[The Gilyak (or Nivkhi, as they are known in the Soviet Union) live on northern Sakhalin and on the lower reaches of the Amur River and adjacent areas in northeastern Asia. There are probably about 4,000 of these people remaining; they speak a language of the Paleo-Siberian group. The Gilyak were formerly principally dependent on fishing and sea mammal hunting, with fish being the diet staple. They are now generally settled on collective farms, with agriculture and cattle breeding being important.

The Gilyak File consists of 13 sources, numbered 1-2, 4, 6-7, 9-10, 13, 15, and 19-22. Six of the sources are in English (4, 9, 10, 20-22), four are translations from the German (2, 13, 15, 19), and three are translations from the Russian (1, 6-7). The basic sources are 1: Shternberg and 2: Schrenck. 1: Shternberg, by a Russian anthropologist who worked among the Gilyak in 1890-1897 and 1910, is probably the most valuable ethnographic account of the Gilyak, concentrating on social organization (a Marxist account). 2: Schrenck is a general historical and ethnographic description of the peoples of the Amur region, particularly the Gilyak, deriving from travels in 1854 to 1856. 4: Ivanov et al. is a cultural summary from the Soviet viewpoint, giving some data on the recent life on the Gilyak. 6: Kreinovich and 7: Kreinovich are descriptions of fishing and hunting in 1931 by a Russian anthropologist. 9: Hawes, 19: Genest, 20: Bush and 22: Knox are travel accounts dating from between ca. 1865 and ca. 1900. 10: Coxwell is a selection of Gilyak folktales taken from a larger work. 13: Seeland is an ethnographic sketch of the Gilyak as the author observed them in the second half of the nineteenth century. 15: Pilsudski is a study of pregnancy and birth dating from around 1900. 21: Golder contains a few pages on the general history of the Amur region by a historian.

The Gilyak File contains a considerable amount of cultural data and should be sufficient for most cross-cultural purposes. It should be noted that most of the data pertain to the 19th century Gilyak. There was a tremendous change in their life after the Bolshevik revolution, which is noted very sparingly by the Soviet anthropologists. Researchers should be aware of these differences, both in data and in political viewpoint. The file was processed between 1953 and 1968.]

1: Shternberg--37 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

TAG 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

AIG 101 142 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

/1 cont./

G 101 144 As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

T A G 131 197

T 131 197

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

T A G 121 184

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

S T A G 121

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

S 121 433

Gi 101 /8 cont./ Their neighbors -- The Sakhalin Gilyak -- call them Ornyr (reindeer-breeders), and, what is particularly notable, G [101] the Amur Gilyak call their neighbors, the Olcha of Schrenck, by this same name, although they now are just as much fishermen -- dog-breeders as the Gilyak themselves, which testifies to the fact Gi [174] that in an earlier time the Olcha and the Orok had one common name and were a single tribe. In fact /9/ there are indications that the Orok actually migrated from the Amur comparatively recently (in the seventeenth century) and, consequently, may con- G [101] stitute one tribe with the Olcha of Schrenck. On the other hand, it is quite curious that the Amur Gilyak call both the Orok and the Orochi by one and the same term, Tozung. Thus, in the nomenclature of the neighbors of the Nani there has been preserved the obvious recollection of three of the nationalities of this group, the Orok, the Olcha, and the Orochi, as ethnically united. I shall add further that the local Russians call the Orok simply Orochon, a term carried from Zabaikalye for the local reindeer-breeders.

Gi [131] The Olcha (live in the lower reaches of the Amur between the settlement of Bogorodskoye and Nizhnetambovskiy). The Gi [614] majority of the clans are of Goldi origin. They call themselves Nani. The Tungus, Orochi, and Negda call them Mamu (of the Amur), the Goldi call them Khyd'ye, Khydzyn, Khydeni (khyde -- down the river), the Amur Gilyak -- Ornyr, i. e., as the Sakhalin Gilyak call the Orok. They do not call themselves Olcha; on the contrary, they and all the Amur Tungus, including the Orochi, call the Sakhalin Orok by that name. It is true that on the Amur there are various clans bearing this name, for example, Ulcha live in the settlement Auri, Ulchan-khala in the settlement Ukhta. The Negidal sometimes call them Ngatku (along with the Goldi), sometimes Olchan -- Orochon (Udyhe) with two pigtails. They call the Negidal Burkà Orochà (on the Udyli), Khynguni; the Goldi -- Goldi or Gogdy (on the Khungari) -- with cut (shaven) forehead, Gi along the Sungari -- Soleni (sole -- up the river). It is interesting [177] that the Olcha have a Gilyak cradle (through the women -- wives [854] from among the Gilyak women). [582]

/9 cont./

Gi 101 The Orochi. They call themselves Nani, Nane. They are called Orochà and Orochi by the Amur Olcha, and therefore in the presence of Russians they call themselves Orocha and Orochon. The G [101] Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur call them Tozung -- as they call the Orok. The Manchuized, more southern branch from Botchi and Samargi, as well as those living along the rivers Bikin, Khoru, and Khungari, are called Kekha, Kera, or Taz, and also Gi [103] Khyd'ye, by their neighbors. The Goldi (in the settlement Chel'tsy) call them Namuka, but call those living along the Khungari and farther -- Kekar. In the settlement Susu, they call them all Namuka without distinction. Those who live along the Gi [197] Anyuyu call themselves Udde. According to the words of the Gi [252] Orochi, their language and the language of the Olcha and Goldi [184] are almost the same. The Olcha and the Orochi smoke fish, while [481] the Goldi prepare it as the Gilyak do. The Orochi have Tungus [199] ski, their yurts are Gilyak.
[342]

The Goldi. They call themselves Nani; the "Upper" Goldi, those living up to Khabarovsk, are called Solibini (settlement Gi 101 Chel'tsy, Susu); those living above Khabarovsk, on the Ussuri and 103 Sungari, are called /10/ Akhani (settlement Susu); the Lower Goldi -- Khyybini (settlement Chel'tsy), Khydzeni (settlement Susu), or Khydzyri (as the Torgonsk call the Voznesensk); they call the Mariinsk (Olcha) Khydze. The coastal Orochi (settlement Chel'tsy) or all of them (settlement Susu) are called Namuka by the Goldi; those living along the Khungari and farther -- Kekar (settlement Chel'tsy); the Tungus -- Kilyr; the Chinese -- Nakà, Gi the Manchu -- Mantszo, the Koreans -- Gaule (settlement Susu). 101 The Negidal call the Goldi (from B.-Mikhaylovskiy to Khabarovsk) Ngatku ("uncut," not shaving the forehead) and Gold ("cut," shaven); the Negidal also call the Olcha Ngatku. The Olcha call G the Goldi -- Goldi or Gogdy (the Khungari) or Soleni (the Sungari). [101] The Amur Gilyak call them Toh, Yadgu.

1: Shternberg--48 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/11/

The Gilyak

000 The Gilyak. -- The Social Organization of the Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak. -- The Sakhalin Gilyak. /Page 12 is blank./

/13/

The Gilyak

I.

Territory. Linguistic Isolation. Origin.

131 The small tribe of Gilyak, whose number at the present
[161] time does not exceed four and a half thousand persons, is scattered
[101] over the vast territory of the entire northern half of Sakhalin Island and the neighboring continental shore, being distributed almost equally between the two regions.

On Sakhalin they occupy the entire shore-line of the western coast from Cape Sakhkotan to the northern extremity of Cape Marii, then on the eastern shore -- from Cape Levenshtern to Cape Delil'-de-lya-Kroyer, and finally, in the interior the island, they occupy the upper and middle reaches of the Tym' River, which is the only significant river of northern Sakhalin.

101 In southern Sakhalin in the lower reaches of the Poronai
131 River and on the shore of Terpeniye Gulf a few dozen representa-
167 tives of the Gilyak tribe, who migrated to this alien territory due to fortuitous circumstances only very recently (in the last 30 years), have become lost among the alien Ainu and Orok.

131 On the continent the Gilyak occupy both banks of the lower reaches of the Amur River to the settlement of Geri, and then the banks of the Amur estuary and the seashore: to the north, from the mouth of the Amur to the Kol' River, and to the south to the Choma River. The northernmost boundary of the spread of the Gilyak may be regarded as the mouth of the Tugur River, to which, by the way, the Gilyak only very rarely go on business, not having a permanent place of residence there.

/13 cont./

175 Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data
131 that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half centuries.

131 The greatest density of population is found in the areas of
103 the most abundant fishing, such as: the banks of the Amur and its
162 estuary [villages: Kol' (196 persons), Langr (205), Vayda (184), Mago (154), and others]; on the western shore of Sakhalin, the points Tamlevo, Lyrkryvo (144 persons), Viskivo (116), Nyur (103), Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

●101 The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. /14/ It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Priamur krai to become convinced that the minuscule Gilyak tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. Even in the very heart of the Gilyak area of settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus
[144] neighbors. The physical resemblance seems to confirm this idea to a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives
[197] a categorical indication in the negative. For neither in its lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout the Asiatic continent we find no other language which could lay claim to close relationship with the Gilyak language.

/14 cont./

101 The Gilyak are not the only ones who find themselves in
174 such an isolated position in northeast Asia. The Ainu, the
197 Yukagir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak find themselves in the same position. An attempt has even been made to combine them in a common group of Paleo-Asiatics (Schrenck), but the basis of this classification was purely external in character, namely, their common position on the edge of the continent, and the consequent probability that in the course of time these once numerous peoples were in part destroyed and in part driven out by more recent newcomers who came from the interior of the continent to the edge of Asia. All hope of discovering a genetic relationship between the Gilyak and the other tribes has not been lost, however. Hypotheses about a common origin of the nationalities of the Pacific coast of Asia and the tribes of North America were ad-
197 vanced long ago. My own investigation of the Gilyak language convinced me that this hypothesis may finally be fully confirmed. Besides the similarity in the common structure of the Gilyak language and of many American languages, such as the merging of pronouns with verbs and with nouns, the tendency /15/ toward polysynthesism, the extreme mobility of phonetic changes, the types of reduplication, etc., we can point to similarities at particular points which are extremely characteristic. For example, one that is common to all of them is a highly peculiar class system of numerals, according to which different categories of objects can be combined only with the numerals that are peculiar to them, a system to which, so far as I know, there is nothing similar in any of the languages of the Asiatic continent. All this, however, is a problem for the future, perhaps the very near future.

174 Meanwhile, an easier question is still unsolved, the question of how long the Gilyak have occupied their present positions. On the basis of three names borrowed by the Gilyak from the Tungus tribes for animals (the elk, the roe, the badger) found in the lower reaches of the Amur, but absent on Sakhalin, the late academician Schrenck, the only authority up to the present on the ethnology of the natives of Priamur krai, asserted that the original homeland of the Gilyak was Sakhalin Island and that in any case the Gilyak now living on the continent are descendants of immigrants from Sakhalin.
[114] His opinion is based on an obvious misunderstanding. The three

1:Shternberg--496 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/346 cont./

222 The Gilyak cut down a whole bird-cherry plant for the cherries, but "if blood (red juice) comes, they quit.

/347/

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The Sakhalin Gilyak (1)

1. The present article was published in Etnograficheskoe Obozrienie, 1893, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in Die Neue Zeit. Ed.

I.

101

The Origin of the Gilyak and Features of Their External Life

Like the Ainu, in whose language the word "ainos" means "man," the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, call themselves "nivukh," which means: man, master, Gilyak (2). Their customary name,

2. The Amur Gilyak call themselves "yavese."

"Gilyak," was, in my opinion, formed from the distortion by travelers of the word "kile," which means "Tungus" in the language of the Amur Gilyak, with whom travelers first had contact. And such a distortion could very easily have occurred because the Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur speak the same language as the Tungus, who, according to their legends, form one "people" with the Gilyak, the Goldi, and the Orochon. It is also quite possible that because of the common language of the Amur Gilyak and the Tungus, the Manchu, who formerly ruled the Amur region, called the Gilyak and the Tungus by a common name, "kile." But the ease with which national antagonisms

/347 cont./

101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 829 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "ytk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "ytk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material below. 197 The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the Lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 127 174 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the continent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of [614] Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo, one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language, [184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

/15 cont./

G 131 that in itself indicates the role that sea and river play in the lives and the economy of these people. At the same time, with such G 101 a location and limitation of their area of distribution, the Gilyak 177 have no neighbors to the north and east, and therefore, in a large part, in fact, the greater part, of it, but only some in the west and south. Here, however, they come in direct contact with many of the Amur peoples, for example, with the reindeer Tungus of the Sea of Okhotsk and of the Stanovoi Mountains, with the Negda, Olcha, and Orochi on the mainland, and with the Orok and Ainu on Sakhalin. Taken together, these factors give the Gilyak, on one hand, an isolated position among the Amur peoples and greater independence, but, on the other hand, they make them the natural connecting link between the peoples of the mainland and of Sakhalin Island, not excepting even the civilized peoples of the two areas, namely, the Chinese and the Japanese.

Though the Gilyak are sharply differentiated from all the Amur peoples through their unique language, nevertheless a manifold mutual intermeshing of the respective areas of distribution takes place on the borders with their above-mentioned neighbors. It has already been mentioned above that on the Tugur and Gi [101] Ulban gulfs, along with the Gilyak, the Tungus, too, pursue their [177] livelihood and erect their easily transportable birch tents beside [342] the Gilyak yurts (3). Indeed, they roam far to the east along the Sea [361]

3. Poplonskij, loc. cit., found Tungus also in Konstantinov Harbor in Ulban Bay.

of Okhotsk, even in the area permanently occupied by the Gilyak; in the winter of 1856 I myself saw their conical tent frames east Gi [221] of Kulj. Some Negda, from the Amgun are said to come annually [225] to the Tugur and Ulban gulfs in order to hunt seals (4). The Negda 000

Gi [113]

4. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-Amursk. kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sbornik", 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 332). Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über

G 101 179 Gi 113 /15 cont./ 4. (cont.)
den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

Gi 131 The Negda
live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chlya/, G [361] as well as along the river branch connecting them; although [103] there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. This in- G [115] formation, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Judin [114] in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later travelers,

G [103] 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu. Gi [103] [361] On the former lie the villages of Pfyrpi-wo and Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomokr and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, calls

Gi [113] 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolaysv Post on the Amur River to Udskii

2: Schrenck--28 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Negidal
Olcha

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/16 cont./ 2. (cont.)
Ostrog/," in Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. III. 1857, Miscellany, p. 11.

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[103]

3. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 148. Schmidt mentions only the Negda village Nemorchon on the river branch that connects the two lakes, Orel and Tschlja (op. cit., p. 142). This name is probably Negda, at any rate not Gilyak.

Lake Orel "Negda Lake" on a map in part based upon Chinese information and still unpublished ("Erster Versuch einer hydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges und seiner Ausläufer, zwischen dem 45. und 62. Grade nördl. Br. /First Attempt at a Hydrographic Map of the Stanovoi Mountain Range and Its Spurs, between 45° and 62° North Latitude/."

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In the territory of the Gilyak, their Amur neighbors, the Olcha, have penetrated more deeply than the Negda. To begin there, too, as mentioned above, with the village of Chjare, there lie far to the north of it, on the right bank of the river and surrounded by purely Gilyak villages, two villages, Tschylwi and Tyr, which are inhabited only by Olcha, the former with six, the latter with two winter yurts. And still farther to the north, on the same bank, there is the place Kaberazbach, consisting of only one winter yurt besides accessories, in which at the time of my journey an Olcha, who had a Gilyak wife, governed as head of the household. On the other hand, deep within Olcha territory one comes across isolated permanent Gilyak sites. For example, of the six winter yurts that make up the village of Aure located only slightly north of Kidsi, I found that three had been occupied by Gilyak for many years. Everywhere these scattered members of an alien people have clung as much as possible to their respective mother tongues and native customs.

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G /16 cont./
101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

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A G 103 361

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A G [114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

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1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A G 103 361 113

/17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

A [114]

G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

G 361 439

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

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3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

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/17 cont./

on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

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Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

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5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A /17 cont./
G dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These re-
Gi lationships become even more complicated, however, by the
101 fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu
131 occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. More-
A over, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people
[101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former
A people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming
361 from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first
A in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one
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1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

2: Schrenck--40 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orok
Orochi
Ainu AB6

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words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

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If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

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1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

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Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

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/21 cont./
by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak, which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the population of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

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1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

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It is different
with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to the sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep and protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, have their permanent habitation sites in it.

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101 main artery. Sometimes we see their territory reduced to a minimum (2); sometimes, and even more frequently, they

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2. For instance, in Swerbejef /Sverbeev/, who does not have the Goldi end until Dshaï and has the Gilyak begin as soon as Kidsi. This would leave for the Olcha, then, little more than the village of Gauwne on the Amur. This error, that the natives of Kidsi and the surrounding area are Gilyak, is repeated almost throughout by the Russian authors, for example, by D. Romanof ("Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de- Kastri u riek. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 134-138); by J. Mewes ("Tri goda v" Sib. i Amursk. stranie /Three Years in Siberia and the Amur Country/."- Otechestv. Zap., Vol. CXLVIII, p. 284), who called Kidsi the principal village of the Gilyak; by Dr. Plaxin ("Primorsk. obl. Vostochn. Sib." - Voenn. Sborn., 1869, No. 12, p. 194), who has the Gilyak begin at Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (Dshaï) and extend, not only along the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, but also beyond the Amgunj /Amgun/ and a part of the Tatar Strait, etc. In the latter, by the way, the Amur peoples are so confused that Mangun and Manegir appear as synonymous designations. The American, Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes, London, 1872, pp. 77, 86-89), regards the dwellers on Kidsi Lake as Gilyak. Even Boschnjak, who quite

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correctly remarked that a sharp dividing line between the Gilyak and the Mangun lies at the village of Uchtr, in that the former only live below it, but going upstream, the latter begin with the village named ("Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie."- Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 125), cannot refrain from speaking of the "Kidsi-Gilyak" in another place (M.Sb., 1859, No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 209).

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disappear completely by being simply thrown in with the Gilyak (3). Aside from the few above-mentioned Olcha

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3. Pargatschevskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. put. vverkh" po r. Amuru, ot" Nikolaevsk. posta do Ust'-Strielochn. karaula, sovershenn. v" 1856-57 gg. /A Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur, from the Nikolayevsk Post to the Ust'-Strelochny Guardpost in 1856-57/."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch, Part 21, 1857, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 161, 165), for instance, does not know of the Olcha at all, but has the Gilyak extend from the mouth of the Amur to Adi, and from there down the Goldi begin. Likewise Dr. Sperk ("Geografo-patologicheskie ocherki Vost. Sib. /Geographical-Pathological Sketches from Eastern Siberia/."- Mediko-topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 68), who even grants to the Gilyak the whole

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1. (cont.)
kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sbom., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 334 and others).

H.M. 563 648 439 G 439 648 The right, relatively thickly populated bank of the Amur and also the left one from its last bend to the east is closed to them, for the Gilyak, although -- as we shall see -- zealous traders themselves, nevertheless permit no Chinese to enter their territory, perhaps out of the just fear that the traders might pave the way for the rulers. On the basis of their own experiences on their trading trips to the Sungari, it is natural for them -- the Gilyak -- to regard the Manchu and Chinese, in contrast to the other Amur peoples, as identical with respect to political power and ruling position, though they distinguish between them with regard to nationality. G [101] [114] They also at times simply designate the Chinese with the name "Manchu" -- a circumstance that gave rise to much confusion concerning these peoples on the part of travelers (2).

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2. For example, Orlof (cf. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. obozr. obraz. Ross.-Amer. Komp., St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 84 and others), Tschichatschof (Tichmenjef, op. cit., pp. 89 ff.), Beresin (ibid., pp. 91 ff.), Boschnjak ("Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie."- Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, pp. 115-118, 125, 126; No. 2, Unofficial Part, pp. 332 to 337; No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 195, etc.), and others constantly refer to the Chinese traders from the lower Amur and from the Amgunj as "Manchu." The same is done by Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 161, 165) with

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G S.S. 114 128 referring specifically to the Amur region. On the map accompanying the first volume of this work I have noted the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries, as well as on Sakhalin, without, however, defining their respective areas. Later, in G S.S. 101 114 1873, there appeared an ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia by Wenjukof /Veniukov/ on which the Russian part of the Amur region is included (2). Because of the relatively small scale of

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2. "Etnograficheskaia karta Aziiatskoi Rossii. Massht. v" angl. diuimie 250 verst" ili 1/10,500,000 /Ethnographic Map of Asiatic Russia. Scale: one English inch to 250 versts or 1/10,500,000/." It accompanies the work by the same author, Opyt" voennago obozrieniia Russkikh" granits" v" Asii /An Attempt at a Military Survey of the Russian Frontiers in Asia/, St. Petersburg, 1873, but it also may be obtained separately.

the whole map, however, only a few square inches could be devoted to the Amur region. Correspondingly, the information is for the most part only summary, in that the individual Tungusic tribes, which occupy almost the whole of the Amur region, are not distinguished at all or at most by a few inscriptions which for the most part are not in the proper place, and there is no mention of any delimitation of their respective areas. In connection with this, these condensed Tungusic tribes of the Amur region are usually erroneously delimited from the other two peo- S.S. [167] ples distinguished on the map, the Gilyak and Ainu. This map therefore actually gives only an approximate total picture of the Tungusic population, by far the predominant one in the Amur /90/ region, into which at that time Russian colonists had already poured along the Amur, the Ussuri, Lake Kengka, and down the ooo Ssuifun to Peter the Great Bay (1). Our map virtually ignores this

1. The following special remarks may serve as verification for my opinion of

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this map as far as the Amur region is concerned. In spite of the fact that the Gilyak are sharply distinguished from all their neighbors by their language, their territory is correctly shown on the map by Wenjukof only on Sakhalin, but on the continent is delimited incorrectly on all sides. In the north, for instance, it does not begin at Tugur Bay, but to the east of Ulban Bay; in the south, along the Amur River, he has it extend beyond Lake Kidsi toward Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (where the Olcha village Dshaf is located), that is, toward the center of the Olcha territory. From there he draws the southern boundary of the Gilyak to de Castries Bay, where La Pérouse had already quite correctly shown Orochi. On the other hand, he moves them away from the Liman coast, from the mouth of the Amur, and from the adjacent parts of the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and puts a Tungusic tribe there, while in reality the Amur-Liman is inhabited all around only by Gilyak.-- On Sakhalin, the map gives too large a territory in the north to the Ainu, in that it is supposed to include the whole Ty or Poronai River area and to extend to the Tym' sources, whereas actually it stops at the Gulf of Patience, and an uninhabited territory frequently visited by Gilyak and Orok lies along the Ty. -- The Orok, which curiously are called "Orokapen" on the map (more about this later), are shown only in that part of Sakhalin in which there is no population at all and are missing at their actual sites. -- The designations for the individual Tungusic tribes of the Amur region

2: Schrenck--185 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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1. (cont.)
are in the wrong places almost throughout: the Orochi, for instance, are shown only in the southernmost part of their extensive territory, almost all the Mangun (Olcha) are shifted into the Goldi territory, the Samagir are transferred to the Amgunj, in place of the Negda, who are not mentioned at all, like the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. The Daur, who, besides being along the Nonni and Komar, are also along the Bureja and the Amur, and who certainly cannot, like the last-named peoples, be simply subsumed under the general designation "Tungus," are missing entirely on the map, whereas the few Koreans who only recently moved into the Russian area across the Tumen River are shown.

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The various Tungusic peoples of the Amur region are given still less attention on the ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia which is given in the statistical atlas of the Russian Empire by Iljin (Opyt" statist. atlasa Rossiiskoi Imperii /An Attempt at a Statistical Atlas of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1874, Map 14), with an even smaller scale, to be sure. In the Russian part of the Amur region (aside from the Chinese and Manchu), the only indigenous peoples it recognizes, in addition to the incorrectly demarcated Gilyak and Ainu, are the "Tungusen" (in general) and "Golde," whose territory, however, is shown along the Amur from above the Bureja to Mariinsk.

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Finally, the same errors as those on the Wenjukof map are repeated on the

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1. (cont.)
ethnographic map of the Russian Empire recently drawn up by Petermann (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, Plate 1), which, for Asiatic Russia, is based entirely upon the information of the former. Despite the much smaller scale, it faithfully copies the boundaries of the Gilyak territory that were shown above as erroneous. The names of the individual Tungusic Amur-peoples, however, are entirely omitted on it, so that the Amur region, with the exception of a short stretch along the lower course of its principal river, like the adjacent part of Eastern Siberia, seems to be inhabited only by "Tungusen."

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Our map virtually ignores this last factor completely, since it shows the ethnographic situation of the Amur region at a time when the Russians, after a pause of two hundred years, were just beginning to penetrate into the Amur region again, and were not to abandon it from then on. Since the colonization especially followed the principal rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri, it changed the ethnographic conditions chiefly where the indigenous population was most densely settled. It may therefore be that since then many communities of the latter have been displaced, shifted, or reduced, have even disappeared altogether, and their very names as well. And the future will even more take a rapid and relentless course in this direction. Now, since our map /91/ establishes the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region before they were affected by these changes, it can in the future provide a yardstick for the latter. And that can only heighten its scientific interest. How valuable, for example, an accurate ethnographic map of the Amur region at the time of the first Russian invasion would be for us now! How much could be drawn from it for the questions to be dealt with in the next section!

[i.e., The mass immigration of the Russian colonists into the Amur River region--Analyst]

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Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

/92/

Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

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If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

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1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amur), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

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/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/(1). In this connection several, often

1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

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2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

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175 131 361 mouth ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high

8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

175 114 [101] [103] Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their undoubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

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9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

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175 114 it was drawn by him on the basis of his own map and changed only with respect to the information -- and not always for the better -- that Ysbrants Ides obtained on his travels and gave to 175 him. On this map the Gilyak are shown only once, and, to be 114 sure, as on Remesof's map, only on the seacoast between the 13 Amur and the Tugur. On the other hand, we see on the much later map by Strahlenberg (2) that the whole region along the [101]

2. "Nova Descriptio Geographica Tartariae Magnae tam orientalis quam occidentalis in particularibus et generalibus Territoriis una cum Delineatione totius Imperii Russici imprimis Siberiae accurate ostensa." With a dedication to Friedrich I, King of Sweden; without date.

northern tributaries of the Amur River, from the Dseja /Zeya/ to the sea, is designated as "terra Giliakorum, whereas in his well-known work on the northern and eastern part of Europe and Asia, it is said that the "Kilani," who are called "Kilett" by the Yakut and "Kilaki" by the Russians, live around the mouth of the 175 Amur River (3). So incredible did the information that he gave 174 101 [113]

3. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 69) says that the map appeared together with this work in the year 1731.

on them sound -- though, as we shall see later, it was not entirely lacking in truth -- and in any case so fantastic was his derivation of them from the Avar, who are said to have been moved in the thirteenth century from the Caspian and Black Seas to China by the Shah of Persia, Mangu -- he saw confirmation

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175 114 101 for his view in the still extant, like-sounding name Kilan (Gilan) for a Persian province on the Caspian Sea -- that Gmelin cast Strahlenberg's whole account into doubt. At most, he thought, the "Kilani" could be a family of the Tungus, since there were so many in Siberia who gave themselves special names, but not a separate, different people who, as Strahlenberg maintained, distinguished themselves by their skill in so important an art as the forging of weapons -- how could there be such a people, he says, without the whole of Siberia knowing about it (4). Never-

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4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, Preface.

theless it was Gmelin's travel companion who, without entering the Amur region, made the greatest contribution to our historical knowledge of its peoples, and among them the Gilyak.

Müller was the first to stress the importance of the rich mine of information concerning the Amur region which had accumulated in the Siberian archives and only fragments of which had been seen by Witsen. Later many more gleanings were obtained in this field. Through this there was brought to light the oldest information that we have up to now concerning the Amur peoples being discussed h[illegible]rding to it, the Russians /99/ obtained their first inform[illegible] about the Gilyak even before they entered the Amur region. In the years 1639 and 1640, when the leader of the Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, advanced up the Witim /Vitim/ and its left tributary, the Zypir (Zipa /Tsipa/), almost to Lake Baunt, the Tungus there told him of the Daur people, who were supposed to live along the upper Witim and along the Schilka and to trade with the Chinese, as well as a people living where the latter river empties into the sea, that is, at the mouth of the Amur, the "Kilorzy," who were distinguished from all the other peoples by their language and likewise had trading relations with the

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Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here informa-

1. J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (Dopoln. k" akt. istor. /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek").

tion about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

101 Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

[104] 2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

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101 for them, like so many peoples on a similar, lower level of culture, the concept of human being coincides with the one of an individual of their tribe and their language and the more general, abstract concept is still lacking. According to this information, the Gilyak were first named to the Russians by the Witim-Tungus. If one leaves off the Russian ending of the name as it was rendered by the Cossacks, it may sound like the Tungus Kilor or Kiler. The Tungus got it from the Daur along the Witim and Schilka, with whom they are in contact, and they in turn from the Chinese, who trade with them, as well as with the peoples of the lower Amur region, by traveling to the latter, though not by sea, as the Tungus reported or as the Russians may have understood, but nevertheless by boat down the Amur. The designation Kilor or Kiler must thus be of Chinese origin, with a Tungusic foundation and perhaps also with some Tungusic modification. Actually there is a people of that or a similar name among those mentioned by the Manchu-Chinese geographers or Manchu-Chinese sources from the lower Amur region. For example, the Chinese imperial /100/ geography of the Tsing dynasty (1) mentions the following peoples, besides the Manchu

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1. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Peking, 1818, Vol. XI, 2; according to Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 444. Pauthier (Chine moderne ou descript. histor., geogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part I, p. 168. -- L'Univers) mentions from the Chinese work named the same peoples in the same sequence, but in a somewhat different version in his French transcription; they run: Tchi-tché, Feï-ya-khé, Li-eurh-kou-yé, Golun-tchun, and Go-khe-la.

and Chinese, for the Ssan-ssin district, which includes the lower Amur region and the coast: Kilerchadshi, Wiyaka (Fiaka),

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101 Lerkoje, Oruntschun, and Kiyakla. In Timkovski's Journey to Peking, edited by Klaproth (2), the Kileng and the Fiaka are

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2. G. Timkovski, Voyage à Peking à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821. Trad. du Russe par N****, revu par J. B. Eyriès; publ. avec des correct. et des notes par J. Klaproth. Paris, 1827. Atlas, Tab. VII, Explic. p. 25.

mentioned from the lower Amur and the seacoast. The archimandrite Palladij (3) enumerates from the province of

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3. "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska chez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

Girin the following peoples who paid their tribute in sable pelts to the Peking Court before the Russians occupied the lower Amur region: the Chādshā or Chādsin, the Fiaka, the Kiler, the Kuā, the Orontscho, and the Kjakala. These are not by far all the enumerations of the Chinese names for the peoples of the lower Amur region, but only those in which the names Kiler or Kileng occur; others will be mentioned later on. One should not expect, however, that the peoples distinguished by the Chinese would always coincide exactly with those now known to us in this region. With their very limited knowledge of the lower Amur region, it could and must have happened, on the contrary, that occasionally the Chinese did not distinguish the various peoples from one another, especially those that were more remote, or included them under a collective name, and in other

/100 cont./

101 cases, on the other hand, where nearer and more familiar regions were involved, they gave different names to branches or tribes of one and the same people differing only slightly dialectally. It
101 is therefore not surprising that one finds contradictory statements
114 in the interpretations made up to now about these Manchu-Chinese names, for which the above point of view was not followed and which, in addition, came from men who lacked any personal acquaintance with the lower-Amur peoples. Klaproth, for example, thought at the beginning that Fiaka and Chedshen were the Manchu terms for the Gilyak (4); later (5), however,

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4. Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 290, 301. In this connection he regards the Gilyak as the Kuriles of the continent, concerning which more later.

5. Atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, loc. cit.

he thought that he recognized in the Kileng, as they supposedly called themselves, the Gilyak of the Russians. Palladij, however, even recently regarded the Fiaka as Gilyak, and the Kiler, on the other hand, as Amgunj-Tungus, that is, Negda. If one considers the alleged habitation sites of these peoples, as well as the few reports concerning their respective character traits, way of life, clothing, etc., one must, to be sure, grant more right to the latter interpretation, but cannot entirely agree with it either. The description of the Fiaka in the atlas accompany-
[291] ing Timkovski's Journey, as a crude, but brave people who in winter are clothed in pelts of dog fur, incontestably fits the Gilyak better than that of the Kileng, whose clothing of stag hide (or /101/ perhaps also roe or reindeer skins) in itself indicates a Tungusic people devoted to a higher level of hunting (1).

1. The drawings of the Kileng and Fiaka (Atlas, Plate VII), as crude and dissimilar

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1. (cont.)
as they are generally as well as in details, rather favor such an interpretation.

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The alleged habitation sites of the peoples in question likewise appear to argue in favor of this interpretation, as the Kileng are said to live chiefly along the Amgunj (2), the Fiaka along the

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2. Khenkhoûn in Klaproth (loc. cit.), Henkon on the maps by d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, Nos. 1, 18).

seacoast near the mouth of the Amur. There seems to be almost no further doubt but that the Fiaka are the Gilyak when Iakinf (3),

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3. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg 1842, Part II, p. 30, footnote.

on the basis of Manchu-Chinese sources and without any comment of his own, states that there are three peoples on Sakhalin, Fjakä (Fyake), Eluntschun, and Kuä, obviously Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. Finally, among the statements by the old Jesuit missionaries, too, there are some that cannot be interpreted in any way other than in the above sense; Gerbillon's statement (4),

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4. J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37.

for instance, that the lowermost part of the Amur River down to the sea was inhabited by the Fiatta or Fiattu (5) people, who

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5. Klaproth (Atlas, loc. cit.) expressly states that "Fiatta" is an error and should be "Fiaka."

speak an entirely different language, live solely on fish, and whom, on the basis of the descriptions that he obtained, he would compare with the Iroquois. Müller (6) replied to this that the

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6. "Von dem Amur-Flusse /From the Amur River/," in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, 2nd ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 506.

Gilyak were designated with the name Fitta by the Manchu. On the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries (7) who upon the orders of

7. Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, 1709.

Emperor Kang-hi traveled through Manchuria proper and part of the lower Amur region in order to draw a map of them reported on the Fiatta in a quite different sense. According to them it is nothing but the Manchu designation for the language of the Ketscheng or Ketsching, a people who lives along the Amur River from Tondon to its mouth and along the coast to the east of the Ussuri and the Amur, as well as, presumably, that people who occupies the seacoast north of the Amur mouth up to 55 degrees of latitude, the extreme northeastern boundary of the Chinese Empire (8). Thus we see here that the designation Fiatta, or,

8. Du Halde, Descript., etc., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12. Ritter (Asien, Vol. III, pp. 446, 447) has combined the contradicting statements of the Jesuit missionaries and Klaproth's into one, which leads to the greatest confusion.

/101 cont./

101 114 as Klaproth insists, Fiaka, is used, due to insufficient knowledge, as a collective term for a number of different peoples of the Amur region or their language, and among them the Gilyak. And the same must be concluded from the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who, as was stated above, spent 17 years -- from his birth on -- in Ninguta, to which his father had been exiled, and later, in 1722, having returned to China, he wrote a description of his birthplace. Downstream from the Cheidsin or Chādshen on the Amur River, he has the region of the Fei-ja-cha come next, the description of which, however, only in part fits the Gilyak, and to a greater extent -- for example, the nose rings, /102/ the birchbark boats, fishing in the sea, etc. -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Orochi (1). Finally, Iakinf expresses

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1. In Wassiljef's /Vasil'ev/ translation: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 90-93). It is also said there that the Fiaka, Cheidsin, and Churcha or Chulcha address one another with the word "andā." This, however, is a Tungusic word that also occurs among the Goldi, Olcha, etc. and means "friend"; in Gilyak it is "amalā."

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himself quite definitely in this sense in declaring that all the different tribes that live downstream from the Chādshe on both banks of the Amur River and also occupy the northern part of Sakhalin were included under the common name Fjakā (Fyake) (2).

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2. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imperii, Part II, p. 12.

All this permits one to draw the conclusion that the Fiaka of the Manchu-Chinese geographers or reporters are not always the Gilyak by any means; although better informed individuals actually might have referred to the Gilyak by this designation,

G 101 114 /102 cont./

there were others who mixed them up with the neighboring Tungusic tribes, in that wherever their ethnographic knowledge of the lower Amur region stopped, which occurred sometimes sooner, sometimes later, they had the area of the Fiaka, this people of their ultima Thule, begin.

Gi 101 114 The situation was similar for the Ketscheng and Kileng. I shall later try to show that under the former for the most part the Goldi, at least a part of them and the Olcha were included. It is likewise to be seen from the above statements, however, that this term was occasionally extended, for reasons similar to those in the case of the Fiaka, to other peoples living farther down the Amur and along the seacoast, down to the Gilyak. Finally, concerning the Kileng or Kiler, a proof of the collective notion that was given to this term, and still is, on the part of the Chinese lies in the association of it with the Ketscheng or Chädshe, as is found in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing. The Kiler-chadshi mentioned there include the peoples of the lower Amur region who extend from the Chadshi (Goldi) inclusive down to the Fiaka of the seacoast. The use of the designation Kileng, Kile, or Kil on the part of the Chinese, however, can be shown specifically for almost every one of these peoples. Thus, the Kileng of the Amgunj have already been mentioned above, and, on the basis of their place of residence and description, the Negda are meant by this. When in the report concerned it is said that they also call themselves "Kileng" (3),

3. Klaproth, in the atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, p. 25.

this is correct only insofar as they designate themselves, when dealing with the Chinese, in the way they are named by them, just as the Gilyak do with regard to their designation when confronted by the Russians. The name which they have more or less accepted when dealing with those foreigners who to them are the most important and the most authoritative, they will, of course, readily use in dealing with all the others. When I

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Gi 101 114 inquired among the Goldi about the name of the Samagir or of the people on the Gorin and those on the Kur, they named the one as well as the /103/ other for me repeatedly as the "Kile," evidently because they bore this collective name among the Chinese and then designated themselves with it when dealing with them. The Gilyak also gave me the name "Kil" for the G [101] Samagir. Since the Goldi and the Gilyak languages are completely different, the obvious conclusion is that this can only be Gi [197] a foreign name. Finally, I have sometimes heard Chinese merchants traveling along the Amur designate even the northern G Gi 101 and more distant Goldi, as a rule the Olcha, and, indeed, even the Gilyak with this or a similar name. One such merchant, for instance, whom I met in Amtscho on the Amur, eagerly asked me whether the "Kilam" or "Kilang" living farther downstream had many sables, and, in order to make himself better understood, he also named this animal in the Kilam language the word sounded like "lombr," and the Gilyak "lumr" can be G 101 clearly recognized. The Gilyak were quite similarly called "Ki-li-mi" by the Chinese companions of the missionary Venault when he went down the Amur in order to investigate the death of de la Brunière, who had been killed by them (1).

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1. Venault, "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie /Journey into the Interior Parts of Manchuria/" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX,1852 [Vol. II], pp. 216-223.

G Gi 101 114 From all that has been said it is clear that the Chinese include under the collective designation Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam, etc. both the peoples of the left, northern and western tributaries of the lower Amur River, of the Kur, Gorin, and Amgunj, and the dwellers along the lower course of the main river, itself, and, to be sure, especially the Gilyak, whom they know least, but also the Olcha, and sometimes even part of the Goldi; or, in other words, just as in the case of the Fiaka and Chādshen,

/103 cont./

G G1 101 114

they also have the Kile and Kileng begin in the lower Amur region all the sooner or all the farther upstream the less their knowledge of the region and its population. The most distant of these peoples, the Negda and even more the Gilyak, were therefore most frequently and most generally included under this collective name.

As we saw above, the first information about the Kiler people on the mouth of the Amur came from the Chinese via the Daur and the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus to the Russians, among whom this name, provided with a Russian ending, became "Kilorzy." Only a little later, when they themselves took their expeditions down the Amur, they must have, in the lower course of it, repeatedly heard of the Kile or Kileng living downstream, until they reached the last of these peoples and discovered in them a people actually completely different from the Tungusic tribes whom they already knew. For them they now retained the traditional name, only, of course, provided with a Russian ending, as Kiljaki, Kiljaizy, Kiljany, etc., out of which developed, according to the spirit of the language, Giljaki, Giljaizy, Giljany, etc. Thus we come to all the versions of this name which Witsen gave from Russian sources and which are explained in part by the aforementioned various versions of the Chinese name for the Kile people and in part by the arbitrary selection of the Russian ending.

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/104/ It could not have failed to happen, however, that some of the Russian Cossacks who went down the Amur in boats did not become aware of the tribal difference between the adjacent Tungusic peoples and the Gilyak. They, therefore, since they used that designation, like the Chinese, more or less as a collective name, had the Gilyak begin much farther up on the Amur than their true boundary lies. During the later, more precise examination of the statements concerned, we shall see, for example, that, according to some, the region of the Gilyak begins with the Olcha area; according to others, even sooner, shortly below the Ussuri, and therefore in the midst of the Goldi area. And, significantly enough, this is repeated, like an echo of those times, to this day. It has been stressed above how

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101 vague and incorrect all the modern Russian reports concerning the
114 southern border of the Gilyak on the Amur are, how generally this border is put deep in the Olcha area, even in the Goldi area and in the latter up to the Ussuri (1). The chief reason for this

1. See above, p. 51 and p. 183, note 1.

lies in the fact that even today the designation "Gilyak" is often used by the Russians as a collective name for all the dwellers along the lower Amur River and the adjacent seacoast. For the
G common man it is almost always customary to call the Olcha,
Gi the Goldi, and, as I myself became convinced, even the Orochi
101 of de Castries /De-Kastri/ and Kaiserhafen simply Gilyak. A
114 traveler, therefore, who based his statements on what was said by Russian settlers or Cossacks -- and many have done it -- could give nothing but false information about the territorial boundaries of the Gilyak and the other peoples named above. But even a traveler like Boschnjak /Boshniak/, who clearly and correctly indicated the boundaries between the Gilyak and the Olcha for him, Mangun on the basis of the radical difference between their respective languages, nevertheless in the same article speaks of "Kidsi-Gilyaken," though there are no Gilyak in the narrow and true sense in Kidsi at all (2). The use of this designation

2. See above, p. 52, note 2.

as a collective name for many peoples of the lower-Amur region often renders the oldest Russian reports useless for an investigation of a possible shift of the habitation sites of the Gilyak and their neighbors, just as is the case, for the same reason, for all the Chinese reports concerning the Kile or Kileng.

G While, according to the above discussion, there appears
101 to be no doubt but that the Russian name Gilyak for the people
114 around the mouth of the Amur arose from the Chinese Kile or Kileng, the question remains as to how the origin of this latter

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G 101 174 designation is to be explained. Unfamiliar with any kind of linguistic research, I shall permit myself in this connection only to express a surmise to which I have been led by several facts. It is readily observed that many names of Tungusic peoples, tribes, or kin groups have a final syllable gir. Disregarding the many examples of this kind among the Tungus of Siberia (3), I

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3. Many such names may be found among the Tungus tribes from various regions of Siberia enumerated by Georgi (Bemerk. auf einer Reise im Russ. Reiche im Jahre 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in the Year 1772/, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1775, pp. 244-246).

give /105/ as examples among the Tungus tribes living or roaming in the Amur region the Manegir, Ullagir, Bojagir, Lalegir, Guragir, Samagir, some kin groups of the Negda, such as the Muktegir, Tschutktschagir, Njassekagir, Tschemakogir (1), etc.(2).

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1. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1523) erroneously writes the final syllable "Muktegr, Tschuktschager, Njässekagr, Tschemakogr."

2. When this final syllable occurs in the name of a non-Tungusic people, such as "Yukagir," then I suspect that the name is of Tungusic origin.

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It is noteworthy that these are all dwellers along the left, northern and western tributaries of the Amur River. I do not know the meaning of this final syllable gir. The Tungus vocabularies at my disposal (3) give no information concerning it.

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, linguistic atlas, Paris, 1823, pp. XLII ff. Castrén's

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3. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tungusic Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/. ed. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1856.

However that may be, gir becomes kil in the Chinese pronunciation, and I have heard the Chinese pronounce the name "Samagir" as "Sama-kil." Likewise the names of the other abovementioned Tungusic tribes end in kil in Chinese. Consequently it seems to me not unlikely that they made this common ending into a collective name for all these peoples of the northern and lower Amur region, including as well the, in their eyes, not essentially different Gilyak. From Kil and Kileng, however, arose, as was shown above, the Russian designation Kiljaki and Giljaki. And thus there results, if my surmise is correct, the strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tungusic tribes, which arose from the distortion of a Tungusic word by the Chinese, is at present limited to the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tungusic in origin.

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After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the habitation sites of the Amur peoples, and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russians learned of the existence of the Gilyak, they became acquainted with them themselves. During the years 1644 and 1645, on their first expedition into the Amur region, under Wassilij Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Ussuri -- which Pojarkof, by the way, thought was the upper Amur -- did the Djutscheren (Dyuchery) people come an end, who will be discussed later, the Natken (Natki) followed, and after them the Gilyak, who, as the report states, occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. Pojarkof went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them, until he reached the mouth of the Amur, where

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2. (cont.)
Djatschkovskij, who learned of it while traveling through his diocese in the winter of 1829/30 (Zap. Gidr. Dep., Part VI, p. 36).

that it was because the Gilyak had just seen themselves pushed off the Shantars by the Russians that they appeared so hostile toward them when the latter advanced from there into their territory on the mainland. It is no wonder that they took advantage of their greater number and simply killed off the intruders. Now since, as Middendorff has shown, the trips by the Russians to the Shantars took place almost without interruption, the Gilyak lost their former hunting territory altogether. It seems, then, that while in the course of time they lost territory on the islands in the northwest of their area of distribution, they advanced on the mainland somewhat more to the west.

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Much less can be drawn from the oldest Russian reports from the lower Amur about possible border shifts in the south of the Gilyak territory, along the Amur River. In them only the adjacent neighbors are named, and at most the number of days required to cross their respective territories is given. Moreover, all of the statements run differently, in that, according to Pojarkof, the Natken border the Gilyak upstream, according to Chabarof the Atschanen, and according to Stepanof the Djutscheren. The next question is how are these peoples to be identified with those known to us today from the lower Amur region and how are those apparently contradictory reports to be reconciled?

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As Müller (3) and after him Fischer (4) correctly remarked

3. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 320.

4. Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 809.

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Pojarkof with the designation Natki referred to the same people as Chabarof later did with the name Atschany. Fischer's conjectures in explanation of these different names, however, are altogether wrong (5). The difference is explained very simply

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5. Fischer thought that perhaps these people, called Atschani in their own language, were named Natki by the Djutscheren, or that the one might be the name of the entire people, the other that of a particular family, or finally, that the Natken and Gilyak were one and the same people. The last seemed to him the most probable because in the later accounts, in Stepanof's report, the Natken were no longer mentioned at all, and the Djutscheren were named as neighbors of the Gilyak. In this case, however, the Atschanen would likewise have to be eliminated, being identified with the Gilyak. Both are entirely inadmissible. Later on we shall find another explanation for Stepanof's statement.

/113/ if by "Natken" and "Atschanen," not one people, but rather, according to our distinction, two peoples, the Goldi and the Olcha -- as often happened later on -- are understood, with Pojarkof borrowing the name of the former for the allegedly one people, and Chabarof the latter.

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I believe that one can conclude that the name Natken actually refers to the Goldi for the following reasons. Mention of a people of this name is made in the oldest account that the Russians received from the Amur (1). Namely, when Tomsk

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295.

Gi 175 101 /114 cont./
a language other than the Tungusic one (1). Now, even though

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1536. Though this statement seems to leave no doubt but that "Ngatku" was a Tungusic designation for that Amur people, Middendorff says elsewhere (travel rep. in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618) that he had received information on this people from the Gilyak. But in this case, too, these must have been border Gilyak adjacent to Tugur Bay, who obviously gave the traveler the name customary among their neighbors, the Tungus, for those people, for as much and as frequently as I myself inquired among the Gilyak on the Amur, the Liman, and on Sakhalin about the peoples known to them, I never heard the name Ngatku. In any case they have other designations for the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed later.

Gi 175 101
the above description by the Tungus of the Natka, their place of habitation, and their way of life agrees with Pojarkof's statements concerning the Natken and Chabarof's concerning the Atschanen, who likewise lived only from fishing and without agriculture and livestock-raising, and even though in this direction it fits the Goldi as well as the Olcha, it is not therefore to be assumed that the Tungus, especially the Negda, were likewise unable to distinguish between these two peoples not too far away from them. Experience has shown that, on the contrary, primitive peoples are inclined to regard even minor branches of one and the same people, individual families,

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101 syllable in order to recognize in this designation the name Olcha
114 only slightly changed. And this is the name that this people gives
175 itself. I shall come back to this later. Chabarof also named the fort which he erected for winter quarters Atschanskoi gorod after this people. It cannot be learned from his report where it was located. I believe that one may assume, however, that it was already in Olcha territory since it was the last place he reached along the Amur and since he must have learned the name given for the Olcha people, appearing before us here for the first time, from them themselves. Or else it may have been that Olcha staying in Goldi territory were accidentally involved in the learning of the name, which, however, is less probable. Chabarof must therefore have proceeded quite far below the Ussuri on the Amur. In view of the relatively short duration of his voyage from the mouth of the Sungari (3), how-

3. The duration of this voyage cannot be determined very precisely; from what can be learned from Chabarof's account, however, he seems to have been at the mouth of the Sungari on about September 15 and to have gone downstream from there for 14 days, for he reached the place where he set up his winter quarters on September 29.

ever, that would have been possible only if he followed the main stream and not the right bank with its many bays. And this appears to have been the case in fact, for otherwise he would surely not have overlooked the mouth of the Ussuri.

G. Although we learn about the present neighbors of the /116/
G1 Gilyak on the Amur through Pojarkof and Chabarof, nothing
101 can be learned from their reports about where the boundaries
114 between these peoples were at that time because the statements
175 of the distances in terms of days of travel, without any designation or mention of recognizable localities, are too vague and

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do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Kossogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Ssutschu located in the Amur near Kidsi. He found there the remains of a low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the

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G. G1 [113]

1. D. Romanov", "Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 126, note 4). Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Kossogorskoi, but Kossogirskoi Ostrog (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Djutscheren bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as is still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessors, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

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vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natken, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

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The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasskij and in Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

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The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different parties, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visted the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

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1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinso ("Tô-tats ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

2: Schrenck--243 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3

F.J. G /117 cont./
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1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the *l* sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

F.J. 175 G 175 361 coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact G F.J. 175 177 G [13] Gi [439] F.J. G [101] with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

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2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

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/117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

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4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

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so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

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G /117 cont. /
101 buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox
439 skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

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5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

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The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

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1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

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2: Schrenck--247 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RY3

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/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

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4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

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/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

FJ 10 175 [114] Gi [101]

/119 cont./

Gilyak and the Olcha. He did not go beyond the latter to the south. He also met isolated Goldi there and learned a special name for them, to which we shall return later. His S'janta, therefore, are exclusively Olcha. And, going downstream by boat, he indicates with great precision where the S'janta end and their northern neighbors, the Smerenkur, begin. In most of the villages which he mentions in his travel account or the map (1), one can still recognize the villages of today. In

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1. Apart from the map reproduced by Siebold (Nippon, VII, Pl. XXV), labeled with Mamia Rinsô's name, the Tok'nai map of the part representing the Amur region and the west coast of Sakhalin opposite it, which is given at the same place, likewise comes from Rinsô, as Siebold (Nippon, I, p. 170, note 162) remarks. All the details concerning the Amur region are to be found on this latter map.

Aorei (Aure) he still found himself among the S'janta; at Horomo or Horo, whose distance from the first he estimates at four ri (about 15 versts, the territory of the Smerenkur begins, and from there on, he says, men, dwellings, tools, and the way of life are the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). Horo is undoubtedly

G [103] [361]

2. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177).

Chjare, the first Gilyak village going downstream. As further proof of this there is also the fact that directly above Horo on Rinsô's map is shown the village of Furu, which one easily recognizes as today's next to last Olcha village of Pulu. Thus, in Rinsô's time (1810) the boundary between the Gilyak and the Olcha was exactly where I found it 45 years later (3).

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3. See above, pp. 20, 27, 51, and elsewhere.

2: Schrenck--272 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

/128 cont./

000 3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104] 4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113] 5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113] 6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113 7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

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/128 cont./

7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kuru-misi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

000 explanation of that name for the people and the land.

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/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakä, Eluntschun, and Kuä," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

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1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuä as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

/129 cont./

A 175 114 101

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A 101 175 [648]

Similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuā" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

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2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

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3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

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5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others, among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

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6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 'G' after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G A [101] [103] [114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuä, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

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2: Schrenck--292 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orochi

Gi 101 175 [113]

/136 cont./

6. (cont.)
(Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr. Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399; the same, "Ussuriiskie Man'tszy /The Ussurie Man-dse/" (Izviestiia Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 93, 123).

repeatedly designated for me by the Goldi on the Ussuri with the immediately recognizable name "Kăkar," but once also only quite generally and vaguely as "Lámuka" (sea dwellers). It is noteworthy that the former name is also customary among the *Gilyak for the Orochi. During his stay among the Sakhalin* Gilyak, Mamia Rinsô learned of a "Kiakkara" people, who were said to live on the mainland opposite (7), and later in

Gi Gi 101 175

7. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

Taba Bay, when he himself visited the mainland, he saw their vessels, which came from afar, he thought from the vicinity of Kôraĭ (Korea) (8). Among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk,

Gi Gi [114]

8. Op. cit., p. 171. Prompted by a fortuitous similarity of sound, Siebold attempts a far-fetched interpretation of this name by saying that "Kiak kara" reminds one of the Mountain Kirgiz, called Kara, that is, the Blacks (op. cit., p. 199).

Middendorff heard of a "Kjăchkal" people who were said to live along the Amur and beyond it (9). A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the

Gi Gi [113]

9. Travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618.

Gi 101 G [115] /136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Olcha languages, ~~named for me~~, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kăkal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times G [361] above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at Gi [162] present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kăkr-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

G [192] 10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names Kăkal or Kăk(a)r, I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with G. Gi 101 177 minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Ussuri, the Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a large stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two G [439] [484] peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the interests of trade often come down along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Ssiranussi, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown G. Gi [133] to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact between the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them -- and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

Gi /140 cont./
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175 The Olcha are lumped together with all their neighbors in the vaguest manner by the old Jesuit missionaries, who used the collective name of "Ketsching, Ketscheng," or "Ketscheng-tatse" to designate all the peoples along the lower Amur River from Dondon down to its mouth, and even the inhabitants of
G [101] [36] the coast which faces Sakhalin (2). The Manchurian name in the

Gi [113]

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12, 13, and elsewhere. In the French spelling: "Ketching," etc.

1722 writing of the Chinese U-tschen (3) has a somewhat more

Gi [113]

3. Translated by Wassilyev /Vasil'ev/: "Zap. o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, pp. 90-93).

limited and definite meaning and a more correct form: his "Cheidsin" or "Chādshen" people on the lower Amur does not extend as far as its mouth, where instead another people, the Fei-ja-cha (Gilyak) (4), has its habitation sites. It appears with

4. At least for the most part; see p. 210 above.

somewhat more precision, though still collective, in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing insofar as there, besides the Gilyak, the people on the coast, the Orochi, is mentioned under a special name (Kiyakla). Only, according to Ritter's translation (5),

5. Erdk. von Asien, Vol. III, p. 444.

we find it there, combined with the Chinese designation for the Tungusic peoples along the left tributaries of the lower Amur, as "Kiler-chadshi. Finally, in the listing of the peoples

Gi /142 cont./

101 and Gilljaken," concerning which many pertinent and characteris-
114 tic details are given. We already know the former as the Gilyak
175 designation for the Goldi, and there can be no doubt but that "Orlik" refers to the Olcha. According to Iakinf's own statement (6),

6. Op. cit., p. 224, footnote (**).

since he himself had not visited the Amur, as is known, the above-mentioned description of it in his work was drawn up on the basis of accounts by Chinese traders and a Chinese /143/ topographical map. I must say that to me, judging by the peoples' names mentioned, this statement seems at least questionable. Recently, Middendorff has actually offered proof that those reports concerning the Amur did not come from Chinese sources at all, but from Russian ones, since Iakinf had relied on the handwritten report of the fugitive, Gurij Wassiljef, who, according to Ladyshenskij, was repeatedly in the Amur region between the years 1815 and 1826 and had navigated the river down to its mouth (1). Middendorff's

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 156 ff. Cf. also pp. 163, 164 above.

quite detailed information from Wassiljef's account puts the
G matter beyond any doubt. Judging by the names that the latter
● [101] gives to the lower Amur tribes, it can be seen immediately that he spent some time among the Gilyak and received from them various items of information concerning their closest and more distant neighbors, for "Jant," as has been mentioned several times, is the designation which the Gilyak give the Goldi and which up to this time and afterwards never appears in either Russian or Chinese reports on the Amur region (2). From this it can be

2. When Iakinf asserts that along the Amur below the mouth of the Ussuri there lived Tungus who were called "Jant" by the Russians, this is explained by the fact that

/143 cont./

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2. (cont.)
he himself drew on the statements of a Russian and so thought himself justified in making such an assertion. Nothing similar appears in Wassiljef's report, so far as Middendorff gives it.

presumed that the name "Orlik" or "Orlich," as Middendorff following Wassiljef, spells it, is of the same origin. In fact, I believe that it may be regarded as a distortion of the Gilyak designation "Orongr" or "Orongsch" for the Olcha, which is easily understood, coming from the mouth of a Russian fugitive (3). In spite of the

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3. Sgibnef ("Amursk. Eksped." -- Drevn. i nov. Rossiia, Vol. III, 1878, p. 314) applies the name "Orlik" to the Goldi; strangely enough, however, he thinks that they were named this by the Manchu, for they greatly esteem eagles and frequently keep them in cages. "Orjol," dimin. "orlik," is, to be sure, the Russian word for "eagle," but by no means the Manchu or the Goldi word.

various names for the three peoples living along the lower Amur, Wassiljef still gives nothing with which to distinguish them from one another, be it in external habitus, way of life, or language. In fact, he even in part confuses their habitation areas when he has the Jant live only from the Ussuri to the Dondon River, the Orlik from there down to Zikdochi, which is said to lie above the mouth of the Gorin (4), and the Gilyak still farther down to the

4. At present no place with this or a similar name is found there.

mouth of the Amur. According to this demarcation, Wassiljef's Jant would be only the upper Goldi living above the Geong

Gi /148 cont./
101 do they have to do with the Amur peoples at all? In order to
114 explain the "Kordekke" of Mamia Rinsô one need only remember
175 that the Japanese substitute an r for the l sound, which they lack; if one restores the latter and at the same time considers the relationship between the k and g, he arrives at "Koldekke" and "Goldekke" for that ethnic name. And also everything that has been said above about the Kordekke on the basis of Mamia Rinsô's report fits the Goldi.

Gi This correspondence in the designations for the Goldi on
101 the part of the Japanese and the Russians points to a common origin
174 for them. But what could this origin be? The obvious assumption would be that they call themselves this. In fact, in answer to the question as to who they were or what they were called, they repeatedly designated themselves to me as "Goldé." Nevertheless, I do not mean to say that they also do this among themselves. This
G [101] may be only a designation that they use when dealing with the Russians, just as the Gilyak call themselves Gilyak when dealing with them, whereas among themselves, Nib(a)ch. Perhaps the origin of this name should be sought somewhere else entirely.
G In any case, Mamia Rinsô did not hear it from the Goldi, but
Gi from the Gilyak during his stay on Sakhalin. It remained foreign
101 to the Russians in the beginning, in the seventeenth century, when
175 they went downstream and visited the Goldi area; it was not until
174 they again occupied the Amur region in the fifties of our century and advanced from the mouth of the Amur by first establishing themselves among the Gilyak that the name Goldi appeared among them for the former Natken and Atschanen. This situation sug-
G gests the conjecture that the name Goldi /149/ in the Russian
Gi version and Kordekke in the Japanese version may be of Gilyak
101 origin. Now, to be sure, as has already often been mentioned (1).
174

1. See above, pp. 245, 303, 304.

the Gilyak designation for the Goldi is "Jant", but if one asks the Gilyak about the peoples living upstream from them along the Amur, they enumerate them in the following order: "Orongsch,

Gi 101 174 G [101] [174]

/149 cont./

Jant, Tscholdok or Tscholdoch (2), Manchu." Now since the

G [113]

2. Among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk, Middendorff also heard of a "Tschjoldô" people living on the Amur (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same in the Beitr. Zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618).

habitation sites of the Goldi are immediately adjacent to those of the Manchu, both the Jant and the Tscholdok fall to them, in that the former are evidently the lower Goldi, the latter the upper Goldi, perhaps reckoning from the Geong Range or from Dondon. From "Tscholdok," however, it seems to me, "Kordekke" in the Japanese version and "Goldi" in the Russian could easily have arisen. Just like the names "Janty" or "Anty" among some Russian writers (3) for the Goldi and "S'janta" or "Santan" among

3. Iakinf, according to Wassiljef; see above, p. 302 ff.

the Ainu and Japanese, so, too, may these designations for the same people, "Goldi" and "Kordekke," owe their origin to Gilyak mediation.

Gi 101 175 [184] Gi [13]

There is a causal connection between the frequently mentioned difference between the lower and the upper Goldi, which has even brought them different names from several sides, and the changes which have taken place in the historical period in the boundaries of their area of distribution. Whereas at present time the Goldi occupy a continuous territory which extends approximately from the Gorin mouth, up the Amur and the Ussuri almost to the sources of the latter, and into the Sungari region, this was not the case at the time when we first become acquainted with the Goldi. When Pojarkof /Poyarkov/ (1644), Chabarof /Khabarov/ (1651), and Stepanof (1655) undertook their bold

M. G 101 175

T 175 648 439 443 G [101] G [439]

/174 cont./

Gilyak. For example, I often asked the latter about the peoples living upstream on the Amur, and they always named for me the "Jam-Manchu" beyond the Manchu. For a long time I did not know what people they meant by that. I now no longer doubt but that it is the Daur. Despite the prohibition of the Chinese government, Daur merchants from the sources of the Bureja or the Ssilimdshi come across the Jam-alin Mountains to Burukan on the Tugur (2), where at times Tungus from the Tugur and from the

T [113]

2. Cf. also the statements of an eyewitness, the priest Djatschkovskij, in Kosmin, in Zap. Gidrogr. Depart. Morsk. Minist., Part IV, p. 36.

Sea of Okhotsk, Negda from the Amgunj, and Gilyak from the Amur appear for trade. In exchange for the always desired sable pelts, they obtain there from the Daur probably much the same commodities as from the Chinese on the Amur and naturally must have learned from them on occasion the role they play in the region beyond the Jam-alin, along the Bureja, Ssilimdshi, and the Dseja, down to the Amur: that they carry on all trade there, collect the tribute from the Birar and Manegir for the Chinese government, etc. (3). If one now considers that the Gilyak, as

G 101 T 439 443

3. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166, note 1) says that the Daur, impressing even the Yakut Trofim, described how they occupied a large city on the Amur where the river was blocked by means of a strong chain across it.

has been noted above (4), not infrequently designate both the

4. See p. 144.

Manchu and Chinese simply as "Manchu," though they distinguish them by nationality, it is quite understandable that they also

G 101 /174 cont./
T [439] [443] give the name "Jam-Manchu" to the Daur coming over from the Jam Mountains, who play the same role beyond the latter as the "Manchu" do along the Amur. /175/ I do not know whether in addition, taking account of the difference in nationality, they have still another name for the Daur. It is said that among the Russian Tungus they are called "Djulú," among the Birar "Dahu-halj" (1) -- a designation in which one can easily recognize the

T 101 439 443

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc. Vol. IV, p. 1536. The Birar "halj" probably means the same as the Goldi and Manchurian "hala," tribe /Stamm/, kin group /Gesuhlecht/.

name Dahur or Daur.

T 175 169 178 231 [648] As long as the Gogul and Daur were settled along the Amur, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon were restricted to the Stanovoi mountain range and its southern slopes and spurs. In none of the reports from the time of the Russian invasion is there any mention of them from the Amur. Only through the departure of the former peoples from the Amur and thanks to the Chinese policy of permitting no sedentary population along the upper course of it did they gain open space to expand as far southward as the Amur and in part beyond it, as we learned above. As they advanced southward, other, Russian Tungusic tribes from the north advanced farther and farther into the southern spurs of the Stanovoi Range. The Birar and the Maneghir, in descending from their alpine homeland and reaching the low spurs and grassy prairies along the Bureja, the Ssilimdshi, and the Dseja, found it necessary to exchange their alpine domestic animal, the reindeer, for another riding and draft animal, the horse, whereas the Orochon in the mountainous upper course of the Amur retained their traditional reindeer. The same thing happened in Dauria, along the source rivers of the Amur, where, as Ritter expressed it (2), "Tungusic barbarians" moved into the area vacated by

T [184]

2. Erdkunde von Asien, Vol. II, p. 323.

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H.M /189 cont./ However
101 that may be, the name Nikan /190/ for the Chinese has, with
175 minor variations, penetrated to all the other Amur peoples
648 from the Manchu. I heard it in the lower Amur region among
G. the goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak. To be sure, they ordinarily
Gi also call the Chinese merchants simply Manchu, but with more
[101] precise questioning they know very well how to indicate that the former actually belong to another people subjugated by the latter, which the Goldi and the Olcha named for me as the "Nekan," the Gilyak sometimes "Neka" and "Nekagu" (1), at

1. Corresponding in form to the Gilyak names for the Negda, "Rdhy" and "Rdhyngu" (see p. 67 ff. above). Could it be that the suffix "gu" designates the collective idea, or means "people," like the Ainu "kur" or "gur"?

other times "Nenga" (2). Since the Manchu officials are

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2. As a curiosity and example of how fundamentally wrong and thoughtless the statements of hasty travelers may be at times when it is a matter of the name that a people gives itself, the remark by Gamof will serve ("Iz" putev. zamiet. astronoma, opredieliavsh. v" 1859g. miestn. rr. Amura i Usuri /From the Travel Notes of an Astronomer Who Determined the Location of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers/." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1862, Book I, Section on Research and Materials, p. 122), maintaining in all seriousness that the Goldi and Gilyak designated themselves with the name "Nikanzen." Peschtschurof /Peshchurov/ (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 304) speaks of "Nekanen" in what we called the civilized section of the Amur River without, it seems, realizing that there were Chinese.

H.M.
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K F.J. 101 439 K 192 [113]

/192 cont./

3. (cont.)
of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. puteshestvii po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

says the same, but more vaguely and evidently repeating Steller; according to him, however, Italmen needles are supposedly called "schischj," and, accordingly, the Japanese, "Schischaman." The following will show that this explanation is wrong and based on a misunderstanding. Names for the Japanese quite similar to those used by the Kamchadal are used by the Amur peoples, at least those on the island of Sakhalin and along the lower course of the Amur. The Gilyak on the mainland and on the island call them "Ssisam" (4), and the Olcha and Goldi, "Ssissa" (5).[7]

K S.J. F.J. 101 114 174 G Gi [101]

4. Therefore, when in a handwritten document from 1744 found by Middendorff in the archives of Udskoi Ostrog there is mention of the "Ssysaizy," who are said to have destroyed a vessel in the mouth of the Amur (cf. his Reise in den äuss. Nord. etc., Vol. IV, p. 165), it is undoubtedly the Japanese who are being referred to by their Gilyak name transformed by the Russians. Middendorf himself, by the way, had heard the name "Ssissan" among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk, but he thought that it referred to the southern Kurile Islands (cf. Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

G 175 113 101 F.J 101 648 175

[7] [Footnote "(5)" appears on p. 409--Analyst]

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak RX2

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p. 418	p. 419	p. 420
p. 421	p. 422	p. 423

Chart of Positions of Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region.
/facing p. 418/

2: Schrenck--418 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region I

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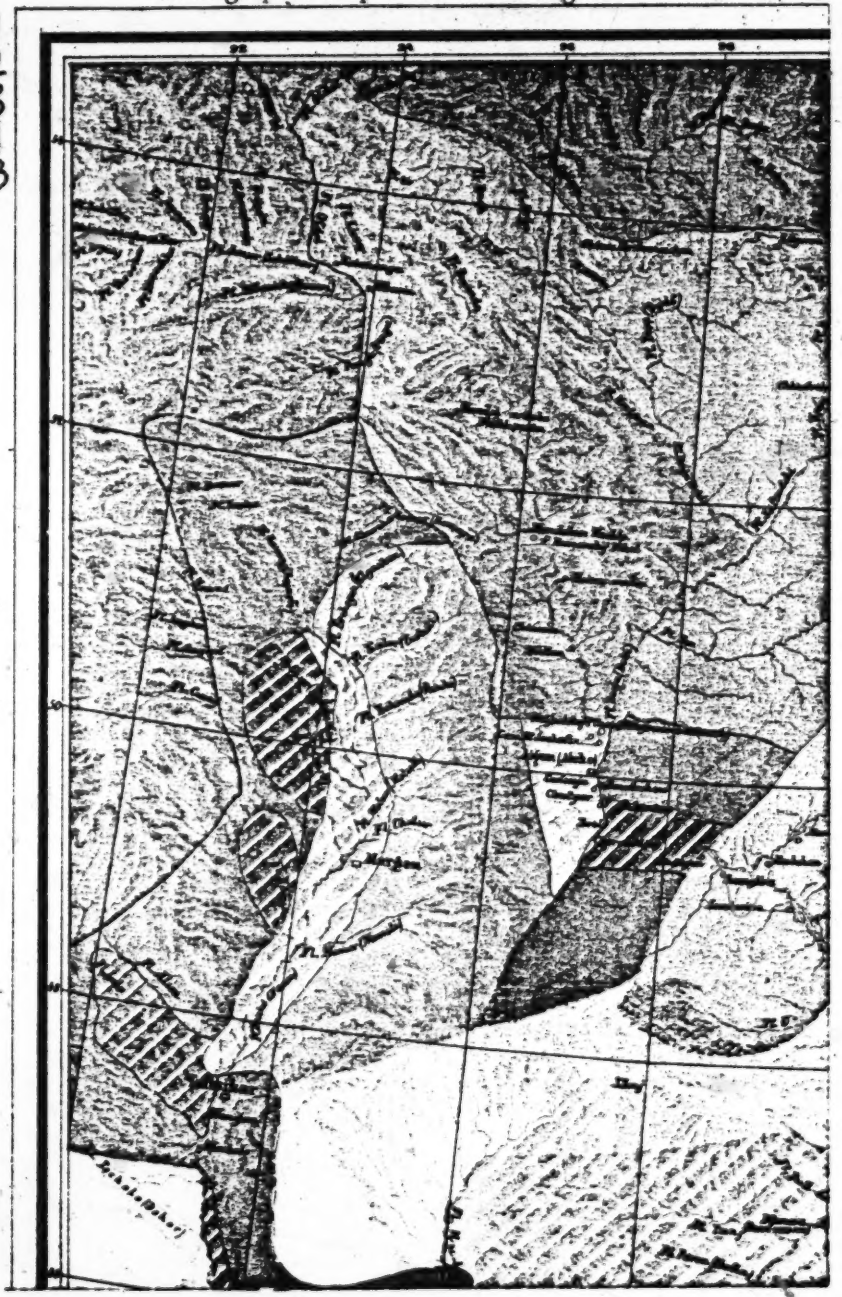

2: Schrenck--419 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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2:Schrenck--420 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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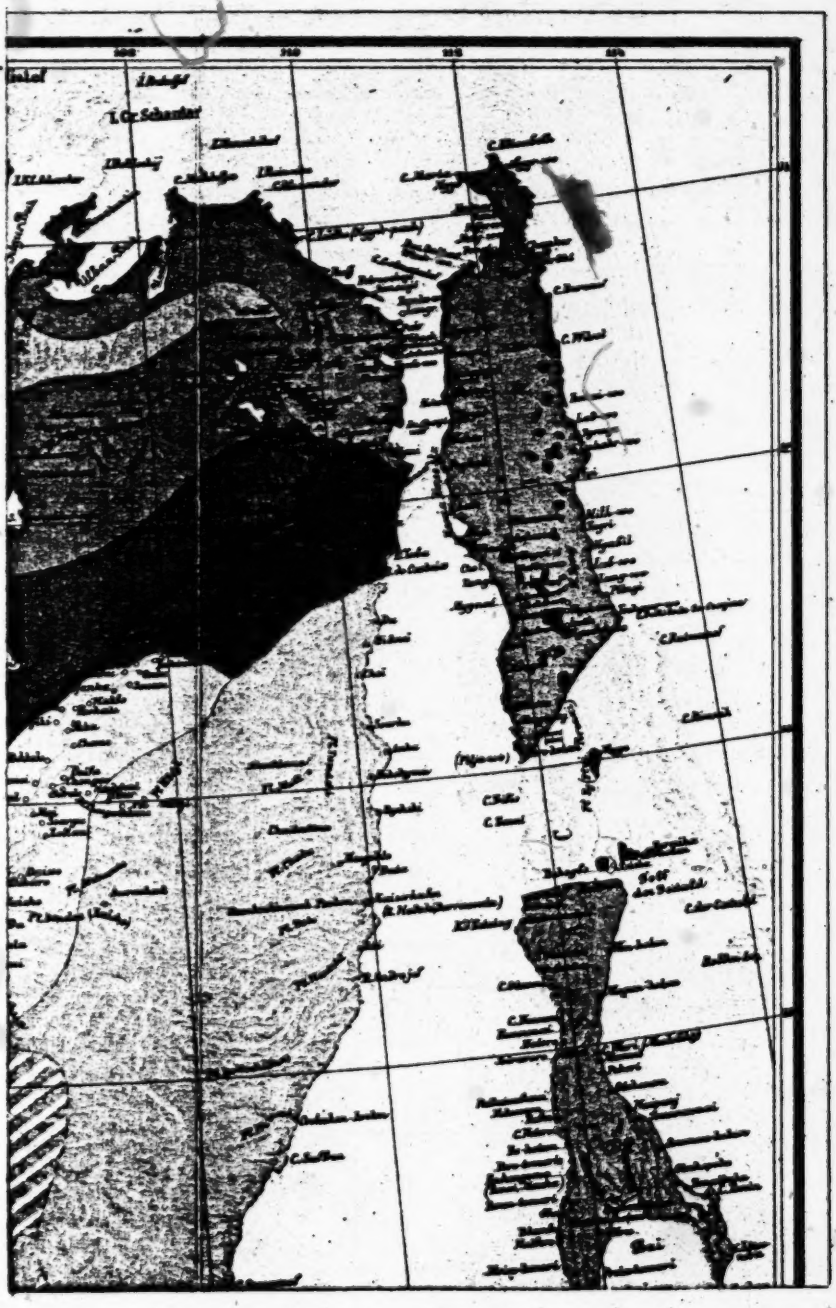

2:Schrenck--421 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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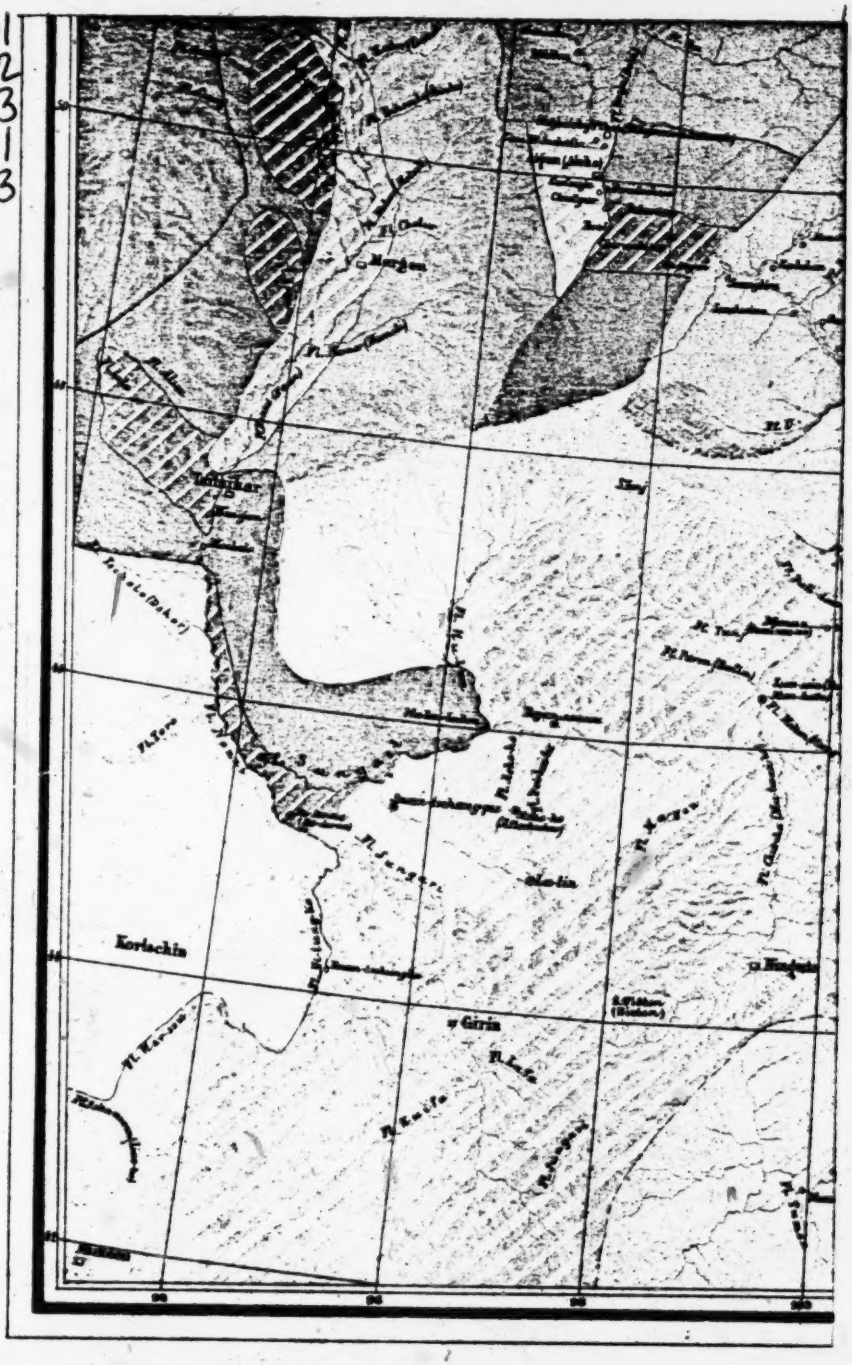

2:Schrenck--422 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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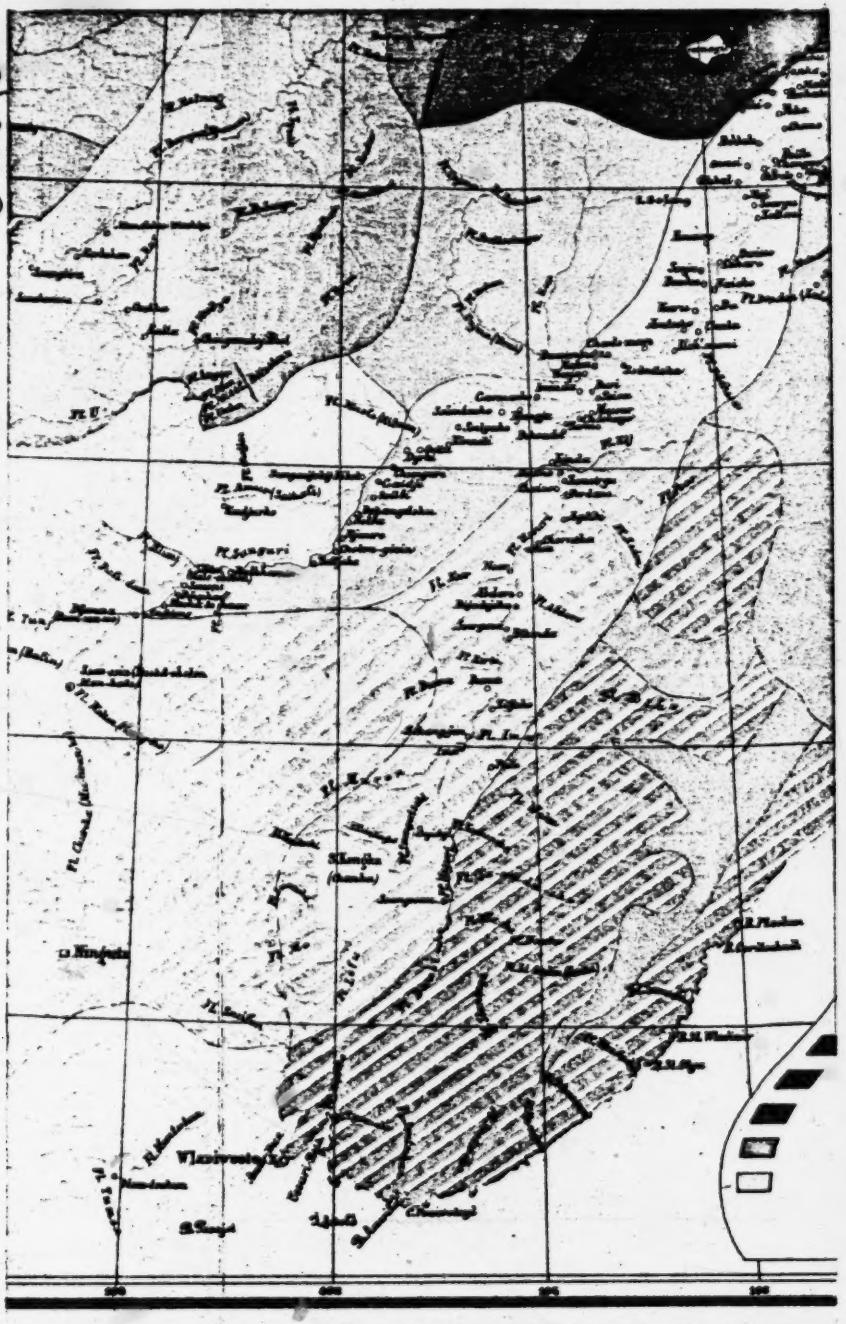

Scale: 100 versts to the inch

versts

2:Schrenck--423 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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SS /319 cont./

161 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging
114 the number of the population, because the villages are extremely
36 variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

G 161 114

3. Although all the later statements concerning the number of persons of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of the Russian occupation and colonization of it, must have undergone great changes, lie outside the scope of this work, I should like to mention one of these statements here in passing, because it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my considerations. I am referring to the estimate of their number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr. N. Seeland in his article, "Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed. by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs) for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin questioned traveling fur traders, he came to the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this total number, given according to the individual districts, explain its exceedingly large size, but at the same time make it absolutely untenable. For the number of the Gilyak of the Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000, the Gilyak in the Sofisk District (from Mariinsk to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. According to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

G [113]

G [162]

G [101]

G 161 114 10

/319 cont./

3. (cont.)

not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaiserhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

SS 161 114 36 SS [121]

count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an approximate estimate of their strength might be found is the number of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with certainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

G 36 [226] [225]

A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satisfaction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle along the largest bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the seacoast, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/404 cont./

made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

G 291 171 All the other peoples of the lower Amur region in general have the same clothing as the Gilyak. Nevertheless, to the extent that the natural conditions of the regions, the means of subsistence, and the principal occupations of the people differ, more or less conspicuous differences and peculiarities show up among them, in that other clothing materials gradually gain the upper hand, many an article of clothing no longer corresponding to the changed requirements will be modified or disappear, and, on the other hand, many a new one appear, etc.

G. Gi 291 171 [101] [433] [231] The greatest, and in fact virtually complete, correspondence with the Gilyak in their clothing is shown by their nearest neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha, who live under the same physical conditions and in the same manner as they do, chiefly by fishing and, in de Castries Bay, also by seal hunting, and, like the Gilyak, keep many dogs, as their sole domestic animal, for winter trade and intercourse with the neighboring peoples. During the long period of living beside and in part among the Gilyak, Gi [177] the Olcha adopted, among other things, the clothing of the latter completely, and every one of the garments described above, not excepting even the lynx cap so peculiarly Gilyak, as well as the implements customarily used for making them, is found identically among the Olcha and has an Olcha-Tungusic designation. Nevertheless, among the Olcha, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution, closer to the Samagir and Goldi borders, one sometimes comes across an article of clothing that came from the last-named peoples and is foreign to the Gilyak, such as a deer-leather or elk-leather robe, a boa made of musk-deer skins instead of squirrel tails, etc.

G 291 171 Gi 291 177 The situation is the same with regard to the clothing of the Negda on the Amgunj /Amgun/. When Middendorff, coming from the Tugur Tungus, visited them, everything gave him the impression, despite their language, differing only dialectally from the Siberian Tungus, "that he had come upon a new people": the shape and cut of the individual articles of clothing, the

175 /566 cont./ During his
114 captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
411 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
326 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
[10] "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence

[113]

2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the
[531] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's
[321]

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

G
Gi /658 cont./
648 Gilyak family customs and organization are constantly being
177 brought to the Olcha and in the course of time have taken root and spread in much the same form among them. Of course, they were bound to undergo certain modifications in their general
G character, in that they were transplanted in the soil of a very
Gi different people with respect to their natural disposition. The
157 Olcha, a branch of the large Tungus tribe spread over all of
[101] Siberia and the Amur region, are by nature much more kind-hearted, gentler, more pliable, more carefree, and more easy going than the Gilyak. They do not have the perseverance and energy of the latter, but, on the other hand, they are far from having their avariciousness, treacherousness, and vindictiveness.
G These original character traits of the Olcha, however, are like-
Gi
[177] wise undergoing change as a result of the assimilation of this people by the Gilyak -- and this has in part already taken place -- but they appear time and time again, and, among other things, also in their family relations.

G Among the Olcha, for instance, in addition to the gen-
Gi erally customary purchase of wives, there is also the abduction
648 of women, though by far not as frequent and usually, as among
Gi the Gilyak, primarily for the reason that, with more moderate
583 demands, they more readily come to terms in dealing with one
157 another and with their neighbors of the Tungus tribe, and that for abduction quick and decisive action is required, which is not in their nature, and, finally, probably also out of a natural love of peace and fear of the evil and bloody consequences that usually follow the abduction of a woman. Strangely enough, however, they most often carry it out exactly in the direction from where they can most expect lasting revenge, namely, among the Gilyak, either because they have the most active intercourse with these neighbors of theirs or because the Gilyak women have a special attraction for them, and, on the other hand, the high demands of the Gilyak for their daughters, especially if they are to go out of the country, often make a peaceful settlement impossible. In such cases, which the Gilyak often told me about, bloody conflicts are unavoidable, although they

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

THE NIVKHI

S. V. IVANOV, M. G. LEVIN and A. V. SMOLYAK

(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

General Information

The Nivkhi live on the lower reaches of the Amur and adjacent areas, as well as on Sakhalin. They are sharply different in language from their neighbors, who speak languages of the Tunguso-Manchurian group, and belong to the so-called paleo-Asiatic peoples. 101

The name of the people derives from their name for themselves, Nivkh, or "man." They were known in Russian pre-Revolutionary literature as "Gilyaks." This word evidently derives from "Gileke" and "Gilyami," as the Nivkhi are called among Tunguso-Manchurian peoples.

The census of 1926-27 set the number of Nivkhi at 4076 persons (1700 on Soviet Sakhalin and 2376 on the continent). In addition, according to data in 1928, 111 Nivkhi lived in the formerly Japanese part of Sakhalin. [162]

Thus, the Nivkhi consist of two groups territorially: the continental, or the Amur, group, and the Sakhalin group. The continental Nivkhi live along the Lower Amur, along the coast of the Amur Estuary, and in the adjoining areas along the Tatar Strait and the Sea of Okhotsk. On the Amur, the Nivkhi villages are interspersed among Russian and Negidal villages. The Nivkhi village farthest up the Amur is Pad; others are situated lower on the Amur and its estuary; in the south they reach as far as Cape Lazarev; the northernmost village in the estuary is Kul' (181 km from Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur). Individual families live among the Ul'chi. In the past, some Nivkhi groups were found as far as the Uda River. In 1884, the well-known Russian traveler Middendorf encountered them on the Chumikan. In Sakhalin, the Nivkhi are living today both on the western and eastern coasts, as well as along the middle reaches of the Tym' River. On the western coast, their main mass is concentrated in the Rybnovskiy Rayon. In the Aleksandrovskiy and Shirokopadskiy Rayons there are only small groups of Nivkhi, who remained there after the resettlement of a large group in the Kirovskiy Rayon. The population of the latter is today almost entirely concentrated on one large collective farm, Chir-Unvd. On the eastern coast, the southernmost point is the village of Nyyvo; farther north, there are large villages, Dagi, Chayvo and Pil'tun, where the former residents of the tiny hamlets scattered along the coast have 101 361 [619]

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

10 resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of [361] Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

[194] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating [193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: 802 in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. 174 There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to [361] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil- [342] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and [343] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal [291] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted [231] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus. [262] [439]

9: Hawes--164 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 101, 178, 182

"The Gilyaks of Sakhalin, being descendants of pioneers who long ago left the 'Old country,' are more free-thinking than those of the elder clans on the Amur. Probably a closer intercourse and possibly intermarriages with the Ainus have also helped to modify their views. At any rate, one finds considerable divergence in practice from the old traditions, and many differences of custom and thought, not only between them and their Amur brethren, but between the Tim and Tro (1) Gilyaks and their brethren on the

1. The Tim Gilyaks are those living on the river Tim, while the Tro Gilyaks are settled at the mouth in the Bays of Ni, Nabil, and Chai.

west coast of the island."

115 [97] Since little has been published about the Gilyak up to the
121 present time, I took advantage of my visit of several years duration in the Amur country to study this small tribe somewhat more in detail. All races are of interest, not only in themselves, but because they furnish material for advanced scholarship. If the professional ethnologist should find something in this sketch which can be used for the purpose of such comparative study, it would give me great pleasure.

The material I present here is based largely on my own experiences and investigations, but in part it is based on notes which I gathered from those Russians who had frequently come in contact with the Gilyak. I was always careful to question several people about each subject, for the sake of greater accuracy. The statements, moreover, usually coincided. (1)

1. For my reports about the Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin, with whom I had little personal contact, I am largely indebted to a physician who lived there: Dr. A. Lebedev.

101 I. Geographical Distribution and Population.
131 The tribe of Gilyaks (2) which belongs to the Mongolian
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2. The word is usually written "Giliak" but because the "g" is hard in pronunciation, I added the "h". [RCH: The author througout spells the word Ghiliakin.]

race lives partly on the island of Sakhalin, partly on the continent, in the coastal region of East Siberia, that is, on the lower Amur and on the sea coast around the mouth of this river, as well as on the De Kastri bay and the Kaiser bay. On the latter, the Gilyak are found only sparsely and more temporarily. On the island of Sakhalin they occupy the northern half, especially the Tym river valley, and the east and west coasts. In the summer they occupy one or another place, according to where fishing [98] is best; but in winter they always go back to their villages.

On the lower Amur the true Gilyak are to be found only as far as the village of Bogorodskoye, 150 versts up-stream from the city of Nikolayevsk. From Bogorodskoye up to the Amur tributary of Gorin, that is, from about 51 degrees north latitude, there lives a people that may be considered a cross between the Gilyak and the Goldi They call

101 themselves "Mangun" (1), sometimes also "Chedé". The
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1. "Uni" means "river" in the language of the Goldi. The name "Amur" seems to have derived from the Goldian designation for water: mu.

former means "river people"; the latter, "the lower ones". The Russians regard them simply as Gilyak and know no other name. Beyond the Gorin, the Goldi begin to appear, but they are also found scattered among the Mangun-Gilyak. The latter differ from the Goldi in certain external characteristics and customs, and from the true Gilyak in their burial ceremonies and in their language which is nothing more than the somewhat modified language of the Goldi. Among these Mangun are to be found, here and there, some nomadic Orochon and Tungus or Sofiysk-Gilyak, as they are usually called in those parts (from the town of Sofiyskoye on the Amur).

On the river Amgun which flows into the Amur from the left side at the so-called Tyr, about 80 versts above Nikolayevsk live the so-called Negidal who are considered a mixed race of Gilyak and Tungus. They speak Tungus, and in their way of living rather resemble the Gilayk who do not, however, recognize them as kin.

The following is the picture: 1) The full-blooded Gilyak live on the island of Sakhalin (northern half), on the continental coast, and on the Amur as far as Bogorodskoye; but they fall into two sub-groups of which the island Gilyak differ from the continental ones only slightly in language and in the way in which they build their dwellings. 2) The second group are the Mangun who are probably a mixture between Gilyak and Goldi and who have little more than their language in common with the Goldi. 3) The third group of Negidal is no longer very closely related to the Gilyak and will therefore not be considered in this essay.

174 We do not know how long the Gilyak have occupied their present habitations [99], but we surmise that they came to the mainland from Sakhalin.

The Goldi consider themselves the original inhabitants of the Amur country, but among the Gilyak it is frequently assumed that they formerly all lived on the island of Sakhalin. And, as a matter of fact, if the opposite were the case, the Sakhalin-Gilyak would probably have brought along with them the more complete type of dwelling which is common on the

[378] Captain Jakobsen's Travels in the Region of the Gilyak and on Sakhalin Island.
Otto Genest (Gymnasium Teacher)

121 Jakobsen's first sojourn in the land of the Goldi (compare number 10 of the current volume of the periodical, p. 153 [see Goldi Source 18: Genest--Analyst] was followed by a trip into the territory of the Gilyak through which he had to pass in order to reach Nikolayevsk. He touched the same territory for a second time when on his return from Sakhalin Island, he started his journey up the Amur River towards the Ussuri and North Korea at the end of January 1885. Both times he had only a little time at his disposal: in September of 1884 he had to rush to get to Nikolayevsk as soon as possible in order to take advantage of an opportunity to cross over to Sakhalin; January 1885 he was pressing with all his power to conclude his activities since by force of circumstances he had lost so much time on Sakhalin that he was afraid of having to extend his travels too much if he should stop for a detailed study of the Gilyak. It is therefore understandable that his collections made in the territory of the Gilyak are far inferior to those made in the land of the Goldi as regards copiousness and variety. Also the information he was able to gather from his own observation or through his inquiries understandably gives only a hazy picture of the life and activities of this people. Unfortunately he only had little opportunity to become acquainted with the representatives of the Gilyak people living on Sakhalin Island and thus to fill the gaps of his account of this people. Nevertheless the entries in his diary present several things of interest, but expecially valuable is the fact that he was permitted to observe a bear festival in the Gilyak village Vaida above Nikolayevsk, the procedure of which he has described in great detail.

101 The Gilyak have been designated as Hyperboreans or
142 Arctics by Rittich (1), as Northern Asiatics of uncertain

1. Die Ethnographie Russlands, supplementary issue 54 to Petermann's Mittheilungen, p. 19.

position within the system by Peschel (2). They are

2. Peschel-Kirchoff, Völkerkunde (5th

101 edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's
142 observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thick-
101 ness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

361 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settle-
563 ments were particularly numerous along the shallow shore
166 of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these
226 had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along
231 this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live
233 there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

000 frequent intervals with the evergreen pine, rivalled the October hues of our New England landscape. Hills and low mountains rose on both banks of the river and made a beautiful picture. The hills, covered with forest from base to summit, sloped gently to the water's edge or retreated here and there behind bits of green meadow. In the distance was a background of blue mountains glowing in sunshine or dark in shadow, and varying in outline as we moved slowly along. The river was ruffled only by the ripples of the current or the motion of our boat through the water. Just a year earlier I descended the Saint Lawrence from Lake Ontario to Quebec. I saw nothing on the great Canadian river that equaled the scenery of my first day's voyage on the Amoor.

246 Soon after leaving Nicolayevsk we met several loads of hay floating with the current to a market at the town. On the meadows along the river the grass is luxuriant, and hay requires only the labor of cutting and curing. During the day we passed several points where haymaking was in progress. Cutting was performed with an instrument resembling the short scythe used in America for cutting bushes. After it was dried, the hay was brought to the river bank on dray-like carts. An American hay wagon would have accomplished twice as much with equal labor.

The hay is like New England hay from natural meadows, and is delivered at Nicolayevsk for six or eight dollars a ton. Cattle and horses thrive upon it, if I may judge by the condition of the stock I saw. For its transportation two flat-bottomed boats are employed, and held about twelve feet apart by timbers. A floor on these timbers and over the boats serves to keep the hay dry. Men are stationed at both ends of the boats, and when once in the stream there is little to do beside floating with the current. A mile distant one of these barges appears like a haystack which an accident has set adrift.

361 We saw many Gilyak boats descending the river with the
● 101 current or struggling to ascend it. The Gilyaks form the
161 native population in this region and occupy thirty-nine vil-

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
Goldi RX3
Gilyak RX2

Go

177 The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts
166 which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almost without any accent'.[38] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Gi

131 Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi.
161 They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin,
101 and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots,
[167] and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established
[228] a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited exclusively by Nivkhi.

186 The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that,
798 together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. Accordingly, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[39]

634 In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the
161 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhalin National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

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p. 418	p. 419	p. 420
p. 421	p. 422	p. 423

Chart of Positions of Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region.
/facing p. 418/

2: Schrenck--418 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region I

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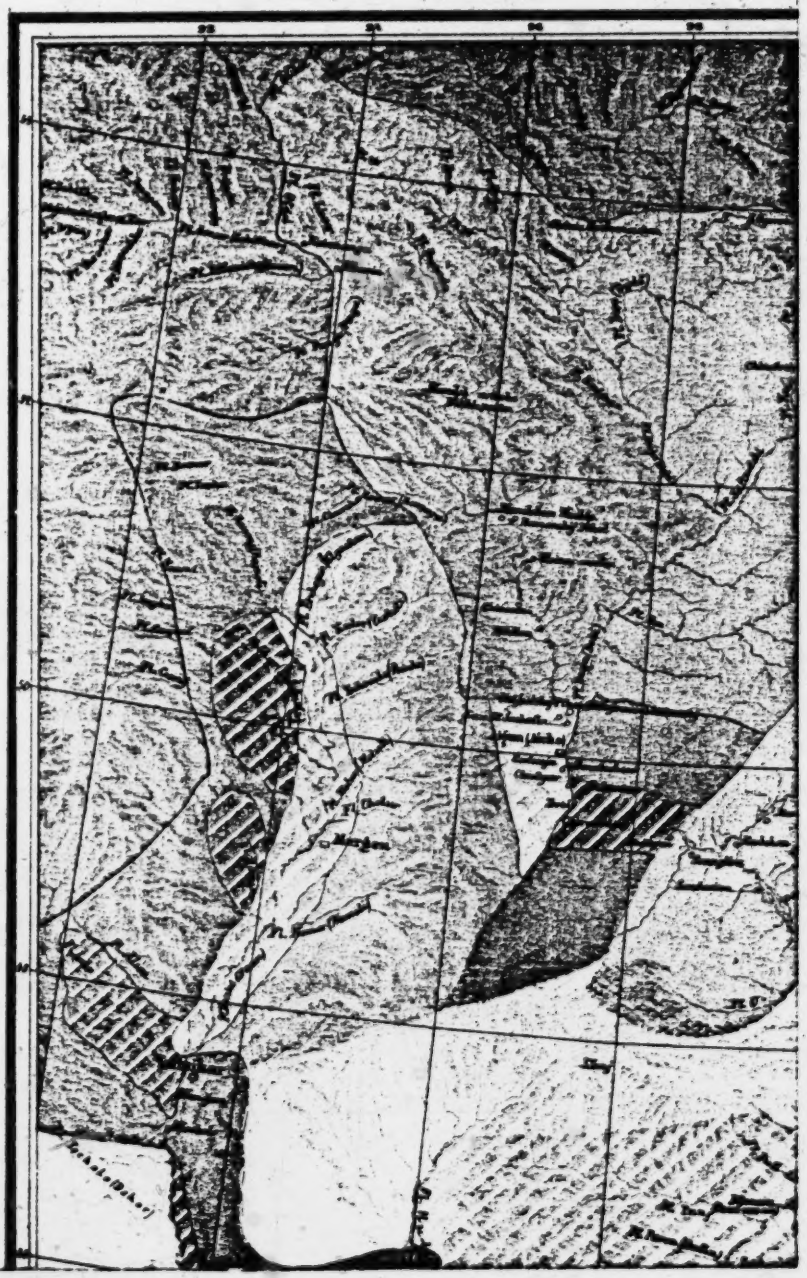

2: Schrenck--419 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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2:Schrenck--420 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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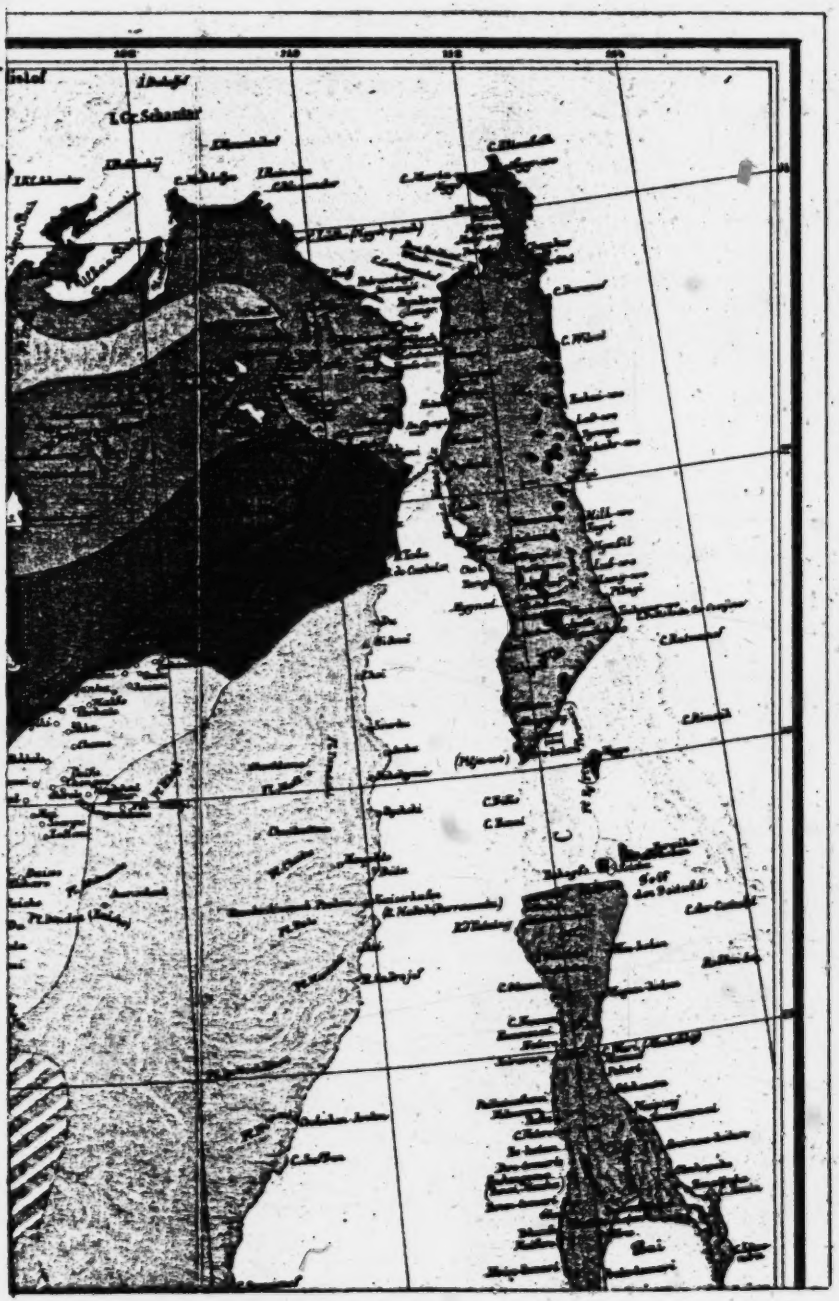

2:Schrenck--421 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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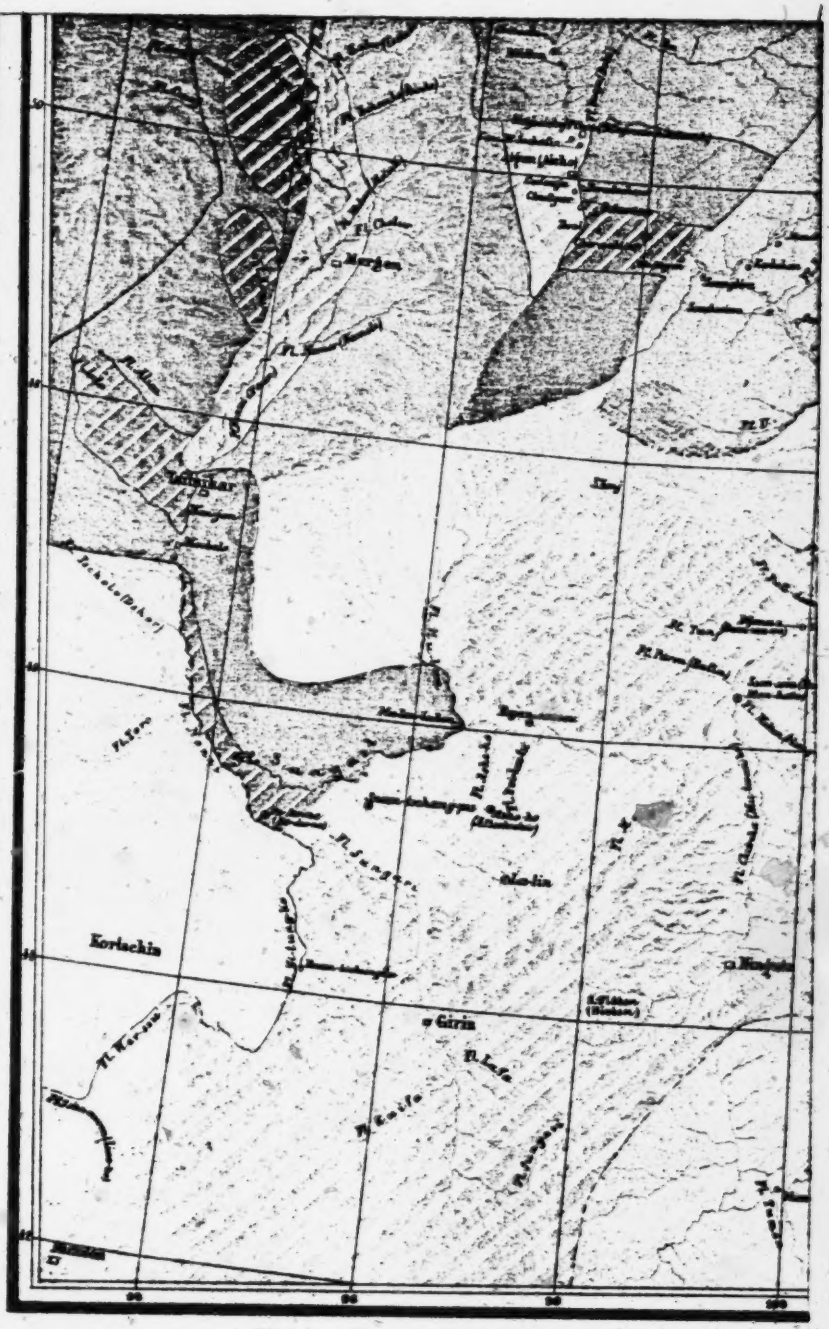

2:Schrenck--422 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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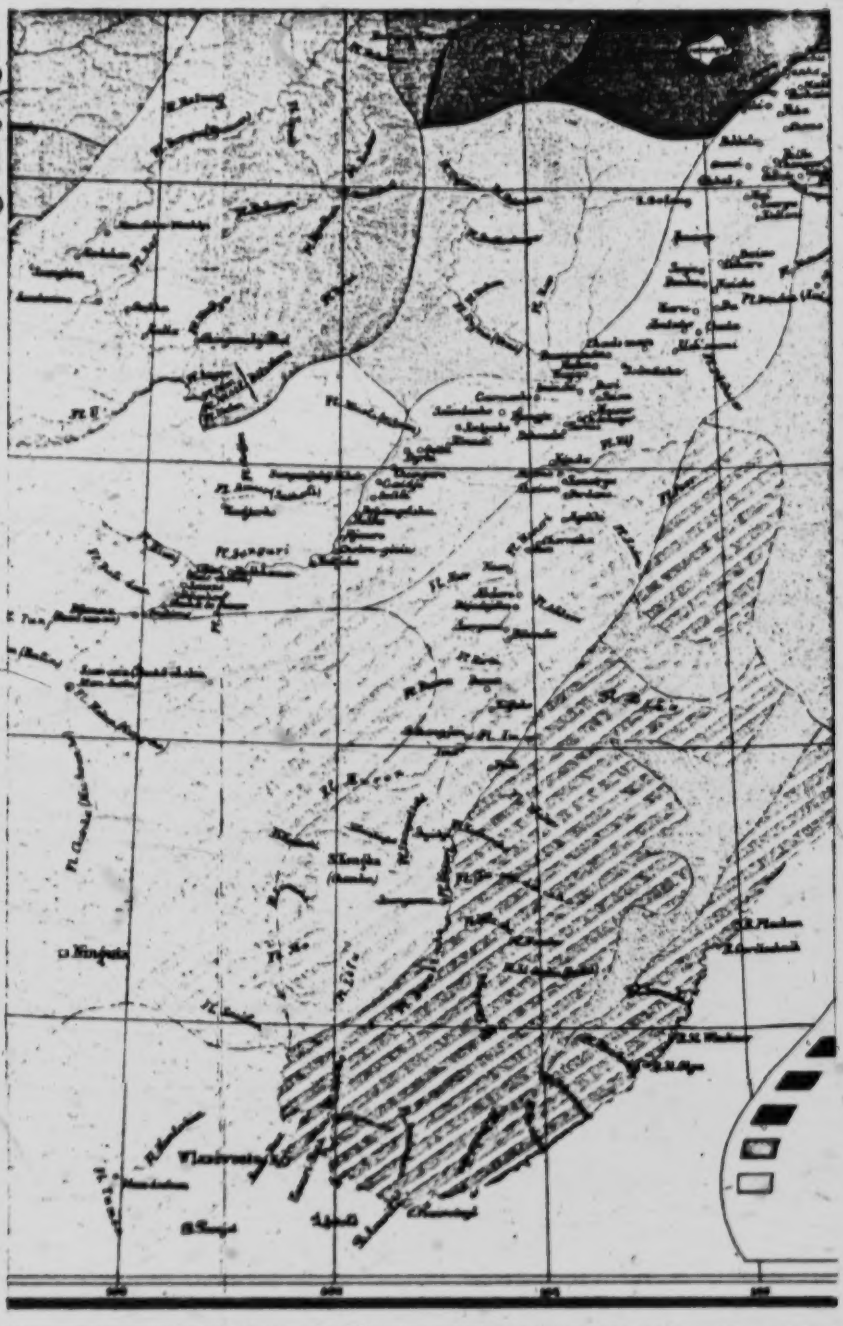

Scale: 100 versts to the inch

versts

2:Schrenck--423 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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175 Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data
131 that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half centuries.

131 The greatest density of population is found in the areas of
103 the most abundant fishing, such as: the banks of the Amur and its
162 estuary [villages: Kol' (196 persons), Langr (205), Vayda (184), Mago (154), and others]; on the western shore of Sakhalin, the points Tamlevo, Lyrkryvo (144 persons), Viskivo (116), Nyur (103), Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

101 The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. /14/ It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Priamur krai to become convinced that the minuscule Gilyak tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. Even in the very heart of the Gilyak area of settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus
[144] neighbors. The physical resemblance seems to confirm this idea to a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives
[197] a categorical indication in the negative. For neither in its lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout the Asiatic continent we find no other language which could lay claim to close relationship with the Gilyak language.

593 /284 cont./
586 From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the
837 settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda,
177 stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin.
797 The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe,
[762] ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended
[682] with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return
586 the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

/285/
117 Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

[539] A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

[162] Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people;
[103] one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/285 cont./

117 614 ●103 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nami) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

[167] [363] Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymi-fing.

117 103 173 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli -- from Dzhongli, near the Perm ones: Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvl-fing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

/286 cont./

117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
173 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure Ornyr (Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

117 Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
103 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
173 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a chumashka with kaluga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was then that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they broke the fire and bought a bear.

117 Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
103 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago (1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language, and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hóincha) came here
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
173 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchajl on the Amgun)
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

/286 cont./

117 103 173 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:, Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/ notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing [173] /see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

117 103 361 Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhajl. 3) Khal N'askhajl.

Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from [162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

117 582 A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chédzigr (see below) and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

117 103 173 Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en- [539] campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

117 /287 cont./
103 they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one
173 was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept,
539 six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in different directions, Four generations have lived here. The Tyr branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

117 Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma.
103 Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the
361 ground (1896).

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

117 Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1)
614 The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury
[103] their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /288/ (from chozmudz: -- to
[361] peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing

1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:nâ? which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

117 Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near
103 northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern
614 Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

/288 cont./

117 Settlement of Pilavo-khez' (five kilometers from Chil'mi).
103 In this settlement exclusively the Pilavyng clan (1910).

Settlement of Khez'. Exclusively the Pilavyng clan.

117 Settlement of Tebakh (Tevkh in Gilyak). Three yurts in
103 all, about 30 persons. The Arkhong clan -- Ainu; came from
162 Kosunaya on the Pronga and set takh -- a sharpened stick; from behind came a man, and the stick fell in the direction of Iski. The Arkhong clan is to be found most of all in Tebakh, further in Akhcha, Chil'mi (one house), and in Iski (1910). The Ignan together with the Arkhong who live in Akhcha constitute one clan: in Akhcha -- the Goldi half, -- the other half in Tebakh, (1896).

117 Settlement of Machala, opposite Khez'; two yurts of
103 Negidal (1910). In 1896 the Khez'-ping and the Negidal (Ry) lived here.

117 Settlement of Pachi (Bachi). Twenty-two families, about
103 100 souls. Nine Russian houses and two Uigryf. In it, the
162 clans: 1) Tva-bing (Tva was the settlement beyond Mkhyl' near
614 Pat). 2) Aimkan live in Plakh (Pilavo), below Mariinsk. They used to live on the Amgun, but the brothers fought and several brothers left for Plakh, taking a piece of the fire -- tuur rodzz -- "to make a fire." There they became Ornyr, and then, a long time ago, in the times of the Japanese, they migrated from Korsakov to Tevkh and Kal'vo. There are two old lezing here, and also one in each of the following places: Kaki, Mago, Vasin Cape, and Tamlavo. 3) Pyri-fing clan (two yurts), an old village opposite Kal'vo. In the past, a long time ago, Amgun lived here. The green pine forest -- Tuuz; in Ukhta -- the Olcha (1910).

117 Settlement of Nykikh Khez'bin (one from Pilavo), on the
103 channel Nyy Machalá. About 20 Gilyak here, and also Amgun
162 N'askhagil, who in Gilyak are called N'as'khon. Two from Pilavo settled here in the last ten years (1910).

/289/

117 Settlement of Kal'ga (the Gilyak K:alvo). Two clans:
● 103 1) Four yurts Lezing-ran-tva-bing (from lezing + tan, -- master).
614 The Lezing-ran are a Tva-bing generation (hyn'izlykh hyz'i). They caught many bears and had a large lezing. They quarreled while still in Tva and left long ago for Tamlvo. Now they are in Eg:li (Yali) and in Mago. 2) Pyrifing; three Lezing and three Uigryf (1910). One woman, Ry -- umgu -- female Negidal. 3) Lezgrang from the Sakhalin Tamlvo. 4) The Pyrifing Ornyr came from above; the oldest clan is here. 5) Narmlang from above, near Khabarovsk; the Goldi (1896).

Settlement of Mokraya (Mokhrvo). Clans: 1) Narmlang (Ornyr:) -- Pyrifing (Ygdymsyl from Kizĭ, where there are many). Here, three houses of them; they have lived here for four gen-
[162] erations. 2) Lezgrang -- one house, 17 persons. All of the Gilyak seem to have come from the Amgun (hynk) and settled down on the Amur. One Uigryf (1910).

Settlement of Mago. Clans: 1) Mot'-tan (Ornyr:); 2) Lezgrang (one house); 3) Naromlang; one house, three families (1910).

Clans: 1) Lezgrang, 2) Pyrifing, 3) Tyvlafing, 4) Hutyvikh, from the Tym' River, 5) Narmlang, 6) Pnarnung (1896).

Yoom-bal' -- a mountain six and a half kilometers above Vaydy; in former times Gilyak from the settlement of Yoom lived here. On the left bank of the Amur, beyond Yoom, there is a small bay, and beyond it a high bank with bare white k:aned'zh dzif (limestone) (1910).

Settlement of Vayr (Vaydy); in 1896 there were three clans: 1) Keg:n, 2) Hirlung (Hirlung and Shafping), 3) Lumr-ping. Now only 12 Ornyr, 10 Gilyak, 17 Hirlung (see also below), 13 Shafping, and 7 Lumr-ping are left. The Keg:n -- Olcha are from the settlement of Aur; four generations are in Vayr. There were three brothers; the eldest brother took a Hirlung wife; he was followed

/289 cont./

117 by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Re-
103 cently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12
614 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbi-fing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

[361] Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chilng-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

117 Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before
103 the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three
731 Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2)
173 Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest
[361] died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910). 3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

117 Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).
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/290 cont./

117 Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896).
103 Vas'. Cape Vasin. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to
614 Nálevo; 2) Derkhr-vun (1896).

Kuklya and Meo. The first master of the village before the
[162] Russians was the Keg:n clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogorodskoye (1896).

Settlement of Kol'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest khal -- this Chvunung khal (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvrmif); then the khal separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun,
[133] Ylevut). It takes women from the khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one khal. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor ping. A man sailed on a hovykh (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the
[582] Perkhvung. 3. Kedz:ung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkhvung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhaj-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyr beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- chinirokh). There is here in Kol' one khal from Khovnung. It takes women from the Langr. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the or -- chain and stone on the little girl of one of the brothers, and then killed her.
[582] They have an Ainu dagger with a silver handle. Take women from the Snarnung. 7. The Snarnung take women from the Perkhrvung. 8. The Tyvliing -- from Ukhtr, near Sofisk (Ornyr). Takes women from the Perkhvung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age): his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his khal is Snarnung. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chlya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- N'as'khajl. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyv River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).

1: Shternberg--426 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

[A Legend about Pilavo]

/294 cont./

539 generation has now all died out. They bore children and multiplied (Takhta -- two yurts, Kabachi -- two yurts, Chilma -- eight families, Khez' -- all Pilavyn. They bore children and multiplied and built a large isba -- about 15 sagenes (1) (three

1. I.e., about 30 meters.

ordinary ones); he lived there. All the Pilavyn (inhabitants of Pilavo) lived in this crowded yurt, while the others lived in another yurt. They lived richly, made trips to Japan, Manchuria (Saysin), and Korsakovsk, they bought Chinese women, female slaves for them (beyond Saysin), and also Ainu women and male and female slaves (krýgrys) for them; they lived very richly, they all had full wealth. Once there was a holiday. They boiled dog meat (formerly they ate dog meat). The children began to fight, the elders stepped in, and a fight broke out. It even came to knives. The old man Yuryng (from the Arkhong clan) came from Tebakh and reconciled them. After that, however, they would now and again get drunk on khan'shina and, once again, a fight. A full assembly was called (assembly -- vopud kymlydz), and /295/ the people began to divide things up. The workers had married, and their children were also slaves. First they divided the slaves, various things, and furs. One
• [103] brother, together with his slaves, set off up the Amur: "I shall look for a place like Khez' (formerly it was called Pilavo, in the Chinese books it was called Tajrá, and in Goldi daj gasá -- large village). Their nickname was hes'-pilavo from the word hes' -- gullet, because they fight over their gullet and not over serious things. He stopped near the Goldi settlement of Yky (the settlement of Sarapul'skoye). Yky was inhabited by the ancient Gilyak emigrants from the settlement of Pilavo on Sakhalin. They bore children and multiplied and now not many of them are left. They still burn their dead.

/347 cont./

101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 829 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "ytk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "ytk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material below. 197 The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the Lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 127 174 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the continent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of Sakhalin. [614] Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo, one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language, [184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
[121] merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

103 (a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settle-
361 ments between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyyvo, Yamy, Manginay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyyde (1), Noksy,

[167] 1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigrvo (2), Marnlvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,

[491] 2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

Vaskhonkhvo, Kitnidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkryvo, Viskvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygrvo,

[491] 1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In
162 the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 245 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

[592] [128] 2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

/385 cont./

124 163 165 many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163 165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives. 162 592 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

● 103 162 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons each), Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Tengi (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

224 225 433 000 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411 422 501 231 000 /386/ there are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

[The western Coast]

166 464 /386 cont./ To make some money,
115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
103 433 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
[244] dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
[162] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
[177] Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
[244] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
224 433 them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
178 648 potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
342 178 354 [237] ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
[184] [171] [177] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

133 [137] [491] As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look
135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The
137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along
132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous
[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the
[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be
135 entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the
491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak
103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta
361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

[824]

1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

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2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the author did not include in the number of

/387 cont./

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settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye. In connection with this settlement of Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

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with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

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From this one can draw the following conclusions: here there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

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1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
422 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
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[126]

2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons).
361 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
● 103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo
20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
[484] difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
484 across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
492 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

[The eastern Coast and the Tym's Basin]

T /388 cont./

361 The inhabitants of the village of Kekhrvo say that in the
[103] extreme north -- above Cape Levenshtern -- there is a small
[162] settlement of Orochon on the coast -- Trond (two yurts with six
G [103] men and three women). It has communications with the western
T coast by way of the settlement of Pomr (a 24 hour trip on reindeer,
[484] although from Kekhrvo it takes 10-15 days in the summer). The
[492] remaining Sakhalin settlements of Orochon, as well as the settle-
G ments of the Tungus, were also described in detail during the
T [128] census. We shall not, however, include the details about these
peoples in the present article, which deals only with the Gilyak.

/14 cont./

13 [36] 50° north latitude and therefore located almost precisely at half the length of this island which stretches in the direction of the meridian. The Gilyak population on the east coast of the island extends somewhat less far south. According to the information 13 36 that I gathered from the Gilyak in the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley and in the village of Nyi on the east coast, south of this village and of the mouth of the Tymy River there are four additional Gilyak villages (3), of which the southernmost and last, three days'

[114]

3. Cf. the map accompanying Vol. I of this work. The map drawn up by Schebunin on the basis of the material from the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society shows a few additional place names among them. Therefore, the number of these Gilyak villages is perhaps greater than the one given to me, but perhaps the added names only refer to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak belonging to the winter villages named, or to overnight camping places and other such localities.

journey from Nyi, is the village of Tschamr-wo, beyond which the coast is said to be uninhabited for a great distance. This [115] information was later confirmed by the mining engineer Lopatin, who in 1868 made a wearisome journey on foot along this deserted coast; coming from the south, he found the first Gilyak village (Tschamr-wo) (4), according to Kropotkin's translation of his

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4. "Tscham-wo," as Lopatin calls the village, or "Tschamr-wo," as I heard it and believe to be correct, has a name in Gilyak meaning "eagle village."

13 36 [103] [114] /14 cont./

4. (cont.)
I cannot accept the version "Tschamg-wo," as given on the Schebunin map of Sakhalin.

report (5), one and a half days' journey north of Cape Delisle de

[113]

5. Izviestiia Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 308, 311.

la Croyère, but, according to the statements that he made to Fr. Schmidt upon looking through his journals (6), "behind" the

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6. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, p. 387.

large cape of rock mentioned, which among the Gilyak bears the
13 name Harpach (7). At any rate, on the east coast of Sakhalin

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7. Following Lopatin, Schmidt gives the Gilyak name of Cape Delisle de la Croyère as "Harpa." There is no doubt about the ending sounding like, not "pa," but "pach," since the latter is often repeated in Gilyak place names and means "rock" or "stone." I suspect, however, that the first syllable, too, is not rendered quite correctly, and that the cape is not called "Harpa," but "Tschcharpach," that is, "wood-" or "forest-rock" -- a name which occurs also at the mouth of the Amur.

the southern border of the Gilyak territory thus lies close to Cape Delisle de la Croyère, that is, /15/ about 51° north latitude, or

/15 cont./

131 one degree more to the north than on the west coast of the island (1). Finally, besides the two coasts the interior of Sakhalin

[114]

1. The above-named villages, and especially the last one, Tschamr-wo, are therefore to be moved somewhat more to the south than is shown on my first map.

is also populated by the Gilyak, and to be sure, it is the large Tymy River, rich in fish, along which, up to its source, a relatively dense Gilyak population lives. This, however, cuts off the area of the Gilyak, because to the south, along the perhaps even larger Ty River, as it is called among the Gilyak, or Poronai as it is called among the Ainu (2), there is a permanent

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2. That is, "great river." It is the "Newa" of Krusenstern Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/ St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 95). On Schebunin's above-mentioned map, as in Glehn's travel report from Sakhalin Island (Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Russ. Reichs, edited by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, pp. 205, 235 ff.) this river is also called Plyi -- a name which, according to Glehn, is likewise a Gilyak one.

population only on the lower course and at the mouth, and this population, aside from scattered, individual members, is no longer Gilyak.

If one surveys the total area of distribution of the Gilyak, one finds that for the most part it extends along the sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Amur-Liman, and then also along two great rivers, the Amur on the mainland and the Tymy on Sakhalin -- a circumstance

G 101 179 Gi 113 /15 cont./ 4. (cont.)
den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

Gi 131 The Negda live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chlya/, G [361] as well as along the river branch connecting them, although [103] there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. This information, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Judin G [115] [114] in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later travelers,

G [103] 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu. Gi [103] [361] On the former lie the villages of Pfyrpi-wo and Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomokr and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, calls

Gi [113] 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolaysv Post on the Amur River to Udskii

G 101 /16 cont./

It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

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4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

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place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

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1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

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/17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

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361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

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2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

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3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

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175 elsewhere that they live at the mouth of the Amur River and
114 along the seacoast to the north and south of it (3), as well as
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3. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 33, 36; edition of 1705, pp. 88, 106.

on a very large island lying opposite the mouth of the Amur, called Giliat (4), which evidently is Sakhalin; sometimes

4. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 34; edition of 1705, p. 96.

they are said to extend along the seacoast southward almost to China (5) and northward to the Anadyr River (6), and, finally,

5. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 104; edition of 1705, p. 267.

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6. The rivers around whose mouths they live are expressly named, and, to be sure, in two versions (edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 32; edition of 1705, pp. 86 and 105), among which the later, more correct ones run: Lama, Ochota, Towoi (evidently Ta-ui), Tadui, Penchion (Penshina), Kamtschatka, Tschiundon, and Anadir.

sometimes their habitation sites are given on the northern bank of the Amur River near Nerchinsk (7), and therefore quite far

7. Edition of 1705, p. 77.

175 from the sea. Accordingly, the Gilyak are shown on the map at
131 three places: first, on the seacoast directly north of the Amur
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175 131 361 mouth ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high

8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

175 114 [101] [103] Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their undoubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

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9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

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131 the Tugur River and the Gilyak then followed (5). But even at
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5. Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Conditions on Kamchatka/, p. 57 (appendix to Steller's Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774.

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175 But even at
131 that time the Gilyak went as far as Tugur Bay, north of the
487 mouth of the Tugur River, for /109/ on an old Russian hand-written map, whose origin Middendorff puts in the middle of the last century for several reasons, one finds the sketch of a "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka), which led over the narrow, stem-shaped part of the Ssegneka Peninsula from Ulban Bay to Tugur Bay (1). By this route the Gilyak may also have

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 116, note 2. The map is in the library of the Akademie der Wissenschaften. Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., 1769, p. 508) also mentions a towpath used by the Gilyak and therefore "called Giljazkaja perewoloko in Russian since ancient times." This, however, as he says, was used in order to avoid the northern promontory at the mouth of the Amur, since it ran from one brook, which empties to the south into the bay formed by the mouth of the Amur, to another brook which flows into the sea to the north. Müller adds that the latter brook bears the name "Gole" on Chinese maps and this indicates the towpath, for "Gole" evidently refers to the Gilyak village of Kolj or Kulj

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1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hisska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the towpath on the Ukakyt -- from the Nemilen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

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come across Ulban Bay and Ssegneka Peninsula to the mouth of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Ssegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

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There is still no mention of these islands in the reports cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

175 131 /109 cont./
[484] purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak
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2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

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3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

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4. In Gilyak "island" is pollo-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Lushin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandarskij."

175 131 648 when The Russians under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

175 /110 cont./
131 dubious. So far as is known, the Gilyak were never met there
484 directly during any of the numerous visits to these islands. The pertinent accounts therefore only rest on the above-mentioned statements by the neighboring Tungus /111/ and on alleged traces that the temporary stay of the Gilyak on many of these
175 islands has left behind. According to Krascheninnikof
103 /Krasheninnikov/ (1), the island of Chudoi (i.e., bad) Shantar

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1. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. Sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rissi, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 135).

is said to have received its name because it had no forest at all, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly it had been quite densely wooded and rich in sable, but the Gilyak once forgot to extinguish the fire before leaving the island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Krascheninnikof,

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2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the name "Chudoi Schantar," which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Krascheninnikof's statements, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted but that Small Schantar Island (Malyi Shantar") is meant by it, just as it is also by the name "Ssuchoi (dry) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Karte von der Lage von Kamtschatka" /Map of the Location of Kamchatka/ in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Hudé Schantar" west of the island of Bjelitschij, just as Krascheninnikof, too, gives it, but this

175 /111 cont./
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2. (cont.)
does not mean much, since the Shantar Islands lie there all in a row approximately from west to east.

175 Kraschenninikof
114 however, must have obtained this information from traditions
[103] and stories, since he himself was never on the Shantar Islands, or even near them. Moreover, it is very reminiscent of the above-mentioned story about the burning of the forest on Large Shantar Island, which does not exactly serve to increase its credibility. Kosmin's statement in the northeastern part of
[361] Large Shantar Island not far from Lake Boljschoje he had seen dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were said to have formerly lived (3) seems more important. But we encounter uncertainty

3. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV, p. 46.

even with respect to this report, in that the traditions that Middendorff discovered in Udskoi Ostrog expressly attributed
[484] these yurts to Russian fur trappers (4). In spite of these few and

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1. Middendorff adds that this seems much more probable to him.

uncertain reports, I do not doubt but that the Gilyak visited the Shantar Islands in former times. Full credence should be given to the above-mentioned report to this effect by the Tungus, which came with the very first report concerning these
175 islands. Whereas the Tungus along the Sea of Okhotsk are
131 primarily hunters and come to the sea only temporarily to fish,
484 the Gilyak stay there continually and are therefore much better seafarers than the former, as Müller has already correctly surmised (5). Hence it seems entirely plausible that from time

5. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

/111 cont./

175 they visited the large islands within sight from their coast,
131 densely wooded, and still uninhabited, on which they could
484 peacefully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals, sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that whereas their westward expansion along the coast of the mainland at first did not reach the Tugur and later did not go beyond it, they did visit the Shantar Islands, even the westernmost of them, and Bear Island (Medwäshij) located beyond
[103] Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ngorbak," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (6), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

origin, in that "Ngarbach" /112/ in Gilyak means "animal rock" (1).

1. From nga -- animal, and pach -- stone, rock (see above, p. 175, note 2). Similar Gilyak place names are Tschcharbach, Tschorbach, Tebach, etc.

175 But the Gilyak were surely never very numerous on the Shantar
174 Islands, since the Gilyak population on the adjacent coast of the
648 mainland is not large and since navigation around these islands
131 is difficult and dangerous on account of the rapid and changing
[133] currents, the floating masses of ice, the frequent fog, the pounding surf, etc. It was therefore natural that as soon as the Russians appeared on the Shantars, wintered there, and in fact took possession of them, the Gilyak remained away from them, just as later, in 1829, they withdrew temporarily from the mouth of the Tugur when a party of Russians took up winter quarters at the mouth of the Great Uikon (2). It is very probably

2. Kosmin, according to the accounts of the priest from Udskoi Ostrog,

2: Schrenck--241 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

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do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Kossogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Ssutschu located in the Amur near Kidsi. He found there the remains of a low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the

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G. G1 [113]

1. D. Romanov", "Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 126, note 4). Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Kossogorskoi, but Kossogirskoi Ostrog (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Djutscheren bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as is still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessors, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

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vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natken, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

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The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasskij and in Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

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The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different parties, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visted the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

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1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinso ("Tô-tats ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

2: Schrenck--243 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan A82
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3

F.J.
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1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the ł sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

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coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

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2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

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name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

FJ. /119 cont./

10 Gilyak and the Olcha. He did not go beyond the latter to the
175 south. He also met isolated Goldi there and learned a special
[114] name for them, to which we shall return later. His S'janta,
Gi [101] therefore, are exclusively Olcha. And, going downstream by
boat, he indicates with great precision where the S'janta end
Gi and their northern neighbors, the Smerenkur, begin. In most
101 of the villages which he mentions in his travel account or the
175 map (1), one can still recognize the villages of today. In
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1. Apart from the map reproduced by Siebold (Nippon, VII, Pl. XXV), labeled with Mamia Rinsô's name, the Tok'nai map of the part representing the Amur region and the west coast of Sakhalin opposite it, which is given at the same place, likewise comes from Rinsô, as Siebold (Nippon, I, p. 170, note 162) remarks. All the details concerning the Amur region are to be found on this latter map.

Aorei (Aure) he still found himself among the S'janta; at Horomo or Horo, whose distance from the first he estimates at four ri (about 15 versts, the territory of the Smerenkur begins, and from there on, he says, men, dwellings, tools, and the way of
G [103] life are the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). Horo is undoubtedly
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2. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177).

Chjare, the first Gilyak village going downstream. As further proof of this there is also the fact that directly above Horo on Rinsô's map is shown the village of Furu, which one easily recognizes as today's next to last Olcha village of Pulu. Thus, in
G Rinsô's time (1810) the boundary between the Gilyak and the
Gi Olcha was exactly where I found it 45 years later (3).
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3. See above, pp. 20, 27, 51, and elsewhere.

2: Schrenck--249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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Apart from along the Amur River, we also learn from Mamia Rinsô the southern boundary of the Gilyak along the seacoast at that time. In the Amur-Liman he visited the village of Tsjomen, which consisted of large dwellings of the Smerenkur, scattered along a small river of the same name (4).

4. "Tô-tats ki ko," op. cit., p. 178.

Today's Tschomi, the southernmost coastal village of the Gilyak, is arranged in precisely the same way, as I can confirm from experience. And that at that time, too, it was the last is shown by the dotted line that on Rinso's map runs from Horo on the Amur to the seacoast directly south of Tsjomen and undoubtedly is supposed to designate the southern boundary of the Smerenkur area on the mainland. From there southward to beyond Taba Bay stretched at that time, too, only an uninhabited coast, as one likewise understands from Mamia Rinsô's statements: on his return trip to Sakhalin, he sailed around Cape Wasibundi (Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/, called Wasfun by the Olcha) and into the channel which Siebold rightly named after him, but on his outbound voyage he had sailed along part of the coast north of Taba and named on it a series of place names, but with the express remark that the coast was uninhabited and these places were only anchorages (5). Thus, in

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5. Op. cit., pp. 170, 178.

/120/ Rinsô's time, too, the boundary situation between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors was the same as it was in my time.

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In general, then, no shifts at all along the entire southern boundary of the Gilyak on the mainland are observable from the time of our first acquaintance with this people, that is, in about 200 years. The oldest reports are so inadequate, however, that one cannot with certainty deny that there may have been changes; they permit us to know scarcely more

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3. (cont.)
Tart., ed. of 1698, Pt. 2, p. 32; ed. of 1705, p. 87. Cf. also Müller, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Pt. 2, 2nd ed., p. 506.

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175 Elsewhere Witsen
131 remarks that this island was called "Giliat" (4). What is said
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4. Op. cit., ed. of 1705, p. 96.

otherwise about the places on this island that are mentioned, even though based on facts and the truth, nevertheless has the character of accounts based upon hearsay, as, for instance, the statement about the high reed thicket that makes its coast
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175 inaccessible, and the like. And as a matter of fact, we do
177 not have any reliable reports on Sakhalin and its people in that period, not even brief ones like those on the Amur region, because this island had no contact with the Russians at all in the seventeenth century. Later on, in the eighteenth century, when the Russians undertook voyages to the Shantars, Sakhalin, as was mentioned above (5), was repeatedly visited by Russian

5. See above, p. 171.

deserters, shipwrecked persons, etc., but no reports about it have come down to us.

M The oldest Chinese reports about Sakhalin provide just as
G slight a foothold. When the Jesuits Regis, Jartoux, and Fridelli
175 drew up the map of the lower Amur River, the natives told them
177 that opposite the mouth of the Amur /121/ there was an island which was inhabited by a people similar to them. Consequently, Emperor Kang-hi soon afterwards sent several Manchu to explore the island, and they crossed over to it in the boats of the natives, but, according to the testimony of the Jesuits, their task was

2: Schrenck--252 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Manchu AG4
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

GM 175 177

/121 cont./

carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to the southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remained uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the names

GM [103] [113] [114]

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin., Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, each according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian anga hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known the present name arose. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian anga chada" mean only "rocks (not island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the banks of the river at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks emerging from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin, see below.

of the peoples inhabiting the island.

FJ G 175 178

We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first detailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mamia Rinso (1808-1810). In 1613-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Yesso/

A 175 114 101 /129 cont./

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A 101 175 [648] Similarly, the archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuä" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

A [113]

2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

A [113]

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

A [113]

5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others, G [103] among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are [101] the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

G [113]

6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101

after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G A [101] [103] [114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyē," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuā, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

A G [439]

G /129 cont./

●103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe [192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

G [114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was no translated for them.

A 174 648 131 103 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu, the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north 174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to 184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands, 433 181

SS, Gi 103 /146 cont./

3. (cont.)
claims to have heard at times.

SS. [105] On the other hand, it is perfectly conceivable that the Russian Cossacks made "Amur" out of Mamur (4). Thus, this name owes its origin to the Tungusic

4. Just as they later, for example, made Ussura, Uschura, Schura, and the like out of "Ussuri."

SS, Gi [114] peoples of the lower Amur region. I do not know the etymology of their above-mentioned designation for the Amur River. In any case, however, according to the above, it is quite inadmissible to look to it for the word "amur" or to regard the latter as of Gilyak origin, as Fischer and, following him, Ritter and others G 103 have done (5). The Gilyak have nothing to do with those

SS Gi G 103 114

5. Fischer (Sibirische Gesch., Part 1, p. 433; Part 2, p. 793) maintained that the Russians first heard the name "Amur" from the Tungus along the Udj and later from the Natken and Gilyak, among whom any large river is called "amar." Ritter (Erdk. von Asien, Vol. II, p. 298), evidently repeating this, says that "amur" or "yamur" means "large water" among the peoples named as well as among the Tungusic inhabitants along the shores of the eastern sea. This is not correct for either the Tungusic Amur peoples or for the Gilyak. In the language of the latter, "large water" would be "pilja tschach," and "large river," "pilja erri," the latter of which they actually use for the Amur occasionally.

G 103 designations for the Amur River; they call it, as we have already seen, quite differently -- "La" or "La-erri."

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak RX2

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p. 418	p. 419	p. 420
p. 421	p. 422	p. 423

Chart of Positions of Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region.
/facing p. 418/

2: Schrenck--418 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region I

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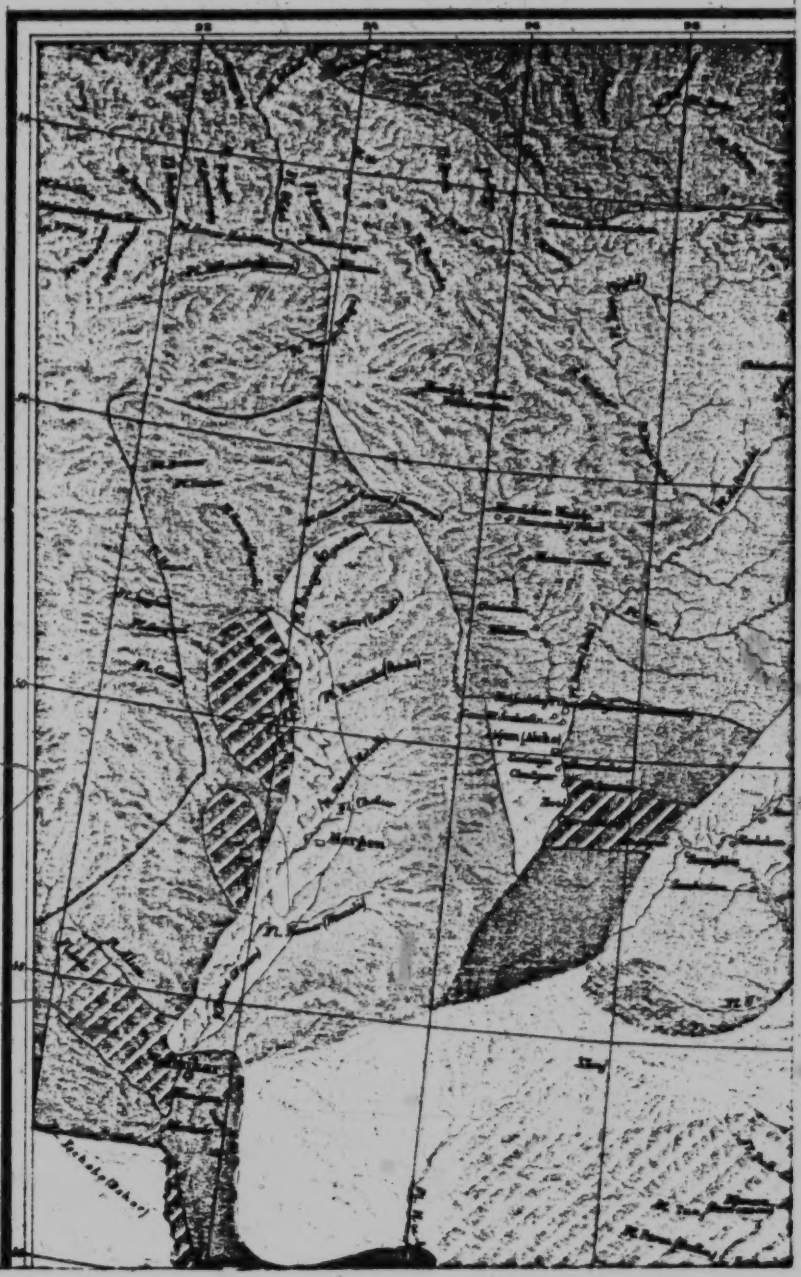

2: Schrenck--419 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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2:Schrenck--420 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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2:Schrenck--421 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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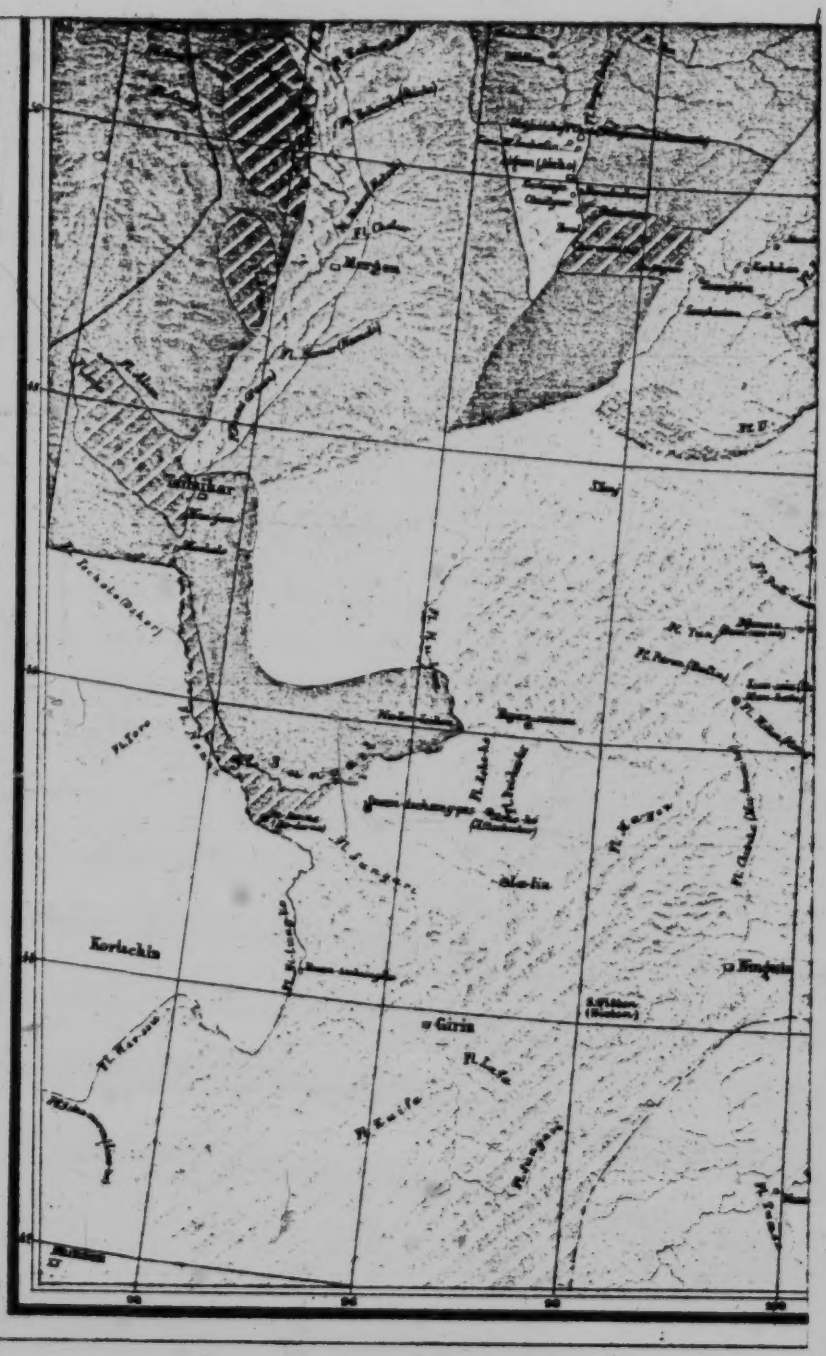

2:Schrenck--422 · E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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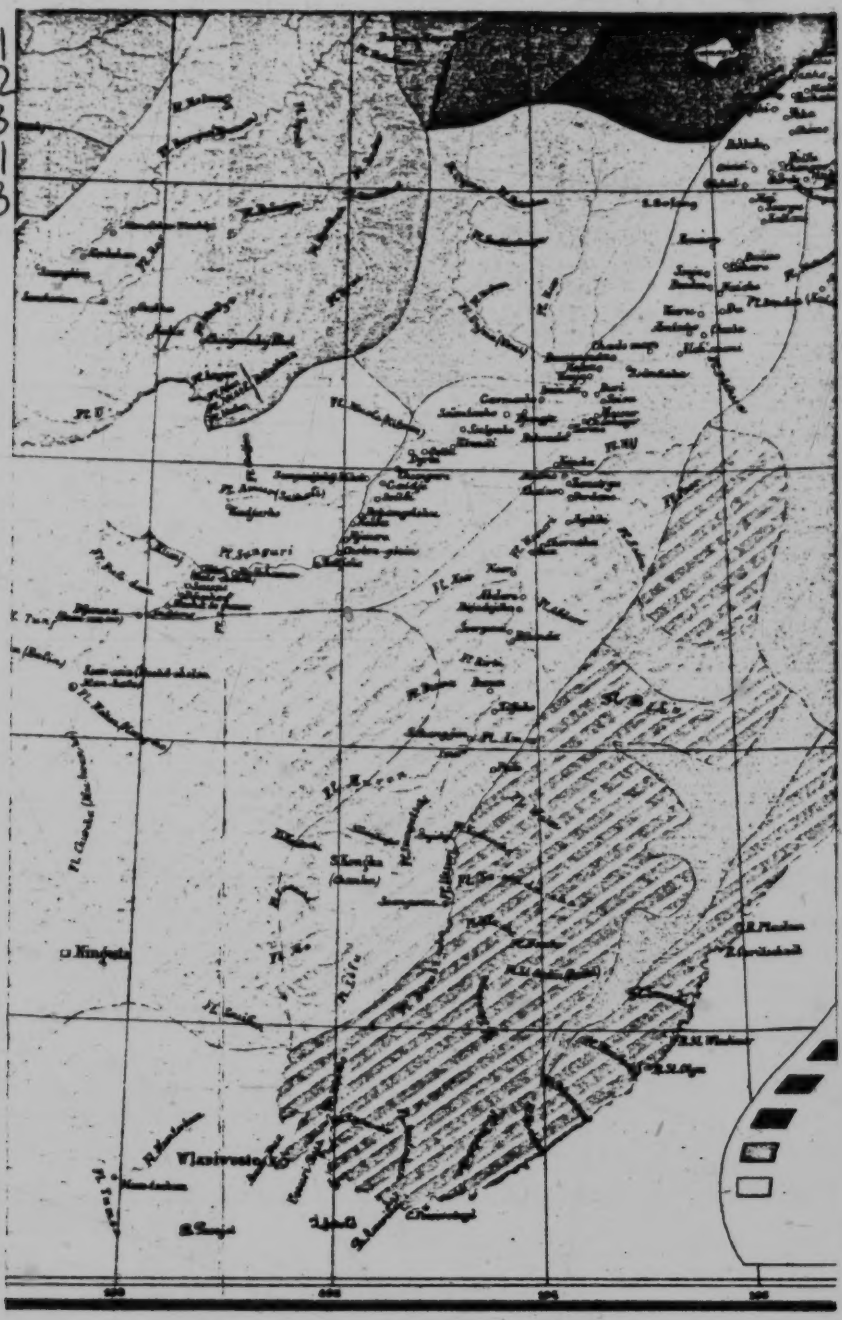

Scale: 100 versts to the inch

versts

2:Schrenck--423 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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/331 cont./

000 collected. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three vil-
342 lages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the
361 north of Poghobi. In Dshongi, coming from the south, one en-
103 countered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was
184 in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the north of Talvant-tigr-wo, which contained one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulksj (1),

1. In Glehn it is called Jordĕnt-tigr-wo.

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tamla-wo, in my time notorious for its predatory population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

2. Glehn found only nine. The great number
[192] of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for tamla, tamlatsch, or tamlantsch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

tschadryf villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, is
[114] Pomyr-wo or Pomyt-wo on the Sea of Okhotsk. Glehn did not go northward beyond this village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small toryf village, Muisib-wo (in Glehn, Musjv), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more tschadryf villages, Tumi-wo and Ngywr-wo (in Glehn, Ngyd), the latter of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (the Mif-ych, as the Gilyak designated it to me). According to its location on the small bay which
114 Krusenstern called Nadeshda Bay, Ngywr-wo must be the same
361 village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed
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/331 cont./

114 description one learns that the Gilyak ("Tataren") at the time --
361 it was August 15/27 -- lived in their summer yurts. Somewhat
342 apart, however, lay other, apparently better built houses, provided with fireplaces and chimneys, which, however, stood empty at the time (3) -- evidently the above-described winter

3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 178, 182.

houses of the Gilyak. Here, therefore, is other proof of the presence of tschadryf villages in this part of Sakhalin, too (4).

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4. In order to supplement and verify my above data and at the same time to make it possible to compare them more precisely with Glehn's, I am adding here the whole list of the villages explored by me north of Poghobi on Sakhalin, with a statement of the number and nature of their yurts. To be sure, we did not always hear the names of the villages exactly the same, but it is not difficult to recognize them. I am also adding in parentheses the number of yurts given by Glehn, for from this one can judge the extent of the depopulation caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1857-1858, especially for the part of the coast extending south of Pomyr-wo, where Glehn himself visited most of the points and counted their yurts. The following villages lie north of Poghobi:

[1731]

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Wismeryf . . .	with	1	earth yurt
Warsj	"	1 (1)	"
Ngyith	"	1 (4)	"
Dshongi	"	1	Chinese yurt
Loktschi	"	1 (1)	earth yurt
Jügdama	"	1 (1)	"
Pyrki	"	1 (1)	"

/331 cont./

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4. (cont.)

Tscheghngi	with	1 (1)	earth yurt
Talvant-tigr-wo . .	"	1 (1)	" and 1 Chinese yurt
Tulksj	"	2 (3)	Chinese yurts
Langri (summer village of Tulksj)			
Matscho-wo . . .	"	2	"
Mangal-wo	"	1 (1)	"
Nganj-wo	"	4 (3)	"
Tylent-tigr-wo . .	"	1 (2?)	"
Matent-tigr-wo . .	"	3 (2)	"
Tamla-wo	"	over 12 (9)	"
Lyrkr-wo	"	4	"
Wissk-wo	"	5 (5)	"
Ngyl-wo	"	1 (1)	"
Pomyr-wo	"	3 (3)	"
Muisib-wo	"	1 (2)	earth yurt
Pilja-wo	"	1 (1)	" and 1 Chinese yurt
Tumi-wo	"	2 Chinese yurts (1 earth y.)	
Ngywr-wo	"	5 " " (3 earth y.)	

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/332/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-yurt predominates to a much greater extent than the earth yurt on Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left, which presumably has since disappeared: it was the small earth yurt of Pättach, directly on the Liman just north of the mouth of the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856; it was located at some distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and was constructed exactly like the smaller earth-yurts on Sakhalin. It can be maintained with some certainty that it was in fact the only one of its kind on the mainland. Elsewhere along the Liman, on the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman to Kulj, the largest village on that coast, numbering 10 (?) winter yurts,

[114]

/361 cont./

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1. (cont.)
which projects farthest to the north, and the mouth of the Amur (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersburg, 1855, p. 618).

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For the sake of clarity and because many of the individual villages of the Gilyak will be mentioned repeatedly in the course of this work, I give the following tabular list of all the Gilyak villages, in part from me, and mostly from personal experience, and in part from Glehn's statements, and the number of their winter dwellings.

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/The following chart, which runs across pp. 362-363 in the original text, is given on four pages in the translation, the first page bearing the four columns pertaining to the mainland, the second page bearing the four columns pertaining to Sakhalin, and the next two pages containing the final column of notes./

2: Schrenck--535 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

/362/

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List of the Gilyak Villages and the Number of Their Winter Dwellings[1])

MAINLAND

Amur River Upstream from the Mouth. Purely Chinese Yurts.				Amur-Liman form N to S. Purely Chin. Yurts[5])		Coast of the Sea of Okhotsk from the Liman Westward. Purely Chin. Yurts	
Left bank		Right bank					
Techcharbach	3	Ngale-we	3	Langr	3	Abdi	1
Techchyrkrach	2	Wasaj	3	Pulr	3	Olgh-we	1
Patchi	1	Pyghe	1	Pittach	2	Tägi	1
Kuik (Kutgri-we)	2	Aller	2	Prongo	2	Kulj (Kolj)	10 [9])
Soobach	2	Kuki	3 (?)	Ngale	1		
Wair (Wait)	16	Erli	2	Chosi	1	Further data lacking	
Kamotif	2	Tebarb	7	Techori	1		
Maghe	11	Chosaj	3	My	4		
Kolghe	5	Tochylm	3	Warki	2		
Pali-we	2 (?)	Tochi	8	Tymi	1		
Tochlje [9])	1	Kaberumbach	1	Techemi	11		
Nykhi	1	Kuk	3	Total	36		
Thlo	1 (?)	Angkalm	1	1 earth yurt among them			
Total	40	Kalm	2				
		Hokh [9])	3				
		Taur-we	2				
		Tylm	2				
		Achas	1				
		Techoimch	1				
		Mchyl	3				
		Pulyah	1				
		Pulf	3				
		Chylk	2				
		Holm	1 (?)				
		Pulmi	1				
		Chjaro	1				
		Auro [9])	3				
		Total	70				

Total on the Amur River 119

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[103]
[361]
[342]

2: Schrenck--536 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/303/ ./

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SAKHALIN ISLAND

West Coast from N to S. Chinese and Earth Yurts [7]).

Ngywr-we	5	Chin. y.
Tunai-we	2	"
Pilja-we	1	" +1 ear.
Muisib-we	–	– 1 ear.
Pomyr-we	3	Chin. y.
Ngyl-we	1	"
Wisch-we	5	"
Lyrhr-we	4	"
Tamla-we	over 12	"
Matent-tigr-we	3	"
Tylent-tigr-we	1	"
Nganj-we	4	"
Mangai-we	1	"
Matsch-we	2	"
Tulkaj	2	"
Talvant-tigr-we	1	" +1 ear.
Tscheghngi	1	earth yurt
Pyrki	1	"
Jugdama	1	"
Loktschi	1	"
Dshongi	1	Chin. y.
Ngylth	1	earth yurt
Waraj	1	"
Wismeryf	1	"
Pegholi	2	"
Tyk	6	"
Wjachtu	1	"
Choji	2	"
Tangi	1	"
Mygnai	1	"
Arkai	1	"
Dui	2	"
Adagi	1	"
Kthous[8])	3	"
Chogranj	1	"
Pilja-we[9]) (Perekotan)	2	"
Total	48	Chin. y. + 31 ear.

Tymy River Downstream from Its Sources. Purely Earth Yurts

Left bank		Right bank	
Ngachd-we	1	Dajak-we	1
Erling-we	3	Ud-we	1
Pud-we[9])	2	Pud-we	3
Pahling-we	1	Sili-we	2
Dawi-we	1	Tschlo-we	2
Iwik	1	Udmk-we	7
Ytkym	2	Plub-we	1
Tchchar-we[9])	1	Taña-we	1
Miwwach	1	Tschchar-we	1
Total	13	Total	19

Total on the Tymy River 32

East Coast from N to S. Purely Earth Yurts

Koibygr-we[10])	1
Chankes	1
Ngód	1
Urdkt	1
Kakr-we	3
Charkr-we	?
Tschai-we	10
Laj-we	3
Tyrmyr	?
Nyi	6
Wenggi	2
Kasengai-we	1
Mandshohafi-we	1
Milk-we, Tagri[11])	9
Ngabil	3
Lub-we	?
Lang-we	?
Pilngi	?
Tschamr-we	?

Total without the villages with a questionable number of yurts. . . . 42

with them, assuming the number of yurts to be two each (to be discussed later). . . 54

/364 cont./

361 principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number. Along the Liman, Langr in the north and Tschomi in the south are in dominant positions, the former as the chief exchange point between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin, the latter in constant communication with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, and, on the other hand, with the villages on the Amur beyond the mountains. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Kulj or Kolj is the principal village, about whose existence Middendorff received information even at Tugur Bay (1), and, according to the

[113] [103]

1. In Middendorff's handwritten notes on his visit among the Gilyak the place is called "Kwol," and in Baer's report on his journey (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 620) "Kwel."

descriptions of the Gilyak, seems to play a role there similar to Wair's on the Amur River. /365/ Along the Liman coast of Sakhalin the same significance belongs to the above-mentioned Tamla-wo, of bad repute because of the predatory tendencies of its, as the name indicates, large population. The part of the west coast of Sakhalin that is washed by the northern part of the Sea of Japan has only small villages almost entirely, in that the village of Tyk with its six earth yurts is the only larger place and the principal point of the entire coast. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin, which has a great number of small villages in its upper part in particular, Pud-wo and Udmk-wo are the principal points, and, finally, on the east coast of Sakhalin Tschai-wo and Nyi are the principal places.

342 592 161 Now, if one wants to draw any conclusions about the size of the Gilyak population in its individual areas, as well as in general, from the number of winter dwellings, it must first be determined how many permanent residents on the average may be reckoned for a Chinese or an earth yurt. Just as the

/441 cont./

263 species of leeks (Gilyak hagi), for the most part from Allium
252 schoenoprasum L. on the mainland and from Allium victoriale L.
137 on Sakhalin, are put in the broths to make them tastier, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

[103]

1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the small islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Hagi-mif (mif means land in general) by the Gilyak, a designation which the Russians have extended to the entire archipelago embracing eight small islands.

*262 The young leaves and peeled leaf stalks and stems of a
252 number of other plants are used for food by boiling them with fish or seal oil into a soup, for example, Cacalia hastata L. (Gilyak pytk), Epilobium angustifolium L. (Gilyak tschola), and, according to Glehn, also Polygonum weyrichii Schm. (Gilyak haps), Heracleum barbatum Led. (Gilyak nukr), Senecio pseudo-arnica Less. (Gilyak kengs), and Petasites japonicus S. et Z. (Gilyak lõllu and tol-achs) (2). The first plant in particular seems to be

2. Glehn, op. cit., pp. 212-214,

used a great deal. I have seen it eaten by the Gilyak in the village of Tyk even in winter, after a very protracted and complicated preparation. First, the leaves were plucked off the dried plant, gathered in the summer to be stored, and cooked in water in a kettle. Then the contents were poured into a wooden trough and cooled, whereupon the water was wrung out of the leaves as out of a piece of laundry. The longish bundles of leaves thus
[264] produced were then cut into very small pieces with the large fish-knife, stirred with lyghi-tscho roe, and the whole again cooked in water to a thick soup, which was in part eaten with a spoon and in part drunk out of wooden bowls. A few days later I saw the same dish

/543 cont./

225 184 Just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches of work the Gilyak stand first among all the peoples of the Amur region. One can see well enough from the above descriptions how great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them for food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing the means of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next [433] to fishing, hunting seals is therefore their chief occupation, which, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation area, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of Sakhalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, in which, as was already pointed out, the seals migrate as far as the Olcha territory. In fact, among the coastal Gilyak, along the Sea of Okhotsk and on the Liman, seal-hunting often even comes before fishing. It can be seen merely from the clothing of these Gilyak, consisting to a great extent, indeed, often wholly, of sealskin, that among them seal-hunting plays a far more important role than among the Amur Gilyak. It 225 should also be noted in this connection that on the Amur-Liman 361 there are two places that bear the names of "Langr-wo," or [103] "Langr" for short, and "Langri," that is, seal village, perhaps because they are especially favorably located for seal-hunting or perhaps because their inhabitants practice it with special and traditional skill and success. I cannot say anything further about one of these places, Langri, located on the west coast of Sakhalin, which, according to Glehn (1), is merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

summer village of the Gilyak of Tulksj. /544/ The other one, however, Langr, located on a small island at the entrance to the Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited myself, seems fully to justify its name and the conjectures [438] associated with it. It is one of the largest villages of the Amur-Liman, and its inhabitants carry on a lively trade with the Amur Gilyak, using in particular the products of their seal-hunting, such as sealskins and furs and seal oil as articles for bartering with them.

437 /606 cont./ They are not permitted
439 by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just
484 as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are
648 not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari,
823 the so-called Sachali River -- a prohibition whose observance the Manchu officials stationed in Dshang-dshu at the confluence of the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal observation. What they have to say about the towns of "Kirchk-
[103] choton" and "Nungdy-choton" (Ninguta?) located, respectively, above Itscha-choton on the Sungari and on its above-mentioned tributary, which they call "Ula" (which, however, in Manchu and Tungusic, as is well known, simply means "river"), as well as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Sachali River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they may have heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in part perhaps through Daurian-Yakut traditions in Burukan. The
437 fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak
439 access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners,
484 indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does
648 nothing in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not send either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Ssan-ssin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

/609 cont./

175 439 designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

439 437 484 487 The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter and located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. [501] For the sea voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. [103] Making allowance for these keelless vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsô Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaref (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

[104] 2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible. But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and especially south of Duï as far as Pilja-wo, is steep and rocky, offers many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

225 cut down a young birch, stick it on the elz-s
782 and suspend the head of the beluga in the tree.
778

on a birch-tree. Then they scattered some more rice and berries. (5) Then we sat down around it. We fed the children

5. That is, they spread rice and berries on the head of the beluga.

and went down again. Then we got a young man to take a white stone and put it in the sea-dish. Then we returned and went home. When we came home we put the stone in the fire place." (6)

6. The stone which they put in the fire place is a payment to the master of fire for the successful outcome of the hunt (cf. our article "Morskoi Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the village Kul]).

182 The methods of beluga hunting as described by the Gilyak
225 Mytka in his account and pictured in his sketches are characteristic of the village Puir and partly of the village Lyangr. The hunt proceeds differently in other places. [114]

The account of the Gilyak Khor (from the village Chomi(?)) telling of a beluga hunt undertaken by him and his friend in 1930 supplies us with enough information to enable us to distinguish between the methods used by the Khor and those described above.(Khor's account was written down by me in the fisheries of Dzhaori in 1931) [For Mytka's account, see category 225, pp. 111-113; for Kor's account, pp. 114-116--Analyst.]

225 We present a translation of the account, striving to com-
103 municate the spirit of the original.

"During a run of herring, the four of us, two adults and two children, went in a boat to the Big Cape (Pila-kr-) to hunt for belugas. When we approached the whirlpool (Polx), we came ashore and took out our things. The animal (that is, a seal, a beluga) was swimming up (1) to the shore. The

1. Literally: "rose up to the shore."

children heated tea, and we took the harpoons and went up.

225 We went to the "Cape Facing the Sea." (Tol-nun-iv-Knə̆k)(2)
103

2. It is of interest to note that the Gilyaks sometimes name places according to their economic usage. This cape is named Tol-nun-iv-knə̆k because from this place the Gilyaks watch the sea waiting for the sea animals which swim past the cape.

When we arrived at the "Cape Facing the Sea" no animal came up to the shore. We went back. We descended to our
225 place. We had tea. We finished drinking our tea and loaded our things. We went to Otvax. From there we headed out to the open sea. When we were going down by boat to (the place) across Vaspn, the belugas came in behind us. The mother had a young one. (3) So they swam. When they passed by

3. He means the female beluga with a young.

us, I got up and wanted to shoot. As I was about to shoot, my friend (said): "It is too far." He did not want me to shoot. Then I said: "All right, I will fire, we will see." When I got up, the young one broke the surface. I let it emerge and fired. Then I fired (that is, I hit it). The young one plunged beneath the surface. I thought for a long time that it was lost. "Ah! There it swam away, it came up." Then we rowed and followed it. We caught up with it. We hurled the harpoon. Then we got up and lanced it a second time. Then we pulled the strap and hauled the beluga to the side of the boat, we fastened it, pierced it with a lance, and killed it. We took it in tow. Our children were happy. Then we came ashore and hauled the beluga ashore. I went up the hill to gather piskər. I came back, shoved the grass in the respiratory opening of the beluga, and fed it. Then we cut off the strap, cut up the meat, dragged it away, ate some of it, and covered up the rest. We went to sleep. We slept. When we got up in the morning, the animal did not come up to the shore. We ate and loaded our things. Then we went by boat to Otvax. When we came to the upper side of Otvax (Otvax k'eqr-ksef hertox), the seals crawled out of the water at the tip of the cape. We went to the tip of the cape and untied the harpoons. At that time the animals swam up to the shore. We let them come up, we aimed and missed. Then the animals fled. Then we came up (the mountain) and went down to our boat. Afterwards, we went by boat and

9: Hawes--96-98 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 103

"It was owing incidentally to the reverend fathers, [LSS: Three Jesuit fathers at the court of the Chinese Emperor K'angshi who travelled up the Amur in 1709.] and the great geographer d'Anville, that the island received its [97] present name, for it has had many, as the following list will show: —Tarakai, Repun (Ainu), Khuye (Chinese), Karafto, Kita-sima (Japanese), Tun (Manchu), and Tchoka (native, Orochon). The name by which it was known among the Manchus was Tun, or Toung, which means, 'a hole dug in the ground, to which retreat certain wild men,' possibly a reference to the pre-Ainu race, which is believed to have inhabited Sakhalin, or even to the present northern tribes, who used to live in mounds, and still do so in winter. This name, however, does not appear to be mentioned by the Jesuit explorers, perhaps because they regarded it as equally fabulous with the statements of the Chinese geographers, who wrote of the 'northern crab barbarians' as inhabiting a region evidently intended for Sakhalin; and of their neighbours on Yezo as having 'Bodies covered with Hair, Whiskers that hung down to their Breasts, and their Swords tied by the Point behind their Heads.' Their information was, indeed, out of date, for we may perhaps see in these so-called fabulous tales, reference to the prehistoric pit-dwellers of Yezo (the Goro-pok-guru), and the warlike Ainus of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The reverend fathers appear, on the other hand, to have been impressed by the mention of Saghalien oula anga hata, or the rocks at the mouth of the black river; and on the copy of the map of the Chinese Empire, sent home to the King of France, only a

very few of the Chinese, Manchu, and Khalka names of places, mountains, and rivers, were transliterated into Latin characters, the island remaining unnamed; but at the mouth of the Amur appeared this legend, 'Saghalien oula anga hata.' The copyists employed by d'Anville in 1934 found this too long, and simply wrote Saghalien, (1) thinking

1. Sakhalin, is the official Russian name of the island, and, according to the Manchu scholar, Mr. M.F.A. Fraser, 'gets very near to the Manchu pronunciation' of the characters, which he transliterates Sa-kha-li-yen. 'The stress,' he adds, 'is diffused as in Japanese or French.'

it was meant [98] to apply to the island, to which it has ever since stuck. "

9: Hawes--171 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 103

"Beside the tiny creeks a few tributaries were passed, but none of any importance. They bore names among the Gilyaks recording their value to the native hunter, e.g. Kuvi, (1) many sables river; Kuni, many fish and bears river; Pilviskuri and

1. i in the Gilyak tongue means river, as vo village.

Kondzhbung-gangi, etc."

21: Golder--253 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak
103

"Sakhalin had various names. Witsen called it Amoerse, Laperouse named it Tchoka, Krusenstern spoke of it as Karafouto, Klaproth claimed that Tarakai was its proper name, the Russian Senate referred to it in 1732, as Bolshoi [large]."

21: Golder--255 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-1-2
116, 103, 174

"Our earliest knowledge of Sakhalin comes to us neither from the Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, nor Jesuits, but from the Russian hunters of Siberia, who in their efforts to explore the Amur regions came in contact with Sakhalin. In 1641 Maxim Perofilyef presented himself at Jakutsk and announced the existence of Shilka River, along the banks of which grain and metal were to be found. (478) To investigate the truth of this report

478. Found in instructions to Poyarkof. See Chtenia V Imperatorskom Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostei Rossiskich (Moscow, 1861), no. I, I-14.

the woewod sent in 1643 Wasili Poyarkof and a number of other men. They struck the headwaters of the Amur (479) and sailed down that stream to its mouth.

479. There has been some discussion as to the origin of the word 'Amur' and as to the date when it was first used by Europeans. It is not of Russian but of Mongolian origin. In the instructions issued to Poyarkof in 1643 the name Amur is not mentioned, which indicates that it was then unknown to the Russians. On his return in 1646, Poyarkof makes use of the word, and this is the first time that it appears in the Russian documents. He says, 'From the Shilka to the Amur in six days. . . The Amur falls into the Shungal . . . and from there the Amur continues to the sea' [Dopolnenia K Aktam

Istoricheskim, vol. iii, 50-55]. In addition to the term Amur the river had other names. According to Muller the Manchoux called it Sachalin Ula, the Chinese Helung Kiang, also Chelundsiam, the Tungas Schilkar, Schilk or Silkar, and the ancient Mongols Karamuram. Siebold gives the Japanese name as Manke. Witsen says that Ngam-Cumkiam is the Chinese name."

"Until the early thirties of the eighteenth century Witsen was the generally accepted authority for this part of the world. By that time new and scientific data had become accessible. Three Jesuits, Regis, Jartoux, and [259] Fidelli went down the Amur in 1709 (493) and came near enough to the mouth of the river to learn from the natives that

493. Du Halde, J. B. Description. . . de l'Empire de la Chine, vol. i, p. xxx.

there was a large island close by. (494) About ten years later a map of these regions

494. —Ibid, vol. iv, 12. 'Ils nous apprirent les premiers, ce que nous ne scavions pas, qu'il y avoit vis-a-vis l'embouchure du Saghalien oula une grande Isle habité par des gens semblables a eux. Dans la suite l'empereur y a envoyé des Mantcheoux, qui y ont passe sur les Barques de ces Ketchengtase lesquels demeurent au bord de la Mer, et ont commercé avec les Habitans de la partie occidentale de l'Isle.'

was completed in China and a copy sent to France. This copy fell into the hands of D'Anville who was constructing a map to go with Du Halde's China. On the Jesuit map the mouth of the Amur, or Saghalien oula, is situated near the fifty-second parallel,

and the island facing it is much larger than the Amoerse Eylandt of Witsen. On the copy which D'Anville possessed no name was given to the island, but close by these words were written: Saghalien Anga Hata, meaning, 'Rocks at the mouth of the Black River.' (495) In his ignorance of the Chinese language, D'Anville translated the words as 'Island

495. Klaproth, J. Apercu des Trois Royaumes, 188.

of the Black River.' (496) In the course of time the words 'Anga Hata' were dropped,

496. —Ibid.

leaving Saghalien for the name of the island. (497) D'Anville's map, being superior to

497. The name is also written: Saghalin, Sagalien, Sachalien, etc.

Witsen's superseded it, and the term Saghalien superseded Amoerse and all other names given to it later. (498)

498. D'Anville's map was published in 1735."

104

akh -- a Chinese slave
aŋgzej -- a marriage class composed of women whom by the kinship nomenclature ego calls "wife" and whose agnates he calls akhmalk'i ("fathers-in-law"). These women would consist of: (1) daughters of all the "brothers" of the mothers, (2) all the "sisters" of the wife, (3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers, (4) "sisters" of the "father-in-law" of the son, (5) individual wives of all aki (brothers who are older than the person speaking), and (6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking.
chegin -- the major of the three souls of man
chkhnaj -- wooden image of Pal-n'igyvyn (a god)
chukh-chugynd -- a sacrifice
hap -- the stacked firewood of a funeral pyre
kekhn -- spirit helper of the shaman
kenchkh -- a supernatural bird "which comes on the wind," used by shamans
khal -- clan
khlay-nivukh -- an able and eloquent man, often an orator, who tries to establish peaceful relationships between feuding clans
kitus -- a supernatural worm-like creature used by shamans
krygrys -- an Ainu slave

langraf -- a shed for childbirth
lernd -- conjuring
lung -- fire drill
milk -- an evil spirit
mlyvo -- the world of the dead
nástun-n'ivukh -- storyteller
okht -- love magic
pandf -- people of common origin, cognates
n'astund -- heroic tales
pila uigryf -- house in which the bear festival is celebrated
pryski -- the favorite dog of the deceased who is afforded special treatment during the funeral and mourning period
pu -- the name given by each woman to a man whom she calls "husband," in addition to her own official husband; these are: (1) all the sons of the sisters of her father, (2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands, and (3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband, and among some groups of Gilyak, <u>all</u> the brothers
raf -- a little house with a little door, placed over a grave

104

ruvn -- brothers, actual and classificatory in the clan
shagynd -- an object of value used as part of the bride price
taru -- talisman
tkhusind -- ransom
tongch -- a representation of twins which is placed in a small storehouse and sacrificed to at the full and new moon
tugur -- the "master" of the fire (a supernatural being)
ulgind -- a sin
ymgii -- son-in-law

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128 With regard to "Otdel'nye materialy," for both the Tungus and the Gilyak, we must state that there might be data in them which were hastily thrown in during Shternberg's field work and, upon future examination by him, might have been deleted or corrected, but to clarify such instances, if they occur at all, is unfortunately, impossible.

●104 As for the transcription of the Gilyak and Tungus-Manchu words, in agreement with the above-named co-workers -- linguists, we have adopted a Latinized transcription, preserving, however, some Russian letters, namely, ж, з, х, ч, ш /transliterated in the translation as zh, dz, kh, ch, and sh, respectively/, and departing somewhat from the signs generally accepted in modern linguistics for the expression of the length of vowels, softening of sounds, and so forth, in view of the technical obstacles in the typography of publishing. For the same reason it was necessary in the transcription of the Gilyak words, to omit a number of signs for the expression of certain phonetic nuances accepted by Shternberg in his "Obraztsakh po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Samples for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/." An explanation of the accepted transcription can be found below.

In the monograph "Giliaki" and the sketch "Sakhalinskie giliaki" published during the author's lifetime, the former transcription for Gilyak words is preserved. /HRAF ed.: The spelling of native terms in the original text is confusing, because letters from both the Russian and Latin alphabets have been used and they are not always distinguishable. In doubtful cases the letters have been transliterated as Russian, for which the transliteration system of the Board of Geographic Names (BGN) is used. Furthermore, the spelling of native terms varies from section to section in the original text, in part because of the use of the different alphabets, but sometimes inexplicably. In the following table, which has been slightly modified to avoid the use of the five Russian letters mentioned above, the Russian letter to which a given consonant corresponds is shown in the transliterated (BGN) form. The Library of Congress transliteration system is used for bibliographic references, and tribal names are spelled as they appear in the Outline of World Cultures./

1: Shternberg--36 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5

Explanation of the Transcription System for Tungusic-Manchu Words

G
T
104

I. Vowels

a, e, i, o, u, y correspond to the Russian vowels а, э, и, о, у, ы

a:, e:, i:, o:, y: -- long vowels

a^n, e^n, i^n, etc. -- nasal vowels

á, é, í, etc. -- stressed vowels

II. Consonants

b corresponds to Russian b
c " " " ts
d " " " d
f " " " f
g " " " g
h " " German h as in the word habe
j corresponds to German j
k " " Russian k
l " " West European l
ł " " Russian hard l
m corresponds to Russian m
n " " " n
p corresponds to Russian p
r " " " r
s " " " s
t " " " t
v " " " labio-dental v
w corresponds to English w
z " " Russian z
kh " " " kh
sh " " " sh
zh " " " zh
ch " " " voiceless affricative ch

dz -- voiced affricative dz.
dz: -- voiced affricative dzh.
ng -- velar n, pronounced together, like n in the German language.
r -- prounounced "r", analagous to the Ukrainian r.

r: = γ = deep velar Ukrainian r.
k: = ǩ = k̄ = deep velar k.
kh: = x̌ = x̄ = deep velar kh.
g: = ǧ = ḡ = deep velar g.

ch: -- combined sibilant sounds chsh.
b', d', n', etc. -- palatization.
'k, 'p, etc. -- aspiration.

/Page xl is blank./

/135 cont./

*601 184 197 or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character. Thus, for example, "ytk, ymk" -- father, mother -- are completely identical in all dialects; "ruvn, tuvn" -- brother (eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "ruf" in the western dialect; "og:la, og:lang" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o:la" in the western dialect. In cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the previously mentioned "app" and "ivy," or to the formation of corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all dialects. Thus, for example, "shankh" -- woman in the eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "an kh" -- female, and "um-gu" -- woman in /136/ the western dialect has the same root as the common word "ym(k)" -- mother; in exactly the same way "ut-ku" -- man in the western dialect has the same root as "ytk" -- (father), and the corresponding az'mych in the eastern dialect is from azh -- male, etc.

● [104] In the table of kinship nomenclature and the explanations for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and territories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' -- (T.D.), the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin --(E.D.), and of the western (W.D.). From here on in the text we shall always use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

*601 614 104 [611] Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic family is only a cell of the strictly organized, exogamous, agnatic clan. We also ask the reader to remember that at the mention of this or that term without any special indication of whether it is used by males or females we shall imply that these terms are used identically by both sexes; in other cases the sex of the speaker will be specifically indicated.

/99 cont./

175 Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here informa-
114
101
[113]

1. J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (Dopoln. k" akt. istor. /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek").

tion about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

101 Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

[104]

2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

/128 cont./

000 3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104] 4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113] 5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113] 6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113 7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

/393 cont./

291 flap, through which the hand may be stuck outside of its covering if necessary (1).

[171] 1. On the hand coverings of the Tungus and of the Russians in Siberia the slit for sticking the hand out has no protective flap; on the other hand, it is present on the dog-fur coverings of the Orochi of Hadshi Bay.

[171] The Gilyak never have a hood hanging down the back between the shoulders on their fur coats for protection for the head, as is customary among all the more or less far northern peoples, Kamchadal, Koryak, Chukchee, Eskimo, even Tungus, and others. Instead, the neck and head have special articles of [239] clothing. For the protection of the former a boa made of the tail-fur of squirrels (Gilyak tolp; Pl. XIX)[2] is used and is sometimes worn around the head, in mild weather instead of the cap, in cold weather over it, to protect the forehead (Pl. XVIII).[2] About 30-40 squirrel tails go into a tolp of inferior quality, 50 and more into a handsomely bushy and good one. The Gilyak do not use any other fur for this purpose.

First of all, on their heads, on long journeys, in severe cold, or in biting winds, the Gilyak wear ear muffs (Gilyak tapais), which consist of two flaps connected in front and back by a strap or band. These are either made singly out of sealskin [239] or are lined with fox or otter fur and provided on the outside with a piece of material on which differently colored arabesques are stitched (Pl. XX, Fig. 5,[3] and Pl. XXII, Figs. 1 and 2).[4] Over them there is a large fur cap enveloping the entire head (Gilyak tosn-hak) (2). It is of simple cut, straight at the bottom,

[104] 2. The s is soft in pronunciation here.

and at the front corners has either two bands (as in the pertinent illustration, Pl. XXI, Fig. 1)[5] for tying it under the chin, or only a single band connecting the inner sides of the two corners,

[2,2,3,4,5] [See category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1000, 1002 and 1001 respectively -- Analyst]

/395 cont./

291 824 171 175 [113] ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with

2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

[113] 3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

291 824 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

293 412 [291] Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt, in particular as a holder for some of the implements always accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always [531] of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI, 2 Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

[104] 4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.

2 [See Category 116, P. 1011 -- Analyst]

SS /425 cont./
262 in that they more or less provide merely a kind of accompaniment,
171 and to be sure, they are either the wild, natural products of the country, which are simply gathered, some cereals and vegetables obtained by trade from the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese,
SS Japanese, and, more recently, Russians. The individual peoples
[184] of the Amur region primarily differ from one another as far as food is concerned only in that fish among some or meat among others is the principal food, each according to their principal occupation, and furthermore the proportion of plant food to animal food differs for each one according to their greater or lesser communication and trade relation with the Chinese or Japanese.

G Among all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are
*262 the most pronounced ichthyophagi. One cannot imagine their
G life without fish; it is the conditio sine qua non of their own
[231] existence as well as that of their only domestic animal, the dog, which provides them with food as well as transportation and
G clothing. There is hardly a fish in their country that the Gilyak
*262 would not, if necessary, use as food. But standing in the first
226 rank, of course, are those fish that, because of their seasonal
251 appearance in great numbers, make it possible to prepare the large supply needed to last through the long winter when fish are scarce, hence the species of salmon coming up the rivers from the sea, among which, in turn, Salmo lagocephalus Pall. (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin laghi-tscho) and Salmo proteus Pall. (Gilyak /426/ tengi-tscho) play the principal role (1).

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1. In all of eastern Siberia to Kamchatka and northwestern America, the Russian terms for these two species of salmon are keta and gorbuscha; hence in the following I shall refer to them occasionally as keta and gorbuscha salmon.

At the time when these fish come up into the lower Amur and its tributaries, which falls in June for S. proteus, in August for S. lagocephalus, an active life prevails among the Gilyak, for everyone is busy with preparing supplies of fish for the winter.

/438 cont./

*262 Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is far behind. In the first rank here, because they are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local, wild, natural products, many kinds of berries, small tree-fruits, tubers, herbs, algae, and seatang. All of these vegetable foods [252] are eaten only as accompaniments to animal food or mixed with it and made into various kinds of dishes. The bilberry, Vaccinium [137] vitis idaea L. (Gilyak myghr-als (7), or also /439/ simply called

• [104] 7. The s is soft in pronunciation in this word, like the French z.

als, i.e., "berry") (1), in particular stands first among them with

[192] 1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry itkt or paghla(n)-als, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold uses and 222 the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the [221] fall great stores of this berry are put up for the winter. For this purpose whole families, but in particular the women and children, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying into the Amur or Liman. At a convenient place there a tent or merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected, in front of which a fire blazes, and the whole time is devoted to the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kamr and Litsch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such [251] families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, birch-bark bags and baskets and brought by boat to the house, where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around Nikolayevsk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs throughout the winter, they also supplied the Russians there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil 252 and stirred, represent the whole of the customary accompaniment *262 for the fish, especially jukola, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, they

264 /446 cont./
415 broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat, blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir (3)

[104] 3. The s is soft in this word and is to be pronounced like the French z.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously on account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thumb-
[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves
415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great
531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for
796 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not by any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin and the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi, all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decorations put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artistic carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively
322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-
412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

/483 cont./

493 central ich, that is, therefore, with only a quarter of its total length, while the other three-quarters, unloaded, rise more or less above it, and only as a result of loading do the soles come in contact with the ground farther toward the front and back. The mountings serving to protect them extend at least as far as the outermost ich, and very often almost as far as the ends of the soles. 493 The ich opposite each other are connected on top by wooden cross- 192 pieces (Gilyak tynyssj, e in the illustration). On these rest the long rods (Gilyak turssj, f in the illustration) which form the bottom of the sled; they are lashed to each of the crosspieces with straps, and where there are no crosspieces, in the front and back quarters of the sled, also by means of a pair of straps plaited across and stuck through the wooden, longitudinal side-pieces, and finally their ends are stuck through a crosspiece bored for the purpose (Gilyak warr(o)s, g in the illustration) which connects the two wooden, longitudinal side-pieces of the sled just in front of the above-mentioned kernghi. Finally, at each end of the sled there is a curved piece of wood (Gilyak mich, i in the illustration), which, in a gently sloping position, is lashed to both the longitudinal side-bars and to the ends of the soles projecting beyond the last cross- 493 piece. The guide rope for harnessing the dogs is attached to the soles immediately below the curved piece of wood at the front end. The curved piece of wood at the rear end is used for knotting on a strap which the Gilyak takes in his hand or fastens to his belt when he follows the sled on ski, in order to have himself thus dragged along by the dogs and to prevent them from running away without him. Sometimes, however, the curved piece of wood in the rear is missing, and in this case the front and rear ends of the sled differ, whereas otherwise they exhibit no differences. The Gilyak [824] make all the pieces of the sled out of birch wood (both from Betula [192] alba L., Gilyak chiws, and from B. ermani Cham., Gilyak kedras) (1), which on Sakhalin they designated separately for me as

[104]

1. In both Gilyak words the final s is soft and should be pronounced like the French z.

"tulytynt-tschchar," i.e., "wood for sled-building," with the sole

493 /484 cont./
long strap. If a longer trip is undertaken, a few of the most necessary weapons, a lance or a bear spear, are stuck under the strap. In front, approximately above the outermost ich, a saddle-
[192] shaped hollow is left when the baggage is loaded, which, covered
[237] with a piece of fur (Gilyak tyws) (2) likewise fastened to the sled,

[104] 2. The s here is soft, pronounced like the French z.

and, to be sure, a piece of fur from either a bear's head or an elk's head (Gilyak kotr-ngar-tyws and toch-tschongr-tyws, respectively, serves as a seat for the Gilyak going on the trip, who, with small ski on his feet, sits astride it (see Pl. XXXVII /see p.1017/).

492 The Gilyak dog-harness is very simple and primitive: to
[192] the above-mentioned long guide-line (Gilyak nygtsch, Pl. XXXVI
[237] /see p.1016/, Fig. 2) plaited out of seal straps are fastened, at regular intervals and alternating from one side to the other, seal-leather neck-bands or collars (Gilyak chall) of the form shown in Fig. 3 of the last-mentioned plate, and such a one, but without the movable iron ring, is also attached to the end of the strap (Gilyak lat) serving as an extension of the guide-line. This latter /485/ neck-band is pulled over the head of the lead dog, the others over the other dogs, and the team is ready. The harnessing of the dogs, therefore, is the work of only a few minutes among the
[192] Gilyak. On solemn and festive occasions, such as matchmaking trips or the dog races arranged during the bear festivals, and the like, instead of ordinary collars the dogs get elegant ones with high-standing, Chinese horsehair braids and tassels made of red-dyed sheep or goat wool, the so-called rüssk of the Gilyak, like those illustrated on Plate XXXVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5. The accompanying woodcut serves to show the way in which such a collar is put on the dog. /Illustration appears here./ The chief disadvantage of the Gilyak harness is that the dogs have to pull with their necks, and, with great exertion and in violent excitement, they all too readily choke themselves. In this it is far behind the

/532 cont./

286 uniform in shape. Nevertheless, as we shall see in a moment, only a few, about four, can be distinguished among them as the most important and most practicable sizes on the basis of the principal types of fish. But before we discuss them in more detail, consideration must be given to one instrument which is used by the Gilyak for knotting all nets, no matter how fine or coarse they may be, for an uninterrupted and an even flow of the work. This is the so-called pork (Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 7) -- a wooden reel revolving around its axis, with two arms at the top and at the bottom, on which the cord for the net is wound and which is hung by its lower handle-end on a ceiling beam of the /533/ yurt or elsewhere, so that the threads required as the work progresses always run smoothly and unchecked to the knotter.

[192] The two most important tools used by the Gilyak for net-knotting are a peculiar netting-needle, Gilyak kilks (1) (Pl.

1. Among the Olcha it is called ssarpol, and among the Goldi ssarfo.

XLI /see p.1021/, Figs. 1-4), and a rectangular wooden board called kiwu (2) (ibid., Figs. 5 and 6). The former consists of

•[104]

2. The w in this word is pronounced like the English w. Among the Olcha the kiwu is called keror or kerul.

a long, narrow, and thin wooden plate, the lower end of which is two-pronged as a result of the cutting out of a section, while in the upper half two long cutouts running parallel to the edges and meeting just short of the tip, leaves a long prong in between reaching almost to the tip, which I shall call the upper prong to distinguish it from the two on the lower end. The cord to be used for making the net, unwinding from the above-mentioned reel, is wound around these three prongs, and, indeed, in such a manner that it is alternately slung around the one and the other of the two lower prongs and, in between, always around the upper prong.

/551 cont./

224 and Tro Gilyak paghlant and paghlantsch, i.e., the red one) in its different color variations (1).

•[104]

1. Concerning the designations for these color variations of the fox among the Gilyak and the other Amur peoples, as well as the kinds and the geographic distribution of both the mammals named and those still to be named in the following, one should read my pertinent discussion of the first volume of this work.

The Gilyak for the most part catch the sable, unquestionably standing first in importance, with traps. The one most [192] commonly used is the so-called ha, a pinch-trap /Quetschfalle/, which is set up in the following manner. In the trunk of a tree, at a height of about three or four feet above the ground, a hollow is made, and in it the end of a beam of corresponding thickness is stuck and supported by a little stick resting upon another little wooden stick or plate, which starts at the bait at the bottom of the hollow. As soon as the animal lured by the bait, a piece of fish (jukola) or seal blubber, nibbles at it, the little supporting stick slides off its base and lets the beam fall. But in order that the latter pinch the animal more firmly and securely, the edge of the hollow lying under it is framed by a small wooden crosspiece. The ha is naturally set up at places which the sable likes to visit, in particular in the bottoms of valleys, on the banks of small rivers, in which case the pinch-beam is laid across the brook, because sables like to use fallen tree trunks as bridges in order to cross over from one slope of a valley to the other (2). Thus,

2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 101) even maintains, having often observed it, he says, in the tracks of this animal, that the sable never goes around a fallen

224 /552 cont./
[114]

3. (cont.)
others, in Middendorff (Sibir. Reise /Siberian Journey/, Vol. IV, p. 1387).

The same can be said of a second device used among the Gilyak for catching sable, a clamp-trap /Klemmfalle/ con-
[171] structed with a bow. This trap, distributed throughout Siberia, has already been described and illustrated many times by travelers (4), and I could therefore pass over it quickly if it did not seem

4. Recently, for instance, by Bush (Reindeer, dogs and Snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 316) and by Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1388).

to me of interest to point out, besides its in part peculiar use among the Gilyak, the designations customary among them for its individual components in comparison with those, in part identical, for another apparatus to be discussed immediately below, which can be done much more briefly and clearly with
224 the help of illustrations. Among the Gilyak the clamp-trap in
192 question, shown on Plate XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 4, bears the name klai and is made as follows: a simple wooden bow (Gilyak puntsch, a of the illustration) is set into appropriate lateral notches in two sticks (Gilyak assj, b of the illustration) put together in the form of a fork and joined at the top. Above the crossboard (d, Gilyak lyms) connecting them at some distance from their lower, pointed ends, they are provided with longitudinal cutouts, into which the lower part, consisting of another such crossboard, of the wooden piece c, connected at the top with the bowstring, is stuck and can move up and down depending on the tautness of the bow. Curiously enough, the wooden piece c is simply called ku, that is "arrow," by the Gilyak -- a striking /553/ generalization such as is not often found among them otherwise, and, correspondingly, an upper crosspiece (e) connecting the two side staffs with each other and provided with a cutout for the movements of the ku is called kurscho(gr)tsch (1). A small stick (f,

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1. The letters in parentheses are only

/553 cont./

224 182 [104]

1. (cont.)
barely pronounced, like a faint growl.

Gilyak tschymrch), fastened to the side staffs as well as to the bowstring, serves for stretching the bow, and another (h, Gilyak ksull), which is connected with the former by a cord (g, ksull-puks), holds it taut, which is possible only as long as it is itself supported at its lower end on a thin stick (i, Gilyak taghr-tschissj) inserted into the cutouts in the side staffs between ku and lyms. The slightest pressure on it is sufficient to make the little stick h fly off, whereupon the taut bowstring is released and shoots the ku down to the lyms, tightly clamping anything found in between. In order to set up the klai, the Gilyak first make a hollow in a tree trunk directly above the snow, into which they put some jukola or seal blubber as bait, and then stick the trap under discussion in the snow in front of it in such a way that the animal can only reach the bait by way of the wooden step i and thus inevitably must be caught. In the klai, also, aside from sable, the above-mentioned, worthless small animals are all too often caught. According to the Gilyak, they sometimes also use this trap in their dwellings in order to catch in them the very numerous and annoying rats (Mus decumanus, Gilyak njagrsch), which, by the way, are not used in any way among them.

224 [136]

Taking advantage of the above-mentioned fondness of the sable to run the length of tree trunks felled across a brook, the Gilyak set up snares on them to catch the little animal. For this purpose, in about the middle of the trunk, a cross row of upright sticks more or less hidden by the tree branches is set up and only a single opening just large enough for the sable to slip through is left between them. Not far from there an upright flexible tree branch is stuck in the bottom of the stream, and the tip of it is bent down to the horizontal trunk by means of a string ending in a noose and is fastened in the opening left for the sable between the cross-sticks, in which the noose, too, is found, with the help of a little hook. The latter, since the opening is small, must inevitably fly off when the sable enters it, whereupon the bent branch jerks upward and the noose tightens around the

/556 cont./

224 [191] by the native tribes, Tungus, Yakut, Ostyak, Samoyed, and by the Russians for slaying all the animals possible, from the largest, such as bear and elk, down to the sable and squirrel, is used much less among the Gilyak and is limited to only the most important fur-bearing animals -- a circumstance which is likewise evidence of their slight inclination for hunting and, at the same time, their predominant and decisive interest in trade.

The great benefit that the Gilyak derive from fox fur both in trade and for their own use induces them to hunt this animal, not only with the self-firer, but also in other ways. For example, they likewise use for catching it a clamp-trap, which, constructed in the same way and only somewhat larger, /557/ is also used for 224 192 wolves. This is their so-called kasma (1). It consists of a peg

[104] 1. The s is pronounced softly here, like the French z.

stuck into the ground and running up into a two-pronged fork at the top. The two prongs, only very gradually diverging from each other from their common base, are of unequal lengths. The shorter one (called wa in Gilyak) is sharpened on its inner side, side, the longer one rounded off. On the latter, not far from its tip, there is a cross-stick (Gilyak tabs-tigrsch) (2), on which

[104] 2. The s again pronounced softly. Tigrsch means "wood" in general.

the bait, a piece of jukola or meat, a dead crow, or the like, is 224 put. The fox or wolf jumps against the peg in order to reach the bait with its paw, whereby its foot slides off the cross-stick and remains clamped between the two prongs. The height of the kasma is different for the fox and the wolf: for the former it must rise to about three and a half feet above the snow; for the latter, four and a half feet.

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1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

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[824]
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In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113]

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

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In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p. 1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

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3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/567 cont./

114 On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching
325 the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The
326 smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the
192 entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor underneath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr) made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and immediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube immovably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak, placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows, alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another, adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the

•[104] 3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordi-
[293] nary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yidshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj,

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/ which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner, a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

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either the buyer or seller. The price or the value of the trade commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser demand which they enjoy among the Chinese and, on the other hand, the more or less strong need for them found among the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, and which is itself determined in turn in large part by their use in the trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities inevitably arose when the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, also came in contact with the Russians, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian commodities began in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese. More than elsewhere, therefore, it must be kept in mind in connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that my descriptions refer to a period when this contact had first been made and had not yet had the consequences that it has today. Finally, concerning the value of objects not involved in trade among the Gilyak, but associated with their households and the rest of their life and activities, the decisive factors are to be sought in their customs, conceptions, and views, evidence of which will be given in the following.

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By means of many and repeated inquiries among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn the values, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russians, and the foremost articles in their life and households, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Thus, among them:

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A sable pelt, depending on its quality, ... equals 1-3 ja
A pelt from the red fox (pas(1)-nga) . . " 2 "

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[104]

1. The s is pronounced soft, like the French z.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (pladf) . . equals 3 ja

/609 cont./

175 designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no
439 doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

439 The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the
437 Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter and
484 located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,
487

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made
[501] in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the
[103] higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these keelless vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsô Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaref (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

[104] 2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible. But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and especially south of Duï as far as Pilja-wo, is steep and rocky, offers many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

/665 cont./

556 Among the Gilyak the man who undertakes frequent journeys to the Manchu and Ssisam, carries on extensive trade with his countrymen and the neighboring tribes, and in general lives in evident prosperity is regarded as rich, kolla, and therefore esteemed. He is regarded as belonging to a higher level, however, as mykstschr-kolla nibach, a very rich and highly esteemed man, only if, in addition, he also meets the following conditions: 1) if he owns many of the above-mentioned (1)

1. See pp. 933-937 above.

objects which are especially valuable in the eyes of the Gilyak, such as a lynx-fur coat, old Manchurian iron-armor, bows with buffalo and rhinoceros horn mountings, three-handled Japanese cooking kettles, and the like, and then does not sell these inherently useless, but yet very costly articles, /666/ thus putting them to practical use, but keeps them only as dead capital and heirlooms for his sons, he proves his great wealth; 2) if from time to time he gives great bear festivals with opulent feasts and arranges for the invitation of many guests; or finally, 3) if he displays a particularly large household and has 3-5 wives besides several male and female slaves. It is not necessary that all three conditions be met by one person -- it is enough if one or another of them is satisfied as long as this is done to a particularly high degree. Ssogin in Kuĭk-Mäo, for instance, owned a number of luxury items and also had two wives and a female slave, but he was nevertheless regarded as only a kolla nibach. On the other hand, Numkwin in Wair (1), Ansin in Kaki, Ssondon and

1. The same who was mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) as one of the murderers of de la Brunière.

his son Libgun in Tschylm, Jondom in Kalm, Pysgun and Mesgun (2) in Patt, and, especially, Judin in Tebach were

2. In all the Gilyak names mentioned here the s is pronounced soft, like the French z.

•[104]

/671 cont./

821 tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas the ladwilantsch (southeast wind), the tungyrsch and ngaluws (1)

[104] 1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French z.

(west and southwest wind), and the kongrsch (south wind) cause

[484] them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

[823] 2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: ady, tschlangi, kongrsch, and tungyrsch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Duĭ to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

[782] [789]

Magic arrow for exorcising storms.

821 789 782 front of the sleds of the travelers. In the village itself several methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a square piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing tinder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the stormy ady-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

/704 cont./

*796 231 described above, for the latter was done after the hind legs of the animal had already been fettered in the cage, but here the bear could make full and free use of all four extremities and its teeth. While the procession halted outside the house, all the ropes and straps required for carrying out the feat were held in readiness. Seizing the moment when the mighty animal stood fully erect, one of the Gilyak threw himself from the front around its neck and embraced it as firmly as he could. At the same moment a second one muzzled the animal. Simultaneously several others seized the animal from the rear, pulled its hind legs from under it by means of nooses, and held them against the ground. The bear fell on its front paws, but here, too, someone was ready to press them against the ground with a pole and to fetter them. Thus through quick and concerted steps the animal was completely disarmed and fettered in an instant, and now the auxiliary ropes needed on its neck-band could be put on in peace and safety. As soon as this was done, all the Gilyak jumped off the bear, all the knots and nooses fastened around its snout and paws with special skill were loosened with one jerk, and the bear again stood there on its chain entirely free and unfettered, except for the neck and body band, roaring loudly, repeatedly shaking itself. Now, together with the small bear, it was led back into the house and regaled there with finely crushed ice and crowberries /Strickbeeren/, whereupon, after a short pause, the same procedure was again repeated several times, that is, the small bear was taken immediately from Judin's house to another one, but the large bear only after having been led in and out four times, or sometimes only twice.

*796 322 778 Immediately after the bears had been removed, the male youth of the village began to carry large and small sticks of alder and mountain ash into the house and to deposit them at the place where the bears had stood, until there was a large pile of them. Everybody who had a knife, except for the women and girls, began to cut the sticks at one end, or, more properly, to whittle them, that is, to make the so-called nauws (1) of the Gilyak out of them.

• [104]

1. The s here is to be pronounced soft, like the French z.

/705 cont./

*796 23/ talked about in an animated discussion; in short, on such an occasion one hardly recognizes the otherwise serious, sedate, cautious, and somewhat taciturn Gilyak. Late at night the procession with the medium-sized bear paid a brief visit to Judin's house. But only the two bears that belonged to him returned to it for the night. Men and animals had tugged themselves weary and seemed to need a rest. The night also passed more quietly than one would expect with two bears quartered in the house.

Toward the morning, January 12, however, I was awakened by a loud roar from the bears; the leading of the animals back and forth, out of the house and back again, had begun anew. First our two sleeping companions were taken out, and then all three bears were brought back in again, in the order established at the beginning of the festival, and fed out of three nichyr, the mossj that had been prepared the day before, some of which the people ate, and then the foreign bear was removed again, while the other two
*796 remained in the house. Then began the preparation of the place where on the following day the bears were to meet their deaths and then be skinned and cut up. For this, a rectangular area not far from the house was marked off with the sticks (nauws) carved the day before, and at each of four places about a fathom apart on its longitudinal diameter two strong stakes with head-shaped tips were rammed into the ground beside each other. These stakes were old and may already have served the same purpose several times. They were likewise surrounded by whittled sticks. At one end, in line with the row of stakes, an entrance to the area marked out by the nauws (the so-called kahdra of the Gilyak) was left open; at the other, opposite end a small structure made out of boards (called läsng (1) among the Gilyak stood somewhat elevated above

[704] 1. The s is to be voiced like the French z.

the ground on four posts driven into the earth and was closed in the back, but in front, in the direction of the row of stakes, was quite /706/ open, and here, besides a crosspole near the roof, had a second, lower crosspole, by means of which the opening was

576 /721 cont./
*196 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
262 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[855] pated in the meal; indeed, even the women and children re-
[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

•[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.]

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[857] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
[533] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated, for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

A /737 cont./

796 782 [535] horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage, whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

000 /739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 776 124 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ýżigy (**) and designate

G [361] * From the villages of Patchä and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

G [104] ** Wherever the author used ы and я from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kíngulātsch, an attribute that means the same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuīk (***). But they

G [798] [532]

G [361] *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo; see pp. 448, 535.

[LSS: The author's glossaries of Russian words (pp. xxi-xxv) and of Gilyak words (pp. xxvi-xxviii) have not been reproduced for the Files. The following words, however, are frequently used in the text. Definitions are those of the author.

Russian words:
Brodyága, i--Vagabond, a passportless vagrant; generally in Eastern Siberia, an escaped convict.
Buran--snowstorm.
Kita--Salmon (Salmo lagocephalus).
Shuba--Fur coat, generally applied to the peasants' sheepskin coats.
Taigá--Siberian forest or jungle.

Gilyak words:
Cham--medicine man
Khal--clan; (it is actually a sib, and it sometimes transliterated xal.).
Kiskh--God, the creator or judge of good and evil, but used in a vague and general way for all gods.
Mligh-vo--The "other world" village whither the spirits of those who died a natural death journey.

9: Hawes T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2

104

Ni vookh--a god or lord.
Pal ni vookh--Lord or god of the (mountain or) forest
Tol ni vookh--Lord or god of water (sea and rivers).]

10: Coxwell--119 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 105

"GILYAK POINT is on the coast of Asia, opposite the island of Sakhalien. The Gilyaks, a hybrid folk of chiefly Mongolian characteristics, inhabit the delta of the Amur and the northern part of Sakhalien. These primitive people, who live by hunting and fishing, number about five thousand persons. Their summer clothing is made of cleverly prepared salmon-skins, and they exist almost entirely on fish. Some include them with the Chukchis and the 'Palaeo-Asiatics,' but Sternberg places them as a people apart. He states that among the Western Gilyaks, a man terms as his wives all his brothers' wives, but he may not marry his sister. (1)

1. The Turano-Ganowaian System and the Natives of N. E. Asia, p. 324 and 328.

The Gilyak is far more savage than the Tungus, and is described as false, thievish and vindictive. The betrothed is purchased by her father-in-law in her fourth or fifth year and brought up with her future husband. A dead man's soul takes refuge in his favourite dog, and the latter is sacrificed near the master's body, which is burnt or suspended in a coffin on a tree or placed on a platform. Fire is held in the greatest respect by the Gilyak. (2)

2. Reclus, VI, p. 439."

1: Shternberg, Lev Iakovlevich. Giliaki, orochi, gol'dy, negidal'tsy, ainy; stati i materialy (The Gilyak, Orochi, Goldi, Negidal, Ainu; Articles and Materials). Edited and preface by Ia. P. Al'kor (Koshkin). Khabarovsk: Dal'giz, 1933.

Pp. xxxix; 740. (HRAF MS pp. 554). 5 plates (12 photographs).

DLC: DK758.S5. DLC card no.: 51-52853.

Translated from the Russian for the Human Relations Area Files by Leo Bromwich and Norbert Ward, and prepared for the Files by Joan Verosky.
[Only pp. 1-388, mainly concerning the Gilyak, have so far been processed for the Files.]

/Shternberg's work is the most valuable ethnographical account on the Gilyak available. It describes religion, economy, and material culture - the latter somewhat sketchily - as well as changes due to Chinese trading activity and Russian colonisation. A greater part of the book, however, contains a detailed description and analysis of Gilyak kinship terminology and marriage rules. The analysis and succeeding conclusions on the development of Gilyak social organization are made in an effort to verify Engels' theory on the evolution of human society. Though of little objective value this analysis is of interest for the student of history of ethnological theory. The fact that the articles contained in this book were written at different points of time may account for inconsequences and contradictions in the ethnographical descriptions. Only from chapter XIV on does it become obvious that the first part of the book gives a strongly idealized picture of conditions among the Gilyak. The second part of the book discusses conditions actually witnessed by the author.

In the forty pages introduction the editor (1933-Stalinistic era) judges Shternberg's work and personality from the Marxist viewpoint./

Field date: 1890-1897, 1910
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1967

2: Schrenck, Leopold von. Die Völker des Amur-Landes [The Peoples of the Amur Region]. Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande in den Jahren 1854-1856 [Travels and Research in the Amur Region in the Years 1854-1856], Vol. 3. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1881-1895.

Pp. iv, x, 1-310, plates I-IX incl. maps, iv, xx, 311-630, plates X-XLVI, iv, xvi, 631-776, i, plates XLV11-LXX.
[Foreign text repaginated by HRAF as: Introductory i-iii; i-x; 1-310; map facing p. 310; 310, A - 310, EE; 311-630; 630, A - 630, HHH; 631-777; 777, A - 777, X]

Yale: S26ac 0341 3. [HRAF MS. pp. xvi, 1-431, 431a-431jj, 432-1026, 1026a-1026y, 1027-1720]

Translated for the Human Relations Area Files from the German by Alois Nagler.

[The author presents a thorough ethnographical and historical description of the peoples of the Amur region, Manchuria, and Sakhalin, with the main emphasis upon the Gilyak. For comparative purposes a large amount of data about the peoples of the northern Circum-Pacific area are given. The particular location and social connection with the larger ethnic units are conscientiously marked down for each group under discussion. Schrenck stresses the ecological approach, paying due consideration to the natural and human environment. Time periods are never mixed up, and predictions for the future development of the peoples of the Amur region under the heavy impact of civilization are made on the basis of comparative material. The author is highly critical in his evaluation of data, his own field

2: Schrenck, Leopold von.

data as well as those stemming from the various kinds of literature. As a basic asset to proper field work he points out the knowledge of the native language. He himself learned Gilyak and some Tungusic languages for research purposes.

In regard to its physical make-up, the source is divided into three major divisions, the first of which contains introductory information pertinent to the time period of the study and other items of a general background nature, then a more specific portion dealing with geographical and historical data in reference to the Amur River area. This latter portion is divided into three sections, the first of which contains information on the identification and location of the various indigenous peoples of the Amur region; section two contains data on the residential shifts of the population in historical times, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current (at the time of the author's study) in the Amur region; section three deals primarily with the origin and further division of the Amur people according to language and physical nature (skull form and physiognomy). The second major division of the source, which in turn is subdivided into seven sections (sections 4-10), deals chiefly with the material culture of the Amur people, such as house types, storehouses and depositories, population density and effects of war and disease on the population, foods, household utensils, liquors and tobacco, external appearance of the people (clothing, hair styles, etc.), means of transportation, fishing and marine hunting, hunting of land animals, weapons and protective body armor, and trade. The third and final major part of the source (sections 11-13 plus two appendices) deals primarily with social organization and religion, as for example, various aspects of family life, marriage, morality,

2: Schrenck, Leopold von.

division of labor in the household, childbirth, child rearing, slaves, inheritance, and blood revenge, social relations (property, wealth, hospitality) magical control of storms, gift giving, time reckoning, and various forms of recreation. A major portion of the remainder of the source deals with the bear festival ceremonies. The two appendices contain data on the religious concepts of the Amur people, and beliefs about life and death and the treatment of the dead.

Three separate Tables of Contents are to be found in this source, one for each major division, the first appearing on p. ii ff., the second on p. 431a ff., and the third on p. 1026c ff.

Besides the information on the Gilyak, this source also contains comparative data on the following ethnic groups and areas: RX1 Southeast Siberia, RX3 Goldi (Kile, Negidal, Olcha, Orochi, Orok and Samagir), RU5 Tungus (Birar, Manegir, Solon, and Orochon), AG1 Historical Manchuria, AG4 Manchu, AG5 Dagur, RY2 Chukchee, RY3 Kamchadal, RY4 Koryak, RY5 Yuit, AB2 Feudal Japan, AB6 Ainu, NA6 Aleut, and ND2 Eskimo. Material headed Daur on pp. 105-108, 334-362, 365-373 probably refers to the Dagur AG5 and not to the Tungus RU5.]

Field dates: 1854-1856
Analysts: Sigrid Khera
John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1967-1968

4: Ivanov, S. V., M. G. Levin and A. V. Smolyak. The Nivkhi. In, M. G. Levin and L. P. Potapov, eds., The Peoples of Siberia, pp. 767-787 and 916. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

9 illustrations.

HRAF copy.

/This source is a summary of Gilyak culture and history. In places it is difficult to separate actual data from political propaganda./

Field date: none
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologists-4
Processed in 1968

6: Kreĭnovich, E.A. Okhota na belukhu u gilʃakov derevni Puir [Hunting of the beluga by the Gilyaks of the village of Puir]. Sovetskaʃa Etnografiʃa, 1935, vyp. 2, (1935): 108-115. Moskva, Akademiʃa Nauk SSSR, 1935.

14 line drawings.

Yale: Nk10.Aklg.1935.

Translated from the Russian for the Human Relation Area Files by Abram Brumberg.

[This article consists of two excellent descriptions by Gilyaks of the beluga hunt in different Gilyak villages. The accounts were recorded by the author in the Gilyak language under the dictation of the informant.]

Field date: 1931
Analyst: Leila Small

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1953

RX2 Gilyak

7: Kreĭnovich, E. A. Morskoĭ promysel gilſakov derevni Kul' [The fishing industry of the Gilyaks in the village of Kul]. Sovetskaſa Etnografiſa, 1934, vyp. 5 (1934): 78-96, Leningrad, Akademiſa Nauk SSSR, 1934.

Yale: Nk10. Aklg. 1934

[The author, as he states in his article, was in the Amur region to study the dialect of the Gilyaks and to write an "ABC book," but he had time also to make ethnographic studies of these people. In this particular work he studies the fishing or sealing industry of the Gilyaks of the village of Kul. The information which he gives here is of great value both for the factual data and for the analyses of the organization of labor and the ownership of capital. All aspects of this industry are treated, including the collective effort involved, the sacrifices and the beliefs connected with the work as well as the other rituals involved, the preparation of the food caught, etc. Much emphasis is placed upon the labor specialization in the industry and the actual division of the spoils. Of particular interest here is the analysis of the various taboos connected with this industry which the author studies from the point of view of their practical value to the community. At the end of this article may be found the account of a sealing trip given by an old Gilyak, which has been translated from a Gilyak text by the author.]

Field date: 1931
Analyst: Ruth Heffner

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1953

9: Hawes, Charles H. In the Uttermost East. London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1903.

Pp. XXX, 478; frontispiece; preface; glossary; 3 maps; 70 photographs; line drawings; index.

Yale: Eeac. 902.

[LSS: A somewhat better than average travel account of a trip through Sakhalin Island by an Englishman. The author seemed genuinely interested in the culture of the Gilyaks and tried, as far as possible, to evaluate the validity of his information. Perhaps his prime interest, however, was the condition of the Russian prison camps on Sakhalin Island and he describes both the prisons and the conditions in them and the lot of the free Russian exile on Sakhalin. Some of this material has been included in the Files as indicative of the type of Russian to which the Gilyaks were exposed. The photographs are included in the Visual File. The list of errata on pp. xxix-xxx was not reproduced but individual errors are indicated in context. Field date: 1901; Evaluation: T-3.]

10: Coxwell, C. Fillingham. Siberian and Other Folk-Tales. London: C. W. Daniel Company, 1925.

Pp. 1056; preface; 1 map; bibliography; index.

Yale: Nkh35.925c.

[LSS: The Gilyak tales in this anthology of Siberian folklore are translations of tales collected by Sternberg (Sternberg, Lev IAkovlevich. Obraztsy materialov po izucheniiu Giliatskago iazyka i fol'klora, sobrannykh na ostrovie Sakhalinie i v nizob'iakhie Amura [Specimens of Material for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore, collected on Sakhalin Island and the Lower Amur]. Izviestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, Ser. 5, Vol. XIII, pp. 387-434. St. Perersburg, 1900.)
The texts of the tales are included in category 539 but comments on them are included in a variety of categories as well as 539.
Field date: no date. Evaluation: B-3.]

13: Seeland, Nicolas. Die Ghiliaken. Eine ethnographische Skizze. [The Gilyaks. An ethnographic sketch]. Russische Revue, 21 (1882): 97-130, 222-254. St. Petersburg: Verlay der Kaiserlichen Hofbuchhandlung H. Schmitzdorff (Carl Röttger) 1882.

Yale: Bw 2.86. 11. [HRAF MS: 1-61 p.]

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Mrs. Frieda Schütze.

[Although the author does not give the dates for his stay in the Amur country among the Gilyak, he spent four years there, and he states that his material is based on his own observations and also on information obtained from Russians who were familiar with the Gilyak. This, he says, is particularly true of the information on the Sakhalin-Gilyak whom he did not visit, for which he is indebted to Dr. A. Lebedev. His article is a completely ethnographical account which is both unbiased and complete for the amount of space which it covers. As the sub-headings to a certain extent indicate, the information deals with: the geographical distribution and population; geography; food and cooking; clothing; tobacco use; transportation methods; occupations (hunting, fishing, and household tasks); weapons; marriage customs and child rearing; position of women; morality and crime; personality traits; intellectual development; time computation; council, jurisdiction, duels, prosecution of criminals and inheritance laws; economic and social conditions; amusements and festivals; burial customs; religion and belief in the afterlife; sicknesses and and medical care; and, finally, the Gilyak language.--Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Ruth Heffner

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1954

15: Piłsudski, Bronisław. Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei den Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin (Giljaken und Ainu) [Pregnancy, birth and miscarriage among the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu)]. Anthropos, 5 (1910): 756-774, Vienna, 1910.

1 figure

Yale: Nk10. - An89. 5.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Mrs. Eva Kessler.

[Only one half of this article has been translated for the Gilyak file since the last part deals with the Ainu customs in relation to childbirth. This is an excellent article dealing with the limited subject of customs and beliefs connected with pregnancy and childbirth, the treatment of mother and child before and after birth, and the strange beliefs and taboos connected with twin births. Material here is based on the author's own observations of the Gilyak on Sakhalin Island.]

Field date: 1895-1905
Analyst: Ruth Heffner

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1954

19: Genest, Otto. Kapitän Jakobsen's Reisen im Gebiete der Giljaken und auf der Insel Sachalin. [Captain Jakobsen's trip in the Gilyak region and on the Island of Sakhalin]. Globus, 52 (1887): 378-382. Braunschweig, Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1887.

Yale: E1D + G51 52. [HRAF MS: 1-10 p.]

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Neuse.

[The material included in this short article on the Gilyak is based on information in Captain Jakobsen's diary on his travels in the region of the Gilyak near Nikolayevsk and on Sakhalin Island. This is the second of two articles based on this diary which were written by Otto Genest, the first being frequently referred to here is 18: Genest in the RX3 Goldi file.

Captain Jakobsen spent only short periods of time among the Gilyak during the latter part of 1884 and the first part of 1885 and, therefore, as the author warns us, the information on the Gilyak is much scantier than that on the Goldi. This article sketchily covers the mode of life of the Gilyak and their locations, their clothing, their housing and a few of their superstitions, but the bulk of the material is concerned with the bear festival which the diarist was permitted to attend in the Gilyak village of Vaida. Little attempt was made by Jakobsen to analyze the data which he collected, and the author of this source has tried without success to understand the meaning of the symbolic ritual connected with the bear festival.]

Field date: 1884-1885
Analyst: Ruth Heffner

Evaluation: Unknown-2
Processed in 1953

20: Bush, Richard J. Reindeer, Dogs, and Snow-Shoes: A Journal of Siberian Travel and explorations. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1871.

Pp. xx, 529; frontispiece; preface; 1 map; 45 line drawings; 9 tables.

Yale: Eeac. 865.

[LSS: The author went to Siberia to make preliminary surveys for the proposed route of the Russo-American telegraph line. In this book, he describes his adventures and the people he encountered. The material in it, therefore, is not particularly scientific. The few sections on the Gilyak, however, were excerpted for the File, but the drawings were not reproduced. Field date: 1865. Evaluation: T-2.]

21: Golder, F. A. Russian Expansion in the Pacific 1641-1850. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1914.

Pp. 368; preface; frontispiece; 4 illustrations; 5 maps; 9 appendices; bibliography.

Yale: Eeac. 641.

[LSS: This history of Russian expansion actually has no information on the Gilyaks but it has been included in the Files since it clarifies the history of foreign intervention in the island of Sakhalin and the upper Amur. Only the few pages on Sakhalin and the Amur have been excerpted.
Field date: no date. Evaluation: H-3.]

22: Knox: Thomas W. Overland through Asia. Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1870.

Pp. xviii; frontispiece; preface; 192 illustrations; 1 map.

Yale: Eeac. 866k.

Included in the file: Pp. 130-136; 143-147; 150-155.

[This source contains very little information of an ethnographic nature. It is a travel account, and the author's attention seems to be centered on the scenery and problems of transportation in the Gilyak country. Information is given, however, on shamanism, fishing methods, types of boats, and the species of birds found along the rivers and islands of the Amur valley. Some information is given also on the education of the Gilyak youth.
Only the pages containing valuable information on the Gilyak have been processed for this file. --Analyst]

Field date: 1866?
Analyst: Alice McCloskey

Evaluation: Traveler-2
Processed in 1953

Collins, Perry McDonough. A Voyage down the Amoor: with a Land Journey through Siberia, and Incidental Notices of Manchooria, Kamschatka, and Japan. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1860.

Pp. 390; frontispiece; preface.

Yale: Eeac. 856C.

[LSS: This is the usual travel account by an American who was evidently in Siberia to investigate trade possibilities. He devotes a few paragraphs (pp. 368-372) to the Gilyak but his material adds little to the available knowledge of the Gilyak and was not reproduced for the Gilyak file.]

[For information pertaining to the Gilyak language, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet Union, category 116; p. 9.]

/xii cont./

*114 terminology of that time). Shternberg met his first "native" at the Aleksandrovsk post, i.e., at the point of his initial deportation, three months after his arrival on Sakhalin. About the impression [117] that this meeting made on Shternberg, there is a characteristic entry in his diary for the twelfth of August, 1889: "I saw on the street an old Gilyak shaman in rags, with tousled gray hair and a foolish, good-natured-cunning smile on his face. Small boys surrounded him and shouted: 'Look at the old shaman, he will do some divining for you.' I approached. The old man, small in stature, with dignified gray hair, a high, powerful forehead, and a good-natured expression, stood helpless among them and looked at me. I departed from that sight with sadness..." Shternberg ends his entry in the diary with the significant sentence: "Some day I shall make a study of them" (1).

● [113]

1. "L. IA. Shternberg as a field ethnographer," in the periodical, Priroda i liudi, Nos. 17/18 and 19, p. 33, Leningrad, 1931.

Very soon, six months after this meeting with the Gilyak shaman, the Sakhalin administration "took the trouble" to give Shternberg the opportunity to study the Gilyak. Actually, due to his systematic attempts to defend his comrade -- political exiles, to whom corporal punishment and similar measures were beginning to be applied, he was sent in February, 1890, to the isolated cordon of Viakhtu, located 100 kilometers to the north of Aleksandrovsk in a half-deserted place on the shore of Tatar Strait. Here, in a walled-off corner of the hut-prison which he shared with his guards, Shternberg set up a "study" and began his ethnographic work. Not far (two kilometers) from the cordon there was a little Gilyak settlement which Shternberg started to visit often and to observe attentively the life of its inhabitants. Very soon, after thoughtful and extensive research, he succeeded in uncovering the peculiar family-clan structure of the Gilyak. Within the cordon itself, which was located near a thoroughfare, he first met even some Tungus who happened to be passing through.

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*114 Shternberg commenced a broader and a more systematic study of the Gilyak in the first part of February, 1891, when the administration, having learned of his work with the Gilyak, commissioned him to make a family census of the northwestern Gilyak of Sakhalin from the village of Arkyvo to Cape Marii.

/xiii/ During this trip Shternberg discovered group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship among the Gilyak. Parallel to this, he carefully studied the clan rules and religious views of the *114 Gilyak. It might be mentioned here that prior to his scientific re- 127 search he had not even had the opportunity to become familiar with the basic works of that time on the ethnography of the Far East. This is what he writes in the preface to his "Materialy /Materials/": "Due to the conditions of my stay on Sakhalin, even Schrenck's work on the history and material culture of the Amur peoples remained inaccessible to me for a long time... (1). From a careful

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1. Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, p. viii, St. Petersburg, 1908, publication of the Academy of Sciences.

analysis of Shternberg's literary heritage and of his first printed works, it is clear that at the time of his first trip to the Gilyak he had not had the opportunity to acquaint himself with either Schrenck's book, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskogo kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, or even Morgan's Ancient Society (Drevnee obshchestvo), Tylor's Pervobytnaia kul'tura /Primitive Culture/, or the other works on the history of primitive society. *114 On the other hand, his prison acquaintance with Engels' classic 121 work was not wasted on him. There is no doubt but that it was 127 thanks to this study that he was able in such an astonishingly short period to discover among the Gilyak group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship and, basically, to realize clearly [212] the full significance of this discovery. Thus, in a letter of the nineteenth of May to his good friend and companion-in-arms in

/xvi cont./

*114 least disturbed by the fact that "the view that the conditions of man s life are created by his ideas and notions, and not the other way around, is refuted by his whole history, in which, up to the present time, he has attained something a little different from what he wanted, and, in the long view, even the opposite in most cases" (1).

• [113]

1. F. Engels, Appendix to "Anti-Dühring," Collected Works of Marx and Engels /cited in Russian in the original text/, Vol. XIV, p. 364.

Thus, the distinctive feature of the subjectivists is the view that "the world of justice, the world of truth and right" stands "outside any relationship with the objective course of historical development, here -- 'justice,' there 'actuality,' and these /xvii/ two areas are separated one from the other by a whole gulf" (1), and

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1. Plekhanov, "K voprosy o razvitii monisticheskogo vzglizda na istoriiu /On the Question of the Development of the Monistic View of History/," Collected Works /cited in Russian/, Vol. VII, p. 102.

therefore they could not explain the past or propose real means for changing the present.

From the above, the enormous role which the subjectivists ascribed to the "critically thinking" individuals in working out the ideals and directing history on the desired course becomes understandable. There is no objective criterion for such ideals, according to the views of the subjectivists, for the opinion of the majority cannot serve as a measure of truth (2). The subjective sociologists

2. From the Marxist point of view, such an understanding of objectivity is absurd. "Majority," "mob," etc. consist of people, but the views of

*114 /xviii/ study, the objective analysis of any kind of social relationships whatever (1).

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1. "Chto takoe 'druz'ia naroda' i kak oni voiuiut protiv sotsial-demokratof /What 'friends of the people' are and how they struggle against the Social Democrats/," Collected Works /cited in Russian/, Lenin, Vol. I, p. 74.

It has never occurred to the subjective sociologists, including L. IA. Shternberg, that "instead of study and explanation, such methods only give support to the concept of society either of the bourgeois ideas of the English huckster, or the narrow-minded socialistic ideals of the Russian democrat -- and nothing more" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 75.

And actually, their theory is merely an expression of the social ideas of the Russian petty-bourgeois intelligentsia of a particular period and has not advanced mankind a single step toward an understanding of real social relationships or of those which "correspond to human nature."

The desire of the subjective sociologists to lift themselves above the question of the class struggle and to examine all social phenomena from a superclass point of view of abstract justice is well known. Proceeding from this, the subjectivists waged a bitter battle with the Marxist understanding of the theory of the class struggle, in particular advancing a theory about the "artificiality" of capitalism in Russia and about the absolute possibility of passing from the rural obshchina /community/ of the nineteenth century to socialism. There is no class struggle in the works of Shternberg. All the questions there are examined from some kind of superclass point of view. As a characteristic example, one might offer the following lecture by Shternberg to the Gilyak upon their electing their judge: "A judge should be impartial to rich and poor, friend and foe, he must judge conscientiously" (3). But the facts of

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3. Diary of the first trip to the Gilyak in February, 1891 (ms.).

exploitation among the Gilyak could nonetheless not have escaped even Shternberg, to which the following entry in one of his diaries bears witness: "These (Gilyak) kulaks exploit no less than the civilized ones" (4). We would look in vain, however, in his printed

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4. Diary of the trip to the eastern Gilyak in June, 1891 (ms.).

works for an exposition of how class differentiation and exploitation occur in the disintegrating clan society of the Gilyak. Moreover, an idealization of Gilyak society runs through all his works. Thus, in describing the Gilyak rich men (ysi), he says: what is the yz' if not that very same whole individual in his highest manifestation of individuality. The influence of the yz' is therefore purely /xix/ virtual, moral; there is no gulf between him and the poorest of his clansmen, either spiritually or economically, and at the same time the fraternal tie of the religious-social union of the clan dominates over all.

Well-known to us are the ridiculous attempts of the subjectivists to interpret Marxism as "economic materialism," as if it rejected all other aspects of social life except the economic aspect, in spite of the absolutely definite instructions of the founders of Marxism that there is no such automatic action of the economic situation as is sometimes imagined. Marxism does not reject the various aspects of social life, much less their interrelations, but shows that, in the final analysis, the decisive relationships are the economic ones. Finding the views of the Marxists one-sided, the subjective sociologists advanced their own theory about the interaction of these factors, not understanding that the interaction by itself explained nothing, but on the contrary required an explanation with the help of an objective criterion, which could only be the economic structure of society.

/xxi cont./

*114 the cultures of separate peoples, at whatever degree of development they stand" (1). "The sociology of peoples," in the words of

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1. Etnografiia i narodnoe khoziaistvo /Ethnography and the National Economy/" (ms.).

Shternberg, "although it claims independent significance, when we scrutinize the circle of phenomena treated by it, it begins to seem to us that it does not constitute a science separate from ethnography" (2).

2. Ibid.

For us such a definition of ethnography is absolutely unacceptable, for in the view of Shternberg ethnography is transformed into sociology, and as such counterposes itself to historical materialism, the only scientific sociology.

In his definition of ethnography, Shternberg briefly expresses his views on culture and its evolution as well.

It is particularly necessary to note the views of Shternberg on culture as an object of ethnographic study. "Culture," says Shternberg, "is the sum of all the values created by man himself, by his intellect. From the psychological point of view, it is the product of individual discoveries and inventions, from the dynamic -- the product of the gradual accumulation of these inventions by all past generations. Culture is not the biological, but the social heritage of past generations, and therefore the level of culture depends exclusively on the number of inherited inventions and discoveries, and not on the evolution of the physical nature of man himself. We must consider as genuine cultural values only the discoveries and inventions in the form of knowledge and skills, but not those material objects in which they take form from time to time."

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*114 Obviously, the idealistic essence of Shternberg's views on culture is set forth here, and therefore it need not be considered in more detail.

Shternberg, like the rest of the evolutionists, and also the subjective sociologists, regarded /xxii/ the dialectical method negatively, ascribing to Marxism the unoriginal application of the Hegelian triads, not understanding that "the dialectal method... is what Marx and Engels called nothing other than a scientific method in sociology, by which society is examined as a living organism in constant motion... for the study of which there must be an objective analysis of the relations of production which forms the given social formation, the study of the laws of its functioning and development" (1).

1. Lenin, op. cit., p. 93.

Shternberg considered it possible to limit himself merely to the application of the comparative method when studying social phenomena. The prevailing significance which he attributed to this method found vivid expression in his definition of ethnography as a science given above. In this connection, it is relevant to cite the words of Hegel on the relative significance of the comparative method. Considering an outline of several significant successes attained by comparative anatomy and comparative linguistics, Hegel says: "In spite of this, however, we must not only note that scientists have gone too far in supposing that this comparative method may be applied with equal success in all realms of knowledge, but we must especially stress as well that comparison by itself cannot give full satisfaction to scientific demands and that the results obtained by this method must be examined as merely preparatory, albeit essential works for a genuinely comprehensive knowledge" (2). And this is so, for by means of the comparative

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2. "Entsiklopediia filosofskikh nauk /Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences/," Works of Hegel /cited in Russian/, Part I, Vol. I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1929, pp. 200-201.

/xxii cont./

*114 method it is impossible to uncover the essence of phenomena.

Shternberg's views on the development of culture are of considerable interest. "As a result of our comparative study of culture," he says, "ethnography leads us to the conclusion that the creative work of culture has proceeded, everywhere and always, according to the same laws, that human psychics are united in their creative work, that human culture is just as united as its creator -- humanity as a whole, and that all distinctions in culture are the result, not of psychic distinctions, but of distinctions in the geographical and historical conditions, purely external and of a changeable character." "The ideal of culture is collective creative work and the equal distribution of cultural values. Every culture has /xxiii/ a tendency toward distribution: the ultimate goal is universalism and the unity of human culture" (1).

• [113]

1. "Vvedenie v etnografiiu /Introduction to Ethnography/" (ms.).

This aim gave him the opportunity to wage a decisive struggle with the race theory in ethnology, maintaining the inequality of different races and peoples. On the other hand, in a number of cases precisely this aim allowed Shternberg to explain different social phenomena, to approach the point of view of dialectical materialism.

As the most eminent representative of the evolutionary school in Russia, Shternberg waged a battle with the reactionary culture-historical school, headed by Fathers Schmidt and Koppers, against its theory of diffusion (cultural borrowings), culture circles, and the existence of monotheism, individual marriage, and private property from the beginning. Speaking about Father, now Cardinal, W. Schmidt and his culture-historical views, Shternberg points out that "for many years he (Schmidt) has tendentiously propagandized these views in his influential journal, Anthropos, which, due to extensive means of publication, has been able to attract the collaboration of very outstanding ethnologists

*114 /xxiii cont./
as well as a large number of researcher-missionaries (2).

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2. "Sovremennaia etnografiia /Contemporary Ethnography/," in the periodical, Etnografiia, Nos. 1-2, pp. 24-25, Moscow-Leningrad, 1926.

It would not be out of place to mention that, while staunchly defending his philosophical-evolutionalist aims, Shternberg waged a battle with the fashionable bourgeois theories of Marett (on preanimism), Levy Brühl (on prelogical thought), Freud (on the sexual basis of all social phenomena), etc. In this respect his materials have significant value even today.

Nevertheless we must consider as the most important aspect of the scientific work of Shternberg that he was one of the most prominent followers of the famous American ethnologist, L. Morgan, who rediscovered, in the words of Engels, the materialistic understanding of history. Shternberg reinforced and developed Morgan's theory with his remarkable discoveries of the classificatory system of kinship and group marriage among the peoples of the Far East, as well as with a number of his investigations in the realm of prehistory. As a Morganist, Shternberg was noticed even by Engels, who translated into German an account of one of his works and wrote him a personal letter, with which we shall deal later.

/xxiv/ III.

113 Having briefly acquainted ourselves with the theoretical views of L. IA. Shternberg and proceeding to a survey of his works on the study of the peoples of the Far East, it is necessary first of all to point out that to submit all these works to a detailed, critical examination is not permitted by the scope of the present article, and we shall consider only the most important features.

1: Shternberg--18 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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●113 Not all the works by Shternberg on the Far East have been published, and what has appeared is scattered through many journals and collections which are difficult to obtain at this time. Only the present edition, undertaken and executed on the initiative of the Community of the Far East, offers one the opportunity to become acquainted with Shternberg's most important works on the peoples of the Far East, including some manuscripts published for the first time.

The basic works of Shternberg on the ethnography of the Far East are: 1) "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" (Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, Bk. 2, Moscow, 1893); 2) "Orochi Tatarskogo proliva / The Orochi of Tatar Strait/" (a summary in the weekly Vladivostok, Nos. 47, 48, 50, and 51, 1896); 3) "Giliaki /The Gilyak/" (Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, Bks. 60, 61, and 63, 1904; reprint, Moscow, 1905); 4) "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" (Ezhegodnik Russkogo Antropologicheskogo Obshchestva pri Peterburgskom Universitete, St. Petersburg, 1908); 5) "The Turano-Ganowanian System and the nations of the Nord-East Asia" (Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of the Americanists, London, 1912); 6) "Divine election in primitive religions" (Proceedings of the XXV International Congress of Americanists, 1925; the Russian supplementary edition under the title, "Izbrannichestvo v religii /Election in Religion/," printed in Etnografiia, No. 1, 1927); 7) "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" (posthumous work, printed in the Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii Akademii Nauk, Vol. VIII, Leningrad, 1929). Of these works, the following are not printed in the present edition: "The Turano-Ganowanian System" and "Izbrannichestvo v religii." Printed for the first time, however, are "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov /The Social Organization of the Gilyak/," "Gol'dy /The Goldi/" (unfinished account of the expedition of 1910) /untranslated/, and "Klassifikatsiia narodof Dal'nego Vostoka /The Classification of the Peoples of the Far East/."

/xxiv cont./

● 113 On the languages of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg has published the following works: 1) "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Samples of Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/" (Izvestiia Akademii Nauk, Vol. XIII, No. 4, St. Petersburg, 1900); 2) "Bemerkungen über die Beziehung zwischen der Morphologie der giljakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen /Remarks on the Relation between the Morphology of the Gilyak and American Languages/" /xxv/ (XIV Internationaler Amerikanisher Congress, Stuttgart, 1904); 3) Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo fol'klora i yazyka /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, Part 1 (publication of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1908). The remaining unprinted materials on the Gilyak language and folklore are supposed to be published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The following materials on the Tungus-Manchu languages from the linguistic legacy of Shternberg are printed in the present edition /but are not translated/: 1) "Orochskii etnograficheskii slovar' /Orochi Ethnographic Dictionary/," 2) "Gol'dskii etnograficheskii slovar' /The Goldi Ethnographic Dictionary/," with a grammatical note, 3) "Negidal'skii etnograficheskii slovar' /Negidal Ethnographic Dictionary/," 4) "Grammaticheskie zametki po negidal'skomu iazyku /Grammatical Notes on the Negidal Language/."

* 114 From the description of the trips of L. IA Shternberg that we gave in the first section, we see that he carried out the greater part of his field research among the Gilyak, and accordingly his primary printed works on the ethnography and linguistics of the Far East are devoted to precisely that nationality.

113 * 114 The works of Shternberg on the Gilyak fall into two groups: one of them is devoted to questions on social structure and religious beliefs, the other to folklore and language. Of the works of the first group, the primary ones are: "Sakhalinskie giliaki," "Giliaki," "Turano-ganovanskaia sistema i narody severo-vostochnoi Azii" (1),

1. Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of the Americanists, London, 1912.

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*114 and "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov" now appearing in print for
●113 the first time. In the first of the works listed, we find, in embryo, as it were, all that is given by him later in a more profound and exhaustive form in the remainder of the works listed.

*114 One must note, in particular, that in the first sketch,
113 written in 1891, i.e., as a result of a comparatively brief period
595 of observation, there is already a completely clear description of the group marriage and classificatory system of kinship discovered by him, and of the basic features of their clan structure, etc. Shternberg succeeded in sending the manuscript of this work to Moscow at the time, where it was first read in the form of a paper for the Society for the Study of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography (the tenth of October, 1892) by the secretary of the society, N. IA. IAnchuk. Just a few days after the paper, an account with a rather detailed exposition of Chapters I and II of the manuscript appeared in Russkie vedomosti. The novelty and the great theoretical significance of the material attracted widespread attention in scientific circles interested in the history of primitive society. /xxvi/ Friedrick Engels took an interest in this work as well; he was closely following Russian political and socio-scientific literature, and he published in Die Neue Zeit (XI Jahrgang, B. I, 1893) a complete translation of the newspaper account of the work of Shternberg, with his own introductory comments, under the title "Ein neuentdeckter Fall in der Geschichte der Ehe /A Newly Discovered Case in the History of Marriage/" (1). F. Engels attributed

1. This article by Engels did not appear in Russian until 1922 in the appendix to Engels' book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti i gosudarstvo /The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State/, pp. 123-125, published by "Moskovskii rabochii" /The Moscow Worker/ in "Biblioteka kommunista" /The Library of the Communist/.

/xxvi cont./

*114 595 especially great significance to the confirmation of the existence of group marriage in the Gilyak material. In view of the tremendous methodological significance, we present these remarks by Engels in full. "In recent times," he writes, "among certain rationalistic ethnographers, it has once again become fashionable to reject the existence of group marriage. Therefore the following account, which I translate from Russkie vedomosti (Moscow, the fourteenth of October, 1892, Old Style), is of great interest. It not only explicitly confirms the existence of group marriage, i.e., the right to mutual sexual intercourse between a certain group of men and group of women, but it gives an example of a form of it which closely borders upon the punalua marriage of the Hawaiians, i.e., the most developed classical form of group marriage. While the typical punalua family consists of a number of brothers (uterine or more distantly related) who are in marital cohabitation with a certain number of uterine or more distantly related sisters, we see on Sakhalin Island that a man is married to all the wives of his brothers and all the sisters of his wife, and this means, if we examine this phenomenon from the female point of view, that his wife has the right to sexual intercourse with the brothers of her husband and the husbands of her sisters. The distinction from the typical form of the punalua marriage is therefore only that the brothers of the husband and the husbands of the sisters are not necessarily the same people. I must note that this case confirms what I wrote in Proiskhozhdenie sem'i /The Origin of the Family/, 4th ed., pp. 28-29: "This group marriage hardly looks as terrible as the imagination of our Philistines, accustomed to prostitution and brothels, pictures it." "The savages living in group marriage certainly do not lead the dissipated life that these Philistines lead under the cover of secrecy.

/xxvii/ "This form of marriage (at least in the cases still met in practice) differs from a free pair-marriage or polygamy only in that sexual intercourse is permitted by morals in a number of cases which, under different conditions, involve stern punishment. [178] The fact that the exercise of these rights is dying out in practice proves only that this form of marriage itself was long ago condemned to die out, as is confirmed by the infrequency of the traces of its existence."

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*114 595 "Furthermore, the whole matter is interesting in that it once again shows how similar or even identical the institutions of such primitive peoples at almost the same level of development are in their basic features. A large part of what is related in this account on Sakhalin is fully applicable to the Dravidian tribes of India, the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and, at the time of their discovery, the redskins."

*114 In conclusion Engels gives in full the translation of the newspaper account of Shternberg's article. Regarding the material uncovered from the newspaper account, F. Engels wrote L. IA. Shternberg a letter, as the latter told me in a private conversation. Unfortunately, the search for this letter, undertaken in the archives of Shternberg, has as yet yielded no results. [113] "Sakhalinskie giliaki" appeared in print in full in the journal Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie for 1893. In this work by Shternberg the strong influence of Engels' book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti, i gosudarstva, is felt. Engels' influence neutralized to a significant degree the psychological approach of Shternberg, and "Sakhalinskie giliaki" is undoubtedly the most materialistic work to come from his pen.

*114 601 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship, which, furthermore, preserved certain terms lost in less primitive systems, strikingly confirmed the views of Engels, who looked on group marriage as an explicit, universal step in the history of marriage, and on the classificatory system as a true indicator of the sexual norms that formerly existed. The classificatory system of kinship among the [171] Gilyak described by Shternberg turned out to be similar to the Turano-Ganowanian in type. Furthermore, "it is the best example of the Turanian system," says Shternberg himself, "besides being *114 the best preserved and giving the best correlation (1). With this

1. "The Turano-Ganowanian System," p. 323.

/xxviii/ discovery Shternberg filled in the gap in the scientific literature on primitive social relations, for which there were no

/32 cont./

601 regular marriage, but preserve the rights to sexual intercourse
835 even when the individuals of these categories are joined in an individual marriage. Being joined in a legitimate, as it were, individual marriage, the wife at the same time enjoys the right privately, i.e., in the absence of her husband, to have intercourse with persons of the group of men whom she calls pu, ivn (husband). Most often, of course, this right is exercised by the brothers of her husband, his own or of further degrees of kinship, living with him in the same village, but even men who have newly arrived, often complete strangers passing through the settlement by chance, if they regard themselves, even by the most distant kinship, as "pu" of the given woman, freely /33/ exercise this right, with, of course, the consent of the woman. During my travels over Sakhalin, my companions from the western shore, appearing with me in a distant settlement on the eastern shore of the island, in which neither they nor their fathers had ever been, but in which, according to their genealogical information, there lived a woman of the an'gej category, freely exercised their rights, when the husband was not in the yurt, of course.
[171] This phenomenon is completely identical with what is said about the Australian kroki and kumiti, who will find a marital bed everywhere, even at the farthest points of their territory, on the condition that the husbands are kumi and the beautiful strangers are kroki.

171 In character, these norms of sexual intercourse most closely
835 resemble the same such norms in the Australian Dieri tribe, among whom the two kinds of sexual intercourse mentioned are clearly registered by the terms noa and piruari (1). Among them each

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1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 f.

woman is joined in individual, legitimate marriage to a single man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage with a whole category of men,

174 /45 cont./ But the details that I
582 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the develop-
601 ment of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think, of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

171 1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
174 completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for ex-
582 ample, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is
601 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datang; or
614 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpûras in central India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and, conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak), while Kohler, presenting this fact, and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms, even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentots," in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 341-342, and L'Année Sociologique, 11th year, p. 306.

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*614 556 554 But who are these authoritative individuals who appear on the scene in special cases and either personally or together with the "village community" of their clansmen display, as those having the power, their initiative and energy? What role do they play in ordinary life?

They are the so-called yz' -- the "masters" (1), or otherwise

1. Up to the present, little attention has been focused on the role of such persons in the structure of primitive societies. Their role is obscured by their being classified only as representatives of wealth. Here is one of the most recent examples of such a relation. Separate classes of "nobles" and "commoners" do not exist in northwestern California, but in almost all affairs of life the rich man plays the most important role ("Types of Indian Culture in California," by A. L. Kroeber, University of California Publications, June, 1904, Vol. II). One should be grateful, however, that such facts have been noted at all.

[171] [113]

the urdlya-nivukhi -- the good, i.e., the rich, outstanding men (good and rich are synonomous among all primitive peoples). These are individuals who enjoy outstanding prosperity, thanks to their exceptional individual talents -- bravery, dexterity, strength, enterprise, and intelligence, which place them in an advantageous position in the business of obtaining the means of subsistence. Such an individual is a valuable man for all around him. For the narrow circle of his own family he is the natural head of the communal economy, which, thanks to his initiative and talents, is run more profitably than if it were conducted haphazardly. /119/ The huge family grouped around him is better provided with

114 /129 cont./ This appeared so obvious to
595 him that he explains the opposing view of Siebold, too categorically affirmed, it is true, based on the report of the eighteenth century Japanese traveler Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/, that "the northwestern shore of Sakhalin (i.e., the territory of the Gilyak) is the only country in the world where polyandry, by force of law or custom, is practiced" (1), not

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1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169.

by the inaccuracy of the observations of Mamio Rinso, whom he considers an excellent observer, but by his personal bitterness against the Gilyak because the Gilyak women compelled him to perform manual labor like all the other men (2). "Among

2. "Not wishing to accuse Mamio Rinso of pure fictionalizing," says Schrenck, "we cannot refrain from assuming that he was motivated by personal reasons, which, muddling his testimony, gave ground for various interpretations... Vanity and the fear of lowering himself in the eyes of the government (on account of his servile position) impelled the traveler to explain his humiliating position among the Gilyak by the custom of their country" (i.e., polyandry and the domination of women). Schrenck, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskago kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, 1903, Vol. III, p. 19.

[113]

the Gilyak," says Schrenck in conclusion, "neither on Sakhalin nor on the continent, nor anywhere else, does polyandry exist."

/130 cont./

58 [591] agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child, husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

59 [85] [551] [553] [684] [614]

*601 121 125 [59] In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a type of individual family which is generally accepted as being patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

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[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

1: Shternberg--197 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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presented by the author to the Moskovskoe obshchestvo liubitele estestvoznaniia /Moscow Society of Friends of Natural Science/ and appeared under the title "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" in 1893 in the organ of this society, Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie (1893, Book 2). In the foreign press there was a review of this article by Friedrich Engels in Die Neue Zeit, 1892-93, XI Jahrgang, B.I.

Subsequent censuses in other districts of the Gilyak territory (1891-94) gave me a full and comprehensive picture of their kinship nomenclature and sexual relations, with all their variants, in the different clans and dialects. In particular, during these years I succeeded in becoming acquainted with the unique family structure among the Sakhalin Ainu, sharply differentiated by the typical peculiarities of their maternality /materniteta/. In 1895 and 1896 I investigated in the same respect the Tungus tribes of the Priamur krai /the Amur region/, where I discovered a fully developed classificatory system of kinship resembling that of the Gilyak, but differing significantly from the latter. Thus I gathered sufficient material for a comprehensive comparison of both the kinship terminology and the clan-family mode of life of all the representatives of the Priamur krai.

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In view of the extreme importance of the kinship terminology for an understanding of the whole structure of the family and clan of the Gilyak, and in view of the extensive disputes that have recently arisen in scientific circles over the classificatory system of kinship and its significance, I consider it necessary to survey it in all its details.

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*601 [177] Only in one case does pilang, in the form pila n'ig:yvyn or pilang, appear as a kinship term -- namely, in the meaning of younger brother of the father; the synonym ytk -- father -- is a term that has evidently been made up under the influence of the Tungus term a'ga.

*601 193 Plural kinship terms. Due to the classificatory system there has developed the custom of using the plural for such terms as father, mother, wife in reference to a single individual, for example, "n'i ytkuntokh vind" -- "I am going to my fathers" (i.e., to the village where the class of the speaker's fathers lives, even though his own father may no longer be alive); "pytkun lo pymkkhun lo aryr:" -- "I fed my fathers and mothers."

/146/ Owing to the frequent use of such terms in the plural, a rather curious phenomenon has resulted. In the first place, they have also begun to use the plural a great deal in those cases where by the sense the reference is to only one person, for example: instead of "cher: shaktokh vind?" -- "where did thy father go?" they often say, "cher:kyn shaktokh vind?" -- "where did thy fathers go?" Another example: "aka, pytkhun kherja!" -- "O, elder brother, notify our fathers (1)!" I shall introduce one more characteristic example

• [113] 1. L. Shternberg, Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, I, p. 13, line 173. Petersburg, 1908. Published by the Academy of Sciences.

[538] from one of the texts taken down by me (2). The hero of a

2. Ibid., p. 85, lines 108-109; p. 86, lines 120-122.

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*174 /194 cont./
582 relationship of pu and an'g:ej toward each other (1).
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1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 52).

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2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

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582 Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers,
*174 Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their
12 predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian mar-
114 riage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler,
171 and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad distribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1),

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1. This picture entitled Crawley to say that "cousin marriage generally is the favorite form of marriage among primitive peoples" ("Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first experience of conscious restriction of marriages between brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages be-
582 tween cousins of the first degree. One cardinal question in
*174 this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is
114 the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands mar-
121 riage between the children of brother and sister, but at the same time prohibits marriage between the children of two brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact. "Cousin marriage," he says, "is, according to all appearances, a survival. It is quite difficult to find a straightforward psychological basis explaining why marriage between the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so strictly prohibited" (1).

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1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins in India," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1907, p. 623.

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582 This type of one-sided cousin marriage, so simply ex-
* 174 plained in the light of the evolution of more ancient forms
114 of cross-cousin marriage, has attracted no attention at all from the investigators. Many scientists have even regarded this institution with disbelief, considering it implausible. Thus, almost at the same time as my publication on this
[171] institution among the Gilyak (in 1901), the noted scientist Kohler in his article, "Das Recht der Hottentots /The Law of the Hottentot/" (1), ascertaining, in the words of his

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1. In Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, B. XVI, pp. 341-342.

correspondent, the existence of just such an institution among that tribe, regards this report with distrust. The cause of this distrust is quite simple. Not knowing the genesis of this institution and the place occupied by it in the evolution of cousin marriage, and having no other examples of this institution besides its remnants in the marriage prohibitions, it was difficult to comprehend the cause of the one-sided prohibition by which the son of a sister can marry the daughter of a brother, but the daughter of a sister may not marry the son of her brother, although the degree of closeness of blood kinship in both cases is identical; and therefore the one-sidedness of the prohibition was viewed rather as an anomaly than as a normal sign of a living institution.

582 Due to such disbelief on the part of investigators, this
* 174 institution is completely disregarded in treatises on human
17 marriage and has remained completely misunderstood, while
[114] ethnographic literature gives quite a bit of information on its broad distribution among the most diverse peoples. Especially numerous traces of it are found in Indonesia and among the Dravidian peoples of India, among whom Morgan found the most clearly expressed form of the Turanian system, in which group marriage was preserved. As we just saw,

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582 Kohler's correspondent reports on it from Africa among the
* 174 Hottentot. From Indonesia, such an authoritative investigator
171 as Wilken reports on it, writing: "Among the Batak, the Redjang (Rejangs) and the natives of Amboina, it is permissible for the son of a sister to marry the daughter of a brother, but the son of a brother may not marry the daughter of a sister" (2).

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2. Wilken, Bijdranjen /Contributions/, Serie Y, V. I, p. 148.

The kinship terminology corresponds to this arrangement: among the Batak on Sumatra, for example, a wife or female sweetheart is called ibibere-re-datang, i.e., daughter of the mother's brother.

This institution was already recorded in still more definite form in the 1870's among the Dravidian tribes of India. Thus, for example, in the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpûras in central India, marriage between cousins is compulsory when /223/ the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. Many data may be found in the most recent literature by Rivers (1).

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1. "Marriage of cousins in India, Jour. Royal Asiat. Society, July, 1907, p. 626 pass.

/226 cont./

601 Among the Gilyak the terms "husband" and "wife" --
* 835 pu and an'g:ej -- embrace all persons united by group mar-
114 riage, which thus still more confirms the truth of Morgan's interpretation of the kinship terms.

114 /227/ Elucidation of several terms of the Turano-Ganowanian
601 system which appeared inexplicable to Morgan. In the light
171 of cousin marriage, several terms of kinship in the Turano-Ganowanian system become understandable to us. For example, Morgan was very confused by, and even regarded as inexplicable, why, among the Tamil, I, a man, call the children of my male cousins (considering as such the children of the sister of my father and of the brother of my mother without distinction) nephews and nieces, but I call the children of my female cousins sons and daughters. At the same time, among the Seneca-Iroquois exactly the reverse of this rule prevails. In his Consanguinity and Affinity he considers this fact inexplicable: "The discrimination of degrees of the cousin relationship," he says "is a remarkable fact in the Tamilian system. It is now found only in some systems of the Turanian family. From the structure and principles of the Turanian system, as I have already shown earlier with regard to the Ganowanian system, it follows inevitably that in its further development this relationship would be applied and restricted to the children of a brother and sister. It was probably unknown in the primitive system... It is the only particular in which it differs materially from the form of the family among the Seneca-Iroquois. In this respect, this last logically agrees more with the principles of the Turanian system than the Tamilian system. It is difficult to find any explanation for this difference" (1).

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1. Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, 1871 p. 391.

/227 cont./

114 Subsequently, in Ancient Society, Morgan found an ex-
601 planation for this fact.
171 "This shows," he says, "that among the Tamil, at the time when the Turanian system was introduced, all my female cousins were my wives, while at the same time this did not apply to the wives of my male cousins" (2).

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2. Morgan, Ancient Society, 1877, p. 444 (Russ. trans., Pervobytnoe obshchestvo, p. 427).

114 It did not even occur to Morgan that the whole Turanian
601 system was based on this principle. This peculiarity, how-
* 174 ever, is precisely the result of the primitive system of cross-
171 cousin marriage, from which the Turanian system also de-
* 835 veloped. Under cross-cousin marriage, marriage between the children of brother and sister is the only form of marriage, and such male and female cousins accordingly call themselves "husband" and "wife." That the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage is evident also from other terms, which /228/ must have been inexplicable to Morgan and which he does not even bring up, not having found an explanation for them. For example, among the Tamil, if "I" am a man, then the wife of my sister's son is my "daughter" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the husband of my sister's daughter is my "son" (as in the Australian cousin marriage); the husband of my father's sister's daughter is my "brother" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the father of my wife is my "father-in-law" and "uncle" (father-in-law and brother of the mother among the Gilyak, father-in-law and brother of the father or mother among the Australians); the mother of my wife is my "mother-in-law" and "aunt" (aunt and father's sister among the Gilyak, mother-in-law and father's sister or mother's sister among the Australians); my brother's wife is my "female cousin" (i.e., a daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister); and, finally, the "wife" of a son of my father's sister, and

1:Shternberg--496 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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222 The Gilyak cut down a whole bird-cherry plant for the cherries, but "if blood (red juice) comes, they quit.

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The Sakhalin Gilyak (1)

1. The present article was published in Etnograficheskoe Obozrienie, 1893, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in Die Neue Zeit. Ed.

I.

101

The Origin of the Gilyak and Features of Their External Life

Like the Ainu, in whose language the word "ainos" means "man," the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, call themselves "nivukh," which means: man, master, Gilyak (2). Their customary name,

2. The Amur Gilyak call themselves "yavese."

"Gilyak," was, in my opinion, formed from the distortion by travelers of the word "kile," which means "Tungus" in the language of the Amur Gilyak, with whom travelers first had contact. And such a distortion could very easily have occurred because the Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur speak the same language as the Tungus, who, according to their legends, form one "people" with the Gilyak, the Goldi, and the Orochon. It is also quite possible that because of the common language of the Amur Gilyak and the Tungus, the Manchu, who formerly ruled the Amur region, called the Gilyak and the Tungus by a common name, "kile." But the ease with which national antagonisms

G SS 121 128 /8 cont./

Finally, by constantly keeping the entire region before our eyes, it may also lead to a more complete ethnographic picture of it.

G SS 126 128 The accompanying plates are also arranged in accordance with this treatment of the subject. I still have a few words to say about them beforehand. Since the Academy sent a draftsman with me, my aim was to give as clear and detailed a picture as possible of the life of the Amur peoples and everything connected with it, their dwelling, clothing, their household, hunting and fishing apparatus, their tombs, idols, and the like, by means of drawings, too. Concerning certain things in particular, such as, for example, the degree of skill shown by these peoples in making their utensils, the taste expressed in the decoration of their implements as well as their clothing, the possible influence on this from foreign, Chinese, /9/ and Japanese patterns, no judgment can be formed without the illustrations. A clear, concrete idea of the total being and doings of a people, however, can certainly be obtained only with a certain completeness of pictorial representations. It therefore did not seem proper to me to be too frugal with the number of these illustrations or to omit them wherever in earlier travel accounts, on the occasion of discussing other and especially Siberian peoples, similar, though at times rather crude representations are found. For the same reason I have only in rare cases taken note of the illustrations, neat as they are, which are found in the rather inaccessible atlas of Mr. Maack's /Maak/ trip in the Amur region, and all the more since the work concerned (1) contains no ethnographic text, but only

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G SS [113]

1. Puteshestvie na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazheniiu Sibirsk. Otdiela Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g. R. Maakom" /A Journey to the Amur, completed by R. Maak under the auspices of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society in 1855/, St. Petersburg, 1859.

SS /12 cont./
101 of the natives themselves, in part according to the observations of other travelers, and at the same time to give a total picture of the geographic distribution of the Amur peoples. Let us now go over these areas individually and in detail with regard to their location and limit.

G /13/ The Gilyak live in the extreme northeast of the Amur
131 region: the lowermost part of the Amur River, the Amur-Liman,
361 and adjoining coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the northern half of Sakhalin Island. Along the Amur, going downstream, the area of the Gilyak begins with the villages of Chjare on the right bank and Tlals on the left bank, at a distance of about 175 versts from the mouth of the Amur. From there their dwelling sites at the beginning extend only along the right bank, but later, from the last bend of the Amur toward the east, on both banks of it to the Liman. The Amur-Liman is inhabited entirely by Gilyak, a purely Gilyak waterway. Southward from the mouth of the Amur along the coast of the mainland is Tschomi, located on the small river of the same name, the last Gilyak village, beyond which, along Mamia-Rinsô Strait, there extends an uninhabited territory visited by the Gilyak only for hunting and fishing. To the north of the mouth of the Amur the dwelling sites of the Gilyak extend beyond the Liman along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. To be sure, Kulj or Kolj is said to be the last place there permanently inhabited by the Gilyak, but Gilyak also live even farther, at least temporarily, for the purposes of hunting, seal-hunting, and fishing. According to Poplonskij, for instance, they supposedly come at times to Konstantinov Harbor in Ulban Bay (1).

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1. Poplonskii, Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1848, p. 98.

Middendorff, too, became acquainted with Gilyak there and even farther to the west along Tugur Gulf. The extreme limit of his journey eastward, a promontory in Ulban Bay, bears in

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his work (2) the name Cap Gilyak, presumably after the inhabitants,

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2. Maps-atlas with Middendorff's Reise in den äussersten Norden und Osten Sibiriens /Journey in the Extreme North and East of Siberia/, 1859, Pl. XVII.

even though temporary, of the region. Along the Ulban River, three versts above its mouth in the bay of the same name, he came upon a Gilyak settlement consisting of two winter houses and a summer house; one and a quarter versts to the east of it, another summer house (3). The last farthermost dwelling sites of the

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3. Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Nord. u. Osten Sibir., Vol. IV, p. 126.

Gilyak to the northwest lie along the Sea of Okhotsk, but in Tugur Gulf. Across the narrow, low isthmus, which, stemlike, connects the Ssegneka /Seneka/ Peninsula with the mainland, runs a towpath made out of logs laid against one another, which, according to Middendorff, is designated even on an old map dating from the last century under the name "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka) and was used by the Gilyak and Tungus to transport their boats, usually with the help of dogs, from Akademii Gulf (on Konstantinov Bay) to Tugur Gulf, and thus avoid the laborious and dangerous rowing around the long Ssegneka Peninsula with its steep, rocky banks. Along this towpath Middendorff saw the frames used for drying fish among the Gilyak and a Gilyak summer house standing at the end of it at Wolok Bay in Tugur Gulf (4). Somewhat farther south and on the last-

4. Op. cit., pp. 116, 117.

named bay there were also two of their winter houses (5). Finally,

5. Ibid., p. 125.

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[13] somewhat farther south and /14/ west, where the Tugur empties
[36] and shortly before that receives the Kutin River, he found seven Gilyak huts along with three Tungusic birch tents. These were the first occupied dwellings that Middendorff encountered after leaving the mouth of the Udj (1). Orlof, too, coming along the

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1. Op. cit., p. 124. The Gilyak met by him along the Ulban River, on the Ssegneka Peninsula, and at the mouth of the Tugur are also mentioned in Middendorff's preliminary travel account (Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. des sc. Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 616).

seacoast from Ajan /Ayan/ in the year 1849, met the first Gilyak at the mouth of the Tugur (2). Here, then, is the extreme north-

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2. Cf. P. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Ross.-amerikansk. Kompanii /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 64.

west boundary of the Gilyak region, beyond it, up to the Udj, stretches an uninhabited territory through which probably only the Tungus roam.

[13] On the island of Sakhalin and especially along its west coast the area of distribution of the Gilyak extends much farther to the south than on the mainland. There the Gilyak population extends from the northernmost tip, through the Amur-Linman,
[36] and far into the northern part of the Sea of Japan. Their southernmost point along this coast is the village of Pilja-wo near

13 36 [103] [114] /14 cont./

4. (cont.)
I cannot accept the version "Tschamg-wo," as given on the Schebunin map of Sakhalin.

report (5), one and a half days' journey north of Cape Delisle de

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5. Izviestiia Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 308, 311.

la Croyère, but, according to the statements that he made to Fr. Schmidt upon looking through his journals (6), "behind" the

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6. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, p. 387.

large cape of rock mentioned, which among the Gilyak bears the
13 name Harpach (7). At any rate, on the east coast of Sakhalin

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7. Following Lopatin, Schmidt gives the Gilyak name of Cape Delisle de la Croyère as "Harpa." There is no doubt about the ending sounding like, not "pa," but "pach," since the latter is often repeated in Gilyak place names and means "rock" or "stone." I suspect, however, that the first syllable, too, is not rendered quite correctly, and that the cape is not called "Harpa," but "Tschcharpach," that is, "wood-" or "forest-rock" -- a name which occurs also at the mouth of the Amur.

the southern border of the Gilyak territory thus lies close to Cape Delisle de la Croyère, that is, /15/ about 51° north latitude, or

/15 cont./

131 one degree more to the north than on the west coast of the island (1). Finally, besides the two coasts the interior of Sakhalin

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1. The above-named villages, and especially the last one, Tschamr-wo, are therefore to be moved somewhat more to the south than is shown on my first map.

is also populated by the Gilyak, and to be sure, it is the large Tymy River, rich in fish, along which, up to its source, a relatively dense Gilyak population lives. This, however, cuts off the area of the Gilyak, because to the south, along the perhaps even larger Ty River, as it is called among the Gilyak, or Poronai as it is called among the Ainu (2), there is a permanent

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2. That is, "great river." It is the "Newa" of Krusenstern Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/ St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 95). On Schebunin's abovementioned map, as in Glehn's travel report from Sakhalin Island (Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Russ. Reichs, edited by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, pp. 205, 235 ff.) this river is also called Plyi -- a name which, according to Glehn, is likewise a Gilyak one.

population only on the lower course and at the mouth, and this population, aside from scattered, individual members, is no longer Gilyak.

If one surveys the total area of distribution of the Gilyak, one finds that for the most part it extends along the sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Amur-Liman, and then also along two great rivers, the Amur on the mainland and the Tymy on Sakhalin -- a circumstance

G /16 cont./
101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
Gi separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
A Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree,
101 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
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101 mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
162 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told
361 me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely
103 Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/
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4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj
A an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc.,
G op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I
[114] cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
G the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
361 "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
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1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

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/17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

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361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

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2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

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3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

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words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

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If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

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1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

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Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

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by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak, which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the population of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over
000 the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

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1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

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It is different

with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to the sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep and protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, have their permanent habitation sites in it.

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101 main artery. Sometimes we see their territory reduced to a minimum (2); sometimes, and even more frequently, they

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2. For instance, in Swerbejef /Sverbeev/, who does not have the Goldi end until Dshaï and has the Gilyak begin as soon as Kidsi. This would leave for the Olcha, then, little more than the village of Gauwne on the Amur. This error, that the natives of Kidsi and the surrounding area are Gilyak, is repeated almost throughout by the Russian authors, for example, by D. Romanof ("Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de- Kastri u riek. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 134-138); by J. Mewes ("Tri goda v" Sib. i Amursk. stranie /Three Years in Siberia and the Amur Country/."- Otechestv. Zap., Vol. CXLVIII, p. 284), who called Kidsi the principal village of the Gilyak; by Dr. Plaxin ("Primorsk. obl. Vostochn. Sib." - Voenn. Sborn., 1869, No. 12, p. 194), who has the Gilyak begin at Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (Dshaï) and extend, not only along the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, but also beyond the Amgunj /Amgun/ and a part of the Tatar Strait, etc. In the latter, by the way, the Amur peoples are so confused that Mangun and Manegir appear as synonymous designations. The American, Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes, London, 1872, pp. 77, 86-89), regards the dwellers on Kidsi Lake as Gilyak. Even Boschnjak, who quite

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correctly remarked that a sharp dividing line between the Gilyak and the Mangun lies at the village of Uchtr, in that the former only live below it, but going upstream, the latter begin with the village named ("Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie." - Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 125), cannot refrain from speaking of the "Kidsi-Gilyak" in another place (M.Sb., 1859, No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 209).

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disappear completely by being simply thrown in with the Gilyak (3). Aside from the few above-mentioned Olcha

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3. Pargatschevskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. put. vverkh" po r. Amuru, ot" Nikolaevsk. posta do Ust'-Strielochn. karaula, sovershenn. v" 1856-57 gg. /A Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur, from the Nikolayevsk Post to the Ust'-Strelochny Guardpost in 1856-57/." - Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch, Part 21, 1857, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 161, 165), for instance, does not know of the Olcha at all, but has the Gilyak extend from the mouth of the Amur to Adi, and from there down the Goldi begin. Likewise Dr. Sperk ("Geografo-patologicheskie ocherki Vost. Sib. /Geographical-Pathological Sketches from Eastern Siberia/." - Mediko-topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 68), who even grants to the Gilyak the whole

2: Schrenck--185 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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1. (cont.)
are in the wrong places almost throughout: the Orochi, for instance, are shown only in the southernmost part of their extensive territory, almost all the Mangun (Olcha) are shifted into the Goldi territory, the Samagir are transferred to the Amgunj, in place of the Negda, who are not mentioned at all, like the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. The Daur, who, besides being along the Nonni and Komar, are also along the Bureja and the Amur, and who certainly cannot, like the last-named peoples, be simply subsumed under the general designation "Tungus," are missing entirely on the map, whereas the few Koreans who only recently moved into the Russian area across the Tumen River are shown.

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The various Tungusic peoples of the Amur region are given still less attention on the ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia which is given in the statistical atlas of the Russian Empire by Iljin (Opyt" statist. atlasa Rossiiskoi Imperii /An Attempt at a Statistical Atlas of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1874, Map 14), with an even smaller scale, to be sure. In the Russian part of the Amur region (aside from the Chinese and Manchu), the only indigenous peoples it recognizes, in addition to the incorrectly demarcated Gilyak and Ainu, are the "Tungusen" (in general) and "Golde," whose territory, however, is shown along the Amur from above the Bureja to Mariinsk.

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Finally, the same errors as those on the Wenjukof map are repeated on the

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1. (cont.)
ethnographic map of the Russian Empire recently drawn up by Petermann (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, Plate 1), which, for Asiatic Russia, is based entirely upon the information of the former. Despite the much smaller scale, it faithfully copies the boundaries of the Gilyak territory that were shown above as erroneous. The names of the individual Tungusic Amur-peoples, however, are entirely omitted on it, so that the Amur region, with the exception of a short stretch along the lower course of its principal river, like the adjacent part of Eastern Siberia, seems to be inhabited only by "Tungusen."

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Our map virtually ignores this last factor completely, since it shows the ethnographic situation of the Amur region at a time when the Russians, after a pause of two hundred years, were just beginning to penetrate into the Amur region again, and were not to abandon it from then on. Since the colonization especially followed the principal rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri, it changed the ethnographic conditions chiefly where the indigenous population was most densely settled. It may therefore be that since then many communities of the latter have been displaced, shifted, or reduced, have even disappeared altogether, and their very names as well. And the future will even more take a rapid and relentless course in this direction. Now, since our map /91/ establishes the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region before they were affected by these changes, it can in the future provide a yardstick for the latter. And that can only heighten its scientific interest. How valuable, for example, an accurate ethnographic map of the Amur region at the time of the first Russian invasion would be for us now! How much could be drawn from it for the questions to be dealt with in the next section!

[i.e., The mass immigration of the Russian Colonists into the Amur River region--Analyst]

S.S. /94 cont./
175 peoples could and must have frequently resulted during this time,
167 but they are most difficult to perceive from the historical reports
131 available, for, on the one hand, the territorial boundaries of roaming hunting and seminomadic fishing peoples are never very /95/ definite and even at the present time are inadequately known among the Amur peoples, and, on the other hand, the historical reports concerned, since we are indebted for them to the notes and reports of simple, uneducated people pursuing practical interests, suffer as a rule from too much vagueness and sometimes obscurity for our purposes, and, what is worse, they not infrequently present the Amur peoples under names that are completely foreign to us today and therefore require an interpretation beforehand. Now, whether the interpretations and explanations that will be found in the following pages are always the correct ones must remain undecided to begin with --for my part I hope, since they are not without reason, that they will be verified in most cases at least and may provide a key for a better understanding of some of the historical reports concerning the Amur region and the ethnographic facts contained in them.

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175 Let us begin again with the peoples of the lower Amur region and from among them with the most extreme, the Gilyak.
[121] The first printed mention of the Gilyak is found on the map pub-
[113] lished by Nicolaus Witsen in 1687 in Amsterdam and dedicated to Peter the Great, "Nieuwe Land-Karte van het Noorder- en Ooster-Deel van Asia en Europa /New Map of the North-
S.S. eastern Part of Asia and Europe/" (1), and in

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1. Müller (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 203 ff., and Vol. VI, pp. 29 ff.) gave a detailed description and evaluation of this map. In addition to the rare, original edition of this map, I have before me another copy of the Witsen map provided by Allard on a smaller scale and with some corrections, which was not mentioned either by Müller in his

2: Schrenck--194 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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/95 cont./ 1. (cont.)

"Nachricht von Land- und See-Carten, die das Russ. Reich und die zunächst angränzenden Länder betreffen /Report on the Land and Sea Maps Which Refer to the Russian Empire and the Immediately Adjacent Countries/" (Samml., etc., Vol. VI) or by Adelung in his article, "Ueber die älteren ausländischen Karten von Russland /Concerning the Older Foreign Maps of Russia/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IV). It bears the title, "Tartaria, sive Magni Chami Imperium ex credendis Amplissimi Viri D-ni Nicolai Witsen, Cos: Amst: Aliorumque probandorum, et hodie vigentium Geographorum Archetypis congestum, auctum, et in lucem editum a Carolo Allard, Amst: Bat: Cum Privilegio Potentissimorum D. D. Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae," without date. The Dutch inscriptions of the original edition are rendered in Latin. The map has almost precisely the same borders, but with the addition of Korea in the east and, on the other hand, the exclusion of the course of the Volga in the west. I call it a copy of Witsen's map, because in fact it reproduces it in all parts, especially in the north and in the east, down to the smallest detail. Also, one finds on it, for example, the same curiosa as in Witsen, that is, misunderstood Russian words and expressions were taken for place names. At the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and the Argunj /Argun/, for instance, there stands in large letters the regional name "Otsel Poschel," evidently because in a Russian statement (and, to be

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2: Schrenck--196 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amur), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

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/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/ (1). In this connection several, often

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1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

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2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

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175 131 361 mouth ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high

8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

175 114 [101] [103] Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their undoubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

175 114 113 9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

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9. (cont.)
Russian sources used by Witsen. The information that it gives is found in Witsen in literal translation, for example, the statements concerning the location of the Gilyak region (Gilianskaia zemlia) on the mouth of the Amur and on the coast to the south and north of it, concerning the rivers that flow to the sea in the Gilyak region: Lama, Ochota, Tawui, Todui, Penshin, Kamtschatka, Tchuldan, Anadyr, etc.

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/97/ as aids for the map, as he himself states, both several Siberian wooden panels and especially a map of Siberia which was made by the commander of Tobolsk, Peter Godunof, and his assistants in 1667 upon the orders of Tsar Alexei Michailowitsch /Alexis I Mikhailovich/ and was put on a woodcut in Moscow with a statement of the distances between the places recorded on it (1). Thanks to Middendorff's elucidation of the oldest maps

1. Witsen, op. cit., Preface; also the ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 536, 537; ed. of 1705, p. 859. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 204.

of Siberia (2), we know that this was the first "Siberian Sketch"

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 34-38, 176-177.

(Ssib[illegible]kij tschertesh), which, to be sure, has since been lost, but a revised and completed edition has been preserved in Remesof's

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/Remezov/ atlas. This atlas (3), consisting of 24 handwritten

3. Under the title, "Chertezhnaia kniga... vsei Sibiri /A Sketchbook... of All Siberia/"; see Middendorff, loc. cit

sheets, was also thought to be lost until it was discovered in 1842 by Wostokof in the Rumjanzof Museum. Although Remesof did not complete the entire work until 1701, the first map (the last one in the atlas) was drawn as early as 1673; it is ethnographic in content -- the first ethnographic map of Siberia, which shows the habitation sites of the many Siberian peoples in bright, strongly contrasting spots of color (4). Middendorff, who was

4. According to Middendorff, loc. cit. I have not seen the Remesof atlas.

the first to put the significance of the Remesof work in the proper light, appended another sheet, perhaps the most important one, which contains the survey map of Siberia as a whole, to the Russian edition of his travel account, with the scale reduced fourfold (5). On this map one finds the inscrip-

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5. Putesh. na sev. i vost. Sibiri /A Journey into Northern and Eastern Siberia/, Pt. I, p. 37. The map bore the title, "Chertezh" vsiekh" sibirskikh" gradov" i zemel' /A Sketch of All Siberian Towns and Lands/."

tion "Gilyak Region" (Tsarstvo Gilyansko) at the mouth of the Amur and on the seacoast north of it, just like the "Zemle Giletskaja" on the Witsen one. If one compares this map with the Witsen one, there seems to be no doubt but that, as far as Siberia is concerned, the latter was drawn, not merely with the help of, but directly based on the above-mentioned first "Siberian sketch" (6). This first "sketch," however, and the later revised

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6. Also arguing in favor of this are the curiosa on the Witsen map cited above pp. 193-196, note 1), which arose through the transfer of the Russian inscriptions.

and completed edition of Remesof's maps were made up for the Amur region from the information that the Russian military expeditions brought home, which, however, in its full extent, as it was set down in the reports of the leaders and participants in those expeditions, at that time still rested untouched in the Siberian archives.

According to Müller's explanation (7), the map that /98/

7. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 32.

accompanies the oldest description of the voyage of Ysbrants Ides, published in the Dutch language (1), also comes from Witsen:

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1. Driejaarige Reize naar China, te lande gedaan, door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides /Three Years' Travels to China by Land, Performed by the Muscovite Envoy, E. Ysbrants Ides/, etc., Amsterdam, 1704. The map bears the title, "Nova Tabula Imperii Russici, ex omnium accuratissimis, quae hactenus extiterunt, Imprimis viri Ampliss: Nic: Witzen delineationibus conflata, quam ipsa locorum lustratione edoctus, multum emendavit Everardus Ysbrants Ides," with a dedication to Peter the Great.

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175 114 it was drawn by him on the basis of his own map and changed only with respect to the information -- and not always for the better -- that Ysbrants Ides obtained on his travels and gave to him. On this map the Gilyak are shown only once, and, to be sure, as on Remesof's map, only on the seacoast between the Amur and the Tugur. On the other hand, we see on the much later map by Strahlenberg (2) that the whole region along the

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2. "Nova Descriptio Geographica Tartariae Magnae tam orientalis quam occidentalis in particularibus et generalibus Territoriis una cum Delineatione totius Imperii Russici imprimis Siberiae accurate ostensa." With a dedication to Friedrich I, King of Sweden; without date.

northern tributaries of the Amur River, from the Dseja /Zeya/ to the sea, is designated as "terra Giliakorum, whereas in his well-known work on the northern and eastern part of Europe and Asia, it is said that the "Kilani," who are called "Kilett" by the Yakut and "Kilaki" by the Russians, live around the mouth of the Amur River (3). So incredible did the information that he gave

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3. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 69) says that the map appeared together with this work in the year 1731.

on them sound -- though, as we shall see later, it was not entirely lacking in truth -- and in any case so fantastic was his derivation of them from the Avar, who are said to have been moved in the thirteenth century from the Caspian and Black Seas to China by the Shah of Persia, Mangu -- he saw confirmation

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175 114 101 for his view in the still extant, like-sounding name Kilan (Gilan) for a Persian province on the Caspian Sea -- that Gmelin cast Strahlenberg's whole account into doubt. At most, he thought, the "Kilani" could be a family of the Tungus, since there were so many in Siberia who gave themselves special names, but not a separate, different people who, as Strahlenberg maintained, distinguished themselves by their skill in so important an art as the forging of weapons -- how could there be such a people, he says, without the whole of Siberia knowing about it (4). Never-

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4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, Preface.

theless it was Gmelin's travel companion who, without entering the Amur region, made the greatest contribution to our historical knowledge of its peoples, and among them the Gilyak.

Müller was the first to stress the importance of the rich mine of information concerning the Amur region which had accumulated in the Siberian archives and only fragments of which had been seen by Witsen. Later many more gleanings were obtained in this field. Through this there was brought to light the oldest information that we have up to now concerning the Amur peoples being discussed here. According to it, the Russians /99/ obtained their first information about the Gilyak even before they entered the Amur region. In the years 1639 and 1640, when the leader of the Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, advanced up the Witim /Vitim/ and its left tributary, the Zypir (Zipa /Tsipa/), almost to Lake Baunt, the Tungus there told him of the Daur people, who were supposed to live along the upper Witim and along the Schilka and to trade with the Chinese, as well as a people living where the latter river empties into the sea, that is, at the mouth of the Amur, the "Kilorzy," who were distinguished from all the other peoples by their language and likewise had trading relations with the

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175 Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here informa-

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1. J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (Dopoln. k" akt. istor: /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek").

tion about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

101 Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

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2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

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101 for them, like so many peoples on a similar, lower level of culture, the concept of human being coincides with the one of an individual of their tribe and their language and the more general, abstract concept is still lacking. According to this information, the Gilyak were first named to the Russians by the Witim-Tungus. If one leaves off the Russian ending of the name as it was rendered by the Cossacks, it may sound like the Tungus Kilor or Kiler. The Tungus got it from the Daur along the Witim and Schilka, with whom they are in contact, and they in turn from the Chinese, who trade with them, as well as with the peoples of the lower Amur region, by traveling to the latter, though not by sea, as the Tungus reported or as the Russians may have understood, but nevertheless by boat down the Amur. The designation Kilor or Kiler must thus be of Chinese origin, with a Tungusic foundation and perhaps also with some Tungusic modification. Actually there is a people of that or a similar name among those mentioned by the Manchu-Chinese geographers or Manchu-Chinese sources from the lower Amur region. For example, the Chinese imperial /100/ geography of the Tsing dynasty (1) mentions the following peoples, besides the Manchu

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1. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Peking, 1818, Vol. XI, 2; according to Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 444. Pauthier (Chine moderne ou descript. histor., geogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part I, p. 168. -- L'Univers) mentions from the Chinese work named the same peoples in the same sequence, but in a somewhat different version; in his French transcription; they run: Tchi-tché, Fei-ya-khé, Li-eurh-kou-yé, Golun-tchun, and Go-khe-la.

and Chinese, for the Ssan-ssin district, which includes the lower Amur region and the coast: Kilerchadshi, Wiyaka (Fiaka),

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101 Lerkoje, Oruntschun, and Kiyakla. In Timkovski's Journey to Peking, edited by Klaproth (2), the Kileng and the Fiaka are

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2. G. Timkovski, Voyage à Peking à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821. Trad. du Russe par N****, revu par J. B. Eyriès; publ. avec des correct. et des notes par J Klaproth. Paris, 1827. Atlas, Tab. VII, Explic. p. 25.

mentioned from the lower Amur and the seacoast. The archimandrite Palladij (3) enumerates from the province of

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3. "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska chez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

Girin the following peoples who paid their tribute in sable pelts to the Peking Court before the Russians occupied the lower Amur region: the Chädshä or Chädsin, the Fiaka, the Kiler, the Kuä, the Orontscho, and the Kjakala. These are not by far all the enumerations of the Chinese names for the peoples of the lower Amur region, but only those in which the names Kiler or Kileng occur; others will be mentioned later on. One should not expect, however, that the peoples distinguished by the Chinese would always coincide exactly with those now known to us in this region. With their very limited knowledge of the lower Amur region, it could and must have happened, on the contrary, that occasionally the Chinese did not distinguish the various peoples from one another, especially those that were more remote, or included them under a collective name, and in other

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101 cases, on the other hand, where nearer and more familiar regions were involved, they gave different names to branches or tribes of one and the same people differing only slightly dialectally. It
101 is therefore not surprising that one finds contradictory statements
114 in the interpretations made up to now about these Manchu-Chinese names, for which the above point of view was not followed and which, in addition, came from men who lacked any personal acquaintance with the lower-Amur peoples. Klaproth, for example, thought at the beginning that Fiaka and Chedshen were the Manchu terms for the Gilyak (4); later (5), however,

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4. Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 290, 301. In this connection he regards the Gilyak as the Kuriles of the continent, concerning which more later.

5. Atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, loc. cit.

he thought that he recognized in the Kileng, as they supposedly called themselves, the Gilyak of the Russians. Palladij, however, even recently regarded the Fiaka as Gilyak, and the Kiler, on the other hand, as Amgunj-Tungus, that is, Negda. If one considers the alleged habitation sites of these peoples, as well as the few reports concerning their respective character traits, way of life, clothing, etc., one must, to be sure, grant more right to the latter interpretation, but cannot entirely agree with it either. The description of the Fiaka in the atlas accompany-
[291] ing Timkovski's Journey, as a crude, but brave people who in winter are clothed in pelts of dog fur, incontestably fits the Gilyak better than that of the Kileng, whose clothing of stag hide (or /101/ perhaps also roe or reindeer skins) in itself indicates a Tungusic people devoted to a higher level of hunting (1).

1. The drawings of the Kileng and Fiaka (Atlas, Plate VII), as crude and dissimilar

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1. (cont.)
as they are generally as well as in details, rather favor such an interpretation.

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The alleged habitation sites of the peoples in question likewise appear to argue in favor of this interpretation, as the Kileng are said to live chiefly along the Amgunj (2), the Fiaka along the

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2. Khenkhoûn in Klaproth (loc. cit.), Henkon on the maps by d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, Nos. 1, 18).

seacoast near the mouth of the Amur. There seems to be almost no further doubt but that the Fiaka are the Gilyak when Iakinf (3),

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3. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg 1842, Part II, p. 30, footnote.

on the basis of Manchu-Chinese sources and without any comment of his own, states that there are three peoples on Sakhalin, Fjakã (Fyake), Eluntschun, and Kuã, obviously Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. Finally, among the statements by the old Jesuit missionaries, too, there are some that cannot be interpreted in any way other than in the above sense; Gerbillon's statement (4),

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4. J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37.

for instance, that the lowermost part of the Amur River down to the sea was inhabited by the Fiatta or Fiattu (5) people, who

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5. Klaproth (Atlas, loc. cit.) expressly states that "Fiatta" is an error and should be "Fiaka."

speak an entirely different language, live solely on fish, and whom, on the basis of the descriptions that he obtained, he would compare with the Iroquois. Müller (6) replied to this that the

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6. "Von dem Amur-Flusse /From the Amur River/," in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, 2nd ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 506.

Gilyak were designated with the name Fitta by the Manchu. On the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries (7) who upon the orders of

7. Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, 1709.

Emperor Kang-hi traveled through Manchuria proper and part of the lower Amur region in order to draw a map of them reported on the Fiatta in a quite different sense. According to them it is nothing but the Manchu designation for the language of the Ketscheng or Ketsching, a people who lives along the Amur River from Tondon to its mouth and along the coast to the east of the Ussuri and the Amur, as well as, presumably, that people who occupies the seacoast north of the Amur mouth up to 55 degrees of latitude, the extreme northeastern boundary of the Chinese Empire (8). Thus we see here that the designation Fiatta, or,

8. Du Halde, Descript., etc., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12. Ritter (Asien, Vol. III, pp. 446, 447) has combined the contradicting statements of the Jesuit missionaries and Klaproth's into one, which leads to the greatest confusion.

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101 114 as Klaproth insists, Fiaka, is used, due to insufficient knowledge, as a collective term for a number of different peoples of the Amur region or their language, and among them the Gilyak. And the same must be concluded from the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who, as was stated above, spent 17 years -- from his birth on -- in Ninguta, to which his father had been exiled, and later, in 1722, having returned to China, he wrote a description of his birthplace. Downstream from the Cheidsin or Chādshen on the Amur River, he has the region of the Fei-ja-cha come next, the description of which, however, only in part fits the Gilyak, and to a greater extent -- for example, the nose rings, /102/ the birchbark boats, fishing in the sea, etc. -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Orochi (1). Finally, Iakinf expresses

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1. In Wassiljef's /Vasil'ev/ translation: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 90-93). It is also said there that the Fiaka, Cheidsin, and Churcha or Chulcha address one another with the word "andā." This, however, is a Tungusic word that also occurs among the Goldi, Olcha, etc. and means "friend"; in Gilyak it is "amalā."

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himself quite definitely in this sense in declaring that all the different tribes that live downstream from the Chādshe on both banks of the Amur River and also occupy the northern part of Sakhalin were included under the common name Fjakā (Fyake) (2).

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2. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imperii, Part II, p. 12.

All this permits one to draw the conclusion that the Fiaka of the Manchu-Chinese geographers or reporters are not always the Gilyak by any means; although better informed individuals actually might have referred to the Gilyak by this designation,

Gi 101 114 /102 cont./
inquired among the Goldi about the name of the Samagir or of the people on the Gorin and those on the Kur, they named the one as well as the /103/ other for me repeatedly as the "Kile," evidently because they bore this collective name among the Chinese and then designated themselves with it when dealing with them. The Gilyak also gave me the name "Kil" for the G [101] Samagir. Since the Goldi and the Gilyak languages are completely different, the obvious conclusion is that this can only be Gi Gi [197] a foreign name. Finally, I have sometimes heard Chinese merchants traveling along the Amur designate even the northern G Gi 101 and more distant Goldi, as a rule the Olcha, and, indeed, even the Gilyak with this or a similar name. One such merchant, for instance, whom I met in Amtscho on the Amur, eagerly asked me whether the "Kilam" or "Kilang" living farther downstream had many sables, and, in order to make himself better understood, he also named this animal in the Kilam language the word sounded like "lombr," and the Gilyak "lumr" can be G 101 clearly recognized. The Gilyak were quite similarly called "Ki-li-mi" by the Chinese companions of the missionary Venault when he went down the Amur in order to investigate the death of de la Brunière, who had been killed by them (1).

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1. Venault, "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie /Journey into the Interior Parts of Manchuria/" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX,1852 [Vol. II], pp. 216-223.

G Gi 101 114 From all that has been said it is clear that the Chinese include under the collective designation Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam, etc. both the peoples of the left, northern and western tributaries of the lower Amur River, of the Kur, Gorin, and Amgunj, and the dwellers along the lower course of the main river, itself, and, to be sure, especially the Gilyak, whom they know least, but also the Olcha, and sometimes even part of the Goldi; or, in other words, just as in the case of the Fiaka and Chādshen,

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175 the late season obliged him to winter over. At what place
131 among the Gilyak this first wintering of the Russians occurred
648 cannot be ascertained with certainty -- perhaps on the left bank of the Amur at Cape Tschnyrrach, or Tschchyrkrach, as the Gilyak themselves call it, for there in the ground overgrown with dense forest and strikingly luxuriant underbrush I saw unevennesses which could very well have been the remains of
175 former earth huts. In the summer of 1645, Pojarkof went from there to the sea and along the coast up to the Ulja /Ulya/ River, which he /106/ reached after twelve weeks and on which he again wintered, not to return to Yakutsk until the following year (1). No details, however, are known concerning this sea

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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, 1736, pp. 302, 303. The same, "Nachrichten von dem Amur-Flusse," in Büsching's Magazin für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 505. Cf. also Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, 1768, pp. 788, 789. For Pojarkof's original report, see Dopolneniia k" aktam" istoricheskim", sobr. i izdann. arkheograf. Kommissieiu /Supplements to the Historical Documents Collected and Published by the Archeographic Commission/, St. Petersburg, 1848, Vol. III, p. 55 (the pertinent place in the report).

[12] voyage. I shall also give here the reports of Pojarkof's successors insofar as they pertain to the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, in order to compare the statements and add a few remarks concerning them.

In 1651, Jerofei Chabarof /Khabarov/, going down the Amur by boat, entered its lower course. There were still Djutscheren living at a distance of a seven-days' journey from the Sungari, and then at a large village located on a mountain on the right bank the Atschanen (Achany) people began, in whose territory, several days' journey farther down, Chabarof

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3. (cont.)

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and at another place (Büsching's Magaz., Part 2, p. 508, July 2 (three days after the Day of Peter and Paul), which however cannot be correct if the trip, as is said previously, started on May 4 and -- putting together the above-mentioned periods of time -- lasted ten weeks. In Fischer (op. cit., p. 817) it is said instead toward the end of July, which, however, would be somewhat too late according to that reckoning. In the detailed and rather drastic account by the Cossack Iwan Uwarof, a participant in the expedition (see Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 354 ff.) almost all these dates are lacking, except the date of departure (May 4) and the statement that after traveling for ten days they already found themselves amidst many Djutscheren and Natken, who thereafter kept attacking them and gave them no peace; the siege by Gilyak vessels on the Amur is said to have lasted only two weeks.

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175 [648] well and unable /107/ to make the return trip upstream, they built themselves a larger vessel and began the sea journey along the coast to the north. On the thirteenth day after their departure (1), however, the vessel was crushed by drifting ice (2).

1. According to Uwarof's report (op. cit., p. 358), on the tenth day.

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2. Müller (op. cit., p. 330) considers drifting ice in the Sea of Okhotsk as inconceivable at that time of the year. On the other hand, thanks to the experiences of Middendorff, Starizkij, and

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2. (cont.)
others, we know that it is a characteristic feature of that northwestern corner of the Sea of Okhotsk. See the present work, Vol. II, p. 758, and my "Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Ser. VII, Vol. XXI, No. 3), p. 10.

175 during which they lost their entire supply of food and ammunition and only after much hardship barely escaped with their lives. They continued on foot for five days along the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seatang, seals, and whatever else the ocean washed up (3). Then they built a new vessel, with which

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3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 818) also mentions walruses, as does Uwarof's account, but it is well known that there are none in the Sea of Okhotsk; this is probably a reference to whales, which abound in this sea.

in 14 days, by rowing they reached the Utschalda River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland and after 14 days, or, according to other information, after four weeks, came to the Tugur River, on which they found a large Tungus population with abundant food. The following spring, 1653, Nagiba went down the Tugur to its mouth and from there, with five men, started the return trip to Yakutsk along the sea and then across the mountains, while he sent back the other men under Iwan Uwarof in order to build among the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jassaschnoje Simowjo," that is, a winter hut for collecting tribute (4).

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4. Curiously Uwarof says in his account that he sent Nagiba with five men, whose names he gives, to Yakutsk, while elsewhere he constantly refers to Nagiba as the leader of the expedition.

175 648 The next and last contact of the Russians with the Gilyak which we know about from this period of the first Russian military expeditions into the Amur region took place under Chabarof's successor, the Cossack Onufrij Stepanof. The latter had already spent the winter of 1653/54 in Djutscheren territory, "in the neighborhood of the Gilyak" (5). In the fall of 1655, with the

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5. Müller, Samml., loc. cit., p. 343. In Stepanof's report to the Yakutsk voivode, Michail Lodyshenskij (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 524), it is said "v" Dyucherskoi zemlie, ne doplyv" Gilyatskie zemli, that is, in the country of the Djutscheren, above the Gilyak country.

"Ssyn bojarskoi" Fedor Puschtschin who had been sent from Yakutsk in the meantime, he again went into the lower Amur region, and this time beyond the Djutscheren to the Gilyak bordering them (6). Shortly before, the latter had killed a

6. Müller, op. cit., pp. 354, 355; Fischer, op. cit., p. 849.

company of 30 Yakutsk Cossacks, who had reached them by land from Okhotsk, and were now punished for it by Stepanof. Moreover, he built an ostrog /fort/ among them, to which, because of its position on a mountain slope, he gave the name Kossogorskoi (7). He spent the winter in it, took from the Gilyak

7. In Stepanof's report the ostrog is called

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7. (cont.)
"Kossogirskoi"; see Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1851, p. 82.

a handsome /108/ tribute in furs, and in the spring of 1656 again went up the Amur. Two years later part of his company who did not want to submit to the delegate of the new commander, Paschkof, and had fled, returned to the lower Amur, wintered at its mouth (1658/59), and went back upstream again with the rich tribute collected from the Gilyak (1). There are

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 367; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. IV, p. 176.

no other reports concerning the Gilyak during this visit of the Russians among them.

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So run the oldest Russian reports concerning the Gilyak and their closest neighbors. What may be drawn from them with regard to the mutual boundaries of these peoples at that time? Nagiba's expedition acquainted us with the Gilyak along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk westward at least as far as the Utschalda River, and, to be sure, in the company of the Tungus, who apparently at that time occasionally roamed to the sea to hunt and fish, as is still done today (2). To be sure, the

2. See above, p. 25.

location of the Utschalda River has not yet been ascertained (3),

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3. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 178. It is incomprehensible how Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russischen Reiches, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 749) could identify the Utschalda with the Udj. In doing this he confused the very simple and clear account from the expedition of the shipwrecked, and

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the Tugur River and the Gilyak then followed (5). But even at

5. Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Conditions on Kamchatka/, p. 57 (appendix to Steller's Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774.

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But even at

that time the Gilyak went as far as Tugur Bay, north of the mouth of the Tugur River, for /109/ on an old Russian hand-written map, whose origin Middendorff puts in the middle of the last century for several reasons, one finds the sketch of a "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka), which led over the narrow, stem-shaped part of the Ssegneka Peninsula from Ulban Bay to Tugur Bay (1). By this route the Gilyak may also have

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 116, note 2. The map is in the library of the Akademie der Wissenschaften. Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., 1769, p. 508) also mentions a towpath used by the Gilyak and therefore "called Giljazkaja perewoloko in Russian since ancient times." This, however, as he says, was used in order to avoid the northern promontory at the mouth of the Amur, since it ran from one brook, which empties to the south into the bay formed by the mouth of the Amur, to another brook which flows into the sea to the north. Müller adds that the latter brook bears the name "Gole" on Chinese maps and this indicates the towpath, for "Gole" evidently refers to the Gilyak village of Kolj or Kulj

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1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hisska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the towpath on the Ukakyt -- from the Nemilen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

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come across Ulban Bay and Ssegneka Peninsula to the mouth of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Ssegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

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There is still no mention of these islands in the reports cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

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purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak

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2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

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3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

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4. In Gilyak "island" is pŏllo-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Lushin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandarskij."

175 when The Russians
131 under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar
648 Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

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5. (cont.)
p. 98), it was probably Large Shantar Island /Bolshoi/.

they could not understand -- presumably a /110/ Gilyak woman, who, however, disappeared, and there is no information given about her anywhere later (1). It cannot be determined whether in

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 99.

fact this woman had been left behind on the island by her countrymen or whether, as Middendorff thinks (2), was abducted

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 103.

by the Cossacks themselves on the mainland and was brought to the island. Subsequent expeditions to the Shantars confirmed that they had no permanent inhabitants. On the second trip, in 1718, under the Ssyn bojarskoi Filkejef, who, however, did not go there himself (3), the winter was spent on

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3. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 107), who spoke to Filkejef himself in Yakutsk, says expressly that because of differences with his men he had himself put ashore with two Cossacks at the mouth of the Tugur. Accordingly, therefore, the statements by Ssokolof ("Opis' Udskago ber. i Shantarsk. ostr. poruch. Kozmina /A Description of the Uda Bank and of the Shantar Islands, Commissioned by Kozmin/. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV. St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 3, note 4) and by Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 99, note 1), who have Filkejef himself reach the Shantars, are to be corrected.

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175 [131] Large Shantar Island, which proved to be uninhabited. Through carelessness in making fire, it is said, the forests on the island caught fire and as a result the sable disappeared there. On the 175 648 return trip the following summer the Cossacks wanted to do some fishing along the coast of the mainland between the Tugur and the Amur, but most of them were killed by the Gilyak (4).

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4. Presumably there is a connection between this event and the story that Ssokolof relates, apparently copied verbatim from a logbook, in Morskoi Sbornik (1855, No. 6, Miscellany, p. 107 -- it is the entry hinted at by Middendorff, op. cit., p. 99, note 2, which he was unable to find again as the result of an incorrect citation). Seaman Petrof, who had participated in Iwan Schestakof's expedition to the Shantars in 1730, related that they had found on Large Shantar Island and had taken aboard three Russian men, who gave the following information about themselves: they had spent about 20 years on the island; when they had come to the land of the Gilyak to fish, the latter had overcome them and killed 17 of them; only three of them escaped the Gilyak and got away to Large Shantar Island where they had lived ever since. One can see that the account is quite similar to the one mentioned above, though, if it is the same event, the twenty-year stay on the island does not fit, since it could only be twelve. But this number is given only roughly and, in view of the style of the narrative, which clearly shows a gap, could just as well refer

175 /110 cont./
131 dubious. So far as is known, the Gilyak were never met there
484 directly during any of the numerous visits to these islands. The pertinent accounts therefore only rest on the above-mentioned statements by the neighboring Tungus /111/ and on alleged traces that the temporary stay of the Gilyak on many of these
175 islands has left behind. According to Krascheninnikof
103 /Krasheninnikov/ (1), the island of Chudoi (i.e., bad) Shantar

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1. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. Sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rissi, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 135).

is said to have received its name because it had no forest at all, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly it had been quite densely wooded and rich in sable, but the Gilyak once forgot to extinguish the fire before leaving the island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Krascheninnikof,

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2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the name "Chudoi Schantar," which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Krascheninnikof's statements, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted but that Small Schantar Island (Malyi Shantar") is meant by it; just as it is also by the name "Ssuchoi (dry) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Karte von der Lage von Kamtschatka" /Map of the Location of Kamchatka/ in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Hudé Schantar" west of the island of Bjelitschij, just as Krascheninnikof, too, gives it, but this

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101 a language other than the Tungusic one (1). Now, even though

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1536. Though this statement seems to leave no doubt but that "Ngatku" was a Tungusic designation for that Amur people, Middendorff says elsewhere (travel rep. in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618) that he had received information on this people from the Gilyak. But in this case, too, these must have been border Gilyak adjacent to Tugur Bay, who obviously gave the traveler the name customary among their neighbors, the Tungus, for those people, for as much and as frequently as I myself inquired among the Gilyak on the Amur, the Liman, and on Sakhalin about the peoples known to them, I never heard the name Ngatku. In any case they have other designations for the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed later.

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175 the above description by the Tungus of the Natka, their place
101 of habitation, and their way of life agrees with Pojarkof's statements concerning the Natken and Chabarof's concerning the Atschanen, who likewise lived only from fishing and without agriculture and livestock-raising, and even though in this direction it fits the Goldi as well as the Olcha, it is not therefore to be assumed that the Tungus, especially the Negda, were likewise unable to distinguish between these two peoples
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101 not too far away from them. Experience has shown that, on the contrary, primitive peoples are inclined to regard even minor branches of one and the same people, individual families,

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do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Kossogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Ssutschu located in the Amur near Kidsi. He found there the remains of a low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the

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1. D. Romanov", "Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 126, note 4). Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Kossogorskoi, but Kossogirskoi Ostrog (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Djutscheren bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as is still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessors, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

/116 cont./

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vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natken, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

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The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasskij and in Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

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The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different parties, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visted the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

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1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinso ("Tô-tats ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

2: Schrenck--243 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3

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/117 cont./

1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the l sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

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coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

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2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

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/117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

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4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

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so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

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G /117 cont. /
101 buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox
439 skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

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5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

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101 The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the
A
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Gi Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective
103 name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after
000 the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

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1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

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2: Schrenck--247 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3

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/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

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4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

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/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

/120 cont./

175 131 than that the neighbors adjacent to the Gilyak on the south were the same 200 years ago as they are today. The only thing known with absolute certainty is that the boundary situation which I found there in the fifties was exactly the same as it was half a century earlier.

175 131 If we now go back to the island of Sakhalin, we are faced there with an even greater scarcity of useful older reports. In the above-mentioned reports from the earliest expeditions that the Russians conducted to the mouth of the Amur and beyond, no special attention is given to it, though in one of them it is generally noted that the Gilyak also occupy the nearby islands in the ocean (1) which however, could just as well refer to the

1. In Pojarkof's report (see Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 302).

Shantar Islands (2). Not until the above-mentioned "Tale from

[114] 2. Fischer, in this connection, actually confused Sakhalin with the Shantars (see his Sibir. Gesch., Part II, p. 788, and the map, "Sibiriae veteris," Pl. II).

the Great Amur River," likewise from the seventeenth century, and to a certain extent also in Witsen, is it said more precisely that opposite the mouth of the Amur there is a large island on which numerous "Gilyak peoples" live (3). Elsewhere Witsen

[113] 3. Spasskii, "Svied. Russk. o r. Amurie v" XVII stol. /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20). Witsen, Noord en Oost

2: Schrenck--251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Manchu AG4

G 175 131 113

/120 cont./

3. (cont.)
Tart., ed. of 1692, Pt. 2, p. 32; ed. of 1705, p. 87. Cf. also Müller, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Pt. 2, 2nd ed., p. 506.

G 175 131 [103] [114]

Elsewhere Witsen remarks that this island was called "Giliat" (4). What is said

4. Op. cit., ed. of 1705, p. 96.

otherwise about the places on this island that are mentioned, even though based on facts and the truth, nevertheless has the character of accounts based upon hearsay, as, for instance, the statement about the high reed thicket that makes its coast inaccessible, and the like. And as a matter of fact, we do not have any reliable reports on Sakhalin and its people in that period, not even brief ones like those on the Amur region, because this island had no contact with the Russians at all in the seventeenth century. Later on, in the eighteenth century, when the Russians undertook voyages to the Shantars, Sakhalin, as was mentioned above (5), was repeatedly visited by Russian

G 175 177

5. See above, p. 171.

deserters, shipwrecked persons, etc., but no reports about it have come down to us.

M G 175 177

The oldest Chinese reports about Sakhalin provide just as slight a foothold. When the Jesuits Regis, Jartoux, and Fridelli drew up the map of the lower Amur River, the natives told them that opposite the mouth of the Amur /121/ there was an island which was inhabited by a people similar to them. Consequently, Emperor Kang-hi soon afterwards sent several Manchu to explore the island, and they crossed over to it in the boats of the natives, but, according to the testimony of the Jesuits, their task was

2: Schrenck--252 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Manchu AG4
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

GM 175 177

/121 cont./

carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to the southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remained uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the names

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1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, each according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian anga hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known the present name arose. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian anga chada" mean only "rocks (not island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the banks of the river at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks emerging from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin, see below.

of the peoples inhabiting the island.

F.J. G 175 178

We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first detailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mamia Rinsô (1808-1810). In 1613-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Yesso/

/128 cont./

000 3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104] 4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113] 5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113] 6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113 7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

2: Schrenck--274 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu ABC

/129 cont./

A 175 114 101

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A 101 175 [648]

Similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuä" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

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2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

A [113]

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

A [113]

5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et littér. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others,
G [103] among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are
[101] the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

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6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101

after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G A [101] [103] [114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuã, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

A G [439]

Gi 101 175 [113]

/136 cont./

6. (cont.)
(Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr. Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399; the same, "Ussuriiskie Man'tszy /The Ussurie Man-dse/" (Izviestiia Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 93, 123).

repeatedly designated for me by the Goldi on the Ussuri with the immediately recognizable name "Kăkar," but once also only quite generally and vaguely as "Lámuka" (sea dwellers). It is noteworthy that the former name is also customary among the Gilyak for the Orochi. During his stay among the Sakhalin Gilyak, Mamia Rinsô learned of a "Kiakkara" people, who were said to live on the mainland opposite (7), and later in

G Gi 101 175

7. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

Taba Bay, when he himself visited the mainland, he saw their vessels, which came from afar, he thought from the vicinity of Kôraĭ (Korea) (8). Among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk,

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8. Op. cit., p. 171. Prompted by a fortuitous similarity of sound, Siebold attempts a far-fetched interpretation of this name by saying that "Kiak kara" reminds one of the Mountain Kirgiz, called Kara, that is, the Blacks (op. cit., p. 199).

Middendorff heard of a "Kjăchkal" people who were said to live along the Amur and beyond it (9). A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the

G Gi [113]

9. Travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618.

Gi 101 174 G [101] [174]

/149 cont./

Jant, Tscholdok or Tscholdoch (2), Manchu." Now since the

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2. Among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk, Middendorff also heard of a "Tschjoldó" people living on the Amur (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same in the Beitr. Zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618).

habitation sites of the Goldi are immediately adjacent to those of the Manchu, both the Jant and the Tscholdok fall to them, in that the former are evidently the lower Goldi, the latter the upper Goldi, perhaps reckoning from the Geong Range or from Dondon. From "Tscholdok," however, it seems to me, "Kordekke" in the Japanese version and "Goldi" in the Russian could easily have arisen. Just like the names "Janty" or "Anty" among some Russian writers (3) for the Goldi and "S'janta" or "Santan" among

3. Iakinf, according to Wassiljef; see above, p. 302 ff.

the Ainu and Japanese, so, too, may these designations for the same people, "Goldi" and "Kordekke," owe their origin to Gilyak mediation.

Gi 101 175 [184] Gi [13]

There is a causal connection between the frequently mentioned difference between the lower and the upper Goldi, which has even brought them different names from several sides, and the changes which have taken place in the historical period in the boundaries of their area of distribution. Whereas at present time the Goldi occupy a continuous territory which extends approximately from the Gorin mouth, up the Amur and the Ussuri almost to the sources of the latter, and into the Sungari region, this was not the case at the time when we first become acquainted with the Goldi. When Pojarkof /Poyarkov/ (1644), Chabarof /Khabarov/ (1651), and Stepanof (1655) undertook their bold

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3. Schrenck--402 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Historical Manchuria AG2
Manchu AG4
Goldi RX3

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H.M /189 cont./ However
101 that may be, the name Nikan /190/ for the Chinese has, with
195 minor variations, penetrated to all the other Amur peoples
648 from the Manchu. I heard it in the lower Amur region among
G. the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak. To be sure, they ordinarily
Gi also call the Chinese merchants simply Manchu, but with more
[101] precise questioning they know very well how to indicate that the former actually belong to another people subjugated by the latter, which the Goldi and the Olcha named for me as the "Nekan," the Gilyak sometimes "Neka" and "Nekagu" (1), at

1. Corresponding in form to the Gilyak names for the Negda, "Rdhy" and "Rdhyngu" (see p. 67 ff. above). Could it be that the suffix "gu" designates the collective idea, or means "people," like the Ainu "kur" or "gur"?

other times "Nenga" (2). Since the Manchu officials are

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2. As a curiosity and example of how fundamentally wrong and thoughtless the statements of hasty travelers may be at times when it is a matter of the name that a people gives itself, the remark by Gamof will serve ("Iz" putev. zamiet. astronoma, opredieliavsh. v" 1859g. miestn. rr. Amura i Usuri /From the Travel Notes of an Astronomer Who Determined the Location of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers/." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1862, Book I, Section on Research and Materials, p. 122), maintaining in all seriousness that the Goldi and Gilyak designated themselves with the name "Nikanzen." Peschtschurof /Peshchurov/ (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 304) speaks of "Nekanen" in what we called the civilized section of the Amur River without, it seems, realizing that there were Chinese.

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2: Schrenck--408 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Kamchadal RY3
Goldi RX3
Southeast Siberia RX1

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/192 cont./

3. (cont.)
of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. puteshestvii po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

says the same, but more vaguely and evidently repeating Steller; according to him, however, Italmen needles are supposedly called "schischj," and, accordingly, the Japanese, "Schischaman." The following will show that this explanation is wrong and based on a misunderstanding. Names for the Japanese quite similar to those used by the Kamchadal are used by the Amur peoples, at least those on the island of Sakhalin and along the lower course of the Amur. The Gilyak on the mainland and on the island call them "Ssisam" (4), and the Olcha and Goldi, "Ssissa" (5).[2]

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4. Therefore, when in a handwritten document from 1744 found by Middendorff in the archives of Udskoi Ostrog there is mention of the "Ssysaizy," who are said to have destroyed a vessel in the mouth of the Amur (cf. his Reise in den äuss. Nord. etc., Vol. IV, p. 165), it is undoubtedly the Japanese who are being referred to by their Gilyak name transformed by the Russians. Middendorf himself, by the way, had heard the name "Ssissan" among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk, but he thought that it referred to the southern Kurile Islands (cf. Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

[2] [Footnote "(5)" appears on p. 409--Analyst]

SS 162 /317 cont./ A more numerous Gilyak
G 174 population on the island in former times is indicated, among
161 other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two
361 villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village,
the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of
the Sea of Japan, and both are highly insignificant today (3).

G SS [113]

3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 233), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, which has three of them, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out devastatingly in the fifties, this has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the winter of 1857/58, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

G [114] [731]

SS 162 Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the
[132] continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tymy
/Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harsher climate is understandably much more deserted.

SS 161 /318/ I must content myself with these general remarks con-
114 cerning the more or less large population of the various parts of the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find state-
SS [175] ments concerning the total number of individuals for particular Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

SS /319 cont./

16 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging
114 the number of the population, because the villages are extremely
36 variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

G 16 114

3. Although all the later statements concerning the number of persons of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of the Russian occupation and colonization of it, must have undergone great changes, lie outside the scope of this work, I should like to mention one of these statements here in passing, because it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my considerations. I am referring to the estimate of their number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr. N. Seeland in his article, "Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed. by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs) for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin questioned traveling fur traders, he came to the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this total number, given according to the individual districts, explain its exceedingly large size, but at the same time make it absolutely untenable. For the number of the Gilyak of the Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000, the Gilyak in the Sofisk District (from Mariinsk to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. According to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

G [113]

G [162]

G [101]

/320 cont./

361 1. (cont.)
Amur was covered with ice. In the spring of 1855, I found the Gilyak in the village of Ssabach, the first above Nikolayevsk, already in their summer dwellings located beside the winter houses on May 16 (28); in the villages farther upstream, however, up to Tacht, they had not yet moved into them at that time.

361 sometimes the Gilyak living together in one village
342 in winter separate to go to different places for the summer, only
114 to come together again in the fall. If the winter and summer houses are located beside one another, as, for instance, in Wair (or Wait, as the Russians call it), the village seems much larger and more populous than it actually is. More than half of all the houses are then the summer houses, much smaller in comparison with the ordinary, large winter-houses, and some of the larger storehouses, /321/ similar to the former in construction, could easily be taken for living quarters. This explains the excessively large number of houses that is given by some travelers for individual Gilyak villages (1). On the other hand, if the

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1. Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/, St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 162) counted 27 houses in one Gilyak (according to him, "tatarischen") village, which was located on the northern end of Sakhalin between the capes Elisabeth and Maria. For another village, on Nadeshda Bay, he gives 16 to 18 houses, but the description of it clearly permits one to recognize summer and winter dwellings the latter of which, moreover, stood empty (op. cit., pp. 178, 182, 183). Orlof, on the occasion of his first trip to the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk (in July, 1849), gave the number of houses in the village of Kulj as 46 (cf. Tikhmenev", Istor. Obozr. obraz. Ross.-

/321 cont./

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1. (cont.)
Amerik. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 64), many of which were certainly only storehouses.

summer and winter houses lie apart as two separate villages, the number of individual villages appears larger to the uninitiated traveler and in another way he again gets the impression of a larger population for the region than it actually has. Later on I shall return to the number of houses in the individual villages of the Gilyak, after we have first come to know in greater detail the construction and nature of their summer and winter dwellings.

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It is chiefly climatic reasons that make it necessary for the Gilyak to build separate dwellings for winter and for summer. In winter it is important to be protected against the exceedingly severe cold, often accompanied by violent storms and snowfalls; in summer, on the other hand, to counteract the excessive humidity which is caused by the maritime location and the constant oceanic winds, fogs, and rains. The former requires rooms that are as tight as possible and enclosed by windproof walls, while the latter, on the contrary, can be achieved only by more open dwellings with a constant circulation of air. To combine both adequately in one structure seems to be beyond the strength and means of a primitive people. Let us now see how the Gilyak meet the challenge.

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The winter houses of the Gilyak are of two types: a simpler one, peculiar and primitive -- the earth yurt, and a more complicated one copied from the Chinese design, which deserves the name of house rather than yurt (2), and which I shall call simply winter

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2. The Russians originally designated the tent-like dwellings of the Siberian natives with this word (Russ.: yurta) of Finnish-Tataric origin (cf. Ahlqvist, Die Culturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen /The Cultivated Words of the West

/321 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 105). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the dwellings of same, of whatever kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Russ.: izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russians in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the same sense in this work.

342 house or Chinese winter-yurt. The earth yurt, toryf of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is nothing more than a more or less spacious, immovable tent half sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with thin beams. [335] Around it there is erected a pyramidal /322/ roof slanting upward evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to one another and resting on four crossbeams, which, in turn, are supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration [354] appears here./ Only at the peak of the roof is an opening left to serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however, but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passageway (c), likewise roofed over with thin beams or tree branches and dry grass, in which, at both sides, either a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

/330 cont./

342 184 The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese winter-yurts. The east coast of the island and the Tymy Valley had only the earth yurt (1). On the west coast of Sakhalin,

[113] 1. Mizul's /Mitsul'/ statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khoz. otnosh. /Agricultural Outline of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134).

as far as it borders on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, i.e., from Pilja-wo, the southernmost point of the Gilyak, to Poghobi, there were also only earth yurts (2). But from there northward,

[113] [114] 2. In 1861, Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Ins. Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. d. Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 234) found in Poghobi a "large Manchurian" yurt (or two?), which, however, did not exist in my time, as I can definitely assert since in 1855 and 1856 I was at this place no less than four times.

along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages consisting sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of winter dwellings occurred beside each other. I myself have not been in this part of Sakhalin, but have collected detailed information on the villages in it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak residing there, who visited me at the Nikolayev post in the company of Tschcharbach-Gilyak friends of mine (3). A few years later

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342 there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays
184 of Tugur and Ulban, where Middendorff became acquainted with
[36] the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his hand-
written notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

[113] [354]

1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 619), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak there.

Liman and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kulj and Ulban Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitness accounts. The Gilyak, too, though I often asked them about it, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to me other than the above-mentioned one of Pättach.

342 In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as
184 far as their distribution extends, the Chinese yurt at present repre-
174 sents the only form of winter dwelling; on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, along the Liman, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with earth yurts, while in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only this latter form is found. From this distribution of the two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /333/ has been preserved only among
[191] the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of the view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from its above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

A 175 345 /351 cont./
in more ancient times (1).

1. Weniaminof, op. cit., p. 201.

G 342 171 After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth G 342 179 [354] yurt, the toryf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tschadryf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have there- G [114] fore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

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2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mizul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

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3. "Histor. Ber.," etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ocherk" o. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (5), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

2: Schrenck--517 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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The French missionary Venault (8) and the Korean Kimal-

8. "Excursion dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., Vol. XXX, 1852, Vol. II, p. 208).

Kim (9) likewise mention the kang in the houses of Ninguta,

9. "Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évêque de Belline, 1844" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., 1847, Vol. I, p. 71).

Girin, Ssan-Ssin, and other places which they touched on their travels through Manchuria, /352/ and later travelers, such as Williamson (1), Barabasch (2), and others found it in general

1. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 229.

2. "Sungariiskaia eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., Vol. XVII, 1874, No. 2, p. 332).

use along the Sungari, Nonni, Churcha or Mutuan-ho, etc. (3).

3. In the middle of the house, where among the Gilyak the dogs' table stands, there is an elevation made of clay or bricks with a cavity the size of an ordinary tub. Wood and charcoal are kept burning in it, so that it is always full of hot ashes; kettles with hot water stand there for replenishing the tea cups, brandy and beer are warmed there in tin containers, etc. Williamson, op. cit.

/352 cont./

342 Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of
354 pipes going out from the hearth, running under the sleeping
171 benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house,
352 is by no means of an indigenous Manchurian origin, but rather of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from the motherland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies. For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in North China (4) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, are

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4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part older, in part more detailed discussions or descriptions of it; for example, in Du Halde (Descript. géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et litér. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 346), Davis (La Chine ou descript. génér. des moeurs et des coutumes etc. de l'empire Chinois, transl. from Eng. by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 331), Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 380), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 192-194 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 24), and Girard (France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

2: Schrenck--519 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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352 more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),
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5. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733-1743, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. I, p. 448), Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Maimatschin opposite Kjachta. In Huc (Souv. d'un Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 13), there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, espe-

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6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of modifications and complications in the heating of the houses, just as in the rest of the construction; for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of rooms (7), the heating pipes

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7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing hoei-tien." Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1843, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor and in the walls separating the rooms (8), etc.,

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8. Van Braam, op. cit. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte "Novara" um die Erde in den J. 1857-1859 unter den Befehlen des Kommod. B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair /Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the World under the Command of Commodore B. von Wüllerstorf-Urbair/, Anthropol. Part,

/352 cont./

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8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

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Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uitsch, uitsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

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343 [251] /358 cont./ For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer, there are special storehouses, which, however, since consumption takes place in winter, are always located beside the winter dwellings, and the supplies are carried to them as they accumulate.

The storehouses of the Gilyak (njö, in the Tro and Tymy dialect njo) /illustration appears here/ appear at first glance to be very similar to the summer dwellings in that, like them, they rest on piles (on which the above-mentioned pieces of birch bark may not be absent) (2) and have the same kind of walls and roofs, indeed,

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2. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 482) mentions that the Cheremis along the Kama and Wjatka, like most of the Kasan Tatars, put their sheaves of stored grain in round, pointed heaps above four piles connected by beams and covered

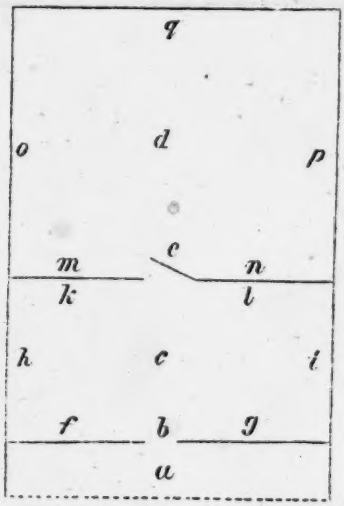

a -- Balcony-like sill on the front side of the house. b -- Entrance opening. c -- Front section, d -- rear section. e -- Door between them. f to q -- The eleven wall surfaces.

Plan of a Gilyak Storehouse (njö, njo).

with bark, which makes them inaccessible to mice.

even the same balcony-like sill on the front side, to which one climbs on a thin, notched beam, which can easily be taken away; but even the largest of them are always smaller than the latter, and the entrance is likewise lower and narrower, indeed, sometimes

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342 in general and in the individual areas. Such principal and
[177] central points are of special importance for the ethnographer, because here the national character of a people as a rule appears more sharply and precisely stamped and the peculiar usage and customs remain protected longer against foreign influences, whereas in smaller villages it more readily happens that, as a result of personal intercourse, the mixed marriages of the few residents with members of a neighboring tribe, etc., many a national characteristic is obliterated; indeed, in the course of time many a foreign idea or custom finds entry, for which I shall have more than one opportunity to cite examples in the following.

Unfortunately, I am not in a position to give the number of winter dwellings in the whole Gilyak area. In those parts through which I traveled, such as along the Amur River and the Liman on the mainland, on Sakhalin along the west coast from Poghobi to Duĭ and in the interior along the entire Tymy River to somewhat north of its mouth, I have been able to ascertain it myself by my own count, and in other adjacent parts, such as on the west coast of Sakhalin north of Poghobi and south of Duĭ, by means of many inquiries among the Gilyak. For the east coast of Sakhalin a few statements by Glehn are available (1). Only on the parts of the Gilyak territory along

[113] 1. "Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 235).

the Sea of Okhotsk do we not have /361/ any data at all, except for the small stretch between Kulj and the Amur Liman likewise visited by me (1).

342 131 361 113 1. Middendorff was told during his stay on Tugur Bay (in 1844) that there were four large Gilyak villages between Cape Umelongte (Muktelja), the point of this coast

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1. (cont.)
which projects farthest to the north, and the mouth of the Amur (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersburg, 1855, p. 618).

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For the sake of clarity and because many of the individual villages of the Gilyak will be mentioned repeatedly in the course of this work, I give the following tabular list of all the Gilyak villages, in part from me, and mostly from personal experience, and in part from Glehn's statements, and the number of their winter dwellings.

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/The following chart, which runs across pp. 362-363 in the original text, is given on four pages in the translation, the first page bearing the four columns pertaining to the mainland, the second page bearing the four columns pertaining to Sakhalin, and the next two pages containing the final column of notes./

/364 cont./

361 principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number. Along the Liman, Langr in the north and Tschomi in the south are in dominant positions, the former as the chief exchange point between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin, the latter in constant communication with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, and, on the other hand, with the villages on the Amur beyond the mountains. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Kulj or Kolj is the principal village, about whose existence Middendorff received information even at Tugur Bay (1), and, according to the

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1. In Middendorff's handwritten notes on his visit among the Gilyak the place is called "Kwol," and in Baer's report on his journey (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 620) "Kwel."

descriptions of the Gilyak, seems to play a role there similar to Wair's on the Amur River. /365/ Along the Liman coast of Sakhalin the same significance belongs to the above-mentioned Tamla-wo, of bad repute because of the predatory tendencies of its, as the name indicates, large population. The part of the west coast of Sakhalin that is washed by the northern part of the Sea of Japan has only small villages almost entirely, in that the village of Tyk with its six earth yurts is the only larger place and the principal point of the entire coast. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin, which has a great number of small villages in its upper part in particular, Pud-wo and Udmk-wo are the principal points, and, finally, on the east coast of Sakhalin Tschai-wo and Nyi are the principal places.

342 592 161 Now, if one wants to draw any conclusions about the size of the Gilyak population in its individual areas, as well as in general, from the number of winter dwellings, it must first be determined how many permanent residents on the average may be reckoned for a Chinese or an earth yurt. Just as the

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000 possession. I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all
291 the more a coat made of six skins of this kind, has so high a
435 conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese
439 conceptions. In any case the lynx skin also has considerable real
237 worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not used by the Gilyak like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not impart to their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions
825 of another kind must therefore come into play here. In view of the
171 active, centuries old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese,
[439] they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the mightiest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne: for example, the seats of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the chair cushions carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

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2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar China /A Three-year Trip to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

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/390 cont./

covered with tiger skins on the outside (3); long tiger and panther

3. Marco Polo (Reisen, German by Aug. Bürck, with annotations and emendations by Fr. Neumann, Leipzig, 1845, pp. 318-319) relates that the pavilion borne by four elephants in which the Chinese emperor (Kublai Khan) stayed when hunting in the province of Liao-tong, as well as the hunting tents erected for him there, were covered on the outside with tiger, or, as he says, "lion," skins.

tails hang down from the halberds and lances of the officers forming the bodyguard of the emperor and /391/ walking in his retinue during public processions (1), etc. (2). Under Chinese

1. Ysbrants Ides, op. cit., p. 90. Gerbillon, in Du Halde, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 235.

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2. Many more examples of the high esteem for the tiger and its skin in China could be given. I shall content myself, however, with referring here only to some of the older testimony of this kind. On account of its predatory nature, evoking fear and terror, its likeness is put on the garments of officers and and other persons in military service in China, as Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey Through China in the Suite of the Embassy of Great Britain in the Years 1793 and 1794, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. II, p. 31), Staunton (Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China in den J.

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2. (cont.)
1792-1794, nebst Nachr. über China und einen kleinen Theil der chines. Tartarey /Ambassadorial Voyage of the Earl of Macartney to China in the Years 1792-1794, with Reports on China and a Small Part of Chinese Tartary/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. I, p. 341), and others have reported. Ellis (Journal of the Proceed. of the late Embassy to China, etc., second edit., London, 1818, Vol. I, p. 130) also saw several companies of soldiers who were wrapped from head to foot in long, yellow and black striped garments which were supposed to make them look like tigers to terrify the enemy. On the other hand, the tiger also seems to be the object of religious veneration in China. For example, Van-Braam (Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 270) reports that four stuffed tigers in a sitting position were set before the altar in the pagoda Huinon-tsu in Peking. In a similar manner, the Chinese (Man-dse) in the Ussuri region erect chapels for the tiger, in which they offer sacrifices to it and hang pictures of it (Arkhim. Palladii, "Usur. Man'tszy /The Ussuri Man-dse/," Izviest. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 376). I shall come back on another occasion to the value that the Chinese in their superstitious beliefs attach to the meat, gall, tendons, bones, and claws, besides the skin of the tiger.

/391 cont./

825 influence similar use of the tiger skin as a mark of honor has be-
171 come established in Korea (3). The trading trips of the Gilyak

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3. Thus, Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Travels in the Ussuri Region in 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 116) reports that during his visit to the Korean border town of Kygenpu on the Tumen-ula the governor appeared, carried on a chair over which a tiger skin was spread. After he had descended, it was spread on the ground and the traveler was invited to sit on it.

825 The trading trips of the Gilyak
439 to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari gave them an opportunity to witness
171 the extraordinary fear which the Chinese there (Man-dse), as well as the Goldi, have of the tiger and, prompted by this fear, the respect that they show for it everywhere, in that the former erect small chapels or temples for it and put up in them pictures of it (4), which the latter call it "ambanj," i.e., "master," and

4. Arkhimandr. Palladii, "Usuriiskie Man'tszy" (op. cit., p. 377). Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 347).

even bow to the ground before its remains (5). The impressions

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5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur, completed between 1856 and 1857/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 171). Palladij, loc. cit.

439/392 cont./
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2. (cont.)
that the natives of the Ussuri region (Goldi and Orochi or Ta-dse) always answered his questions about the character and way of life of the lynx: "igajan Lau-masa," which means, "like the tiger."

prized and dearly paid for by the Chinese (3). I am referring

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3. Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost. Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Journeys in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in the Years 1855-1859/, Vol. I, "Die Säugethier-Fauna /The Mammalian Fauna/," St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 93) was unable to buy a lynx skin among the Manchu and Daur, even for silver coins, and heard the latter say that it, like a tiger skin, could be acquired only by high Chinese officials. Gerbillon (in Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 295) reported that the animal schulon (French "choulon"), a specimen of which Emperor Kang-hi killed during a hunt in 1692 and which he regarded as a lynx ("loup cervier"), which seems in fact to be wholly correct according to the description, provided one of the most highly prized pelts, which cost 15-20 ducats each in Peking. Elsewhere in Du Halde (op. cit., p. 29) this animal is called "chelason."

825 to the lynx. Therefore, the Gilyak transfer to it some of their conceptions about the tiger as a particularly noble, princely, or royal beast.

/395 cont./
291 ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with
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2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

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3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

291 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or
824 any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

293 Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt,
412 in particular as a holder for some of the implements always
[291] accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always
[531] of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI,[2] Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

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4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.

[2] [See Category 116, P. 1011 -- Analyst]

/396 cont./

291 which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long
237 tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

/397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar
291 and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees
177 them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies
531 from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tulv-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2).[z] It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter consists of single Chinese material, usually black or dark-blue cloth.
[237] On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the
292 edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl.
177 XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is
531 more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are
[237] represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

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1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des vers l'Emper. de la Chine

[z] [See category 116, P. 1001--Analyst]

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1. (cont.)
en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

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fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to
[301] the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women
292 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use
239 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

/398 cont./

292 is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The
237 inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration
[554] was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

[126] 1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

171 A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed
291 animal as headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation
237 of the whole animal may occur among many primitive peoples.
825 I cannot refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is the most dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear caps of wolf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an erect position (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

[113] 2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

also takes place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern America. The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northernmost Maleig-müt down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made out of the head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the tail of a wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this latter animal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo

/398 cont./

171 let a wolf or wolverine tail hang down at the neck from their
291 elegant reindeer-fur caps, trimmed with otter or wolverine skin,
237 to their backs (3). One would not err, I believe, if he assumed
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3. Lagoskin", Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vladienii v" Amerikie /Description of a Journey on Foot through Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847 and 1848, Pt. II, pp. 21, 22.

that such articles of clothing based on the imitation of animals are of ancient national origins among those people for whom they are customary and in whose lives the animals in question are of special importance, bringing harm or advantages. It certainly seemed obvious to primitive man to pursue and carry out in detail the similarity with a given animal that he acquired by clothing himself in its fur. Here and there superstitious beliefs of the kind, say, that by imitating an animal in one's clothing, he might gain its good will or render it harmless, might also have given rise to garments copying animals. It is, therefore, not surprising that the idea of special elegance and high distinction becomes attached to such ancient national garments. This also explains why the tschlyghi-hak of the Gilyak /399/ women, though made out of purely native materials, is regarded as more elegant than the tscharp-hak made out of expensive Chinese silk with dragon designs.

291 I cannot leave this subject without permitting myself yet another pertinent and general remark. Since the customary practice among all primitive peoples clothing themselves in animal skins is to wear the skin with the hair on the outside, might not the thought of using the skin for protection against the inclemencies of the climate in the same way as it is given to the animal as natural clothing have arisen out of the imitation of animals, until experience taught that this is in fact the way of using animal skins for clothing that gives the most protection? Without any other covering as nearly air- and water-tight as possible, which primitive people were not familiar with, animal

/402 cont./

294 beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some
412 decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the
531 tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).[1]

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak,
286 who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements
283 and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of
171 the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izviestiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

[1] [See category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]

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1. (cont.)
Geogr. Obshch., po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 379, 390, 392, 500). N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 70). Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /S[illegible]ch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1[illegible], pp. 31, 132. Recently Dr. Ssuprunenko has given our museum several articles of clothing woven out of elm bast by the Ainu of Sakhalin.

likewise with the utilization of nettle fibers, among many Siberian peoples, such as the Ostyak, Kirgiz, Bashkir, Vogul on the Ural, and others, as an anciently familiar one (2).

[113]

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost-Tartarye, second printing, 1705, pp. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, Leben und Gewohnheiten der Ostjaken /Life and Customs of the Ostyak/, Berlin, 1720, p. 30. Castren, Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845-49 /Travel Account and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 55. Beliaevskii, Poiezdka k" Ledovit. moriu /Journey to the Arctic Ocean/, Moscow, 1833, pp. 73, 77. Abramov", Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Krai/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 406). Archimandrite Platon, "Sur les Vogouls" (Klaproth, Magasin Asiat., Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 251).

Moreover, in China, from where so much cultural influence reached the Gilyak and other Amur peoples, one type of nettle (Urtica nivea) is even cultivated in fields for use in weaving (3).

3. Barrow, Reise durch China im Gefolge

/418 cont./

000 however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
30 17 411 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring

[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely, Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[177] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[579] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

30 171 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this

/418 cont./

301 is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it
171 made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubtedly

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5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch. -Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

302 In concluding this section I must still raise the question
304 as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, painting or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

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*262 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both qualitatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the 252 825 two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma, *262 always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

[113]

3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak 574 264 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches, *262 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4)[1] with 412 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

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1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014--Analyst]

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1. (cont.)
unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, p. 232), the Buryat (Radde, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 140; Raev", "Buriaty /The Buryat/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 24, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 10), the Ostyak (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 46), the Samoyed (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands /Travels to the Northeastern Part of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 311; Islavin", Samoiedy /The Samoyed/, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 35; Abramov", "Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 354; Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, 1453), and others. The Tungusic tribes of the Amur region do the same thing. The Nertscha /Nercha/ Tungus call it "to eat from the knife" and maintain that meat so eaten is much tastier than if it is first cut in pieces (Usol-tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/," Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, I, p. 76).

* 262 484 594 when a Gilyak undertakes a long trip, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his countrymen, he nevertheless takes along a bundle of jukola just in case bad weather should force him to spend the night under the open sky, in which case the ma, warmed or slightly roasted over the campfire, will serve him very well.

/428 cont./

226 the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat. Needless to say,
*262 the above-mentioned species of salmon used for jukola by the Gilyak are also eaten fresh and even constitute their principal food when they come upstream in great numbers. In addition, however, the river also offers them an abundance of fresh food in its more or less permanent species of fish, such as sheatfish (Silurus asotus L., Gilyak mub), eelpout (Lota vulgaris Cuv., Gilyak mad[r]sch), pike (Esox lucius L., Gilyak iwys), and especially many cyprinoids, among which the pilengat (Cyprinus carpio L.) plays the principal role (1). But more important and

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1. Incidentally, on the basis of the findings of Herzenstein and Warpachowski ("Notizen über die Fischfauna des Amur-Beckens /Notes on the Fish Fauna of the Amur Basin/," in Trudy S. Peterb. Obshch. Estestvoisp. po otd. Zool., Vol. XVIII, 1887), we shall name here a number of the permanent Amur fish, the larger of which are generally used for food by the Gilyak, the smaller only when necessary and if nothing else is available. Thus, the following: lering (Carassius vulgaris Nilss.) uk or uk-tscho (Barbus labeo Pall.), koll (Pseudas pius leptocephalus Pall.), kunung (Parabramis bramula Val.), mimk (Hypophtalmichthys dybowskii Herz.), wa (Culter erythropterus Basil.), mykyk (Idus waleckii Dyb.), isn-ngoch (Pseudogobia amurensis Dyb.), markram (Gasterosteus pungitius L.), and others.

more precious to the Gilyak than all these fish are the two species of Acipenser that occur in the Amur and sometimes reach tremendous proportions, the tukki-tscho (Acipenser schrenckii Brandt), the Amur sturgeon, and the patch-tscho (Acipenser orientalis Pall.), ooo the Amur hausen (2). On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from

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2. Cf. J. Fr. Brandt, "Einige Worte über die

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2. (cont.)
europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

114 On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from
226 Sakhalin, I reached the village of Tschcharbach at the mouth of
*262 the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish sup-
439 plies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the sturgeon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at practically every season of the year and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tukki-tscho which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /429/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular,
226 since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they
*262 themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it
[439] very much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which
[252] they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities
[796] of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival.
[231] Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these
[439] fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

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226 Next to the Amur the Tymy River on Sakhalin is the Gilyak locality richest in fish. It is therefore the vital artery of the entire Gilyak northern half of the island, and especially along its upper course, where it does not freeze even in winter, despite the low air-temperatures dropping to below the freezing point of mercury, small Gilyak villages lie more tightly packed than almost anywhere else in the Amur region. To be sure, the tastiest and largest fish of the Amur River, the above-mentioned sturgeon, is missing in the Tymy River, but it is especially rich in salmon, and, to be sure, not only in those above-mentioned species generally widespread in the Amur region and, as a result of their great quantity, principally used for the preparation of jukola, which annually in the fall, as previously mentioned, also attract the inhabitants of more distant localities to its banks (1), but also in

[132] [361] [221]

1. During the past few years even the Japanese have come to the mouth of the Tymy to fish there when the Salmo lagocephalus come up, and, as Mizzul (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, 1873, p. 120) and Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island, 1881-1882/, pp. 70-80) reported in detail, they return home with a rich booty.

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various other species, such as the nem(a)lja, (Salmo coregonoides Pall.), the longr(sch) (S. callar Pall.), njalych (probably S. sanguinolentus Pall.), loimang (a species of trout), etc. Indeed, there are even species there that are absent in the Amur River, such as choi-tscho (Salmo orientalis Pall.) and the tschawytscha of the Kamchadal, the largest and most prized salmon species of the shores of the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). The

2. The Nyi Gilyak, among whom I saw two large specimens of choi-tscho in

184 /430 cont./ Moreover,
252 with regard to these and similar views, there are many local dif-
114 ferences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not object if the kangi fish intended for me was roasted on the spit in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as uitsch and permissible without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

226 As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the conti-
221 nental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kulj, Tägl, Hisska (Petrofski Simowjo), etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, where in the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more closed-off part of the Liman, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

*262 Next to fish, seals represent the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly at all the places in their habitation area, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Liman, where this food source, of course, is supplied most abundantly, various species of seals, as I have set forth at another place (1), also come

1. See Vol. I, pp. 180 ff., of this work.

up the Amur through the entire Gilyak area and far into that of the Olcha. /431/ The Gilyak think the least of the seal meat itself
[114] as a food. Sperk is even of the opinion that they themselves do
[231] not even eat it, but only feed it to their dogs (1). This is indeed

•[113] 1. Ed. Shperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Vostochn. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Mediko-

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*262 [113] 1. (cont.)
topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 13).

[114] [231] the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like *262 the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, 252 whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, a superstition I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "uïtsch, uïtsch" (unlucky) could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to [251] finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

[171] 2. Steller (op. cit., p. 323) also points out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak that they do not like frying, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

*262 Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important 136 and precious foodstuff to almost the same extent. It is the white whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak pomi-tscho), which, with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

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*262 Sea of Japan, likewise occurs throughout the habitation area of the
[136] Gilyak and goes up the Amur River just as far as the seal (3). I

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3. See Vol. I, p. 191, of the present work.

learned this much about it, that though, like the latter, it, too, is used by the Gilyak as food for people and dogs (4), nevertheless

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4. According to Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 106), the fat of the white whale is not at all like train oil and the meat, too, has quite a good taste.

it comes after the seal, because hunting it, which will be discussed later, is much more difficult and dangerous and can be done for only a shorter period in the year, only as long as the river is open, and furthermore because it is not nearly as useful as the seal, which, besides food, also yields valuable clothing materials. Nevertheless, the numerous white-whale skulls which one sees hanging on trees and branches at many places along the banks of the Amur River indicate that /432/ the white whale is not infrequently captured by the Gilyak and, in conformity with its significance, is treated in traditional, superstitious ways.

*262 The Gilyak behave quite differently toward another cetacean,
191 the so-called keng (Balaenoptera longimana Rud.), which is oc-
[136] casionally stranded within the range of their dwelling sites on the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of
[231] Japan. To be sure, they acquire these animals in order to feed their dogs with the fat and meat, but they themselves do not eat any of it. In fact, their physical and moral abhorrence of it is such that keng fat or meat is not brought into the yurt, but may be kept only in the storerooms. I could not learn from them what this abhorrence was based on. It is all the more striking, however, since among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples whale meat and blubber are among the most popular foods. The Ainu, for instance, do not leave a stranded whale until all the meat and fat on it have

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*262 171 been consumed (1). Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3) describe

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1. According to a written communication from Rudanofskij. Cf. also Dobrotworskij /Dobrotvorskii/, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37.

2. Op. cit., pp. 98-105.

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3. "Opis. Kamchatki /A Description of *Kamchatka*/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. 1, pp. 420 ff.).

in detail the tremendous importance that the whale has in the diet and the entire economy of the Kuriles, Kamchadal, sedentary Koryak, and Chukchee. It is the same among the Aleut (4) and

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4. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashkinsk. otdiela /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Pt. I, pp. 81, 82.

among the Eskimo in different parts of their broad area of distribu-
[165] tion (5). Experience has taught these peoples to distinguish between

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5. For instance, at the two ends of their territory, on Kadjak /Kodiak/ in the east (Davydov", Dvukratnoe putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitserov" Khvostova i Dav. /The Repeated Journey to America of the Two Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1812, Pt. II, p. 72) and on Greenland in the west (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland, Vol. I, p. 189).

the species of whale suitable for food and the harmful or "poisonous" ones and not to use dead animals cast up by the ocean until

165 /432 cont./
*262 they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For
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6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

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7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) witnessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

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8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

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*262 preserved in memory by tradition, may have given rise to the fear
17 and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence,
[165] of whale meat and blubber in their yurts. Moreover, the Gilyak do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (9), /433/

[113] 9. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye /North and East Tartary/, 1705, p. 47.

for example, and the Koljuschen /Kolosh/ (1), with the sole

[113] 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Trip around the World/, Vol. II, p. 112. Weniaminof, op. cit., Pt. III, pp. 60, 99.

exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat and no whale blubber or oil.

224 Since the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only pursue
*262 fur-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts, the land mammals provide only a small part of their food in comparison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasionally falls into their hands, not excepting even beasts of prey, such as
*262 the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., it is eaten. Only one animal is
[136] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken close at hand and without much trouble: it is the rat (Mus decumanus Pall., Gilyak njagrsch), which is present in such extraordinary numbers in their yurts. This is all the more surprising because, without doubt,
[171] the rat in the Amur region is a gift from China (2) and, as is well

2. See Vol. I, p. 128, of this work.

known, is not at all scorned as food by the Chinese, who otherwise are so authoritative for the Amur peoples (3). Could it be that the

[113] 3. Davis, La Chine, etc., translated from

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3. (cont.)
the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 312. John Bowring, "Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche /The Chinese, Their Usages and Customs/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32. Others, like the English missionary Milne (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) and Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 272), deny the use of rats for food among the Chinese.

*262 Gilyak were taught better by experience, perhaps as a result of painful or even fatal cases of trichinosis? Among all the land mammals there are only two that are of special significance as food for the Gilyak, and, to be sure, both on account of their general and frequent use and the great importance that they place upon them. These are the bear and the dog.

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Bear meat and bear fat are the greatest delicacies that there are for a Gilyak. For the purpose of eating it, the bear is taken from its lair and kept in captivity for a long time and fed. But, according to Gilyak custom, it may not be eaten except at certain times and with the observance of a number of ceremonies and practices that are undertaken in large ad hoc festive gatherings. I have had an opportunity, as an eyewitness, to become acquainted with these bear festivals, which play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, in all their individual acts from beginning to end, and therefore I am obliged to discuss them in a special, later section of this work. Besides that, however, they gave me considerable insight into the food and cooking of the Gilyak in general, for to entertain the large festive company assembled many dishes must be prepared in a way to suit the palates of the Gilyak. And so most of what is presented below concerning their culinary achievments was observed by me on such occasions.

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*262 231 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained [237] inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

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1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

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231 relationship to his master as does the hunting or house dog,
*262 who, through loyalty, personal attachment, and other character-
17 istics lacking in the draft dog, makes himself the constant companion and friend of man. Accordingly, just as among the Gilyak, one also finds cynophagy among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for example, among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3) and of

[113] 3. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' (supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37). Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 204.

Jesso /Yesso/, the latter of which supposedly even fatten dogs for eating them later (4). The Eskimo, too, eat dogs (5), but at

[113] 4. According to Adam Laxmann; see Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 501).

[113] 5. Alois v. Becker, "Arkt. Reise der engl. Yacht 'Pandora' im J. 1876, unter dem Commando des Capit. Sir Allen Young /Arctic Voyage of the English Yacht 'Pandora' in 1876, under the Command of Captain Sir. Allen Young/" (Ausland, 1879, p. 455).

present in most /436/ places, especially in the north and east of their area of distribution, they may be scarcely better off than in Greenland, where, according to Rob. Brown (1), the highly prized

[113] 1. "Die Säugethiere Grönlands und der Grönländ. Meere /The Mammals of Greenland and the Greenland Seas/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1869, p. 464).

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23| dog meat is still a rare delicacy because of its naturally very
*262 high price. The ancient Italmen on Kamchatka seem to be a
171 striking and completely unique exception to the rule, for though they had dogs to pull the sleds and had no other domestic animal besides them, nevertheless among all the animals of their country "only dogs, mice, and lizards were excluded from their menu" (2),

2. Steller, op. cit., p. 323. Krascheninnikof does not mention this.

as Steller expressly states. Or had they perhaps already given up eating dogs in Steller's time, as a result of their well-known, exceedingly eager imitation of the Russians (3), for whom it was a

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 285 and elsewhere.

particular abomination? And all the more since it could not have been difficult for them in material respects in view of Kamchatka's great wealth of fish (4). On the other hand, those peo-

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4. According to the observations made by the Vega Expedition, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen refused to eat the meat of a slain dog (Nordenskiöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas /A Voyage around Asia and Europe/, Vol. II, p. 96). Whether this is general among the Chukchee has not yet been ascertained.

ples -- as I should like to formulate the above rule further -- who keep the dog only for hunting or to guard house and grounds, but use another domestic animal, the reindeer or the horse, for traveling, riding, or burden-carrying, such as the Orok, the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, Orochon, Manegir, etc., not only eat no dog meat, but even have a more or less marked aversion to it.
080 From this point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha, who at

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231 Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Ainu, and must be regarded as a
*262 custom peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the cir-
171 cumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the
[114] Amur region farther upriver, towards the Ussuri and Sungari, makes
[177] it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as is well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand,

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1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by lower people out of lack of any other food, but generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tart. Cham /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 275. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by M***, Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 236. Iakinf", Kitai i pr. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 262, 369, 377. Itier, Journ.

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1. (cont.)
d'un Voyage en Chine /Journal of a Voyage to China/, Paris, 1848, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une Ambass. Franc. en Chine /A French Ambassador in China/, Paris, 1854, p. 197. Bowring, "Die Chinesen" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, p. 249. Girard, France et Chine, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32.

231 the popular enjoyment of dog meat in Korea (2) may perhaps be
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2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p.57. O.Genest, "Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern /Captain Jacobsen's Visit among the Koreans/" (Globus, Vol. LII, p. 61).

traced back to Chinese influence.

223 Birds furnish the Gilyak much less food than do mammals,
*262 merely for the reason that they are not hunted very much on account of their little use otherwise and, as a rule, they are much more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however, is consumed indiscriminately, and some birds which are periodically more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At
[136] several places, for instance, the ptarmigan (Lagopus albus Gm., Gilyak parrä, on Sakhalin tschleola-nga) is caught by them in large numbers by means of simple snares. Along the west coast
[136] of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Duĭ, I saw them consuming with great relish the Phaleris cristatella Pall. (Gilyak nochla-nga), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they alight individually or in small flocks on the ice near open places in the sea and freeze
*262 to it. The meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its
231 nest and raise with fish in order to sell the tail to the Japanese, is
439 consumed by them when its hour of death tolls.

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is consumed by them when its hour of death tolls. The Gilyak seem not to eat on principle only the crow (Corvus corone L., Gilyak karr), although, or perhaps because, it lives for the most part on the same food as they themselves do, for it happily and in great numbers stays in the vicinity of their villages and huts in order to benefit from the scraps from the catch of fish or the preparation of jukola, and appears at the midday or overnight campsites of traveling Gilyak even before the fire has gone out, in order to eat any possible remains from the meal; in fact, they not infrequently steal a march on them in consuming /438/ a nochla-nga frozen fast to the sea ice or an animal caught in a trap. Perhaps the Gilyak are also governed in this by some kind of superstitious belief concerning this bird, like, say, the Chukchee (1) and the

1. Kiber", "Chukchi /The Chukchee/" (Sibirsk. Viestn., 1824, Pt. II, Ethnography, p. 119).

Eskimo (from Kotzebue Sound), who regard the carrion crow as the creator of the world (2). At any rate, I saw them sometimes

2. Berth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 30, 72.

carry with them on trips a crow's head on top of the sleds laden with provisions and trade articles as a means, as they themselves told me, of bringing good luck. Incidentally, ideas quite similar to those concerning the crow prevail among the above-named peoples, the Chukchee, the Eskimo from Kadjak, the Kenai, and the Koljuschen in connection with the raven, and the latter therefore do not eat it (3). In view of the great similarity between the

3. Lutké, Voyage autour du monde /Voyage around the World/, Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 189, 214. According to Nordenskiöld (Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, Vol.

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3. (cont.)
II, p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating a raven that had been shot.

*262 In view of the great similarity between the
825 two birds in externals and in their way of life, it is quite possible that the Gilyak have the same attitude toward both and therefore likewise do not eat the raven.

Among the reptiles and amphibians, there is not a single animal that the Gilyak eat, for with regard to all of them, but especially snakes and toads, they have a fear rooted in superstitious beliefs, which will be discussed in the following (4).

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4. In China, frogs, turtles, and even snakes are eaten. Jakinf, op. cit., p. 262; John Bowring, loc. cit.

226 Finally, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few
*262 invertebrates must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not scorn gathering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks tossed up by the sea or left behind by the ebb. For example,
[136] on the west coast of Sakhalin they designated for me the Tellina venulosa (Gilyak kär wub) (5), Mactra sachalinensis (Gilyak

5. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

moghomi-wellach) (6), and a third mussel, which they called

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6. Ibid., pp. 575-578. As is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a snail shell or mussel shell in general, but the animal of the moghomi-wellach is called pubk, according to Glehn.

jotang-wellach and which remains unknown to me, as the species whose animals they eat and at the same time praised them as being "sweet as sugar."

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*262 (Gilyak tym-als), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but
[137] does not replace the former two in the mossj. Other berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak edeni-als), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called
[192] tityrsch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin pilj-als, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113] 1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn called pilja-latsch by the Gilyak there; see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/" (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 213, 215).

[251] Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I
[252] repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to a mush which is eaten with spoons.

*262 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the
252 Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits
264 of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrs),
[142] a primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by
[137]

[192] 2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tassj (Prunus padus) and chim (Pinus cembra, pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the
252 kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is like-
*262 wise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this
[192] connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

/440 cont./
252 which among the Gilyak on the mainland is called kyp, on
* 262 Sakhalin kap. The kernels and shells of the cembra nuts are
[192] kneaded into a dough-like mass of a reddish-brown color, obtained from the ground bark of the black alder with the addition of seal oil, which is given the form of cakes or small loaves of bread about one span long and equally wide and decorated on the upper side with some figures.

The number of roots which the Gilyak use as food is not inconsiderable. Unfortunately, I am not in a position with regard to many of them to give the taxonomic names of the plants
[137] to which they belong (3). Most of the roots, especially those

• [113]

3. The names given in the following are based on the findings that were made by Maximowicz in working up his "Primitiae florae amurensis," St. Petersburg, 1859 (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. par divers savants, Vol. IX), and Fr. Schmidt for the botanical part of his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin," 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 212), on the basis of the material collected by him and Glehn.

of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria kamtschatkensis Gawl. (Gilyak kark) and of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak nork), which one sees strung on cords and hanging in their storage chambers; likewise the roots of Corydalis ambigua Cham. (Gilyak tschjurk), Heracleum dissectum Led. (Gilyak ryghr), and many other roots with which I am not familiar, such as tuksj, udalak, /441/ mryu, plim, a(r)sj, etc. Some bulbs, such as those
263 called ngyfki by the Gilyak, which presumably belong to a species
252 of Allium, are cut up in the fresh state and added to dishes as
137 seasonings, and likewise the chopped and dried leaves of some

/443 cont./

*262 animal food, and especially fish food, on the whole, constitutes the basis and mainstay of the existence of the Gilyak.

263 A noteworthy circumstance in connection with the diet of the Gilyak must still be considered here. It is the fact that they do not use any salt at all with their food and, indeed, even have a certain aversion to it. I am taking the liberty of repeating here what I wrote several years ago in a letter to Dr. Gustav Bunge (1),

1. At that time a docent in Dorpat, now a professor in Basel.

which has also been published by him (2). Despite my long stay

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2. In his article "Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und das Verhalten der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus /Ethnological Supplement to the Discussion on the Significance of Cooking Salt and the Effect of Potassium Salts on the Human Organism/" (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Vol. X, Munich, 1874, p. 115).

among the Gilyak and many an observation of their food and the preparation of dishes, I never saw them add salt to any dish or eat it in any other way. I was never asked for any by them and do not know /444/ that they ever asked for it in Nikolayevsk, where it
114 was sold. The following experience gave me further evidence of
263 how little it is required by them: since toward the end of my journey in the winter of 1856 my salt was exhausted, I asked for some in every Gilyak village that I passed through on the west coast of Sakhalin and along the Amur-Liman, but always in vain, until Pronge, on the mouth of the Amur, a hazelnut-sized lump of salt wrapped in a dirty rag, which its owner had once happened to get and had kept as a worthless curiosity, was finally brought to me. The Gilyak repeatedly expressed their repugnance for it when they saw me eat salt. From the numerous similar reports on the use or
[171] non-use of salt by various peoples Dr. Bunge draws the conclusion,

/444 cont./

114 certainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
263 almost exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
171 (and the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar with salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas peoples nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods have an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable food" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations from the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
263 confirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

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1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp. 109 ff.

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
263 of salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
796 at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
114 eat plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
262 quantities. Is it therefore not surprising that at that time the Gilyak distaste for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the contrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is regarded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet, this does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclusion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the bear festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten at them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise, and in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear festivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak, among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn resistance.

/444 cont./

000 resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they be-
263 came acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that
174 they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a some-
[196] what modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation taftsch for
[192] salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dabssun (Mongolian: dabassu) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

[113] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298; Sprachatlas /Linguistic Atlas/ p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Djutscheren, engaged in agriculture, livestock-breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Ussuri, from where they were transplanted to the Churcha in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among the Gilyak -- certainly proof that there was no physiological need for it.

263 Whereas the Gilyak aversion to salt is so pronounced and
439 general, sugar (Gilyak ssäta), on the other hand, finds great approval among them, and to be sure, in the form in which they became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

[192] 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian ("ssachar")?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

/447 cont./

323 114 171 similar in shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (2). /448/

[113] 2. Mamia Rinsô, "Tôtats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

323 114 171 174 One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Mamia Rinso goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Mankô) near Kidsi (1). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidsi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still farther upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Ussuri, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Maack had the same experience, except that in the Goldi village of Ssilbi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the natives (2). This village, however,

[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 143.

is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinsô's reports, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were likewise familiar with this industry -- an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored

323 174 171 648 the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion

323 /448 cont./
171 of the trade relations of the Amur peoples, and especially of the
174 Gilyak, with the neighboring civilized peoples. For the moment,
648 it will suffice to make the general remark that it most probably was brought about by violent seizure and devastation plotted by the Manchu-Chinese government itself for political reasons and to which Mamia Rinso's voyage may even have given rise. Through the devastating blow that the government, feared by the natives, executed, among other things, against the pottery and porcelain manufacturing of the Olcha on the Amur, they were forced back, like their neighbors upstream and downstream, the lower Goldi and Gilyak, to their traditional woodworking industry and were so strongly and lastingly prejudiced against all pottery and porcelain that from then on even articles of this sort made in China or Japan could not find approval and acceptance among them. This
415 destruction of the pottery manufacturing in the lower Amur region,
174 on the other hand, may have prompted the Goldi to take up the
171 mass production of wooden implements, to turn those large bowls
322 and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kota, respectively.

Whereas the pottery and porcelain industry was destroyed
323 along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made rapid and unimpeded
171 progress in southern Manchuria and along the Sungari and its tribu-
[648] taries. /449/ According to the notes of the Chinese U-tschen in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

• [113] 1. Vasil'ev", "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Imp. russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also arose there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

[113] 2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

/449 cont./

323 171 utensils produced there, some of them of very good quality, which were shipped far away, and, according to Barabash (3), there is

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3. Barabash", "Sungar. ekspeditsiia 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

one or several of them in every Sungari town. The pottery that Maack saw in Ssilbi on the Amur probably also came from the Sungari. The fact that it does not go farther down the Amur, however, to the lower Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, in spite of their annual trade voyages to the Sungari, attests all too clearly to the aversion that they entertain against such utensils.

323 17 If, from the statements by Mamia Rinsô given above, one must draw the conclusion that the Gilyak and Olcha, though they do not use pottery in their households today, nevertheless formerly and up to the beginning of this century had it and even manufactured it themselves, it may also be gathered from them that it was by no means an art practiced since ancient times, but rather that they learned it through the Chinese and Japanese in relatively recent times. He found the pieces seen by him on Sakhalin, as was said, similar to those of the Chinese and Japanese, and it is highly probable that the many porcelain factories near Kidsi which he mentions arose under Chinese influence and with Chinese co-operation. And, since it was recent and foreign, this art could so easily again disappear altogether among the Gilyak and Olcha amidst the subsequent unfavorable conditions, without leaving any trace other than the aversion against its products. My view that the making of pottery was originally foreign to the Gilyak and was temporarily picked up by them from the Chinese only in recent times is also supported by the fact that this art, as among the Gilyak, is missing, or was missing up to a short time ago, among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, with one single exception. Mamia Rinsô (4),

4. Op. cit., p. 184.

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3. (cont.)
/Imperial Academy of Sciences/ and are in our museum. Three years later, near the village of Taraika on Sakhalin and likewise at the bottom of pits which looked like the remains of earth huts, Lopatin found numerous stone tools and fragments of pottery vessels (Kropotkin, according to information from Lopatin in Izviest. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 307, 308). Subsequently similar finds were made repeatedly at the southern tip of Sakhalin. Finally, in 1881, Poljakof succeeded in obtaining at the site of the Russian outpost near Dui' on the west coast of Sakhalin a rich collection of stone tools and old potsherds. The latter were not infrequently marked with patterns which were reminiscent of those that he had found in the Olonez District and in the Oka Valley in European Russia (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 19).

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some of which have been available to me (4) and which were

4. The potsherds, in part from the Patchä River and in part from Naiputschi on southern Sakhalin, that were available to me were made of a coarse, reddish-yellow to blackish clay, which in places contained fine gravel, small pieces of quartz, and sometimes little pea-sized pieces of rubble. They were sometimes provided with fine impressions arranged in rows, sometimes with crisscrossed stripes or

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Gi 114 177 272

5. (cont.)
Russian colonization of the island, therefore only quite recently -- was by no means the case at the time of my travels on it, or Schmidt's and Glehn's.

Gi 272 They did not know coffee at all and considered it, when they saw
G me drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor
273 was, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be
171 sure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other peoples of the mainland,
[192] under the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) araki or arki, also
customary among the Manchu and among all the Tungusic,
ooo Mongolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (6). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Klaproth's Asia polyglotta. There are, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araku, airaki, etc.

G undoubtedly
273 acquaintance with liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the
171 time of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread
439 rapidly since then. Through the trading trips of the Goldi, Olcha,
Gi and especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must
[439] have soon been introduced to the Gilyak there. The latter, to be
G sure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from
273 another direction, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained
177 their liquor, the so-called ssaki, and even learned how to make
439 a weak ssaki themselves (7); but the stronger and presumably cheaper

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7. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, p. 132. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar', Preface, p. 38.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinsô (8) reported

8. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 192).

2: Schrenck-/720 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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273 preservation and augmentation of their property, which is peculiar
796 to the Gilyak to a high degree; for with the large number of participants at such festivals the host's expensive supply of araki would be gone in no time, apart from other dangers. Furthermore,
159 thanks to this characteristic of the Gilyak and the rare energy of
273 their character, there appeared at the very beginning of their re-
439 lations with the Russians a phenomenon which may hardly be
648 equaled in the history of the relations between primitive and civilized peoples: instead of being exploited by the Russians through liquor and losing everything, they, on the contrary, knew how to win many an advantage from the Russian sailors and Cossacks with their small supplies of Chinese liquor. Their moderation and power of resistance were also greatly aided by the fact that during the first years of the Russian occupation of the Amur region only very little liquor was imported, while the number of the Russian consumers of it grew rapidly (1). Later, however, after

1. For instance, in 1855 the crews of several war vessels from Kamchatka and several detachments of Cossacks from Transbaikalia were added to the previous garrison of the lower Amur region.

the end of the Crimean War, when the importation of liquor into Nikolayevsk, handled by many and in particular North American and Hamburg trading ships, /466/ greatly increased, and, simultaneously, the ancient, original ways of life and views of the Gilyak were more and more undermined and began to disappear under the impact of Russian immigration and colonization, it was also the end of their moderation and power of resistance to alcohol, and as early as the sixties one could read in the local newspapers, as well as in the reports of returning travelers and other eyewitnesses, of the ever increasing drunkenness and gluttony among the Gilyak, especially during their bear festivals and other celebrations (1).

[113] 1. Cf., for instance, Arth. Nordmann,

2: Schrenck--721 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX/
Historical Manchuria AG2

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1. (cont.)
"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/" (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 254); also Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59 and elsewhere.

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Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the Amur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and even the children are given the opportunity to become accustomed to it at an early age. It seems obvious to me where these peoples first learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As is well-known, Manchuria is the country from which China, at least the northern part, obtained the tobacco plant and the custom of smoking tobacco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about two and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dynasty ascended the throne (1644), upon whose orders the introduction of tobacco into China took place (2) and under whose protection the

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2. Huc, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Poussielgue, Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 66. Wassiljef ("Opisanie Man'chzhurii." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, pp. 52, 53) says: if one may give credence to a Chinese drama, the Chinese were not familiar with the smoking of tobacco up to the Manchu Dynasty.

cultivation of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (3).

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3. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

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23 [484] [171] feed their dogs only once, only at the overnight campsite and always only dry jukola. The Russian dogs, therefore, are perhaps even more exclusively ichthyophagous than the Gilyak dogs. Lacking jukola, I once had them given elk meat, and they left it untouched. Only severe hunger makes the dogs omnivorous, and in summer along the Amur one cannot adequately protect his belongings /481/ against the starving dogs of the natives, seizing everything that is of animal nature, such as fish-skin and fur covers, boots, etc.

Like the grown animals, the whelps, too, are fed in the yurt. To be sure, on Sakhalin they are often kept inside the house the rest of the time, too, and on the sleeping benches at the very rear where they come up against the roof. The greater care of the whelps on Sakhalin may be the reason why the dogs there, and especially those of the Tymy Gilyak, are said to be the largest and finest in the whole region.

Since the actual master and owner of the dogs, as soon as he has returned from a trip, no longer pays any attention to them and their entire care and feeding are managed by the female occupants of the yurt, with the assistance of the children, they are actually as good as masterless and they do not have the usual characteristics of the dog which is kept more or less singly as the follower and companion of man, such as personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance, or they are not developed in them. The situation is the same, incidentally, with respect to the Russo-Siberian draft-dogs so that one may probably say in general that dogs, kept in large numbers for harnessing and treated more or less as a pack, in comparison with hunting or watchdogs, have remained on a lower level of culture, so to speak, or have again sunk to one. But a certain attachment to the place and house where they get their food may be found among them, too, so that, even unleashed, they do not readily leave it, and if, in harness, they get free from their driver as the result of an overturned sled, they go home as a rule, or to the nearest village (1). The dogs

[113] [171] 1. According to Sujef (see Pallas, Reise

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1. (cont.)
durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

231 The dogs
171 of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure,
439 but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

493 The Gilyak sled (tu) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian narte, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions [123] and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11 times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded [192] as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles /runners/ (Gilyak tusskrj, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect [192] them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside.

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796 Presumably only loosely hung over the racks upon departure,
226 they could only too easily have fallen off during the rapid
782 and wild voyage and could have been carried into the river by the wind. Indeed, the latter may even have been the precise intention of the sacrificers, for the entire sacrificial voyage is supposed to serve to gain the favor of the river or the river spirit through the gifts mentioned, and through that to secure good luck and success in fishing and during all river travel in the coming /518/ summer and fall. My opinion concerning the zach in connection with the sacrificial voyage on the Amur was confirmed by the fact that in the fall, as soon as a new covering of ice has formed on the river, another celebration with sacrifices and zach takes place. The Gilyak then go out on the ice in front of their village: here a hole is cut in the covering of ice, and beside it a pole decorated with zach is erected. Now the above-mentioned gifts are thrown into the river by means of this hole, obviously to obtain its favor for the winter fishing and perhaps also for the traffic on the ice covering.

226 Immediately after the Amur is open, there comes up it from the sea the best and largest fish that it has to exhibit: the Amur sturgeon (Acipenser schrenckii, Gilyak tukki-tscho) and the even larger Amur hausen (Ac. orientalis, Gilyak patch-tscho). Both go far up the Amur and its major tributaries, the Ussuri, Sungari, etc., and, indeed, of the latter, the kaluga of the Russians, it was reported as early as Pallas that it also occurs in the source rivers of the Amur, in the Schilka /Shilka/ and in the Argunj /Argun/ (1). It has already been pointed out

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1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 207. The same, Zoogr. Rosso-asiatica, Part III, p. 107. Georgi, who gave the first description of this fish, which was also used by Pallas, called it

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1. (cont.)
Ac. dauricus, as Brandt also does in turn (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 172. Among the source rivers of the Schilka, the Onon has it especially abundantly, whereas the Ingoda, as Georgi noted (Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in 1772/, Vol. I, p. 353), and recently Maack (Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 27), is too shallow and stony for it. When in other older as well as more recent reports on Dauria, chiefly Russian ones, reference is made simply to hausen (bieluga) and sturgeon (osetr") in connection with the kinds of fish occurring in its rivers, as, for instance, in Hedenström (Otryvki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, 1830, p. 146), Parschin (Poiezdka v" Zabaikal'skii krai /Journey to the Transbaikalia Region/, Moscow, 1844, p. 117), Hagemeister (Statist. obozr. Sibiri /Statistical Survey of Sibiria/, St. Petersburg, 1854, Vol. I, p. 351), Kaschin ("Nieskol'ko slov" ob" Arguni /A Few Words about the Argun/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VI, Irkutsk, 1863, p. 103), Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1367), and others, undoubtedly the two Acipenser species named, which go from the Amur up its source rivers, are to be understood.

226 above how greatly the Gilyak prize sturgeon and hausen. The
226 situation is the same among the other Amur peoples. There is
171 eager pursuit of them everywhere, and the methods of fishing are

286 /532 cont./
283 this work and describes it as follows (1). "The thread intended for

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1. Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 230, note 5; Mél. biolog., Vol. II, p. 501, note 5. The observations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on a voyage in the lower Amur region between the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts; to be sure, it is not said whether he was among the Gilyak or among the Olcha, but it may be safely assumed that the work discussed is done in precisely the same way among both of these peoples.

the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is protected against unwinding. The threads running through the ring are tied to a suspended spindle, which is kept in rotating motion until the cord is firmly twisted together sufficiently, and, as a consequence of this, the rotating spindle has been forced almost up to the ceiling. The firmly twisted piece of cord is now wound on the suspended spindle and protected against unwinding. Then new thread is released from the stationary spindles, the rest is made fast, and the work continues in the same way." The cords obtained in this manner are in no way inferior in tightness and uniformity to good types of our hemp cords.

286 In view of the considerable variation in size of just the
[227] principal fish that the Gilyak catch, say, from the smaller cyprinoids or the tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, to the colossal hausen, the nets used for catching them are also made with meshes varying greatly in size and out of cord of various thicknesses. And, correspondingly, the instruments used by the Gilyak for knotting their nets are of widely varying sizes, while

G. /535 cont./
G1 kinds of eager and assiduous hunting of game, whereas the onset
226 of winter seems to awaken in the latter a passion not entirely sup-
221 pressed by the fishermen's life, which temporarily transforms them,
as it were, into hunting nomads. Nevertheless it should not be
thought that among the Amur peoples the Gilyak alone busy
themselves in the winter with fishing (1). The Olcha likewise

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1. As, for example, Arthur Nordmann ("Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/." -- Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part 2, 1861, p. 230) says.

G1
226 The olcha likewise
221 practice it to a very considerable extent, and the Mariinski post
184 in the middle of their area was abundantly supplied with fresh
[439] fish by them in the winters of 1855 and 1856. The Amur Goldi,
[262] too, devote themselves to it, but it gradually decreases among
them going upstream: as I myself experienced, the traveler
going in this direction in winter is more and more commonly
offered deer, elk, and wild-pig meat or fat instead of fresh
fish. Przewalski (2) said of the Ussuri dwellers that fishing

2. Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, p. 98.

practically ceases among them in winter because all the able-bodied men go hunting then and only the old men and the women left behind engage in angling. Sitting for hours at the holes in the ice, they continually move their tackle, equipped with only a small piece of red cloth or a bit of fur instead of bait, /536/ up and down, and, despite this simple procedure, it is said that on good days they succeed in catching from two to three pood of fish, chiefly carp (Cyprinus carpio) and salmon trout (Salmo fluviatilis Pall.). I found the Samagir along the

/544 cont./

000 bartering with them. Tschomi plays the same role in the south-
225 ern part of the Amur-Liman that Langr does in the north. In
184 particular the small group of the Hagimif Islands is one of the
[361] localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living adjacent to it. In order to hunt seals, however, the enterprising Tschomi Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Mamia-Rinsô Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Poghobi, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur River, at Tschcharbach, Ngale-wo, and Pronge, where in particular the small island of Uïsut is an especially favorable spot for it.

225 According to the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the
136 Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception of the "alch," Phoca equestris Pall., but the old animals are said to go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the younger ones go up farther. In any case, Ph. nummularis Schleg., which in the adult state is called phghi-langr by the Gilyak, gjäuchssa by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is
225 therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak.
237 One sees its more or less densely spotted fur everywhere among
136 them and used in all kinds of ways, for clothing, as was discussed in detail above, ski, bags, small pouches, etc. Scarcely less important for them, however, is the kighitsch, the Ph. barbata Müll., which is less common in the river and whose thicker skin, with the hair removed, is used for making the foot part and the soles on their boots, the dog harness, and the
225 straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to go about 60 versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Plyi or Poron-ai (1), but as yet nothing is known about

[113] 1. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 48.

the habits of the individual species.

Gi 225 221 361 /547 cont./
Lake Tschlja, across the mountains to the Sea of Okhotsk, in order to occupy themselves there for a time with seal-hunting (2).

2. According to Boschnjak and Schmidt, see pp. 26 and 63 above.

Gi 225 197 For the other Tungusic peoples of the Amur region nothing can be said about seal-hunting.

G 225 136 Catching the white whale comes into consideration for the Amur region within even narrower limits than seal-hunting. The distribution of the white whale (Delphinapterus leucas Pall., Gilyak pomi-tscho, Olcha malta) in the Amur region approximately coincides with the habitation area of the Gilyak; only along the east coast of Sakhalin and in the Amur River does it go somewhat beyond it to the south, whereas on the west coast G 136 of the island it falls back to the north behind it. An inhabitant of the arctic seas, among which the Sea of Okhotsk also belongs in view of its general character, the white whale goes down along the east coast of Sakhalin to its southern end and occurs in particular in great numbers in the Bay of Patience and at the mouth of the Poronai (3). On the other hand it remains far from

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3. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" /Journey to Sakhalin Island/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 107, 111). The same, Otchet" ob" izslied. na ostr. Sakhalinie, v" Iuzhno-Ussuriisk. kraie i v" Iaponii /Summary of the Research on Sakhalin Island, in the Southern Ussuri Region, and in Japan/ (supplement to Vol. XLVIII of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 6, pp. 5-7). At the latter place, Poljakof reports that the white whale appears in large schools in front of the mouth of the Poro-nai even before the river has shed its cover

/549 cont. /And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking
225 the skulls of slain white-whales on a tree or, lacking one of them,
17 on vertical piles driven into the ground prevails among some
825 of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed and

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1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 85; Zoographia rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 275.

Ostyak along the Obj River.

/550/ Section 9

Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

224 As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence
171 of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forest, I must first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing, increases the more in immediate importance and significance the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region, just like fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

224 The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observations, are accordingly, as the most sedentary, the most ichthyophagous, and in general the most pronounced fishing people of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peoples
[439] to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them catching fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for themselves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these ends

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2. (cont.)
tree-trunk, but always runs over it lengthways.

/552/ in the small side valleys of the upper Tymy River on Sakhalin I repeatedly came across either sable traps of this kind still set up or traces of them remaining on the trees. To the chagrin of the Gilyak, however, other small and more or less [192] worthless animals often get caught in the ha instead of sables, such as squirrels (Gilyak lakr and lakrs, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin lafkor), ermine (Gilyak tymr and tymrsch, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin tchymr), and on the mainland especially frequently the Mustela sibirica (Gilyak zongrsk), which is so much like the sable in its way of life and is absent on Sakhalin, and, indeed, in the village of Warki on the Liman, the Gilyak even brought me a jay (Garrulus glandarius) which had been found in a ha and bore the marks of the pinching on its neck. This sable trap of the Gilyak, [191] by the way, is not at all original, since, apart from the Amur Tungus, it recurs with the same or quite similar construction among a number of Siberian peoples, for example, among the sedentary Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, in the northern Kamchatka (1), among the Russian Tungus in the Stanovoi

[113] 1. Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 108.

Mountains (2), and others, and in general rests on the same

[113] 2. Sievers, "Briefe aus Sibirien /Letters from Siberia/," (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Vol. VII, p. 212).

principle that the traps used for catching polar fox, hares, etc. throughout the polar north of Siberia are based on (3).

[114] 3. A detailed description and an illustration of this last trap is to be found, among

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224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
208 catch foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
192 which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
439 and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call
käkch-ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

41 When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all,
170 though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two
439 directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (pórokh"): póroke.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though likewise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy
000 Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

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5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

/557 cont./

411 177 439 113

5. (cont.)
Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 192 The Gilyak also have their own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun, its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is called mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," shot -- matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small arrows," and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 177 152 It was surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a gun, whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at the sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At the

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1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

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In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

•[713]

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

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In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

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3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

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411 [192] yghli or orkai by the Gilyak (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 1), is used to kill wild fowl, ducks, geese, and the like. It consists almost wholly of wood, in that at the top the shaft runs out into a knob crowned with a point and in which are found three iron points, but blunt ones, turned in different directions (5). I have

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5. There is mention of similar, knob-shaped arrows among various peoples of Siberia in some of the oldest reports on it. For example, Georg Adam Schleissing in his work, Neuentdecktes Sieweria, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden /Newly Discovered Siberia, Where the Sables Are Caught/, etc. (Danzig, 1692, p. 49), reports that the people there do not shoot pointed arrows but rather "in order that the rare hide not be damaged, the arrow, instead of a point, has a thick iron knob with which they shoot the sable down from the tree, so that it is dizzy and then they run up and beat it to death." Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. I, p. 323) mentions wooden arrows with knob-shaped points which the Kalmyk use to kill birds and small animals. Sujef (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obj for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1376, woodcuts e and d), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

41 /559 cont./ I have
171 never heard anything among the Gilyak about poisoning their arrows, as is done among the Ainu of /560/ Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/ (1) and, according to Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3),

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1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, etc., pp. 95, 96, 112, on the basis of reports by Hieron. de Angelis, Joan Saris, and Vries; the same, Nippon, VII, pp. 185 and 201, according to Mamia Rinsô; the same, Fauna Japon., Mammalia, p. 29. Langsdorf, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 287. v. Brandt (Verhandl. der Ges. für Anthrop., Ethnol. u. Vorgesch., Year 1872, p. 28). Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Preface (supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 45), etc.

2. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 27, 95, 236.

3. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, p. 334).

is said to have been customary among the Kuriles, Italmen, Koryak, and Chukchee, and perhaps in part still is. Middendorff (4), to be sure, says that the same custom is supposed

4. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1377.

to have been passed on to the Tungus of Manchuria, but he gives no source to support his statement. Maack (5) states that the

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it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts
224 on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do
825 not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect.
[796] The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward
[797] off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the
224 profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the fol-
825 lowing superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I
123 entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I
797 saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

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224 825 123 777 animal, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, after a while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch bark, and put it with the other possessions of the house. My efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered; I was told categorically that it was already "uïtsch" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unskinned, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if she were to sell it to me in an intact 224 825 state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

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1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 851) in speaking about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

175 /566 cont./ During his
114 captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
411 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
326 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
[10] "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence

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2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the
[531] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's
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4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

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114 714 [192] that it is known under the name of "bettsi," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct; in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare antiques [177] of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Mamia Rinsô also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

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It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2)

171 175 714 [113]

2. Cf. Neuhof, Die Gesantschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländem an den Tartarisch. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tatarian Khan and Now Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 394. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Njutschi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

G 171 175 714 G [113]

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emperor himself (3). Also of interest for our purpose is the

3. Gerbillon in Du Halde, Descript. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 273.

statement by Iakinf, the well-known member of the Russian mission in Peking in the years 1807-1820, according to which, among the gifts prescribed by law which the Chinese emperor /574/ had to give to the father of his bride and young wife upon his engagement and marriage was to be found a certain number of pieces of armor and helmets (1). Under these circumstances it is

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1. Iakinf", Kitai, ego zhiteli, nravy, obychai, prosvieshch. /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 164.

quite understandable that these objects would also appear as most valuable and honorable possessions in the eyes of the peoples of the lower Amur region standing under the rule or at least under the influence of the Manchu-Chinese, down to the Gilyak, and, accordingly, would be used by them in their most important social transaction, the purchase of a wife.

Gi 714 325 179 [114] [101]

The art of making iron armor was also passed from the Manchu-Chinese to the Goldi immediately neighboring them in the Sungari and lower Amur region, and Mamia Rinsô specifically mentions the latter, distorting their national name in Japanese fashion as "Kordekke" (2), as makers of the iron armor. Needless

2. See p. 315 above.

to say, these were not the first and only objects that the Goldi learned how to make from their southern neighbors. Here, therefore, we see the art of forging iron advancing along another route from the Manchu-Chinese, down the Sungari and Amur,

Gi 325 171

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439 (Sakhalin), and which he therefore calls "Kraft-ori" (1).

[113] 1. "Jesoki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, publ. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 162, 164). Cf. also p. 262, note 3, above.

195 There is an even more definite statement in Rinsifée's work, San
439 kokf tsou ran to sets, published in Jedo /Yedo, or Tokyo/ in 1785 or 1786, where it is said that the inhabitants of Jesso (Matsmai) exchange their products on Karafuto with the "Mantsiu" for blue glass beads, eagle wings, tobacco pipes, silken fabrics embroidered with dragons, and colored linen and cotton materials (2). This undoubtedly refers to the trade which

[113] 2. Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 190. Cf. also Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 487.

the Manchu-Chinese, Gilyak, and Olcha, with the above-named, mostly Chinese commodities, but in part also indigenous products of the Amur region (such as the eagle tails), conducted on Sakhalin with the Japanese and Ainu of this island and, through their intermediation, also with the inhabitants of Jesso, and which the last-named indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region and some of the Goldi still conduct. To be sure, they are not named there, but this is not to be expected in view of the lack of knowledge about the peoples of the lower Amur region at that time on the part of the Japanese, and, rather, it is to be assumed that under "Mantsiu" in the collective sense they meant all those people there carrying on trade with Manchu-Chinese

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commodities. The Gilyak and Olcha coming to Sakhalin to trade with the Japanese are simply designated as "Manchu" even by many a more recent Russian reporter (3), though at present

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3. For instance, by Rudanofskij (cf. P. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazovaniia Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii i dieistv. eia do nastoiashch. vrem. /Historical Survey of the Founding of the Russian-American Company and of Its Activities up to the Present/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 127), Busse, (Ostrov" Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 g. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 62, 72, 85), and others.

neither they nor the Chinese merchants referred to as a rule under this name by the Russians visit Sakhalin. The first Russian report concerning the trade in question is almost as old as the last-mentioned Japanese account. In 1792, Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese on Jesso speak of the "Sandan-aino" who bring beads and fabrics to "Karap" (Krafto, Sakhalin) and barter for animal furs, sable, fox, etc. (4). To be sure, he thought that

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4. Cf. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, pp. 493, 541). Similarly see p. 245 above.

these "Sandan People" must be Koreans, but since, as was discussed above at length (5), "Santan" is the Japanese and Ainu

5. See pp. 245 and 247, as well as the footnote.

/612 cont./
439 their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of
484 the Ssisam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin
648 (Lär-mif) and separated from it by a "small sea" (matsch-kerchk).
[823] /613/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the
175 Amur region by the Russians, however, the Japanese also tried
648 to keep the traders from there away from Ssiranussi and Endungomo,
439 their second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Ssiranussi by the Japanese but only as far as Endungomo, and in the following year the Olcha traders were prohibited from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kussunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2). Even Judin, the

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2. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, pp. 22, 26). Also, Schmidt, "Hist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebach, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Ssiranussi and was well known there; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, stemming from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our considerations.

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5 pieces of Chinese silk at 4 ja each, together	20 ja
1 large Chinese hearth-kettle	3 "
1 Japanese kettle with three handles	30 "
1 Manchurian iron-armor	30 "
1 large bear	30 "
5 especially good dogs (kyla-kan) at 4 ja each	20 "
Total	133 ja = about 266 rubles.

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The bride price is therefore very high among the Gilyak, which indicates the relative prosperity of the people (1). Custom

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1. For the sake of comparison I shall cite here the bride price of several Siberian peoples in older and more recent times. At the time of Adam Brand (Neuverm. Beschr. seiner grossen Chinesisch. Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. /Newly Enlarged Description of His Great Chinese Journey Which He in 1692, etc./, Lübeck, 1734, p. 99), it amounted to 10-15 reindeer among the Tungus on the Werchnaja Tunguska. A rich Ostyak girl on the Obj at the time of Pallas was not often given in marriage for less than 100 reindeer and a quantity of all kinds of furs (Sujef, in Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersb., Vol. III, 1776, p. 52). According to Castren (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845-1849 /Travel Report and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 56), the current price for an ordinary girl in marriage among the Ostyak on the Irtysch amounted to 200-300 rubles in

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1. (cont.)
money, one horse, a cow, and an ox, 7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hops for the preparations for the wedding celebration. The high bride-prices which Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord. und Ost. Siberien's /Travels in the North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1459) gives for the Assja-Samoyed women are somewhat reduced by the dowry which the bride brings, so that under some circumstances it almost only amounts to an exchange, which is never the case among the Gilyak. On the other hand, the bride price was very low among the Votyak, Cheremis, and Chuvash: among the former, who were the poorest, it amounted to only 5-15 rubles, among the latter two 10-30 rubles, and among the Kungur Cheremis, who were the wealthiest, 100 rubles and more (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /A Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, p. 369).

583 requires that it be paid at one time and not in installments. In
583 view of the circumspect and thrifty nature of this people, con-
595 stantly thinking in terms of augmenting its possessions, as has
556 been pointed out in my previous descriptions, even a well-to-do
184 man will not find it easy to buy a second or a third wife, in addition to the one. Only a particularly intense desire to have his wealth duly appreciated by his countrymen and thus to gain special esteem among them would prompt him to do so. Therefore, polygamy is more frequent among the generally wealthier Amur Gilyak living together more densely than it is among their countrymen along the Liman, on Sakhalin, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/635 cont./

583 or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And
628 among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious
684 and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in
[533] abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the
[126] conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

583 Another point with regard to the abduction of women must
114 be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year (1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent: among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage; later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

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2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

/635 cont./

583 114 wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always undertake the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said, is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

582 601 Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriage among the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the children of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "atschek" mean older and younger brother as well as older and younger cousin on the father's side, and "ransh" means sister as well as female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyond that, 582 the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin group, which, as we shall see later, is also taken into account in other connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and,

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1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak, Samoyed, Lapps Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Müller, p. 359).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

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2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Pauthier,

/636 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Chine mod. ou descr. de ce vaste Emp. d'après des docum. chinois, Part I, pp. 25, 275; Part II, p. 238. Iakinf", Kitai /China/, St. Petersb., 1840, p. 198.

a much distorted form, among the Goldi (3). Even a difference

3. A more detailed explanation of this will be given in the following.

563 Even a difference
682 of nationality is by no means as decisive for the conclusion of the marriage of the Gilyak as one would expect from the radical difference of their language from those of all their neighbors. On the mainland there are frequent marriages between the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha, and probably it is to this circumstance above all that the similarity in the customs and usages of the two peoples, or, in other words, the Gilyakization of the Olcha stressed several times already, is to be attributed. To a lesser degree the same thing also takes place with the Negda. Occasionally an Amur Gilyak will bring home from a trading trip to the Japanese a wife from the Ainu people (4).

4. The mother of the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach, for instance, was an Ainu woman, as was mentioned above (p. 224 /untranslated/).

Conversely, however, it hardly ever happens that Amur-Gilyak women marry Ainu men, because the latter are not in the habit of leaving their island and, if this should happen as an exception, would not be in a position to pay the high bride price of the Gilyak. Where, however, as on Sakhalin, the two peoples live directly beside each other and the bride price is also lower, frequent marriages take place between them, as Mamia Rinsô reported (5),

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, 195.

and the assimilation between the two tribes is considerable.

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834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
577 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

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2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

577 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
847 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

837 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
[581] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/641 cont./

844 erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
[343] also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter tempera-
[132] tures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[165] a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition
[846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn
[763] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

/643 cont./

854 when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw 854 789 in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or, [856] more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai, that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

855 The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak 862 mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous 855 demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This re- 862 minded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in 171 de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

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1. (cont.)
Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 53), the Kalmuck (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersb., 1776, Vol. I, p. 167), the Tungus (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1496), and others.

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Among the Gilyak it not infrequently happens that, in addition to the actual suckling, several older children drink from the mother (2). The excessively long nursing of the children is un-

2. Among the Tungus, according to Middendorff (op. cit.), it even happened that "a ten-year-old urchin quite calmly sucked from the mother the remains of the milk left by his youngest brother."

doubtedly the main reason that the Gilyak women age and decline so early. I have seen some among them who, judging by their wrinkled and ruined appearance, one would say were at least 50 to 60 years old, and yet who still nursed their children and therefore presumably were only about 30 to 40 years old. And undoubtedly this is one of the reasons for the small number of people and the slow increase of the Gilyak population.

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Children at a later age, just as in the cradle, are not kept very clean; in fact, when they have outgrown the cradle and run about freely, the little cleanliness and hygienic care that came their way up to that time usually cease altogether. It is extremely rare to see a mother wash a somewhat older child, and, to be sure, in the manner I witnessed and described above (3) in the

3. See above, p. 222 /untranslated/.

428 587 171 /654 cont./
brother-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, she becomes free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In

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3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivoshapkin", "Eniseisk. okr. /The Yenisei District/," Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Res. and Mat., p. 178. Tret'iakov", "Turukhansk. krai /The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 403), among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

428 171 In principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

614 607 628 While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal relatives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge prevailing among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful, decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possible,

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805 Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for
184 January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound
805 of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-
184 month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the
825 former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas
[439] of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese
000 origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long --

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3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

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3. (cont.)
des Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the Topographical Knowledge of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 539), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jirij; see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

805 In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long--
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a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for December (anj-long), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tlo-long, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tschlo-long, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-long, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which presumably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is arkail, which remains unintelligible to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the
805 individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that arkail-long (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

533 /680 cont. /Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I
513 myself, or more often my men, put a stop to it. The Gilyak,
[123] however, are perfectly accustomed to this disturbance of the
533 night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. It
513 is the same among the other natives of the lower Amur region,
171 Olcha, Samagir, Goldi (1), only among them the call of ga urging

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1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but when he once asked them to repeat their songs in the evening by the fire, they explained unanimously and with a sort of religious awe that it was sinful to sing at night (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Histor. Bericht /Journey around the World, Historical Report/, Vol. II, p. 354). Perhaps the Russians taught them this so as not to be disturbed during their night's rest.

the continuation of the song is replaced by a nasal kä, kä (2).

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2. Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/," Zap., Sibirsk. Otd. Georg. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 29) relates that an Ainu in the village of Tschikapergunai, after drinking sake, had begun to sing a song, an improvisation about his voyage. As soon as he stopped, all the Ainu called out in unison the words kä, kä, i.e., more, more, in order to make him keep on singing, and so it went on endlessly. Hooper (Ten months among the Tents of the Tuski, London, 1853, p. 137) similarly reports that the Chukchee, as spectators at such performances as dancing, imitations of the Eskimo, etc., which take place among them, express their approval with the words kah! kah!, which means the same as da capo.

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231 hind legs. After this the other boards on top of the cage are removed, and the bear is dragged by a number of people into the yurt, where the dogs' table found in the middle of it has meanwhile been removed. Since one cannot depend on merely the leather noose thrown around the neck of the animal, if it is full-grown, a Gilyak now jumps in front of the bear with legs apart, seizes it by the roots of the ears, and presses its head against the floor. Simultaneously two other Gilyak armed with wooden poles do the same thing with its front paws, and now still another jumps on the back of the animal, straddles it, and puts a collar on it, from which, by means of a revolving ring, long iron chains and leather straps run in two directions. With these the bear, after its hind legs have once more been unfettered and, roaring loudly, it has stood erect, is now tied between the two central posts of the yurt in such a way that it can comfortably lie down and get up again. As a reward, so to speak, or as a token of fondness a few slices of jukola or seal fat are then given to it, whereupon it is led around the inside of the house several times and then back to its cage.

114 231 175 Undoubtedly this Gilyak custom of keeping bears in captivity, occasionally bringing them into their houses, and treating them in the manner described has given rise to the legend, very widespread in Siberia, that they tame bears and use them as domestic animals for riding and driving. In a Russian document about the Amur stemming from the seventeenth century and published by Spasskij (2) ("Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie /Story

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2. In his article, "Sviedieniia Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII. stol. /The Russians' Knowledge about the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geograf. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, Res., p. 20.

about the Great Amur River/"), it is said: "on a large island (Sakhalin) lying opposite the mouth of the river live the Gilyak peoples, who keep 500-1000 dogs in their villages, eat all kinds

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114 231 175

of animals, and feed bears for peaceful work" (3). At the

3. In the original the latter passage reads: "i medvyedei kormyat" v" ulusakh" dlya raboty mirno."

beginning Spasskij did not want to give any credence to the latter statement, both on account of its strangeness and from the lack of any other confirmation. But in the "Copy of a Sketch from the Siberian Country" (Spisok" s" chertezha Sibirskiia zemli) published by him in 1849, it is said explicitly: "The Gilyak people sow no grain, eat fish, and drive or ride on /699/ bears" (Gilyanskie lyudi khlyeba ne syeyut", pitayutsya ryboyu, a yezdyat" (1) na medvyedyakh"). Witsen also found

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1. The Russian verb, yezdit', means both "to drive" and "to ride."

the same legend, that at the mouth of the Amur River "lives a savage people, called Gilaki, who keep many bears and dogs in order to utilize their services" (2). Finally, it is also found in

2. Witsen, Noord- en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/, 1705, p. 884.

Strahlenberg (3), for it says there: "at the mouth of the Amur

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3. Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, pp. 386, 387.

River lives a people whom the Russians call Kilaki; some 'Yakut Tatars' have related to me about these people that they tame bears and use them as we do horses" (4).

4. Witsen (op. cit., p. 686) was also told

/714 cont./

*796 114 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The [126] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the [127] further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

• [113]

1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 824 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only *796 with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

[123] [126]

1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249 /. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak RX2

● 114

/General information on the author and his work, written by Î̂A. P. Al'kor (Koshkin), will be found in category 116, pp. 1-26, 30-33./

114

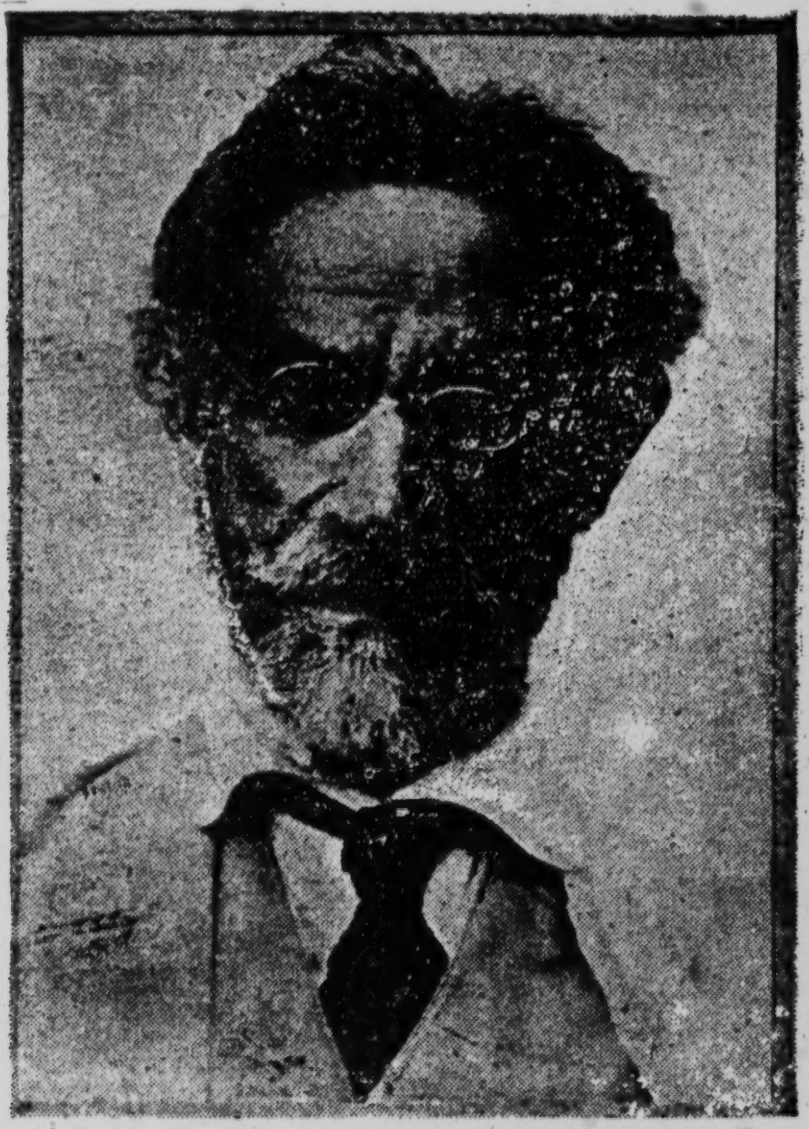

L. IA. Shternberg

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T 114 /xxxiii cont./

His great merit lies in the fact that, thanks to him, a number of /xxxiv/ young investigators have directed their research to the study of the Tungus; he widely shared his experience, his knowledge, and his thoughts with his students and inspired them to work with his enthusiasm.

A 114 G [114] Shternberg devoted far less time to another Far Eastern nationality, the Ainu, than he did to the Gilyak, but he nonetheless succeeded in studying them quite thoroughly, which is evident from his outstanding last work before his death, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" /untranslated/, where various aspects of Ainu life are touched upon, and historico-cultural, anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, and other materials are utilized. A [114] Shternberg in this work shows that the Aihu are not Mongols and are not Paleo-Asiatics, as they were considered to be, but are related with respect to culture, language, and anthropology to the peoples of Indonesia or Austronesia. This hypothesis, along with new discoveries in the realm of the past migrations and intercourse of the Pacific peoples, opened before him broad horizons for explaining the past fate of the Pacific peoples, including our Far Eastern peoples, but his unexpected death cut off these broad scientific plans.

In the work "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" /untranslated/, Shternberg gives a detailed description of this peculiar cultural phenomenon and advances the clever proposition that inau (sharpened sticks) are not offerings, as was supposed earlier, but intermediaries between the gods and man. Here we should also note Shternberg's interesting thought on the relationship of this cult (and also the cult of the twins) with the cults of India.

G * 114 With his many-faceted research on family-clan relations, common law, religious beliefs, primitive art, and national languages and folklore, as well as the archaeology and anthropology of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg quite deservedly won for himself a name as the best expert on the peoples of the Far East and, along with this, one as the best Russian ethnographer of his time.

/14 cont./

101 The Gilyak are not the only ones who find themselves in
174 such an isolated position in northeast Asia. The Ainu, the
197 Yukagir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak find themselves in the same position. An attempt has even been made to combine them in a common group of Paleo-Asiatics (Schrenck), but the basis of this classification was purely external in character, namely, their common position on the edge of the continent, and the consequent probability that in the course of time these once numerous peoples were in part destroyed and in part driven out by more recent newcomers who came from the interior of the continent to the edge of Asia. All hope of discovering a genetic relationship between the Gilyak and the other tribes has not been lost, however. Hypotheses about a common origin of the nationalities of the Pacific coast of Asia and the tribes of North America were ad-
197 vanced long ago. My own investigation of the Gilyak language convinced me that this hypothesis may finally be fully confirmed. Besides the similarity in the common structure of the Gilyak language and of many American languages, such as the merging of pronouns with verbs and with nouns, the tendency /15/ toward polysynthesism, the extreme mobility of phonetic changes, the types of reduplication, etc., we can point to similarities at particular points which are extremely characteristic. For example, one that is common to all of them is a highly peculiar class system of numerals, according to which different categories of objects can be combined only with the numerals that are peculiar to them, a system to which, so far as I know, there is nothing similar in any of the languages of the Asiatic continent. All this, however, is a problem for the future, perhaps the very near future.

174 Meanwhile, an easier question is still unsolved, the question of how long the Gilyak have occupied their present positions. On the basis of three names borrowed by the Gilyak from the Tungus tribes for animals (the elk, the roe, the badger) found in the lower reaches of the Amur, but absent on Sakhalin, the late academician Schrenck, the only authority up to the present on the ethnology of the natives of Priamur krai, asserted that the original homeland of the Gilyak was Sakhalin Island and that in any case the Gilyak now living on the continent are descendants of immigrants from Sakhalin.
[114] His opinion is based on an obvious misunderstanding. The three

/15 cont./

174 types of animals mentioned are actually encountered only very
114 rarely in the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur and, on the other hand, very frequently in the territory of their Tungus neighbors, the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, and Samagir, and therefore there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Tungus names spread among the Gilyak, but even if in Schrenck's time the animals mentioned were encountered there somewhat more frequently, this could be a matter of pure accident. It often happens that extraordinary reasons, such as the appearance of a new and strong enemy, compel this or that animal to save itself by flight from its normal territory to distant places, but such phenomena do not prove that the new territory in which these animals accidentally appeared was their primordial habitat. In general, how convincing Schrenck's conclusion is may be seen from the fact that the tiger is absolutely not encountered on Sakhalin and very rarely enters the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur, but nevertheless both the Sakhalin and the Amur Gilyak have their own name for it, "klund."

172 On the contrary, everything speaks for the fact that on
174 Sakhalin it is the Gilyak who are the newcomers, having replaced
192 or driven out their predecessors -- the Ainu. Let us start with the linguistic /16/ data. The Gilyak still call trees and some sea animals that are absent on the continent by Ainu terms, such as nistan' (maple), tarman' (yew tree), nuguchep (sea pig?), and others. Furthermore, we have even more objective proof that in any case it was not the Gilyak who were the most ancient aborigines of the island. Throughout the entire territory of Gilyak settlement on Sakhalin Island, right up to its northernmost extremities, one encounters the remnants of ancient dugouts, in the form of round and more or less large pits, and, upon excavating them, I found pot fragments and some implements of the Stone Age. The Gilyak call these pits nothing other than kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits), a name which quite clearly indicates that the Gilyak regard the Ainu as
172 the original inhabitants. The Stone Age implements and the pot fragments found in these pits are regarded by the Gilyak as the handiwork of the gods (the pot fragments, for example, are regarded by them as the pots of a heavenly man who dropped them

/42 cont./

615
614 The first of the latter two clans in relation to the third bears the name akhmal'k (father-in-law), the second navkh or ymri (son-in-law /zyat', "son-in-law, brother-in-law"/). All three are pandf (cognates) to one another. Thus, every Gilyak is an organic member not only of his own, but of a tri-partite, blood, tri-clan union, forming, in the literal sense of the word, a phratry (1) (phratry -- brotherhood). In this triple "brotherhood"

[582]
[114]

1. The Gilyak phratry has nothing in common with the one of Morgan, for within it mutual marriages are not only allowed, but were obligatory.

all the men and women of each generation are actually brothers and sisters (cognate male cousins and female cousins, see below).

Specifically, in relation to each member of a given clan each woman of the second clan is either his mother, his wife or the wife of his sons and agnatic nephews, and conversely, in the third clan, every woman is either his sister, daughter, or a sister of his father. Such are the blood ties of the members of a phratry!

One can get an idea of the form of the Gilyak three-clan phratry from the following schematic table:

Clan A (Andreev)	Clan V (Vasil'ev)	Clan S (Stepanov)
Andrei + Varvara (sister of Vasilii from clan V).	Vasilii + Sof'ia (sister of Stepan from clan S).	Stepan + Anna (sister of Andrei from clan A).
Their children:	Their children:	Their children:
1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Vasilii, from clan V.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Stepan, from clan S.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Andrei, from clan A.
2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Anna, from clan S.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Varvara, from clan A.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Sof'ia, from clan V.

174 /45 cont./ But the details that I
582 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the develop-
601 ment of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think, of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

171 1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
174 completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for ex-
582 ample, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is
601 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datang; or
614 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpûras in central India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and, conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak), while Kohler, presenting this fact, and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms, even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentots," in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 341-342, and L'Année Sociologique, 11th year, p. 306.

[113]

/69 cont./

796 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master."
825 We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Avesta a long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the cult of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mountain man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or even a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." Therefore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed its head, generously supply it for its journey with various kinds of provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable consequence of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance of the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display of respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whom the welfare of man depends. It is the most apt occasion for sending to this distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and the food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

796 From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear during
782 the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for in-
825 stance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, be-
[114] lieves it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacrifices to each god only that which the god himself does not have, and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. He needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- and it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is a deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itself
796 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important moment
825 in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a general
261 rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, i.e., to the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the foe and weakened his
628 spirit more than the most active resistance. Utilizing their habeas
562 corpus, day and night they go about the environs in perfect safety looking into every bush, every blade of grass, in search of the enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do not possess an overwhelming number that makes it possible to fall openly upon the expectant enemy, they will never succeed in eluding the vigilance of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the patience of the attackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the torment of waiting, of necessity breaks on the passive resistance of the weaker sex, and the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of the passive
[784] participation of the women in the struggle of the clans, it must
[724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbidden to light a fire on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its rivers and springs, hunt, etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of Gibeon, the Gilyak find it necessary to set off on an expedition loaded down with skins filled with water and as much food supplies as a man can carry. Under such conditions every extra day of waiting threatens death by famine, and thus the vigilance of the women necessarily conquers.

175 Here is one of the examples known to me. In 1851, 30 men
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland to take vengeance on
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol' for the slaying of a
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still longer and more fruitless
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance of the women, with poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching the locality, the water in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and the avengers had to depart with nothing and terminate the matter peacefully ... Thus small causes often lead to important consequences.

*614 Tylor was right when he asserted that exogamy weakened the
77 relations between clans and introduced peace, although he pro-
● [114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the aspiration for peace brought to life the very institution of exogamy. It is true that primitive man is not so sentimental, he is mainly too "god-fearing," that he would sacrifice with a light heart his own fears of punishment for a breach of his blood duty to the voice of feeling, or

/109 cont./

*614 But what is the mechanism of this amazing institution which gives an individual more than the contemporary state, which surrounds a person not only with universal anxieties, but also with an extensive net of regulations and "sins"? Where are its outward characteristics and the organs which fulfill its function? Is it not strange that in the formula of the clan these elements, extremely important from our point of view, are completely lacking?

VII.

The Mechanism of the Clan

●114 Nordenskiöld, describing the Chukchee, in one place expresses himself thus: "Here, as at all the posts that I visited, complete anarchy reigned. Nevertheless, the members of this rulerless community lived in harmony and friendship among themselves."

Such opinions with regard to various primitive peoples are easy to find in the writings of many other travelers. In particular, Nordenskiöld would say about the Gilyak what he said about the Chukchee. That profound social organization that we have described in the preceding section, which forms the soul of every primitive society and which has come into history under the name of clan -- that organization often remains completely hidden from the view of a civilized observer who chances to be present, for to him, a European, everything that does not recall the familiar elements of the state organization -- territory, representatives of power, compulsory regulations of the system -- is nothing more than "anarchy in which, to his great astonishment, the members of the rulerless community nevertheless contrived to live in harmony and friendship."

/128 cont./

174 Those manifest social habits and feelings which we observe
* 614 in the contemporary Gilyak, which he indisputably acquired
615 in the beneficial school of social relations, originally developed among the matrimonial clans and from them were gradually transferred first to every tribesman, later to neighbors of other tribes, and finally to man in general.

But the source of social ties between the matrimonial clans akhmal'k and ymgi, as we have seen, is rooted in that wonderful organization of the Gilyak clan, to the analysis of which we have devoted this chapter. In this evolution from the egoism of the closed clan through ties with pandf'y of other clans, close by blood, to sympathy and humanity for all men, both close and distant, is contained, perhaps, the most instructive conclusion of our long analysis. From that moment when the rule that a man should marry the daughter of his uncle on the mother's side was established, there was also laid the firm foundation for the extensive growth of social habits and feelings.

/129/

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• 114

The Social Organization of the Gilyak

(Family and Marital-Sexual Norms)

I.
Introduction

Upon superficial acquaintance the structure of the Gilyak family and its sexual norms appear to be so simple, conventional, and similar to ours that they can mislead even the serious observer. The well-known academician Leopold Schrenck, who lived among the Gilyak for more than two years and left us the well-known, multi-volumed monograph on this tribe, was profoundly convinced that he was dealing with the ordinary
ooo patriarchal-monandrous family. This appeared so obvious to

114 /129 cont./ This appeared so obvious to
595 him that he explains the opposing view of Siebold, too categorically affirmed, it is true, based on the report of the eighteenth century Japanese traveler Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/, that "the northwestern shore of Sakhalin (i.e., the territory of the Gilyak) is the only country in the world where polyandry, by force of law or custom, is practiced" (1), not

[113]

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169.

by the inaccuracy of the observations of Mamio Rinso, whom he considers an excellent observer, but by his personal bitterness against the Gilyak because the Gilyak women compelled him to perform manual labor like all the other men (2). "Among

2. "Not wishing to accuse Mamio Rinso of pure fictionalizing," says Schrenck, "we cannot refrain from assuming that he was motivated by personal reasons, which, muddling his testimony, gave ground for various interpretations... Vanity and the fear of lowering himself in the eyes of the government (on account of his servile position) impelled the traveler to explain his humiliating position among the Gilyak by the custom of their country" (i.e., polyandry and the domination of women). Schrenck, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskago kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, 1903, Vol. III, p. 19.

[113]

the Gilyak," says Schrenck in conclusion, "neither on Sakhalin nor on the continent, nor anywhere else, does polyandry exist."

/129 cont./

114 595 In his own way Schrenck was right; it was perhaps impossible for him personally to notice the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, for in effect it is impossible to find among the Gilyak open, public polyandry in the form /130/ in which those who have never seen it in life picture it to themselves. On the other hand, the statements of Mamio Rinso are also quite uncertain, since due to his ignorance of the language he could note only a factual looseness in relations, but he could never grasp the chief essence, the normativeness, the lawfulness of the sexual relations that he observed.

In order to discover the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the most intimate aspects of Gilyak life, know their language, live a long time with them in their yurts (which helped Rinso see that which escaped Schrenck), and, in any case, become familiar with their kinship nomenclature, which Schrenck, due to his slight acquaintance with the language, completely failed to accomplish (1).

1. Certain information given by Schrenck in this regard can only mislead the reader. Thus, for example, he completely erroneously affirms that a man gives to his mother and to the sister of his father the identical designation "ymk." See Schrenck, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 6. Probably the individual who gave Schrenck this information was speaking, not of the sister of the father, but of the sister of the mother.

58 [595] To the superficial observer, the institution of Gilyak marriage actually does not present anything peculiar. By all outward indications the wife or the wives of the Gilyak (polygamy -- two, three, or four wives -- is permitted by Gilyak custom) represent his individual property. The wife [591] is purchased by the husband for a very high price from her

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58 [591] agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child, husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by <u>families</u>, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /<u>131</u>/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

59 [85] [551] [553] [684] [614]

*601 121 125 [59] In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a type of individual family which is generally accepted as being patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

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[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

1: Shternberg--197 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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presented by the author to the Moskovskoe obshchestvo liubitele estestvoznaniia /Moscow Society of Friends of Natural Science/ and appeared under the title "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" in 1893 in the organ of this society, Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie (1893, Book 2). In the foreign press there was a review of this article by Friedrich Engels in Die Neue Zeit, 1892-93, XI Jahrgang, B.I.

Subsequent censuses in other districts of the Gilyak territory (1891-94) gave me a full and comprehensive picture of their kinship nomenclature and sexual relations, with all their variants, in the different clans and dialects. In particular, during these years I succeeded in becoming acquainted with the unique family structure among the Sakhalin Ainu, sharply differentiated by the typical peculiarities of their maternality /materniteta/. In 1895 and 1896 I investigated in the same respect the Tungus tribes of the Priamur krai /the Amur region/, where I discovered a fully developed classificatory system of kinship resembling that of the Gilyak, but differing significantly from the latter. Thus I gathered sufficient material for a comprehensive comparison of both the kinship terminology and the clan-family mode of life of all the representatives of the Priamur krai.

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In view of the extreme importance of the kinship terminology for an understanding of the whole structure of the family and clan of the Gilyak, and in view of the extensive disputes that have recently arisen in scientific circles over the classificatory system of kinship and its significance, I consider it necessary to survey it in all its details.

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614 602 Forms of kinship. According to the basic structure of Gilyak marriage law, relationship by marriage must coincide with kinship. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship, which may be called: agnate kinship and cognate kinship. The first embraces all persons bound together by a common origin from one forefather, that is, all individuals born or adopted into one or another clan. Upon marriage, women pass into the clan of their husbands. There are two kinds of cognate kinship: the first embraces that clan or those clans to which the women -- agnates of a given clan -- are given in marriage; the second embraces that clan or clans from which a given clan or its separate members have drawn their wives.

614 615 602 The persons bound together in agnate kinship are united under the common name "k:khal-n'ig:yvyn" or simply k:khal -- the people of the clan, clansmen (from k:khal -- clan, n'ig:yvyn -- person). With respect to the first group of cognates, i.e., to the members of the clan or clans which take or have taken their wives from the k:khal-n'ig:yvyn, these latter and their whole clan are united under the common designation of akhmalk (fathers-in-law) and, conversely, ymg:i (sons-in-law /zyat'ya, "sons-in-law" or "brothers-in-law" in Russian/). On the other hand, in relation to the second group of cognates, i.e., that clan or those clans from which they themselves take women, they are ymg:i (sons-in-law) and, conversely, akhmalk. Both cognate groups in relation to the first, and all three among themselves, bear /137/ the characteristic designation pandf (from pandynd -- to be born), that is, consanguineous, bound by a common origin (1) through women. Thus, relationship

• [114] * [601]

1. Schrenck (III, p. 23) quite erroneously asserts that kinsmen on the father's side, i.e., agnates, members of one and the same clan, call each other ngafk, and that kinsmen on the mother's side call each other amal'. In reality, both terms, on

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the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no conditions on the father's side. Kinsmen through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

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Thus, relationship by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us proceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.

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Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

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2. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

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835 And therefore we must come out in the most categorical
614 manner against the assertion of Schrenck that the Gilyak clan
114 is endogamous. "Affiliation to the clan," says Schrenck, "does not play any role whatever in the most important phenomenon of their life, namely, in marriage... the Gilyak freely permit marriages between Gilyak of one and the same kal'a (clan)" (1). Elsewhere he states even more definitely:

1. Schrenck, II, pp. 23, 24.

"only own brothers and sisters and the children of two own brothers cannot marry" (2). This absolutely false assertion

2. Ibid., p. 6.

would be completely incomprehensible coming from an investigator who had spent about two years in contact with the Gilyak, if it were not for the fact that Schrenck did not command the Gilyak language and had to make himself understood through a guide. On the basis of many years of association with the Gilyak, in their own language, and of an especially thorough study of marriage law, I can categorically refute this absolutely groundless and antiscientific assertion of Schrenck's; both marriage and sexual relations between persons born in one clan are absolutely forbidden.

835 We turn now to the particular classes, within as well as outside of the clan, which are excluded from the right of sexual relations and marriage.

Class of the ascending and descending lines. Classes whose members call each other atk, achik, ytk, ymk, nankh, and, conversely, og:la, i.e., the classes of grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, agnates and cognates, uncles and aunts -- on one hand, on the other -- their descendants. Thus, intercourse between ascending and descending lines is excluded not only in the direct, but also in the most distant collateral lines as well: sexual intercourse

*835 /170 cont./
832 an'g:ej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through
584 the same symbolic actions that people go through during the
585 betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat
[195] together. To say to a woman of the an'g:ej category, "Let us have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

832 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said,
*835 is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known
684 to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

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1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamlevo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I found a large assembly of the masters of the settlement. My companion laid before them his

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complaint against a local woman, who the evening before had seized him by the leg, on the grounds of which he was demanding "ransom." They summoned the culprit. She confessed and by the decision of the assembly she was obliged to hand over publicly to her accuser an adjudged ransom, namely, a puppy and a birch-bark dish. Why the fine was limited to such insignificant objects (if they were not merely symbols of especially female labor) I explain only by the fact that the guilty woman was entirely alone and did not possess anything more valuable.

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/171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous opportunities for lovemaking, even with alien women, slip by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien women was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarded is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen, punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and inevitable banishment. There can hardly be even any question of a casual passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons of forbidden categories has become converted into that same instinct which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or
*835 own sister. All the more powerfully is the right to sexual intercourse between the categories of pu and an'g:ej realized. In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in the

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*174 /194 cont./
582 relationship of pu and an'g:ej toward each other (1).
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1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 52).

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2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

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615 *614 For each individual member of the clan this is expressed in the fact that outside of the clan in which he himself was born and in which neither he nor his progeny may marry, he must have /210/ at least two other clans: one the clan of his mother's brother, from which he and his male offspring take wives, and the other -- the clan of his father's sister, into which his female offspring marry.

As we know from the kinship terminology, the next to last clan mentioned bears with respect to the first one the special designation of akhmalk k:khal (clan of the fathers-in-law), and the last one ymg:i (clan of the sons-in-law /zyat'ya/), and all together are called pandf (persons of common origin). Since all three of these clans are blood kin (a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, and women marry the sons of their father's sister), in marriage relations each separate clan is in this fashion an organic member of a tripartite, blood-kin, three-clan union of pandf, a real cognate phratry, for in each generation all the husbands and wives are cognate male and female cousins. [114] The Gilyak phratry, however, has nothing in common with the Morgan one, for within it marriages are not only allowed, but are obligatory.

The Gilyak three-clan phratry may be presented in the form of the following schematic table: (see following page)

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*614 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the
615 tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are
602 possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

[illegible]sin Marriage

582 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among
*174 the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the
121 daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

582 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian
*174 Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia
121 rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i
●114 ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

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582 Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers,
*174 Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their
12 predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian mar-
●114 riage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler,
171 and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad distribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1),

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1. This picture entitled Crawley to say that "cousin marriage generally is the favorite form of marriage among primitive peoples" ("Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first experience of conscious restriction of marriages between brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages be-
582 tween cousins of the first degree. One cardinal question in
*174 this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is
114 the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands mar-
121 riage between the children of brother and sister, but at the same time prohibits marriage between the children of two brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact. "Cousin marriage," he says, "is, according to all appearances, a survival. It is quite difficult to find a straightforward psychological basis explaining why marriage between the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so strictly prohibited" (1).

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1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins in India," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1907, p. 623.

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582 Others have attempted to give an explanation for this
* 174 fact, but these explanations are purely mechanical. Kohler,
114 for example, sees an explanation of this fact in the dual
121 organization of society (2) -- an explanation which is at

2. Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe, 121.

least strange, for the dual organization itself is a consequence of the institution of cousin marriage. Crawley holds the same point of view as Kohler and therefore falls into the same error. He considers this form of cousin marriage to be "an automatic result of the fact that the name of the family is inherited. The children of brother and sister may marry because by their names they belong to opposite phratries" (3).

3. Crawley, op. cit., 57.

Frazer expresses himself in the same way. According to him, the reason that it is forbidden for these cousins of the first degree, i.e., children of two brothers or two sisters, to marry rests on the fact that they belong to one and the same exogamous class and are therefore restrained by the basic law which forbids a man to marry a woman from his own exogamous class.

The basic mistake of all these writers consists in their having taken the result for the cause, namely, that the so-called cross-cousin marriage, i.e., marriage between the children of brother and sister, was a result of the division of society into two exogamous classes, but they do not raise the question of just what it was that gave rise, in turn, to this dual division. In reality, the dual division into two exogamous classes was a result of the new institution of marriage between children of brother and sister, replacing the earlier endogamous blood marriage.

582 Before that, the group -- the descendants of one an-
* 174 cestress -- was /216/ indivisible; marriages took place
121 within the group, usually between brother and sister. And

1: Shternberg--327 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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582 This type of one-sided cousin marriage, so simply ex-
* 174 plained in the light of the evolution of more ancient forms
● 114 of cross-cousin marriage, has attracted no attention at all from the investigators. Many scientists have even regarded this institution with disbelief, considering it implausible. Thus, almost at the same time as my publication on this
[171] institution among the Gilyak (in 1901), the noted scientist Kohler in his article, "Das Recht der Hottentots /The Law of the Hottentot/" (1), ascertaining, in the words of his

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1. In Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, B. XVI, pp. 341-342.

correspondent, the existence of just such an institution among that tribe, regards this report with distrust. The cause of this distrust is quite simple. Not knowing the genesis of this institution and the place occupied by it in the evolution of cousin marriage, and having no other examples of this institution besides its remnants in the marriage prohibitions, it was difficult to comprehend the cause of the one-sided prohibition by which the son of a sister can marry the daughter of a brother, but the daughter of a sister may not marry the son of her brother, although the degree of closeness of blood kinship in both cases is identical; and therefore the one-sidedness of the prohibition was viewed rather as an anomaly than as a normal sign of a living institution.

582 Due to such disbelief on the part of investigators, this
* 174 institution is completely disregarded in treatises on human
171 marriage and has remained completely misunderstood, while
[114] ethnographic literature gives quite a bit of information on its broad distribution among the most diverse peoples. Especially numerous traces of it are found in Indonesia and among the Dravidian peoples of India, among whom Morgan found the most clearly expressed form of the Turanian system, in which group marriage was preserved. As we just saw,

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601 these latter by the term "father." But among the other half
* 835 of the Gilyak only the younger brothers have rights to the wives of the older brothers. And once again this is indicated in the terminology. I call the wife of my younger brother, with whom I do not have the right of intercourse, by the prohibitive term jokh, /224/ but I call the wife of an elder brother by the same term as I call my own wife; corresponding to this, the children of brothers call only the younger brothers of the father, as well as this latter, by the term ytk (father), but the father's older brothers -- atk.

● 114 The objections which have been raised against Morgan's
601 hypothesis are in this sense objections of a purely abstract
* 835 character. Thus, for example, the well-known objection repeated by all the opponents of Morgan with regard to the inexplicability of the class of mothers, since a person's mother, they say, is always well-known, is quite simply explained by the norms of sexual relations among the Gilyak. A Gilyak calls by the name of mother any woman with whom a person of the class of his fathers has the right to sexual relations. The degree to which the Gilyak realize the significance of this term is seen from the following. We have just seen that among that half of the Gilyak where only the younger brothers have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of the elder, the children of brothers distinguish the elder brothers of their father from the younger brothers, and these latter they call by the term "father," but they do not distinguish the wives of the brothers of their father, calling them mothers. Why? For this reason. I call the wives of my father's younger brothers mothers because their husbands are my fathers (they have the right to sexual intercourse with my mother), and the wives of the older ones because my father has the right of sexual intercourse with them, and they are his wives.

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601 A Gilyak also calls the sisters of his father-in-law
* 835 mothers, but this is entirely correct, because, as we have seen, father and son take wives from the same clan; the father takes a man's sister, while the son takes a daughter of this latter, so that the sister of one's father-in-law is
● [114] really his mother. The objection of Kunov that the classificatory terms designate only age classes is likewise completely unfounded. In Gilyak life, age plays no part in the kinship terms. My class "father" can be younger than I, and nevertheless he cannot marry a woman of the class of my wives, but, on the other hand, is obliged to marry a woman from the class of wives of my actual father, and on attaining maturity he will in fact be a husband of my mother.

* 174 The Gilyak system and the punalua family. In the light of
* 835 the Gilyak system, not only is Morgan's general hypothesis
[114] concerning the origin of the classificatory system of kinship from the system of marriage confirmed and explained, but also his more particular hypothesis concerning the origin of the Turanian kinship system from the punalua family. The Gilyak kinship system is /225/ Turanian in its basic indications, while the marriage system presents a most complete form of the punalua family. In actuality, according to Morgan, the basis of the punalua family is "group marriage, either of several own /or/ collateral sisters with their spouses, where the common husbands were not necessarily kinsmen, or a group marriage of several own or collateral brothers with their wives, where these wives were likewise not necessarily kinswomen, although in both cases this was often encountered." The old Gilyak family with its obligatory marriage from one particular clan was a group marriage of all the brothers (own and collateral) with all the sisters of a particular generation, so that the groups of husbands were brothers, while their wives were always sisters. This is evi-
[601] dent from the kinship terminology -- the wives of brothers call each other sisters.

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*835 601 At the present time, when it is permitted to take wives from different clans, all the brothers (own and collateral) are still the group husbands of their wives, who often turn out to be sisters. And we have seen that even when sisters marry persons of different clans all the consequences of group-marriage are still preserved, and their children are considered brothers and sisters.

[114] The structure of the Gilyak family thus affords us the opportunity to establish the very genesis of the Hawaiian family, from which Morgan constructed the punalua family. This family originally did not consist of a group of several brothers who were married to their wives in a group marriage, or, on the other hand, of several sisters in a group marriage with their husbands, who might be non-kin to each other. Such a family could not have created the Turanian classificatory system of kinship, for it presupposes the possibility of several groups of brothers or sisters, each group participating completely independently in a group marriage in which the other groups did not share; consequently, common designations for all the brothers according to their marital relations could not have been formed.

*835 614 *174 The Gilyak family in its pure, original form gives us an actual picture of this family. The family is an intraclan organization. Therefore, each group-family represents a generation of all the brothers of a given clan (own and collateral) joined in a group marriage with a whole generation of women from another clan. These women are necessarily sisters, for the daughters of clansmen-brothers, as we have seen, are necessarily the wives of the sons of the sisters of their fathers. Now when, as we have seen, by virtue of [178] /226/ the causes that we have mentioned, this marital obligation became weakened, and brothers began to take wives from different clans and women began to marry into different clans, sisters might turn out to be members of a group marriage with husbands who were not kin to each other, and brothers in the same kind of marriage with wives

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*835 *174 614 178 who were not kin to each other, with this difference, that the collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans, would be broken up into several groups, as in the punalua family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining *835 601 *174 in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since the Gilyak family is the most ideal form of the punalua family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the most complete form of the Turanian system. Actually, we find in it classificatory groups that must have existed in the Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the • [114] system of marriage. For example, in that Turanian form which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely, the Tamil, the two extremely important classificatory terms -- "husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

*835 601 *174 171 The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed under conditions where brothers had common wives, and sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the Tamil system a man calls by the name father, not only his own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also existed a general term "wife," by which a man would designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband," by which each woman would designate both her own husband and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

114 601 171 In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil, a man calls his wife en mainavi, the wife of his brother enanni, en maittuni, the sister of his wife en korlunti, en maittuini; there is the same lack of correspondence with the term "husband" (1).

1. See the table in Morgan.

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114 60 171 Subsequently, in Ancient Society, Morgan found an explanation for this fact.

"This shows," he says, "that among the Tamil, at the time when the Turanian system was introduced, all my female cousins were my wives, while at the same time this did not apply to the wives of my male cousins" (2).

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2. Morgan, Ancient Society, 1877, p. 444 (Russ. trans., Pervobytnoe obshchestvo, p. 427).

114 60 * 174 171 * 835 It did not even occur to Morgan that the whole Turanian system was based on this principle. This peculiarity, however, is precisely the result of the primitive system of cross-cousin marriage, from which the Turanian system also developed. Under cross-cousin marriage, marriage between the children of brother and sister is the only form of marriage, and such male and female cousins accordingly call themselves "husband" and "wife." That the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage is evident also from other terms, which /228/ must have been inexplicable to Morgan and which he does not even bring up, not having found an explanation for them. For example, among the Tamil, if "I" am a man, then the wife of my sister's son is my "daughter" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the husband of my sister's daughter is my "son" (as in the Australian cousin marriage); the husband of my father's sister's daughter is my "brother" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the father of my wife is my "father-in-law" and "uncle" (father-in-law and brother of the mother among the Gilyak, father-in-law and brother of the father or mother among the Australians); the mother of my wife is my "mother-in-law" and "aunt" (aunt and father's sister among the Gilyak, mother-in-law and father's sister or mother's sister among the Australians); my brother's wife is my "female cousin" (i.e., a daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister); and, finally, the "wife" of a son of my father's sister, and

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114 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister"
171 (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms
*174 is met if "I" am a woman.
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All this is without question evidence that the Turanian
*835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although the examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes of central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of this system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change to the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a con-
*174 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the
601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to
*835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children of
615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's sister's
[171] son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my
[114] "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins of the first clans A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of group marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children for both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we shall see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian
*174 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera-
*835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of
615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

/235 cont./

X.

Features of the Classificatory System Among Other Peoples of Northeast Asia

*174 60 As early as forty years ago L. Morgan in his Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity gave special attention to the question of the relationship between the Turanian and the Ganowanian kinship systems and after a long analysis, came to the definite conclusion that the relationship between these systems could occur only because of common blood, and that the present bearers of the Ganowanian system, i.e., the American peoples, brought it from their ancient homeland, from Asia. Morgan at that time was in a position to trace the Turanian system among the Dravidian peoples of India up to the southern boundaries of Central Asia. He was unable to get any information about the Mongol, the Tungus, or even the Turkic peoples. And it was all the more difficult for him to obtain any data about the peoples /236/ of the Amur region and the Pacific shore of northeast Asia. At the same time, it was the Amur River that he regarded as the point of departure for the crossing of the Turanian system from Asia to America, just as, with greater justification, he regarded the Columbia River as the point of departure for the spread of the Ganowanian system throughout the continent of North America. Whatever we may think of Morgan's hypothesis, [114] from this point of view, his conviction that definite traces of the Turanian system should be discovered from the banks of the Amur throughout the northeast of Asia, including the Aleutian Islands, is now beginning to be justified, in some cases in the kinship systems and in others in survivals of cousin marriage. It is particularly strengthened by the system of kinship and marriage discovered by me among the Gilyak. Morgan's great hypothesis, which has such a direct bearing on the problem of the interaction of the peoples of Asia and America, deserves our making at least a brief survey of the marriage norms among these peoples.

/273 cont./

584 576 him curtly: "That is not your business. We will take care of that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional approval of the bride is all the host needs; after that he will know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

[114] [71]

1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak explain the motives for the father's deprecatory opinions of his daughter. I think, therefore, that Iokhel'son was wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 739).

/274/ But it may happen that the father will not give any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the matchmakers toward the inadequacies of his daughter. When all the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires the phrase which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wants to cut short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothing," he says through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And after a short pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what she wants, it is not my business." Then they begin to regale the mother of the bride, who, after long excuses, in turn finishes with the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let the men decide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the business basis of the bride price and dowry. In this connection the customs are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the Amur, where the people are more mercantile, the bride's side unashamedly enumerates down to the slightest detail the objects of the bride price.

583 584 184

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first they name only two or three objects, the most valuable ones of the expected bride price, and after that they only haggle over secondary valuables. But in both places the procedure of the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atmosphere.

1: Shternberg--421 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/291 cont./

II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

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1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1910. Pilavo is four settlements: two on Sakhalin, one Khez'-Pilavo, and Yky, the Goldi settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still burn their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

539 On the north of Sakhalin a father had many children. During the sharing they quarreled over a stone with a hole, or:, which, on a silver chain, is put on the breast of a bride. One brother said: "You have divided everything, now give the stone to me." He put it on the neck of his daughter, and through the night it was not possible to take it off. The others said: "Daughters are not of our clan, they leave to marry, how can one leave them such an expensive article?" The eldest brother: "We consider only sons, daughters are not ours. You can make as many children as you wish, but you cannot find such stones." After this the eldest brother always wanted to kill the little girl, while the younger brother guarded. The younger brother became angry and ran away from the south of Pilavo to the north. There was a famine. During the most severe famine they killed a seal, they killed a small seal. They boiled it, they divided it up into pieces, they ate it, and the bones remained. The children began to chew, to fight. One of the brothers came up and began to beat the son of another brother on the "mug" with the same bone: "You, dog, take it, gorge!" and he was beating the youth. The youth began to cry. His father was not at home. The mother stepped in for her son, and the mother got it. In a little while the father arrived. The mother complained to her husband, and a fight took place.

/302/

595 58 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

614 173 In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the Khydzyr' in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are

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1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 839 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home [illegible]er mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of Mago).

/344 cont./

VIII.

Folklore (1)

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1. The two tales printed below were found in Shternberg's archives without a Gilyak text. All the remaining folklore materials not included in Volume 1 of his Materialov po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/ are planned for separate publication. S. Sh.

539 Tale No. 1. Once upon a time two brothers, no mother, no sister, no one, lived alone quietly by themselves. In the spring they went to hunt a bear, one in one direction, the other in the other one. The elder brother sat down to s--t (in great need); a fishing rod from the sky caught (him) and took him into the sky. The younger brother searched for but did not find his brother. He returned home alone. At night, when he was asleep, he dreamed (tyjnd) that a Gilyak came and said that his brother was taken into the sky.

"Be careful, you, too, will be taken into the sky." He woke up and began to look for the Gilyak, no one!

He took a long leather rope and a pole and make a large shed. In the morning he went to s--t, the fishing rods descended, grabbed him, and picked him up. The chain broke and fell. He looked; the chain was all gold. With the chain there were four small bells -- (k:ongkh): three large, one small. The Gilyak did not touch anything. There was a whole pile of chain.

The following night he was sleeping -- someone got the chain and the little bell, and the little bell rang. In the morning he did not find them; he looked in the storehouse -- bears' heads. He went fishing and caught a whole boatful of small, small fish. One small, beautiful fish /345/ was unfamiliar; he put it in the bow of his boat. Upon approaching a seal, he saw smoke from his yurt. He thought: "Where is that coming from, are we on fire?"

1:Shternberg--496 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/346 cont./

222 The Gilyak cut down a whole bird-cherry plant for the cherries, but "if blood (red juice) comes, they quit.

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The Sakhalin Gilyak (1)

1. The present article was published in Etnograficheskoe Obozrienie, 1893, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in Die Neue Zeit. Ed.

I.

101

The Origin of the Gilyak and Features of Their External Life

Like the Ainu, in whose language the word "ainos" means "man," the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, call themselves "nivukh," which means: man, master, Gilyak (2). Their customary name,

2. The Amur Gilyak call themselves "yavese."

"Gilyak," was, in my opinion, formed from the distortion by travelers of the word "kile," which means "Tungus" in the language of the Amur Gilyak, with whom travelers first had contact. And such a distortion could very easily have occurred because the Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur speak the same language as the Tungus, who, according to their legends, form one "people" with the Gilyak, the Goldi, and the Orochon. It is also quite possible that because of the common language of the Amur Gilyak and the Tungus, the Manchu, who formerly ruled the Amur region, called the Gilyak and the Tungus by a common name, "kile." But the ease with which national antagonisms

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
[121] merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

103 (a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settle-
361 ments between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyyvo, Yamy, Manginay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyyde (1), Noksy,

[167] 1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigrvo (2), Marnlvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,

[491] 2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

Vaskhonkhvo, Kitnidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkryvo, Viskvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygrvo,

[491] 1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In
162 the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 245 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

[592] [128] 2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

[The western Coast]

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look
135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The
137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along
132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous
[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the
[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be
135 entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the
491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak
103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta
361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

[824]

1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

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2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the author did not include in the number of

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
36 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
361 In connection with this settlement of
221 Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
422 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
23 the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
50 During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
41 43 otters, and 63 bears.
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162 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
592 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

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1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

2: Schrenck--10 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

SS 114 [113] /5 cont./

1. (cont.)
chim. tirés du Bulletin, Vol. II, pp. 346-355, 446-456, 492-497; Vol. III, pp. 8-17; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 49-65, 297-306, 344-363.

southern tip, by the way, I had already touched in the summer of 1854, along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of Japan, to the Gorin and the Ussuri, and, finally, on the return trip, up the entire Amur and a part of the Argunj /Argun/ River. During the winter travels in particular, I lived with and among the natives entirely. Therefore, it was principally the peoples of the lower Amur region, especially the Gilyak, but also the Olcha (Mangun) and Goldi, with whom I had an opportunity to become more closely acquainted, whereas I came in contact with the others only more or less fleetingly. For certain information concerning the Gilyak I am also indebted to Middendorff /Middendorf/, who /6/ became acquainted with this people as early as 1844, and, to be sure, on the extreme northwestern border of their area of distribution. He did not publish in his travel account the notes written down by him at that time, but kindly passed them on to me for use in this place, and they are in fact of great value to me, since I myself did not visit this part of the Gilyak area. Therefore, in the following where I refer to Middendorff without citing his writings, my information comes from the handwritten notes mentioned. A great deal was also contributed for a more detailed knowledge of the peoples of the lower Amur by the circumstance that during the time I had my headquarters in the midst of the Gilyak area, my friend and present colleague, C. J. Maximowicz, had his in Olcha territory, and, to be sure, in the Mariinski Post established shortly before. His information concerning the Olcha and Goldi collected at that time and on a later trip in 1859 and 60 and passed along to me forms an essential part of the following information on these peoples. This was a fortunate arrangement for ethnographic research because it is precisely the peoples of

G 114 127

Gi SS 114 127

SS 114

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13 [361] 50° north latitude and therefore located almost precisely at half the length of this island which stretches in the direction of the meridian. The Gilyak population on the east coast of the island extends somewhat less far south. According to the information 13 36 that I gathered from the Gilyak in the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley and in the village of Nyi on the east coast, south of this village and of the mouth of the Tymy River there are four additional Gilyak villages (3), of which the southernmost and last, three days'

[114]

3. Cf. the map accompanying Vol. I of this work. The map drawn up by Schebunin on the basis of the material from the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society shows a few additional place names among them. Therefore, the number of these Gilyak villages is perhaps greater than the one given to me, but perhaps the added names only refer to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak belonging to the winter villages named, or to overnight camping places and other such localities.

journey from Nyi, is the village of Tschamr-wo, beyond which the coast is said to be uninhabited for a great distance. This [115] information was later confirmed by the mining engineer Lopatin, who in 1868 made a wearisome journey on foot along this deserted coast; coming from the south, he found the first Gilyak village (Tschamr-wo) (4), according to Kropotkin's translation of his

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4. "Tscham-wo," as Lopatin calls the village, or "Tschamr-wo," as I heard it and believe to be correct, has a name in Gilyak meaning "eagle village."

13 36 [103] [114] /14 cont./

4. (cont.)
I cannot accept the version "Tschamg-wo," as given on the Schebunin map of Sakhalin.

report (5), one and a half days' journey north of Cape Delisle de

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5. Izviestiia Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 308, 311.

la Croyère, but, according to the statements that he made to Fr. Schmidt upon looking through his journals (6), "behind" the

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6. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, p. 387.

large cape of rock mentioned, which among the Gilyak bears the
131 name Harpach (7). At any rate, on the east coast of Sakhalin

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7. Following Lopatin, Schmidt gives the Gilyak name of Cape Delisle de la Croyère as "Harpa." There is no doubt about the ending sounding like, not "pa," but "pach," since the latter is often repeated in Gilyak place names and means "rock" or "stone." I suspect, however, that the first syllable, too, is not rendered quite correctly, and that the cape is not called "Harpa," but "Tschcharpach," that is, "wood-" or "forest-rock" -- a name which occurs also at the mouth of the Amur.

the southern border of the Gilyak territory thus lies close to Cape Delisle de la Croyère, that is, /15/ about 51° north latitude, or

/15 cont./

131 one degree more to the north than on the west coast of the island (1). Finally, besides the two coasts the interior of Sakhalin

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1. The above-named villages, and especially the last one, Tschamr-wo, are therefore to be moved somewhat more to the south than is shown on my first map.

is also populated by the Gilyak, and to be sure, it is the large Tymy River, rich in fish, along which, up to its source, a relatively dense Gilyak population lives. This, however, cuts off the area of the Gilyak, because to the south, along the perhaps even larger Ty River, as it is called among the Gilyak, or Poronai as it is called among the Ainu (2), there is a permanent

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2. That is, "great river." It is the "Newa" of Krusenstern Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/ St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 95). On Schebunin's above-mentioned map, as in Glehn's travel report from Sakhalin Island (Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Russ. Reichs, edited by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, pp. 205, 235 ff.) this river is also called Plyi -- a name which, according to Glehn, is likewise a Gilyak one.

population only on the lower course and at the mouth, and this population, aside from scattered, individual members, is no longer Gilyak.

If one surveys the total area of distribution of the Gilyak, one finds that for the most part it extends along the sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Amur-Liman, and then also along two great rivers, the Amur on the mainland and the Tymy on Sakhalin -- a circumstance

G 101 179 Gi 113 /15 cont./ 4. (cont.)

den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

Gi 131 The Negda

G [361] [103] live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chlya/, as well as along the river branch connecting them, although there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. This in-

G [115] [114] formation, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Judin in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later travelers,

G [103] 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu.

Gi [103] [361] On the former lie the villages of Pfyrpi-wo and Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomokr and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, calls

Gi [113] 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolaysv Post on the Amur River to Udskii

G /16 cont./
101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
Gi separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
A Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree,
101 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
G mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
101 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told
162 me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely
361 Gilyak, Kthēus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj
103 again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/
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4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthēus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

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place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
G the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
361 "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
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1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

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by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak, which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the population of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over
ooo the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

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1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

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It is different
with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to the sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep and protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, have their permanent habitation sites in it.

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main artery. Sometimes we see their territory reduced to a minimum (2); sometimes, and even more frequently, they

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2. For instance, in Swerbejef /Sverbeev/, who does not have the Goldi end until Dshaï and has the Gilyak begin as soon as Kidsi. This would leave for the Olcha, then, little more than the village of Gauwne on the Amur. This error, that the natives of Kidsi and the surrounding area are Gilyak, is repeated almost throughout by the Russian authors, for example, by D. Romanof ("Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de- Kastri u riek. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 134-138); by J. Mewes ("Tri goda v" Sib. i Amursk. stranie /Three Years in Siberia and the Amur Country/."- Otechestv. Zap., Vol. CXLVIII, p. 284), who called Kidsi the principal village of the Gilyak; by Dr. Plaxin ("Primorsk. obl. Vostochn. Sib." - Voenn. Sborn., 1869, No. 12, p. 194), who has the Gilyak begin at Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (Dshaï) and extend, not only along the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, but also beyond the Amgunj /Amgun/ and a part of the Tatar Strait, etc. In the latter, by the way, the Amur peoples are so confused that Mangun and Manegir appear as synonymous designations. The American, Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes, London, 1872, pp. 77, 86-89), regards the dwellers on Kidsi Lake as Gilyak. Even Boschnjak, who quite

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/26 cont./2.(cont.)

correctly remarked that a sharp dividing line between the Gilyak and the Mangun lies at the village of Uchtr, in that the former only live below it, but going upstream, the latter begin with the village named ("Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie."- Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 125), cannot refrain from speaking of the "Kidsi-Gilyak" in another place (M.Sb., 1859, No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 209).

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disappear completely by being simply thrown in with the Gilyak (3). Aside from the few above-mentioned Olcha

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3. Pargatschevskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. put. vverkh" po r. Amuru, ot" Nikolaevsk. posta do Ust'-Strielochn. karaula, sovershenn. v" 1856-57 gg. /A Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur, from the Nikolayevsk Post to the Ust'-Strelochny Guardpost in 1856-57/."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch, Part 21, 1857, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 161, 165), for instance, does not know of the Olcha at all, but has the Gilyak extend from the mouth of the Amur to Adi, and from there down the Goldi begin. Likewise Dr. Sperk ("Geografo-patologicheskie ocherki Vost. Sib. /Geographical-Pathological Sketches from Eastern Siberia/."- Mediko-topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 68), who even grants to the Gilyak the whole

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/71 cont./

1. (cont.)
kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 334 and others).

H.M. 563 648 439 G 439 648 The right, relatively thickly populated bank of the Amur and also the left one from its last bend to the east is closed to them, for the Gilyak, although -- as we shall see -- zealous traders themselves, nevertheless permit no Chinese to enter their territory, perhaps out of the just fear that the traders might pave the way for the rulers. On the basis of their own experiences on their trading trips to the Sungari, it is natural for them -- the Gilyak -- to regard the Manchu and Chinese, in contrast to the other Amur peoples, as identical with respect to political power and ruling position, though they distinguish between them with regard to nationality. G 101 114 They also at times simply designate the Chinese with the name "Manchu" -- a circumstance that gave rise to much confusion concerning these peoples on the part of travelers (2).

H.M. 563 114 113 439 101

2. For example, Orlof (cf. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. obozr. obraz. Ross.-Amer. Komp., St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 84 and others), Tschichatschof (Tichmenjef, op. cit., pp. 89 ff.), Beresin (ibid., pp. 91 ff.), Boschnjak ("Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie."- Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, pp. 115-118, 125, 126; No. 2, Unofficial Part, pp. 332 to 337; No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 195, etc.), and others constantly refer to the Chinese traders from the lower Amur and from the Amgunj as "Manchu." The same is done by Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 161, 165) with

S.S. /88 cont./
175 Amur on my return trip to Europe, on the whole stretch from the
131 last-named place to Ustj-Strelka I found only five small tem-
36 porary guardposts at the places where depots of food supplies had
712 been set up for the troops returning to Transbaikalia from the
[114] lower Amur. At the first of these guardposts (Sungarijskij Piket),
lying opposite the mouth of the Sungari, going upstream, /89/
these food supplies had not yet arrived at the time when I reached
it on July 15/27. The second was immediately above where the
Amur River enters the Bureja Mountains (Chinganskij Piket) and,
like all the others, on its left bank; the third and largest was
near the mouth of the Dseja (Ustjseiskij Piket), on the site of the
present town of Blagoveshchensk; the fourth was opposite the
S.S. mouth of the Komar (Kamarskij P.), and, finally, the fifth was
175 on the small Kotomanga River (Kotomandskij P.) (1) Thus,
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1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. XIX-XXI, of the present work.

during the time of my stay in the Amur region only the first steps
S.S toward the occupation and colonization of a part of it had been
[648] made by the Russians. Not until after the end of the Crimean
War, when the Amur region was again accessible to the Russians
from the sea, and especially after the conclusion of the Treaty
of Aigun (1858), by means of which the present boundaries be-
tween Russia and China were established and the major part of
the Amur region came into Russian possession de jure, did there
begin that energetic, almost feverish colonization mentioned at
the beginning and which inevitably had the greatest influence
upon the ethnographic conditions in this region. But these events
are already outside the scope of our description.

G In concluding this survey I am taking the liberty of present-
S.S. ing a few remarks, in part historical and critical and in part
114 general and summarizing, concerning the appended map
128 figuratively illustrating the geographic distribution of the Amur
peoples discussed above.[1] It is the first ethnographic map

[1] [This map appears on pages 418-423 of this translated source; facing p. 310 in foreign text.--Author]

/89 cont./

G S.S. 114 128 referring specifically to the Amur region. On the map accompanying the first volume of this work I have noted the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries, as well as on Sakhalin, without, however, defining their respective areas. Later, in G S.S. 101 114 1873, there appeared an ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia by Wenjukof /Veniukov/ on which the Russian part of the Amur region is included (2). Because of the relatively small scale of

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2. "Etnograficheskaia karta Aziiatskoi Rossii. Massht. v" angl. diuimie 250 verst" ili 1/10,500,000 /Ethnographic Map of Asiatic Russia. Scale: one English inch to 250 versts or 1/10,500,000/." It accompanies the work by the same author, Opyt" voennago obozrieniia Russkikh" granits" v" Asii /An Attempt at a Military Survey of the Russian Frontiers in Asia/, St. Petersburg, 1873, but it also may be obtained separately.

the whole map, however, only a few square inches could be devoted to the Amur region. Correspondingly, the information is for the most part only summary, in that the individual Tungusic tribes, which occupy almost the whole of the Amur region, are not distinguished at all or at most by a few inscriptions which for the most part are not in the proper place, and there is no mention of any delimitation of their respective areas. In connection with this, these condensed Tungusic tribes of the Amur region are usually erroneously delimited from the other two peoples distinguished on the map, the Gilyak and Ainu. This map therefore actually gives only an approximate total picture of the Tungusic population, by far the predominant one in the Amur /90/ region, into which at that time Russian colonists had already poured along the Amur, the Ussuri, Lake Kengka, and down the Ssuifun to Peter the Great Bay (1). Our map virtually ignores this

S.S. [167]

1. The following special remarks may serve as verification for my opinion of

/90 cont./ 1. (cont.)

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this map as far as the Amur region is concerned. In spite of the fact that the Gilyak are sharply distinguished from all their neighbors by their language, their territory is correctly shown on the map by Wenjukof only on Sakhalin, but on the continent is delimited incorrectly on all sides. In the north, for instance, it does not begin at Tugur Bay, but to the east of Ulban Bay; in the south, along the Amur River, he has it extend beyond Lake Kidsi toward Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (where the Olcha village Dshal' is located), that is, toward the center of the Olcha territory. From there he draws the southern boundary of the Gilyak to de Castries Bay, where La Pérouse had already quite correctly shown Orochi. On the other hand, he moves them away from the Liman coast, from the mouth of the Amur, and from the adjacent parts of the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and puts a Tungusic tribe there, while in reality the Amur-Liman is inhabited all around only by Gilyak.-- On Sakhalin, the map gives too large a territory in the north to the Ainu, in that it is supposed to include the whole Ty or Poronai River area and to extend to the Tym' sources, whereas actually it stops at the Gulf of Patience, and an uninhabited territory frequently visited by Gilyak and Orok lies along the Ty. -- The Orok, which curiously are called "Orokapen" on the map (more about this later), are shown only in that part of Sakhalin in which there is no population at all and are missing at their actual sites. -- The designations for the individual Tungusic tribes of the Amur region

/90 cont./

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1. (cont.)
are in the wrong places almost throughout: the Orochi, for instance, are shown only in the southernmost part of their extensive territory, almost all the Mangun (Olcha) are shifted into the Goldi territory, the Samagir are transferred to the Amgunj, in place of the Negda, who are not mentioned at all, like the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. The Daur, who, besides being along the Nonni and Komar, are also along the Bureja and the Amur, and who certainly cannot, like the last-named peoples, be simply subsumed under the general designation "Tungus," are missing entirely on the map, whereas the few Koreans who only recently moved into the Russian area across the Tumen River are shown.

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The various Tungusic peoples of the Amur region are given still less attention on the ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia which is given in the statistical atlas of the Russian Empire by Iljin (Opyt" statist. atlasa Rossiiskoi Imperii /An Attempt at a Statistical Atlas of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1874, Map 14), with an even smaller scale, to be sure. In the Russian part of the Amur region (aside from the Chinese and Manchu), the only indigenous peoples it recognizes, in addition to the incorrectly demarcated Gilyak and Ainu, are the "Tungusen" (in general) and "Golde," whose territory, however, is shown along the Amur from above the Bureja to Mariinsk.

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Finally, the same errors as those on the Wenjukof map are repeated on the

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1. (cont.)
ethnographic map of the Russian Empire recently drawn up by Petermann (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, Plate 1), which, for Asiatic Russia, is based entirely upon the information of the former. Despite the much smaller scale, it faithfully copies the boundaries of the Gilyak territory that were shown above as erroneous. The names of the individual Tungusic Amur-peoples, however, are entirely omitted on it, so that the Amur region, with the exception of a short stretch along the lower course of its principal river, like the adjacent part of Eastern Siberia, seems to be inhabited only by "Tungusen."

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Our map virtually ignores this last factor completely,[1] since it shows the ethnographic situation of the Amur region at a time when the Russians, after a pause of two hundred years, were just beginning to penetrate into the Amur region again, and were not to abandon it from then on. Since the colonization especially followed the principal rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri, it changed the ethnographic conditions chiefly where the indigenous population was most densely settled. It may therefore be that since then many communities of the latter have been displaced, shifted, or reduced, have even disappeared altogether, and their very names as well. And the future will even more take a rapid and relentless course in this direction. Now, since our map /91/ establishes the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region before they were affected by these changes, it can in the future provide a yardstick for the latter. And that can only heighten its scientific interest. How valuable, for example, an accurate ethnographic map of the Amur region at the time of the first Russian invasion would be for us now! How much could be drawn from it for the questions to be dealt with in the next section!

[1] [i.e., The mass immigration of the Russian Colonists into the Amur River region--Anahst]

2: Schrenck--187 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu ABL

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Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

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Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

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If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

S.S. /94 cont./
175 peoples could and must have frequently resulted during this time,
167 but they are most difficult to perceive from the historical reports
131 available, for, on the one hand, the territorial boundaries of roaming hunting and seminomadic fishing peoples are never very /95/ definite and even at the present time are inadequately known among the Amur peoples, and, on the other hand, the historical reports concerned, since we are indebted for them to the notes and reports of simple, uneducated people pursuing practical interests, suffer as a rule from too much vagueness and sometimes obscurity for our purposes, and, what is worse, they not infrequently present the Amur peoples under names that are completely foreign to us today and therefore require an interpretation beforehand. Now, whether the interpretations and explanations that will be found in the following pages are always the correct ones must remain undecided to begin with --for my part I hope, since they are not without reason, that they will be verified in most cases at least and may provide a key for a better understanding of some of the historical reports concerning the Amur region and the ethnographic facts contained in them.

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175 Let us begin again with the peoples of the lower Amur region and from among them with the most extreme, the Gilyak.
[121] The first printed mention of the Gilyak is found on the map pub-
[113] lished by Nicolaus Witsen in 1687 in Amsterdam and dedicated to Peter the Great, "Nieuwe Land-Karte van het Noorder- en Ooster-Deel van Asia en Europa /New Map of the North-
S.S. eastern Part of Asia and Europe/" (1), and in

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1. Müller (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 203 ff., and Vol. VI, pp. 29 ff.) gave a detailed description and evaluation of this map. In addition to the rare, original edition of this map, I have before me another copy of the Witsen map provided by Allard on a smaller scale and with some corrections, which was not mentioned either by Müller in his

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/95 cont./ 1. (cont.)
"Nachricht von Land- und See-Carten, die das Russ. Reich und die zunächst angränzenden Länder betreffen /Report on the Land and Sea Maps Which Refer to the Russian Empire and the Immediately Adjacent Countries/" (Samml., etc., Vol. VI) or by Adelung in his article, "Ueber die älteren ausländischen Karten von Russland /Concerning the Older Foreign Maps of Russia/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IV). It bears the title, "Tartaria, sive Magni Chami Imperium ex credendis Amplissimi Viri D-ni Nicolai Witsen, Cos: Amst: Aliorumque probandorum, et hodie vigentium Geographorum Archetypis congestum, auctum, et in lucem editum a Carolo Allard, Amst: Bat: Cum Privilegio Potentissimorum D. D. Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae," without date. The Dutch inscriptions of the original edition are rendered in Latin. The map has almost precisely the same borders, but with the addition of Korea in the east and, on the other hand, the exclusion of the course of the Volga in the west. I call it a copy of Witsen's map, because in fact it reproduces it in all parts, especially in the north and in the east, down to the smallest detail. Also, one finds on it, for example, the same curiosa as in Witsen, that is, misunderstood Russian words and expressions were taken for place names. At the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and the Argunj /Argun/, for instance, there stands in large letters the regional name "Otsel Poschel," evidently because in a Russian statement (and, to be

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1. (cont.)
sure, on a map!) it said: otsel' poshel" Amur (that is, from here, from the confluence of the Schilka and Argunj, begins the Amur); in the lower course of the Lena and east of it are likewise found the regions "Otmore" (from ot" morya -- from the sea), "Nasabate" (na zapadie -- in the west), and "Wostok" (vostok" -- east). The mountain range that separates the tributaries of the Lena from those of the upper Amur (Stanovoi) bears in Witsen the inscription "het /the/ gebergte /mountain range/ gori," or in Allard "montes /mountains/ Gori" (Russian: gory -- mountains), etc. With regard to the Amur region in particular, there is also repeated on the Allard map the peculiarity of the Witsen one in having so many rivers designated on it twice because of the direct posting from the various reports; thus, the Ussuri as Schur or Usiur and as Uschuri, the Dseja /Zeya/ as Sia and as Zija, the Urkan as Urka and as Urki, etc. The Allard map, however, gives the course of the Sungari River differently than the Witsen one: on the latter this river goes under the name of Singal to the Amur and at the same time in a further bifurcation as Schingal or Quentung to the sea; the Allard map, however, pulls it apart and has the Singal flow into the Amur, the Quentung -- which, as is well known, is the Chinese name for the Sungari -- into the sea. Incidentally, there should also be noted here a small map that is appended to the third edition of Witsen's work Noord en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/ of 1785 (Vol. I) and on which the Amur is entered twice: once under the name Amur, with its tributaries Schur (Ussuri),

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1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amur), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

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/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/(1). In this connection several, often

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1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

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2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

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175 elsewhere that they live at the mouth of the Amur River and
114 along the seacoast to the north and south of it (3), as well as
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3. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 33, 36; edition of 1705, pp. 88, 106.

on a very large island lying opposite the mouth of the Amur, called Giliat (4), which evidently is Sakhalin; sometimes

4. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 34; edition of 1705, p. 96.

they are said to extend along the seacoast southward almost to China (5) and northward to the Anadyr River (6), and, finally,

5. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 104; edition of 1705, p. 267.

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6. The rivers around whose mouths they live are expressly named, and, to be sure, in two versions (edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 32; edition of 1705, pp. 86 and 105), among which the later, more correct ones run: Lama, Ochota, Towoi (evidently Ta-ui), Tadui, Penchion (Penshina), Kamtschatka, Tschiundon, and Anadir.

sometimes their habitation sites are given on the northern bank of the Amur River near Nerchinsk (7), and therefore quite far

7. Edition of 1705, p. 77.

175 from the sea. Accordingly, the Gilyak are shown on the map at
131 three places: first, on the seacoast directly north of the Amur
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175 mouth ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high
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8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

175 Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples
114 on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the
[101] Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their un-
[103] doubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

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9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

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9. (cont.)
Russian sources used by Witsen. The information that it gives is found in Witsen in literal translation, for example, the statements concerning the location of the Gilyak region (Gilianskaia zemlia) on the mouth of the Amur and on the coast to the south and north of it, concerning the rivers that flow to the sea in the Gilyak region: Lama, Ochota, Tawui, Todui, Penshin, Kamtschatka, Tchuldan, Anadyr, etc.

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/97/ as aids for the map, as he himself states, both several Siberian wooden panels and especially a map of Siberia which was made by the commander of Tobolsk, Peter Godunof, and his assistants in 1667 upon the orders of Tsar Alexei Michailowitsch /Alexis I Mikhailovich/ and was put on a woodcut in Moscow with a statement of the distances between the places recorded on it (1). Thanks to Middendorff's elucidation of the oldest maps

1. Witsen, op. cit., Preface; also the ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 536, 537; ed. of 1705, p. 859. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 204.

of Siberia (2), we know that this was the first "Siberian Sketch"

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 34-38, 176-177.

(Ssibirskij tschertesh), which, to be sure, has since been lost, but a revised and completed edition has been preserved in Remesof's

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175 /Remezov/ atlas. This atlas (3), consisting of 24 handwritten
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3. Under the title, "Chertezhnaia kniga... vsei Sibiri /A Sketchbook... of All Siberia/"; see Middendorff, loc. cit

sheets, was also thought to be lost until it was discovered in 1842 by Wostokof in the Rumjanzof Museum. Although Remesof did not complete the entire work until 1701, the first map (the last one in the atlas) was drawn as early as 1673; it is ethnographic in content -- the first ethnographic map of Siberia, which shows the habitation sites of the many Siberian peoples in bright, strongly contrasting spots of color (4). Middendorff, who was

4. According to Middendorff, loc. cit. I have not seen the Remesof atlas.

the first to put the significance of the Remesof work in the proper light, appended another sheet, perhaps the most important one, which contains the survey map of Siberia as a whole, to the Russian edition of his travel account, with the
[131] scale reduced fourfold (5). On this map one finds the inscrip-

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5. Putesh. na siev. i vost. Sibiri /A Journey into Northern and Eastern Siberia/, Pt. I, p. 37. The map bore the title, "Chertezh" vsiekh" sibirskikh" gradov" i zemel' /A Sketch of All Siberian Towns and Lands/."

tion "Gilyak Region" (Tsarstvo Gilyansko) at the mouth of the Amur and on the seacoast north of it, just like the "Zemle Giletskaja" on the Witsen one. If one compares this map with the Witsen one, there seems to be no doubt but that, as far as Siberia is concerned, the latter was drawn, not merely with the help of, but directly based on the above-mentioned first "Siberian sketch" (6). This first "sketch," however, and the later revised

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6. Also arguing in favor of this are the curiosa on the Witsen map cited above pp. 193-196, note 1), which arose through the transfer of the Russian inscriptions.

and completed edition of Remesof's maps were made up for the Amur region from the information that the Russian military expeditions brought home, which, however, in its full extent, as it was set down in the ~~reports of~~ the leaders and participants in those expeditions, at that time still rested untouched in the Siberian archives.

According to Müller's explanation (7), the map that /98/

7. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 32.

accompanies the oldest description of the voyage of Ysbrants Ides, published in the Dutch language (1), also comes from Witsen:

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1. Driejaarige Reize naar China, te lande gedaan, door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides /Three Years' Travels to China by Land, Performed by the Muscovite Envoy, E. Ysbrants Ides/, etc., Amsterdam, 1704. The map bears the title, "Nova Tabula Imperii Russici, ex omnium accuratissimis, quae hactenus extiterunt, Imprimis viri Ampliss: Nic: Witzen delineationibus conflata, quam ipsa locorum lustratione edoctus, multum emendavit Everardus Ysbrants Ides," with a dedication to Peter the Great.

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175 114 it was drawn by him on the basis of his own map and changed only with respect to the information -- and not always for the better -- that Ysbrants Ides obtained on his travels and gave to him. On this map the Gilyak are shown only once, and, to be sure, as on Remesof's map, only on the seacoast between the Amur and the Tugur. On the other hand, we see on the much later map by Strahlenberg (2) that the whole region along the

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2. "Nova Descriptio Geographica Tartariae Magnae tam orientalis quam occidentalis in particularibus et generalibus Territoriis una cum Delineatione totius Imperii Russici imprimis Siberiae accurate ostensa." With a dedication to Friedrich I, King of Sweden; without date.

northern tributaries of the Amur River, from the Dseja /Zeya/ to the sea, is designated as "terra Giliakorum, whereas in his well-known work on the northern and eastern part of Europe and Asia, it is said that the "Kilani," who are called "Kilett" by the Yakut and "Kilaki" by the Russians, live around the mouth of the Amur River (3). So incredible did the information that he gave

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3. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 69) says that the map appeared together with this work in the year 1731.

on them sound -- though, as we shall see later, it was not entirely lacking in truth -- and in any case so fantastic was his derivation of them from the Avar, who are said to have been moved in the thirteenth century from the Caspian and Black Seas to China by the Shah of Persia, Mangu -- he saw confirmation

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175 114 101 for his view in the still extant, like-sounding name Kilan (Gilan) for a Persian province on the Caspian Sea -- that Gmelin cast Strahlenberg's whole account into doubt. At most, he thought, the "Kilani" could be a family of the Tungus, since there were so many in Siberia who gave themselves special names, but not a separate, different people who, as Strahlenberg maintained, distinguished themselves by their skill in so important an art as the forging of weapons -- how could there be such a people, he says, without the whole of Siberia knowing about it (4). Never-

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4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, Preface.

theless it was Gmelin's travel companion who, without entering the Amur region, made the greatest contribution to our historical knowledge of its peoples, and among them the Gilyak.

Müller was the first to stress the importance of the rich mine of information concerning the Amur region which had accumulated in the Siberian archives and only fragments of which had been seen by Witsen. Later many more gleanings were obtained in this field. Through this there was brought to light the oldest information that we have up to now concerning the Amur peoples being discussed here. According to it, the Russians /99/ obtained their first information about the Gilyak even before they entered the Amur region. In the years 1639 and 1640, when the leader of the Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, advanced up the Witim /Vitim/ and its left tributary, the Zypir (Zipa /Tsipa/), almost to Lake Baunt, the Tungus there told him of the Daur people, who were supposed to live along the upper Witim and along the Schilka and to trade with the Chinese, as well as a people living where the latter river empties into the sea, that is, at the mouth of the Amur, the "Kilorzy," who were distinguished from all the other peoples by their language and likewise had trading relations with the

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175 Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here informa-

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1. J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (Dopoln. k" akt. istor. /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek").

tion about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

101 Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

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2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

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101 cases, on the other hand, where nearer and more familiar regions were involved, they gave different names to branches or tribes of one and the same people differing only slightly dialectally. It 101 is therefore not surprising that one finds contradictory statements 114 in the interpretations made up to now about these Manchu-Chinese names, for which the above point of view was not followed and which, in addition, came from men who lacked any personal acquaintance with the lower-Amur peoples. Klaproth, for example, thought at the beginning that Fiaka and Chedshen were the Manchu terms for the Gilyak (4); later (5), however,

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4. Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 290, 301. In this connection he regards the Gilyak as the Kuriles of the continent, concerning which more later.

5. Atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, loc. cit.

he thought that he recognized in the Kileng, as they supposedly called themselves, the Gilyak of the Russians. Palladij, however, even recently regarded the Fiaka as Gilyak, and the Kiler, on the other hand, as Amgunj-Tungus, that is, Negda. If one considers the alleged habitation sites of these peoples, as well as the few reports concerning their respective character traits, way of life, clothing, etc., one must, to be sure, grant more right to the latter interpretation, but cannot entirely agree with it either. The description of the Fiaka in the atlas accompany- [291] ing Timkovski's Journey, as a crude, but brave people who in winter are clothed in pelts of dog fur, incontestably fits the Gilyak better than that of the Kileng, whose clothing of stag hide (or /101/ perhaps also roe or reindeer skins) in itself indicates a Tungusic people devoted to a higher level of hunting (1).

1. The drawings of the Kileng and Fiaka (Atlas, Plate VII), as crude and dissimilar

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1. (cont.)
as they are generally as well as in details, rather favor such an interpretation.

[131] [361] The alleged habitation sites of the peoples in question likewise appear to argue in favor of this interpretation, as the Kileng are said to live chiefly along the Amgunj (2), the Fiaka along the

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2. Khenkhoûn in Klaproth (loc. cit.), Henkon on the maps by d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, Nos. 1, 18).

seacoast near the mouth of the Amur. There seems to be almost no further doubt but that the Fiaka are the Gilyak when Iakinf (3),

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3. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg 1842, Part II, p. 30, footnote.

on the basis of Manchu-Chinese sources and without any comment of his own, states that there are three peoples on Sakhalin, Fjakã (Fyake), Eluntschun, and Kuã, obviously Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. Finally, among the statements by the old Jesuit missionaries, too, there are some that cannot be interpreted in any way other than in the above sense; Gerbillon's statement (4),

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4. J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37.

for instance, that the lowermost part of the Amur River down to the sea was inhabited by the Fiatta or Fiattu (5) people, who

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5. Klaproth (Atlas, loc. cit.) expressly states that "Fiatta" is an error and should be "Fiaka."

speak an entirely different language, live solely on fish, and whom, on the basis of the descriptions that he obtained, he would compare with the Iroquois. Müller (6) replied to this that the

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6. "Von dem Amur-Flusse /From the Amur River/," in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, 2nd ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 506.

Gilyak were designated with the name Fitta by the Manchu. On the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries (7) who upon the orders of

7. Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, 1709.

Emperor Kang-hi traveled through Manchuria proper and part of the lower Amur region in order to draw a map of them reported on the Fiatta in a quite different sense. According to them it is nothing but the Manchu designation for the language of the Ketscheng or Ketsching, a people who lives along the Amur River from Tondon to its mouth and along the coast to the east of the Ussuri and the Amur, as well as, presumably, that people who occupies the seacoast north of the Amur mouth up to 55 degrees of latitude, the extreme northeastern boundary of the Chinese Empire (8). Thus we see here that the designation Fiatta, or,

8. Du Halde, Descript., etc., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12. Ritter (Asien, Vol. III, pp. 446, 447) has combined the contradicting statements of the Jesuit missionaries and Klaproth's into one, which leads to the greatest confusion.

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101 114 as Klaproth insists, Fiaka, is used, due to insufficient knowledge, as a collective term for a number of different peoples of the Amur region or their language, and among them the Gilyak. And the same must be concluded from the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who, as was stated above, spent 17 years -- from his birth on -- in Ninguta, to which his father had been exiled, and later, in 1722, having returned to China, he wrote a description of his birthplace. Downstream from the Cheidsin or Chādshen on the Amur River, he has the region of the Fei-ja-cha come next, the description of which, however, only in part fits the Gilyak, and to a greater extent -- for example, the nose rings, /102/ the birchbark boats, fishing in the sea, etc. -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Orochi (1). Finally, Iakinf expresses

[113] 1. In Wassiljef's /Vasil'ev/ translation: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 90-93). It is also said there [197] that the Fiaka, Cheidsin, and Churcha or Chulcha address one another with the word "andá." This, however, is a Tungusic word that also occurs among the Goldi, Olcha, etc. and means "friend"; in Gilyak it is "amalá."

himself quite definitely in this sense in declaring that all the different tribes that live downstream from the Chādshe on both banks of the Amur River and also occupy the northern part of Sakhalin were included under the common name Fjakā (Fyake) (2).

[113] 2. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imperii, Part II, p. 12.

All this permits one to draw the conclusion that the Fiaka of the Manchu-Chinese geographers or reporters are not always the Gilyak by any means; although better informed individuals actually might have referred to the Gilyak by this designation,

G /102 cont./
101 there were others who mixed them up with the neighboring
114 Tungusic tribes, in that wherever their ethnographic knowledge of the lower Amur region stopped, which occurred sometimes sooner, sometimes later, they had the area of the Fiaka, this people of their ultima Thule, begin.

Gi The situation was similar for the Ketscheng and Kileng.
101 I shall later try to show that under the former for the most part
114 the Goldi, at least a part of them and the Olcha were included. It is likewise to be seen from the above statements, however, that this term was occasionally extended, for reasons similar to those in the case of the Fiaka, to other peoples living farther down the Amur and along the seacoast, down to the Gilyak. Finally, concerning the Kileng or Kiler, a proof of the collective notion that was given to this term, and still is, on the part of the Chinese lies in the association of it with the Ketscheng or Chädshe, as is found in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing. The Kiler-chadshi mentioned there include the peoples of the lower Amur region who extend from the Chadshi (Goldi) inclusive down to the Fiaka of the seacoast. The use of the designation Kileng, Kile, or Kil on the part of the Chinese, however, can be shown specifically for almost every one of these peoples. Thus, the Kileng of the Amgunj have already been mentioned above, and, on the basis of their place of residence and description, the Negda are meant by this. When in the report concerned it is said that they also call themselves "Kileng" (3),

3. Klaproth, in the atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, p. 25.

this is correct only insofar as they designate themselves, when dealing with the Chinese, in the way they are named by them, just as the Gilyak do with regard to their designation when confronted by the Russians. The name which they have more or less accepted when dealing with those foreigners who to them are the most important and the most authoritative, they will, of course, readily use in dealing with all the others. When I

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Gi 101 114 inquired among the Goldi about the name of the Samagir or of the people on the Gorin and those on the Kur, they named the one as well as the /103/ other for me repeatedly as the "Kile," evidently because they bore this collective name among the Chinese and then designated themselves with it when dealing with them. The Gilyak also gave me the name "Kil" for the Samagir. Since the Goldi and the Gilyak languages are completely different, the obvious conclusion is that this can only be a foreign name. Finally, I have sometimes heard Chinese merchants traveling along the Amur designate even the northern and more distant Goldi, as a rule the Olcha, and, indeed, even the Gilyak with this or a similar name. One such merchant, for instance, whom I met in Amtscho on the Amur, eagerly asked me whether the "Kilam" or "Kilang" living farther downstream had many sables, and, in order to make himself better understood, he also named this animal in the Kilam language the word sounded like "lombr," and the Gilyak "lumr" can be clearly recognized. The Gilyak were quite similarly called "Ki-li-mi" by the Chinese companions of the missionary Venault when he went down the Amur in order to investigate the death of de la Brunière, who had been killed by them (1).

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G [113]

1. Venault, "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie /Journey into the Interior Parts of Manchuria/" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX,1852 [Vol. II], pp. 216-223.

G Gi 101 114 From all that has been said it is clear that the Chinese include under the collective designation Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam, etc. both the peoples of the left, northern and western tributaries of the lower Amur River, of the Kur, Gorin, and Amgunj, and the dwellers along the lower course of the main river, itself, and, to be sure, especially the Gilyak, whom they know least, but also the Olcha, and sometimes even part of the Goldi; or, in other words, just as in the case of the Fiaka and Chādshen,

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G 61 101 114

they also have the Kile and Kileng begin in the lower Amur region all the sooner or all the farther upstream the less their knowledge of the region and its population. The most distant of these peoples, the Negda and even more the Gilyak, were therefore most frequently and most generally included under this collective name.

As we saw above, the first information about the Kiler people on the mouth of the Amur came from the Chinese via the Daur and the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus to the Russians, among whom this name, provided with a Russian ending, became "Kilorzy." Only a little later, when they themselves took their expeditions down the Amur, they must have, in the lower course of it, repeatedly heard of the Kile or Kileng living downstream, until they reached the last of these peoples and discovered in them a people actually completely different from the Tungusic tribes whom they already knew. For them they now retained the traditional name, only, of course, provided with a Russian ending, as Kiljaki, Kiljaizy, Kiljany, etc., out of which developed, according to the spirit of the language, Giljaki, Giljaizy, Giljany, etc. Thus we come to all the versions of this name which Witsen gave from Russian sources and which are explained in part by the aforementioned various versions of the Chinese name for the Kile people and in part by the arbitrary selection of the Russian ending.

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/104/ It could not have failed to happen, however, that some of the Russian Cossacks who went down the Amur in boats did not become aware of the tribal difference between the adjacent Tungusic peoples and the Gilyak. They, therefore, since they used that designation, like the Chinese, more or less as a collective name, had the Gilyak begin much farther up on the Amur than their true boundary lies. During the later, more precise examination of the statements concerned, we shall see, for example, that, according to some, the region of the Gilyak begins with the Olcha area; according to others, even sooner, shortly below the Ussuri, and therefore in the midst of the Goldi area. And, significantly enough, this is repeated, like an echo of those times, to this day. It has been stressed above how

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vague and incorrect all the modern Russian reports concerning the southern border of the Gilyak on the Amur are, how generally this border is put deep in the Olcha area, even in the Goldi area and in the latter up to the Ussuri (1). The chief reason for this

1. See above, p. 51 and p. 183, note 1.

lies in the fact that even today the designation "Gilyak" is often used by the Russians as a collective name for all the dwellers along the lower Amur River and the adjacent seacoast. For the common man it is almost always customary to call the Olcha, the Goldi, and, as I myself became convinced, even the Orochi of de Castries /De-Kastri/ and Kaiserhafen simply Gilyak. A traveler, therefore, who based his statements on what was said by Russian settlers or Cossacks -- and many have done it -- could give nothing but false information about the territorial boundaries of the Gilyak and the other peoples named above. But even a traveler like Boschnjak /Boshniak/, who clearly and correctly indicated the boundaries between the Gilyak and the Olcha for him, Mangun on the basis of the radical difference between their respective languages, nevertheless in the same article speaks of "Kidsi-Gilyaken," though there are no Gilyak in the narrow and true sense in Kidsi at all (2). The use of this designation

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2. See above, p. 52, note 2.

as a collective name for many peoples of the lower-Amur region often renders the oldest Russian reports useless for an investigation of a possible shift of the habitation sites of the Gilyak and their neighbors, just as is the case, for the same reason, for all the Chinese reports concerning the Kile or Kileng.

While, according to the above discussion, there appears to be no doubt but that the Russian name Gilyak for the people around the mouth of the Amur arose from the Chinese Kile or Kileng, the question remains as to how the origin of this latter

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designation is to be explained. Unfamiliar with any kind of linguistic research, I shall permit myself in this connection only to express a surmise to which I have been led by several facts. It is readily observed that many names of Tungusic peoples, tribes, or kin groups have a final syllable gir. Disregarding the many examples of this kind among the Tungus of Siberia (3), I

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3. Many such names may be found among the Tungus tribes from various regions of Siberia enumerated by Georgi (Bemerk. auf einer Reise im Russ. Reiche im Jahre 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in the Year 1772/, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1775, pp. 244-246).

give /105/ as examples among the Tungus tribes living or roaming in the Amur region the Manegir, Ullagir, Bojagir, Lalegir, Guragir, Samagir, some kin groups of the Negda, such as the Muktegir, Tschuktschagir, Njassekagir, Tschemakogir (1), etc(2).

Gi T [114]

1. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1523) erroneously writes the final syllable "Muktegr, Tschuktschager, Njäsekagr, Tschemakogr."

2. When this final syllable occurs in the name of a non-Tungusic people, such as "Yukagir," then I suspect that the name is of Tungusic origin.

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It is noteworthy that these are all dwellers along the left, northern and western tributaries of the Amur River. I do not know the meaning of this final syllable gir. The Tungus vocabularies at my disposal (3) give no information concerning it.

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, linguistic atlas, Paris, 1823, pp. XLII ff. Castrén's

2: Schrenck--216 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

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3. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tungusic Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/, ed. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1856.

However that may be, gir becomes kil in the Chinese pronunciation, and I have heard the Chinese pronounce the name "Samagir" as "Sama-kil." Likewise the names of the other above-mentioned Tungusic tribes end in kil in Chinese. Consequently it seems to me not unlikely that they made this common ending into a collective name for all these peoples of the northern and lower Amur region, including as well the, in their eyes, not essentially different Gilyak. From Kil and Kileng, however, arose, as was shown above, the Russian designation Kiljaki and Giljaki. And thus there results, if my surmise is correct, the strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tungusic tribes, which arose from the distortion of a Tungusic word by the Chinese, is at present limited to the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tungusic in origin.

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After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the habitation sites of the Amur peoples, and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russians learned of the existence of the Gilyak, they became acquainted with them themselves. During the years 1644 and 1645, on their first expedition into the Amur region, under Wassilij Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Ussuri -- which Pojarkof, by the way, thought was the upper Amur -- did the Djutscheren (Dyuchery) people come an end, who will be discussed later, the Natken (Natki) followed, and after them the Gilyak, who, as the report states, occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. Pojarkof went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them, until he reached the mouth of the Amur, where

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175 stopped on September 29 and at a place on the left bank where there was a large village he erected a fort, Atschanskoi gorod, for a wintering place. From there one could supposedly by a [131] ten days' journey reach the Gilyak, who lived all the way to the sea and around it (2). Chabarof, however, did not visit them.

2. Müller, Samml. loc. cit., pp. 320 ff; Fischer, op. cit., pp. 808 ff.: Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, pp. 364, 368.

but in the next spring, after successfully enduring the siege of his fortress by the Djutscheren and Atschanen, set out again upstream with his expedition. On the way, however, presumably in the region of the mouth of the Sungari, he missed the Cossack Iwan Nagiba who had been sent to look for him and to inform him of the arrival of a fresh supply of men and ammunition on the upper Amur. Nagiba and his small company of 26 Cossacks and volunteers went down the Amur from Banbulajev gorod (above the Dseja /Zeya/) for four weeks; then they heard from a captured Natken that Chabarof was farther 175 downstream among the Gilyak. They retained this man as a 648 guide, but after another journey of three weeks they found themselves so surrounded in the middle of the river by a crowd of Gilyak boats that they could not move forward or backward. For two and a half weeks they remained in this position, anchored in the river, until finally hunger and despair forced them to break through the ranks of the besiegers and make their way to a nearby village, where they confiscated some fish that was hanging out in front to dry. They were able to do this, however, only after a stormy battle in which more than 30 Gilyak died. Three days later they found themselves at the mouth of the Amur (3). Hard pressed by the Gilyak there as

• [114] 3. Acc. to Müller, op. cit., pp. 328 ff. Here Müller gives June 26 as the date of Nagiba's arrival at the mouth of the Amur.

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3. (cont.)

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and at another place (Büsching's Magaz., Part 2, p. 508, July 2 (three days after the Day of Peter and Paul), which however cannot be correct if the trip, as is said previously, started on May 4 and -- putting together the above-mentioned periods of time -- lasted ten weeks. In Fischer (op. cit., p. 817) it is said instead toward the end of July, which, however, would be somewhat too late according to that reckoning. In the detailed and rather drastic account by the Cossack Iwan Uwarof, a participant in the expedition (see Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 354 ff.) almost all these dates are lacking, except the date of departure (May 4) and the statement that after traveling for ten days they already found themselves amidst many Djutscheren and Natken, who thereafter kept attacking them and gave them no peace; the siege by Gilyak vessels on the Amur is said to have lasted only two weeks.

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175 [648] well and unable /107/ to make the return trip upstream, they built themselves a larger vessel and began the sea journey along the coast to the north. On the thirteenth day after their departure (1), however, the vessel was crushed by drifting ice (2).

1. According to Uwarof's report (op. cit., p. 355), on the tenth day.

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2. Müller (op. cit., p. 330) considers drifting ice in the Sea of Okhotsk as inconceivable at that time of the year. On the other hand, thanks to the experiences of Middendorff, Starizkij, and

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2. (cont.)
others, we know that it is a characteristic feature of that northwestern corner of the Sea of Okhotsk. See the present work, Vol. II, p. 758, and my "Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Ser. VII, Vol. XXI, No. 3), p. 10.

175 during which they lost their entire supply of food and ammunition and only after much hardship barely escaped with their lives. They continued on foot for five days along the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seatang, seals, and whatever else the ocean washed up (3). Then they built a new vessel, with which

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3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 818) also mentions walruses, as does Uwarof's account, but it is well known that there are none in the Sea of Okhotsk; this is probably a reference to whales, which abound in this sea.

in 14 days, by rowing they reached the Utschalda River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland and after 14 days, or, according to other information, after four weeks, came to the Tugur River, on which they found a large Tungus population with abundant food. The following spring, 1653, Nagiba went down the Tugur to its mouth and from there, with five men, started the return trip to Yakutsk along the sea and then across the mountains, while he sent back the other men under Iwan Uwarof in order to build among the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jassaschnoje Simowjo," that is, a winter hut for collecting tribute (4).

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4. Curiously Uwarof says in his account that he sent Nagiba with five men, whose names he gives, to Yakutsk, while elsewhere he constantly refers to Nagiba as the leader of the expedition.

175 648 The next and last contact of the Russians with the Gilyak which we know about from this period of the first Russian military expeditions into the Amur region took place under Chabarof's successor, the Cossack Onufrij Stepanof. The latter had already spent the winter of 1653/54 in Djutscheren territory, "in the neighborhood of the Gilyak" (5). In the fall of 1655, with the

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5. Müller, Samml., loc. cit., p. 343. In Stepanof's report to the Yakutsk voivode, Michail Lodyshenskij (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 524), it is said "v" Dyucherskoi zemlie, ne doplyv" Gilyatskie zemli, that is, in the country of the Djutscheren, above the Gilyak country.

"Ssyn bojarskoi" Fedor Puschtschin who had been sent from Yakutsk in the meantime, he again went into the lower Amur region, and this time beyond the Djutscheren to the Gilyak bordering them (6). Shortly before, the latter had killed a

6. Müller, op. cit., pp. 354, 355; Fischer, op. cit., p. 849.

company of 30 Yakutsk Cossacks, who had reached them by land from Okhotsk, and were now punished for it by Stepanof. Moreover, he built an ostrog /fort/ among them, to which, because of its position on a mountain slope, he gave the name Kossogorskoi (7). He spent the winter in it, took from the Gilyak

7. In Stepanof's report the ostrog is called

/107 cont./

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7. (cont.)
"Kossogirskoi"; see Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1851, p. 82.

a handsome /108/ tribute in furs, and in the spring of 1656 again went up the Amur. Two years later part of his company who did not want to submit to the delegate of the new commander, Paschkof, and had fled, returned to the lower Amur, wintered at its mouth (1658/59), and went back upstream again with the rich tribute collected from the Gilyak (1). There are

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 367; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. IV, p. 176.

no other reports concerning the Gilyak during this visit of the Russians among them.

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So run the oldest Russian reports concerning the Gilyak and their closest neighbors. What may be drawn from them with regard to the mutual boundaries of these peoples at that time? Nagiba's expedition acquainted us with the Gilyak along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk westward at least as far as the Utschalda River, and, to be sure, in the company of the Tungus, who apparently at that time occasionally roamed to the sea to hunt and fish, as is still done today (2). To be sure, the

2. See above, p. 25.

location of the Utschalda River has not yet been ascertained (3),

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3. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 178. It is incomprehensible how Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russischen Reiches, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 749) could identify the Utschalda with the Udj. In doing this he confused the very simple and clear account from the expedition of the shipwrecked, and

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3. (cont.)
was forced to a second and likewise unacceptable assumption, namely, that their "Tugur" referred to the Utschur, a tributary of the Aldan. But then how did they reach the ocean, going down it in boats? And how incorrect this hypothesis is ethnographically: the Gilyak would have lived along the Udj!

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but there is scarcely any doubt that it is to be sought in the east and perhaps not far from the great bays -- Ulban and Ussalgin -- which cut deep into the land and which probably caused Nagiba and his companions to give up any further travel along the coast, about whose nature they had heard from the Gilyak and the Tungus, and instead to wait for the winter, in order to go inland along the Tugur, probably in the company of and guided by the Tungus. Neither Nagiba nor Uwarof mention the Gilyak along this river, but only numerous Tungus, although, as their reports show, they could perfectly well distinguish these peoples from each other. Hence it seems that at that time the Gilyak had not yet spread to the Tugur River. This is confirmed by the fact that in the account of the first trip of the Russians to the Shantar Islands, on which they spent the whole summer of 1712 and the winter until May of the following year at the mouth of the Tugur, the Gilyak are not mentioned at all (4), whereas

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4. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 98.

during the later trips by the Russians along the coast farther to the east conflicts with the Gilyak did take place. There is further confirmation in the fact that in 1737, on the basis of reports collected in Yakutsk, Müller wrote that along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk the Tungus did not extend much beyond

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purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak

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2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

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3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

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4. In Gilyak "island" is póllo-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Lushin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandarskij."

175 when The Russians
131 under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar
648 Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

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5. (cont.)
p. 98), it was probably Large Shantar Island /Bolshoi/.

they could not understand -- presumably a /110/ Gilyak woman, who, however, disappeared, and there is no information given about her anywhere later (1). It cannot be determined whether in

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 99.

fact this woman had been left behind on the island by her countrymen or whether, as Middendorff thinks (2), was abducted

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 103.

by the Cossacks themselves on the mainland and was brought to the island. Subsequent expeditions to the Shantars confirmed that they had no permanent inhabitants. On the second trip, in 1718, under the Ssyn bojarskoi Filkejef, who, however, did not go there himself (3), the winter was spent on

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3. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 107), who spoke to Filkejef himself in Yakutsk, says expressly that because of differences with his men he had himself put ashore with two Cossacks at the mouth of the Tugur. Accordingly, therefore, the statements by Ssokolof ("Opis' Udskago ber. i Shantarsk. ostr. poruch. Kozmina /A Description of the Uda Bank and of the Shantar Islands, Commissioned by Kozmin/. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV. St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 3, note 4) and by Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 99, note 1), who have Filkejef himself reach the Shantars, are to be corrected.

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175 [13] Large Shantar Island, which proved to be uninhabited. Through carelessness in making fire, it is said, the forests on the island caught fire and as a result the sable disappeared there. On the 175 648 return trip the following summer the Cossacks wanted to do some fishing along the coast of the mainland between the Tugur and the Amur, but most of them were killed by the Gilyak (4).

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4. Presumably there is a connection between this event and the story that Ssokolof relates, apparently copied verbatim from a logbook, in Morskoi Sbornik (1855, No. 6, Miscellany, p. 107 -- it is the entry hinted at by Middendorff, op. cit., p. 99, note 2, which he was unable to find again as the result of an incorrect citation). Seaman Petrof, who had participated in Iwan Schestakof's expedition to the Shantars in 1730, related that they had found on Large Shantar Island and had taken aboard three Russian men, who gave the following information about themselves: they had spent about 20 years on the island; when they had come to the land of the Gilyak to fish, the latter had overcome them and killed 17 of them; only three of them escaped the Gilyak and got away to Large Shantar Island where they had lived ever since. One can see that the account is quite similar to the one mentioned above, though, if it is the same event, the twenty-year stay on the island does not fit, since it could only be twelve. But this number is given only roughly and, in view of the style of the narrative, which clearly shows a gap, could just as well refer

/110 cont./ 4. (cont.)

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to the number of Russians originally present on the island, in which case the number of years of the stay would have been omitted, for the Russian original reads: zhit'ya ikh" bylo na tom" ostrovie liet" s" 20, kotorye khodilp v" tu zemlyu dlya rybnoi lovli..., etc. This information is also interesting because to a certain extent it is confirmation that in 1730 (not 1729 as is said in Middendorff and others), Schestakof had actually been on the Shantars, about which Middendorff, on the basis of the short and insufficient reports in Müller (op. cit., pp. 130 ff.), expresses doubt. According to him, the islands seen by Schestakof on the trips back and forth between Kamchatka and Udskoi Ostrog were not necessarily the Shantar Islands at all, since he navigated around the southern point of that peninsula and arrived at its east coast. The latter assertion, however, seems to me wholly unfounded, since Schestakof's trips, according to data from his own reports presented by Müller, took place only in the Sea of Okhotsk between the west coast of Kamchatka, Udskoi Ostrog, and Okhotsk. Müller himself never expresses doubt or uncertainty about the fact that Schestakof had visited the Shantar Islands, but only regrets being unable to give more detailed information about this trip because of the absence of the logbook.

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It is noteworthy that all the accounts concerning the temporary visits of the Gilyak to the Shantar Islands are inadequate and

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175 dubious. So far as is known, the Gilyak were never met there
131 directly during any of the numerous visits to these islands.
484 The pertinent accounts therefore only rest on the above-mentioned statements by the neighboring Tungus /111/ and on alleged traces that the temporary stay of the Gilyak on many of these
175 islands has left behind. According to Krascheninnikof
103 /Krasheninnikov/ (1), the island of Chudoi (i.e., bad) Shantar

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1. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. Sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rissi, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 135).

is said to have received its name because it had no forest at all, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly it had been quite densely wooded and rich in sable, but the Gilyak once forgot to extinguish the fire before leaving the island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Krascheninnikof,

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2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the name "Chudoi Schantar," which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Krascheninnikof's statements, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted but that Small Schantar Island (Malyi Shantar") is meant by it; just as it is also by the name "Ssuchoi (dry) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Karte von der Lage von Kamtschatka" /Map of the Location of Kamchatka/ in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Hudé Schantar" west of the island of Bjelitschij, just as Krascheninnikof, too, gives it, but this

175 /111 cont./
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2. (cont.)
does not mean much, since the Shantar Islands lie there all in a row approximately from west to east.

175 Kraschenninikof
114 however, must have obtained this information from traditions
[103] and stories, since he himself was never on the Shantar Islands, or even near them. Moreover, it is very reminiscent of the above-mentioned story about the burning of the forest on Large Shantar Island, which does not exactly serve to increase its credibility. Kosmin's statement in the northeastern part of
[361] Large Shantar Island not far from Lake Boljschoje he had seen dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were said to have formerly lived (3) seems more important. But we encounter uncertainty

3. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV, p. 46.

even with respect to this report, in that the traditions that Middendorff discovered in Udskoi Ostrog expressly attributed
[484] these yurts to Russian fur trappers (4). In spite of these few and

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1. Middendorff adds that this seems much more probable to him.

uncertain reports, I do not doubt but that the Gilyak visited the Shantar Islands in former times. Full credence should be given to the above-mentioned report to this effect by the Tungus, which came with the very first report concerning these
175 islands. Whereas the Tungus along the Sea of Okhotsk are
131 primarily hunters and come to the sea only temporarily to fish,
484 the Gilyak stay there continually and are therefore much better seafarers than the former, as Müller has already correctly surmised (5). Hence it seems entirely plausible that from time

5. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

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Pojarkof with the designation Natki referred to the same people as Chabarof later did with the name Atschany. Fischer's conjectures in explanation of these different names, however, are altogether wrong (5). The difference is explained very simply

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5. Fischer thought that perhaps these people, called Atschani in their own language, were named Natki by the Djutscheren, or that the one might be the name of the entire people, the other that of a particular family, or finally, that the Natken and Gilyak were one and the same people. The last seemed to him the most probable because in the later accounts, in Stepanof's report, the Natken were no longer mentioned at all, and the Djutscheren were named as neighbors of the Gilyak. In this case, however, the Atschanen would likewise have to be eliminated, being identified with the Gilyak. Both are entirely inadmissible. Later on we shall find another explanation for Stepanof's statement.

/113/ if by "Natken" and "Atschanen," not one people, but rather, according to our distinction, two peoples, the Goldi and the Olcha -- as often happened later on -- are understood, with Pojarkof borrowing the name of the former for the allegedly one people, and Chabarof the latter.

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I believe that one can conclude that the name Natken actually refers to the Goldi for the following reasons. Mention of a people of this name is made in the oldest account that the Russians received from the Amur (1). Namely, when Tomsk

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295.

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101 syllable in order to recognize in this designation the name Olcha
114 only slightly changed. And this is the name that this people gives
175 itself. I shall come back to this later. Chabarof also named the fort which he erected for winter quarters Atschanskoi gorod after this people. It cannot be learned from his report where it was located. I believe that one may assume, however, that it was already in Olcha territory since it was the last place he reached along the Amur and since he must have learned the name given for the Olcha people, appearing before us here for the first time, from them themselves. Or else it may have been that Olcha staying in Goldi territory were accidentally involved in the learning of the name, which, however, is less probable. Chabarof must therefore have proceeded quite far below the Ussuri on the Amur. In view of the relatively short duration of his voyage from the mouth of the Sungari (3), how-

3. The duration of this voyage cannot be determined very precisely; from what can be learned from Chabarof's account, however, he seems to have been at the mouth of the Sungari on about September 15 and to have gone downstream from there for 14 days, for he reached the place where he set up his winter quarters on September 29.

ever, that would have been possible only if he followed the main stream and not the right bank with its many bays. And this appears to have been the case in fact, for otherwise he would surely not have overlooked the mouth of the Ussuri.

G. Although we learn about the present neighbors of the /116/
G1 Gilyak on the Amur through Pojarkof and Chabarof, nothing
101 can be learned from their reports about where the boundaries
● 114 between these peoples were at that time because the statements
175 of the distances in terms of days of travel, without any designation or mention of recognizable localities, are too vague and

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do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Kossogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Ssutschu located in the Amur near Kidsi. He found there the remains of a low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the

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1. D. Romanov", "Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 126, note 4). Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Kossogorskoi, but Kossogirskoi Ostrog (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Djutscheren bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as is still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessors, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

2: Schrenck--242 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natken, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

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The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasskij and in Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

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The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different parties, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visted the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

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1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinso ("Tô-tats ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

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1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the l sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

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coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

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2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

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name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

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175 131 than that the neighbors adjacent to the Gilyak on the south were the same 200 years ago as they are today. The only thing known with absolute certainty is that the boundary situation which I found there in the fifties was exactly the same as it was half a century earlier.

175 131 If we now go back to the island of Sakhalin, we are faced there with an even greater scarcity of useful older reports. In the above-mentioned reports from the earliest expeditions that the Russians conducted to the mouth of the Amur and beyond, no special attention is given to it, though in one of them it is generally noted that the Gilyak also occupy the nearby islands in the ocean (1) which however, could just as well refer to the

1. In Pojarkof's report (see Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 302).

Shantar Islands (2). Not until the above-mentioned "Tale from

[114] 2. Fischer, in this connection, actually confused Sakhalin with the Shantars (see his Sibir. Gesch., Part II, p. 788, and the map, "Sibiriae veteris," Pl. II).

the Great Amur River," likewise from the seventeenth century, and to a certain extent also in Witsen, is it said more precisely that opposite the mouth of the Amur there is a large island on which numerous "Gilyak peoples" live (3). Elsewhere Witsen

[113] 3. Spasskii, "Svied. Russk. o r. Amurie v" XVII stol. /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20). Witsen, Noord en Oost

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3. (cont.)
Tart., ed. of 1698, Pt. 2, p. 32; ed. of 1705, p. 87. Cf. also Müller, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Pt. 2, 2nd ed., p. 506.

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175 Elsewhere Witsen
131 remarks that this island was called "Giliat" (4). What is said
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4. Op. cit., ed. of 1705, p. 96.

otherwise about the places on this island that are mentioned, even though based on facts and the truth, nevertheless has the character of accounts based upon hearsay, as, for instance, the statement about the high reed thicket that makes its coast
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175 inaccessible, and the like. And as a matter of fact, we do
177 not have any reliable reports on Sakhalin and its people in that period, not even brief ones like those on the Amur region, because this island had no contact with the Russians at all in the seventeenth century. Later on, in the eighteenth century, when the Russians undertook voyages to the Shantars, Sakhalin, as was mentioned above (5), was repeatedly visited by Russian

5. See above, p. 171.

deserters, shipwrecked persons, etc., but no reports about it have come down to us.

M The oldest Chinese reports about Sakhalin provide just as
G slight a foothold. When the Jesuits Regis, Jartoux, and Fridelli
175 drew up the map of the lower Amur River, the natives told them
177 that opposite the mouth of the Amur /121/ there was an island which was inhabited by a people similar to them. Consequently, Emperor Kang-hi soon afterwards sent several Manchu to explore the island, and they crossed over to it in the boats of the natives, but, according to the testimony of the Jesuits, their task was

2: Schrenck--252 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Manchu AG4
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to the southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remained uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the names

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1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, each according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian anga hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known the present name arose. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian anga chada" mean only "rocks (not island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the banks of the river at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks emerging from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin, see below.

of the peoples inhabiting the island.

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We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first detailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mamia Rinsô (1808-1810). In 1613-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Yesso/

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6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

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7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuã, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

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G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

G
[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

A
174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
648 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
131 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
103 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
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Gi 101 175 [113]

/136 cont./

6. (cont.)
(Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr. Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399; the same, "Ussuriiskie Man'tszy /The Ussurie Man-dse/" (Izviestiia Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 93, 123).

repeatedly designated for me by the Goldi on the Ussuri with the immediately recognizable name "Kăkar," but once also only quite generally and vaguely as "Lámuka" (sea dwellers). It is noteworthy that the former name is also customary among the Gilyak for the Orochi. During his stay among the Sakhalin Gilyak, Mamia Rinsô learned of a "Kiakkara" people, who were said to live on the mainland opposite (7), and later in

Gi 101 175

7. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

Taba Bay, when he himself visited the mainland, he saw their vessels, which came from afar, he thought from the vicinity of Kôraĭ (Korea) (8). Among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk,

Gi [114]

8. Op. cit., p. 171. Prompted by a fortuitous similarity of sound, Siebold attempts a far-fetched interpretation of this name by saying that "Kiak kara" reminds one of the Mountain Kirgiz, called Kara, that is, the Blacks (op. cit., p. 199).

Middendorff heard of a "Kjăchkal" people who were said to live along the Amur and beyond it (9). A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the

Gi [113]

9. Travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618.

SS. Gi 103 /146 cont./

3. (cont.)
claims to have heard at times.

SS. [105] On the other hand, it is perfectly conceivable that the Russian Cossacks made "Amur" out of Mamur (4). Thus, this name owes its origin to the Tungusic

4. Just as they later, for example, made Ussura, Uschura, Schura, and the like out of "Ussuri."

SS. Gi [114] peoples of the lower Amur region. I do not know the etymology of their above-mentioned designation for the Amur River. In any case, however, according to the above, it is quite inadmissible to look to it for the word "amur" or to regard the latter as of Gilyak origin, as Fischer and, following him, Ritter and others G 103 have done (5). The Gilyak have nothing to do with those

SS Gi G 103 114

5. Fischer (Sibirische Gesch., Part 1, p. 433; Part 2, p. 793) maintained that the Russians first heard the name "Amur" from the Tungus along the Udj and later from the Natken and Gilyak, among whom any large river is called "amar." Ritter (Erdk. von Asien, Vol. II, p. 298), evidently repeating this, says that "amur" or "yamur" means "large water" among the peoples named as well as among the Tungusic inhabitants along the shores of the eastern sea. This is not correct for either the Tungusic Amur peoples or for the Gilyak. In the language of the latter, "large water" would be "pilja tschach," and "large river," "pilja erri," the latter of which they actually use for the Amur occasionally.

G 103 designations for the Amur River; they call it, as we have already seen, quite differently -- "La" or "La-erri."

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H.M /189 cont./ However
101 that may be, the name Nikan /190/ for the Chinese has, with
175 minor variations, penetrated to all the other Amur peoples
648 from the Manchu. I heard it in the lower Amur region among
G. the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak. To be sure, they ordinarily
G1 also call the Chinese merchants simply Manchu, but with more
[101] precise questioning they know very well how to indicate that the former actually belong to another people subjugated by the latter, which the Goldi and the Olcha named for me as the "Nekan," the Gilyak sometimes "Neka" and "Nekagu" (1), at

1. Corresponding in form to the Gilyak names for the Negda, "Rdhy" and "Rdhyngu" (see p. 67 ff. above). Could it be that the suffix "gu" designates the collective idea, or means "people," like the Ainu "kur" or "gur"?

other times "Nenga" (2). Since the Manchu officials are

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2. As a curiosity and example of how fundamentally wrong and thoughtless the statements of hasty travelers may be at times when it is a matter of the name that a people gives itself, the remark by Gamof will serve ("Iz" putev. zamiet. astronoma, opredieliavsh. v" 1859g. miestn. rr. Amura i Usuri /From the Travel Notes of an Astronomer Who Determined the Location of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers/." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1862, Book I, Section on Research and Materials, p. 122), maintaining in all seriousness that the Goldi and Gilyak designated themselves with the name "Nikanzen." Peschtschurof /Peshchurov/ (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 304) speaks of "Nekanen" in what we called the civilized section of the Amur River without, it seems, realizing that there were Chinese.

H.M.
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SS 162 G 174 161 361 /317 cont./ A more numerous Gilyak population on the island in former times is indicated, among other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village, the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and both are highly insignificant today (3).

G SS [113]

3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beftr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 233), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, which has three of them, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out devastatingly in the fifties, this has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the winter of 1857/58, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

G [114] [731]

SS 162 [132] Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harsher climate is understandably much more deserted.

SS 161 114 /318/ I must content myself with these general remarks concerning the more or less large population of the various parts of the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find statements concerning the total number of individuals for particular SS [175] Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

SS /319 cont./

161 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging
114 the number of the population, because the villages are extremely
36 variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

G 161 114

3. Although all the later statements concerning the number of persons of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of the Russian occupation and colonization of it, must have undergone great changes, lie outside the scope of this work, I should like to mention one of these statements here in passing, because it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my considerations. I am referring to the estimate of their number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr. N. Seeland in his article, "Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed. by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs) for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin questioned traveling fur traders, he came to the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this total number, given according to the individual districts, explain its exceedingly large size, but at the same time make it absolutely untenable. For the number of the Gilyak of the Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000, the Gilyak in the Sofisk District (from Mariinsk to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. According to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

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3. (cont.)
not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaiserhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

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161 count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an
114 approximate estimate of their strength might be found is the num-
361 ber of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with cer-
tainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of
SS this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings
[121] are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

G A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satis-
36 faction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost
[226] exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle
[225] along the largest bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the seacoast, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/320 cont./

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1. (cont.)
Amur was covered with ice. In the spring of 1855, I found the Gilyak in the village of Ssabach, the first above Nikolayevsk, already in their summer dwellings located beside the winter houses on May 16 (28); in the villages farther upstream, however, up to Tacht, they had not yet moved into them at that time.

361 Sometimes the Gilyak living together in one village
342 in winter separate to go to different places for the summer, only
• 114 to come together again in the fall. If the winter and summer houses are located beside one another, as, for instance, in Wair (or Wait, as the Russians call it), the village seems much larger and more populous than it actually is. More than half of all the houses are then the summer houses, much smaller in comparison with the ordinary, large winter-houses, and some of the larger storehouses, /321/ similar to the former in construction, could easily be taken for living quarters. This explains the excessively large number of houses that is given by some travelers for individual Gilyak villages (1). On the other hand, if the

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1. Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/, St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 162) counted 27 houses in one Gilyak (according to him, "tatarischen") village, which was located on the northern end of Sakhalin between the capes Elisabeth and Maria. For another village, on Nadeshda Bay, he gives 16 to 18 houses, but the description of it clearly permits one to recognize summer and winter dwellings the latter of which, moreover, stood empty (op. cit., pp. 178, 182, 183). Orlof, on the occasion of his first trip to the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk (in July, 1849), gave the number of houses in the village of Kulj as 46 (cf. Tikhmenev", Istor. Obozr. obraz. Ross.-

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1. (cont.)
Amerik. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 64), many of which were certainly only storehouses.

summer and winter houses lie apart as two separate villages, the number of individual villages appears larger to the uninitiated traveler and in another way he again gets the impression of a larger population for the region than it actually has. Later on I shall return to the number of houses in the individual villages of the Gilyak, after we have first come to know in greater detail the construction and nature of their summer and winter dwellings.

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It is chiefly climatic reasons that make it necessary for the Gilyak to build separate dwellings for winter and for summer. In winter it is important to be protected against the exceedingly severe cold, often accompanied by violent storms and snowfalls; in summer, on the other hand, to counteract the excessive humidity which is caused by the maritime location and the constant oceanic winds, fogs, and rains. The former requires rooms that are as tight as possible and enclosed by windproof walls, while the latter, on the contrary, can be achieved only by more open dwellings with a constant circulation of air. To combine both adequately in one structure seems to be beyond the strength and means of a primitive people. Let us now see how the Gilyak meet the challenge.

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The winter houses of the Gilyak are of two types: a simpler one, peculiar and primitive -- the earth yurt, and a more complicated one copied from the Chinese design, which deserves the name of house rather than yurt (2), and which I shall call simply winter

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2. The Russians originally designated the tent-like dwellings of the Siberian natives with this word (Russ.: yurta) of Finnish-Tataric origin (cf. Ahlqvist, Die Culturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen /The Cultivated Words of the West

/329 cont./

342 some time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The
[352] draft and cold along the floor are all the more noticeable here since the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm.
[516] The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually sit on the plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I be-
342 came convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
122 these can become, when in January, 1856, I attended the bear
136 festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numer-
[114] ous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank beds rose so much that some stearin candles on hand in my leather suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heatable sleeping benches, incidentally also have the great disadvantage that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of vermin. Under them, in inaccessible,hidden spots, along the pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their nests and emerge at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see them come out from their hiding places and go about their business not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the interior beams of the house; when I once, in order to escape other vermin, had a hammock put up there, the Gilyak warned me that the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection is even more annoying: the warm benches are alive with fleas, which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, on the surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /330/ the principal reason why the Gilyak leave their winter houses when spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings lies in this swarm of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

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342 184 The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese winter-yurts. The east coast of the island and the Tymy Valley had only the earth yurt (1). On the west coast of Sakhalin,

[113] 1. Mizul's /Mitsul'/ statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khoz. otnosh. /Agricultural Outline of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134).

as far as it borders on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, i.e., from Pilja-wo, the southernmost point of the Gilyak, to Poghobi, there were also only earth yurts (2). But from there northward,

[113] [114] 2. In 1861, Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Ins. Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. d. Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 234) found in Poghobi a "large Manchurian" yurt (or two?), which, however, did not exist in my time, as I can definitely assert since in 1855 and 1856 I was at this place no less than four times.

along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages consisting sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of winter dwellings occurred beside each other. I myself have not been in this part of Sakhalin, but have collected detailed information on the villages in it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak residing there, who visited me at the Nikolayev post in the company of Tschcharbach-Gilyak friends of mine (3). A few years later

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3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and Tanskin from the village of Nganj-wo on the Liman.

A few years later
114 (1861) Glehn traveled through a section of this coast and made
342 a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature
184 of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they
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4. Op. cit., pp. 232 ff.

essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's.
342 This depopulation which took place after my time is fully
36 explained by the above-mentioned severe smallpox epidemic
184 which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter
114 of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely,
16 and in the case of many small settlements which numbered no
731 more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /331/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could report only on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the preceding and following observations I always view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself Collected.

/331 cont./

000 collected. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three vil-
342 lages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the
361 north of Poghobi. In Dshongi, coming from the south, one en-
103 countered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was
184 in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the north of Talvant-tigr-wo, which contained one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulksj (1),

1. In Glehn it is called Jordĕnt-tigr-wo.

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tamla-wo, in my time notorious for its predatory population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

[192] 2. Glehn found only nine. The great number of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for tamla, tamlatsch, or tamlantsch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

tschadryf villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, is
•[114] Pomyr-wo or Pomyt-wo on the Sea of Okhotsk. Glehn did not go northward beyond this village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small toryf village, Muisib-wo (in Glehn, Musjv), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more tschadryf villages, Tumi-wo and Ngywr-wo (in Glehn, Ngyd), the latter of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (the Mif-ych, as the Gilyak designated it to me). According to its location on the small bay which
114 Krusenstern called Nadeshda Bay, Ngywr-wo must be the same
361 village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed
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114 361 342 description one learns that the Gilyak ("Tataren") at the time -- it was August 15/27 -- lived in their summer yurts. Somewhat apart, however, lay other, apparently better built houses, provided with fireplaces and chimneys, which, however, stood empty at the time (3) -- evidently the above-described winter

3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 178, 182.

houses of the Gilyak. Here, therefore, is other proof of the presence of tschadryf villages in this part of Sakhalin, too (4).

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4. In order to supplement and verify my above data and at the same time to make it possible to compare them more precisely with Glehn's, I am adding here the whole list of the villages explored by me north of Poghobi on Sakhalin, with a statement of the number and nature of their yurts. To be sure, we did not always hear the names of the villages exactly the same, but it is not difficult to recognize them. I am also [731] adding in parentheses the number of yurts given by Glehn, for from this one can judge the extent of the depopulation caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1857-1858, especially for the part of the coast extending south of Pomyr-wo, where Glehn himself visited most of the points and counted their yurts. The following villages lie north of Poghobi:

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Wismeryf . . .	with	1	earth yurt
Warsj	"	1 (1)	"
Ngyith	"	1 (4)	"
Dshongi	"	1	Chinese yurt
Loktschi	"	1 (1)	earth yurt
Jügdama	"	1 (1)	"
Pyrki	"	1 (1)	"

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4. (cont.)

Tscheghngi	with	1 (1)	earth yurt
Talvant-tigr-wo . .	"	1 (1)	" and 1 Chinese yurt
Tulksj	"	2 (3)	Chinese yurts
Langri (summer village of Tulksj)			
Matscho-wo	"	2	"
Mangal-wo	"	1 (1)	"
Nganj-wo	"	4 (3)	"
Tylent-tigr-wo . .	"	1 (2?)	"
Matent-tigr-wo . .	"	3 (2)	"
Tamla-wo	"	over 12 (9)	"
Lyrkr-wo	"	4	"
Wissk-wo	"	5 (5)	"
Ngyl-wo	"	1 (1)	"
Pomyr-wo	"	3 (3)	"
Muisib-wo	"	1 (2)	earth yurt
Pilja-wo	"	1 (1)	" and 1 Chinese yurt
Tumi-wo	"	2 Chinese yurts	(1 earth y.)
Ngywr-wo	"	5 "	" (3 earth y.)

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/332/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-yurt predominates to a much greater extent than the earth yurt on Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left, which presumably has since disappeared: it was the small earth yurt of Pättach, directly on the Liman just north of the mouth of the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856; it was located at some distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and was constructed exactly like the smaller earth-yurts on Sakhalin. It can be maintained with some certainty that it was in fact the only one of its kind on the mainland. Elsewhere along the Liman, on the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman to Kulj, the largest village on that coast, numbering 10 (?) winter yurts,

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A 175 345 /351 cont./
in more ancient times (1).

1. Weniaminof, op. cit., p. 201.

G 342 171 After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth G 342 179 [854] yurt, the toryf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tschadryf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have there- G [114] fore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

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2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mizul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

G [113]

3. "Histor. Ber.," etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ocherk" o. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (5), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

/353 cont./

K 342 175 177 Shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Ssarytschof reported /354/ from his journey through the country that there were no longer any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style houses (log houses, so-called isba) had been built everywhere; only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal, which are likewise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by

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1. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

Mamia Rinsô on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that the same thing had happened among the Gilyak on the Amur. Coming from the territory of the S'janta (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Horo (Chjare), he noticed that from there on people, dwellings, implements, and way of life changed and became exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts as on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Krusenstern had found Chinese winter-yurts among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. If, in addition, one considers the fact that Mamia Rinsô was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur region were too different to have produced an equally rapid disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled

K 342 177 G [342] [177] K [648]

/356 cont./

342 one might call a narrow balcony (1). On the accompanying plan

1. Krusenstern (op. cit.) calls it a gallery.

of a Gilyak summer-house it is the space a bounded with a dotted line toward the front. The entrance to it (b) is precisely in the middle of the front side of the house, or, as in the illustration on

[353] Plate XIII, somewhat to the side. Through this, however, one

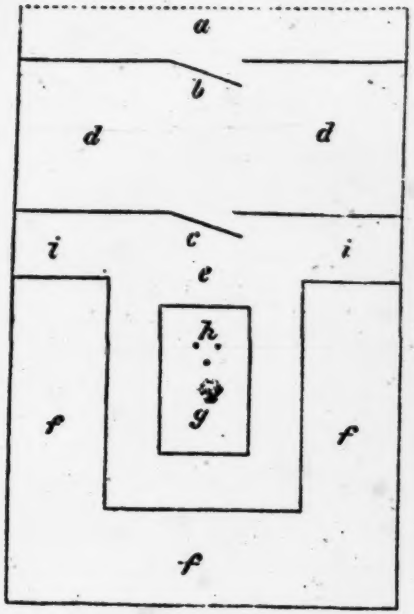

a -- Sill or narrow balcony along the front side of the yurt. b, c -- Doors. d -- Anteroom for the storage of implements and supplies. e -- Actual living room. f -- Sleeping benches. g -- Hearth. h -- Stone triangle for the big kettle. i -- Corners for odds and ends.

Plan of a Gilyak Summer-Yurt (käryf).

first enters a good-sized front space (d), which is used for the storage of various implements, as well as for storing supplies of fish and the like, and only behind it is the living room proper (e) found (2). This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,

[114]

2. Krusenstern found this room locked and though that it was the room for the women, which fitted in with his general conception of a northern Sakhalin population consisting of "Tatars," which, however, does not at all correspond with reality.

/361 cont./

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1. (cont.)
which projects farthest to the north, and the mouth of the Amur (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersburg, 1855, p. 618).

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For the sake of clarity and because many of the individual villages of the Gilyak will be mentioned repeatedly in the course of this work, I give the following tabular list of all the Gilyak villages, in part from me, and mostly from personal experience, and in part from Glehn's statements, and the number of their winter dwellings.

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/The following chart, which runs across pp. 362-363 in the original text, is given on four pages in the translation, the first page bearing the four columns pertaining to the mainland, the second page bearing the four columns pertaining to Sakhalin, and the next two pages containing the final column of notes./

G 361 /363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschilwi with six yurts.

G 361 162 4) This Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidsi which among its six houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

G 361 5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pättach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Middendorff among the Gilyak on Ulban Bay and made available to me.

G [114] 7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with his statements on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be excused if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some decrease in the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data ascertained by me personally are considered in this list.

G [161] [128]

G [162] [128] 8) Since this village and Pilja-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Ainu, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

G [114] 10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

/363 cont./

361 Elisabeth and Maria, and believes that it is the same village that
114 Krusenstern saw on "North Bay." Since the latter, however, was a very large village ("with 27 houses," among which some were certainly only storehouses), larger than the one later visited by him on Nadeshda Bay (Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 162 and 184), and this village, Ngywr-wo, still had five Chinese yurts in my time, it is inconceivable that only a few years later the village on North Bay should have been reduced to one small earth yurt, as Glehn thinks (op. cit., p. 232, note 1).

361 11) Presumably this is the same village that Glehn lists under the name of Takr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on the other side), in contrast to the above village of the latter name, which he calls Tukr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on this side). I must therefore apply the number of yurts given by Glehn for Takr-Nyi to this village of Tagri and the neighboring village to the north, Milk-wo, the first villages located to the south, or, proceeding from the north, on the other side of the Tymy mouth.

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Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use

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1. During my stay in the Amur region, among such decorations several little brass crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" and a bronze medallion bearing the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wair or one of the nearby villages. In all probability these pieces came from the French missionary, de la Brunière, who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in Wair, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak. His colleague Venault, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], p. 218). To supplement the reports collected by Venault concerning the killing of de la Brunière, it should be noted here in passing that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wair and Ssabach, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wair was named for me as one of the murderers. He evaded or declined to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (uftsch) to destroy a piece of paper with

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1. (cont.)
characters on it -- no matter whether written or printed -- I hoped that perhaps through him I would succeed in obtaining possible diaries or other written notes of de la Brunière. But despite the high monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak for them, only a few scraps of one of D'Anville's maps of China were brought to me by them after the lapse of some time, when I had already again returned to the Nikolayev post.

281 To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use
291 the most common species of salmon in the waters of the Amur
[136] region, Salmo lagocephalus (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, on Sakhalin laghi-tscho). For this purpose the skins stripped from them have the scales removed, which is done by pounding the soaked skins in a wooden vessel; then, by scraping, they are cleaned of the adhering muscle and fatty parts, flattened and smoothed, and the individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality is obtained, depending on how carefully these operations are performed. On the robes intended for everyday use or for protection against rain, which are of a yellowish-gray color and usually without any ornaments, the places where the scales were attached to the individual skins can be clearly recognized (Pl. XVIII).[1] The more elegant robes, on the other hand, look as though they
281 were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts
291 especially sharply with the wide black edgings with which the body
531 of the robe in front, above and below, as well as the sleeves at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentioned color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on in the intervening spaces, and the back in particular is distinguished by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with differently colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, Figs. 2, 3 and
[301] 4. The above-mentioned metallic ornaments, too, are never lacking on them.

[1] [See category 116, p. 998--Analyst]

531 /401 cont./
177 the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest
191 from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is
531 not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned,
194 but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep them-
648 selves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

[439] Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

294 Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must
412 mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it.
[439] For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the
294 Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles(Gil. nugsis,
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[114]

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2),[2] worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the

[2] [See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

294 415 [412] 415 171 /401 cont./ latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This ingenious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

[177] And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

415 171 531 Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

[114] tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite [789] crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilyak and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting them

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2. (cont.)
europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

•114 On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from
226 Sakhalin, I reached the village of Tschcharbach at the mouth of
*262 the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish sup-
439 plies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the sturgeon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at practically every season of the year and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tukki-tscho which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /429/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular,
226 since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they
*262 themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it
[439] very much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which
[252] they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities
[796] of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival.
[231] Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these
[439] fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

184 /430 cont./ Moreover,
252 with regard to these and similar views, there are many local dif-
114 ferences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not object if the kangi fish intended for me was roasted on the spit in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as uïtsch and permissible without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

226 As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the conti-
221 nental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kulj, Tägl, Hisska (Petrofski Simowjo), etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, where in the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more closed-off part of the Liman, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

*262 Next to fish, seals represent the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly at all the places in their habitation area, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Liman, where this food source, of course, is supplied most abundantly, various species of seals, as I have set forth at another place (1), also come

1. See Vol. I, pp. 180 ff., of this work.

up the Amur through the entire Gilyak area and far into that of the Olcha. /431/ The Gilyak think the least of the seal meat itself
[114] as a food. Sperk is even of the opinion that they themselves do
[231] not even eat it, but only feed it to their dogs (1). This is indeed

[113] 1. Ed. Shperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Vostochn. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Mediko-

/431 cont./

*262 [113] 1. (cont.)
topograf. Sbom., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 13).

[114] [231] the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like *262 the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, 252 whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, a superstition I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "uïtsch, uïtsch" (unlucky) could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to [251] finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

[191] 2. Steller (op. cit., p. 323) also points out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak that they do not like frying, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

*262 136 Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important and precious foodstuff to almost the same extent. It is the white whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak pomi-tscho), which, with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

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*262 231 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained [237] inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak [123] [439] palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

[114] [122]

1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo [113] one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

231 /434 cont./
*262 from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become use-
[123] less on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however,
[439] without an urgent reason. Such a reason can appear readily
enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered
useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly,
a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise
[114] to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village
[782] of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe
[789] snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of
a few traveling Tschomi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm
the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in
vain, three young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was
to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and
[252] the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part be-
ing added to the jukola soup for the dogs, and -- characteristically
enough -- I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite
off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and hand
another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to en-
252 joy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Duĭ, I
*262 was a witness to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak
231 with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent
[114] to a bear festival held there a short time before, traces of which
were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the
yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by
me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disemboweled, the
meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one
animal wrapped in its pelt. /435/ Inside the yurt, the place be-
tween the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold
with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two staffs, between which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

/435 cont./

231 shavings, the so-called zach, whose significance will be discussed
252 in the following. The bundles containing the meat and bones of
*262 the dogs were now brought into the yurt and arranged on the rear sleeping bench, whereupon the women went to kindle the fire under the kettles on the hearth in order to cook the meat and to make a broth out of the bones. These preparations, however, took so much time that the meal could not take place until late in the evening. Meanwhile the flames leaping on the hearth, the steam and smoke rising from the kettles, and the crowd of people, who not only occupied all the sleeping benches, but had also settled down on the floor of the small earth-yurt, soon made any further stay in it so unbearable that I found it necessary to leave before the actual meal and to seek another shelter for the night.

●114 If one wished as a conjecture to grant for the northern peo-
171 ples the discovery made in the south among various Negro tribes,
231 namely, that the enjoyment of dog meat is generally the first step
*262 toward anthropophagy and accompanies it (2), he would look quite

2. Schweinfurth, "Das Volk der Monbuttu in Central-Afrika /The Monbutto People in Central Africa/" (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, Vol. V, 1873, p. 10). Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 168.

in vain for evidence of it among them. I have never come across anything among the so generally and markedly cynophagous Gilyak that would even distantly support such a conjecture. On
171 the other hand, I believe it can be said as a general rule for these
231 peoples with respect to the custom of eating dogs that it is com-
*262 mon only in the case of those among them who keep the dog as the only domestic and draft animal, for only in this case can it be considered quantitatively as a food and morally nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the draft dog does not at all stand in the close, individual, and to a certain degree personal

/437 cont./

231 Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Ainu, and must be regarded as a
*262 custom peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the cir-
171 cumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the
114 Amur region farther upriver, towards the Ussuri and Sungari, makes
177 it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as is well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand,

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1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by lower people out of lack of any other food, but generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tart. Cham /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 275. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by M***, Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 236. Iakinf", Kitai i pr. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 262, 369, 377. Itier, Journ.

/442 cont./

*262 439 177 matters are quite different with respect to those vegetable foods that the region itself does not produce and which the Gilyak can obtain only by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals [554] and legumes, are, to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole have less significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent may even be called luxury items because they are directly available only to those who are better off and not always to them, but rather are eaten only upon certain occasions. In daily life they are used only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During *262 439 177 796 the bear festivals, however, great quantities of them are consumed, and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently and, in keeping with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, are attended by numerous participants, the foods of this kind, stored up by an individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are always shared with a greater or lesser number of other and less prosperous Gilyak. On such occasions I have learned in detail the various foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak and the form in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not many of them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese. The most common and the most popular among the Gilyak is Chinese, or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria italica (Gilyak budá), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudi). Far rarer and less popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak ssjussj) (2).

[192] 2. The first two have the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called ssjussu by them and by the Goldi.

Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, though it is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very [114] distinguished Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended in the winter of 1856 in the village of Tebach, still had the remnants of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the Japanese (Sisam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set before the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

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food, and especially fish food, on the whole, constitutes
is and mainstay of the existence of the Gilyak.
A noteworthy circumstance in connection with the diet of
yak must still be considered here. It is the fact that they
use any salt at all with their food and, indeed, even have
in aversion to it. I am taking the liberty of repeating here
wrote several years ago in a letter to Dr. Gustav Bunge (1),

1. At that time a docent in Dorpat, now a professor in Basel.

as also been published by him (2). Despite my long stay

2. In his article "Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und das Verhalten der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus /Ethnological Supplement to the Discussion on the Significance of Cooking Salt and the Effect of Potassium Salts on the Human Organism/" (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Vol. X, Munich, 1874, p. 115).

he Gilyak and many an observation of their food and the
ion of dishes, I never saw them add salt to any dish or eat
other way. I was never asked for any by them and do not
44/ that they ever asked for it in Nikolayevsk, where it
. The following experience gave me further evidence of
e it is required by them: since toward the end of my
in the winter of 1856 my salt was exhausted, I asked for some
Gilyak village that I passed through on the west coast of
and along the Amur-Liman, but always in vain, until
on the mouth of the Amur, a hazelnut-sized lump of salt
in a dirty rag, which its owner had once happened to get
kept as a worthless curiosity, was finally brought to me.
yak repeatedly expressed their repugnance for it when they
at salt. From the numerous similar reports on the use or
of salt by various peoples Dr. Bunge draws the conclusion,

/444 cont./

114 certainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
263 almost exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
171 (and the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar with salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas peoples nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods have an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable food" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations from the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
263 confirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

[113]

1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp. 109 ff.

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
263 of salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
796 at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
114 eat plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
262 quantities. Is it therefore not surprising that at that time the Gilyak distaste for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the contrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is regarded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet, this does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclusion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the bear festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten at them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise, and in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear festivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak, among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn resistance.

/447 cont./

322 yi-dshakko already mentioned, several knives of special shape.
412 Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of various sizes, the us(i)r-wossj of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4), is used; for finer carving, the kydr-dshakko, a knife with a very narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among
412 the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschawkr) (1)
179

[192] 1. Presumably borrowed from the Manchurian tschabcha. Among the Olcha: alako.

copied from the Chinese must be mentioned, a specimen of which, from the village of Wassj, is shown on Plate XXXIII, Fig. 6. These owe their origin among the Gilyak more to the imitative instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard to anything Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

415 As one sees from the above, all the household and table
323 equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood
439 or birch bark. Earthenware is not found among them at all; they
[322] neither make any themselves nor is there used among them, in spite of their contacts with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain made by these peoples, for at most a single piece of it, usually one or several of the small porcelain bowls used by the Chinese for drinking brandy, is kept here and there by a well-to-do Gilyak as an article of value or as an oddity. The fact that pottery, even
323 in its beginnings, is completely foreign to the Gilyak, despite
●114 their being exceedingly skilled in other things, for example, in woodworking and, as we shall see later, at the smith's trade, certainly merits full consideration, and I am therefore permitting myself a few remarks about it. In order first to put the fact itself still further beyond doubt, I must expressly emphasize that despite my long and various stays among them I never saw a piece of pottery of any kind in their households nor did I even hear of any from others. Hence, some entirely different statements in Mamia Rinsô's report on his travels on Sakhalin (Krafto) and in the Amur region were all the more striking to me. He found that the earthen-
[171] ware and porcelain of the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin was

/447 cont./
323 similar in shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (2). /448/
114
171
[113]

2. Mamia Rinsô, "Tôtats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

323 One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not
114 originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese
171 pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not
174 remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Mamia Rinso goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Mankô) near Kidsi (1). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidsi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still farther upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Ussuri, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Maack had the same experience, except that in the Goldi village of Ssilbi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the natives (2). This village, however,

[113]

2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 143.

is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinsô's reports, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were likewise familiar with this industry -- an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored
323 the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as
174 much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion
171
648

/503 cont./

396 which is done by raising it on a pair of rather high trestles and lighting the brushwood spread under it.

[192] The oars (Gilyak ywnj) are provided with a broad, rounded blade tapering off to a point and with a hole at a thicker place on the handle for setting them on the oar-pins (Pl. XXXVIII

501 /see p.1018/, Fig. 2) (1). The Gilyak boat does not have fixed

[114]

1. This illustration has a fundamental error, so that one should visualize the direction in which the oar handle is bored as shifted by an angle of 90°, that is, not perpendicular to the blade, but in the same plane.

rowing benches resting on the side walls of the boat, /504/ for they would tear the side boards from the bottom board by their pressure. Instead, the Gilyak use small removable stools which rest only on the bottom board, without touching the side boards. For the same reason, in loading a boat, it is carefully seen to that the entire load rests on the bottom board and does not exert any pressure on the side boards. To this end several pieces of wood considerably shorter than the width of the bottom board are first placed across it, and upon these several boards which are to bear the load are spread the length of the boat -- a precaution which also serves to prevent the objects transported from getting wet in the bottom of the boat. From

114 501 personal experience I realized how necessary it is to treat a Gilyak boat with such care and precaution. In the spring of 1855, when I was about to start on my first summer trip up the Amur and Ussuri, I bought from the Gilyak two boats which apparently had been used very little. Still unfamiliar with their construction, I thought it best if I first had them inspected and put in order in the harbor of Nikolayevsk. One of the naval officers saw to it that they were calked like regular sloops by one of the best experts of the harbor and were equipped with rowing benches and a bench for the erection of a mast. But when I wanted to go aboard and the boats were put in the water, both of them

/504 cont./

114 proved to be leaking, and all the efforts of the workers to re-
501 pair them were in vain. I now saw that through the rough and incorrect handling the side boards were more or less torn off and detached from the bottom board along their entire length; no amount of hammering, plugging, and calking the seams would help any longer -- one of the boats had to be given up altogether, and I reached the nearest Gilyak village in the other only with great effort and constant, strenuous bailing. There, in Ssabach, I bought a new, somewhat larger boat, which I treated from then on in accordance with its construction and entrusted it only to Gilyak hands for repairs when needed. And it served me very well, for in the same year I not only went up the Amur and Ussuri and back again to Nikolayevsk in it, but, in the following year, also up the entire Amur and a large part of the Argunj /Argun/ until I was forced by the drifting ice and the cold to abandon it near the village of Mulatscha on the Argunj.

501 Entirely different from the oars, the Gilyak steering oar
[192] (Gilyak menj) is provided with an elongated narrow blade and at the upper end with a short transverse handle (ibid., Fig. 3). As a rule, the Gilyak steer the boat by hand. In order to give the helm more support in high waves or a strong current, however, a short loop of cord or an upright semicircular strip through which the steering oar can be stuck is found at the rear edge of the board on which the helmsman sits.

The Gilyak boat does not have a mast. Instead of this,
[192] the Gilyak, if they want to sail, which rarely happens, use two poles tied crosswise (Gilyak kyrsh), which are stuck by their lower ends into corresponding /505/ holes in the side boards of the boat, while two long lines running from the upper ends
[192] are slung around the hindmost crosspiece in the boat. The sail (Gilyak tulatsch) consists of a square piece sewed together out of fish skins, which is attached by corners to the upper ends of the above-mentioned cross-mast, but at each of the lower ones is provided with a sheet to haul in and to stretch or loosen the sail as desired. With such inadequate equipment it is understandable that the Gilyak are no masters or heroes at sailing,

/505 cont./

501 and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is cautiously avoided. I also observed that the Gilyak, and likewise the [114] [157] Olcha and Goldi, who accompanied me as guides or oarsmen in my boat always became mortally afraid when sailing in a brisk wind; in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate mast bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and implored me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. There is no doubt, to be sure, that a boat without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and even capsize with high waves and an unskilled steersman. In order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to [192] [484] the side wall. The Gilyak equip their boats with such sham-edges (Gilyak ardsch) in particular when they undertake sea voyages, for instance, along the coast of Sakhalin to the Japanese, etc.

Of great usefulness on the Gilyak boat is the continuation of the bottom board extending under the prow, because it not only protects the latter from the immediate impact of the waves and possibly also from a severe impact on steep rocks along the shore, with another boat, etc., but it also permits the boat to glide over the waves more easily. Since the oars sit on fixed prongs, very little effort is required to propel a Gilyak boat if it is not moving against a strong current or high waves. It is not very well adapted to battle against them, however, and demands skilled and powerful handling of [114] the rudder. More than once it has happened to me in traveling around rocks and capes protruding into the Amur River that the boat, seized by the strong countercurrent, suddenly turned around and was irresistibly driven back. Undoubtedly the

/517 cont./

226 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
796 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
226 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
782 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1009/). It was a long boat with
[501] one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
[192] automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
[174] to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

Gi /524 cont./
226 not appear in larger numbers in de Castries Bay until fall, that is, toward the end of August at the earliest and during September.

G Farther to the north, in the Amur-Liman, I was told by
226 the Tschomi Gilyak, unfortunately without any reference to
114 dates, that both species, the tengi-tscho and the lyghi-tscho,
221 were to be found among them, but the latter in numbers in-
184 sufficient for their needs, so that, as has already been men-
484 tioned (4), when this fish migrates, they, like the Gilyak from

4. See p. 647 ff. above.

Tangi, Arkai, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with larger quantities of winter supplies there.

G Some data for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
114 to the northwest of the Amur-Liman, are found in Middendorff.
226 In the list given by him for the dates of the migrations of various fish and especially of the species of salmon at the mouths of the rivers of Siberia and northwestern America, June 22 is given as the arrival time of S. proteus at the mouth of the Udj, and July 9 as that for S. lagocephalus along the same coast (5).

5. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1226 and 1227. The statement contained in the same work (p. 1192, note 2), but not in the above-mentioned list and standing in contradiction to the data in it, that S. lagocephalus arrives at the mouths of the Ala and Uda (that is, Udj) fairly regularly about June 10, and 7-10 days later also at the mouth of the Tugur, does not seem trustworthy to me and, incidentally, is given with the reservation, "as is said." It is regrettable, as I must note here in passing, that the explanation of the abbreviations which are used for the sources

/524 cont./

226
114

5. (cont.)
utilized for the above-mentioned list of the migration dates of the fish (op. cit., p. 1228) is limited to only a part of them and many remain completely incomprehensible.

Moreover, /525/ the statement that S. lagocephalus does not seem to occur in the waters of Great Schantar Island, whereas S. proteus is caught there (1), is of interest for our purposes.

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1261

226 Finally, so far as the mouth of the Amur is concerned, S. proteus enters it as early as May, soon after the ice goes. But it appears then only in small numbers, only as the vanguard, so to speak, of a second, large migration which takes place in June. During the latter month it is eagerly caught by the Gilyak for use in the preparation of supplies of jukola and also goes up the first major Amur tributary, the Amgunj /Amgun/, where it, together with S. lagocephalus, is the mainstay of the economy of the Negda (2). In July, finally, some stragglers

2. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1524.

appear around the mouth of the Amur, but they are scarcely worth mentioning. It would therefore be an exaggeration to speak of three migration periods for S. proteus into the Amur; it is more correct to assume an initial weak migration in May and a second strong or principal migration in June. Salmo lagocephalus does not appear in the Amur mouth until August and, in fact, except for a few forerunners, its actual great ascent into the river in shoals begins around the middle of August, reaches its peak toward the end of this month and the beginning of September, and then lasts with waning energy, all through this latter month and continues into October, until

/525 cont./

226 the ice cover forms. Middendorff's migration date for S.
226 lagocephalus into the Amur (end of August) known to him
114 through the work of Przewalski (3) -- who, however, had not

3. Puteshestv. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, p. 97.

been at the mouth of the Amur himself -- did not seem to agree with that for the same species along the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (4). But for this he had in mind only the

4. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1201.

statement, questioned by me and, one can almost say with certainty, erroneous, concerning the migration date of S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Udj, which has been discussed above (p. 816, note 5), The subsequent entry of S. lagocephalus into the Amur, much later than Middendorff presumed (5), explains quite simply and naturally the fact stated

5. Op. cit., p. 1220, where it is said that the keta salmon goes up into the Amur at least at the same time as into the Tugur (June 17-20), and probably even earlier.

by him (6) that the keta salmon going up the Tugur arrive much

6. Op. cit., pp. 1220 and 1485.

earlier than those going up the Amur and Amgunj at the point where the Tugur and the Amur systems come close together as a result of a bend in the river beds of the Tugur and Nemilen, so that the Tungus have plenty of time to do their fishing at the Tugur bend (near Burukan) and then to move over to the nearby Nemilen to fish anew for keta salmon there.

/525 cont./

226 [114] The dates given here for the migrations of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Amur agree very well with the dates given above for various points of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, especially if one keeps in mind, as is required on the basis of the available data, the multiple, intermittent, more or less large migrations or ascents of one and /526/ the same species. If one also takes into account the greater or smaller numbers in which they appear at the points mentioned above, one comes to the conclusion that S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, moving northward from the northern part of the Sea of Japan reach the Amur-Liman and the mouth of the Amur River, in the course of which the former, especially toward the end of its migration period, enters all the bays and inlets, and even the smallest rivers of both coasts, in great quantities, whereas the latter visits only the larger and major ones among them, but avoids the smaller ones, and in the main, moving against the current coming from the Liman and strongly mixed with fresh water, strives for the mighty Amur in order to go far up into its extensive network and in particular into the large tributaries of its lower course. In the following, while discussing the fishing of the other peoples of the Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, we shall repeatedly encounter it on its migration. First, however, we must remain for a moment with the appearance of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus in the Gilyak area.

226 192 805 The arrival and the mass migration of these two fish especially important for the economy of the Gilyak are, of course, phenomena of such extraordinary significance for them that they are used by them to designate the periods of the year, the months, in which they occur. For instance, May is known among them as the month in which the tengi-tscho (S. proteus) first comes upstream, walten-tengi-long, and June, in which its mass migration takes place, tengi-wota-long (1). August

1. Long in Gilyak means "month"; I am unable to offer a detailed explanation of the expressions "walten" and "wota," but

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish: even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

286 283 [824] In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first [462] part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women; the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, [114] as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kuik. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak puksj) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

286 283 /532 cont./
this work and describes it as follows (1). "The thread intended for

[113] [114]

1. Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 230, note 5; Mél. biolog., Vol. II, p. 501, note 5. The observations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on a voyage in the lower Amur region between the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts; to be sure, it is not said whether he was among the Gilyak or among the Olcha, but it may be safely assumed that the work discussed is done in precisely the same way among both of these peoples.

the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is protected against unwinding. The threads running through the ring are tied to a suspended spindle, which is kept in rotating motion until the cord is firmly twisted together sufficiently, and, as a consequence of this, the rotating spindle has been forced almost up to the ceiling. The firmly twisted piece of cord is now wound on the suspended spindle and protected against unwinding. Then new thread is released from the stationary spindles, the rest is made fast, and the work continues in the same way." The cords obtained in this manner are in no way inferior in tightness and uniformity to good types of our hemp cords.

286 [227] In view of the considerable variation in size of just the principal fish that the Gilyak catch, say, from the smaller cyprinoids or the tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, to the colossal hausen, the nets used for catching them are also made with meshes varying greatly in size and out of cord of various thicknesses. And, correspondingly, the instruments used by the Gilyak for knotting their nets are of widely varying sizes, while

/551 cont./

224

2. (cont.)
tree-trunk, but always runs over it lengthways.

/552/ in the small side valleys of the upper Tymy River on Sakhalin I repeatedly came across either sable traps of this kind still set up or traces of them remaining on the trees. To the [192] chagrin of the Gilyak, however, other small and more or less worthless animals often get caught in the ha instead of sables, such as squirrels (Gilyak lakr and lakrs, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin lafkor), ermine (Gilyak tymr and tymrsch, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin tchymr), and on the mainland especially frequently the Mustela sibirica (Gilyak zongrsk), which is so much like the sable in its way of life and is absent on Sakhalin, and, indeed, in the village of Warki on the Liman, the Gilyak even brought me a jay (Garrulus glandarius) which had been found in a ha and bore the [171] marks of the pinching on its neck. This sable trap of the Gilyak, by the way, is not at all original, since, apart from the Amur Tungus, it recurs with the same or quite similar construction among a number of Siberian peoples, for example, among the sedentary Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, in the northern Kamchatka (1), among the Russian Tungus in the Stanovoi

[113] 1. Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 108.

Mountains (2), and others, and in general rests on the same

[113] 2. Sievers, "Briefe aus Sibirien /Letters from Siberia/," (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Vol. VII, p. 212).

principle that the traps used for catching polar fox, hares, etc. throughout the polar north of Siberia are based on (3).

[114] 3. A detailed description and an illustration of this last trap is to be found, among

/552 cont./

224 [114]

3. (cont.)
others, in Middendorff (Sibir. Reise /Siberian Journey/, Vol. IV, p. 1387).

The same can be said of a second device used among the Gilyak for catching sable, a clamp-trap /Klemmfalle/ con-
[171] structed with a bow. This trap, distributed throughout Siberia, has already been described and illustrated many times by travelers (4), and I could therefore pass over it quickly if it did not seem

4. Recently, for instance, by Bush (Reindeer, dogs and Snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 316) and by Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1388).

to me of interest to point out, besides its in part peculiar use among the Gilyak, the designations customary among them for its individual components in comparison with those, in part identical, for another apparatus to be discussed immediately below, which can be done much more briefly and clearly with
224 the help of illustrations. Among the Gilyak the clamp-trap in
192 question, shown on Plate XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 4, bears the name klai and is made as follows: a simple wooden bow (Gilyak puntsch, a of the illustration) is set into appropriate lateral notches in two sticks (Gilyak assj, b of the illustration) put together in the form of a fork and joined at the top. Above the crossboard (d, Gilyak lyms) connecting them at some distance from their lower, pointed ends, they are provided with longitudinal cutouts, into which the lower part, consisting of another such crossboard, of the wooden piece c, connected at the top with the bowstring, is stuck and can move up and down depending on the tautness of the bow. Curiously enough, the wooden piece c is simply called ku, that is "arrow," by the Gilyak -- a striking /553/ generalization such as is not often found among them otherwise, and, correspondingly, an upper crosspiece (e) connecting the two side staffs with each other and provided with a cutout for the movements of the ku is called kurscho(gr)tsch (1). A small stick (f,

[104]

1. The letters in parentheses are only

/562 cont./

224 as a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are [262] fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the processions, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on 224 184 a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1)

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two trees standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-nooses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

224 28 825 Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly associated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their observance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in 224 114 756 533 825 case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce

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it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts
224 on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do
825 not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect.
[796] The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward
[797] off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the
224 profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the fol-
825 lowing superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I
123 entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I
777 saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

175 /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
114 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
411 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
326 "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
[10] and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence

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2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the
[531] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's
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4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

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114 325 326 192 On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor underneath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr) made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and immediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube immovably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak, placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows, alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another, adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the

[104] 3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordi-
[293] nary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yidshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj,

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/ which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner, a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

/568 cont./
114 Gilyak (1).
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1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008/, Fig. 1.

325 For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to
326 iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass
[531] (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the
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[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna-
[439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[194] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
365 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
197 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
194 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

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of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

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If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two

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types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

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One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says

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1. Op. cit., p. 194.

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114 714 [192] that it is known under the name of "bettsi," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct; in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare antiques [177] of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Mamia Rinsô also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

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171 175 714 [113] It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2)

2. Cf. Neuhof, Die Gesantschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tatarian Khan and Now Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 394. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Njutschi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

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1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak kä-petsch or a similar one. During the bloody fights which the North Americans had with the Koreans in 1871, they saw them clad in armor which consisted of forty layers of stout cotton material and was almost impenetrable for saber or bayonet (Nordische Presse, 1871, No. 214, according to a report sent to the Times by its reporter in Shanghai). On the other hand, Ditmar ("Ueber die Koräken und Tschuktschen /The Koryak and Chukchee/." -- Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 131; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 41) relates that the Chukchee use armor made out of whalebone and thick animal-skins.

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To conclude the remarks concerning the weapons of the Gilyak, I must consider a piece which, to be sure, is harmless in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It is their so-called mungtsche (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 3), a roundish or slightly angular stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom bears the characteristic, barely indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears, and harpoons, and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the palm of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mungtsche is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an acorn, in the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a saber and is always provided with a deep groove on the back. From the Gilyak this strange weapon has also advanced to the Negda along the Amgunj, among whom it is called muketschi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally widespread. Middendorff became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

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411 114 he gives an illustration of it and calls it a wooden saber (2) and

2. Vol. IV, p. 1535. The specimen brought back by him and now in our museum is in fact flattened somewhat like a saber in the last third, as mentioned above.

"cudgel of honor." In his opinion it is used only to settle matters of honor in combat, during which it is seized with both hands, and the blows are parried by moving the stick to and fro. His host, the old Negda Oltungab, on the Nemilen (a tributary of the Amgunj showed him how this weapon was used. This agrees essentially with what I learned about it from the Gilyak. During 411 [115] the initial period of my stay in the Amur region, the Patchā-Gilyak Jutschin, a very intelligent person to whom I am indebted for the first groundwork of my Gilyak vocabulary, appeared at the Nikolayev post armed solely with the mungtsche. When I questioned him, he demonstrated the fencing movements for me with his wooden weapon. From his total handling of it, however, it could be assumed without any doubt that it was more than a simple fencing stick or "cudgel." For as he held it in front of him with outstretched right arm, like a halberd resting on the ground, he assumed an air of dignity as though he were a most distinguished person. Also, he did not want to be separated from it even when sitting down. Finally, the respect and regard that he rendered to his mungtsche were also expressed in the fact that at several places where it had been damaged /576/ it was carefully covered with birch bark and through that had not only not suffered in the eyes of its owner, but, on the contrary, had gained in value. All in 411 114 all the mungtsche gave me the impression of a conventional weapon of honor, which originated in ancient times, perhaps in imitation of Japanese lances, and has inherited with the latter its continuing traditional significance. The deep groove always present on the back of the mungtsche, which Middendorff leaves unexplained, but obviously is supposed to represent a channel for the blood, also points to such a prototype.

2: Schrenck--920 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orochi

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the help of snares (1) in a manner similar to that of the Ainu,

1. Margaritov", Ob" Orochakh" Imperatorskoi gavani /Concerning the Orochi of Imperial Harbor/, St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 13, Pl. II, Fig. 2.

and from which they use the contents of the musk sacs in particular in trade with the Chinese. In converting their hunting booty into profit, however, the Orochi, because of the great isolation of their homeland, find themselves at a great disadvantage in comparison with all the other peoples of the lower Amur region. In the southern part of their territory, where, as so-called Ta-dse, they live intermingled with the Chinese they do find, to be sure, a ready market among the latter for all their hunting but, as a rule, they are greatly exploited by them in connection with this /587/ and not infrequently, through advance payments, are made their lifelong debtors. Farther to the north, however, where the Chinese element is missing, the Orochi, living almost exclusively by hunting, rely on their neighbors, the Goldi and Olcha, to sell their booty.

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In concluding the above consideration of the way hunting is practiced among the peoples of the lower Amur region and its greater or lesser importance for the total pattern of their lives, I cannot but make room for an observation which the traveler who has ethnographic aims in mind is involuntarily forced to make. Whereas winter is by far the most favorable season of the year for ethnographic research among the Gilyak, and summer the most unfavorable, this reverses itself more and more into the exact opposite in an upstream direction along the Amur and its right tributaries toward the Goldi and Orochi. During the summer the Gilyak are wholly occupied with fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter and even bring something nomadic into their lives, inasmuch as many, in order to seek localities more favorable for fishing, then change their place of residence temporarily and often simply camp in tents scattered on the

G /587 cont./
22 islands of the river and along the tributaries. With the onset of
36 winter, however, all of them again assemble in the more com-
114 fortable and spacious winter dwellings, and there begins a long
period of a quieter and more settled life which, in its regular
routine with the hunting carried on only in the vicinity, the
sturgeon fishing on the ice, the trade and communication, the
manifold domestic tasks and handicraft, the peculiar and pro-
longed bear festivals, etc., offers the ethnographer a rich field
G for observation and study. It is almost the same among the
22 Olcha. Among them, however, and to an even greater extent
114 among the Goldi, life in summer assumes an even more nomadic
36 character as a result of the easily transportable tent dwellings
solely used then, and the farther upstream one goes, the more
the winter dwellings are deserted, because part of the men have
left to hunt in more or less remote regions. As we saw, among
the Ussuri Goldi only women, children, and aged people are to
be found in them in winter, because all the able-bodied men go
hunting, and, finally, the Orochi not infrequently take their wives
and children along into the wilderness on their hunting, which
takes up the entire winter. With respect to them, therefore,
summer, which calls them back from the forests and for fishing
and seal-hunting assembles them in the summer dwellings, which,
though likewise only tent-shaped, are located at definite points
along the seacoast and at the mouths of the rivers, offers the
traveler the best time, in fact, almost the only possible time,
for ethnographic research. Thus, all the living conditions of the
lower Amur tribes vary and change greatly, depending on whether
and to what extent fishing or hunting plays the principal role
among them.

T
224 /588/ I cannot discuss in detail the hunting practices of the
114 peoples of the upper Amur region, the Birar, Manegir, and
Orochon, because I had only fleeting contact with them, and at
a time when, far from their hunting areas, they were still in
part occupied with fishing in the Amur River. With respect to

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whaler that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tammlawo and the boat was plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak of Poghobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

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that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning took place in such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very essentially contributed to this. The possibility of being able to exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no market, such as fish, game, berries, etc., for various articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev post soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /592/ that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Murawjof post in Aniwa Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening, when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

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175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's
G. time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
Gi to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
[114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

2: Schrenck--1026a E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Vol. III, No. 3

Ethnographic Part -- Second Half

/1/

Preface

114 128 It was not granted to the author of Travels and Research in the Amur Region to carry out his work to its completion. Nevertheless, he had gone far enough just before his death so that with the present printing of the manuscript that he left behind it is very nearly brought to an end. Although existing notes make it appear that the author had plans for several more sections, among them such important ones as those on religious conceptions, ideas about sickness and death, the customs associated with these, etc., it was nevertheless felt that a continuation of the work on the basis of the remaining travel notebooks and journals should not be contemplated, especially since there was no way of judging how critically the author himself would have dealt with the notes
128 made decades ago. Since in the meantime a number of lithographic plates had been made in advance for the unfinished remainder, and they would be meaningless without an explanatory text, it seemed advisable, insofar as necessary for an understanding of the illustrations, to have excerpts from the notebooks and journals follow as an appendix in the framework of the missing sections, the compilation of which was assigned to the undersigned by the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

From the standpoint of their content, the excerpts fall into the following two main groups:

I. Religious conceptions of the Amur peoples. -- Idols. Amulets, Shamans.

II. Conceptions about life after death and the corresponding treatment of the dead.

The text of the notebooks and journals, which fills 14 closely written octavo notebooks in the smallest handwriting, has been reproduced verbatim except for unessential editorial changes. The added footnotes are marked ** to distinguish them from those of the author.

/635 cont./

583 or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And
628 among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious
684 and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in
[533] abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the
[126] conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

583 Another point with regard to the abduction of women must
114 be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year (1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent: among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage; later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

[113] 2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

/635 cont./

583 wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what
114 has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always undertake the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said, is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

582 Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriage among
601 the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the children of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "atschek" mean older and younger brother as well as older and younger cousin on the father's side, and "ransh" means sister as well as female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyond that,
582 the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin group, which, as we shall see later, is also taken into account in other connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and,

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1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak, Samoyed, Lapps Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Müller, p. 359).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

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2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Pauthier,

/641 cont./

593 the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A
842 sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the hus-
[595] band will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with
[586] children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a
[825] woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief
[789] that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to
844 believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village
114 of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive.
[132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery
343 does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/641 cont./

844 erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
[343] also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter tempera-
[132] tures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[165] a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that
the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally
small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this
bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it.
It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition
[846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during
delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary,
after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn
[763] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of
the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be
substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a
house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful,
particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

/642 cont./

114 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the
844 villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot
768 affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kuĭk, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in child-
844 birth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other
532 superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth.
782 Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254 /) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

844 No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in
413 confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women
[531] giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife (Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, the

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2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuĭk.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes care of it.

/648 cont./

114 175 567 592 It must be noted here that the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinso, either misunderstood the conditions just described, and especially the position of the slaves among the Gilyak, or else intentionally put them in a different light and thereby gave rise to completely false conceptions concerning their domestic and marital situation. With reference to his stay among the Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Cape Noteito on the west coast /649/ of Sakhalin (1), he says that "there it is the custom of the country

1. Cape Noteito is not given on Mamia Rinsô's map as reproduced by Siebold (op. cit., Pl. XXV), but on Mogami Tok'nai's map it is shown somewhat diagonally across from Taba Bay or the entrance into Taba-Kidsi Straits (see above, p. 964).

that the women give orders to the men, treat them like servants, and have them perform all the work. He himself, it is said further, had to bend under the yoke of the mistress of the house, and he, like the rest, had his daily work imposed on him by her, but since the mistress of the house was particularly well disposed toward him, her other men became jealous, and he, who was well aware of this, was careful not to become involved in things which he would have had to conceal, but rather occupied himself solely with domestic work under the eyes of the other men, and, as a result of this modesty, he gained the confidence and esteem of the former, who presented him with meat and fish" (2).

2. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tatskiko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 169.

[191] It is difficult to understand how Siebold (3), on the basis

3. Op. cit., p. 198.

/649 cont./

114 of this statement by Rinsô, could express the conjecture that the
171 kojektschutsch or kojachtschitsch of the Kamchadal known
175 through Steller and Krascheninnikof (4), that is, men being used
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4. Steller, op. cit., p. 351, note. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 40. See also p. 473, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak. Suffice it to state that neither I nor, as far as I know, any other traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Siebold's con-
114 jecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there
595 seems to be more justification for his conclusion, drawn from
175 the same statement by Rinsô, that polyandry exists among the Smerenkur on Krafto (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast of Krafto," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means accurate: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the "rest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house" in Noteito, be explained? The trustworthiness of Mamia Rinsô, often stressed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting the report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the moment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he so accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (5), as

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in this

6. See p. 1046 above.

/649 cont./

114 175 595 case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the 114 175 592 595 Smerenkur (Gilyak)at Cape Noteito for an opportune moment to carry out his planned trip to Tôtats (on the opposite mainland), which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and without any provisions, Mamia Rinsô found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a time, [357] [567] then, he entered the ranks of persons obligated to perform domestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyandry nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the undignified and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged [515] custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dark, and sooty earth huts.

114 175 567 435 Even though Mamia Rinsô avoids speaking of slaves in referring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he is well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trade with the Santaner, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

/650 cont./

114 and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4,
175 often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and
567 stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services,
[435] are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the
[439] Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations
[304] named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the
[184] slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Be-
175 sides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get
567 their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ainu who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say,
[648] they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

567 Before I go further in describing the family relations of the
171 Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

/664 cont./

175 from memory to such an extent that I never heard them men-
648 tioned by them and learned of no Gilyak term for them. On the part of the Russians, however, in my time, at the beginning of the fifties, a firm foothold was held at individual points in the lowermost Amur region, for example, in Petrovskoye, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk (1), but they did not pay any atten-

1. See pp. 174-181 above.

tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions and customs as long as they did not disturb the order within the
000 Russian settlements (2). Thus in my time the arrangements made

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2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (Russ. starosta) appointed by them from among the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the district chief (Russ. isprawnik /ispravnik/) residing in the nearest post. Dr. Seeland, who had already met such village elders among the Gilyak in the years 1878-80 (Russische Revue, Vol. XXI, p. 233), failed to recognize the wholly Russian origin of this arrangement, and generally failed to distinguish adequately between what was originally peculiar to the Gilyak and what they took over from the Russians -- and at that time this had already spread very far and deeply -- deprives his description of them of almost all its value.

175 Thus in my Time The arrangements made
648 by the Manchu-Chinese for governing the Gilyak had already disappeared, and none had yet been introduced by the Russians; the people were left to themselves and within the limits men-
648 tioned, could do as they pleased. The following remarks pertain

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574 took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

484 574 The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather takes him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for the dogs of the newly arrived guest. Needless to say, he then stays there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

484 821 In any case, however, the weather is first carefully checked, especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler in danger. During the several days of bad weather which de- [114] tained me in the village of Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which overcomes the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the con- [157] sultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides them on land as well as on sea journeys. On several occasions, [114] however, I also had an opportunity to marvel at their knowledge [123] of the climatic conditions of their country /671/ and the experiences that they had with them, for I had once made ready to continue my journey and found myself forced to return to the hated village where I had been received so inhospitably. On another occasion I reached the seacoast, which was 5-7 versts from the village, and continued my journey along it, but had 821 to endure very bad weather and snowstorms. The Gilyak especially feared being surprised by an ady (north and northwest) or

431 /673 cont./ this
439 custom may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations
177 of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Ssan-
648 ssin, as well as in Ssiranussi, have their officials and trade agents who demand such captatio benevolentiae in their own interest and to the detriment of the government or the trading houses concerned.

437 Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, pai. And this is precisely what Judin did when, in the transaction with the Russian-American Company for the sizable sum that he received for compensation, he wanted to be given various costly fabrics and other luxury items.

437 I must say for the Gilyak, however, that as a rule one can
123 trust their word and their honesty in business dealings with them,
157 for example, the delivery of wares or other articles paid for in advance. As guides, too, they are generally trustworthy; in fact, some of them so identified themselves with my interests that they occasionally even warned me against the thievish instincts of the population of this or that village which in their eyes was notoriously
• 114 bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very diffi-
157 cult to get guides for a trip, for as a rule the Gilyak are too suspi-
123 cious and fearful to give up their freedom and cast their lot in with that of the traveler. More than once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their exact knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening beside the blazing fire, with their communicativeness and cleverness. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deserted me. And that happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad snowstorm. The broad-soled Russian sled stubbornly stuck to the wet snow, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but to drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf larch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. No wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

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114 157 123 snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kullj before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

484 805 Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

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1. (cont.)
and the time from one new moon to another is called taktuk, like the moon itself. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /An Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 208.

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these have several different designations, not merely in one and the same place, but also in various parts of the Gilyak area. In particular there are those used by the Gilyak of the Amur River and the Amur-Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and, on the other hand, the others used in the interior and along the east coast of the island, by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak. I shall give them next as I noted them myself after repeated inquiries and shall later add a few remarks.

List of the Gilyak Names of the Months:

	on the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin	in the interior and on the east coast of Sakhalin
January . . .	Tscham-long	Klu-long.
February . .	Karr-long	Tscham-long.
March	Tschrad-long	Karr-long.
April	Arkail-long	Tschrad-long.
May	Walten tengi-long, also Kopengwa-l. and Kittägtsch-l. (2) . . .	Pittun-long.

• [114]

2. In the Gilyak word-list compiled by Dr. Grube the last two terms have erroneously been applied to April instead of to May: see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, pp. 44, 58, 59, and 120 /the appendix

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2. (cont.)
referred to is not included in the book translated here/. Tschrad-long (March) is likewise erroneously identified with July (op. cit., p. 108).

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June	Tengi-wota-long, . . . also Pota-long	Arkail-long.
July	Matschn-tschrar-long . .	Tscho-taghr-long.
August . . .	Lygi-wota-l., also Pilja-tschrar-l., and simply Pilja-l.	Matschki-long.
September . .	Ngarwi-long, also Tschitsch-ngar-long	Pilja-long.
October . . .	Oni-lami-long, also Pottschawo-long . . .	Ngadgho-long.
November . .	Tlo-long	Kawekö-long.
December . .	Anj-long	Tlo-long.

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Unfortunately, Glehn does not indicate in which of the two above-named parts of the Gilyak area he learned their names for the months. According to him, they run as follows:

January, February, March } just as according to me.

April . . . Pitul-long.

May . . Arschkai-long.

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June . . Tingi-long and Tingivata-long.

July
August
September
are not given.

October . . Iging-long and Mugiti-long.

November . Klu-long and Anj-long (in the north).

December . Tschlo-long.

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From the fact that the first three months in Glehn bear exactly the same names as I noted down according to statements of the Gilyak of the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin, I venture to conclude that he, too, inquired about them there. The same is true for June, whose name refers to the mass migration of the tengi-tscho (Salmo proteus), which, according to him, is called tingi-tscho. The other names of the months found in Glehn, however, seem to me to have been learned among the Tro Gilyak.

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My knowledge of the Gilyak language does not extend far enough to explain all the names of the months given above. For only a few of them shall I venture a word or two of explanation. It could readily be assumed that they are based upon especially striking natural phenomena and conditions characteristic of the month concerned, which, however, with regard to time, might now and then differ considerably in the habitation area of the Gilyak. This happens particularly in the case of the mass migration upstream of Salmo lagocephalus in the Amur and in the Tymy River on Sakhalin and calls forth among the dwellers along the latter a corresponding shift in the names of the months as compared to the Amur Gilyak, as I have already mentioned in detail on another occasion (1). In a similar manner, /677/ the

1. Pages 819-823.

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3. (cont.)
des Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the Topographical Knowledge of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 539), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jirij; see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

805 In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long--
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114 a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for December (anj-long), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tlo-long, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tschlo-long, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-long, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which presumably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is arkail, which remains unintelligible to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the
805 individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that arkail-long (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

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533 Njaungur showed special virtuosity in singing: even the melody was much more varied than the previous ones; in addition, however, he, too, produced the stuttering, the loss of voice, strangulation and the stopping of the gutteral sounds, besides the subsequent belching out /682/ of the words like greater skill, and, moreover, besides the sobbing gutteral trill, he also made a falsetto nasal trill. In his case the trills, and especially the latter, reminded one vividly of the vibrating sound of the jew's-harp. These trills require a great deal of practice, and it is impossible for us to hold them so long and to produce them so clearly. It is also interesting physiologically that in producing these trills the soft palate plays an important role."

Middendorff continues: "From all these songs the differences caused by the individuality of the singers became clear: whereas Lamran, with a good voice and a clear trill, had in his way a melancholy, pleasant, and grave style of singing, the other two singers were like our artistic virtuosos who play violin variations on the cello. Along with the singing it must also be kept in [194] mind that the Gilyak language, and thus also the anga, sounds as though the nose had a chicken wishbone clamped on it; in addition there is the childish pronunciation of the r, which sounds as though it were midway between the r, g, and l and which is connected with d, g, and h, and, furthermore, the French ng, the English th and w, the g combined with d, etc."

114 533 Middendorff also noted down the words of the last two songs, but unfortunately I must disregard them here since they cannot be even approximately deciphered. And this should not surprise one, for, in view of the traveler's very short sojourn among the Gilyak, the many and very peculiar sounds of their language must have sounded most strange and bewildering to his ear, which was as yet wholly unaccustomed to them. And there is also the circumstance, making comprehension more difficult to so great a degree, that the singer has the greatest freedom to change and to modulate the words as he pleases to make them fit his rhythm and melody -- a freedom which he does not give up as a rule even in repeating the words, because they were once impressed upon his memory this way during the singing. Hence it is more than doubtful that an interpreter, of

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633 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among
114 the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song;
instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only
praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also
[126] the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to
me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of
two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words
in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in
them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides
my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn
was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under
the title of Walghytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only

1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list;
see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p.
41 /this appendix is not included in the book
translated here/.

on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection
with the /683/ place Mlygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a
place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who
die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but
are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the
shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two
[439] musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them
is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an
instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, ac-
cordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction
that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed
among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood,
and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The
first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into
which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining at-
tached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced
and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front
of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

/698 cont./

231 hind legs. After this the other boards on top of the cage are removed, and the bear is dragged by a number of people into the yurt, where the dogs' table found in the middle of it has meanwhile been removed. Since one cannot depend on merely the leather noose thrown around the neck of the animal, if it is full-grown, a Gilyak now jumps in front of the bear with legs apart, seizes it by the roots of the ears, and presses its head against the floor. Simultaneously two other Gilyak armed with wooden poles do the same thing with its front paws, and now still another jumps on the back of the animal, straddles it, and puts a collar on it, from which, by means of a revolving ring, long iron chains and leather straps run in two directions. With these the bear, after its hind legs have once more been unfettered and, roaring loudly, it has stood erect, is now tied between the two central posts of the yurt in such a way that it can comfortably lie down and get up again. As a reward, so to speak, or as a token of fondness a few slices of jukola or seal fat are then given to it, whereupon it is led around the inside of the house several times and then back to its cage.

114 231 175 Undoubtedly this Gilyak custom of keeping bears in captivity, occasionally bringing them into their houses, and treating them in the manner described has given rise to the legend, very widespread in Siberia, that they tame bears and use them as domestic animals for riding and driving. In a Russian document about the Amur stemming from the seventeenth century and published by Spasskij (2) ("Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie /Story

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2. In his article, "Sviedieniia Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII. stol. /The Russians' Knowledge about the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geograf. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, Res., p. 20.

about the Great Amur River/"), it is said: "on a large island (Sakhalin) lying opposite the mouth of the river live the Gilyak peoples, who keep 500-1000 dogs in their villages, eat all kinds

/698 cont./

114 231 175

of animals, and feed bears for peaceful work" (3). At the

3. In the original the latter passage reads: "i medvyedei kormyat" v" ulusakh" dlya raboty mirno."

beginning Spasskij did not want to give any credence to the latter statement, both on account of its strangeness and from the lack of any other confirmation. But in the "Copy of a Sketch from the Siberian Country" (Spisok" s" chertezha Sibirskiia zemli) published by him in 1849, it is said explicitly: "The Gilyak people sow no grain, eat fish, and drive or ride on /699/ bears" (Gilyanskie lyudi khlyeba ne syeyut", pitayutsya ryboyu, a yezdyat" (1) na medvyedyakh"). Witsen also found

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1. The Russian verb, yezdit', means both "to drive" and "to ride."

the same legend, that at the mouth of the Amur River "lives a savage people, called Gilaki, who keep many bears and dogs in order to utilize their services" (2). Finally, it is also found in

2. Witsen, Noord- en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/, 1705, p. 884.

Strahlenberg (3), for it says there: "at the mouth of the Amur

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3. Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, pp. 386, 387.

River lives a people whom the Russians call Kilaki; some 'Yakut Tatars' have related to me about these people that they tame bears and use them as we do horses" (4).

4. Witsen (op. cit., p. 686) was also told

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114 231 195

4.(cont.)
this fable by the Yukagir in the country of "Ssabatsia" (sobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

231 +796

The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the [756] summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival. As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears [609] kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration [123] of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

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*796 After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the [123] Nikolayev post by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Judin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, precisely in order to make a few purchases for the forthcoming festi- •[114] val. With my friend and later colleague at the Academy, C. Maximowicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allof, we entered Wair about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place: one of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little fir tree which stood in front of its transverse walls on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to [778] the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak, hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon when we drove up before Judin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wair. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd *796 of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young 526 men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who, [574] in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

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*796 läsng, and the cut-up pieces of meat and fat are kept in the storage chambers until it has been decided to resume the festival. But Judin did not seem to be in any hurry about that -- he was thinking instead of first going on a trading trip to Sakhalin. I *796 regretted this delay, but I had the consolation of having seen the ●114 further course of the bear festival the previous year in the village of Uda. This village, to be sure, is no longer in the territory of [171] the Gilyak, but in that of the Olcha, but since the entire custom of the bear festival was undoubtedly transmitted from the former to the latter, it is not likely, in view of the conservative nature of primitive peoples, that there are any essential differences between them in the main features of the festival. In Judin's house quiet had been restor[illegible]e many guests had departed, the dogs' table was set up again [illegible]nd /714/ uïtsch-fears had given way to a *796 greater freedom of movement inside the house. We stayed there 114 for another day: I in order to organize and complete the many 126 notes in my journal made during the past days, and Mr. Maximowicz in order to add the landscape background of Tebach to the sketches drawn from life. These sketches of my friend, now unfortunately deceased, are reproduced on Plates XI /p. 991/, XLVII /p.1247/, and XLVIII /p. 1248/, as well as in the woodcuts on pages 1150 and 1151 of this work, after having been technically improved, with the strictest regard for all details, the former here on the spot by Mr. Dimitrijef-Orenburgskij, the latter by Mr. Fr. Russow, custodian of our museum.

On the evening of January 15 we were again in Nikolayevsk, *796 where I immediately began the preparations for my second trip to 114 Sakhalin. The day for my departure had already been set when Judin again appeared at my place. He had put the question bothering him, whether it would be more favorable to resume the previously begun bear festival before or after his planned trading trip, before some of the older members of the village, among whom there was also a shaman, and they were of the opinion that the festival should first be brought to a conclusion. He had therefore come to Nikolayevsk again in order to make a few purchases. In reply to his repeated invitation to come also, I

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*796 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine
•114 ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The
[126] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the
[127] further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

[113] 1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the
824 morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only
*796 with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

[123] 1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249 /. Because of the
[126] above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

576 /721 cont./
*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
262 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[855] pated in the meal; indeed, even the women and children re-
[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

•[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[859] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
[533] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated, for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

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It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/ who are likewise able to practice this art, because they might easily misuse it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the festive meals as a matter of principle.

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The bear festivals have no definite duration: the feasting goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives, friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear meat and fat lasts; in Tebach, Judin told his guests, Ditmar and Brevern, that it would last for many days since three bears had been killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13) the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to Nikolayevsk.

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As was mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previous year (1855) to witness this second part of the bear festival, concluding with the eating of the bear, among the Olcha in the village of Uda. My conjecture that their customs would not differ essentially from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Ditmar's report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

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When I arrived in the village of Uda, located only five versts below Kidsi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in the morning and stepped into one of its five houses, I found it decorated in the interior in the same manner as is done among the Gilyak for an imminent bear-festival feast. Here, however,

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opposite the étagère decorated with the bear's head and skin and with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak zach = Olcha gjamssassá), a second rack quite similar to the first one but somewhat smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its shelves likewise held meat and pieces of the fat of the dismembered bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passageway between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

/729 cont./

G *796 114 262 After this insertion on the bear festival of the Olcha, which seemed to me necessary for a comparison with the same festive act among the Gilyak, let us again take up the thread of our description of the bear festival of the Gilyak. We still lack any knowledge G1 796 114 262 of its final act: what happens to the skull and bones of the animal after the fat, meat, and internal organs of the bear have been eaten? Unfortunately I was not an eyewitness here, and I can only report what I heard from the Gilyak and what must follow from other facts. Ditmar left Tebach before this final act. He concludes his notes from there with the remark that his further presence there would apparently offend Judin and other Gilyak, and that the repeated assertions by the former that he could not wait for the end of the festival because it would drag out for a long time yet showed G *796 262 only too clearly the desire that he speed up his departure. On the day before, when the first bear-meat was eaten, the bear heads G1 796 262 were still untouched and bore their snout and head bands. When I arrived among the Olcha in Uda, I did not see these bands: if they are used at all by the Olcha, they had already been removed; the skull and the lower jaw had been removed from the skin and were, as was said, set before the guests for the consumption of the meaty parts. The former was not split, and I saw nothing of the brain parts. It is not likely, however, that they would forgo these especially tasty morsels. But in order to get at them, they must G *796 262 split the skull. From this one may surely conclude that the teachers of the Olcha, the Gilyak, do likewise and, after the other parts of the bear have been eaten, finally skin the head and split the skull. But this final blow directed against the bear, the splitting of its skull, may be one of the acts that are preferably done in secret, or at least not in the presence of strangers, and therefore Ditmar's departure from Tebach was especially desired. Just like the removal of the bear head from the skin, so most probably is the splitting of the skull done in the house, where immediately or soon G *796 412 afterward its meat and the brain parts are eaten. Arguing in favor of this is the circumstance that the instrument with which the skull of the bear is split is brought into the house at the very beginning of the second act of the festival. /730/ It is a pickax (Gilyak

184 /734 cont./

*796 I was present at the bear festival in Tyk when the meat of
574 the animal was already being eaten, that is, toward the end of the
267 second act. Parts of the dismembered animal were still lying on
[114] the bear rack, and among them the skull already cleaned of the muscle meat, which I tried to buy, in vain, of course, from the owner of the animal. Several Gilyak busily eating their portions still sat on the benches, others were either crowding around them or in the passageways between the hearth and the benches, each one trying to snatch a piece of meat here or there with his knife. One of the members of the household was collecting contributions from the diners in a little trough in order to give them to the women and children, and similar troughs with pieces of bear meat were carried to the other yurts of the village. Even among the Amur Gilyak, when this time comes during the feast, formalities usually cease, and here not a trace of them remained -- everybody milled
[177] around informally in the narrow space. A meal of Manchu-Chinese products, cereals and legumes, such as is customarily served to guests in the Amur villages in lavish amounts, seemed not to have preceded the eating of the meat, since the host and owner of the bear evidently was not one of the well-to-do and only a little of these products reach Sakhalin, and that only through the Amur Gilyak and Olcha. Under these circumstances it was understandable that in Duĭ, where soon thereafter a bear festival was celebrated amid a great conflux of participants, a subsequent celebration took place immediately afterward for the gratification of the latter, at which, lacking other food, dogs were eaten, as has already been mentioned above (1) in connection with the discussion

1. See pp. 661 and 662.

of cynophagy among the Gilyak.

796 It struck me that on Sakhalin there was nothing to be seen
184 of any of the collateral entertainments, such as dog races, all kinds of games for young and old, etc., which customarily accompany the bear festival among the Amur Gilyak. In summing up, one may conclude that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, especially in the region with earth yurts exclusively, that is, along the

/764 cont./

758 uitsch and took him back to the village, where he died in November, 1854. Although when he was still alive, they had invited
764 me to his cremation, this was done (three days after the death)
• 114 during a violent purga, without their giving any notification (Bm. I, pp. 18, 19).

47. Gilyak. Everything possible in the way of food is put be-
764 side the deceased lying in the yurt; indeed, even after the cre-
765 mation of the corpse, all kinds of food, as well as liquor, are brought to the ashes for a period of one year because of the belief that the deceased takes nourishment for that long. The corpse, laid out on a sled in winter, is placed upon the funeral pyre, covered with loose branches, and the pyre is lighted. (Bm. I, p. 27.)

48. Gilyak. On May 19, 1856, we reached Chjare (with one
764 yurt on the right bank of the Amur), where I had a stop made at
[114] noon. I inquired about fish, but was told at once that no fish had been caught, because the old owner of the yurt had died the day before and was still lying unburied in the yurt. I went there immediately and saw the corpse lying on a sled on the floor in front of the dogs' table (Plate LXII /p. 1262/). It was the same old man who the year before had gone hunting with me on the nearby small lake. The corpse was not yet disfigured, but the color of the face had grown darker and, in fact, copper-colored, and the long white hair contrasted sharply with the face. The corpse was clothed in new blue cloth and covered over the torso with a covering of gray material, on which, over the chest of the corpse, lay three folded pieces of colored cloth and two spears, a larger one and a smaller one, such as the natives use, equipped with crudely
[824] worked, short shafts. Around the head and at the sides of the face lay fir branches; over the eyes ran a string with longish pieces of alder bast, threaded on it, three for each eye; a large red bead lay at each ear, and on the neck there was a thick bundle of fine curls of wood-shavings. The legs and the feet were wrapped in the same blue cloth as the whole corpse and were /765/ tied with a string around the ankles and over the toes so that they had the shape of boots. Placed crosswise on the narte /sled/, behind the head,

G 764 [237] [294] [262]

/767 cont./

them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins. The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten, but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the village. (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

Gi 764 152

49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right bank of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that were some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that came out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I investigated and saw a woman who sat there hunched together and wailing, staring at the sky. I watched her for a while and then inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in reply, buike, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me that her husband had died in the next village and she was lamenting it. She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left, in order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamentation, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (I S.R. IV, p. 17.)

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

G 764

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following concerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground, /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

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* See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration Plate LXVIII /p. 1268/, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r pronounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a small linen-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the center and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under the ground.

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764 184 556 represented various animals, bears, horses, hares, cocks, and ducks (Plate LXIX /p. 1269 /).

On the inside the raff was very opulently equipped. The usual articles in it, kakk, pyk-ngir, tcham-ngar, were so luxuriously made that they could hardly be recognized. The former was completely covered with a multicolored cloth, which bore brass ornaments such as the Gilyak women have on their robes, corresponding to the purpose of the kakk, namely, to carry the clothing for the deceased. -- Do the rags on the kakk perhaps come from the garments of the deceased? Very probably, since these rags are called okch, fur. -- A small Manchurian bowl served as pyk-ngir. The floor of the raff was covered with a fine reed or straw mat. Aside from the articles mentioned, there also lay in the raff a great number of birch-bark bowls (with berries, etc.), neatly stacked up, a small box in which lay a tobacco pouch and a pipe, another pipe which was for Kimrkan's daughter, and the like, and, finally, the braids of the two deceased women, cut off at the roots and wrapped in birch bark were preserved here (*).

* See p. 615, where raff is to be read instead of rakk.

764 Kimrkan himself took out the articles and showed them to me, evidently, however, without thinking much about the dead. Moreover, he had now replaced his late wife with three of them. Near the raff there was the cremation site of a corpse and next to it stood the raff that went with it. The raff is never erected directly over the ashes of the deceased, but apart from them (**).

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** The reports concerning this, collected by the author in various places, differ in part from one another; cf. 47 /p. 1227/, 48 /p. 1227/, 51 /p. 1233/.

Kimrkan's deceased, for example, were cremated far in the forest, and their ashes were there, while the raff stood here near

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal and elk skin, dog-fur, etc. 291 237

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids. 302

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State"). 114

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs. 614

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage. [60]

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

/321 cont./

776 upon himself. Ge-nîvukh beats the seals. He is seen from a distance, but up close he disappears. He does not drive away sickness. In appearance he is "just like a Gilyak."

777 Talismans. Gibel'ka became rich in the following way: His eldest brother, Amgunka, found a piece of red material under a log in the taiga; from that time on he began to get rich. Gibel'ka stole this talisman from him, and then a chkhnaj fell from the sky, and he began to get even richer.

Taru -- talisman -- is an object which falls to a lucky person (kyz narla nîvukh) and which increases the number of things in his possession (for instance, two fur coats instead of one), such as: a May beetle, a piece of gold, a larch with fir cones, a climbing lizard, a worm.

Aleksey caught a goya with three worms adhering to it by suction, and after this there was a lucky catch of fish.

755 Father Konki is very old and by now remembers nothing. But on the basis of dreams he advises the sick -- to make chkhnaj, feed them, and carry them into the taiga.

In recent times he has not had visions and therefore thinks that he will soon die.

/322/

756 776 Shamanism. A kekhn answers the shaman's questions about sickness and medication, but nobody hears his answers. The mightiest master is Tlykekhn (the spirit of the sky). He travels on foot through the sky and with a rope leads the shaman through the air wherever he wishes. The shaman does not take his kekhn along to Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave). The kekhn of Koynyt (1)

[115]

1. The author's storyteller -- a youth who subsequently became a shaman. S. Sh.

comes to him only in a dream or during a seance. He sends him to various gods with tasks, for example, to learn what sacrifice to make. So far he has only pal-nîgyvyn (kekhn). His kekhn is small, with a human face and a body covered with hair.

/341 cont./

524 steps, then he can be killed. The game continues even after the king is taken. If the old man moves back, then a soldier may kill him with a chong; if there are two chong in a row, then the king can come back (1).

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[115]

1. I offer a variation of the game, recorded by me from the words of the Amur Gilyak Mladzyan, a student in the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad.

The one who begins to play after the chong comes up moves his soldier on the middle line of nests, in accordance with the number of moves which have come up (by the upper surfaces of the cubes), the appropriate number of rests, starting from the right. Then his partner does the same on his side, and when his soldier comes to land on the spot of a soldier of his partner, which is already standing there, he takes it.

After one of the partners has moved to the end of the battle line, he can, on future moves, cross over to the line of the enemy (his partner) and knock out his soldiers, and when he reaches the end of that line, he is considered the winner.

In spite of the fact that the above description differs from the description of the Sakhalin game of chong in Shternberg, we print it, for it may facilitate an understanding of the above-described variant of the game, although this latter differs considerably from that described by Mladzyan. S. Sh.

/14 cont./

131 50° north latitude and therefore located almost precisely at half
[361] the length of this island which stretches in the direction of the meridian. The Gilyak population on the east coast of the island extends somewhat less far south. According to the information
131 that I gathered from the Gilyak in the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley and
361 in the village of Nyi on the east coast, south of this village and of the mouth of the Tymy River there are four additional Gilyak villages (3), of which the southernmost and last, three days'

[114]

3. Cf. the map accompanying Vol. I of this work. The map drawn up by Schebunin on the basis of the material from the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society shows a few additional place names among them. Therefore, the number of these Gilyak villages is perhaps greater than the one given to me, but perhaps the added names only refer to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak belonging to the winter villages named, or to overnight camping places and other such localities.

journey from Nyi, is the village of Tschamr-wo, beyond which the coast is said to be uninhabited for a great distance. This
• [115] information was later confirmed by the mining engineer Lopatin, who in 1868 made a wearisome journey on foot along this deserted coast; coming from the so[illegible] he found the first Gilyak village (Tschamr-wo) (4), according to Kropotkin's translation of his

[103]

4. "Tscham-wo," as Lopatin calls the village, or "Tschamr-wo," as I heard it and believe to be correct, has a name in Gilyak meaning "eagle village."

G 101 179 Gi 113 /15 cont./ 4. (cont.)
den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

Gi 131 The Negda
G [36] [103] live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chlya/, as well as along the river branch connecting them, although there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. This in-
G [115] [114] formation, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Judin in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later travelers,

G [103] 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu.
Gi [103] [361] On the former lie the villages of Pfyrpi-wo and Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomokr and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, calls

Gi [113] 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk. posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolaysv Post on the Amur River to Udskii

Gi 101 /136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the
G [115] Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Olcha languages, named for me, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kākal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /De-
G [361] Kastri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at
Gi [162] present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kākr-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

G [192] 10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names Kākal or Kāk(a)r, I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with
G. minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first
Gi 101 borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the
177 entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Ussuri, the Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a large stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two
G [439] peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the
[484] interests of trade often come down along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Ssiranussi, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown
G. to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and
Gi [133] not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact between the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them -- and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

361 /330 cont./
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3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and Tanskin from the village of Nganj-wo on the Liman.

A few years later
114 (1861) Glehn traveled through a section of this coast and made
342 a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature
184 of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they
36
16

4. Op. cit., pp. 232 ff.

essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's.
342 This depopulation which took place after my time is fully
36 explained by the above-mentioned severe smallpox epidemic
184 which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter
114 of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely,
16 and in the case of many small settlements which numbered no
731 more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /331/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could report only on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the preceding and following observations I always view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself Collected.

/575 cont./

411 114 he gives an illustration of it and calls it a wooden saber (2) and

2. Vol. IV, p. 1535. The specimen brought back by him and now in our museum is in fact flattened somewhat like a saber in the last third, as mentioned above.

"cudgel of honor." In his opinion it is used only to settle matters of honor in combat, during which it is seized with both hands, and the blows are parried by moving the stick to and fro. His host, the old Negda Oltungab, on the Nemilen (a tributary of the Amgunj showed him how this weapon was used. This agrees essentially with what I learned about it from the Gilyak. During 411 [115] the initial period of my stay in the Amur region, the Patchä-Gilyak Jutschin, a very intelligent person to whom I am indebted for the first groundwork of my Gilyak vocabulary, appeared at the Nikolayev post armed solely with the mungtsche. When I questioned him, he demonstrated the fencing movements for me with his wooden weapon. From his total handling of it, however, it could be assumed without any doubt that it was more than a simple fencing stick or "cudgel." For as he held it in front of him with outstretched right arm, like a halberd resting on the ground, he assumed an air of dignity as though he were a most distinguished person. Also, he did not want to be separated from it even when sitting down. Finally, the respect and regard that he rendered to his mungtsche were also expressed in the fact that at several places where it had been damaged /576/ it was carefully covered with birch bark and through that had not only not suffered in the eyes of its owner, but, on the contrary, had gained in value. All in 411 174 all the mungtsche gave me the impression of a conventional weapon of honor, which originated in ancient times, perhaps in imitation of Japanese lances, and has inherited with the latter its continuing traditional significance. The deep groove always present on the back of the mungtsche, which Middendorff leaves unexplained, but obviously is supposed to represent a channel for the blood, also points to such a prototype.

225 [108] Hunting of the Beluga by the Gilyaks of the Village Puir
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433 As L. Schrenk (1) rightly points out, hunting of the beluga

1. L. Schrenk, Ob Inorodtsakh Amurskovo Kraia, v. II, [Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region)

(white dolphin) does not play an important part in the economy of the Gilyaks which is based on fishing and, to a lesser extent, on seal hunting. Nevertheless, hunting of the beluga, which is now of an accidental rather than systematic nature, contains some features which merit description. These features are:

1) The primitive Communist character of the distribution of the catch. The hunters as well as the other village folk share the beluga. Not so in seal hunting, where the quarry is shared by the hunters only. (2)

2. E. A. Kreĭnovich, Morskoĭ Promysel Gīliakov Derevnī Kul', [Fishing Industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul), Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.

2) The religious ceremony held by the Gilyaks on the occasion of a successful hunt.

124 We did our best to authenticate the facts we are about to
225 report by writing them down in the Gilyak language under the
115 dictation of the informant. Besides writing down texts, we collected maps, plans of summer and winter settlements, plans indicating the location of landed property, drawings, etc.

In the present article we publish drawings by the Gilyak Mytka which depict all the important phases of a hunt of the beluga and two accounts of the hunt; one told by the author of these drawings, the other--by the Gilyak Khor.

115 Mytka lives in the village Puir. He is about 35 years old. He is one of the most outstanding and talented Gilyaks I have met. He has a tremendous thirst for knowledge. When I went to see him for the first time, he was lying on his plank-bed and reading Goroda i Gody [Towns and Years] by K. Fedin, a book that he took out from the library at his place of work. Mytka is very much interested in problems of technology. The model of the airplane that I brought to the anthropological and ethnographical museum was made by him for his son. Mytka likes to draw, but, unfortunately

115 his drawings have not been preserved. He is unable to go to Leningrad to study for he cannot leave his family and his old father.

225 Mytka made the sketches of the beluga hunt at my request.
124 Three of these are rough sketches which [109] I was fortunate enough to find at Mytka's. They are considerably better than the final sketches in which Mytka partly imitates the style of sketches he had seen in Russian books. (1)

1. On publication we were forced for technical reasons to substitute slanting lines for Mytka's shading.

Description of the sketches:

Sketch 1. The Gilyaks, having sighted a beluga, depart on the hunt.

Sketch 2. The Gilyaks have driven the beluga to a shallow. The Gilyak at the prow is about to throw the harpoon.

Sketch 3. A detail relating to the second sketch.

Sketch 4. Flight of the harpoon aimed at the beluga; the harpoon is supposed to hit the beluga at the moment when it emerges from the water.

Sketch 5. The beluga drags the float behind it. When the harpoon hits the beluga, the tip of the harpoon which is tied to a long strap, remains in the body of the beluga. The movements of the beluga are hindered by the float attached to the other end of the strap.

Sketch 6. The Gilyaks have caught the float and are getting ready to thrust the second harpoon at the beluga.

Sketch 7. The Gilyaks haul the beluga to the side of the boat and are about to kill it with a blow of a lance in the area of the respiratory orifice.

Sketch 8. The Gilyaks take the beluga which is fastened to the side of the boat to the village. An old woman sits on the shore and beats on a board using two sticks. This peculiar music stands for a welcome for the killed beluga.

Sketch 9. The hunters have brought the beluga to the village. The inhabitants of the village have come out to meet them and are about to haul the beluga ashore. The old woman continues to play on the board.

Sketch 10. The Gilyaks haul the beluga ashore.

Sketch 11. A Gilyak cuts up the beluga.

Sketch 12. The Gilyaks depart, each with his share of the beluga.

Sketch 13 & 14. The head of the beluga on a birch (From photographs).

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'

əkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'

etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kiʼid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even it if were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kəs

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzŋisnar.
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles as
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-uski-d
225 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).
775 There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire?

Of some help in answering this question may be the following opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin in 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmur informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the master of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no better. "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea concludes the seal hunt.

115 A seal hunt. (1) Supplement
225

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were suffering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate."Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put everything in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out the boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) make

2. I. e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was at

9: Hawes--ix-x T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 115

"My thanks are due first of all to Mr. X., my interpreter on the island of Sakhalin, a man of rank and education and a convict, without whom these investigations could never have been made. A few days before these words were penned, I received a letter telling of his escape to Japan—after many exciting experiences—'packed up in a cupboard.'

To Mr. Ellinsky, I am also deeply indebted, not only for the meteorological records of Alexandrovsk, but for many notes, which he had made on the subject of the natives.

In confirming my own observations of the fauna and flora of the island, I have derived assistance from the [x] work ot two St. Petersburg professors, A. M. Nikolsky and Fr. Schmidt."

9: Hawes--80 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 115

"My interrogator, Mr. X., turned out to be himself a convict, the son of a very high official in St. Petersburg, and the husband of the Countess of ——. A highly educated man, speaking English, French and German, besides his native tongue, he was surprisingly au courant with English literature."

9: Hawes--156 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 115

"Our new acquaintance's name was Vanka, (1) and he must go down stream to the next

1. This is really Russian nomenclature, Vanka being a diminutive of Ivan, as Bertie of Herbert.

village of Irr Kirr to fetch a companion, his cousin—how many times removed I am not in a position to state. The cousin's name was Armunka, that is as near to it as we could get in Russian."

9: Hawes--180 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 115

"I have strong doubts as to Vanka's sincerity. He was very faithful to us, yet the possibility of getting 200 rubles in the next few months was a consideration which few Gilyaks or Russians would have hesitated to risk by truth-telling."

9: Hawes--204 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 115

"Our crew consisted of a Gilyak elder and two youths. The old man's name was Yungkin, but we called him Captain, or Charon, indiscriminately, for I could not look at him without his calling to mind the famous ferryman of the river Styx.

We made good progress, for our new crew were good oarsmen; Yungkin was reputed to know every inch of the coast, and, indeed, he had need to."

115 [97] Since little has been published about the Gilyak up to the
121 present time, I took advantage of my visit of several years duration in the Amur country to study this small tribe somewhat more in detail. All races are of interest, not only in themselves, but because they furnish material for advanced scholarship. If the professional ethnologist should find something in this sketch which can be used for the purpose of such comparative study, it would give me great pleasure.

The material I present here is based largely on my own experiences and investigations, but in part it is based on notes which I gathered from those Russians who had frequently come in contact with the Gilyak. I was always careful to question several people about each subject, for the sake of greater accuracy. The statements, moreover, usually coincided. (1)

1. For my reports about the Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin, with whom I had little personal contact, I am largely indebted to a physician who lived there: Dr. A. Lebedev.

101 I. Geographical Distribution and Population.
131 The tribe of Gilyaks (2) which belongs to the Mongolian
182

2. The word is usually written "Giliak" but because the "g" is hard in pronunciation, I added the "h". [RCH: The author througout spells the word Ghiliakin.]

race lives partly on the island of Sakhalin, partly on the continent, in the coastal region of East Siberia, that is, on the lower Amur and on the sea coast around the mouth of this river, as well as on the De Kastri bay and the Kaiser bay. On the latter, the Gilyak are found only sparsely and more temporarily. On the island of Sakhalin they occupy the northern half, especially the Tym river valley, and the east and west coasts. In the summer they occupy one or another place, according to where fishing [98] is best; but in winter they always go back to their villages.

On the lower Amur the true Gilyak are to be found only as far as the village of Bogorodskoye, 150 versts up-stream from the city of Nikolayevsk. From Bogorodskoye up to the Amur tributary of Gorin, that is, from about 51 degrees north latitude, there lives a people that may be considered a cross between the Gilyak and the Goldi They call

796 in this the proof of seriousness or mourning; rather, it is entirely enough to assume that in this way they want to avoid making the archer unsteady by noisy behavior, and thus to bring him into the danger of missing his mark. Or is the torture that they impose on the poor animal before its death meant to be a symbol of the serious nature of this festival? Even this conception seems untenable to me, for why should one torment an expiatory sacrifice that already has to suffer enough by its innocent death, as happens in this case; and, besides, does not the cruel treatment of the bear before its death give the impression of proceeding entirely from the overbubbling festive joy of the celebrators? Unfortunately, the traveller was unable to give any hints as to the significance of the ceremonies described, since the Gilyak were themselves unable to explain them. They celebrated [382] the festival the way their fathers and forefathers had celebrated it, without worrying any further about the meaning of the various actions. Jakobsen's friends in Nikolayevsk were equally unable to give him adequate explanations on this subject. Probably, therefore, we need more frequent and more detailed observation than is available today before we can see into the matter clearly.

115 Finally, a saga current among the Gilyak which Jakobsen
173 heard from a Russian station master who had lived in their
539 territory for a long time. It goes as follows: A long, long time ago there appeared on the Amur coming from the east a small vessel full of enormously strong people of a dark complexion. These went ashore, attacked the villages, burned them down, and, without distinguishing age or sex, killed and ate all the inhabitants that they could lay hands on. Sailing up the river, they acted in the same fashion in the land of the Goldi till finally the invaded tribes recovered from their terror, banded together and moved in large hordes against the barbaric enemy, whom they then defeated in a bitter battle. All the cannibals were killed and their ship was destroyed. From this time on, the Gilyak always add, no more foreign people came to the Amur River from the east up to the time when the Russians appeared at the mouth of the river and took possession of the land.

1: Shternberg E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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The Gilyak, Orochi, Goldi, Negidal, Ainu: Articles and Materials

/Gil͡yaki, orochi, gol'dy, negidal'tsy, ainy: stati i materialy/

by Lev I͡A. Shternberg

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Human Relations Area Files
1964

/Title page/

akh -- a Chinese slave

aŋg:ej -- a marriage class composed of women whom by the kinship nomenclature ego calls "wife" and whose agnates he calls akhmalk'i ("fathers-in-law"). These women would consist of: (1) daughters of all the "brothers" of the mothers, (2) all the "sisters" of the wife, (3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers, (4) "sisters" of the "father-in-law" of the son, (5) individual wives of all aki (brothers who are older than the person speaking), and (6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking.

chegin -- the major of the three souls of man

chkhnaj -- wooden image of Pal-n'igyvyn (a god)

chukh-chugynd -- a sacrifice

hap -- the stacked firewood of a funeral pyre

kekhn -- spirit helper of the shaman

kenchkh -- a supernatural bird "which comes on the wind," used by shamans

khal -- clan

khlay-nivukh -- an able and eloquent man, often an orator, who tries to establish peaceful relationships between feuding clans

kitus -- a supernatural worm-like creature used by shamans

krygrys -- an Ainu slave

langraf -- a shed for childbirth
lernd -- conjuring
lung -- fire drill
milk -- an evil spirit
mlyvo -- the world of the dead
mástun-n'ivukh -- storyteller
okht -- love magic
pandf -- people of common origin, cognates
m'astund -- heroic tales
pila uigryf -- house in which the bear festival is celebrated
pryski -- the favorite dog of the deceased who is afforded special treatment during the funeral and mourning period
pu -- the name given by each woman to a man whom she calls "husband," in addition to her own official husband; these are: (1) all the sons of the sisters of her father, (2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands, and (3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband, and among some groups of Gilyak, <u>all</u> the brothers
raf -- a little house with a little door, placed over a grave

104

ruvn -- brothers, actual and classificatory in the clan
shagynd -- an object of value used as part of the bride price
taru -- talisman
tkhusind -- ransom
tongch -- a representation of twins which is placed in a small storehouse and sacrificed to at the full and new moon
tugur -- the "master" of the fire (a supernatural being)
ulgind -- a sin
ymgii -- son-in-law

114

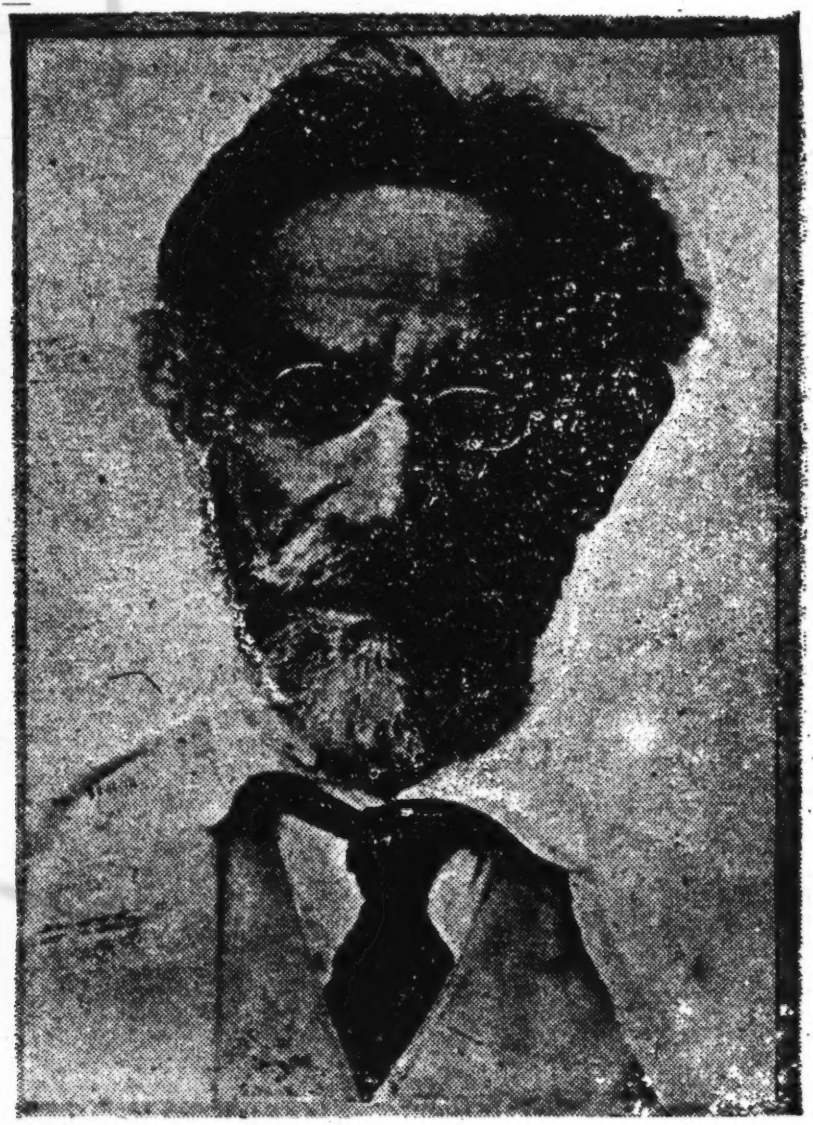

L. IA. Shternberg

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/The translation ends with p. 388 of the original text, which continues with sections on the Orochi, Goldi, Negidal, Ainu, and Shternberg's investigations in the Far East. The illustrations pertaining to the Gilyak, Photos. 16-26, follow the translation of the text, and the items in the list of errata on pp. 738-740 of the original text have been incorporated in the translation./

/xi/

L. IA. Shternberg as an Investigator of the Peoples of the Far East

IA. P. Al'kor (Koshkin)

*114 L. IA. Shternberg devoted a significant part of his life to the study of the peoples of the Far East. His scientific work began with the study of the Gilyak on Sakhalin (in 1890); it so prematurely ended with a paper on the "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (in 1927), upon his return from the Third Pacific Congress in Tokyo.

In his youth Shternberg did not think of scientific work. While still on the schoolbench, he dreamed of giving his whole life "for the good of the people." As a student in the Physics-Mathematics Department of St. Petersburg University and later in the Department of Law of the Novorossisk University, Shternberg took part in revolutionary activity, to which he gave his best young years. He was arrested in 1886 for active participation in the "The People's Will" party, and in the spring of 1889, after a three-year "stretch" in the Odessa central prison, he was deported for ten years to Sakhalin Island, where his ethnographic work began. Thus, the Tsarist prison and exile pushed Shternberg quite unexpectedly onto the path of a scientist.

*114 121 127 It is true that even before his arrest and exile, Shternberg was interested in questions of primitive history and sociology, but he received the decisive push in that direction in the Odessa prison, where, due to a happy accident, he became acquainted with F. E Engels' book, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, in German. This book, as we shall see later, greatly facilitated the beginning of Shternberg's investigations on the history of family-clan relations and had a highly significant influence on his first works.

*114 Setting out in exile, Shternberg nourished the hope that even in distant banishment he would in one way or another be able to be useful to the community, but he did not even think about ethnographic work among the local /xii/ "natives" (in the

/xii cont./

*114 terminology of that time). Shternberg met his first "native" at the Aleksandrovsk post, i.e., at the point of his initial deportation, three months after his arrival on Sakhalin. About the impression [117] that this meeting made on Shternberg, there is a characteristic entry in his diary for the twelfth of August, 1889: "I saw on the street an old Gilyak shaman in rags, with tousled gray hair and a foolish, good-natured-cunning smile on his face. Small boys surrounded him and shouted: 'Look at the old shaman, he will do some divining for you.' I approached. The old man, small in stature, with dignified gray hair, a high, powerful forehead, and a good-natured expression, stood helpless among them and looked at me. I departed from that sight with sadness..." Shternberg ends his entry in the diary with the significant sentence: "Some day I shall make a study of them" (1).

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1. "L. IA. Shternberg as a field ethnographer," in the periodical, Priroda i liudi, Nos. 17/18 and 19, p. 33, Leningrad, 1931.

Very soon, six months after this meeting with the Gilyak shaman, the Sakhalin administration "took the trouble" to give Shternberg the opportunity to study the Gilyak. Actually, due to his systematic attempts to defend his comrade -- political exiles, to whom corporal punishment and similar measures were beginning to be applied, he was sent in February, 1890, to the isolated cordon of Viakhtu, located 100 kilometers to the north of Aleksandrovsk in a half-deserted place on the shore of Tatar Strait. Here, in a walled-off corner of the hut-prison which he shared with his guards, Shternberg set up a "study" and began his ethnographic work. Not far (two kilometers) from the cordon there was a little Gilyak settlement which Shternberg started to visit often and to observe attentively the life of its inhabitants. Very soon, after thoughtful and extensive research, he succeeded in uncovering the peculiar family-clan structure of the Gilyak. Within the cordon itself, which was located near a thoroughfare, he first met even some Tungus who happened to be passing through.

/xii cont./

*114 Shternberg commenced a broader and a more systematic study of the Gilyak in the first part of February, 1891, when the administration, having learned of his work with the Gilyak, commissioned him to make a family census of the northwestern Gilyak of Sakhalin from the village of Arkyvo to Cape Marii.

/xiii/ During this trip Shternberg discovered group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship among the Gilyak. Parallel to this, he carefully studied the clan rules and religious views of the
*114 Gilyak. It might be mentioned here that prior to his scientific re-
127 search he had not even had the opportunity to become familiar with the basic works of that time on the ethnography of the Far East. This is what he writes in the preface to his "Materialy /Materials/": "Due to the conditions of my stay on Sakhalin, even Schrenck's work on the history and material culture of the Amur peoples remained inaccessible to me for a long time... (1). From a careful

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1. Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, p. viii, St. Petersburg, 1908, publication of the Academy of Sciences.

analysis of Shternberg's literary heritage and of his first printed works, it is clear that at the time of his first trip to the Gilyak he had not had the opportunity to acquaint himself with either Schrenck's book, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskogo kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, or even Morgan's Ancient Society (Drevnee obshchestvo), Tylor's Pervobytnaia kul'tura /Primitive Culture/, or the other works on the history of primitive society.
*114 On the other hand, his prison acquaintance with Engels' classic
121 work was not wasted on him. There is no doubt but that it was
127 thanks to this study that he was able in such an astonishingly short period to discover among the Gilyak group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship and, basically, to realize clearly
[212] the full significance of this discovery. Thus, in a letter of the nineteenth of May to his good friend and companion-in-arms in

/xiii cont./

*114 revolutionary activity, M. A. Krol', Shternberg writes (2):
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[212]

> 2. I am indebted to the kindness of the widow of the deceased, S. A. Ratner-Shternberg, for acquainting me with the contents of this letter.

"I have discovered among them (the Gilyak) a kinship terminology and family-clan rights identical with those of the Iroquois and the famous punalua family (on the Sandwich Islands), in a word, the remains of that form of marriage on which Morgan based his theory and which served as a point of departure for Marx' and Engels' works on Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates, u.s.w. /the origin of the family, of the state, etc./. The interesting clan organization of the Gilyak, however, rests on this kinship system. At first I was afraid to trust my own discovery, but, having let not a single family or a single yurt go by during the census without detailed questioning as to what different members of the clan and family call one another and who has what rights, I finally became convinced (3). /xiv/ Al-

[161]

> 3. Earlier in the same letter Shternberg mentioned that he had covered 1,040 Gilyak in his census.

though there are voluminous studies on the Gilyak, no one in the literature known to me has studied this aspect of the question."

*114 After his investigation of the Gilyak of the northwest coast, there followed a series of other trips which resulted in a full ethno-
[125] graphic study of all Sakhalin. Thus, in June, 1891, he took the census of the Gilyak and the Orochi on the river Tym' and on the east coast of Sakhalin, and a partial one of the Tungus. In the winter of 1891 he encountered the Olcha who visited Sakhalin late in the fall for trading purposes. He spent the summer of 1892
[125] traveling on the river Poronai and around the entire southern part of Sakhalin as far as the settlement of Kosunaya, where, along with the Ainu and the Orok, he also studied and took a census of the Gilyak.

G /xiv cont./
*114 Gilyak. In the summer of 1893 Shternberg investigated the western shores of Sakhalin from Arkyvo to Sortunaya and studied the Gilyak. In 1894 he made a second summer trip to the Gilyak along the west coast of northern Sakhalin, where he studied Stone Age remains and made a detailed study of the change in the make-up of the population as compared with 1891.

In 1895 Shternberg received permission to cross temporarily from Sakhalin to the mainland for scientific purposes, on the condition that he would move within a restricted area precisely defined by the administration. In the summer of that year he left the post of Aleksandrovsk on the ship Vladimir for Vladivostok. Even this boat trip was not wasted for him from the standpoint of ethnographic research: Aboard the ship he found a few Orochi from Dat and from the Imperial Harbor region, and he discovered that they referred to themselves as Nani.

The lateness of the season did not permit Shternberg to visit the lower reaches of the Amur during the same year, and he utilized the short space of time left before the closing of navigation to make a general survey of the country between Khabarovsk and Blagoveshchensk. In Blagoveshchensk Shternberg visited the well-known expert on the language of the Goldi, Protodiakonov, who gave Shternberg an Orochi-Russian dictionary dotted with autograph
Gi [101] Goldi translations. From Protodiakonov Shternberg learned that the Goldi called themselves Nanai, and here the idea came to him that the Orok, Olcha, Orochi, and the Goldi were one tribe, inasmuch as they bore the same self-designation.

At the end of June, 1896, Shternberg undertook a trip to
G *114 the Amur Gilyak. At the same time the opportunity presented
Gi 114 itself /xv/ to visit on the way that part of Tatar Strait which is inhabited by the Orochi as well. Although he had very little time at his disposal and could not spare more than a month for the Orochi, he nevertheless decided to take advantage of this opportunity. During his stay among the Orochi, Shternberg visited their settlements in Imperial Harbor and the Ui and Dyuanka bays, the settlement of Dat, and all the settlements along the river Tumnin up to Muli-Dat, and during this expedition he also met some Orochi from more remote parts.

/xv cont./

*114 Having finished his investigation of the Orochi, in August of the same year Shternberg proceeded from Imperial Harbor to the lower reaches of the Amur, where along with the study of the Gilyak he became acquainted with the Olcha. During this trip he covered the lower reaches of the Amur as far as Sofisk and also the sea coast north from the Amur estuary up to the river Kol' and south to the settlement of Chom.

Shternberg spent the winter of 1896-1897 once again on Sakhalin and continued studying the language, folklore, and customs of the Gilyak and also rechecked his earlier observations.

In May, 1897, Shternberg, included under the amnesty following the manifesto of 1895, left Sakhalin before the expiration of his term and returned to his homeland, where he received, in addition, three years under police surveillance (1).

1. According to the manifesto, the term of exile was to be reduced by one-third, i.e., by three years, three months, and ten days, but, thanks to the "efforts" of the local administration, the reduction amounted to one year, five months.

Thus, during his eight-year stay in exile, Shternberg had investigated in detail the social structure, religious views, and common law of the Sakhalin and Amur Gilyak and, in addition, had thoroughly studied the Gilyak language and folklore. He studied the Orochi, Orok, Sakhalin Tungus, Ainu, and the Olcha in the same way, and partially the Negidal from chance encounters with them in the lower reaches of the Amur.

After the trip in 1896 there was a break of 13 full years in the expeditionary activity of Shternberg. Only in 1910, on com- [122] mission from the Russian Committee on the Study of East and Central Asia, was Shternberg able to return once again to the Amur and Sakhalin, this time as a recognized scientist.

/xv cont./

*114 G Gi 114 The main goal of this expedition was to continue his earlier linguistic and ethnographic work among the Gilyak of the lower Amur and the island of Sakhalin. Shternberg intended to remain among the Goldi and Olcha only a short time in order to acquaint himself with their life merely insofar as this might be significant for a better understanding /xvi/ of certain aspects of the life and history of the Gilyak. But matters did not quite turn out as intended, for the greater part of the time of the expedition was spent on the study of the Goldi and on a passing acquaintance with the Negidal, Ainu Ude (using his term of that time for the Orochon, and the Olcha. With this expedition Shternberg finished the field study of the peoples of the Amur basin and of Sakhalin.

II.

*114 G Before proceeding to an examination of the works of L. IA. Shternberg on the study of the peoples of the Far East, it is absolutely necessary, in order to understand them correctly, to consider his philosophical views, albeit within the briefest limits.

During those years when Shternberg's world outlook was forming, he was a Russian Populist and, as such, a supporter of the so-called Russian subjective school in sociology, the leaders of which were P. L. Lavrov and N. K. Mikhailovsky; the spiritual father, Bruno Bauer.

According to the aims of the subjective sociologists, fundamentally opposed to the aims of Marxism, the basic cause of social phenomena is the ideals and goals of men, which, according to them, separates social evolution from natural-historical evolution and requires that it be studied with the help of a special "subjective" method, consisting of the examination and evaluation of the entire past and present from the point of view of an ideal social structure fully corresponding to the demands of human nature. It follows from this that to properly understand the past and change the existing order it is necessary to create common ideals, utopias, which is what occupied the subjective sociologists. They were not in the

/xvi cont./

*114 least disturbed by the fact that "the view that the conditions of man s life are created by his ideas and notions, and not the other way around, is refuted by his whole history, in which, up to the present time, he has attained something a little different from what he wanted, and, in the long view, even the opposite in most cases" (1).

[113]

1. F. Engels, Appendix to "Anti-Dühring," Collected Works of Marx and Engels /cited in Russian in the original text/, Vol. XIV, p. 364.

Thus, the distinctive feature of the subjectivists is the view that "the world of justice, the world of truth and right" stands "outside any relationship with the objective course of historical development, here -- 'justice,' there 'actuality,' and these /xvii/ two areas are separated one from the other by a whole gulf" (1), and

[113]

1. Plekhanov, "K voprosy o razvitii monisticheskogo vzglizda na istoriiu /On the Question of the Development of the Monistic View of History/," Collected Works /cited in Russian/, Vol. VII, p. 102.

therefore they could not explain the past or propose real means for changing the present.

From the above, the enormous role which the subjectivists ascribed to the "critically thinking" individuals in working out the ideals and directing history on the desired course becomes understandable. There is no objective criterion for such ideals, according to the views of the subjectivists, for the opinion of the majority cannot serve as a measure of truth (2). The subjective sociologists

2. From the Marxist point of view, such an understanding of objectivity is absurd. "Majority," "mob," etc. consist of people, but the views of

/xvii cont./

*114

> people are always subjective, representing one of the characteristics of the subject. The views of the "mob" are not objective; it is the relationships in nature or society that are expressed in those views that are objective. The criterion for truth lies not within me, but in the relationships existing outside of me. Those views which faithfully represent these relationships are true; those views which distort them are false" (Plekhanov, op. cit., p. 226).

absolutely did not understand the role of the individual in history and therefore found it possible to accuse Marxists of ignoring the individual, not understanding that only Marxism explains the actual role and significance of the individual. An exaggeration of the role of the individual, not understanding his actual role, goes through all the works of Shternberg, like a red thread.

For the subjective sociologists there is no class understanding of a social-economic formation; they seek the development of society in general, think up different formulas of progress, carry on arguments about the essence and goal of society, etc. The definition of society given by L. IA. Shternberg was composed in this spirit. "Society" -- he writes in his lectures on "Evoliutsiia sotsial'noi kul'tury /The Evolution of Social Culture/" -- "is an aggregate of people... permanent, not transient, and, furthermore, bound by biological ties in the broad sense of that word, i.e., by those intrinsic, not transient interests which arise from the very nature of man."

In reply to the subjectivists, Lenin writes: "To begin with the questions, what is society, what is progress -- is to begin at the end. Where will your understanding of society and progress in general come from, when you still have not studied a single social formation and, in particular, have not even been able to establish this concept, have not even been able to approach serious, factual

*114 /xviii/ study, the objective analysis of any kind of social relationships whatever (1).

[113]

1. "Chto takoe 'druz'ia naroda' i kak oni voiuiut protiv sotsial-demokratof /What 'friends of the people' are and how they struggle against the Social Democrats/," Collected Works /cited in Russian/, Lenin, Vol. I, p. 74.

It has never occurred to the subjective sociologists, including L. IA. Shternberg, that "instead of study and explanation, such methods only give support to the concept of society either of the bourgeois ideas of the English huckster, or the narrow-minded socialistic ideals of the Russian democrat -- and nothing more" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 75.

And actually, their theory is merely an expression of the social ideas of the Russian petty-bourgeois intelligentsia of a particular period and has not advanced mankind a single step toward an understanding of real social relationships or of those which "correspond to human nature."

The desire of the subjective sociologists to lift themselves above the question of the class struggle and to examine all social phenomena from a superclass point of view of abstract justice is well known. Proceeding from this, the subjectivists waged a bitter battle with the Marxist understanding of the theory of the class struggle, in particular advancing a theory about the "artificiality" of capitalism in Russia and about the absolute possibility of passing from the rural obshchina /community/ of the nineteenth century to socialism. There is no class struggle in the works of Shternberg. All the questions there are examined from some kind of superclass point of view. As a characteristic example, one might offer the following lecture by Shternberg to the Gilyak upon their electing their judge: "A judge should be impartial to rich and poor, friend and foe, he must judge conscientiously" (3). But the facts of

/xviii cont./

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3. Diary of the first trip to the Gilyak in February, 1891 (ms.).

exploitation among the Gilyak could nonetheless not have escaped even Shternberg, to which the following entry in one of his diaries bears witness: "These (Gilyak) kulaks exploit no less than the civilized ones" (4). We would look in vain, however, in his printed

[113]

4. Diary of the trip to the eastern Gilyak in June, 1891 (ms.).

works for an exposition of how class differentiation and exploitation occur in the disintegrating clan society of the Gilyak. Moreover, an idealization of Gilyak society runs through all his works. Thus, in describing the Gilyak rich men (ysi), he says: what is the yz' if not that very same whole individual in his highest manifestation of individuality. The influence of the yz' is therefore purely /xix/ virtual, moral; there is no gulf between him and the poorest of his clansmen, either spiritually or economically, and at the same time the fraternal tie of the religious-social union of the clan dominates over all.

Well-known to us are the ridiculous attempts of the subjectivists to interpret Marxism as "economic materialism," as if it rejected all other aspects of social life except the economic aspect, in spite of the absolutely definite instructions of the founders of Marxism that there is no such automatic action of the economic situation as is sometimes imagined. Marxism does not reject the various aspects of social life, much less their interrelations, but shows that, in the final analysis, the decisive relationships are the economic ones. Finding the views of the Marxists one-sided, the subjective sociologists advanced their own theory about the interaction of these factors, not understanding that the interaction by itself explained nothing, but on the contrary required an explanation with the help of an objective criterion, which could only be the economic structure of society.

/xix cont./

*114 Shternberg in his works summons us as well to pluralism, to the examination of various aspects of social life in their equivalent relationship.

An inability to distinguish between the important and the unimportant phenomena in the development of society, and an inability to find an objective criterion, represents the root of subjectivism in sociology.

One must also note the methodical, completely unjust way in which the subjective sociologists, including Shternberg, biologize a number of social phenomena. Thus, frequently in his works we can find "instinct for sympathy," "the necessity for co-operation," etc. This is particularly noticeable in the realm of the interpretation of religious phenomena. Thus, in his manuscript lectures on "The Evolution of Religious Beliefs," he defines religion as "one of the forms of the struggle for existence, in those realms where ordinary means are not applicable." Lenin is completely right when he points out that "there is nothing easier than to stick an 'energetics' or 'biologico-socialistic' label on phenomena of the nature of the crises of revolutions, the struggles of classes, and so forth. But there is nothing more fruitless, scholastic, dead, than this activity." The exploitational essence of religion has been castrated without a trace from Shternberg's definition of religion. In addition, that /xx/ definition allows Shternberg ultimately to make no dividing line between religion and philosophy. Thus, in an unfinished variant on animism, he writes: "With the growth of knowledge, when the consciousness of man's dependence on forces which he does not understand weakens... religion more and more loses its power and relinquishes its place to pure speculation. To the man who has freed himself from the elementary, crudest burdens of the struggle for existence, there still remains the most painful aspect of his existence, anguish about eternity, grief over inevitable suffering, crowned with the mystery of death. He must have peace... not the peace which people have been accustomed to receiving from the practice of religion for thousands of years, but an inner peace, no matter at what cost it is obtained. And philosophy tries to give him that peace by those means of which

/xx cont./

*114 it is capable. Whatever these answers, be it manful agnosticism, be it inconsolable pantheism, be it active bonne mine au mauvais jeu passimism /passimism to put a good face on matters/, be it materialism or spiritualism, any answer for many and for a long time will be better than a riddle in no way solvable. Thus, philosophy in this sense fully complies with our definition of religion, for it tries to facilitate human existence in those realms where the ordinary means of the struggle for existence are impotent."

Finally, it is necessary to note that the subjective school in sociology did not limit itself in its views to philosophical monism. The subjectivists allowed themselves "to take good from everywhere." Therefore they considered it just in their works to utilize other methods besides the subjective one, in such a way, however, "that the highest control in sociology would belong to the subjective one." It is clear, that limitless expanses were thereby opened to eclecticism. All the basic theoretical constructs of Shternberg suffer from eclecticism.

For an exhaustive understanding of the views of Shternberg, however, it is also necessary to consider that he was not only a subjective sociologist, but also an outstanding representative of the so-called classical school in ethnology (more precisely -- psychologico-evolutionist movement in sociology) founded by Bastian, Tylor, and others. Shternberg's ethnographic study presents a unique combination of subjective-sociological and psychologico-evolutionist aims. Such a combination was all the easier for Shternberg because the point of departure for both schools was human psychics.

/xxi/ Shternberg's definition of ethnography as "the science of humanity and culture" follows from his position on society. In a more detailed form, this definition looks like this: "Ethnography is a science studying... human culture, and not the culture of only the so-called savages, but the culture of all peoples, and, on the basis of the comparison of these various cultures, constructing the picture and the laws of evolution of human culture in general." "And only someone," adds Shternberg further," who has mastered the theoretical foundations of ethnography is in a position to study

/xxi cont./

*114 the cultures of separate peoples, at whatever degree of development they stand." (1). "The sociology of peoples," in the words of

[113]

1. Etnografiia i narodnoe khoziaistvo /Ethnography and the National Economy/" (ms.).

Shternberg, "although it claims independent significance, when we scrutinize the circle of phenomena treated by it, it begins to seem to us that it does not constitute a science separate from ethnography" (2).

2. Ibid.

For us such a definition of ethnography is absolutely unacceptable, for in the view of Shternberg ethnography is transformed into sociology, and as such counterposes itself to historical materialism, the only scientific sociology.

In his definition of ethnography, Shternberg briefly expresses his views on culture and its evolution as well.

It is particularly necessary to note the views of Shternberg on culture as an object of ethnographic study. "Culture," says Shternberg, "is the sum of all the values created by man himself, by his intellect. From the psychological point of view, it is the product of individual discoveries and inventions, from the dynamic -- the product of the gradual accumulation of these inventions by all past generations. Culture is not the biological, but the social heritage of past generations, and therefore the level of culture depends exclusively on the number of inherited inventions and discoveries, and not on the evolution of the physical nature of man himself. We must consider as genuine cultural values only the discoveries and inventions in the form of knowledge and skills, but not those material objects in which they take form from time to time."

/xxi cont./

*114 Obviously, the idealistic essence of Shternberg's views on culture is set forth here, and therefore it need not be considered in more detail.

Shternberg, like the rest of the evolutionists, and also the subjective sociologists, regarded /xxii/ the dialectical method negatively, ascribing to Marxism the unoriginal application of the Hegelian triads, not understanding that "the dialectal method... is what Marx and Engels called nothing other than a scientific method in sociology, by which society is examined as a living organism in constant motion... for the study of which there must be an objective analysis of the relations of production which forms the given social formation, the study of the laws of its functioning and development" (1).

1. Lenin, op. cit., p. 93.

Shternberg considered it possible to limit himself merely to the application of the comparative method when studying social phenomena. The prevailing significance which he attributed to this method found vivid expression in his definition of ethnography as a science given above. In this connection, it is relevant to cite the words of Hegel on the relative significance of the comparative method. Considering an outline of several significant successes attained by comparative anatomy and comparative linguistics, Hegel says: "In spite of this, however, we must not only note that scientists have gone too far in supposing that this comparative method may be applied with equal success in all realms of knowledge, but we must especially stress as well that comparison by itself cannot give full satisfaction to scientific demands and that the results obtained by this method must be examined as merely preparatory, albeit essential works for a genuinely comprehensive knowledge" (2). And this is so, for by means of the comparative

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2. "Entsiklopediia filosofskikh nauk /Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences/," Works of Hegel /cited in Russian/, Part I, Vol. I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1929, pp. 200-201.

/xxii/cont./

*114 method it is impossible to uncover the essence of phenomena.

Shternberg's views on the development of culture are of considerable interest. "As a result of our comparative study of culture," he says, "ethnography leads us to the conclusion that the creative work of culture has proceeded, everywhere and always, according to the same laws, that human psychics are united in their creative work, that human culture is just as united as its creator -- humanity as a whole, and that all distinctions in culture are the result, not of psychic distinctions, but of distinctions in the geographical and historical conditions, purely external and of a changeable character." "The ideal of culture is collective creative work and the equal distribution of cultural values. Every culture has /xxiii/ a tendency toward distribution: the ultimate goal is universalism and the unity of human culture" (1).

[113]

1. "Vvedenie v etnografiiu /Introduction to Ethnography/" (ms.).

This aim gave him the opportunity to wage a decisive struggle with the race theory in ethnology, maintaining the inequality of different races and peoples. On the other hand, in a number of cases precisely this aim allowed Shternberg to explain different social phenomena, to approach the point of view of dialectical materialism.

As the most eminent representative of the evolutionary school in Russia, Shternberg waged a battle with the reactionary culture-historical school, headed by Fathers Schmidt and Koppers, against its theory of diffusion (cultural borrowings), culture circles, and the existence of monotheism, individual marriage, and private property from the beginning. Speaking about Father, now Cardinal, W. Schmidt and his culture-historical views, Shternberg points out that "for many years he (Schmidt) has tendentiously propagandized these views in his influential journal, Anthropos, which, due to extensive means of publication, has been able to attract the collaboration of very outstanding ethnologists

*114 /xxiii cont./
as well as a large number of researcher-missionaries (2).

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2. "Sovremennaia etnografiia /Contemporary Ethnography/," in the periodical, Etnografiia, Nos. 1-2, pp. 24-25, Moscow-Leningrad, 1926.

It would not be out of place to mention that, while staunchly defending his philosophical-evolutionalist aims, Shternberg waged a battle with the fashionable bourgeois theories of Marett (on preanimism), Levy Brühl (on prelogical thought), Freud (on the sexual basis of all social phenomena), etc. In this respect his materials have significant value even today.

Nevertheless we must consider as the most important aspect of the scientific work of Shternberg that he was one of the most prominent followers of the famous American ethnologist, L. Morgan, who rediscovered, in the words of Engels, the materialistic understanding of history. Shternberg reinforced and developed Morgan's theory with his remarkable discoveries of the classificatory system of kinship and group marriage among the peoples of the Far East, as well as with a number of his investigations in the realm of prehistory. As a Morganist, Shternberg was noticed even by Engels, who translated into German an account of one of his works and wrote him a personal letter, with which we shall deal later.

/xxiv/ III.

113 Having briefly acquainted ourselves with the theoretical views of L. IA. Shternberg and proceeding to a survey of his works on the study of the peoples of the Far East, it is necessary first of all to point out that to submit all these works to a detailed, critical examination is not permitted by the scope of the present article, and we shall consider only the most important features.

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113 Not all the works by Shternberg on the Far East have been published, and what has appeared is scattered through many journals and collections which are difficult to obtain at this time. Only the present edition, undertaken and executed on the initiative of the Community of the Far East, offers one the opportunity to become acquainted with Shternberg's most important works on the peoples of the Far East, including some manuscripts published for the first time.

The basic works of Shternberg on the ethnography of the Far East are: 1) "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" (Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, Bk. 2, Moscow, 1893); 2) "Orochi Tatarskogo proliva / The Orochi of Tatar Strait/" (a summary in the weekly Vladivostok, Nos. 47, 48, 50, and 51, 1896); 3) "Giliaki /The Gilyak/" (Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, Bks. 60, 61, and 63, 1904; reprint, Moscow, 1905); 4) "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" (Ezhegodnik Russkogo Antropologicheskogo Obshchestva pri Peterburgskom Universitete, St. Petersburg, 1908); 5) "The Turano-Ganowanian System and the nations of the Nord-East Asia" (Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of the Americanists, London, 1912); 6) "Divine election in primitive religions" (Proceedings of the XXV International Congress of Americanists, 1925; the Russian supplementary edition under the title, "Izbrannichestvo v religii /Election in Religion/," printed in Etnografiia, No. 1, 1927); 7) "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" (posthumous work, printed in the Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii Akademii Nauk, Vol. VIII, Leningrad, 1929). Of these works, the following are not printed in the present edition: "The Turano-Ganowanian System" and "Izbrannichestvo v religii." Printed for the first time, however, are "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov /The Social Organization of the Gilyak/," "Gol'dy /The Goldi/" (unfinished account of the expedition of 1910) /untranslated/, and "Klassifikatsiia narodof Dal'nego Vostoka /The Classification of the Peoples of the Far East/."

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113 On the languages of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg has published the following works: 1) "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Samples of Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/" (Izvestiia Akademii Nauk, Vol. XIII, No. 4, St. Petersburg, 1900); 2) "Bemerkungen über die Beziehung zwischen der Morphologie der giljakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen /Remarks on the Relation between the Morphology of the Gilyak and American Languages/" /xxv/ (XIV Internationaler Amerikanisher Congress, Stuttgart, 1904); 3) Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo fol'klora i yazyka /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, Part 1 (publication of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1908). The remaining unprinted materials on the Gilyak language and folklore are supposed to be published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The following materials on the Tungus-Manchu languages from the linguistic legacy of Shternberg are printed in the present edition /but are not translated/: 1) "Orochskii etnograficheskii slovar' /Orochi Ethnographic Dictionary/," 2) "Gol'dskii etnograficheskii slovar' /The Goldi Ethnographic Dictionary/," with a grammatical note, 3) "Negidal'skii etnograficheskii slovar' /Negidal Ethnographic Dictionary/," 4) "Grammaticheskie zametki po negidal'skomu iazyku /Grammatical Notes on the Negidal Language/."

*114 From the description of the trips of L. IA Shternberg that we gave in the first section, we see that he carried out the greater part of his field research among the Gilyak, and accordingly his primary printed works on the ethnography and linguistics of the Far East are devoted to precisely that nationality.

113 The works of Shternberg on the Gilyak fall into two groups:
*114 one of them is devoted to questions on social structure and religious beliefs, the other to folklore and language. Of the works of the first group, the primary ones are: "Sakhalinskie giliaki," "Giliaki," "Turano-ganovanskaia sistema i narody severo-vostochnoi Azii" (1),

1. Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of the Americanists, London, 1912.

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*114 113 and "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov" now appearing in print for the first time. In the first of the works listed, we find, in embryo, as it were, all that is given by him later in a more profound and exhaustive form in the remainder of the works listed.

*114 113 595 One must note, in particular, that in the first sketch, written in 1891, i.e., as a result of a comparatively brief period of observation, there is already a completely clear description of the group marriage and classificatory system of kinship discovered by him, and of the basic features of their clan structure, etc. Shternberg succeeded in sending the manuscript of this work to Moscow at the time, where it was first read in the form of a paper for the Society for the Study of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography (the tenth of October, 1892) by the secretary of the society, N. IA. IAnchuk. Just a few days after the paper, an account with a rather detailed exposition of Chapters I and II of the manuscript appeared in Russkie vedomosti. The novelty and the great theoretical significance of the material attracted widespread attention in scientific circles interested in the history of primitive society. /xxvi/ Friedrick Engels took an interest in this work as well; he was closely following Russian political and socio-scientific literature, and he published in Die Neue Zeit (XI Jahrgang, B. I, 1893) a complete translation of the newspaper account of the work of Shternberg, with his own introductory comments, under the title "Ein neuentdeckter Fall in der Geschichte der Ehe /A Newly Discovered Case in the History of Marriage/" (1). F. Engels attributed

1. This article by Engels did not appear in Russian until 1922 in the appendix to Engels' book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti i gosudarstvo /The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State/, pp. 123-125, published by "Moskovskii rabochii" /The Moscow Worker/ in "Biblioteka kommunista" /The Library of the Communist/.

/xxvi cont./

*114 especially great significance to the confirmation of the existence
595 of group marriage in the Gilyak material. In view of the tremen-
[113] dous methodological significance, we present these remarks by Engels in full. "In recent times," he writes, "among certain rationalistic ethnographers, it has once again become fashionable to reject the existence of group marriage. Therefore the following account, which I translate from Russkie vedomosti (Moscow, the fourteenth of October, 1892, Old Style), is of great interest. It not only explicitly confirms the existence of group marriage, i.e., the right to mutual sexual intercourse between a certain group of men and group of women, but it gives an example of a form of it which closely borders upon the punalua marriage of the Hawaiians, i.e., the most developed classical form of group marriage. While the typical punalua family consists of a number of brothers (uterine or more distantly related) who are in marital cohabitation with a certain number of uterine or more distantly related sisters, we see on Sakhalin Island that a man is married to all the wives of his brothers and all the sisters of his wife, and this means, if we examine this phenomenon from the female point of view, that his wife has the right to sexual intercourse with the brothers of her husband and the husbands of her sisters. The distinction from the typical form of the punalua marriage is therefore only that the brothers of the husband and the husbands of the sisters are not necessarily the same people. I must note that this case confirms what I wrote in Proiskhozhdenie sem'i /The Origin of the Family/, 4th ed., pp. 28-29: "This group marriage hardly looks as terrible as the imagination of our Philistines, accustomed to prostitution and brothels, pictures it." "The savages living in group marriage certainly do not lead the dissipated life that these Philistines lead under the cover of secrecy.

/xxvii/ "This form of marriage (at least in the cases still met in practice) differs from a free pair-marriage or polygamy only in that sexual intercourse is permitted by morals in a number of cases which, under different conditions, involve stern punishment.
[178] The fact that the exercise of these rights is dying out in practice proves only that this form of marriage itself was long ago condemned to die out, as is confirmed by the infrequency of the traces of its existence."

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*114 595 "Furthermore, the whole matter is interesting in that it once again shows how similar or even identical the institutions of such primitive peoples at almost the same level of development are in their basic features. A large part of what is related in this account on Sakhalin is fully applicable to the Dravidian tribes of India, the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and, at the time of their discovery, the redskins."

*114 In conclusion Engels gives in full the translation of the newspaper account of Shternberg's article. Regarding the material uncovered from the newspaper account, F. Engels wrote L. IA. Shternberg a letter, as the latter told me in a private conversation. Unfortunately, the search for this letter, undertaken in the archives [113] of Shternberg, has as yet yielded no results. "Sakhalinskie giliaki" appeared in print in full in the journal Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie for 1893. In this work by Shternberg the strong influence of Engels' book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti, i gosudarstva, is felt. Engels' influence neutralized to a significant degree the psychological approach of Shternberg, and "Sakhalinskie giliaki" is undoubtedly the most materialistic work to come from his pen.

*114 601 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship, which, furthermore, preserved certain terms lost in less primitive systems, strikingly confirmed the views of Engels, who looked on group marriage as an explicit, universal step in the history of marriage, and on the classificatory system as a true indicator of the sexual norms that formerly existed. The classificatory system of kinship among the [171] Gilyak described by Shternberg turned out to be similar to the Turano-Ganowanian ~~in type.~~ Furthermore, "it is the best example of the Turanian system," says Shternberg himself, "besides being *114 the best preserved and giving the best correlation (1). With this

1. "The Turano-Ganowanian System," p. 323.

/xxviii/ discovery Shternberg filled in the gap in the scientific literature on primitive social relations, for which there were no

G /xxviii cont./

*114 data whatsoever on the social structure and sexual norms among the Amur peoples. Morgan did not have these data, and he only guessed about the existence of a classificatory system among the Amur peoples as an intermediate link between the peoples of India and of North America.

Up to the present day there is no mention of these discoveries by Shternberg from the supporters of the clerical, historico-cultural school (ardent opponents of Marxism and the theory of Morgan), because they irrevocably, with a living example, prove the existence of group marriage, so unpleasant to the Catholic Fathers who maintain the existence of individual marriage, private property, and monotheism from the beginning.

G [122] As has already been indicated above, while compiling "Sakhalinskie giliaki" Shternberg did not have the opportunity to acquaint himself with the basic literature on the peoples of the Far East, and some unfortunate inaccuracies crept into his work; thus, in complete error he writes, evidently following an oral tale of the Russian population, "that the Gilyak of the lower Amur speak the Gi T [197] same language as the Tungus." Actually it is not the Gilyak who are under discussion here, but the Ulcha (Olcha), who have a language close to the Tungus. T [101] Furthermore, we must consider that he called the Sakhalin Orok Orochon, agreeing with the local Russian name.

The monograph "Giliaki" and "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov," the broadened and deepened edition of the third chapter of "Giliak," were written by Shternberg after his return from exile. While compiling these works Shternberg had all the basic literature at hand, and the questions investigated by him are worked out very thoroughly. In these works there are uncovered a number of new aspects of the social structure of the Gilyak, which Shternberg successfully compares with the Australian materials and partially aids in their elucidation. But both these works, unlike "Sakhalinskie giliaki" and "Orochi," like all the other works of Shternberg after his exile, bear a more distinctly expressed idealistic character.

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*114 582 595 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To accept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably, the conclusions of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

*114 602 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations, and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming [174] the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

*114 614 Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their common law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the Australians.

*114 614 556 Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vukhakh and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention TO IT.

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented by
* 114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

* 114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
77 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
[176] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form of animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
[262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

* 114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[77] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
[825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

[156] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

* 114 "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
197 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of the Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

G /xxx cont./
*114 über die Beziehung zwischen der Morphologie der giljakischen und
[197] amerikanischen Sprachen," where he proves a grammatical similarity of the Gilyak language with certain languages of the American Indians. The published data on Gilyak folklore and language constitute only a part of the material collected by him. During his lifetime he did not intend to publish a Gilyak grammar, dictionary, and supplementary folklore material, but what he did publish on the study of this exceptionally difficult language, along with the discoveries cited above on the study of the clan and family structure of the Gilyak, is so significant that in the history of ethnology and linguistics Shternberg rightfully continues to be known as a great Gilyak specialist and the first serious researcher and expert on the Gilyak language.

Gi 114 /xxxi/ The next realm of work by Shternberg as a Far Eastern ethnologist was the study of the Tungusic-Manchu peoples. Of the indigenous population of the Amur region, he first of all studied the Orochi of Tatar Strait. Although he spared them only one month, he also succeeded in making a number of important observations and discoveries here, which he published in the article "Orochi Tatarskogo
Gi proliva" /The Orochi of Tatar Strait/" and which appears in full
[595] only in the present edition /untranslated/. Among the Orochi, too,
[601] he found group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship (this system, by the way, corresponded in the main to the Goldi and Tungus system); he uncovered features in their marital norms,
Gi however, which indicated an earlier stage in comparison to the
[582] Gilyak. Namely, there still existed here the right to marriage and sexual intercourse between separate categories of people of both the ascending and of the descending generations indiscriminately, which served as special support for the truth of the Morgan theory and gave Shternberg irrevocable arguments for his criticism of the anti-Morgan theory of Kautsky, who maintained that a classificatory system of kinship served merely for naming the generations and that, consequently, it certainly did not testify to the presence of group marriage.

Further, for the first time in ethnographic literature, a description of the Orochi clan was given in this work. We must mention here, however, that the definition of a clan as "a kinship-religious union, within which marriage and sexual intercourse are

/xxxi cont./

114 not permitted," is completely inadequate, for it does not reveal the economic structure of clan society.

Of the many materials collected by Shternberg on the re-
114 ligion and shamanism of the Orochi, the most interesting is the
177 indication that the idea of the supreme divinity of Enduri was
771 borrowed by them from their more cultured neighbors, the Manchu and the Chinese, through the Goldi. "What they did not have in their social life," says Shternberg, "namely, supreme power, they (the Orochi) could not introduce into the world of the gods. But it was done, the idea has already become established among them... but it was not their idea, and up to the present time it stands alone in their system of gods."

Shternberg pays particular attention in this work to eluci-
114 dating the self-designation of the Orochi and refuting the opinion
101 of Schrenck on the origin of the term Orochi. The term nani
174 ascertained by him turned out to be common to a whole group of Amur tribes -- Orochi, Goldi, and Orok -- and convinced him that these tribes were of a common origin. Depending on his own /xxxii/ data, Shternberg, to counterbalance Schrenck, advanced a hypothesis about the coming of the Orochi into their present place of habitation from the north. The hypothesis of Shternberg quite convincingly shows the reindeer-breeding past of the Orochi, but it is completely inapplicable to the elucidation of the history of the economy of the Ude, whom Shternberg then incorrectly identified with the Orochi, in spite of the fact that the Ude have a different language and forms of economy. All the data on the Ude now available yield negative material with regard to their reindeer-breeding past.

The next work of Shternberg on the Tungusic-Manchu nationalities "Gol'dy," is an unfinished account of his expedition of 1910 to the Amur. The question raised by Shternberg about
[127] the pre-Goldi population of the Amur is of great interest. For the illumination of this question he turned to folklore materials for the first time. The material collected by Shternberg allows us to consider the Kha (the name of the pre-Goldi population of the Amur) Dyucher, with regard to whom there is sufficient historical data about their living on the Amur in the seventeenth century.

Gi 114 101 /xxxii cont./

My materials also confirm that the Kha were Dyucher, or, as the Goldi called them, Irgen' (inhabitant), which in Manchu means people not having any military obligations. Consequently, the Dyucher were an unpriviledged part of the Manchu people.

Gi [614] Speaking of the composition and history of the Goldi clans, Shternberg ascertains that, in spite of the similarity of self-designation, language, customs, religious views, etc., the Goldi are a conglomerate of clans of the most varied origin and that the formation of this conglomerate took place through the constant influx of newcomers from other tribes. Shternberg gives too much importance to the biological features and therefore pays no attention whatsoever to the economic premises of the formation of the Goldi nationality. Our materials allow us to judge that the majority of the Goldi are former reindeer-breeders who settled on the Amur and under the influence of the local conditions replaced reindeer-breeding with fishing and dog-breeding. In accordance with the change in the economic way of life, the Tungus language and religious beliefs of the nomadic reindeer-breeders were replaced by the language and religion of fishermen.

Gi 114 The description of the institution of dzhangini (judges) discovered by him among the Goldi and even earlier among the Orochi is also of great interest.

The third work on the Tungus peoples is /xxxiii/"Klassifikatsiia i nomenklatura korrenogo naseleniia Amurskogo kraia /The Classification and nomenclature of the indigenous population of the Amur region/." It consists of two chapters -- classification and nomenclature. The first chapter was fully finished by Shternberg, but of the second chapter he succeeded in writing only the section on the Orok. From the diaries and other manuscripts, it was possible to make and extract notes of ethnonymic significance, from which were compiled the supplementary sections on the Olcha, Orok, and Goldi.

Gi 114 101 In their time the materials on classification would have had great significance for the correction of the Schrenck classification. At the present time they have only historical significance (1). The

1. Upon acquaintance with the classification

1: Shternberg--29 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

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of Shternberg, the contemporary classification of the Tungusic-Manchu tribes made by the author of the present article must be taken into consideration: 1. Tungusic or Northern Group: a) Evenki -- Tungus proper (Tungus, Orochon, Manegir, Solon, Birar); b) Even -- Lamut (Kamchat and Okhot Orochon, Orochon, North-Yakut Lamut), Elkambeie -- Negidal (Amgun). 2. Manchurian or Southern Group: a) Manchu proper; b) Nanai -- Goldi (Khodzeny, Samagir, Kile); c) Nanai -- Ulcha (Olcha, Orok); d) Nani (Orochi), e) Ude (Kiakary).

ethnonymic materials have not lost their significance even now. It is particularly important that Shternberg succeeded in explaining that Ngatku is the Negidal name for the Manchu tribes with the front part of the forehead unshaven (consequently, the Olcha and the lower Goldi), and Goldi is the name for the tribes with the front part of the forehead shaven, which was a sign of Manchu citizenship (the upper Goldi). It has great significance for the interpretation of the Cossack accounts of the conquest of the Amur region. It should also be pointed out that here Shternberg was the first to explain correctly the name Olcha (Ulcha), constructing it from the Olcha word ulya -- reindeer.

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The dictionaries published here of the Orochi, Goldi, and Negidal languages /untranslated/ give a rather significant number of technical, social, and religious terms, and the note on the Negidal language /untranslated/ is the first grammatical survey in linguistic literature of this little-investigated language.

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Thus, we see that in the realm of the study of the Tungusic-Manchu tribes not a little has been done by Shternberg, and he is rightfully considered, after Schrenck, the most authoritative Tungus specialist, in spite of the fact that he worked over only a small part of his extensive materials collected on these nationalities.

1: Shternberg--30 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

T 114 /xxxiii cont./

His great merit lies in the fact that, thanks to him, a number of /xxxiv/ young investigators have directed their research to the study of the Tungus; he widely shared his experience, his knowledge, and his thoughts with his students and inspired them to work with his enthusiasm.

A 114 G [114] Shternberg devoted far less time to another Far Eastern nationality, the Ainu, than he did to the Gilyak, but he nonetheless succeeded in studying them quite thoroughly, which is evident from his outstanding last work before his death, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" /untranslated/, where various aspects of Ainu life are touched upon, and historico-cultural, anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, and other materials are utilized. A [114] Shternberg in this work shows that the Ainu are not Mongols and are not Paleo-Asiatics, as they were considered to be, but are related with respect to culture, language, and anthropology to the peoples of Indonesia or Austronesia. This hypothesis, along with new discoveries in the realm of the past migrations and intercourse of the Pacific peoples, opened before him broad horizons for explaining the past fate of the Pacific peoples, including our Far Eastern peoples, but his unexpected death cut off these broad scientific plans.

In the work "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" /untranslated/, Shternberg gives a detailed description of this peculiar cultural phenomenon and advances the clever proposition that inau (sharpened sticks) are not offerings, as was supposed earlier, but intermediaries between the gods and man. Here we should also note Shternberg's interesting thought on the relationship of this cult (and also the cult of the twins) with the cults of India.

G * 114 With his many-faceted research on family-clan relations, common law, religious beliefs, primitive art, and national languages and folklore, as well as the archaeology and anthropology of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg quite deservedly won for himself a name as the best expert on the peoples of the Far East and, along with this, one as the best Russian ethnographer of his time.

/xxxiv cont./

*114 Shternberg played a very notable role in the ethnographic study of the Far East, both as an organizer and a pedagogue. For many years he actually ran the Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology of the Academy of Sciences, and thanks to him and his co-workers and students the museum prospered, especially with the Far Eastern collections, to say nothing of the fact that under his administration the museum /xxxv/ gained its international significance. Furthermore, Shternberg organized the Ethnography Department of the Geographic Institute (which later became the Ethnography Section of the Leningrad State University), which he ran from the day of its founding until his death and which produced a number of researchers and practical workers among the culturally backward peoples of the USSR, including those among the peoples of the Far East.

The works of Shternberg not printed in this edition are of considerable interest from the point of view of general theory. In addition to their significance for the history of preclass society and for the corroboration of Morgan's theory (adopted in a "copied" form by Marx and Engels), about which we spoke earlier, they help in the struggle against the reactionary culture-historical school in ethnology, against its ideas of the existence of monotheism, private property, and individual marriage from the beginning, against the anti-Marxist aims of Kautsky and Kunov in the realm of the history of preclass society, and against the enthusiasm of the Levy Brühl theory of prelogical thought and the Marett theory of preanimism.

We must not for a moment, however, lose sight of the fact that Shternberg maintained idealistic positions in the realm of the study of social phenomena, extracting the laws of the development of society from the development of human psychics. Our task is the discovery of the methodological poverty of the theoretical general views of Shternberg, who gives us an incorrect understanding of the causes and process of the development of human society, who ignores the question of the origin of classes and idealizes primitive society. The works of Shternberg and the valuable material included in them can be used only in a form that has been subjected to criticism.

The works of Shternberg also have great significance in a practical sense. At the present time, when the socialistic advance is taking place along the whole front and even the most backward, northern outlying districts of our vast land are being rebuilt along

/xxxv cont./

*114 socialist lines, when there is a flowering of national cultures unseen in history, we have a great need for works which can give us data about one or another aspect of these national cultures. In this respect the works of Shternberg come to meet us. We find in them a careful description of the clan structure of the peoples of the Far East, which may be used in our struggle /xxxvi/ for the speediest liquidation of the survivals of the patriarchal clan as one of the basic hinderances to the building of socialism in the outlying districts. We find in them detailed material about shamanism, which can be put to use in our antireligious work. We also find in them a description of common law and the role of the dzhangini (judges), which can serve us as material in the struggle for the uprooting of common law and its replacement by soviet law. Finally, the data on marital relations can be used with success in the work of the emancipation of the women among the peoples of the north.

Of course, at the same time we must pay tribute to the fundamental changes wrought by the proletarian revolution among the peoples of the north. From the "natives" who were oppressed and dying out under Tsarism, they have become equal builders of socialism; from "unhistorical" peoples, they have become historical peoples.

In the territory of the peoples of the north, national okrugs, rayons, and soviets have been created, a mighty wave of industrial co-operation has been unleashed, state farms are being built, a stubborn battle is being waged against the kulaks, the shamans, and the patriarchal-clan survivals, cultural bases have occupied the sites of Tsarist jails, a school and hospital network has spread out, technical schools have been created in the provinces, as well as the Institute of the Peoples of the North TSIK USSR in Leningrad for the preparation of cadres of the medium and higher level from among the peoples of the north themselves, a cultural march has been initiated for the liquidation of illiteracy, writing has been created and is developing in fourteen northern languages, and great work is being carried on with regard to alleviating the burden and way of life of the woman of the north.

/ xxxvi cont. /

*114 Our entire country is straining every effort consistent with the Lenin national policy to help the culturally backward peoples of the USSR to overcome their backwardness, which has been centuries in forming, to help them to catch up with the most cultured peoples of the Union, to contribute to the direct transition of their disintegrating clan society to a socialist society, passing over the capitalistic stage. And the works of Shternberg printed here, with a certain critical approach to their methodology, indubitably offer, we repeat, very valuable material for our workers in this field.

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128 The present collection of works by Shternberg, with the exception of the monograph "Giliaki" and the sketches "Sakhalinskie gilyaki," "Orochi," "Ainskaia problema," "Kul't inau," and "Programmy po sobraniiu etnograficheskikh svedenii /Programs on the Collection of Ethnographic Information/," appears in print for the first time.

It is necessary to give some special explanation with regard to these works. The end of the article, "Klassifikatsiia korennogo naseleniia Amurskogo kraia /The Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region/," specifically, that part dealing with the nomenclature of these peoples, was reconstructed by V. I. Tsintsius (1) from rough drafts by Shternberg found in his archives.

1. Docent of the Leningrad Historico-Linguistic Institute and a scientific co-worker of the Institute of the Peoples of the North (of the INS).

The end of the sketch "Gol'dy," offering an account of the expedition of 1910, was likewise not found in the archives, and that gap is compensated for, to a certain degree, by "Otdel'nye materialy po etnografii gol'dov /Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Gol'di/," dug up from the archives by V. Tsintsius.

/xxxvii cont./

128 V. I. Tsintsius has also extracted from the archives systematized, separate materials, ethnographic, linguistic, and in part grammatical, on the Goldi, Orochi, and Negidal, and in the selection of the Negidal materials, another one of Shternberg's students took part, K. M. Myl'nikova (2). "Otdel'nye materialy po

2. Researcher on the Negidal and Lamut.

giliakam /Separate Materials on the Gilyak/" were selected by S. A. Ratner-Shternberg (3) from the notebooks of the author and

3. Ethnographer of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

other travel notes by him from the nineties of the last century and 1910 and were systematized by her; the style of the notes, the transcription of the non-native words, and, where it was possible to determine them, the dates cited are observed as far as possible.

The transcription of the Gilyak words and texts were checked by one of Shternberg's students in Gilyak studies, IU. A. Kreinovich (4).

4. Researcher on the Gilyak, scientific co-worker of the INS.

The anthropological materials were worked over by G. I. Petrov (5).

5. Former scientific co-worker of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, now head scientific co-worker of the Acad. of Mater. Culture in Leningrad.

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128 With regard to "Otdel'nye materialy," for both the Tungus and the Gilyak, we must state that there might be data in them which were hastily thrown in during Shternberg's field work and, upon future examination by him, might have been deleted or corrected, but to clarify such instances, if they occur at all, is unfortunately, impossible.

104 As for the transcription of the Gilyak and Tungus-Manchu words, in agreement with the above-named co-workers -- linguists, we have adopted a Latinized transcription, preserving, however, some Russian letters, namely, ж, з, х, ч, ш /transliterated in the translation as zh, dz, kh, ch, and sh, respectively/, and departing somewhat from the signs generally accepted in modern linguistics for the expression of the length of vowels, softening of sounds, and so forth, in view of the technical obstacles in the typography of publishing. For the same reason it was necessary in the transcription of the Gilyak words, to omit a number of signs for the expression of certain phonetic nuances accepted by Shternberg in his "Obraztsakh po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Samples for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/." An explanation of the accepted transcription can be found below.

In the monograph "Giliaki" and the sketch "Sakhalinskie giliaki" published during the author's lifetime, the former transcription for Gilyak words is preserved. /HRAF ed.: The spelling of native terms in the original text is confusing, because letters from both the Russian and Latin alphabets have been used and they are not always distinguishable. In doubtful cases the letters have been transliterated as Russian, for which the transliteration system of the Board of Geographic Names (BGN) is used. Furthermore, the spelling of native terms varies from section to section in the original text, in part because of the use of the different alphabets, but sometimes inexplicably. In the following table, which has been slightly modified to avoid the use of the five Russian letters mentioned above, the Russian letter to which a given consonant corresponds is shown in the transliterated (BGN) form. The Library of Congress transliteration system is used for bibliographic references, and tribal names are spelled as they appear in the Outline of World Cultures./

1: Shternberg--36 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5

Explanation of the Transcription System for Tungusic-Manchu Words

G
T
104

I. Vowels

a, e, i, o, u, y correspond to the Russian vowels а, э, и, о, у, ы

a:, e:, i:, o:, y: -- long vowels

a^n, e^n, i^n, etc. -- nasal vowels

á, é, í, etc. -- stressed vowels

II. Consonants

b corresponds to Russian b
c " " " ts
d " " " d
f " " " f
g " " " g
h " " German h as in the word habe
j corresponds to German j
k " " Russian k
l " " West European l
ł " " Russian hard l
m corresponds to Russian m
n " " " n

p corresponds to Russian p
r " " " r
s " " " s
t " " " t
v " " " labio-dental v
w corresponds to English w
z " " Russian z
kh " " " kh
sh " " " sh
zh " " " zh
ch " " " voiceless affricative ch

dz -- voiced affricative dz.
dz: -- voiced affricative dzh.
ng -- velar n, pronounced together, like n in the German language.
r -- prounounced "r", analagous to the Ukrainian r.

r: = γ = deep velar Ukrainian r.
k: = ḱ = k̄ = deep velar k.
kh: = x̌ = x̄ = deep velar kh.
g: = ǧ = ḡ = deep velar g.

ch: -- combined sibilant sounds chsh.
b´, d´, n´, etc. -- palatization.
'k, 'p, etc. -- aspiration.

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1: Shternberg--37 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

TG 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

AG 101 142 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

1: Shternberg--38 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin
Southeast Siberia RX1

G 101 144 /1 cont./

As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

T A G 131 197

T 131 197

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

T A G 121 184

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

S T A G 121

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

S 121 433

/ 2 cont. /

121 433 group is made up of more or less settled tribes -- of fishermen-hunters, such as the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, Negidal, Samagir -- nationalities whose beast of burden at the present time is the dog instead of the reindeer. Furthermore, it would be necessary to extract a small group living predominantly in Manchuria and partly in Zabaikalye /Transbaikalia/, namely, some tribes of the Orochon, which, under the influence of the Chinese and Russians, have replaced the reindeer with the horse. But such a classification, no matter how important it is, /3/ would yield nothing either historically or linguistically, for the economic traits referred to are of a comparatively recent origin. Some of these nationalities have abandoned reindeer-breeding within the memory of the generation still living, while the remaining ones have vividly preserved the legend of an earlier reindeer-breeding way of life, abandoned for various reasons of an accidental nature (predominantly as a result of the death of the reindeer from epidemics).

121 199 114 The most reliable and pithy criterion would be, of course, a linguistic one; in other words, it would be most rationalistic of all to construct a classification on the basis of the similarity of the dialects, linguistically and morphologically. Unfortunately, the material collected up to the present time is still too insufficient for a fully reliable linguistic classification. For most of the dialects the material is not only insufficient and unscientific, but completely undependable as well for still another peculiar, purely specific-local reason, namely, because the collectors of the material took their notes most often from some single individual more or less familiar with the Russian language, without asking about the tribal origin of the individual.

121 167 Furthermore, the resettlement of separate families and even of clans or parts of them from the territory of one tribe into another is so common that the traveler can hardly tell whether he is dealing with an actual representative of a given tribe, and therefore with its dialect, or with some recent newcomer. During the censuses that I took, I had sufficient opportunity to be convinced that not only do the indigenous clans of a given tribe nowhere constitute a predominant majority, but, as strange as it seems, they are everywhere in the minority, besides which the processes

/3 cont./

121 of emigration and immigration have not ceased up to the present
167 time. This not only results in a mixture of lexical and morpho-
[197] logical material in each vernacular, but it is possible that a large number of immigrant families preserve for several generations peculiarities of their earlier dialect.

114 Academician Schrenck, it is true, attempted in his time
121 to construct a classification on a linguistic basis, but he had even
197 less data for this than we have at the present time. Actually, it may be said about this classification that in one of its parts it is completely unfounded and contradicts reality, and in the other it is apparently unproved and simply prompted by the desire to substantiate /4/ certain of his historical suppositions, which, in turn, have very little to support them. Thus, without any grounds, Schrenck separated the language of the so-called Olcha, which is very close to the language of the Goldi and Orochi, from these last and joined it to the language of the Negidal, whose language indubitably most closely resembles the language of the Russian Tungus, which even Schrenck maintains. His entire argument in favor of the closeness of the languages of the Olcha and the Negidal amounts to the fact that the Samagir language, according to his observations, is similar to the Olcha, and he judges the closeness of the Negidal, with which, in his words, he is unfamiliar, to the Samagir "on the basis of the opinion of people (?) who have heard both vernaculars" (sic!). As for Schrenck's knowledge of the Samagir language, it amounts to a few terms and expressions obtained from certain representatives both on their territory -- on the Gorin -- and on the Amur. And, since the Samagir on the Amur are dispersed all the way to its lower reaches and along its tributaries, and they have adopted the local dialects here, one can be sure that he heard the dialect Olcha-Goldi-Orok rather than the Gorin -- Samagir. On the other hand, he separated even the Goldi from the Olcha, who are close to them in language, and joined the first to the Manchu, and not because he was fully sure of the closeness of their dialects (1), but because, regarding the Orochi, he

1. "The language of the Orochi," says Schrenck, "is probably close to the Goldi

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> language. Unfortunately, information about it is very scanty." And further he cites the evidence of Venyukov, who, by the way, knew only the southern Orochi, the so-called Taz, while the northern, i.e., the most typical, he did not know at all.

held to the views of Iakinf, that they were of southern origin, and therefore he considered it more convenient to join them, along with the Goldi, to the Manchu, as the basic people of the southern branch of the Tungus tribe.

In any case, the dialectal material in its present state may serve as a dependable guide only for those few, more thoroughly studied tribes, such as the Manchu Solon, and Daur, and for the others only as a secondary criterion in conjunction with other data, historical notes, popular legends, cultural survivals, and so forth, which testify to a common origin and closeness of tribal kinship.

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From this point of view, the primordial self-designation of the nationalities included in the classification might serve as an important criterion for classification. I say primordial, for self-designations are /5/ of different kinds and origins. Often, in the presence of strangers, one or another nationality does not call itself by the name that its representatives call themselves in their own surroundings, by a term from its own language, and thus that people has two self-designations -- one peculiar, and the other, as it were, an international one by which it is called by neighboring peoples, and it often happens that a people loses its clan self-designation, calling itself by the term used by its neighbors. It happens, further, that a man, while preserving his tribal self-designation in his own language under certain circumstances, for example, while away from the common tribal territory, calls himself by the name of his clan in the presence of strangers, and cases occur, when such a clan occupies a new territory and multiplies, that then the clan self-designation replaces the primordial tribal one, which often is completely lost. Of course, of the tribal self-designations the important criterion is the primordial self-designation, i.e., the one that is the term from their own

/5 cont./

121 language and is used constantly during internal intercourse among
101 themselves by the members of a given people. Such self-designations, when they have been preserved from remote antiquity, attain the significance of important historical evidence, and, consequently, if nationalities, particularly when they belong to one and the same linguistic group, have such a common self-designation, no matter how far they have separated from one another, we have sufficient grounds for finding in this fact the indubitable indication of common origin, or in any case an indication of closer kinship than among nationalities of the same group having different self-designations.

The names by which neighbors call one or another people also may often serve as a good supplementary criterion for common self-designations with respect to the question of the closeness of tribal kinship. If neighbors call two or more nationalities by one and the same name, then, along with common self-designations and other indications, such a fact is a very significant and supplementary argument.

Thus, the self-designations of nationalities in connection with the interclan nomenclature of a given territory may become the basis of classification with regard to the question of tribal kinship.

101 Academician Schrenck, to whom we are indebted for the
114 present scientific nomenclature for the peoples of the Amur region,
121 could not avail himself of this criterion; he did not succeed in securing the genuine self-designation /6/ of a single one of the Tungus nationalities, although he sometimes took the name used by their neighbors for the self-designation. Thus, for certain tribes he introduced those names which were already in use before his arrival by the local Russian population or earlier travelers (Goldi, Solon, Daur); others were introduced by him on the basis of his personal considerations. For the indigenous Tungus people living on Sakhalin, he introduced the completely new name of Orok; for the same tribe living on the lower reaches of the Amur between the Gilyak and the Goldi, the name Olcha, and he divided a few groups representing only a part of other tribes into separate tribes with separate names (Birar, Samagir, Kile). For the tribe living on the coast of

S /6 cont./
101 Tatar Strait and in the neighboring basins of rivers, he preserved
114 the name Orochi, given them by La Pérouse.
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Generally, with regard to nomenclature, he, being a pioneer in the research of the Amur region, succeeded more in collecting material of an abstract-historical character rather than on the basis of close familiarity with the population.

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101 The criterion of self-designations, in connection with
121 materials on the intertribal nomenclature and other ethnographic indications, remains for the time being the only basis for classifi-
Gi cation. In my time, during my stay in the Amur region, while
101 investigating the local population I paid special attention to the question of self-designation and intertribal nomenclature, and as far back as 1896 I succeeded in ascertaining a group of Tungus nationalities who had one common self-designation, namely, Nani (1) (from na -- earth, ni -- native, of this place) (1). It is the

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1. See the article "Orochi Tatarskogo zaliva /The Orochi of the Tatar Strait/" below /untranslated/. Ed.

name by which the representatives of the peoples of this group called themselves in their own surroundings, although, as we shall see below, in the presence of strangers they often call themselves by names given them by their neighbors, which has more than once confused a great number of travelers, including Schrenck.

Gi This group of Nani includes the following nationalities,
101 enumerated by me in the nomenclature of Schrenck: Goldi,
131 Olcha, Orok, and Orochi. With regard to territory, this group falls into: 1) the Sakhalin Nani (Schrenck: Orok), 2) Lower-Amur Nani (Schrenck: Olcha), living in the lower reaches of the Amur between the Gilyak and the Goldi, 3) Lower-Amur Nani (Goldi), with their subdivision into the Sungari, Ussuri, Iman, etc. /7/, according to the basins of the tributaries of the Amur inhabited by them, and, finally, 4) the Southeast Nani (Orochi), with their subdivision into the Northern, up to the settlement of Botchi (Orochi proper), and the Southern -- Kekha (Kekhal, Kekhar), about which see below.

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX 3

Gi T 101 /7 cont./

The other group consists of tribes calling themselves Evonki /Evenki/. Among them belong: 1) the wandering Tungus reindeer-breeders, who appeared in the region and on Sakhalin only with the arrival of the Russians; 2) various Orochon groups who are nomads in the upper reaches of the Amur and kin to the Orochon of Zabaikalye and northern Manchuria, also separate Orochon clans of Manegir, Birar, probably clans of Samagir along the Gorin, and clans of Kile, divided by Schrenck into separate tribes; 3) from the point of view of self-designation, the Tungus nationality living on the Amgun near Lake Udyl and called Negidal by Middendorf and Schrenck stand apart. Their self-designation is Naskhagil. Although in culture (they are settled fishermen-hunters and dog-breeders) they stand closest to the Gilyak and Olcha, in language they stand closest to the Tungus proper, with whom they easily make themselves understood, although their language has many dialectal peculiarities: one noted by me is the regular replacement of the Tungus r with the sound j (oron -- ojon -- reindeer, and so forth), which indicates closeness to the Tungus proper, as we shall see further on, and they are the only people who call the wandering Tungus by their peculiar self-designation, Evonki. We shall see subsequently that their present self-designation is not their genuine, primordial self-designation, but the name of one of the dominant clans, and it is easy to allow that originally their self-designation as well as Evonki.

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Furthermore, the Manchu Daur, and Solon adjoin the Tungus peoples of the Amur region, but territorially, culturally, and linguistically they must be separated into a branch distinct from the Priamur Tungus, which it is most convenient to call the Manchu. Among the peoples of the Priamur krai /Amur region/ the Goldi stand closest in language to this group, at least to the Manchu.

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T. Gi 101 121

On the question of classification, we must say in conclusion that for the most part classification by self-designation has significance historically, for self-designation may be preserved longer, especially in conditions of dispersion, and testify about the past fates of a people, than other peculiarities which easily change under the influence of external conditions. Thus, for instance, in

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/7 cont./ Thus, for instance, in
101 the Nani group, /8/ the Sakhalin Orok have remained reindeer-
174 breeders up to the present time, when all the remaining representa-
184 tives of this group have already become settled fishermen-hunters,
433 and only legends and a few culture traits (child's cradle, tombs) still testify to an earlier common culture. Furthermore, dispersion over the vast region and the process of assimilation introduce not a few changes into the structure of the earlier common language, and therefore self-designation often remains the only evidence about peoples who have gone separate ways, especially if they belong to one linguistic group.

From classification I proceed to nomenclature.

101 121 By this I do not mean the one that is now accepted on the spot or in ethnographic works on the region, but the nomenclature used by each local nationality both in relation to itself and in relation to all those nationalities known to it. I personally collected this nomenclature during my time in the provinces and checked it many times, and in the form in which I present it now, in an abstract from my work which is prepared for publication, I think that it not only corrects the confusion which has been introduced by the heterogeneous reports of persons who had neither the opportunity nor the ability to check the accuracy of the notes they took in passing, but also provides material for establishing a correct scientific nomenclature, the importance of which, for an understanding of the historical past and interrelations of the nationalities of the region, requires no proof.

101 I begin with the easternmost tribe of the Nani group, namely, the so-called Orok.

They call themselves, as I have already said, Nani (literally, man of the land, of the country, native). The Tungus peoples on the Amur, including the Olcha and Orochi of Schrenck, call them Olcha and Ulcha, evidently on the basis of the fact that in their dialect the word reindeer is ola, ula, as distinguished from the Tungus oron. On the basis of this, the Orok themselves, with regard to the question of nationality, often also call themselves Olcha or Ulcha in the presence of strangers, but among themselves they always use the term Nani. Their neighbors -- the Sakhalin Gilyak -- call

Gi 101 G [101] /8 cont./ Their neighbors -- The Sakhalin Gilyak -- call them Ornyr (reindeer-breeders), and, what is particularly notable, the Amur Gilyak call their neighbors, the Olcha of Schrenck, by this same name, although they now are just as much fishermen -- dog-breeders as the Gilyak themselves, which testifies to the fact Gi [174] that in an earlier time the Olcha and the Orok had one common name and were a single tribe. In fact /9/ there are indications that the Orok actually migrated from the Amur comparatively recently (in the seventeenth century) and, consequently, may con- G [101] stitute one tribe with the Olcha of Schrenck. On the other hand, it is quite curious that the Amur Gilyak call both the Orok and the Orochi by one and the same term, Tozung. Thus, in the nomenclature of the neighbors of the Nani there has been preserved the obvious recollection of three of the nationalities of this group, the Orok, the Olcha, and the Orochi, as ethnically united. I shall add further that the local Russians call the Orok simply Orochon, a term carried from Zabaikalye for the local reindeer-breeders.

Gi [131] The Olcha (live in the lower reaches of the Amur between the settlement of Bogprodskoye and Nizhnetambovskiy). The Gi [614] majority of the clans are of Goldi origin. They call themselves Nani. The Tungus, Orochi, and Negda call them Mamu (of the Amur), the Goldi call them Khyd'ye, Khydzyn, Khydeni (khyde -- down the river), the Amur Gilyak -- Ornyr, i.e., as the Sakhalin Gilyak call the Orok. They do not call themselves Olcha; on the contrary, they and all the Amur Tungus, including the Orochi, call the Sakhalin Orok by that name. It is true that on the Amur there are various clans bearing this name, for example, Ulcha live in the settlement Auri, Ulchan-khala in the settlement Ukhta. The Negidal sometimes call them Ngatku (along with the Goldi), sometimes Olchan -- Orochon (Udyhe) with two pigtails. They call the Negidal Burkà Orochà (on the Udyli), Khynguni; the Goldi -- Goldi or Gogdy (on the Khungari) -- with cut (shaven) forehead, Gi [177] along the Sungari -- Soleni (sole -- up the river). It is interesting [854] that the Olcha have a Gilyak cradle (through the women -- wives [582] from among the Gilyak women).

/9 cont./

Gi 101 The Orochi. They call themselves Nani, Nane. They are called Orochà and Orochi by the Amur Olcha, and therefore in the presence of Russians they call themselves Orocha and Orochon. The G [101] Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur call them Tozung -- as they call the Orok. The Manchuized, more southern branch from Botchi and Samargi, as well as those living along the rivers Bikin, Khoru, and Khungari, are called Kekha, Kera, or Taz, and also Gi [103] Khyd'ye, by their neighbors. The Goldi (in the settlement Chel'tsy) call them Namuka, but call those living along the Khungari and farther -- Kekar. In the settlement Susu, they call them all Namuka without distinction. Those who live along the Gi [197] Anyuyu call themselves Udde. According to the words of the Gi Orochi, their language and the language of the Olcha and Goldi [252] are almost the same. The Olcha and the Orochi smoke fish, while [84] the Goldi prepare it as the Gilyak do. The Orochi have Tungus [481] ski, their yurts are Gilyak. [197] [342]

The Goldi. They call themselves Nani; the "Upper" Goldi, those living up to Khabarovsk, are called Solibini (settlement Gi Chel'tsy, Susu); those living above Khabarovsk, on the Ussuri and 101 Sungari, are called /10/ Akhani (settlement Susu); the Lower Goldi -- 103 Khyybini (settlement Chel'tsy), Khydzeni (settlement Susu), or Khydzyri (as the Torgonsk call the Voznesensk); they call the Mariinsk (Olcha) Khydze. The coastal Orochi (settlement Chel'tsy) or all of them (settlement Susu) are called Namuka by the Goldi; those living along the Khungari and farther -- Kekar (settlement Chel'tsy); the Tungus -- Kilyr; the Chinese -- Nakà, the Manchu -- Mantszo, the Koreans -- Gaule (settlement Susu). Gi 101 The Negidal call the Goldi (from B.-Mikhaylovskiy to Khabarovsk) Ngatku ("uncut," not shaving the forehead) and Gold ("cut," shaven); the Negidal also call the Olcha Ngatku. The Olcha call the Goldi -- Goldi or Gogdy (the Khungari) or Soleni (the Sungari). G [101] The Amur Gilyak call them Toh, Yadgu.

1: Shternberg--48 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/11/

The Gilyak

000 The Gilyak. -- The Social Organization of the Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak. -- The Sakhalin Gilyak. /Page 12 is blank./

/13/ The Gilyak

I.

Territory. Linguistic Isolation. Origin.

131 The small tribe of Gilyak, whose number at the present
[161] time does not exceed four and a half thousand persons, is scattered
[101] over the vast territory of the entire northern half of Sakhalin Island and the neighboring continental shore, being distributed almost equally between the two regions.

On Sakhalin they occupy the entire shore-line of the western coast from Cape Sakhkotan to the northern extremity of Cape Marii, then on the eastern shore -- from Cape Levenshtern to Cape Delil'-de-lya-Kroyer, and finally, in the interior the island, they occupy the upper and middle reaches of the Tym' River, which is the only significant river of northern Sakhalin.

101 In southern Sakhalin in the lower reaches of the Poronai
131 River and on the shore of Terpeniye Gulf a few dozen representa-
167 tives of the Gilyak tribe, who migrated to this alien territory due to fortuitous circumstances only very recently (in the last 30 years), have become lost among the alien Ainu and Orok.

131 On the continent the Gilyak occupy both banks of the lower reaches of the Amur River to the settlement of Geri, and then the banks of the Amur estuary and the seashore: to the north, from the mouth of the Amur to the Kol' River, and to the south to the Choma River. The northernmost boundary of the spread of the Gilyak may be regarded as the mouth of the Tugur River, to which, by the way, the Gilyak only very rarely go on business, not having a permanent place of residence there.

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175 Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data
131 that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half centuries.

131 The greatest density of population is found in the areas of
103 the most abundant fishing, such as: the banks of the Amur and its
162 estuary [villages: Kol' (196 persons), Langr (205), Vayda (184), Mago (154), and others]; on the western shore of Sakhalin, the points Tamlevo, Lyrkryvo (144 persons), Viskivo (116), Nyur (103), Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

101 The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. /14/ It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Priamur krai to become convinced that the minuscule Gilyak tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. Even in the very heart of the Gilyak area of settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus
[144] neighbors. The physical resemblance seems to confirm this idea to a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives
[197] a categorical indication in the negative. For neither in its lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout the Asiatic continent we find no other language which could lay claim to close relationship with the Gilyak language.

/14 cont./

101 The Gilyak are not the only ones who find themselves in
174 such an isolated position in northeast Asia. The Ainu, the
197 Yukagir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak find themselves in the same position. An attempt has even been made to combine them in a common group of Paleo-Asiatics (Schrenck), but the basis of this classification was purely external in character, namely, their common position on the edge of the continent, and the consequent probability that in the course of time these once numerous peoples were in part destroyed and in part driven out by more recent newcomers who came from the interior of the continent to the edge of Asia. All hope of discovering a genetic relationship between the Gilyak and the other tribes has not been lost, however. Hypotheses about a common origin of the nationalities of the Pacific coast of Asia and the tribes of North America were ad-
197 vanced long ago. My own investigation of the Gilyak language convinced me that this hypothesis may finally be fully confirmed. Besides the similarity in the common structure of the Gilyak language and of many American languages, such as the merging of pronouns with verbs and with nouns, the tendency /15/ toward polysynthesism, the extreme mobility of phonetic changes, the types of reduplication, etc., we can point to similarities at particular points which are extremely characteristic. For example, one that is common to all of them is a highly peculiar class system of numerals, according to which different categories of objects can be combined only with the numerals that are peculiar to them, a system to which, so far as I know, there is nothing similar in any of the languages of the Asiatic continent. All this, however, is a problem for the future, perhaps the very near future.

174 Meanwhile, an easier question is still unsolved, the question of how long the Gilyak have occupied their present positions. On the basis of three names borrowed by the Gilyak from the Tungus tribes for animals (the elk, the roe, the badger) found in the lower reaches of the Amur, but absent on Sakhalin, the late academician Schrenck, the only authority up to the present on the ethnology of the natives of Priamur krai, asserted that the original homeland of the Gilyak was Sakhalin Island and that in any case the Gilyak now living on the continent are descendants of immigrants from Sakhalin.
[114] His opinion is based on an obvious misunderstanding. The three

/15 cont./

174 114 types of animals mentioned are actually encountered only very rarely in the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur and, on the other hand, very frequently in the territory of their Tungus neighbors, the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, and Samagir, and therefore there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Tungus names spread among the Gilyak, but even if in Schrenck's time the animals mentioned were encountered there somewhat more frequently, this could be a matter of pure accident. It often happens that extraordinary reasons, such as the appearance of a new and strong enemy, compel this or that animal to save itself by flight from its normal territory to distant places, but such phenomena do not prove that the new territory in which these animals accidentally appeared was their primordial habitat. In general, how convincing Schrenck's conclusion is may be seen from the fact that the tiger is absolutely not encountered on Sakhalin and very rarely enters the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur, but nevertheless both the Sakhalin and the Amur Gilyak have their own name for it, "klund."

172 174 192 On the contrary, everything speaks for the fact that on Sakhalin it is the Gilyak who are the newcomers, having replaced or driven out their predecessors -- the Ainu. Let us start with the linguistic /16/ data. The Gilyak still call trees and some sea animals that are absent on the continent by Ainu terms, such as nistan' (maple), tarman' (yew tree), nuguchep (sea pig?), and others. Furthermore, we have even more objective proof that in any case it was not the Gilyak who were the most ancient aborigines of the island. Throughout the entire territory of Gilyak settlement on Sakhalin Island, right up to its northernmost extremities, one encounters the remnants of ancient dugouts, in the form of round and more or less large pits, and, upon excavating them, I found pot fragments and some implements of the Stone Age. The Gilyak call these pits nothing other than kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits), a name which quite clearly indicates that the Gilyak regard the Ainu as 172 the original inhabitants. The Stone Age implements and the pot fragments found in these pits are regarded by the Gilyak as the handiwork of the gods (the pot fragments, for example, are regarded by them as the pots of a heavenly man who dropped them

/16 cont./

172 by accident), while it is known that the Stone Age on the extreme northeast of Asia is not so far removed from the present epoch that the Gilyak, unless they were very late arrivals, would not have preserved some independent traditions about this period. It is interesting that even the Ainu, in turn, stubbornly repudiate these ancient pits found in their own territory on southern Sakhalin, ascribing them to another people, the mythical Ton'chi. Like the Gilyak, they regard the pot fragments found in these dugouts as in some way sacred and excellent medicine, for example, for toothache. As a matter of fact, these pits could hardly belong to either the Ainu or the Gilyak, for, if either of them had ever been familiar with pottery, they would never have lost it. If they had ever known this art, it would have been reflected in their legends, which have preserved an even more ancient recollection of a primitive way of boiling water by means of burning-hot stones.

In their shape, their large size, their unusual location, and their suitability for self-defense, these pits resemble the large pits of the Eskimo more than the contemporary pits of the Gilyak and the Ainu. Whatever the case was, the Gilyak, finding the Ainu on Sakhalin, naturally had to suppose that these ancient pits belonged to the Ainu, and the Gilyak term kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits) speaks convincingly enough for the fact that the Gilyak were not the aborigines of Sakhalin.

173 /17/ These objective data on the aboriginal inhabitants of the island are confirmed by numerous legends about the bloody wars of the newcomers with the Ainu, who, in the graphic expression of the Gilyak, at the time of the arrival of the latter on the island, even on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk, were as numerous "as mosquitoes."

Finally, many clans of the Gilyak in the extreme north regard the Ainu as their ancestors, about whom they have preserved the most clear and numerous legends, which have been carefully recorded by me.

/17 cont./

174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in
174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant
171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug-
342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

342 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak
796 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the
178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu
[177] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a
[192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

342 /18 cont./
796 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of
178 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.
192

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the
171 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that
174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee,
492 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

173 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
174 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
133 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-
[614] called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo.
[614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/18 cont./

173 hurricane breaks up the joined ice-floes and carries separate floes
174 together with the hunters caught on them, into the /19/ open sea,
133 often throwing them on the shore far from their place of residence. One can also not infrequently see tremendous pieces of turf, on which dozens of people could be placed, being carried on the waves of the sea, having been torn from the coastal tundra by storms. During the civil wars among the Ainu, when someone urgently needed to escape from persecution, there existed a practice according to which the persecuted one fearlessly transferred his family and his boat to a "hovykh" which happened to be passing by fixed on it the sacred pole with the sharpened wooden tongues, and entrusted his fate to the caprice of the wind and the current.

Now, if we consider that the currents pass from the north along both shores of Sakhalin Island and the continental coast, currents which carry ice floes almost until the month of July, one can allow with more or less probability that the legendary hovykh served as that natural means by which individual seekers of adventure or exiles moved from the north to the south, and furthermore it is not difficult to imagine how, step by step, such migrations reached the extreme southern limits of the present-day Gilyak area of settlement. Almost before our eyes, since the time of Middendorf, the northern boundary of the permanent area of settlement of the Gilyak has descended from the mouth of the Tugur to the mouth of the Kol' River.

174 We should not imagine, however, that the migration of the Gilyak into their present territory is a matter of a historical epoch very close to us. We have positive evidence about the permanence of the boundaries of the Gilyak territory for the last two and a half centuries, and the legends of the Gilyak about the island and the continental coast depict this tribe as fully acclimated to its present homeland, and among primitive peoples such acclimation comes about through a long process of many, many centuries, maybe millenniums.

[829] At this point, I cannot fail to mention one characteristic fact, which is in a way characteristic of the ways of thinking of the Gilyak themselves, on the question of their kinship with other tribes.

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174 124 829 In 1893 during my stay in the settlement of Langr on a small island lying opposite the continental coast, I talked to an old Gilyak, a contemporary of Nevelskoi and Orlov, who were the first men active in the lower reaches of the Amur. I was not a little astonished when during our conversation, while reminiscing about the workers of the Russian-American Company, to whom my interlocutor had in his time been of service, he suddenly said: "I think, however, that the Gilyak and the Aleut are of the same race. It turned out that the well-known seaman, Orlov, who served in the Russian-American Company, /20/ was accompanied by an Aleut, with whom my Gilyak informant had a chance to talk at great length, and as a result, after an exchange of stories about the customs and the way of life of their fellow tribesmen, by the way, about the bear festival, they both came to the conclusion that the Gilyak and the Aleut are kal'nyakhr (one people). Taken by themselves, such primitive conclusions, cannot, of course, have any great significance for the solution of the question, but in connection with other considerations about the arctic origin of the Gilyak, this naïve testimony of a Gilyak is, at any rate, characteristic.

144 [174] Thus, the language, the archaeological data, the remnants of peculiarities of their way of life, and the legends make it possible for us to lift somewhat the veil of the distant past of the Gilyak tribe. On the other hand, purely anthropological data can play no role in the question that interests us. Anthropologically, the Gilyak least of all represent anything original. There is no such thing as a specific Gilyak type. The average type of Gilyak is at the present time a complex of ordinary, though somewhat softened Mongoloid features with a deviation on the one hand to the Tungus, and on the other to the Ainu type. In the Ainu type, as Schrenck has already noted, the face is more or less oval, the forehead straight, the cheek bones moderately pronounced, the squint of the eye very insignificant or completely absent, the nose more or less long, the spine of the nose with a curve, and the growth of hair on the face abundant. In the Tungus type, on the other hand, the Mongoloid features are expressed in full sharpness. In the feminine type the Tungus features predominate. This is everything that

/20 cont./

144 observations of the physical peculiarities of the Gilyak give us. At the same time, other facts and considerations provide us with a full basis for thinking that the ancient Gilyak type has completely perished, drowned in the stronger wombs of the neighboring tribes. This took place, however, not in an ordinary way, not through a gradual interbreeding with the neighboring tribes by means of intertribal marriages, which would be not at all so surprising, but in quite peculiar, extremely instructive way.

174 167 614 144 [126] In conducting the census of the Gilyak, I carefully collected information and legends about the origin of each particular clan. The study of these data brought me to the strange conclusion that the founders of the great majority of the clans now in existence were not the Gilyak, but representatives of the neighboring tribes. How could this have happened? It is a common phenomenon even at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry (usually a widow), and, in this way, are adopted into this or that clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that has harbored them. The descendants of such newcomers normally form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these clans of newcomers, or the branches of the clans founded by them, in time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in the course of several generations died out. The most vital, growing, and numerous clans are the descendants of precisely these newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic and vital individuals, or this is the result of interbreeding, the fact is not subject to doubt; I found it not only among the Gilyak.

174 144 As a result of the census of the Gilyak, I asked myself in perplexity, if in the course of a great number of centuries there has been a constant inflow of fresh elements from other tribes, an inflow that was strengthened by the purchase of wives and female slaves from the Ainu and the Goldi, and if these new elements flourished and multiplied while the indigenes degenerated and died

/21 cont./

174 out, what remained of the indigenous type of the original Gilyak
144 tribe? Yes, that original type irretrievably disappeared. The body
197 of the Gilyak tribe died forever, but its spirit is alive, alive in its language, a language which, as we have said, stands completely alone in the assemblage of languages of the Asiatic continent, and in its peculiar customs and institutions which, together with the language, have survived all the vicissitudes of its physical transformation. The persistent preservation of the language is striking. It has not only protected itself against distortion by roots and forms from other tribes, but, in spite of the small membership of the tribe, has preserved two large dialects and no fewer than five or six subdialects, which testify to the fact that there was a time when the Gilyak language was spoken by many tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of individuals scattered over a vast territory, who left us numerous idioms as proof of their existence.

174 But not only the language of the Gilyak tribe continues to testify to its isolated position among the surrounding nationalities; its social institutions, clan organization, religion, and especially /22/ the institution of marriage, amazingly peculiar norms of sexual intercourse, and equally amazing kinship nomenclature clearly testify to this. Before we proceed to this aspect of their life, however, we shall first touch upon, within the briefest limits, the external conditions of their life, the nature which surrounds them, and the outward appearance of the Gilyak.

II.

132 Environment. Type. External Life.

The nature amidst which these people live at the present
[131] time is full of the greatest contrasts. In spite of the southerly latitude (between 46° and 54 1/2° north latitude), the average yearly temperature falls in some places to -1.2°. The freezing of mercury in the middle of the island is a common phenomenon. Even in July there are minimums of 7.7°. Ice floats off the

/22 cont./

132 northern shores of Sakhalin and on the eastern coast even in July. In the mountains the snow begins to melt in June and in some places does not succeed in melting away all summer. Perpetual ice is encountered not infrequently at sea level. In 1893 on a small island opposite the settlement of Visk-vo, I discovered by sheer accident under a thin layer of sand exactly at sea level a gigantic strip of perpetual ice, which in structure and size resembled a gigantic glacier which could have been brought here by the cold current.

In winter northwestern hurricanes periodically rage for days on end, producing terrible snowstorms. In summer there is fog and rain ... A somber country! In the low areas, which are open to the wind and the icy breath of the cold currents, the subarctic or even more southerly flora of the elevated areas is replaced by real arctic flora. The climate of this country owes its severity to a cold current and to the devastating northwest winds, which, with the force of a hurricane, blow with periodic regularity,
132 killing and freezing everything in their path. This is why the
137 places which are protected from these winds and from the severe sea fogs offer such a striking contrast in richness of flora and mildness of scenery to the low and open areas. In the valleys which lie in the interior of the island or which are otherwise protected, one encounters mild scenery with poplars, elms, oaks, and even yew trees, walnuts, a very rich carpet of flowers, gigantic spiraea, umbrella-like plants, and on some slopes even grapes.

137 In the neighborhood of Vitis uvae Thunbergii one will find Cembra pumila and a carpet of alpine arctic flora.

133 /23/ In relief Sakhalin Island is an almost completely mountainous country with meridional chains which diverge into countless spurs in all directions, forming a continuous mass of peaks, cones, cliffs, and capes. Not rising, on the average, more
[132] than 3,000-4,000 feet above sea level, these mountains, in many places covered with snow until late summer, have a tremendous
13 cooling effect on the climate of the country. The fantastic contours of the mountains, rugged and mighty, the capes and cliffs, which are kissed by the breakers and fanned by the hurricanes; the slumbering taiga of spruce and larch which cover all the

/23 cont./

13 elevated areas, where their natural inhabitants -- the bears -- wander; strong winds which create hellish snowstorms and destructive hurricanes; the sea, always stormy and teeming with giants and sea monsters; fogs, and the sky always covered with leaden-colored clouds -- such are the surrounding conditions which with powerful strokes have inscribed their features on the psychics and world view of the Gilyak, conditions which have inscribed the qualities of vitality and courage, along with the quality of sternness, in the spiritual make-up of the inhabitant of this rugged island.

136 Of the animals surrounding the Gilyak, the bear, the strongest and most terrible inhabitant of his taiga, plays the most important role. In the chapter on religion, I shall discuss in detail the influence of this animal on the whole religious psychics of the Gilyak. Now I wish only to indicate the role of this animal in the natives' struggle for survival. If this animal were as aggressive as, say, the Bengal tiger, it would have been almost impossible, in the face of its extreme abundance, for primitive man to live in these areas. The northern bear, however, is distinguished for its gentleness, which seems almost unbelievable. During the first years of my stay on Sakhalin the flocks of the settlers grazed side by side with the bears, and while picking berries the women of the settlers more than once bumped sides with their clumsy competitors; and if the bear in such cases sometimes did not behave exactly like a gentleman, this expressed itself only in his pushing the woman if the latter accidentally brushed against him with her pot or bucket. During my travels I more than once had to put up for the night in areas abounding in bears, and more than once, while lying inside my tent, I could hear the heavy footsteps of Mikhail Potapych, curious to inspect our camp...

144 I have already said something about the physical type of the Gilyak. An average Gilyak type does not exist. He fluctuates between the sharp Mongoloid features of the Tungus type and the comely /24/ gentle features of the Ainu type. That is why among the Gilyak one so frequently encounters subjects whom it is difficult to distinguish from true Tungus, and, at the same time, others who impress one by their almost European features. The

/24 cont./

144 latter, however, are encountered considerably less often. Only in women and children are the Mongoloid features expressed with particular distinctness.

142 The Gilyak are generally of medium stature (much taller than the Tungus), although one finds subjects who are above medium height, they are stocky and solidly built, but one never meets fat ones among them. The head is proportionately large; its platy-brachycephalic skull is overgrown with black hair, which descends down the backs of the men in one braid, of the women in two. The color of the face is dark and muddy. In youth the red of the cheeks is of a pink-brick shade. Their lips are thick; their teeth are a dark-yellowish color (from smoking). The extremities of their arms and legs are strikingly small.

157 The Gilyak have always been depicted as morose, gloomy, and unsociable and are always contrasted with the gentle expression of the face of the Ainu. I find this opinion unjust. If there are features of moroseness in the Gilyak, these are purely of external origin and caused by the justified distrust of foreigners, who have caused them no little harm. I personally have had many contacts with this tribe and have carried away the conviction that the moroseness of the Gilyak is a purely external trait. Under this morose exterior there hides a gentle nature capable of deep attachments, expansiveness, and trust. Due to his expansiveness, the Gilyak is capable of swift changes of mood. The morose expression of his face, moved from concentration by the slightest stimulus from without, in one second beams with an expression of the most naïve good-nature, or becomes inflamed with a terrible fire of anger. The Gilyak is usually slow in his movements and restrained at home when he plays the role of host, but he is agitated and active in periods of gaiety and excitement, when his speech flows in a stormy current from his overfull breast.

The woman is gloomier in appearance than the man. With her eyes constantly lowered and slow in her movements, she immediately gives the impression of a frightened creature. In reality she is not. It is sufficient for her to begin to speak with you, and, in her artificially-muil'irovannyy accent, in the ingratiating, flattering intonation and timbre of her voice, in her smile and roguish, laughing look, you will recognize a true daughter of Eve,

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion. Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves -- the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak, made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel' has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a [133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence [226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This [172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

/25 cont./

000 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond,
[262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the
[574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and
[796] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February,
[538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the
[261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance
[164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

/27 cont./

22 spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high, rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/28 cont./

352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
[516] tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[422] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/29 cont./

493 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
492 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
[435] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles,
[556] ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a semisedentary person. In summer hs usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

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221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native 574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without 517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange [484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of [157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in 157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 171 174

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of [611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely [614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the [595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/31 cont./

601 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
171 have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in
174 the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
[595] to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of
[835] individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
581 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
[583] rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of
[851] his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[611] succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he
[551] is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
[684] itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
[614] of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agna-
[582] tion, and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
601 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and
[592] not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
[352] large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
[765] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/31 cont./

601 In particular, among many primitive tribes, the Gilyak calls not only his own wife, but also the wives of his elder brothers of all degrees of kinship, as well as all the sisters of his wife of all degrees of kinship, his wife (an'gej), while they, in turn, call him their husband (pu, ivn). Their children call one another brothers and sisters (tuvn, ruf). In addition the Gilyak calls all his female cousins on his mother's side /32/(the daughters of the brothers of his own mother and of the brothers of all the women w hom he calls ymk -- mother) his wives from the time of their birth. The Gilyak calls not only his own mother, but also all the wives of the brothers of his father, own and agnate, as well as the sisters of these women, mother (ymk), while they call him their son. Consistent with this, he calls not only his own father, but also the brothers of his father, his father (ytk), while in certain clans the term father is applied to all elder and younger brothers (own and agnate) of the father, and in others (among most of the Sakhalin Gilyak) -- only to the brothers younger than the father. The children of brothers in relationship to the latter are considered sons and daughters. Seemingly even stranger is the rule by which w omen call their husband's brothers' wives sister, while men call their father-in-law's sisters mother. A European hears with astonishment a small Gilyak boy call the wife of his elder br other an'gej (wife), while she calls him -- little husband (ychikh, pu, ivn), or as the Gilyak very often says: "I shall go to see my fathers and mothers," i.e., the brothers of his father or the sisters of his mother, but after long observation one becomes so accustomed to this strange phenomenon that he begins to consider
601 it completely natural. In spite of the views expressed in recent
835 times that a classificatory system of kinship represents only the nomenclature of ages, I can testify after long years of observation that among the Gilyak this nomenclature, based on a strict calculation of degrees of kinship, fully corresponds to their norms of sexual intercourse. Age plays no role; frequently very old men and young adolescents are included in one and the same category. All persons bound together by the names an'gej and pu (husband and wife) actually have conjugal rights to one another, i.e., they not only have the right to enter into regular marriages with each other or to have sexual intercourse before entering into a

/32 cont./

601 regular marriage, but preserve the rights to sexual intercourse
835 even when the individuals of these categories are joined in an individual marriage. Being joined in a legitimate, as it were, individual marriage, the wife at the same time enjoys the right privately, i.e., in the absence of her husband, to have intercourse with persons of the group of men whom she calls pu, ivn (husband). Most often, of course, this right is exercised by the brothers of her husband, his own or of further degrees of kinship, living with him in the same village, but even men who have newly arrived, often complete strangers passing through the settlement by chance, if they regard themselves, even by the most distant kinship, as "pu" of the given woman, freely /33/ exercise this right, with, of course, the consent of the woman. During my travels over Sakhalin, my companions from the western shore, appearing with me in a distant settlement on the eastern shore of the island, in which neither they nor their fathers had ever been, but in which, according to their genealogical information, there lived a woman of the an'gej category, freely exercised their rights, when the husband was not in the yurt, of course.
[171] This phenomenon is completely identical with what is said about the Australian kroki and kumiti, who will find a marital bed everywhere, even at the farthest points of their territory, on the condition that the husbands are kumi and the beautiful strangers are kroki.

171 In character, these norms of sexual intercourse most closely
835 resemble the same such norms in the Australian Dieri tribe, among whom the two kinds of sexual intercourse mentioned are clearly registered by the terms noa and piruari (1). Among them each

[113] 1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 f.

woman is joined in individual, legitimate marriage to a single man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage with a whole category of men,

/33 cont./

835 171 who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of the tribe. With regard to this group, she is piruari and vice versa. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the Hawaiian Islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of Gilyak marriage.

835 684 The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly expressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever, causing only some irritation, and in rare cases the moving of the seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

835 More than once I observed even cases of the regular cohabitation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed [554] [122] between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a Gilyak from the village of Tangivo, Gibel'ka, the richest and most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations between the latter and the wife of his elder brother were no secret to anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical tenderness and enjoyed equal tenderness from the latter, and, when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted [593] about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melancholy would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never saw even a trace of bad relations between the brothers.

/34 cont./

835 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so
829 earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to them, and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you, among the Russians, it is no so? You mean one could not live with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well, that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at one another.

835 Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even
152 the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother will insist that his rival move to another house or to another village.

83 Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a general light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman not violating his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not expecially value chastity, and only considerations of an external nature force parents to look askance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters.
[848] Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become in-
[849] volved with a man who is unsuitable with regard to his property status, and, besides, that the child born to her will be outside the given clan and so will have to be killed.

83 Apart from these considerations, however, there is no moral
577 prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness prevails and sexual morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a given society, the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual morality, for, with regard to persons who are outside of the group sexual relationship, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing. The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have intercourse with a clansman of her husband if he is not of the category of her pu, even though the seducer is younger than her husband and she likes him.

/35 cont./

83 577 825 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

602 [829] The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

174 601 835 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

174 601 835 614

174 /36 cont./
601 because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak, their
835 migrations, depopulations, immigrations, and other such reasons,
614 naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and lose its former simplicity.

174 A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kin-
601 ship nomenclature, which, without doubt, is a living reflection
835 of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded.
582 First of all, it is clear that the kinship nomenclature ac-
614 cording to which I, a man, call the sisters of my father-in-law mother (ymk), while my father calls them his wives, at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers, both own and agnate, call one another sister, can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one common clan, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women-sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then, in fact, the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and consequently, my mothers, while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system, marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is eloquently answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature by which I and my clansmen of my generation, i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives, and conversely, they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came, i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers, is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives, and furthermore, as I have already said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan. But to exchange women, i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives, is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont./

174 601 835 582 614 my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ancestresses were sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kinship terminology this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the daughter of the sister of my father wife (an'gej), but simply navkh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but ytk, akhmal'k. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan, reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not, however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

582 60 614 In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indicated by me which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up to the present day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak, not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detail, I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives there from whence you came, i.e., from the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

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1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh is interesting; it is composed of pi (ones own, yours), pandf (kinsmen of the mother), and ukh (from). The word pandf is from pandynd -- "to be born."

[835] wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinted an old prohibition on this group of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder brothers, for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom sexual intercourse is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of marriage among the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a brother, own (preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the latter. On the other hand, marriage with a

582 601

/37 cont./

582 601 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was indubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is 582 584 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engagement of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is educated until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual, 582 614 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how- [125] [601] ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the census that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of the mother") from ancient times.

582 178 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way, then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs, sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

/38 cont./

582 178 It is not difficult to understand even the raison d'être of this institution which at first glance is strange and confusing.

582 614 Such a binding regulation of marriage conformed as much as possible to both the basic principles of the clan and the individual feelings of the separate heads of families. The clan, at its base, rests on the principle of blood unity. In an agnatic clan this unity will most ideally be attained if all the wives of the agnates are taken from one clan close in blood and, of course, from the clan of their ancestress. This not only satisfies the formal principle of the unity of blood, but confirms the unity of the cult of the ancestors in both lines, so important in the eyes of primitive man.

If we now turn our attention to the psychology of the individual members of the clan, it /39/ fully coincides with the clan, where the sons, in accordance with the general rule, remain within the clan and take their wives from outside, it is natural that every mother prefers to have as a wife for her son a woman very close to her by blood and furthermore to assemble within her family women from that clan from which she herself comes. She cannot, however, marry her son to the daughter of her sister, for her sister is either a wife of her husband or of his brothers, and consequently the daughter of the latter is either an own sister or an agnate of her son; all that remains is to marry him to a daughter of her brother, as has become established in reality. For the entire aggregate of the women of a clan it is of tremendous interest that they are all of a common origin and feel behind them the solid protection of the whole clan from which they come.

Such a marriage (of a son to the daughter of his mother's brother is equally in the interests of the father, who thus marries his son to a kinswoman (praplemyanitsa) of his mother. Since the sister of the husband also desires, in turn, to marry her sons to the daughters of her brother, a mother cannot marry her daughters to the sons of her brother, and, thus, an exchange marriage, i.e., an exchange of women, between two such families was impossible, just like a marriage within a family.

/39 cont./

582 614 So far we have considered, as it were, the statics of the question; now let us turn to its dynamics. Let us see how from some very simple beginning, with inevitable necessity, as a mighty tree develops from a single seed, the controversial, confusing fabric of the Gilyak marriage and clan grew up.

The essence of the entire complex system of regulation of Gilyak marriage and the clan, and furthermore the key to understanding it, is a unique fact, namely, the principle established in its day that men must marry the daughters of their mother's brother, in other words, the daughters in each family belong from birth to the sons of their father's sister. We have already said something about the motives that could have given rise to this principle. In any case, its universal incumbency was guaranteed, no doubt, as the categorical imperative of the primitive religion.

This simple rule leads logically to the following:

1) Once every mother has the right to take for her sons the daughters of her brother, her daughters by the same right absolutely must enter the family of her husband's sister, in other words, /40/ every woman belongs to her first cousins, the sons of her father's sister. Therefore, a woman cannot marry the sons of her mother's brother, and a man cannot marry the daughters of a sister of his father: they cannot exchange the women of the family of a brother and of a sister. It is clear that this prohibition does not have anything to do with a fear of marriages within close degrees of kinship, because the daughter of the sister of my father is related to me in the same degree of kinship as the daughter of the brother of my mother, whereas marriage is prohibited with the first and obligatory with the second, a fact that is extremely important for the genesis of prohibitions within close degrees of kinship.

582 614 595 2) Once marriages between the daughters of a brother and the sons of a sister are obligatory, once the former necessarily belong to the latter, certain situations naturally arise in view of the normal quantitative inequality between persons of different sexes, in view of such possibilities, for example, as that a brother has one daughter while his sister has several sons, or, conversely, the brother has several

/40 cont./

582 daughters while his sister has only one or two sons, or that a
595 long interval of time elapses between the birth of the first son and
614 the ones that follow, or that, which even further complicates the question, several sisters have but one brother or one sister has several brothers: in the first case several brothers have a common wife; in the second, either one possesses several sisters, or two brothers live in common marriage with a group of sisters; in the third case, the younger brother, who reaches puberty when the elder brother has managed to take all his cousins, must of necessity have marital rights to the wives of his elder brothers; finally, in the last two cases, either several first cousins will have as common wives the daughters of the brother of their mothers, or several brothers will have as common wives several of their first cousins. We have given only the simplest cases; in reality, the matter is, of course, much more complicated. Thus, in one way or another, there absolutely inevitably arises a group marriage of brothers (own and further) with a group of sisters (own and further), and in any case the unconditional reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers of all degrees of kinship. Of course, these group rights consequently embraced more and more people of more distant degrees of kinship, for a mother did not always have brothers, or the latter daughters, and it was inevitably necessary to take wives from among the /41/ first, second, etc. cousins of the mother, and hence the union of people united by the common rights of a group marriage grew.

No vicissitudes of tribal life destroyed this group principle, even up to the present time. When in the course of time, as a result of depopulations, the dispersion of kindred families, wars, and other such reasons, there arose the necessity of resorting to marriages from alien families, these customs, inconvenient in themselves, led to the situation that we see at the present time, that a man is the officially recognized husband of one or several women and is required to share this right either with all his brothers (in some clans) or (in others) only with the younger ones, and, moreover, not only with his own, but with all the agnate brothers as well.

/41 cont./

582 614 3) Since in every family sons must marry daughters of a brother of their mother, and daughters -- sons of a sister of their father, it follows that from the time of the establishment of this custom all the descending posterity of each pair of ancestors in all lines eo ipso form a closed group, prohibited from one another maritally, an exogamous organism, a clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or remain in their own, either a maternal or paternal clan prevails.

At the present time, among the Gilyak a paternal, agnatic clan has been established.

4) Such a clan rests not only on the negative tie of exogamy, but also on valuable positive bonds, on the common rights of clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, the mutual rights of group marriage, and, finally, on the obligation to save their women for the clan that took the sisters of their ancestor.

If we take into consideration the fact that marriage regulations among primitive peoples, among whom the cult of the ancestors and, consequently, blood ties play such a tremendous role, become religious imperatives, it will become clear that the clearly indicated mutual rights and obligations cement the clan union.

In particular, the important cementing element of a clan is also the fact that all the women coming in (wives of clansmen) are taken from one clan and are either one another's sisters (own and agnate), or aunts and nieces. As for men, the clansmen, they represent in each generation a group of brothers (own and agnate) married to a group of sisters and cousins from the clan of their mothers, i.e., to their first cousins, /42/ in relation to whom they have reciprocal conjugal rights.

We have already spoken about the effects that these customs have on the kinship nomenclature.

614 615 5) The clan, therefore, is not a self-contained organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound up with the existence of at least two clans, blood kindred with it, one the blood clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, and another clan which took the sisters of its ancestor and to which it must give up its own women.

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614 The first of the latter two clans in relation to the third bears the name akhmal'k (father-in-law), the second navkh or ymri (son-in-law /zyat', "son-in-law, brother-in-law"/). All three are pandf (cognates) to one another. Thus, every Gilyak is an organic member not only of his own, but of a tri-partite, blood, tri-clan union, forming, in the literal sense of the word, a phratry (1) (phratry -- brotherhood). In this triple "brotherhood"

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1. The Gilyak phratry has nothing in common with the one of Morgan, for within it mutual marriages are not only allowed, but were obligatory.

all the men and women of each generation are actually brothers and sisters (cognate male cousins and female cousins, see below).

Specifically, in relation to each member of a given clan each woman of the second clan is either his mother, his wife or the wife of his sons and agnatic nephews, and conversely, in the third clan, every woman is either his sister, daughter, or a sister of his father. Such are the blood ties of the members of a phratry!

One can get an idea of the form of the Gilyak three-clan phratry from the following schematic table:

Clan A (Andreev)	Clan V (Vasil'ev)	Clan S (Stepanov)
Andrei + Varvara (sister of Vasilii from clan V).	Vasilii + Sof'ia (sister of Stepan from clan S).	Stepan + Anna (sister of Andrei from clan A).
Their children:	Their children:	Their children:
1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Vasilii, from clan V.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Stepan, from clan S.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Andrei, from clan A.
2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Anna, from clan S.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Varvara, from clan A.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Sof'ia, from clan V.

/43/

615 614 Analyzing this table, we see that 1) all the women in clan A have been taken, by generations, from clan V, which means that Andrei's mother is a sister of Vasilii's father, and consequently Andrei and Vasilii are cognate cousins. 2) Similarly in clan V, Vasilii's mother is a ~~sister~~ of Stepan's father from clan S, and consequently Vasilii and Stepan are cognate cousins, and 3) in clan S Stepan's mother is the sister of Andrei's father from clan A, and consequently Stepan and Andrei are cognate cousins.

Thus, not only are each pair of spouses, one to the other, male and female cognate cousins, but the ancestors of each clan are, one to the other, cognate cousins. In a word, the founders of all three clans are close, blood kinsmen married to female cognates of the same degree of kinship, and each generation marries cognates of the same degree of kinship as its fathers and mothers. This is a clear example of how weak the terms exogamous and endogamous are: the exogamy of the Gilyak clan does not exclude marriages between close kinsmen. It turns out that endogamy prevailed within each phratry; each of its branches was exogamous.

615 614 178 Such was the original scheme. Time and circumstances, emigration, depopulation, the dispersion of clans, an accidental scarcity of women in the mother's clan, and other such causes naturally led, on the one hand, to a deviation from this system, and, on the other hand, to corrections, whose aim was to reconcile the old norms with the new demands of life. All these superstructures, if I may express myself thus, have quite confused the genealogical systems and the marriage norms, and, as usually happens, the categorical imperative, weakening in one respect, becomes more widespread in another. Due to external conditions, the rule to take one's wife from the clan of one's mother weakened, but, on the other hand, the prohibition against giving wives to that clan (albeit completely alien from which someone, even a most remote clansman of the given clan, took his wife has received the most widespread interpretation (on the presumption that it is the clan of the mother). From this the following has become established:

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614 615 178 Since at the present time it is not always possible for all clansmen to take their wives from one clan, the clan of the mother, certain members of some clan (M, for example) are required to take their wives from different clans. And so, on the strength of the old presumption that the clan of the wife of a clansman is the clan of the mother, all these clans for several generations become prohibited for all the women of clan M, for whom marriage into these clans is not allowed. And this is not all. This prohibition, in essence having lost its former raison d'être, is applied not only /44/ to that clan M, which takes wives directly from A, but also to a third clan, N, which, in turn, takes wives from M.

In the Gilyak terminology of marriage this prohibition is technically expressed thus. Clan A, giving women to clan M, is called the akhmal'k (father-in-law) of the latter, while in relation to clan N, which in turn takes wives from clan M, it -- i.e., clan A, is called tuyma akhmal'k (distant father-in-law); and so the prohibitions lying on clan M are carried over to clan N, i.e., clan A may not take women not only from M, but also from N. The degrees of prohibition, however, do not extend beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree.

The entire future evolution of the Gilyak family and clan lies in the history of the origin of this prohibition. In what way could this widespread prohibition arise? We saw that the Gilyak were not afraid of marriages within close degrees of kinship. This means that the reason must be some other one. As a matter of fact, in the face of the inevitability of cases when it was impossible to take wives from the clan of the mother, the Gilyak, conforming to the religious imperative, should have, in such cases, considered the most suitable clan that one from which at least the clan of his mother took wives, and, if unable to take them from it, he went to that clan from which this latter took wives, i.e., went by degrees to the akhmal'ki of distant degrees of kinship, just as, within the clan of the mother, in the absence of daughters in the family of the mother's own brother, he went to the daughters of the first, second, etc. cousins of the mother. Thus, the distant akhmal'ki clans were, as it were, reserve clans of the

/44 cont./

614 mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to
615 extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kin-
178 ship, and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclusive marriage within three clans became impossible, because in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S is the akhmal'k of the first degree for V and of the second degree for A; consequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri, Dar'ya), let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would now be Dmitri's (clan D) sister, while the latter would have as his wife a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times, the prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant degrees, the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever greater number of clans. At the present time, when, due to the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary in the selection of wives to resort to completely alien clans, the phratry has naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have with regard to this complicated, confused system, in order to correctly decide, in each given case, on the right to marry of some member of a clan. And, actually, this constitutes a whole science, to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

171 Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage
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582 I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples
000 in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

174 /45 cont./ But the details that I
582 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the develop-
601 ment of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think, of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

171 1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
174 completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for ex-
582 ample, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is
601 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datang; or
614 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpûras in central India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and, conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak), while Kohler, presenting this fact, and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms, even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentots," in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 341-342, and L'Année Sociologique, 11th year, p. 306.

[113]

/46/

171 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further the
582 strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia, where a
[835] great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly declares which men and women of the tribe have the right to group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and difficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonial questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive man have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear that there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the decisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the individual person and became the function of a competent institution of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why among many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a single totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women coming
[614] in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a single totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutandis, every kumi and kroki among the Australians finds his wife throughout the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he finds her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives and in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his wife.

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, where ascending and descending generations belong to different classes, and only in the third, among some -- in the fourth, or even in the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of the fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in details from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this strange phenomenon.

615 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity call
614 clan A -- Andreev, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepanov.
582 Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepanovs (of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not Andreeva

/46 cont./

615 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in
614 turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V)
582 would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last, i.e., Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife of one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the third generation, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

582 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerable ex-
[601] tent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many categories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sight appear completely independent, are in fact identical, such as, for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sisters of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons, just like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the father-in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage, we have seen that from the simple, single rule that men must marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitably arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage prohibitions.

174 2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the
583 genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particu-
614 lar, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an institution
615 which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Aus-
[171] tralians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strange forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation of

/47 cont./

174 which brings the punishment of the gods. Now let us suppose that
583 clan V, from which A takes wives, has died out, or that there are
614 too few women in it, which is quite in the order of things. Clan
615 A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there each clan saves its women for the clan of the father's sister; the alien clan, even if it had extra women, cannot decide to deviate from this imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punishment of the gods, of the gods-ancestors, for whom marriages with those of other blood constitute the greatest of insults. And a similar vengeance threatens the clan who would make use of women of other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however. Two alternatives then remain: either to abduct a woman by force, risking bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods, /48/ to say nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the one stolen, or to circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the real intentions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreement is reached with the parents of the bride and with her herself, whereby these latter appear to resist the abduction with all their strength, while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious manner, does everything required to give to the marriage act the look of real coercion.

171 Only with such an explanation of abduction can we under-
174 stand why, for example, the Australian kurnai, having allowed
583 their daughter to run away with her loved one, set out in pursuit after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg with a spear and beat her half to death. The Australians themselves explain this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many tribes the bridegroom himself considers it his duty to beat his loved one no less cruelly than her parents: by this he desires to show the gods, and the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture of the girl was in no way caused by a desire on his part to marry her.

Finally, only with this illumination on the hypothesis of the religious origin of the custom can we explain such a universal occurrence of the institution, which, in the form of mock abduction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony of even civilized peoples.

/48 cont./

174 583 614 615 606 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also explains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not from the clan of his mother by the term sokh /sic: see yokh on p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

174 583 614 [673] [689] [682] Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price, the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third generation inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin, [192] as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

174 583 In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 776 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" [778] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacriligeous offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/50 cont./

823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs stioking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

82 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'"
774 (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the
776 fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[777]
[778]

1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by
825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

/50 cont./

825 for example, on a whale, the latter hold the flanks, while the leaders follow behind.

82 /51/ Once visible nature is only a mask and is not what it
771 appears to be, there is a natural tendency on the part of the Gilyak to seize upon the smallest sign having resemblance to the human body or a part of it, in order to discover the human shape that is concealed under it. Hence fetishism -- the psychology which discovers a supernatural human-like being in every object which has an unusual form, be it a high mountain, a petrified object, or simply a piece of stone.

825 If inanimate nature is capable of arousing in the mind of the Gilyak the imagining of live creatures which conceal themselves under the dead form, then the cult of animals should all the more not amaze us at all. It is generally believed that fear lies at the base of the cult of animals. Primus in orbe deos fecit timor. In fact this is far from the case. First of all, we must remember that primitive man not only does not recognize any sort of gulf between himself and the animal world, but, on the contrary, in many respects admits the superiority of the latter over himself. A hunter by profession, he has invested in his art of hunting all his intelligence, all his inventiveness, all his human genius. See how brilliant his snares and traps are, and nonetheless how often and maliciously the insignificant little beast -- a fox, a sable, and others -- will laugh at all his machinations! Dozens of valuable sables run past his trap, leaving their footprints quite close to it; they guessed the cleverness of man and departed unharmed! How sensitive is the elk to the smell of a human being whole versts away! Never, never would a single beast be caught by the Gilyak, but for the will of the gods, the "masters" of these animals, which care for the well-being of the Gilyak. If a god does not will this, dozens of man's crossbows remain without a catch. Therefore the Gilyak sees in animals beings in no way inferior to himself, even though a god may sometimes give

/51 cont./

825 them to him for his use. On the contrary, the strength of the large animals, and the shrewdness and resourcefulness of even such small creatures as the sable, the extraordinary sense of smell and a great number of other instincts inherent in animals and of which man is devoid, furthermore such phenomena as the change in the color of fur, shedding, and so forth -- all this provides the Gilyak with sufficient bases for regarding an animal as an extremely intelligent being in many ways superior to himself. The smaller the beast, the stranger its form, the more mystery it contains and the greater astonishment it causes with its miraculous instincts. Therefore, even such insignificant animals as the toad, the lizard, the bat, the gnat, and so forth /52/ arouse no fewer fantastic notions in the mind of the Gilyak and impress him no less than the largest beasts.

The form and dimensions of an animal are only appearances. Every animal is in reality a real man-like being, no, just such a "Gilyak" as he is himself, but endowed with intelligence and powers which often exceed those in man.

If, however, the strength, the intelligence, and the amazing instincts of the animal cause belief in the spiritual superiority of animals and the supernatural quality of their nature, the cult of some animals is caused by certain other special traits of these latter, namely, their meekness toward man and their apparently conscious protective and beneficial attitude toward him.

The bear on land and the kosatka in the sea particularly strike the Gilyak with these traits.

The bear is the strongest and the biggest animal of his taiga; all the other animals run before it in terror. With a blow of its paw it can knock down the strongest man and crush him like a fly, and yet it is generally very meek with regard to him! Actually, the Sakhalin bear never attacks a man first, and upon meeting him in the taiga either runs away from him, or -- especially in places where man is rarely encountered -- passes by him with complete indifference, only rarely rewarding him with a look of surprise (1). And the Gilyak regards it as a friendly member of a different clan.

1. In the Ossuriysk krai, the tiger is

/52 cont./

825 distinguished by the same meekness with regard to man and for this very reason is worshiped by the local natives.

The bear that awakens early from its winter sleep and in a frenzy of hunger throws itself upon a man is a crazy bear or a vagrant who has been driven away by the "master." In those rare cases when a Gilyak, while hunting, is killed in a fight with a bear, this is ascribed to extraordinary circumstances: either that it was not a bear, but a devil in the shape of a bear or that it was a female bear who fell in love with the Gilyak and who wanted to transplant his soul inside herself.

If a bear falls prey to a Gilyak, it is only because the bear itself wants it. In its struggle with the man, the bear itself offered a good spot for the fatal blow. After all, it loses nothing from it. After breathing its last, it actually casts to the Gilyak only its apparent covering, its shaggy skin, while it remains alive and unharmed as before. A few days later, at the end of the [796] bear festival, when /53/ its meat has been eaten and the bones placed in a storehouse of honor, the Gilyak kill several dogs, in whose company the bear gaily runs, with all its ornaments and presents, to the "master" of the highest mountain.

The whale-like, large-toothed sea animal -- the kosatka - is worshiped no less than the bear on land. One would think, what could be stronger and more terrible in the eyes of the Gilyak than the whale, this tremendous and mighty monster, spouting fountains, for whom a storm is a diversion, and each of whose vertebrae is heavier than the largest Gilyak? Yet there is a beast before whose sharp, cone-like teeth the whale flees without a backward glance and throws itself with a roar of despair on the banks and the shallows of the Sakhalin coast where the Ainu and the Gilyak make opulent feasts of him. This is the kosatka. It creates an imposing impression, even on a European, when a kosatka unexpectedly appears near his boat, and the general flight of all the inhabitants of the sea begins. At the sight of this terrible beast fish, seals, dolphins, and eared seals scatter as if seized, and forgetting all caution,

/53 cont./

825 run on the harpoon of the Gilyak. Woe to the animal who falls to his teeth; he tears the great eared seal in half. The most awful sight, however, is kosatki hunting a whale. "Sighting him, the school of kosatki divides into parties. The younger ones set out on the flanks, trying to contain the whale, while the older ones remain in the rear. Having thus stationed themselves for a battue (cautiously without noise so as not to frighten the whale), they suddenly appear on the surface of the water when they calculate that the catch should be in the middle of the circle they have formed. They then throw themselves savagely upon the whale and begin to tear his body into large chunks and greedily swallow them. They all vie in particular to try to get his tongue. The whale thereupon raises a soul-rending roar which can be heard for many versts. Hearing such a roar, I always knew that somewhere close by kosatki were hunting a whale." Thus the zoologist Voznesenski described this terrible sight in the Aleutian Sea, and I happened to see the same sight many times in the waters of the territory of the Gilyak.

And yet this same monster before whom quake the titans of the sea, this tyrannus balaenarum (tyrant of whales), as he was called by Fabritsius, an ancient specialist on whales, not only never touches the boats of the Gilyak, but is his true benefactor, driving nammals and fish to him!

[225] /54/ For hours on end the Gilyak waits in his fragile little boat for the appearance of the head of a seal on the surface of the water in order to throw his long harpoon into him. But the cautious seals prefer not to appear at all, or show themselves from under the water only to dodge in a most crafty way the blow directed at them. Then, quite unexpectedly, as if specially sent by someone, seals, eared seals, and beluga begin to run onto the harpoon of the Gilyak... The kosatka has appeared, forcing the inhabitants of the sea to throw themselves in all directions without a backward glance! -- How, after this, could the Gilyak not consider this mighty creature, who does not spare anyone but him and, in addition, is his bread winner, sending all sorts of sea animals, his God-benefactor? And he calls this animal none other than yz' -- "master."

/54 cont./

825 [766] The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a kosatka, and when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the kosatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion, however. Signs of the deepest respect are shown toward any animal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea. The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore, and likewise the heads of other animals.

825 776 The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not independent gods and not even deities in general; they are merely the subordinates of the real deities, the "masters" of this or that element, this or that animal. These "masters" in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who, according to need, assume the form of this or that animal. These gods live in the forests, the mountains, and on the bottom of the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak themselves, have wives children, and clansmen. Like the Gilyak, they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods, "yz'" -- master, is in command. It is these masters who send the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables, bears, salmon, 825 seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element, 776 however, should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense. 554 It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there are simply rich people and among them one kind that is richest, just as, in addition to the great gods-masters, every territory, every stream, each has its own "master" who takes care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods). [614] The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence, courage, and cunning, and consequently richest, is called "yz'" (master), and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

/55 cont./

776 For the Gilyak, the most important gods-"masters" are
825 Pal'-yz' -- the master of the mountains and of the taiga, and Tayrnadz, the same as Tol'-yz' -- master of the sea. The first lives on the highest mountain, and with him, whole settlements of his clansmen. Bears serve him as dogs. All the beasts of the taiga are subordinate to him, and, at his discretion, he distributes them to the Gilyak. It is he who orders the sable to dress himself in a new skin and hurry into the noose of the Gilyak; he, again, orders the bear to offer a good spot for a true blow. The god of the sea, Tayrnadz, lives on the bottom of the Sea of Okhotsk. He is a very old man with a white beard, who lives with his old wife in an underwater yurt. In the yurt there is a huge number of boxes with all kinds of spawn, which he throws by the handful into the sea from time to time. It is he who, at the appointed time, sends the countless detachments of salmon, without which the life of the Gilyak would be impossible; it is he who sends out the kosatki to establish order in the sea and drive all kinds of sea animals toward the Gilyak.

776 Besides these most important gods, there is a great number of less important ones who watch over the Gilyak. In the house of the Gilyak the master of the fire and the mistress of the threshold, keep vigil over him. Some kind of "master" watches at every stream, looking after the well-being of the Gilyak...

Not all the gods, however, are on such close terms with man. The sky is inhabited by whole tribes of tly-nivukh'i, heavenly people, who only rarely interfere in the affairs of the Gilyak, and then to no purpose, for a joke; for example, out of mischievousness a heavenly man will lower a fishing rod with hooks to the earth in order to catch some Gilyak. This
[538] does not always work, however. For example, the young Gilyak, Il'k, from the village of Arkovo told me that tly-nivukh once caught his father with a golden hook, and he just saved himself by grabbing a tree, thus getting away with only a scare and a torn coat.

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776 Other gods distant from him, the sun and the moon, for
782 example, just like the tly-nivukh'i, interest him little, for these gods are not closely related to his life and needs. On the other hand, the Gilyak is in constant communication with such gods as the master of the taiga, the sea, and the fire, turning to them sometimes with sacrifices, sometimes with prayers. Usually both acts are joined together. For an ordinary sacrifice neither solemnity nor any special objects are necessary. The principle /56/ of sacrifice is exchange, and therefore one cannot give the god of the sea fish, nor the god of the taiga the meat of animals.

782 If the Gilyak sails on the sea and is afraid of a storm, he
[484] respectfully lowers a leaf of tobacco or a handful of rice over the side and says: "Please make the sea calm, so that I may arrive home alive and healthy." Whenever the Gilyak sets out, he takes along in a special sack his favorite objects for sacrifice, sweet herbs, sarana, and so forth -- since the gods are not demanding.

123 Some kind of candy delivered to the deity may sometime
776 stand one in very good stead. I experienced this once myself. It was in August, 1894. With great difficulties, almost without provisions or supplies, and with one piece of brick tea and some biscuits, I reached the Head of the earth. When I unexpectedly informed my companions that I had decided to betake myself up to the top of the "Head" in order to collect plants and remove some stones, my companions were overcome with panic. They adjured me to renounce my "insane" intention, which had to lead to our common destruction, offering as proof the example of two Russian seamen who had attempted to go up to the top of the small god, Lazarev Cape, perished, and were buried there. The captain of my boat, Gibel'ka, an intelligent and loyal Gilyak from the settlement Tangi, who had become quite attached to me, was especially agitated.

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123 "What are you afraid of?" I said to him, "You will stay,
776 be alive, go back home, everything will be fine and do not worry about me.""No, friend," replied Gibel' with animation, "that is a bad law; we have traveled together, worked together, written together, searched together for the stone ax, looked at people together, passed judgment together, and now I will go back home and are going to die here? Is such the law? And what will the most great chief say? 'Why,' he will say, did you not see to it that the "tyan'gi" (gentleman) traveled well?' He will say that I killed you. That will be a great sin. No, you had better not touch the god of the earth; he is terribly big, strong, and he can get terribly angry."

123 Seeing that I was adamant, Gibel'ka, after some thought,
776 said: "You have nothing to give the Head of the earth, such
782 an important 'tyan'ga' and yet to have nothing to give. If we give him a present and say a good word, perhaps he will not become angry." Then I remembered that a few pieces of candy that I use for slaking my thirst when climbing a mountain were left in my pocket and, showing them to my elated companions, said that I /57/ would take them to the angry god and say a good word. My companions calmed down somewhat, and I set out on my way. In the evening when I came back loaded with a collection of herbs and minerals, my companions surrounded me with joy and began to inquire about what word I said to the Head of the earth. I was forced to recite for them impromptu prayers in their national style. "Lord of the Earth, you are very big and strong and can become terribly angry. All people know you. I came from a distant land, from a most distant land I came in order to look at you; please make it so that I and my companions are healthy and return home, and do not die of hunger on the way. Please feed me well!" When, exhausted and starving, we returned that very day to the settlement of Nyur very close by, and Gibel'ka, while the tea was being boiled, told the amazed listeners about my sacrifice and about the eloquent prayer, something extraordinary happened. All the people looked with tender emotion, while

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[796] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
766 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/58 cont./

775 a bear's love for her, etc. -- all such persons do not travel to
614 the ordinary kingdom of the shades, but go over into the clan of
[766] the gods-masters who took a liking to them, of the mountain,
water, fire, etc., and then become the smallest "masters"
and protect their clansmen. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i --
forest people, tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people, etc. took form. It
is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices.
These are not mythical gods, not the fictional heroes of the
Greek clans, but actual persons, authoritatively living in the
775 imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods
614 of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of
825 primitive religions -- totemism, the worship of a certain class
of animals honored as the clansmen and even the ancestors of
their worshipers. In fact, as I said earlier, the master of each
element and his clansmen, although they lead the same kind
of life as the Gilyak, always appear in the presence of man
in the form of this or that animal, the bear (forest people),
the beluga or kosatka (sea people), so that the Gilyak as well,
having entered after his death the clan of this or that master,
also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore,
that class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kindred
to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem.
775 Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or pre-
614 decessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers
or at sea, a system of separate totems for every clan could
not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot con-
sider this vast question in more detail here; I shall say only
that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows
that it is not totemism, i.e., not the belief in descent from
this or that /59/ kind of animal, that created the clan gods,
as is commonly thought, but, on the contrary, it is the clan
gods who created totemism. As we shall see below, we can-
not explain the prohibitions of the totemists against using
the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the
fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.

614 The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other
171 interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself
171 here, for the time being, to what has been said, all the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
796 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but
614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak. In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The
[574] clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

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796 This festival has already been described many times,
231 and therefore I shall consider for the most part those features
that have not been noted before. First of all, it is remarkable
[769] that ordinarily the festival is generally celebrated in memory
of a dead clansman, being a kind of funeral feast for the
deceased. A very close kinsman of the deceased buys for
money or catches for himself in the taiga a bear cub, which
is brought solemnly and amidst cries of joy and music into
the native village. Here a separate framework is built for
it out of thick poles and spars and decorated in the corners
[614] with sacred trees. The feeding of the cub is done, not by its
specific master, but by the entire clan: One or another family
in turn, feeds the honored guest for the duration of the ap-
pointed time, cleans the framework, and in general takes
care of it in every way. On appointed days the bear is taken
from its cage for a walk. This is a great event in the life of
the settlement, taking many hours and giving extraordinary
pleasure to young and old. The procedure of getting the
bear out of the cage is quite complicated. First of all, while
the bear is still in the case, they hobble its legs, sticking
through the spaces between the poles thongs which end in
quickly tightened nooses and are put on sticks. After this
they take away a few links of the top part of the cage, pro-
viding the bear with the opportunity to stick its head out;
then they put a stick into its mouth, which it violently
clenches with its teeth, and at this time they very tightly
bind its mouth. After this, it is calmly pulled out of the
cage, and an iron ring is put on it, clasping it at the belly.
Long thongs are attached to this ring on both sides, and
several men hold fast to them, pulling them hard in opposite
directions; they do not give the bear any opportunity to at-
tack the surrounding people. Only then do they free it of
its hobble and take it for a walk.

/60 cont./

796 Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction
231 and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is
[614] displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so
[182] impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

796 There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to
621 compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to
476 participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival
796 come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins -- the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of
[778] ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees: the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

/61 cont./

796 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nau-vakhnku,
778 the day of the preparation of the inau, i.e., sticks with sharpened ends, which play an important religious role in the festival. These sticks, of various forms and sizes, represent orators-intercessors, which, together with the slain bear will set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talismans as well. Each kind of inau is made in pairs; each pair is spouses, so that they will be happier, and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the inau are hung as ornamentation on the posts of the
796 arena; some are attached to them at the bottom. While the
574 preparation of the inau takes place, the clan elder, together
614 with the master of the bear, and several clansmen ride out to greet the so-called narkh'i. These narkh'i are honored guests and play a very important role in the festival: the killing of the bear is left to them alone, to them /62/ alone is given all the meat of the killed beast and even the skin. The narkh'i are not arbitrarily chosen people, but of necessity representatives of that clan into which the daughters of the master of the bear, as well as the women of his clan in general, marry.
[606] Most often, therefore, a narkh is a son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the bear /see navkh, p. 82/. The narkh'i in turn take along their sons-in-law and decide among themselves which one of them is to kill the bear. If several bears are killed at the same time, narkh'i are invited from all the clans from which the clan arranging the festival has taken wives, so that sometimes up to ten clans participate in such a festival. It is these narkh'i whom the master of the bear must solemnly greet and lavishly entertain when he meets them, and transport them with honor to his village.

796 The following day is the day of the killing. It is called
231 Na-khan-ku (the day of the killing of the bear) or Chkhyf-aryn-ku (the day of the feeding of the bear). Early in the morning the bear is taken out of its cage in the same way as to take it for a walk. A large woven belt to which are tied bags full of assorted viands is put on it, and it is tied up near a yurt and given the opportunity to enjoy the last hours of life remaining to it in this

/62 cont./

796 semifreedom. Around noon it is untied and, held by thongs
231 on both sides, is taken for a walk. This walk, however, gives the bear little pleasure, for from every side they tease it in every way and try to drive it beyond patience. The bear at first lets out some grumbling, but gradually becomes enraged, attempts to attack the people, and gets up on its hind legs, but it is held by dozens of hands, and all its rage is lost in fruitless thrashing. But now, seizing the moment, the master of the bear cautiously steals up, seizes it by the head, kisses it good-by, and, without waiting for a return kiss, speedily jumps away. Most often, however, the bear freely returns the good-by kiss to its protector, who considers himself quite lucky if the clumsy one limits itself to tearing off a good chunk of meat and does not get its teeth into, say, an eye or the throat arteries. A wound inflicted by a bear on such occasions, however, is considered an expression of good will on the part of the good-natured beast. The walk ends in leading the bear three times around the yurt of its master. Beforehand everything living, even suckling babies and animals, is removed from the yurt; only the clan elder stands in the passageway, and every time the bear comes around even with the entrance he teases it with a long pole with an uncut crown of coniferous needles at the end and speaks gentle words. /63/ At the end of this procedure the bear is led to the plot of ground and tied between the two trees which have been ritually decorated. The pole with which the bear was teased is fixed to the hearth, so that its spreading crown of coniferous needles rises high above the smoke opening. After that there is an intermission. The
796 bear is again left to itself, while the people assemble in a
594 dense throng in the yurt of the master of the bear, where lavish entertainment begins. They literally sit on one another's heads; nonetheless the gaiety is extraordinary; the loud talk, the laughter, and the jokes never cease. Only the narkh'i are serious: they bend their bows, sharpen their arrows, and prepare themselves for the crucial moment. Meanwhile all kinds of cold viands are carried in huge troughs on dog sleds to the sacred plot of ground; there are frozen fish of all kinds, rice,

/63 cont./

796 buda, and beans, and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish,
574 "the mos'," whose method of preparation I have already described in the second chapter.

796 This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan elder
231 or the master feeds the bear for the last time from a big spoon on a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while asking it to offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally he addresses the bear with the following farewell words: "Good-by. I am feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quickly to your master, and may your master greatly love you." Other clansmen also try to offer something to their old friend; even
796 small children participate in this kindly affair. After the short
[562] break all the people pour out of the yurt, with the exception of the women, who are forbidden to be present at the killing of the bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- and arrange themselves in fighting formation. The master of the bear or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an ax in his hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also with a kettle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i, with bows and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the festival follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy throng. Within a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied, the people stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and places the kettle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle and ax. The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name of nich, i.e., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the narkh elder exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a sign
796 of eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been placed, the
526 next to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary competitive archery. Once, when the bow played a more important role in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt had the character of a great competition; now, however, it is reduced almost to a simple formality. The target is a board placed behind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them the clansmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the guests and make intentional misses. The crowd follows with

/64 cont./

796 [526] rapt attention, and each shot is accompanied by loud approval or by noisy outbursts of laughter. After this preliminary shooting the crowd moves closer to the bear and stops a few steps away from it. Amidst the deep silence that prevails, the selected narkh steps forward, takes his bow in his hands, and begins to watch the bear, waiting for the time when it "will offer the good spot," i.e., will turn so that it will be easy to get right to the heart. The bear often calmly remains in his place, however, digging in the snow with its paws and caring very little about offering a good spot. In order to drive it out of its calm state and compel it to offer a good spot, and also to drive it into a rage and thereby lighten for it, in their opinion, the pain from the wound inflicted, they begin to tease it. The bear thrashes in all directions, throws itself at its tormentors in helpless anger, and stands up on its hind legs. Meanwhile the archer follows it with the most rapt attention and, seizing the right moment, finally releases his sharpened arrow. The bear at first stops perplexed, then clutches its breast with his paw, tears appear in its eyes, and blood appears from the throat out of its mouth. Sometimes it begins to thrash furiously, but most frequently it falls calmly with perplexed hurt in its eyes. Although, as a rule, death comes immediately, nevertheless, just in case, several people throw themselves on the slain animal and begin to strangle it to hasten its death and prevent it from suffering. After this they take the chain off the bear, carefully straighten out its fur, and put it in a pose of majestic calm, with outstretched front and hind paws; the head, turned to the west, rests on the front paws. In this pose it resembles a man stretched out on the ground, lost in thought, leaning on his elbows. The people seat themselves ceremoniously in two rows, some on dog sleds, some directly on the snow, others on ski, and there begins the annihilation of those cold dishes which were brought for the feeding of the bear. Having eaten, the guests gradually disperse; only the closest clansmen, who begin to skin the bear, remain. This procedure is surrounded by strict ritual: the method of cutting the meat,

/64 cont./

796 cutting up /65/ the bones, and so forth -- everything is done in conformity with permanently established rules. The first moment of this procedure, immediately following the removal of the skin, presents a very imposing sight for the Gilyak. The white (from the heavy layer of fat), soft body, stretched out on its back, those front paws with long and even fingers, resembling, to the point of illusion, human hands, amid the gloom of night, must irresistibly evoke in the savage the notion that he is not in the presence of a dead beast, but of a man of a particular nature, who has taken off his hairy skin and now majestically rests, following the least movement of his knife. The entire, detached skin of the bear, together with the head, is carried into the yurt, not through the door, but through the smoke opening, and down the high pole with the crown of coniferous needles, which still rises above the earth yurt. The clan elder carefully takes hold of the skin and, striking it lightly with a stick, says: "Remember that you were fed by such and such old man and by such and such old woman." Meanwhile the women greet the sacred head with a solemn [534] march played on a most original instrument. This is a dry log of larch hung on a frame, on which several people in turn beat out in rhythm relatively monotonous sounds. To the sounds of this charming music the clan elder installs the head of the bear on the plank bed of honor, covered with coniferous needles. Under the head there is a quiver with arrows and, by its side, tobacco, sugar, and other viands. [774] The bear takes along the souls of all these things. The carcasses of meat stay outside on a special wooden platform, and parts are brought in through the smoke opening. The day ends with eating, conversations, games of the youth, dances, and fencing with sticks. The next day is called the day of the feeding of the head. From morning until night kettles boil inside the yurt, and all kinds of dishes of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared. A portion of each dish is put in a separate vessel and placed next to the bear's head. This, then, means "to feed the head." [372] On the same day the boiling of the bear meat begins. The meat is boiled outside in a special kettle; the fire is ignited with the sacred steel, which is not used on any other occasion.

/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
574 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
264 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
533 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts
[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed
[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/66 cont./

796 fed, and then, exchanging farewell glances with the dogs, they silently leave. Upon passing over the threshold, it remains for them to conclude the last ceremony, which bears the characteristic name of "lymyzyn zychyvynd" -- "the stamping of the threshold." This ceremony consists in placing nich'i (a kettle and an ax) on both sides of the threshold, the nich of the departer -- on the inner side, and the nich of the host on the outer side; the departer must first step over the inner nich with one foot and then over the outer one with the other.

796 782 On this same day the last act is concluded -- the sacrifice of the dogs. The dogs presented by the narkh'i, as well as the dogs sacrificed by the master for this occasion, are led out to the plot of ground where the bear was killed and tied up to those same trees /67/ to which the bear was tied. The head of the bear with all the presents given to it, is also brought here. Each pair of dogs consists of a male and a female so they will be [778] happier on the journey. Pairs of inau of the same kind as those that were prepared for seeing off the bear and equal in number to the number of pairs of dogs are then stuck into the ground in the neighborhood of the trees. The heads of the dogs are ornamented with shavings, which are painted with the juice of berries and attached to them. Before they are killed, the dogs are fed with choice viands and are exhorted in the following way: "Go, go to your master, take yourself up to the highest mountain, change your skin, and next year come down here, come down here as a bear so that I may have a look at you, do this, come down, farewell, travel well!" After this, they kill the dogs by strangulation. This procedure is carried out somewhat peculiarly. Two men seize a dog by its hind legs and forcefully pull the unfortunate animal as far as possible away from the tree to which it is tied with a tightening noose. At that time, two other men seize the two front paws; a fifth presses on the dog's neck, accelerating the process of strangulation, and a

/67 cont./

796 782 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent excretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 [262] All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and women, but only clansmen.

[766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which 796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At 774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the 825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'-yz'.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 224 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn ceremonial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and [782] is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together. [766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a 796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great 825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/68 cont./

000 respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.
796 Furthermore, with regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of
231 the bear, this at first sight may not at all appear to an element of a religious nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some occasions may catch young animals, and, whenever he finds it profitable, he feeds them; thus, he feeds the fox for its fur, and young eagles for their feathers. Similarly, it is disadvantageous for the Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers to feed it in order to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and an enormous skin. Furthermore, there is nothing more natural it would seem than to use the killing of the bear for a solemn occasion like the celebration of the funeral feast
[825] for a close person. By the way, the feeding and the killing
868 of a bear is an excellent means of education for the youth, who from childhood become accustomed to the most terrible animal of their taiga, learn not to fear it, and study its disposition, its strength, and its weaknesses. The procedure for getting the bear out of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting it out of its lair.

796 Nonetheless, it is not these crude, utilitarian motives that
825 play the major role in the Gilyak's expensive, wearisome, and prolonged care in feeding a bear. He is governed here by other motives, perhaps also utilitarian, but of a quite different order. As we have already seen, in the eyes of the Gilyak, the bear is a creature sui generis. No matter what creature is concealed under the hairy covering of the bear, a divine clansman of the master of the mountains, a mountain man, or a real animal sent as a present to the Gilyak by its master, in any case he is a creature of a higher order, more powerful, and superhumanly strong. The presence of such a being for a long stretch of time in his native settlement, according to the view of the Gilyak, who is convinced of the constant conspiracies of crowds /69/ of evil spirits eternally threatening his life and health, must be extremely beneficial. The presence of this mighty creature, like a very strong disinfectant, must kill and drive away any insidious spirit. It is not by

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[974] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/69 cont./

796 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master."
825 We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Avesta a long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the cult of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mountain man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or even a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." Therefore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed its head, generously supply it for its journey with various kinds of provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable consequence of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance of the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display of respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whom the welfare of man depends. It is the most apt occasion for sending to this distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and the food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

796 From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear during
782 the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for in-
825 stance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, be-
[114] lieves it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacrifices to each god only that which the god himself does not have, and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. He needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- and it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is a deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itself
796 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important moment
825 in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a general
261 rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, i.e., to the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
[562] into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman, for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what [illegible] said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains" himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master," but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteristic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of women who are wives of the members of that clan are not allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/71 cont./

796 or the female line; the only kinsmen allowed to kill are the
614 "zyat'ya" /sons-in-law, brothers-in-law/, i.e., persons
married to women from this clan, persons whose blood was
796 never mixed with the celebrating clan. In the second place,
614 the entire carcass of the bear, with the exception of the meat
262 of the head, is given to a different clan, the clan of "narkh'i"
and, on the other hand, forbidden to the clan to whom the
bear belongs. Once perhaps even the head was also prohibited
for the celebrating clan. Are these prohibitions not caused by
the totemistic caution against killing and eating the body of
a clansman? After all, could not the slain bear accidently
turn out to be a clansman of the mountain-man clan and
therefore a clansman of those who are celebrating the holiday?
In such a case killing him and eating his meat would be
criminal and fatal for the given clan.

But for a different clan, i.e., the clan of the "narkh'i"
this is permitted, because /72/ another "master" sends bears
to it, its own clansman, so that it is completely safe for them
to eat the meat of the bear of an alien clan.

614 The coexistence of such norms as, on one hand, the
262 permission to kill a bear, though not personally, and to eat
171 its head and, on the other hand, the prohibition against the
rest of the meat may seem a strange and irresolvable contra-
diction. Among totemistic tribes, however, we often meet
such contradictions. The Samoans, for example, on solemn
occasions kill owls and honor them as their deified ancestors,
while at the same time they do not dare to touch the meat.
In the works by Spencer and Gillen we read that among the
tribes of central Australia, among whom it is normally pro-
hibited, for example, to kill kangeroos and to use them for
food, on a certain solemn day two or three of the forbidden
animals are killed, and pieces of the meat are distributed
among the clansmen. There are many such examples.

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G 796 171 262 Gi 796 171 262 773 An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened, however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, consequently, a clansman of the Orochi.

G 776 Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have mentioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'k'i" and "kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are individual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

G 776 761 753 Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'i); others ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

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/73 cont./

776 life, causing sickness and death. But for them, people would
761 not die. Natural death is impossible. Death is the result of
753 the scheming of these insidious creatures. Therefore the Gilyak will never touch a sable that died in the taiga, even though his skin is very valuable and very well preserved, for a devil assuredly rests in a sable that has died. Just as he, the Gilyak, lies in wait for a beast and tries in every way to kill him, so an evil spirit lies in wait for the Gilyak himself at every step,
753 in order to devour him. Sickness is no more than an evil being
776 who made his way into the body of a Gilyak and is slowly eating him. Nightmares and dreams in which the sick man dreams that somebody is strangling him, pressing from within, easily provide grounds for such a notion. If some organ is not functioning in the proper way, as, for example, in shortness of breath, it is easy to imagine that some kind of being has got inside and is interfering with breathing, and so forth. It is imperative to expel such a creature. This expulsion is effected in various ways, beginning with the simplest and ending with the most complex.

755 Here is an example which quite graphically illustrates the "psychology" of the expulsion of devils. One woman, who was subject to attacks of sudden hysterical psychosis, was placed in my presence on a high platform, generally used to clean fish, and a fire was ignited under it with all kinds of rags, canine feces, and stinking garbage. The devil inside the woman could not, of course, bear the horrible smell and prudently left the heart of the woman, who was thus saved. But not all devils are so sensitive to a bad smell; others require stronger methods. Such devils must be frightened by extraordinary noise, by frenzied shrieks, by the frightening appearance of the expeller, and by other such terrorizing methods, hence the necessity for the devil-expeller to beat his tambourine, make noise with rattles, shriek in an unnatural voice, and put himself in a state of frenzy, to which end /74/ he swallows smoke, drinks sea water, puts himself in a state of stupor with the smoke of bagul'nik (Ledum palustre), chews

/74 cont./

755 the disgusting bitter root of that plant, eats hot coal, etc. Even such strong measures, however, do not always prove effective. Sometimes the evil spirit does not give in to any human terrorizing, and not only that, but sometimes he even carries off the soul of the sick man into the kingdom of the shades. Then the aid of the higher beings is indispensable.

[756] Such aid can be proffered only by specially chosen men, by specialists-expellers, i.e., shamans.

756 776 Among the Gilyak, shamans do not constitute a class, as among more cultured barbarians. Among the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen ones, who in night visions or in a trance receive a revelation from the god-protector about their high calling. From that moment the shaman has gods-assistants, executors of his commands. These gods-assistants are of two kinds: the kekhn and the kenchkh. The first perform his most important tasks. By force or trick it is they who pull the devil out of the organism of a sick man. They also carry the [774] shaman's soul in search of the stolen soul of a sick man, making their way with it even into the kingdom of the shades. As for the assistants, they are happy spirits who play with the shaman and help him only in tricks. The kekhn are creatures of the most varied breeds: there are kekhn-wolves, eared seals, eagle owls, reindeer, hares, celestial creatures, etc. Each kekhn has his master, who himself personally, very rarely comes to assist, sending his subordinates. The kekhn are capable of assuming any form and consequently can go anywhere necessary to save the sick man.

755 The shamans have three main methods of curing. One consists of hearing the patient out, falling asleep, and then, combining the dreams he has had, giving this or that advice. Having, for instance, seen a skewbald dog in his dream, he decides that for a cure it is necessary to sacrifice a dog, etc. Another method is the ordinary method of kamlaniye normally described by ethnographers, namely, expelling the devil by means of frenzied shrieks, beating the tambourine, in a word -- [776] terror. Since, however, you frequently can do nothing with

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755 776 only noisy terror, during kamlaniye the above-mentioned ukhdi kekhn are called on to help. In point of fact, calling on the spirits is at the present time the essential part of kamlaniye. The entire power of the autohypnosis which the shaman creates in himself with frenzied shouts, narcotics, the deafening sounds /75/ of the tambourine, wild dancing is used to evoke in himself that high degree of sensitivity due to which he sees and hears his spirits-protectors. We can fully believe that he actually hears and sees them. And with his faith he hypnotizes those around him. I hope that no one will suspect me of a partiality for the shamans, but I can calmly testify that in my presence the ecstacy of the shaman and the mysterious condition in which the frenzied chosen one thrashed and shrieked brought the Gilyak to such a state that they had hallucinations and saw everything that the shaman himself saw in his trance. The shaman skillfully has recourse to first one, then another of his kekhn, depending on the circumstances. Thus, if the devil has stubbornly settled inside the organism and does not want to leave, the shaman calls on the ar-rymnd-kekhn, which turns into a fiery ball and makes its way into the belly of the shaman and from there to the most distant parts of his body, so that during the seance the shaman emits fire out of his mouth or nose or from any part of his body. After being thus filled with fire, he touches the sore spot with his lips and lets in fire, which conclusively drives out the devil. The meaning of this device lies in the same primitive principle of terror -- in this case, frightening with fire, which I mentioned at the beginning. Generally the kekhn are quite a shrewd people. Thus, when a kekhn makes his way to the master of the sea for the small soul of a drowned man, which lies on a bed in the yurt of the master himself, he takes along a white reindeer. Of course, the sea people, who have never seen such a strange beast, run out of the yurt in order to look at it. This moment is utilized by the kekhn to steal the little soul of the drowned man.

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755 It is evident from the following how realistic the
776 Gilyak's attitude toward the kekhn is. A large piece of new calico (por) is spread out on the floor of the yurt, inside before the threshold, and the kekhn will rest on it during the seance. A bowl with sarana, sugar, the prized dish "mos'," potatoes, and other dainties to which the spirit-healer will be treated in the intermissions of the kamlaniye are placed in a corner on a shelf. Over the bed of the sick man, a thong is hung in a circle, and a kettle with a nail in it is placed near the bed. The kekhn binds the sick man's soul which found its way into the mlyvo (the settlement of the dead)and, clasping it under its arm, brings it back into the yurt, then throws it into the kettle, and fastens it with the nail. It must not be placed on the floor or on a plank bed, because it can run back through the floor.

755 /76/ The third method of curing is at a distance. When a man suddenly falls sick at a place where there is no shaman or on the road, he goes outside at night when the shamans sleep, throws a sacrifice to the gods, and shouts with all his might: "Chamnay, nikhovlatyngra n'ronyuya," i.e., "Shaman! I am sick, help me!" The shaman is then supposed to begin the kamlaniye quickly and sends his kekhn, and the sick man not only hears the sounds of the tambourine, but in the gloom of night even sees the form of the spirit which has been sent. Upon returning to his village, the cured man will tell the shaman, with tender feelings and gratitude, the details of the wonderful night.

756 Although the shamans do not play as big a role among
[171] the Gilyak as among the natives of the banks of the Amur River, the faith in their supernatural powers is boundless even here. I was often shown places from which shamans were lifted into the air like birds by the power of a spirit and flew up to attend to their affairs in the region of the sky dwellers. I was no less frequently told of cases where a shaman resurrected the dead, killed at a distance, created trout, etc.
ooo Once I myself became the object of a legend about the

756/ 76 cont. / Once I myself became the object of a legend about the
123 omnipotence of a shaman. In the settlement Nyyvo, at the mouth of the Tym', I once ventured to offer medical help to a female patient of a famous shaman. Learning of my interference, the shaman not only prohibited taking my medicine, but decided to punish me severely for my insolence. Immediately after my departure he went fully dressed into the waters of the bay and began to adjure the god of the water to fall on me with all sorts of punishments. A day later I had to spend the night in an abandoned Orok shed on the lower shore of Nabil' Bay. At night there arose a strong wind accompanied by a most terrible downpour; the water began to spread beyond the shores of the bay and to flood the low area. We awoke at dawn, literally swimming on our bedding. It was necessary to build a platform and shiver with cold on it for many hours until the water receded. For all the Gilyak on the coast there was no doubt that I had borne the punishment sent down by the shaman, who, moreover, could have been much sterner, but this time spared the Russian "tyan'gi" (gentleman). It is remarkable that the death of my female patient, even though she had refused to take the medicine I had left, was charged, not to the shaman, but to her sacrilegious appeal to me for help.

177 The Gilyak, however, willingly and with full faith, are treated by the Russians, not, of course, because they believe in the power of science, but for completely peculiar reasons. "The Russian god," they reason, "is stronger than the Gilyak one; this means that the Russian shaman is stronger than the Gilyak one." /77/ And if you inquire why the Russian god is stronger than the Gilyak one, you might hear such an answer: "Behold how many centuries the Gilyak has been living here, and he still travels on paths, but the Russian arrived and immediately built wide roads, such roads as the Gilyak has never seen." It is curious that neither steamboats nor automobiles, nothing impresses the Gilyak and convinces him of the superiority of the Russian god over the Gilyak one as much as just these roads.

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756 Now a few more words concerning the nature and psychics of these strange people called shamans.

According to the views of the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen beings. Do not be a shaman! The talent of a shaman is not a gift, but a burden. In order to become a shaman, it is necessary to be liked by a kekhn, or to receive such a kekhn from one's father or uncle. Turning into a shaman constitutes a turning point in the life of the chosen one, a crisis accompanied by very complex psychological phenomena.

One shaman with whom I was acquainted told me that before he became a shaman he was sick for more than two months, during which he lay motionless on his back in complete unconsciousness. No sooner would he awaken from one paroxysm than he would fall into another. "I would have died," he told me, "if I had not become a shaman!" During these months of trial he dried up like a stick. At night [787] he began to dream that he sang shaman songs. Once a white eagle-owl appeared to him and stood near him, quite close, while a little farther away stood a man who said to him: "Make yourself a tambourine and everything that a shaman should have, and sing songs. If you are a simple man, nothing will come of you, but if you are a shaman, you will be a real shaman." He slept for a long time, how long -- he does not know, but when he woke up, he saw that he was held over a fire by the feet and by the head; the people around him thought that he had been killed by the kekhn. Then he commanded that he be given a tambourine and began to sing songs. He felt not quite drunk, not quite dead. Then he first saw his kekhn and kenchkh, and the former said to him: "If you see a sick man, cure him; do not believe the kenchkh, he has a human face, but the body of a bird; believe only us."

I myself was once a witness to the first appearance of such a paroxym. A Gilyak boy by the name of Koynyt, twelve years old, the son of a shaman, my guest, fell asleep after dinner, and, accidentally awakened by my comrad, the boy began to thrash furiously and to shout, repeating all

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756 the furies and all the frenzied shrieks of the shamans. When the paroxysm was over, the face of the poor boy was terribly exhausted /78/ and seemed like the face of an old man. In a dream two kekhn appeared to him, one a man, the other a woman; they were the kekhn of his deceased father. They said to him: "We used to play with your father, now let us play with you." Another Gilyak boy, Indyn, also present there, observed the phenomenon of the paroxysm with profound amazement. "Well, now Koynyt will not be a man," he said "The kekhn want to force him to conform to their law."

In this remark is clearly expressed the Gilyak view of the shaman as a special being, as one chosen by the gods. But, as we see, even among the Gilyak selection is not easily attained.

756 158 Thus, the shaman is a chosen one, a person who believes in his power and selection. This conviction could not correspond more to his entire physical make-up, for real shamans are almost always people who suffer from various kinds of hysteria, acquired or inherited. And, as is well known, hysteria is that fertile soil which produces the gift of clairvoyance, hallucination, delirium, and obsessions. They are the individuals who most easily yield to hypnosis and autohypnosis. From childhood, the future shaman is hypnotized by the idea of the protection of the kekhn, and during seances of kamlaniye he uses any means necessary for autosuggestion. The study of the psychics of shamanism, in my opinion, amounts to the study of autohypnosis due to hysteria, and, of course, against a general background of an animistic world-view. Apart from the gift of being chosen, the shaman has another enviable advantage over the common mortal. An ordinary mortal has only one soul, a rich man has two, while a shaman may have twice as many as they. Thus, the Ady-Tymovskiy shaman, Chamkh, the father of the boy-shaman, Koynyt, about whom I spoke earlier, had all of four souls. One of these souls was given to him by the mountain, another by the sea, a third by the sky, a fourth by the underground kingdom. During my stay on the

756 774

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756 island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even
774 though he was as poor as Job.

774 The difference in the number of souls according to rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a duplicate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul
[787] plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality, all this is performed by this little soul.

775 But shamans, no matter how many souls they have,
776 are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest
[756] shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him. This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body, these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man. Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak -- mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally, however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhin-
775 dered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on
772 the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

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775 not know exactly where this place is); the soul need only
772 descend into this opening and it reaches its goal. There everything is as it is here: the same earth, the same sky, sea, rivers, and forests; only there the sun shines when we have night, and the moon when we have day. The dead come to life and continue to live there in the same settlements as on earth, fish, kill beasts, celebrate clan festivals, marry and procreate. Only the material status changes: the poor man becomes rich and the rich man poor. As you see, even among the Gilyak the poor men find their consolation not in this best of all possible worlds. Even in the new world, however, sickness and death await man. From there the soul must migrate into a third world, and so on until such time as the soul degenerates and turns into ever smaller and smaller beings, a small bird, a gnat, and, finally, ashes. Sometimes souls are born again on our planet, completing again the infinite
[562] series of transformations. For the most part, however, that is the lot of women.

764 /80/ Before entering mlyvo, the soul waits to be
775 equipped with everything necessary to go to the new land comfortably and richer. And so the deceased is dressed in his best garments and in silken robes. Everything that is put on the deceased must be new, fully embroidered, elegant, and durable. A man is dressed in one, three, or six pairs, generally a number of pairs divisible by three, and women in two, four, eight, etc. pairs.

The most expensive spears, rifles, bows, and nets are taken from the storehouse -- and the souls of all these objects set off with the deceased on his journey.

764 While these preparations for a long journey are going on, the deceased is constantly fed the most delicate dishes. Kettles boil from morning until late at night; people throng in the yurt. They eat and drink as during the bear festival, and a part of each dish is given to the deceased. When they smoke, they put their mouths to the lips of the deceased, and share with him this favorite of Gilyak pleasures. While the body of the deceased is in the house, custom dictates that

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764 those around him should be gay, jest, and laugh. Silence in the house of the deceased is a sin. When all the preparations are finished, the deceased is tied with thongs to a dog sled and his favorite dog is placed over him. For some time the little soul of the deceased will live in this dog. The dog will subsequently be tied to the place where the deceased slept and will be fed the best dishes, and after several months, when the small soul is once again settled in its place, the dog is sold.

Finally, the deceased is brought to that place where his remains will stay forever. Here his last bed on earth awaits him -- a high, symmetrically arranged pile of wood, on which he is carefully placed with his face toward the west. For the last time the wife, the husband, the mother, if the deceased is young, the wife of the elder brother, if the deceased was unmarried, climb up to him and weep, and then, making a sacred fire by means of friction, they set fire to the platform from all sides. When the fire reaches the body of the deceased, everyone hastens to pay their last tribute to him by throwing pieces of firewood into the fire. Even small children take part in this. Four men stand on the sides and, with long poles, readjust the firewood and poke the body so that it will burn faster and better. At the same time they [974] break the sled, kettles, and spears and kill the dogs, which frees the souls of these objects to follow the deceased... The ashes are covered with birch bark, and of the deceased there remains only ashes, in the literal sense of the word.

[824] /81/ A tree torn up with the roots is placed over the spot where the deceased was burned.

[262] After this the people seat themselves around the kettles containing the meat of the slain dogs, part of which is eaten and part thrown in all directions. On the way back, they drop in for only a short time at the yurt of the deceased to taste the viands placed there, and then disperse.

1: Shternberg--130 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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765 Several days later a small toy-house with a small door and a small window is placed on the ground not far away from the place of the burning. Inside the house is placed a doll-man dressed in silk; above it are drawn cuckoo birds, the goddesses of love of Gilyak mythology, and eating and smoking utensils, cups, plates, and chumashki of birch bark with all kinds of viands, pipes, tobacco, and so forth are arranged around it.

From time to time the kinsmen come to renew their sacrifices, but in a few months the sacrifices stop because the soul of the deceased has succeeded in establishing itself in a new place and has no need of anything. The deceased will [769] be remembered once more during the bear festival.

Such, in brief, are the religious views and customs of the Gilyak.

VI

The Clan

*614 In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on the religious aspect of the clan -- its structure as dependent on the marriage norms. In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on religious notions.

Now let us examine it in all the totality of features, tectonic and dynamic, morphological and socio-spiritual, as one whole institution regulating all aspects of the life of the Gilyak.

For this purpose, we consider it particularly instructive in our analysis to adhere to that same system to which the Gilyak themselves adhere in formulating their notions about the clan.

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*614 First of all, the very term that the Gilyak use to express
[192] the concept "clan" is of interest. It is khal', which literally means: scabbard, sheath -- a felicitous symbol for a single womb, for unity of origin. As concerns the features of their clan union, the Gilyak formulate them with surprising terseness, vividly /82/ illustrating their fully conscious attitude toward the basic institution of their social life (1).

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1. It is extremely interesting that the similar term khala /see the transliteration system for Tungus-Manchu words, p. 36/ also exists among the neighboring Tungus tribes -- the Orok, Orochi, Goldi, Negda, with whom the Gilyak have certain common kinship designations, as, for example, aki (elder brother) = aga (among the Tungus tribes), in spite of the complete dissimilarity of the languages of these peoples lexically and grammatically.

[601] If you ask any Gilyak why he considers some persons (NN) his kinsmen, you will invariably get one answer: "Of course, we have akhmal'k (father-in-law) -- one (i.e., in common), ymgi /see ymri, p. 82/ (son-in-law /zyat'/) -- one, fire -- one, mountain man, sea man, heavenly man, earth man, etc. -- one, bear -- one, devil -- one, tkhusind (blood money) -- one, sin -- one."

An analysis of this formula will also lead us to an elucidation of the content of the clan union.

1. Akhmal'k -- one, ymgi -- one: a common father-in-law, a common son-in-law (zyat'l. The father-in-law of one clansman is father-in-law to the whole clan. Each clan in principle takes its women from one certain clan and in turn gives its women strictly to another certain clan. A common

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*614 father-in-law signifies the common right of each generation of clansmen to the corresponding generation of women of the akhmal'k clan, while a common son-in-law -- the obligation to give their women to the ymgi clan. Only the men are a constant element of the clan; the women are an element that either departs from the clan or comes in from outside. Hence the whole "physiological" construction of the clan -- exogamy, agnation, common rights and obligations regarding women, reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers, etc.

Thus the Gilyak clan is a union of kinsmen in the male line, agnates, taking their wives from another certain clan, giving their women to a third, and bound among themselves by a whole series of mutual rights and obligations in the realm of marital-sexual norms.

*614 602 [611] But this is only the formal framework of this kinship union; in the flesh and blood of all the consequences that flow from it, it is much deeper, more intimate, and firmer than appears at first glance. First of all, it must be kept in mind that, despite the principle of agnation, the clansmen are bound by kinship ties, not only through the father, but also through the mother. This follows directly from the very thesis of a common father-in-law. For once each /83/ generation of clansmen ("brothers") marries a corresponding generation of women ("sisters") of one akhmal'k clan, then the mothers of these clansmen, in turn, are sisters to one another. Further, the wives of the clansmen, despite the fact that they, according to the agnatic principle of the clan, are, as it were, a completely alien element, in reality stand in a close cognate relationship with their husbands; accordingly, husband and wife, as we know, are usually the children of a sister and brother -- own or of more distant degrees -- and, consequently, they are in any case cognate brothers and sisters. Thus, the male and female element are not only not alien to each other, elements bound only by marriage, but on the contrary are intimately bound together, aside from marriage, by blood kinship. Moreover,

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*614 602 by virtue of that same proposition concerning the unity of the "father-in-law," all those women who enter the clan are agnate kinswomen to one another, either sisters or aunts and nieces, so that both elements -- male and female -- each separately and both together, are cemented together by the firm intimate bonds of kinship, which, of course, are profoundly reflected in all the social relations of the members of the clan among themselves.

*614 No influence has been exerted upon these relations by those circumstances that we mentioned, at the time, by reason of which it sometimes becomes necessary for individual members of the clan to take their wives outside the confines of one original akhmal'k clan; the general spirit and the general norms have remained the same.

But the cement which strengthens the union of kinsmen in the indestructible organization of the clan does not rest only on the formal consciousness of a common origin and kinship, and not only on the formal norms of marriage, for by themselves they are not so strong as to hold people from generation to generation in a closed hereditary union. The reasons go far deeper. First of all, there is the religious sanction, which plays such an important role in the eyes of primitive man, originally not the sanction of the clan union itself, but of those marriage norms which created the clan. The principle that [582] each man must take wives from the clan of the mother, that the wife must be a blood relative of the husband, is a religious principle, intimately bound up with the cult of the ancestors, in particular with the cult of the mother. The seizure of a [684] married woman is a religious offense against the clan of the abducted woman equal to the slaying of a clansman; the struggle for her return, or at least the demand for a ransom, is obligatory, as in matters of vengeance, to the third generation;

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*614 Once the above-mentioned principle was created and became an immutable imperative of life, the natural consequence was the appearance of exogamy, and exogamy is the foundation of the clan.

But the exogamy of the Gilyak, as we have seen, is not the mere obligation to take wives from outside their clan. It gives a man a whole series of rights, which play an enormous role in his life.

We know that the acquisition of a wife is one of the most difficult problems of primitive man. There are ordinarily [583] fewer women than men. One must pay for a woman, and to [556] make matters worse each of the wealthy men snatch up many wives. For the poor man -- and such are in the majority -- acquiring a wife under such conditions is far from easy; frequently he must even resort to methods that risk his life.

The norms of Gilyak marriage give each Gilyak the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, in particular to the daughters of the brothers of his mother; this is simultaneously [583] his religious obligation and right. The bride price in such cases, if not a formality, is a burden which each one always has a right to expect his clansmen, interested, like himself, in his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man succeeds in setting up his own family, the families of his older brothers, with whom he shares the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, are his family, their wives are his wives, to [587] whom he has lawful conjugal rights. When a married Gilyak [768] dies, his wife passes without any bride price to one of his younger brothers determined by the choice of the clan.

*614 These are all advantages which play a role of the 587 first order in the eyes of primitive man. The crown of 768 these advantages is the social privilege of every clansman of not having to fear for the fate of his wife and his children after his death. His wife and children during his life are juridically, and frequently factually as well, the wife and children of his younger brothers; they will remain such after

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*614 587 768 his death as well. One of his brothers, according to the decision of the clan, will replace him in the rights and obligations of husband and father, and even where the deceased has no younger brothers, the supporter of his family will be one of the "elders." Such is the immutable law of the clan.

*614 848 Such are the advantages which the clan union offers by virtue of the single principle of kinship and the marriage norms which directly issue from it. It is completely natural that these blessings can be enjoyed only by those who have a right to them by virtue of kinship. The fact of being born to a clansman is the only justus /85/ titulus to being counted in the clan. Ytk-khavrnd -- a man without a father, i.e., born out of wedlock, not knowing who his father is -- is a man without a clan, a pariah, a burden to himself and others. One who does not know the identity of his father and consequently does not know to which clan he belongs, therefore does not know which women can be his wives and which are forbidden and, unbeknownst to himself and others, may violate the sacred sexual norms, incurring incalculable disasters upon all. Fortunately, there are in fact no persons who do not know their fathers. If a girl becomes pregnant out of wedlock, they compel her to name the father of the future child. Having learned who he is, they compel him to marry the seduced girl, which he is only too glad to do, because in such a situation there are fewer difficulties about paying the bride price. In the event of disavowal on the girl's part, they slay the newborn child, and the clan is saved from sin and unhappiness.

*614 597 The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in retaining the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. Like the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a deviation and reconcile itself with the institution of adoption, with the acceptance into its bosom from time to time of individuals from other clans.

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This took place in various ways. It might happen that an epidemic depopulated the clan and put a handful of people face to face with all the vicissitudes to which unions weak in numbers were subject. The clan might be depopulated after a severe war, leaving a small number of men and a mass of widows spared by the victorious foe by virtue of the international law of the Gilyak. And if under these conditions there existed remnants of some other clan that found itself in a similarly helpless position and not standing in the relation of akhmal'k and ymgi with respect to the first clan, then a fusion was effected to their mutual satisfaction. The adopted individuals ordinarily married the widows of clansmen and thereby united themselves with the clan fire and the clan union. But these are more or less extraordinary cases. The most common case of adoption is that where the person adopted by the clan is a member of another clan, fleeing for some reason from his own clan and settling down in the midst of an alien clan. Long residence, habit, sympathy, assistance given at clan festivals, and, finally, marriage to a local widow lead to the final adoption. An extremely curious case of adoption is that where two persons of different clans are married to two sisters, which, according to the law, can only take place with members of one clan. The influence of the clan principle of a "common father-in-law" is so strong /86/ that the children of such persons are considered brothers and sisters, call their aunts mothers, and cannot marry each other. A fiction of clan relationships results. Under favorable conditions, when, for example, such persons live together in one village and one of them is completely severed from his clan, the result is that they help each other at clan festivals, or even arrange them together, lay the bones of the bear in one place, and, finally, in the second or third generation the union of the clans is completed.

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*614 597 [173] Adoption has played an enormous role in the life of the Gilyak. I do not know a single clan whose legends do not contain accounts of members of other tribes as the founders of the clan. I have already discussed in the first section how it happened that separate adopted individuals instead of the established element came to be the first and foremost founders of the clan, indicating that the newcomers, as the more energetic element, brought with them a greater endurance in the struggle for existence and a la longue /in the long run/ survived the less staunch, enfeebled aborigines who were gradually dying out. Such, it may be, is the law of a fixed supply of racial energy, which finally runs low under unfavorable conditions. The descendants of the newcomers do not escape this fate, of course; they in turn will be replaced by newcomers, if the clan as a whole is able to preserve its existence that long.

*614 597 173 Now I will add only the following to what I have said earlier. It may seem strange that a clan formed out of aborigines and the descendants of newcomers should nevertheless categorically consider its founders the former and not the latter /sic/. But here is how the matter is explained. Despite the fusion of the clan with the newcomer, the old feeling of kinship continues in effect. The descendants of both sides, while fulfilling their clan obligations, nevertheless do not incorporate, but continue to maintain themselves as separate groups, each keeping its own account of kinship according to tradition. I observed this more than once in those clans in which there were descendants of aborigines and newcomers. In the settlement of Tangivo, for example, settled by the representatives of a single clan, one half (the most prosperous) traces its origin from an Ainu newcomer, the others consider themselves aborigines. When in the course of time the latter become extinct -- which is already noticeable -- it is natural that the former, who will remain the only representatives of the clan, will

/86 cont./

*614 597 173 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is everywhere.

Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is homogeneous, cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kinship union.

*614 372 776 2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan deity for the Gilyak. In each hearth there sits, according to one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but also by those who, having gone to the other world, have become the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea, etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an intermediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

[171]

1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also plays the role of intermediary between human beings and the gods; he intercedes for human beings, he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/87 cont./

*614 372 776 782 On all the important occasions of life, in case of sickness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey, etc. -- the clansman throws into the fire his modest sacrifices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack -- and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request. And she knows all the means necessary to insure that a petition to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

*614 372 776 795 In order to understand the real basis of the "clan" attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the fire, who can receive his favorites into his clan, so that these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire; 2) in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

[171] 2. It is curious that a similar view exists among the Buryat: a man who perishes from lightning becomes a powerful and beneficent spirit to whom sacrifices are made and prayers are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman" (mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire, its ability to spread quickly, its many tongues (tongues of flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-Veda) understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" special advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions; finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance, i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

/88 cont./

*614 372 Externally the clan unity of the fire finds expression in the following ways. Only a clansman has the right to light a fire in the hearth of a clansman. Only a clansman has the right to take fire out of the yurt. A member of another clan who has lighted his pipe at the clan hearth may not leave the yurt until he has finished his pipe. Any [688] infraction of these rules of the inviolability of the clan fire by a member of another clan inevitably incurs dangerous consequences for the clansmen and the obligation for the member of another clan to pay blood money.

Each clan has its own clan steel, guarded by the oldest member, and only with this steel can the fire be lighted when bear meat is cooked at the bear festival, which plays such an important role in the religious and clan life of the Gilyak. When it becomes necessary for the clan to divide, i.e., when a part of the clan is compelled to emigrate to a very distant place, the oldest member of the clan breaks the clan steel and entrusts one half to the oldest of the emigrants, and only after this is the clan formally divided.

The mistress of the fire, as the representative of the akhmal'k clan, plays quite an important role in interclan relations, binding, through her cult and protection, the clan in whose midst she dwells and to which she gave birth with the clan from which she came; from generation to generation she brings into it the daughters of her brothers and their descendants.

*614 775 3. One mountain, man, sea man, etc. -- the common benevolent clan masters of the mountain, sea, earth, etc. In the section on religious beliefs we have already explained the nature and significance of this type of deity. These are not the fantastic heroes of the classical clans, not the vague, mythical beings whose clan celebrations were a simple traditional ritualism, but clansmen close to each living generation, who either died some kind of unnatural death (in the water, slain by a forest beast, and so forth) or,

/88 cont./

* 614 775 sought by the deities, were prematurely torn from life in more natural ways, /89/ for example, those who died from longing for the mountain, sea, and such people who were enamored of them.

The beloved and chosen ones of the "master" of one or another element, upon whose bounty depends the entire welfare of the Gilyak, pass immediately after death into the clan of the corresponding "master" for a fairly long time (in the case of the mountain people, for example, up to their second death, i.e., for two generations, and during all this time, of course, they especially shower benefits upon their kinsmen, sending them forest beasts (the mountain man), or fish and sea animals (the water or sea man). And when the Gilyak speaks of some "mountain" man or some such man who feeds him, he has in mind his kinsman, who, within his recollection or at the most that of his father or grandfather, found himself, in the ways indicated above, among the host of the "masters." The time span of such [165] a chosen one is not long (two generations at most) and frequently one clansman has barely joined the gods when he is followed by a second, third, etc.; cases of death from an attack by a wild beast or on the water are not rare. Thus, the bond between the living generation of clansmen and their divine clansmen-benefactors is profoundly alive and real. Many of them were known to everyone, either personally or through the vivid recollections of their contemporaries; special monuments (1) erected by their grateful

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1. The monument of a man slain by a bear is the frame of a bear hunter, in which the remains of the slain man are kept in accordance with a special ritual (see below, subsection 6 /p.551 ff./). As for those who drowned, a boat with all the appurtenances of sea and river pursuits is put on the site of their

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775
[766]

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cremation, and the oars are placed upright, facing each other, in order to be noticeable from afar.

clansmen serve as daily reminders of them.

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But the bond of the clan with its divine clansmen is not limited to piety and grateful recollection; these ties are rooted in a more practical and stronger motive force -- the very instinct of self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no more indubitable truth than that all his prosperity, all that nature gives him in return for his desperate efforts in the struggle for existence, all this is but the free gift of the gods, his benefactors; without their benevolence, all the efforts of man would be fruitless. And the gods-clansmen, as we know, take part above all else in this life-giving benevolence; they are the true sustainers of the clan, and there is no weightier obligation for any clansman than to promote this benevolence to the best of his ability. That is why the clan sacrifices and festivals, held once a year according to rule, /90/ for the mountain and sea people are most important acts of clan life, in which everyone, in the name of self-preservation, considers it his most sacred obligation to take the most fervent part.

In the section on religion we dwelt in detail on these periodic sacrifices to the masters of the sea and mountains. Without exaggeration one can say that the whole social activity of the Gilyak is principally devoted to preparation for the clan sacrifices and to preoccupation with celebrating them most magnificently. Wealthy and poor man alike, according to their abilities and means, not from fear but for conscience's sake, make all possible efforts, sometimes denying themselves their last possessions, in order that the sacrifices be as ample and varied as possible and that the festivals be as magnificent as possible; this is the general interest of one and all.

/90 cont./

* 614 In its evolution, this solidarity in the sacrifices to
775 clansmen, fostered for ages, becomes the principle of the
782 clan relation to the gods in general. When in wholly indi-
796 vidual affairs, during illness, say, the Gilyak makes a sacrifice, he will without fail summon his absent clansmen, even from afar, so that they may enjoy the beneficial consequences of the sacrifice.

574 The principle of common clan deities, the sustainers
[775] of the clan, is the foundation of the institution of hospitality
* [614] and the most extensive fraternal mutual aid.

It should be evident to anyone acquainted with the institution of hospitality among primitive peoples, even if only from travelers' descriptions, that it must be based on something more than mere social etiquette or even ordinary sympathy for one's fellow creatures. The Arab, at his own hearth manifests the warmest hospitality to even his enemy, concerning whom at any other place he has only one imperative -- kill, evidently is impelled by a more powerful motive, a motive which has behind it religious dictates. And this must be said about the basis of the institution among all other primitive peoples, including the Gilyak. The Gilyak considers it his obligation to extend hospitality, not only to the traveler, not only to the actually hungry man, but also in cases where from our point of view there is no necessity whatever for displaying this feeling. No matter how many times a day a neighbor may appear at his hearth, no matter what time of day it be, the guest is immediately offered all the viands in the possession of the host, not to mention the inevitable handful of tobacco for his pipe. /91/ If there is no extra tobacco, the host takes turns with the guest in drawing on a common pipe. These attitudes are most striking in the handling of rare, costly dishes and delicacies. If you bring the host a glass of vodka, he will never allow himself to drink it alone, he will merely put his lips to it, and then it goes around to all the dwellers in the house, although there may be dozens of them, including the children, even sucklings. To do otherwise would be "a very great sin; one might die."

/91 cont./

000 very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable,
574 not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as
688 we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally
372 the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole
795 clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

* 614 But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of
433 their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal
476 "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet
* 614 the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for
476 sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate
*614 in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak,
476 is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose
261 supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without
[262] any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

/91 cont./

476 to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or even
* 614 simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will
[261] share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valuable spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more individualism, introduced by more recent conditions of exchange, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purchase of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrifice his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan.

*614 This same principle of the communality of the ma-
428 terial goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of inheritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of the clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, the well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in effect among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento![2] In the absence of members of the family, in which the "workers" are also classed, the property passes to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excluding even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

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1. "Treasures" -- a property sui generis, consisting of unused objects, designated only for exceptional cases: bride price, dowry, ransom, funerals. It is divided into 1) the iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron kettles, spears decorated with silver inlays, valuable Japanese sabers, coats of mail, and so forth, used chiefly for the bride price: 2) the fur, consisting chiefly of expensive fur coats, used principally for dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk materials and garments, which are

[2] [i.e., "in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir", cf. translation on p. 512. – Analyst]

*614 428 [422] [556] /92 cont./

worn on ceremonial occasions and in which the dead are garbed.

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the testator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the testator and consequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so-called iron shagund, which in any case will return to the clan in the form of bride price, while to the akhmal'k clan, the clan of fathers-in-law, only fur shagund can be willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of the bride's dowry.

*614 796 4. One bear: the common obligation of the clansmen to share in the fattening of the bear and in the bear festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a domestic bear and the hunting of the forest beast. "Khal'-gu, ut-gu, narkh muve!": "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with this summons the youths go around to the yurts, summoning the clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear slain in the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the occasion by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligations with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privilege of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regarding this in the section on /93/ religion and the clan gods. As we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic features: first, by the honoring of the very person of the bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mountain masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain master and his clan and, consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater significance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to the highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer of

*614 796 782 [775]

/93 cont./

*614 796 [782] all forest wealth and the most powerful deity, before whom the slain bear, comforted by the feeding and honors, will be their daily intercessor. That is why this festival plays such an enormous role in the life of the clan and is couched in such complex ritual, and why, despite the fact that guests from other clans assemble for it, it bears in essence such a rigidly exclusive clan character. Only clansmen may participate in the celebration of the festival, and as guests only "sons-in-law" /zyat'ya/ are invited, in relation to whom, as we shall see, there exists the direct obligation of sustenance, i.e., persons to whom the benevolence of the gods-sustainers also extends. The bear festival is as im-

*614 796 182 portant a cement of clan ties in the social sense as it is in the religious one. The obligation to participate in the preparation of food and in the numerous expenses and tasks involved in the arrangement of the festival and the reception of guests creates the habits of social solidarity, common co-ordinated action toward a common goal, and common sacrifices for a common project. The periodic assemblies of clansmen, sometimes dispersed in distant places, constantly supports the ties and traditions of the clan union.

Finally, the very content of the festival -- the gay prefestival preparations performed jointly, the solemn meeting of the "guests," the common, noisy meals, social conversation, dances, songs, races, fencing, religious ceremonies -- all this unites, stimulates, refines, and beautifies life, giving the highest value to the clan union as the unique source of spiritual and social joys.

*614 775 5. One devil, i.e., a common enemy in the person of a deceased clansman, a slain member of another clan, and so forth.

Just as a clansman, as we have seen, can under certain circumstances pass after death into the clan of benevolent /94/ deities and become the sustainer and protector of the clan, so can the converse happen: a clansman who became embittered when alive and separated from the clan, a

/94 cont./

*614 775 clansman who was not avenged or did not receive the honors of the funeral ritual and therefore did not enter the "settlement of the dead," can pass into the clan of the evil deities or simply revenge himself on the clan however he can, on his own responsibility and risk. The same can happen with an offended member of another clan. The struggle with such foes of the clan or their placation is as urgent a requirement for all clansmen as the satisfying of the clan deities protectors. Thus there arise common obligations with respect to the compensation of the shaman for his labors and dangers in the struggle with such foes, or common expenses and labors for placation, gift-giving, vengeance, payment of blood money, etc.

*614 628 6. One tkhusind -- common blood-money, ransom, fine; in the broad sense the mutual guarantee of the whole clan against any encroachment on the rights of a clansman by a member of another clan, and vice versa. By the tkhusind is understood not only the ransom obtained or paid by the clan in matters of vengeance, but also that which is exacted for every possible reason -- from the most serious to the most trifling. Thus, the tkhusind is exacted for the abduction of a woman, for an injury to a woman's honor, for the profanation of holy things, for example, the defilement of the hearth, the violation of a taboo at the bear festival, for theft, etc. In all such situations the mutual guarantee, both for the defense of a right violated by a member of another clan and in answer to a similar violation of a right of the latter by a kinsman, is incumbent on the clan. The ransom, however, is only a recent corrective of a weightier principle -- that of the clan defense, by force, of an injured right of a clansman. At the center of this entire institution lies the principle of blood revenge, the principle of a life for a life or for injured honor (for example, in the detection of a seducer in flagrante delicto).

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*614 682 629 [177]

As among all nearly primitive peoples, murder within the clan among the Gilyak goes unpunished (1). The clan

1. In clans that have combined with Ainu, who retain maternality, in cases of murder within the clan the brother of the mother of the slain man and the closest agnate of the latter (father, brother) obtain the ransom, which they divide in half.

cannot shed the blood of a kinsman, which is the blood of an ancestor. This is not only a religious principle, but a dictate of self-preservation, a categorical imperative of the existence of the clan itself. The strength of the latter is in its numbers and internal peace, while every incident of vengeance within the clan would inevitably be the cause of /95/ new vengeance by the closest kinsmen of the punished man and would thus lead to endless internal war, which would end in the physical and moral destruction of the clan.

Murder and any serious infraction of rights and laws by a clansman do not go completely unpunished, however; in fact, it invites political death, since the criminal is compelled to leave the clan and move to a distant village, thus being deprived not only of all the benefits of the clan union during his lifetime, but of still weightier ones after his death, since the privilege of cremation is extended only to clansmen. In general, however, slayings within the clan are extremely rare; the many speech prohibitions among clansmen discourage the causes for quarrels and irritation, while the extensive communal conjugal rights weaken the fits of jealousy and make superfluous the abduction of women, which is the most frequent cause of bloody disputes and vengeance. Thus, the very practice of life cannot favor the institution of vengeance within the clan.

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*614 628 It is quite another matter between men of different clans. Here the principle is implacable: the bones of the clansman must be raised! To raise the bones is the technical term for clan vengeance. Blood must be redeemed with blood, and only in very rare cases can blood redemption be replaced by ransom. This obligation is clearly colored more by a religious than an emotional element. Vengeance is obligatory not only for the contemporaries of the slain man, but, in the event of its non-fulfillment by them, for the two [672] following generations as well. It is obligatory not only in the case of premeditated murder, but for completely accidental murder as well, even one which is only indirectly *614 825 672 connected with one or another person (1). And what is

1. One Gilyak of my acquaintance brought vengeance upon his clan when his rifle accidentally went off when he picked it up from the bottom of a boat, accidentally killing the helmsman.

still more instructive, it is obligatory also with respect to animals. Vengeance upon a bear who has killed a man is no less wrathful than it is with regard to a human murderer.

The ritual of such vengeance is extremely characteristic for understanding the psychology of this clan institution, and we shall begin our analysis with it. As soon as the news of a man's death in a struggle with a bear arrives, the whole adult population hastens into the taiga, in order to catch up with the "murderer" by means of his fresh tracks. If they do not succeed /96/ in catching the real culprit, it is necessary to kill at least three other bears (his "clansmen"). If this is not accomplished during the winter, it is necessary to do it during the summer, and in addition the "mountain man" gives them a "tkhusind," in the form of a plentiful catch of every beast.

/96 cont./

*614 825 672 766 But if they are lucky enough to overtake the bear-"murderer" or his "clansman," they wreak upon him their most extreme wrath. As their first responsibility they knock out his teeth with an ax, and, while they are skinning him, they stab him with knives from all sides and heap on him the choicest verbal abuse. Having stripped off the bear skin, they wrap the body of the murdered man in it (if his body has remained uneaten; otherwise it is replaced by a half-length representation in wood) and, seating him in a squatting position on the sled, place the bear head under his seat, and in this way, with loud howls mixed with exclamations in honor of the murdered man and in deprecation of his murderer, they bear him to the settlement. If the bear has not been found, they place under the seat of the dead man a half-length representation of a bear, while the body is arrayed in a cloak of shavings (1). Not far from the

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1. Shavings are regarded by the Gilyak as sacred, as an object of magical power. The cult of the sharpened pieces of wood (inau; see the section on religion) plays an enormous role in the religion of the Gilyak. Ordinarily they bury chosen ones in cloaks of shavings. Such an honor, for example, is accorded to the mother of twins or triplets, who is regarded as a being of a higher order. Among the poor this finery takes the place of the magnificent traditional funeral garments of Chinese silk, which causes one to think that at a remote period garments of shavings were generally used and that antiquity has invested them with a halo of sanctity.

/96 cont./ Not far from the

*614 native village a framework in the likeness of a bear hunter is
825 set up, with openings for the proper sacrifices. On the out-
766 side, at the corners, four sharpened saplings are set up, while it is decorated on the inside with the sacred inau. Here are also deposited the remains of the murdered man and his murderer, in the same position in which they were brought from the taiga, as we described above.

A unique funeral feast with the carcass of the slain bear is held beside this framework. On both sides of a long uninterrupted campfire sit the clansmen with large pieces of bear meat in their hands. Each one cuts the meat into thin pieces, and as each piece is cut off he throws it from his knife across the fire to the one sitting on the opposite side of the campfire. The slice, caught on a knife, is
[688] slowly roasted in the fire (the greatest insult for the bear, whose meat may only be boiled), and then with a look of revulsion they each bite off a piece and scornfully throw the meat away, although ordinarily it is /97/ considered a great sin to let even the smallest piece of bone fall to the ground.
[782] After this procedure of "refined" revenge, a feast with
[769] sacrifices to the master of the mountains and the murdered man begins. First they throw into the fire the carcass, which has begun to be burned, then various viands. At night they place a guard of two men with spears over the framework, lest the spirit of the bear wish to take revenge. The sentries firmly assert in such instances that they heard the cries of the murdered man, "Ai, Bear!" and threw themselves with spears upon the invisible avenger. In the morning they will tell you, traces of blood are clearly visible on the points of the spears...

*614 With the end of the funeral feast, peace between
775 the mountain men and the clan of the murdered man has
782 been restored. The latter is accepted and will live to a
769 ripe old age in the clan of the mountain people, while his
766 clansmen for three generations will twice a year (summer and winter) make sacrifices: part to the master of the mountain, part to the divine clansman.

/97 cont./

*614 628 If revenge is sanctified with respect to the bear, a divine being upon whom welfare depends and who frequently slays a man, not out of malice, but out of love for him, and accepts him into his clan, then revenge with respect to a member of another clan is all the more obligatory.

We have already indicated in the beginning the domination of religious over emotional motives in the imperative of revenge. If vengeance is obligatory to the third generation, if it is obligatory with respect to an accidental slayer, to a friend, a cognate, it is a burden pressing down on the clan rather than an impulsive act inspired by the immediate reaction of anger.

A much more significant rôle, at least in the sense of the strengthening, so to speak, of this original reaction, is played by compassion for the soul of the slain man and fear of it and the clan gods, gods who keep a loving vigil and for whom the unavenged blood of a clansman is undoubtedly the greatest insult.

775 766 The soul of a man who died a violent death cannot migrate to the general "settlement of the dead," where it could continue the life it lived on earth. Until it is avenged, until the blood of the slayer gives it the power to raise its bones, it cannot leave the earth and is forced to circle in the air in the form of a bird-avenger, emitting terrible shrieks at night. Its end is frightful; gradually rotting, it finally falls to earth "as ashes," dying forever. The Gilyak call this bird takhch; it is a gray bird with a red beak, "loving war." In this epithet is probably also contained the origin of the belief in the bird-avenger: among the Gilyak war is exclusively /98/ the result of revenge, and, consequently, the birds of prey, "loving war," are obviously the souls of slain clansmen. Over the grave of the slain man, as a fearful memento, they place a stump with the torn-up roots upward (1), to which they

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1. Over the graves of those who have died a natural death, the roots are customarily downward.

/98 cont./

775 766 give the appearance of a bird. Sometimes this bird is represented with iron teeth and appendages in the likeness of human feet (2), as in some representations of the swastika.

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2. An example of such a memorial, brought from the lower regions of the Amur by the late acad. L. Schrenck, is preserved in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad.

775 628 *614 This frightful and at the same time unhappy bird, seeking consolation and return to the kingdom of its departed clansmen, wails of revenge at night and, of course, is quite capable of terribly avenging itself upon its clansmen who have forgotten their obligations.

Even where the affair ends with the payment of ransom, the bird remains unreconciled. Still another peace offering is necessary in the form of a dog, whose heart is given to the bird; otherwise it will take a cruel vengeance on both sides.

Since the soul of the slain man, like every other human soul, cannot exist longer than three generations, the obligations of revenge cease with the third generation. But until that time the pitiful fate of the soul of the slain man continues to torment the conscience of his clansmen and frighten them with the horrors of unfulfilled vengeance, giving them no rest. These same motives are predominant over the immediate instinct for repayment. That is why the wrath of the avengers never reaches to the destruction of the whole clan of the slayer, limiting itself to one, or two or three, of his clansmen; they carefully avoid the slaying of women and absolutely abstain from encroachment on property.

Nevertheless the imperative of vengeance is extremely intensive.

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*614 628 The news of a slaying in one moment unites all the clansmen into a unanimous whole, acting with feverish energy. A similar fever is manifested willy-nilly by the clan of the slayer. For the latter clan the matter is not merely one of protecting the slayer -- one man can always easily hide and await a peaceful solution of the conflict -- but one of protecting the whole clan, every clansman, for whom insidious attack lurks in every corner at all times and in every place at the hands of the avengers who are feverishly tracking down their victim. For them it is not necessarily the slayer that matters, but every male representative of his clan, even if he /99/ be a suckling babe. That is why mothers, in order to save their male children, at a moment of unavoidable danger are ready to resort to the most frightful expedients in order to disguise the sex of the youngster.

It is not difficult to imagine what both sides go through until the end of the conflict.

*614 627 628 The most felicitous situation is when the representatives of both hostile clans live in the same settlement. In that case at least there is none of the torment of waiting. The affair is settled by armed conflict immediately after the slaying. The closest kinsman of the slain man, in the company of several armed clansmen, hastens toward the yurts of the clan of the slayer and attacks the first man he meets, to whose defense his clansmen immediately come forward, and then follows a general melee, which ends in several hours, and, if an equal number of victims fell on both sides, the incident is closed. There is also a more felicitous outcome when the representatives of a third clan living in the same settlement intervene in the affair, seeking, frequently not without success, to separate the foes and terminate the matter peacefully.

/99 cont./

*614 628 72 If the clans live in different settlements, however, there arises a state of war with all its consequences. Moreover, if the villages are located near each other, they place themselves in a full state of siege. There can be no question of routine activities outside the house; there can be no hunting or fishing, for an ambuscade may lie in wait at every corner. In extreme cases the men dare not leave their homes other than with women in front, ferreting in every bush, tramping down the grass, everywhere fearing an ambush. But these can only be palliatives; one fine night it will be necessary to meet the foe face to face in one's own settlement. Finally, where the warring clans live far from each other, it becomes necessary to undertake long expeditions on foot or in boats. This must be an imposing spectacle, when the multitude of warriors, dressed in their finest garments, with glittering spears in their hands and quivers on their backs, with knives and Japanese daggers in their belts, wrathfully brandishing their arms, make the primeval taiga resound with their wailing for revenge and appeal to the gods of all the elements for assistance:

Pal'- khurn myyá ! Tly - khurn myyá!

Tol' - khurn myyá! Mif - khurn myyá!

"God of the mountain, hearken; god of the sea, hearken; god of the heavens, hearken; god of the earth, hearken!" -- brandishing their spears and thrusting them at /100/ every tree on their path with the cry: "Chkhar, myyá! -- O tree, hearken!"... But this exuberant mood soon gives way to a more subdued temper; as they draw closer to the enemy settlement, their enthusiasm is transformed into a concentrated seriousness.

The foe has taken his precautions; in his native territory he is more familiar with all the best places for an ambush, and at strategic points he lies in wait in artificial trenches ("little pits"), from which he pours a hail of arrows on the unwary enemy. There is also no lack

/100 cont./

*614 628 72 of other obstacles in the path of the attackers. In hostile territory all hunting is dangerous (in many clans it is even prohibited, while some also forbid the use of water from the rivers and springs); the supplies brought from home do not last long, while an open, sudden attack -- bearing in mind ambushes and the impunity of the women's sentry duty -- is not always possible. With long patience and severe deprivations they must await the favorable moment or else in desperation resolve to take any risk.

Most frequently the defenders prefer to await the [562] attack in their own settlement. Then, abandoning the female population, which enjoys inviolability, the men gather in a separate yurt, from which, at the guards' first signal of the approach of the foe, they steal through secret passages and gather together beyond the yurts, ready to meet the foe. In accordance with interclan customs, the battle continues through one night or at most twenty-four hours, until, finally, fatalities occur, after which the enemy departs, and the survivors count the number of fallen men on each side. If the defenders have lost a greater number than the opposite side, a new casus belli arises. The attackers must in any case consider themselves satisfied. But the affair does not always end with a few victims. Instances are known where a whole clan perished, and only women remained alive.

There have been cases, on the other hand, where, to avoid the destruction of a small clan incapable of a strong rebuff, the self-sacrifice of one man has expiated the general guilt. I know of one case where, at the very moment that news came of the approach of the foe, a youth responsible for the conflict prayed his clansmen who were gathered about him in the yurt to save themselves by flight, offering to save the clan from destruction by his own death. And when the clansmen, with downcast eyes, began to leave the yurt, he, quaffing a cup of seal fat at one draught for courage, flung himself headlong, brandishing his spear, to meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers.

/100 cont./

000 to meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers. Chivalry
*614 manifests itself in many other forms. Although ordinarily
628 the raid of the avengers is too impulsive for people to be
721 able to think about any kind of formalities of attack,
[538] epics and legends have preserved many formulas for the declaration of "war" through special intermediaries, about whom we shall speak in more detail later.

The conventional formula laconically declares: "He (the avenger) has irrevocably said that he prepares to come to do battle with thee; if thou art stronger, thou wilt slay him, if he is stronger, he will slay thee -- thus he spoke."

Military expeditions are undertaken for purposes other than avenging the slaying of a clansman. Extremely frequently they are on account of women. "Lovely Helens" are the tragic causes of war among the Gilyak much more frequently even than slayings. The latter are extremely rare and never bear a mercenary character, being exclusively a case of a momentary flare-up on the part of an easily aroused "barbarian" because of a slight offense to his vanity. But conflicts over women are much more frequent. Either a group of clansmen undertakes a purely romantic raid to abduct the beloved of their comrade. Or expeditions are undertaken with the forcible recovery of the abducted wife of a clansman as their objective -- a more serious incident, because this action is as obligatory for the clan (up to the third generation exclusively) as revenge and blood money for the slaying of a clansman. Customarily they strive to avoid bloodshed, choosing a time for the attack when the men are absent, but the matter rarely ends -- either at the time of the abduction or during the pursuit -- without bloody conflicts, which inevitably bring on the necessity of "raising the kindred bones," i.e., war with all its consequences.

/101 cont./

628 Now let us proceed to the institution of ransom, "tkhusind," which has in part taken the place of revenge and in part coexists with "revenge," serving as its indispensable corrective.

The reasons that gave rise to the institution of ransom side by side with the imperative of blood retaliation, which was finally squeezed out completely by the former, remain completely unexplained in science to this day.

Among the Gilyak, we believe, it is easy to find at least the principal reason for this great transformation in social relations. It rests on that special form of exogamy about which we spoke in detail in its place.

*614 582 628 /102/ Each clan is bound to a number of clans, at least four, by bonds of the most intimate character. It takes its wives from the akhmal'k clan or clans, and from these clans came its mothers; it gives in marriage its own women, daughters and sisters, to the ymgi clan or clans. These clans, in the natural order of things, are dear to it; mothers, daughters, sisters bind it to them inseparably.

*614 628 562 The clan of the slayer can easily turn out to be the one that takes its women from it, in which are its sisters and daughters, or one which provides it with women. Hence the first great modification: the inviolability of women in conflicts of vengeance.

But the role of the women does not end here. If the slayer is from the akhmal'k clan, i.e., the clan from which come the mothers and wives of the avengers, it is not difficult to imagine that these women cannot be indifferent spectators of a war against their own brothers and fathers. If the slayer is from the ymgi clan, the wives of the latter likewise will not lightly reconcile themselves to the destruction of their husbands and sons at the hands of their own fathers and brothers. In both cases the intervention of the women is inevitable, and a few precedents of their pacifying influence suffice to turn the precedents into a lawful custom, at first coexisting with blood revenge and later squeezing it out.

Indirectly the influence of women in this respect must have found expression in still another way, purely mechanical, so to speak. Their inviolability factually hindered to a considerable degree the realization of blood retaliation itself. Their sentry duty, the

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the foe and weakened his
628 spirit more than the most active resistance. Utilizing their habeas
562 corpus, day and night they go about the environs in perfect safety looking into every bush, every blade of grass, in search of the enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do not possess an overwhelming number that makes it possible to fall openly upon the expectant enemy, they will never succeed in eluding the vigilance of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the patience of the attackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the torment of waiting, of necessity breaks on the passive resistance of the weaker sex, and the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of the passive
[784] participation of the women in the struggle of the clans, it must
[724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbidden to light a fire on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its rivers and springs, hunt, etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of Gibeon, the Gilyak find it necessary to set off on an expedition loaded down with skins filled with water and as much food supplies as a man can carry. Under such conditions every extra day of waiting threatens death by famine, and thus the vigilance of the women necessarily conquers.

175 Here is one of the examples known to me. In 1851, 30 men
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland to take vengeance on
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol' for the slaying of a
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still longer and more fruitless
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance of the women, with poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching the locality, the water in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and the avengers had to depart with nothing and terminate the matter peacefully ... Thus small causes often lead to important consequences.

*614 Tylor was right when he asserted that exogamy weakened the
77 relations between clans and introduced peace, although he pro-
[114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the aspiration for peace brought to life the very institution of exogamy. It is true that primitive man is not so sentimental, he is mainly too "god-fearing," that he would sacrifice with a light heart his own fears of punishment for a breach of his blood duty to the voice of feeling, or

/103 cont./

*614 771 even to his own clear advantage, but he has, as we know, an already tested expedient, with the help of which he pacifies the gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts, as in other cases, to pious deception of the gods, which offers him the opportunity both to fulfill his religious duty and to derive material gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored, and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall recount later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom, which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

*614 628 771

628 539 554 *614 [192] [197] Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.

The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (1).

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent, orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak, for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a particular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and inspires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen ones. [532] On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/104 cont./

628 Most infrequently the khlaj-nivukh is a chosen one of the gods in
537 other respects as well: he is a rich man, adept in hunting, worldly-
554 wise, courageous, has a great natural wit, and enjoys authority
*614 among his fellow tribesmen.

Every clan, every settlement has its own small khlaj-nivukh, but there are celebrities who enjoy extensive fame among many nationalities of the region, and who, when necessary, are sought after, just as renowned lawyers are among us. They perform their functions rather honoris causa, because the customary honorarium -- a Chinese silk costume and a Japanese saber -- can hardly be a recompense to a rich man for the loss of his time and the burden of the obligation. The clothing and arms presented to them serve rather as their insignia magistratus, their official vestment, in which they carry out their obligations during the discussions.

*614 And so, when the clan of the avengers has sufficiently worn
628 itself out in its attempts at a bloody retaliation, or if from the
537 first the slaying took place under conditions easily lending themselves to a reconciliation, then they begin to search for a khlaj-nivukh who would undertake the negotiations and be able to obtain the most profitable conditions. The khlaj-nivukh must necessarily be from a neutral clan. One may not send a clansman: in the first place, until the reconciliation, it is a sin to have anything whatever to do with the clan of the slayer; moreover, in view of the naturally inflamed feelings of the parties, negotiations through a clansman might end in another slaying. The other side, in turn, selects its "orator," who is /105/ obligated to defend its interests in the negotiations over the ransom. Ordinarily the offended side takes the initiative.

One fine day a company of the armed avengers, with their khlaj-nivukh at their head, appears at the settlement of the slayer. In the adjacent taiga or on the shore of a river the avengers light a fire and make camp, while the khlaj-nivukh in his regalia, with a spear in one hand, a kettle in the other, goes alone to the enemy settlement. Here, in one of the yurts, await the opponents with their khlaj-nivukh at their head... Leaning on his spear, or sitting down and lighting his pipe (only with "his own" fire) he says: "I was sent to tell you that you have killed our man, and

/105 cont./

*614 628 537 [436]

what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement... [576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and [171] separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the [789] last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 628 536

When an agreement has been reached, the religious feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/105 cont./

*614 628 536 A procession of the avengers with the khlaj-nivukh at their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh'i they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel, of course, is fictitious, although there have been instances where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh'i pacify their clients [782] insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen lead a dog apiece among their opponents and kill them with spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above), while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 628 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken materials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, considering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the common property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it replaces those valuables which were needed for the dead man in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund for the family of the slain man and the clan requirements.

628 537 554 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the intervention of khlaj-nivukh'i, but without any particular ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict of the whole gathering.

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*614 835 602 7. One sin. Although the norms and customs of religion and conduct are almost the same for the whole tribe, nevertheless each clan has its own complex of obligations and prohibitions, obligatory only for its own members. The first extensive category of prohibitions relates to sexual norms. For the members of each clan certain categories of women are prohibited for marriage and sexual relations, for example, all the women, without exception, born in the given clan, further, the wives of one's younger brothers, all women who are called ymk and ranr, all women who come from the clan of the "sons-in-law"/ zyat'ya/, etc. /107/ so that to know what women are prohibited for one or another person is enough for infallibly saying to which clan he belongs. In this category the prohibitions of speech may also apply. For the members of each clan there are certain classes of persons with whom it is prohibited to speak; such classes are the tuvn (brothers and sisters of all degrees of kinship), the achk (mother and aunts of the wife), and others. A third category of prohibitions deals with religious norms in the narrow sense. Each clan, as we have seen, has its own clan gods and sacrifices, its own sacred objects, its beliefs, and, consequently, its own ritual of the clan cult, common to all the clansmen but having no religious significance whatever for members of other clans. These numerous rites and objects of the cult demand the greatest respect. The whole clan, on whom is vented the wrath of the offended deities, answers and therefore each member of the clan is not only obliged himself to avoid infractions of his taboos, but to defend them against infraction by outsiders. For each such infraction it is necessary to exact tkhusind. Hence the customary difficulties with members of other clans over an accidental defiling of the enclosure of the hearth, over the taking of fire from the yurt, a bear bone dropped during the festival banquet, the infraction of the inviolability of all the appurtenances of the bear festival -- the posts to which the bears are tied, the poles with their heads, the storehouses for festival utensils and bear bones, etc.

*614 688

/107 cont./

*614 Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces
771 not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obli-
783 gation to carry out positive norms, then the formula "common sin"
784 acquires a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the
182 principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general.
The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religion means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence,
*614 on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to
182 why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring
602 immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsion,
83 but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example, with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and women, follow their natural inclinations with complete freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage. Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy. There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless, despite the complete sexual license from our point of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect to persons of the prohibited categories. Adultery is unknown to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is
*614 almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibi-
602 tions of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will
182 go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

/108 cont./

*614 602 182 impersonal form, although by temperament these are far from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the result of upbringing and training to a considerable degree, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of each individual infraction on the welfare of the whole clan.

*614 783 784 771 The religious sanction of prohibitions and obligations and the lively consciousness on the part of one and all that "sin is communal" explain to us the most amazing aspect of the clan structure, the presence of the social organism and the almost complete absence of the element of compulsion, authority. But more about this later.

*614 182 Such are the basic features of the clan. By them one can judge its all-embracing role in the life of the Gilyak. It enfolds a man from birth to death, giving life all its content. It surrounds him with intimate bonds of kinship from both the side of the father and the side of the mother. It unites with a living bond the living generation with the departed ones. It guarantees to man an individual marriage and conjugal rights outside of it, and after his death it provides for his widow and children. The clan defends his life and the inviolability of his family against encroachments by a member of another clan, ready as one man to rise to the defense of the trampled rights of a clansman and to answer for his guilt to a member of another clan. It feeds him when he is hungry, it pays the debts of the insolvent, it assists in the payment of the bride price and of blood money.

*614 182 771 /109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strongest guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most valuable consolation in the most bitter miseries of life - the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

/109 cont./

*614 But what is the mechanism of this amazing institution which gives an individual more than the contemporary state, which surrounds a person not only with universal anxieties, but also with an extensive net of regulations and "sins"? Where are its outward characteristics and the organs which fulfill its function? Is it not strange that in the formula of the clan these elements, extremely important from our point of view, are completely lacking?

VII.

The Mechanism of the Clan

114 Nordenskiöld, describing the Chukchee, in one place expresses himself thus: "Here, as at all the posts that I visited, complete anarchy reigned. Nevertheless, the members of this rulerless community lived in harmony and friendship among themselves."

Such opinions with regard to various primitive peoples are easy to find in the writings of many other travelers. In particular, Nordenskiöld would say about the Gilyak what he said about the Chukchee. That profound social organization that we have described in the preceding section, which forms the soul of every primitive society and which has come into history under the name of clan -- that organization often remains completely hidden from the view of a civilized observer who chances to be present, for to him, a European, everything that does not recall the familiar elements of the state organization -- territory, representatives of power, compulsory regulations of the system -- is nothing more than "anarchy in which, to his great astonishment, the members of the rulerless community nevertheless contrived to live in harmony and friendship."

/109 cont./

And this is just what is striking in the Gilyak system of life. Despite all the complexity of the social fabric, embracing all aspects of life, all those external-formal signs of organization which the European involuntarily seeks everywhere are either completely absent or assume forms which are too fluctuating.

* 614 361 423 /110/ Let us begin with territory. It is completely natural that the members of one clan should prefer to live together in immediate unity and community with each other. There are actually some settlements, such as Tangi, Nyanivo, Viskivo, and others, where the whole population belongs to one clan. In the large winter yurts of such settlements one can sometimes count 20 or 30 clansmen and not a single alien. Even where several clans live in one settlement, as in Kol', the yurts of each clan are arranged in a row, as if in accord with a strictly observed tradition. Each clan has its own clan streams for hunting, divided among the different families, among whom they pass by inheritance from father to son, although the right to property is limited by actual use, upon the suspension of which the stream becomes res nullius and can be utilized by anyone, even an alien.

Nevertheless, despite the natural tendency of clansmen to remain near each other, the principle of territoriality does not in fact exist. In the great majority of Gilyak villages the [121] composition of the population is mixed. In the above-mentioned settlement of Kol' I counted representatives of eight clans, in smaller villages, from two to three clans, and but very few villages in which there were absolutely no members of other clans. There are clans whose branches are to be met in the most different and remote points of Gilyak territory. This dispersion, of course, is a fact that seems to be at variance with the principles of clan, but it is inevitable under the given economic and social conditions. A settlement [166] located in a particularly favorable place from the fisherman's point of view will naturally attract newcomers from other clans, and, conversely, if the clan has grown so large

*614 361 423 [166] [167] /110 cont./
in its original site that the indigenous village can no longer feed everybody, emigrants by degrees depart from it to other places, selecting the nearest possible sites in order that the ties between the clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to very distant points involves an actual division of the "fire" and branching out of the clan. A no less important cause of the mixture of population is the custom, in some instances, of sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ moving to the clans of their fathers-in-law, about which we shall speak in detail in its place. Territory is in any case an indefinite sign of the clan.

423 609 The Gilyak do not even possess a consciousness of the right to property, not only with respect to themselves, but also with respect to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus appeared on Sakhalin 50 years ago and began to hunt in the primordial territories of the Gilyak, it did not occur to anyone to protest against this, although the Tungus came in small groups and could hardly have withstood the numerous aborigines with force.

*614 Clan names are just as indefinite a sign. In the mass of primitive, so-called "totemistic" tribes, the clan name is one of the very sharpest external signs of the unity of a clan. A totemistic name is a real object of nature, animal or plant, which is represented on the body, clothing, buildings, etc.

Among the Gilyak there is nothing of this sort. In some clans there are totemistic legends. Thus, for example, a clan living in the settlement of Tangakh considers itself kindred with the bear on the grounds that a woman of that clan had given birth to a monstrosity with features resembling those of a bear. Similar legends exist in other clans. Nevertheless, not only typical totemistic, but even ordinary clan names in the proper sense are absent. There are only territorial names. If a Gilyak wants to name the people of such and such a clan, he says "the dwellers of such and such a settlement," which sometimes corresponds with the actual place of habitation of the clan, but most frequently only indicates the village which was once the primordial abode of one or another clan.

/111 cont./

*614 [167] Thus in the settlement of Kol', there are clans which bear the designations, Tyvli-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Tyvlin); M'yekhre-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yekhri), N'yenkhay-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Nyenkhay), etc., although the representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in the above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their ties with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only clans

[171]

1. Similar territorial designations among the Australians were the reason that Kunov came to the completely unfounded conclusion that among these tribes there is no clan organization.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants from the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans as the Tskharnung, the Choril, etc. And it is noteworthy that in just these clans we observe a clear transition to totemism. In the Negda tribe, for example, almost every clan traces its origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear, etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely encountered.

*614 177 648 622 /112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the most important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. However complex, as we have seen, clan life is, the clan does not know any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after them the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institution of elders, and at that not clan but settlement elders, but it had no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty episode, but that was all. The elders designated by the Russian authorities were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthiest inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and these not only did not enjoy any authority, but rather scorn, and in some *614 instances even hatred. The primordial structure of the clan knew nothing of the kind. The patriarchal authority which, according to the Biblical examples, is ordinarily associated with the

*614 /112 cont./
clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the Buryat, the Kirgiz, the Caucasian peoples, etc., is absolutely lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in
[562] the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters or selling them into slavery are impossible.

562 593 True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry, which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between
[606] the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /zyat'/ there are established for their whole life, as we shall see, profound and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are consulted, and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies of the clansmen.

561 855 There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point, it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any
[86] difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak male child of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

/113 cont./

561 labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc.,
855 but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreover,
86 to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the clan customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his tribe, and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life that constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys, hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of his own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduct himself in society.

561 All these qualities, however, would have no significance if
596 the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples
855 of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purposely train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the despotism of the head of the family with respect to its adult members. The sons are completely free to separate from their father, obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements, sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion.
596 One encounters large families living in a communal economy, at the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfather, father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free associa-
[422] tion, from which one may depart at will. And even though he is a
[434] participant in such an economic union, every member can have his own individual economy in the form of sleds and dogs, arms, enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his personal merits; and what each member shares with his own -- and there is extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flour, rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are combined without any friction.

/113 cont./

596 Finally -- and this is particularly necessary to note -- it is not at all obligatory that at the head of large families with a common economy there should be elders in years; most frequently, on the contrary, they are young people who have distinguished themselves by their activity, resourcefulness, and zeal, in a word, 596 by their personal talents. Old men enjoy /114/ authority only with 888 regard to special questions, as the preservers of traditions, as experts in the rituals and history of the family-clan relations. They are consulted on confusing questions of kinship and in the giving of names; it is they who must supervise the ritual aspect of festivals, but this does not give them any power or advantages.

* 614 And that which is absent in the family -- the despotism of the 622 eldest, the head -- is also lacking in the clan. It knows neither despotic elders-patriarchs nor any permanent authorities in general, collective or individual, neither elected ones nor any by right of birth and inheritance.

* 614 The clan is not a fiction, however; it is a complicated institution, surrounding the Gilyak with a thick net of regulations, prohibitions, and obligations, but at the same time providing him with all the benefits, material and spiritual, of a firm social union.

We thus return to the question that we raised at the end of the preceding section. Where are the driving forces of the mechanism of this almighty institution -- the clan, where is the secret of the amazing combination of the closest community with a complete absence of despotism, of all-embracing wardship and regulation with the absence of compulsion and the maintenance of individual freedom?

This secret is contained in two conditions: 1) the simplicity of economic conditions and relations, which offers a broad scope to the comprehensive development of the powers and abilities of the individual and their free application to the wide-open gifts of nature equally free to all; and, secondly, the entire socio-religious world-outlook, which quite spontaneously, without any external pressure, directs the will and activity of each toward the harmony of the common interest, substituting for external compulsion the force of the inner consciousness of each.

/114 cont./

*614 433 Let us look more closely at these conditions, and first of all at the economic ones.

461 476 The predominant form of labor is individual labor or the simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishing. The sea and rivers are so rich in this product that with the most meager equipment under normal conditions everyone can secure his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animals, it is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but the whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; everyone performs that for which he is /115/ most qualified. Moreover, the artel is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never occurs to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than according to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those who have not participated in the hunting, for do the clan gods give only to some and not all the members of the clan? The same is true of hunting for forest beasts, if carried on by a group, but ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along perfectly well in his pursuits without the help of others. And, in fact, during the fishing season the Gilyak population disperses in all directions; each master departs to his favorite site. During the hunting season everyone sets off for his hunting balagan and from there keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a stranger for weeks.

156 555 Thus, the predominant form of labor is individual. Everyone must be able to do everything, master all the knowledge of his tribe, be an individual equal with all, comprehensively developed and prepared for life.

555 556 156 And since the gifts of nature are plentiful, free, and accessible to the efforts of all, the well-being of a man depends exclusively, in consequence, on his abilities and diligence. Inequality, which under more complex conditions is a source of dissension and social differences, does not show its thorns here. A wealthy man owes everything exclusively to his own personal talents and virtues. His accumulations cannot enslave or humiliate anyone. Moreover, the personal accomplishments of a man are a gift of the gods,

/115 cont./

555 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on
556 his advantages (1).
156

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibl' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance: that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

[789]

x 614 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the
156 fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard
[454] one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be
[183] equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-
x 771 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

/116 cont./

156 one but on all. Any attempt to monopolize the gifts of the gods
771 must inevitably incur just punishment by the common benefactors of the clan.

*614 Everything that religion and clan wisdom prescribe for gain-
77 ing the beneficence of the gods is a blessing for each, and to
182 carry out their dictates means only to take care of one's self. It
156 is the same with all the prescriptions of clan regulations, be they
183 sexual norms, rules of revenge, or religious rites; any infraction of them on the part of one is a common "sin" and is destructive to all.

All more or less important acts of social life, even including sacrificing one's self in a battle of vengeance for one's clansman, are categorical imperatives of a religious world-outlook which neither allow hesitation nor require compulsion. All of the instincts for self-preservation are in complete harmony with the religious ideas. By an act of revenge, a man protects his own security, but he thereby also fulfills a religious duty by appeasing the spirit of the dead man, which is able to inflict punishment if it remains unavenged. And so it is in everything...

156 A healthy, integrated, comprehensively developed per-
*614 sonality with an integrated religio-social world-outlook, creating
182 a perfect harmony of the personal and social interests and the driving forces of life -- such is the hidden, but mighty mainspring of the clan mechanism.

Observe how, without any regulation or organs of compulsion, but with only the desire of an individual, the complicated mechanism of clan life operates.

*614 Suppose a clansman with a family dies. It is necessary to
768 provide for his family, to preserve his property until the heirs
182 reach maturity, and it is necessary, in order to avoid disputes, to decide to whom the widow of the deceased shall pass. There are no judges, there are no authorities, but, a short while after the deceased has been buried, the nearest clansmen assemble, have a short discussion, listen to the claimants, and the one they decide upon will be the husband of the widow and the father of the orphaned children.

/116 cont./

*614 476 182 Or: one or another family is temporarily impoverished. There is no special /117/ organ that must take care of them; it is unnecessary, because the family will find hospitality and assistance in any house they choose, even of the most distant [574] kinsman, until the hard times change. And this is not offensive to anyone, for it is a rare thing for someone neither to enjoy hospitality nor to offer it to someone else from time to time.

*614 476 796 182 Suppose it is necessary to arrange a troublesome and expensive clan festival. There are neither collections nor coercions, no organization for the reception of guests, and so on. Each person prepares as much as he can according to his conscience, each bears his share of the labor, and only the man who is a little richer than the others takes upon himself the trouble of the arrangements. Everyone takes to his house the prepared viands and purchases; they meet at his house to share in the prefestival work.

During the bear festival, dozens of additional persons assemble from all sides. For several days it is necessary to feed not only the people, but also their many dogs. How much trouble, how much expense! Nevertheless, everything is arranged simply and to the general satisfaction of all. Each guest prefers, of course, to stay with the one who is closest to him in kinship or sympathy, where they take him in, not as a duty, but because they want him; but in any home at all every arriving guest finds a sincere, cordial reception, because during the days of festive enthusiasm everyone wants to display his sympathy and to have broad intercourse with new people.

731 574 476 182 Hunger has appeared, the specter of terrible misfortune, which can carry off the whole population of a village! All the hungry ones who have not succeeded in dispersing to more fortunate areas gather at the home of the man who still has some supplies, and the laws of hospitality are just as strong on this black day as in days of plenty.

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*614 628 701 182 But the worst of calamities -- a clansman has been slain! War is inevitable! ... The whole population takes up arms. There is no regular leader, no elder, and no elections. The natural leader has long been known and acknowledged by all: it is the bravest and luckiest of the clansmen, it is the so-called "master," "yz'" -- all eyes are turned toward him!

And in a moment the equal among equals suddenly becomes a military leader, gives orders, distributes weapons, fixes the time of the march, etc.; they obey him as they would a dictator. If this natural leader has died or been killed, everyone knows the one most worthy to replace him.

*614 627 182 Suppose a civil dispute has arisen between clansmen or between /118/ representatives of different clans. There are no established persons who ex officio resolve disputes and difficulties. Very often the accuser is himself judge and executor of the sentence. Once the defendant has refused to carry out his obligation of his own free will, the accuser, not stopping to meditate, unhitches a dog from the team of the debtor or climbs into the storehouse in order to take for himself something equal in value to his claim. And the accuser considers this in the order of things. Of course, such a method is not always possible. But even then the affair works out perfectly well without the powers that be. It is enough for the offended party merely to address himslf directly or through a khlaj-nivukh (see above) to one or two authoritative individuals-"masters" from the clansmen of the offender, and the matter is very quickly settled. They summon the offender, who is usually escorted by his closest kinsmen, and sometimes by a khlaj-nivukh. Even outsiders gather. From the hearing of both sides and the opinions of those present, an opinion which is accepted by the majority assumes the strength of a verdict. Usually the offender submits voluntarily; otherwise, the managers of the affair proceed to the offender's storehouse and remove an adjudged amount.

/118 cont./

★ 614 But who are these authoritative individuals who appear on the
556 scene in special cases and either personally or together with the
554 "village community" of their clansmen display, as those having the power, their initiative and energy? What role do they play in ordinary life?

They are the so-called yz' -- the "masters" (1), or otherwise

1. Up to the present, little attention has been focused on the role of such persons in the structure of primitive societies. Their role is obscured by their being classified only as representatives of wealth. Here is one of the most recent examples of such a relation. Separate classes of "nobles" and "commoners" do not exist in northwestern California, but in almost all affairs of life the rich man plays the most important role ("Types of Indian Culture in California," by A.L. Kroeber, University of California Publications, June, 1904, Vol. II). One should be grateful, however, that such facts have been noted at all.

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the urdlya-nivukhi -- the good, i.e., the rich, outstanding men (good and rich are synonomous among all primitive peoples). These are individuals who enjoy outstanding prosperity, thanks to their exceptional individual talents -- bravery, dexterity, strength, enterprise, and intelligence, which place them in an advantageous position in the business of obtaining the means of subsistence. Such an individual is a valuable man for all around him. For the narrow circle of his own family he is the natural head of the communal economy, which, thanks to his initiative and talents, is run more profitably than if it were conducted haphazardly. /119/ The huge family grouped around him is better provided with

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* 614 554 556 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and [537] knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator, "khlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the [532] Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions. [623] In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the [622] community in the name of the clan. Under other circumstances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

*614 /119 cont./
554 the most outstanding yz'i become leaders of the tribe for life,
556 or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or
[622] founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do not yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still too insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison with the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and life are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ yz' if not that integrated personality in its highest manifestation of individuality? The influence of the yz' is therefore purely factual, moral; between him and the poorest of his clansmen there is no abyss either in the intellectual or economic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

*614 Such is the mechanism of clan life. Its real mainspring is
182 the comprehensive development of the personality, together with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent, Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authority exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at all as constant elements of authority which would push the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them:

[623] Above all there is the khal', the clan, i.e., the whole totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regular assemblies, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once the problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly as it appeared.

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*614 182 623 Then there are the hejmary, the elders, all of whose authority consists in the solution of moot problems of cult and kinship. They play a certain role at the time of the clan festivals, at which they are generally the principal managers; they are, after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They do not, however, wield any influence or possess any actual significance in the other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

*614 182 556 554 Finally, the third element of authority is the yz'i. Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of these three elements those diverse forms of power which in various combinations (people's assemblies, the council of the elders, patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, dukes, vikings, kings, and so forth) we find among many semi-cultured peoples at the present time and at the dawn of the history of all nations which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these elements are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

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VIII.

Interclan Relations

615 *614 The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution, and a man's intimate ties are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law, is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the akhmal'k and ymgi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond of blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, the bond of common origin through the mother (the male ancestors of all four clans and the representatives of each of their generations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and to this are united those powerful ties of natural intimacy which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage unions.

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615 In practice, as we know, these bonds extend far beyond the
*614 confines of the original four clans. First of all, in addition to these last, every clan with which at least one clansman has formed matrimonial ties is already an akhmal'k or ymgi to all his clan. On the other hand, we know that every akhmal'k and every ymgi retains its appellation not only with respect to those clans with which it is directly bound matrimonially, but also with respect to those who consider themselves the corresponding ymgi and akhmal'k of the former, so that in addition to the akhmal'k and ymgi of the first degree, each clan has still others of the second, third degrees, etc. All these clans call each other pandfy, individuals of a common origin.

[582] Thus we see that the basic principle, simple and clear, which lay at the basis of the family and clan, a principle according to which a man preferably marries the daughter of the brother of his mother, becomes the basis of blood ties and sympathy, not only within each separate clan, but of even more extensive unions, interclan and, finally, of the whole tribe. True, by virtue of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned by us, such as the dispersion of a small tribe over an enormous territory and many other circumstances, these bonds could not take formal shape in such completed organizations as the phratries and tribes, for example, of the North American Indians, but here also they created an atmosphere of social unity which led the clan from an egoistic isolation onto the path of interclan community and brotherhood.

/122/ Let us consider a little more closely the bonds which arise between the pandf clans, between each clan and those from which the Gilyak takes his wives or to which he gives his women. These bonds are not limited to feelings alone; they are expressed in quite real forms.

*614 First of all, there is the obligation of mutual sustenance
615 and hospitality. This in essence is only an extension of that
496 same obligation existing within the clan to the blood pandf;
574 the extension to them of that benevolence of the clan deities

/122 cont./

*614 615 476 574 which belongs to them by right through the female line: "Ymgi (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ must be fed" -- such is the formula of this interclan obligation.

*614 615 476 574 591 This rule, however, does not find expression at all in an obligation of the akhmal'k to support his son-in-law /zyat'/ and his family permanently in his own home. It may be that at a very remote time, in the period of maternality when the husband went to live in the home of the wife, it was actually so, but at the present time, under agnatic principles, the wife goes to the home of the husband and customarily moves completely to the clan site of her spouse's habitation. Nevertheless, the principle of "sustenance," as we shall see, plays a most important role in the unification of the clans.

615 585 591 476 It is consolidated in a special, extremely peculiar religious rite, which consists of the following. At the last moment before the bride is carried away from the home of her father, there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled cast-iron kettle brought by the bridegroom as a part of the bride price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle belonging to the father of the girl. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle: the former remains with the father-in-law, the second is borne home by the bridegroom -- ymgi. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the akhmal'k, the same ceremony is repeated before their departure; only this time on each side of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nich (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nich zychyvynd (trampling of the nich). It is also called lymyz'n-zand -- trampling of the threshold, which points to the religious element of the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called lymyz'n-mam -- an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-forbear, the guardian genius of the home, whose

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615 /122 cont./
585 blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds,
591 the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection
796 with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear
615 festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of
476 the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself
an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are
also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual
sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in
hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

615 The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic
* 614 visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some
476 economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time, in
574 addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present
[606] to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage,
[431] when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending
on the resources, one of several pairs of smart garments for
men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There
* 614 are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman,
931 because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all.
476 Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn
574 them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at
606 hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers
615 up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels
in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement
of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

615 Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymgi
224 are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.
225 The most important of these require the participation of
476 several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it
* 614

*614 /123 cont./
615 from its lair), sable hunting, and especially the hunting of
224 sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these
225 instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participation,
476 not of his clansmen, but of the ymgi, and not necessarily those married to his sister or daughter, but ymgi in general, i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than he does with his own /124/ clansmen; he can freely converse and joke with them, while he may not do this, as we know, with all of his clansmen. In turn, in their akhmal'k clan the ymgi feel like a fish in water; all the women of their generation are their an'gej (wives) -- all future wives and at any rate women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in the broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young male population, they find their revenge in the clan of their akhmal'k'i, where they meet the same reception from their
*614 "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Between
615 the male youth of both clans ("navkh'i") (1), as a result of
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1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'i.

frequent meetings, not to mention relationship by marriage, the most touching relations are established. It is in these surroundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much in vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchange of presents, mutual aid in misfortune, and other such services. But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood may be found among the navkh'i. Here is one such example, especially surprising to me, which I chanced to observe in the settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. Both friends, "navkh'i," lived in one yurt; they had everything in common, went about together like lovers, almost never separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both,

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*614 615 608 it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possibility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations between members of matrimonial clans.

*614 615 428 583 The principle of mutual aid between members of matrimonial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which, despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception, namely, with regard to the pandf'y; by a will, as we already know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" (i.e., going for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can obtain the fur "shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it from one pocket and putting it in another, serves, incidentally, as an important indication of the fact that originally among the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of payment for the bride, but rather was a form of religious ransom. But for what?

*614 615 174 583 The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the bride price is in general a strange anomaly. Actually, once marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious obligation, and even preferable between the children of brother and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This [178] change we know: it consisted in the fact that in some instances when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible, it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its own lawful ymgi and therefore could only accede to giving away its women by masking it with some act of pious deception of the gods, which would at the same time be profitable for the [182] father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the ymgi clan, which

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*614 615 174 583 violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction: the whole clan of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title of akhmal'k and became, as it were, a lawful clan for marriage unions. As such instances increased, the bride price, whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the general rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

*614 615 796 574 182 Another weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matrimonial clans is the participation of the pandf'y in the bear festival.

In the sense of cementing interclan relations it plays almost a greater role than the Olympic games for the tribal unification of the Greeks. The bear festival takes place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, while in populous settlements a rare winter passes without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The sled, which every household possesses, is harnessed, and off they go; the rest is not the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest dishes. And in return for the small annoyance of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: in the first place, the very rite of the festival -- the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the ablest and most respected representatives of the tribe; finally, the competition /126/ in wrestling, races, and dances, the feasts, conversations, jokes, and songs, in a word, an endless series of enjoyments. Against the somber background of his gray existence, the hungry days, the deprivations, dangers, and monotonous impressions, the bear festivals appear as the most joyous moments of existence, as it were, landmarks of everyday life which one recollects and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only ymgi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own ymgi but akhmal'k do not participate at all.

/126 cont./

* 614 615 796 574 182 This rule is so strictly observed that the very host who has been most diligent in receiving and making presents to his ymgi is not even invited by the latter to the festival, but, on the other hand, he will be the honored guest of his own akhmal'k. Thus there is formed an uninterrupted chain, uniting the long series of clans in their socio-religious festivals.

We have already said something in the section on religion about the important part played by the ymgi in the bear festival. One goes out many versts to meet them and gives them the most honored function at the festival, namely, the killing of the bear, and all this time they are the center of attention for the whole clan. They are everywhere fed to the bursting point, dragged around from yurt to yurt, and, finally, before departure given a large part of the bear carcass. All these acts of hospitality and respectful attention are crowned with serious religious rites, sanctifying the fraternal union of the clans. At the beginning of the festival, the ymgi exchange nich'i (symbol of united co-operation in hunting, see above) with the host; before departure, the ymgi presents to his akhmal'k in parting dogs, which, together with the dogs of the latter, will go to the master of the mountains, the common sustainer of the clan; and at the last moment the ymgi performs the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man; they strengthen the ties of kinship with the higher sanction of religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

* 614 615 621 They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live forever with his pandf'y. This is why, by the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their ymgi or akhmal'k'i. But these ties prove of

*614 /127 cont./ But these ties prove of
615 particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when
621 a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to
628 "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the same selflessness as they show toward their own clansmen. Only in the payment of tkhusind may the pandf'y not participate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently happens, and we have already expressed in the section on revenge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

*614 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans,
615 relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed
609 clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding generations give to each other, has finally become the customary appellation with which any member of another clan or stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward members of other clans.

609 Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues
574 which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without dis-
[157] crimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the Orok, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers, the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

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609 574 reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has 609 wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with 829 such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance *614

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general 186 relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course, 609 among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national 829 prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

174 But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We *614 can now resume it.
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174 Those manifest social habits and feelings which we observe
* 614 in the contemporary Gilyak, which he indisputably acquired
615 in the beneficial school of social relations, originally developed among the matrimonial clans and from them were gradually transferred first to every tribesman, later to neighbors of other tribes, and finally to man in general.

But the source of social ties between the matrimonial clans akhmal'k and ymgi, as we have seen, is rooted in that wonderful organization of the Gilyak clan, to the analysis of which we have devoted this chapter. In this evolution from the egoism of the closed clan through ties with pandf'y of other clans, close by blood, to sympathy and humanity for all men, both close and distant, is contained, perhaps, the most instructive conclusion of our long analysis. From that moment when the rule that a man should marry the daughter of his uncle on the mother's side was established, there was also laid the firm foundation for the extensive growth of social habits and feelings.

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The Social Organization of the Gilyak

(Family and Marital-Sexual Norms)

I.
Introduction

Upon superficial acquaintance the structure of the Gilyak family and its sexual norms appear to be so simple, conventional, and similar to ours that they can mislead even the serious observer. The well-known academician Leopold Schrenck, who lived among the Gilyak for more than two years and left us the well-known, multi-volumed monograph on this tribe, was profoundly convinced that he was dealing with the ordinary
000 patriarchal-monandrous family. This appeared so obvious to

114 /129 cont./ This appeared so obvious to
595 him that he explains the opposing view of Siebold, too categorically affirmed, it is true, based on the report of the eighteenth century Japanese traveler Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/, that "the northwestern shore of Sakhalin (i.e., the territory of the Gilyak) is the only country in the world where polyandry, by force of law or custom, is practiced" (1), not

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1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169.

by the inaccuracy of the observations of Mamio Rinso, whom he considers an excellent observer, but by his personal bitterness against the Gilyak because the Gilyak women compelled him to perform manual labor like all the other men (2). "Among

2. "Not wishing to accuse Mamio Rinso of pure fictionalizing," says Schrenck, "we cannot refrain from assuming that he was motivated by personal reasons, which, muddling his testimony, gave ground for various interpretations... Vanity and the fear of lowering himself in the eyes of the government (on account of his servile position) impelled the traveler to explain his humiliating position among the Gilyak by the custom of their country" (i.e., polyandry and the domination of women). Schrenck, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskago kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, 1903, Vol. III, p. 19.

[113]

the Gilyak," says Schrenck in conclusion, "neither on Sakhalin nor on the continent, nor anywhere else, does polyandry exist."

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114 595 In his own way Schrenck was right; it was perhaps impossible for him personally to notice the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, for in effect it is impossible to find among the Gilyak open, public polyandry in the form /130/ in which those who have never seen it in life picture it to themselves. On the other hand, the statements of Mamio Rinso are also quite uncertain, since due to his ignorance of the language he could note only a factual looseness in relations, but he could never grasp the *chief essence, the normativeness, the lawfulness of the sexual* relations that he observed.

In order to discover the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the most intimate aspects of Gilyak life, know their language, live a long time with them in their yurts (which helped Rinso see that which escaped Schrenck), and, in any case, become familiar with their kinship nomenclature, which Schrenck, due to his slight acquaintance with the language, completely failed to accomplish (1).

1. Certain information given by Schrenck in this regard can only mislead the reader. Thus, for example, he completely erroneously affirms that a man gives to his mother and to the sister of his father the identical designation "ymk." See Schrenck, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 6. Probably the individual who gave Schrenck this information was speaking, not of the sister of the father, but of the sister of the mother.

58 [595] To the superficial observer, the institution of Gilyak marriage actually does not present anything peculiar. By all outward indications the wife or the wives of the Gilyak (polygamy -- two, three, or four wives -- is permitted by Gilyak custom) represent his individual property. The wife [591] is purchased by the husband for a very high price from her

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58 [591] agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and 59 [85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child, [551] husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former [553] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("*the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so*" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives [684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights. [614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by <u>families</u>, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /<u>131</u>/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 121 125 [59] In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a type of individual family which is generally accepted as being patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With [114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

1: Shternberg--197 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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presented by the author to the Moskovskoe obshchestvo liubitele estestvoznaniia /Moscow Society of Friends of Natural Science/ and appeared under the title "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" in 1893 in the organ of this society, Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie (1893, Book 2). In the foreign press there was a review of this article by Friedrich Engels in Die Neue Zeit, 1892-93, XI Jahrgang, B.I.

Subsequent censuses in other districts of the Gilyak territory (1891-94) gave me a full and comprehensive picture of their kinship nomenclature and sexual relations, with all their variants, in the different clans and dialects. In particular, during these years I succeeded in becoming acquainted with the unique family structure among the Sakhalin Ainu, sharply differentiated by the typical peculiarities of their maternality /materniteta/. In 1895 and 1896 I investigated in the same respect the Tungus tribes of the Priamur krai /the Amur region/, where I discovered a fully developed classificatory system of kinship resembling that of the Gilyak, but differing significantly from the latter. Thus I gathered sufficient material for a comprehensive comparison of both the kinship terminology and the clan-family mode of life of all the representatives of the Priamur krai.

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In view of the extreme importance of the kinship terminology for an understanding of the whole structure of the family and clan of the Gilyak, and in view of the extensive disputes that have recently arisen in scientific circles over the classificatory system of kinship and its significance, I consider it necessary to survey it in all its details.

1: Shternberg--198 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6

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II.

Terms and Forms of Kinship

G *601 177 Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur krai, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, for in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and norms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerably different from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

G 121 *601 171

G *601 171 A 601 171 We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a priori the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only term which has a complete phonetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus languages, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "nana" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "achk" signifies mother-in-law /wife's mother/, aunt, grandmother; "nanakh" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

T [601] [171]

Ainu AB6
Tungus RU5
Golds RX3

G *601 171 T 601 171 [648]

/132 cont./ One could assume that there would be a much greater similarity with Ural-Altaic, especially Tungus idioms, since in both the reckoning of kinship and other peculiarities of their norms, Gilyak marriage is very close to them, and, moreover, the intercourse between these peoples has from distant times been more intimate than with the Ainu. Nevertheless, here, too, the isolated Gilyak language to a significant degree remains true to itself. Only a few terms are so close that they give a basis for assuming reciprocal borrowing. First of all, one's attention is drawn to the term designating the class of elder brothers; Gilyak -- "akand, aka, aki," general Tungus -- /133/ "a'ga, aki," Olcha – "akha, aki," general Turkic – "aga, akyn, akhun." Among the Tungus peoples, in contrast to the Gilyak, this term, in addition to the elder brother, also designates the younger brother of the father, while in Turkic it denotes the brother of the father in general, which in Gilyak has two completely independent names -- "ytk" (father) and "pilang"; the latter term, incidentally, means the same as "a'ga" in Tungus, i.e., elder.

G *601 171 T 601 171 Gi [601] [171]

Furthermore, one may consider as common to all the root "ap, app": in Gilyak -- "app, appyk," among the Tungus peoples (Olcha, Orochi, Orok) -- "apan'ga, ypan'ga," used by both for designating the father-in-law /wife's father/ (by the Gilyak -- also for the brother of the mother), and by the Tungus tribes in many other meanings which do not correspond to the Gilyak terms. Among the Mongols, Turks, and Yakut this root is also encountered in the forms "aba'ga, apa'ga" -- elder brother of the father, "apa" (among other Turks) -- elder sister. About this term "app, appyk" among the Gilyak, one can say with great confidence that in their language it is a direct borrowing, since right alongside of it, other, purely Gilyak terms -- "atk, akhmalk" -- are used, and even more frequently than "appyk," and it is noteworthy that it is on the Amur, where the Gilyak territory borders directly on Tungus territory, that the term "app" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

Gi T 601 171 G *601 171

1: Shternberg--200 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Golji RX3

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meaning: Gilyak as'kh -- younger brother, and Goldi achkha -- younger brother of the father (Birar); Goldi edi -- husband, and Gilyak edr: -- wife's father, father-in-law; Gilyak ytk -- father, atk -- wife's father, achk -- wife's mother, and northern Tungus ətki -- father and older brother of the wife, and atki -- mother and sister of the wife (1), and some others that are more doubtful,

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1. Iokhel'son /Jochelson/, Materialy /Materials/, 240.

such as, for instance, Mongol omok, otok -- clan, and the rare Gilyak forms ota -- father, oma -- mother. There is no doubt that the Gilyak term ivy -- brother's wife, has been borrowed from the Tungus, corresponding to yvy among the Olcha, since among the Gilyak this term is found only in the territory bordering on the Olcha; in other places, the indigenous Gilyak word an'g:ej is used exclusively. In the Turkic languages, besides the above-mentioned aga, akun, and akhyn, we find similar sounding forms in ər --man, husband, hero (Mongol ere), "er" -- an adult person (Gilyak er: -- father); ata, aba, apa -- (Gilyak ota, yta); achchi (old Turkic) -- elder brother, uncle on the father's side (Gilyak ychkh -- old man, husband), and, finally, og:lan -- young man, youth, boy, and o:l -- son, child). Then /134/ perhaps something of interest is offered by the Koryak terms phonetically close to Gilyak, achiche, itchei, ap (Gilyak achik, itch, ap).

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Such are the slight similarities reflected in the Gilyak kinship terms and those of their close and distant neighbors on the Asiatic mainland.

It is difficult to say with absolute certainty what the origins of these similarities were. As the comparative study of kinship terms among the most widely separated peoples shows, particularly in the designations for father and mother, which often turn out to be simple sound-imitations, very striking, but nevertheless undoubtedly accidental coincidences are possible.

G /134 cont./
*601 In particular, it is not without interest to point out that the
171 most undoubtedly identical term among the Gilyak and the Tungus-Turkic peoples, "aki, a'ga" -- older brother, might very well be easily linked with the ancient Hebrew "akh" -- brother, just like the Gilyak "oma" -- mother and the ancient Hebrew "em," but conclusions from such comparisons would, of course, be extremely hazardous. On the other hand, there would be nothing strange if single terms, even such important ones as "aki," turned out to be borrowed. Linguistics gives us not a little evidence of this. For example, in the Osman language such cardinal terms as father and mother turned out to be borrowed: the designation for father -- "peder" -- was borrowed from the Persian, and the designation for mother -- "valide" -- was taken from Arabic. In another Turkish dialect, namely that of the Taranchi, only one term turns out to have been borrowed from the Persian, "khvar" -- sister.

Y Another example is still more instructive. In a tundra clan
601 of the Yukagir (the one most mixed with the Lamut), four of
171 the most cardinal terms of relationship are borrowed: "ama,
177 əna, aka, əkə" -- father, mother, older brother, older sister; all the others (the majority) have remained purely Yukagir. Iokhel'son (1), reporting these facts, quite correctly explains

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy, 240.

this strange fact of partial borrowing by noting that the borrowed terms coincide in meaning with the Yukagir terms, but everywhere else the Yukagir kinship system differs sharply from that of the Tungus.

G Be that as it may, whatever may have been the origin of
*601 the indicated affinities between the Gilyak and Tungus Turkic
171 kinship terms, be they the result of chance /135/ coincidence or the result of ethnic interactions, they are so insignificant that the extensive kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak remains completely independent, not only in its content, but also with regard to its lexicon, and, taking into account the incessant

/135 cont./

*601 171 process of mixing between the Gilyak and their neighbors, one can only be surprised that these kinship terminologies turn out to have so little in common.

The etymologies of the Gilyak kinship terms themselves testify to this uniqueness of the Gilyak terminology with great palpability; the greater part of them can be traced all the way back to their original roots, which points to their firm stability over a long period of time (1).

1. This cannot be said with regard to many historic peoples. Thus, for example, as the famous Turkish specialist, V.V.Radlov /W. Radloff/, has reported to me, among the Turks, judging by Orkhon and Uigur monuments, the kinship terminology, starting from the tenth century and with the exception of one or two terms, has changed completely, even in such forms as father and mother, and so forth.

*601 We shall adduce a few examples. Thus, the group "ytk" -- father, "atk" -- grandfather, uncle on the mother's side, "ytik" -- grandmother, "ychkh" -- old man, husband, "achkh" -- aunt, sister of the father, "ut-ku" -- man, (western dialect) have a common root "ut, yt" -- body; the group "ymic" -- mother, "ymg:i" -- son-in-law, son of the sister, "um-gu" -- woman (western dialect) have the common root "um." Further, "an'g:ej" -- wife, from "an'kh" -- female; "az'mych" -- beloved, husband, man (western dialect), from "av" -- male and the verb "mych" -- to be, to become. The group "shank, shankh, rankh" -- woman and "ranzh" -- sister, etc. is of interest.

*601 184 197 Dialectal differences in kinship designations remain to be discussed. These differences are of a minor nature. In the fundamental terms there are either no differences whatever,

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*601 184 197 or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character. Thus, for example, "ytk, ymk" -- father, mother -- are completely identical in all dialects; "ruvn, tuvn" -- brother (eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "ruf" in the western dialect; "og:la, og:lang" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o:la" in the western dialect. In cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the previously mentioned "app" and "ivy," or to the formation of corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all dialects. Thus, for example, "shankh" -- woman in the eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "an kh" -- female, and "um-gu" -- woman in /136/ the western dialect has the same root as the common word "ym(k)" -- mother; in exactly the same way "ut-ku" -- man in the western dialect has the same root as "ytk" -- (father), and the corresponding az'mych in the eastern dialect is from azh -- male, etc.

[104] In the table of kinship nomenclature and the explanations for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and territories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' -- (T.D.), the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin --(E.D.), and of the western (W.D.). From here on in the text we shall always use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

*601 614 104 [611] Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic family is only a cell of the strictly organized, exogamous, agnatic clan. We also ask the reader to remember that at the mention of this or that term without any special indication of whether it is used by males or females we shall imply that these terms are used identically by both sexes; in other cases the sex of the speaker will be specifically indicated.

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614 602 Forms of kinship. According to the basic structure of Gilyak marriage law, relationship by marriage must coincide with kinship. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship, which may be called: agnate kinship and cognate kinship. The first embraces all persons bound together by a common origin from one forefather, that is, all individuals born or adopted into one or another clan. Upon marriage, women pass into the clan of their husbands. There are two kinds of cognate kinship: the first embraces that clan or those clans to which the women -- agnates of a given clan -- are given in marriage; the second embraces that clan or clans from which a given clan or its separate members have drawn their wives.

614 615 602 The persons bound together in agnate kinship are united under the common name "k:khal-n'ig:yvyn" or simply k:khal -- the people of the clan, clansmen (from k:khal -- clan, n'ig:yvyn -- person). With respect to the first group of cognates, i.e., to the members of the clan or clans which take or have taken their wives from the k:khal-n'ig:yvyn, these latter and their whole clan are united under the common designation of akhmalk (fathers-in-law) and, conversely, ymg:i (sons-in-law /zyat'ya, "sons-in-law" or "brothers-in-law" in Russian/). On the other hand, in relation to the second group of cognates, i.e., that clan or those clans from which they themselves take women, they are ymg:i (sons-in-law) and, conversely, akhmalk. Both cognate groups in relation to the first, and all three among themselves, bear /137/ the characteristic designation pandf (from pandynd -- to be born), that is, consanguineous, bound by a common origin (1) through women. Thus, relationship

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1. Schrenck (III, p. 23) quite erroneously asserts that kinsmen on the father's side, i.e., agnates, members of one and the same clan, call each other ngafk, and that kinsmen on the mother's side call each other amal'. In reality, both terms, on

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the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no conditions on the father's side. Kinsmen through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

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Thus, relationship by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come

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about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us proceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately. Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

[184]
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2. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

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614 all in the fact that it embraces persons of both sexes alike;
*601 it equally signifies brother and sister. Another peculiarity --
602 still more important -- consists in the fact that under tuvn are understood not only own brothers and sisters, i.e., the children of one father, but also the children of all brothers of the father, own and collateral of all degrees of kinship, i.e., male and female first cousins, second cousins, etc. in the male line. Thus, within the clan, all the male and female agnates of the same generation are brothers and sisters; male and female cousins in the male line and likewise a married woman and the wives of the brothers /138/ of her husband are tuvn
*601 in relation to each other. But a man, as we shall see, can
602 have tuvn outside his clan as well, namely, the children of those persons outside his clan whom he calls father and mother (see the class of fathers and mothers). Within this class there is one large and important subdivision that plays a leading role in both terminology and sexual norms, namely, the one for those persons who are older than the speaker or person referred to and persons younger than he, namely, "akand, aki" -- elder brother or sister (tuvn) and "as'khand, as'kh" -- younger brother or sister (tuvn). For the designation of the elder sister, in view of the peculiarity of her position in sexual rights, there is in addition the term "nanakhand, nanakh, nankh" -- identically used in reference to her by both men and women. Certain special terms for separate categories of this class, however, have been developed. Thus, there is a general term to designate the concept of "sister" in the class sense, namely, ranr: (same root as rankh -- sister). One meets (very rarely, however, and only in poetry) the term "kivung, kiun" -- brother (1). Descriptive forms are

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1. "Chikhys' kivung khendra" -- "I considered you a brother," says the heroine to her beloved in one song. "Kiun" could also be formed from the rare form akikhun.

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*601 likewise used to distinguish own from collateral tuvn, namely:
602 "os'kyr: tuvn" -- own brother or sister, "tukor: tuvn" -- male cousin, female cousin in the male line. But all these designations do not constitute links in the general kinship terminology and the norms of sexual intercourse bound up with it. If you ask any two agnates of one generation, no matter how distantly related, how they address each other, you receive the answer: either simply tuvn, or aki (elder tuvn), or as'kh, depending on the person answering.

Concerning the question of seniority between collateral brothers, this is defined, not by seniority in the ascending line, but by the actual seniority of the cousins themselves, while in doubtful cases the question is decided by the old men.

*601 Ascending line. Within this line there are only two gradations for each sex: 1) fathers and grandfathers, 2) mothers and grandmothers.

Grandfathers and grandmothers. The term "atk," more rarely "app, appyk," designates all the males in the ascending line of the father, i.e., not only grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc., but also their brothers, own and collateral i.e., their class of tuvn -- men. In precisely the same way the terms of the female category, achik, ytik, ychik, serve to designate the grandmothers, great-grandmothers, etc. and their sisters -- the wives of grandfathers and great-grandfathers and their "brothers" (tuvn). /139/ If a Gilyak in one instance or another has to designate a person of this category more precisely, he resorts, as we do, to a descriptive device; for instance, wishing to name the younger brother of his great-grandfather, he says: "n'i er: atk pilang" -- "the uncle (younger) of the grandfather of my father," etc., but such cases are rare, since such degrees of kinship play no role in marital questions.

The class of fathers and uncles in the father's line. It is necessary here to distinguish two forms, evidently reflecting two successive stages of marriage and sexual norms.

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*601 184 197 The Gilyak who speak the western dialect, i.e., the Gilyak of the continent and the western shore of Sakhalin, especially beginning from the settlement of Vaaz and to the north of it, use the same terms, "ytk" and so on (1), to

1. A full enumeration of the terms-synonyms is given below in the table.

designate, besides own father, all his male tuvn, i.e., his own and collateral brothers and, in addition, all the husbands of the sisters of his mother, while in certain places, specifically in the settlement of Tamlevo and to the north of it, together with "ytk" and its synonyms still another term is used to designate the brothers of the father -- "pilang," corresponding in meaning to the analogous Tungus a'ga -- elder. Another group speaking the eastern dialect draws a distinction between "brothers" (tuvn) younger than the father, and "brothers" (tuvn) older than the father. It is for the first that it uses without distinction the terms ytk -- father and pilang -- elder, while for the second it uses the term atk, i.e., the same as the designation for grandfather. In colloquial language, and especially in texts, this group also uses without distinction the term "father" (ytk and its synonyms) both for own father and for all his "brothers" (tuvn). This is reflected with special vividness in the customary use of the term "father" in the plural: for example, n'ytkhun -- plural of ytk, father -- literally -- "my fathers," signifies "father" and his "brothers" (tuvn), without distinguishing ages. From this one may conclude that the first form of a single term for the designation of the father and his "brothers" is more ancient and was at one time dominant, but was squeezed out under the influence of changes in the sexual norms.

The class of mothers. While in the terminology of the foregoing class there are differences between the eastern and western Gilyak, both groups are completely in accord with respect to the class of mothers. Every Gilyak, man and woman,

*60 [184] /139 cont./ Every Gilyak, man and woman, uses one and the same term for "mother" (ymk and synonyms), not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" /140/ (female tuvn) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

[177] [563] 1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the census in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan: all the "sisters" of persons of the akhmalk class (concerning this, see below).

[197] [184] [614] The class of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in use for wife in both dialects is an'kh, an'g:ej. Within the clan the Gilyak gives this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvn), to the wives of all his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the class of younger "brothers" (as'kh) the Gilyak gives the name of jokho, jokh /see yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or mother-in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law /nevestka, "daughter-in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant [171] number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother yvy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvn class, no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvn), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

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*601 the other nankh and as'kh -- older "sister," and, conversely, -- younger "sister."

The class of husbands. The class of husbands corresponds to the terminology of the foregoing class -- "wives." Within the [614] clan of her husband the woman gives the name of "husband" (pu, ivn, o'kono, etc.), not only to her official husband, but also to the representatives of the class of his "brothers" (tuvn), *601 184 197 with, however, the following variations. The eastern Gilyak and a part of the western Gilyak differentiate between the younger "brothers" (tuvn) of the husband and the elder ones; a woman calls the former pu, ivn, o'kono, i.e., as her own formal husbands, and she calls the latter atk. The Gilyak of northern Sakhalin and the shoreline of the continent do not differentiate between the younger and older brothers of the husband, calling them alike pu, o'kono. Only the Amur Gilyak have a special uniform designation for all the brothers of the husband -- n'orej (= n'i -- my + orej -- husband), a term which sounds like the Goldi kinship term oro.

*601 614 The class of the descending line. The class of the descending line within the clan, the class og:lang, og:la, is completely defined by the foregoing terms of the class of fathers and mothers. Within his clan every man gives the name of og:la, not only to his own children born of his official wives, but also to all the children of his "brothers" (tuvn), just as /141/ a woman gives the name og:la not only to her own children, but to the children of all the "brothers" of her husband without distinction; but the term og:la is applied not only to the first generation of individuals, but also to all the generations in the descending line, not only one's own, but also those of the whole class of tuvn. Thus, the Gilyak gives the one and the same term og:la not only to his own children and agnate nephews, but to all of their descendants, i.e., grandsons, great-grandsons, etc. Here we see the same phenomenon that we find in the terminology of the ascending line, where the one term "atk" defines all the generations above father and mother.

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*601 In addition to the stated normative cases, the term og:la is frequently applied outside of the rule as a term of endearment to other categories. Thus, a woman frequently applies this term to the son of the sister of her husband, while a man applies it to the son of the brother of his wife, although normally completely different designations are established for these persons.

We shall note two more special forms of designation in this class: one is a descriptive designation of a "kinsman" of the descending line -- os'kyr: og:la -- and one designates primogeniture, ykych, but neither of these terms play any role in either the general system of terminology or the sexual norms.

*601 602 614 Cognate kinship. Now we shall proceed to the kinship terms for persons outside the clan, to cognate kinship, which is the key of this system. We have already said that in the Gilyak kinship system relationship by marriage and blood (cognate) kinship are identical, that a special kinship through relationship by marriage is not known to the Gilyak classificatory system. For a better understanding of this strange fact, we begin our survey of kinship outside of the clan with kinship through the mother, that is, with kinship with members of the clan and the whole clan from which the mother of a person came.

First of all, it is noteworthy that all the sisters (tuvn) of my mother, not only own, but also of the class of "mothers," are the "wives" (an'g:ej) of my father and of his class of tuvn. Corresponding to this, all the "sisters" (tuvn) of my mother and of my class of "mothers" are also my "mothers" (ymk), while I and my "brothers and sisters" (tuvn) are their "children" (og:la). On the other hand, my relations to the brother of my mother and his tuvn are even more important. Just as my father calls all the "sisters" of my mother his "wives" (an'g:ej), so I (if "I am a man) from birth call all the daughters of the brother of my mother and their "sisters" (tuvn) -- an'g:ej -- my "wives," and, conversely, they call me their husband (pu); their children call me "father" (ytk), my official wife --

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*601 mother (ymk), while /142/ we call them our "children"
602 (og:la). As for the remaining clansmen and kinsmen of the
614 brother of my mother, the following terminology has been established. If "I" am a man, I and all my "brothers" -- tuvn and my descending line call the brother of my mother and all his male clansmen -- atk, akhmalk (uncle, father-in-law /wife's father/); the wife of the brother of my mother, her "sisters," and the wives of the tuvn of the brother of my mother, as well as the wives of the ascending line of the brother of my mother achk, ytik -- aunt, mother-in-law /wife's mother/, grandmother; the sons of the brother of my mother and his tuvn -- akhmalk, navkh; conversely, all these persons call me -- ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) navkh; my wives, as well as the wives of my clansmen, these persons, according to generation, call either "sisters" (tuvn) or "daughters" (og:la), but our sisters and daughters -- by the one term "niece," n'ern, and, finally, all my clansmen call all the male clansmen of the brother of my mother akhmalk (father-in-law /wife's father/), and, conversely, -- ymg:i -- son-in law -- a survival from the time when there was exchange marriage. This last term is very characteristic; it is from the same root as umgu -- woman, oma -- mother, and testifies to the fact that the term son-in-law /zyat'/ is associated with the idea of cognate kinship, with kinship through the mother.

But especially noteworthy is the fact that the kinship terminology established between me and the generation of the brother of my mother is not limited to the individuals of our common generation, but is correspondingly repeated as well between the persons of all our ascending and descending lines, so that if I, a man, call the daughter of the brother of my mother my an'g:ej, so does my father in turn call his sister, i.e., the daughter of the father of my mother's brother, "wife" -- an'g:ej. In the same way, my son calls the daughter of the son of my mother's brother his "wife," etc., in a word, it is as though every wife of a clansman were actually the daughter of the sister of his father /sic./

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*601 Thus, kinship through the mother establishes, not partial
602 kinship of the family of her husband with her own family, but
614 an indivisible kinship between both clans, extending to each member of each of them. If my clan is A, and the clan of the brother of my mother is B, the latter, as a whole, will be called the akhmalk of A, while A, in its turn, is the ymg:i of B. And, what is especially noteworthy, this relationship remains permanently between both clans. Clan B can no longer under any circumstances be converted into the ymg:i of A. This is evident from the reciprocal terminology of the clans. The designation "akhmalk" of clan B originated, as we have seen, from the fact that members of clan A have whole classes of "wives" (an'g:ej) in this clan; conversely, among the women of clan A the males of clan B only have either sisters (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or /143/ "nieces" (n'ern), but not "wives" (an'g:ej), and for this reason, clan B cannot become A's akhmalk.

The terminology for kinship through the mother defines another form of cognate kinship -- kinship through the sister of the father. As long as she remains in my clan, I call her by the agnate term nankh (elder sister, aunt), and she calls me as'kh (younger brother), but upon marriage she and the clan of her husband stand in the same relation to me and my clan as I and my clan stand in relation to the clan of the brother of my mother, i.e., the husband of the sister of my father and his "brothers" (tuvn) call all the sisters of my father "wives" (an'g:ej), and, conversely, they are called "husbands" (pu); my daughters and those of my tuvn are the an'g:ej of the sons of the sister of my father and their tuvn and are the jokh (daughters-in-law) of all the ascending line of the husband of the sister of my father; the men of my clan, according to the class of the ascending line, are either the atk, akhmalk, or the akhmalk, navkh of the clansmen of the husband of my father's sister, while they are our ymg:i, navkh, and the women of that clan are either our agnates -- "aunts" (nankh), "sisters" (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or "nieces" (n'ern); in a word, my clan is the akhmalk clan, while the clan of the sister of my father is the ymg:i clan to us.

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*601 602 614 The terminology of this group is the central point of the whole kinship terminology, for it is according to its pattern, i.e., the pattern of the kinship relations between a man and the brother of his mother, that the entire kinship nomenclature of the marriage relationship in general is constructed. Whomever the Gilyak marries, between him and his clan on the one hand, and his wife and her clan on the other, the kinship terminology established is the same as if his wife were really the daughter of the brother of his mother. Conversely, whomever a Gilyak may give his sister to in marriage, the entire kinship terminology established between the clans is the same as if the brother-in-law /zyat'/ were truly the son of the sister of his father. This is why Gilyak terminology does not recognize kinship through relationship by marriage, for the father-in-law /wife's father/ in any case is the same as the son of the brother of the grandmother, a man's brother-in-law /zyat'/ is the son of the sister of his father, the father of the brother-in-law /zyat'/ is the son of the sister of the grandfather, and so forth. And, consequently, all members of both clans are blood kinsmen.

Thus, keeping in mind the kinship nomenclature of the group of the brother of the mother and the sister of the father, we have a ready scheme for any marriage combination between a husband and the clan of his wife, between a wife and the clan of her husband, between a man and the clan of his married sister, etc. According to this scheme, the relationship of a man toward the clan of his wife, whoever she may be de facto in origin, must, as a general rule, be the following: my father-in-law and /144/ his ascending line, as well as the corresponding classes of their tuvn, are related to me as atk and akhmalk, their wives -- achk, their descending line of the male sex -- akhmalk and navkh; I am their ymg:i, navkh. The sisters of my akhmalk'i are my mothers (ymk), their husbands -- my "fathers" (ytk), I am the son (og:la) of both; similarly the "sisters" (tuvn) of my wife are the "wives" (an'g:ej) of myself and my "brothers" (tuvn), their husbands are my "brothers" (tuvn). Their children call each of us "father" (ytk)

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*601 and "mother" (ymk), and call each other "brothers" (tuvn).
602 On the other hand, my sisters and daughters are simply nieces
614 to the men of the clan of my father-in-law, and therefore no one from the clan of my father-in-law can become an ymg:i of my clan.

[178] At the present time in certain instances breaches have begun to appear in this well-shaped, though strange system of relationships between the son-in-law /zyat'/ and the clan of the father-in-law, specifically, when some clansman takes a wife who is not from the clan of his mother or is not even from the customary akhmalk clan; in the case of certain clans the terminology loses force in the third generation, but this is a deviation of the newest order.

*601 Now, before we finish with this system, we must underline
614 two more important peculiarities still further complicating this already complicated system. We have seen that the relationship between the akhmalk and ymg:i clans remains constant, so that the members of the first clan -- let us call it A (if A is the akhmalk of B, then B is the akhmalk of a third clan, C, and gives its daughters to the third clan) -- must, in turn, have their own akhmalk clan or even clans (let us call it C), while the second clan (let us call it B) must have its own ymg:i clan or even clans (D). Thus, the following kinship terminology is established between these four clans: Clan A gets new ymg:i clans (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/) in the person of the D clans, while clan B gets new akhmalk clans in the person of the C clans. These secondary clans, in distinction from the first, are called tujma (distant); for example, tujma akhmalk -- distant father-in-law, tujma ymg:i -- distant son-in-law /zyat'/.

Finally, in view of the fact that at the present time it is not prohibited for various persons of one clan to take wives from various clans, each such marriage establishes in relation to each new clan a whole complex fabric of akhmalk-ymg:i terminology, i.e., each clan as a whole can be the akhmalk and ymg:i of a whole series of clans.

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*601 602 In conclusion -- the most noteworthy peculiarity of cognate kinship. In the akhmalk clans a man has not only cognates -- uncles, aunts, nieces, but also agnates, "sisters of fathers-in-law," whom /145/ he calls "mothers" (ymk), their children -- "brothers" (tuvn), the husbands of the sisters of his wives -- "brothers" (tuvn), their children -- og:la, while they call him ytk, and so forth.

Thus, by this terminology a man can have male and female agnates outside his own clan. We shall see during our examination of the sexual norms how this strange anomaly may arise.

Now let us look at several separate forms and peculiarities of the kinship terminology.

*601 193 The term pilang. In conversational speech, as well as in texts, the adjective pilang is quite often used with this or that kinship term. Among other peoples, the addition of this adjective signifies a raising of the degree of kinship one step higher along the ascending line (for example, father and grandfather in English). Among the Gilyak, it evidently has only one meaning -- namely, to indicate the mature age of a given person. The fact is that in the Gilyak language, owing to the classificatory system, even such terms as father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother, which in our languages sufficiently define the age of the person in relation to the speaker, have no relation whatever to age: not only a "father" and "mother," but even a "grandfather" and "grandmother" may be younger than their "son" or "grandson," and a "son" may be older than his "father" or "grandfather." Therefore, when they wish to indicate that they are referring to adult members of one or another class, or to a person older in years than the speaker, they add the adjective big, adult: n'vilan n'atk; n'vila n'ymka; n'bila nanko; pila n'ig:yvyn, etc. -- my adult elder "grandfather," "uncle," "father-in-law"; my elder "mother"; my adult "elder sister" or aunt, sister of my father; elderly man.

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*601 [177] Only in one case does pilang, in the form pila n'ig:yvyn or pilang, appear as a kinship term -- namely, in the meaning of younger brother of the father; the synonym ytk -- father -- is a term that has evidently been made up under the influence of the Tungus term a'ga.

*601 193 Plural kinship terms. Due to the classificatory system there has developed the custom of using the plural for such terms as father, mother, wife in reference to a single individual, for example, "n'i ytkuntokh vind" -- "I am going to my fathers" (i.e., to the village where the class of the speaker's fathers lives, even though his own father may no longer be alive); "pytkun lo pymkkhun lo aryr:" -- "I fed my fathers and mothers."

/146/ Owing to the frequent use of such terms in the plural, a rather curious phenomenon has resulted. In the first place, they have also begun to use the plural a great deal in those cases where by the sense the reference is to only one person, for example: instead of "cher: shaktokh vind?" -- "where did thy father go?" they often say, "cher:kyn shaktokh vind?" -- "where did thy fathers go?" Another example: "aka, pytkhun kherja!" -- "O, elder brother, notify our fathers (1)!" I shall introduce one more characteristic example

[113] 1. L. Shternberg, Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, I, p. 13, line 173. Petersburg, 1908. Published by the Academy of Sciences.

[538] from one of the texts taken down by me (2). The hero of a

2. Ibid., p. 85, lines 108-109; p. 86, lines 120-122.

/146 cont./

*601 193 538 story says to his wife: "Wife, I am going to look for my fathers and my mothers." When he found them, it was this way: his mother was sitting on the left-side plank-bed, his father was sitting behind his mother, his uncle (i.e., father's brother) was sitting on the right plank-bed, and a young woman was also sitting there (probably the "sister" of his mother).

*601 193 171 It is curious that on the ancient Turkic monuments, namely, in the inscriptions of Koshko-Zaidam, V.V.Radlov likewise found a trace of a similar plural terminology, although in recent times traces of classificatory kinship, except for the term "older brother," have disappeared there entirely. On account of this, when he met in the text the expressions "my mother," "sultana," and "of the mother," he translated the last as stepmother. Having familiarized himself with the classificatory system among the Gilyak, he was inclined to interpret the expression "of the mother" as "of the mothers," a class as distinct from own mother.

*601 193 On the other hand, the plural sometimes denotes the collective noun for the kinsmen of the related classes, for example: "cher:kyn" (literally, "thy fathers") is used in the meaning of father and mother, father and clansmen; "n'eorankkhun" (literally, "my wives") -- in the sense of the beloved and her girl-friends; "ymg:i kun" (literally, "sons-in-law /zyat'ya/) -- the son-in-law together with his wives.

[171] It is curious that in Yukagir we evidently meet the same phenomenon. I judge this by one case introduced by Iokhel'son, where a man says "my fathers" instead of "my father"; although Iokhel'son admits that the plural could be used out of respect for one's father, nevertheless, as is evident from the context -- "a friend to my fathers will wander" -- the father is being talked about here in his absence, and consequently there is no need for rendering any particular respect.

*601 602 /147/ The terms of kinship in a figurative sense. It is curious how the kinship terms are reflected in the terms used between persons who are not married to each other -- sweethearts. It seems that terms are often transferred into this area from the [197] [184] matrimonial terminology. Thus a woman calls her sweetheart o'kono (husband, in the western dialect), az'mych (man, husband, in the eastern dialect), ivn (groom), navkh (from the terminology of the group of father-in-law and son-in-law [837] /zyat'/). It is very interesting that the unrelated wives of "brothers," and, jokingly, men who have an extramarital relationship with the same women, sometimes call each other by this last term, as well as by the term akhmalk, while the terms navkh and akhmalk in practical life have taken on the meaning of "comrade" or "participant in a common affair." Thus, the term "navkh" by its meaning in these cases entirely corresponds with the famous Hawaiian term punalua in the family group which takes its name from this term.

*601 As a result of our survey of the kinship termonology, we find among the Gilyak a typical classificatory system of kinship.

Summing up the terms for agnate and cognate kinship, we get the following scheme. (See following page.)

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I. Tuvn = ruvn (E.D.).
ruf (W.D.).
In poetry (rarely): kivung.

I. Brothers and sisters (Ger. Geschwister /siblings/): consanguineous and uterine children of own and collateral brothers of all degrees of kinship; the children of own and collateral sisters of all degrees of kinship.

Separately:
a) akand, aki -- as'khand, as'kh (E.D.) (1).
ykind, yki -- as'kh (W.D.

a) Elder brother (tuvn), elder sister (tuvn); younger brother and younger sister (tuvn); wife of the younger tuvn (if "I" am a woman).

1. In personal address these terms take the vocative form, for example: instead of akand -- aka; instead of as'kh -- as'kha.

Seniority in the collateral lines is not determined by the seniority of the fathers, but by the age of the corresponding persons.

b) nanakhand, nankh (E.D.).
nynkh (W.D.)

b) 1. Elder sister (tuvn).
2. Wife of the elder tuvn (if "I" am a woman).

c) ranr: (W.D.)

c) Sister in general (own and collateral); tuvn of the female sex.

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d) nanakhand, nankh (E.D.).
nynkh (W.D.)

d) Elder sister; sister of the father; sister of the tuvn of the father; mother-in-law /husband's mother/; sister of the mother, if she is married to a non-clansman (in certain places, settlement of Viakhtu), in general in such cases she is ymk.

II. Ymk,
Rarely: oma (northern Sakhalin).

II. Own mother and stepmother; wives of all the tuvn of the father; the sisters of the wives of the brothers (tuvn) of the father; the sisters (tuvn) of the mother; the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn.

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III. Ytk, yt.
Other forms: er:

III. Father; stepfather; the tuvn of the father (1); husband of the "sister" of the mother; the brother (tuvn) of the husband of the mother's sister; the husbands of the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn; the brothers of the husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law.

1. Among the Gilyak of the continent and the northwestern shore of Sakhalin, especially

1: Shternberg--222 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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(footnote cont'd)
beginning with Tamlevo; to the south, only in the settlement of Yamy. Among the latter, pilang, n'vil-nivukh, corresponding to the Tungus a'ga, are also used for the younger tuvn of the father, in addition to the term ytk.

a) Ytk or pilang, pila n'ig:yvyn (more frequently the latter).

a) In all cases of III, when the reference is to the younger tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak with predominantly the eastern dialect.

IV. Atk, app, appyk, apo, edr:, etk.

IV. The elder tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect); grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. through the mother and the father; the tuvn of grandfathers, of great-grandfathers, etc. (from the maternal and paternal side); fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. of the husbands of the sister of the mother; fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers (and their tuvn) of the

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husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law /wife's father/; the elder brother of the husband (among the eastern Gilyak).

V. Achik, acik, achk (E.D.); asi (Okhotsk shore); ychik, ytik (W.D.).

V. The wives of the brothers of the mother and their tuvn; the wives of fathers, grandfathers, etc. of the brother of the mother; the wives of the sons of the brothers of the mother; mother, grandmother, etc. of the wife; mother, grandmother, etc. of the sister of the wife and her tuvn in general; grandmother, great-grandmother (on the maternal and paternal side).

VI. Og:lang, og:la, eg:lang, o:la.

VI. Son or daughter -- children; the children of all the brothers -- tuvn (if "I" am a man); the children of the sisters (if "I" am a woman); the children of sisters (tuvn) of the wife; the children of the sisters of the wife of the brother; the children of daughters of the brothers of the mother and their tuvn.

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VII. An'g:ej, an'kh (to the north of the Amur), an'kh n'um-gu (Amur).
Other designations: shank, shankh, ran'kh.

VII. Wife; sister of the wife; wife of the elder tuvn; wife of the son of the sister (tuvn) of the mother; daughter of the brother of the mother and all her tuvn; in certain places on the Amur they also call the wife of the elder tuvn, ivy.

VIII. Jokh, jokho.

VIII. Daughter-in-law /nevestka/; wife of the younger brother (tuvn).

IX. Pu, ivn (E.D.).
Pu, if, o'kono (W.D.).
Other designations: ychikh, a'zmych, utgu.

IX. If "I" am a woman: husband; son of the sister of the father; tuvn of the son of the sister of the father; husband of the sister; elder tuvn of the husband.

Deviations: 1. On the continent to the north of the Amur, they call all the tuvn of the husband alike, pu, ivn.

2. Likewise on the western shore of Sakhalin in the settlement of Tamlevo and farther north, all tuvn of the husband -- o'kono, also jori; on the Amur -- o'kono, n'orej. Conversely, among the eastern Gilyak they always call the younger brother of the husband, as distinct from the elder, atk, edr:, even er: (see group IV).

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X. Atk, atyk, akhmalk.
Synonyms: app, appyk, aryr, arir:, ychkh, arychkh, edr:, eryr: (E.D.).
Appak, appyk, app, appo, amal (W.D.).

X. Brother of the mother; tuvn of the brother of the mother; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the brother of the mother and their tuvn; father of the wife, father of the sister (tuvn) of the wife; tuvn of the father of the wife; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the father of the wife and their tuvn; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the sister (tuvn) of the wife.

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XI. navkh, akhmalk (more frequently navkh).

XI. Brother of the wife and his tuvn; the children of the brother of the wife and their tuvn.

XII. Ymg:i, emg:i, navkh (E.D.).
Synonyms (rare): ashkh, poshkhr: (W.D.).
Rak n'ivukh, rag-n'ivuk, ora (the last on the Amur in the neighborhood of the Olcha). As an exception -- o'kon.

XII. If "I" am a man and my wives: -- the son of my sister and of all my female tuvn; son of the sisters of my father and of his tuvn; son of the sisters of grandfathers, etc. and of their tuvn; son-in-law -- husband of my daughter and of her tuvn; the husband of any woman of my clan, of any female agnate; any man of that clan whose members (even if only one) took wives from the clan of the speaker.

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The term o'kon, standing completely isolated, is marked by the fact that it is from the same root as jokh -- daughter-in-law /nevestka/ (daughter-in-law, wife of the younger brother), i.e., a term of forbidden character. Concerning the term navkh, it must be said that it is used most frequently in reference to the husband of the sister and their children of the male sex.

XIII. N'em.

XIII. If "I" am a man; daughter of the sister (tuvn); the sister of the husband of the daughter and her daughters, and in general of all the women born in the clan whose members ever took wives from the clan of the speaker.

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III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of Sexual Intercourse and Marriage

83 [121] Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kinship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyak, at least at the present time, we cannot speak of any kind of general prohibitions against extramarital sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is a completely nonchalant and natural act, like any other natural act, satisfying a certain natural need of man. Prohibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound by agnate or cognate kinship. Outside of these circles there is no regulation or censure of sexual behavior, either on the part of public opinion or on the part of religion. Outside of the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party concerned. Young men of a given clan, having rights to the women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggrieved at an alien usurper and soundly teach the stranger not to sneak into a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very rarely. It is a much more serious affair if a married woman is
684 [178] involved. A stranger caught in flagrante delicto with a married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of penal repression has begun to restrain some from impulsive slayings, which are beginning to be replaced by duels and
684 562 [581] ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They beat her thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her: in the first place, because, as we shall see further on, a woman is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the second place, because she is an article of value, having cost her husband dearly, and furthermore she is a necessary worker.
684 In any case, the matter is not settled without repression, bloody

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684 for the man, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all
836 this concerns only cases involving a married woman. Sexual
[583] relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with the permission of the woman, do not provoke any reaction, even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwithstanding their extreme interest in the bride price which is received when a woman gets married; I, at least, did not happen
[684] to hear of repressions in such cases. A reaction on the part of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in a case of coercion; then there is the possibility of duels and suits for ransom. Also,
582 at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying a person of this category, i.e., persons not bound by kinship.
835 It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the classificatory terms of kinship. Here there appears on the scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions. Here, against the violators of the prohibitions, there appears on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical imperative of religion, under the influence of which there have developed suitable instincts which have turned artificially created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell on this aspect of Gilyak psychics in more detail later, when we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the established class terminology, are mutually reckoned in the classes "pu" and "an'g:ej," that is, /151/ who from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining classes are placed under unconditional prohibition.

835 What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the
614 extensive class of k:khal, i.e., the persons born into one common agnatic clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are no classes that call each other "pu" and "an'g:ej"; neither marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

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835 614 114 And therefore we must come out in the most categorical manner against the assertion of Schrenck that the Gilyak clan is endogamous. "Affiliation to the clan," says Schrenck, "does not play any role whatever in the most important phenomenon of their life, namely, in marriage... the Gilyak freely permit marriages between Gilyak of one and the same kal'a (clan)" (1). Elsewhere he states even more definitely:

1. Schrenck, II, pp. 23, 24.

"only own brothers and sisters and the children of two own brothers cannot marry" (2). This absolutely false assertion

2. Ibid., p. 6.

would be completely incomprehensible coming from an investigator who had spent about two years in contact with the Gilyak, if it were not for the fact that Schrenck did not command the Gilyak language and had to make himself understood through a guide. On the basis of many years of association with the Gilyak, in their own language, and of an especially thorough study of marriage law, I can categorically refute this absolutely groundless and antiscientific assertion of Schrenck's; both marriage and sexual relations between persons born in one clan are absolutely forbidden.

835 We turn now to the particular classes, within as well as outside of the clan, which are excluded from the right of sexual relations and marriage.

Class of the ascending and descending lines. Classes whose members call each other atk, achik, ytk, ymk, nankh, and, conversely, og:la, i.e., the classes of grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, agnates and cognates, uncles and aunts -- on one hand, on the other -- their descendants. Thus, intercourse between ascending and descending lines is excluded not only in the direct, but also in the most distant collateral lines as well: sexual intercourse

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835 is not permitted either between uncles and nieces or between aunts and nephews (and correspondingly in the classes of their tuvn, both in the agnate and cognate line). But the prohibition in these lines is not limited only to persons of different sexes within these groups; it extends also to the persons who are married /152/ to these individuals, and not only to those actually married to them, but in general to all those who reckon themselves the pu or an'g:ej of one of these persons according to the kinship nomenclature. Thus, for example, if "I" am a man -- my uncle on my father's side (ytk, pilang) not only cannot have sexual intercourse with my wife, but not even with the most distant sister of my wife, even if she is married to a man of an alien clan, because I call her an'g:ej -- wife, just as I am forbidden to have sexual intercourse not only with the wife of my uncle on my father's side, but also with the sister of his wife on the father's side, even if she is married to a man of an alien clan, because she is ymk -- mother to me.

But the prohibitions in these groups go still further. From the kinship terminology we know that in the ascending line of a man are reckoned, in addition to the aforementioned categories, the sisters of the father of the wife and their husbands (they are my "mothers" and "fathers"), the father of my wife himself and his wife, and their brothers and sisters (tuvn) and all their ascending line (they are my "uncles" and "aunts"). All these persons are likewise prohibited, according to their sex, to their "son-in-law" /zyat'/ and his "wife" and to the classes of their brothers and sisters (tuvn), as are actual grandfathers and fathers, grandmothers and mothers, and uncles and aunts to their direct or collateral descendants.

But one must not think that the above-mentioned prohibitions between ascending and descending individuals constitute prohibitions between factually different generations. Not at all. The distinction in generations is purely a nominal one; under the classificatory system, when the same terms, ytk, ymk, atk -- father, mother, grandfather, are equally

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835 applied both to individuals of an actually ascending generation (to own father, mother) and to their brothers and sisters, the significance not only of generations, but of ages completely disappears. The brother or sister of the father may be younger than the speaker, although they consider themselves mother and father in relation to the latter, and nevertheless the prohibitions are equally effective by virtue of the kinship classification alone.

Class of tuvn. It consists of two groups -- of 1) the group of the descendants of agnate brothers and male cousins, and 2) the group of the descendants of agnate sisters and female cousins.

Within each separate group in all generations, neither sexual intercourse nor marriage are permissible, which is in complete accord with the kinship nomenclature, since in neither of these groups are there individuals designating each other as pu and an/g:ej; they are all tuvn.

I noted only one deviation with respect to the descendants of sisters, /153/ and that only among certain clans, namely, if sisters are married to individuals alien to each other, the prohibitions are in effect only in the first two generations. But this is a purely local deviation, induced by the extreme inconvenience of the prohibition under conditions of an extreme lack of women. In general the prohibition is strictly observed both among the descendants of brothers and among the descendants of sisters. This prohibition, which is reinforced by a taboo and which seems to us unnatural, has become among the Gilyak an instinctive feeling -- namely, one of prohibition against mutually looking at each other and of conversing (see below). To what degree the prohibitions [825] within this group have gone into flesh and blood, even in the most remote degrees of kinship, even in relation to persons whom they call "tylgund-tuvn" (agnate male cousin), transformed by tradition in their thinking into natural phenomena of nature, we may see by their attitude toward the infraction of this prohibition among their sole domestic animal -- the

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835 dog. Among dogs, according to the belief of the Gilyak,
825 brother and sister do not copulate. Exceptions are very rare, and they are attributed to the evil doing of a milk'a (evil spirit). Therefore, when a Gilyak notes such a case of incest, he is obliged to kill the dog; otherwise the sin falls on him.
[782] It is true that the slaying takes place as a religious ritual, by means of a ceremony of strangling, and blood is sprinkled to all four quarters of the compass in sacrifice, but for the dogs this is a punishment for incest. It is curious, however, that incest between ascending and descending lines (son and mother, and so forth) among dogs is tolerated by the Gilyak, and they do not kill the criminals (is it not due to utilitarian considerations, since begetters are valued very highly by them?).

835 Cognate male and female cousins. Here, of course, only cognate male and female cousins, i.e., the children of a brother and sister, can be in question, inasmuch as the children of brothers, on the one hand, and the children of sisters, on the other, are considered tuvn, and we have already discussed the complete prohibition within each of these groups. From the kinship nomenclature we know that the terms used in reference to each other by cousins depend on whether the male or female cousin whom they are addressing or of whom they are speaking is the son or daughter of the brother of the mother, or of the sister of the father, namely: If "I" am a man, then I call the daughter of the brother of my mother an'g:ej (wife), and, conversely, she calls me pu (husband), but my sister calls the son of the brother of my mother akhmalk, navkh (father-in-law, husband of the wife's sister), and, conversely, he calls her n'ern -- wife's sister, i.e., terms which have nothing in common with matrimonial terms; and these terms correspond perfectly /154/ to reality. Sexual relations and marriage between the daughter of a sister and the son of her brother (and correspondingly between their tuvn) are not permitted; on the other hand, marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is not only permissible, but is considered a regular phenomenon. And in this case, as in all others, the terms brother and sister are

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835 class terms, i.e., the norms in force between the children of a brother and sister extend to the children of brothers and sisters in the most distant degrees of kinship and relationship by marriage. Thus, an exchange marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, as is practiced, for example, among the Tungus peoples, is not permitted; sons have rights to the daughters of the brother, but the sons of the brother are prohibited for the daughters of the sister, and this is true for all classes of tuvn. This norm, which seems of specialized im-
[614] portance and affects only brothers and sisters, plays an enormous role in the norms regulating the sexual relations between entire clans, as we shall see in the next section.

835 614 It is especially surprising that the aforementioned prohibitions which regulate the relations between the children of brother and sister are extended not only to the class of their children -- cousins, but also to both clans in their entirety. The rights and prohibitions which bind together the children of a brother and of his sister and their cousins extend to all the generations of both clans; namely, in each generation, as we have seen in the foregoing section, all the men of the class of tuvn in the clan of the sister and all the women -- tuvn in the clan of the brother call each other reciprocally from birth pu and an'g:ej, and they, in fact, have the right to sexual intercourse and marriage. But the men from the clan of the brother and the women from the clan of the sister are absolutely prohibited for each other in all generations and call each other nanakh (elder sister) if she is in an ascending generation, and n'ern if in the same generation , while the women call these men akhmalk. Thus, the women from the clan of the married sister are prohibited for the entire clan of her brother. It is still more surprising that these norms extend to the clans of the son-in-law /zyat'/ and father-in-law in general, even though the fathers of the spouses are completely alien; it is enough for one member from clan A, let us say, to marry a woman from clan B, even though this woman and the members of her clan are completely alien to

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clan A, and the relations established between these two clans are the same as if the father-in-law of the given man were the brother of his mother: the whole class of "sisters" (tuvn) in each generation of the clan of the father-in-law are the wives of the "brothers" (tuvn) of the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/, and, conversely, the wives of the latter are prohibited for the former.

/155/ The kinship nomenclature corresponds completely to these norms; atk, akhmalk -- designate the mother's brother and the father-in-law in general, ymg:i designates the son-in-law /zyat'/ in general and the sister's son or even any male of the sister's clan. This norm leads to very complicated consequences. It very often happens that separate members of one or another clan, A, we shall say, have taken wives from several different clans and in turn have given their women to several different clans, and at once in relation to all these clans those same prohibitions that we had in the first case when there were only two clans concerned, become valid for clan A, i.e., the women of clan A are forbidden to all the clans from which its members have taken their wives, and, conversely, the women of all clans whose members have taken wives from A are forbidden to clan A. This inconvenient regulation is aggravated still more by the following limitation. Clan B, let us suppose, from which my clan, A, takes women, in turn takes wives from clan C, and at once this clan C, having become the akhmalk of clan B becomes also the akhmalk of my clan, A, and therefore wives from my clan are forbidden not only to clan B, my immediate akhmalk, but also to clan C, which, as we have seen, is called, in contradistinction to the first, "tujma akhmalk" -- (distant father-in-law), and on the Amur -- tun/g:i akhmalk. But this phenomenon also has its converse side. If the quantity of prohibited clans for this or that clan increases proportionately as the number of clans which take women from it increases, nevertheless, on the other hand, as its members begin to take wives from various clans, the number of permitted

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835 614 women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-law, because in each of these clans there is a whole new [178] [161] class of wives -- an'g:ej. Nevertheless, the extension of prohibitions to clans of akhmalk'i of the most remote degree has naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely understandable constraints, leading to some limitations of the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the present time do not go back further than the clans of akhmalk of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the second generation, and, if an acquired woman dies childless, then even in the second generation the limitations fall away.

835 The class of jokh. Finally, one more class prohibited to men, called jokh, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we know that a man gives this name to two completely different classes of women, namely, on the one hand, to the class of wives of his og:la (descending line), and, on the other hand, to the class of wives /156/ of his as'kh, i.e., of his younger brothers (tuvn), and sisters of these wives. As concerns the first class, we have already noted its prohibited character in examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending generations and the wives of those of descending ones. The prohibited character of the second category is not so absolute. From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the wife of the elder tuvn various forms of designation are practiced [184] in various places. In several places on the Amur, on the coast of the mainland, and on the northwestern coast of Sakhalin (if "I" am a male) one and the same appellation (an'g:ej -- wife) is used for wives of the younger as well as of the older brother, and in such places sexual intercourse is permitted with all wives of brothers. But this arrangement is not the dominant one; the dominant arrangement must be considered that of designating the wife of the elder tuvn as an'g:ej, i.e., the same name that one gives to one's own wife,

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835 and of designating the wife of the younger tuvn by the prohibitory term jokh; and, correspondingly, sexual relations between a man and the wife of his younger brother are not permitted. Notwithstanding the dominance of this norm at the present time, originally both the terminology and the norms of intercourse were apparently identical with respect to all the wives of brothers without distinction. Evidence of this is not only the fact that in certain places, as we have seen, this arrangement still prevails, but also certain features of the terminology which have been retained even in those places where the new order is dominant. Thus, for example, children everywhere without distinction call the wives of all the brothers of their father ymk, i.e., by the same term that they apply to their own mother, and (in many places) all the brothers of the father ytk (father), from which we must conclude that formerly the sexual rights of men extended to the wives of all brothers without distinction.

The norms of lawful sexual intercourse. From the kinship nomenclature we know that whole groups of men call whole groups of women their wives, and vice versa, i.e., the latter call them their husbands. This strange nomenclature fully corresponds to actuality; in the language of our own European nomenclature, such groups of men and women are joined in marriage.

121 But before entering into a detailed examination of these
581 relationships, strange from a contemporary point of view, it is necessary, in order to avoid misunderstanding, to analyze precisely the meaning of the term "marriage."

In the institution of marriage there are three main features: 1) sexual intercourse, 2) begetting offspring, and 3) common /157/ domestic activity. It is completely clear that the intrinsically indispensable element in marriage is only the first, namely, sexual intercourse; the other two features, although they, too, play an enormous role in the marital union, may be completely absent. There are marriages which, on account of natural or artificial causes, are

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121 childless. Furthermore, there are marriages which do not
581 pursue domestic aims. By itself alone, however, sexual intercourse between certain individuals of different sex, even though it may be regular, still does not constitute a sign of marriage. In order that sexual intercourse be transformed into a marriage, it is necessary that this be sanctioned in one form or another by a given social environment, that it not provoke a social or religious reaction, in a word, that it be lawful.

121 The lawfulness of sexual intercourse, then, constitutes
171 the essential sign of marriage. On this point, the concept
581 of marriage is similar among the most diverse peoples in the most diverse stages of development. If there are variations, it is only in the forms in which sexual intercourse is realized in marriage. It is just these variations, often so contradictory to the notions of contemporary society, which most of all obscure the idea of marriage when one chances to encounter the forms of sexual intercourse among primitive peoples.

A true understanding of the institution of marriage among primitive peoples is obscured most of all by our habitual notion that marriage invariably presupposes joint cohabitation of the spouses and, consequently, the manifest and regular realization of conjugal rights.

Among many peoples, however, and not only primitive peoples, but even historical ones, this is not required at all. Among the Spartans, for example, the women lived apart from the men, and meetings between husband and wife took place under compulsory secrecy.

This is the case, even as a general rule, among many contemporary primitive peoples, among whom are found the so-called "unions of men." These latter, including also the married ones, spend all their time in a common house where women are not allowed, and the wives and children live in special little houses. On the Fiji Islands, married couples can spend the night together only in secret. We find similar phenomena even among peoples where male unions are unknown.

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For example, among the Ainu, when women get married, they often remain in their father's house, and the husband, who lives in another settlement, sometimes at a great distance from the settlement of his father-in-law, /158/ visits his wife only at a certain time of the year. Among the Kirgiz, until the final payment of the bride price, the husband, sometimes for years, visits his wife only at night, and then in secret from her parents. We do not find regularity even among polygamists of the Mussulman type. The Turk may have in his harem women with whom he does not have sexual intercourse for years, but they nevertheless are considered wives, joined with him in marriage. The condition of joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse is still less possible among peoples where, according to the socially established order, a whole group of men considers a whole group of women their wives, and, conversely, a man exercises his right only as far as possible.

Within the Australian Dieri tribe every "kumi" (a term corresponding to the Gilyak pu -- husband) finds his "kroki" (wife) throughout the whole extent of his territory, in whatever settlement he visits. A kumi may live out his whole life without seeing one or another of his innumerable kroki, but she is nevertheless his wife, for, if he visits her settlement, he can exercise his right without subjecting himself to social censure, punishment of the gods, or a reaction on the part of the individual husband of his kroki, as would a non-kumi who did this (1). The potentiality of lawful sexual intercourse

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, 1880, pp. 340 f.

takes various forms among different peoples, but the legal essence of the relations remains the same. In one place, persons bound by such a form of marriage are invested not only with rights, but also with obligations, in other words,

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581 121 171 one or another party has no right to refuse sexual relations with a person who is entitled to them. For example, among the Chukchee a woman may not refuse a man joined with her husband in the relationship of a "variable marriage."

Among others, full scope is given to individual sympathies, as, for example, among the aforementioned kumi and kroki, among the Tungus peoples, among the Gilyak, where the agreement of both parties is demanded for sexual intercourse, but once this agreement obtains, intercourse becomes lawful. In essence, what we have here is the same phenomenon as in pure polygamy. A husband may prefer one wife to another, even completely avoid a certain wife, but the marriage is present nevertheless. It is the same also in group marriage: in spite of the separation of the living places of the group spouses and the clear potentiality of conjugal rights, lawfulness of sexual intercourse within the group, and consequently also marriage, is present.

/159/ Of course, joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse are the most normal for marriage. We observe the tendency towards this, although in varying degrees, among the most diverse peoples. This tendency, however, must not be confused with the tendency toward individual possession. The instinct for sexual selection and individual sympathies indeed pushes even primitive man toward establishing more or less durable conjugal bonds. But pairing up presupposes neither obligatory individual possession nor, what is more, obligatory joint cohabitation. We have already offered the example of the Ainu, whose wife often remains living in her parents' home, sometimes several days' journey from her husband. Among the Ainu, however, marriage is purely individual. All the more natural is the absence of the aforementioned conditions among those peoples where group forms of marriage exist, for persons to whom the right of sexual relations is extended are many, and for this very reason joint cohabitation and, consequently, the regular exercise of the right of sexual intercourse between all the persons involved in the group marriage rarely take place.

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581 121 191 In reality, joint cohabitation and regular intercourse are connected, not with the sexual feature of the marital union, but with the economic aspect. Wherever economic conditions demand the joint collaboration of a whole group of persons and allow living together, group marriage there can turn into a regular, communal marriage. But such conditions are rarely found in primitive society. They are possible -- but even then not often -- in a narrow circle of brothers; in this case group marriage is really accompanied by the elements of joint cohabitation and the regular exercise of marital rights familiar to us. We meet examples of such a clan among the Gilyak, among several Tungus tribes, in Tibet, in India, and in other places. But types of this kind of cohabitation are also rare.

433 121 191 In spite of the old opinion, which was accustomed to depicting the life of primitive people in communistic colors, in reality the economy of primitive man, at least the methods of obtaining the means of subsistence, is at the present time mainly individual, and the forms of general collaboration that crop up only at certain times disappear as quickly as they arose with the passing of the necessity for them. We may see a typical specimen of individual economy among the wandering Tungus reindeer-breeders, who /160/ assemble once or twice a year for only a short time and then in small related groups. In normal times they live apart, widely separated from one another, each one selecting for himself his own territory for pasture and hunting.

581 121 [433] Among peoples who are not herdsmen, who live closer together, the forms of economy are all more or less individual. Under such circumstances it is quite natural that every man, conducting his own particular economy, should strive to have with him a woman who, in conformity with the natural division of labor between the sexes, might perform with him his economic duties. Thus, joint and regular cohabitation between a man and one or several women arises by itself. In societies where group norms of sexual intercourse exist, such individual alliances change nothing. An

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581 121 individual wife always lives in one house with her husband, works with him, raises children with him, and is obliged to follow him wherever he wishes, but at the same time she has the right to share her caresses with impunity also with a whole group of individuals to whom this is allowed by established rights. Life has sanctioned such individual alliances, the more so as economic interests here coincide with the other mighty motive of sexual selection, the individual inclination of representatives of the different sexes. For this very reason, along with irregular marital relations, individual unions appear, also sanctioned by society. An arrangement appears whereby a separate member of society may at the same time be joined in an individual marriage and in a group marriage. Persons who are joined in an individual marriage are bound not only by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation, but also by a common economy and common offspring. At the same time, however, to each of them is given the lawful opportunity to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place irregularly, often demands conditions of secrecy, and usually presupposes the consent of both parties to each act of intercourse, nevertheless it is just because this is socially recognized, lawful, that it does not provoke any reaction, either social or religious, and because it manifests itself legally -- for marriage is a term of law -- we ought to define such relations as marital relations. This is not only theoretically true; it coincides also with the juridical views of those peoples among whom these institutions exist. /161/ First of all, [601] the very kinship nomenclature itself, according to which individual and group spouses are not distinguished by appellation, is evidence of this. Further, these relations usually impose on the participants in a group marriage the same ob- [587] ligations as are imposed on individual husbands. Thus, for example, when an individual husband dies, one of the members of the group marriage must replace the husband of the widow, even though she may no longer be capable of sexual

581 /161 cont./
587 intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually
121 are also considered the children of all the members of the group.

Now the Gilyak marriage classes "pu" and "an'g:ej" be-
835 come understandable to us, and we shall proceed to a detailed examination of them.

The classes "pu" and "ang:ej." We have already said that for the Gilyak, at least at the present time, it is not prohibited either by religion or by the opinion of society to have sexual relations with or to marry any woman of his own tribe or a neighboring one, except for those women who are bound to him by one or another prohibitive term of kinship. But in relation to such alien women he has no rights whatever; illicit sexual intercourse is accompanied by the risk of bloody reaction on the part of a certain group of males, and individual marriage is a simple civil agreement accompanied by strict conditions of payment for the bride. The Gilyak most naturally therefore seeks sexual intercourse or a legal wife among the women with whom he has the right to do so. These are, namely, those women whom by the kinship
[601] nomenclature, either from birth or from another specifically defined moment, he calls an'g:ej (wife), and he calls all
[602] their agnates akhmalk'i (fathers-in-law). We already know who these women are. They are, first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all aki, i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking, without distinctions of age (in certain places).

[601] Each woman, in turn, as we know, gives the name of husband, in addition to her own official husband, to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands; 3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband (if she is married to one of them), and among some -- all the brothers of her husband.

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835 [601] All these categories of "wives" and "husbands" are far from nominal /162/ categories. Behind these class terms (pu and an'g:ej) there are hidden two important real rights: 1) the right to individual marriage; 2) the right to sexual intercourse (group marriage).

Let us examine each of these rights in particular. The right to individual marriage. Above all, the categories pu and an'g:ej are bound by the right to marry, in other words, out of the whole circle of persons bound together by kinship terms, only these alone have the right to join in individual marriage with each other; all the other categories of kinship groups are prohibited from marrying each other. But this right is not exhausted by the merely negative feature -- the absence of a prohibition on matrimonial ties. Certainly in the eyes of the Gilyak the mnemonic significance of these terms is of great importance in itself, for in view of the extreme complexity of kinship relations a firm knowledge of the marriageable classes is the only guarantee against violations of the very strict taboos on marriage in the prohibited degrees of kinship. Nevertheless the mnemonic-permissive significance of these terms does not at all exhaust their legal content. Prohibitions against marriage, as we have seen, are absent also among persons who are complete strangers to each other in the kinship relation, and nevertheless, for persons of these categories to call each other pu and an g:ej before marriage is not tolerated. The right to individual marriage between persons in the pu and an'g:ej categories is not a naked nudum jus; this right, which is simultaneously an obligation, is a debt for both parties concerned. This obligation is seen first of all in the category of "brothers" and their individual wives, who are, as we know, joined mutually in the relationship of pu and an'g:ej. By the general rule the [587] [614] widows of "brothers" (own and collateral) cannot leave the clan, and they become, according to the disposition of the clansmen, the wives of the brothers who have survived their husbands, completely independently of the wishes of these brothers; none of them can decline the widow assigned to him.

/162 cont./

587 In those clans where the "older brothers" are excluded
835 from the class "pu" with respect to the wives of "younger
[614] brothers," the widows are ordinarily assigned to one of the "younger brothers" of the deceased, but here also, in the absence of "younger brothers," one of the "older brothers" is obliged to accept the widow, without the right, however, to sexual intercourse with her.

But the typical aspect of the marriage-rights relations between the pu and an'g:ej is not concealed in this extremely common institution of the levirate, about which /163/ we must speak in detail. The levirate marriage is a more or less exceptional phenomenon and embraces only one insignifi-
835 cant class of this category. The most characteristic aspect of the rights-obligations of marriage between pu and an'g:ej lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the kinship terminology, in other words, in the conditions of the normal marriage. This right-obligation character of marriage between pu and an'g:ej has, it is true, been considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall speak further on -- the Gilyak do take wives outside of the aforementioned categories, but these marriage unions do not represent the favored, characteristic form of even the contemporary marriage. On the contrary, both the contemporary customs and the ancient epos equally indicate that precisely between these classes of pu and an'g:ej marriage was obligatory and the most satisfactory of all from the
835 specific point of view of the Gilyak. In order to show how
538 imperative this consciousness of the obligation of marriage between persons of the classes pu and an'g:ej is, it will be sufficient to introduce one example from a story I recorded. In this story, they tell about a battle between a young Gilyak and a mysterious werewolf-shaman. The fight ends with the werewolf's receiving a mortal wound and returning to his yurt. On his deathbed he remembers that he is a distant akhmalk of his slayer, that is, a member of that clan from which the clan of the killer has the right to take wives, and of the very category of persons of that clan whose daughters

/163 cont./

835 are the an'g:ej of the slayer. Then he immediately orders the
538 killer to be summoned to his house, that is, the man against whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was unpremeditated, the man whom it was the greatest sin to allow into his house; and in the presence of the assembled members of the clan he solemnly declares: "Although this man has killed me, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." Such is the force of the ancient categorical imperative of marriages between the categories of pu and an'g:ej. This imperative is also active nowadays.

601 Let us return for a moment to the kinship terminology.
582 We shall make a full analysis of this terminology in connec-
614 tion with the bases of marriage later on. For our purposes now it is necessary to remember the following facts: 1) the wives of clansmen, according to their generations, call each other either older or younger "sisters" or "aunts" and "nieces"; 2) all the agnate kin of the wife are considered, according to generation, the "fathers-in-law" of all the clansmen of this /164/ man; 3) the man calls the sister of his "father-in-law" his "mother," and he calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife (an'g:ej). Judging from this, 1) the wives of all the members of each given clan must be taken from one clan, and, consequently, in each generation they are sisters (own and collateral); 2) the clan of these women, for each individual man, is the clan of his mother, and the wife of each individual man, must be the daughter of his mother's brother. This we see in actuality, notwithstanding all the deviations of modern times, the causes of which will be made clear later.

614 The ideal of the clansmen is to have women from one clan,
582 from one clan of common akhmalk'i; if this turns out to be impossible and it is necessary to turn to still another clan, then once again it is preferably to that clan which is already the akhmalk of the given clan, that is, that clan from which the individual clansmen, fathers and grandfathers, at an earlier date took their wives for some reason or other. Under these conditions, for each individual person the most favored

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582 614 marriage is that with the daughter of the mother's brother. "Pfandfukh an'gaej gen urdra" -- "from the clan of your 'pandf' (see above), from the clan from which you originated (were born), i.e., from the clan from which your mother came, you [533] should take a wife," runs the Gilyak maxim. "I miss the house of my mother's brother" -- such is the motif of the contemporary Gilyak song. And statistics prove the degree to which these principles play a role in reality. From the very first days of my statistical census, when I was not yet conversant with all the subtleties of the kinship nomenclature, I was astounded that in each clan there were so many kinsmen's wives who were taken from one and the same clan, who called each other, according to the generation of the husband, sisters and aunts, and who actually seemed to be such. It was necessary to record many Gilyak who were married several times, and most often their wives turned out to be from one and the same clan, specifically, from the clan of the husband's mother. One of my companions on my journeys, Isayka, had been married three times, and always to wives from the very same clan. And in the majority of cases, it turned out that the husbands and wives were not only cognate cousins, but were corresponding children of own sisters and brothers.

582 171 The preference shown for this form of marriage even today is always the result of the religious imperative; we have seen above that only such a marriage is considered "pure." As to the role of this form of marriage among the Gilyak, one may express it in the same words that have been used to describe the same phenomenon among the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpûras in central India. In these tribes, "marriage between cousins is almost /165/ compulsory when a brother has a daughter and his sister a son" (1).

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 154.

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582 Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative
584 to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to
585 marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a common economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing; they fashion
[601] nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is concluded, and when the bride has grown up a little more, approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband" (n'ang:ej, n'fu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at which time they become actual spouses, without any of the ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in concluding marriage with outsiders. This custom probably explains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "yr:kh" and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age when most of us are only preparing to get married the young Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anniversary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage
[582] unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old. The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar-
[556] riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all the ancient customs and rites.

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582 583 Concerning the primary obligation of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, supporting evidence is offered by another extremely important peculiarity of this form of marriage, namely, the fact that the bride price, i.e., the payment which is received by the father or the brother of the bride and which in the contemporary marriage plays an enormous role in the question of giving a woman in marriage, is here completely lacking or at least plays an insignificant /166/ role. In cases of marriages between cousins of the first degree, not only is a bride price not demanded, but it is even forbidden to mention it during the betrothal.

582 583 174 The absence of the bride price in marriages between pu and an'g:ej is clear evidence that the marriage between these categories was at one time an obligatory marriage, and in the case of obligatoriness it goes without saying that there can be no question of any financial obligations.

There is no doubt that the bride price was a later institution. [538] In the traditional poems of the Gilyak, the so-called n'astund, in which the procedure of betrothal is so often described, there is never any mention of the bride price. On the contrary, the "fathers-in-law" usually fill the boat of the bride with all kinds of valuables.

583 174 Remembering what an enormous role the bride price plays in the economic life of the Gilyak, sometimes representing the only resource for giving the economy of a poor man a start, it must be realized that the neglect of the bride price in marriages of the above-mentioned category cannot be caused by reasons of a sentimental nature; the motives for such an attitude toward the bride price must be of a more compulsory character, that is, religious. We shall have to speak about the nature of these motives in more detail later on.

602 606 As an illustration, we merely point out the surprising relations that, thanks to this religious imperative of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, were characteristically established between persons of the class of "fathers-in-law" and their legal "sons-in-law" /zyat'ya/. These relations are surprising

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602 by their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness.
606 Toward an ymg:i, though only potential, the "fathers-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children. "One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

[574] For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily
[224] pass their time in the settlements of their "fathers-in-law,"
[431] finding in every yurt the most hearty welcome and the greatest delicacies; and when the hunting begins, the "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns to his own home, he carries with him, in addition to /167/ the usual gifts, also his share of the
[796] catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "sons-in-law" are in the foreground among those who have been invited, and it is to them that the honor of
[72] killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in wartime, the "fathers-in-law" and the "sons-in-law" are obliged to come to each other's aid in case of necessity.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

602 From the kinship terminology we know that the clan of
614 the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan
606 from which a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all the other clans from which even one kinsman has chanced to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

606 /167 cont./ Thus, each man can have several clans
602 of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, ac-
614 cording to generations, are considered an'g:ej -- his wives and
[601] the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology, and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how this complicated system developed.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations pu and an'g:ej have played and still play an enormous role, symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the right to marriage -- one of the many benefits which the clan structure gives to each of its participants.

584 Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of
162 this institution of the right to marriage at the present time.
595 For the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also in real life "finding a wife" is a business of unusual difficulty. First of all, there is the extreme shortage of women. Among the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the censuses that I took, for every 1,000 males there are 785 females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is 694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there are 900 females. It is necessary to add that a significant percentage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthiest individuals, keep from two to four wives. For example, according to my census on the western shore of Sakhalin to the north of the settlement of Arkyvo, for every nine monogamous men there was one polygamous man, with the total ratio of men to women being 1000:694. There is one old bachelor for every 11 married men, and one polygamist for every 19 married men. It is not difficult to imagine how limited the choice of women was, /168/ and it was already limited by a whole set
[583] of prohibitions. With such a limited choice and with such a considerable preponderance of men over women, the bride price, the payment for women (in valuables or long-term
ooo service), naturally reaches an unusually great amount. Under

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582 such circumstances,[1] it would be necessary for a considerably large number of the population who are not well-to-do to re-
[182] main unmarried. And it is right here that the institution of the right to marriage with persons of the class of an'g:ej about which we spoke above appears as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, next their collateral sisters, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad class of persons whom the Gilyak calls akhmalk (fathers-in-law).

We already know the nature of the relations of these latter with their sons-in-law /zyat'ya/, and it is clear, therefore, that obtaining an individual wife among the an'g:ej, among the daughters of one's born akhmalk, is surrounded by the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man stands a sure chance of getting the widows of his brothers.
[178] But in view of the generally small number of women in comparison with the men, and considering the fierce competition within each class of pu for their an'g:ej and under the conditions of an extreme avidity for the bride price, which has developed under the influence of commercial relations and has greatly weakened the traditional matrimonial relations, even this privilege can often be a nudum jus. But at this point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective for the individual marriage -- the group marriage, an absolutely unlimited right to sexual intercourse between classes of pu and an'g:ej. We turn next to this right.

*835 Group marriage. Though the right and obligation of individual marriage in the classes pu and an'g:ej have been considerably shaken by the inevitable influence of both historical conditions and the conditions of life, the right to group marriage, the right to sexual intercourse between persons of these classes, continues to be preserved in full strength. This right, it is true, does not carry with it a definitely compulsory character: a woman cannot be coerced into sexual intercourse
83 either by her kin or by her pu. It is not even allowed that the father, brother, or husband of a woman propose to the daughter

[1] [i.e., a limited choice of women plus unequal sex ratio in favor of the men.--Analyst]

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83 or wife that she share her bed with a guest who is her pu, as happens among peoples who practice hospitable hetaerism. Likewise a public display of sexual intimacy is not allowed. No one permits himself to lie down under one covering with his group an'g:ej in the common yurt, even with a preliminary agreement. Moreover, even between individual spouses /169/
833 openness of sexual relations is not allowed (1). Intercourse
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1. The avoidance of public caresses between individual spouses is not an exclusive peculiarity of the Gilyak. According to the testimony of Radlov /Radloff/, the Altaian in public does not allow himself even a joke with his wife in the presence of strangers, while at the same time the broadest freedom in relations between the sexes prevails among these peoples. -- Radloff, Aus Sibirien /From Siberia/, I, 314.

may not take place publicly or before the eyes of the individual spouse concerned (2). If the act takes place at night in

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2. Compare the similar phenomenon among the Tibetans. -- Westermarck, The Origin of Marriage, p. 141.

the yurt where there are also strangers sleeping, then each one lies down separately, and only when all have gone to sleep does the man or woman (both sides alike take the initiative, but women more rarely) move over to the bed of his group spouse, who may accept or reject the attentions if there has not been any preliminary agreement. In summer the affair most frequently takes place in the open air: in the

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833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
*835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt; in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
*835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
221 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
*835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[521] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants themselves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[867] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[764] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
*835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
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832 an'g:ej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through
584 the same symbolic actions that people go through during the
585 betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat
[195] together. To say to a woman of the an'g:ej category, "Let us have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

832 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said,
*835 is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known
684 to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

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1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamlevo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I found a large assembly of the masters of the settlement. My companion laid before them his

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complaint against a local woman, who the evening before had seized him by the leg, on the grounds of which he was demanding "ransom." They summoned the culprit. She confessed and by the decision of the assembly she was obliged to hand over publicly to her accuser an adjudged ransom, namely, a puppy and a birch-bark dish. Why the fine was limited to such insignificant objects (if they were not merely symbols of especially female labor) I explain only by the fact that the guilty woman was entirely alone and did not possess anything more valuable.

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/171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous opportunities for lovemaking, even with alien women, slip by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien women was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarded is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen, punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and inevitable banishment. There can hardly be even any question of a casual passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons of forbidden categories has become converted into that same instinct which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or own sister. All the more powerfully is the right to sexual intercourse between the categories of pu and an'g:ej realized. In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in the

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* 835 same words with which authors describe the relations between "kumi" and "kroki" in Australia: throughout the whole extent of his territory, wherever the Gilyak finds his an'g:ej, there he also finds a conjugal bed. For this, it is only necessary that the Gilyak remember the kinship terms. I had many chances to convince myself of this during the time of my travels on Sakhalin. Again and again I appeared with my Gilyak companions in settlements where neither they nor their fathers had ever been before. Nevertheless, after the exchange of a few sentences the bonds of kinship were revealed, and from their first encounter pu and an'g:ej who were formerly unknown to each other engaged in mimic negotiations about a fleeting conjugality.

* 835 836 848 Among the categories of women with whom the Gilyak has a legitimate opportunity for sexual intercourse, it is necessary to distinguish the unmarried from the married. Maidens, even among the Gilyak, are more restricted in their sexual relations than the married women. The prospect of pregnancy [614] and bearing children does not appeal to the Gilyak maiden; [851] the birth of a child by an unknown father, according to the clan views of the Gilyak, is a dangerous business solely from the fact that the sexual, marital, and clan rights, and even more the religious rights, determined by the father are completely uncertain, and this can lead to violations of taboos, which the Gilyak fears most of all. Therefore, a pregnant maiden is subjected to severe reproaches on the part of her father, who demands either that she name the seducer, or the destruction of the fetus, or the killing of the newborn infant. However hard the moral position of individual women is in such cases, in practice the business /172/ is much simpler. In the first place, many women, as we have seen, are married from childhood on, and the others never sit for very long; there are so few women that every girl is already married by the
* 835 836 time seductions become dangerous for them. Finally, those who are not married and freely indulge in sexual intercourse with men extremely rarely have an affair with just their

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*835 sweetheart, and, thanks to this polyandrous practice, they
836 hardly ever run the risk of pregnancy. As to what proportions these polyandrous habits of intercourse among maidens reach, it will be sufficient to offer an example intimately known to me. The wife of my friend Pigunayka from the settlement of Arlyvo, a likable woman and a splendid housekeeper and mother of children, before her marriage had in her home village alone 14 sweethearts at one time, who called each other, and she likewise called them, navkh, akhmalk -- comrade, fellow participator (it is curious that navkh literally means the very same thing as punalua in Morgan's well-known punalua family). Furthermore, Pigunayka's wife's sexual intercourse with her sweethearts quite often took place at one time. Her "husbands" told me quite good-naturedly how all 15 of them used to get together in a little clearing not far from the settlement, and one after the other they would exercise their rights. The most curious thing of all is that in this merry band was Pigunayka himself, who is now the happy husband of the
602 heroine. Under such circumstances, it is natural that the Gilyak
*835 youth in many respects feels much more at home and at ease
836 among his maiden an'g:ej than he does among his married an'g:ej, access to whom is surrounded with great difficulties in view of the preferential rights to them of their individual husbands. And, naturally, he is attracted thither most of all. But he does not find these maidens in his own clan, even among the most distant of his tuvn. With them he not only does not have a right to have sexual intercourse, but he does not even dare to converse with them. In his own clan he has only the married women for sexual intercourse. In fact, maiden an'g:ej very rarely live in the same settlement as their pu.
(614) The daughters of his mother's brother, the sisters of his brothers' wives, the daughters of his akhmalk, in other words, the clan of his "fathers-in-law" -- there is where all his sympathies
602 draw the Gilyak youth. In the yurts of his akhmalk'i nothing is hidden to him; here he is met with open arms, for, as we

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602 know, an ymg:i is the closest person to an akhmalk and to his wife. An ymg:i is a preferred hunting companion summer and winter. He is the dearest guest; they serve the most delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a special reason. With their clansmen-brothers the akhmalk'i /173/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the ymg:i is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make merry to their hearts' content. And in such surroundings there [836] are dozens of maidens -- his an'g:ej, with whom he may openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents itself, have sexual intercourse.

*835 602 Now we shall turn to the relations of the pu with their married an'g:ej.

[184] From the kinship terminology we know that a man's married an'g:ej include, first of all, the individual wives of his "brothers" (tuvn), which, among the Gilyak speaking the western dialect, refers to all tuvn, while among the Gilyak speaking the eastern dialect -- only to the elder; further -- all the married "sisters" of his own wife; finally, the married sisters of the wives of his tuvn -- a huge category, including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the *835 territory of Gilyak settlement. Concerning the last two groups -- the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers' wives -- one must make the following reservation: usually, in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak marriage, the sisters marry persons of the class tuvn alone, so that with regard to the sisters of the wife and the sisters of the brothers' wives a general rule concerning the wives of "brothers" operates. But, due to deviations from the traditional norms, it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the sister of one's own wife is married to a completely alien man, or even to someone who is an accidental akhmalk (1).

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1. An accidental akhmalk is what I call a man from a clan from which one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

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by chance taken a wife secretly, rather than from the clan from which all the kinsmen usually take a wife.

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In these cases the norms of sexual relations, and the terminology as well, are not the same. Among the majority of clans, in both cases sexual intercourse with these women is legitimate, the participants call each other pu and an'g:ej, and their children call each other tuvn and the sisters of their mother and their husbands correspondingly "mothers" and "fathers." But among other clans, mainly among clans who are neighbors of the Ainu, the arrangement is different. If the sister of a man's wife marries his akhmalk, then sexual intercourse with her, as in general with the wife of an akhmálk, is absolutely prohibited, and, instead of an'g:ej, the man calls her achk (mother-in-law). But if she marries a completely alien man, then the relations between them are as between aliens, i.e., sexual intercourse is not considered a *835 sin, but neither is it legitimate. What is remarkable, however, is that the offspring of both families are in all cases, even in such /174/ relations, considered to be tuvn (brothers) (1)

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1. I shall give an example which depicts very well both the relations of such tuvn (i.e., the children of sisters whose husbands are aliens to each other) among themselves and their mutual relations towards their wives.

Wremgin and Hibl are individuals of two different clans (k:khal), one from the clan Fan'gi, the other from the clan Khoi, but their mothers were tuvn, i.e., sisters from one and the same clan. And

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nevertheless, notwithstanding the fact that their fathers and they themselves are persons of alien clans, they call each other tuvn, because their fathers were married to sisters and had the right to sexual intercourse, and, as tuvn, they do not dare to converse or joke with each other (see below, the prohibitions); their wives are considered ymk (mothers) to their children, and Hibl, as the younger, has the right to sexual intercourse with the wife of Wremgin.

*835 down to the third generation, and this shows best of all that the old order dictated that the sisters of a Gilyak's wife be the wives of his brothers.

Thus, the question of the relations between a Gilyak and his married an'g:ej in practice comes, in the main, to the same thing as relations with the wives of his "brothers" (tuvn).

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As we have said, and as is evident from the kinship terminology, some clans strictly differentiate between the wives of older and of younger tuvn, and others make no distinction at all between these categories; in some -- only the wives of the older tuvn, in others -- all the wives of tuvn without distinction, are considered an'g:ej of each of the tuvn, but in both cases the right of these pu and an'g:ej to sexual intercourse is indisputable.

Among the western Gilyak, who make no distinction between the wives of brothers, they formulated this right for me repeatedly in the following, more than clear expressions: "with the wife of a younger brother (his) older brother is allowed to have sexual intercourse" ("good"); a younger (brother) is allowed to have sexual intercourse with the wife of an older (brother) ("good").

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*835 614 In clans where a distinction is made between the wives of younger and of older "brothers," this right was formulated for me still more boldly: "among clansmen, in one and the same clan everything is permitted ('good'), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." This undoubted and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his tuvn is invariably exercised throughout all the Gilyak territory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before the eyes of the individual husband of the woman and, as far *835 593 as possible, not publicly. The right of the individual spouse, of course, is peremptory -- he can demand from his wife fulfillment of her marital and economic obligations and that she [597] follow him through /175/ any change of dwelling. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that she bears, but quite often a Gilyak, if he has several children, considers it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless tuvn of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. But also the subsidiary right of a wife and her group husbands in the person of his "brothers" to sexual intercourse is just as indisputable. It is true, the group spouses must look for a suitable opportunity in order, in the absence of the individual spouse (during his sleep or outside the home), to enjoy their rights, but there are more than enough such opportunities. A man passes the [484] greater part of his time away from home: either he is at the [512] river catching fish, or he is away hunting for whole weeks at [222] a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the women also absent themselves for whole days, going into the *835 taiga for berries, roots, etc. Finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the exercise of the right of group marriage does not present any particular difficulties. The bachelor tuvn most of all [837] fully enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group an'g:ei, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

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*835 837 wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights just as broadly as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between pu and an'g:ej is largely determined by the conditions of cohabitation.

*835 832 Under the conditions of living in different villages, the relations between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses know each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a pu or an'g:ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch the breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together," in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of winks alone.

*835 [593] In a place where the individual bachelor pu and their wives, an'g:ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathies and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the woman from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her individual husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official [595] spouse of this woman is considered to be only the oldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual spouse, but, with the tacit consent of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, not only to outsiders, but [184] also to the children of the brothers-spouses. One encounters [560] such situations also in the richest and most respected families.

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000 such situations also in the richest and most respected families.
159 My good friend and first teacher of the Gilyak language, the
* 835 aforementioned resident of the settlement Tangi, the richest Gilyak on Sakhalin, lived in just this way with his younger brother, Pleun. The latter was himself a no less capable person than his older brother, enjoyed the name of an excellent hunter, and had been able to accumulate a huge quantity of "valuables," so that he could easily have taken for himself not one but several wives; nevertheless, he preferred to enjoy the wife of his older brother. It had evidently come about in this way: as a youth, he had enjoyed the wife of Gibel'ka with the rights of any younger brother, but gradually a stronger attraction had arisen between them, and he preferred, instead of an individual marriage, to live constantly with the wife of his older brother, whom in fact, he loved. It is characteristic here that everyone, including Gibel'ka himself, regarded this as an entirely normal phenomenon. When I approached Gibel'ka himself with a question about this, a slight shadow slipped across his handsome, intelligent face; he well knew how the Russians regarded such relations, but in general my question did not produce any particular impression on him.

[593] He spoke enthusiastically about his own wife, loved his children tenderly, although he could not have any confidence whatsoever that they were his, and his son, a boy of 14, felt a greater affection for the younger brother of his father than for him himself. It goes without saying that nothing prevented
[595] Gibel' from removing his younger brother from his house, or
[583] him together with his wife, and buying himself another, and not one but several, of the most beautiful and distinguished wives. With his extreme ambition, with his excessive love of popularity, he would not have failed to undertake the most drastic steps for the /177/ restoration of his marital reputation, if he had felt anything shocking in the regular and well-known cohabiting of this brother with his wife. As luck would have it, Gibel' outlived his younger brother, who perished tragically in solitude in his hunting balagan
[964] during the time of the winter hunting. When the dead man's

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159 764 *835 body was laid on the funeral platform amidst a huge and solemn crowd of Gilyak who had assembled from all directions, a few minutes before the cremation the wife of the older brother, with her hair undone as a sign of mourning, climbed up on it, seated herself beside the deceased, and in everyone's hearing began to mourn for her "younger husband" and "beloved" in the same pathetic and tender terms as if she had been his individual wife.

*835 This public act is better evidence than any description as to how the Gilyak understand relations between men and the wives of their brothers.

The custom of the common, continual cohabitation of brothers with a common wife is not always easy to notice. In the first place, sexual relations are carefully guarded from publicity; furthermore, the Gilyak usually live in large yurts, with several brothers with families together, and for a stranger it is very difficult to figure out their secret relations, the more so because they are very unwilling to speak about such things; finally, any young Gilyak rarely has the desire to attach himself to the wife of an own brother; he prefers irregular relations with the wives of many of his tuvn.

595 *835 Besides the group-marriage relations between brothers and their wives, however, other purely communal forms are also encountered among the Gilyak -- true, not often -- namely, when two or several brothers are quite openly and admittedly married to one woman. I encountered such cases in 1910 even on the Amur, where the Gilyak distinguish themselves by a particular individualism. Two or three brothers formally seek in marriage a common wife from the akhmalk clan or buy an alien woman and then continue to live with her in a communal marriage. Of course, at the same time both the husbands and their wives are joined in group-marriage relations with a large number of their class pu and an'g:ej.

[538] In olden times such cases were evidently common phenomena. The so-called 'n'astund (heroic tales) and fairy

595 /177 cont./
* 835 tales again and again begin with the words: "n'ig:yvyn tenun'
538 ruvn an'g:ej n'ena aivynd" -- "two Gilyak brothers had a wife," and later on the content itself of this idea is disclosed. In one /178/ such tale (1), in which they are talking about the

1. L. Shternberg, Materialy /Materials/, II, 21, p. 171.

abduction of the common wife of two brothers by a mountain man, we find a passage depicting the forms of sexual relations and the relationship of the woman to both brothers: "That same evening she made the...sacrificial cups, six of them, in order that her husbands might take them with them (on the hunt); then that night, having slept a little (i.e., under one cover with the elder brother), she made her way to her younger husband (beloved), lying on the middle plank-bed, and, having copulated, she slept with him. On the next day, her husbands set out." The finale of this story is curious. After a long search for the abducted woman, the older brother (nowadays her individual husband), having despaired of the success of the search, returned home, while the younger brother, on the other hand, zealously continued the search, and when he finally found his way to the home of his beloved, the narrator says that the woman ran to her husband "pivner:kntokh" (actually, to the brother of her individual husband) (line 58) ... They not only speak in such language
595 in fairy tales, but every day. When a man speaks of his wife
* 835 or a woman of her husband, they by no means imply their in-
601 dividual spouse, but one or another of their "husbands" without distinction. In just the same way, when a married man speaks of his wives (in the plural), or a married woman of her husbands, they always imply the individual husband and his brothers, and, conversely, the individual wife and the wives of the brothers.

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*835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
828 has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that
829 they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often and so persistently about these relations; they considered them so commonplace that they should not, according to their way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you? Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes
152 without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
*835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
578 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns /179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirta-
[182] tions of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
[602] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
[584] not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for the purchase of wives.

*835 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange
182 in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the
578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another advantage is gained: having married off their younger brothers, the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak, with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

*835 578 182 166 [361] /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southernmost Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well *835 578 834 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and completely disregards her obligations to her individual husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village, [166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the *835 578 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the [626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases [554] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the [556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all. Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lightheaded, and undistinguished by any

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*835 578 male virtues. Nevertheless, his older tuvn in no way reacted to even this breach of etiquette. Only at the instigation of his associates did he resolve to challenge him to a duel, but Lokhmatka absolutely rejected this flattering proposal. Then his rival hit him with a cudgel, but Lokhmatka did not react even to that, and since, according to Gilyak custom, it is prohibited to beat a man who does not defend himself, his rival had to let the matter rest, while Lokhmatka continued his public relationship with the man's wife just as before.

*835 578 171 Never once among the Gilyak did I chance to observe how an individual husband reacted upon finding his wife in flagrante delicto with one of his brothers. But one may get an idea from a scene which I observed among the Orochi where the same rule operates with respect to the wives of brothers. Once I happened to be spending the night in the tent of the richest and most respected Orochi, Ivan Kuznets. In the tent, besides Ivan and his wife, there chanced to be spending the night a very distant kinsman of Ivan's, the youth Timoshka, who was a very poor and thriftless lad, but a great lover of women, preferring to go visiting and lovemaking to any economic cares. In the evening our host left to look for elks, and Timoshka, without any ceremony, got under the covers of his young hostess. They did not expect the old man until morning. But meanwhile an unfavorable wind had interfered with the hunting, and Ivan returned earlier than might have been expected. Entering the balagan, Ivan lit a splinter and caught sight of Timoshka, taking his place in the conjugal bed. From [152] the proud and hot-tempered Ivan one might have expected -- especially against poor Timoshka -- the most furious outburst of jealousy, the more so because his wife was considered a prize beauty, and he was already at an age when jealousy shows itself particularly strongly. Nevertheless, Ivan limited himself to swearing a strong Russian curse-word, after which Timoshka, smiling embarrassedly, moved over to his own place, while Ivan, groaning, lay down beside his frivolous wife.

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*835 Such are the relations between the categories of group pu and an'g:ej. Within his own clan, the Gilyak has at his disposal the dozens of wives of his "brothers." In the clan of his akhmalk (and there may be many of these) dozens of daughters of the "brothers" of his mother are at his disposal, and finally, outside of these clans the sisters of the wives of his most distant tuvn, and the wives of the sons of his "mother's" sisters, belong to him. And since, in addition, due to the contemporary conditions of life, his own clansmen and the members of the clans of his akhmalk are scattered throughout the most remote settlements, there is hardly a place where a visiting Gilyak could not find his lawful an'g:ej. One may say the same thing about the Gilyak that is said, mutatis mutandis, about "kumi" and "kroki," who throughout the whole extent of their territory find everywhere a lawful wife for themselves.

*835 595 58 Thus, every Gilyak usually is joined in a dual marriage: 1) in the customary individual marriage with one or more women either from the class of his an'g:ej (in this case mainly with the daughters of his mother's brother) or with women of alien groups; this form of marriage among brothers sometimes takes on the form of purely communal polyandry; 2) in a group marriage with all the women of the class an'g:ej, where sexual intercourse with some of them is accompanied by joint cohabitation, a common economy with their individual husbands, and takes place more or less regularly (most often within a common economy of brothers); or else this right of sexual intercourse is potential and is exercised only insofar as is possible and not regularly.

*835 191 Thus, we have to do here with the typical group marriage, examples of which are known to all among the most diverse peoples of the earth. An extremely curious, typical analogue in the life of other peoples is the marriage system of the Australian Dieri tribe (1), among whom both aspects of sexual

1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology

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Contrib. to the Smithsonian
Institute, 1885), pp. 12 passim.

intercourse are legalized, in contrast to the Gilyak marriage system, with the differentiated terms noa and piruari. According to this system, every woman is joined in individual marriage to one man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage to a whole category of men, who mutually call each other piruari, with the characteristic distinction that persons of this category are solemnly affirmed by the high council of the tribe.

/182/ The object which these measures pursue is evidently the following: 1) to strengthen in the social consciousness the lawfulness of sexual relations for a certain group of persons; 2) to make commonly known the names of the persons of this group of spouses. Among the Gilyak the matter
[867] has not gone so far -- the tribe is too small, and every person from childhood knows very well from the words of his parents the names of his group pu and an'g:ej, and, consequently, all the rights connected with these names. Under other conditions the Gilyak would probably have developed the procedure practiced among the Dieri. The following characteristic analogies between the marriages of the Gilyak and the Dieri are also curious: 1) "a woman becomes the noa of a man, having been married to him when she was still a child" (1).

1. Howitt, op. cit., p. 811,
Table IV.

2) Judging by the kinship terminology, piruari (i.e., group husbands and wives) are not arbitrarily designated by the great council, but from a definite circle of kinsmen, specifically, for the women the brothers of her husband are piruari, while for a man -- the sisters of his wife. So, by one and the same term, apiri waka, the piruari designate

/182 cont./

*835 171 their mother and their father's brother; in exactly the same way, by one and the same term, andri waka, the piruari designate their father, their mother's sister, and their father's brother's wife (ibid., Table IV). All the children of each noa are one another's brothers and sisters and they are all considered children of the piruari group to which this noa belongs (ibid., 19).

IV.

831 Moral and Psychic Consequences of the Sexual Norms

The peculiar norms of sexual relations described by us, broadly permissive on the one hand, strictly prohibitive on the other, are reflected in the morals and psychics of the Gilyak in two diametrically opposed trends.

The permissive norms, which give both men and women such an extensive legitimate freedom in sexual relations, naturally must have given rise to general sexual laxity. In fact, the virtues of chastity, sexual moderation, and conjugal [837] fidelity are unknown to the Gilyak. Among married women, and then as a rare exception, one still finds individuals who are more or less faithful to their husbands; among men, by the admission of the Gilyak themselves, even such exceptions 831 are not encountered. In the society of the most respected 521 individuals, tales of the most piquant romantic /183/ adventures are recounted with relish. An extensive amorous experience does not stain the reputation of a gentleman (urdla n'ig:yvyn) at all. In my presence, and that of a gathering of the most honored elders, a young Gilyak, Laruk, to the accompaniment of general noisy approval and merry laughter, related his numerous romantic exploits, about how, by the way, in one settlement he had engendered no less than 20 831 children... Such an attitude of respected people toward the sexual laxity of youngsters is only possible in a society where

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831 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
831 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
861 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
831 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
*835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
848 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1) the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden categories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
831 child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
574 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an unmarried ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) is a most desirable guest in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "ymg:i" (son-in-
831 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
562 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
834 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
*[835] (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of the class pu), and for this reason they always affect an appearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
831 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
834 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And, on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example, reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tuvn, and especially sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the most distant agnate male and female cousins. During

During

*835 /184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstanding of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo, where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his ymg:i, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka [177] was a considerably Russified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Russified Gilyak, Allykh, from the settle- 177 ment of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger tuvn, *835 compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding, 587 as was customary, to whom the widow of the deceased should 768 pass, to award her to him, although he, as an aki (elder brother), had no rights whatever to this. But these cases are the exception and evoked an energetic reaction from the community.

684 In the first two cases the violators had to go into voluntary exile, i.e., settle outside the settlement and lead a lonely existence, with all the deprivations of clan blessings associated with ostracism. But, we repeat, these were quite [177] exceptional cases bound up with psychics changed under the influence of an alien culture (1).

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1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when a husband is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

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*835 183 587 768 [614]

levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is given, according to the decision of the clan council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

684 *835 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust. [776] In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in [825] beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the [RX2] same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging [533] of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/185 cont./

*835 marriage, and without the instinct of sexual repulsion or indifference for persons of the forbidden categories, the majority of the prohibitive norms would lose their strength.

How were these powerful instincts, or at least semi-instincts, able to develop?

*835 867 In the development of these instincts a powerful influence was exerted by the classificatory system of kinship. From earliest childhood the little boys and girls know exactly whom they should designate by what term, and what sexual rights-obligations are bound up with those terms; thus from childhood they begin to regard certain relationships with certain individuals as something established by nature itself and as immutable. Just as our training develops sexual indifference toward parents, children, and own brothers and sisters, in the same way among the Gilyak, owing to the class terminology and the prohibitions mastered at an early age, there is developed a similar feeling with respect not only to own father and mother, but also toward all "fathers" and "mothers," toward all the brothers of the father, toward all "sisters" and "brothers," sisters of the mother, agnate cousins, etc. And in just the same way a baby knows from childhood the rights of the pu category to its an'g:ej; once he knows from childhood that every tuvn has the right to his individual an'g:ej, then when he is an adult he will be able to look indifferently enough on the sexual relations of his own wife with his tuvn and her pu. But at the same time he is far from indifferent when such relations take place with outsiders. Then his wrath knows no bounds: /186/ he kills an adulterer in flagrante delicto, and in other cases he furiously fights a duel with his rival. And moreover, if even his own tuvn allows himself to break the established etiquette -- non-publicity -- in his relations with his wife, he does not remain indifferent, but forces the offender to withdraw from the settlement.

*835 684

G /186 cont./
602 Psychic prohibitions. But side by side with training and, I
688 would say, the hypnotic influence of the kinship terminology, a still mightier force acts on the development of the above-mentioned instincts -- prohibitions of a special kind, prohibitions on psychic intercourse: prohibitions on speech, glances, and familiar address (joking). Corresponding to the two different instincts necessary for the realization of the sexual norms, these prohibitions are of a dual character. Some are created for persons between whom it is necessary to weaken the instinct of jealousy to the last degree, others -- for those who must avoid having sexual relations with each other. Both factors, both the prohibitions of sexual intercourse and the prohibitions of psychic intercourse, act not only as factors of hypnosis and habit, but also as very strict taboos of religion. To violate one or another of these norms, in the eyes of primitive man,
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602 is as dangerous as the most dangerous blasphemy. The strength
171 of the taboo on psychic intercourse in particular and what
688 instincts they can develop in the soul of primitive man can
Y be seen even from Iokhel'son's /Jochelson/ tale about a Yukagir
602 who by mistake allowed himself familiarities with respect to
171 his own brother, but when he realized his error, he passed
688 away on the spot out of horror.
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This is the way Iokhel'son tells this amazing story, entirely in keeping with Gilyak psychics.

"There were two brothers. With them lived the husband of an older sister, with whom it is permitted to talk. Therefore, both brothers frequently joked with him and played pranks... The brothers, as usual, had a non-speaking relationship. One time the older brother, upon returning from hunting, found the young people in the settlement playing games and dancing. His younger brother, who happened to be dressed in the fur clothing of his brother-in-law /zyat'/, was in the chain of dancers with his back to the new arrival. The latter took his younger brother to be his brother-in-law, and, wishing to scare him as a joke, he ran up behind him, put his hand between his legs, and touched his sexual organs.

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602 /186 cont./
171 The younger brother quickly turned around. The older brother
688 realized his error and fell dead then and there "from shame."
Y As usual, they performed an autopsy to /187/ learn the cause
602 of his death, and his heart, according to the legend, was
538 found to be broken in two" (1).
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1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, XIII.

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602 Let us proceed now to the prohibitions themselves. The prohibitions of the first kind, i.e., prohibitions established between individuals of the same sex in order to weaken the instinct of jealousy, naturally cover persons who are joined in one class by group marriage: among the men, the pu classes, i.e., the classes of persons who have the right to sexual relations with a certain class of women; and, among women, the an'g:ej classes, i.e., women having common husbands. All these individuals, all these group husbands or group wives, among whom outbursts of jealousy might so easily flare up every day and every hour, are fenced off from one another by the impassable wall of the strictest prohibition on psychic intercourse, a prohibition beginning at the threshold of life and ending only with the grave, and creating an instinct of restraint which does not yield first place to the strongest instincts of nature.

The prohibitions of the second category, as we have said, have as their aim the hindrance of sexual relations between persons of different sexes of the forbidden categories. For this reason prohibitions between persons who are mutually in the classes of "husbands" and "wives" (pu and an'g:ej), even if not in a state of individual marriage, are superfluous; any man freely converses not only with his individual wives, but with his group wives, for example, with the wives of his brothers without distinction (in some clans) or only with the wives of his older "brothers" (in others), in a word, with those women whom he calls an'g:ej and with whom he has the right

/187 cont./

602 of sexual intercourse. This is not the case with the individuals of the forbidden categories. But even in this category there are groups who, in the view of the Gilyak, do not require prohibitory protection; these are, first of all, the mother and, in part, the father. Sons, not to speak of daughters, may both speak and joke with the mother without any restrictions. The same applies to the whole class of "mothers" and "sons," whose designation alone, assimilated from childhood, is a sufficient guarantee of sexual indifference between its members. The situation with regard to "fathers" is somewhat stricter. The father may carry on "business" conversations with his daughter, may revile her, but he may not joke with or caress (be familiar with) his daughters. The same is true of the whole class of "fathers" and "daughters" (uncles and nieces). There are absolutely no prohibitions with regard to grandfathers, great-grandfathers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers. But this is not the case with other persons of the forbidden categories. Particular strictness marks /188/ the prohibitions between the men and women of the same clan. Men not only do not converse or dare to joke with the class of "sisters," with the "sisters" of the fathers, whom they call nanakh (elder sister), but even "to glance with the eye" at them is strictly forbidden. This prohibition applies also beyond the confines of a given clan if -- as we shall see later -- these persons reciprocally regard each other as tuvn, for example, the children of sisters who married persons from different clans. In addition, since -- as we know from the kinship terminology -- for every woman her "brother" is the potential father of her daughter-in-law /nevestka/, while, on the other hand, for every man each "sister" is the potential mother of his "son-in-law" /zyat'/, it follows that the woman is forbidden to converse and so on with the father of her daughter-in-law (actual or potential) and with his class, while a man is forbidden to converse with the mother of his son-in-law (in those clans in which the elder brothers do not have sexual rights to the wives of younger brothers). Furthermore, prohibitions of the second category are in effect (in the majority of clans), between men and the wives of their younger tuvn, on one hand,

/188 cont./

602 and between the women and the elder tuvn of their husbands
[601] on the other. As is well known from the kinship terminology, the individuals of these groups call each other by the prohibitory terms jokh and atk. These last terms are likewise used by daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law to designate each other.
602 184 Between them, as between the individuals of the prohibited categories, once again psychic intercourse is not permitted, although not with uniform strictness everywhere. Among some, for example, among the Gilyak of the estuary of the Amur, neither conversation nor jokes are allowed. In other places business relations are allowed, but jokes and conversation are forbidden. The prohibition of psychic intercourse does not exist between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law.

602 Now how the prohibitions are realized in life remains to
[192] be explained. The Gilyak themselves classify the psychic forms of intercourse between prohibited categories with the terms: indynd (to look, khernd (to converse, to talk), lerund (to joke, play, play pranks), and vakrund (to quarrel, dispute, revile). But not all of these four forms are applied equally between all the categories. Thus, we have seen that the father is forbidden only lerund (jokes, playing pranks) with his daughter, but he is permitted to converse with her and all the more to revile her. The prohibitions on "looking in the face" -- indynd -- on the contrary, are in effect only between "brothers and sisters"; lerund applies with equal rigor between all categories. There remains the prohibition khernd. This term embraces two concepts: conversation and discussion, and business relations. The first are absolutely forbidden: /189/ one can get along without conversations, and besides conversations may lead further. It is another matter with business conversations; sometimes it is absolutely impossible to get along without them. Thus, for example, the elder brother frequently takes the place of the father in relation to the younger brothers, and it is impossible to avoid having dealings with him; therefore in extreme cases the younger brothers may address the elder brother. Brief direct

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602 speech, in the form of orders, business advice, and so forth, is always permitted between brothers, between daughter-in-law and the father and mother of her husband, even between a man and the wife of his younger brother, with the use of the vocative case. But ordinarily they seek to avoid direct address. If there is a person of a permitted category at hand, they transmit their wish to this person, addressing their message in such a manner that it is audible to the prohibited individual, who, in turn, answers in the same manner. If not, the address is in the third person or in the impersonal form. For example: "the daughter-in-law, the brother, etc., could do such a thing," instead of "daughter-in-law, do it!" Or, "thanks to my brother," instead of "thank you, brother" etc. Owing to this custom of getting around the prohibition on speech by the use of the third person, the Gilyak have formed the custom of frequently using the third person in general instead of the second, especially in reference to strangers, out of fear, apparently, that they may turn out to be persons of prohibited categories. Again and again, upon the entrance of an unknown Gilyak, one hears the phrase: "Where has the Gilyak come from?" (instead of "where have you come from?"). Perhaps there is concealed in this custom, brought about by the prohibition on conversation and not peculiar to the Gilyak alone, the reason for the origin of these strange forms of the third person in place of the second that we find in Italian, Polish, Tatar, and other languages. Finally, the plural number, which is commonly used in addressing old people and honored persons or strangers, is most frequently used in addressing persons of forbidden categories. Thus, for example, in addressing the wife of an elder brother they commonly use the singular, chi, while in addressing the wives of the younger brothers, on the other hand, they use the plural, chin.

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602 193 [576] [554]

1: Shternberg--281 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Buryat Mongolia RX!

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The prohibitions on speech have had another curious result. The Gilyak have no salutation for greeting or saying farewell. It may seem strange that the Gilyak, returning to his home after a long absence or leaving his family for the long months of hunting and of danger, utters no salutation. Yet the Gilyak are very ceremonious and /190/ always greet and escort their departing guests with solemn forms of address and expressions of good wishes. The neighbors of the Gilyak, the Olcha and Goldi, as well as the Ainu, have salutations for meeting and parting. Their absence among the Gilyak arises precisely from the fact that in the home and settlement of every Gilyak there is a mass of persons with whom speech is a sin, and therefore the customary greetings could easily lead to frequent involuntary violations of the psychic taboos. Prohibitions on conversation, as is well-known, are practiced among many peoples. We shall recall, for the sake of an example, one of the American peoples, the Arapaho, among whom conversations between brothers are forbidden. The prohibitions among the Yukagir are of special interest to us. Of the prohibitions which they have in common with the Gilyak, we find among the Yukagir prohibitions between "brothers" and "sisters," between the husband's father and mother and their daughter-in-law, between older brothers and the wives of younger brothers; and, as among the Gilyak, in cases of necessity, they address each other either in the third person, or in the impersonal form, or in the plural (1).

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, 240.

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The Buryat present examples of an interesting analogy with the Gilyak prohibitions. Among them at the present time marriage is exclusively individual, and "brothers" have no sexual rights whatever to each other's wives. Nevertheless, prohibitions with regard to the so-called khadym clearly reveal an earlier stage of group marriage. As a result of this

1: Shternberg--282 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Buryat Mongolia RW1

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/190 cont./ As a result of this institution, the prohibitions between a woman and the older brothers of her husband are very strict, and, on the other hand, with respect to the younger brothers of her husband prohibitions are absent. The content of the prohibition (forbidding the man to sit on the bed of his khadym, to see her naked, etc.) is evidence that this prohibition had the exclusive aim of preventing sexual intercourse.

V.

The Genesis of the Gilyak Marriage Norms and the Kinship Terminology

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We have examined the norms of sexual intercourse and have seen that they completely correspond to the kinship terminology. Now it is necessary for us to proceed to a consideration of how this complicated system of kinship and marriage was formed, what sort of psychic substratum gave rise to the system. Obviously, such a complicated system could not arise artificially. It must have developed, without a doubt, out of one simple principle, a clear /191/ categorical imperative for the primitive man, out of which there must have grown, as from a seed, that complicated organism of Gilyak institutions which has been examined by us in such great detail. Along with the genesis of this system, however, it is necessary for us to explain also the long evolution of this system, without an understanding of which a whole series of peculiarities of the kinship nomenclature will seem completely inexplicable and, as it were, out of keeping with the general system.

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*174 60 Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tuvn, although they may be completely alien to each other, call each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-law, although he may be a complete stranger, my "mother's brother," and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in-law the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, from that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the unmarried ones, become my mothers, and no one from her clan can marry the women from my clan?

[614] Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry into not only that clan from which anyone from my clan takes a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? In what way could the apparently paradoxical fact that a man can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothers, fathers, and mothers) in clans completely alien to him have *174 58 60 come about? This confusion and apparent absurdity can be explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and logically consistent system of marriage, like every religious [183] norm, has created around itself by a peculiarity natural to it a fabric of extended norms. On the other hand, under the [178] influence of historical conditions and the conditions of life, it underwent a gradual extension and complication, while at the same time the kinship terminology, as an element which by its own nature, in view of its formality, was distinguished by its extreme stability, remained unchangeable. What was the scheme of primitive marriage like? In certain places in our exposition we have already discussed it. Now we must elucidate this question in all its fullness. The detailed analysis both of the prohibitive and of the permissive norms of marriage that we made in the preceding chapter has shown that these norms completely correspond to the kinship terminology; in other words, the whole intricate Gilyak kinship terminology is nothing more than an automatic registry of the marriage sys- [178] tem. This faithful registrar, so stable in the face of all change,

601 /191 cont./
*174 the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system
[58] of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.
[178] But what does the kinship terminology teach us?

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are
[602] called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates,
[611] for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

614 Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation
601 the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral
582 brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, that
*174 is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken from one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions, marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the clansmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters," the nieces of those women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. This is why the wives of "brothers" call each other

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614 "sisters" (for they are such in reality), their mothers-in-law --
60 aunts on their fathers' side, and husbands call the sisters of
582 their fathers-in-law mothers. We shall not speak here of the
*174 group character of these marriage unions and of the classes of "mothers," "fathers," "brothers," "fathers-in-law" /wives' fathers/ which arise from this, for we have already explained it in detail earlier.

Thus to the first principle -- the obligation of marriage with one's blood kinsmen -- is added another principle -- the wives of clansmen must of necessity be taken from one common clan, i.e., two clans are bound to each other by a mutual obligation: one must take wives from the other clan, and the latter /193/ must give its wives to the former. All men of the latter, according to generation, are considered from birth to be the husbands of the women of the corresponding generation of the other clan, and, as we have seen, these classes in actuality call each other pu and an'g:ej.

But from the kinship terminology we know that the reverse is not allowed, i.e., men of the second clan and women of the first are not joined in the class of husbands and wives. Thus, an exchange marriage between the two aforementioned clans is not allowed. All these principles which have been deduced by us above a priori from the kinship terminology completely correspond to contemporary reality. We have seen that even now there exists the right of marriage, that even now a marriage from the class akhmalk is alone considered "pure," that marriages of clansmen are usually made from one common clan and that exchange marriage between clans is not allowed. Now we can with confidence continue our analysis.

614 But what is this clan from which clansmen are obliged
601 to take wives? The answer to this is that detail of nomencla-
602 ture whereby the mother of every man is the sister of his
582 wife's father; in other words, all wives of clansmen are
*174 taken from that clan from which their ancestress came. The members of the clan are thus, both on the father's side and

/193 cont./

614 on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individ-
601 ual member of the clan, as we have seen above, this is expressed
602 in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his
582 mother's brother, in other words, the daughters of every man
*174 belong to the sons of his sister. This principle also is the link from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the maternal family, the one that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to satisfy this most vital need in the early stages of human society, every mother obtained for her sons the daughters of her brother, in other words, all the descendants of a sister obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of the mother's brother, and not the children of the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother,
*174 we shall see below. Now let us look at the consequences
582 this principle had in its practical application.

591 /194/ 1) Once the daughters of the brother belonged from
581 birth to the sons of the sister, it was most natural that the future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their future wives /sic/. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, as among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriages, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves
[602] to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Terminology has perpetuated this arrangement in that even from birth children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

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*174 /194 cont./
582 relationship of pu and an'g:ej toward each other (1).
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1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 52).

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2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

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*174 581 582 Thus there was created that type of individual-group marriage which we see among the Gilyak, and among all other peoples where marriage is founded on this principle of marriage relations which they have in common with the Gilyak. This system of individual group marriage was developed under the influence of the various combinations in the distribution of the /195/ sexes among the descendants of brother and sister. In order to be convinced of this fact, it is enough to consider several such combinations.

1. The simplest one is that of one brother and one sister. Moreover, the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons. Then of course, individual distribution is entirely possible, if, however, men and women simultaneously reached the marriageable age. But à la longue /in the long run/ such a combination is almost completely impossible, because the descendants of the sister and the descendants of the brother expand into several families, and in such an environment only as an exception can there be cases when the number of men of marriageable age in one group of descendants at any given moment will be equal to the number of women in another group of descendants.

171 *174 581 582 595 2. Let us take the same instance: one brother and one sister, but at the given moment the brother has only one daughter, while the sister has several sons. Then communal marriage, as it is described among many peoples and appears so typically in all the descriptions of the Tibetans, becomes inevitable. This is the situation described in the Gilyak epos in such expressions as this, "two (or more) brothers supported one wife," a situation which, as we have indicated, is often encountered in reality even today. The most customary mode of using wives is the same as in group marriage -- each brother enjoys the communal wife in the absence of the other: "in Tibet, where the brothers very often have only one common wife, it is rare for more than one brother to be in the house at one time" (1). Among the

1. Westermarck, op. cit., p. 116.

/195 cont./

171 Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession;
* 174 the wife first sleeps with one brother (the oldest), then moves
581 over to another. As for the children, either they are not dis-
582 tinguished at all according to fathers, or, as in the case of
595 the Toda tribe, the first child is regarded as the offspring of the oldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

* 174 3. The same situation in a new variant: the first
581 brother has reached marriageable age before the second.
582 The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his
835 father /sic/ as his individual wife, but then the younger brother comes of marriageable age. The elder brother remains the individual spouse, but the second brother enjoys conjugal rights, by the rights of a group spouse. Then another daughter of the brother grows up to be of marriageable age. She naturally becomes the individual spouse of the second brother, but the elder brother obtains the same group rights to the wife /196/ of the younger brother as the latter once enjoyed with respect to the wife of the elder brother.

171 4. At a given moment a brother has several adult
* 174 daughters, while the sister as yet has only one adult son.
581 The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of the
582 sister of the brother /sic/. Thus it is at the present time
595 among the majority of American Indian tribes, where a man who has married the oldest daughter is for that reason obliged to take as wives all of her sisters. But now another brother grows up. One of the wives is yielded up to him as his individual wife, the rest remaining with the elder brother as the most well-to-do, who is better able to support several wives than the brother who is just beginning to earn his livelihood. The latter, naturally, is rightfully the group husband of all the wives of the elder brother; the converse right of the elder brother is not so indisputable.

* 174 An analogous development takes place if the elder brother-
581 polygamist has several brothers who gradually grow up; then
582 each one of them will obtain his own individual wife, but
835 at the same time each of the younger brothers will have

/196 cont./

*174 581 582 [835] group rights to the wives of his elder brothers, who in their time enjoyed his wives. In the majority of cases, therefore, we see that only younger brothers enjoy group rights to the wives of the elder brothers.

5. Thus far, we have taken the simplest combinations -- one brother and one sister. Where there are several brothers and several sisters, the consequences will be similar, but will assume a more complex form. If there were always the same number of sisters and brothers, and if each brother and sister had a corresponding number of female and male offspring, then each pair of brothers and sisters could form a closed marriage group, but actually such cases can only be rare exceptions. Ordinarily, on the contrary, the number of brothers and sisters is not equal, and an even distribution of the sexes in their offspring is even less possible. Let us take several examples. Several brothers have one sister; the brothers have several daughters, the sister several sons. This time it is not only own sisters, but also first cousins who are the group wives of the brothers. Or: there are several brothers and several sisters, but the distribution of the sexes is such that there are not enough own sisters for the own brothers, whereupon the group union will be composed not only of own brothers and sisters, but of male and female first cousins as well.

Finally, women did not always have brothers, and the latter did not always have daughters, and then, naturally, it was necessary /197/ to resort to the daughters of first and second cousins. In a word, into a marriage group of the offspring of a brother and sister are inevitably drawn, on the one hand, all the collateral brothers up to the most distant degrees, and, on the other -- the collateral sisters, and thus there is established group marriage between own and collateral brothers, on the one hand, and own and collateral sisters on the other -- the typical punalua family in its purest form.

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*174 582 601 The natural result of this system was the classificatory system of kinship, according to which a man gives the name of wife not only to his individual wife, but also to all her sisters, and to the wives of all of his own brothers and to the sisters of these wives, both own and collateral; on the same basis he gives the name of mother to all the wives of the brothers of his father, both own and collateral, while he calls their husbands his fathers, and he calls their children his brothers and sisters; in exactly the same way he calls the brother of his mother father-in-law, her sister -- mother, while he calls the daughters of the brothers of the mother his wives.

The classificatory system, which appears to be so complicated, becomes completely clear and simple; it is logically developed out of a basic principle -- the female offspring of a brother belong to all the male offspring of his sister. At first it may seem strange and extremely complicated that, for example, a man's wives include not only the wives of his brothers, but also their sisters. In actuality, this is explained very simply -- the wives of the brothers cannot be other than sisters, and they all belong to the whole group of "brothers" -- cousins of these sisters. Or, a man calls the brother of his mother "father-in-law"; this is because his father-in-law can only be the brother of his mother, no one else.

The only variation possible in this system is connected with the differences in the rights of group marriage of younger and elder brothers. Among some peoples all the brothers are equally the group husbands of their mutual spouses; among others only the younger brothers enjoy group rights with respect to the wives of elder brothers. Among the Gilyak, as we have seen, we find both systems, and correspondingly two terminologies with respect to the brothers of the father and the wives of the brothers. Among some only the elder brothers of the father are called fathers, while

/197 cont./

* 174 582 601 among others only the younger brothers; similarly among some a man only calls the wives of his elder "brothers" his wives, while among others all the wives of the brothers equally.

Now we shall continue our analysis of the Gilyak norms.

* 174 614 6. Once every mother by right takes the daughters of her brother /198/ for her sons, then by the same right her daughters must belong to the sons of the sister of her husband; this sister, moreover, cannot be married to her brother, because, as we have seen, the exchange of women between the descendants of sister and brother is not permitted. Thus, side by side with the two groups, the descendants of the brother and the descendants of the sister, there is formed a third group -- the offspring of the sisters of the husbands of the latter group.

7. Since in each of these groups the men draw their wives from the group of the brothers of the mother, while the women marry into the third group of the sister of the father, each group forms a completely exogamous unit, i.e., clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or, vice versa, the women into the clan of the husband, there resulted either a maternal or a paternal clan. Among the Gilyak the clan has been paternal from remote times. The strength and unity of such a clan union rested not only on the negative bond of exogamy (exogamy or prohibitions against certain degrees of kinship can exist even without a clan union), but on the precious positive ties, on the common right of marriage, on the common right of the clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, on the mutual rights of group marriage, on the privilege of having for one's sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ one's blood kinsmen -- the children of the sisters of one's fathers, the members of that clan which from time immemorial has married its ancestresses. The strength of this union was doubled by the peculiarity of its composition. Within the clan there was not a single non-blood element: if the clan was maternal and the sons-in-law moved to the

/198 cont./

614 home of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained
*174 together; their husbands, taken into the clan, were all of the same clan -- the male cousins of their wives, the sons of the sisters of their fathers. In the agnatic clan the imported
602 women were all kin to each other, either sisters or aunts and
614 nieces (and blood kinswomen -- female cousins of their
*174 husbands), the daughters of the brothers of their mothers. This common blood kinship of the representatives of both sexes of both the native and the imported elements of the clan is a still more important cement of the clan union, a religious cement binding together all the elements with the highest ties of the common cult of the ancestors. The
601 terminology has perpetuated this arrangement by the fact that
614 the wives in each generation call each other sister and their
*174 husbands' mothers -- aunts, and a man calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife, while a woman calls the son of her father's sister husband.

614 8. Since marriage is obligatory into the group of the
587 sisters of the father exclusively, once the daughters of a man
*174 belong from birth /199/ to the sons of his sister, and this rule, naturally, became a religious imperative, then under no circumstances can either the men or the women marry out-
[171] side of the indicated groups. Hence a twofold levirate, so often encountered, by the way, among the American Indians. If the individual husband of a woman should die, she cannot under any circumstances leave the group of her husband. Whether young or old, she passes to one of the class of "brothers" of her deceased husband. Conversely, if a man's wife dies, he cannot look for a wife anywhere except in the class of her sisters.

614 9. Under this arrangement, as long as it maintains its
583 complete purity, within the marriage groups there can be
*174 no question either of abductions or of bride price.

/199 cont./

583 There is no need for a man to abduct that which belongs
*174 to him through a religious imperative, so powerfully active
171 in primitive society. Abduction can only arise under special circumstances, when there are no women in the marriage group, while other groups are obligated in turn to give their women to definite groups. Individual cases of abduction have led to the institution of mock abduction. For the side which is giving its women in marriage in violation of the prohibition, this is a means of deceiving the gods, the gods-ancestors, to whom marriages with persons of alien blood are the gravest insult. By this alone can we explain the wide distribution of this otherwise inexplicable institution among primitive peoples. Only by this pious deception of the gods can we explain those frightful cruelties which are practiced in connection with mock abduction, although both parties are joined in wedlock with the willing consent of the kinsmen of the bride and groom. It is sufficient to take the example of the Kurnai tribe, among whom there exists the institution of obligatory marriage, analogous to that of the Gilyak. In this tribe, the kinsmen of the bride, having of their own free will allowed the bride to run away with her groom, later start out in pursuit of her, and, when they have caught her, they pierce her leg with a spear and beat her half to death. And in many tribes even the abductor considers it his obligation to beat his beloved no less cruelly than her parents, desiring to show the gods-ancestors that it was not at all love, the intention to marry, which prompted him to abduct her.

849 An insufficiency of males or females can lead also to
*174 another institution, likewise not uncommon among primitive
171 peoples, namely, the killing of newborn children. Let us say that clan A, from which clan B takes its women, has died out; then, in order to avoid the wrath of the gods for future marriages to aliens, they resort to killing the male children. /200/ On the other hand, if the clan to which they customarily give women has died out, then cases of

/200 cont.

847 *174 171 murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-known among the Toda tribes, in spite of the fact that the number of males is greater there than the number of females.

583 *174 10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of bride price is impossible under normal conditions. Payment for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of marriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen among the Gilyak today: no matter how avid the Gilyak may be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother.

582 *174 In order that such an essentially exogamous system might be preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating themselves the various families of the phratry should be able to maintain themselves on the common territory, and, on the other hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the families, and that there should be no cases of extinction of entire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore, some degree of isolation of the tribe from alien influences is necessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory marriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor. Finally, it is necessary that there be preserved economic conditions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the members of the phratry would remain more or less the usual phenomenon, and, on the other hand -- that under the influence of new economic conditions there should not be engendered one or another temptation to make woman the object of purchase and sale.

*174 614 178 166 582 The preservation of all these conditions among primitive peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a whole series of obstacles. And so it has been among the Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial abode of their forefathers, economic conditions force individual persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

/200 cont./

614 clan to change residence and to withdraw more and more
178 from their kinsmen. Before my eyes, in the course of a few
166 years, whole clans -- family after family -- in search of
* 174 more advantageous hunting and fishing sites, moved to the most remote regions, from the Tym' to Taraika (in the territory of the Ainu), to the Amur, etc. Discord between clansmen and wars play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we saw what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the Pilavo clan that we introduced; from /201/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyak territory, bordering on the Ainu, they migrated first to the northernmost part of the western shore, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they became completely Goldified. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any ties among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old phratral marital relations has been completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place even now. This is precisely the reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyak must travel hundreds of versts to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and willy-nilly there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is
[597] obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and to marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old phratry.

If it is not just unmarried individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-nilly begin to enter into marital unions with the nearer clans.

/201 cont./

161 Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We
177 are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families,
614 but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This
731 process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an im-
*174 mediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples, together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable number of its members.

161 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and
614 various other causes. Although according to the interclan
72 rules the women are spared and the number of men who are
*174 killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

*174 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more
177 highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representatives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they gradually begin to draw after them many others. The
[582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had contact with various other peoples.

/202 cont./

* 174 177 As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furnished them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by [221] seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of [437] neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into the [439] Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to their [563] homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peoples or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital relations with them or carried off their women. And although these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not be without influence.

* 174 177 556 A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Until the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was no stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or success- [439] ful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. There appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume, but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate possessors of valuables, and others who did not have them and wished to possess them. In rich men there was born a consciousness of their wealth and their importance, and together with this the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the [583] poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the woman was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to circumvent [581] the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the insti- tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

*174 /203 cont./ The custom of brothers' living together with one
177 wife became ever rarer. In the works of the epos, such
595 passages as "so many brothers were supporting one wife" are
[538] almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described such facts as being ordinary phenomena, while nowadays they are more and more rarely encountered.

17 Such are the conditions which stood in the way of the
[615] inviolable existence of the phratry. But however powerful these conditions appeared, the force of the primordial norms, having become religious imperatives, naturally preserved their power, and the new influences broke a trail for themselves, adapting themselves to the old norms by means of a whole series of correctives and fictions... How this occurred we shall see immediately.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

178
*614 Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive
615 to the phratry (emigration, depopulation, wars, destruction of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of clans, and besides, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How must this factor have operated on the surviving clans? Let us recall the third table of our four-clan phratry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What then is to be done by the orphaned clans C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for some solution within the phratry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

/203 cont./

178 But clan C may not take women from D, because the latter
*614 takes wives from it, and the mutual exchange of women
615 between two clans is not allowed in any case; on the same basis, clan B cannot give its women to clan D. There remains but one solution, that C take women from B. This solution, in addition, has all the signs of orthodoxy for both clans. First of all, these two clans formerly did not stand in a marriage relationship to each other. In addition, for C, after the disappearance of clan A, B is the closest on the mother's side (for /204/ clan A took women from this clan and supplied women to clan C), and, finally, clan B is the father-in-law of C, although of the second degree, so that, after A, it is its natural successor with respect to C. The sole obstacle to the lawfulness of this compromise is that clan C, due to the fact that it gives its women to D, is in turn, tujma akhmalk for clan B and thus does not have a right to take women from it. In a word, the matter ends with the phratry's becoming a three-clan one. The only solution is to increase the phratry by one more clan, a fifth one, E, which would give its women to D and take women from C. This new clan for the phratry may appear, as in North America, through the splitting of one of the old clans into two fictitious clans (in this case, C would divide itself into two halves, one of which would fill the role of clan E). We have no data on this either in contemporary practice or in legends. But there was no necessity for this. The process of depopulation struck all the other phratries at the same time. And it was easy to find a single clan, a remnant of a destroyed phratry, which in turn was seeking to unite with a phratry. That such a solution was the most practical is seen not only from the practice in contemporary life; it follows from the inevitable logic of facts. We started from the supposition that only one clan, A, died out, but again and again phratries can lose not one, but two or three clans, and then they were inevitably obliged to begin: either the co-optation of separate clans into the phratry, or the merging of different alien clans among themselves to form a new phratry.

/204 cont./

178 In just this way, under exceptional conditions, it is true,
*614 the foundation of the marital-clan system was breached, but
615 once it was breached in this way, it had to spread more and more and lead to the condition where marriages of different persons outside of the old phratry became, if not lawful, at least a completely acceptable phenomenon.

Now we shall consider the second case, where clan A does not die out completely, but has only become considerably thinned out in people. On account of the shortage of women in clan A, a part of the men of clan C were obliged to take their wives, as in the first case, from the closest lawful clan, namely, from B, but in the case where, as in the first instance, C does not have a right to give its women to D, and therefore to the phratry, in order to guarantee D women, a fifth clan, E, will have to be added, giving women to D and taking them from C. But, besides this, there is still another consequence, which confuses matters still more.

Since both the members of clan A and some of the members of clan C take /205/ women from clan B, then the first and second in each generation will be married to sisters, and, although they are members of different clans, they will be members of a group marriage with a group of sisters (1) and their children, as the terminology shows (see

[601]

1. By a curious coincidence in this case the group husbands call each other navkh -- a term signifying the same thing as the famous term punalua, comrade, participator.

above), will be tuvn, i.e., brothers and sisters, and, consequently, forbidden for each other, so that in the following generation the women from clan A will not have the possibility of marrying into clan C and will be obliged every second generation to seek their husbands entirely outside their phratry, which still more destroys the strength and

/205 cont./

178 unity of the latter. Life, it is true, has somewhat softened
* 614 the rigor of the prohibition; in some clans at the present
615 time the prohibition covers only those members of clans who are actually married to sisters, but formerly, evidently, the prohibition embraced all the members of both clans; even in its weakened aspect, however, the prohibition leads unavoidably one way or another to some cases of marriage outside the phratry.

The case which we have just discussed is by no means hypothetical; it is repeated in its peculiar form in the daily life of the Gilyak at the present time. As an illustration of this, we may use the legal case which we introduced earlier, with the consequences that follow from the marriage of two persons of different clans to two sisters, where one man is from the akhmalk clan and the other from the ymgi:i clan. It is of interest to repeat here that in this case group marriage among several clans is no longer allowed, but the children of these marriages are considered tuvn and cannot marry each other.

Thus, the depopulation and the thinning out of the people of a clan leads to the following extremely important consequences: 1) allowing free marriage to a woman not from the clan of one's mother begins; 2) members of one and the same clan can be married to women of different clans; 3) a man and his "brother-in-law" /zyat'/ (navkh, brother of his brother's wife, i.e., brother of his own wife) may not be married to sisters; 4) finally, thanks to free marriages, the old four-clan phratry entirely loses its limits, for, as we shall see further on, to every clan into which even one member of the phratry has become related by marriage are extended those same rights and obligations which pertain to a clan of the phratry, and thus it is as though this new clan were adopted into the old phratry.

174 For a certain time, the "free" marriage was a more or
178 less /206/ exceptional phenomenon, called forth by condi-
* 614 tions likewise of an exceptional character. In its way stood
615 a huge obstacle -- the religious imperative which prohibited

174 /206 cont./
178 giving women to alien clans. The procuring of such women
*614 presented great difficulties. As a result of this long struggle
615 for the women of alien clans -- a struggle about which it will
[583] be necessary for us to speak in detail later, there appeared the institution of the "bride price," payment for the bride -- an institution which removed all obstacles to free marriage.

174 But once having appeared, the institution of the bride
178 price became, in turn, a powerful factor for the spreading
583 of the institution of the free marriage.

*614 The bride price became the most powerful temptation
615 for violating the old norms, even in cases where there was no necessity for their being violated.

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the rich, who came into being with the establishment of trade relations, began to look on the free marriage union as a means of satisfying their ambition and of becoming related to people who were their equals in wealth and distinction.

*614 And nevertheless, notwithstanding all the unfavorable
615 circumstances, notwithstanding the intrusion of the new in-
178 stitution of "free" marriage, the old norms continue to live and to preserve their power over minds. In the great majority of cases the old imperative still is stronger than all the temptations of bride price and of free marriage. In the
[583] eyes of the contemporary Gilyak, marriage from the akhmalk
[582] clan, from the mother's clan, is still the only "pure" marriage, and the most favored marriage for each individual man is marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother, in which case bride price is not only not required, but is not even allowed. Free marriages are rather sporadic phenomena, which destroy the customary norm for only a moment and then are spontaneously drawn into the ruts of the old norm. This comes about in different ways. In some cases a man may not marry for one or another reason from his mother's clan, but his offspring nevertheless again begin to take wives from the old clan of the ancestress. In other cases, if for some reason a return is not possible, then the alien clan from which the man takes his wife becomes the lawful marriage clan for his offspring, who in each generation

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*614 615 178 marry, according to the old norm, the daughter of the mother's brother. Finally, in some cases the descendants of this man take wives /207/ either from the old or from the new clan of the father-in-law, depending on circumstances, and both clans begin to be considered lawful clans. It may happen that not merely two, but many more of these lawful clans are accumulated in the course of time, both for the individual person and for the whole clan, but nevertheless each man as an individual strives to observe the old norm in arranging a marriage, seeking his wife above all from the clan of his mother, preferably always the daughter of the brother of this last.

Such is the power of the old norm. But its role is not limited to this. Compelled to make a retreat in one direction, it develops the strength of its age-old inertia with still greater intensity in other directions. Having out of necessity allowed marriages outside the phratry, having allowed the possibility for members of one clan to take wives from different clans, it has extended the whole system of regulations both to the free marriages and to all the clans which even sporadically enter into marriage relations with this or that clan.

*614 615 601 178 This amalgamation of the old institution with the new one and the extension to it of all the regulations of the old norms and prohibitions have made not only the kinship terminology, but also the character of the group marriage unusually complicated and confused. Under the old system, when marriages were arranged from one particular clan, the picture of the group marriage appeared entirely clear and simple: in each generation all the "brothers" of one clan participated in a group marriage with all the sisters of the same generation in the other clan. For this reason the wives of brothers called each other sisters, and the husbands of sisters called each other brothers, for both groups were such in reality.

/207 cont./

*614 With the appearance of the institution of free marriage,
615 the clansmen-brothers may be married to women from dif-
601 ferent clans, i.e., complete strangers to each other, and
178 nevertheless, by the old presumption, these women call each other sisters and become the group wives of their husbands-brothers. In exactly the same way, clanswomen-sisters may be married to men from different clans, and nevertheless these latter, although they are complete strangers to one another, will have group rights to their wives, and their offspring will call each other tuvn (German Geschwister /siblings/) and will not have the right to marry each other.

And, finally, we have seen that even "brothers-in-law" /zyat'ya/, i.e., persons of whom one is a member of a group marriage with the sister of another, may be married to sisters from a third clan. And in this case, although these persons have lost their rights of group marriage with /208/ respect to their sisters-wives, nevertheless all their children are considered tuvn and may not marry each other.

Furthermore, formerly, under the pure intraphratral marriage, the clan did not have the right to give women either to that clan from which it itself took women or to the clan from which this other clan took wives, i.e., to the clans of fathers-in-law of the first and second degrees of kinship. This, as we have seen, was an automatic consequence of the rule under which a clan was obligated to give women to one of the other three clans of the phratry, namely, to that clan into which was married the sister of the father of their ancestor, and accordingly the other two clans of fathers-in-law became eo ipso prohibited for women of the given clan. Now, when individual members of a clan may take wives even outside the clan of the mother, the designation of akhmalk of the first and second degree is extended to all the clans from which even one clansman has taken his wife. Thus there may be a situation in which, if five men from clan A marry freely with persons from five separate clans,

1: Shternberg--306 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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* 614 615 601 178 then all these five clans and their five clans of akhmalk'i will be akhmalk'i to the whole of clan of A and will be prohibited for the women of A (only up to the third generation, it is true). But if we also add to these ten clans those two clans of original akhmalk'i of the first and second degree, then clan A will have 12 clans of akhmalk'i of the first and second degree to which it may not give its women. This tendency toward extension could lead to extreme difficulties in arranging a marriage, for with every new free marriage the number of clans which are available for marriage is reduced, but in practice the consequences of this extended regulation are allayed by the still firm tendency of the clan and of its separate members to depart from the old norm of taking wives from one particular clan, the clan of the mother, only in the most extreme cases.

This extended regulation introduced still greater confusion into the kinship terminology and into the norms of group marriage. Earlier, the classificatory system extended, in addition to the clan of the speaker, also to two other clans -- the clan of the fathers-in-law and the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/, and the designations corresponded to the sexual relations. If, for example, I, a man, called the sisters of my fathers-in-law mothers, then this corresponded to reality, for the sisters of my "fathers-in-law" were group wives of my "fathers" and one of them was actually my mother. Or, if I, a man, called each "father-in-law" in that same clan of "fathers-in-law" the brother of my mother, and his daughter (the daughter of my mother's brother) my wife, then this corresponded to the actual kinship relations. Now that, due to /209/ occasional free marriages, the classificatory terminology has been extended to a whole set of clans which are completely alien to all the clansmen, the designations "fathers-in-law," "mothers," "daughters of the mother's brother," and so forth are extended to persons who are not such in actuality, and nevertheless in this new circle of persons all the old norms of group marriage between

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*614 615 601 178 corresponding persons are obligatory. And it is entirely natural that the number of persons drawn into the circle of classificatory kinship is ever larger, and the knowledge of this kinship, so simple before, becomes a real science, into which a person is initiated during childhood and in which he becomes proficient only when he reaches maturity. It is natural, therefore, that the classificatory system gives the European an impression of complete confusion and inexplicability. In reality, all the terms of kinship and the sexual norms which now appear so confused and illogical are explained quite simply -- the intrusion of the new practice of free marriage into the old staunchly persistent system of the old imperative, according to which marriage was a blood-kinship union and was obligatory from the clan of the mother.

VII.

The Phratry and Its Genesis

*614 615 We have seen how, owing to the primordial norms of marriage, the principle aim of which was to provide the progeny of an ancestor with wives from a group of persons in a distinct category of blood kinship, there automatically arose exogamous groups, clans. The essential significance of the clan consisted in the common right and obligation to supply its members with women outside of their own number, in other strictly defined groups-clans. Thus, in its basic function, each clan taken separately is by no means a self-sufficient organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound to the existence of at least two other clans related to the first by blood, one the clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, the other the clan of the sisters of its ancestor, to which it is obliged to give its own women, and, furthermore, these two clans, as we have seen, may not coincide, since the exchange of women between two clans is not allowed.

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615 *614 For each individual member of the clan this is expressed in the fact that outside of the clan in which he himself was born and in which neither he nor his progeny may marry, he must have /210/ at least two other clans: one the clan of his mother's brother, from which he and his male offspring take wives, and the other -- the clan of his father's sister, into which his female offspring marry.

As we know from the kinship terminology, the next to last clan mentioned bears with respect to the first one the special designation of akhmalk k:khal (clan of the fathers-in-law), and the last one ymg:i (clan of the sons-in-law /zyat'ya/), and all together are called pandf (persons of common origin). Since all three of these clans are blood kin (a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, and women marry the sons of their father's sister), in marriage relations each separate clan is in this fashion an organic member of a tripartite, blood-kin, three-clan union of pandf, a real cognate phratry, for in each generation all the husbands and wives are cognate male and female cousins. [114] The Gilyak phratry, however, has nothing in common with the Morgan one, for within it marriages are not only allowed, but are obligatory.

The Gilyak three-clan phratry may be presented in the form of the following schematic table: (see following page)

1: Shternberg--309 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Schematic Table No. 1 of the Three-clan Cognate Phratry.

Clan A (Andrey)	Clan V (Vasiliy)	Clan S (Stepan)
Ancestors: Andrey, Vera. Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S. Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.	Ancestors: Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.	Ancestors: Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.
Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Vasiliy of clan V. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Anna of clan S.	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera from clan A.	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey from clan A. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Sof'ya from clan V.

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615 In succeeding generations marriages proceed accord-
*614 ing to the same rule: men marry the daughters of their mother's brother, women marry the sons of their father's sister.

In such a form the phratry provided, matrimonially, for all the clans entering it, satisfying the basic norm of marriage, because in each of these clans a man marries the daughter /211/ of his mother's brother, and women marry into a third clan, the sons of their father's sister.

But such a marital organization of the phratry violates another norm of marriage, according to which it is prohibited to give women to the clan of the father-in-law of the second degree (tujma akhmalk). Applying this norm to our hypothetical phratry, we obtain the following:

Clan V gives women to A, which, in turn, gives them to S; consequently, V is the father-in-law of the second degree to S, and therefore this latter cannot give women to clan V, and, thus, the wife of Vasiliy cannot be the sister of Stepan. Thus, the men of clan V remain without wives, and the women of S -- without husbands. To remove this obstacle it is necessary that there be one clan in the phratry, a fourth, from which V would take women and to which clan S would give its women, and, thus, a four-clan phratry appeared on the scene.

The corresponding changes in the kinship relations of the four-clan phratry will be clear from Table No. 2. (see following page)

1: Shternberg--311 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1930 RXC Gilyak RXC

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Schematic Table No. 2 of the Four-clan Cognate Phratry.

Clan A (Andrey)	Clan V (Vasiliy)	Clan S (Stepan)	Clan D (Dem'yan)
Ancestors:	Ancestors:	Ancestors:	Ancestors:
Andrey, Vera. Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S. Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.	Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Dem'yan from clan D.	Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Mariya, who is married into clan D. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.	Dem'yan, Mariya. Dem'yan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Mariya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.
Their children:	Their children:	Their children:	Their children:
1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Vasiliy from clan V.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Dem'yan from clan D.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey, from clan A.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S.

(cont.)

1: Sternberg--312 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
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Table No. 2 (cont.)

2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Anna in clan S.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera in clan A.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Mariya in clan D.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sisters of their father, of Sof'ya in clan V.

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*614 615 In succeeding generations marriages proceed according to the same principle as in the foregoing generation: the men marry the daughters of their mother's brother, and the women marry the sons of their father's sister.

Analyzing this table, we see that:

1) In each clan every generation of men takes its wives from the /212/ clan from which their ancestress came, specifically, each individual man takes a wife from the clan of his mother, while the women of each clan marry, according to generation, into the clan into which their ancestress was married, specifically, each individual woman takes her husband from that clan in which her father's sister is married. Exchange of women between two clans is not permitted.

2) Clan A, therefore, takes its women from clan V (the clan from which the ancestress of A, Vera, was taken), but it cannot in return give its women to this clan, but gives them to clan S, where the sister of its ancestor, Anna, is married. It therefore remains for clan V to take its wives either from S or from D, but clan S is prohibited to it, because in relation to this clan it is tujma akhmalk, father-in-law of the second degree (see above); therefore it remains for clan V to take its wives only from clan D, from which was drawn the ancestress of clan V (Sof'ya). After that only the women from clan S and the men from clan D remain unaccounted for, and, as we saw from the table, the latter marry the former, and thus the entire phratry is provided for matrimonially, and all the marriage norms are observed.

3) In every conjugal pair, the husband is the son of the sister of the father of his wife, and, consequently, husband and wife are always cognate cousins.

[602] The interrelationships of the members of the various clans of the phratries are clear from the following analysis of the relationships between the ancestors. Let us begin with Andrey from clan A.

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*614 615 602 Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Vasiliy and Vera, because the sister of the father of the latter was the mother of Andrey. In exactly the same way, Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Stepan and Mariya, because the mother of the latter is the sister of the father of Andrey. Only in relation to Dem'yan and Sof'ya is Andrey a cousin of the second degree, for the clan of Dem'yan (D) takes its women from S, which, in turn, takes them from A; consequently the grandmother of Dem'yan was the sister of the grandfather of A, and thus Andrey and Dem'yan are cognate cousins of the second degree.

It is easy to see that the relationship of every other ancestor to the others is the same as that of Andrey, and similar relationships will exist in every generation between the representatives of the different clans, since the marriage norm in every case is the same. From this analysis it follows that: 1) in each generation the representatives of all four clans are either brothers and sisters to each other, or cousins, in a word, people of the same origin on the male and female side; 2) in clans united by marriage relationships, in each generation the husbands, on the one hand, and their wives, on the other, are cognate cousins of the first degree; 3) between clans not /213/ united by marriage relationships, i.e., clans which are tujma akhmalk to each other, for example, between clans A and D, both the husbands and wives are reciprocally cousins of the second degree, i.e., they are more distantly related than the marrying clans; thus remoteness of kinship beyond a certain degree, as in Australia, is an obstacle to marriage.

The relationship between the marrying ones may be defined in greater detail in the following manner: if "I" am a man, my father-in-law is the brother of my mother and a cousin of the first degree of my father, while my mother-in-law is a cousin of the second degree of my father and a cousin of the first degree of my mother. If "I" am a woman, my father-in-law is a cousin of the first degree of my father and a cousin of the second degree of

/213 cont./

* 614 615 602 my mother, while my mother-in-law is the sister of my father and a cousin of the first degree of my mother; that is to say, husband and wife are kin on both their fathers' and their mothers' sides. On the side of their fathers, on the one hand, and on the side of their mothers, on the other, they are alike cousins of the second degree; on the side of the father of the wife and of the mother of the husband, they are cousins of the first degree, while on the side of the father of the husband and of the mother of the wife, they are cousins of the third degree.

4) The kinship relations between the clans work out in the following way: a) clan A is the akhmalk (father-in-law in the first degree) of clan S; it is also the tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree) of clan D, and, finally, the ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) of clan V (although at the same time it is formally the father-in-law of the third degree of the latter, because D is the father-in-law of V); b) clan V stands in exactly the same relationship toward clans A, S, and D, as does clan S toward clans D, V and A, and, finally, clan D toward clans V, A and S. All the clans stand in the relation of pandf (people of a common origin) to each other. From this relationship between the clans it follows that an ymg:i is the father-in-law of the third degree in relation to his genuine father-in-law, from which it appears, in turn, that a father-in-law of the third degree is a degree of kinship completely unnecessary for the regulation of marriage. And, in fact, it does not exist in the terminology, which has only two forms of kinship with the father-in-law: akhmalk (father-in-law of the first degree), and tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree).

5) From the above it follows that the tujma akhmalk assumes a reciprocal relationship: A is the tujma akhmalk of D, while D, in turn, is the tujma akhmalk of A, and since, as we know from the contemporary marriage rights of the Gilyak, women cannot be given to the tujma akhmalk

/213 cont./

*614 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the
615 tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are
602 possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

Cousin Marriage

582 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among
*174 the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the
121 daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

582 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian
*174 Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia
121 rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i
114 ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

/214 cont./

582 Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers,
*174 Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their
12 predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian mar-
114 riage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler,
171 and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad distribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1),

[113]

1. This picture entitled Crawley to say that "cousin marriage generally is the favorite form of marriage among primitive peoples" ("Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first experience of conscious restriction of marriages between brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages be-
582 tween cousins of the first degree. One cardinal question in
*174 this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is
114 the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands mar-
121 riage between the children of brother and sister, but at the same time prohibits marriage between the children of two brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact. "Cousin marriage," he says, "is, according to all appearances, a survival. It is quite difficult to find a straightforward psychological basis explaining why marriage between the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so strictly prohibited" (1).

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1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins in India," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1907, p. 623.

/215 cont./

582 Others have attempted to give an explanation for this
* 174 fact, but these explanations are purely mechanical. Kohler,
114 for example, sees an explanation of this fact in the dual
121 organization of society (2) -- an explanation which is at

2. Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe, 121.

least strange, for the dual organization itself is a consequence of the institution of cousin marriage. Crawley holds the same point of view as Kohler and therefore falls into the same error. He considers this form of cousin marriage to be "an automatic result of the fact that the name of the family is inherited. The children of brother and sister may marry because by their names they belong to opposite phratries" (3).

3. Crawley, op. cit., 57.

Frazer expresses himself in the same way. According to him, the reason that it is forbidden for these cousins of the first degree, i.e., children of two brothers or two sisters, to marry rests on the fact that they belong to one and the same exogamous class and are therefore restrained by the basic law which forbids a man to marry a woman from his own exogamous class.

The basic mistake of all these writers consists in their having taken the result for the cause, namely, that the so-called cross-cousin marriage, i.e., marriage between the children of brother and sister, was a result of the division of society into two exogamous classes, but they do not raise the question of just what it was that gave rise, in turn, to this dual division. In reality, the dual division into two exogamous classes was a result of the new institution of marriage between children of brother and sister, replacing the earlier endogamous blood marriage.

582 Before that, the group -- the descendants of one an-
* 174 cestress -- was /216/ indivisible; marriages took place
121 within the group, usually between brother and sister. And

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it was only when these marriages were recognized to be harmful and marriage between the children of brother and sister was established that the original, single society was divided into two exogamous halves: in one of these halves were the brothers with their wives and their descendants, and in the other were the sisters with their husbands and their descendants. Consequently, the dual division was a result of cross-cousin marriage, and one must therefore not seek the cause of the aforementioned regulation of this form of marriage in the dual division, but in something else. This cause must be sought in that situation under which the change from blood marriages to exogamous marriage in the form of cousin marriage took place. The study of the Australian classes first of all confirms the long disputed opinion of Morgan that exogamy is the result of realizing the harm of blood marriages, marriages between brothers and sisters. It shows also that the transfer to the exogamous forms took place with extreme gradualness and slowness, a fact that is easily explained by the usual conservatism of primitive man in general, and in particular with respect to such an institution as marriage, which is so closely bound up with religious ideas. This very psychology of conservatism, which at every change of the old institution tries to preserve at least the old form, in which it clothes the new institution, has resulted in the apparently paradoxical fact that the institution which, in the consciousness of the harmful effects of blood marriage, established marriages between cousins of the first degree allowed such marriages exclusively between the children of brothers and sisters and at the same time forbade such marriages between the children of two brothers and two sisters, although the latter are hardly distinguished in any way from the former in the blood sense.

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How did this come about? The fact is that the cross-cousin marriage undoubtedly appeared to replace that stage where the preferred orthodox form of marriage was marriage between brother and sister. Under this form of marriage, not only were the spouses brothers and sisters, but also their parents. Thus, the formula of this marriage was expressed in the fact that marriages were effected between the children of brother and sister, and these latter were spouses in their turn.

This is why, when necessity forced the abandonment of this form of marriage and the replacing of it by cousin marriage, the conservative mind of primitive man chose that form which bore the closest outward resemblance to the old form sanctified by time /217/ and religion, namely, that one in which the only orthodox marriages were marriages between the children of brother and sister (although now these latter were no longer spouses), and not between the children of two brothers or two sisters. Thus the form, which always plays a paramount role in the eyes of the primitive man, was saved. In saving the form, primitive man naïvely imagined that the existence of a new change was thus concealed from the deity -- the usual manner of pious "deceit" of the gods.

In just this way brothers -- own and collateral -- and their descendants, on the one hand, and sisters and their descendants, on the other hand, formed the two exogamous halves of the former single society.

Another very important, although less cardinal question to which the investigators of cousin marriage give no answer is the following. If cousin marriage is explained as the first stage of exogamy, as the first measure thereof, then from where does its obligatory, its almost necessary character come? It would seem, on the contrary, that once the good of exogamy was recognized it would be most logical to encourage marriage between the least closely related persons, even between individuals who were entirely alien to each

/217 cont./

582 other, while marriages between cousins should have been
*174 allowed for the first time only as a necessary evil, malum
121 necessarium, in order that it might pass completely out of use as an antisocial institution.

582 The evolution of marriage among the Australian peoples
171 can serve as the best example of this strange fact. Among
*174 these peoples, judging from the organization of classes and
121 from their personal declarations, the consciousness of the harm of marriage within close degrees of kinship is quite well developed, and they have manifested great resourcefulness in order to block the possibility of close marriages, excelling other peoples in this respect. Such a complicated system as the eight-class system of the Arunta tribe has been specially devised for the abolishment of marriages between cousins of the first degree. It would seem after this that marriages between the most remote degrees of relationship ought to be encouraged, while marriages between cousins of the second degree ought to be regarded as merely allowable. Among them, however, even "cousins of the third degree are thought too remote, and marriages beyond this degree are prohibited" (1). Thus, marriage with cousins even of

1. Crawley, op. cit., 61.

an impossibly close degree is not only allowed, but obligatory.

Further, if cousin marriage is only the first stage of exogamy, /218/ then why, in spite of the enormous period of time which has passed since its inception, does it continue to survive so stubbornly up to the present time among a large number of tribes, including such numerous ones as the Dravidians, in its original, unaltered form. And even there, as among the tribes of Australia, it underwent limitation in the sense of the exclusion of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but still the principle, as we just saw, is preserved inviolate, and marriages beyond cousins of the third degree are not permitted. This stubborn invoking of

/218 cont./

582 the principle, this persistent striving to perpetuate it by means
*174 of obligation, must rest on a serious basis. It seems to us
121 that the strength of the cousin marriage rests on two important
171 motives. The first motive is the natural striving of every kinship group, in particular of each mother, to provide her progeny with wives.

At the primitive stage of human development the element of struggle in sexual relations undoubtedly played just as tremendous a role as in the zoological kingdom in general. And one of the most important problems of human communities was to limit this struggle as far as possible, by one or another regulation.

The institution of marriage, obligatory between persons of a certain group, was that form of sexual regulation which was called upon to satisfy the above-mentioned fundamental dictate of the community. Prior to the establishment of exogamy, this dictate could be satisfied by the intrablood marriages obligatory between brothers and sisters. With the establishment of the principle of exogamy, cross-cousin marriage most satisfactorily solved this problem. From birth, the sons of a woman are the husbands of the daughters of her brother, and the sons of this latter are the husbands of her daughter. This combination satisfies to an equal degree the father of the family as well, because his children marry the children of his sister.

The other motive of cousin marriage is religious: with such marriages people not alien by blood, but rather of a common origin through the father and mother, come together at the domestic hearth, with its gods-ancestors. And both spouses may to an equal extent count on the favor of the common gods-ancestors. This is a feature of primary importance in the eyes of primitive man, for whom the blessing of the gods and the observance of religious rituals is an extremely important matter in life, one of the major means in the struggle for existence. That is why this form of marriage became not /219/ only favored, but religiously obligatory.

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582 That is why up to the present time among a large number of
*124 Dravidian tribes marriage is mandatory when a brother has a
171 daughter and his sister a son. That is why, as we saw among
121 the Australian tribes, with all the striving toward limiting cousin marriage, marriages more remote than cousins of the third degree are prohibited; consequently, marriages between cousins of the second degree are obligatory. That is why among the Mongols, whose favored marriages are the marriages between persons alien to each other, marriages between the children of a brother and sister are called "white sin," i.e., considered acceptable, while marriages even between the most remote members of one clan are "black
582 sin," i.e., completely unallowable. In order not to increase
*124 the examples, we shall end with the Gilyak, among whom,
121 in spite of all the peripeteia of this small tribe, only the marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is considered "pure marriage."

After these preliminary observations, we may proceed to an examination of the question as to what place the Gilyak norm of marriage occupies in the history of the evolution of marriage in general.

Cousin marriage, as we saw, owes its origin to the realization of the harm of marriage between close blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the striving for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship marriage the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed consistently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

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582 When adapted to individual families, this arrangement is
*124 expressed in the fact that the son of a brother marries the
121 daughter of his sister, and, conversely, the son of a sister marries the daughter of her brother. The spouses are cousins of the first degree, while the wife of each man is, on the one hand, the daughter of the sister of his father, and, on the other hand, the daughter of the brother of his mother, because the fathers of the spouses married each other's sister.

Such was the first stage of the limitation on marriages between persons close by blood. Further limitation occurred
[171] /220/ differently in different places. In Australia this limitation proceeded very early on the broadest course: from marriages between cousins of the first degree, they proceeded to marriages between cousins of the second degree, and the previous marriages between cousins of the first degree were prohibited.

Nothing in the social structure changed with this arrangement. Society remained divided as before into two halves which exchanged women, with the difference that a man married, not the daughter of the sister of his father, but the daughter of his cousin of the first degree, so that the progeny of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses became further removed from one another by one generation, both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. The principle of the exchange of women, which constituted the essence of cross-cousin marriage, was preserved inviolate, while the principle that marriage was obligatory between the children of a brother and sister was basically violated. It turned out to be impossible to preserve both principles in complete purity.

On analogous premises, the evolution proceeded differently among those peoples for whom marriage was built on the Gilyak principle. In the name of conservatism they considered it more important to preserve the second principle, sacrificing the first.

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582 The peoples of this group, for which the Gilyak serve as the
*174 most striking representative, began to limit marriages between
121 cousins of the first degree, considering it necessary to establish a more remote degree of kinship between spouses, but they did not wish to sacrifice that principle which seemed to them most important, namely, the one according to which each mother receives for her son the daughter of her brother. They actually preserved this principle, but, in order to satisfy the necessity of lessening the closeness of kinship between spouses, they sacrificed the other principle of cross-cousin marriage.

As we know, the son of a woman receives the daughter of her brother, but the reverse, i.e., the marriage of the son of a brother and the daughter of his sister, is not allowed. As a result the limitation on the closeness of kinship obtains -- spouses are cousins of the first degree only on one side -- the side of the mother of the husband, but not on the side of the mother of the wife, while previously, with cross-cousin marriage, they were cousins of the first degree both on the side of the mothers and on the side of the fathers of both spouses. But at the same time there is preserved here the old basic principle -- marriage to the daughter of the brother of the mother, and the spouses remained cousins of the first degree -- true, on one side only.

/221/ This departure from the peoples of the Australian type in the form of the limitation on marriage between cousins of the first degree brought about a fundamental change in the organization of society. It brought about the transition from a bipartite division of society with its classes to the organization of a pure clan, and in particular to the four-clan phratry that we saw among the Gilyak.

[171] With the Australian system of limitations on marriages within close degrees of kinship, no matter how far these limitations went (at the present time they do not go further than cousins of the second degree), society remains irrevocably divided from the standpoint of marriage into two exogamous

/221 cont./

582 groups, joined in the constant mutual exchange of women.
* 174 In fact, each division is a real clan, because marriages are
121 prohibited within the division. True, along with these two
171 divisions a complex system of marriage classes is established, but these latter change nothing, for no matter what class a man belongs to, he continues to remain in his division, while the classes do not change the position of the person in the clan, but are only mnemonic titles personally limiting a man (but not his offspring) in the choice of women of a particular degree of relationship: in the four-class system -- only cousins of the first degree; in the eight-class system, cousins of the second degree. In reality, classes are not even obligatory appurtenances for the Australian dual division. Among the Dieri tribe, for example, there exists the same prohibition with respect to marriages between cousins of the first degree as among the Arunta, but, while among the latter eight classes have been established as a mnemonic device, among the former this limitation has not been reflected in an extensive class division.

Thus it is clear that in the Australian system, by virtue of its having preserved the principle of the exchange of women, cross-cousin marriage demands only a division into two clans. The society is a two-clan phratry.

582 The Gilyak system was unable to remain in this two-
* 174 clan phratry. From the moment when cross-cousin mar-
121 riages, i.e., exchange marriages between the children of brother and sister, were prohibited, the two-clan phratry was insufficient: one clan took women from a second clan, but the latter was obliged to seek women for itself elsewhere, while, on the other hand, marriages outside of a given ethnic group were not allowed (as we see now in Australia). It remained to transform the two-clan phratry into a multiclan phratry.

/222/

582 This type of one-sided cousin marriage, so simply ex-
* 174 plained in the light of the evolution of more ancient forms
114 of cross-cousin marriage, has attracted no attention at all from the investigators. Many scientists have even regarded this institution with disbelief, considering it implausible. Thus, almost at the same time as my publication on this
[171] institution among the Gilyak (in 1901), the noted scientist Kohler in his article, "Das Recht der Hottentots /The Law of the Hottentot/" (1), ascertaining, in the words of his

[113]

1. In Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, B. XVI, pp. 341-342.

correspondent, the existence of just such an institution among that tribe, regards this report with distrust. The cause of this distrust is quite simple. Not knowing the genesis of this institution and the place occupied by it in the evolution of cousin marriage, and having no other examples of this institution besides its remnants in the marriage prohibitions, it was difficult to comprehend the cause of the one-sided prohibition by which the son of a sister can marry the daughter of a brother, but the daughter of a sister may not marry the son of her brother, although the degree of closeness of blood kinship in both cases is identical; and therefore the one-sidedness of the prohibition was viewed rather as an anomaly than as a normal sign of a living institution.

582 Due to such disbelief on the part of investigators, this
* 174 institution is completely disregarded in treatises on human
171 marriage and has remained completely misunderstood, while
[114] ethnographic literature gives quite a bit of information on its broad distribution among the most diverse peoples. Especially numerous traces of it are found in Indonesia and among the Dravidian peoples of India, among whom Morgan found the most clearly expressed form of the Turanian system, in which group marriage was preserved. As we just saw,

/222 cont./

582 * 174 171 Kohler's correspondent reports on it from Africa among the Hottentot. From Indonesia, such an authoritative investigator as Wilken reports on it, writing: "Among the Batak, the Redjang (Rejangs) and the natives of Amboina, it is permissible for the son of a sister to marry the daughter of a brother, but the son of a brother may not marry the daughter of a sister" (2).

[113]

2. Wilken, Bijdranjen /Contributions/, Serie Y, V. I, p. 148.

The kinship terminology corresponds to this arrangement: among the Batak on Sumatra, for example, a wife or female sweetheart is called ibibere-re-datang, i.e., daughter of the mother's brother.

This institution was already recorded in still more definite form in the 1870's among the Dravidian tribes of India. Thus, for example, in the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpûras in central India, marriage between cousins is compulsory when /223/ the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. Many data may be found in the most recent literature by Rivers (1).

[113]

1. "Marriage of cousins in India, Jour. Royal Asiat. Society, July, 1907, p. 626 pass.

/223 cont./

IX.

The Gilyak Kinship System and Morgan's Hypothesis

601
*835 The Gilyak system of kinship and marriage fully confirms the basic hypothesis of L. Morgan that the terms of kinship are the result of corresponding sexual norms and norms of marriage. What for Morgan was only a deduction, we actually see to the fullest degree in Gilyak life. If a Gilyak calls a group of women by the term "wife," then those women are actually wives for him in the proper sense. If a Gilyak calls a certain group of men -- fathers, then these are actually persons who have sexual rights to his mother. If he calls the brother of his mother "father-in-law," then it is because, according to primordial law, he is actually obliged to marry the daughter of this uncle, who will then be his father-in-law. In the Gilyak system one finds the explanation of even such universal classificatory terms as elder and younger brother and elder and younger sister, which are very important, especially in marriage norms. First of all, these terms regulate individual marriage in the [582] clan of the mother. An elder brother is obliged to marry an elder sister, and a younger brother a younger sister. [587] These terms are important in the levirate, since a widow passes to a younger "tuvn." Finally, among half of the Gilyak, only the younger brothers have sexual rights to the wives of the elder brothers.

How clearly individualized this correspondence between a kinship term and the marriage rights is in the Gilyak terminology is seen especially clearly in the relations of the brothers to their wives. Among half of the Gilyak, as we have seen, all the brothers without exception have mutual rights to one another's wives. And among them the terms actually correspond to this: a man designates with the term "wife" all the wives of his brothers without exception, and therefore all the children of brothers without exception call

/223 cont./

601 these latter by the term "father." But among the other half
*835 of the Gilyak only the younger brothers have rights to the wives of the older brothers. And once again this is indicated in the terminology. I call the wife of my younger brother, with whom I do not have the right of intercourse, by the prohibitive term jokh, /224/ but I call the wife of an elder brother by the same term as I call my own wife; corresponding to this, the children of brothers call only the younger brothers of the father, as well as this latter, by the term ytk (father), but the father's older brothers -- atk.

114 The objections which have been raised against Morgan's
601 hypothesis are in this sense objections of a purely abstract
*835 character. Thus, for example, the well-known objection repeated by all the opponents of Morgan with regard to the inexplicability of the class of mothers, since a person's mother, they say, is always well-known, is quite simply explained by the norms of sexual relations among the Gilyak. A Gilyak calls by the name of mother any woman with whom a person of the class of his fathers has the right to sexual relations. The degree to which the Gilyak realize the significance of this term is seen from the following. We have just seen that among that half of the Gilyak where only the younger brothers have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of the elder, the children of brothers distinguish the elder brothers of their father from the younger brothers, and these latter they call by the term "father," but they do not distinguish the wives of the brothers of their father, calling them mothers. Why? For this reason. I call the wives of my father's younger brothers mothers because their husbands are my fathers (they have the right to sexual intercourse with my mother), and the wives of the older ones because my father has the right of sexual intercourse with them, and they are his wives.

/224 cont./

601 A Gilyak also calls the sisters of his father-in-law
* 835 mothers, but this is entirely correct, because, as we have seen, father and son take wives from the same clan; the father takes a man's sister, while the son takes a daughter of this latter, so that the sister of one's father-in-law is
[114] really his mother. The objection of Kunov that the classificatory terms designate only age classes is likewise completely unfounded. In Gilyak life, age plays no part in the kinship terms. My class "father" can be younger than I, and nevertheless he cannot marry a woman of the class of my wives, but, on the other hand, is obliged to marry a woman from the class of wives of my actual father, and on attaining maturity he will in fact be a husband of my mother.

* 174 The Gilyak system and the punalua family. In the light of
* 835 the Gilyak system, not only is Morgan's general hypothesis
[114] concerning the origin of the classificatory system of kinship from the system of marriage confirmed and explained, but also his more particular hypothesis concerning the origin of the Turanian kinship system from the punalua family. The Gilyak kinship system is /225/ Turanian in its basic indications, while the marriage system presents a most complete form of the punalua family. In actuality, according to Morgan, the basis of the punalua family is "group marriage, either of several own /or/ collateral sisters with their spouses, where the common husbands were not necessarily kinsmen, or a group marriage of several own or collateral brothers with their wives, where these wives were likewise not necessarily kinswomen, although in both cases this was often encountered." The old Gilyak family with its obligatory marriage from one particular clan was a group marriage of all the brothers (own and collateral) with all the sisters of a particular generation, so that the groups of husbands were brothers, while their wives were always sisters. This is evi-
[601] dent from the kinship terminology -- the wives of brothers call each other sisters.

/225 cont./

*835 601 At the present time, when it is permitted to take wives from different clans, all the brothers (own and collateral) are still the group husbands of their wives, who often turn out to be sisters. And we have seen that even when sisters marry persons of different clans all the consequences of group-marriage are still preserved, and their children are considered brothers and sisters.

[114] The structure of the Gilyak family thus affords us the opportunity to establish the very genesis of the Hawaiian family, from which Morgan constructed the punalua family. This family originally did not consist of a group of several brothers who were married to their wives in a group marriage, or, on the other hand, of several sisters in a group marriage with their husbands, who might be non-kin to each other. Such a family could not have created the Turanian classificatory system of kinship, for it presupposes the possibility of several groups of brothers or sisters, each group participating completely independently in a group marriage in which the other groups did not share; consequently, common designations for all the brothers according to their marital relations could not have been formed.

*835 614 *174 The Gilyak family in its pure, original form gives us an actual picture of this family. The family is an intraclan organization. Therefore, each group-family represents a generation of all the brothers of a given clan (own and collateral) joined in a group marriage with a whole generation of women from another clan. These women are necessarily sisters, for the daughters of clansmen-brothers, as we have seen, are necessarily the wives of the sons of the sisters of their fathers. Now when, as we have seen, by virtue of [178] /226/ the causes that we have mentioned, this marital obligation became weakened, and brothers began to take wives from different clans and women began to marry into different clans, sisters might turn out to be members of a group marriage with husbands who were not kin to each other, and brothers in the same kind of marriage with wives

/226 cont./

*835 *174 614 178 who were not kin to each other, with this difference, that the collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans, would be broken up into several groups, as in the punalua family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining *835 601 *174 in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since the Gilyak family is the most ideal form of the punalua family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the most complete form of the Turanian system. Actually, we find in it classificatory groups that must have existed in the Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the [114] system of marriage. For example, in that Turanian form which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely, the Tamil, the two extremely important classificatory terms -- "husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

*835 601 *174 171 The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed under conditions where brothers had common wives, and sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the Tamil system a man calls by the name father, not only his own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also existed a general term "wife," by which a man would designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband," by which each woman would designate both her own husband and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

114 601 171 In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil, a man calls his wife en mainavi, the wife of his brother enanni, en maittuni, the sister of his wife en korlunti, en maittuini; there is the same lack of correspondence with the term "husband" (1).

1. See the table in Morgan.

/226 cont./

601 Among the Gilyak the terms "husband" and "wife" --
* 835 pu and an'g:ej -- embrace all persons united by group mar-
114 riage, which thus still more confirms the truth of Morgan's interpretation of the kinship terms.

114 /227/ Elucidation of several terms of the Turano-Ganowanian
601 system which appeared inexplicable to Morgan. In the light
171 of cousin marriage, several terms of kinship in the Turano-Ganowanian system become understandable to us. For example, Morgan was very confused by, and even regarded as inexplicable, why, among the Tamil, I, a man, call the children of my male cousins (considering as such the children of the sister of my father and of the brother of my mother without distinction) nephews and nieces, but I call the children of my female cousins sons and daughters. At the same time, among the Seneca-Iroquois exactly the reverse of this rule prevails. In his Consanguinity and Affinity he considers this fact inexplicable: "The discrimination of degrees of the cousin relationship," he says "is a remarkable fact in the Tamilian system. It is now found only in some systems of the Turanian family. From the structure and principles of the Turanian system, as I have already shown earlier with regard to the Ganowanian system, it follows inevitably that in its further development this relationship would be applied and restricted to the children of a brother and sister. It was probably unknown in the primitive system... It is the only particular in which it differs materially from the form of the family among the Seneca-Iroquois. In this respect, this last logically agrees more with the principles of the Turanian system than the Tamilian system. It is difficult to find any explanation for this difference" (1).

[113]

1. Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, 1871 p. 391.

/227 cont./

114 Subsequently, in Ancient Society, Morgan found an ex-
601 planation for this fact.
171 "This shows," he says, "that among the Tamil, at the time when the Turanian system was introduced, all my female cousins were my wives, while at the same time this did not apply to the wives of my male cousins" (2).

[113]

2. Morgan, Ancient Society, 1877, p. 444 (Russ. trans., Pervobytnoe obshchestvo, p. 427).

114 It did not even occur to Morgan that the whole Turanian
601 system was based on this principle. This peculiarity, how-
* 174 ever, is precisely the result of the primitive system of cross-
171 cousin marriage, from which the Turanian system also de-
* 835 veloped. Under cross-cousin marriage, marriage between the children of brother and sister is the only form of marriage, and such male and female cousins accordingly call themselves "husband" and "wife." That the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage is evident also from other terms, which /228/ must have been inexplicable to Morgan and which he does not even bring up, not having found an explanation for them. For example, among the Tamil, if "I" am a man, then the wife of my sister's son is my "daughter" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the husband of my sister's daughter is my "son" (as in the Australian cousin marriage); the husband of my father's sister's daughter is my "brother" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the father of my wife is my "father-in-law" and "uncle" (father-in-law and brother of the mother among the Gilyak, father-in-law and brother of the father or mother among the Australians); the mother of my wife is my "mother-in-law" and "aunt" (aunt and father's sister among the Gilyak, mother-in-law and father's sister or mother's sister among the Australians); my brother's wife is my "female cousin" (i.e., a daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister); and, finally, the "wife" of a son of my father's sister, and

/228 cont./

114 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister"
171 (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms
*174 is met if "I" am a woman.
601 All this is without question evidence that the Turanian
*835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although the examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes of central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of this system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change to the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a con-
*174 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the
601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to
*835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children of
615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's sister's
[171 son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my
114] "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins of the first clans A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of group marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children for both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we shall see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian
*174 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera-
*835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of
615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

/229/

*174 *835 121 615 Let us further suppose for simplicity's sake that each phratry consists of one generation -- groups of brothers and sisters, own and collateral, of different degrees of kinship.

We shall designate groups of male cousins of one division with capital letters, $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$, and their sisters with the corresponding small letters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4$. In the other phratry the corresponding designation for the brothers will be $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$, and for their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4$, where identical letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin kinship among different groups (adjacent groups will be cousins of the first degree, while the degree of kinship between other groups will be expressed by variations in their indices). Like indices of groups having different letters show that persons of these groups are cousins of the first degree both on their father's side and on their mother's side; A^1, and a^1 are cousins of the first degree to V^1, v^1; A^2, a^2 are also cousins of the first degree to V^2, v^2, etc. But in groups having different letters and different indices, the difference in the indices plus one will show the corresponding degree of cousin kinship: A^1, a^1 are cousins of the second degree to V^2, v^2; A^2, a^2 are cousins of the second degree to V^3, v^3, etc.

Since groups with different letters and identical indices are cousins of the first degree, and these groups are mutually obliged to marry each other, A^1 marries v^1 (the sister of V^1), while the latter marries a^1, the sister of A^1; likewise A^2 marries v^2, V^2 marries a^2, etc.

A general picture of marriage can thus be presented in the form of the following table:

Division I $(A^1 + v^1) + (A^2 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^3) + (A^4 + v^4)$ etc.
Division II $(V^1 + a^1) + (V^2 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^3) + (V^4 + a^4)$ etc.

/229 cont./

121
×174
615
×835

The general composition of the phratry may be represented in the following table (see p. 230 /of the original text/).

/230/

I	II
Group of male cousins	Groups of male cousins
$A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 + A^5 + A^6 \ldots$	$V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 + V^5 + V^6 \ldots$
Their sisters:	
$a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 + a^5 + a^6 \ldots$	$v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 + v^5 + v^6 \ldots$

Since the groups $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4$ etc. and their sisters are related to one another in the same way as the members of the second group V^1, V^2, V^3, V^4 and their sisters, according to the norms of cross-cousin marriage, A^1 is married to v^1 (a sister of V^1), A^2 is married to v^2, A^3 to v^3, A^4 to v^4, etc., and, conversely, V^1 is married to a^1, V^2 to a^2, V^3 to a^3, V^4 to a^4, etc., in each generation.

Now let us imagine the moment when society first became aware of the harm of cross marriage between cousins of the first [171] degree. From the details of Australian marriage, we know that the first step in this direction was the prohibition of cross marriage between cousins of the first degree and the establishing of cross marriage between cousins of the second degree. As a consequence of this, A^1 no longer marries v^1, but rather his cousin of the second degree, v^2, just as V^1 must now marry a^2, etc.

Marriages under this new arrangement present the following appearance: Division I $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^2 + v^1) + (A^3 + v^4) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^5 + a^6) + (V^6 + a^5)$ etc. /sic; see errata for original p. 230, line 18, on p. 739 of the foreign text/. Division II $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^2 + a^1) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^5 + a^6) + (V^6 + a^5)$ etc.

It is easy to see that under this arrangement each half of the society is in turn separated into two halves, into two matrimonially isolated groups, namely, the odd members of each division make up only one group, while the even members make up another, and in both divisions together four groups are formed.

/230 cont./

This four-group division is expressed in the following form:

121 *174 615 *835 Group I $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6)$ and other odd members.

Group II $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5)$ and other even members.

Group III $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^6)$ and other odd members.

Group IV $(V^2 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^6 + a^5)$ and other even members.

121 171 *174 615 *835 The first group is nebrakopravomochna (inmarriageable /given in English/) with IV, because in some cases, if the families become joined in wedlock in /231/ consecutive order, for example $(A^1 + v^2)$ with $(V^2 + a^1)$, then the children of these families will be bilateral cousins, for their fathers are mutually married to each other's sisters; in other cases, for example in families $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^4 + a^3)$, the children will be not cousins of the second degree, but cousins of the third or fourth degree, which is avoided by the Australian system. For the same reason groups II and III are unmarriageable, while groups I and III and groups II and IV are entirely marriageable in the consecutive order of the families. Thus, for example, in the families $(A^1 + v^2)$ from group I and $(V^1 + a^2)$ from III, as is seen from the indices, the father of the first family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the second family, and, conversely, the father of the second family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the first family; consequently, their children are second degree cousins on the side of both their fathers and their mothers, which is just what is necessary in Australian marriage.

But these groups in the Australian system could not develop into the present clan units, because each pair of marriageable groups remained marriageable for only one generation; consequently, the following generation, as the offspring of brother and sister, could not marry, being

/231 cont./

121 615 *835 *174 [171]

cross cousins of the first degree, and for this reason these groups could not become fixed into hereditary unions and therefore formed only class generations, the whole practical significance of which was in the mnemonic fixation of the marriage norms.

The role of the four-group division developed quite differently with the Gilyak type of marriage. Here, too, the initial motive was the realization of the harm of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but while in the Australian system the question was resolved by means of a transition to marriages between cousins of the second degree and the absolute prohibition on marriages between cousins of the first degree, with the preservation, however, of the exchange marriage, in the Gilyak marriage the change of norms was limited merely to a prohibition on marriages between bilateral cousins of the first degree, i.e., marriages where the spouses are cousins of the first degree both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. Here marriage remained obligatory between cousins of the first degree, but only if they were unilateral, i.e., either on the side of the father or on the side of the mother; through this, mutual marriages between two families became absolutely forbidden: under no condition could two men marry each others' sisters; consequently, marriage even between bilateral cousins of the second degree became impossible.

Now let us see how this regulation led to the Gilyak type of phratry.

121 *174 *835 615

/232/ Let us recall again the phratry with two divisions, with marriage between cousins of the first degree. In order to facilitate orientation, we repeat the previously introduced diagram of the composition of each generation of spouses according to degrees of kinship, with cross marriage between cousins of the first degree.

/232 cont./

121
*174
*835
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Division I: men $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$
their sisters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 \ldots$

Division II: men $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$
their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 \ldots$

The same letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin relationship. Persons of different letter-groups with identical indices, for example, A^1, a^1 and V^1, and v^1, or A^2, a^2 and V^2, v^2, are bilateral cousins of the first degree, and they usually join in cross-marriage, i.e., A^1 marries v^1 and V^1 marries a^1. Persons of different letter-groups with different indices are cousins of more remote degrees according to the larger index.

And now let us imagine the moment when the transition from bilateral cousin marriage to unilateral marriage began, and when the exchange of sisters, that is, cross-cousin marriage, became prohibited.

This transition could not be completed all at once. Among individuals of both divisions there were no unilateral cousins at all, because these were all products of cross-cousin marriage. But since marriages between cousins of the first degree became absolutely prohibited, it would doubtless have become necessary for the first time to arrange marriages between cousins of the next closest degrees. The most [171] rational must be, as we have seen among the Australians, marriage between cousins of the second degree, but, in contrast to the Australian regime, where this form could be strictly put into practice in both divisions (1), here, as a

1. See the above table on p. 338.

consequence of the prohibition of the exchange of women, this form could be employed only in one division of society.

/232 cont./

121 *174 US *835 In fact, if A^1 married his cousin of the second degree, v^2, then the brother of the latter, V^2, could not marry either a^1 or a^2, because in such a case two men would be married to each others' sisters. Therefore, V^2 was obliged to take a cousin of the third degree, a^3. The other cases are handled in exactly the same way.

/233/ Converting this rule into our schematic rows, we obtain the following table of marriage:

Division I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^2 + v^1) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^5 + v^6) + A^6 + v^5) + (A^7 + v^8) + (A^8 + v^7)$.

Division II: $(V^1 + a^3) + (V^2 + a^4) + V^3 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^8 + a^6)$ /see errata for original page 233, lines 5-6, on page 739 of the foreign text/.

In the following generation it already appears possible to fulfill the new principle of unilateral cousin marriage without an exchange of women, where each mother may marry her son to the daughter of her brother.

Analyzing the table we see that among the odd members of the first division, women have the same indices, respectively, as men have among the even members of the second division, i.e., in these two groups and in each pair of families of the same order, for example, $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^2 + a^4)$, the woman of the first family is a sister to the man of the second, but the woman of the second family is not his sister, but his first cousin, the men of the first family are descendants of these families, and consequently they are unilateral cousins of the first degree. Thus, consistent with the Gilyak principle, according to which the son of the sister receives the daughter of her brother, the sons of the first family marry the children of the second. The reverse is not allowed.

/233 cont./

121 On the other hand, by comparing the odd members of the
*174 first division with the odd members of the second division,
615 we see that the men of the odd families of the first row and the
*835 women of the even families of the second row, for instance, the members ($A^1 + v^2$) and ($V^2 + a^4$), have identical indices, i.e., they are brothers and sisters, and consequently the sons of the second row marry the daughters of the first row. One can easily see that the same relationship will obtain between the even members of the first division and the other two rows of the second division.

[171] Thus, as in Australian marriage, the society, matrimonially, is naturally broken up into four groups:

Division I: Group I: ($A^1 + v^2$) + ($A^3 + v^4$) + ($A^5 + v^6$) + ($A^7 + v^8$) and other odd members.

Group II: ($A^2 + v^1$) + ($A^4 + v^3$) + ($A^6 + v^5$) + ($A^8 + v^7$) and other odd members.

Division II: Group III: ($V^1 + a^3$) + ($V^3 + a^1$) + ($V^5 + a^7$) + ($V^7 + a^5$) and other even members.

Group IV: ($V^2 + a^4$) + ($V^4 + a^2$) + ($V^6 + a^5$) + ($V^8 + a^6$) and other even members.

The families of the first group take for their sons wives /234/ from the corresponding families of group IV, where the mothers of the first are the sisters of the fathers of the second, but the daughters of the first group enter the third group -- into families where their fathers' own sisters are. In exactly the same way the second group takes women from group IV and gives its women to group III. In a word, we have literally everything that we saw in the Gilyak marriage. Since exchange marriage between the two groups does not exist, and consequently in each following generation the descendants of the espoused clans will be unilateral cousins, marriages will without exception take place between the same groups and in the same order of families, so that, in contrast to the Australian groups, in this case these exogamous groups are converted into real clans. Thus we obtain the Gilyak four-clan phratry. In this phratry each clan is joined

/234 cont./

121 in marital relations with two other clans, but the fourth is
*174 absolutely forbidden to it, for it and this fourth one are a
615 subgroup of its own primitive exogamous division (groups I
*835 and II are prohibited to each other, and III and IV are likewise prohibited to each other). This prohibited clan is that Gilyak tujma akhmalk k:khal, the clan of the second degree, the prohibition of which is so incomprehensible. Now the reason is clear: the tujma akhmalk clans are prohibited because they primordially entered into one common exogamous division.

That this prohibited clan fully corresponds to the Gilyak may be easily ascertained from our table.

The first clan gives women to the third, and consequently it is its akhmalk of the first degree, but the third clan, in turn, gives women to the second, i.e., to the latter as well it is an akhmalk of the first degree. Thus, the first clan is tujma akhmalk of the second clan, i.e., of the clan which is in the same exogamous division with it.

Thus, I hope that we have succeeded in proving the close genetic tie between the Gilyak system and the Australian one from which it separated at that stage when the change toward the elimination of marriage between bilateral cousins of the first degree began.

One system solved the question by means of a shift to marriages between male cousins of the second degree and the final prohibition of marriages between the children of brother and sister in the first generation -- a prohibition fixed in the institution of classes, as among the Arunta. The other system prohibited exchange marriages, preserving obligatory unilateral marriages between the offspring of brother and sister, and fixed its norms in the institution of the four-clan phratry.

A still third variant is possible. Let us once again imagine the moment when it was decided to shift /235/ from the bilateral marriage of cousins of the first degree to the unilateral one, when it will be impossible to exchange women. Until that moment society was divided into two halves in the following manner:

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I. $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^2 + v^2)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^5 + v^5)+(A^6 + v^6)$.

II. $(V^1 + a^1)+(V^2 + a^2)+(V^3 + a^3)+(V^4 + a^4)+(V^5 + a^5)+(V^6 + a^6)$.

Now it is necessary to shift to the unilateral marriage, for exchanging sisters is impossible, but now there are no unilateral cousins of the first degree, and only for the first time is it possible to observe the prohibition on the exchange of sisters; consequently, the son of A^1 may marry the daughter of V^1, but the son of V^1 may not marry the daughter of A^1; he may marry the daughter of A^2, his female cousin of the nearest degree, etc. Then the picture of marriage is the following:

I. $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^2 + v^2)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^5 + v^5) + (A^6 + v^6)$

1. $(V^1 + a^2)+(V^2 + a^1)+(V^3 + a^4)+(V^4 + a^3)+(V^5 + a^6)+(V^6 + a^5)$

I. 1) $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^5 + v^5)$: 1st clan takes women from clan 3, that of the mother's brother.

2) $(A^2 + v^2)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^6 + v^6)$: 2nd clan takes women from clan 4.

II. 3) $(V^1 + a^2)+(V^3 + a^4)+(V^5 + a^6)$: 3rd clan takes women from clan 2.

4) $(V^2 + a^1)+(V^4 + a^3)+ (V^6 + a^5)$: 4th clan takes women from clan 1.

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X.

Features of the Classificatory System Among Other Peoples of Northeast Asia

*174 60 As early as forty years ago L. Morgan in his Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity gave special attention to the question of the relationship between the Turanian and the Ganowanian kinship systems and after a long analysis, came to the definite conclusion that the relationship between these systems could occur only because of common blood, and that the present bearers of the Ganowanian system, i.e., the American peoples, brought it from their ancient homeland, from Asia. Morgan at that time was in a position to trace the Turanian system among the Dravidian peoples of India up to the southern boundaries of Central Asia. He was unable to get any information about the Mongol, the Tungus, or even the Turkic peoples. And it was all the more difficult for him to obtain any data about the peoples /236/ of the Amur region and the Pacific shore of northeast Asia. At the same time, it was the Amur River that he regarded as the point of departure for the crossing of the Turanian system from Asia to America, just as, with greater justification, he regarded the Columbia River as the point of departure for the spread of the Ganowanian system throughout the continent of North America. Whatever we may think of Morgan's hypothesis, [114] from this point of view, his conviction that definite traces of the Turanian system should be discovered from the banks of the Amur throughout the northeast of Asia, including the Aleutian Islands, is now beginning to be justified, in some cases in the kinship systems and in others in survivals of cousin marriage. It is particularly strengthened by the system of kinship and marriage discovered by me among the Gilyak. Morgan's great hypothesis, which has such a direct bearing on the problem of the interaction of the peoples of Asia and America, deserves our making at least a brief survey of the marriage norms among these peoples.

G /236 cont./

*174 601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

A 101 174 601 835 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

A [611] [614]

Gi /237 cont./
114 I shall proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are pre-
835 dominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to the shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities have been studied by me principally among the most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochi, and I had an opportunity to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples of
G the Amur region.
Gi In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life
601 as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationalities
835 differ considerably from the Gilyak, settled fishermen and
171 dog-breeders, nevertheless we find a great deal essentially
433 similar in their classificatory system and norms of marriage.
G As among the Gilyak, the clan is based on paternity /pa-
Gi ternitetа/. In each generation of a given clan, the men and
614 women are elder and younger brothers and sisters. The chil-
601 dren of these classes are common sons and daughters and
835 brothers and sisters to one another. The clansmen-"brothers," own and collateral, live in a group marriage with their wives, just as among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect, i.e., the younger with the wives of the elder. Here, as among the Gilyak, they prefer to take wives from a single clan, from which one may conclude that again, as among the Gilyak, that marriage from a single clan was once obligatory.

Group marriage also exists with the wife's sisters who are
Gi married to members of another clan, but, by analogy with
601 the brothers' wives, among some tribes this marriage includes
835 only the younger sisters of the wife. In two respects group
G marriage among the Tungus tribes is much broader than
[601] among the Gilyak. First of all, each man has a right not
[835] only to the wives of his elder brothers, but also to the wives of the younger brothers of his father, whom he therefore calls by the same class term as his elder brothers, namely,
Gi aki, a'ga. On the other hand, marriage to the daughters of
[582] the younger sisters is allowed and thus that category of nieces
300 is drawn into the circle of the class of group wives. It is

Gi 601 835 582 174 [171] /237 cont./ It is easy to see that the first norm is a simple consequence of the second, since a daughter of a sister of one's father is one's cousin. In this last norm, the Tungus system resembles the Koryak one, where, according to the testimony of Iokhel'son /Jochelson/, marriage with a niece -- a daughter of one's sister -- is also permitted. In still another peculiarity the Tungus marriage brings to mind the Koryak one: both do not permit a person to marry /238/ his wife's sister while the wife is still alive. One peculiarity of the Tungus marriage is especially characteristic and testifies to the origin of this system from the earliest stage of cousin marriage. This peculiarity consists in the fact that the favorite form of marriage up to the present is the exchange of sisters with the wife's brother. Since, at the same time, the most preferred marriages are the marriages with clansmen, and, consequently, of fathers and children -- from one common clan, as a result the majority of marriages are typical cross-cousin marriages. Taking into account the fact that at the present time the Tungus marriage system is in a stage of the decay of its primitive forms, we have the right to conclude that in the past cross-cousin marriage was the only form of marriage, which gave birth to the classificatory system and to the features of group marriage.

Gi [587] [171]

Gi 171 608 835 In conclusion, it is interesting to note concerning the Tungus peoples that among some of them, for example, the southern Orochi, there is the institution of ceremonial brotherhood, as among the Chukchee, and that the "brothers" -- anda -- mutually enjoy the right to sexual intercourse with each other's wives. As among the Gilyak, marriages between the children of brothers, just as between the children of sisters, are prohibited.

G [835]

Y 601 835 121 We proceed to the Paleo-Asiatic tribe of the Yukagir, which has been studied by Iokhel'son. Iokhel'son himself refrains from passing judgment on the place occupied by Yukagir marriage in the general evolution of this institution, but the data cited by him provide us with sufficient material to put the Yukagir system within the scope of the Morgan

/238 cont./

601 835 12 [113] hypothesis (1).

1. Jochelson, Jukagirs /The Yukagir/, 68.

601 835 If we study the Yukagir system only from the point of view of what it is at the present time, this system might indeed appear completely isolated, confused, and inexplicable to us. It has, for instance, a complicated classificatory system of kinship and a system of prohibitions, some of whose terms completely coincide with the Turano-Ganowanian system, while others are completely distinct from and contrary to that system; the term emyepol, for example, includes not only brothers and sisters, but also cousins of the first, second, and other degrees, both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother (1) /see footnote 1 above/

174 601 835 In addition, while some of the kinship terms and prohibitions on intercourse indicate, as we shall see in greater detail below, survivals of group marriage, and although relations between the sexes are very free here, nevertheless there is not only an absence of any real traces of group marriage at the present time, but some of the /239/ prohibitions, for example the prohibitions against marriages between cousins, seem to disprove any existence of group marriage even in the past. Upon a closer study of this system, however, we come to the conclusion that this is the Turano-Ganowanian system, merely distorted under the influence of [178] exceptional circumstances. The Yukagir are a tribe that is [161] degenerating completely. At the present time they number [162] less than 800 souls, at least half of whom are Yukagirized Tungus. Until the arrival of the Tungus in this area, it would appear that they lived in even greater isolation than they do now, and the process of degeneration went even faster. [178] Under the influence of this process, there happened to them [174] what is now happening among the Tungus of the Turukhansk

/239 cont./

601 835 174 178 614 region, namely, they had to resort to endogamy (marriages within the clan), which they practice at the present time. This endogamy -- a phenomenon of a relatively late character -- had to confuse to the extreme the neat classificatory system, traces of which have nevertheless been preserved up to the present time. This is most clearly indicated in the above-mentioned term emyepol. In the past, with exogamous marriage, this term undoubtedly meant brothers and sisters, own and collateral, i.e., brothers, sisters, and cousins either only on the father's side (if the clan was paternal) or on the mother's side (if the clan was maternal). With the transition to marriages within the clan, the cousins on both the paternal and the maternal side naturally became equally "brothers and sisters" and formed the present class of emyepol. The formation of this class had a remarkable consequence: it destroyed group marriage.

As we know, group marriage is practiced only among brothers-clansmen married to women from a different clan. When, however, with the introduction of endogamy, brothers-clansmen began to marry cousins from their own clan, the group marriage of all the brothers, own and collateral, became impossible, for in such a case the sexual intimacy of own brothers with their own sisters would be allowed.

Group marriage undoubtedly existed prior to the introduction of endogamy, however. The large number of terms of prohibitions and marriage norms mentioned above testifies to this.

174 60 835 [171] Of the prohibitions against sexual intercourse we shall indicate those which are clearly analogous to the Gilyak ones between an elder brother and the wife of a younger brother, or between an elder male cousin and the wife of a younger male cousin, prohibitions which, as we have seen, derive from the fact that the younger "brother" is joined /240/ in a group marriage with the wives of his elder brothers, which, conversely, is prohibited to these latter. Other prohibitions,

/240 cont./

174 such as the prohibition against the cohabitation of an elder
601 brother with the wife of the son of a younger brother, indi-
835 cate that among the Yukagir there was group marriage not only among "brothers," but, as among the Tungus, among certain categories of the ascending and descending genera-
174 tions. On the other hand, in the marriage norms we see
582 clear traces of cousin marriage. "The Yukagir assured me,"
835 says Iokhel'son, "that, according to their past customs, marriages were prohibited only between generations of cousins of the first degree" (1).

1. Jochelson, op. cit., 82.

Taking into account that even now among the Yukagir we observe a tendency toward marriages with blood kind (2)

2. Jochelson, op. cit., 86.

and that marriage between cousins is widely practiced, we must think that in the past this was the favored form of marriage. The only question to determine is: who were the cousins referred to in the old legend which we cited above.
[171] The present prohibition against intercourse and the duty of sexual reserve between persons of the emyepol class, which now includes cousins on both the paternal and the maternal side, could have taken form only at the time when the emyepol were members of an exogamous clan and clearly proves that in the past cousin marriage presupposed only marriages with cousins of a different clan or division, as among the Gilyak or the Australians, among whom (the latter), by the way, we encounter limitations between cousins of the first degree.

Y /240 cont./

Y 174 835 [582] [583] There is yet another characteristic peculiarity. We have mentioned that cousin marriage leads to the right to marriage, with the result that, with such a system, bride price, payment for the bride, is forbidden.

Y [614] The same thing is to be observed among the Yukagir. Finally, the existence of the clan among the Yukagir is also a not unimportant indication of the fact that endogamy is a new phenomenon here, for among purely endogamous tribes, such as the Ainu, the genuine institution of the clan does not exist. The clan is an exogamous institution by nature.

C 835 [121] We proceed to that large group of northern Paleo-Asiatics which includes the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal. Of this group, the Chukchee are the people who have been studied in great detail, and we must consider them at greater length.

C 835 582 According to Bogoraz' /Bogoras/ description, the customary mode of marriage is with kinsmen and "most frequently between cousins," if possible from one and the same family, and, if this is not possible, then between kinsmen of the same encampment, i.e., cousins /241/ of more distant degrees; the marriage of uncles with nieces is prohibited -- a purely Turanian feature. Since at the same time the exchange of women is practiced, we have here a typical cross-cousin marriage -- again a typical Turanian feature.

C 835 582 584 Gi [582] Marriage between cousins was undoubtedly obligatory at one time. This may be seen, by the way, from the fact that, as among the Gilyak and the Tungus, among the Chukchee marriages are concluded at an early age. This custom is even more in fashion among the Chukchee than among the Gilyak, since, according to the words of Bogoraz, the majority of marriages are concluded in childhood, and he even mentions cases where parents came to an agreement with regard to the marriage of their children even before

C [583] their birth. The obligation to marry also explains the remarkable fact that the institution of the bride price is

C 583 unknown to the Chukchee. The usual method of acquiring

/241 cont./ The usual method of acquiring
583 a wife is for a son-in-law /zyat'/ to join the household of
[174] the wife or to perform work in the household of the father-in-law, which is probably only a survival from the time when the groom always moved into the house of the wife. It is also remarkable that even in the case of the abduction of a woman, the only ransom is a woman, but under no circumstances a reindeer, which again indicates the ancient obligation of exchange marriage. In describing this custom, Bogoraz makes a very important remark, that "abduction was not regarded, however, as a cause for irreconcilable enmity and internecine wars. The parents would come later and demand the ransom, which is paid woman for
582 woman" (1). Thus, initially cousins, and probably, as is
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1. Bogoras, The Chukchee, 589.

still practiced now among the Aleut, such a marriage was obligatory. And since, according to the words of Bogoraz, individual marriages are concluded between cousins, the group husbands are therefore cousins married to cousins, and this is possible only if the husbands are either the children of brothers or the children of sisters (depending on the structure of the family), and the group wives are the children of brothers and sisters. "The children who were born into the families of the marital union are looked upon as cousins, even as brothers and sisters. They are not permitted to marry one another." For otherwise, if it be allowed that group husbands and group wives be any kind of cousins without regard to their origin, it might happen that an own sister might be found among one's group wives, i.e., precisely what forced the Yukagir to prohibit group marriages between cousins. At the present time /242/ own brothers and cousins of the first degree are excluded from the circle of group
[178] marriage. This, however, may be a limitation of later origin.
835 Among the Chukchee we find still another form: the group marriage of sisters with their husbands. Men married to

/242 cont./ Men married to

835 601 sisters call one another takàlkin -- a term which corresponds to the Russian "suprug" (husband and wife), i.e., "harnessed in the same harness."

583 When marriage takes place between persons who are not cousins, abduction is mock abduction, in fraudem legis. Therefore, the abductor, according to the words of Bogoraz, afraid of pursuit and the forceful taking away of his wife, makes haste to join the abducted woman to the family cult, "rubbing her, if not with the blood of a sacrifice, then with the soot and ashes from the family hearth" (1).

1. Bogoras, op. cit., 602.

114 Bogoraz, whose studies provided us with the material
835 for forming an opinion about the Chukchee marriage, using
582 the term cousin in his work, does not, unfortunately, indicate, whether we should understand by this term all kinds of cousins or only the children of a brother and sister. We
[171] may therefore allow that at the present time marriage is practiced with cousins on both the paternal and the maternal side, as among the Yukagir, and that this may be explained by the same reasons as among the Yukagir.

174 That in the past cousin marriage presupposed only mar-
835 riage between the children of a brother and sister is proved best of all by that form of group marriage which is practiced at
[171] the present time by the Chukchee, and which, in spite of its peculiarities, closely resembles the Gilyak form of this institution. This peculiar institution, having its expression in the agreement of several persons about mutual rights to one another's wives, may be concluded by non-kinsmen, but the "cousins of the second and the third degree almost invariably are bound by ties of a group marriage." Bogoraz
[782] quite justly remarks that "in former times this form of group marriage was, to all appearances, a union between kinsmen, for now persons joining into such a marriage (evidently only strangers) make sacrifices" (2).

2. Ibid., 576.

C /242 cont./

582 171 835 The Chukchee marriage norms probably were the same as among the other nationalities of the same linguistic group as the Chukchee, namely, the Kamchadal and the Koryak. Concerning the Kamchadal, we have the testimony K 582 835 of Krasheninnikov in Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/ (II, 169) that marriages were concluded, unhindered, between male and female cousins. As to the KK 582 835 Koryak, their norms were evidently /243/ under the strong influence of the Tungus peoples. Thus, while marriage to a niece was regarded as incestuous among the Chukchee, it C [835] was permitted among the Koryak. As among the Tungus, marriage simultaneously to two sisters is not allowed among them. But the basic feature of Turanian marriage -- the ob- KK 587 ligation of marriage within one and the same clan -- has been perpetuated in the Koryak marriage in the institution of the sororate, or, as it is called by Iokhel'son, the double levirate. KK [171] As is well-known, the peculiarity of this institution, wide- [614] spread even on the continent of North America (Algonkin, [177] Thompson, Skidi, Pawnee), is expressed in the obligation of the widower to marry a woman from the clan of his deceased wife -- namely, a younger sister, cousin, or niece of the deceased (the last category -- nieces -- has evidently been adopted from the Tungus). Iokhel'son explains the origin of this institution by the desire to maintain religious ties that have been established between the spouses and by an unwillingness to admit an alien element to the sacred family hearth. Such an explanation could be very easily admitted, but then it is not understandable how the first, dead wife was admitted to the sacred hearth, especially since the Koryak have no knowledge of any kind of religious rituals like the KK 587 above-mentioned Chukchee ritual of administering the 835 sacrament to the wife. On the other hand, this is explained much more simply by the institution of obligatory marriage. With the obligatory cousin-marriage, sisters and female cousins of one family belonged to the brothers and male cousins of another, and naturally, when the wife of a man

Koryak RY4
Chukchee RY2
Aleut NA6

KK /243 cont./
587 died, he took her younger sister or cousin. The institution
835 was not only juridical, but religious, for the spouses were bound by the ties of common blood. Iokhel'son does not
C say whom the Koryak generally marry. Judging by the ex-
KK ample of the Chukchee, among whom marriages are concluded
[582] predominantly between cousins, we may state with conviction that a Koryak also generally marries his cousin (i.e., a person of common blood, which is why the wedding ceremony has no ritualism), and therefore, after her death, he follows the same ancient law and takes her sister or cousin.

A We shall now proceed to the Aleut, whom Morgan con-
114 sidered the intermediate link between the Asiatic and the
582 American peoples. We do not have reliable information
835 about their marriage norms, but what little we know is of great interest to us from the standpoint of the question we are studying, especially since those facts were related by an observer who spent a great many years among them, namely,
A by Veniaminov. First of all, it seems that the customary form
582 of marriage among the Aleut was cousin marriage. /244/ Veniaminov does not relate the details, but definitely says that the most favored selection for a bride was the daughter
A of an uncle (1). Of even greater interest is the description
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1. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book III, p. 322.

of polyandry among the Aleut. "A woman," writes Veniaminov," was allowed to have two husbands, of whom one was the chief one, and the second his assistant, or, as he is called by the Russians, his partner. Such a woman was not only not considered degenerate, but was even praised as efficient. The second husband, fully enjoying the rights of a husband, had to produce and, in general, strive for the support of his wife and family, just like the
000 first husband (2). Erman (3) relates the same, but he does

2. Ibid., 323.

1: Shternberg--358 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Aleut NA6

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Erman (3) relates the same, but he does

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3. A. Erman, "Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen /Ethnographic Observations/," Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Vol. III, 1871, pp. 162-163, Berlin.

not indicate either the kinship relations between the common husbands or their relationship in the case of the marriage of the second participant. But this in no way allows us to conclude that marriage among the Aleut is confined to the details related above. As we have already stated earlier, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described Gilyak marriage in the same terms as Veniaminov used to describe that of the Aleut, whereas we have seen that the Gilyak have the typical group marriage. The description of group marriage as given by Veniaminov and Rinso is quite natural for non-specialist observers, for with group marriage one is most easily struck by that case in which the second husband is not individually married himself, as it is described in Gilyak fairy tales: "two brothers maintained one wife." A non-specialist, however, generally leaves unnoticed group marriages which include several married men. One can therefore say with a great degree of assurance -- especially if one takes into consideration data about the preferred marriage to cousins -- that the polyandry of the Aleut that Veniaminov tells us about was in reality a form of group marriage. In confirmation of my hypothesis I shall permit myself to cite the following example from the life of the Toda, a tribe that lives in the Nilgiri Hills.

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The old writer Marshall describes marriage among the Toda in the following way (4):

4. W. E. Marshall, A phrenologist among the Todas, London, 1873, p. 213.

"If a husband has brothers or very close kinsmen who all live together, each one of them may, with the consent

1: Shternberg--359 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak
Aleut NA6

/244 cont./

595 of the woman, share the right to be considered her husband."
835 /245/ According to this description, introduced in
114 Westermarck, Toda marriage is simple polyandry, as it is
171 generally described in Tibet, or as it is described by Veniaminov among the Aleut. Yet here is how the same marriage is described by the scientist observer, Short /Shortt/ (1).

> 1. John Short, An Account of the Hill Tribes of the Neilgherries," Transactions Ethn. Society, N.S., Vol. VII, p. 240, London, 1869.

Among the Toda, inhabitants of the Neilgherry Hills, a maiden, in marrying, becomes the wife of all the brothers of her husband at the same time, and they become the husbands of all her sisters at the same time. In this case the first child born is considered to belong to the eldest brother, the next one -- to the second brother.

In this description we have a typical group marriage, the ideal form of the punalua family. One must note that this description was made in 1869, eight years before the appearance of Morgan's Ancient Society and, simultaneously, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity, and consequently when an observer could not have had any tendentious notion about the punalua family.

These lines had already been written when I met Iokhel'son, who had just returned from his journey to the Aleut, and what he told me in this connection finally confirmed my hypothesis.

It seems that among the Aleut, as among the Tungus and among a part of the Gilyak, in the past the younger brothers were joined in a group marriage with the wives of their elder brothers, and at the present time this marriage has been preserved between cousins, not as an optional, but as a compulsory institution. Participation in a group marriage is the duty of all the cousins.

A 595 171 /245 cont./

The peculiarities of the Aleut marriage norms did not remain isolated on the Aleutian Islands. On the northwestern shore of the American continent, right up to the Columbia River itself, which was regarded by Morgan as the point of departure of the Ganowanian system, observers note them in terms almost analogous to those used by Veniaminov. We find them among the Eskimo tribe of the Koniag, the inhabitants of Kodiak Island, about whom Davydov writes: "Some women have two husbands each: the first is the actual husband, who selects the other one with the consent of the wife. This one at the same time becomes a servant, i.e., he carries firewood and does a number of other chores. He can sleep with the wife only in the absence of her actual husband, and upon his return he is deprived of this right. /246/ The Russians call such husbands partners" (1). This

A [113]

1. Davydov, Dvukratnoe puteshestvie v Ameriku ofitserov Khvostova i Davydova /Two Voyages to America by the Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, Part II, pp. 50-51.

A 595 171 description, which almost seems to have been copied from Mamio Rinso and Veniaminov and travelers to Tibet, fails like the others to note the kinship relations between the spouses, but, on the other hand, there is the valuable report of the right of the second husband to exercise his marital rights only in the absence of the first husband, as among the Gilyak, and the obvious subservient position of this second husband. This subservient position is justly noted and strikes the eye also among the Gilyak, but it obtains, not by virtue of a marital agreement, but by virtue of the fact that the elder brother always plays the role of the head of the house and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another, the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master and worker.

A G [592] [593]

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595 171 Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

served among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

157 224 831 433 The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor. [226] The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake [221] distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

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000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset
of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to
women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is
not content with the women to whom they have rights in their
own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to
whom they have rights by law. The only category of women
before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but
find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most
eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-
law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey
even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering
me their assistance without compensation for many weeks,
and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic
adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
674 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival.
Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed
to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his
news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity,
and has already managed to let his glance fall on some
woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his
amatory experience and art.

/247 cont./

000 amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
836 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
832 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility, concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/.
[585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
837 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who enjoyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

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836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women go for several days to places very distant from the villages after berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, however, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gynd --
[196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also applied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings: "to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the local youth, and the women already have their local admirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them. Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous reception always awaits him.

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831 837 577 It is difficult to depict in general terms the picture of the sexual morals among the Gilyak. First of all, one must differentiate between the married ones and the bachelors. The former, when at home in their own settlements, are more concerned with guarding their wives from alien intruders than with undertaking extramarital flirtations. Only when journeying or when visiting in other settlements do they avidly give free play to their sexual instincts. On the other hand, the married women are surrounded with so many temptations from their group husbands and strangers that they violate conjugal fidelity at every convenient opportunity, the more so since far from all marry for love or persons of their own age, and they eagerly make up for this with extramarital flirtations. From the Gilyak point of view on decorum, however, these flirtations do not represent anything abnormal, since for the most part they take place between group husbands and wives. One way or another, the palm of primacy, as concerns excesses among married people, must go to the women. "Among men," say the Gilyak, "you will find a good person 'one-one,' among the women you will not find a single one."

836 831 538 Genuine excesses of licentiousness take place among the /250/ unmarried youth. Here are possible such extravagances as the instance I recounted above of the Gilyak woman, Pigunajka, who before her marriage was having affairs with 14 lovers at one time, including her future husband. Or another example, which I borrow from the Gilyak epos. The hero comes to the home of a certain oldster to seek his daughter in marriage. His future father-in-law says to him: "Thy wife lives over there in a little yurt. People used to come to see her, they all copulated with her, after that she lost her legs." And the bridegroom does not become upset at all. "All right," he says, "I'll go ahead and carry her off," apparently seeing nothing remarkable in this.

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831 182 Such instances must not be regarded as a general phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors are also acting. Among the married women, such factors are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and bashfulness. In general, however, sexual dissoluteness plays no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an economic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily the Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or, if they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both [626] in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp reproaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for laziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And [842] furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages to dissoluteness. But the saddest of all is the influence of 831 158 dissoluteness on the psychics. A whole series of nervous disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myarechenie among both men and women, and diseases connected with the full loss of psychic composure (self-control /given in English/) are the result of dissoluteness, which furthermore, among women, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the appearance of hysteria.

831 192 Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role in the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term for love, es'-mund, denotes both sexual love and love in general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term for reciprocal love -- os'mund; for marriage for love, os'mur:kir, vavynd. There are also some other terms for love, for example, hyvnd and others, but there are no special terms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although /251/ one can say es'mula nig:yvyn, i.e., "man whom they love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/251 cont./

831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych,
[192] n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
882 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
593 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous sufferings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
[835] going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
[762] the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
593 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/251 cont./

584 childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an
593 unloved man. But these are exceptional cases

831 In its content, love among the Gilyak does not differ in any way from love in civilized society. Coarse sexuality is completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive people we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil lover's sorrow to the stormiest outbursts of heroic passion, which neither halts before any obstacle /252/ nor shrinks before a manly resolution to part with one's life.

831 These psychics of the Gilyak are very well reflected in
533 love songs, especially in the songs of women.

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching images and forms. "Night and day do I think of thee... As on my own mother do I gaze...If thou leavest me, only of thee shall I think, where thou didst walk, there shall I walk. From the well whence we both did drink, thy dark shadow shall I drink. As of many trees the tallest one doth most greatly please, so of all men art thou most beautiful and best. O, take me with thee, I would be the wallet and flint that hang from thy belt. I shall be the bottom of thy boat, with thee would I be. My left tear flows and falls like rain, the calf of my right leg fails me, it has become immovable, wholly dry have I become, my legs do not move" -- with such expressions, taken at random from various Gilyak songs, a woman expresses her love. But it is noteworthy that the same sentimental notes sound in the songs of the men, and the references to left and right tears pattering like rain, to the knee, the same grief over separation, the same sweet dreams of reunion, are just as frequent. One finds such emotional expressions as "I have loved thee wholly, all of thee"... Only rarely does clumsy vulgar (from our point of view) crudity creep in, for example, "Of a fat thigh the joint (the calves) spins(twitches), that is how I like it." But never any cynicism.

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831 533 The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

831 584 593 762 An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself.

831 58 593 762 There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

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831 instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo.
58 The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at
159 this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

835 The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers
762 in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solu-
831 tion. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily
533 in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave, where no one shall hinder their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity /254/ his
835 dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has
762 become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago.
831 A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of
533 her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a
538 long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave all

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835 the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, which
831 he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged
762 himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the mo-
533 ment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its
538 entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the first
[539] lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyvo (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on the wall."

832 The Gilyak employ magic means against unrequited love.
[825] One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress. But there are also other means that are not so harmless and lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days, dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of them.

832 Among the Gilyak, as in our country, there are timid in-
584 dividuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present. Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries, ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, corresponding to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.

832 There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli of love are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the attraction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the term poch urland, literally -- "of a good face."

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832 826 609 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Pilsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhrà -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

832 826 533 In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree," luxuriant hair (a braid reaching to the waist, hair made sleek), gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side, smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size (his trunk is an arm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

832 291 533 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 577 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ivukh'a, i.e., respected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer, Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the [867] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

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832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
597 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij -- in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

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143 826 In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual intercourse and marriages of hermaphrodites are often confused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyak known to me. On Sakhalin I know of two cases. In the settlement of Yama, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak, Chubuk, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum virile was underdeveloped) and wore woman's clothing. Later the membrum virile attained the proper development, and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married.

143 826 588 I learned of another instance in the settlement of Myy Gyrk on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. Here I once met two young people sitting on the shore, a man and a woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed that the latter very much resembled a man in the face. My companions explained that only a year ago she had been wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing together. They had to spend the night together, and then the hermaphrodite revealed her secret to her friend. From that time on they began to live together and ended up by getting married, although people strongly urged the young man against [538] [1054] /257/ taking this step. Similar cases may easily have given rise to the legends about transformed persons (about werewolves).

On the Amur the Gilyak Putuk told me the curious details concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that he was developing a membrum virile, which would sometimes grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes disappear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the course of several years a beard grew and the male organ was definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

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143 826 588 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 [302] The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attaining sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year. 881 826 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where she can see them.. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who [302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 867 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos connected with blood. 881 585 833 The Gilyak, both men and women, fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

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XII.

Methods of Obtaining a Wife

584 538 Data from the epos. It is first of interest to reconstruct the picture of the acquisition of a wife in the old days according to the data from the popular epos. Judging from these data, especially from the so-called n'as'tund (poems), the acquisition of a wife in the old days was not at all an easy matter (1).

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1. That the procuring of a wife was not a simple matter is shown by the very expression for this undertaking, an'g:ej nanygind, in which the verb nanygind is a technical term for the hunting of a beast, usually accompanied by difficulties in the search and all sorts of dangers.

On the contrary, one of the chief exploits of the heroes is the search for a wife. In order to find his wife, the hero of a Gilyak poem must undertake the most distant and hazardous journeys to the end of the world; he must sail over stormy seas, even ascend to heaven or descend to the kingdom of the underworld or the bottom of the sea, not to speak of all sorts of heroic duels with whole clans of the most fearsome foes -- duels encountered in the course of these peregrinations.

Why is it so, why must the hero, a strong man, of necessity seek his wife far away, when he has every opportunity to find a wife nearby?

First of all, we shall note that the aforementioned term an'g:ej nanygind, "to seek a wife," may lead one to think that the ordinary mode of securing a wife for the heroes was force, abduction. True, this, too, was done by them, but most frequently they obtained their wives in the most peaceful manner, without even paying anything. This is

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584 evident from the very expression an'g:ej nanygind, where to
538 denote wife the word an'g:ej is used -- the term used for the category of women with respect to whom the Gilyak has the right and obligation of marriage. And in fact everything indicates that the object of the hero's searchings is precisely the lawful wife who belongs to him by right of birth. Everywhere that the hero appears with his demands he is addressed by the term ymg:i -- son-in-law /zyat'/, and the women to whom he makes claim are designated an'g:ej, but when they refer to some other possible candidate, alien to him, they do not call her an'g:ej, but sankh. Here is a characteristic example. The hero of one poem (2) /259/ was rejected by his

2. L. Shternberg, Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of Gilyak Language and Folklore/, 1908, p. 118.

lawful an'g:ej, who declared that if she had to marry him she would kill herself. Then the father says: "Son-in-law! Once the maiden does not want thee, what can you do? Go and seek another woman (s:ankh, and not an'g:ej)." After this he went to another place. In one yurt he found an old woman. She said: "Son (mothers-in-law frequently give this name to their sons-in-law), why hast thou come? Hast thou come in search of a wife? Thy wives are yonder (on the hill) in that pile yurt, there are thy wives, go" (1). The plural is used

1. L. Shternberg, op. cit., 118.

here because these were two sisters, and both, in accordance with Gilyak law, belonged to him. True, it may seem strange that the heroes of the poems must seek their lawful wife with such tremendous exertions; it would seem, on the contrary, that this would be extremely easy, because commonly there are very many women of this category, their

/259 cont./

584 residence is known to every interested individual, and cus-
538 tomarily one can find them in the nearest settlement. But such is the fate of heroes; marvellous adventures always fall to their lot. Commonly they are isolated people, whose kin have suffered some catastrophe. The nearest clans of their fathers-in-law may have become extinct through an epidemic or a famine, while the surviving branches may have emigrated long ago to some distant place and lost all ties with those left behind -- under such circumstances it is not strange that the hero must wander in all directions in order, like the hunter, to make his way to the desired goal through visible traces, inquiries, and guesses.

Finally, it also may be that the desired an'g:ej, whom the hero at last reaches, is betrothed to a stranger, and all the imposing strength and renown of the hero are necessary to compel the father-in-law to violate his word, given to another, which threatens him either with war with the clan of the offended bridegroom, or, at best, with a trial and the payment of a large ransom. And the hero himself must later endure a whole series of such wars for a wife obtained in this manner. Here is a typical example of this kind from one n'astund. The hero, appearing at the home of the woman who is to be his wife, hears the following answer from the father of this woman in response to his claim: "She is betrothed -- n'ig:yvyn jokhta' (technical term for a girl betrothed to a stranger). One clan of the mountain people and still other clans will come to make war on thee." Our Gilyak said: "Nevertheless I shall go ahead and carry her off." The old man replied: "Thou wilt only come back tomorrow." On the following day, after the customary communal /260/
[583] feast, he not only let his daughter go without receiving anything for her, but even ordered two boats to be loaded full of valuables as a dowry for her, which is only possible when the woman is the lawful bride of a man by right of birth.

/260 cont./

538 It is characteristic that in purely Gilyak poems, not
584 having any traces of Goldi-Manchurian borrowings and in-
585 fluences, we do not encounter any procedure of betrothal,
[177] which at the present time plays such an important role. All is reduced to a laconic dialogue: Groom: "I have come to take my wife." Father: "All right, take her!" After this everything is done unusually simply. The marriage is immediately consummated. The only ceremony, about which I shall speak in detail later on, is the confarreatio, the joint smoking or meal.

The old man, the father of the bride, questions the hero: "Thou art a man from where?" Our Gilyak: "I am a dweller of the village in the middle of the bay, I have come to take thy daughter in marriage." Then this old man said: "My child, this guest has come to take thee, go with him." This woman said: "Very well, I shall go with him." This old man said: "Ho, slaves! Prepare a meal, feed the guest", .. Our Gilyak ate with his wife. Having eaten, having finished, he set out with his wife" (1). Another example even better

1. Shternberg, op. cit., 47.

depicts this simplicity of ritual. "That old man (the father of the bride) said: 'Eat with your husband.' Then that woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, came in, made the bed, got in under one blanket, lay down, and slept." On the following day the hero departed with his wife and the dowry (2).

2. Ibid., 81.

583 But along with such lawful marriages there are also
538 described cases of the forcible carrying off of women. And this is quite natural, for such misfortune may overtake the hero that the clans of his lawful fathers-in-law may become extinct, and willy-nilly he must obtain a wife by force.

/260 cont./

583 Such catastrophes, as we shall see further on, are not at all
538 rare. This alternative which, according to the epos, faced the man of olden times -- either to marry his lawful an'g:ej, who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal to an alien woman as a special form of marriage -- proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /261/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us in the traditional epos.

582 Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the pres-
584 ent the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying a woman of the an'g:ej category, a woman who is regarded as one's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is considered "pure." And people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the categories of an'g:ej the most desirable marriage is with the daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most orthodox is considered the cousin marriage between the daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a marriage is so highly valued that even before the future spouses appear in the world the sister and the brother give each other their word to unite the children in marriage. After the birth of the children, when they have reached the age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the clansmen of one side or the other a formal act of agreement
[593] or even the actual concluding of the marriage. Even the
[602] mother of the groom may carry on the negotiations, not with the father of the bride (for she is his sister and conversation between brother and sister is prohibited) but with
584 his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to
585 this: the matchmaker /svat/ (father or mother of the groom) before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancés with threads of nettle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she re-
[675] ported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move; the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/262 cont./

583 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is
585 already some question of bride price, though, to be sure, a
178 very insignificant one.
184

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

195 The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating
196 the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a
58 sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten"; on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individuals of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, khgend (root ge) with the addition of shankh (woman) or an'g:ej (wife) is used; thus, shankh gend, an'g:ej gend. When a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- avind (root av), with the corresponding addition of nigyvyn: -- person, or pu -- husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (je -- him + avind).

[197]
[184]

1. I choose the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms g:end and javind?

/263/ As concerns the first, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/263 cont./

195 therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man takes a
196 woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buys his
58 wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javind, which in this form is only a marriage term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb p'àvind = pi + avind, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: n'ig:yvyn' n'enyn' pyr:k pavrà -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb p'avind -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active voice àjvund -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (jaivun ekhan -- a grazing cow). Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this
[174] etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it
[591] follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the system
[171] of maternality /materniteta/ prevailed, as it does at the present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where the husband as a common rule moved into the house of his wife, just as the masculine term g:end -- "to take for oneself" -- bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

196 /263 cont./
195 /paterniteta/, with the wife moving into the house of her
58 husband. At the present time the original meaning has disap-
[171] peared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree
[174] that often for the expression "to get married" there is added
[591] to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being
196 supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of
58 marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ytk menakh vavin kuil itynd, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ajvund is used in the sense of to be married, to have a wife, for example, menyn ruvn an'g:ej n'enyn' ajvutà -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

178 In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several
606 remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony
591 of this is found in the contemporary formula of common
174 marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymg:i
602 arinkh jag:n'idra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although, according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

[171] Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

602 /264 cont./
606 This formula has preserved its vital significance even
591 today. One is supposed to send regularly to the son-in-law
[431] gifts of edibles and a share of every catch. Moreover, the
[594] young men of the category ymg:i during the course of several months out of the year are unfailing guests in the settlement of their fathers-in-law and are indispensable participants in the more important hunting expeditions.

606 In particular, this relation is clearly attested to at the
225 time of distant sea excursions for the hunting of sea animals.
602 The master of the boat -- he is the head of the expedition -- in such cases especially summons his ymg:i to take part in the hunt (1).

[171]

1. We find an analogous phenomenon among the Haida Indians, a purely maternal tribe. Here, so reports Swanton (Haida, p. 69), when a man undertakes a military campaign, he calls together his tribesmen who are his potential or actual sons-in-law.

[431] All this time the ymg:i are not only fed for nothing, but when they leave they carry away with them an equal share
606 of the catch and various /265/ gifts besides. One's relations
602 with these young men are often much more tender than with
[591] one's own children. And this is entirely understandable, for a man's ymg:i are the sons of his sisters or daughters, his tribesmen, who under a maternal system must live with him, while his own sons and grandsons will move to the settlement of their wives and will be completely estranged from him.

602 This obligation for the "nourishment" of the tribesmen
604 through the female line, however, is a customary institution
171 in maternality. Among several peoples, as, for example, among the Polynesians, the right of tribesmen to the property of their uncle on the mother's side has taken on completely improbable forms, where a tribesman has the right to ravish with impunity the possessions of his uncles. This right is

/265 cont./

602 604 171 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

584 593 Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

174 196 591 171 Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says: n'i-umgarvo ivrà, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

174 611 614 186 Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/266 cont./

174 611 614 186 reverence with which they approached a settlement where, according to them, one of their female ancestors had once lived.

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 184 614 611 Usually at the present time children are given names according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 611 174 [582] [614] All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan, but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak themselves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

/266 cont./

177 To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the
58 matrimonial psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who,
[173] judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the mass
of Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants,
and they exerted their influence on it in many respects,
as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of
[171] religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of
[601] marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible
to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship
terms or their norms of marriage.

/267/ XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

582 We have already had occasion to introduce in another
538 place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to
marry women from the clan of the mother, from the an'g:ej
the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak, dying
from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to
his daughter, summons his slayer and says to the people who a
are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my
daughter; do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason."
The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old forms of con-
cluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms
of obligatory marriage.

58 Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question
of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such
as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations,
and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the
bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected
with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom
are of one common blood on the paternal and on the
[538] maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

/267 cont./

58 538 we find one and the same picture of concluding marriage without any formalities. It is merely necessary for a man, even though he may come from far away, even though he is only by hearsay considered a candidate for being a son-in-law, to state the reason for his coming, and he immediately receives the consent of the parents, and after that all the rights of a spouse, and on the very next day he may take his wife home with him. And that is not all; not only do they not demand any compensation from him, but usually the father-in-law even provides the departing ones with generous [593] gifts. As a matter of form, it is true, they ask for the consent of the daughter, but maidens usually obey the will of their parents and the demand of the law. The sole rite which 585 538 inevitably is practiced is a kind of Roman confarreatio, but in the most primitive form: the groom and his bride must eat and smoke together. Here is an example of the procedure of concluding a marriage from one of the poems taken down by me. An old woman, the mother of two daughters, asks a young man who has arrived: "Son, why have you come here? Did you come to seek a wife? Your wives are over there in that pile yurt, your wives are there, go!" Our Gilyak ascended to the place, went in, and two young women were there. He sat down between them; having dipped into his tobacco pouch, he began to smoke, gave to the younger sister, she took, she smoked; he then gave to the older sister, she took she smoked. The older sister said: "Having prepared a bite, feed us..." All three ate together. Having eaten, they finished, they slept, on the next day they arose early, ate, our Gilyak /268/ said: "Shall we go today?" That woman said: "Well, having spent today here, tomorrow we shall go!" Having spent the day, on the next day they went back in a boat (1).

1. Shternberg, Materialy /Materials/, pp. 118-119.

/268 cont./

585 538 In another poem, in response to the demand of the bridegroom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter, says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, entered, arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see footnote 1 above/.

538 584 585 Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a town with many people, and, when he went into the center yurt, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest, from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take you!" This woman said: "If you wish to take me, go to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into a yurt; an old man, an old woman were there. This old woman said: "You are a man from where?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose: "Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak left, he came to his wife: "Your father said that we both, having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having eaten mos' they left; having had a good sleep, they arose, ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his village). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 57, 58, respectively are not indicated in the text./

582 [681] Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly seated in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of akhmalk'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure." [184] [178] Even on the Amur, where the old norms have especially undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a wife from the fathers-in-law -- the root of one's birth" (i.e.,

/268 cont./

582 origin from a common mother). The favored and most frequent form of such an orthodox marriage is a marriage between the son of a brother and the daughter of a sister /sic/.
584 Such marriages are concluded in childhood. Negotiations
585 take place /269/ between the mothers soon after the birth of the children, but after the agreement a public ceremony is organized, in which, besides the fathers, the grandfathers of the children who are being married take part. The father of the groom brings a male dog, and the mother spins two threads out of the fur of this dog and a nettle; with one she binds the hand of the little girl, while with the other the father of the groom ties the son's little hand (1). All this is

[171]

1. It is curious that among the Haida the ceremony of concluding the marriage of infants, which among them is expressed by the giving of a blanket instead of a dog, bears the technical designation, "nakladyvanie perevyazki" (Engl. "putting the string on"). Evidently this ceremony, as among the Gilyak, was formerly carried out by means of a binding up with string or thread, just as is done in such cases up to the present day among the Tamil in India.

performed in the presence of the elder members of the clan, and the marriage is considered inviolable.

[581] The idea of the orthodox marriage up to the present is thought of not merely as being desirable, but as a right
584 and obligation. When a marriage from the akhmalk clan is
582 arranged on Sakhalin (although that clan may have only recently attained such a position by virtue of the fact that some kinsman took his wife from that clan), negotiations are usually begun with words like this: "You are my akhmalk, let

/269 cont./

584 my children and your children also be akhmalk'i. If you do
582 not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according to law ('live pure')."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmalk is not an ancient one.

177 Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied
178 circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages
614 in the clans of akhmalk'i. One of the causes was the depopu-
433 lation of the clans from which they took wives, which com-
556 pelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause,
[582] perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and ornaments, but also food and spices, such as rice, groats, and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they preferred to dress themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain

177 the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
178 took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relation-
556 ships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's
582 dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good
584 person, urdla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared
[584] his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'ivukh became a synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting appeared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

177 /270 cont./
178 in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the
556 possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
582 and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward
584 differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and
[565] become related to only rich people. In the question of the choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and, consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even in the ancient "tylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my
178 equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
556 a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek
58 women who were famous for their special qualities, who
614 were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the procedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

192 The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
584 pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the matchmaker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called pu -- husband, and the bride -- an'g:ej. The term jokh,
[174] which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

/270 cont./
192 584 [199] orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special term tkhagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

584 602 [593] Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his closest akhmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla n'ivukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequently participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy person, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the bride price, and frequently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

584 602 614 [556] [583]

584 554 556 [533] The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and renowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

595 584 614 Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

593 /271 cont./
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614 The bride is customarily represented by the father and
[602] mother, but for the final decision the attendance of representatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations, but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mother, the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternality.
593 In the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief.
584 In one story which I wrote down, a father, when his son in-
[538] forms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, replies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also,
584 that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women
184 generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, is
[593] no smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father.
[562] This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks with her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate. Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she ordinarily tosses off the laconic phrase: "Since you wish this, is it for me to contradict!" But it may happen that the maiden, upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom, immediately runs away and does not return until the departure of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends in naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

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1. It is interesting to note that among the Negda, whose customs, as a result of ancient matrimonial ties, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, considerable differences were noticed by me.

/272 cont./

584 184 [171]

The bride is not present during the betrothal, the mother has the absolute right of veto, and the kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home
584 with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not
184 at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage accompanied by bride price, where the parents have motives of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather a remnant of the orthodox marriage, where from her very childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite person or limited group of persons, and there could be no question of full freedom of choice, all the more because the marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.

584 The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal among the Gilyak we find features which are repeated with remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. The procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded by a whole series of military stratagems. In serious cases, when the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at first conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at the house, they say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodka from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily accept the treat, and, when they are in a good mood, the matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals. The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist them with everything at his disposal. And here they take him at his word and come to the point. /273/ He can no
[675] longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that the host may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

/273 cont./

584 675 Even without invitations, however, there are always witnesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of [686] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to court, and this results in a large fine.

584 576 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot conceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement. [203] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/273 cont./

584 him curtly: "That is not your business. We will take care of
576 that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional approval of the bride is all the host needs; after that he will know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

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1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak explain the motives for the father's deprecatory opinions of his daughter. I think, therefore, that Iokhel'son was wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 739).

/274/ But it may happen that the father will not give any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the matchmakers toward the inadequacies of his daughter. When all the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires the phrase which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wants to cut short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothing," he says through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And after a short pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what she wants, it is not my business." Then they begin to regale the mother of the bride, who, after long excuses, in turn finishes with the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let the men de-
583 cide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the business basis
584 of the bride price and dowry. In this connection the customs
184 are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the Amur, where the people are more mercantile, the bride's side unashamedly enumerates down to the slightest detail the objects of the bride price.

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first they name only two or three objects, the most valuable ones of the expected bride price, and after that they only haggle over secondary valuables. But in both places the procedure of the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atmosphere.

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584 583 At this stage the viscosity of the negotiations reaches its apogee, and "tayoray" /spelled with Russian letters; see below/ begins to play a quite exceptional role. I happened to be present when in the settlement of Pil'vo on Sakhalin a Gilyak whom I knew, a certain Isayka, betrothed his little boy to the 15-year-old daughter of an old widow. The old woman had no kin in the settlement, neither any of her own nor any on the side of her deceased husband. At her request, therefore, all the honorable persons of the settlement assembled. On the bridegroom's side there appeared, besides his father, his clansman, Sofronka. At first, it seemed that the business would quickly end, for the old woman was very needy and had pushed forward her own proposal herself. But when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sofronka argued with her the whole day. In vain did he employ all his eloquence and ask those present to help him convince the old woman of the acceptability of the conditions. She invariably reiterated one thing: "tajoraj /spelled with Latin letters/!" Finally, after a whole day of tormenting negotiations, when the old woman found that she had sufficiently maintained her character and completely fulfilled all the demands of etiquette, she offered the conditions with which the other side had been in agreement from the very beginning, namely, that the bride price should be paid at once in its entirety.

[126] To indicate the character of the ceremony of negotiations, I shall cite the introductory dialogue of a matchmaker with the father of the bride that I wrote down /275/ on the Amur. The matchmaker, the father of the groom, Pevn by name, is asking for the daughter of Lakkan. Both are well-to-do men, old acquaintances.

584 583 539 [203] [576] After the customary exchange of news, after drinking some vodka, Pevn says (I translate literally): We both have been for a long time as an elder brother with a younger (like brothers), great friends have we been. Now I have come through need, it was necessary to come to thee, It is a matter, a big matter, when the need came, do thou come to my aid.

/275 cont./

584 Lakkan: Whatever I have, (with it) I am ready to aid thee,
583 although I have nothing.

539 Pevn: If thou hast something, wilt thou not pity me, wilt thou not wish to help?

Lakkan: To this day I have refused thee nothing, is it not so?

Pevn: Of course.

Lakkan: If thou shalt have something, thou wilt have pity on me. Once thou shalt have something, I shall also have, is it not so?

Pevn: If thus hast thou spoken, it gladdens me. Thus in truth thou art ready to give me what thou hast?

Lakkan: What I have, if thou shalt ask, I am ready to give thee.

After this the matchmaker again pours the drinks and, finally, unexpectedly announces: "Thou hast promised to give me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I have a son. Let us become akhmalk'i."

To this Lakkan replies: I have already given my word to others.

Pevn: What if you did give your word to another man? You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to court with you.

583 After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the
[584] business negotiations concerning the bride price.

Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak call this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, I believe, throws light on the very origin of the institution.

194 In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by the
583 word az', az'r from azimynd (?) -- to give as a gift, so that
192 literally az', az'r means a present, a gift, which the family or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan of the bride. That this term was not formed by chance is shown from the following. In other ritual cases where compensation
[628] with valuables is obligatory, for example, in the case of ransom -- damages paid for an abducted woman, for a murdered man -- the term used is jus'kind, which means

/275 cont./

174 "to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ jus'kind -- "to
192 pay" is derived from the word us'kind, which in the middle voice
583 is a synonym of ukhskind -- to fight, to war (jus'kind is merely
628 the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- us'kind was originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom -- peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered father, they ask him on his return: Pytk us'kind joylo? -- "Did you fulfill us'kind for your father (literally us'kind -- 'fulfill'), did you take vengeance?" He answers: "sik khukhra!" -- "I killed them all." Here the term us'kind is used in the sense of the act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used in the sense of ransom. "Yvn nafkh us'kim -- "For their (slain companion), they paid damages, ransom."

583 From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original
174 sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although
431 obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was
583 just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-
431 wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing continue in various values for several years, and they were very often no less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

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1. Here is an illustration of the institution of the bride price as an institution of mutual gift-giving, one of many examples which I wrote down. An elder in the settlement of Pomr, a man who was not well-to-do, gave as bride price for his daughter /sic/ two Chinese kettles, one Japanese /kettle/, and five dogs. In exchange, the father-in-law sent his son-in-law two Chinese robes and for two or three

/276 cont./

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years regularly sent him rice, tobacco, and tea, and divided with him all that he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he had given a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

[626] return a gift of equal value to the bridegroom. A Gilyak who breaks this custom becomes a general laughingstock. Besides the gifts to the groom, it is also the father's obligation to provide his daughter with a dowry equal in value to the bride price, and the dowry is in essence as much a gift to the daughter as it is to her husband, who is freed from the great expense of expenditures on his wife.

Thus, it is clear that, at least among the Gilyak (among other peoples, too, there is much reason to think) (2), bride

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2. Incidentally, among the Turkic peoples and the Shoshoni Indians, where marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyak.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be
583 axiomatic until very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /277/ this is the fact that it is positively not allowed to buy wives from one another.

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It remains for us to answer the question, why is there no bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in this last case marriages are concluded between persons who are bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between alien clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

/277 cont./

583 of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol
182 of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this
[686] alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the
[682] nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slaying of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

583 For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the
686 same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood re-
538 venge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

583 The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment.
422 An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagynd
[439] (E.D.), shygynd (W.D.). These are valuables which are predominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In
[174] ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ at first stone, later

422 /278 cont./
583 iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).
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1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryus' pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagynd. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagynd. One bears the designation Wa-ul-s'if, meaning "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium.
422 Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of
556 clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category
735 allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the
554 settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian
554 objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.
583 Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly
735 by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence
[556] of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

/278 cont./

583 chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another
554 side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle
735 down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come
[183] to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with
[614] his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do
[476] clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a mem-
583 ber of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of
554 lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife
452 is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her
735 majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A
583 curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment
735 with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case.
554 The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

583 As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan.
614 At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes
[627] necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the
000 shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

583 /279 cont./ Along with the distribution of the bride
582 price within the family, customs of a completely exceptional character are preserved, clearly testifying to the old orthodox form of marriage. Namely, part of the bride price is given to the "old akhmalk," i.e., to that akhmalk with whom a given family has concluded orthodox matrimonial unions. Thus, for example, if in the course of several generations family A has taken wives from family B, i.e., the sons of sisters in each generation have married the daughters of their own brothers, then every time the family gives in marriage any one of its women, who, as we see, are forbidden to the men of family B by virtue of the unilaterality of the cousin marriage, and receives bride price, then a part of it is given to the eldest one in family B, usually to the brother of the mother of the woman who has been given in marriage, rarely to the father of the latter, if he is alive. It is curious that the family of the groom presents this gift to the old akhmalk as part of the bride price. This custom is practiced in a still more striking form. They give their infant sister to the brother of their mother, or their daughter to the brother of their wife, in order that these persons may afterwards receive the bride price for them, but participation in the distribution of the latter may not be demanded. "It is better to propose one's daughter or sister to the old akhmalk oneself," the Gilyak usually add when they are talking about this custom, "than to wait for a request about the matter." And this is not all; if a mother has several brothers and a nephew has several sisters, then one /of the sisters/ is supposed to be given to each /of the brothers/. What is the explanation of this strange custom? We
[171] have a completely analogous case among the Tamil, where the mother's brother also receives a part of the bride price when the woman is given /280/ in marriage. But among the Tamil cousin marriage is bilateral, so that if a man's sister does not give her daughter in marriage to the son of her brother, she thereby breaks the law; but among the Gilyak cousin marriage is unilateral, and for the son of the brother of the mother the daughter
[174] of this last is forbidden. But why then does the mother's brother have such preference? Here a double explanation is possible:

/280 cont./

582 583 174 it is a remnant of maternality when the mother's brother played a privileged role; the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the more ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marriage.

583 I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

583 556 For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh shond:, signifying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types of clothing and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silver bracelets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepare the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sacred chests with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry usually should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a matter of the greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or female slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance, Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (akh), whom they provided with a Japanese saber for cleaning the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambitious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, is put in it to serve her.

583 422 The dowry, although it is compensation for the bride price, since it frees the husband from great expenditures for the wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, her private property /281/ to which the husband has no rights whatsoever.

/281 cont./

583 She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After
422 her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, she
428 may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

583 After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over
585 the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiations, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with drinks is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and
583 no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families,
585 the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom
556 lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry.
583 But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the
585 wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged
[452] in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/281 cont./

583 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry.
584 Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the
614 two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging
[686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but
686 here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price
[596] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

/282 cont./

585 her advice on how to live in a strange land, and, if she is unhappy about the marriage, they try to persuade her in every way possible. During the farewell feast the groom sits alongside the bride, and both eat from one dish and smoke from the same pipe, but during that day they usually do not converse. In general, the groom is supposed to comport himself modestly the whole day, and not to converse. Late in the evening, when the feast is over, the bride's mother orders the bridegroom to lie down on the bride's bed, and the marriage act is consummated. On the next morning the newly married woman brings something to eat to the newly married man and calls him "husband." On that very
585 morning they depart. Before the departure there is a last
782 regalement, and at that time the parents of the newlyweds exchange prayers of good wishes. Here is an example of such
539 benedictions, taken down on the Amur:
585 "If god gives happiness, they will live out their time
782 happily. If there is no happiness, they will live out their time badly. O god, make the life of our children a happy one!"

After this the father or a clansman of the groom says /283/ the following prayer: "O god, make, make happy the time of our children, in order that we may live happily; to our life together give good fortune!"

585 Saying their benedictions, they sprinkle vodka in the
788 direction of the heavens and in all directions. Before actually
[782] setting out they go through a ceremony which bears the designation "stamping the kettle." It consists of the following. At the inner side of the threshold of the yurt there is placed a large Manchurian kettle with five little ears (for the feeding of dogs) from the bride price of the groom, and at the outer side a small kettle from the bride's parents. Upon going out of the yurt, the bride and the groom, one after the other, place one foot in the large kettle and the other foot in the small kettle, not treading on the threshold. This ceremony establishes a symbolic union of mutual nourishment and mutual friendship in the presence of the two female penates -- the "old woman-mistress of the threshold" and the "mistress of the crossbeam over the door."

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
171 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
797 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
574 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[691] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

593 /284 cont./
586 From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the
832 settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda,
177 stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin.
797 The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe,
[762] ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended
[682] with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return
586 the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

/285/
117 Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

[539] A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

[162] Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people;
[103] one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/285 cont./

117 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is
614 also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that
103 one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nami) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese
[167] came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a
[563] hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymi-fing.

117 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from
103 the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli --
173 from Dzhongli, near the Perm ones: Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvl-fing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

/286 cont./

117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
173 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure Ornyr (Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

117 Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
103 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
173 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The Kál'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a chumashka with káluga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was then that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they broke the fire and bought a bear.

117 Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
103 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago (1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language, and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hóinchá) came here
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
173 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchajl on the Amgun)
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

/286 cont./

117 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:,
103 Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/
173 notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing
[173] /see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

117 Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal
103 Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhajl. 3) Khal N'askhajl.
361 Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from
[162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

117 A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the
582 Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chédzigr (see below) and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

117 Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally
103 the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They
173 all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en-
[539] campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

117 /287 cont./
103 they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one
173 was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept,
539 six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in different directions, Four generations have lived here. The Tyr branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

117 Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma.
103 Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the
361 ground (1896).

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

117 Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1)
614 The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury
[103] their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /288[1] (from chozmudz: -- to
[361] peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing

1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:nâ? which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

117 Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near
103 northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern
614 Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

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117 Settlement of Pilavo-khez' (five kilometers from Chil'mi).
103 In this settlement exclusively the Pilavyng clan (1910).

Settlement of Khez'. Exclusively the Pilavyng clan.

117 Settlement of Tebakh (Tevkh in Gilyak). Three yurts in
103 all, about 30 persons. The Arkhong clan -- Ainu; came from
162 Kosunaya on the Pronga and set takh -- a sharpened stick; from behind came a man, and the stick fell in the direction of Iski. The Arkhong clan is to be found most of all in Tebakh, further in Akhcha, Chil'mi (one house), and in Iski (1910). The Ignan together with the Arkhong who live in Akhcha constitute one clan: in Akhcha -- the Goldi half, -- the other half in Tebakh, (1896).

117 Settlement of Machala, opposite Khez'; two yurts of
103 Negidal (1910). In 1896 the Khez'-ping and the Negidal (Ry) lived here.

117 Settlement of Pachi (Bachi). Twenty-two families, about
103 100 souls. Nine Russian houses and two Uigryf. In it, the
162 clans: 1) Tva-bing (Tva was the settlement beyond Mkhyl' near
614 Pat). 2) Aimkan live in Plakh (Pilavo), below Mariinsk. They used to live on the Amgun, but the brothers fought and several brothers left for Plakh, taking a piece of the fire -- tuur rodzz -- "to make a fire." There they became Ornyr, and then, a long time ago, in the times of the Japanese, they migrated from Korsakov to Tevkh and Kal'vo. There are two old lezing here, and also one in each of the following places: Kaki, Mago, Vasin Cape, and Tamlavo. 3) Pyri-fing clan (two yurts), an old village opposite Kal'vo. In the past, a long time ago, Amgun lived here. The green pine forest -- Tuuz; in Ukhta -- the Olcha (1910).

117 Settlement of Nykikh Khez'bin (one from Pilavo), on the
103 channel Nyy Machalá. About 20 Gilyak here, and also Amgun
162 N'askhagil, who in Gilyak are called N'as'khon. Two from Pilavo settled here in the last ten years (1910).

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117 Settlement of Kai'ga (the Gilyak K:aivo). Two clans:
103 1) Four yurts Lezing-ran-tva-bing (from lezing + tan, -- master).
614 The Lezing-ran are a Tva-bing generation (hyn'izlykh hyz'i). They caught many bears and had a large lezing. They quarreled while still in Tva and left long ago for Tamlvo. Now they are in Eg:li (Yali) and in Mago. 2) Pyrifing; three Lezing and three Uigryf (1910). One woman, Ry -- umgu -- female Negidal. 3) Lezgrang from the Sakhalin Tamlvo. 4) The Pyrifing Ornyr came from above; the oldest clan is here. 5) Narmlang from above, near Khabarovsk; the Goldi (1896).

Settlement of Mokraya (Mokhrvo). Clans: 1) Narmlang (Ornyr:) -- Pyrifing (Ygdymsyl from Kizi', where there are many). Here, three houses of them; they have lived here for four gen-
[162] erations. 2) Lezgrang -- one house, 17 persons. All of the Gilyak seem to have come from the Amgun (hynk) and settled down on the Amur. One Uigryf (1910).

Settlement of Mago. Clans: 1) Mot'-tan (Ornyr:); 2) Lezgrang (one house); 3) Naromlang; one house, three families (1910).

Clans: 1) Lezgrang, 2) Pyrifing, 3) Tyvlafing, 4) Hutyvikh, from the Tym' River, 5) Narmlang, 6) Pnarnung (1896).

Yoom-bal' -- a mountain six and a half kilometers above Vaydy; in former times Gilyak from the settlement of Yoom lived here. On the left bank of the Amur, beyond Yoom, there is a small bay, and beyond it a high bank with bare white k:aned'zh dzif (limestone) (1910).

Settlement of Vayr (Vaydy); in 1896 there were three clans: 1) Keg:n, 2) Hirlung (Hirlung and Shafping), 3) Lumr-ping. Now only 12 Ornyr, 10 Gilyak, 17 Hirlung (see also below), 13 Shafping, and 7 Lumr-ping are left. The Keg:n -- Olcha are from the settlement of Aur; four generations are in Vayr. There were three brothers; the eldest brother took a Hirlung wife; he was followed

/289 cont./

117 by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Re-
103 cently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12
614 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbi-fing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

[361] Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chilng-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

117 Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before
103 the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three
731 Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2)
173 Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest
[361] died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910). 3) Kegnang from Choma, 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

117 Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).
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117 Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896).
103 Vas'. Cape Vasin. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to
614 Nálevo; 2) Derkhr-vun (1896).

Kuklya and Meo. The first master of the village before the
[162] Russians was the Keg:n clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogorodskoye (1896).

Settlement of Kol'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest khal -- this Chvunung khal (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvrmif); then the khal separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun,
[133] Ylevut). It takes women from the khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one khal. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor ping. A man sailed on a hovykh (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the
[582] Perkhvung. 3. Kedz:ung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkhvung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhaj-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyr beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- chinirokh). There is here in Kol' one khal from Khovnung. It takes women from the Langr. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the or -- chain and stone on the little girl of one of the brothers, and then killed her.
[582] They have an Ainu dagger with a silver handle. Take women from the Snarnung. 7. The Snarnung take women from the Perkhrvung. 8. The Tyvliing -- from Ukhtr, near Sofisk (Ornyr). Takes women from the Perkhvung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age): his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his khal is Snarnung. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chlya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- N'as'khajl. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyv River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).

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II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

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1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1910. Pilavo is four settlements: two on Sakhalin, one Khez'-Pilavo, and Yky, the Goldi settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still burn their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

539 On the north of Sakhalin a father had many children. During the sharing they quarreled over a stone with a hole, or:, which, on a silver chain, is put on the breast of a bride. One brother said: "You have divided everything, now give the stone to me." He put it on the neck of his daughter, and through the night it was not possible to take it off. The others said: "Daughters are not of our clan, they leave to marry, how can one leave them such an expensive article?" The eldest brother: "We consider only sons, daughters are not ours. You can make as many children as you wish, but you cannot find such stones." After this the eldest brother always wanted to kill the little girl, while the younger brother guarded. The younger brother became angry and ran away from the south of Pilavo to the north. There was a famine. During the most severe famine they killed a seal, they killed a small seal. They boiled it, they divided it up into pieces, they ate it, and the bones remained. The children began to chew, to fight. One of the brothers came up and began to beat the son of another brother on the "mug" with the same bone: "You, dog, take it, gorge!" and he was beating the youth. The youth began to cry. His father was not at home. The mother stepped in for her son, and the mother got it. In a little while the father arrived. The mother complained to her husband, and a fight took place.

[A Legend about Pilavo] Amur

/291 cont./

539 After that they began to divide things up, they divided things up. "I feel bad about leaving my village, I shall look for the same kind of place as Pilavo." He crossed the estuary; there was no such place. He began to ascend the Amur, found Khez', which is a place similar to Pilavo, and called it Pilavo. Nykikh Mountain, where they gather berries and roots, is in northern Pilavo. Opposite Tebakh he found an island which looked like a hill; he called it Nykikh and settled his kinsmen there. /292/ Such a village is still in existence. They lived and multiplied; their children grew up and became "peasants." There was a whole village in Khez', and on Nykikh, also a whole village. On Nykikh there were few people.

During the greatest flood a strange person was sailing down the current on a boat made out of 12-13 wooden boards that were nailed together. They sailed out from Nykikh and caught this man, and attempted to talk, but he understood nothing. This man was about 30 years of age. They fed him and took him in. He lived with them for about a year. He began to work, to do what they showed him. He began to understand Gilyak. No one knew who this man was or from where he had come. When he learned Gilyak well, they began to ask him questions. They called him Man'chko. -- "Where did you come from, not be afraid, tell the whole truth!" -- "I fell in love with a woman and wanted to marry her; she was betrothed by others. They came and took her away from me. It was a good thing that I was not at home. They took her away, carried her away while I was absent. This bridegroom was always watching out for me. I, too, was watching out for him, to meet him in single combat, either I him or he me. I heard that he was about to go into the taiga to hunt. Several days later two people with their goods on sleds loaded with all sorts of equipment rode past our village. My people immediately started in: 'Your enemy (chin orgop n'ivukh).' I was very offended, and people were laughing, and he was passing through our village as if to laugh at me. I took it, however. Several days after their departure, I collected my arrows and my club (mucho), as long as a man's height -- the lower end similar to a brake, only longer,

[A Legend about Pilavo] Amur

539 /292 cont./

and the other end stretched out and sharp. What to do next? Arrows, a knife, and a club. I rode out after him and found his encampment; I also found another encampment. They had gone on foot into the taiga. It all happened in summer. I did not know if they had gone far, or where and when I would encounter them. On the third night I found the actual encampment. Should I attack at night? I would be ashamed if I, a man, killed or wounded somebody by stealth. Better if I had a good night's sleep and rest and went in the daytime to their encampment with my club. I would ask that someone come out and fight me man to man. I had my rest. I spent the night near their encampment and thought: 'If two of them attack me, I shall not settle with them' (that is what he thought)." In the morning he got up and went to them: Let happen what may. A single man does not have to be afraid. If they kill him, well and good -- "ixa' igra' idif tugut." He then went up to their balagans. "Well, my good friend, come out! This is the end of your laughing at me! But man to man with a club. And this will put an end to our lying in wait for one another." That one said: "I took my own, not yours. You should not have pursued me, nor lain in wait for me. /293/ If you want to try yourself with me, why not? Since you are relying upon yourself, do you want to teach me a lesson or laugh at me? Your bones are not made of iron, but just like mine -- meat!" But Man'chko said: "You are a man, not a woman, how long are we going to howl at each other? Come out or I will shoot."

That one, willingly or unwillingly, came out, and they began to fight with clubs. After a while that one hit Man'chko in the elbow. Man'chko felt that his arm worked badly. "You are a strong lad, you have maimed me right away." The friend of Man'chko's enemy stood to see who would win? The enemy said to Man'chko: "People do not behave this way, enough laughing!" Man'chko aimed a blow at his head, but missed. That one hit Man'chko and again got the elbow. Man'chko thought: "I am in a bad plight." The other friend who was

[A Legend about Pilavo]

/293 cont./

539 standing there laughed and said: "You traveled such a long distance, how will you now go back without arms and legs?" Of course it hit home; he felt pain and was ashamed and thought: "It is true, that is the way it will come out; even if one arm is still all right, why did I travel such a distance?" He drew his knife with his right hand and dealt first one blow, then another; that one fell down. His friend said: "You are not fighting according to the rules. We do not fight this way, do not wound him again and it is enough." Man'chko then turned his back, went back; he spent two nights on the road. He came home and said nothing. The others began to ask him questions. Man'chko said: "I have done what I had to, you do not have to ask me about it, I alone am responsible, you will not have to answer for me, though you are with me I will not blame you (ching n'igrigir ching dakhch khejlo)." In several days I heard that the hunters had come out. He was very sick. Man'chko thought to himself: "There is no one to defend me. He has kinsmen and in-laws (ŏragu); if he gets well again, they will kill me, throw me out like a dog; I cannot live here. It will be better for me to move away. May the devil take them, the women! It will be better for me to move away."

It turned out that Man'chko was from Gorin (Gyr), of the Samagir clan. He took an ax, an arrow, and a club and went hunting. He set out to tramp in the taiga and walked and walked through the taiga. He came to a creek and began to make a raft (t'om). If there is a fast current in this creek, I will go wherever it will carry me. Perhaps I will come to some village. He made a raft, descended, got on the raft, and without an oar, without anything, pushed off from the bank. The current carried him downstream very fast. He was floating downstream wherever it was taking him. Will I reach living people? I thought and floated. In a few days -- a village, a dog's voice was heard. Soon I will come to the village, maybe someone will take me off the raft. It did not go up to the village; the water bore it past the village, and there was nothing to eat. Without oars it was impossible to beach it.

1: Shternberg--425 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

[A Legend about Pilavo]

/294/

539 Here I am, floating downstream. I floated through a night, floated another day. From this creek I went into the Bol'shoy Amur. A breeze came up, the raft was being carried fast, the rose-willow bushes were flashing past. The wind came up. My raft began to shake (break up), t'om herongdokh-herongdokh gudz: lar: z'ar: (water is splashing through the openings in the raft). What a fool I am! When I heard the dog barking, I should have shouted and someone would have taken me off the raft. Now I will perish for nothing. I began to pray to the god. I began to strengthen the raft with a belt and a sash. There was no rope. Suddenly it began to get light. Before the dawn, dogs started to howl. As soon as I heard the dogs' voices, I began to shout with all my might. The fog began to pass away, and I saw that the bank was near. The current, however, was carrying me fast. Suddenly before me there was a kind of a wooden barrier stretching across the Amur. God will that I come upon that wooden barrier so that I shall not be carried any farther. Suddenly the raft did come up against the barrier. When the raft stopped, the water hissed over the raft; it began to submerge. There was nothing to do. I took my belongings, club, arrows, and hung them on the barrier; I then climbed on it and sat down. From time to time I shouted and shrieked, and suddenly a boat is coming straight for me, I see a man. Man'chko began to wave, shout, wave. That one came up to him and looked at him. Man'chko began to speak to him in his native tongue; "Take me home with you." That one did not understand anything. Man'chko then approached him and gave him his club, his arrows, and his garments. That one took them and let him into his boat, transported him, took him into his family, fed him, and he began to live with them.

The man who caught him was a Pilavyn (inhabitant of Pilavo) from Nykikh (Magulá?). Birch, aspen, spruce, and so forth were planted there. At that time the old men of the settlement had all died. The one they had caught joined them; they made him a k:khal (i.e., adopted him into the clan). His

1: Shternberg--426 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

[A Legend about Pilavo]

/294 cont./

539 generation has now all died out. They bore children and multiplied (Takhta -- two yurts, Kabachi -- two yurts, Chilma -- eight families, Khez' -- all Pilavyn. They bore children and multiplied and built a large isba -- about 15 sagenes (1) (three

1. I.e., about 30 meters.

ordinary ones); he lived there. All the Pilavyn (inhabitants of Pilavo) lived in this crowded yurt, while the others lived in another yurt. They lived richly, made trips to Japan, Manchuria (Saysin), and Korsakovsk, they bought Chinese women, female slaves for them (beyond Saysin), and also Ainu women and male and female slaves (krýgrys) for them; they lived very richly, they all had full wealth. Once there was a holiday. They boiled dog meat (formerly they ate dog meat). The children began to fight, the elders stepped in, and a fight broke out. It even came to knives. The old man Yuryng (from the Arkhong clan) came from Tebakh and reconciled them. After that, however, they would now and again get drunk on khan'shina and, once again, a fight. A full assembly was called (assembly -- vopud kymlydz), and /295/ the people began to divide things up. The workers had married, and their children were also slaves. First they divided the slaves, various things, and furs. One [103] brother, together with his slaves, set off up the Amur: "I shall look for a place like Khez' (formerly it was called Pilavo, in the Chinese books it was called Tajrá, and in Goldi daj gasá -- large village). Their nickname was hes'-pilavo from the word hes' -- gullet, because they fight over their gullet and not over serious things. He stopped near the Goldi settlement of Yky (the settlement of Sarapul'skoye). Yky was inhabited by the ancient Gilyak emigrants from the settlement of Pilavo on Sakhalin. They bore children and multiplied and now not many of them are left. They still burn their dead.

1:Shternberg--427 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/295 cont./

III.

Legends about the Past

193 In connection with the excavations (1), the old man Toyon

1. Which Shternberg carried on.

said: "These are Korean. Long, long ago there was a war. Formerly Koreans lived here; then the Chinese came and drove them out.

"Long, long ago the Chinese lived in Puir on the Amur. The Chinese pursued them and shot at them with a cannon.

"There were at that time few Gilyak. By a cape on a hillock near the very village (Langr) they placed a cannon (the hole remained) and shot at the Russians around the boulder stones in the bay of Puir (Pakhzyr boulder stones). The hole on the hill is almost overgrown; formerly it was four meters deep and surrounded with stones. The cannon ball made the forest burn for eight nights; a lane was created. The cannon ball was found in Kol' -- four people cannot lift it."

According to a legend, 28 skulls were seen by the lake, which "at night cried and went to drink water; now all the water has dried up," "vessel dry up," i.e., is lost.

One old man assures us that within his memory and the memory of his father the Gilyak and their neighbors have occupied the same places since olden times. The Manchu (the Chinese, Manzy) have come here since the Russian War. They did not build large towns; they settled in groups of one or two houses, and only in Tyr, Akhcha, and Mykhyl' did they have guards. Their governor lived in Tyr.

[648] [67] With the appearance of the Manchu, during the war with the Russians, the Gilyak left by sea for Sakhalin and other places, but upon the departure of the Manchu, they began to come back.

/295 cont./

173 [648] According to a different version, when part of the inhabitants ran away and another part was captured, three persons (two men and one woman) saved themselves, /296/ who killed two suns. When they came back, they found mountains where the Amur had been, and they went back (from Shul'gin Khokfing, 80 years old).

The Manchu fought with the Russians who had come down; in the spring during the run of the hump-backed salmon, some Russians hid themselves in the taiga, and they could not be found.

The Russians from the Amur saved themselves on the Amgun; the Manzy pursued them, but unsuccessfully. Then a Chinese general asked the god for snow, and snow fell knee deep, and they found the Russians by their tracks and slaughtered them.

After the war with the Russians, the Chinese set up a post on the upper Amgun (the Burukhan) -- "while the post stands, the Russians are not allowed to pass." Now the post has fallen down.

On the Amgun there is also a mountain, "Namnakhan," 19 kilometers below Guga, with hoof prints. This is where the Manchu spent one night during the war with the Chinese.

There is a stone kettle and a boot on the cliff "Gulyakhan," the storehouse of the Shadrinkskiy mines.

According to a legend a Manchu inscription is preserved on one of the mountains.

The guides of the Chinese on the Amgun were Negidal from the clan Umkan, while on Lake Orel' -- N'as'khajl.

The Russians roasted children on their bayonets and ate their meat; they cut off women's heads (1896).

173 648 A legend has been preserved about the way in which the Amur natives fought the Russians. Once the Manchu pursued the Russians, but left a part. The Russians, on their way back, decided to attack Tyr, thinking that they were Manzy. The Gilyak placed stones on wooden boards and fastened them. When the Russians came up to the cliff, they let go of the rope, and all the Russians perished except one who started to swim; he was caught, and the Kern-khal handed him over to the Arn-khal, who held a bear festival in the taiga.

/296 cont./

173
648 The following case occurred in Macha (the left bank of the Amur), opposite Kal'ma. The Gilyak set out to hunt and built a balagan; coming back they saw a great number of people. Then they ran away undetected, gathered together people from all the villages, and set up ambuscades in different places behind the rose-willow trees. When the Russians came out, they shot them all.

Sometimes the Gilyak used the following method of fighting: They tied a cut tree trunk in such a way that it leaped out and struck the legs, and the enemies fell; then they completely killed them off (the settlement Kaki).

Recollections have also been preserved about the relationship between the Chinese /297/ officials and the Amur natives. The Goldi even paid for dogs, the Gilyak -- per person; the Chinese officials collected by whim, and their khalki (boats) with people had to be fed. In exchange for this, they gave receipts which gave one the right of entry into the town of Sungari (Ychkh-khotin). Otherwise the natives would be tortured in the town. The storyteller, a Samagil, in his youth went without a receipt; he said that they paid 40 rubles for a fodder /kormovogo/ man and 20 rubles for an ordinary person, and one sable from each person.

IV.

The Union of Clans and the Bear Festival

614
796 Two clans come together -- k:khal m'ek:r: vytch. They come together in a single yurt; outsiders may also be present. They discuss, and, if there are no obstacles (for example, they have not taken wives from one another), the khlaj nivukh declares that the two clans may join into one. The other representative answers: "It is true, we have accomplished great things together; you also helped us, and we also helped you. Once we form one clan, we shall become k:khal." He says: "There are no obstacles. Our sons and daughters will be our brothers,

/297 cont./

614 but we have daughters and in-laws, and it is necessary that
796 everybody know, and therefore necessary that we should celebrate a common bear festival." Each k:khal should buy one, or better, two-three-four bears. They agree. They buy a bear and prepare mos'. The bear is fattened as fat as possible; they feed it about two years; they prepare mos' and buy racing dogs. The time for the festival finally arrives: they play games, wrestle, then kill the bear. Before the killing of the bear, an old man is selected -- he does not have to be the bear's master; he is the nga khez'-ni'vukh; he cannot decline. He says the word to the bear: "Chi pilá pal' urgur p'ach adz: kukujá pkhylava:r chajpidugujá!" -- thou, big mountain (mountain man), shake off well our Gilyak dust. Turn around so that I can see you."

They killed it, cut up its meat (the bones must not be broken), brought it into an isba, and boiled the meat. They compete in a "race" -- vardz:. They call together both clans, men and women, and distribute the bear meat to all. As a rule, the elder consults with the master on how to divide the bear. The main bones are the two tibial bones -- tereng, and the two pelvic ones -- pyjkh. The tibial and the pelvic bones are given
[688] to the most honored persons. It is a sin to give the head and the
614 kidneys to the young people, the kidneys are very important. The
796 khlaj n'ivukh then says: "K:khal m'ekh:r: ólagu k:khálgu
539 umguólagu umgugu-tokh itdz: furará; navat m'er: chuz'n'akhr: ngar: /298/ n'akh:r: munakhana. K:khal itdz: furará: "umgu n'i ó:la, utku n'i ó:la, umgu n'anak, n'i n'anak, n'i nanak'ar. Nafkhá-chi n'anak furará navát, chiagr. Ni ykyn furará n'an ch'ach'ek munakhana." Another representative answers: "Agitlá, pilymra siktumû mer: vará tyngyztá ching ag:yr: ningrota, ningagr vara chingrodá, n'ishak lyt k:khal, k:khal munakhaná." "To the children of the two clans, to the clans to the little girls and the women I say: 'Now we shall become common meat and common blood.'" The clan speaks thus (1): (Every) woman is my

1. Evidently, one representative of a clan to another.

/298 cont./

614 796 539 child (daughter), (every) man is my child (son), a woman -- an elder sister (also aunt) is my sister (my aunt). Now thou, comrade, art called sister; thou, too. I am an elder brother, but I shall now also become your younger." "Of course. We all equally did great things together. You also helped us and we also helped you equally. Once we have formed a clan, we shall become a clan.

"Elder (i.e., the person chosen for the distribution of the meat; he may be young)! Think well; do not give the good to big girls, to big sisters (aunts), or to sons-in-law /zyat'ya/. Give much to the big people, less to the little girls, feed the kidneys to the big old man of the clan, serve the head; distribute the back fat equally, do not share unequally. Give the tibial bone to the elder sons-in-law, give the pelvic bone to the sons-in-law. "Pilynga urgur kymlyjá, umguolagu pilý, nanakagu pilý, ok:ongú-tokh urlý chus´ ngokh ta rozgujá, pila n´ivukhdokh malg:ógur khet´ijá umguolagudokh khiskioguja! K:khalgu pila, hejmartokh, tafut jarjá k:orkh khet´ijá. Tereng pily okhomdokh khitirá, pyjkh n´yn´yv póradokh khet´ijá, mur:k ngokh vará rozjá ta rozgujá..."

614 796 After preliminary consultation, a certain person finally brings in the bear and hands it over to the important person, who then, in the presence of several urdla n´ivukh (good people), inquires: "Why?" The person who brought in the bear answers: "I want to enter into ceremonial brotherhood." "All right,"

Next k:khal are consulted without him. During the festival the new clansmen buy dogs and prepare food. During the eating [606] the son-in-law says analogous things, while the fathers-in-law call him father-in-law, brother-in-law, etc. At the end of the festival they give the adopted one their own flints -- tugur:, but they do not give him the real uig tuur (the tabooed fire). There are no more than two or three uig tuur in a village. They light the fire at a bear festival; on a hunt only the urdla n´ivukh takes it when he goes for bear.

/298 cont./

614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
796 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /zyat'/, k:khal
606 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
627 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent, but they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla lytnydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear
415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
431 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
[231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'nur humyjá! Wingan úrur humyjá--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pyng-tvysk and prepare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.

Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

[782] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid
[184] in a wooden frame near the lezing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

567 The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head
[196] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
[683] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone
[614]

/299 cont./
567 calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore
683 when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
614 replies quietly: "Pilavon k:khal purarâ hokhagirn os' krygrys" (1),

1. Krygrys -- an Ainu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
195 slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygrys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygrys, impure. Every krygrys was considered a k:khal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygrys
692 is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygrys woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygrys.
682 A free one is kis[illegible]ygy n'ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
614 is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila k:otr -- big mountain bear, mer edr: -- tiger), fight with him: it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the
162 krygrys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Takhta.

582 Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/300 cont./

567 [582] part of their dowry. In buying wives, the price corresponded to the additional slaves. In 1896 a former slave, about whom we have the following information, lived there. A Narni bought from Kizi a Kugi (Ainu) maiden, and an illegitimate child was born. Khuzin's father bought the son of this Kugi (krygrys) in [435] Kizi. He was 25 years old; he was paid for with nine pieces of silk material (21 meters) at 75 rubles a piece.

This worker served him for five years. Eighteen years ago he ran away to Kizi, and then to Arvo (near Nizhnetambovskiy). The name of this krygrys was Kutr. His former master from Khez' summoned him to conduct shaman ceremonies, and he used this opportunity to run away. Now he is an old man and blind. One absolutely must take him back, though blind, feed him, and bury him with their own hands, and then his soul will follow him to Mlyvo (his father, dying, requested this of him).

Chinese girls were bought in a similar fashion. It was necessary to take along 100 sables, 100 foxes, 100 otters, 100 squirrels, 100 polecats, between 10 and 100 black-brown foxes, 100 seals, and 100 bears. The travelers to Sansin were met by a merchant who would take away all their merchandise and, without counting it, would transport it to his warehouse. The visitors would be feted for two days and /301/ questioned in Goldi or through an interpreter. The newcomers would tell their hosts about their wish to get married, then they would record how much each had brought, and they would be taken to the governor. He would provide carriages and food, and they would be transported to the major city (Peking). They would be introduced and accommodated in the palace, assigned servants, fed and looked after like "gentlemen," and taken around the city with an interpreter. Finally whole rows of women with covers over their faces would be lined up in front of them; behind each woman would stand a castrated slave. The old Gilyak would recommend: "a young male slave -- an old woman -- a risk." They would choose right there; they would each be led to a room. A slave would sweep and spread out the bedding, and that very night he would learn his fate. They were painted. He sticks his tongue in the mouth; there are no teeth.

/301 cont./

567 They would journey back to Sansin with their wives and slaves; there each was given a one -- or many-masted boat, which was loaded with provisions for ten years, with garments, silks, and so forth, for the entire family. Upon their return the purchased wives would already be pregnant. If a daughter was born, they gave her a slave for her dowry. Those who came to Sansin only to pay their yassak /tribute paid in furs/ (one sable) received two combs, a piece of drel', ten bottles of khanshin and so forth. Ainu women were bought in this way: they went hunting, brought sables and so forth, and also Chinese goods, and bought wives on the way.

A woman who married into the Jusk'in clan received as a dowry from her father a female slave -- akh, who was provided with a Japanese sword for cleaning her mistress' soles. Then a Gilyak bought her in exchange for his own daughter. Poor fathers (generally) sold their daughters into slavery.

VI.

The Family and the Clan

595 Marriage norms and totemic clans. Clansmen-brothers may support one wife, but only one of them is regarded as the master, even though both together bought the wife; the second one enjoys marital rights only in the absence of the first.

If they have lived together for one year after another, a husband consults his elder wife as to whom else he should take. And she herself may travel to select a helper from her own khal or from an alien one, and the wives call each other sisters. A man sleeps separately, and each wife separately, or the man in the middle. The elder wife takes care of all the children. The younger cannot give orders to her, and she commands. It sometimes happens that they are jealous and fight. The following go to do the betrothing: 1) father and mother, 2) elder brother, 3) father's brother, 4) husband of father's sister.

/302/

595 58 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

614 173 In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the Khydzyr' in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are

[114]

1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 839 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of Mago).

/302 cont./

578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat'/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and, if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost [435] of a pack is up to [illegible] rubles. The son-in-law /zyat'/, in case of [437] a fight with a bro[illegible]-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned, [435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
614 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
627 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

695 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz'u
685 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz'? ennikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jeng:az' tongz' shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

7

/303 cont./

685 695 [825] [424] [614]

dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft. They seek a man who understands the oath -- chkhyz´u n´ivukh, and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the Chkhyzyl clan; Il'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A thief frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'gu -- clansmen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryja´, mygja´, n´i heg:at pkhalgun polagun prydz:rá chigry´ tuur pugutá enan´ivukh, jugut prydókh kaukrá, par:k prydz:rá. Ni sidzymral´ó, sidz:jejmraló cherakh jot´in (prydz:rá) helá eg:ur pkhog:e jakhgujá," i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n´ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The thief sends a khimu-n´ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n´erakh elvg:az´ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: vurará. Navat taktó jakhojló. Ching yark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

685 /304 cont./
695 actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajorá mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n´erokh tokh elyvgujá. Chi narl´ar: chan majg:okhaná. Mykyz´ mra lytyng ivg:aj huktókh elyvg:az´o."
685 While they argue, a crow (ves´) and a cat are thrown into the fire
695 alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the
825 fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat, while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told: "Chi tajrodz: furará n´ivykh lerý mra chi unakhana uikhyndor hy nivukhdokh elyvgujá." "You do not know, you will suffer for a petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak), following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

614 Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular
825 animal. There is a clan whose k:khal is a wolf -- kekhr: ping chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank, bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round, attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times. This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf, but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters, having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf spoils them, but if a Chnarpung is left, then he does not spoil them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by; they leave yukola, mos', and so forth there. The Chnarpung may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile and not docile.

685 This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When some-
754 thing is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz´ nyngjá -- look

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyz') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tugurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
839 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam) In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift [755] him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[777] 1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz' nyngydz' (from kyz' -- risk, luck, and nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of prung, two k:ong z'akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as strips (pylng z'akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special shape (m'erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitus'. When they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bituz' -- must be fed (settlement of Kal'ma).

855 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
789 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
[846] and hang it on a tree. O'ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch carefully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
[824] for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
[761] there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/306 cont./

778 824 A child's amulet -- ola bituz consists of two slender fir trees -- prung, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; their crowns are bound with birch bark. Then they are reinforced, encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (tykr) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened head of k:khong z'akh, the head of a pike (ius), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

VII.

Religion

774 The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The soul -- cheg:n, chekhn, yrykh, uz'(the pith as in a tree). A man has three souls: one major one -- cheg:n, and its two [756] shadows, assistants. When the cheg:n of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

774 787 If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true, it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistant. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

765 [764] In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with drel', then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chongr nynyv), which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white, placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n'ivukh k:ak. Some place the bone in the upper part, others --

/307 cont./

765 next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the
764 dead man -- mu n'ivukh tuv. The body of the deceased is dressed in stockings, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached, on one side, a curved knife (ig:dzeko) and, on the other, kes'kes' -- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mly -- a purse with a flint, tinder, and steel. Then alongside is placed a little stake, and on it a human hair (from the wife, sister, mother) -- mu n'ivukh kiur, which will serve the deceased as an insole for footwear upon going over into the world beyond the grave; next to this, a little stake with three homs (branches), on which is placed a small cup for a cuckoo (pyk nir); furthermore, a little stake with a wooden cuckoo -- mu n'ivukh pyk, i.e., "the cuckoo of the dead man," and finally still another little stake with an eagle feather -- chamngar.

The building of a little grave house can be postponed, but the dressed stuffed doll -- k:ak (1) must be made without fail.

[532]
[774]

1. K:ak -- wooden image of the deceased, a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, k:ak-raf, is erected over him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast is held.

765 In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive, drink, cry, and commemorate; they do this for a year, in some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this, then for one month, depending on status. At the end of the term of "observation" (tigr az'radz: -- "observation of the tree," the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased), they buy vodka and rice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws," and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate; this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyz'dz:, tigr pykyz'dz:).

[231] They walk to the tuv, the place of the cremation of the deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

/307 cont./

765 and bring over the favorite dog and feed it. This dog is called
231 pryski -- g:an (among the Goldi -- khan'a, i.e., soul); every person, even a child, has without fail his own pryski. From childhood everyone has his favorite dog, and when a man dies, they select either his favorite dog or the best dog of those harnessed to the sled and make a pryski of it. If it dies, they
765 bury it and cover it with chocks. Each says the following to the
775 deceased: "Ning yvr: hűmnydz: kys'k:avr: tog:agán urgur vija mu-n'ivukh gudókh mlyvo-rokh (pimlykh-tokh). Vingán, /308/ eriróżonydz:, hűin pyk tynakhaná, pyk tykē, chi jerinakhana hongan pi oz'ngan, cham nar:kir: pkhuukuja plyngu tengu, hokharód vétana khan'a nyn'gir: kiur keraj'a, hyhagyskű vetajá k:akgir:, turi kher: toz'ja, pykn'ir: pyk chakh tanýdz: pyk tekē: pernakhaná. Urgur vir: namugur humyjá pytykhu dog:a pymykhu dog:a, pi ykyngudog:a, vijá.

"To live near us, there is no happiness (not fate), in such a case, fine, go to the deceased, to the settlement of the dead (to your settlement of the dead). When you go, you will cross the river; a cuckoo will cuckoo there; after the cuckoo bird cuckoos for a long time, you will wake up. When you get up, you will shake off ashes and coal with eagle feathers; then you will dress yourself, make an insole out of the hair (1), put on

1. Out of the hair of the wife, sister, or mother.

this clothing, and, having made something like a little bridge from the figure, cross; a cuckoo bird, becoming tired (2) after it

[825]

2. All during the trip to the stream the cuckoo will cry; before the stream there will be no water and no food. It will become tired and will have to drink from the cup. There are cuckoos which squeal, which means that they are tired from accompanying the deceased.

/308 cont./

765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
796 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear,
626 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz:." "What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
768 is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[731] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/309 cont./

766 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
756 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
754 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
787 man to eat from the kinys n'ich: "Go eat human meat!" He rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys. Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes through, a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased or (to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in constant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies. Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroyed right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they make real tolm'ir and sacrifice from them down to the third generation.

756 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toldokh urly cham;
787 2) pal'dokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:at n'ivukh -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questions to a stone with a hole -- tolfang. If the stone immediately gives answers, it is thrown away. The shaman queries his pal'pang:a (a wooden figure which is bound with white drel', and with shavings on the neck; it is suspended on a string). The waving of the figure is an affirmative answer. If there is no pang, they tie tobacco wrapped in white drel' to the stone. It advises the shaman about medicines, indicates what sacrifices to give and
(755) to which particular pal (i.e., pal of one's own or of a different clan), and so forth. It cannot drive away the evil spirit, but it can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also during sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad shamans steal (tempt away) their major kekhn from them. There are shamans
756 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
776 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

/309 cont./

756 776 The shaman calls up his kekhn and treats them to fat, sugar, and vodka. "Children, leave from the window!" shouts the shaman. After /310/ a while the window crackles, and the kitus′ enters. The kitus′ lives, not with the shaman, but beyond the ranges, beyond nine ranges, beyond nine streams; there are Gol'tsy (pákhtigraf) there. The master there is an old man. The house is of iron and stone and has gates: the first gates are guarded by a boa; the second by crocodiles (there are small lizards-crocodiles -- mèng:aj here); the third and last gates are guarded by a tiger. Pal'-g:an=haluvidz:(?), i.e., a small tiger, sits in front of the threshold and guards. With this old man lives the chief old man pila k:ak hejmar (pal yz′, pallung n′ivukh -- the mountain master-man). Near the pila-khas′ (a post which supports the matka) in each yurt there must be a stone for the kettle (nichvakh) and another stone at the threshold. This worm is kept under the first stone. In this house there are various animals: simple frogs -- rall, and the frogs of this particular house, mifpidz:. This little worm was given by the shaman to his own little worm for safekeeping. The shaman: "Massi (illegible), go there, request it of the boa and tiger, the guardians of the gates." Sometimes the boa will continue to be stubborn for days on end; they promise it a black dog, dog blood, a double portion of potatoes, a beautiful inau, etc. The pal-yz′ is promised a spear and so forth. "I shall give thee armor, I shall give thee a spear, a large kettle with four handles, a piece of Chinese silk cloth, a furry black dog, and yet another dog with spots and speckles I shall sacrifice." "Pet′gir: chkhuz′ nykhtá k:akh chkhuznykhta′ pilavyn′ noz′ nykrvyn′ tata charbgir, k:angir ygrluk an′chi kurgur g:angir ch′khyz′ nykhta." He then agrees and begins to ask the kitus′ to come out. The kitus′ slowly crawls out, the massi wraps it up in white silk and brings it to the shaman. The shaman then says: "Having moved away from the window, sit, the worm is coming, having moved away from such and such a window, sit. "Pakh jenverkhnga five, kitus′ pryjvura! Kembakh pakh jenverkhnga five." And there the worm, like an arrow, pierced the window and straight to the shaman. The shaman took it.

/310 cont./

755 Mainly it is necessary to treat leprosy -- khachudz, and skin diseases.

The treatment of a leper. The shaman asks that a dog be brought into the isba. The sick man sits up with his legs hanging from the plank bed to the floor. In front of him there is an iron kettle with the opening upward. The man holds the dog, while the shaman moves around the yurt and kamlaet (shamanizes); then the shaman spits -- "emits the spirit," takes a small worm out of his mouth and carries it toward the dog. The dog jumps back -- it has been pricked. Then the angry worm is brought over to the sick man; the shaman stands opposite the sick man with the worm in his hands, and the head of the shaman turns into a large woodpecker -- ves'khr: -- black, with a red forehead -- and, squinting his eyes, he begins /311/ to look closely at the face of the sick man in order to determine where to peck a bald spot, i.e., to learn where the worm of the disease is (the shaman, having squinted his eyes, sees through the man, and the sick man sits "all naked"). The shaman finds a soft spot, pricks it with the worm, and pulls out of there another worm, which he throws into the kettle. He thus pulls out all the worms from the entire [761] body, leaving only one worm, samui:. Without a worm, a [825] person cannot live, but this worm cannot propagate. Those who have seen these worms in the kettle say that they look like tree worms. This kettle is covered with other kettles. At the same time he orders his kekhn to keep watch at night over the cup. On the following day he orders the Gilyak to bind the kettle tight with a kaluga net and to bury it in the ground, while he himself shamanizes. The shaman carries it away over five rivers and five ranges. He sings, so that the small mountains become large, and the streams -- large rivers. There he digs out a pit, where he places the kettles together and binds them. Those who go must count five narrow valleys and five ranges. And the shaman sings once again, so that the dried up little springs turn into large rivers, the rivers -- into cliffs, and the kaluga net -- into the densest wire bag -- "become a wire bag, so that the worm does not come out." The shaman solders the kettles with words: "Two kettles, having melted together, merge and mutually become one."

/311 cont./

756 Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz:-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Goldi tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovz (Goldi pún'chu) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then horns -- murki', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys [776] pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami [774] among the Goldi, lives in the uz' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

778 824 Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

[782] Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

[184] 1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Kal'vo on the chédzigr, on its crossbar -- two figures, yzikh -- peasant man and woman. A chédzigr is fed on the first 778 day of the month anlong (December) and a second time in July. 782 Everyone sits in a circle, and an old man takes a small amount 824 of food from each, makes chukh-chugind -- a sacrifice -- and places inau. The inau are made out of mountain ash.

824 /312 cont./
778 Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr:, gather
782 at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buda,
[614] a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labaz/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyjá -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tly-n'ivukh; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

796 Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt.
782 Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are
[184] carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the tlyrokh is never made; in Tevkh only a red dog pag:r kh:an:, is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'jongarja kinynguch: humguja', kholafti lygyguja'," i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (han'gar:), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Ski, a stick, and a cross-bow (narródz:) are placed there, the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tuurg'a'vk); the fork is thrown into the fire and
[789] taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a
[796] hunt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/313 cont./

796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly
782 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-nîvukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-nîvukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

731 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the
782 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,
[165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzigr. This old man remembers four big takh.

796 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn
782 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they are not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a
[372] white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur.
[354] If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

728 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtâs',
782 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/) on which are
224 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here
225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz: only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, ag:a (akhydz') -- a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

/313 cont./

778 to shout: "Yrk-lu? -- Is it enough?" -- "Yrkrá! -- It is enough!"
782 Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his
224 own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this every-
225 body must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

778 The customary takhej of a hunter is the individual uig. Any-
688 body who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund kymlydz: assembles, and they judge him; they demand a bear or
782 a luk -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

796 When they build a pila uigryf (house in which the bear festival
346 is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If
782 there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a luk: -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a post falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila uigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzigr.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several uigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an uigryf.

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramladz: (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat, even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself: he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
703 myg:nga igagû syktymu yz´mudz:gu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
732 born a boy with a tail.

825 The lark makes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thunder.

The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in a thin, humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- k:akhtr, ag:nî, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- arn´ is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 [087] Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this is also good.

342 354 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy -- door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the "master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- window alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side 342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly k:as' -- large post. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. Tol erkh mat' k:as' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' -- small post. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la digr-irku k:as' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal erkh' mat k:as' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17. Kylyná mat' k:as' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor. [354] 20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the [335] master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house. 24. Kylzhutá -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a person who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooed [078] corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things. [076] 29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do with the appropriate spirit, with tol or pal'.

/315 cont./

342 782 Sacrifices (sacrificed dishes -- chmáus) are placed on the appropriate half; if there is not enough space, then on the appropriate nau (tol or pal'). /316/ /Sketch of the house-plan appears here./

342 [776] /317/ Tyvyz -- "master" of the house; he lives either under the post (10) or under a stone (19). Sometimes he is an old man, sometimes an old woman or a young woman.

The master of the house and his family occupy the tol' erkh pusk; if the family is large then also the kemfakh (3) and ponakhfakh (4). The bear's head is placed in the middle (25).

[356] [782] In autumn, during cleaning, everything is abundantly fed: the walls, the floor, the supports under the plank beds, the edges of the plank beds, and so forth.

Rites upon the completion of a house. When a new house is completed, they place two sticks, one in the front and the other in the back (of the house), and on a thread stretched between them are hung images of the sun (keng) and the moon (long chakh). They are not renewed later.

342 782 When the house is completed, sacrifices are made: They prepare mos' 1) alys -- berries, 2) rak: -- a porridge of rice or wheat, and feed the four corners (chonkh), four posts (mon'-nakh), and the two posts in the middle -- the front one, amkhas', and the rear one, kemkhas', in which the master lives; they also feed the crossbeam -- tyjf (edz:). Here the old man says: "Urla dyf muja' nolagu kýnynguch: humguja', ta sikhydz kh:olaf ta hum guja'" -- be a good house (sit firmly). Make it felicitous for my children, and so that there be no kind of sickness." In autumn the [356] house is cleaned, plastered with clay, and they sacrifice -- tyv arnydz:.

342 778 776 Tyv yz' bakh -- a stone before the threshold or beyond the threshold, or a piece of pig iron; under it sits the "master," who guards against the entry of the milk'.

342 782 776 Lym yz' -- threshold. Beyond the threshold, under the ground, they place different foods (chyudz:) -- for the earth -- the master and the tol fynydz:.

1: Shternberg--456 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur
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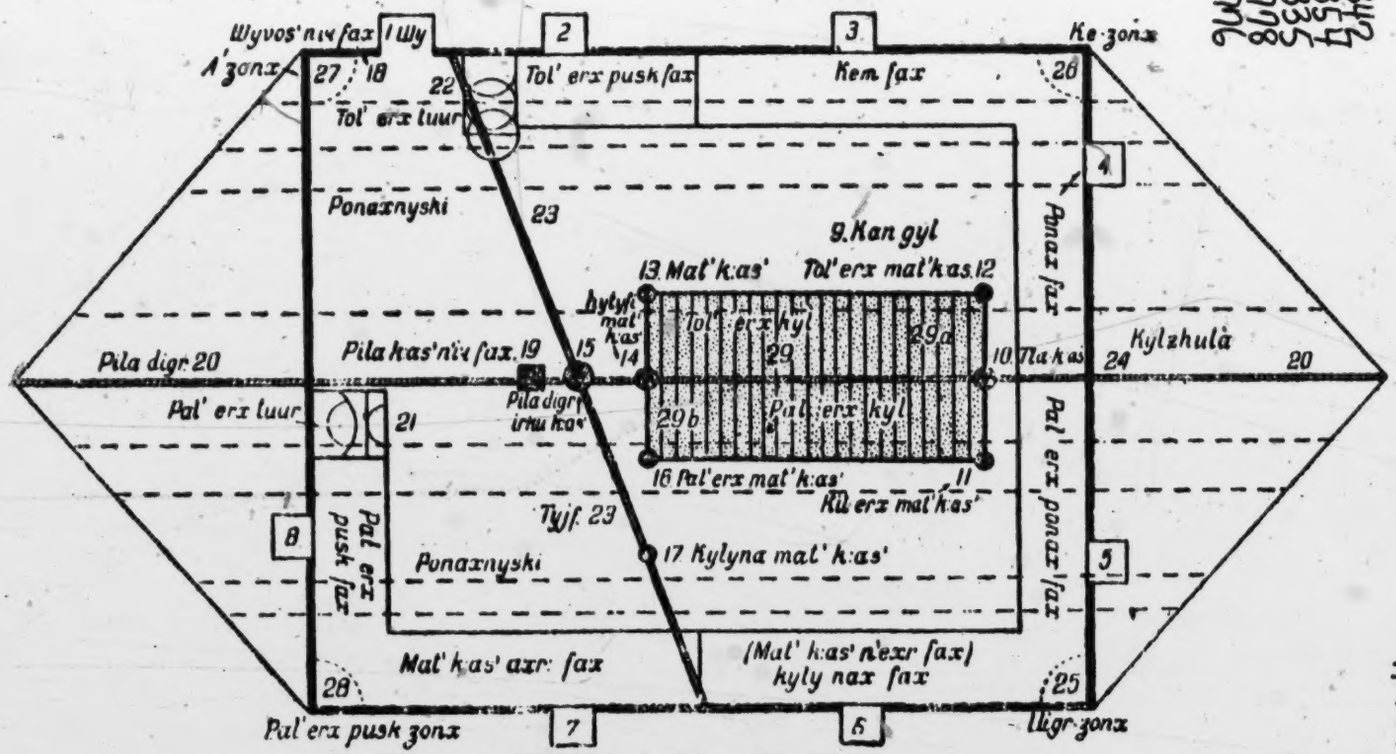

Plan of the House of the Amur Gilyak

/Three letters in the terms above have been changed in the translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other letters are from the Latin alphabet; see the table on p. 36 (foreign text p. xxxix)./

/317 cont./

342 787 Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

342 787 789 If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a [776] good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chkhnyr chkhnaj, a grass figure, and 342 776 782 drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in autumn (cleaning) (1) and another time when one wishes. They

[372] 1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matka, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

342 789 /318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the following fashion: a grass figure -- chkhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his [534] hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes [756] with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kekhn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

342 756 789 The shaman then says: "gy, gy (i.e., 'good'), in such and such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Gy-gy, gy-gy, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner. [776] Massi (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kekhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/318 cont./

342 "Make a battue, drive him toward this grass figure. Ah! He
756 has turned into a mouse." The chorus: "He is going there. He
789 turned into a human form... he turned into a bird. He got into the post.!"

Finally, there is no other place, and he has to get into the chkhnaj -- the grass figure, whether he wants to or not. When he has entered it, the hand of the person holding the thread appears to shake. The shaman shouts: "Hit him!" And that one hits. They light a candle, throw light on it, and inspect the grass figure: it again does not have its head toward the threshold. The shaman searches for him again. He finds him. Again the same thing. Finally, the chkhnaj has its head toward the threshold, which means that the evil spirit has gone out. The shaman leaves
[776] his massi to keep watch overnight. In the evening of the follow-
342 ing day the shaman calls the real "master," but that one answers
776 that he was late. The real "master" is generally hidden under the
782 earth; the shaman looks for him and addresses to him the request:
756 "Here they have built an isba, be the master, they will feed you, watch over it, protect it!" Finally the master has appeared in the middle of the floor and stuck out his head. "Come out," says the shaman, "do not be shy, say what you want, we will prepare everything!" The master answers: "Kill the dog, rub the corner with its blood, boil its meat so that the dog steam fills the house. Boil kosterka. Boil mlyk marcho (a fish with two fins at the tail), boil the white lin'ka, the puchka, the head of the Siberian salmon, treat each post to the steam, do thus, make a fumigating smoke with marsh tea, drive in a piece of pig iron several pieces by the threshold and in other places of the floor, then the floor will be iron. Strengthen it thus."

1: Shternberg--459 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the
[782] master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year)
[776] they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyr ururungja'! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
758 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

731 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
753 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
766 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is
562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field: the wind blows and it is out.

158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
[143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

1: Shternberg--460 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/320/

Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

773 [776] Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kurn, the master of the universe, created everything; in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the tree." "Working" the earth, Kurn lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach:.

821 [772] The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

773 824 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.

776 614 The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' nîgyvyn, looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal nîgyvyn.

821 Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1)

1. Illegible. S. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunderstorm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-nîvukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

/320 cont./

821 The god of the wind -- Layzn (the evil wind -- Lamangnd);
[782] no chukh-chugnd (sacrifices) are made to him. He is shot at with bows; he is not shot at with rifles for fear of evoking thunder and a storm. The wind comes about thus: "Layzn, just like man, blows from his mouth."

773 The bear, the sable, the fox, the otter, and the squirrel
825 were created by Pal yz'n (the master of the mountains).

Tuurmam -- the god of the hearth, the mistress of fire,
776 the old woman -- is one among all the clansmen. The head of Tuurmam is curly, the snout red, /321/ the hair short (there is no braid), the height that of a man, the clothing -- fish skin, lives in the fire.

Tajrnandz: the only one who sends fish; he is a large and robust man. All his dogs are white. He rides through the air,
[821] along the Milky Way (Tairnandz: -- tif); he lives there. He also makes thunder. Each k:khal has its own Pal-nîvukh, its own Tol-nîvukh, even its own milk'i, but there is one Tairnandz:. They set up three trees for Tol-nîvukh: a fir, an ashberry, and a rose willow. Strips of bark are cut out of these trees and their branches are bound with sedge. One chkhnaj has saranka attached to it.

Oskyz'n master of the hare, big like a cow, long nose. They throw the head of a hare, with puchka tied to it. Tlangi-yz'n -- master of the reindeer, looks like a reindeer. Mekvon'-gi -- master of the kabarga.

Evil spirit -- Ge-nîvukh. His yurt is an earthen mound near Tekhrvo. He comes to the Gilyak, opens a window (kugutÿ), extends two fingers, and asks for something. If something is given to him he leaves. If one gives him a hot coal, he does not understand what is happening, throws the coal back and forth from one hand to the other, and says: "as' kavkhaj, khavrkhaj, avgujà" -- "it is hot, if you do not have (anything), do not give!" Ge-nîvukh likes to kidnap people, especially children. The only way -- is to inflict a wound upon oneself, for Ge-nîvukh is afraid of blood. Pumkin's brother sat in his balagan guarding reindeer and suddenly saw two ge-n'ivukh. He began to shout and inflicted a wound

/321 cont./

776 upon himself. Ge-n'ivukh beats the seals. He is seen from a distance, but up close he disappears. He does not drive away sickness. In appearance he is "just like a Gilyak."

777 Talismans. Gibel'ka became rich in the following way: His eldest brother, Amgunka, found a piece of red material under a log in the taiga; from that time on he began to get rich. Gibel'ka stole this talisman from him, and then a chkhnaj fell from the sky, and he began to get even richer.

Taru -- talisman -- is an object which falls to a lucky person (kyz narla n'ivukh) and which increases the number of things in his possession (for instance, two fur coats instead of one), such as: a May beetle, a piece of gold, a larch with fir cones, a climbing lizard, a worm.

Aleksey caught a goya with three worms adhering to it by suction, and after this there was a lucky catch of fish.

755 Father Konki is very old and by now remembers nothing. But on the basis of dreams he advises the sick -- to make chkhnaj, feed them, and carry them into the taiga.

In recent times he has not had visions and therefore thinks that he will soon die.

/322/

756 776 Shamanism. A kekhn answers the shaman's questions about sickness and medication, but nobody hears his answers. The mightiest master is Tlykekhn (the spirit of the sky). He travels on foot through the sky and with a rope leads the shaman through the air wherever he wishes. The shaman does not take his kekhn along to Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave). The kekhn of Koynyt (1)

[115] 1. The author's storyteller -- a youth who subsequently became a shaman.
S. Sh.

comes to him only in a dream or during a seance. He sends him to various gods with tasks, for example, to learn what sacrifice to make. So far he has only pal-n'igyvyn (kekhn). His kekhn is small, with a human face and a body covered with hair.

G /322 cont./

756 Chamkh, the father of Koynyt, my storyteller, was a
774 shaman in Ady-Tymi. He had four souls: one from Pal, another from Tol, a third from Tly, and a fourth from Mly-yz'n.

G Shamans make chkhnaj (a wooden image of pal-nîgyvyn),
756 inspired during a seance, and feed them. The feeding consists
778 of giving sugar, saranka, and so forth, but they are eaten by the
782 shaman; it only appears to those around as if he eats it, however, while it is eaten by the kekhn himself. The chkhnaj must be fed or else it will gnaw a person.

G When one is dangerously ill, then the yurt begins to shake
755 and becomes full of openings and through the openings, like
776 mosquitoes, many kekhn fly and shout: "Believe me, me!" And then the shaman falls down as if he were drunk. Then he eats marsh tea and drinks sea water -- he gives this to his kekhn. He swallows fire. Kekhn love songs.

G If a person is near death and a milk has carried his soul to
755 Mlyvo, a kekhn kills him, and the shaman sets out for there for the
756 soul, and, if he succeeds in getting the soul, the sick man will
776 live. The kekhn shows the shaman the road (to Mlyvo). The
774 shaman gets to Mlyvo directly through an apperture; the same earth as here, the same sky, and many villages are there. If the soul is outside, it can still be obtained; if it is in the yurt, all is lost. If the shaman himself enters the yurt, he will die. In Mlyvo the soul of the shaman is like a bird and flies around the subterranean world.

Gi Parnkhasind (an Orok word) is done only by the Ornyr, i.e.,
755 by the Orok. They ask the chkhnaj whether the sick man will recuperate or not. If the chkhnaj rocks from side to side, he will recuperate; if not -- he will die. All this is done under the smoke of marsh tea. When the shaman beats his drum, the kekhn advises the making of chkhnaj, and if somebody's soul comes into it, then the sick man will live. If he will live, the chkhnaj is fed; then when in the shaman's opinion it is time /323/ to lose him, he comes and arranges for the milk to go from the sick man into the chkhnaj, and the sick man then recovers. (see "Fortunetelling with a Stone").

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
794 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
776 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
841 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
754 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
[562] feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
[578] away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[833] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
[158] She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/323 cont./

756 began to walk around. She sat down. She became blind, saw
796 nothing. The milk drank ten cups of horrible liquid. Clink, clink /as in touching glasses/! She drank it down in a gulp... then demanded a pipe and began to smoke and to exhale the smoke through her nose. She then (said): "Kyrndra" -- I am hungry! And she began to eat saranka. Then they gave her takr -- marsh tea. "Heavy (to lift the tambourine)!" The milk did this. She demanded my cigarette. "Give tobacco to the spirit," and ordered some distributed to everybody to smoke. She beat her breast, while a maiden beat the tambourine. Then she said: "Make a fire!" She sat down, /324/ then rose suddenly, began to dance, and ran through the door, but she was caught. The words of the female shaman: "People assembled to listen. There is no danger whatsoever. I cannot speak of various things. Naked people (i.e., not animals), a misfortune, cannot say anything. I hear the talk of the sea, I hear the talk of the mountain, I hear the talk of the sky, and I heard the talk of the sea fish. I hear the talk of the fish on all sides. Everybody listen only to me: everything was born from Pal, born from the middle of the existing mountains. They call (me) Protyst. The name of my husband is Zabrayn. The surname given by my husband -- They call me Vee'lyk. I am an old woman. Smoke tobacco, all you (who are sitting) in the yurt! Small and large, all smoke with my risk! I am not afraid of any devil (1)! I am a mother-in-law to all of you.

1. Here there is evidently an omission in the notes. S. Sh.

I am the only big old man (?). Yellow-copper squirrel, come my way! (When you ascend from the sea) to his grass house (sit down) to rest. When he ascended from there, cannibals were located before eight bear cages at the edge of an opening through which they push a trough, rest.

/324 cont./

755 During the seance of the curing of a sick man, a looped thong -- tshyng -- is tied over his bed, and on the floor before him is placed a kettle (nich) with a nail (trofrvat). With this thong the kekhn catches and ties up the sick man's soul in Mlyvo, places it under his arm, brings it to the yurt, sticks it in the kettle -- otherwise it will depart through the floor into Mlyvo-khuty -- and pierces it with the nail. The nail and the thong are taken by the shaman.

756 789 776 The kenchkh and shaman conjuring. The kenchkh helps the shaman only in conjuring -- lernd; the shaman pierces his breast with a knife, but in reality he pierces the kenchkh (chekokhis' pes'pind). They bind the shaman's hands behind him with a thong, and the kenchkh comes and unties it and throws the looped thong to its Gilyak owner. The shaman's robe, fully buttoned, slides off over his head and flies (sits on a plank bed).

The shaman puts a noose made out of a slender thong on his neck, and two men on each side pull the noose tight while he continues to sing songs. Finally the shaman's head falls to one side and his torso to the other. Then the Gilyak begin to tap, while one beats a tambourine. Finally, one hears stamping outside the door and in comes ken'chkh-yz'n in the shape of a large cow. He walks up to the big kettle, drinks up all the water, eats all the meat of the shaman, and new meat and a head grow. Then the soul of the shaman gets up on the crossbeam over the hearth and begins to sing Kyu-kyu songs. Then the head grows onto the body, and the shaman again comes back to life. In 1897 /325/
756 there were shamans in Pylvo--1, in Tekhrvo--1, in Tyrmych--2, in Chayvo--2, in Kekhrvo--2, in Ornyr--one female shaman, an old woman. The biggest shaman is the old man Kymysk in Tyrmych.

/325 cont./

756 538 [688] Improvisation of a storyteller-shaman. To compose, tyl'gund, is not allowed; it is a sin. This is a legend, truth.

N'as'tund may (be told) by a n'as'tun'-n'ivukh (storyteller) [776] or a shaman, who is helped by a special kind of kekhn (mif-n'ivukh-kekhn, who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When inquiring about the possibility of improvisation, Koynyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and began to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that this was inspiration by the richness and elusive quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyurn listened with ecstasy and with interest asked for explanations.

756 533 538 Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song was far from that which accompanies n'as'-tund; there is a great deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In places a quiet tenor vibrates beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in places flows into the thinnest pianissimo, while shrieks and artificial throat vibrations sound with tremendous dissonance. The entire song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of a stanza the shaman comes to the end by abruptly cutting off with the words "hand furu" -- "thus it is said." Frequently, he finishes his song covered with perspiration.

Declamation and singing in narration. 1. In a nas'-tund: a) first humming, b) then -- monotonous, vibrating, doleful singing with all one's might, ending in c) fortissimo with exhaling.

2. In descriptions -- a single-tone recitative.

[536] 3. Dramatism: the artistic communication of conversations in a rhythmic recitative is especially good. If one becomes accustomed to it, it is very melodious.

4. Those present support him with yells: "Ola! epoj, epoj!" etc.

756 776 The kenchkh is a bird which comes on the wind. They pull on a thong with the kenchkh during the song. Two men (one a shaman) cast a rope, and the kenchkh seizes it and pulls over the people.

/325 cont./

764 Funeral ceremonies. After closing the eyes of the deceased with a hat they stretch him out and fold his hands across his stomach; they (wife, mother) let down their hair and that of the deceased. They try to lift the head, putting garments under it, or, in the case of the poor -- straw. Sometimes the wife or the husband cuts off a piece of the braid. Tobacco and a pipe are placed on the breast, and the guests come up one by one and smoke from this pipe into his mouth. The wife, or some other near relative, or, finally, /326/ an unrelated old man or old woman places at his head a small cup with food, vodka, and cold water; the relatives come up from time to time, eat what has been put there, and again fill up the cup.

764 292 The deceased should not be dressed in garments made of leather or of fish skin, for a drop of fat might fall into the fire, and that is a sin. Ornamented things, too, may not be given, for otherwise the deceased will lose his way. The garments for the deceased are sewed out of drel' and silk (pos") and provided in a multiple number, the rest in the singular. All the women [294] assemble for the sewing of the garments. The garments are sewed "lightly"; to sew strongly is a sin -- "uigyf." The deceased should not be washed.

764 292 192 The deceased is dressed in the following garments:

1. L'arkh, shirts, but unfailingly without wadding; no belt; no modesty pants.

2. Pan' -- leggings.

3. Ki -- boots of drel', of the same shape for men and women; the tops are short; the soles are also of drel'; they are put on the naked foot.

4. Hak: -- a hat also of drel'; the hat looks like a child's hat with the hood backwards.

5. Vàmykh -- mittens with one finger, of any color; no sleeve coverings.

6. N"akh àir -- glasses, i.e., eye patches of drel', three fingers in breadth. Earrings and bracelets are taken off.

7. Vigvyr -- a belt, a piece of simple drel', white in color, and with this only two pairs of scabbards (chek:okhai') of drel' (for

/326 cont./

764 a man) and one purse (mly) for tinder and flint.

[292] 8. Hontkh -- a tobacco pouch, also of drel', for both men and
[192] women; tobacco is placed in the mly and the hontkh.

A husband dresses his wife, a wife her husband, parents their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated. Shagund -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

[574] Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning until night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

No news, or tales, or songs (are recited -- purind).

On the following day the men go to cut firewood for the
[824] cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and for children -- rose-willow; to cut larch or fir for children is a sin. One must select a good tree; otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length: /327/ among some, up to a sagene in length (the clan of Pletunka); among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows, lengthwise and crosswise.

[782] During the second night, too, nobody sleeps; everyone feeds the deceased (mu nigyvyn achnind), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt is cleaned -- tav mund, the floor is swept, then the fire is purified -- tugur mund, mos' is prepared, and tugur arnind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a clansman)-- mos' is thrown into a fire started with the branches of a fir, but nothing is said.

When all the preparations have been completed, they eat, drink vodka, and then bring in a dog sled. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, bound to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "pryski" (dog) is tied to the place where its master slept. They walk around the future fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a respite three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the side, and the deceased,

/327 cont./

764 facing west, is placed upon the stacked firewood -- hap, the arms folded with the palms toward the breast, and the legs bent with the knees up (the favorite position on a plank bed. Then they pre-
[372] pare the wooden device for obtaining fire -- chkhach: tugur, namely, a vertical stick, lung (drill); the tinder is placed in the middle of a small stick, the fire is obtained by rubbing the lung against this latter, and the master of the house sets fire to the shavings.

Before (lighting the fire) they get up on the firewood and
[152] cry over the deceased. The crying is begun by women. It is a sin for a man to cry over the deceased, except for his wife. The wife of an elder brother, but not of a younger one, goes to cry on the hap of a deceased bachelor.

The lamentations over the body of a husband: "My husband, oh woe, the gay devil (crying), the gay ones killed, above me now they go; another man now; (those who are) poorer than I will grow rich, (be) richer than I from now on. I shall now eat only my tears."

[152] When the fire is well under way and the flames begin to approach the upper part of the body, they take firewood from a prepared stack and throw it in the fire; even a small child throws some kind of little stick; others poke the body with long
[763] sticks; this is an expression of love. If under the influence of the fire the hands of the deceased stretch out, this is an evil omen of the imminent death of some close kinsman, and the hands are restored to their original position with sticks.

At the completion of the ceremony of cremation, a dog is sacrificed, and upon killing it, its head is bent downward and toward the appropriate deity: to Pal toward the east, to Tol -- toward the sea. Some throw away (put into a pit) the dog's skin /328/ together with the meat; others boil the meat, for which a special fire is laid by the side of the hap, and the meat is partly eaten, partly scattered around. After this they set out for the yurt of the deceased, eat a spoonful of food each, smoke a little, and disperse.

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769 The favorite dog, "pryski'" (every man has his own pryski') 231 is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and then it is taken away to the yurt, tied to the place where the dead man slept, and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four years -- if a woman. After this it is sold or given as a gift, but they cannot keep it.

766 Even where cremation is practiced, insane persons after death are buried directly into the ground.

764 In Ady-Tymi, if they suspect that a person died from magic, 754 two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place 184 of cremation. Birds appear first, then hares and foxes and then the ormi-milk, rubbed with clay against arrows. He comes to eat the man, and if they do not kill him, then the others will die.

764 On the day following the cremation, when the fire has died out, firewood and boards are strewn on it, and on top a dog sled deliberately broken; sometimes small pieces of it are kept (as souvenirs).

Where the deceased are buried and not burned, they are placed in a coffin. Anyone can make a coffin of boards or from a boat -- two boxes. It is carried out through the door and placed on the dog sled, which in both winter and summer is carried on the arms. The required objects are placed in the coffin, some as models. Those who go along do not put on their festive clothes. The pit which they dig must accommodate the coffin up to the lid. There is no crying; kissing the deceased is a sin. It is not required that everyone throw earth into the grave. No signs are set up. Dogs are killed on the grave, but they are not fed beforehand, nor are inau put on them. The skin is immediately removed from the slain dogs and hung on a stick, while the meat is boiled right there, but it is eaten by few, and others throw it away. Boats and so forth are broken over his grave. The Gilyak is not afraid of the [769] deceased. When "good food happens," the deceased are fed for about half a year.

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764 To be burned is better than to be buried.

766 The one made the first mos' for a drowned man is not burned after death, but buried in the ground.

A drowned person, if he is of another clan, is not burned, but is inclosed in sticks.

If the deceased was murdered, he is not carried into the yurt, but is placed beside it. Near the place of the cremation of the murdered person, they place a "vagn'" -- a tree with the roots /329/ upward. Those who have been killed are carried off the field of battle by both sides to their villages.

764 If a person dies in a balagan, he remains there (until the funeral.

764 349 A raf (a little house with a little door, over the grave) is made in a month, or in two, three, or four months, when there is time. A raf cannot be set up in winter or spring, for the earth is frozen, and in autumn as well. During this time the deceased is absolutely not fed. A raf is prepared by common efforts.

[784] [614] On the day of the preparation of a raf, as on the day of cremation, all forms of work are prohibited for the clan members. It is prohibited ~~to fish~~, to go hunting, to make a dog sled; it is prohibited to sew, even to "make one's head," i.e., to comb one's hair, but one can sing songs. Members of alien clans are allowed to work if they did not observe the work on the construction of the raf, but the members of the same khala, if they know that a raf is being made, even if they live in a different settlement, are forbidden to work. The master who helps in the building of the raf does not receive any reward; that is a sin.

The walls of a raf are made of boards. The roof is made as on an actual house. In the middle there is a k:khak:, a double board with a stopper which closes an aperture -- kylmyz' (navel). The sharp stoppers go through a round piece of birch bark which is placed over the aperture. In the upper section are stuck a spear, arrows, hooks, and a knife. The k:khak: is wrapped in a piece of drel' of a trapezoidal shape and fastened, tied to the navel; the upper part of the k:khak: remains bare. On top of this, in front, there is an apron of the same shape, which is decorated

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764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A hontkh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard are tied to the belt of drel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nirng, into which they put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside, next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka. First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the raf mu nig:yvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning,
[231] brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu n'igyvyn is fed no longer, though they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka. This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
[231] pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for kinsmen or for someone from the k:khal.

766 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a takhch (see below, pp. 475-476), and then they make a raf anyway.

775 The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
[761] killed by a milk (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
[776] is afraid and hides with Pal-n'igyvyn or Tol-n'igyvyn, depending on which milk killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to the man.

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775 The deceased travels to Mlyvo on a dog sled. If he does not have holes in his ears for earrings, an old woman inspects him on the road and makes a hole, but if the deceased does not with this, his soul is taken away. Earrings are worn, not for decoration, but for the sake of holes in the ears. The old woman who makes the holes is called chivkhyty fi-mam, i.e., "the woman in the middle of the road."

Before the funeral the soul either stays or leaves for Mlyvo and then returns again, but after the cremation it remains in Mlyvo. The dead convey the regards of the earth kinsmen to the other world, about which they ask during lamentation. If a woman marries a second time, she will not be with her first husband in Mlyvo; the husband also takes a wife in the other world. A good woman (widowed) does not marry.

.763 Indyn's (1) mother, who was sick for a long time before her

[122] 1. The younger brother of Churka, Shternberg's guide.

death, lay on the ground in her small yurt; around the hearth sat her daughters, a married one and a little one, and (her sons), Indyn and Churka. The mother, with half-closed eyes, said: "When I die, the small children will be lost -- you will go and have fun this way and that way and will not think of them." Churka looked sidewise and said gloomily: "How can that be, am I not their brother?" And he left. Then (she turned) to Indyn: "Yes, I shall die, who will look after you, who will repair your clothing, who will feed you? You may freeze, drown. The Gilyak will abuse you, and who will say a word for you? I shall die, my lips will not defend you." Then her speech /331/ began to be confused. She looked through the opening of the roof; the stars had already come out. She said: "I must go, or else it will be too late." The sister: "Where will you go? Don't you see that you are dying?" -- "I know I shall not die -- I have to go." And with these words she died. And Churka at this time was fishing.

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795 The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to
787 him several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father took me again," and she did not appear any more.

794 The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this large soul live small souls -- tarn. After the death of a person,
[231] a small soul lives in his pryski´ (dog), which is tied to his plank bed. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.
[935] A poor person "still has one tiny little soul." If a person dies away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body. Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire a corresponding soul, and therefore if a throat is sore, they make
[825] a tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue. A captured bird with which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will carry away the soul.

795 The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person who has been eaten by a bear lives to a ripe old age with Pal-n igyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who drowned -- with Tol-n'igyvyn, and then they go to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is caused by the bloodshed during the wars of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle) lives, like a bird, in the air. The souls of such unfortunates shreik at night from the trees.

5. Until a tkhusind (ransom) is received, one who was killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

795 The night bird takhch is of the size of a crow and just as
825 black, but its beak is red. If its cry is heard at night, one must not call it by name, but must say atk.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly together into the village.

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775 This bird (the soul of the slain man) enters the avenger of
825 the slain man and instills courage in him. Its image (vagn,
[532] takhchynnga) is made out of the roots of the alder tree and placed, with the roots upward, not far from the raf over the grave of the
[778] slain person. The chkhnaj of this bird must be made out of the root, and a small knife must be placed in its mouth.

775 The resurrection of the soul. The soul of the deceased will sometimes be born again. If a boy is born with a sign indicating his origin from a person who has died, he will say, even before sustained speech, words that indicate his knowledge of the past.
775 When he attains intelligible speech, his father puts a hat on him
789 backwards and begins to ask him questions about the past, and then he says quietly, "Well, that is enough, forget the past," and puts the hat on him in the proper way, Then the boy forgets everything and will live for a long time. If the father does not do this, the boy will die. The procedure with the hat drives away the milk.

II.

Hunting and Fishing

224 Sacrifices to the sea -- Tol vyzn:d (fynydz:). 1. When winter
782 sets in and there is not a single unfrozen patch of water on the surface of the sea, the men of the same khal'a (women do not participate) set out in the dark of night for the sea, a hole in the ice, and through it each of them throws wood -- "wood fire," which has been started with a piece of tinder -- to the sea. Later on, at home, they "eat," i.e., feast.

2. In summer, people who leave the shore in a rowboat throw things out of a bowl for sea offerings -- tol n ˈich: -- to the master of the sea, Tol yz ˈdokh.

To Tol they always sacrifice a white dog, a white fir, everything smooth and clean; to Pal and Mif, on the other hand, everything fanciful; to Kur -- a red dog, a red cock, a bright cup, vodka.

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782

In the evening of the day of arrival at the hunters' balagan, they make chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) to Pal-nîgyvyn, the master of the mountains; the master says, "Az'myr sikrá, urgur n'un'ujá, munkjá" -- "there are no more presents, make it so that I am not afraid, look after us well!" They make chukh-chugynd before a particular tree (uig-chkhar -- a tabooed and forbidden tree); then they only feed the fire, saying: "Urgur in'ja, hiulan tugur mujá, pal'akh pong argujá -- eat well, make the mountain people take pity on us!" The fire may not be made by an alien k:khal. Only the master -- yz'ing -- may clean the fire, tugurmynd; /333/ the cleaning is done in the winter quarters in fall and in the summer quarters in spring; the rubbish is put in one place. Mos' for the fire is prepared also only by the yz'ing and his k:khal, but the sacrifice may be offered by anybody. On the first evening they make the sacrifice to the hearth: "Urgur in'jà pal'akh ponargjà nula n'ivukh mungjà" -- eat well, make the mountain take pity on me, make me a happy man!" Old takhej (trees with bifurcations) are stacked together, and new ones are made. Near the balagan there is an uig-takhej on which are hung sables, nooses, and so forth. The word to it: "Pal ponargjà n'akh hiulan -- n'igyvyn mungjà!" -- "mountain, take pity on me and make me successful in hunting the bear!"

Near the balagan is an uig-chkhar to which sacrifices are thrown merely with spoons -- no chkhnaj are made. They also feed kelnung an'kh (a bitch looking into a behind) and Lymyz'n mam.

[251] Those who have arrived with the game hang it on the common takhej, where it hangs for several hours until it dries. Anyone from the same clan can take off the skin. The boiled head
[252] of a sable is decorated with inau, placed on sticks on the front part of the hearth, nearer the ponang (the middle plank-bed), and rice, puchka, sarana, and mos' are stuffed through the opening in the back of its head and through its nostrils; then the head is eaten by anyone who wishes.

When the head and the bones of the animal have been put together in chumashki, sacrificial dishes are prepared, and the bones

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224 782 are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigynd kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

825 177 When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

224 784 During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhund), a woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If [626] any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

224 /334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs. Catching a wolf. In Ikhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tos' (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

221 [252] Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon, and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh tkhusind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of tkhusind.

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834 One may not sleep with a woman when nooses and traps are being set, i.e., during the narkhund, and also during a bear festival and when a man has died.

III.

342 The Building of a House and Rites and Ideas Connected with the House

[789] A flint and some sweetbrier are placed under the post. The sweetbrier guards against the milk, while the flint is there so that there will be no hole in the wood, and then the milk (evil spirit) cannot come through. The door is toward the east.

When a new yurt is finished, a festival is held. They make an inau chkhnaj (chkhnaj efn (?) ekhlung; Ady-Tymi) in the shape of a human face on each of four posts (nas'ki khar) of the house, and, for the sturdiness of the house, inau are tied to the cross rafters (nas'ki). Then they kill a dog, tie it to the nas'ki khar closest to the door, and rub the chkhnaj with the blood of its heart. The meat of the dog is boiled. Mos' is made, and the [782] chkhnajinau, the kelgelnan'kh, or (in Arkyvo) the lymyznmam, and the nich are fed. Three small firs are then placed in the hearth and tied up with two saranka -- bound with puchka (akhz); for some reason these bindings are called "little bear." After this, mos' wrapped in inau is put in three places under the ground. At night when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn the firs and say a prayer.

372 In the fire nearest the exit is the tugur-mam, and beyond 782 the fire the old man tugur-ychkh. The tugur, the master of the fire, is fed with all sorts of viands; they throw them into the fire and say: "Urgur injá, urlantaf mujá!" (i.e., "eat well, be a good house!"). Next they feed each /335/ corner, repeating: "Urlan tugur mujásik urlaf parkjá, hiulan taf mujá ta chos'khejá" -- "be a good fire, do everything well, be a house that brings luck in the hunt, do not get broken!" (it is understood that the old woman

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372 782 of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Urgur n'rá, nekhlang kun k:kholaf khavryr hunivaguja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kel'nung ankh --" the bitch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe: one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

776 342 The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house -- four chkhnaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men. Tavyzing tugur yzing. This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.

[688] If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyz'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

832 Means for love. There is medicine to make another person

[825] fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco. (then a man soon dies), or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

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832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

843 /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
846 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr) of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the comer.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire, chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being unclean -- akilaf pach:kyt -- and becomes sik urland pornyng -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

843 For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
845 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
789 must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise she
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846]
[171]

1. Among the Orok a woman is in the balagan only during childbirth; then for ten days they cook for her on a separate fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing to lose their strength.

/336 cont./

854 [344] A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 789 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung -- ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 784 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish. 854 755 789 Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows, are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 [776] Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of the sea.

845 782 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] [778] [782] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[775] [787] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 224 164 782 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general. The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 776 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn, but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 758 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmàs'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/838 cont./

753 159 [122] The Gilyak Churka (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw

1. L. Ia. Shternberg's guide around Sakhalin.

a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt ill under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately -- he had to hurry -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from kkhmas"ind.

V.

The Rescue of a Drowning Man

752 Having heard the cry of a drowning man, they come to his aid, press down on his stomach so that the water will come out, clean his mouth with shavings, and place a stick in his mouth. Then they wrap him in fur coats and tightly bandage his face (if he looks at fire, he will die). When he becomes warm, his face [782] is uncovered. He gives chukh-chugynd to Tol and then carries out a procedure called shavynd.

752 789 A Gilyak was drowning under the broken ice. He was rescued and brought to a yurt where the rescuer-host and the one rescued sat down opposite each other; a bowl with sarana and puchka was placed before each of them on both sides, and a white dog near each of them. They hooked together with hooks which they held in their hands (an imitation of the rescue) and pulled against each other, saying: "You will live to an old age, and so will I." Then, at the departure, the rescued man stepped in the bowl of his host and in his own, and they exchanged bowls. After the exchange, the rescued man said: "Nikhkhakhrá --

/338 cont./

752 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them
789 will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue
[572] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but a
[614] drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is sur-
[628] rounded with sticks.
[766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat rescued from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will
[775] be a god.
[776]

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the stream.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
782 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

/339 cont./

VI.

Games

526 1. Ball game -- poj. The ball -- pulk -- is smaller than a fist and is sewed over with fish skin. The players are divided into two teams. It begins with the ball being thrown up and then hit away with a stick in the direction of the opponents. They must hit the ball back and must prevent the ball from flying far. If the ball gets past the opponent, then they move farther, and after them the other team. When the ball rolls or flies near, everyone with a stick in his hand tries to hit it away.

524 2. Pytyzand. A player claps his hands several times and with the lower parts of his palms hits the lower part of his chin twice, while his teeth click rhythmically. Then they hit their slightly inflated cheeks with their palms, the lips emit a fortsen -- sound -- and the teeth click. Then they hit the temples, the head, the knees.

All this is performed with such headspinning speed that it excites both the performer and the spectator.

526 3. Ter:nund -- jumping on one foot.

4. Nastumarnd -- jumping over a belt.

5. Tigrkyr -- jumping leaning on a pole.

[524] 6. Tykyryd (the Amur tykyrydz:) -- a variety of No. 2.

7. Varnd (the Amur varndz:) -- boat racing.

524 /340/ 8. Chong-king. A long narrow board has three parallel rows of nests (holes) -- up to 83 -- k:aryn^{n} ychkh (see drawing).

/340 cont./

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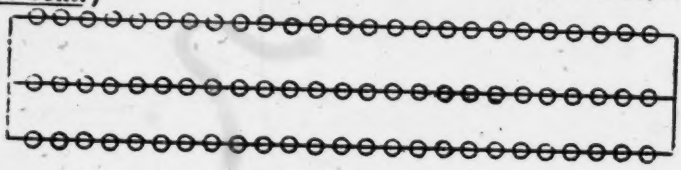

In one of the outside rows there is placed in each nest a "soldier," i.e., a vertical, round peg; also in the opposite outside row a soldier is similarly placed in each row -- a round peg, but flattened out in its upper half in the shape ⊓. They play with four cubes, each of whose sides has its sign and its name, namely:

1) Chong -- a big hole in the center and four small ones in the corners.

2) Kyr -- five holes distributed in the same manner, but all of the same size.

3) Kor, with a sign resembling a swastika.

4) Tvyr -- a drawing resembling the Russian Ж.

5) Ton'dz:á -- two diagonal lines which cross each other, with holes of equal size in each of the triangles so formed.

6) Mra -- a square with two vertical and two horizontal wavy lines mutually intersecting.

The one who begins the game throws up all four cubes in a handful and then sees whether or not the chong has come up. Until the chong comes up, i.e., until the cube lands with the chong side up, the player cannot make moves. Side No. 1

/340 cont./

524 gives the right to one move, No. 2 -- to two, etc., side No. 6 gives the right to six moves.

If the chong comes up, the king from the middle line changes place with the nearest of his soldiers; if still another chong, he changes with the next one on one move; on the remaining figures, that soldier who took the king's place in the middle line moves. Once the chong has come up, one may move the next time in any case. The king makes moves only after the first chong; then /341/ he lets the soldiers move. If a soldier makes several steps along the middle line and meets a soldier of the opposite camp, he jumps over him, but does not take him, and only if this latter stands on the destination of the other, is he taken. One must figure out with what figure to make a move to succeed in taking the opponent.

On a chong, the king, making a move, counts only the occupied places; the empty ones do not count. A king cannot be killed; if a soldier moves up to him, he lies down and waits for another move. A chong normally does not take a soldier, except in only the last two nests. A king can move only on a chong; otherwise, he moves only when he has one soldier left. The opponent is taken only when he is on a destination.

During the game one must shout what he wants: kyr, mra, etc. If a king does not have one soldier to change with, the first chong has no effect, but the next one gives the king the right to make a move; a soldier may make a move for him. Sometimes one must combine in order to jump over an opponent's soldier.

The basic rules of the game. The soldiers cross first to the middle line and then move forward into the enemy camp, but do not come back. When there are no soldiers on someone's battle line (basic), then the king may make moves like the soldiers, i.e., in any number.

In accordance with the soldiers knocked out of formation or moved to the middle line, the king has the right, on a chong, to change with his soldier, regardless of distance, but, of course, not on the middle line. At the beginning of the game the kings stand on the middle line at the ends. If a king has made backward

/341 cont./

524 steps, then he can be killed. The game continues even after the king is taken. If the old man moves back, then a soldier may kill him with a chong; if there are two chong in a row, then the king can come back (1).

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1. I offer a variation of the game, recorded by me from the words of the Amur Gilyak Mladzyan, a student in the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad.

The one who begins to play after the chong comes up moves his soldier on the middle line of nests, in accordance with the number of moves which have come up (by the upper surfaces of the cubes), the appropriate number of rests, starting from the right. Then his partner does the same on his side, and when his soldier comes to land on the spot of a soldier of his partner, which is already standing there, he takes it.

After one of the partners has moved to the end of the battle line, he can, on future moves, cross over to the line of the enemy (his partner) and knock out his soldiers, and when he reaches the end of that line, he is considered the winner.

In spite of the fact that the above description differs from the description of the Sakhalin game of chong in Shternberg, we print it, for it may facilitate an understanding of the above-described variant of the game, although this latter differs considerably from that described by Mladzyan. S. Sh.

/341 cont./

VII.

Miscellanea

648 179 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Gibel'ka's story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu, Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then took two or three sables per package. /342/ He collected debts by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind of okht to women (see above, p. 480, "Women, Childbirth, and Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga recognized the cast-up body and informed the mother. But when she arrived the body was gone; she saw only the tracks of a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear dealt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of the feast. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight; no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill. But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug, the water kept increasing. This was the tears of those people whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without water.

867 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, not to laugh at anybody.

567 Slaves -- krygrys (1894). In Kuklyakh (?) a krygrys was exchanged for a woman. In Vaydakh -- a krygrys, Khyumik, a limping woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about," "she did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for no one wanted to have krygrys children. There were krygrys also in Tongakh, Tevakh, Kutr. The atk (see p. 222,IV) of Gibel'ka had krygrys.

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/

823 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin.
773 Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary.
761 Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
825 fices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may
[782] look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

724 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and
825 they treat him like a killed one. When they set off some-
[261] where (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

773 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

/343 cont./
773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

778 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj
789 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
[774] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that
774 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand) or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

/344 cont./

VIII.

Folklore (1)

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1. The two tales printed below were found in Shternberg's archives without a Gilyak text. All the remaining folklore materials not included in Volume 1 of his Materialov po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/ are planned for separate publication. S. Sh.

539 Tale No. 1. Once upon a time two brothers, no mother, no sister, no one, lived alone quietly by themselves. In the spring they went to hunt a bear, one in one direction, the other in the other one. The elder brother sat down to s--t (in great need); a fishing rod from the sky caught (him) and took him into the sky. The younger brother searched for but did not find his brother. He returned home alone. At night, when he was asleep, he dreamed (tyjnd) that a Gilyak came and said that his brother was taken into the sky.

"Be careful, you, too, will be taken into the sky." He woke up and began to look for the Gilyak, no one!

He took a long leather rope and a pole and make a large shed. In the morning he went to s--t, the fishing rods descended, grabbed him, and picked him up. The chain broke and fell. He looked; the chain was all gold. With the chain there were four small bells -- (k:ongkh): three large, one small. The Gilyak did not touch anything. There was a whole pile of chain.

The following night he was sleeping -- someone got the chain and the little bell, and the little bell rang. In the morning he did not find them; he looked in the storehouse -- bears' heads. He went fishing and caught a whole boatful of small, small fish. One small, beautiful fish /345/ was unfamiliar; he put it in the bow of his boat. Upon approaching a seal, he saw smoke from his yurt. He thought: "Where is that coming from, are we on fire?"

/345 cont./

539 And he was still sitting on the bank and thinking thus.

At this point a little boy came running toward him. He caught the beautiful fish and ran away home. He began to think, what sort of boy is this, he must look, find out. He went into the yurt, looked: two women, his elder brother, the little boy. Both women were the daughters of Tlyik Tol-n'ivukh, taken to the sky by Tly-n'ivukh.

The elder daughter loves the Sakhalin Gilyak very much; she lowered a fishing rod and dragged off the Gilyak. Then the younger sister lowered her fishing rod and it broke. The younger had a son from one of the Tly n'ivukh; she did not want him; it was impossible to catch anything with the fishing rod; they descended.

To lose a little bell -- means to lose one's reason. When they took the little bells, it seemed as if their reason returned. The younger brother took the younger sister; the little boy became the son of this brother. The wife began cleaning fish.

The elder brother said to the younger /fem./: "Here is your husband, and this fish will be yours, go, clean it and dry it." She took a knife and went. Her husband thought: "I shall do a little smoking and then go and dry the fish." He finished smoking, went outside, and his fish was already prepared. Then they lived richly. They put the little bells with their things, and they had (everything).

Tale No. 2. Tylgund (from Obona). The first Gilyak was born in Aleksandrovsk. He caught a fish, caught Tarmyk-cho; he could not kill it because it was umgu, and he threw it alive into the sea again; on the following day he again caught it -- "threw it into the sea, did not tell anybody." He did that many times. In the summer the fish gave birth to a little boy and cast him on the shore. The man saw: "Who is this little boy?" If he has a father, he will come and take him. The father found out, took the little boy, and made a balagan on the shore; by the side of the boy there was a big dagger, which his father took with him. The Gilyak gathered grass (konkhong), made a bed, and they settled

/345 cont./

539 down; no one knew. They were sleeping; he dreamed (that the fish said to him: "This is your little boy, see to it that no one knows. Feed him well. If another Gilyak looks, the little boy will die. You will have many fish, in hunting you will have many sables and bears." Many days passed, and there were many fish. In autumn he went to set nooses; the god provided 50 sables; he looked for bears in the ridges and killed three bears. One more year passed, and the little boy grew rapidly, the little boy began to carry the dagger -- the ytk (father) became old -- and the god gave many fish to the little boy; then he went after the bears /346/ and killed many with the dagger, no weapons except the dagger; he killed 30 bears. On one occasion the largest bear came. The bear wanted to eat him, but he struck it in the head with the dagger, and the bear ran away alive; again the little boy went home and lay down to sleep. Again he had an uyngid. Pal-n'ivukh came with a hole in his head and blood and said: "T'arty! You constantly strike our head with your dagger; if you are strong, I shall not kill you, if I am strong I shall kill you. Now you will have ukhmund." The little boy again went to hunt for bear. The big bear himself came; the bear immediately grabbed the dagger that was hanging on his body and the little boy was not able to get at it. Then they entered into single combat; they wrestled for a long, long time, and both fell dead.

A bear argued with a chipmunk /burunduk/: "I am afraid only of dogs." And the chipmunk said: "And I am not at all afraid of dogs." The first: "I am afraid of arrows." The second: "And I am not afraid of arrows." The bear became angry and scratched the chipmunk with its paw. Hence, five spots (?--illegible. S. Sh.) on the back of the chipmunk.

A noose said to a trap: "Go ahead and catch by yourself, I shall not catch." The trap said: "You go yourself and catch," etc. As a result they did not catch anything.

/346 cont./

222 The Gilyak cut down a whole bird-cherry plant for the cherries, but "if blood (red juice) comes, they quit.

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The Sakhalin Gilyak (1)

1. The present article was published in Etnograficheskoe Obozrienie, 1893, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in Die Neue Zeit. Ed.

I.

101

The Origin of the Gilyak and Features of Their External Life

Like the Ainu, in whose language the word "ainos" means "man," the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, call themselves "nivukh," which means: man, master, Gilyak (2). Their customary name,

2. The Amur Gilyak call themselves "yavese."

"Gilyak," was, in my opinion, formed from the distortion by travelers of the word "kile," which means "Tungus" in the language of the Amur Gilyak, with whom travelers first had contact. And such a distortion could very easily have occurred because the Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur speak the same language as the Tungus, who, according to their legends, form one "people" with the Gilyak, the Goldi, and the Orochon. It is also quite possible that because of the common language of the Amur Gilyak and the Tungus, the Manchu, who formerly ruled the Amur region, called the Gilyak and the Tungus by a common name, "kile." But the ease with which national antagonisms

/347 cont./

101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 829 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "ytk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "ytk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material be-
197 low. The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the Lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 127 174 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the continent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of
[614] Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo, one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language,
[184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

/348 cont./

174 With one's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the
166 form of the migration. Even at the present time the Amur Gilyak
167 are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats
22 each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Agnevo, others
224 to Mauko, still others farther to the south. The sable in their
[136] homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he is so rare and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-verst sea voyage, striving toward those tempting areas where the population is sparse and sables may be killed by the hundreds. In early spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Dué and the Tym' River, and at that time the Vaaz River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even farther
[648] to the north. There must have been some reason which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center of their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /349/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural dams used by the sable for crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

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174 167 Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling (it is interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded). In the first place, these were the places closest to the continent: half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. More-
[136] over, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin, the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent: the same abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kaluga /Huso dauricus/, sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of their
[175] [648] irreplaceable Amur. They cannot bring themselves to do it even now, crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by the Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free official transportation along the Amur. There were, of course, still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move to Sakhalin, for instance, density of population, conflicts be-
175 167 648 tween clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sable per person (we must remember that in the past sable was three
[435] or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur sable is still very expensive; one variety, for example, the
[173] Amgun, costs 25-30 rubles). The legends of the Gilyak themselves about their former relations with the Manchu are of interest: "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, "on the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable per person every year." Moreover, every time a Gilyak went to the Chinese town of Sungari (Saising), he was forced to pay one sable and the /350/ starosti of the settlements three sables
[171] each. The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

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175 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There
167 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

174 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

177 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent,
41 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows.
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They
291 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous
272 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve
262 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes
244 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

177 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

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177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
372 and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded
as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to
the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British
rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these bor-
rowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But
let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
174 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have
never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of
the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of
"savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the train-
ing of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step
to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the
authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact,
however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent
development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes
possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan
institution, which I have studied in great detail.

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II.

Family-Clan Relations

59 601 When one observes the family among the Gilyak, one at first does not notice anything special about it. As among many of our other natives, the Gilyak buys one or two, formerly three, wives, who are his socially recognized wives, as are his children who work with him, are supported by him, and to whom his property passes after his death. The marital fidelity of a wife is guarded with an armed hand, as we shall see below. In a word, the form of marriage is, to all appearances, completely individual /individual marriage as opposed to group marriage/. But on closer acquaintance with the inner structure of Gilyak life /352/ one encounters a whole series of phenomena which are at variance 601 with this form of marriage. First of all, it becomes apparent that a Gilyak calls by the name of father (ytk) not only his socially recognized (own) father, but also all the brothers of his father, not only own, i.e., of the first degree of kinship, but also of all the most distant degrees, and the wives of these brothers of his father he calls mothers (ymk), like his own mother. In the same way, a Gilyak calls all the sisters of his mother by the name of mother (ymk), and their husbands father (ytk). The children of brothers, as well as the children of sisters, of all degrees of kinship call one another "ruvn" (= brother and also corresponds to the German word "Geschwister" = brothers and sisters). Thus, we see what seems to us a strange phenomenon, that a person may have a tremendous number of fathers and mothers, not to speak of brothers and sisters, and such fathers and mothers are often younger than their children. But, at the same time, a Gilyak does not call the sisters of his father and the brothers of his mother "ytk" and "ymk," but "edr" and "app."

601 171 For other forms of kinship relations, the Gilyak have a whole series of names, which proves that it is not poverty of language which is the cause of this, to us, strange kinship terminology. A similar terminology exists among the Iroquois and other Indian tribes of North America, and also among certain tribes of India,

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601 [171] but among them it has long since ceased to correspond to reality; among the Gilyak, however, although the terminology does not fully correspond to reality, it does so all but fully. Even now, 601 835 every Gilyak has marital rights (it is not considered a sin) to the wives of his brothers of all degrees of kinship and to all the sisters of his wife. Only the elder brother is deprived of this right with regard to the wives of his younger brothers. This limitation is of recent origin, and its very existence seems to emphasize the legality of the collective marital rights of the younger brothers to the wives of their elder brothers and to all the sisters of their wives. Even at the present time these rights are not always exercised by the Gilyak, and in many cases it is not without displeasure and even forcible protests that the interested parties look upon the realization of these rights, as we shall eventually see; but legally, so to speak, they exist, the realization of these rights is not considered adultery, is not punishable, and often is even carried on openly with the consent of the brothers and of the 601 husbands of the wife's sisters. Thus, the contemporary individual 835 form of marriage is a new phenomenon among the Gilyak, and the 171 powerful remnants of the old /353/ order of clan marriage pre- [178] served up to the present make it similar to the famous so-called "Punalua family," which still existed in the first half of our century on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) where, as among the Gilyak, such mutual rights to the wives of brothers and to the wife's sisters existed without limitations. And, what is still more remarkable, just as the husbands of sisters and the wives of brothers in the Punalua family called one another punalua (companion, one's half, comrade, friend) -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "navkh" (the word signifying literally what punalua means among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands). Such, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

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601 614 This form of family-kin relationship serves as the basis for the social organization of the Gilyak and is the basis of their clan organization ("khal'" -- clan, also clansmen).

From what has been said of the primitive family of the Gilyak, it is obvious who constitutes their clan. All of the brothers (of all degrees of kinship) of the father of some Gilyak NN are his fathers (ytk), their fathers are his grandfathers (ate), their children are his brothers ("ruvn"), their grandchildren are his children ("ola"), and mutually. It is this huge family of grandfathers, fathers, children, brothers and sisters that constitutes the clan of the Gilyak. It is understandable that a clan so constituted [162] may be composed of a great number of people. In one clan in northern Sakhalin, I counted 150 people, and this is only a branch of a clan which lives on the mainland.

But the clan of the Gilyak is organized on the male basis. Even though the children of a sister of NN's wife are his children (ola) and they are considered brothers of his own children, if these sisters of the wife are married to Gilyak of a different khal', then they, i.e., the children of these sisters, will be alien to the clan of NN. Similarly, only the wives of clansmen and their unmarried daughters belong to the clan, and, conversely, when married, a woman passes over to the clan of her husband, while the dissolution of the marriage brings her back into her father's clan. Here are the principles which regulate the life of a clan:

1. The clan has only four degrees of kinship: grandfather and grandmother (atk and ytik), fathers and mothers (ytk and ymk), brothers and sisters (ruvn), and children (ola). Clansmen call one another "khal'" in contrast to aliens. To distinguish own brothers from own kinsmen of the first degree of kinship, the word khal' is added, so that clan brothers are /354/ khal'-ruvn, clan fathers -- khal'-ytk, etc. The elder of the clan, whose role will be described below, is called "khal'-geymar." Clansmen as thinking and acting social units bear the name of "khal'-nivukh."

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614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 587 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following the decision of the clan, to one of the ruvn of the deceased, generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her, although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-ytk, atk, ola. Generally speaking, as a rule, a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under no circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore, 614 it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages [829] concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition, scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the [867] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the [623] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 73 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the incapacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

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5. The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable. All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh." It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

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614 /355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is
372 connected with this steel. When a clan is divided and part of it
167 emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar) breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

614 Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting
225 of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refresh-
782 ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of even-
[562] ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kur niongu-khia!" ("God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

614 6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its
682 members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
628 another khal'. The means is clan vengeance.

[177] The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (nyn'vo yozynedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

628 /356 cont./
614 every means to mask the sex of the newborn child. Only women
682 are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable that
[562] from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful, burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer lives under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any corner, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain man feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in any case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same time, in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the clan of the murderer sends some person from a neutral khal' (necessarily neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murdered man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, and in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years pass until, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the avenger consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedure for
614 reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects from
628 some neutral clan an able and eloquent /357/ man ("khlay-nivukh" --
682 literally: orator -- from the verb "khlayndzh" -- to speak, and
539 the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries be-
[292] tween the parties. Each clan provides its khlay-nivukh with a silk gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, and sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputation of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-nivukh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. Then, somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village of the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal'-nivukhi), with their orator at their head, await the emissary. The latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with his own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as possible. The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a plea for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-nivukh

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of the avengers, stubbornly insisting on his demands, departs in anger. The khlay-nivukh of the murderer goes after him and tries to enter into negotiations with his comrade-in-arms. More than once the two diplomats seat themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happens that the khlay-nivukhi move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and out to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and both sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his khlay-nivukh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other steps the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his khlay-nivukh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the khlay-nivukhi strictly restrain the adversaries, speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is not merely a ritual, for there have been cases where in that minute the avenger has boiled over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw down their arms, run toward each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /358/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another variant, the avenger and the slayer stand close, facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy; when the khlay-nivukhi call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

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614 628 682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A 614 627 682 murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 627 628 [537] The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re- [762] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 628 72 [177] One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

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614 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack
628 was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole
72 adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each
[342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the
[501] eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts
597 persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came
[729] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

/359 cont./

614 599 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 426 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 428 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

614 736 768 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gather- [763] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 627 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

614 /360 cont./
621 among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly
685 imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-
614 geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations
622 ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His suc-
[177] cessor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The inter-
vention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

614 11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from
621 one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to
[167] remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tyki, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly
614 arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon
167 his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fish-
621 ing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This
[591] latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as is done at

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614 621 167 591 present; frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint work with him (more detail about this below).

614 764 12. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away, they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an arshin square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a woman), and other trifles. Thus there arises a whole row of yurt-tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements, they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they

614 765 make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

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614 182 Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his clansmen, the tombs of his clan. No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become [199] completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a boat and a net; he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, customs, and intellectual [155] development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed a social, communal, loquacious, serious character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 354 521 Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent in the north, enter one of these anthills on a winter's evening, and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

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504 [520] Try entering into a conversation with anyone about their life, customs, and so forth -- the whole yurt gathers about you. The adults listen and reply with serious interest. The children will not tear their gaze from /363/ you. Their eyes glow with the fire of intelligence and fascination. They answer you seriously and conscientiously; only inspire trust in them. You will feel yourself drawn toward these barbarians... And never, so to speak, does life stagnate here, because each day brings some large or small occurrence in the life of the settlement, each day brings, finally, new guests with new subjects for conversation. In each yurt you will find many such guests, who often stay for weeks, and during all this time the hosts feed them and their dogs.

The Gilyak are very hospitable and love to pay visits and entertain guests. Not only do the clansmen and kinsmen of the wife pay visits, but also those outsiders who are simply friends. In the yurt there often live together people of different clans, on whom guests and clansmen from all parts of the Gilyak territory [203] call. Imagine how much news each winter day brings. Winter is the preferred season for visiting. This noble custom of hospitality has still another good side. In a bad year, when the Gilyak does not have enough food for either himself or his dogs and nothing to buy it with, he does not have to stretch out his hands to a benefactor; he quietly sets off to pay a visit, knowing full well that in time his host will do the same. One encounters many guests in the summer as well. At this time of year, too, the Gilyak rarely lives alone in his yurt; there are always one or two families 177 of his brothers or other clansmen with him. Despite their long subjection to the Sinicized Manchu, despite the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region, the Gilyak, morally, preserve many of the virtues of primitive tribes. But the fate of their mode of life is irrevocably settled. One or two more generations, and the Gilyak of the mainland will become completely Russified and, together with the fruits of culture, will master all its vices. One must give his due to the Gilyak: he does not lightly abandon his ancestral traditions, but they involuntarily give way. At first they were indignant and perplexed, meeting

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177 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements 177 464 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at [439] Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the [454] Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

776 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak 372 is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies [071] at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting, [688] or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

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776 [372] Gilyak. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the number of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea and the taiga give the Gilyak more than fire does. Imagining the [771] elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similiarity, but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination; "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared into the sky with their rider." One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("khal'") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- mountain, taiga). All the sacrifices /365/ at the bear festival belong to [782] [796] him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Toll'-nivukh, and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it [821] is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses: the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen," a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils ("uchkharush"). This is a whole khal', living in the sea and dangerous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak reply

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776 that they are killing seals; in such a case the boat is destroyed. But if, in reply, the Gilyak display a hare's tail, the devil goes on his way without further consideration.

776 The relationship between the Gilyak and all his gods --
782 nivukhi -- is quite clear. It is they who provide him with sables,
22 foxes, bears, fish, seals, and so forth. Sables and bears are just as much the property of Pal'-nivukh as fish and seals are the property of Toll'-nivukh, and as sled dogs are the property of the Gilyak. The gods specifically give a portion of their property to man. It is not an accident that the fish appear with such amazing regularity during the appropriate seasons, it is not an accident that sable is dressed in an expensive fur during the hunting season, it is not an accident that swans, geese, and ducks molt in the summer and become an easy catch for the Gilyak. All this is done by the
776 gods for man; he lives only by these gifts. It is clear that the
782 Gilyak should not remain in debt to their benefactors. And so they give the gods a portion of everything that they avail themselves of: saranka, roots, tobacco, sugar, and so forth. When I once expressed a desire to take part in the sacrifice to Toll'-nivukh at the beginning of the seal season, they asked me: "But will you give the god bread, potatoes, etc.?" Sacrifices are the exchange of portions with the nivukhi. That is why the sacrifice may never consist of the same objects for which sacrifices are made; for example, among the dishes offered in thanks for the seal, this last does not figure, although it constitutes an indispensable dish of the Gilyak themselves on the evening of the sacrifice. Thus, the bear at the well-known festival is in no way a sacrifice, as some think, /366/ for not a single piece of its meat is apportioned to the god, and the Gilyak does not understand allegory: to sacrifice -- means giving the god something real. And actually, at this festival, the master of the bear, Pal'-nivukh, is given a sacrifice of saranka, "moss," yukola, and other viands. The
[225] principle of exchange in sacrifices is not contradicted by the fact
[226] that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the head and eyes of seals. The explanation for this is very simple:

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776 the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the
782 creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason
[226] the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and
[225] any undeveloped fetus found in the uterus of a seal. To the Gilyak a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable
[342] season. He offers this sacrifice all by himself in the taiga, at the side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen. He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little at a time, believing that a hundred fish mean as little to a god as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama of the mountains. The "Head of the earth" towered majestically before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of them took from his sled his cherished little sack with saranka, tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up, he moved the same number of steps to the left and did the same. Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and distributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had
771 been heard... There is a tremendous difference between the religious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition," the striving of the soul toward the deity, in our meaning, all seem to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no
[781] suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy.

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000 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
771 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
[754] that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754] In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
[158] dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782] ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, piongukhia!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
577 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
673 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776] and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this extremely altruistic belief is really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or mere hypocrisy.

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577 783 673 688 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a clear conception of sin ("umgysh"). It goes without saying /368/ that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure, there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to [682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other [821] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning [829] have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 775 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight 766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars [764] on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

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766 ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief. Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and solemnly carry the bear and its ill-starred rider to the settlement. They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all [782] sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small [769] troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopee is fully completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clansmen of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at 182 the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure 766 is, I think, the following. The bear is killed in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bones must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacri- [782] fices are made to Pal'-nivukh, in this case to propitiate him so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is burned, it is true, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire [614] clan a rich sacrifice is made to Toll'-nivukh on the shore. A new [782] yurt is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

797 In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of Christianity among the Gilyak. On the entire western shore I have met only two baptized Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

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797 baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless, the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented missionary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized [171] Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their [171] attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make [178] sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

581 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak, from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.

581 In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of
684 a given individual, and her children are the children of that individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring
684 bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

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684 his wife half to death. Even his ruvn, in such cases, does not
184 escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak
614 even the ruvn finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante
177 delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with
178 a sound thrashing. The modern method of securing a wife grad-
583 ually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand (I know of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman), but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

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583 /371 cont./
[178] no one, and this demonstrates how widespread, even universal,
[021] it was in quite recent times. The wars of which Gilyak tradition tells were fought principally on account of the abduction of women, and they developed the practice of reconciliation by
177 way of payment of a ransom. The entrance of the Russians into
583 the Amur region has led to a considerable diminution in the number of abductions. No matter what efforts accompany the abduction of a woman, the display of a paper from a Russian office will incontrovertibly result in the return of the abducted woman. Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russians under the term kalym. The bride price is ordinarily paid in articles, money, and labor. As bride price they give boats, kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs, and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in proportion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her domestic talents. A woman who is an "accomplished woman" in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife is a rather expensive affair. Here is an example of a not very considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitnidvo paid for his wife with two Japanese kettles (one large one, costing 60 rubles), one spear with silver fretwork, a fox-fur coat, ten dogs, and, in addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after
583 which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls /372/ the Biblical story of the service of Jacob for Laban, is that of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged man and has no sons, he takes to himself a son-in-law who agrees, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the economic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the father-in-law. The son-in-law, customarily a complete pauper, fishes and kills seals, and all this constitutes the common

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583 property of the whole family, but the personal money earnings of the son-in-law, as well as the sables and foxes that he obtains through his efforts and skill, remain at his disposal, which makes it possible for the son-in-law to attain an independent standing in time. But in general the payment of the bride price by labor is not frequently encountered, for the sale of the woman is too enticing a prospect for her kinsmen, and moreover the Gilyak have not yet grown accustomed to asking for the labor
583 of others. The bride price is paid to the father of the bride, or,
614 in his absence -- to her brothers, if they are adults, otherwise -- to their guardian, i.e., to that clansman-ruvn to whom they, along with their mother, have passed; in the absence of any brothers of the bride -- to that same ruvn of whom we just spoke, that is, the one to whom the mother of the bride has passed; in the absence of such -- to the brothers of the father, then to the distant clansmen-ruvn, but in general to clansmen of the male sex. Originally the bride price was always given, not to a separate individual, but to the khal' (clan). And even nowadays among the Tungus, fellow tribesmen of the Gilyak, the bride price is paid to the "nasleg," i.e., the clan. And this is perfectly natural, since originally the bride price was a ransom paid to a whole clan, which was avenging the abduction of the
589 women. This primitive significance of the bride price is re-
614 flected in the custom whereby the wife of a deceased Gilyak al-
583 ways remains in the clan of her husband and passes, according to the decision of the clan, to one of the brothers (ruvn) of the deceased (only to a younger brother, however, and only in the event of the unwillingness of the ruvn to marry the widow does she return to the clan of her father, while the children remain in the clan of the husband. The obligation of the clansmen-ruvn with regard to the widows of their deceased ruvn reminds one of biblical story of Boaz and Ruth. The bride price is either paid all at once or in part in advance and in part some time after the bride moves to the home of the groom.

583 There are instances of the sale of children of the female
584 sex. A Gilyak purchases for himself or for his young son a young

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583 girl, who, until the proper age, remains in the home of her
584 parents for instruction in all the women's sciences and crafts; in
/373/ this case, part of the bride price is paid at the conclusion of the agreement. Every year after that the groom makes presents to his future father-in-law, and the remaining part of the bride price is paid when the bride moves to the home of her future husband. If the "bartered bride" should die in the interval between the conclusion of the agreement and moving to the home of the husband, the bride price is returned. Young girls customarily move without delay to the home of the groom, who is often several times older than the bride and who purchases her, even though he already has one or two wives, with the sole aim of having a young worker when the other wives grow old. If the groom is also underage, the future spouses are raised together, become friends from childhood, and become attached to each other for life, but this good feature of the purchase of small children does not at all atone for the other features of the custom, which is based solely on the calculation of buying a wife cheaply. The custom of purchasing wives for underaged sons was perhaps one of the reasons for the above-mentioned prohibition against the enjoyment of conjugal rights by an elder brother with regard to the wives of his younger brothers, and from this arose the custom of forbidding the older brother to marry even the widow of a deceased younger brother. The Gilyak pursues bargains to such a degree in purchasing a wife that not infrequently he obtains for his underaged son a bride who may be two or three times older than he, if only he gets her at a bargain. The payment of a large bride price gives the husband the right to get a part of it back in the event the wife dies soon after the marriage, and sometimes
583 also a part of the heritage of the father-in-law. But side by side with the payment for the bride there exists among the Gilyak another institution -- the dowry. Before setting off for the bridegroom's home the wife is attired in festive dress and is provided, according to the condition of her parents, with valuable fur coats, garments, and ornaments. This dowry belongs to the bride, who,

/373 cont./

583 in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms Ziber's /Sieber?/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a present to the bride.

585 Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any ceremonies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but 586 nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is con- 583 cluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father, dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or /374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price. 583 In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the 584 Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife, sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small compensation.

462 But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife, 562 and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not 584 required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her. She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used for the year-round sustenance of the family and dogs. It is she who scutches wild hemp, spinning it into triple thread, and for months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers sarana, berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak during the winter. Finally, she bears the whole burden and care of feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while 000 her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

/374 cont./ Yet

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortunate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[264] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[593] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she participates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourning they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[574] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father, and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
[589] brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the desire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradually acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as Arkyyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
177 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow themselves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/375 cont./

831 code of civilization. In their actions the Gilyak are no less frivolous, from our point of view. Despite the vengeful jealousy of husbands, the sins of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal to cohabit (true, not openly) with individuals of those categories of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I shall add that the Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic propensities which not only impel young people to make long journeys for a rendezvous with their beloved, but frequently drive them into unreasonable enterprises, such as the abduction of a woman by force of arms.

596 The structure of the Gilyak family. One often encounters large complex families in which the aged father lives in a common household with all his children and their children. The master's brothers who are either incapacitated for work or do not possess equipment of their own frequently enter into the composition of the family. Not infrequently the family accepts the orphans of their clansmen, especially orphans left without a mother at an early age. It sometimes happens that the mother-in-law lives with her son-in-law and sons-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
594 cially when the latter have no sons. We shall note other peculiarities in the make-up of the family farther on; for the present we shall say that the normal composition of the family, its framework, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
593 ones pass into the clan of the husband). In the relations of the
594 members of the family among themselves there is nothing resembling the patriarchal relations of, for example, the old Roman family; /376/ the sons show respect for the father, but the latter does not wield over them that power which is known under the appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from the family of the father and live in separate households. Living with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
[428] The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and, on the contrary, the youngest sons, as those who live with the father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of inheritance.

/376 cont./

593 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
476 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
[226] of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[866] existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
[224] Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[225] require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
464 such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
591 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[768] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equipment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between members of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among these barbarians than in a civilized family.

/377/

423 Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well as the streams, and their banks, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. Use is the absolute element of property. While they recognize [185] their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set [648] their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the mainland to hunt the sable and reindeer some tens of versts from their settlements, although it could be easily foreseen that this would lead to the complete disappearance of the sable from those Gilyak territories. But on the other hand they are extremely strict in their rights to those streams along which they set snares 423 and traps. All the streams of the territory of the settlement are 428 divided in perpetuity among the families of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among the sons on the same strict principles as any real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worthy of note that although the streams thus divided among the brothers and clansmen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-alloted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in 423 the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay or of eating and not giving to others. 166 Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or 423 journey at given seasons for fishing or sealing, and the indigenous inhabitants of the settlements do not even dream of considering this a violation of any of their rights. Without asking anyone's

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166 423 permission, the emigrant builds a yurt, fishes, kills seals, hunts fowl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of snares for sable.

342 592 423 /378/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people, frequently all clansmen. The economic advantage of such communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the stoves, is not so costly for each individual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women. The summer yurts are built smaller and ordinarily house from one to three families. The winter yurts are built through the joint efforts of several brothers or clansmen, the summer ones -- frequently by one person. But all those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabitants, clansmen or members of other clans who had no part in building it, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders, and it is doubtful whether the latter enjoy any special privileges in obtaining firewood. If the yurt becomes congested, there will always be found a pair of persons who on their own initiative will undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the builders themselves move and gladly welcome co-dwellers. Thus, the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of several families who participated in its construction, but at the same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clansmen [174] and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the clan and was an object of collective property.

422 The views of the Gilyak concerning movable property are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary articles of movable property among them are boats, nets, kettles, arms, dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happens that a boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or three

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422 clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately.
422 And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house
594 together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means.
[431] Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained
[224] as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of
[465] success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear,
[224] the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but
[465] he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The
[226] same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill
422 of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations
606 prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisi-
422 tions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute
556 the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his
[454] "wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its common efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are
556 brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

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556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, 556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined 538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely 171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally 432 exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans, 437 etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have 427 the character of barter.
426

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak 426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the nonfulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract. No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known [184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but [177] even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The [614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con- [672] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

/380 cont./

426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

433 46 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one cannot fail to mention the role of ~~labor~~ in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet. [225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as 226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In 465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same 433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone; 554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling 476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but 466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

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428 Inheritance. The structure of the contemporary family of the Gilyak naturally arouses in the father a desire to hand down his property to his children. On the other hand, the clan organization requires that in any case the property should not leave the confines of the clan. Out of the reciprocal action of these principles it develops that the children inherit from the father, and only in their absence -- the brothers of the deceased and his more distant clansmen, but at the same time, women, not only in the customary and ascending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines as well, are excluded from the rights of inheritance, as persons who are destined to leave the clan of their father and pass into the clan of their husbands. Such is the principle. In practice, it is true, it is relaxed; thus, for example, daughters obtain their dowry out of the hereditary property, and sometimes married daughters, especially when there are no heirs of the male sex or when the husbands purchased them for a big price, also share in the inheritance; but such instances are relaxations of the principle which are not generally accepted, and customarily they are effected by way of a will. Before his death the Gilyak summons his clansmen and makes known his wishes. These deathbed dispositions make it possible for the Gilyak to make not only daughters his heirs, but even persons of another clan, for example, his sons-in-law or workmen. If he should die without such a deathbed bequest, then, of course, the above-mentioned principle of inheritance goes into effect. But the details best serve to explain the essence of this principle.

If a Gilyak dies leaving neither wife nor children, /382/ his brothers are his heirs; in their absence -- his clansmen-ruvn in the order of their closeness of kinship. If he leaves a young widow and children, the widow, according to the decision of the clan, goes to one of the brothers or ruvn of the deceased, who has the rights and obligations of a father with regard to the children and is the guardian of their inherited property until they reach their majority. The young girls obtain a dowry, while the adult sons who have separated or wish to separate obtain their share of the

[768] [429] [587]

/382 cont./
428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[768] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family continues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A question of the division of the inheritance only arises when the children, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the deceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one, the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[768] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
428 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
597 time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age. With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It
428 is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the
[606] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with his father up to the very time of his death, while the other brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the other brothers.

673 Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever
[674] encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps his treasures in the storehouse, which is never shut. The Gilyak calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety. In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one
[422] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes tempted by the possessions of another, it is always in the field of

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422 673 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians, regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they 673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among 762 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have 177 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in 526 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential 152 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling, 273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

/383 cont./

683 and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
[411] with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
[868] proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
[859] childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
648 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
177 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
[178] present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

121
128 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
[121] merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

103 (a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settle-
361 ments between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyyvo, Yamy, Manginay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyyde (1), Noksy,

[167] 1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigrvo (2), Marnlvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,

[491] 2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

Vaskhonkhvo, Kitnidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkryvo, Viskvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygrvo,

[491] 1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In
162 the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 245 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

[592]
[128] 2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

[The Western Coast]

162 /385 cont./
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or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "households" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 The total population is 1,041, of whom
595 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents)
[161] number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[589]

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

[128]
[184]

163 The number of children who
165 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[124]

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

[the Western Coast]

/385 cont./

124 163 165 many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163 165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives. 162 592 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

103 162 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons each), Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Tengi (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

224 225 433 000 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411 422 501 231 000 /386/ there are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

166 /386 cont./ To make some money,
464 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
103 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
[244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
[162] Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
[171] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
[244] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
224 potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev-
433 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point
178 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming
648 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
342 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement
178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
[237] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
[184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
[171] the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from
[177] whom it may have been borrowed.

133 As to the character of the region, the maritime sections
[137] of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-
[491] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look
135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The
137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along
132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous
[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the
[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be
135 entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the
491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak
103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta
361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

[824]

1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

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361
103

2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the author did not include in the number of

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/387 cont./

114 36 103 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.

361 221 In connection with this settlement of Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 16 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169 422 23 50 41 433 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

162 592 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589]

1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
422 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
162

[126]

2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons).
361 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo
20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
[484] difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
484 across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
492 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

T /388 cont./

361 The inhabitants of the village of Kekhrvo say that in the
[103] extreme north -- above Cape Levenshtern -- there is a small
[162] settlement of Orochon on the coast -- Trond (two yurts with six
G [103] men and three women). It has communications with the western
T [484] coast by way of the settlement of Pomr (a 24 hour trip on reindeer,
[492] although from Kekhrvo it takes 10-15 days in the summer). The
G remaining Sakhalin settlements of Orochon, as well as the settle-
T [128] ments of the Tungus, were also described in detail during the
census. We shall not, however, include the details about these
peoples in the present article, which deals only with the Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--550 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

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Photo. 16. Amur Gilyak.

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Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--551 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur
Sakhalin
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Photo. 18. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 19. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

[516]

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--552 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur
Sakhalin

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Photo. 22. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 23. Sakhalin Gilyak.

·1:Shternberg--553 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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Photo. 24. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 25. Sakhalin Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--554 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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Photo. 26. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak RX2

114

/General information on the author and his work, written by I͡A. P. Al'kor (Koshkin), will be found in category 116, pp. 1-26, 30-33./

174

/Information on the author's reconstruction of the development of Gilyak marriage norms, cousin marriage and kinship terminology, will be found in category 116, pp. 282-299, 316-328 and 331-347./

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak RX2

601

/For an intensive study of the Gilyak kinship classification system and its significance, see category 116, pp. 196-226./

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak RX2

614

/For general information on the Gilyak clan (sib), its role and function in the society and interclan relationships, see category 116, pp. 130-193 and 299-316./

835

/Information on "group marriage," the right to sexual intercourse between the classes pu and anǧ:ej, will be found in category 595./

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak RX2

835

/For information on "group marriage," the right to sexual intercourse between members of the pu and angtej classes, see category 116, pp. 251-275, and 329-345./

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LEO STERNBERG

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GILYAKS
OROCHS, GOLDS, NEGIDALS, AINU

WORKS AND MATERIALS

1933 — DALGIZ — HABAROVSCK

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Л. Я. ШТЕРНБЕРГ

Giliaki

ГИЛЯКИ
ОРОЧИ, ГОЛЬДЫ, НЕГИДАЛЬЦЫ, АЙНЫ

СТАТЬИ И МАТЕРИАЛЫ

ПОД РЕДАКЦИЕЙ И С ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕМ
Я. П. АЛЬКОР (КОШКИНА)

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Л. Я. Штернберг.

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1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

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[R.A.]

Л. Я. ШТЕРНБЕРГ КАК ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬ НАРОДОВ ДАЛЬНЕГО ВОСТОКА

Я. П. АЛЬКОР (КОШКИН)

Изучению народов Дальнего Востока Л. Я. Штернберг посвятил значительную часть своей жизни. Изучением гиляков на Сахалине началась (в 1890 г.) его научная деятельность, докладом об «Аинской проблеме» в Академии наук СССР (в 1927 г.), по возвращении с III Тихоокеанского конгресса в Токио, она так преждевременно закончилась.

В молодости Штернберг не думал о научной деятельности. Еще на гимназической скамье он мечтал отдать всю свою жизнь «на благо народа». Будучи студентом физико-математического факультета Петербургского университета и потом юридического факультета Новороссийского университета, Штернберг принимал участие в революционной деятельности, которой и отдал свои лучшие молодые годы. За активное участие в партии «Народная воля» он был арестован в 1886 г. и весной 1889 г., после трехлетней «отсидки» в Одесской центральной тюрьме, выслан на десятилетнее поселение на остров Сахалин, где и началась его этнографическая работа. Таким образом, на путь ученого Штернберга толкнули совершенно непредвиденно для него царская тюрьма и ссылка.

Правда, вопросами первобытной истории и социологии Штернберг интересовался еще до ареста и ссылки, но решающий толчок в этом направлении он получил в одесской тюрьме, когда, благодаря счастливой случайности, познакомился с книгой Фр. Энгельса «Происхождение семьи, частной собственности и государства» на немецком языке. Книга эта, как мы увидим дальше, чрезвычайно облегчила начало изысканий Штернберга по истории семейно-родовых отношений и оказала весьма значительное влияние на его первые работы.

I.

Отправляясь в ссылку, Штернберг питал надежду, что и в далеком изгнании он сумеет так или иначе быть полезным общественности, но об этнографической работе среди местных

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

«инородцев» (по тогдашней терминологии) он совершенно не думал. С первым «инородцем» Штернберг встретился в посту Александровском, т. е. в пункте своего первоначального поселения, через три месяца после своего прибытия на Сахалин. О впечатлении, которое произвела эта встреча на Штернберга, имеется характерная запись в его дневнике от 12 августа 1889 г.: «Я видел на улице старого шамана-гиляка в лохмотьях, с растрепанными сединами, с глуповатой добродушно-лукавой улыбкой на лице. Его окружали мальчики и кричали: «Смотрите старого шамана, он вам погадает». Я подошел. Невысокого роста старик в почтенных сединах, с высоким могучим лбом и добродушной физиономией стоял беспомощно среди них и смотрел на меня. Я отошел с грустью от этого зрелища»... Заканчивает Штернберг свою запись в дневнике многозначительной фразой: «Я еще когда-нибудь займусь их изучением».[1]

Очень скоро, через шесть месяцев после этой встречи с гиляцким шаманом, сахалинская администрация «позаботилась» дать Штернбергу возможность изучать гиляков. Дело в том, что в феврале 1890 г. за систематические выступления в защиту своих товарищей — политических каторжан, к которым стали применять телесные наказания и т. п. меры, он был выслан в изолированный кордон Виахту, расположенный в 100 км к северу от Александровска, в полупустынной местности на берегу Татарского пролива. Здесь, в отгороженном досками углу общей со стражниками избы-казармы, Штернберг обзавелся «научный кабинет» и начал свою этнографическую работу. Неподалеку (в 2 км) от кордона находился маленький гиляцкий поселок, который Штернберг стал часто посещать и внимательно наблюдать жизнь его обитателей. Очень скоро, после вдумчивого и углубленного исследования, ему удалось обнаружить своеобразный семейно-родовой строй гиляков. На кордоне же, расположенном близ проезжего тракта, он впервые встретился и со случайно проезжавшими тунгусами.

К более широкому и систематическому изучению гиляков Штернберг приступил в начале февраля 1891 г., когда администрация, узнав о его занятиях с гиляками, предложила ему произвести посемейную перепись северо-западных гиляков Сахалина, от селения Аркыво до мыса Марии.

[1] Л. Я. Штернберг как полевой этнограф. ж. «Природа и люди» № 17/18 и 19. Стр. 33. Ленинград. 1931 г.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Во время этого путешествия Штернберг открыл у гиляков групповой брак и классификаторскую систему родства. Параллельно с этим он тщательно изучил родовые установления и религиозные воззрения гиляков. Уместно отметить, что перед началом своих научных исследований он не имел даже возможности ознакомиться с основными трудами того времени по этнографии Дальнего Востока. Вот что он пишет в предисловии к своим «Материалам»: «По условиям моего прибывания на Сахалине, очень долго для меня оставались недоступными и работы Шренка об истории и материальном быте приамурских народов...[1] Из внимательного анализа литературного наследства Штернберга и первых его печатных трудов видно, что он во время первого своего путешествия к гилякам не имел возможности ознакомиться не только с книгой Шренка «Об инородцах Амурского края», но и с моргановским „Ancient Society" („Древнее общество"), тэйлоровской «Первобытной культурой» и другими работами по истории первобытного общества. Зато тюремное знакомство с классической работой Фр. Энгельса не пропало для Штернберга даром. Несомненно, благодаря этой работе он сумел в такой поразительно короткий срок открыть у гиляков групповой брак и классификаторскую систему родства и в основном ясно представить себе все значение этого открытия. Так, в письме от 19 мая 1891 г. к своему другу и соратнику по революционной деятельности, М. А. Кролю, Штернберг пишет:[2] «Я открыл у них (гиляков) родственную терминологию и семейно-родовые права, тождественные с таковыми же у ирокезов и в знаменитой punalua-family (на Сандвичевых островах), словом, остатки той формы брака, на которой Морган основал свою теорию и которая служила исходным пунктом брошюры Маркса и Энгельса „Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates u. s. w.". Но в этой системе покоится интересное родовое устройство гиляков. Сначала я сам опасался верить своему открытию, но когда я во время переписи не пропустил ни одной семьи, ни одной юрты без подробных расспросов, как зовут друг друга разные члены рода семьи и какие кто имеет права, я убедился наконец.[3] В литера-

[1] Материалы по изучению гиляцкого языка и фольклора, т. I, стр. VIII, Петроград, 1908, изд. Академии наук.

[2] Любезности вдовы покойного, С. А. Ратнер-Штернберг я обязан ознакомлением с содержанием этого письма.

[3] Несколько выше в том же письме Штернберг сообщает, что он переписал 1040 гиляков.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

туре, мне известной, никто этой стороной вопроса не интересовался, хотя имеются довольно обширные исследования о гиляках».

После обследования гиляков северо-западного побережья следует ряд других его путешествий, давших в результате полное изучение в этнографическом отношении всего Сахалина. Так, в июне 1891 г. он произвел перепись гиляков и ороков р. Тыми и восточного побережья Сахалина, а также частично тунгусов. Зимой 1891 г. он познакомился с ольчами, приезжавшими поздней осенью для обменных операций на Сахалин. Лето 1892 года он посвятил путешествию по р. Поронаю и всей южной части Сахалина до с. Косуная, где попутно с айнами и ороками переписывал и изучал также и гиляков. Летом 1893 г. Штернберг обследовал западные берега Сахалина, от Арктаво до Сортунай, и изучал гиляков. В 1894 г. он совершил вторичное летнее путешествие к гилякам вдоль западного берега северного Сахалина и занимался изучением остатков каменного века и детально обследовал изменение состава населения по сравнению с 1891 годом.

В 1895 г. Штернберг получил разрешение переехать на время с научной целью с Сахалина на материк, но при условии передвижения в ограниченном районе, точно определенном администрацией. Летом того же года он выехал на пароходе «Владимир» из Александровского поста во Владивосток. Даже проезд на пароходе не пропал даром для него в отношении этнографических изысканий: на палубе парохода он нашел несколько орочей из Даты и Императорской гавани и установил их самоназвание нани.

Позднее время не позволило Штернбергу посетить в том же году низовья Амура, и он воспользовался коротким периодом, оставшимся до закрытия навигации, для общего ознакомления со страной между Хабаровском и Благовещенском. В Благовещенске Штернберг посетил известного знатока гольдского языка Протодиаконова, который передал Штернбергу орочско-русский словарик, снабженный собственноручными гольдскими переводами. От Протодиаконова Штернберг узнал, что гольды себя именуют нанай и здесь у него возникла мысль, что ороки, ольчи, орочи и гольды одно племя, поскольку они носят одинаковые самоназвания.

В конце июня 1896 г. Штернберг предпринял путешествие к амурским гилякам. Одновременно с этим ему представился слу-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

чай попутно посетить и ту часть Татарского пролива, которая заселена орочами. Хотя в его распоряжении было очень мало времени, и орочам он мог уделить не больше месяца, он все же решил воспользоваться этим случаем. За время пребывания у орочей Штернберг посетил их селения в Императорской гавани и в бухтах Уи и Дюанка, с. Дату, все селения по реке Тумни до Мули-дата и во время экспедиции встречался с орочами и более отдаленных районов.

Закончив обследование орочей, Штернберг в августе того же года отправился из Императорской гавани в низовья Амура, где на ряду с изучением гиляков знакомился с ольчами. В этом путешествии он объехал низовья Амура до Софийского, а также морское побережье к северу от устья Амура до р. Коль и к югу до с. Чомы.

Зиму 1896—1897 г. Штернберг снова провел на Сахалине, продолжая заниматься изучением языка, фольклора и быта гиляков, а также проверкой прежних своих наблюдений.

В мае 1897 г. Штернберг, попав под амнистию, согласно манифесту 1895 г., досрочно покинул Сахалин и выехал на родину, получив в придачу 3 года гласного надзора полиции.[1]

Таким образом за восьмилетнее пребывание в ссылке Штернберг подробно исследовал общественный строй, религиозные воззрения и обычное право гиляков сахалинских и амурских и, кроме того, основательно изучил гиляцкий язык и фольклор. Изучил он также орочей, ороков, сахалинских тунгусов, айну, ольчей и частично негидальцев по случайным встречам в низовьях Амура.

После путешествия 1896 г. целых 13 лет длился перерыв в экспедиционной деятельности Штернберга. Лишь в 1910 г. по командировке Русского комитета по изучению Восточной и Средней Азии Штернбергу удалось вновь проехать на Амур и Сахалин, теперь уже в качестве признанного ученого.

Главной целью этой экспедиции было продолжение его прежних лингвистических и этнографических работ среди гиляков низовьев Амура и о. Сахалина. Среди гольдов и ольчей Штернберг имел в виду задержаться только на короткое время для того, чтобы ознакомиться с их жизнью лишь постольку, поскольку это могло иметь значение для лучшего понимания не-

[1] Согласно манифесту, срок ссылки должен был быть сокращен на одну треть, т. е. на 3 года 3 месяца и 10 дней, но, благодаря «заботливости» местной администрации, сокращение свелось к 1 году 5 месяцам.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

которых сторон жизни и истории гиляков. Но вышло не совсем так, как было намечено, ибо большая часть экспедиционного времени ушла на изучение гольдов и на попутное знакомство с негидальцами, анюйскими удэ (по его тогдашней терминологии орочонами) и ольчами. Этой экспедицией Штернберг закончил полевое изучение народов Амурского бассейна и Сахалина.

II.

Прежде чем приступить к рассмотрению трудов Л. Я. Штернберга по изучению народов Дальнего Востока, для правильного их понимания совершенно необходимо, хотя бы в самых кратких чертах, остановиться на характеристике его философских взглядов.

В те годы, когда у Штернберга складывалось общее мировоззрение, он был народником и как таковой являлся сторонником так называемой русской субъективной школы в социологии, вождями которой были П. Л. Лавров и Н. К. Михайловский, а идейным отцом Бруно Бауэр.

Согласно установкам субъективных социологов, в корне противоположным установкам марксизма, основной причиной общественных явлений служат идеалы и цели людей, что и выделяет, по их мнению, социальную эволюцию из эволюции естественно-исторической и требует ее изучения с помощью особого «субъективного» метода, заключающегося в рассуждении и оценке всего прошлого и настоящего с точки зрения идеального общественного строя, вполне соответствующего требованиям человеческой природы. Из этого следует, что для надлежащего понимания прошлого и изменения существующего необходимо создание общих идеалов, утопий, чем и были заняты субъективные социологи. Их совершенно не смущало то, что «взгляд, согласно которому идеями и представлениями людей созданы условия их жизни, а не наоборот, опровергается всей историей, в которой до сих пор всегда достигалось нечто иное, чем то, чего желали, а в дальнейшем ходе в большинстве случаев даже противоположное».[1]

Таким образом отличительной чертой субъективистов является то, что «мир должного, мир истинного и справедливого» стоит у них «вне всякой связи с объективным ходом исторического развития: здесь — «должное», там «действительное», и эти

[1] Фр. Энгельс. Приложение к «Анти-Дюрингу». Собр. соч. Маркса и Энгельса. Т. XIV, стр. 364.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

две области отделены одна от другой целой пропастью»,[1] и поэтому они не смогли ни объяснить прошлое, ни предложить реальные меры к изменению настоящего.

Из вышеизложенного становится также понятной огромная роль «критически мыслящих» личностей, которую им приписывали субъективисты, по выработке соответствующих идеалов и направлению хода истории по желательному пути. Объективного критерия таких идеалов, по взглядам субъективистов, нет, ибо мнение большинства не может служить мерилом истины.[2] Субъективные социологи совершенно не уяснили себе роль личности в истории и поэтому находили возможным обвинять марксистов в игнорировании личности, не понимая, что лишь марксизм объясняет действительную роль и значение личности. Преувеличение роли личности, непонимание ее действительной роли проходит красной нитью и через все работы Штернберга.

Для субъективных социологов не существует классового понятия общественно-экономической формации, они ищут развития общества вообще, выдумывают разные формулы прогресса, ведут споры о сущности и цели общества и т. д. В таком же духе составлено и определение общества, даваемое Л. Я. Штернбергом. «Общество, — пишет он в своих лекциях по «Эволюции социальной культуры», — агрегат людей... перманентный, непреходящий и притом связанный узами биологическими, в обширном смысле этого слова, т. е. теми насущными, непреходящими интересами, которые возникают в самой природе человека».

Возражая субъективистам, Ленин пишет: «Начинать с вопросов, что такое общество, что такое прогресс, — значит начинать с конца. Откуда возьмете вы понятие об обществе и прогрессе вообще, когда вы не изучили еще ни одной общественной формации, в частности, не сумели даже установить этого понятия, не сумели даже подойти к серьезному фактическому

[1] Плеханов. К вопросу о развитии монистического взгляда на историю. Собр. соч., т. VII, стр. 102.

[2] С марксистской точки зрения такое понимание объективного абсурдно: «большинство», «толпа» и т. д. состоит из людей, а взгляды людей всегда субъективны, представляя одно из свойств субъекта. Объективны не взгляды «толпы», объективны те отношения в природе или обществе, которые выражаются в этих взглядах. Критерий истины лежит не во мне, а в отношениях, существующих вне меня. Истинны взгляды, правильно представляющие эти отношения; ошибочны взгляды, искажающие их» (Плеханов, указ. соч., стр. 226).

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

изучению, к объективному анализу каких бы то ни было общественных отношений.[1]

Субъективным социологам, в том числе Л. Я. Штернбергу, невдомек, что «вместо изучения и объяснения такие приемы дают только подсовывание под понятие общества либо буржуазных идей английского торгаша, либо мещанско-социалистических идеалов российского демократа, — и ничего больше».[2] И действительно, их теория явилась лишь выражением общественных идей русской мелкобуржуазной интеллигенции определенного периода и ни на шаг не подвинула человечество к пониманию реальных общественных отношений, а не тех, которые «соответствуют человеческой природе».

Общеизвестно и желание субъективных социологов подниматься над вопросом о классовой борьбе и рассматривать все общественные явления с надклассовой точки зрения отвлеченной справедливости. Исходя из этого, субъективисты вели ожесточенную борьбу с марксистским пониманием теории классовой борьбы, в частности выдвигая теорию об «искусственности» капитализма в России и об абсолютной возможности от русской деревенской общины XIX века перейти к социализму. Нет классовой борьбы и в работах Штернберга. Все вопросы в них рассматриваются с некоей надклассовой точки зрения. В качестве характерного примера можно привести следующее поучение Штернберга гилякам, при выборе ими своего судьи: «Судья должен быть беспристрастным к богатому и к бедному, другу и врагу, судить по совести».[3] Но и от Штернберга все же не могли ускользнуть факты эксплоатации среди гиляков, о чем свидетельствует следующая запись в одном из его дневников: «Эти (гиляцкие) кулаки эксплоатируют не хуже цивилизованных».[4] Однако в его печатных работах мы напрасно стали бы искать изложения того, как в разлагающемся гиляцком родовом обществе проявляется классовое расслоение и эксплоатация. Более того, сквозь все его работы проходит идеализация гиляцкого общества. Так, описывая гиляцких богачей (ызей), он говорит: «что такое ызь, как не та же цельная личность в ее высшем проявлении индивидуальности. Влияние ызя поэтому чи-

[1] Что такое «друзья народа» и как они воюют против социал-демократов. Собр. соч. Ленина, т. 1, стр. 74.

[2] Там же, стр. 75.

[3] Дневник первого путешествия к гилякам в феврале 1891 г. (рук.).

[4] Дневник путешествия к восточным гилякам, в июне 1891 г. (рук.).

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

сто фактическое, моральное, между ним и беднейшим из его сородичей нет еще никакой пропасти ни в умственном, ни в экономическом отношении, и в то же время над всеми доминирует высшая братская связь религиозно-социального союза рода.

Известны нелепые стремления субъективистов истолковать марксизм как «экономический материализм», якобы отрицающий всякие другие стороны общественной жизни, кроме экономической, несмотря на совершенно определенные указания основоположников марксизма, что нет какого-то автоматического действия экономического положения, как это иногда воображают. Марксизм не отрицает разных сторон общественной жизни, тем более их взаимоотношений, но показывает, что в последнем счете решающими являются экономические отношения. Находя взгляды марксистов односторонними, субъективные социологи выдвинули свою теорию взаимодействия факторов, не понимая, что взаимодействие само по себе ничего не объясняет, а, наоборот, нуждается в объяснении при помощи объективного критерия, каким может быть лишь экономическая структура общества.

Штернберг в своих трудах также призывает к плюрализму, рассмотрению разных сторон общественной жизни в их равноценной связи.

Неумение выделить в развитии общества важные и неважные явления и неумение найти объективный критерий и представляет корень субъективизма в социологии.

Нужно также отметить методически совершенно неправильный прием субъективных социологов, в том числе и Штернберга, биологизировать ряд общественных явлений. Так, сплошь и рядом в его работах мы можем найти «инстинкт симпатии», «потребность сотрудничества» и т. д. В особенности заметно это в области истолкования религиозных феноменов. Так, в своих рукописных лекциях по «эволюции религиозных верований» он религию определяет как «одну из форм борьбы за существование, в тех областях, где обычные средства не применимы». Глубоко прав Ленин, указывая, что «нет ничего легче, как наклеить «энергетический» или «биолого-социалистический» ярлык на явления в роде кризисов революций, борьбы классов и т. п. Но нет ничего бесплоднее, схоластичнее, мертвее, чем это занятие». Из определения религии Штернбергом без остатка выхолощена ее эксплоататорская сущность. Помимо того, это оп-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ределение позволяет Штернбергу в конце концов не делать никакой грани между религией и философией. Так, в неоконченном варианте об анимизме он пишет: «С ростом знания, когда слабеет сознание зависимости человека от сил, ему неизвестных... религия все больше теряет свою власть и уступает свое место чистому умозрению... Человеку, освободившемуся от элементарных, самых грубых тягот борьбы за существование, еще остается самая мучительная сторона его существования, тоска по вечности, скорбь за неизбежное страдание, венчаемая тайной смерти. Ему нужен мир... не мир, который люди тысячелетиями привыкли получать от практики религии, а мир внутренний, какой бы ценой он ни достался. И философия пытается дать ему этот мир теми средствами, на которые она способна. Каковы бы ни были эти ответы, будет ли это мужественный агностицизм, будет ли это безутешный пантеизм, будет ли это делающий bonne mine au mauvais jeu пассимизм, будет ли это материализм или спиритуализм, но всякий ответ для многих и надолго будет лучше, нежели ничем не разрешимая загадка. Таким образом, философия в этом смысле вполне подходит под наше определение религии, ибо она пытается облегчить человеческое существование в тех областях, в которых обычные средства борьбы за существование бессильны».

Наконец, нужно отметить, что субъективная школа в социологии в своих взглядах не придерживалась философского монизма. Субъективистам позволялось «брать хорошее отовсюду». Поэтому-то они считали в праве в своих работах применять и другие методы, кроме субъективного, однако, с тем, «чтобы высший контроль в социологии принадлежал субъективному». Ясно, что этим открывались беспредельные просторы эклектизму. Эклектизмом страдают и все основные теоретические построения Штернберга.

Все же, для исчерпывающего понимания взглядов Штернберга нужно принять во внимание и то, что он был не только субъективным социологом, но и выдающимся представителем так называемой классической школы в этнологии (точнее — психолого-эволюционистского направления в социологии), основанной Бастианом, Тэйлором и др. Этнографическое учение Штернберга представляет своеобразное сочетание субъективно-социологических и психолого-эволюционистских установок. Такое сочетание для Штернберга тем более было легким, что исходным пунктом для обеих школ служила человеческая психика.

Л. Я. ШТЕРНБЕРГ КАК ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬ НАРОДОВ ДВ. XXI

Из представления Штернберга об обществе вытекает его определение этнографии, как «науки о человечестве и культуре». В более подробном виде это определение выглядит так: «этнография — наука, изучающая... человеческую культуру, и не культуру одних так называемых дикарей, а культуру всех народов и на основании сравнения этих различных культур строящая картину и законы эволюции человеческой культуры вообще». «И только тот, добавляет далее Штернберг, кто усвоил теоретические основы этнографии, в состоянии правильно изучать культуры отдельных народов, на какой бы степени развития они ни стояли».[1] «Социология народов, по словам Штернберга, хотя и претендует на самостоятельное значение, но когда мы вникаем в круг трактуемых ею явлений, нам начинает казаться, что она не составляет науки отдельной от этнографии».[2]

Для нас такое определение этнографии абсолютно неприемлемо, ибо в понимании Штернберга этнография превращена в социологию и в качестве таковой противопоставляется историческому материализму, единственной научной социологии.

В определении этнографии Штернберг вкратце выразил и свои воззрения на культуру и ее эволюцию.

Особо нужно отметить взгляды Штернберга на культуру, как на объект этнографического изучения. «Культура, — говорит Штернберг, — сумма всех ценностей, которые созданы самим человеком, его интеллектом. С психологической точки зрения она продукт индивидуальных открытий и изобретений, с динамической же — продукт постепенного накопления этих изобретений всеми прошлыми поколениями. Культура не биологическое, а социальное наследство прошлых поколений, и поэтому уровень культуры находится в зависимости исключительно от количества унаследованных изобретений и открытий, а не от эволюции физической природы самого человека. Настоящими культурными ценностями нужно считать только сами открытия и изобретения в виде знания и навыков, но не те вещественные объекты, в которые они время от времени воплощаются».

Со всей очевидностью здесь выступает идеалистическая сущность взглядов Штернберга на культуру, и поэтому нет надобности детальнее на этом останавливаться.

Штернберг, подобно остальным эволюционистам, а также субъективным социологам, отрицательно относился к диалекти-

[1] Этнография и народное хозяйство (рук.).
[2] Там же.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ческому методу, приписывая марксизму шаблонное применение гегелевских триад, не понимая, что «диалектическим методом... Маркс и Энгельс называли не что иное, как научный метод в социологии, состоящий в том, что общество рассматривается, как живой, находящийся в постоянном движении организм... для изучения которого необходим объективный анализ производственных отношений, образующих данную общественную формацию, изучение законов ее функционирования и развития».[1]

Штернберг счел возможным при исследовании общественных явлений ограничиться лишь применением сравнительного метода. Превалирующее значение, которое он придавал этому методу, нашло яркое выражение уже в вышеприведенном его определении этнографии как науки. В этой связи уместно привести слова Гегеля об относительном значении сравнительного метода. Останавливаясь на обрисовке некоторых значительных успехов, достигнутых сравнительной анатомией и сравнительным языкознанием, Гегель говорит: «при этом, однако, мы не только должны заметить, что ученые заходили слишком далеко, предполагая, что этот сравнительный метод можно применять с одинаковым успехом во всех областях познания, но должны в особенности еще, кроме того, подчеркнуть, что одно лишь сравнение не может дать полного удовлетворения научной потребности и что достигнутые этим методом результаты должны рассматриваться лишь как хотя и необходимые, но все-таки подготовительные работы для подлинно постигающего познания».[2] И это правильно, ибо с помощью сравнительного метода невозможно вскрыть сущность явлений.

Значительный интерес представляют взгляды Штернберга на развитие культуры. «В результате своего сравнительного изучения культуры, — говорит он, — этнография ведет нас к тому заключению, что творчество культуры везде и всегда шло по одним и тем же законам, что человеческая психика в своем творчестве едина, что человеческая культура так же едина, как един его творец — человечество в целом, и что все различия в культуре — результат не психических различий, а различий в географических и исторических условиях, чисто внешних и переменчивого характера». «Идеал культуры — коллективное творчество и равномерное распределение культурных ценностей. Всякая культура имеет

[1] Ленин. Ук. соч., стр. 93.

[2] Энциклопедия философских наук. Соч. Гегеля. Ч. I, т. I, М.-Л. 1929, стр. 200—201.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

тенденцию к распространению: конечная цель — универсализм и единство человеческой культуры».[1]

Эта установка дала ему возможность вести решительную борьбу с расовой теорией в этнологии, утверждавшей неравноценность различных рас и народов. С другой стороны, именно эта установка позволила Штернбергу, в ряде случаев объяснения тех или иных общественных явлений, приблизиться к точке зрения диалектического материализма.

Как виднейший представитель эволюционной школы в России, Штернберг вел борьбу с реакционной культурно-исторической школой, возглавляемой патерами Шмидтом и Копперсом, против ее теорий диффузии (культурных заимствований), культурных кругов, изначальности единобожия, индивидуального брака и частной собственности. Говоря о патере, теперь кардинале, В. Шмидте и его культурно-исторических взглядах, Штернберг указывает, что «в течение многих лет он (Шмидт) тенденциозно пропагандирует эти воззрения в своем влиятельном журнале „Anthropos", который, благодаря богатым издательским средствам, сумел привлечь к себе сотрудничество, помимо целого ряда исследователей-миссионеров, также очень выдающихся этнологов.[2]

Не будет лишним заметить, что, стойко защищая свои психолого-эволюционистские установки, Штернберг вел борьбу с модными буржуазными теориями Маррета (о преанимизме), Леви-Брюля (о дологическом мышлении), Фрейда (о сексуальном начале всех общественных явлений) и т. д. В этом отношении его материалы и сейчас имеют значительную ценность.

Все же самой важной стороной научной деятельности Штернберга нужно считать то, что он был одним из крупнейших последователей знаменитого американского этнолога Л. Моргана, заново открывшего, по словам Энгельса, материалистическое понимание истории. Штернберг подкрепил и развил теорию Моргана своими замечательными открытиями классификаторской системы родства и группового брака у народов Дальнего Востока а также рядом своих исследований в области доистории. В качестве морганиста Штернберг был отмечен и Энгельсом, переведшим на немецкий язык отчет об одной из его работ и написавшим ему личное письмо, о чем речь пойдет дальше.

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[1] Введение в этнографию (рук.).

[2] Современная этнография, ж. Этнография. № 1—2. стр. 24—25 М.-Л. 1926

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

III.

Вкратце ознакомившись с теоретическими взглядами Л. Я. Штернберга и приступая к обзору его трудов по изучению народов Дальнего Востока, необходимо прежде всего оговориться, что подвергнуть подробному критическому рассмотрению все эти работы не позволяют размеры настоящей статьи, и мы остановимся лишь на главнейших моментах.

До сих пор опубликованы не все работы Штернберга по Дальнему Востоку, да и то, что появилось в свет, разбросано по многочисленным труднодоступным в настоящее время журналам и сборникам. Лишь настоящее издание, предпринятое и осуществленное по инициативе общественности Дальнего Востока, представляет возможность ознакомиться с главнейшими работами Штернберга, написанными им о народах Дальнего Востока, в том числе и с публикуемыми впервые рукописями.

Основными печатными работами Штернберга по этнографии Дальнего Востока являются: 1) Сахалинские гиляки (Этнографическое обозрение, кн. 2, М., 1893 г.); 2) Орочи Татарского пролива (сокращенное изложение в еженедельнике «Владивосток» № 47, 48, 50, 51 за 1896 г.); 3) Гиляки (Этнографическое обозрение, кн. 60, 61 и 63 за 1904 г., отд. оттиск, М., 1905 г); 4) Культ инау у племени айну (Ежегодник Русского антропологического общества при Петербургском университете, Пет., 1908); 5) The Turano-Ganowanian System and the nations of the Nord-East Asia (Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of the Americanists, London, 1912; 6) Divine election in primitive religions (Proceedings of the XXV International Congress of Americanists, 1925, русское дополненное издание под названием «Избранничество в религии», помещено в «Этнографии» № 1 за 1927 год); 7) Аинская проблема (посмертная работа, помещена в Сборнике Музея антропологии и этнографии Академии наук, т. VIII, Ленинград, 1929). Из этих работ в настоящем издании не помещены: The Turano-Ganowanian System и Избранничество в религии, зато впервые напечатаны: Социальная организация гиляков, Гольды (незаконченный отчет по экспедиции 1910 г.) и Классификация народов Дальнего Востока.

По языкам Дальнего Востока Л. Я. Штернбергом опубликованы следующие работы: 1) Образцы материалов по изучению гиляцкого языка и фольклора (Известия Академии наук, т. XIII, № 4, Пет., 1900); 2) Bemerkungen über die Beziehungen zwischen der Morphologie der giljakischen und amerikanischen Spra-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

chen (XIV Internationaler Amerikanisher Congress, Stuttgart, 1904; 3) Материалы по изучению гиляцкого языка и фольклора, т. I, ч. 1 (изд. Академии наук, Пет., 1908). Оставшиеся не напечатанными материалы по гиляцкому языку и фольклору предположены к изданию Академией наук СССР. В настоящем издании из языкового наследства Штернберга помещены следующие материалы по тунгусо-манджурским языкам: 1) Орочский этнографический словарь, 2) Гольдский этнографический словарь с грамматической заметкой, 3) Негидальский этнографический словарь, 4) Грамматические заметки по негидальскому языку.

Из сделанного нами в I главе описания путешествий Л. Я. Штернберга мы видели, что большую часть своих полевых исследований он производил у гиляков, в соответствии с чем его основные печатные труды по этнографии и языкознанию Дальнего Востока посвящены именно этой народности.

Работы Штернберга по гилякам распадаются на две группы: одна из них отведена вопросам социального строя и религиозных верований, другая — фольклору и языку. Из работ первой группы основными являются: «Сахалинские гиляки», «Гиляки», «Турано-гановская система и народы северо-восточной Азии»[1] и появляющаяся ныне впервые в печати «Социальная организация гиляков». В первой из перечисленных работ мы находим, так сказать, в зародыше почти все то, что в остальных из перечисленных работ дано им потом в более углубленном и разработанном виде.

Особенно следует отметить то, что в этом первом очерке, написанном в 1891 г., т. е. в результате короткого сравнительно периода наблюдений, имеется уже совершенно ясное описание открытого им у гиляков группового брака и классификаторской системы родства, основных черт их родового строя и т. д. Рукопись этой работы Штернбергу удалось отправить тогда в Москву, где она была сначала зачитана в виде доклада в Обществе изучения естествознания, антропологии и этнографии (10 октября 1892 года) секретарем общества Н. Я. Янчуком. Уже через несколько дней после доклада, в «Русских ведомостях» появился отчет с довольно подробным изложением I и II глав рукописи. Новизна и большая теоретическая значимость материала вызвали всеобщее внимание в научных кругах, интересующихся историей первобытного общества. Этой работой заин-

[1] Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of the Americanists. London 1912.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

тересовался также и Фридрих Энгельс, тщательно следивший за русской политической и общественно-научной литературой, и поместил в „Die Neue Zeit" (XI Jahrgang, B. I., 1893) полный перевод газетного отчета о работе Штернберга со своими вступительными замечаниями под заглавием „Ein neuentdeckter Fall in der Geschichte der Ehe".[1] Особенно большое значение Фр. Энгельс придавал подтверждению существования группового брака на гиляцком материале. В виду огромного методологического значения приводим эти замечания Энгельса полностью. «В последнее время, — пишет он, — у некоторых рационалистических этнографов опять вошло в моду отрицать существование группового брака. В виду этого представляет большой интерес следующий отчет, который я перевожу из «Русских ведомостей» (Москва, 14 октября 1892 г., старого стиля). Он не только определенно подтверждает существование группового брака, т. е. права взаимных половых сношений между определенной группой мужчин и группой женщин, но и приводит пример такой его формы, которая тесно примыкает к пуналуальному браку ганайцев, т. е. к наиболее развитой классической форме группового брака. В то время как типичная пуналуальная семья состоит из ряда братьев (единоутробных или более отдаленных по родству), которые находятся в брачном сожительстве с некоторым числом единоутробных или более отдаленных по родству сестер, мы видим на острове Сахалине, что мужчина находится в браке со всеми женами своих братьев и всеми сестрами своей жены, а это означает, если рассматривать это явление с женской стороны, что его жена имеет право половых сношений с братьями мужа и мужьями своих сестер. Отличие от типичной формы пуналуального брака состоит, следовательно, только в том, что братья мужа и мужья сестер не являются необходимо одними и теми же лицами. Следует еще заметить, что в этом случае подтверждается то, что я писал в «Происхождении семьи», 4 изд., стр 28-29: «Этот групповой брак далеко не выглядит так ужасно, как его рисует себе привыкшая к проституции и домам терпимости фантазия наших филистеров». «Дикари, живущие в групповом браке, далеко не ведут ту развратную жизнь, которую эти филистеры ведут под покровом тайны.

[1] Впервые по-русски эта статья Энгельса появилась лишь в 1922 г. в приложении к изданной «Московским рабочим» в «Библиотеке коммуниста», книге Энгельса «Происхождение семьи, частной собственности и государства», стр. 123-125.

Эта форма брака (по крайней мере, во встречающихся еще теперь случаях на практике) отличается от свободного парного брака или многоженства только тем, что дозволяются нравами половые сношения в ряде таких случаев, которые, при других условиях, влекут за собой строгое наказание. То обстоятельство, что использование этих прав на практике вымирает, доказывает только, что сама эта форма брака осуждена давно на вымирание, как это подтверждается и редкостью следов ее существования».

«Кроме того весь рассказ интересен еще тем, что он снова показывает, как сходны, даже тождественны в своих основных чертах, общественные учреждения таких первобытных народов, находящихся на почти одинаковой ступени развития. Большая часть того, что рассказывается в этом отчете о Сахалине, вполне применима к дравидийским племенам Индии, к жителям тихоокеанских островов, в эпоху их открытия, к краснокожим».

В заключение Энгельс приводит полностью перевод газетного отчета о статье Штернберга. По поводу материалов, выявленных из газетного отчета, Фр. Энгельс написал Л. Я. Штернбергу письмо, как об этом последний мне сообщил в личной беседе. К сожалению, предпринятые поиски этого письма в архиве Штернберга не дали пока никаких результатов. Полностью в печати «Сахалинские гиляки» появились в журнале «Этнографическое обозрение» за 1893 г. В этой работе Штернберга чувствуется сильное влияние книги Энгельса «Происхождение семьи, частной собственности и государства». Влияние Энгельса в значительной степени нейтрализовало психологический подход Штернберга, и «Сахалинские гиляки» безусловно являются наиболее материалистической книгой, вышедшей из-под его пера.

Открытие Штернбергом у гиляков группового брака и классификаторской системы родства, сохранившей к тому некоторые термины, утерянные в менее примитивных системах, блестяще подтвердило взгляды Энгельса, смотревшего на групповой брак, как на определенную всеобщую ступень в истории брака и на классификаторскую систему, как на верный показатель ранее существовавших половых норм. Описанная Штернбергом классификаторская система родства у гиляков оказалась по типу сходной с турано-ганованской. Мало того, «это лучший образец туранской системы, — говорит сам Штернберг, — к тому же лучше всего сохранившийся и дающий наилучшую корреляцию[1]. Этим

[1] The Turano-Ganowanian System. p. 323.

открытием Штернберг заполнил пробел в научной литературе по первобытным общественным отношениям, не имевшей никаких данных о социальном строе и половых нормах у приамурских народов. Этих данных не было и у Моргана, и он лишь догадывался о существовании классификаторской системы у приамурских народов, как промежуточного звена между народами Индии и Северной Америки.

Вплоть до настоящего времени эти открытия Штернберга упорно замалчиваются сторонниками клерикальной историко-культурной школы (ярыми противниками марксизма и теории Моргана), так как они неопровержимо на живом примере доказывают существование группового брака, столь неприятного католическим патерам, утверждающим извечность индивидуального брака, частной собственности и единобожия.

Как уже было выше указано, при составлении «Сахалинских гиляков» Штернберг не имел возможности ознакомиться с основной литературой по народам Дальнего Востока, и у него вкрались досадные неточности; так, он совершенно неправильно пишет, очевидно следуя устным рассказам русского населения, «что гиляки нижнего Амура говорят тем же языком, что и тунгусы». В действительности здесь речь идет не о гиляках, а об ульчах (ольчах), имеющих язык, близкий к тунгусскому. Далее, нужно принять во внимание, что он называет сахалинских орочов орочонами, согласно местному русскому названию.

Монография «Гиляки», и «Социальная организация гиляков», являющаяся расширенным и углубленным изданием III и глав «Гиляков», написаны Штернбергом уже после возвращения из ссылки. При составлении этих работ Штернберг имел уже под рукой всю основную литературу, и вопросы, исследуемые им, разработаны весьма обстоятельно. В этих работах выявлен ряд новых моментов социального строя гиляков, что Штернбергом с успехом сопоставляется с австралийскими материалами и частично помогает их разъяснению. Но обе эти работы, не в пример «Сахалинским гилякам» и «Орочам», как и все остальные работы Штернберга после ссылки, носят более отчетливо выраженный идеалистический характер.

Особенно тщательно в этих трудах разработан вопрос о кузенном браке. В этом отношении Штернберг обогатил историю брака ценным материалом, весьма тонко им проанализированным. Однако, тогда, когда Штернберг пытается вывести кузенный брак из группового брака, он впадает в противоречие с са

мим собою и становится на антиморгановскую и заодно и антиэнгельсовскую точку зрения. Признание того, что кузенный брак предшествовал групповому, логически ведет за собой вывод о том, что кузенному браку предшествовал брак индивидуальный. Также совершенно идеалистическим является рассуждение Штернберга о причинах перехода брака между сестрами и братьями в кузенный брак.

С большой обстоятельностью Штернберг выявил родовой характер группового брака гиляков, а также установил принципы трех- и четырехродовой фратрии. Безусловно, правильными являются выводы Штернберга о предшествовании перекрестного одностороннему кузенному браку.

Весьма важное значение имеет также для подтверждения существования группового брака вскрытый Штернбергом у гиляков институт избегания (avoidance), по которому лица, не имеющие взаимных половых прав, должны избегать взаимных взглядов, разговоров и пр. Переживания этого института у народов, уже вышедших из стадии группового брака, он считал лишним доказательством ее прежнего существования.

Далее, в работах Штернберга дана яркая картина родового быта гиляков и основных норм обычного права. Говоря о роде, нужно, кстати, подчеркнуть правильность критики Штернбергом Кунова, отрицающего, вопреки Энгельсу, существование родового строя у австралийцев.

Довольно подробно Штернберг останавливается на хлай-нивухах и совершенно правильно объясняет, что они рекрутируются из ылей (богачей), но мы напрасно ждем от него ответа на вопрос о причинах разложения рода и появления ылей. Вместе с этим, нужно сказать, что факт существования богачей у современных так называемых первобытных народов, и в особенности их социальная роль, обходились молчанием в этнографической литературе, и лишь Штернберг был одним из немногих этнографов — немарксистов, который обратил на это внимание. Несмотря, однако, на то, что приведенный Штернбергом материал весьма убедительно свидетельствует о начатках классового расслоения у гиляков, он этого не вскрыл, вследствие того что смотрел через очки народников и видел в появлении классового расслоения проявление не имманентных экономических законов каждого общества, а лишь влияние на гиляков их соседей — русских.

Значительная часть монографии посвящена религии гиляков.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Здесь во всю ширь развернуты концепции Штернберга о хозяевах, впервые высказанные им в «Сахалинских гиляках». «Каждая стихия имеет своего «хозяина», который есть «бог», но, подобно тому, как в каждом роде имеются выдающиеся люди-богачи, из которых один наиболее богатый («хозяин» по бытовой терминологии гиляков), так и у духов, которые по воззрениям гиляков также живут родами, имеются свои «хозяева». Этой концепцией Штернберг подчеркивает отражение общественного строя в религиозных представлениях. Заслуживают внимания также взгляды Штернберга о связи тотемизма с родовым обществом. По мнению Штернберга «...не тотемизм, т. е. не вера в происхождение от того или другого вида животного, как это принято думать, создал родовых богов, а наоборот: родовые боги создали тотемизм. Не чем иным нельзя объяснить запреты тотемистов употреблять в пищу мясо тотемов, как страхом убить какого-нибудь сородича, превратившегося в тотемного животного».

Штернберг оспаривает мнение о том, что страх создал бога, и выдвигает свое соображение о том, что культ ряда животных (напр., медведя и касатки) вызывается кажущимся покровительственным отношением их к человеку.

В «Гиляках» Штернберг также впервые сформулировал свое мнение о том, что шаман является избранником божьим.

Вторую группу работ Штернберга по гиляковедению составляют «Образцы материалов по изучению гиляцкого языка и фольклора» и «Материалы по изучению гиляцкого языка и фольклора», сюда же относится конспект доклада на XIV конгрессе американистов в Штутгарте „Bemerkungen über die Beziehung zwischen der Morphologie der giljakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen", где он доказывает грамматическое сходство гиляцкого языка с некоторыми языками американских индейцев. Появившиеся в свет данные по гиляцкому фольклору и языку составляют лишь часть собранного им материала. Он при жизни так и не собрался выпустить гиляцкую грамматику, словарь и дополнительные фольклорные материалы, но и то, что им опубликовано по изучению этого исключительно трудного языка вместе с указанными выше открытиями по изучению родового и семейного строя гиляков, настолько значительно, что в истории этнологии и лингвистики за Штернбергом по праву останется имя крупнейшего гиляковеда и первого серьезного исследователя и знатока гиляцкого языка.

Следующую область работы Штернберга, как дальневосточного этнолога, представляло изучение тунгусо-манджурских народов. Из коренного населения Амурского края он прежде всего обследовал орочей Татарского пролива. И хотя он уделил им всего один месяц, он и тут успел сделать ряд важных наблюдений и открытий, которые и опубликовал в статье «Орочи Татарского пролива», полностью появляющейся лишь в настоящем издании. И у орочей он нашел групповой брак и классификаторскую систему родства (кстати сказать, эта система совпадает в основном с системой гольдской и тунгусской), но при этом он в их брачных нормах обнаружил черты, указывающие на более раннюю стадию по сравнению с гиляцкими. Именно здесь еще бытовало право на брак и половые сношения между отдельными категориями лиц безразлично как восходящих, так и нисходящих поколений, что послужило сугубым подтверждением правильности моргановской теории и что дало Штернбергу неопровержимые доводы для критики антимарксистской теории Каутского, утверждавшего, что классификаторская система родства служит лишь для наименования поколений и что, следовательно, она отнюдь не говорит о наличии группового брака.

Далее, в этой работе, впервые в этнографической литературе, дано описание орочского рода. Однако, следует тут же отметить, что определение рода как «родственно-религиозного союза, внутри которого брак и половые сношения не допускаются», совершенно недостаточно, ибо оно не вскрывает экономической структуры родового общества.

Из многочисленных собранных Штернбергом материалов о религии и шаманстве орочей наиболее интересно указание, что представление о верховном божестве Эндури заимствовано ими у их более культурных соседей — манджуров и китайцев, при посредстве гольдов. «Чего нет в общественной жизни, — говорит Штернберг, — именно верховной власти, того они (орочи) не могли внести в мир богов. Но дело сделано, идея эта у них уже привилась... но она не их идея, и до сих пор она стоит одиноко среди их системы богов».

Особое внимание в этой работе Штернберг обращает на выяснение самоназвания орочей и опровержение мнения Шренка о происхождении термина орочи. Констатированное им самоназвание н а н и оказалось общим для целой группы амурских племен — орочей, гольдов и ороков — и убедило его, что эти племена общего происхождения. Опираясь на собственные

I: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

данные, Штернберг, в противовес Шренку, выдвинул гипотезу о приходе орочей на их теперешнее место жительства с севера. Гипотеза Штернберга вполне убедительно показывает оленеводческое прошлое орочей, но она совершенно неприменима к разъяснению истории хозяйства удэ, которых Штернберг тогда неправильно идентифицировал с орочами, несмотря на то, что у удэ отличный язык и формы хозяйства. Все данные, имеющиеся теперь об удэ, дают отрицательный материал в отношении их оленеводческого прошлого.

Следующая работа Штернберга по тунгусо-манджурским народностям «Гольды» представляет собой неоконченный отчет об его экспедиции 1910 г. на Амур. Большой интерес представляет вопрос, поднятый Штернбергом о догольдском населении Амура. Для освещения этого вопроса он впервые привлек и фольклорные материалы. Собранный Штернбергом материал позволяет считать ха (название догольдского населения Амура) дючерами, о проживании которых в XVII веке на Амуре имеются достаточные исторические данные. Мои материалы также подтверждают, что ха являлись дючерами, или, как их гольды называли, иргэнь (житель), что по-манджурски значит население, не несущее воинской повинности. Следовательно, дючеры являлись непривилегированной частью манджурского народа.

Говоря о составе и истории гольдских родов, Штернберг устанавливает, что, несмотря на сходство самоназвания, языка, обычаев, религиозных воззрений и т. д., гольды представляют конгломерат родов самого различного происхождения и что образование этого конгломерата происходит путем постоянного притока чужеродных пришельцев. Штернберг придает слишком большое значение биологическим моментам и поэтому не обращает никакого внимания на экономические предпосылки образования гольдской народности. Наши материалы позволяют судить, что большинство гольдов — бывшие оленеводы, осевшие на Амуре и под влиянием местных условий заменившие оленеводство рыболовством и собаководством. В соответствии с изменением хозяйственного образа жизни, тунгусский язык и религиозные верования кочевых оленеводов были заменены языком и религией рыболовов.

Большой интерес также представляет описание института джангинней (судей), открытого им у гольдов, а еще раньше у орочей.

Третьей работой по тунгусским народам является «Класси-

фикация и номенклатура коренного населения Амурского края». Она состоит из двух глав — классификации и номенклатуры. Первая глава вполне закончена Штернбергом, а из второй главы он успел написать лишь раздел об ороках. Из дневников и других рукописей удалось сделать выборку заметок этнонимического значения, из которых и составились дополнительные разделы об ольчах, ороках и гольдах.

Материалы по классификации в свое время имели бы большое значение для исправления шренковской классификации. В настоящее время они имеют лишь историческое значение.[1] Этнонимические материалы и сейчас еще не утратили своего значения. В особенности важно то, что Штернбергу удалось выяснить, что игатку — негидальское название для манджурских племен с небритой передней частью лба (следовательно, ольчей и низовых гольдов), а гольды — название племен с бритой передней частью лба, что являлось признаком манджурского подданства (верховских гольдов). Это имеет большое значение для расшифровки казацких отписок о завоевании Амурского края. Нужно также указать, что Штернберг здесь первый правильно разъяснил название ольча (ульча), произведя его из ольчского слова уля — олень.

Публикуемые здесь словари орочского, гольдского и негидальского языков дают довольно значительное количество технических, социальных и религиозных терминов, а заметка о негидальском языке представляет собой первый в лингвистической литературе грамматический обзор этого малоисследованного языка.

Таким образом мы видим, что и в области изучения тунгусо-манджурских племен Штернбергом сделано не мало, и он по праву считался, после Шренка, авторитетнейшим тунгусоведом, несмотря на то, что из своих богатых материалов, собранных им по этим народностям, он обработал лишь небольшую часть. Большой заслугой его является и то, что, благодаря ему, ряд

[1] При ознакомлении с классификацией Штернберга должна быть принята во внимание современная классификация тунгусо-манджурских племен, принадлежащая автору настоящей статьи: 1. Тунгусская или северная группа: а) эвенки — собственно тунгусы (тунгусы, орочоны, манегры, солоны, бирары), б) эвены — ламуты (камчатские и охотские орочоны, орочоны, северо-якутские ламуты), элкэмбэйе—негидальцы (амгунцы), 2. Маньчжурская или южная группа: а) собственно маньчжуры, б) ганэй — гольды, (ходзены, самагиры, кили), в) нанэй, — ульчи (ольчи, ороки), г) нани (орочи), д) удэ (кякары).

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

молодых исследователей направил свои изыскания в сторону тунгусоведения: он широко делился своим опытом, своими знаниями и мыслями со своими учениками и своим энтузиазмом вдохновлял их на работу.

Другой дальневосточной народности — айну — Штернберг посвятил хотя гораздо меньше времени, чем гилякам, но все же он успел изучить ее довольно основательно, что видно из его предсмертной выдающейся работы «Аинская проблема», где затронуты разнообразные стороны жизни айну и привлечены материалы историко-культурные, антропологические, археологические, лингвистические и пр. Штернберг в этой работе показал, что айну не монголы и не палеоазиты, каковыми их считали, а связаны в культурном, языковом и антропологическом отношениях с народами Индонезии или Австронезии. Эта гипотеза в связи с новыми открытиями в области былых миграций и сношений тихоокеанских народов, раскрывала перед ним широкие перспективы в смысле выяснения прошлых судеб тихоокеанских народов, в том числе и наших дальневосточных народов, но неожиданная кончина его пресекла эти широкие научные планы.

В работе «Культ инау у племени айну» Штернберг дает подробное описание этого своеобразного культового явления и выдвигает остроумное предположение о том, что инау (заструженные палочки) не жертвоприношения, как это предполагали раньше, а посредники между богами и человеком. Тут следует еще отметить интересную мысль Штернберга о связи этого культа (а также культа близнецов) с индийскими культами.

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Своими многосторонними исследованиями семейно-родовых отношений, обычного права, религиозных верований, первобытного искусства, национальных языков и фольклора, а также археологии и антропологии Дальнего Востока Л. Я. Штернберг вполне заслуженно завоевал себе имя лучшего знатока народов Дальнего Востока и вместе с тем и лучшего русского этнографа своего времени.

Весьма заметную роль Штернберг сыграл в деле этнографического изучения Дальнего Востока и как организатор и педагог. Долгие годы он фактически руководил Музеем этнографии и антропологии Академии наук, и благодаря ему и его сотрудникам и ученикам музей обогатился, в частности, дальневосточными коллекциями, не говоря уже о том, что при нем музей

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

приобрел свое международное значение. Далее Штернберг организовал этнографический факультет Географического института (в дальнейшем превратившийся в этнографическое отделение Ленинградского государственного университета), которым и руководил со дня его основания до своей кончины, и который дал ряд исследователей и практических работников среди культурно-отсталых народов СССР, в том числе и среди народов Дальнего Востока.

Напечатанные в этом издании работы Штернберга представляют значительный интерес с точки зрения общетеоретической. Помимо их значения для истории доклассового общества и для подтверждения морг[illegible]кой теории (в «снятом» виде усвоенной Марксом и Энгельс[illegible] чем мы говорили выше, они помогают бороться против реакционной культурно-исторической школы в этнологии, против ее идей извечности единобожия, частной собственности и индивидуального брака, против антимарксистских установок Каутского и Кунова в области истории доклассового общества; против увлечения леви-брюлевской теорией дологического мышления и марретовской теорией доанимизма.

Однако, ни на минуту мы не должны упускать из виду, что Штернберг стоял на идеалистических позициях в области изучения общественных явлений, выводя законы развития общества из развития человеческой психики. Нашей задачей является вскрытие методологической несостоятельности обще-теоретических взглядов Штернберга, дающего неправильное представление о причинах и ходе развития человеческого общества, игнорирующего вопрос о происхождении классов и идеализирующего первобытное общество. Работы Штернберга и заключающийся в них ценный материал могут быть использованы лишь в критически преодоленном виде.

Большое значение имеют труды Штернберга и в практическом отношении. В настоящее время, когда происходит социалистическое наступление по всему фронту и когда на социалистический лад перестраиваются и наиболее отсталые северные окраины нашей обширной страны, когда происходит невиданный в истории расцвет национальных культур, мы испытываем огромную нужду в работах, которые могли бы дать нам данные о тех или иных сторонах этих национальных культур. В этом отношении нам навстречу идут материалы Штернберга. В них мы находим тщательное описание родового устройства народов Дальнего Востока, что может быть использовано в нашей борь-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

бе за скорейшую ликвидацию патриархально-родовых пережитков, как одного из основных тормозов социалистического строительства на северных окраинах. В них мы находим подробные материалы о шаманстве, которые могут найти свое применение в нашей антирелигиозной работе. Находим мы в них и описание обычного права и роли джангиней (судей), что может послужить нам материалом в борьбе за искоренение обычного права и замены его советским правом. Наконец, данные о брачных отношениях могут с успехом быть использованы в деле раскрепощения женщины народов Севера.

Конечно, при этом мы должны учесть коренные изменения, произведенные пролетарской революцией среди народов Севера. Из угнетенных и вымиравших при царизме «инородцев» они превратились в равноценных строителей социализма, из народов «неисторических» стали народами историческими.

На территории народов Севера созданы национальные округа, районы и советы, развернулась мощная волна производственного кооперирования, строятся совхозы, ведется упорная борьба с кулачеством, шаманами и патриархально-родовыми пережитками, место царских острогов заняли культурные базы, раскинулась школьная и больничная сеть, созданы техникумы на местах и Институт народов Севера ЦИК СССР в Ленинграде для подготовки кадров средней и высшей квалификации из самих народов Севера, развернулся культурный поход за ликвидацию неграмотности, создана и развивается письменность на 14 северных языках, ведется большая работа по улучшению труда и быта женщины Севера.

Вся наша страна напрягает все усилия, чтобы, следуя ленинской национальной политике, помочь культурно-отсталым народам СССР в кратчайший срок изжить свою веками сложившуюся отсталость, помочь им сравняться с наиболее культурными народами Союза, содействовать непосредственному переходу их разлагающегося родового общества в общество социалистическое, минуя капиталистическую стадию. И печатаемые ныне работы Штернберга, при известном критическом подходе к их методологии несомненно представят, повторяем, весьма ценный материал для наших работников на этом поприще.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

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Предлагаемое собрание работ Штернберга, за вычетом монографии «Гиляки» и очерков «Сахалинские гиляки», «Орочи», «Аинская проблема», «Культ инау» и «Программы по собиранию этнографических сведений» появляется в печати впервые.

В частности необходимо дать некоторые пояснения к этим работам. Конец статьи «Классификация коренного населения Амурского края», именно, часть, касающаяся номенклатуры этих народов, восстановлена В. И. Цинциус[1] по черновым наброскам Штернберга, найденным в его архиве. Конец очерка «Гольды», представляющего отчет по экспедиции 1910 г., также не обнаружен в архиве, и этот пробел до известной степени возмещают «Отдельные материалы по этнографии гольдов», почерпнутые В. Цинциус из его же архива.

Из архива же извлечены В. И. Цинциус и систематизированы отдельные материалы этнографические, лингвистические и частью грамматические по тунгусо-манджурским народам (1895—1896 и 1910 гг.), гольдам, орочам и негидальцам, при чем в выборке материалов негидальских принимала участие и другая ученица Штернберга, К. М. Мыльникова[2]. «Отдельные материалы по гилякам выбраны С. А. Ратнер-Штернберг[3] из записных книжек автора и других его путевых заметок 90-х годов прошлого столетия и 1910 г. и ею же систематизированы, при чем по возможности соблюдены стиль записей и транскрипция туземных слов и, где удалось установить, указаны даты.

Транскрипция гиляцких слов и текстов просмотрена учеником Штернберга по гиляковедению, Ю. А. Крейновичем[4].

Материалы антропологические обработаны Г. И. Петровым[5].

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[3] Этнограф Академии Наук СССР.

[4] Исследователь гиляков, научный сотрудник ИНС'а.

[5] Быв. научный сотрудник Музея Антропол. и Этногр. Ак. Наук СССР., ныне старший научный сотрудник Акад. Матер. Культуры в Ленинграде.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

По поводу «Отдельных материалов», как тунгусских, так и гиляцких, следует оговориться, что в них могли попасть и данные, наскоро набросанные во время полевых работ Штернберга и, быть может, при дальнейших изысканиях им же отвергнутые или исправленные, но выяснить такие случаи, если они и имели место, нет, к сожалению, возможности.

Что касается транскрипции гиляцких и тунгусо-манджурских слов, то, по соглашению с вышепоименованными сотрудниками-лингвистами, нами принята транскрипция латинизированная, но с сохранением нескольких русских букв, именно: ж, з, х, ч, ш и с некоторыми отступлениями от общепринятых в новейшей лингвистике знаков для выражения долготы гласных, смягчения звуков и пр., в виду технических препятствий со стороны типографии издательства. По той же причине в транскрипции гиляцких слов пришлось отказаться от ряда знаков для выражения некоторых фонетических тонкостей, принятых Штернбергом в его «Образцах по изучению гиляцкого языка и фольклора». Пояснение к принятой транскрипции помещено ниже.

В монографии «Гиляки» и очерке «Сахалинские гиляки», напечатанных при жизни автора, сохранена прежняя транскрипция для гиляцких слов.

ПОЯСНЕНИЕ К ТРАНСКРИПЦИИ ГИЛЯЦКИХ И ТУНГУСО-МАНДЖУРСКИХ СЛОВ.

I. Гласные.

a, e, i, o, u, y соответствуют русским а, э, и, о, у, ы.
a:, e:, i:, o:, u:, y: — те же гласные, но долгие.
a^n, e^n, i^n и т. д. — те же гласные с носовым оттенком.
á, é, í и т. д. — те же гласные под ударением.

II. Согласные.

b соответствует русскому б
c . . ц
d . . д
f . . ф
g . . г
h . немецкому h как в слове habé
j соответствует немецкому j
k . русскому к
l . западноевропейскому l
л соответствует твердому русскому л
m соответствует русскому м
n . . н

p соответствует русскому п
r . . р
s . . с
t . . т
v . русскому губно-зубному в
w соответствует губно-губному v типа английского w
z соответствует русскому з
x . . х
ш . . ш
ж . . ж
ч . . глухому аффрикату ч

з — звонкий аффрикативный звук дзь.
з: — звонкий аффрикативный звук дж = з.
ng — заднеязычное n, произносимое слитно, подобно n в немецком lang.
г — проточное „г", аналогичное украинскому г.
г: = ɣ = глубокому велярному украинскому г.
k: = $\breve{k}$ = $\bar{k}$ = глубокому велярному k.
x: = $\breve{x}$ = $\bar{x}$ = глубокому велярному x.
g: = $\breve{g}$ = $\bar{g}$ = глубокому велярному g.
ч: — слитный шипящий звук чш.
b', d', n' и т. д. — те же согласные, но смягченные.
'k, 'p и т. п. — те же согласные, но придыхательные.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

КЛАССИФИКАЦИЯ
КОРЕННОГО НАСЕЛЕНИЯ ПРИАМУРСКОГО КРАЯ

Если положить в основу классификации племенного состава лингвистический признак, то коренное население Приамурского края (Амурской, Приморской и Сахалинской областей) естественно распадается на три совершенно разнородных группы: 1) тунгусскую группу народностей, рассеянных по всему краю и говорящих на различных диалектах маньчжуро-тунгусского языка; 2) изолированное племя гиляков, язык которых совершенно отличен от языков сибирских народов и ближе всего стоит по своему строению к языкам американским; 3) столь же изолированно стоящее племя айну, говорящее на языке совершенно отличном как от сибирских языков, так и от американоидных языков и сохранившем в своем строении явные черты моносиллабизма.

Эти группы значительно различаются друг от друга и по другим существенным признакам, свидетельствующим о полном отсутствии между ними племенного родства, а именно: айну по характернейшему своему признаку — обильному волосяному покрову по всему телу, в частности по обильной растительности на лице — представляют до сих пор неразгаданную аномалию среди народов монгольского племени, одним из основных признаков которого является скудость лицевой растительности; и, кроме того, в своей материальной культуре, религии и семейном строе (характерные черты материнтета) они представляют особенности, скорее сближающие их с народами Индонезии, но совершенно отличные как от тунгусской группы, так и от американоидов.[1]

Что касается гиляков, то хотя в антропологическом отношении они значительно ассимилировались с окружающими народностями, но по многим чертам своей материальной культуры и особенно в социальном строе они одинаково далеко отстоят как от тунгусских народов, так и от их соседей айну. Наконец, еще

[1] См. ниже статью „Аинская проблема". *Ред.*

в одном отношении отличаются обе последние группы от первой. Гиляки и айну занимают строго отграниченные, почти сплошные территории (гиляки на северном и среднем Сахалине и по берегам лимана и устья Амура, а айну — на южном Сахалине, далее на о. Ессо); кроме того, диалектические различия каждого из языков этих народов настолько незначительны, что все члены племени легко друг друга понимают, и поэтому у каждого из этих народов сохранилось полное сознание своего национального единства. Народы же тунгусской группы отделились друг от друга и рассеяны по всему огромному краю, и отдельные части их говорят на диалектах, значительно отличных друг от друга.

Кроме того они значительно отличаются между собою и по образу жизни, так что, при всем своем лингвистическом, антропологическом и историческом родстве, они распадаются на отдельные мелкие группы, сознающие свою племенную индивидуальность.

Эти отдельные народности, отдаленные друг от друга в пространственном, историческом, лингвистическом отношениях и, наконец, в области материальной культуры, нуждаются в классификации. Такая классификация тем более необходима, что Шренком введены в этнографию в качестве особых народностей некоторые группы, как отдельные народности, в действительности не существующие.

Но по какому признаку их классифицировать?

Легче всего было построить такую классификацию на признаке хозяйственного быта. Если оставить в стороне южную группу — маньчжуров, дауров и солонов, мало имеющих отношения к русскому Приамурью, где они в территориальном отношении ничего собою не представляют, то все остальные народности можно было бы распределить на две большие группы — одни ведут оленное хозяйство, иначе говоря, это группа кочевников-оленеводов; таковы: собственно тунгусы, орочоны, сахалинские ороки; другая группа более или менее оседлых племен — рыболовов-охотников, каковы: гольды, ольчи, орочи, негидальцы, самагиры — народности, упряжным животным которых в настоящее время служит вместо оленя собака. Сверх того пришлось бы выделить небольшую группу, преимущественно живущую в Маньчжурии и частью в Забайкалье, именно — некоторые роды орочонов, которые, под влиянием китайцев и русских, заменили оленя лошадью. Но такая классификация, как она ни важна,

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ничего не дала бы ни в историческом, ни в лингвистическом отношении, ибо упомянутые хозяйственные признаки сравнительно недавнего происхождения. Некоторые из этих народностей оставили оленеводство на памяти живущего поколения, а остальные все живо сохранили предание о прежнем оленеводческом быте, оставленном по различным причинам случайного характера (преимущественно вследствие гибели оленей от эпидемий).

Самым безопасным и содержательным критерием был бы, разумеется, лингвистический, иначе говоря — рациональнее всего было бы построить классификацию на основании близости диалектов в лексическом и морфологическом отношениях. К сожалению, собранный до настоящего времени материал еще слишком недостаточен для вполне безопасной лингвистической классификации. По большинству диалектов материал не только недостаточен и не научен, но и совершенно ненадежен еще по особой чисто специфически-местной причине, именно потому, что собиратели материала делали свои записи чаще всего у одного какого-нибудь лица, более или менее знакомого с русским языком, не справляясь о племенном происхождении этого лица.

Между тем перемещение отдельных семей и даже родов или частей их из территории одного племени в другое настолько обычно, что путешественнику сплошь и рядом невозможно разобраться в том, имеет ли он дело с действительным представителем данного племени и, следовательно, с его диалектом, или с каким-нибудь недавним пришельцем. Во время произведенных мною переписей я имел достаточно возможности убедиться в том, что не только коренные роды данного племени нигде не составляют преобладающего большинства, но, как это ни странно, они везде в меньшинстве, при чем процессы эмиграции и иммиграции не остановились до сих пор. Отсюда не только смешение лексического материала и морфологического в каждом наречии, но возможно, что целый ряд семей-иммигрантов в течение нескольких поколений сохраняют особенности своего прежнего диалекта.

Академик Шренк, правда, в свое время пытался построить классификацию по лингвистическому признаку, но он еще менее имел для этого данных, чем мы имеем их в настоящее время. В действительности об этой классификации можно сказать, что в одной своей части она является совершенно необоснованной и противоречащей действительности, а в другой, повидимому, недоказанной, а просто подсказанной желанием обосновать неко-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

горые его исторические предположения, в свою очередь, очень слабо обоснованные. Так, без всяких оснований, Шренк, язык так называемых ольчей, весьма близкий к языку гольдов и орочей, отделил от последних и присоединил к языку негидальцев, язык которых, несомненно, ближе всего подходит к языку русских тунгусов, что утверждает и Шренк. Вся аргументация его в пользу близости языков ольчей и негидальцев сводится к тому, что самагирский язык, по его наблюдениям, сходен с ольчским, а о близости негидальского, с которым, по его словам, он совершенно незнаком, с самагирским он судит «на основании мнения о нем лиц (?), слышавших оба наречия» (sic!). Что касается познаний Шренка в самагирском языке, то они сводятся к некоторым терминам и выражениям, полученным от отдельных представителей как на их территории — по Горину, — так и на Амуре. А так как на Амуре самагиры рассеяны вплоть до самых истоков и по притокам его, и далее вплоть до морского побережья, и здесь они усвоили местные диалекты, то можно быть уверенным, что он больше слышал диалект ольче-гольдо-орокский, чем горинский — самагирский. С другой стороны, он отделил и гольдов от близких им по языку ольчей и присоединил первых к маньчжурам и це потому, что он был вполне уверен в близости их диалектов,[1] а потому, что относительно орочей он придерживался воззрения Иакинфа, что они южного происхождения, и потому он счел более удобным вместе с гольдами присоединить их к маньчжурам, как основному народу южной ветви тунгусского племени.

Так или иначе, диалектологический материал при нынешнем его состоянии может служить надежным руководителем лишь для некоторых, более изученных племен, как маньчжуры, солоны и дауры, для других же только подсобным критерием в сопоставлении с другими данными, историческими записями, народными преданиями, пережитками культуры и т. п., свидетельствующими об общем происхождении и близости племенного родства.

С этой точки зрения важным критерием для классификации могут служить исконные самоназвания подлежащих классификации народностей. Говорю исконные, ибо самоназвания бывают

[1] „Гольдскому языку, — говорит Шренк, — вероятно близок язык орочей. К сожалению, сведения о нем очень скудны". И далее ссылается на свидетельство Венюкова, который, впрочем, знал только южных орочей, так наз. тазов, а северных, т. е. наиболее типичных, вовсе не знал.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

различного рода и происхождения. Часто та или другая народность называет себя перед чужими не тем именем, которым представители его называют себя в своей среде, термином своего собственного языка, так что у этого народа имеется два самоназвания, — одно собственное, другое, так сказать, международное, которым его называют соседние народы, и часто бывает, что народ утрачивает свое родное самоназвание, именуя себя термином, употребляемым соседями. Бывает, далее, что сохраняя в своем языке свое племенное самоназвание, при известных условиях, например, при удалении из общеплеменной территории человек перед чужими называет себя по названию своего рода, и бывают случаи, когда такой род занимает новую территорию и размножается, и тогда родовое самоназвание заменяет исконное племенное, которое часто совершенно утрачивается. Конечно, из племенных самоназваний важным критерием является самоназвание исконное, т. е. то, которое является термином их собственного языка и употребляется постоянно при внутреннем общении между собою членов данного народа. Такие самоназвания, раз они сохранились из глубокой древности, приобретают значение важного исторического свидетельства, и, следовательно, если народности, особенно когда они принадлежат к одной и той же лингвистической группе, имеют такое общее самоназвание, то как бы далеко они ни удалились друг от друга, мы имеем достаточное основание усмотреть в этом факте несомненный признак общего происхождения, во всяком случае признак большей близости родства, чем между народностями той же группы, имеющими самоназвания отличные.

Хорошим дополнительным критерием к общим самоназваниям по отношению к вопросу о близости племенного родства часто могут служить также и названия, которыми соседи называют те или другие народы. Если соседи называют две или больше народности одним и тем же именем, то на ряду с общими самоназваниями и другими признаками такой факт является весьма показательным и дополняющим аргументом.

Таким образом, самоназвания народностей в связи с номенклатурой междуплеменной данной территории могут стать базисом классификации по отношению к вопросу о племенном родстве.

Академик Шренк, которому мы обязаны нынешней научной номенклатурой народов Амурского края, не мог воспользоваться этим критерием, ему не удалось добиться подлинного самоназва-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ния ни у одной из тунгусских народностей, хотя иногда он принимал термин соседей за термин самоназвания. Так, для некоторых племен он ввел те названия, которые были уже в употреблении до него местным русским населением или прежними путешественниками (гольды, солоны, дауры), другие введены им на основании его личных соображений. Для коренного тунгусского народа, живущего на Сахалине, он ввел совершенно новое название ороков; для такого же племени, оседло живущего в низовьях Амура, между гиляками и гольдами, название — ольча, а некоторые группы, представляющие лишь часть других племен, он выделил в особые племена с отдельными названиями (бирары, самагиры, килы). Для племени, живущего на побережье Татарского пролива и в соседних бассейнах рек, он сохранил название орочи, данное им Лаперузом.

Вообще, по отношению к номенклатуре он, будучи пионером по исследованию Амурского края, больше успел собрать материала книжно-исторического характера, чем на основании близкого знакомства с населением.

Критерии самоназваний в связи с материалами по междуплеменной номенклатуре и с другими этнографическими признаками остается пока единственной базой классификации. В свое время, во время моего пребывания в Приамурском крае, я при исследовании местного населения обратил специальное внимание на вопрос о самоназвании и междуплеменной номенклатуре, и еще в 1896 году мне удалось установить группу тунгусских народностей, имеющих одно общее самоназвание, именно, нани[1] (от на — земля, ни — туземец, здешний).[1] Это то название, которым именуют сами себя представители народов этой группы в своей собственной среде, хотя, как увидим ниже, перед чужими они часто называют себя именами, даваемыми им их соседями, что неоднократно вводило в заблуждение целый ряд путешественников, в том числе и Шренка.

В эту группу нани входят следующие народности, перечисленные мною в номенклатуре Шренка: гольды, ольча, ороки и орочи. В территориальном отношении эта группа распадается на: 1) сахалинских нани (шренковские ороки), 2) низовоамурских нани (шренковские ольчи), живущих в низовьях Амура между гиляками и гольдами, 3) нижнеамурских нани (гольды), с подразделением их на сунгарийских, уссурийских, иманских и т. д.,

[1] См. ниже статью „Орочи Татарского пролива". *Ред.*

по бассейнам притоков Амура, ими обитаемым, и, наконец, 4) юго-восточных нани (орочи), с подразделением их на северных до селения Ботчи (собственно орочи) и южных — кэха (кэхал, кэхар), о чем ниже.

Другую группу составляют племена, называющие себя эвонки. К ним принадлежат: 1) бродячие тунгусы-оленеводы, появившиеся в крае и на Сахалине лишь с приходом русских; 2) различные орочонские группы, кочующие в верховьях Амура и родственые орочонам Забайкалья и Северной Маньчжурии, далее отдельные орочонские роды манегров, бираров, вероятно, роды самагиров по Горину и роды килы, выделенные Шренком в отдельные племена; 3) особо, с точки зрения самоназвания, стоит тунгусская народность, живущая на Амгуни, близ оз. Удыль, и названная Миддендорфом и Шренком негидальцами. Их самоназвание — насхагил. Хотя по культуре (они сидячие рыболовы-охотники и собаководы) они стоят ближе всего к гилякам и ольчам, но по языку стоят ближе всего к собственно тунгусам, с которыми они легко объясняются, хотя их язык имеет много диалектических особенностей: одна из замеченных мною — это регулярная замена тунгусского r звуком j (oron — ojon — олень и т. п.), что указывает на близость к собственно-тунгусам, как увидим ниже, и на то, что они единственный народ, который называет бродячих тунгусов по их собственному самоназванию эвонки. Мы увидим впоследствии, что их нынешнее самоназвание не подлинное их исконное самоназвание, а название одного из доминирующих родов, и легко допустить, что первоначально и их самоназвание было эвонки.

К тунгусским народам Приамурского края примыкают еще маньчжуры, дауры и солоны, но и в территориальном, и в культурном, и в лингвистическом отношении они должны быть выделены в особую от приамурских тунгусов ветвь, которую удобнее всего назвать маньчжурской. Из народов Приамурского края по языку ближе всего к этой группе, по крайней мере к маньчжурам, стоят гольды.

В заключение по вопросу о классификации необходимо сказать, что классификация по самоназванию имеет главным образом значение в историческом отношении, ибо самоназвание гораздо дольше может сохраниться, особенно в условиях рассеяния, и свидетельствовать о прошлых судьбах народа, чем всякие другие особенности, которые легко изменяются под влиянием внешних условий. Так например, среди группы нани, сахалин-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ские ороки до сих пор остались оленеводами, в то время как все остальные представители этой группы уже превратились в оседлых рыболовов-охотников и собаководов, и только предания и некоторые черты культуры (детская колыбель, гробницы) еще свидетельствуют о прежней общей культуре. Далее, рассеяние по обширному краю и процесс ассимиляции вносят не мало изменений в строй прежнего общего языка, и потому самоназвание остается часто единственным свидетельством о разошедшихся в разные стороны народах, особенно, если они принадлежат к одной лингвистической группе.

От классификации перехожу к номенклатуре.

Под последней я подразумеваю не ту, которая теперь принята на месте или в этнографических работах о крае, а номенклатуру, употребляемую каждой местной народностью как по отношению к самой себе, так и по отношению ко всем известным ей народностям. Эту номенклатуру я в свое время лично собирал на местах и многократно ее проверял, и в том виде, в котором я ее даю сейчас в извлечении из моей приготовленной к печати работы, она, думается мне, не только исправит ту путаницу, которая внесена разнородными сообщениями лиц, не имевших ни возможности, ни умения проверять точность своих мимоходных записей, но дает материал и для установления правильной научной номенклатуры, важность которой для понимания исторического прошлого и взаимоотношений народностей края не требует доказательств.

Начинаю с самого восточного племени группы нани, именно с так называемых о р о к о в.

Сами они называют себя, как я уже сказал, — нани (буквально — человек земли, страны, туземец). Тунгусские народы на Амуре, в том числе и шренковские ольчи и орочи, называют их о л ь ч а и у л ь ч а, повидимому, на основании того, что в их диалекте слово олень будет о л а, у л а, в отличие от тунгусского о р о н. На этом основании сами ороки перед чужими, на вопрос о народности, часто называют себя тоже ольча или ульча, но между собою они всегда употребляют термин нани. Их соседи — сахалинские гиляки — называют их о р н ы р (оленеводы) и, что особенно замечательно, этим же именем амурские гиляки называют своих соседей — шренковских ольчей, хотя они теперь такие же рыболовы-собаководы, как и сами гиляки, что свидетельствует о том, что в прежнее время ольчи и ороки имели одно общее название и были единым племенем. В действитель-

ности есть указания на то, что ороки действительно переселились с Амура сравнительно недавно (в XVII в.) и, следовательно, могли составлять одно племя со шренковскими ольча. С другой стороны крайне любопытно, что амурские гиляки называют и ороков и орочей одним и тем же термином тозунг. Таким образом, в номенклатуре соседей нани сохранилось явное воспоминание о трех народностях этой группы, ороков, ольчей и орочей, как о чем-то этнически единых. Добавлю еще, что местные русские ороков просто называют орочонами, термином, вынесенным из Забайкалья по отношению к местным оленеводам.

Ольча (живут в низовьях Амура между с. Богородским и Нижнетамбовским). Большинство родов гольдского происхождения. Сами себя называют нани. Тунгусы, орочи, негда называют их маму (амурские), гольды зовут их хыдье, хыдзыи, хыдени (хыде — вниз по реке), амурские гиляки — оруыр, т. е. так же, как сахалинские гиляки зовут ороков. Сами себя они ольча не называют; наоборот, они сами и все амурские тунгусы, в том числе и орочи, этим именем называют сахалинских ороков. Есть, правда, на Амуре отдельные роды, носящие это название, например, в сел. Аури живут ульча, в селении Ухта — ульчан-хала. Негидальцы их называют также то игатку (вместе с гольдами), то ольчан — орочон (удыhэ) с двумя косами. Они называют негидальцев буркá, орочá (на Удыhи), хынгуни; гольдов — гольды или гогды (на Хунгари) — с резаным (бритым) лбом, по Сунгари — солэни (солэ — вверх по реке). Интересно, что люлька у ольчей гиляцкая (через женщин — жен из гилячек).

Орочи. Сами себя называют нани, нане. Ороча и орочи — их называют амурские ольчи, и потому перед русскими они себя называют ороча и орочон. Гиляки низовьев Амура зовут их тозунг — так же как ороков. Оманьчжурившуюся более южную ветвь от Ботчи и Самарги, а также живущих по рекам Бикину, Хору, Хунгари их соседи называют кеха, кера или тазы, также — хыдье. Гольды (в сел. Чельцы) зовут их намука, а живущих по Хунгари и дальше — кекар. В сел. Сусу их всех без различия называют намука. Живущие по Анюю называют себя удлэ. По словам орочей их язык и язык ольчей и гольдов почти не отличается. Ольчи и орочи коптят рыбу, а гольды приготовляют ее как гиляки. Лыжи у орочей тунгусские, юрты — гиляцкие.

Гольды. Сами себя называют нани; «верхних», живущих вверх до Хабаровска, называют солибини (сел. Чельцы, Сусу); живущих выше Хабаровска, по Уссури и Сунгари, называют

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

акiані (сел. Сусу); нижних — хыйбини (с. Чельцы), хыдзени (с. Сусу) или хыдзыри (торгонские вознесенских); мариинских (ольчей) они зовут хыдзе. Орочей приморских (с. Чельцы) или всех (сел. Сусу) гольды зовут намука; живущих по Хунгари и дальше — кекар (с. Чельцы); тунгусов — килыр; китайцев — накй, маньчжуров — манцзо, корейцев— гауле (с. Сусу). Негидальцы зовут гольдов (от Б.-Михайловского до Хабаровска) игатку («нерезанных», не бреющих лба) и гольдых («резанных», бритых); игатку негидальцы зовут также ольчей. Ольчи зовут гольдов — гольды или гогды (хунгарийских) или солэни (сунгарийских). Гиляки амурские зовут их toh, ядгу.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ГИЛЯКИ

ГИЛЯКИ. СОЦИАЛЬНАЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ ГИЛЯКОВ. — МАТЕРИАЛЫ ПО ЭТНОГРАФИИ АМУРСКИХ ГИЛЯКОВ. МАТЕРИАЛЫ ПО ЭТНОГРАФИИ САХАЛИНСКИХ ГИЛЯКОВ — САХАЛИНСКИЕ ГИЛЯКИ.

Г И Л Я К И

12

I.

ТЕРРИТОРИЯ. ИЗОЛИРОВАННОСТЬ В ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОМ ОТНОШЕНИИ. ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЕ.

Маленькое племя гиляков, численность которого в настоящее время не превышает 4½ тыс. душ, разбросано на огромной территории всей северной половины острова Сахалина и соседнего материкового побережья, почти равномерно распределяясь между этими обоими районами.

На Сахалине они занимают всю береговую линию западного берега от м. Сахкотан до северной оконечности м. Марии, затем на восточном берегу — от м. Левенштерна до м. Делиль-де-ля-Кроснера, наконец, внутри острова они занимают верхнее и среднее течение единственной значительной реки Сев. Сахалина, р. Тыми.

На юге Сахалина, в низовьях р. Пороная и по берегам залива Терпения, среди чужеплеменных им айнов и ороков, затерялось несколько десятков представителей гиляцкого племени, которые очень недавно только (за последние 30 лет) по случайным причинам переселились в чуждую им территорию.

На материке гиляки занимают оба берега низовьев Амура вплоть до сел. Гери, затем берега амурского лимана и морского побережья: к северу от устья Амура до р. Коль, а к югу от него до реки Чомы. Самой северной границей распространения гиляков может считаться устье Тугура, куда, впрочем, только крайне редко гиляки отправляются на промыслы, не имея там постоянного жительства.

Судя по тем немногим историческим данным, которые имеются об Амурском крае, границы гиляцкой оседлости остались неизменными в течение последних 2½ веков.

Наибольшая густота населения обнаруживается в районах, наиболее обильных рыбой, каковы: берега Амура и его лимана [селения: Коль (196 чел.), Лангр (205), Вайда (184), Маго (154) и др.], на западном берегу Сахалина пункты: Тамлево, Лыркрыво (144 ч.), Вискиво (116), Ныур (103), Нянниво, и на охотском берегу: сел. Чайво, Ныйво и др.

Границы гиляцкой территории в высшей степени характерны.

Стоит только взглянуть на этнографическую карту Приамурского края, чтобы убедиться, что крошечное племя гиляков окружено со всех сторон сплошным кольцом чуждых ему народностей. На Сахалине с юга налегают на него айны, племя некогда столь многочисленное, что занимало весь японский архипелаг. На материке со всех сторон понадвинулись к нему представители великого маньчжурского племени, тунгусские народности: негда, ольчи (по моей терминологии — амурские нани), гольды, орочи, самагиры, собственно тунгусы. И даже в самое сердце гиляцкой оседлости, на восточном берегу Сахалина, врезалось густой массой тунгусское племя ороков (по моей терминологии — сахалинские нани).

Естественнее всего напрашивается мысль о племенном родстве гиляков либо с айну, либо с их тунгусскими соседями. Наружное сходство в значительной степени как будто подтверждает эту мысль. Но мы увидим далее, что физиономическая близость этих племен ничего общего не имеет с единством их происхождения, между тем самый важный и, быть может, единственный признак племенной общности, язык, дает в данном случае категорическое отрицательное показание. Язык гиляков не имеет ничего общего ни по своему лексикону и фонетике, ни по грамматическому строю с языками соседних племен; да и на всем материке Азии мы не знаем пока ни одного языка, который мог бы претендовать на близость его с гиляцким.

Не одни гиляки находятся в таком изолированном положении на северо-востоке Азии. В таком же положении находятся айну, юкагиры, чукчи, коряки. Их даже пытались соединить в одну общую группу палеоазиатов (Шренк), но основание этой классификации — чисто внешнего характера, а именно: общее их окраинное положение и вытекающая отсюда вероятность того, что эти некогда многочисленные народы с течением времени были частью истреблены, частью вытеснены новейшими пришельцами из внутренних частей материка на окраины Азии. Но не вся надежда потеряна к отысканию генетической близости между гиляками и другими племенами. Уже давно высказывались гипотезы об общности происхождения народностей тихоокеанского побережья Азии с племенами С. Америки. Мои собственные исследования языка гиляков убедили меня, что эта гипотеза может найти в конце концов полное подтверждение. Не говоря уже о близости в *общем строе* языков гиляцкого и многих американских, каковы слияние местоимений с глаголами и именами, тен-

денция к полисинтетизму, крайняя подвижность фонетических изменений, типы удвоений и т. д. и т. д., мы можем указать на такие сближения в частностях, которые чрезвычайно характерны. Такова, напр., общая им всем в высшей степени своеобразная классовая система числительных, по которой отдельные классы предметов комбинируются исключительно с им одним только свойственными числительными, система, не имеющая себе ничего подобного, насколько мне известно, ни в одном из языков азиатского материка... Но все это задача будущего, быть может, очень близкого.

Пока же не выяснен даже еще вопрос более легкий, вопрос о древности позиций, занимаемых в настоящее время гиляками. Единственный до настоящего времени авторитет в этнологии туземцев Приамурского края, покойный академик Шренк, на основании трех заимствованных гиляками у тунгусских племен названий зверей (лося, козули и барсука), водящихся в низовьях Амура и отсутствующих на Сахалине, утверждал, что первоначальной родиной гиляков был о. Сахалин и что, во всяком случае, нынешние материковые гиляки являются потомками переселенцев с Сахалина. Мнение его основано на чистом недоразумении. Упомянутые три вида животных в действительности крайне редко встречаются на территории гиляков на Амуре и, наоборот, очень часто на территории их тунгусских соседей: гольдов, ольчей, орочей, самагиров, так что нет ничего удивительного в том, что тунгусские названия получили распространение у гиляков, но если даже, быть может, во времена Шренка упомянутые животные несколько чаще попадались там, то это могло быть только делом простой случайности. Часто бывает, что экстраординарные причины, в роде появления нового сильного врага, заставляют тех или иных животных спасаться бегством в отдаленные от обычной их территории места; но такие явления не доказывают еще, что новая территория, на которой появились случайно эти животные, была исконным их местожительством. А насколько, вообще, заключение Шренка убедительно, можно видеть из того, что тигр совсем не водится на Сахалине и очень редко заходит на территорию гиляков на Амуре, и тем не менее гиляки, как сахалинские, так и амурские, имеют для него свое собственное название «клунд».

Все, наоборот, говорит за то, что на Сахалине именно гиляки являются пришельцами, сменившими или вытеснившими своих ближайших предшественников — айну. Начнем с лингвистиче-

ских данных. До сих пор гиляки называют деревья и некоторых морских животных, отсутствующих на материке, аинскими терминами, каковы: нистань (клен), тармань (тис), нугучеп (морская свинка?) и другие. Далее, мы имеем еще более объективные доказательства тому, что во всяком случае не гиляки были древнейшими аборигенами острова. По всей территории гилякской оседлости на о. Сахалине вплоть до северных оконечностей его встречаются остатки древних землянок в виде круглых, более или менее обширных ям, при раскопке которых я находил черепки горшков и орудия каменного века. Эти ямки гиляки называют не иначе как кугі-тулькч (аинские ямки), название, довольно ясно указывающее на то, что первоначальными обитателями гиляки считают айнов. Находимые в этих ямках орудия каменного века и черепки гиляки принимают за произведение рук богов (черепки горшков, напр., считаются ими горшками небесного человека, случайно уронившего их), между тем как известно, что каменный век на крайнем северо-востоке Азии не настолько отдален от современной эпохи, чтобы гиляки, не будь они позднейшими пришельцами, не сохранили об этом периоде самостоятельных традиций. Интересно, что и айну, в свою очередь, упорно отрекаются от этих древних ямок, находимых и на их собственной территории на южном Сахалине, приписывая их другому народу, мифическим тоньчам. Черепки горшков, находимые в этих землянках, они, подобно гилякам, считают чем-то божественным и отличным лекарством, например, от зубной боли. В действительности, эти ямки едва ли могли принадлежать аинам или гилякам, потому что если бы и те и другие некогда были знакомы с гончарным искусством, то они никогда и не потеряли бы его. Знай они когда-либо это искусство, оно отразилось бы в их преданиях, сохранивших еще более древнее воспоминание о примитивном способе кипячения воды посредством раскаленных камней.

По самой форме своей, по крупности размеров, по необычному расположению и приспособленности для самозащиты, эти ямки скорее напоминают большие ямки эскимосов, чем современные землянки гиляков и айнов. Как бы там ни было, гиляки, застав на Сахалине айнов, естественно должны были предположить, что эти древние ямки принадлежат айнам, и гилякский термин кугі-тулькч (аинские ямки) с достаточной убедительностью говорит за то, что не гиляки были аборигенами Сахалина.

Эти объективные данные о первобытных обитателях острова подтверждаются многочисленными легендами о кровавых войнах пришельцев с айнами, которых, по образному выражению гиляков, в момент появления последних на острове, даже на охотском берегу, «как комаров» много было.

Наконец, многие роды гиляков на самом далеком севере считают своими предками айнов, о которых у них сохранились самые яркие и многочисленные предания, мною тщательно записанные.

Итак, бесспорно, что на Сахалине гиляки являются сравнительно поздними пришельцами. Но есть много оснований думать, что и территория, занимаемая ныне гиляками на *материке*, не может считаться особенно древней, что, как это ни может показаться странным, в нынешнюю территорию свою гиляки явились из более северных стран, более близких к арктической полосе. Действительно, некоторые особенности гиляцкого быта представляют яркое переживание периода пребывания под более холодным небом. Самым типичным доказательством этого рода является переживание, касающееся их зимнего жилища — землянки. Гиляцкая землянка устроена по типу камчадальской. Но в то время как в камчадальской юрте, в виду суровости арктической зимы, двери не имеется и роль последней играет дымовое отверстие, у гиляков, благодаря сравнительно меньшей суровости зимы, землянка имеет уже сени, из которых низкая выдвижная дверь ведет в юрту.

Между тем бывает момент, когда дымовое отверстие в гиляцкой юрте вновь играет роль двери, как у камчадалов. Это именно в дни медвежьего праздника, когда оживают из тьмы тысячелетий отдаленнейшие отголоски глубочайшей древности, когда с благоговейной строгостью соблюдается ритуал, не изменявшийся в течение десятков веков. Тогда возрождается воспоминание о дымовом отверстии, служившем некогда единственным входом в юрту: *через это отверстие*, по специально для этого случая вставляемому шесту, спускается гиляк со шкурой и мясом убитого на празднике медведя. Через дымовое же отверстие, по окончании праздника, все ритуальные принадлежности, равно как и кости медведя, выносятся из юрты. Нарушение этого обряда считается величайшим грехом. Те гиляки, которые переняли маньчжурскую юрту, где дымового отверстия вовсе нет, вынуждены в дни празднества, несмотря на февральскую стужу, открывать свои окна из рыбьей кожи, чтобы этим экстраординарным

путем внести и вынести священные реликвии и этим хоть приблизительно исполнить древний обряд. Что указанный нами факт есть действительное *бытовое переживание*, ярко доказывается тем, что самые понятия «входить» и «выходить» из юрты выражаются по-гиляцки словами, буквально означающими «нырнуть» и «вынырнуть» (кузіґд и іугынд), что вполне соответствует способу входа и выхода через дымовое отверстие.

О других сторонах арктического быта я сейчас распространяться не буду. Упомяну только о том замечательном факте, что езда на собаках (ее мы встречаем у юкагиров, чукчей, эскимосов, алеутов, коряков, камчадалов), — бесспорно характерная особенность чисто арктического быта, — у туземцев Приамурского края, айнов, гольдов, орочей, заимствована от гиляков. Гиляцкий термин «ту» — нарты стал достоянием как айнов, так и тунгусских племен. Приоритет, так сказать, гиляков в этом отношении ярко обнаруживается во всем. Айну и тунгусские племена (гольды, орочи) переняли от гиляков не только термин и принцип передвижения на собаках, но и детали устройства нарт, способы сидения на нартах (верхом, с ногами на лыжах по сторонам нарт), запряжки собак и управление ими. Замечательно, что у чукчей оленных, у которых собаководство сохранилось только в преданиях, до сих пор сохранился гиляцкий способ сидения на нартах (верхом). Этот же способ сидения был в обыкновении и у камчадалов.

В связи с этой гипотезой интересно сопоставить следующее, весьма распространенное предание.

Среди многочисленных преданий, собранных мною о происхождении гиляцких родов, многократно встречалось предание о том, что тот или иной род явился на Сахалине на так называемом «ḥовых»'е. Под «ḥовых»'ом же гиляки подразумевают все, несущееся по течению реки или моря, главным образом, оторвавшиеся от берега глыбы суши или тундренного торфа, также льдины, несущиеся по течению морскому. Один из таких ḥовых'ов еще и теперь показывают на восточном берегу Сахалина в заливе Ныйво, где он образовал крошечный островок против с. Такрво. На этом ḥовых'е явилась будто бы часть рода, поныне живущего в с. Танках на западном берегу. Передвижение на ḥовых'е не представляет ничего невозможного. Нередко случается, что во время весенней охоты на тюленей внезапно поднявшийся ураган разделяет сомкнувшиеся льдины и уносит отдельные глыбы вместе с застигнутыми на них промышленниками в

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

открытое море, выбрасывая их часто на берег, далеко от места их жительства. Нередко также можно видеть несущимися по морским волнам оторванные штормами от прибрежных тундр огромные глыбы торфа, на которых могли бы поместиться десятки людей. У айнов, во время междоусобий, когда у кого-нибудь являлась экстренная необходимость уйти от преследований, существовал обычай, по которому преследуемый бесстрашно переносил свою семью вместе с лодкой на случайно плывущий мимо «hовых», укреплял на нем священный шест с заструженными языками и предавал свою судьбу произволу ветра или течения.

Теперь, если принять во внимание, что вдоль обоих берегов Сахалина и материкового побережья проходят течения с севера, течения, несущие льдины почти до июля месяца, то можно с большим или меньшим вероятием допустить, что легендарные hовых'ы могли служить тем естественным путем, по которому отдельные искатели приключений или изгнанники передвигались с севера на юг, и далее, не трудно уже представить себе, как постепенно эти передвижения достигли крайних южных пределов нынешней гиляцкой оседлости. Еще на наших почти глазах, со времен Миддендорфа, северная граница постоянной оседлости гиляков спустилась с устьев Тугура до устьев р. Коль.

Но не следует представлять себе, что переселение гиляков в нынешнюю их территорию — дело очень близкой нам исторической эпохи. За последние 2½ века мы имеем положительные сведения о неизменности границ гиляцкой территории, а предания гиляков об острове и материковом побережье рисуют это племя совершенно сроднившимся с его нынешней родиной, а такое сродство у первобытных народов совершается долгим процессом многих и многих веков, быть-может, тысячелетий.

Не могу при этом случае не упомянуть про один характерный факт, так или иначе характеризующий способы мышления самих гиляков в вопросе о родстве их с другими племенами.

Во время пребывания моего в 1893 г. в селении Лангр на небольшом островке, лежащем против материкового побережья, я разговорился с одним старым гиляком, современником Невельского и Орлова, первых деятелей в низовьях Амура. И не мало я был изумлен, когда во время беседы, вспоминая деятелей Русско-американской компании, которым мой собеседник в свое время оказывал услуги, он вдруг заметил: «Однако, я так думаю, что гиляки и алеуты одной породы». Оказалось, что известного моряка Орлова, служившего в Русско-американской компании,

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

сопровождал алеут, с которым моему гиляку приходилось помногу беседовать; и вот, после взаимных рассказов об обычаях и образе жизни их соплеменников, между прочим, о медвежьем празднике, они оба вынесли заключение, что гиляки и алеуты — к а л ь-н я х р (один народ). Конечно, подобные примитивные заключения сами по себе не могут иметь большого значения для разрешения вопроса, но, в связи с другими соображениями об арктическом происхождении гиляков, это наивное свидетельство гиляка является, во всяком случае, характерным.

Таким образом, язык, археологические данные, переживания в особенностях быта, предания дают возможность несколько приподнять завесу далекого прошлого гиляцкого племени. Зато чисто антропологические данные не могут играть никакой роли в интересующем нас вопросе. В антропологическом отношении гиляки меньше всего представляют что-либо оригинальное. Специфического типа гиляцкого не существует. Средний тип гиляка представляет в настоящее время комплекс обыкновенных, хотя несколько смягченных монгольских черт с отклонением, с одной стороны, к тунгусскому, с другой — к аинскому типу. В аинском типе, как еще заметил Ш р е н к, лицо более или менее овальное, лоб прямой, скуластость умеренная, косоглазие очень незначительное, или совсем отсутствует, нос более или менее длинный, спинка носа с выгибом, растительность на лице обильная. В тунгусском типе, наоборот, монгольские черты выражены в полной резкости. В женских типах тунгусские черты преобладают. Вот все, что дают нам наблюдения над физическими особенностями гиляка. Между тем другие факты и соображения дают нам полное основание думать, что древний тип гиляка окончательно погиб, потонув в более сильных недрах соседних племен. Но это произошло не совсем обычным путем, не путем постепенной метисизации с соседними племенами посредством междуплеменных браков, что было бы совсем не так удивительно, а совершенно особенным, крайне поучительным образом.

Переписывая гиляков, я тщательно собирал сведения и предания о происхождении каждого рода в отдельности. Изучение этих данных привело меня к странному выводу, что основателями громадного большинства ныне существующих родов были не гиляки, а представители соседних племен. Как это могло произойти? Это обычное явление и теперь, что отдельные личности по тем или другим причинам покидают свое родное племя и, убегая от преследований или неудач на родине, ищут убежища сре-

ди соседнего чуждого племени... Здесь они находят традиционное гостеприимство, оседают, женятся (обыкновенно на вдове) и этим самым адоптируются в тот или иной род, принимая, естественно, язык и обычаи приютившего их племени. Потомство этих пришельцев образует обыкновенно либо самостоятельные роды, либо особые ветви принявших их родов. И вот история гиляцких родов показывает, что эти роды пришельцев или ветви родов, основанных ими, с течением времени неизменно увеличивались в своем составе и стойко выживали, между тем как старые роды или старейшие ветви рода хирели и в течение нескольких поколений вымирали. Самые сочные, цветущие и многочисленные роды — потомки именно пришельцев. Лежит ли тут причина в том, что пришельцы и изгнанники представляют естественный подбор исключительно энергичных и жизнеспособных индивидов, или это результат скрещивания, но факт этот не подлежит сомнению; я встречался с ним не у одних гиляков.

И в результате переписи гиляков я с недоумением спрашивал себя: если на протяжении длинного ряда веков неизменно происходил приток свежих иноплеменных элементов, приток, усугубленный покупкой жен и невольниц у айнов и гольдов, и если при этом пришельцы плодились и размножались, а коренные вырождались и вымирали, то что же осталось от коренного типа первоначального гиляцкого племени? Да, этот первоначальный тип исчез безвозвратно. Тело гиляцкого племени умерло навсегда, но дух его жив, жив в его языке, языке, который, как мы сказали, стоит совершенно одиноко среди сонма языков азиатского материка, и в его своеобразных обычаях и учреждениях, которые пережили на ряду с языком все превратности его физических превращений. Стойкое сохранение языка поразительно. Он не только уберег себя от искажения иноплеменными корнями и формами, но сохранил, при ничтожном составе племени, два больших диалекта и не менее 5-6 поддиалектов, свидетельствующих о том, что было время, когда на гиляцком языке говорили многие десятки, быть-может, сотни тысяч индивидов, разбросанных по обширной территории и оставивших нам в доказательство своего существования многочисленные свои топонимы.

Но не только язык гиляцкого племени продолжает свидетельствовать об изолированном положении его среди окружающих народностей; об этом ярко свидетельствуют и его социальные учреждения, родовая организация, религия и, в особенности, ин-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ститут брака, удивительно своеобразные нормы полового общения и столь же удивительная родственная номенклатура. Но прежде чем перейти к этой стороне жизни, мы в самых кратких чертах коснемся внешних условий жизни, окружающей природы и наружного облика гиляков.

II.

ОКРУЖАЮЩИЙ МИР. ТИП. ВНЕШНИЙ БЫТ.

Природа, среди которой живут в настоящее время эти люди, полна величайших контрастов. Несмотря на южные широты (между 46° и 54½° с. ш.), средняя годовая температура в некоторых местах падает до — 1,2°. Замерзание ртути внутри острова обыкновенное явление. Даже в июле бывают minimum'ы в 7,7°. У северных берегов Сахалина и на восточном побережье еще в июле плавают льды. На горах снег начинает таять в июне, и в некоторых местах за целое лето не успевает растаять. На уровне моря нередко встречается вечный лед. В 1893 г. я совершенно случайно нашел на маленьком островке, против с. Виск-во, под тонким слоем песку, на самом уровне моря, огромную полосу вечного льда, напоминающего по строению и размерам огромный глетчер, который мог быть занесен сюда холодным течением.

Зимой периодически целыми днями свирепствуют северо-западные ураганы, производящие страшные снежные пурги. А летом туманы, дожди... Мрачная страна! Субарктическая флора и даже более южная флора возвышенных мест сменяется настоящей арктической в низинах, открытых ветрам и ледяному дыханию холодных течений. Суровостью своей климат этой страны обязан холодному течению и опустошительным северо-западным ветрам, которые с силой урагана дуют с периодической правильностью, побивая и охлаждая все на своем пути. Вот почему места, защищенные от этих ветров и суровых морских туманов, представляют разительный контраст с низинами и открытыми местами по богатству флоры и мягкости пейзажа. В долинах, лежащих внутри острова или вообще защищенных, вы встречаете мягкие пейзажи с тополями, вязами, дубами, даже тисами, грецкими орехами, богатейшим ковром цветов, гигантскими спиреями, ожиками и т. д., и на некоторых склонах даже виноград.

Но по мере движения с Vilis nyae Thunbergii вы встретите Сеньга [illegible] и говорливой арктической флоры.

По рельефу о. Сахалин — почти сплошная горная страна с меридиональными цепями, расходящимися бесчисленными отрогами во все стороны, образуя бесконечную массу пиков, конусов, утесов и мысов. Не возвышаясь в среднем более чем на 3000—4000 ф. над уровнем моря, горы эти, во многих местах до позднего лета покрытые снегом, оказывают огромное охлаждающее действие на климат страны. Причудливые очертания гор, суровых и мощных, мысы и утесы, лобзаемые бурунами и обвеваемые ураганами; дремучая тайга из ели и лиственницы, покрывающих все возвышенные места, где бродят их естественные обитатели — медведи; мощные ветры, творящие адские пурги и разрушительные ураганы; море, вечно бурное, кишащее великанами и морскими чудовищами; туманы и вечно обложенное свинцовыми тучами небо — вот те окружающие условия, которые могучими штрихами вписали свои черты в психику и мировоззрение гиляка, условия, которые вместе с чертами суровости вписали черты бодрости и мужества в душевный склад обитателя сурового острова.

Из зверей, окружающих гиляка, наиболее важную роль играет медведь, самое сильное и страшное животное его тайги. В главе о религии я буду подробно говорить о влиянии этого животного на всю религиозную психику гиляков. Теперь я хочу указать только на роль этого животного в борьбе за существование туземцев. Если б это животное было так же агрессивно, как, например, бенгальские тигры, то, при крайнем его изобилии, первобытному человеку почти невозможно было бы жить в этих местах. Но северный медведь отличается кротостью, кажущейся почти невероятной. В первые годы пребывания моего на Сахалине стада поселенцев паслись рядом с медведями, и поселенческие бабы не раз во время собирания ягод сталкивались бок о бок со своими косолапыми конкурентами, и если медведь в этих случаях вел себя иногда не совсем по-джентльменски, то это выражалось лишь в том, что он толкнет, бывало, бабу, если та случайно задела его котелком или ведром. Во время моих путешествий мне не раз приходилось устраиваться на ночлег в местах, кишевших медведями, и не раз приходилось, лежа в палатке, слышать тяжелые шаги Михайла Потапыча, полюбопытствовавшего осмотреть наш табор...

О физическом типе гиляка я уже говорил кое-что. Общего типа гиляцкого не существует. Он колеблется между резкими монгольскими чертами тунгусского типа и благообразными смяг-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ченными чертами аинского типа. Поэтому-то так часто встречаются среди гиляков субъекты, которых трудно отличить от настоящих тунгусов, и в то же время такие, которые поражают почти европейскими чертами. Последние, впрочем, встречаются значительно реже. Только в женщинах и детях монгольские черты выражены особенно резко.

Гиляки обыкновенно среднего роста (гораздо выше тунгусов), но попадаются и субъекты выше среднего; они коренасты, плотны, но никогда вы не встретите среди них тучных. Голова пропорционально большая; плато-брахоцефалический череп оброс черными волосами, которые спускаются вдоль спины у мужчин одной косой, а у женщин двумя. Цвет лица смуглый, грязноватый. В молодости на лице румянец кирпично-розового оттенка. Губы толстые; зубы темно-желтого цвета (от курения). Оконечности рук и ног поразительно маленькие.

Гиляков всегда рисовали угрюмыми, мрачными, нелюдимыми, и им противопоставляли всегда мягкое выражение лица айнов. Я нахожу этот отзыв несправедливым. Если в гиляках есть черты угрюмости, то они чисто внешнего происхождения и вызваны справедливым недоверием к иноземцам, причинившим им не мало зла. Я лично много сталкивался с этим племенем и вынес убеждение, что угрюмость гиляка чисто внешнего свойства. Под этой угрюмой внешностью скрывается мягкая натура, способная глубоко привязываться, быть экспансивной и доверчивой. Благодаря своей экспансивности гиляк способен на быстрые перемены настроения. Угрюмое выражение лица, выведенное из сосредоточенности малейшим толчком извне, в один миг озаряется выражением самого наивного добродушия или загорается страшным огнем гнева. Гиляк обыкновенно медлителен в движениях, важен у себя дома, когда он разыгрывает роль хозяина, но суетлив и деятелен в моменты веселья и оживления, когда речь его льется бурным потоком из переполненной груди.

Женщина на вид более угрюма, чем мужчина. Вечно с опущенными глазами, медленная в движениях, она сразу производит впечатление запуганного существа. Но не такова она в действительности. Стоит ей заговорить с вами, и в ее искусственно-мурмурированном произношении, во вкрадчиво-ласкающей интонации и тембре голоса, в ее улыбке и плутоватом смеющемся взгляде вы узнаете настоящую дочь Евы, для которой внешняя суровость лишь маска, скрывающая натуру, которая познает страсти.

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Зимняя одежда гиляков, как мужчин, так и женщин, состоит из шубы из собачьих шкур, мехом наружу, из таких же меховых наголенников и сапог из тюленьей кожи китайского покроя. Мужчины, кроме того, носят юбки из тюленьей кожи, спускающиеся от пояса до колен, но не ради самоукрашения, а для предохранения шубы от истирания и порчи при сидении на льду, снегу и т. д. Зимний костюм очень эффектен. Затянутый в талии в черную собачью шубу, на темном фоне которой мягко выделяется нежно-серая юбка из шкур молодых тюленей, в сапогах с узкими носками, изящно сшитыми, в шапке из лисьих лапок с наушниками, в меховых перчатках, закрывающих рукава, — гиляк производит изящное молодцеватое впечатление.

Летом национальный костюм гиляка (ныне совсем выходящий из употребления) составляет армяк из рыбьих кож, отороченный по краям узорами. В последнее время в ходу летняя одежда из цветной дабы или американской дрели. Женская летняя одежда гораздо эффектнее: легкие развевающиеся платья из цветных привозных материй, преимущественно красного цвета, с красивыми узорами по краям, обшитые ракушками и побрякушками, позванивающими при малейшем движении. Только большие совсем не подходящие к росту и размерам ноги сапоги, туго набитые сеном, заменяющим чулки, портят легкость фигуры женщины, придавая ей тяжелый, неуклюжий вид.

Теперь несколько слов о материальных условиях жизни гиляков. Замечательное дело! То самое условие, которое оказывает столь фатальное действие на природу Сахалина, именно, северное холодное течение, это гибельное условие создало возможность человеческого существования в этой суровой стране. Это оно приносит в определенные сезоны с астрономической точностью те сонмы лососей и другой ходовой рыбы, которые переполняют все реки и речки до такой степени, что возможно добывать рыбу в любом количестве посредством простой заостренной палки, способ, к которому мне самому приходилось прибегать в голодные промежутки своих путешествий. Это обилие рыбы и легкость добывания ее и объясняет нам тот странный факт, что в этой суровой стране возможно было существование первобытного человека в очень отдаленное время, как красноречиво свидетельствуют следы произведенных раскопок. Действительно, и поныне эта ходовая рыба служит основой существования гиляка и его единственных домашних животных, собак. Наловленная и вывяленная на солнце рыба десятками тысяч штук

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складывается в свайные амбары и в буквальном смысле слова заменяет гиляку хлеб в течение долгой зимы. Свежая стационарная рыба, которую он ловит круглый год, является только дополнением к этому хлебу насущному из консервов лосося. Несметные стаи ходовой рыбы питают не одного гиляка. За стаями рыб идут вслед не меньшие стаи всех видов ластоногих и китообразных, гоняясь за обильным кормом. Ластоногие составляют второй после рыбы источник пропитания гиляка. Ранней весной, с первыми признаками вскрытия льда, изголодавшийся туземец выходит промышлять тюленей, обрадовавшихся возможности подышать свежим воздухом на вскрывшихся льдинах.

В местах удобных промышляют этих животных и круглое лето, посредством длиннейшей остроги, пускаемой с лодки. Тюлени, кроме шкур, крайне необходимых в гиляцком хозяйстве, дают еще запасы жира, который служит как приправой к твердой юколе, так и самостоятельным пищевым продуктом, крайне важным для жизни гиляка. Действие жира на организм туземца поразительно. Вот исход зимы. Изголодавшийся гиляк, если его не свалила цынга, еле бродит, но стоит только появиться тюленю, как он моментально преображается. С жадностью набрасывается он на вытопленный жир, пьет его во всех видах, с чаем, с рыбой и даже в чистом виде, и через несколько дней он становится неузнаваемым: щеки делаются розовыми, тело полнеет, и бодрость сказывается в каждом его движении.

Осенью, после окончания хода рыбы, наступает деятельный и веселый сезон охоты. Медведи в изобилии спускаются к берегам речек полакомиться лососем, и гиляк подстерегает их ружьем и копьем. Каждый убитый медведь — повод к общественным празднествам и торжествам. Не успел еще окончиться сезон рыбы и медведя, как соболь оделся в темную шкурку, и пора ловить его. Тут начинается устанавливание петель по переправам через речки и устройство западней. Это, быть-может, самый оригинальный сезон в многосторонней годовой деятельности гиляка. На несколько недель он уходит из дому, забирается к своей наследственной собольей речке караулить драгоценных зверьков. Днем он обходит свои ловушки и западни, попутно стреляя птицу и всякого попадающегося зверя, а на ночь забирается в балаганчик. В этом балаганчике приходится ему переживать тяжелые минуты. Здесь, в дикой тайге, среди мраки ночи, безмолвия пустыни или гула пурги, одинокому дикарю, ютящемуся около своего крошечного очага или тщетно пытающемуся согреть-

ся при температуре замерзания ртути, всякий шорох, всякий странный звук, треск дерева, вой ветра, стон ночной птицы, наконец, галлюцинации его собственного напуганного воображения, рисуют во всей их страшной реальности все ужасы гиляцкой демонологии. Черти и людоеды всех стихий в образе гиляка являются к нему, чтобы причинить ему гибель. А тут страшное изнурение после трудов, недостаток провизии — все это усугубляет ужас положения, принося болезни, а нередко и смерть. Но не одни ужасы и невзгоды сулит охота на соболя. Удачный лов, веселая компания, торжественное возвращение домой с добычей, рассказы о пережитом — все это с избытком вознаграждает исстрадавшегося охотника. Но в общем гиляк не охотник. Охота с собакой ему незнакома, рискованные поиски медведей, до которых тунгусы такие охотники, не привлекают гиляка. Он ихтиофаг по преимуществу, и кто-то очень верно выразился о нем, что он живет frutti di mare.

Зимние месяцы самые веселые в году. Запасы рыбы еще не истощились; на выручку с добычи запасен чай, табак, рис и буда, о будущем же гиляк мало заботится. Начинается бесконечная езда в гости, слушание сказочников по ночам, а с февраля наступают медвежьи праздники, самые радостные дни в жизни гиляка. Но к марту начинают уже сказываться результаты зимней расточительности, и наступают тяжелые дни голодовок, а иногда и цынги, уносящей десятки цветущих жизней. Весной, с тюленями и первой ходовой рыбой, корюшкой, селедкой, гиляк опять оживает, и в течение летних месяцев, в ожидании осеннего лова, снова начинаются поездки в гости и dolce far niente.

Заговорив о гостях, не могу не упомянуть о своеобразном торжественном блюде и излюбленном предмете угощения у гиляков — так называемом «мось». Оно приготовляется из клейкого отвара рыбьих кож, тюленьего жира, ягод, рису, иногда с прибавлением накрошенной юколы. Все это перемешивается и остуживается. Иногда для цвета и вкуса прибавляют к смеси раствор белой глины. Отваренные рыбьи кожи без всякой брезгливости выжимаются в корыто грязными руками гилячек, а крошенная юкола для большей пикантности растирается зубами и вместе со слюной выплевывается в блюдо...

Внешняя обстановка гиляка крайне незатейлива. Только в некоторых местах, ближайших к Амуру, гиляки переняли тип зимних жилищ маньчжурского типа, жилищ, впрочем, тоже довольно примитивных. По форме это — это большие сараи, сло-

женные из накатника, в которых на полу вдоль всех стен проложены огромные каменные или деревянные, обмазанные глиной трубы, соединенные отверстиями с топкой. Поверх труб настланы нары, постоянно согреваемые теплом от труб. Дым из печек выходит через подземный ход в высокую вертикальную трубу, подымающуюся прямо с поверхности земли. Роль этой трубы, напоминающей в миниатюре наши фабричные, играет дуплистое дерево. Посередине юрты — высокий четырехугольный помост, на который выпускают своры собак, когда их собираются кормить. Более первобытная юрта — это землянка, наполовину сидящая в земле и крытая сводом из накатника, обмазанного глиной и посыпанного землей. Вход из сеней — через низкую дверь по нескольким ступенькам. В середине — очаг, окруженный проходами между нар; над очагом дымовое отверстие. Зимой даже в юртах первого типа бывает иногда так холодно, что ртуть в термометре замерзает, а при малейшем ветре юрта наполняется дымом. Спят на нарах головой к очагу, на шкурах или ватных подстилках; под головой — валикообразные подушки, набитые волосом или перьями. Любимая поза гиляка — либо сидеть по-турецки, либо валяться, растянувшись на наре. В глубине нар расставлены ящики с драгоценностями, китайскими шелками, халатами, дорогими копьями, мехами и прочими вещами, которые играют роль в торжественные минуты жизни: когда справляют дорогого покойника в далекий путь, в селение мертвых; когда снабжают дочь приданым, отправляя ее в дом мужа; когда необходимо уплатить выкуп по делам мести, либо заплатить калым за невесту, купленную для сына или брата и в тому подобных случаях.

Летнее жилище — шалаш, прямо поставленный на земле, или свайная постройка из накатника.

Оружие гиляка составляет лук, уже начинающий, впрочем, выходить из употребления, копье с длинным наконечником, часто украшенным искусной серебряной инкрустацией, и, с недавнего времени, ружье, с которым он уже вполне освоился. Кроме того, заслуживают упоминания самострелы разных видов и острога на морских животных, укрепляемая на длиннейшем, в несколько метров, составном древке.

Средствами передвижения служат зимой — нарты, летом — лодки. Гиляцкие собачьи нарты — в своем роде верх совершенства. Имея в длину около двух метров, в вышину и в ширину около 30 см, составленные из тоненьких березовых брусков с

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

легким переплетом в сидении, они так легки, что их без всякого труда поднимаешь одной рукой, и в то же время они настолько прочны, что выносят тяжесть в одну четверть тонны; по эластичности и прочности с ними может поспорить разве только древняя камчадальская нарта.

Перевернутые полозьями кверху, они представляют форму приплюснутого сегмента, касающегося земли самой малой частью своей поверхности. Благодаря малой поверхности трения, они очень легки на ходу, удобопереносимы в трудных местах, а на укатанной дороге и особенно по льду скользят, как лучшие английские коньки. Способ управления ими очень оригинален. В виду их крайне малой ширины, они очень неустойчивы и при малейшей неровности теряют равновесие. Поэтому управляющий нартами сидит верхом на них и держит ноги не на полозьях, а на лыжах, которые скользят вдоль нарт. Расставляя и сдвигая лыжи, гиляк изменяет по мере надобности центр тяжести и придает нартам устойчивость. На местах более или менее крутых, где нартам приходится итти боком, он удерживает их посредством палок с железными наконечниками, втыкаемыми между полозьями и верхней перекладиной. Эти же палки служат тормозами при сильном разбеге. Собак ведет передовик, обыкновенно маленькое невзрачное существо, которое столько же слушается команды вожатого, сколько собственного своего необыкновенного чутья. В минуту опасности, среди бушующей пурги, или поздней весной, среди разбившихся льдин, поверх которых уже выступила вода, возчику остается только положиться на дивный инстинкт своего преданного друга и раба. Хороший передовик стоит от 30 до 50 руб., обыкновенные ездовые собаки от 3 до 8 руб. В нарты богатого человека запрягают 12—13 собак, бедняки довольствуются тремя — пятью.

По типу нарт построена и гиляцкая национальная лодка-долбежка из тополя. Она настолько легка, что мальчуган лет 10—12, единолично, без труда вытаскивает ее на берег шагов на 100 и более. Дно ее имеет такую же сферически приплюснутую поверхность, как у нарты, благодаря чему она сидит неглубоко и проходит в самых мелких местах. Встречая препятствие в виде мели или перешейка между лагунами, гиляк легко ее переносит на себе и затем спускает на воду.

Средства передвижения играют огромную роль в жизни нашего туземца. Гиляк вообще полуоседлый человек. Летом он живет обыкновенно близ реки или моря, на зиму же пересе-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ляется подальше, в более защищенные места, к своим теплым зимникам.

Даже летом, следуя за рыбой, он меняет раза два-три свое местожительство по течению реки. Но кроме этих регулярных перемен местожительства, гиляк нуждается в переездах и по многим другим причинам. К концу зимы, когда выходит корм, он отправляется в далекое странствие на своей нарте за покупной рыбой, а во многих местах (напр., по Тыми) жители отправляются целыми селениями, за несколько сот километров на берег моря, для весенней охоты на тюленей, с тем, чтобы спустя полгода вернуться к осеннему ходу рыбы в свои родные места. Но гиляк любит разъезжать и без серьезных поводов. Ездить в гости и принимать гостей, устраивать праздники и жить на людях — высшее удовольствие гиляка. Угрюмый и суровый в одиночестве, он в обществе преображается, становится игривым, веселым, болтливым.

На севере, в больших юртах маньчжурского типа, живут зимой по 30—40 человек в одной юрте. Тут есть где выработаться социальности, которая и без того коренится в условиях общественного строя гиляков. Но тут мы должны оставить внешнюю сторону жизни гиляка и перейти к внутреннему ее строю, с своеобразными особенностями которого я главным образом имел в виду познакомить читателей.

III.

СИСТЕМА РОДСТВА. НОРМЫ БРАКА И ВЛИЯНИЕ ИХ НА СЕМЕЙНО-РОДОВОЙ СТРОЙ.

Из всех особенностей гиляцкого быта ничто так характерно не выделяет гиляков среди окружающих их народностей, как классификаторская система родства и правила, регулирующие половые отношения и брак. В этом отношении гиляки стоят одинаково далеко как от своих южных соседей айнов, так и от окружающих их тунгусских племен. Айны — единственная народность Приамурского края, у которой сохранились черты материнства. Гиляцкая же семья и род — чисто патриархальные учреждения. Что касается тунгусских племен, то хотя и у них открыта мной классификаторская система родства и черты группового брака, аналогичные с открытыми мною же в 1891 г. у гиляков, но внимательное сравнение этого института у тунгусских племен и у гиляков приводит к заключению, что они

принадлежат к совершенно различным периодам эволюции брака, и хотя они могли влиять друг на друга, но в основе своей принадлежат, выражаясь языком геологии, к различным формациям. Достаточно сказать, что у тунгусских племен допускается половое общение с женами лиц восходящих поколений, например, с женой младшего брата отца, у гиляков же это считается кровосмешением.

С первого взгляда институт гиляцкого брака не представляет ничего особенного. Гиляк покупает обыкновенно одну, редко 2—3 жен, которые переходят в его род и перед светом считаются его личными женами и матерями его детей. Дети принадлежат исключительно отцу и наследуют ему после его смерти. Всякого гиляка, когда он делается отцом, перестают звать прежним именем и величают отцом родившегося ребенка. Исключительное обладание своими женами выражается в строгом обычае кровавой расправы с нарушителем супружеского счастья. Род основан на принципе агнатизма, брак экзогамный.

Можно объехать всю территорию гиляков, жить в их юртах, подолгу наблюдать семейную жизнь их и не замечать в строе их семьи ничего необычного. В больших зимних юртах обитатели занимают свои нары семьями, живущими каждая своими обособленными интересами. Между мужем, женой и их детьми царит полное согласие и нежные отношения. Мало того. Нередко можно встретить случаи поразительной преданности и любви между супругами; когда один из них умирает, то другой нередко налагает на себя руки или умирает с тоски. Словом, по всем видимостям, мы имеем дело с типом семьи, которую принято называть патриархальной. Но не такова она в действительности. Прежде всего вас поражает странная родственная номенклатура. Целая группа женщин зовет целую группу мужчин своими мужьями (пу, івн), и эти последние зовут их своими женами (ан'rej). Точно так же целая группа мужчин зовет группу женщин своими матерями (ымк) и группу мужчин — своими отцами (ытк), а эти — первых своими детьми.

В частности, как и у многих других первобытных племен, гиляк зовет своей женой (ан'rej) не только свою собственную жену, но и жен своих старших братьев всех степеней родства, также и всех сестер своей жены всех степеней родства, а они, в свою очередь, зовут его своим мужем (пу, івн). Дети их зовут друг друга братьями и сестрами (тупи, руф). Сверх того, гиляк зовет своими женами уже от рождения всех кузин по матери

(дочерей братьев своей родной матери и братьев всех женщин, которых он зовет ымк — мать). Матерью (ымк) гиляк зовет не только свою родную мать, но и всех жен братьев своего отца, родных и агнатных, а также и сестер этих женщин, а они зовут его своим сыном. Соответственно этому он называет своим отцом (ытк) не только своего родного отца, но и братьев отца, при чем у некоторых родов термин отец применяется ко *всем*, старшим и младшим братьям (родным и агнатным) отца, у других (у большей части сахалинских гиляков) — только к братьям, младшим отца. Дети братьев по отношению к последним считаются сыновьями и дочерьми. Еще страннее кажется то правило, по которому женщины называют сестрами жен братьев мужа, а мужчины — матерями сестер тестя... Европеец с удивлением слушает, как гиляцкий мальчуган зовет жену своего старшего брата ан'геj (жена), а она его — муженек (ычіх, пу, івн) или как сплошь и рядом гиляк говорит: «Я пойду к своим отцам, матерям», т.-е., к братьям своего отца или сестрам матери, но при долгом наблюдении настолько привыкаешь к этому странному явлению, что начинаешь считать его совершенно естественным. Вопреки высказанным в недавнее время мнениям, что классификаторская система родства представляет собою одну только номенклатуру возрастов, я могу засвидетельствовать после долгих годов наблюдений, что у гиляков номенклатура эта, основанная на строгом исчислении степеней родства, *вполне соответствует* нормам полового общения. *Возраст не играет никакой роли:* в одном и том же классе сплошь и рядом числятся глубокие старики и юные подростки. Все лица, связанные между собою званием ан'геj и пу (муж и жена), действительно имеют супружеские права друг на друга, т.-е., не только имеют право вступать между собою в регулярные браки или иметь половое общение до вступления в регулярный брак, но сохраняют права на половое общение и тогда, когда лица этих категорий состоят уже в индивидуальном браке. Состоя в законном, так сказать, индивидуальном браке, жена, в то же время, пользуется правом негласно, т.-е. в отсутствие мужа, иметь общение с лицами из группы мужчин, которых она зовет пу, івн (муж). Чаще всего, конечно, пользуются этим правом братья ее мужа, родные или более отдаленных степеней родства, живущие с ним в одной деревне; но и пришлые мужчины, часто совершенно незнакомые, случайно проехавшие через селение, если считают себя, хотя бы по самому отдаленному родству, «пу» данной женщины, свободно

пользуются этим правом, разумеется, с согласия женщины. Во время моих путешествий по Сахалину мои спутники с западного берега, явившись вместе со мной в отдаленное селение на восточном берегу, в котором ни они, ни их отцы никогда не бывали, но в котором, по генеалогическим их сведениям, проживала женщина категории ан'rej, свободно осуществляли свои права, разумеется, когда мужа в юрте не было. Это явление совершенно тождественно с тем, что рассказывают об австралийских кроках и кумитах, которые находят себе супружеское ложе везде, даже в самых отдаленных пунктах своей территории, под условием, чтоб мужчины были куми, а прекрасные незнакомки — кроки.

По характеру своему эти нормы полового общения ближе всего подходят к таковым же нормам у австралийского племени Dieri, у которого упомянутые два вида полового общения резко оформлены терминами noa и piruari.[1] У них каждая женщина состоит в индивидуальном законном браке с одним мужчиной, и супруги называют друг друга noa; но в то же время она состоит в групповом браке с целой категорией мужчин, которые великим советом племени объявлены на это правоспособными. По отношению к этой группе она piruari и обратно. Так встречаются тождественные институты брака между племенами, столь различными друг от друга! Знаменитая punulua family Гавайских островов тоже находит полное сближение с институтом гиляцкого брака.

Правомерность группового полового общения рельефно выражается в том, что в то время, как нарушение супружеской верности с лицом, не входящим в группу «пу», влечет за собою кровавую расправу с соблазнителем, застигнутым in flagrante delicto, или, в лучшем случае, жестокую дуэль и выкуп, для лиц разрешенных категорий оно не влечет никакого возмездия, вызывая только некоторое раздражение, в редких случаях переселение соблазнителя в другую юрту. С другой стороны, между лицами запрещенных категорий половое общение встречается, как крайне редкое исключение.

Неоднократно я наблюдал даже случаи *регулярного* сожительства братьев с общей женой, и между братьями царило полное согласие. Мой первый учитель гиляцкого языка, гиляк селения Тангиво, Гибелька, самый богатый и самый уважаемый ги-

[1] Australian Group relations by Howitt (Papers relating to Antropology contrib. to the Smitsonian institute, 1885 г.), pp. 12 s.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ляк на всем Сахалине, жил постоянно в одной юрте со своим младшим братом, Плеуном, и ни для кого не были тайной отношения между этим последним и женой старшего брата. Дети ее с одинаковой нежностью относились к обоим отцам и пользовались со стороны этих последних равной нежностью, и когда умер Плеун, то все имущество его перешло к этим детям, публично считавшимся детьми Гибельки. Плеун был очень богат и мог купить себе не одну жену, но он любил жену старшего брата, который нисколько не протестовал против взаимности со стороны дорого стоившей ему супруги. Когда приходилось намекать Гибельке на эти отношения, то по его умному красивому лицу пробегало мимолетное облачко меланхолии, но никогда я не видел и тени дурных отношений между братьями.

Гиляцкие юноши часто недоумевали, почему я с таким усердием расспрашивал про эти странные для нас, а для них совершенно естественные отношения между женами и братьями их мужей и с удивлением спрашивали: «Неужели у вас, у русских, не так? Разве с женой брата жить нельзя?» И получив отрицательный ответ, тоскливо качали головой, говоря: «Однако, это очень худой закон!», и при этом с недоверием посматривали друг на друга.

Конечно, природа человеческая везде одна и та же: и у гиляка бывают припадки ревнивого обладания, но по отношению к лицам разрешенных категорий ревность никогда не выражается в какой-нибудь резкой мере репрессии — в крайних случаях ревнующий брат настоит на переселении соперника в другой дом или в другую деревню.

Правомерное половое общение естественно породило общее легкое отношение к вопросам целомудрия: найти мужчину или замужнюю женщину, не нарушающих своей взаимной верности, конечно, очень трудно. Даже девушки не особенно дорожат целомудрием, и только соображения постороннего свойства заставляют родителей смотреть косо на фривольное поведение дочерей. Тут играет роль боязнь, что дочь свяжется с неподходящим по имущественному положению человеком и, кроме того, что родившийся ребенок окажется вне определенного рода и его придется убить.

Но помимо этих соображений нет нравственного запрета нарушения целомудрия. И тем не менее сказать, что у гиляков царит половая распущенность и отсутствует половая нравственность — было бы величайшей несправедливостью. Если под нравствен-

ностью понимать подчинение известным, общепризнанным в данном обществе правилам, то гиляки отличаются идеальной половой нравственностью, потому что по отношению к лицам, стоящим вне группового полового общения, целомудренная стойкость прямо поразительна. Самая фривольная гиляцкая женщина никогда не позволит себе иметь общение с сородичем своего мужа, если он не категории ее пу, хотя бы соблазнитель был моложе ее мужа и нравился ей.

Воззрения гиляка в этом отношении настолько строги, что он переносит их даже на мир животных: собак, уличенных в кровосмесительстве, убивают, считая их оборотнями.

О русских женщинах, продающих себя за деньги, гиляцкие женщины говорят с величайшим презрением. Эта строгая лойяльность по отношению к лицам запрещенных категорий создала систему запрета бесед и шуток с целыми классами лиц. Нам, европейцам, даже трудно представить себе, что гиляк или гилячка не имеют права не только шутить, но и разговаривать ни со своими родными братьями и сестрами ни даже с братьями и сестрами самых отдаленных степеней родства, т.-е., с целым классом тувн, потому что фамильярные отношения с одной стороны могут вызвать половое общение в запрещенных степенях, с другой — легкие ссоры из ревности в случаях дозволительного общения. По тем же мотивам у сахалинских гиляков с женами младших братьев можно говорить, но не шутить, потому что с ними половое общение запрещено, и, наоборот, с женами старших братьев и вообще с группой ан'тej (жен) можно говорить и шутить.

Благодаря запрету бесед с категориями близких родственников, у гиляков отсутствует обычай здороваться и прощаться при приходе и уходе.

До сих пор я констатировал только факты. Но откуда же взялись эти странные факты? Чем объяснить эти сложные и запутанные нормы полового сожительства и не менее странную родственную номенклатуру? Если объяснимы до некоторой степени взаимные права братьев на своих жен, то уже совершенно непонятными кажутся *права человека на замужних сестер своей собственной жены или замужних сестер жен своих братьев.* Почему женщина называет сестрой не только свою действительную сестру, но и жен братьев своего мужа? Почему сестру тестя муж-

чина называет своей матерью? Почему, например, достаточно одному человеку из рода *А*, положим, взять жену из совершенно чуждого ему рода, чтобы для представителей этого последнего все женщины рода *А* стали запретными? Сложная и запутанная цепь этих фактов должна быть бесспорно результатом одного простейшего основного факта, *первоначального типа* организации семьи и рода, типа, который вследствие превратностей родовой жизни гиляков, переселений, вымираний, иммиграций, и т. п. причин, естественно должен был с течением времени усложниться и потерять свою прежнюю простоту.

Ключом к отысканию этого *первоначального* типа служит та же родственная номенклатура, которая, без сомнения, является живым отражением переживаемых или пережитых половых норм.

Прежде всего ясно, что родственная номенклатура, по которой я, мужчина, называю сестер своего тестя матерями (ымк), а мой отец их своими женами, в то время как моя жена и жены моих братьев, родных агнатных, зовут друг друга сестрами, может выработаться только при таких условиях, когда *все* мои сородичи берут себе жен исключительно *из одного общего рода* и притом так, что каждое поколение братьев всех степеней родства берет себе в жены соответствующее поколение женщин-сестер всех степеней родства. Тогда, действительно, сестры тестя будут женами моего отца и его братьев, и, следовательно, моими матерями, а моя жена и жены моих братьев будут друг для друга сестрами. При таком порядке браки между лицами восходящих и нисходящих поколений (дядей на племянницах) невозможны.

Но кто же тот род, из которого все мои сородичи обязательно должны были брать себе жен? На это красноречиво отвечает нам та деталь родственной номенклатуры, по которой я и мои сородичи моего поколения, т.-е. мои братья и кузены по мужской линии называем уже *от рождения* своими женами дочерей братьев наших матерей, и, обратно, они нас называют своими мужьями. Из этого явствует, что род, откуда произошла моя мать, т.-е., род ее отца и ее братьев, есть тот род, откуда я и мои сородичи (матери сородичей моего поколения — сестры моей матери) исключительно и обязательно должны брать себе жен, притом, как я уже говорил, в соответственных поколениях. Если мой отец и его братья взяли себе в жены группу сестер определенного рода, то я и мои братья должны жениться на дочерях братьев этой группы сестер из того же рода. Но обмениваться женщинами, т.-е., давать женщин в тот род, откуда мой

род берет жен, воспрещается: все женщины из моего рода должны в свою очередь перейти в третий род, родоначальницами которого были сестры мужских предков моего рода. В родственной терминологии это ограничение ярко высказывается в том, что дочь сестры моего отца я уж не называю женой (ан'геj), а просто *навх*, и она меня зовет не мужем (пу, івн), а ытк, ахмальк. Таков был тип первобытного строя семьи и рода, воссозданный априорно из родственной номенклатуры. Но не a priori пришел я к своим заключениям.

Несмотря на все указанные мною неблагоприятные условия, смягчившие исключительное требование брака в одном определенном роде, старый принцип продолжает доминировать и по сей день. При первом же знакомстве с бытом гиляков, не зная еще детально родственной номенклатуры, я был поражен упорным стремлением каждого рода брать жен преимущественно из одного определенного рода, именно *из рода матери. П'фанд'ух умгу генедж урджра* — «там, откуда ты произошел, т.-е. из рода своей матери, нужно брать жен»;[1] так поучали меня гиляки своей матримониальной мудрости. Хотя теперь уже разрешается брать жен и не из рода матери, но терминология запечатлела навеки на этой группе женщин старый запрет: невесты *не* из рода матери носят название йох, т.-е., женщина, с которой половое общение запрещено, (так, напр., старшие братья, которым запрещено половое общение с женами младших, называют этих последних йох), между тем как невесту из рода матери называют ан'геj (жена, всякая женщина, с которой половое общение дозволяется). И действительно, излюбленной формой брака у гиляков и теперь является все-таки брак на дочери брата матери, родного (предпочтительно) или агнатного, но во всяком случае сородича — «брата» этой последней. Браки же с дочерью сестры отца не допускаются. В предпочтении, оказываемом гиляками подобным браком, проглядывает почти религиозно-благоговейное отношение к этому обычаю, который бесспорно был некогда общеобязательным религиозно-общественным требованием. Каждая женщина, лишь только у нее рождается сын, приступает с просьбами к своему брату, если у него есть дочь, об обручении их детей. Обряд обручения состоит в том, что ребенок-жених или его отец перевязывает ручку невесты ниткой из собачьего волоса (символ увода на собаках и вместе с тем отголосок тоте-

[1] Интересна этимология слова п'фанд'ух, составленного из пі (свой, твой), пандф (родня матери), ух (из). А пандф от пандынд — родиться.

мистического культа собаки). А когда невеста подрастает, годам к 5-6, часто ещё раньше, она переходит в дом жениха, с которым растет и воспитывается вместе до наступления периода зрелости, когда она фактически, без всяких обрядов, становится его женой. До какой степени силен еще и теперь принцип обязательного брака исключительно с женщинами из рода матери, видно из того, что если хотя бы *один* сородич из рода, положим, *А*, взял себе жену из совершенно *чуждого* ему рода, *Д*, то этого совершенно достаточно, чтобы все женщины первого рода стали запретными для рода *Д*, потому что факт, хотя бы единичный, перехода женщин из рода *Д* в *А* обращает первый *(Д)* как бы в род матери, куда выход замуж женщин из рода *А* запрещен. Но красноречивее всего могут в этом случае свидетельствовать «числа». Во время переписи, специально произведенной мною для изучения строя гиляцкой семьи и рода, я с первых же дней был поражен обилием замужних (т.-е. чужеродных) женщин в каждом роде, называвших себя «сестрами» и «тетками» и не по названию только, а действительно взятых из *одного* рода, именно из того, откуда издревле данный род брал женщин (род «матери»).

Если эта регламентация брака сохранилась в такой мере еще и теперь, несмотря на все стоявшие по пути затруднения, о которых мы говорили, то без сомнения, она первоначально была общеобязательной, и если бы даже в современных обычаях исчезли всякие следы ее, то достаточным свидетельством ее существования остается доныне сохранившаяся во всей своей первобытности терминология родства, с необыкновенной объективностью воссоздавшая старый режим, ее породивший. Не трудно понять и raison d'être этого с первого взгляда странного и запутанного института.

Такая обязательная регламентация брака как нельзя более согласовалась как с основными принципами рода, так и с индивидуальными чувствами отдельных глав семейств. Род в основе своей покоится на принципе кровного единства. Это единство в агнатном роде наиболее идеально будет достигнуто, если все жены агнатов будут взяты из одного рода, близкого по крови, и конечно, лучше всего из рода своей же родоначальницы. Этим не только удовлетворяется *формальный* принцип единства крови, но утверждается столь важное в глазах первобытного человека единство культа предков в *обеих* линиях.

Если обратимся к психологии отдельных членов рода, то она

вполне совпадает с родовой. В агнатном роде, где сыновья по общему правилу остаются в роде, а жен берут извне, естественно, что каждая мать предпочитает иметь женой своего сына ближайшую себе по крови женщину и вместе с тем собрать в своей семье женщин из того рода, откуда она сама происходит. Но женить сына на дочери своей сестры она не может, потому-что ее сестра — либо жена ее же мужа, либо его братьев, и дочь этой последней, следовательно, либо родная сестра, либо агнатная ее сына; остается только женить его на дочери брата, как это и установилось в действительности. Для всей совокупности женщин рода получается та огромная выгода, что все они общего происхождения и чувствуют за собою солидарную защиту всего своего рода, откуда они происходят.

Такой брак (сына на дочери брата матери) одинаково и в интересах отца, который, таким образом, женит своего сына на кровной родственнице (праплемяннице) своей матери. Так как сестра мужа, в свою очередь, тоже желает женить своих сыновей на дочерях своего брата, то выдавать дочерей за сыновей брата мать не может, и, таким образом, обменный брак, т.-е. обмен женщин между двумя такими семьями, был невозможен, равно как и брак внутри семьи.

До сих пор мы рассматривали, так сказать, статику вопроса, теперь обратимся к динамике его. Посмотрим, как из одного простейшего начала с неизбежной необходимостью, как из простого зерна, вырастает могучее дерево, выросла спорная, запутанная ткань гиляцкого брака и рода.

Зерном всей сложной системы регламентации гиляцкого брака и рода и вместе с тем ключом к пониманию ее является *единый* факт, именно, установившийся в свое время принцип, что мужчины обязательно женятся на дочерях брата своей матери, иначе говоря, дочери в каждой семье принадлежат от рождения сыновьям сестры отца. Какие мотивы могли породить этот принцип, об этом мы уже кое-что говорили раньше. Во всяком случае общеобязательность его гарантировалась, без сомнения, как категорический императив первобытной религии.

Из этого простого правила логически вытекает следующее:

1) Раз каждая мать по праву забирает для своих *сыновей* дочерей своего брата, то по тому же праву ее *дочери* обязательно должны уходить в семью сестры ее мужа, иначе говоря,

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

всякая женщина принадлежит своим двоюродным братьям, сыновьям сестры отца. Поэтому женщина не может выходить замуж за сыновей брата матери и мужчина жениться на дочери сестры отца: обмениваться женщинами семьи брата и сестры не могут. Ясно, что запрет этот ничего общего не имеет со страхом браков в близких степенях родства, потому что дочь сестры моего отца находится по отношению ко мне в такой же степени родства, как и дочь брата моей матери, между тем с первой брак запрещен, со второй обязателен, — факт чрезвычайно важный для генезиса запретов в близких степенях родства.

2) Раз исключительно обязательны браки между дочерьми брата и сыновьями сестры, раз первые обязательно принадлежат вторым, то в виду обычного количественного неравенства между лицами разных полов, в виду таких, например, возможностей, что у брата одна дочь, у сестры несколько сыновей, или, наоборот, у брата несколько дочерей, у сестры один или два только сына, или что между рождением первого сына и следующих проходит большой промежуток времени, или, что еще более усложняет вопрос, у нескольких сестер один только брат или у сестры несколько братьев, — естественно возникают такие конъюнктуры: в первом случае несколько братьев имеют общую жену; во втором, либо один обладает несколькими сестрами, либо двое братьев живут в общем браке с группой сестер; в третьем случае младший брат, достигший полового возраста в то время, как его старший брат успел уже забрать всех своих кузин, должен обязательно иметь супружеские права на жен своих старших братьев; наконец, в последних двух случаях, уже несколько двоюродных братьев будут иметь общими женами дочерей брата своих матерей, либо несколько братьев будут иметь общими женами нескольких двоюродных сестер. Мы привели только простейшие случаи, в действительности дело происходит, конечно, еще сложнее. Так или иначе, таким образом, совершенно неизбежно возникает групповой брак братьев (родных и дальних) с группой сестер (родных и дальних) и во всяком случае безусловные взаимные супружеские права братьев всех степеней родства. Само собою разумеется, что эти групповые права последовательно захватывали все больше и больше лиц из более дальних степеней родства, потому что не всегда у матери имелись братья и не всегда у этих последних имелись дочери и неизбежно приходилось брать жен у братьев матери

двоюродных, троюродных и т. д., и таким образом возрастал союз лиц, объединенных общими правами группового брака.

Никакие превратности не уничтожили и до сих пор этого группового принципа. Когда с течением времени, вследствие вымирания, рассеяния родственных семей, войн и т. п. причин, являлась необходимость прибегать к бракам из чуждых семей, этот порядок, неудобный и сам по себе, привел к тому, что мы видим в настоящее время, что мужчина является официально признанным мужем одной или нескольких женщин, но вынужден разделять это право либо со всеми братьями (в одних родах), либо (в других) только с младшими, притом не только с родными, но и со *всеми* агнатными братьями.

3) Так как в каждой семье сыновья обязательно вступают в брак с дочерьми брата матери, а дочери — с сыновьями сестры отца, то из этого следует, что, со времени установления этого порядка, все нисходящее потомство каждой *пары* родоначальников во всех линиях ее ірэо образует замкнутую, запретную в брачном отношении друг для друга группу, экзогамный организм, *род*, и смотря по тому, уходят ли мужчины в род жены или остаются в своем собственном, получится либо род материнский, либо — отцовский.

В настоящее время у гиляков установился род отцовский, агнатный.

4) Такой род покоится не только на отрицательной связи экзогамности, но и на драгоценных положительных узах, на общих правах сородичей на женщин кровного рода своей родоначальницы, взаимных правах группового брака и, наконец, на обязанности хранить своих женщин для рода, принявшего сестер их родоначальника.

Если принять во внимание, что брачные регламентации у первобытных народов, у которых культ предков и, следовательно, кровные узы, играют такую огромную роль, становятся религиозными императивами, то станет ясным, как прочно указанные взаимные права и обязанности цементируют родовой союз.

В частности, важным цементом рода служит то, что все пришлые женщины (жены сородичей) взяты из одного рода и являются по отношению друг к другу либо сестрами (родными и агнатными), либо тетками и племянницами. Что касается мужчин, сородичей, то в каждом поколении они представляют группу братьев (родных и агнатных), женатых на группе сестер и кузин из рода их матерей, т. е. на своих же двоюродных сестрах, по

отношению к которым они обладают взаимными супружескими правами.

Какие последствия имеет этот порядок для родственной номенклатуры, об этом мы уже говорили.

5) *Род*, таким образом, не самодовлеющий организм. Существование каждого рода органически связано с существованием, по крайней мере, еще двух кровно-родственных с ним родов, одного кровного рода своей родоначальницы, откуда он берет себе жен, и другого рода, принявшего сестер родоначальника, куда он обязательно отдает своих собственных женщин.

Первый из последних двух родов по отношению к третьему носит название *ахмальк* (тесть), второй *навх* или *ымри* (зять). Все три друг для друга — *пандф* (когнаты). Таким образом, каждый гиляк — органический член не только своего собственного, но триединого кровного трехродового союза, образующего в буквальном смысле слова *фратрию*[1] (фратрия — братство). В этом тройственном «братстве» *все* мужчины и женщины в каждом поколении действительно братья и сестры (когнатные кузены и кузины, см. ниже).

В частности, по отношению к каждому члену данного рода каждая женщина второго рода либо его мать, либо жена, либо жена его сыновей и агнатных племянников, и, наоборот, в третьем роде каждая женщина либо его сестра, либо дочь, либо сестра его отца. Таковы кровные узы членов фратрии!

Гиляцкую трехродовую фратрию можно представить в виде следующей схематической таблицы:

Схематическая таблица гиляцкой фратрии из 3 родов.

Род А *(Андреевы)*	Род В *(Васильевы)*	Род С *(Степановы)*
Андрей + Варвара (сестра Василия *из рода В*).	Василий + Софья (сестра Степана *из рода С*).	Степан + Анна (сестра Андрея *из рода А*).
Их дети:	**Их дети:**	**Их дети:**
1) *сыновья* женятся на дочерях брата матери, Василия, *из рода В*.	1) *сыновья* женятся на дочерях брата матери, Степана, *из рода С*.	1) *сыновья* женятся на дочерях брата матери, Андрея, *из рода А*.
2) *дочери* выходят замуж за сыновей сестры отца, Анны, *в род С*.	2) *дочери* выходят замуж за сыновей сестры отца, Варвары, *в род А*.	2) *дочери* выходят замуж за сыновей сестры отца, Софьи, *в род В*.

[1] Гиляцкая фратрия не имеет ничего общего с моргановской, ибо внутри ее взаимные браки не только допускаются, но и были обязательны.

Анализируя эту таблицу, мы видим, что 1) все женщины в роде *A* взяты по поколениям из *B*, значит мать Андрея — сестра отца Василия, следовательно, Андрей и Василий когнатные кузены. 2) Точно так же в роде *B* мать Василия — сестра отца Степана из рода *C*, следовательно, Василий и Степан когнатные кузены, и 3) в роде *C* мать Степана — сестра отца Андрея из рода *A*, следовательно, Степан и Андрей — когнатные кузены.

Таким образом, не только каждая пара супругов между собой — когнатные кузен и кузина, но и *родоначальники* каждого рода между собою когнатные кузены. Словом, основатели всех трех родов — близкие кровные родственники, женатые на когнатках той же степени родства, и каждое поколение вступает в брак с когнатами *той же степени родства*, как и его отцы и матери. Это яркий пример того, как шатки термины экзогамный и эндогамный: экзогамность гиляцкого рода не исключает брака между близкими родственниками. Выходит так, что внутри всей фратрии царит эндогамия, каждая же ветвь ее экзогамна.

Такова первоначальная схема. Время и обстоятельства, эмиграция, вымирание, рассеяние родов, случайный недостаток женщин в роде матери и т. п. причины естественно вызвали, с одной стороны, отступления от этой системы, с другой, поправки, имеющие целью примирение старых норм с новыми требованиями жизни. Все эти надстройки, если можно так выразиться, крайне запутали генеалогические системы и брачные нормы, и, как это обыкновенно бывает, категорический императив, ослабляясь в одном отношении, становится еще более распространительным в другом. Ослабло, в силу внешних условий, правило брать жен непременно из рода матерей, но зато получил самое распространительное толкование запрет давать жен в тот род (хотя бы совершенно чужой), откуда кто-либо, даже самый отдаленный сородич данного рода, взял себе жену (по презумпции, что это род матери). Отсюда получилось следующее.

Так как в настоящее время не всегда оказывается возможным всем сородичам брать себе жен из одного рода, рода матери, то бывает, что отдельные члены одного какого-нибудь рода (*M*, например) вынуждены брать себе жен из разных родов. И вот, в силу старой презумпции, что род жены сородича — род матери, *все* эти роды на несколько поколений становятся запретными для всех женщин рода *M*, для которых выход замуж в те роды не допускается. Мало того. Этот запрет, в сущности потерявший свой прежний raison d'être, распространяется не только

на тот род *M*, который непосредственно берет жен у *A*, но даже на третий род *N*, который, в свою очередь, берет жен у *M*.

Технически этот запрет выражается в гиляцкой терминологии брака так. Род *A*, дающий женщин роду *M*, называется ***ахмальк'ом*** (тестем) этого последнего, а по отношению к роду *N*, который в свою очередь берет жен у *M*, он, т.-е. род *A*, называется ***туйма ахмальк'ом*** (дальним тестем); и вот и на род *N* переносятся запреты, лежащие на роде *M*, т.-е. не только у *M*, но и у *N* род *A* женщин брать не может. Впрочем, дальше ахмалька 2-й степени запреты не распространяются.

В истории происхождения этого запрета кроется и вся дальнейшая эволюция гиляцкой семьи и рода. Каким образом, мог возникнуть этот распространительный запрет? Мы видели, что боязни браков в близких степенях у гиляков не было. Значит, причина должна была быть другая. Дело в том, что, при неизбежности случаев, когда оказывалось невозможным брать жен из рода матери, гиляк, сообразуясь с религиозным императивом, естественно должен был в таких случаях считать наиболее подходящим родом тот, откуда, по крайней мере, род его матери брал жен, а за невозможностью брать их у него он переходил к тому роду, у которого этот последний брал жен, т. е. переходил постепенно к ахмальк'ам дальних степеней родства, точно так же, как внутри рода матери, за отсутствием дочерей у родного брата матери, он переходит к дочерям двоюродного, троюродного брата матери и т. д. Таким образом, дальние роды-ахмальки являлись как бы *запасными* родами матери, но естественно, что распространить запреты на ахмальков всех степеней было практически неудобно, да и редко приходилось итти дальше ахмальк'а 2-й степени, которым запрет и ограничился. Но с появлением этого запрета трехродовая фратрия перестала удовлетворять новым условиям регламентации. Исключительный брак внутри трех родов стал невозможен, потому что при трехродовой фратрии (см. таблицу) род *C* — ахмальк 1-й степени для *B* и 2-й степени для *A*; следовательно, женщины из рода *A* не могут уже выходить замуж в род *C*. Пришлось прибавить к фратрии четвертый род *Д* (Дмитрий, Дарья), положим. Перемена, происшедшая в нашей фратрии, заключалась бы в том, что жена Степана (род *C*) была бы уже сестрой Дмитрия (род *Д*), а этот последний имел бы женой сестру Андрея (род *A*). Так как запреты в более отдаленные времена, без сомнения, распространялись на ахмальков более отдаленных степеней, то фратрии естественно

1! Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

должны были состоять еще из большего числа родов. В настоящее время, когда при выборе жен, благодаря вышеуказанным причинам, приходится часто прибегать к совершенно чужим родам, фратрия естественно потеряла свое прежнее строго замкнутое положение.

Не трудно себе представить, сколько генеалогических сведений нужно иметь при этой сложной запутавшейся системе, чтобы правильно решить в каждом данном случае вопрос о праве вступить в брак для одного какого-нибудь члена рода. И, действительно, это составляет целую науку, в которую гиляк посвящается с самого раннего детства.

IV.

НЕКОТОРЫЕ ВЫВОДЫ ИЗ НОРМ ГИЛЯЦКОГО БРАКА.

Я уже говорил, что гиляцкая родственная номенклатура и нормы брака в общем не представляют ничего изолированного. У массы первобытных народностей, в самых отдаленных частях света, найдена аналогичная номенклатура и аналогичные явления группового брака. Но детали, которые я старался выяснить здесь, и история развития института, который я обрисовал, способны, мне кажется, пролить свет на некоторые явления первобытного брака, которые до сих пор стояли совершенно одинокими и разрозненными.

1) Прежде всего, родовая организация гиляков делает для нас совершенно ясным, почему у многих народов, как, например, у батаков на Суматре, жена или возлюбленная называется «сын сестры отца» — ibibere ri-datang или как у племени Song и Bygor из провинции Sathpuras в Центральной Индии, где брак между кузенами и кузинами почти *принудителен,* когда у брата есть дочь, а у сестры сын. Эти разрозненные факты до сих пор не находили себе объяснения и являются, таким образом, обломками, быть может, некогда всеобщей родовой организации, подобной той, которую я нашел у гиляков.[1]

[1] Замечательно, что до сих пор некоторые ученые с недоверием относятся даже к самому факту открытия брачных норм, тождественных с гиляцкими. Так, в самое последнее время открыли, что у готтентотов брак допускается между мужчиной и дочерью брата его матери и, наоборот, запрещается между женщиной и сыном брата ее матери (точь в точь как у гиляков), между тем Kohler, приводящий этот факт, и автор статьи о работе Kohler'a в Année Sociologique оба сомневаются в возможности таких норм, хотя о них знал еще Мак-Ленан. См. J. Kohler „Das Recht der Hottentots" в Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, XVI т., 3 вып., стр. 341—342 и L'Année Sociologique, год 11, стр. 306.

2) Нормы гиляцкого брака объясняют нам далее странный институт у племени Dieri в Австралии, где великий совет племени в определенные периоды торжественно объявляет, какие мужчины и женщины племени имеют права на групповое сожительство.

Из сказанного выше о запутанности и трудности решения генеалогических прав в матримониальных вопросах у гиляков, вопросах, которые для первобытного человека имеют крайне серьезное религиозное значение, ясно, что постепенно должно было выработаться правило, по которому решение этих вопросов перестает быть делом отдельного лица, а становится функцией компетентного учреждения старейшин и специалистов по генеалогии и брачному праву.

3) Гиляцкая система брака объясняет нам, почему у многих австралийских племен женщины в каждом роде принадлежат к одному тотему. Дело в том, что все *пришлые* женщины брались обязательно, как у гиляков, из *одного* рода, т. е. они одного тотема.

4) Эта же система объясняет нам, почему mutatis mutandis каждый куми и кроки у австралийцев на всей территории распространения своего племени находит себе жену; в действительности он находит ее только в том роде, откуда его род обязан брать себе жен и где каждая женщина соответствующего поколения является его женой.

5) Она объясняет нам странную классовую систему у многих австралийских народов, напр., у Kamilaroi, где восходящие и нисходящие поколения принадлежат к разным классам и только в третьем, у иных — в четвертом или даже в пятом — шестом, поколении возвращаются в класс отцов.

Гиляцкие нормы, при всем различии в деталях с таковыми же у австралийцев, удовлетворительно объясняют это странное явление.

Вспомним опять трехродовую фратрию и для ясности назовем род *A* — Андреевыми, род *B* — Васильевыми, род *C* — Степановыми. Согласно гиляцким нормам, дочь Варвары из рода *A* уже от рождения считается женой одного из Степановых (рода *C*), и, следовательно, прозвище ее было бы уже не Андреева, а Степанова; ее дочь (внучка Варвары), в свою очередь, уже от рождения, как жена одного из Васильевых (рода *B*), называлась бы Васильевой, но дочь этой последней, т. е. правнучка Варвары, обязательно должна быть женой одного из Андреевых (рода *A*)

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

и, таким образом, в третьем поколении она уже носила бы опять классовое прозвище своей прабабушки.

6) Гиляцкий брак в значительной мере, как мы видели, упрощает понимание сложной родственной номенклатуры, потому что при гиляцкой системе брака многие категории туранской системы родства, которые с первого взгляда кажутся совершенно самостоятельными, на самом деле являются тождественными, как, напр., жены братьев, сестры жены и сестры жен братьев оказываются одними и теми же лицами, точно так же как матери, жены братьев отца, сестры тестя, сестры матери и т. д.

Но это все факты второстепенного характера. Схема гиляцкого брака, думается мне, может пролить свет и на некоторые основные вопросы первобытного брака.

1) Из анализа норм гиляцкого брака мы видели, как из простого единого правила, что мужчины обязательно женятся на дочерях брата матери, по естественной необходимости неизбежно порождаются такие сложные институты, как групповой брак, род, фратрия и, наконец, брачные запреты.

2) Анализ гиляцкой регламентации проливает свет на генезис института похищения вообще и в особенности на странный институт *имитативного* похищения, институт, который практикуется у таких первобытных народов, как австралийцы, эскимосы, и притом в таких странных формах, что считать его простым переживанием фактического похищения, как это обыкновенно принято думать, нет никакой возможности. Вспомним опять нашу трехродовую фратрию с ее нормами брака. Род *A* обязательно берет жен у *B*, а своих женщин обязательно отдает в род *C*. Будем помнить, что на первобытных ступенях развития подобные обязательства суть религиозные императивы, нарушение которых влечет кару богов. Теперь допустим, что род *B*, откуда *A* берет жен, вымер или в нем слишком мало женщин, что вполне в порядке вещей. Брать жен в других фратриях род *A* не может, потому что и там каждый род бережет своих женщин для рода сестры отца; на отступление же от этого императива чужой род, хотя бы у него и были лишние женщины, не может решиться из опасения навлечь на себя возмездие богов, богов-предков, для которых браки с чужекровными должны представляться величайшими оскорблениями. Да то же возмездие одинаково грозит и роду, который бы воспользовался чужекровными женщинами. Но без брака обойтись невозможно. Тогда остается два исхода: или похитить женщину силой, рискуя навлечь на себя кару богов,

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

уже не говоря о мести рода похищенной, или обойти закон, обманув богов в истинных намерениях своих поступков, т. е. создается добровольное соглашение с родителями невесты и с ней самой, по которому последние делают вид, что противятся всеми силами похищению, а жених проделывает самым добросовестным образом все, что требуется для придания брачному акту вида настоящего насилия.

Только при таком объяснении похищения можно понять, почему, например, австралийские kurnai, дав своей дочери убежать с возлюбленным, пускаются потом в погоню за ней и, поймав, прокалывают ей ногу копьем и избивают до полусмерти. И сами австралийцы объясняют это не озлоблением, а обычаем.

Но мало того. Сам похититель у многих племен считает своей обязанностью избивать свою возлюбленную не менее жестоко, чем ее родители: этим он желает показать богам и богам-предкам в особенности, что вовсе не намерение жениться на ней вызывает с его стороны похищение.

Наконец, только при этом освещении, при предположении религиозного происхождения обычая, можно объяснить такое универсальное распространение этого института, который в виде имитации похищения практикуется и в свадебных обрядах даже народов цивилизованных.

Этим же объясняется обычай избегать тестя (так как он может быть не братом матери), этим же объясняется, почему гиляк, например, называет невесту не из рода своей матери термином *сох*, термином, означающим запрещенную в половом отношении категорию, ибо женщина не из рода матери не могла быть первоначально его женой, и т. п. явления.

Этим же, наконец, объясняется универсальный обычай калыма, обычай платежа за невесту. Похищение — *грех* для рода похищенной, грех, требующий искупления силой или имущественным штрафом похитителя. У гиляков до третьего поколения включительно тяготеет этот грех искупления. Калым, таким образом, есть та же вира, та же имущественная форма искупления греха, как и за убийство сородича. Недаром вира за убитого сородича и за похищенную женщину носит у гиляков одно и то же название тхусинд.

В заключение я позволю себе сделать еще один вывод, быть может, и рискованный несколько. Допустим, как это часто бывает после войн, что вымерли мужчины рода *A*, берущие жен у рода *B*, и продолжать род некому. Девушки рода *B* остаются то-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

гда без мужей, потому что страх пред карой богов у родителей сильнее, чем любовь к детям, Отсюда один шаг к избиению девочек. Должно пройти значительное время, чтобы суеверный дух первобытного человека примирился с необходимостью и стал прибегать к обману своих богов, устраивая комедии, иногда и жестокие, имитации похищения.

V.

РЕЛИГИЯ ГИЛЯКОВ.

По мировоззрению своему гиляк, как и всякий первобытный человек, анимист. Для него не существует мертвой неразумной природы; напротив, вся природа одарена жизнью и разумом. Если бы гиляк мог пародировать знаменитое изречение Гегеля, он мог бы с большим правом, чем этот последний, сказать, что все существующее разумно. Прообразом всего существующего естественно является для него человек, как существо наиболее известное и понятное ему. К человеку сводится все: все видимое в природе лишь форма, в которую облекается бог-человек. При таком мировоззрении религия гиляка представляет собою соединение пантеизма, культа животных, фетишизма, демонизма, политеизма и т. д. и все вместе на общем фоне антропоморфизма.

Гиляк называет вселенную «курн», но этим же словом он обозначает понятие личного человекоподобного бога. Словом «паль» он обозначает гору и бога — «хозяина» горы, словом «толь» — море и бога моря. Вселенная — только форма, которую принял величавый образ личного бога «курн».

Свой родной остров гиляк называет «миф» (земля). Это живое божественное существо, «голова» которого (мыс Марии) и «подбородок» «Пытыкры» упираются в Охотское море, а «ноги» — два полуострова в Корсаковском округе, упирающиеся в пролив Лаперуза.

Я сам переваливал через «Подбородок» земли, видел, как благоговейно приносились жертвы моими спутниками и возносились молитвы земле о нашем благополучном путешествии. Я взбирался и на вершину самой «Головы» земли, которая, по верованиям гиляка, не оставляет безнаказанным святотатственного осквернения ее ногами смертных, и видел величавую плешь этой божественной Головы, покрытую вместо волос острыми каменными

зубцами (результат выветривания), наводящими на гиляка суеверный ужас... Величественная поверхность вершины высокого мыса, глядящего в безграничное море, действительно очень импозантна!..

Но и части, даже самые мелкие, этого грандиозного существа — «миф'а» — такие же живые самостоятельные существа, как и божественное целое. Вот величественная гора Энгельсшаль, одиноко возвышающаяся над дюнами севера: это живой олень бога вселенной «кури», на котором он объезжал остров, приводя его в нынешний, обитаемый для человека вид. Там, где ступали его священные стопы, образовались долины; от ударов его бича явились реки... Вот Крыуспаль, чудный конус, поражающий своей грандиозностью всякого подъезжающего к острову с моря, один из высочайших пиков Сахалина, одинокий, суровый демон моря, в порыве гнева убивший своих детей и заставивший свою жену бежать от него за сотни верст и образовать другой мыс на новом месте. И даже одинокие утесы, торчащие из воды вдоль берегов острова — все это живое боги, убежавшие от своих родов под влиянием междоусобиц.

Такой же живой является и вся остальная природа: грозный «то.ль» (море), мрачные леса гористого острова, быстрые горные реки и т. д. Срубая дерево, гиляк боится загубить его душу, и ставит на пне его особое существо «инау» («чехн-кун-инау»), существующее «инау»,[1] которое возвращает ему душу и жизнь. Горы, океан, утесы, деревья, животные — это только маска, под которой боги скрывают себя от любопытства человека. Своеобразная глубина своего рода метафизического анализа гиляка в этом отношении поразительна. Однажды, когда гиляк стал объяснять мне, что маленькая косатка (Orca gladiator), сопровождающая в море большую, составляет на самом деле только **сабля** этой большой косатки, и я выразил по этому поводу свое недоумение, он стал доказывать, что мне только **кажется**, что это косатка, на самом же деле это сабля большой косатки-«хозяина», точно так же как эта последняя в действительности имеет вид настоящего гиляка, а то, что нам **кажется** морским животным, есть только **лодка** этого гиляка-косатки.

[1] Заструженная палочка. Культ „инау" заимствован от айнов и о нем поговорю особо.

[2] Косатки в море движутся стаями, среди которых выделяются старшие — вожаки и младшие — борцы. Последние, при нападении, напр., на кита, держатся с флангов, а вожаки следуют сзади.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Раз видимая природа представляет только маску и не есть то, чем она нам кажется, то естественно желание гиляка ухватиться за малейший признак, имеющий подобие человеческого тела или части его, чтобы изобличить тот человеческий образ, который скрывается под ним. Отсюда и фетишизм — психология, открывающая сверхъестественное человекоподобное существо во всяком предмете, имеющем необычайную форму, будь это высокая гора, окаменелость или просто кусок камня.

Если неодушевленная природа способна вызывать в уме гиляка представление о живых существах, скрывающихся под мертвой формой, то культ животных тем более нисколько не должен нас поражать. Обыкновенно представляют себе, что в основании культа животных лежит страх. Primus in orbe deos fecit timor. На самом деле это далеко не так. Прежде всего, нужно помнить, что первобытный человек не только не признает никакой пропасти между собой и животным миром, но, наоборот, признает во многих отношениях превосходство последнего над собою. Охотник по профессии, он весь свой ум, всю свою изобретательность, весь гений человеческий вложил в это свое звероловное искусство. Смотрите, как гениальны его ловушки и западни, и тем не менее как часто и зло смеется ничтожный зверек — лисица, соболь и др. — над всеми его кознями! Десятки дорогих соболей пробегают мимо его ловушки, оставляя свой след совсем близко от нее: они разгадали хитрость человека и ушли невредимыми!.. Как чуток лось к запаху человека за целые версты! Никогда, никогда ни один зверь не попал бы к гиляку, если б не воля богов, «хозяев» этих зверей, заботящихся о благополучии гиляка. И если бог не хочет, то десятки самострелов человека остаются без добычи. Поэтому гиляк видит в животных существа вовсе не низшие себя, хотя бог и дает ему их иногда на потребление. Напротив, сила крупных зверей, хитрость и изворотливость даже таких мелких тварей, как соболь, необыкновенное чутье и масса других инстинктов, присущих животным и которых лишен человек, далее, такие явления, как перемена цвета шерсти, линяние и т. п., — все это доставляет гиляку достаточно оснований относиться к животному, как к существу крайне разумному и во многих отношениях высшему, чем он сам. И чем мельче зверь, чем страннее его форма, тем больше таинственного он заключает в себе и тем больше удивления он вызывает к своим дивным инстинктам. Поэтому даже такие ничтожные животные, как жаба, ящерица, летучая мышь, комар и т. п., вызы-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

вают в уме гиляка не меньше фантастических представлений и не менее импонируют ему, чем самые крупные звери.

Форма, размеры животного только кажущиеся явления. Каждое животное в действительности настоящее человекообразное существо, нет, такой же «гиляк», как и он сам, но одаренный разумом и силами, часто превосходящими таковые у человека.

Но если сила, разум и удивительные инстинкты животного вызывают веру в духовное превосходство животных и сверхъестественность их природы, то культ некоторых животных вызывается еще специальными чертами последних, это именно кротостью по отношению к человеку и кажущимся сознательным покровительством и благодетельствованием ему.

Этими чертами особенно поражают гиляка на суше *медведь*, на море *косатка*.

Медведь самое сильное и самое большее животное его тайги, перед ним бегут в страхе все остальные животные, ударом лапы он может свалить самого сильного человека и задавить его, как муху, а между тем как он обычно кроток по отношению к нему! Действительно, сахалинский медведь никогда первый не нападает на человека, и при встрече с ним в тайге он или убегает от него, или — особенно в местах, где человек попадается редко — проходит мимо него с полнейшим равнодушием, изредка удостаивая его недоумевающего взгляда.[1] И гиляк смотрит на него как на дружественного чужеродца.

Медведь, который преждевременно встает от зимнего сна и в исступлении голода бросается на человека, есть медведь сумасшедший или медведь — бродяга, прогнанный «хозяином». В тех редких случаях, когда гиляк на охоте погибает в борьбе с медведем, это приписывается из ряду вон выходящим обстоятельствам: или тому, что это был не медведь, а чорт в образе медведя, или тому, что это была медведица, полюбившая гиляка и пожелавшая переселить его душу к себе.

Если медведь достается в добычу гиляку, то это только потому, что медведь этого *сам* хочет. В борьбе с человеком медведь *сам* дает хорошее место для смертельного удара. Да он от этого ничего и не теряет. Испустив последний вздох, он собственно бросил гиляку лишь видимую оболочку свою, мохнатую шкуру, а сам он остался живым и невредимым, как и прежде. Через несколько дней, по окончании медвежьего праздника, кот-

[1] Такой же кротостью по отношению к человеку в Уссурийском крае отличается *тигр* и по тому же самому вызывает поклонение у местных туземцев.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

да его мясо будет съедено, а кости сложены в почетный амбар, гиляки убьют несколько собак, в сопровождении которых медведь весело побежит со всеми украшениями и подарками к «хозяину» самой высокой горы.

Не меньшее поклонение, чем медведь на суше, вызывает китообразное зубастое морское животное — *косатка*. Казалось бы, что может быть сильнее и страшнее в глазах гиляка, чем кит, это огромное могучее чудовище, плюющее фонтанами, для которого шторм — развлечение, у которого каждый позвонок тяжелее самого здорового гиляка? А между тем есть зверь, пред острыми конусообразными зубами которого кит бежит без оглядки, с ревом отчаяния выбрасываясь на банки и отмели сахалинского побережья, где айны и гиляки устраивают из него роскошные пиршества. Это — косатка. Даже на европейца производит импонирующее впечатление, когда косатка неожиданно появляется близ его лодки, и начинается всеобщее бегство всех обитателей моря. При виде этого страшного зверя разбегаются, как угорелые, рыбы, тюлени, дельфины, сивучи и, забыв всякую осторожность, бегут на острогу гиляка. Горе животному, которое попадается ему в зубы: огромного сивуча он разрывает пополам. Но самое ужасное зрелище представляет охота косаток на кита. «Завидев его, стая косаток разделяется на партии. Младшие пускаются по бокам, стараясь опередить кита, а старшие держатся сзади. Выстроившись таким образом в облаву (с осторожностью, без шума, чтобы не испугать кита), они внезапно появляются на поверхности воды тогда, когда рассчитают, что добыча должна быть в средине составленного ими круга. Тогда со свирепостью бросаются на кита и начинают рвать тело его большими клочьями и с жадностью проглатывать их. Особенно все наперерыв стараются достать у него язык. Кит при этом поднимает душераздирающий рев, который слышен за много верст. Услышав такой рев, я всегда знал, что где-то по соседству происходит охота косаток на кита». Так описывал зоолог Вознесенский это страшное зрелище в Алеутском море, и то же зрелище много раз приходилось наблюдать мне в водах территории гиляков.

И вот это самое чудовище, перед которым дрожат титаны моря, этот tyrannus balaenarum (тиран китов), как его прозвал старинный китовед, Фабрициус, не только никогда не трогает лодки гиляка, но еще является его истинным благодетелем, нагоняя ему млекопитающих и рыбу!

По целым часам гиляк выжидает на своей утлой лодчонке, не появится ли над поверхностью моря голова тюленя, чтобы пустить в него свою длинную острогу. Но осторожные тюлени или предпочитают вовсе не являться, или покажутся из-под воды только для того, чтобы ускользнуть самым коварным образом от направленного удара. Но вот совершенно неожиданно на острогу гиляка начинают бежать, словно насланные кем-то специально, тюлени, сивучи, белухи... То появилась косатка, заставившая обитателей моря бросаться без оглядки во все стороны! — Как гиляку после этого не считать это могучее существо, никого не щадящее, кроме его одного, и вдобавок являющееся его кормильцем, посылающим ему всяких зверей морских, как не считать своим богом-благодетелем? И он это животное иначе не называет, как *ызь* — „хозяином".

Никогда гиляк не направит остроги на косатку, и когда мертвое тело ее выбрасывается на берег, его торжественно хоронят в особо устроенном для этого балагане и украшают его «инау». Но не к одним этим крупным зверям (медведю и косатке) гиляк относится с чувством поклонения. Всякому животному, которое достается в добычу гиляку, оказываются знаки самого глубокого уважения. Головы пойманных тюленей украшаются «инау» и торжественно опускаются в море. Головы белух выставляются на шестах на берегу моря. То же с головами других животных.

Но животные, которым гиляки оказывают поклонение, не самостоятельные боги, даже не божества вообще, это лишь подчиненные настоящих божеств, «хозяев» той или другой стихии, тех или иных животных. Хозяева эти, по образу и подобию своему, те же гиляки, только принимающие, по мере надобности, образ того или другого животного. Боги эти живут в лесах, горах, на дне морей и ведут такую же жизнь, как сами гиляки, имеют жен, детей, сородичей. Как и гиляки, они смертны. В каждой стихии распоряжается один из этих богов «ызь» — хозяин. Вот эти-то хозяева и посылают гиляку по сезонам все, что ему нужно: соболей, медведей, лососей, тюленей. Впрочем, представление об этих «хозяевах» каждой стихии не нужно понимать в строго монистическом смысле. Точно так же как и у гиляков, в каждой местности есть просто богатые люди и среди них один какой-нибудь самый богатый, точно так же, кроме крупных богов-хозяев, каждая территория, каждая речка имеют каждая своего «хозяина», который заботится о ближайших ему гиляках (см. ниже родовые боги). Термин «хозяин» — термин чисто бы-

товой. В каждом роде всякий выдающийся умом, храбростью, ловкостью и, следовательно, самый богатый человек величается «ызь» (хозяин), и наиболее выдающийся из них является заправилой рода.

Наиболее важным для гиляка богом-«хозяином» являются Паль-ызь — хозяин гор и тайги, и Тайрнадз, он же Толь-ызь — хозяин моря. Первый живет на самой высокой горе; с ним целые селения его сородичей. Собаками у него служат медведи. Ему подчинены все звери тайги, и он по своей воле раздает их гилякам. Это он велит соболю одеваться в дорогую шкуру и спешить в петлю гиляка; он же велит медведю давать хорошее место для верного удара. Бог моря, Тайрнадз, живет на дне Охотского моря. Это глубокий старик с седой бородой, который живет со своею старухой в подводной юрте. В юрте масса ящиков с самой разнородной икрой, которую он время от времени пригоршнями бросает в море. Это он в определенное время посылает несметные отряды лососей, без которых жизнь гиляка была бы невозможна; это он рассылает косаток водворять порядок в морях и гнать навстречу гиляку всяких зверей морских.

Сверх этих важнейших богов есть множество менее важных, которые бодрствуют над гиляком. В доме гиляка бдит над ним хозяин огня, хозяйка порога. На каждой речке бодрствует какой-нибудь «хозяин», заботящийся о благоденствии гиляка...

Но не все боги имеют такое близкое отношение к человеку. Небо населено целыми племенами *тлы-нивух'ов*, небесных людей, которые изредка только вмешиваются в дела гиляка и то больше зря, шутки ради; так, например, небесный человек пускает из баловства удочки с крючками на землю, чтобы подцепить какого-нибудь гиляка. Но это не всегда удается. Так, молодой гиляк Ильк из деревни Арково рассказывал мне, что тлы-нивух зацепил однажды золотым крючком его отца, который спасся только тем, что ухватился за дерево и, таким образом, отделался лишь испугом и изорванным халатом.

Другие, далекие от него боги, как солнце и луна, например, точно так же как и тлы-нивух'и, мало его интересуют, так как не имеют близкого отношения к его жизни и потребностям. С такими же богами, как хозяин тайги, моря, огня, гиляк, наоборот, находится в постоянном общении, обращаясь к ним то с жертвоприношением, то с молитвой. Обыкновенно оба акта соединяются вместе. Для обычного жертвоприношения не требуется никакой торжественности и никаких особенных объектов. Принцип

жертвы — *обмен*, поэтому богу моря нельзя давать рыбы, а богу тайги мяса животных.

Едет ли гиляк по морю и боится бури, он почтительно опускает с борта листик табаку или пригоршню рису и говорит: «сделай, пожалуйста, чтобы море хорошее стало, чтобы я живой и здоровый на родину пришел!» Куда бы гиляк ни отправился, он берет с собою в особом мешочке излюбленные предметы для жертвоприношений: сладкие коренья, сарану и т. п. — благо боги не требовательны.

Какой-нибудь леденец, поднесенный божеству, может иногда сослужить огромную службу. Я испытал это однажды на себе самом. Дело было в августе 1891 г. С большими затруднениями, почти без провизии и припасов, с одним куском кирпичного чая и сухарями, добрался я до Головы земли. Когда я неожиданно сообщил моим спутникам, что я решил взобраться на вершину «Головы», чтобы собрать там растения и отбивать камни, моими спутниками овладела паника. Они заклинали меня отказаться от моего «безумного» намерения, которое должно было повести за собою нашу общую гибель, приводя в доказательство, что двое русских моряков, попытавшихся взобраться на вершину маленького бога Лазарева мыса, тут же погибли и похоронены. Особенно волновался капитан моей лодки, умный, преданный и очень привязавшийся ко мне гиляк с. Танги, Гибелька.

Тебе чего бояться? — сказал я ему, ты останешься здесь, жив будешь, домой придешь, все хорошо будет, а обо мне не заботься. — «Нет, друг, возразил с живостью Гибель, это худой закон: мы вместе ходили, вместе работали, вместе писали, вместе каменный топор искали, вместе людей смотрели, вместе суд делали, и теперь я один домой пойду, и ты тут помирать будешь? Такой ли закон? А самый большой начальник что скажет? Ты почему, скажет, не смотрел, чтобы «тяньги» (господин) хорошо ходил? Скажет, что я убил тебя. Это большой грех будет. Нет, уже лучше бога земли не трогай, шибко большой он, сильный, шибко сердиться мастер».

Видя, что я непреклонен, Гибелька после некоторого раздумья, сказал: «И дать тебе нечего Голове земли, такой большой «тяньги», а не имеет, чего давать. Если дать ему гостинец и слово хорошее сказать, может быть и сердиться не будет». Тогда я вспомнил, что у меня в кармане осталось несколько леденцов, которые я употребляю для утоления жажды при восхождении на гору, и, показав их обрадовавшимся спутникам, сказал, что я

их преподнесу сердитому богу и слово хорошее скажу. Спутники несколько успокоились, и я пустился в путь. Когда я к вечеру вернулся, нагруженный коллекцией растений и минералов, спутники с радостью меня обступили и стали допытывать, какое слово сказал я богу Головы земли. Я вынужден был прочесть им экспромт молитвы в их национальном стиле: «Владыка Земли, ты очень большой и сильный, и шибко большой мастер сердиться. Все люди тебя знают. Я из далекой земли пришел, из самой далекой земли, чтобы посмотреть на тебя пришел; пожалуйста, сделай так, чтобы я и мои спутники были здоровы, и домой пришли и чтоб мы по пути голодом не помирали! Хорошенько, пожалуйста, меня накорми». Когда мы в тот же день, истомленные, проголодавшиеся, вернулись в ближайшее селение Ныур и Гибелька, пока варили чай, рассказал изумленным слушателям про мое жертвоприношение и про красноречивую молитву, произошло нечто необыкновенное. Все лица смотрели с умилением, а женщины бросились в амбар доставать драгоценную буду, хранившуюся для жертвоприношений, чтобы накормить меня и моих спутников и, таким образом, исполнить волю Головы земли. Таким образом, благодаря леденцу, я, по мнению гиляков, не только спас свою жизнь, но и неожиданно доставил себе и моим спутникам давно невиданное блюдо.

Есть у гиляка и кровавые жертвоприношения, объектами которых служат собаки. Перед сезоном соболиной охоты, на медвежьем празднике, перед отправлением в далекий путь, во время болезни и вообще в торжественных случаях жизни убивается собака путем удушения. Перед убиением ее кормят и в это же время ей даются, смотря по обстоятельствам, те или другие поручения. Так, во время медвежьего праздника ей говорят: «За своим медведем на самую высокую гору иди. Пусть хозяин тебя полюбит. Эту шерсть перемени и на другой год медведем спустись, чтоб я тебя посмотрел». При убиении собаки по случаю болезни ее просят быть заступницей за больного перед богом, к которому ее посылают.

Таким образом, жертва является простым посланником, душа которого после смерти доберется до хозяина, обитающего на высочайшей горе.

Особую категорию богов составляют *боги родовые*. В сущности, эти боги играют важнейшую роль в жизни гиляка, и им чаще всего гиляк бросает свои жертвы. В каждой стихии имеется родовой бог. Родовые боги гиляков представляют осо-

бенный интерес, так как у этого племени совершенно наглядно можно проследить самый генезис этого столь общераспространенного факта первобытной религии. Ведь даже у греков и римлян поклонение родовым богам было обычным явлением. Родовые боги гиляка не сверхъестественные мифические существа, как у греков и римлян, а их же собственные сородичи, по разным причинам перешедшие в род того или другого бога «хозяина». Для того чтобы приобщиться этой чести, необходимо особенно счастливое, если можно так выразиться, стечение обстоятельств. Если гиляка на охоте задрал медведь, если он сделался на воде добычей волн, если убили его или он сгорел от собственной неосторожности, если умерла женщина, согласно объяснению шамана, от любви к ней медведя и т. д., — все такие лица переселяются не в обычное царство теней, а переходят в род полюбивших их богов-хозяев горы, воды, огня и т. д., и потом становятся сами маленькими «хозяевами» и покровительствуют своим сородичам. Таким образом образовались родовые *паль-нивух'и* — лесные люди, *толь-нивух'и* — морские люди и т. д. Вот этим-то богам-сородичам и приносятся периодические жертвы целым родом. Это не мифические боги, фиктивные герои греческих родов, а реальные личности, властно живущие в воображении своих поклонников. Генезис родовых богов у гиляков проливает свет и на другое темное явление первобытных религий — *тотемизм*, на поклонение известному классу животных, почитаемых, как сородичи или даже родоначальники их поклонников. Дело в том, что, как я уже говорил раньше, хозяин каждой стихии и его сородичи хотя и ведут такой же образ жизни, как и гиляки, но перед человеком всегда являются в образе того или другого зверя, медведя (лесные люди), белухи или косатки (морские люди), так что и гиляк, перешедший после смерти в род того или другого хозяина, тоже принимает оболочку того или другого зверя. Поэтому тот класс зверей, в который перешел избранник, и является родственным роду избранника, и становится, таким образом, его тотемом. Так как почти в *каждом* роде есть современники или предки, павшие в борьбе с медведем или утонувшие в реках или на море, то среди гиляков и не могла выработаться система отдельных тотемов для *каждого* рода. Я не могу, к сожалению, теперь подробнее остановиться здесь на этом обширном вопросе: скажу только, что генезис родовых богов у гиляков ясно показывает, что не тотемизм, т.-е. не вера в происхождение от того или дру-

гого вида животного, как это принято думать, создал родовых богов, а, наоборот, родовые боги создали тотемизм. Ничем иным, как это увидим ниже, нельзя объяснить запреты тотемистов употреблять в пищу мясо тотемов, как страхом убить какого-нибудь сородича, превратившегося в тотемное животное.

Религиозная система гиляков дает и много других интереснейших фактов для объяснения происхождения как тотемизма, так и культа предков, но я ограничусь пока здесь сказанным, тем более что институт тотемизма не принял у этого племени той резко выраженной формы, какую он принял у других специфически тотемных племен, как, например, у австралийцев, североамериканских индейцев, древних египтян и т. д.

Жертвоприношения родовым богам приносятся периодически. Ко дню торжества каждая семья приготовляет всевозможные изысканные блюда гиляцкой кухни и укладывает их в особую, специально для этого случая хранящуюся посуду. На другой день все мужское население рода отправляется на лодках или, в случае волнения на море, пешком в тайгу и располагается на своей родовой площадке, возле своего родового знака. Старший в роде берет из каждой посудины по горсточке и бросает, восклицая при этом: «Чух!», т.-е. «вот тебе!» После этого начинается пиршество, игры, борьба и т. п. развлечения. Весною с появлением тюленей устраивается жертвоприношение «морскому или речному» человеку, состоящее в торжественном бросании яств в прорубь. На Амуре жертвоприношения эти совершаются с лодки сейчас после вскрытия реки; лодки украшаются священными стружками, и на них устраиваются веселые гонки.

У гиляков много родовых праздников, но из них самым важным считается так называемый медвежий праздник. Праздник этот играет огромную роль в общественной жизни гиляков. В сущности, это даже не родовой праздник, а междуродовой. Род, устраивающий праздник, берет на себя только расходы и заботы по устройству праздника, важнейшую же роль играют посторонние роды, приглашаемые к участию в нем. Так как не проходит года, чтобы в тех или других местах не происходили подобные праздники, собирающие на много дней представителей многочисленных родов, то моменты эти играют такую же роль в социальном общении гиляцкого племени, какую некогда играли олимпийские и другие игры в Греции. Зимний медвежий праздник и называется игрищем (чхыф-лехерид — медвежья игра).

Праздник этот описывался уже много раз, и потому я остановлюсь преимущественно на тех чертах, которые до меня не были замечены. Прежде всего, замечательно, что обыкновенно праздник устраивается в память умершего сородича, являясь как бы тризной по покойнике. Ближайший родственник покойного приобретает за деньги или добывает сам в тайге медвежонка, который торжественно, при криках радости, музыке, доставляется в родную деревню. Здесь для него устраивается отдельный сруб из толстого накатника, украшаемый по углам священными деревьями. В откармливании медведя участвует не отдельный хозяин, а весь род: поочередно та или другая семья в течение определенного времени кормит почетного гостя, чистит сруб и вообще всячески ухаживает за ним. В определенные дни медведя добывают из клетки и водят на прогулку. Это целое событие в жизни селения, отнимающее много часов и доставляющее молодым и старым необыкновенное удовольствие. Процедура добывания медведя из клетки довольно сложная. Прежде всего, пока медведь еще в клетке, ему спутывают ноги, продевая через просветы между бревнами надетые на палку ремни, оканчивающиеся живыми затягивающимися петлями. После этого разбирают несколько звеньев верхней части клетки, давая медведю возможность высунуть голову; тогда ему суют в рот палку, которую он яростно стискивает зубами, и в это время ему крепко накрепко завязывают рот. После этого его спокойно вытаскивают из клетки и накидывают на него железное кольцо, охватывающее его по брюху. К этому кольцу с обеих сторон прикрепляют длинные ремни, за которые цепко держатся несколько человек и, туго натягивая ремни в противоположные стороны, не дают возможности медведю бросаться на окружающих. Тогда только освобождают его от пут и ведут на прогулку.

Выкупав и вдоволь надразнив медведя, натешившись над ним, его привязывают между двух столбов и предоставляют самому себе. Обыкновенно он пользуется этой передышкой, чтобы предаваться бесполезному теперь для него инстинкту — разгребать лапами землю для берлоги.

Откармливание медведя продолжается несколько лет, пока медвежонок не обращается в упитанного большого зверя, и тогда приступают к предпраздничным приготовлениям. А приготовлений предстоит не мало. В течение нескольких дней придется кормить и угощать всякими изысканными блюдами не только сородичей и односельчан, но и целую массу приезжих гостей и

вдобавок многочисленных собак, на которых приедут гости. Все это требует забот, хлопот и крупных расходов, потому что, сверх блюд из местных продуктов, делаются большие закупки рису, буды, муки, чаю, сахару, водки или ханшина. Вот тут и обнаруживается та удивительная родовая организация гиляков, которая так поражает стройным соединением общественной солидарности и индивидуальной свободы.

Нет принудительного органа, который собирал бы продукты, понуждал, требовал, контролировал. Каждая семья, сознавая свою обязанность участвовать в общем религиозном деле, работает изо всех сил, не за страх, а за совесть, готовит всякие блюда, помогает в работах и вносит свою посильную лепту на расходы по покупкам. Деньги и припасы передаются хозяину медведя, который распоряжается ими бесконтрольно. Никто никого не укоряет, потому что всякий старается, чтобы праздник сошел с наибольшим блеском. За несколько дней до праздника, который обыкновенно устраивается в феврале, начинается другого рода работа — приготовление арены для убиения медведя. Арена состоит из небольшой утоптанной площадки, среди которой возвышается одна или несколько пар, по числу убиваемых медведей, священных деревьев-столбов, обвешанных инау и покрытых сложной ритуальной резьбой: между ними привязывается медведь. К этой площадке протаптывается длинная узкая аллея, по обеим сторонам которой устанавливается в два ряда 30 пар молодых деревьев: первые 15 пар — елки, вторые — талины.

Наконец, наступает канун. Этот день называется Нау-вахнку, день приготовления инау, т. е. палочек с заструженными концами, играющих важную религиозную роль на празднике. Эти палочки, разных размеров и форм, изображают собою ораторов-заступников, которые вместе с убиваемым медведем отправятся к хозяину тайги и будут ему напоминать о нуждах гиляка, а также будут его талисманами. Каждый вид инау изготовляется парами; каждая пара — супруги, чтобы им было веселее и дабы они плодились и размножались. Часть инау навешивается на столбах арены в виде украшения, часть привязывается к ним внизу. Пока происходит приготовление инау, старший в роде вместе с хозяином медведя и несколькими сородичами выезжает навстречу так называемым н а р х'ам. Эти нарх'и почетные гости, играют весьма важную роль на празднике: им одним предоставляется честь убиения медведя, им од-

ним отдается все мясо убитого зверя и даже шкура. Нарх'и — не произвольно выбранные лица, а обязательно представители того рода, куда выходят замуж дочери хозяина медведя и вообще женщины его рода. Чаще всего, таким образом, нарх'ом является зять хозяина медведя. Нарх'и, в свою очередь, берут с собою своих зятей и решают уже между собою, кому из них убить медведя. Если убивают за раз несколько медведей, то приглашаются нарх'и со всех родов, откуда род, устраивающий праздник, брал жен, так что в празднике иногда участвует до 10 родов. Вот этих-то нарх'ов хозяин медведя обязан торжественно встречать, основательно угостить при встрече и с почетом провезти в свою деревню.

Следующий день и есть день убиения. Он называется Н а-х а н-к у (день убиения медведя) или Ч х ы ф- а р ы н-ку (день кормления медведя). Рано утром добывают медведя из клетки таким же способом, как и для ведения его на прогулку; надевают на него огромный плетеный пояс, увязанный, мешочками, которые наполнены разнообразными яствами, и затем привязывают его недалеко от юрты и дают ему возможность воспользоваться при этой полусвободе последними, оставшимися ему часами жизни. Около полудня его отвязывают и, ухватившись за ремни с обеих сторон, ведут на прогулку. Впрочем, прогулка эта доставляет мало удовольствия медведю, потому что со всех сторон его всячески дразнят и стараются вывести из терпения. Сначала он отделывается легким брюзжанием, но постепенно входит в азарт, пытается бросаться на людей, становится на задние лапы, но десятки рук держат его, и весь его раж пропадает в бессильных метаниях. Но вот, улучив момент, осторожно подкрадывается хозяин медведя, хватает его за голову, целует на прощанье и, не дожидаясь ответного лобзания, поспешно отскакивает. Но чаще всего медведь охотно возвращает прощальный поцелуй своему кормильцу, который считает себя весьма счастливым, если косолапый ограничился тем, что вырвал добрый кусок мяса, а не попал зубами в глаз или шейные артерии, например. Рана, нанесенная медведем в таких случаях, считается, однако, признаком благоволения со стороны добродушного зверя. Прогулка оканчивается трократным обведением медведя вокруг юрты хозяина. Из юрты удаляется перед тем все живое, даже грудные ребята, животные; только старший в роде стоит в сенях, и всякий раз, как медведь поровняется со входом, он дразнит его длинным шестом с несрезанной короной хвои и говорит ласковые слова.

По окончании этой процедуры медведя отводят на площадку и привязывают между двумя разукрашенными по ритуалу деревьями. Шест, которым дразнили медведя, укрепляется в очаг, так что его развевающаяся корона из хвои высоко выдается над дымовым отверстием. После этого устраивается антракт. Медведь опять предоставляется самому себе, а народ тесной гурьбой собирается в юрте хозяина, где начинается обильное угощение. Сидят буквально на головах друг у друга, тем не менее веселье необыкновенное: громкий говор, смех, шутки не умолкают. Только нарх'и серьезны: они сгибают луки, оттачивают стрелы и готовятся к решительному моменту. Тем временем на священную площадку вывозят на нартах в огромных корытах всевозможные холодные яства: тут и мерзлая рыба всех видов, и рис, и буда, и бобы, и, наконец, все сорта торжественного блюда «мось», способ приготовления которого я уже описал во второй главе.

Все это устанавливается рядами близ медведя. Старший в роде или хозяин кормит последний раз медведя из большой ложки на длинной ручке, давая ему поочередно отведать от каждого блюда и прося при этом дать «хорошее место» при убиении. Наконец, он обращается к нему со следующими прощальными словами: «Прощай, в последний раз я кормлю тебя, хорошенько иди, к своему хозяину хорошенько иди, пусть хозяин тебя крепко полюбит». Другие сородичи тоже стараются поднести что-нибудь старому другу; даже маленькие дети участвуют в этом добром деле. После небольшого перерыва из юрты высыпает весь народ, за исключением женщин, которым воспрещено присутствовать при убиении медведя, — иначе, он хорошего места не даст, — и выстраивается в боевой порядок. Впереди идет хозяин медведя или старший в роде, с котелком и топором в руках, рядом с ним с таким же котелком и топором старший из нарх'ов. За ними остальные нарх'и с луками и стрелами и, наконец, по обеим сторонам следуют на лыжах живописной веселой толпой все участники празднества. Не доходя шагов 100 до места, где привязан медведь, народ останавливается, хозяин втыкает свой топор в снег и ставит рядом котелок, то же делает нарх со своим топором и котелком. Топор и котел носят характерное название нич, т. е. мое — твое. Этими нич'ами хозяин медведя и старший нарх обмениваются по окончании праздника в знак вечного братства. Когда нич'и установлены, начинается предпоследний акт трагедии: пробная состязательная стрельба из лука. Некогда, когда лук играл более важную роль в жизни гиляков, эта стрель-

ба, без сомнения, носила характер грандиозного состязания; теперь же она сведена почти к простой формальности. Мишенью служит доска, поставленная позади медведя. Первыми стреляют нарх'и, за ними сородичи хозяина; последние стараются не конфузить гостей и делают умышленно промахи. Толпа следит с напряженным вниманием, и каждый выстрел сопровождается громкими одобрениями или могучими взрывами смеха. После этой пробной стрельбы толпа передвигается ближе к медведю и останавливается в нескольких шагах от него. Среди воцарившейся кругом глубокой тишины выступает вперед избранный нарх, берет в руки лук и начинает наблюдать за медведем, выжидая, когда «он даст хорошее место», т. е. повернется так, чтобы удобно было попасть сразу в сердце. Но медведь часто спокойно стоит на своем месте, разгребая лапами снег, и очень мало заботится о предоставлении хорошего места. Чтобы вывести его из спокойного состояния и заставить дать хорошее место, а также чтобы привести его в раж и этим облегчить ему, по их мнению, боль от нанесенной раны, его начинают дразнить. Медведь мечется во все стороны, с бессильной яростью бросается на своих мучителей, становится на задние лапы. Стрелок между тем следит за ним с самым напряженным вниманием и, улучив удобный момент, пускает, наконец, свою отточенную стрелу. В первую минуту медведь останавливается в недоумении, потом хватается лапой за грудь, на глазах выступают слезы, изо рта горлом показывается кровь. Иногда он начинает неистово метаться, но чаще всего он падает спокойно, с недоумевающей скорбью в глазах. Хотя смерть наступает обыкновенно моментально, тем не менее, на всякий случай, несколько человек набрасываются на убитое животное и начинают душить его, чтобы ускорить смерть и не дать ему мучиться. После этого снимают с медведя цепь, тщательно выправляют на нем шерсть и укладывают в величаво-спокойной позе с вытянутыми передними и задними лапами; на передних покоится голова, обращенная лицом на запад. В этой позе он напоминает человека, задумчиво улегшегося на земле, упершись локтями. Народ чинно рассаживается в два ряда, кто на нартах, кто прямо на снегу, кто на лыжах, и начинается уничтожение тех холодных закусок, которые были привезены для кормления медведя. Поевши, гости постепенно расходятся; остаются только ближайшие сородичи, которые приступают к освежеванию медведя. Процедура эта обставлена строгим ритуалом: способ разрезания мяса, рассечение

костей и т. п. — все совершается по раз навсегда установленным правилам. Первый момент этой процедуры, сейчас после снятия шкуры, представляет для гиляка весьма импозантное зрелище. Это белое (от толстого слоя жиру), мягкое, вытянувшееся на спине тело, эти перение лапы с длинными ровными пальцами, до иллюзии напоминающие руки человеческие, среди мрака ночи должны неотразимо будить в дикаре представление, что пред ним не зверь убитый, а особой породы человек, который снял свою мохнатую шкуру и теперь величаво отдыхает, следя за малейшим движением его ножа. Снятая цельная шкура вместе с головой медведя торжественно переносится в юрту, но не через дверь, а через дымовое отверстие по высокому шесту с короной хвой, который все время высится над земляной юртой. Старший в роде бережно подхватывает шкуру и, слегка ударяя по ней палочкой, приговаривает: «Помни, тебя кормил старик такой-то, старуха такая-то». Тем временем женщины встречают священную голову торжественным маршем, разыгрываемым на оригинальнейшем инструменте. Это — сухое бревно лиственницы, подвешенное на козлах, по которому несколько человек поочередно выбивают в такт довольно монотонные звуки. Под звуки этой очаровательной музыки старший в роде водворяет голову медведя на почетной наре, устланной хвоями. Под головой — колчан со стрелами, а возле нее табак, сахар и прочие яства. Души всех этих вещей медведь заберет с собой. Туши мяса хранятся на дворе на особом помосте, специально для этого устроенном, и вносятся частями тоже через дымовое отверстие. День заканчивается угощением, разговорами, играми молодежи, плясками, фехтованием на палках. Следующий день называется *днем кормления головы*. С утра до вечера в юрте кипят котлы и готовятся всевозможные блюда гиляцкой кухни. Из каждого блюда часть укладывается в отдельную посудину и ставится рядом с головой медведя: это и значит «кормить голову» В этот же день приступают к варке медвежьего мяса. Мясо варится на дворе в особом котле, огонь разводится священным родовым огнивом, которое ни в каких других случаях не употребляется. Но вкусить медвежатины в этот день не дозволяется еще никому. Это происходит уже на другой день, который называется *днем угощения нарх'ов* (нарх-арин-ку). Нарх'и усаживаются чинно вдоль нар, и хозяин торжественно обходит ряды и раздает им куски медвежьего мяса. Более любезные хозяева кормят своих гостей из собственных рук, всовывая им в рот гро-

мадный кусок сала, от которого гость откусывает, предоставляя соседу продолжать начатое им дело. Есть медвежье мясо дозволяется только нарх'ам; хозяин и его род лишены этого права; им разрешается только есть похлебку из риса или буды с наваром из медвежьих туш. Эта похлебка приготовляется и поглощается в огромных количествах.

Величайшей честью для хозяина считается накормить гостей до пресыщения. Любезность доводится до того, что когда гость, объевшись жировой похлебкой, начинает изрыгать ее обратно, хозяин почтительно подставляет рот и выпивает изрыгаемое. Более утонченную любезность трудно себе представить. В промежутке между пиршествами устраиваются гонки на собаках, игры, фехтования на палках, танцы в круговую.

Целый день женская молодежь по очереди музицирует на подвешенном бревне и свою примитивную музыку сопровождает юмористическими, подчас очень фривольными песенками. Водка русская или китайский ханшин играют не последнюю роль на пиршестве, поднимая веселье пирующих до апогея. Напоить допьяна своих гостей считается величайшей честью. — «У меня вчера нарх'и два раза были пьяны», хвастал мне однажды хозяин медведя.

Наконец, наступает последний день праздника, *день отъезда нарх'ов*. На их нарты уложены туши медвежьего мяса и всякие яства, наготовленные для их семейств и сородичей. В последний момент нарх'и вводят в юрту несколько собак и привязывают их у почетной нары к черепу медведя. Кроме того, в виде подарка кладут рядом с головой или втыкают в нее копье, ремень и т. п. вещи. Еще раз на прощанье нарх'и обильно угощаются, затем, обменявшись прощальными взглядами с собаками, молча уходят. При выходе у порога им остается совершить последнюю церемонию, которая носит характерное название «лымызын зычывынд» — «порог топтать». Церемония эта состоит в том, что по обеим сторонам порога ставятся нич'и (котел и топор); нич уходящего — с внутренней стороны, а нич хозяина — с наружной, при чем уходящий должен сначала одной ногой переступить через внутренний нич, а потом другой через наружный.

В тот же день совершается последний акт — жертвоприношение собак. Собаки, подаренные нарх'ами, а также собаки, жертвуемые для этого случая хозяином, выводятся на площадку убиения медведя и привязываются к тем самым деревьям,

к которым был привязан медведь. Сюда же привозится и голова медведя со всеми поднесенными ей подарками. Каждая пара собак состоит из самца и самки, чтобы им было веселее в дороге. По числу пар собак втыкается возле деревьев столько же пар таких же инау, какие делаются для сопровождения медведя. Головы собак украшаются привязанными к ним стружками, выкрашенными соком ягод. Перед убиением собак кормят отборными яствами и напутствуют следующим образом: «Иди, к своему хозяину иди, на самую высокую гору взберись, перемени свою шерсть и на будущий год сюда спустись, медведем спустись, чтобы я тебя посмотрел, так сделай, спустись, прощай, хорошенько ходи!» После этого собак убивают одну за другой посредством удушения. Процесс этот совершается довольно своеобразно. Два человека хватают собаку за задние ноги и с силой оттягивают несчастное животное как можно дальше от дерева к которому они привязаны затягивающейся петлей. В это время другие два человека ухватываются за передние две лапы; пятый давит шею, ускоряя процесс удушения, а шестой втыкает в задний проход заостренную палку, чтобы воспрепятствовать извержению из кишек. Когда собаки удушены, их с тем же почтением и в такой же позе, как и медведей, укладывают на снегу. Разводится огонь, убитых животных освежевают и мясо их бросают в котел.

В пиршестве из собачьего мяса участвуют все, и мужчины и женщины, но только сородичи.

На другой день голова медведя и кости его, а также посуда, стрелы, ремни и пр. — все увозится в традиционный амбар, служащий усыпальницей останков священного зверя. С этого момента душа медведя отправляется, наконец, в путь к своему «хозяину», нагруженная всеми поднесенными подарками и сопровождаемая резво бегущими рядом с ней душами убитых собак и душами заструженных палочек (инау), пока не доберется до высочайшей горы, где живет ее хозяин, он же хозяин тайги — *Паль-ызь*.

Где генезис этого странного праздника, представляющегося многим удивительной загадкой?

Чтобы понять его смысл, нужно принять во внимание, прежде всего, что медвежьи праздники устраиваются не только по случаю убиения домашнего медведя, как это ошибочно думают обыкновенно, а *всякий раз*, когда гиляку удается убить на охоте медведя. Правда, в этих случаях размеры праздника менее

грандиозны, но сущность остается та же. Когда привозят в деревню голову и шкуру убитого в тайге медведя, устраивается триумфальная встреча с музыкой и торжественным церемониалом. Голова помещается на священном помосте, ее кормят, одаряют такими же жертвоприношениями, как и при убиении домашнего медведя; так же созываются *нарх'и*. Так же приносятся в жертву собаки; кости хранятся с таким же почетом и в том же месте, где и останки домашнего медведя. Следовательно, церемониал большого зимнего праздника есть только распространительный обряд, исполняемый при *всяком* убиении медведя, обряд, логически вытекающий из того благоговейного отношения к медведю, о котором я говорил раньше. Далее, что касается факта вскармливания медведя ad hoc, то это с первого взгляда может показаться элементом совершенно не религиозного свойства. Гиляку во время охоты не раз выпадает случай добывать молодых животных, и всякий раз, когда он находит это выгодным для себя, он их вскармливает; так он вскармливает лисиц ради меха, молодых орлят ради их перьев. Точно так же для гиляка невыгодно убивать молодого медвежонка, и он предпочитает вскормить его, чтобы получить потом огромную тушу мяса и великолепную шкуру. Далее, нет ничего естественнее, казалось бы, как воспользоваться убиением медведя для такого торжественного случая, как устройство поминок по близком человеке. Кстати, вскармливание и убиение медведя отличное воспитательное средство для молодежи, которая с детства привыкает к самому страшному зверю своей тайги, привыкает не бояться его, изучает его нравы, силу, слабости. Процедура добывания медведя из клетки — простая репетиция добывания его из берлоги.

Тем не менее, не эти грубо-утилитарные мотивы играют главную роль в дорогостоящих и хлопотливых, многолетних заботах гиляка по вскормлению медведя. Им руководят тут другие мотивы, быть может тоже утилитарные, но совсем другого порядка. Медведь, как мы видели, в глазах гиляка существо sui generis. Какое бы существо ни скрывалось под мохнатой оболочкой медведя, божественный ли сородич хозяина гор, горный ли человек, либо настоящее животное, присланное в дар гиляку его хозяином, в том или другом случае это существо высшего порядка, могучее, сверхчеловечески сильное. Пребывание такого существа в течение продолжительного времени в родном селении, по представлению гиляка, убежденного в беспрестанных кознях сонмов

злых духов, вечно покушающихся на его жизнь и здоровье, должно быть чрезвычайно благодетельно. Присутствие этого могучего существа, как сильнейшая дезинфекция, должна убивать и отгонять всякого злокозненного духа. Недаром именно смерть сородича, т.-е. факт из ряда вон выходящего злостного покушения злого духа, заставляет немедленно же изловить или купить во что бы то ни стало медвежонка. Что медведь одним своим присутствием гонит злых духов, видно хотя бы из того, что во время медвежьего праздника шаману запрещается советоваться во сне со своими *кехи* (см. ниже) насчет лечения больного, т.-е. изгнания вселившихся в него злых духов, потому что медведь *обижается:* он сам, мол, их разгоняет своей собственной силой. Аналогии подобного воззрения на очистительное влияние медведя и многих других животных мы находим в наших собственных переживаниях и обрядах. В Малороссии, как известно, существовал обычай в известные праздники обводить медведя по деревне с очистительной целью... На наших барских конюшнях еще до сих пор сохранился обычай держать козлов, которые должны охранять лошадей и конюхов от нечистой силы. Таким образом, род, кормящий медведя, делает важное общественное дело, гарантируя всех своих от козней самых могучих, хотя и невидимых, врагов. Своеобразная религиозная санитария, но единственно доступная первобытному человеку!

Теперь остановимся на смысле тех *обрядов,* которые сопровождают *всякий* случай убиения медведя. Прежде всего, нужно сказать, что гиляк не считает грехом убивать медведя. При всем своем благоговении к нему, он убежден, во-первых, что те медведи, которые достаются ему в добычу, посылаются ему «хозяином» тайги, по отношению к которому медведи играют ту же роль, что для гиляка собаки. «Медведь — собака хозяина горы», такова формула гиляка. Да, кроме того, медведь ничего не теряет от своей насильственной смерти, потому что смерть для него состоит только в том, что он бросает гиляку свое тело, а душа его — этот живой дубликат — резво мчится в это время к своему «хозяину» как ни в чем не бывало. Стало-быть, никакого искупления тут не требуется. Но медведь, хоть и собака лесного человека, тем не менее существо высшего порядка, высшего ранга, чем человек. В этом представлении о медведе, как о собаке «хозяина», с точки зрения первобытного человека, нет ничего умаляющего для священного животного. Будем помнить, что генезис культа животных кроется в

преклонении перед животным, именно как таковым, без всякой иносказательности. «Разумом вселенной, — говорит еще Авеста, — управляет собака». Но, по дальнейшей эволюции культа медведя, как мы видели, в этом последнем может крыться и «горный человек», сородич «хозяина гор» и даже собственный сородич гиляка, превратившийся в «горного человека». И потому оказать всевозможные почести убитому, кормить его голову, щедро снабдить его в дорогу разными припасами, не осквернять его тела, не проливать его крови на землю и т. п. — все это необходимые последствия воззрения на медведя, как на высшее существо. Но не этим только проявлением уважения к высшему существу исчерпывается важность праздника. Душа убитого медведя отправляется к своему хозяину, тому хозяину, от которого зависит благополучие человека. Это самая верная оказия переслать этому далекому владыке жизни разные подарки в виде собак, стрел, лука, яств и т. п. Все это окупится сторицей. Да и сам медведь, ублаготворенный всеми почестями и угощениями, может оказаться небесполезным в исходатайствовании разных милостей у хозяина гор.

Из этого видно, что убиение медведя во время зимнего праздника — *не жертва* богам, как думает, например, известный исследователь первобытной религии Ланг, а только дает *повод* к жертвам. Самое лучшее доказательство — это то, что гиляк всегда приносит каждому богу в жертву лишь то, чего этот бог сам не имеет, а хозяин тайги имеет сколько угодно медведей. Ему нужны собаки, рыбы, табак, сахар, ремни, стрелы — их и дает ему гиляк; медведь же лишь почетный посол, который их отвезет. Он сам божество, хотя и маленькое, и поэтому самому не может быть жертвой. Наконец, есть еще один важный момент праздника — это *вкушение тела медведя* Обыкновенно большая часть мяса отдается *нарх'ам* т. е. роду зятя хозяина убитого медведя, но голова обязательно и благоговейно разделяется между сородичами, которым принадлежит медведь. В этом вкушении видят не простой акт еды, а восприятие в свое тело могучих свойств медведя. Женщина, например, не может вкусить от сердца медведя, которое дает храбрость, качество, совершенно бесполезное для нее, и потому такое вкушение, как бесцельное, должно быть обидным для медведя.

Таким образом, религиозное значение медвежьего праздника сводится к следующему: 1) вскармливание медведя доставляет

селению безопасность и охрану от злых духов, — обстоятельство величайшей важности, если принять во внимание взгляды гиляка на происхождение болезни и смерти (см. ниже); 2) вкушение «божества» дает силу: 3) ублаготворенная почестями душа убитого медведя и самостоятельно и через своего «хозяина» может благодетельствовать человеку; 4) она же — и это самое важное — является послом, передатчиком всевозможных даров «хозяину гор», от которого зависит благополучие гиляка. По поводу этого последнего пункта необходимо вспомнить то, что мы говорили о родовых богах. У каждого рода есть сородичи среди «горных людей», т.-е. сородичи, некогда павшие в борьбе с медведем и потом принятые в род «хозяина медведя». Каждый такой сородич становится, в свою очередь, маленьким «хозяином», богом-покровителем своего рода. В действительности, каждый род получает свою добычу не непосредственно от самого «хозяина гор», а именно от своего родового бога, который специально поселяется на охотничьей территории своего рода. Так что подарки, пересылаемые через медведя, в сущности направляются не к самому главному «хозяину», а ближайшему, «хозяину гор» — сородичу.

Вот почему устроение праздника является чисто родовым делом. Этим также объясняются, быть-может, два крайне характерных, но загадочных факта медвежьего праздника. Во-первых, не только никто из членов рода, устраивающих праздник, не допускается к убиению медведя, но не допускаются даже сородичи женщин, на которых женаты члены этого рода, словом, никто из агнатов ни по мужской, ни по женской линии; единственные родственники, допускаемые к убиению, это «зятья», лица, женатые на вышедших из этого рода женщинах, т.-е. лица, кровь которых никогда не смешивалась с празднующим родом. Во-вторых, вся медвежья туша, за исключением мяса головы, отдается другому роду, роду «нарх'ов», и, наоборот, запретна для рода, которому принадлежит медведь. Некогда, может-быть, и голова была также запретна для празднующего рода. Не вызываются ли эти запреты тотемистической предосторожностью против убиения и вкушения тела сородича? Ведь убитый медведь мог случайно оказаться и *сородичем родного горного человека* и, значит, сородичем тех, которые устраивают праздник? Тогда убивать его и есть его мясо было бы преступно и гибельно для данного рода.

Но другому роду, роду «нарх'ов», это дозволительно, потому

что ему посылает медведей другой «хозяин», его собственный сородич, так что есть мясо медведя чужого рода для него совершенно безопасно.

Может показаться странным и непримиримым противоречием сосуществование таких норм, как дозволительность убиения, хотя и не самоличного, медведя и вкушения его головы — с одной стороны, и запрет на все остальное мясо — с другой стороны. Но у тотемных племен мы сплошь и рядом встречаемся с такими мнимыми противоречиями. Самоанцы, например, убивают в торжественные моменты *гов, оказывают им почести, как божественным предкам своим*, но в то же время до мяса не смеют дотрогиваться. У племен Центральной Австралии, читаем мы у Спенсера и Гиллена, у которых обыкновенно запрещено, например, убивать и употреблять в пищу кенгуру, в известный торжественный день убивается 2-3 запретных животных, и мясо кусочками распределяется между сородичами. Таких примеров много.

Косвенное подтверждение нашего предположения о происхождении указанного запрета у гиляков находим в интересном предании орочей и ороков, религиозные воззрения которых очень близки с таковыми у их соседей-гиляков. Согласно этому преданию, одна орочская женщина однажды была похищена (иначе говоря, съедена) медведем и родила от него двоих детей. После этого она часто в виде медведицы встречалась в лесу с орочами и предупреждала их не стрелять в нее. Но случилось, что по ошибке ее подстрелили. Что это была именно она, ясно видно было из того, что в ее внутренностях нашли женские украшения: браслет и т. п. Умирая, она завещала убившему ее орочу, чтобы впредь при убиении медведя соблюдался тот ритуал, который ныне обычно соблюдается на празднике, ибо каждый убитый медведь может оказаться ее потомком и, следовательно, сородичем ороча.

Но вернемся к богам. До сих пор я говорил о богах, благодетельствующих гиляку. Но, кроме них, есть еще сверхъестественные существа, злые и вредящие ему. Это черти — «миль'к'и», «кинр'ы». Существа эти являются в самых различных видах и различаются по степени своей зловредности. Они являются то в виде гиляков, то в виде зверей, начиная с медведя и кончая жабой и ящерицей. Встречаются они на суше и на море, под землей и на небе.

Одни из них составляют специальные роды злокозненных существ, губительных по самой природе своей. Другие — это отдельные выродки, «блудные сыны» родов благодетельных существ, по исключению только ставшие врагами человеческими. Главную опасность, конечно, представляют первые.

Одни занимаются исключительно тем, что обкрадывают гиляка в пути (духи потерь — *гэр-нівух'и*), другие опустошают амбары, петли и западни, или всякими иными путями пакостят ему, и, наконец, есть и такие, которые покушаются на самую жизнь его, причиняя болезнь и смерть. Если бы не они, люди не умирали бы! Естественная смерть невозможна! Смерть — результат козней этих коварных существ. Поэтому гиляк никогда не дотронется до подохшего в тайге соболя, хотя бы шкурка его была очень ценна и сохранилась наилучшим образом, ибо в подохшем соболе непременно сидит чорт. Подобно тому, как он, гиляк, сторожит зверя и всяческими уловками старается убить его, так и злой дух сторожит на каждом шагу его самого, чтобы полакомиться им. Болезнь это не больше как злое существо, забравшееся в тело гиляка и медленно его поедающее. Такому представлению легко подают повод ночные кошмары и сны, когда больному грезится, что кто-то его душит, давит изнутри. При неправильном функционировании какого-нибудь органа, например, при одышке, легко является представление, что какое-то существо залезло внутрь и мешает дыханию и т. д. Это-то существо необходимо *изгнать*. Изгнание производится посредством разнообразных приемов, начиная с простейших и кончая самыми сложными.

Вот пример, который довольно наглядно рисует «психологию» изгнания бесов. Одну женщину, подвергшуюся припадку внезапного истеричного психоза, при мне посадили на высокий помост, на котором обыкновенно чистят рыбу, и под ним развели огонь из всякой ветоши, собачьего кала и вонючего мусора. Чорт, забравшийся в женщину, не мог, конечно, выдержать ужасающего зловония и благоразумно убрался из сердца спасшейся таким образом больной. Но не все бесы так чутки к зловонию; иные нуждаются в более сильных средствах. Таких бесов приходится запугивать необыкновенным шумом, исступленными криками, страшным видом изгоняющего и т. п. терроризирующими средствами. Отсюда необходимость для бесоизгонителя бить в бубен, греметь побрякушками, вопить не своим голосом, приводить себя в исступленное состояние, для чего

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

он глотает дым, пьет морскую воду, одуряет себя дымом багульника (Ledum palustre) и жует отвратительный горький корень этого растения, ест горячий уголь и т. д. Но и такие сильные средства не всегда оказываются действительными. Иногда злой дух не поддается никакому человеческому устрашению: мало того, иногда он уносит душу больного в царство теней. Тут уже необходима помощь высших существ.

Эту помощь могут оказать только особые *избранники*, специалисты-изгонители, т.-е. *шаманы*.

Шаманы у гиляков не представляют касты, как у более культурных варваров. Шаманы у гиляков — это избранники, получившие в видении ночи или в трансе от бога-покровителя откровение о своем высоком призвании. С этого момента у шамана являются боги-*помощники*, исполнители его велений. Эти боги-помощники двоякого рода: *кехи* и *кенчх*. Первые исполняют главные его поручения. Это они хитростью или силой вытаскивают беса из организма больного. Они же носят душу шамана в поисках за украденной душой больного, забираясь с ней даже в царство теней. Что касается помощников, то это веселые духи, играющие с шаманом и помогающие ему только в фокусах. *Кехи* — существа самых разнообразных пород: есть *кехи*-волки, сивучи, филины, олени, зайцы, небесные существа и т. д. У каждого *кехи* свой хозяин, который сам лично очень редко является на помощь, посылая своих подчиненных. *Кехи* способны принимать любую форму и, следовательно, могут проникать повсюду, где только нужно, для спасения больного.

У шаманов три главных способа лечения. Один состоит в том, что, выслушав пациента, шаман засыпает и потом, комбинируя явившиеся ему сновидения, дает тот или иной совет. Увидев, например, во сне пегую собаку, он решает, что для исцеления необходимо принести в жертву собаку и т. д. Другой способ — это тот обычный способ камлания, который обыкновенно описывается этнографами, именно изгнание беса посредством исступленных криков, ударов в бубен и т. д., словом — террором. Но, так как одним звуковым устрашением ничего не поделаешь часто, то призываются во время камлания на помощь вышеупомянутые духи *кехи*. Собственно говоря, в настоящее время *призвание духов* и составляет существеннейшую часть камлания. Всю силу своего а в т о г и п н о з а, которую шаман создает в себе исступленными криками, наркотиками, оглушающими звуками

бубна, бешеной пляской, он употребляет на то, чтобы вызвать в себе то высшее чутье, благодаря которому он видит и слышит своих духов-покровителей. Мы вполне ему можем поверить, что он действительно их видит и слышит. И своей верой он гипнотизирует и окружающих. Надеюсь, что никто не заподозрит меня в пристрастии к шаманам, и я могу спокойно засвидетельствовать, что в моем присутствии экстаз шамана и таинственная обстановка, при которой метался и вопил исступленный избранник, приводил гиляков в такое состояние, что они галлюцинировали и видели все то, что видел в трансе сам шаман. Шаман ловко, смотря по обстоятельствам, прибегает то к одному, то к другому из своих *кехн*. Так, если бес упорно засел внутри организма и не хочет уходить, шаман призывает *ар-рымнд-кехн*, который обращается в огненный шар и забирается в брюхо шамана, а оттуда во все самые отдаленные части его тела, так что шаман во время сеанса выпускает огонь изо рта, из носа, из любой части тела. Пропитавшись таким образом огнем, он прикасается губами к больному месту и впускает внутрь огонь, который окончательно прогоняет беса. Смысл этого приема лежит в том же примитивном принципе террора — в данном случае устрашении огнем, о котором я говорил вначале. Вообще *кехн* довольно-таки хитрый народ. Так, когда *кехн'у* приходится забираться к хозяину моря за маленькой душой утопленника, которая лежит на постельке в юрте самого хозяина, он приводит с собою белого оленя. Конечно, морские люди, никогда не видавшие такого диковинного зверя, выбегают из юрты, чтобы посмотреть на него. Этим-то моментом и пользуются *кехн*, чтобы похитить душонку утопленника.

Насколько реально гиляк относится к *кехн*, видно из следующего. Перед порогом юрты, с внутренней стороны, расстилают на полу большой кусок новой бязи (пор), на котором *кехн* будет отдыхать во время сеанса. В углу на полке ставят чашку с сараной, сахаром, ценным блюдом «мось», картошкой и т. п. лакомствами, которыми дух-исцелитель будет угощаться в антрактах камлания. Над ложем больного привешивается сложенный кругом ремень, а на полу подле больного ставится котел с гвоздем. Ремнем *кехн* свяжет душу больного, забравшуюся в млыво (селение мертвых), и, положив ее за пазуху, принесет в юрту, при чем бросит ее в котел и уколет гвоздем. На пол или на нару ее класть нельзя, потому что через пол она может удрать обратно.

Третий способ лечения — это на расстоянии. Когда человек внезапно заболевает в таком месте, где нет шамана, или в дороге, он ночью, когда шаманы спят, выходит на двор, бросает жертву богам и кричит изо всей силы: «Чамнай, ниховлатынгра ньронюя», т.-е.: «Шаман! я болен, помоги мне!» Шаман будто бы немедленно тогда приступает к камланию и посылает своего *кехи*, и больной не только слышит звуки бубна, но во мраке ночи видит даже образ посланного духа. По возвращении в свою деревню исцеленный больной с умилением и благодарностью рассказывает шаману подробности чудесной ночи.

Хотя шаманы не играют среди гиляков такой большой роли, как среди туземцев берегов Амура, вера в сверхъестественную силу их и здесь безгранична. Сплошь и рядом мне показывали места, с которых шаманы силой духа поднимались, как птицы, под небеса и летали по своим делам в области небожителей. Не менее часто мне называли случаи, когда шаман воскрешал мертвых, убивал на расстоянии, создавал форелей и т. п. Я сам стал однажды объектом легенды всемогущества шамана. В с. Ныйво, что на устье Тыми, я позволил себе однажды предложить медицинскую помощь пациентке знаменитого шамана. Узнав про мое вмешательство, шаман не только запретил принимать мои лекарства, но решил строго наказать меня за мою дерзость. Немедленно после моего отъезда он в полной одежде вошел в воды залива и стал заклинать бога воды обрушиться на меня всевозможными карами. Через день пришлось мне заночевать в покинутом орокском шалаше, на низком берегу залива Набиль. Ночью поднялся сильный ветер, сопровождаемый страшнейшим ливнем; вода выступила из берегов и стала затапливать низкую окрестность. Мы проснулись на рассвете, буквально плавая на наших подстилках. Пришлось строить помост и ежиться на нем в течение многих часов до спада воды. Для гиляков всего побережья было вне всякого сомнения, что я понес наказание, ниспосланное шаманом, который, впрочем, мог оказаться еще строже, но на сей раз пощадил русского «тяньги» (господина). Замечательно, что смерть моей пациентки, хотя она и отказалась принять оставленное мною лекарство, была вменена в вину не шаману, а ее святотатственному обращению за помощью ко мне.

Впрочем, гиляки охотно и с полной верой лечатся у русских, но не потому, конечно, что верят в силу науки, а по совершенно своеобразным причинам. «Русский бог, — рассуждают они, — сильнее гиляцкого, значит и русский шаман сильнее гиляцкого».

А если вы спросите, почему русский бог сильнее гиляцкого, вы можете услышать такой ответ: «Смотри, гиляк столько веков живет здесь, а все тропинками ходит, а русский пришел, сейчас широкие дороги сделал, такие дороги, что гиляк никогда не видал». Любопытно, что ни пароходы, ни машины, ничто так не поражает гиляка и не убеждает его в превосходстве русского бога пред гиляцким, как именно эти дороги.

Теперь еще несколько слов о природе и психике этих странных людей, именуемых шаманами.

По воззрениям гиляков, шаманы — избранные существа. Сделаться шаманом нельзя. Талант шамана не дар, а бремя. Чтобы стать шаманом, необходимо либо понравиться какому-нибудь кехн, либо получить такого кехн от отца или дяди. Обращение в шамана составляет перелом в жизни избранника, перелом, сопровождающийся очень сложными психическими явлениями.

Перед тем, как стать шаманом, рассказывал мне один знакомый шаман, он болел более двух месяцев, в течение которых он лежал неподвижно, пластом, в полном беспамятстве. Не успевал он очнуться от одного припадка, как впадал в другой. «Я умер бы, — сказал он мне, — если бы не сделался шаманом!» За эти месяцы испытаний он высох, как палка. По ночам ему стало сниться, что он поет шаманские песни. Однажды явился к нему белый филин и стал возле него совсем близко, а немного подальше стоял человек и говорил ему: «Сделай себе бубен и все, что полагается шаману, и пой песни. Если ты простой человек, у тебя ничего не выйдет, если же ты шаман, то будешь настоящим шаманом». Спал он долго, сколько — не знает, но когда он проснулся, он увидел, что его держат над огнем за ноги и за голову: окружающие думали, что *кехн* убили его. Тогда он велел подать себе бубен и стал песни петь. Он чувствовал себя не то пьяным, не то мертвым. Тогда-то он впервые увидел своих *кехн* и *кенчх*, и первые сказали ему: «Если больного увидишь, лечи его, кенчх'у не верь: у него лицо человечье, а тело птичье; верь только нам».

Однажды я сам был свидетелем первого появления подобного припадка. Гиляцкий мальчик, по имени Койшыт, лет 12, сын шамана, гостивший у меня, заснул после обеда и, нечаянно разбуженный моим товарищем, начал неистово метаться и кричать, повторяя все неистовства и исступленные крики шаманов. Когда припадок кончился, лицо бедного мальчика было страшно исто-

млено и казалось лицом пожилого человека. Во сне к нему явилось двое *кехн*, один мужчина, другой женщина; это были *кехн* его покойного отца. Они сказали ему: «Мы играли с твоим отцом, теперь давай с тобой». Другой гиляцкий мальчик Индын, присутствовавший тут же, с глубоким изумлением наблюдал проявление припадка. «Ну, теперь Койныт человеком не будет, — сказал он, — *кехн* хочет его заставить свой закон держать»

В этом замечании с полной ясностью вылился взгляд гиляка на шамана, как на особое существо, как на избранника богов. Но, как видно, и у гиляков нелегко достается избранничество.

Итак, шаман — избранник, лицо, *верящее* в свою силу и избрание. Это сознание как нельзя более подходит ко всему его физическому складу, потому что настоящие шаманы почти всегда люди, страдающие разными видами истерии благоприобретенной или, что чаще всего, наследственной. А истерия, как известно, это та благодатная почва, которая создает дар ясновидения, галлюцинации, бред, навязчивые идеи. Это индивиды, наиболее легко поддающиеся гипнозу и автогипнозу. С детства будущий шаман загипнотизирован идеей покровительства *кехн*, а во время сеансов камлания он употребляет все средства, необходимые для самовнушения. *Изучение психики шаманства* сводится, по нашему мнению, к учению об автогипнозе на почве истерии и, разумеется, на общем фоне анимистического мировоззрения. Кроме дара избранничества, шаман имеет еще одно завидное преимущество пред простым смертным. Обыкновенный смертный имеет только одну душу, богатый человек имеет две, а шаман может иметь их вдвое больше. Так, ады-тымовский шаман Чамх, отец того мальчика-шамана Койныта, о котором я говорил выше, имел целых 4 души; одну дала ему гора, другую море, третью небо, четвертую подземное царство. И малолетний сын его, Койныт, во время моего пребывания на острове, имел уже 2 души, хотя он был беден, как Иов.

Различие в числе душ по рангам касается только так называемых больших душ, т.-е. душ, равняющихся по размерам телу человека и размещающихся при жизни последнего по всему организму. Но, кроме этих больших душ, у каждого человека есть еще маленькие души, помещающиеся в голове большой души, после смерти которой маленькая душа превращается в большую и становится дубликатом покойной. В высшей степени замечательно, что маленькие души рисуются гиляку в виде яйца, представление, столь характерное для психологии первобытного че-

ловека, которого таинственные процессы эмбриологии так же фатально приводят к идее бессмертия души, как некогда к тому же был приведен христианский мыслитель путем размышления над фактом произрастания растения из зерна, брошенного в землю.

При жизни человека эта маленькая яйцевидная душа играет огромную роль. Это она является гиляку во сне, и все, что гиляк видит или делает во время сновидений и что принимается им как живая действительность, все это проделывается этой маленькой душой.

Но шаманы, сколько бы душ у них ни было, не всемогущи... Наступает момент, когда самые могущественные шаманы вместе со всеми своими *кехи* оказываются бессильными помочь человеку в борьбе с засевшими в него злыми духами. Это случается чаще всего тогда, когда мучителями человека являются злые гении горы или моря. Разрушивши тело, эти господа часто уносят с собою и душу умершего. Но, освободившись от телесного бремени, душа умеет постоять за себя: она умудряется сбежать от своего гонителя и укрыться поблизости, у дружественных горных или морских людей. Спустя некоторое время душа-двойник, приняв человеческий образ, перебирается в новую, таинственную для нас, но хорошо известную гиляку страну — млыво (буквально «селение мертвых»). Впрочем, обыкновенно злые духи, убив тело, оставляют душу в покое, и она беспрепятственно может отправиться в новый мир. Попасть в млыво очень нетрудно. Где-то на земле есть отверстие (смертным это место точно неизвестно); стоит только спуститься по этому отверстию, как душа у цели. Там все, как у нас: такая же земля, такое же небо, море, реки, леса, только солнце светит там, когда у нас ночь, а луна, когда у нас день. Ожившие покойники продолжают там жить в таких же селениях, как на земле, ловят рыбу, бьют зверей, устраивают родовые праздники, женятся и плодятся. Только имущественное положение изменяется: бедный человек делается богатым, а богатый бедным. И у гиляков, как видите, бедные находят свое утешение не в этом лучшем из миров. Но и в новом мире человека ожидают болезни и смерть. Оттуда душе придется перекочевать еще в третий мир и так до тех пор, пока, наконец, душа не измельчает и не обратится все в меньшие и меньшие существа, в птичку, комара и, наконец, в прах. Иногда души снова рождаются на нашей планете, совершая опять бесконечный ряд превращений. По большей части это удел женщин.

Но прежде чем попасть в млыво, душа ждет, чтоб ее снабдили на этом свете всем необходимым, чтобы с комфортом и побогаче явиться в новую страну. И вот покойника обряжают в лучшие одежды, в шелковые халаты. Все, что одевают на покойника, должно быть новое, все вышито, изящно, прочно. На мужчин одевают 1, 3, 6 пар и вообще число пар, кратное трем, на женщин 2, 4, 8 и т. д. пар.

Из амбара достают самые дорогие копья, ружья, луки, сети — и души всех этих предметов отправятся в путь вместе с покойником.

Пока идут эти приготовления к далекому странствованию, покойника беспрерывно угощают самыми изысканными блюдами. С утра до глубокой ночи кипят котлы; народ толпится в юрте. Едят, пьют, как во время медвежьего праздника, и из каждого блюда уделяют покойнику. Когда курят, подносят рот к губам покойника и делятся с ним этим любимейшим удовольствием гиляка. Обычай требует, чтобы, пока покойник в доме, окружающие его веселились, шутили, смеялись. Молчание в доме покойника — грех. Когда все приготовления окончены, покойника привязывают к нарте ремнями и поверх него кладется его любимая собака. В этой собаке некоторое время будет жить маленькая душа покойника. Собаку привяжут потом к тому месту, где спал покойник, будут кормить лучшими блюдами, а спустя несколько месяцев, когда маленькая душа водворится вновь на свое место, собаку продают на сторону.

Наконец, покойника привозят к месту, где останутся навеки его останки. Здесь его ожидает последнее ложе на земле — высокая, симметрично сложенная груда дров, на которую его бережно укладывают, лицом на запад. В последний раз жена, муж, мать, если покойник малолетний, жена старшего брата, если покойник холост, взберутся к нему и поплачут и затем, раздобыв священный огонь посредством трения, поджигают помост со всех сторон. Когда огонь добирается до тела покойника, все спешат отдать ему последнюю дань, подбрасывая дров к костру. Даже маленькие дети принимают в этом участие. Четыре человека стоят по краям и длинными шестами поправляют дрова и тычут ими в тело, чтобы оно скорее и лучше горело. Тем временем ломают нарты, котлы, копья, бьют собак, чем освобождают души этих предметов для следования за покойником... Пепел покрывают берестой, и от покойника в буквальном смысле слова остается один прах.

Над местом сожжения покойника ставят вывороченное с корнем дерево.

После этого народ усаживается вокруг котлов с мясом убитых собак, часть которого съедается, а часть разбрасывается во все стороны. На обратном пути только на короткое время забегают в юрту покойника отведать поставленные там яства и затем расходятся.

Через несколько дней недалеко от места сожжения ставится на земле небольшой игрушечный домик с дверцей и окошечком. Внутри его помещается кукла-человек, одетая в шелк; над ней изображение кукушки, богини любви гиляцкой мифологии, а вокруг устанавливаются принадлежности еды и курения, чашки, тарелки, березовые чумашки со всевозможными яствами, трубки, табак и пр.

Время от времени приходят родные, возобновляют приношения, но через несколько месяцев приношения прекращаются, потому что душа покойного успела устроиться на новом месте и уже ни в чем не нуждается. Еще раз вспомнят о покойнике на медвежьем празднике...

Таковы в кратких чертах религиозные воззрения и обычаи гиляков.

VI.

РОД.

В главе о верованиях мы коснулись влияния идей рода на релиодну сторону рода — строение его в зависимости от норм брака. В главе о верованиях мы коснулись влияния идей рода на религиозные представления.

Теперь рассмотрим его во всей совокупности признаков, тектонических и динамических, морфологических и социально-духовных, как одно цельное учреждение, регулирующее все стороны жизни гиляка.

При этом в нашем анализе мы считаем особенно поучительным держаться той же системы, которой держатся сами гиляки при формулировке своих представлений о роде.

Прежде всего интересен самый термин, которым гиляки выражают понятие «род». Он гласит: кхаль, что буквально значит: ножны, футляр, — удачный символ единой утробы, единства происхождения. Что касается признаков родового союза, то гиляки формулируют их с удивительной лаконичностью, ярко рисую-

щей вполне сознательное отношение их к основному учреждению своего социального быта.[1]

Если вы спросите любого гиляка, почему он считает таких-то (NN) своими сородичами, вы неизменно получите один ответ: «Как же, у нас ахмальк (тесть) — один (т.-е. общий), ымги (зять) — один, огонь — один, горный человек, морской человек, небесный человек, земной человек и т. д. — один, медведь — один, чорт — один, тхусинд (вира) — один, грех — один».

Анализ этой формулы и приведет нас к выяснению содержания родового союза.

1. Ахмальк — один, ымги — один: тесть общий, зять общий. Тесть одного сородича — тесть всему роду. Зять одного сородича — зять всему роду. Каждый род принципиально берет женщин из одного определенного рода и в свою очередь отдает своих женщин в другой, тоже точно определенный род. Общий тесть означает *общее* право каждого поколения сородичей на соответствующее поколение женщин рода — ахмальк, а общий зять — обязанность отдавать своих женщин роду — ымги. Только мужчины постоянный элемент рода, женщины — элемент, либо уходящий из рода, либо приходящий извне. Отсюда вся «физиологическая» конструкция рода — экзогамность, агнатность, общие права и обязанности относительно женщин, взаимные супружеские права братьев и т. д.

Таким образом гиляцкий род — союз родственников по мужской линии, агнатов, берущих жен из другого определенного рода, отдающих своих женщин в третий и связанных между собою целым рядом взаимных прав и обязанностей в области брачно-половых норм.

Но это только формальный остов этого родственного союза: в плоти и крови всех вытекающих из него последствий он гораздо глубже, интимнее и крепче, чем это может показаться с первого взгляда. Прежде всего надо иметь в виду, что, несмотря на принцип агнатства, сородичи связаны родственными узами не только по отцу, но и по матери. Это следует непосредственно из самого тезиса общности тестя. Ибо раз каждое поко-

[1] Крайне интересно, что близкий термин хаіа существует и у соседних тунгусских племен — ороков, орочей, гольдов, негда, с которыми гиляки имеют некоторые общие родственные названия, как, напр., аки (ст. брат) = ага (у тунгусских племен), несмотря на полную разнородность языков этих народов в лексическом и грамматическом отношениях.

ление сородичей («братьев») женится на соответствующем поколении женщин («сестер») одного рода — ахмальк, то и матери этих сородичей, в свою очередь, между собою сестры. Далее, жены сородичей, несмотря на то, что они, сообразно агнатному принципу рода, являются как бы совершенно чуждым элементом, в действительности состоят в близком когнатном родстве со своими мужьями: муж и жена, как мы знаем, обыкновенно — соответственно дети сестры и брата, — родных или более отдаленных степеней — и, следовательно, во всяком случае когнатные братья и сестры. Таким образом мужской и женский элемент не только не чуждые друг другу, связанные лишь браком элементы, а, наоборот, интимно-связанные помимо брака кровным родством. Мало того, в силу того же положения об единстве «тестя», все вошедшие в род женщины — между собою агнатные родственницы, либо сестры, либо тетки и племянницы, так что оба элемента — мужской и женский, — каждый в отдельности и оба вместе, сцементированы крепкими интиными узами родства, которые, конечно, глубоко отражаются и на всех социальных отношениях членов рода между собою.

На эти отношения не повлияли и те упомянутые нами в свое время обстоятельства, благодаря которым отдельным членам рода в конце концов в силу необходимости приходится иногда брать жен и за пределами единого первоначального рода-ахмальк: общий дух и общие нормы остались те же.

Но цемент, скрепляющий союз родственников в нерушимую организацию рода, кроется не в одном только формальном сознании общности происхождения и родства и не на одних только формальных нормах брака, ибо сами по себе они не настолько сильны, чтобы удержать из поколения в поколение людей в замкнутом наследственном союзе. Причины гораздо глубже. Прежде всего — это р е л и г и о з н а я санкция, играющая столь важную роль в глазах первобытного человека, санкция первоначально не самого родового союза, а тех брачных норм, которые создали род. Принцип, что каждый должен брать жен из рода матери, что жена должна быть кровной родственницей мужа — принцип религиозный, принцип, интимно связанный с культом предков, в частности с культом матери. Захват замужней женщины — такое же религиозное преступление против рода похищенной, как убийство сородича: борьба за ее возвращение или, по крайней мере, требование виры обязательно, как и в делах мести, до третьего поколения!

Раз указанный принцип был сознан и стал непреложным императивом жизни, то естественным последствием его явилась экзогамия, а экзогамия — основа рода.

Но экзогамия у гиляков, как это мы видели, не просто только обязанность брать жен вне своего рода. Она дает человеку целый ряд прав, играющих в его жизни огромную роль.

Известно, что добывание жены одно из самых трудных дел в жизни первобытного человека. Женщин обыкновенно меньше, чем мужчин. За женщину надо платить, а тут еще богачи захватывают себе помногу жен. Бедному человеку — а таких большинство — добыть жену при таких условиях дело крайне нелегкое, ему приходится для этого нередко прибегать к приемам, при которых он рискует даже жизнью.

Нормы гиляцкого рода дают каждому гиляку право на женщин рода-ахмальк, в частности на дочерей братьев своей матери: это его религиозная обязанность и право вместе с тем. Калым в таких случаях если не формальность, то бремя, на разделение которого каждый всегда вправе рассчитывать со стороны своих сородичей, заинтересованных, как и он сам, на браке его из определенного рода, рода матери. В худшем случае, пока человеку не удалось обзавестись собственной семьей, семьи его старших братьев, сообща с которыми он делит право на женщин рода-ахмальк, — его семья, их жены — его жены, на которых он имеет законные супружеские права. Умирает женатый гиляк, его жена без всякого калыма переходит к одному из младших его братьев по выбору рода.

Это все преимущества, которые играют первостепенную роль в глазах первобытного человека. Венцом этих преимуществ является социальная привилегия каждого сородича не опасаться за участь своей жены и детей после его смерти. Его жена и дети и при жизни юридически, а часто и фактически — жена и дети его младших братьев; такими они останутся и после его смерти: один из братьев, по решению рода, заменит его в правах и обязанностях мужа и отца, и даже за отсутствием у покойника младших братьев кормильцем его семьи явится один из «старших». Это непреложный закон рода.

Таковы выгоды, которые дает родовой союз в силу одного только принципа родства и непосредственно вытекающих из него брачных норм. Совершенно естественно, что благодеяниями этими могут пользоваться только лица, имеющие на то право в силу родства. Факт рождения от сородича — единственный justus

titulus для причисления к роду. Ы т к-х а в р н д — человек без отца, т.-е. внебрачно рожденный, не знающий, кто его отец, — человек *безродный*, парий, бремя для себя и для других. Не знающий отца, следовательно, не знающий, к какому роду он принадлежит, не знает, поэтому, какие женщины могут быть его женами и какие запретны, и неведомо для себя и других может нарушить священные половые нормы, навлекая на всех неисчислимые бедствия. К счастью, фактически людей, не знающих своего отца, не существует. Если девушка забеременеет вне брака, ее побуждают назвать отца будущего ребенка. Узнав, кто он, заставляют его жениться на соблазненной, чему он только рад, потому что в таком случае меньше затруднений при уплате калыма. В случае запирательства со стороны девушки, новорожденного убивают, и род спасен от греха и несчастия.

Но гиляцкому роду не удалось сохранить в полной чистоте и неприкосновенности принципа родства. И ему, как и родовым союзам всех других народов, пришлось делать отступление и примириться с институтом а д о п ц и и, с принятием время от времени в свои недра лиц чужеродных.

Произошло это различными путями. Могло случиться, что эпидемия обезлюдила род и поставила горсточку людей лицом к лицу со всеми случайностями, которым подвержены слабые численностью союзы. Мог род обезлюдиться после жестокой войны, оставившей немного мужчин и массу вдов, пощаженных, в силу международного права гиляков, победоносным врагом. И если при этих обстоятельствах находились остатки какого-нибудь другого рода, оказавшегося в таком же беспомощном положении и не состоявшего с первым в отношениях ахмальк и ымги, то слияние совершалось к обоюдному удовольствию: адоптированные обыкновенно женились на вдовах сородичей и тем самым присоединялись к родовому огню и родовому союзу. Но это случаи более или менее экстраординарные. Самый обыкновенный случай адоптирования — тот, когда приемышем рода является иноплеменник, почему-либо бежавший из своего рода и поселившийся среди чуждого рода. Долгое сожительство, привычка, симпатия, помощь при родовых праздниках, наконец, женитьба на местной вдове приводят к окончательному адоптированию. Крайне любопытный случай адопции представляется тогда, когда два лица из р а з н ы х родов женаты на двух сестрах, что по правилу может случаться только с членами о д н о г о рода. Влияние родового принципа «общего тестя» так сильно,

что дети таких лиц считаются братьями и сестрами, своих теток зовут матерями и не могут вступать друг с другом в брак. Получается фикция родовых отношений. При благоприятных условиях, когда, например, такие лица сожительствуют в одной деревне и одно из этих лиц совершенно оторвано от своего рода, то кончается тем, что они взаимно помогают друг другу при родовых празднествах, или даже строят их сообща, складывают кости медведя в одном месте, и, наконец, во 2-ом или 3-ем поколении соединение родов совершается.

Адопция играла огромную роль в жизни гиляков. Я не знаю ни одного рода, предания которого не сохранили бы известий о чужеплеменниках, как основателях рода. Как это случилось, что отдельные адоптированные лица, вместо вкрапленного элемента, очутились на первом плане основателей рода, я уже об этом говорил в первой главе, указывая на то, что пришельцы, как более энергичный элемент, приносили с собою большую стойкость в борьбе за существование и a la longue переживали менее стойких, ослабленных уже и постепенно вымиравших аборигенов. Таков, быть может, закон известного запаса расовой энергии, которая при неблагоприятных условиях в конце концов истощается. Эта судьба, конечно, не минет и потомков пришельцев, которые будут заменены в свою очередь новыми, если до того племя в целом сумеет сохранить свое существование.

Теперь я прибавлю только к тому, что говорил раньше, следующее. Может показаться странным, почему род, сложившийся из аборигенов и потомков пришельцев, все-таки основателями своими считает категорически первых, а не последних. Но дело объясняется вот чем. При слиянии рода с пришельцем, старое чувство родства продолжает свое действие. Потомки обеих сторон, выполняя свои родовые обязанности, тем не менее не инкорпорируются, а продолжают держаться отдельными группами, ведя каждая по традиции свой счет родства. Это мне пришлось неоднократно наблюдать в тех родах, в которых сохранилось потомство аборигенов и пришельцев. В сел. Тангиво, напр., населенном представителями одного рода, одна половина (наиболее цветущая) ведет свое происхождение от пришельца-айну, другая считает себя аборигенами. Когда вторые с течением времени вымрут — что уже и теперь заметно — естественно, что первые, которые останутся единственными представителями рода, с полным правом будут называть своими основателями айнов. И так везде.

Обыкновенно, впрочем, состав рода единообразен, случаи

адопции довольно редки, а прошлые явления эндосмоса и экзосмоса давным давно стушевались за туманами предания и на крепость сознательного родственного союза никакого влияния не обнаруживают.

2. Огонь один. Общность родового огня — символ родового единства. Как и у всех первобытных народов, и у гиляков огонь — родовое божество. В каждом очаге сидит, по одним представлениям, старуха огня, родоначальница данного рода, по другим — старик со старухой и их потомство. Роль этих «хозяев огня» не в одном только благотворном действии благодетельной горячей стихии. Как божественные родоначальники рода, они в почете не только у живущих сородичей, но и у тех, которые, отошедши в другой мир, стали родовыми богами других стихий, леса, моря и т. д. и через них могут оказывать могучее влияние и во всех сферах человеческого существования.

Хозяин, или хозяйка огня, таким образом, не только божество, греющее человека и охраняющее его домашний очаг от всяких злых козней духов, но и являющееся посредником[1] между сородичами и всеми многочисленными божествами, имеющими влияние на судьбу человека.

Во всех важных случаях жизни — в случае болезни, на охоте, перед отправлением в опасный путь и т. д. — сородич бросает в огонь свои скромные жертвы — листик табаку, сладкий корень, каплю араку — и просит старуху огня исполнить его просьбу. А она уже знает все ходы, чтобы просьба к тому или другому родовому божеству — если эти вне сферы ее непосредственного воздействия — дошла по назначению.

Чтобы понять реальные основы «родового» отношения в хозяину огня и его функциям, нужно иметь в виду следующее: 1) покойники предаются сожжению, т.-е. общему хозяину огня, который своих любимцев может принимать в свой род, так-что эти последние становятся в свою очередь «хозяевами» родового огня; 2) такими же хозяевами в частности становятся и все погибшие от молнии[2] и пожара; 3) представление о «ста-

[1] В Ведах огонь (Агни) тоже играет роль посредника между людьми и богами; он заступается за людей, он герольд, жрец.

[2] Любопытно, что подобное воззрение существует и у бурят: погибший от молнии становится могущественным и благодетельным духом, которому приносят жертвы и возносят молитвы.

рухе» (хозяйке) родового огня вместо «хозяина» — далекий отголосок материнского рода; 4) «универсальность» огня, способность его к быстрому распространению, многоязычие его (языки пламени), которое все первобытные люди (сравни Ригведды) понимают в самом реальном смысле — дают «огню» специальные преимущества над прочими «хозяевами» — именно способность к быстрой и красноречивой передаче поручений и просьб; наконец, 5) огонь — согревающее и очищающее, т.-е. отгоняющее злых духов существо.

Внешним образом родовое единство огня выражается в следующем. Только сородич имеет право разводить огонь на очаге сородича. Только сородич имеет право выносить огонь из юрты. Чужеродный, закурив у родового очага, не может выходить из юрты, не докурив своей трубки. Всякое нарушение этих правил неприкосновенности родового огня со стороны чужеродца неминуемо влечет за собою опасные последствия для сородичей и обязанность уплаты виры со стороны чужеродца.

Каждый род имеет свое родовое огниво, хранящееся у старейшего члена, и только этим огнивом можно добывать огонь, на котором варится мясо медведя на играющем столь важную роль в религиозной и родовой жизни медвежьем празднике. Когда роду приходится разделиться, т.-е. когда часть его вынуждена переселиться в очень отдаленное место, старейшина ломает родовое огниво и половину вручает старейшему из выселяющихся, и только после этого род формально разделен.

Хозяйка огня, как представительница рода «ахмальк», играет немаловажную роль в междуродовых отношениях, связывая своим культом и покровительством тот род, среди которого она обитает и который она породила, с тем, откуда она вышла и из поколения в поколение приводит в него дочерей своих братьев и их потомков.

3. Горный, морской и т. д. человек один — общность благодетельных родовых хозяев горы, моря, земли и т. д. В главе о верованиях мы уже выяснили природу и значение этого рода божеств. Это не фантастические герои классических родов, не те туманные мифические существа, родовые чествования которых являлись простой традиционной обрядностью, а близкие каждому живущему поколению сородичи, которые либо погибли от того или другого рода неестественной смерти (в воде, от зверя лесного и т. п.), либо взысканные божествами, преждевременно были вырваны из жизни более естественными путями.

напр., умершие будто бы от тоски по возлюбившим их горным, морским и т. п. людям.

Любимцы и избранники «хозяина» той или другой стихии, от щедрот которых зависит все благополучие гиляка, они после смерти сейчас же переходят в род соответствующего «хозяина» на довольно продолжительное время (у горных людей, напр., до 2-й своей смерти, т.-е. на два поколения) и все это время, конечно, специально благодетельствуют своим сородичам, посылая им зверей лесных (горный человек), либо рыбу и морских животных (водяной, морской человек). И когда гиляк говорит о каком-нибудь «горном» или тому подобном человеке, который его кормит, он именно имеет в виду своего сородича, который на памяти его или — самое большое — его отца или деда указанными выше путями очутился среди сонма «хозяев». Век такого избранника не долог (самое большое два поколения), и часто не успевает приобщиться к богам один сородич, как за ним следует другой, третий и т. д.: случаи смерти от дикого зверя или на воде нередки. Таким образом связь между живущим поколением сородичей и их божественными сородичами-благодетелями глубоко-живая, реальная. Многих из них каждый знал лично или по живым воспоминаниям своих современников; о них повседневно ему напоминают специальные памятники,[1] воздвигнутые благодарными сородичами.

Но связь рода с его божественными сородичами не ограничивается пиететом и благодарной памятью, узы эти коренятся в более реальном и крепком двигателе — в самом инстинкте самосохранения. Для гиляка нет более несомненной истины, чем та, по которой все его благополучие, все, что дает ему природа за его отчаянные усилия в борьбе за существование, все это лишь вольный дар богов, ему благодетельствующих; без их благоволения все усилия человека остались бы тщетными. А боги-сородичи, как мы знаем, более всего участвуют в этом животворном благоволении, они истинные кормильцы рода, и нет важнее обязанности для каждого сородича, чем по мере сил содействовать этому благоволению. Вот почему родовые жертвоприношения и празднества, ежегодно правильно устраиваемые

[1] Памятником человека, задранного медведем, служил сруб-медвежатник, в котором останки погибшего хранятся по особому ритуалу (см. ниже п. б). Что касается людей утонувших, то на месте их сожжения ставится лодка со всеми принадлежностями морского и речного промысла, при чем весла помещаются стоймя под углом друг к другу, дабы быть заметными издали.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

горным и морским людям, являются важнейшими актами родовой жизни, в которых каждый во имя самосохранения считает своей священной обязанностью принимать самое горячее участие.

В главе о религии мы подробно останавливались на этих периодических жертвоприношениях хозяевам моря и гор. Без преувеличения можно сказать, что вся социальная деятельность гиляка главным образом посвящена приготовлениям к родовым жертвоприношениям и заботам о наиболее торжественном устроении их. Богатый и бедный одинаково по мере сил и средств, не за страх, а за совесть, употребляют все усилия, отказывая себе иногда в последнем, чтобы жертвоприношения были как можно обильнее и разнообразнее и празднества как можно торжественнее: в этом общий интерес всех и каждого.

Эта воспитавшаяся веками солидарность в жертвоприношениях сородичам, эволюционируя, становится принципом *родового* отношения к богам вообще. Когда даже по совершенно индивидуальному случаю, например, по болезни, гиляку приходится приносить жертву, он непременно созовет даже издалека отлучившихся сородичей, дабы и им дать возможность воспользоваться благими последствиями жертвоприношения.

Принцип общности родовых божеств, кормильцев рода, лежит и в основании института гостеприимства и самой широкой братской взаимопомощи.

Всякому, знакомому с институтом гостеприимства у первобытных народов хотя бы по описаниям путешественников, должно быть очевидно, что в основе его должно лежать нечто большее, чем социальный этикет или даже обычная симпатия к ближнему. Араб, проявляющий у своего домашнего очага самое горячее гостеприимство даже к врагу, по отношению к которому во всяком другом месте у него единственный императив — убийство, очевидно руководствуется мотивом более властным, мотивом, имеющим за собой религиозное требование. То же должно сказать об основе этого института и у всех других первобытных народов, в том числе и у гиляков. Гиляк считает своей обязанностью проявлять свое гостеприимство не только к проезжему, не только к действительно голодному, но и в таких случаях, где с нашей точки зрения в проявлении этого чувства нет никакой надобности. Сколько бы раз на день ни появлялся сосед у его очага, в какое бы время дня оно ни происходило, немедленно гостю предлагаются все яства, какие имеются у хозяина, уж не говоря о неизбежной пригорошне табаку для труб-

ки. Нет лишнего табаку, хозяин поочередно затягивается с гостем из общей трубки. Особенно наглядно эти отношения проявляются при употреблении редких, дорогих блюд и лакомств. Если вы поднесете хозяину юрты рюмку водки, он никогда не позволит себе выпить ее один, сам он только пригубит, а далее уже она переходит ко всем обитателям дома, хотя бы их было десятки человек, не исключая детей, даже и грудных: иначе, «самый большой грех, умереть можно». *Грех* не угощать, не делиться съедобным. И причина ясна: «кормят» человека, как мы видели, боги и, главным образом, родовые боги, дающие не одному человеку, а целому роду, приносящему ему жертвы и с которым он связан родовыми узами; поэтому есть, не делясь с присутствующим сородичем, и вообще не кормить его — «грех» и непосредственный риск лишиться благоволения богов-кормильцев. «Очаг» при этом играет недаром крупную роль. В огне очага живет «хозяин и хозяйка огня», сородич или даже родоначальник, глаз не спускающий с того, что делается в доме; они же, как мы видели, посредники между родом и его родовыми богами, и нет ничего естественнее, что именно боги очага более всего являются хранителями принципа гостеприимства.

Но не одним взаимным «угощением» ограничиваются узы сородичей, живущих милостями своих богов-сородичей, а действительным, самым широким принципом о б щ н о с т и земных благ. Если это не выражается в чисто-коммунистической форме, то только потому, что в этом нет никакой надобности. Жизнь настолько проста, условия добывания пищи так просты, дары природы так широко и свободно лежат перед каждым, что нет надобности в коммунистическом производстве и распределении. Но принцип все же в полной силе. При общей охоте, например, за морскими животными на одной лодке, хозяин этой последней, он же обыкновенно и самый искусный добытчик, получает не больше последнего подростка-гребца и, кроме того, часть добычи раздается и тем семьям, члены которой почему-либо не могли участвовать в охоте. Сушеная рыба, являющаяся главной пищей гиляка, рассматривается почти как общая собственность, и всякий, у кого вышли запасы, берет ее у соседа без всяких возражений. Во всяком случае никто не голодает, пока хоть у кого-нибудь из сородичей есть запасы. Стоит голодающему переселиться в юрту имущего сородича или даже просто захаживать к нему 2-3 раза в день, и с ним безропотно будут делиться до последней юколы, до последней пригоршни табаку.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

В отношении к предметам роскоши, как дорогие копья, сабли, ткани, шубы и т. п., больше индивидуализма, внесенного новейшими условиями обмена, но в действительно необходимых случаях, как для покупки жены, при уплате виры, похоронах и т. п., каждый считает своей непременной обязанностью жертвовать своим индивидуальным богатством для общеродовых целей.

Тот же принцип общности имущественных благ сородичей лежит в основании права наследования, основное правило которого — имущество сородича не должно выходить из рода. У гиляков в этом отношении действует буквально известный тезис XII таблиц: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento! За отсутствием членов семьи, к которым причисляются и «работники», имущество переходит к сородичам агнатам, хотя бы самым отдаленным, исключающим даже наиболее близких когнатов. Последние, по завещанию, могут получать только так. называемый шагунд,[1] и то только такой, который неизбежно возвращается в род завещателя, так что в род ымги, т.-е. в тот род, который у рода завещателя берет жен и, следовательно, платит ему калым, можно завещать только так наз. железный шагунд, который все равно вернется в род в виде калыма, а роду ахмальк'ов, роду тестей, можно завещать только меховой шагунд, так как он возвращается в род завещателя в виде приданого невесты.

4. Медведь один: общая обязанность сородичей участвовать в откармливании медведя и в медвежьих праздниках как по случаю убиения домашнего медведя, так и в случае добычи зверя лесного. «Халь-гу, ут-гу, нарх мувеі»: «Сородичи, мужчины, будьте гостями!» — с таким призывом обходят подростки по юртам, призывая сородичей ко вкушению священной трапезы убитого в лесу медведя и яств, сообща изготовленных по этому случаю целым родом.

Важность общих прав и обязанностей по медвежьему празднику, как исключительной привилегии рода, непосредственно вытекает из того, что мы говорили по этому поводу в главе о ре-

[1] „Драгоценности" — имущество sui generis, состоящее из непотребляемых предметов, предназначенных только для исключительных случаев, калыма, приданого, выкупа, похорон. Делится на: 1) „шагунд" *железное* — большие чугунные котлы, орнаментированные серебряной инкрустацией копья, дорогие японские сабли, кольчуги и т. п. — идет главным образом на калым; 2) *меховое*, состоящий из дорогих меховых шуб, идущих главным образом на приданое; 3) *шелковое* - китайские шелковые материи и одежды, в которые облачаются в торжественных случаях и обряжают покойников.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

лигии и о родовых богах. Как мы видели, медвежий праздник характеризуется двумя основными чертами: во-первых, чествованием самой личности медведя, как возможного сородича «горного» человека и, следовательно, и возможного собственного сородича или его потомка, перешедшего в род горных хозяев, и во-вторых, передачей через него разных даров горному хозяину и его роду и, следовательно, богу-сородичу, кормильцу. Таким образом медвежий праздник имеет несравненно большее значение для благополучия рода, чем другие родовые жертвоприношения и празднества, потому что жертвы идут к самому высшему хозяину гор, главному распорядителю всех лесных богатств и самому могучему божеству, перед которым ублаготворенный кормлением и почестями убитый медведь будет повседневным заступником. Вот почему этот праздник играет такую огромную роль в жизни рода и обставлен таким сложным ритуалом, и несмотря на то что на него собираются и гости из других родов, он носит по существу такой строго-замкнутый родовой характер. В устроении праздника могут участвовать только сородичи, а из гостей приглашаются только «зятья», относительно которых, как это мы увидим, существует прямая обязанность кормления, т.-е. лица, на которых тоже распространяется благоволение родовых богов-кормильцев. В социальном отношении медвежий праздник не менее важный цемент родовых уз, чем в религиозном. Обязанность участвовать в изготовлении блюд и многочисленных расходах и трудах по устройству праздника и приему гостей создает привычки социальной солидарности, общих координированных действий для общей цели и общих жертв для общего дела. Периодические съезды сородичей, рассеянных иногда в отдаленных местах, постоянно поддерживают традиции и узы родового союза.

Наконец, само содержание праздника — веселые предпраздничные приготовления, совершаемые сообща, торжественные встречи «гостей», общие шумные трапезы, общественные беседы, пляски, песни, гонки, фехтования, религиозные церемонии — все это объединяет, бодрит, утончает и красит жизнь, придавая высшую ценность родовому союзу, как единственному источнику духовных и социальных радостей.

5. Чорт один, т.-е. общий враг в лице умершего сородича, убитого чужеродца и т. п.

Точно так же, как мы видели, сородич при некоторых обстоятельствах после смерти может перейти в род благодетельных

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божеств и стать кормильцем и покровителем рода, точно так же может случиться обратное: сородич, озлобленный при жизни и разошедшийся с родом, сородич не отомщенный или не получивший почестей похоронного ритуала, не попавший поэтому в «селение мертвых», может перейти в род злых божеств или просто на свой страх и риск всячески мстить роду. То же может быть и со стороны обиженного чужеродца. Борьба с такими врагами рода или умилостивление их такая же насущная потребность для всех сородичей, как и ублаготворение родовых божеств-покровителей. Возникают таким образом общие обязанности в вознаграждении шамана за его труды и опасности в борьбе с подобными врагами или общие расходы и труды по умилостивлению, одариванию, отомщению, уплате виры и т. д.

6. Тхусинд один — общая вира, выкуп, штраф, в обширном смысле круговая порука всего рода против всякого посягательства со стороны чужеродца на право сородича и обратно. Под *тхусинд'ом* подразумевается не только выкуп, получаемый или выплачиваемый родом в делах мести, но и взыскиваемый по всевозможным — от весьма серьезных до совсем маловажных — поводам. Так *тхусинд* взыскивается и за похищенную женщину, и за оскорбление женской чести, и за осквернение святыни, напр., порчу очага, нарушение табу на медвежьем празднике, за кражу и т. д. Во всех таких случаях на роде лежит круговая порука как в защите нарушенного права со стороны чужеродца, так и в ответе за таковое нарушение права последнего со стороны сородича. Но выкуп только позднейший коррективъ более важного принципа — родовой защиты *силой* нарушенного права сородича. В центре всего этого института лежит принцип кровавой мести, ответа жизнью за жизнь или за попранную честь (напр., при захвате соблазнителя in flagrante delicto).

Как у всех почти первобытных народов, убийство внутри рода у гиляков остается безнаказанным.[1] Род не может проливать крови своего сородича, которая есть кровь родоначальника. Это не только принцип религии, но и требование самосохранения, категорический императив существования самого рода. Сила последнего — в его численности и внутреннем мире, между тем каждый случай мести внутри рода неминуемо стал бы поводом к

[1] У родов, смешавшихся с айнами, у которых сохранился материнитет, в случае убийства внутри рода, брат матери убитого и ближайший агнат последнего (отец, брат) получают выкуп, который ими делится пополам.

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новой мести со стороны ближайших родственников наказанного и привел бы таким образом к нескончаемой внутренней войне, которая в конце концов завершилась бы физическим и моральным разрушением рода.

Впрочем, убийство и вообще всякое серьезное нарушение прав и законов со стороны сородича не совсем остается безнаказанным: фактически оно влечет за собою смерть политическую, так как преступник вынужден бывает расстаться со своим родом и удалиться в отдаленное селение, лишаясь не только всех благ родового союза при жизни, но и еще более важных после смерти, так как только сородичам разрешается совершить акт сожжения покойника. Но убийства, впрочем, внутри рода крайне редки; многочисленные запреты речи между сородичами устраняют поводы к раздражениям и ссорам, а широкие коммунальные супружеские права смягчают припадки ревности и делают излишним похищение женщин, которое служит самым частым поводом кровавых ссор и мести. Таким образом, и сама практика жизни не могла благоприятствовать институту мести внутри рода.

Другое дело между чужеродными. Тут принцип неумолим; кости сородича должны быть подняты! Поднять кость — технический термин родовой мести. Кровь должна быть искуплена кровью, и только в крайнем случае кровавое искупление может быть заменено выкупом. Обязанность эта ярко окрашена более религиозным, чем эмоциональным элементом. Месть обязательна не только для современников убитого, но, в случае невыполнения ее со стороны последних, и для двух последующих поколений. Она обязательна не только в случае убийства намеренного, но и совершенно случайного, даже такого, которое только косвенно связано с тем или другим лицом.[1] И что еще более поучительно, она обязательна даже по отношению к животным. Месть медведю, задравшему человека, не менее яростна, чем по отношению к убийце-человеку.

Ритуал подобной мести крайне характерен для понимания психологии этого родового института, и с него мы начнем наш анализ. Лишь только донеслась весть о гибели человека в борьбе с медведем, все взрослое население устремляется в тайгу, чтобы по свежим следам настигнуть «убийцу». Если не удалось на-

[1] Один мой знакомый гиляк навлек на свой род месть тем, что его ружье нечаянно выстрелило, когда он его поднял со дна лодки, и случайно убило рулевого.

крыть настоящего виновника, необходимо убить, по крайней мере, трех других медведей (его «сородичей»). Если это не удалось в течение зимы, необходимо сделать это летом, а сверх того «горный человек» дает еще «тхусинд» в виде обильной добычи всякого зверя.

Но если посчастливилось настигнуть медведя-«убийцу» или его «сородича», на него изливают самую крайнюю ярость. Ему выбивают первым долгом топором зубы, а во время освежевания колют его со всех сторон ножами и осыпают самыми отборными ругательствами. Сняв с медведя шкуру, окутывают ею убитого (если тело его осталось не съеденным; в противном случае, оно заменяется деревянным поясным изображением его) и, усадив его на корточки на нартах, подкладывают ему под сиденье медвежью голову и в таком виде с громкими завываниями, перемешанными с восклицаниями в честь убитого и в поношение убийцы, везут к селению. Если медведь не найден, под сидение убитому подладывается поясное изображение медведя, а тело облекается в накидку из стружек.[1] Неподалеку от родного селения сооружается сруб наподобие медвежатника, с отверстиями для последующих жертвоприношений. Снаружи по углам водружают 4 заструженных деревца, а внутри он убирается священными инау. Сюда-то и помещают останки убитого и его убийцы в том самом положении, в каком их доставили из тайги, как нами описано выше.

Подле этого сруба устраивается своеобразная тризна из туши убитого медведя. По обеим сторонам длинного непрерывного костра усаживаются сородичи с большими кусками медвежьего мяса в руках. Каждый режет мясо на тонкие ломтики и по мере отрезания перебрасывает с ножа каждый ломтик через огонь сидящим на противоположной стороне костра. Пойманный на ноже ломтик медленно поджаривается на огне (величайшее поношение для медведя, мясо которого дозволяется только варить), затем от него с видом отвращения откусывают по кусочку и пренебрежительно бросают, между тем как обыкновенно почи-

[1] Стружки рассматриваются гиляками как объект волшебной силы, священными. Культ заструженных деревяшек (инау, см. гл. о религии) играет огромную роль в религии гиляков. В накидке из стружек хоронят обыкновенно избранников. Такой чести удостаиваются, например, женщины, родившие двойню, тройню, рассматриваемые как существа высшего порядка. Этот же наряд заменяет белым пышные традиционные погребальные одежды из китайского шелка, что заставляет думать, что одежда из стружек в отдаленные времена была в общем употреблении, и древность облекла ее в ореол чего-то священного.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

тается великим грехом ронять даже косточку на землю. После этой процедуры «утонченной» мести начинается пир с жертвоприношениями хозяину гор и убитому. Первым бросают в огонь зажженный труп, потом разные яства. На ночь у сруба ставят стражу из двух человек с копьями на случай, если душа медведя захочет отомстить. Караульные убежденно уверяют в таких случаях, что слышали крики убитого: «Ой, медведь!» и бросались с копьями на невидимого мстителя. Утром на клинках копий будто бы явственно видны следы крови...

С окончанием тризны мир между горными людьми и родом убитого восстановлен. Последний принят и будет жить до глубокой старости в роде горных людей, а его сородичи в течение трех поколений будут дважды в год (летом и зимою) приносить жертвы: часть хозяину горы, часть божественному сородичу.

Если месть священна по отношению к медведю, существу божественному, от которого зависит благополучие, и который нередко убивает человека не из злости, а из любви к нему, и принимает его в свой род, то тем более она обязательна по отношению к чужеродцу.

Мы уже указали вначале на преобладание в императиве мести мотивов религиозных над эмоциональными. Если месть обязательна до третьего поколения, если она обязательна по отношению к убийце случайному, к другу, когнату, то это уже скорее тяготеющее над родом бремя, чем импульсивный акт, внушенный непосредственной реакцией озлобления.

Гораздо большую роль, по крайней мере, в смысле упрочения, так сказать, этой первоначальной реакции, играет жалость к душе убитого и страх перед нею и родовыми богами, любовно бодрствующими богами, для которых неотомщенная кровь сородича бесспорно величайшее оскорбление.

Душа человека, умершего насильственною смертью, не может переселиться в общее «селение покойников», где она могла бы продолжать такую же жизнь, как и на земле. Пока она не отомщена, пока кровь убийцы не дала ей силы поднять свои кости, она не в состоянии покинуть земли и вынуждена кружиться в воздухе в виде птицы-мстительницы, по ночам испускающей страшные крики. Конец ее ужасен: постепенно истлевая, она, наконец, падает на землю «прахом», погибая навсегда. Птицу эту гиляки называют т а х ч: это серая птица с красным клювом, «любящая войну». В этом эпитете и кроется, вероятно, источник верования в птицу-мстительницу: война у гиляков исключительно

результат мести, и, следовательно, хищные птицы, «любящие войну», очевидно, души убитых сородичей. Над могилой убитого в виде грозного memento ставится пень с вывороченными кверху корнями,[1] которым придается вид птицы. Иногда эта последняя изображается с железными зубами и конечностями в виде *человеческих* ног,[2] как на некоторых изображения свастики. Вот эта-то страшная и несчастная вместе с тем птица, ищущая успокоения и возврата в царство отошедших сородичей, по ночам вопиет о мести и, конечно, способна страшно мстить сородичам, забывшим свои обязанности.

Даже когда дело кончается выкупом, она остается непримиренной: необходима еще искупительная жертва в виде собаки, сердце которой отдается птице; в противном случае она жестоко мстит обеим сторонам.

Так как душа убитого, как и всякая душа человеческая, может существовать только не более трех поколений, то с третьим поколением обязанности мести прекращаются. Но до того жалкая участь души убитого продолжает мучить совесть сородичей и пугать ужасами неотомщенной мести, не давая им покою. Эти-то мотивы являются преобладающими над непосредственным инстинктом отплаты. Вот почему ярость мстителей никогда не доходит до истребления целого рода убийцы, ограничиваясь одним или 2—3 его сородичами; тщательно избегают убийства женщин и абсолютно воздерживаются от посягательства на имущество...

Тем не менее императив мести чрезвычайно интенсивен.

Весть об убийстве в один момент объединяет всех сородичей в единодушное целое, действующее с лихорадочной энергией. Такую же лихорадочность проявляет поневоле и род убийцы. Для него дело идет не об одной только охране убийцы — одному человеку всегда легко укрыться и выждать мирного разрешения конфликта, — а об охране *всего* рода, *каждого* сородича, которого ожидает коварное нападение из каждого угла, во всякое время и во всяком месте со стороны лихорадочно выслеживающих свою жертву мстителей. Для них важен не убийца непременно, а каждый мужской представитель его рода, хотя бы это

[1] Обыкновенно же над могилами умерших естественной смертью корни обращены вниз.

[2] Экземпляр такого памятника, вывезенного из низовьев Амура покойным акад. Л. Шренком, хранится в Музее антропологии и этнографии при Академии наук в Ленинграде.

был грудной младенец. Вот почему матери, чтобы спасти своих детей мужского пола, в момент неминуемой опасности самыми ужасными способами готовы замаскировать пол младенца.

Нетрудно себе представить, что переживают до окончания конфликта обе стороны.

Самое счастливое положение, когда представители обоих враждебных родов сожительствуют в одном селении. В этом случае нет, по крайней мере, мучений ожидания. Дело разрешается тогда немедленно после убийства вооруженным столкновением. Ближайший родственник убитого в сопровождении нескольких вооруженных сородичей бросается к юртам рода убийцы и обрушивается на первого встречного мужчину, за которого немедленно заступаются его сородичи, и тогда начинается общая схватка, которая в несколько часов кончается, и, если с обеих сторон пало по одинаковому числу жертв, то этим инцидент и разрешается. Бывает и более счастливый исход именно, когда в дело вмешиваются представители третьего рода, живущего в том же селении, пытаясь часто небезуспешно разнять противников и закончить дело миром.

Но если роды живут в разных селениях, то возникает военное положение со всеми его последствиями. При этом, если селения близко расположены друг от друга, обороняющиеся — вполне в осадном положении. Об обыденных занятиях вне дома речи быть не может: ни охота, ни рыбная ловля невозможны, ибо на каждом углу можно ожидать засады. В крайних случаях мужчины не иначе решаются удаляться от своего дома, как имея впереди себя женщин, обшаривающих каждый кустик, затаптывающих траву, повсюду опасаясь засады. Но, конечно, все это паллиативы: в одну прекрасную ночь придется встретить неприятеля грудью в своем собственном селении... Наконец, при отдаленности местожительства враждующих родов друг от друга приходится предпринимать далекие походы пешком или на лодках. Это должно быть импозантное зрелище, когда толпа воинов, одетых в лучшие одежды, со сверкающими копьями в руках и колчанами за спиной, с ножами и японскими кинжалами за поясом, яростно потрясая оружием, оглашают первобытную тайгу воплями о мщении и призывают богов всех стихий о помощи:

Паль — хури мыя! Тлы — хури мыя!
Толь — хури мыя! Миф — хури мыя!

«Бог горы, услышь, бог моря, услышь, бог неба, услышь, бог земли, услышь!», — размахивая при этом копьями и вонзая их в

каждое дерево на пути с криком: «Чхар, мыя! — О, дерево, услышь!»... Но это громкое настроение скоро сменяется более ровным; по мере приближения к вражескому селению энтузиазм переходит в сосредоточенную серьезность.

Враг принял свои меры: в его родных местах ему лучше известны коварные места для засады, а в стратегических пунктах он подстерегает в искусственных траншеях («ямках»), откуда осыпает градом стрел неосторожного неприятеля. Не мало и других препятствий на пути наступающих. На неприятельской территории всякий промысел опасен (у многих родов он даже запрещен, у некоторых запрещено также пользование водой рек и ключей); припасов, взятых из дому, не надолго хватает, а открытое, быстрое нападение, — принимая во внимание засады и безнаказанность сторожевой службы женщин, — не всегда возможно. С долгим терпением и тяжелыми лишениями приходится выжидать благоприятного случая или же решиться в отчаянии на крайний риск...

Чаще всего обороняющиеся предпочитают ожидать нападения в собственном селении. Тогда, оставив женское население, пользующееся неприкосновенностью, мужчины собираются в отдельную юрту, откуда при первом сигнале караульных о приближении неприятеля, они, скрывшись через потайные ходы, собираются вместе за юртами, готовые встретить врага. По междуродовым обычаям битва продолжается ночь, самое большое сутки, пока, наконец, не появляются убитые, после чего неприятель уходит, а остающиеся считают число павших с обеих сторон. Если со стороны обороняющихся пало более, чем с противной стороны, возникает новый casus belli. Нападающие во всяком случае должны считать себя удовлетворенными. Но не всегда дело кончалось немногими жертвами. Известны случаи, когда целый род погибал и в живых оставались только женщины.

Бывало и наоборот, когда, во избежание гибели немногочисленного рода, неспособного к сильному отпору, самопожертвование одного человека искупало общую вину. Мне известен случай, когда юноша, виновник конфликта, в тот самый момент, когда получилось известие о приближении неприятеля, стал умолять собравшихся вокруг него в юрте сородичей спастись бегством, предлагая своей смертью спасти род от гибели. И когда сородичи с потупленными взорами стали выходить из юрты, он залпом выпил для храбрости чашку тюленьего жиру и опрометью бросился, размахивая копьем, навстречу разъяренной тол-

пе мстителей... Рыцарство проявляется и во многих других формах. Хотя обыкновенно набег мстителей бывает слишком импульсивен, чтобы люди могли думать о каких-либо формальностях нападения, но эпос и предания сохранили нам многочисленные формулы объявления «войны» через особых посредников, о которых подробнее мы скажем далее.

Обычная формула гласит лаконически: «он (мститель) окончательно сказал, что воевать с тобою притти собирается; если ты сильнее, его убьешь, если он сильнее, тебя убьет, — так сказал».

Военные походы предпринимаются не только с целью мести за убийство сородича. Весьма обычны они и из-за женщин. «Прекрасные Елены» у гиляков служат печальными поводами для войн даже гораздо чаще, чем убийства; последние крайне редки, никогда не носят корыстного характера, являясь исключительно делом минутной вспышки легко возбуждающегося «варвара» по поводу малейшего оскорбления его самолюбия. Но из-за женщин столкновения гораздо чаще. То группа сородичей предпринимает просто романический набег, чтобы похитить возлюбленную своего товарища. То походы предпринимаются с целью насильственного возврата похищенной жены сородича, — случаи более серьезные, потому что акт этот столь же обязателен для рода (до третьего поколения исключительно), как и месть и вира за убийство сородича. Обыкновенно стараются избегать кровопролития, приноравливая нападение к моменту, когда мужчины в отсутствии, но дело редко обходится — как в момент похищения, так и во время преследования — без кровавых столкновений, которые неизбежно влекут за собою необходимость «поднимать родные кости», т.-е. войну со всеми ее последствиями.

Теперь перейдем к институту выкупа, «тхусинд», отчасти сменившему месть, отчасти сосуществующему с «местью», служа ей необходимым коррективом.

Какие причины вызвали институт выкупа на ряду с категорическим императивом кровавого возмездия, в конце совершенно вытеснившегося первым, до сих пор остается совершенно невыясненным в науке.

У гиляков, мы думаем, легко найти, по крайней мере, главнейшую причину этого великого преобразования в социальных отношениях. Она кроется в той особой форме экзогамии, о которой мы подробно говорили в своем месте.

Каждый род связан с массой родов, по крайней мере, с четырьмя, узами самого интимного свойства. У рода или родов ахмальк он берет себе жен и от них вышли его матери; роду или родам ымги он дает замуж собственных женщин, дочерей и сестер. Эти роды, по естественному порядку вещей, ему дороги, с ними его связывают неразрывно матери, дочери, сестры.

Род убийцы легко может оказаться таким, который берет у него женщин, в котором его сестры и дочери, или таким, который его снабжает женщинами. Отсюда первое великое смягчение неприкосновенность женщин в конфликтах мести.

Но этим роль женщин не ограничивается. Если убийца из рода ахмальк, т.-е. откуда происходят матери и жены мстителей, то нетрудно себе представить, что эти женщины не могут оставаться равнодушными зрительницами войны против их собственных братьев и отцов. Если же убийца из рода ымги, жены этих последних тоже не легко примирятся с тем, чтобы их мужья и сыновья пали от рук их собственных отцов и братьев. В обоих случаях вмешательство женщин неизбежно, и достаточно немногих прецедентов миротворного влияния их, чтобы прецеденты обратились в законный обычай, сначала сосуществующий кровной мести, а потом его вытесняющий.

Косвенно влияние женщин в этом отношении должно было выразиться еще и другим образом, чисто механически, если можно так выразиться. Их неприкосновенность в значительной степени фактически препятствовала самому осуществлению кровавого возмездия. Их сторожевая служба, единственная в своем роде, больше должна была изнурять врага и ослабить его дух, чем самое активное сопротивление. Пользуясь своим habeas corpus, они в полной безопасности день и ночь обходят окрестности, обыскивая каждый кустик, каждую травку, в поисках засевшего где-нибудь неприятеля. И если только нападающая сторона не обладает подавляющей численностью, чтобы броситься открыто на ожидающего врага, то ей никогда не удастся усыпить бдительности неприкосновенной сторожевой цепи, и терпение нападающих, истощенных недоеданием, походом, мучительностью выжидания, поневоле разбивается о пассивное сопротивление слабого пола, и почва для мира становилась подготовленной...

Чтобы оценить всю важность пассивного участия женщин в борьбе родов, нужно еще принять во внимание, что у многих родов запрещено разводить огонь на чужой территории, поль-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

зоваться водой из ее рек и источников, охотиться и т. д., так что, подобно библейским жителям Гивеона, гилякам приходится отправляться в поход нагрузившись мехами с водой и таким запасом пищи, который человек способен понести на себе. При таких обстоятельствах каждый лишний день выжидания грозит голодной смертью, и таким образом бдительность женщин поневоле побеждает.

Вот один из известных мне примеров. В 1851 году 30 человек жителей с. Тэбах отправились сухопутьем отомстить одному из родов с. Коль за убийство сородича. После долгого перехода и еще более долгих и бесплодных выжиданий вследствие бдительности женщин, с шестами в руках беспрестанно обыскивавших местность, вода в пузырях, наконец, истощилась, и мстителям пришлось уйти ни с чем и покончить дело миром... Так маленькие причины приводят часто к важным последствиям.

Прав был Тайлор, когда утверждал, что экзогамия, смягчала отношения между родами и вносила мир, хотя он исходил из ошибочного предположения, что стремление к миру вызвало к жизни самый институт экзогамии. Правда, первобытный человек не настолько сентиментален, а главное, слишком «богобоязнен», чтобы с легким сердцем пожертвовать своим страхами кары за нарушение своего кровавого долга голосу чувства или даже явному интересу, но у него есть, как мы знаем уже, испытанное средство, с помощью которого он умиротворяет богов с полным соблюдением своих выгод: он, как и в других случаях, прибегает к благочестивому обману богов, который дает ему возможность и выполнить свой религиозный долг и извлечь материальные выгоды из конфликта. Обыкновенно эта важнейшая религиозная процедура института виры совершенно игнорируется, да и не у всех народов сохранились следы религиозных церемоний примирения; у гиляков, как это мы расскажем в дальнейшем, это отчетливо явствует из ритуала выкупа, требующего предварительной имитации кровавой мести в виде борьбы представителей воюющих родов, убиение собак и кормление кровью их духа убитого.

Теперь перейдем к практике этого института.

Главную роль в процедуре примирения играют так называемые хлаj-нiвух'и.[1]

Хлаj-нiвух — буквально: толкующий человек, красно-

[1] Берем термин более распространенного западного диалекта.

речивый, оратор. Такой человек пользуется в глазах гиляка особым почетом, ибо красноречивый индивид, по его воззрению, избранник особого божества, которое постоянно вдохновляет его, обитает в нем и внушает ему красивые, убедительные речи и неотразимое влияние на слушателя. Самая быстрота речи, способность говорить плавно и быстро в течение продолжительного времени, независимо даже от содержания речи, уже считается даром высшего порядка. «У него язык вертится, как крылья ветряной мельницы», — с благоговением характеризует гиляк выдающихся ораторов. Последние, в свою очередь, сами смотрят на себя, как на избранников. На материке они всегда носят с собою деревянный жезл, на головке которого вырезано человеческое лицо, изображающее, повидимому, то божество, которое их вдохновляет и помогает им убеждать других. В патетические моменты они грозно размахивают им, клянясь, в случае неуспеха своих доводов, сломать его и навлечь кару богов на себя и непокорного оппонента. Чаще всего хлаj-нівух вместе с тем избранник и в других отношениях: это человек богатый, искусный в промыслах, бывалый, храбрый, с большим природным умом и пользующийся авторитетом среди своих соплеменников.

Каждый род, каждое селение имеет своего маленького хлаj-нівух'а, но есть знаменитости, пользующиеся широкой славой среди многих народностей края, и их, в случае надобности, выписывают, как у нас знаменитых адвокатов. Свои функции они исполняют скорее honoris causa, потому что их обычный гонорар — китайский шелковый костюм и японская сабля — едва ли может достойно вознаградить богатого человека за потерю времени и тяжесть обязанностей: даримые им одежда и оружие служат скорее их insignia magistratus, официальным облачением, в котором они исполняют свои обязанности во время переговоров.

И вот, когда род мстителей достаточно измучился в своих попытках кровавого возмездия, или если убийство с самого начала произошло при обстоятельствах, легко располагающих к примирению, тогда начинают отыскивать хлаj-нівух'а, который взялся бы за переговоры и сумел бы добиться наиболее выгодных условий. Хлаj-нівух должен быть обязательно нейтрального рода. Сородича послать нельзя: во-первых, до примирения грех иметь какое бы то ни было дело с родом убийцы, кроме того, при естественном раздражении сторон переговоры через сородича могут кончиться новым убийством. Противная сторона, в свою очередь, выбирает своего «оратора», который дол-

жен защищать ее интересы при переговорах о выкупе. Обыкновенно инициативу берет на себя обиженная сторона.

В один прекрасный день компания вооруженных мстителей со своим хлаj-нівух'ом во главе появляется перед селением «убийцы». В ближайшей тайге или на берегу реки мстители разводят огонь и располагаются лагерем, а хлаj-нівух один в своем парадном облачении, с копьем в одной руке, котелком в другой, идет во вражеское селение. Здесь в одной из юрт его ожидают противники со своим хлаj-нівух'ом во главе... Опираясь на свое копье или усевшись и закурив трубку (непременно «своим» огнем), он говорит: «Я послан вам сказать, что вы нашего человека убили, и какого человека! Его правая рука стоила столько-то «сялахр»,[1] если бы он жив был, разве он согласился бы взять столько? Его левая рука стоила столько-то и т. д.». Перечисляются затем все остальные части тела и подводится итог виры. Если противная сторона согласна, она кладет в котелок оратора столько палочек, сколько было условлено уплатить «целковых». Но сразу к соглашению никогда не приходят. Оратор противной стороны старается находить извинения для убийцы и предлагает свой минимум выкупа. Это выводит из себя противника, и он гневно уходит, грозя прервать переговоры. За ним спешно бежит вслед его коллега, убеждая уступить. Они садятся, каждый закуривает непременно своим огнем, спорят, опять кто-нибудь вспылит и убегает, опять сходятся, возвращаются в селение... Этикет требует, чтобы соглашение было принято не сразу, а после упорного сопротивления, поэтому иногда в бесконечных схождениях и расхождениях проходят 2—3 дня... Некоторые хлаj-нівух'и на Амуре прибегают, по обычаю тунгусских племен, в последний момент к помощи своего волшебного жезла, который они грозятся сломать и этим навлечь кару богов на себя и упрямых противников.

Когда соглашение достигнуто, начинается религиозный момент, о котором я говорил выше, процедура имитации кровавой борьбы, которая должна скрыть от души убитого и родовых богов мирный исход конфликта.

Процессия мстителей с хлаj-нівух'ом во главе выступает по направлению к селению противника, а ей навстречу движется

[1] Сялахр—денежная единица, которую гиляки по-русски почему-то переводят „целковый" и оценивают на наши деньги в три рубля, — повидимому, китайский таможенный лан. На эти единицы оценивают гиляцкие меновые ценности — шагунд (см. выше).

такая же процессия рода убийцы. На расстоянии нескольких десятков сажен обе стороны останавливаются, и выступают вперед ближайший родственник со своим хлаj-нівух'ом, а с другой стороны — убийца со своим «посредником», оба вооруженные луками и копьями. По данному сигналу хлаj-нівух'ов начинают пускать друг в друга стрелы или набрасываются копьями, ловко уклоняясь при этом от стрелы и удара. Дуэль, конечно, фиктивная, хотя бывают случаи, что противники входят в азарт, и дело кончается печально. Все время хлаj-нівух'и успокаивают своих клиентов, твердя о примирении. Сородичи между тем проводят между противниками по собаке и убивают их копьями («кровь за кровь»). Затем противники бросаются друг другу в объятия, и мир заключен. Сердце убитой собаки отдается в жертву птице-мстительнице (см. выше), а мясо съедается на последующем пиршестве.

Затем представители обеих сторон отправляются в юрту убийцы, где расставлены предметы, составляющие т х у с і н д, — котлы, копья, сабли, шелковые материи и т. д. В уплате последнего участвуют в с е сородичи, каждый по своему состоянию, считая за великий грех уклониться от посильной доли. С другой стороны, для рода убийцы полученный т х у с і н д становится общей собственностью. Частью им возмещаются те драгоценности, которые понадобились для убитого в «селении мертвых», частью это становится фондом для семьи убитого и родовых надобностей.

Переговоры о т х у с і н д'е по другим поводам, как, например, по поводу похищенной женщины, оскорбления святыни и т. п., ведутся тоже посредством хлаj-нівух'ов, но уже без особенной торжественности. Посредники обсуждают спорные вопросы в присутствии собравшегося народа, выслушиваются мнения присутствующих, и решение является как бы приговором целого собрания.

7. Г р е х о д и н. Хотя нормы и обычаи религии и поведение почти тождественны у всего племени, тем не менее каждый род имеет свой комплекс обязанностей и запретов, обязательных только для его членов. Первый обширный круг запретов касается п о л о в ы х н о р м. Для членов каждого рода запретны для брака и полового общения определенные категории женщин, например, все без исключения женщины, родившиеся в данном роде, далее, жены младших братьев, все женщины, которых зовут *чик* и *ранр*, все женщины, происходящие из рода «зятей», и т. д.,

так что достаточно знать, какие женщины тому или другому лицу запретны, чтобы безошибочно сказать, к какому роду он принадлежит. К этой категории можно отнести и запреты речи. Для членов каждого рода существуют определенные классы лиц, с которыми говорить воспрещается; таковы классы тувн (братья и сестры всех степеней родства), ачк (мать и тетки жены) и др. Третья категория запретов касается религиозных норм в тесном смысле. У каждого рода, как мы видели, есть свои родовые боги и жертвоприношения, свои священные предметы, свои поверья и, следовательно, свои ритуал родового культа, общий для всех сородичей и с религиозной стороны совершенно безразличный для чужеродных. Эти многочисленные обряды и предметы культа требуют величайшего к себе уважения. За всякое нарушение их отвечает круговой порукой весь род, на который обрушивается гнев оскорбленных божеств, и потому каждый член рода не только обязан сам избегать нарушения своих табу, но и охранять их от нарушения посторонними. За каждое такое нарушение необходимо взыскать тхусінд. Отсюда обычные тяжбы с чужеродцами по поводу случайной порчи ограды очага, выноса огня из юрты, уроненной косточки медведя во время праздничной трапезы, нарушения неприкосновенности всех принадлежностей медвежьего праздника — столбов для привязывания медведей, шестов с их головами, амбаров для праздничной посуды и медвежьих костей и т. д.

Наконец, если принять во внимание, что термин «грех» обнимает не только запрет, в формальном смысле, но и обязательность исполнения положительных норм, то формула «общий грех» приобретает широкий обобщающий смысл, становится выражением принципа единства круга родовых обязанностей вообще. Значение этого принципа тем важнее, что обязанности и запреты в глазах гиляка отнюдь не формальные юридические нормы, соблюдаемые под страхом наказания, а религиозные императивы, ригорически выполняемые из чувства самосохранения. Для гиляка нет различия между запретом религиозным, половым или социальным: все они одинаково религиозные, а исполнять требования религии значит заботиться о благоволении богов, устранении козней врагов жизни и т. д., иначе говоря, заботиться о своем самосохранении. Не исполнять их, принимая во внимание всю родовую подкладку культа, значит губить не только себя, но и весь род. Отсюда — важное значение этого принципа как цемента родового союза. Отсюда, с

другой стороны, становится понятным, почему нормы, часто противоречащие человеческой природе, требующие огромного самообладания, выполняются не по принуждению, а как естественные требования инстинкта. Посмотрите, например, с какой силой действуют нормы половые. Вообще в делах полового инстинкта гиляки, как мужчины, так и женщины, следуют совершенно свободно естественному влечению: целомудрия нет ни до ни после брака: единственная забота — не сделаться жертвой ревности. О каком-либо чувстве самообуздания и речи нет. Тем не менее, несмотря на полную половую распущенность, с нашей точки зрения, гиляк соблюдает абсолютное целомудрие по отношению к лицам запретных категорий: прелюбодеяние ему не известно, прелюбодей — урод, почти не встречающееся исключение. То же и в запретах речи. Даже оставаясь с глазу на глаз братья и сестры по целым дням переносят муки молчания, перекидываясь между собою в случае крайней необходимости редкими деловыми обращениями в безличной форме, а между тем по темпераменту это люди менее всего молчаливые. Конечно, такое самообладание — результат в значительной степени воспитания, дрессировки, но оно бы никогда не достигло такой высокой степени выдержки, если бы не общее сознание гибельности каждого индивидуального нарушения для блага всего рода.

Религиозная санкция запретов и обязанностей, живое сознание всем и каждым «общности греха» объясняют нам самую удивительную сторону строя рода, наличность социального организма и почти полное отсутствие принудительного элемента, власти. Но об этом после.

Таковы основные признаки рода. По ним можно судить о всеобъемлющей роли его в жизни гиляка. Он охватывает человека от рождения до смерти, заполняя все содержание жизни. Он окружает его интимными узами родства как со стороны отца, так и со стороны матери. Он соединяет живою связью живущее поколение со всеми отошедшими. Он гарантирует человеку брак индивидуальный и супружеские права вне его, а после смерти обеспечивает его вдову и детей. Род охраняет его жизнь и неприкосновенность его семьи от посягательств чужеродца, готовый как один человек встать на защиту попранных прав сородича и отвечать за его вину перед чужеродцем. Он кормит в случае голода, платит долги неимущего, выручает в уплате калыма и виры.

В благоволении родовых богов, в родовых жертвоприношениях человек находит высшее покровительство и самую сильную гарантию своему благополучию. Род — школа нравственного воспитания, школа долга, социального сотрудничества и самопожертвования, и, наконец, в роде человек находит высшие радости и самые ценные утешения в наиболее горьких бедствиях жизни, — шумные радости празднеств и заботы о блаженстве в загробном мире.

Каков же механизм этого удивительного учреждения, дающего человеку больше, чем современное государство, окружающего человека не только всеобъемлющими заботами, но и обширной сетью регламентаций и «грехов»? Где его внешние признаки и органы, выполняющие его функции? Не странно ли, что в формуле рода эти важнейшие с нашей точки зрения элементы совершенно отсутствуют?

VII.
МЕХАНИЗМ РОДА.

Норденшильд, описывая чукчей, в одном месте выражается так: «Здесь, как и во всех посещенных мною стоянках, царствовала совершенная анархия. Тем не менее члены этой безглавой общины жили между собою в ладу и дружбе».

Подобные отзывы легко встретить и у многих других путешественников по отношению к разным первобытным народам. В частности то же, что о чукчах, сказал бы, вероятно, Норденшильд и о гиляках. Та глубокая социальная организация, которую мы описали в предыдущей главе, составляющая душу всякого первобытного общества и вошедшая в историю под именем рода, остается часто совершенно скрытой от взора случайного цивилизованного наблюдателя, ибо для него все, что не напоминает ему, европейцу, привычных для него элементов государственности — территории, представителей власти, принудительной регламентации строя — есть не больше, как «анархия, при которой, к крайнему его изумлению, тем не менее, члены безглавой общины умудряются жить в ладу и дружбе».

Это именно поражает и в строе гиляцкой жизни. Несмотря на всю сложность социальной ткани, охватывающей все стороны жизни, все внешне-формальные признаки организации, которые невольно ищет повсюду европеец, либо совершенно отсутствуют, либо принимают слишком колеблющиеся формы.

Начнем с территории. Совершенно естественно, что члены одного рода предпочитают жить совместно, в непосредственном единении и общении друг с другом. Есть, действительно, несколько селений, как Танги, Няниво, Вискиво и др., где все население принадлежит к одному роду. В больших зимних юртах таких селений можно насчитать в каждой иногда по 2—3 десятка сородичей и ни одного чужого. Даже там, где в одном селении, как Коль, где живет совместно несколько родов, юрты каждого рода расположены в ряд, как бы по строго соблюдаемой традиции. Каждый род имеет свои родовые речки для охоты, распределенные между отдельными семьями, среди которых они переходят по наследству от отца к сыну, хотя, впрочем, право собственности ограничено фактическим пользованием, с перерывом которого речка становится res nullius и может быть использована всяким, даже чужим.

Тем не менее, несмотря на естественную тенденцию сородичей держаться поближе друг к другу, принцип территориальности фактически не существует. В огромном большинстве гиляцких деревень состав населения смешанный. В упомянутом селе Коль я насчитал представителей 8 родов, в селениях меньших по 2—3 рода, и очень мало таких, в которых совсем не было бы чужеродных. Есть роды, разветвления которых встречаются в самых различных и удаленных друг от друга пунктах гиляцкой территории. Эта разбросанность, конечно, есть факт, идущий как бы в разрез с принципами рода, но она неизбежна при данных экономических и социальных условиях. Селение, расположенное в особенно благоприятном в рыболовном отношении пункте, естественно, привлечет пришельцев из других родов, и, наоборот, если род на своем первоначальном месте размножился настолько, что исконное селение прокормить всех уже не может, от него постепенно выделяются переселенцы в другие места, при чем выбираются ближайшие пункты, дабы связь между сородичами не прерывалась. Переселение в очень отдаленные пункты влечет за собою фактическое деление «огня» и разветвление рода. Не менее важной причиной смешанности населения является обычай переселения в некоторых случаях зятей в роды тестей, о чем подробнее будем говорить в своем месте. Так или иначе территория является неопределенным признаком рода.

У гиляков отсутствует даже сознание права собственности на территории, и не только по отношению к своим, но и к чуже-

племенникам. Когда лет 50 тому назад на Сахалине появились бродячие тунгусы, которые стали охотиться на исконных территориях гиляков, никому в голову не приходило протестовать против этого, хотя тунгусы пришли небольшими группами и едва ли были в состоянии удержаться силой против многочисленных аборигенов.

Столь же неопределенным признаком являются и родовые прозвища. У массы первобытных племен, так назыв. тотемных, родовое прозвище — один из наиболее резких внешних признаков единства рода. Тотемным прозвищем является реальный предмет природы, животное или растение, которое изображается на теле, на платье, на зданиях и т. д.

У гиляков ничего подобного нет. В некоторых родах существуют тотемистические предания. Так, напр., род, живущий в с. Тангах, считает себя родственным с медведем, на том основании, что одна женщина этого рода родила урода с чертами, напоминающими медвежьи. Подобные предания имеются и в других родах. Тем не менее не только типичные тотемные, но и обыкновенные родовые прозвища в собственном смысле отсутствуют. Прозвища имеются только территориальные. Если гиляк хочет назвать людей такого-то рода, он говорит «жители такого-то селения», что иногда совпадает, с действительным местожительством рода, но чаще всего только показывает то селение, которое было когда-то исконным местопребыванием того или другого рода.

Так, в с. Коль есть роды, носящие названия: Тывли-фінг (жители с. Тывлин); Мьехре-фінг (жители с. Мьехри), Ньенхай-фінг (жители с. Ньенхай) и т. д., между тем представители этих родов уже давным давно живут в упомянутом селении Коль, порвав всякие связи с исконными местожительствами своих родоначальников.[1] Единственные роды, которые имеют настоящие родовые прозвища, это основанные выходцами из соседних тунгусских племен; так образовались роды Цхарнунг, Чориль и т. д. И замечательно, что именно у этих племен мы уже находим явный переход к тотемизму. У племени негда, например, почти каждый род ведет свое происхождение от того или другого рода животного (тигра, жабы, медведя и т. д.). У гиляков же подобные явления встречаются очень редко.

[1] Подобные территориальные названия у австралийцев подали повод Кунову совершенно неосновательно заключить, что у этих племен отсутствует родовая организация.

Теперь переходим к самому, с точки зрения европейца, важному признаку родового единства — к органам власти. Как ни сложна, как мы видели, родовая жизнь, род не знает никаких установленных властей. Правда, китайцы, а за ними русские пытались установить у гиляков институт старост, и то не родовых, а сельских, но он никакого отношения к родовой жизни не имел. Это был скверный эпизод, но и только. Старосты, назначенные русскими властями, избирались не из лучших и даже не из богатейших жителей, а из наиболее угодливых, а потому не только никаким авторитетом не пользовались, но скорее презрением, а в некоторых случаях и ненавистью. Исконный строй рода ничего подобного не знал. Патриархальная власть, которая, по библейским примерам, обыкновенно ассоциируется с родом, и которую еще и теперь мы видим, например, у бурят, киргизов, кавказских народов и т. д., у гиляков, да и вообще у народов однородной с ними ступени развития, абсолютно отсутствует. Ее не существует даже в семье. Правда, некоторый деспотизм практикуется по отношению к женщинам, которые подчинены сначала отцу и братьям, а после замужества — мужьям, но это — деспотизм, ничего общего не имеющий с римским patria potestas. Случаи убийства или продажи в рабство жен и дочерей невозможны.

Нередки, правда, случаи принудительной выдачи замуж, что в значительной степени связано с религиозно освященным обычаем браков между детьми братьев и сестер, но вообще отношение к дочерям самое нежное как до, так и после замужества. Между семьями тестя и зятя на всю жизнь устанавливаются, как это мы увидим, глубокие интимные узы гостеприимства и взаимопомощи, а в редких случаях дурного обращения с замужней женщиной последняя всегда находит фактическую защиту со стороны своих родных. Вообще же супружеские отношения очень мягки, с женщинами советуются, а более пожилые даже участвуют в сходках и совещаниях сородичей.

Совершенно незаметен деспотизм по отношению к представителям мужского пола. Чтобы убедиться в этом, достаточно видеть отношение старших к детям. Цивилизованному человеку трудно даже себе представить, какое чувство равенства и уважения царит здесь по отношению к молодежи. Подростки 10—12 лет чувствуют себя совершенно равноправными членами общества. Самые глубокие и почтенные старцы с самым серьезным вниманием выслушивают их реплики и отвечают им с такой же серьезностью и вежливостью, как своим собственным сверст-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

никам. Никто не чувствует ни разницы лет, ни положений. Правда, гиляцкий подросток 10—12 лет обыкновенно уже accomplished gentleman. Он не только усвоил всю технику обиходных работ, он не только ловкий стрелок, рыболов, гребец и т. д., он уже фактически работник, такой, как и все. Мало того, он в значительной мере обладает уже и всей суммой духовного знания: он знает уже из практики все родовые обычаи, все религиозные обряды, помнит все родственные названия, знает легенды, сказки и песни своего племени и в довершение всего — то знание людей и жизни, которое дает постоянное пребывание в обществе взрослых: в путешествиях, на охоте, рыбной ловле, празднествах и т. д. Отсюда — и его чувство собственного достоинства, и солидность в речи, и умение держаться в обществе.

Но все эти качества не имели бы никакого значения, если бы патриархальные принципы существовали. И у других малокультурных народов молодежь рано достигает самостоятельности, но от нее требуется особенная, почти религиозная почтительность к старшим, которые нарочито дрессируют ее в подчинении. Ничего подобного нет у гиляков. Тем более не заметно деспотизма главы семьи по отношению к взрослым членам. Сыновья совершенно свободно отделяются от отца, получая от него выдел в виде утвари, саней и т. п., и, помогая ему долей от своей добычи, делают это совершенно свободно, без всякого принуждения. Встречаются большие семьи, живущие общим хозяйством, во главе которого стоит старший в семье, дед, отец или один из братьев, но это совершенно свободная ассоциация, из которой когда угодно можно выступить. И вот, даже состоя участником такого хозяйственного союза, каждый член может иметь и свое индивидуальное хозяйство в виде саней и собак, оружия, пользуясь правом на индивидуальные заработки, связанные с личными заслугами; и то, чем каждый член делится со своими, — а делится широко особенно съестными припасами, как природным, так и покупными, — уделяется без всякого понуждения: привозят из города муку, рис, чумизу и т. п., все это варится в общем котле для всех. Коммунизм и индивидуализм сочетаются без всяких трений.

Наконец, — и это особенно необходимо отметить — во главе большой семьи с общим хозяйством стоят вовсе не обязательно старшие по летам, а, наоборот, чаще всего люди молодые, заявившие себя своей деловитостью, усердием и оборотливостью, словом личными талантами. Старики пользуются авторите-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

том лишь в вопросах специальных, как хранители традиций, знатоки обрядов и истории семейно-родовых отношений. С ними советуются в запутанных вопросах родства, даче имен, им предоставляется распоряжаться обрядовой стороной на праздниках, но это им не дает никакой власти, никаких преимуществ.

И вот, чего нет в семье, — деспотизма старейшего, главы, — того нет и в роде. Он не знает не только полновластных старейшин-патриархов, но и установленных постоянных властей вообще, ни коллективных, ни единичных, ни выборных, ни по праву рождения и наследства.

Между тем род не фикция: это — сложное учреждение, окружающее гиляка густейшею сетью регламентаций, запретов, обязанностей и в то же время доставляющее ему все блага, материальные и духовные, прочного общественного союза.

Мы вернулись таким образом к вопросу, поставленному нами в конце предыдущей главы. Где двигатели механизма этого всемогущего учреждения — рода, где тайна этого удивительного соединения самой тесной общественности и абсолютного отсутствия деспотизма, всеобъемлющей опеки и регламентации с отсутствием принудительности и сохранением индивидуальной свободы?

Тайна эта заключается в двух условиях: 1) в простоте экономических условий и отношений, предоставляющих широкий простор всестороннему развитию сил и способностей личности и свободному применению их к широко и равно открытым для всех дарам природы; и, во-вторых, в том целостном социально-религиозном миросозерцании, которое совершенно спонтанейно, без всякого внешнего давления, направляет волю и деятельность каждого к гармонии общего интереса, ставя на место внешнего принуждения силу внутреннего сознания каждого.

Рассмотрим поближе эти условия, и прежде всего экономические.

Преобладающая форма труда — индивидуальная или самое простое сотрудничество. Главнейший источник пропитания — рыболовство. Море и реки так богаты этим продуктом, что при самом скудном инвентаре каждый при нормальных условиях может личными индивидуальными усилиями обеспечить свое существование. При добывании морских зверей, правда, необходимо сотрудничество нескольких человек, но все дело так просто, что тут не может быть речи о хозяевах и работниках, ни о специальной организации: каждый исполняет то, к чему он бо-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

лее способен, артель к тому обыкновенно составляется из родственников, и никому и в голову не приходит делить добычу иначе как по числу работников. Часть ее уделяют даже и не принимающим участия в охоте, ибо разве родовые боги дают только одним, а не всем членам рода? То же и при охоте на лесных зверей, если она ведется в компании, но обычно охотник, как и рыболов, может совершенно обойтись в своих промыслах без посторонней помощи. И, действительно, в сезон рыбной ловли гиляцкое население расходится во все стороны; каждый хозяин удаляется на свое излюбленное местечко. В сезон охоты каждый забирается в свой промысловый балаган и отсюда следит за своими ловушками, по неделям не видя постороннего человека.

Таким образом, преобладающая форма труда индивидуальная. Каждый должен уметь делать все, обладать всеми знаниями своего племени, быть личностью, равной со всеми, всесторонне развитой и подготовленной к жизни.

А так как дары природы обильны, свободны и доступны усилиям каждого, то благосостояние человека зависит, следовательно, исключительно от его способностей и усердия. Неравенство, которое, при более сложных условиях, является источником раздоров и социальной розни, здесь не проявляет своих терниев. Богатый человек всем обязан исключительно лично своим талантам и добродетелям. Его накопления никого не могут ни порабощать, ни унижать. Кроме того, личные достоинства человека — дар богов, и избранник не может ни вызывать зависти, ни гордиться своими преимуществами.[1]

Его покровители, посылающие ему зверей в тайге и рыбу в воде, общие гении рода. Копить свои богатства, не делясь с сородичами, значило бы присваивать себе то, что принадлежит ему сообща со всеми, и высшее честолюбие такого человека — проявлять свою щедрость и благоволение окружающим.

Таковы экономические отношения, выработавшие цельную, равную по подготовке и знаниям с другими личность, исклю-

[1] Хорошей иллюстрацией к воззрению гиляка на происхождение личного богатства может послужить следующий пример. На западном берегу Сахалина самым богатым человеком в мое время считался некто Гибль из с. Тангиво. Он, действительно, выдающийся по уму, промысловым талантам и энергии человек. Кроме того, ему помогли знакомства с русскими чиновниками, которым он служил поставщиком мехов и коллекций. Но логика гиляка видела причину его чрезвычайного богатства совсем в особом обстоятельстве, именно, в том, что он когда-то далеко в горах нашел под бревном какой-то лоскуток материи, чудесный талисман, посланный ему богами.

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чающие возможность взаимного порабощения и создающие здоровую атмосферу сознания каждым своей свободы и самоопределения.

Но высшую цельность придает человеку его социально-религиозное миросозерцание. Основная аксиома каждого состоит в том, что все его существование и благополучие всецело в руках богов, в частности богов родовых, дарящих свое благоволение не одному, а всем. Всякая попытка монополизировать дары богов неминуемо должна повлечь за собою справедливую кару общих благодетелей рода.

Все, что предписывает религия и родовая мудрость для снискания благоволения богов, является благом для каждого, и исполнять их требования — значит только заботиться о себе. То же со всеми предписаниями родовой регламентации, будь это нормы половые, правила мести или религиозные обряды; всякое нарушение их со стороны одного — «грех» общий и губительно для каждого.

Все более или менее важные акты социальной жизни, вплоть до самопожертвования в битве мести за сородича, — категорические императивы религиозного миросозерцания, не знающие колебаний, не требующие понуждения. Все инстинкты самосохранения совершенно гармонируют с религиозными представлениями. Актом мести человек защищает свою безопасность, но им же он исполняет религиозный долг, умиротворяя душу убитого, которая сумеет покарать, если она останется неотомщенной. И так — во всем...

Здоровая, цельная, всесторонне развитая личность с цельным религиозно-социальным миросозерцанием, создающим полную гармонию личного и общественного интересов и двигателей жизни — такова скрытая, но могучая пружина родового механизма.

Посмотрите, как без всякой регламентации и органов принуждения, одним произволением личности, движется сложный механизм родовой жизни.

Вот умер семейный сородич. Необходимо обеспечить его семью, сохранить имущество до достижения совершеннолетия наследников и необходимо, во избежание споров, решить, к кому перейдет вдова покойного. Нет судей, нет властей, но, через некоторое время после погребения покойника, сойдутся ближайшие сородичи, потолкуют, выслушают претендентов и на ком остановятся, тот будет мужем вдовы и отцом осиротевших.

Или: та или другая семья временно бедствует. Нет специаль-

ного органа, который должен был бы позаботиться о ней: это лишнее, потому что в любом доме хотя бы самого отдаленного сородича она найдет гостеприимство и помощь, пока не минет тяжелое время. И никому не обидно, потому что редко кому не приходится время от времени пользоваться гостеприимством или оказывать его другому.

Вот необходимо устроить хлопотливый и дорогостоящий родовой праздник. Нет ни сборов, ни понуждений, ни организации приема гостей и т. п. Каждый по совести готовит, сколько в силах, каждый вносит свою долю труда, а один кто-нибудь, кто побогаче, берет на себя заботы по устройству. К нему все сносят приготовленные яства и закупки, к нему сходятся для участия в предпраздничных работах.

Во время медвежьего праздника съезжаются, кроме того, со всех концов много десятков народу. Надо в течение нескольких дней кормить не только людей, но и их многочисленных собак. Сколько хлопот, сколько расходов! Между тем все устраивается просто и к общему удовлетворению. Каждый гость предпочитает заехать, разумеется, к тому, кто ему поближе по родству или симпатии, где его принимают не по долгу, а по влечению; но и в любом доме каждый приезжий находит искренний радушный прием, потому что каждому охота в дни праздничного подъема проявить свою симпанию и широкое общение с новыми людьми.

Явился голод, призрак грозной беды, которая может унести все население деревни. Все голодающие, которым не удалось разъехаться в более счастливые места, собираются в доме того, у кого сохранились запасы, и законы гостеприимства столь же властны в черный день, как в дни изобилия.

Но худшее бедствие: убит сородич! Война неминуема!.. Все население становится под оружие. Нет постоянного вождя, нет старейшего, нет и выборов. Естественный вождь давно известен и всеми признан: это самый храбрый и удачливый из сородичей; это так называемый «хозяин», «ызь», на него обращены все взоры!

И в один момент равный между равными становится вдруг военачальником, отдает распоряжения, распределяет оружие, назначает время похода и т. д.; его слушают, как диктатора. Умер или погиб этот естественный вождь, всякий знает того достойнейшего, который может его заменить.

Возник гражданский спор между сородичами или между

представителями различных родов. Нет установленных людей, которые ex officio решают споры и тяжбы. Очень часто истец является сам себе судьей и исполнителем. Раз ответчик отказался добровольно выполнить свое обязательство, истец, не задумываясь, отцепит собаку от запряжки должника или полезет в амбар, чтобы отобрать себе вещь, равноценную его иску. И истец считает это в порядке вещей. Не всегда, конечно, такой способ возможен. Но и тогда дело обходится без властей предержащих. Достаточно только обиженному обратиться непосредственно или через хлаj-нівух'а (см. выше) к одному, двум авторитетным лицам-«хозяевам» из сородичей обидчика, и дело решается очень скоро. Они вызывают обидчика, который является обыкновенно в сопровождении своих близких, а иногда хлаj-нівух'а. Собираются и посторонние. По выслушании обеих сторон и мнений присутствующих, мнение, принятое большинством, приобретает силу приговора. Обыкновенно обидчик подчиняется добровольно, в противном случае вершители дела отправляются в амбар обидчика и отбирают присужденное...

Но кто же эти авторитетные лица, которые в экстренных случаях являются на сцену и лично или вместе с «миром» сородичей, как власть имущие, проявляют свою инициативу и энергию? Какую роль играют они в обыкновенной жизни?

Это так называемые ызь — «хозяева»,[1] иначе: урдля-нівухи — хорошие, т. е. богатые, выдающиеся люди (хороший и богатый — синонимы у всех первобытных народов). Это индивиды, пользующиеся выдающимся благосостоянием, благодаря своим исключительным индивидуальным достоинствам — храбрости, ловкости, силе, предприимчивости, уму, ставящим их в преимущественное положение в деле добывания средств к жизни. Такой индивид — ценный человек для окружающих. Для тесного круга своей собственной семьи он естественный глава общего хозяйства, которое, благодаря его предприимчивости и талантам, ведется с большими выгодами, чем в разбивку. Гро-

[1] На роль таких личностей в структуре первобытных обществ до сих пор мало обращали внимания. Их роль затемнялась классифицированием их только как представителей богатства. Вот один из совсем свежих примеров такого отношения. Отдельных классов „благородных" и „низших" не существует в северо-западной Калифорнии, но почти во всех делах жизни *богатый человек* играет важнейшую роль (Types of Indian culture in California, by A. Z. Kroeber; University of California, Pubbeations, Sune, 1904, v. II). Еще спасибо, впрочем, можно сказать, что подобные факты хоть отмечаются.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

мадная семья, группирующаяся вокруг него, лучше обеспечена не только естественными продуктами, но и покупными — табаком, рисом, чумизой и т. д., потому что богатство и ассоциация дают ему возможность предпринимать дальние поездки для обмена пушнины и приобретения товаров из первых рук. Он хранитель общего «шагунд» своих ближайших родных, и обладатель собственного богатого собрания «шагунд», которым в случае надобности может воспользоваться его сородич.

Для всего рода он не только человек, у которого открытый дом, у которого всегда можно хорошо поесть, полакомиться табаком, чаем, наслушаться интересных вещей, но который может выручить в минуту нужды. Но особенно бесценна его помощь в моменты общественного бедствия, как война, столкновение в деле мести, при тяжбе с чужеродцем. У него запасы лучшего оружия, перевозочных средств, его имя страшно врагу, который поэтому гораздо легче соглашается на примирение, наконец, у него запасы «шагунд», когда придется платить выкуп. Кроме того, обыкновенно такой человек обладает и недюжинным умом, красноречием, богатым опытом и знанием жизни и людей: это естественный оратор, «хлаj-нівух», играющий столь важную роль в делах мести и гражданских спорах; к нему прибегают даже из соседних родов, когда необходимо вмешательство посредников. Среди таких ыз'ей есть лица, которые пользуются громкой известностью и почетом по всей территории гиляцкой оседлости. По образу и подобию этих ыз'ей создаются образы богов, «хозяев» гор, морей, неба, рек и т. д. Мало того, к ним самим относятся не просто с уважением, но с чувством религиозного преклонения. Из таких лиц, при благоприятных условиях, вырабатываются те элементы власти, которые мы видим у других племен, стоящих на другой ступени культурных условий. В одном случае такие ыз'и становятся советом старейшин, которые перед народным собранием в лице рода решают дела общины. При других обстоятельствах, когда племя вынуждено вести частые войны, наиболее выдающиеся ыз'и становятся пожизненными или наследственными начальниками племен, предводителями дружин, викингами, основателями династий.

Но в родовой жизни гиляков подобные личности не претендуют еще ни на что подобное. Их роль слишком еще незначительна, во всяком случае случайна в сравнении со сложными функциями рода, механизм и жизнь которого зиждется на равноценности и инициативе цельной личности каждого. Что такое

ызь, как не та же цельная личность в ее высшем проявлении индивидуальности? Влияние ыз'я поэтому чисто фактическое, моральное, между ним и беднейшим из его сородичей нет еще никакой пропасти ни в умственном, ни в экономическом отношении, и в то же время над всеми доминирует высшая братская связь религиозно-социального союза рода.

Таков механизм родовой жизни. Его действительная пружина — всесторонне развитая личность с цельным религиозно-социальным мировоззрением. Организованная власть совершенно отсутствует. За всем тем хотя невидимо, без всякой претензии на власть, элементы авторитета имеются; это элементы не оформленные, выступающие на сцену стихийно, спонтанейно, отнюдь не как постоянные элементы власти, которые отодвигали бы на задний план свободное проявление личности, но эти элементы все-таки имеются. Их три:

Прежде всего это х а л ь, род, т.-е. вся совокупность или, по крайней мере, вся наличная в данный момент часть взрослых сородичей, которая, не имея ни главы, ни регулярных собраний, обыкновенно неожиданно появляется на сцену, когда какой-нибудь серьезный случай требует его вмешательства, и, разрешив тот или другой вопрос, исчезает со сцены так же стихийно, как появился.

Далее, hejмар'ы, старцы, весь авторитет которых заключается в разрешении спорных вопросов культа и родства.

Некоторую роль они играют во время родовых праздников, на которых они обыкновенно являются главными распорядителями; это своего рода жрецы рода. Но ни влиянием, ни фактическим значением в других важнейших проявлениях жизни рода они не пользуются.

Наконец, третьим элементом авторитета являются ыз'и.

Из этих трех элементов при благоприятных условиях могли бы выработаться те разнообразные формы власти, различные комбинации которых (народные собрания, совет старейшин, патриархи, цари-жрецы и военачальники, герцоги, викинги, короли и т. д.) находим у многих полукультурных народов в настоящее время и у всех нынешних цивилизованных наций на заре их истории. Но у гиляков эти элементы только в зародыше, и едва ли когда-либо им суждено получить толчок к дальнейшему развитию.

VIII.

МЕЖДУРОДОВЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ.

Но род — не самодовлеющее учреждение, и не одним родом, к которому человек принадлежит по происхождению, ограничиваются его интимные узы.

Каждый род, по основному принципу своего матримониального права, связан брачными узами по крайней мере еще с четырьмя родами, родами ахмальк и ымги. Между этими родами образуется столь важная в глазах первобытного человека связь кровного родства, связь общего происхождения по матери (родоначальники всех четырех родов и представители каждого поколения их взаимно двоюродные братья по матери), а к этому присоединяются те могучие узы естественной интимности, которые порождаются поколениями женщин, переплетающих эти роды в беспрерывной цепи брачных союзов. На практике, как мы знаем, узы эти далеко расширяются за пределами первоначальных четырех родов. Прежде всего, сверх этих последних, каждый род, с которым хотя бы один сородич вступил в матримониальные отношения, является уже ахмальком или ымги всему его роду. С другой стороны, мы знаем, что каждый ахмальк и каждый ымги сохраняет свое звание не только по отношению к тем родам, с которыми он непосредственно связан матримониально, но и к тем, которые считаются соответственно ымги и ахмальк'ами первых, так что, кроме ахмальк'ов и ымги 1-й степени, каждый имеет еще таковых 2-й, 3-й степени и т. д. Все эти роды между собою именуются пандф'ами, лицами общего происхождения.

Таким образом, мы видим, что тот основной принцип, простой и ясный, который лег в основание семьи и рода, принцип, по которому человек предпочтительно женится на дочери брата своей матери, становится базисом кровных уз и симпатии не только внутри каждого отдельного рода, но и более обширных союзов, междуродовых и, наконец, всего племени. Правда, в силу указанных нами неблагоприятных условий, как разбросанность маленького племени по огромной территории и многих других обстоятельств, эти узы не могли оформиться в такие законченные организации, как фратрии и племена, например, североамериканских индейцев, но они и тут создали атмосферу социального единения, которое вывело род из эгоистической замкнутости на путь междуродового общения и братства.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Остановимся теперь ближе на тех узах, которые возникают между родами пандф, между каждым родом и теми, откуда гиляк берет жен или куда отдает своих женщин. Эти узы не ограничиваются только одними чувствами, они выражаются в довольно реальных формах.

Прежде всего это обязанность взаимного кормления и гостеприимства. Это в сущности только распространение таковой же обязанности, существующей внутри рода, на кровных пандф'ов, распространение на них того благоволения родовых божеств, которое им по праву принадлежит по женской линии. «Ымги (зятя) кормить должно» — так гласит формула этой междуродовой обязанности.

Это правило, впрочем, отнюдь не выражается в том, что ахмальк обязан постоянно содержать зятя и его семью в своем доме. Может быть, в очень отдаленное время, в период материнства, когда муж переходил на жительство в дом жены, оно фактически так и было, но в настоящее время, при агнатных принципах, жена переходит в дом мужа и обыкновенно совсем переселяется в родовое местожительство супруга. Тем не менее принцип «кормления», как мы увидим, играет немаловажную роль в объединении родов.

Он закреплен в особом, чрезвычайно своеобразном религиозном обряде, который состоит в следующем. В последний момент перед самым уводом невесты из дома ее отца ставится перед порогом с внутренней стороны большой 4-ушный чугунный котел, привезенный женихом, как часть калыма за невесту, а с наружной стороны — небольшой котелок, принадлежащий отцу молодой. При выходе и жених, и невеста должны наступить ногой сначала на внутренний, потом на наружный котел: первый остается у тестя, а второй увозится домой женихом — ымги. Через год, когда, по установленному обычаю, молодые приезжают в гости к ахмальк'у, перед отъездом повторяется та же церемония: только на этот раз ставится по обеим сторонам порога по котелку и чашке, которыми опять-таки взаимно обмениваются, как и в первом случае. Характерно, что обмениваемые предметы носят названия ніч (мое-твое: символ взаимного кормления), а весь обряд называется *ніч зычывынд* (топтание ніч'а). Он называется также: *лымызын-занд* — топтание порога, что указывает на религиозный элемент обряда, в котором играет роль так называемая *лымызын-мам* — старуха, хозяйка порога, женщина-предок, гений-хранительница дома, кровь которой течет одинаково

в жилах обоих молодоженов, детей брата и сестры. В тесной связи с этим обрядом стоит и описанный нами момент на медвежьем празднике, когда перед стрельбой в цель хозяин медведя (ахмальк) и его ымги ставят каждый подле себя по топору и котелку, которые тоже называются ніч и которыми тоже взаимно обмениваются. Если первый обряд символизирует взаимное кормление, то второй — взаимное сотрудничество в промыслах, что, как увидим сейчас, имеет за собою вполне реальное основание.

Принцип «кормления» не ограничивается периодическими наездами в гости для свидания с родственниками жены, хотя и они имеют некоторое экономическое значение, так как всякий раз ахмальк'и, сверх оказанного гостеприимства, еще всегда одаривают чем-нибудь ценным своих ымги, особенно в первый приезд после женитьбы, когда зятю дарятся по обычаю, смотря по состоянию, одна или несколько пар нарядной мужской одежды. Гораздо важнее случаи действительной нужды. Бывают моменты, когда собственный род оказывается бессильным помочь своему сородичу, потому что бедствие, постигшее одного, постигло всех. Стоит только в сезон хода рыбы почему-либо уклониться последней от обычного своего пути, и общее бедствие готово. И вот тогда имеется простой выход. Человек забирает свою семью, своих собак и вообще подвижный скарб и переселяется на целый сезон в селение тестя.

Здесь его встречают с распростертыми объятиями, и он с первой минуты чувствует себя, как дома, где его кормят и поят и делятся всем. Конечно, зять не дармоедничает, кое-чем помогает, но это далеко не всегда окупает расходы, вызываемые приездом надолго не ждано не гадано целой семьи, зачастую в период, когда запасы рыбы уже сделаны и увеличить их уже невозможно.

Такие же братские отношения между ахмальк'ами и ымги проявляются в морских промыслах и охотничьих предприятиях.

Наиболее важные из них требуют участия нескольких лиц; таковы — летняя и зимняя (добывание из берлоги) охота на медведя, соболий промысел и особенно промысел на лодке за морскими животными. И замечательно, что в этих случаях гиляк приглашает к участию чаще всего не своих сородичей, а ымги, притом не непременно женатых на его сестре или дочери, а ымги вообще, т.-е. молодых людей из того рода, который у него берет жен. С ними гиляк чувствует себя лучше, чем с собст-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

венными сородичами: с ними он может невозбранно говорить и шутить, между тем как из сородичей, как мы знаем, не со всяким это допускается. В свою очередь, ымги чувствуют себя среди рода ахмальк'а как рыба в воде: все женщины их поколения для них а н' г е j (жены) — все будущие жены и во всяком случае женщины, на которых они во всякое время имеют супруженские права в самом широком смысле слова. Что касается местной мужской молодежи, то она находит себе реванш в роде своих ахмальк'ов, где представители ее встречают такой же прием у своих «тестей» и среди многочисленных своих «жен». Между мужской молодежью обоих родов («навх'ами»)[1] устанавливаются, благодаря частым свиданиям, уже не говоря о матримониальном родстве, самые трогательные отношения. Это та среда, где больше всего процветает дружба. У гиляков очень в ходу обычай побратимства. Обыкновенно оно выражается в периодическом обмене подарками, взаимной помощи в беде и т. п. услугах. Но самые трогательные случаи побратимства приходится наблюдать среди н а в х'ов. Один такой пример, особенно меня поразивший, мне пришлось видеть в с. Нгамбево, на восточном берегу Сахалина. Оба друга «навх'и» жили в одной юрте, все у них было общее, ходили друг за другом, как влюбленные, почти никогда не разлучаясь — настоящие Орест и Пилад. Правда, оба были очень молоды, холосты, и трудно сказать, что сталось с их чувствами впоследствии, но уже одна возможность таких примеров рельефно рисует отношения между членами матримониальных родов.

Принцип взаимопомощи между последними выражается и в праве н а с л е д о в а н и я, которое, несмотря на строго агнатную основу, знает одно исключение, именно по отношению к п а н д ф'а м: по завещанию, как мы уже знаем, ымги может получить железный «шагунд» (т.-е. идущий на калым), а ахмальк — «шагунд» меховой (идущий на приданое невесте). Это правило, сводящее калым к простой формальности перекладывания его из одного кармана в другой, между прочим, служит важным указанием того, что калым у гиляков первоначально не носил характера платы за невесту, а скорее являлся формой религиозного в ы к у п а. Но за что?

Дело в том, что, при гиляцких нормах брака, калым является вообще странной аномалией. В самом деле, раз брак религиозно

[1] Напомним, что навх'ами называют себя взаимно ымги и „братья" их „жен".

обязателен из рода матери, да еще предпочтительно между детьми брата и сестры, то какая же речь может быть о плате или выкупе за невесту? Очевидно, что возникновение этого института должно было быть вызвано какой-нибудь новейшей переменой в брачных нормах. Эту перемену мы знаем: она заключалась в том, что в некоторых случаях, когда брак из рода матери оказывался невозможным, приходилось брать жен из постороннего рода, но этот последний, в свою очередь, обязан был беречь своих женщин для собственных законных ымги и мог поэтому согласиться на отдачу женщины чужому не иначе, как замаскировав это каким-нибудь актом благочестивого обмана богов, который в то же время был бы связан с личными выгодами тестя. По аналогии с религиозным выкупом при мести (см. выше) и создался институт калыма, удовлетворяющий и интересам тестя и требованиям религии. В свою очередь, род ымги, нарушивший свой закон, ограждал себя другой фикцией: весь род «незаконного» тестя получал титул ахмальк'а и становился как бы законным родом для брачных союзов. По мере учащения подобных случаев калым, исключительный генезис которого был забыт, стал общим правилом при всех браках даже с законными родами.

Таково, может быть, происхождение калыма и у других народов.

Другим важным фактором, закрепляющим узы между матримониальными родами, является участие пандф'ов в медвежьем празднике.

В смысле цементирования междуродовых отношений он играет едва ли не большую роль, чем олимпийские игры для племенного объединения греков. Медвежий праздник происходит каждую зиму то в одном, то в другом селении, а в селениях многолюдных редкая зима проходит без праздника. Посетить такой праздник не сопряжено ни с какими затруднениями. Запрягается нарта, которая имеется у каждого хозяина, и отправляются в путь: все остальное не забота гостя.

Везде по пути, равно как и в селении, где происходит праздник, будут кормить его собак и его самого угощать самыми изысканными блюдами. А за маленькое беспокойство путешествия — целый ряд высоких социальных удовольствий. Во-первых, самый обряд праздника — процессия, стрельба в цель, убиение, обряжение медведя и т. д. Далее, встречи с самыми умными и почетными представителями племени. Наконец, состязание в

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

борьбе, гонках, плясках, пиршества, беседы, шутки, песни, словом — бездна наслаждений. На суровом фоне серого существования, исполненного голодовок, лишений, опасностей и однообразия впечатлений, медвежьи праздники являются самыми светлыми моментами жизни, своего рода вехами житейского пути, о которых вспоминают и мечтают... Но эти шумные многолюдные празднества строго регламентированы. Кроме сородичей, приглашаются только ымги, которые имеют право приглашать уже от себя своих ымги, но ахмалк'и вовсе не участвуют.

До такой степени строго соблюдается это правило, что тот самый хозяин, который все силы употребит, чтобы как можно почетнее принять и одарить своего ымги, на праздник к этому последнему даже не приглашается, но зато он будет первым гостем у своего ахмальк'а. Образуется таким образом непрерывная цепь, соединяющая длинный ряд родов в их социально-религиозных празднествах.

Какую важную роль играют ымги на медвежьем празднике, мы уже отчасти говорили в главе о религии. Им выезжают навстречу за много верст, им предоставляют самую почетную функцию на празднике, именно убиение медведя, и все время они служат центром внимания всего рода. Их везде откармливают доотвала, рвут из юрты в юрту и, наконец, перед отъездом им отдают большую часть туши медведя. Все эти акты гостеприимства и почетного внимания увенчиваются серьезными религиозными обрядами, санкционирующими братский союз родов. В начале праздника ымги обмениваются с хозяином ніч'ами (символ общего сотрудничества в промыслах, см. выше); перед отъездом на прощание ымги дарит своему ахмальк'у собак, которые вместе с собаками последнего пойдут к хозяину гор и общему кормильцу рода, а в последний момент ымги совершает церемонию «топтания порога» (см. выше). Такие вещи для первобытного человека не формальности, они закрепляют узы родства высшей санкцией религиозного авторитета.

Но узы эти не ограничиваются только временными «кормлениями», гостеприимством, приглашениями на промыслы и празднества.

Они идут еще дальше, поднимаясь в своей интенсивности до силы настоящей родовой связи. Когда у человека мало сородичей, или он плохо ладит с ними, он покидает родовое селение и навсегда переходит жить к пандф'ам. Вот почему, между прочим, так мало селений с однородным составом жителей; везде со-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

родичи перемешаны со своими ымги или ахмальк'ами. Но особенно ценными оказываются эти узы в делах мести. В экстренных случаях, когда род, вовлеченный в войну, оказывается малосильным, пандф'ы помогают ему «поднимать кость» и обороняться от нападений с тем же самоотвержением, как и собственным сородичам. Только в уплате тхусінд пандф'ы не могут участвовать. Еще более, быть может, ценны матримониальные узы в деле примирения родов, особенно когда враждующие из-за мести роды сами между собою пандф'ы, как это нередко и случается, и мы уже высказали в главе о мести свое убеждение, что самый институт виры, по всей вероятности, обязан своим происхождением благодетельному влиянию женщин и религиозно-социальным узам, связывающим матримониальные роды.

Таковы отношения между родами ахмальк и ымги, отношения, расширяющие узкие рамки замкнутого рода и распространяющие его симпатии на целый ряд посторонних родов. Это целая школа социального воспитания, школа благоволения, гостеприимства, сострадания и, наконец, социальной благовоспитанности. В этой школе создаются те социальные навыки и чувства, которые в конце концов становятся сильнее междуродовых уз, и превращаются в симпатии к целому племени и, наконец, к людям вообще. Термин навх, которым именуют друг друга в соответствующих поколениях представители родов ымги и ахмальк, в конце концов стал обычным обращением, с которым адресуются ко всякому чужеродному и незнакомцу. Этот формальный оборот есть только выражение настоящего глубокого переворота в отношении к чужеродным.

Гостеприимство, вежливость, сострадание — добродетели, которые гиляки в действительности применяют ко всем без различия, не только к чужеродцу-единоплеменнику, не только к исконным иноплеменным соседям, как ороки, гольды, айны, но и к новым пришельцам, тунгусам, якутам и, наконец, к русским, причинившим им так много зла. Сколько раз беглые каторжные вырезывали целые семьи гиляков после самого гостеприимного приема с их стороны, и тем не менее только в редких случаях гиляк откажет в гостеприимстве забредшему к нему русскому. Если случалось, что гиляки поступали[1] жестоко с беглыми, то это было не более как родовая месть за убитых сородичей, — то же, что они считают своим долгом делать по отношению к сво-

[1] Гиляки рассматривают русских беглых, как один род, представители которого друг за друга отвечают.

ему же единоплеменнику-убийце. Но отдельные акты подобного рода нисколько не изменяют общего их отношения к иноплеменникам. Есть, конечно, и у гиляков, как у цивилизованных народов, национальные предрассудки, но они исключительно сводятся к незнанию, к незнакомству с чуждым, неизвестным элементом, дающему полный простор для фантастических представлений и опасений. Такие предрассудки у них имеются даже к своим собственным единоплеменникам, живущим в более отдаленных местах. Так, гиляки западного берега Сахалина склонны представлять себе своих же соплеменников охотского берега чуть ли не людоедами, во всяком случае крайне злыми и вороватыми, хотя это чистейший предрассудок, вызванный незнакомством или обобщенными единичными случаями. Точно так же после первых походов наших казаков в XVII ст. гиляки не иначе называли русских, как кінр (чорт), но казаки им подали достаточно поводов к этому не только своей странной внешностью, невиданным одеянием и оружием, но и целым рядом бессмысленных жестокостей и разбойнической жадностью к «сорока сороков» ценных шкурок пушнины. Но теперь, когда гиляки встретились с мирными русскими людьми, они вспоминают о своем старом «предрассудке», как о смешном анекдоте, и умеют к своим соседям относиться с настоящей человечностью.

Но мы удалились несколько от нашей главной темы. Мы можем теперь резюмировать.

Те несомненные социальные навыки и чувства, которые мы видим в современном гиляке, бесспорно вынесены им из благодетельной школы социальных отношений, выработавшихся первоначально среди матримониальных родов, и от них уже были перенесены постепенно сначала и на всякого единоплеменника, далее, на иноплеменных соседей и, наконец, на человека вообще.

Но источник социальных уз между матримониальными родами ахмальк'ов и ымги, как мы видели, коренится в той удивительной организации гиляцкого р о д а, анализу которой мы посвятили эти главы. В этой эволюции от эгоизма замкнутого рода через узы с близкими по крови чужеродными панд'фами до симпатии и человечности ко всякому, близкому и дальнему, заключается, быть может, самый высокий по поучительности вывод нашего долгого анализа. С того момента, когда установилось правило для человека жениться на дочери своего дяди по матери, заложено было и прочное основание для широкого роста социальных навыков и чувств.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

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СОЦИАЛЬНАЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ ГИЛЯКОВ

(СЕМЬЯ И БРАЧНО-ПОЛОВЫЕ НОРМЫ)

I.

ВВЕДЕНИЕ.

Строй гиляцкой семьи и нормы половых отношений кажутся при поверхностном знакомстве настолько простыми, обычными и сходными с нашими, что могут вводить в заблуждение даже серьезного наблюдателя. Известный академик Леопольд Шренк, проживший среди гиляков более 2 лет и оставивший нам хорошо известную многотомную монографию об этом племени, был глубоко убежден в том, что имеет перед собой обыкновенную патриархально-моноандрическую семью. Ему это казалось до такой степени очевидным, что противоположное мнение Зибольда, правда, слишком категорически утверждавшего, на основании сообщений японского путешественника XVIII в. Мамио Ринсо, что «северо-западный берег Сахалина (т.-е. территория гиляков) единственная страна в мире, где в силу закона или обычая практикуется полиандрия»,[1] он объясняет не неточностью наблюдений Мамио Ринсо, которого он считает отличным наблюдателем, а «личным» его озлоблением против гиляков за то, что гиляцкие женщины заставили его исполнять, наравне с другими мужчинами, черные работы.[2] «У гиляков, — говорит в заключение Шренк, — ни на Сахалине, ни на материке, нигде не существует полиандрии».

По-своему Шренк был прав: лично ему, быть может, и невозможно было подметить полиандрической природы гиляцкого брака, ибо открытой, публичной полиандрии, в той форме, в ка-

[1] Siebold. Nippon. VII, p. 169.

[2] „Не желая укорять Мамио Ринсо в чистом вымысле, говорит Шренк, — не можем воздержаться от предположения, не руководили ли им мотивы личного свойства, которые, запутав его показания, дали повод к разнообразному толкованию... Тщеславие и опасение уронить себя в глазах правительства (за свое рабское положение) побудили путешественника объяснить свое унизительное положение среди гиляков обычаем их страны" (т.-е. полиандрией и господством женщин). Л. Шренк. — Об инородцах Амурскаго края. 1903. т. III, с. 19.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

кой ее себе рисуют те, которые ее в жизни не наблюдали, у гиляков, действительно, найти невозможно. С другой стороны, и показания Мамио Ринсо довольно неопределенны, так как, по незнанию языка, он мог заметить только фактические фривольности в отношениях, но никоим образом не мог понять главной сути, нормативности, правомерности замеченных им сексуальных отношений.

Чтобы раскрыть полиандрическую природу гиляцкого брака, необходимо либо проникнуть глубоко в самые интимные стороны гиляцкой жизни, знать их язык, подолгу жить с ними в их юртах (что и помогло Ринсо видеть то, что не удалось видеть Шренку) и, во всяком случае, познакомиться с родственной номенклатурой, что Шренку, благодаря малому знакомству с языком, совершенно не удалось.[1]

Для внешнего наблюдателя институт гиляцкого брака действительно не представляет ничего особенного. По всем внешним признакам жена или жены гиляка (многоженство — 2-3-4 жены — допускается гиляцкими обычаями) представляют его индивидуальную собственность. Жена покупается мужем за очень высокую плату у ее агнатов, отца или ее братьев, переходит на постоянное жительство в его дом, следует за ним в его передвижениях и переселениях и перед всем светом считается личной женой купившего ее гиляка и матерью его детей. Дети принадлежат исключительно отцу и наследуют ему после смерти. После рождения первого ребенка как муж, так и жена перестают называться прежними именами и начинают величаться по имени новорожденного («отец такого-то, мать такого-то» — теконимия). Исключительные права мужа на его жен, повидимому, публично санкционированы правом расправы, и даже кровавой расправы, с нарушителем его супружеских прав. Род основан на принципе агнатизма, брак экзогамный. Можно объехать всю территорию гиляков, жить в их юртах, подолгу наблюдать их семейную жизнь и не замечать ничего необычного. В больших зимних юртах обитатели занимают свои места семьями, живущими каждая своими собственными интересами. Между мужем и женой или женами и их детьми царит согласие и нежные от-

[1] Немногие сведения, сообщенные Шренком из этой области, могут только вводить в заблуждение читателя. Так, например, он совершенно ошибочно утверждает, что свою мать и сестру отца человек одинаково называет общим именем „ymk". См. Л. Шренк, op. cit., т. III, стр. 6. Вероятно, лицо, информировавшее Шренка, говорило не о сестре отца, а о сестре матери.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ношения. Нередки случаи поразительной привязанности между супругами: когда один из них умирает, другой иногда налагает на себя руки или умирает от тоски.

Словом, по всем видимостям, мы имеем тут дело с типом индивидуальной семьи, которую принято называть патриархальной и уже во всяком случае не полиандрической. Таковы были вначале и мои собственные впечатления. Но первые же мои расспросы из области родственной номенклатуры вызвали во мне серьезные сомнения, и я решил поэтому прежде всего детально изучить эту сторону отношений. Изучение родственной номенклатуры казалось мне наиболее успешно выполнимым при систематической переписи населения. С этой целью в течение зимы 1891 г. я предпринял свою первую перепись гиляцких сел западного берега северного Сахалина, в результате чего было открытие сложной классификаторской системы родства и своеобразной формы группового брака.[1]

Следующие переписи в других областях территории гиляков (1891—1894 гг.) дали мне полную и всестороннюю картину родственной номенклатуры и половых отношений со всеми их вариациями по отдельным родам и диалектам. В частности, за эти годы мне удалось ознакомиться также с совершенно своеобразным строем семьи у сахалинских айну, резко отличающихся типичными особенностями материнитета. В 1895 и 1896 гг. я исследовал в этом же отношении тунгусские племена Приамурского края, где мне удалось открыть подобную гиляцкой, но значительно разнящуюся от последней, вполне выработанную классификаторскую систему родства. Таким образом, у меня собрался достаточный материал для всестороннего сравнения как терминологии родства, так и семейно-родового быта у всех представителей Приамурского края.

В виду крайней важности терминологии родства для понимания всего строя семьи и рода у гиляков и в виду обширных споров, возникших в последнее время в науке по поводу классификаторской системы родства и ее значения, мы считаем нужным рассмотреть ее во всех деталях.

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[1] Отчет об этом был в свое время представлен автором Московскому обществу любителей естествознания и появился под названием „Сахалинские гиляки" в 1893 г. в органе этого Общества „Этнографическом обозрении" (1893 г., кн. 2). В заграничной прессе об этой статье был отзыв Фридриха Энгельса в „Die Neue Zeit". 1892-93. XI Jahrgang, B. I.

II.

ТЕРМИНЫ И ФОРМЫ РОДСТВА.

Прежде чем перейти к самой родственной номенклатуре у гиляков, небезынтересно будет остановиться на вопросе, насколько эта номенклатура самостоятельна в формальном смысле этого слова, в каком отношении она стоит к таковым у их соседей — айну и у тунгусских народов Приамурского края и через последних к урало-алтайской группе народов вообще, ибо при том беспрерывном процессе смешения, который неизбежно имел место у гиляков с их соседями, заимствования именно в этой области должны были быть особенно заметны. Ниже мы дадим специальный очерк номенклатуры и норм брака как у айну, так и у тунгусских народов. Мы увидим, что и у этих народов имеется классификаторская система родства, хотя и значительно отличная от гиляцкой, и тем интереснее выяснить, насколько сходны между собой эти родственные названия.

Начнем с айну. Уже a priori, принимая во внимание счет родства по матери и другие резкие черты материнитета, в противоположность агнатному принципу гиляков, можно было сказать, что сходного должно быть мало в родственных названиях у обоих народов. Действительно, единственный, фонетически вполне совпадающий термин — это термин «aki», но в гиляцком, как и в тунгусских, языках он означает — старший брат, а в айнском, наоборот, — младший; таким образом, совпадение может быть совершенно случайное. Другие более или менее близко с гиляцкими звучащие айнские термины, например, — «ача» — дядя, «nana» — мать (Курильские о-ва), по значению опять-таки не совпадают: гиляцкое «ачк» означает тещу, тетю, бабушку; «nanax» — старшую сестру. Все остальные термины не имеют никакого, даже отдаленного сходства между собой. Гораздо больше сходства можно было предполагать с урало-алтайскими, особенно с тунгусскими идиомами, так как и по счету родства и по другим особенностям норм брак гиляков сильно приближается к ним, и, кроме того, сношения между этими народами с давних пор были более интимными, чем с айну. Тем не менее и тут изолированный гиляцкий язык остается в значительной мере верен себе. Только немногие термины настолько близки, что дают основание предполагать взаимное заимствование. Прежде всего обращает на себя внимание термин для обозначения класса старших братьев: гиляцкое — «akand, aka, aki» общетунгус-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ское «a'ga, aki», ольчское — «axa, aki», общетюркское «aga, akyn, axun». У тунгусских народов, в отличие от гиляков, этим термином, кроме старшего брата, еще обозначается и младший брат отца, а в тюркских — брат отца вообще, что на гиляцком языке имеет два совершенно самостоятельных названия — «ytk» (отец) и «pilang», при чем этот последний значит то же, что «a'ga» в тунгусском, т. е. старший.

Общим, далее, может считаться корень „ар, арр": в гиляцком „арр, аррук", у тунгусских народов (ольчей, орочей, орочов) — „apan'ga, ypan'ga", употребляемый у тех и других для обозначения тестя (у гиляков — также для брата матери), при чем у тунгусских племен еще во многих других значениях, не совпадающих с гиляцкими терминами. У монголов, тюрков и якутов корень этот тоже встречается в формах „aba'ga, apa'ga" — старший брат отца, „apa" (у других тюрков) — старшая сестра. Об этом термине „арр, аррук" у гиляков можно с большой уверенностью сказать, что в их языке он является прямым заимствованием, так как на ряду с тем и даже гораздо чаще чем „аррук" употребляются другие термины, чисто гиляцкие — „atk, axmalk", и замечательно, что именно на Амуре, где гиляки непосредственно граничат с тунгусами, термин „арр" встречается наиболее часто. Далее отметим возможность общности корней в следующих терминах, по значению, впрочем, не совсем совпадающих: гиляцкое as'x — младший брат и гольдское ачха — младший брат отца (бирары); гольдское edi — муж и гиляцкое edr: — отец жены, тесть; гиляцкие ytk — отец, atk — отец жены, ачк — мать жены и северо-тунгусское atki — отец и старший брат жены и atki — мать и сестра жены[1] и некоторые другие, более сомнительные, как, например, монгольское omok, otok — род и гиляцкие редкие формы: ota — отец, oma — мать. Безусловно заимствован из тунгусского гиляцкий термин ivy — жена брата, соответствующий yvy у ольчей, так как у гиляков он встречается только на территории, соседней с ольчами; в других же местах неизменно употребляется коренное гиляцкое слово an'g:ej. В тюркских языках, кроме указанного aga, akyn, axun, находим созвучные формы в эг — мужчина, муж, герой (монгольское ere), „er" — взрослый человек; (гиляцкое er: — отец); ata, aba, apa — (гиляцкие ota, yta); эччі (старотюркское) — старший брат, дядя по отцу (гиляцкое учх — старик, муж) и, наконец, og:lan — молодой человек, юноша, мальчик и o:l — сын (гиляцкое og:lang, o:la — сын, ребенок). Затем,

[1] Иохельсон. Материалы. 240.

быть может, некоторый интерес представляют фонетически близкие к гиляцким коряцкие термины ачіче, ітеі, ар (гиляцкие ачік, ім, ар).

Таковы те небольшие сближения, которые представляют гиляцкие родственные термины с их близкими и дальними соседями на азиатском материке.

Каково происхождение этих сближений, трудно сказать с несомненной решительностью. Как показывает сравнительное изучение терминов родства у самых отдаленных друг от друга народов, особенно в названиях отца и матери, часто являющихся простыми звукоподражаниями, возможны очень поразительные, но тем не менее несомненно случайные совпадения. В частности небезынтересно указать, что самый несомненно идентичный термин у гиляков и тунгусско-тюркских народов «aki, a'ga» — старший брат, легко мог бы с успехом быть сближаем с древнееврейским «ах» брат, равно гиляцкое «oma» — мать, с древнееврейским «em», но выводы, конечно, из подобных сравнений были бы весьма рискованны. С другой стороны, не было бы ничего странного, если бы единичные термины, хотя бы такие важные, как «aki», оказались заимствованными. Лингвистика дает нам не мало доказательств этому. Например, в османском языке оказываются заимствованными такие кардинальные термины, как отец и мать, при чем название для отца — «peder» — заимствовано из персидского, а название матери — «valide» — взято из арабского. В другом тюркском наречии, именно у таранчей, оказывается заимствованным из персидского один только термин «xvat» — сестра.

Другой пример еще более поучительный. В тундренном роде юкагиров (наиболее смешавшемся с ламутами) заимствованы четыре самых кардинальных термина родства: «ama, эпэ, aka, эка — отец, мать, старший брат, старшая сестра, все же остальные (большинство) остались чисто юкагирскими. Иохельсон,[1] сообщающий эти факты, совершенно правильно объясняет этот странный факт частичного заимствования тем, что заимствованные термины совпадают по своему значению с юкагирскими, но во всем остальном система юкагирского родства резко отличается от тунгусской.

Так или иначе, каково бы ни было происхождение указанных выше сближений между гиляцкими и тунгусско-тюркскими терминами родства, являются ли они результатом случайных сов-

[1] Иохельсон. Материалы. 210.

I: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

падений или результатом этнических взаимодействий, они настолько незначительны, что обширная родственная номенклатура гиляков остается совершенно самостоятельной не только по своему внутреннему содержанию, но и в лексическом отношении, и, принимая во внимание беспрерывный процесс смешения между гиляками и их соседями, можно только удивляться, что в родственной терминологии тех и других общего оказалось так мало.

Об этой оригинальности гиляцкой терминологии с большой очевидностью свидетельствует и самая этимология гиляцких терминов родства, большинство которых можно проследить вплоть до их первоначальных корней, что указывает на прочную устойчивость их в течение долгого периода времени.[1]

Приведем несколько примеров. Так, группа „ytk" — отец, „atk" — дедушка, дядя по матери, „ytik" — бабушка, „учх" — старик, муж, „ачх" — тетка, сестра отца, „ut-gu" — мужчина (западный диалект) имеют общий корень „ut, yt" — тело; группа „ymk" — мать, „ymg:i" — зять, сын сестры, „um-gu" — женщина (западный диалект) имеют общий корень „um". Далее, „an'g:ej" — жена от „an'x" — самка; „az'myч" — возлюбленный, муж, мужчина (западный диалект) от „аж" — самец и глагола „myч" — быть, сделаться. Интересна группа „wank, wanx, ranx" — женщина и ranж" — сестра и т. д.

Остается еще сказать о диалектических различиях в родственных названиях. Различия эти второстепенного свойства. В коренных терминах либо вовсе нет различий, либо различия незначительного фонетического характера. Так, напр., „ytk, ymk" — отец, мать — совершенно одинаковы во всех диалектах; „ruvn, luvn" — брат (восточный диалект), в западном слегка изменено в „ruf"; „og:la, og:lang" в тымовском и восточносахалинском диалекте гласит „o:la" в диалекте западном. В тех случаях, когда термины гласят фонетически совершенно различно, это происходит либо от заимствования от ближайших соседей, как в указанных выше „app" и „lvy", или от образования соответствующего термина от различных синонимов, общих всем диалектам. Так, например, „wanx" — женщина в восточном диалекте образовалось от общего слова „an'x" — самка, а „um-gu" — женщина в

[1] Этого нельзя сказать по отношению ко многим историческим народам. Так, например, как сообщил мне известный тюрколог В. В. Радлов, у тюрков, судя по орхонским и уйгурским памятникам, родственная терминология, начиная с X века, за исключением одного — двух терминов, совершенно изменилась, даже в таких формах, как отец и мать и т. д.

западном диалекте одного корня с общим словом „ym(k)“ — мать; точно так же ut-gu“ — мужчина в западном диалекте одного корня с „yik“ (отец), а соответствующее az'myч в восточном от аж — самец и т. д.

В таблице родственной номенклатуры и объяснениях к ней мы дадим термины по диалектам и территориям, обозначая в скобках диалект Амура сокращением (А. Д.), диалект Тыми — (Т. Д.), диалект восточного берега Сахалина (В. Д.) и западного — (З. Д.) В дальнейшем в тексте мы всегда будем употреблять первый из синонимов восточного диалекта.

Теперь мы переходим к самому изъяснению терминологии родства. Предваряем только читателя, что гиляки счет родства ведут по мужской линии и что агнатная семья — только ячейка строго организованного экзогамного агнатного рода. Просим также читателя запомнить, что при упоминании того или иного термина, без особого указания на то, употребляется ли он мужчиной или женщиной, мы будем подразумевать, что термины эти употребляются одинаково обоими полами, в противном случае пол говорящего будет указан особо.

Формы родства

По основному строю гиляцкого брачного права свойство должно совпадать с родством. Гиляки различают две главных категории родства, которые могут быть названы: агнатное родство и когнатное. Первое обнимает всех лиц, связанных общим происхождением от одного предка-мужчины, иначе говоря, всех лиц, родившихся или адоптированных в том или другом роде, при чем женщины по выходе замуж переходят в род своих мужей. Когнатное родство бывает двух родов: первый обнимает тот род или те роды, куда вышли замуж женщины-агнатки данного рода, второй обнимает тот род или те роды, откуда данный род или отдельные члены его брали жен.

Лица, связанные агнатным родством, объединены общим именем „k:xal-n'ig:yvyn“ или просто k:xal — люди рода, сородичи (от k xal — род, n'ig:yvyn — человек). По отношению к первой группе когнатов, т. е. к членам рода или родов, которые берут или брали жен у k:xal-n'ig:yvyn, эти последние и весь их род объединены общим названием axmalk (тести) и обратно ymg:l (зятья). Наоборот, по отношению ко второй группе когнатов, т. е. тому роду или тем родам, откуда они сами берут женщин, они являются ymg:l (зятья) и обратно axmalk. Обе когнатные группы по отношению к первой и все три между собой носят характер-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ное название pandf (от pandynd — родиться), т. е. единокровные, связанные общим происхождением[1] через женщин. Таким образом, свойство и когнатство совершенно тождественные понятия у гиляков. Как это случилось, мы это увидим при рассмотрении брачных норм. Теперь перейдем к рассмотрению каждой категории родства в отдельности.

Родство агнатное, родство внутри рода. Внутри рода гиляки различают только три линии:

1) восходящее поколение («моих отцов поколение»), без различия прямых и боковых линий, так как братья отца обозначаются одним и тем же термином, что и родные отцы; различаются только поколения восходящей линии: 1-е, 2-е, 3-е, 4-е, 5-е и т. д.;

2) нисходящее поколение («моих детей поколение»), при чем под детьми подразумевается потомство не только лица говорящего и целого класса его братьев, родных и боковых всех степеней, но и все последующие нисходящие поколения этих лиц;

3) внутри каждого поколения линия бокового родства, обнимающего класс братьев и сестер (родных и боковых), так называемый класс «tuvn».

Кроме того, в каждом поколении сородичей различается класс мужей и жен.

Класс братьев и сестер („tuvn"). Для лучшего понимания последующего мы начнем с того класса, который называем классом tuvn.[2] Особенность этого термина, прежде всего, в том, что он обнимает безразлично лиц обоего пола; им одинаково обозначают и брата, и сестру. Другая особенность — еще более важная — заключается в том, что под tuvn подразумеваются не только братья и сестры родные, т.-е. дети одного отца, но и дети всех братьев отца, родных и боковых всех степеней родства, т.-е. братья и сестры двоюродные, троюродные и т. д. по мужской линии. Таким образом, внутри рода все агнаты и агнатки одного поколения — братья и сестры, кузены и кузины по мужской линии, а также женщины замужние и жены братьев

[1] Шренк (III, стр. 23) совершенно ошибочно утверждает, что родственники со стороны отца, иначе говоря, агнаты, члены одного и того же рода называют себя и г а ф к, а родственники со стороны матери а м а л ь. В действительности оба термина, наоборот, означают исключительно родство либо по матери, либо по жене, но никоим образом не со стороны отца. Родственники по отцу носят указанное выше название: k:xal, k:xal-n'lg:yvyn.

[2] Термин, заимствованный из восточного диалекта; в западном он гласит tul.

мужа — между собой tuvn. Но tuvn, как мы увидим, человек может иметь и вне своего рода: это именно дети тех лиц, которых он называет вне своего рода своим отцом или матерью (см. класс отцов и матерей). Внутри этого класса есть одно крупное и важное подразделение, играющее главенствующую роль как в терминологии, так и в половых нормах, именно на лиц старше по возрасту говорящего или упоминаемого лица, и лиц моложе его, именно «akand, aki» — старший брат или сестра (tuvn) и «as'xand, as'x» — младший брат или сестра (tuvn). Для именования старшей сестры, в виду особенности ее положения в сексуальных правах, имеется сверх того термин «nanaxand, nanax, nanx» — одинаково употребляемый по отношению к ней как мужчинами, так и женщинами. Выработались, впрочем, некоторые частные термины для отдельных категорий этого класса. Так, имеется общий термин для обозначения понятия «сестра» в классовом смысле, именно ranr: (одного корня с ranx — сестра). Встречается (крайне редко, впрочем, да и то только в поэзии) термин «kivung, kiun» — брат.[1] Употребляются также описательные формы для различения родных от боковых tuvn: именно, „os'kyr: tuvn" — родной брат или сестра, «tukor: tuvn» — кузен, кузина по мужской линии. Но все эти названия не составляют звена в общей терминологии родства и в связанных с ней нормах полового общения. Если вы спросите двух хотя бы самых отдаленных агнатов одного поколения, как они приходятся друг другу, вы получите ответ либо просто tuvn, либо aki (старший tuvn), либо as'x, смотря по лицу отвечающему.

Что касается вопроса о старшинстве между братьями боковыми, то оно определяется не старшинством по восходящей линии, а действительным старшинством самих кузенов, при чем в сомнительных случаях вопрос решается стариками.

Восходящая линия

В этой линии внутри имеются только две градации для каждого пола: 1) отцы и деды, 2) матери и бабушки.

Деды и бабушки. Термин «atk», реже «app, appyk», обозначает всех восходящих мужских по линии отца, т.-е. не только деда, прадеда и т. д., но и их братьев родных и боковых, т.-е. их класс tuvn — мужчин. Точно так же термин женской категории avik, ytik, yvik служит для обозначения бабушек, прабабушек и т. д. и их сестер — жен дедов, прадедов и их «братьев» (tuvn).

[1] „'Ilxys' kivung xendra" — „тебя за брата считала", говорит героиня возлюбленному в одной песне. „Kiun" могло образоваться тоже от редкой формы akixun.

Если гиляку приходится в том или другом случае точнее обозначить лицо этой категории, прибегают, как и у нас, к описательному приему; например, желая назвать младшего брата прадедушки, говорят: n'i er: atk pilang — «дядя (младший) деда моего отца» и т. д., но подобные случаи редки, так как в брачных вопросах такие степени родства не играют никакой роли.

Класс отцов и дядей по отцу. Тут приходится различать две формы, повидимому, отражающие две преемственные во времени стадии брачных и половых норм.

Гиляки, говорящие на западном диалекте, т.-е. гиляки материка и западного берега Сахалина, особенно начиная с сел. Ваал. и к северу от него, употребляют одни и те же термины «ytk» и пр.[1] для обозначения, кроме родного отца, еще всех его tuvn — мужчин, т.-е. братьев родных и боковых, и, кроме того, всех мужей сестер матери, при чем в некоторых местах, именно в с. Тамлево и к северу от него, на ряду с «ytk» и его синонимами, употребляется еще другой термин для обозначения братьев отца — «pilang», соответствующий по значению аналогичному тунгусскому a'ga — старший. Другая группа, говорящая на восточном диалекте, делает различие между «братьями» (tuvn) младшими отца и «братьями» (tuvn) старше отца. Именно для первых она безразлично употребляет и термин ytk — отец и pilang — старший, а для вторых термин atk, т.-е. тот же, что и для обозначения деда. В разговорном языке и особенно в текстах термин «отец» (ytk и его синонимы) и у этой группы употребляется безразлично как для родного отца, так и для всех его «братьев» (tuvn). Особенно явственно это отражается в обычном употреблении термина «отец» во множественном числе, например, n'ytxyn — множественное число от ytk, отец — буквально — «мои отцы» и означает: «отец» и его «братья» (tuvn) без различия возрастов. Из этого можно заключить, что первая форма единого термина для обозначения отца и его «братьев» более древняя и была некогда господствующей, но впоследствии была вытеснена под влиянием изменения в половых нормах.

Класс матерей. Если в терминологии предыдущего класса существуют различия между восточными и западными гиляками, то в отношении класса матерей обе группы совершенно сходятся. Каждый гиляк, мужчина и женщина, называет одним и тем же термином «мать» (ymk и синонимы), кроме своей родной матери, еще следующие группы лиц: 1) всех «сестер»

[1] Полное перечисление терминов-синонимов см. ниже в таблице.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

(tuvn — женщин) своей матери; 2) всех жен «братьев» отца;[1] 3) всех жен отца, т.-е. мачих; 4) вне рода: всех «сестер» лиц класса axmalk (об этом ниже).

Класс „жен" внутри рода. Наиболее употребительное название для жены в обоих диалектах an'x, an'g:ej. Этим именем гиляк называет внутри рода не только свою официальную жену, и и всех ее «сестер» (т.-е. tuvn — женщин), далее и жен всех своих старших «братьев» (т.-е. aki) и, наконец, всех сестер жен этих последних. Жен класса младших «братьев» (as'x) гиляк называет joxo, jox, тем же термином, каким тесть или свекровь называют свою невестку. Только незначительная часть гиляков на Амуре, благодаря соседству с ольчами, усвоила от них для жен всех «братьев» без различия особое название[2] ivy.

Чрезвычайно характерно, что «жены» класса tuvn, кто бы они ни были по своему происхождению, называют друг друга «сестрами» (tuvn) и, в зависимости от возраста их мужей, именуют одна другую nanx и as'x — «старшая сестра» и, обратно, «младшая сестра».

Класс мужей. Класс мужей соответствует терминологии предыдущего класса — «жен». Внутри рода своего мужа женщина называет термином «муж» (pu, ivn, o'kono и т. д.) не только своего официального мужа, но и представителей класса его «братьев» (tuvn), со следующими, однако, вариациями. Восточные гиляки и часть западных различают между младшими «братьями» (tuvn) мужа и старшими: первых женщина называет pu, ivn, o'kono, т.-е. как своих формальных мужей, а вторых — atk. Гиляки северосахалинские и материкового побережья не делают различия между старшими и младшими братьями мужа, называя их одинаково pu, o'kono. Только гиляки амурские знают специальное одинаковое название для всех братьев мужа — n'orej (= n'i — мой + orej — муж) — термин, созвучный с тольдским родственным термином oro.

Класс нисходящих. Класс нисходящих внутри рода, класс og:lang, og:la, вполне определяется предыдущими терминами класса отцов и матерей. Именем og:la всякий мужчина внутри своего рода называет не только своих собственных детей, рожденных от официальных жен, но и всех детей «братьев» (tuvn), равно как жен-

[1] Единственное исключение я встретил во время переписи в с. Коль, где в одном случае жену старшего брата отца называют тунгусским термином yvej, что объясняется наличием в селении лиц тунгусского происхождения.

[2] У ольчей мужчина называет жену своего старшего брата yvy.

щина, на ряду со своими детьми, называет og:la и детей всех без различия «братьев» своего мужа; но термин og:la применяется не только к первому поколению лиц, но и ко всем поколениям нисходящих, как своих собственных, так и всего класса tuvn. Таким образом, гиляк называет одним и тем же термином og:la не только собственных детей и агнатных племянников, но и всех нисходящих этих последних, т.-е. внуков, правнуков и т. д. Тут мы видим то же явление, что в терминологии восходящей линии, где одним термином «atk» определяются все поколения выше отца и матери.

Кроме указанных нормативных случаев, термин og:la часто применяется и вне правила, как ласкательное, и к другим категориям. Так, женщина зовет часто этим термином сына сестры мужа, а мужчина — сына брата жены, хотя нормально для этих лиц установлены совершенно другие названия.

Отметим еще две специальные формы названий в этом классе: одну описательную для обозначения «родного» нисходящего — os'kyr: og:la — и другую, обозначающую первородство ykyч, но оба эти термина ни в общем строе терминологии, ни в сексуальных нормах не играют роли.

Когнатное родство.

Теперь перейдем к терминам родства с лицами вне рода, к родству когнатному, являющемуся ключом этой системы. Мы уже говорили, что в гиляцкой системе родства свойство и кровное (когнатное) родство являются идентичными, что особого родства по свойству гиляцкая классификационная система не знает. Чтобы лучше понять этот странный факт, мы начнем наш обзор родства вне рода с родства по матери, т.-е. с родства с членами рода и всем родом, откуда пришла мать человека.

Прежде всего замечательно, что все сестры (tuvn) матери, не только родной, но и «матерей» классовых, являются «женами» (an'g:ej) моего отца и его класса tuvn. Соответственно этому все «сестры» (tuvn) моей матери и моих классовых «матерей» в то же время и мои «матери» (ymk), а я и мои «братья и сестры» (tuvn) им — «дети» (og:la). С другой стороны, еще важнее мои отношения к брату матери и его tuvn. Точно так же, как мой отец называет всех «сестер» матери своими «женами» (an'g:ej), точно так же я (если «я» — мужчина) называю уже от рождения всех дочерей братьев матери и их «сестер» (tuvn) — an'g:ej — своими «женами», и, обратно, они меня — своим мужем (pu); их дети зовут меня «отец» (ytk), мою официальную жену — матерью (ymk), а

мы их — своими «детьми» (og:la). Что касается остальных сородичей и родственников брата матери, то установилась следующая терминология. Если «я» — мужчина, то я и все мои «братья» (tuvn) и мои нисходящие зовем брата матери и всех его мужских сородичей — atk, axmalk (дядя, тесть); жену брата матери, ее «сестер» и жен tuvn брата матери, равно как и жен восходящих брата матери зовем ачк, ytik — тетя, теща, бабушка; сыновей брата матери и его tuvn — axmalk, navx; обратно, все эти лица называют меня — ymg:l (зять) navx; моих жен, равно как и жен моих сородичей эти лица, смотря по поколению, называют то «сестрами» (tuvn), то «дочерьми» (og:la), но наших сестер и дочерей — одним термином «племянница» n'ern, и, наконец, все мои сородичи называют всех мужских сородичей брата матери axmalk (тесть), обратно — ymg:l — зять — пережиток того времени, когда был обменный брак. Этот последний термин очень характерен; он одного корня с umgu — женщина, oma — мать и свидетельствует о том, что термин зять ассоциирован с идеей о когнатном родстве, с родством через мать.

Но особенно замечательно, что родственная терминология, установившаяся между мной и поколением брата матери, не ограничивается только лицами нашего общего поколения, а повторяется соответственно и между лицами всех наших восходящих и нисходящих, так что, если я, мужчина, называю дочь брата матери своей an'g:ej, то мой отец называет сестру его, т.-е. дочь отца брата матери, в свою очередь, женой — an'g:ej. Равным образом, мой сын называет дочь сына брата моей матери своей «женой» и т. д., словом, называет так, как если бы каждая жена сородича была действительно дочерью сестры его отца.

Таким образом, родство по матери устанавливает не частичное родство семьи ее мужа с ее семьей, а устанавливает нераздельное родство между обоими родами, распространяющееся на каждого члена каждого из них. Если мой род — *A*, а род брата матери — *B*, то последний, как целое, будет называться axmalk'ом *A*, а этот, в свою очередь, vmg:l второго. И, что особенно замечательно, это отношение остается постоянным между обоими родами. Род *B* уже ни при каких обстоятельствах не может превратиться в ymg:l *A*. Это видно из взаимной терминологии родов. Звание «axmalk» рода *B*, как мы видели, произошло от того, что члены рода *A* имеют целые классы «жен» (an'g:ej) в этом роде; наоборот, мужчины рода *B*, среди женщин рода *A* имеют только либо сестер (tuvn), либо «дочерей» (og:la), либо

«племянниц» (n'ern), но не «жен» (an'g:ej), и потому род *B* не может стать axmalk'ом *A*.

Терминология родства по матери определяет и другую форму когнатного родства, — родства по сестре отца. Пока эта последняя остается в моем роде, я зову ее агнатным термином nanx (старшая сестра, тетя), она меня as'x (младший брат), но с выходом замуж она и род ее мужа становятся по отношению ко мне и к моему роду, как я и мой род по отношению к роду брата моей матери, т.-е. муж сестры отца и его „братья" (tuvn) называют всех сестер моего отца „женами" (an'g:ej) и, обратно, они называются „мужьями" (pu); дочери мои и моих tuvn являются an'g:ej сыновей сестры отца и их tuvn, и jox (невестками) всех восходящих мужа сестры отца; мужчины моего рода, смотря по классу восходящей линии, то atk, axmalk, то axmalk, navx сородичей мужа сестры отца, а те нам ymg:i, navx, а женщины того рода для нас либо наши агнатки — „тетки" (nanx), „сестры" (tuvn), „дочери" (og:la), либо „племянницы" (n'ern), словом, мой род — род axmalk, а род сестры отца — нам род ymg:i.

Терминология этой группы является центральным пунктом всей родственной терминологии, ибо по ее типу, т.-е. по типу родственных отношений между человеком и братом его матери, создана вся родственная номенклатура брачного родства вообще. На ком бы ни женился гиляк, между ним и его родом, с одной стороны, и его женой и ее родом, с другой, устанавливается такая же терминология родства, как если бы жена его действительно была бы дочерью брата его матери. Наоборот, за кого бы гиляк ни выдал замуж свою сестру, вся родственная терминология, устанавливающаяся между родами, такая же, как если бы зять был, действительно, сыном сестры его отца. Вот почему гилякская терминология не знает родства по свойству, ибо тесть во всяком случае то же, что сын брата бабушки, зять человека — сын сестры его отца, отец зятя — сын сестры деда и т. д., и, следовательно, все члены обоих родов как бы кровные родственники между собой.

Таким образом, имея в памяти родственную номенклатуру группы брата матери и сестры отца, мы имеем готовую схему для любой брачной комбинации между мужем и родом жены, между женой и родом ее мужа, между мужчиной и родом его замужней сестры и т. д. По этой схеме отношение человека к роду его жены, кто бы она de facto ни была по своему происхождению, по общему правилу должно быть таково: мой тесть и

его восходящие, равно как и соответственные классы их tuvn приходятся мне atk, axmalk, их жены — ачк, их нисходящие мужского пола — axmalk, navx, я им — ymg:l, navx. Сестры моих axmalk'ов — мои матери (ymk), их мужья — мои «отцы» (ytk), я тем и другим — сын (og:la), равным образом, «сестры» (tuvn) моей жены — мне и моим «братьям» (tuvn) — «жены» (an'g:ej), их мужья — мне «братья» (tuvn). Дети их зовут каждого из нас «отцом» (ytk) и «матерью» (ymk) и между собой «братья» (tuvn). Наоборот, мои сестры и дочери для мужчин рода моего тестя просто племянницы, и потому никто из рода тестя не может стать ym:gl моего рода.

В эту стройную и вместе странную систему отношений между зятем и родом тестя в настоящее время в некоторых случаях начинает пробиваться брешь, а именно, если какой-нибудь сородич берет жену не из рода матери и вообще не из обычного рода axmalk, указанная терминология у некоторых родов теряет силу в 3-м поколении, но это отступление новейшего порядка.

Теперь, прежде чем покончить с этой системой, мы должны подчеркнуть еще две важные особенности, еще более усложняющие эту и без того сложную систему. Мы видели, что отношение между родами axmalk и ymg:l остается постоянным, так что члены первого рода — назовем его *A* (если *A* — axmalk *B*, то *B* axmalk третьего рода *C* и уже дает своих дочерей третьему роду) — должны, в свою очередь, иметь свой особый род или даже роды axmalk'ов (назовем его *C*), а 2-й (назовем его *B*) должен иметь свой особый род или даже роды ymg:l (*D*). Таким образом, между этими 4 родами устанавливается следующая родственная терминология: род *A* получает новые роды ymg:l (зятей) в лице родов *D*, а род *B* получает новые роды axmalk'ов в лице родов *C*. Эти вторичные роды, в отличие от первых, называются tujma — дальними; напр., tujma axmalk — дальний тесть, tujma ymg:l — дальний зять.

Наконец, в виду того, что в настоящее время не возбраняется различным лицам каждого рода брать жен из различных родов, то каждый из таких браков устанавливает по отношению к каждому новому роду всю сложную ткань терминологии axmalk — ymg:l, т.-е. каждый род в целом может быть axmalk и ymg:l ряда родов.

В заключение — самая замечательная особенность когнатного родства. В родах axmalk человек имеет не только когнатов — дядей, теток, племянниц, но и агнатов: «сестер тестей», которых

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

он называет «матерями» ymk, их детей — «братьями» (tuvn); мужей сестер жен — „братьями" (tuvn), их детей — og:la, а они его ytk и т. д.

Таким образом, у человека по этой терминологии могут оказаться агнаты и агнатки вне его собственного рода. Каким образом могла явиться эта странная аномалия, мы это увидим при рассмотрении половых норм.

Теперь рассмотрим некоторые отдельные формы и особенности родственной терминологии.

Термин pilang. Как в разговорной речи, так и в текстах весьма часто употребляется прилагательное pilang в соединении с теми или другими терминами родства. У других народов прибавление этого прилагательного означает повышение степени родства на одну ступень выше по восходящей линии (как, напр., father и grandfather). У гиляков, повидимому, оно имеет одно только значение, — именно указывает на зрелый возраст определенного лица. Дело в том, что, благодаря классификационной системе, даже такие термины, как отец, мать, дед, бабушка, которые в наших языках достаточно определяют возраст лица по отношению к говорящему, в гилякском языке никакого отношения к возрасту не имеют; не только «отец», «мать», но даже «дед», «бабушка» могут быть моложе «сына» или «внука», а «сын» старше «отца» или «деда». Поэтому, когда желают указать, что речь идет о взрослых представителях того или другого класса, или о лице старше по возрасту говорящего, прибавляют прилагательное большой, взрослый: n'bilan n'atk; n'bila n'emka; n'bila nanko; pila n'ig:yvyn и т. д. — мой взрослый старший «дед», «дядя», «тесть»; моя старшая «мать»; моя взрослая «старшая сестра» или тетка, сестра отца; пожилой человек.

В одном только случае pilang, в форме pila n'ig:yvyn или pil[illegible] является родственным термином, именно в значении младшего брата отца; синоним ytk — отец — термин, выработавшийся, повидимому, под влиянием тунгусского термина a'ga.

Множественные термины родства. Благодаря классификационной системе, выработалось обыкновение употреблять множественное число для таких терминов, как отец, мать, жена по отношению к одному индивидуальному лицу, например, „n'l'ytkynmox vind" — „я к отцам иду" (т.-е. в деревню, где живет класс отцов, хотя бы и родного отца уже и не было в живых); «pytkyn lo pymkxyn lo aryt:» — «своих отцов и матерей кормил».

Благодаря частому употреблению таких терминов во множественном числе, получилось довольно любопытное явление. Во-первых, стали употреблять множественное число нередко и в тех случаях, когда по смыслу речь идет только об одном лице; например, вместо: «чет: шактдх vind?» — «твой отец куда пошел?», часто говорят: «чет:kyn шактох vind?» — «твои отцы куда пошли?» Другой пример: «aka, pytxun xerja!» — «о, старший брат, нашим отцам сообщи!»[1] Приведу еще один характерный пример из одного из записанных мною текстов.[2] Герой рассказа говорит своей жене: «жена, я своих отцов, своих матерей искать пойду». Когда он их нашел, то оказалось: его мать на левой боковой наре сидела, его отец за матерью сидел, его дядя (т.-е. брат отца) на правой наре сидел, тут же молодая женщина сидела (вероятно, «сестра» матери)».

Любопытно, что в древнетюркских памятниках, именно в надписях Koshko—Zaidam В. В. Радлов нашел также следы подобной множественной терминологии, хотя в новейшее время следы классификационного родства, кроме терминов «старший брат», там совершенно исчезли. Поэтому, встретив в тексте выражение: «моя мать», «султанша» и «матери», он перевел последнее через мачеху. Ознакомившись с классификационной системой у гиляков, он был склонен толковать выражение «матери», как «матерей» классовых в отличие от матери родной.

С другой стороны, множественное число иногда обозначает собирательное из родственников родных классов: например, „чет:kyn" (буквально «твои отцы») употребляются в значении отец с матерью, отец и сородичи: „n'eorankxun" (буквально «мои жены») — в смысле возлюбленной и ее подруги; «ymg:lkyn» (буквально «зятья») — зять вместе с женами. Любопытно, что в юкагирском, повидимому, встречается такое же явление. Сужу об этом по одному случаю, приведенному у Иохельсона, где человек говорит «мои отцы» вместо «мой отец», хотя Иохельсон допускает, что множественное число могло быть употреблено из уважения к отцу, но, как это видно из контекста, «друг к моим отцам будет кочевать», об отце говорится здесь заглаза, и, следовательно, в оказании особого уважения и надобности не было.

[1] Л. Штернберг. Материалы по изучению гиляцкого языка и фольклора, I, стр. 13, строка 173, Петербург, 1908, изд. Академии наук.

[2] Ibid., стр. 85, строка 108-109; стр. 86, строки 120-122.

Термины родства в переносном смысле.

Любопытно, как отражаются термины родства на терминах, употребляемых между лицами, состоящими не в брачной связи, на возлюбленных. Оказывается, что в эту область часто переносятся термины из терминологии матримониальной. Так, женщина величает возлюбленного: o'kono (муж на западном диалекте), az'myч (мужчина, муж на восточном диалекте), ivn (жених), navx (из терминологии группы тестя и зятя). Очень интересно, что этим последним термином, равно как термином axmalk, называют себя иногда чужие между собой жены «братьев» и шутя мужчины, имеющие внебрачную связь с одной и той же женщиной, между тем термин navx и axmalk приобрел в практической жизни значение «товарищ», «участник в общем деле». Таким образом термин «navx» по своему значению в этих случаях совершенно совпадает с знаменитым гавайским термином punalua в семейной группе, получившей от него свое название.

В результате нашего обзора родственной терминологии мы находим у гиляков типичную классификационную систему родства.

Сводя воедино термины агнатного и когнатного родства, мы получаем следующие классы:

I. Tuvn = ruvn (В. Д.). ruf (З. Д.). В поэзии (редко): kivung.	I. Братья и сестры (немец. Geschwister): родные единокровные и единоутробные; дети братьев родных и боковых всех степеней родства; дети сестер родных и боковых всех степеней родства.
Отдельно: a) akand, aki — as'xand, as'x (В. Д.).[1] ykind, yki—as'x (З. Д.).	a) Старший брат (tuvn), старшая сестра (tuvn); младший брат и младшая сестра (tuvn); жена младшего tuvn (если „я" женщина). Старшинство в боковых линиях определяется не старшинством отцов, а возрастом соответственных лиц.
в) nanaxand, nanx (В. Д.). nynx (З. Д.).	в) 1. Старшая сестра (tuvn). 2. Жена старшего tuvn (если „я"- женщина).
c) ranr: (З. Д.).	c) Сестра вообще (родная и боковая); tuvn женского пола.
d) nanaxand, nanx (В. Д.). nynx (З. Д.).	d) Старшая сестра; сестра отца; сестра tuvn отца; свекровь; сестра матери, если она замужем не за сородичем (в некоторых местах, с. Виахту), вообще же в этом случае она ymk.
II. Ymk. Редко: oma (Северный Сахалин).	II. Мать родная и мачеха; жены всех tuvn отца; сестры жен братьев (tuvn) отца; сестры (tuvn) матери; сестры (tuvn) моего тестя и его tuvn.

[1] При личном обращении эти термины принимают звательную форму, например: вместо akand — aka; вместо as'x — as'xa.

III. Ytk, yt. Другие формы: er:	III. Отец; отчим; tuvn отца;[1] муж „сестры" матери; брат (tuvn) мужа сестры матери; мужья сестер (tuvn) моего тестя и его tuvn; братья мужей сестер тестя.
а) Ytk или pilang, pila n'lg:yvyn (последний чаще).	а) Во всех случаях § III, когда речь идет о младшем tuvn отца (у гиляков с преобладанием восточного диалекта).
IV. Atk, app, appyk, apo, edr:, etk.	IV. Старший tuvn отца (у гиляков восточного диалекта); дед, прадед и т. д. по матери и по отцу; tuvn дедов, праведов и т. д. (с отцовской и материнской стороны); отцы, деды, праведы и т. д. мужей сестры матери; отцы, деды, праведы (и их tuvn) мужей сестер тестя; старший брат мужа (у восточных гиляков).
V. Aчk, aclk, aчk (В. Д.); asl (охотское побережье); yчlk, ytlk (З. Д.).	V. Жены братьев матери и их tuvn; жены отцов, дедов и т. д. брата матери; жены сыновей братьев матери; мать, бабушка и т. д. жены; мать, бабушка и т. д. сестры жены и вообще ее tuvn; бабушка, прабабушка (с отцовской и материнской стороны).
VI. Og:lang, og:la, eg:lang, o:la.	VI. Сын или дочь – дети; дети всех братьев – tuvn (если „я" мужчина); дети сестер (если „я" женщина); дети сестер (tuvn) жены; дети сестер жены брата; дети дочерей братьев матери них tuvn.
VII. An g:c], an'x (к северу от Амура), an'x n'umgu (Амур). Другие названия: uank, uanx, ran'x.	VII. Жена; сестра жены; жена старшего tuvn; жена сына сестры (tuvn) матери; дочь брата матери и все ее tuvn; в некоторых местах на Амуре жену старшего tuvn зовут также ivy.
VIII. Jox, joxo.	VIII. Невестка; жена младшего брата (tuvn).
IX. Pu, ivn (В. Д.). Pu, il, o'xono (З. Д.). Другие названия: yчix, a'zmyч, utgu.	IX. Если „я" женщина: муж; сын сестры отца; tuvn сына сестры отца; муж сестры; старший tuvn мужа.
	Отступления: 1. На материке к северу от Амура всех tuvn мужа зовут одинаково pu, ivn.
	2. То же на западном берегу Сахалина в с. Тымлево и северное все tuvn мужа – o'xono, также jori; на Амуре – o'xono, n'ore]. Наоборот, у восточных гиляков старшего брата мужа в отличие от младшего всегда зовут atk, edr:, даже er: (см. группу IV).
X. Atk, atyk, axmalk. Синонимы: app, appyk, aryr:, arnr:, yчx, aryчx, edr:, eryr: (В. Д.). Appak, appyк, app, appo, amal (З. Д.).	X. Брат матери; tuvn брата матери; отец, дед, прадед и т. д. брата матери и их tuvn; отец жены, отец сестры (tuvn) жены; tuvn отца жены отец, дед, прадед и т. д. отца жены и их tuvn отец, дед и прадед и т. д. сестры (tuvn) жены.

[1] У гиляков материка и северо-западного побережья Сахалина, особенно начиная с Тымлево южнее только в с. Ямы. У последних для tuvn младшего от

XI. Navx, axmalk (navx чаще).	XI. Брат жены и его tuvn; дети брата жены и их tuvn.
XII. Ymg:i, emg:i, navx (В. Д.). Синонимы (редкие): ашх, рошхг: (З. Д.). Rak n'ivux, rag-n'ivux, ora (последние на Амуре, в соседстве с ольчами). В виде исключения o'kon.	XII. Если „я" мужчина и мои жены: — сын сестры и всех моих женских tuvn; сын сестер отца и его tuvn; сын сестер дедов и т. д. и их tuvn; зять-муж дочери и ее tuvn; муж всякой женщины моего рода, всякой агнатки; всякий мужчина из того рода, члены которого (или хотя бы один) взяли жен из рода говорящего.
XIII. N'ern.	XIII. Если „я" мужчина: дочь сестры (tuvn); сестра мужа дочери и ее дочери и вообще всех женщин, родившихся в роде, члены которого взяли когда-либо жен в роде говорящего.

Совершенно изолированно стоит термин o'kon, характерный тем, что он одного корня с Jox — невестка (невестка, жена младшего брата), т.-е. термин запретного характера. О термине navx необходимо сказать, что он употребляется чаще всего по отношению к мужу сестры и их детям мужского пола.

III.

КЛАССИФИКАЦИОННАЯ СИСТЕМА РОДСТВА И НОРМЫ ПОЛОВОГО ОБЩЕНИЯ И БРАКА.

Теперь посмотрим, в какой мере указанная система родства соответствует современным нормам полового общения и брака.

У гиляков, по крайней мере, в настоящее время, не может быть речи о каких-нибудь общих запретах внебрачного полового общения.

Половое общение с женщиной в глазах гиляка представляется совершенно безразличным естественным актом, как всякий другой естественный акт, отвечающий известной природной потребности человека. Запреты и ограничения касаются только определенных кругов, связанных агнатным или когнатным родством. Вне этих кругов половое общение не подлежит никакой регламентации, ни осуждению как со стороны общественного мнения, так и со стороны религии. Вне запрещенных кругов половое внебрачное общение знает только одно ограничение: реакцию того или другого заинтересованного лица. Молодые люди известного рода, имеющие права на женщин известной мест-

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ца употребляется сверх термина yik еще pilang. n'vil-nivux, соответствующий тунгусскому a'ga.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ности, могут быть недовольны чуждым узурпатором и основательно проучить чужака от залезания в чужие ему области, что, впрочем, случается очень редко. Гораздо серьезнее последствия, если в дело замешана замужняя женщина. Чужой, застигнутый in flagrante delicto с замужней женщиной, убивается на месте преступления; таков был обычай, по крайней мере, до самого последнего времени; немногих только страх перед уголовной репрессией стал удерживать от импульсивных убийств, которые начинают заменяться дуэлями и выкупами. Менее страдает в таких случаях женщина: ее основательно избивают, но до убийства дело никогда не доходит: во-первых, потому, что, как мы увидим далее, женщина считается всегда когнаткой мужа, во-вторых, потому, что она ценность, обошедшаяся довольно дорого ее мужу, и притом необходимая рабочая сила. Так или иначе, без репрессии, кровавой для мужчины и более или менее кровавой для женщины, дело не обходится. Но все это касается только случаев с замужней женщиной. Половое общение с незамужней женщиной или вдовой, если оно происходит с согласия женщины, не вызывает никаких реакций даже со стороны отца или братьев жены, несмотря на их крайнюю заинтересованность в калыме, получаемом при выходе женщин замуж: мне, по крайней мере, о репрессиях в подобных случаях не приходилось слышать. Реакция со стороны родственников женщины возникает только в случае насилия: тогда возможны дуэли и тяжбы о выкупе. Нет также в настоящее время запретов для вступления в брак с лицом этой категории, т.-е. с лицами, не связанными родством. Другое дело между лицами, связанными классификационными терминами родства. Тут на сцену является законченная система ограничений и запретов. Тут на сцену является против нарушителей запретов и общественная реакция и категорический императив религии, под влиянием которых выработались соответственные инстинкты, обратившие искусственно созданные нормы в естественные чувства человека. На этой стороне психики гиляков мы остановимся более подробно впоследствии, когда будем говорить о половой нравственности, теперь перейдем к самым нормам запретов и ограничений.

Эти запреты и ограничения, оказывается, совершенно совпадают с родственной номенклатурой. Только те лица имеют право на половое общение между собой и на вступление в брак, которые, соответственно установившейся классовой терминологии, [illegible] числятся в классах ри* и ла'ґ:ві* т.-е. от рождения

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

именуют друг друга «муж» и «жена». Все остальные классы подчинены безусловному запрету.

Кто же эти запретные классы? Прежде всего это обширный класс k:xal, т.-е. лица, рожденные в одном общем агнатном роде. Гиляцкий род абсолютно экзогамен: среди агнатов, как мы видели, нет классов, именующих друг друга «pu» и «an'g:ej»; среди них ни брак, ни половое общение невозможно. И при этом случае мы должны самым категорическим образом выступить против утверждения Шренка, что гиляцкий род эндогамичен. «Принадлежность к роду — говорит Шренк — не играет никакой роли в важнейшем явлении их жизни, именно в браке... Гиляки вполне допускают у себя браки между гиляками одного и того же кал'а (рода)».[1] В другом месте он говорит еще более определенно: «вступать в браки не могут только родные братья и сестры и дети двух родных братьев».[2] Это безусловно ложное утверждение было бы прямо необъяснимо для исследователя, проведшего около двух лет в общении с гиляками, если бы не тот факт, что Шренк не овладел гиляцким языком и вынужден был объясняться через проводника. На основании многолетнего общения с гиляками на их собственном языке и специально тщательного изучения брачного права, я категорически могу опровергнуть это ни на чем не основанное и вообще антинаучное утверждение Шренка: между лицами, рожденными в одном роде, ни брак, ни половое общение абсолютно не допускается.

Переходим к отдельным классам как внутри рода, так и вне его, которые исключены из права полового общения и брака.

Класс восходящих и нисходящих.

Классы, члены которых зовут друг друга .atk, anik, ytk, ynik, nanx и обратно og:la, т.-е. классы дедов и бабушек, отцов и матерей, агнатных и когнатных дядей и теток — с одной стороны, с другой — их потомки. Таким образом, исключено общение между восходящими и нисходящими не только в прямой, но и в самых отдаленных боковых линиях: ни между дядями и племянницами, ни между тетками и племянниками (и соответственно в классах их tuvn как в агнатной, так и в когнатной линии) половое общение не допускается. Но запрет в этих линиях не ограничивается только между лицами различных полов внутри этих групп; он распространяется и на лиц, состоящих

[1] Шренк, II, стр. 23, 24.
[2] Ibid., стр. 6

в браке с этими лицами, и притом не только с состоящими в фактическом браке, но и вообще на лиц, числящихся по родственной номенклатуре p u или a n'g:e j одного из этих лиц. Так, например, если «я» мужчина — мой дядя по отцу (ytk, pilang) не может иметь полового общения не только с моей женой, но и с самой отдаленной сестрой моей жены, хотя бы она была даже замужем за чужеродным человеком, ибо я ее зову an'g:ej — жена, равно как я не могу иметь полового общения не только с женой своего дяди по отцу, но и с сестрой его жены по отцу, хотя бы она была замужем за чужеродным человеком, ибо она мне ymk — мать.

Но запреты в этих группах идут еще дальше. Из родственной терминологии мы знаем, что к восходящим относятся, кроме указанных категорий, еще сестры отца жены и их мужья (они мои «матери» и «отцы»), сам отец моей жены и его жена и их братьями и сестры (tuvn) и все их восходящие (они мои «дяди» и «тетки»). Все эти лица также запретны соответственно их полу для «зятя» и его «жены» и классов их братьев и сестер (tuvn) как действительные деды и отцы, бабушки и матери, дяди и тетки к их прямому или боковому потомству.

Но не нужно думать, что упомянутые запреты между лицами восходящими и нисходящими представляют запреты между фактически различными поколениями. Нисколько. Различие в поколениях чисто номинальное: при классификационной системе, когда один и тот же термин ytk, ymk, atk — отец, мать, дед одинаково применяется как к лицам действительно восходящего поколения (к родному отцу, матери), так и к их братьям и сестрам; значение не только поколений, но и возрастов, совершенно пропадает: брат или сестра отца могут быть моложе говорящего, хотя они по отношению к этому последнему числятся матерями и отцами, и тем не менее запреты одинаково действительны в силу одной только родственной классификации.

Класс tuvn. Он состоит из двух групп — из 1) группы потомства агнатных братьев и кузенов и 2) группы потомства агнатных сестер и кузин.

Внутри каждой группы в отдельности во всех поколениях ни половое общение, ни браки не допустимы, что совершенно гармонирует с родственной номенклатурой, так как ни в одной из этих групп нет лиц, именующих себя pu и an'g:ej, все они tuvn.

Одно только отступление относительно потомства сестер за-

мечено мной, и то лишь у некоторых родов, а именно, если сестры замужем за чужими друг другу лицами, то запреты действительны только в первых двух поколениях. Но это чисто местное отступление, вызванное крайней стеснительностью запрета при крайнем недостатке женщин. Вообще же запрет строго соблюдается как в среде потомства братьев, так и в среде потомства сестер. Этот запрет, заброниpованный табу и который нам кажется противоестественным, у гиляков стал инстинктивным чувством, — именно запретом взаимного глядения друг на друга и разговора (см. ниже). До какой степени запреты внутри этой группы вошли в плоть и кровь даже в самых отдаленных степенях родства и даже по отношению к лицам, которых они называют «tylgund-tuvn» (агнатный кузен по преданию), превратившись в их представлении в естественное явление природы, можно видеть по их отношению к нарушениям этого запрета у их единственного домашнего животного — собаки. Среди собак, по убеждению гиляков, брат и сестра не совокупляются. Исключения очень редки, и их приписывают навождению milk'a (злого духа). Поэтому, когда гиляк замечает подобное кровосмешение, он обязан убить собаку, иначе грех падает на него самого. Правда, убиение производится по религиозному ритуалу, путем церемонии удушения, кровь брызгают в жертву во все четыре стороны, но для собаки это является наказанием за кровосмешение. Любопытно, однако, что кровосмешение между восходящими и нисходящими (сыном и матерью и т. п.) среди собак гиляками терпится и преступников не убивают (не по утилитарным ли соображениям, так как производители очень ценятся ими?).

Когнатные кузены и кузины.

Здесь, конечно, речь может итти только о кузенах и кузинах когнатных, т.-е. о детях брата и сестры, так как дети братьев, с одной стороны, дети сестер, с другой, считаются tuvn, и о полной запретности внутри каждой из этих групп мы уже говорили. Из номенклатуры родства мы знаем, что термины, употребляемые кузенами между собою, стоят в зависимости от того, является ли кузен или кузина, к которым обращаются или о которых говорят, сыном или дочерью брата матери или сестры отца, именно: если «я» мужчина, то дочь брата своей матери я зову an'g:ej (жена), и обратно, она меня — pu (муж); но моя сестра зовет сына брата моей матери axmalk, navx (тесть, свояк), и, обратно n'ern — свояченица, т.-е. терминами, ничего общего не имеющими с терминами матримониальными; и эти термины совершенно соответ-

ствуют действительности. Половое общение и брак между дочерью сестры и сыном ее брата (и соответственно между их tuvn) не допускаются; наоборот, брак между сыном сестры и дочерью ее брата не только допускается, но считается правомерным явлением. И в этом случае, как и во всех других, термины брат и сестра — термины классовые, т.-е. нормы, действующие между детьми брата и сестры, распространяются на детей братьев и сестер самых отдаленных степеней родства и свойства. Таким образом, обменный брак между детьми братьев и сестер, как это практикуется, например, у тунгусских народов, не допускается; сыновья имеют права на дочерей брата, но сыновья брата запретны для дочерей сестры, и это для всех классов tuvn. Эта норма, кажущаяся частного порядка, касающаяся только братьев и сестер, играет огромную роль в нормах, регулирующих половые отношения между целыми родами, как это мы увидим в следующем отделе.

Особенно поразительно то, что указанные запреты, регулирующие отношения между детьми брата и сестры, распространяются не только на класс их детей — кузенов, но и на оба рода в совокупности. Права и запреты, связывающие детей брата и сестры и их кузенов, распространены на все поколения обоих родов; именно, в каждом поколении, как мы видели в предыдущем отделе, все мужчины класса tuvn в роде сестры и все женщины — tuvn в роде брата зовут взаимно друг друга от рождения pu и an'gej, и они, действительно, имеют право полового общения и брака. Но мужчины из рода брата и женщины из рода сестры друг для друга абсолютно запретны во всех поколениях, и называют друг друга nanax (старшая сестра), если она в восходящем поколении, и n'ern, если в одном поколении, а женщины зовут этих мужчин — axmalk. Таким образом, женщины из рода замужней сестры запретны для всего рода ее брата. Еще более поразительно, что нормы эти распространяются на роды зятя и тестя вообще, хотя бы отцы брачущихся были совсем чужие; стоит только одному какому-нибудь члену из рода *A*, положим, жениться на женщине из рода *B*, хотя бы эта женщина и члены ее рода совершенно были чужды роду *A*, и между обоими родами устанавливаются такие же отношения, как-будто тесть данного человека был братом его матери: весь класс «сестер» (tuvn) в каждом поколении рода тестя — это жены «братьев» (tuvn) рода зятя, и, наоборот, жены последнего запретны для первого.

Родственная номенклатура совершенно соответствует этим нормам: atk, axmalk — обозначает брата матери и тестя вообще, ymg:l — зятя вообще и сына сестры или даже всякого мужчину рода сестры. Эта норма приводит к очень сложным последствиям. Случается очень часто, что отдельные члены того или другого рода *A*, положим, брали жен из нескольких различных родов и, в свою очередь, отдавали своих женщин в несколько различных родов, и вот по отношению ко всем этим родам для рода *A* действуют те же запреты, что и в первом случае, когда дело шло только о двух родах, т. е. женщины рода *A* запретны для всех родов, откуда члены его брали себе жен, и обратно, женщины всех родов, члены которых брали жен у *A*, запретны для рода *A*. Эта стеснительная регламентация усугубляется еще следующим ограничением. Род *B*, положим, откуда мой род *A* берет женщин, в свою очередь, берет жен у рода *C*, и вот этот род *C*, став axmalk'ом рода *B*, становится axmalk'ом и моего рода *A*, и, следовательно, жены моего рода запретны не только для рода *B*, моего непосредственного axmalk'а, но и для рода *C*, который, как мы видели, называется в отличие от первого «tujma axmalk» — (дальний тесть) на Амуре — tun'g:l axmalk. Но это явление имеет и свою обратную сторону. Если для того или другого рода, по мере того, как увеличивается число родов, берущих у него женщин, соответственно растет количество запретных родов, то, с другой стороны, по мере того, как его члены начинают брать жен из различных родов, соответственно возрастает число доступных женщин в этих родах тестей, потому что в каждом из этих родов являются новые целые классы жен — an'g:ej. Тем не менее расширение запретов на роды axmalk'ов самых отдаленных степеней, естественно, вызвало среди малочисленного племени, насчитывающего едва 4½ тыс. населения, вполне понятные стеснения, приведшие к некоторому ограничению сурового принципа, а именно, запреты в настоящее время не восходят далее родов axmalk'ов третьей степени, и если тот или другой род берет жен из многих родов, то запреты ограничиваются двумя поколениями, а если взятая женщина умерла бездетной, то уже во втором поколении ограничения падают.

Класс jox.

Наконец, остается еще один запретный для мужчин класс, который называется jox. Из родственной номенклатуры мы знаем, что этим именем называет мужчина два совершенно различных класса женщин, именно, с одной стороны, класс жен своих og:la (нисходящих) и, с другой стороны, — жен

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своих as'x, т.-е. младших братьев (tuvn) и сестер этих жен. Что касается первого класса, то о запретности его мы уже говорили, говоря о запрете между лицами восходящих поколений и женами нисходящих. Запретность второй категории не столь безусловна. Из терминологии родства мы знаем, что по отношению к жене старшего tuvn практикуются в разных местах различные формы именования. В некоторых местах на Амуре, на материковом побережье и на северо-западном берегу Сахалина существует одно и то же название (если «я» мужчина) как для жен младшего, так и старшего брата (an'g:ej — жена), и в таких местах половое общение допускается со всеми женами братьев. Но этот порядок не доминирующий; доминирующим нужно считать порядок именования жены старшего tuvn — an'g:ej, т.-е. так же, как и для своей собственной жены и именования жены младшего tuvn запретным термином jox, и соответственно этому половое общение человека с женой своего младшего брата не допускается. Несмотря на господство этой нормы, в настоящее время, по-видимому, первоначально как терминология, так и нормы общения были тождественны по отношению ко всем женам братьев без различия. За это говорит не только тот факт, что в некоторых местах, как мы видели, этот порядок сохранился еще до сих пор, но и некоторые черты терминологии, которые сохранились даже в тех местах, где господствует новый порядок. Так, например, дети зовут повсеместно безразлично жен всех братьев отца ymk, т.-е. тем же термином, что и свою собственную мать и (во многих местах) всех братьев отца ytk (отец), из чего должно заключить, что половые права мужчин в прежнее время распространялись и на жен всех братьев без различия.

Нормы правомерного полового общения.

Из родственной номенклатуры мы знаем, что целые группы мужчин называют целые группы женщин своими женами и обратно, т.-е. их мужьями. Эта странная номенклатура вполне соответствует действительности: выражаясь языком нашей собственной европейской номенклатуры, такие группы мужчин и женщин состоят в браке.

Но прежде чем приступить к детальному рассмотрению этих, с современной точки зрения, странных отношений, необходимо, во избежание недоразумений, точно проанализировать значение термина «брак».

В институте брака заключаются три главных момента: 1) половое общение, 2) производство потомства и 3) общая хозяй-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ственная деятельность. Совершенно ясно, что существенно необходимым элементом брака является только первый момент, — именно половое общение; вторые два момента хотя и играют огромную роль в брачном союзе, могут совершенно отсутствовать. Бывают браки по естественным или искусственным причинам бездетные; бывают далее браки, хозяйственных целей не преследующие. Но само по себе половое общение между определенными лицами разных полов, хотя бы и регулярное, еще не составляет признака брака. Для того, чтобы половое общение превратилось в брак, необходимо, чтобы оно санкционировалось в той или другой форме данной общественной средой, чтобы оно не вызывало общественной или религиозной реакции, — словом, чтобы оно было правомерным.

Правомерность полового общения составляет, таким образом, существенный признак брака. В этом пункте представление о браке сходно у самых различных народов на самых различных ступенях развития. Если существуют различия, то только в тех формах, в каких осуществляется в браке половое общение. Эти-то различия, часто столь противоречащие представлениям современного общества, наиболее затемняют представление о браке, когда приходится сталкиваться с формами полового общения у первобытных народов.

Больше всего затемняется правильное понимание института брака у первобытных народов привычным нашим представлением о том, что брак непременно предполагает совместное сожительство супругов и, следовательное, явное и регулярное осуществление супружеских прав..

Между тем у многих народов, не только первобытных, но даже исторических, этого вовсе не требовалось. У спартанцев, например, женщины жили отдельно от мужчин, и свидания между мужем и женой происходили обязательно тайно.

Так оно, и как общее правило, у многих современных первобытных народов, у которых существуют так называемые «союзы мужчин». Последние, в том числе и женатые, проводят все время в общем доме, куда нет доступа женщинам, а жены и дети живут в особых маленьких домиках. На островах Фиджи супруги могут провести ночь только тайком. Подобное явление находим и у народов, не знающих мужских союзов. Так, например, у айну женщины, по выходе замуж, часто остаются в доме отца, а муж, проживающий в другом селении, иногда очень отдаленном от селения тестя, только на известное время года является

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

к жене. У киргизов, до окончательной уплаты калыма, муж иногда целыми годами является к своей жене только ночью и то тайком от родителей. Регулярности не видим даже у полигамистов мусульманского типа. Турок может иметь в своем гареме женщин, с которыми он годами не имеет полового общения, но они тем не менее, считаются женами, состоящими в браке с ним. Еще менее условие совместного сожительства и регулярного полового общения возможно у народов, у которых по общественно-установленному порядку целая группа мужчин считает целую группу женщин своими женами и обратно, и мужчина осуществляет свое право только по мере возможности.

У австралийского племени dieri каждый «куми» (термин, соответствующий гиляцкому ри — муж) находит свою «кроки» (жену) на всем протяжении своей территории, в какое бы селение он не явился. Куми может прожить всю жизнь, не видав той или другой из своих бесчисленных кроки, но она тем не менее его жена, ибо, явись он в ее селение, он может осуществить свое право, не подвергаясь, как если бы это сделал не куми, ни осуждению общества, ни каре богов, ни реакции со стороны индивидуального мужа своей кроки.[1] Потенциальность правомерного полового общения у разных народов принимает различные формы, но юридическая сущность отношений остается та же. В одном месте лица, связанные такой формой брака, облечены не только правами, но и обязанностями, иначе говоря, та или другая сторона не вправе отказываться от полового общения с лицом, на то управомоченным. Так, например, у чукчей женщина не считает возможным отказать мужчине, состоящему с ее мужем в отношениях «переменного брака».

У других индивидуальным симпатиям предоставляется полный простор; например, у тех же куми и кроки, у тунгусских народов, у гиляков, у которых для полового общения требуется согласие обеих сторон, но раз согласие имеется, общение становится правомерным. В сущности, тут мы имеем то же явление, что и в чистой полигамии. Муж может предпочитать одну жену другой, даже совершенно избегать ту или другую жену, но брак тем не менее налицо. То же и при групповом браке: несмотря на разрозненность местожительства групповых супругов и на чистую потенциальность супружеских прав, правомерность полового общения внутри группы, и, следовательно, брак налицо.

[1] Fison and Howitt. — Kamilaroi and Kurnai, 1880. p. 340 f.

Конечно, для брака наиболее нормальным является совместное сожительство супругов и регулярное половое общение. Стремление к этому мы наблюдаем, хотя и в различной степени, у самых различных народов. Этого стремления не нужно только смешивать со стремлением к индивидуальному обладанию. Инстинкт полового подбора, индивидуальные симпатии действительно толкают и первобытного человека к установлению парных связей той или иной продолжительности. Но парность не предполагает ни обязательного и индивидуального обладания, ни, тем более, обязательного совместного сожительства. Мы уже приводили примеры айну, жена которого часто остается жить в доме родителей, иногда в нескольких днях пути от своего мужа. Но у айну брак чисто индивидуальный. Тем более естественно отсутствие упомянутых условий у тех народов, у которых существуют групповые формы брака, ибо лица, на которых распространяется право полового общения, многочисленны, и поэтому самому совместное сожительство, и, следовательно, регулярное осуществление права полового общения между всеми лицами, состоящими в групповом браке, редко имеет место.

В действительности, совместное сожительство и регулярное общение связано не с половым моментом брачного союза, а с хозяйственным. Там, где хозяйственные условия требуют совместного сотрудничества целой группы лиц и допускают совместное сожительство, — там групповой брак может превратиться в регулярный, коммунальный. Но такие условия редко достижимы в первобытном обществе. Возможны они — да и то не часто — в тесном кругу братьев: тут групповой брак действительно сопровождается столь привычными для нас элементами совместного сожительства и регулярным осуществлением супружеских прав. Примеры такого рода мы встречаем у гиляков, у некоторых тунгусских племен, также в Тибете, в Индии и в других местах. Но и такие сожительства редки.

Вопреки старому мнению, привыкшему изображать жизнь первобытных людей в коммунистических красках, в действительности хозяйство первобытного человека, по крайней мере, способы добывания средств существования, преимущественно индивидуальные в настоящее время, и только на известные моменты возникают формы общего сотрудничества, которые, по миновании в них надобности, так же быстро прекращаются, как и возникают. Типичный образец индивидуального хозяйничанья мы можем видеть у бродячих оленеводов-тунгусов, которые

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

только на короткое время раза два в год сходятся вместе, да и то небольшими родственными группами. В обыкновенное время они живут врозь на далеком расстоянии друг от друга, выбирая каждый для себя свою территорию для пастбищ и охоты.

У народов не пастушеских, живущих теснее, формы хозяйства все же более или менее индивидуальные. При таких условиях совершенно естественно, что каждый человек, ведущий свое особое хозяйство, стремится к тому, чтобы иметь при себе женщину, которая соответственно естественному разделению труда между полами, делила бы с ним его хозяйственные труды. Таким образом, возникает само собой совместное и регулярное сожительство между мужчиной и одной или несколькими женщинами. В обществе, где существуют групповые нормы полового общения, такие индивидуальные союзы ничего не изменяют. Индивидуальная жена живет постоянно в одном доме со своим мужем, работает с ним, сообща воспитывает детей, обязана следовать за ним, куда он пожелает, но в то же время она имеет право безнаказанно уделять свои ласки и целой группе лиц, которым это по установленному праву допускается. Жизнь санкционировала такие индивидуальные союзы, тем более, что хозяйственные интересы тут совпадают с другим могущественным мотивом полового подбора, индивидуальным влечением представителей различных полов. Таким-то образом, рядом с нерегулярными брачными отношениями, возникают союзы индивидуальные, тоже санкционируемые обществом. Возникает порядок, при которой каждый отдельный член общества может состоять одновременно в индивидуальном браке и групповом. Лица, состоящие в индивидуальном браке, связаны не только регулярным половым общением, совместным сожительством, но и общим хозяйством и общим потомством. Но в то же время каждому из них предоставляется правомерная возможность иметь половое общение с лицами своей брачной группы. И хотя подобное половое общение совершается нерегулярно, требует часто обстановки таинственности и предполагает обыкновенно согласие обеих сторон на каждый акт общения, но именно потому, что оно общественно-признано, правомерно, не вызывает никакой ни общественной, ни религиозной реакции, то, выражаясь юридически, — ибо брак есть термин права — мы должны такие отношения определять, как отношения брачные. Это не только теоретически верно, это совпадает также с юридическими воззрениями тех народов, у которых эти институты существуют.

Об этом прежде всего свидетельствует уже сама родственная номенклатура, по которой индивидуальные и групповые супруги в названиях не различаются. Далее, отношения эти возлагают на участников группового брака обыкновенно те же обязанности, что и на индивидуальных мужей. Так, например, когда индивидуальный муж умирает, один из членов группового брака должен заступить место мужа вдовы, даже если бы она оказалась уже неспособной к половому общению, и содержать ее и ее детей, которые обыкновенно и считаются детьми всех членов группы.

Теперь станут для нас понятными гиляцкие брачные классы „pu" и „an'g:ej", к подробному рассмотрению которых мы и переходим.

Классы „pu" и „ang:ej". Мы уже говорили, что для гиляка, по крайней мере в настоящее время, не возбраняется ни религией, ни общественным мнением иметь половое общение или вступать в брак с любой женщиной своего или соседнего племени, кроме тех, которые связаны с ним тем или другим запретным термином родства. Но по отношению к таким чужим женщинам у него нет никаких прав: незаконное половое общение сопряжено с риском кровавой реакции со стороны известных групп мужчин, а индивидуальный брак является простой гражданской сделкой, сопряженной с тяжелыми условиями платы за невесту. Гиляк, естественнее всего, ищет поэтому полового общения или законную жену среди женщин, на которых у него для этого имеются специальные права. Это именно те женщины, которых по родственной номенклатуре либо уже от рождения, либо с другого точно определенного момента он называет an'g:ej (жена), а всех ее агнатов — axmalk'ами (тестями). Мы уже знаем, кто эти женщины. Это прежде всего: 1) дочери всех «братьев» матери; 2) все «сестры» жены; 3) «сестры» жен братьев; 4) «сестры» тестя сына; 5) индивидуальные жены всех aki, т.-е. братьев, которые старше говорящего (у большинства гиляков); 6) индивидуальные жены всех «братьев» говорящего, без различия возрастов (в некоторых местах).

Каждая женщина, в свою очередь, как мы знаем, зовет своим мужем, кроме своего официального мужа: 1) всех сыновей сестер отца; 2) всех мужей своих «сестер» и «братьев» этих мужей; 3) всех младших «братьев» своего мужа (если она замужем за одним из них), а у некоторых — всех братьев мужа.

Все эти категории «жен» и «мужей» отнюдь не номинальные

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

категории. За этими классовыми терминами (pu и an'g:ej) кроются в действительности два важных реальных права: 1) право на индивидуальный брак; 2) право на половое общение (брак групповой).

Рассмотрим каждое из этих прав в отдельности.

Право на индивидуальный брак

Прежде всего категории pu и an'g:ej связаны правом на брак; иначе говоря, из всего круга лиц, связанных терминами родства, только эти одни имеют право вступать друг с другом в индивидуальный брак; все прочие категории родственных групп в брачном отношении запретны друг для друга. Но это право отнюдь не исчерпывается отрицательным признаком — отсутствием запрета на матримониальные союзы. Конечно, в глазах гиляка крайне важно и мнемонистическое значение этих терминов само по себе, ибо, при крайней запутанности родственных отношений, твердое знание брачных классов является единственной гарантией против нарушения строжайших табу-браков в запрещенных степенях родства. Тем не менее мнемонически-разрешительным значением правовое содержание этих терминов отнюдь не исчерпывается. Запреты на брак, как мы видели, отсутствуют и между лицами, совершенно чуждыми друг другу в родственном отношении, и тем не менее лицам таких категорий называть друг друга pu и an'g:ej до вступления в брак совершенно недопустимо. Нет, право на индивидуальный брак между лицами категорий pu и an'g:ej не голое nudum jus; это право, которое является в то же время и обязанностью, долгом для обеих заинтересованных сторон. Эта обязанность прежде всего видна на категории «братьев» и их индивидуальных жен, состоящих, как мы знаем, между собой взаимно в отношениях pu и an'g:ej. Вдовы «братьев» (родных и боковых) по общему правилу не могут выходить из рода и становятся, по решению сородичей, женами братьев, переживших их мужей, совершенно независимо от желания этих братьев: никто из них не может отказаться от присужденной ему вдовы.

В тех родах, где «старшие братья» исключены из класса «pu» по отношению к женам «младших братьев», там вдовы достаются обыкновенно одному из «младших братьев» умершего; но и тут, за отсутствием «младших», кто-нибудь из «старших» братьев обязан принять к себе вдову, без права, впрочем, на половое общение с ней.

Но не в этом, столь обычном, институте левирата, о котором

нам еще придется говорить особо, кроется типичная сторона брачно-правовых отношений между pu и an'g:ej. Левиратный брак — явление более или менее исключительное и обнимает только один незначительный класс этой категории. Самая характерная сторона брачных право-обязанностей между pu и an'g:e кроется в других классах этой категории, известных нам из терминологии родства, иначе говоря, в условиях нормального брака. Этот право-обязательный характер брака между pu и an'g:ej, правда, под влиянием причин, о которых будем говорить впоследствии, значительно поколеблен, — гиляки берут жен и вне указанных категорий; но не эти брачные союзы представляют собой излюбленную, характерную форму даже современного брака. Наоборот, все, и современные обычаи, и древний эпос, одинаково говорят за то, что именно среди классов pu и an'g:ej брак был обязательным и наиболее удовлетворяющим специфическим воззрениям гиляка. Чтобы показать, насколько императивно это сознание обязательности браков между лицами классов pu и an'g:ej, достаточно привести один пример из записанного мною сказания. В этом сказании рассказывается о борьбе между молодым гиляком и таинственным оборотнем-шаманом. Борьба оканчивается тем, что оборотень получает смертельную рану и возвращается в свою юрту. На смертном одре он вспоминает, что приходится дальним axmalk'ом убийце, т.-е. членом того рода, откуда род убийцы имеет право брать жен, и именно из той категории лиц этого рода, дочери которых являются an'g:ej убийца. Тогда он немедленно велит позвать в свой дом убийцу, т.-е. человека, по отношению к которому обязательна кровавая месть, хотя бы убийство было неумышленное, человека, которого впустить в свой дом величайший грех, и в присутствии собравшихся членов рода торжественно объявляет: «Хотя этот человек меня убил, дочь ему мою дайте. Ни за что мое слово не потеряйте». Такова сила древнего категорического императива браков внутри категорий pu и an'g:ej. Этот императив жив и теперь.

Вернемся на момент к терминологии родства. Полный анализ этой терминологии в связи с основами брака мы сделаем впоследствии. Сейчас для нашей цели необходимо напомнить следующие факты: 1) жены сородичей, смотря по поколению, называют друг друга то старшими и младшими «сестрами», то «тетками» и «племянницами»; 2) все агнатные родственники жены считаются по поколениям «тестями» для всех сородичей этого че-

ловека; 3) сестру своего «тестя» человек называет «матерью», а дочь брата матери — женой (an'g:ej). Судя по этому, 1) жены всех членов каждого данного рода должны быть взяты из одного рода и, следовательно, в каждом поколении они сестры (родные и боковые); 2) род этих женщин для каждого отдельного мужчины — род его матери, а женой каждого отдельного человека должна быть дочь брата матери. Это мы видим в действительности, несмотря на все отступления новейшего времени, причины которых нами будут выяснены впоследствии. Идеалом сородичей считается иметь женщин из одного рода, из одного рода общих axmalk'ов; если это оказывается невозможным и приходится прибегать еще к другому роду, то опять-таки предпочтительно из того, который уже является axmalk'ом для данного рода, т.-е. откуда уже его отдельные сородичи, деды и отцы и раньше по тому или другому случаю брали себе жен. При этом для каждого отдельного лица самый излюбленный брак — это брак с дочерью брата матери. «Pfandyh an'g:ej gen urdra» — «из рода твоих « pandf» (см. выше), из рода, из которого ты произошел (родился), т.-е. из рода, откуда твоя мать, жену должно брать», гласит гиляцкая максима. «О доме брата матери тоскую» — таков обычный мотив современной гиляцкой песни. И статистика доказывает, насколько эти принципы играют роль в действительности. Уже с первых дней своей статистической переписи, еще не осведомленный во всех тонкостях родственной номенклатуры, я поражался, как много в каждом роде жен сородичей, взятых из одного и того же рода, называвших друг друга по поколениям мужей сестрами и тетками и действительно оказавшимися таковыми. Приходилось регистрировать множество гиляков, состоявших в браке по нескольку раз, и чаще всего жены их оказывались из одного и того же рода, и, именно, из рода матери мужа. Один из моих спутников в путешествии, Исайка, был женат три раза и все на женах из одного и того же рода. А во множестве случаев оказывалось, что мужья и жены не только когнатные кузены, но соответственно дети родных сестер и братьев.

В предпочтении, оказываемом и поныне этой форме брака, всегда сказывается религиозный императив; мы видели выше, что только такой брак считается «чистым». О роли этой формы брака у гиляков можно выразиться в тех же словах, в каких она описывается у племен Song и Bygar из провинции Sathpuras и Центральной Индии. У этих племен «брак между кузенами почти

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

принудителен в случае, когда у брата дочь, а у сестры сын».[1]

У гиляков императивность этого брака столь велика, что подобные браки заключаются очень часто вскоре после рождения будущих супругов во избежание возможных случайностей, которые могли бы помешать этому важному вопросу. Первая забота матери вскоре после рождения сына — это сделать все возможное, чтобы обвенчать его с дочерью одного из своих братьев. Ритуал выражается в том, что ребенок-жених или его отец перевязывает ручку невесты ниткой, скрученной из волос собачьего меха и крапивы — магические символы общего хозяйства — собаководства — и рыболовства: из крапивы выделывают сети. С этого момента брак заключен, а когда невеста несколько подрастет, приблизительно в возрасте 4—5 лет, она обыкновенно переходит в дом жениха, где растет с ним вместе, называя друг друга, как это ни кажется для нас странным, ласкательными именами «жена моя», «муж мой» (n'an'g:e], n'lu) вплоть до наступления половой зрелости, когда уже без всякого ритуала они становятся фактическими супругами, без всяких формальностей, которые обычно требуются при заключении брака с посторонними. Этим обычаем объясняется, вероятно, то, что взрослые супруги величают себя чаще всего „yr:x" и „mam", т.-е. старик и старуха, так как в возрасте, когда большинство из нас только собирается жениться, у гиляков молодые супруги уже могут справлять свою серебряную свадьбу. Обычай этот приводит иногда к уродливым брачным союзам. Нередко можно встретить в одной юрте чету, называющую себя мужем и женой, причем муж — подросток лет 16, а жене только 4—5 лет. Это объясняется тем, что либо старшая сестра последней умерла, либо мать ее значительно моложе своего брата. Так или иначе подобные случаи еще более подчеркивают императивность упомянутых браков. Характерно, что особенно ревностно исполняется этот обычай в наиболее богатых семьях, которые обыкновенно отличаются особенно строгим соблюдением всех древних обычаев и обрядов.

О первоначальной обязательности браков между pu и an'g:e[свидетельствует другая чрезвычайно важная особенность этой формы брака, а именно та, что калым, т.-е. плата, получаемая отцом или братом невесты и играющая в современном браке, в вопросе о выдаче женщины замуж, огромную роль, тут совершенно отсутствует, или, по крайней мере, играет ничтожную

[1] Pison and Howitt. — Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 154.

роль. При браках между кузенами первой степени калым не только не требуется, но о нем даже запрещается упоминать при сватании.

Отсутствие калыма в браках между pu и an'g:ej ясно свидетельствует о том, что брак между этими категориями был в свое время браком обязательным, а при обязательности, разумеется, не может быть речи ни о каких финансовых обязательствах.

Несомненно, что калым явился институтом позднейшим. В традиционных поэмах гиляков, так называемых n'astund, в которых так часто описывается процедура сватания, о калыме никогда не упоминается. Наоборот, лодку невесты «тестя» обыкновенно наполняют всевозможными драгоценностями.

Принимая во внимание, какую огромную роль играет калым в хозяйственной жизни гиляка, представляя нередко единственный ресурс — поставить на ноги хозяйство бедного человека, приходится признать, что пренебрежение калымом в браках указанной категории не может вызываться причинами сентиментального свойства; мотивы такого отношения к калыму должны быть более повелительного характера, а именно, религиозного Каковы эти мотивы, нам придется говорить еще подробнее впоследствии.

Для иллюстрации мы укажем только на те удивительные отношения, которые, благодаря этой религиозной повелительности браков между pu и an'g:ej, характерно установились между лицами класса «тестей» и их юридических «зятей». Эти отношения поражают своей трогательной нежностью, преданностью и бескорыстием. К ymg:l, хотя бы только потенциальному, «тестя» относится иногда лучше, чем к собственным детям. «Зятя кормить надо», гласит религиозная формула отношении между «тестем» и «зятем». В этой сухой формуле скрыто богатое содержание. Не только в годину бедствия «зять» иногда вместе со своей огромной семьей переселяется на жительство к тестю, кормясь у него без всякой платы в течение месяцев и даже несколько лет, но и в обычное время «зять» (хотя бы только по названию) — любимый гость в доме тестя.

Целыми месяцами гиляцкая молодежь шумно и весело проводит время в селениях своих «тестей», находя в каждом юрте самый радушный прием и самые изысканные угощения, а когда начинаются промыслы, «зять» непременный участник в предприятиях «тестя» и, возвращаясь к себе, увозит с собой, кроме обыч-

ных подарков, и свою долю добычи. В торжественные моменты жизни, например, на медвежьем празднике, «зятья» на первом плане среди приглашенных, — им то и предоставляется честь убить медведя. В трудную минуту войны, «тести» и «зятья», в случае необходимости, обязаны приходить друг другу на помощь.

И чтобы вполне оценить религиозную подкладку этих своеобразных отношений между «тестями» и «зятьями», нужно иметь в виду то распространительное толкование, которое гиляки, с чисто примитивной страстью к расширению своих первоначальных табу, придали термину «тесть».

Из терминологии родства мы знаем, что родом «тестей» считается не только тот род, откуда обычно сородичи человека берут жен, но и все роды, откуда хотя бы какой-либо один сородич случайно взял себе жену. Таким образом, у каждого человека может быть несколько родов «тестей», и все агнатки этих родов по поколениям считаются an'gej — женами его и его сородичей. Так оно в терминологии родства и так оно в жизни.

Каким образом развилась эта сложная система, об этом подробно придется еще говорить впоследствии.

Пока же сказанного, думаем, совершенно достаточно, чтобы видеть, что в области индивидуального брака звания pu и an'gej играли и играют огромную роль, символизируя собой замечательный институт права на брак — одно из многих благодеяний, которые родовой строй дает каждому из его участников.

Теперь укажем только на практическое значение этого института права на брак в настоящее время. Для современного гиляка женитьба одно из труднейших дел жизни. Не только в сказках, но и в действительной жизни «найти жену» составляет дело необычайной трудности. Прежде всего, это крайний недостаток женщин. У гиляков по подсчетам, сделанным на основании произведенных мною переписей, на 1000 мужчин приходится 785 женщин, при чем на изолированное охотское побережье приходится 694 женщины, между тем в среднем в Сибири на 1000 мужчин приходится 900 женщин. К этому следует добавить, что значительный процент гиляков, именно наиболее состоятельные лица, держит от 2—4 жен. Так, например, по моей переписи на западном берегу Сахалина к северу от с. Арково на каждые 9 человек одноженцев приходилось по 1 многоженцу, при общем отношении мужчин к женщинам как 1000 : 694. Один старый холостяк приходится на 11 женатых, один многоженец на 19 женатых. Нетрудно себе представить, как ограничен выбор женщин

и без того ограниченный целым рядом запретов. При таком ограниченном выборе, при значительном преобладании мужчин над женщинами, калым, плата за женщин (ценностями или долголетней службой), естественно, достигает необыкновенно высокого размера. При таких условиях значительному количеству малосостоятельного населения пришлось бы совсем остаться вне брака. Вот тут-то коррективом является тот институт права на брак с лицами класса an'g:ej, о котором мы говорили выше. На первом плане к услугам гиляка дочери брата его матери, далее их боковые сестры, наконец, вообще дочери того обширного класса лиц, которых гиляк называет axmalk (тестями).

Каковы отношения этих последних к их зятьям, мы уже знаем, и ясно, поэтому, что приобретение индивидуальной жены среди an'g:ej, среди дочерей прирожденных axmalk'ов, обставлено наиболее благоприятными условиями. В крайнем случае, у человека остается верный шанс на вдов своих братьев. Но при общей низкой численности женщин в сравнении с мужчинами и при страшной конкуренции внутри каждого класса pu на своих an'g:ej, при чрезмерной жадности к калыму, развившейся под влиянием торговых сношений и значительно ослабившей традиционные матримониальные отношения, и эта привилегия сплошь и рядом может оставаться nudum jus. Вот тут на сцену выступает другой могущественный корректив индивидуального брака — брак групповой, ничем не ограниченное право на половое общение между классами pu и an'g:ej. К этому праву мы переходим.

Групповой брак. Если право и обязанность на индивидуальный брак в классах pu и an'g:ej значительно поколеблено неизбежным влиянием как исторических, так и бытовых условий, то право на брак групповой, право на половое общение между лицами этих классов продолжает сохраняться в полной силе. Право это не носит, правда, определенно принудительного характера: женщина не может быть принуждаема ни ее родными, ни pu к половому общению. Не допускается даже того, как это делается у народов, практикующих гостеприимный гетеризм, чтобы отец, брат или муж женщины предлагал дочери или жене делить ложе с гостем, который состоит ее pu. Не допускается также публичного проявления половой интимности. Никто не позволит себе в общей юрте улечься под одним покрывалом со своей групповой an'g:ej, даже по предварительному соглашению. Публичность половых сношений не допускается,

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

впрочем, даже между индивидуальными супругами.[1] Общение должно происходить не публично и не на глазах заинтересованного индивидуального супруга.[2] Если акт происходит ночью в юрте, где спят и посторонние, то каждый укладывается отдельно, и только, когда все уснули, мужчина или женщина (инициативу проявляют одинаково обе стороны, женщины, впрочем, реже) перебирается на ложе к своему групповому супругу, который может принять или отвергнуть ухаживание, если до того не произошло предварительного соглашения. Летом дело чаще всего происходит на открытом воздухе: днем излюбленное место «ловли» an'g:ej — места сбора ягод, вечером — где-нибудь за селением, близ колодца; зимой в юрте: днем в отсутствие посторонних, ночью после того, как все уснули. Наконец, бывают периоды, когда групповые супруги свободны от всяких стеснений. Женатые мужчины на несколько недель уходят в тайгу на свои охотничьи территории, а летом и зимой они беспрестанно разъезжают по гостям или на праздники. Вот тут полное раздолье для групповых супругов. Одно только строжайше требуется: ни сами участники, ни посторонние, оказавшиеся случайными свидетелями сношений групповых супругов, под страхом греха, не вправе публично рассказывать о подобных сношениях кому бы то ни было, в особенности заинтересованным лицам. Но эти требования непубличности, установленные в интересах мира между групповыми супругами, с целью предупреждения возможных припадков ревности, нисколько не умаляют публичности самого института группового брака, публичности самих супружеских прав. Права эти всенародно формулированы в юридических тезисах, ставших общим достоянием (самые формулы приведены ниже, в главе об отношениях братьев к их женам), — тезисах, которые каждый отец и каждая мать с самого раннего детства с религиозной заботливостью считают своей обязанностью сообщить своим детям. Публично групповые супруги не только держатся с непринужденной фамильярностью, но иначе не обращаются друг к другу, как с нежными словами: «муженек мой», «женушка моя». Но лучше всего публичность групповых брачных от-

[1] Избегание публичных ласк между индивидуальными супругами не есть исключительная особенность гиляков. По свидетельству Радлова, алтаец публично не позволяет себе в присутствии посторонних даже шуток со своей женой, между тем у этих народов в отношениях между полами господствует самая широкая свобода. Radloff. — Aus Sibirien, I, 314.

[2] Сравни подобное же явление у тибетцев. — Westermarck. — The Origin of marriage, p. 141.

пошений проявляется в случаях смерти человека, не состоявшего в индивидуальном браке. В таких случаях на погребальный помост, перед сожжением трупа, всходит одна из групповых жен (обыкновенно жена старшего брата) и во всеуслышание оплакивает его, как возлюбленного, как мужа. Любопытно, что при переговорах между ри и ang'ːej о предстоящем сеансе, употребляются часто те же символические действия, как и при сватании и брачных церемониях, именно, совместное курение или еда. Сказать женщине из категории an'gːej: «Давайте вместе покурим» равносильно предложению воспользоваться своим супружеским правом.

Юридическая сущность этого специфического права, как мы говорили, заключается в том, что осуществление его, ставши известным, не вызывает ни реакции заинтересованных лиц, ни общественного осуждения, равно как не составляет религиозного правонарушения, что является привилегией чрезвычайно важного свойства, ибо половое общение с женщинами вне этой категории влечет за собой тяжелые последствия. Если это совершено чужая женщина — хотя в настоящее время это не составляет религиозного нарушения, — то оно вызывает, как мы уже упомянули, кровавую расправу, если прелюбодеи захвачены in flagrante delicto, а в лучшем случае — жестокую дуэль на палках и штраф. Есть много оснований даже за то, что некогда общение с посторонними женщинами было под религиозным запретом. За это, между прочим, говорит следующий любопытный обычай. Если женщина, не связанная с мужчиной классовым родством, пытается соблазнить его, ловит за ногу в каком-нибудь уединенном месте (символическое предложение себя мужчине), то он (разумеется в случае, если не поддался соблазну) обязан, под страхом кары богов, публично требовать от женщины искупительного выкупа.[1]

[1] Мне лично пришлось быть свидетелем подобной церемонии выкупа. Это было в селении Тамлево. Один из моих спутников по путешествию, уже пожилой гиляк, однажды рано утром разбудил меня и с тревогой просил меня отправиться с ним на „суд" в соседнюю юрту. Там я уже застал большое собрание хозяев селения. Им мой спутник изложил свою жалобу на местную женщину, которая накануне вечером поймала его за ногу, на основании чего он требует „выкуп". Позвали преступницу. Она созналась, и по решению собрания она вынуждена была публично передать обвинителю присужденный с нее выкуп, именно, щенка и берестяную посуду. Почему штраф ограничился такими ничтожными предметами (если только это не были символы специально женского труда), я объясняю только тем, что виновная женщина была совершенно одинока и ничем более ценным не располагала.

Нужно иметь в виду, что гиляки очень страстны и далеко не любят упускать благоприятных случаев половеласничать хотя бы с чужими женщинами, так что упомянутый обычай приходится рассматривать, как пережиток эпохи, когда общение с чужими женщинами было под религиозным запретом. Еще строже дело между лицами запретных категорий: тут и осуждение общества, и упреки родных, и кары богов, и угрызения совести, и неизбежное изгнание. О случайном увлечении почти и речи быть не может, а при более серьезном чувстве оно рассматривается, как результат вселения злого духа, и люди предпочитают убить себя. Воздержание по отношению к лицам запретных категорий превратилось в такой же инстинкт, как у нас по отношению к матери или родной сестре. Тем мощнее осуществляется право полового общения между категориями ри и an'g:ej. В этом отношении о гиляках можно выразиться в тех же словах, в каких авторы описывают отношения между «куми» и «кроки» в Австралии: на всем протяжении своей территории, в каждом месте, где гиляк находит свою an'g:ej, он находит и свое супружеское ложе. Для этого гиляку необходимо только помнить термины родства. В этом я множество раз имел возможность убедиться во время своих путешествий по Сахалину. Сплошь и рядом я являлся со своими спутниками-гиляками в такие селения, в которых ни они, ни даже их отцы никогда раньше не бывали. Тем не менее после обмена несколькими фразами, открывались узы родства, и неведомые друг другу ри и an'g:ej с первой встречи затевали мимические переговоры о мимолетном супружестве.

Среди категорий женщин, с которыми гиляк имеет правомерную возможность полового общения, нужно различать незамужних от замужних. Девушки и у гиляков более стесняя в половом общении, чем замужние. Перспектива беременности и деторождения не улыбается и гиляцкой девушке; рождение ребенка от неизвестного отца по родовым воззрениям гиляков, представляется делом опасным уже по одному тому, что половые, брачные и родовые права и, еще более, религиозные права, определяемые отцом, совершенно неопределенны и могут привести к нарушениям табу, которых гиляк больше всего боится. Поэтому беременная девушка подвергается тяжким нареканиям со стороны отца, требующего либо назвать имя соблазнителя, либо вытравления плода или убийства родившегося ребенка. Но как ни тяжело нравственное состояние отдельных женщин в таких случаях, на практике дело

обстоит гораздо проще. Во-первых, многие с детства, как мы видели, состоят в замужестве, другие никогда не засиживаются: женщин так мало, что каждая девушка в период, когда соблазны становятся для нее опасными, уже состоит в браке. Наконец, те, которые не в замужестве и свободно предаются половому общению с мужчинами, крайне редко имеют дело с одним возлюбленным и, благодаря этой полиандрической практике, почти не подвергаются риску беременности. До каких размеров доходят эти полиандрические приемы общения девушек, достаточно привести близко мне известный пример. Жена моего приятеля Пигунайки, из селения Аркайво, симпатичная женщина, отличная хозяйка и мать детей, до замужества имела одновременно 14 возлюбленных в одном только родном своем селении, которые называли друг друга и она их navx, axmalk — товарищ, соучастник (любопытно, что navx — буквально значит то же, что punalua в известной моргановской пуналуальной семье). При этом самое половое общение жены Пигунайки с ее возлюбленными происходило весьма часто одновременно. «Мужья» ее мне весьма добродушно рассказывали, как они собирались все 15 на полянке, неподалеку от селения, и один за другим осуществляли свои права. Любопытнее всего, что среди этой веселой компании был и сам Пигунайка, нынешний счастливый муж героини. При подобных условиях естественно, что в среде девушек an'g:ej гиляцкий юноша во многих отношениях чувствует себя гораздо лучше и свободнее, чем среди своих an'g:ej замужних, доступ к которым обставлен большими затруднениями, в виду преимущественных прав над ними их индивидуальных мужей. Туда, естественно, его больше всего и влечет. Но этих девушек он не находит в своем собственном роде, даже среди самых отдаленных своих tuvn. С ними он не только не вправе иметь половое общение, но даже и разговаривать не смеет. В своем роде он имеет только для полового общения женщин замужних. Между тем девушки an'g:ej весьма редко живут в одном селении с их pu. Дочери брата его матери, сестры жен его братьев, дочери его axmalk'ов; иначе говоря, род «тестей» — вот куда все симпатии влекут гиляцкого юношу. В юртах его axmalk'ов ему скрываться нечего: здесь его встречают с распростертыми объятиями, ибо, как мы знаем, ymg:l — самое близкое лицо axmalk'у и его жене. Ymg:l — предпочтительный товарищ по охоте летом и зимой. Он самый дорогой гость, его угощают самыми изысканными блюдами. Ему рады еще и по особой причине. С сородичами-братьями axmalk'и

и их сыновья не могут ни разговаривать, ни шутить, а ymg:l — правомерный собеседник, с которым можно веселиться, сколько душе угодно. И среди такой обстановки десятки девушек — его an'g:ej, с которыми открыто можно говорить, шутить и при случае иметь половое общение.

Теперь перейдем к отношениям pu к их замужним an'g:ej.

Из терминологии родства мы знаем, что замужними an'g:ej человека являются прежде всего индивидуальные жены его «братьев» (tuvn), при чем у гиляков, говорящих на западном диалекте, это относится ко всем tuvn, а у гиляков, говорящих на восточном диалекте, — лишь к старшим; далее — все замужние «сестры» его собственной жены; наконец, замужние сестры жен его tuvn — огромная категория, заключающая многие десятки лиц, разбросанных по всей территории гиляцкой оседлости. О последних двух группах — сестрах жены и сестрах жен братьев — необходимо сделать следующую оговорку: обыкновенно, в согласии с общими нормами гиляцкого брака, сестры выходят замуж за лиц одного класса tuvn, так что по отношению к сестрам жены и сестрам жен братьев действует общее правило о женах «братьев». Но, благодаря отступлениям от традиционных норм, может оказаться, что сестра жены «брата» или сестра его жены замужем либо совсем за чужим человеком, либо даже за кем-нибудь из случайных axmalk'ов.[1]

В этих случаях нормы полового общения, равно как и терминология, не однообразны. У большинства родов в обоих случаях половое общение с этими женщинами правомерно, участники зовут друг друга pu и an'g:ej, их дети друг друга — tuvn и сестер матери и их мужей соответственно зовут «матерями» и «отцами». Но у других родов, преимущественно у родов, соседних с айну, порядок другой. Если сестра жены человека вышла замуж за его axmalk'a, то половое общение с ней, как вообще с женой axmalk'a, не допускается абсолютно, и вместо an'g:ej мужчина зовет ее ачк (теща). Если же она вышла замуж за совсем чужого человека, то отношения между ними, как между чужими, т.-е. половое общение не считается грехом, но и не правомерно. Но, что особенно замечательно, это то, что потомство обеих семей считается во всех случаях и при таком отно-

[1] Случайным axmalk'ом я называю человека из такого рода, из которого случайно один какой-нибудь сородич лица говорящего тайно взял жену, в противоположность роду, из которого все сородичи обычно берут жен.

шении tuvn (братьями)[1] до третьего поколения, и это лучше всего показывает, что старый порядок требовал, чтобы сестры жены гиляка были женами его братьев.

Таким образом, вопрос об отношениях между гиляком и его замужними an'g:ej на практике сводится, главным образом, к отношениям к женам его «братьев» (tuvn).

Как мы сказали и как это видно из терминологии родства, одни роды строго различают между женами старших tuvn и младших, другие не делают между этими категориями никакого различия: у одних — только жены старших tuvn, у других — все жены tuvn без различия считаются an'g:ej каждого из tuvn, но в обоих случаях право этих pu и an'g:ej на половое общение несомненно.

У гиляков западных, не делающих различия между женами братьев, это право формулировали мне неоднократно в следующих, более чем ясных выражениях: «с женой младшего брата (его) старшему брату иметь половое общение дозволяется» («хорошо»), младшему (брату) с женой старшего (брата) иметь половое общение дозволяется («хорошо»).

В родах, делающих различие между женами младших и старших «братьев», мне это право было формулировано еще более рельефно: «среди сородичей, в одном и том же роде все дозволено («хорошо»), жена старшего (брата) все равно моя жена». Это несомненное и исконное право человека на «жен» своих tuvn неизменно осуществляется по всей гиляцкой территории до настоящего времени, с единственным ограничением, о котором мы говорили выше, т.-е. половое общение должно происходить не на глазах индивидуального мужа женщины и по возможности не публично. Право индивидуального супруга, конечно, преимущественное — он может т р е б о в а т ь от жены исполнения супружеских и хозяйственных обязанностей и следования за ним при

[1] Приведу пример, хорошо рисующий как отношения подобных tuvn (т.-е. детей сестер, мужья которых чужие друг другу) между собой, так и взаимные отношения их к своим женам.

Wremgin и Hibl — лица двух различных родов (k:xal), один из рода Fan gl, другой из рода Xoi, но матери их были tuvn, т.-е. сестрами из одного и того же рода. И вот, несмотря на то что их отцы и они сами — лица чужеродные, они называют друг друга tuvn потому, что отцы были женаты на сестрах и имели право полового общения, их как tuvn, они друг с другом не разговаривать, ни шутить не смеют (см. ниже, запреты), жены их считаются ymk (матерями) для их детей, а Hibl, как младший, имеет право полового общения с женой Wremgin'a.

всякой перемене местожительства. Он имеет формальное исключительное право на рожденных ею детей, но весьма часто гиляк, если он имеет несколько детей, считает своим долгом отдавать одного своего ребенка бездетному своему tuvn, если тот живет в другом селении. Но и субсидиарное право жены и ее групповых мужей в лице его «братьев» на половое общение столь же несомненно. Правда, групповые супруги должны искать удобного случая, чтобы в отсутствие индивидуального супруга (во время его сна, либо вне дома) воспользоваться своим правом, но случаев этих более чем достаточно. Мужчина большую часть времени проводит вне дома: то он на реке за рыбной ловлей, то по целым неделям на охоте или в отъезде, в гостях. С другой стороны и женщины отлучаются на целые дни в тайгу за ягодами, кореньями и т. д. Наконец, общение возможно по ночам в присутствии спящего супруга. Словом, осуществление права группового супружества не представляет особых затруднений. Этим правом наиболее полно пользуются холостые tuvn. Женатые прибегают к нему в своем собственном селении обыкновенно только в случаях какого-нибудь особенного увлечения той или другой групповой an'g:ej, но вне своего селения, когда они оказываются во временной разлуке со своими индивидуальными женами, женатые так же широко пользуются своими групповыми правами, как и холостые. И нужно сказать вообще, что характер отношений между групповыми pu и an'g:ej определяется, главным образом, условиями сожительства. При жительстве в разных селениях отношения между ними, естественно, могут быть только спорадические. Очень часто в таких случаях групповые супруги знают друг друга только понаслышке, но, столкнувшись, они обыкновенно быстро столковываются, и завязываются мимолетные связи, на которые весьма падки как мужчины, так и женщины, не предъявляя друг к другу никаких особенных требований симпатии, любви и пр. Нет ничего легче, чем столковаться таким случайно встретившимся pu и an'g:ej; стоит только где-нибудь в сенях или на дворе коснуться груди женщины, или сделать ей стереотипное предложение: «вместе покурим», чтобы убедиться в прочности шансов ухаживания. Иногда дело просто решается одними перемигиваниями.

На месте постоянного жительства между отдельными холостыми pu и их женами an'g:ej часто устанавливаются прочные связи, сопровождающиеся не только регулярными половыми сношениями, но часто и глубокими симпатиями и привязанно-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

стями, что, впрочем, не мешает женщине корректно исполнять свои супружеские обязанности и по отношению к индивидуальному супругу и даже питать к нему истинную привязанность. Подобные отношения создают весьма часто крайне интересные конъюнктуры. Двое, реже трое, братьев, несмотря на полную хозяйственную самостоятельность, при которой каждый имеет возможность обзавестись особой индивидуальной женой, живут тем не менее вместе, имея одну общую жену. Официальным супругом этой женщины считается один. старший брат, фактически приобревший ее на правах индивидуального супруга, но по молчаливому согласию жена является общей; об этом хорошо знают не только посторонние, но и дети братьев-супругов. С подобными явлениями приходится встречаться и в самых богатых и почтенных семьях. Мой большой приятель, мой первый учитель гиляцкого языка, упомянутый житель с. Танги, самый богатый гиляк на Сахалине, так именно жил со своим младшим братом, Плеуном. Этот последний сам был не менее способный человек, чем его старший брат, пользовался славой отличного охотника и успел накопить огромное количество «ценностей», так что легко мог взять себе не одну, а несколько жен, тем не менее он предпочел пользоваться женой старшего брата. Сложилось оно повидимому так: подростком он пользовался женой Гибельки на правах всякого младшего брата, но постепенно между ними возникла более прочная привязанность, и он предпочел, вместо самостоятельной женитьбы, жить постоянно с женой старшего брата, которую он, действительно, любил. Характерно тут то, что все, в том числе и сам Гибель, относились к этому, как к явлению, совершенно нормальному. Когда я обратился по этому поводу с вопросом к самому Гибелю, легкая тень скользнула по его красивому, умному лицу: он хорошо знал, как относятся русские к подобным отношениям, но вообще вопрос мой не произвел на него особого впечатления.

О своей жене он отзывался восторженно, детей любил нежно, хотя уверенности в том, что они от него, у него не могло быть никакой, а сын его, мальчик лет 14, больше питал привязанности к младшему брату отца, чем к нему самому. Ничто, разумеется, не могло помешать Гибелю удалить младшего брата из своего дома, или его вместе с женой, и купить себе другую и не одну, а несколько самых красивых и знатных жен. И при его крайнем честолюбии, при его непомерной любви к популярности, он не преминул бы предпринять самые решительные шаги для вос-

становления своей супружеской репутации, если бы он чувствовал что-нибудь шокирующее в регулярном и всем известном сожительстве брата с женой его. Случаю угодно было, чтобы Гибель пережил своего младшего брата, который трагически погиб в одиночестве во время зимней охоты в своем охотничьем балагане. Когда среди огромного и торжественного скопления съехавшихся со всех сторон гиляков покойный был уложен на посмертный помост, за несколько минут до сожжения взобралась на него с распущенными в знак траура волосами жена старшего брата, уселась возле покойника и во всеуслышание стала оплакивать своего «младшего мужа» и «возлюбленного» в таких же патетических и нежных выражениях, как если бы она была его индивидуальной женой.

Этот публичный акт лучше всяких описаний свидетельствует, как понимают гиляки отношения между мужчинами и женами его братьев.

Обычай общего постоянного сожительства братьев с общей женой не всегда легко подметить. Во-первых, половое общение тщательно оберегается от публичности; далее, обыкновенно гиляки живут большими юртами, по нескольку семейных братьев вместе, и постороннему разгадать сокровенные отношения очень трудно, тем более что о таких вещах говорят очень неохотно; наконец, редко какому молодому гиляку охота связать себя с женой родного брата; он предпочитает иррегулярные отношения с женами многих своих tuvn.

Но кроме группово-брачных отношений между братьями и их женами, среди гиляков встречаются — правда, не часто — еще и чисто коммунальные формы, именно, когда два или несколько братьев совершенно открыто и сознательно женаты на одной женщине. Такие случаи я встретил в 1910 г. даже на Амуре, где гиляки отличаются особенным индивидуализмом. Два или три брата формально сватают себе общую жену из рода axmalk'a или покупают чужую женщину и потом продолжают жить в коммунальном браке. Конечно, в то же время и мужья и их жены состоят в группово-брачных отношениях с целым рядом своих классовых pu и an'g:ej.

В старину такие явления, повидимому, были общими явлениями. Так называемые n'astund (героические сказания) и сказки сплошь и рядом начинаются словами: «n'lg:yvyn tenun' tuvn an'g:ej u'ena alvynd» — „два брата-гиляка одну жену содержали", и в дальнейшем раскрывается и само содержание этого понятия. В одном

из таких сказаний,[1] в котором рассказывается о похищении общей жены двух братьев горным человеком, мы находим такой пассаж, рисующий формы полового общения и отношение женщины к обоим мужьям: «В тот же вечер она те... жертвенные чашки сделала, чтобы ее мужья их с собой (на охоту) забрали; потом в ту ночь, поспавши несколько (т.-е. под одним одеялом со старшим братом), к младшему мужу (возлюбленному) своему, на средней наре лежавшему, забралась, с ним, совокупляясь, спала. На другой день ее мужья отправились». Любопытен финал этой сказки. После долгих поисков похищенной жены, старший брат (по нынешнему, ее индивидуальный муж) отчаялся в успехах поисков и вернулся домой, и, наоборот, младший брат ревностно продолжал поиски, и когда он, наконец, добрался до дома возлюбленной, рассказчик говорит, что женщина к своему мужу «pivner:kntox» (на самом деле, к брату своего индивидуального мужа) побежала (строка 58)»... Таким языком говорят не только в сказках, а повседневно. Когда мужчина говорит о своей жене или женщина о муже, они отнюдь не подразумевают своего индивидуального супруга, а того или другого из своих «мужей» безразлично. Точно так же, когда женатый человек говорит о своих женах (во множественном числе) или замужняя женщина о своих мужьях, то они всегда подразумевают индивидуального мужа и его братьев, и, наоборот, индивидуальную жену и жен своих братьев.

Право полового общения с женами братьев настолько срослось с обыденными представлениями гиляков, что они не в состоянии представить себе такого порядка вещей, при котором женщина могла бы представлять собственность одного мужчины. Гиляцкие юноши крайне недоумевали, почему я так часто и настойчиво переспрашивал про эти отношения; они считали их настолько обыденными, что они не должны были, по их мнению, вызывать каких-либо сомнений, и с удивлением спрашивали меня: «Неужели у вас не так, неужели у вас спать с женой брата худо?», т.-е. не дозволено, находя, что их закон лучше нашего. Разумеется, человеческая природа остается верной себе. Гиляк тоже ревнует, и в других случаях, когда дело не касается его tuvn, он умеет реагировать с необузданной страстностью первобытного человека. Убить соперника или выдержать с ним кровавую дуэль гиляку ничего не стоит. Но когда дело касается

[1] Л. Штернберг. - Материалы, II, 21, стр. 171.

братьев, тут, благодаря усвоенным с детства представлениям и целому ряду запретов, о которых будет речь ниже, грубый инстинкт теряет свою власть над гиляком, он либо вовсе не реагирует на флирты жены, либо весьма слабо. Впрочем, во избежание трений между братьями, практикуются некоторые профилактические средства. Так, например, обычай требует, чтобы старшие братья не только уступали первенство в женитьбе младшим, но даже помогали бы им «ценностями» для покупки жен.

С первого взгляда такой обычай кажется тем более странным, что старшие не имеют часто половых прав на жен младших. Но зато получается другая выгода: женя младших братьев, старшие освобождают себя в будущем до известной степени от покушений младших на их собственных жен. Впрочем, такая профилактика дает гарантию, да и то слабую, по отношению к родным братьям, но младших классовых братьев слишком много, чтобы всех своевременно женить и обезопасить. В виде исключения я наблюдал несколько случаев, когда ревнивые люди, сейчас же после женитьбы, переселялись в уединенное место, чтобы избежать конкуренции своих братьев. Так, селение Сах-Котан, самое южное гиляцкое селение на западном берегу, основано было таким ревнивцем, и когда я посетил его в 1897 г., то застал в нем только его основателя с многочисленным потомством, и мои спутники, гиляки, не мало острот послали по его адресу, но он был неуязвим, — его жена была в возрасте, когда женщины уже вне подозрений. Но такие случаи исключительны. Тем более исключительны случаи острых столкновений между братьями из-за ревности. Для избежания их требуется только соблюдение такта. Такие случаи возможны, когда индивидуальная жена и холостой tuvn переходят за пределы приличия и такта: когда женщина начинает бегать публично за своим возлюбленным, пропадает из дому и совершенно пренебрегает обязанностями к своему индивидуальному мужу. В таких случаях возлюбленному приходится иногда удалиться из дома брата или даже из его селения, а женщине иногда достается нахлобучка. Таких изгнанников я встретил дважды на севере Сахалина. Обыкновенно же отношения между tuvn весьма мирные. Если и посердится старший брат, то молча и без всяких последствий. Всякая активная реакция считается грехом. Считается большим грехом вызывать брата на дуэль из-за ревности. Мне лично про такие случаи не приходилось и слышать. Про один такой случай мне пришлось узнать от Б. Пилсудского, но это случай совершенно

исключительный. Некий Лохматка, лично хорошо и мне известный молодой гиляк, очень бедный парень, но пользовавшийся необычайным успехом у гиляцких женщин, позволил себе слишком открыто жить с женой одного из своих tuvn. По гиляцкому обычаю, как я уже говорил, публичность в таких случаях не допускается. Прощается она в исключительных случаях, когда герой — выдающийся, богатый человек, всеми уважаемый. Лохматка же был бесхозяйный гиляк, вечно у всех в долгу, легкомысленный и не отличавшийся никакими мужскими добродетелями. Тем не менее старший tuvn нисколько не реагировал даже и на это нарушение этикета. Только вследствие подговариваний окружающих он решил вызвать его на дуэль, но Лохматка решительно отверг это лестное предложение. Тогда соперник ударил его дубинкой, но Лохматка и после этого не реагировал, а так как по гиляцкому обычаю бить незащищающегося возбраняется, то сопернику пришлось оставить дело, а Лохматка, попрежнему, продолжал свои публичные отношения к его жене. Мне ни разу в гиляцкой среде не приходилось наблюдать, как индивидуальный муж реагировал при нахождении жены in flagrante delicto с кем-нибудь из его братьев. Но об этом может дать представление сцена, наблюденная мною у орочей, у которых действует то же правило по отношению к женам братьев. Однажды мне пришлось ночевать в палатке самого уважаемого и богатого ороча, Ивана Кузнеца. В палатке, кроме Ивана и его жены, случайно ночевал очень дальний родственник Ивана, юноша Тимошка, очень бедный и нехозяйственный парень, но большой любитель женщин, предпочитавший хождение по гостям и ловеласничание всяким хозяйственным заботам. С вечера хозяин ушел сторожить лосей, и Тимошка без всяких церемоний забрался под одеяло молодой хозяйки. Старика ждали только к утру; между тем неблагоприятный ветер помешал охоте, и Иван вернулся раньше, чем этого можно было ожидать. Вошедши в балаган, Иван зажег лучину и увидел Тимошку, заменяющего его на супружеском ложе. От вспыльчивого и гордого Ивана можно было ожидать — особенно против бедного Тимошки — самого бешеного взрыва ревности, тем более, что его жена считалась первой красавицей, а он был уже в летах, когда ревность особенно сильно проявляется. И тем не менее Иван ограничился тем, что выругался крепким русским ругательным словом, после чего Тимошка, смущенно улыбаясь, перешел на свое место, а Иван, кряхтя, улегся рядом со своей фривольной женой.

Таковы отношения между категориями групповых pu и an'g:ej. В своем собственном роде к услугам гиляка десятки жен его «братьев». В роде его axmalk'a (а их может быть много) к его услугам десятки дочерей «братьев» матери, и, наконец, вне этих родов, ему принадлежат сестры жен его самых отдаленных tuvā и жены сыновей сестер его «матери». А так как вдобавок, благодаря современным условиям жизни, его собственные сородичи и члены родов его axmalk'ов разбросаны по самым отдаленным селениям, то нет почти места, где приезжий гиляк не нашел бы своей правомерной an'g:ej. О гиляках можно сказать то, что рассказывают, mutatis mutandis, про «куми» и «кроки», которые на протяжении всей своей территории везде находят себе законную жену.

Таким образом, каждый гиляк обыкновенно состоит в двойном браке: 1) в обычном индивидуальном браке с одной или несколькими женщинами либо из класса его an'g:ej (в этом случае преимущественно с дочерьми брата матери), либо с женщинами чужеродных групп; эта форма брака у братьев принимает иногда форму чисто коммунальной полиандрии; 2) в групповом браке со всеми женщинами класса an'g:ej, при чем половое общение по отношению к некоторым из них сопровождается совместным сожительством, общим хозяйством с их индивидуальными мужьями и происходит более или менее регулярно (чаще всего при общем хозяйстве братьев), или же это право полового общения является потенциальным и осуществляется по мере возможности и нерегулярно.

Таким образом мы имеем тут дело с типичным групповым браком, примеры которого всем известны у самых различных народов земли. Крайне любопытный типичный аналог из быта других народов представляет брачная система австралийского племени dieri,[1] у которого оба вида полового общения оформлены, в отличие от гиляцкой брачной системы, диференцированными терминами noa и piruari. По этой системе каждая женщина состоит в индивидуальном браке с одним мужчиной, и супруги называют друг друга noa; но в то же время она состоит в групповом браке с целой категорией мужчин, которые называют взаимно друг друга piruari, с тем характерным отличием, что лица этой категории торжественно объявляются великим советом племени.

[1] Australian Group relations by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology Contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute (1885), pp. 12 passim.

Цель, которую преследует эта мера, повидимому, такова: 1) укрепить в общественном сознании правомерность полового общения известной группы лиц; 2) сделать общеизвестными имена лиц этой группы супругов. У гиляков дело до этого не дошло — племя слишком маленькое, и каждый человек уже с детства, со слов родителей, отлично знает имена своих групповых pu и an'g:ej и, следовательно, все права, с этими именами связанные. При других условиях гиляки, вероятно, дошли бы и до процедуры, практикуемой у dieri. Любопытны еще следующие характерные аналогии между браком гиляков и dieri: 1) «женщина становится поа человека, будучи обвенчана с ним, когда она была еще ребенком».[1] 2) Судя по родственной терминологии, piruari (т.-е. групповые мужья и жены) назначаются великим советом не произвольно, а из определенного круга родственников, а именно для женщин piruari являются братья ее мужа, а для мужчины — сестры жены. Так, одним и тем же термином apiri waka называют piruari своей матери и брата отца; точно так же одним и тем же термином andri waka называют piruari своего отца и сестру матери и жену брата отца (ib. Table IV). 3) Все дети каждого поа между собою братья и сестры и все они считаются детьми группы piruari, к которой эта поа принадлежит (ibid., 19).

IV.

МОРАЛЬНЫЕ И ПСИХИЧЕСКИЕ ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ ПОЛОВЫХ НОРМ.

Своеобразные нормы полового общения, описанные нами, широко-дозволительные, с одной стороны, строго-запретительные с другой, отразились на морали и психике гиляков в двух диаметрально противоположных направлениях.

Дозволительные нормы, давшие как мужчине, так и женщине, такую широкую правомерную свободу полового общения, естественно, должны были породить и общую половую распущенность. Действительно, добродетели целомудрия, половой умеренности и супружеской верности гиляку не знакомы. Среди замужних женщин встречаются еще, и то в виде редкого исключения, отдельные лица, которые более или менее верны своим мужьям; среди мужчин, по отзывам самих гиляков, и такие исключения не встречаются. В обществе самых почтенных людей с увлечением ведутся разговоры про самые пикантные романиче-

[1] Howitt, op. cit., p. 15.

ские приключения. Богатый романический формуляр нисколько не препятствует репутации джентльмена (urdla n'ig:yvyn). При мне, в присутствии собрания самых почтенных стариков, молодой гиляк Ларук, при общем громком одобрении и веселом хохоте, рассказывал о своих многочисленных романических подвигах; между прочим о том, что в одном селении он наплодил не менее 20 душ детей... Такое отношение почтенных людей к половой распущенности молодежи возможно только в обществе, где групповое половое сожительство правомерно практикуется в обширных размерах. Если иногда приходилось слышать упреки старших по адресу младших за половые эксцессы, то только по хозяйственным соображениям, так как половые увлечения часто отвлекают молодежь от работ на дому. Упреки слышатся также по адресу беременных девушек, но тут действуют совсем особые соображения, о которых мы говорили выше: 1) опасение увлечений с лицами запретных категорий, и, главное, 2) неизвестность относительно отца ребенка. Обыкновенно же похождения молодежи не составляют никакого секрета и не вызывают упреков. Это настолько обычное явление, что молодые люди нарочито отправляются в гости на целые месяцы в селения своих «тестей», где в их распоряжении столько девиц an'g:e), и старшее поколение не только не препятствует этому, но чрезвычайно радо. Как мы уже говорили, холостой ymg:l (зять) — самый желанный гость в доме. «Ymg:l» (зятя) кормить должно (см. стр. 166). Женщины и даже девушки мало чем уступают мужчинам в легком отношении к тому, что мы называем половой нравственностью. Им только приходится больше остерегаться (особенно, когда дело идет о лицах не из класса pu), и потому наружно они всегда напускают на себя вид самой суровой неприступности, но в действительности они так же легкомысленны, как и мужчины. И при всем том сказать, что гиляки лишены чувства половой нравственности, было бы величайшей несправедливостью. В действительности, гиляки дают волю своим инстинктам только в пределах, общественно дозволенных. И, наоборот, то, чего нормы не допускают, например, реакции ревности по отношению к своим tuvn и особенно половое общение с лицами запретных категорий, то соблюдается с величайшим, нам совершенно незнакомым ригоризмом, и это несмотря на то, что запреты полового общения часто не имеют за собой ни физиологического, ни психического, ни какого-нибудь другого разумного основания, напр., запреты между самыми отдаленными агнатными кузенами и кузинами. За

многолетнее свое пребывание среди гиляков, несмотря на тщательные расспросы, мне удалось слышать только про два-три случая явного нарушения запретительных норм. Самый выходящий из ряда вон случай произошел в селении Тамлево, где молодой гиляк, после смерти своего отца, некоторое время жил со своей молоденькой мачехой, купленной отцом его незадолго до его смерти. Случай этот взбудоражил весь Сахалин, и о нем рассказывали, как о чем-то чудовищном. Другой общеизвестный случай с молодым гиляком Павлинкой, который женился на женщине из рода своих ymg:l, т.-е. из рода, который у Павлинки брал жен. Но Павлинка был уже значительно обрусевший, состоявший на полицейской службе гиляк, свысока относившийся к обычаям своего народа. Другой обрусевший гиляк, Аллых, из села Тамлево, после смерти одного из своих младших tuvn, заставил собрание сородичей, обсуждавших, по обыкновению, вопрос о том, кому должна достаться вдова покойного, присудить ее ему, хотя он, как akí (старший брат), не имел на то никакого права. Но это случаи исключительные, и на них окружающие реагировали крайне энергично.

В первых двух случаях нарушители вынуждены были уйти в добровольное изгнание, т.-е. поселиться вне селения и вести одинокое существование со всеми лишениями родовых благ, связанными с остракизмом. Но, повторяем, то были случаи совершенно исключительные, связанные с изменившейся, под влиянием чуждой культуры, психикой.[1]

Обычно самая идея половой связи с лицами запретных категорий вызывает инстинктивное отвращение. На редкие случаи возникновения любовных чувств между такими лицами гиляки смотрят, как на внушения злого духа, как на явление, почитаемое неестественным не только у людей, но и у животных. Мы видели, что в таких случаях даже прелюбодейную собаку убивают. Совершенно такое же отношение к людям. Обычно, возлюбленные в запрещенных степенях убивают себя по обоюдному соглашению или под прямым воздействием родных. В одной предсмертной песне такой несчастной пары женщина поет о том,

[1] Бывают исключительные случаи другого рода, когда нормы брака нарушаются ради поддержания других норм, которые обществом почитаются еще важнее: это бывает во время эпидемии, когда для той или другой вдовы не находится мужа по правилам левирата. Тогда, дабы женщина осталась в роде ее покойного мужа, по постановлению совета рода она отдается любому сородичу восходящей или нисходящей ступени родства с ее покойным мужем.

как старшая сестра называла ее сучкой за ее любовь к дяде, а последнего «чортом» и как все — и мать, и отец, и сестры — твердили ей: «Убей себя, убей». Между тем предмет ее преступной страсти, дядя ее, мог быть в ее же возрасте, мог расти вдали от нее, и любовь между преступной парой казалась бы, по нашему, совершенно естественной.

Чувство полового отвращения к лицам запретных категорий превратилось в инстинкт, как в нашем обществе подобное же чувство к матери или родным сестрам. Впечатление инстинкта производит на нас также и та удивительная способность подавлять в себе чувство ревности, которое проявляет гиляк, когда дело касается групповых мужей его индивидуальной супруги. Без этих инстинктов или, во всяком случае, замечательных добродетелей самообладания и самообуздания реализация половых норм была бы невозможна: ничем не сдержанная ревность привела бы к уничтожению группового брака, а без инстинкта полового отвращения или равнодушия к запрещенным лицам, большинство запретных форм потеряло бы свою силу.

Каким образом могли выработаться эти могучие инстинкты или, по крайней мере, полуинстинкты?

Выработке таких инстинктов прежде всего оказала могущественное содействие классификаторская система родства. С самого раннего детства мальчики и девочки точно знают, кого каким термином они должны называть и какие половые правообязанности с этими названиями связываются; таким образом, те или другие отношения с теми или другими лицами уже с детства начинают рассматриваться как нечто, самой природой установленное и непреложное. Точно так же, как при нашем воспитании вырабатывается половое равнодушие к родителям, детям, родным братьям и сестрам, точно так же у гиляков, благодаря классовой терминологии и рано усвоенным запретам, вырабатывается такое чувство по отношению не только к родному отцу и матери, но и ко всем «отцам» и «матерям», ко всем братьям отца, ко всем «сестрам» и «братьям», сестрам матери, агнатным кузенам и т. д. И точно так же, если ребенок с детства знает права категории pu на его an'g:ej, если он с детства знает, что всякий его tuvn имеет право на его индивидуальную an'g:ej, то он, когда подрастет, умеет достаточно равнодушно смотреть на половые сношения своей жены с его tuvn и ее pu. Но в то же время он далеко не равнодушен, когда такие отношения происходят с посторонними. Тут гнев его не знает предела:

in flagrante delicto он убивает прелюбодея, в других случаях он яростно дерется с соперником на дуэли. Мало того, если даже его собственный tuvn позволит себе в отношении его жены нарушение установленного этикета, — непубличности, — он не останется равнодушным и заставит его удалиться из селения.

Психические запреты. На ряду с воспитанием и, я сказал бы, гипнотическим действием терминологии родства, на выработку упомянутых инстинктов действует еще более могучее средство — особого рода запреты, запреты психического общения: запреты разговоров, взглядов и фамильярного обращения (шуток). Соответственно двум различным инстинктам, необходимым для реализации половых норм, запреты эти двоякого рода. Одни из них созданы для лиц, между которыми необходимо ослабить до последней степени инстинкт ревности, другие — между лицами, которые должны избегать полового общения между собой. Оба фактора, как запреты полового общения, так и запреты психического общения, действуют не только как факторы внушения или привычки, но и как строжайшие табу религии. Нарушить ту или другую норму так же опасно в глазах первобытного человека, как самое опасное кощунство. Какую силу в частности имеют табу психического общения и какие инстинкты они способны выработать в душе первобытного человека, можно видеть хотя бы из рассказа Иохельсона про одного юкагира, который по ошибке позволил себе фамильярность по отношению к своему брату, но, когда заметил свою ошибку, он от ужаса скончался на месте.

Вот как рассказывает Иохельсон эту поразительную историю, совершенно применимую и к психике гиляка.

«Жили два брата. С ними жил муж старшей сестры, с которым разговаривать можно Поэтому оба брата нередко шутили с ним, баловались... Братья же были между собою, как водится, в отношениях неговорения. Однажды старший брат, вернувшись с охоты, застал в поселке молодежь, занятую играми и плясками. Его младший брат, случайно одетый в меховую одежду зятя, был в цепи танцующих, будучи обращен спиной к пришедшему. Последний принял младшего брата за зятя, подбежал к нему сзади, просунув между ног руку, хотел его в шутку испугать, при чем коснулся его половых органов. Младший брат быстро обернулся. Тогда старший брат заметил свою ошибку и тут же «от стыда» упал мертвым. По обычаю его вскрыли, что-

бы узнать причину смерти, и сердце его, по словам предания, оказалось разорванным пополам».[1]

Перейдем теперь к самим запретам. Запреты первого рода, т.-е. запреты, установленные между лицами одного пола, для ослабления инстинкта ревности, естественно распространяются на лиц, состоящих в одном классе по групповому браку: среди мужчин на классы pu, т.-е. на классы лиц, имеющих право полового общения с определенным классом женщин, и среди женщин на классы an'g:ej, т.-е. женщин, имеющих общих мужей. Все эти лица, все эти групповые мужья или групповые жены, среди которых повседневно и повсечасно так легко могли бы возгораться вспышки ревности, отгорожены между собою непроходимой стеной строжайшего запрета психического общения, запрета, начинающегося от порога жизни и кончающегося только у могилы, и создающего инстинкт сдержанности, не уступающий по своей силе сильнейшим инстинктам природы.

Запреты второго рода, как мы говорили, имеют целью воспрепятствовать половому общению между лицами разных полов запретных категорий. Поэтому между лицами, состоящими взаимно в классах «мужей» и «жен» (pu и an'g:ej), хотя бы они и не состояли в индивидуальном браке, запреты излишни: всякий мужчина свободно разговаривает не только со своими индивидуальными, но и со своими групповыми женами, напр., с женами братьев без различия (в одних родах) или только с женами своих старших «братьев» (у других), словом, с теми женщинами, которых он называет an'g:ej и с которыми он имеет право полового общения. Не то с лицами запретных категорий. Но и в этой категории имеются группы, которые, по воззрениям гиляков, не нуждаются в запретной охране: это, прежде всего, мать и отчасти отец. С матерью сыновья, уж не говоря о дочерях, могут и разговаривать и шутить без всяких ограничений. То же распространяется и на весь класс «матерей» и «сыновей», одно название которых, усвоенное с детства, достаточно гарантирует половое равнодушие между его членами. Строже обстоит дело с «отцами». Отец с дочерью может вести деловой разговор, ругаться, но не шутить, нежничать (фамильярничать) со своими дочерьми. То же с целым классом «отцов» и «дочерей» (дядья и племянницы). По отношению к дедам, прадедам, бабушкам и прабабушкам совершенно нет запретов. Не то с другими лицами запретных категорий. Особенной строгостью отличаются запре-

[1] Иохельсон. Материалы, XIII.

ты между мужчинами и женщинами своего собственного рода. С лицами класса «сестер», с «сестрами» отцов, которых именуют nanax (старшая сестра), мужчины не только ни разговаривать, ни шутить не смеют, но и «глазом взглянуть» на них строжайше воспрещается. Этот запрет распространяется и за пределы лиц одного и того же рода, если только — как увидим впоследствии — лица эти взаимно считаются tuvn, напр., дети сестер, вышедших замуж за лиц разных родов. Кроме того, так как — мы знаем это из терминологии родства — для каждой женщины ее «брат» — потенциальный отец ее невестки, а с другой стороны, для каждого мужчины каждая «сестра» — потенциальная мать его «зятя», то из этого следует, что женщине запрещен разговор и пр. с отцом ее невестки (действительным или потенциальным) и с его классом, а мужчине — с матерью своего зятя (в тех родах, в которых старшие братья не имеют половых прав на жен младших). Далее, запреты второй категории действуют (в большинстве родов) между мужчинами с женами их младших tuvn, с одной стороны, и между женщинами со старшими tuvn их мужей, с другой. Как известно из терминологии родства, лица этих групп называют друг друга запретными терминами jox и atk. Этими последними терминами называют друг друга также невестки и свекрови. Между ними, как лицами запретных групп, опять-таки психическое общение не допускается, хотя не везде одинаково строго. У одних, напр., у гиляков лимана Амура, не допускается ни разговора, ни шутки. В других местах, обращения деловые допускаются, но шутки и беседы запрещены. Запрета психического общения между зятем и тещей не существует.

Теперь остается выяснить, как эти запреты осуществляются в жизни. Сами гиляки классифицируют психические формы общения между запретными категориями терминами: indynd (смотреть), xernd (беседовать, говорить), lerund (шутить, играть, баловаться) и vakrund (ссориться, спорить, ругаться). Но не все эти четыре формы одинаково применяются между всеми категориями. Так, мы видели, что с дочерью отцу запрещается только lerund (шутки, баловство); разговаривать, а тем паче ругаться (со стороны отца) допускается. Запреты «лицезрения» — indynd, — наоборот, действуют только между «братьями и сестрами»; lerund одинаково строго применяется между всеми категориями. Остается запрет xernd. Термин этот заключает в себе два понятия: беседы, разговоры и деловые обращения. Что касается первых, то они являются запретными абсолютно: без

бесед обходиться можно, да беседы, кроме того, могут далеко завести. Другое дело с деловыми обращениями: без них обходиться иногда совершенно невозможно. Так, напр., старший брат часто заменяет младшим братьям отца и без сношений с ним обходиться нет возможности; поэтому в крайних случаях младшие братья к старшему обращаться могут. Краткие непосредственные обращения в виде приказаний, деловых советов и т. п. всегда допускаются между братьями, между свекром, свекровью и невесткой, даже между мужчиной и женой младшего брата, с употреблением звательного падежа. Но обыкновенно стараются избегать непосредственных обращений. Если налицо человек дозволенной категории, то передают желаемое этому лицу, адресуя свое обращение так, чтобы слова были слышны лицу запретному, которое, в свою очередь, отвечает таким же способом. В противном случае обращение выражается в третьем лице или в безличной форме. Например: «Невестка, брат и т. д. могли бы то-то и то-то сделать», вместо: «Невестка, сделай!» Или: «Брату моему спасибо», вместо: «Спасибо, брат», и т. д. Благодаря этому обычаю обходить запреты обращения употреблением третьего лица, у гиляков вошло в обыкновение вообще употреблять часто 3-ье лицо вместо 2-го, особенно по отношению к лицам незнакомым, из опасения, повидимому, что они могут оказаться лицами запретных категорий. Сплошь и рядом приходится слышать, при входе незнакомого гиляка, обращение: «Откуда гиляк пришел?» (вместо «Откуда ты пришел?»). В этом обычае, свойственном не одним гилякам, и вызванном запретом говорения, кроется, быть может, причина происхождения этих странных форм 3-го лица вместо 2-го, которые находим в итальянском, польском, татарском и т. д. языках. Наконец, с лицами запретных категорий, чаще всего при обращении, употребляется множественное число, которое обыкновенно употребляется при обращении со стариками и почетными лицами или незнакомыми. Так, напр., к жене старшего брата употребляется обычно обращение в единственном числе чі; наоборот, с женами младших братьев — множественное число — чіп.

Запреты разговора имели другое любопытное последствие. Гиляки не знают никаких приветствий при встрече и прощании. Может показаться странным, что гиляк, возвращаясь в свой дом даже после долгого отсутствия или оставляя свою семью на долгие месяцы охоты и опасности, не произносит никаких приветствий. Между тем, гиляки очень церемонны и гостей встре-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

чают и провожают всегда с торжественными обращениями и благопожеланиями. Соседи гиляков, ольчи и гольды, равно как и айну, имеют приветствия при встрече и прощании. Отсутствие таковых у гиляков происходит именно от того, что у каждого гиляка в его собственном доме и в его селении масса лиц, к которым всякое обращение является грехом, поэтому привычные приветствия легко могли бы приводить к частым невольным нарушениям психических табу. Запреты разговора, как известно, практикуются у многих народов. Вспомним хотя бы для примера из американских народов arapaho, у которых запрещены разговоры между братьями. Для нас представляют особый интерес запреты у юкагиров. Из запретов, общих с гиляками, у юкагиров находим запреты между «братьями» и «сестрами», свекром и свекровью с невесткой, старших братьев с женами младших, при чем, как и у гиляков, в случаях необходимости, обращение происходит либо в 3-м лице, либо в безличной форме, либо во множественном числе.[1]

Примеры интересной аналогии с гиляцкими запретами представляют буряты. У них в настоящее время брак исключительно индивидуальный, и «братья» не имеют никаких половых прав на жен друг друга. Тем не менее, запреты так называемых хадым'ов явно изобличают прежнюю стадию группового брака. По этому институту между женщиной и старшими братьями ее мужа запреты очень строги; наоборот, по отношению к младшим братьям мужа запреты отсутствуют. Содержание запрета (запрещение мужчине садиться на кровать своей х а д ы м, видеть ее обнаженной и т. д.) свидетельствует, что этот запрет имел исключительной целью предупредить половое общение.

V.

ГЕНЕЗИС ГИЛЯЦКИХ НОРМ БРАКА И ТЕРМИНОЛОГИИ РОДСТВА.

Мы рассмотрели нормы полового общения и видели, что они совершенно соответствуют терминологии родства. Теперь нам необходимо перейти к тому, как сложилась эта сложная система родства и брака, каков тот психический субстрат, который вызвал ее возникновение. Очевидно, такая сложная система не могла возникнуть искусственно. Она, без сомнения, должна была развиться из одного простого принципа, ясного для примитивного

[1] И о х е л ь с о н. Материалы, 210.

человека категорического императива, из которого неизбежно должен был, как из зерна, вырасти тот сложный организм гиляцких институтов, которые так подробно были рассмотрены нами. Но, на ряду с генезисом этой системы, нам необходимо выяснить и долгую эволюцию этой системы, без понимания которой целый ряд особенностей родственной номенклатуры кажется совершенно необъяснимым и как-будто несогласованным с общей системой.

Почему, например, жены самых отдаленных tuvn, хотя бы они были совершенно чужие друг другу, называют себя сестрами? Почему я, мужчина, называю своего тестя, хотя бы он был совершенно чужой, «братом матери», и при тех же условиях женщина зовет свою свекровь «сестрой отца»? Почему, если я, мужчина, женюсь на женщине совершенно чужой мне и моему роду, то с этого момента все сестры ее отца, даже не замужние, становятся моими матерями и никто из ее рода не может жениться на женщинах моего рода?

Почему женщины моего рода не могут выходить замуж не только в тот же род, откуда кто-нибудь из моих сородичей берет жен, но и в тот, откуда этот последний берет для себя жен? Каким образом мог произойти такой с виду парадоксальный факт, что человек может иметь агнатов и агнаток (сыновей, дочерей, братьев, отцов и матерей) в совершенно чуждом ему роде? Эта запутанность и видимая несообразность может быть объяснена лишь тем, что первоначальная простая и логически согласованная система брака, как всякая религиозная норма, по свойственной ей естественной тенденции, создала вокруг себя ткань распространительных норм. С другой стороны, под влиянием *исторических и бытовых условий*, она подверглась постепенным расширениям и усложнениям, в то время как терминология родства, как элемент, по природе своей, в виду своей формальности, отличающийся крайней устойчивостью, остался неизменным. Какова же была первоначальная схема брака? В отдельных местах нашего изложения нам уже приходилось говорить о ней. Теперь мы должны выяснить этот вопрос во всей его полноте. Детальный анализ как запретительных, так и разрешительных норм брака, сделанный нами в предыдущей главе, показал, что нормы эти вполне соответствуют терминологии родства; иначе говоря, вся сложная гиляцкая терминология родства является ничем иным, как автоматическим регистратором системы брака. Этот верный регистратор, столь устойчивый при всех переменах, является естественным ключом к восстановле-

нию гиляцкой системы брака в ее чистом первоначальном виде.

Чему же нас учит терминология родства?

Прежде всего, мы видим, что гиляцкая терминология родства не знает специальных терминов, свойства которых являются совершенно тождественными с терминами кровного (когнатного) родства. Свойственники называются по-гиляцки — пандф, т.-е. люди общего происхождения, когнаты, для мужчины со стороны матери, для женщин — со стороны отца. Тесть — брат матери; свекровь — сестра отца; муж — сын сестры отца; жена — дочь брата матери, и т. д.

Ясно, такая терминология могла сложиться только при условии, когда браки обязательно заключались исключительно с кровными родственниками по отцу или по матери. Это первое. В каком виде совершались эти браки, показывают нам другие термины родства.

Внутри каждого рода, как мы видели, в каждом поколении жены tuvn, т.-е. братьев родных и боковых, зовут друг друга сестрами, а своих свекровей, т. е. матерей всех этих tuvn — тетками (сестрами отца), и обратно, последние их — племянницами; с другой стороны, каждый мужчина зовет сестру своего тестя своей матерью. Отсюда ясно, 1) что жены всех членов рода — обязательно родственницы, взятые из одного рода, иначе говоря, каждый род берет жен для себя исключительно из одного общего рода; брак вне этого рода невозможен; 2) что при этом брак регулируется по поколениям, т.-е. в каждом поколении сородичи-«братья» берут из обязательного для брака рода соответствующее поколение «сестер», племянниц тех женщин, на которых женилось поколение их «отцов», а их нисходящие, в свою очередь, берут следующее поколение «сестер», племянниц своих матерей, и т. д. Вот почему жены «братьев» зовут друг друга «сестрами» (ибо таковыми они являются в самом деле), своих свекровей — тетками по отцу, а мужья зовут сестер своих тестей матерями. О групповом характере этих брачных союзов и о вытекающих отсюда классах «матери», «отцов», «братьев», «тестей» нам здесь говорить не приходится, ибо это уже выяснено нами детально раньше.

Таким образом, к первому принципу — обязательности браков с кровными родственниками — прибавляется другой принцип — жены сородичей обязательно должны быть взяты из одного общего рода, т.-е. два рода связаны между собою взаимной обязанностью: один должен брать жен у другого рода, а этот по-

следний — отдавать своих жен первому. Все мужчины последнего по поколениям уже от рождения считаются мужьями женщин соответствующего поколения другого рода, и, как мы видели, эти классы называют друг друга в действительности pu и an'g:ej.

Но из терминологии родства мы знаем, что обратное не допускается, т.-е. мужчины второго рода и женщины первого уже не состоят в классе мужей и жен. Таким образом, обменный брак между указанными двумя родами не допускается. Все эти принципы, выведенные нами выше a priori из терминологии родства, вполне соответствует современной действительности. Мы видели, что и теперь существует право на брак, что и теперь брак из класса axmalk считается единственно «чистым», и что браки сородичей обычно заключаются из одного общего рода, что обменный брак между родами не допускается. Теперь мы можем с уверенностью продолжать наш анализ.

Кто же этот род, откуда сородичи обязательно должны брать жен? На это нам отвечает та деталь номенклатуры, по которой мать каждого человека — сестра отца его жены; иначе говоря, все жены сородичей взяты из того рода, откуда пришла их родоначальница. Члены рода, таким образом, и по отцу, и по матери одной общей крови. Для каждого отдельного члена рода, как мы видели выше, это выражается в том, что человек обычно женится на дочерях брата матери, иначе говоря, дочери каждого человека принадлежат сыновьям его сестры. Этот принцип и является тем звеном, из которого выросла не только столь сложная на вид система классификационного родства, но и групповой брак и, наконец, род. Эту динамику мы и рассмотрим. Мы увидим ниже, что принцип этот, столь обычный еще теперь у многих первобытных народов, принцип, что дочери братьев принадлежат сыновьям их сестер, восходит к самой древнейшей стадии материнской семьи, той, которая непосредственно последовала за браком кровным, и служил основным способом обеспечения группы женщинами. Ради удовлетворения этой насущнейшей нужды на ранних стадиях человеческого общества каждая мать получала для своих сыновей дочерей своего брата, иначе говоря, все нисходящие сестры получали в жены всех нисходящих ее брата. Почему сложился такой принцип, почему в жены брали исключительно дочерей брата матери, а не детей сестры матери или дочерей брата отца, это мы увидим ниже. Теперь посмотрим, какие последствия имел этот принцип в своем практическом применении.

1) Раз уже от рождения дочери брата принадлежали сыновьям сестры, то естественнее всего было, чтобы будущие мужья в самом раннем возрасте переходили в семьи своих будущих жен. Этот порядок мы еще видим теперь у гиляков, как и у многих других первобытных народов. При «чистых» браках, т.-е. между детьми брата и сестры, уже с раннего детства будущая жена переходит в дом «мужа» и вырастает вместе с ним. Терминология увековечила этот порядок тем, что уже от рождения дети в определенных классах состоят взаимно в отношении pu и an'g:ej друг к другу.[1]

2) Упомянутый принцип создал в лице дочерей брата постоянный фонд женщин для каждого человека, но этой меры было недостаточно для удовлетворения той цели, ради которой она была создана; требовались соответственные нормы распределения, которые должны были гарантировать мир между обладателями группы жен. Прежде всего ясно, что нормы распределения не могли быть ни исключительно индивидуальные, ни исключительно коммунальные. Коммунальное обладание, как общее правило, вызывало бы беспрерывные распри; чисто индивидуальный порядок не всегда был возможен, вследствие неизбежных случайностей в распределении мужчин и женщин, особенно в ограниченной среде немногих семей. Нормы, таким образом, должны были выработаться такого рода, которые могли бы удовлетворить при любой комбинации.

Индивидуальный способ распределения, конечно, был бы самый удовлетворительный, но он требует равномерного распределения полов, что не всегда возможно, особенно в ограниченной среде немногих семей. Нормы распределения при таких условиях должны были явиться компромиссом между индивидуальным и коммунальным способом, чтобы удовлетворить любой комбинации распределения полов.

Создался таким образом тот тип индивидуально-группового брака, который мы видим у гиляков и у всех других народов, у которых брак основан на общем с ними принципе брачных отношений. Эта система индивидуально-группового брака сложилась под влиянием различных комбинаций распределения по-

[1] Этот факт радикально опровергает утверждение Вестермарка, Crawley и др., что запрет брака между братьями и сестрами происходит от инстинктивного полового отвращения, созданного близким сожительством. Crawley ссылается при этом на категорическое утверждение Ellis'a (см. Exogamy and Mating of Cousins. Anthropological Essays. Oxford, 1907, p. 52).

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

лов в потомстве брата и сестры. Чтобы убедиться в этом, достаточно рассмотреть несколько таких комбинаций.

1. Самая простая — один брат и одна сестра. При этом у брата столько же дочерей, сколько у сестры сыновей. Тогда, конечно, вполне возможно распределение индивидуальное, да и то, если мужчины и женщины одновременно достигли брачного возраста. Но à la longue такая комбинация почти совершенно невозможна, потому что потомство сестры и потомство брата разрастается в несколько семей, а в такой среде только по исключению могут быть случаи, когда число мужчин брачного возраста в одном потомстве во всякий данный момент будет равно числу женщин в другом потомстве.

2. Возьмем тот же случай: один брат и одна сестра, но в данный момент у брата лишь одна дочь, а у сестры несколько сыновей. Тогда неизбежен брак коммунальный, как он описывается у многих народов и является столь типичным во всех описаниях тибетцев. Это тот случай, который описывается в эпосе гиляков в таких выражениях: «Двое (или более) братьев одну жену содержали», случай, который, как мы указывали, и теперь нередко встречается в действительности. Наиболее обычный способ пользования женами, как и при групповом браке — каждый брат пользуется общей женой в отсутствие другого: «В Тибете, где братья очень часто имеют лишь одну общую жену, редко бывает, чтобы в доме в одно и то же время находился больше, чем один брат».[1] У гиляков и этого не требуется в случаях коммунального обладания: жена спит сначала с одним (старшим), а потом перекочевывает к другому. Что касается детей, то они или вовсе не различаются по отцам, либо, как у племени тода, первый ребенок считается потомком старшего, второй следующего брата и т. д.

3. Тот же случай в новой вариации: первый брат достиг брачного возраста раньше второго. Старший брат берет единственную дочь сестры своего отца своей индивидуальной женой; но вот младший брат достиг брачного возраста. Старший брат остается индивидуальным супругом, а второй пользуется брачным правом на правах супруга группового. Но дальше подрастает у брата еще одна дочь брачного возраста. Она естественно становится индивидуальной супругой второго брата, но старший брат получает такие же групповые права на жену млад-

[1] Westermarck, op. cit., p. 116.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

шего, какими и последний в свое время пользовался по отношению к жене старшего.

4. В данный момент у брата несколько взрослых дочерей, а у сестры пока один только взрослый сын. Последний становится мужем всех дочерей сестры брата. Так оно теперь у большинства индейских племен, где человек, женившийся на старшей дочери, тем самым обязывается забрать в жены всех ее сестер. Но вот подрастает другой брат. Одна из жен уступается ему, как индивидуальная, остальные остаются у старшего брата, как наиболее хозяйственного, который скорее способен содержать несколько жен, чем только-что начинающий вести хозяйство брат. Последний, естественно, по праву является групповым супругом всех жен старшего брата, обратное же право старшего брата не столь бесспорно.

Аналогичное произойдет, если у старшего брата-полигамиста постепенно подрастет несколько братьев: каждый из них получит свою индивидуальную жену, но в то же время каждый младший будет иметь групповое право на жен старших, которые в свое время пользовались его женами. В большинстве случаев, поэтому, мы видим, что только младшие братья пользуются групповыми правами на жен старших.

5. До сих пор мы брали простейшие комбинации — одного брата и одной сестры. При нескольких братьях и сестрах последствия будут те же, но в более сложном виде. Если бы сестер постоянно было бы столько же, сколько и братьев, и у каждой сестры и брата было соответственное количество женского и мужского потомства, то каждая пара братьев и сестер могла бы составить замкнутую брачную группу, но в действительности такие случаи могут явиться только редкими исключениями. Обычно, наоборот, число братьев и сестер неодинаково, еще менее возможно равномерное распределение полов в их потомстве. Возьмем несколько примеров. У нескольких братьев одна сестра; у братьев несколько дочерей, у сестры несколько сыновей. На этот раз уже не только родные сестры, но и двоюродные являются групповыми женами братьев. Или: несколько братьев и несколько сестер, но распределение полов такое, что родных сестер не хватает на родных братьев, тогда уже в групповом союзе окажутся, кроме братьев и сестер родных, и двоюродные сестры и двоюродные братья.

Наконец, не всегда у женщин имелись братья и не всегда имелись у них дочери, и тогда, естественно, приходилось при-

бегать к дочерям двоюродных, троюродных братьев. Словом, в одну брачную группу потомства сестры и брата неизбежно втягиваются с одной стороны все боковые братья до самых отдаленных степеней, с другой — боковые сестры, и таким образом устанавливается групповой брак между братьями родными и боковыми, с одной стороны, и сестрами родными и боковыми, с другой, — типичная пуналуальная семья в ее наиболее чистом виде.

Естественным результатом этой системы явилась та классификационная система родства, по которой человек называет женой не только свою индивидуальную жену, но и всех ее сестер, и жен всех своих братьев, и сестер этих жен, родных и боковых; на том же основании он называет всех жен братьев отца, родных и боковых, своими матерями, а их мужей — отцами, и их детей — своими братьями и сестрами; точно так же брата матери называет тестем, сестру ее — матерью, а дочерей братьев матери — своими женами.

Классификационная система, кажущаяся столь сложной, становится совершенно ясной и простой, логически выведенной из основного принципа — женское потомство брата принадлежит всему мужскому потомству сестры. Сразу, например, может показаться странным и крайне сложным, что женой человека являются не только жены братьев, но и их сестры. На самом же деле это объясняется очень просто — женами братьев не могут быть иные женщины, как только сестры, и все они принадлежат всей группе «братьев», кузенов этих сестер. Или человек называет брата матери «тестем»: это потому, что тестем может быть только брат матери, никто иной.

Единственная вариация, возможная в этой системе, связана с различиями в правах группового брака старших и младших братьев. У одних народов все братья одинаково групповые супруги своих взаимных жен, у других только младшие братья пользуются групповыми правами по отношению к женам старших братьев. У гиляков мы находим, как мы видели, обе системы, и соответственно этому и две терминологии по отношению к братьям отца и женам братьев. У одних только старшие братья отца именуются отцами, у других только младшие; точно так же у одних только жен старших «братьев» человек называет женами, у других всех жен братьев одинаково.

Теперь продолжим наш анализ гиляцких норм.

6. Раз каждая мать по праву забирает дочерей своего брата

для своих сыновей, то по тому же праву ее дочери должны принадлежать сыновьям сестры ее мужа, при чем эта последняя не может быть замужем за ее братом, потому что, как мы видели, обмен женщинами между потомством сестры и брата не допускается. Таким образом, рядом с двумя группами потомства брата и потомства сестры, образуется третья группа — потомства сестры мужа последней.

7. Так как в каждой из этих групп мужчины берут жен из группы братьев матери, а женщины выходят в третью группу сестры отца, то каждая группа образует совершенно экзогамную единицу, т.-е. род, и смотря по тому, уходили ли мужчины в род жены, или, наоборот, женщины уходили в род мужа, получался либо род материнский, либо отцовский. У гиляков с давнего времени род отцовский. Сила и единство такого родового союза покоились не только на отрицательной связи экзогамности (экзогамность или запреты в известных степенях родства может существовать и без родового союза), но на драгоценных положительных узах, на общем праве брака, на общем праве сородичей на женщин кровного рода своей родоначальницы, на взаимных правах группового брака, на привилегии иметь зятьями кровных родственников — детей сестер своих отцов, членов того рода, который испокон веков женился на их родоначальницах. Крепость этого союза усугублялась особенностью его состава. Внутри рода не было ни одного некровного элемента: если род был материнский, и зятья переходили в дом жены, то все женщины, родившиеся в роде, оставались вместе; взятые в род их мужья были все из одного рода, это кузены их жен, сыновья сестер их отцов. В роде агнатном пришлые женщины оказывались все родственны между собой, либо сестры, либо тетки и племянницы (и кровные родственницы — кузины со своими мужьями), дочери братьев их матерей. Это общее кровное родство представителей обоего пола, как коренных, так и пришлых элементов рода, является еще более важным цементом родового союза, цементом религиозным, связывающим все элементы высшими узами общего культа предков. Терминология увековечила этот порядок тем, что жены в каждом поколении зовут друг друга сестрами и своих свекровей — тетками, и дочь брата матери мужчина зовет женой, а женщина зовет сына сестры отца мужем.

8. Так как брак обязателен исключительно в группе сестер отца, раз дочери человека принадлежат уже от рождения сыно-

ньям его сестры, и это правило естественно стало религиозным императивом, то ни при каких обстоятельствах ни мужчины, ни женщины не могут вступать в брак вне указанных групп. Отсюда двойной левират, столь часто встречающийся, между прочим, среди индейцев. У женщины умер индивидуальный муж; из группы своего мужа она ни в коем случае выходить не может. Стара она или молода, она переходит к одному из класса «братьев» своего покойного мужа. Наоборот, умерла у человека жена, он не может искать себе жены иначе, как в классе ее сестер.

9. При этом порядке, пока он сохранился в полной чистоте, внутри брачных групп не может быть и речи ни о похищениях, ни о калыме.

Нет надобности человеку похищать то, что принадлежит ему по религиозному императиву, столь властно „действующему в примитивном обществе. Похищение может возникнуть только при особых обстоятельствах, когда в брачной группе не оказывается женщин, а посторонние группы связаны, в свою очередь, обязательством давать своих женщин в определенные группы. Отдельные случаи похищений приводят к институту имитативного похищения. Для стороны, дающей вопреки запрету женщин, это является способом обмана богов, богов-предков, для которых браки с чужекровными являются тягчайшим оскорблением. Этим одним можно объяснить распространенность этого иначе необъяснимого института у примитивных народов. Только этим благочестивым обманом богов можно объяснить те страшные жестокости, которые практикуются при имитативном похищении, хотя обе стороны вступают в брак с доброго согласия родных жениха и невесты. Достаточно привести пример племени kurnai, у которых существует аналогичный гиляцкому институт обязательного брака. У этого племени родные невесты, добровольно дав ей бежать с ее женихом, пускаются потом в погоню за ней и, поймав, прокалывают ей ногу копьем и избивают до полусмерти. Но и похититель у многих племен считает своей обязанностью избивать возлюбленную не менее жестоко, чем ее родители, желая этим показать богам-предкам, что вовсе не любовь, не намерение жениться руководило им при похищении.

Недостаток мужчин или женщин может привести и к другому, тоже нередкому у первобытных народов институту, именно, к убийству новорожденных. Вымер, допустим, род *A*, откуда род *B* берет женщин; тогда, во избежание гнева богов за будущие браки на чужекровных, прибегают к убийству мальчиков.

Наоборот, если вымер род, куда обычно отдают женщин, возможны случаи убиения девочек. Такие примеры известны у племен тода, несмотря на то что количество мужчин превышает там количество женщин.

10. Точно так же при этом порядке в нормальных обстоятельствах невозможен институт калыма. Плата за невесту недопустима, иначе обязательность брака была бы только фиктивной. Это мы видим у гиляков и теперь: как ни жадны гиляки к калыму, но при браке на дочери брата матери он не допускается.

Чтобы такая, в сущности, эндогамическая система могла сохраниться и функционировать во всей чистоте, для этого необходим целый ряд благоприятных условий. Прежде всего необходим комплекс благоприятных экономических, социальных и санитарных условий для того, чтобы, с одной стороны, при размножении отдельные семьи фратрии могли сохраниться на общей территории, с другой стороны, чтобы размножение превышало убыль семей и чтобы не было случаев вымирания целых родов, составляющих звенья фратрии. Необходима, далее, большая или меньшая изолированность племени от посторонних влияний, дабы сохранился во всей строгости религиозный императив обязательных браков внутри фратрии. Наконец, необходимо сохранение таких экономических условий, при которых, с одной стороны, социальное равенство членов фратрии оставалось более или менее обычным явлением, с другой — чтобы под влиянием новых экономических условий не породился так или иначе соблазн сделать женщину предметом купли и продажи.

Сохранение всех этих условий среди примитивных народов в течение долгого времени неизбежно встречает целый ряд препятствий. Так оно было и у гиляков. Как ни дорожат гиляки исконными обиталищами предков, экономические условия заставляют отдельных лиц, отдельные семьи, а иногда и целый род менять свое местопребывание и все более и более удаляться от своих родственников. На моих глазах в течение немногих лет в поисках лучших рыболовных и охотничьих угодий целые роды — семьи за семьями — переселялись в самые отдаленные районы, из Тыми в Тарайку (территории айну), на Амур и т. д. Специфическую роль в расселении играют нелады среди сородичей и войны. В главе об истории родов мы видели, какую огромную роль в перетасовывании и расселении играли эти факторы. Яркой иллюстрацией служит приведенная нами история рода Nila-wo, который на

самой южной окраине гиляцкой территории, на самой границе с айну, перекочевал сначала на крайнюю северную часть западного берега, близ мыса Марии; отсюда часть перешла на низовья Амура, и, наконец, на средний Амур почти под Хабаровском, где они совершенно огольдились. Правда, все многочисленные ветви этого так далеко разошедшегося рода, хотя и не сохранившие между собой никаких связей, остались до сих пор экзогамными, но продолжать свои старые фратриальные брачные отношения оказалось для них совершенно невозможным. В большей или меньшей степени такие явления имеют место и теперь. Вот почему в действительной жизни, как и в эпосе, гиляку приходится сплошь и рядом ездить за сотни верст искать себе жену из надлежащего рода, но подобные единичные, можно сказать, героические случаи не выполнимы для каждого и поневоле остаются исключениями. Чаще всего такой одиночка вынужден добиться адопции в чужой род и жениться на вдове члена адоптированного рода и, таким образом, совершенно разлучиться со своей старой фратрией.

Если же выселялись не холостые индивиды, а целые семьи, то потомство их поневоле начинало вступать в брачные союзы с ближайшими родами.

Еще губительнее действует процесс вымирания. Мы говорим не о процессе постепенного вымирания отдельных семей, а главным образом, о процессе катастрофического вымирания. Этот процесс сравнительно недавнего происхождения, ибо он явился непосредственным результатом столкновения с культурными народами, сначала восточными, а затем и с европейскими народами. Эти народы вместе с алкоголем и эксплоатацией принесли гилякам целый ряд заразных болезней, особенно опустошительно действующих в неиммунизированной первобытной среде. Об опустошительном действии этого процесса нам пришлось уже говорить раньше. Здесь достаточно сказать, что на моих глазах вымерли целые роды, и нередко приходится встречать роды, в которых осталось 1—2 индивида. Необходимо иметь в виду, что процесс вымирания поражает роды далеко неравномерно, так что в каждый данный момент один род может оставаться неприкосновенным, а другой потерять значительную часть своих членов.

Подобно болезням и другим разнообразным причинам, действует и война. Хотя по правилам междуродовым в войне щадятся женщины, и ограничено число убиваемых мужчин, но не всег-

да в пылу сражения правила соблюдаются, и, таким образом, военная эпопея может тоже привести к гибели рода.

Косвенно разрушающим образом должны были действовать и столкновения с другими народами, как первобытными, так и более культурными. По общему закону столкновение воззрений расширяет умственный горизонт и ослабляет силу религиозных императивов. Представитель высшей культуры свысока относится к институтам низшей расы, и представители последней постепенно и сами начинают относиться менее ригористично к своим учреждениям. Сначала отдельные личности начинают нарушать понемногу закон, а за этими индивидами тянутся постепенно и многие другие. Сами гиляки уверяют, что с приходом русских значительно ослабли регламентации брака. Но еще до появления русских гиляки сталкивались с разными другими народами.

Снабжали, как мы увидим, гиляков женами и китайцы; они же, равно, как и айну, снабжали их рабынями. Некоторое влияние имели также отхожие торговые и охотничьи промыслы в территории соседних народов. Амурские гиляки часто на целые годы уходили на охотничий промысел, или с торговыми целями в территорию айну и увозили с собой нередко на родину аинских женщин. Обратно, представители тунгусских народов или айну селились среди гиляков и вступали с ними в брачные отношения или увозили от них женщин. И хотя случаи эти могли быть единичными, тем не менее остаться без влияния они не могли.

Совершенно специфическое влияние оказало общение с культурными народами на экономической почве. До столкновения с китайцами и русскими не было стимула к накоплению богатств. До того существовали лишь предметы потребления. Их никто не копил, и высшим честолюбием более способного или удачливого человека было делиться своей добычей с другими. Торговля с китайцами создала стимул к накоплению. Явились новые ценности, которых нельзя было потреблять, но которыми стали дорожить, которые было выгодно накоплять. Явились богачи, счастливые обладатели ценностей, и другие, которые их не имели и хотели ими обладать. У богачей нарождалось сознание своего богатства и знатности и вместе с тем честолюбие родниться с себе равными. У бедных явился соблазн сделать из замужества своих дочерей источник приобретения ценностей. Старая форма обязательного брака, когда женщина отдавалась без калыма, становилась невыгодной, и при малейшей лазейке каждый ста-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

рался обойти старый императив. Наконец, появление института богатства усилило институт индивидуального брака. Все реже и реже становился обычай сожительства братьев с одной женой. В произведениях эпоса почти обычны такие пассажи, как «столько-то братьев одну жену содержали». Сто с лишним лет тому назад Мамно Ринсо описывал такие факты, как обычные явления, а теперь они встречаются все реже и реже.

Таковы условия, которые стояли на пути неприкосновенного существования фратрии. Но как ни могущественны оказались эти условия, сила исконных норм, ставших религиозными императивами, естественно сохраняла свою власть, и новые влияния прокладывали себе путь, приспособляясь к старым нормам путем целого ряда коррективов и фикций... Как это произошло, мы сейчас увидим.

VI.

ДИНАМИКА РАЗРУШИТЕЛЬНЫХ УСЛОВИЙ.

Из всех разрушительных для фратрий условий, о которых мы говорили (эмиграция, вымирание, войны, разрушение экономического равенства, отхожие промыслы), самым могущественным фактором является вымирание родов, притом, как мы говорили выше, вымирание катастрофическое, неравномерно поражавшее отдельные роды. Как же должен был действовать этот фактор на пережившие роды? Припомним таблицу 3-ю нашей четырехродовой фратрии. Допустим, что вымер или оскудел людьми род *А*, откуда род *С* брал женщин. Рассмотрим первый случай, когда род *А* вымер без остатка. Что тогда произойдет? Что должен тогда делать осиротевший род *С*, который брал женщин у *А* и *В*, дававших женщин в род *А*? Конечно, прежде всего члены этого рода будут искать какой-нибудь выход внутри самой фратрии, в среде которой только и возможен чистый брак. Но род *С* не может брать женщин у *Д*, потому что последний у него берет женщин, а взаимный обмен женщинами между двумя родами не допускается ни в коем случае; на том же основании род *В* не может отдавать своих женщин в *Д*. Остается единственный исход, чтобы *С* брал женщин у *В*. Этот исход для обоих родов имеет, кроме того, все признаки ортодоксальности. Прежде всего, эти два рода раньше не состояли в брачных отношениях. Затем для *С* род *В* после исчезновения рода *А* является самым ближайшим по матери (ибо из этого рода брал женщин

род *A*, снабжавший женщинами род *C*), и, наконец, род *B* — есть гесть *C*, хотя и 2-й степени, так что после *A* он является его естественным преемником по отношению к *C*. Единственным препятствием к законности этого компромисса является то, что род *C*, благодаря тому, что он дает своих женщин *Д*, в свою очередь, является tujma axma k рода *B* и, таким образом, не вправе брать женщин у этого последнего. Словом, дело кончается тем, что фратрия превращается в трехродовую. Единственный исход — это увеличить фратрию еще одним, пятым родом *E*, который давал бы женщин *Д* и брал бы их у *C*. Этот новый для фратрии род мог явиться, как в С. Америке, путем разделения одного из старых родов на два фиктивных рода (в данном случае *C* разбился бы на две половины, из которых одна явилась бы в роли рода *E*). На это ни в современной практике, ни в преданиях у нас данных не имеется. Но в этом и надобности не было. Процесс вымирания поразил одновременно и все другие фратрии. И легко находился одинокий род, остаток погибшей фратрии, который, в свою очередь, искал возможности присоединиться к фратрии. Что такой исход был наиболее практичный, видно не только из практики современного быта; он вытекает из неизбежной логики фактов. Мы исходили из предположения, что только один род *A* вымер, но сплошь и рядом фратрии могли потерять не один, а два, три рода, тогда неизбежно должно было наступать: либо кооптация отдельного рода во фратрию, либо слияние отдельных чуждых между собою родов в новую фратрию.

Вот таким-то образом, правда, при условиях исключительных, пробита была брешь в основу брачно-родового строя, но раз она была пробита, она должна была расширяться все более и довести до того, что браки отдельных лиц вне старой фратрии стали если не законным, то совершенно терпимым явлением.

Теперь рассмотрим второй случай, когда род *A* не вымер совершенно, а только оскудел людьми. За недостатком женщин в роде *A*, часть мужчин рода *C* вынуждена брать себе жен, как и в первом случае, у ближайшего законного рода, именно, у *B*; но тогда, как и в первом случае, *C* не вправе будет давать своих женщин в *Д*, и поэтому к фратрии, для обеспечения *Д* женщинами, должен прибавиться пятый род *E*, который даст женщин *Д* и берет их у *C*. Но, кроме того, явится еще другое последствие, еще более запутывающее положение.

Так как и члены рода *A* и некоторые члены рода *C* берут

женщин у рода *B*, то первые и вторые в каждом поколении окажутся женатыми на сестрах, и хотя они члены разных родов, они окажутся в групповом браке с группой сестер,[1] и их дети, как показывает терминология (см. выше), окажутся tuvn, т.-е. братьями и сестрами, и, следовательно, запретными друг для друга, так что в следующем поколении женщины из рода *A* не будут иметь возможность переходить в *C* и вынуждены будут через поколение искать себе мужей совершенно вне своей фратрии, что еще более разрушает силу и единство последней. Правда, жизнь несколько смягчила суровость запрета; в некоторых родах теперь запрет распространяется только на тех членов родов, которые фактически женаты на сестрах, но раньше, повидимому, запрет обнимал всех членов обоих родов; однако, и в смягченном виде запрет так или иначе ведет неминуемо к частичным случаям брака вне фратрии.

Случай, сейчас разобранный нами, отнюдь не гипотетический: он повторяется в своеобразной форме в повседневной жизни гиляков в настоящее время. Иллюстрацией этого может служить приведенный нами ранее юридический казус с последствиями, которые повлекли за собой брак двух лиц разных родов на двух сестрах, при чем один из рода axmalk, другой из рода ymgd. Интересно здесь повторить, что в этом случае групповой брак у некоторых родов уже не допускается, но дети этих браков считаются tuvn и не могут вступать в брак друг с другом.

Таким образом, вымирание и оскудение рода людьми приводят к следующим крайне важным последствиям: 1) начинает допускаться вольный брак на женщине не из рода матери; 2) члены одного и того же рода могут быть женаты на женщинах различных родов; 3) человек и его «зять» (navx, брат жены его брата, т.-е. брат его же жены) не могут быть женаты на сестрах; 4) наконец, благодаря свободным бракам, старая четырехродовая фратрия теряет совершенно свои пределы, ибо, как мы увидим дальше, на каждый род, в котором хотя бы один член фратрии породнился браком, распространяются те же права и обязанности, которые принадлежат фратриальному роду, и, таким образом, этот новый род как бы адоптируется в старую фратрию.

До поры до времени «вольный» брак был явлением более или

[1] По любопытному совпадению, в данном случае групповые мужья называют друг друга navx — термин, означающий то же, что знаменитый термин punalua, товарищ, соучастник.

менее исключительным, вызываемым обстоятельствами тоже исключительного характера. На пути его стояло огромное препятствие — религиозный императив, запрещающий выдавать женщин в чужие роды. Добывание таких женщин представляло большие трудности. В результате этой долгой борьбы за женщин чужих родов, — борьбы, о которой подробнее нам предстоит говорить впоследствии, — явился институт «калыма», платы за невесту, — институт, который устранил все препятствия к свободному браку.

Но раз появившись, институт калыма, в свою очередь, явился могучим фактором к распространению института свободного брака.

Калым стал могущественным соблазном к нарушению старых норм даже в тех случаях, когда в нарушении их не было никакой надобности.

Для бедных людей дочери явились капиталом, а богатые люди, народившиеся с установлением торговых сношений, на свободный брачный союз стали смотреть, как на средство удовлетворить своему честолюбию и породниться с людьми, равными по богатству и знатности.

И тем не менее, несмотря на все неблагоприятные условия, несмотря на вторжение нового института «вольного» брака, старые нормы продолжают жить и сохранять свою власть над умами. Все еще в огромном большинстве случаев, старый императив крепче всех соблазнов калыма и свободного брака. Все еще в глазах современного гиляка брак из рода axmalk, из рода матери, единственный «чистый» брак, и самый излюбленный брак для каждого отдельного человека — жениться на дочери брата матери, при чем в этом случае калым не только не требуется, но и не допускается. Вольные браки являются скорее эпизодическими явлениями, которые на момент только разрушают обычную норму и затем стихийно втягиваются в колею старой нормы. Происходит это различным образом. В одних случаях человек мог жениться, по той или другой причине, не из рода матери, но его потомство, тем не менее, сполна начинает брать жен из старого рода родоначальницы. В других случаях, если почему-либо возврат невозможен, то чужой род, из которого человек женился, становится законным брачным родом для его потомства, которое в каждом поколении женится согласно старой норме на дочери брата матери. Наконец, в иных случаях, потомство этого человека, смотря по обстоятельствам, берет жен

то в старом, то в новом роде тестей, и оба рода начинают считаться законными родами. Может случиться, что не два, а гораздо больше таких законных родов с течением времени накопляется, как у отдельного человека, так и у целого рода, но все-таки каждый в отдельности при заключении брака стремится соблюсти старую норму, ища себе жену прежде всего из рода своей матери, предпочтительно всегда дочь брата последней.

Такова власть старой нормы. Но этим ее роль не ограничивается. Вынужденная делать уступки в одном направлении, она еще с большей интенсивностью развивает силу своей вековой инерции в других направлениях. Допустив по необходимости браки вне фратрии, допустив возможность членам одного рода брать жен из различных родов, она распространила всю систему регламентации и на вольные браки и на все роды, которые хотя бы эпизодически состоят в брачных отношениях к тому или другому роду.

Это амальгамирование старого института с новым и распространение на него всей регламентации старых норм и запретов необычайно усложнили и запутали не только терминологию родства, но и характер группового брака. При старом порядке, когда браки заключались из одного определенного рода, картина группового брака представлялась совершенно ясной и простой: в каждом поколении все «братья» одного рода состояли в групповом браке со всеми сестрами того же поколения в другом роде. Поэтому жены братьев друг друга называли сестрами, а мужья сестер друг друга называли братьями, ибо таковыми те и другие были в действительности.

С появлением института вольного брака, сородичи-братья могут быть женаты на женщинах из различных родов, т.-е. совершенно чужих друг другу, и все-таки по старой презумпции эти женщины называют друг друга сестрами и будут групповыми женами своих мужей-братьев. Точно так же сородичи-сестры могут быть замужем за людьми из различных родов, и тем не менее, эти последние, хотя и совершенно чужие между собой, будут иметь групповые права на своих жен, потомство их будет называться tuvn (немец. Geschwister), и они не имеют права вступать друг с другом в брак.

И, наконец, мы видели, что даже «зятья», т.-е. люди, из которых один состоит в групповом браке с сестрой другого, могут оказаться женатыми на сестрах из третьего рода. И при этом, хотя лица эти утеряли свои права группового брака по отно-

шению к их женам-сестрам, но все же дети считаются tuvn и не могут вступать друг с другом в брак.

Далее, раньше, при чистом внутрифратриальном браке, род не имел права давать женщин ни в род, откуда он сам берет женщин, ни в тот, откуда последний берет жен, т.-е. в роды тестей 1-й и 2-й степени родства. Это, как мы видели, было автоматическим последствием правила, по которому род обязан был давать женщин в один из остальных трех родов фратрии, именно в род, где замужем сестра отца родоначальника, и потому другие два рода тестей стали eo ipso запретны для женщин данного рода. Теперь, когда отдельные члены рода могут брать жен и вне рода матери, название axmalk 1-й и 2-й степени распространяется на все роды, откуда хотя бы один сородич взял себе жену. Таким образом, может получиться положение, что если 5 человек из рода *A* вступило в вольные браки с 5 лицами из пяти различных родов, то все эти 5 родов, а также 5 родов axmalk'ов этих последних, будут axmalk'ами всему роду *A* и будут запретны для женщин *A* (правда, только до 3-го поколения). А если прибавить к этим 10 родам еще два рода исконных axmalk'ов 1 и 2 степени, то окажется, что у рода *A* будут 12 родов axmalk'ов 1 и 2 степени, куда он давать своих женщин не может. Эта распространительная тенденция могла бы привести к чрезвычайным затруднениям в заключении брака, потому что с каждым новым вольным браком суживается число родов, доступных для брака, но на практике последствия этой распространительной регламентации смягчаются все еще крепкой тенденцией рода и отдельных членов его только в самых крайних случаях отступать от старой нормы брать жен из одного определенного рода, рода матери.

Еще большую запутанность внесла эта распространительная регламентация в терминологию родства и в нормы группового брака. Раньше классификационная система распространялась, кроме рода лица говорящего, на два рода: род тестей и род зятя, и названия соответствовали половым отношениям. Если, например, я, мужчина, называл сестер своих тестей матерями, то это соответствовало действительности, ибо сестры «тестей» были групповыми женами моих «отцов», и одна из них была действительно моей матерью. Или если я, мужчина, в том же роде «тестей» всякого «тестя» называл братом матери, а его дочь (дочь брата матери) своей женой, то это соответствовало действительным родственным отношениям. Теперь, когда благодаря

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

случайным вольным бракам классификационная терминология распространяется на целый ряд совершенно чуждых всем сородичам родов, названия «тестей», «матерей», «дочерей брата матери» и пр. распространяются на лиц, которые в действительности таковыми не состоят, и тем не менее в этом новом кругу лиц все старые нормы группового брака между соответствующими лицами обязательны. И совершенно естественно, что число лиц, втянутых в круг классификационного родства, все возрастает, и знание этого родства, прежде столь простое, стало настоящей наукой, в которую человек посвящается с детства и постигает в совершенстве только в зрелом возрасте. Естественно поэтому, что классификационная система на европейца производит впечатление полной запутанности и необъяснимости. В действительности же все кажущиеся ныне столь запутанными и нелогичными термины родства и половые нормы объясняются совершенно просто — вторжением новой практики вольного брака в старую, стойко продолжающуюся, систему старого императива, по которому брак был кровно-родственный и обязательно из рода матери.

VII.

ФРАТРИЯ И ЕЕ ГЕНЕЗИС.

Мы видели как, в силу исконных норм брака, главной целью которых было обеспечить потомство родоначальника женами из лиц определенных категорий кровного родства, автоматически возникли экзогамные группы, р о д ы. Существенное назначение рода состояло в общем праве и обязанности обеспечить своих членов женщинами вне своей собственной среды, в других, строго определенных группах-родах. Таким образом, в основной своей функции каждый род в отдельности отнюдь не является самодовлеющим организмом. Существование каждого рода органически связано с существованием, по крайней мере, еще двух кровно-родственных с ним родов, одного рода своей родоначальницы, откуда он берет себе жен, другого рода сестер родоначальника, куда он обязательно отдает своих собственных женщин, при чем эти два рода, как мы видели, не могут совпадать, так как обмен женщинами между двумя родами не допускается.

Для каждого отдельного члена рода это выражается в том, что вне того рода, в котором он сам родился и в котором ни он, ни его потомство вступать в брак не могут, он должен иметь

по крайней мере еще два рода: один род брата матери, откуда он и его мужское потомство берут жен, и другой — род сестры отца, куда уходит замуж его женское потомство.

Как мы знаем из терминологии родства, предпоследний род по отношению к первому носит специальное название axmalk k:xal (род тестей), а последний ymg:i k:xal (род зятьев), а все вместе pandf (люди общего происхождения). Так как все эти три рода кровно-родственны (мужчина женится на дочери брата матери, а женщины выходят за сыновей сестры отца), то таким образом в брачном отношении каждый отдельный род является органическим членом триединого кровно-родственного трехродового союза pandf, настоящей когнатной фратрии, ибо в каждом поколении все мужья и жены — когнатные кузены и кузины. Гиляцкая фратрия, впрочем, ничего общего не имеет с моргановской, ибо внутри ее браки не только допускаются, но обязательны.

Гиляцкую трехродовую фратрию можно представить в виде следующей схематической таблицы:

Схематическая таблица № 1 трехродовой когнатной фратрии.

Род A *(Андрей)*	Род B *(Василий)*	Род C *(Степан)*
Родоначальники: Андрей, Вера. Андрей — брат Анны, которая замужем *в роде C.* Вера — сестра Василия *из рода B.*	Родоначальники: Василий, Софья. Василий — брат Веры, которая замужем *в роде A.* Софья — сестра Степана *из рода C.*	Родоначальники: Степан, Анна. Степан — брат Софьи, которая замужем *в роде B.* Анна — сестра Андрея *из рода A.*
Их дети: 1) *Сыновья* женятся на дочерях брата своей матери, Василия, *из рода B.* 2) *Дочери* выходят замуж за сыновей сестры своего отца, Анны, *из рода C.*	**Их дети:** 1) *Сыновья* женятся на дочерях брата своей матери, Степана, *из рода C.* 2) *Дочери* выходят замуж за сыновей сестры своего отца, Веры, *из рода A.*	**Их дети:** 1) *Сыновья* женятся на дочерях брата своей матери, Андрея, *из рода A.* 2) *Дочери* выходят замуж за сыновей сестры своего отца, Софьи, *из рода B.*

В следующих поколениях браки происходят по тому же правилу: мужчины женятся на дочерях брата своей матери, женщины выходят замуж за сыновей сестры отца.

В таком виде фратрия обеспечила в брачном отношении все входящие в нее роды, удовлетворяя основной норме брака, потому что в каждом из этих родов мужчина женится на дочери

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

брата матери, а женщины выходят замуж в 3-й род за сыновей сестры отца.

Но такая брачная организация фратрии нарушает другую норму брака, по которой запрещается давать женщин в род тестя 2-й степени (tujma axmalk). Применив эту норму к нашей гипотетической фратрии, получим следующее:

Род *B*, дает женщин в *A*, который, в свою очередь, дает их *C*, следовательно, *B* — тесть 2-й степени *C*, а потому этот последний не может давать женщин роду *B*, и, таким образом, жена Василия не может быть сестрой Степана. Таким образом, мужчины рода *B* остаются без жен, а женщины *C* — без мужей. Для устранения этого препятствия необходимо, чтобы во фратрии был еще один род, четвертый, из которого *B* брал бы женщин и куда род *C* отдавал бы своих женщин, и, таким образом, явилась на сцену четырехродовая фратрия.

Соответственные изменения в родственных отношениях четырехродовой фратрии будут видны из таблицы № 2.

Схематическая таблица № 2 четырехродовой когнатной фратрии.

Род А *(Андрей)*	Род В *(Василий)*	Род С *(Степан)*	Род Д *(Демьян)*
Родоначальники: Андрей, Вера. Андрей — брат Анны, которая замужем *в роде С*. Вера — сестра Василия *из рода В*.	Родоначальники: Василий, Софья. Василий — брат Веры, которая замужем *в роде А*. Софья — сестра Демьяна *из рода Д*.	Родоначальники: Степан, Анна. Степан — брат Марии, которая замужем *в роде Д*. Анна — сестра Андрея *из рода А*.	Родоначальники: Демьян, Мария. Демьян — брат Софьи, которая замужем *в роде В*. Мария — сестра Степана *из рода С*.
Их дети: 1) *Сыновья* женятся на дочерях брата своей матери, Василия, *из рода В*. 2) *Дочери* выходят замуж за сыновей сестры своего отца, Анны, *в роде С*.	**Их дети:** 1) *Сыновья* женятся на дочерях брата своей матери, Демьяна, *из рода Д*. 2) *Дочери* выходят замуж за сыновей сестры их отца, Веры, *в роде А*.	**Их дети:** 1) *Сыновья* женятся на дочерях брата своей матери, Андрея, *из рода А*. 2) *Дочери* выходят замуж за сыновей сестры отца, Марии, *в роде Д*.	**Их дети:** 1) *Сыновья* женятся на дочерях брата своей матери, Степана, *из рода С*. 2) *Дочери* выходят замуж за сыновей сестры своего отца, Софьи, *в роде В*.

В следующих поколениях браки происходят по тому же правилу, как и в предшествующем поколении: мужчины женятся на дочерях брата своей матери, а женщины выходят замуж за сыновей сестры отца.

Анализируя эту таблицу, мы видим, что:

1) в каждом роде мужчины по поколениям берут жен из того

рода, откуда пришла их родоначальница, в частности, каждый отдельный человек берет жену из рода своей матери, а женщины каждого рода выходят по поколениям в тот род, где была замужем их родоначальница; в частности, каждая отдельная женщина берет мужа из того рода, где замужем сестра ее отца. Обмена женщинами между двумя родами не допускается.

2) Род *А* берет поэтому женщин из рода *В* (рода, откуда взята родоначальница *А*, вера), но своих женщин этому роду з обмен дать не может и отдает их в род *С*, где замужем сестра родоначальника, Анна. Таким образом, роду *В* остается брать жен либо у *С*, либо у *Д*, но род *С* для него запретен, ибо он по отношению к этому роду — tujma axmalk, тесть 2-й степени (см. выше), поэтому роду *В* остается брать жен только из рода *Д*, откуда взята родоначальница рода *В* (София). После этого остаются неангажированными еще только женщины рода *С* и мужчины рода *Д*, и, как мы видели из таблицы, последние женятся на первых; таким образом, вся фратрия обеспечена в брачной отношении и все брачные нормы соблюдены.

3) В каждой супружеской паре муж — сын сестры отца своей жены, следовательно, муж и жена всегда когнатные кузены.

Отношения членов различных родов фратрий между собой явствуют из следующего анализа отношений между родоначальниками. Начнем с Андрея из рода *А*.

Андрей — кузен 1-й степени Василия и Веры, потому что сестра отца последних была матерью Андрея. Точно так же Андрей — кузен 1-й степени Степана и Марии, потому что мать последних — сестра отца Андрея. Только по отношению к Демьяну и Софии Андрей — кузен 2-й степени, ибо род Демьяна (*Д*) берет женщин у *С*, который, в свою очередь, берет их у *А*; следовательно, бабушка Демьяна была сестрой деда *А*, и, таким образом, Андрей и Демьян — когнатные кузены 2-й степени.

Легко видеть, что отношение каждого другого родоначальника к остальным такое же, как у Андрея, и такие же отношения будут в каждом поколении между представителями различных родов, так как брачная норма одна. Из этого анализа следует: 1) в каждом поколении представители всех четырех родов между собою либо братья и сестры, либо кузены, словом, люди общего происхождения с мужской и женской стороны; 2) в родах, состоящих между собою в брачных отношениях, в каждом поколении мужья между собой, с одной стороны, и жены их, с другой, когнатные кузены 1-й степени; 3) между родами, не состоящи-

ми в брачных отношениях, т.-е. родами, которые друг другу tujma axmalk, напр., между родом *А* и *Д*, как мужья, так и жены их взаимно — кузены 2-й степени, т.-е. находятся между собою в более отдаленных степенях родства, чем брачущиеся роды; таким образом, отдаленность родства далее известной степени, как в Австралии, является препятствием к браку.

Отношение между брачущимися более детально определяется в следующем виде: если «я» мужчина, то мой тесть — брат моей матери и кузен 1-й степени моего отца, а теща — кузина 2-й степени моего отца и кузина 1-й степени моей матери. Если «я» женщина, то мой свекор — кузен 1-й степени моего отца и кузен 2-й степени моей матери, а свекровь — сестра моего отца и кузина 1-й степени моей матери; иначе говоря, муж и жена родственны и со стороны их отцов и со стороны матерей. Со стороны отцов, с одной стороны, и со стороны матерей, с другой, они одинаково кузены 2-й степени; со стороны отца жены и матери мужа — они кузены 1-й степени, а со стороны отца мужа и матери жены — кузены 3-й степени.

4) Родственные отношения между родами складываются таким образом: а) род *А* — axmalk (тесть 1-й степени) рода *С*; он же tujma axmalk (тесть 2-й степени) *Д*, и, наконец, ymg:i (зять) рода *В* (хотя в то же время формально приходится этому последнему тестем 3-й степени, потому что *Д* — тесть *В*); б) в таких же точно отношениях находится род *В* по отношению к родам *А*, *С* и *Д*; род *С* — к родам *Д*, *В* и *А*, и, наконец, род *Д* — к родам *В*, *А* и *С*. Все роды между собой pandf (люди общего происхождения). Из этого отношения между родами следует, что ymg:i является тестем 3-й степени по отношению к своему настоящему тестю, из чего, в свою очередь, явствует, что тесть 3-й степени — совершенно ненужная для брачной регламентации степень родства. И, действительно, в терминологии она совершенно отсутствует, она знает только две формы родства с тестем: axmalk (тесть 1-й степени) и tujma axmalk (тесть 2-й степени).

5) Из вышесказанного следует, что tujma axmalk предполагает отношение в з а и м н о е: *А* — tujma axmalk *Д*, а *Д*, в свою очередь, tujma axmalk *А*, а так как, как мы знаем из современного брачного права гиляков, в род tujma axmalk нельзя давать женщин, то в виду в з а и м н о с т и родов, состоящих в отношениях tujma axmalk, между ними никакие брачные отношения невозможны. Как мы видели выше, препятствием тут служит не близость

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

родства, а, наоборот, слишком отдаленная степень родства в сравнении с отношением к другим родам фратрии.

VIII.

КУЗЕННЫЙ БРАК.

Мы видели, что основная форма брака у гиляков — брак между сыном сестры и дочерью брата. Таким образом, тип гиляцкого брака — разновидность так называемого кузенного брака.

Как произошла эта разновидность? Это вводит нас поневоле в общую проблему кузенного брака (cousin marriage), как важной стадии эволюции брака. На этой проблеме я позволю себе несколько остановиться.

Еще в 1900 г. в своем докладе в Русском географическом обществе и в последующих статьях — «Теория родового быта» и «Эндогамия и экзогамия» — мне пришлось указывать, исходя из анализа гиляцкой формы брака, что кузенный брак является первичной формой экзогамии, что он породил классификаторскую систему брака, групповой брак и институт рода. Тогда же я указывал, что экзогамный институт рода являлся не только институтом запретов, но и институтом, главное назначение которого — обеспечить данному родственному союзу постоянный фонд жен и притом из круга лиц, связанных общностью крови, играющей такую важную роль на разных ступенях общественности.

Работы последнего времени, в особенности работы Rivers'a, Crawley, Фрэзера, в связи с работами их предшественников в области австралийского и дравидийского брака, как Fison и Howitt, Spencer и Gillen, Kohler и др., раскрыли не только картину широкой распространенности этой формы брака в настоящее время,[1] но и на примерах австралийского брака с несомненностью доказали, что кузенный брак явился первым опытом сознательного ограничения браков между братом и сестрой и что вся дальнейшая эволюция брака представляла ряд постепенных ограничений браков между кузенами 1-й степени. Один кардинальный вопрос в этой проблеме до сих пор, можно сказать, остается открытым. Это именно вопрос о том, почему ку-

[1] Эта картина дала право Crawley выразиться, что „кузенный брак — вообще самая излюбленная форма брака у примитивных народов" (Exogamy and Mating of cousins. Anthropological Essays. Oxford, 1907. p. 57).

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

зенный брак требует брака между детьми брата и сестры, но в то же время запрещает браки между детьми двух братьев, равно как между детьми двух сестер? Впрочем, один только Rivers прямо отказывается находить объяснение этому удивительному факту. «Кузенный брак, — говорит он, — по всем видимостям пережиток. Весьма трудно найти прямое психологическое основание, которое объяснило бы причину, почему брак между детьми брата и сестры желателен, между тем как брак между детьми двух братьев или двух сестер так строго воспрещается».[1] Другие пытаются дать объяснение этому факту, но эти объяснения чисто механические. Kohler, например, видит объяснение этого факта в двойственной организации общества,[2] — объяснение, по меньшей мере, странное, ибо двойственная организация сама является последствием института кузенного брака. Crawley стоит на той же точке зрения и потому впадает в ту же ошибку, что и Колер. Он считает эту форму кузенного брака «автоматическим результатом того факта, что название семьи наследственно. Дети брата и сестры могут вступить взаимно в брак, потому что по своим названиям они принадлежат к противоположным фратриям».[3]

В этом же смысле высказывается и Фрэзер. По его мнению, причина, почему этим кузенам 1-й степени, т.-е. детям двух братьев или двух сестер, воспрещено вступать в брак, кроется в том, что они принадлежат к одному и тому же экзогамному классу и потому стеснены основным законом, воспрещающим человеку жениться на женщине из своего собственного экзогамного класса.

Основная ошибка всех этих писателей заключается в том, что они принимают следствие за причину, а именно, что так называемый перекрестный кузенный брак, т.-е. брак между детьми брата и сестры, явился результатом деления общества на 2 экзогамных класса, но они не задаются вопросом о том, что же породило, в свою очередь, это двойное деление? Между тем, в действительности, двойное деление на два экзогамных класса явилось результатом нового института браков между детьми брата и сестер, взамен прежнего кровного брака эндогамного.

До того группа — потомство одной родоначальницы — была

[1] Marriage cousins in India. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1907, p. 623.

[2] Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe, 121.

[3] Crawley, op. cit., 57.

неделима; браки происходили внутри группы, обычно между братом и сестрой. И только тогда, когда эти браки были признаны вредными, и установлен брак между детьми брата и сестры; первоначальное единое общество разделилось на две экзогамные половины: в одной из них оказались братья со своими женами и потомством, в другой — сестры с их мужьями и потомством. Следовательно, двойное деление — следствие перекрестного кузенного брака, и не в двойном делении поэтому приходится искать причину упомянутой регламентации этой формы брака, а в чем-то другом. Эту причину нужно искать в той обстановке, при которой произошел переход от кровных браков к браку экзогамному в форме кузенного брака. Изучение австралийских классов прежде всего подтверждает столь долго оспаривавшееся мнение Моргана, что экзогамия результат сознанного вреда браков кровных, браков между братьями и сестрами. Оно показало также, что переход к экзогамным формам происходил с чрезвычайной постепенностью и медленностью, которая легко объясняется обычным консерватизмом первобытного человека вообще и в особенности по отношению к такому институту, как брак, столь тесно связанному и с религиозными идеями. Эта-то психология консерватизма, которая при всякой перемене старого института старается спасти хотя бы старую форму, в которую она и облекает новый институт, и привела к тому, с виду парадоксальному факту, что институт, который, в сознании вреда кровного брака, установил браки между кузенами 1-й степени, допустил таковые исключительно между детьми брата и сестры и в то же время запретил их между детьми двух братьев и двух сестер, хотя последние в смысле кровном почти ничем не отличаются от первых.

Как это произошло? Дело в том, что перекрестный кузенный брак несомненно явился на смену той стадии, при которой излюбленной ортодоксальной формой брака являлся брак между братом и сестрой. При этой форме брака не только супруги являлись братьями и сестрами, но и их родители. Таким образом, формула этого брака выражалась в том, что браки заключались между детьми брата и сестры, при чем эти последние, в свою очередь, являются супругами.

Вот почему, когда необходимость вынудила оставить эту форму брака и заменить ее кузенным браком, консервативный ум первобытного человека выбрал ту форму, которая по внешнему ближе всего подходила к старой освященной веками и

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

религией форме, именно ту, при которой ортодоксальными браками являются только браки между детьми брата и сестры (хотя теперь эти последние уже не были супругами), но не между детьми двух братьев или двух сестер. Спасена была, таким образом, форма, всегда играющая первостепенную роль в глазах первобытного человека. Спасая форму, этот последний наивно воображал, что этим скрывается от божества существо новой перемены, — обычная благочестивая манера обмана богов.

Таким-то образом, братья — родные и боковые — и их потомство, с одной стороны, сестры и их потомство, с другой стороны, образовали две экзогамные половины прежнего единого общества.

Другой, хотя и менее кардинальный, но очень важный, вопрос, на который исследователи кузенного брака не дают ответа, следующий. Если кузенный брак объясним, как первая стадия экзогамии, как первая мера, то откуда ее обязательный, почти принудительный характер? Казалось бы, наоборот, что раз сознана была польза экзогамности, то логичнее всего было поощрять браки между наименее близкими, даже совершенно чужими друг другу лицами, а браки между кузенами должны были допускаться на первое время лишь как вынужденное зло, malum necessarium, с тем, чтобы совершенно исчезнуть из обихода, как антисоциальный институт.

Лучшим примером этого странного факта может служить эволюция брака у австралийских народов. У этих народов, судя по организации классов и по их личным заявлениям, очень развито сознание вреда браков в близких степенях родства, и они проявили большую изобретательность, чтобы преградить возможность близких браков, превзойдя в этом другие народы. Такая сложная система, как восьмиклассная система племени арунта, специально придумана для уничтожения браков между кузенами 1-й степени. Казалось бы после этого, что поощряться должны были браки в наиболее отдаленных степенях родства, а браки между кузенами 2-й степени должны были рассматриваться лишь как терпимые. Между тем у них даже «кузены 3-й степени считаются слишком отдаленными, и браки дальше этой степени родства воспрещены».[1]

Таким образом, брак с кузенами и в наивозможно близкой степени является не только допустимым, но обязательным.

Далее, если кузенный брак только первая стадия экзогамии,

[1] Crawley, op. cit., 61.

то почему, несмотря на громадный истекший со времени ее возникновения период, она продолжает так упорно сохраняться до настоящего времени у целого ряда племен, в том числе у таких многочисленных, как дравидийские, в своем первоначальном неизмененном виде. И даже там, как у племен Австралии, оно претерпело ограничения в смысле исключения браков между кузенами 1-й степени, но все же принцип, как мы сейчас видели, сохраняется неприкосновенным, и дальше кузенов 3-й степени браки не допускаются. Это упорное вызывание принципа, это настойчивое стремление к увековечению его путем обязательности должно покоиться на серьезной основе. Нам кажется, что сила кузенного брака покоится на двух важных моментах. Первый момент — естественное стремление каждой родственной группы, в частности каждой матери, обеспечить свое потомство женами.

На первобытной стадии человеческого развития элемент борьбы в половых отношениях, без сомнения, играл такую же огромную роль, как в зоологическом царстве вообще. И одной из важнейших задач человеческих общежитий было ограничить по возможности эту борьбу путем той или другой регламентации.

Институт брака, притом обязательного между лицами определенной группы, и явился той формой половой регламентации, которая призвана была удовлетворить упомянутую насущную потребность общежития. До установления экзогамности эту потребность могли удовлетворить внутрикровные браки, обязательные между братьями и сестрами. С установлением принципа экзогамности перекрестный кузенный брак удовлетворительнее всего разрешает эту задачу. Уже от рождения сыновья женщины — мужья дочерей ее брата, и сыновья последнего — мужья ее дочери. Эта комбинация удовлетворяет в одинаковой степени и отца семьи, потому что его дети вступают в брак с детьми его сестры.

Другой мотив кузенного брака — р е л и г и о з н ы й: при таких браках у домашнего очага с его богами-предками сходятся люди не чужие по крови, а общего происхождения по отцу и матери. И оба супруга в одинаковой мере могут рассчитывать на благосклонность общих богов-предков. Это момент первостепенной важности в глазах примитивного человека, для которого благословление богов и соблюдение религиозных обрядов является крайне важным делом жизни, одним из главнейших средств борьбы за существование. Вот почему эта форма брака стала не

только излюбленной, но и религиозно обязательной. Вот почему до настоящего времени у целого ряда дравидийских племен брак принудителен, когда у брата есть дочь, а у сестры сын. Вот почему, как мы видели у австралийских племен, при всем стремлении к ограничению кузенного брака, браки далее кузенов 3-й степени запрещены; следовательно, браки между кузенами 2-й степени обязательны. Вот почему у монголов, у которых излюбленными браками считаются уже браки между чужими друг другу лицами, браки между детьми брата и сестры называются «белым грехом», т.-е. считаются терпимыми, а браки даже между самыми отдаленными членами одного рода — «грехом черным», т.-е. совершенно недопустимыми. И чтобы не умножать примеров, закончим гиляками, у которых, несмотря на все перипетии этого малочисленного племени, «чистым браком» считается только брак между сыном сестры и дочерью ее брата.

После этих предварительных замечаний, можем перейти к рассмотрению того вопроса, какое место занимает гиляцкая норма брака в истории эволюции брака вообще.

Кузенный брак, как мы видели, обязан своим происхождением сознанию вреда брака между близкими по крови родственниками. Мы видели также, что по целому ряду мотивов — консерватизм, религиозные идеи, связанные с культом предков, наконец, стремление к мирной организации брака — первобытный человек не перешел сразу от кровного брака между братом и сестрой к отдаленным степеням родства или к браку между чужими по крови лицами. В великом перевороте в кровно-родственном браке соблюдалась самая щепетильная постепенность. Таким образом, как мы видели, еще и теперь у австралийских народов первая форма экзогамии приняла форму обязательного брака между детьми брата и сестры. Так как эти браки происходят однообразно из поколения в поколение, то общество при таком порядке разделено на две половины, которые взаимно по поколениям отдают друг другу своих женщин. В применении к отдельным семьям этот порядок выражается в том, что сын брата женится на дочери сестры и, обратно, сын сестры на дочери брата. Супруги между собой кузены первой степени, а жена каждого человека является, с одной стороны, дочерью сестры его отца, с другой, дочерью брата его матери, потому что отцы супругов женаты каждый на сестре другого.

Такова была первая стадия ограничения браков между лицами, близкими по крови. Дальнейшее ограничение пошло в раз-

личных местах различно. В Австралии это ограничение очень рано пошло по наиболее простому пути: от браков между кузенами 1-й степени перешли к бракам между кузенами 2-й степени, а прежние браки между кузенами 1-й степени были запрещены.

При этом порядке ничто в социальном строе не изменилось. Общество осталось разделенным попрежнему на две половины, которые обменивались женщинами с той разницей, что человек женился не на дочери сестры своего отца, а на дочери его кузена 1-й степени, так что потомство брата и сестры только во втором поколении снова могло вступить между собой в браки. Супруги стали дальше друг от друга как с отцовской, так и с материнской стороны на одну ступень. Принцип обмена женщинами, то, что составляет сущность перекрестного кузенного брака, сохранился в неприкосновенности, зато в основе нарушен принцип, что брак обязателен между детьми брата и сестры. Сохранить оба принципа в полной чистоте оказалось не возможным.

Иначе, при аналогичных предпосылках, пошла эволюция у тех народов, у которых брак построен по принципу гиляцкому. Во имя консерватизма они сочли более важным сохранить второй принцип, пожертвовав первым.

И народы этой группы, самым ярким представителем которых служат гиляки, стали ограничивать браки между кузенами 1-й степени, считая необходимым установить более отдаленную степень родства между супругами, но они не пожелали пожертвовать тем принципом, который казался им наиболее важным, именно тем, по которому каждая мать получает для своего сына дочь своего брата. Этот принцип они действительно сохранили, но, чтобы удовлетворить необходимости уменьшить близость родства между супругами, они пожертвовали другим принципом перекрестного кузенного брака.

Как мы знаем, сын женщины получает дочь ее брата, но обратное, т.-е. брак сына брата на дочери его сестры, не допускается. В результате достигается ограничение близости родства — супруги кузены 1-й степени только с одной стороны — со стороны матери мужа, но не со стороны матери жены, в то время как раньше, при перекрестном кузенном браке, они были кузенами 1-й степени и со стороны матерей и со стороны отцов обоих супругов. Но в то же время здесь сохранен старый основной принцип — брак на дочери брата матери, и супруги остались кузенами 1-й степени, — правда, с одной стороны только.

Это расхождение с народами австралийского типа в форме ограничения брака между кузенами 1-й степени повело за собой коренную перемену в организации общества. Оно привело к переходу от двойного деления общества с его классами к организации чисто родовой и, в частности, к той четырехродовой фратрии, которую мы видели у гиляков.

При австралийской системе органичений браков в близких степенях родства, как бы далеко ни шли эти ограничения (в настоящее время они дальше кузенов 2-й степени не идут), общество неизменно остается разделенным с точки зрения брака на две экзогамные группы, состоящие в постоянном взаимном обмене женщинами. По существу, каждое деление является настоящим родом, потому что внутри деления браки запрещены. Правда, на ряду с этими двумя делениями установлена сложная система брачных классов, но эти последние ничего не изменяют, ибо к какому классу человек ни принадлежал бы, он продолжает оставаться в своем делении, так как классы не меняют положения человека в роде, а являются только мнемоническими титулами, ограничивающими лично человека (но не его потомство) в выборе женщин с определенной степенью родства: при четырехклассной системе — только кузинами первой степени, при восьмиклассной — кузинами 2-й степени. В действительности, классы и не являются обязательной принадлежностью австралийского двойственного деления. У племени dieri, например, существует такой же запрет относительно браков между кузенами 1-й степени, как и у arunta, но в то время как у этих последних установлены для мнемоники 8 классов, у первых это ограничение на дальнейшем классовом делении не отразилось.

Таким образом ясно, что в австралийской системе, в силу того, что она сохраняет принцип обмена женщинами, перекрестный кузенный брак требует только деления на 2 рода. Общество представляет собой двухродовую фратрию.

Гиляцкая система на этой двухродовой фратрии остаться не могла. С того момента, как перекрестный кузенный брак, т.-е. взаимные браки между детьми брата и сестры, были запрещены, двухродовая фратрия оказалась недостаточной: один род брал женщин у второго рода, но последний должен был искать себе женщин в другом месте, а с другой стороны браки вне данной этнической группы не допускались (как теперь это видим в Австралии). Оставалось преобразовать самое двухродовую фратрию в фратрию многородовую.

Этот тип одностороннего кузенного брака, столь просто объясняемый при свете эволюции более древних форм перекрестного кузенного брака, совершенно не обращал на себя внимания исследователей. Многие ученые даже с недоверием относились к этому институту, считая его неправдоподобным. Так, почти одновременно с обнародованием мною этого института у гиляков (в 1901 г.), известный ученый Kohler в своей статье «Das Recht der Hottentots»,[1] констатируя со слов своего корреспондента такой же институт у этого племени, с недоверием относится к этому сообщению. Причина такого недоверия очень проста. Не зная генезиса этого института и места, занимаемого им в эволюции кузенного брака, не имея иных образцов этого института, кроме пережитков его в брачных запретах, трудно было понять причину того одностороннего запрета, по которому сын сестры может жениться на дочери брата, но дочь сестры не может выйти замуж за сына брата, хотя степень близости кровного родства в обоих случаях одинакова, и потому скорее видели в односторонности запрета аномалию, чем нормальный признак живого института.

Благодаря такому недоверию исследователей, этот институт совершенно игнорировался в трактатах о человеческом браке и оставался совершенно непонятым. Между тем этнографическая литература дает достаточно данных о широкой распространенности его у самых различных народов. Особенно многочисленны следы его в Индонезии и среди дравидийских народов Индии, у которых Морган нашел наиболее ярко выраженную форму туранской системы, в которой сохранился даже групповидный брак. О нем, как мы видели сейчас, сообщает корреспондент Kohler'а из Африки у готтентотов. Из Индонезии о нем сообщает такой авторитетный исследователь, как Wilken, который пишет следующее: «Среди батаков, реджангов (rejangs) и туземцев Амбоины сыну сестры дозволяется жениться на дочери брата, но сын брата не может жениться на дочери сестры».[2]

Этому порядку соответствует родственная терминология: у батаков на Суматре, например, жена или возлюбленная называется ibibere-re-datang, т.-е. дочь брата матери.

В еще более определенной форме институт этот констатирован уже с 1870-х годов у дравидийских племен Индии. Так, например, у племени song и byger из провинции Sathpuras в Центральной Индии брак между кузенами принудителен, когда

[1] В Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft. B. XVI, p. 341-342.

[2] Wilken. Bijdrangen. Serie 7, v. I, p. 148.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

у брата есть дочь, а у сестры сын. В литературе новейшего времени много данных приводится у Rivers'a.[1]

IX.

ГИЛЯЦКАЯ СИСТЕМА РОДСТВА И ГИПОТЕЗА МОРГАНА.

Гиляцкая система родства и брака вполне подтверждает основную гипотезу Л. Моргана, что термины родства являются результатом соответствующих половых норм, норм брака. То, что у Моргана являлось только умозаключением, мы в гиляцкой жизни видим на деле и притом в наиболее полной мере. Если гиляк называет группу женщин термином «жена», то эти женщины действительно являются для него в соответственном смысле женами. Если гиляк называет известную группу мужчин — отцами, то это действительно лица, которые имеют половые права на его мать. Если он называет брата матери тестем, то это потому, что по исконному закону он действительно обязан жениться на дочери этого своего дяди, который и будет его тестем. В гиляцкой системе находят свое объяснение даже такие универсальные классификационные термины, как старший и младший брат, старшая и младшая сестра, которые очень важны именно в брачных нормах. Прежде всего эти термины регулируют индивидуальный брак в роде матери. Старший брат обязательно женится на старшей сестре, младший — на младшей. Эти термины важны при левирате, так как вдова переходит к младшему «tuvh». Наконец, у одной половины гиляков только младшие братья имеют половые права на жен старших братьев.

Насколько в гиляцкой терминологии ярко индивидуализировано это соответствие между термином родства и брачными правами, это особенно наглядно видно на отношениях братьев к их женам. У одной половины гиляков, как мы видели, все братья безразлично имеют взаимные права на своих жен, и у них термины действительно соответствуют этому: термином «жена» человек называет всех безразлично жен своих братьев, и поэтому дети братьев безразлично зовут этих последних термином «отец». Но у другой половины гиляков только младшие братья имеют права на жен старших. И это опять-таки сказалось на терминологии. Жену своего младшего брата, с которой я не имею права общения, я называю запретным термином jox,

[1] Marriage of cousins in India. Jour. Royal Asiat. Society, July, 1907, p. 626 pass.

а жену старшего тем же термином, как и свою собственную жену; соответственно этому дети братьев называют только младших братьев отца, так же как и последнего, термином ytk (отец), а старших братьев отца — atk.

Возражения, которые приводились против гипотезы Моргана, в этом смысле являются возражениями чисто кабинетного характера. Так, например, известное возражение, повторяемое всеми противниками Моргана, относительно необъяснимости класса матерей, так как мать человека, мол, всегда известна, объясняется из норм половых отношений у гиляков совершенно просто. Матерью гиляк называет всякую женщину, с которой лица класса его отцов имеют право полового общения. Насколько гиляки сознают значение этого термина, видно из следующего. Мы только что видели, что у той половины гиляков, у которых только младшие братья имеют права полового общения с женами старших, дети братьев различают старших братьев отца от младших и этих последних они называют термином «отец», но жен братьев отца они не различают и называют матерями. Почему? А вот почему. Жен младших братьев отца я называю матерями потому, что их мужья — мои отцы (они имеют право полового общения с моей матерью), а жен старших потому, что мой отец имеет на них право полового общения, и они его жены.

Матерями гиляк называет также и сестер своего тестя, но и это совершенно правильно, потому что, как мы видели, отец и сын берут жен из одного рода, при чем отец берет сестру человека, а сын — дочь этого последнего, так что сестра тестя действительная мать человека. Точно так же совершенно не основательно возражение Кунова, что классификационные термины обозначают лишь возрастные классы. В гиляцкой действительности возраст никакой роли в терминах родства не играет. Мой классовый «отец» может быть моложе меня, и тем не менее он не может жениться на женщине класса моих жен, но он, наоборот, должен жениться на классе жен моего настоящего отца, и, по достижении зрелости, он будет фактическим мужем моей матери.

Гиляцкая система и пуналуальная семья.

В свете гиляцкого строя подтверждается и выясняется не только общая гипотеза Моргана о происхождении классификационной системы родства из системы брака, но и более частная гипотеза его о происхождении туранской системы родства из пуналуальной семьи. Гиляцкая система родства по основным

своим признакам туранская, а система брака представляет наиболее совершенную форму пуналуальной семьи. В самом деле, по Морган у, основой пуналуальной семьи служит «групповой брак или нескольких родных коллатеральных сестер с их супругами, при чем общие мужья не обязательно были родственниками, или групповой брак нескольких родных или коллатеральных братьев с их женами, при чем эти жены точно так же не были обязательно родственниками, хотя в обоих случаях это часто встречалось». Старая гиляцкая семья с обязательным браком из одного определенного рода представляла групповой брак всех братьев (родных и коллатеральных) со всеми сестрами определенного поколения, так что группы мужей являлись братьями, а их жены всегда — сестрами. Это видно из терминологии родства — жены братьев зовут друг друга сестрами.

В настоящее время, когда допускается брать жен из различных родов, все братья (родные и боковые) все же являются групповыми мужьями своих жен, которые часто оказываются сестрами. И мы видели, что даже тогда, когда сестры выходят замуж за людей различных родов, все еще сохраняются последствия группового брака, и их дети считаются братьями и сестрами.

Строй гиляцкой семьи дает нам, таким образом, возможность констатировать самый генезис гавайской семьи, из которой Морган построил семью пуналуальную. Семья эта первоначально состояла не из группы нескольких братьев, состоящих в групповом браке со своими женами или, обратно, нескольких сестер в групповом браке с их мужьями, которые могли быть неродственны между собою. Такая семья не могла бы создать туранской классификационной системы родства, ибо она предполагает возможность нескольких групп братьев или сестер, из которых каждая совершенно самостоятельно состоит в групповом браке, к которому не причастны другие группы; следовательно, общих названий для всех братьев по их брачным отношениям не могло и образоваться.

Гиляцкая семья в ее чисто первоначальной форме дает настоящую картину этой семьи. Семья — это внутриродовая организация. Поэтому каждая групповая семья представляет поколение всех братьев данного рода (родных и коллатеральных), состоящих в групповом браке с целым поколением женщин другого рода. Эти женщины обязательно сестры, ибо дочери сородичей-братьев, как мы видели, являются обязательно женами сыновей сестер их отцов. Когда же, как мы видели, в силу при-

чин, нами указанных, эта обязательность брака ослабла и братья стали брать жен из разных родов, а женщины стали выходить замуж в разные роды, сестры могли оказаться в групповом браке с неродственными между собой мужьями, и братья в таком же браке с неродственными между собой женами, с той разницей, что коллектив сестер, с выходом замуж в разные роды, разбивался, как в пуналуальной семье, на несколько групп, между тем как коллектив братьев, всегда остающихся в роде, сохранился в целости. И так как гиляцкая семья наиболее идеальная форма пуналуальной семьи, то естественно, что гиляцкая терминология самая совершенная форма туранских систем. Действительно, в ней мы находим классификационные группы, которые должны были существовать и в туранской, но утратились с утратой системы брака. Так, например, в этой туранской форме, которую в свое время Морган считал наиболее полной, именно в тамильской, нет двух важнейших классификационных терминов — «муж» и «жена».

Тамильская система, по Морган у, выработалась при условиях, когда братья имели общих жен и сестры — общих мужей. Соответственно этому в тамильской системе человек называет отцом не только своего родного отца, но и всех братьев отца, и своими матерями не только свою родную мать, но и всех ее сестер; равным образом, всех детей братьев отца и сестер матери он называет братьями и сестрами. Соответственно этому должен был бы существовать и общий термин «жена», которым каждый человек называл не только свою жену, но и жен своих братьев и сестер своей жены, а равно общий термин «муж», которым каждая женщина называла бы и своего мужа, и братьев его, и мужей своих сестер.

В действительности, как в тамильской, так и в ирокезской системах этих общих терминов нет. Так, у тамилов человек называет свою жену en mainavi, жену брата ennni, en maittuni, сестру жены en korlunti, en maittuini; такое же несоответствие и с термином «муж».[1]

У гиляков мы находим эти термины «муж» и «жена» — pu и an'g:e], охватывающие всех лиц, связанных групповым браком, что, таким образом, еще больше подтверждает верность истолкования Морганом терминов родства.

[1] См. таблиц у Моргана

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Объяснение некоторых терминов турано-ганованской системы, казавшихся необъяснимыми Моргану.

При свете кузенного брака становятся для нас понятными некоторые термины родства в турано-ганованской системе. Так, Моргана очень смущало и казалось даже необъяснимым, почему у тамилов я, мужчина, детей своих кузенов (считая таковыми безразлично детей сестры отца и брата матери) называю племянниками и племянницами, но детей кузин своими сыновьями и дочерями. В то же время у сенека-ирокезов господствует как раз обратное правило. В своем Consanguinity and Affinity он считает этот факт необъяснимым: «Разграничение степеней кузенного родства, — говорит он, — замечательный факт в тамильской системе. Теперь он обнаружен лишь в немногих системах туранской семьи. Из структуры и принципов туранской системы, как я указал раньше по отношению к системе ганованской, неизбежно вытекает, что в дальнейшем развитии это родство должно применяться и ограничиваться детьми брата и сестры. Оно, вероятно, было неизвестно в примитивной системе... Это единственная особенность, которая отличает ее существенно от формы семьи у ирокезов сенека. В этом отношении эта последняя логически более согласуется с принципами туранской системы, нежели система тамильская. Трудно найти объяснение этому различию».[1]

Впоследствии в «Ancient Society» Морган нашел объяснение этому факту.

«Это показывает, — говорит он, — что у тамилов в то время, когда была введена туранская система, все мои кузины были моими женами, тогда как это не относилось к женам моих кузенов».[2]

Морган и не подумал, что вся туранская система основана на этом принципе. Между тем эта особенность есть именно результат примитивной системы перекрестного кузенного брака, из которого и развилась туранская система. При перекрестном кузенном браке брак между детьми брата и сестры — единственная форма брака, и такие кузены и кузины так и называли себя «мужем» и «женой». Что туранская система есть результат кузенного брака, видно и по другим терминам, которые для Моргана

[1] Morgan. — Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the human family, 1871, p. 391.

[2] Morgan. — Ancient Society, 1877, p. 414 (рус. перев. „Первобытное общество", стр. 427).

должны были быть необъяснимы и которые он даже не пытался оговорить, не находя для них объяснения. Так, у тамилов, если «я» мужчина, то жена сына моей сестры — моя «дочь» (как в гиляцкой и австралийской терминологии); муж дочери моей сестры — мой «сын» (как в австралийском кузенном браке); муж дочери сестры отца — мой «брат» (как в гиляцкой и австралийской терминологии), отец моей жены — «тесть» и «дядя» (тесть и брат матери у гиляков; тесть и брат отца или матери у австралийцев); мать моей жены — «теща» и «тетка» (тетка и сестра отца у гиляков, теща и сестра отца или матери у австралийцев); жена брата — моя «кузина» (т.-е. дочь брата матери или сестра отца), и, наконец, «жена сына сестры отца и жена сына брата матери — моя «сестра» (типичный перекрестный брак). Соответственный ряд терминов встречаем, если «я» женщина.

Все это несомненно свидетельствует о том, что туранская система была системой перекрестного кузенного брака, хотя примеры, приведенные нами выше (батаков и племен Центральной Индии) свидетельствуют, что и на родине этой системы перекрестный кузенный брак уже стал переходить в односторонний кузенный брак гиляцкого типа.

Теперь остается объяснить с этой точки зрения противоречивый (по мнению Моргана) факт в ганованской системе, именно, что, в противоположность системе тамильской, если «я» мужчина, то все дети моих кузенов-мужчин, т.-е. дети сына сестры моего отца и дети сына брата моей матери, — мои «сыновья и дочери». Аналогию этому мы находим в гиляцком строе. Вспомним четырехродовую фратрию и тот случай, когда род *B* оскудел женщинами и кузены первых родов *A* и *B* вынуждены были брать жен из соответствующего поколения рода *C*; при нормах группового брака дети этих кузенов между собой «братья» и «сестры», и, следовательно, они дети для обоих кузенов. Первым шагом в этом направлении было образование той четырехродовой фратрии, которую мы видели у гиляков. Случилось это весьма просто, и мы увидим, что в зародыше эти четыре рода существуют и в австралийской системе.

Представим себе общество, подобно австралийскому, разделенное на две фратрии, обменивающиеся в каждом поколении женщинами таким образом, что дети сестры вступают в брак с детьми ее брата, так что жена каждого человека есть сестра мужа его сестры.

Представим себе далее для простоты, что каждая фратрия состоит из одного поколения — из групп братьев и сестер родных и боковых различных степеней родства.

Группы кузенов-мужчин одного деления будем обозначать заглавными буквами $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4$.., а их сестер соответственными буквами малыми $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4$. В другой фратрии соответственное обозначение будет для братьев $B^1 + B^2 + B^3 + B^4$.., а для их сестер $в^1 + в^2 + в^3 + в^4$, при чем одноименные буквы с одноименными показателями обозначают группу родных братьев и сестер, а разные показатели — в какой степени кузенного родства стоят друг к другу различные группы (соседние группы будут кузенами 1-й степени, а степень родства между другими выразится разностью в их показателях). Одинаковые показатели разноименных групп показывают, что лица этих групп между собою кузены первой степени как со стороны отца, так и со стороны матери; A^1, a^1, по отношению к B^1, $в^1$ — кузены 1-й степени; A^2, a^2 по отношению к B^2, $в^2$, тоже кузены 1-й степени и т. д. В разноименных же группах с разными показателями разность показателей + 1 будет показывать соответственную степень кузенного родства: A^1, a^1 по отношению к B^2, $в^2$ будут кузенами 2-й степени; A^2, a^2 — кузены 2-й степени для B^3, $в^3$ и т. д.

Так как разноименные группы с одинаковыми показателями суть кузены 1-й степени и эти группы обязательно взаимно вступают в брак, то A^1 женится на $в^1$ (сестре B^1), а последний женится на a^1, сестре A^1; точно так же A^2 женится на $в^2$, а B^2 — на a^2 и т. д.

Общая картина брака может быть, таким образом, представлена в следующей таблице:

I деление $(A^1+в^1) + (A^2+в^2) + (A^3+в^3) + (A^4+в^4)$ и т. д.
II деление $(B^1+a^1) + (B^2+a^2) + (B^3+a^3) + (B^4+a^4)$ и т. д.

В каждом предшествующем поколении браки происходили в том же порядке: т.-е. браки всегда происходили между детьми женщин, из которых одна замужем за братом другой, так что супруги их — кузены 1-й степени и со стороны отца и со стороны матери. Обозначим этот брак термином «перекрестный» или «двусторонний брак» между кузенами 1-й степени.

Общий состав фратрии может быть представлен в следующей таблице (см. стр. 230).

I	II
Группы кузенов-мужчин $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 + A^5 + A^6 \ldots$ их сестры: $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 + a^5 + a^6 \ldots$	Группы кузенов-мужчин $B^1 + B^2 + B^3 + B^4 + B^5 + B^6 \ldots$ их сестры: $b^1 + b^2 + b^3 + b^4 + b^5 + b^6 \ldots$

Так как группы $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4$ и т. д. и их сестры стоят по степени родства друг к другу в таком же отношении, как во 2-м делении группы B^1, B^2, B^3, B^4, и их сестры, то, по нормам перекрестного кузенного брака, A^1 женится на b^1 (сестре B^1,) A^2 женится на b^2, A^3 на b^3, A^4 на b^4 и т. д. и, обратно, B^1 женится на a^1, B^2 на a^2, B^3 на a^3, B^4 на a^4 и т. д. в каждом поколении.

Теперь представим себе тот момент, когда впервые общество пришло к сознанию вреда перекрестного брака между кузенами 1-й степени. Из подробностей австралийского брака мы знаем, что первый шаг в этом направлении состоял в запрещении перекрестного брака между кузенами 1-й степени и в установлении перекрестного брака между кузенами 2-й степени. Вследствие этого, отныне A^1 уже не женится на b^1, а на своей кузине 2-й степени, b^2, равно как B^1 должен жениться на a^2 и т. д.

Браки при этом новом порядке представляются в следующем виде: $(B^1 + a^2) + (B^2 + a^1) + (B^3 + a^4) + (B^4 + a^3) + (B^5 + a^6) + (B^6 + a^5)$ и т. д.

Легко видеть, что при этом порядке каждая половина общества разделится на две половины, на две обособленные в брачном отношении группы, а именно: нечетные члены каждого деления составят одну такую группу, а четные — другую; стало быть, в обоих делениях в общем образуется четыре группы.

Это четырехгрупповое деление выразится в следующем виде:

I группа: $(A^1 + b^2) + (A^3 + b^4) + (A^5 + b^6)$ и другие нечетные члены.

II группа: $(A^2 + b^1) + (A^4 + b^3) + (A^6 + b^5)$ и другие четные члены.

III группа: $(B^1 + a^2) + (B^3 + a^4) + (B^5 + a^6)$ и другие нечетные члены.

IV группа: $(B^2 + a^1) + (B^4 + a^3) + (B^6 + a^5)$ и другие нечетные члены.

Первая группа небракоправомочна (inmarriageable) с IV, потому что в одних случаях, если семьи будут брачеваться в последова-

тельном порядке, например, $(A^1 + в^2)$ с $(B^2 + a^1)$, то дети этих семей будут двусторонними кузенами, ибо отцы их женаты взаимно на сестрах; в других, например, в семьях $(A^1 + в^2)$ и $(B^1 + a^2)$, дети будут уже не кузенами 2-й степени, а кузенами 3-й или 4-й степени, что по австралийской системе избегается. По той же причине небракоправомочны II и III группы. Между тем I и III группы и II и IV группы вполне бракоправомочны в последовательном порядке семей. Так, например, в семьях $(A^1 + в^2)$ из I группы и $(B^1 + a^2)$ из III, как это видно по показателям, отец 1-ой семьи — кузен 1-й степени матери 2-й семьи и обратно, отец 2-й семьи — кузен 1-й степени матери 1-й семьи; следовательно, дети их и со стороны отцов и со стороны матерей кузены 2-й степени, что именно необходимо в австралийском браке.

Но эти группы в австралийской системе не могли развиться в настоящие родовые единицы, потому что каждая пара бракоправомочных групп оставалась бракоправомочной только для одного поколения; следующие поколения, как потомство брата и сестры, не могли, следовательно, будучи перекрестными кузенами 1-й степени, взаимно вступать в брак, и потому группы эти не могли фиксироваться в наследственные союзы и образовали поэтому только классовые поколения, все практическое значение которых в мнемонической фиксации брачных норм.

Совершенно иначе сложилась роль четырехгруппового деления при браке гиляцкого типа. Исходным моментом и тут служило сознание вреда браков между кузенами 1-й степени, но в то время как в австралийском браке вопрос разрешался путем перехода к бракам между кузенами 2-й степени и абсолютным запретам браков между кузенами 1-й степени, с сохранением, однако, обменного брака, в гиляцком браке перемена норм ограничилась только запретом браков между двусторонними кузенами 1-й степени, т.-е. таких браков, где супруги — кузены 1-й степени и со стороны отца и со стороны матери. Тут брак оставался обязательным между кузенами 1-й степени, но только односторонними, т.-е. либо со стороны отца, либо со стороны матери, и потому взаимные браки между двумя семьями стали абсолютно запретными: два человека никоим образом не могли жениться взаимно на сестрах друг друга; следовательно, брак даже между двусторонними кузенами 2-й степени стал невозможен.

Теперь посмотрим, как эта регламентация привела к гиляцкому типу фратрии.

Вспомним опять фратрию с 2 делениями при браке между кузенами 1-й степени. Для облегчения ориентировки, повторим приведенную выше схему состава каждого поколения брачущихся по степеням родства при перекрестном браке между кузенами 1-й степени.

I деление: мужчины $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4$...
их сестры $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4$...
II деление: мужчины $B^1 + B^2 + B^3 + B^4$...
их сестры $в^1 + в^2 + в^3 + в^4$...

Одноименные буквы с одинаковыми показателями обозначают группу родных братьев и сестер, а разные показатели — степень их кузенного родства. Лица разноименных групп с одинаковыми показателями, например, A^1, a^1 и B^1, $в^1$ или A^2, a^2 и B^2, $в^2$ — двусторонние кузены 1-й степени, и они-то обычно вступают в перекрестный брак, т.-е. A^1 женится на $в^1$ и B^1 на a^1. Лица разноименных групп с разными показателями — кузены более отдаленных степеней, смотря по большему показателю.

И вот представим себе тот момент, когда начался переход от двустороннего кузенного брака к одностороннему браку и когда обмен сестрами, т.-е. перекрестный кузенный брак, стал запретным.

Сразу этот переход совершиться не мог. Между лицами обоих делений вовсе не было односторонних кузенов, потому что все они произошли от перекрестного кузенного брака. А так как между кузенами 1-й степени браки стали абсолютно запретными, то пришлось бы несомненно на первый раз устраивать браки между кузенами следующих наиболее близких степеней. Самым рациональным должен быть, как мы видели у австралийцев, брак между кузенами 2-й степени, но, в противоположность австралийскому режиму, где эта форма могла быть строго проведена в обоих делениях,[1] здесь, вследствие запрета обмена женщинами, эта форма могла быть применена только в одном делении общества.

В самом деле, если A^1 женился на своей кузине 2-й степени $в^2$, то уже брат последней, B^2, не мог жениться ни на a^1, ни на a^2, потому что в таком случае 2 человека оказались бы женатыми на сестрах друг друга. Поэтому B^2 должен был взять уже кузину 3-й степени, a^3. Точно так же происходит дело и в остальных случаях.

[1] См. выше табл. на стр. 230

Применяя это правило к нашим схематическим рядам, мы получаем следующую таблицу брака:

I деление: $(A^1+в^2)+(A^2+в^1)+(A^3+в^4)+(A^4+в^3)+$
$+(A^5+в^6)+(A^6+в^5)+(A^7+в^8)+(A^8+в^7)$.

II деление: $(B^1+a^3)+(B^2+a^4)+(B^3+a^1)+(B^4+a^2)+$
$+(B^5+a^7)+(B^6+a^8)+(B^7+a^5)+(B^8+a^6)$.

В следующем поколении уже оказывается возможным осуществить новый принцип одностороннего кузенного брака без обмена женщин, при чем каждая мать может женить своего сына на дочери своего брата.

Анализируя таблицу, мы видим, что в нечетных членах первого деления показатели у женщин соответственно такие же, как у мужчин, в четных членах 2-го деления, т.-е. в этих двух группах и в каждой паре семей одного и того же порядка, например: $(A^1+в^2)$ и (B^2+a^1), женщина 1-й семьи приходится сестрой мужчины во второй, но женщина 2-й семьи уже не сестра, а кузина 1-й степени; мужчины первой семьи — потомство этих семей, следовательно, они будут односторонними кузенами 1-й степени. Таким образом, соответственно гиляцкому принципу, по которому сын сестры получает дочь ее брата, сыновья первой семьи женятся на детях второй. Обратное не допускается.

С другой стороны, сравнивая нечетные члены первого деления с нечетными же членами второго деления, мы видим, что мужчины нечетных семей первого ряда и женщины четных семей второго ряда, например, в членах $(A^1+в^2)$ и (B^4+a^2), имеют одинаковые показатели, т.-е. они братья и сестры, следовательно, сыновья второго ряда женятся на дочерях первого ряда. Легко видеть, что то же отношение будет между четными членами первого деления и другими двумя рядами второго деления.

Таким образом, как и в австралийском браке, общество, естественно, в брачном отношении разбивается на 4 группы:

I деление: I группа: $(A^1+в^2)+(A^3+в^4)+(A^5+в^6)+(A^7+в^8)$
и другие нечетные члены.

II группа: $(A^2+в^1)+(A^4+в^3)+(A^6+в^5)+(A^8+в^7)$
и другие нечетные члены.

II деление: III группа: $(B^1+a^3)+(B^3+a^1)+(B^5+a^7)+(B^7+a^5)$
и другие четные члены.

IV группа: $(B^2+a^4)+(B^4+a^2)+(B^6+a^8)+(B^8+a^6)$
и другие четные члены.

Семьи первой группы берут для своих сыновей жен в со-

ответственных семьях IV группы, где матери первых — сестры отцов вторых, но дочери из первой группы уходят в третью группу — в семьи, где родные сестры их отцов. Точно так же вторая группа берет женщин у группы IV. Словом, имеем буквально все то, что мы видели в гиляцком браке. Так как обменного брака между двумя группами не существует, и, следовательно, в каждом следующем поколении потомки брачущихся родов будут односторонними кузенами, то браки будут происходить неизменно между теми же группами и в том же порядке семей, так что, в противоположность австралийским группам, в этом случае эти экзогамные группы превращаются в настоящие роды. Вот мы и получили гиляцкую четырехродовую фратрию. В этой фратрии каждый род состоит в брачных отношениях с двумя другими, но 4-й ему абсолютно запретен, потому что он и этот 4-й есть подгруппа его собственного первоначального экзогамного деления (I и II группы запретны между собой, и III и IV опять-таки запретны между собой). Вот этот-то запретный род и есть тот гиляцкий tujma axmalk k:xal, род 2-й степени, запретность которого кажется столь непонятной. Теперь причина ясна: роды tujma axmalk запрещены, потому что они входили первоначально в одно общее экзогамное деление.

Что этот запретный род вполне соответствует гиляцкому, мы это легко можем проверить по нашей таблице.

1-й род дает женщин в 3-й, следовательно, он этому последнему axmalk 1-й степени, но 3-й род, в свою очередь, дает женщин второму, т.-е. он последнему тоже axmalk 1-й степени. Таким образом 1-й род является tujma axmalk второму роду, т.-е. роду, который входит с ним в одно экзогамное деление.

Таким образом, я надеюсь, нам удалось доказать тесную генетическую связь гиляцкой системы с австралийской, от которой она отделилась на той ступени, когда начался поворот к устранению браков между двухсторонними кузенами 1-й степени.

Одна система разрешила вопрос путем перехода к бракам между кузенами 2-й степени и окончательного запрета браков между детьми брата и сестры в первом поколении — запрета, фиксированного в институте классов, как у арунта. Другая система запретила обменные браки, сохранив обязательные односторонние браки между потомством брата и сестры и фиксировала свои нормы в институте четырехродовой фратрии.

Возможен еще и третий вариант. Представим себе тот момент, когда от двустороннего брака кузенов 1-й степени решено пе-

рейти к одностороннему, когда обмениваться женщинами нельзя будет. До этого момента общество было разделено на 2 половины следующим образом:

I. $(A^1 + в^1) + (A^2 + в^2) + (A^3 + в^3) + (A^4 + в^4) + (A^5 + в^5) + (A^6 + в^6)$.

II. $(B^1 + a^1) + (B^2 + a^2) + (B^3 + a^3) + (B^4 + a^4) + (B^5 + a^5) + (B^6 + a^6)$.

Теперь приходится перейти к браку одностороннему, ибо меняться сестрами нельзя, но односторонних кузин 1-й степени сейчас уже не имеется, и на первый раз возможно только соблюсти запрет обмена сестрами; следовательно, сын A^1 может жениться на дочери B^1, но сын B^1 не может жениться на дочери A^1; он может жениться на дочери A^2, его ближайшей по степени кузине и т. д. Тогда картина брака представится следующая:

I. $(A^1 + в^1) + (A^2 + в^2) + (A^3 + в^3) + (A^4 + в^4) + (A^5 + в^5) + (A^6 + в^6)$

I. $(B^1 + a^2) + (B^2 + a^1) + (B^3 + a^4) + (B^4 + a^3) + (B^5 + a^6) + (B^6 + a^5)$

I. 1) $(A^1 + в^1) + (A^3 + в^3) + (A^5 + в^5)$: 1-й род берет женщин из рода 3 брата матери.

2) $(A^2 + в^2) + (A^4 + в^4) + (A^6 + в^6)$: 2-й род берет женщин из рода 4.

II. 3) $(B^1 + a^2) + (B^3 + a^4) + (B^5 + a^6)$: 3-й род берет женщин из рода 2.

4) $(B^2 + a^1) + (B^4 + a^3) + (B^6 + a^5)$: 4-й род берет женщин из рода 1.

X.

ЧЕРТЫ КЛАССИФИКАЦИОННОЙ СИСТЕМЫ У ДРУГИХ НАРОДОВ СЕВЕРО-ВОСТОЧНОЙ АЗИИ.

Сорок лет тому назад Л. Морган в своих «Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity» уже уделил специальное внимание вопросу об отношении между туранской системой родства и ганованской и пришел, после долгого анализа, к твердому заключению, что родство этих систем могло произойти только на почве общности крови, что нынешние носители ганованской системы, т.-е. народы американские, принесли ее с собой из своей старой родины, из Азии. В свое время Морган в состоянии был проследить туранскую систему среди дравидийских народов Индии до южных границ Средней Азии. Ни о монгольских, ни о тунгусских, ни даже о тюркских народах он не мог добыть никаких сведений. Тем более ему трудно было получить сведения о народностях

Амурского края и тихоокеанского побережья СВ Азии. Между тем, именно Амур он считал таким же исходным пунктом для перехода туранской системы из Азии в Америку, как он с большим основанием считал р. Колумбию исходным пунктом распространения ганованской системы по континенту С. Америки. Как ни относиться к гипотезе Моргана с этой точки зрения, но его уверенность, что от берегов Амура по всему северо-востоку Азии, включая сюда и Алеутские о-ва, должны быть открыты несомненные следы туранской системы, теперь начинает оправдываться, в одних случаях на системах родства, в других — на пережитках кузенного брака. Особенно подкрепляет ее найденная мною у гиляков система родства и брака. Великая гипотеза Моргана, так близко касающаяся проблемы взаимодействия народов Азии и Америки, заслуживает того, чтобы хоть в кратких чертах остановиться на обзоре брачных норм у названных народов.

Итак, начнем с амурских народов. В Амурском крае есть две основные этнические группы — палеоазиаты, гиляки и тунгусские народности и отчасти айну, которые к ним примыкают со стороны Японского архипелага.

О гиляках уже говорить не приходится — у них не только имеется туранская система в наиболее законченном виде, но у них уцелела идеальная форма пуналуальной семьи, анализ которой нам показал, что туранская система — результат кузенного брака.

Племя айну, которому, как соседнему с гиляками, будет посвящена особая глава, мы исключаем из нашего обзора, как племя, совершенно особо стоящее среди круга народов СВ Азии как в расовом, так и в лингвистическом отношениях. Особо оно стоит и в своем семейном строе. У них есть классификационная система, но она во многом существенно отличается от гиляцкой и от тунгусской. Так же радикально отличаются от этих последних и нормы их брака и социальная организация. У айну, например, допускаются браки как между детьми братьев, так и между детьми сестер, и в этом отношении они ближе подходят к северным палеоазиатам — юкагирам и чукчам. Черты группового брака, в виде права братьев взаимно на своих жен, найдены мною лишь в некоторых пунктах, и только левират вполне совпадает с гиляцко-тунгусским. Но самая важная характерная черта аинского строя — это типично выраженный материнтет и отсутствие родового строя, — черта, которая тоже сближает их более с северной палеоазиатской группой. Во всяком случае, в ви-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ду совершенной изолированности этого племени во всех других отношениях от интересующей нас группы народностей, мы только отмечаем эти особенности, не вдаваясь в какие бы то ни было сопоставления.

Перехожу к тунгусским народностям, доминирующим на Амуре и распространившимся к северу вплоть до берегов Берингова пролива. Брачные нормы этих народностей я изучал, главным образом, у наиболее изолированного племени, именно у северных орочей, и имел возможность сравнить и дополнить эти сведения данными, собранными среди других народностей Амурского края.

Несмотря на то, что эти народности, по своему первоначальному образу жизни, как бродячие охотники и оленеводы, значительно разнятся от гиляков, оседлых рыболовов и собаководов, тем не менее, в их классификационной системе и нормах брака находим много существенно сходного. Род, как и у гиляков, на основах патернитета. В каждом поколении данного рода мужчины и женщины — старшие и младшие братья и сестры. Дети этих классов — общие сыновья и дочери и между собою братья и сестры. Сородичи-«братья», родные и боковые, живут в групповом браке со своими женами и именно как у гиляков восточного диалекта, т.-е. младшие с женами старших. Как и у гиляков, здесь предпочитают брать жен из одного рода, из чего можно заключить, что, опять-таки как и у гиляков, некогда брак из одного рода был обязателен.

Групповой брак существует и с сестрами жены, которые замужем за лицами чужеродными, но, по аналогии с женами братьев, этот брак у некоторых племен распространяется только на младших сестер жены. В двух отношениях групповой брак у тунгусских племен гораздо шире, чем у гиляков. Прежде всего, каждый человек имеет право не только на жен своих старших братьев, но и на жен младших братьев отца, которых он поэтому называет тем же классовым термином, как и своих старших братьев, именно, ɛki, a'ga. С другой стороны, допускается брак на дочерях младших сестер, и, таким образом, эта категория племянниц втягивается в круг класса групповых жен. Легко видеть, что первая норма — простое последствие второй, потому что дочь сестры отца есть кузина. Этой последней нормой тунгусская система сближается с коряцкой, где, по свидетельству Иохельсона, брак с племянницей — дочерью сестры — тоже допускается. Еще одной особенностью тунгусский брак напоминает коряцкий: и те и другие не допускают при жизни жены жениться на

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ее сестре. Одна особенность тунгусского брака особенно характерна и свидетельствует о происхождении этой системы из самой ранней стадии кузенного брака. Эта особенность заключается в том, что излюбленной формой брака до сих пор является обмен сестрами с братом жены. Так как в то же время самые предпочтительные браки — это браки сородичей, и, следовательно, отцов и детей, — из одного общего рода, то в результате большинство браков — типичные перекрестные кузенные браки. Принимая во внимание, что в настоящее время тунгусская система уже в стадии разложения примитивных форм, мы вправе заключить, что в прежнее время перекрестный кузенный брак служил единственной формой брака, породившей и классификационную систему и черты группового брака.

В заключение о тунгусских народностях интересно упомянуть, что у некоторых из них, например, у южных орочей, есть институт побратимства, как и у чукчей, при чем побратимы — anda — пользуются правом взаимного полового общения с их женами. Как и у гиляков, браки между детьми братьев, равно как и между детьми сестер, запрещены.

Переходим к палеоазиатскому племени — юкагирам, обследованным Иохельсоном. Сам Иохельсон воздерживается от суждения о том, какое место занимает юкагирский брак в общей эволюции этого института, но данные, которые он приводит, дают достаточно материала, чтобы ввести юкагирскую систему в круг моргановской гипотезы.[1]

Если рассматривать юкагирскую систему только с точки зрения того, что она представляет в настоящее время, то эта система может действительно показаться совершенно изолированной, запутанной и необъяснимой. Она имеет, например, сложную классификаторскую систему родства и систему запретов, одни термины которой вполне совпадают с турано-гановапской, но другие совершенно отличные и противоречащие этой системе; например, термин етуерой, который включает не только братьев и сестер, но и кузенов первой, второй степени и т. д. как со стороны отца, так и со стороны матери.[1]

Далее, в то время как некоторые термины родства и запреты общения, как мы увидим подробнее ниже, говорят о переживаниях группового брака, и хотя отношения между полами здесь очень свободные, тем не менее не только никаких реальных следов группового брака в настоящее время не имеется, но некото-

[1] Jochelson. Jukagirs, 68.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

рые запреты, например, запреты браков между кузенами, как бы прямо говорят против существования группового брака и в прежнее время. Но, присматриваясь ближе к этой системе, приходим к заключению, что это система турано-гановавская, только искаженная под влиянием чрезвычайных обстоятельств. Юкагиры совершенно вырождающееся племя. В настоящее время их насчитывают до 800 душ, из которых, по крайней мере, половина — юкагиризованные тунгусы. До прибытия в край тунгусов, они, повидимому, жили еще более изолированно, чем теперь, и процесс вырождения шел еще быстрее. Под влиянием этого процесса с ними произошло то, что в настоящее время происходит среди тунгусов Туруханского края, именно они вынуждены были перейти к эндогамии (бракам внутри рода), которая у них практикуется и в настоящее время. Этот эндогамизм — явление сравнительно позднего характера — неизбежно должен был запутать до крайности прежнюю стройную классификационную систему, следы которой все же еще сохранились до настоящего времени. Это лучше всего видно на упомянутом термине emyepol. Раньше, при экзогамном браке, этот термин, без сомнения, обозначал братьев и сестер родных и боковых, т.-е. братьев, сестер и кузенов либо только с отцовской стороны (если род был отцовский), либо только с материнской (если род был материнский). С переходом к бракам внутри рода кузены как с отцовской, так и материнской стороны, естественно, все одинаково превратились в «братьев и сестер», образовав нынешний класс emyepol. Образование этого класса имело чрезвычайное последствие: оно уничтожило групповой брак.

Как мы знаем, групповой брак практикуется только между братьями-сородичами, женатыми на женщинах из другого рода. Но когда, с введением эндогамии, братья-сородичи стали вступать в браки с кузинами из своего же рода, то групповой брак всех братьев родных и боковых стал невозможен, ибо в таком случае были бы допущены половые сближения родных братьев со своими родными сестрами.

Но до введения эндогамии групповой брак несомненно существовал. Об этом свидетельствует целый ряд вышеупомянутых терминов запретов и брачных норм.

Из запретов общения упомянем совершенно аналогичные с гиляцкими: между старшим братом и женой младшего брата или между старшим кузеном и женой младшего кузена запреты, вытекающие, как мы видели, из того, что младший «брат» состоит

в групповом браке с женами старших братьев, что обратно последним запрещено. Другие запреты, как запрет сожительства старшего брата с женой сына младшего брата, указывают на то, что у юкагиров существовал групповой брак не только между «братьями», но, как и у тунгусов, между некоторыми категориями восходящих и нисходящих поколений. С другой стороны, в брачных нормах мы видим явные следы кузенного брака. «Юкагиры уверяли меня, — говорит Иохельсон, — что, согласно их прежним обычаям, браки были воспрещены лишь между поколениями кузенов первой степени».[1]

Принимая во внимание, что и теперь у юкагиров мы видим наклонность к бракам с единокровными[2] и брак между кузенами широко практикуется, нужно думать, что в прежнее время это была излюбленная форма брака. Вопрос только в том, о каких кузенах говорит старое предание, приведенное выше. Существующий ныне запрет общения и обязанность половой стыдливости между лицами класса emyepol, обнимающего ныне кузенов как с отцовской, так и с материнской стороны, мог образоваться только тогда, когда emyepol были членами экзогамного рода, и ясно доказывает, что в старину кузенный брак предполагал браки с кузинами только чужого рода или деления, как у гиляков или австралийцев, у которых (последних), кстати сказать, тоже встречаются ограничения между кузенами 1-й степени.

Еще одна характерная особенность. Мы указывали, что кузенный брак влечет за собой право на брак, и вследствие этого при этой системе калым, плата за невесту, не допускается.

То же мы видим у юкагиров. Наконец, существование клана у юкагиров тоже не маловажный признак того, что эндогамия здесь новейшее явление, ибо у чисто эндогамных племен, как у айну, настоящего института рода не существует. Род — институт по существу своему экзогамный.

Переходим к той обширной группе северных палеоазиатов, которая включает чукчей, коряков и камчадалов. Из этой группы наиболее детально обследованы чукчи, на которых мы должны остановиться подольше.

Обычный способ брака, по описанию Богораза, с родственниками и «чаще всего между кузенами», при чем по возможности в одной и той же семье, а если это невозможно, то между родственниками одного и того же стойбища, т.-е. кузенами

[1] Jochelson, op. cit., 82.
[2] Jochelson, op. cit., 86.

более отдаленных степеней; браки дядей с племянницами запрещены — чисто туранская черта. Так как при этом практикуется обмен женщинами, то таким образом мы имеем типичный перекрестный кузенный брак — опять-таки типичная туранская черта.

Брак несомненно был здесь некогда обязателен между кузенами. Это мы видим, между прочим, из того, что у чукчей, как и у гиляков и тунгусов, браки заключаются в раннем возрасте. У чукчей этот обычай еще более в ходу, чем у гиляков, так как, по словам Богораза, большинство браков заключается в детском возрасте, и он упоминает даже случаи, когда родители уславливаются о браке своих детей еще до их рождения. Обязательностью брака объясняется и тот замечательный факт, что чукчи не знают пока института калыма. Обычный способ приобретения жены — вступление зятя в дом жены или посредством работы в доме тестя, что вероятно является только пережитком того времени, когда жених всегда переходил в дом жены. И замечательно, что даже в случае похищения женщины, единственным выкупом является женщина, но никоим образом не олени, что опять-таки указывает на старинную обязательность обменного брака. Описывая этот обычай, Богораз делает очень важное замечание, что «похищение не рассматривалось, однако, как основание для непримиримой вражды и междоусобия. Родители приходят потом и требуют выкупа, который уплачивается женщиной за женщину».[1] Таким образом участниками группового брака первоначально были исключительно кузены, и, вероятно, как это теперь еще практикуется у алеутов, такой брак был обязателен. А так как, по словам Богораза, индивидуальные браки заключаются между кузенами, то, таким образом, групповые мужья являются кузенами, женатыми на кузинах, а это возможно только в том случае, если мужья — либо дети братьев, либо дети сестер (смотря по строю семьи), а групповые жены — дети братьев и сестер. «Дети, родившиеся в семьях брачного союза, рассматриваются как кузены, даже как братья и сестры. Они не могут вступать в брак друг с другом». Ибо, в противном случае, если допустить, что групповыми мужьями и женами могут быть всякие кузены, без различия их происхождения, то могло бы случиться, что среди групповых жен человека оказалась бы его родная сестра, т.-е. то именно, что заставило юкагиров запретить групповые браки между кузенами. В настоящее время из круга группового брака исклю-

[1] Bogoras. The Chuckchee, 589.

чены родные братья и кузены 1-й степени. Но это может быть ограничение позднейшего происхождения. У чукчей мы находим и другую форму: групповой брак сестер с их мужьями. Люди, женатые на сестрах, называют друг друга takâlkin—термин, соответствующий русскому «супруг» (муж и жена), т.-е. «запряженные в одну упряжку».

Похищение является, таким образом, скорее имитативным, in frandem legis, когда брак происходит не между кузенами. Поэтому похититель, по словам Богораза, опасаясь погони и отобрания жены, спешит присоединить похищенную женщину к родовому культу, «помазав ее если не кровью жертвы, то сажей и золой от семейного очага».[1]

Богораз, исследования которого дали нам материал для суждения о чукотском браке, употребляя в своей работе термин кузен, к сожалению, не указывает, нужно ли понимать под этим термином безразлично всякого кузена, или только детей брата и сестры. Возможно поэтому допустить, что в настоящее время практикуются браки с кузенами как с отцовской, так и с материнской стороны, как и у юкагиров, и что оно может быть объяснено теми же причинами, что у юкагиров.

Что в прежнее время кузенный брак предполагал только браки между детьми брата и сестры, лучше всего доказывается той формой группового брака, которая ныне практикуется у чукчей, и, несмотря на свои особенности, очень близко подходит к гиляцкой форме этого института. Этот своеобразный институт, выражающийся в договоре нескольких лиц о взаимных правах на своих жен, может быть заключен между неродственниками, но «кузены второй и третьей степени почти неизменно соединяются узами группового брака». И совершенно справедливо замечает Богораз, что «в прежние времена эта форма группового брака представляла, по всем видимостям, союз между родственниками, ибо теперь лица, вступающие в такой брак (повидимому, только чужие), делают жертвоприношение».[2]

Чукотские нормы брака, вероятно, были также и у других народностей общей с чукчами лингвистической группы, именно у камчадалов и у коряков. О камчадалах мы имеем свидетельство Крашенинникова в «Описании земли Камчатки» (II, 169), что браки беспрепятственно заключались между кузенами и кузинами. Что касается коряков, то, повидимому, их нормы оказа-

[1] Bogoras, op. cit., 602.
[2] Ibid., 576.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

лись под сильным влиянием тунгусских народов. Так, в то время как у чукчей брак на племяннице считался кровосмесительным, у коряков он допускался. Как и у тунгусов, брак одновременно на двух сестрах у них не допускается. Но основная черта туранского брака — обязательность женитьбы в одном и том же роде — увековечена в коряцком браке в институте сорората или, как его Иохельсон называет, двойного левирата. Как известно, особенность этого института, широко распространенного и на континенте С. Америки (алгонкины, томсон, скиди, пауни), выражается в том, что вдовец обязан жениться на женщине из рода покойной жены — именно на младшей сестре, кузине или на племяннице покойной (последняя категория — племянницы — заимствована, очевидно, у тунгусов). Иохельсон объясняет происхождение этого института желанием поддержать религиозную связь, установившуюся между супругами и нежеланием допускать чуждый элемент к священному семейному очагу. Такое объяснение весьма легко было допустить, но тогда непонятно, как же была допущена к священному очагу первая умершая супруга, тем более, что никаких религиозных обрядов вроде упомянутого чукотского обряда приобщения жены коряки не знают. Между тем, институтом обязательного брака это объясняется гораздо проще. При обязательном кузенном браке сестры и кузины одной семьи принадлежали братьям и кузенам другой, и, естественно, когда умирала жена человека, он брал ее младшую сестру или кузину. Это был институт не только юридический, но и религиозный, ибо супруги были связаны узами единой крови. Иохельсон нам не сообщает, на ком вообще женятся коряки. Судя по примеру чукчей, у которых браки заключаются преимущественно между кузенами, можно с уверенностью сказать, что и коряк обычно женится на кузине (т.-е. на лице общей крови — потому-то и никаких обрядностей в брачной церемонии нет), поэтому и после смерти ее он следует тому же старому закону и берет ее сестру или кузину.

Перейдем теперь к алеутам, которых Морган считал посредствующим звеном между азиатскими и американскими народами. Об их брачных нормах мы не имеем обстоятельных сведений, но и то немногое, что мы знаем, представляет для нас большой интерес с точки зрения рассматриваемого нами вопроса, тем более, что эти факты сообщены наблюдателем, который прожил среди них много лет, именно Вениаминовым. Прежде всего оказывается, что у алеутов обычной формой брака был брак

кузенный. Вениаминов не сообщает деталей, но определенно говорит, что предпочтительнее всего в невесты избирается дочь дяди.[1] Еще более интересное описание полиандрии у алеутов. «Женщине, — пишет Вениаминов, — дозволялось иметь двух мужей, из коих один был главным, а другой его помощник или, как называют русские, половинщик. Такая женщина не только не почиталась развратной, но еще славилась как расторопная. Второй муж, вполне пользуясь правом мужа, должен был наравне с первым мужем промышлять и вообще стараться о содержании жены и семейства.[2] То же сообщает и Erman,[3] но он не указывает при этом ни родственных отношений между общими мужьями, ни отношений их в случае брака второго участника. Но из этого никоим образом нельзя заключить, что только сообщаемыми деталями брак у алеутов ограничивался. Мамио Ринсо, как мы указывали выше, описывал гиляцкий брак в тех же точно выражениях, как и Вениаминов — алеутов, а между тем мы видели, что у гиляков типичный групповой брак. Описание группового брака в том виде, как это делают Вениаминов и Ринсо, для наблюдателей неспециалистов совершенно естественно, ибо легче всего при групповом браке бросается в глаза тот случай, когда второй муж сам не состоит в индивидуальном браке, как это описывается в гиляцких сказках: «два брата одну жену содержали». Но когда несколько женатых людей состоят в групповом браке, это для неспециалиста обыкновенно проходит совершенно незамеченным. И поэтому с большой уверенностью, — особенно принимая во внимание сообщение о предпочтительном браке на кузинах, — можно сказать, что полиандрия алеутов, о которой сообщает Вениаминов, была в действительности формой группового брака. В подтверждение своего предположения позволю себе сослаться на следующий пример из жизни тода, племени, живущего в Нейльгеррийских горах.

Старинный писатель Маршаль описывает брак у тода следующим образом:[4]

«Если муж имеет братьев или очень близких родственников, которые живут все вместе, каждый из них может, при согласии женщины, разделять право считаться ее мужем».

[1] Творения Иннокентия. Кн. III, стр. 322.

[2] Ibid., 323.

[3] A. Erman. Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen. Zeitschr. für Ethnologie. B. III, 1871, S. 162-163. Berlin.

[4] W. E. Marschall.—A phrenologist among the Todas. London, 1873, p. 213.

По этому описанию, приводимому у Вестермарка, брак тода представляется простой полиандрией, как ее описывают обычно в Тибете, или как описывает ее Вениаминов у алеутов. Но вот как описывает тот же брак ученый наблюдатель Шорт.[1]

У тода, обитателей Нейльгеррийских гор, девушка, выходя замуж, в то же время становится женой всех братьев своего мужа, а они становятся вместе с тем мужьями всех ее сестер. В этом случае первый родящийся ребенок считается принадлежащим старшему брату, следующий — второму.

В этом описании мы имеем уже типичный групповой брак, идеальную форму пуналуальной семьи. И нужно заметить, что это описание сделано в 1869 г., за 8 лет до появления «Ancient Society» Моргана и одновременно «System of Consanguinity and Affinity», когда, следовательно, наблюдатель никаких тенденциозных представлений о пуналуальной семье иметь не мог.

Эти строки уже были написаны, когда я встретился с Иохельсоном, только что вернувшимся из своего путешествия к алеутам. И то, что он сообщил мне по этому вопросу, окончательно подтвердило мое предположение.

Оказывается, что у алеутов, как и у тунгусов и у части гиляков, младшие братья в прежнее время состояли в групповом браке с женами старших братьев, а в настоящее время этот брак сохранился между кузенами, при чем не в виде факультативного, а обязательного института. Участвовать в групповом браке — прямая обязанность всех кузенов.

Особенности алеутских норм брака не остались изолированными на Алеутских островах. Почти в аналогичных с Вениаминовым выражениях отмечают их наблюдатели и на северо-западном побережье Американского континента, вплоть до самой р. Колумбии, которую Морган считал исходным пунктом гановской системы. Мы находим их у эскимосского племени коняг, обитателей о. Кадьяк, о которых Давыдов пишет: «Некоторые женщины имеют по два мужа: первый есть настоящий, выбирающий другого с согласия жены. Сей в то же время делается прислужником, т.-е. носит дрова и другие разные работы отправляет. Он может спать с женой только в отсутствие настоящего мужа, по возвращении же его лишается сего права. Тако-

[1] John Short. — An Account of the Hilltribes of the Neilgherries. Transactions Ethn. Society N. S., v. VII, p. 240. London. 1869.

вых мужей русские называют половинщиками».[1] В этом описании, словно скопированном у Мамио Ринсо и у Вениаминова и у путешественников по Тибету, опять-таки отсутствует указание на родственные отношения между супругами, но зато ценно указание на право второго мужа пользоваться своими супружескими правами только в отсутствие мужа, как у гиляков, и видимое подчиненное положение этого второго мужа. Это подчиненное положение подмечено верно и бросается в глаза и у гиляков, но это имеет место не в силу брачного договора, а в силу того, что старший брат всегда играет роль главы дома и, кроме того, в виду запрета разговоров между братьями: отношения старших к младшим могут произвести впечатление отношения между хозяином и работником.

Более определенно описывает этот институт Вениаминов у тлингитов (колошей), прямо уже говоря, что «второй муж всегда должен быть или брат или ближайший родственник».[2] Подобные же явления отмечены Россом у центральных эскимосов. Впрочем, об Америке, стране ганованской системы, столь близкой системе туранской, мы распространяться не станем. Нашей целью было заполнить hiatus, отделявший родину туранской системы от ганованской. И мы, после сделанного нами обзора, вправе сказать, что этот hiatus теперь заполнен.

XI.

ПОЛОВАЯ ЖИЗНЬ.

Нормы группового брака, предоставляющие гиляку такую широкую свободу полового общения, уже сами по себе должны бы служить благоприятным фактором для чрезмерного развития сексуального сенсуализма. Обычный образ жизни гиляков, в свою очередь, только мог содействовать чрезвычайному развитию этого фактора. Главное занятие гиляка рыболовство оставляет ему слишком много досуга. С другой стороны, единственный промысел, который мог бы дать значительный исход эмоциональной жизненной энергии, а именно охота, в жизни гиляков играет сравнительно незначительную роль. Далеких охотничьих походов гиляк не предпринимает. Сезонные охоты на соболей, белок, лисиц и оленей и даже спорадические экскурсии на местного довольно

[1] Давыдов. Двукратное путешествие в Америку офицеров Хвостова и Давыдова, ч. II, стр. 50-51.

[2] Творения Иннокентия, кн. 3, стр. 619.

кроткого медведя особенных опасностей не представляют; охотничий спорт, поэтому, развит очень слабо. Выдающихся страстных охотников, как у тунгуссов, среди гиляков очень мало. Не знают гиляки, особенно за последние полвека, и героических эмоций войны. Да и в прежнее время-то, что гиляки называют именем войны, сводилось к спорадическим родовым стычкам из-за родовой мести, а еще чаще из-за женщин. Войны, как профессии, как любимого занятия молодежи, гиляки никогда и не знавали. Естественно, что эмоциальная энергия направилась главным образом в сторону сексуализма. Гиляки начинают свою половую жизнь с наступлением зрелости, и все свои досуги, все свои помыслы уделяют женщинам, тем более что далеко не всякий, как мы увидим, имеет возможность вступать в брак. Холостая молодежь не довольствуется теми женщинами, к которым она имеет доступ в своем селении; она не ограничивается тем кругом женщин, на которых она имеет законные права. Единственная категория женщин, перед которыми гиляк останавливается, это класс женщин, который является для него запретным. Для романических похождений гиляк не останавливается ни перед продолжительностью времени, ни перед дальностью расстояний, лишь бы найти побольше женского общества. Охотнее всего, конечно, молодой человек отправляется в селения своих «тестей» — axmalk'ов, но он непрочь предпринять путешествие и в совершенно чуждые селения. Во время моих путешествий ко мне часто добровольно присоединялись молодые люди, предлагая безвозмездно свою помощь в течение многих недель, и это делалось в надежде найти случай для романических похождений, благо это не так-то трудно. Благодаря традиционному гостеприимству и жадности гиляков ко всем новостям, двери каждого дома широко открыты для каждого приезжего. Таким образом, гиляк чувствует себя везде дома. За несколько часов по приезде в какое-нибудь селение он успел уже побывать в каждом доме, всюду рассказать свои новости, к которым одинаково жадно прислушиваются и женщины и мужчины, и в то же время успел остановить свой взор на той или иной приглянувшейся ему женщине. Остальное уже дело его любовного опыта и искусства. Гиляцкая женщина, правда, с виду держится крайне неприступно. При появлении чужого человека она опускает глаза, сидит все время, нахмурив брови, на вопросы постороннего едва отвечает. Но это только неприступность наружная, скрывающая внутреннюю похотливость. Незаметно для окружающих она ис-

коса бросает пытливые взгляды на нового человека, во-время им подхватываемые. И если гость произвел надлежащее впечатление, то дело завершается очень быстро. Мужчина ее выследит у колодца, на ягоднике, а то просто поймает в сенях и тогда, после краткого символического диалога, в роде: «давай-ка вместе (т.-е. поочередно затягиваясь из одной трубки) покурим» или: «давай новости рассказывать», — вопрос решается крайне просто. Иногда гость просто остается в юрте своей возлюбленной и ночью перебирается на ее ложе или обратно. Иногда дело обходится без слов, ограничиваясь безмолвной символикой, прикосновением к грудям, хватанием за ногу, и если эта символика не встречает отпора, согласие женщины обеспечено. Любопытно, что символика любовных предложений напоминает обряды брачных церемоний. Предложение курить вместе есть шутливое подражание обряду conferratio. Хватание за ногу или за груди хотя у гиляков в настоящее время не фигурирует в брачных церемониях, но оно встречается еще и теперь у некоторых народов С. Америки, например, у индейцев лиллуэт, по свидетельству Боаза и Тейта.

Подобного рода вольности в чужих селениях позволяет себе не только холостая молодежь, но и женатые пожилые гиляки. В одно из первых моих путешествий среди моих спутников был старый почтенный гиляк, Гибелька, пользовавшийся широкой известностью на всем Сахалине благодаря своему богатству и выдающемуся уму. Во время остановок в селениях он наравне со своими молодыми спутниками, захлебываясь, говорил о красавицах селения и однажды до того увлекся, что стал советоваться со мной, не «купить» ли ему приглянувшуюся красавицу и увести ее домой, хотя он давно был женат и не мог нахвалиться своей женой. Он, правда, не участвовал в ночных похождениях своих молодых спутников, но только потому, что конкуренция и без того была уже слишком велика, так как между молодыми людьми дело едва не дошло до револьвера.

В виду сравнительной доступности женщин, насильственные действия по отношению к ним редки. Но мне приходилось слышать и про такие случаи, что компания молодежи в сезоны, когда женщины отправляются на несколько дней за ягодами или сараной в места, очень отдаленные от селений, совершает настоящие набеги на беззащитных женщин, при чем если женщины не сдаются добровольно, то не отступают и перед насилием. Впрочем, насилие главным образом сводится к разры-

ванию набедренных штанов, которые, как у чукчей и коряков, делаются совершенно глухие, без всяких прорезов. Подобные походы, как и вообще романические поиски вне своего родственного круга женщин, носят характерное название s'anx nan'gynd — «за женщинами охотиться». Термин этот, впрочем, применяется и к случаям поисков невесты, так как он имеет два значения — «охотиться» и «искать чего-нибудь, кого-нибудь вообще».

Специальные далекие походы в чужие селения в поисках женщин, конечно, явление исключительное, любительское, так сказать, тем более, что в дальнем селении приезжий обыкновенно сталкивается с сильной конкуренцией местной молодежи, да и женщины имеют уже своих местных поклонников, не говоря уж о мужьях, и нужны специальные качества, чтобы на чужбине добиться легкого успеха. Таких счастливцев мне удавалось встречать: это обычно хорошие светские рассказчики, балагуры и певцы. Таких выдающихся любителей женщин, впрочем, и среди гиляков не очень много, для них даже существует особый термин. Обычно холостая молодежь довольствуется женщинами своего селения или уходит в гости в селения своих axmalk'ов, где, как мы видели, их ждет всегда самый радушный прием.

Трудно в общих выражениях представить картину половых нравов среди гиляков. Нужно прежде всего различать женатых от холостых. Первые, пока они живут в своем селении, скорее озабочены тем, чтобы охранять свою жену от посторонних вторгателей, чем затевать внебрачные флирты. Только в пути или в гостях в других селениях они охотно дают волю своим сексуальным инстинктам. Наоборот, замужние женщины окружены столькими соблазнами со стороны своих групповых мужей и посторонних, что при каждом удобном случае они легко нарушают свою супружескую верность, тем более что далеко не все выходят замуж по любви, или за лицо своего возраста, и вознаграждают себя охотно внебрачными флиртами. Впрочем, с гиляцкой точки зрения на благопристойность, подобные флирты не представляют ничего ненормального, ибо по большей части они происходят между групповыми мужьями и женами. Так или иначе пальму первенства в отношении эксцессов среди состоящих в браке нужно отдать женщинам. «Среди мужчин, — говорят гиляки, — еще „один-один" хороший найдется, среди женщин — ни одной».

Настоящие эксцессы распущенности имеют место среди не-

женатой молодежи. Тут возможны такие экстравагантности, как рассказанный мною выше случай с гилячкой Pigunajko, которая до выхода замуж одновременно была в связи с 14 возлюбленными, в том числе со своим будущим мужем. Или другой пример, который заимствую из гиляцкого эпоса. Герой приходит в дом одного старика сватать жену. Его будущий тесть ему говорит: «Твоя жена вон там в маленькой юрте живет. Люди к ней приходили, с ней все совокуплялись, после этого она ноги потерила». И жених нисколько не возмущается. «Ничего», — говорит, — «в таком виде взяв, увезу», не видя в этом, повидимому, ничего особенного.

Однако, такие случаи нельзя считать общим явлением. На ряду с фактором повышенной сексуальности и половой свободы действуют другие сдерживающие факторы. У замужних женщин таким фактором является материнство, хозяйственные заботы, и, наконец, как у замужних, так и у незамужних, такие чувства, как любовь и стыдливость. Но в общем половая распущенность играет не малую роль в жизни гиляков не только в хозяйственном, но и в психическом отношении. Обыкновенно ловеласы либо не заводят семьи вовсе, либо если и заводят, то ведут свое хозяйство крайне небрежно. И в жизни и в поэзии постоянно приходится сталкиваться с резкими упреками и руганью старших по отношению к молодежи за лень к работе в связи с распущенностью. Далее, распущенностью гиляки сами объясняют бездетные браки. Но самое печальное это влияние распущенности на психику. Целый ряд нервных болезней, специфических для гиляков, как мяречение у мужчин и у женщин, болезни, связанные с полной потерей психического самообладания (selfcontrol) — результат распущенности, которая у женщин, вдобавок, сопровождается серьезными нарушениями в области половой сферы, а последние, в свою очередь, приводят к явлениям истерии.

На ряду с описанной широкой сексуальностью и половой свободой, чувство любви играет все же большую роль в жизни гиляка. Самый употребительный термин для любви es'-mund означает любовь как половую, так и любовь вообще, к детям, к друзьями, и т. д. Есть особый термин для взаимной любви — os'mund для брака по любви os'mur:kir, vavynd. Есть еще некоторые другие термины для любви, например, hyvnd и др., но нет специальных терминов «возлюбленный», «возлюбленная», хотя мож-

но сказать es'mula nig:yvyn, т.-е. «человек, которого любят», но на языке влюбленных возлюбленные именуются либо терминами «муж» и «жена», либо словами, означающими — «мой мужчина, моя женщина» — n'az'myч, n'an'x. Сами гиляки считают любовь за нормальную стадию жизни, которую каждый должен пережить в молодости. Очень хорошо это сознание передается в одной песне, записанной мною на Амуре, где девушка, жалуясь на придирки матери по поводу ее увлечения, поет:

Мать, мать, матушка,
разве собственную молодость забыла ты?

(Буквально: «Свое время прошлое ты забыла, оставь меня»).

Родители, впрочем, за любовные увлечения никогда не упрекают детей. Если молодежи приходится иногда услышать ворчание старших, то чаще всего по чисто хозяйственным соображениям, так как в период увлечения молодые люди забрасывают работу, становятся небрежны, неаккуратны. Вообще же реагировать чем-нибудь на половое увлечение детей, в том числе и девушек, даже не допускается. Если отец или брат узнает про прелюбодеяние своей дочери или сестры, то им не только нельзя употребить насилие против соблазнителя, но даже нельзя вызывать его на поединок, а по отношению к дочери даже сердиться нельзя. К любовным увлечениям детей относятся, как к совершенно естественному явлению. В частности мать часто является даже поверенной сердечных тайн своих детей. Во многих песнях, записанных мною на Амуре, сыновья все время обращаются к матери, делясь с ней своими любовными мучениями, спрашивая советов, где и как найти свою возлюбленную. Серьезные протесты родителей, протесты активные, доходящие до безжалостности, встречают только любовь к человеку запретной категории. В таких случаях сами родители подсказывают дочери самоубийство. Часто безжалостность родителей, главным образом отца, проявляется тогда, когда любовь расстраивает выгодный и с детства договоренный брак и девушку насильно отдают нелюбимому человеку. Но это случаи исключительные.

По содержанию своему любовь у гиляков ничем не отличается от любви в цивилизованном обществе. Грубая сексуальность в ней совершенно отсутствует. В любви этого примитивного народа мы находим всю гамму этого общечеловеческого чувства, от самых нежных тонов поэтической сентиментальности и тихой любовной тоски до самых бурных порывов героической страсти, не останавливающейся ни перед какими препятствиями, не от-

ступающей перед мужественной решимостью расстаться с жизнью.

Очень хорошо эта психика гиляка отражается в любовных песнях, особенно в песнях женщин.

Природа одарила гиляцкую женщину глубиной и тонкостью чувства, которое она умеет выражать в трогательных образах и формах. «Ночь и день о тебе думаю... Как мать родную выглядываю... Если уедешь, о тебе лишь думать буду, где ты ходил, там и я ходить буду. Из колодца, откуда вместе пили, твою тень черную пить буду. Как из многих деревьев самое высокое больше всего нравится, так и ты из всех людей самый лучший, самый прекрасный. О, возьми меня с собой, твоей сумкой с кремнем, что на поясе твоем висит, сделаться хочу. Сделаюсь дном твоей лодки, с тобой быть хочу. Моя левая слеза течет и падает, как дождь, правое подколено слабеет, неподвижно стало, высохла вся, ноги не движутся», — вот в каких выражениях, наудачу взятых мною из разных любовных гиляцких песен, женщина выражает свою любовь. Но замечательно, что и в песнях мужчин звучат те же сентиментальные ноты, и так же часты упоминания о левых и правых слезах, стучащих, как дождь, о колени, та же тоска о разлуке, те же сладкие мечты о свидании. Встречаются такие эмоциональные выражения как — «тебя всю целиком полюбил...» Изредка только прорвется неуклюжая, пошлая (с нашей точки зрения) грубость, в роде: «Жирной ляжки сустав (подколени) крутится (дергает), вот как нравится». Но никогда никакой циничности.

О роли любви в жизни гиляков можно судить по обилию песенного материала. Не всякий человек может рассказать какую-нибудь сказку или поэму, но любовные песни всякий знает. В любви гиляков песни играют совершенно исключительную роль. Песня — язык влюбленных. При свидании любовники вместо разговоров поют друг другу импровизированные песни, и, если не имеют возможности встретиться, посылают друг другу через третье лицо ad hoc сочиненные песни. Выработались даже особые термины для такого рода песен.

Об интенсивности любви у гиляков можно судить по тому, как реагируют влюбленные в случае, когда любовь встречает непреодолимые препятствия. В таких случаях исходом является самоубийство. Препятствия в гиляцкой среде двоякого рода. Чаще всего это препятствие со стороны родителей, которые либо из корысти, либо из-за нежелания нарушить договор обручения

в малолетстве, отдают насильно замуж, или когда женщина забрана силой. Самоубийства в таких случаях имеют место часто спустя довольно продолжительное время после принудительного замужества. В таких случаях женщина прежде всего пытается спастись бегством от нелюбимого человека, но, в случае неудачи, кончает самоубийством. Помню такой характерный случай. Девушка из с. Няниво была выдана замуж вопреки ее воле. Вскоре она убежала от мужа к своему отцу, который отдал ее любовнику, соблазнившись вторичным получением от него калыма. Ее первый муж с этим не примирился, улучил момент и отобрал ее силой. Через полгода несчастная повесилась. Известны случаи, когда женщина, убегая от нелюбимого человека, убивает прижитых с ним детей. Мужчины предпочитают активно защищать свое право на любовь. Обычно пытаются с помощью сородичей увести женщину силой, но не останавливаются и перед убийством мужа возлюбленной. Один совершенно из ряда вон выходящий случай любовного героизма записан мною там же в с. Няниво. Самым уважаемым и богатым человеком местного рода был в мое время гиляк по имени Nyugun. В свое время его возлюбленную насильно выдали замуж за другого. Он убил своего соперника, после чего был арестован и отвезен в Николаевск. Тем временем брат вдовы выдал ее снова насильно за другого. Убежав из тюрьмы, Nyugun сразу отправился в селение своей возлюбленной. Подошедши к ее юрте, он сбросил с себя все, кроме коротких штанов стыдливости, и, голый, несмотря на зимнее время, ворвался в таком виде в юрту, переполненную народом, и так напугал своим решительным видом присутствующих, что бесцеремонственно вывел за руку свою возлюбленную и отвез к себе, после чего он спокойно прожил с ней много лет (покойная успела ему сшить четыре лисьих шубы и четыре шубы из собольих хвостов).

Самым трагическим препятствием в любви является состояние влюбленных в запрещенных степенях родства. Тут положение безысходное. Сами родители настаивают на самоубийстве. Обычно в таких случаях влюбленные отправляются в лес и вешаются рядом на двух деревьях. Перед самоубийством они поют друг другу песни, воспевают свой путь в загробный мир, где никто препятствовать их любви не будет. До нас дошли некоторые из таких песен следующим образом. Случается, что один из участников, именно мужчина, срывается и после этого теряет охоту повторить опыт. Он-то и сохраняет для потомства

предсмертную песню. Один из таких трагических случаев незаконной любви стал популярной легендой. Это было лет сто тому назад. Одна девушка вступила в связь с младшим братом отца. Вскоре после этого ее возлюбленный поехал в долгое путешествие в Маньчжурию за товарами. Тем временем она забеременела, скрывать больше нельзя было, и она покончила с собой, повесившись. Когда возлюбленный вернулся, он сжег все привезенные товары на ее могиле, выпустил из клетки своего медведя, которого откармливал для праздника, и тоже повесился. Сохранилась песня, которую пела несчастная в момент разлуки. В отделе лирики мы дадим ее полностью. Здесь приведем только первые строки: «Возьми меня с собой, досками дна твоей лодки сделаюсь... Теперь о Млыво[1] лишь думать приходится. Чтобы помнить обо мне, на стене повешенные сережки сохраняй».

Против неразделенной любви гиляки употребляют магические средства. Одним из таких средств служит высушенный мозг кукушки, который примешивают к табаку, предлагая девушке покурить. Или же зашивают тайком в платье перо кукушки. Но есть и другие средства, не столь невинные, которые приводят к трагическим последствиям.

Как рассказывают, вкусивший снадобий от таких средств впадает в тяжелую меланхолию и через несколько дней умирает. Я знал двух человек, несколько обрусевших, которые за дорогую цену продавали такие снадобья и погубили ими несколько женщин.

Среди гиляков, как и в нашей стране, есть субъекты робкие, которые свои признания не решаются сделать лично. Посредником в таких случаях служат старухи, которым за это полагается «чай» — гостинец. Иногда посылают через таких посредниц какой-нибудь подарок, обыкновенно материю, на которой завязывают несколько узлов по числу дней, через которые поклонник придет на свидание.

Остается еще сказать о том, каковы стимулы любви у гиляка, какие индивидуальные черты привлекают к любимому человеку. Прежде всего, конечно, эстетическая сторона — красота, в особенности красота лица. Слово «красивый» в гиляцком языке выражается термином роч urland, буквально — «лицом хороший».

Замечательно, что красота у них расценивается не только со своей расовой точки зрения. И мужчинам и женщинам нравились

[1] Загробный мир.

русские женщины. Из мужчин-европейцев гиляцким женщинам нравились даже непривычные для них типы, как рыжие и блондины. Так, например, мой друг Бронислав Пилсудский, рыжеватый блондин, пользовался большим поклонением среди гиляков не только за свое симпатичное к ним отношение, но именно за свою привлекательную наружность. О нем иначе не выражались как роч uraxrá — «красавец», буквально — «лицом прекрасный», и когда он уезжал с Сахалина, гиляцкие женщины на прощание ему диктовали песни признания.

В любовных песнях воспевают не только красоту, но и «кожу белую, как кора березы», пышные волосы (коса до поясницы, волосы приглаженные), грациозность походки («голову набок склонив, улыбаясь ходит», «саженным шагом ходит»), физическую силу, рост (туловище — маховая сажень, «ноги в землю по голени входят»).

Конечно, и изящество в одежде играет не последнюю роль в эстетической оценке возлюбленного. В любовных песнях воспевается — у женщин расшитая в уборах одежда, множество нашитых медных побрякушек и т. п., у мужчин — черная собачья шуба, из пестрых тюленей юбка, богатый налобник из мелких беличьих шкурок, и т. п. Из летних одежд для женщин наиболее красивой считается одежда черного цвета, мужчины франтят в рубахах, сшитых наполовину из красной, наполовину из белой или синей материи. Но помимо внешней красоты ценятся и моральные качества.

В мужчине женщину привлекают черты мужества, солидность («твой голос подобен голосу urdla n'ivux'a, т.-е. почтенного человека»), или же таланты собеседника — балагура, певца. В женщине, помимо внешней красоты, мужчина увлекается чертами женственности, которой гиляцкие женщины обладают в большой степени и от природы, и путем ранней тренировки: уже с раннего детства девочка приучается говорить с тихой мелодичностью и придавать лицу мечтательно-кокетливое выражение.

Женщина не мало берет и песенным талантом. В своих песнях женщины не только умеют тонко выражать свою любовь, но и зло высмеивать неугодных поклонников. В своем сарказме женщина не останавливается ни перед какими гиперболами. В одной песне нос нежеланного сравнивается с полыньями, с открытой дверью, и в таких же тонах описывается его одежда, его собаки, его запряжка и т. д.

Половые ненормальности и извращения. Я много раз расспрашивал гиляков, практикуются ли у них такие половые извращения, как мужеложство и скотоложство. О случаях мужеложства никто, оказывается, никогда и не слыхал. Что касается скотоложства, то только в одном селении на Тыми рассказывали, и то с отвращением, про одного психически больного гиляка, что он совокуплялся с собакой. Каково отношение гиляков к этим извращениям, ясно видно из следующей легенды, записанной мною на Амуре. «Тигр и барс, и даже лев (?), некогда были людьми. Однажды, случайно, бог Кур увидел, что они совокупляются через задний проход. Тогда он в возмущении сказал: «А, раз вы по-зверски совокупляетесь, то и навсегда впредь зверями и оставайтесь». Таким образом, по воззрениям гиляков, упомянутые извращения почитаются актами, уподобляющими человека зверю.

Совершенно просто отношение гиляков к гермафродитам (miskund на восточ. диалекте, miskij — на запад. диалекте), в особенностях которых они видят, повидимому, простую аномалию, но ими отнюдь не гнушаются и охотно имеют половое общение. Браки гермафродитов — обычное явление.

В виду того, что в этнографической литературе половое общение и браки гермафродитов часто смешиваются с гомосексуализмом, приведу известные мне очень характерные случаи гермафродитизма из жизни гиляков. На Сахалине мне известны два случая. В селе Ямы, близ Александровска, жил старый гиляк Чубук, который был всем известен, как гермафродит, так как до определенного возраста он считал себя женщиной (membrum virile был слабо развит) и носил женскую одежду. Впоследствии membrum virile получил надлежащее развитие, и он стал одеваться мужчиной и, наконец, женился. Другой случай мною констатирован в селении Мый Гырк на крайнем севере Сахалина, по западному берегу. Здесь однажды я встретил сидящими на берегу двух молодых людей, мужчину и женщину, которые оказались супругами. Последняя лицом сразу показалась мне очень похожей на мужчину. Мои спутники объяснили, что еще год тому назад она носила мужскую одежду, сама считала себя мужчиной и очень дружила со своим нынешним мужем. Однажды они пошли вдвоем рыбу ловить. Им пришлось вдвоем заночевать, и вот тогда-то гермафродит и открыл свою тайну своему другу. С тех пор они стали сожительствовать и кончили тем, что поженились, хотя молодого человека очень отговаривали от

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

этого шага. Подобные случаи могут легко подавать повод к легендам о превращенных людях (об оборотнях).

На Амуре гиляк Путук рассказал мне любопытные подробности о своем приятеле гермафродите. Этот последний до известного возраста был девушкой. Вдруг он стал замечать, что у него растет membrum virile, то увеличивается, то уменьшается, то вовсе пропадает. Он сообщил об этом своему возлюбленному, который пробрался к нему ночью и убедился в справедливости его слов, и на другой день всем рассказал об этом. Через несколько лет у него выросла борода и мужской орган окончательно развился, хотя и vagina у него была вполне развита, и он мог иметь общение с мужчинами. После этого он и стал одеваться в мужскую одежду, женился, и теперь он первый охотник на всю округу. Он нормально живет с женой, но иногда совокупляется и с мужчинами. Последнее он считал приятнее. Говорит о себе с удовольствием: «Я имею два шанса, два счастья». Все относится к нему как kurdla n'ivux. Всего среди гиляков я мог насчитать до 5 случаев, столько же, сколько Богораз нашел среди чукчей.

У гиляков нет особых обрядов при достижении половой зрелости. Единственным внешним признаком девушки, достигшей половой зрелости, является то, что ей начинают заплетать две косы. Моментом наступления половой зрелости девушки считается появление месячных, что обыкновенно наступает на 13-м—14-м году. Этот момент считается началом брачного возраста, хотя, собственно, термином для женщины, достигшей половой зрелости, служит выражение — «женщина, увидевшая свое тело», т.-е. у которой созрели груди до такой степени, что она может их видеть. Для мужчины существует такой же термин — «человек, увидевший свое тело», но в данном случае под словом «тело» подразумеваются усы.

Еще до появления месячных мать подготовляет свою дочь к предстоящей перемене в ее жизни и обучает ее всем необходимым обрядам и табу, с кровью связанным. Гиляки, как мужчины, так и женщины, вполне сознают значение месячных как момента половой зрелости и до этого не позволяют себе актов полового общения. Гиляки взрослые часто женятся на малолетних, с которыми с первого же дня спят под одним одеялом, но половое общение начинают лишь тогда, когда жена сообщает мужу о наступлении первых месячных.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

XII.

СПОСОБЫ ДОБЫВАНИЯ ЖЕНЫ.

Данные эпоса. Прежде всего интересно восстановить картину добывания жены в старое время по данным народного эпоса. Судя по этим данным, особенно по так называемым n'as'tund (поэмы), добывание жены и в старое время отнюдь не было легким делом.[1] Наоборот, один из главных подвигов героев — искание жены. Чтобы найти себе жену, герою гиляцкой поэмы приходится предпринимать самые отдаленные и рискованные путешествия за край земли, переплывать бурные моря, даже подниматься на небо или спускаться в подземное царство и на дно моря, уже не говоря о всевозможных героических поединках с целыми родами самых ужасных врагов, — поединках, связанных с этими походами.

Почему так, почему герою, человеку сильному, непременно нужно искать жену вдали, когда у него поблизости есть все возможности найти себе жену?

Прежде всего заметим, что указанный термин an'g:ej na'ni-g:ynd «жену искать» — может подать повод думать, что обычным способом добывания жен героями явилось насилие, похищение. Правда, что и это практиковалось ими, но чаще всего они добывали своих жен самым мирным образом, даже без всякой платы. Это явствует и из самого выражения an'g:ej n'anyg:ynd, где для обозначения жены употребляется слово an'g:ej — термин, употребляемый для категории женщин, по отношению к которым у гиляка существует право, даже обязанность на брак. И действительно, все показывает, что целью поисков героя является именно законная жена, которая ему принадлежит по праву рождения. Всюду, куда герой ни является со своими требованиями, к нему обращаются термином ymg:i — зять, и женщин, на которых он претендует, называют an'g:ej, и, наоборот, когда ему указывают на возможную кандидатку, ему чужую, ее называют уже не an'g:ej а sanx. Вот характерный пример. Герой одной поэмы[2] получил

[1] Что добывание жены было делом не простым, показывает самое выражение для этого предприятия an'g:ej nanyg:ynd, где глагол na'nygynd — технический термин для охоты на зверя, обыкновенно сопровождающейся трудностями поисков и всевозможными опасностями.

[2] Л. Штернберг. Материалы по изучению гиляцкого языка и фольклора. 1908 г., стр. 118.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

отказ от своей законной an'g:ej которая заявила, что если ей придется за него выйти, она себя убьет. Тогда отец говорит: «Зять! Раз девушка тебя не хочет, что поделаешь? Другую женщину (sanx, а не an'g:ej) искать ступай». После этого он пришел в другое место. В одной юрте он нашел старуху. Та сказала: «Сын (так часто тещи зовут своих зятей), зачем шел? жену ли искать пришел? Твои жены вон в той (что в гору) свайной юрте, твои жены находятся там, ступай».[1] Множественное число здесь употреблено потому, что там оказались две сестры, и обе, согласно гиляцкому праву, принадлежат ему. Правда, странным может показаться, что героям поэмы приходится отыскивать с огромными трудностями законную жену, что, наоборот, казалось бы, должно быть крайне легко, потому что женщин этой категории обычно очень много, и местопребывание их всякому заинтересованному известно, да обыкновенно их можно найти в ближайшем селении. Но такова уже судьба героев: им всегда выпадают на долю исключительные похождения. Обычно это люди одинокие, с родными которых произошла какая-нибудь катастрофа. Могли вымереть от эпидемии или от голодовки ближайшие роды его тестей, а пережившие отрасли могли давным-давно выселиться далеко и потерять всякую связь с оставшимися, — при таких обстоятельствах не мудрено, что герою приходится метаться во все стороны, чтобы, как на охоте, по каким-нибудь заметным следам, расспросам, догадкам добраться до желанной цели.

Наконец, бывает и так, что та желанная an'g:ej, которой добивается герой, сосватана чужому, и нужна вся импонирующая сила и слава героя, чтобы заставить тестя нарушить данное другому слово, за что ему грозит поплатиться либо войной с родом обиженного жениха, либо, в лучшем случае, судиться и заплатить большой выкуп. А герою самому за добытую таким образом жену потом приходится выдержать целый ряд воин. Вот характерный пример этого рода из одного n'as'tund. Герой, явившись в дом той женщины, которая должна была стать его женой, в ответ на свое требование услышал такой ответ от отца этой женщины: «Она сосватана — n'ig:yvyn joxta' (технический термин для девушки, сосватанной за чужого). Горных людей род один, еще разные другие роды к тебе воевать придут». Наш гиляк сказал: «Я все-таки, взяв, увезу». Старик отвечал: «Ты только завтра обратно пойдешь». На другой день, после обычной общей

[1] Л. Штернберг, op. cit., 118.

трапезы, он не только отпустил свою дочь, не получив за нее ничего, но еще велел нагрузить ей в приданое две лодки, полные драгоценностями, что возможно только, когда женщина — законная невеста человека по праву рождения.

Характерно, что в чисто гиляцких поэмах, не носящих следов гольдо-маньчжурского заимствования и влияния, мы не встречаем никакой процедуры сватания, которая в настоящее время играет такую большую роль. Все сводится к лаконическому диалогу: Жених: «Я жену взять пришел». Отец: «Ладно, возьми!» После этого все делается необычайно просто. Брак совершается немедленно. Единственная церемония, о которой я впоследствии скажу подробнее, это confarreatio, совместное курение или еда.

Старик, отец невесты, спрашивает героя: «Ты откуда пришедший человек?» Наш гиляк: «Я житель деревни, что посередине бухты, твою дочь замуж взять пришел». Тогда этот старик сказал: «Дитя мое, этот гость тебя взять пришел, иди за него». Эта женщина сказала: «Ладно, пойду за него». Этот старик сказал: «Эй, рабы, приготовьте закуску, гостя покормите»... Наш гиляк вместе с женой сообща ели. Поевши, покончив, с женой вместе вот отправились».[1] Другой пример еще лучше рисует эту простоту обряда. «Тот старик (отец невесты) сказал: «Со своим мужем вместе кушайте». Вот эта женщина вместе с нашим гиляком кушала. Поевши, вышли, помочились, вошли, постельку сделали, забрались, под одним одеялом улеглись, спали». На другой день герой вместе с женой и приданым уехали.[2]

Но на ряду с такими законными браками описываются и случаи насильственного увода женщины. И это совершенно естественно, ибо героя могло постигнуть и такое несчастье, что роды его законных тестей совершенно вымерли, и волей-неволей приходилось добывать жену силой. Такие катастрофы, как увидим впоследствии, очень нередки. Эта альтернатива, которая, согласно эпосу, стояла в старое время перед человеком — либо жениться на своей законной an'g:e], принадлежащей ему по праву рождения, либо добыть жену насилием, в то время как о сватании чужой женщины, как об особой форме брака, почти не упоминается, — доказывает, что приобретение жены покупкой явилось позднейшим институтом, ставшим коррективом обычая похищения, со

[1] Штернберг, op. cit., 47.
[2] Ibid., 81.

всеми его кровавыми последствиями, точно так же как выкуп явился коррективом кровавой мести.

Так рисуются нам способы добывания жен в традиционном эпосе.

Современные способы добывания жены. До сих пор гиляк предпочитает старый ортодоксальный способ жениться на женщине категории an'g:ej на женщине, которая считается его женой по праву рождения. Только такой брак и считается «чистым». И люди, стойкие в законах старины, стараются соблюсти старый закон. Из всей категории an'g:ej наиболее предпочтительна женитьба на дочери брата матери; иначе говоря, наиболее ортодоксальным считается кузенный брак между дочерью брата и сыном сестры. Таким браком настолько дорожат, что еще до появления на свет будущих супругов сестра и брат дают друг другу слово соединить своих детей браком. После рождения детей, когда они достигают возраста трех-четырех лет, происходит, в присутствии сородичей той и другой стороны, формальный акт сговора или даже настоящего заключения брака. Переговоры может вести и мать жениха, но не с отцом невесты (ибо она ему приходится сестрой, а братьям с сестрами разговаривать запрещено), а с его женой. Вся процедура сговора сводится к тому, что сват (отец или мать жениха) при всех обвязывает нитками из крапивы и собачьего волоса каждую руку и каждую ногу сосватанных, при чем отдает родителям невесты собаку-самца, но не самку. Повязки снимать нельзя, так как она считается свидетельством сговора. С этого момента дети считаются мужем и женой, и этими терминами они друг к другу и обращаются. Обычно в таких случаях малолетняя жена переходит в дом своего малолетнего мужа, спит с ним на одной постели, проводит с ним свои детские годы, а по достижении половой зрелости начинает брачную жизнь.

Эта поспешность в заключении брака между малолетними объясняется многими причинами, но основная причина сводится к тому, чтобы закрепить своевременно свое право на брак. Через несколько лет может народиться или подрасти другой такой же законный претендент, сын другой сестры или двоюродной сестры. Далее, с течением времени может измениться экономическое положение обеих сторон. Отец невесты может впасть в нужду и соблазниться калымом со стороны. Бывают, конечно, случаи, когда брачущиеся кузены различного возраста: жених, сын сестры, может быть даже взрослым парнем, а дочь брата

совсем малолетка, но процедура та же самая. Мой знакомый гиляк Плетун, парень лет 20, женился таким образом на своей пятилетней кузине, дочери Иксуса, взял ее сразу к себе, стал с ней спать вместе и начал фактически сожительствовать с ней, когда она ему сообщила про первую свою менструацию. Но бывает и так, что малолетняя жена остается в доме своих родителей и переходит к своему мужу при появлении менструации, но для этого перехода никаких формальностей не требуется: первоначальный сговор считается публичным актом, всем известным. «Об этом весь Сахалин знает» с большим пафосом сказал мне знакомый гиляк, сговоривший свою малолетнюю дочь с сыном своей сестры. При таких браках не только калыма не полагается, но и речи не бывает об этом. Делаются лишь взаимные подарки, но и это отнюдь не обязательно. Так же просто происходит дело при сватании детей двоюродных братьев и сестер, хотя в этих случаях в некоторых местах на Сахалине уже бывает речь и о калыме, правда очень незначительном.

XIII.

ТЕРМИНЫ ВСТУПЛЕНИЯ В БРАК И ПЕРЕЖИТКИ МАТЕРНИТЕТА.

Весьма характерны в социологическом отношении термины, употребляемые в гиляцком языке для обозначения вступления в брак.

Как в древнеарийском, как в современном русском, так и в гиляцком языке не имеется такого общего для лиц обоего пола термина, как английское to marry, французское se marier, немецкое heiraten; наоборот, в гиляцком языке в этом случае для лиц каждого пола существует свой особый термин.

Когда речь идет о мужчине, употребляется глагол gend, xgend (основа ge) с дополнением шапх (женщина) или an'g:ej (жена); а именно: шапх gend, an'g:ej gend. Когда речь идет о женщине, употребляется совершенно другой глагол — avind (основа — av) с соответствующим дополнением nigyvyn: — человек или pu — муж или, если без дополнения, просто javind[1] (je — его + avind).

Каково же основное значение каждого из этих индивидуальных терминов g:end и javind?

[1] Беру термин восточного диалекта; в других диалектах те же термины с обычными диалектическими особенностями.

Что касается первого, мужского термина gend, то его основное значение совершенно ясно. Это один из наиболее употребительных глаголов в гиляцком языке, означающий «брать что-нибудь» и «купить». По отношению к браку поэтому смысл его тот, что 1) мужчина получает женщину в свое обладание, как законную жену; 2) что он покупает жену путем уплаты калыма и 3) в обоих случаях, в смысле римского термина — uxorem ducere, т.-е. увода женщины в свой дом, как это обычно практикуется в настоящее время.

Не так ясно с первого взгляда происхождение женского термина javind, который в этой форме является только брачным термином для обозначения выхода замуж. Но первоначальное значение его нетрудно выяснить из близких к нему этимологически форм. Прежде всего имеем ближайшую к нему форму, возвратный глагол p'àvind = pi + àvind, означающий — „себя содержать", „себя кормить" и, наконец, „жить" в хозяйственном смысле. Вот характерный пример: n'ig:yvyn' n'enyn' pyr:k pavrà — „гиляк один сам (т. е. одинокий) жил" (в смысле хозяйственном). Если речь идет о многих лицах, этот глагол приобретает значение „вместе жить", т.-е. сообща кормиться, вести общее хозяйство. Отсюда наречие p'avind — вместе. Далее имеем производную форму действительного залога àjvind содержать кого-нибудь на своем иждивении, принять кого-нибудь на попечение, усыновить, кормить, — в форме среднего залога означает кормиться, пастись (jalvun exan — пасущаяся корова). Наконец, javind, javend означает и „согревать" кого-нибудь (огнем), приютить.

Таким образом, термин javind, употребляемый женщиной по отношению к мужчине, ныне означающий выходить замуж, первоначально должен был буквально означать — «взять мужчину на свое иждивение», «принять в свой дом». Если эта этимология верна, в чем трудно сомневаться, то из этого следует, что первоначально среди гиляков, как это ныне практикуется у их соседей айну, господствовала система материнитета, когда муж по общему правилу переходил в дом жены, точно так же мужской термин g:end — «брать себе» — свидетельствует о современной форме патернитета, когда жена переходит в дом мужа. В настоящее время первоначальное значение настолько исчезло из сознания народа, что нередко для выражения «выходить замуж» к глаголу javind прибавляют глагол vind, avin vind, что буквально означало бы — «иди мужа взять на содержание», а это явное contradictio in adjecto, ибо означает переход к мужу в дом и, сле-

довательно, на его содержание. Лингвистическим пережитком старой формы брака служит то, что в старом языке, поскольку о нем свидетельствуют тексты, все термины совместной брачной жизни выражаются посредством производных форм от javind. Возвратный глагол v'avind значит — жить в браке с кем, совместное вступление в брак двух лиц, или, например, ytk menax vavin kuil itynd, т. е. «отец нам велел вступить в брак», буквально — «отец нам велел друг друга содержать». Далее, действительный глагол ajvund употребляется в смысле быть женатым, иметь жену, например, menin' ruvn an'g:ej n'enyn' ajvutâ — «два брата жили в браке с одной женой», буквально — «одну жену содержали», и т. д.

В современном быту гиляков также сохранилось не мало пережитков прежнего материнитета. Об этом красноречиво свидетельствует современная формула обычного брачного права, о котором мы говорили раньше, а именно — ymg:l arinx jag:n'idra — «зятя кормить должно», хотя, по общему правилу, зять уводит жену к себе и живет отдельно от тестя.

Очевидно, такая формула могла сложиться лишь при таком строе, когда либо зять совсем переходил в дом жены, либо, как у современных айну, он регулярно приходил к ней жить на известное время, и, само собой разумеется, семья жены обязана была кормить зятя на тех же основаниях, на каких в настоящее время семья мужа обязана кормить его жену.

Эта формула сохранила свое жизненное значение и теперь. Зятю полагается регулярно посылать подарки съестными припасами и долей от всякой добычи. Далее, молодые люди из категории ymg:l в течение нескольких месяцев в году являются неизменными гостями в селении своих тестей и непременными участниками в важнейших охотничьих предприятиях.

Особенно это отношение ярко сказывается во время дальних морских экскурсий для охоты на морских животных. Хозяин лодки — он же глава предприятия — специально в таких случаях созывает своих ymg:l для участия в охоте.[1]

Все это время ymg:l не только кормятся даром, но увозят с собой при отъезде равную долю в добыче и сверх того разные

[1] Аналогичное явление находим у индейцев haida, племени чисто материнитетного. Здесь, как сообщает Swanton (Haida, стр. 69) человек, предпринимая военный поход, созывает своих племянников, которые являются потенциальными или действительными зятьями его.

подарки. К этим молодым людям отношение часто гораздо нежнее, чем к собственным детям. И это вполне понятно: ведь ymgi человека — это сыновья сестер или дочерей человека, его племянники, которые при материнском строе должны жить вместе с ним, а его собственные сыновья и внуки уйдут в селение своих жен и будут от него совершенно отчуждены.

Эта обязанность «кормления» племянников по женской линии, впрочем, обычный институт при материнстве. У некоторых народов, как, например, у полинезийцев, право племянников на имущество дяди по матери приняло совершенно невероятные формы, когда племяннику предоставляется право безнаказанно грабить владения своих дядей. В виде пережитков это право сохранилось даже у народов, ныне перешедших к патернитету: например, у народов Кавказа, где племянник имеет право украсть у дяди лошадь, если он отказывается ее подарить. У алтайцев до сих пор сохранилась поговорка, что «племянник хуже семи волков».

Далее весьма характерна роль брата при выдаче замуж сестер. Во многих случаях не отец, а брат играет главную роль в этом деле, от него зависит и согласие на брак, и ему передается калым.

Сохранилось не мало других крайне показательных следов в языке и обычаях, которые могут считаться пережитками материнства. Так, если гиляк хочет сказать, что он женат, что у него дома есть жена, он говорит: n'i-umgarvo ivrà, буквально: «у меня женина деревня имеется» (n'i — я, umgar — женина, vo — деревня, ivra — есть), выражение, которое совершенно соответствует нынешнему быту айну, у которых доныне сохранился материнтет, и часто муж и жена живут в различных селениях, при чем первый является к ней жить на несколько месяцев, возвращаясь назад потом в свое селение, так что у человека, кроме своего родного селения, есть еще селение, где живет его жена.

Другой пример: термином для обозначения происхождения человека служит выражение pandfos', буквально: «рождения корень». Этим термином обозначается не род человека, как это естественно ожидать при современном агнатном строе, и не селение, в котором он родился, а то место, откуда родом его мать. Интересно при этом случае отметить то благоговение, с которым гиляк относится к родине не только своей матери, но и ее предков-женщин. Как бы отдаленно такое селение ни было, каждый старается найти случай навестить его, и не раз мои спутники-

гиляки, во время моих путешествий, поражали меня той нежностью и благоговением, с каким они приближались к селению, где, по их словам, проживала когда-то какая-либо их прародительница.

В некоторых местах до сих пор, на вопрос о происхождении, гиляки указывают на места, откуда их матери и жены. Так, в с. Ныйво, на восточном берегу Сахалина, в устье р. Тыми, на вопрос о происхождении жителей этого селения, они отвечали — «мы ныурские», т.-е. происходящие из с. Ныур, что на самой северной оконечности Сахалина, и когда я спросил объяснения этого странного ответа, мне пояснили: «потому что мы берем из Ныура жен».

Таким образом, эти люди считали свое происхождение по месту родины своих матерей, ибо, как мы видели выше, жены у гиляков берутся преимущественно из рода матерей. Приведу еще один интересный пережиток.

Обыкновенно в настоящее время детям дают имена по сородичам отца. Таково общее правило, но есть еще места (напр., сел. Наниво, на западном берегу), где имена даются по братьям и сородичам матери: дети, таким образом, вступают, как будто, в род матери.

Все это пережитки, которые совершенно не вяжутся с агнатной организацией современного гиляцкого рода, но это пережитки, интимно связанные с нынешней психологией гиляков. Для самих гиляков это не пережитки: это объясняется, главным образом, нормами брака, согласно которым супруги являются кузенами, детьми брата и сестры, и члены каждого рода предпочтительно берут жен из одного и того же рода, так что психологии патернитета и матернитета перекрещиваются между собой, и между женской и мужской линией принципиально нет такой пропасти, как в тех агнатных организациях, где гиляцкие нормы брака не действуют.

До известной степени можно допустить влияние на матримониальную психологию гиляков со стороны айну, которые, судя по преданиям, в лице отдельных иммигрантов беспрерывно инфильтровались в массу гиляцкого населения и оказали на него свое влияние во многих отношениях, как это мы увидим особенно ясно при рассмотрении религиозных институтов. Но в области брака влияние вообще было весьма ограниченное: ни в терминах родства, ни в нормах брака сходства между обеими системами найти невозможно.

XIV.

ФОРМЫ ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЯ БРАКА.

Нам уже пришлось в своем месте привести, как яркую иллюстрацию прежней обязательности брака на женщине из рода матери из категории a'ng:ej, тот эпизод из гиляцкой поэмы, когда гиляк, умирающий от раны, нанесенной ему человеком, имеющим право на его дочь, зовет своего убийцу и говорит окружающим: «хотя этот человек меня убил, дочь мою ему отдайте, ни за что мое слово не потеряйте». Так же ярко рисует нам эпос и старые формы заключения брака, совершенно соответствующие нормам обязательного брака.

Раз брак обязателен, не может быть речи о сложных процедурах при заключении брака, как сватание, переговоры об имущественных обязательствах, тем более не может быть речи о плате за невесту. Не может быть речи и о религиозных обрядах, связанных с переходом в чужой род. Невеста и жених одной общей крови по отцовской и по материнской линии. Поэтому во всех произведениях эпоса мы находим одну и ту же картину заключения брака без всяких формальностей. Стоит только человеку, явившемуся даже издалека, хотя бы только понаслышке считающемуся кандидатом в зятья, заявить о цели своего прихода, и он сейчас получает согласие родителей, и вслед за тем и все права супруга, и на другой же день может увести к себе жену. Мало того, от него не только не требуют никакой компенсации, но обычно тесть снабжает уезжающих щедрыми дарами. Правда, для проформы спрашивают согласия дочери, но обычно девушки повинуются воле родителей и требованию закона. Единственный обряд, который неизменно практикуется, это своего рода римская confarreatio, только в самой примитивной форме: жених и невеста должны вместе поесть и покурить. Вот образчик процедуры заключения брака из одной записанной мною поэмы. Старуха, мать двух дочерей, спрашивает пришедшего молодого человека: «Сын, зачем пришел? жену ли искать пришел? Твои жены вон в той свайной юрте, твои жены находятся, ступай!» Наш гиляк туда поднялся, вошел, молодых женщин две там находилось. Между ними сел, в своем кисете зачерпнув, закурил, младшей сестре дал, она взяла, курила; снова старшей сестре дал, та взяла, курила. Старшая сестра сказала: «Закуску приготовив, нас накормите...» Втроем все вместе ели. Поевши, кончили, спали, на другой день рано встали, поели, наш гиляк

сказал: «Сегодня ли пойдем?» Та женщина сказала: «Ну, сегодня передневав, завтра пойдем!» Передневав, на другой день в лодке обратно поехали.[1]

В другой поэме, в ответ на требования жениха, тесть ставит только одно условие: «Ты только завтра обратно пойдешь!» Затем приказывает рабам закуску приготовить и, обращаясь к дочери, говорит: «Со своим мужем вместе кушайте!» Вот эта женщина вместе с нашим гиляком кушала. Поевши, вышли, помочились, вошли, постель постлали, под одним одеялом улеглись, уснули. На другой день тот старик сказал: «на пяти больших лодках до верху нагруженных одними только драгоценностями, отправитесь».[2]

Другой пример. Герой поэмы в многолюдную деревню пришел, когда он в среднюю юрту вошел, молодая женщина одна там находилась. Эта женщина сказала: «О, гость, откуда ты пришел?» Наш гиляк сказал: «Я тебя взять пришел!» Эта женщина сказала: «Если меня взять хочешь, к моему отцу ступай, переговори!» Наш гиляк вот вышел, в юрту одну пришел; старик один, старуха одна там была. Эта старуха сказала: «Ты откуда пришедший человек?» Наш гиляк сказал: «Твою дочь взять пришел!» Тот старик поднялся: «Ну, мось приготовив, моего зятя накормите!» Наш гиляк вот вышел, к своей жене пошел; «Твой отец сказал, чтобы мы оба, вечером в гости пришедши, мось кушали». Его жена: «Ладно!» В этот вечер в гости пошли, мось покушав, пошли; выспавшись, встали, ели, потом обратно пошли (т.-е. с мужем в его деревню ушли).

Ортодоксальные формы в настоящее время.

И теперь, как мы видим, в каждом гиляке крепко сидит сознание, что только ортодоксальный брак, т.-е. брак из рода axmalk'ов, из рода матери, является правомерным, «чистым». Даже на Амуре, где старые нормы особенно подверглись изменению, на вопрос о нормах вступления в брак прежде всего вам скажут: «у тестей — корня своего рождения (т.-е. происхождения от общей матери) — необходимо жену брать». Излюбленной и наиболее частой формой такого ортодоксального брака являются браки между сыном брата и дочерью сестры. Такие браки заключаются в детстве. Переговоры ведутся вскоре после рождения

[1] Штернберг. Материалы, стр. 118—119.
[2] Штернберг. Материалы, стр 84.
[3] Штернберг. Материалы, стр. 57, 58.

детей между их матерями, но после соглашения устраивается публичная церемония, в которой, кроме отцов, участвуют деды брачущихся детей. Отец жениха приводит собаку-самца, а мать прядет две нитки из шерсти этой собаки и крапивы; одной она повязывает ручку девочки, а другой отец жениха повязывает ручку сына.[1] Все это совершается в присутствии старейших членов рода, и брак считается ненарушимым.

Идея ортодоксального брака до сих пор сознается не только как желательная, но как правообязанность. Когда сватают на Сахалине из рода axmalk'ов (хотя бы этот род только недавно стал в такое положение в силу того, что какой-нибудь сородич взял жену из этого рода), обычно начинают переговоры такими словами: «Ты мой axmalk, пусть мои дети и твои дети тоже axmalk'ами будут. Если ты не дашь своей дочери моему сыну, старый закон совершенно сломаешь, плохо будет. Давай все по закону («чистыми жить»)».

После такого напоминания редко кто отказывается от своей обязанности, хотя эта обязанность сопряжена с имущественной потерей, ибо в таких случаях калыма не дают, или дают очень маленький, если axmalk не старинный.

Неортодоксальные формы заключения брака.

Самые различные обстоятельства привели к нарушению ортодоксальных браков в родах axmalk'ов. Одна из причин — вымирание родов, из которых брали жен, что заставляло вступать в браки с женщинами чуждых родов. Другая причина, быть может, самая главная, экономическая, вызванная столкновением с культурными народами Дальнего Востока, — столкновением, которое дало толчок к развитию промыслов для торгового обмена. Предметы, не имевшие раньше никакой ценности, как шкурки соболей, лисиц, стали предметами, за которые можно было получить не только предметы роскоши, как дорогие материи, ценное оружие, украшения, но и предметы питания и вкусовые, как рис, крупу и, наконец, алкоголь и табак. Еще и теперь свежо в памяти гиляков то время, когда соболи и лисицы ходили во множестве и безбоязненно вокруг гиляцких жилищ, и никто их

[1] Любопытно, что у haida церемония заключения брака малолетних, которая у них выражается дарением вместо собаки одеял, носит техническое название: „накладывание перевязки" (англ. "putting the string on"). Повидимому, раньше эта церемония, как у гиляков, производилась посредством обвязывания веревкой или ниткой, как это до сих пор в таких случаях практикуется у тамилов в Индии.

не убивал, предпочитая одеваться в собачьи меха. И вдруг за этих зверьков стало возможно получать самые желанные предметы. Огромная перемена неизбежно произошла в психике гиляка и в отношении людей между собой. Если раньше мечта человека не шла дальше того, как добиться репутации хорошего человека urdla n'ivux, т.-е. выдающегося охотника, делившегося своей добычей со своими соплеменниками, то теперь urdla n'ivux стало синонимом «богатого человека», мечтой которого было накоплять предметы роскоши. На сцену явилось корыстолюбие, чванство, жажда превзойти других своим богатством, хотя бы оно сводилось к обладанию несколькими кусками шелковой материи, японскими саблями и т. п. На сцену явилась тенденция к дифференциации. Богатый пожелал знаться и родниться только с богатыми. В вопросе о выборе жены явились новые требования. От жены требовалось, чтобы она были из семьи, равной по богатству и, следовательно, по знатности. И теперь и даже в старинных «tyŋund» сказаниях уже в матримониальных делах слышатся выражения: «неровня он (или она) мне». С другой стороны, богатство давало возможность в выборе жены проявлять особенную разборчивость, гнаться за женщинами, которые славятся особенными качествами, выдающейся красотой, хозяйственными талантами, искусством в шитье и других женских работах. Но раз брак стал практиковаться между представителями чуждых родов, исчезла прежняя простота заключения брака. На сцену явился новый институт калыма, который внес в институт брака элемент купли-продажи; кроме того, брак между лицами чуждых родов требовал предварительных переговоров, процедуры сватания. К этим институтам мы и перейдем.

Термины сватания

Процесс сватания выражается различными терминами, означающими буквально: «согласиться, договориться о невесте»; отсюда сват «договаривающийся человек»; невеста «будущая жена»; жених «будущий муж». Для нас особенно интересны термины для жениха и невесты. При ортодоксальном браке особого термина для жениха и невесты нет, ибо уже по праву рождения жених именуется ри муж, и невеста — ʌn'g:eʃ. Совершенно недопустим при ортодоксальном браке применяемый теперь для невесты термин ʃox, потому что, как мы видели, ʃox при ортодоксальном браке термин запретный для полового общения. Таким образом, уже термины показывают, что процедура сватания возникла после смягчения режима ортодоксального брака. Для соглашения об ортодоксальном

браке с малолетней есть даже особый термин ixagund (восточный диалект tygnyз.

Действующие лица при сватании.

Со стороны жениха представителями бывают: 1) отец и мать; 2) брат отца; 3) старший брат жениха; 4) муж сестры отца. Роль последнего объясняется, повидимому, из норм ортодоксального брака. Согласно последнему, муж сестры отца - это отец мужа сестры жениха. Так как по нормам гиляцкого брака его дочь выходить замуж за брата невестки не может, то муж сестры отца считает своей обязанностью содействовать браку своего ближайшего axmalk'a, брату своей невестки. Если отца нет в живых, его заменяет один из urdla n'ivux (почетных лиц) из его сородичей. Кроме этих лиц, участвуют часто и несколько почетных лиц-сородичей, так как брак считается делом рода. Когда сватают у очень богатого, почетные сородичи приезжают на нескольких лодках, везя с собой сразу и предметы калыма, и часто, если такое представительство плюс богатый калым производит соответствующее впечатление, то сейчас же по окончании переговоров девушку увозят.

При сватании присутствует и сам жених. Если жених совсем одинокий или, если, наоборот, он достаточно богат и знатен, то он может сватать и сам. В одной песне девушка поет своему возлюбленному: «Мою руку держа, меня сватай».

Без сватов обходится, если дело идет об уже женатом человеке, который хочет сосватать еще одну жену. Тогда он едет сам, обычно в род своей первой жены, но часто последняя сама едет в свой собственный род или чужой (если в ее собственном нет подходящих кандидаток) для выбора и сватания новой подруги своему мужу.

Со стороны невесты обычно представительствуют отец и мать, но при окончательном решении требуется присутствие представителей рода. Последние, как со стороны невесты, так и со стороны жениха, хотя и вмешиваются в переговоры, но участие их скорее пассивное. В решении вопроса играет роль, кроме согласия отца и матери, воля братьев. Часто воля последних бывает решающей. Тут сказывается пережиток материнитета. В эпосе роль братьев особенно рельефно выступает. В одной записанной мною сказке, отец, когда сын сообщает ему о намерении своем выдать сестру замуж, отвечает: «Ты, только со своими младшими братьями посоветовавшись, подумай!» Замечательно также, что роль матери, несмотря на то, что женщины вообще в общест

венных делах не принимают участия, в делах матримониальных не меньшая, чем роль отца. Впрочем это соблюдается только на Сахалине, на Амуре же с желанием невесты обычно не считаются, хотя переговоры ведутся в присутствии девушки, которая молча сидит на своем обычном месте среди сундуков со своим приданым и ждет решения своей участи. Ее роль начинается обыкновенно, когда дело уже решено, и ей остается только подчиниться. И если у нее нет возлюбленного, которому она обещала, а жених более или менее приемлем по наружности, она обычно отделывается лаконическим: «Раз вы только этого желаете, мне ли перечить!» Но случается, что девушка при появлении сватов с женихом сразу убегает и не возвращается до отъезда сватов, тогда часто дело кончается ничем.[1] Впрочем невеста выступает на сцену в последний момент, когда жених приезжает, чтобы забрать ее к себе. Неглижирование воли дочери отнюдь, я думаю, не результат новейшей стадии брака, сопровождаемого калымом, когда у родителей являются корыстолюбивые мотивы в выборе жениха; это скорее пережиток брака ортодоксального, когда уже с детства девушка предназначалась обязательно одному определеному лицу или ограниченной группе лиц, и о полной свободе выбора речи быть не могло, тем более, что браки фактически заключались вскоре после рождения.

Процедура сватания. В процедуре сватания у гиляков находим черты, которые с замечательным однообразием повторяются у самых различных народов. Процедура сватания является подлинной дипломатической войной, обставленной целым рядом военных хитростей. В серьезных случаях, когда дело идет об очень богатой и знатной невесте, сваты стараются застать другую сторону врасплох и сначала скрывают цель приезда. Являясь в дом, говорят, что они здесь проездом. Как бы невзначай добывают из дорожных припасов водку. Ничего не подозревающие хозяева охотно угощаются, и когда они приходят в хорошее настроение, сваты начинают вспоминать, что они старые друзья с хозяином, что он никогда не отказывал в их просьбах и надеются, что и впредь не будут встречать отказа. Хозяин, ничего не подозревая, охотно обещает помочь всем, что в его распоряжении. И вот тут его ловят на слове и приступают к делу.

[1] Интересно отметить, что у негда, обычаи которых, вследствие старинных матримониальных связей, обычно сходны с гиляцкими, мною отмечены существенные отличия. Невеста при сватании отсутствует, мать имеет безусловное право veto, а сородичи роли не играют.

Отказываться уже невозможно, ибо слово дано. Чтобы хозяин не мог отрекаться, сваты заблаговременно принимают меры, предупредительно пригласив свидетелей. Впрочем, свидетели и без приглашения всегда находятся, ибо приезд односельчан сейчас же становится известным, и юрта наполняется посторонними. Отказ от своего слова — дело серьезное, за это требуют к суду, который кончается большим штрафом.

Но если сваты не желают или не могут скрывать цели приезда, этикет все же не позволяет сразу приступить к делу.

Сначала говорят о самых посторонних вещах, не подавая и виду о цели приезда. Среди разговора устраивается выпивка. Достаточно наговорившись о «новостях, событиях», исподволь приступают к делу, но обязательно обиняками, намеками, желая выведать, насколько благоприятны шансы. Если отец невесты наперед не согласен, он сразу обрывает сватов категорическим отказом. Но это случается редко, ибо никто не едет сватать, не имея шансов на согласие. Обычно едут, как выражаются гиляки, «равные к равным», ибо все гиляки, как бы далеко друг от друга ни жили, друг о друге знают все до мельчайших подробностей, даже сколько кто соболей убил в последний сезон. Дело идет только о том, чтобы не соглашаться скоро, чтобы выторговать как можно больше. Этикет требует, чтобы отец невесты долгое время делал вид, что он и не догадывается, чего хотят сваты, и когда уже дальше притворяться оказывается невозможным, он должен придумывать всевозможные отговорки и препятствия. Обычно прибегают к уничижительным отзывам о своей дочери, утверждая, что она безобразной наружности, ничего не понимает в хозяйстве, что она сварлива и т. п. Но гости достаточно подготовлены к подобным уверткам и имеют наперед приготовленные ответы. «Мы, мол, говорят они, не гонимся за красотой, а что касается нехозяйственности, то она, ведь, еще молода, научится, да у нас достаточно женщин-искусниц и без нее, да и сварливость не беда, с годами научится с людьми жить». И тут же коротко отрезывают: «Это тебя не касается. На то наша воля. Если худая, мы ее учить будем!» Этого безусловного одобрения невесты только и нужно хозяину, за это он потом сумеет поставить самые выгодные условия, на которые сваты вынуждены будут согласиться.[1]

[1] Так именно и объясняют гиляки мотивы уничижительных отзывов отца о своей дочери. Думаю поэтому, что Иохельсон неправ, объясняя этот обычай у коряков тем, что этим предупреждаются возможные в будущем претензии (The Koryaks, 739).

Но бывает, что отец и виду не подает, что его радует такое отношение сватов к недостаткам его дочери. Когда все возражения исчерпаны, он неожиданно выпалит то словечко, которое обычно пускает в ход гиляк, когда он желает отделаться от неприятного разговора: «Ничего не знаю», цедит он сквозь зажатую меж зубов трубку... И после некоторой паузы сердито заявляет: «Спросите жену, как она хочет, меня это не касается». Тогда начинают угощать мать невесты, которая после долгих отговорок, в свою очередь, заканчивает лаконической фразой: «Чего вы меня спрашиваете? пусть мужчины решают!» В конце-концов переговоры переходят на деловую почву о калыме и приданом. При этом обычаи различны на Сахалине и на Амуре. На Амуре, где народ более меркантилен, сторона невесты беззастенчиво перечисляет до мельчайших деталей предметы калыма.

На Сахалине ведут себя более стыдливо: сначала называют только 2—3 предмета, наиболее ценных из ожидаемого калыма, а потом лишь договариваются о второстепенных ценностях. Но процедура переговоров и тут и там ведется в повышенной атмосфере.

На этой стадии тягучесть переговоров достигает своего апогея, и «тайорай» начинает играть совершенно исключительную роль. Мне пришлось присутствовать, когда в с. Пильво на Сахалине один из моих знакомых гиляков, некто Исайка, сватал для своего мальчика у старухи-вдовы девушку лет 15. У старушки в селении не было родных, ни своих, ни со стороны покойного мужа. Собирались поэтому по ее просьбе все почетные лица селения. Со стороны жениха, кроме отца, выступал его сородич, Софронка. Сначала казалось, что дело кончится скоро, потому что старуха очень нуждалась и сама навязывалась со своим предложением. Но когда дело дошло до вопроса о калыме, то Софронка с ней бился целый день. Напрасно он употреблял все свое красноречие и просил присутствующих помочь ему убедить старуху в приемлемости условий. Она неизменно твердила одно: „tajoraj!" Наконец, после целого дня мучительных переговоров, когда старуха нашла, что она достаточно выдержала характер и целиком выполнила, что полагается по этикету, она выставила условие, на которое другая сторона с самого начала была согласна, именно, чтобы калым был уплачен сразу целиком.

Для характеристики церемонии переговоров приведу записанный мною вступительный диалог свата с отцом невесты на

Амуре. Сват, отец жениха, по имени Певи, сватает дочь Лаккана. Оба зажиточные люди, старые знакомые.

После обычного обмена новостями, после угощения водкой, Певи говорит (перевожу буквально): «Оба мы с тобой, ведь, с давних пор, как старший брат с младшим (как братья) все равно были, большими приятелями, ведь, были. Теперь я по нужде пришел, к вам пришлось прибегнуть. Дело есть, большое дело, когда нужда приключилась, ты мне на помощь приди».

Лаккан: Что есть у меня (тем) тебе помочь готов, хотя ничего нет у меня.

Певи: Если имеешь что, разве меня не пожалеешь, не пожелаешь помочь?

Лаккан: До сих пор я ни в чем тебе не отказывал, не правда ли?

Певи: Конечно.

Лаккан: Ведь, если ты будешь иметь, то меня пожалеешь. Раз у тебя будет, то и я буду иметь, не так ли?

Певи: Если ты так сказал, меня это радует. Так, по правде, ты что имеешь, готов мне дать?

Лаккан: Что имею, если просить будешь, я готов тебе дать.

После этого снова сват угощает и, наконец, неожиданно заявляет: «Ты обещал, что имеешь, мне дать. Теперь у тебя есть дочь, у меня сын. Axmalk'ами сделаемся».

На это Лаккан отвечает: «Я уже слово другим дал».

Певи: Что же, что другому дал, но ты мне при свидетелях тоже слово дал. Судиться с тобой буду.

После подобных предварительных переговоров переходят к деловым переговорам о калыме.

Калым и приданое.

В гиляцком институте калыма, платы за невесту, крайне характерен тот термин, которым гиляки именуют этот институт. Термин этот, думается мне, бросает свет на самое происхождение института.

На гиляцком языке калым выражается словом az', az'r от jas'ing (?) — дарить, так что буквально az', az'r значит подарок, дар, который семья или род жениха дает семье или роду невесты. Что этот термин образовался не случайно, видно из следующего. В других обрядовых случаях, когда возмещение ценностями является обязательным, например, при вире — выкупе за похищенную женщину, за убитого, — употребляется термин jus'kind, что значит платить. Любопытно, что самое слово

jus'kind — „платить" происходит от слова us kind, которое в среднем залоге синоним uxskind бороться, воевать (jus'kind только действительный залог того же глагола). Иначе говоря — us'kind первоначально был институтом мести, впоследствии сменившимся вирой — примирением за выкуп. Эту эволюцию и теперь еще можно проследить в эпосе. В одной записанной мною поэме, в которой герой поехал мстить за убитого отца, по его возвращении спрашивают: Pytk us'kind joylo? „Ты за отца us'kind исполнил (буквально us'kind — „исполнил") „отомстил?" Ответ: „sik xuxra!" — „Всех перебил". Здесь термин us'kind употреблен в смысле акта кровавой мести. Но в другой поэме тот же термин употребляется в смысле виры. Уун naix us'kim — „За них (убитого товарища) выкуп, виру заплатили".

Уже из этого видно, что калым по первоначальному своему не вовсе не был платой за невесту, а даром, хотя и обязательным. Но это становится очевидным из того, что дар этот отнюдь не односторонний. Для отца невесты, помимо приданого, столь же обязателен послесвадебный дар жениху, при чем эти дары платьем, разными ценностями продолжаются в течение нескольких лет, и они сплошь и рядом не меньше калыма.[1] Считается позором не отдаривать равноценным жениха. Гиляк, нарушивший этот обычай, становится общим посмешищем. На ряду с дарами жениху, на обязанности отца снабдить дочь приданым, равноценным калыму, а приданое в сущности столько же дар дочери, как и ее мужу, который освобождается от больших расходов по тратам на жену.

Таким образом ясно, что по крайней мере у гиляков (есть много оснований думать, что и у других народов)[2] калым отнюдь не является заменой брака путем похищения, как это до сих пор многими утверждается, а еще очень недавно считалось аксиомой. В правосознании гиляков брак, сопровождаемый калымом, не является и актом купли и продажи; об этом свидетельствует

[1] Вот для иллюстрации института калыма, как института взаимного дарения, один из многих записанных мною примеров. Старик из с. Помр, человек небогатый, дал в качестве калыма за свою дочь 2 китайских котла, отличное ружье и 5 собак. Обратно тесть зятю послал 2 китайских халата, и в течение двух-трех лет регулярно посылал ему рис, табак, чай и уделял ему из всего им приобретаемого, из предметов потребления. Кроме того, дал большое приданое одеждой, мехами и украшениями.

[2] Между прочим у тюркских народов и у индейцев-шошонов, у которых брак действительно носит характер купли-продажи, отдаривать жениха столь же обязательно, как и у гиляков.

ствует и то, что покупать жен друг у друга абсолютно не допускается.

Остается ответить на вопрос, почему калым не практикуется при ортодоксальном браке. Дело в том, что в последнем случае браки заключаются между людьми, связанными общей кровью как со стороны отца, так и со стороны матери, брак санкционирован и с социальной, и с религиозной стороны. Но когда браки заключаются между чуждыми родами, обмен подарками играет роль и магическую (взаимная гарантия безопасности от дурных магических влияний) и социальную, как символ дружбы, аналогично обмену дарами при заключении побратимства. Что такому символизму новых отношений гиляки придают социально-религиозное значение, мы увидим из обрядов, соблюдаемых при вступления невесты в дом жениха.

Возможно также, что в концепцию калыма внесен был элемент не только магический, но и чисто религиозный. Выдача замуж в не ортодоксально предписанный род являлась табу, а всякое нарушение табу, по логике примитивного человека, должно чем-нибудь искупить — если не кровью, то ценностями. Калым с этой точки зрения является данью умиротворения духов предков, оскорбленных нарушением родового табу. Этим только можно объяснить, почему гиляки так же сильно реагируют на неуплату калыма за женщину, как на убийство сородича. Обязанность добиться удовлетворения в этом случае, как и при убийстве, тяготеет до третьего поколения на всем роде.

Ради достижения этого люди готовы итти на такой же риск и лишения, как и для выполнения акта кровной мести. Геройские подвиги таких лиц, предпринимающих далекие и рискованные походы в самые отдаленные места, один из наиболее обычных сюжетов эпических произведений.

Объекты калыма и условия уплаты.

Объектом калыма обычно служит особый вид ценностей, предметы sui generis, так называемые шагуnd (В. Д.), шуgynd (З. Д.). Это ценности, преимущественно добываемые от китайцев и японцев путем торговли. К таким предметам принадлежат: китайские шелковые одежды и куски материи, китайские шубы, некоторые нефритовые изделия, маньчжурские копья, инкрустированные серебром, японские сабли, а также большие чугунные котлы. Кроме того, к объектам этого рода принадлежат шубы, лисьи и собольи, и женские ценные украшения. В старину, повидимому, и топоры,

сначала каменные, а впоследствии железные, тоже служили предметом шагуnd.[1]

Это предметы неотчуждаемые, extra commercium. Только в исключительных случаях крайней бедности или отсутствия сородичей допускается отчуждение предметов категории шагуnd, и то только части их. Так, одна бедная вдова в с. Пилаво, продавшая единственную дочь свою, на мой вопрос, что она сделает с шагуnd, ответила: «часть я продам, а остальное пойдет со мной в Mlyvo - в загробный мир». Они хранятся только для исключительных случаев при жизни владельца — для уплаты виры за убийство, когда нужно женить сыновей и платить калым или давать приданое дочерям, а после смерти владельца — для сопровождения его в загробный мир. Только такие объекты фигурируют в калыме богатых людей. Но у людей менее состоятельных калымом служат ценные объекты потребления — лодки, ружья, собаки и т. п.

Богатые люди, гонясь за большим калымом, руководствуются, главным образом, честолюбием, ибо получение богатого калыма лучшее свидетельство его собственного богатства. Для бедного человека часто калым единственный шанс завести самостоятельное хозяйство. Но тут и другая сторона медали — бедному человеку почти невозможно обзавестись семьей и, следовательно, самостоятельным хозяйством. Выручают его до известной степени права группового брака и возможность вести общее хозяйство с братьями. Все же мечта каждого — обзавестись собственной семьей. Обычно выручает бедного человека род в лице состоятельных сородичей. Но не в каждом роде имеются богатые люди, да кроме того есть лица, у которых род вымер. Единственный исход тогда — приобрести жену работой. Обыкновенно на такую сделку идет семья, в которой нет потомства мужского пола, и зять как бы объявляется приемным сыном, хотя настоящим наследником он, как чужеродный, быть не может. Практикуются способы, облегчающие уплату калыма: покупают жену с ежегодным погашением маленькими частями до ее совершеннолетия. Но и при покупке взрослой тоже иногда

[1] Об этом свидетельствует следующая прекрасная легенда. В средней части Сахалина есть гора Kryus' pal; рядом с ней другая гора поменьше, „жена" последнего, от него убежавшая и спрятавшая свой шагуnd. Три прибрежные утеса представляют отдельные предметы шагуnd. Один носит название Wa-ul-a'il, означающее „место, где зарыта японская сабля", другой Wyn-ul-al — „место, где зарыт котел" и третий Kya'oxti — обух топора.

практикуется рассрочка платежа, смотря по условию. Любопытный способ уплаты калыма представляет случай уплаты калымом будущей дочери. Мне известен такой случай. Гиляк Канка женился на сестре малолетнего Плетунки. Калыма не уплатил, зато обещал кормить его мать-вдову и отдать ему калым своей будущей дочери. И договор был выполнен. Плетунке было лет двадцать, когда Канка выдал замуж свою дочь и весь калым отдал Плетунке.

Принципиально калым принадлежит роду. В трудную минуту жизни, например, если понадобится платить виру, каждому сородичу придется участвовать своим шаgynd. Но обыкновенно калым распределяется между братьями, хотя и непропорционально: обыкновенно самый младший, как наследник дома, получает меньшую долю. Кроме того, обычно младшему брату покупает жену старший брат до своей собственной женитьбы, так что младший брат не нуждается в шаgynd для калыма. Наряду с посемейным разделом калыма сохранились обычаи совершенно исключительного характера, ярко свидетельствующие о старой ортодоксальной форме брака. Именно, часть калыма дается «старому axmalk'y», т.-е. тому axmalk'y, с которым данная семья заключила ортодоксальные матримониальные союзы. Так, например, если в течение нескольких поколений семья *A* брала жен из семьи *B*, т.-е. сыновья сестер в каждом поколении женились на дочерях своих братьев, то всякий раз, когда семья выдает замуж кого-нибудь из своих женщин, которые, как мы видим, запретны для мужчин семьи *B* в силу односторонности кузенного брака, и получает калым, то часть его она отдает старшему в семье *B*, обычно брату матери женщины, выданной замуж, реже отцу последнего, если он жив. Любопытно, что этот дар старому axmalk'y подносит, как часть калыма, семья жениха. Этот обычай практикуется еще в более резкой форме. Брату матери отдают свою малолетнюю сестру, или брату жены отдают свою дочь для того, чтобы эти лица получили впоследствии за них калым, но участия в доле последнего нельзя требовать. «Лучше самому предложить свою дочь или сестру старому axmalk'y», обычно добавляют гиляки, говоря об этом обычае, «чем ждать просьбы об этом». Мало того, если у матери несколько братьев, а у племянника несколько сестер, то каждому из них полагается дать по одной. Чем объяснить этот странный обычай? Совершенно аналогичный обычай мы имеем у тамилов, где брат матери тоже получает часть калыма при выдаче женщины

замуж. Но у гамидов кузенный брак двусторонний, так что, если сестра человека выдает свою дочь замуж не за сына своего брата, она этим нарушает право; у гиляков же кузенный брак односторонний, и для сына брата матери дочь последней запрещена. Но почему брату матери такое преимущество? Тут возможно двоякое объяснение: либо это пережиток материнства, когда брат матери играл привилегированную роль, либо современный институт одностороннего кузенного брака у гиляков явился на смену более древнему двустороннему, когда всякая девушка обязательно выходила замуж за сына брата матери, и, таким образом, рассматриваемый обычай — пережиток более древней нормы брака.

Перехожу к другому преимущественному обязательству, сопутствующему институту брака — к приданому.

Для приданого гиляки имеют термин jox ɯond:, означающий буквально — «приносимое невестой, женщиной». Приданое, главным образом, состоит из различного вида одежд и украшений. Приданое богатой невесты состоит из ассортимента дорогих шуб — лисьих, собольих и из серебряных браслетов, дорогих серег, китайских трубок, также богатой резной и орнаментированной посуды, в том числе ассортимента художественно орнаментированных березовых ложек. Мать обычно отдает дочери свои украшения, а иногда также и постель, но подушек почему-то нельзя отдавать. Приданое начинают готовить с самых ранних лет и продолжают вплоть до выхода девушки замуж. Это называется jox wax — «невесту готовить». Приданое заблаговременно укладывается в заветные сундуки с семейными драгоценностями, между которыми в состоятельной семье обычно восседает невеста. Размер приданого обычно должен быть пропорционален размеру калыма. Говорят о «богатом» и «бедном» приданом, когда кумушки толкуют про ту или другую свадьбу. Кроме вещей, считалось за высшую гордость снабдить дочь рабыней или рабом. В роде одного моего знакомого гиляка Юскина девушке дали в приданое рабыню (ах), которую снабдили японской саблей, служившей ей для чистки подошвы сапог своей госпожи. Особенно честолюбивые богачи отводили для дочери-невесты отдельный дом и приставляли к ней для услужения раба, который потом давался ей в качестве приданого.

Приданое, хотя являлось компенсацией за калым, так как освобождало мужа от больших расходов на жену, все же является исключительно даром невесте, ее личной собственностью,

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

на которую муж никаких прав не имеет. Она может его продавать, либо отдавать дочерям в приданое. После смерти оно переходит к ее дочерям, а если таковых не имеется, она может его завещать, или же оно переходит к ее братьям.

После соглашения о калыме. Переговоры о калыме сводится к двум вопросам, вопросу о количестве и вопросу о сроке. Бывает, что калым уплачивается сейчас после переговоров, и тогда брак сразу считается заключенным. Зовут жениха и невесту, велят им вместе поесть и покурить, устраивается маленькое пиршество с выпивкой, а вечером мать невесты велит жениху укладываться на постель своей жены, и после проведенной на брачном ложе ночи новобрачный увозит жену с известной церемонией, о которой скажем после, в свой дом. Но такие случаи редки. Это бывает, когда и жених и невеста принадлежат к семьям малосостоятельным и калым настолько маленький, что его привозят сразу, а приданое невесты сводится к самым необходимым вещам ее туалета, и никаких приготовлений не требуется. Среди богатых семейств немедленный увод невесты бывает только тогда, когда жених живет очень далеко, когда данным браком особенно дорожат, либо по причине знатности родителей невесты, либо вследствие особой славы, которой пользуется невеста («по всей земле славившаяся девушка»), и боязно откладывать из опасения нарушения соглашения, если явится более богатый конкурент. В таких случаях сразу приезжают на нескольких лодках со всем калымом и в сопровождении знатнейших сородичей, и после внесения калыма, пиршества и некоторых коротких церемоний увозит невесту вместе с ее приданым. Но, повторяю, такие случаи редки. Обычно в таких случаях свадьба откладывается. Внесение калыма рассрочивается. Вначале оставляется только один предмет, большею частью котел; остальная часть вносится либо непосредственно перед уводом невесты, либо, если калым очень большой, часть его вносится даже после увода невесты в течение условленного срока.

Откладывается свадьба и из-за приданого. Хотя приданое начинают готовить с детства, тем не менее, в зависимости от внесенного калыма, приходится приготовлять новое. Последний момент переговоров — срок свадьбы. Это считается очень важным, ибо ко дню приезда жениха должно быть готово приданое, а также многочисленные яства не только для свадебного пира, но и те всевозможные яства, которые невеста увозит с собой, как дар семье жениха.

Сговор, заключенный между двумя семьями, считается сговором между двумя родами, и сама невеста считается с этого момента принадлежащей роду. В случае отказа с ее стороны или со стороны родителей, род будет требовать ее вооруженной рукой.

Договор обязателен и для другой стороны, но тут никакой санкции не требуется, ибо, в случае отказа, он лишается внесенной части (обыкновенно половины) калыма. Бывает только, и то редко, что жених просит вместо одной сестры другую. Но это абсолютно не допускается. В таких случаях отвечают:

«Если одна тебе не нравится, то и обе (и та и другая) тебе не нравятся. Когда дело идет о собаках, ты хочешь хорошую и я тебе (хорошую) даю; если одна для тебя худая, то обе будут для тебя худые. Когда тебя угощают, если ты первое блюдо все съел, то тебя вторым угощу».

Иначе говоря, двух дочерей просить можно, но требовать одну вместо другой не допускается.

Когда, наконец, наступает условленный день, жених вместе с родителями приезжает летом на лодках, зимой на нартах, привозя с собой условленную часть калыма и угощение. Этикет запрещает приходить пешком, хотя бы невеста жила в ближайшем соседстве. К этому времени семья невесты предметы калыма развешивает для публичного обозрения сородичей, и устраивается угощение для старших представителей обоих родов. Женщины всячески ухаживают за невестой, утешают ее, дают ей советы, как жить на чужбине, а если она недовольна браком, всячески уговаривают. Во время прощального пиршества жених сидит рядом с невестой и оба едят из одной посуды и курят из одной трубки, но в течение дня обычно не разговаривают. Жених вообще весь день должен вести себя скромно, не разговаривать. Поздно вечером, когда пир окончен, мать невесты велит жениху укладываться на постель невесты, и свадебный акт завершен. На другое утро уже новобрачная приносит новобрачному еду и называет его «мужем». В то же утро отъезд. Перед отъездом последнее угощение, и в это время родители новобрачных обмениваются благопожеланиями-молитвами. Вот образец таких благословений, записанный на Амуре:

«Если бог дает счастие, свой век счастливо доживают. Если счастия нет, дожить свой век худо. Боже, сделай жизнь наших детей счастливой».

После этого отец или сородич жениха произносит следую-

щую молитву: «Боже, сделай, сделай счастливым век наших детей, чтобы мы счастливо жили, совместной нашей жизни счастие дай!»

Произнося свои благословления, брызгают водкой по направлению к небу и во все стороны. Перед самым отправлением устраивается церемония, носящая название «топтание котла». Она состоит в следующем. У порога внутри юрты устанавливается большой с 5 ушками маньчжурский котел (для кормления собак) из калыма жениха, а с наружной стороны маленький котел родителей невесты. При выходе из юрты, поочередно, невеста, а потом жених одну ногу ставят в большой котел и другую в малый, не топча порога. Большой котел забирает отец невесты, а малый забирает жених. Церемония эта устанавливает символически союз взаимного кормления и взаимной дружбы перед лицом двух женских пенатов, — «старухи-хозяйки порога» и «хозяйки поперечины над дверью». Замечательно, что такая же церемония «топтания котла» производится у тунгусского племени «негда», издавна заключающего браки с гиляками, у которых они несомненно ее и заимствовали.

Через год после женитьбы новобрачные обыкновенно уже с ребенком приезжают пожить в семью жены, и когда снова уезжают, устраивается вновь церемония «топтания котла», только на этот раз вместо котлов фигурируют чашки.

Превратности брака. Как и в нашем обществе, браки не всегда бывают счастливые. Так как согласия женщины на брак не спрашивается, и редко какая девушка решается не повиноваться воле родителей и очень редко родители уступают протестам дочерей, не отступая от своего решения даже перед угрозой самоубийства, то послебрачная жизнь бывает чревата трагедиями. Либо женщина убегает со своим возлюбленным, либо убегает к родителям, особенно часто в случае дурного обращения со стороны мужа. В таких случаях муж часто пытается насильно отобрать беглянку, в противном случае он требует возвращения калыма. Так как никому не охота расставаться с тем, что однажды стало его собственностью, тяжбы из-за возвращения калыма бесконечны. Во время моих странствий среди гиляков, которые принимали меня первое время за власть имущего, в каждом селении мне приходилось выслушивать жалобы о возвращении калыма. Впрочем, предпочитали просить о насильственном возвращении жены, что часто делалось сахалинскими администраторами при благосклонном содействии священ-

ников. Дело в том, что лица, увлекшие или похитившие чужую жену, чтобы гарантировать себя от насильственного отобрания ее прежним мужем, являлись к миссионеру с просьбой крестить их и обвенчать. Миссионер охотно исполнял такие просьбы и выдавал им брачное свидетельство, которое давало право ее обладателю в полицейском порядке вернуть ее в случае насильственного отобрания. И это приводило к трагедиям. Один такой случай заслуживает быть увековеченным. У амурского гилячка по имени Тысь из с. Мхыль, 22 лет, другой гиляк Ургайн из Вайды украл жену и поехал с ней к миссионеру Москвитину. Муж нагнал их и стал умолять миссионера не венчать их, но тот исполнил за известную мзду просьбу похитителя. Тогда муж собрал сородичей и силой вернул к себе жену. Похититель представил брачное свидетельство в полицию, которая за мзду предписала женщину вернуть законному обладателю. Кончилось тем, что муж застрелил жену и себя. Без тяжб возвращают калым тогда, когда жена вскоре после женитьбы умирает бездетной, или когда жена убегает от мужа, потому что муж беден и не в состоянии кормить жену, и, наконец, когда умирает жена, сосватанная малолетней.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

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ОТДЕЛЬНЫЕ МАТЕРИАЛЫ ПО ЭТНОГРАФИИ АМУРСКИХ ГИЛЯКОВ

(ИЗВЛЕЧЕНИЕ ИЗ ЗАПИСНЫХ КНИЖЕК И ДНЕВНИКОВ)

I.

ПЛЕМЕННОЙ И РОДОВОЙ СОСТАВ НАСЕЛЕНИЯ НИЗОВЬЕВ АМУРА.

Предание Давно-давно гиляки, орочи, гольды — один народ были. Они родились на ольхе, на одной ветке. Брат и сестра не знали, куда итти. Сестра сказала: «на землю» и первая сошла.

С. Булава. Дуэ (кути) — 35 человек; еще имеются они в Пату, Тэбах, Маго. Когда пришли 3 человека, уже застали 1 дом Ича xal'a. Mongol — xala Djaxsul пришел сверху из гольдской деревни Чольчи (1896).

С. Майя. 1) Род Ynghka. Его род есть еще в Вайры — они хозяева Вайры, но случилось, что брат брата убил, тогда разделились и разделили огонь: «если друг дружку убивать, тогда кто родиться будет?» 2) Род Beldy бывшие гольды, пришедшие сверху три поколения тому назад. 3) Род Polmk. Гиляки с реки близ Михайловского, живут здесь всего 5 лет (1896).

С. Монголь. Род Valsu из деревни Валь Оросугбу — из той деревни, где войны были. Зaij из деревни Джай.

Valsu 4 колена из Уваль-хотин на Сунгари — Solodo. Когда они явились сюда, они застали только род Sigdylt (narni), но эти все вымерли (1896).

С. Койма, в верхнем Амуре. 1) Чоril пришли с Тро — один в Коль, другой сюда, третий еще куда-то. 2) Bajal — род маньчжу или Solodo из Козимы. Bajal будто бы раньше всех жил тут, потом их вызвали в Кизи, а затем они назад пришли, и им дали старосту.

С. Гери. Kern — xal-Dea. Беглые китайцы во время войны приехали на плоту, зацепили плот крючком, свой род сделали, потом огиячились. Затем пришли маньчжу, утвердили название этого рода и назначили старост. Dua-Tvanbling (Pat) Ajumka из Тыми-финг.

С. Пули. Samagil — 2 колена с Горина. Отец осведомителя оленей держал. 2) Tumuli — с Джонгли, возле пермской: гольды.

С. Ухта. Tyvl-ling — жители Тывль — ульчский род (ulvan-xala). Он ушли в Коль и образовали Tyvl-ling, но вернулись обратно через озеро Чля (3 дня ходу) — „шесть тятька, как назад пришли", т. е. шесть поколений тому назад. 2) Dea — покойников сжигают: родоначальники narni пошли вниз, в Коль, и вернулись гиляками. Dea kern-xal. Джатала — с. Удыли.

С. Мыхыль. Ygna (Лангр) Kugi из Руи (теперь Александровск на Сахалине).

С. Лыйво (третья падь). Dea в Койма, чистые ornyr (ульча с Сахалина) «давно-давно» пришли.

С. Ахча. Arxong kugi (айну). Пришли к гольдам и образовали с ними один род (отдали гольду жену умершего брата). Они же живут и в Тэбахе, откуда пришли в Ахча 5 поколений тому назад, а также в Чильми.

С. Тыльми. Xok-xal принят в Kern-xal, по случаю войны (перед приходом русских). Xok-xal убил Kalmling, жителя Кальмы, из-за женщин. Xok-xal был маленький. Тогда убийца сказал своим сородичам: «нас мало, оставьте меня, пусть убьют». Кальминские пришли, окружили дом. Он вынес чумашку с калужьим маслом. Тогда старик отворил ему окно, тот выскочил, брат убил его сзади копьем, но он успел (перед тем) убить другого стрелой, и опять casus belli. Тогда-то Kern-xal принял Xok-xal: отдал ему свою вдову, ломали огонь и купили медведя.

С. Тварво, у устья Петровского залива. Род Alrong — Kugi (айну), переселившиеся несколько поколений тому назад с юга. Есть еще этот род в Тебах.

Другой род Narlaf 2 поколения тому назад пришел из Нывра (1896).

В Таура, Чильба и Тыр — гольды и негда говорят на своем языке. Если отец гольд, а мать гилячка, то родители говорят с детьми каждый на своем языке, а дети говорят на обоих языках.

В семье гилика Кандо дети больше говорят по-гольдски, как на языке более легком (1896).

С. Тыр, Тыри. Xal Xok (Hóinv'a) приходил сюда и уходил. Шесть колен здесь живет. Согласно преданию давно-давно его род (Чукчаjl на Амгуни) пришел с верховьев Амура. Передняя партия пошла на Амгунь и оставила заструженную палку (чjaxvaraз:, гиляцкое gesams'a, gesxa narni); вторая партия не за-

метила и пошла на Чхарбах (Турхунг), а третьей не понравилось быстрое течение Амгуни и она поселилась в Гок.

После китайцев в Тыре жили Kojma-ling. Это было в то время, когда «щука жила на земле, а змея в воде; щука кусалась, ей войну объявили неводом, стрелками и пр. Тогда бог рассудил, чтобы щука в воде жила, а змея под камнями». После этого Kojma-ling ушли в Койму.

С. Дэ, 1 км от Тыр. 1) Xal Ajumka. 2) Xal Samaxajl. 3) Xal N'asxajl.

С. Хок (1½ км от Тыр). 1) Kalm-ling — гиляки. 2) Род Udan (Ханьгану — 40 лет) — негда; переселился с Амгуни, а на Амгунь пришел с Удыли.

С. Кальма в 7½ километрах от Тыр. Три китайца: один женат на гилячке; один куги из Косуная, живет здесь уже лет 20, не женат, «денег нет купить жену».

Тут живет один xal, смешанный из Чокчагил и аинского xal'a Дмитрия в Тыре. Чёдзигр (см. ниже) делают, жен берут и от ольчей и от гиляков; есть женщины и с Амгуни. Теперь еще женщин с чокчагil брать нельзя. Двух сестер брать можно. Меняться женщинами между родами нельзя. Здесь тоже могут брать вдов. Дают дочь брату жены для продажи, но требовать этого он не может. — На медвежьем празднике в медведя стреляет кто угодно (1910).

С. Дальджа. — Род негидальский. Первоначально ры-негда жили в Дальджа, в 30 км отсюда. Вымерли все (осталась только одна девочка). Они жили в зимовье. Однажды летом тигр появился перед входом. Они пытались выйти из юрты, но не могли. Наконец вышли, перешагнув через тигра. Потом они во сне видели, что тигр спал с девочкой, днем, когда никого не было. Шесть раз спал, шесть раз «мальчик родился». Потом они поспорили и разошлись в разные стороны. Четыре поколения тут живут. Тырская ветвь адоптировала куги. У гольдов тоже их род есть (1896).

С. Кук, 10½ км от Кальмы. Ulba-xal (гольды) — говорят по-гиляцки, хоронят в земле (1896).

С. Тхнало (в 2 км от Кук). Kern-xal (он же в Тауро, Тыльма, Тахта; 1896).

С. Кабачи (3 км от Тхнало). Kern-xal, Taxta-ling, Ualym-ling (1896).

С. Тахта (4 км от Кабачи). 1) Бывший род Хузут. Одна семья говорит по-гиляцки; покойников хоронят. 2) Род Чоz'm

(от чozmuз: — клевать кучей, как птицы) Nag: ramlanз: (nag: — чора и рыбье молоко) сошлись вместе. Чoz'm — бедные люди. Они поспорили с какими-то гиляками, вступили в родовой союз со вторым родом и слились в один род. Чoz'm живут также в Кальме. На Пилаво тоже чoz'm[1]. У Tvap-ling и Чilba-ling — гольдские законы и язык. Kalma-ling. Этот xal имеется еще в Чильми и Хэзь; будто бы из Пилаво. Kerп-xal пришли из Тыльми: 2 маньчжу, мужчина и женщина, на пароме плыли и кричали: „sinv arixal munyзná? — какой род меня возьмет на берег?" Их крючками поймали на плоту.

С. Чильма. Чilma-ling из Пилаво, близ северного Сахалина. Один род Чilma-ling из Пилаво северного; 3 брата: 1 пошел на юг (Пилаво), другой сюда, третий к гольдам (1896).

С. Пилаво-хэ'зь (5 км от Чильми). В этом селении исключительно род pilavyng (1910).

С. Хэзь. Исключительно род pilavyng.

С. Тэбах (по-гиляцки Тевх). Всего 3 юрты, около 30 человек. Род arxong — айны; пришел из Косуная, на Пронги поставил tax — заструженную палку; сзади человек пришел, палка упала по направлению к Иски. Род arxong больше всего в Тэбахе, далее в Акча, Чильми (1 дом) и в Иски (1910). Ignan вместе с arxong, живущим в Ахчи, составляют один род: в Ахчи — гольдская половина, в Тэбахе — другая половина (1896).

С. Мачала, против Хэзь; 2 юрты негидальцев (1910). В 1896 году тут жили xez'-ping и негидальцы (ry).

С. Пачи (Бачи). 22 семейства, около 100 душ. Девять русских домов и два uigryf. В нем роды: 1) Tva-ling (Тва было селение за Мхыль, возле Пат). 2) Aunkan живут в Плах (Пилаво), ниже Мариинска. Они жили на Амгуни, но братья подрались, и несколько братьев ушло в Плах, взяв кусок огня — ling roz — „делать огонь". Там они сделались ornyr, потом давно, еще во время японцев, из Корсаковского перешли в Тэвх и Кальво. Здесь два старых lezing, а также по одному в Каки, Маго, Васин мыс и в Тамлаво. 3) Род pyri-ling (2 юрты), старая деревня против Кальво. Раньше, давно, жили амгунцы. Зеленый бор — Тууз; в Ухте — ольчи (1910).

С. Ныких Хез'бин (одно из Пилаво), на протоке Ный Мачала. Гиляков тут человек 20, есть еще амгунцы n'asxagil, которые по-гиляцки называются n'as'xon. Двое из Пилаво поселились за последние 10 лет (1910).

[1] См. ниже Предание о Пилаво, 1910.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

С. Кальга (гилякское K:alvo). Родов два: 1) 4 юрты lezing-ran-tva-bing (от lezing + tan — хозяин). Lezing-tan это колено (hyn'izlyx hyz'l') tva-bing. Они ловили много медведей и имели большой lezing. Они поссорились еще в Тва и уехали давным-давно в Тамлво. Теперь они в Ег:ли (Яли) и Маго. 2) Pyrifing; три lezing и три uigryf (1910). Одна женщина ry — umgu — негидалха. 3) Lezgrang с сахалинского Тамлво. 4) Pyrifing ornyr, пришли сверху; самый старший род здесь. 5) Narmlang — сверху близ Хабаровска; гольды (1896).

С. Мокрая (Мохрво). Роды: 1) Narmlang (ornyr:) — pyrifing (ygdymsyl из Кизй, где их много). Здесь их 3 дома, четыре поколения тут живут. 2) Lezgrang — 1 дом, 17 человек. Гиляки все будто бы пришли с Амгуни (hynk) и поселились на Амуре. Один uigryf (1910).

С. Маго. Роды: 1) Mol'-tan (ornyr:); 2) Lezgrang (1 дом) 3) Naromlang; 1 дом, 3 семейства (1910).

Роды: 1) Lezgrang, 2) Pyrifing, 3) Tyvlafing, 4) Hutyvix, с речки Тыми, 5) Narmlang, 6) Pnarnung (1896).

Йоом-баль — гора в 6½ км выше Вайды; раньше тут гиляки жили из сел. Йоом. На левом берегу Амура за Йоом'ом бухточка, а за ней высокий берег с белым обнаженным k:aned'ж dzif (известняк) (1910).

С. Вайр (Вайды); в 1896 году было 3 рода: 1) Keg:n, 2) hirlung (hirlung + uafping), 3) lumr-ping. Теперь ornyr всего 12 человек осталось; гиляков 10 человек; hirlung 17 человек (см. также ниже), uafping — 13; lumr-ping — 7 человек. Keg:n — ольчи из с. Аур; 4 колена в Вайр. Было три брата; старший брат здесь взял жену hirlung; за ним два брата пришли. Keg:n — пришли из южного Пилаво. Тут еще и свежеприкочевавшие ольчи; староста 12 лет тому назад пришел. Keg:n слился их гольдов из Софиевска и айнов с Крмус-пал', их древнего селения (1896). Uafping — это амгунцы из Дальджи; отцы еще говорили по-амгунски много-много поколений тому назад. Hirlung — старинные жители. Их род в Чильби, Кехрво (ороки). Yilbi-ling — ornyr из Кехрво Lumr-ping пришел из Удыль (Hurulong по-гиляцки). Больше этого рода нигде нет (1910).

Сходится в один род так: женился ольча на вдове keg:n, потом за покойника медведя купил. Если женщины не взять, то (общего) рода нельзя сделать. Когда роды слились, то у них один lezing и один uigryf («грешный» дои, т. е. запретный).

С. Яли (Эг:ли), в 4 км ниже селения Мокрая; 7 юрт. Роды:

1) iezing-ran (1 дом); 2) ч'ing-ling (Кеду'-Орель — озеро), негидальцы, вероятно; 3) одно семейство из Н'аниво (1910).

Amng-xal, narmjang, Jarli-ling (гольды с Хунгари), Jegni и Njenxajling. О происхождении последнего рода существует следующее предание. Один брат гольд хотел снять от (см. ниже с. Коль) с девочки, другой предложил убить ее. Убийца уехал в Ньенха (близ Николаевска).

С. Каки (от Вайды 13 км). До эпидемии 20 домов было; юрт 5. Трое русских, один uigryl. Роды: 1) Tvabiling — 14 человек. 2) Amng из амгунцев; всего 3 человека осталось, остальные вымерли; в последнюю эпидемию вымерло 3 дома (1910). 3) Kegnang из Чомы. 4) Tvan-ling. Один старик говорит, что он от гольдов сверху, другой с р. Уль близ Авра. 5) Amn-xal — гольды; пришли сверху; первый хозяин этой деревни; это самый старый xal. Прежде большой xal был, потом все вымерли (1896).

С. Чхарбах. Torxung-xal (1896).

С. Тебах раньше была деревня, лет 20 тому назад (1896).

Вась, Васин мыс. 1) Levx-ping, мыс возле Налево; 2) Derxr-vun (1896).

Кукля и Мео. Первый хозяин деревни до русских был род kegin, теперь 9 человек осталось; живут в Вась (1896). Meo-ling из Хаймы, выше Богородского (1896).

С. Коль. Роды 1. Miera-ling. Miera — самый старый xal — это Чvunung xal (Ларун), пришел с севера, с речки Али (2 дня ходу от Шантар — Kyvrmif), потом xal разделился, и часть его пошла на Сахалин (Larun, Ylevut). Берет женщин у xovnung. Али — речка, широкая как Амур. Давно-давно у'lur и гиляки один xal были. Слыхали, что алеуты тоже собак держат и медежий праздник делают. 2. Tigr tor ping. На hovyx (плот) по вАмуру плыл человек. Мачинские гиляки его поймали и на лодке отправили сюда. Берет женщин у perxvung. 3. Kezung (из Петаха) — берет женщин у xovnung. 4. Perxvung (с Сахалина). Берет женщин у xovnung. 5. Nynxaj-ling и xovnung из сел. Кыр за Софиевском, где речка Нынхай (они оттуда пришли — ч'inirox). Здесь в Коль один xal с Xovnung. Берет женщин в Лангр. 6. Xovnung (гольды). Два брата поссорились и решили поделить от — цепь и камень на девочке одного брата, и ее убили. У них есть аинский кинжал с серебряной ручкой. Женщин берет у snarnung. 7. Snarnung берет женщин у Perxrvung. 8. Tyvling — с Ухтр, близ Софиевска (Ornyr). Берет женщин у Perxvung.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Старик Нашг (86 лет): его род тут живет по крайней мере лет 150, по его мнению 8 колен. Теперь его xal Snarnung. Предок его пришел с Амгуни, у устья Амгуни столб поставил, но он упал. Он пошел с семьей через озеро Чля, перевалил сюда. И теперь его род на Амгуни — N'as'xajl. Пешком пришел. Тоже ломал огонь. Купил речку Тыыв (приток Коль) — обменяв за сестру (1896).

II.

ПРЕДАНИЕ О ПИЛАВО.[1]

На севере Сахалина у отца было много детей. При дележе поспорили из-за камня с дырой от, надеваемого невесте на грудь на серебряной цепи. Один брат говорит: «Вы поделили все, а уж камень мне отдайте». Надел дочери на шею и через ночь снять не может. Другие сказали: «Дочери — не наш род, они замуж уходят, как же такую дорогую вещь им оставить?» Старший брат: «Только сыновей считаем, дочери не наши. Детей сколько хочешь можно сделать, а таких камней не найдешь». Потом старший брат все хотел девочку убить, а младший брат караулил. Младший брат рассердился и убежал с южного Пилаво на северный. Случился голод. Во время самого сильного голода они убили тюленя, одну маленькую нерпу убили. Сварили, по кускам разделили, поели и косточки остались. Ребятишки стали грызть, драться. Один брат пришел и стал бить сына другого брата этой же косточкой по «роже»: «Ты, собака, на, жри!», и бьет парня. Парень начал плакать. Отца дома не было. Мать заступилась за сына, и матери досталось. Через некоторое время отец приехал. Мать пожаловалась мужу, и произошла драка.

После этого стали делиться, поделились. «Жалко бросать свою деревню, буду искать такую местность, как Пилаво». Переехал лиман: такой местности нету. Стал подниматься по Амуру и нашел Хез'ъ; местность такая же, как Пилаво, и назвал его Пилаво. В северном Пилаво есть гора Ныкьх, где собирают ягоды и корень. Против Тебаха он нашел остров, похожий на сопку; он назвал его Ныкиx и поселил там своих сородичей. И теперь есть

[1] Записано в с. Тахта в 1910 г. Пилаво четыре селения: два на Сахалине, одно — Хез'-Пилаво и еще Ныкы, гольдское селение близ Хабаровска. Там еще сжигают покойников и есть медвежий праздник. Местность одинакова во всех четырех селениях.

такая деревня. Жили, плодились, ребятишки выросли, стали «мужики», в Хез' образовалась целая деревня, и на Ныких тоже целая деревня. На Ныких народу было мало.

Сверху на 12—13 сколоченных лесинах во время самого большого наводнения какой-то незнакомый человек плывет вниз по течению. С Ныких выехали, поймали этого человека, пробовали говорить, ничего не понимает. Этому человеку было лет под тридцать. Накормили его, приняли его. Он жил у них около года. Начал работать, что покажут. Стал по-гиляцки понимать. Никто не знал, кто и откуда этот человек. Когда он хорошо научился по-гиляцки, стали его спрашивать. Его звали Маньчко. — «Откуда ты приехал, не бойся, расскажи всю правду!» — «Я полюбил одну женщину, хотел было на ней жениться. Эта женщина другими сосватана была. Они приехали, от меня отобрали. Хорошо, что меня дома не было. Без меня отобрали, увезли. Все время этот жених караулил меня. Я его тоже караулю, чтобы столкнуться один на один: или я его, или он меня. Слышу, он в тайгу ехать на охоту собирается. Через несколько дней мимо моей деревни со своими товарами на нартах, наполненных разными орудиями, проехали двое. Сейчас же мои люди начали: «Твой враг (чin orgop n'lyux)». Мне и так обидно было, а тут еще люди смеются, а он в роде насмешки через мою деревню проезжает. Я все-таки вытерпел. Когда они уехали, через несколько дней я собираю свои стрелки и свою дубинку (мучо) в рост человека, — нижний конец, как у тормоза, только длиннее, а другой конец вытянутый и острый. Что делать? стрелки, нож и дубинка. За ним поехал, его табор нашел; еще один табор нашел. Они в тайгу пошли. Дело было летом. Далеко ли они пошли, где и когда их встретить, не знаю. На третью ночь нашел настоящий табор. Ночью сделать нападение? Мне совестно будет, если я, мужчина, кого-нибудь украдкой убью или раню. Лучше я высплюсь хорошенько и отдохну и днем приду в их табор со своей дубинкой. Буду просить, чтобы кто один на один ко мне вышел. Отдохнул. Недалеко от их табора ночевал и подумал: «Если двое на меня нападут, я, однако, с ними не справлюсь» (так думает). Утром встал, идет к ним: что будет, то будет. Одинокому человеку не страшно. Убьют, туда и дорога, — «ixa' igra' idif tugut». Подходит к их балаганам: «Ну, товарищ, выходи! Будет вам надо мной смеяться! Только один на один с дубинкой. И будет нам уже подкараулливать друг друга». Тот говорит: «Я брал свою, не вашу. Вам за мной гнаться и караулить меня не следова-

ло бы. Если со мной хочешь пробоваться, почему не так? Раз вы надеетесь на себя, хочешь меня проучить или надо мною смеяться? У тебя кости не железные, такие, как мои — мясо!» А Маньчко же говорит: «Ты, мужик, не баба, мы с тобой долго будем лаяться. Выходи, а то стрелять буду».

Тот охотно или неохотно вышел, давай дубинками воевать. Недолго времени и как-то тот ударил Маньчко в локоть. Маньчко чувствует, рука плохо действует. «Молодец, ты меня сразу изувечил». А товарищ неприятеля Маньчко стоит и смотрит, кто кого? Неприятель говорит Маньчко: «Люди так не делают, брось смеяться!» Маньчко пустил удар ему по голове, но не попал. Тот ударил Маньчко, опять в локоть попал. Маньчко думает: «Дело мое плохо». Засмеялся другой товарищ, который стоит и говорит: «Ты такую даль проехал, как без рук, без ног назад пойдешь?» Конечно, забрало: и больно, и совестно, и думает: «Верно, так и будет: хоть одна рука цела, зачем я такую даль прошел?» Правой рукой схватился за нож, раз ударил, другой ударил; тот свалился. Его товарищ говорит: «Не по закону делаешь. Так это не делается, больше не делай раны и этого достаточно». Маньчко повернулся, обратно пошел, две ночи в дороге ночевал. Приехал домой и ничего не говорит. Другие стали расспрашивать. Маньчко говорит: «Делал дела, вам нечего спрашивать, я один в ответе, вы за меня не будете отвечать, вы хотя со мною, винить вас не буду (ving n'igrigir ving daxɣ xejlo). Через несколько дней слышу: выехали охотники. Шибко болел. Маньчко себе думает: «Меня защищать некому. У него родня, сватья (брагу); если он поправится, меня убьют, как собаку выбросят; мне здесь не житье! Лучше мне удалиться. Чорт с ними, с бабами! Лучше мне удалиться».

Маньчко оказался с Горина (Гыр), рода самагир. Взял себе топорик, стрелу, дубинку и пошел на охоту. Пошел по тайге бродить, шел, шел тайгой. Вышел к речушке, давай паром (t'pm) делать. Если есть в этой речушке быстрое течение, куда понесет, туда поеду. Может быть, в какую-нибудь деревню приеду. Сделал паром, спустился вниз, сел на паром без весла, без ничего, толкнул от берега. Течение здорово вниз понесло. Плыл вниз, куда поведет. Дойду ли до живых людей? Думал и плыву. Через несколько дней — деревня, собачий голос слышен. Вот подойдет скоро деревня, может меня снимет кто с парома. К деревне не подошел, вода мимо деревни пронесла, и есть нечего! Без весел пристать никак нельзя.

Вот и плыву вниз. Ночь плыву, день плыву. С этой речушки вышел на Большой Амур. Ветерок начинается, паром несет быстро, тальниковые кусты только мелькают. Ветер начинается. Мой паром начало трепать (разрывать), t'om herongdox-herongdox guz: lar: z'ar: (к парому плещет вода). Аҳ я дурак! Когда я услышал собачий лай, надо было орать, и кто-нибудь снял бы меня с парома. Теперь ни за что погибну. Начал богу молиться. Начал укреплять паром ремнем, кушаком. Веревки нет. Вдруг начинает светать. Перед рассветом собаки стали выть. Как услышал собачий голос, начал кричать во всю глотку. Туман начал проходить; вижу, берег близко. А течение несет здорово. Вдруг впереди меня какая-то городьба поперек Амура стоит. Дай бог к этой городьбе пристать, чтобы дальше меня не несло. Вдруг паром к городьбе пристал. Когда паром остановился, шумит вода поверх парома, стало заливать. Делать нечего, взял свои вещицы, дубинку, стрелы, повесил на городьбу, сам вылез на нее и сел. Нет, нет да кричу, ору, и вдруг лодка откуда-то едет прямо. Смотрю человек». Маньчко стал махать, кричать, махать. Тот подъезжает к нему, смотрит на него. Маньчко начал говорить ему по-своему: «Возьми меня к себе», тот ничего не понимает. Маньчко подошел к нему, отдал ему свою дубинку, стрелки, одежду. Тот взял и его пустил на лодку, повез его, принял его к себе, кормил его, и он стал жить у них.

Пойманвший был pilavyn (житель Пилаво) из Ныких (Матулá?); там посадили березу, осину, ель и пр. Теперь старики померли. Прибавился пойманный, сделали его kxal (т. е. приняли в род). Его колено теперь вымерло. Плодились, множились (laxta — 2 юрты, kabavi — 2 юрты, vilmi — 8 семейств, xez'i — все pilavyn. Плодились, множились, построили большую избу - сажен 15[1] (3 обычных), там жил. В этой полной юрте все pilavyn (жители Пилаво) живут, а остальные в другой юрте. Жили богато, ездили в Японию, Маньчжурию (Сайсин), в Корсаковск, покупали китаянок, к ним рабынь (за Сайсином), также аинок и к ним рабов и рабынь (крйгрис); жили очень богато, все имели полное богатство». Однажды был праздник. Раз сварили собачье мясо (прежде собачье мясо ели). Ребятишки подрались, старшие вступились, и пошла драка. Даже дошло до ножей. Из Тебаха приехал старик Ушуng (из рода arxong) и помирил их. Все-таки после того, нет-нет, напьются ханьшину, и снова драка. Собрали сходку полную (сходка — vopud kymlyз) и

[1] Т. е. около 30 метров.

стали делиться. Работники были женатые и дети их тоже были рабами. Сначала делили рабов, вещи разные, меха. Один брат вместе с рабами поехал вверх по Амуру: „Буду искать такое место, ка« Хезь (раньше оно называлось Пилаво, в китайских книгах называлось Tajrá, а по-гольдски daj gasá — большая деревня). Прозвали их hes'-pilavo от слова hes' — глотка, потому дерутся из-за глотки, а не за серьезные вещи. Он остановился возле гольдского сел. Ыкы (с. Сарапульское). В Ыкы — старинные гилицкие выселенцы из с. Пилаво на Сахалине. Плодились, множились, теперь их мало осталось. Покойников все еще сжигают.

III.

ПРЕДАНИЯ О ПРОШЛОМ.

Старик-тонон по поводу раскопок[1] сказал: «Это корейские. Давно-давно война была. Раньше тут корейцы жили; потом китайцы пришли и выгнали».

«Давно-давно китайцы жили в Пуире на Амуре. Китайцы погнались и стреляли из пушки».

«Гиляков еще мало было тогда. У мыса на горке близ самой деревни (Лангр) пушку поставили (ямка осталась), стреляли в русских у осыпей в бухте Пуир (осыпи Пахзыр). Ямка на горке почти заросла, прежде она была глубиною в 4 метра; обсажена камнями. От пули 8 ночей горел лес, переулок сделался; пулю в Коль нашли — 4 человека поднять не могут».

По преданию возле озера видели 28 черепов, которые «ночью кричали, ходили воды пить; теперь вся вода высохла, «судно помирай».

По уверению одного старика, на его памяти и памяти отца его гиляки и их соседи издревле занимали те же места. Маньчжу (китайцы, манзы) явились со времени русской войны, больших городов они не строили, селились одним-двумя домами, и только в Тыре, Ахчи, Мыхыль у них были караулы. В Тыре жил губернатор.

При появлении маньчжу, во время войны с русскими, гиляки удалились на море, на Сахалин и т. д., но, по удалении маньчжу, стали возвращаться назад.

По другому варианту, когда часть жителей убежала, а часть была захвачена, спаслись 3 человека (2 мужчин и 1 женщина),

[1] Которые производил Штернберг.

которые убили 2 солнца. Вернувшись, они на месте Амура нашли горы и ушли обратно (от Шульгина Xokling, 80 лет).

Маньчжу воевали с русскими, пришедшими сверху; весной, во время хода горбуши, часть русских попряталась в тайге, и их нельзя было найти.

Русские с Амура спаслись на Амгунь; манзы их преследовали, но безуспешно. Тогда китайский генерал попросил у бога снега, и выпал снег по колено, и по следам нашли русских и перебили.

После войны с русскими китайцы поставили на верхней Амгуни (Бурухан) — столб — «пока он будет стоять, русские не могут ходить». Теперь столб упал.

На Амгуни есть также гора «Намнахан», ниже Гуги 19 км, со следами копыт. Там была ночевка маньчжу во время войн с китайцами.

Каменный котел и сапог на утесе «Гуляхан», пониже склада Шадринского прииска.

По преданию на одной горе сохранилась маньчжурская надпись.

Проводниками китайцев по Амгуни были негидальцы из рода umkan, а по озеру Орель — N'as'xajl.

Русские жарили детей на штыках и кушали их мясо; женщинам отрезали головы (1896).

Сохранилось предание о способе борьбы туземцев Амура с русскими. Однажды маньчжу преследовали русских, но часть оставили. Возвращаясь, русские решили напасть на Тыр, полагая, что это манзы. Гиляки на доски положили камни и привязали их. Когда русские подошли к утесу, они отпустили веревку; и все русские погибли, но один пустился вплавь; его поймали и Kem-xal отдал его Am-xal'у, который устроил в тайге медвежий праздник.

В Мача (левый берег Амура), против Кальмы, был такой случай. Гиляки отправились на охоту, устроили балаган; вернувшись, они увидели массу людей. Тогда они тайком убежали, собрали со всех деревень людей и устроили в разных пунктах за тальником засады. Когда русские стали выходить, их всех перестреляли.

Гиляки применяли иногда и такой способ борьбы: они привязывали бревно так, что оно отскакивало и било по ногам, и враги падали; потом их окончательно добивали (с. Каки).

Сохранились также воспоминания об отношениях китайских

чиновников к амурским туземцам. Гольды платили даже за собак, гиляки — с человека; китайские чиновники брали по произволу, и их халки (лодки) с людьми надо было кормить. За это выдавали квитанцию, дававшую право на въезд в город Сунгари (Ычх-хотин). В противном случае в этом городе пытали. Рассказчик самагиль в молодости ходил без квитанции; по его словам, платили за кормового человека 40 руб., а за простого 20 и по соболю с каждого человека.

IV.

СЛИЯНИЕ РОДОВ И МЕДВЕЖИЙ ПРАЗДНИК.

Два рода сошлись — k:xal m'ek:r: vytч. Сходятся в одну юрту; присутствуют и посторонние, сговариваются, и, если препятствий нет (напр., друг у друга не брали жен), то xlaj nivux объявляет, что два рода в один слить можно. Другой представитель отвечает: «Верно, большие дела вместе мы работали, вы тоже нам помогали, мы тоже вам помогали. Раз образовав один род, k:xal сделаемся». Он говорит: «Препятствий нет, наши сыновья и дочери будут братьями, но у нас есть дочери, сватья, необходимо, чтобы все знали и потому необходимо сделать общий медвежий праздник». Каждый k:xal должен купить по одному, лучше по 2-3-4 медведя. Соглашаются. Покупают медведя, приготовляют мось, откармливают медведя как можно жирнее, кормят год-два; приготовляют мось, покупают беговых собак. Наконец, наступает время празднества: играют, борются, потом медведя убивают. Перед убиением медведя избирают старика — он может и не быть хозяином медведя; это nga xez'-ni'vux; отказаться он не может. Он говорит медведю слово: „Чі pilá pal' urgur p'aч'az: kukujá pxylava:r чajpidugujá!" — ты, большая гора (горный человек), хорошенько нашу гиляцкую быль вытряхивай; повернувшись стань, чтобы я еще тебя увидел".

Убили, разрезали мясо (костей нельзя разбивать), внесли в избу, мясо сварили. Состязаются „гонкой" — varз:. Созывают оба рода, и мужчин, и женщин, раздают всем медвежье мясо. Обыкновенно старший советуется с хозяином, как делить медведя. Самые главные кости, это две берцовых — tereng и две тазовых — pyjx. Берцовые и тазовую кости дают самым почетным лицам. Голову и почки грех давать молодым; почки очень важны. Потом xlaj n'ivux говорит: „K:xal m'ex:r: ólagu k:xálgu umguólagu umgugu-tox its: furará; navat m'er: чuz'n'axr:, ngar:

n'ax:r: munaxana. K:xal its: furará: „umgu n'i ó:la, utku n'i ó:la, umgu n'anak, n'i n'anak, n'i nanak'ar. Nafxá-vi n'anak furará navát, viagr. Ni ykyn furará n'an v'av'ek munaxaná". Другой представитель отвечает: „Agitlá, pilymra siktumú mer: vará tyngyztá ving ag:yr: ningrota, ningagr vara vingrodá, n'iwak lyt k:xal, k:xal munaxaná". „Двух родов детям, родам, девочкам, женщинам говорю: „Теперь мы мясо одно, кровь одна сделаемся". Род так говорит:[1] „(Каждая) женщина мне дитя (дочь), (каждый) мужчина мне дитя (сын), женщина — старшая сестра (также тетка) мне сестра (мне тетка). Теперь ты, товарищ, сестрой называешься; ты тоже. Я старший брат, ведь; я тоже тебе младшим сделаюсь". „Конечно, так. Большие дела все мы одинаково работали. Вы тоже нам помогали, мы тоже одинаково вам помогали. Раз образовав род, родом сделаемся".

„Старший (т.-е. избранный для дележа мяса; он может быть и молодой)! Хорошенько думай, девочкам большим, сестрам (теткам) большим, зятьям хорошего не выделяй. Большим людям много подай, девочкам дай поменьше, большого старика в роде почками накорми, голову подай; спинное сало поровну раздели, не обдели. Берцовую кость старшим зятьям подай, тазовую кость зятьям подай. „Pilynga urgur kymlyjá, umguolagu pilý, nanakagir pilý, ok:ongú-tox urlý vus' ngox ta rozgujá, pila n'ivuxdox malg:ógur xet'ijá umguolagudox xiskioguja! K:xalgu pila, hejmartox, tafut jarjá k:orx xet'ijá. Tereng pily oxomdox xitirá, pyjx n'yn'yv póradox xet'ijá, mur:k ngox vará rozjá ta rozgujá..."

Отдельное лицо, после предварительного совещания, наконец, приводит медведя и отдает его самому важному лицу, а тот спрашивает в присутствии нескольких urdla n'ivux (хорошие люди): «Зачем?» Приведший медведя отвечает: «Я хочу побрататься». — «Ну, ладно».

После этого без него советуются с k:xal. Во время праздника новые сородичи покупают собак, готовят кушанье. За едой говорит аналогичное зять, а сваты называют его своим тестем, шурином и т. д. По окончании праздника адоптированному дают своего кресала — tugur:, но настоящий uig tuur (табунированный огонь) ему не дают. Uig tuur на деревне бывает не больше двух-трех. Им зажигают огонь на медвежьем празднике, на охоту его берет только urdla n'ivux, когда идет за медведем.

Устраивается медвежий праздник и по другим поводам, на-

[1] Повидимому, один представитель рода другому.

I: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

пример, для примирения с зятем, k:xal'ом или чужим. Если человек своего зятя обидит, при покупке, напр., то он молчит, молчит и k:xal, но дуются, пока для примирения (urla lytnyz:) тот не устроит медвежьего праздника.

К каждому новому медвежьему празднику необходима чашка для головы — hyl. Медвежью голову кладут всегда на новую чашку, а старую употребляют для мяса и пр. Посуду для медвежьего праздника всякий может сделать. Чашка для мяса повязана детородным членом медведя. Чашка, из которой медведя кормят в последний раз в юрте и непременно со стороны, противоположной двери, называется pukstov-n'ir.

Когда брат своей сестре дарит медведя, то ему самому завезти его нельзя; за ним надо заехать с помпой. Медведя встречают с музыкой zaz-чаз. Когда хозяин в последний раз кормит медведя, он ему говорит: „U'tur humyjá! Wingan úrur humyjá — хорошо живи! Когда пойдешь, хорошо живи".

Даритель не стреляет в медведя и сейчас же по окончании праздника уезжает, даже (кусочка) не попробовав, а сам должен принести с собой мось и всякие блюда.

Когда медведь заболел, тогда устраивают pying-tvysk и готовят uig, мось из самых различных яств и самых различных ягод.

Luk: — собака, нарочно рожденная для uig.

Когда жертвуют собаку, то ее шкуру, голову и кости кладут возле lezing в сруб (k:avnyx) и туда же кладут и кости медведя. Одни роды вешают головы на деревья. Место это называется k'ork ngangof.

V.

РАБЫ.

Сын раба остается свободным до шеи (т.-е. голова свободна), его внук — до пояса, правнук — до ступни, в четвертом поколении — потомки «чисты». Тогда он k:xal, т.-е. сородич хозяина, и если кто-нибудь называет его рабом, он может судиться с ним, и потому, когда спрашиваешь про потомка раба, какого он рода, он отвечает тихонько: „Pilavon k:xal purará hoxagirn os' krygrys",[1] т. е. что он рода Пилаво, по происхождению раб („корень раб"). Когда ругаются, говорят: „Ты только до плеч чистый, а там нечистый".

[1] Krygrys — раб аинский, ах — китайский.

Если крыгрыс и выкупил себя и хозяин должен был дать ему жену, хозяйство и отделить его (roz'd'), он все же считался крыгрысом, нечистым. Всякий крыгрыс считался k:xal и до его перехода в свободное состояние за него мстили, он участвовал в жертвоприношениях. Хорошему крыгрысу дают пай от заработка — он имеет право на половину дохода и вправе требовать ее через суд — xlaj-n'ivux'ов; и женщины пожилые имеют право участвовать в суде (их приглашают, и они имеют право сами прийти, если жалеют раба). Жаловаться можно и за любой.

Крыгрыс — женщина не может себе требовать пая через суд, потому что она замужем. За нее и муж не может требовать пая.

Китайский раб — a x, имеет такие же права, как и крыгрыс. Свободный — kistylygy n'ivux („чистый"). За убийство раба достается от рода. Убийцу ругают, когда напьются: «Если ты храбрый человек, то у нас есть старший зверь (pal pila k:otr — горный большой медведь, mer edr: — тигр), с ним сражался; медведя хоть бы убил и нас бы угостил. Таких храбрецов нам не нужно, ты можешь храбриться только около своей жены». Особенно бабы нападают. Но и теперь еще к потомкам крыгрыс относятся свысока. В 1909 году в Тахте стояли еще две юрты бывших рабов.

Чаще всего рабы приобретались через покупку аннок, которые в приданое получали раба и рабыню. При покупке жен цена соответствовала придаче рабов. В 1896 году жил там бывший раб, о котором имеются нижеследующие сведения. Нарин купил с Кизи девушку куги (аннку), и родился незаконнорожденный ребенок. Отец Хузина купил сына этой куги (крыгрыс) в Кизи. Ему было лет 25; за него заплатили 9 кусков шелковой материи (21 метр) по 75 рублей каждый.

Этот работник служил у него 5 лет. 18 лет тому назад он убежал в Кизи, потом в Арво (возле Нижнетамбовского). Имя этого крыгрыса Кутр. Его бывший хозяин из Хэзь позвал его шаманить, и он воспользовался этим и убежал. Теперь он старик, слепой. Его обязательно надо взять назад хоть слепого, кормить его и похоронить собственными руками, тогда его душа пойдет за ним в Млыво (отец, умирая, просил его об этом).

Китаянок тоже покупали таким образом. Необходимо было брать с собою соболей 100, лисиц 100, выдр 100, белок 100, хорьков 100, чернобурых лисиц от 10 до 100, нерп 100, медведей 100. Приезжих в Сансин встречает, бывало, купец, забирает к себе все товары и, не считая, завозит в амбар. Два дня угощают, расспра-

шивают по-гольдски или через переводчика. Приезжие сообщают о своем желании жениться, потом записывают, сколько каждый привез, и ведут к губернатору. Он дает телеги, провизию и их везут в главный город (Пекин). Их представляют, помещают во дворце, дают им прислугу, кормят, ухаживают, как за «господами», водят по городу с переводчиком. Наконец, перед ними выстраиваются целые ряды женщин, с покрывалами на лице; за каждой стоит оскопленный раб. Старые гиляки советуют: «молодой раб — старая женщина — фарт». Тут же забирают, отводят каждому по комнате, раб подметает, стелет и в эту же ночь он узнает свою судьбу. Подмалеваны. Сует язык в рот: зубов нет.

Обратно едут в Сансин с женами и рабами; там каждому дают одно- или многомачтовый баркас, который нагружают на 10 лет провизией, одеждой, шелками и пр. на всю семью. Когда возвращаются, жена уже в положении. Если родится дочь, то ей и приданное дают раба. Те, которые приехали в Сансин только дать ясаку (одного соболя), получают две гребенки, кусок дрели, 10 бутылок ханшину и пр. Аинок покупали так: ходили на охоту, привозили соболей и пр., также китайские товары и попутно жен покупали.

Женщина, вышедшая замуж в род Jusk'in, получила в приданое от отца рабыню — а х, которую снабдили японской саблей для чистки подошв ее госпожи. Потом гиляк купил ее в обмен на свою дочь. Бедные отцы (вообще) продавали своих дочерей в рабство.

VI.

СЕМЬЯ И РОД.

Брачные нормы и тотемные роды.

Сородичи-братья могут одну жену содержать, но лишь один из них считается хозяином, хотя купили жену оба вместе: второй пользуется супружескими правами только в отсутствии первого.

Если пожили год-другой, муж советуется со старшей женой, кого взять еще. И она сама едет выбирать помощницу из своего xala или из чужого, и жены называют друг друга сестрами. Мужчина спит отдельно, и каждая жена отдельно или мужчина посредине. Старшая жена заботится о всех детях. Младшие не могут распоряжаться над ней, и она командует. Бывает, что ревнуют и дерутся. Сватать едет: 1) отец и мать, 2) старший брат, 3) брат отца, 4) муж сестры отца.

Двух сестер в жены брать можно. Братья безразлично могут брать вдов. Лучше всего брать жену из рода матери, тогда можно получить ее даже даром, а если платит, то все же меньше. Раньше совсем не платили за женщину, если она из рода матери. Меняться женщинами между родами нельзя. Здесь тоже дают дочь брату жены для продажи, но требовать этого последний не может.

Запрет на потомство сестры до 4-го поколения.

В Вайды (см. выше) есть гиляки рода Hirulung, вступившие в союз k:xal n'ax:r: с хузуг' в Чильби. Раньше они жили вместе в одной местности и принадлежали к роду тигра. Есть гиляцкий род, который породнился со змеем (на Амгуни есть змеи; их видел на Амгуни Путюн).[1] Есть и гольды, родственные со змеями.

Молодой человек из Вайды полюбил жену корейца, гилячку, и пользовался взаимностью. Она поехала с рыбой в город, кореец остался караулить картошку. Тогда любовник едет в город. Сошлись они, две недели провели в городе. Приезжает домой - теща тоже любит гиляка.

Кореец требует жену, жена стала бросаться. Ночью гилячка убегает на двор и спит с гиляком. Кореец раз побил, теща и братья заступаются, кореец жаловался, зачем гилячку взял. Убил корейца (с. Маго).

Сеоры и способы примирения. Если зять шурина побил, то он должен (подарить) партию беговых собак (3-5; продаются только партиями) -'kylyn k:an. Первая собака kyly-k:an, вторая — k:ax, третья - - jerxpe-k:ax, четвертая — tyly-k:ax. Если первую отдельно продать, то все никуда не годятся. Их ставят на известном расстоянии (шагов 10-15) друг от друга и притом в обратном порядке, именно, первую — kyly-k:an — последней, дальше всех, и она должна всех обогнать, и вся штука в том, что все должны сойтись одновременно, а если kyly-k:an придет раньше всех, то это не его пара. Стоимость партии до 100 рублей. Зять, в случае драки с шурином, дарит ему такую партию собак, при чем привозит их сам или, если совестно, через другого, и отослать их обратно нельзя, разве только, если собаки плохие. Если же шурин зятя обидит, то для примирения он дарит шелковый халат (35-60 рублей) или медведя.

[1] В тексте „удан", но, судя по примечанию 6 на стр. 222 „Материалов по изучению гиляцкого языка и фольклора", это описка при путевых записях.

Внутри рода поссорились.

N бросил жену, получил калым обратно и стал бродяжить по русским и пр. Старики собрались и решили получить обратно женщину, тесть не соглашался: «Баба не собака, пробуют и бросают». Все-таки для одного молодого человека купили ее. Тогда N и Хеа' стал буянить и грозиться за то, что те взяли брошенную им жену. Но они ему возразили: «Ты не сам купил, а на деньги отца» (родовые). Кончилось тем, что дали беговую собаку, мех и две бутылки водки.

Присяга.

Присяга — simbi чахеі lambe — по-гольдски, чхуz'и пуузгá — по-гилячки.

Надо убить волка (lygyz') и сухожилия на обеих задних ногах поочередно пилить ножом от пятки до колена и спрашивать: «Где жилка для вора? (ennixrongz'? ennix — пятка, tongz — жила), где краденая жилка? — jengaz' tongz' шамджна? Ту жилку, которую дергает, вынимают тайком, сушат и хранят до тех пор, пока будет спор о воровстве. Ищут человека, понимающего присягу чхуz'и n'ivux, а этот дар передается по наследству (теперь лучший род — это род чхуzyl; к нему принадлежит Илья Тобонка из Чильби). Если посторонние пробуют, то большой грех будет.

Вор, устрашенный угрозами присяги, со своими xal'gu — сородичами приезжает в деревню обиженного; раскладывают большой огонь на берегу.

Обиженный со своими людьми тоже выходит к костру, кричит: „Pryja mygja', n'i hegat pxalgun polagun pryzrá чigry' tuur puguta enan'ivux. jugut prydóx kaukrá, park pryzrá. Ni sizymral'ó, sizjejmraló черах jot'in (pryzrá) helá egur pxogie jaxgujá", т.-е. „Приди, спустись, я испугался со своими сородичами, со своими детьми пришел; на твоем берегу огонь зажжен; чужие люди со мной не пришли; одни пришли (Я ничего не знаю). Какое дело (какая вина), к тебе пришел спросить. Ну, скорей свою думу выскажи". — Тот посылает посла — ximu n'ivux'a (главный во время войны) с копьем, на которое он вместо костыля опирается и начинает говорить. Вор с своей стороны посылает ximu-n'ivux'a. Ничего не выходит, приходится присягать. Приезжие и местные выстраиваются по обеим сторонам огня. Тут же присутствует и „присяжный". Они спорят: „Ni valugaj n'erax elvgaz'ó — если я вру, пусть будет мне плохо".

Присяжный тихонько начинает греть жилку на огне, и вор начинает подергивать, и тогда он сознается (pyima). „Y'rk pyima: vurará. Navat taktó jaxojló. Чing vark kymlyvé" — „Уже сознаюсь,

теперь что поделаешь. Вы сами подумайте". Если же напраслина, то настоящего отсутствующего вора будет подергивать.

Пострадавшему платят, сколько потребуют, и если вор беден, то дают женщину. Присяжному дают по усмотрению. Присяжный, когда жилку вынимают, вороне и кошке говорит: «Я не знаю, правда ли, нет ли, ты мне худого не делай; все равно ты тоже не знаешь. Если, действительно, дело есть совершивший, туда худо пусть будет». «Ni tajorá mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n'erox tox elyvgujá. Чі narl'ár: yan majg:oxaná. Mykyz' mra lytyng ivg:aj luktóx elyvg:az'o». Пока спорят, пускают ворона (ves') и кошку живую в огонь. Ворон каркнет — и человек каркнет и тоже в огонь лезет. Кошка мяукнет, и человек тоже.

Присягу делают для завзятого злодея, желая ему смерти: все равно вора будет дергать. Ворону и кошке, когда они горят и еще барахтаются, говорят: „Чі tajros: furará n'ivyx lerý mra чі unaxana ulxyndor hy nivuxdox elyvgujá". „Ты не знаешь, ты за игрушечное дело будешь терпеть (т. е. ты гиляку для примера послужишь), за закон греха пусть сделается этому человеку худо».

Присягу с каждым отдельным животным знает только определенный xal. Есть род, у которого k:xal волк – kexr: ping чnarpung. Они поймали волка. Они ездили на охоту на нерпу, волк на льду сидел, и его унесло в лиман. Как раз эти охотники увидели его и носом к берегу подъехали. Этот волк пришел и сел на нос лодки. Хотели его убить, да пожалели. Они его высадили и выпустили. Через некоторое время эти же (люди) охотились, и медведь на них сделал нападение. Тогда этот волк явился, стал кружиться, нападать на медведя и спас их. Т[illegible] случилось) много раз. Плодился этот волк и его часто встречали (вообще же волков мало там). Чnar-pung волка не убивают, и когда увидят, кормят его. Когда охотники, убив много нерпы, оставляют целые туши, волк их портит, но если Чnarpung оставляется, тогда он не портит. Поедут в тайгу, волк близко ходит около, они оставляют там юколу, мось и пр. Чnarpung его могут называть atk. Волков две породы, как и тигров: смирные и несмирные.

Эта же жилка волчья употребляется иначе. Когда потеряется что-нибудь, тогда из гнилушки делают чучело человека, и на голову надевают ему пузырь нерпичий. Сухожилием волка обвязывают ему шею и ночью ходят и постукивают в угол первой юрты, говоря: „Pyz' nyngjá — своего хозяина ищи!" И так

всю деревню обходит и при этом тянут за жилку. Тогда вор начинает задыхаться от испуга и сознается. Поднимается крик; случается, что вор при этом умирает.

При спорных делах тоже присягу принимают. При суде в балагане, где сидит xlaj-nivux, нельзя ничего варить, едят сырую юколу.

Палка (kys') — в аршин длиной с человеческим чхпаj.

Если дело доходит до ломания палки, тогда потом платят больше — вдвойне. В балагане xlaj-n'ivux'a сходятся большие и маленькие (с. Карга, 1896).

Женщина, роды и дети

Девушка, достигшая половой зрелости, заплетает две косы. Женщины прокалывают оба уха для продевания серьги (mes'x); прежде и мужчины прокалывали уши.

С малолетней женой сношения допускаются лишь после того, как у нее появятся месячные. Во время менструации женщина одевается в самое старое и не спит с мужем. Женщины подмываются, но не горячей водой, иначе ilgurmam (хозяйка огня) обидится.

У kexal (орочи) человек, имеющий двух жен, укладывает гостя под одним одеялом.

Женщина беременная не должна смотреть на Амур, когда он начинает ломаться, чтобы не замедлить вскрытие реки.

Рожают в балагане (повитуха — langyv-mam). Зимой роженица проводит в нем $1^1/_2$ дня, а летом — 3 дня.

Кричать при родах нельзя — грех. Муж в это время никуда не ходит. Если ребенок умер при родах, то женщина целый год не должна ездить ни по реке, ни по морю — рыбы не будет. За месяц до родов нельзя туго вязать, ни набивать колья, чужому ничего нельзя починять. При трудных родах отпирают ящики, распарывают заплатки, разпинчивают ружья. Новорожденного умывают холодной водой. Повитухе не платят. Пока пупок не засыхает, родильница свой огонь имеет. После родов женщина 3 дня моется, потом переходит в юрту, но 7 дней сидит отдельно и ест из другого котла. В течение 10 дней после родов нельзя холодной воды пить, сырой рыбы есть, но если родилось двое младенцев, то можно. Когда ребенок рождается, вносят две палки, всовывают их ему в ручки и поднимают его. Когда он заболеет, ему тоже дают в ручки палки и заставляют его подниматься.[1]

[1] На другой странице той же тетради находим следующую запись: „Эти палки kyz' nyngyz' (от kyz' — фарт, удача и nyngyz — искать)", что, нужно думать, относится к вышеописанным палкам.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Если два ребенка родилось, то делают две пары prung, 2 k:ong z'ax, 2 палочки — тальниковые, полосато-изрезанные (pying z'ax), 2 лучка (pus:) и стрелки особой формы (m'erlar) и привязки для люльки — pitus'. Когда готовят пищу, деревья эти — ola' bituz' — кормить нужно (с. Кальма).

Пока ребенок подрастает, пуповину — kylmyr хранят дома, а потом самому надо отнести ее в лес и повесить на дерево. O'ging чхnaj — фигура, которую делают, когда ребенок внезапно пугается во время сна. Чхnaj — фигура, когда человек сам, без шамана, делает то, что ему снится.

Детские экскременты выливаются около пихты (мужского или женского экземпляра); сюда же бросают и волосы, после стрижки (только у близнецов нельзя срезать волосы). Нужно следить, чтобы на мочу и отбросы не попала женская кровь, ибо тогда ребенок пропадет. Если стоящее тут дерево сломать, то ребенок умрет. Это дерево называется pila uigf, а место называется ki markf" — буквально — „мочу выливать место".

Детский амулет — ola bituz состоит из двух тоненьких слочек — prung, вырванных с корнем в день рождения мальчика; крону их повязывают берестой. Затем их укрепляют, окружив простыми палками, и привязывают к ним связки листьев Ledum palustre — багульника (tykr), а также заструженную головку k:xong z'ax, головку щуки (lus) и крючки для одежды мальчика. Если мальчик умирает, все это бросают, если же он выживает, то все потом идет другому ребенку (сел. Кальма).

VII.

РЕЛИГИЯ.

Душа и обряды после сожжения трупа

Душа — veg:n, чехн, утух, uz' (сердцевина, как у дерева). У человека три души: одна главная — veg:n и две ее тени, помощники. Когда veg:n шамана ранена, то шаман умирает.

Если во сне что-нибудь ясно привидится и сбывается, то это действие главной души, а если не сбывается, то ее тени — помощника. Есть толкователи снов. Если корову увидеть, будет буран; если красную ягоду увидеть, то скоро заболеешь.

На другой день утром, после сожжения покойника, приходит его семья, сгребает пепел; с четырех сторон огораживает дощечками, покрывает еловыми ветками, а поверх дрелью, потом берестой, досками, которые прикрепляют к земле деревянными

крючками. Добытую из пепла черепную кость (чонgr пупуv) завертывают в белое, кладут между двумя дощечками и скрепляют их пупом («корень, из которого человек рождается»); таким образом, делают mu n'ivux k:ak. Некоторые помещают косточку в верхней части, другие — возле пупка. Укрепляют в земле доску в некотором расстоянии от места сожжения покойника — mu n'ivux tuv. Одевают покойника в чулки, кушак, женскую шапку из рыси; если покойник мужчина, то и в мужскую зимнюю шапку, а к поясу привязывают с одной стороны кривой ножик (ig:dżeko), а с другой kes'kes' — железную цепочку и игольник, а спереди mly — сумочку с кремнем, трутом и огнивом. Потом рядом ставят колышек и на нем человеческий волос (от жены, сестры, матери) - mu n'ivux kiur, который будет служить покойнику стелькой для обуви при переходе в загробный мир; возле колышек с тремя рогами (сучками), на который ставится чашечка для кукушки (pyk nir), далее колышек с деревянной кукушкой — mu n'ivux pyk, т. е. «мертвого человека кукушка», наконец, еще колышек с орлиным пером — чатngar.

Постройка могильного домика может быть отложена, но одетое чучело k:ak[1] непременно должно быть сделано. Временно над ним воздвигается балаганчик из корья, k:ak-raf. Наконец, строят домик — raf и устраивают поминки.

Через день, через неделю, через месяц приходят ближайшие родственники, пьют, плачут, поминают: это проделывают в течение года, у некоторых два или три года; если некому, то один месяц, смотря по состоянию. По окончании срока «наблюдения» (tigr az'raз: - „наблюдение за деревом", время периодических поминок у домика покойника). Покупают водку, рис, созывают родных и «сватьев» и в течение 3—4 дней приходят на могилу и поминают; это последние поминки (raf pykyz'з:, tigr pykyz'з:). Ходят на tuv, место сожжения покойника, льют туда водку, сыплют от всех блюд, приводят любимую собаку и кормят ее. Собака эта называется pryski — gan (у гольдов — xan'a, т. е. душа); у каждого человека непременно своя pryski, даже у ребенка. Каждый с детства имеет свою любимую собаку, и когда человек умирает, то выбирают или его любимую собаку или лучшую собаку из запрягаемых в нарту и делают из нее pryski. Если она умирает, ее хоронят и закрывают чурками. Каждый говорит покойнику следующее: „Ning yvr: húmnyз: kys' k:avr: tog:agán urgur vija mu-n'ivux gudóx mlyvo-rox (pimlyx-tox). Vingán,

[1] K:ak — деревянное изображение покойника, вместилище для души.

erirózonyз:, húin pyk tynaxaná, pyk tykć, ví jerinaxana hongan pi oz'ngan, vam nar:kir: pxuukuja plyngu tengu, hoxaród vétana xan'a nyn'gir: kiur keraj'a, hyhagyskú vetajá k:akgir:, turi xer: toz'ja, pykn'ir: pyk чax tanýз: pyk tekć: pernaxaná. Urgur vir: namugur humyjá pytyxu dog:a pymyxu dog:a, pi ykyngudog:a, vijá.

«Возле нас жить, счастья нет (не судьба), в таком случае хорошо иди к покойникам, в селение мертвых (в свое селение мертвых). Когда пойдешь, через реку перейдешь, тут же кукушка будет куковать; после того как кукушка будет долго куковать, ты проснешься. Тогда ты встанешь, орлиными перьями отряхнешь с себя пепел и уголь, потом оденешься, из волос[1] стельку сделаешь, эту одежду одень, из фигуры, как мостик сделав, перейди; кукушка из чашки воду пьет, после того как, долго прокуковав, устанет.[2] Хорошо идя, хорошенько живи, своих отцов закон, своих матерей закон, своих старших братьев закон (соблюдай), иди». Эти слова говорят при обычных поминках.

Через некоторое время покупают медведя, кормят его два года и потом устраивают медвежий праздник. Если родственник покойного не покупает медведя, его презирают, ругают — «inain xardз:» «Ты какой же человек? Мать тебя воспитала, гавно чистила, хороший человек своего прыски так не бросит». За такую ругань судиться нельзя. При устройстве медвежьего праздника всегда помогают сородичи.

Пока большие поминки не кончены, женщина не может выходить замуж.

Ребенка до недели хоронят на дереве, до полугода — в земле. Если сжечь ребенка, умершего до третьего дня, то женщина долго не будет иметь детей.

На Амуре над могилой ставят 4 елочки с корнями.

В pila-dax (эпидемия оспы) покойников не сжигают, а обязательно хоронят в могиле.

Утопленник. Uiglyí — место, где вытащили утопленника. Когда человек утонул, его сжигают, а на 3-ий день делают одну toin'ir, т. е. чашку для жертвоприношений хозяину воды, корыто и kinys — чашку для утопленника; в корыто кладут mos', в чашку — красную смородину. Жалко человека: выбирают 2—3

[1] Из волос жены, сестры или матери.

[2] Кукушка всю дорогу до речки будет кричать, до речки не будет ни воды, ни пищи. Она устанет, и ей надо из чашки пить». Есть кукушки, которые пищат, значит, устали при проводах покойника.

храбрых людей, укладывают покойника в лодку, на берегу, тут же у воды, и ставят kinys niч, китайский котелок и один тальниковый прут стоймя, в рост человека. Тут один человек говорит: „Котел кипи, пар поднимайся, иди вверх, этот тальниковый прут расширься, хорошим заслоном сделайся, чтобы чорт гиляка не видел".

Два человека, друзья покойника, садятся караулить, не шевелятся, не говорят, всех собак привязывают и ждут. В юрте шаманит шаман, вызывая того колдуна, который утопил человека, поесть из kinys n'iч: «Иди человеческое мясо есть!» Из-за гор, из-за долин он мчится. То среди полной тишины волна заплещет, вихрь пронесется, птица приплывет, черная собака прибежит. Волна вдруг к самой чаше уже подошла; покойник то шевелится, то голос издает, то садится. Тогда надо бывшей в постоянном употреблении дельфиновой острогой или копьем кольнуть покойника или (ударить?) в чашку, и почувствуется, будто копье в человека ударилось, и следы крови на нем. На другой день у колдуна рана или болезнь, от которой он умирает. Потом хоронят покойника, а чашку держат два лета и бросают. Можно чашку и тотчас уничтожить. Очень красивой ее не делают. Потом делают настоящие toln'ir и жертвуют из них до третьего поколения.

Шаманское камлание. Есть шаманы 1) toldox urly чam; 2) pal'dox urly чam; 3) kurdox urly чam; 4) pang:at n'ivux ворожея. Дома шаман обращается с вопросами к камню с дыркой - tolfang. Если камень сразу дает ответы, его бросают. Шаман спрашивает у своего pal'pang:a (это деревянная фигура, повязанная поперек белой дрелью, а на шее — стружками; ее подвешивают на веревочке). Качание фигурки — утвердительный ответ. Если нет pang, то к камню привязывают табак, завернутый в белую дрель. Он советует шаману лекарства, указывает, какие жертвы давать и какому именно pal'y (т.-е. pal'y своего или чужого рода) и пр. Изгнать нечистую силу он не может но может узнать, какой дух сидит, а также дать указания насчет воровства и насчет рыбы. Получает человек своего pang тоже во время болезни. Он может быть и шаманом, но часто плохие шаманы крадут (переманивают) у них их главных kexn. Есть шаманы, которые имеют pang:x, но не каждый их имеет. Есть шаманы, которые имеют kitus', нечто вроде земляного червячка.

Шаман вызывает своих kexn и угощает их салом, сахаром, водкой. — «Ребята, уходите с окна!» кричит шаман. Через не-

которое время окно трескается, и kitus' заходит. Kitus' живет не у шамана, а за хребтами, за 9 хребтами, за 9 речками; там есть гольцы (páxtigral). Там хозяин старик. Дом из железа и камня, у него ворота: первые ворота удан караулит; вторые ворота — крокодилы (здесь есть маленькие ящерицы-крокодилы — mêng:aj); последние третьи ворота караулит тигр. Под порогом сидит pal g:an = haluvla: (?), т.-е. маленький тигр, — караулит. У этого старика находится главный старик pua k:ak hejmar (pal yz' paliung n'ivux — горный хозяин-человек). Возле pila-xas' (столб, подкрепляющий матку) должен быть в каждой юрте камень для котла (nivvax); другой камень у порога. Под первым камнем хранится этот червяк. В этом доме находятся разные животные: простые лягушки — tall и лягушки этого дома mifpis:. Этого червячка шаман отдал на хранение своему червячку. Шаман: «М... (неразборчиво), иди туда, попроси удана и тигра, сторож и ворот». Иногда по целымдням упрямится удан; ему сулят черную собаку, собачью кровь, двойную картошку, красивое инау и т. д. Pal-yz'y сулят копье и пр. «Пашырь тебе подарю, копье тебе подарю, большой котел с 4 ушками, кусок китайской шелковой материи, собаку черную, лохматую, еще пятнистую, рябую собаку пожертвую». „Pet'gir: чхuz' nyxtá k:ax чхuznyxta' piavyn' nozнykrvyn' tata чarbgir, k:angir ygrluk anчu kurgur g:angir ч'xyz' nyxta". Тогда он соглашается и начинает просить kitus' а вылечить. Kitus' медленно выползает, масси заворачивает его в белый шелк и приносит шаману. Тогда шаман говорит: „От окна отстранившись сидите, червь идет, от какого-то окна отстранившись сидите. „Pax jenvertxnga live, kitus' pryjvural Kenbax pax jenvertxnga livé". Вот стрелой червь пронзил окно и прямо к шаману. Шаман взял к себе.

Главным образом нужно лечить прокалу... хачиз и накожные болезни.

Лечение прокаженного.

Шаман просит вместе собаку в избу. Больной сидит, спустив ноги с нар на пол. Перед ним чугунный котел, отверстием вверх. Человек держит собаку, а шаман ходит по юрте и камлает (шаманит); потом шаман харкает — «выпускает дух», достает изо рта маленького червячка и подносит его по направлению к собаке. Собака отскакивает — ее укололо. Тогда озлобленного червяка направляют к больному; шаман становится против больного с червяком в руках, и голова шамана превращается в большого дятла — ves xr: — черного с красным лбом — и, зажмурив глаза, начинает мо

тать головой вокруг лица больного, чтобы определить, где ему долбить лысину, т.-е. чтобы узнать, где черв болезни (шаман, зажмурив глаза, насквозь видит человека, и больной «весь голый» сидит). Шаман находит мягкое место, кольнет червяком и вытаскивает оттуда другого червяка, которого бросает в котел. Так он из всего тела вытаскивает всех червей, оставляя лишь одного червя samuk, без черви человек не может жить; этот черв плодиться уже не может. Видевшие этих червей в котле говорят, что они напоминают древесных червей. Этот котел покрывают другими котлами. Тем временем он велит ночью своим kexn караулить чашу. На другой день он велит гилячкам крепко обмотать котел калужьей сеткой и закопать в землю, а сам шаманит. Шаман отвозит его через 5 рек и 5 хребтов. Он поет, чтобы маленькие горы сделались большими, а речки — большими реками. Там он выкапывает яму, куда складывает котлы и обматывает их. Идущие должны считать 5 распадков и 5 хребтов. А шаман снова поет, чтобы высохшие маленькие ключи превратились в большие реки, реки — в утесы, а калужья сетка — в самый густой проволочный мешок — «сделайся проволочным мешком, чтобы черв не вышел». Шаман словами запаивает котлы: «Два котла, вместе растаяв, сливайтесь, сделайтесь взаимно одним».

Перед тем, как сделаться шаманом — poxtyrx-чаш, — шаманом, умеющим вести душу на тот свет (от poxtyrx — вести душу на тот свет), он хворает, мучается, пока изо рта не выходит pulk (гольдское tulin) — шаманское медное зеркало, tovz (гольдское pŭn'чи) — кусок меди для дымокура у шамана, потом рога — murki' и, наконец, lахч — нож у пальмы. Lахч гиляцкого шамана его собственного изделия, но рогов он не имеет, а pulk покупает. Uz'mu kexn — дух покровитель шамана, то, что у гольдов ajami, живет в uz' шамана. Uz' — одна из трех душ шамана, буквально, сердцевина у дерева.

VIII.

ВЕРОВАНИЯ И ОБРЯДЫ, СВЯЗАННЫЕ С ОХОТОЙ И РЫБНОЙ ЛОВЛЕЙ.

Čédzigr-turi, toigo.

Čédzigr — дерево (лиственница), которое ставят в тайге возле охотничьего балагана и перед которым жертвуют хозяину неба. Каждый год ставят новый čédzigr, но старого трогать нельзя, даже руками нельзя касаться.

Если же он сам упадет, то его относят на охранительное место — čédzigr nan'gof.[1] В с. Кальво на čédzigr на перекладине — 2 фигуры yzix — мужик и баба. Čédzigr кормят в первый день месяца anlong (декабрь), другой раз в июле. Все усаживаются вокруг, старик берет у каждого понемножку из угощенья; делает чих-чиґind — жертвоприношение — и ставит инау. Инау делают из рябины.

К месту, где стоит čédzigr собираются только представители рода, k:xal n'axr:. Приносят рису, буды, чушку и водку. Перед деревом лабаз для посуды. Чушку режут и брызгают ее кровью, приговаривая: «Kur, indyjá — бог, посмотри!» На дереве никаких изображений не делают.

Дерево это также дорога: все дают ily-n'ivux'y; жертва идет по дереву, потом по нитке, которая идет от дерева и служит следом. Разводят огонь, чтобы смолить чушку. Огня не кормят, но зато его оберегают, не тончут. Обязательно требуется, чтобы светило солнце при жертвоприношении, а потому иногда приходится ждать. Когда балаган ставят на новом месте, то делают новый čédzigr.

Ilyrox — жертвоприношение небу.

Все собираются в одной юрте. Рано утром отправляются искать лиственницу (для čédzigr), а женщины готовят разные блюда; потом укрепляют принесенное дерево и несут все блюда в китайской или японской посуде. Есть деревни, где ilyrox совсем не делают; в Тэвх вместо чушки и петуха закалывают только красную собаку pagr x:an:, привязывают ее к čédzigr, удавливают, вырезывают сердце и бросают вверх. Угощают друг друга водкой, и водкой мажут čédzigr. Празднуют один раз в год в январе — чаmlong. „Слово" при ilyrox: „n'jongarja kinyngur: hunguja', xólaftl lygyguja'", т.-е. „пожалуйста, чтобы я жил хорошо, чтобы болезни не было".

Потом делают новую березовую чашку (han'gar:), ставят на землю и кладут в нее жертву. Тут же ставят лыжи, палку, самострел; (narróz:); „слова" (молитвы) не говорят и тихонько удаляются. Дома огонь «делают», и, когда все сварено, кладут все жертвоприношения между хвойными ветками, потом помещают между двумя развилинами (tunrg'a'vk): развилку бросают в огонь и назад вынимают. Развилку эту по окончании охоты кладут под голову, что защищает от milk'a (злого духа). На

[1] В другом месте говорится, что čédzigr не возобновляют до его падения.

утро тихонько, крадучись, нужно взять обратно лыжи и пр. Эти вещи кладут для того, чтобы Tly-n'ivux по дереву спустился, и по этим вещам узнают, каков Tly-n'ivux и «хорошее ли у него сердце» и даст ли он «фарт» или нет. «Ведь нас 5 человек ходит, один поймал, а другой гоняет, гоняет и ничего не добыл. Как так?»

Во время tax — оспенной эпидемии — в Тыр все гиляки собираются и приносят жертву — кланяются, дают рис, коренья, ягоды. Первым жертвует 120-летний старик Зявкаю из деревни Дыльмю. Молятся перед деревом čedzigr. Этот старик помнит 4 больших tax.

Pal любит дерево с различными особенностями, и когда совершают что-нибудь торжественное, то выбирают такие предметы. Жертву всегда дают своему родовому Pal-yz''y (хозяину гор), но Pila-yz''y (большому хозяину) не дают. Его чаще всего видят на сопке. Кричать ему нельзя. По той стороне разговор идет — это Pal yz'. Pal — горный хозяин — любит черную собаку Tol — хозяин морской — белую. В каждом большом доме два огня, Pal-tuur и Tol-tuur. Если у кого одна печка, то только tol-tuur, а если нужно медвежье мясо варить, то идут к сородичу того xala, у которого две печи.

Tol-taxej — это taxej из лиственницы; к нему привешен молоток čong-ątás'. Возле halynyr (лабаз), на который укладывают туши дельфинов, калуги, оленей. Тут же непременно и варят дельфинов, тут же и кости остаются лежать, кроме черепов и голов, которые отвозят на kixork n'angol, т.-е. место, где кладут череп. На halynyr во время łynyn ставятся только два блюда — mos' и muvi (кисель). Отсюда же, в присутствии всего xala, бросают в Амур всего понемножку, но ничего не говорят — иначе еще несчастье случится. — Потом на taxej вешают табак, agza (axya') — пучку, юколу — pys' и дают знать, чтобы все вышли кормить. Здесь главная контора Tol'a. Посылают кричать: „Łirk-łu? — Хватит ли?" — „Łirkrá! — хватит!" Все подходят домами и кормят, и каждый свое говорит: «Дельфина пришли! рыбку пришли!» После этого всем надо вместе одновременно вернуться, а то большой грех будет, если встретиться друг с другом.

Обыкновенный taxej охотника — индивидуальный uig. Кто коснется его, дает собаку. Если же чужеродец оскорбил lezing (место для медвежьего праздника), то собирается vopund kymlyz и его судят, требуют медведя или łuk — лохматую собаку. Pyl-yz' — духа-хозяина кормят каждый месяц. Если поймали вкусную рыбу,

режут себе кусок и ему кусок, а через полчаса, когда его куски полежат, сами их съедают.

Когда строят pila uigryf (дом, в котором устраивается медвежий праздник), надо обязательно медвежий праздник устроить. Если негде купить медведя, то надо убить luk: — лохматую черную собаку («все равно molk», т.-е. как медведь). Если дом простой то убивают только собак, в количестве 2—4 и безразлично каких. Если на lezing столб упадет, то двух черных собак убивают Для pila uigryf не требуется вовсе, чтобы человек был задран медведем. После медвежьего праздника, когда чужеродцы возвращаются (к себе) домой, медвежьи кости перевязывают ремнем, а их собак убивают у особого čédzigr.

В одной деревне одному роду два lezing нельзя делать, но uigryf может быть несколько. Всякий дом, где происходит медвежий праздник, это уже uigryf.

IX.

ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИЯ О ЖИВОТНЫХ.

Čoramlaz (чхоramland) — как кошка, хорек, даже меньше кошки; губа черная. Ходят табунами; видели их следы. Считаются самыми опасными зверями. Если наткнешься на них, то надо влезть на дерево; они окружают дерево, но влезть не могут. Человек привязывает к сучку шапку и пускает вниз, звери подскакивают; человек назад, те падают, грызут шапку и т. д. Наконец, он спасается: машет вокруг длинным стягом, и они бегут от этого шума.

Старший из всех сухопутных зверей pal-miv-kmyg: myg:nga igagü syktymu yz'muz:gu. Они человеческой природы. Когда-то лев, тигр, медведь были людьми. Они со своими женами «через зад делали». Kur случайно увидел это. Он им говорит: «А, раз вы по-зверски имеете сношения, так и впредь останьтесь зверями». Тогда они сделались зверями. Поэтому их считают человеческой природы. Медведь тоже был человеком, но ходил на четвереньках. Kur увидел это: «Раз ты ходишь по-зверски, то и ходи по-зверски». Но он сношения имеет не через зад.

Скотоложства нет. — На Сахалине родился раз мальчик с хвостом.

Жаворонок делает гром, а потому его нельзя убивать. Подходить к его гнезду с птенцами грех — будет гром.

Громовая птица — tet lyj zevrk: — делает гром, а раскрывая рот — молнию.

Гагара — самая главная водяная птица. Самая старшая гагара ugu с хвостом, кричит тонким, как бы человеческим голосом «о-б-о!», вторая — k:axtr, ag:n'l, поменьше, кричит «ка, ка, ка», или «вах, вах!» Третья гагара — arn' самая меньшая, кричит почти человеческим голосом «а-а-а!»

X.

ПОСТРОЙКА ДОМА, ЕГО ПЛАН И СВЯЗАННЫЕ С ДОМОМ ОБРЯДЫ.

Перед укладкой первого венца пробуют сыпать муку; если при этом на утро след человеческой ноги будет, то хорошо, если руки человеческой или зверя, то худо, и тогда меняют место. Если никакого следа, тоже хорошо.

Объяснение к плану дома (см. чертеж). 1. Шу — дверь 2. Tol-erx pusk fax — окно, расположенное в направлении очага „хозяина" моря. 3. Kem-fax. — второе окно налево от двери 4. Ponax-fax — окно над средней нарой. 5. Pal-erx ponax-fax — окно в направлении хозяина горы. 6. Kyly nax fax (mat' k:as' n'exr fax) — окно вдоль длинной нары. 7. Mat' k:as' axr fax — окно возле маленького столбика. 8. Pal-erx pusk fax — окно со стороны горы. 9. Kangyl место для привязи собак. 10. Tly k:as' — большой столб. 11. Kil erx mat' k:as' — маленький столб. 12. Tol erx mat' k:as' — столб со стороны моря. 13. Mat k:as' — маленький столб. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as' — средний маленький столб. 15. Pi'la digr-irku k:as' — большой продольный столб под маткой. 16. Pal erx' mat k:as' — маленький столб со стороны горы. 17. Kylyná mat' k:as' — длинный тонкий столбик. 18. Hlyvos n'iч fax — небольшой камень у порога. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir fax — небольшой камень у порога на уровне пола. 20. Pi'la digr — продольная матка. 21. Pal erx tuur — очаг хозяина горы. 22. Tol erx tuur — очаг хозяина моря. 23. Tyjl — поперечная балка, основа дома. 24. Kylzhutá — середина нары, куда кладут раненого медведем человека. 25. Uig з:onx — табуированный угол для медвежьей головы и пр. 26. Ke з:onx — верхний угол. 27. A з:onx — нижний угол. 28. Pal erx pusk з:onx — угол со стороны горы для табуированных вещей. 29. Пол — делится на две половины: а) pal erx kyl и в) tol erx kyl. На каждой половине ставится только то, что относится к соответственному духу, к tol или pal'.

Жертвоприношения (жертвенные блюда — чтáus) ставятся на соответственной половине; если места нехватает, то на соответственную нау (tol или pal').

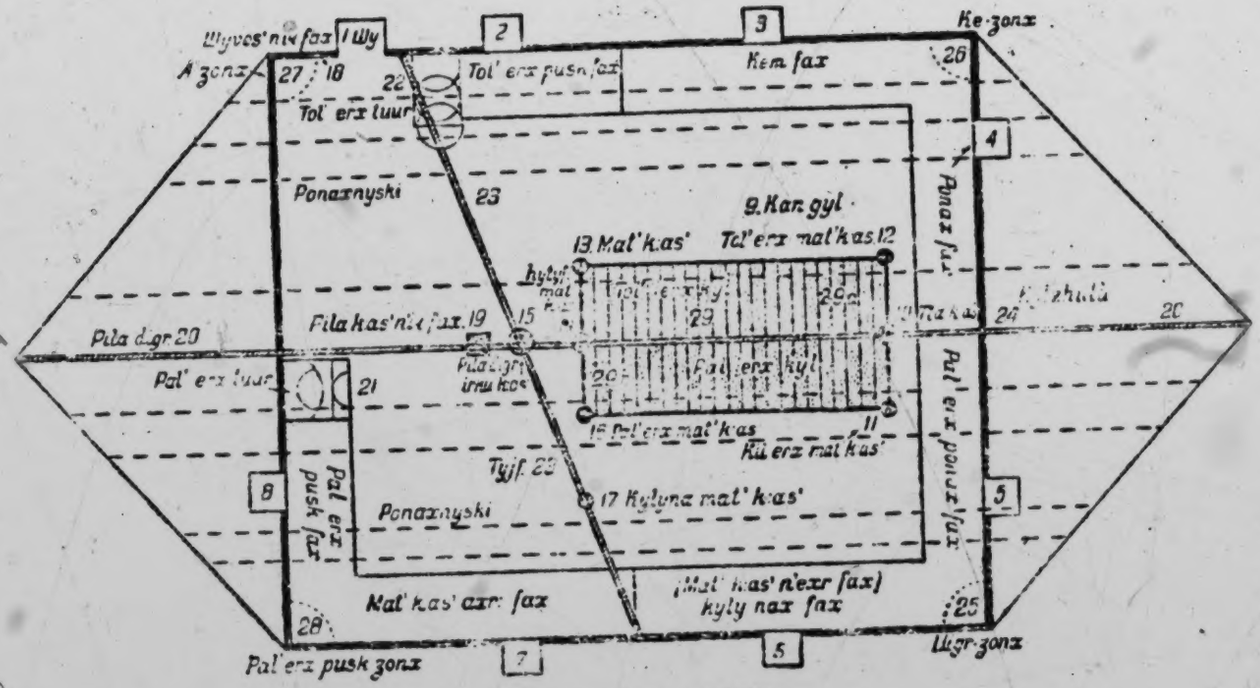

План дома внутренняя планка.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Tyvyz — „хозяин" дома, живет или под столбом (10) или под камнем (19). Иногда это старик, иногда старуха или молодая женщина.

Хозяин дома и его семья занимают tol' erx pusk; если семья большая, то еще kemfax (3) и ponaxfax (4). Медвежью голову ставят посредине (25).

Осенью во время чистки кормят решительно все: и стены, и пол, и подпорки под нарами, края нар и пр.

Обряды при окончании дома. Когда кончают новый дом, то ставят две палки: одну спереди, другую сзади (дома) и между ними протягивают нитку, на которую навешивают изображения солнца (keng) и луны (long чах). Их не возобновляют впоследствии.

По окончании дома устраивается жертвоприношение: готовят mos' 1), alys — ягоды 2), tak:— кашу из риса или пшена и кормят 4 угла (чонх), 4 столба (mon'-nax) и 2 столба посредине — передний amxas' и задний — kemxas', в котором живет хозяин; кормят тоже поперечину — tyjf (ез:). При этом старик говорит: „Urla dyf muja' nolagu kỳnyngun: humguja', ta sixyз x:olaf ta hum guja'" — хороший дом будь (чтоб крепко сидело). Моим детям сделай, чтобы было благополучно, какой-нибудь болезни чтобы не было». Осенью дом чистят, мажут глиной и жертвуют — tyv arnyз:.

Tyv yz' bax — камень перед порогом или за порогом, либо кусок чугуна; под ним сидит „хозяин", караулящий вход milk'ов.

Lym yz' — порог. За порогом под землей кладут разные кушанья (чуиз:) — земле, — хозяину и tol fynyз:.

Освящение дома. Накануне освящения, в день окончания постройки, с закатом солнца надежный человек должен забраться туда и прислушиваться, не будет ли треска или сияния.

Если раздается треск во время заката или замечается багровое сияние, то это худой признак. Если треск на рассвете или сияние ярко-светлое — то это признак хороший. Худой признак означает, что в доме поселился не настоящий „хозяин", а чорт — kins Тогда надо звать шамана, который делает чхнут чхпаj — травяную фигуру и изгоняет беса. Настоящего «хозяина» два раза кормят — осенью (чисткой)[1] и в другой раз по желанию. Кормят все столбы, косяки, порог, матку, камень под порогом возле двери, где живет старик или старуха, оберегающие дом от входа нечистой силы.

[1] Повидимому, речь идет об очистке очага кормлением „хозяина" огня.

Изгнание нечистой силы происходит следующим образом: травяную фигуру — чхпаj, на трех ногах, ставят посредине юрты. Человек держит ее за шнурок, привязанный к руке; в другой руке он держит дубинку. Шаман шаманит с бубном. Нечистая сила должна скрыться. Шаман перечисляет стенки, ящики и разные другие вещи в юрте, из которых его kexп должны изгнать нечистую силу, и только не называет одного угла — тут-то и прячется нечистая сила.

Тогда шаман говорит: «gy, gy (т.-е. «хорошо»), в таком-то углу нет нечистой силы», и все отвечают: «Gy-gy, gy-gy, в таком то углу нет нечистой силы». Наконец, шаман говорит: «В таком-то углу спрятался kings, Massi (повидимому, дух — помощник шамана, иди достань его, а остальные сделайте облаву!» «Вот-вот вышел, собакой вышел... (обращаясь к kexп, т. е. к духу): «Сделайте облаву, гоните к этой травяной фигуре. А! Он обернулся мышью. Хор: «Он идет туда. Он обернулся в человеческий образ... Он обернулся птицей. Он забрался в столб!»

Наконец, нет больше места, и ему волей-неволей надо забраться в чхпаj — травяную фигуру. Когда он вошел в нее, то в руке державшего нить дрожь появляется. Шаман кричит: «Бей его!», и тот бьет. Зажигают свечу, освещают, смотрят травяную фигуру: она опять головой не к порогу. Шаман снова ищет его. Находит. Опять то же самое. Наконец, чхпаj головой к порогу, значит, злой дух вышел. Шаман оставляет на ночь своего Massi караулить. На другой день вечером он зовет настоящего «хозяина»; но тот отвечает, что запоздал. Настоящий «хозяин» обыкновенно бывает спрятан под землей, шаман ищет его и обращается к нему с просьбой: «Вот построили избу, будь хозяином, тебя кормить будут, наблюдай, береги!» Наконец-то хозяин появился посреди пола, голову высунул. «Выходи, говорит шаман, не стесняйся, чего желаешь, скажи, все приготовим!» Хозяин отвечает: «Собаку убейте, кровью угол мажьте, варите мясо, чтоб собачий пар наполнил дом. Костерку варите. Mlyk тагчо (рыбу с двумя плавниками у хвоста) варите, белого лишька, пучку, кеты голову сварите, каждый столб паром угощайте, так делайте, багульником дымокур делайте, чугунный кусок вбейте, несколько штук у порога и в других местах пола, тогда пол будет железный. Так и укрепляйте».

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

XI.

РАЗНЫЕ.

Между Хэзь и Чильми утес Уj-parne в виде изолированного каменного столба. Раньше тут слышно было, как хозяин утеса бил в бубен. Ему три раза (в году) жертву приносили и обращались с просьбой: «Pxys'kyr ururungja'l — своим фартом сделай нам хорошо!»

Во время pila-dax (эпидемия оспы) больным дрова подносит, воду, но сами в дом не входят.

Когда узнают, что во всех селениях все окончилось (т.-е. прекратилась эпидемия), тогда покойников вынимают из могил и сжигают; боятся раньше сжигать, ибо считают, что дым разносит заразу. Единственное, что допускается, это курение багульником в юртах.

Женский характер. Пословицы. 1) Женский характер, как вихрь, ветру подобен. 2) Одной затяжкой перевернешь женский характер. 3) Женщина, что в чистом поле разведенный огонь: ветер подует — повалил.

Меряченье. В Чарбахе болезнью меряченье страдают два человека — две женщины; болезнь передается наследственно по женской линии. Страдающие меряченьем повторяют решительно все, даже на иностранном языке; повторяют даже действия. Припадки наступают во время испуга. Больная тогда в беспамятстве, но после она сознает. Если ее заставить много раз повторять что-нибудь, то она готова броситься с ножом. В молодости не мерячили.

Есть еще такие больные в Тымво и Пронге.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

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ОТДЕЛЬНЫЕ МАТЕРИАЛЫ ПО ЭТНОГРАФИИ САХАЛИНСКИХ ГИЛЯКОВ

I.

РЕЛИГИЯ.

Космогония и духи-хозяева. Все создал Kurn — хозяин вселенной; раньше все вода была; он «сделал землю, речку, дерево». «Работая» землю, Kurn потерял своего оленя, который обратился в Lavro-pal. Большие реки — это след его оленя, а маленькие речки (образовались) оттого, что он махнул своим кнутом на оленей — Hangl-z'ач:.

Небо — tly, как наша земля, но оно движется, поворачиваясь то одним концом, то другим. Когда небо с солнечным концом отойдет от нас, тогда наступает ночь.

Звезды самые большие величиною с юрту; они белые, и потому их не видать днем: при свете солнца они бледнеют.

Солнце ночью светит в Mlyvo (загробном мире).

Люди произошли от дерева: орочи от березы, гиляки от лиственницы, айну — от елки.

Хозяин гор и тайги, Pal' n'lgyvyn, похож на айну. Каждый род имеет своего Pal n'lgyvyn.

Гром зимою живет в воде, и Pal'-nivux его колет через воду в глаз; за это летом гром пытается отомстить. Так как Pal'-nivux имеет способность превращаться в самые миниатюрные существа, залезать под кожу (?)[1] человека, то гиляк, когда у него во время грозы свербит палец, немедленно пускает себе кровь, иначе гром убьет человека, чтобы убить забравшегося в палец Pal'-n'lvux'a (рассказ Гибельки, слышанный им в Нидэ).

Бог ветра — Layzn (злой ветер — Lamangnd); ему чих-чидгнд (жертвоприношения) не дают. В него стреляют из лука; из ружья не стреляют, боясь вызвать гром и бурю. Ветер происходит так: «Layzn все равно, как человек, изо рта дует».

Медведя, соболя, лисицу, выдру, белку создал Pal yz'n (хозяин гор).

Tuurmam — бог очага, хозяйка огня, старуха — один у всех сородичей. Голова у Tuurmam курчавая, морда красная, во-

[1] Неразборчиво. *С. Ш.*

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

лосы короткие (косы нет), ростом с человека, одежда — рыбья кожа, живет в огне.

Tajmanz: один посылает рыбу; он большой здоровый человек. У него собаки все белые. Ездит он в воздухе по млечному пути (Tairnanz: — tif); там же и живет. Он же гром делает. Каждый k:xal имеет своего Pal-n'ivux'a, своего Tol-n'ivux'a, даже своих milk'ов, но Tairnanz: один. Tol-n'ivux'y (ставит) три дерева: пихту, рябину и тальник. На деревьях вырезаны полоски коры, а ветви перевязаны осокой. Один чхпаj привязан саранкой.

Oskyz'n — хозяин зайца, большой, как корова, нос длинный. Голову зайца бросают, повязав пучкой. Tlangi-yz'n — хозяин оленя, похож на оленя. Mekvon'-gi — хозяин кабарги.

Злой дух — Ge-n'ivux. Его юрта — земляная насыпь близ Тэхрво. Он приходит к гиляку, отворяет окошко (kugutý), протягивает два пальца и просит чего-нибудь. Дадут ему что-нибудь, он уходит. Иной даст ему горячий уголь; он не знает, в чем дело, перебрасывает с руки на руку, говорит: «as' kavxaj, xavtxaj, avgujá», — «горячо, если нет (ничего), не давай!» Ge-n'ivux любит красть людей, особенно детей. Единственное средство — это нанести себе рану, ибо Ge-n'ivux боится крови. Брат Пумкина, караули оленей, сидел в балагане и вдруг увидел двух ge-n'ivux'ов. Он стал кричать и нанес себе рану. Ge-n'ivux и нерпу бьет. Его видят далеко, но вблизи он исчезает. Болезни он не прогоняет. По виду „все равно гиляк".

Талисманы. Гибелька разбогател следующим образом: старший брат его Амгунка нашел в тайге под бревном лоскуток красной материи: с тех пор он стал богатеть. Гибелька украл у него этот талисман, а потом с неба упал чхпаj, и он стал богатеть еще больше.

Tagu — талисман — предмет, который попадает счастливому человеку (kyz naria n'ivux) и увеличивает число имеющихся у него вещей (например, 2 шубы вместо одной); таковы: майский жук, кусок золота, лиственница с еловыми шишками, лазящая ящерица, червяк.

Алексей поймал гоя с тремя присосавшимися червями, и после этого был счастливый улов.

Конки-отец очень стар, уже ничего не помнит. Он по снам дает советы больным — делать чхпаj, кормить их и уносить в тайгу.

В последнее время он не имеет видений и поэтому считает, что скоро умрет.

Шаманство. Кехп отвечает шаману на его вопросы о болезни и лекарстве, но никто не слышит его ответов. Самый сильный мастер — Tlykexn (дух неба). Он ходит пешком по небу и на веревке водит по воздуху шамана, куда ему хочется. В Mlyvo (загробный мир) шаман с собою kexn не берет. Кехп Койныта[1] является ему только во сне или во время сеанса. Он его командирует к разным богам с поручениями, напр., узнать, какое жертвоприношение сделать. У него пока только pal-n'lgyvyn (kexn). Его kexn маленький, лицо человеческое, тело шерстью покрыто.

Чамх, отец Койныта, моего сказочника, был шаманом в Адытыми. Он имел 4 души: одну от Pal'a, другую от Tol'a, третью от Tly и четвертую от Mly-yz'n.

Шаманы делают чхпаj (деревянное изображение pal-n'lgyvyn), внушенные во время сеанса, и кормят их. Кормление заключается в том, что дают сахар, саранку и т. п., но их съедает шаман; однако, только окружающим кажется, будто он съедает, а съедает сам kexn. Чхпаj надо кормить, а то он человека грызть будет.

Когда опасно больной, тогда юрта начинает шататься, делается сквозной, и через отверстия летят, как комары, множество kexn и кричат: «Мне верь, мне!» и тогда шаман, как пьяный, падает. Потом он ест багульник и пьет морскую воду — это он своим kexn дает. Он огонь глотает. Кехп любят песни.

Если человек при смерти и milk утащил его душу Mlyvo, то kexn его убивает, и шаман отправляется за его душой туда, и если ему удастся достать душу, больной будет жить. Кехп показывает шаману дорогу (в Mlyvo). Шаман через дырку попадает прямо в Mlyvo; там такая же земля, как здесь, такое же небо, много деревень. Если душа на дворе, можно ее достать; если в юрте — пропало: сам шаман, если войдет в юрту, умрет. Душа шамана делается в Mlyvo как птица и облетает подземный мир.

Parnxasind (орокское слово) делают только о р н ы р — т. е орокн. Они спрашивают чхпаj, выздоровеет ли больной или нет. Если чхпаj качается, то выздоровеет, если нет — то умрет. Все это делается под дым багульника. Когда шаман барабанит, то kexn советует сделать чхпаj, и если чья-нибудь душа придет в него, тогда больной будет жить. Если живой будет, то чхпаj кормят; потом, когда по соображениям шамана пора его

[1] Сказочник автора — юноша, впоследствии шаман. *С. Ш.*

потерять, он приходит и устраивает так, чтобы milk от больного перешел в чхпаj, и тогда больной выздоровеет (см. «Гаданье с камнем»).

Когда шаманы воюют, то побеждает тот, кто имеет больше душ. Убийство шаманами друг друга сопровождается получением kexn противника. Душа шамана во время мнимой его смерти странствует по островам моря (tol). На этих островах, которые бывают разного цвета, живут в домах из камня tol-kexn. Иногда душа его уходит в горы, в жилище pal-kexn. Шаманский kexn боится только Pal milk'a, Tol milk'a, но не milk'a соболей, лисиц, выдры, крыс.[1] Среди kexn есть и сивучи разных цветов, и железные форели, и тигры.

Как шаман Чомх воскресил женщину (с. Рыковское).

Муж и жена рыбу ловили. Жена заболела и умерла к утру. Муж говорит: «Вы все шаманы обманываете. Вот жена умерла. Ну, сделай ее живой!» Рассердился шаман и говорит: «Ну, я пошаманю целую ночь; если к утру она пошевелит левым мизинцем, жива будет». Так оно и случилось.

Шаман сам себя колол, в рот стрелял, и «ничего».

Шаманка имеет больше духов, чем шаман. Она убивает своего соперника шамана, посылая своего kexn помазать глаза своего соперника менструальной кровью шапх-чох. Свойство этой крови: капля, попавшая в еду, заставляет человека сохнуть. Совокупление во время месячных приводит даже к сухотке.

Камлание шаманки, которая после рождения первой дочки была, по ее словам, milkternd (с ума сошла). Сначала делала инау, потом натирала лицо, грудь и пр. багульником, зажгла его на очаге и грела бубен... Затем она повязала ноги и руки стружками и стружками опоясала себя. Зевает. Мерные удары... Звуки усиливаются. Громко вздыхает, шепчет. Начинает ходить. Села. Ослепла, не видит ничего. Milk пьет десять чашек с ужасной жидкостью. Чох! Чох! Залпом выпила... потом потребовала трубку и стала курить и дым выпускать через нос. Потом (сказала), „Kyrndra'" — голодна! и стала кушать саранку, потом ей подали takr — багульник. „Тяжело!" (поднять бубен). Это milk сделал. Потребовала моей папиросы. „Дайте духу табаку" и велела раздать всем курить. Бьет себя в грудь, а девушка бьет в бубен. Потом сказала: „Огонь сделать!" Села,

[1] См. о крысе главу VII „Разное". *С. Ш.*

затем внезапно поднялась, пустилась в пляс и побежала в дверь, но ее поймали. Слова шаманки: «Люди собрались послушать. Никакой опасности нет. О разных вещах не могу говорить. Голые люди (т.-е. не звери), беда, ничего сказать не могут. Моря разговор слышу, горы разговор слышу, неба разговор слышу и морской рыбы разговор слышала. Со всех сторон рыбы разговор слышу. Меня только все слушайте: от Pal'a только все родилось, от средины существующих гор родилось. Зовут (меня) Протыст. Мужа имя Забрайн. Мужем данная фамилия — меня Вез'лык зовут. Я старуха. Табак кругом (все сидящие) по юрте курите! Малые, большие с[illegible] фартом все курите! Никакого чорта не боюсь![1] Я вам все[illegible]ца. Большой старик я один только (?). Желто-медная белка, на мою дорогу приди! К его травящему дому (когда поднимешься с моря) отдыхать (сядь). Оттуда, когда поднялся, людоеды перед 8 медвежьими клетками у края отверстия, сквозь которое просовывают корыто, находясь, отдыхают».

Во время сеанса исцеления больного над его ложем привязывается свернутый кружочком ремень — tuiyng, а на полу перед ним ставится котел (niv) с гвоздем (troivat). Этим ремнем kexn поймает и свяжет душу больного в Mlyvo, положит за пазуху, принесет в юрту, сунет в котел — иначе она через пол уйдет в Mlyvo-xuly — и проколет ее гвоздем. Гвоздь и ремень шаман забирает к себе.

Кепчх и шаманские фокусы. Кепчх помогает шаману только при фокусах lerud, шаман колет себя ножиком в грудь, но на самом деле он колет кепчх (чекохis' pes'pind). Шаману завязывают руки назад ремнем, а кепчх приходит и развязывает и свернутый ремень бросает гилику-собственнику. Халат шамана, застегнутый на все пуговицы, сам сползает через голову шамана и летит (садится на нары).

Шаман надевает на шею петлю из тонкого ремня, и два человека с обеих сторон затягивают петлю в то время, как он продолжает песни петь. Наконец, голова шамана падает в одну сторону, а туловище в другую. Тогда гиляки начинают постукивать, а один бьет в бубен. И вот, наконец, слышится топот за дверью и входит kep'чх-yz'n в виде большой коровы. Он подходит к большому котлу, выпивает всю воду, съедает мясо шамана, и новое мясо и голова вырастают. Затем душа шамана взбирается на перекладины над очагом и начинает петь песни Kyu-kyu. Потом голова прирастает к телу, и шаман опять воскресает. В 1897 г.

[1] Тут, очевидно, пропуск в записи *С. Ш.*

было шаманов в Пылво — 1, в Техрво — 1, Тырмыч — 2, в Чайво — 2, Кэхрво — 2, в Орныр — одна шаманка-старуха. Самый большой шаман — старик Кумыск в Тырмыч.

Импровизация рассказчика-шамана. Tyl'gund нельзя сочинять, грех. Это предание, правда.

N'as'tund может (рассказывать) n'as'tun'-n'ivux (рассказчик) или шаман, которому помогает особого рода kexn (mif-n'ivux-kexn), сидящий на языке говорящего. В момент расспроса о возможности импровизации Койнят (шаман) сказал «могу» и стал импровизировать.

Что это было вдохновение, я это видел воочию по обилию и неуловимой быстроте потока слов и силы речи. Тыурн слушал с восторгом и с интересом расспрашивал объяснения.

Перед этим и он пел песни. Мелодия песни совсем не та, что при n'as'-tund; в ней много грации и нежности.

Местами тихий тенор красиво вибрирует нотами виолончели, местами переливается в тончайшие пианиссимо, зато огромным диссонансом звучат выкрикивания, искусственные вибрации горлом. Поется вся песнь не переводя дыхания, и к концу строфы шаман заканчивает, порывисто обрывая словами „hand furu" — „так сказано." Часто кончает песню, обливаясь потом.

Декламация и пение при повествовании. 1. При nas'-tund: а) сначала гудение, б) далее — монотонное, вибрирующее, заунывное пение во весь дух, оканчивающееся, в) fortissimo с выпусканием дыхания.

2. При описаниях — однотонный речитатив.

3. Драматизм: артистическая передача разговоров ритмическим речитативом особенно хороша. Если привыкнуть, то очень мелодично.

4. Присутствующие поддерживают восклицаниями: „Ola! epoj, epoj!" и т. д.

Кенчх — птица, приходит по ветру. С кенчх ремнем тянутся во время песни. Два человека (один шаман) бросают веренку, кенчх ухватывается и перетягивает людей.

Похоронные обряды. Закрыв глаза покойнику шапкой, его вытягивают, руки складывают на животе; волосы распускают себе (жена, мать) и покойнику. Голову стараются приподнять, подкладывают одежду, а у бедных — солому. Иногда жена или муж срезывают кусок косы. На грудь кладут табак и трубку, и гости поочередно подходят и курят из этой трубки сму в рот. Возле головы жена или другой близкий или, наконец, чу-

жой старик или старуха ставят маленькую чашку с едой, водку, холодную воду; родственники время от времени подходят, съедают положенное и опять наполняют чашку.

Покойника нельзя одевать ни в рыбью, ни в кожаную одежду, ибо в огонь может попасть капля жиру, а это грех. Орнаментированных вещей также нельзя давать, ибо иначе покойник заблудится. Одежду для покойника шьют из дрели или шелка (pos') в кратном количестве, остальное в единственном числе. Для шитья одежды собираются все бабы. Шьют одежду «слегка», шить крепко грех — „uigyl". Обмывать покойника не надо.

Покойника обряжают в следующие одежды:

1. L'arx, рубашки, но непременно без ваты; пояса не надо; штанов стыдливости нет.

2. Pan' — наголенники.

3. Ki — сапоги из дрели, одинаковой формы для мужчин и для женщин; голенища короткие, подошвы тоже из дрели; надевают на голые ноги.

4. Hak: — шапка тоже из дрели, шапка наподобие детской, с капюшоном назад.

5. Vàmyx — рукавицы с одним пальцем, безразлично какого цвета; нарукавников не надо.

6. N'ax àir — очки, т.-е. завязки для глаз из дрели, в три пальца шириной. Сережки и браслеты снимают.

7. Vigvyr — пояс, кусок простой дрели белого цвета и к нему только 2 пары ножен (vek:oxal') из дрели (для мужчины) и одна сумочка (mly) для трута и кремня.

8. Hontx — кисет, тоже из дрели для мужчины, как и для женщины; в mly и hontx кладут табак.

Муж обряжает жену, жена мужа, родители детей и обратно. Вещей покойнику сверх перечисленного не дают никаких. Shagund — драгоценности — развешивают на дворе и в юрте.

До похорон каждый день угощают гостей с утра до вечера. У богатых вся деревня угощается, пьют водку и ставят водку перед покойником. Необходимо веселиться, но не пляшут.

Ни новостей, ни сказок, ни песен (не рассказывают — purind).

На второй день мужчины идут рубить дрова для сожжения покойника. Рубят лиственницу и елку, а для маленьких — тальник; рубить елку и лиственницу для маленьких грех. Дерево нужно выбрать хорошее, иначе грех. Срубают одно или два дерева. Дрова раскалывают вдоль и рубят непременно определенной ме-

ры: у одних до сажений длиною (род Плетунки), у других в сажень без одной руки. Корня не трогают, ветки бросают. Поленья кладут в три ряда, вдоль и поперек.

Вторую ночь тоже не спят, все кормят покойника (mu n'igyvyn avnind), но в рот ему ничего не кладут. На третий день чистят юрту — tav mund, подметают пол, потом чистят огонь — tugur mund, приготовляют мос', делают tugur arnind — „огонь кормят" (новый хозяин, сородич) — бросают мос' в огонь, разведенный из веток елки, но ничего не говорят.

Когда исполнены все приготовления, кушают, пьют водку и затем вносят нарту. Покойника укладывают на нарту, привязав ремнями, четыре человека поднимают нарту и на руках выносят до места сожжения. К месту, где спал хозяин, привязывают „pryski" (собаку). Три раза обходят с нартой с покойником вокруг будущего костра и три раза устраивают передышку. После этого собак с нартой отводят в сторону, а покойника укладывают на сложенные дрова — hap лицом на запад, руки складывают ладонями к груди, ноги согнуты коленями кверху (любимая поза на нарe). Затем изготовляют деревянный прибор для добывания огня — чхач: tugur, именно: вертикальную палку lung (сверло); трут кладут посредине маленькой палки, огонь добывают трением lung об эту последнюю; и хозяин дома зажигает стружки.

Перед тем (как зажечь костер) взбираются на дрова и плачут над покойником. Начинают плакать женщины. Мужчине по покойнику грех плакать, исключая по жене. На hap холостого покойника входит плакать жена старшего брата, но не младшего.

Причитания над трупом мужа: «Моего мужа, о горе, веселый чорт (плача), веселые убили, поверх меня теперь ходят, другой человек теперь: (которые) беднее меня разбогатеют, богаче меня с этого времени (будут). Свои слезы только теперь кушать буду».

Когда костер разгорелся и огонь начинает подбираться к верхней половине тела, то берут из приготовленной кучи дров и бросают в огонь; даже маленький ребенок бросает какую-нибудь палочку; другие тычут длинными палками; это — выражение любви. Если у покойника под влиянием огня руки расправятся, это дурное предзнаменование скорой смерти кого-нибудь из близких, и палками придают рукам прежнее положение.

По окончании церемонии сожжения приносят в жертву собаку, голову которой при убиении наклоняют книзу и в сторону соответственного божества: Pal'y на восток, а Tol'y — в сторону моря. Шкуру собачью некоторые бросают (кладут в яму) вместе

с мясом; другие мясо варят, для чего рядом с hap раскладывают особый костер, и мясо частью съедают, частью разбрасывают. После этого отправляются в юрту покойника и вкушают по ложке угощения, покурят и расходятся.

Любимую собаку „pryski'" (каждый человек имеет свою pryski') приводят для присутствования при похоронной процедуре, а потом ее отводят в юрту, привязывают к месту, где спал покойник, и кормят из его чашки три года — если мужчина, и четыре года — если женщина. После этого ее продают или дарят, но себе оставить нельзя.

Сумасшедших после смерти, даже и там, где практикуется сжигание, хоронят прямо в земле.

В Ады-Тыми ночью на место сожжения, если подозревают, что человек умер от колдовства, отправляются с ружьями два человека караулить. Сначала птицы являются, потом зайцы, лисицы, затем ormi-milk, обмазанный глиной от стрел. Он приходит кушать человека, и если его не убить, то умрут и другие.

На другой день после сожжения, когда костер потух, на него наваливают дрова, доски и поверх сломанную нарочно нарту; иногда мелкие куски ее оставляют себе (напамять).

Там, где покойников хоронят, а не сжигают, их кладут в гроб. Гроб может делать всякий из досок или из лодки — два ящика. Выносят через дверь. Его ставят на нарту, которую и зимой и летом несут на руках. В гроб кладут необходимые вещи, некоторые в моделях. Провожающие не наряжаются в праздничное. Выкопанная яма должна вместить гроб до крышки. Оплакивания нет, целовать покойника грех. Не требуется, чтобы каждый насыпал земли в могилу. Никаких знаков не ставят. На могиле убивают собак, но их не кормят перед тем и не надевают на них инау. С убитых собак тут же снимают шкуры и вешают на палку, а мясо тут же варят, но едят его немногие, а прочие бросают. Над могилой ломают лодки и пр. Гиляк покойников не боится. Покойников кормят около полугода, когда «хорошая пища случается».

Быть сожженным лучше, чем быть похороненным.

Кто делает первое мос' по утопленнику, того не сжигают после смерти, а хоронят в земле.

Не сжигают утопленника, если он чужого рода, а обкладывают его палками.

Если покойник был убит, его в юрту не вносят, а кладут возле. Около места сожжения убитого ставят „vagn'" — дерево корнями

вверх. Убитых с поля битвы обе стороны уносят к своим селениям.

Если человек умирает в балагане, то он там остается (до похорон).

Raf (надмогильный домик с дверцей) делают через месяц, два, три, четыре, когда есть время. Зимой ставить raf нельзя, весной тоже, ибо земля мерзлая; тоже и осенью. За это время покойника абсолютно не кормят. Raf изготовляют общими усилиями.

В день изготовления raf, как и в день сожжения, единородцам воспрещены всякие работы: нельзя ловить рыбы, итти на охоту, делать нарту, нельзя шить, ни даже «делать голову», т.-е. причесываться, но песни петь можно. Чужеродцам разрешается работать, если только они не глядели на работы по устройству raf'a, но единородцам того же xala, если они знают, что делается raf, хотя бы они жили в другом селении, работы воспрещены. Мастер, помогающий при постройке raf'a, вознаграждения не получает: это грех.

Стенки raf'a делаются из досок. Крыша делается как у настоящего дома. Посредине k:xak: двойная дощечка с затычкой, которой закрывают отверстие — kylmyz' (пуп). Острие затычки проходит через круглый кусок бересты, накладываемой на отверстие. В верхней части натыкают копье, стрелки, крючки, ножик. K:xak: заворачивают в кусок дрели в форме трапеции и укрепляют, привязав к пупу; верхняя часть k:xak: остается голой. Поверх этого спереди такой же формы передник, который обшивают орнаментом, мехом выдры и пр. К поясу из дрели привязывают honix — кисею, mly (маленькая сумочка для кремня), нож с ножнами. Ставится посуда, кушанье и пр. В углу ставят изображение ryk (кукушки) на деревянной подставке и перед ним деревянную чашечку — niring, в которую кладут рис. При постройке raf'a ломают всякие принадлежности, и все, что ломают, кладут в raf или возле него, если оно не помещается внутри: в raf можно класть и всякие орнаментированные вещи.

Raf, шитье и пр. изготовляют на месте. Раскладывают огонь и начинают готовить разные блюда и приносят водку. Сначала едят сами, а потом ставят пищу в raf mu nig:yvyn arind. Утром отвязывают pryski, приводят ее к raf'y и кормят, когда сами кушают. Кроме вареной пищи, в raf и по соседству сыплют еще рис, буду, горох, табак. На другой день надо притти и скушать остатки вареной пищи.

После этого mu n'igyvyn больше не кормят, но приходят посмотреть, покурить и часто водку пить. Это продолжается от двух дней до 2 3 месяцев. Потом pryski возвращают в первобытное состояние. Ее нельзя приносить в жертву, нельзя кушать, и нельзя из ее шкуры делать шубу ни родственникам, ни кому-либо из k:xal'a.

После смерти убийцы по его сожжении ставят ɪaxч (см. ниже, стр. 332), а потом все же raf делают.

Душа и загробный мир Млыво.

Каждого человека убивает milk (злой дух), который уносит его душу. Душа боится и прячется у Pal-n'igyvyn или Tol-n'igyvyn, смотря по тому, какой milk убил человека. Максимум через 3 года душа вернется в Mlyvo. Если умер старик, он старым туда и придет, а если молодой, то молодым. После смерти в Mlyvo душа пойдет в другое Mlyvo, а душа женщины еще в третье Mlyvo, а потом родится вновь. Душа человека совсем похожа на человека.

Покойник отправляется в Mlyvo на нарте. Если у него нет в ухе дырки для сережки, то по дороге одна старуха осматривает и делает дырку, но если покойник не желает этого, у него отнимают душу. Сережки носят не для украшения, а ради дырок в ушах. Старуха, делающая дырки, называется vlvxyty ti-mam, т. е. „посредине дороги находящаяся женщина".

До похорон душа или сидит или уходит в Mlyvo, и потом опять возвращается, но после сожжения она уже остается в Mlyvo. Покойники передают на том свете поклон от земных родных, о чем просят при оплакивании. Если женщина вторично выходит замуж, она с первым мужем уже не будет в Mlyvo: муж на том свете тоже берет себе жену. Хорошая баба (овдовев) не выходит замуж.

Мать Индына,[1] долго болевшая перед смертью, лежала на земле в своей маленькой юрточке, а вокруг очага сидели ее дочери, замужняя и маленькая, и (сыновья) Индын и Чурка. Мать с полузакрытыми глазами сказала: «Когда я помру, дети малые совсем пропадут, — ты будешь ходить гулять туда-сюда, а о них думать не будешь». Чурка смотрел вбок и только угрюмо промолвил: «Как можно, разве я им не брат, что ли?» и ушел. Потом (она обратилась) к Индыну: «Да, я умру, кто за тобой смотреть будет, кто платье починит, кто накормит? Ты замерзнуть можешь, утонуть. Гиляки тебя обижать будут, а за тебя кто слово скажет? Я помру, мои губы уже не будут защищать тебя». Потом речь

[1] Младший брат проводника Штернберга, Чурки.

начала путаться. Она посмотрела в отверстие крыши, уже звезды выступили. Она сказала: «Надо пойти, а то поздно будет». Сестра: «Куда пойдешь? Ведь ты совсем помираешь». — «Уже и знаю, я не умру, мне надо пойти». И с этими словами она скончалась. А Чурка в это время рыбу ловил.

Покойники приходят во сне. Так, к Индыну мать приходила несколько раз. В последний раз она ему сказала: «Твой отец опять меня взял» и больше не являлась.

Большая душа живет по всему телу человека, а в голове этой большой души живут маленькие души tam. После смерти человека маленькая душа живет в его pryski' (собаке), которую привязывают к его нарс. Маленькие души похожи на яйца и белого цвета. Во время сна маленькая душа ходит всюду, говорит, видит и пр. Бедный человек «все-таки одну маленькую душонку имеет». Если человек умрет на чужбине или утонет, то душа его приходит в дом. Душа случайно умершей собаки бродит где попало.

Всякое тело имеет душу, и форма ее соответствует телу. Поэтому, если телу придать известную форму, то оно приобретет соответственную душу. А потому, если болит, например, горло, делают язычок, и душа его живет в этом язычке. Пойманную птичку, с которой дети играли, нельзя пустить, ибо она унесет душу.

Судьба души зависит от вида смерти.

1. Съеденный медведем живет до глубокой старости у Pal-n'igyvyn (хозяина леса), а утонувший у Tol-n'igyvyn, потом идут в Mlyvo.

2. Самоубийца (повесившийся) попадает прямо в Mlyvo.

3. Умершие от эпидемии (эпидемию причиняет кровь, пролитая во время войны японцев, китайцев и русских) идут тоже прямо в Mlyvo.

4. Умерший от раны (ножом, луком, ружьем) живет в воздухе, как птица. Души таких несчастных ночью кричат с деревьев.

5. Убитый человеком, пока не получен txusind (выкуп), будет тоже летать в небе. Если за убитого отомстят кровью, то оба пойдут вместе в Mlyvo.

Ночная птица taxч величиной с ворона и такая же черная но клюв красный. Если ночью услышать ее крик, ее по имени назвать нельзя, а надо сказать atk.

Когда убивают человека, то слетается в деревню много этих птиц.

Эта птица (душа убитого) вселяется в мстителя за убитого и внушает ему храбрость. Ее изображение (vagn, taxчynnga) делают из корня ольхи и ставят корнями вверх, недалеко от taf'a над могилой убитого. Из корня надо сделать чхпаj этой птицы и всадить ей в рот ножик.

Возрождение души. Душа покойника иногда рождается вновь. Если родился мальчик с признаком, указывающим на происхождение его от умершего человека, то он еще до полной речи будет говорить слова, которые указывают на знание им прошлого. Когда он достигает уже до разумной речи, отец надевает ему шапку задом наперед и начинает спрашивать его про прошлое, потом тихонько говорит: «Ну, теперь довольно, забудь прошлое», и надевает ему шапку правильно. Тогда мальчик все забывает и будет долго жить. Если же отец этого не сделает, то мальчик умрет. Процедура с шапкой прогоняет milk'a.

II.

ОХОТА И РЫБОЛОВСТВО.

Жертвоприношения морю — Tol vyzaid (lynyz:). 1. Когда наступает зима, и на поверхности моря нет ни одной полыньи, мужчины только своего xal'a (женщины не участвуют) отправляются в темный вечер к морю, делают прорубь, и каждый бросает через нее морю зажженное трутом дерево — «д е р е в я н н ы й о г о н ь». Потом дома «кушают», т. е. пируют.

2. Летом отъезжающие от берега с лодки бросают хозяину моря — Tol yz'dox из чашки для морских жертвоприношений — tol n'iч:.

Tol'y жертвуют всегда белую собаку, белую елку, все гладкое, чистое. Pal'y и Mif'y, наоборот, все вычурное, Kur'y — красную собаку, красного петуха, светлую чашку, водку.

В день переезда в охотничий балаган, вечером Pal-n'igyvyn'y, хозяину гор, делают чих-чugynd (жертвоприношение), при чем хозяин говорит: „Az'myr sikrá, urgur n'un'ujá, munkjá" — „подарков нет больше, сделай, чтобы я не боялся, хорошо за нами смотри!" Чих-чugynd делают перед определенным деревом (uigчxar — табуированное и запретное дерево); потом только кормят огонь, говоря: „Urgur in'já, hiulan tugur mujá, pal'ax pong argujá — хорошо ешь, горных людей заставь нас пожалеть" Огонь не может делать чужой k:xal. Чистить огонь tugurmynd

может только хозяин — Yz'ing; чистка производится осенью в зимнике, а весною в летнике; мусор кладут в одно место. Мос готовит огню тоже только yz'ing и его k:xal, но жертвоприношение может делать всякий. В первый же вечер дают жертвоприношение очагу: „Urgur in'jà pal'ax ponargjà nula n'ivux mungjà" — хорошенько ешь, сделай гору, чтобы пожалела меня, счастливым человеком стать!" Старые taxej (деревья с развилинами) складывают вместе и делают новые. Возле балагана есть uig-taxej, на которых вешают соболей, петли и пр. Слово ему: „Pal ponargjà n'ax hiulan — n'igyvyn mungjà!" — „гора, пожалей меня, меня удачливым в охоте на медведя сделай!"

Возле балагана есть uig-чхаг, куда жертвоприношения бросают просто ложками — никаких чхпаj не делают. Кормят также keinung an'x (в зад смотрящую суку) и Lymyz'n nam.

Пришедши с добычей, ее вешают на общий taxej, где она висит несколько часов, пока не подсохнет. Снимать шкуру может всякий, но из своего рода. Сваренную голову соболя украшают инау, кладут на переднюю часть очага, ближе к ponang (средняя нара), на палки, и через затылочное отверстие и ноздри напихивают рис, пучку, сарану, мось; потом всякий, кто хочет, ест и голову.

Когда сложили голову и кости в чумашки, делают жертвенные блюда и уносят кости в тайгу; там отыскивают дуплистое дерево, делают отверстие в дупле, кормят голову, и все кости и голову бросают туда.

Выдру кормят и хоронят точно так же, как соболя. Остальные звери uigynd kauk (т.-е. на них табу нет).

Когда находят в тайге пару рядом лежащих оленьих рогов взрослой особи, то обладание ими дает счастье гиляку.

Во время охоты с петлями (рочахir n'arxund) женщина не должна шить ничего нового, ни дать из своего дома что-нибудь другому, даже члену своего рода, если эта вещь ночевала в доме. Своего огня на улицу выносить нельзя. Нельзя пускать никого из гостей ночевать. В тайге можно в чужой балаган ходить, но не ночевать. Если соболь пойман в петле, чужой без позволения хозяина не может взять его руками, и вообще в период охоты не может дотронуться до пойманного соболя даже человек из своего рода, если он не участник охотничьей кампании; даже до убитого рябчика он не может дотронуться. Если кто-нибудь uigind — грех делает, ему не дают рыбу ловить, ни охотиться на речке, и не идут к нему на медвежий праздник.

Соболей при ловле не следует убивать собаками.

Поимка волка. В Ихдаме (северо-западный Сахалин) недалеко от юрты ставят дерево с развилкой с заостренными краями. Между развилкой и стволом привешивается юкола; волк вскакивает, чтобы ее схватить, засовывает лапу, которая ущемляется, и он не может ее освободить. Стрелять в волков грех.

Нерп ловят так: вокруг tos' (?) ставят сетку и сгоняют спящих на песке нерп, тогда они попадают в сеть.

Два раза в год (летом после горбуши и осенью перед соболем) делают мось. Зимою нужно непременно самому убить много собак (минимум 4), много мось сделать, летом переловить много медведей (это будет pal n'ivux txusind). Вообще из-за txusind много чего делают.

Когда ставятся петли и ловушки, т.-е. в период narxund, а также во время медвежьего праздника, и когда умер человек, с бабой спать нельзя.

III.

ПОСТРОЙКА ДОМА И СВЯЗАННЫЕ С ДОМОМ ОБРЯДЫ И ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИЯ.

Под столбом кладут кремень и шиповник. Шиповник караулит против mlik'a, а кремень, чтобы в дереве не было дырки, и тогда mlik (злой дух) не пройдет. Дверь на восток.

Когда новую юрту кончают, устраивают праздник. На 4 вертикальных столбах (nas'ki xar) делают на каждом инау чхnaj (чхnaj ein (?) exlung; Ады-Тыми) в виде человеческого лица, для крепости дома, затем на поперечных стропилах (nas'ki) повязывают инау. Потом убивают собаку, привязав ее к крайнему к двери nas'ki xar'y, и кровью ее сердца мажут чхnaj. Мясо собаки варят. Делают мось и кормят чхnajinau, keigeinan'x или (в Аркыво) lymyznmam и niч. Затем ставят три небольшие елочки в очаге и повязывают их двумя саранками — повязанными пучкой (axz); повязки эти называются почему-то «маленький медведь». После этого в трех местах кладут под землей инау, в которую завернуто мось. Ночью, когда все улягутся, надо сжечь елки и сказать молитву.

В огне ближе к входу находится tugur-mam, а за огнем старик tugur-учх. Всеми яствами кормят tugur — хозяина огня; бросают в огонь и говорят: „Urgur injá, urlantal mujál" (т.-е. „хорошенько ешь, хорошим домом будь"). Потом кормят каждый

угол, приговаривая: „Urlan tugur mujásik urlaf parkjá, hiulan taf mujá ta vos'xejá" — „хороший огонь будь, все хорошенько только делай, дающим удачу на охоте домом стань, не поломайся!" (подразумевается, что тут-то старуха огня — tugurmam живет). Потом 4 инау кормят. Далее в левом переднем углу очага копают ямку, кладут туда жертвоприношения, говоря: „Urgur n'irá, nexlang kun k:xolaf xavryr hunivaguja" — „хорошо поевши, своих детей заставь без болезней жить", и после этих слов засыпают ямку. Наконец, кормят kel'nung anx — „в зад смотрящую суку". Ночью, когда все улягутся, надо елку сжечь и прочесть молитву.

Когда в зимнике возобновляют очаг, кладут небольшие инау с жертвоприношениями. С вечера ставят три елочки, перевязывают их саранкой и пучкой, и потом, когда все ложатся спать, бросают через трубу вверх жертвоприношения: одно бросают женщины, другое — мужчины. Перед началом праздника очаг очищают, посыпают свежей землей и зажигают родовым огнивом.

Духи, живущие в доме.

Tav yzin — хозяин дома — 4 чхпаj, два мужских: два женских, все pila hejmar — старики. Tavyzing tugur yzing. Этот yzing раньше сородичем был. Его душа живет в юрте в tugur (огневище).

Когда юрта сломается, нельзя трогать tugur.

Если ломать tugur (ящик), то платят штраф.

Lymyz'n-mam — хозяйка порога. Она в рыбьей коже, горбатая, седая, убаюкивает плачущих детей. Она в углу у входа сидит возле чашек, которые ставятся по обе стороны порога, когда совершается церемония топтания порога при уходе женщины в чужой род.

IV.

ЖЕНЩИНА, РОДЫ И ДЕТИ.

Средство для любви.

Есть лекарство, чтобы заставить другого полюбить себя. Мозг кукушки примешивают к табаку (тогда человек скоро помирает) или зашивают в платье перо кукушки. Девушка ходит тогда, как сумасшедшая.

В Тенги одна девушка ни за что не хотела выйти замуж за жениха, который ее еще в детстве сосватал, но когда сделали oxt, она пошла за него.

Если спать с чужой женой насильно, то за это колотят и отбирают собак.

Когда женщина беременна, то на ее следах нельзя рубить дров; нельзя бить ее по лицу, даже шутя. В langraf (шалаш для родов) нельзя делать чих-чиgynd (жертвоприношение), и как только родится ребенок, женщина возвращается в юрту. С 7-го месяца беременности жены муж не может ходить на охоту или уходить далеко петли ставить, но в langraf он ходить может. Варева из юрты родильнице приносить нельзя, а когда она возвращается из langraf, то до отпадения у новорожденного пуповины (kyr) она не может есть приготовленное на общем огне, и ей делают огонь в углу. Когда (пуповина) отпадает, тогда кормит огонь — чихчиgn-ingur и устраивают пиршество. После этого она перестает быть нечистой — akilaf рачkyt — и становится sik urland pornyng — чистой, и мужу ее уже можно по ее следу рубить дрова. Со дня рождения ребенка до отпадения пуповины — kyr vaxind — никто из живущих постоянно в юрте или даже ночующих гостей не может отлучаться из дому.

За месяц до родов нельзя туго вязать, чужому ничего нельзя починить. При трудных родах надо ящики отпереть, заплатку распороть, ружье развинтить.

Во время родов баба не должна кричать, иначе долго не родит. Если брюхо острое, выпуклое, то родится мальчик, если плоское — девочка. После 4 девочек непременно мальчик родится.[1]

Новорожденного умывают молоком матери 15 дней, потом моют холодной водой изо рта. Первый год моют все тело два раза в день, а потом только лицо.

Охрана ребенка. Палка, на которую вешают люльку, — exl-чиgir (?). Иногда вместо палки употребляют японскую саблю в ножне для отпугивания злых духов. Если ребенок умирает, то сохраняют все с амулетами до следующего ребенка, которому они опять служат; если не рождается другой ребенок, то хранят до старческого возраста.

Если ребенок умирает во время родов, то женщина целый год не должна ездить ни по речке, ни по морю: рыбы не будет. Над детской постелькой по обеим сторонам висят чхпаj — оружие топорик, нож, лук и стрелы. Над изголовьем девочки вешают кусок невода. Все это подвешивают при первой болезни ребенка.

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[1] У орочов женщина только во время родов находится в балагане; затем 10 дней ей варят на отдельном огне; мужчины не едят (вместе с ней), боясь потерять силу.

Если женщина не имеет детей, жена брата мужа отдает ей свой пояс (чік) и тайком — кусочек пояса своего мужа.

Имена. Имена дают по дедушке, но если слишком много внуков, то придумывают другое имя. Из чужого xal'a нельзя брать имен, иначе надо тому и свои имена давать.

Близнецы. Близнецы — tongч: — exlang (tongч: означает и двойню и бога, который рождает двойню). Tongч: может быть от Pal-n'igyvyn, т.-е. хозяина леса и Tol-n'igyvyn — хозяина моря.

Когда рождается двойня, то надо Pal-n'ivux'y устроить чих-чидуnd: мось, саранку, пучку, рыбу редкую и т. д. в небольших количествах; сначала поставят, потом сами кушают.

Место, где делают чих-чидуnd, называется чаuf. Если близнецы умирают маленькими, тогда делают чхnaj — два или один смотря по тому, сколько умерло. Под чхnaj делают балаганчик. Здесь же делают чих-чидуnd перед отправлением в дорогу или на охоту, также по возвращении и когда болеют дети.

Жена Гибельки родила двойню; один из близнецов — медведь.

Изображение двойни — tongч: ставят в маленьком амбарчике. Если один из близнецов умирает, то ставят один tongч:, а если умирают оба, то два, но сросшиеся боками. Им дают чих-чидуnd при полнолунии и при рождении луны. Родные и чужие жертвуют до третьего колена.

Когда умирает близнец, он уходит к своему отцу Pal-n'igyvyn, который его родил, явившись матери во сне.

Умершего близнеца не сжигают, а усаживают по-турецки в специально изготовленном домике и вколачивают кол, который его поддерживает.

Одевают его в белую рубаху и штаны и обкладывают стружками — инау. Мать близнецов после смерти также не сжигают, а одевают в белое и хоронят и тоже обкладывают инау. Согласно Б. Пилсудскому, так же поступают и с отцом близнецов.

Tongч: помогает ловить медведя и вообще на охоте. В случае болезни, особенно чахотки, tongч: кормят (Сляво).

Детоубийство. Детоубийство совершается иногда тайком или даже по приказанию отца малолетнего мужа женщины.

Женщину, обвиненную шаманом в отравлении мальчика, сына другой жены, били, срезали ей косу и бросили в погребальный костер.

Болезнь. Болезнь посылает или Pal-n'igyvyn или Tol-n'igyvyn, но каждый из них берет milk'a не из своего царства.

Milk бывает разной формы, часто красный, как кровь, и твердый, как камень, а когда входит в человека, то делается живой; «как-будто ходит».

Буйного сумасшедшего сажают в клетку (летом) и кормят; убивать нельзя.

Kxmâs'Ind — болеть оттого, что не получил того, что видел и чего хотелось. Болеет или сам видевший или его семья. Тогда необходимо достать хоть крошку виденного, хоть мазок, и человек выздоровеет.

Гиляк Чурка[1] рассказал: «Когда я был маленький, я увидел собаку и очень хотелось ее иметь, но не посмел. Заболел (под мышкой). Мне снилось, что эта собака укусила меня в это самое место, где болело. Я совсем мертвый лежал. Тогда отец купил сейчас собаку — нужно было торопиться — и сейчас зажарил кусочек, и я стал поправляться».

Все подтвердили этот факт. Муж его нынешней жены тоже умер от kxmâs'Ind.

V.

СПАСАНИЕ УТОПАЮЩЕГО.

Услышав крик утопающего, приходят к нему на помощь, давят на живот, чтобы вода вышла, стружками очищают ему рот и вставляют в рот палку. Потом завертывают его в шубы, крепко завязывают лицо (если он посмотрит на огонь, то умрет). Когда он становится теплым, ему открывают лицо. Он дает чихчугуnd Tol'у, потом совершает процедуру, называемую шаvynd.

Гиляк утопал под разбившимся льдом. Его спасли и привели в юрту, где спаситель-хозяин и спасенный уселись друг против друга; перед каждым из них поставили по чашке с сараной и пучкой по обе стороны, и около каждого по белой собаке. Они уцепились крючками, которые держали в руке (имитация спасения) и тянули друг друга, говоря: «Ты доживешь до старости, я доживу». Потом, при уходе, спасенный ступил ногой в чашку хозяина и в свою, и они обменялись чашками. После обмена спасенный говорит: „Nixxaxrá — спасибо!" Если не обменяются, то один из них утонет. После этого делаются приятелями. И чужой ха! надо спасать и даже хороших русских (не бродяг), но утопленника чужого рода не сжигают, а обкладывают палками.

После спасения и процедуры шаvynd шаман должен про-

[1] Проводник Л. Я. Штернберга по Сахалину.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

делать свою процедуру: он посылает своего духа kexn к Tol'у за маленькой душой, которая лежит там на постельке.

Когда утопавший возвращается в лодке, спасшись от смерти, он должен с женой старую чумашку сломать и сделать новую. Если не сломать, то муж и жена умрут.

Утопленник или съеденный медведем будут богами.

Утонувшего кладут в лодку; родные садятся в другую лодку и плывут не гребя; первую лодку с покойником пускают вперед, и куда ее снесет на берег, там и сжигают покойника. Вытаскивают тело на берег крючками. Близ места сожжения ставят инау. Когда тымовские гиляки едут в Тро, они, увидев инау, бросают в речку чих-чидуnd (жертвоприношения).

Спасенный от смерти от медведя приносит Pal-n'ivux'у в жертву собаку и делает чих-чидуnd.

VI.

ИГРЫ.

1. Игра в мяч—poj. Мяч—pulk—величиною меньше кулака и обшит рыбьей кожей. Играющие разбиваются на две партии. Начинается с того, что мяч подбрасывают кверху и потом его палкой отбрасывают по направлению к противникам. Те должны назад отбросить и не дать мячу далеко залететь. Если же мячу удалось миновать противника, тогда они передвигаются дальше, а за ними и другая партия. Когда мяч прикатится или прилетит, то каждый с палкой в руке старается отбросить его.

2. Pytyzand. Играющий несколько раз хлопает в ладоши и ударяет два раза нижними частями ладоней в нижнюю часть подбородка; при этом зубы щелкают ритмически. Потом ладонями бьют по щекам, слегка надутым, губы издают форцен—звук—и зубы щелкают. Затем бьют по вискам, по голове, по коленям.

Все это проделывается с такой головокружительной быстротой, что оно приводит в возбужденное состояние как исполнителя, так и зрителя.

3. Ter:nund—скакание на одной ноге.
4. Nastumarnd—прыгание через ремень.
5. Tigrkyr—прыгание опираясь о палку.
6. Tykyryd (амурское tykyryз:)—разновидность № 2.
7. Varnd (амурское varnз:)—гонка на лодках.

8. Чong-король. Узкая длинная доска имеет 3 параллельных ряда гнезд (ямочек) — до 83 — kʼaγnᵊучх (см. рис.). В одном

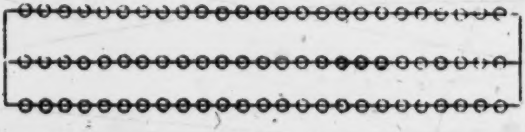

из крайних рядов вставлено в каждое гнездо по «солдату», т. е. по отвесной круглой палочке; в противоположном крайнем ряду соответственно вставлено во все гнезда тоже по одному солдату — круглой палочке, но уплощающейся в верхней половине в виде

. Гнезда среднего ряда — боевой линии — пустые. Играют четырьмя кубиками, каждая сторона которых имеет свой знак и свое название, а именно:

1) Чong — 1 большая ямка в центре и 4 маленьких по углам.

2) Куг — 5 ямочек, расположенных так же, но все одинаковой величины.

3) Ког со знаком, напоминающим свастику.

4) Тvуг — рисунок, похожий на русское Ж.

5) Топ'з:а́ — две пересекающиеся диагонали, и в каждом из образующихся треугольников по ямочке одинаковой величины.

6) Мга — квадрат с взаимно пересекающимися 2-мя продольными и 2-мя поперечными волнистыми линиями.

Начинающий игру подбрасывает горстью все 4 кубика и смотрит, не выпал ли чong. Пока не выпадет чong, т.-е. пока кубик не стал стороной чong кверху, игрок не может делать ходов.

Сторона № 1 кубика дает право на один ход, № 2 — на два и т. д., сторона № 6 дает право на шесть ходов.

Если чong выпал, то король со средней линии меняется своим местом с ближайшим своим же солдатом; если еще один чong, то меняется со следующим на один ход; по остальным фигурам движется солдат, занявший место короля на средней линии. Раз уже был чong, то в следующий раз, во всяком случае, можно уже двигаться. Король только после первых чong делает ходы, потом

он дает ходить солдатам. Если солдат делает несколько шагов по средней линии и встречает солдата другого лагеря, он через него перескакивает, но не снимает, и только если тот стоит на месте назначения другого, он снимается. Нужно соображать, с какой фигуры делать ход, чтобы удалось снять противника.

При чонг король, делая ход, считает только занятые места; пустые не в счет. Короля бить нельзя; если солдат дошел до него, он ложится и ждет другого хода. Чонг вообще солдата не снимает, исключая только на двух последних гнездах. Король только при чонг может ходить, в других случаях он ходит лишь тогда, когда у него один солдат остается. Снимают неприятеля только, когда он на месте назначения.

Во время игры надо громко выкрикивать то, что хочется: ку mra и т. п. Если королю уже не с кем меняться из своих солдат, то первый чонг остается недействительным, но следующий дает королю право делать ход; за него может и солдат делать ход. Иной раз нужно комбинировать, чтобы перескочить через неприятельского солдата.

Основные правила игры. Солдаты переходят сначала на среднюю линию, потом подвигаются вперед в неприятельский лагерь, но назад не возвращаются. Когда на чьей-нибудь боевой линии (основной) уже нет солдат, то король может делать ходы, подобно солдатам, т. е. по любому числу.

По мере выбытия из строя солдат или перемещения на среднюю линию, король при чонг имеет право меняться со своим солдатом, не стесняясь расстоянием, но, конечно, не на средней линии. В начале игры короли стоят на средней линии у краев. Если король сделал обратные шаги, то его уже бить можно. Игра продолжается и после того, как король снят. Если старик тронулся уже назад, то солдат может бить чонг'ом; если два чонг под ряд, то король может итти назад.[1]

VII.

РАЗНОЕ.

Эксплоатация туземцев Сахалина русскими (рассказ Гибеньки).

Купец Иванов сильно обижал гиляков, айнов, орочонов, амурских гиляков; он разорил тымовских гиляков и других. Он насильно навязывал пачки табаку, а потом брал за пачку 2—3 со-

[1] Привожу вариант игры, записанный мною со слов амурского гиляка Мландзяи, студента Института Народов Севера в Ленинграде.

Начинающий играть, после того как выпал чонг, по числу выпавших

болей. Долги взыскивал он насильно, вламываясь в амбары, ломая сундуки, держа в одной руке револьвер и кинжал. Женщинам он давал какое-то oxl (см. выше стр. 335 «Женщина, роды и дети»), и они с ним спали. Потом он стал богат.

Но бог не забыл всех его дел. Однажды сын его поехал кататься по Амуру и утонул. Гиляки в Пронге узнали выброшенное тело и дали знать матери. Но когда она приехала, тела не оказалось; она увидела одни медвежьи следы. По этим следам добралась до места, где медведь расправился со своей добычей. На месте пиршества осталось одно золотое кольцо. Мать плакала, плакала и вернулась назад. Сам Иванов, еще не старый человек, стал чахнуть, худеть; никакие лекарства не помогали. Наконец, он умер. Якут Семенчук был один из тех, которые копали ему могилу на кладбищенской горке. Но ямка наполнилась водой и сколько ни черпали, вода все прибывала. Это были слезы тех людей, которых он обижал. Эти слезы не пропадают. Рядом копали могилу другому, бедному человеку, и она оказалась без воды.

Хороший отец учит своего сына никого не обижать, ни над кем не смеяться.

Рабы — krygrys (1894).

В Куклях (?) krygrys, отданный за бабу. В Вайдах — krygrys Хюмик, хромая женщина; ее били, били, всякий ею помыкал, „времени не имела кушать"; спать с ней нельзя, ибо никто не хочет иметь детей krygrys. Были krygrys еще в Тонгах, Тэвах, Кутр. Atk (см. стр. 148, IV) Гибельки имел krygrys.

У гиляков тымовских и охотских один язык.

ходов (по верхним поверхностям кубиков), переставляет, начиная справа, через соответственное число гнезд своего солдата на среднюю линию гнезд. Потом то же с своей стороны проделывает партнер, и когда его солдату приходится стать на место стоящего уже солдата партнера, он его сшивает.

После того как один из партнеров продвинулся до конца боевой линии, он при дальнейших ходах переходит на линию неприятеля (партнера) и там сбивает его солдат, и когда доходит до конца этой линии, он считается выигравшим.

Несмотря на то, что приведенное описание расходится с описанием сахалинской игры чонg у Штернберга, мы его помещаем, ибо оно может облегчить понимание вышеприведенного варианта игры, хотя тот во многом отличается от описанного Младзяном *С. Ш.*

Легенда о трех братьях-скалах в Александровском на Сахалине.

Три брата Heng пошли с медведем смотреть выброшенного кита (kern) и потом все обратились в камни. Два зубца — мать и дочь смотрят за ними.

Крысу нельзя убивать топором: нужно палкой. Жена Нахвун умирает от того, что ее отец убил крысу топором; поэтому же у него умер сын, а теперь дочь умирает.

Отношение к кровосмесительству у собак.

У собак, по словам гиляков, брат и сестра не совокупляются; исключения редки и приписываются milk'у. Собак за это убивают, в противном случае этот большой грех падает на хозяина; он будет наказан болезнью и пр. Отец и дочь у собак часто имеют сношения, но за это их не убивают.

Волосы можно бросать в любое место.

Спасенный от смерти от медведя приносит Pal-n'igy-yn'у чих-чugynd—в жертву собаку. На раненного медведем нельзя никому смотреть; только один старик или старуха ему раны перевязывают. Постель его завешивается парусом.

Дохлого медведя иногда кушают в нужде и поступают (с ним) как с убитым. Когда идут куда-нибудь (на охоту) и вообще по важному делу, берут всегда с собою предпочтительно ymgl (зятя).

В Милькво у одного гиляка было две бабы. Однажды к нему в гости пришла дочь с внучатами. Она пошла ягоды собирать, а мужчины ушли на нерпу. Тогда бабы сварили внучат, съели их, убежали в тайгу и исчезли.

Чпуг-чхпаj. Если случилась пропажа, делают чпуг-чхпаj, изображение из травы, и бьют его (молотят); если чхпаj хороший, то на другой день потерянное найдут. Чпуг-чхпаj вешают над нарами и кормят, если неизвестно, какой milk причинил вред.

За кражу медвежьего мяса или удочки искривляется лицо.

Клептомания. Есть воры-клептоманы, например, Свитух из Ады-Тымы. Вследствие угрозы братьев убить его, он убежал в

Лунгво. Там он и жена продолжали то же. В нем одна душа — крыса, сидящая в брюхе. Соблазняющие его вещи светят ему в темноте. Гиляки ограничиваются отбиранием вещей.

Отец шамана Койныта из Тро заметил, что у него пропали штаны. Он стал шаманить, нашел у бабы в брюхе крысу, убил ее, а на другой день и баба умерла.

За оскорбление нужно драться на палках (чхаркirvand) или платить tхusind, либо насильно взять вещь. Часто даже убивают за оскорбление.

Гаданье с камнем parnxasind с котлом. Parnxasind отвечает благодаря чехп. Если котел качается прямо, то попал, если в сторону — не попал. Если попал, надо сделать деревянное чхпаj, повесить на шею и кормить его.

VIII.

ФОЛЬКЛОР.[1]

Сказка № 1. Два брата, ни матери, ни сестры, никого не было; сами живут себе помаленьку; жили-были. Весной пошли мишку ловить, один на одну сторону, другой на другую. Старший брат сел с—ть (за большой нуждой), и с неба удочка поймала (его) и взяла на небо. Младший брат искал и не нашел брата. Он вернулся домой один. Ночью, когда он спал, ему снилось (tyjnd), что пришел гиляк и сказал, что брат взят на небо «Ты будь осторожен, тебя тоже возьмут на небо». Проснулся, стал искать гиляка, нету!

Он взял длинную кожаную веревку и шест и сделал большой навес. Утром пошел с—ть, удочки спустились, подцепили и подняли его. Цепь оборвалась и упала. Он посмотрел, цепь совсем золотая. С цепью было 4 колокольчика (kiongx): три больших, один маленький. Гиляк не тронул ничего. Целая куча цепей.

На другую ночь он спал, — кто-то цепь и колокольчик достает, и колокольчик звенит. Утром он не нашел, смотрел в амбаре — медвежьи головы. Он пошел рыбу ловить и поймал целую лодку мелкой, мелкой рыбы. Одна маленькая красивая рыбка

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[1] Помещаемые ниже 2 сказки найдены в архиве Штернберга без гиляцкого текста. Весь остальной фольклорный материал, не вошедший в I том его „Материалов по изучению гиляцкого языка и фольклора", предполагается издать особо. *С. Ш.*

незнакомая попалась; он ее положил в нос лодки. Подойдя к нерпе, он видит дым из юрты. Он думает: «Откуда это, не горим ли». Еще сидит на берегу и думает так.

В это время какой-то мальчик бежит к нему. Он поймал красивенькую рыбку и убежал домой. Он стал думать, что это за мальчик, надо посмотреть, узнать. Он пошел в юрту, посмотрел: две бабы, его старший брат, мальчик. Обе бабы — дочери Tly икTol-n'lvux'a, взяты на небо Tly-n'lvux'ом.

Старшая дочь сильно любит сахалинских гиляков, пустила удочку и вытащила гиляка. Потом младшая сестра пустила удочку и оборвалось. Младшая имела сына от одного из Tly-n'lvux'ов; она его не захотела, удочкой нельзя было достать; они спустились вниз.

Потерять колокольчик — значит потерять ум. Когда они взяли колокольчики, опять как будто ум пришел. Младший брат взял младшую сестру, и мальчик стал сыном этого брата. Жена стала рыбу чистить.

Старший брат сказал младшей. «Вот это твой муж, вот эта рыба твоя будет, иди, очисти и суши». Она взяла нож и пошла. Ее муж думает: «мало-мало покурю и потом пойду рыбу сушить». Он окончил курить, пошел на двор, и его рыба уже готова. Потом жили богато-богато. Колокольчик с вещами положили, и у них (все) есть.

Сказка № 2. Тылгунд (от Обона). Первый гиляк родился в Александровске. Рыбу ловил, поймал Tarmyk-чо, и ему нельзя убить ее, потому что это umgu, и опять ее живой бросил в море; на другой день опять поймал, — «море бросай, никому не скажи». Много раз это сделал. Летом рыба родила мальчика, бросила на берег, человек увидел: «Кто мальчик?» Если отец есть, так придет и возьмет. Отец узнал, взял мальчика, на берегу балаган сделал; рядом с мальчиком большой кинжал, который отец его взял с собой. Гиляк собрал траву (konxong), постель сделал, и они поселились, никто не знал. Спит, и ему снится, (что) рыба ему говорит: «Это твой мальчик, гляди, чтоб никто не узнал. Хорошо корми. Если другой гиляк посмотрит, то мальчик помрет. Рыбы тебе много будет, на охоте тебе много соболя, медведя». Много дней прошло, рыбы много было. Осенью пошел ставить петли, 50 соболей бог дал; медведя искал в хребтах, убил 3 медведей. Еще год дожидался, мальчик живо подрастает, мальчик стал кинжал с собой таскать, — ytk (отец) уже стар стал, — и бог мальчику много рыбы дал, тогда на мед-

ведя ходил, кинжалом много убил, никакого оружия, кроме кинжала; 30 медведей убил. Раз самый большой медведь пришел. Медведь хотел его скушать, он его кинжалом в голову, медведь живой убежал; опять мальчик домой пошел и лег спать. Опять ему uyngid. Pal-n'ivux пришел, в голове дыра и кровь и говорит: „T'arty! ты нам постоянно голову рубишь кинжалом; если ты сильный, я тебя не убью, если я сильный, я тебя убью. Теперь вам будет uxmundd". Мальчик опять пошел мишку ловить. Сам й большой медведь пришел; медведь сразу вцепился в кинжал, висевший на теле, и мальчику нельзя было достать его. Тогда они вступили в единоборство, долго-долго боролись, и оба упали мертвые.

Медведь спорил с бурундуком: «Я только собак боюсь». А бурундук сказал: «А я собак вовсе не боюсь». Первый: «Я стрелки боюсь», второй: «А я стрелки не боюсь». Медведь рассердился и царапнул лапой бурундука. Отсюда 5 пятен (? — неразборчиво. *С. Ш.*) на спине бурундука.

Петля сказала ловушке: «Лови себе сама, а я ловить не буду». Ловушка сказала: «Лови себе сама» и т. д. Поэтому ничего и не поймали.

Гиляки целую черемуху рубят ради ягод, но если «кровь пойдет» (красный сок), — бросают.

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САХАЛИНСКИЕ ГИЛЯКИ[1]

I.

ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЕ ГИЛЯКОВ И ЧЕРТЫ ИХ ВНЕШНЕГО БЫТА.

Подобно айносам, на языке которых слово «айнос» означает «человек», и сахалинские гиляки зовут себя «нивух», что значит: человек, хозяин, гиляк.[2] Обычное их название «гиляки» образовалось, как мне думается, от искажения путешественниками слова «килэ», означающего «тунгус» на языке амурских гиляков, с которыми путешественники впервые столкнулись. И такое искажение могло явиться весьма легко благодаря тому, что гиляки нижнего течения Амура говорят тем же языком, что и тунгусы, которые, по их преданиям, составляют один «народ» с гиляками, гольдами и орочонами. Весьма возможно также, что, благодаря общности языка амурских гиляков и тунгусов, господствовавшие прежде в Амурском крае манджуры называли гиляков и тунгусов одним общим именем «килэ». Но любопытно и вместе с тем характерно, как легко возникает даже между первобытными народами национальная рознь: тунгусы с негодованием и гордым презрением отвергают свое родство не только с гиляками, но и с орочонами, говоря: «мы люди государские, крещеные, а гиляки и орочоны собаку кушают!»

Гиляки сами причисляют себя к монголо-манджурскому племени, утверждая, что гиляки и манджуры — «халь-нях» («халь» — род, народ, племя, «нях» — один). Народами родственными гиляки считают также китайцев и японцев, говоря, что манджур — «ытк-утгу» (отец, родоначальник, мужчина), а японец — «ытк-умгу» (родоначальница, женщина), — утверждение, которое станет ясно из дальнейшего изложения. Сахалинские гиляки говорят языком, общим с языком гиляков, живу-

[1] Настоящая статья была напечатана в „Этнографическом обозрении" за 1893 год, № 2. В свое время на нее откликнулся Фр. Энгельс статьей в „Die Neue Zeit". *Ред.*

[2] Амурские гиляки зовут себя „явесе".

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

щих у устья Амура и по материковому побережью Татарского пролива, но совершенно отличным от языка нижнеамурских гиляков и тунгусов.

Что касается вопроса о появлении гиляков на Сахалине, то не подлежит никакому сомнению, что они — пришельцы с материка. Материалы переписи 1891 г., наблюдения и беседы с гиляками одинаково подтверждают в этом случае заключение, которое можно было бы сделать a priori. Перепись прежде всего доказала, что заселение острова гиляками шло от севера к югу. Предки гиляков сел. Тыки, напр., пришли из сел. Ныур, самого северного селения западного берега Сахалина. Из двух главенствующих родов в сел. Аркыйво один происходит из сел. Нянивo (на севере Сахалина), другой из сел. Танги, жители которого, в свою очередь, принадлежат к старинному роду сел. Чомы (на материке) и т. д. Перепись далее доказала, что каждый род сахалинских гиляков — только ветвь рода, живущего по материковому побережью. Наконец, язык, религиозные представления, обычаи и нравы сахалинских гиляков тождественны с таковыми же у гиляков материкового побережья.

Даже самую форму переселения не трудно воссоздать себе воображением. Еще и до сих пор амурские гиляки имеют обыкновение отправляться каждую осень на своих тяжелоходных лодках на Сахалин с целью промышлять соболя. Одни идут в Агнево, другие в Мауко, третьи еще далее на юг. На их родине соболь несравненно лучше сахалинского, но он так редок, а охотников на него так много, что гиляки предпочитают покидать свои родные очаги на целых полгода и подвергаться всем опасностям 1000-верстного морского путешествия, стремясь к тем соблазнительным угодьям, где населения мало, а соболей можно бить сотнями. Ранней весной, нагруженные богатой добычей, они возвращаются к своим далеким очагам. Эти экскурсии на юг Сахалина сравнительно недавнего происхождения. Еще сто лет тому назад предки нынешних искателей соболя не ходили дальше Дуэ и речки Тыми, и самым северным пунктом их промыслов была в то время речка Вааз. И нет никакого сомнения, что раньше экскурсии за соболем направлялись еще дальше к северу. Должна же была существовать причина, которая заставила амурских гиляков удаляться все дальше от своей родины и передвинуть, наконец, арену своих промыслов на самый юг Сахалина, где соболь совсем плохой и где предки их вынуждены были купить у аинов те охотнические территории,

которыми они ныне пользуются. Этому причиной послужило постепенное заселение северного Сахалина гиляками с материкового побережья. Первоначально предки нынешних сахалинских гиляков отправлялись компаниями сородичей на Сахалин, подобно амурским гилякам в настоящее время, только на сезон для ловли соболей. Здесь они делали свои многочисленные западни по берегам какой-нибудь речки и ставили свои петли по натуральным запрудам, служившим переходами для соболей с одного берега речки на другой. Нет ничего удивительного, что в конце концов ежегодное хождение в один и тот же пункт на охоту заканчивалось переселением навсегда на богатый соболем остров.

Северный Сахалин (замечательно, что только северную часть острова гиляк зовет Сахалином, что опять-таки служит доказательством, откуда и по какому направлению шло заселение Сахалина) был особенно благоприятен для переселения. Прежде всего это были ближайшие к материку пункты: полдня-день переезда между обоими берегами пролива. Далее гиляки материкового побережья нашли на северном Сахалине, сверх обилия соболя, все прочие условия жизни, совершенно тождественные с таковыми же на материке: то же обилие и богатство пород рыбы (кета, калуга, сиг, сазан и проч.), обилие нерп и дельфинов. Только гилякам амурским не было расчета покинуть берега незаменимого для них Амура. Они не могут решиться на это даже и теперь, теснимые русскими поселенцами в их рыбных и лесных угодьях, вынужденные выносить на своих плечах всю тягость безвозмездной подводной повинности по Амуру. Конечно, были еще и другие причины, которые побуждали материковых гиляков выселяться на Сахалин, как теснота народонаселения, столкновения между родами и пр. Одной из этих причин могло служить манджурское господство с обязательной ежегодной данью, в виде соболя с души (нужно принять во внимание, что прежде соболь вообще был в 3-4 раза дороже нынешнего, а амурский соболь и теперь крайне дорог; один сорт, напр., ангунский, стоит 25—30 руб.). Интересны предания самих гиляков об отношениях их к манджурам в прежнее время: «мы были поселены», — говорили мне амурские гиляки, — «на берегах Амура манджурами, как *вольные* люди со званием «охотников», и мы были обязаны платить им ежегодно по соболю с человека. Сверх того, всякий раз, как гиляк приезжал в китайский город Сунгари (Сайсинг), он обязан был платить соболя, а ста-

росты селений по 3 соболя. В таком же положении были и орочоны. Манджурские чиновники вели списки населения и ежегодно летом они приезжали собирать соболиную дань. Сахалинские гиляки были свободны от этой дани, но манджуры проникли, наконец, и к ним, назначили им выборных старост. Такой староста был, напр., в Тангах. От манджуров именно гиляки получили все те предметы, которых сами производить не умели.

Не буду входить пока в разрешение вопроса о давности пребывания гиляков на острове, скажу только, что в момент их появления они обязательно должны были обладать всем тем хозяйственным инвентарем, каким они обладают в настоящее время (исключая, конечно, огнестрельного оружия). Ясно без комментариев, что без нарты и лодки, без прирученных нартовых собак, без железных орудий и пр. гиляк не мог существовать на Сахалине. Свои первые культурные произведения он мог сделать в местах особенно благоприятных, по крайней мере, в рыболовном отношении. Быть может, такою колыбелью и была река Амур.

Сахалинские гиляки, как их собратья на материке, многое и весьма существенное переняли у своих цивилизованных собратьев. Они заменили лук ружьем, свою деревянную и берестовую посуду — металлическими котлами. Они куют железо, искусно работают плотничными и столярными инструментами. Они строят юрты по манджурскому типу, делают печи и огромные трубы из камня. Они владеют японскими саблями и хранят дорогие копья, украшенные серебряной резьбой. Они носят халаты и рубашки из китайской и русской материи. Они пьют чай и варят рис и буду (особый сорт крупы). Они, наконец, уже стали сажать картофель. В недалеком будущем, быть может, они совершенно усвоят культуру своих цивилизованных соседей. Но на чем они остановились в своем самостоятельном культурном развитии?

Из всех заимствований, сделанных гиляками, самое серьезное и самое давнее, повидимому, есть употребление железа. И тем не менее, вследствие отдаленности их от центров цивилизации, оно привилось у них в очень ограниченной форме. Они не только не умеют обрабатывать руды, но не умеют выделывать даже инструментов. Самое железо у них еще недавно было крайне дорого. В их лодке и нарте нет ни одного железного гвоздя, хотя сами гиляки объясняют это другой причиной, чем недостатком железа. Еще поколение тому назад огниво было драго-

ценностью, и целый род, случалось, владел одним общим родовым огнивом. Еще и до сих пор самым священным способом добывания огня считается трение дерева о дерево, — способ, употребляемый при сожжении покойников. Все прочие заимствования в такой же мере можно поставить гиляку в заслугу, как турку дальнобойное английское ружье, но по своим последствиям эти заимствования неразрывно связали гиляка с культурой... Но вернемся к тому, на чем остановилась их цивилизация.

Еще и до сих пор основной пищей гиляка служат готовые продукты природы — рыба, дичь, ягоды, коренья; он еще не умеет приспособлять природу и споспешествовать ей в создании пищевых веществ. Он не садит и не сеет, не разводит домашних животных для мяса. Это — основная черта «дикого» состояния. Далее, традиции гиляков о том, что были времена, когда воду кипятили в корытах посредством раскаленных камней, воспоминания о деревянной посуде, обмазанной глиной, и отсутствие всяких воспоминаний о глиняной посуде убеждают нас в том, что гиляки никогда и не были знакомы с гончарным искусством даже в элементарной форме. Это опять-таки — черта состояния «дикарей». На ряду с этим имеем другой факт — приручение собак для нартовой езды, — черта, которая поднимает их на одну ступень, на первую ступень варваризма (употребляя терминологию авторитетного писателя Моргана). Но самым характерным фактом в вопросе о культурном уровне самостоятельного развития гиляков, фактом, решающим и дающим возможность для широких этнографических сближений, служат их семейно-родовые учреждения, детально мною изученные.

II.

СЕМЕЙНО-РОДОВЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ.

Наблюдая семью у гиляков, мы сначала не замечаем в ней ничего особенного. Как у многих других инородцев наших, гиляки покупают себе одну, две, ранее три жены, которые являются общественно-признанными его женами, равно как и дети его, работающие вместе с ним, содержимые им и к которым переходит имущество его после смерти. Супружеская верность жены охраняется, как это увидим ниже, вооруженной рукой. Словом, форма брака совершенно, повидимому, индивидуальная. Но при ближайшем знакомстве с внутренним строем жизни гиляков

мы натыкаемся на целый ряд явлений, которые стоят в противоречии с этой формой брака. Прежде всего бросается в глаза, что гиляк зовет отцом (ытк) не только своего общественно-признанного отца (родного), но и всех братьев своего отца, не только родных, т. е. 1-й степени родства, но и всех самых отдаленных степеней, а жен этих братьев своего отца он зовет, как и свою родимую мать — матерями (ымк). Равным образом гиляк зовет матерью (ымк) всех сестер своей матери, а их мужей — отцами (ытк). Дети братьев, равно как и дети сестер, всех степеней родства, зовут друг друга «руер» (= брат и также соответствует немецкому слову Geschwister = братья и сестры). Таким образом получается странное на наш взгляд явление, что человек может иметь огромное число отцов и матерей, уж не говоря о братьях и сестрах, и часто такие отцы и матери бывают моложе своих детей. Но в то же время сестер своего отца и братьев своей матери гиляк уж не зовет «ытк» и «ымк», а «эдр» и «апп».

Для других форм родственных отношений у гиляков существует целая серия названий, доказывающая, что не бедность языка послужила причиной странной для нас родственной терминологии. Такая же терминология существует у ирокезов и других индейских племен Северной Америки, равно как и у некоторых племен в Индии, но у них она давно уже не соответствует действительности; у гиляков же эта терминология хотя и не вполне уже соответствует действительности, но только не вполне. И теперь каждый гиляк имеет супружеские права (не считается грехом) на жен своих братьев всех степеней родства и на сестер своей жены. Этого права лишен только старший брат относительно жен своих младших братьев. Это ограничение — новейшего происхождения, и самое существование его как бы подчеркивает законность коллективных супружеских прав младших братьев на жен своих старших братьев и на всех сестер своей жены. Этими правами не всегда уже и теперь пользуются гиляки, и не без неудовольствия и даже насильственных протестов смотрят во многих случаях на отправление этих прав заинтересованные лица, как это увидим впоследствии; но юридически, так сказать, они существуют, отправление этих прав не считается прелюбодеянием, ненаказуемо, даже совершается часто открыто с согласия братьев и мужей сестер жены. Таким образом современная индивидуальная форма брака у гиляков является новообразованием, и крупные переживания старого

строя родового брака, сохранившиеся до сих пор, сближают ее и с знаменитой, так называемой «Punalua-family», существовавшей еще в первой половине нашего столетия на Сандвичевых островах (Гаваи), где такие же, как у гиляков, взаимные права на жен своих братьев и сестер своей жены существовали без ограничения. И что еще более удивительно: точно так же, как в Punalua-family мужья сестер и жены братьев называли друг друга punalua (компаньон, половинщик, товарищ, друг) — слово, давшее название самому учреждению, так и у гиляков эти категории лиц называют друг друга «навх» (слово, означающее буквально то же, что у сандвичан punalua). До такой степени поразительно сходны бывают даже до мелочей первобытные учреждения народов, живущих в разных частях света, отделенных друг от друга океанами.

Эта форма семейно-родственных отношений лежит в основании общественной организации гиляков, в основании их родового устройства («халь» — род, также сородичи).

Из того, что говорилось о первобытной семье гиляков, само собою вытекает, из кого составляется их род. Все братья (всех степеней родства) отца какого-нибудь гиляка NN — суть его отцы (ытк), их отцы — его деды (ате), их дети — его братья (руэр), их внуки — его дети (ола) и взаимно. Вот эта-то огромная семья дедов, отцов, детей, братьев и сестер и составляет род гиляка. Понятно, что таким образом составляющийся род может насчитывать в своей среде огромное число человек. В одном роде, живущем на северном Сахалине, я насчитал 150 человек, а между тем он — только ветвь рода, живущего на материке.

Но род гиляков организуется на мужском начале. Хотя дети сестры жены NN — его дети (ола) и они считаются братьями его собственных детей, но если эти сестры жены замужем за гиляками другого халя, то они, т. е. дети этих сестер, будут чужие по отношению к роду NN. Равным образом только жены сородичей и их незамужние дочери принадлежат к роду, и, наоборот, вышедши замуж, женщина переходит в род мужа, хотя расторжение брака приводит ее опять в род отца. Вот начала, которыми регулируется жизнь рода:

1. В роде есть только четыре степени родства: дед и бабка (атк и ытик), отцы и матери (ытк и ымк) братья и сестры (руэр) и дети (ола). Сородичи зовут друг друга, в отличие от чужеродных, «халь». Для отличия родных братьев от родных 1-й степени родства прибавляют слово *халь*, так что братья по роду —

халь-руэр, родовые отцы — халь-ытк и т. д. Старший в роде, о роли которого буду говорить ниже, называется «халь-геймар». Сородичи в качестве общественной единицы, судящей и действующей, носят название «халь-нивух».

2. Брак внутри рода безусловно запрещен. Это — основной и ненарушимый принцип рода. Как ни широки супружеские права гиляков на женщин упомянутых категорий, как ни широки взгляды гиляков на отношения мужчин к женщинам вообще («любовь все прощает»), но *внутри рода* не только брак, но и прелюбодеяние не встречается даже по исключению.

3. Жена умершего гиляка переходит по решению рода к одному из руэров покойного, обыкновенно младших его; если даже она достанется руэру, который старше покойного, то он обязан содержать ее, хотя не может жить с ней, как с женой. Но никаким образом жена умершего гиляка не может переходить к лицам восходящих и нисходящих линий родства с покойным, т. е. к его халь-ытк'ам, атк'ам, оля'м. И вообще, как общее правило, всякая женщина, жившая в качестве жены (фактически) с кем-нибудь, ни при каких условиях не может принадлежать кому-нибудь из восходящих и нисходящих линий родства с первым ее мужем. И это правило соблюдается так же строго, как и запрещение внутреннего брака. Понятно, поэтому, что на многие браки, заключенные у нас между близкими родственниками, гиляк смотрит, как на кровосмешение. Отсюда вытекает крайняя необходимость для гиляка знать всех своих сородичей, которые часто бывают очень многочисленны и, вдобавок, разбросаны в самых отдаленных пунктах гиляцкой оседлости. Это-то знание своего рода составляет один из элементов умственного воспитания гиляка. От отца к сыну переходит это знание, оно обновляется жизнью и составляет достояние всего рода. В сомнительных случаях родства вопросы решаются старшими в роде.

4. Халь содержит всех стариков, больных, неспособных к труду и прочих беспомощных лиц. Обыкновенно это выполняется ближайшими родственниками, но, за неимением таковых, содержит такое лицо та юрта халя, где лицо это желает поселиться. «У нас нет нищих», — говорил мне один гиляк: «если кто беден, кормит его халь».

5. Члены рода связаны общими жертвоприношениями и празднествами. Всем известный «праздник медведя» совершается не отдельным селением, а родом, хотя к участию в нем при-

глашаются гости из других родов. Покупает медведя кто-нибудь один из рода, но все расходы по празднику покрываются сородичами. А расходы эти доходят иногда до нескольких сот рублей. Съезжаются со всех сторон сородичи и масса специально приглашенных гостей чужеродных, которых надо угощать и кормить в течение многих дней, и не только их самих, но и их многочисленных собак, пожирающих за время праздника много тысяч корму. Совершенно неосновательно мнение, что праздник медведя носит религиозный характер, или что медведь считается гиляками божественным или духом. Праздник медведя — чисто родовой. Естественно, что были времена, когда удачное нападение на медведя, — нападение, совершавшееся по тем временам коллективно, целым родом, — бывало истинным торжеством для рода, который за общей трапезой пожирал огромного зверя. Так как нападения на медведя удобнее всего было делать зимою, когда спящего зверя захватывали в его берлоге, то увековечился обычай справлять этот праздник зимою. Практика столетий выработала целый ритуал праздника, который, как все старое, принимает в глазах варвара характер чего-то священного и ненарушимого. Все жертвоприношения на празднике относятся не к медведю, а к богу тайги, хозяину медведя — «Паль-нивух'у». Понятно также, что и сам медведь получил почетное значение: его мясо не может быть брошено собакам, его нельзя есть с приправами и т. д. Сам Паль-нивух отомстит за такие оскорбления, приказав другим медведям кусаться особенно больно. Итак, праздник медведя — праздник родовой, и на этом основании женщины, как переменный элемент рода, не присутствуют при убиении медведя, хотя участвуют в поедании его. Огонь в той печке, в которой варится мясо медведя, разводится не иначе, как родовым огнивом. С этим огнивом у гиляков связан трогательный обычай. Когда род разделяется и часть его выселяется в другое место, старший в роде (халь-геймар) отламывает половину огнива и вручает старейшему из отъезжающих. Этим огнивом переселенцы зажгут на новом очаге огонь на празднике медведя; оно же будет передаваться из рода в род для той же цели. Отсюда выражение «ломать огонь» стало означать расселение рода. Этот обычай напоминает нам Грецию, где покидавшие родину для основания новых колоний имели обыкновение брать с собою священный огонь родового алтаря.

Другой родовой праздник совершается весной перед ловлей нерпы. И на этот раз расходы на угощение принимает на себя

род. С наступлением вечера, с восходом луны, все мужское население рода (и в этом случае женщины исключаются) выходит на берег моря. Сюда выносят в длинных корытах все те изысканные яства, которые, тщательно приготовленные, оставались нетронутыми до момента жертвоприношения. Тогда все присутствующие садятся на корточки и бросают в море, как жертву божеству, по пригоршне из каждого корыта, произнося при этом обычную формулу молитвы: «Кур ніонгу-хіаі» («Боже, пожалуйста!»), затем собираются в одну юрту, где начинается угощение, в котором принимают участие и женщины.

6. Халь гарантирует жизнь и безопасность каждого из своих членов от покушения на него лиц другого халя. Средством служит родовая месть.

Водворение русских в крае, правда, значительно ослабило действие этого института, но не уничтожило его. Всякое убийство, намеренное или не намеренное, влечет за собой родовую месть. Ближайший сородич убитого, — отец, сын или брат его, а за неимением их другие сородичи, — должен, употребляя образное выражение гиляков, «поднять родные кости» (нышьво йозынедж), т.-е. убить убийцу или, по крайней мере, кого-нибудь из его халя мужского пола. И ярость мести так велика, что не щадятся даже новорожденные дети. Мне приходилось слышать, что несчастные матери таких детей из страха пред мстителем не отступают ни перед какими средствами, чтобы замаскировать пол новорожденного. Из действия мести исключаются только женщины. Понятно, что с первого же момента убийства начинается мучительная, тягостная пора для обоих родов. Род убийцы живет под настоящим дамокловым мечом, ожидая удара из-за всякого угла, во всякое время и на всяком месте. Род убитого лихорадочно выслеживает свою жертву, которая настороже и, во всяком случае, не намерена дешево отдать свою жизнь. В то же время с первых же моментов после рокового убийства род убийцы посылает какое-нибудь лицо нейтрального халя (непременно нейтрального: сородича убьют) к роду убитого с извинениями и предложением выкупа. Но не всегда и, во всяком случае, не скоро получается согласие; иногда проходят годы, пока, утомившись безуспешным преследованием, род мстителя соглашается на примирение.

Опишу один из многих вариантов процедуры примирения и выкупа. Каждый из враждующих родов выбирает себе из какого-нибудь нейтрального халя умного и красноречивого че-

ловека («хлай-нивух'а» — буквально: оратора, — от глагола «хлайнджь» — говорить и существительного «нивух» — человека). Эти последние будут посредниками между сторонами. Каждый род снабжает своего хлай-нивуха шелковым халатом, такой же шапкой, луком, стрелами, копьем, иногда и японской саблей. Это официальная, так сказать, форма посредников. И вот в один прекрасный день вооруженная депутация халь-нивухов (сородичей), с мстителем и хлай-нивухом во главе, появляется вблизи враждующего селения. Тут, где-нибудь в ближайшей тайге или на берегу речки пришельцы разложат огонь, располагаясь, так сказать, лагерем. Отсюда-то и отправляется хлай-нивух мстителей в селение убийцы, где в одной из юрт собравшиеся сородичи его (халь-нивухи), со своим оратором во главе, ожидают посла. Последний, усевшись и закурив трубку (непременно своим собственным огнем), начинает излагать требования выкупа. Роль хлай-нивуха в том и состоит, чтобы выговорить как можно больше. Сородичи убийцы отвечают извинениями и просьбой об уменьшении условий выкупа. Но хлай-нивух мстителей, упорно стоя на своем, гневно удаляется. Вслед за ним идет хлай-нивух убийцы, пытаясь вступить в переговоры со своим собратом по оружию. Не раз оба дипломата усаживаются на землю, закуривают свои трубки каждый своим огнивом, пока, наконец, не достигают лагеря мстителей, где переговоры продолжаются. Случается, что в течение 2—3 дней хлай-нивухи снуют таким образом из одного лагеря в другой. Наконец, соглашение достигнуто. Вот компания мстителей начинает приближаться к селению, а им навстречу идут сородичи убийцы, и обе стороны, наконец, останавливаются друг перед другом на расстоянии выстрела из лука. Впереди, с одной стороны, сопровождаемый своим хлай-нивухом в парадной форме, выступает мститель с копьем и натянутым луком, с другой — убийца тоже с натянутым луком, рядом со своим хлай-нивухом. Лук каждого противника направлен прямо в сердце врага... Секундная вспышка — и кровь может пролиться. Но хлай-нивухи строго удерживают противников, твердя им про мир и забвение. И это не обряд только, ибо бывали случаи, когда в эту минуту мститель закипал гневом и убивал противника на месте. Тогда противники одновременно бросают оружие, бегут друг другу навстречу и кидаются в объятия. Примирение состоялось, и сородичи мстителя вместе с последним мирно входят в юрту убийцы, где перед ними расставлены договоренные вещи выкупа и где приготовлено при-

личное угощение. По другому варианту, мститель и убийца становятся близко друг против друга, упираясь каждый своим копьем в грудь другого, и в то время как хлай-нивухи призывают их к примирению, сородичи каждой стороны проводят между ними по собаке и затем убивают этих животных копьями (кровь за кровь).

Весьма естественно, что выкуп платится соразмерно состоянию убитого и богатству рода убийцы. Это объясняет нам происхождение старинных наказаний за убийство у народов германского и славянского племени, у которых штраф (вира) за убийство платился неравномерно, смотря по званию и состоянию убитого. Естественно также, что ненамеренное убийство влечет за собою гораздо меньше выкупа, чем намеренное. В платеже участвует весь халь убийцы, каждый по состоянию. Убийство внутри рода находит себе мстителей в ближайших родных убитого и брате его матери (т.-е. лице чужого рода, и этот последний получает половину выкупа). Ненамеренное убийство внутри рода у амурских гиляков остается без последствий.

Хлай-нивухи получают в вознаграждение за свои труды свой парадный костюм, вооружение и собаку. В заключение о мести должно сказать, что месть у гиляков является обязательно-священным долгом. И в жизни приходится быть снисходительным к явлениям этого рода. Гиляки мстят часто, не имея к этому никакого расположения, по обязанности. Месть распространяется и на случаи доведения кого-нибудь до самоубийства, но и этом случае дело кончается выкупом или нанесением имущественного вреда виновному.

Одним из видов родовой мести является война. Войны между родами, с появлением русских, прекратились; но воспоминание о них живет в народной памяти, о них рассказывают в сказках, поют в песнях. Поводами к войне чаще всего служили женщины. Похитит гиляк женщину, потом попадается в руки сородичам похищенной, его убьют, — и повод к войне готов. И вообще обиды, нанесенные целым родом, кончались войной. Объявление войны не предшествовало. Раз род нанес кровную обиду другому роду, он уже ждал нападения во что бы то ни стало. И, действительно, в один прекрасный день все взрослое население обиженного рода, вооруженное луками, копьями и ножами, отправлялось в поход, смотря по времени года, на лодках или на нартах. Нападение обыкновенно совершалось ночью. В ожидании его все взрослое мужское население, вооруженное, собира-

лось в одну юрту. Женщины и дети оставались одни в других юртах, так как, по международному праву гиляков, женщины, дети, а также имущество врага считались неприкосновенными во время войны. В каждой юрте имелся тайный выход на случай неожиданного нападения. При первой тревоге воины выходили потайным ходом и делали где-нибудь за юртами засаду. Бой продолжался, по одному варианту, ночь, по другим — дольше, но несомненно, что существовал обычный срок для побоища. По миновании положенного срока, неприятель удалялся, а подвергшиеся нападению начинали считать убитых. Если с их стороны пало меньше, чем у нападавшей стороны, то дело оставалось без последствий; в противном случае, для них являлась обязанность ответить войной за нападение. Нападавшая же сторона, во всяком случае, должна была себя считать удовлетворенной. На случай столкновения на море с лодкой воюющей стороны, которая могла пожелать обменяться стрелами, на лодках имелся в носовой части подъемный бруствер для защиты от неприятельских стрел.

О прежних воинственных наклонностях гиляков красноречиво свидетельствуют хранимые ныне, как драгоценность, тяжелые копья с серебряной резьбой, копья, которые еще очень недавно служили не для одного только украшения.

7. Род в некоторых случаях, впрочем, весьма редких, усыновляет лиц чужого рода. Роду всегда было выгодно иметь как можно больше членов в своей среде. С другой стороны, существование личности вне рода или во вражде со своим собственным родом было вещью весьма тяжелою. Во время переписи приходилось встречать нескольких человек, которые заявляли, что весь их род вымер. В таких и подобных случаях на помощь приходит чужой род с правом адоптирования. Без сомнения, во время войн, когда случалось, что все мужское взрослое население падало в битве, женщины брались в род победителей в качестве жен, а дети мужского пола адоптировались en masse. Адоптированное лицо принимается в одну какую-нибудь семью в качестве сына или брата и этим самым зачисляется и в род. В одном селении на севере Сахалина мне пришлось встретить одно благоденствующее и многочисленное семейство, которое много лет тому назад было адоптировано главенствующим родом селения. Явилось оно с охотского берега, бедное и голодное, и просило о принятии в род селения, что означало, вместе с тем, кормить его и поддержать до лучших времен. В настоящее

время это семейство составляет гордость усыновившего его рода. Но вообще случаи адоптирования редки, особенно семьями, ибо этим ограничивается для рода число женщин, с которыми вступление в брак дозволительно (внутри рода брак запрещен, как сказано выше).

8. Род составляет юридическую единицу по отношению к долгам сородичей. В случае несостоятельности сородича и его ближайших родных, род обязан принять на себя долг несостоятельного.

9. По общему правилу имущество не должно выходить из рода умершего. О наследовании в частности будем говорить особо. Пока скажем только, что у гиляков в этом отношении действует буквально известное правило XII таблиц: «Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento» (за неимением близких родственников, род является наследником).

10. Халь регулирует дела общины. Мы уже видели роль его в делах родовой мести. Когда умирает гиляк, халь-нивухи решают вопрос, к кому из «руэров» покойного должны перейти его вдова и дети. Перед собранием сородичей умирающий гиляк изъявляет свою последнюю волю.

Вообще, никакое чрезвычайное событие не обходится без участия рода. Споры между сородичами решаются не всеми сородичами, а общепризнанными в роде за уважаемых, красноречивых и умных людей (хлай-нивух). В случае спора между лицами разных халей, смешанное собрание хлай-нивухов решает дело. Так, напр., решаются дела о кражах у амурских гиляков, у которых такое смешанное собрание налагает в таких случаях больший или меньший штраф. Старший в роде (халь-геймар) сравнительно еще недавно (одно, два поколения тому назад) был общественным главой, старостой рода. Его преемником являлся следующий за ним по летам халь-геймар. Вмешательство манджуров и появление русских на острове вызвало исчезновение этого института. Но халь-геймары никогда не играли роли патриархов с неограниченной и наследственной властью. Такой власти у гиляков не имеют даже отцы над сыновьями. В настоящее время роль старейших в роде сводится только к руководительству религиозными обрядами, решающему мнению в вопросе о старшинстве в линии родства и т. п. вопросах, где годы играют особенную роль для компетентности суждения.

11. Роды бывают часто рассеяны в очень отдаленных друг от друга пунктах. Но, разделившись, сородичи продолжают

помнить друг друга, ездят друг к другу в гости, оказывают друг другу помощь и покровительство. Скрывающийся от преследования мстителя гиляк найдет безопасность и вооруженную защиту в отдаленном селении сородичей. Обеднеет гиляк или год выпадет неудачный, он переезжает на время для поправки к сородичам. На западном берегу Сахалина редко найти селение, в котором бы все население принадлежало к одному роду: таких селений всего 5—6 (Пиново, Таити, Тыки и еще два — три незначительных селения). По большей части в селении 2—3 рода. Происходит это отчасти оттого, что гиляк часто бывает вынужден покидать свой род и переселяться, ища для себя более благоприятных мест в рыболовном отношении, а переселение не представляет никаких затруднений, ибо гиляки радушно принимают переселенцев из чужого рода. А далее обычай многих зятьев переселяться в род жены не мало содействовал перемещению родов. Последний обычай, быть может, остаток архаического родового быта, основанного на женском начале, по которому мужья шли в род жены, а не наоборот, как это делается теперь; часто, по особому договору с тестем, зять переселяется в род первого для совместной работы с ним (подробнее об этом ниже).

12. Халь имеет общее кладбище, недоступное для чужеродных. Всем известно, что сахалинские гиляки имеют обыкновение сжигать своих покойников. Ко дню сожжения рассылаются приглашения ко всем сородичам умершего, и только чрезвычайное препятствие удержит гиляка от исполнения последнего долга пред сородичем. Когда «живой» огонь, добываемый в этом торжественном случае посредством трения, уничтожил остатки покойного, над местом, где остался пепел и мелкие косточки трупа, делают низенький, закрытый со всех сторон навес, а рядом с ним, в некотором расстоянии, делают крошечную юрту, лучше сказать, деревянный ящик в квадратный аршин, с крышей. В этот ящик помещают чашку и блюдечко покойного, трубку его, деревянную куклу, украшения (если это была женщина) и прочие мелочи. Таким образом является целый ряд юрт — гробниц рода. Когда род живет в разных селениях, умершего хоронят в его селении. Но где бы ни умер гиляк, его прах должен покоиться рядом с его сородичами. Если человек умирает на чужбине, сейчас же извещают об этом сородичей, которые приезжают и увозят тело для сожжения на родину. Если дело происходит летом, труп сохраняют в холодном месте до зимы, когда на нартах его перевезут на родину. Но если даже

гиляку приходится быть сожжену на чужбине, все-таки одну косточку бережно поднимают, привязывают к куску дерева и отсылают на родину. Там над ней сделают навес и рядом построят юрту. Смерть сородича вызывает траур. Мужчины и женщины распускают косу на более или менее продолжительное время, смотря по близости родства и любви к покойному. Некоторые носят траур пожизненно.

Таким образом, родственные и общественные узы привязывают гиляка к своему роду. Без особенной нужды гиляк не покинет селения своих сородичей, гробниц своего рода. Где бы гиляк ни разбогател, он в конце концов нерется на родину. Пишущему эти строки приходилось видеть гиляков, совершенно обрусевших, выросших на службе у русских, но которые, женившись, обзаведясь хозяйством, возвращались в селение своего рода. И это так легко сделать. Гиляку нет надобности непременно строить юрту, так как в любой юрте его рода найдется на нарах 2—3 кв. аршина для семьи сородича. Ему нет надобности даже в лодке и сетке: всегда он найдет владельцев таковых, с которыми он будет ловить рыбу на равных правах. Неизбежная принадлежность каждого гиляка к большому родовому союзу наложила неизгладимый отпечаток на весь духовный склад его, на характер, нравы и умственное развитие. Эта привычка все обсуждать сообща, эта необходимость входить в интересы своих сородичей, эта круговая порука в делах мести, эти общие праздники и жертвоприношения, эта братская связь многочисленных отцов, братьев и детей, наконец, эта необходимость и обыкновение жить в больших юртах в сожительстве с десятками себе подобных, — необходимость, заставляющая гиляка постоянно жить на глазах других, — все это должно было выработать характер социальный, общительный, разговорчивый, серьезный и чувствительный в делах чести.

Войдите в одну из тех больших зимних юрт, которые так часты на севере, войдите в один из таких муравейников в зимний вечер, и вы будете приятно изумлены. Громадная юрта озаряется только пламенем печей, в отдаленных углах совершенно темно, но вы услышите солидный говор стариков, громкие разговоры пожилых, веселый смех, шутки и музыку молодежи. Здесь не скучают...

Попробуйте вступить с кем-нибудь в разговор об их жизни, нравах и проч. — вас окружит вся юрта. С серьезным интересом взрослые слушают и отвечают. Взгляды детей не отрываются от

вас. Глаза горят огнем ума и увлечения. Вам отвечают серьезно и сознательно; только внушите им доверие к себе. Вы почувствуете расположение к этим варварам... И никогда не застанвается, так сказать, здесь жизнь, потому что каждый день приносит какое-нибудь маленькое или большое событие в жизни селения, каждый день приносит, наконец, новых гостей с новыми темами для разговора. В каждой юрте вы найдете много таких гостей, которые часто гостят по неделям, и хозяева за все это время кормят их и их собак.

Гиляки очень гостеприимны, любят ездить в гости и принимать гостей. Приезжают не только сородичи и родственники жены, но и посторонние, просто друзья. В юрте часто живут люди разных родов, к которым съезжаются гости и сородичи со всех мест гиляцкой оседлости. Представьте, сколько новостей приносит каждый зимний день. Зима — любимая пора для разъездов. Этот благородный обычай гостеприимства имеет еще и другую хорошую сторону. В черный год, когда нехватает пищи у гиляка ни для себя, ни для собак и купить не на что, гиляк не должен протягивать руки благодетелю; он спокойно отправляется в гости, зная очень хорошо, что со временем ему отплатят тем же. Много гостей встретите и летом. И в это время года гиляк редко живет один в юрте; всегда с ним одна, две семьи его братьев или других сородичей. Несмотря на долгое подчинение окитаившимся манджурам, несмотря на губительное влияние проходимческого населения Амурского края, гиляки и в нравственном отношении сохраняют много добродетелей первобытных племен. Но участь их строя жизни решена бесповоротно. Еще одно-два поколения, и гиляк материка совершенно обрусеет и, вместе с выгодами культуры, он усвоит и все ее пороки. Нужно отдать справедливость гилякам: они не легко отрекаются от родных традиций, но они поневоле поддаются. Они сначала негодовали и недоумевали, встречая кругом обманы и эксплоатацию, но постепенно кончат тем, что возьмутся за то же оружие. Дольше всех имеют шансы сохраниться сахалинские гиляки, как наиболее удаленные от центров оседлости. Но и на них русское влияние оказывает свое действие. Со всех селений ходят на заработки и ездят за покупками в Николаевск, и всякий гиляк, возвращающийся с заработков в родное селение, приносит такую же атмосферу, какую приносит в русское село парень, вернувшийся с заработков в больших городах. Кроме того, заработки в городах с их переменным счастьем все больше

и больше уничтожают то первобытное равенство, которое составляет преобладающую черту несложной экономической жизни таких народов, как гиляки. Вместе с богатством, нажитым среди новой среды, люди вносят и экономические обычаи этой среды. Но не будем пока заглядывать в новые явления жизни гиляков; вернемся теперь к их еще нерасшатанным пока устоям.

III.

РЕЛИГИОЗНЫЕ ВОЗЗРЕНИЯ.

В многобожии гиляков господствующей чертой является антропоморфизм, но в основании его лежит боготворение силы природы. Так, огонь является у них божеством, правда, только «мало-мало божеством», но все-таки таковым. На вопрос. «почему?» гиляк отвечает: «а без огня как жить?» Считается грехом потушить огонь на очаге, даже повредить ограду очага — грех. В сезон ловли нерпы, или когда в юрте есть новорожденный, и во многих других случаях считается грехом выносить огонь из юрты. Огню, как элементу божественному, гиляк поручает тела умерших. Но в градации божеств огонь занимает далеко не первое место. Тот факт, что добывание огня во власти человека, значительно умаляет в глазах гиляка его величие. Наконец, градация божеств основана на количестве благодеяний, получаемых человеком от каждого из них, а море, тайга дают гиляку больше, чем огонь. Представляя себе стихии и силы природы божественными, называя их часто прямо божествами, гиляк, вместе с тем, верит, что каждая стихия имеет своего хозяина — *нивух'а*, который и есть бог — «кур». Эти нивухи не только по образу и подобию своему, но даже по одеянию — настоящие гиляки (припомним, что «нивух» значит также «гиляк»). Это — не плод воображения, «их можно видеть». «Один человек, — рассказывал мне серьезно знакомый гиляк, — однажды встретил хозяина неба («кур»). Он ездил на нарте, везомой волками, но при встрече с гиляком волки повернули вверх и исчезли вместе со своим седоком под небесами». О многих нивухах вы можете слышать, что еще недавно гиляк такого-то селения видел «его» в том или другом месте. Подобно гиляку, нивухи имеют детей, быть может, их существуют целые роды («халь»), и, подобно гиляку, наконец, они смертны. Бог тайги и гор, хозяин и отец всех зверей лесных, называется «Паль-нивух» («паль — гора, тайга). К нему относятся все жертвоприношения

на праздниках Медведя. Это он прикажет медведям кусаться «шибко, больно» в случае нарушения обрядов праздника. Бог моря, отец и хозяин всего живущего в нем, называется «Толлес», «Толль-нивух» и есть едва ли не могущественнейшее божество гиляка; он же посылает болезни и исцеление. Солнце, луна, звезды — все это божества гиляка, и первые два — супруги: солнце — жена, луна — муж, и, само собою разумеется, на этих светилах небесных есть боги — хозяева. «Разве ты не видел», уверенно говорил мне гиляк, «нивуха на луне, когда она бывает большая? Он совсем гиляк!»

Есть у них представление о чем-то в роде чертей («учхаруш»). Это — целый халь, обитающий в море и опасный для гиляков во время ловли нерпы. Они разъезжают на лодках, и когда завидят лодку с гиляками, бьющими нерпу, то громко вопрошают: «что вы тут делаете?» Горе, если гиляки ответят, что бьют нерпу: лодка в таком случае погибла; но если в ответ гиляки показывают заячий хвост, чорт без дальнейших рассуждений удаляется во-свояси.

Ясно, в каких отношениях стоит гиляк ко всем своим богам — нивухам. Это они дают ему соболей, лисиц, медведей, рыбу, и нерп и пр. Соболь или медведи — это такая же собственность Наль-нивуха, как рыба и нерпа собственность Толль-нивуха, или нартовые собаки собственность гиляка. Из этой своей собственности боги специально уделяют пай человеку. Не даром рыба является с такою удивительною правильностью в соответственные сезоны, не даром соболь одевается в дорогую шубу в сезон охоты, не даром лебеди, гуси, утки теряют летом перо и становятся легкой добычей гиляка. Все это боги делают для человека; дарами богов только и живет он. Понятно, что гиляки не должны оставаться в долгу перед своими благодетелями. И вот они дают пай богам всем тем, чем они сами пользуются: саранкой, кореньями, табаком, сахаром и пр. Когда я выразил однажды желание участвовать в жертвоприношении Толль-нивуху в начале сезона нерпы, меня спросили: «а ты дашь богу хлеба, картошки и пр.?» Жертвоприношения — это обмен паями с нивухами. Вот почему никогда жертва не может состоять из тех же самых предметов, за которые жертва приносится; напр. среди блюд, приносимых в благодарность за нерпу, последняя не фигурирует, хотя она составляет непременное блюдо самих гиляков в вечер жертвоприношения. Таким образом, медведь на известном празднике — совсем не жертва, как некоторые думают,

ибо ни один кусок его мяса не уделяется богу, а гиляк не понимает аллегории: приносить жертву — значит давать богу нечто реальное. И, действительно, на этом празднике хозяину медведя, Паль-пивуху, дают жертву саранкой, «моссом», юколой и проч. яствами. Не противоречит принципу обмена в жертвоприношениях тот факт, что гиляки дают «хозяину моря» кости рыбы, голову, глаза нерпы. Дело объясняется очень просто: мясо бог дает человеку, а кости возвращаются, как творческий элемент будущих рыб и нерп. На том же основании гиляк бережно закапывает в прибрежном песке глаза и недозрелый плод, найденный в чреве нерпы. Для гиляка жертвоприношение — не обряд, не рутина, а серьезное дело, от которого зависит его благополучие. Кроме торжественного жертвоприношения по случаю открытия сезона нерпы, гиляк с особенною торжественностью дарит своего бога в начале сезона соболем. Эту жертву он приносит среди тайги один, у того самого балаганчика, который служит ему ночлегом все время, пока он караулит свои петли и западни. Кроме обычных своих даров в этом случае он иногда приносит в жертву собаку. Поразив жертвенное животное в сердце, он кровь отдает богу, а мясо съест за торжественной трапезой с родными. А вообще он дарит своих богов часто, хотя и понемножку, рассчитывая, что для бога так же мало значит сотня рыбы, как для него пригоршни рису или саранки. Трогательны бывают жертвоприношения в дороге. Помню, во время путешествия на север Сахалина мы однажды как-то незаметным образом поднялись на вершину хребта, и вдруг перед нами раскрылась волшебная панорама гор. «Голова земли» величественно высилась перед нами. Мои спутники гиляки были растроганы. Один из них достал из нарты заветный мешочек с саранкой, табаком, сладкими кореньями и проч., отошел от нас шагов на 30 вправо, присел на корточки, закопал в снег по пригоршне и долго повторял свою молитву. Поднявшись, он отошел на столько же шагов влево и проделал то же самое. Потом, с умиленным лицом, он вернулся к нам и роздал остатки жертвоприношения. Это он молился о ниспослании нам счастливого пути. И он мог потом хвалиться, что его молитвы были услышаны... Есть огромное различие между религиозным настроением гиляка и религиозным настроением не только христианина, еврея, мусульманина, но и буддиста. «Сокрушение сердца», стремление души к божеству в нашем смысле — все это для гиляка непонятные, кажется, вещи. Для него в религии все просто

и ясно: ни сомнений, ни страданий. Ему непонятен религиозный экстаз. Шаманизм с его экстазами, мне кажется, заимствованное явление. Он не вяжется с религиозным складом гиляка. Правда, он верит шаману, поручает ему лечение своих больных, питает к нему суеверный страх, верит в его предсказания, в силу его колдовства, верит, напр., что шаман может убить любого человека, как бы далеко последний ни находился от него (таким образом, будто бы рыковский шаман убил николаевского, подстрелив вместо него пролетевшую мимо птицу); но не шаманизмом характеризуются религиозные воззрения гиляка. Будет, быть может, уместно мимоходом заметить, что шаманы приносят много вреда своим поклонникам. При неудачных исходах их лечений они часто сваливают вину на ни в чем неповинных людей, на которых, в случае смерти пациента, обрушиваются насилия и жестокие преследования. Равным образом, внушая своим пациентам, что их болезни происходят от вселения в них беса, они прививают здоровым в нервном отношении людям серьезные психические болезни. Характерны молитвы гиляков, простые, ясные, как и их верования. «Кур, пионгухиа!» (О, боже, пожалуйста!) — вот чем ограничивается гиляк, обращаясь за чем-нибудь к своему богу.

Есть у гиляков смутное представление, скорее ощущение, о верховном едином божестве, отце всех людей и всего существующего, но оно для него именно смутное ощущение, которого он и не формулирует. Боги имеют отношение не только к материальной жизни человека, но и к нравственной. Нравственные принципы общежития, помощь ближним, уважение к жизни и имуществу другого пользуются божественной санкцией. Нарушение их влечет за собою наказание в этой жизни (болезни, преждевременная смерть) и в будущей. Пришлось мне слышать от одного гиляка такое утверждение: «если богатый обидит бедного, это большой грех; но если бедный обидит (в смысле материальном: возьмет и не отдаст, обманет его и т. п.), это не грех!» Такое утверждение тем более странно мне было слышать, что передавший мне это гиляк сам очень богатый человек и большой кулак, не отступающий ни перед какими насилиями над бедными. Не берусь судить, насколько такое более чем альтруистическое воззрение есть действительное воззрение гиляков, или оно навеяно влиянием русских, или просто лицемерием. Во всяком случае это характерно. Есть, таким образом, у гиляков ясное представление о грехе («умгыш»). Само-собою ра-

зумеется, что такие вещи, как кража, убийство — грех, но, конечно, есть много поступков, с нашей точки зрения совершенно безразличных, которые считаются гиляками за грехи, напр.: топить нерпичий жир на огне, а не на солнце — грех, и вообще, отступление от старых приемов является грехом. Любопытно, что во многих случаях грех, даже когда он состоит в оскорблении божества, искупляется штрафом, уплачиваемым тому или другому лицу; напр.: за малейшее повреждение ограды очага причинивший его должен уплатить хозяину юрты собаку, чашку и блюдечко и еще кой-какие мелочи; в противном же случае один из двух заболевает. Даже в этом маленьком факте видна идея необходимости искупления греха. Выкуп, уплачиваемый за убийство, дается родом убийцы не только по необходимости (эта необходимость не всегда существует), но и как искупление греха перед разгневанным божеством. С другой стороны, боги не оставляют без наказания соделанного людьми зла (греха). Они посылают бураны и дожди, скупы на рыбу и дичь, ниспосылают болезни и разные другие бедствия. С появлением русских участились, по мнению гиляков, явления грома и молнии: это бог сердится за грехи русских.

Представляя себе богов смертными, гиляк этим выражает только свое чересчур антропоморфическое представление о них. На самом деле и человеческое бытие, по его воззрению, не прекращается с этой жизнью. Там, за пламенем костра, есть другой свет, другая земля, где гиляк вновь живет с теми же потребностями, с теми же представлениями; только бедный человек будет там богат, а богач — беден. После смерти гиляк получает другое имя, и грех называть покойника старым именем. Есть также представление у них о переселении душ, именно, о многократном рождении. Так, существует легенда, гласящая, что после смерти одного гиляка, имевшего на лице характерные шрамы от ран, полученных в борьбе с медведем, у другого гиляка родился мальчик с такими же шрамами на лице, как у покойного. Известно, что сахалинские гиляки сжигают своих покойников. Есть, однако, один случай, когда этот обряд не исполняется, именно, когда человек пал жертвой медведя. Существует целый ритуал для подобных случаев. Буду краток. Немедленно по получении известия о несчастии с гиляком отправляются по свежим следам на поиски за медведем. Нашедши и убив медведя, усаживают убитого верхом на него, затем торжественно привозят в селение убитого зверя вместе с несчастным всадником. Немедленно при-

ступают к устройству обширного балагана, в котором помещают медведя со всадником. Балаган кругом заколочен; оставляют только небольшие отверстия, куда вставляются небольшие корытца с жертвоприношениями, которые сначала возобновляются очень часто, потом все реже (через год). В третьем поколении только эта эпопея завершается окончательным приношением в жертву нескольких собак у верховья местной речки, в присутствии сородичей убитого. Смысл всей этой процедуры, по-моему, таков. Медведя убивают по принципу мести (надо подвить родные кости). Символом торжества мести является поза убитого (верхом на медведе). Оставление убитого в позе всадника и чествование памяти его в течение поколений, вытекает из желания венчать ореолом славы храбрых своего рода. Быть может, это все делается в назидание молодежи. Жертвоприношения в этом случае приносятся Паль-нивуху в виде умилостивления его, чтобы на будущее время такие несчастия не повторялись. Между прочим и из этого примера видно, что гиляки очень далеки от того, чтобы смотреть на медведя, как на бога. Особенной процедурой сопровождается также отдание последнего долга утопленнику. Правда, его сжигают, но непременно на берегу моря. Лодку, в которой он утонул, оставляют без употребления. В присутствии всего рода устраивается богатое жертвоприношение Толль-нивуху на берегу моря. Устраивается новая юрта, в которой поселяются родители покойного, либо один из его братьев. Опять-таки и в этом случае процедура имеет в виду поощрять презрение к опасностям, с другой стороны — умилостивить капризного бога моря.

Не могу не сказать в заключение несколько слов относительно распространения христианства среди гиляков. По всему западному берегу я встретил только двух крещеных гиляков, которые приняли «святое» крещение исключительно для получения свидетельства о вступлении в законный брак с гилячкой такой-то, свидетельства, дающего право и возможность пользоваться содействием властей для возвращения жены на случай похищения ее. Далее я встретил много крещеных гиляков с материка и из бесед с ними я убедился, что они не имеют никакого представления даже об обрядовой стороне христианства, уж не говоря о сущности его. Между тем гиляк способен воспринять идею единого бога с атрибутами его по учению христианства. Многое мог бы я сказать о тех способах, которые употребляются на Амуре для обращения инородцев в христианство, но не

здесь для этого место. Что же касается сахалинских гиляков, то, быть может, особенно талантливый миссионер и сделал бы кой-какие успехи; но много поколений должно пройти, пока гиляк порвет свои связи с божествами, доставляющими ему рыбу, нерпу и соболя. Крещеные гольды и амурские гиляки решительные скептики теперь по отношению к религии вообще, но жертвоприношения продолжают приносить попрежнему. Прибавлю еще, что сахалинские гиляки не имеют идолов.

IV.

ЮРИДИЧЕСКИЙ БЫТ.

Брак.

Несмотря на все остатки и переживания старого строя жизни, о которых я говорил, современный брак у гиляков является уже с юридической точки зрения в совершенно индивидуалистической форме. Ее нельзя назвать в строгом смысле слова ни моногамией, ни полигамией, но нельзя считать и коммунальной.

Перед глазами света каждая замужняя женщина есть жена данного лица, и ее дети суть дети этого лица. Нарушения верности со стороны жены вызывают кровавую расправу со стороны мужа. Гиляк, захвативший свою жену in flagrante delicto с посторонним, убивает соблазнителя, а жену избивает до полусмерти. Даже руэра своего в подобном случае он не отпустит без чувствительного напутствия, а у амурских гиляков даже руэр не находит пощады. Но кровавое возмездие требуется непременно только тогда, когда соблазнитель был застигнут in flagrante delicto. Страх перед русским правосудием ослабил действие этого кровавого обычая, и часто в таких случаях все ограничивается одним избиением. Современный способ приобретения жен выработался постепенно из старых родовых порядков, из коллективного и индивидуального похищения женщин чужого рода и последующего примирения в виде выкупа, преобразовавшегося с течением времени в современный калым. Но еще и теперь обычай похищения женщин существует у гиляков как сахалинских, так и материковых. Отчасти он является коррективом против насилования чувств женщины в современной форме брака, отчасти — реакцией против покупки жен, не всякому гиляку доступной. Когда гиляку понравится женщина, девушка или замужняя, а в то же время приобресть ее мирным путем оказывается невозможным по тем или другим причинам,

он сговаривается с компанией своих сородичей, и в один прекрасный день (обыкновенно летом), когда мужчины вне юрты, лодка похитителя приближается к селению и, улучив время, когда мужчины в отсутствии, увозит искомую женщину. Бывают похищения по предварительному согласию последней, бывают и без ее согласия, или даже против ее воли. Похищения, конечно, вызывают контр-похищения, даже вооруженной рукой (мне известен случай, когда в юрту старосты одного селения ворвалось ночью 14 чел., вооруженных копьями и ружьями, и увели женщину), но в случае неудачи все кончается примирением и уплатой калыма. Нередко похищение совершается самим отцом женщины или по его наущению в том случае, когда зять не выполнил всех условий калыма и в то же время не возвращает добровольно купленной им женщины. Еще и до сих пор обычай похищения считается у гиляков явлением нормальным, никого не удивляет и никем не порицается, и это именно доказывает, насколько он был распространен, даже всеобщ, во времена очень недавние. Войны, о которых нам рассказывают гиляцкие предания, велись главным образом по поводу похищения женщин, и они-то выработали практику примирения в виде выкупа. Водворение русских в Амурском крае значительно повлияло на уменьшение случаев похищения. Какими бы усилиями ни сопровождалось похищение женщины, но предъявление бумаги русского надела влечет за собою беспрекословное возвращение похищенной. Таким образом, господствующим способом приобретения жен стала покупка. Цена, уплачиваемая за женщину, известна у русских под именем калыма. Калым обыкновенно выплачивается вещами, деньгами и трудом. В виде калыма дают лодки, котлы, ружья, копья, шубы, куски шелковой материи, собак и, наконец, деньги. Величина калыма пропорциональна богатству обеих сторон, возрасту невесты и хозяйственным талантам ее. Женщиной в полном смысле слова, «accomplished woman», у гиляков считается та, которая хорошо понимает кулинарное искусство, хорошо шьет платье и обувь, трудолюбива и кротка. В общем покупка жены обходится не дешево. Вот пример не очень значительного калыма. Один гиляк из Китнидво заплатил за жену 2 японских котла (один большой, стоящий 60 руб.), одно копье с серебряной резьбой, лисью шубу, 10 собак и, сверх того, срубил тестю летнюю юрту, а в заключение жена была похищена безвозвратно. Весьма характерен способ приобретения женщин посредством труда, способ, напоминающий биб-

лейскую историю о службе Иакова у Лавана. Послужит какой-нибудь безродный гиляк в семье несколько лет и в награду получает сестру или дочь хозяина. Когда глава семьи — человек пожилой и сыновей не имеет, он берет к себе зятя, соглашающегося, взамен калыма, делить с ним все хозяйственные труды в течение известного времени или в течение всей жизни тестя. Зять, обыкновенно человек совершенно неимущий, ловит рыбу, бьет нерп, и все это составляет общее достояние всей семьи; но личные денежные заработки зятя, равно как соболя и лисицы, доставшиеся ему его усилиями и искусством, остаются в его распоряжении, что дает зятю возможность со временем составить себе независимое положение. Но вообще уплата калыма трудом встречается не часто, ибо продажа женщины слишком соблазнительная вещь для ее родных и, кроме того, гиляки еще не привыкли особенно нуждаться в чужом труде. Калым выплачивается отцу невесты, за неимением его — братьям ее, если они взрослые; в противном случае — их опекуну, т. е. тому сородичу-руэру, к которому они перешли вместе с их матерью; за неимением братьев невесты — тому самому руэру, о котором сейчас говорилось, т. е. тому, к которому перешла мать невесты; за неимением такового — братьям отца, затем сородичам — руэрам отдаленным, вообще сородичам мужского пола. Первоначально калым всегда давался не отдельному лицу, а халю (роду). Еще и теперь у единоплеменных гилякам тунгусов калым платится «наслегу», т. е. роду. И это совершенно естественно, так как первоначально калым являлся выкупом перед целым родом, мстившим за похищение женщины. Этот первоначальный смысл калыма отражается в обычае, по которому жена умершего гиляка всегда остается в роде мужа и переходит по решению рода к одному из братьев (руэров) покойного (младших только братьев, впрочем), и только в случае несогласия руэров жениться на вдове, дети ее остаются в роде мужа, а она возвращается в род отца. Обязанность сородичей-руэров по отношению ко вдовам своих покойных руэров напоминает нам библейскую историю Вооза и Руфи. Калым выплачивается либо вперед сполна, либо частью вперед, частью спустя некоторое время после переселения невесты в дом жениха.

Бывают случаи запродажи детей женского пола. Гиляк покупает для себя или для малолетнего сына малолетнюю девочку, которая остается до соответственного возраста в доме своих родителей для обучения всем женским наукам и искусствам; при

этом часть калыма уплачивается при заключении договора. Ежегодно затем жених делает подарки будущему тестю, а остальную часть калыма доплачивает при переходе невесты в дом ее будущего мужа. Если в промежутке между заключением договора и переселением в дом мужа «запроданная» умирает, калым возвращается. Обыкновенно малолетние девочки немедленно переселяются к жениху, который часто бывает в несколько раз старше невесты и покупает таковую, имея уже одну, две жены, с единственной целью иметь молодую работницу, когда первые жены состарятся. Если жених тоже малолетка, будущие супруги воспитываются вместе, становятся друзьями с детства и привязываются друг к другу на всю жизнь; но эта хорошая сторона покупки малолетних далеко не искупает других сторон обычая, основанного единственно на расчете купить женщину подешевле. Обычай покупки жен для малолетних детей, быть может, послужил одной из причин упомянутого выше запрещения старшему брату отправлять супружеские права по отношению к женам младших братьев, а отсюда уже пошел обычай, запрещающий старшему брату жениться даже на вдове умершего младшего брата. До такой степени гиляк гонится за дешевизной при покупке жены, что нередко отец покупает для малолетнего сына невесту, которая вдвое-втрое старше его, если только она по случаю досталась ему дешево. Уплата большого калыма дает мужу право получить часть его обратно, в случае если жена умерла вскоре после вступления в брак, а иногда и на часть наследства после тестя. Но рядом с платой за невесту существует у гиляков другой институт — приданое. Перед отъездом к жениху невесту одевают в праздничное платье и снабжают ее, смотря по состоянию родителей, дорогими шубами, платьями и украшениями. Это приданое принадлежит невесте, которая, в случае расторжения брака, увозит его обратно. Оно неотчуждаемо при жизни жены и обыкновенно сожигается вместе с нею на погребальном костре. Такая форма приданого подтверждает взгляд Зибера на приданое в первобытных обществах, как на дар невесте.

Брак совершается у гиляков без всяких формальностей. Устраивается, конечно, угощение при отъезде невесты и при приезде ее в дом жениха, но ничего больше. Расторгается брак так же легко, как и заключается. Муж, разочаровавшийся в жене, увозит ее обратно к отцу и получает назад калым. Равным образом отец, недовольный положением дочери в новой семье или

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

неаккуратным выполнением условий платежа со стороны зяти, отбирает дочь, возвращая калым. В общем способ мирного приобретения жены у гиляков совершенно подходит под договор «купли-продажи», с его спутником «очисткой» и проч. Мне пришлось видеть, как один пожилой гиляк, не имевший чем прокормить жену, продал ее (с ее согласия, впрочем) другому гиляку за небольшое вознаграждение.

Но, несмотря на такой характер приобретения жены, несмотря на то, что согласие женщины не только не требуется, но и не спрашивается, положение женщины во всяком случае не так дурно в общем, как это может казаться. От нее требуется, чтобы она была трудолюбива и хозяйственна. Требуется от нее, действительно, многое. Это она чистит и сушит то неимоверное количество рыбы, которое употребляется для годового прокормления семьи и собак. Она треплет дикую коноплю, прядя ее в тройную нить, и вяжет потом по месяцам огромные сети, пользуясь для этого всякой свободной минутой. Она обшивает всю семью, и на ней лежит вся тягость гиляцкой кухни и кормления собак. Это она собирает по целым дням сарану, ягоды и коренья, составляющие повседневное кушанье гиляка в течение зимы. Она, наконец, несет всю тягость и хлопоты по угощению многочисленных гостей, наезжающих и живущих по неделям, в то время как муж разъезжает в гости и предается зимнему отдыху. Но заваленная работой, подчас глубоко несчастная, с мужем престарелым и слепым, покупаемая и продаваемая, она все-таки не рабыня. Она не заперта, как на Востоке; она ест за одним столом с мужем и детьми; она принимает участие в разговоре; с ней обращаются с уважением, как с женой и матерью. Дети относятся к ней почтительно. За нее будут мстить. Когда она умрет, ее сожгут с такою же торжественностью, как и ее мужа; в знак траура распустят по ней косу, нередко пожизненно, а иной безутешный муж, с горя по жене, наложит на себя руки. Замужем она не разрывает связей с своей прежней семьей и родом. Часто ездит она туда в гости с мужем и детьми, а в черный год ее муж и дети и сама она найдут там помощь и радушный прием. Когда муж будет напрасно обижать ее, она найдет защиту в семье своего отца и защиту действительную: возвратят калым и отвезут ее обратно.

Многоженство распространено в ограниченных размерах. Причины многоженства отчасти кроются в упомянутых супружеских правах братьев. Не даром так много холостых у гиляков,

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часто без особенных причин, как бедность и пр. А затем бесплодие жены, равно как и желание иметь молодую, здоровую работницу на старости, побуждают гиляка обзаводиться 2—3 женами, которых он приобретает постепенно. Замечательно, что в ближайших к посту Александровскому селениях, даже в таком большом селении, как Аркыйво, я не встретил ни одного случая многоженства.

Это объясняется, конечно, влиянием русских. Многоженство часто вызывает ссоры между женами, и муж принимает, конечно, чаще всего сторону наиболее любимой жены, но, все-таки, у гиляков нет того разделения на жен законных и конкубин, как в восточных гаремах.

Два слова о половой нравственности. На словах гиляки очень небезукоризненны. Молодые девушки позволяют себе произносить слова и выражения, которые не допускаются кодексом цивилизации. На деле гиляки не менее фривольны с нашей точки зрения. Несмотря на мстительную ревность мужей, грехи любви не вызывают ни порицания, ни презрения со стороны общественного мнения, а тем более не считается ненормальным сожительство (правда, не открытое) с лицами тех категорий, о которых я говорил выше. Но внутри рода, как я уже сказал, прелюбодеяние не встречается даже по исключению. Прибавлю еще, что у гиляцкой молодежи есть рыцарски-романтические наклонности, не только побуждающие молодых людей совершать долгие путешествия для свидания с возлюбленной, но и часто толкающие их на безрассудные предприятия в роде похищения женщины вооруженной рукой.

Строй гиляцкой семьи.

Часто можно встретить большие сложные семьи, в которых старик отец живет общим хозяйством со всеми своими сыновьями и их детьми. В состав семейства входят часто братья хозяина, либо неспособные к труду, либо не имеющие собственного инвентаря. Нередко семья принимает к себе сирот своих сородичей, особенно сирот, оставленных в раннем возрасте без матери. Бывает иногда, что теща живет вместе с зятем и зятья с тещами, особенно когда последние не имеют сыновей. С другими особенностями состава семьи мы еще встретимся ниже; пока скажем, что нормальный состав семьи, остов ее — родители, сыновья и незамужние дочери (замужние переходят в род мужа). В отношениях членов семьи между собою нет ничего подобного патриархальным отношениям, напр., старой семьи римской; сы-

новья относятся почтительно к отцу, но последний не имеет над ними той власти, которая известна под именем patria potestas. Взрослые сыновья могут свободно отделяться от семьи отца и жить особым хозяйством. Живя с отцом, сын может приобретать для себя особое имущество. Старший сын не имеет никаких преимуществ над своими братьями и, наоборот, самые младшие сыновья, как жившие с отцом до смерти, пользуются при наследовании особыми преимуществами. Только по отношению к дочерям отец пользуется властью деспотическою, рассматривая их, как вещи, которые следует сбыть подороже, хотя на практике эта власть значительно смягчается естественною привязанностью отца к детям. Значительная независимость сыновей обусловливается формами добывания средств к существованию. Для рыбной ловли при тех небольших неводах, которые употребляются гиляками, требуется только сотрудничество двух человек, следовательно, в этом отношении существование больших семейств-хозяйств не вызывается необходимостью. Охотничьи промыслы гиляков тоже не требуют в настоящее время коллективности, а для весеннего и осеннего сезонов ловли нерп гиляки соединяются во временные артели, состав которых совершенно случайный. Хождение на заработки в Николаевск, без сомнения, не мало содействовало разложению большой семьи, хотя у гиляков, как и у наших крестьян, хождение на заработки одного из них является часто одним из видов разделения труда среди семьи. На заработки ходят либо холостые, либо члены большой семьи, оставляющие дома своего отца и братьев, приготовляющих рыбу на зиму. Во всяком случае отделение взрослых, женатых сыновей от семьи отца составляет, особенно на севере Сахалина, далеко не преобладающее явление. По всему видно, что оно новейшего происхождения. Но в то же время разделение взрослых братьев после смерти отца составляет явлéние обыкновенное, хотя не нужно рисовать себе этого явления в нашем смысле. Братья продолжают жить в одной юрте, пользуются часто одним инвентарем, но столуются розно; это часто единственный признак разделенности хозяйства.

Об экономических отношениях членов семьи еще будем говорить ниже.

Уместно указать, что взаимопомощь, равно как и вообще чувства родства и привязанности между членами семьи, во многих отношениях шире и постояннее у этих варваров, чем в семье цивилизованной.

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Собственность. У гиляков существуют представления о недвижимой собственности, хотя не в таком строго индивидуалистическом смысле, как у цивилизованных народов. Территорией селения являются обычные места рыбной ловли, также речки с их берегами, по которым происходит ловля соболей. Но гиляки никогда не заявляют претензий на близлежащие территории, которыми они сами не пользуются. Пользование есть неограниченный элемент собственности. Признавая за собою права на речки и ближайшую тайгу, в которой они ставят свои западни, гиляки свободно допустили перешедших с материка тунгусов охотиться за соболем и оленями в нескольких десятках верст от их селений, хотя легко можно было предвидеть, что это приведет к полному исчезновению соболя на собственных территориях гиляков. Но зато крайне строги они в своих правах на те речки, по которым они ставят свои петли и ловушки. Все речки территории селения распределены раз навсегда между семьями того рода, который впервые поселился близ этих речек и пользовался ими, и эти речки, их притоки и отдельные протяжения их переходят по наследству и распределяются между сыновьями на таких же строгих началах, как у нас любимая недвижимая собственность. При этом, если нескольким братьям достанется в удел одна речка, то ею пользуются сонаследники поочередно, через год. Замечательно, что, несмотря на то, что речки, распределенные между братьями и сородичами, обладают весьма различною ценностью по отношению к удобствам промысла, они не переделяются, а остаются в постоянном пользовании одних и тех же лиц. Быть может, причина этого явления кроется в том, что младшие сыновья в известных случаях пользуются преимуществами в наследовании. Зато рыбные ловли не находятся в таком ограниченном владении. Там, где бог щедр, гиляк не считает себя вправе загородить его щедроты исключительно для себя. Гиляк не имеет обыкновения сам лежать на сене, не есть и другим не давать. Сплошь и рядом гиляки переселяются из одного селения в другое или наезжают на известные сезоны для рыбной ловли или для нерпичьего промысла, и коренные жители селений и не думают считать это за нарушение каких бы то ни было их прав. Не спросясь ничьего позволения, переселенец построит себе юрту, будет ловить рыбу, бить нерп, охотиться за дичью и проч.; одни только речки остаются для него запретными для расставления петель на соболя.

Гиляк только по исключению разве живет один со своей семьей в юрте. Обыкновенно он живет с братьями и сородичами, иногда с зятем, реже с чужеродными. Зимние юрты на северном Сахалине бывают часто громадные, вмещающие в себе с полсотни душ, часто одних сородичей. Экономическая выгода таких общих помещений состоит в том, что отопление, поглощающее у гиляков, вследствие несовершенного устройства печей, огромное количество дров, не так обременительно для каждого лица в отдельности. А далее такие помещения гарантируют безопасность женщин от похищения. Летние юрты строятся поменьше и заключают обыкновенно от одного до трех семейств. Зимние юрты строятся общими усилиями нескольких братьев или сородичей, летние — часто одним лицом. Но все живущие в юрте, временные, или постоянные жильцы, сородичи или чужеродные, не принимавшие никакого участия в постройке, все живут в юрте без всякого вознаграждения строившим ее и вряд ли последние пользуются какими-нибудь привилегиями по доставке дров. Если юрта становится тесна, всегда находится пара других лиц, по собственной инициативе предпринимающих постройку новой юрты, в которую строители переселяются сами и охотно принимают к себе сожителей. Таким образом жилища гиляков являются, правда, общей собственностью нескольких семейств, участвовавших в постройке, но в то же время они составляют предмет безвозмездного пользования со стороны сородичей и вообще всякого, просящего об этом. Это остаток того времени, когда жилища строились общими усилиями рода и составляли предмет коллективной собственности.

Вполне ясны и строго определены понятия гиляков о движимой собственности. Обыкновенными предметами движимой собственности у них являются лодки, сетки, котлы, оружие, собаки, нарты, запасы сушеной рыбы и т. п. Часто бывает, что лодка, сетка, собаки — составляют общую собственность двух, трех сородичей даже и в этом случае, когда семьи столуются отдельно. И, наоборот, бывает, что в больших семьях, ведущих общее хозяйство, столующихся вместе, отдельные члены, как, напр., неотделенные сыновья, являются самостоятельными собственниками собак, лодок и пр. движимого имущества. Сыновья, таким образом, живя при отце, заблаговременно приобретают себе имущество для будущей независимости или для покупки жены на собственные средства. Такое самостоятельное имущество неотделенных сыновей является либо следствием дарений

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

отца, приумноженных усилиями детей, либо плодом удач в охотничьих промыслах, либо результатом заработков в городе. Если неотделенный сын убьет медведя, мясо пойдет на общее употребление, но шкура достается ему. Если он продаст своих лисиц и соболей, он накупит разных товаров для семьи, но непременно что-нибудь приобретает для себя специально. То же и с заработками. Но никогда сын не выделяет себе особой доли из рыбных промыслов, где обыкновенно искусство отдельного лица не играет никакой роли. В таких же экономических отношениях находится и зять к своему тестю, с которым ведет общее хозяйство (заработки и пушнина составляют индивидуальное приобретение). Есть разряд предметов sui generis, которые составляют исключительную индивидуальную собственность гиляка. Это его «богатства». Гиляк сахалинский, по крайней мере, не хранит и не копит денег. Зато он копит дорогие шубы, лисьи и собольи, дорогие китайские шелковые материи в кусках, копья с серебряной резьбой, шелковые халаты, японские сабли и пр. Эти богатства переходят из поколения в поколение, от отца к сыну, и только в высоко важные моменты жизни они достаются из амбара. Когда надобно купить жену для сына, когда требуется наделить подарками дочь, отъезжающую в род мужа, когда род общими усилиями заключает мир с родом мстителя, когда умирает он сам или кто-нибудь из дорогих ему людей, которых он хочет видеть на погребальном костре во всей пышности собольих шуб и китайских шелков, — тогда достаются заветные вещи из амбара. Интересно отношение гиляка к богачам. Гиляк смотрит на своего богатого собрата с чувством, странным для людей первобытного образа жизни. В этом чувстве есть и страх, и уважение, и даже благоговение. Что богатый человек может внушить страх и уважение, это еще вещь легко объяснимая; но чувство благоговения некоторого рода имеет своеобразный источник, впрочем, не совсем чуждый и нашим понятиям. В первобытном обществе богатый человек обыкновенно обязан своему личному таланту своими материальными успехами, — отсюда уважение к нему. Но так как в то же время все удачи человека суть дары богов, то богач оказывается любимцем их, избранником. Насколько склонны гиляки приписывать богатству сверхъестественное происхождение, можно видеть из распространенной у них легенды о ныне живущем еще тунгусе, нажившем свое богатство бессовестной эксплоатацией и грабежами, легенды, утверждающей, что этот добродетельный муж

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разбогател благодаря золотому дождю, посыпавшемуся на него однажды, когда он охотился в тайге. А этот золотой дождь, конечно, милость бога к своему любимцу.

Раз существуют у гиляков представления о собственности, естественно имеют место у них и договоры купли-продажи, мены, займа и пр., но чаще всего, разумеется, эти договоры являются меновыми.

Два слова о долговых обязательствах. Сахалинский гиляк не занимает денег; долги его образуются преимущественно из невыполнения одной стороной имущественных обязательств договора. Никаких процентов за ожидание уплаты не полагается. С процентами знакомы только амурские гиляки, заимствовавшие их у манджуров; но даже у амурских гиляков проценты взимаются только при займе денег или соболей, но никогда за ссуды другого рода. Особенность долговых обязательств у сахалинских гиляков та, что, во-первых, по ним не существует никакой давности (жалобы о взыскании долгов, сделанных 30—40 лет тому назад, попадались нередко); затем, во-вторых, в случае несостоятельности должника и его ближайших родственников или за смертью этих лиц, отвечает за долги род, в лице сородичей. Фондом, из которого возмещаются долги, в случае неисполнения условий договора, являются те заветные драгоценности, которые обыкновенно лежат неприкосновенными в амбаре обладателя. На эти-то вещи налагает свою руку кредитор в тех редких случаях, когда он вынужден бывает насильственно получить свой долг. Явное или тайное отпряжение собаки из нарты должника является также одним из способов взыскания долга. Но что более всего любопытно, что говорит в пользу правдивости гиляков и крайне важно при разборе их тяжб, — это то, что ни один должник не отречется от своего долга, хотя бы самого давнего, самого неприятного для него. Гиляк крайне удивляется, когда вы его спрашиваете, имеет ли он свидетелей своего долга. «Спроси его (должника)!» отвечает кредитор недоумевая.

Говоря об экономических и юридических отношениях, нельзя не упомянуть о роли труда в этих отношениях. Капитал, как основание для вознаграждения, не играет еще почти никакой роли. На общей охоте, например, при ловле нерп, дельфинов, когда с этой целью гиляки собираются по нескольку человек на одной лодке, добыча делится поровну между всеми участвующими. Хозяин лодки получает наравне с подростком, сидящим

на гребках. Даже искусство метальщика копья или стрелы не составляет основания для особого вознаграждения. И мало того, при далеких экспедициях, напр., с Амура на юг Сахалина, сверх равного пая добычи получает не собственник лодки, а тот, который в пути исполняет хлопотливые обязанности по приготовлению пищи и доставлению дров. При совместной рыбной ловле хозяин лодки и сетки получает равную долю со своим неимущим компанионом («навх»). Правда, я видел пример, когда хозяин лодки и сетки получил $^{2}/_{3}$ улова, а его неимущий товарищ — только $^{1}/_{3}$; но на мой вопрос о причине неравномерности, мне ответили: «А зачем ему больше? Он холост, один; ему больше не нужно». Положение, напоминающее несколько положение работника, я встретил всего раза 2—3, но и в этих редких случаях положение работника не напоминает наших обычаев. Хозяин поможет своему работнику купить жену, сделает его участником при наследовании после своей смерти.

Наследование. Строй современной семьи гиляков естественно вызывает желание отца передать свое имущество детям. С другой стороны, родовая организация требует, во всяком случае, чтобы имущество не выходило за пределы рода. Из взаимодействия этих начал вытекает то, что после отца наследуют дети, и только за отсутствием их — братья покойного и далее сородичи его, но в то же время женщины не только в обыкновенных и восходящих линиях родства, но и в нисходящих исключаются из права наследования, как лица, назначение которых — выступать из рода отца и переходить в род мужа. Таков принцип. Практика, правда, смягчает его; так, напр., дочери получают из наследственного имущества приданое, а иногда и замужние дочери, особенно когда нет наследников мужского пола или когда мужья купили их за большую цену, принимают участие в наследовании; но такие случаи — не общепринятые смягчения принципа, и обыкновенно они осуществляются путем завещания. Перед смертью гиляк созывает своих сородичей и изъявляет им свою волю. Такие предсмертные распоряжения дают возможность гиляку делать своими наследниками не только дочерей, но и лиц чужого рода, напр., зятьев или работников. Если же он умирает без предсмертного распоряжения, то, конечно, вступает в действие указанный принцип наследования. Но детали лучше всего разъяснят суть этого принципа.

Если гиляк умирает, не оставляя ни жены, ни детей, наследуют

братья; за неимением их — сородичи-руэры, в порядке близости родства. Если он оставляет вдову нестарую и детей, то вдова по решению рода переходит к одному из братьев или руэров покойного, который является с правами и обязанностями отца по отношению к детям и опекуном их наследственного имущества до достижения ими зрелого возраста. Девочки получают приданое, а взрослые сыновья, отделенные или желающие отделиться, получают свою долю наследства немедленно. Если же вдова стара и в числе детей есть хоть один сын-подросток или взрослый, то семья продолжает жить, как жила при отце. Взрослый сын будет кормильцем и работником семьи. Вопрос о разделе наследства возникает только, когда подросшие дети пожелают впоследствии разделиться. Если гиляк умирает, не оставляя детей или оставляет лишь детей женского пола, то имущество переходит к тому брату покойного, который женится на вдове; если при этом наследство большое, то остальные братья и дочери покойного, даже замужние, привлекаются к участию в наследовании. Бездетная вдова-старуха переходит на иждивение братьев покойного, которые разделяют между собою наследство. Необходимо заметить, что бездетный или не имеющий сыновей гиляк заблаговременно принимает меры, чтобы у него был наследник мужского пола, что всегда совпадает с необходимостью иметь помощника-работника в хозяйстве и кормильца на старости. С этой целью гиляк принимает к себе сына одного из своих руэров или бедного сородича-руэра, которые работают вместе с ним и являются его наследниками. Замечательно, что при наличности даже детей, лицо, работавшее долгое время в семье, получает долю наследства. Зятья, работавшие с тестем до его смерти, без сомнения, являются наследниками по воле завещателя. Наследники мужского пола получают равные доли наследства. В том только случае, когда младший сын жил с отцом до самой смерти его, в то время как другие сыновья отделились, он получает несколько больше остальных братьев.

Юридическая нравственность.

Среди сахалинских гиляков почти совсем не встречается преступлений корыстного характера. Свои драгоценности гиляк хранит в амбаре, который никогда не запирается. Среди тайги, в дороге, в необитаемом летнем помещении гиляк спокойно оставляет дорогие вещи, не опасаясь за их целость. При мне гиляк оставил в тайге, в двух шагах от дороги, кусок шелковой материи и дорогое копье. «Никто не возьмет!» сказал он спокойно.

Если гиляк иногда и соблазняется чужою собственностью, то это всегда бывает в области лакомств и съестного, и на такие прегрешения гиляки, как и все почти варвары, смотрят снисходительно. Во время своего путешествия на север Сахалина я имел возможность наблюдать эту черту гиляка. У меня брали без позволения или выпрашивали сухари, сахар, табак, но ни разу не было покушения на вещи гораздо более ценные. Кража у гиляков — грех, и совершившийся покрывается позором. А позор и есть великое наказание для гиляка. Уличенный в совершении общественно постыдного, гиляк уходит в тайгу и налагает на себя руки (вешается). Никогда гиляк не совершает самоубийства из страха перед бедностью, которая, при обычной взаимопомощи, никому не страшна. Его не побудят к такому шагу никакие физические страдания, но перед стыдом или сильным личным горем он сдается и жертвует жизнью.

Убийства у гиляков очень редки и никогда не носят корыстного характера. Убийства совершаются преимущественно в запальчивости и часто при самой пьяной обстановке. Так, гиляки любят обыкновенно бороться и вот во время борьбы противники приходят в такой азарт, что хватаются за ножи. Вообще гиляк хватается за нож при первом раздражении, но он далеко не так скоро прибегает к своему оружию, как южанин. Страх перед русским правосудием благотворно действует на него в этом отношении. Гилякские юноши перед вступлением в борьбу стали бросать от себя ножи, боясь увлечения. Но русская водка сделала нередкими у гиляков амурских убийства в состоянии опьянения. Я не буду распространяться об убийствах, совершаемых сознательно, по требованиям родовой мести или супружеской чести. Такие убийства рассматриваются гиляками как правомерные, хотя с водворением русских они начинают исчезать.

Обиды действием или словами тоже не частое явление у гиляков и кончаются либо примирением, либо дуэлью. В первом случае, обиженная сторона, сознавая свою вину, искупает ее, добровольно одарив обиженного собаками, халатом и прочими вещами. Во втором случае противники дерутся на палках до тех пор, пока одна сторона не признает себя побежденной. А фехтовать палками гиляки большие мастера. Этому искусству гиляки обучаются с детства, и дети даже при лунном свете в морозные зимние ночи со страстью предаются этому благородному упражнению. В гражданских своих отношениях гиляк, по общему правилу, проявляет правдивость, верность слову и добросовест-

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

ность. К сожалению, губительное влияние проходимческого населения Амурского края стало проникать и в самые отдаленные селения гиляков. Достаточно нескольких человек, поучившихся мудрости в Николаевске, чтобы опутать обманом целые селения, породить подражателей и целую массу нескончаемых тяжб. Суд и посредничество сородичей, еще авторитетные внутри рода, становятся бессильными, если спор ведется между членами разных родов. У гиляков есть обыкновение обращаться к смешанному собранию из «хлай-нивухов» разных родов для разрешения взаимных споров. Но в настоящее время этот институт теряет свою силу, так как обрусевшие гиляки, которые являются вместе с тем самыми главными виновниками раздоров и тяжб, отказывают ему в уважении и компетентности. Русской администрации предстоит придать авторитетность этому суду «мудрых» и уважаемых, утверждая по выбору «хлай-нивухов», регулируя время их собраний, компетенцию и пр. И первое условие, чтобы «хлай-нивухи» были из разных родов. Наблюдения показали, что гиляки способны толково выбирать людей и ценить значение выборного суда, утвержденного русской администрацией.

V.

СТАТИСТИЧЕСКИЕ ДАННЫЕ.

В заключение, чтобы дать некоторое понятие о количестве сахалинских гиляков и реальнее представить их экономическое положение, считаем не лишним привести некоторые числовые данные по этим вопросам, добытые нами во время подробной переписи 1891 года. При этом мы считаем более удобным рассмотреть отдельно: а) западный берег, между постом Александровским и мысом Марии (самой северной оконечностью западного берега) и б) восточный берег с бассейном р. Тыми, между м. Де-ла-Кройера и м. Левенштерна (северною оконечностью восточного берега).

а) Западный берег. Всех зимних гилякских селений между п. Александровским и м. Марии 25. Они расположены в следующем порядке: Аркыйво, Ямы, Мангиный, Танго, Хоэ (Хои), Внахту, Тыки, Ваза, Нийдэ,[1] Поксы, Тырки, Тенги, Тальвотигрво,[2] Марилво, Нинивo, Марво, Васхонхво, Котиндво,

[1] Прежде на месте этого поселения жили тунгусы, от которых сохранились на низком песчаном берегу пролива надгробные памятники в виде шестов, увенчанных крестами.

[2] Отсюда дорога на материк, к селению Ямы.

i: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Тамлыво, Лиркрыво, Виско, Помр,[1] Пильво, Туми и Ныур. Значащееся на карте еще севернее Ныура селение Конбыгрво теперь не существует. В перечисленных селениях всего 78 юрт, а в них 245 семейств-хозяйств.[2] Всего населения 1041 чел., а по полам: 561 муж., 480 жен.; из них взрослых (считая и подростков) 678 чел.; женатых и вдовцов 278, многоженцев 32 (четыре человека имеют по 3 жены, остальные по 2); на одного многоженца приходится 9 человек, имеющих по одной жене.[3] Детей выживших 515, умерших 247, так что процент детской смертности minimum 33%;[4] процент плодовитости — 2,7%, хотя эта цифра ниже действительной, так как в число женатых включены, с одной стороны, малолетние, для которых родители купили жен-малолеток, с другой — взрослые обладатели малолетних жен. На одну юрту средним числом приходится 12 человек, хотя есть не мало юрт со многими десятками обитателей; например, одна юрта в сел. Нянво вмещает в себе 42 человека одного и того же рода.

Что касается величины зимних селений, то самые большие из них следующие: Тамлыво и Лиркрыво (по 144 чел.), Виско (116 чел.), Ныур (103 чел.), Аркыйво (87 чел.), Тальвотигрво и Тенги (по 64 чел.), Китидво и Помр (по 59 чел.), Нянво (58 чел.); самые меньшие: Ямы (4 чел.), Вааз (8 чел.), Ноксы (9 чел.). Летом самое многолюдное сел. Тамлыво.

Перп убито во всех селениях в последний сезон 1026; соболей убито в ближайших к п. Александровскому селениях 258.[5]

[1] Отсюда дорога на охотский берег, к сел. Кехрво (1—2 суток).

[2] Под «семейством» разумеем, во-первых, всякую супружескую чету, как взрослых, так и малолетних, как отделенных от родителей, так и неотделенных, и поэтому «хозяйства» сочтены отдельно; во-вторых, вдовых и их детей, а также сирот (братьев и сестер), живущих общим хозяйством.

[3] В рубрику «женатых» вошли и вдовые, так как для процентного вычисления числа холостых и многоженов вдовые должны считаться в общем числе женатых. Термины «многоженец» и «двоженец» употребляем безразлично на том основании, что на охотском берегу не встретилось ни одного случая, где бы инородец имел более 2-х жен, хотя и не существует никакого запрещения в этом смысле; на западном берегу и на Амуре многие гиляки имеют по 3-4 жены.

[4] Число детей, за неимением лучшего способа, определялось так, что каждому женатому были предлагаемы вопросы: 1) сколько детей у него в наличности (при чем признавались и записывались поименно, каждый в отдельности) и сколько в отсутствии; 2) сколько дочерей замужем; 3) сколько умерло у него детей со вступления в брак по день переписи. Таким образом получалось точное число детей в данной семье, живых и умерших. Отсюда уже легко определялся процент смертности.

[5] Цифры убитой пушнины и пр. за последний сезон приводятся по по-

ружей имеется всего 143, лодок 201 (1 лодка на 5 чел.), собак 100. На заработки ходят в Николаевск 115 чел., т. е. 1/6 часть взрослых. Самые богатые нерпой и дельфинами селения: Тамлыво, Виквo, Помр, Танги; последнее также богаче других соболями. В двух селениях — Хоэ и Танги — гиляки разводят картофель. В сел. Тыки заявлена просьба гиляков о поселении среди них хоть одного русского, с помощью которого они могли бы разводить картофель. Селение Тыки следует отметить еще в некоторых отношениях. Во первых, начиная с этого пункта, гиляки перестают промышлять соболей вследствие подавляющей конкуренции тунгусов, истребивших соболя поблизости селений и гоняющихся за ним на олене. До появления тунгусов гиляки успешно промышляли диких оленей и соболей. Во-вторых, начиная с этого селения, можно наблюдать прогресс в постройке зимних юрт. В Тыках землянка уже несколько поднялась над землей, явились окна из рыбьей кожи, а в одной юрте даже из стекла; вместо дымного очага — посредине юрты явилась каминообразная печь с трубою. Еще дальше, начиная с селения Танги, мы уже встречаем громадные юрты с полудюжиною больших окон и с довольно сложною системой отопления, напоминающей наше паровое. Горизонтальные каменные трубы, проведенные из печей и тянущиеся вдоль стен под нарами, служат главным образом для нагревания последних; дым же подземным ходом выходит в высокую вертикальную трубу, которую заменяет соответственным образом обделанный ствол дуплистого дерева. Такая же система отопления применяется у амурских гиляков и в фанзах манджуров, от которых, быть может, она и заимствована.

Что касается характера местности, то приморские части западного берега большею частью тундрообразные, с мелкой порослью. Дорога идет частью морем, частью тайгой, редко хребтами. С приближением к сел. Помр берег становится более возвышенным, а начиная с летнего селения Музьво, поразительно напоминает берег между постом Дуэ (Александровским) и сел. Танги, только живописнее, и оканчивается близ последнего селения Ныур великолепным мысом Марии, называемым гиляками «Миф-Чонгр» (голова змеи) и напоминающим симмет-

казаниям самих гиляков. Эти цифры, по всей вероятности, несколько ниже действительных. В селении Китидво, например, староста селения [illegible] убеждал своих не сообщать правды русским, которые, мол, приехали и всё [illegible] мут набитое...

ричный ему мыс Жонкиер, только выше и живописнее, особенно зимою, когда многочисленные конусообразные вершины его, покрытые снегом, кажутся гигантскими шатрами огромного лагеря. Даже минеральные породы, кажется, те же, только характернее. Растительность берега богаче и свежее, чем близ п. Александровского. Березняк, осина, не говоря уже о высокорослых хвойных деревьях, невредимо примкнули к самому берегу. Ветры здесь никогда не бывают так опустошительны и продолжительны, как на «нашем» берегу. Помрская бухта вполне защищена от ветров и, по словам жителей, вполне доступна для больших судов. В 30 верстах от сел. Помр находится керосиновое озеро. Дорога к нему тайгой и тундрой.

б) Восточный берег и бассейн Тыми. 1) Между мыс. Де-ла-Кройера и м. Вирста лежат гиляцкие селения: Мосьбво, Уськво, Сляво, Адытымь,[1] Хомрво, Плюво, Перивo. 2) На охотском берегу селение Ныйво, а к югу от него селения: Мильквo, Набильво, Чохэлво, Лунгво, Хонги, Пильнги, Чамрво, Нгамбсво (далее к югу населенных мест нет); к северу от Ныйво гиляцкие селения: Тэярво, Тырмыц, Ларво, Вангрво, Чайво, Чоньк Ывo, Ашво, Кехрво.

Итак, на этом берегу всех гиляцких селений 25,[2] со 109 юртами. Населения в них всего 703 чел. (по р. Тыми 197, по охотскому берегу 506): мужч. 416, жен. 287; они составляют 169 семейств, 133 хозяйства; взрослых 483, женатых 175, многоженов 9, средняя плодовитость — 3; детей переживших 332, умерших — 169. Ружей — 64 (из них 30 на охотском берегу, остальные на Тыми), сетей 121, лодок 122, собак 1480. Нерп убито в последний сезон 688, соболей 586, лисиц 134, выдр 43, медведей 63.

Из этого можно сделать следующие выводы: на 1 юрту здесь приходится средним числом 6 чел.; средняя семья состоит из

[1] В окрестностях этого селения растет дикая конопля, из которой гиляки делают свои сети, приезжая даже из отдаленных селений.

[2] В рукописи 24. Может быть автор не включил в число селений селение Мосьбво, на берегу р. Тыми, в 7 верст. от сел. Рыковского. По поводу этого селения Мосьбво автор дает следующее замечание: «Обитаемо только осенью и зимою. Весну и лето жители проводят на западном берегу, преимущественно в сел. Аркыво, где ранней весною промышляют тюленей, а в течение лета ловят рыбу, которой в это время года в Тыми не бывает. К началу августа, ко времени хода кеты, население возвращается в своих зимних жилищах». *Ред.* Журнал „Этногр. обозр".

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

4—5 членов; 1 холостой[1] приходится на 11 женатых, 1 двоеженец на 19 женатых. Отношение между числом мужчин и женщин (416 : 287) таково, что на 1000 муж. приходится 694 жен., в то время как в России вообще на 1000 муж. — 1023 жен., а в Азии на 1000 м. — 960 жен. Смертность детей 33,7%. На каждого гиляка приходится по 2 собаки, на взрослого — по 3. Принадлежностей охоты, особенно ружей, в общем очень мало.

Тымовские и охотские гиляки принадлежат к 18 родам, из которых особенно многочисленны роды: Чуй-гуй в сел Чайво (114 чел.), Ады-Тымовский (156 чел.), Мымызи в Ныйво (94 чел.), Урландж в Чайво (55 чел.). Наиболее замечательны по населенности селения: Чайво (151 чел.), Кехрво (90 чел.), Ныйво (116 чел.), Тэхрво (51 чел.), а по Тыми — тройное сел. Ады-Тымовское с соседними Хомрво и Плюво (106 чел.), не считая пришлого населения с западного берега, Мозьбво (Рыковское, 56 чел.) и др. Первые два из этих селений, Чайво и Кехрво, имеют между собою очень трудное сообщение; помимо мелководья, переезд затрудняется тем, что в нескольких местах приходится перетаскивать лодку на себе по суше на довольно большие расстояния. Из сел. Кехрво, как выше сказано, сообщение с западным берегом к сел. Помр.

К северу от Кехрво берег не населен, и летнее путешествие на север крайне затруднительно, а берегом совсем невозможно за неимением перевозочных средств через широкие устья многочисленных заливов. Остается единственный способ передвижения — на оленях тайгою и хребтами. Если прибавить к этому, что вьючный олень с крайним трудом пробирается в летнее время, то станет вполне понятным, насколько затруднительно и медленно подобное путешествие.

По словам жителей Кехрво, на крайнем севере, выше м. Левенштерна, находится, на берегу моря, еще крошечное селение орочонов — Троид (2 юрты с 6 мужч. и 3 женщ.). Сообщение оно имеет с западным берегом — в сел. Помр (сутки езды на оленях, а от Кехрво в летнее время требуется не менее 10—15 дней). Остальные сахалинские селения орочонов, а равно поселения тунгусов, также детально описаны во время переписи. Но подробностей об этих народностях мы не включаем в настоящую статью, посвященную специально гилякам.

[1] Под холостыми понимаются исключительно старые, так сказать, безнадежные холостяки.

[2] Принадлежность каждого к тому или другому роду зарегистрирована, отсюда выводы о численности родов и т. д.

[End Plate 1, following P. 388]

Фот. 16. Амурские гиляки.

Фот. 17. Амурские гилячки.

1:Shternberg RX2 Gilyak

Фот. 18. Амурский гиляк.

Фот. 19. Гилячка сахалинская.

Фот. 20. Гиляк амурский.

Фот. 21. Амурские гиляки.

[End Plate 3, following P. 388]

Фот. 22. Амурские гиляки.

Фот. 23. Сахалинские гиляки.

1:Sittenberg
[Ens Plate 4, following P. 388]
RX2 Gilyak

Фот. 24. Сахалинские гиляки.

Фот. 25. Сахалинские гилячки.

[End Plate 5, following p. 388]

Фот. 26. Сахалинские гиляки. Группа детей.

[P. 738]

ВАЖНЕЙШИЕ ИЗ ЗАМЕЧЕННЫХ ОПЕЧАТОК

[PP. 389–939 not Processed]

Страница	Строка	Напеча ано	Следует читать
18	5 снизу	в с. Танках	в с. Танги
37	10 .	бракоч	бракам
45	15 .	Sathpuras	Satpûras
45	16 .	Song и Bygar	Gond (гонды)
48	16 .	cox	йох
50	19 сверху	живое	живые
56	12 .	1891	1894
65	5 .	переине	переднне
87	7 снизу	к хозяину	к хозяину
120	9 сверху	либо проникнуть	проникнуть
130	9 .	либо проникнуть	проникнуть
133	7 снизу	akyn, axun	akun, axyn
134	12 .	заимствованны	заимствованны
135	16 сверху	ut-gu	ut-ku
135	21 .	аж	nv
136	2 .	ut-gu	ut ku
139	12 снизу	n'vtxyn	n'vtxun
145	15 .	n'bilan	n'vilan
145	14 .	n'bila n'emka	n'vila n'ymka
145	4 .	ytkyntox	ytkuntox
145	2 .	pytkyn lo pymkxyn	pytkun lo pymkxun
146	13 .	ymg:i kyn	ymg:i kun
146	3 сверху	множественное	множественное
157	16 снизу	следовательное	следовательно
159	11 сверху	жена которого	у которых жена
163	5 .	an'g:e	an'g:e)
164	17 .	plandyn	plandfux
166	20 .	релиниозного	религиозного.
167	5 снизу	Арково	Аркыво
172	11 сверху	Аркайво	Аркыво
174	4 снизу (сноска)	их как tuvn,	и, как tuvn,
176	9 сверху	один.	один
179	5 .	чашки	чашки шесть их
182	подстрочное примечание	p. 15	p. 811 Table IV
200	1 снизу	Nilavo	Pilavo
222	2 .	byger	bygar
229	7 .	женщин	тех женщин

Страница	Строка	Напечатано	Следует читать
230	15 снизу	разделяется	разделяется в свою очередь
230	18 „	виде:	виде: I деление $(A^1 + b^2) + (A^2 + b^3) + (A^3 + b^4) + (B^1 + a^1) + (B^2 + a^2) + (B^3 + a^3)$ и т. д. II деление.
241	7 сверху	на сестрах	на сестрах друг друга
243	5-6 „	II деление: и т. д.	II деление: $(B^1 + a^2) + (B^2 + a^3) + (B^3 + a^4) + (B^4 + a^5) + (B^5 + a^6)$
244	1 „	у группы IV	у группы IV и дает своих женщин группе III,
247	5 „	время то	время то
252	20 „	о колени	о колене
258	16-21 „	nanygind	nanygind
259	1 „	sanx	sanx
261	10 „	menin	menyn
265	8 снизу	pandlos'	pandos'
268	21-23 сверху (подзаголовок)	Неортодоксальные формы заключения	Неортодоксальные формы заключения брака
275	7 снизу	jas'ing	azinyind
275	18 сверху	что дары	эти дары
278	1 снизу	Kys'oxii	Kys'oxty
286	2 сверху	пермской	Пермской
286	11 „	Konma;	Конма
289	11 снизу	ох	ох
291	13 „	„помирай"	„помирай", т. е. погибает
291	11 „	биль	тиль
300	2 сверху	сто (ftoz'd')	сто
301	13 „	приданое	приданое
301	14 „	кошкеі	кошке
318	13 „	мана	мана),
325	16 снизу	Mlavo	и Млаво
328	19 сверху	наламять	на память
334	8 „	[illegible]	[illegible]
337	11 „	чиной	чиной
341	8 „	k	kyr
391	11 „	[illegible]	[illegible]
401	29 „	Та-на	Тана
405	19 снизу	и Xu	и Xu —
405	18 „	[illegible]	Naman —
410	9 „	[illegible]	оказало [illegible] рытие
430	14 сверху	О гиляка	И гиляки
449	23 „ (1 колонка)	dinnu	dan-nu

Страница	Строка	Напечатано	Следует читать
449	23 сверху (1 колонка)	nungun-d'a	n'ungun-d'a
637	16 снизу	двух	трех
637	13 „	два	три
637	8 „	по ряду	к ряду
637	3 „	июль 1932	июнь 1933
638	16 сверху	русскими антропологами	антропологами
640	12 снизу	теоретическая	прежняя
640	11 „	приходящая	умозрительная
642	2 „	интересные	новые

В разделе „Сахалинские гиляки" (стр. 357) было необходимо читать нечто вместо слова „ruer" — „ruvn".

Техред И. Пантелеев, Л. Калашников и А. Иванов.

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2:Schrenck E-5 (1854-1856)1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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/Die Völker des Amur-Landes/

by Leopold von Schrenck

St. Petersburg: 1881-1895

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I. Geographical-Historical Part

Section 1

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Section 3

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Explanation of the Plates

Plate I

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Ethnographic map of the Amur region. (For details about the preparation of the map, the materials on which it is based, the chief purposes which it is supposed to serve, and the like, see pages 16, 18, 182-186).

Plate II

Physiognomic types of the Gilyak (men), from original photographs (as are the following plates):

Fig. 1. Gilyak, named Ngimai, from the village of Tacht on the Amur, of Ainu-Gilyak type (see p. 223 /untranslated/).

Fig. 2. Gilyak, named Kuprin, allegedly 20 years old, from the village of Tebach on the Amur, of Tungusic-Gilyak type (see p. 224 /untranslated/).

Fig. 3. Gilyak, named Tybain, from the village of Tacht, and Fig. 4. Gilyak, named Papgun, from the village of Magho on the Amur -- both of average or plain Gilyak type (see p. 225 /untranslated/).

Plate III

Physiognomic types from the Amur region:

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Figs. 3 and 4. Gilyak girls from the village of Ssabach on the Amur (see ibid.).

Fig. 5. Goldi, named Kurakta (see p. 287 /untranslated/).

Fig. 6. Goldi, named Adungu (see p. 287 /untranslated/).

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Fig. 3. Ainu from Sakhalin, of a type resembling the Mongols (see p. 266 /untranslated/).

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Figs. 4 and 5. Ainu women from Sakhalin, the former of a type resembling the European one, the latter of a type resembling the Mongols (see p. 267 /untranslated/).

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Fig. 3. Skull of a Gilyak from the village of Allof on the Amur (see p. 240 /untranslated/).

Fig. 4. Skull of a Gilyak woman from the vicinity of the Russian village of Michailovskoje on the Amur (see p. 241 /untranslated/).

Fig. 5. Olcha skull, presumably of the female sex, from De-Kastri Bay (see p. 293 /untranslated/).

Fig. 6. Olcha skull from the village of Choto on Lake Kidsi (see p. 294 /untranslated/).

Fig. 7. Goldi skull from the Ussuri (see p. 297 /untranslated/).

Fig. 8. Birar skull from the Amur above its entrance into the Bureya Mountains (see p. 299 /untranslated/).

Fig. 9. Manegir skull from the upper Amur at Kotomanga (see p. 300 /untranslated/).

Fig. 10. Orochon skull from the vicinity of Nerchinsk (see p. 301 /untranslated/).

Fig. 11. Tungus skull from the Ajakit, a tributary of the Wilui (see p. 305 /untranslated/).

Fig. 12. Tungus skull from the village of Ankula on the lower Tunguska (see p. 306 /untranslated/.

/IX cont./

Plate VI

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Side view (norma lateralis) of the same skulls, see ibid.

Plate VII

Top view (norma verticalis) of the same skulls, see ibid.

Plate VIII

Occiputal view (norma occipitalis) of the same skulls, see ibid.

Plate IX

Basal view (norma basilaris) of the same skulls, see ibid.

2:Schrenck--1 E-5 (1854-1856)1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1

/1/ Introduction

121 167 177 The picture of the peoples of the Amur region which is sketched here already in large part belongs to the past. Since Russia has taken definite possession of this region, the ethnographic conditions of this territory have changed in rapid strokes. Whereas the Amur region in the fifties, when I became acquainted with it -- with the exception of the relatively small stretch between the mouth of the Dseja /Zeya/ and the Bureja /Bureya/ where a Chinese town and Manchu-Chinese villages carrying on agriculture and livestock-raising were located -- was still a continuous forest and prairie wilderness, in which, except for a couple of small and newly established Russian military posts, only half-wild fishing and hunting peoples lived undisturbed, now post stations or settlements of Russian Cossacks or voluntary colonists extend along the entire Amur and Ussuri at intervals of 20-30 versts, cities have risen or are in the process of rising, several harbors have been established on the coast, steamboats run up and down the Amur, and even a telegraph wire already cuts through the former wilderness. It is obvious that events of this kind could not have taken place without the greatest influence on the life and activities of the native population of the Amur region. When a country still almost virgin in character is opened to immigration, colonization, and civilization, it is not its plant or animal world that first suffers a loss of individuality, but the people. Even before the forests are cleared, the virgin soil broken up and sowed, the wild animals scared away or reduced, the man who roams over these forests as a hunter or dwells on the riverbank as a fisherman comes into contact and relations with the new arrivals and bears the traces of the foreign contact in his way of life, his manners and customs, his language, his ideas and conceptions, in short, in the total pattern of his physical and spiritual life. History has often shown what consequences this contact, if it is enduring, customarily has for a primitive people as a rule. /2/ First fundamentally and lastingly

121 177

/2 cont./

121 injured in his physical means of existence, hunting and fishing,
177 by the newcomers, unable to acquire new means of livelihood, much less compete in this with the foreigners superior to him, also often robbed and enervated by them with the help of the irresistible brandy, step by step torn out of his traditional life, assailed in addition even in his psychic life, wronged and despised in everything dear and sacred to him, oppressed and tortured by the terrors conjured up by his own superstitions, and, in addition to all this, greatly weakened and decimated perhaps further by war, but certainly by devastating epidemics such as always follow the first contact of primitive people with Europeans, there inevitably will be a rapid decline in the number of persons, impoverishment, moral and physical deterioration, complete dependence on the newcomers, and, by mixing with them, either the loss of individuality, with even a loss of language, or else total extinction (1). Even if one does elude the

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1. This subject has been dealt with very thoroughly by Dr. Georg Gerland in his work, Ueber das Aussterben der Naturvölker /On the Extinction of Primitive Peoples/ (Leipzig, 1868). He regards the attacks on the psychic life of primitive peoples as almost even more pernicious than the assaults on their physical existence (op. cit., p. 118).

intruding foreigner, however, if, where circumstances allow it, one withdraws to the remote wildernesses, only a short respite is usually won, for with the loss of his native soil, his familiar hunting grounds and fishing sites, his material belongings, and his moral and psychic vigor, the same fate still ultimately befalls him through impoverishment and curtailment. We do not have to go far for examples of extinct tribes or tribes that have completely lost their individuality. Siberia offers enough of
[173] them. Where, for instance, are the Omok, now known only

SS /2 cont./
121 by name, who once supposedly lived from the Jana /Yana/ to
177 the Kolyma, and of whom legend says, "formerly along the
173 banks of the Kolyma there were more Omok fires than stars in the sky on a clear night" (2)? What has become of the Schelagern

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2. F. F. Vrangel' /Ferdinand von Wrangel/, Putesh. po siev. bereg. Sibiri i po Ledov. moriu / A Voyage along the North Coast of Siberia and through the Arctic Ocean/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1841, pp. 80, 81. German translation, Vol. II, pp. 5,6. Kiber", "Zamiech. o niekot. predm. Estestv. Istor., ychinenn. v" Nizhne-Kolymskie i okrestn. onago, v" 1821 g. /Remarks on Several Subjects of Natural History, Learned in Nizhne-Kolymsk and Its Environs/" (Sibirsk. Viestn. izd. Grig. Spasskim", 1823, Ch. II, Statist., p. 127).

who disappeared at the same time, of whom tradition relates that one autumn they and the Omok assembled on a large lake in such numbers that the ice, half an arshin thick, broke under
Y the weight and many of them lost their lives (3)? Hedenström
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3. A. Argentov", "Siev. zemlia /Severnaya Zemlya/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1861, Book II, Izslied i Mater. /Research and Materials/, p. 18). All the reports to be gleaned from legends and traditions concerning these peoples and their presumed emigration to a northern country in the Arctic Sea are collected in this very interesting article.

/Gedenshtrom/, to be sure, regards the Yukagir, who in his day

/2 cont./

181 roamed between the Jana and Kolyma in small numbers, as a
182 remnant of the Omok (4), and Argentof /Argentov/ actually
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[113] 4. Gedenshtrom", Otryvki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, St. Petersburg, 1830, p. 97.

heard them speak of these people as their ancestors (5), but what

[113] 5. Argentov", "Opisanie Nikolaevskago Chaunskago prikhoda/ A Description of the Nikolaevsk Chaun Parish/" (Zap. Sibirsk. Otdiel. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book III, 1857, pp. 89, 104).

121 is the situation of the Yukagir today? /3/ The expedition led by
177 Baron Gerh. Maydell (1868-70) met among them only a few
197 isolated individuals who still knew the language of their fathers (1).

[113] 1. According to Neumann /Neiman/ ("Niesk. slov" o torg. i promyshl. siev. okrug. Iakutsk. obl. /A Few Words about the Trade and Industry of the Northern Districts of the Yakut Oblast/" Izviest. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. III, Irkutsk, 1872, p. 36; Vol. IV, p. 156), only ten persons; according to Trifonof /Trifonov/ ("Zam. o Nizhne-Kolymskie /Notes on Nizhne-Kolymsk/," Izv. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch. Vol. III, p. 167), only one old man. Even the Yukagir questioned by Maydell, who knew his language, did not always have ready answers and was therefore forced to turn

Y 121 177 197 [113]

/3 cont./ 1. (cont.)
to his aged mother when he himself was unable to think of certain expressions. Cf. Schiefner, "Ueber Baron G. v. Maydell's Jukagirische Sprachproben /Concerning Baron G. v. Maydell's Yukagir Language Specimens/" (BuHet. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XVII, p. 86; Mél. asiat. tirés du Bull., Vol. VI, p. 600).

NS 121 101 177 648 K 101 121 NS [113]

Of the Anaul, a tribe on the Anadyr with whom the discoverer of this river, the Cossack Semjon Deshnef /Dezhnev/ waged war in 1649, it is expressly said that they were completely wiped out in a short time because they were not numerous, but were stubborn (2). All the peoples who, along with the Yenisei

2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1758, p. 11.

Ostyak /Ket/, belong to the same tribe, such as the Arin or Arinz, Assan /Asan/, and Kott /Kot/, are either completely extinct or close to extinction. Fischer, who first recognized the homogeneousness of these peoples, spoke of it with regard to the Arin as an accomplished fact (3). Castrén /Kastren/

K 101 121 114 K [113]

3. Fischer, Sibirische Gesch. /Siberian History/, Vol. I. St. Petersburg, 1768, pp. 138, 387, note 51.

found the Kott in only five living individuals, who gave him the opportunity to study their language (4). But even for the

000 K [113]

4. Al. Castrén, Ethnolog. Vorles. über

Ket RU2
Kamchadal RY3
Southeast Siberia RX1

K /3 cont./ 4. (cont.)
101 die Altaisch. Völker /Ethnological
121 Lectures on the Altaic Peoples/, ed.
114 by A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1857,
113 p. 87. The same, Versuch einer Jenissei-Ostjak und Kottischen Sprachlehre /Tentative Ket and Kot Grammar/, ed. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. V, VI.

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KL
121 But even for the
177 Yenisei Ostyak, standing isolated today, the present situation is not much better than for the above-mentioned Yukagir, Italmen or Kamchadal, and many other Siberian tribes. To be sure, they have managed to survive, but as a consequence of their constant and close intercourse with the Russians and living with them, their peculiar tribal character has been completely lost, and it is hardly possible now to reconstruct the original picture of these tribes with even the most meticulous research. How far and in how short a time, for example, has the disintegration processs affected even the more remote Kamchadal, isolated by the peninsular position of their country? Today we would scarcely know anything more to say about them had not Krascheninnikof /Krasheninnikov/ and Steller determined their main features. What has once been neglected here cannot be collected again later.

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167 At present the peoples of the Amur region, too, have entered
177 upon such a process of disintegration. Indeed, it may proceed
121 all the more rapidly among them, since the colonization of this country on the part of the Russians, as mentioned above, has been conducted with a vigor that has no equal in Siberia. The descriptions of later travelers indicate beyond doubt that the individuality of these peoples is rapidly disappearing. Even today it may often be rather difficult to find out what is original and peculiar in their practices, customs, and conceptions under what is foreign and superimposed growing over it. This difficulty did not yet exist at the time when I made their acquaintance.

/3 cont./

121 The only civilized peoples with whom they had been in longer
122 contact up to then[1] were the Chinese /4/ and Japanese, but this
[439] contact, at least for the more remote among them, was always only rare and almost exclusively limited to trade relations. The culture of these East-Asiatic peoples lacked, at least at that time, the expansive character of European culture in order to act as distructively as the latter on primitive peoples. To what extent they nevertheless had an influence on them will be set forth in
121 the following pages. Always intent on promoting the scientific exploration of North Asia to the extent that political circumstances permitted, the Academy sent out, in my charge, its first expedition to the Amur region at the time when this country, after the bloody battles of enterprising freebooters and Cossacks of the seventeenth century, was first re-entered by the Russians, to be taken into permanent possession from then on. For ethnographic research, it thus took advantage of the most favorable moment, one which can never occur again in these regions. Aware of this advantage because of the circumstances of the time, I have given as much attention to the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region as was at all possible for a traveler whose mission, above all, was research in natural history.
[114] Moreover, the Academy sent along with me a draftsman, by means of which it would be possible to record much from the life of the Amur peoples through pictorial representation. Thus, during the trip work was done to collect the observations and materials necessary in order to be able to give the most detailed picture possible of the peoples of the Amur region at the time, since they still possessed their complete originality, or at least it was not yet spoiled by contact with a civilized European people. In the following, then, the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region at that time are always meant, even if according to the form, the observations are in the present.

[1] [i.e., at the time of the author's visit to them, c. 1854-1856 -- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--8/ E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1

/4 cont./

101 The whole Amur river area will not be discussed here ethno-
121 graphically. A part of it, the so-called Dauria, or the source-country of the Amur River, remains remote to us here. This country, indisputably left to the Russian since the Nerchinsk Border Treaty of 1689, has already often been visited by older and more recent travelers and has been repeatedly discussed with regard to its ethnographic conditions, with its prevailing Russian and, to a smaller extent, Mongol-Tungusic population.
[133] Only where the Schilka /Shilka/ and the Argunj /Argun/ join the Amur, to the east of the Mongolian-Daurian high plateau, do the terraced country and lowlands of the Amur River begin, the Amur region proper, which, having only recently come into the possession of Russia, is only very little or scarcely known ethnographically. Only this Amur region proper will be considered in the following pages. On physico-geographic, as well as ethnographic grounds, however, we must also add to it, not only the districts on the Amur and its tributaries, but also the adjoining coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan, from the Tugur Gulf to the Korean border, as well as the island of Sakhalin which lies opposite the mouth of the Amur River and which follows the coast of the mainland at a short distance, leading, like a bridge, to Japan and the Kuriles.

/5/ Furthermore, not all of the peoples who inhabit the Amur region thus outlined will be the subject of our observations. Automatically excluded, of course, are the well-known civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, who did not belong to the Amur region originally, but invaded it from the south to a greater or lesser extent; and also the Manchu, who, to be sure, have their homeland in the drainage area of the Amur, but through their history, their ruling position in China, their literary language, and the like are ranked with these civilized peoples. These peoples, however, in linguistic, historical, culture-historical, and other respects, have been the subject of many searching investigations by specialized experts. Here

/5 cont./

121 they can be considered only with regard to their relations with
121 the natives of the Amur region and insofar as they have exerted influence on them. So we have left only the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, who to be sure, can no longer be designated as primitive peoples, but who nevertheless have had little contact with civilization, even that of their neighbors, and are still on the level of simple hunting and fishing tribes.

114 But even for these peoples, still very numerous, the mission set forth above could be carried out only in part and to a very limited extent. The great expanse of the Amur region, which at the time of my stay there was for the most part still wholly under Chinese rule, as well as the fact that access to many parts of it was still difficult at that time, naturally did not permit me, in the relatively short period of something over two years that my travels in the Amur region required, to come into contact with all the peoples scattered over it, much less to become better acquainted with them. The circumstance that the Russians, advancing from the Sea of Okhotsk, first gained a firm foothold at the mouth of the Amur River, obliged me, since I entered the Amur region from the sea side, to make my headquarters likewise at the newly established Nikolayev Post, in order to undertake from there, in summer as well as in winter, major and minor excursions and trips into the interior of the region, to the seacoast, and to Sakhalin Island. The details concerning these trips are to be found in the introduction to the first volume of this work, as well as in several travel reports published in the Bulletin of the Academy (1). They led be twice to Sakhalin Island, whose

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1. Reisen u. Forsch. im Amur-Lande /Travels and Research in the Amur Region/, Vol. I, pp. IX-XXII. Bulletin de la classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 40-46, 184-192, 217-222; Vol. XV, pp. 169-176, 241-254; Mélanges phys. et

SS 114 [113] /5 cont./

1. (cont.)
chim. tirés du Bulletin, Vol. II, pp. 346-355, 446-456, 492-497; Vol. III, pp. 8-17; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 49-65, 297-306, 344-363.

southern tip, by the way, I had already touched in the summer of 1854, along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of Japan, to the Gorin and the Ussuri, and, finally, on the return trip, up the entire Amur and a part of the Argunj /Argun/ River. During the winter travels in particular, I lived with and among the natives entirely. Therefore, it was principally the peoples of the lower Amur region, especially the Gilyak, but also the Olcha (Mangun) and Goldi, with whom I had an opportunity to become more closely acquainted, whereas I came in contact with the others only more or less fleetingly.
G 114 129 For certain information concerning the Gilyak I am also indebted to Middendorff /Middendorf/, who /6/ became acquainted with this people as early as 1844, and, to be sure, on the extreme northwestern border of their area of distribution. He did not publish in his travel account the notes written down by him at that time, but kindly passed them on to me for use in this place, and they are in fact of great value to me, since I myself did not visit this part of the Gilyak area. Therefore, in the following where I refer to Middendorff without citing his writings, my in-
Gi SS 114 129 formation comes from the handwritten notes mentioned. A great deal was also contributed for a more detailed knowledge of the peoples of the lower Amur by the circumstance that during the time I had my headquarters in the midst of the Gilyak area, my friend and present colleague, C. J. Maximowicz, had his in Olcha territory, and, to be sure, in the Mariinski Post established shortly before. His information concerning the Olcha and Goldi collected at that time and on a later trip in 1859 and 60 and passed along to me forms an essential part of the following in-
SS 114 formation on these peoples. This was a fortunate arrangement for ethnographic research because it is precisely the peoples of

SS /6 cont./
114 the lower Amur region who undoubtedly are the most interesting, since, due to their greater remoteness from the Manchu, Chinese, and Japanese, as well as the Russians, their way of life has best
G been shaped and preserved in a peculiar way. In particular,
[197] however, this is true of the Gilyak, who, linguistically as well, stand wholly isolated among all the Amur peoples (1).

1. It may be noted in passing that even during the preparations for the second Bering Expedition, the instructions drawn up in the bosom of the Academy for the ethnographic investigations strongly urged
SS a visit among the Gilyak. (Baer,
113] "Kurzer Bericht über wissensch. Arbeiten u. Reisen /Short Statement concerning Scientific Work and Travels/," etc., see Beitr. z. Kenntn. d. Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersb., 1855, p. 408, note). This request could not be complied with until over a hundred years later through Middendorff's and my travels.

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114 Nevertheless, here, too, in spite of frequent contacts with
122 the natives, a detailed investigation of their practices, customs, religious views, and the like still faced many obstacles. The greatest of them for a traveler, especially if he is a natural scientist and not a linguist, is his ignorance of the language of a people and the difficulty of learning it in a short time well enough to be able to converse in it. As a rule, one can overcome this difficulty by hiring an interpreter, but when the first contact with a people is made, he does not yet have one. On my first trip up the Amur to the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir, the Cossacks accompanying me understood so little of the languages of these peoples that I myself, noting down immediately every word whose meaning I learned, had to serve them as an interpreter.

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122 Little as I understood Gilyak, it was nevertheless always more than any other newcomer in the Amur region, because it was more important for me to learn the language than for anyone else. [123] Also, I can offer the testimony given by the Gilyak themselves to the effect that I did not speak their language like the other Russians (or foreigners), but in the way they themselves spoke (2),

> 2. I heard them say to one another about me, he speaks "mer ngarlatsch," i.e., "like us."

which undoubtedly referred to my use of some of their /7/ verb forms and suffixes, which were still wholly unknown to my contemporaries in the Amur region, and in any case did not mean much in view of their extremely slight knowledge of Gilyak. It was similar for Maximowicz with the Olcha and Goldi as for me with the Gilyak. Therefore none of the information given below about these peoples was obtained through the mediation of interpreters. This circumstance perhaps makes our reports much 122 128 less complete than they would have been otherwise, since at the beginning, before learning the language, we had to limit ourselves to observation with the eyes and renounce the much more important instruction through the ears. On the other hand, however, the information, especially concerning abstract things, religious conceptions, and the like, could only gain in trustworthiness and inner value if it was obtained directly and immediately and not rendered in the light in which it was reflected in the mind of an uneducated interpreter.

123 Another and scarcely less significant difficulty in ethnographic research lies in the easily understandable suspicion with which the traveler is only too apt to be met among a half-wild foreign people and which makes the people either taciturn and reserved or even prompts deliberately false and untrue statements. I tried to overcome this, on the one hand, by friendly advances, small presents, hospitality, and kindnesses of all sorts, and, on the other hand, by caution in accepting all

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123 information, by frequently examining and testing it by means of repeated inquiries on the same subject, and, finally, by learning their language. I believe that I reached my goal completely in the case of the Amur Gilyak, who more frequently came to the Nikolayev Post, for I gradually won trust and popularity among them, such as later perhaps would not appear again. In winter, when Gilyak came to the Nikolayev Post, they drove directly up to my house, unharnessed their dogs, pulled their light sleds into the antechamber, and settled down confidently in my presence, certain of receiving from me both food for their dogs and, for themselves, food and tobacco for smoking à discretion, indeed even perhaps a few trifles, a few needles, buttons, and the like as gifts. This gave me the assurance of finding on my eventual trips a hospitable reception likewise from each of them. They turned to me when in their dealings and trade with the Russians an injustice had been committed against them in their opinion; they complained to me about their distress when, say, a dog was stolen from them, a storeroom was plundered, a monument destroyed; indeed, they sometimes voiced in my presence their fear about what was to become of them in view of the growing number of Russians and their settlements. When, in the winter of 1855/56, I was sick in bed with gastric fever for several weeks, the news of it spread quickly among the Gilyak, and when, in the spring of 1856, I was finally about to leave for good, I received many demonstrations of their regret upon learning that hereafter I would no longer be at the Nikolayev Post. Farther away from the Amur, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin, however, I have also found that the Gilyak suddenly stopped in the midst of a long, calm communication and asked one another the question, /8/, for what would I probably use the information concerned? And after they had agreed that a possible colonization among them by the Russians might depend on my recital concerning the condition of the country, the communication either stopped or it took on an entirely different character, painted as black as possible or

G /8 cont./
123 absolutely negative. In their naïve way they, of course, did not suspect that I might have understood their conversation.

G SS 121 The above-mentioned circumstances that I was unable to come into equally close contact with all the Amur peoples naturally was fundamentally decisive for the nature of the treatment of the subject in the following pages. If detailed or even approximately complete information about all the Amur peoples were available to us, a monographic discussion of them would perhaps be most suitable; for with such a comprehensive picture of the physical and spiritual life of each individual people, its entire individuality would be seen more precisely. But we do not have such rich material at our disposal. Moreover, with such a treatment a drawback, I mean frequent repetitions, would be unavoidable. For primitive peoples, or at the least peoples who are still half-wild, who live as neighbors under the same stretch of sky, are thrown upon the same nature, the same food resources and means of existence, and stand under the same, though equally slight cultural influences, always have many correspondences with one another in their way of life, their practices and customs, their views, etc., however much they differ with respect to descent and language. For these reasons I preferred not to take up the various peoples of the Amur region coming under consideration here singly, one after the other, but rather in a comparative fashion, beside one another, always starting with the Gilyak, who heretofore were known almost solely by name, whereas they are the very ones whom I know best. Although such a treatment does not give a full, well-rounded, and self-contained picture of any of the peoples concerned, but rather only fragmentary descriptions, from which the reader has to put together the total picture himself, nevertheless, it might also have an advantage over the monographic treatment, beyond the avoidance of repetition already stressed, in that it offers more opportunities for general comparisons and conclusions concerning separate phenomena in the life of primitive peoples and therefore also permits much deeper insight into the natural and cultural history of mankind.

G SS 121 128

G SS 121 128 /8 cont./

Finally, by constantly keeping the entire region before our eyes, it may also lead to a more complete ethnographic picture of it.

G SS 126 128 The accompanying plates are also arranged in accordance with this treatment of the subject. I still have a few words to say about them beforehand. Since the Academy sent a draftsman with me, my aim was to give as clear and detailed a picture as possible of the life of the Amur peoples and everything connected with it, their dwelling, clothing, their household, hunting and fishing apparatus, their tombs, idols, and the like, by means of drawings, too. Concerning certain things in particular, such as, for example, the degree of skill shown by these peoples in making their utensils, the taste expressed in the decoration of their implements as well as their clothing, the possible influence on this from foreign, Chinese, /9/ and Japanese patterns, no judgment can be formed without the illustrations. A clear, concrete idea of the total being and doings of a people, however, can certainly be obtained only with a certain completeness of pictorial representations. It therefore did not seem proper to me to be too frugal with the number of these illustrations or to omit them wherever in earlier travel accounts, on the occasion of discussing other and especially Siberian peoples, similar, though at times rather crude representations are found. For the same reason I have only in rare cases taken note of the illustrations, neat as they are, which are found in the rather inaccessible atlas of Mr. Maack's /Maak/ trip in the Amur region, and all the more since the work concerned (1) contains no ethnographic text, but only

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G SS [113]

1. Puteshestvie na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazheniiu Sibirsk. Otdiela Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g. R. Maakom" /A Journey to the Amur, completed by R. Maak under the auspices of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society in 1855/, St. Petersburg, 1859.

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a meager list of the illustrations, most of which even lack any information as to which of the Amur peoples they refer to. In any case the objects pictured there do not belong to the Gilyak, since Maack's trip did not touch their territory. Some of our illustrations could have been omitted by references to several woodcuts that are found in the last issue of Middendorff's travel report -- to illustrate the household implements of the Nigidal /Negidal/ -- but this issue had not appeared at the time when the following plates had all been prepared.

As stated above, since it is the peoples of the lower Amur region who are to be discussed here in greater detail, most of our illustrations refer to them, and especially to the Gilyak. Indeed, whenever identical or very similar objects from various Amur peoples were available to me, I always gave preference to the Gilyak one for the illustration, in order thus to provide as complete a picture as possible of at least one of these proples, and unquestionably the most unique and interesting one.

By far the most of the illustrations added here are by the draftsman of my expedition, Mr. W. Poliwanof, during our stay in the Nikolayev Post; a few were also drawn or at least sketched during the trips. I owe a not insignificant portion of the illustrations, especially the sketches of many scenes from Gilyak life, to Mr. Maximowicz, with whom I made many a trip in the Amur region. Still others were first made here from ethnographic objects brought back from the trip, for example, most of the idols by Mr. A Baumer, the drawings of Gilyak patterns by Mr. Nezwetajef. Finally, I had access to a collection which was made in the sixties, in part by W. Lanin in Nikolayevsk, in part by other photographers, namely, many photographs of the Gilyak, Goldi, and Ainu. All the material was handed over to the skilled artist, Dmitrijef-Orenburgskij, in order in part to work on it and to perfect it, and in part to make lithographs corresponding to the format of this work. Since Mr. Dmitrijef himself /10/ was never in the Amur region, it was all the more incumbent on me to examine all his work closely with regard to its faithfulness to detail, and I must

2: Schrenck--17 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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testify that in all his drawings he faithfully copies reality as a whole as well as in all its details. In order to illustrate the craniological proportions of the Amur peoples, the photographer of the Academy of Sciences, Mr. W. Clasen, made with his customary skill a number of phototypic plates, the details of which will be discussed in the appropriate place. The same will be done with regard to the ethnographic map of the Amur region preceding all the illustrations, which was made by the topographic section of the general staff here under the direction of Major General O. von Stubendorff.

It is a pleasant duty for me to express publicly here my warmest thanks to all the gentlemen named who have worked on the artistic design and adornment of this book, especially my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, through whose industrious devotion most of the drawings were made. If this work succeeds in giving a true and clear picture of the Amur peoples and their life and practices, certainly not the least part of this is on account of his illustrations.

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I. Geographical-Historical Part

Section 1

General survey of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region. Present boundaries of their respective areas of distribution. Spatial position of the civilized peoples of East Asia, Chinese and Japanese, in the Amur region. Spatial position of the Russians in relation to the Amur peoples. Ethnographic map of the Amur region.

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A certain uniformity of the phenomena in nature and the life of the people, extending over broad areas, is generally a part of the character of northern Asia, but it stands out in the Amur region much less than in Siberia. The Amur region, provided with diverse natural conditions, alternating mountain

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13 ranges and plains, extensive forests, grassy prairies, mighty rivers abounding in fish, extensive seacoasts, and a climate milder than that of Siberia, though inclement and continental, offers a more diverse and richer picture in its ethnographic conditions equally as much as in its flora and fauna. First of all, apart from the foreign elements that have come in from the neighboring civilized states, China, Japan, and, more recently, Russia, one has to deal with three indigenous peoples in the Amur region -- Gilyak, Ainu, and Tungus -- who differ completely from one another in language. To be sure, a Mongol tribe has pushed from the southwest into the Sungari area, but it is being pushed back more and more by the Chinese and by a Tungusic people and may soon be quite far from the Amur region. Of the three Amur peoples named (it is to be understood that the Amur region always includes Sakhalin Island), the Tungus, in turn, fall into many tribes or peoples that are more or less far apart in language and customs. It is these Tungusic peoples who occupy by far the largest part of the Amur region, whereas the Gilyak and Ainu inhabit only relatively small areas in the extreme northeast and southeast of it. Though Tungusic peoples are also found far beyond the Amur region, up to the Yenisei, the coasts of the Arctic Sea, and Kamchatka, nevertheless the Amur region seems to be their true homeland, in which they attained /12/ the highest culture available to them up to then and from which they spread in all directions. Along the Sungari and its tributaries lies the chief center of the Manchu, the only Tungusic people that has writing and literature and that, through its repeatedly successful wars against China, which gained for it control over this largest civilized realm of Asia, has also gained historical significance. In the plains along the Nonni or Naun, the main tributary of the Sungari, live the Daur, who, far more widespread in former times, had to endure, above all, the battles with the bold Russian freebooters. Farther up the same river are the remnants of the formerly warlike Solon. If one follows the main artery of the region, the Amur River, down from the junction of the

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101 Schilka /Shilka/ and Argunj /Argun/, one meets above the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains and the Manchu-Chinese settlements on the Amur the roaming tribes of the Orochon and Manegir, below the mountains named the widespread Goldi people, who also migrate along the large right tributaries of the Amur, and the Olcha or Mangun, the neighbors of the Gilyak on the Amur. Other Tungusic peoples have their dwelling sites on the numerous left tributaries of this river, for example, the Birar along the Bureja /Bureya/, the Kile along the Kur, the Samagir along the Gorin, the Negda along the Amgunj /Amgun/. To the east of the lower Amur and the Ussuri, along the sources of their right tributaries, in the coastal mountains and along the seacoast, lies the extensive, but only sparsely populated area of the Orochi, and beyond the mainland, in the middle section of Sakhalin Island, there is finally still another Tungusic people, the seminomadic Orok. Many smaller Tungusic tribes that annually roam with their reindeer from the Sea of Okhotsk to the tributaries of the lower Amur or from the Udj /Uda/ and Lena areas on the southern slope of the Stanovoi Mountains to the tributaries of the Bureja and Dseja /Zeya/, or in part stay along the latter permanently, still remain unmentioned in this enumeration. The number of the various peoples in the Amur region is by no means small, and it is the Tungus tribe in particular that has its most abundant branching and greatest development there.

It is not always possible to delimit accurately the area of distribution of all the peoples named in relation to one another because of the wandering, seminomadic way of life of many of these peoples and the frequent overlapping of their hunting grounds and fishing sites. It can be done most easily for the sedentary peoples of the lower Amur, whereas the higher the Amur and its upper tributaries, it is all the more difficult and impossible. On the following ethnographic map of the Amur region I have tried to mark as precisely as possible the boundaries of the individual areas, in part according to my own experiences and the statements

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101 of the natives themselves, in part according to the observations of other travelers, and at the same time to give a total picture of the geographic distribution of the Amur peoples. Let us now go over these areas individually and in detail with regard to their location and limit.

G /13/ The Gilyak live in the extreme northeast of the Amur
131 region; the lowermost part of the Amur River, the Amur-Liman,
361 and adjoining coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the northern half of Sakhalin Island. Along the Amur, going downstream, the area of the Gilyak begins with the villages of Chjare on the right bank and Tlals on the left bank, at a distance of about 175 versts from the mouth of the Amur. From there their dwelling sites at the beginning extend only along the right bank, but later, from the last bend of the Amur toward the east, on both banks of it to the Liman. The Amur-Liman is inhabited entirely by Gilyak, a purely Gilyak waterway. Southward from the mouth of the Amur along the coast of the mainland is Tschomi, located on the small river of the same name, the last Gilyak village, beyond which, along Mamia-Rinsô Strait, there extends an uninhabited territory visited by the Gilyak only for hunting and fishing. To the north of the mouth of the Amur the dwelling sites of the Gilyak extend beyond the Liman along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. To be sure, Kulj or Kolj is said to be the last place there permanently inhabited by the Gilyak, but Gilyak also live even farther, at least temporarily, for the purposes of hunting, seal-hunting, and fishing. According to Poplonskij, for instance, they supposedly come at times to Konstantinov Harbor in Ulban Bay (1).

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1. Poplonskii, Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1848, p. 98.

Middendorff, too, became acquainted with Gilyak there and even farther to the west along Tugur Gulf. The extreme limit of his journey eastward, a promontory in Ulban Bay, bears in

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131 361 his work (2) the name Cap Gilyak, presumably after the inhabitants,

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2. Maps-atlas with Middendorff's Reise in den äussersten Norden und Osten Sibiriens /Journey in the Extreme North and East of Siberia/, 1859, Pl. XVII.

even though temporary, of the region. Along the Ulban River, three versts above its mouth in the bay of the same name, he came upon a Gilyak settlement consisting of two winter houses and a summer house; one and a quarter versts to the east of it, another summer house (3). The last farthermost dwelling sites of the

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3. Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Nord. u. Osten Sibir., Vol. IV, p. 126.

Gilyak to the northwest lie along the Sea of Okhotsk, but in Tugur Gulf. Across the narrow, low isthmus, which, stemlike, connects the Ssegneka /Seneka/ Peninsula with the mainland, runs a towpath made out of logs laid against one another, which, according to Middendorff, is designated even on an old map dating from the last century under the name "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka) and was used by the Gilyak and Tungus to transport their boats, usually with the help of dogs, from Akademii Gulf (on Konstantinov Bay) to Tugur Gulf, and thus avoid the laborious and dangerous rowing around the long Ssegneka Peninsula with its steep, rocky banks. Along this towpath Middendorff saw the frames used for drying fish among the Gilyak and a Gilyak summer house standing at the end of it at Wolok Bay in Tugur Gulf (4). Somewhat farther south and on the last-

4. Op. cit., pp. 116, 117.

named bay there were also two of their winter houses (5). Finally,

5. Ibid., p. 125.

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[13] somewhat farther south and /14/ west, where the Tugur empties
[36] and shortly before that receives the Kutin River, he found seven Gilyak huts along with three Tungusic birch tents. These were the first occupied dwellings that Middendorff encountered after leaving the mouth of the Udj (1). Orlof, too, coming along the

[113] 1. Op. cit., p. 124. The Gilyak met by him along the Ulban River, on the Ssegneka Peninsula, and at the mouth of the Tugur are also mentioned in Middendorff's preliminary travel account (Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. des sc. Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 616).

seacoast from Ajan /Ayan/ in the year 1849, met the first Gilyak at the mouth of the Tugur (2). Here, then, is the extreme north-

[113] 2. Cf. P. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Ross.-amerikansk. Kompanii /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 64.

west boundary of the Gilyak region, beyond it, up to the Udj, stretches an uninhabited territory through which probably only the Tungus roam.

[13] On the island of Sakhalin and especially along its west coast the area of distribution of the Gilyak extends much farther to the south than on the mainland. There the Gilyak population extends from the northernmost tip, through the Amur-Linman, and far into the northern part of the Sea of Japan. Their
[36] southernmost point along this coast is the village of Pilja-wo near

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13 [36] 50° north latitude and therefore located almost precisely at half the length of this island which stretches in the direction of the meridian. The Gilyak population on the east coast of the island extends somewhat less far south. According to the information 13 36 that I gathered from the Gilyak in the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley and in the village of Nyi on the east coast, south of this village and of the mouth of the Tymy River there are four additional Gilyak villages (3), of which the southernmost and last, three days'

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3. Cf. the map accompanying Vol. I of this work. The map drawn up by Schebunin on the basis of the material from the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society shows a few additional place names among them. Therefore, the number of these Gilyak villages is perhaps greater than the one given to me, but perhaps the added names only refer to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak belonging to the winter villages named, or to overnight camping places and other such localities.

journey from Nyi, is the village of Tschamr-wo, beyond which the coast is said to be uninhabited for a great distance. This [115] information was later confirmed by the mining engineer Lopatin, who in 1868 made a wearisome journey on foot along this deserted coast; coming from the south, he found the first Gilyak village (Tschamr-wo) (4), according to Kropotkin's translation of his

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4. "Tscham-wo," as Lopatin calls the village, or "Tschamr-wo," as I heard it and believe to be correct, has a name in Gilyak meaning "eagle village."

13 36 [103] [114] /14 cont./

4. (cont.)
I cannot accept the version "Tschamg-wo," as given on the Schebunin map of Sakhalin.

report (5), one and a half days' journey north of Cape Delisle de

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5. Izviestiia Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 308, 311.

la Croyère, but, according to the statements that he made to Fr. Schmidt upon looking through his journals (6), "behind" the

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6. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, p. 387.

large cape of rock mentioned, which among the Gilyak bears the
13 name Harpach (7). At any rate, on the east coast of Sakhalin

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7. Following Lopatin, Schmidt gives the Gilyak name of Cape Delisle de la Croyère as "Harpa." There is no doubt about the ending sounding like, not "pa," but "pach," since the latter is often repeated in Gilyak place names and means "rock" or "stone." I suspect, however, that the first syllable, too, is not rendered quite correctly, and that the cape is not called "Harpa," but "Tschcharpach," that is, "wood-" or "forest-rock" -- a name which occurs also at the mouth of the Amur.

the southern border of the Gilyak territory thus lies close to Cape Delisle de la Croyère, that is, /15/ about 51° north latitude, or

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131 one degree more to the north than on the west coast of the island (1). Finally, besides the two coasts the interior of Sakhalin

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1. The above-named villages, and especially the last one, Tschamr-wo, are therefore to be moved somewhat more to the south than is shown on my first map.

is also populated by the Gilyak, and to be sure, it is the large Tymy River, rich in fish, along which, up to its source, a relatively dense Gilyak population lives. This, however, cuts off the area of the Gilyak, because to the south, along the perhaps even larger Ty River, as it is called among the Gilyak, or Poronai as it is called among the Ainu (2), there is a permanent

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2. That is, "great river." It is the "Newa" of Krusenstern Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/ St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 95). On Schebunin's above-mentioned map, as in Glehn's travel report from Sakhalin Island (Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Russ. Reichs, edited by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, pp. 205, 235 ff.) this river is also called Plyi -- a name which, according to Glehn, is likewise a Gilyak one.

population only on the lower course and at the mouth, and this population, aside from scattered, individual members, is no longer Gilyak.

If one surveys the total area of distribution of the Gilyak, one finds that for the most part it extends along the sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Amur-Liman, and then also along two great rivers, the Amur on the mainland and the Tymy on Sakhalin -- a circumstance

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G 131 that in itself indicates the role that sea and river play in the lives and the economy of these people. At the same time, with such G 101 a location and limitation of their area of distribution, the Gilyak 177 have no neighbors to the north and east, and therefore, in a large part, in fact, the greater part, of it, but only some in the west and south. Here, however, they come in direct contact with many of the Amur peoples, for example, with the reindeer Tungus of the Sea of Okhotsk and of the Stanovoi Mountains, with the Negda, Olcha, and Orochi on the mainland, and with the Orok and Ainu on Sakhalin. Taken together, these factors give the Gilyak, on one hand, an isolated position among the Amur peoples and greater independence, but, on the other hand, they make them the natural connecting link between the peoples of the mainland and of Sakhalin Island, not excepting even the civilized peoples of the two areas, namely, the Chinese and the Japanese.

Though the Gilyak are sharply differentiated from all the Amur peoples through their unique language, nevertheless a manifold mutual intermeshing of the respective areas of distribution takes place on the borders with their above-mentioned neighbors. It has already been mentioned above that on the Tugur and Gi [101] Ulban gulfs, along with the Gilyak, the Tungus, too, pursue their [177] livelihood and erect their easily transportable birch tents beside [342] the Gilyak yurts (3). Indeed, they roam far to the east along the Sea [361]

3. Poplonskij, loc. cit., found Tungus also in Konstantinov Harbor in Ulban Bay.

of Okhotsk, even in the area permanently occupied by the Gilyak; in the winter of 1856 I myself saw their conical tent frames east Gi [221] of Kulj. Some Negda, from the Amgun are said to come annually [225] to the Tugur and Ulban gulfs in order to hunt seals (4). The Negda 000

4. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-Amursk. kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sbornik", 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, Gi [113] p. 332). Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über

G 101 179 Gi 113 /15 cont./ 4. (cont.)

den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

Gi 131 The Negda live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chlya/, G [36] [103] as well as along the river branch connecting them, although there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. This in- G [115] [114] formation, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Judin in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later travelers,

G [103] 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu. Gi [103] [361] On the former lie the villages of Pfyrpi-wo and Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomokr and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, calls

Gi [113] 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolaysv Post on the Amur River to Udskii

Gi 131 [113] /16 cont./ 2. (cont.)
Ostrog/," in Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. III. 1857, Miscellany, p. 11.

Gi [103] 3. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 148. Schmidt mentions only the Negda village Nemorchon on the river branch that connects the two lakes, Orel and Tschlja (op. cit., p. 142). This name is probably Negda, at any rate not Gilyak.

Lake Orel "Negda Lake" on a map in part based upon Chinese information and still unpublished ("Erster Versuch einer hydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges und seiner Ausläufer, zwischen dem 45. und 62. Grade nördl. Br. /First Attempt at a Hydrographic Map of the Stanovoi Mountain Range and Its Spurs, between 45° and 62° North Latitude/."

G Gi 101 Gi 103 361 In the territory of the Gilyak, their Amur neighbors, the Olcha, have penetrated more deeply than the Negda. To begin there, too, as mentioned above, with the village of Chjare, there lie far to the north of it, on the right bank of the river and surrounded by purely Gilyak villages, two villages, Tschylwi and Tyr, which are inhabited only by Olcha, the former with six, the latter with two winter yurts. And still farther to the north, on the same bank, there is the place Kaberazbach, consisting of only one winter yurt besides accessories, in which at the time of my journey an Olcha, who had a Gilyak wife, governed as head of the household. On the other hand, deep within Olcha territory one comes across isolated permanent Gilyak sites. For example, of the six winter yurts that make up the village of Aure located only slightly north of Kidsi, I found that three had been occupied by Gilyak for many years. Everywhere these scattered members of an alien people have clung as much as possible to their respective mother tongues and native customs.

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G /16 cont./
101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
Gi separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
A Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree,
101 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
G mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
181 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told
162 me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely
361 Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj
103 again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/
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4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

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place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
G the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
361 "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
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1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

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/17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

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G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

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2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

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3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

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G Gi A 101 361

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on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

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Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

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5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

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G dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These re-
Gi lationships become even more complicated, however, by the
101 fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu
131 occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. More-
A over, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people
[101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former
A people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming
361 from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first
A in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one
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1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

361 [113] [114] [103] northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Urotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

361 131 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, 131 169 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

[113] 2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) 131 who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

[113] 3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

2: Schrenck--34 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/18 cont./ 3. (cont.)

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Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, pp. 143, 145). Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, ed. by J.B.S., Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 7. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1758, pp. 79, 81. Schlözer /Schlötzer/, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. /General History of the North/, Halle, 1771, pp. 433, 434. "Neue Beschr. d. Kurilischen Inseln (nach den Nachrichten von Tschernyi, Antipin und Otscheredin) /New Description of the Kurile Islands (according to the reports from Tschernyi, Antipin, and Otscheredin/, in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr. /New Northern Contributions/, Vol. IV, 1783, p. 117. Siebold, Aardrijks- en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerritsz. Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of Maert. Gerritsz. Vries/ A. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po otdiel. Etnogr., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1871, pp. 374, 375, 421, 423).

131 inhabited Nippon will be discussed later. Thus the [illegible]-tribution of the Ainu embraces throughout only islands on the eastern edge of Asia. There are absolutely no continental Ainu, of whom there has often been mention, following Klaproth's example. We shall come back to this in greater detail below.

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101 On Sakhalin a third people, the Orok, have shoved in between the two peoples named, the Gilyak and Ainu. Whereas
[233] the latter are sedentary fishermen, the former in part lead a
[221] seminomadic life in that at certain times of the year they undertake regular migrations with their reindeer. This makes a precise delimitation of their area of distribution even more difficult.
361 They have permanent or at least semipermanent habitation sites
131 only along the east coast of Sakhalin, whereas they touch the west coast only on their expeditions. The northernmost Orok site of which I have any knowledge, and at the same time their principal seat, is Käkr-wo, as the Gilyak call it. The statements of the latter about this place differed so much, however, that I remain uncertain about its location; at one time it was said to be only a day's journey north of the Gilyak village of Nyi, but then again it was said to be the same distance from the likewise Gilyak village of Tschai-wo located much farther to the north. Glehn, who has traveled through the northern part of Sakhalin, gives the location of Käkr-wo at 52°58' north latitude (1),

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1. P. v. Glehn, "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 231). Therefore the statement by the Gilyak that it was a day's journey north of Tschai-wo was correct and the map in the first volume on my travels shows this place about 3/4 a degree too far south. Glehn and Schmidt write "Keäkr-wo" for the place. In his travel account the former calls the Orok "Oltscha" /Olcha/ throughout. We shall see later with what justification.

and this place is also shown on Schebunin's map of Sakhalin, which, in this part, is based upon Glehn's data. Thus the northernmost Orok site -- and even Glehn knows of none more

/19 cont./

361 northerly -- lies exactly on Cape Würst and therefore deep in
131 Gilyak territory, indeed, almost exactly in the center of the entire section that the Gilyak have along the east coast of Sakhalin. The southernmost habitation sites of the Orok have advanced less far into the adjoining Ainu territory. We have already learned of these southernmost Orok sites: they lie on the Gulf of Patience and along the coastal lakes that accompany the delta of the Ty River, or the Poro-nai of the Ainu. The most southerly of all is probably Tschogbo on the Ssiska River and Lake (2). It is noteworthy that their only, or at least by far the

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2. See above, p. 31; also Schebunin's map of Sakhalin. Admiral Newelskoi /Nevel'skoi/, in his first reports, which appeared after his death, on the activities of the so-called Amur Expedition, which he led with the rank of captain and which first traveled through Sakhalin and a part of the lower Amur region and took possession of them for Russia, stated repeatedly that the Orok (for him "Orotschonen" /Orochon/) were spread over the whole south of Sakhalin to Aniwa /Aniva/ Gulf and lived interspersed with the Ainu, indeed, that these peoples had even become completely mixed (cf. Podvigi russk. morsk. ofitser. na krain. vost. Rossii, 1849-55 g. Pri-amursk. i pri-ussuriiskii krai. Posmertn. zap. Admirala Nevel'skago. /Exploits of Russian Naval Officers in the Far East of Russia, 1849-55. The Pri-Amurskii and Pri-Ussuriiskii krais. Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi./ Published by the wife of the deceased, E.I.N., under the editorship of V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, pp. 275, 293, 295, 301, 305, and others), but these statements are not reliable, since these gentlemen, for reasons which we shall touch on later,

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/19 cont./ 2. (cont.)
saw and wanted to see Orok everywhere on southern Sakhalin. Also, they are not confirmed by later travelers.

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most numerous of their more or less permanent settlements lie along the above-mentioned borders of the area of distribution of the Orok, whereas they only wander through the entire broad area in between. The east coast of Sakhalin north of the Cape of Patience in particular has no Orok settlements. It is true that three such places were named for Schmidt and are shown on the map by Schebunin accompanying his report (3), /20/ but, as already

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3. These three places, as an Ainu named them for him, are: Taoko-nai, Tsea-moki, and Unu on the Ura-nai or Nuri-nai River, the latter of which was supposed to be a principal gathering place for the Orok (Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 116). On the map concerned the former two places are named somewhat differently, namely, Ssaoko-nai and Tschoa-moki. By listening to these names one can tell that they are of Ainu origin. As Schmidt noted, in Orok they might sound different. "Unu," for instance, was named for him as "Uny" by an Orok. Presumably they are not settlements, but other localities, rivers, promontories, tent sites, camping places, and the like, which often have a special designation among the natives.

mentioned, Lopatin found this coast completely uninhabited up to the Gilyak village of Tschamr-wo, which also corresponds with the information that I obtained from the Sakhalin Gilyak (1).

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1. See above, p. 23. After all that has been said, Brylkin's statement ("Pis'ma s" Sakhalina." –

/20 cont./ 1. (cont.)

361 131 114 Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, p. 21) that the coast from Taraika to Nyi was inhabited and rather densely populated by Orok is completely erroneous.

484 At times, of course, it may be visited by roaming hunters, just as Lopatin reached it "by following Orok hunting paths" (2),

2. Schmidt, in Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1870, p. 387.

but the regular Orok migrations between Kākr-wo and the places along the Gulf of Patience do not take place along this coast, but through the interior of the island, along the courses of its two largest rivers, the Tymy /Tym'/ and Ty, or Poro-nai.
221 484 Every winter the Orok make their migrations in these directions from the east coast of Sakhalin to the west coast and to the mainland. Along the Ty River they roam through a vast, level, uninhabited land, in which only a few Orok yurts, perhaps only temporarily inhabited, are to be found (3). Things are different

[103] 3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber.," etc., op. cit., p. 238), who has traveled through and described this region in detail, only the two Orok (for him, "Oltscha" /Olcha/) yurts Chuié and, somewhat higher, the yurt Muika are there along the Plyi (or Ty) River. Schmidt ("Histor. Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 118) calls the latter place Myge, which Glehn regards as the Gilyak designation for it.

along the Tymy River, the main artery of the Gilyak area of distribution on Sakhalin. Here, the Orok, coming from Kākr-wo and the other places on the east coast, follow the mountain range, which borders the Tymy Valley in the west, up to the sources of this river, where at Mgatsch or Arkai they descend to the

/20 cont./

221 west coast of the island. Along the seacoast they move north-
484 ward up to the Amur-Liman, which they cross in the direction
[103] of Tschomi, and from there they proceed northward to the small river Tymy /Tym/ (4) in order to cross, along it, the low,

4. Not to be confused with the like-named river on Sakhalin.

heavily wooded Langgysk or Adara Mountains (5) and, at the

5. The former is the Gilyak name, the latter is the Olcha name for this mountain range.

small Chaselach River to descend into the Amur Valley. They stay there near the Olcha village of Pulu or Pulj and then after a time make the same migration back again. We shall later discuss in some detail the aims and purposes of these annual winter migrations of the Orok; it is sufficient to note here that they take the Orok through the territory of the alien Gilyak to the habitation sites of the people most closely related to them, the Olcha
174 on the Amur. They perhaps even now show us the route by which
167 in an earlier time, no more specifically determinable, the first immigration of the Orok to Sakhalin took place. Through this immigration the island obtained a branch of the large, truly continental Tungus tribe, very widespread on the mainland, which, ethnographically speaking, gave it a semi-insular character to some extent. It is also noteworthy that this single Tungusic people on Sakhalin /21/ inhabits and wanders through the very part of the island that to the greatest extent has continental features, because of its largest extent of breadth, the greatest river development, and certainly also its climatic conditions.
[131] Nevertheless, the Orok on Sakhalin have not gained an independent special homeland of their own; rather, as we saw, it rests in peculiar fashion against the border areas of the Gilyak and Ainu. We shall come back to this matter later and say a few

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words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

Gi Gi A 101

If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

Gi Gi A [113]

1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

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Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

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Gi /21 cont./
361 by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak,
101 which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded
[487] to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the population of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over
ooo the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

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1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

Gi
101 It is different
361 with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to the sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep and protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, have their permanent habitation sites in it.

/22 cont./

101 We earlier called the Orochi population along the seacoast
361 a sparse one, but it would be completely erroneous to regard, as was done quite recently, de Castries Bay, where we have known of the Orochi, and even under this name, since La Pérouse (2),

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2. La Pérouse, Voyage autour du monde, ed. by Millet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, pp. 62 ff.

as only a quite isolated, Orochi site advanced far to the north, but the coast farther on up to Kaiserhafen or Hadshi Bay as completely uninhabited (3). Rather, on repeated occasions well-versed

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3. In particular so runs the statement by Lieutenant-Colonel Bolschef, head of the expedition conducted in 1874 along this coast between Olga Bay and de Castries Bay for a topographic and astronomical survey.

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(See the review of the report read by him before the Imp. Russ. Geogr. Society in the St. Petersb. Zeitung, 1876, No. 100, and in the S. Peterb. Viedomosti, 1876, No. 104.) Furthermore, according to Bolcshef, the population in Kaiserhafen and to the south is supposedly made up of Orochi and Gilyak, but there cannot remotely be any question of the latter here. Tronson commits the same error when he throughout calls the natives in the Bay of Barracouta (Hadshi) Gilyak and has their habitation area extend from there to Ajan /Ayan/ and the northwestern tip of Sakhalin; indeed, he even gives a list of "Gilyak" words, which, of course, were taken, not from the Gilyak, but from the Orochi.

/22 cont./ 3. (cont.)
114 language. (Tronson, Person. Narrat. of a
101 Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia,
361 Tartary and var. parts of coast of China, in
113 H.M.S. Barracouta, London, 1859, pp.
268, 325, etc.)

101 Olcha have named for me a number of places that lie along the
361 coast concerned at short distances, journeys of two or three days, from one another, and many of which, Choĭ, for instance, were said to contain many Orochi tents. I have shown most of them on the map which accompanies the first volume of this work (4),

103 4. From my journal, the following two
175 place names should be added: Dshuanko,
113 between Data and Hadshi, and Kōpi, be-
361 tween Hadshi and Idi. The yurts of Kōpi,
by the way, are said to have been uninhabited
since 1864, since all the inhabitants died
in the smallpox epidemic, according to
Petrowitsch, cf. Budishchev", "Opis. liesov"
chasti Primorsk. oblasti /Description of the
Forests of Part of the Maritime Oblast/"
(Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geog. Obshch.,
Books IX and X, Irkutsk, 1867, p. 345).
Boschnjak /Boshniak/, too, who, in the
spring of 1853, was the first to examine the
coast between de Castries Bay and Kaiserhafen
more closely, learned of the following villages
on it inhabited by Orochi in part permanently,
in part only in summer: Dugu. Choĭ, Ssurkum
or Choismo, Aukan, Chojol, Byki, Data,
Dshuanko, and Ui. The Orochi are said to
move from several of them, such as Ssurkum,
Chojol, and Byki, to the Tumdshi River for
the winter. (Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Pri-
amursk. kraie /An Expedition in the Amur

2: Schrenck--44 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi, RX3
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/22 cont./ 4. (cont.)
Region/." - Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 37,
Unofficial Part, pp. 201-205.)

103 though some of them may perhaps be only popular overnight or
361 temporary tent sites. Statements of others are definite about these being places inhabited by the Orochi only during the summer for fishing, for example, the village of Du, the first to the south of de Castries and consisting of three yurts, whose inhabitants move to the Jaĭ River, which empties into Lake Kidsi.

101 So much for the northern border of the Orochi along the
361 seacoast. The southern border of their area, /23/ according to
563 Prshewalskij Przhevalski (1), is said to lie along the Ssuifun

[113] 1. Putesh. v" Ussurūsk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Journey in the Ussuri Krai, 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 103.

/Suifun/, which empties into the Guĕrin Gulf, or the so-called Amur Gulf as it is very inappropriately named by the Russians. The Orochi, however, are not the only inhabitants in this southern part of their area of distribution, but are joined, along the seacoast and along all the rivers that flow to the sea or to the Ussuri, by many Chinese living with or among them, who are known here by the name of Man-dse or Mansen. We shall deal with them in greater detail later; here we shall only note that, coming from the south, they are met in the area of distribution of the Orochi beyond the Olga and Vladimir bays and even up to
000 46° north latitude, but do not appear beyond this (2). If one

[113] 2. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri i zemel' k" vostoku ot" neia do moria /Survey of the Ussuri River and of the Lands West of It toward the sea/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.; Part 25, 1859, Sec. II

2: Schrenck--45 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
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[Research and Materials], pp. 226, 233).
Id., Putesh. po okrain. Russk. Azii i zap. o nikh" /Journey in the Outlying Districts of Russian Asia and Notes concerning Them/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 86.

563 If one
177 considers the great number of the Man-dse, as well as the circumstance that only men move from their Chinese homeland into this wilderness and that there they marry Orochi women or keep them as concubines, one easily understands the influence that the Man-dse living with the Orochi must have exerted in the course of time on the physical nature, as well as on the way of life, the customs, the character, and even the language, of the latter. As a rule, they are identified under a special name given to them by the Chinese, Ta-dse or Tasen (Russ. Tatszy and Tazy), without their connection with the Orochi always being recognized (3).

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3. It appears to have happened, for instance, in Beresin ("Ocherk" russk. portov" v" Tatarsk. prol. i Iaponsk. morie /Essay on the Russian Ports in the Tatar Gulf and the Sea of Japan/."—Morsk. Sborn., 1861, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 162), Plaxin ("Primorsk. Oblast' Vostochn. Sib. /Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia/."- Voenn. Sborn., 1869, No. 12, pp. 195, 196), Bolschef (op. cit.), and others.

131 From north to south, then, the Orochi and Ta-dse area extends over almost nine degrees of latitude. It occupies a long, but, in proportion to its length, narrow strip of land, for toward the interior from the seacoast it extends only slightly beyond the coastal mountains. While the eastern boundary is formed naturally by the sea, it is difficult to define the western boundary. Since

361 /23 cont./ since
131 the Orochi for the most part are nomadic hunters who only sec-
224 ondarily devote themselves to fishing along the sea and the rivers,
222 whereas their western neighbors, the Olcha and especially the
[433] more numerous and powerful Goldi, are almost exclusively fisher-
men, their mutual territorial borders may have depended on the greater or lesser productiveness of hunting and fishing along the rivers flowing from the coastal mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri. Insofar as easy and productive fishing could be done in them, the Goldi advanced on them, but where the fish were insignificant or catching them was difficult, but productive hunting grounds spread out, the land fell to the Orochi. The upper courses of the rivers, therefore, belong throughout to the latter; on the rivers with mountainous banks and a rapid current, as many of the Amur and almost all of the Ussuri tributaries from the mountains have, the Goldi occupy only the mouths, and along the major right /24/ tributaries of the Amur also a part of their lower courses. The Orochi coming down from the coastal mountains more or less approach the Amur and Ussuri, without ever reaching them, with the single exception of the sources of the latter river located in the mountains. Let us now consider somewhat more precisely the individual rivers with regard to their above-mentioned heterogeneous population.

131 The small but rapid rivers Pä and Jaĭ, which, united here,
361 empty into Lake Kidsi from the south, are, as I learned during a
133 visit to this region in 1856, inhabited by Orochi who move to the seacoast for the summer. They do not, however, reach Lake Kidsi, which is only a large, lateral, outward bend of the Amur River, and therefore the Amur itself, for the Olcha village of Pädane lies on the Pä River not far from its mouth. The rivers to the south, the Miäta, which empties into the Amur between the villages of Pulssa and Ssamachagdu, and the Chelasso or Sselasso, are unpopulated and only provide mountain trails over which in the winter Olcha traders from the Amur go to visit the Orochi along the Jaĭ and Tumdshi. The Orochi population on the much larger, rapid Chongar extends far downstream.

/24 cont./

131 According to the statements of the Goldi from the village of the
361 same name located where this river empties into the Amur, there
133 were only three Goldi villages left along it, the last of which, Hadshal, was a journey of three to four days in summer or one day in winter from the Amur (1). Farther upstream, where the

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1. The two other villages are Cherole with one yurt and Goarmo with two, like Hadshal, all three are located on the right bank of the Chongar.

Chongar becomes even more rapid, Orochi territory begins with the village of Ultur and along this river, up to where the Uldji empties into it, contains five more Orochi villages (2). The

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2. According to information from the Goldi, Ultur, which consists of three to four yurts on the right bank of the Chongar, is inhabited by the Orochi only in summer, while in winter its inhabitants move to the two nearest of the Chongar villages farther upstream. These are: Odome with one yurt and Ui-odome with two, both located on the left bank, Pir on the right bank with one yurt, Dshigdana, which likewise sends its inhabitants to Ultur in summer, and Uldji with one yurt, both on the left bank. From there on the Chongar is uninhabited.

Likewise rapid Naiche or Da River (3) and its tributary, Munamu,

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3. Always given on the maps under the name "Dondon" River. Among the Goldi, besides the above-mentioned names, I also heard the name "Ssera" for it.

/24 cont./

131 originating near the Chongar headwaters, are said, likewise ac-
133 cording to statements by the Goldi, to be populated in their
361 upper course, in the mountains, only by Orochi, but in their
131 lower course by Goldi (4). The Kij River, flowing into the
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4. The Goldi villages Jauka and Dulala were named for me here, while the Orochi villages Sserachssä and Bera are said to lie much farther upstream.

Ussuri, seems to be visited only temporarily by Orochi. On August 5/17, 1855, when I passed its mouth, I saw many Orochi boats coming down the river. Their occupants were from the Poor, and upon their return to it they temporarily pitched their tents along the Ussuri. It is said that along the Poor (5) the

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5. One also hears this river called "Foor" and "Choor," or "Chooro," designations also found in Maack /Maak/, Wenjukof /Veniukov/, and Prshewalskij. (Maak", Putesh. po dolinie r. Ussuri /Journey along the Valley of the Ussuri River/, St. Petersburg, 1861, pp. 44, 53. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri i zemel'k" vost. ot" neia do moria /Survey of the Ussuri River and of the Lands West of It toward the Sea/." - Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II, p. 194. Przheval'skii, Put. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Krai/, p. 43.)

Orochi are not met prior to about 60 versts from the /25/ junction of the small river Kcheten-daban with it (1). From there on,

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1. According to Korsun; see Budishchev",

131 /25 cont./ 1. (cont.)
361 "Opis. lies. chastei Primorsk. obl."
[113] (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX and X, Irkutsk, 1867, p. 366).

they live both along this river itself and along many of its tributaries, for example, the Korssona and others, in part as
[563] nomads, in part in permanent sites (2). Already along the upper

[113] 2. Korsun, op. cit. Veniukov", "Obozr. rieki Ussuri" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Georgr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II, pp. 194, 195).

tributaries of the Poor a few sedentary Chinese are also found among them, their number generally increasing more and more southward along the Ussuri and its tributaries. The Biki and
[133] the Ima, or Ema, with its large tributary, the Waku, lie entirely within Orochi territory, except for their lower courses; on the Waku, for example, going upstream, the first Orochi habitation, the yurt Peile, lies at a distance of about 65 versts from its juncture with the Ima, which, in turn, is very close to the Ussuri. In particular, however, the Orochi inhabit or roam through the
[563] region along the upper courses of the rivers named and their tributaries, along with many Chinese (3). Finally, along the

3. Korsun, op. cit., p. 376. Wenjukof (op. cit., p. 198) still maintained that there were only Orochi and no Chinese along the Biki. Later travelers, however, met some there. According to Korsun, for instance (op. cit., p. 364), the part of this river occupied most by the Orochi is supposed to be the one in which the Chinese village of Tschamu-dyndsa lies.

131 /25 cont./
361 Ussuri itself the border between the Orochi and the Goldi lies at the mouth of the Daubiche /Daubikhe/ (4): up to there, going

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4. From the mouth of the Daubiche upstream the name Ussuri ceases: the larger of the rivers, into which the Daubiche empties from the left, is now called the Ulache /Ulakhe/ and upstream from where the Fudsi or Lifudin empties into it -- Ssandogu.

upstream, the Goldi live along it, from there downstream Orochi, both, and especially the latter, mixed here with many Chinese. According to Wenjukof, the Goldi also extend upstream along the Daubiche for a stretch, but its sources again belong to the Orochi (5); according to Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/,

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5. Veniukov", "Obozr. rieki Ussuri," p. 233. Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chast. Primorsk. obl.," pp. 428, 429. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie, p. 93.

however, only the village of Ssjangssau at the mouth of the Daubiche belongs to the Goldi, while exclusively Chinese
131 live farther upstream (6). Thus, the western boundary of the

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6. Maak", Putesh. po dol. r. Ussuri, p. 56.

Orochi territory does not by any means coincide with the watershed between the tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri on the one hand and the northern part of the Sea of Japan on the other (7).

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7. Maximowicz thought that in the upper Ussuri area the coastal mountains or the watershed between the

131 /25 cont./ 7. (cont.)
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> Ussuri and the sea could also be regarded as the dividing line between the Goldi and the Orochi (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1861, Book III, Summary p. 5).

but rather runs west of it throughout. Its route clearly shows the alpine character of the entire area of distribution of the Orochi. This hunting people roams through the wooded coastal range, Ssichota-alin, in its entire length from north to south and spreads out on both sides of the slopes, rich in game, as far as there is favorable or uncontested land: in the east to the nearby sea, in the west to the vicinity of the Amur and Ussuri, which they do not reach, however, because mightier neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, block their way.

101 /26/ The Olcha border the Gilyak to the south along the
131 main artery of the Amur region, the Amur River, just as the
361 Orochi do along the coast. The Olcha or Mangun, as they are called by the Russians (1), are a purely Amur people who, leaving

> 1. An explanation of this name, as well as of all the other tribal names in the Amur region, will be given later.

aside de Castries Bay as the only point on the seacoast, have their habitation sites only along the Amur, between the Gilyak
101 in the north and the Goldi in the south. Although they are sharply and easily differentiated from their Amur neighbors on either side, from the former through their fundamentally different Tungusic language, from the latter through certain dialectal peculiarities, as well as many features in their external behavior and way of life to be mentioned later, nevertheless, despite these, they have not been delimited even approximately correctly by any of the many travelers who went up or down the Amur, and therefore through the whole of the Olcha territory lying on this

Gi /26 cont./
101 main artery. Sometimes we see their territory reduced to a minimum (2); sometimes, and even more frequently, they

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2. For instance, in Swerbejef /Sverbeev/, who does not have the Goldi end until Dshaï and has the Gilyak begin as soon as Kidsi. This would leave for the Olcha, then, little more than the village of Gauwne on the Amur. This error, that the natives of Kidsi and the surrounding area are Gilyak, is repeated almost throughout by the Russian authors, for example, by D. Romanof ("Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de- Kastri u riek. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 134-138); by J. Mewes ("Tri goda v" Sib. i Amursk. stranie /Three Years in Siberia and the Amur Country/."- Otechestv. Zap., Vol. CXLVIII, p. 284), who called Kidsi the principal village of the Gilyak; by Dr. Plaxin ("Primorsk. obl. Vostochn. Sib." - Voenn. Sborn., 1869, No. 12, p. 194), who has the Gilyak begin at Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (Dshaï) and extend, not only along the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, but also beyond the Amgunj /Amgun/ and a part of the Tatar Strait, etc. In the latter, by the way, the Amur peoples are so confused that Mangun and Manegir appear as synonymous designations. The American, Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes, London, 1872, pp. 77, 86-89), regards the dwellers on Kidsi Lake as Gilyak. Even Boschnjak, who quite

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correctly remarked that a sharp dividing line between the Gilyak and the Mangun lies at the village of Uchtr, in that the former only live below it, but going upstream, the latter begin with the village named ("Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie."- Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 125), cannot refrain from speaking of the "Kidsi-Gilyak" in another place (M.Sb., 1859, No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 209).

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disappear completely by being simply thrown in with the Gilyak (3). Aside from the few above-mentioned Olcha

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3. Pargatschevskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. put. vverkh" po r. Amuru, ot" Nikolaevsk. posta do Ust'-Strielochn. karaula, sovershenn. v" 1856-57 gg. /A Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur, from the Nikolayevsk Post to the Ust'-Strelochny Guardpost in 1856-57/."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch, Part 21, 1857, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 161, 165), for instance, does not know of the Olcha at all, but has the Gilyak extend from the mouth of the Amur to Adi, and from there down the Goldi begin. Likewise Dr. Sperk ("Geografo-patologicheskie ocherki Vost. Sib. /Geographical-Pathological Sketches from Eastern Siberia/."- Mediko-topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 68), who even grants to the Gilyak the whole

/26 cont./ 3. (cont.)

101 113 114 lower Amur from the mouth of the Ussuri. And Th. Busse ("Ocherk" uslovii zemlediel. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Conditions of Farming in the Amur Krai/."- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. K. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec. 1869) skips the Olcha entirely.

13 36 Aside from the few above-mentioned Olcha villages (4) pushed into Gilyak territory, the places Tentscha on

[103] 4. Tschylwi, Tyr, and Kaberazbach, see above, p. 28.

the right bank of the river and Uchtr on the left bank, located only a short distance from the last Gilyak habitation sites on the Amur, Chjare and Tlals, form the northern border of Olcha territory (5). /27/ The large village of Adi on the right bank of

[114] [113] [101] 5. Permikin ("Putev. zhurn. plav. po r Amuru ot" Ust'-Strielochn. karaula do vpad. eia v" Tatarsk. prol. /Travel Journal of a Trip along the Amur River from the Ust'-Strelochny Guardpost to Its Mouth at the Tatar Strait/."- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book II, St. Petersburg, 1857, p. 64) erroneously thought that the Gilyak begin at Pulj northward and therefore also inhabit the villages of Tentscha and Uchtr (Ochto). Moreover, he regarded the inhabitants of Tyr as Gilyak (op. cit., p. 67), whereas they are Olcha.

the Amur and the small village of Kulgu on the left bank form the southern border against the Goldi (1). Kidsi, known to us

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1. Just like the northern boundary of the Olcha area, the southern boundary of it, too, toward the Goldi, is given erroneously everywhere. Thus, in the report by Tschichatschof, one of the first travelers to set foot in Olcha territory, it is said that, going downstream, it does not begin until Chywwunda (see the posthumous work by Newelskoi, Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vostokie Rossii, 1849-55 g., p. 163). Other, even more erroneous statements have already been mentioned above (p. 32, note 2).

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since the travels of the Japanese Mania Rinsô /Rinsô Mamiya/, therefore lies almost exactly in the center of the whole Olcha area, and the wide outward bend by means of which the Amur River comes within a few versts of the sea, the so-called Lake Kidsi, opens up for the Olcha a natural route from their central point to the seacoast at de Castries Bay. Thus, the whole area of distribution of the Olcha includes only one and a half degrees of latitude along the Amur River. Apart from trading trips, the Olcha do not spread along the tributaries of the Amur beyond the mouths. Moreover, there are no Amur tributaries of any considerable size in their area. The Olcha area is thus one of the smallest tribal areas in the Amur region. Moreover, one often finds in it individual, isolated families from neighboring peoples. This is less the case on the part of the Gilyak (2), but all

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2. The Gilyak permanently residing in the Olcha village of Aure have already been mentioned above, p. 28.

the more so on the part of the Goldi, who are related to the

/27 cont./

101 Olcha. For example, at the time of my travels in the Amur
563 region one of the two houses that made up the village of Dyra, or Dere, belonged to a Goldi, as did the yurt Chywwunda located at the mouth of the Chelasso River; a few Goldi likewise lived in the village of Ssamahagdu lying a little above the latter; indeed, in February, 1855, I myself, from the Mariinski Post, visited a Goldi settlement being established not far from it on
167 Lake Kidsi. What induces the Goldi to migrate into Olcha terri-
648 tory is not, say, a lack of space within their own borders, but rather the pressure from the Manchu that they suffer there. Since the actual rule of the latter along the Amur River reaches as far as the Goldi territory extends, an immigration of the Olcha into this territory of their neighbors, on the other hand, does not take place, and nowhere there does one find isolated Olcha families, much less whole settlements, such as we have discovered in the Gilyak area.

131 While the Olcha area is small, that of their southern neigh-
361 bors, the Goldi, is, on the other hand, extensive. It embraces
[101] not only the Amur River from the Olcha border to the Sungari, but also extends more or less far along the right tributaries of the Amur, especially along the Ussuri and Sungari, and, finally, at several points it also goes beyond the left bank of the Amur. The northernmost Goldi villages along the Amur, from which, going upstream, /28/ the purely Goldi area begins, are Tschiutscha on the right bank and Kōurmi on the left, both only a short distance from the above-mentioned last Olcha villages. The mouth of the Sungari forms the southern border of the Goldi
[221] along the Amur River. Above this the Amur, or the Sachali, as
[648] the Manchu call it from there on, is only occasionally visited in the summer by Sungari Goldi for hunting and fishing (1); on

1. For example, I met Sungari Goldi, who allegedly came from the village of Lachzo on the Amur above the Sungari mouth in a

/28 cont./ 1. (cont.)
131 place named for me as Kudjurko, in
36 summer tents, an illustration of which
[221] will be given below.

[648] the other hand, access to the Sachali River is prohibited to the Amur Goldi, as well as to all the other peoples of the lower Amur, and a military post in Dshangdshu at the mouth of the Sungari has to supervise, among other things, the strict observance of this prohibition. Along the Amur, then, the Goldi alone occupy a stretch more than twice as long as the whole Olcha area (2). But, as has been said, they are not limited

[114] 2. Most of the Russian travelers regarded only a part of this area as Goldi territory and, to be sure not always the same part, so that their statements sometimes do not agree any any point. For example, Dr. Sperk (op. cit., p. 68) has the Goldi living from the mouth of the Sungari to the mouth of the Ussuri; Dr. Plaxin (op. cit., p. 193), on the other hand, from the mouth of the Ussuri to the mouth of the Gorin. It is not surprising, therefore, that to them the Goldi population seems extremely small ("kraine nichtozhnoe naselenie /extremely insignificant population/," Sperk, loc. cit.). Others, on the other hand, claim even a large part of the Olcha area for the Goldi, for example, Sswerbejef (see above, p. 52, note 2).

merely to this river, but also go beyond its two banks. To be
[101] sure, the two largest tributaries that empty into the Amur on
[133] the left side within the Goldi area, the Gorin and the Kur, are occupied by the Goldi only directly at their mouths, whereas

131 /28 cont./
36 their middle and upper courses belong to other Tungusic peoples,
[101] the Samagir and Kile; but about halfway between these two rivers
[133] extends Lake Bolang /Bolon/ (Goldi, "Nor-chywwo") (3) --

[103] 3. "Chywwo" means "lake."

perhaps also only a wide lateral extension of the Amur River, like Lake Kidsi, the Ssargu Lakes, and others -- into which many small rivers empty, and the largest of these, the Ssedsemi, has a relatively dense Goldi population (4). In relation to the Amur this

[115] [103] 4. A Goldi from the village of Maji, who had formerly lived on the Ssedsemi, named for me no fewer than nine villages, albeit small ones, located along this river. According to my journal they are the following, going downstream: Dshuang, Ssāfareūne, Chyralzu, Pudjimoda, Bogdamu, Chutu, Ssomomu, Ebare, and Dshafia.

would therefore be the westernmost point reached by the Goldi.

131 We have already become familiar with their eastern boundary, facing the Orochi, along the Chongar, the Naiche River, and along the Ussuri. Along the latter we saw that the Goldi extend to the mouth of the Daubiche and perhaps also up this river for a stretch, but not to its sources, which are occupied by the Orochi. The southeast boundary of the Goldi runs from the [563] Daubiche to the Lefu, an intake of Lake Kengka /Khanka/ (or Chanka on the Russian maps), and to this lake itself (5).

[113] 5. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri u pr." (Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II, p. 205); id., Putesh. po okr. Russk. Azii, 1868, p. 37. Anosov", "Ozero Khankai i ego klimatich.

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5. (cont.) osobenn. /Lake Khanka and Its Climatic Peculiarities/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1864, Book II, Sec. Res. and Mat., p. 116). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kr." (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, pp. 116, 117). According to the information that I collected from the Goldi of the lower Ussuri, only a few of their many countrymen live scattered in five villages on Kengka Lake. Wenjukof /Veniukov/ (loc. cit.) gives the Goldi population on Kengka Lake as only five families. Anossof (loc. cit.) mentions one Goldi village at the point where the Lefu empties into Lake Kengka. At any rate, there is no doubt about the permanent sojourn of the Goldi on this lake, whereas Ussolzef ("Zakhankaisk. krai /Trans-Khanka Krai/."- Morsk. Sborn., 1864, No. 6, Unofficial Part, p. 188) was of the opinion that they come to it only as visitors and are received by the Chinese.

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where, however, as along the entire upper Ussuri, they are mixed with many Chinese (Man-dse). The course of the western boundary of the Goldi population in the Ussuri area cannot yet be defined exactly since the country around the left tributaries of the Ussuri is little known as yet. In any case the Goldi seem to extend only slightly beyond the mouths of these tributaries and then leave the place to scattered Chinese. On the Ssungatschi /Sungacha/, the single outlet of Kengka Lake into the Ussuri, there is only one Goldi hut, Chyichyl, at about half the length of its course (1). We still know nothing

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1. Maak", Putesh. po dolinie r. Ussuri,

13] /29 cont./ 1. (cont.)
[113] St. Petersburg, 1861, Vol. I, p. 63.

concerning the Muren in this connection. The Goldi population
[487] seems to extend farthest to the west along the Noor, because here a route leads to Ssan-ssin /Sansing/ on the Sungari (2).

2. Maack /Maak/, op. cit., p. 66.

[487] Be that as it may, the Ussuri always provides a main artery for the Goldi population in the Amur region, and the Goldi since time immemorial have perhaps nowhere felt so much at home as here. In the course of our observations we shall become acquainted with historical facts that support this view and reveal the Ussuri region as the true homeland of the Goldi.

131 The Goldi population does not extend as far on the Sungari
361 as on the Ussuri. In fact, on the former they occupy only a relatively small part of its lowermost course (3). With about 13 or

[113] 3. According to Maximowicz ("Nachricht. vom Sungari-Fluss /Report from the Sungari River/," Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IV, p. 234; Mél. biolog. tirés du Bull., Vol. IV, p. 59), the Goldi area extends about 240 versts along the Sungari.

14 (4) villages, in part very large, but usually hidden in the

4. Maximowicz (loc. cit.) gives the number of Goldi villages on the Sungari, not counting Dshangdshu at its mouth, as 13, but he enumerates 14 with names.

willow bushes, it advances along the right bank of the Sungari

131 /29 cont./
361 exclusively (5), until it reaches its boundary at the village of

5. According to information which I received from the Amur Goldi, all the Goldi villages along the Sungari were said to lie on the right bank. This information was confirmed by Maximowicz and Barabasch, the latter having traveled far on the Sungari (see his "Sungariisk. Eksped. 1872 g. /Sungari Expedition of 1872/." – Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 328); indeed, according to the former (loc. cit.), the Goldi are not even permitted to live on the left bank of the Sungari.

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101 Indamo (6). From there on only Manchu and Chinese villages

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6. Maximowicz, Bull., op. cit., pp. 235, 241; Mél. biolog., Vol. IV, pp. 59, 67. Barabasch (loc. cit.) has the Goldi extending to the village of Dsan-mu-sso, but from another statement by him (op. cit., p. 326) it appears that this is not the last Goldi village, but rather the first Chinese one. Moreover, this name does not sound like Goldi, but rather like the first Manchu village, "Dljamssa" in the Chinese pronunciation, which, according to Maximowicz, lies one to two versts above Indamo.

101 follow, and at not too great a distance, where the Churcha empties into the Sungari, the first Manchu-Chinese town,

/29 cont./

101 Ssan-ssin, or Ilan-hala as the Manchu call it, or Itsche-choton as the Goldi and, following them, all the other peoples of the lower Amur region call it. Here then the Goldi are immediately bounded by their closest tribal kin and present rulers, the Manchu (7), and the Chinese, who, in the territory of the latter,

[175] [648] 7. Since the occupation of the Amur region by the Russians, this is, of course, only in part the case.

are almost more /30/ numerous and at any rate more important [131] culturally. This circumstance, as well as the location of the Goldi territory along the three largest rivers of the Amur region, the Amur, the Sungari, and the Ussuri, and, no less, its great extent, give the Goldi a prominent position in the ethnographic picture of the Amur region and an essential importance for the character of the whole such as no other people of this region can claim.

If we leave the main artery of the Amur region and go westward beyond it, we encounter three other Tungusic peoples who have their seats along the three largest rivers that empty into the lower Amur on the left side, the Amgunj /Amgun/, the Gorin, and the Kur. The northernmost of them, who border the Gilyak in the northeast, are the Negda, or Nigidalz and Neidalz, as they are called by the Russians (1). Their area of distribution is

[113] 1. Middendorff (Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /Travels in the Extreme North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, pp. 1523 ff.) writes "Nigidal." In Newelskoi's /Nevel'skoi/ reports concerning his and his comrades' activities in the lower Amur region in the years 1849 to 1855 (Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii.

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1. (cont.)
Posmertn. zap. Admir. Nevel'skago, St. Petersburg, 1878) they are called "Neidalz" throughout. In the following section we shall return to this name and some other variations of it.

131 Their area of distribution is
361 defined almost entirely by the river system of the Amgunj, since beyond this there are only a few detached advanced outposts. One of these outposts has already been mentioned: the settlements of the Negda on lakes Orel and Tschlja /Chlya/ and the branch of the river connecting them (2). Since the habitation

2. See above, p. 27.

sites of these people are permanent and not separated from the Amgunj system by intermediate areas with a different population, we must designate them as the extreme northeastern boundary of the Negda area. The situation is somewhat different with regard to the extreme northwestern point at which the Negda are found. Middendorff and, later, Boschnjak met several families of these people who had their permanent dwelling sites at Burukan
[439] on the Tugur (3). Since this is a place where people of different

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3. Middendorff, Reise in den Norden und Osten Sibiriens, Vol. IV, p. 182. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie."-Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 333.

nationalities, Reindeer Tungus, Yakut merchants, sometimes perhaps even Gilyak, meet to trade, we must regard the few Negda there as foreigners. As we saw above (4), separate in-

4. See above, p. 26.

dividuals of this tribe sometimes even go to the Tugur and Ulban bays on the Sea of Okhotsk in order to catch seal. But if one crosses the narrow watershed which separates the Tugur from the

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131 Nemilen, a tributary of the Amgunj /Amgun/, one enters a
36 whole area that is unquestionably Negda. It was this crossing
[487] from Ukakyt, used by the natives on either side as a towpath for their canoes because of its narrow width, that Middendorff, too, traveled, in order to become acquainted with the /31/ Negda people in the Amgunj River area. As a matter of fact,
[484] he met them along the upper Nemilen in permanent habitation sites which represented an advanced outpost of them, since it is said that the lower course of the Nemilen to the Amgunj and the latter in turn for a two-days' journey below the emptying of the Amal /Omal/ into it are uninhabited, so the Negda from the Nemilen have to make a boat journey of six days through uninhabited territory to reach their nearest countrymen along the Amgun (1). It was certainly those very trade relations with

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1523.

the Reindeer Tungus and Yakut on the Tugur that induced the Negda to push their dwelling sites up to the upper Nemilen, despite the still vast space along the Amgunj, the main artery of their territory. The continuity of the sparse Negda population, however, is not interrupted by any other people, and so the northwestern boundary of their territory coincides with the watershed which separates the river system of the Amgunj from that of the Tugur. The southern boundary is of a similar nature, as it is formed by the watershed between the Amgunj and the Gorin. In spite of those deserted places along the lower Nemilen and along the Amgunj below the latter, the Negda sites proceed along the upper Amgunj, above the point where the Nemilen empties, and along the Oldshekan, the outlet of Tschuktschagir /Chukehagirskoya/ Lake to the Amgunj (2). If one crosses the

[103] 2. Schmidt ("Histor. Ber., etc., "op. cit., p. 151) names along the upper Amgunj the Negda villages Huidshan and

/31 cont./ 2. (cont.)

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Nilän, the latter at the mouth of the river of the same name, and on the Oldshekan, the Negda village of Baniku.

watershed southward, however, one enters the area of the Samagir
[61] on Lake Eworon and along the Gorin (3). Nevertheless, of the

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3. Schmidt., loc. cit. Lake Eworon is the one that is entered under the name Samager Lake on the map in the first volume of my travel account, following the reports by Boschnjak and Tschichatschof, who had traveled through this area.

nine kin groups /Geschlechtern/ in which the Negda are divided, according to Middendorff's information, it is said that one, the Muktagern, live among the Samagir (4). To the east,

4. According to Middendorff, the other eight are: Ajumkan, Altschakul, Toromkon, Tschuktschager, Njässekagr, Uddan, Tschemakogr, and Tapkal; the latter are said to live along the Amur, whereas the Toromkon live farthest up the Amgunj. See his Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1523.

finally, the Negda territory extends along the Amgunj to the point where it empties into the Amur. In passing by I have seen many Negda yurts on the low islands overgrown with willows that hide the mouth of the Amgunj. Here, as on Orel and
[101] Tschlja lakes, the Negda border the Gilyak, whose nearest villages lie on the left bank of the Amur, but far from the mouth of the Amgunj (5). Almost exactly opposite the latter,

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5. When Newelskoi in his above-mentioned

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5. (cont.) posthumous work(Podvigi russ. morsk. ofits., etc., pp. 130,132, 140, 163, 170, and elsewhere), partly on the basis of reports by officers sent out by him, partly on the basis of information from the natives, also speaks of Negda who live with the Olcha (Mangun) along the Gorin, along the Amur below Chywwunda, in Kidsi, in de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay, etc., these false statements result from the circumstance that at that time among all the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region the Negda were the first known, and the other peoples neighboring them and differing from them only dialectally could not yet be distinguished.

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however, are found the Olcha villages pushed into the area of the Gilyak, which were mentioned above, and it is therefore an obvious assumption that in choosing these settlement sites in a foreign territory the Olcha were influenced by the proximity of a /32/ related people, the Negda, and the prospect of easy and profitable trade relations. On the whole, then, the Negda territory lies in close contact with the area around the Stanovoi Mountains and the nearest river areas of the Sea of Okhotsk, but, with its main artery, it remains turned toward the Amur, and, accordingly, in ethnographic respects, in spite of many a contact by its people with Russian Reindeer-Tungus, Yakut traders, etc., it bears in general only the character of a dependency of the Amur region.

The latter is the case to an even greater extent with regard to the second of the Tungusic peoples living along the left tributaries of the Amur River, the Samagir, or Samager, as we

131 /32 cont./
361 have also called them (1). Just as the Negda area is defined by

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1. See the first volume of this work. According to the orthography used here, we should spell this name, in order to render the hard s in it, "Ssamagir," which, however, for the sake of brevity, will not be done; accordingly, it is noted here once and for all.

the Amgunj, that of the Samagir is defined by the river system of the Gorin. Outside of the latter, one meets them only more or less isolated and as foreigners. At the time of my travels, for instance, the occupant of a yurt in the Olcha village of Pulj on the Amur was a Samagir. It may perhaps be somewhat different in the Lake Udyl region. Since this lake drains into the Amur in Olcha territory one would expect members of this tribe to dwell on it. In part this may be correct. But the Samagir were also expressly named for me as dwellers on it, and since the point where the lake drains into the Amur lies opposite the village of Pulj, the presence of that Samagir in the village named may indicate the existence of Samagir sites
[437] on nearby Lake Udyl. On the other hand, the Gilyak of the village of Patt told me about trading trips that they make to Lake Udyl in order to trade with the dwellers on it, whom they called
ooo Rdhy, for various furs which they have in abundance (2). By

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2. The Gilyak also gave me the names of the Rdhy villages on Lake Udyl: Koltschom, Kiltschirn, and Tentscha, all three of good size, the latter one consisting of four yurts. The latter name is the same as the one for an Olcha village lying on the right bank of the Amur diagonally across from the outlet of Lake Udyl.

/32 cont./ By
101 the name "Rdhy" and "Rdhyngu," however, the Gilyak refer to the Negda, as I learned from other statements, In any case the two peoples are closely related and perhaps are not always distinguished by the Gilyak; it is also possible, however, that both
131 are found on Lake Udyl (3). For the Samagir, moreover, their

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3. Lieut. Boschnjak was at Lake Udyl in the summer of 1852 and speaks of the natives there in his travel reports on it, without, however, designating their nationality. He, too, found three villages there, and he gives their names just as I have given them above on the basis of information received from the Gilyak: Ssoljangsa, Ssiltschuru, and Tentscha. Cf. Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 124).

131 northeast boundary would lie at this lake, if they live there, and in this case one cannot fail to recognize the curious analogy /33/ with regard to the boundary of their area of distribution and that of the Negda, namely, that both peoples would have moved their sites from their own particular river system to one or several lakes more easterly or northeasterly, but in any case draining into the Amur. From this, however, a further advantage would accrue
[437] to the Samagir, in that there they had a route over which they
[487] could dispose of their yield from hunting to the northern, free
[648] Amur peoples, the Olcha and the Gilyak, while avoiding the Manchu and Chinese oppressing them. Therefore, perhaps the
[166] same motive that led the Goldi to emigrate into the Olcha territory drove the Samagir to Lake Udyl (1).

[114]
[361]

1. Lieut. Boschnjak ("Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie."--Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 331) has the

Goldi RX3
Samagir

/33 cont./

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1. (cont.)
Samagir also living along the lower course of the Amgunj to the village of Kewritin, and only from there upward the Negda; this statement seems to me to be based upon a confusion of the two tribes, or to have been made because of temporary residence on the Amgunj by Samagir.

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Be that as it may the river system of the Gorin is the true Samagir area. We have already learned its northern boundary toward the Negda area, which coincides with the watershed between the Gorin and the Amgunj. Toward the west too, in the direction of the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, as toward the south to the river system of the Kur, it seems to find its natural limits in the watersheds. But we still lack definite information on this subject. What I could learn during my visit to the Samagir in the winter of 1855 was that the densest population was on the upper Gorin itself, but on a right, and therefore probably coming from the west or southwest, tributary of it, the Chui. No less than ten Samagir villages, containing from one to six yurts, were named on it for me (2). Finally the eastern

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2. They are the following: Kukuleki, Chuïnda, Jamektanka, Zonginka, each with two yurts, Kondonka with six, Sserochjanka and Zorgunka with five yurts each, Churadjaka with two, Cheroke with one, and Kadakado with two yurts.

boundary of the Samagir area toward the Amur is interesting. I investigated it during the above-mentioned winter trip (3).

[113]

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la classe physico-mathém. de

/33 cont./

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[113]

3. (cont.)
l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 189; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. II, pp. 452, 453.

The place where the Gorin empties into the Amur is occupied by Goldi, and their village of Bitschu is located there. There are no other Goldi villages farther along the Gorin. And yet the first Samagir village on the Gorin, Ngagha, is no less than about 120 to 130 versts from Bitschu (4). Between the two

[114]

4. I traveled this stretch in a dog sled in 2 1/4 days on the outward journey, and on the return trip, under more favorable conditions, in two days.

peoples, then, there remains a broad area of uninhabited land, a wooded territory rich in game, which serves both as a hunting ground. On repeated occasions I came across winter hunting [342] tents (the so-called alko) there, first of the Goldi, who themselves had come here from far distant villages on the Amur (5),

[103]

5. For instance, from Onmoi, Chongar, and even from Zollazi, which lies about 150 versts above Bitschu on the Amur.

and then, about halfway, the quite similar hunting tents of the Samagir, and, finally, the isolated summer dwellings of the Samagir from Ngagha, and, a few hours later, the winter village of that name lay before me. What might have caused such a sharp separation of the habitation areas of such closely related peoples? Have the Negda on the Amgunj pushed their dwelling sites to the Amur, where they directly, only across the river, border on a people alien to them, /34/ the Gilyak? The

/34 cont./ The
131 distinction between the two cases, however, lies in the fact that
361 free peoples inhabit the one area, whereas in the other, in the
648 Goldi area, the Manchu rule, whose power, to be sure, has broken a path even to the Gorin. It may therefore have been the fear of coming too close to their oppressors that kept the Samagir from spreading to the Amur.

10 The Kile along the Kur are the third and last people of the
[13] major left tributaries of the lower Amur River. The information on no other Amur people is as sparse as on them. Even the name "Kile" is unsatisfactory, since this is only a general Tungusic designation distorted by the Chinese, whose etymology we shall
114 discuss later. No traveler has as yet visited the Kile on the Kur;
133 indeed, the region where this large river reaches the Amur has not always been given correctly. Maack, for instance, has it emptying into the Amur at Poddale, that is, below the Chongar (1),

[113] 1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazh. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g., St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 197.

whereas its mouth is about 1 1/2 degrees of latitude south of there and only slightly north of the Ussuri. This lies, however, on the low left bank of the Amur, in a remote branch of this mighty and ramified river, hidden by many islands overgrown with willows, so that travelers, as a rule going along the high right bank, cannot possibly see it. I overlooked it, too, although on my return trip from the Ussuri to Nikolayevsk in the summer of 1855 I stayed near the left bank of the Amur, with which I was still unfamiliar. No traveler, however, can overlook the Wanda Mountains, which in this part of the Amur bounds the horizon to the west and northwest
124 and in which the Kur originates. The fact that I nevertheless ob-
10 tained on this trip some information, albeit scanty, about the existence of the Kile people on the Kur, I owe to the contributions

Goldi RX3
Kile
Southeast Siberia RX1

Gi /34 cont./
124 from the Goldi in the Amur villages close to the mouth of the
101 Kur. According to their statements, the Kile, differing from
Gi them only slightly in language (2), live along the Kur and its
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[101]

2. The designations for animals among the Kile, collected by me and presented in Volume I of this work, should provide a small sample of this dialectal difference.

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[126]
[197]

tributaries. Their area extends down the Kur to its mouth, where their village of Ssäwan-Gauwne, or Ssiwan-Gauwne, lies between the Goldi villages of Imminda to the south and Kozja to the north. I was unable to ascertain how far upstream it extends, but a Kile
Gi village, Ssäfandu, was said to lie above the Urmi River, which
[224] empties into the Kur (3). Moreover, the fact that the Kile are

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3. Between the two Kile villages mentioned, the following are also said to be on the Kur: Chyja-manga (i.e., "strong current"), Iwu, Adi, Kusinaho.

said to be good hunters and rich in furs allows one to conclude with some certainty that they do not merely limit themselves to the lower course of the Kur in the lowlands, but also roam through its upper course and its tributaries up to the game-rich Wanda Mountains as their special hunting ground, although they do not occupy it permanently. And thus the Kile area, too, probably has its natural boundary along the river system of the Kur.

SS /25/ So far, the peoples of the lower Amur region. We
131 have accepted the mouth of the Sungari as the boundary for the
648 lower Amur. As a matter of fact, from an ethnographic standpoint, the Sungari plays a very important role for the entire lower Amur region: going out from the Sungari is the Manchu-Chinese influence which has broken a path into the most distant

SS /35 cont./
131 parts of the lower Amur region; the peoples of the lower Amur
648 are strictly prohibited by the Manchu-Chinese from penetrating the Amur region beyond the Sungari; all commerce, traffic, tributary payments, etc. are therefore tied up with the Sungari
SS and not with the central and upper Amur, the so-called "Sachali"
13 among the Manchu (1). Beyond the Sungari, therefore, we enter
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1. See my travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 245; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, pp. 349, 350.

a different ethnic province of the Amur region, the peoples of which, to be sure, are for the most part related to those of the lower Amur region, but are nevertheless alien. Moreover, along the main artery these two ethnographic provinces of the Amur region are separated from each other by vast uninhabited areas; these are the low grassy prairies along the Amur immediately above the mouth of the Sungari, in which one only now and then comes across the conical tents of the Sungari Goldi who have come here for fishing, and the steep rocky slopes of the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains cut by the torrents of the Amur. Only at the western foot of this range are the banks of the Amur populated again. Let us stop at it, in order to learn in greater detail the spatial distribution of the peoples in the central and upper Amur regions, starting from there.

T
13 The Birar are the first people whom we meet on the Amur
114 above the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains. Isolated Birar tents may
361 even be found toward the western slope of this mountain range. I did not find any, but, according to Radde, who spent a winter in the Bureja Mountains, they usually make the lower Ditschun River, which empties into the Amur from the left, the boundary for their hunting expeditions, and occasionally, though seldom,

/35 cont./

[3] [14] [36] [113] they extend them to below the Golin Brook (2). Since for the

2. G. Radde, "Bericht über Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibir., im Auftrage der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. ausgeführt in den Jahren 1855 bis 1859 /Report on Journeys in the South of Eastern Siberia, commissioned by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, undertaken in the years 1855-1859/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reich[illegible]d. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXIII, St. Petersburg, 1861, p. 526, and the small map accompanying p. 512).

most part this is a people living by hunting, and therefore nomadic we at the same time discover here their eastern boundary. Only slightly to the west, along the U River, the eastern border of the Birar area also cuts through the right bank of the Amur. It is said that some Birar families live permanently on this river, and trading Daur come to them from the Sungari over the mountains (3). More numerous, though still

[3] [36]

3. Radde, op. cit., p. 519.

scanty, is the Birar population in the prairie immediately above the Bureja Mountains. Under the influence of their adjacent western neighbors, the Daur, Manchu, and Chinese, they assume a sedentary character there. Larger and smaller Birar villages, provided with vegetable gardens and surrounded by fields, lie there, sometimes on the left bank of the Amur and sometimes on the right one, to beyond the mouth of the Bureja. The last of these villages that I encountered traveling upstream was Kadagan on the right bank of the Amur, /36/ after which there were several isolated houses of Chinese carrying on a trade, and then the Daur village of Chormoldin. In Kadagan, therefore, we

[177]

2: Shrenck--75 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Birar

/36 cont./

131 already have the western boundary of the Birar area on the Amur,
361 which, to be sure, embraces both banks of this river, but only on the relatively short stretch from somewhat above the mouth of the Bureja to within the Bureja Mountains. And this is only a small part of the whole Birar area which principally extends along the major rivers that empty into the Amur from the left along this stretch, along the Aar and especially along the Bureja, the Njuman-bira (1) of the natives, and their tributaries.

[192] 1. "Bira" or "bera" means "river" in the language of the Birar, the Goldi, and other Tungusic peoples.

Within the river system of the Bureja the Birar extend far to the north, and, indeed, they even go beyond it to the west and live, or at least formerly lived, on the upper Ssilimdshi /Selendzha/ and its tributaries. Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, the leader
131 of the first Russian expedition on the Amur, reported upon his return
175 from there (1646) that numerous Birar-Tungus lived along the upper
[648] Ssilimdshi (Ssilimba) (2). Later (1681) the Ssyn bojarskij, Ignatij

[113] 2. Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., sobr. i izdann. arkheogr. kommis. /Supplement to the Historical Documents Collected and Published by the Archaeographic Commission/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, p. 53.

Milowanof, mentions them even farther downstream along the Ssilimdshi, by reporting that at the point where the latter empties into the Dseja /Zeya/ Daur people collected
500 tribute from them for the Chinese crown (3). At the time of

[113] 3. "Otpiska stol'niku Voevodie F. D. Voeikovu ot" poslann. v" 1681 g. dlia obozrieniia Amura syn" Boiarskago Ign.

/36 cont./

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3. (cont.) Milovanova /Report to the Secretary General, F. D. Voeikov, from the Boyar's son, Ignatius Milovanov, Sent in 1681 for an Inspection of the Amur/," reported by Spasskij: "Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stol. /Information by Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. on Res. and Mat., pp. 40, 41).

131 At the Time of
36 Middendorff's journey, the "Byral-" or "Bural-Tungus," as he
[484] calls the Birar, lived in permanent habitation sites along the Byssa, a tributary of the Ssilimdshi along the Elge, a tributary of the Byssa, etc., in fact, he speaks of Byral-Tungus who in summer went far up the Ur, a right tributary of the Dseja /Zeya/,
101 in boats and thus approached the Stanovoi Mountains (4). It

4. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 167, 1505.

would be wrong, however, to assume that the northern boundary of the Birar area ran along the places mentioned. Some of these statements are evidently based upon a confusion of the Birar with other Tungusic tribes, especially with their nearest neighbors, the Manegir. Middendorff himself declares that one of these Bural, if he understood him correctly, claimed to belong to the tribe of the "Manigirj," and another, on the Bureja, identified himself as "Guragr" (5). Moreover, he adds to Milowanof's statement

5. Op. cit., p. 1505. I shall later show that the designation "Guragr" very probably refers to the Kile from the Kur.

concerning the "Birjär-Tungus" of the upper Ssilimdshi: "more

2: Schrenck--77 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus R45
Birar

/36 cont./

101 correctly perhaps Guragr; belong to the Manegirj tribe" (6). I

[113] 6. Op. cit., p. 167. Ussolzef calls the Birar on the Bureja "Manägern" throughout; see Shvarts", Podrobn. otch. o rezul't. izslied. Matemat. Otd. Sibirsk. Eksp. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. /A Detailed Account of the Results of the Research of the Mathematical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society/, St. Petersburg, 1864, I, p. 51.

cannot share this opinion simply because it involves a further confusion of the so-called Guragr with the Manegir. On the contrary, it seems to me very likely that the Birar live along [131] the upper Ssilimdshi which flows so close to the right tributaries of the Bureja. Similarly they may live along the Elge and the Byssa, which, on the one hand, are not far from several /37/ Bureja tributaries and, on the other hand, are to a certain extent on the route from the Bureja and its tributaries to the village of Inkanj (1) in the Dseja system, a village temporarily visited for

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 189.

trading purposes by all the mountain nomads there. Concerning the dwellers along the Ur, however, they are certainly not Birar, but Manegir -- a closely related Tungusic tribe which will be discussed forthwith.

131 Be that as it may, it is probably impossible to delimit
36 precisely the areas of the Birar, the Manegir, and their northern
628 neighbors, the Russian Reindeer-Tungus from the Stanovoi Mountains. As hunters, they all lead a roaming, nomadic life: they go wherever a rich yield from hunting can be expected, disregarding all political boundaries, and, if their expectations

/37 cont./

131 are justified they make a longer and more permanent stay at a
361 place, and, in doing so, they may have betaken themselves far
628 from their tribesmen and into a territory that others regard as their own on the basis of priority. From this come the various clashes and the friction between them, which, as Middendorff mentions (2),

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1505.

do not always stop at threats, but lead to action, firearms are captured, riding animals and draft animals are shot, etc. The boundary between Russia and China, the Stanovoi Range, established by treaty, is in no way decisive for bounding the areas of the Birar and Manegir on the one side, still Chinese not long ago, and the Russian Reindeer-Tungus, on the other side. The former, to be sure, are not allowed to cross the southern slopes of this range, but the latter all the less remain confined to its northern slopes, but rather push forward over the range, along the Bureja /Bureya/ and along the Dseja /Zeya/, deep into the supposedly Chinese area. From his own experience Middendorff mentions
131 many cases of this kind. Along the Kebeli, for instance, a
361 tributary of the Niman emptying into the Bureja, he found four sedentary families of the Russian Tungus (3); similarly, a Russian

3. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166.

Tungus lived at the mouth of the first-named river (4); others had

4. Op. cit., p. 189.

moved down the Tyrmi /Tyrma/ almost to the Bureja (5).

5. Op. cit., p. 166, note 1.

Schmidt even met a Russian (Christian) Tungus family 40 versts below where the Tyrmi empties into the Bureja; it was registered in the Udskoi ostrog but it had its hunting area, which it had

T 131 361 /37 cont./

been visiting for a long time, here on the Malmalty River (6).

6. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., p. 167.

T [233] In fact, according to information collected by Ussolzef among the Birar (for him, "Manägern"), the Russian Tungus -- whom, moreover, he calls "Orotschonen" /Orochon/ throughout -- wander as nomads along the Bureja with their reindeer to the village of Schewaki, about a fourteen-days' trip from the mouth of this river. They cannot go farther downstream with their reindeer, because they can find no fodder there for their animals, but still some of them come down to the mouth of the Bureja in bark canoes (7). In the train of the Tungus, or inviting them

T 439 563 Y 439 443 [113]

7. Shvarts", Podrobn. otch. o rezul't izslied. Matemat. Otd. Sibirsk. Eksp. Geogr. Obshch., Ch. I, p. 51.

along /38/ enterprising Yakut traders also travel over the Stanovoi Mountains and sometimes settle down for a longer period of time in the Chinese territory along the Bureja /Bureya/ or Dseja /Zeya/ and their tributaries. Middendorff estimated that in his time there were about 25 traders from Yakutsk on the move, sometimes on this side, sometimes on that side of the Dseja and Bureja Range (1).

1. Op. cit., p. 168.

One Yakut lived permanently at the above-mentioned gathering place of the Birar, Manegir, and Russian Tungus on the Inkanj; others came from time to time with various wares and necessities from Yakutsk as well as from the Udskoi ostrog. Some of them likewise settled side by side and with the Tungus along the Kebeli and Niman; indeed, at the former place a Yakut had already been in residence for six years. Middendorff's Yakut guide (Wantscha) had himself visited the Jorach, a tributary of the Bureja, 18 years earlier. Another Yakut (Trofim), with

Y 484

2: Schrenck--80 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Yakut RV2

Y 484 T 439 Y 114 167 113

/38 cont./

whom he traveled for a time, had even swum down the Bureja 26 years earlier to 60 versts above its mouth, where he came upon a Chinese guard (2). Just as the Yakut follow the Russian

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166, note 1. On the other hand, the report of the escape of 6,000 Yakut over the Russian border into the Amur region, first made known and elaborated by Billings, and later repeated by many others (Sauer, Capt. Jos. Billings' Geogr.-astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Gegend. Russlands zur Unters. der Münd. des Kowima-Flusses /Capt. Jos. Billings' Geographical-Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Regions of Russia to Investigate the Mouth of the Kowima River/, etc., transl. from the English, Berlin, 1802, pp. 367, 368), originated, according to Middendorff, simply because of confusion (Sauer had heard this story in the house of the ispravnik, Hornofskij, from the assessors, Ewers and Kyschkin), and such a mass crossing of the Yakut into Chinese territory never took place (see his Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 169). I must agree completely, for such a number of immigrants from such a vigorous, tough, and enterprising people as the Yakut would have attracted attention in the Amur region in any case, whereas in reality aside from the isolated traders, there were no traces of any Yakut there.

T 439

Tungus, so, on the other hand, do the Daur follow the Chinese Birar and Manegir. With the same interest in trade as the former,

2: Schrenck--81 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS

/38 cont./

439 they go from the Amur up along the Bureja /Bureya/, the Dseja /Zeya/, and their tributaries. Indeed, in former times they are said to have frequently gone up the Ssilimdshi [177] /Selemdzha/ to the Inkanj (3). Thus, as a result of the over-

3. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 166, note 1; p. 1536.

lapping of the territories of these Tungusic tribes, there are encounters even among these peoples living far apart. On occasion we shall come back to these mutual trade voyages and trade relations, but here they must be noted in passing in order to make the indefinite character of the boundaries between peoples in this part of the Amur region stand out to its full extent. [133] The Stanovoi Range, a divide between the extensive river systems of the Amur and the Lena, is certainly no divide between peoples, and therefore, despite all treaties, it has been only an untenable boundary, even politically.

131 Another factor, to which Middendorff has justly drawn
231 attention (4), is perhaps more decisive for the distribution of the

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1504, 1505.

peoples under discussion, at least by and large. Although for both, the Russian Tungus from the Stanovoi Mountains as well as the Chinese Birar and Manegir along the Bureja /Bureya/ and Dseja /Zeya/, hunting is to the same extent an indispensable condition for existence, in that it supplies them with food and the means for the satisfaction of all other needs of life, and hunting requires the one as well as the other to roam /39/ and wander in the mountains, nevertheless there is a difference between the two in that the Russian Tungus from the Stanovoi Mountains use the reindeer for riding and burden-carrying in connection with it, while the Chinese Birar and Manegir use the horse: the former are Reindeer Tungus, the latter Horse Tungus. Therefore, more

/39 cont./

131 favorable conditions for wandering or settling are offered to the
231 former by the high mountain forests with their thick carpet of moss, to the latter by the grassy prairies, the sunny mountain spurs, and the wider valleys. Where the former or latter character decidedly prevails, the land automatically falls as it were, to that people whose needs it satisfies. Only on subalpine terrain where both kinds of natural conditions meet and penetrate each other, can more frequent meetings of the peoples in question take place and a perpetual struggle for the possession of the territory in question be waged. If it should happen, for instance, that because of the clumsiness of the Reindeer Tungus vast stretches of coniferous forest burn down, or that prairie fires, purposely set by the Horse Tungus in order to promote a more luxuriant growth of the grass, spread to the mossy pine forests lying higher, the Reindeer Tungus will be pushed higher into the mountains or forced out of the region altogether, while, on the contrary, the Horse Tungus will gain more space. Thus, the boundary between prairie and mountain is therefore by and large also the natural boundary between the Reindeer Tungus and the the Horse Tungus.

131 And, as Middendorff (1) has shown, this boundary coincides

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 171-173.

quite precisely with the line given by the Chinese border markers. In spite of the fact that the Stanovoi Range was established as the border between the Russian and Chinese states by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, the border markers, which were erected by the Chinese government and are annually inspected by their officials, are not found along the crest of this range, but rather much farther to the south, pretty much at the foot of its southern slope and its numerous spurs extending down into the prairie. The westernmost of the Chinese border markers found in this region by Middendorff stood where the Gilui /Gilyuy/ flows into the Dseja. He himself did not visit the next one to the east, but a Tungus, who had seen it often, identified its location as the place where the Mewan

2: Schrenck--83 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus R45

/39 cont./

131 Brook empties into the Nara /Nora/, a right tributary of the Ssilimdshi. It was said that there was likewise a border marker on the Ssilimdshi itself, where the Killer River empties into it, but Middendorff could not learn anything about this locality. On the other hand, he himself again verified the next one to the east, which was in the Bureja system, where the Nimakan empties into the Niman. We have no information concerning the Chinese border markers farther to the east, except that the last one, farthest to the east, is, according to the Tungus, located on the watershed between the Tugur and the Nemilen, on the above-mentioned towpath from Ukakyt, and therefore on the boundary between the /40/ Russian Tungus and the Negda. We do not know where this line of boundary markers cuts through the Bureja Range. If one connects the boundary marker on the Niman with the one of Ukakyt by a straight line, the entire upper course of the Bureja and also pretty much its entire river system remain to the south of it. In any case, in this part it runs northeast, whereas it had a southeasterly direction from the westernmost Dseja /Zeya/ tributaries to the Bureja system. And thus all the peoples along the left tributaries of the lower Amur River, the Kile of the Kur, the Samagir, and the Negda, are to the south of this line, on the Chinese side. Let us not forget, however, that even though this line of boundary markers in part of its course pretty much coincides with the boundary between prairie and mountains, which can be of importance for the distribution of the various tribes, it is nevertheless not an ethnographic boundary, but only a political one. It only designates the outermost points to which Chinese rule in the Amur region actually extends, or, in other words, at which the tribute owed to China is actually collected by the Chinese officials from the natives. Beyond it, to be sure, and up to the Stanovoi Range, lay Chinese territory by virtue of the treaty, but the Chinese government was perhaps unable or unwilling to include this remote and thinly populated mountainous territory in the sphere of the tribute lands regularly visited by their officials. This does not by any means prove, however, that

/40 cont./

131 those peoples who inhabit the Bureja and Dseja up to this political line, Birar and Manegir, do not also migrate still farther to the north. Indeed, even if this had not been the case originally and if the Chinese government had erected the markers exactly along the area boundaries of the peoples named, this line would certainly not have been observed by them, for the promising hunting in the more northerly mountain valleys and the possibility of evading the payment of tribute by crossing the border would have driven them ever northward.

From all that has been said we come to the conclusion that wherever prairie predominates along the Bureja and Dseja, and this is approximately up to the line of the Chinese border markers, undoubtedly quite purely Birar and Manegir territory extends, but from there, while the same peoples still advance, to be sure, they are no longer alone, but share their territory with Russian Reindeer-Tungus, who in particular occupy the higher mountains and the mossy mountain forests as their natural hunting and roaming grounds. The spread of the Birar in the Bureja River system is so great in comparison with the minor part that they have on the Amur River that one may regard that as their principal and proper territory. As we shall see later, it was from there that they moved to the Amur. Along the upper or, more correctly, the middle Amur they have a position which parallels, as it were, that of the inhabitants of the large left tributaries of the lower Amur River, the Kile, Samagir, and Negda.

/41/ Along with the Birar we have also frequently mentioned their immediate neighbors, the Manegir, in the above. We shall now proceed to a special discussion of their area of distribution.

[101] The Manegir, or Monjager, as they are also called (1), are

1. Cf. Vol. I. of this work.

immediate neighbors of the Birar only in the northern part of their area of distribution, along the Dseja /Zeya/ River and its left tributaries. Along the Amur River, on the other hand,

/41 cont./

131 directly above the Birar territory, Daur, Manchu, and Chinese villages, and even a town, Aigun, lie in confusion -- in a word, first comes that part of the Amur River which we designated above as a stretch of Manchu-Chinese civilization. We shall pass over it now and return to it later. Close to and opposite the mouth of the Dseja, on the right bank of the Amur, lies the last Manchu village, which is also the post of a Manchu-Chinese guard. At the same time the open prairie comes to an end, and from here on mountains line the broad valley of the Amur River, here and there approaching it more closely. The Manegir territory begins at the mouth of the Dseja River: the civilized part along the river has come to an end; one is again in the wilderness and is only occasionally, and always rarely, reminded of the presence of human beings by an airy Manegir tent or the lonely hut of a Chinese or Daur raftsman (2). Unlike the Birar, the Manegir have remained

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2. Gerstfeld ("O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura /Concerning the Population of the Amur Coast/."-Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XX, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 293) has the Manegir extend downstream only as far as the mouth of the Komar, but this is in contradiction to a later statement in the same article (op. cit., p. 313) according to which there are also Manegir between the Komar and the Dseja. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", pp. 69, 97) believes that they are met either rarely or not at all below the mouth of the Komar. I have seen Manegir tents very soon above the Dseja mouth, on the very same day on which I had departed from the Dseja Post (the present Blagoveshchensk). Prshewalskij's /Przhevalski/ report sounds similar (see his Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, p. 11). Other writers, however, extend

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2. (cont.)
the Manegir territory too far down the Amur. Th. Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie." – Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. K. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 116), for instance, has them living from Albasin to along the small Chingan (Bureja Mountains).

13| Unlike the Birar, the Manegir have remained
433 faithful to their nomadic way of life, even along the Amur River, where, in spite of the most favorable soil conditions, they have not at all turned to agriculture and livestock-raising. For the
[221] most part they stay along the Amur to fish and therefore are almost always found there only in spring and summer, whereas in the fall and winter they go to hunt in the mountain valleys to the
13| north and south of the Amur. In 1856, from the end of August to
[114] the beginning of October (new calendar), when I went up the Amur through the Manegir territory, I often came across deserted dwellings and camp sites of the Manegir, with bare tent frames, grazed grass all about, etc., but only rarely did I meet the occu-
[101] pants themselves. Since the immediate western neighbors of the Manegir on the Amur, the Orochon, lead a similar nomadic and hunting life, it is extremely difficult to determine the boundary
[114] between the areas of distribution of these two peoples. Iakinf's statement that the Manegir occupy the right bank and the Orochon the left bank of the Amur from Ustj-Strelka downward is wholly false (3). /42/ Rather, both have territory on the right and on the

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3. Iakinf", Statist. Opisanie Kitaiskoi Imperii /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1842, Vol. II, p. 1, Notes. The statement concerned actually says that in Transbaikal'a the Tungus of the right bank of the Amur from Ustj-Strelka down are called "Mangiren," but those of the left bank "Orotschonen." In the same work somewhat later (p. 217),

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3. (cont.)
it is said that the Amur is uninhabited up to Jaxa (Albasin), but in the mountains there are Tungus under various tribal names given to them by the Russians: "Minegren" and "Orotschonen."

131 left bank of the Amur, though the Manegir territory lies below that of the Orochon. The former, however, does not extend equally far to the west on both banks, but, quite contrary to Iakinf's statement, breaks off earlier on the right bank than on the left. Hence [114] the repeatedly expressed view that the boundary between the Orochon and the Manegir on the Amur lies near the former Albasin (Jaxa of the Manchu-Chinese) (1) is only in part correct.

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1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part XX, p. 293). Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, p. 11. F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie" (Zap. dlia chten. izd. K. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 115).

On the right bank of the Amur the purely Manegir territory actually ends below the Albasicha, the Emur of the Tungus, and the area of the Orochon begins at the mouth of this river. But while the [221] latter do not come farther downstream to hunt, the Manegir go beyond this border line in spring and early summer to fish, leaving their horses along the Niwer or below the Albasicha, come as far as the rivers Monastyrskaja and Ignaschina, even to the small and the large Ssestra (2). This may be regarded as merely roaming

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2. Orlov", "Amurskie Oroncheny" (Viestn. Imp. Russkago Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI,

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/42 cont./

2. (cont.)
1857. Sec. II, pp. 193, 194, 196).

in foreign territory, but the situation is different on the left bank of the Amur, where the Manegir extend permanently to the west far beyond Albasin. I came across their last tents there even above the Kotomanga River and the Russian post of the same name erected on it at the time, in the vicinity of the Oldoi mouth. The statements by Maack and Orlof concerning their western boundary corresponds to this also. The former has the Maneghir extend upstream to the Newir River, but also remarks that they are found at times even farther up, for instance, along the Kotomanga (3); at

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 69, 315.

one time the latter draws the boundary between the Manegir and the Orochon territories along the Niwer upstream (4) and from its

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4. On the map by Schwarz (Karta riechn. oblast. Amura, iuzhoi chasti Leny i Eniseia i ostr. Sakhalina /Map of the Linguistic Areas of the Amur, of the Southern Part of the Lena and the Yenisei, and of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1861): Liwer.

source along the mountain to the left source of the Oldoi, and another time along the Oldoi itself (5). According to what has

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5. Op. cit., pp. 193, 194, 197.

been said, it is only natural that here, as in other places, the hunting areas of the two peoples overlap, and only the circumstance that the Manegir exclusively use the horse for burden-carrying and riding, but the Orochon usually the reindeer, save them from more frequent clashes.

/42 cont./

131 them from more frequent clashes. On the whole, the part that the Manegir have on the Amur River -- from the Dseja /Zeya/ to the Oldoi -- is a very large one. And yet, one can travel for days without seeing even one of their tents, so small is their number along this river.

The situation is different along the two largest tributaries that the Amur receives on this stretch from the left and from the [361] right -- the Dseja and the Komar. The principal Manegir sites are located there. We have already indicated in general their spread along the Dseja and its tributaries and their boundaries there /43/ in relation to the Birar and the Russian Reindeer-Tungus. Wherever open grassy prairie extends along the Dseja /Zeya/, Ssilimdshi /Selemdzha/, Nara, Ur, etc., it is clearly undisputed territory of these horse nomads. The above-mentioned line of Chinese border markers along these rivers also approximately designates the northern boundary of this area. Ussolzef, who has traveled through a large part of the Manegir area, gives the central and lower course of the Ssilimdshi, as well as the area between it, the Dseja, the Depp, and a large right tributary of the Ssilimdshi, which to be sure, he does not name, but which supposedly can be reached by a ride of two and a half days from the mouth of the latter and undoubtedly is the Nara, as the area in which the relatively densest Manegir population is to be found (1).

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1. Usol'tsev", "Putesh. k" vershin. r. Giliuia i na r. Zeiu, lietom" 1856 g. /Journey to the Upper Courses of the Gilui River and on the Zeya River in the Summer of 1856/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXII, 1858, Sec. II, p. 156).

131 They do not confine themselves to this area, however, but move,
221 in small numbers and always more or less temporarily as their hunt-
484 ing life demands, up the above-mentioned rivers and their

/43 cont./

131 tributaries to the vicinity of the Stanovoi Mountains. While hunt-
221 ing sable and squirrel, they come, for instance, to the upper
484 Ssilimdshi and its tributaries (2), where they meet Russian Reindeer-
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2. Ussolzef, op. cit., pp. 155, 156.

131 Tungus. They must likewise come into contact with the latter
[101] along the upper Dseja and its right tributaries (3). Strangely

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3. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 104, 105) speaks of Manegir and Orochon in the middle and upper course of the Dseja. In the latter we can only see Reindeer Tungus. But more about this later.

enough, however, Ussolzef did not once come across any Manegir along the Gilui, but first met them below the latter along the Dseja from where the Moktscha River empties into the latter (4).

4. Op. cit., p. 153.

[484] From a report by Middendorff we have already learned that they
[501] also go far up the Ur in boats (5). Along this river, which for its

5. See above, p. 76.

whole length runs approximately parallel to the Amur and becomes separated from it only by the Dseja Range, they are also found again in the vicinity of the left tributaries of the Amur, up to the Oldoi, which is their boundary toward the Orochon.

/43 cont./

131 Although the Manegir area along the Dseja and its tributaries
161 covers the greatest area, nevertheless, according to statements by
361 their countrymen from the Amur, the greatest density of their population is not in the prairies along the Dseja, but on a right tributary of the Amur River, the Kómar or Kúmar (the Komará
[221] or Kumará of the Russians) (6). The permanent winter sites of

6. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 69.

many Manegir who, during spring and summer, temporarily come to the Amur to fish are also located there. But the Manegir do not occupy the whole Komar River: only its lower course and perhaps a part of the middle course belong to them; the remaining part of the latter and the whole upper course of the river is inhabited
131 by the Daur (7). The /44/ principal reason for the density of the
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7. Maack, op. cit., p. 98.

Manegir population on the Komar certainly lies in their immediate proximity to these industrious trading people, who bring to the Manegir and the Birar, even in the most remote parts of their areas of distribution, many of the food and luxury items that have be-
131 come necessities for them. Moreover, of course, the farther upstream
177 the Manegir are and the closer to the Daur, the more they succumb to the influence of the latter in language and customs (1). We

1. Maack, op. cit., p. 98.

are not told, however, whether this influence goes so far that the Manegir there give up their nomadic life and, like the Daur, occupy themselves with agriculture and livestock-raising, as we saw among the Birar on the Amur.

131 If one now surveys the entire Manegir area, there can be no mistake but that the part of it on the Amur, large as it is, plays only a subordinate role with regard to space and population density and in one or both respects is far behind the parts on the Komar

Tungus RU5
Manegir
Orochon

/44 cont./

131 and the Dseja. It is the latter with its extensive river network that, as far as space is concerned, forms the principal area of the Manegir. Just as we above designated the Birar, despite their [101] portion of the main river, like many peoples of the lower Amur region, separately as occupants of a left tributary of the Amur, the Bureja /Bureya/, so could one understand the Manegir in their present distribution primarily, even if in no way exclusively, as Dseja people. I say in their present distribution, but not considering its historical course, for this shows, as we shall see below, that they did not reach the Dseja until later.

The Orochon are the uppermost people along the course of the Amur and at the same time the most northwesterly in the Amur region. Their territory lies along the upper Amur and its right and left tributaries, but in the west also extends beyond the Amur region proper toward Dauria, and even beyond the Stanovoi Mountains into the river system of the Lena. We have already become acquainted with the eastern boundary along the Amur, opposite the Manegir: to the north of this river it is formed by the Oldoi, to the south by the Albasicha. To the north, insofar as the Orochon belong to the Amur region, the Stanovoi Range, from the sources of the Oldoi to those of the Amasare /Amazar/, forms the boundary of their area, and westward, Ustj-Strelka or the confluence of the Argunj /Argun/ and the Schilka /Shilka/, from which 101 the Amur proper begins. But actual ethnographic boundaries are in no way given by these localities, since the same population goes beyond them to the west and to the north. According to Orlof, the indigenous Tungusic people to the east of Bargusin /Barguzin/, along the upper Angara, Kitschera, and up to the Witim /Vitim/ (incl.) are simply called Tungus, but those east of the Witim, along the Olekma, the Tungir, the Njukcha /Nyukcha/, the Schilka, and the upper Amur to the Oldoi are called Orochon (2). We are not told, however, that the part of

2. Orlov", "Amursk. Oroncheny," op. cit., p. 193.

/44 cont./

101 the latter who roam along the above-mentioned Lena tributaries beyond the Stanovoi Range have any essential differences from the Amur Orochon in language and customs, /45/ and it does not seem at all probable to me. Assigned to inclement alpine regions [224] by their element of life, hunting, and their only domestic animal, [231] aside from the dog, the reindeer, which serves them for burden-carrying and riding, these people found the Stanovoi Mountains not only no hindrance, but, on the contrary, the most advantageous conditions for further expansion. The Orochon are precisely [131] Reindeer Tungus, like their frequently mentioned, more easterly tribesmen in the Stanovoi Mountains and along the Sea of Okhotsk, and just as the latter reached the Bureja, the Ssilimdshi, the Dseja, etc., so have the former, proceeding southward, reached and occupied the Amur River itself, whose upper course is near to the Stanovoi Mountains and which has an alpine character (1).

[113] 1. The various and noted similarities of the Orochon with the more easterly Reindeer Tungus in the Stanovoi Mountains explain the several reports that "Orotschonen" likewise roam along the Dseja (Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 104, 105) or even in the Bureja Mountains (Gamov", "Iz" putevykh" zamietok" astronoma opredieliavsh. miestn. rr. Amura i Ussuri /From the Travel Notes of an Astronomer Who Determined the Location of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers/."— Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1862 Book I, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 121).

We shall come back later to this Orochon expansion, which in part has taken place in quite recent times, in connection with the discussion of the historical reports concerning the Amur peoples.

2: Schrenck--94 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Orochon

/45 cont./

131 Once they had reached the Amur, the Orochon found a suitable path for southward expansion in the great Chingan Range which approaches the upper course of this river from the south. [224] On the forested slopes of these mountains and in the valleys along [223] the upper courses of the rivers flowing down to the Argunj to the west and to the Nonni to the east, they roam as hunters on small, courageous horses, often accompanied by several Daur exploiting them. Kropotkin, for example, met them along the Ganj, a tributary of the Argunj, along the Nomin which flows into the [231] Nonni, and so forth (2). And when Lange tells us that in the dark

[113] 2. P. Kropotkin", "Poiezdka iz" Zabaikal'ia na Amur" chrez" Man'chzhuriiu /Journey from Transbaikalia to the Amur through Manchuria/" (Russk. Viestn., Vol. LVII, 1865, June, pp. 665, 669).

and impenetrable forests of the Chingan Mountains between the Chailar and other tributaries of the Argunj on the one hand, and the Jalo and other tributaries of the Nonni, on the other, there are "Tungus" who have no beast of burden other than the reindeer (3),

[113] 3. "Tagebuch einer im Jahre 1736 unter Anführ. des Kanzleir. Lange von Zuruchaitu durch die Mongolei nach Peking verricht. Karawanenreise /Journal of a Caravan Journey from Zuruchaitu through Mongolia to Peking in the Year 1736 under the Leadership of Chancellor Lange/," in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, 1781, p. 170.

we cannot help but recognize in them the same Orochon. Their area of distribution reaches to here toward the south. Along the eastern slope of the Chingan Range they border the Daur, who,

/45 cont./

13 besides trade, engage in agriculture and livestock-raising. And
184 there the Orochon, like the Birar on the Amur, have in part
124 adopted a sedentary way of life based on agriculture. Thus,
361 Kropotkin, after leaving behind the first Daur village in the valley of the Gujuil (also Hujur), which flows to the Ganj and therefore to the Nonni, passed several villages of sedentary Orochon farther downstream (4). With this, however, they have also lost their

4. Op. cit., p. 670.

natural soil; this is their extreme southeastern boundary, for along the Ganj Kropotkin found only agricultural Chinese and, farther toward Mergen, Manchu (5).

5. Op. cit., p. 671.

If one surveys the total area of distribution of the Orochon, many an analogy with that of the Manegir can be seen: like the latter, it stretches /46/ along both sides of the Amur River, though the part along the river itself remains far behind those parts that extend along its tributaries, and especially the left ones, in area and importance. In other words, for the Orochon and Manegir -- and likewise for the Birar -- the Amur, although it likewise cuts through their areas, is not by far as important an artery of the region as it is for the peoples of the lower Amur region who live on it. And it is easy to understand the reason for this: whereas these latter peoples live principally from fishing, the former find their most productive source of livelihood in hunting, which naturally takes them to the more remote mountains. But small though the share of the Orochon on the Amur River may be, all the larger is their spread to the north and south of it. We find them, on the one hand, along the tributaries of the Nonni, and hence of the Sungari, but, on the other hand, beyond the Amur region, along the southern right tributaries of the Lena. Because of this distribution they provide, so to speak, an ethnographic connecting link
648 between the Amur region and adjacent eastern Siberia. More-
over, in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, which allotted all the

/46 cont./

131 land east of the Argunj and Schilka, where the latter receives the
648 Gorbiza, to the Chinese government, they have in fact remained under Russian rule along the Amur and its left tributaries and have thus given the spread of Russian influence many a forward thrust toward the Amur region.

000 This ends the series of the Amur peoples proper, that is, those peoples who have their habitation sites along the Amur River, from the mouth to the confluence of its sources, the Schilka and the Argunj, and along its many tributaries, with the exception, however, of one tributary, and, to be sure, the mightiest of all, which is even regarded as the main stream by the Manchu and Chinese -- the Sungari. We have considered above only its lowermost course as a part of the Goldi territory. At the same time the great significance that it has ethnographically for the whole lower-Amur region has been pointed out, in that whatever the peoples throughout the latter had in the way of civilization was brought to them by way of the Sungari and not by way of the Sachali or upper Amur. The few cultural elements along the upper Amur also came by way of the Sungari, though they did not travel down this whole river, but mainly up its left tributary, the Nonni, and from there to that part of the Amur River which we have previously referred to as the Manchu-Chinese cultural section of it. The Sungari peoples, therefore, in comparison with the Amur peoples proper, occupy a higher position, so to speak, the position of a civilized people. This applies first and above all to the Chinese, who actually are not a Sungari people, but at the present time are almost more at home in Manchuria than any other people, and further, to a lesser degree, to the Manchu and Daur, and last and most remotely to the Solon. We shall see later at the appropriate place what cultural elements they brought to the Amur peoples. It is sufficient that they stand in such a relationship with the Amur peoples, and that they have /47/ frequently gained firm footing, not only along the Sungari, but also along the Amur itself, to make it necessary for us to learn about their habitation sites in more detail. Only here one cannot expect a detailed delimitation of them, since we

/47 cont./

do not have detailed and trustworthy information for a precise determination of the boundaries between peoples in this part of Manchuria, which has remained under Chinese domination and therefore access to it is difficult and negligible, and this lack is felt all the more since as the peoples named have been thrown among one another in confusion as a result of historical events and the political procedures of the Chinese government, as well as the growing immigration from China.

The reports on the habitation sites of the Solon are most vague and inadequate (1). We are not referring here to the many

1. Let it be noted once and for all that the s in this name is hard and that the name should be spelled "Ssolon," according to the fashion accepted here, but, only for the sake of brevity, this is not being done.

members of this people who, as officials or as soldiers of the Eight-Banner /Manchu/ army, are in the direct service of the Chinese government; they may, of course, appear wherever there is Chinese bureaucracy or troops, in the towns along the Amur and the Sungari as well as in Peking, in Mongolia, or along the Ili. The discussion here can only be about those Solon who are not in service and freely practice their livelihood, be it agriculture, livestock-raising, hunting, or trade, and who have to pay only an annual tribute to the government and therefore, according to Palladij, are "Butcha-Solon" or belong in the category of the "Butchani" (tribute paying) (2). All the reports agree that

2. Archimandr. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot "Pekina do Blagovieshchenska, chrez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the Way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr.

2: Schrenck--98 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Sol8n

/47 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 428, 433).

131 All the reports agree that
114 the Solon have their habitation sites along the Nonni, but where and how far their area extends along it can scarcely be determined from them, especially since they frequently contradict one another. The statements of the old French missionaries are only very general (3). On the maps of d'Anville (4) and, following him, also

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3. One of them says that the third province or the third gouvernement of Chinese Tartary, with Tsitsikar /Tsitsihar/ as its capital, had the Nonni flowing through it and was inhabited by Manchu, Solon, and Daur (Taguri) (Du Halde, Descript. géogr., histor., chronol. polit. et phys. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 15). Very many of the Solon-tatse people are said to live in Niergui, a large village not far from Tsitsikar and from Mergen, and therefore probably on the Nonni (Du Halde, op. cit., p. 17). Elsewhere (op. cit., p. 36) Du Halde, basing his information on excerpts from Gerbillon, says even more generally that the "Solon province" extends from where the Argunj empties into the Amur and along the latter to about Ninguta (on the Churcha, a tributary of the Sungari).

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4. Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, No. 1, 18, 23.

2: Schrenck--99 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Solon

131 /47 cont./
114 of Grosier (5), the Solon occupy the right bank of the Nonni and

[113] 5. Descript. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Vol. I.

the Daur the left bank. Fischer says more vaguely that the river Naun or Nonni forms the boundary between the two (6). In Iakinf's

[113] 6. Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte /Siberian History/, St. Petersburg, 1768, Vol. I, p. 465, note 16.

statistical description of the Chinese Empire it is said in one place that of the two mountain ranges that follow the course of the Nonni, the eastern one runs through the territory of the Solon, the western one through that of the Daur (7); in two other places in the same

[113] 7. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper., St. Petersburg, Vol. II, p. 3.

work, however, /48/ the Solon are given as the inhabitants of the right bank of the Nonni, the Daur as those of the left bank (1).

1. Op. cit., pp. 6 and 29, note *.

According to more recent information, however, none of these statements is correct, and the Solon live along both banks of the Nonni, and upstream from somewhat above the town of Tsitsikar (the former Naun-choton), where their adjacent southern neighbors, the Daur, stop (2).

2. Palladij, op. cit., p. 434.

Thus the southern border of the Solon area can be roughly determined. We remain in complete uncertainty, however,

/48 cont./

131 concerning its northern boundary. The archimandrite Palladij,
114 to whom we owe the information concerning the habitation sites of the Solon, left the Nonni River at Mergen in order to go across the Ilchuri-alin Mountains to the Amur, toward Aigun /Aihun/
[184] and Blagoveshchensk. Along this part of the Nonni the Solon
[224] are sedentary farmers, besides which, however, part of these
[241] people are said to lead the nomadic life of hunters. The latter would probably be found in the mountains along the upper Nonni and its tributaries. But how does their boundary run with regard to the Manegir of the Komar tributaries, the Daur of the upper course of the Komar, and the Orochon of the Chingan Mountains?
101 And how do these peoples behave toward one another? As long as
114 we do not know this, much confusion may readily be expected in the statements of casual travelers concerning peoples with a similar way of life, and just as the agricultural Solon may have been taken for Daur, or, conversely, the latter for the former, so could the nomadic Solon, living from hunting, be taken here and there for Manegir or Orochon--where the latter, especially in the Chingan Mountains, do not use reindeer, but horses--or, conversely, the latter for the former. This is all the more possible since some of the information is based only upon statements by the natives. I shall point out only a few of the possibilities of this kind. Among
[439] the Goldi, going upstream along the Amur from Sselgako, when I saw the first horses, I was told that they, like the horses along the Ussuri, came from the Solon, whom I would meet along the upper Amur. This, to be sure, did not happen, but I came to know the Manegir there as horsetraders who often brought their wares far downstream. Therefore there was either confusion here between the Manegir and the Solon, or ignorance about the habitation sites of the latter. Could it not be that perhaps a part of the above-mentioned Orochon, who, as hunters on horseback, are said to roam far down to the south in the Chingan Mountains, are Solon? How great the possibility of confusing the latter with the Daur is can be seen, for example, from reports like the following. Lange reported that along the Tynyken, or Tynysken, Brook, a tributary of the Chailar, he had met, along with Mongols, also Solon, who

2: Schrenck--101 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Solon

/48 cont./

101 114 had come from the Naun area, and added, to explain what was meant by "Solon," "Daur Tungus" (3), which, however, strictly

[113] 3. "Tagebuch einer im Jahre 1736 von Zuruchaitu durch die Mongolei nach Peking verrichteten Karawanenreise" (Pallas' Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, 1781, p. 164.

speaking, would be only a paraphrase for "Daur," since the latter likewise belong to the Tungusic tribe. From this and other reports we learn that the Solon /49/ can be found not only along the Nonni, where they are densely settled, but also in other parts of the Amur and Sungari regions. And again I do not mean as officials or soldiers in the service of the Chinese, but as people earning a livelihood and, in particular, engaged in trade. Trade in horses, which they are said to engage in down the Amur and toward the Ussuri, has already been discussed above. Every winter the Birar in the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains are said to be visited by not only Daur, but also Solon, the latter, to be sure, chiefly as officials, the former as traders (1). The Russian Tungus told Middendorff

101 439 [13] 648

[113] 1. Radde, in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIII, 1858, Sec. I, p. 31, Notes.

that whenever the administration in Yakutsk did not furnish them with gunpowder for any length of time, they would obtain it at a cheap price from the "Solorn." He interprets this statement as a reference either to a trading station on a little river emptying into the Amur above Albasin, or to Cossacks who come there from Transbaikalia, and, accordingly, believes that it is Transbaikalia gunpowder (2).

[113] 2. Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Norden u. Osten Sibiriens, Vol. IV, pp. 1502, 1504.

Tungus R45
Solon
Dagur AG5

T /49 cont./
101 But from the whole account by the Tungus as Middendorff tells it,
439 it becomes clear that "Solorn" is not a place, but a people, and
we would not be in error if we recognized them as trading Solon.
T This is all the more probable as the Solon, in view of the general
[411] use of Chinese matchlock guns among all the Sungari peoples (3),

T [435] 3. Op. cit., p. 1511; Middendorff himself speaks of the Solorn rifles, which were large caliber, more expensive than the pea-sized barrel, and, if well made, were valued up to 200 rubles -- obviously Chinese matchlock guns.

might easily have large supplies of gunpowder whereas the hunters or Cossacks roaming into the Amur region from Siberia usually are only scantily supplied with it and certainly would not sell the small supply so indispensable to them, and especially not for a cheap price. Even if besides the above-mentioned places there should be many another in the Amur and Sungari regions where Solon live permanently or even only temporarily, their total area of distribution (again, of course, apart from those in service) still remains very small, especially in comparison with that of
D 131 their immediate neighbors, the Daur.

No people in the entire Amur region, with perhaps the single exception of the Chinese, has such scattered habitation sites as the Daur. We have therefore been obliged to mention them repeatedly as partial neighbors of the Birar, Manegir, Orochon, and Solon. As among the latter, among the Daur, too, in order to get an approximate idea of their distribution in the Amur region, we must disregard those members of this people who are in the direct service of the Chinese government and consider only those who are not in service and pay tribute (Butchani). At their densest, the Daur still appear to live along the Nonni and some of its tributaries. There, especially in the area of /50/ Tsitsikar /Naun-choton), our older travelers, Yssbrants Ides, Lange, and

Dagur AG5

/50 cont./

131 others, came into contact with them (1). Barabasch, a more recent
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1. Yssbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China /Three-year Journey to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 70. Lange, op. cit., pp. 175-178. See also Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 252.

traveler, gives in particular the part of the Nonni from Tsitsikar down to Mocholo as the area of the Daur; it is, to be sure, only a short stretch (of about 35 versts), but it is said to be occupied exclusively by large Daur villages (2). To the north, therefore,

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2. Ya. Barabash", "Sungariisk. eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, I, p. 328).

the Daur on the Nonni border the Solon. To the south, below Mocholo, is the beginning of the territory of a Mongol tribe, and, to be sure, according to Palladij, the Korloss-Aimak (3), who go

3. Or Korloss Horde (Palladij, op. cit., p. 414).

down the whole lower Nonni and along the Sungari from Da-chutun
131 to the town of Petune (or Bodune). Along the Nonni (4), and
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[113]

4. Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongol. Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/ St. Petersburg, Vol. I, p. 175.

especially along the Sungari, Daur and Chinese are mixed in with these Mongols (5), and both, but especially the latter, are steadily

5. Barabasch, loc. cit.

2: Schrenck--104 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Dagur A65

/50 cont./

|31| gaining more and more territory from the Mongols. Although the
563 latter were settled by the Chinese government to practice agriculture at the places named (6), this activity and the sedentary

6. Pallas, loc. cit.

mode of life connected with it did not agree with their inborn nomadic tendencies. Hence there are only small farms there, which are cultivated by the Mongols, but usually with the help of Chinese workers; the Chinese have been able to acquire the most through rent or purchase, and under their influence the Mongols have for the most part become Chinese in language and customs (7). Only

7. Palladij, op. cit., pp. 414, 423.

farther to the west, away from the lower Nonni and Sungari where pure steppe spreads out and the Mongols lead their customary nomadic life (8), can their individuality be preserved. Thus,

8. Barabasch, loc. cit.

where the interior Asiatic steppe extends into the Amur region, the ethnic group particularly at home in this form of nature also extends into it, but they are unable to gain a firm foothold in the river area. The Mongols remain strangers in the Amur region, and therefore here, in a consideration of the Amur peoples, we can properly pass over them with these few casual remarks.

Just as along a part of the Nonni, the Daur also inhabit its right tributaries coming from the Chingan Mountains the Jalo (9),

[113] 9. Ritter, Asien, Vol. 1, p. 116, following Yssbrants Ides and Lange.

the Gujuil (10), and others, frequently mixed with farming Chinese.

10. According to Kropotkin (see above, p. 94.

/50 cont./

101 We have already discovered them at the eastern foot of the
131 Chingan Mountains as the neighbors of the Orochon, who are under their influence and often in their service. How far they extend northward, however, and where and how they border the Solon are as yet unknown. Could it perhaps be that their territory extends continuously, though with a sparse population, along the eastern slope of the Chingan Mountains as far as the sources of the Komar? Or is it interrupted by the Solon on the upper Nonni and its tributaries? Or, finally, /51/ in this last stretch do both peoples perhaps intermingle? Whatever the case may be, toward the middle Nonni, along the Komar, we discover a second area in which a denser Daur population has its seat. And, to be sure, the Daur occupy the upper and middle courses of this river, while the lower course belongs to the Manegir (1).

1. See above, p. 91.

101 Finally, the third locality where we find the Daur in greater
36 density lies along the middle Amur, between the Birar and
131 Manegir portions of it, from somewhat above the mouth of the
563 Bureja to the mouth of the Dseja /Zeya/. Whereas along the Komar the Daur occupy the land by themselves as far as their borders go, on the Amur they share it with the Manchu and Chinese. Their habitation sites there lie mixed in confusion with those of the latter two peoples, and sometimes a whole village belongs to only one people, while sometimes two or each of them will have their respective portions of it. With the great number of these villages, which, surrounded by large fields, go along both banks of the river and many of which I have seen only from a distance, it was not always possible for me to ascertain to which nationality
131 they belonged. The easternmost Daur village is Chormoldin, al-
36 ready known to us, directly on the border of the Birar area on the

2: Schrenck--106 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Daur

/51 cont./

131 361 Amur (2). I do not know what their westernmost village is, but it

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2. Gerstfeldt ("O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura."- Viesm. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XX, 1857, Sec. II, p. 313) quite erroneously has only one designation for the entire population between the Komar and especially the Dseja and the Ussuri, "Dauren," being of the opinion that they form the bulk of the population. In doing this, he does not intend to associate the name with the notion of a particular tribe of people. The designations Birar and Goldi do not occur in his work at all.

must be located below the town of Aigun, since above it, at least on the right bank of the Amur, there are only Manchu villages. The large Daur villages of Dungtscheba and Beratochso on the left bank of the Amur are also below Aigun, and the latter
101 is perhaps the westernmost one. The Daur may be concentrated more in the eastern half and the Manchu more in the western half of this area inhabited by a mixture of the three peoples named. All three, however, seem to occupy the land in almost equal proportions. When we earlier called this part of the Amur River the Manchu-Chinese culture area of it, it was done both for the sake of brevity and because in political and historical respects the Manchu and the Chinese play a more important role than the Daur, but the designation Daur-Manchu-Chinese area would also
[439] be correct. And all the more so since the Daur, through their various trade relations with these peoples, have a culture-historical importance for the central and upper Amur region which should not be underestimated.

131 184 439 Besides the three designated areas, on the Nonni, on the Komar, and on the middle Amur, where the Daur live in denser assemblages, they are found in smaller divisions or individually throughout the upper and middle Amur region, since they are the

/51 cont./

131 ones in particular who, as enterprising, profit-seeking traders,
184 carry Chinese, Manchurian, or even their own /52/ products to
439 the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon in order to exchange them for their products from hunting. In discussing the areas of distribution of the peoples names, we have often mentioned these Daur traders, who, sometimes permanently, sometimes temporarily, stay among them at the various places. From the middle Nonni and its tributaries, they follow the Orochon roaming in the Chingan Mountains; from their habitation sites along the Sungari, they move downstream along this river and up its left tributaries in order to reach the Birar along the U and the other right Amur tributaries beyond the mountains; the Daur villages along the middle Amur send off the many traders who are to be found throughout the Birar area along the Bureja and its tributaries up into the mountains; and, finally, from the Komar there are the Daur traders who carry on their business with the Manegir both along the upper Amur and especially along the Dseja and its tributaries. We have seen above that in former times they even came up the Ssilimdshi as far as Inkanj (1) and that even today, in their spread northward, at many

1. According to Middendorff; see above, p. 81.

places in the Bureja and Dseja areas they meet Yakut coming down from the north for the same purposes. In the Amur region there seems to be only one boundary set for them by the Chinese government itself: they do not go beyond the mouth of the Sungari, and they are not met in the lower Amur region where a wide field stands open to their trading activities. In this respect they fall back before the similarly gifted, but more favored Chinese.

131 Thus, unlike all the peoples considered by us up to now,
194 the Daur have no unified continuous area of distribution, but rather stand before us, on the one hand, at several places in greater density and, on the other hand, in dispersed fashion among foreign peoples and scattered over a broad area -- a

T /52 cont./
131 phenomenon that automatically indicates that at the present time
174 in the Amur region they are not in their original, continuously occupied homeland, but rather only on recently acquired, secondary soil. And, as we shall see, history, too, shows this.

M While the Daur, in spite of their dispersed habitation sites,
121 belong to the Amur region in view of their total distribution, this
131 is by no means the case for the last and historically most important of the Sungari peoples remaining for our consideration, the Manchu. Succeeding to the rule over the Chinese Empire, they also spread far beyond the boundaries of their original homeland. We by no means intend to pursue the historical movement and the whole extent of their expansion; here we are only going to learn about their habitation sites in the Amur region in detail.

M The land located between the Amur and the White Moun-
131 tains (Schan-alin), with the Sungari and its tributaries flowing
[101] through it, that is, Mongolia proper, the homeland of the many closely related tribes from whose union the Manchu people /53/ arose, is well known (1). And although even later, after the

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1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, p. 291. J. H. Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey /The Peoples of Manchuria/ Göttingen, Vol. I, 1830, pp. 233 ff., and others.

victorious Manchu had won control over all of China, along with the province of Liao-tung, the first conquered, which soon became a second homeland for them, the Manchu region always remained especially favored by the rulers and preferred by them, those events nevertheless laid the groundwork for the fact that today this designation can hardly be claimed any more. And this because at present there are almost no Manchu in it anymore.

M Even during the reign of Emperor Kang-hi -- and probably later --
[167] many Manchu were induced by the favored position that they found in the newly conquered land to leave their homeland and

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to move to Peking and other places in China (2). The Chinese,

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2. Gerbillon; cf. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 36.

on the other hand, now had the opportunity to move from their overpopulated land to Manchuria, now a province of their empire (3).

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3. Plath (Die Völker der Mandschurey, Vol. II, 1831, p. 942) thinks that although the Chinese emperors of the Manchu Dynasty viewed the emigration from China with regret, the one to the north, into Manchuria, was nevertheless never forbidden, but rather always encouraged by them. A similar opinion is expressed by the archimandrite Palladij ("Dorozhn. zam.," etc., op. cit., p. 373). According to Huc, however, up to the reign of Emperor Tao-kuan, the Chinese were not allowed to enter the Sungari regions and especially to cultivate the soil there. It was not until the beginning of the rule of this emperor, who ascended the throne in 1820, that this prohibition was lifted, and, in order to help the imperial treasury, the sale of land to the Chinese was permitted, and they then descended like vultures upon the Sungari region (Huc, Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine pend. les années 1844-1846, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 150). Since, however, there was a danger that all the land in Manchuria might fall into the hands of the Chinese, the government afterward prohibited the

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3. (cont.)
further emigration of Chinese farmers to Manchuria -- a prohibition which was violated in secret and therefore had to be renewed again in 1844. (I. Zakharov", "Pozemel'naia sobstv. v" Kitaie /Land Ownership in China/." -- Trudy chlenov" Rossiiskoi dukhovnoi missii v" Pekinie, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1853, p. 65.) I do not know whether it still exists, but if it should still exist, it is in any case being circumvented.

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This began colonization of Manchuria by the Chinese, which, carried on steadily and incessantly, soon grew to colossal proportions and became disastrous for the Manchu. The practical, diligent, industrious disposition of the Chinese, their superiority in all trades and skills, their tenacity and endurance assured them victory over the lazy, shirking, ignorant Manchu, who, conscious of their power, were nevertheless proud and overbearing. Soon agriculture and livestock-raising, all rural and urban trades, all buying and selling were in the hands of the Chinese, while the Manchu became proportionately poorer and more dependent on them and sank to being mere handymen for them or even proletarians. Faithful to the customs and traditions of their home-
[871] land, the Chinese provided for schools out of their own means in every village of any importance, but the Manchu, of course, could not enter them, and only the government provided for Manchu schools and barely in the few towns (4). Because of

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4. Barabash", "Sungar. eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, Sec. I, p. 325).

this, the Manchu youth at an early age were won over to the Chinese language, customs, and views. In addition many a

/53 cont./ In addition many a
167 measure by the government contributed to driving the Manchu /54/
177 into the ranks of the Chinese. As long as the latter were not
648 allowed to acquire land in Manchuria, they knew how to acquire
656 it in such a manner that the nominal ownership, and also the ob-
[701] ligation for the taxes, remained with the Manchu (1). Moreover,

1. Huc, Souv. etc., Vol. I, p. 149.

above all, the latter have the privilege and the duty of serving in the Eight-Banner army, while the Chinese are excluded from
167 it (2). According to an imperial decree, a count of the Manchu
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2. With the exception of those who sided with the Manchu party at the time of the conquest of the empire (Plath, op. cit., p. 737) or those who had come with the
[113] Manchu from Manchuria (Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper., St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 251) and their descendants. Accordingly, in effect, all the Chinese immigrating to Manchuria later were excluded from the army.

must take place every three years in each of the eight banners, and those who do not report at that time in order to have their names posted in the rolls are regarded as having left the Manchu nation. It therefore follows that all those Manchu who out of poverty or laziness wanted to be freed from taxes and military service remained far away from these counts and thus entered the ranks of the Chinese, whose language, practices, and customs
648 they now definitely adopted (3). And, finally, it is obvious that
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3. Huc, op. cit., p. 150.

through frequent mixed marriages the physical differences between the Manchu and the Chinese became ever more blurred (4). Thus

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4. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 60.

648 Thus
177 it has come about that the Manchu, the conquerors and rulers of
197 China, are gradually losing their national identity and are being
563 assimilated and swallowed up by the conquered people. All the travelers who have visited various parts of Manchuria agree in describing for us this rapid process by which the Manchu are being absorbed by the Chinese and their idiom is disappearing from the list of living languages. Huc says that at the present time one can travel through Manchuria to the Amur and everywhere it is as though he were traveling through a province of China so completely has all local color disappeared there. With the exception of a few nomads (5), no one speaks Manchurian

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5. Huc includes the Solon with the Manchu and is of the opinion that the pure Manchu type has been preserved among them.

anymore, and perhaps there would no longer be a trace of this beautiful language if the emperors Kang-hi and Kuen-lung had
648 not erected beautiful monuments to it (6). Du Halde said of the
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6. Huc, op. cit., p. 151.

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563 map of Manchuria drawn up by the Jesuits upon the orders of Emperor Kang-hi that the Chinese names were omitted from it because it could be of no use for a traveler in Manchuria to know, for example, that Sachali-ula was called He-long-kiang by the Chinese, since he would not have to deal with Chinese there, but with Manchu who probably have never heard the Chinese name, but Huc is of the opinion that, while this may have been correct in Kang-hi's time, nowadays the opposite is true (7). One might

7. Huc, op. cit., p. 161.

648 /54 cont./
199 think that Huc were judging Manchuria and /55/ the Manchu from
190 a distance -- perhaps according to what he saw and heard in China,
114 Mongolia, and, at most, along the southern borders of Manchuria.
563 But the reports of those travelers who have penetrated farther into Manchuria are quite similar. According to Fleming (1),

[113] 1. Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, p. 544.

Richthofen (2), and Williamson(3), southern Manchuria, the

[113] 2. "Reise durch Liao-tung and Pe-tschili nach Peking, Mai-Juli 1869./Journey through Liao-tung and Pechili to Peking, May-July, 1869/" (Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., 1870, p. 371). The same, "Schreiben über meine Reisen zur Grenze von Korea und in der Prov. Hu-nan /Notes on My Travels to the Border of Korea and in the Province of Hunan/" (Zeitschrift der Gesellsch. für Erdk. zu Berlin, Vol. V, pp. 319, 320).

[113] 3. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 39.

province of Liao-tung, including even its capital Mukden, is purely Chinese; there are no longer any Manchu there, and the Manchu language has practically died out; there are hardly any individuals who still understand it. Williamson is of the opinion
[167] that a large portion of the Manchu migrated from there to the north, into the Sungari region -- central Manchuria, as he calls it -- while another part remained in Liao-tung, where in several places their ratio to the Chinese is 1 to 3, in others even 1 to 10, and are being gradually assimilated by the Chinese. According

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to Richthofen, however, there was no displacement of the Manchu by the Chinese, but only an amalgamation of the two, of such a kind, however, that the Manchu language has given way to the Chinese. He says that only in the villages of the province of Kirin (4) is Manchu still said to exist as a living language. Ac-

4. Or Girin, hence in the Sungari region.

cording to direct reports from the Sungari region, however, even this is hardly the case anymore. Williamson calls even central Manchuria only a direct continuation of China, in that even there the Manchu blindly follow the Chinese in language, customs, dress, and manners and give up everything national from childhood on (5). Barabasch says that if language is the characteristic of

5. Williamson, op. cit., pp. 59, 60.

nationality then four peoples are to be distinguished among the inhabitants along the Sungari, Nonni, and Churcha: Chinese, Mongols, Daur, and Goldi -- one does not meet Manchu, i.e., persons who speak Manchurian, and this is true not only of the villages, but also of the towns, those breeding places for Manchurian officialdom. And the reason is that the Chinese, who have begun to flood Manchuria since the present dynasty mounted the throne, were able to transform the ruling people wholly into Chinese (6).

6. Barabasch, op. cit., p. 322.

On the basis of his experiences in Manchuria, the archimandrite Palladij (7) notes that though the sons of the Celestial Empire

7. Op. cit., p. 396.

easily learn all languages and pronounce, though imperfectly, seemingly impossible foreign words, one language is banned from their encyclopedia as unnecessary -- the Manchurian language.

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103 Huc's remark, then, concerning the Chinese place names currently
179 in use in Manchuria is largely correct. Barabasch, for instance,
[114] reported recently that the Manchurian name "Churcha" usually found on all our maps of this country for the large river on which the town of Ninguta is located is completely unknown in Manchuria itself, and the river generally /56/ bears the Chinese name "Mudandsan" (1). Thus the large area along the Sungari and its tributaries,

[113] 1. Barabasch, op. cit., p. 134, note. The Korean missionary, Kimaĭ-Kim ("Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évèque de Belline, etc. /Letter to Mgr. Ferréol, Bishop of Belline/." -- Nouv. Annales des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. IX, 1847 [Vol. I], p. 69) gives this Chinese name (in the French spelling) as "Moutouan," Venault ("Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850 /Travels in the Interior Parts of Manchuria, 1850/." -- Nouv. Annales des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], p. 207), as "Mou-tan." On Williamson's (English) map of Manchuria (see his Journeys, etc.) it is called "Mootwan-ho." On the other hand, this river was designated to me by the Ssargu Goldi (therefore far below the mouth of the Ussuri) with its Manchurian name "Churcha."

Manchuria proper, is now Manchurian in name only.

101 It does not seem to be quite as bad for the Manchu in other parts of the Amur region, though these areas were occupied by them later. Separated by Mongols and Daur from the Manchu-Chinese area along the Sungari, the Manchu live along the Nonni
[167] above Tsitsikar. Most of them, say about eight-tenths, are so-called "Itschă-Manchu" ("New Manchu"), that is, descendants of

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101 [167] those families who originally lived in the eastern part of Girin Province and were transferred from the Ussuri region to the Nonni [197] by the founder of the present dynasty (Tai-tsu) (2). They are said

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2. Archim. Palladij, op. cit., p. 432. Plath (op. cit., p. 983, note 4), following Klaproth, regards the "Itschä-Manchu" as descendants of those Manchu who, in contrast to the Old or "Fe-Manchu," did not invade China, but were later subjugated by the latter or joined them. The Chinese U-tschen, who in 1664 was born in Ninguta, where his father lived as an exile, and who stayed there until 1681, states in his description of this place that those persons from the "Churcha or Chulcha people" (Manchu from the Churcha River) who had distinguished themselves by bravery received rings and slaves (from the ranks of the exiles) as presents from the government. They were later ordered to move to Ninguta, from there to Mukden, and two years later to Peking. These, he says, are the "Itschä-Manchu," who in the beginning were awkward and ungainly, but later, when he saw them in Peking, could hardly be distinguished at all from the true Manchu. Cf. [113] Wassiljef's translation of U-tschen's work ("Zapiska o Ningutie /Note concerning Ninguta/." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, p. 93).

101 [197] to speak Manchurian among themselves, but to speak Chinese with others (3). They undoubtedly owe the purer preservation of their

3. Palladij, loc. cit.

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101 nationality to their more remote habitation sites, which were separated from the Chinese of the Sungari region by other peoples.
[563] Chinese have now settled among them, however, and their denationalization is only a question of time.

101 563 The same applies also to the third Manchu area, that of the middle Amur, in the oft-mentioned Manchu-Chinese culture area of it. To be sure, they live there mixed with Daur as well as with the Chinese, who are so fatal to their nationality, but the number of the latter does not seem to have been sufficient to suppress the Manchu element so far, as was done along the Sungari and Churcha. Perhaps in this connection one should also consider the fact that both this part of the Amur River and the Nonni are exile regions and therefore to a large extent contain only inferior Chinese elements, who could not as readily procure the influence and respect that the free settlers won so easily. At least I have seen on both banks along this stretch of the Amur several large villages which reputedly were still pure Manchu, but, besides them, some with a mixed Manchu-Chinese population. Also, the town of Aigun,
[103] or Aicho-choton, may have fewer Chinese /57/ elements than the Sungari towns for the reasons stated above, and likewise Mergen and Tsitsikar, in which there are Manchu, Daur, and Solon in addition to the Chinese (1), whereas Girin, Ninguta, Petune, and

[113] 1. Lange, "Tageb. einer Karawanenreise," in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, p. 177. Palladij, op. cit., p. 429.

131 361 Ssan-ssin are almost purely Chinese towns. The easternmost of the Manchu villages along the Amur is the village of Torel located not far above the easternmost Daur village (Chormoldin). In particular, however, as was stated above, the Manchu villages occupy the western part of those stretches of the Amur below and above the town of Aigun, on the right bank opposite the mouth of the Dseja. Indeed, they even advance along this latter river to a distance of about 20 versts above its mouth, but at present only along its left bank, whereas formerly they occupied both banks of

/57 cont./
131 the Dseja (2).
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[113] 2. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc. p. 33. Cf. also Ussolzef's report in Schwarz's Podrobn. Otch. o rezul't. izslied. Matemat. Otdiela Sibirsk. Eksped. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., St. Petersburg, 1864, Ch. I, p. 34.

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131 In addition to the Manchu areas considered, we must finally also regard as Manchurian those points in the Amur region where
648 there are larger or smaller guardposts or where officials appointed
[563] by the Chinese government stay, though the persons concerned are by no means only Manchu, but rather there are also Solon, Daur, and even Chinese among them (3). Far be it from us to

[122] 3. For example, the official who was sent out to me from Aigun and accompanied me for several days until I reached this town was of Chinese nationality.

enumerate all the places of this kind; we shall content ourselves with mentioning only those that lie along the Amur and its tributaries among the peoples in question here. It cannot be denied that they
[439] have a certain ethnographic importance, because they give us a picture of the political power of the Manchu-Chinese in relation to the Amur peoples, and further because the collection of tribute takes place in them, some trade with the natives is carried on, and, even more, all kinds of extortion are practiced on the part of those in power.

712 In the province of He-long-kjang, our middle and upper Amur
648 region, belonging to Tsitsikar as the capital, there are several
131 Manchurian posts in the Manegir region above the town of Aigun and the mouth of the Dseja for instance, Ulussu-modon, below the mouth of the Komar, a noose-shaped bend of the Amur, two posts

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712 648 131 on the Komar mouth, the one directly on it, the other opposite it on the left bank, and, finally, two more at the foot of and opposite the Zagajan Mountain, easily recognized by its steep white and yellow walls. These are the last ones upstream, for there are none in the Orochon area, though the latter, in accordance with the Treaty of Nerchinsk, is still a part of the Chinese Empire; it is only occasionally visited by Chinese officials on trips to inspect the border markers. Downstream from Aigun there is the guard-post Ssung or Ssung-bira in Birar territory at the mouth of the river of the same name emptying into the Amur from the right and somewhat above the mouth of the Bureja. On this latter river about 60 versts above where it empties into the Amur, there is another Manchurian post, evidently intended for keeping watch over the Birar, /58/ collecting tribute from them, and perhaps also preventing the advance of Russian Tungus and Yakut to the Amur (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166, note 1.

In the province of Girin, our lower Amur region, the Manchurian guardposts or permanent residences of Manchu officials are all located in the very extensive Goldi area. One of the most important among them is that of Dshang-dshu at the mouth of the Sungari, which was mentioned above. A second one is located in Gaidje, on the right bank of the Amur. Furthermore, the Goldi village of Chöchzyr on the right bank of the Amur close to the Ussuri mouth was in my time the residence of an apparently rather high Chinese official in the lower Amur region. There were two Manchurian posts on the Ussuri itself: one, which I visited, was in the Goldi village of Dshoada on the lower course of the river; the other, named Schang-jeng, is on the left bank, diagonally across from the mouth of the Ima, and is the residence of several Manchurian officials who set out from here to make their trips to the upper Ussuri to collect tribute from the natives (2). These

[113] 2. Maack (Putesh. po dolinie r. Ussuri,

2; Schrenck--120 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Manchu A64

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2. (cont.)
St. Petersburg, 1861, pp. 11, 36) mentions only this one Manchurian post along the Ussuri; the one in Dshoada was overlooked by him or was perhaps already abandoned, since this village is on the right bank of the Ussuri, which, at the time of Maack's trip (1861), had already passed into the possession of Russia.

trips are said to be made only very rarely and probably also only to a certain point, for the rather inaccessible stretch above the Ssungatschi mouth and especially between the mouths of the Kuburche and the Nyntu, or Nautu, seems to be the actual border of Manchurian rule along the Ussuri. Those Chinese who live farther up are practically no longer bothered at all by the Manchu (3). Finally, the last permanent residence for Manchurian

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3. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri," etc. (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXV, 1859, Sec. II, p. 208). The same, Putesh. po okrain. Russk. Azii, pp. 42, 43.

officials in the lower Amur region is the Goldi village of Mylki, a few days' journey above the mouth of the Gorin. Farther downstream, in the Olcha and Gilyak part of the Amur River, as well as in the Orochi part along the coast, there were neither Manchurian posts nor even officials dwelling among the natives. Indeed, these regions were never crossed by Manchurian officials collecting tribute or inspecting border markers, so they, as we shall see later, enjoyed virtually complete independence from the Manchu.

2: Schrenck--121 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Manchu AG4
Historical Manchuria AG2

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In the foregoing, in speaking of the habitation sites of the Manchu in the Amur region, we could not refrain from considering their gradual loss of nationality, for only by simultaneously keeping this situation in mind could the actual extent of their area of distribution and the position that they occupy in this respect in the Amur region and among the Amur peoples be shown in their true light. The original Manchu area was a large one, and nominally still is, /59/ but actually, as a consequence of the disappearance of the Manchu nationality, it is small and insignificant. Hence, the obvious conclusion is that a people who, in spite of its favored position as a conqueror and ruler, is unable to preserve itself in its own territory, is also incapable of exerting any considerable cultural influence upon other peoples. All the more, however, is to be expected from that people who, in spite of its political subjugation, won from the conquerors their own country and has been able to incorporate them in its own nationality. I am speaking of the Chinese. Therefore, for all the subsequent discussions of the Amur peoples, it will be of interest to us first to become familiar with the territory that this oldest civilized people of East Asia has already won in the Amur region at the time when we made the acquaintance of those peoples.

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In the Amur region the Chinese occupy some continuous larger and smaller territories which they have wholly or in large part made their own, as well as some separate outposts deep among the Amur peoples. By far the largest such area over which they are the actual masters is the one that they took from the Manchu -- the broad and fertile Sungari region. We have seen above how, after the conquest of China by the Manchu, the flow of the Chinese emigration not only poured over adjacent Liao-tung, but also over Manchuria proper, the so-called central Manchuria, and so flooded this country that today, with regard to its dominant population, language, and customs, it is merely a direct continuation of China. The main artery of the country, the Sungari with its fertile banks, is wholly occupied by Chinese, among whom are found, as we saw, many Manchu who have become Chinese. Only the stretch between the towns of Petune and Da-chutun, where they are present in

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563 smaller numbers than the Mongols and Daur, forms a slight interruption, though more and more territory is gradually being won by renting Mongol land, as well as through trade, establishing inns and guest houses, etc. (1). A large Chinese population engaged

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1. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki v" 1870 g." (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 423). Barabash", "Sungar. eksp. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, I, , p. 327). The Chinese government favors the increase of sedentation in the territory of the nomadic Mongols, in that it sees in this a guarantee for the peace and security of its border territories. Taking advantage of this, the Chinese snatch away the land from under the feet of the Mongols by first renting or leasing the land and then through trade, loans, and the like, make the original owners their debtors (Palladij, loc. cit.).

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in agriculture, trade, and crafts of all kinds extends from Da-chutun in the exceedingly fertile lowlands watered by the Sungari, both along the river and inland, and especially around the towns of Bajan-ssussu, Ashi-che, Ssuan-tschang-pu, etc., all of which were founded in recent times. The most recent settlements of the Chinese are located on the Sungari between the towns of Bajan-ssussu and Ssan-ssin. Barabasch, from whom we get the description of this population on the Sungari (2), in 1872 came across many of the

2. Op. cit., pp. 325-327.

colonies in their first origins, the newcomers still living in tents and earth huts. /60/ But for quite some time now the Chinese settlements along the Sungari have extended even beyond Ssan-ssin, and, in fact, on the right bank of the Sungari they advance for a distance of about 115 versts to the village of Dsan-mu-sso, from which downstream, the Goldi area begins; on the left bank,

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131 361 563 however, they stop about 60 versts from Ssan-ssin at the village of Wan-juan-wo-ken, from which there is uninhabited prairie wilderness to the Amur. Next to the Sungari, its largest tributary, the Churcha or Mu-tuan-ho, emptying into it at Ssan-ssin, shows the densest Chinese population. In particular it extends along the right bank of this river, which is suitable for farming, up to and beyond Ninguta. From there toward the Russian border, that is toward the upper Ssuifun /Suifun/, the valley of the small river Mo-do-schi forms the border of the dense Chinese population; from here on to Wan-lun-ho and beyond it to the Russian border there are only isolated Chinese huts whose inhabitants do a little farming and gardening or maintain inns for the many travelers who pass through on their way to the upper Ssuifan, the upper Ussuri, or the coastal region for gold-washing or other purposes. Less dense, but still predominantly Chinese is the population along the other tributaries of the Sungari, along the Hulan, the Maiche, etc., with the exception of the Nonni, along which, as we have seen, the Chinese on the lower course live mixed with Mongols and Daur, and farther up with the latter and Solon, and form only a minority of the population.

167 Since the vast Sungari region still offers much space for colonization, the steady immigration of Chinese into it, despite the fact that it began several centuries ago, has not ceased by far. Indeed, it seems that the Russian occupation of a large portion of the Amur region has increased the Chinese migration to the Sungari region, be it because of the prospect of a more lively trade opening up, of a ready and profitable market for the products grown along the Sungari, or because the Peking government favors the emigration in order, by means of a numerous and homogeneous Chinese population, to insure insofar as possible the future possession of the land it has retained. In 1866, Williamson saw every day on his trip from Peking to Manchuria, after he had left Ying-tse, the harbor at the mouth of the Ssira-muren, and was passing through the interior of Liao-tung, swarms of emigrants who were making their way north (1). The largest contingent of these emigrants is

1. Journeys, etc., Vol. II, p. 165.

2: Schrenck--124 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG-2

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167 furnished by the overpopulated provinces of Shantung and Shansi, and, next to them Chihli /Hopeh/, the three provinces of China that are geographically closest to Manchuria. Immediately after the conquest of China by the Manchu, there poured out of Shantung, as a consequence of bad harvests, a great stream of emigrants going to Manchuria (2), who laid the first foundation for the

2. Archim. Palladij, op. cit., p. 373.

colonization of this country by China. It also drew its colonists from there: /61/ experienced, industrious farmers, persons trained in all the rural and urban trades, who come with their families in order to find a suitable field of work and to become sedentary,
563 permanent residents of the country (1). They are the ones in

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1. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 165. Zakharov", "Pozem. sobstv. v" Kitaie" (Trudy chlen. Rossiisk. dukhovn. missii v" Pekinie, Vol. II, 1853, p. 65). Archim. Palladij, op. cit., p. 408. Barabasch, op. cit., p. 323.

particular who changed Manchuria into a Chinese province, who have taken all the land away from the indigenous, ruling people, and who, by means of their moral influence, the erection of schools, etc., have destroyed their nationality. Their language,
[197] the Shantung dialect, is the dominant one among all Manchu-Chinese, or Man-dse -- as they are also customarily called there (2) -- it stifles all other dialects, with the sole exception of that

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2. V. Vasil'ev", "Zapiska o Ningutie" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, p. 86). Barabash", "Sungar. eksp. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, I, p. 324).

of the Shansi people, who do not readily alter their language (3).

2: Schrenck--125 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

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3. Palladij, op. cit., pp. 373, 374, 409.

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In that connection, however, all Chinese retain the peculiarities in character and conduct, of their respective native provinces, so that, with a sufficient knowledge of China, one can immediately recognize those from Shantung, from Chihli, etc., in spite of the fact that their language is the same. Like Shantung, Chihli, too, for the most part sends to Manchuria industrious, efficient farmers and craftsmen who stay in the country, even though in fewer numbers then the former. It is different with regard to Shansi. Most emigrants from this province turn to trade in Manchuria; they are enterprising, skilled, practical people who, through tireless activity, have gained possession of all the wholesale and retail trade in all the towns and villages of Manchuria (4), the "Jews of the Celestial

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4. Williamson, Palladij, Barabasch, op. cit. This does not mean, however, that there are no merchants from Shantung in Manchuria, or, conversely, no farmers or craftsmen from Shansi. Williamson (Journ. etc., Vol. II, p. 222), for instance, in Ssan-ssin met merchants who were from the towns of Tung-tschu-fu and Lai-tschu-fu in eastern Shantung.

Empire," as the archimandrite Palladij aptly calls them (5), whom

5. Op. cit., p. 396.

the traveler sees everywhere, in China proper as well as in the outer territories of the Chinese Empire, and whose dialect, distinguished sharply from all the others, he hears everywhere. With their large numbers and wide distribution, their financial and moral superiority over the Manchu, and the indispensability

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563 441 that they have gained with regard to them, no less credit is due them than to the Shantung people for having given the Chinese system, the Chinese language and nationality entry and a foothold everywhere in Manchuria. In contrast to the Shantung Chinese, however, the Shansi Chinese attach themselves to the soil only rarely and reluctantly; they usually come to the country without their families, try to become rich as quickly as possible, and then turn their backs on it, only to be replaced by other newcomers. Hence, by their very calling, they are a more nomadic and fluctuating population and do not give the country as permanent a colonization element as the Shantung people. The search for profits, however, as well as the nature of their calling prompts them to advance farther and farther, /62/ and thus it is precisely the Shansi-Chinese traders who can be found beyond Manchuria proper among almost all of the tribes of the Amur region, and who can therefore be regarded as the first pioneers for the spread of Chinese civilization into it. We shall therefore in the following discussions find further occasion to come back to them again.

563 Besides the elements mentioned, the tide of emigration from overpopulated China, and again from Shansi and Shantung in particular, also brings to Manchuria a great number of less useful persons from the poorest and lowest levels, indeed, for the most part the most degenerate rabble of all kinds: persons who have lost everything through vice and dissolute lives, and especially through card-playing, practiced so generally and with such pernicious effects in China, criminals who in order to escape the punishment of the law take to flight, etc. They try to make a 464 living as day laborers, fishermen, hunters, as laborers in connection with the gold-washing, etc., and through industriousness and energy some of them succeed in rising to better and higher positions.

Finally, every province of China more or less provides Manchuria with its contingent of that part of its Chinese population that thronged to it not through voluntary emigration, but rather as a consequence of being exiled by the government. It is by no means only bad population elements that Manchuria

2: Schrenck--127 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

/62 cont./

563 receives in this way from China, for besides the deeply involved common criminals, robbers, counterfeiters, thieves in the government, etc., the penalty of exile falls especially on political offenders, members of secret political societies and religious societies seemingly dangerous to the state, among which Christianity has repeatedly been included (1), civil servants and

1. An edict of July, 1811, under the Emperor Kia-king, stated that all Chinese who had embraced Christianity and were unwilling to give it up should be exiled to the Amur (Plath, op. cit., p. 931).

court officials in disgrace because of intrigues, convicted or suspected enemies of the reigning Manchu dynasty, etc. Under certain circumstances such exiles could and were bound to become a great colonizing force in Manchuria. Not all the regions of it, however, are used to the same extent as places of exile. The towns of Ninguta and Girin in the heart of the Sungari region, and even more Aigun, located on the Amur beyond Manchuria proper, were named to us as such places of exile from the beginning (2).

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2. Gerbillon; see Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 6, 36, 182, 250. Iakinf", Kitai, ego zhiteli, nravy, obychai, prosvieshch /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 299, note **. The same, Stat. opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 234, note **.

Aigun or the area above or below it is always meant when simply exile to the Amur is mentioned (3). Palladij also names Hulan

3. For example, to mention only a few cases of this kind under Emperor Yung-tsching (1927)

2: Schrenck--128 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG-2

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3. (cont.)
Yo-tschu, the son of the first minister and at the same time close relative of the imperial house, Lung-ko-to, was banished to the Amur (Plath, op. cit., p. 554). Under Emperor Tao-kuang (about 1844) the Nomunchan of Lhasa was condemned to lifelong exile on the banks of the Amur for the murder of three Dalai Lamas who were still minors (Huc, Souvenirs d'un voyage, etc., Vol. II, p. 288; C.F. Koeppen, Die Religion des Buddha, Berlin, Vol. II, 1859, p. 234).

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on the river of the same name, Hu-lun-buïr, and especially Tsitsikar, to which the greatest number of criminals and the most dangerous ones were supposedly sent, as such places (1).

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1. Palladij, op. cit., pp. 428, 429. According to Pauthier (Chine moderne ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste Empire, Part II, Paris, 1843, p. 235), the severest banishment is said to be to Ili. The bastinado, with the number of blows corresponding to the gravity of the crime, always precedes the banishment. Cf. Du Halde, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 135. Iakinf", Stat. opisanie Kitaisk. Imp., Part I, p. 234.

Emperor Kang-hi had many Chinese from Yunnan, who, as followers of Ussan-kuei had fought for China's independence from the Manchu, moved there along the Nonni and gave them land for cultivation. Through diligent and efficient work, their

2: Schrenck--129 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

/63 cont./

563 descendants increased their property, and at the present time the Yunnan Chinese, who, by the way, have preserved in character and conduct all the peculiarities of their province, form great farming colonies along the Nonni (2). In this manner even the

2. Palladij, op. cit., pp. 409, 415.

remote south of China has made its contribution to the colonization of Manchuria and to the spread of the Chinese language and customs in it. The importance of these and similar banishments for Manchuria and the Amur region is less likely to be underestimated if one considers the fact that the Chinese government in inflicting the penalty of banishment often had in view the aim of increasing the population in Manchuria (3), and moreover,

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3. Gerbillon (see Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 6, 36) is quite outspoken on this subject.

accordingly, the exiles, at least those less deeply involved, enjoy a certain freedom in their place of exile, in that the only control over them is limited to an occasional summons, perhaps once or twice a month (4). It is, of course, worse for

4. Palladij, loc. cit.; Barabasch, op. cit., p. 324.

them in case of more severe punishment, but even if this goes as far as it can, that is, if the deportee is given in slavery to Solon or Daur in service (5), the more skillful and intelligent

5. Palladij, loc. cit.; cf. also Plath, op. cit., p. 935.

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563 slave always has the opportunity to exert a certain influence over his cruder master. Thus, the Manchu-Chinese government itself, by making its own country a deportation country, has caused the Manchu nationality to almost disappear, and Manchuria to be changed into a Chinese province, even without intending to do so.

563 361 131 The area which the Chinese, living in dense masses, occupy on the Amur is insignificant only in comparison with the vast Sungari region. We find them in this fashion only in the so-called Manchu-Chinese culture area on the middle Amur, between the mouths of the Dseja /Zeya/ and Bureja /Bureya/, where they live on both banks of the river, for the most part in large villages, occupied with farming and livestock-raising, but sometimes also individually, carrying on petty trade. Mixed with Daur and Manchu, they have nevertheless, for the reasons mentioned above, not had the assimilative effect on these peoples, as they did in the Sungari region, in order to be the ruling people. Here, as on the Nonni, the Daur, close to them in many respects, particularly in a practical sense, in a calculating, enterprising talent for trade, offered /64/ stronger resistance to their influence than did the Manchu. Indeed, it even appears that the Daur have so far been able to keep the Chinese wholly away from the regions in which their main area of trade lies, from the Bureja and Dseja -- the Birar and Manegir territories.

In the coastal area of Manchuria and along the upper Ussuri and its tributaries the Chinese extend over a much larger area than along the middle Amur. We have already made general references to them in this area, where, as along the Sungari, they are known under the name of Man-dse, in discussing the areas of distribution of the Orochi and Goldi, with whom they are largely intermingled. We shall now cast a special glance at the localities which they inhabit there. [101]

The coastal area of Manchuria, that is, the stretch of land between the sea and the nearby coastal range, Ssichota-alin, is occupied by the Chinese from the border of Korea, and therefore from the present Russian possessions along the Sea of Japan, to

2: Schrenck--131 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

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Vladimir Bay and the Tasuschi or Lifule (1) River and beyond.

1. This name customarily found on the maps is, according to Prshewalskij /Przhevalski/ (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, p. 156, Notes), unknown in the place itself, just like the name Fudsi for Lifudin, a tributary of the Ulache (upper Ussuri).

Their number decreases toward the north, however, and they are said not to go beyond 46 degrees of latitude, where nature rapidly takes on a more northern aspect (2). In particular they

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2. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri i zem. k" vost. ot" neia do moria" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXV, 1859, Sec. II, pp. 226, 233). The same, Putesh. po okr. Russk. Azii, p. 86.

live in the valleys of the rivers, coming down from the coastal range across the country. Only rarely do they settle directly on the coast, perhaps because they do not like to be seen from the sea, or perhaps in order to avoid its direct climatic influences, the strong sea winds, etc. They are most numerous in the fertile valley of the Ssutschan /Suchan/ and in its lateral valleys. According to Prshewalskij /Przhevalski/ (3), there are no less than

3. Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, p. 143.

11 villages and 75 separate houses, or fansen, of Chinese there. Then follow, in order of population ranking, the valleys of the Tasuschi, Zymuche, Tassuduche, Pchussun, Maiche, etc. (4).

4. Prshewalskij, op. cit., pp. 78, 136.

2: Schrenck--132 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria A62

/64 cont./

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4. (cont.)
149, 151, 157. Along the Tasuschi there are said to be about 35 fansen, including the dwellings of the less numerous Orochi, along the Zymuche 30, along the Tassuduche and Pchussun 20 each, along the Maiche 10. For the Tasuschi, or Lifule, see also Wenjukof /Veniukov/, "Obozr.," etc., op. cit., p. 218; Putesh., etc., p. 59.

A relatively large Chinese population can also be found in the regions around Vladivostok and Possjet /Posyet/ Bay. The stretch between the Ta-uchu River and Olga Bay, on the other hand, is the most deserted part of the whole coast under discussion here (5),

5. Prshewalskij, op. cit., p. 151.

and, of course, the stretch north of the Tasuschi, where the
563 Chinese population gradually ends completely. The population
221 situation, by the way, in this coastal area of Manchuria changes
361 considerably with the seasons, since besides the sedentary Chinese engaged in farming and gardening and trade with the Orochi (Ta-dse), a /65/ whole crowd of wanderers arrive in the summer in order to fish for seatang and trepang or to wash gold along the rivers. This temporarily enlivens the whole seacoast between Possjet Bay and Olga Bay, along which the fishing takes place, as well as the region between the Ussuri Gulf and the Zymuche and Ssutschan rivers, where most of the gold-washing is found. In the fall, when the work is done, most of the people who performed it return, over the same route by which they came, to Hun-tschun, Ninguta, etc. Many of them, however, presumably those who work for themselves, stay in the coastal area even during the winter, in part as laborers among the sedentary Chinese, in part without work, eating up what was made during the

HM 563 221 361 /65 cont./
summer. Thus in many areas of the coastal regions, especially along the Zymuche and Ssutschan, there is almost twice as large a population of Chinese in the winter as in the summer (1).

1. Prshewalskij, op. cit., p. 88.

G-i [361] However much greater the number of Chinese there, however, the smaller is that of the Ta-dse or Orochi, who generally live farther G-i H.M [439] inland toward the mountains where the more productive hunting grounds are found. But even there isolated Chinese, who live by trading with the Orochi for products of the hunt, are not lacking.

H.M. 563 361 If one climbs over the coastal range and descends into the Ussuri region, one enters a territory where the Chinese are thoroughly at home. In general, however, what we observed along the coast is repeated here: the farther north, the smaller their number, and all the smaller and more widely scattered are their H.M. [133] settlements. They are most numerous along the two rivers that may correctly be regarded as the two source rivers of the Ussuri, which arises only out of their confluence, just as only from there down does it bear the name Ussuri -- I mean the Ssandogu, which is called the Ulache after its confluence with the Lifudin (Fudsi), H.M. [433] and the Daubiche (2). The Chinese there practice agriculture and

2. As has already been mentioned, only the former is generally regarded as the source of the Ussuri.

gardening, perhaps livestock-raising, and the like, sometimes individually, sometimes in whole villages and, numerically, represent the dominant population in contrast to the natives, Orochi and Goldi (3), but both downstream along the Ussuri and along its

3. Veniukov", "Obozr.," etc., pp. 217, 233; Putesh., etc., p. 57.

/65 cont./

563 361 right tributaries the reverse situation is found more and more, and eventually the Chinese live only in isolated fansen surrounded by small vegetable gardens and as traders among the natives.

As far as the right tributaries of the Ussuri are concerned, [439] the two largest of them, the Ima /Iman/ with the Waku /Vaku/ and the Biki /Bikin/, are occupied by relatively many Chinese who stay there permanently, have small fields and vegetable gardens, and trade with the more numerous, but for the most part nomadic Orochi. Along the Waku their settlements extend for a two-days' journey above where the small, rapid Tundsi River empties into it. Along the Biki the Chinese are less numerous than along the Ima; the busiest section along the former is said to be where their village of Tschamudyndsa is located, because the most rewarding hunting /66/ is carried on in this vicinity (1).

[113] 1. Korzun"; see Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl." (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vols. IX, X, pp. 353, 379, 381). Veniukov", "Obozr.," etc., p. 201; Putesh., etc., p. 29.

[439] [441] The last of the right tributaries of the Ussuri to the north, along which there are still a few Chinese, who live as traders among the Orochi, is the Poor with its tributaries (2). This is an important

2. Korsun, op. cit., p. 353.

point for them also because from there a route leads down the Pächssa River to the Amur, over which many an Amur Goldi goes to the Poor tributaries to hunt in winter and which is sometimes also used by the Chinese traders. On the Ussuri itself the last permanent habitation sites of the Chinese lie somewhat below the mouth of the Poor, and, to be sure, they are two houses surrounded by small vegetable gardens on the left bank, which bear the name Chaizo, and on the right bank, still somewhat farther down, the Goldi village of Tumurgu, in which there is one

/66 cont./

563 361 Chinese fanse, whose inhabitants, three Chinese traders, gave me the name Chai-tsching-ju-tscha for the village (3).

[113] [114]

3. Maack (Putesh. po. dol. r. Ussuri, Vol. I, pp. 9 and 45) also gives Chaizo as the last Chinese site along the Ussuri, but he puts it on the right bank and has the Chinese living there among the Goldi, which only fits Chai-tsching-ju-tscha or the Tumurgu of the Goldi.

563 361 491 Conditions are somewhat different along the left tributaries of the Ussuri, because they and their sources come close to the Sungari region and are connected with it by several roads. Ninguta and Ssan-ssin in particular are places in the Sungari region from which several roads lead to the left tributaries of the Ussuri. No less than three such roads run out of Ninguta, and, to be sure, in one case beyond the upper Ssuifun to the Lefu and Daubiche, then to Lake Kengka, and finally to the Muren, one of the largest and, at any rate, most important of the left tributaries of the Ussuri; from Ssan-ssin a much-traveled road leads to the Noor (4). Thus, in the western Ussuri region there

[133] [113]

4. The sources of the Noor are said to be separated from those of the Woken, a tributary of the Sungari, by only a mountain (Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri." -- Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXV, II, p. 197. See also Maak", Putesh. po dol. r. Ussuri, Vol. I, pp. 42, 56, 61, 66; according to my own investigations, and according to Wassiljef. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraĭe, pp. 88, 208. Archim. Palladii, "Ussuriiskie Man'tszy /Ussuri Man-dse/." -- Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 372, 373). On the upper Ssuifun the

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4. (cont.)
road from Ninguta branches off to Huntschun, on the one hand, and to the rivers Maiche, Zymuche, Ssutschan, etc., on the other. Moreover, countless small trails worn by the Man-dse lead to the coast and to the eastern Ussuri region (see Prshewalskij and Palladij, op. cit.).

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Thus, in the western Ussuri region there are much more advantageous conditions for the spread of the Chinese; it is more or less directly joined to the Sungari region, though with only a scattered and sparse population. If we consider the individual left tributaries of the Ussuri more closely, the luxuriant valley of the Lefu, which, however, is swampy in the lower parts, is inhabited by only very few Chinese (5).

5. Maack, op. cit., p. 58.
Prshewalskij, op. cit., p. 214.

Along the Ssianche, another river emptying into Lake Kengka, and on this lake itself their number is likewise small, but it becomes larger to the west of the lake and toward the upper Ssuifun where the roads to Ninguta meet (6). The Ssungatschi has a

6. Maack, op. cit., pp. 60, 61.
Prshewalskij, op. cit., pp. 68, 211.

Chinese settlement only in the vicinity of where it flows out of Lake Kengka (7). There are said to be a few small Chinese

7. Maack, op. cit., p. 63.

villages along the Muren, in the lower part, the only one for which /67/ we have any information (1). The Duma and the

1. Dorshidarof, who visited the lower course of the Muren, found on it only

/67 cont./

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1. (cont.)
one Chinese village at the mouth of a rather large river, which he thought was the one which on Chinese maps bears the name of Jergun, and a second one close to where it empties into the Ussuri (Maack, op. cit., p. 64).

The Duma and The
[824] Kirki are more heavily populated with Chinese because the moun-
[487] tains and forests in their vicinity and along their sources are said to be rich in the highly prized ginseng root, and for this reason
563 a trail leads from there to the Sungari (2). The most Chinese,
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2. Veniukov", "Obozr.," etc., p. 199; Putesh., etc. p. 25. Maak", Putesh. po dol. r. Ussuri, Vol. I, p. 65.

however, are along the Noor, the last large tributary of the Ussuri from the left; engaged not merely in farming and gardening, but primarily in trade, they live there for the most part in small villages which often alternate with those of the Goldi (3). Therefore, whereas the Chinese population decreases

3. Maack, op. cit., pp. 42, 66.

toward the north along the right tributaries of the Ussuri and with greater distance from the main artery of the region, the reverse situation is found along its left tributaries for the reasons stated above.

167 We still have to say a few words concerning the origin of the Ussuri Man-dse. In general it is the same as that of the Sungari Chinese, with this difference, however, that the Ussuri region and the seacoast often get their Chinese population secondhand from the Sungari region. Again the same three Chinese provinces adjacent to Manchuria, Shantung, Shansi, and,

2: Schrenck--138 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

/67 cont./

167 next to them, Chihli, send the largest contingent of emigrants
167 directly to the Ussuri and the coast (4). But the character of the
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4. Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, pp. 56, 57.

emigrants who go to the one place or the other is different in many respects, and this is conditioned primarily by the difference in the relations of the Chinese government with the two areas. Whereas it opened up the Sungari region to the immigration of Chinese agricultural colonists and permitted the establishment of large agricultural colonies there, it kept both far away from the Ussuri region (5) and instead guided to it a stream of a mobile in-

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5. Although agriculture is nevertheless in the Ussuri region, too, as we saw above, this is done only on a small scale in the immediate vicinity of the fansen, by their owners, alone or with the help of a few laborers, whereby the exceedingly fertile soil and the climatic conditions richly reward the labor. Extensive agriculture, however, orderly farming with all that is associated with it, as in the Sungari region, is not found there. The Ussuri Man-dse themselves complain that the Chinese government did not permit them to establish agricultural colonies (Palladii, "Ussuriisk. Man'tszy," op. cit., pp. 370-372).

dustrial population, because, it is said, the Manchurian commanders in Ninguta and Girin feared a crowd of an all too strong Chinese population there. At the same time it gave the Ussuri Man-dse great freedom in that it only occasionally sends to him officials from Ninguta or Ssan-ssin who collect an arbitrary tribute from each house, but

2: Schrenck--139 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

/67 cont./

167 [648] otherwise leave them completely undisturbed (6). The conse-

6. Palladij, op. cit.

quence of these measures was that the better part of the Chinese emigrants, namely those who migrated with their families in order to establish themselves in a new homeland and /68/ to become sedentary, farming inhabitants of it, came to the Sungari region, whereas the less desirable elements went to the Ussuri region, people who had no family ties, who even in their homeland had led only an unstable nomadic existence, poor and lowly workers and day laborers, but especially all kinds of degenerate and questionable people, evildoers and criminals, who sought to escape in flight, convicts expelled from society, and similar rabble, who saw a special advantage in the freedom and lawlessness, in the absence of any governmental inspection and control, in the Ussuri region. Similar elements also flowed into it for the same reasons from Liao-tung and the Sungari region. Many of these people even bore traces of the corporal punishment with which they had had to atone for crimes committed in their homeland (1).

[113] 1. Usol'tev", "Zakhankaiskii krai" (Morsk. Sbom., 1864, No. 6, Unofficial Part, p. 190).

563 181 How crude, degenerate, and immoral this population is, is brought out sufficiently in the descriptions of the travelers. Prshewalskij /Przhevalski/ could not point out a single good feature in the Ussuri Man-dse; on the contrary, he gives a drastic description of the dissolute lives of the gold-washers, seatang fishermen, and other rabble who spend the winter in the Zymuche and Ssutschan valleys, their drunkenness, their passionate gambling, in the course of which many a one has lost everything in one night and which is often accompanied by murder and homicide (2).

2. Putesh. v" Ussur. krai, pp. 85, 86, 90.

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563 [184] There are no civic institutions, schools, etc., here, even among the better elements of the Man-dse, the small sedentary farmers or the traders that have come from Ssan-ssin or Ninguta, as there are in the Sungari region. Needless to say, under such circum- [177] stances the Chinese population in the Ussuri region does not have that moral, civilizing force and importance that they have gained over the Manchu in the Sungari region. The Chinese in the Ussuri region lack the primary and most necessary condition for this -- the family. No Chinese woman enters the Ussuri region. Hence, the Man-dse there are forced to marry Orochi or Goldi women or to keep them as concubines, unless they prefer to stay single, as usually happens (3). In either case, the children, under the

[113] [162]

3. As many Chinese fansen as I have visited along the lower Ussuri -- and isolated houses of Chinese traders along the upper Amur, I have almost always seen only men in them, and rarely native women, but never Chinese women. Similar reports for various parts of the Ussuri region are given by Wenjukof ("Obozr. r. Ussuri," etc., pp. 241, 242; Put. po okr. Ross., pp. 100, 101), Maximowicz (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1861, Book III, Miscellany, p. 5) Ussolzef ("Zakhankaisk. krai." -Morsk. Sborn., 1864, No. 6, Unofficial Part, p. 190), P. von Helmersen (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1866, p. 84), Budischtschef ("Opisanie lies. chasti Prim. obl."- Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Vols. IX and X, 1867, p. 182), Schmidt ("Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 130), Prshewalskij (Put. v" Ussur. kr., pp. 83, 105), and others.

/68 cont./

563 influence of their respective mothers, are reared no better than Orochi and Goldi children, though they learn to speak Chinese at an early age, but this is also often the case among the natives living amidst Chinese or having much intercourse with them, and in later life, aside from a few modifications of character, in external habitus, etc., /69/ become completely like these [648] nationalities. To be sure, the Chinese government has been successful in preventing the rise of a powerful Chinese population in the Ussuri region, but along with this, in shortsighted fashion, it has only worked against its own interests and made it easier for the Russians to occupy this region and more readily assimilate its people (1).

1. Cf. also Palladij, loc. cit.

563 439 443 These, then, are the areas with a large Chinese population in the Amur region. They are centers, the seats, from which scattered individual Chinese elements radiate out all through the Amur region. The many Chinese traders who go to all the Amur peoples go out from there in order to exchange their Manchu-Chinese wares and products for the hunting spoils of the latter. And they do not merely visit them briefly; at certain points they have obtained a firm foothold among them and, taking up more or less permanent residence, have set up small trading posts or stations. We shall later, at the appropriate place, discuss in detail the trade that the Chinese -- whether itinerant or fixed in one place -- carry on with the Amur peoples, but first of all let us interest ourselves in their trading posts from another point of view. In [197] the wake of trade, Chinese manners, Chinese culture, morals or immorality, penetrate to the Amur peoples, and every Chinese trading post is therefore in turn a small center from which Chinese influence radiates out to the Amur peoples. While, in order to investigate and to measure this influence in the course of our discussion of the Amur peoples, we must, first of all, learn in greater detail the area of distribution of the Chinese in the Amur region, we must by all means also consider their small

563 /69 cont./
443 trading posts among the Amur peoples in terms of their approxi-
439 mate number, location, etc.

The difference in the position and relationship of the Manchu and the Chinese with respect to the Amur peoples is highly significant, in that with regard to the former we are dealing only with guardposts and permanent seats of officials, and with regard to the latter it is a matter only of trading posts and permanent seats of traders. And it is no less significant that the latter do not only greatly exceed the former in numbers, but also extend far beyond the borders within which the former lie. Where the actual power of the Manchu ends, the Chinese, through the power of trade, has still been able to gain a firm foothold. And this in spite of the fact that he himself must submit to many restrictions
563 and oppressive measures on the part of the Manchu rulers. The
443 spread of the Chinese traders is least along the upper Amur,
439 above the mouth of the Dseja, which they reach from Aigun and
361 the nearby Chinese villages. I met them there at only four points, and the last of these traders, going upstream, had his post about a day's journey below the guardpost of Ulussu-modon. They therefore dwindle out in the Manegir area, and none is found among the Orochon. The reasons that keep them from advancing farther in this direction and /70/ in greater numbers seem to me to be the following. First and foremost, the small and nomadic population in this part of the Amur River. This not only curtails trading and makes it difficult, but also makes the trader seminomadic. Since the Manegir on the Amur do not have any permanent habitation sites, the Chinese traders cannot set up their seats among them, as they do among the peoples of the lower Amur region, but must provide for food and dwelling by erecting their own houses and growing their own vegetables. When the Amur is entirely deserted in the fall, however, with the departure of the Manegir, they have no choice but to go back to Aigun or some other place from which they came, and not until spring, when the nomads again come to the Amur to fish, do they reappear at their trading posts. Another disadvantage for the Chinese traders on the upper Amur is the competition which

/70 cont./

563 they have there from the Daur and which hurts them all the more
443 in that the latter are in a more favorable position simply because
439 of their permanent sites along the middle and upper Komar and
361 their permanent contacts with the Manegir, and, in addition, it seems, are favored over the Chinese by the Manchurian officials. It may very well be that further advances along the upper Amur have even been directly forbidden for the Chinese traders by their government, for the latter is nowhere so suspicious and uneasy, so anxious to prevent any communication across the border, as it is at the Russian border of the upper Amur, which has been long and bitterly contested. There, as an exception, the Chinese trading posts do not go beyond the Manchurian guard-posts, but remain far below them. No traders go out from Aigun and the surrounding Chinese settlements except to the upper Amur, for the Dseja and Bureja with their tributaries seem to be visited exclusively by Daur traders.

Along the lower course of the river the Chinese have a much wider field than on the upper Amur. To be sure, along the stretch between the mouths of the Sungari and Ussuri there are, as far as I could learn, no permanent residences of Chinese traders, in part on account of the very small population, and in part on account of the proximity of those rivers and therefore of the trading posts located on them. Below the mouth of the Ussuri, in the more densely populated part of the Goldi region, there are, however, several of them. As such, I myself, for instance, became acquainted with the villages of Da, Onmoi, Mylki, Zjanka, Kŏurmi -- all of them inhabited in summer and winter by several Chinese traders. In other places which the Goldi desert in summer in order to seek out places more favorably located for fishing, they stay only during the winter, while they spend the summer getting new wares and trading on the way with the Goldi. The choice of the villages named as permanent residences on the part of the Chinese traders is explained by their favorable location. They all lie at points where the products of nature, especially furs, from various tribes pour in [illegible] natural routes. At Da, for instance, there is the

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563 mouth of the Da or Naiche River, whose lower course is inhabited
443 by Goldi, the upper by Orochi; similarly, from Onmoi not
439 only the dwellers along the Amur, /71/ but also the Goldi and
361 Orochi opposite the mouth of the Chongar River can be supplied and exploited; finally, Zjanka and Köurmi are in the same manner located respectively opposite and in the vicinity of the Gorin mouth, so that every winter the Chinese from there make their trading trips to the Samagir. Zjanka is a typical small trading post of the Chinese, in that there they have their own house with a vegetable garden. The two latter places are already beyond the last Manchu post and close to the boundary of the Goldi territory, at which effective Manchu control likewise reaches its boundary. The Chinese traders, however, go even farther, through the entire Olcha territory, and even stay there permanently in various places, for example, in the Olcha villages of Adi, Kidsi, and Pulj, where I met them in the winter of 1855. Again, all three places were very cleverly chosen by them, for Adi is the largest of all the Olcha villages and at the same time is close to the Goldi and Samagir territories; Kidsi, on the one hand, lies in the center of Olcha territory, and, on the other hand, it is in the immediate vicinity of the Orochi on account of Lake Kidsi, from which a towpath runs to the seacoast, and also on account of the Pä and Jaï rivers, from which there is a road to the Tumdshi River and to Kaiserhafen; and, finally, Pulj has the great advantage, first, of lying in the immediate neighborhood of the Amur Gilyak and also at the threshold of the route which in winter leads over the Adara Mountains to the Liman, over which, not only the Liman Gilyak, but also, as we saw above, the Orok from Sakhalin come to the Amur. This, however, is the last more or less permanent trading post of the Chinese in the lower Amur region, for from here on, and along the left bank of the Amur River, which down to its last eastern bend is uninhabited by the Gilyak -- with the exception of the village of Tlals -- they only make occasional trading trips to the Negda on the Amgunj/Amgun/ (1). The right, relatively

1. Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Pri-amursk.

H.M. 563 443 439 36 113 /71 cont./

1. (cont.)
kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sbom., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 334 and others).

H.M. 563 648 439 G 439 648 The right, relatively thickly populated bank of the Amur and also the left one from its last bend to the east is closed to them, for the Gilyak, although -- as we shall see -- zealous traders themselves, nevertheless permit no Chinese to enter their territory, perhaps out of the just fear that the traders might pave the way for the rulers. On the basis of their own experiences on their trading trips to the Sungari, it is natural for them -- the Gilyak -- to regard the Manchu and Chinese, in contrast to the other Amur peoples, as identical with respect to political power and ruling position, though they distinguish between them with regard to nationality. G 101 114 They also at times simply designate the Chinese with the name "Manchu" -- a circumstance that gave rise to much confusion concerning these peoples on the part of travelers (2).

H.M. 563 114 113 439 101

2. For example, Orlof (cf. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. obozr. obraz. Ross.-Amer. Komp., St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 84 and others), Tschichatschof (Tichmenjef, op. cit., pp. 89 ff.), Beresin (ibid., pp. 91 ff.), Boschnjak ("Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie."- Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, pp. 115-118, 125, 126; No. 2, Unofficial Part, pp. 332 to 337; No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 195, etc.), and others constantly refer to the Chinese traders from the lower Amur and from the Amgunj as "Manchu." The same is done by Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 161, 165) with

2: Schrenck--146 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria A62

/71 cont./

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2. (cont.)
respect to the Chinese living in Pulj and Adi. As a consequence of this confusion Peschtschurof /Peshchurov/ has the Manchu extend almost to the mouth of the Amur; in connection with this, he calls them "traders who are timid by nature" (see Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 305), which fits only the Chinese, and in no way the Manchu. Likewise the "Manchu" who, according to Prshewalskij (Put. v" Ussur. kraie, p. 11), come with their wares to the mouth of the Komar may be Chinese, according to the above; etc.

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/72/ The Sungari, and especially the last Manchu-Chinese town on it, Ssan-ssin or Itschä-choton, is the point of departure for all the Chinese whom one meets as traveling or sedentary traders in the lower Amur region. To be sure, once in a while Chinese traders go down the Ussuri in summer (1), or in winter

1. Maak", Putesh. po dol. r. Ussuri, Vol. I, p. 66.

from the Poor along the Pächssa route, to the Amur (2), but even

2. See above, p. 134.

these few come indirectly from the Sungari, since most of them first went from Ssan-ssin to the Ussuri and subsequently remained in permanent contact with this town. Like most of the Sungari traders, the Amur traders, too, are Shansi Chinese, profit-seeking and enterprising people, who, unfettered by family ties, seek their fortune far away. We shall learn more about them later.

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

/72 cont./

648 On the island of Sakhalin, the role played by the Manchu and Chinese in relation to the Amur peoples on the continent belongs to the Japanese. They are the rulers for at least a part of [177] this island, and they are the civilized people with whom the inhabitants of it have long had close contact and connections, and in part still do, and to whom they are therefore undoubtedly [121] indebted for much cultural influence. Just as we had to study the distribution of the Manchu and Chinese there, here it is first of all of interest to us to learn the area which the Japanese occupy on Sakhalin, or did occupy up to a short time ago (3). Control

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3. I again call attention to the fact that my observations refer to those conditions and situations that I myself found in the Amur region and on Sakhalin in the 1850's.

by the Japanese has at all times extended only over the southern half of Sakhalin; it has thus only embraced, even at the time of its greatest expansion, practically all of the Ainu area, but never touched the other two peoples on Sakhalin, the Orok and the Gilyak. Since it is of relatively recent origin and, from modest beginnings, did not reach larger proportions until recent years as a consequence of events which were taking place at the very time when I became acquainted with the island, but at the present time, as a further consequence of these events, has again completely ceased, I believe that its scope could not be delineated better than by my sketching a few features of its history.

175 When, in 1785 and 1786, the Japanese, Mogami Tok'nai,
654 traveled over the island of Sakhalin or Krafto (Karafuto) -- as
361 it is called in Japanese -- (4), there were not yet any permanent Japanese settlements on it.

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4. This was the first Japanese-sponsored journey for the investigation of Sakhalin after the expedition undertaken at the beginning of the seventeenth century by order of the governor of Matsumai,

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4. (cont.)
Prince Kinfiro (Siebold, Nippon, I, pp. 126-127).

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Japanese settlements on it. /73/ It was not until a year later, when the vessels of La Pérouse were seen off the west coast of Sakhalin and in Aniwa /Aniva/Bay that the Japanese government, as Golownin /Golovnin/ relates, out of fear that Europeans might take possession of the island, decided to colonize the southern part of it, which until then the Japanese had visited only for trade, but to leave the north to the Chinese (1). Although this decision

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1. Zapiski fl. kap. Golovnina o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" /Naval Captain Golovnin's Notes on His Adventures during the Period of His Captivity among the Japanese/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 168. It is therefore not quite correct when N. Busse (Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ekspeditsiia 1853 i 1854g. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 72), reproducing Golownin's statements, says that the Japanese government established the first settlement on Sakhalin at the beginning of this century and, to be sure, out of fear that the Russians might annex the island.

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was not carried out immediately, the subsequent appearance of Laxmann in the harbors of Jesso /Yesso/ and the southern Kuriles soon afterward, in 1792 and 1793, probably contributed to the realization of it. At any rate, the reason given for the first settlement of Japanese on Sakhalin is quite trustworthy, because, as we shall see, the later expansion of their settlements came about for similar reasons (2). Soon afterward we in fact learn of

2: Schrenck--149 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

/73 cont./

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2. For example, it is said that not until the occupation of the northern Kuriles by the Russians were the Japanese stirred to colonize the southern Kuriles located closest to them, Kunaschir /Kunashir/ and Iturup (Golownin, op. cit., p. 157; cf. also Siebold, op. cit., p. 127).

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Soon afterward we in fact learn of the first Japanese settlements on Sakhalin: Krusenstern and his companions visited two of them in Aniwa Bay in 1805, at the points called Salmbai and Tomari-Aniwa by the Dutch (3).

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3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, St. Petersburg, 1810, Vol. II, pp. 62 ff. Langsdorff, Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt /Comments on a Trip around the World/, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, pp. 289 ff.

The latter settlement is called Kussun-kotan by the Ainu. In both there were Japanese officers as well as traders, and both appear, judging by the conditions of the buildings and by the statements of the Japanese, to have been established only recently (4). It is highly probable that the settlements of the

4. Krusenstern (op. cit., p. 65) came to this conclusion with regard to the settlement in Salmbai because the dwellings for the Japanese officers as well as the warehouses were still very new, and, indeed, some were not yet finished. The Japanese officers in Tomari-Aniwa (Kussun-kotan) told Langsdorff (op. cit., p. 293) that one of them had been living on Sakhalin

2: Schrenck--150 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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4. (cont.)
for six years, the other for eight. This settlement is therefore perhaps the older of the two, just as at that time it was also the larger one. According to Polonskij ("Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 559), the settlement of the Japanese in Aniwa Bay was established seven years before the first attack by Chwostof, therefore in 1799.

Japanese were confined at that time to Aniwa Bay lying closest to them. One would think it most likely that there was another Japanese trade settlement in Ssiranussi on the west coast directly above Cape Crillon, an old trading post undoubtedly also visited by the Japanese, which will be maintained frequently below; in fact, however, this does not seem to have been the case, as we shall see in a moment. In 1806 and 1807, Chwostof and Dawydof directed their raids only against Aniwa Bay, raids which they had to carry out against the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin upon the orders of the Russian envoy, Resanof, who had been rejected by the Japanese (5). The devastations that they

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5. A detailed discussion and elucidation of these events was given by Admiral Schischkof in the preface to Dawydof's description of the voyages undertaken by Chwostof and himself (Dvukratnoe putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitser. Khvostova i Davydova /The Repeated Journey to America by Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1810, Part I, Preface, pp. XIII-XXVI.

2: Schrenck--151 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

175 /74/ the devastations that they committed there made necessary greater alertness and
636 prudence for its colonies on the part of the Japanese government
648 and prompted it a year later to send the skillful and reliable
[654] man, the surveyor, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, to Krafto, in
order to explore this island, as well as the neighboring Amur
[361] region, for their purposes (1). In the following we shall repeatedly

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1. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 129; VII, p. 197. From the above one can easily see how Newelskoi's assertion stands in absolute contradiction to all the historical facts -- but he nevertheless repeatedly comes back to it (cf. his posthumous work, Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krainem" vost. Rossii, pp. 152, 256, 275, 302) -- namely, that the Japanese did not begin to come to Sakhalin and to settle there until after the Russians, and, to be sure, not until from 1810 on, and therefore also after the visit to Aniwa Bay by Chwostof and Dawydof. This assertion is just as incorrect as a second one asserted by him in the same sentence (op. cit., p. 256), namely, that Sakhalin was first described by the Russians, and, to be sure, in 1740 (as though there had been no Vries a century before!), and even a third one, that the Orok are Russian Tungus who emigrated from the Udj /Uda/ area at the beginning of the sixteenth century. I shall discuss this last one in greater detail later and on that occasion shall point out the tendency lying at the basis of all these assertions.

refer to this journey, which is also highly interesting

2: Schrenck--152 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. 175 636 648 361 [113]

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ethnographically, and we are indebted to Ph. F. von Siebold for its publication (2); I mention it now only because one can gather

2. "Tô-tats ki ko," that is, "Journey to Eastern Tartary" (Nippon, VII, pp. 167-196).

from it that there were no Japanese settlements along the west coast of Sakhalin at that time. There is no mention in it of any in Ssiranussi either, to which Mamia Rinsô went first and where he spent three days in preparation for further travels; in his report he mentions only the trade of the Japanese in this place (3).

3. Op. cit., p. 187.

F.J. 636 175 648 464 A 648 464 175

Though the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were small in number and extent in the beginning, they immediately had the result that a part of the Ainu became dependent on the Japanese. The chief reason for this was the circumstance that the latter, in order to broaden the scope of the very rewarding fishing along the coast of Sakhalin, needed the help of the Ainu. Now since among the Ainu, with the unconcern that characterizes all primitive peoples, it always happened that they suffered want and distress after the insufficient winter supplies were consumed, it was not difficult for the Japanese to find

F.J. 175 636 648 466 A 175 648 466

laborers among them in exchange for food and clothing. Once they were won over, however, they soon degenerated into permanent, completely dependent laborers and menials of the Japanese because of the impossibility of working for themselves in the future, the situation in which they now saw themselves put, because of small advances that made them debtors of the Japanese, because of various promises, threats, and in general the pressure of a civilized people superior to them who were already acquainted with their weaknesses on Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/. As Fr. Schmidt correctly pointed out (4), the

4. "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106.

2: Schrenck--153 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

F.J. 175 636 648 466 A 175 648 466

/74 cont./

originally voluntary labor by the Ainu for the Japanese soon became forced labor. Needless to say, the latter, in order to be certain of their laborers, tried to keep them always in their vicinity, and /75/ hence there was assembled around the Japanese settlements a large population of dependent Ainu; whole villages were formed, while their former dwelling sites became deserted.

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At the same time, the Japanese steadily enlarged their settlements on Sakhalin. Up to the year 1854, however, this took place only very slowly and gradually. Aside from Aniwa Bay they spread primarily along the west coast of Sakhalin from Ssiranussi northward. In the fall of 1853, when the Russians founded the Murawjof Station in the vicinity of Kussun-kotan, the Japanese had three large or chief settlements on Sakhalin, Kussun-kotan, Ssiranussi, and Endungomo (Tunai, Mauka) (I),

F.J. [113]

1. Schmidt, "Historischer Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 105. A. D. Brylkin, "Statist. und topograph. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin" /Statistical and Topographical Information on Southern Sakhalin/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 278).

between which, along the coast, in the Ainu villages or even separate from them, there were many sheds and warehouses for storing supplies of fish, and here and there isolated Japanese dwellings used only in summer. These houses extended to the north for a stretch beyond Endungomo; Lieutenant Rudanofskij, who traveled through southern Sakhalin from the Murawjof Station in the winter of 1853/54, found the last, northernmost house of this kind on Tokmako Bay, only a little to the north of Endungomo, and the last Japanese storehouses in Tubu, Notossam, and Paikassabussi. In that winter, by the way, the Japanese had also left Endungomo temporarily, as they were accustomed to do, because their boats were exposed to all kinds of dangers during the winter in the only slightly protected bays of this part of Sakhalin.

2: Schrenck--154 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. 175 648 464 162 22 A 175 162 464 648 /75 cont./

During the summer, however, an Ainu population larger than almost anywhere else on Sakhalin was concentrated around Endungomo for the Japanese fishing. Rudanofskij estimated the crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at 300 persons in itself, but, according to the Ainu themselves, their number was said to amount to about 700 there (2). Just as Endungomo lived on

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2. The above information was taken from Rudanofskij's handwritten travel journal, which he kindly let me use. I do not know whether it has been published in full anywhere.

fishing, Ssiranussi lived primarily on trade. These settlements, in contrast to Kussun-kotan, where several Japanese officers were also permanently stationed, bore a different character -- that of purely fishing and trading centers. These latter interests were so essential to the Japanese on Sakhalin that their greatest fear at the time of the founding of the Murawjof Station was that the Russians might alienate the Ainu from them and through that destroy their fishing and trade there. Therefore, when this station was abandoned in May, 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Japanese hastened to extend and to strengthen their settlements on Sakhalin as much as possible in the meantime, so that in case of the eventual return of the Russians they would have effective possession of the entire Ainu territory on the island. The most fantastic rumors concerning this Japanese expansion quickly spread, not only among the Ainu, but also among their northern neighbors, the Gilyak. When, in the winter of 1854/55, I was at the Nikolayev Station preparing for my first trip to Sakhalin, the Liman Gilyak brought me the /76/ strangest accounts concerning this: besides the true information that the Japanese were appearing in greater numbers on Sakhalin that year and had not left even for the winter, they also told me that already that summer by means of emissaries who had gone to Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/ and Tschomi, they had spied on the activities of the Russians in the

F.J. 648 636 175

/76 cont./

636 Liman and along the Amur, that their boats had advanced as
648 far as the Gilyak village of Pilja-wo and wintered there, that
175 they threatened that no Gilyak who let himself be seen among them would come away with his life, etc. There is no doubt that some of these reports were circulated by the Ainu who were fleeing from the Japanese and, in order to preserve their independence, were seeking refuge in the border villages of the Gilyak. Since similar things must have repeatedly happened earlier, when the first Japanese settlements were founded on Sakhalin, and especially along the west coast, this explains the above-mentioned mixed population in the southernmost Gilyak villages bordering Ainu territory.

175 Now the Japanese also seized the east coast of Sakhalin,
636 on which, up to 1854, they had had no settlements at all, and
361 their expansion proceeded rather evenly along both coasts. In 1857, their northernmost settlement on the west coast was in Naioro, only slightly to the south of the Kussunnai River (1).

1. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 77.

175 In the following year the Russians founded the posts of
648 Kussunnai on the west coast and Manuë on the east coast (2),
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2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 106.

whose location is of special importance inasmuch as the narrowest part of the island, with the shortest and easiest road running across it, which has served from the beginning for communica-
175 tion between the two coasts, is found between them (3). As a
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3. In January, 1854, Rudanofskij had already used this road.

countermove, the Japanese soon afterward erected their settlement of Kussunnai and Wari close by (4). When Schmidt

2: Schrenck--156 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

FJ 175 636 361 [113] /76 cont./

4. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106. A. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 4).

traveled on the island (1860), he found that the Japanese had already advanced along the west coast to the boundary of the Ainu territory proper. Their northernmost settlement was in Ustomonaipu in the Bay d'Estaing, but their fisheries extended even farther to the north, for in Urotzi he saw a large warehouse for salted salmon, which had been erected by them, and still farther beyond that, north of the Ainu village of Orokes on Cape Chazkopespo, he met Japanese who had erected a bark hut for a temporary stay and were engaged in collecting and drying seatang, Laminaria esculenta (5). Orokes, however,

FJ [226] [251]

A [361] [10] [161]

5. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 73-77.

as we saw above (6), is the northernmost village with a pure Ainu

6. See above, p. 32.

population; to the north of it there is a rather desolate coastal stretch which separates the Ainu area from that of the Gilyak, and beyond this, beginning with Pilja-wo, there are villages with a mixed population of Gilyak and Ainu, in which the latter can only be regarded as isolated here because of the Japanese. /77/ Thus, as early as 1860 the Japanese had reached their goal along the west coast of Sakhalin, if they did not also intend to expand into Gilyak territory.

Only a little later they obtained the same position on the east coast. In 1860 their northernmost point there was Mogunkotan (1). During the summer of 1861 they already occupied

1. Brylkin, op. cit., p. 20.

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175 the places richest in fish at the western mouth of the Ty or
636 Poronai River and founded there their settlement of Ssisska where
361 they kept a few men even during the winter (2). From there

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2. Brylkin, op. cit., p. 53. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostrova Sakhalina, p. 119.

they demanded that the last, easternmost Ainu, those of Taraika, who were still independent and therefore the wealthiest, recognize their supremacy. In the same year a Japanese official was to go to Taraika for this purpose, and a Japanese settlement was to be founded in this village, and now, writes Brylkin in 1864 (3),

3. Op. cit., pp. 36, 53.

this has undoubtedly been carried out. And Schmidt (4) reported

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 106, 114.

later that this had actually been done. According to Mizul (5),

5. Op. cit., p. 120.

during the fishing season the Japanese are said to go from Taraika even to Nyi. Presumably, however, these were not regular trips, but rather only individual ones made by the Japanese in order to investigate the rest of the coast, since Nyi is far from Taraika and already in Gilyak territory, and the coast is uninhabited almost up to it. At any rate, it is not to be presumed that the Japanese ever intended to extend their rule over Sakhalin beyond the Ainu territory, for they must have known that they would find the Gilyak to be a people not as servile and as easy to subjugate as the Ainu with whom they were already acquainted on Jesso. The knowledge of the Japanese concerning the language and the nature and customs of the Ainu people

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Southeast Siberia RX1

F.J. 175 638 648 F.J. [647]

/77 cont./

substantially helped in the extension of their rule over the southern half of Sakhalin. Also, the Japanese colonization of Sakhalin naturally continually proceeded from Jesso. It was, of course, carried on by the two princes of Matsumai and Hakodate, to whom the sixth districts of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were subject for administrative purposes: the three southern districts, Ssiranussi, Kussun-kotan, and Tunaitscha, recognized the supremacy of the prince of Matsumai; the three northern districts, Tunai (Endungomo), Kussunnai, and Manuë, or Wari, the last of which extended to the Gulf of Patience, the supremacy of the prince of Hakodate (6). These conditions were brought to an end

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6. Brylkin, "Statist. und topogr. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin," op. cit., pp. 278-287. One also finds there an exact listing of all the Japanese settlements and the Ainu villages on Sakhalin.

by the treaty concluded between Russia and Japan in 1875, as a consequence of which all the Russian Kuriles from Urup to Schumschu /Shumshu/ were ceded to Japan, and the latter, on the other hand, gave up the possession of southern Sakhalin in favor of Russia.

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/78/ Besides the distribution of the civilized peoples from East Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, the position that the Russians occupied in the Amur region at the time when I became acquainted with its peoples is to be sketched here. It has already been mentioned in the introduction how rapidly the occupation and colonization of the Amur region on the part of Russia advanced in the past decades; it has been pointed out that along with this the national peculiarities of the Amur peoples quickly began to disappear, and therefore it must be called a favor of circumstance that we had the opportunity to study these peoples before the loss of their individuality. Only the first beginnings of the Russian occupation and colonization occurred at the time

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121 of my stay in the Amur region or immediately preceded it.
179 Therefore only these will be discussed in detail here. It is well
648 known, however, that the first contacts of the Russians with the Amur peoples date from more than two centuries earlier and have demonstrably also taken place continually since then. Hence we should obviously first give an account of them.

175 From the writings of Siberia's historiographers, G. Müller,
648 J. E. Fischer, and others, we are sufficiently informed about the wars and raids carried out in the Amur region during the seventeenth century by the Russian Cossacks and freebooters, who went along the course of the Amur River down to its mouth and to the adjoining part of the Sea of Okhotsk and at many points set up temporary winter camps, fortified camps, stockades, villages, and even a city, Albasin, on the upper Amur. Many of the details of these events will be referred to later, many of their consequences, of great importance ethnographically for the Amur region, will be discussed in detail, and hence a description of all these events repeated in full would be out of place here, and all the more so since the contacts of the Russians with the Amur peoples were of too short a duration and too exclusively hostile to exert a demonstrable influence, aside from destruction and devastation, upon the life, views, usages, and customs of the latter. It is well known that the treaty concluded at Nerchinsk in 1689 put an end to the Russian undertakings of the time, with China being given control over the entire Amur region. It should not be thought, however, that with this the contacts of the Russians with the Amur peoples in their own regions ceased completely. The motives that had guided the first Russian Cossacks to the Amur River, the hope of a rich booty in precious furs, in precious metals, and who knows what as yet unknown treasures in this vast and still unknown region, and along with this the prospect of free, unrestrained, and uncontrolled operations among its peoples, acted strongly and were not to be suppressed by a treaty. Though the treaty of Nerchinsk as well as the later one in 1728 concluded by Count Ragusinskij with China provided for severe punishment for any transgression of the Russo-Chinese

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648 border, nevertheless such took place over more or less the whole stretch from the Argunj /Argun/ and the Schilka /Shilka/ to the Sea of Okhotsk. Russian fur-hunters, traders, Cossacks, adventurers, and fugitives of all kinds, even escaped prisoners and the like, went deep into the Amur region, sometimes only temporarily, sometimes for a prolonged stay; indeed, /79/ some settled there permanently. The vague and unfamiliar course of the border line in those forested and mountainous wildernesses, as well as its complete indefensibility against the Russo-Tungusic mountain nomads, contributed in part to the continual violations of the border treaties. Middendorff has described these conditions very exhaustively and, from manuscripts, papers in archives, and his own inquiries and experiences, has given a long series of facts which are the best proof that the contacts between the Russians and the Amur peoples, even though nothing was known about them, took place here and there almost uninterruptedly (1).

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 100-106, 142-175.

He even believes that an influence on the facial formation of the inhabitants of the lower Amur region may be ascribed to it (2).

2. Op. cit., p. 157.

In individual cases, especially in the border districts through which Middendorff traveled, such an influence may actually be noticeable, but by and large I cannot share this view; I rather believe that the national peculiarities of the Amur people could scarcely have suffered through that intercourse, since at that time the Russians visited the Amur region only more or less individually, temporarily, as strangers, and under conditions which did not permit them or at least did not make it appear advisable to emphasize their origins but rather forced them to accommodate themselves to the customs and way of life of the natives.

2: Schrenck--161 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Tungus RU5

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S.S. /79 cont./
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At any rate, the Russians had the most contact with the peoples of the upper Amur region, the Orochon, Manegir, and Birar. The first were closest to them simply because, along the upper Lena tributaries, along the Olekma, along the Tungir, etc., they inhabit undisputed Russian territory, and along the Schilka and Argunj they are their immediate neighbors. Moreover, they occupy that part of the Amur region where, prior to the treaty of Nerchinsk, the Russians had had actual settlements, villages with agriculture (3), and a town, Albasin, repeatedly and

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3. Müller, Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Vol. II, pp. 391, 392. Stuckenberg, Hydrogr. des Russ. Reichs, St. Petersburg, 1848, Vol. II, p. 778. Cf. also Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 150.

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heroically defended. It goes without saying that after the treaty they held the view that this was actually their country which the Chinese had snatched away from them, and that the Orochon along the upper Amur and its tributaries, just as along the Olekma, the Tungir, etc., should pay tribute, not to China, but to Russia. And, finally, in addition to everything else, there lay before the Russians the broad and inviting Amur route, used by them successfully so often, which led into the center of Orochon territory, and it lay before them open and unguarded, for the Manchu-Chinese guardposts on the Amur do not begin until much farther down, in Manegir territory, and the trip made by Chinese officials once a year at a certain time to inspect the border markers at the mouth of the Gorbiza could not possibly bar the river to them. No border treaty could have prevented the enterprising and profit-seeking Russian fur-hunters, Cossacks, and adventurers /80/ from penetrating into the neighboring Amur region from the Schilka and Argunj. Their most productive hunting grounds were there, from which they obtained the prized sable furs and, as these became rare, numerous squirrel pelts.

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175 648 224 Every year in the fall, they came in groups, equipped with everything that was needed, for these hunts, which, with reference to their principal booty, were plainly named "squirrel hunts" (bielkov'e, and from it the verb bielkovat'). According to Middendorff's data, they did not merely go to the Stanovoi Mountains and along the left bank of the Amur to the Ur, not merely down the Amur on rafts almost to the Albasicha, but in particular also along the right bank of the Amur into the area of the Albasicha, Panga, and even to the Komar (1). In

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 160, 168, note 2.

October, 1856, I saw the Cossacks in the villages along the lower Argunj in part still occupied with preparations for the "squirrel
175 648 hunt," in part already on the point of departure. For months they stay in those wildernesses, and many contacts take place there between them and the forest nomads, be they Russian Tungus or Chinese Orochon and Manegir. Traders, who take
[443] what the Tungus have bagged in exchange for liquor and other wares, and Russian border Cossacks, who take it as tribute for the government, are also found there. Middendorff, for example, met on the Uritschi, on unquestionably Chinese territory, according to treaty, a whole division of these Cossacks with their immediate commanding officers, who collected tribute from the Orochon and, naturally, at the same time carried on a profitable fur trade (2). Some of the hunters and traders stayed

2. Reise, etc., loc. cit., p. 160.

more permanently on the Amur or went even farther downstream. Müller, for instance, reported that around 1738 the son of a Nerchinsk Cossack, Danilo Ssoldatof, lived with his whole family at the mouth of the Albasicha and once even went as far as Aigun, where he was arrested by the Chinese, who,

2: Schrenck--163 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RXI

/80 cont./

175 648 however, released him when he said that he had lost his way (3).

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3. In Büsching's Magazin für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part II, 2nd edition, Hamburg, 1769, pp. 491, 503. Cf. also Middendorff, op. cit., p. 167, note 2.

Fugitives in particular may have often sought refuge in the Amur region and wandered far in it, or remained there entirely, but, as a rule, without leaving any trace. In rare cases, however, we are indebted to them for some reports about the Amur region. Especially remarkable are the travels of the fugitive Gurij Wassiljev, who went down the whole Amur River to its mouth by water. According to Ladyshinski, these voyages took place between the years 1815 and 1826 (4). According to a letter

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4. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 156, note 1.

by Baron Schilling von Cannstadt from Irkutsk (5) and based upon

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5. To the Director of the Asiatic Department in St. Petersburg, dated January, 1832 (D. Romanov", "Prisoedinenie Amura k" Rossii /The Annexation of the Amur by Russia/."-- Russkoe Slovo, St. Petersburg, 1859, June, Sec. I, p. 364. P. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. Obozr. obraz. Ross.-Amerik. Komp. i dieistv. eia do nastoiashchago vremeni /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company and of Its Activities up to the Present Time, Pt. II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 43).

information by Wassiljef himself, he did not reach the Amur mouth until the last-named year. From there he first turned

S.S. /80 cont./
175 southward, spent the winter on the border between the Gilyak and the Ainu (that is to say, /81/ on Sakhalin), and then in the spring of 1827, since he had often heard from the former that Russians lived to the north of the Amur, he went back to the mouth of this river and on north of it along the coast. Before he reached the Tugur, however, about 35 versts from it, he had to spend another winter among the Gilyak. Then, in the spring of 1828, he went with them by dog sled to the mouth of the Tugur and, finally, from there, with Reindeer-Tungus, to Udskoi Ostrog, where he surrendered to the Russian local authorities. The accounts based on Gurij Wassiljef's testimony contain so much of ethnographic interest that we shall refer to them repeatedly below (1).

S.S. [114] [113]

1. Middendorff, in his travel account (Vol. IV, pp. 156-160), published the most important data from Ladyshinskij's handwritten notes. He also points out that Iakinf in his description of the Amur River (Statist. opis. Kitaisk Imperii, St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, p. 216 f.) made liberal use of Wassiljef's data.

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Scarcely less than from the west there was also contact from the north, beyond the Stanovoi Range, between the Russians and the Amur peoples. Here they came in contact chiefly with the Manegir and the Birar. And just as there it was the Russian Orochon, here it was the Russian Tungus who arranged and brought about these contacts for the border established by the treaty of Nerchinsk was always indefensible against them since it did not take into account the natural conditions determining the life of the mountain nomads. They T [224] came down from the Stanovoi Mountains on their hunting trips into the Dseja /Zeya/ and Bureja /Bureya/ system far into Chinese territory, roaming to and fro up to the Amur. Yakut

2: Schrenck--165 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Tungus RU5
Yakut RV2

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S.S. /81 cont./ Yakut
175 traders often appeared in their wake. Why, then, in spite of
648 all the border restrictions, should Russian fur-hunters, Cossacks,
177 and the like not advance over the same route? Müller, in fact,
224 reported that in 1737 the surveyors Skobelzyn and Schetilof
[439] repeatedly came across the hunting huts of Russian fur-hunters
Y
[439] from Nerchinsk along the Gilui and its tributaries (2). Else-

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2. In Büsching's Magaz., op. cit., p. 491. Cf. also Middendorff, op. cit., pp. 168, 169.

where (3), and perhaps only generalizing from those reports, he

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3. Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Vol. III, 1758, p. 509.

mentions the "forbidden sable hunts that take place from
SS. Nerchinsk to the Seja /Seya/ River." To the many proofs offered
175 by Middendorff (4) that Yakut as traders frequently followed the
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4. Op. cit., pp. 165 ff. Also see above, p. 79.

Russian Tungus into the Dseja and Bureja area and even took up more permanent residence there among them, we can add, according to L. Schwarz (5), that Russian traders, Cossacks from

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5. Podrobnyi otchet" o rezul'tatakh" izslied. Matematich. Otd. Sibirsk. Eksped. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. /Detailed Account of the Results of the Research of the Mathematical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society/, 1864, Ch. III, pp. 69, 76.

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439 /81 cont./
175 Udskoi Ostrog and elsewhere, utilizing the unsettled border
648 situation, annually undertook long journeys in those regions that
443 by treaty were Chinese. Occasionally, Russian priests, too,
175 would go there in order to minister to the spiritual needs of this
797 dispersed orthodox population and at the same time to spread
[36] Christianity among the pagan Tungus (6). Later, after
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6. In 1826, for instance, the priest, Germogen Djatschkovskij, with the same Yakut (Wantscha) who had served as a guide to Middendorff, went into the Bureja territory as far as Jorach, below the confluence of the Niman and Bureja.

Middendorff's /82/ journey, Russian chapels were erected there at several points, for instance; the Inkanj Chapel on the small Myni River near where it empties into the Ssilimdshi, in the Dseja territory; the Bureja Chapel at the sources of the Dolnikan, a left tributary of the Bureja; and the Burukan Chapel
175 on the Tugur. In time these points became regular trading
797 centers where Russian and Yakut traders, Russian and Chinese
443 Tungus (Manegir, Birar, and Negda, respectively), and Russian
439 priests regularly appeared, as well as Cossacks from Udskoi
648 Ostrog to collect tribute, which, incidentally did not bar trade (1).
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1. Schwarz, op. cit., p. 76. It has already been noted above, according to Middendorff's statement, that in former times the Daur, too, went to Inkanj to engage in trade, which was later discontinued.

In 1852 Schwarz visited all three chapels and defined their geographic position; the Inkanj Chapel by the way, was destroyed the year before by the Manchu who this time, as an exception, had extended their inspection tour beyond the border marker farther to the south to the Udj Valley, but he found the other

SS /82 cont./
175 two still wholly intact (2).
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2. Later -- Schmidt says "a few years before" in the description of his trip of 1862 -- a chapel was built on the Ssuluk, a source river of the Amgunj /Amgun/, which took the place of the Bureja Chapel as a trading center for Russian and Yakut traders dealing with the Tungusic tribes of the surrounding area. Occasionally a priest from Udskoi Ostrog also went there (cf. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 161).

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The Burukan Chapel and the trading station of the same name are themselves located on the other side of the Bureja Mountains, on the Tugur, which is separated there from the Nemilen, the main northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a narrow and low watershed (Ukakyt) provided with a towpath. This brings us into the lower Amur region, and just as to the west of the Bureja Mountains there were Russian contacts with the Manegir and Birar, so are there likewise some here with the Negda and their nearest neighbors to the south and east, the Samagir and Gilyak. And here as there we again meet Russian Tungus, Yakut, and Russian traders and Cossacks roaming in what is allegedly and presumably Chinese territory (3). The

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3. Middendorff, op. cit., pp. 164, 165, and elsewhere Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Pri-amursk. kraie" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, pp. 331-333). Schwarz, op. cit., p. 69.

most active intercourse was with the Negda in particular, thanks to the nearness of the Tugur and of the trading station of Burukan to the Amgunj. This trade center is the most important

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SS /82 cont./
175 one of the three mentioned and is regularly visited by Russian
439 and Yakut traders from Udskoi Ostrog and Yakutsk, who bring
177 their commodities on many beasts of burden, horses and
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443 reindeer (4). As was mentioned above (5), several Negda had

4. In the forties and fifties the rich merchant Nowgorodof from Yakutsk went there himself every other year (Boschnjak /Boshniak/, op. cit., p. 332).

5. See above, p. 63.

SS settled down there altogether with their families; others came
Gi
[797] temporarily to trade. Along with the Russian wares, many a Negda also took, from the priest as well as from the merchant, the Christian religion (6). From what motives remains undecided.

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 175.

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175 Lieutenant Boschnjak, however, asserts that he /83/ noted greater
356 cleanliness in the houses of the five baptized Negda families whom
797 he met (1852) on the Amgunj than among their pagan country-
000 men (1). From Burukan the Russians, like the Yakut, went

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1. Op. cit., p. 333. In the village of Wjachtu on Sakhalin, an old Negda woman, who had been brought there in her youth from the Amgunj, showed him a few small sheets of Slavonic church songs given to her there by Russians, one of which she relinguished to him for some tobacco; similarly, a few sheets of a Slavonic calendar, which, however, she cherished so much that she would not deprive herself of it (Boshniak", "Eksped. v"

2: Schrenck--169 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

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1. (cont.)
Pri-amursk. kraie."--Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 12, Unofficial Part, p. 192).

SS. From Butukan the Russians, like the Yakut, went
175 unhindered to the Amgunj, which they navigated, engaging in
439 trade, and on whose banks one or another of the latter presumably
648 settled (2). With the Amgunj, however, there lay open to them
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2. Lieut. Boschnjak (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 331), for instance, discovered that the village of Mangi consisted of only one Yakut family (the old Yakut Ssawa and two Yakut women) and one Tungus.

the route to the lower Amur, which they undoubtedly often used, and all the more since Chinese rule over the peoples there, the Gilyak and Olcha, as over the Negda, was scarcely more than nominal. For example, Mania Rinsô mentions in his travel account (1808) that on the Mankô (Amur) between the villages of Horomô and Harmê (evidently the Gilyak village of Kalm) he saw four vessels that struck him because of their strange appearance. When he inquired as to where they might be from, he was told that they were Russian vessels which had been on the Hongô (Amgunj) River for some time, had erected bark tents on the bank, and were engaged in fishing (3).

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3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177). In Rinsô's account, as rendered by Siebold, it is said that they had set up "karias" on the bank. No explanation of this foreign word is given, and when instead of it I say bark tents, this is only a presumption. Or, could it actually be that the traveler was given the Russian word "karjo" (kor'e, tree bark)? /In a "Correction and Supplement" to this note (see the foreign text, p. 777), the author states, "In a couple of places in "Tô-tatskiko" (pp. 172, 173) overlooked by me, Siebold translates "karia" simply as tree-bark hut. My interpretation of the word ("bark tent") is therefore quite

175 /83 cont./
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3. (cont.)
correct. But is the presumed borrowing of it confirmed with regard to the Russian?"/

Finally there was another circumstance which inevitably
175 brought about many a contact between the Russians and the Amur
484 peoples along the extreme northeast boundary of the Amur region,
648 especially the Gilyak: the almost continuous expeditions which were carried on during the past century by the Russians from Udskoi Ostrog to the Shantar Islands. Middendorff has described the history of these undertakings in great detail and, on the basis of notes which he discovered in the archives of Udskoi Ostrog, has made a long series of them known (4). Here, too, the hope

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 97-114.

of a good yield in precious furs, in precious metals, perhaps also of abundant tribute from as yet unknown peoples was the principal motive that sometimes drove individual enterprising persons to the Shantar Islands and sometimes induced small trading companies to send expeditions there. The government did not look with disfavor upon these expeditions since they might eventually enrich its tribute collections and extend its influence. The difficult navigation around the Shantar Islands, however, the poor vessels, their inadequate equipment, and probably also very often unskilled leadership, as well as a motley, ill-disciplined, greedy, and adventurous crew, frequently caused the ships to land, purposely or by accident, not on the islands, which proved to be uninhabited, but on the coast of the mainland within sight of them and inhabited by Gilyak. /84/ There, however, more densely populated and by the same tribe, lay the banks of the lower Amur, the Amur mouth, and even the island of Sakhalin in tempting proximity. How many of the Shantar voyagers might therefore, yielding to temptation, have sought their fortune there? We learn, for instance, that the Udskoi peasant, Kudrjaschef (1), who stayed in the Shantars in 1817, was allegedly

2: Schrenck--171 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1

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/84 cont./

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 157. Romanof ("Prisoed. Amura k" Rossii." -- Russkoe Slovo, 1859, June, Sec. I, p. 362) calls him Kudrjawzof.

driven by hunger to the Amur mouth and remained there until 1821. The physician Stankewitsch, in a handwritten report of 1841 from Udskoi, mentions another Russian settler at the Amur mouth (2). Much earlier, in 1789, the Yakut citizen, Terentjef,

2. Middendorff, loc. cit.

spent the winter with twelve companions not far from the mouth of the Amur, that is, among the Gilyak, on a voyage which he had undertaken from Udskoi Ostrog to Sakhalin Island (3). There

3. Mention of earlier winterings by the Russians in Gilyak territory will be made later.

is repeated mention of fugitives, chiefly Yakut, who were in the service of Russian trade companies and were sent to the Shantar Islands, but instead fled to the Amur or to Sakhalin. Through them Udskoi received the news of a seagoing vessel, possibly Russian, stranded on Sakhalin in November, 1790, which was visited in great numbers by the Gilyak and hairy Reindeer-Tungus (Orok) (4). Mamia Rinsô, too, heard (1808) on Sakhalin

4. Middendorff, op. cit., pp. 102, 103.

that Russian vessels frequently visited the waters west of the island and that formerly Russians had come to Noteito (in the region of Cape Ljak) and Usijoro (around Bay d'Estaing) until finally, on account of their rapacious behavior, they were in part driven away by the concerted action of the natives, and in part were killed. Mamia Rinsô even gives the names of these

2: Schrenck--172 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1

/84 cont./

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Russians: Kamutsi, Simena, Momu, and Wasirê (5). The last

5. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 169, 181).

three names are easily recognizable as the Russian Christian names, Ssemjon, Foma, and Wassilij. The first one seems questionable at first, but we shall obtain information about it later. As a result of the frequent escapes to Sakhalin, the view that there were Russian settlements on the island became established among the Russians (6). In 1852, therefore, when

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6. Admiral Schischkof, in speaking of the motive that led the Russian envoy Resanof, who had not been accepted by the Japanese, to order the well-known Chwostof-Dawydof raid on Sakhalin, even presents the view that around the middle of the previous century the Russians intended to take possession of this island and had brought in a colony, which later disappeared (Dvukr. putesh. v" Amerikumorsk. ofits. Khvostova i Davydova, St. Petersburg, 1810, Preface, p. XIV).

Lieutenant Boschnjak visited northern Sakhalin, he inquired among the Gilyak there as to whether Russians had settled anywhere on the island and finally received the following information in the village of Tangi on the west coast. Some 35 to 40 years ago, it was said, a vessel was stranded near the village of Ngabi (evidently Ngabil) on the east coast of Sakhalin; the crew remained for some time in the village, built a new vessel there, and went on it around the southern tip of the island to the west coast. There they were shipwrecked again near the village of Mgatsch, /85/ and all perished, with the exception of one man

/85 cont./

175 named Kämz, who was rescued near the village. He was soon
484 joined by two Russians who came from the Amur, Wassilij and
648 Nikita, who were greatly afraid of the Russian tsar -- fugitives no doubt. All three then settled down in the village of Mgatsch and, like the Gilyak, lived by trapping and trade with the Japanese, until all three died on Sakhalin (1). In view of this

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1. Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Pri-amursk. kraie" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 12, Unofficial Part, p. 192). One of the Gilyak showed Boschnjak a mirror which his father had received as a present from the above-mentioned Kämz and which he cherished so highly that he would not part with it at any price.

information Lieutenant Boschnjak seems to have known nothing about the above-mentioned, very similar report by Mamia Rinsô. But in the Kamutsi of the latter one immediately recognizes the principal hero of his account, so faithfully has tradition preserved even the names of these foreigners inhabiting the island for a time among the Gilyak. It has already been mentioned above that the fugitive, Gurij Wassiljef, spent a few years among the Gilyak, on Sakhalin as well as on the mainland coast.

175 In any case, however frequently Russian traders, Cossacks,
177 fugitives, and other persons visited the Amur region in spite of
648 the existing treaties, they could not have had any major influence upon the customs of its peoples simply because they always stayed among them more or less individually and briefly. Such an influence could not and would not appear until major, fixed, and permanent settlements were established on the part of the Russians in the Amur region, and thus the colonization and
175 occupation of it began. A beginning was made shortly before
648 my visit to the Amur region, and first at the mouth and along
361 the lower course of the Amur River. The unfavorable climatic
[133] conditions in the Sea of Okhotsk, the great distance and isolation
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/85 cont./

175 of its harbors from all the major Siberian centers, made it neces-
648 sary to advance southward, and the obvious importance of the
361 Amur River as the only natural and comfortable water route from
133 the interior of Siberia to the Russian possessions along the Pacific
487 Ocean -- an importance which was recognized more and more after the voyages of the Russian freebooters and was emphasized again and again (2) -- argued /86/ irresistibly for the occupation of this river.

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2. To the long list of such references in Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 175, 176) I can add the following. As early as 1791, the academician Erich Laxmann, in the instructions that he gave concerning the equipment for a new expedition to Japan, put great emphasis on the extreme importance of the Amur River for Russian navigation in the Pacific and the colonization of Siberia, on the necessity of annexing it. He suggested that for this purpose two vessels be built above Gorbiza in order to go down the Schilka and the Amur on them under the pretext of searching for deserters from the crew. The expedition to Japan, as is well known, took place under the leadership of Adam Laxmann (the son of Erich L.); the proposal to occupy the Amur was rejected, however, by the Empress, Catherine II, so as not to bring about any conflict with the Chinese government and thereby prejudice the aims of the Japanese expedition (see Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po otd. Emogr., Vol. IX, 1871, pp. 470, 474). J. D. Cochrane (Narrat. of a pedestr. journey through Russia and Siberian

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2. (cont.)
Tartary, London, 1825, Vol. I, p. 418)
also stressed the commercial importance
of the Amur River for Siberia.

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of this river. On June 29 (July 10), 1850, the Petrovski post (actually, Petr. Winter Quarters -- "Petrovskoje Simowjo") was established in a bay of the Sea of Okhotsk, which was given the name "Bay of Good Fortune," by Captain (later Admiral) Newelskoi /Nevel'skoi/, who the year before had explored the coast from Tugur Bay to the Amur-Liman on board the brig "Baikal," and Ensign Orlof (1). This post, in the immediate

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1. D. Romanov", "Prisoed. Amura k" Rossii" (Russk. Slovo, 1859, July, Sec. I, p. 117). Tikhmen'ev", Istorich. obozr. obrazov. Ross.-amer. Komp., Pt. II, p. 72. Nevel'skoi, Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, p. 107.

vicinity of the northern passage into the Amur-Liman and only about 45 versts in a straight line from the Amur, was to be nothing more than a crossing point to the latter. And actually, in the same year, Newelskoi occupied the mouth of the Amur by going from Petrovskoje by boat to the Amur and there on August 6/18 he founded the Nikolayev post in a bay of the left bank, about 35 versts above where the river empties into the Liman, close to the Gilyak winter village of Kulk (or, by Russian designation, Kuëgda) at a point called Tschorbach by the Gilyak, (2) by raising the Russian flag of war (3). This

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2. I. e., "fish rock," from "tscho" -- fish, and "p(b)ach" -- rock, stone. The initial

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2. (cont.)
letter in the latter word is about midway between p and b, and in compound words it is closer to the latter.

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3. In Newelskoi's posthumous work (Podv. russk. i pr., p. 111), August 1/13 is given as the date of the founding of Nikolayev Station; according to Romanof ("Pris. Amura."-- Russk. Slovo, 1859, July, Sec. I, p. 118) and Tichmenjef (Istor. obozr. i pr., Part II, p. 72), however, it was August 6/18. The latter date is also given in my journal on the basis of Newelskoi's own statements.

establishment, however, was only a temporary one inasmuch as the six men left behind there were ordered to return to Petrovskoje after the Amur and Liman were frozen and were not to return to it again until the last winter passage, in order to proceed with the construction of houses. The latter failed, however, because of the resistance of the Gilyak and could not be started until August 9/21, 1851, when Captain Newelskoi came with a larger force and left 25 men there under the leadership of Naval Lieut. Boschnjak. With this, therefore, the definite founding of the Nikolayev post, or the later town of Nikolayevsk, first took place (4).

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4. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 12, Unofficial Part, p. 180). Romanov", "Pris. Amura" (Russk. Slovo, 1859, July, Sec. I, p. 123).

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175 Although there were only a few log houses erected there
361 at first, a firm foothold had nevertheless been gained along the
103 Amur. From there the lower Amur region, the adjacent coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the island of Sakhalin were explored more closely, and in 1853 other small posts were founded with the same limited means: the Mariinski post at the entrance to Kidsi Lake, at the site of the small Olcha village of Choto (5), the Alexandrov post in de

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5. On August 7/19 (Romanov", "Pris. Amura." -- Russkoe Slovo, 1859 July, Sec. I, p. 130). Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes: a journ. of Siber. trav. and explor., London, 1872, p. 86) erroneously gives 1851 as the year for the erection of the Mariinski post. It should be noted in passing that in the same work (p. 89) there is the statement that the Amur was first discovered by the Russians in 1843(!).

Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay (6), the Konstantinov post in Hadshi Bay,

6. On August 5/17, according to Romanof, (op. cit.), and according to my notes based on Newelskoi's statements.

/87/ which was given the name Kaiserhafen (1), and the Murawjof

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1. On May 23 (June 4), 1853, Hadshi Bay was discovered by Lieutenant Boschnjak and named "Harbor of Emperor Nikolai" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 3, Unofficial Part, pp. 205, 206). In the same year, on August 1/13, Newelskoi founded

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1. (cont.)
the Konstantinov post there. (The above date is to be found both in Romanof [op. cit., p. 130] and in my notes, whereas in Newelskoi's above-mentioned posthumous work [p. 237] August 6/18 is given for it--obviously through confusion with the date of the founding of Nikolayevsk). Not until three years later (on May 11, 1856) was the same bay discovered by Captain Fortescue on the English warship "Barracouta" and named after his ship (Tronson, Person. Narr. of a Voyage in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, pp. 267-271).

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post in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin (2). The last three posts, however

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2. According to Boschnjak ("Zaniatie chasti o-va Sakhalina i zimovka v" Imperatorskoi gavanii /The Seizure of Part of Sakhalin Island and Wintering in Imperial Harbor/"--Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 10, Unofficial Part, p. 397), on September 21 (October 3); according to Newelskoi's posthumous work (pp. 252, 255), on September 22 (October 4). In the same year a post was founded by Ensign Orlof, and named Iljinski Post, on the west coast of Sakhalin near Kussunai, and, to be sure, according to Romanof (op. cit., p. 129), on July 21 (August 2), according to Newelskoi (op. cit., p. 269), on August 30 (September 11) -- and in this case the latter statement is probably the more nearly correct -- but it was immediately abandoned again and was not definitely occupied until

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2. (cont.)
several years later (1857). The same dates as those in Romanof concerning the founding of Russian posts in the Amur region can also be found in Ssgibnef's article: "Amurskaia ekspeditsiia 1854 g. Razskaz" ochevidtsa /The 1854 Amur Expedition. Narrative of an Eyewitness/" (Drevniaia i novaia Rossiia, St. Petersburg, Vol. III, 1878, p. 222).

175 The last three posts, however,
361 located on the seacoast, could not at first withstand an attack
648 from the sea, and therefore in the following year, with the outbreak of the Crimean War, had to be temporarily evacuated
175 again. On July 22 (August 3), 1854, when I visited Aniwa Bay
361 on board the corvette "Olivuza," I found the Murawjov post
114 already deserted (3); in Kaiserhafen and in de Castries Bay, which

3. This had happened on May 30 (June 11).

we visited on July 25 and 30 (August 6 and 11), only small guard units of ten and seven Cossacks, respectively, each with one noncommissioned officer, had been left behind.

Up to this time, the two posts on the Amur were likewise very insignificant, for the Nikolayev post when I first set foot in it on August 7/19, 1854, that is, exactly three years after its founding, only contained about half a dozen small log houses,
175 and the Mariinski one was even smaller. As a result of the
361 necessity to leave the coast and to gain a firmer footing along the lower Amur, both of them grew considerably from then on. A few weeks after my arrival in the Nikolayev post, Captain Newelskoi settled there with almost the total crew of Cossacks and sailors from the Petrovski post, thus making this place the seat of the government for the effectively occupied lower Amur region. At almost the same time there arrived the crew of the

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175 frigate "Diana" which had been sent to Vice-Admiral Putjatin
361 to replace the now useless frigate "Pallas" and also was given its crew (4). Thus for the winter there was already a whole series

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4. The discarded and disarmed frigate "Pallas" was brought into Kaiserhafen in order to be destroyed there in case she should be discovered by the enemy, which actually happened in the spring of 1856 (cf. Tronson, op. cit., p. 270).

of large and small houses in the Nikolayev post, quickly built out of the timber felled on the spot. Among them was my
[122] modest log cabin, which was attached to the so-called Sslobodka, the row of Cossack houses, as the last one toward the forest.

/88/ The year of 1855, however, brought a much greater expansion of the Nikolayev as well as the Mariinski posts, with the simultaneous rise of new settlements. As early as that spring all the naval and official personnel from Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka, with the Governor, Rear-Admiral Sawoiko, at their head, came to the Amur. They were soon followed by two-
[131] thirds of the crew of the frigate "Diana," which had been destroyed by an earthquake on December 11/23, 1854, in the
ooo Bay of Simoda on Nippon (1). In the meantime, immediately

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1. A detailed description of this event by eyewitnesses may be found in the official reports of Vice-Admiral Putjatin and the captain of the frigate, Lessovskij, to the Russian government in Morsk. Sborn., 1855, No. 4, Sec. IV, pp. 293-296; No. 7, Sec. II, pp. 231-257. Cf. also Hawks, Narrat. of the Exped. of an Amer. Squadron to the China seas and Japan, Perform. in the years 1852-1854, und. the comm. of Commod. M. C. Perry, New York, 1856,

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p. 587. The last third of the "Diana" crew was taken prisoner aboard the American brig "Greta" on July 29, 1855, by the English warship "Barracouta" (cf. Tronson, op. cit., pp. 139 ff.).

175 In the meantime, immediately
361 after the Amur had shed its icy coat, Governor-General Murawjof
167 had brought down the Amur half a battalion of Transbaikalian
170 Cossacks on foot and a ssomja (one hundred) Cossacks on horse-
back, besides the first agricultural colonists with their families. In this way many Russian elements poured into the lower Amur region from the land and from the sea. Anyone who was a
[712] member of the Navy or was connected with it took up residence in the Nikolayev post, which now grew considerably and from which two smaller guardposts were erected, one at Cape Lasaref, at the southern entrance into the Liman, the other next to the Gilyak village of Pall-wo, to guard the war and transport vessels that had been disarmed and were sheltered in the Amur. The land troops, on the other hand, were settled around the Mariinski post: the Cossacks on foot near the village of Kidsi, and those on horses on the island of Ssutschu within sight of the latter. A part of the former was also stationed in de Castries Bay at some distance from the seacoast. Finally, the agricultural colonists were assigned several places between the two posts, in part in the Olcha area, in part in the Gilyak area: there arose in this way near the village of Aure, the settlement of Irkutskoje; near Tentscha -- Bogorodskoje; and near Chylk, the large village of Michailovskoje; a small part was settled near the village of Angkalm, but within a short time fell victim to typhus, with the exception of one man; and, finally, a fifth settlement developed on the Litsch River, slightly above the Nikolayev posts.

175 As can be seen, up to this time the Russian settlements were
131 confined to the lowermost course of the Amur River; there
361 were as yet no beginnings of them above the Mariinski post.
[114] Even during the summer of 1856, when I went up the entire
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S.S. /88 cont./
175 Amur on my return trip to Europe, on the whole stretch from the
131 last-named place to Ustj-Strelka I found only five small tem-
36 porary guardposts at the places where depots of food supplies had
712 been set up for the troops returning to Transbaikalia from the
[114] lower Amur. At the first of these guardposts (Sungarijskij Piket),
lying opposite the mouth of the Sungari, going upstream, /89/
these food supplies had not yet arrived at the time when I reached
it on July 15/27. The second was immediately above where the
Amur River enters the Bureja Mountains (Chinganskij Piket) and,
like all the others, on its left bank; the third and largest was
near the mouth of the Dseja (Ustjseiskij Piket), on the site of the
present town of Blagoveshchensk; the fourth was opposite the
S.S. mouth of the Komar (Kamarskij P.), and, finally, the fifth was
175 on the small Kotomanga River (Kotomandskij P.) (1) Thus,
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1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. XIX-XXI, of the present work.

during the time of my stay in the Amur region only the first steps
S.S toward the occupation and colonization of a part of it had been
[648] made by the Russians. Not until after the end of the Crimean
War, when the Amur region was again accessible to the Russians
from the sea, and especially after the conclusion of the Treaty
of Aigun (1858), by means of which the present boundaries be-
tween Russia and China were established and the major part of
the Amur region came into Russian possession de jure, did there
begin that energetic, almost feverish colonization mentioned at
the beginning and which inevitably had the greatest influence
upon the ethnographic conditions in this region. But these events
are already outside the scope of our description.

G In concluding this survey I am taking the liberty of present-
S.S. ing a few remarks, in part historical and critical and in part
114 general and summarizing, concerning the appended map
128 figuratively illustrating the geographic distribution of the Amur
peoples discussed above.[1] It is the first ethnographic map

[1] [This map appears on pages 418-423 of this translated source; facing p. 310 in foreign text.--Author]

/89 cont./

G S.S. 114 128 referring specifically to the Amur region. On the map accompanying the first volume of this work I have noted the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries, as well as on Sakhalin, without, however, defining their respective areas. Later, in G S.S. 101 114 1873, there appeared an ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia by Wenjukof /Veniukov/ on which the Russian part of the Amur region is included (2). Because of the relatively small scale of

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2. "Etnograficheskaia karta Aziiatskoi Rossii. Massht. v" angl. diuimie 250 verst" ili 1/10,500,000 /Ethnographic Map of Asiatic Russia. Scale: one English inch to 250 versts or 1/10,500,000/." It accompanies the work by the same author, Opyt" voennago obozrieniia Russkikh" granits" v" Asii /An Attempt at a Military Survey of the Russian Frontiers in Asia/, St. Petersburg, 1873, but it also may be obtained separately.

the whole map, however, only a few square inches could be devoted to the Amur region. Correspondingly, the information is for the most part only summary, in that the individual Tungusic tribes, which occupy almost the whole of the Amur region, are not distinguished at all or at most by a few inscriptions which for the most part are not in the proper place, and there is no mention of any delimitation of their respective areas. In connection with this, these condensed Tungusic tribes of the Amur region are usually erroneously delimited from the other two peo- S.S. [167] ples distinguished on the map, the Gilyak and Ainu. This map therefore actually gives only an approximate total picture of the Tungusic population, by far the predominant one in the Amur /90/ region, into which at that time Russian colonists had already poured along the Amur, the Ussuri, Lake Kengka, and down the ooo Ssuifun to Peter the Great Bay (1). Our map virtually ignores this

1. The following special remarks may serve as verification for my opinion of

/90 cont./ 1. (cont.)

GS. 101 114

this map as far as the Amur region is concerned. In spite of the fact that the Gilyak are sharply distinguished from all their neighbors by their language, their territory is correctly shown on the map by Wenjukof only on Sakhalin, but on the continent is delimited incorrectly on all sides. In the north, for instance, it does not begin at Tugur Bay, but to the east of Ulban Bay; in the south, along the Amur River, he has it extend beyond Lake Kidsi toward Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (where the Olcha village Dshaf is located), that is, toward the center of the Olcha territory. From there he draws the southern boundary of the Gilyak to de Castries Bay, where La Pérouse had already quite correctly shown Orochi. On the other hand, he moves them away from the Liman coast, from the mouth of the Amur, and from the adjacent parts of the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and puts a Tungusic tribe there, while in reality the Amur-Liman is inhabited all around only by Gilyak.-- On Sakhalin, the map gives too large a territory in the north to the Ainu, in that it is supposed to include the whole Ty or Poronai River area and to extend to the Tym' sources, whereas actually it stops at the Gulf of Patience, and an uninhabited territory frequently visited by Gilyak and Orok lies along the Ty. -- The Orok, which curiously are called "Orokapen" on the map (more about this later), are shown only in that part of Sakhalin in which there is no population at all and are missing at their actual sites. -- The designations for the individual Tungusic tribes of the Amur region

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1. (cont.)
are in the wrong places almost throughout: the Orochi, for instance, are shown only in the southernmost part of their extensive territory, almost all the Mangun (Olcha) are shifted into the Goldi territory, the Samagir are transferred to the Amgunj, in place of the Negda, who are not mentioned at all, like the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. The Daur, who, besides being along the Nonni and Komar, are also along the Bureja and the Amur, and who certainly cannot, like the last-named peoples, be simply subsumed under the general designation "Tungus," are missing entirely on the map, whereas the few Koreans who only recently moved into the Russian area across the Tumen River are shown.

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S.S.
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The various Tungusic peoples of the Amur region are given still less attention on the ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia which is given in the statistical atlas of the Russian Empire by Iljin (Opyt" statist. atlasa Rossiiskoi Imperii /An Attempt at a Statistical Atlas of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1874, Map 14), with an even smaller scale, to be sure. In the Russian part of the Amur region (aside from the Chinese and Manchu), the only indigenous peoples it recognizes, in addition to the incorrectly demarcated Gilyak and Ainu, are the "Tungusen" (in general) and "Golde," whose territory, however, is shown along the Amur from above the Bureja to Mariinsk.

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Finally, the same errors as those on the Wenjukof map are repeated on the

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1. (cont.)
ethnographic map of the Russian Empire recently drawn up by Petermann (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, Plate 1), which, for Asiatic Russia, is based entirely upon the information of the former. Despite the much smaller scale, it faithfully copies the boundaries of the Gilyak territory that were shown above as erroneous. The names of the individual Tungusic Amur-peoples, however, are entirely omitted on it, so that the Amur region, with the exception of a short stretch along the lower course of its principal river, like the adjacent part of Eastern Siberia, seems to be inhabited only by "Tungusen."

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Our map virtually ignores this last factor completely,[1] since it shows the ethnographic situation of the Amur region at a time when the Russians, after a pause of two hundred years, were just beginning to penetrate into the Amur region again, and were not to abandon it from then on. Since the colonization especially followed the principal rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri, it changed the ethnographic conditions chiefly where the indigenous population was most densely settled. It may therefore be that since then many communities of the latter have been displaced, shifted, or reduced, have even disappeared altogether, and their very names as well. And the future will even more take a rapid and relentless course in this direction. Now, since our map /91/ establishes the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region before they were affected by these changes, it can in the future provide a yardstick for the latter. And that can only heighten its scientific interest. How valuable, for example, an accurate ethnographic map of the Amur region at the time of the first Russian invasion would be for us now! How much could be drawn from it for the questions to be dealt with in the next section!

[1] [i.e., The mass immigration of the Russian colonists into the Amur River region--Analyst]

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S.S. /91 cont./
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Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

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Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

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If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

2: Schrenck--188 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Yakut RV2

SS. /92 cont./
101 questions concerning the peoples of the Amur region will only
121 rarely be found in the following pages. There are only very
SS. few definite, undeniable, self-evident facts in this direction,
[174] but many appearances and circumstances which can be connected in combinations and surmises that have a certain degree of probability.

SS. There can hardly be any doubt but that in the Amur region
174 in the historical period, too, many changes and shifts in the
167 habitation sites of its peoples have taken place. How could
648 the great movements of peoples which demonstrably took place all around the Amur region not have sent waves also into the Amur region? And how is it conceivable that the many wars for which the Amur region has been the theater or in which many of its peoples have taken part would not also have caused many a change in their areas of distribution? One need only remember that before the Manchu conquered the imperial throne of China in the seventeenth century, their ancestors had already risen through successful warfare to be the rulers of this mighty empire twice: the first time as Khitan or Liao in the tenth century (907-1125) and then in the twelfth century (1125-1243) as Jutschi /93/ (Njutschi, Dschurdschi) or Kin /Chin/, as their dynasty called itself on the throne. Of necessity the entire southern Amur region was involved when these warlike hordes broke out of their forests and mountains. The immediately subsequent movement of the Mongols under Genghis Khan and his successors, which itself arose in the source area of the Amur River and, among other things, broke the power of the Kin in China, in turn brought forth a series of migrations of peoples that must have extended from the west and north even into the Amur
Y region. When the Buryat, a Mongolian tribe, advanced to the
174 source country of the Amur River and beyond, to Lake Baikal,
167 they came into contact at the latter with the Turkish-Tatar
648 original dwellers on it, the Yakut, who, retreating before the intruders, descended into the Lena Valley and spread northward

174 /93 cont./
167 along this river (1). There, however, they in turn encountered
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1. According to Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743 /Journey Through Siberia from 1733 to 1743/, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. II, pp. 344, 345), even in his time there was among the Yakut an old story about the pressure that they had suffered from the Buryat, which had caused them to move down the Lena Valley. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. VI, 1761, p. 147; Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. /Siberian History/, St. Petersb., 1768, Vol. I, pp. 108, 109; Schlözer /Schlötzer/, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. /General History of the Northland/, Halle, 1771, p. 416; Stepanov", Eniseisk. gub. /Yenisei Province/, St. Petersburg, 1835, Part II, p. 45; Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 5; Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibir. /A Journey in the Extreme North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, pp. 1542, 1545. Even the name "Baikal" is said to be of Yakut origin and to mean something like "abundant waters" (cf. Laxmann, Sibirische Briefe /Letters from Siberia/, ed. by Schlözer, Göttingen, 1769, p. 37, note).

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167 many Tungusic tribes who put up a stubborn resistance against
648 them and, as it still survived vigorously in the last century in their traditions, only retreated after many bloody battles (2).

2. Gmelin, op. cit., p. 345; Müller,

Y 174 167 648

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2. (cont.)
op. cit., pp. 150, 151; Fischer, op. cit., p. 110; Schlözer, loc. cit.

T 174 167 648 [114]

While part of the Tungus retreated to the west, to the Yenisei (3),

3. Stepanof (Eniseiskaia gub., Part II, p. 43) shifts the time when the Tungus came to the Yenisei to the twelfth or thirteenth century, which is probably too far back, since they were not pushed out of their sites on Lake Baikal by the Buryat until the fourteenth century (see Middendorff, loc. cit.).

another part was pushed toward the extreme north up to the Arctic Sea, and still others moved eastward along the right tributaries of the Lena to the Stanovoi Mountains, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Amur region. Since the tough and vigorous Yakut did not stop their expansion until they had reached the shores of the Arctic Sea in the north, the northwest, and the northeast (4), the migrations among the Tungus and other

Y 174 167 648

4. See Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1324, 1467, 1543, concerning the gradual advance of the Yakut in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into the Lena Valley up to the coasts of the Arctic Sea, as well as in the northwest to the Taimyr region and in the northeast to the Jana /Yana/, Indigirka, Kilyma, and in our century even up to the Sea of Okhotsk. Their many advances into the Amur region have been noted repeatedly above.

Y 174 167 648 /93 cont./ peoples (5) occasioned by it must have continued for a long time

Yr [174] [167] [113]

5. For instance, among the Yukagir, the Tschuwanz /Chuvan/, and others. Some also see in this the cause that led the original inhabitants of the extreme north, such as, for example, the Omok, relatives or the ancestors of the Yukagir (see above, pp. 2 and 3), to leave the mainland, according to legend, and to emigrate to a still unknown polar region; for example, Markham (see Whymper, Trav. and advent. in the territ. of Allaska, London, 1868, p. 251), Neumann (Izv. Sibirsk. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. III, Irkutsk, 1872, p. 34; Vol. IV, p. 155), and others.

SS 174 167 648 in the directions indicated. But these waves had not yet subsided when a new movement of even greater consequence began from the west -- the advance of the Russian conquerors, which, /94/ of course, exerted the greatest and most lasting influence upon the ethnographic conditions throughout Siberia. Advancing relentlessly, the stream of these not so numerous, but extraordinarily bold conquerors poured from the north and the west during the seventeenth century into the Amur region, passing over it like repeated tidal waves, and frequently ravaging it from one end to the other. Finally, many such movements on the mainland must have been felt on nearby Sakhalin, where, moreover, also from the south, through events like the gradual expansion of Japanese power toward the north, many changes in the original delimitation of its people had to follow.

SS 175 167 Now, what shifts in the habitation sites of the Amur peoples actually took place as a consequence of those events we can [illegible] from the historical reports concerning the Amur

/94 cont./

175 region that have been preserved among the adjacent civilized
167 peoples participating more or less in the events mentioned, the Russians, Chinese, and Japanese. Unfortunately, however, these reports, insofar as we can use them here, do not go back very far. The oldest reports concerning the Amur region would expectably be found among the directly adjacent Chinese, but these reports deal only with Manchuria proper, the ancestors and relatives of the present Manchu, who, as indicated above, have repeatedly played so prominent a role in the history of China, and not with the hunting and fishing peoples of the northern and eastern Amur regions, who are the subject of our investigations. Also, the examination and utilization of these reports, even if they did indirectly deal with one or another of the latter peoples, lies in the field of linguistic and historical research on China and its border countries, which is quite foreign to me. On the other hand, the few reports concerning the peoples under consideration here that are found in Chinese sources and have been made generally available by the Sinologists through translation into European languages do not go back beyond the beginning of the reign of the present dynasty. The oldest Russian reports on the Amur peoples are approximately just as old, for they date from the time when the Russians were approaching the Amur region during their conquest of Siberia, which occurred almost simultaneously with the ascent of the Manchu dynasty to the throne in China. The reports on Sakhalin and the Amur region which we owe to the Japanese are much more recent and do not go back beyond the end of the previous century.

175 No very extensive changes in the habitation sites of the
167 Amur peoples could be expected in so short a period of time --
131 about 200 years. If, nevertheless, some very marked shifts
648 have occurred during this time, the cause for them lies in the important, highly disturbing events which happened during it in the Amur region, in those frequently mentioned raids and warlike expeditions of the Russian Cossacks and freebooters and their conflicts with the Manchu-Chinese authorities.

175 Minor shifts in the boundaries of the territories of individual
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175 peoples could and must have frequently resulted during this time,
167 but they are most difficult to perceive from the historical reports
131 available, for, on the one hand, the territorial boundaries of roaming hunting and seminomadic fishing peoples are never very /95/ definite and even at the present time are inadequately known among the Amur peoples, and, on the other hand, the historical reports concerned, since we are indebted for them to the notes and reports of simple, uneducated people pursuing practical interests, suffer as a rule from too much vagueness and sometimes obscurity for our purposes, and, what is worse, they not infrequently present the Amur peoples under names that are completely foreign to us today and therefore require an interpretation beforehand. Now, whether the interpretations and explanations that will be found in the following pages are always the correct ones must remain undecided to begin with --for my part I hope, since they are not without reason, that they will be verified in most cases at least and may provide a key for a better understanding of some of the historical reports concerning the Amur region and the ethnographic facts contained in them.

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175 Let us begin again with the peoples of the lower Amur region and from among them with the most extreme, the Gilyak.
[121] The first printed mention of the Gilyak is found on the map pub-
[113] lished by Nicolaus Witsen in 1687 in Amsterdam and dedicated to Peter the Great, "Nieuwe Land-Karte van het Noorder- en Ooster-Deel van Asia en Europa /New Map of the North-
S.S. eastern Part of Asia and Europe/" (1), and in

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1. Müller (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 203 ff., and Vol. VI, pp. 29 ff.) gave a detailed description and evaluation of this map. In addition to the rare, original edition of this map, I have before me another copy of the Witsen map provided by Allard on a smaller scale and with some corrections, which was not mentioned either by Müller in his

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/95 cont./ 1. (cont.)

"Nachricht von Land- und See-Carten, die das Russ. Reich und die zunächst angränzenden Länder betreffen /Report on the Land and Sea Maps Which Refer to the Russian Empire and the Immediately Adjacent Countries/" (Samml., etc., Vol. VI) or by Adelung in his article, "Ueber die älteren ausländischen Karten von Russland /Concerning the Older Foreign Maps of Russia/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IV). It bears the title, "Tartaria, sive Magni Chami Imperium ex credendis Amplissimi Viri D-ni Nicolai Witsen, Cos: Amst: Aliorumque probandorum, et hodie vigentium Geographorum Archetypis congestum, auctum, et in lucem editum a Carolo Allard, Amst: Bat: Cum Privilegio Potentissimorum D. D. Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae," without date. The Dutch inscriptions of the original edition are rendered in Latin. The map has almost precisely the same borders, but with the addition of Korea in the east and, on the other hand, the exclusion of the course of the Volga in the west. I call it a copy of Witsen's map, because in fact it reproduces it in all parts, especially in the north and in the east, down to the smallest detail. Also, one finds on it, for example, the same curiosa as in Witsen, that is, misunderstood Russian words and expressions were taken for place names. At the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and the Argunj /Argun/, for instance, there stands in large letters the regional name "Otsel Poschel," evidently because in a Russian statement (and, to be

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1. (cont.)
sure, on a map!) it said: otsel' poshel" Amur (that is, from here, from the confluence of the Schilka and Argunj, begins the Amur); in the lower course of the Lena and east of it are likewise found the regions "Otmore" (from ot" morya -- from the sea), "Nasabate" (na zapadie -- in the west), and "Wostok" (vostok" -- east). The mountain range that separates the tributaries of the Lena from those of the upper Amur (Stanovoi) bears in Witsen the inscription "het /the/ gebergte /mountain range/ gori," or in Allard "montes /mountains/ Gori" (Russign: gory -- mountains), etc. With regard to the Amur region in particular, there is also repeated on the Allard map the peculiarity of the Witsen one in having so many rivers designated on it twice because of the direct posting from the various reports; thus, the Ussuri as Schur or Usiur and as Uschuri, the Dseja /Zeya/ as Sia and as Zija, the Urkan as Urka and as Urki, etc. The Allard map, however, gives the course of the Sungari River differently than the Witsen one: on the latter this river goes under the name of Singal to the Amur and at the same time in a further bifurcation as Schingal or Quentung to the sea; the Allard map, however, pulls it apart and has the Singal flow into the Amur, the Quentung -- which, as is well known, is the Chinese name for the Sungari -- into the sea. Incidentally, there should also be noted here a small map that is appended to the third edition of Witsen's work Noord en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/ of 1785 (Vol. I) and on which the Amur is entered twice: once under the name Amur, with its tributaries Schur (Ussuri),

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1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amûr), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

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/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/(1). In this connection several, often

1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

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2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

/96 cont./

175 elsewhere that they live at the mouth of the Amur River and
114 along the seacoast to the north and south of it (3), as well as
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3. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 33, 36; edition of 1705, pp. 88, 106.

on a very large island lying opposite the mouth of the Amur, called Giliat (4), which evidently is Sakhalin; sometimes

4. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 34; edition of 1705, p. 96.

they are said to extend along the seacoast southward almost to China (5) and northward to the Anadyr River (6), and, finally,

5. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 104; edition of 1705, p. 267.

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6. The rivers around whose mouths they live are expressly named, and, to be sure, in two versions (edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 32; edition of 1705, pp. 86 and 105), among which the later, more correct ones run: Lama, Ochota, Towoi (evidently Ta-ui), Tadui, Penchion (Penshina), Kamtschatka, Tschiundon, and Anadir.

sometimes their habitation sites are given on the northern bank of the Amur River near Nerchinsk (7), and therefore quite far

7. Edition of 1705, p. 77.

175 from the sea. Accordingly, the Gilyak are shown on the map at
131 three places: first, on the seacoast directly north of the Amur
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175 131 361 mouth ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high

8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

175 114 [101] [103] Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their undoubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

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9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

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9. (cont.)
Russian sources used by Witsen. The information that it gives is found in Witsen in literal translation, for example, the statements concerning the location of the Gilyak region (Gilianskaia zemlia) on the mouth of the Amur and on the coast to the south and north of it, concerning the rivers that flow to the sea in the Gilyak region: Lama, Ochota, Tawui, Todui, Penshin, Kamtschatka, Tchuldan, Anadyr, etc.

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/97/ as aids for the map, as he himself states, both several Siberian wooden panels and especially a map of Siberia which was made by the commander of Tobolsk, Peter Godunof, and his assistants in 1667 upon the orders of Tsar Alexei Michailowitsch /Alexis I Mikhailovich/ and was put on a woodcut in Moscow with a statement of the distances between the places recorded on it (1). Thanks to Middendorff's elucidation of the oldest maps

1. Witsen, op. cit., Preface; also the ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 536, 537; ed. of 1705, p. 859. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 204.

of Siberia (2), we know that this was the first "Siberian Sketch"

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 34-38, 176-177.

(Ssibirskij tschertesh), which, to be sure, has since been lost, but a revised and completed edition has been preserved in Remesof's

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/Remezov/ atlas. This atlas (3), consisting of 24 handwritten

3. Under the title, "Chertezhnaia kniga... vsei Sibiri /A Sketchbook... of All Siberia/"; see Middendorff, loc. cit

sheets, was also thought to be lost until it was discovered in 1842 by Wostokof in the Rumjanzof Museum. Although Remesof did not complete the entire work until 1701, the first map (the last one in the atlas) was drawn as early as 1673; it is ethnographic in content -- the first ethnographic map of Siberia, which shows the habitation sites of the many Siberian peoples in bright, strongly contrasting spots of color (4). Middendorff, who was

4. According to Middendorff, loc. cit. I have not seen the Remesof atlas.

the first to put the significance of the Remesof work in the proper light, appended another sheet, perhaps the most important one, which contains the survey map of Siberia as a whole, to the Russian edition of his travel account, with the
[131] scale reduced fourfold (5). On this map one finds the inscrip-

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5. Putesh. na siev. i vost. Sibiri /A Journey into Northern and Eastern Siberia/, Pt. I, p. 37. The map bore the title, "Chertezh" vsiekh" sibirskikh" gradov" i zemel' /A Sketch of All Siberian Towns and Lands/."

tion "Gilyak Region" (Tsarstvo Gilyansko) at the mouth of the Amur and on the seacoast north of it, just like the "Zemle Giletskaja" on the Witsen one. If one compares this map with the Witsen one, there seems to be no doubt but that, as far as Siberia is concerned, the latter was drawn, not merely with the help of, but directly based on the above-mentioned first "Siberian sketch" (6). This first "sketch," however, and the later revised

2: Schrenck--201 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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6. Also arguing in favor of this are the curiosa on the Witsen map cited above pp. 193-196, note 1), which arose through the transfer of the Russian inscriptions.

and completed edition of Remesof's maps were made up for the Amur region from the information that the Russian military expeditions brought home, which, however, in its full extent, as it was set down in the reports of the leaders and participants in those expeditions, at that time still rested untouched in the Siberian archives.

According to Müller's explanation (7), the map that /98/

7. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 32.

accompanies the oldest description of the voyage of Ysbrants Ides, published in the Dutch language (1), also comes from Witsen:

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1. Driejaarige Reize naar China, te lande gedaan, door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides /Three Years' Travels to China by Land, Performed by the Muscovite Envoy, E. Ysbrants Ides/, etc., Amsterdam, 1704. The map bears the title, "Nova Tabula Imperii Russici, ex omnium accuratissimis, quae hactenus extiterunt, Imprimis viri Ampliss: Nic: Witzen delineationibus conflata, quam ipsa locorum lustratione edoctus, multum emendavit Everardus Ysbrants Ides," with a dedication to Peter the Great.

/98 cont./

175 114 it was drawn by him on the basis of his own map and changed only with respect to the information -- and not always for the better -- that Ysbrams Ides obtained on his travels and gave to 175 him. On this map the Gilyak are shown only once, and, to be 114 sure, as on Remesof's map, only on the seacoast between the 13 Amur and the Tugur. On the other hand, we see on the much [101] later map by Strahlenberg (2) that the whole region along the

2. "Nova Descriptio Geographica Tartariae Magnae tam orientalis quam occidentalis in particularibus et generalibus Territoriis una cum Delineatione totius Imperii Russici imprimis Siberiae accurate ostensa." With a dedication to Friedrich I, King of Sweden; without date.

northern tributaries of the Amur River, from the Dseja /Zeya/ to the sea, is designated as "terra Giliakorum, whereas in his well-known work on the northern and eastern part of Europe and Asia, it is said that the "Kilani," who are called "Kilett" by the Yakut and "Kilaki" by the Russians, live around the mouth of the 175 Amur River (3). So incredible did the information that he gave 174 101 [113]

3. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 69) says that the map appeared together with this work in the year 1731.

on them sound -- though, as we shall see later, it was not entirely lacking in truth -- and in any case so fantastic was his derivation of them from the Avar, who are said to have been moved in the thirteenth century from the Caspian and Black Seas to China by the Shah of Persia, Mangu -- he saw confirmation

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175 114 101 for his view in the still extant, like-sounding name Kilan (Gilan) for a Persian province on the Caspian Sea -- that Gmelin cast Strahlenberg's whole account into doubt. At most, he thought, the "Kilani" could be a family of the Tungus, since there were so many in Siberia who gave themselves special names, but not a separate, different people who, as Strahlenberg maintained, distinguished themselves by their skill in so important an art as the forging of weapons -- how could there be such a people, he says, without the whole of Siberia knowing about it (4). Never-

[113] 4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, Preface.

theless it was Gmelin's travel companion who, without entering the Amur region, made the greatest contribution to our historical knowledge of its peoples, and among them the Gilyak.

Müller was the first to stress the importance of the rich mine of information concerning the Amur region which had accumulated in the Siberian archives and only fragments of which had been seen by Witsen. Later many more gleanings were obtained in this field. Through this there was brought to light the oldest information that we have up to now concerning the Amur peoples being discussed here. According to it, the Russians /99/ obtained their first information about the Gilyak even before they entered the Amur region. In the years 1639 and 1640, when the leader of the Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, advanced up the Witim /Vitim/ and its left tributary, the Zypir (Zipa /Tsipa/), almost to Lake Baunt, the Tungus there told him of the Daur people, who were supposed to live along the upper Witim and along the Schilka and to trade with the Chinese, as well as a people living where the latter river empties into the sea, that is, at the mouth of the Amur, the "Kilorzy," who were distinguished from all the other peoples by their language and likewise had trading relations with the

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175 Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here informa-
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1. J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (Dopoln. k" akt. istor. /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek").

tion about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

101 Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

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2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

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101 for them, like so many peoples on a similar, lower level of culture, the concept of human being coincides with the one of an individual of their tribe and their language and the more general, abstract concept is still lacking. According to this information, the Gilyak were first named to the Russians by the Witim-Tungus. If one leaves off the Russian ending of the name as it was rendered by the Cossacks, it may sound like the Tungus Kilor or Kiler. The Tungus got it from the Daur along the Witim and Schilka, with whom they are in contact, and they in turn from the Chinese, who trade with them, as well as with the peoples of the lower Amur region, by traveling to the latter, though not by sea, as the Tungus reported or as the Russians may have understood, but nevertheless by boat down the Amur. The designation Kilor or Kiler must thus be of Chinese origin, with a Tungusic foundation and perhaps also with some Tungusic modification. Actually there is a people of that or a similar name among those mentioned by the Manchu-Chinese geographers or Manchu-Chinese sources from the lower Amur region. For example, the Chinese imperial /100/ geography of the Tsing dynasty (1) mentions the following peoples, besides the Manchu

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1. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Peking, 1818, Vol. XI, 2; according to Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 444. Pauthier (Chine moderne ou descript. histor., geogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part I, p. 168. -- L'Univers) mentions from the Chinese work named the same peoples in the same sequence, but in a somewhat different version in his French transcription; they run: Tchi-tché, Feï-ya-khé, Li-eurh-kou-yé, Golun-tchun, and Go-khe-la.

and Chinese, for the Ssan-ssin district, which includes the lower Amur region and the coast: Kilerchadshi, Wiyaka (Fiaka),

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101 Lerkoje, Oruntschun, and Kiyakla. In Timkovski's Journey to Peking, edited by Klaproth (2), the Kileng and the Fiaka are

[113] 2. G. Timkovski, Voyage à Peking à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821. Trad. du Russe par N****, revu par J. B. Eyriès; publ. avec des correct. et des notes par J Klaproth. Paris, 1827. Atlas, Tab. VII, Explic. p. 25.

mentioned from the lower Amur and the seacoast. The archimandrite Palladij (3) enumerates from the province of

[113] 3. "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska chez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

Girin the following peoples who paid their tribute in sable pelts to the Peking Court before the Russians occupied the lower Amur region: the Chädshä or Chädsin, the Fiaka, the Kiler, the Kuä, the Orontscho, and the Kjakala. These are not by far all the enumerations of the Chinese names for the peoples of the lower Amur region, but only those in which the names Kiler or Kileng occur; others will be mentioned later on. One should not expect, however, that the peoples distinguished by the Chinese would always coincide exactly with those now known to us in this region. With their very limited knowledge of the lower Amur region, it could and must have happened, on the contrary, that occasionally the Chinese did not distinguish the various peoples from one another, especially those that were more remote, or included them under a collective name, and in other

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101 cases, on the other hand, where nearer and more familiar regions were involved, they gave different names to branches or tribes of one and the same people differing only slightly dialectally. It
101 is therefore not surprising that one finds contradictory statements
114 in the interpretations made up to now about these Manchu-Chinese names, for which the above point of view was not followed and which, in addition, came from men who lacked any personal acquaintance with the lower-Amur peoples. Klaproth, for example, thought at the beginning that Fiaka and Chedshen were the Manchu terms for the Gilyak (4); later (5), however,

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4. Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 290, 301. In this connection he regards the Gilyak as the Kuriles of the continent, concerning which more later.

5. Atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, loc. cit.

he thought that he recognized in the Kileng, as they supposedly called themselves, the Gilyak of the Russians. Palladij, however, even recently regarded the Fiaka as Gilyak, and the Kiler, on the other hand, as Amgunj-Tungus, that is, Negda. If one considers the alleged habitation sites of these peoples, as well as the few reports concerning their respective character traits, way of life, clothing, etc., one must, to be sure, grant more right to the latter interpretation, but cannot entirely agree with it either. The description of the Fiaka in the atlas accompany-
[291] ing Timkovski's Journey, as a crude, but brave people who in winter are clothed in pelts of dog fur, incontestably fits the Gilyak better than that of the Kileng, whose clothing of stag hide (or /101/ perhaps also roe or reindeer skins) in itself indicates a Tungusic people devoted to a higher level of hunting (1).

1. The drawings of the Kileng and Fiaka (Atlas, Plate VII), as crude and dissimilar

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1. (cont.)
as they are generally as well as in details, rather favor such an interpretation.

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The alleged habitation sites of the peoples in question likewise appear to argue in favor of this interpretation, as the Kileng are said to live chiefly along the Amgunj (2), the Fiaka along the

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2. Khenkhoûn in Klaproth (loc. cit.), Henkon on the maps by d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, Nos. 1, 18).

seacoast near the mouth of the Amur. There seems to be almost no further doubt but that the Fiaka are the Gilyak when Iakinf (3),

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3. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg 1842, Part II, p. 30, footnote.

on the basis of Manchu-Chinese sources and without any comment of his own, states that there are three peoples on Sakhalin, Fjakã (Fyake), Eluntschun, and Kuã, obviously Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. Finally, among the statements by the old Jesuit missionaries, too, there are some that cannot be interpreted in any way other than in the above sense; Gerbillon's statement (4),

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4. J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37.

for instance, that the lowermost part of the Amur River down to the sea was inhabited by the Fiatta or Fiattu (5) people, who

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5. Klaproth (Atlas, loc. cit.) expressly states that "Fiatta" is an error and should be "Fiaka."

speak an entirely different language, live solely on fish, and whom, on the basis of the descriptions that he obtained, he would compare with the Iroquois. Müller (6) replied to this that the

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6. "Von dem Amur-Flusse /From the Amur River/," in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, 2nd ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 506.

Gilyak were designated with the name Fitta by the Manchu. On the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries (7) who upon the orders of

7. Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, 1709.

Emperor Kang-hi traveled through Manchuria proper and part of the lower Amur region in order to draw a map of them reported on the Fiatta in a quite different sense. According to them it is nothing but the Manchu designation for the language of the Ketscheng or Ketsching, a people who lives along the Amur River from Tondon to its mouth and along the coast to the east of the Ussuri and the Amur, as well as, presumably, that people who occupies the seacoast north of the Amur mouth up to 55 degrees of latitude, the extreme northeastern boundary of the Chinese Empire (8). Thus we see here that the designation Fiatta, or,

8. Du Halde, Descript., etc., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12. Ritter (Asien, Vol. III, pp. 446, 447) has combined the contradicting statements of the Jesuit missionaries and Klaproth's into one, which leads to the greatest confusion.

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101 114 as Klaproth insists, Fiaka, is used, due to insufficient knowledge, as a collective term for a number of different peoples of the Amur region or their language, and among them the Gilyak. And the same must be concluded from the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who, as was stated above, spent 17 years -- from his birth on -- in Ninguta, to which his father had been exiled, and later, in 1722, having returned to China, he wrote a description of his birthplace. Downstream from the Cheidsin or Chādshen on the Amur River, he has the region of the Fei-ja-cha come next, the description of which, however, only in part fits the Gilyak, and to a greater extent -- for example, the nose rings, /102/ the birchbark boats, fishing in the sea, etc. -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Orochi (1). Finally, Iakinf expresses

[113] 1. In Wassiljef's /Vasil'ev/ translation: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 90-93). It is also said there [197] that the Fiaka, Cheidsin, and Churcha or Chulcha address one another with the word "andā." This, however, is a Tungusic word that also occurs among the Goldi, Olcha, etc. and means "friend"; in Gilyak it is "amalā."

himself quite definitely in this sense in declaring that all the different tribes that live downstream from the Chādshe on both banks of the Amur River and also occupy the northern part of Sakhalin were included under the common name Fjakā (Fyake) (2).

[113] 2. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imperii, Part II, p. 12.

All this permits one to draw the conclusion that the Fiaka of the Manchu-Chinese geographers or reporters are not always the Gilyak by any means; although better informed individuals actually might have referred to the Gilyak by this designation,

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there were others who mixed them up with the neighboring Tungusic tribes, in that wherever their ethnographic knowledge of the lower Amur region stopped, which occurred sometimes sooner, sometimes later, they had the area of the Fiaka, this people of their ultima Thule, begin.

Gi 101 114 The situation was similar for the Ketscheng and Kileng. I shall later try to show that under the former for the most part the Goldi, at least a part of them and the Olcha were included. It is likewise to be seen from the above statements, however, that this term was occasionally extended, for reasons similar to those in the case of the Fiaka, to other peoples living farther down the Amur and along the seacoast, down to the Gilyak. Finally, concerning the Kileng or Kiler, a proof of the collective notion that was given to this term, and still is, on the part of the Chinese lies in the association of it with the Ketscheng or Chädshe, as is found in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing. The Kiler-chadshi mentioned there include the peoples of the lower Amur region who extend from the Chadshi (Goldi) inclusive down to the Fiaka of the seacoast. The use of the designation Kileng, Kile, or Kil on the part of the Chinese, however, can be shown specifically for almost every one of these peoples. Thus, the Kileng of the Amgunj have already been mentioned above, and, on the basis of their place of residence and description, the Negda are meant by this. When in the report concerned it is said that they also call themselves "Kileng" (3),

3. Klaproth, in the atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, p. 25.

this is correct only insofar as they designate themselves, when dealing with the Chinese, in the way they are named by them, just as the Gilyak do with regard to their designation when confronted by the Russians. The name which they have more or less accepted when dealing with those foreigners who to them are the most important and the most authoritative, they will, of course, readily use in dealing with all the others. When I

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Gi 101 114 inquired among the Goldi about the name of the Samagir or of the people on the Gorin and those on the Kur, they named the one as well as the /103/ other for me repeatedly as the "Kile," evidently because they bore this collective name among the Chinese and then designated themselves with it when dealing with them. The Gilyak also gave me the name "Kil" for the G [101] Samagir. Since the Goldi and the Gilyak languages are com- Gi pletely different, the obvious conclusion is that this can only be Gi [197] a foreign name. Finally, I have sometimes heard Chinese mer- G chants traveling along the Amur designate even the northern Gi and more distant Goldi, as a rule the Olcha, and, indeed, even 101 the Gilyak with this or a similar name. One such merchant, for instance, whom I met in Amtscho on the Amur, eagerly asked me whether the "Kilam" or "Kilang" living farther downstream had many sables, and, in order to make himself better understood, he also named this animal in the Kilam language the word sounded like "lombr," and the Gilyak "lumr" can be G 101 clearly recognized. The Gilyak were quite similarly called "Ki-li-mi" by the Chinese companions of the missionary Venault when he went down the Amur in order to investigate the death of de la Brunière, who had been killed by them (1).

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1. Venault, "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie /Journey into the Interior Parts of Manchuria/" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX,1852 [Vol. II], pp. 216-223.

G Gi 101 114 From all that has been said it is clear that the Chinese include under the collective designation Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam, etc. both the peoples of the left, northern and western tributaries of the lower Amur River, of the Kur, Gorin, and Amgunj, and the dwellers along the lower course of the main river, itself, and, to be sure, especially the Gilyak, whom they know least, but also the Olcha, and sometimes even part of the Goldi; or, in other words, just as in the case of the Fiaka and Chādshen,

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they also have the Kile and Kileng begin in the lower Amur region all the sooner or all the farther upstream the less their knowledge of the region and its population. The most distant of these peoples, the Negda and even more the Gilyak, were therefore most frequently and most generally included under this collective name.

As we saw above, the first information about the Kiler people on the mouth of the Amur came from the Chinese via the Daur and the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus to the Russians, among whom this name, provided with a Russian ending, became "Kilorzy." Only a little later, when they themselves took their expeditions down the Amur, they must have, in the lower course of it, repeatedly heard of the Kile or Kileng living downstream, until they reached the last of these peoples and discovered in them a people actually completely different from the Tungusic tribes whom they already knew. For them they now retained the traditional name, only, of course, provided with a Russian ending, as Kiljaki, Kiljaizy, Kiljany, etc., out of which developed, according to the spirit of the language, Giljaki, Giljaizy, Giljany, etc. Thus we come to all the versions of this name which Witsen gave from Russian sources and which are explained in part by the aforementioned various versions of the Chinese name for the Kile people and in part by the arbitrary selection of the Russian ending.

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/104/ It could not have failed to happen, however, that some of the Russian Cossacks who went down the Amur in boats did not become aware of the tribal difference between the adjacent Tungusic peoples and the Gilyak. They, therefore, since they used that designation, like the Chinese, more or less as a collective name, had the Gilyak begin much farther up on the Amur than their true boundary lies. During the later, more precise examination of the statements concerned, we shall see, for example, that, according to some, the region of the Gilyak begins with the Olcha area; according to others, even sooner, shortly below the Ussuri, and therefore in the midst of the Goldi area. And, significantly enough, this is repeated, like an echo of those times, to this day. It has been stressed above how

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vague and incorrect all the modern Russian reports concerning the southern border of the Gilyak on the Amur are, how generally this border is put deep in the Olcha area, even in the Goldi area and in the latter up to the Ussuri (1). The chief reason for this

1. See above, p. 51 and p. 183, note 1.

lies in the fact that even today the designation "Gilyak" is often used by the Russians as a collective name for all the dwellers along the lower Amur River and the adjacent seacoast. For the common man it is almost always customary to call the Olcha, the Goldi, and, as I myself became convinced, even the Orochi of de Castries /De-Kastri/ and Kaiserhafen simply Gilyak. A traveler, therefore, who based his statements on what was said by Russian settlers or Cossacks -- and many have done it -- could give nothing but false information about the territorial boundaries of the Gilyak and the other peoples named above. But even a traveler like Boschnjak /Boshniak/, who clearly and correctly indicated the boundaries between the Gilyak and the Olcha for him, Mangun on the basis of the radical difference between their respective languages, nevertheless in the same article speaks of "Kidsi-Gilyaken," though there are no Gilyak in the narrow and true sense in Kidsi at all (2). The use of this designation

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2. See above, p. 52, note 2.

as a collective name for many peoples of the lower-Amur region often renders the oldest Russian reports useless for an investigation of a possible shift of the habitation sites of the Gilyak and their neighbors, just as is the case, for the same reason, for all the Chinese reports concerning the Kile or Kileng.

While, according to the above discussion, there appears to be no doubt but that the Russian name Gilyak for the people around the mouth of the Amur arose from the Chinese Kile or Kileng, the question remains as to how the origin of this latter

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designation is to be explained. Unfamiliar with any kind of linguistic research, I shall permit myself in this connection only to express a surmise to which I have been led by several facts. It is readily observed that many names of Tungusic peoples, tribes, or kin groups have a final syllable gir. Disregarding the many examples of this kind among the Tungus of Siberia (3), I

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3. Many such names may be found among the Tungus tribes from various regions of Siberia enumerated by Georgi (Bemerk. auf einer Reise im Russ. Reiche im Jahre 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in the Year 1772/, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1775, pp. 244-246).

give /105/ as examples among the Tungus tribes living or roaming in the Amur region the Manegir, Ullagir, Bojagir, Lalegir, Guragir, Samagir, some kin groups of the Negda, such as the Muktegir, Tschutktschagir, Njassekagir, Tschemakogir (1), etc(2).

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1. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1523) erroneously writes the final syllable "Muktegr, Tschuktschager, Njässekagr, Tschemakogr."

2. When this final syllable occurs in the name of a non-Tungusic people, such as "Yukagir," then I suspect that the name is of Tungusic origin.

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It is noteworthy that these are all dwellers along the left, northern and western tributaries of the Amur River. I do not know the meaning of this final syllable gir. The Tungus vocabularies at my disposal (3) give no information concerning it.

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, linguistic atlas, Paris, 1823, pp. XLII ff. Castrén's

2: Schrenck--216 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

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3. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tungusic Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/, ed. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1856.

However that may be, gir becomes kil in the Chinese pronunciation, and I have heard the Chinese pronounce the name "Samagir" as "Sama-kil." Likewise the names of the other above-mentioned Tungusic tribes end in kil in Chinese. Consequently it seems to me not unlikely that they made this common ending into a collective name for all these peoples of the northern and lower Amur region, including as well the, in their eyes, not essentially different Gilyak. From Kil and Kileng, however, arose, as was shown above, the Russian designation Kiljaki and Giljaki. And thus there results, if my surmise is correct, the strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tungusic tribes, which arose from the distortion of a Tungusic word by the Chinese, is at present limited to the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tungusic in origin.

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After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the habitation sites of the Amur peoples, and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russians learned of the existence of the Gilyak, they became acquainted with them themselves. During the years 1644 and 1645, on their first expedition into the Amur region, under Wassilij Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Ussuri -- which Pojarkof, by the way, thought was the upper Amur -- did the Djutscheren (Dyuchery) people come an end, who will be discussed later, the Natken (Natki) followed, and after them the Gilyak, who, as the report states, occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. Pojarkof went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them, until he reached the mouth of the Amur, where

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175 the late season obliged him to winter over. At what place
131 among the Gilyak this first wintering of the Russians occurred
648 cannot be ascertained with certainty -- perhaps on the left bank of the Amur at Cape Tschnyrrach, or Tschchyrkrach, as the Gilyak themselves call it, for there in the ground overgrown with dense forest and strikingly luxuriant underbrush I saw unevennesses which could very well have been the remains of
175 former earth huts. In the summer of 1645, Pojarkof went from there to the sea and along the coast up to the Ulja /Ulya/ River, which he /106/ reached after twelve weeks and on which he again wintered, not to return to Yakutsk until the following year (1). No details, however, are known concerning this sea

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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, 1736, pp. 302, 303. The same, "Nachrichten von dem Amur-Flusse," in Büsching's Magazin für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 505. Cf. also Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, 1768, pp. 788, 789. For Pojarkof's original report, see Dopolneniia k" aktam" istoricheskim", sobr. i izdann. arkheograf. Kommissieiu /Supplements to the Historical Documents Collected and Published by the Archeographic Commission/, St. Petersburg, 1848, Vol. III, p. 55 (the pertinent place in the report).

[121] voyage. I shall also give here the reports of Pojarkof's successors insofar as they pertain to the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, in order to compare the statements and add a few remarks concerning them.

In 1651, Jerofei Chabarof /Khabarov/, going down the Amur by boat, entered its lower course. There were still Djutscheren living at a distance of a seven-days' journey from the Sungari, and then at a large village located on a mountain on the right bank the Atschanen (Achany) people began, in whose territory, several days' journey farther down, Chabarof

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175 stopped on September 29 and at a place on the left bank where there was a large village he erected a fort, Atschanskoi gorod, for a wintering place. From there one could supposedly by a [131] ten days' journey reach the Gilyak, who lived all the way to the sea and around it (2). Chabarof, however, did not visit them,

2. Müller, Samml. loc. cit., pp. 320 ff; Fischer, op. cit., pp. 808 ff.: Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, pp. 364, 368.

but in the next spring, after successfully enduring the siege of his fortress by the Djutscheren and Atschanen, set out again upstream with his expedition. On the way, however, presumably in the region of the mouth of the Sungari, he missed the Cossack Iwan Nagiba who had been sent to look for him and to inform him of the arrival of a fresh supply of men and ammunition on the upper Amur. Nagiba and his small company of 26 Cossacks and volunteers went down the Amur from Banbulajev gorod (above the Dseja /Zeya/) for four weeks; then they heard from a captured Natken that Chabarof was farther 175 downstream among the Gilyak. They retained this man as a 648 guide, but after another journey of three weeks they found themselves so surrounded in the middle of the river by a crowd of Gilyak boats that they could not move forward or backward. For two and a half weeks they remained in this position, anchored in the river, until finally hunger and despair forced them to break through the ranks of the besiegers and make their way to a nearby village, where they confiscated some fish that was hanging out in front to dry. They were able to do this, however, only after a stormy battle in which more than 30 Gilyak died. Three days later they found themselves at the mouth of the Amur (3). Hard pressed by the Gilyak there as

[114] 3. Acc. to Müller, op. cit., pp. 328 ff. Here Müller gives June 26 as the date of Nagiba's arrival at the mouth of the Amur,

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3. (cont.)

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and at another place (Büsching's Magaz., Part 2, p. 508, July 2 (three days after the Day of Peter and Paul), which however cannot be correct if the trip, as is said previously, started on May 4 and -- putting together the above-mentioned periods of time -- lasted ten weeks. In Fischer (op. cit., p. 817) it is said instead toward the end of July, which, however, would be somewhat too late according to that reckoning. In the detailed and rather drastic account by the Cossack Iwan Uwarof, a participant in the expedition (see Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 354 ff.) almost all these dates are lacking, except the date of departure (May 4) and the statement that after traveling for ten days they already found themselves amidst many Djutscheren and Natken, who thereafter kept attacking them and gave them no peace; the siege by Gilyak vessels on the Amur is said to have lasted only two weeks.

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175 [648] well and unable /107/ to make the return trip upstream, they built themselves a larger vessel and began the sea journey along the coast to the north. On the thirteenth day after their departure (1), however, the vessel was crushed by drifting ice (2),

1. According to Uwarof's report (op. cit., p. 355), on the tenth day.

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2. Müller (op. cit., p. 330) considers drifting ice in the Sea of Okhotsk as inconceivable at that time of the year. On the other hand, thanks to the experiences of Middendorff, Starizkij, and

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2. (cont.)
others, we know that it is a characteristic feature of that northwestern corner of the Sea of Okhotsk. See the present work, Vol. II, p. 758, and my "Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Ser. VII, Vol. XXI, No. 3), p. 10.

175 during which they lost their entire supply of food and ammunition and only after much hardship barely escaped with their lives. They continued on foot for five days along the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seatang, seals, and whatever else the ocean washed up (3). Then they built a new vessel, with which

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3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 818) also mentions walruses, as does Uwarof's account, but it is well known that there are none in the Sea of Okhotsk; this is probably a reference to whales, which abound in this sea.

in 14 days, by rowing they reached the Utschalda River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland and after 14 days, or, according to other information, after four weeks, came to the Tugur River, on which they found a large Tungus population with abundant food. The following spring, 1653, Nagiba went down the Tugur to its mouth and from there, with five men, started the return trip to Yakutsk along the sea and then across the mountains, while he sent back the other men under Iwan Uwarof in order to build among the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jassaschnoje Simowjo," that is, a winter hut for collecting tribute (4).

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4. Curiously Uwarof says in his account that he sent Nagiba with five men, whose names he gives, to Yakutsk, while elsewhere he constantly refers to Nagiba as the leader of the expedition.

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The next and last contact of the Russians with the Gilyak which we know about from this period of the first Russian military expeditions into the Amur region took place under Chabarof's successor, the Cossack Onufrij Stepanof. The latter had already spent the winter of 1653/54 in Djutscheren territory, "in the neighborhood of the Gilyak" (5). In the fall of 1655, with the

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5. Müller, Samml., loc. cit., p. 343. In Stepanof's report to the Yakutsk voivode, Michail Lodyshenskij (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 524), it is said "v" Dyucherskoi zemlie, ne doplyv" Gilyatskie zemli, that is, in the country of the Djutscheren, above the Gilyak country.

"Ssyn bojarskoi" Fedor Puschtschin who had been sent from Yakutsk in the meantime, he again went into the lower Amur region, and this time beyond the Djutscheren to the Gilyak bordering them (6). Shortly before, the latter had killed a

6. Müller, op. cit., pp. 354, 355; Fischer, op. cit., p. 849.

company of 30 Yakutsk Cossacks, who had reached them by land from Okhotsk, and were now punished for it by Stepanof. Moreover, he built an ostrog /fort/ among them, to which, because of its position on a mountain slope, he gave the name Kossogorskoi (7). He spent the winter in it, took from the Gilyak

7. In Stepanof's report the ostrog is called

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7. (cont.)
"Kossogirskoi"; see Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1851, p. 82.

a handsome /108/ tribute in furs, and in the spring of 1656 again went up the Amur. Two years later part of his company who did not want to submit to the delegate of the new commander, Paschkof, and had fled, returned to the lower Amur, wintered at its mouth (1658/59), and went back upstream again with the rich tribute collected from the Gilyak (1). There are

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 367; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. IV, p. 176.

no other reports concerning the Gilyak during this visit of the Russians among them.

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So run the oldest Russian reports concerning the Gilyak and their closest neighbors. What may be drawn from them with regard to the mutual boundaries of these peoples at that time? Nagiba's expedition acquainted us with the Gilyak along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk westward at least as far as the Utschalda River, and, to be sure, in the company of the Tungus, who apparently at that time occasionally roamed to the sea to hunt and fish, as is still done today (2). To be sure, the

2. See above, p. 25.

location of the Utschalda River has not yet been ascertained (3),

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3. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 178. It is incomprehensible how Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russischen Reiches, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 749) could identify the Utschalda with the Udj. In doing this he confused the very simple and clear account from the expedition of the shipwrecked, and

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3. (cont.)
was forced to a second and likewise unacceptable assumption, namely, that their "Tugur" referred to the Utschur, a tributary of the Aldan. But then how did they reach the ocean, going down it in boats? And how incorrect this hypothesis is ethnographically: the Gilyak would have lived along the Udj!

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but there is scarcely any doubt that it is to be sought in the east and perhaps not far from the great bays -- Ulban and Ussalgin -- which cut deep into the land and which probably caused Nagiba and his companions to give up any further travel along the coast, about whose nature they had heard from the Gilyak and the Tungus, and instead to wait for the winter, in order to go inland along the Tugur, probably in the company of and guided by the Tungus. Neither Nagiba nor Uwarof mention the Gilyak along this river, but only numerous Tungus, although, as their reports show, they could perfectly well distinguish these peoples from each other. Hence it seems that at that time the Gilyak had not yet spread to the Tugur River. This is confirmed by the fact that in the account of the first trip of the Russians to the Shantar Islands, on which they spent the whole summer of 1712 and the winter until May of the following year at the mouth of the Tugur, the Gilyak are not mentioned at all (4), whereas

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4. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 98.

during the later trips by the Russians along the coast farther to the east conflicts with the Gilyak did take place. There is further confirmation in the fact that in 1737, on the basis of reports collected in Yakutsk, Müller wrote that along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk the Tungus did not extend much beyond

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131 the Tugur River and the Gilyak then followed (5). But even at
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5. Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Conditions on Kamchatka/, p. 57 (appendix to Steller's Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774.

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175 But even at
131 that time the Gilyak went as far as Tugur Bay, north of the
487 mouth of the Tugur River, for /109/ on an old Russian hand-written map, whose origin Middendorff puts in the middle of the last century for several reasons, one finds the sketch of a "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka), which led over the narrow, stem-shaped part of the Ssegneka Peninsula from Ulban Bay to Tugur Bay (1). By this route the Gilyak may also have

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 116, note 2. The map is in the library of the Akademie der Wissenschaften. Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., 1769, p. 508) also mentions a towpath used by the Gilyak and therefore "called Giljazkaja perewoloko in Russian since ancient times." This, however, as he says, was used in order to avoid the northern promontory at the mouth of the Amur, since it ran from one brook, which empties to the south into the bay formed by the mouth of the Amur, to another brook which flows into the sea to the north. Müller adds that the latter brook bears the name "Gole" on Chinese maps and this indicates the towpath, for "Gole" evidently refers to the Gilyak village of Kolj or Kulj

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1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hisska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the towpath on the Ukakyt -- from the Nemilen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

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come across Ulban Bay and Ssegneka Peninsula to the mouth of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Ssegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

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There is still no mention of these islands in the reports cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports

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concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

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purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak

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2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

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3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

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4. In Gilyak "island" is pôllo-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Lushin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandarskij."

175 when The Russians
131 under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar
648 Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

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5. (cont.)
p. 98), it was probably Large Shantar Island /Bolshoi/.

they could not understand -- presumably a /110/ Gilyak woman, who, however, disappeared, and there is no information given about her anywhere later (1). It cannot be determined whether in

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 99.

fact this woman had been left behind on the island by her countrymen or whether, as Middendorff thinks (2), was abducted

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 103.

by the Cossacks themselves on the mainland and was brought to the island. Subsequent expeditions to the Shantars confirmed that they had no permanent inhabitants. On the second
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trip, in 1718, under the Ssyn bojarskoi Filkejef, who, however, did not go there himself (3), the winter was spent on

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3. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 107), who spoke to Filkejef himself in Yakutsk, says expressly that because of differences with his men he had himself put ashore with two Cossacks at the mouth of the Tugur. Accordingly, therefore, the statements by Ssokolof ("Opis' Udskago ber. i Shantarsk. ostr. poruch. Kozmina /A Description of the Uda Bank and of the Shantar Islands, Commissioned by Kozmin/. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV. St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 3, note 4) and by Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 99, note 1), who have Filkejef himself reach the Shantars, are to be corrected.

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175 [13] Large Shantar Island, which proved to be uninhabited. Through carelessness in making fire, it is said, the forests on the island caught fire and as a result the sable disappeared there. On the 175 648 return-trip the following summer the Cossacks wanted to do some fishing along the coast of the mainland between the Tugur and the Amur, but most of them were killed by the Gilyak (4).

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4. Presumably there is a connection between this event and the story that Ssokolof relates, apparently copied verbatim from a logbook, in Morskoi Sbornik (1855, No. 6, Miscellany, p. 107 -- it is the entry hinted at by Middendorff, op. cit., p. 99, note 2, which he was unable to find again as the result of an incorrect citation). Seaman Petrof, who had participated in Iwan Schestakof's expedition to the Shantars in 1730, related that they had found on Large Shantar Island and had taken aboard three Russian men, who gave the following information about themselves: they had spent about 20 years on the island; when they had come to the land of the Gilyak to fish, the latter had overcome them and killed 17 of them; only three of them escaped the Gilyak and got away to Large Shantar Island where they had lived ever since. One can see that the account is quite similar to the one mentioned above, though, if it is the same event, the twenty-year stay on the island does not fit, since it could only be twelve. But this number is given only roughly and, in view of the style of the narrative, which clearly shows a gap, could just as well refer

/110 cont./ 4. (cont.)

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to the number of Russians originally present on the island, in which case the number of years of the stay would have been omitted, for the Russian original reads: zhit'ya ikh" bylo na tom" ostrovie liet" s" 20, kotorye khodilp v" tu zemlyu dlya rybnoi lovli..., etc. This information is also interesting because to a certain extent it is confirmation that in 1730 (not 1729 as is said in Middendorff and others), Schestakof had actually been on the Shantars, about which Middendorff, on the basis of the short and insufficient reports in Müller (op. cit., pp. 130 ff.), expresses doubt. According to him, the islands seen by Schestakof on the trips back and forth between Kamchatka and Udskoi Ostrog were not necessarily the Shantar Islands at all, since he navigated around the southern point of that peninsula and arrived at its east coast. The latter assertion, however, seems to me wholly unfounded, since Schestakof's trips, according to data from his own reports presented by Müller, took place only in the Sea of Okhotsk between the west coast of Kamchatka, Udskoi Ostrog, and Okhotsk. Müller himself never expresses doubt or uncertainty about the fact that Schestakof had visited the Shantar Islands, but only regrets being unable to give more detailed information about this trip because of the absence of the logbook.

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It is noteworthy that all the accounts concerning the temporary visits of the Gilyak to the Shantar Islands are inadequate and

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131 dubious. So far as is known, the Gilyak were never met there
484 directly during any of the numerous visits to these islands. The pertinent accounts therefore only rest on the above-mentioned statements by the neighboring Tungus /111/ and on alleged traces that the temporary stay of the Gilyak on many of these
175 islands has left behind. According to Krascheninnikof
103 /Krasheninnikov/ (1), the island of Chudoi (i.e., bad) Shantar

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1. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. Sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rissi, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 135).

is said to have received its name because it had no forest at all, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly it had been quite densely wooded and rich in sable, but the Gilyak once forgot to extinguish the fire before leaving the island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Krascheninnikof,

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2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the name "Chudoi Schantar," which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Krascheninnikof's statements, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted but that Small Schantar Island (Malyi Shantar") is meant by it; just as it is also by the name "Ssuchoi (dry) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Karte von der Lage von Kamtschatka" /Map of the Location of Kamchatka/ in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Hudé Schantar" west of the island of Bjelitschij, just as Krascheninnikof, too, gives it, but this

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2. (cont.)
does not mean much, since the Shantar Islands lie there all in a row approximately from west to east.

175 Kraschenninikof
114 however, must have obtained this information from traditions
[103] and stories, since he himself was never on the Shantar Islands, or even near them. Moreover, it is very reminiscent of the above-mentioned story about the burning of the forest on Large Shantar Island, which does not exactly serve to increase its credibility. Kosmin's statement in the northeastern part of
[361] Large Shantar Island not far from Lake Boljschoje he had seen dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were said to have formerly lived (3) seems more important. But we encounter uncertainty

3. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV, p. 46.

even with respect to this report, in that the traditions that Middendorff discovered in Udskoi Ostrog expressly attributed
[484] these yurts to Russian fur trappers (4). In spite of these few and

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1. Middendorff adds that this seems much more probable to him.

uncertain reports, I do not doubt but that the Gilyak visited the Shantar Islands in former times. Full credence should be given to the above-mentioned report to this effect by the Tungus, which came with the very first report concerning these
175 islands. Whereas the Tungus along the Sea of Okhotsk are
131 primarily hunters and come to the sea only temporarily to fish,
484 the Gilyak stay there continually and are therefore much better seafarers than the former, as Müller has already correctly surmised (5). Hence it seems entirely plausible that from time

5. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

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175 they visited the large islands within sight from their coast,
131 densely wooded, and still uninhabited, on which they could
484 peacefully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals, sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that whereas their westward expansion along the coast of the mainland at first did not reach the Tugur and later did not go beyond it, they did visit the Shantar Islands, even the westernmost of them, and Bear Island (Medwäshij) located beyond
[103] Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ngorbak," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (6), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

origin, in that "Ngarbach" /112/ in Gilyak means "animal rock" (1).

1. From nga -- animal, and pach -- stone, rock (see above, p. 175, note 2). Similar Gilyak place names are Tschcharbach, Tschcharbach, Tebach, etc.

175 But the Gilyak were surely never very numerous on the Shantar
174 Islands, since the Gilyak population on the adjacent coast of the
648 mainland is not large and since navigation around these islands
131 is difficult and dangerous on account of the rapid and changing
[133] currents, the floating masses of ice, the frequent fog, the pounding surf, etc. It was therefore natural that as soon as the Russians appeared on the Shantars, wintered there, and in fact took possession of them, the Gilyak remained away from them, just as later, in 1829, they withdrew temporarily from the mouth of the Tugur when a party of Russians took up winter quarters at the mouth of the Great Uikon (2). It is very probably

2. Kosmin, according to the accounts of the priest from Udskoi Ostrog,

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2. (cont.)
Djatschkovskij, who learned of it while traveling through his diocese in the winter of 1829/30 (Zap. Gidr. Dep., Part VI, p. 36).

that it was because the Gilyak had just seen themselves pushed off the Shantars by the Russians that they appeared so hostile toward them when the latter advanced from there into their territory on the mainland. It is no wonder that they took advantage of their greater number and simply killed off the intruders. Now since, as Middendorff has shown, the trips by the Russians to the Shantars took place almost without interruption, the Gilyak lost their former hunting territory altogether. It seems, then, that while in the course of time they lost territory on the islands in the northwest of their area of distribution, they advanced on the mainland somewhat more to the west.

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Much less can be drawn from the oldest Russian reports from the lower Amur about possible border shifts in the south of the Gilyak territory, along the Amur River. In them only the adjacent neighbors are named, and at most the number of days required to cross their respective territories is given. Moreover, all of the statements run differently, in that, according to Pojarkof, the Natken border the Gilyak upstream, according to Chabarof the Atschanen, and according to Stepanof the Djutscheren. The next question is how are these peoples to be identified with those known to us today from the lower Amur region and how are those apparently contradictory reports to be reconciled?

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As Müller (3) and after him Fischer (4) correctly remarked

3. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 320.

4. Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 809.

2: Schrenck--234 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

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Pojarkof with the designation Natki referred to the same people as Chabarof later did with the name Atschany. Fischer's conjectures in explanation of these different names, however, are altogether wrong (5). The difference is explained very simply

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5. Fischer thought that perhaps these people, called Atschani in their own language, were named Natki by the Djutscheren, or that the one might be the name of the entire people, the other that of a particular family, or finally, that the Natken and Gilyak were one and the same people. The last seemed to him the most probable because in the later accounts, in Stepanof's report, the Natken were no longer mentioned at all, and the Djutscheren were named as neighbors of the Gilyak. In this case, however, the Atschanen would likewise have to be eliminated, being identified with the Gilyak. Both are entirely inadmissible. Later on we shall find another explanation for Stepanof's statement.

/113/ if by "Natken" and "Atschanen," not one people, but rather, according to our distinction, two peoples, the Goldi and the Olcha -- as often happened later on -- are understood, with Pojarkof borrowing the name of the former for the allegedly one people, and Chabarof the latter.

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I believe that one can conclude that the name Natken actually refers to the Goldi for the following reasons. Mention of a people of this name is made in the oldest account that the Russians received from the Amur (1). Namely, when Tomsk

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295.

175 /113 cont./ Namely, when Tomsk
101 Cossacks in 1639 reached the Ulja River emptying into the Sea
648 of Okhotsk and erected there a tribute hut (Jassaschnoje
439 Simowjo), Tungus came there from the Udj and told them, among other things, that along the river Omut -- which Müller thought might be the Amgunj (2) -- there were Tungus who

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2. On Witsen's map the river whose location corresponds to the Amgunj bears the name "Chamul." In his work Noord en Oost Tartarye (ed. of 1692, Pt. 2, pp. 32, 520; ed. of 1705, pp. 86, 838) it is also called "Gamun" and "Chamuna," the latter being only the Russian genitive form of "Chamun" (Khamun"), as it is called in the Russian reports and stories of the seventeenth century ("Skazanie o vel. r. Amurie /The Story of the Great Amur River/," in Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 19; Dopoln. k" akt. istor. Vol. XI, St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 220, 221). This latter name of the river is already very close to the one used today. Müller, too, recognized it as the Amgunj (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 378). In passing it may be noted that the Amgunj is called "Nepkon" ("Nepkon") on Posnjakof's Russian map (General'n. karta Aziiatskoi Rossii, izd. voenno-topogr. depo, 1825 /General Map of Asiatic Russia, published by the War Topography Depot, 1825/), but on the German Weimar map "Hinkan," which led Middendorff (travel rep. in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 238, note, and the same, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Pt. 2,

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2. (cont.)
p. 622, note 1) to surmise that the Russian designation probably was the correct Chinese name of this river, while the German one was only a copy in which the Russian letters were given as French. It is actually, however, precisely the reverse: the Russian designation in Posnjakof originated from the copying of d'Anville's map ("Carte génér. de la Tart. Chinoise, 1732," in Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, etc.), on which the Amgunj is called "Henkon," by reading the French letters as Russian ones. Müller (op. cit., p. 378) identified the Henkon of the "Chinese map" with the Amgun and Chamun.

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traded with the "Natkani" people settled along the lower Amur. This people spoke its own language. The latter Tungus exchanged their sables for silver, copper pots, glass beads, and all kinds of silk and wool fabrics, objects which the Natkani, however, did not manufacture themselves, but received from elsewhere. The Natkani also obtained flour, conveyed on the river, from a people who likewise lived along the Amur -- which the Udj Tungus called Mamur -- but practiced agriculture and animal husbandry and distilled spirits. Thus we meet here a people living above the Amgunj on the lower Amur, whom the Amgunj Tungus, that is, Negda, and, following them, the Tugur and Udj Tungus, designated with the name "Natka" for ni or ny [Нь] /in Russ./] at the end is obviously only the Russian suffix

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for the plural). I want to add immediately that Middendorff, too, heard of the Ngatku" in the same regions among the people with whom the Tungusic tribes on the southern slope of the Stanovoi Mountains had contact, and, to be sure, as a people who lived along the Amur above /114/ the Amgunj and spoke

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175 /114 cont./
101 a language other than the Tungusic one (1). Now, even though

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1536. Though this statement seems to leave no doubt but that "Ngatku" was a Tungusic designation for that Amur people, Middendorff says elsewhere (travel rep. in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618) that he had received information on this people from the Gilyak. But in this case, too, these must have been border Gilyak adjacent to Tugur Bay, who obviously gave the traveler the name customary among their neighbors, the Tungus, for those people, for as much and as frequently as I myself inquired among the Gilyak on the Amur, the Liman, and on Sakhalin about the peoples known to them, I never heard the name Ngatku. In any case they have other designations for the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed later.

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175 the above description by the Tungus of the Natka, their place
101 of habitation, and their way of life agrees with Pojarkof's statements concerning the Natken and Chabarof's concerning the Atschanen, who likewise lived only from fishing and without agriculture and livestock-raising, and even though in this direction it fits the Goldi as well as the Olcha, it is not therefore to be assumed that the Tungus, especially the Negda, were likewise unable to distinguish between these two peoples
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101 not too far away from them. Experience has shown that, on the contrary, primitive peoples are inclined to regard even minor branches of one and the same people, individual families,

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101 etc. as different peoples, and to regard different dialects as different languages, and to give them separate names. If one
101 considers that the Goldi dialect differs much more from that of
174 the Negda and adjacent Tungus than does the Olcha dialect,
197 there can be no doubt but that the Tungus must have meant the Goldi rather than the Olcha when they referred to the Natka speaking their own language. Moreover, what was said in the
101 aforementioned Tungus story about the role of the Natka as
439 intermediaries in trading fits the Goldi very well. The former
174 took the sables of the Negda in exchange for all sorts of Manchu-Chinese products and, on the other hand, obtained flour, conveyed downstream, from their agricultural neighbors, among whom at that time were the Djutscheren. Finally, it might
101 also be possible to explain the origin of the name Natka for the
174 Goldi on the basis of their language. They do not refer to them-
[103] selves with this name, to be sure, but "nai" means "men, people" in the Goldi language and is added to a specific place name in order to designate the inhabitants of that place (2). There is a

2. For instance: Dondon-nai -- people or inhabitants of Dondon, etc. In the Olcha language the same word is "nei."

relatively large place in the middle of the Goldi territory which bears the name "Naiche," but I am unable to say whether the etymology of it is connected with this word.

If "Natka" is the Tungusic designation for the Goldi, then
101 it is understandable why we find this name in Pojarkof's and
114 later in Nagiba's reports, whereas it does not appear in Chabarof
175 and Stepanof. The first two made their return trip from the mouth of the Amur more or less through the territory of the coastal Tungus of the Sea of Okhotsk, among whom that designation for the Goldi is customary. Pojarkof wintered chiefly at the mouth of the Ulja, that is, in a place where the Russians /115/ had received their first information about the Natka people from the Udj Tungus, and did not write the report on his expedition

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in the Amur region until after his return in Yakutsk (1). This

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 320. Müller viewed this circumstance as a reason, whenever there is a considerable difference in Pojarkof's and Chabarof's reports, to give preference to the latter, which seem to have been written on the spot. With regard to the Natken and Atschanen, however, the difference can be adequately resolved, according to the above, without having to give preference to either author.

explains why he used the name customary among the adjacent Tungus for the people that he met on the Amur. Likewise Nagiba, who on his return trip spent a winter among the Tugur Tungus, the closest neighbors of the Negda, with whom that designation for the Goldi seems to have originated. The fact that both men overlooked the difference between the Goldi and the Olcha and carried the name used for the former over to the latter, so that the Natken, according to them, extended up to the Gilyak, need not surprise us if we recall the many similar instances in recent times mentioned above (2). In contrast to

2. See above, p. 53.

these two, Chabarof and Stepanof did not touch the territory of those Tungus at all, but returned upstream from their winter quarters on the lower Amur, so they never encountered the name Natka for the Goldi.

It is even more obvious that the name Atschany, which Chabarof used for all the Amur inhabitants between the Djutscheren and the Gilyak, that is, in the sphere of Pojarkof's Natken, for our Goldi and Olcha together, is borrowed from the latter. Indeed, one need only remove the Russian final

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101 syllable in order to recognize in this designation the name Olcha
114 only slightly changed. And this is the name that this people gives
175 itself. I shall come back to this later. Chabarof also named the fort which he erected for winter quarters Atschanskoi gorod after this people. It cannot be learned from his report where it was located. I believe that one may assume, however, that it was already in Olcha territory since it was the last place he reached along the Amur and since he must have learned the name given for the Olcha people, appearing before us here for the first time, from them themselves. Or else it may have been that Olcha staying in Goldi territory were accidentally involved in the learning of the name, which, however, is less probable. Chabarof must therefore have proceeded quite far below the Ussuri on the Amur. In view of the relatively short duration of his voyage from the mouth of the Sungari (3), how-

3. The duration of this voyage cannot be determined very precisely; from what can be learned from Chabarof's account, however, he seems to have been at the mouth of the Sungari on about September 15 and to have gone downstream from there for 14 days, for he reached the place where he set up his winter quarters on September 29.

ever, that would have been possible only if he followed the main stream and not the right bank with its many bays. And this appears to have been the case in fact, for otherwise he would surely not have overlooked the mouth of the Ussuri.

G. Although we learn about the present neighbors of the /116/
G1 Gilyak on the Amur through Pojarkof and Chabarof, nothing
101 can be learned from their reports about where the boundaries
114 between these peoples were at that time because the statements
175 of the distances in terms of days of travel, without any designation or mention of recognizable localities, are too vague and

2: Schrenck--241 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

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/116 cont./

do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Kossogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Ssutschu located in the Amur near Kidsi. He found there the remains of a low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the

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G. G1 [113]

1. D. Romanov", "Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 126, note 4). Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Kossogorskoi, but Kossogirskoi Ostrog (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Djutscheren bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as is still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessors, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

2: Schrenck--242 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natken, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

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The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasskij and in Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

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The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different parties, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visted the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

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1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinso ("Tô-tats ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

2: Schrenck--243 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3

F.J. G /117 cont./

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1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the l sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

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coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

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2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

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name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin ~~Island~~
Ainu ABG

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/117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

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4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

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so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

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101 buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox
439 skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

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5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

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The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

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1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

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Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3
Ainu AB6

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1. (cont.)
(see his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 49, 52, 63).

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Mamia Rinsô's Predecessor, The Japanese traveler Mogami Tok'nai, who, however, did not travel beyond Sakhalin, placed the region of Santan on that part of the mainland closest to the island; according to him, it extended from the mouth of the Amur River, along its right bank, and along the seacoast up to about 50° north latitude. For the name of the people and the region, however, he had a far-fetched explanation from the Chinese language (2). Mamia Rinsô, however,

2. "Santan," according to this, was supposed to be a more recent name: formerly the region and people were called Itan or Kitan, which means "red-striped savages." With the advancing culture, the barbaric peoples left the coasts and plains and moved back into the mountains; hence they were called San-tan, that is, red men of the mountains. Siebold, in giving this explanation, adds (Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 3) that this region may be found on a map of Japan, copies from a Japanese original, which was published by Reland at the beginning of the last century in Amsterdam, designated with the Chinese characters Han than.

who had visited the Santan region, realized at once that that name comes neither from the Chinese nor from the region and its people, but was given to it by the Ainu and Japanese. His better trained ear enabled him to hear the name Santan also as "S'janta" and "Z'janta" (3). My widely-traveled Olcha from

2: Schrenck--247 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3

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3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

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4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

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/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

2: Schrenck--248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Feudal Japan A82
Sakhalin Island

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Gilyak and the Olcha. He did not go beyond the latter to the south. He also met isolated Goldi there and learned a special name for them, to which we shall return later. His S'janta, therefore, are exclusively Olcha. And, going downstream by boat, he indicates with great precision where the S'janta end and their northern neighbors, the Smerenkur, begin. In most of the villages which he mentions in his travel account or the map (1), one can still recognize the villages of today. In

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1. Apart from the map reproduced by Siebold (Nippon, VII, Pl. XXV), labeled with Mamia Rinsô's name, the Tok'nai map of the part representing the Amur region and the west coast of Sakhalin opposite it, which is given at the same place, likewise comes from Rinsô, as Siebold (Nippon, I, p. 170, note 162) remarks. All the details concerning the Amur region are to be found on this latter map.

Aorei (Aure) he still found himself among the S'janta; at Horomo or Horo, whose distance from the first he estimates at four ri (about 15 versts, the territory of the Smerenkur begins, and from there on, he says, men, dwellings, tools, and the way of life are the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). Horo is undoubtedly

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2. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177).

Chjare, the first Gilyak village going downstream. As further proof of this there is also the fact that directly above Horo on Rinsô's map is shown the village of Furu, which one easily recognizes as today's next to last Olcha village of Pulu. Thus, in Rinsô's time (1810) the boundary between the Gilyak and the Olcha was exactly where I found it 45 years later (3).

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3. See above, pp. 20, 27, 51, and elsewhere.

2: Schrenck--249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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F.J. 175 G 131 36 [103]

Apart from along the Amur River, we also learn from Mamia Rinsô the southern boundary of the Gilyak along the seacoast at that time. In the Amur-Liman he visited the village of Tsjomen, which consisted of large dwellings of the Smerenkur, scattered along a small river of the same name (4).

4. "Tô-tats ki ko," op. cit., p. 178.

Today's Tschomi, the southernmost coastal village of the Gilyak, is arranged in precisely the same way, as I can confirm from experience. And that at that time, too, it was the last is shown by the dotted line that on Rinsô's map runs from Horo on the Amur to the seacoast directly south of Tsjomen and undoubtedly is supposed to designate the southern boundary of the Smerenkur area on the mainland. From there southward to beyond Taba Bay stretched at that time, too, only an uninhabited coast, as one likewise understands from Mamia Rinsô's statements: on his return trip to Sakhalin, he sailed around Cape Wasibundi (Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/, called Wasfun by the Olcha) and into the channel which Siebold rightly named after him, but on his outbound voyage he had sailed along part of the coast north of Taba and named on it a series of place names, but with the express remark that the coast was uninhabited and these places were only anchorages (5). Thus, in

F.J. 175 G 131

5. Op. cit., pp. 170, 178.

/120/ Rinsô's time, too, the boundary situation between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors was the same as it was in my time.

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In general, then, no shifts at all along the entire southern boundary of the Gilyak on the mainland are observable from the time of our first acquaintance with this people, that is, in about 200 years. The oldest reports are so inadequate, however, that one cannot with certainty deny that there may have been changes; they permit us to know scarcely more

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175 131 than that the neighbors adjacent to the Gilyak on the south were the same 200 years ago as they are today. The only thing known with absolute certainty is that the boundary situation which I found there in the fifties was exactly the same as it was half a century earlier.

175 131 If we now go back to the island of Sakhalin, we are faced there with an even greater scarcity of useful older reports. In the above-mentioned reports from the earliest expeditions that the Russians conducted to the mouth of the Amur and beyond, no special attention is given to it, though in one of them it is generally noted that the Gilyak also occupy the nearby islands in the ocean (1) which however, could just as well refer to the

1. In Pojarkof's report (see Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 302).

Shantar Islands (2). Not until the above-mentioned "Tale from

[114] 2. Fischer, in this connection, actually confused Sakhalin with the Shantars (see his Sibir. Gesch., Part II, p. 788, and the map, "Sibiriae veteris," Pl. II).

the Great Amur River," likewise from the seventeenth century, and to a certain extent also in Witsen, is it said more precisely that opposite the mouth of the Amur there is a large island on which numerous "Gilyak peoples" live (3). Elsewhere Witsen

[113] 3. Spasskii, "Svied. Russk. o r. Amurie v" XVII stol. /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20). Witsen, Noord en Oost

2: Schrenck--251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Manchu AG4

G /120 cont./
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3. (cont.)
Tart., ed. of 1690, Pt. 2, p. 32; ed. of 1705, p. 87. Cf. also Müller, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Pt. 2, 2nd ed., p. 506.

G
175 Elsewhere Witsen
131 remarks that this island was called "Giliat" (4). What is said
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4. Op. cit., ed. of 1705, p. 96.

otherwise about the places on this island that are mentioned, even though based on facts and the truth, nevertheless has the character of accounts based upon hearsay, as, for instance, the statement about the high reed thicket that makes its coast
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175 inaccessible, and the like. And as a matter of fact, we do
177 not have any reliable reports on Sakhalin and its people in that period, not even brief ones like those on the Amur region, because this island had no contact with the Russians at all in the seventeenth century. Later on, in the eighteenth century, when the Russians undertook voyages to the Shantars, Sakhalin, as was mentioned above (5), was repeatedly visited by Russian

5. See above, p. 171.

deserters, shipwrecked persons, etc., but no reports about it have come down to us.

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G The oldest Chinese reports about Sakhalin provide just as
175 slight a foothold. When the Jesuits Regis, Jartoux, and Fridelli
177 drew up the map of the lower Amur River, the natives told them that opposite the mouth of the Amur /121/ there was an island which was inhabited by a people similar to them. Consequently, Emperor Kang-hi soon afterwards sent several Manchu to explore the island, and they crossed over to it in the boats of the natives, but, according to the testimony of the Jesuits, their task was

2: Schrenck--252 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Manchu AG4
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to the southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remained uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the names

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1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, each according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian anga hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known the present name arose. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian anga chada" mean only "rocks (not island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the banks of the river at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks emerging from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin, see below.

of the peoples inhabiting the island.

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We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first detailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mamia Rinsô (1808-1810). In 1613-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Yesso/

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F.J. /121 cont./
175 to Krafto under the governor Kinfiro, in order to draw up a map
177 of this country, but they did not advance very far, and they supplied hardly any information about its peoples; Siebold, at any rate, to whom we are indebted for the information (2),

2. Nippon, I, p. 126.

has nothing to say about it. There were no further expeditions to Sakhalin by the Japanese until Mogami Tok'nai and, soon after him, Mamia Rinsô set foot on the island. To be sure, Sakhalin was geographically explored at about the same time by European seafarers -- La Pérouse (1787), Broughton (1797), and Krusenstern (1805) -- and the Hollander Vries had landed on its east coast about a century and a half earlier, but they came into contact with its population only at odd coastal points, and therefore could give no more than odd bits of ethnographic information, which shall be mentioned later. The Japanese, however, studied not only the two coasts -- the west coast almost to its northern end, and the east coast to the Bay of Patience -- but even a part of the interior of Sakhalin (3). We

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3. Mogami Tok'nai, for instance, went from the Bay of Patience along the Poronai (Ty or Plyi River) across the island to Otsisi (in the vicinity of Duĭ). Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128.

are indebted to them for the first information about the three indigenous peoples living on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Ainu, and
F.J. Orok. Since their reports, however, and especially the one by
175 Mamia Rinsô, are not very old, and since, as we have seen,
G there has been no subsequent border change on the mainland
181 between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors, /122/ we
175 cannot expect any considerable border changes on the island within this short space of time. In fact, Mamia Rinsô states that the area of the Smerenkur territory on the west coast of

2: Schrenck--254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. 175 G 131 175 [361] [563]

/122 cont./

Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

A G 131 178 563 175 A [648]

A G 131 175 [178] [563] /122 cont./ began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

A [648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G 131 175 In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether G [174] and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A 175 131 184 While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half A 175 131 millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries. According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

E.J. 175 187

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de omdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

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Ainu ABC
Early Japan AB3

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1. (cont.)
/Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of M. G. Vries, with a Discussion of the Ainu Language and the Products of the Ainu Region/, Amsterdam, 1858, pp. 92, 116.

under the founder of the Mikado dynasty, Zinmu, about 660 B.C., the northern part of Nippon was inhabited by Ainu, who in the history of Japan are called "Asuma Jebisu," i.e., wild men of the east. They were settled principally in the present districts of Mutsu, Dewa, and the northern part of Jetsigo, which at that time were called "Jebisu no Kuni," the land of the wild men (2). Even in the seventh century after Christ the Ainu lived

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2. In Chinese history, according to Siebold (op. cit., p. 116), from whom we get this information, it is first under the Han dynasty (189 B.C. to 30 A.D.) that there is mention of the tribe of the "Mao-min" (Ainu), who lived on the opposite side of the eastern sea and had hair all over the body. Likewise, in the history of the Sui dynasty (608 to 622 A.D.) reference is made to the "Mozin" people, which consisted of 50 hordes and lived in the mountains in the northwest of the country of Woke (Japan).

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in the first two provinces south to 38° north latitude, but were constantly at war with the Japanese. At the beginning of the ninth century the rule of the Mikado already extended over all of Nippon; the Japanese advancing northward, however, still had to fight the Ainu constantly until the latter were finally completely subjugated and in part became amalgamated with the conquerors, in part were annihilated or driven out. Many

Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

A E.J. 175 648 A [167] E.J. [361] A EJ [177] /123 cont. / Many of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in 729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the

3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast. A E.J. [114] It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the

5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were F.J. 175 654 brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

F.J. [113]

6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rinsifée's San kokf tsou ran to sets,

F.J. 175 654 [113] /123 cont./

6. (cont.)
ou Apercu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth, and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami Tok'nai and of Mamia Rinsô. Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/ were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 210; Rinsifée, San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

A 175 The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first on those of Jesso, that Eruopeans collected comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit Fathers, Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris (1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, Françoys A [177] Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also A [101] on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

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2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705, pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc., pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). The latter says

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2. (cont.)
that, according to Krusenstern, Hieronymus de Angelis had come to Sakhalin in 1620, presumably as the first European. I do not know of any place, however, where Krusenstern has said this and I find nothing about it in Siebold.

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in part very interesting, on the Ainu, without designating them by a separate name. The name "Aino" /Ainu/ is found in the European literature for the first time in a work by Eliud Nicolai published in Munich in 1619 (3), in which Jesso, also for the first

3. Newe vnd warhaffte relation, von deme was sich in beederley, das ist, in den West- und Ost- Indien zugetragen /New and true account of what happened in beederley, that is, in the West and East Indies/, etc. (cf. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 151).

time, is mentioned as a separate island, inasmuch as it is said that all earlier maps commit the error of "omitting above Japan (Nippon) a large island called Jezo by the Japanese, Aino-moxoti (Aino-mosiri, i.e., Aino Island) by the inhabitants." Perhaps this book did not become sufficiently well known or perhaps the name of the people was not surmised from the name of the island; suffice it to say that the Ainu remained without any special designation for some time yet, and even La Pérouse and Broughton, who came in contact with them on Jesso and Sakhalin, have no special name for them (4). Only after

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4. Both designate the Ainu only in terms of the respective islands which they inhabit. Thus, Broughton calls the Ainu of Jesso simply the inhabitants of Insu, as they

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4. (cont.)

175 themselves are said to call this island (A
101 Voyage of discov., London, 1804, pp.
113 89, 272; cf. also Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bem. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 303). In passing I should mention that, according to Golownin /Golovnin/ (Zapiski o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" /Notes on His Adventures during His Captivity among the Japanese/, Pt. III, p. 156, note 1) the name that the Ainu of Jesso are said to give their island sounds similar, namely, "Einso-zi," or simply "Einso," from which, corrupted by the Japanese and Europeans, their present name arose. On the other hand, however, an obvious conjecture is that "Einso," or, as I should prefer to spell it, "Ainso" (in Russian in Golownin: ЭЙНЗО /Eynzo/), arose from the above-mentioned "Aino-mosiri" and therefore simply means "Ainu Island." As Broughton did with respect to the inhabitants of Jesso, so did La Pérouse designate the Ainu of Sakhalin simply as "Ségaliens" or "Oku-Jessois," (since in Japanese Oku-Jesso, that is, Great, High, Upper, or, according to Siebold [Nippon, VII, p. 198], Inner Jesso /Yesso/, referred to the country north of Jesso, although he heard that they themselves call their country "Tschoka" (Voyage aut. du monde, Paris, 1797, Vol. III, pp. 36, 115, 118). Krusenstern inquired about this name in vain on Jesso as well as on Sakhalin (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51), and, according to Fr. Schmidt (in Petermann's Geogr.

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4. (cont.)
Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432), it owes its origin to an error, since "tschoka" means "I" and "we" in the Ainu language. (According to Klaproth, too [in Langsdorff's Bemerkung. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 302], among the Ainu of Sakhalin "I" is "tschogai"; according to his vocabulary in San kokf, etc., p. 252, it is "toogaī, and among the Ainu on Kamchatka, "we" -- "tschogaich"). La Pérouse in his list of Ainu words (op. cit., p. 118) mentions a second name which the natives are said to give for their island, though less frequently than the first; it is "Tanina." Nothing was ever heard later about this alleged name for Sakhalin. Finally, Milet Mureau, the editor of La Pérouse's Voyage, makes the brief remark that the Chinese call Sakhalin "Ta-han" (op. cit., p. 83, note c), which, however, presumably is only a corruption for "Ta-hai," that is, large island, since Iakinf (Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, pp. 30, 224, note), too, states that among the Chinese Sakhalin is called "Da-tshe-u" (Da-chzheu), i.e., large island. In the history of the Tang dynasty this island is said to be called "Lu-gui" (Iakinf, op. cit., p. 31).

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Krusenstern's trip have Europeans given them the name Aino, /125/ with which they are said to designate themselves (1), and

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1. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51; Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf

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1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

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Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

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3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

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3. (cont.)

175 under the title, San kokf, etc., ou Aperçu
103 général des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832),
114 in which (p. 187) there is also mention of
[113] the country of "Karafuto" or "Karafto," located north of Jesso and separated from it by a strait. On the maps accompanying the work, this country is represented as a peninsula of the mainland far to the south of the mouth of the Amur, but Rinsifée is not guaranteeing the correctness of this representation, since some geographers simply designated it as an island off the coast of eastern Tattan (Tartary). Moreover, on these maps precisely opposite the mouth of the Amur there is represented a large island stretching from west to east and named "Sagariïn," about which the Japanese author had perhaps received information from Manchurian or Chinese sources. Thus, northern and southern Sakhalin are torn apart here, and while the former was still only an unknown, faraway island to the Japanese, they looked upon the latter as a nearby country which they thought of, thanks to its trade relations with the Manchu, as a peninsula leading directly to the mainland. The familiarity
[113] of the Japanese with the name "Krafto" for Sakhalin can be traced back even further, for in the description of Jesso by Araï Tsikugo-no-kami ("Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh. -- Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun,

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3. (cont.)
Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 191, 205), who around 1720 stayed on this island for a long time, it is said that the Ainu there call the island Oku- or Oki-Jesso (Sakhalin) "Krato" or "Karato." Indeed, even earlier the Japanese interpreter, Kannemon, who visited Jesso before 1652, reported that "Krato" or "Kraft" was a province in Tartary from which the inhabitants of Jesso obtained a special type of fabric ("Kraft-ori," evidently Chinese fabrics coming via Sakhalin) (see his "Jeso-ki," likewise translated by Titsingh, op. cit., pp. 162, 164). In this connection it should be noted that it seems to be these two "Jeso-ki" that Klaproth, during his stay in Irkutsk, used to supplement the information concerning Jesso given by Rinsifée in San kokf tsou ran to sets. I conclude this both from the content of his additions to the last-named work, which are almost identical with the two "Jeso-ki," and from the dates when the two descriptions of Jesso used were written (see Klaproth's preface to the San kokf, etc., p. IV). Only the one date (for Kannemon's "Jeso-ki") is given reduced by a century (1752 instead of 1652), probably as the result of a printing error.

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It was regarded as of Japanese /126/ origin (1), but, according to

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1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 301; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198.

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175 Schmidt, it comes from the Ainu of the neighboring islands,
103 Jesso, Kunaschir /Kunashir/, and Iturup, and has merely been adopted by the Japanese (2). Presumably, therefore, it is also

2. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432. The above-mentioned statements by Kannemon and Arai Tsikugo concerning "Krato" and "Kraft" also argue in favor of this being a word foreign to the Japanese and brought to them by the Ainu.

peculiar to the Ainu of Sakhalin (3).

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3. Rinsifée (San kokf tsou, etc., pp. 187, 284) points out, however, that the true name of the country called Karafuto by the Japanese was "Taraïkaï" or "Tarakaï," whereupon Klaproth (San kokf, etc., p. 188, Notes; Asia polygl. p. 301) and Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 198) regarded the latter as the indigenous Ainu name for the island. Schmidt (Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1869, p. 432) rightly points out, however, that this name probably comes from the village of Taraika located in the Gulf of Patience, which formerly had many trade relations, especially with Manchuria. The latter are of no importance here, however, since the use of the name Tarakaï for Sakhalin was started by the Japanese. They had evidently heard the name of this village from the Ainu and erroneously took it for that of the island as a whole. In Kannemon's "Jeso-ki,"

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3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar'/Ainu-Russian Dictionary/." -- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

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Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

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175 centuries ago, in the same place that still today forms their
131 northern boundary along the east coast of Sakhalin. That they
[648] have not spread farther to the north since then, since the seacoast north of the Gulf of Patience is still uninhabited for a long stretch, can perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that the Japanese did not found their first settlements on Sakhalin until the end of the last century and did not extend them, as we saw above, for a long time (4), and therefore did not exert such a

4. See above, pp. 148 ff.

pronounced pressure upon the more distant Ainu as to induce them to move away farther to the north.

175 The spread of the Ainu over the Kurile Islands seems to have
131 proceeded faster and farther in comparison. It has already been
721 mentioned above that they had occupied all the Kurile Islands including Poromuschir /Paramushir/, the last but one coming from the south, prior to the arrival of the Russians on Kamchatka (5).

5. See above, p. 33.

Steller and Krascheninnikof state expressly that this island was inhabited by Ainu ("Kurilen"), who had come over from the island of Onekotan, /127/ and, to be sure, not as long ago as one is inclined to believe, because close ties of hospitality existed between the inhabitants of these two islands, whereas the inhabitants of the more distant islands, on the other hand, often undertook raids on Onekotan, which perhaps may have been the reason for the emigration of part of the population of this island to Poromuschir (1). The next and last of the Kurile Islands,

[113] 1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, pp. 7, 23, 24; Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., St. Petersburg, 1818, Vol. I, pp. 145, 146).

Ainu ABG
Kamchadal RY3

K 175 131 167 A 175

/127 cont./ The next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

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2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

K A 175 563 484 K [101]

Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them; for many years they have entered into marriages

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/127 cont./

with them, and since they moved back and forth between the mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-

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5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

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6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

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/127 cont./

6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Krascheninnikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Krascheninnikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

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And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

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As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

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1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

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/128 cont./

1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534). Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

A Steller, however, has already
K pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians
101 for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected
175 with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

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[114] He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).

3. Steller, op cit., p. 248, note a.

/128 cont./

000 3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104] 4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113] 5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113] 6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113 7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

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7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kurumisi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

000 explanation of that name for the people and the land.

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/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakä, Eluntschun, and Kuä," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

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1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuä as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

A /129 cont./
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1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

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101 Similarly, The
175 archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuä" (Ainu) among the
[648] peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

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2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

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3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

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5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others,
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[103] among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are
[101] the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

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6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

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7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuã, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

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G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

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[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

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174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
648 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
131 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
103 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
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Ainu ABC
Goldi RX3
Orok
Feudal Japan ABZ
Sakhalin Island

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174 /130 cont./
184 where the less bountiful natural conditions required them to trap
433 animals over a wider territory, to live constantly on the sea and
131 roaming on the islands, through which, however, they acquired great skill in navigation and, at the same time, a greater capability for further expansion.

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175 The historical reports concerning the Orok, the third people on the island of Sakhalin, are exceedingly scanty. The first information about them, though their name was not given, was obtained through the expedition sent to Sakhalin soon after
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[231] 1709 by Emperor Kang-hi. Upon their return the Manchu reported that there were no horses there, to be sure, but that at various places the islanders kept a species of tame deer which they used to draw their sleds (2). This only fits the reindeer-

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 13.

F.J.
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175 raising Orok. Not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth did the Japanese travelers,
F.J. Mogami Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô, learn more about them.
[101] They called them "Orotsko," and the land inhabited by them,
[103] "Orikata." On the map of Sakhalin drawn by the first (3), a

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3. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXV: the map inscribed "Mogami Tok'nai 1786."

F.J. dotted line indicates the circumference of this territory. The
[114] line begins at the Gulf of Patience, coinciding approximately with the statement in Mamia Rinsô's travel report, where it is said that the territory of the Orotsko begins at Si and Taraika (4),

4. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

Goldi RY3
Orok
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

Gi 175 131 FJ. 175 /130 cont./ and runs in an arc embracing the river system of the Poro-nai or Ty, back to the east coast where it ends somewhat to the north of Cape Delisle de la Croyère, but still to the south of the Tymy /Tym'/ River. This boundary line corresponds only in its southern part to its present course, and also it is only there /131/ that it could have been drawn by the Japanese on the basis of personal observation. Mogami Tok'nai traveled along the east coast of Sakhalin up to the Gulf of Patience and from there on his trip crossed the southern part of the Orok territory Gi [361] along the Poro-nai to Otsisi on the west coast (1). In the

1. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128.

eighties of the last century he found this area only scantily populated, precisely as is still the case today, since it is a land of passage for the Gilyak and the Orok, in which at most only a few isolated and temporarily occupied yurts of the latter are found (2). The boundary of the Orok territory in the west and

Gi 131 175 FJ. 175 114 Gi [221] [361]

2. See above, p. 38.

north as given by the Japanese does not correspond at all with the present one, since it does not merely exclude the entire Tymy Valley, through which their annual migrations go, but also their chief settlements much farther north along the coast around Käkr-wo; indeed, along the seacoast to the north of the Cape of Patience it claims for the Orok only that part which today, as shown above, is almost completely uninhabited. It may F.J. not be concluded from this, however, that the Orok in the mean- [124] time have spread as much farther to the north and west; rather, the discrepancy is due to the fact that that part of east Sakhalin located north of the Gulf of Patience and the Poro-nai was visited neither by the Japanese travelers named nor by earlier ones, and their statements are therefore based only upon information which was elicited here and there from the natives and which in the case concerned could give all the less an

Gi 131 /131 cont./

175 accurate and trustworthy result since in large part a nomadic
FJ people is involved. The boundaries of their habitation and
175 wandering areas are even today known to us only by their
[114] [124] principal features primarily!

Gi 175 101 There is practically no historical information concerning the Orok from any quarter other than the Japanese. Prior to my journey nothing at all was known of this people on the part of the Russians. To be sure, various members of the so-called Amur Expedition, Boschnjak, Orlof, Rudanofskij, had met them before me, but their reports did not appear in print until after my written communications to the Academy. On the part of the Manchu and Chinese they were known only by name. In the Gi [648] Chinese imperial geography (3) they are mentioned among the

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, 1818, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 444.

peoples paying tribute in the district of Ssan-ssin under the Manchurian name, "Oruntschun," or, in a garbled Chinese version, "Golun-tschun" (4). Likewise following Chinese sources,

4. In the same imperial geography, according to Pauthier, Chine moderne, Part I, p. 168.

Iakinf calls them "Eluntschun" and erroneously places them, among the three peoples living on Sakhalin, in the southern Gi [648] part of the island (5). Finally, quite recently Palladij, on the

5. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, p. 30, note.

basis of Manchu-Chinese statements, mentions them under the name "Orontscho" as one of the peoples which in ancient times had to take their tribute to the Peking court in sable skins to Girin (6).

Gi [113] 6. "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch.

648 /131 cont./
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6. (cont.)
(Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399). Palladij, to be sure, adds "Orotschonen /Orochon/" in parenthesis in explanation of the name, but insofar as the people of this name from the upper Amur is to be understood by this, the explanation is wrong, for this people belonged to the province of Helong-kiang or to the upper Amur region. In the province of Girin or the lower Amur region there are only the Orochi of the seacoast and the Orok of Sakhalin with similar names; the former, however, are mentioned in the enumeration specifically under the name Kjakala, and so only the latter remain as the Orontscho.

101 /132/ On the part of the Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese, therefore, the Orok were designated with the same name, merely slightly changed here and there. The names that they have among their nearest neighbors, the Ainu and the Gilyak, also sound quite similar: by the former they are called "Orochko" (1), and by the Gilyak I have heard them called

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1. Brylkin: "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina" /Letters from Sakhalin/ (Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, p. 21).

"Orongta" on the west coast of Sakhalin, and in the Tymy Valley, where I met them repeatedly, "Orokó" (2). As is

2. It was only among the Amur Gilyak that I also heard the name

/132 cont./

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2. (cont.)
"Tosong" for the Orok, which, however, I am unable to explain. Should it not be "Trosong" and be connected with Tro, the Gilyak designation for a part of Sakhalin, which will be discussed later?

known, however, several Tungusic peoples on the mainland bear the same name, with insignificant variations, for example, in particular the Orochi on the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan and the Orochon along the upper Amur; indeed, the name Oltscha /Olcha/, too, in view of the common exchange of r and l among the Tungus, must likewise be regarded as the same as Ortscha or Or(o)tscha. Moreover, the Olcha are called "Orongr" and "Orongsch" by their neighbors, the Gilyak (3).

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3. It has already been mentioned above that on the above-mentioned ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia by Wenjukof /Veniukov/, as in the work that it accompanies (Opyt" voennago obozr. russk. granitsy v" Azii, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 58), the Orok are mentioned under the name of "Orokap" (Orokapy). In earlier publications I have come across this name only in an excerpt from the Alaska Herald reprinted in the Paris Bulletin de la Société géographique (sixth series, Vol. IV, 1872, July-December, p. 172). This, however, is characterized by the fact that it renders the names of the three peoples of Sakhalin in a form that hardly allows them to be recognized:

/132 cont./

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3. (cont.)
it repeats in the French the exact manner of writing that the author of the English Alaska Herald article believed necessary in order to render faithfully the Russian designations for these peoples. "Les indigènes (de l'île de Sakhaline)," it is said in the Bull. de la Soc. geogr., "forment trois races: les Heelyakee, les Orokappee et les Oyeene" (according to the Russian designations: Giljaki, Orokapy (?), and Aïny). It is not surprising, therefore, that Hellwald ("Das Volk der Aïnos." -- Ausland, 1873, p. 913) recognized none of the three peoples in this statement, with reference to which he said: "The Ainu are not mentioned at all, and, moreover, it is not said whether these names designate, say, Ainu tribes, which is unlikely." But now concerning the strangely distorted name "Orokapy" in Wenjukof and in the non-Russian articles mentioned, I should note the following. In Tichmenjef's /Tikhmen'ev/ history of the Russo-American Trading Company (Ist. obozr. obraz. ross.-amer. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Development of the Russian-American Company/, Part II, p. 117) this people is mentioned, in the first reports that the company received from the officials whom it had sent to Sakhalin, under the names "Orokaty" or "Orngory," in which

Goldi RX3
Orok
Tungus RU5
Orochon

Gi 175 101 113 114

/132 cont./

3. (cont.)
the above-mentioned Japanese and Gilyak designations, "Orotsko, Orikata," and "Orongr," respectively, are easily recognized. With a hasty rendering, "Orokapy" could easily be produced from "Orokaty."

Gi T 101 Gi T [192] T [113]

The etymology of all these similar-sounding names is obvious and has already been pointed out with respect to one of them (the Orochon) by various parties (4). Among the

4. First by Gerbillon (see Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 37); later by Klaproth ("Orig. de la nat. des Mandchoux," in the Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, Paris, 1824, p. 453; Asia polygl., p. 289), and others.

Tungusic peoples of the Amur region (5), /133/ as well as

5. See Vol. I, p. 167, of this work.

among those of Siberia (1), the reindeer, especially the do-

T. Gi [113]

1. A. Schiefner, Alex. Castrén's Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre, nebst kurz. Wörterverzeichniss /Castren's Outline of a Tungusic Grammar, with a Short Vocabulary/, St. Petersburg, 1856, pp. 76, 109, 130.

mesticated one, is called "oro" or "oron," and all those names, therefore, only mean "reindeer people" or "reindeer keepers."

Tungus RUS
Orochon
Gold RX3
Orok

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Gi /133 cont./
101 To be sure, at the present time the latter designation is applica-
233 ble to only two Amur peoples, the Orochon in the extreme west
171 of the Amur region and the Orok in the extreme east of it, but
the fact that they are preserved among several others serves
as proof that these tribes, too, were formerly reindeer nomads
T and only after the loss of their reindeer became fishing peoples
101 by settling along the Amur and the seacoast (2). But who was

T.
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2. Such changes in the lives of peoples are commonly known from the history of Siberia. Thus, to give only a few examples, according to Wrangell /Vrangel/ and Matjuschkin /Matiushkin/, the present, though not large population along the large and small Anui consists of Tungus, Lamut (coastal Tungus), Yukagir, and Tschuwanz /Chuvan/, all of whom were formerly reindeer nomads, but lost their reindeer at various times through epidemics or wolves and thereupon settled down as fishermen and hunters along the rivers named (Vrangel', Putesh. po Sib. i Ledov. moriu /A Voyage along Siberia and the Arctic Ocean/, St. Petersburg, 1841, Pt. II, pp. 7, 26, 138, 175).

it who first gave these peoples the name "reindeer keepers"? For it is hardly conceivable that they would have named themselves after a domestic animal, even one so important to them. Klaproth expressly states that the Manchu use the general name "Orotschon" /Orochon/ for all the other Tungus (3). Arguing

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3. Asia polygl., p. 289. Recently Prince Kostrof /Kostrov/ ("Ocherki Turukhansk. kraia /Sketches of the Turukhanskii Krai/." -- Zap. Sib.

Tungus RU5
Orochon
Goldi RX3
Orok
Olcha

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/133 cont./

3. (cont.)

Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. IV, 1857, p. 81) stated that the Mongols call the Tungus "Orotschonen" or "Orontschonen," but, according to Klaproth (loc. cit.), their name among the Mongols is "Cham-nojon." At any rate, the name Orochon is not of Mongolian origin.

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Arguing in favor of a Manchurian origin of this name is the fact that it occurs only among the Tungus of the Amur region and was not known to the Russians until they came in contact with a reindeer-keeping Tungusic tribe that was under Manchurian domination, the present Orochon of the upper Amur region, which happened relatively late (4). It is easily understandable that the latter

4. We shall come back to this below.

people, living close to the Manchu, to whom they paid tribute until recently, and keeping reindeer to this day, were given a generally accepted Manchurian name. The question becomes more difficult with respect to the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Olcha and the Orochi, for whom the Manchu today have other designations, as well as with respect to the Orok of Sakhalin, with whom, as mentioned above, they did not come in contact until a relatively very late date, in the first quarter of the previous century. If for the moment we put aside the Orochi, who will be discussed separately later, and now consider only the Olcha and Orok, it is not to be assumed that the Gilyak borrowed the names customary among them for these closest neighbors of theirs from the Manchu. On the other hand, even less probable is the assumption that they independently arrived at the same designation for these peoples that the Manchu had given to the Orochon, especially since, according to its etymology, it is not of Gilyak, but of Tungusic origin.

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/133 cont./

101 174 On the basis of all this, I believe that the one /134/ solution to this problem is to be found in the assumption that these tribes accepted the designation given to them by the Manchu or their ancestors at a time when they were still living as reindeer nomads in the mountains, far from their present habitation sites, or at least took it as their own when dealing with strangers, so that it also became customary, naturally in a somewhat changed form, among their later neighbors, the Gilyak. In fact, during repeated inquiries the Olcha told me that they designated themselves with this name (1), which I first heard from them them-

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1. As a rule its sound is between Ōltscha and Ōltza, so that I, making allowance for this intermediate sound, would have to write the name properly as Ōltscha(z), which is not done only for the sake of brevity.

selves, since the Russians had another designation for them (Mangun), which will be discussed later. Glehn (2) also calls

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2. "Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from Sakhalin Island/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, edited by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 196 and elsewhere).

the Orok of Sakhalin simply Olcha, without mentioning that this is the name that they give themselves. But since he seems to know nothing about the fact that the Mangun (Olcha) along the Amur also call themselves this, and instead occasionally uses for them the above-mentioned name used by the Russians (3),

3. Op. cit., p. 197.

he must have heard the name Olcha among the Orok themselves. And this seems to me all the more probable since the

/134 cont./

101 174 Orok, as was pointed out above (4) and as their language and

4. See above, p. 38 ff.

their entire habitus demonstrate, are most closely related to the Olcha, indeed, are probably only a tribe of the latter that perhaps not so long ago migrated from the mainland to the island by way of the route indicated above (5). Hence, like

101 174 114 648 [113] [173]

5. According to Schmidt ("Historisch. Bericht," etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 121), they also maintain that they and the Olcha belong to one and the same tribe. The assertion by Newelskoi /Nevelskoi/ in his posthumous work (Podvigi Russk. morskikh" ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Exploits of Russian Naval Officers in the Far East of Russia/) and repeated innumerable times (for instance, pp. 151-153, 256, 275, 293, 295, 299, 302, 305, and elsewhere) and in various versions to the effect that the Orok of Sakhalin are descendants of the Tungus of the Odskoi region is quite erroneous and only prejudiced. The circumstance that gave rise to this view may have been the fact that they, like the latter, use reindeer, which is not the case for any other people on Sakhalin or in the lower Amur region. Moreover, it suited the views of the head of the Amur Expedition who strongly desired annexation. On the basis of it he thought that the Orok, as emigrants from a region occupied by the Russians (even though not

/134 cont./

5. (cont.)

101 until later), were to be regarded as
174 Russian subjects. It was spun out more
114 and more; soon it was thought that it
648 could be deduced from specific statements by the Orok, and indeed it was thought that from them even the date when the emigration took place could be learned. But the assertions concerning this vary to such an extent that it can clearly be seen from them that each one obtains the statement that he himself presumes is the correct one, for sometimes it is supposed to have happened at the beginning, sometimes at the end, of the sixteenth century, or sometimes at the beginning and sometimes around the middle of the seventeenth century, depending on each person's idea of the date of the conquest of the Lena and Udj regions by the Russians. Some even went so far as to interpret the Orok of Sakhalin as a mixed people of Russians and Tungus, and, to be sure by reason of both their external appearance and, again, their own assertions (op. cit., pp. 305, 306.) Finally, to top everything, it is said that the Orok on Sakhalin, having arisen from a mixture of Russians and Tungus, further mixed with the Ainu (p. 306) and spread to the southern tip of the island. With such a similar sham reasons already mentioned above (see p. 151, note 1), Newelskoi tried to justify his actions in the Amur region

/134 cont./

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5. (cont.)
and on Sakhalin, actions which, though bold, energetic, and meritorious, did not coincide with the wishes of the government at that time.

101 the Gilyak, there were also Amur and Sakhalin Olcha. Since,
174 however, the two tribes, the one /135/ remaining on the main-
[184] land and the one migrating to the island, have moved completely
[197] apart in their way of life since the separation and, in addition to other differences, as is inevitable, also certainly show linguistic ones to perhaps no less an extent than between many other Tungusic peoples of the Amur region, we continue to designate the Sakhalin Olcha as a special people with the name Orok. If, then, "Olcha" is the name that the Mangun on the Amur give themselves and sounds like the one that the Orok on Sakhalin use for themselves, the origin of the Gilyak designations Orongr or Orongsch for the former and Orongta or Oroko for the latter is easily explained. From the Gilyak, who first came in contact with the Orok who had migrated to Sakhalin, their neighbors, the Ainu, then borrowed their similar-sounding name Orochko for this people, and the Japanese, in turn, owe their designation for these reindeer nomads, Orotsko, to the Ainu. We think that we can thus explain the strange fact that the Orok were given one and the same name, with only minor modifications, by peoples living far apart and quite different linguistically.

In spite of the similar-sounding name, I believe that a situation quite different from that of the Olcha and Orok prevailed for the Orochi of the continental coastal area, both with regard to their gradual expansion and the origin of the name
[131] which is now customary for them. With their broad extension
[177] meridionally, up to the borders of Korea, the Orochi present an analogy with the Ainu in that they were known much earlier in the southern part of their area of distribution than in the north, as a consequence of contact with a civilized people of East Asia, The Chinese.

/135 cont./

101 East Asia, the Chinese. South of 46° latitude, where the farther
174 south, the more the Chinese mix with them, they bear among
[563] the latter the name "Ta-dse" (Ta-tse, Ta-tsche, and Ta-dshe), which at present the Russians, too, have adopted for them (1).

1. See above, p. 45.

According to Klaproth (2), however, "Ta-dshe" merely arose

2. Klaproth, Asia polygl., p. 203.

from "Ta-ta," a designation which the Chinese originally (from the ninth century on) gave to the Mongolian peoples living northwest of them which later, however, became a collective name and was carried over to the Tungusic peoples, or, as Ritter expresses it, to the ethnic mixture in the northeast (3).

3. Cf. Ritter, Asien, Vol. I, pp. 274 ff.

Thus, there are "Schuï-tadshe," Water Tatars, the ancestors of the Manchu for the Chinese authors, "Jupi-tatse, "Fish-skin Tatars, the peoples of the lower Amur region who clothe themselves in fish skins -- perhaps more correctly, Fish-skin Barbarians, since Ta-tse is said to be synonymous with the Chinese
[177] "Pe-ti," barbarian or, properly, northern barbarian (4). The

4. Klaproth, op. cit., p. 260; Ritter op. cit., p. 277.

Chinese, however, probably did not come into close contact with the southern Orochi, now simply designated by them as Ta-dse, until after the installation in China of the present ruling /136/ Manchu dynasty, which opened up the Amur region to their sometimes voluntary, sometimes involuntary immigration and settlement.

/136 cont./

101 The Jesuit missionaries who at the beginning of the eight-
175 eenth century traveled through a part of the lower Amur region
131 upon the orders of Emperor Kang-hi thought that the seacoast
[197] east of the Amur, which they themselves did not visit, was
inhabited by the same Ketscheng (Goldi and Olcha) whom they
[114] had met along the Amur (1). This corresponds with the state-

1. Du Halde, Descrip. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 12.

ment in d'Anville's atlas (2) that the Ketscheng people lived on

[113] 2. Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, Maps 1 (1734) and 18 (1732).

the seacoast facing the island of Sakhalin -- a statement which
101 was repeated on many later Russian maps (3). In the Chinese
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[113] 3. Especially on the map by Posnjakof, General'naia karta Aziiatskoi Rossii, 1825 g. /General Map of Asiatic Russia, 1825/, published by the Depot of Military Topography.

imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing, however, the Orochi are mentioned under a Manchurian name as "Kiyakla" (4) or, with

4. Cf. Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 444.

a greater Chinese distortion, as "Go-khe-la" (5). Palladij, too,

5. Pauthier, Chine moderne, Part I, p. 168.

following Manchu-Chinese sources, names the "Kjakala" among the tributary peoples of the province of Girin and applies this name to the Ta-dse of the seacoast (6). This people was

[113] 6. Arch. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. i pr."

Gi 101 175 [113]

/136 cont./

6. (cont.)
(Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr. Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399; the same, "Ussuriiskie Man'tszy /The Ussurie Man-dse/" (Izviestiia Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 93, 123).

repeatedly designated for me by the Goldi on the Ussuri with the immediately recognizable name "Kăkar," but once also only quite generally and vaguely as "Lâmuka" (sea dwellers). It is noteworthy that the former name is also customary among the Gilyak for the Orochi. During his stay among the Sakhalin Gilyak, Mamia Rinsô learned of a "Kiakkara" people, who were said to live on the mainland opposite (7), and later in

G Gi 101 175

7. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

Taba Bay, when he himself visited the mainland, he saw their vessels, which came from afar, he thought from the vicinity of Kôraĭ (Korea) (8). Among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk,

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8. Op. cit., p. 171. Prompted by a fortuitous similarity of sound, Siebold attempts a far-fetched interpretation of this name by saying that "Kiak kara" reminds one of the Mountain Kirgiz, called Kara, that is, the Blacks (op. cit., p. 199).

Middendorff heard of a "Kjăchkal" people who were said to live along the Amur and beyond it (9). A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the

G Gi [113]

9. Travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618.

Gi 101 /136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the
G [115] Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Olcha languages, named for me, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kăkal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /De-
G [36] Kastri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at
Gi [162] present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kăkr-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

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10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names Kăkal or Kăk(a)r, I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with
G. Gi 101 177 minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Ussuri, the Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a large stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two
G [439] [484] peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the interests of trade often come down along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Ssiranussi, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown
Gi [133] to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact between the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them -- and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

/137 cont./ If one
101 now also considers the fact that even today the Orochi are more
174 numerous in the southern part of their area of distribution and
[131] become ever more scarce toward the north, one inevitably gets the idea that they have spread from the south, perhaps from the borders of Korea and the source area of the Ussuri, and gradually northward along the coastal mountains and the seacoast. If this were the case, however, they could not have been reindeer-keepers originally, like the Olcha and Orok, but rather they must be thought of immediately as simple hunters and fishermen, as they are still. But then how can their present name, which indicates just the opposite, be explained?

101 As is known, the Orochi first became known to Europeans
175 under this name, and, to be sure, through La Pérouse, who
[177] came in contact with them in 1787 in de Castries Bay (1).

[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage autour du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Vol. III, Paris, Year V (1797), pp. 62 ff.

Since he at the same time drew up a clear and interesting, though brief description of them and we are indebted to him for the first knowledge of this seacoast, the name "Orochi" used by him found general acceptance. Undoubtedly La Pérouse heard it from the natives of the bay themselves. Hence one might think that this was the designation that the Orochi gave themselves, and which
[114] therefore rightly belonged to them. And yet this is by no means the case, and the name Orochi was erroneously transferred to
[162] this people. As mentioned above (2), de Castries Bay, thanks

2. See above, pp. 41, 55.

to its geographical position, has a mixed population made up of Olcha and Orochi. So it was even at the time when La Pérouse
175 /138/ discovered this bay. This is shown without any doubt from
101 the fact that he found houses and in particular many graves of
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764
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/138 cont./

175 quite different construction there. La Pérouse, to be sure,
101 thought that the one of the latter might have belonged to the
342 rich and the other to the poor individuals of one and the same
764 people, but according to his descriptions and illustrations (1)
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1. La Pérouse, op. cit., p. 67; Atlas, Pl. No. 53.

one immediately recognizes them as the basically different graves of the Olcha and the Orochi. During my second stay in de Castries Bay in the summer of 1855, I saw for myself the
101 presence of the two types of graves there. Hence I do not doubt
175 for a moment that La Pérouse was informed about the name
114 of the people not by Orochi, but by Olcha. Since they in fact
[194] call themselves this, he must have heard from them a designation which, in view of the very common exchange of the consonants l and r among the Tungusic Amur peoples, may have sounded like Oltscha, as I heard it, or Or(o)tscha. La Pérouse, by the way, did not extend the name Orochi to the inhabitants of the coast to the south of the Sea of Japan, since he did not visit it anymore after his stay in de Castries Bay.
101 This did not happen until later, when the Russians took possession
175 of the Amur region and the entire coastal area along the northern
[648] part of the Sea of Japan. And it happened, of course, because, on the one hand, the spread of this coastal people to de Castries Bay became known, but, on the other hand, the mixed character of the population in this bay and the affiliation of one part of it with the Olcha remained unknown, as, indeed, in part did the existence of this latter name for the so-called Mangun (2).

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2. In my travel reports to the Academy I used the name Orotschen /Orochi/ for the coastal people along the northern part of the Sea of Japan (Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersbourg, Vol. XIV, 1856, pp. 43, 45, 188, 220; Vol. XV, p. 245 and elsewhere; Mél. phys. et chim.,

/138 cont./

101 114 [113]

Vol. II, pp. 350, 353, 452; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 63, 350, and elsewhere); I did it because at that time this name was already established on the part of the Russians, and also because at the time I still lacked the correct insight into the conditions described above.

And so there was transferred to the coastal people along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, with only slight modifications, the name of another people living along the Amur, a name which is completely foreign to them and their immediate neighbors to the south and north, the Goldi and the Gilyak. It is all the more deplorable, since because of this the number of the very similar and easily confused names of the Amur peoples -- Orochon, Olcha, Orok -- has been increased by one more, Orochi, and furthermore since there might be drawn from the etymology of this name conclusions concerning the former way of life and the expansion of the people concerned which would [233] not be at all applicable to them. It has already been pointed out above that the present so-called Orochi have never been reindeer nomads and, as such, have spread, not from the north, but from the south into the coastal territory along the northern part of the Sea of Japan. It would therefore be best simply to drop the name Orochi and to replace it with another, perhaps with the name Käkar, or the one /139/ that they give themselves, if there is such a one for all the Orochi and Ta-dse from de Castries Bay down to the Ssuifun. But how the Orochi designate themselves is as yet unknown. And for this reason, and also to avoid further misunderstandings, I have preferred to retain here the name which is now customary and merely to point out its inconvenience.

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Before going further, I must mention in passing that in de Castries Bay La Pérouse met, besides Orochi, also several individuals belonging to another people which, on the basis of information from the former, he called "Bitschi" (1). They

1. In the French spelling: "Bitchys"

/139 cont./

101 175 114 1. (cont.)
(La Pérouse, op. cit., p. 62 and elsewhere.

were said to live farther south along the Amur River and to have now come to de Castries Bay, in four boats which La Pérouse himself saw coming in, only to visit. There is, however, no people of this name either along the Amur River or in the Amur region. But two localities there with this name are known to [103] me: a river Bitschi, which empties into Lake Udyl and which is mentioned by Boschnjak in his travel report (2), and a village

[113] 2. Boshniak", "Eksped. v" Pri-amursk. kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unoff. Part, p. 123).

of Bitschu at the place where the Gorin empties into the Amur, 101 which I visited in the winter of 1855. Considering the fact 174 that in answer to a question as to which people individuals are from, the place from which they come is readily named, one may assume that these were natives from one or the other of these localities, therefore either Samagir (or Negda)(3) or Goldi.

3. See what was said above (p. 66) concerning the inhabitants on the shores of Lake [487] Udyl. According to Boschnjak (loc. cit.) a winter route leads from the Bitschi River to the Amgunj /Amgun/.

The former, however, are not true Amur dwellers; furthermore, the Bitschi River does not lie to the south but to the north of de Castries or of Kidsi, by way of which, on the route from the bay one reaches the Amur; finally, I do not know that Samagir or Negda undertake such long trading trips. The boats of the [501] Bitschi, however, according to the description and illustration [439] given by La Pérouse (4) were rather large vessels with many oars [484]

4. Voyage autour du monde, loc. cit.; Atlas, Pl. No. 62.

101 /139 cont./
174 and laden with various commodities, cloth, grain, etc. It is
[501] therefore highly probable that they were Goldi from Bitschu,
[439] who, on a trading trip to Sakhalin and after traveling from the
[484] Amur by way of Lake Kidsi to the sea at Taba, made a little detour to nearby de Castries Bay in order to do some incidental trading there. So in the Bitschi of La Pérouse we meet the S'janta of the Sakhalin Ainu and Japanese, who have been discussed above, on their voyage to the island. As is known, their account of the route they had to take in order to get from the Amur to de Castries Bay confirmed the famous navigator's opinion concerning the innavigability of the so-called Gulf of Tartary. Since he had no idea of the approach of the Amur River to the sea through Lake Kidsi and could not think otherwise but that the Bitschi reached the sea through the mouth of the Amur, he took their statement that they had had to draw the boats overland for a stretch as referring to an isthmus, albeit narrow and low, /140/ between Sakhalin and the mainland, and from this drew the conclusion that the supposed island, at least at the time of low tide, turned into a peninsula through the exposure of the bottom of the sea (1).

1. La Pérouse, op. cit., p. 72.

101 The Olcha have already been mentioned so often in the
175 foregoing, especially in the discussion of the Orok and Orochi, that now, when the discussion is to be about them specifically, there is only a little to add and to summarize. From the beginning none of the Amur peoples has been so frequently confused and confounded with its neighbors, both those living above them and below them on the Amur, as the Olcha. At the outset, therefore, one should not expect to be able to learn anything about any shifts in their boundaries from a comparison with the oldest historical reports. On the part of both the Manchu-Chinese and the Russians they mentioned in these reports only under common names, usually with the Goldi, but sometimes also with the Gilyak, so that neither the southern nor the northern boundary of their territory can be ascertained.

Gi /140 cont./
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175 The Olcha are lumped together with all their neighbors in the vaguest manner by the old Jesuit missionaries, who used the collective name of "Ketsching, Ketscheng," or "Ketscheng-tatse" to designate all the peoples along the lower Amur River from Dondon down to its mouth, and even the inhabitants of
G [101] [361] the coast which faces Sakhalin (2). The Manchurian name in the

Gi [113]

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12, 13, and elsewhere. In the French spelling: "Ketching," etc.

1722 writing of the Chinese U-tschen (3) has a somewhat more

Gi [113]

3. Translated by Wassilyev /Vasil'ev/: "Zap. o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, pp. 90-93).

limited and definite meaning and a more correct form: his "Cheidsin" or "Chädshen" people on the lower Amur does not extend as far as its mouth, where instead another people, the Fei-ja-cha (Gilyak) (4), has its habitation sites. It appears with

4. At least for the most part; see p. 210 above.

somewhat more precision, though still collective, in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing insofar as there, besides the Gilyak, the people on the coast, the Orochi, is mentioned under a special name (Kiyakla). Only, according to Ritter's translation (5),

5. Erdk. von Asien, Vol. III, p. 444.

we find it there, combined with the Chinese designation for the Tungusic peoples along the left tributaries of the lower Amur,
ooo as "Kiler-chadshi. Finally, in the listing of the peoples

101 /140 cont./ Finally, in the listing of the Peoples
175 formerly paying tribute to Girin given by the archimandrite
[648] Palladij likewise from Manchu-Chinese sources, the Kiler are
[114] separated out, and so the name Chādshā or Cheidsin is limited,
as the author thinks (6), to only the Goldi, or, as I must add,

[113] 6. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

to the Goldi and Olcha, for /141/ he does not give any special Manchu-Chinese name for the latter and does not distinguish them in any way from the former. There is no doubt that in fact, on the part of the Manchu-Chinese, both people are included under the name mentioned. Further discussion is hardly
[131] needed with respect to the Goldi. Even the Jesuit missionaries
[103] state that the Ketscheng people begin with the village of Dondon on the Amur; this village, however, still exists under the same name, and from it downward the Goldi still extend almost two
[197] degrees of latitude along the lower Amur. These are the lower Goldi, or, as I have differentiated them in the first volume of this work, the Goldi living below the Geong Mountains, which run down to the Amur near Dondon, and who show many dialectal differences from the upper Goldi living along the Ussuri, but stand much closer to the Olcha linguistically than
101 to them (1). I learned from the Olcha themselves that they

1. Cf., for instance, the animal names given in the first volume of this work in the discussion of the individual mammals and birds of the Amur region.

bear the same name among the Manchu: the often mentioned, widely traveled Olcha in Tyr, to whom I am indebted for much valuable information, told me that his countrymen were called "Chýdsha" by the Manchu. This minor modification of the

101 /141 cont./ This minor modification of the
[192] same name clearly betrayed its origin to me, for in the Olcha
[197] language "chydji" or "chydshi" means "below" or "downstream." It is probably similar in the Goldi language, which in turn is closest to the Manchu. In the Olcha language, therefore, "chydshi-nei" would be simply "people from below," and all the above-mentioned modifications of this ethnic name up to the Ketscheng of the Jesuit missionaries may have arisen from it.
101 The lower Amur peoples were still very alien to the Manchu
648 at the time of the Russian military expeditions along the Amur,
175 Emperor Kang-hi, and the travels of the Jesuit missionaries. Only when members of these nationalities came to Ninguta
[439] themselves did they bring a fixed tribute in furs to the Manchu-Chinese authorities in order to obtain permission to trade, as the Olcha and Gilyak also did in Ssan-ssin when I was there. From
[174] Dondon downward the Goldi did not have the Manchurian hairdo (2),
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2. Du Halde, op. cit., p. 12; U-tschen, see Wassiljev, loc. cit.

which had been introduced throughout China by the Manchu -- which is the best proof that the peoples of the lower Amur region living from there downward were not directly under Manchu-Chinese domination, like the Olcha, Negda, Gilyak, and northern Orochi at the time of my travels. In view of all this, it is understandable that the Manchu designated these peoples still so unknown and foreign to them simply with only a collective name taken from their geographical position, the "people living below or downward (along the Amur)" -- a designation which later, after they had become acquainted with the Gilyak and Orochi and named them as separate peoples, was limited to the Goldi and Olcha, to whom it had been applied in the first place.

101 Just as on the part of the Manchu, so also in the oldest
175 Russian reports /142/ the Olcha are mentioned with the Goldi
114 under a common name as one people, whom Pojarkof calls "Natken" and Chabarof, "Atschanen" (1). The former name

1. The third of the old Russian Cossack

2: Schrenck--302 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Olcha

/142 cont./

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1. (cont.)
leaders, Stepanof, who knew them personally, simply classed the Olcha and Goldi with the Gilyak; see p. 241 above.

has already been derived above from the Tungusic name for the Goldi, and I believe that in the latter one can again recognize the name "Olcha," which these people call themselves. I cannot agree with the view expressed by Plath (2) that "Atschani"

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2. Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey /The Peoples of Manchuria/, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1830, p. 63.

and "Ketschen" were pretty much the same people. It would follow that Chabarof borrowed this name from the Manchu. But since "Ketschen" itself is only a form of "Chädshä" or "Chydsha" distorted by the later Jesuit missionaries, the Russian designation for this people would in this case, be something like Chädsheny, which, aside from the insignificant last syllable, has nothing in common with the one used by Chabarof (3). From "Olcha," on

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3. Among Russian writers of recent times there is repeated mention of a "Chodseny" and "Chodsheny" people, by which the Ussuri Goldi in particular are meant, for instance, in Maack /Maak/ (Puteshestv. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 159 and elsewhere; Putesh. po dolinie r. Usuri /A Journey in the Valley of the Ussuri/, St. Petersburg, 1861, p. 9 and elsewhere), Brylkin ("Kratkii ocherk" o tuzemts. Usuriiskago kraia /A Short Essay on the Natives of Ussuri Krai/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, Misc., p. 1 and elsewhere), and others. With what justification we shall see later. Just like Plath,

/142 cont./

3. (cont.)

101 175 113 114 Maack, too (in his first-named book, loc. cit.), identifies the "Chodseng" (Khodzeng") with the Atschony (Achony, sic!) of Chabarof /Khabarov/ in that he regards the latter name as only a distortion of the first one. As reasons for it, he says that the alleged habitation areas of the two coincide and that nowhere on the Amur did he hear of an "Atschonen" people. How untenable these reasons are can be seen from the fact that he places Chabarof's "Atschanen," living only by fishing, far above the Ussuri, where, at that time, the agricultural Djutscheren lived. He insists that he found there traces of Chabarof's winter fort, Atschanskoi gorod, and, to be sure, on the steep mountain spur Kyrma, that is, on the right bank of the Amur, whereas Chabarof (Dopoln, k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 364) expressly stated that he built the fort on the left bank.

101 the other hand, as was noted above, the Russian form "Altschany,"
114 and therefore also "Atschany," as is found in Chabarof, follows
175 quite automatically. If our interpretation is correct, in Chabarof's report is found the oldest mention of the name Olcha, though in a somewhat distorted form and extended to the southern neighbors of the Olcha, the Goldi.

The first differentiation of the Olcha from the Goldi and therefore the first mention of them under a separate name is found in Iakinf's statistical description of the Chinese Empire (4).

[113] 4. Statistich. Opisanie Kitaiskoi Imperii, Pt. II, St. Petersburg, 1842, pp. 222-224.

In a discussion of the Amur River, it is said that from the Ussuri down to the mouth three peoples live on it, the "Jant (5), Orlik,

5. On p. 220 of the work named they are also called "Ant."

Gi /142 cont./

101 and Giljaken," concerning which many pertinent and characteris-
114 tic details are given. We already know the former as the Gilyak
175 designation for the Goldi, and there can be no doubt but that "Orlik" refers to the Olcha. According to Iakinf's own statement (6),

6. Op. cit., p. 224, footnote (**).

since he himself had not visited the Amur, as is known, the above-mentioned description of it in his work was drawn up on the basis of accounts by Chinese traders and a Chinese /143/ topographical map. I must say that to me, judging by the peoples' names mentioned, this statement seems at least questionable. Recently, Middendorff has actually offered proof that those reports concerning the Amur did not come from Chinese sources at all, but from Russian ones, since Iakinf had relied on the handwritten report of the fugitive, Gurij Wassiljef, who, according to Ladyshenskij, was repeatedly in the Amur region between the years 1815 and 1826 and had navigated the river down to its mouth (1). Middendorff's

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 156 ff. Cf. also pp. 163, 164 above.

quite detailed information from Wassiljef's account puts the
G matter beyond any doubt. Judging by the names that the latter
[101] gives to the lower Amur tribes, it can be seen immediately that he spent some time among the Gilyak and received from them various items of information concerning their closest and more distant neighbors, for "Jant," as has been mentioned several times, is the designation which the Gilyak give the Goldi and which up to this time and afterwards never appears in either Russian or Chinese reports on the Amur region (2). From this it can be

2. When Iakinf asserts that along the Amur below the mouth of the Ussuri there lived Tungus who were called "Jant" by the Russians, this is explained by the fact that

/143 cont./

Gi 101 114 175 G [101]

2. (cont.)
he himself drew on the statements of a Russian and so thought himself justified in making such an assertion. Nothing similar appears in Wassiljef's report, so far as Middendorff gives it.

presumed that the name "Orlik" or "Orlich," as Middendorff following Wassiljef, spells it, is of the same origin. In fact, I believe G [101] that it may be regarded as a distortion of the Gilyak designation "Orongr" or "Orongsch" for the Olcha, which is easily understood, coming from the mouth of a Russian fugitive (3). In spite of the

Gi [113] [231]

3. Sgibnef ("Amursk. Eksped." -- Drevn. i nov. Rossiia, Vol. III, 1878, p. 314) applies the name "Orlik" to the Goldi; strangely enough, however, he thinks that they were named this by the Manchu, for they greatly esteem eagles and frequently keep them in cages. "Orjol," dimin. "orlik," is, to be sure, the Russian word for "eagle," but by no means the Manchu or the Goldi word.

various names for the three peoples living along the lower Amur, Wassiljef still gives nothing with which to distinguish them from one another, be it in external habitus, way of life, or language. In fact, he even in part confuses their habitation areas when he has the Jant live only from the Ussuri to the Dondon River, the Orlik from there down to Zikdochi, which is said to lie above the mouth of the Gorin (4), and the Gilyak still farther down to the

4. At present no place with this or a similar name is found there.

mouth of the Amur. According to this demarcation, Wassiljef's Jant would be only the upper Goldi living above the Geong

/143 cont./

101 Mountains, and the Orlik the lower Goldi, whereas the Olcha
114 are put with the Gilyak. All this confirms my opinion that
175 Wassiljef only later inquired about those designations for the lower Amur peoples from the Gilyak and interpreted them erroneously in his own way.

It was not until the fifties, when the Russians once more
[648] took possession of the Amur region and advanced upstream from the Gilyak at the Amur mouth, that people learned to distinguish the Olcha, so completely different from them linguistically, although even later, as we /144/ have seen, they were sometimes, as a consequence of the collective interpretation of the name Gilyak, confused with the latter, and sometimes with the Goldi, who were related to them (1). The accepted Russian name for

1. See p. 51 above.

them was "Mangun," which, however, only means "Amur people," for among the Olcha, Goldi, and Orochi the Amur River is called "Mangu." This designation for the Olcha is also found elsewhere and in even earlier times, in particular in the writings of the Japanese traveler Mamia Rinso, who, however, reversed the matter to a certain extent with regard to the derivation of the name. When he visited the Olcha on the Amur, he acquired the view that they were called S'janta by only the Ainu and Japanese, but were properly called "Mankô," and now thought that as a consequence of this the river which flowed through their territory bore the same
101 name (2). I myself have been able to see repeatedly how easily

2. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 178).

one could arrive at the erroneous opinion that this is the name that the natives give themselves. From the Olcha as well as the Goldi, in answer to the question as to who they are, one is told not infrequently, "bu Mangu-nei," or "Mangu-nai," with which,

/144 cont./

101 however, they only want to say that their dwelling place is on the Amur and not on one of its tributaries. In the same sense both peoples are sometimes simply designated by the Orochi as "Mangu-nai," Amur people, whereas the latter, on the other hand, call the Orochi "Lamuka," sea dwellers (3). Thus the

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3. Korsun (Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bks. IX, X, Irkutsk, 1867, p. 379), says that the Orochi who came in from the seacoast and live along the Ima, a tributary of the Ussuri, call themselves "Lamukan" and are also called this by the Chinese, which, however, does not apply to the Orochi along the Biki -- evidently, I think, for the reason that the latter did not come from the seacoast before their eyes, but are ancient inhabitants of the interior.

name "Mangun" has been borrowed from a designation used among the natives of the Amur region, which is neither an ethnic name generally nor does it apply to the Olcha specifically (4).

[113]

4. From "Mangunen" there has also been made "Manguten," for instance, in Fr. Müller, Allgem. Ethnographie /General Ethnography/, Vienna, 1873, p. 343.

Moreover this name is still little used among the Russians as a consequence of their above-mentioned inadequate differentiation of the people concerned. In this work, therefore, I have
[128] preferred to use the name Olcha for them throughout, which at the present time the people call themselves. There is no doubt
[114] but that this is so; I myself became convinced of this immediately on my first trip through the Olcha area in the winter of 1855 (5). By means of this name, whose etymology has already

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5. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de

2: Schrenck--308 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Southeast Siberia RX1

Gi 101 113 /144 cont./

5. (cont.)
St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 188; Mél. phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 451.

Gi 101 174 233 By means of this name, whose etymology has already been discussed above (6), we gain an insight into the prehistory

6. See above, pp. 280 ff.

of the Olcha tribe, in that, thanks to it, it seems more than likely that formerly they lived as reindeer nomads in the mountains to the west, just as one tribe of them, the Orok, still does today on Sakhalin, and only through the loss of their reindeer herds were they forced to settle along the Amur River and live as fishermen. Indeed, something similar, in general as well as in the details, happened to many a Tungusic /145/ tribe of Siberia. With regard to the Olcha, however, I may add that, however far back this event was for them, the memory of it is said to have been perserved in their legends to this day.

Gi [173]

SS, 103 In connection with the above-mentioned designation used by the Olcha, Goldi, and Orochi for the Amur, I must here touch upon in passing the much discussed question as to the origin of the Russian name for this river generally used today. Various and in part far-fetched interpretations of this name have been given. Sometimes it is said to have been borrowed from a small right tributary of the Amur, the Emur or Emuri (Albasicha), emptying opposite the former Russian fort of Albasin (1); some-

1. Iakinf", Statistich. opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, Part II, 1842, pp. 5, footnote (**), 216, footnote. A view shared almost generally at the present time by Russian writers.

times reference is made to the Mongolian designation "Karamuren" for the upper Amur, which has the same meaning as the Manchurian name "Sachali" or "Sachalin-ula" (black river) (2);

2. Iakinf, op. cit., p. 5.

/145 cont./

103 and sometimes even a greeting of the Tungus, with which they met the first discoverers of the river and which in their language sounds like "amur," that is, Happy Peace! is said to have given
103 114 rise to the name of the river (3). All these explanations are

3. Stuckenberg, Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 782; according to the memoirs of General d'Auvray, who personally traveled along the Chinese border. According to Iakinf (op. cit., p. 5), in Mongolian "amor" means "calm, peaceful."

untenable because they refer to the upper Amur which initially did not bear this name at all among the Russians, but rather Schilka /Shilka/, after the corresponding designation which all the Tungusic peoples living there give it and which sounds like "Schilkar, Schilkir, Ssilkar, Ssilkir," even "Ssirkal," as its northern source branch is still called today. At first the river was given the name "Amur" only for its lower course, according to Pojarkof, from the Ussuri down, since it was regarded as a continuation of it, whereas above it was called Schingal or Schungal (4). Chabarof used the name Amur from the mouth of

4. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 302. Pojarkof's designation "Schungal," for "Schingal" current later clearly points to its origin from "Sungal, Sungari." On the basis of the above, it is also understandable when it is said in the old Russian reports that the Dseja /Zeya/ empties into the Schilka /Shilka/ (upper Amur), the latter into the Schingal (Sungari), and, finally, this into the Amur.

Sungari down (5), and still later, as Ritter correctly remarks, it

5. Müller, op. cit., p. 320.

SS 103 114 /145 cont./ was shifted to the height of the plateau, to the confluence of the Schilka and the Argunj /Argun/ (6). One can therefore seek the

SS 103 175

6. Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 298.

origin of this name only on the lower Amur. And in fact it is to be found unmistakably and immediately in the first report that the Russians received concerning this river. When, as Müller relates (7),

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7. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295.

Tomski Cossacks wintered at the mouth of the Ulja River in the Sea of Okhotsk in 1639, they learned from Udj Tungus that "Mamur" was the name of a river along which lived the Natkani (Goldi) (8), who took sables from the Amgunj /Amgun/ Tungus

8. See above, p. 236.

(Negda) in exchange for silver, copper kettles, glass beads, silk and woolen materials, and the like, which they themselves in turn obtained from a people /146/ living farther up and engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry, and distilling (Djutscheren, Manchu). One easily again recognizes in the story of the Udj Tungus the name that the lower Amur bears among the Tungus living on it, the Olcha, Goldi, Negdal indeed, even among the Orochi of the seacoast, and which sounds like "Mangu (1),

SS, Gi 103

1. "Manko," according to Mamia Rinsó; see above, p. 306.

Mamgu" (2), also "Mamu" (3). On the other hand, it is

2. This among the Negda, according to Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1524.

3. As Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 155)

SS. /146 cont./
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103

3. (cont.)
claims to have heard at times.

SS. On the other hand, it is
[105] perfectly conceivable that the Russian Cossacks made "Amur" out of Mamur (4). Thus, this name owes its origin to the Tungusic

4. Just as they later, for example, made Ussura, Uschura, Schura, and the like out of "Ussuri."

SS. peoples of the lower Amur region. I do not know the etymology
Gi of their above-mentioned designation for the Amur River. In any
[114] case, however, according to the above, it is quite inadmissible to look to it for the word "amur" or to regard the latter as of Gilyak origin, as Fischer and, following him, Ritter and others
G have done (5). The Gilyak have nothing to do with those
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5. Fischer (Sibirische Gesch., Part 1, p. 433; Part 2, p. 793) maintained that the Russians first heard the name "Amur" from the Tungus along the Udj and later from the Natken and Gilyak, among whom any large river is called "amar." Ritter (Erdk. von Asien, Vol. II, p. 298), evidently repeating this, says that "amur" or "yamur" means "large water" among the peoples named as well as among the Tungusic inhabitants along the shores of the eastern sea. This is not correct for either the Tungusic Amur peoples or for the Gilyak. In the language of the latter, "large water" would be "pilja tschach," and "large river," "pilja erri," the latter of which they actually use for the Amur occasionally.

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103 designations for the Amur River; they call it, as we have already seen, quite differently -- "La" or "La-erri."

/146 cont./

101 175 Whereas it has not been possible to point out any marked change or shift of habitation sites during the historical period for the peoples discussed so far, matters are different with regard to the Goldi. We meet them first under quite different, more or less collective names, on the part of the Russians as Natken and Atschanen, on the part of the Manchu-Chinese as Ketscheng, Chädshen, Cheidsin, etc. -- designations whose etymology, origin, and scope have already been discussed above in detail. They all refer to the Amur Goldi; the Goldi from the Ussuri, on the other hand, remained entirely unknown to the Russians in the beginning, for the latter did not reach this river at all on their military expeditions in the seventeenth century, and they were mentioned by the Jesuit missionaries who visited the lower Amur region in 1709 upon the orders of the Peking Government only under the Chinese name "Yupi-tatse," that is, Fish-skin Tatars or Barbarians (6), which, according to the testimony of the

6. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 10 f.

C hinese themselves (7), was extended to other peoples with a

[113] 7. U-tschen, trans. by Wassiljef ("Zap. o Ningutie." -- Zap. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, pp. 90-93).

similar way of life along the lower Amur as well as along the sea-coast. More recent Russian travelers, such as Maack and Brylkin, chose to designate the Goldi from the Ussuri and from the Amur above the Ussuri mouth, although they /147/ likewise called themselves Goldi when confronting the Russians, as a separate people, and, to be sure, under the name "Chodsen" or "Chodshen," in the opinion that this was the name that they used for themselves (1).

[113] 1. Maak, "Putesh. na Amur," St. Petersburg,

/147 cont./

101 175 113

1. (cont.)
1859, pp. 145 ff.; the same, Putesh. po dol. r. Usuri, St. Petersburg, 1861, Vol. 1, p. 9; Brylkin", Zamiech. o svoistvakh" iazyka Khodzenov" i Khodzenskii slovar' /Observations on the Nature of the Khodzen Language and a Khodzen Dictionary/ (in the appendix to the last-named work by Maack); the same, "Kratkii ocherk" o tuzemts. Usuriisk. kraia" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, Misc., p. 1). The same designation, *manifoldly varied, as one* can see from the above, can also be recognized in the "Khoadsongen" mentioned by Fr. Müller in his Allgem. Ethnographie, p. 343.

101 114 175 In it, however, one easily recognizes the designation discussed above in detail, which the Manchu give to the Goldi and Olcha living farther down the Amur and which is identical with the designation "Ketscheng" used by the Jesuit missionaries. Linguistically, too, it seems to me, such a separation of the Ussuri Goldi from their countrymen is not justified. Undoubtedly, [197] dialectal differences exist among the Goldi in the various parts of their broad area, and in particular those living closest to the Manchu will also be closest to them linguistically, as has already 101 114 been noted by the old missionaries (2). The differences, however,

2. Du Halde, op. cit., p. 12.

may not be great enough to serve as a reason for separating part of the Goldi from the rest under a special name (3), entirely

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3. Wenjukof /Veniukov/, too ("Obozr. r. Usuri /Survey of the Ussuri River/." -- Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXV, 1859, Sec. II, p. 233, the same, Putesh. po okrainam" Russk. Azii i zap. o nikh" /Journey through the Outlying

/147 cont./

101 114 [113]

3. (cont.)
Districts of Asiatic Russia and Notes on Them/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 86), expresses himself in this sense.

within the limits accepted by Maack. It seemed to me that the [197] dialectal differences between the Amur Goldi below and those above the Geong Range were greater than those between the latter and the ones living along the Ussuri or on the Amur above the Ussuri. I therefore see no reason why this name, now generally accepted and adopted, should be replaced, even in part, by another one, and especially one that, as a consequence of its more or less collective interpretation, can easily lead to misunderstanding and confusion.

101 The name "Goldi" has been known for only a short time. It perhaps appeared in print for the first time in my travel report (4).

101 113 114

4. Dated from the Nikolayev post May 7, 1855, submitted to the Academy on November 9/21 of the same year (Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XIV, p. 188; Mél. phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 451). Independently of my travel report, the name Goldi is found somewhat later in Permikin, in his "Putevoi zhurn. plav. po r. Amuru /Journal of a Voyage on the Amur River/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. II, St. Petersburg, 1856). This name, however, was still so strange to the Russians that in the translation of my travel report, done without my knowledge, in the Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, Bk. I, the Goldi were rendered as "Zolote plemya" (golden people), for which, curiously enough, Mr. Romanof makes me responsible (Russkoe Slovo, 1860, Map, Sec. III, p. 36).

Gi /147 cont./
10 I found it already in use among the few Russians at the Nikolayev and
114 Mariinski posts. Nevertheless, it is certainly not of Russian origin,
175 as Maack (5) and Brylkin (6) seem to believe. At any rate, I have

5. Putesh. po dol. r. Usuri, Vol. I, p. 9.

6. Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, Misc., p. 1.

no idea how the Russians would have arrived at such a name, whose etymology is wholly unknown to us. /148/ What argues quite decisively against the Russian origin of this name is the circumstance that we find it, though in a form which at first glance is hard to recognize, outside and earlier than any connection with the Russians, from a wholly different party, the Japanese. On Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1809) heard of a people on the mainland named "Kordekke"; in the following year he met a few individuals from it, and, to be sure, as foreigners on the Amur (Mankô) above Kidsi and in Deren, that is to say, in Olcha territory, to which they had come downstream to trade. He found them dressed
G exactly like the Santan (Olcha). They are the ones, according
[914] to him, who manufacture the armor consisting of iron disks
[396] fastened together, which is so highly prized by the Smerenkur (Gilyak) and which will be discussed later, they build vessels for the Smerenkur, etc. (1). Siebold is of the opinion that the

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 169, 172, 174, 194, 195).

Kordekke are "undoubtedly Koryak" (2), but he evidently decided

2. Op. cit., p. 199.

on this only because of a fortuitous similarity of sounds, for how did the distant Koryak, living on the northern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and on Kamchatka, get to the Amur River? And what

Gi /148 cont./
101 do they have to do with the Amur peoples at all? In order to
114 explain the "Kordekke" of Mamia Rinsô one need only remember
175 that the Japanese substitute an r for the l sound, which they lack; if one restores the latter and at the same time considers the relationship between the k and g, he arrives at "Koldekke" and "Goldekke" for that ethnic name. And also everything that has been said above about the Kordekke on the basis of Mamia Rinsô's report fits the Goldi.

Gi This correspondence in the designations for the Goldi on
101 the part of the Japanese and the Russians points to a common origin
174 for them. But what could this origin be? The obvious assumption would be that they call themselves this. In fact, in answer to the question as to who they were or what they were called, they repeatedly designated themselves to me as "Goldé." Nevertheless, I do not mean to say that they also do this among themselves. This G [101] may be only a designation that they use when dealing with the Russians, just as the Gilyak call themselves Gilyak when dealing with them, whereas among themselves, Nib(a)ch. Perhaps the origin of this name should be sought somewhere else entirely. G In any case, Mamia Rinsô did not hear it from the Goldi, but
Gi from the Gilyak during his stay on Sakhalin. It remained foreign
101 to the Russians in the beginning, in the seventeenth century, when
175 they went downstream and visited the Goldi area; it was not until
174 they again occupied the Amur region in the fifties of our century and advanced from the mouth of the Amur by first establishing themselves among the Gilyak that the name Goldi appeared among them for the former Natken and Atschanen. This situation sug- G gests the conjecture that the name Goldi /149/ in the Russian
Gi version and Kordekke in the Japanese version may be of Gilyak
101 origin. Now, to be sure, as has already often been mentioned (1).
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1. See above, pp. 245, 303, 304.

the Gilyak designation for the Goldi is "Jant", but if one asks the Gilyak about the peoples living upstream from them along the Amur, they enumerate them in the following order: "Orongsch,

Gi 101 174 G [101] [174]

/149 cont./

Jant, Tscholdok or Tscholdoch (2), Manchu." Now since the

G [113]

2. Among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk, Middendorff also heard of a "Tschjoldó" people living on the Amur (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same in the Beitr. Zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618).

habitation sites of the Goldi are immediately adjacent to those of the Manchu, both the Jant and the Tscholdok fall to them, in that the former are evidently the lower Goldi, the latter the upper Goldi, perhaps reckoning from the Geong Range or from Dondon. From "Tscholdok," however, it seems to me, "Kordekke" in the Japanese version and "Goldi" in the Russian could easily have arisen. Just like the names "Janty" or "Anty" among some Russian writers (3) for the Goldi and "S'janta" or "Santan" among

3. Iakinf, according to Wassiljef; see above, p. 302 ff.

the Ainu and Japanese, so, too, may these designations for the same people, "Goldi" and "Kordekke," owe their origin to Gilyak mediation.

Gi 101 175 [184] Gi [13]

There is a causal connection between the frequently mentioned difference between the lower and the upper Goldi, which has even brought them different names from several sides, and the changes which have taken place in the historical period in the boundaries of their area of distribution. Whereas at present time the Goldi occupy a continuous territory which extends approximately from the Gorin mouth, up the Amur and the Ussuri almost to the sources of the latter, and into the Sungari region, this was not the case at the time when we first become acquainted with the Goldi. When Pojarkof /Poyarkov/ (1644), Chabarof /Khabarov/ (1651), and Stepanof (1655) undertook their bold

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2: Schrenck--318 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Manchu AG4

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military and raiding expeditions down the lower Amur, the stretch from the Sungari to far beyond the mouth of the Ussuri was inhabited by the "Djutscheren," or "Shjutscheren" and "Dshjutscheren," as they were also called -- a people who, unlike the Natken and Atschanen living only by fishing, practical agriculture and animal husbandry (4). Their many villages, each consisting of from 60

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4. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, 302, 320, 355; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 55, 364, 524, Vol. IV, pp. 82, 95; "Skaz. o velikoi riekie Amurie i pr. /Tale from the Great Amur River/" (Spasskii, "Svied. Russk. o r. Amurie v" XVII. stol. /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/." -- Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 18, 19).

to 80 houses, extended along both banks of the Amur River as well as along the lower Sungari. Pojarkof has them begin on the upper Amur from the mouth of the Dseja /Zeya/, but Chabarof only from the Sungari. It cannot be learned with any preciseness from the reports named how far they extended down the Amur, since in them distances are given only in terms of days of travel: according to Pojarkof, they extended over an area requiring four days of travel below the Ussuri; according to Chabarof, who did not notice the Ussuri mouth, a 7-8 days of travel below the Sungari. The Jesuit missionaries, who visited these regions in 1709, expressly state, however, that Tondon /150/ was the first village of the Ketscheng (1) -- evidently the present Dondon, where, as we saw

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1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 7.

above, the lower Goldi begin. The Djutscheren, therefore, on the lower Amur were wedged in between the Ussuri Goldi and the (lower) Amur Goldi, a people engaged in agriculture, animal

2: Schrenck--319 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Manchu AG4

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husbandry, and other rural industries between half-savage tribes living exclusively from fishing and hunting. They were repeatedly designated as "Chinese farming people" (Kitaiskiye polevye lyudi) by the Russian Cossacks and free booters (2). There can be no

2. "Skaz. o vel. riekie Amurie" op. cit.

doubt but that the Djutscheren were a Manchu tribe and, to be sure, as the name itself indicates, descendants of those Jutschi, Njutschi, Dshurdschi, who in the twelfth century overthrew the power of the Khitan and, under the name of Kin /Chin/, made themselves rulers of the Chinese Empire, one of the tribes whose confederation in the seventeenth century gave rise to the Manchu (3). Advancing northward from their homeland along

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3. Klaproth, Descript. de la Chine sous le règne de la dynastie Mongole, trans. from the Persian of Rachid-eddin, Paris, 1823, p. 28; the same Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 449; Plath, Die Völker der Mandshurey, Göttingen, 1830, Part I, p. 64; Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 404 and elsewhere. Witsen (Noord en Oost Tartar., ed. of 1692, Part 2, p. 103; ed. of 1705, p. 266), by the way, had already expressed himself in this sense, as did Gerbillon (Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37) and others.

the Sungari they, on the one hand, reached the Amur above the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, where, however, they seem to have gained little footing among the more numerous Daur there, as one might conclude from the fact that Chabarof, for example, did not meet them there at all; on the other hand, they spread from the Sungari down the Amur to beyond the mouth of the Ussuri where they advanced into the area of the Goldi. From the similarity and affinity of the Ussuri and the Amur Goldi pointed out above, one might, with great plausibility, draw the

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M /150 cont./
101 conclusion that they occupied in a continuous stretch the Ussuri
175 and a large part of the Amur below it, to about the mouth of
Gi the Gorin. This continuity of their area of distribution on both
[184] rivers was disrupted by the advance of the Djutscheren, and, to be
[174] sure, either wholly, in that the Goldi retreated before the superior
[648] enemy, or, what seems more likely to me, in large part, in
[177] that those remaining submitted to the rule of the Djutscheren, became subject to them, and adopted themselves to their customs and way of life, as they do to this day with regard to the Manchu
Gi and Chinese. A natural consequence of this was that the Goldi
[184] from above Dondon and the Geong Mountains found themselves
[197] exposed, linguistically as well, to different influences than their
[177] countrymen living below this boundary, through which those linguistic differences between the upper and the lower Goldi which we mentioned above probably arose in large part.

M The military and raiding expeditions of the Russians in-
175 advertently brought to an end this expansion of the Djutscheren
648 along the Amur deep into Goldi territory. Since the boldly advancing Russian conquerors neither devoted themselves to cultivation of the soil nor provided for /151/ a regular supply of food, but rather gained their livelihood by pillaging the villages and fields of the natives, the Chinese government decided to withdraw its farming peoples from the Amur and the lower Sungari and in this way starve out the Russians, as it were. When, in the spring
M of 1656, Stepanof and Puschtschin went up the Amur again from
[131] their winter fort, Kossogirskoi Ostrog, in the Olcha region, they no longer found the Djutscheren there, nor along the lower Sungari; their villages lay in ashes, their fields untended; there were only a few isolated persons -- presumably Goldi who had been in the service of the Djutscheren -- from whom they learned that an emissary of the Chinese emperor by the name of Ssergudai had brought orders to the Djutscheren to leave their dwelling sites on the Amur and lower Sungari, to burn their houses, to devastate their fields, and to migrate to the Churcha, a tributary of the

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Sungari (1). This measure by the Chinese government actually had

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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, pp. 355, 356; Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. IV, p. 82. In Stepanof's original report, at the latter place, as in Müller, the river to which the Djutscheren were moved is called Kurga; it is not difficult, however, to recognize it as the Churcha (Chinese: Mu-tuan), which empties into the Sungari near Ssan-ssin.

the result that the lower Amur and the Sungari were no longer plagued by Russian freebooters, but at the same time it restricted the expansion of the Manchu (Djutscheren) and turned large, fertile, cultivated areas along the Amur and Sungari into wasteland. Instead of the agricultural Djutscheren, now ichthyophagous Goldi gradually spread along the lower Amur and the Ussuri into the area abandoned by the former. Thus, the continuity in the distribution of the Goldi along the Amur and Ussuri, disrupted by the Djutscheren, although never entirely perhaps, was restored; indeed, they even gained a foothold along the Sungari, on which it appears, they had never lived before. The nearness of the Manchu and Chinese there, especially the latter, who supplied them in trade with many food and luxury items which had become necessities to them, and with whom they tried to assimilate as much as possible, seems to have principally lured even the Goldi to the Sungari, since, according to the reports of travelers (2), they

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2. Maximowicz, Barabasch; see above, p. 60.

seem to be present there now, even though limited to the right bank, in relatively great numbers. On the other hand, along that part of the Amur River formerly inhabited by the Djutscheren, I found the Goldi exactly two centuries after their emigration in only small numbers in comparison with the area below Dondon and the Ussuri. I was especially surprised to find only a few and for

361 /151 cont./ I was especially surprised to find only a few and for
133 the most part small Goldi villages along the mighty, much divided,
and island-rich river above the Ussuri mouth, where it flows
through fertile prairies interrupted here and there on the right
[433] bank by small mountain ranges. And though their occupants live
exclusively by fishing, one still comes across individual stalks of
grain along the bank of the river. These facts are explained by
the above-mentioned events connected with the distribution of
peoples along this part of the river.

174 /152/ On the basis of all the above, one is justified, I be-
184 lieve, in coming to the conclusion that, however close the Goldi
101 and Olcha are to each other where they have been living side by
side under the same conditions for centuries, and however often they
have been confused for each other, we nevertheless have to realize
that the history of their original expansion into the Amur region is
very different, for, whereas the Olcha were formerly reindeer
nomads who, after the loss of their reindeer, came down into the
Amur Valley from the mountains to the west and became fisher-
men, the spread of the Goldi into the Amur region most likely
[131] took place from the south. Their close relationship with the
Manchu leads one to conjecture that their original homeland neigh-
bored that of the latter, that is, was likewise located at the foot
of the Schan-alin or Tschang-pe-schan Mountains, and that
whereas the Manchu expanded from there into the river area of
the Sungari, the Goldi moved down to the Ussuri and, going down-
stream, reached the lower Amur River.

131 We lack any historical reports on the three remaining peo-
175 ples of the lower Amur region, the Negda, the Samagir, and the
174 Kile along the Kur, for judging possible shifts and changes in their
[101] habitation sites. Since they live closer to the Reindeer Tungus
of the Stanovoi Mountains and are more closely related to them
than the Amur tribes, it can be presumed that they descended
from those mountains on the mainland and into the appropriate
valleys of the Amgunj, Gorin, and Kur, and, to be sure, after
the Olcha had migrated to the Amur River.

2: Schrenck--323 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Negidal

/152 cont./

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In the oldest Russian reports the Negda are designated simply as Tungus from the Amgunj (Omut) (1). I found the

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295. See also p. 236 above.

first mention of the name now current for them, though in a slightly different form, in the report of Naval Lieutenant Kosmin on his work of surveying the seacoasts of Udj Bay and on the Shantar Islands. It is said that the priest Djatschkovskij, having returned to Udskoi Ostrog in February, 1830, from an official trip, reported that in Burukan, with the arrival of Russians, a rumor had spread that a Russian ship was about to come to the mouth of the Tugur, and all the natives in the neighborhood, such as the Gilyak, "Negedanzen," etc., would have to submit to baptism (2).

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2. "Opis' Udsk. ber. i Shantarsk. ostr. v" 1829, 1830 i 1831 gg. /Description of the Seacoast of Udsk. and the Shantar Islands in 1829, 1830, and 1831/" (Zap. Gidrogr. Depart. Morsk. Ministr., Pt. IV, St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 36).

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Middendorff, who visited the Negda on the Nemilen, calls them "Nigidal" and "Nigidaler" (3), which, however, I

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3. Bullet. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 237; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 621; Reise in den Norden u. Osten Sibir., Vol. IV, p. 1523, and elsewhere. Occasionally he also spells the name of this people "Nigidahl," and adds that the plural is "Nigidatter."

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175 believe, is merely taken from the designation that the /153/
101 Russians on the Amur and in Udskoi Ostrog give to this people
114 and which sounds like "Neidalzy, Nigidalzy," and "Nischdalzy" (1). These variations of the Russian designation,

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1. Orlof in particular mentions them under the first name in his report of 1848 to the administrative head of the Russo-American Company on his trip to Burukan on the Tugur, where in the company of many Tungus he also met 20 persons of both sexes belonging to this people living along the Amgunj (P. Tikhmen'ev", Istor, obozr. obraz. Ross.-Amerik. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Development of the Russian-American Company/, Pt. II, p. 62, footnote). The same name, "Neidalzy, " is constantly found in Boschnjak /Boshniak/ "Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie"--Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unoffic. Part, p. 332). One finds the name
[797] "Nigidalzy," for instance, in the letters of the archpriest (later Archbishop of Yakutsk and still later Metropolitan of Moscow) Innokentij to the Metropolitan Philaret, in which he discusses, on the basis of the reports of the priest of Ukskoi Ostrog, the successful conversion to Christianity of several individuals from both this people and other tribes of the Amur region as early as 1845 (cf. Tichmenjef /Tikhmen'ev/, op. cit., p. 63). In Schenurin's article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikol. posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On the New Route from the Nikol. Post on the Amure River to Udskii Ostrog/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. III, 1857, Misc., p. 11) the

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1. (cont.)
people is called "Nischdalzy," and the same name is found in Romanof's ("Pris. Amura k" Rossii /The Annexation of the Amur by Russia/." -- Russk. Slovo, 1859, June, Sec. I, p. 363) summary of the statements by the peasant Kudrjavzef or Kudrjaschef, who in 1818 and 1819 met several members of this people in Burukan and went along the Amgunj. But is not "Nishdal'tsy" merely a printing error for "Nigidal'tsy"?

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Negedanzy and Nei- or Nigidalzy point to the fact that the l was not part of the original name but is only a Russian addition. A man belonging to this people, whom I met during the summer of 1855 in the village of Tyr on the Amur, designated himself in front of me as a "Negda" from "Amhun." I repeatedly heard this name used in the Amur region, without however, my being able to give a more precise account of [103] the individual cases at the present time. Finally, Middendorff, too, on the still unpublished map drawn up by him primarily on the basis of Chinese information ("Erster Versuch einer hydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges und seiner Ausläufer zwischen dem 45. und 62. Grade n. Br."), gives Lake Orel, inhabited in part by Negda, under the name "Negda - See /Lake Negda/" (2). On the basis of all this,

2. See above, p. 27 ff. For more details about this map, see Middendorff's Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 142.

it seems to me that this form, which in any case is earlier, merits preference over the Russian designation derived from it, "Nigidalzen," and the "Nigidal" and "Nigidaler" used by Middendorff. After what has been said above, I am

Goldi RX3
Negidal

/153 cont./

175 inclined to believe that "Negda" is the name which the peo-
101 ple use for themselves, for otherwise I could not explain the
114 origin of the Russian designation at all. Middendorff, to be sure, asserts that they call themselves "Ylkân" (3), but is this

3. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1524. Also given here are the names with which the Negda designate various other peoples; for example, they are said to call the Russian Tungus "Dumgytka," the Gilyak "Giljäka," the Yakut "Jöko." These last names in any case indicate Russian mediation.

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not perhaps the name that their neighbors, the Tungus on the Tugur or in the Stanovoi Mountains, give them? The Gilyak name for the Negda, as I myself confirmed through repeated inquiries among the Gilyak (for instance, Judin in Tebach and others) is "Rhdy" and "Rhdyngu" (4). With the help of it, I

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4. The h behind the r is supposed to indicate the burr sound of the latter.

believe, the name of this people can be recognized in Mamia Rinso's travel report. When this Japanese traveler spent the winter among the Gilyak in the village of Noteito on the west coast of Sakhalin (1809), various peoples /154/ who meet in the Amur region were named for him, among
101 them the "Idâ" (1). Siebold, to be sure, tries to interpret
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1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

all these ethnic names, and does it, as we saw above, in part in the most fantastic fashion, for example, by regarding

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101 Kordekke (Goldi) as Koryak, thinking of the Mountain Kirgiz
114 for the Kiakkara (Orochi), etc., but, nevertheless, he knows of no way to proceed for the Idâ tribe (2). If one considers

2. Op. cit., p. 199.

however, that Mamia Rinsô obtained his information from the Gilyak and that "Rhdy" becomes "Rhda" in the Sakhalin dialect of the Gilyak, it is obvious, especially in view of the burr and somewhat indistinct pronunciation of the r, to regard the name "Idâ" as only a distortion of "Rhda" and thus relate it to the Negda people.

101 Even more recent than our information on the Negda is that on the Samagir of the Gorin. When Middendorff
[484] visited the Negda along the Nemilen, he only heard of the "Schamagren" people, who were said to live far beyond the Amgunj /Amgun/, but a few of whom came every year in boats up the Nemilen to Chambykan; unfortunately, however, in that year (1844) they did not appear (3). Not until the

[113] 3. Cf. Middendorff's travel report (Bulletin de la classe physico-math. de l'Acad. Impér. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 238; Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 622; the same, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1536.

Russians had established themselves on the lower Amur at the beginning of the fifties did the Samagir become known.
[114] During the winter of 1855, I visited them in their dwelling sites along the Gorin, and my travel report (4) contains

[113] 4. Dated May 7, 1855; see Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XIV, p. 189; Mél. phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 452.

/154 cont./

101 probably the first printed report on them based on a personal
[114] investigation. The name "Samagir," however, has long been known to us since it is only a Tungusic kin-group name, which, in view of the wide distribution and dispersal of the Tungus tribe, is also found in many other places. Thus,
[175] Pojarkof /Poyarkov/ reported that on the Dseja /Zeya/ (in
[648] the winter of 1644) he had taken a "Schamagir"-Tungus by the name of Topkuni as a hostage and had questioned him about the country (5). Georgi enumerated among the Tungus

5. Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich, Vol. III, pp. 52, 53.

of the Baunt region the "Tschamagir" tribe and among the Bargusini the "Schamagir" tribe (6); Radde, too, was told of

[113] 6. J. G. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russischen Reich, im Jahre 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in the Year 1772/, St. Petersburg, 1775, Vol. I, p. 245.

a "Samagir" tribe in the Bargusin region and northern Angara (7).

[113] 7. G. Radde, "Bericht über Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien /Report on Travels in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXIII, p. 233, note); the same, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1857, Sec. II, p. 145).

101 This suggests the conjecture that it was dispersed members
174 of the Tungusic Samagir kin-group, such as are still found
177 in the Baikal region, who, after the loss of their reindeer, came down from the Stanovoi or Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains to the Gorin and there laid the foundation for the present

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101 Samagir people, who in the course of time through a changed
174 way of life and through intercourse and mixture with their
177 present neighbors, the Goldi, Olcha, and Negda, as well as in consequence of Manchu-Chinese influences, acquired a stamp manifoldly different in language and customs from the original one. Thus, for them, as for /155/ the Olcha, a bit of their past and history can be deduced from the name which they
101 bear. I was unable to learn from the Samagir whether they designate themselves in their totality with this name. It is probable, however, since, on the one hand, their closest relatives and neighbors, the Negda, with whom they have many connections, likewise call them this (1), and since,

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1524.

on the other hand, I have also heard them designated by the Chinese as "Sama-kil." Through the mediation of the Negda, with whom the Russians came in contact earlier than with the Samagir, the Russian designation "Samagirzy" similarly arose for the people along the Gorin. It is not a contradiction of the
101 above when the Samagir, confronting strangers, call them-
114 selves "Kile," as I myself have confirmed, since this, as was discussed above in detail (2), is the collective name that the

2. See pp. 211 ff. above.

Chinese have given to them, as well as to most of the other Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region, indeed sometimes even to the Gilyak. Finally, "Kil" is the name that I have heard the Gilyak use for the Samagir. Hence, I believe that there can scarcely be any doubt but that when Mamia Rinso, on the basis of information from the Sakhalin Gilyak, speaks of a "Kiren" people in the Amur region (3) the Samagir are

3. "To-tan ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

/155 cont./

101 114 being referred to, and not, as Siebold thinks (4), the tribe

4. Op. cit., p. 199.

which inhabits the "Kyrin-ula" district, that is, the Girin area along the Sungari.

Finally, concerning the Kile on the Kur, it has been mentioned above that our first knowledge of them did not come until my trip, although I myself did not visit them, as well as the fact that even their correct name is as yet unknown, for "Kile" is only a collective name used by the Chinese, and therefore also by the Goldi and others, for various Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region (5). As

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5. See pp. 71 and 211 ff. above.

the present habitation sites of this people along the Kur, whose sources lie in the Wanda Mountains, a branch of the Bureja Mountains, lead one to conjecture, they have probably been hunters and perhaps formerly reindeer nomads in these mountains, who settled down as fishermen along the Kur and spread down this river to the Amur. But whereas the changed way of life, the trade and intercourse with the Goldi and Chinese, must have given them in the course of time an essentially different and more or less unique stamp, they, with their hunting, which provided them with the means necessary for trade, remained oriented toward those mountains, where they must also have come in contact with the Birar, certainly their closest tribal relatives, and, on more distant expeditions, with the Manegir and even the Russian Reindeer-Tungus, from all of whom they must have been difficult to distinguish at first glance. I cannot help but assume, therefore, that when Middendorff among the Bural (Birar) on the Bureja River met a man who called himself "Guragr" (6), he was a

[177] [439] 101 114

6. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1505.

Gi /155 cont./
101 Kile from the Kur, for, /156/ in view of the fact that "gir"
114 occurs so frequently in Tungusic kin-group names, "Kuragir," and, with a harsher pronunciation, "Guragir," would be the very name that one would expect for the dwellers along the Kur. When, however, in another place (1) Middendorff re-

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 167.

marks in connection with the Birar Tungus along the upper Ssilimdshi mentioned by Milowanof (2) that they are more

2. See p. 75 above.

properly perhaps Guragr who belong to the tribe of the Manegir," this does not at present stand in the way of that conjecture, in view of the close relationship of all these tribes to one another in general and the very meager knowledge available on them, especially on the so-called "Guragr."

S.S.
175 In the last century, shifts in the areas of distribution
167 of the peoples in the upper Amur region have taken place to
648 a far greater extent than in the lower Amur region, as far as the historical reports available to us show. This was because the upper Amur region suffered much more from the attacks and devastations of the Russian Cossacks and freebooters, as well as from the defensive measures against them adopted by the Chinese. To be convinced of this one need only compare the ethnic distribution that the Russians found on their first expeditions into the upper Amur region with the one that we found there, as described above, two centuries later.

S.S.
175 If one goes up the Amur from the mouth of the Sungari,
101 the first to be mentioned here is a people who, according to the Russian reports, in the seventeenth century were settled on the part of the river that breaks through the Bureja Mountains, and traces of whom cannot now be found with certainty either there or elsewhere. They are the Goguli.

SS. /156 cont./
175 This is what they are called by Chabarof, who on his expedition
101 downstream in 1651 found their villages along the Amur, in the mountain range as well as above and below it (3). Today, as we

3. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 320; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 364.

saw, there stretches below the mountains an uninhabited prairie, on which only a few seminomadic Goldi from the Sungari appear from time to time to fish; in the mountain range itself, however, and above it only a few Birar live on the Amur.

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101 Who were these Gogul, and where are they now? The
114 translator and supplementer of Ritter's Asien, Mr. Ssemenof
175 /Semenov/ thought that this might be the same people who were later known under the name of Goldi (4). I cannot,

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4. Zemlevied. Azii K. Rittera /K. Ritter's Geography of Asia/, trans. and supplem. by P. Semenov, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1856, p. 187, footnote (***).

however, agree at all with this conjecture, which is based only on a remote similarity of sound in the names concerned. Chabarof, in continuing his trip, became acquainted with the Goldi (for him Atschanen) (5), but not until after he had

5. See above, pp. 217, 233 ff.

traversed the whole area of the Djutscheren, i.e., the Amur for seven to eight days of travel from the mouth of the
G Sungari. Not until after /157/ the Djutscheren as mentioned
[175] above, had to abandon their sites along the Amur and the
[167] lower Sungari by order of the Chinese government could the
[648] Goldi expand westward from the Ussuri mouth and along the Sungari, though it remained forbidden to them, even in

SS. 101 114 175 Gi [175] [167] [648] Gi [492] [487]

/157 cont./

later times, to cross the place where the Sungari empties into the Amur (1). And just as on the basis of their habitation

1. See above, pp. 56 ff and 72 ff. Even the few Goldi whom one occasionally meets on the Amur above the Sungari mouth do not come up this river, but rather from the Sungari across the prairie with pack horses.

SS. 101 114 174 361 And just as on the basis of their habitation

sites the Gogul could not possibly have been Goldi, so, too, on the basis of what can be learned about their way of life from Chabarof's report, because the Goldi at that time, as they still are, were exclusively fishermen, but it is said of the Gogul that they lived from agriculture and animal husbandry, like the Djutscheren, and only differed from the latter primarily because their villages were much smaller, in that, as a rule, they did not contain more than ten houses, whereas those of the Djutscheren numbered 60 to 80.

Merely on the basis of this latter reason, but even more for another reason which I shall mention in a moment, I should like to be allowed another conjecture concerning the nationality of the Gogul. It is noteworthy that Chabarof is the only one who mentions a people of this name. Neither before nor after him is such a one discussed. His predecessor on the Amur, Pojarkof, mentions only a village of Goguli, which was located at the confluence of the Ssilimdshi and Dseja and in which a small Daur fort was to be found (2).

2. Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, p. 54.

Along that part of the river on which, according to Chabarof, the Gogul were settled, Pojarkof has the Djutscheren, and, to be sure, even from the Dseja. Thus, whereas Chabarof distinguishes these two peoples from each other and gives

2: Schrenck--334 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Tungus RU5
Daur

SS. /157 cont./
101 the Sungari mouth as the boundary of their respective habi-
114 tation areas, Pojarkof combines them under the common
174 name of Djutscheren. We must leave undetermined which
36 of them was right. But on the basis of what has been said it
SS. 181 seems probable to me that in any case they were closely
174 related tribes of the Manchu people who perhaps differed
648 slightly from each other only dialectally, so that one could
167 designate the Gogul as Djutscheren from above the Sungari mouth, just as, for example, we distinguished among the Goldi, on the basis of dialectal difference, Upper and Lower, or Goldi from above and below the Geong Mountains. Furthermore it is then probable that when the Djutscheren were given orders by the Chinese to leave their habitation sites on the Amur and to move to the Sungari region, this order probably also included their cousins living above the Sungari on the Amur, the Gogul, for the Manchu-Chinese government was determined to make their chief sites on the Sungari as inaccessible as possible to the Russians by depopulating the banks of the Amur. For this reason in later times, too, they kept the area immediately above the mouth of the Sungari on the Amur in a completely unpopulated state. Thus, the Gogul, like the Djutscheren, disappeared from the Amur River: where their villages and fields lay two centuries ago, there now extended /158/ below the Bureja Mountains a deserted, untrodden prairie covered with high grass, and only in that part of their former territory which lay in the mountains themselves and above them, have sparse, seminomadic, semisedentary Birar entered -- an analogy to the immigration of the Goldi into the area abandoned by the Djutscheren.

T
101 In the seventeenth century, at the time of the first
175 Russian invasion, the Daur territory extended above the
[131] Gogul along the Amur and its major tributaries and source rivers. As far as I know, the first mention of this name in print is found on Witsen's above-mentioned map of 1687 (1),

1. "Karte van het Noorder- en Ooster-Deel van Asia en Europa," etc.

2: Schrenck--335 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Dalx

/158 cont./

101 175 on which the upper Amur region bears the inscription "Dauria," as well as in his work published soon afterwards, Noord en Oost Tartarye, in which the Daur are mentioned under various modifications of this name, such as "Daurianen, Dauhri, Daori," or sometimes -- since Witsen's information was based chiefly on Russian reports and accounts -- with a clearly recognizable leaning toward the Russian form, as "Daoertzen, Doursky, and Dawersky people," and the like (2). In part

2. For instance, ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 27 ff., 31 ff., 520, 528; ed. of 1705, pp. 64 ff., 85 ff., 92, 838, 847, and elsewhere.

the same and in part still other versions of this name also occur in the case of later writers and travelers. Ysbrants Ides, for instance, who in 1693 on his trip to Peking crossed the entire so-called Daur region to the south of the Amur, noted that the inhabitants of it were called "Daori" or, in the old language, "Dauri" (3), but elsewhere in his book,

[113] 3. Driejaarige Reize naar China /Three-Years' Travels to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 70.

evidently following the Russian version, also calls them "Daorzi" and "Daourzen" (4). The old Jesuit missionaries

4. Op. cit., p. 129.

called them "Tagouri" (5); on the map accompanying

[103] [114] 5. Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 15; d'Anville, Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, La Haye, 1738, Pl. Nos. 1 and 18. Father Gerbillon also remarked that the land of the Solon was called

2: Schrenck--336 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur

/158 cont./

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5. (cont.)
"Dauvré" by the Russians, which, however, was the name of the people rather than of the country (Du Halde, op. cit., p. 36).

Grosier's work on China (6), "Tahuri." Pallas calls them

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6. Descript. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Vol. I. In the text of this work (pp. 148 ff.) the Daur are also called "Tagouri."

by the name that the Tungus now in Dauria are said to give them, "Daguren" (7), and they are mentioned under the

7. Reise durch verschiedene Prov. des Russ. Reiches /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersburg, Vol. III, 1776, pp. 238, 428.

same name in a Russian treatise of 1780 dealing with the Nerchinsk mines and smelting works (8). According to Ritter,

8. In German translation in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beyträgen, Vol. IV, 1783, p. 200.

in the Chinese imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing of the year 1818, the "Dachor" are mentioned among the peoples of the He-long-kiang (Amur) district (9). From the same

9. Ritter, Die Erdkunde von Asien /The Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 442.

source, Pauthier (10) mentions them under the Chinese-

10. Chine moderne, ou descript. hist.,

2: Schrenck--337 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur

/158 cont./

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175
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10. (cont.)
géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire,
Part I, Paris, 1853, p. 168.

sounding /159/ name "Ta-hou-eurh." Finally, according to Klaproth, "Dachur" was the name under which this people was listed in a Chinese description of Russia (1), and it bears

1. Klaproth writes in French "Dakhour" ("Descr. de la Russie trad. du Chinois /Description of Russia Translated from the Chinese/." -- Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, 1824, pp. 93, 94).

the same name in Iakinf's description of the Chinese Empire (2).

2. Iakinf", Statist. opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/ St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 12.

One sees that these are but variations of one and the same name. And, to be sure, this is the name that they give themselves: they called themselves "Dauoro" before me (3);

3. See my travel report (Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 248; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 354).

Maack gives "Dauor" or "Dahor" as their designation for themselves (4), and it would be "Dahur" according to the

4. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 254.

statement of the archimandrite Palladij (5). I would not

/159 cont./

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5. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki /Travel Notes/," etc. (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 444).

venture to express any opinion whatsoever with regard to the etymology of this name (6).

6. Only the remark in passing that Witsen derives this name from the Mongolian, in that daur is said to mean "border" in Mongolian, and therefore "Dauria," "border land" (Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 89). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 273), however, the border in Mongolian is "sacha."

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The first information about the Daur came to the Russians, even before they entered the Amur region, almost simultaneously from two sides. In 1639, Tomsk Cossacks, who spent the winter in the Sea of Okhotsk at the mouth of the Ulja River, were told by roving Udj Tungus that they carried on trade with a people who had their permanent habitation sites along the rivers Tschia (Dseja /Zeya/ and Ssilkar (Schilka /Shilka/ and upper Amur) and lived by agriculture, and with whom they exchanged their sables for grain(7).

7. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295.

To be sure, the name of the people is not mentioned in this report (8), but it is evident from the statements alone that the Daur were meant.

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8. The statement concerned in Ritter (Asien, Vol. I, p. 602), who overlooked this, should be corrected accordingly.

/159 cont./

175 the Daur were meant. On the other hand, the leader of the
101 Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, when he went up the
439 Witim /Vitim/ and its tributary Zypir (Zipa) in 1639 and
231 1640, learned from the Tungus there that the Daur people,
241 who lived by agriculture and animal husbandry, smelted silver
361 ore, and carried on considerable trade with the Chinese from whom they obtained silk fabrics and many other commodities in exchange for sable pelts, dwelt along the upper Witim from where the Karga empties into it up to Lake Jerawna, as well as along the Schilka to its mouth, that is, probably therefore along the upper Amur up to the
175 Sungari. (9) Four years later, during Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/
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9. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 296; Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, p. 528; also see p. 203 ff. above.

expedition along the Amur, the first contact between the Russians and the Daur took place along the Dseja, which was peaceful in the beginning, to be sure, but was soon followed by those bloody and, for the Daur, devastating battles, are sufficiently well known from the history of the Amur region.
[131] Unlike their present dispersed distribution, at that time the Daur occupied a large, continuous territory which included the upper Amur and its tributaries, the Dseja, Komar, etc., extended far up along its source rivers, the Schilka and the Argunj/Argun/, /160/ and stretched eastward from the Argunj to the Nonni and its tributaries. Along the Dseja, going downstream, Pojarkof met the first Daur at the mouth
175 of the Umlekan (1). Undoubtedly at that time, carrying on
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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 298; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 52.

trade, they moved along the Dseja and its main tributary,

/160 cont./

175 the Ssilimdshi, as well as along other northern tributaries of
361 the upper Amur River to the Tungus, especially since they
439 obtained from them the sable pelts so necessary for trade
175 with the Chinese. From the Umlekan down, however, they
24 settled along the Dseja and far along the Amur in numerous
23 and large villages where they were occupied with various
361 kinds of tillage and gardening, as well as with animal husbandry
712 (2), their chiefs or princes in small fortresses protected by
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2. Pojarkof mentioned six fruits of the soil which the Daur along the Zeya and the Amur cultivated: barley, oats, millet, buckwheat, peas, and hemp; and as vegetables and garden products: cucumbers, the poppy, beans, garlic, apples, pears, walnuts, and hazelnuts (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 55). Müller (op. cit., p. 301) does not mention the pears and walnuts.

wooden fences, embankments, and ditches, which Chabarof /Khabarov/ even calls cities in his report (3), and which were

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3. Müller, op. cit., p. 308; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 359 ff. The Daur fortress, located where the Ssilimdshi empties into the Dseja, bears the name "Moldikitschid" in Müller (op. cit., p. 300) and in Fischer (Sibir. Gesch., Part 2, p. 783; also on his map, "Veter. Sibir. Pl. II), whereas in Pojarkof's original report it is called "Moldykiditsch" (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 53).

originally built by the Daur for defense against the power of the Manchu, which, with the conquest of China, was also expanding in this direction (4).

4. Müller, op. cit., p. 313.

Tungus RUS
Daur

/160 cont./

000 expanding in this direction (4). On the Amur, below the

4. Müller, op. cit., p. 313.

175 On the Amur, below the
131 Dseja, the Daur extended up to the vicinity of the Bureja
563 /Bureya/ Mountains, where, according to Chabarof, the area of the Gogul began. Here, however, they were already mixed with Manchu, whom Pojarkof simply calls Djutscheren (5), like the dwellers along the Amur River be-

5. Müller, op. cit., p. 302; Dopoln., etc., op. cit., p. 55.

low the mouth of the Sungari, whereas Chabarof, as we saw above, gives this name only to the latter. Pojarkof met one of these Manchu even along the Dseja; this was, as he calls him, the Djutscheren prince Tschinega, who visited him in his winter quarters at the Umlekan mouth (6) -- probably a

6. Müller, op. cit., p. 299; Dopoln., etc. op. cit., p. 52.

131 Manchu official who stayed among the Daur there to collect
175 tribute. On the Amur above the mouth of the Dseja lay
[648] purely Daur territory, though likewise tributary to the Manchu-Chinese government. A large population had settled
[712] there, and most of the Daur fortresses were there, among them those of the prince Lavkai, about whose riches the Russians had already heard through the Witim Tungus. In
[437] particular the mouths of the Amur tributaries were occupied by the Daur, since they offered them the best routes for reaching to the Tungus peoples roaming in the spurs of the Stanovoi Mountains and for gaining possession of their hunting booty in sables and the like by barter. The largest of the
[648] rivers emptying into the Amur here, the Komar, seems to

2: Schrenck--342 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur

131 /160 cont./
175 have been occupied by the Daur along its entire course or, at
648 any rate, far up (7) -- a circumstance which probably /161/

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7. "Skazan. o velik. riekie Amurie," etc. (Spasskii, Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1853, Sec. II, p. 18). In the document reproduced by Gerbillon, which the Chinese mandarins sent to conclude a peace treaty with the Russians submitted to the authorized Russian agents in 1688, there is mention of the country of the "Humari," into which the Russians had moved as invaders from Albasin (Yaksa) (Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 121). Accordingly, one finds on d'Anville's map of Chinese Tartary (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, Pl. 18) the "Humari" people along the Humari-bira (Chumar, Komar) -- a statement that is repeated on the map accompanying Grosier's Descr. génér. de la Chine, and which can only refer to the Komar-Daur.

was decisive for the Russians in building a fort (Komarskoi Ostrog) at its mouth, which, in addition to Albasin, played a great role during their battles with the Daur and their overlords at that time, the Manchu-Chinese (1).

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, pp. 333, 339.

131 At that time, the Daur were likewise indigenous still
175 farther up the Amur, along its source rivers, the Schilka and
[103] the Argunj, and, as is well known, this region, though later it completely lost its Daur population, retained the name Dauria up to the present day. The Daur there, thanks to their

/181 cont./ The Daur there, thanks to their
131 greater distance from the main seats of the Manchu, were
175 able to maintain greater independence; indeed, many of their
648 countrymen, in order to escape the expanding power of the Manchu, fled there from the southern and eastern parts of their territory, such as, for example, the prince Gantimur, who left his home on the Nonni River for this reason and
131 settled down with his entire retinue on the Nertscha (2). It
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2. F[illegible]her, Sibir. Gesch., Part II, pp. 774, [illegible] Cf. also Ritter, Erdk. von Asien, Vol. I, p. 610.

cannot be determined precisely how far the Daur territory extended along the source rivers of the Amur; it is certain that they were surrounded in the north and in the west, even along the tributaries of the Schilka, by roving Tungus and in the south by Mongolian peoples. Still more difficult is the question as to how far back in time it was when the Daur settled along the source rivers of the Amur? And whether and to what extent the many traces of an older culture which are found in Dauria and Transbaikalia, remains of former irrigation channels, ditches, and small trenches in the fields, cast-iron (not forged) plowshares, copper and iron weapons, stirrups and other apparatus, stone graves, old smelting hearths, mining excavations, slag heaps, etc., are to be traced back to the Daur? Without intending to give definitive answers to these questions, concerning which various and in part very unclear and confused views have been expressed, I should like to call attention here to a few facts which may make another solution necessary.

114 There is no lack of older and more recent geographers
174 who simply ascribe all traces of ancient agriculture and mining in Tranbaikalia and Dauria to one people, and, to be sure, to the Daur. Georgi, for instance, in his travel report, expresses the opinion that the ancient Bargut, whom legend designates as the originators of the many traces of ancient

2: Schrenck--344 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur

/161 cont./

114 174 agriculture that are found along the Bargusin, along its tributaries, and northward up to the upper Angara, were presumably the same people as the Daur (3). Likewise,

[113] [172] 3. J. G. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, im Jahre 1772, Vol. I, pp. 127, 128. Lopatin ("Kratkii otchet" o dieistviiakh" Vitimskoi Ekspeditsii /Brief Report on the Activities of the Vitim Expedition/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vols. IX, X, p. 509), who in 1865 investigated some of the old tombs around Bargusinsk, likewise reports that there today the people named as the one to whom they belonged is the Bargut. According to Kehlberg ("Polivn. polia v" Zabaik. kraie /Irrigated Fields in the Transbaikalia Krai/" -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1861, Book I, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 182), on the other hand, the ancient irrigation canals there are always called "Chinese."

in more recent /162/ times Hagemeister /Gagemeister/, on the basis of the traces of ancient agriculture and mining which are found scattered everywhere in Transbaikalia and which he ascribes to the Daur, regards the latter as the aborigines of the country (1). Much more probable, however, is the view

114 172 174 113 1. Iu. Gagemeister", Statistich. obozr. Sibiri, sostavl. po Vysoch. E. I. V. povelieniiu pri Sibirskom" komit. /Statistical Survey of Siberia, Compiled by Order of His Highness E.I.V. of the Siberian Committee/, St. Petersburg, Part II, p. 23. Pawluzkij ("Kratkoe

/162 cont./

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1. (cont.)
opisanie tak" nazyvaem. Chudskikh" drevnostei i pr. /A Brief Description of the So-called Chud Antiquities, etc./." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX and X, Irkutsk, 1867, p. 480), on the other hand, thinks that, even if this opinion is in general correct, nevertheless only the remains of former permanent settlements (cities), old grave mounds, and graves can be ascribed to the Daur, but not the remains of the mines, since the objects found in them indicate much greater age.

114 of Ritter, according to whom the Bargut were not Daur, but
174 Buryat, and, to be sure, from the tribe of the Barga Buryat (Bargut-Buriat of the Chinese imperial geography) a tribe that still today inhabits the country north of Lake Baikal up to the
[131] upper Lena (2). This eliminates any reason for assuming a

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2. Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 116. Concerning the Barga-Buryat, cf. also Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 270. Spasskij ("Zabaik. Tungusy /Transbaikalia Tungus/." -- Sibirsk. Viestn., St. Petersburg, Part XVIII, 1822, Sec. II, p. 28) expressed an entirely different, but at the same time quite untenable opinion concerning the origin of the traces of ancient agriculture found near Bargusinsk: he thinks that they came from neither the ancestors of the Tungus nor from any other Siberian people, but probably from the first Russians who came in.

former distribution of the Daur beyond the river system of the Amur up to Lake Baikal, and only the traces of a former

/162 cont./

114 culture found to the east of the mountain barrier, in the
174 area still called Dauria, could possibly still be ascribed to
[131] the Daur. This was done and is being done with regard to
114 the remains of former mining, the old excavations, smelting
174 hearths, slag heaps, and the like; indeed, the view that they
316 are of Daur origin still seems to be the most plausible.
Georgi repeatedly maintains that the Daur, the ancient inhabitants of the country named after them, also worked mines there until, as a consequence of the occupation of their country by the Russians, they left it voluntarily and moved into the Chinese Empire, whereupon their mining and smelting
[648] industry was forgotten (3). Ritter is evidently of the same

[101] 3. J. G. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, im Jahre 1722, St. Petersburg, 1775, Vol. I, pp. 406, 418; the same, Geograph.-physik. u. naturhist. Beschreib. des Russ. Reichs, Part I, Königsberg, 1797, p. 222. Both sources, to be sure, say that the ancient inhabitants of Dauria were also called "Dutscheren, Bogdani and Bogdochani," but Georgi regards all of these designations as identical to one another and with the Daur and Manchurians -- in that "Bogdani and Bogdochani" were only alternate names for the Manchurians, and the "Dutscheren" were only a tribe of the former Daur or Manchurians -- and thus finally stays with the name of Daur for the originators of the mine works.

opinion when he calls the Daur "a peace-loving people, not unskilled in mining, who retreated from their ore-bearing mountains almost without resistance before the first brutal discoverers, the Cossacks led by Chabarof and his successors,

2: Schrenck--347 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur

/162 cont./

114 and left behind an almost deserted wilderness, which /163/
174 was colonized here and there for the second time, now by
648 Russian miners" (1). I cannot, however, in any way share
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1. Ritter, Asien, Vol. I, pp. 566, 595. One repeatedly finds this view among more recent Russian writers, for example, Sgibnef ("Amurskaia Eksped. Razskaz" ochevidtsa /The Amur Expedition. Narrative of an Eyewitness/." -- Drevniaia i novaia Rossia, Vol. III, 1878, p. 228), and others.

this view, but rather am of the opinion that the Daur did not do any mining in the period immediately preceding the Russian invasion, and that the remains of the ancient mining and smelting industry in Daur comes from an older period and from another people, probably from the ancient Jutschi, Njutschi, or Dshurdschi, who in the twelfth century under the name of Kin /Chin/ gained temporary control over the Chinese Empire.

114 In looking for a basis for this opinion, the only report
175 of this kind that appears is that frequently mentioned account
316 of the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus, through whom the Russians
[437] first learned of the Daur, and, to be sure, as a rich people who in its territory along the Schilka had various ores, copper, lead, and silver, smelted them, and traded them for sable. While Fischer gave this information in his Sibirische Geschichte /Siberian History/, he thought that it must refer to the Daur along the Argunj (2), since, as is well known, there were

2. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. Part I, p. 529, notes 58, 59.

remains of an old mining and smelting industry there and
175 Gmelin had found copper and lead ores. But how authentic
648 was the account of the Witim Tungus? As is well known,
316 it led to the first Russian advance into the Amur region: to

/163 cont./

175 seek out the people mentioned in it, to collect tribute from
316 it for the Russian crown, to look for the silver, copper, and
648 lead ores, and to erect forts at the points where they were found were the direct orders to the leader of the first expedition, Wassilij Pojarkov from the voivode of Yakutsk, Peter Golovin (3). And the more enticing the prospect of precious

3. Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, p. 51.

metals, especially silver, was to the Cossacks and freebooters, the more eagerly they sought them. But they neither came across the ores themselves nor did they obtain any information confirming their occurrence from the natives, despite repeated questioning and not infrequently
175 violent, inquisitorial interrogations. Rather, it was said
316 again and again (4) that there were no silver, copper, tin,
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4. Pojarkof's report (op. cit., pp. 52, 53) is full of such statements.

or lead ores along the Schilka and Dseja, or along the Sungari and Amur, or along any of their tributaries; that they merely obtained these metals, as well as various silk and cotton materials and other goods, from the Khan Borboi in exchange for sable pelts, but that this prince, too, did not obtain or have these metals and materials produced in his own country, but imported them from China in exchange
175 for sable pelts (5). Concerning the seat of Prince Borboi,
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5. In addition to the original report by Pojarkof cited above (op. cit.), cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 300.

Pojarkof learned only that one would have to travel for six weeks on horseback from the Umlekan mouth across the mountains and beyond the Schilka to get there.

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648 /163 cont./
mountains and beyond the Schilka to get there. In Chabarof's report, it appears that this same prince, placed over all the Daur, /164/ was called "Bogdoi" (1) -- evidently a Manchu,

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 310; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 259 ff. Chabarof received the first and very detailed account concerning Prince Bogdoi from a Daur woman named Mogoltschak, whom he had captured and who called herself a sister of Prince Lavkai; she herself had spent some time near Prince Bogdoi while in captivity, until her brother ransomed her. The prince is likewise named in the statement of the Tungus woman, Damansa, who had stayed among the Daur on the Amur, but, after her husband was killed, was captured by Chabarof's men and brought to Yakutsk (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 347).

since he supposedly spoke a peculiar language unintelligible to the Daur (2) -- his seat was in a town on the Nonni River

2. As Pojarkof had already stated (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 53).

(Naun-koton, Tsitsikar) (3); but, it is said, there was a still

3. See a later note concerning this town.

more powerful khan -- undoubtedly the emperor of China --
175 over him. In Chabarof's second report a more definite ac-
316 count is given concerning the source of the precious metals,
439 based upon the statement of a Nikan (Chinese) captured from
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/164 cont./

175 the Bogdoi (Manchurian) army, to the effect that all the
316 silver and gold, as well as the precious silk and cotton fabrics
439 which one sees in the Bogdoi area, comes from the Nikani
648 (Chinese) country; the individual sources are described in greater detail, the method and techniques for obtaining the ores, etc. (4). While these accounts collected by Pojarkof

4. Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 367.

and Chabarof refer principally to the areas along the Amur, the Dseja, and the Sungari, where the theater of their travels and military deeds was, they also reach from the upper Amur, beyond the areas along its sources rivers, to the Schilka and the Argunj, and it is completely inconceivable that whereas diligent investigations brought the Russians information about precious metals from faraway China, smelting and mining activities were carried on by the same Daur in their immediate vicinity along the Argunj or the Schilka, about whom they received no information.

175 A closer examination of the later reports on Dauria leads
172 to the same outcome. Ysbrants Ides, the ambassador of Peter
316 the Great to the Chinese emperor, was the first European traveler to give more detailed information about this country. Though at that time (1693) not yet 40 years had passed since the departure of the Daur from their country, he found the ancient mining and smelting works in a condition which clearly indicated that they had been undisturbed for hundreds of years: the silver mines, for instance, which were not far from Argunskoje on the Sserebrjanka River and which still displayed large heaps of slag from the formerly smelted metal, had, as he said, in the many years of their neglect, been so covered by mountain slides and had caved in (5). Witsen's

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5. Ysbr. Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 63.

/164 cont./

175 information comes from the same period: Fedor Alexejewitsch
172 Golowin /Golovin/, the governor of Brjansk, who had been
316 sent to conclude a peace treaty with China, told him that he had visited the silver mines of Dauria and had seen there old pits which had been worked many hundreds of years before. The Mongols ("Mugalen"), too, he said, were of the opinion that these silver /165/ mines had been abandoned in ancient times. On several occasions Witsen obtained samples of these ores and had them tested in Amsterdam for their silver content (1). Gmelin expressed himself very much like

1. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, 1705, p. 83.

Ysbrants Ides concerning the condition of the ancient mines, when, in turn, he traveled through Dauria about 40 years later (1735): "There has been found," he says, "in the Argunski mines more than a thousand old hearths, but all were covered with earth, from which it can be assumed that it must already be a long time since the ancients smelted here, which is confirmed by the fact that in the Kultuk several birch beams used in the construction of the shaft were found, of which nothing was left but the outer bark" (2). Thus, the condition

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2. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien von dem Jahre 1733 bis 1743 /Travels through Siberia from the Year 1733 to 1743/ Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, p. 57. From the number of the hearths Gmelin feels able to conclude that the ancients (he leaves it indefinite as to who they were, and he does not mention the Daur at all) did not pay any attention to the lead, but mined only the silver.

in which the former mining and smelting works of Dauria were found undoubtedly indicates a very great age for them.

/165 cont./

17 There are still other grounds for this, however. If the Daur
316 were the originators of these mining and smelting works, knowledge of it would certainly have been preserved among their former neighbors, the Tungus, some of whom had moved into the area vacated by them, for the short span of about 40 years, until the time of Golowin and Ysbrants Ides.
[131] Ysbrants Ides, however, discovered nothing about it among the Tungus whom he met in number in the area between Nerchinsk and Argunskoje; with regard to the origin of the entrenchments built of solid rock and partially in ruins, which were perhaps just as old and of which he saw many hundreds in the valleys, they instead pointed toward a very remote period when the Mongols and western Tatars had joined forces and invaded the Njutschi Empire (3). Ysbrants

3. Ysbrants Ides, op. cit., p. 62.

Ides thus also ascribes the former mine works to the ancient Njutschi and Mongols (4). Even less than the Tungus would

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4. He expresses himself in this fashion especially in his straightforward travel report (op. cit., p. 63); in the supplement to it, in which, because of the publication in the meantime of Witsen's work, Noord en Oost Tartarye (ed. of 1692) some things and regions which he himself had not seen are discussed, it is said of the same silver mines of Argunskoje (op. cit., p. 129) that in ancient times the "Njutschi or Daurzen" had smelted much silver there. Evidently here, however, it is not the Daur, who had only recently emigrated from their country, who are meant, but rather it seems to be just such a confusion of the designations for the ancient inhabitants of the

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4. (cont.)
country as is repeatedly found later, for example, in Georgi (see above, p. 346, note 3) and others.

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it have escaped the boldly advancing Russian Cossacks and freebooters, constantly on the lookout for enrichment in any way, especially by means of precious metals, if the Daur retreating before them had left behind mining and smelting works in operation in their country. The Russians would certainly have immediately seized and tried to exploit them. Furthermore their designation on the part of the Russians would then have become and remained "Daurian Pits." Instead, they are simply called Chud pits (Chudskiya kopi) by the Russians (5) /166/ and therefore, like other, similar remains

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5. According to a Russian work of 1780 on the Nerchinsk mining and smelting works; the German version in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Vol. IV, p. 208.

of mining industries in the rest of Siberia and like the old grave mounds of northern Russia, are regarded as the work
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of an unknown ancient people. The mining industry in Dauria, however, was undertaken only upon orders by the government and not until it had repeatedly received samples of silver-bearing ore. To be sure, as early as 1679, as Georgi tells it (1), Daur Tungus notified the voivode of

1. Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, Vol. I 1775, p. 418; Geogr.-physikal. und naturhist. Beschreibung des Russ. Reiches, Part I, 1797, p. 222.

Nerchinsk, and through him the voivode of Tobolsk, that there were gold, silver, and lead among them, but only a fruitless investigation resulted. Almost 20 years later, in

2: Schrenck--354 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Daur
Manchu AG-4

T /166 cont./
175 1698, several Buryat, Aranschi Damanja and his companions,
316 presented rich specimens of silver from an ancient mine (2)

2. In Trinity Mountain (Troïzkaja gora) where the Nerchinsk mine is now located.

to the voivode of Nerchinsk, and only then, in 1702, did
T the Siberian Office order that the mines be put into opera-
[174] tion. Thus, everything leads to the conclusion that the
[241] Daur, who prior to the Russian invasion occupied the land
[233] along the Schilka and Argunj, had not done any mining
there, but rather like their countrymen along the upper Amur,
had lived only by agriculture and -- to which we shall re-
turn later -- as a result of their nearness to the Mongols,
M especially extensive animal-husbandry.

If, however, in the seventeenth century when we first
T 17 make their acquaintance, the Daur were not a mining peo-
114 ple, it is most probable that they had not been prior to that,
316 since otherwise, in view of the conservative character of a
still quite primitive tribe with regard to everything that con-
cerns their way of life and means of subsistence, mining
would have been preserved among them later; at any rate
there is no reason for how or why they could have wholly
lost and forgotten it with time, in view of the wealth of
their country in ore, which was not exhausted by far. The
remains of the ancient mining and smelting works in Dauria
must therefore be ascribed to another people who preceded
the Daur in that land. It has already been mentioned above
that Ysbrants Ides ascribed it to the ancient Njutschi and
Mongols, supported by a Tungus legend that the many ancient
entrenchments come from a time when the latter began the
conquest of the Njutschi empire. At the same place it says
that to this belonged the entire land of Nerchinsk, or, as
M the Chinese still call it today, Njutschi (3), and the upper
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3. Ysbr. Ides (op. cit., p. 62) writes in Dutch "Nieucheu" and "Niucheu." Might

2: Schrenck--355 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Daur
Manchu A64

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3. (cont.)
it not be that the Russian names, Nertscha, Nertschinsk, and Nertschinskij Sawod, arose through the distortion of "Njutschi"?

Amur as far as Liao-tung. In the part of this country under discussion here, along the source rivers of the Amur, large millstones and iron-bound wagon wheels had been found some time before Ysbrants Ides' voyage, and since they were not found anywhere among the Mongols, but were still in use among the Njutschi adjacent to the Liao-tung area, he concluded that this latter people had formerly also lived in Russian Dauria. If he had been consistent, he would then have ascribed the ancient mines of Dauria only to the Njutschi /167/ and not also to the Mongols. The same Tungus tradition has come to us from still another source. It is the basis for Georgi's assertion that the Dutscheren, whom he himself regarded as a tribe of the ancient Daur or Manchurians, and who are these same Njutschi, Jutschi, Dshurdschi, ancestors of the present-day Manchu, were the ancient mining inhabitants of Dauria (1). Moreover, it has given rise to the still

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1. See above p. 346, note 3.

current Russian name for one of the foundries in the Nerchinsk mining district, for the Djutscherski Silver Works (Dyucherskii zavod"), about 50 versts from the Nertschinskij Sawod, undoubtedly was given its name because, according to a legend that came to the Tungus by way of the Mongols, Djutscheren formerly lived there and engaged in mining (2).

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2. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, Vol. I, pp. 362, 404, 406, 411; Geogr.-physik. u. naturhist. Beschr. des Russ. Reiches, Part II, p. 1099; Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. IV, p. 207. According

2: Schrenck--356 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur
Manchu AG4

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2. (cont.)
to Georgi, the Djutscherski Works, on account of the location on Kaluktscha Brook, which empties into the lower Borsa, a left tributary of the Argunj was formerly called Kaluktschinski and later Borsinski, until it was given its present name. Also, on the map accompanying the third volume of Pallas' Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches (1776) the stretch between the Yenisei and the Amur is called "Dutscherskoi Sawod." On the large map of eastern Siberia by Schwarz (Karta riechn. oblastei Amura, iuzhnoi chasti Leny i Eniseia i ostr. Sakhalina /Map of the Linguistic Regions of the Amur, of the southern part of the Lena and the Yenisęi, and of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1861) the name is given not quite correctly, as "Dutscharskuj" (Sawod).

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If one can rely on this tradition, the period from which the remains of the former mining industry in Dauria stem can be determined approximately, for it certainly was still being carried on at the time of the greatest expansion and growth of power of the Njutschi, which took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when, under the name of Kin /Chin/, they rose to become the rulers of China (1115-1234) (3).

3. Fischer (Sibir. Gesch. Part I, p. 115) also believes that the ancient monuments of Dauria were set up by the Njutsche during the reign of the Kin.

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It came to an end, however, when the Mongols under Genghis Khan and his successors overthrew the power of the Kin and won control over China in their place. Indeed, the Njutschi

2: Schrenck--357 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur
Manchu A64

M 175 316 648

/167 cont./

settled in Dauria must have been the first to feel the power of the conquerors advancing from the Onon and Kerlon (upper Argunj) -- a power which some of them submitted to, while some fled to their fellow-tribesmen along the Sungari. It is completely wrong, therefore, when Georgi (4) and later

M 114 175 648 316

4. Geogr.-physikal. und naturhist. Beschreib. des Russ. Reiches, Part II, p. 1086.

C. Ritter (5) designate the Djutscheren as people skilled at

5. Asien, Vol. II, p. 335.

mining, miners and metal smelters, who were driven out of their seats by the Russians, for in the seventeenth century, when the Russians came to Dauria, they no longer found any Djutscheren there, but only Daur, who, as has been pointed out above, did no mining; on the Amur, to be sure, there were still some Djutscheren, who, upon the orders of the Chinese government, withdrew after bloody encounters with the Russians, but they did as little mining as the Daur and instead lived only by agriculture and animal husbandry. Finally, this historical event, the overthrow of the Njutschi by the Mongols, gives a fixed point for estimating the approximate time when the Daur may have come to the source rivers of the Amur, /168/ for it may be assumed that it was only after the Njutschi were defeated by the Mongols and after the latter had turned southward in their pursuit of conquest that they gradually moved from the upper Amur into the deserted land along the Schilka and the Argunj. And thus they were not by far such ancient inhabitants of this land as has been believed up to now on the basis of the remains of a former mining industry erroneously attributed to them.

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The last part of the broad area that the Daur occupied at the time of the Russian invasion lay on the Nonni. There,

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2: Schrenck--358 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur

/168 cont./

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thanks to the more favorable climate and to the greater proximity of China, they seem to have reached the greatest prosperity, obtained by means of agriculture, animal husbandry, and trade, as well as the earliest increase in density, but, on the other hand, as a result of their immediate proximity to the Manchu, were also the first to fall under their supremacy. On their first expeditions under Pojarkof and Chabarof, the Russians learned of the wealth of the Daur in livestock, grain, and many kinds of commodities, and of their city on the Nonni River (Naun-koton, later Tsitsikar) (1), where there were said to be shops with all sorts

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1. Ysbrants Ides (op. cit., p. 70) called the Daur capital city on the Nonni, built shortly before, "Naun-koton" (i.e., Naun City); "Xixigar," on the other hand, is for him the name of a hamlet about 1/4 of a mile from the Nonni, but at the same time that of a whole district, since he speaks of other Xixigar villages (op. cit., p. 67). These names are likewise used by Witsen, who, in the second edition of his book, used other information besides Ysbrants Ides's travel account for these regions; only he usually calls the city, like the river, simply "Naum" (Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, pp. 79-82, 88, 91-95, and elsewhere). In the old Russian reports, insofar as Müller has published them, the city is called "Tschitschigar," and, to be sure, was first mentioned in them in connection with the voyage of the envoy Spafari (1675-1677), who had the first negotiations there with the Chinese and who sent his orders from there to the Russians in Albasin (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, pp. 375-383), and it was also mentioned many

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1. (cont.)
times later (op. cit., p. 396 and elsewhere). In the case of the old Jesuit missionaries, as on d'Anville's maps, it is likewise called only "Tçitcicar" (Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 15-17; d'Anville, Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, Plates 1 and 18). According to Wassiljef ("Opis. Man'chzhurii /Description of Manchuria/." -- Zap. Russk Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, p. 28), the village of Bukei had formerly been located at the site of Tsitsikar; this place was raised to the rank of a city in 1791.

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of precious articles, and which was also the residence of the above-mentioned rich Prince Borboi or Bogdoi, one of the governors of the Chinese Emperor, who governed the Daur (2).

2. See pp. 347, 349 above.

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Later, in 1686, they heard by way of a captured Chinese or Manchu that a second city was about to be built on the Nonni, as Müller presumes, Mergen (3). This happened, by

3. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 398. When Ysbrants Ides visited these regions (1693), the city of Mergen was already there, and the extreme westernmost) Chinese outpost on the Yalu River had orders to notify the authorities of the city whenever it saw strangers approaching, just as happened in his case (Driejaar. Reize naar China, p. 65). It is also mentioned by the old Jesuit missionaries, according to whom it was built by Emperor Kang-hi (Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 15, 36).

/168 cont./ This happened, by
175 the way, at a time when the population there had increased
361 considerably due to special circumstances, for the same
166 events which, as we shall see in a moment, almost entirely divested the other parts of the Daur territory of their population had the opposite result along the Nonni, an increase in density.

175 I must mention here in passing an ethnic name associ-
101 ated with this part of the Daur territory, which has already
648 confronted us in the old accounts on it, /169/ but which is of doubtful value, since it sometimes is supposed to designate a particular people, sometimes is regarded as synonymous with the name Daur, and sometimes only refers to the inhabitants of a special locality in the Daur country. Among the various events that the former city of Albasin had to record during the short period of its existence, it has also been mentioned that in 1686, when it was rebuilt by the Russians after its destruction by the Chinese, the first news of this reached Tsitsikar through some persons belonging to the "Targatschinen people," who had been attacked by Albasin Cossacks while hunting sable. In order to get more trustworthy information, the governor there sent out some Daur who captured a Russian peasant in the neighborhood of Albasin and through him confirmed the statements of the
175 Targatschinen (1). On Witsen's map of Tartary, which
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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Vol. II, p. 397.

appeared only a year after these events occurred, as well as in the first edition of his Noord en Oost Tartarye (1692) (2),

2. Page 31.

evidently on the basis of Russian sources, a "Targenskie" people on the Yalu, a right tributary of the Nonni, is mentioned (3). Ysbrants Ides (4) was the first traveler who

175 101 /169 cont./ Ysbrants Ides (4) was the first traveler who

3. On Witsen's map, moreover, a "Kargatsini" people on the Dalai-noor is mentioned.

4. Driejaar. Reize naar China, pp. 65 ff.

personally met these people and gave more detailed information about them. Coming from Dauria, on September 5, 1693, he encountered the first Targazin huts to the east of the first Chinese guard-station on the Yalu and on the following day passed the last of them. According to him, the "Targaziner" form a special horde tributary to the emperor of China, live by agriculture and animal husbandry, are extremely skilled archers, and speak a language which for the most part corresponded with Tungus (5). In the supplement

[361] [648] [241] [231] [197]

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5. Ysbr. Ides' travel companion, Adam Brand, says exactly the same thing, but he calls the people "Targutziner" (Neu-vermehrte Beschreibung seiner grossen Chinesischen Reise /Newly Enlarged Description of His Great Chinese Journey/, etc., third printing, Lübeck, 1734, p. 125).

175 114 101 In the Supplement to his travel account (6), Ysbrants Ides adds that the Tungus

6. Op. cit., p. 129.

(of Russian Dauria) regard themselves as part of the same kin-group with these Targazin or Daur and as their descendants. This could easily be interpreted as though the last two designations were wholly synonymous, and Ritter puts them together without further ado (7). There need not, however,

7. Asien, Vol. II, p. 323.

be any such an identification; taken with what was said before, this probably was meant to say only that these were closely related Tungusic peoples. If one now considers how

T 175 101 114 /169 cont./ easily a splitting up into smaller units takes place among even less advanced peoples, he may see in them also merely different branches of one and the same people. Occasionally Ysbrants Ides mentions in the same line with the Targazin the "Xixigarssen" (Tsitsikarern) as a special people (8). Like the former, I, too, am inclined to regard the

8. Op. cit., p. 129.

latter as only a branch of the Daur, a branch that, living closer to the mountains along the Yalu as well as perhaps along other tributaries of the Nonni, also practiced, in addition to agriculture and animal husbandry, hunting to a greater extent than the Daur farther down in the plains and therefore /170/ had many divergences in its way of life. Subsequently, under common Manchu-Chinese rule, many of them may have evened out; at any rate, as far as I know, there is no further mention of the Targazin as a separate people, and at the present time the Russians give a quite different meaning to this name.

SS 648 It is well known that each year the Chinese government dispatches officials from Tsitsikar, Mergen, and Aigun to inspect the Russian-Chinese border along the Schilka and Argunj. One group of them goes from Tsitsikar to a point on the Argunj opposite Old Zuruchaitujevsk; the second -- from Mergen to Onochoi, opposite the village of Olotschinskaja on the Argunj; and, finally, the third goes from Aigun up the Amur and the Schilka to the small Gorbiza River (1). After the first one has renovated the

1. Since this last boundary line has now been changed, probably the order in which the Chinese officials were dispatched for inspecting them has likewise been changed.

border markers (two small wooden boards bearing the date

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648 and year when the inspection took place, one of which is hung on a tree, while the other is buried in the ground at the foot of it) at the appropriate place, they go down the Argunj to join the second group, whereupon both groups seek out the third on its return to Ustj-Strelka, and then all return to-
648 gether down the Amur (2). On the basis of information from
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2. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 161) was told by Cossacks in Ustj-Strelka that the first group, after it had sought out the second in Olotschinskaja, immediately returns up the Argunj, whereas the second and third met at Ustj-Strelka and navigated down the Amur together. Ladyshinskij in his handwritten notes is said to state the same.

the student Ssokolov, Pallas reports that these Manchu-Chinese officials with their retinues are called "Mergenzy" by the Russians (3). According to the archimandrite Palladij,

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3. Pallas, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, 1776, p. 428. They are said to call themselves "Hussai." Middendorff /says/ they were called "Margánzy" by Cossacks in Ustj-Strelka, but he himself remarks that, according to Ladyshinskij's handwritten notes, they are said to come from "Mergynj" (Mergen) (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 161, note 1). He did not have Pallas' earlier remark.

however, they are called "Torgatschiny" (4). Both are

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4. Palladij, "Dorozhnyia zamietki," etc.

192 /170 cont./
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4. (cont.)
(Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 442).

correct in part, for the former name referred to the border inspectors from Mergen, and the latter to those coming from Tsitsikar to the Argunj, while those officials leaving from Aigun in turn have a special designation "Bogdoizy" (5).

5. As the Cossacks in Ustj-Strelka said "Bogdoie" (Middendorff, loc. cit.).

648 The Torgatschinen incontestably are of the greatest signifi-
439 cance for the Russian border country, since only for them, during their stay at their destination, is open trade with the Russians or the peoples subject to them possible, because, by treaty, Old Zuruchaitujevsk is the second place, next to Kjachta, designated for Russo-Chinese border trade. The others can only carry on a little trade secretly, as in fact is done by the Mergenzen. Needless to say the Torgatschinen before their departure abundantly provide themselves with all kinds of commodities suitable for trade on the Argunj and utilize their stay of about a month /171/ in the vicinity of Old Zuruchaitujevsk for the greatest advantage possible for themselves. Thanks to this trade, they are the best known among the various peoples of Russian Dauria. This explains
648 Pallas' statement that the Daurian Steppe-Tungus call the
[192] Chinese "Tergezin" (1). It is precisely these Chinese border

1. Pallas, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 238.

inspectors and traders that they mean by it. That they need
[191] not be Chinese by nationality is obvious. Ssokolov, for instance, reported that the border inspectors from the city of

2: Schrenck--365 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Daur
Southeast Siberia RX1

SS. 648 [191] /171 cont./

Naun (Tsitsikar) understood neither Chinese nor Mongolian, and therefore probably spoke the language of the Dagur (2).

2. Pallas, Reise, etc., Vol. III, p. 428. According to Ladyschinskij, the "Mergenzy" were Manchu and Solon (Middendorff, loc. cit.).

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But from where did they get the name Torgatschinen? By analogy with the Russian designation customarily used for the second group of border inspectors, likewise coming from the Nonni, "Mergenzy," which is taken from the dispatch point of these officials, one may presume that Tsitsikar was also called Targazin. And in Witsen one actually finds the statement that the city of Naun is also called "Targatsien" (3).

3. Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 94.

It is not said among which people it bears or bore this latter name, but presumably among the Russians in Dauria, and perhaps because the city is not far from the mouth of the Yalu River, which, as we saw above, runs through the territory of the Targazin. But this remains only a conjecture, and Witsen's assertion still needs confirmation. In any case, even if it is wholly correct, it does not seem permissible, in view of the reports of Ysbrants Ides and others discussed above, to refer only to the inhabitants of one city (of Tsitsikar), regardless of their nationality (Chinese, Manchu, Daur, Solon), as Targazin, as is undoubtedly the case with regard to the Mergenzen.

SS [114]

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The widespread distribution of the Daur described above now underwent a rapid and considerable curtailment through the Russian invasion in the seventeenth century. With the first push by the Russians, they seem to have vacated almost without any resistance the country along the source rivers of the Amur River, the Schilka and the Argunj, which later was merely given the name of Dauria. Even those among

T /171 cont./
175 them, such as Prince Gantimur and his followers, who had
648 once fled to Dauria in order to escape the rule of the Manchu,
167 preferred to leave the country again upon the approach of the
SS Russians and to return to the region beyond the Chingan Moun-
648 175 tains, which was occupied by their old enemies (4). It seems
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4. Fischer, Sibirische Gesch., Part 2, p. 775; see also p. 343 above.

to me that this rapid and complete retreat of the Daur from the Schilka and Argunj indicates that they had not been very numerous there, which may have considerably increased
T [712] their fear before the advancing Russians. They offered greater resistance along the Amur, where they were more densely and numerously settled and had a number of fortified places. Without any martial tendencies at all, they would in any case have easily let themselves be subjugated by the small band of bold and brave Cossacks and would have /172/ submitted to the payment of tribute to the Russian crown, if they
T had not already been tributary to the now powerful Manchu
S.S. 175 who gave them support. Thus, a bloody conflict was un-
648 avoidable, in which the far greater military efficiency of the Russians, their determination to stand fast against the greater numbers of the enemy, and their being equipped with firearms greatly reduced the number of the Daur. One need only consider, for instance, what happened during the assault on Guigudar's fort (Guigudarov gorod) by Chabarof, where the Daur lost 661 men by death and in the fallen city 243 of their wives and girls and 118 children were captured, whereas the Russians counted only four dead and 45 slightly wounded (1). It is said repeatedly in their reports that

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 315; Fischer, Sibirische Gesch. Part 2, p. 804; Dop. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 360. Müller and Fischer always write

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2: Schrenck--367 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Daur
Southeast Siberia RX1

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1. (cont.)
the name of the Daur prince as "Gugudar," and, indeed, on the map accompanying the work of the latter the fort is even called "Gagudarev," whereas, according to Chabarof and other early reports, the names were "Guigudar" and "Guigudarov gorod."

everything was smashed, the villages were pillaged, the women and children captured, etc. (2). The Amur Daur would there-

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2.... "of those Daur, every last one was chopped to bits ... many people were beaten ... the yasyr was captured ... the villages were destroyed" ... etc. /translated from the Russian/ (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 360, 362, 364, 372, etc.).

fore have certainly been destroyed altogether in constant battles with the Russians had the Chinese government not devised another method of warding off the enemy. Taking advantage of the fact that the Russian Cossacks and freebooters neither provided for a regular supply of foodstuffs nor cultivated the land themselves, but simply lived off what they seized from the Daur, it ordered the latter in 1654 to leave their fields and gardens uncultivated and to move from the Amur and its tributaries, the Dseja and others, to the Nonni (3). At the same time, it sent

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3. Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 526. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 337; the same in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, second edition, p. 496) says that the Daur were transferred to the Schingal (Sungari) and Naun; in the original report

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3. (cont.)

of Onufrij Stepanof cited above, only the latter river is named.

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[701] At the same time, it sent many armies, equipped with field guns and firearms, in which many Daur and Djutscheren were enrolled, against the small, but
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[724] formidable band of Russians. The latter, to be sure, were still able to help themselves for a time by extending their raids and by seizing food from the Djutscheren along the lower Amur and Sungari, but even this source of supply was taken away from them two years later through the transfer of the Djutscheren to the
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Churcha (4). From now on in their reports complaints multiply

4. See p. 320, above.

about the distress that the Russian soldiers had to endure from hunger and cold, from the scarcity of ammunition, from the numerical superiority and better weaponry of the enemy, and the like (5). Subsequently, though rather late, in 1672 and 1673,

5. For example, it says in Stepanof's report in 1654: "and there is little food on the Amur, and when the Bogdoi people fire their cannon, they cover two versts and more, but we have in the sovereign's army, along with one cannon, and that is regimental, also two small iron ones" /translated from the Russian/ (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 527). Or, in 1656: "the military people and the Amur hunting Cossacks all became hungry and cold, and things were bad all around; in the army there were no food supplies at all, and there was no lead or powder; everything was used up and henceforth, ... how to live and what to eat in the future we do not know, how we, the sovereign's serfs, should manage the sovereign's

/172 cont./

SS. 175 648

5. (cont.)
tribute and our own lives, and lately all in the army have starved and become worse, we eat grass and roots, and we await the sovereign's orders, and we do not dare leave the great Amur River to go anywhere without the sovereign's orders; and the Bogdoi armies wait nearby, but there is nothing with which we can fight all those Bogdoi people, there is no more powder or lead" /translated from the Russian/ (Dop., etc., Vol. IV, p. 82).

SS. 175 648 361 241

subsequently, though rather late, in 1672 and 1673,
/173/ to alleviate the suffering and for a definite foothold in the country, Russian farming colonies from Nerchinsk were established along the upper Amur and were very successful because of the fertility of the soil; the largest among them was the settlement of Pokrovskaja Sloboda, located several verst below Albasin (1), but

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 372.

the superior power of the Manchu-Chinese remained the same, and it is well known how the Russians, despite a valiant defense of the points occupied by them, finally had to relinquish the Amur region after the conclusion of the Treaty of Nerchinsk.

T 175 648

Thus the country along the upper Amur down to the Dseja was completely deserted, in that it first lost its Daur population and then the small Russian one. Even afterward the Chinese government tried to maintain this depopulated condition, for it saw in it a certain guarantee against a repetition of the Russian invasion. In particular it was intent upon seeing to it that henceforth no sedentary population engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry be allowed there. Above all, it was obvious that after the departure of the Russians the Daur transferred to the Nonni would want to return to their old homeland, where

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.2: Schrenck--370 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Daur

/173 cont./

175 648 36 [167]

they or their ancestors had been prosperous. A return to the Amur was permitted for the Daur, however, only under certain restrictions. Permanent Daur settlements based on agriculture and animal husbandry later appear only along that part of the Amur River extending below the Dseja and the Manchu-Chinese city of Aigun, which in the meantime had increased in size and importance (2), as far as the Bureja Mountains (3).

2. According to the old French missionaries, the city of Aigun ("Aykom") was founded under the Chinese emperor Yung-lo of the Tai-Ming dynasty, and, to be sure, on the left bank of the Amur River (Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 15). The Russian reports mention it for the first time in 1676, and as an ancient city or fortress located on the northern bank of the Amur half a day's journey below the Dseja. In 1683 it was more strongly fortified and was turned into an arsenal for a sizable army, but two years later was transferred to the right bank of the Amur somewhat farther downstream, where the Aigun of today, or the Sachalin-ula-choton of the Manchu stands (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, pp. 377, 381). Wassiljef ("Opisanie Man'chzhurii." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, p. 29) gives 1684 as the year of the founding of the latter.

3. See p. 105 above.

Settlement farther up on the Amur, where most of the villages and fortified places of the Daur were located, or along the lower course of the Komar River was forbidden to them for the reasons

T /173 cont./
175 discussed above, and undoubtedly it was a duty of the officials
648 of Aigun and the advanced Manchurian outposts along the Amur
361 beyond the mouth of the Komar to see to it, among other things, that this measure was strictly observed. Only along the upper course of the Komar does one again come across sedentry, agricultural Daur, evidently because the Chinese government thought
T that they were sufficiently far from the Amur there to not preju-
[167] dice its desolution to any extent. Perhaps, /174/ thanks to this circumstance, they did not have to move from there in the seventeenth century, or they were Daur who at that time withdrew from the Amur and the lower Komar, or, finally, later settlers who came here from the Nonni.

T The Chinese government acted quite differently with regard
175 to the more or less itinerant traders than it did in the case of the
648 sedentary agriculturalists. They had free access to the entire
439 upper and central Amur region belonging to the administrative
443 district of Tsitsikar, and only having intercourse with the Russians beyond the last guardposts on the upper Amur was forbidden to them. Thanks to this permission and to the inclination and aptitude of the Daur for trade, especially with the related Tungusic hunting peoples in the north of the Amur region with whom they had been familiar from ancient times, we see that they soon reached that wide distribution as traders along the Dseja /Zeya/, the Ssilimdshi /Selemdzha/, the Bureja /Bureya/, and their tributaries which has already been discussed in detail above (1).

1. See pp. 79, 107.

Here I only wish to draw special attention to one circumstance which is significant for both the scope of this distribution of the Daur and the role which they have played in relation to the more primitive Amur peoples. Though the Daur are not permitted to
G enter the lower Amur region, and, on the other hand, the people
[829] from there are forbidden by the Chinese to go beyond the Sungari mouth on the Amur and the city of Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, the Daur traders are nevertheless known even to the most distant Gilyak.

T 175 648 439 443 G [101] /174 cont./

Gilyak. For example, I often asked the latter about the peoples living upstream on the Amur, and they always named for me the "Jam-Manchu" beyond the Manchu. For a long time I did not know what people they meant by that. I now no longer doubt but that it is the Daur. Despite the prohibition of the Chinese government, Daur merchants from the sources of the Bureja or the Ssilimdshi come across the Jam-alin Mountains to Burukan on the Tugur (2), where at times Tungus from the Tugur and from the

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2. Cf. also the statements of an eyewitness, the priest Djatschkovskij, in Kosmin, in Zap. Gidrogr. Depart. Morsk. Minist., Part IV, p. 36.

Sea of Okhotsk, Negda from the Amgunj, and Gilyak from the Amur appear for trade. In exchange for the always desired sable pelts, they obtain there from the Daur probably much the same commodities as from the Chinese on the Amur and naturally must have learned from them on occasion the role they play in the region beyond the Jam-alin, along the Bureja, Ssilimdshi, and the Dseja, down to the Amur: that they carry on all trade there, collect the tribute from the Birar and Manegir for the Chinese government, etc. (3). If one now considers that the Gilyak, as

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3. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166, note 1) says that the Daur, impressing even the Yakut Trofim, described how they occupied a large city on the Amur where the river was blocked by means of a strong chain across it.

has been noted above (4), not infrequently designate both the

4. See p. 144.

Manchu and Chinese simply as "Manchu," though they distinguish them by nationality, it is quite understandable that they also

G 101 /174 cont./

T [439 443] give the name "Jam-Manchu" to the Daur coming over from the Jam Mountains, who play the same role beyond the latter as the "Manchu" do along the Amur. /175/ I do not know whether in addition, taking account of the difference in nationality, they

T 101 439 443 have still another name for the Daur. It is said that among the Russian Tungus they are called "Djulú," among the Birar "Dahu-halj" (1) -- a designation in which one can easily recognize the

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc. Vol. IV, p. 1536. The Birar "halj" probably means the same as the Goldi and Manchurian "hala," tribe /Stamm/, kin group /Gesuhlecht/.

name Dahur or Daur.

T 175 167 178 231 [648] As long as the Gogul and Daur were settled along the Amur, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon were restricted to the Stanovoi mountain range and its southern slopes and spurs. In none of the reports from the time of the Russian invasion is there any mention of them from the Amur. Only through the departure of the former peoples from the Amur and thanks to the Chinese policy of permitting no sedentary population along the upper course of it did they gain open space to expand as far southward as the Amur and in part beyond it, as we learned above. As they advanced southward, other, Russian Tungusic tribes from the north advanced farther and farther into the southern spurs of the Stanovoi

T [184] Range. The Birar and the Maneghir, in descending from their alpine homeland and reaching the low spurs and grassy prairies along the Bureja, the Ssilimdshi, and the Dseja, found it necessary to exchange their alpine domestic animal, the reindeer, for another riding and draft animal, the horse, whereas the Orochon in the mountainous upper course of the Amur retained their traditional reindeer. The same thing happened in Dauria, along the source rivers of the Amur, where, as Ritter expressed it (2), "Tungusic barbarians" moved into the area vacated by

2. Erdkunde von Asien, Vol. II, p. 323.

T /175 cont./
175 the Daur and, coming from the mountains into the unforested
178 prairies, exchanged their reindeer for the horse or even, like
167 the Mongols, adapted themselves to animal-raising and thus
231 changed from Forest or Reindeer Tungus into Horse and Steppe
[648] Tungus (3). Thus, among the Amur peoples a series of migra-

3. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 152, and elsewhere.

tions and transformations took place, for all of which one event, the invasion by the Russians in the seventeenth century, gave the first impulse: just as in the lower Amur region it caused the migration of the Djutscheren to the Churcha and through that the westward expansion of the Goldi to the Sungari, so did it give rise in the upper Amur region to the departure of the Gogul and Daur from the principal river and its source rivers, which, in turn, resulted in the migrations of the Tungusic tribes in the south and even in the north of the Stanovoi Range. Let us now add to these general remarks a few historical data concerning specifically the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon.

T /176/ The oldest information on the Birar comes from the
S.S. first Russian expedition to the Amur under Pojarkof /Poyarkov/;
175 after his return (1646), he reported that many reindeer-keeping
648 Biral-Tungus (Tungusy Biraly) lived along the sources of the
T [361] Ssilimdshi ("Ssilimba") (1). Thirty-five years later (1681)

1. Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 53.

Ignatij Milowanof was sent from Nerchinsk to the Dseja and Ssilimdshi in order to inspect the guardposts and tribute stations and to find out where there was fertile soil and where a new post could be established. In the meantime, the departure of the
T [167] agricultural Daur from the Amur and from the Dseja had already taken place, and along both rivers Milowanof saw numerous traces of their former fields and villages. He reported from the

Tungus RU5
Birar
Southeast Siberia RX1

T S.S. 175 648 T S.S. [101]

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Ssilimdshi ("Sselinba"), however, that with a small force it would be impossible to make the Birar-Tungus there tributary, and that Daur came to the mouth of this river to collect tribute from them for the Chinese crown. In this connection he calls the Birar Horse-Tungus (konnye Biryarskie Tungusy) (2). Thus,

2. "Otpiska Stol'niku i Voevodie Fed. Dement'ev Voeikovu, ot" poslann. v" 1681 g. dlia obozr. Amura syn" Boiarskago Ignat'ia Milovanova /Report to the Secretary-General Fed. Dement'ev Voeikov from the Boyar's son, Ignatius Milovanov, sent in 1681 for an inspection of the Amur/," reported by Spasskij in Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1853, Part VII, Sec. II, pp. 40, 41.

they had already moved farther downstream along the Ssilimdshi and, in conformity with the natural conditions there, became horse nomads. The Daur, however, only appeared among them from time to time as tribute-collecting officials or traders (3).

3. Milowanof, op. cit., p. 39.

T S.S 101 175 648

Three years later, the Cossack leader, Gerassim Zypandin, reported that in Udskoi Ostrog he had found and detained as hostages two Birar chiefs from the Ssilimdshi (4). Thus, from the earliest

4. Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. XI, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 202.

Russian accounts we meet the Birar under this name for them. I also believe that they designate themselves in this way, at least when dealing with foreigners, for I learned about this name from them themselves, without ever having heard it before (5). It was

S.S. [113]

5. See my travel report, dated November 15, 1856, from Irkutsk, in the Bull. de la phys.-

2: Schrenck--376 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Birar
Southeast Siberia RX1

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3. (cont.)
math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersbourg, Vol. XV, p. 247; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 353.

no different for Radde, who during his stay in the Bureja Mountains on the Amur frequently came in contact with the Birar and always designates them with this name (6). Nevertheless, it only

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6. "Birat-Tungusen," see Radde, "Bericht über Reisen im Süd. und Ost. Sibir." (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXIII, p. 526 and elsewhere.

means "river dwellers," and in this case by "river" (bira) they are not merely referring to, say, the Amur, but to the Njuman-bira, which for this reason among the Russians, too, has been given the name of Bureja, which arose merely through the distortion of the former word. The Njuman-bira was the main river of their area: presumably they went from it in former times to the nearby upper course of the Ssilimdshi; following it, they later, after the departure of the Gogul and Daur, spread to the Amur and indeed even beyond it. Along the Amur, where they found fertile soil which formerly had been cultivated, some of them, as we saw above, even became sedentary farmers, which their close relatives, /177/ the Manegir and Orochon, have not accomplished, or at least not to the same extent. Through this expansion they moved much closer to the seats of the Manchu-Chinese administration, Augun and especially Tsitsikar, the capital of the province of Helong-kiang (Amur). In the Chinese imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing they are mentioned among the peoples belonging to this district, and, to be sure, under the same name, easily recognizable even in the Chinese version, as "Builar" (1) or "Pie-li-eurh" (Pilar) (2). Similar to this and

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1. Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 442.

2. Pauthier, Chine moderne, Part I, p. 168.

Tungus RU5
Birar
Manegir

/177 cont./

175 in even greater agreement is the name "Bilar" used for this peo-
101 ple by the archimandrite Palladij (3) and perhaps also taken from

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3. "Dorozhnyia zamietki i pr." (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 445).

the same imperial geography. Finally, it is also easily recognized in the name often mentioned above, "Byral- or Bural-Tungus," obtained quite independently by Middendorff on his
[177] travels through the northern part of Birar territory (4). The slight

4: Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 167, 1505, and elsewhere.

modification in it can perhaps, since Middendorff's trip was made in the company of Russian Tungus, be traced back to Russian influence, in particular with reference to the Russian name "Bureja" for the Nijman-bira (5).

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5. In rendering Tungusic and other words, the i is often changed by the Russians into ы (which we conventionally render with y), for example, "Kidsi" becomes Kysy (Кыдзы), etc. Accordingly, byra (быра) arose from "bira," and therefore perhaps the version "Byral-Tungus."

175 The oldest report on the Manegir extends just as far back
101 as that on the Birar. In 1647 the "promyschlennik" /fur trade/
439 Grigorij Wishevzof declared at the official interrogation in Yakutsk that he had spent the two previous years on business along the Tugir (Tungir), a tributary of the Olekma, where, among others, three "Managir-Tungusen" (Managiri) came to him (6). It is not said specifically where this allegedly

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6. "Rasprosnyia riechi promyshlenágo

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6. (cont.)
chelovieka Grig. Vizhevtsova /The Interrogation of the Industrialist, Grig. Vizhevtsov/" (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. III, p. 102).

It is not said specifically where this allegedly
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numerous tribe had its habitation sites, but it is said further that every year during the winter they go down on reindeer to the Schilka (Amur) in order to trade with the Daur, for which they follow the Njuga (Njuksha), a tributary of the Tungir, upstream to the mountains and then cross over to the Ui (Urkan) and go
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along it to where it empties into the Schilka, where they meet
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Daur subject to Prince Lavkai. From this it can be seen that the Manegir at that time were still reindeer nomads who roamed high in the Stanovoi Range, along its northern and southern slopes, along the sources of the Njuksha, of the Urkan, and -- since they were said to be a numerous tribe -- probably also of the Oldoi, Ur, etc., the next rivers to the east. The Manegir are not mentioned in Pojarkof's report on his simultaneous expedi-
[361]
tion from the Stanovoi Mountains down the upper Brjanda and the Dseja: he found the first river uninhabited, Reindeer Tungus from the Ullagir tribe were settled along the lower (second) Brjanda, animal-breeding /178/ Bajagir-Tungus along the lower
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Ur, and Daur along the Dseja from the Umlekan (1). There is

1. Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 51, 52. In Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geograph., Part 2, second edition, p. 494) the second of the tribes named is called "Buiagir."

no further mention of these two Tungus tribes in the Amur region later, from which it may be presumed that these were only isolated scattered members of their tribe, such as are always
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present in countries with a nomadic Tungusic population. Concerning the Bajagir, moreover, it is well known that they, as

175 /178 cont./
101 Middendorff expresses it, are a group scattered to all four winds,
361 single representatives of which can be found throughout Siberia (2).

2. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1479, 1512) mentions, for example, individual Bojagern -- as he writes the name -- some of whom he himself had seen, from the sources of the Cheta, west of the Yenisei, from the Wilui, Aldan, Tungir (Olekma), from the Amur somewhat below Ustj-Strelka, from the Dabukyt, Oldoi, Ur, from the Botoma, from the Temtjon, and from Udskoi Ostrog.

175 Just as there were no Manegir along the Brjanda and Dseja at the
131 time of Pojarkof's expedition, so were there none, according to
167 Ussolzef, even two centuries later, along the Gilui (3), this

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3. Usol'tsev", "Putesh. k" versh. r. Giliuia i na rieku Zeiu, lietom" 1856 g. /Journey to the Upper Course of the Gilui River and on the Zeya River in the Summer of 1856/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXII, 1858, Sec. II, p. 153).

right tributary of the Dseja coming down from the Stanovoi Mountains west of the Brjanda. In view of these facts the homeland of the Manegir, from which they later spread to the Dseja and beyond it, must first be sought west of the Gilui, that is to say, in that part of the Stanovoi Mountains to which the above statement by Wishevzof in part directly refers. There they were closest to the upper Amur, closer than the Dseja, and, as that oldest report says, every winter they descended to it along the rivers leading directly to it, the Urkan, etc., in order to trade with the Daur. This,
[648] however, is the very part of the Amur River in which the Russians established themselves the earliest and the most firmly, in which

/178 cont./

175 were located their largest and best fortifications, like their settle-
13 ments later, and in which they held fast the longest and most
648 tenaciously. This is why the further expansion of the Manegir in
167 the Amur region could not take place until after that of the Birar.
Whereas the opportunity for this was presented to the latter immediately after the departure of the Gogul and the Daur from the Amur, the expansion of the Manegir from their mountain homeland to the south and east could not begin until the Russians had vacated the upper Amur, which did not take place until 35 years later as a consequence of the Treaty of Nerchinsk. Therefore, when Ignatij Milowanof was sent to inspect the Dseja in 1681, he still did not find any Manegir there, whereas the Birar had already moved so far down the Ssilimdshi that the Chinese officials were able to collect tribute from them at the point where this river
174 empties into the Dseja. (4). How soon after the departure of the
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4. See p. 375. above.

Russians from the Amur the expansion of the Manegir began and what course it took cannot be ascertained more precisely, because with their departure, unfortunately, hardly any information concerning the Amur region came out for a long time. Nevertheless, from the /179/ above it seems probable to me that they first descended on their customary route down the rivers, the Urkan, Oldoi, etc., to the completely deserted upper Amur and then, following this river, reached the Komar and the Dseja, along which they spread upstream as far as they found unoccupied territory suitable for their needs. They may also have traveled to the Dseja by a second route, I mean down the Ur. Because of
[178] this perhaps, and principally because the prairies along the
[361] lower and central Dseja and its tributaries offered the most favorable conditions for the horse nomads, which the Manegir had gradually become after descending to the spurs and the plains, the most numerous Manegir population was found there.
[648] Nowhere, however, neither on the Dseja nor on the Komar or
[241] the Amur did they turn to agriculture and a sedentary way of life.

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174 the reason for which is not to be sought merely in the deeply
167 rooted nomadic instinct of the Tungus, but above all in the
648 above-discussed policy of the Chinese government to keep those
241 regions which were especially and most exposed to Russian invasion in a deserted and desolate condition as far as possible.

It is also noteworthy that the Manegir, in spite of their above-
101 mentioned great expansion in the Amur region and their trans-
167 formation into horse nomads, remained, in the eyes of the
174 Manchu-Chinese, the same Reindeer-Tungus that they were
648 formerly. The Chinese imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing has no special name for them, as there is for their close relatives, the Birar, but subsumes them, like their western neighbors, the Orochon, under the general designation "Oruntschun" (1) or

1. Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 442.

"Go-lun-tschun" (2), that is, "reindeer people," which also in-

2. Pauthier, Chine moderne, Part I, p. 168.

cludes their western neighbors, the Orochon, and is still appropriate for them today. I believe that this is further confirmation, and from the Chinese, of the statements introduced by us above on other grounds, namely, that the Manegir, were still settled not long ago in the immediate neighborhood of the Orochon, that from there they spread to the upper Amur and down it to the Komar and Dseja, and that this expansion did not take place until rela-
175 tively recent times. The oldest report known to me in which the
101 Manegir are mentioned as dwellers along the Amur River belongs to modern times. It is by the Russian fugitive, Gurij Wassiljef,
[114] whose statements were recorded in the handwritten notes of Ladyshinskij, but later, as Middendorff pointed out (3), were

3. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 156, note 1; see also p. 164 above.

2: Schrenck--382 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Manegir

/179 cont./

175 used to advantage by Iakinf in his Statistical Description of the
10 Chinese Empire, without naming the source. In this work it is
114 said, accordingly, that below Ustj-Strelka in the mountains on both banks of the Amur there are Tungus tribes who have been given the names "Minegren" (Minegri) and "Orotschonen /Orochon/" by the Russians (4); and at another place -- evidently on the basis

[113] 4. Iakinf", Statist. opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 217.

of another source -- that in Transbaikalia the Tungus on the right bank of the Amur /180/ below Ustj-Strelka were called "Mangiren" (Mangiry), but those of the left bank "Orotschonen" (1).

1. Op. cit., p. 1, note; see also p. 84 above.

The more recent Amur travelers always mention the Manegir with the same name, differing only in the variously changed vowels; concerning its origin, however, one finds among them at most only echoes of the view expressed by Iakinf. Gerstfeldt (2),

[113] 2. "O pribrezhn. zhiteliakh" /Concerning the Population of the Amur Coast /" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XX, 1857, Sec. II, p. 293, footnote 2).

for instance, regards this name as of Russian origin simply because it is missing in the Chinese census figures (in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing, see above). Indeed, even Maack, who stayed longest among the Manegir, thinks that they now call themselves "Manjachyr," but it remains undecided whether or not they accepted this name from the Russians (3). I cannot

[113] 3. Maack, "Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 68.

2: Schrenck--383 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Manegir
Orochon

/180 cont./

101 agree with this at all. How are the Russians supposed to have
175 come by this name, which has no meaning at all in Russian? The
114 final syllable in itself argues in favor of a Tungusic origin, even if we do not at first know its etymology (4). Also, it confronts us

4. See pp. 213, 215 above.

immediately, in connection with the first contact of the Russians with the Manegir, in that report from the seventeenth century. Evidently they were already calling themselves Managir in dealing with Wishevzof, that is, at a time when they could not yet have had a Russian name, just as they did two centuries later before Maack and me. To me the name that they gave themselves sometimes sounded like "Manägir" and at other times "Monjager" or "Manjager," which would readily explain the variations in the vowels in the versions of it given by various travelers.

The reports concerning the expansion of the Orochon in the Amur region are the most definite and exact among the three tribes under discussion here. And this is because, on the one hand, it was the latest, and, on the other hand, it took place along the very boundary of the Russian possessions, indeed, from there, and therefore under the very eyes of the Russians, as it were. Let us note first that although by Orochon at the present time the
[131] Russians mean the Reindeer Tungus who rove above the Manegir along the Amur and its tributaries, and, indeed, even beyond it, in the Stanovoi Mountains along the upper tributaries of the Olekma and in the Chingan Mountains along several tributaries of the Nonni, this name nevertheless was not given to them by the Russians, as the above-mentioned statement by Iakinf, in part taken from Gurij Wassiljef, erroneously says. Its Manchurian origin has been discussed above in detail (5). Since it simply

5. See pp. 280 ff. above.

/180 cont./

101 means "reindeer people," it could be applied to many different
114 Tungusic tribes. How far it goes back among the Manchu or
175 their ancestors we do not know, but the fact that it has persisted
[174] for the Olcha on the lower Amur, who gave up their reindeer-
nomadism long ago, as well as for the Orok of Sakhalin, indicates
101 its great age. /181/ It has already been pointed out that the
175 Chinese imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing extends it, in
648 addition to the Orochon, to the Manegir at a time when the
latter were still reindeer nomads, which was not so long ago.
This Manchurian name for the Reindeer Tungus has been known
since the days of the old Jesuit missionaries (1). Among the

1. Gerbillon, see Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 37.

Russians, on the other hand, the name Orochon has been in use for only a short time and, as a foreign word, naturally does not have the collective application that it does among the Manchu, but rather, as a specific proper name, refers only to the Reindeer Tungus along the upper Amur within the above-mentioned boundaries. It does not occur at all in the reports dating from the time of the first Russian invasion in the Amur region. Wherever the Russians met Reindeer Tungus in the Amur region at that time, they called them, just as they did in Siberia, by their own tribal or kin-group names, as the designations Burar-Tungus, Ullagir, Managir, etc. show. Not until much later, after the whole Amur region had become Chinese territory by treaty and the Russians, now advancing into it from Dauria individually and in small groups, first of all met Reindeer Tungus there, who, at least nominally, were tributary to the Manchu-Chinese and among them bore the name Orochon, did they likewise adopt this name; and since the same nomads extended beyond the northern slopes of the Stanovoi Mountains and along the source rivers of the Olekma, that name also became customary among the Russians in this further extension. The oldest report known to me which
101 gives evidence of the use of the name Orochon among the
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2: Schrenck--385 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Orochon

/181 cont./

101 Russians comes from a Dr. Schneegass, who in the first years of
175 our century (before 1805) traveled through Siberia to Japan in
114 order to join there, as it says, the Russian round-the-world navigator (Krusenstern) (2). In speaking of the Solon and Daur,

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2. See the appendix, "Beyträge zur Länder- und Staatenkunde der Tartarey; aus russ. Berichten /Contributions to Knowledge of the Geography and Politics of Tartary, from Russian Reports/," to John Barrow, Reise durch China von Peking nach Canton im Gefolge der Grossbrit. Gesandschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /A Journey through China from Peking to Canton in the Suite of the British Embassy in the Years 1793 and 1794/; translated from the English and annotated by J. A. Hüttner, Vol. II, Vienna, 1805, p. 359.

who are said to have their habitation sites beyond the Argunj in Manchuria, he says, "in the same area around the Amur River, there is also a great number of Orochon, namely, Olenni-Tungus" (3) -- a report which clearly reveals by its explanatory concluding

3. I.e., Reindeer Tungus.

remark that it is based on Russian statements. The above-mentioned statement by the fugitive, Gurij Wassiljef, which was saved from oblivion by Ladyshenskij, came from about the same period -- between 1815 and 1826. It does not occur among our travelers who visited Dauria in the previous century, Messerschmidt, Gmelin, Pallas, and Georgi, or in the writings of Müller and Fischer. It may therefore not have been current among the Russians of adjacent Dauria until very near the end of the previous century.

174 It does not by any means follow from this, however, that the
175 Orochon did not reach the Amur until that time, but it could not
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/181 cont./

174 have been very much earlier, for like /182/ the expansion of
175 the Manegir from the Stanovoi Mountains to the south and east,
167 that of the Orochon, too, could have begun only after the complete evacuation of the Amur region by the Russians according to the Treaty of Nerchinsk. Indeed, it demonstrably took place even later than that one, for just as the Reindeer Tungus from the Stanovoi Mountains were pushing in along the source rivers of the Bureja and the Ssilimdshi following the Birar moving southward, so did the Orochon march in here after the Manegir and occupied many an area originally inhabited by them. Whereas, for example,
[131] formerly, as we saw above, the Manegir roamed through the northern part of the Stanovoi Mountains, along the Njuksha and reached the Tungir, and even went down the Urkan to the Daur, today undisputed Orochon territory extends there, and the boundary between the two peoples runs from the left source of the Oldoi along this river or more to the east, along the
101 Niwer down to the Amur (1). When the expansion of these
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1. See p. 88 above.

peoples reached the Amur, similar events took place there. Orlof, who has traveled through a large part of Orochon territory, was able to find out that the Orochon of the left and right banks of the Amur belonged to two different, though closely related tribes, who had also reached the Amur at different times (2).

[113] 2. Orlov", "Amurskie Oroncheny" (Viestnik" Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI, 1857, Sec. II, pp. 96, 97).

Both came from the Yakutsk region, that is, north of the Stanovoi Mountains, probably from the Tungir, the Olekma, and so forth. Those of the left bank of the Amur, belonging to the Ninagan tribe, are from an earlier expansion. They are evidently the ones who had their homeland directly west and northwest of the Manegir when the latter were still reindeer

101 /182 cont./
124 nomads and followed on their heels until they reached the Amur,
175 where, pressing their predecessors, they spread as far as the Oldoi
167 and Niwer (3). Much later, not until about 30 years ago, Orlof

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3. At the time of Middendorff's trip (1844), Niniganj-Tungus, on account of their reindeer, summered on the sources of the Oldoi, Niwer ("Liwer") and Gilui ("Kilé"); about ten families of the same kin group, without any reindeer, lived in great poverty on the Uritschi: they had first been recorded there seventeen years before. The chief showed our traveler a paper from the authorities in Yakutsk from the year 1683, in order to verify his account of their origin (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1510, 1511).

says, therefore about 1827, Reindeer Tungus of the Schologon tribe voluntarily migrated, probably from an adjacent homeland, to the right bank of the Amur and now constitute the other part
175 of the Amur Orochon. In 1844, Middendorff was told by the
131 Cossacks at the beginning of the Amur that about twelve years
167 ago, that is, about 1832, Tungus of the Ssologon kin-group ("Ssologonzy"), who had formerly lived beyond the Oldoi along the sources of the Dseja tributaries, crossed into Chinese territory between the Argunj, the beginning of the Amur, and the
[648] Albasichs. Four years ago, they were followed by the Böljöt, twelve leaders, tributary to the Russian crown, from the Kangalas tribe, who, according to assurances by the Tungus, originally lived on the Aldan and migrated from there on account of hard times and to escape from oppression (4). The Orochon of the

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4. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1511. One is almost inclined to regard it as a printing error when at the same place, Middendorff calls the Ssologon-Tungus simply S'olorn-Tungus, whereas a few pages earlier

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4. (cont.)
(pp. 1502 and 1504) he explains that S'olorn is a trading station. Above (p. 101) it has already been pointed out that the few references which he makes to "S'olorn" refer to the Solon.

right bank of the Amur, /183/ for the most part staying in the vicinity of the main river and not crossing over to the left bank, spread up to the sources of the Albasicha and then along this river to its mouth, where at the present time their extreme boundary is on the southern bank of the Amur. They, too, as Orlof expressly noted, had to dislocate the Manegir, who even today roam from time to time beyond the Albasicha mouth into Orochon territory to fish (1). But the reason that the Orochon

1. See p. 87 above.

succeeded in winning from the Manegir a not insignificant territory on both banks is not to be sought, say, in their larger number -- on the contrary, this is very limited -- and not in some other physical or mental superiority, but solely in the circumstance that the rugged, northern, and mountainous character of both banks of the Amur River in this part of it offers a more favorable soil to the reindeer nomads than to the horse nomads, whereas the latter on the contrary, found themselves the more favored by Nature the farther downstream they went (2).

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2. In passing let us take note here of Maack's view of the origin of the Amur Orochon and Manegir, which is completely at variance with the above analysis and, in my opinion, is also completely wrong. According to him, (Putesh. na Amur", p. 68) both of the peoples mentioned were merely descendants of the Lavkajef Tungus. It is difficult to say what one is to think of this,

Tungus RUS
Orochon
Solon

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2. (cont.)
since Lavkai was a Daur prince and the people to whom he belonged and who at that time lived along the upper Amur, the Daur, is to be sure, from the Tungus tribe, but nevertheless cannot simply be called Tungus. As is well known, the Daur were moved from the Amur by orders of the Chinese, but even if some individuals remained behind, how could two different peoples, the Orochon and the Manegir, have arisen from them in two centuries? There is no mention at all in Maack of any subsequent migration of other tribes to the Amur.

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The last of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region to be discussed here is the Solon. The reports concerning them are so meager and unsatisfactory that as we saw above, hardly anything definite concerning their present habitation sites can be gleaned from them -- much less anything concerning possible changes and shifts in them through the course of time. Only on the occasion of explaining the name of this obscure people were a few conjectures expressed concerning the origin or the original homeland of it, to which I shall add a few remarks. The oldest mention of the Solon people by European authors is found in the works of the old Jesuit missionaries. According to Gerbillon, as was mentioned above, the Solon province took in the westernmost part of the Tsitsikar Gouvernement, which is said to begin, properly speaking, at the confluence of the Argunj and the Schilka ("Ergoné" and "Saghalien oula") (3). /184/ In this

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3. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, pp. 36, 46.

region, near Mergen on the Nonni, the missionaries commissioned

Tungus RUS
Solon

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[224]
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/184 cont./

by Emperor Kang-hi to make a map of China met the Solon or "Solon-tatse" and described them as bold and skilled hunters who, armed with bows and arrows, annually go sable-hunting in the mountain wildernesses. They themselves, it is said (1),

1. Du Halde, op. cit., pp. 14, 16.

regard themselves as Manchu by origin, since they believe that they are the descendants of those Njutschi who, after the defeat which their tribe, ruling over northern China under the name of Kin /Chin/, suffered at the hands of the Mongols in 1204, escaped to the regions now inhabited by them. To be sure, it is not expressly said where they fled from but since in the above we have met the Njutschi also in Dauria, along the Argunj, in the immediate neighborhood of the Mongols and in particular in the homeland of their conqueror, Genghis Khan, it seems obvious assuming that the Solon statement is correct, to view the Njutschi on the Argunjas their ancestors. And all the more so since a flight from there would of necessity have taken them along the right tributaries of the Argunj and across the Chingan Mountains to the Nonni, where in fact their present habitation sites are located. Indeed, as we have seen above, four and a half centuries later the descendants of those Njutschi, the Daur, took the same route when they, pressed by the Russians, had to vacate the land along the Argunj. Since, however, Daur had lived on the Nonni before, perhaps even prior to the immigration of the Njutschi-Solon, and now their number increased considerably through the almost simultaneous emigrations of their countrymen from the Argunj and from the Amur, it could not fail to happen but that the Solon, who, moreover, were not very numerous, were gradually pushed toward the upper course of the Nonni and its tributaries, less favorable for agriculture and animal husbandry, where they naturally found themselves left with hunting in mountains rich in game. As descendants of a once powerful, brave, and warlike people, there they could become the skillful, bold, danger-defying hunters that the old missionaries said they were.

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/184 cont./

174 In connection with this, however, with the decline and decay of
175 their agricultural activities, they of necessity fell behind the
184 Daur tradesmen in prosperity and development. I therefore find it in complete accord with this, with all that has been said above about the descent of the Solon from the ancient Njutschi, when the archimandrite Palladij, without sharing this view, indeed perhaps without knowing of it, expresses himself in the following way concerning this people (2). According to the accounts

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2. "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 443).

of the Chinese, he says, of all Butcha-Land (3) once belonged

3. I.e., land of the tribute-payers.

to the Solon, and their name was so famous that Dahuren /Daur/ and Orontscho were honored when they were taken for Solon; even today they are regarded in Peking as a warlike and brave
[186] people. Perhaps this was once the case. At the present time, however, the Dahuren are in all respects superior to the Solon, and whenever we asked a Dahuren whether he were a Solon or Dahur, he quickly /185/ answered, "Dahur," with a tone as
175 though he were saying, civis romanus sum. In this account one
648 cannot fail to recognize the tradition that the Solon were once a ruling people. This was undoubtedly also known to the Manchu, as well as to the Chinese, and it was perhaps in large part the awareness of a common tribal affiliation that made the former happy to use the Solon in military service, in the Eight-Banner army, and especially in the guardposts and garrisons of the most remote frontiers from the Amur to Kuldsha (1). In view

1. According to Iakinf (Statist. opis. Kitaisk.

2: Schrenck--392 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Solon

/185 cont./

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1. (cont.)
Imp., Part I, 1852, p. 253), 47 companies of Solon and only 39 of the much more numerous Daur are in the garrisons in the various provinces. Among the troops stationed in the Kuldsha District at the time of Putimzef's journey (1811) there were 6,000 Solon (Ritter, Asien, Vol. I, p. 413), etc.

194 In view
101 of these facts, it seems to me that the view explained above concerning the origin of the Solon is the most likely one of all.

114 The archimandrite Palldij has a quite different theory about
101 the origin of the Solon. He thinks it most probable that the Solon
174 are descendants of the Urjanchen, a little-known people which formerly inhabited the territory to the north of the palisades and, according to Chinese writers from the Min Dynasty, were survivors of the Khitan, who were ruled under the Mongols by Mongolian chiefs (2). I shall not venture an opinion as to the

2. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam.," etc. (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, p. 444).

tenableness or untenableness of this theory, which Palladij (loc. cit.) only briefly alluded to and which he himself calls merely a hypothesis. Moreover, he remarks that the name "Solon" or "Solun," which was already known in China at the time of the preceding dynasty (3), leads to still another conjecture concern-

3. According to Chinese writers, it is more properly "Soëlo" (Palladij, op. cit., p. 443).

ing the origin of this people, which he himself, however, thinks has little probability. According to it, the Solon were merely descendants of a colony of Koreans who left their homeland sometime between the eighth and the tenth centuries and went to

2: Schrenck--393 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Solon

/185 cont./

114 Manchuria. "Solongo," according to this, is the Mongolian
101 designation for Korea, from which the Manchurian "Solcho"
174 for the Koreans could have been borrowed (4). Without permitting

4. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 257; Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, 1824, pp. 174, 199), "Solongos" is the Mongolian name for Korea and its inhabitants. Palladij regarded it as beyond question that it originated from "Sinlo" (also "Sylu" and "Sinlu"), which throughout three centuries (until the tenth century A.D.) was a strong empire embracing all of Korea; at that time the colony was supposedly transplanted to Manchuria.

myself an opinion on such historical and linguistic matters, I must nevertheless confess that this derivation of the Solon seems somewhat farfetched. Because of a perhaps only coincidental similarity of names, Koreans and Mongols are brought in for the sake of explaining the origin of a Tungusic people after all!

Moreover, a Mongolian origin is attributed to the name "Solon" by another party. Pallas derives it from the Mongolian word "ssolón," archer (5) -- a view /186/ which has often been

5. Pallas, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 238; the same, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften /Collection of Historical Reports concerning the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersburg, 1776, Vol. I, p. 2, note (*).

repeated since then (1) and presumably met so much approval

1. For example, by Spasskij ("Zabaik. Tungusy."

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1. (cont.)
-- Sib. Viestn., St. Petersburg, Part XVIII, 1822, Sec. II, p. 22) and others. Pauthier (Chine moderne, Part I, p. 168), too, in enumerating the peoples which, according to the Chinese imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing, belonged to the He-long-kiang Gouvernement, adds to the name "So-lun" in parentheses, "archers." Prince Kostrof ("Ocherki Turukhanskago kraia /Sketches of the Turukhansk Krai/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book IV, 1857, p. 81), to be sure, is of the opinion that the name "Solon" was given to the people concerned by the Manchu, but still gives it the meaning of "archer."

because it fits the above-mentioned description of the Solon by the Jesuit missionaries as bold hunters and skilled archers. According to Pallas, the Mongols use the name "Solon" for the Tungus under Chinese rule, who roam in the Chingan Mountains and in the forests farther to the east and closer to the Amur, as well as for the Russian Tungus in Dauria, and he thinks that the Chinese borrowed this name from the Mongols. In fact, we encounter it in a Chinese travel account from the year 1712 (2),

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(113)

2. It was translated into French by the missionary Gaubil and given in German by Müller, from an abstract by Souciet, in Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 327-348.

in which the name "Solun" is used for Tungus whom the travelers met between Irkutsk and Yeniseisk (3). Likewise, in a Chinese

3. Müller, op. cit., p. 335. In a note it is said at the same time that this is the Chinese

/186 cont./

3. (cont.)

114 101 174 175 name for the Russian as well as for the Chinese Tungus. But I am not able to say whether and to what extent this statement is by Müller or by Gaubil, since it is only generally stated in the German translation that the notes were revised throughout and, where necessary, supplemented, but I could not get the French text for comparison.

description of Russia translated by Klaproth there is mention of the "Solon," who live on the banks of the Argunj and are harassed by the Russians (4). This wide application of the name

174 101 [113] 4. Klaproth, Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, pp. 93, 94.

in question among the Mongols as well as the Chinese seems to me to indicate to a certain extent that originally it came from neither the one nor the other, but was taken over by both, directly or indirectly, either from the Solon themselves of from one of their nearest Tungusic neighbors, the Daur or the Manchu, and then extended to all the Tungusic tribes which roam about like the Solon.

101 In the Amur region itself one is almost involuntarily confronted with an explanation of the name Solon which is quite different from that one and has a double advantage in that it does not go beyond the linguistic circle of the Tungusic peoples and is in harmony with the location of the present habitation sites of the Solon and, indeed, if one wishes, with the former ones of their presumed ancestors, the Argunj-Njutschi. Among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region, the Olcha, Goldi, and also presumably among the Manchu closely related to the latter, and others, "ssolo" means "above" or "upward," just as "chydji, chydshi," means "below" or "downward." It not infrequently happens there, upon meeting natives and asking them who they are, to receive only the answer, from the Olcha, for instance,

/186 cont./

101 "chydji-" or "ssolo-nei," that is, people from below, or from above. /187/ The same expressions can be used, of course, to
101 designate entire peoples living above or below. Now, just as
114 in fact the former became the Manchurian name Chydshan,
174 Chädshen, Chodsen, etc., or, in the Chinese version, Ketsching and Ketscheng-tatse, for the Goldi and Olcha (1), so could the

1. See p. 300 ff. above.

latter have given rise to the differentiation of a Solon people in the upper Amur region. I do not regard it as coincidental when Gerbillon says that among the Manchu Solon was the westernmost province, called Dauvré by the Russians, which in point of fact, that is, as far as actual rule of the Manchu extended, begins where the Argunj flows into the Amur. Rather, it was undoubtedly so designated because it embraced the uppermost course of the Amur River. To it also belonged the source area and the upper course of the Nonni, a stream no less important for the Manchu and for the Daur, on which the capital of the province, the administrative center, Tsitsikar, is located. And here as there, on the Amur as on the Nonni, the Solon were the uppermost people: on the Amur -- in former times, because their ancestors, the Njutschi, had settled along the Argunj, which can be regarded as its uppermost course, a fact which perhaps was also traditionally known by the Manchu as their closest tribesmen; on the Nonni, however, they are still such even today. No other Amur people has more right to this name: neither the Daur, for they extended far down the Amur into the prairies and on the Nonni they were settled below the Solon, indeed had in part pushed the latter upward themselves; nor the Manegir and the Orochon, who could claim such a title now, but they did not descend to the Amur until later, when this name
101 had already long been established. At any rate, I believe that
174 the Solon got their present name, not on the Argunj, but in their subsequent homeland on the upper Nonni, to which, as was mentioned above, they could have come as early as the thirteenth century, and where, in the forest and mountain environment,

2: Schrenck--397 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Solon

/187 cont./

101 [174] they first became such bold and skilled hunters. Along the Nonni, where, besides Manchu, Chinese and, in its lower course, Mongols came in contact with each other, the name for the Solon customary among the former could most easily have been transmitted to the last-named peoples. It goes without saying that today the Solon themselves, when dealing with foreigners, designate themselves with the same name that was established by their rulers, the Manchu-Chinese (2), and we have seen a

[113] 2. Schmidt ("Histor. Bericht über die Thätigkeit der physik. Abtheilung der Sibirischen Expedition /Historical Report on the Activities of the Physical Section of the Sibirian Expedition/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 36), in the Bureja Mountains on the Amur, met Solon from the Ui-bira settlement who called themselves this when talking to him.

similar situation among other Amur tribes. It is not yet known how they designate themselves among themselves.

000 /188/ Concerning the civilized peoples of eastern Asia, the Manchu, Chinese, and Japanese, with their manifold relationships to the Amur peoples, the question of their origin, expansion, origin of their names, etc. obviously do not fall within the scope of this work, but rather fall to historical and linguistic investigations by the respective specialists. Here they can be discussed only insofar as the indigenous peoples of the Amur under discussion are involved in them or affected by them. This has already been done repeatedly in the above, and in particular the expansion and the present-day spatial position of the civilized peoples named in the Amur region have been discussed in detail. Their further political, social, commercial, and like relations with the Amur peoples will likewise be discussed later on in the proper places. Here we need only make room for a few remarks on the names which they bear among the Amur peoples.

2: Schrenck--398 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Manchu AG4

/188 cont./

101 648 As is well known, the name Manchu did not arise until relatively recent times, about three centuries ago (1), when the

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1. The precise date when it happened cannot be determined. According to Rémusat, Aishin Gioro, who first gave his subjects the name "Manchu," began his rule around 1520 (Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey, Göttingen, 1830, Part I, p. 235). Gorskij (O proiskhozhd. rodonach. nynie tsarstv. dinastii Tsin" /Concerning the Descent of the Forebears of the Present Kingdom of the Ch'ing Dynasty/. -- Trudy chlenov" Pekinskoi missii /Works of the Members of the Peking Mission/, Part I, 1852, p. 215. Cf. also Ssemenof, Zemlevied. Azii Karla Rittera /Charles Ritter's Geography of Asia/, Vol. I, p. 441), however, put him in the fourteenth century, in the years 1368-1398. When Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 290) says, "all the Tungusic tribes under China bear the common name Manchu," this is incorrect, according to the above and stems from the lack of knowledge at that time concerning the Amur peoples. A compilation of the various views expressed concerning the origin of the name Manchu (from Langles, Klaproth, J. Schmidt, Gorskij) is to be found in Plath (op. cit., p. 234), C. F. Koeppen (Die Religion des Buddha, Berlin, Vol. II, 1859, p. 167), and others.

101 648 various tribes now comprising this people came together under one leader and set out on their campaigns of war and conquest against China, to which they gave its present dynasty of emperors. With the expansion of Manchu power, their name also penetrated to the most distant Amur peoples, and now it is in use among all of them. At the time when the Russian expeditions into the

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101 Amur region took place, however, this does not seem to have
175 been the case, or at least not to such an extent. At any rate, it
648 is very striking that in the reports by the Russians, although they had many contacts with all of the Amur peoples as well as with the Manchu themselves, the name "Manchu," even merely as a designation for them by the natives, does not appear ~~a single~~
101 time. Pojarkof seems to have thought of them, like the Gogul,
175 under the name Djutschery; in particular he may have meant the Manchu when it is a matter of isolated Djutscheren met among the Daur (2). Not until Chabarof's reports is there a

2. Such as, for instance, the Djutscherish prince, Tschinega (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 52, 53).

special name for the Manchu, which henceforth was customary in all the Russian works from that period. Chabarof learned (1650) that a Prince Bogdoi, a governor under the khan (emperor of China), ruled over all the land and people along the Amur and the Sungari and therefore called his fellow-tribesmen, the merchants, warriors, and servants who /189/ lived among the Daur for the sake of trade and the collection of tribute, "Bogdoi's or Bogdoish people" (Bogdoevy or Bogdoiskie lyudi), or even simply "Bogdoier" (Bogdoi) and their territory the "Bogdoish
[114] Land" (Bogdoiskaya zemlya) (1). Thus, it seems to me, judging

1. Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. III, pp. 259 ff., 359 ff.

by its form and the date of its introduction, that this name arose among the Russians -- not directly through the offices of the Mongols since they give the emperors of the Manchu dynasty the epithet "bogdo" (sacred) and accordingly call them "Bogdo-Khans," as Fischer and Spasskij maintain (2). I cannot say,

2. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., p. 812, note (41); Spasskij, "Svied. Russk. ot riekie

2: Schrenck--400 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Manchu AG4
Historical Manchuria AG2

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2. (cont.)
Amurie" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 26). The forms "Bogdani" and "Bogdochani," which Georgi gives as various (Russian) names for the Manchu and which may in part have arisen because of Fischer's theory, are also wrong (see above, p. 346, note 3).

however, whether Bogdoi was the actual proper name of the prince in question or perhaps merely a general designation for him covering his title or position and given by the Mongols.

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The fact that at that time the Russians did not know or at least did not use the name Manchu is all the more striking since they had already learned the Manchurian name for the Chinese, and, to be sure, from the latter themselves, and frequently used it from then on. A Manchurian soldier from Ningüta ("Njulgutskoi gorod"), a Chinese by birth, who was captured by the Russians during the siege of the Russian fort Atschanskoi gorod by the Manchu in March, 1652, said, among other things, when cross-examined by Chabarof, that his people were called "Nikan" by the Manchu (3). On the basis of Russian sources, Witsen was

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3. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 325; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 367. The statement of this captured Chinese, whose name in the Russian report is given as Kabyscheika, concerning the wealth of the Nikan country in gold, silver, pearls, and the like has already been considered above.

likewise aware of it and mentions it on various occasions; indeed he even adds an etymology of this name. It is said to have come from the Chinese and means something like "good-for-nothing,

2: Schrenck--401 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2
Manchu AG4

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silly, clumsy, awkward, or also "farm laborer" and "peasant" (4) --

> 4. Witsen (Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1692, Part 2, p. 2; ed. of 1705, p. 2) says that the Njutschi or Manchu ("Bogdoizen") jokingly call the Chinese "Nicon," which means "bad, foolish, clumsy, or dull." In another place (ed. of 1705, p. 11) it is said that the Njutschi formerly called China "Nica corum," i.e., Realm of the Barbarians, but now they call it "Tulimpa corum," i.e., Middle Kingdom. Finally, in a third place (ed. 1705, p. 64) one finds the explanation that the Tatars ("Njutschi") who had conquered China had, out of contempt, given the Chinese the name "Nikans" or "Nikander," which in Chinese means "farm laborers" or "peasants," and changed the name of their capital from Nanking to "Nikang," City of Farm Laborers.

an etymology which, according to more recent experts on the Manchu language, seems in fact to be quite correct (5). It is

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> 5. Sacharof (Polnyi man'chzhursko-russkii slovar' /Complete Manchurian-Russian Dictionary/, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 228) states that the word "nikanj" comes from the Chinese "chanj" and means "Chinese," but also has the meaning of "peasant" and "farm lout." Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 290) also gives "Nikan" as the Manchu name for China and the Chinese, without explaining it further.

not at all inconceivable that such haughty conquerors as the Manchu would have such a name for the subject people. However

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H.M /189 cont./ However
101 that may be, the name Nikan /190/ for the Chinese has, with
175 minor variations, penetrated to all the other Amur peoples
648 from the Manchu. I heard it in the lower Amur region among
G. the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak. To be sure, they ordinarily
Gi also call the Chinese merchants simply Manchu, but with more
[101] precise questioning they know very well how to indicate that the former actually belong to another people subjugated by the latter, which the Goldi and the Olcha named for me as the "Nekan," the Gilyak sometimes "Neka" and "Nekagu" (1), at

1. Corresponding in form to the Gilyak names for the Negda, "Rdhy" and "Rdhyngu" (see p. 67 ff. above). Could it be that the suffix "-gu" designates the collective idea, or "people," like the Ainu "kur" or "gur"?

ooo other times "Nenga" (2). Since the Manchu officials are

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2. As a curiosity and example of how fundamentally wrong and thoughtless the statements of hasty travelers may be at times when it is a matter of the name that a people gives itself, the remark by Gamof will serve ("Iz" putev. zamiet. astronoma, opredieliavsh. v" 1859g. miestn. rr. Amura i Usuri /From the Travel Notes of an Astronomer Who Determined the Location of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers/." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1862, Book I, Section on Research and Materials, p. 122), maintaining in all seriousness that the Goldi and Gilyak designated themselves with the name "Nikanzen." Peschtschurof /Peshchurov/ (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 304) speaks of "Nekanen" in what we called the civilized section of the Amur River without, it seems, realizing that there were Chinese.

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H.M. 648 439 M [648] /190 cont./ since the Manchu officials are generally hated and feared by the Amur peoples because of the extortions that they indulge in against them, it is in the interest of the Chinese themselves, if they wish to stay safely among the natives of the Amur region as traders, to maintain and spread among them knowledge of their affiliation with another, likewise oppressed people. In the village of Pulj, close to the border H.M. [186] between the Olcha and the Gilyak territories on the Amur, I met a Chinese trader who took great pains to explain to me the difference between his fellow-countrymen, the peaceful and industrious "Nicha" and the imperious and lazy Manchu. At the time we were surrounded by Samagir, Olcha, and Gilyak. In this manner the Chinese themselves may have in large part spread their Manchurian name among the Amur peoples.

H.M. 101 Even though the name "Nikan" is so general for the Chinese among the peoples mentioned, in a large section of the Amur region, especially in the Sungari and Ussuri areas and along the adjoining seacoast, they are designated with still another name, "Man-dse" (Russian "Mansa" or "Mandsa," plur. "Mandsy") -- a name which they now also use for themselves there when dealing with foreigners (3). One likewise encounters this name in Chabarof's

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3. Przheval'skii, Puteshestvie v" Usuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, p. 78; Barabash", "Sungar. eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 324). These Chinese colonists of Manchuria are said to call themselves "Pao-tui-tse" or "Pao-tui-rrdi," i.e., walker or roamer, but this designation does not have any derogatory meaning attached to it. From this the official word "Pao-fu" was made, which has the same meaning. Cf. Palladij ("Usur. Man'tszy." -- Izv. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 369); also Barabasch, loc. cit.

report, for in the statement of the above-mentioned captured Chinese, Kabyscheika, there is mention of the big "Mansa Village"

2: Schrenck--404 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

/190 cont./

101 (Manzanskoi ulus") with about a thousand yurts, from which the
175 Manchurian army moving against Atschanskoi gorod obtained an
361 additional 420 men (4). Just as the former name, /191/ Nikan is
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4. Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 367.

said to be Manchurian, so is this latter said to be of Mongolian
101 origin. According to Davis (1) Wassiljef (2), the Mongols, when
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1. La Chine, ou descr. génér. des moeurs et des coutumes du gouv. etc. de l'Empire Chinois. Translated from the English by Pichard, rev. and augm. by an appendix by Bazin the Older. Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 180.

they ruled over China, took it from the designation "Man" or "Man-tse," which the Chinese gave to a people living south of them, the "southern barbarians." The former, however, knew of its use only in South China. The latter, on the other hand, knew of it in its extension to the Chinese of Manchuria, for he makes that reference to the Man in his Russian translation of the description of Ninguta written by the Chinese U-tschen at the beginning of the last century, in which there is also mention of the Man-dse (3). An

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3. And, to be sure, it is said there (Wassiljef, loc. cit.) that the harsh climate of Ninguta had gradually become warmer with the increasing number of Chinese, which prompted the Manchu to say that the Man-dse had brought the warmth. It is in fact not inconceivable

E-5
2: Schrenck--405/(1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria A62

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3. (cont.)
that the cultivation of the soil by the Chinese has exerted a favorable influence upon the local climatic conditions of Ninguta.

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An anonymous Peking correspondent of the Russian Geographical Society (4) and the archimandrite Palladij (5) expressed themselves

4. P. K., "O Man'tszakh" i Koreitsakh" /Concerning Man-tse and Koreans/" (Izviest. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VI, 1870, Sec. II, pp. 19, 20).

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5. "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch." (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 422); the same, "Usuriisk. Man'tszy" (Izviest. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 369).

almost simultaneously and very much in agreement about how that Chinese designation for the southern barbarians could have been transferred by the Mongols to the Chinese on their extreme northern boundary in the Sungari and Ussuri regions and become current there. According to them, after the conquest of North China, the Mongols derisively gave this name to the southern Chinese as crossbreeds with the barbarian aborigines, the Man. It was then carried by the colonies of southern Chinese which Kublai Khan sent to Manchuria and along the borders of Korea, in part for protection against possible invasions in his realm and in part to pursue agriculture and gold-washing, into the Sungari and Ussuri regions, where it was eventually extended to all Chinese immigrants (6). Supplementing these statements of the Russian

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6. Palladij and the above-mentioned anonymous author thus contradict Przewalski's statement that "Man-dsa" means "vagabond."

E-5
2: Schrenck--406/(1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2

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6. (cont.)
The latter presumably expressed this view in a preliminary travel report, for in the travel book itself (Putesh. v" Usuriisk. kraie, 1870, p. 78) he says expressly that he has often questioned the Chinese about the meaning of that name, but never received a satisfactory answer; it was usually said that this was the proper name for the Chinese. On the other hand, I know of a statement of this kind by Budischtschef, who insists that he was told by a French missionary who had spent a long time in China and who was on the Amur in 1862 that the word "Mandsa" meant "vagabond" (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests in Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, 1867, p. 182). Perhaps at the basis of this there is a confusion with the aforementioned Chinese designation which the Man-dse apply to themselves and which is said to have a similar meaning (see above, 403, note 3).

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101 Supplementing these statements of the Russian
174 Sinologists, Marthe (7) adds that actually one can hardly go wrong

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7. Zeitschr. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. VI, p. 452.

if he recognizes in the Man-dse discussed by them the "Mangi" or "Manzi" of Marco Polo (8), the "Manse" of the Rubruquis,

8. Wassiljef (loc. cit.) has already pointed this out.

and the "Mangia" (Mansen Land) of Plano Carpini.

2: Schrenck--407 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Historical Manchuria AG2
Feudal Japan AB2
Kamchadal RY3

H.M. 101 174 /192/ At the same time, however, he also calls attention to the fact that if in the place in the Rubruquis at which the Taule and Manse peoples are mentioned (1) "Taule" is taken to stand

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1. Marthe, "Taule et Manse" (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdk. 475 ff). The passage concerned in the Rubruquis runs: " "Magister W. told me that he himself had seen messengers of certain peoples who call themselves Taule and Manse, who live on islands where the sea around freezes in winter so that then the Tatars are able to cross over to them" /translated from the Latin/.

for "Caule," that is, Kaoli, meaning Korea, it follows that the Man-dse were found in or near Korea even before Kublai Khan's colonies, to which the Russian sources want to trace back the introduction of this name in the Ussuri region. Along with Marthe, however, we shall naturally leave the final solution of this question to the historians and Sinologists.

F.J. 101 121 It remains for us to discuss the names customary among the Amur peoples for the third of the East Asiatic civilized peoples with whom they come in contact, the Japanese. As is well known, Steller (2) reports that the Kamchadal or Italmen call

K F.J. 101 439 K 192 [113]

2. Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, pp. 3, 249, 320.

the Japanese "Sühsaman" or "Sühsemen," and they do this, as is expressly noted by him, because the Japanese brought them the first iron needles, whereas up to this time they had made them for themselves out of sable bones; in the Italmen, and in all dialects, the needle is called sühse. Krascheninnikof (3)

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3. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description

2: Schrenck--408 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Kamchadal RY3.
Goldi RX3
Southeast Siberia RX1

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F.J. /192 cont./
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3. (cont.)
of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. puteshestvii po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

says the same, but more vaguely and evidently repeating Steller; according to him, however, Italmen needles are supposedly called "schischj," and, accordingly, the Japanese, "Schischaman." The following will show that this explanation is wrong and based on a misunderstanding. Names for the Japanese quite similar to those used by the Kamchadal are used by the Amur peoples, at least those on the island of Sakhalin and along the lower course of the Amur. The Gilyak on the mainland and on the island call them "Ssisam" (4), and the Olcha and Goldi, "Ssissa" (5).[2]

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4. Therefore, when in a handwritten document from 1744 found by Middendorff in the archives of Udskoi Ostrog there is mention of the "Ssysaizy," who are said to have destroyed a vessel in the mouth of the Amur (cf. his Reise in den äuss. Nord. etc., Vol. IV, p. 165), it is undoubtedly the Japanese who are being referred to by their Gilyak name transformed by the Russians. Middendorf himself, by the way, had heard the name "Ssissan" among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk, but he thought that it referred to the southern Kurile Islands (cf. Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

[2] [Footnote "(5)" appears on p. 409--Analyst]

2: Schrenck--409 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Feudal Japan AB2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

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"Ssissa" (5). In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur

S.S. 175 101 174 439 F.J. 101

5. The Chinese traders on the Amur and Sungari use the same name for the Japanese. Even in the Sungari region Venault heard of a "Si-san" country to the north, which he hoped to reach on his trip down the Amur (1850). On the way, he was told by Chinese traders that they themselves never went to Si-san, but only traded with it through the mediation of the Jupi-tatse. On the basis of all the information that he had collected, he suspected that "Si-san" was the island of Karaftu (Sakhalin) (see his "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie" -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], pp. 207, 215, 222, 224).

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In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur peoples and the Kamchadal and their completely different languages, the almost identical name that they have for the Japanese indicates that they must have taken it /193/ from the same source. And this source is easily found. It is the Ainu: for the Amur peoples, the Ainu of Sakhalin; for the Kamchadal, the Ainu of the Kuriles. Just as the one bridge, Sakhalin, leads from Jesso /Yesso/, the main island of the Ainu, to the Amur region, so the other bridge, the island chain of the Kuriles, leads from Jesso to Kamchatka. It is known from Japanese as well as European sources that the Ainu of Jesso have a similar name for the Japanese. In the description of Jesso written in the seventeenth century by the Japanese Kannemon and translated by Titsingh (1).

A F.J. [113]

1. "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," etc., compiled by the interpreter Kannemon and published in 1632; translated by Titsingh,

2: Schrenck--410 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

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1. (cont.)
Dutch ambassador to Japan (Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 148). Cf. also Klaproth, in San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 228, following the same source.

It is said that the natives of this island call the Japanese "Samo." Broughton gives "Ssitscham" (English spelling: "Seecham") as the name of the Ainu from Jesso for the Japanese (2). According to

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2. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North. Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 390. Klaproth evidently repeats the same statement in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 303.

Klaproth, it is "Siyamo" (3). Rimskij-Korssakof (4), Rudanofskij,

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 247.

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4. V. R.-K., "Sluch. i zamietki na vintov. shkunie 'Vostok'" /Experiences and Notes on the Propeller Schooner 'Vostok'/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 5, Unofficial Part, p. 9).

Schmidt, and others, like I myself, repeatedly heard the Ainu of Sakhalin call the Japanese "Ssisan" and "Ssisam." I know of no specific statement for the Ainu of the Kuriles, but on the basis of the above there can be no doubt but that they, too, have the same designation for the Japanese. And it must certainly be ascribed to a confusion based on a misunderstanding when Krasheninnikof (5) says that the Kuriles designate the Russians

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5. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., Vol. II, p. 6).

2: Schrenck--411 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

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FJ. /193 cont./
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114 with the name of "Ssiissian," since this is obviously the same "Ssisan," that is, their name for the Japanese. La Pérouse was also guilty of a similar confusion when he thought he was justified in deducing from the statements of the Ainu of Sakhalin that they call the island of Jesso "Schischa" (French "Chicha") (6).

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6. Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, pp. 83 ff.

Although he constantly uses this name in this sense in his travel account, he was not wholly certain about it, for in his glossary of Ainu words (7) it is said that Schischa is the name of an island

7. Op. cit., p. 118.

or of a people to the south of Tschoka (Sakhalin). The editor of his travel account, Milet-Mureau, overlooked this latter statement, and since he clung to the idea that Schischa was Jesso, he corrected Krashchenninikof's (he did not know of Steller) abovementioned explanation of the name Schischaman so that it should mean, not "Needle Men" but merely "Men from Schischa" (Jesso), and therefore, not the Japanese, but rather the natives of Jesso, that is, the Ainu, were meant by it (8). Milet-Mureau was very

8. Op. cit., p. 112, note b.

proud that the French were obliged to disclose the "ignorance" of the Russians concerning the islands neighboring them and to teach them otherwise, but in fact the latter were much closer to the truth, for by "Schischa" the /194/ Ainu of Sakhalin questioned by La Pérouse, since they pointed toward the south, did not mean the island of Jesso (1), but rather, as we may conclude without

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1. It is therefore understandable why Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 51, 52) inquired in vain in

Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3
Southeast Siberia RX1

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1. (cont.)
Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay on Sakhalin, about the names Schischa (which he gives as "Chica" in a literal rendering of the French spelling or perhaps as the result of an oversight or printing error) and Tschoka, with which La Pérouse had labeled these islands.

any doubt from the correspondence of this name to Ssissa and Ssisam, merely to the Japanese coming from there. The "Sühsaman" or "Schischaman" of the Kamchadal are therefore not Ainu from Jesso, but rather, as Steller and Krascheninnikof quite correctly stated, Japanese; but they received this name not from the Italmen word for needle, but, on the contrary, the Kamchadal called the steel needle, because it came from the Japanese, "sühse" or "schisch," i.e., Japanese. On the other hand, they undoubtedly would have had a special term for the bone needle already known to them earlier (2).

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2. That the steel needle and the bone needle, in spite of the fact that they were known to the Kamchadal at different times and were certainly of different shape, were nevertheless supposedly designated with the same term is inconceivable simply because this would presuppose an ability to generalize greater than one finds among a people standing at such a low level of culture.

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In conclusion the names with which the Amur peoples designate the Russians should be mentioned. It seems to be the same among all of them throughout. I have always heard the Russians called "Lotscha" by the peoples of the lower Amur region with whom I myself had dealings for a shorter or longer

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101 period of time, the Gilyak, Olcha, Orochi, Goldi, and Samagir. Radde heard the same name among the Birar (3). And the situa-

[113] 3. Radde, "Bericht über Reisen im Süden von Ostsibir." (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXIII, p. 591, note.

tion is the same for the other peoples of the Amur region. It is, 101 however, the same designation which, with minor modifications, 195 the Chinese and, on the other hand, all the Siberian peoples have for the Russians. For example, they are called "Olossen" in the "Description of Chinese Travels from Peking through Sibiri." of 1712, which was translated into the French by Gaubil and from this, in an abstract, into the German by Müller (4).

[113] 4. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 331, 341.

In the Chinese description of Russia translated by Klaproth (5),

[113] 5. Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, pp. 85, 88-95. See further similar statements in Klaproth, op. cit., p. 29; Plath; Die Völker der Mandsh., p. 608; and others.

they are also sometimes called "Oloszu" and sometimes "Lo scha" (French "Lo cha"). The Chinese U-tschen, born and raised in Ninguta and mentioned above several times, designated the Russians who invaded the Amur region in his time as "people 000 from the Lo-tschi Empire" (6). Finally, whenever I myself met

6. In U-tschen one recognizes the true Chinese when he says that at the time when he was a child the people from the Lo-tschi Empire rebelled, came to the

/194 cont./

101
175

6. (cont.)
U-lun-kiang (Amur), and stole sable furs from the inhabitants of the Cheidsin region. It is said in this connection that their weapons were very terrifying (Vasil'ev", "Zap. o Ningutie." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 82, 83).

[113]

Finally, whenever I myself met
101 Chinese or Manchu in the Amur region, I always heard them call
113 the Russians "Lotscha." As for the Siberian peoples, similar designations for the Russians ("Lotscha, Lota, /195/ Ljuotscha, Lutscha, Lutsa, Lutschae, Lutze, Lutschi," and the like) are very common among them: for example, among the Tungus along the Sea of Okhotsk (1), in Dauria (2), along the Yenisei

1. Klaproth, Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Vol. I, p. 458.

2. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Provinzen des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 238.

down to Turukhansk (3), among the Yakut (4), among the

3. Pallas, op. cit., p. 67, note *; Kostrov", "Ocherk" Turukh. kraie" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book IV, 1857, p. 99).

4. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia, Stockholm, 1730, p. 63.

Samoyed in both the Taimyr region (5) and the north of the

5. Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Nord. und Ost. Sibir., Vol. IV, p. 1442.

/195 cont./

101 [113] European Russia (6), etc. As one might think, there is lack of

6. Schlözer, Allgemeine Nord. Gesch., Halle, 1771, p. 293; Alex. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russl., Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 615.

various, and among them the most fantastic, explanations of these designations for the Russians (7). And yet they were easily

101 114 174

7. Strahlenberg, for instance, thought that the Russians were called "Lutschae" or "Ludzae" by the Yakut because they said to them, "my lutschae kak wy (we are better than you). Schlözer (loc. cit., note D) says that "lutze" means "human being" among the Samoyed (which is not the case, according to my brother Alexander) and "devil" among the Yenisei Ostyak, and asks the question as to whether the savage Samoyed perhaps pictured for the Russians a human being κατ' ἐξοχ and the frightened Ostyak pictured for this very people that subjugated him the devil? On the other hand, Pallas (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 67, note *) was of the opinion that the name "Luze," which the Samoyed use for the Russians and out of which the Tungus made "Lutscha," actually meant a warrior in the Samoyed derivation, since in Samoyed "luze niusime" meant "angry." In Scherer's Nordischen Nebenstunden /Leisure Hours in the North/ (Part I, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1776, pp. 57-68) there is a special article, "Warum nennen die Jakuten die Russen Lutze oder Lucze? /Why do the Yakut call the Russians Lutze or Lucze?/" in

/195 cont./

7. (cont.)

101 114 174

which Strahlenberg's above-mentioned explanation is refuted and proof is offered that the Samoyed borrowed the word "lutze" for "devil" from the Yenisei Ostyak and brought it to the Yakut on the Lena. The author finds a great similarity between this word and the Russian "laeschij" (lieshii) for "forest devil," and therefore believes that the peoples mentioned could have formed their word "lutze" from it, which, however, would make untenable the explanation of their designation of the Russians with it. He therefore seeks another origin for the latter, and, to be sure, in the Hebrew..., etc. etc.

101 recognizable as merely distortions of the Russian "Rossija" and "Russkij," as has in fact already been pointed out by Müller (8)

8. Müller, Sammlung Russisch. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 331, note *.

with regard to the Chinese designation for the Russians and later by my brother Alexander in discussing the Samoyed designation for them (9). The fact that the same designation, as was set

[194] [197]

9. Among the Chinese in particular, who do not have any r, such distortions were unavoidable. The Manchu and the Amur peoples, especially those of the Tungusic tribes, Goldi, Olcha, have the r, to be sure, but frequently replace it with l. The situation may be similar for the Tungus and other peoples of Siberia.

forth above, is so generally widespread throughout Siberia to China and is to be found among even the most remote Amur

/195 cont./

101 peoples puts the correctness of this view beyond all doubt.

174 In looking back over everything that has been discussed above, it cannot be denied that our knowledge of the origin, the migrations, and the shifts of the Amur peoples, insofar as it is based on historical accounts, on traces that /196/ have been preserved in their names, and the like, is extremely meager. Only in the west and the south of our territory, where the contacts of the Amur peoples with the Russians or with the ancient civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the Japanese, were more persistent or dated back further, could more definite conclusions be drawn. But even there, as a rule, they remain limited to relatively recent times. In the following we shall [121] add to them some supplements going further back, but nevertheless only hypothetical in character, as they appear from a consideration of the respective tribal differences or affiliations of the Amur peoples.

000/197/ II. Anthropological-Ethnological Part

Section 3

/This part, which contains Section 3, pp. 197-310, is omitted in the translation. The nine plates immediately following this page conclude No. 1 of Vol. III.

No. 2 of Vol. III gives the "Table of Contents" for the first half of Part III on pp. I-XIX before resuming the text with Section 4 on p. 311./

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak RX2

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p. 421	p. 422	p. 423

Chart of Positions of Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region.
/facing p. 418/

2: Schrenck--418 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region I

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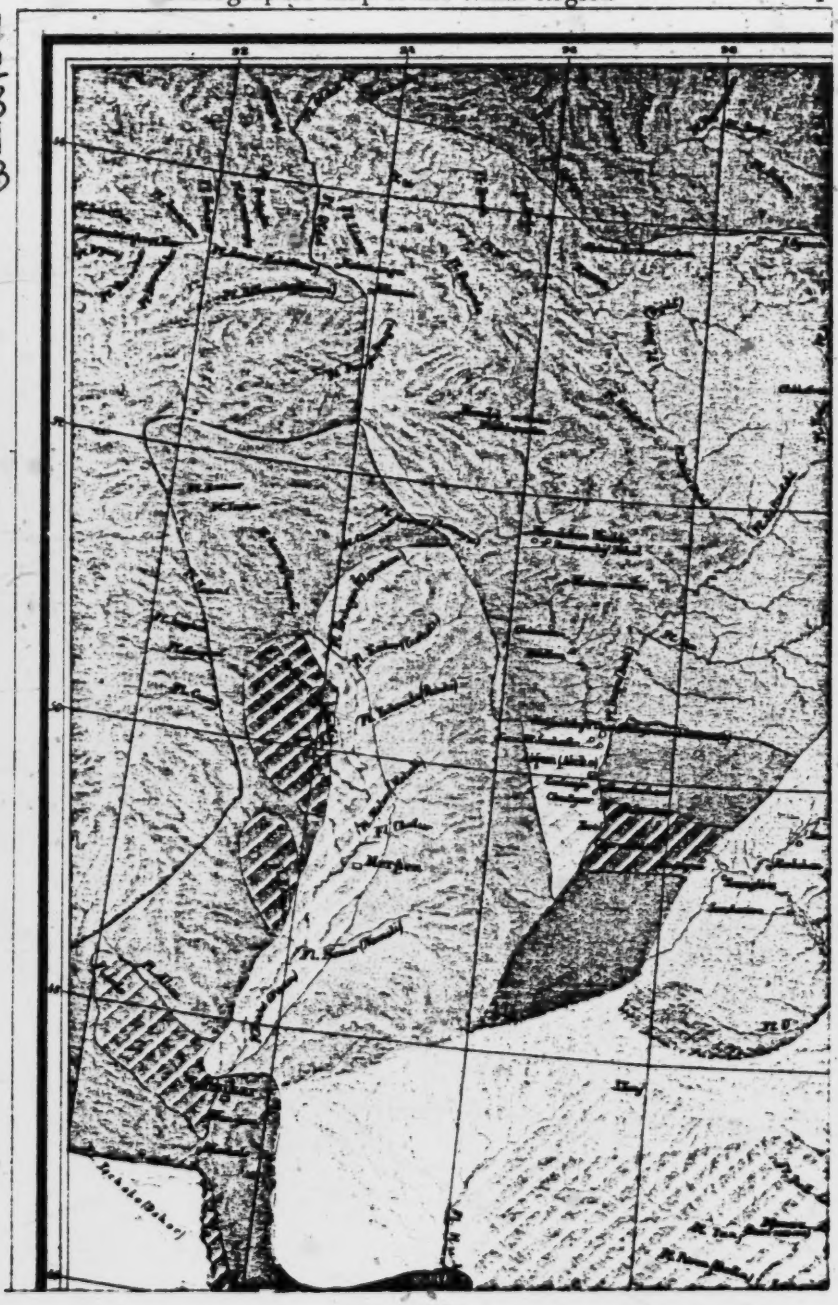

2: Schrenck--419 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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2:Schrenck--420 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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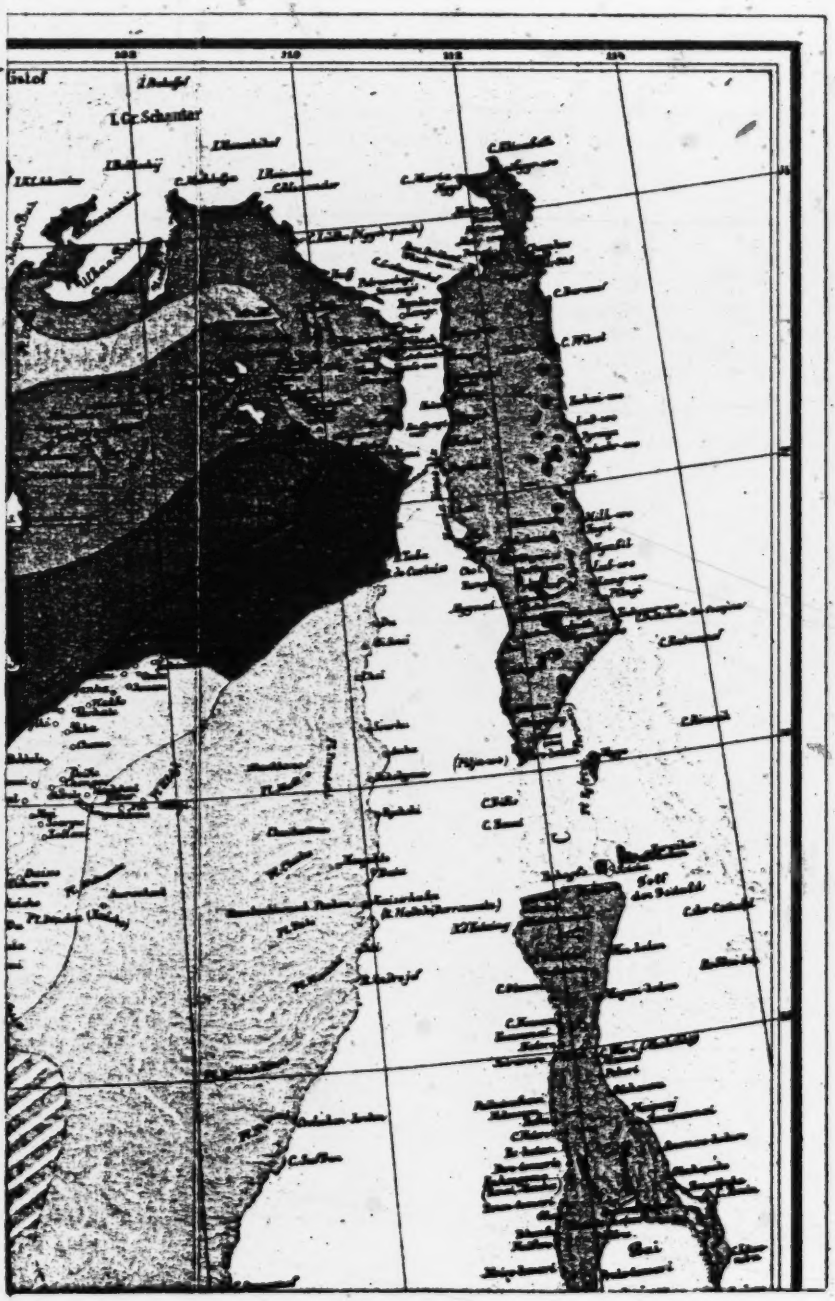

2:Schrenck--421 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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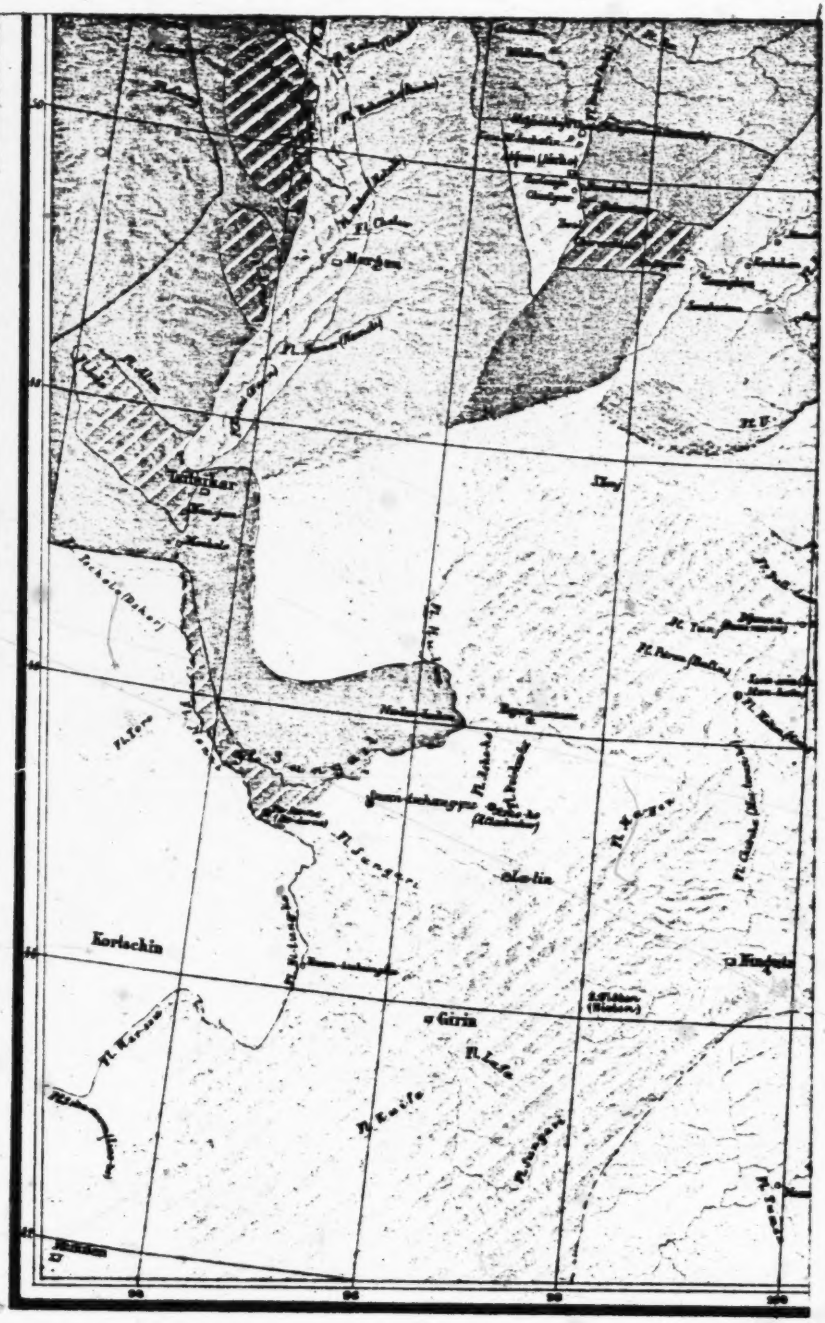

2:Schrenck--422 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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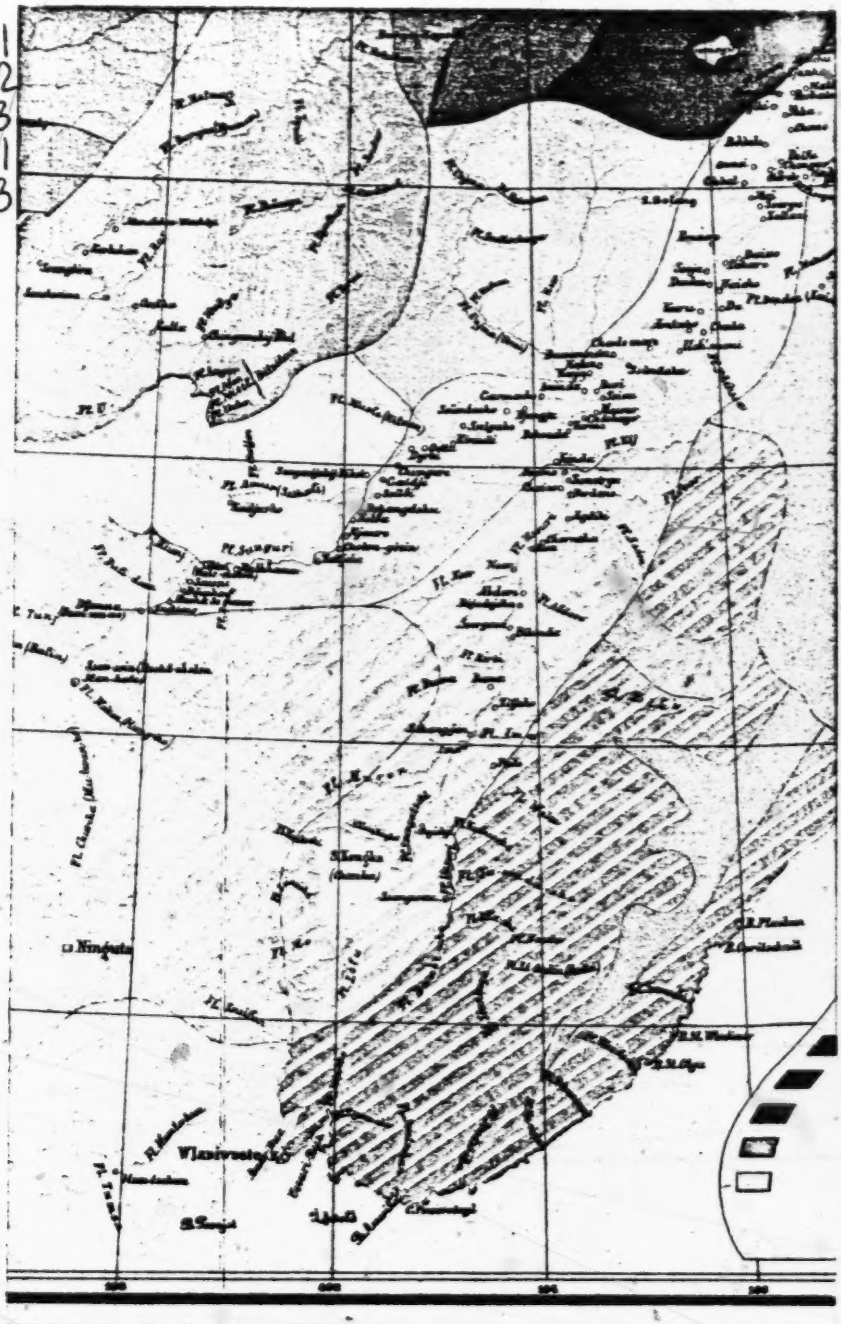

Scale: 100 versts to the inch

versts

2:Schrenck--423 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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133

The native population is mixed with Chinese in the striped parts.

2: Schrenck--424 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak Men

2: Schrenck--425 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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III.

1, 2, -- Gilyak Women; 3, 4 -- Gilyak Girls; 5, 6, 7 -- Gilyak Men

2: Schrenck--426 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

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Ainu from Sakhalin: 1, 2, 3 -- Men; 4, 5 -- Women; 6 -- Boy

2: Schrenck--427 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Tungus RU5
Birar
Manegir
orochon

V 1 ^

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G
Gi
142

T
142

1 ^ [Captions for plates V–IX appear in category 116, pp. XV–XVI -- Analyst]

2:Schrenck--428 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Tungus RU5
Birar
Manegir
Orochon

M. 2 A

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2 A [Captions for plates V-IX appear in category 116, pp. XV-XVI. -- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--429 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Tungus RUS
Birar
Manegir
Orochon
VII. 1/1

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1/1 [Captions for plates V-IX appear in category 116, pp. XV-XVI. --Analyst]

2: Schrenck--430 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Okha
Tungus RU5
Birar
Manegir
Orochon

VI. *

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* [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. --Analyst]

2: Schrenck--431 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Tungus RU5
Birar
Manegir
Orochon

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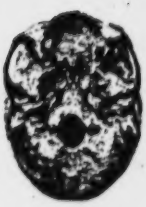

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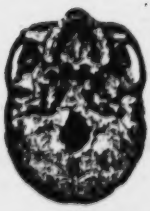

1 n [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi, -- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--431a E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Vol. III, No. 2

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2: Schrenck--431jj E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6

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III. Ethnographic Part

First Half: Fundamental Conditions and Components of the External Life

Section 4

Slight and uneven density of the indigenous population of the Amur region. Consequences of the devastations of past wars and more recent epidemic diseases. -- Choice and change of dwelling places according to the season of the year. Winter and summer dwellings. Hunting and overnight tents. Storehouses and depositories.

SS. 114 128 Before I begin the description of the life and activities of the Amur peoples, I must first say a few words concerning the treatment of the material. Since here it is a matter of my own observations and experiences and my knowledge of the individual Amur peoples, as has already been pointed out in the introduction, is very uneven, the parallel consideration of all the Amur peoples beside one another strictly carried out up to here in the first two parts of this work will have to be curtailed, inasmuch as many of them with whom I had only all too fleeting a contact will have to be excluded from special consideration and mentioned only incidentally and comparatively. This will be especially true A [114] of the Ainu, whose life and activities in recent times, since Japan has become generally accessible to the Europeans, have been described very exhaustively, whereas I became acquainted with them only in passing on Sakhalin. This is likewise the case for the Sungari and the upper Amur peoples, of whom I saw only a few individuals, and for many of the dwellers along the left SS. 128 tributaries of the lower Amur River. In the following pages, therefore, attention will be concentrated more and more upon the peoples of the lower Amur region and, among them, on the Gilyak in particular.

/311 cont./

161 Although the areas of distribution of the individual Amur
182 peoples appear large on our map, the total number of the
132 respective indigenous inhabitants is in all cases a small one, and
/312/ the population everywhere is more or less sparse. This is the case in the Amur region, as in other places, for, as is well known, primitive peoples are never numerous. The chief reason for this is usually sought in the natural conditions surrounding them, which are unfavorable in one way or another (1). In

1. Cf., for instance, G. Gerland, Ueber das Aussterben der Naturvölker /On the Dying Out of Primitive Peoples/, Leipzig, 1868, p. 82.

places where, as in the Amur region, a raw, northern climate with long, harsh winters prevails, man obviously needs many a cultural aid in order to be able to withstand its inclemency successfully. I would like to note, howevever, that in the first place it is not the lack of these external aids, but rather certain peculiarities of character, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, and views decisive for the formation of their life which cripple them in their battle with nature and, despite man's ability to adapt to any climate, enter in to check a rapid population increase.

185 Such characteristics of primitive peoples are the carelessness
251 and indolence which prevent the man from thinking beyond the
226 immediate future in procuring the necessities of life for himself and his family and hence, when Nature temporarily denies him her gifts, contrary to expectation, surrenders to hunger and misery, or even to death. The peoples of the lower Amur region living principally from fishing, in particular the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, have this failing to a lesser degree, and yet, despite the colossal wealth of fish at times in the Amur River and its tributaries or in the Tymy /Tym'/ River on Sakhalin, I have sometimes found members of these peoples with very inadequate sup-
[224] plies. In this respect it is worse for the peoples whose subsistence is based primarily on hunting for this, on the one hand, involves

185 /312 cont./
251 material provided by Nature in lesser quantities and less regularly
226 at definite times and, on the other hand, requires an unsettled,
225 nomadic way of life for the people, unfavorable for the storing and collecting of supplies. Among the Amur peoples I am in this respect thinking chiefly of the Orochi of the coastal area and the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon.

161 I must ascribe an even greater, because of going deeper, in-
562 fluence on the low number of persons and slow increase among primitive peoples to the disrespect and mistreatment of the female sex, which is so general among them. If, in general, the level of culture of a people is characterized by the position granted to the woman in it, it should not be surprising that all crude peoples to a certain extent regard the woman as an inferior kind of being, because she is physically weaker than the man, and treat her accordingly. As a result of superstitious beliefs, which, among the Gilyak, as among all primitive peoples, are chiefly connected with the birth and death of man, the woman is mercilessly turned out of the house among them, despite wind and weather, at the time when she is most in need of consideration and care, during delivery and the days following it. Whereas the man spends most of his /313/ life doing nothing, all the work, even the most difficult, of managing the household and everthing connected with it falls on the woman. As the result of such a burden, often exceeding their strength, the women among the Amur peoples usually have a dejected and wretched appearance, age prematurely, and probably also lose their fertility prematurely. It is certainly inconceivable that such disrespect and mistreatment of the women would not have the greatest and most disadvantageous influence on the number and vigor of the progeniture, and, without wishing to deny the importance of the natural environment, I believe that the chief reason for the low number of individuals and the slow increase among primitive peoples is to be sought in these conditions.

/313 cont./

161 In connection with the above observations I was thinking
177 only of such peoples who are still living in their natural conditions, without lasting contract or conflict with a civilized people. When such a conflict occurs, however, the original population-conditions rapidly change also. Then there begins that
[931] process of the decay and dissolution of a primitive people, which in its individual phases, such as impoverishment, decrease in number of persons, physical and moral decay, loss of all individuality, and finally even the dying out of the language, and hence also of the people, has already been discussed above (1) -- a

1. See above p. 2, and p. 203 /untranslated/.

process which is often speeded up by wars, but always by disastrous epidemic diseases. As I have said (2), the Amur peoples have

2. See p. 5 ff. above.

entered upon such process at the present time. This was not yet the case, however, at the time of my stay in the Amur region.
177 To be sure, there had long before been contacts and conflicts between them and the civilized peoples surrounding them, the Russians, Chinese, and Japanese, and there were still some, but in part these contacts were of a different, more peaceful nature, and in part, if they bore a destructive nature, they had been going on for only a short time and did not affect all the Amur peoples to the same degree. Hence their influence on the strength of the native population of the Amur region has been very uneven in the various parts of it.

175 The raiding expeditions of the Russian Cossacks and free-
648 booters in the seventeenth century simply passed over the lower Amur region like a bloody meteor, and they did not touch the island of Sakhalin at all. To be sure, the population in individual places, Goldi (Natken), Olcha (Atschanen), and Gilyak, may have been reduced considerably by them, but the complete absence of the disturbers of the peace in the following period certainly gave them an opportunity for a speedy recovery from the
000 blows suffered. It is at the least not known and in any case is

S.S. 175 648 731 [177] /313 cont./ It is at the least not known and in any case is unlikely that this first contact of the lower-Amur peoples with Europeans -- if one can call these freebooters who broke in from Siberia by this name -- brought them any devastating disease -- the conflict seems to have had too acute a character for that. Not until two-hundred years later, after the second, definitive occupation /314/ of the Amur region by the Russians did epidemic

Gi 175 648 731 Gi [439] diseases break out among the lower-Amur peoples. Late in the fall of 1856, after my departure from the Amur region, a disastrous typhoid epidemic occurred among the Goldi. It was brought to them by the Russian troops returning from Kidsi to Transbaikalia. In Köurmi, where they had rested for a few days the disease, transmitted to the Goldi through the barter of the clothing and effects of soldiers dead from typhus, raged especially in the vicinity of the mouth of the Gorin, but also spread

000 Gi S.S. [113] far upstream to the mouth of the Sungari (1). Soon afterward

1. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. put. vverkh" po r. Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur River, Completed in 1856-57/," (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI, St. Petersburg, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 165, 167). Also on the basis of written reports which I received from Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk.

SS 175 648 731 Soon afterward the entire lower Amur region was ravaged by a severe smallpox epidemic. This, to be sure, was not imported by the Russians, but came from the south, from Manchuria (2), and took its

Gi H.M. 175 731 113

2. Thanks to the Chinese, smallpox has been endemic in Manchuria for a long time. The missionary De la Brunière enumerates it among the diseases which arise, according to him, "through the heat which the fish diet gives the blood," in summer among the "Jupi-tatse"

2: Schrenck--437 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Historical Manchuria AG2
Goldi RX3

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2. (cont.)
(Goldi) on the Ussuri. Smallpox is said to cause heavy devastation there at times, even attacking old people 70-80 years of age and recurring among some persons four and five times (De la Brunière, "Excurs. en Mandchourie, en 1845." -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XVI, 1848 [Vol. IV], p. 113).

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course in the opposite direction, from the Sungari down the Amur, but found extremely fertile soil in the lower river area and on Sakhalin, where the natives in many instances had already emerged from their natural condition as a result of the Russian colonization. Toward the end of December 1856, the epidemic, proceeding down the Sungari, was at its mouth (3). In June,

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3. Just at the time when the merchant Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/, traveling up the Amur, passed this place.

1857, following the lower Amur, it reached Kidsi, in July Uchtr, in September Nikolayevsk, and during the winter months of 1857/58 it raged at the Amur mouth, along the Liman, on the Sea of Okhotsk to beyond Kulj, and on Sakhalin. According to the description, which I owe to Dr. Pfeiffer, an eyewitness of these events, the disease throughout bore the character of a devastating epidemic appearing on new ground. Whereas individual Gilyak villages, such as Tebach and Allof, remained completely untouched in a curious fashion, others, such as Kulj and Langr, lost half of their inhabitants, and many yurts died out completely. The number of victims was all the larger, because the sick, still completely unfamiliar with their uncanny visitor, often sought cooling, half-naked, in the snow and wind, in order to escape the heat of the fever. Dr. Pfeiffer thinks, on the basis of the statistics collected by him, that this epidemic killed about 20 per cent of the Gilyak population. A few years later, in the

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/314 cont./ A few years later, in the spring of 1863, measles broke out among the Goldi, but, according to Dr. Pfeiffer's account, this did not have a virulent course and occurred only among children. On the other hand, the smallpox epidemics which raged in 1877 and 1881 on the Ussuri and its tributaries, on the Biki, Ima, etc. are said to have been very devastating, in that, according to the information collected on the spot by Lieutenant Colonel Nadarof, the number of the Goldi and /315/ Orochi population in the northern Ussuri region was reduced to approximately 1/3 to 1/4 of its former size (1).

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1. Nadarov", "Sieverno-Ussuriiskii krai /Northern Ussuri Krai/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, pp. 25, 29, 73). In this article, which, ethnographically speaking, contains much valuable information concerning the Man-dse, Goldi, and Orochi of the Ussuri region, Mr. Nadarof always uses the name "Orotschonen" /Orochon/ for the latter, though, as he himself remarks, they are called "Orotschen" /Orochi/ by all our authors, and gives as the reason for his procedure the fact that the Orochi call themselves "Orotschonen" and furthermore some Chinese, all the Goldi, and, finally, all the Ussuri Cossacks designate them with this name. I can easily believe the latter, since the name "Orotschen" sounds too much like the name "Orotschonen," familiar to the Cossacks from the Schilka and the Argunj, to be distinguished by them; the first statements, however, are completely erroneous, as one can see from my detailed discussion of this matter (see above, pp. 291-296). Only in front of the Cossacks or other Russians, and only to be understood by them, might some Orochi call themselves "Orochon"

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at present and also be called such by Chinese and Goldi. But whether a change understandable and explicable in the mouth of a Cossack is justification for throwing together under one name two such different peoples or branches as the Orochi of the Ussuri and the seacoast and the Orochon of the upper Amur and its tributaries, as Mr. Nadarof does, I need not discuss further.

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But let us return from these later events mentioned in passing to the first conflict of the Amur peoples with the Russians. The Russian invasion during the seventeenth century had much greater and much more far-reaching consequences for the populations of the upper Amur region than in the lower Amur region. Above, in Section 2 of this work (2), it has already been described how

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2. See p. 366 ff.

greatly the Daur population along the upper Amur, at that time still numerous, suffered under the Russian invasion, how they had to make bloody sacrifices to the enemy, superior to them in bravery and arms, indeed, how they almost certainly faced soon bleeding to death. It was not much better for the Gogul and for the Djutscheren already settled in the lower Amur region from the mouth of the Sungari downward, until the Chinese government, in order to put an end to the Russian raiding expeditions, transferred all these peoples from the Amur to the Nonni and Churcha (3).

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3. See above, pp. 320, 333.

In their place nomadic hunting tribes, such as the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, now moved down to the Amur in sparse numbers (4),

4. See above, pp. 373 ff.

/315 cont./

175 and when in later times some Daur moved there again, it hap-
169 pened only to a very limited extent and they were not allowed
648 to settle again in the district formerly taken from them above
the mouth of the Dseja /Zeya/ (5). Thus, as a consequence of
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5. See above, p. 369 ff.

these military expeditions, the population situation on the Amur River has to a certain extent been reversed: whereas formerly the upper Amur region was the more heavily populated part and had a rather numerous, sedentary, agricultural population which extended from there without interruption to beyond the mouths of the Sungari and Ussuri and left space for a few scattered fishing peoples only along the lowermost course of the river, later this ichthyophagous lower Amur region represented the liveliest section of the whole, but upstream the landscape became more and more desolate and along the upper river one met, apart from the single /316/ Manchu-Chinese culture area, which, however, only arose some time after that invasion, only unstable hunting peoples temporarily roaming along the river.

The strength of the indigenous population in various parts of
174 the Amur region must have been affected in similar fashion,
177 though not nearly as rapidly and obviously, by their contact with
648 the Manchu and the Chinese. To be sure, the Amur peoples were not overrun by them with war, but they had to endure their constant pressure, often harsh tribute-collections, and the even more oppressive illegal extortions and deprivations of all kinds. The Manchu official, who in the guardpost or on the circuit provided for, not only the tribute coffers, but his own pockets with the best pieces, and the Chinese merchant, who knew how to cause his indigenous customers to lose all of their possessions in apparently legal ways -- neither of them promoted the material and moral well-being of the Amur peoples. But what along with that must have had consequences for the latter even worse than the actual material loss, the eventual loss in their hunting booty, precious furs, etc., was the inevitable awareness of the insecurity

S.S. /316 cont./
174 of their possessions, of the danger of losing them at any time --
179 an awareness that had a paralyzing effect upon the joy of acquisi-
648 tion and could only increase the innate laziness and indolence.
If one adds to the impoverishment and dejection the many wrongs to their family life committed by the foreigners, the many kinds of sickness and vice brought by them, then one must grant that these evils, working like a slow poison continually over a long period of time, must have considerably reduced the numerical growth of these peoples. The more the latter were exposed, or still are, to Manchu-Chinese influence, the less one can expect to find among them a relatively numerous, dense, prosperous, and vigorous population. Suffering under this the most, of course, must have been those peoples whose territories lie closest to the main seats of the Manchu and Chinese, to the Sungari, to the upper Ussuri region, and to their culture area along the upper Amur, that is, all the peoples of the upper Amur region, such as the Goldi and the Ta-dse, or southern Orochi, whereas those living farther away were better off, such as the Olcha and Negda, whose territory remained untouched by the Manchu, and even more the Gilyak, who denied entry into their territory not only to the Manchu officials, but also to the Chinese merchants.

S.S. Thus, the two facts discussed above, the acute conflict
648 of the Amur peoples with the Russians in the seventeenth century
162 and the chronic one, in part still going on, with the Manchu and Chinese, explain the phenomenon, surprising at first glance, that the lowermost part of the Amur region, in spite of its harsher and more unfavorable climate, nevertheless has most of the indigenous population, but upstream and to the south, where the climate is milder, the vegetation more varied and richer, and the wealth of fish smaller, to be sure, but the wealth of game is in part even
S.S. larger, the population is nevertheless sparser and the country more
162 and more desolate. The Gilyak seem to me to be relatively the
G most numerous and the densest, though still sparse, /317/ espe-
[131] cially along the Amur River, while along the Liman and the Sea
[162] of Okhotsk they are more greatly scattered. Next come the Olcha,

SS. /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G. The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
SS rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
648 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
167 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
131 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
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1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
SS siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
131 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
161 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
648 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
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000 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

2: Schrenck--443 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

SS 162 /317 cont./ A more numerous Gilyak
G 174 population on the island in former times is indicated, among
161 other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two
361 villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village,
the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of
the Sea of Japan, and both are highly insignificant today (3).

G SS [113] 3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 233), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, which has three of them, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out devastatingly in the fifties, this has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the winter of 1857/58, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

G [114] [731]

SS 162 Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the
[132] continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harsher climate is understandably much more deserted.

SS /318/ I must content myself with these general remarks con-
161 cerning the more or less large population of the various parts of
114 the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find state-
SS ments concerning the total number of individuals for particular
[175] Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

SS 161 114 175 /318 cont. /

recorded in the older Chinese population-tables, which in any case, in view of the ignorance about the individual peoples at that time, could only be very general and vague, are of little value is obvious (1). Possible statements by European travelers

T G [162]

1. Iakinf, following the Chinese population-tables of 1812, gives the number of Tungus of the lower Amur region, east and northeast from the Ussuri down to the mouth of the Amur, and therefore the Gilyak among them, as 2398 families (Iakinf", Kitai /China/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 19; the same, Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 30).

who visited the country at the time of its occupation by the Russians or shortly afterwards, before the conditions of the native population were sharply shifted or changed by the Russian colonization, might be more valuable. There are a few statements of this kind. Thus, Collins, who in 1857 navigated the entire Amur downstream, estimated the number of natives of the various nationalities in the immediate vicinity of the river bank as follows (2):

SS [113]

2. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1859, p. 25. From the report which Perry McD. Collins sent to the government of the United States (35th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 98. Explor. of Amoor River. Letter from the Secret. of State, in answer to a resolution of the House, calling for inform. relat. to the explorat. of Amoor River, April 7, 1858).

2: Schrenck--445 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3
Ainu ABG

SS /318 cont./
161 Gilyak . . . . . in 39 villages (26 on the
175 right bank and 13 on the left) 1400 souls
114 Manguntsen
Gi (Olcha) . . . . . in 40 villages (36 on the
Gi right bank and 4 on the left) 1300 souls (3)
161
361 Goldi . . . . . in 114 villages (77 on the
right bank and 37 on the left) 3200 souls
Nomadic and dispersed tribes . . . . . 2000 souls

SS [113] 3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, with the same number of villages, gave the number of Gilyak as 1680, that of the Olcha ("Manguntsen") as 1320 persons.

Gi 161 In 1862, Schmidt estimated the total number of the Negda, on the Amgunj as well as on Lake Orell /Orel/ and Lake Tschlja
000 /Chlya/, at not quite 1,000 souls (4). On the basis of notes taken

SS Gi [113] 4. "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der Physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. in d. J. 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Division of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society during the Years 1859-1862/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

A on the basis of notes taken
161 in 1854 and completed in 1857, Rudanofskij reckoned the total population of the Ainu on Sakhalin at 2,479 souls (5). In 1861,

A [113] 5. Rudanovskii "Obzor" miestnosti o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin/" (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 99).

000 Brylkin gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (6). These statements

A [113] [114] 6. Brylkin, "Statist. u. topogr. Nachr. über

A /318 cont./
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6. (cont.)
das südl. Sachalin /Statistical and Topographical Data on Southern Sakhalin/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 279). At the same time Pemb. Hodgson ("Account of four Excurs. in the Japanese Island of Jesso," in the Literary Gazette of March 16, 1861; cf. Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1861, p. 241) gave the number of Ainu on Jesso as 80,000 (!).

SS
161 These statements
114 referring to Sakhalin are based upon a rather accurate knowledge
162 of it obtained through many trips in the country. On the other hand, Collins's data, of greater interest to us, are very dubious.
Gi [101] They are certainly not based upon counts; rather, they seem to have been obtained by questioning the Russians settled in the Amur region at that time, as /319/ is indicated by the typical Russian name "Manguntsen" for the Olcha. Trustworthy data could probably all the less likely be obtained by this method since, besides the lack of any counts, the territories of the peoples named, of the Olcha in particular, with reference to their northern and southern neighbors, were as a rule erroneously
SS 161 114 demarcated by the Russians (1). At that time, moreover, people

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1. For more details concerning this, see pp. 51 ff. above.

did not realize that in almost every one of these territories there were isolated villages of other nationalities (2). For this reason

G [563] Gi [103] [361]

2. In the Gilyak territory, for instance, the Olcha villages, Tschylwi and Tyr; see above, p. 28.

alone, as well as the necessity for distinguishing summer and winter villages, little value can be put on the number of the villages of various nationalities given by Collins. Moreover,

SS /319 cont./

161 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging
114 the number of the population, because the villages are extremely
36 variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

G 161 114

3. Although all the later statements concerning the number of persons of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of the Russian occupation and colonization of it, must have undergone great changes, lie outside the scope of this work, I should like to mention one of these statements here in passing, because it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my considerations. I am referring to the estimate of their number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr. N. Seeland in his article, "Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed. by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs) for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin questioned traveling fur traders, he came to the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this total number, given according to the individual districts, explain its exceedingly large size, but at the same time make it absolutely untenable. For the number of the Gilyak of the Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000, the Gilyak in the Sofisk District (from Mariinsk to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. According to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

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3. (cont.)
not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaiserhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

SS
161 count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an
114 approximate estimate of their strength might be found is the num-
361 ber of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with cer-
SS tainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of
[121] this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

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36 A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satis-
[226] faction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost
[225] exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle along the largest bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the seacoast, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/320 cont./

361 every respect and meets the requirements in winter and in summer, one always sees inhabited villages, even though the houses are different materials and construction depending on the season of the year. If, however, it offers considerable advantages in only one season and great disadvantages in the other one, the summer and the winter houses are erected at different places, and then there is a summer village and a winter village, and, accordingly, a change of location takes place twice a year. Often the affiliated summer and winter villages, or single houses, lie not very far apart; along the seacoast, for example, on the mainland as well as on Sakhalin, I have seen the summer dwellings as a rule close to the shore, but the winter dwellings lie somewhat inland, where mountain and forest offer more protection against the frequent snowstorms and where the necessary firewood is procured more easily. Sometimes, however, there is a considerable distance between the corresponding summer and winter villages. Along the Amur, for instance, it may happen that one lies on one bank of the river, the other on the other bank. Mäo, for instance, located on the right bank, is nothing but the summer village of Kuĭk (or Kuëgda, as the Russians call it), which is on the left bank, or the latter is the winter village of the former. In summer all the inhabitants of Kuĭk move to Mäo, which has a better location for fishing, since it lies closer to the river channel that is followed by the salmon going up the Amur, the bank is higher there and more convenient for landings, etc. In the fall, however, they return to their winter dwellings lying diagonally opposite, where a bay in the bank and extensive forests give protection in winter against the prevailing bitingly cold west and northwest winds and snowstorms, and in addition there extends a larger, more convenient, and more productive hunting ground than along the mountain slopes of the right bank (1). Sometimes the Gilyak living together in one village

1. In the fall of 1854, this move of the Gilyak from Mäo to Kuĭk took place in the second week of October (new style), shortly before the

/320 cont./

361 1. (cont.)
Amur was covered with ice. In the spring of 1855, I found the Gilyak in the village of Ssabach, the first above Nikolayevsk, already in their summer dwellings located beside the winter houses on May 16 (28); in the villages farther upstream, however, up to Tacht, they had not yet moved into them at that time.

361 Sometimes the Gilyak living together in one village
342 in winter separate to go to different places for the summer, only
114 to come together again in the fall. If the winter and summer houses are located beside one another, as, for instance, in Wair (or Wait, as the Russians call it), the village seems much larger and more populous than it actually is. More than half of all the houses are then the summer houses, much smaller in comparison with the ordinary, large winter-houses, and some of the larger storehouses, /321/ similar to the former in construction, could easily be taken for living quarters. This explains the excessively large number of houses that is given by some travelers for individual Gilyak villages (1). On the other hand, if the

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1. Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/, St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 162) counted 27 houses in one Gilyak (according to him, "tatarischen") village, which was located on the northern end of Sakhalin between the capes Elisabeth and Maria. For another village, on Nadeshda Bay, he gives 16 to 18 houses, but the description of it clearly permits one to recognize summer and winter dwellings the latter of which, moreover, stood empty (op. cit., pp. 178, 182, 183). Orlof, on the occasion of his first trip to the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk (in July, 1849), gave the number of houses in the village of Kulj as 46 (cf. Tikhmenev", Istor. Obozr. obraz. Ross.-

/321 cont./

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1. (cont.)
Amerik. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 64), many of which were certainly only storehouses.

summer and winter houses lie apart as two separate villages, the number of individual villages appears larger to the uninitiated traveler and in another way he again gets the impression of a larger population for the region than it actually has. Later on I shall return to the number of houses in the individual villages of the Gilyak, after we have first come to know in greater detail the construction and nature of their summer and winter dwellings.

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It is chiefly climatic reasons that make it necessary for the Gilyak to build separate dwellings for winter and for summer. In winter it is important to be protected against the exceedingly severe cold, often accompanied by violent storms and snowfalls; in summer, on the other hand, to counteract the excessive humidity which is caused by the maritime location and the constant oceanic winds, fogs, and rains. The former requires rooms that are as tight as possible and enclosed by windproof walls, while the latter, on the contrary, can be achieved only by more open dwellings with a constant circulation of air. To combine both adequately in one structure seems to be beyond the strength and means of a primitive people. Let us now see how the Gilyak meet the challenge.

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The winter houses of the Gilyak are of two types: a simpler one, peculiar and primitive -- the earth yurt, and a more complicated one copied from the Chinese design, which deserves the name of house rather than yurt (2), and which I shall call simply winter

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2. The Russians originally designated the tent-like dwellings of the Siberian natives with this word (Russ.: yurta) of Finnish-Tataric origin (cf. Ahlqvist, Die Culturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen /The Cultivated Words of the West

/321 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 105). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the dwellings of same, of whatever kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Russ.: izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russians in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the same sense in this work.

342 house or Chinese winter-yurt. The earth yurt, toryf of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent; in actuality it is nothing more than a more or less spacious, immovable tent half sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with thin beams. [335] Around it there is erected a pyramidal /322/ roof slanting upward evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to one another and resting on four crossbeams, which, in turn, are supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration [354] appears here./ Only at the peak of the roof is an opening left to serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however, but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passageway (c), likewise roofed over with thin beams or tree branches and dry grass, in which, at both sides, either a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

/322 cont./

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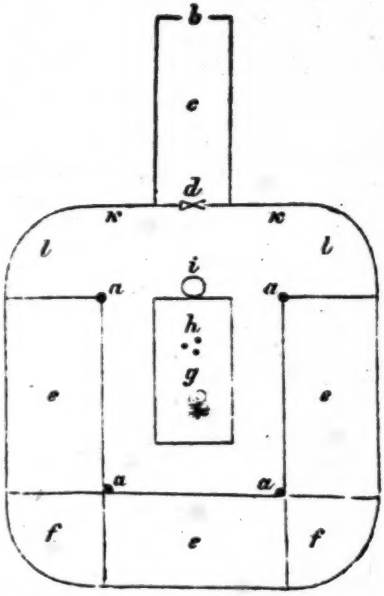

a -- Supporting posts. b -- Entrance. c -- Low passage. d -- Door. e -- Plank bed. f -- Rear corners, without plank beds. g -- Hearth. h -- Stone triangle for the large kettle. i -- Water container. k -- Front wall. l -- Front corners of the yurt.

Plan of a Gilyak Earth Yurt (toryf).

found. At the end of this passageway one reaches the door (d), which is either vertically hinged, as is customary, or is formed by a board placed horizontally, which can be pushed aside (Pl. X) (1). Directly behind it, or below it, a few steps

1. On this plate, showing the interior of a Gilyak earth-yurt, the door, through which one can pass only in a extremely stooped position, is too high. 1/n

lead down to the floor of the hut, which consists of stamped earth.
342 In the yurt, along both sides and in the rear, between the sup-
35 porting posts and the earth wall, runs a sitting and sleeping bench or plank bed (e), which is about one and a
1/n [See Category 116, P. 990 -- Analyst)

/322 cont./

342 half feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at
35 the two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually rounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away various utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This creates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, between the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded as the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the inner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man, there are crosspoles running between the supporting posts, which serve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the yurt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet from each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide, twice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is very simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame put together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped earth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, there are several crosspoles, two across the front part and one across the rear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crosspoles put be-
[417] tween the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crosspoles over the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which the kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the front part of the hearth three stones (h) are set upright in a triangle and firmly embedded in the earth, on which stands the large kettle used for cooking the soup for the dogs. In large yurts there are sometimes two such large kettles, also serving for human use, incidentally, as was the case, for example, in the large yurt at Tyk, in which I stayed repeatedly and for several days, and where I sketched the plan presented here. The fire is made in the rear part of the hearth, that is, somewhat more in the center between the three plank-beds, serving for heat and for
[415] illuminating the yurt at night. In front of the hearth stands one or
[312] more large receptable, usually tubs (i) made of birch bark, with drinking water, and along the front wall (k), right and left of the entrance, or in one of the front corners (l, l) of the yurt, a supply of dry firewood is always piled up. Finally, at the top, exactly above the fireplace, there is the smoke vent in the form of a longish rectangle that is placed either with its lengthwise

342 /323 cont./
35 and crosswise diameters corresponding to the hearth or crosswise to it.

The smaller earth-yurts of the Gilyak are quite similar in nature, except that in these all the dimensions are more or less considerably smaller. In some cases, for instance, the hole dug in the ground for building the yurt is so shallow that there is nothing to be seen of any wall behind the plank beds, but rather the timber of the roof begins immediately. In order to gain space in such small yurts, the two rear corners are also equipped with plank beds, so that, with the exception of the front wall and the two front corners, one continuous sitting or sleeping bench extends all around. If the dimensions of the yurt are reduced even more, it finally becomes quite shallow, and hearth and plank beds, framed by narrow, upright boards, just rise above the ground, the latter only as much as the thickness of the layer of branches serving as a bed; the smoke vent is not very high above the hearth; the passage-way leading to the door has disappeared or shrunk to a few sheltering projections -- in short, the yurt has become a tent made of thin wooden beams.
342 Such was the small yurt of Tafiz-wo in the Tymy Valley on
[122] Sakhalin where I spent the night of February 18 (March 1), 1856, and found the mercury in the thermometer frozen the next morning. I am unable to say whether this was only a temporary structure, at any rate, it was occupied by a Gilyak family with children, and their summer yurt stood next to it. This winter yurt of Tafiz-wo was distinguished only by its stronger material and its larger dimensions from the emergency tent that the Gilyak usually erect when during their winter journeys they are taken by surprise
[122] by a violent snowstorm. On my /324/ winter journey in 1855 I was forced to spend the night of Feb. 6/18 in the forest on the high seashore somewhat south of Cape Wangi (1) on the west

[192] 1. The Gilyak call this cape "Pilja-Wangi," i.e., Large Wangi, and a smaller, more southerly promontory, where we were, "Matsch-Wangi" -- Little Wangi.

/324 cont./

342 coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village
[122] of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next
to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy
[237] snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the
snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread
a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck
obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over
which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and
in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was
inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a
camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug
a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming
together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin
covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top
of the tent was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could
[237] be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
[513] ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were
spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take
with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
342 hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
354 a solid base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over
the snow, it would soon sink deeply into it and could no longer
warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat
pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another
as possible, framed on all four sides by others, thicker and set on
edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs.
In this manner a longish-rectangular cavity was obtained for the
hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-
tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high em-
bankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which
they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure
the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
412 filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
177 must mention that the axes customarily used for housebuilding
and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my
stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/324 cont./

412 origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
177 handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is shown on Plate XXX in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end.
342 Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these emergency tents in form, ground plan, and construction speaks for their quite primitive character.

342 As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it never-
354 theless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions
521 are somewhat larger. The location of part of it in the ground, the carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no lateral entry into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed, and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and venti-
[352] lates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another, all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably
[276] leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adventures, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often partici-
342 pating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside
354 from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened, a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and moves along the floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway

[See category 116, P. 1010--Analyst]

/325 cont./

342 in front of the door, but in no way eliminated, and if the door
364 remains open, such a strong draft is produced between it and the smoke vent, filling the whole interior of the yurt, that the latter is deprived of all its warmth in no time and comes close to having the temperature of the air outside. And yet this experiment must often be repeated several times a day precisely during very cold and stormy weather, because then it frequently happens that a mass of cold air sinks down through the smoke vent, or an eddy of wind gets into it, forces back the smoke, and temporarily blocks it from getting out. In the shortest time the small room is then filled with suffocating smoke affecting the eyes, throat, and lungs, and there is nothing left but to make a draft by opening the door, clearing the air again. This is why all the beams in the yurt are blackened by smoke and covered with a more or less thick layer of soot near the top. The change of temperature in the earth yurt is even more perceptible at night, for after the fire, beside which one has fallen asleep, goes out, the yurt is soon filled with cold air coming down through the smoke vent. To be sure, it is said that this can be closed, but I have never seen it done, though I spent many a night among the Gilyak. And to be sure this drawback is all the worse the smaller the yurt is and the lower the smoke vent is over the hearth and the sleeping benches. At night in the small tent-yurt of Tafiz-wo, where one could reach the smoke vent with the hand and where no big and lasting fire was therefore possible, /326/ we soon had the temperature of the outside air, which, in addition, set in accompanied by a noticeable draft. Under these circumstances how greatly to be preferred is a night's rest in the open air with a steadily burning fire, even if it should be very cold, as long as there is no snow-storm!

342 The winter yurt built after the Chinese pattern tschadryf of
[177] the Gilyak, is completely different in character. It always has the appearance of a house provided with walls and a roof. It is an approximately square structure, though, as a rule, somewhat longer than it is wide, about 6-7 fathoms long and about 5-6 fathoms wide, with low walls and a large roof sloping down flatly toward the two longitudinal sides (see Pl. XI) (1). The walls

/326 cont./

342 1. This plate is to serve at the same time to illustrate the house decorations customary during the bear festival and some of the entertainment going on in front of it, which will be discussed later. 1

[335] The walls consist of thin, horizontal beams, which are not joined at their ends, but are pointed and fitted into the lateral grooves of a few thicker, upright beams. On the transverse walls, which rise higher, and especially in the middle of them, these vertical beams are of a considerable thickness. The gaps between the beams are plugged with moss and daubed with mud on the out-
342 side. The large, rather flat roof, which in winter has to carry
335 a considerable burden of snow, requires very complicated timberwork for its construction and support. /Illustration appears here./ It has a regular roof framework made up of longitudinal beams and crossbeams. The ridge is supported, in addition to the central, upright beams of the two transverse walls (see Pl. XI), also by two thick, towering posts in the interior of the house (a) on the accompanying plan). Sometimes, instead of one post, two standing not far apart rise in each place. Similar, but much smaller and thinner posts (b) sometimes rise up here and there at the sides and, together with the two nearest vertical beams of the transverse wall, serve as supports for the middle part of the roof, and in the lower part it is supported by the longitudinal walls of the yurt. Longitudinal beams and crossbeams in turn run here and there between the towering posts in the interior, and similarly to the upper edges of the longitudinal walls -- a framework that /327/ serves to connect the walls to one another and thus to
342 steady the walls and keep them upright. In addition, the lower
[353] part of it, up to a little above the height of a man, is used for the storage of various articles and for hanging up clothing, and so forth. On our Plate XI one sees the ends of the aforementioned longitudinal beams at the transverse wall, as well as at the ridge and the side edges of the roof, project out quite far, whereby the side beams of the latter intersect each other far out at the gable

1 [See Category 116, p. 991 -- Analyst]

/327 cont./

342 and with the ridge. The remaining finer latticework of the
[824] roof is made up of thin poles and sticks put crosswise and then covered with tree bark, in particular fir bark, and finally with a layer of dry grass or Calamogrostis straw, etc., which is pressed down and held in place by a series of poles placed parallel to the ridge of the roof. The entrance is found in one corner of the house, and, to be sure, if one stands in front of one of its long sides, always to the right, in the transverse wall or in the longitudinal wall, with an ordinary door (c), which consists of several boards held together by a few cross-strips, and also always with a high threshold by means of which the influx of cold air over the floor, as well as the penetration of drifting snow and running rainwater into the house, is supposed to be reduced as much as possible.

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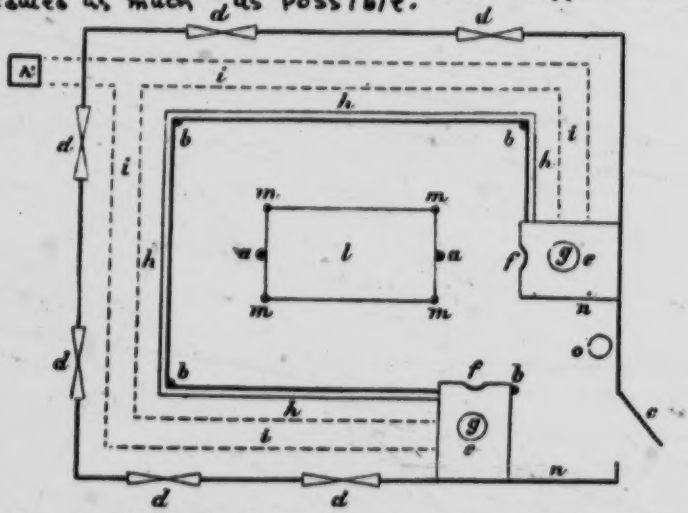

Plan of a Chinese Winter-Yurt of the Gilyak (tschadryf).

a -- Large supporting posts of the roof framework, b -- smaller supporting posts for it. c -- Door. d -- Window. e -- Hearth. f -- Opening for feeding the fire. g -- Hole for the large kettle. h -- Sitting and sleeping benches. i -- Pipes used for heating same. k -- Chimney. l -- Dogs' table. m -- Posts on which the table top rests. n -- Places for storing household equipment. o -- Water container.

/327 cont./

000 reduced as much as possible. The house is provided with windows
342 (d) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two
354 longitudinal walls and the rear transverse wall each have two, the front transverse wall one. Even in the most spacious Gilyak houses I never saw more than these seven windows (1); very often,

[171] 1. I did encounter this among other Amur peoples, but I shall speak about that later.

however, the window in the front transverse wall is absent, as, for example, in the Tebach house standing in the foreground on Plate XI, and not infrequently the other transverse wall and the rear longitudinal wall have only one window each, which is then always placed unsymmetrically closer to one or the other corner of the house; in fact, in the smaller houses even the window in the rear longitudinal wall is absent, so that the number of windows in them is reduced to three. Nevertheless, even these, because of their considerable size, light the interior of the house sufficiently. The windows are sometimes square, three to four feet in size,
342 sometimes somewhat wider than high, or vice versa. They have no
354 crossbars, but instead only a number of vertical little sticks equi-
232 distant from one another, and fish skins take the place of glass
[281] between them. In particular these are skins from Salmo lagocephalus (Gilyak: lyghi-tscho, or, on Sakhalin, laghi-tscho) (2),

[192] 2. Known by the Russians throughout Siberia under the name ketá.

the most common kind of salmon in the Amur River, made as thin and transparent as possible by scraping and pounding, and then sewed together in such a way that the seams form many longitudinal lines and a few transverse lines running in a zigzag.
342 The windows do not open, but are only lifted out with the whole
354 frame. The floor inside the house consists of stamped clayey earth. To the right and left of the entrance are the two hearths (e, Gilyak: tschenk) made of clay. They are fed through square

342 /327 cont./ they are fed through square
354 openings (f) on their front side and on top have /328/ a round
[415] hole (g) for the large kettle, in which the fish broth for the dogs and under certain circumstances even food for human beings are
342 prepared. Directly adjacent to the hearths are the sitting and
352 sleeping benches or plank beds (h, Gilyak: tikky) which bend in
354 very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet high and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chief characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of wooden pipes (i) lined with clay, which come out from both hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the house diagonally across from the entrance. From here the single pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as an outlet for the smoke runs out of the house underground and opens not far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (k, Gilyak: kla) usually higher than the house. The benches are
342 covered with mats usually plaited by the Gilyak themselves out
352 of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered,
[285] and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mats in places. In the center of the house, between the two posts sup-
342 porting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (l), about two
352 fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and
231 which I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Gilyak: kyll). The top of it, which along its longitudinal edges usually projects out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continuations, rests upon four posts (m) firmly rammed into the ground and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, during the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them. Above the two ends of the dogs' table two cross-sticks hang down from the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long pole can be stuck between them, to which the dogs are tied during the feeding. Our Plate XII, 1/1 which shows the feeding of the dogs, to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of the interior of a Gilyak winter-house; I must mention, however, that the dogs' table on it is drawn a little too small and, on the other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide. Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate

1/1 [See Category 116, P. 992 -- Analyst]

/328 cont./

342 proportions in this respect and at the same time show other pre-
352 viously discussed details in the construction and interior arrange-
[231] ment of a Gilyak winter-house. In concluding this description I
[353] must mention that along the walls (n), immediately to the right and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind
342 the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse
354 wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of
[574] this smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse
[439] wall is very drafty, it is regarded as the worst place in the house and usually lacks the straw mats, whereas the bench along the front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a guest, a small rug acquired by trade from the Chinese is sometimes also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking.

342 As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is
[177] over their earth yurt, insofar as it is much more spacious, lighter,
[354] and in general, due to the pipe lines under the plank beds, also warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature, nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer sufficient resistance to the heavy frosts and violent snowstorms. There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the earth yurts. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

/329 cont./

342 some time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The
[352] draft and cold along the floor are all the more noticeable here since the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm.
[516] The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually sit on the plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I be-
342 came convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
122 these can become, when in January, 1856, I attended the bear
136 festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numer-
[114] ous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank beds rose so much that some stearin candles on hand in my leather suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heatable sleeping benches, incidentally also have the great disadvantage that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of vermin. Under them, in inaccessible, hidden spots, along the pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their nests and emerge at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see them come out from their hiding places and go about their business not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the interior beams of the house; when I once, in order to escape other vermin, had a hammock put up there, the Gilyak warned me that the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection is even more annoying: the warm benches are alive with fleas, which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, on the surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /330/ the principal reason why the Gilyak leave their winter houses when spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings lies in this swarm of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

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342 184 The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese winter-yurts. The east coast of the island and the Tymy Valley had only the earth yurt (1). On the west coast of Sakhalin,

[113] 1. Mizul's /Mitsul'/ statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khoz. otnosh. /Agricultural Outline of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134).

as far as it borders on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, i.e., from Pilja-wo, the southernmost point of the Gilyak, to Poghobi, there were also only earth yurts (2). But from there northward,

[113] [114] 2. In 1861, Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Ins. Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. d. Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 234) found in Poghobi a "large Manchurian" yurt (or two?), which, however, did not exist in my time, as I can definitely assert since in 1855 and 1856 I was at this place no less than four times.

along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages consisting sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of winter dwellings occurred beside each other. I myself have not been in this part of Sakhalin, but have collected detailed information on the villages in it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak residing there, who visited me at the Nikolayev post in the company of Tschcharbach-Gilyak friends of mine (3). A few years later

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3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and Tanskin from the village of Nganj-wo on the Liman.

A few years later
114 (1861) Glehn traveled through a section of this coast and made
342 a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature
184 of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they
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4. Op. cit., pp. 232 ff.

essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's.
342 This depopulation which took place after my time is fully
36 explained by the above-mentioned severe smallpox epidemic
184 which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter
114 of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely,
16 and in the case of many small settlements which numbered no
73 more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /331/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could report only on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the preceding and following observations I always view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself Collected.

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000 collected. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three vil-
342 lages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the
361 north of Poghobi. In Dshongi, coming from the south, one en-
103 countered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was
184 in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the north of Talvant-tigr-wo, which contained one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulksj (1),

1. In Gle[illegible] is called Jordĕnt-tigr-wo.

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tamla-wo, in my time notorious for its predatory population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

[192] 2. Glehn found only nine. The great number of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for tamla, tamlatsch, or tamlantsch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

tschadryf villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, is
[114] Pomyr-wo or Pomyt-wo on the Sea of Okhotsk. Glehn did not go northward beyond this village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small toryf village, Muisib-wo (in Glehn, Musjv), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more tschadryf villages, Tumi-wo and Ngywr-wo (in Glehn, Ngyd), the latter of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (the Mif-ych, as the Gilyak designated it to me). According to its location on the small bay which
114 Krusenstern called Nadeshda Bay, Ngywr-wo must be the same
361 village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed
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114 description one learns that the Gilyak ("Tataren") at the time --
361 it was August 15/27 -- lived in their summer yurts. Somewhat
342 apart, however, lay other, apparently better built houses, provided with fireplaces and chimneys, which, however, stood empty at the time (3) -- evidently the above-described winter

3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 178, 182.

houses of the Gilyak. Here, therefore, is other proof of the presence of tschadryf villages in this part of Sakhalin, too (4).

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4. In order to supplement and verify my above data and at the same time to make it possible to compare them more precisely with Glehn's, I am adding here the whole list of the villages explored by me north of Poghobi on Sakhalin, with a statement of the number and nature of their yurts. To be sure, we did not always hear the names of the villages exactly the same, but it is not difficult to recognize them. I am also
[731] adding in parentheses the number of yurts given by Glehn, for from this one can judge the extent of the depopulation caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1857-1858, especially for the part of the coast extending south of Pomyr-wo, where Glehn himself visited most of the points and
114 counted their yurts. The following villages
361 lie north of Poghobi:
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Wismeryf . . .	with	1	earth yurt
Warsj	"	1 (1)	"
Ngyith	"	1 (4)	"
Dshongi	"	1	Chinese yurt
Loktschi	"	1 (1)	earth yurt
Jügdama	"	1 (1)	"
Pyrki	"	1 (1)	"

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4. (cont.)

Tscheghngi	with	1 (1)	earth yurt
Talvant-tigr-wo . .	"	1 (1)	" and 1 Chinese yurt
Tulksj	"	2 (3)	Chinese yurts
Langri (summer village of Tulksj)			
Matscho-wo . . .	"	2	"
Mangal-wo	"	1 (1)	"
Nganj-wo	"	4 (3)	"
Tylent-tigr-wo . .	"	1 (2?)	"
Matent-tigr-wo . .	"	3 (2)	"
Tamla-wo	"	over 12 (9)	"
Lyrkr-wo	"	4	"
Wissk-wo	"	5 (5)	"
Ngyl-wo	"	1 (1)	"
Pomyr-wo	"	3 (3)	"
Muisib-wo	"	1 (2)	earth yurt
Pilja-wo	"	1 (1)	" and 1 Chinese yurt
Tumi-wo	"	2	Chinese yurts (1 earth y.)
Ngywr-wo	"	5	" " (3 earth y.)

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/332/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-yurt predominates to a much greater extent than the earth yurt on Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left, which presumably has since disappeared: it was the small earth yurt of Pättach, directly on the Liman just north of the mouth of [114] the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856; it was located at some distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and was constructed exactly like the smaller earth-yurts on Sakhalin. It can be maintained with some certainty that it was in fact the only one of its kind on the mainland. Elsewhere along the Liman, on the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman to Kulj, the largest village on that coast, numbering 10 (?) winter yurts,

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342 there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays
184 of Tugur and Ulban, where Middendorff became acquainted with
[36] the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his hand-written notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

[113] [354] 1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 619), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak there.

Liman and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kulj and Ulban Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitness accounts. The Gilyak, too, though I often asked them about it, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to me other than the above-mentioned one of Pättach.

342 In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as
184 far as their distribution extends, the Chinese yurt at present repre-
174 sents the only form of winter dwelling; on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, along the Liman, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with earth yurts, while in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only this latter form is found. From this distribution of the two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /333/ has been preserved only among
[191] the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of the view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from its above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

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175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 175 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the 342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 177 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be 171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [127] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

7/1 [i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--472 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

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4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

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detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

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6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

/333 cont./

342 175 The next Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, lived through the winter exclusively in earth yurts at the time of Steller and Krascheninnikof. One finds a detailed description by the two travelers and in Steller there is even a plan and a view of the interior (7). Apart from minor details in its interior arrangement

342 354 [191]

7. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 212; Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, izdav. Imp. Akad. Nauk", Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37).

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/334/ the Kamchadal earth-yurt showed an interesting deviation from the one of the Gilyak in that in it the outer, covered passageway leading to the door became a channel, which, with its interior opening directed toward the hearth in the middle of the yurt, served to produce a strong draft when a fire was made, but afterwards, when the fire had gone out, was closed at its outer end. According to Steller (1), only children were permitted

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1. Op. cit., p. 214.

to crawl in and out of the yurt through this channel (2); the smoke

[114] [192] [562]

2. According to Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 40), also women and kojektschutsch or kojachttschitsch (Steller, op. cit. p. 351, note), i.e., men who behaved like women on the other hand, if a man had done it, he would have exposed himself to the derision of all those present. As a consequence of garbling the Kamchadal designation for the outer opening of this channel (schoponatsch), the Russian Cossacks call it shupan.

342 [364] [417] [101]

/334 cont./

hole directly above the hearth, from which an oblique beam with deep notches led down to the floor of the yurt, served the adults for entering and leaving. As Steller reports (3), on account of

3. Op. cit., pp. 8 and 240.

their earth yurts, the Kamchadal of the Penshini (Okhotsk) Sea were called "Namalau" or "Namalan," i.e., living in subterranean houses, by their northern neighbors, the Reindeer Koryak -- a designation from which Gerland derives the name Namollo for the Eskimo or Juit /Yuit/ -- as they call themselves -- who migrated back from America to the Asiatic coast of the Bering Sea (4).

114 10 [113]

4. G. Gerland, "Zur Ethnogr. des äussersten Nordostens von Asien /On the Ethnography of the Extreme Northeastern Part of Asia/" (Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XVIII, 1883, p. 221). I am not able to decide whether this derivation is justified, but in any case Gerland has completely misunderstood the above statement by Steller, in that he thinks that the Koryak designate with the first of these names (Namalau) the Kamchadal living along the Kamchatka River, and with the latter (Namalan) the Tungus, likewise because of their earth yurts. According to Steller, these names refer neither to the one nor to the other, but both alike to the Kamchadal (Italmen) along the Sea of Okhotsk (Penshini /Penzhina/). He expressly states about those living along the Kamchatka River that the Koryak call them Jutilitan, but is unable to give any reason for it (p. 8); concerning the Tungus, however -- who, by the way, have no earth yurts at all -- he notes only (p. 240) that they, in spite of their frequent raids extending to the Penshina River even before the arrival of the Russians,

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4. (cont.)
knew nothing of the Kamchadal. One can explain such a misunderstanding of Steller's remarks as happened to Gerland in part by Steller's antiquated style and in part by the frequently (and even at the place concerned, p. 8) exceeding faulty and incorrect punctuation in this publication of his work. As I have already pointed out at another place (Reis. u. Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. II, p. 762, note 3), Pallas said of it that it "was printed from a rough draft and in the hands of the publisher (J.B.S.) became loaded with the most inexcusable copying and printing errors revealing a great ignorance (Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, p. 255). One will be convinced of the accuracy of this opinion by Pallas on every page while reading Steller's work. For this reason I believe that the apparent difference in these two Koryak terms for the Kamchadal can be traced to merely a printing error. Steller also says that the sedentary Koryak along the Sea of Okhotsk are called "Nümala akalila," i.e., sitting, resting, by their countrymen who roam with reindeer. Could it be, however, that this "Nümala," like "Namalau," is also a reference to their subterranean dwellings?

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KK [101] [194] [342]

Some, the sedentary ones, of the Koryak, also a Paleo-Asiatic people, retained the earth yurt to this day, insofar as they have not already adopted Russian customs and hence also Russian dwellings, for example, according to Ditmar (5), /335/in particular

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5. "Ueber die Koräken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen /On the Koryak and the Chukchee Very Closely Related to Them/" (Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. XIII, pp. 104, 107, 109; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 8, 12, 18).

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342 [178] [177] the Kamenzen and Parenzen settled around Penshin Bay, as well as the northernmost Pallanzen (in Pusstorezk and Podkagernaja), and the majority of the Olutorzen on the northeast coast of Kamchatka. According to Ditmar, the Koryak earth-yurt is very simple in nature: a pit approximately 2-3 fathoms square, lined and roofed over with wooden logs, and, like the Kamchadal yurt of old, it is entered through the smoke hole (1). According to

[113] 1. Krascheninnikof ("Opis. zemli Kamchatki." -- Poln. sobr. putesh. i pr., Vol. II, p. 195), Müller ("Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Condition of Kamchatka/," in the appendix to Steller's Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtsch., p. 24), Ditmar (op. cit.), Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes; a journ. of Siber. travels and explor. made in the years 1865-1867, London, 1871, p. 352), Kennan (Tent life in Siberia and Adventures among the Koraks and oth. tribes in Kamtschatka and North Asia, London, 1871, pp. 153, 178), and others. The latter in particular describes entering or leaving through the smoke hole in the Koryak yurt and all the inconveniences connected with it in a most drastic way.

Maydell, the Koryak earth-yurt also has a side entrance, which leads down into the interior through a narrow, slightly sloping channel, but this is used only once a year, namely, when the owner moves into his yurt in the fall, he first crawls in through this passageway, but then closes it immediately with sealskin stretched over a frame, and the rest of the time only the smoke hole may be used for entering or leaving (2). The nomadic

2. According to an oral communication from G. v. Maydell.

[174] Koryak, of course, have no earth yurts. Could it be, however, that their ancestors did have such earth yurts? It is generally

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KK /335 cont./ It is generally
342 believed that the sedentary Koryak in former times were reindeer
174 nomads and only after the loss of their herds settled along the sea-
361 coast in order to live on hunting and fishing -- a change that has
[233] to some extent also taken place and is still taking place among
the Chukchee (3). But between the sedentary or coastal Chukchee

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3. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 204) thought that the sedentary Koryak had formerly been reindeer nomads. Erman (Reise um die Erde /Journey around the World/ Part 1, "Histor. Bericht. /Historical Information/," Vol. II, Berlin, 1838, p. 423, note), Ditmar (Bull., etc., op. cit., pp. 103, 127; Mél., op. cit., pp. 7, 36), and Kennan (op. cit., p. 159) express themselves similarly. According to Ditmar, this impoverishment took place a long time ago, as legend has it, during the battles with the Chukchee. Ssarytschof /Sarychev/ (Putesh. po Sievero-vost. chasti Sibiri, Ledov. moriu i Vostochn. Ok. /Travels in the North-eastern Parts of Siberia and the Arctic and Eastern (Pacific) Oceans/, Pt. II, p. 105) thought the same about the Chukchee, but confused the sedentary Chukchee with the Namollo. There is no doubt but that the true coastal Chukchee arose and are still arising from nomads of the same tribe who have lost their reindeer, as is stated by Wrangell /Vrangel'/ (Put. po siev. ber. Sib. i po Ledov. moriu /A Voyage along the North Coast of Siberia and through the Arctic Ocean/, Pt. II, p. 335), Ditmar (loc. cit.) and others.

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KK and the sedentary Koryak there is the great difference that the
342 latter are in fact sedentary and have permanent winter and
174 summer houses, while the former, even after the loss of their
361 reindeer and after their settling down along the seacoast, have

2: Schrenck--478 i E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Koryak RY4
Chukchee RY2

C KK 342 174 361

/335 cont./

retained a seminomadic life and accordingly do not build permanent dwellings or earth yurts, but live in their transportable tents as before (4). The former seems to me to be a traditional, more

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4. Wrangell (Putesh., etc., Part II, p. 336). Nordenskjöld (Die Umsegel. Asiens und Europas auf der Vega /The Circumnavigation of Asia and Europe on the Vega/, German transl., Leipzig, 1882, Vol. II, p. 82). In the latter work one also finds an illustration of a tent of the coastal or sedentary Chukchee (Vol. I, p. 394), from a photograph by L. Palander). There is also frequent mention in it of the number and nature of the various tents in the villages visited by the members of the Vega Expedition during their winter travels, as well as of the change of dwelling of the coastal Chukchee, sometimes taking place in winter (for instance, Vol. I, p. 443, and elsewhere). Likewise in Nordqvist (see Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1881, p. 42).

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or less original /336/ way of life, the latter only a later, sometimes merely temporary, change backward. In my opinion, therefore, one should conceive of the change in the way of life of these peoples in reverse fashion: like the sedentary Koryak of today, the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and likewise the Chukchee, tribally related to them and differing from them only dialectally (1), formerly had permanent dwelling sites, and to be

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1. Steller (op. cit., p. 8, note a) and Krascheninnikof (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 197) pointed out the close relationship between the two peoples, which was later confirmed several times, for instance, by Ssarytschof (Putesh. kap. Billingsa chrez" Chukotskuiu zemliu, izvl. iz" razn. zhurn. /Captain

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1. (cont.)
Billings' Journey across Chukchee Land, Taken from Various Magazines/, St. Petersburg, 1811, p. 67, footnote), Lütke /Litke/ (Voyage autour du monde, sur la corv. Le Seniavine, dans les ann. 1826-1829 /Voyage around the World on the Corvette "Le Seniavine" in 1826-1829/," Partie hist. /Historical Section/," Vol. II, Paris, 1835, p. 262; the same in Erman's Archiv für wiss. Kunde von Russland, Vol. III, 1843, p. 449), and others.

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sure just such earth-yurts, until they became acquainted with and adopted from their neighbors, presumably the Tungus pressing in upon them, the domesticated reindeer, a domestic animal still foreign to the Paleo-Asiatic peoples; as soon as this happened, they had to give up their sedentary way of life and take up a nomadic life, along with which, of course, they were forced to exchange their fixed earth-yurt for a transportable tent. And it is com-

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pletely in harmony with this when Wrangell (2), in characterizing

2. Op. cit., p. 332.

the Chukchee, says that in spite of their nomadic life, they have many more sedentary traits in their whole system than any other nomadic people: only an insufficiency of pasturage and a lack of fodder for their reindeer can force them to leave a place; their inclination toward a sedentary way of life is further shown by the fact that they lay in supplies and are thrifty, indeed even niggardly -- clearly traits which the nomadic peoples lack entirely; indeed, even their clothing, the wide, clumsy fur-shirt and the long fur trousers, are more suitable for a sedentary way of life (2).

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2. Wrangell particularly emphasizes these peculiarities of the Chukchee in contrast to the Tungus, those special nomads concerning whom

2: Schrenck-480 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Chukchee RY2
Koryak RY4

C 233 181 185 361 291 113

/336 cont./

3. (cont.)
Adam Brandt (Neuverm. Beschreib. seiner gross. Chines. Reise, welche er anno 1692 von Moscau aus über Gross-Ustiga, Siberien, Dauren und die grosse Tartarey bis in Chinam und von da wieder zurück nach Moscau innerhalb 3 Jahren vollbracht /Revised description of his great China Trip, which he completed in three years, from Moscow in 1692, over Great Ustiga, Siberia, Dauria, and Great Tartary as far as China, and from there back to Moscow again/, 3rd ed., Lübeck, 1734, p. 99) cites a characteristic trait in this connection, that they know no other curse than: "May you live among the Russians, may you till the soil!"

C KK 342 17

If this is so, however, if formerly all the Koryak and Chukchee had permanent dwelling sites, earth yurts, then the remains and traces of them must be found to this day in the undisturbed, usually frozen soil of their homeland, particularly in the case of the earth yurts of the Chukchee, for the Koryak in part, as is known, still have such dwellings today, or traces of this must have been preserved in the legends and traditions of these peoples. Both are in fact the case -- but up to now it has been interpreted differently. Almost all the travelers in the Chukchee region mention the remains of ancient earth-yurts present there, in which the woodwork is often replaced by whole ribs. According to Wrangell they occur along the coast of the Arctic Ocean in the whole stretch between the Bering Strait and Cape Schelagskij (4).

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4. Vrangel', Putesh., etc., Part II, pp. 295-333.

In this stretch, at Cape Irkaipij (North Cape) and at other places, the Vega Expedition, too, found them: some of them were opened up and old stone and bone tools were brought to light from them; sometimes one saw these old dwelling places used by the present-day Chukchee /337/ as fat vaults (1). Ssarytschof found such

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2: Schrenck--481 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Chukchee RY2
Koryak RY4

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1. Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens u. Europas auf der Vega. Authorized German edition. Vol. I, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 403-406, 456, etc. One also finds there an illustration of the remains of such an old hut, from a drawing by Nordqvist, and several tools found in it.

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Ssarytschof found such remains even farther to the west, near Baranof Rock (2). They

2. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Ledov. moriu i Vost. okeanu, Part II, pp. 95, 96.

are ascribed to the Onkilon. But what people were they? Opinions differ as to that. Wrangell thought that the Onkilon, who, according to legend, were formerly distributed up to Cape Schelagskij, were the same Eskimo who even today dwell in quite similar earth yurts along the Asiatic coast of the Bering Strait and the Bering Sea, that is, the Namollo or Juit (3). Nordenskjöld designates them

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3. There is mention above (p. 251, note 1 /untranslated/) of this view of Wrangell's concerning the former distribution of the Asiatic Eskimo -- a view which I at present, however, no longer share, as one will see from the following.

merely as a people driven from their sites on the coast of the Polar Sea by the Chukchee, and who, according to legend, moved to some islands far out in the Arctic Ocean. But could it not be that the Onkilon were the ancestors of the Chukchee at the time when they still, like the Koryak along Penshinsk Bay and the Bering Sea, lived in permanent earth yurts along the Arctic Ocean? The following reasons seem to me to argue in favor of this.

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114 Wrangell heard the name "Onkilon" from the Chukchee for
174 the inhabitants of those earth yurts and thought that it and the
101 legend had to be linked to the Asiatic Eskimo. Through Nordqvist, who of all the members of the Vega Expedition was the most familiar with the Chukchee and their language, we learn, however (4), that the name which they use for the Asiatic

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4. Osc. Nordqvist, "Bidrag till kännedomen om tschuktschorna /A Contribution to Knowledge about the Chukchee/" (Ymer, 1882, pp. 29-31). Cf. also Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1881, p. 41.

Eskimo is "Aiguan" (5); on the other hand, the coastal Chukchee

5. As Maydell, too, states. See above, p. 244, note 3 /untranslated/.

designate themselves as "Angkadli," which undoubtedly is identical with "Onkilon" (6) and also has the same meaning, namely,

6. According to Neumann (see above, p. 244, note 3 /untranslated/), it runs "Ang-kali."

"sea dwellers," as Wrangell, too, states, although they profess to be "Tschautschu" (Chukchee), as do their nomadic country-
00 men (7). In the information given by the Chukchee, therefore,

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7. According to the Krause brothers (Deutsche Geograph. Blätter, published by the Geogr. Gesellsch. /Geographical Society/ in Bremen, Vol. V, 1881, p. 119), the Reindeer Chukchee call themselves "Tschautschuats," but the coastal inhabitants "Ankadliän" or "Aigwan" -- a name which, however, as is said in the same place (p. 132), expresses a difference

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114 7. (cont.)
101 in the way of life and in the dwelling place (cf. Angkadli) more than in the nationality.

114 In the information given by the Chukchee, therefore,
174 there is no reason to ascribe the Onkilon huts to the Eskimo; on
101 the contrary, it appears that they were the dwellings of their
361 countrymen and forefathers formerly settled permanently along
342 the seacoast. The legend mentioned by Wrangell probably likewise refers to their former, permanent dwelling-sites along the seacoast. They were certainly spread beyond Cape Schelagskij to the west, as is proved by the remains of the earth yurts found by
174 Ssarytschof around Baranof Rock. According to Wrangell (8), the
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361 8. Op. cit., p. 331.
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Chukchee formerly also lived even west of the Kolyma, and, to be sure, even at the time when the Russians invaded these regions, /338/ that is, in the seventeenth century. This is suggested by
[103] the Russian names for some rivers flowing from the left into the Kolyma mouth ("Boljschaja-" and "Malaja-Tschuko-tschja," i.e., Large and Small Chukchee River), and especially by the tradition widespread among the inhabitants of the Kolyma district, that the first Russian settlements suffered under frequent and devastating attacks by the Chukchee, to which several place names, such as "Pogromnoje" and "Ubijennoe," are supposed to bear witness. There is no doubt, however, but that the Chuckchee at that time were already leading their present nomadic way of life.

174 I am obliged to see further support for my view that the so-
342 called Onkilon huts belonged to the Chukchee, who were sedentary in ancient times, and not to the Eskimo, in the fact that these remains are found up to the Bering Strait, and therefore in the region where the latter people still live in a similar earth-yurts even today (1). If they had belonged to the Eskimo, it is hard to

[113] 1. For example, the remains of a long-deserted
[172] earth yurt, which Hooper (Ten months among the tents of the Tuski, London, 1853, p. 18).

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1. (cont.)
lay in Plover Bay, not far from Cape Tschukotskij. In the same place Whymper (Travel and Adventure in the territ. of Alaska, London, 1868, p. 89) saw the remains of former earth-yurts ("underground houses") which belonged to a people no longer extant. Also Dall (Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 375).

understand why they abandoned them and erected new earth-huts beside them. But this can be fully understood if one assumes that these Eskimo, as I have pointed out above (2), in spite of the

2. See above, pp. 249 and 250 /untranslated/.

Asiatic origin of the whole tribe, migrated back to Asia via the Bering Straight at a much later date as a result of the pressure which the discovery and colonization of America by the Europeans exerted upon the Indians and, through them, upon the Eskimo (3).

3. As I gather from the above-cited work by Dall, unknown to me until recently, he likewise champions the view that the Eskimo migrated back to Asia in more recent times, about three centuries ago.

Disregarding the remains of these ancient huts, they naturally built in the land to which they migrated their own dwellings which, erected according to the same principle as the earth yurts and with the same material -- whale ribs and bones -- must have been not unlike the former.

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My opinion concerning the Onkilon huts is further confirmed by the fact that the Vega Expedition discovered in their vicinity ancient sacrificial sites which evidently belonged to the same tribe, but which nevertheless are also used as such by the present Reindeer Chukchee (4). This continuous transfer of sacrificial sites

2: Schrenck--485 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Chukchee RY2

782 /338 cont.
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4. Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, p. 406.

from the Onkilon to the coastal Chukchee argues very decisively for the identity of the two peoples, for it is hardly conceivable that one people would use the sacrificial sites of another people hostile to them and defeated and finally driven out by them.

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Finally, in support of my opinion concerning the origin of the Onkilon huts, I must bring up one more fact. Dall (5)

5. Alaska, p. 375.

mentions a tradition which he /339/ heard about in Chukchee territory, and which at first glance seems to directly contradict my view, but upon closer analysis completely confirms it. Since it is important to know from which of the nationalities presently living in the Chukchee territory he heard the tradition, I must add that he includes all the peoples living in America to the north and the west of the Indians and in part extending into Asia in one group which he calls the "Orarian" group because of their extension along the coast (1), and in which he distinguishes three

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1. Therefore, "coastal" or peripheral peoples, as I, too, from a geographical standpoint, have called these and a number of other Asiatic or European peoples (see above, pp. 246 ff. /untranslated/).

subdivisions or peoples: 1) the Innuit or Eskimo, from Greenland to the west coast of America and to the islands near the Bering Strait (2); 2) the Aleut or inhabitants of Alaska and the Aleutian

2. The Eskimo call themselves "Innuit" (Dall, Alaska, p. 136. H. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimo eine Schilder. der Schwatka'schen-Franklin-Aufsuchungs-Exped., in den J. 1878-

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2. (cont.)
1880/ As an Eskimo among the Eskimo, an Account of the Schwatka Expedition in Search of Franklin in the Years 1878-1880/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 201).

Islands, and 3) the Tuski or inhabitants of the coasts of the Chukchee territory from Koljutschin Bay to Anadyr Gulf. Here, therefore, Dall includes under the very unfortunate name "Tuski" (3) the coastal Chukchee and the Namollo as one people.

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3. Dall chose this name, he says, because Hooper insisted that they call themselves this. But Hooper (Ten months among the tents of the Tuski, pp. 34 ff.) uses it for all the Chukchee, since he claims to have heard this latter name pronounced as "Tuski," and distinguishes between the "Tuski Proper," true or Reindeer Chukchee, and the "Alien Tuski," i.e., foreign or alien Chukchee, under which he groups together the coastal population which perhaps in ancient times immigrated from America, therefore, the coastal Chukchee, and the Namollo, which he never separates from each other. It is hard to understand why Dall retained the designation "Tuski" for the latter, since it would be much more fitting for the former. Incidentally, Hooper, as his whole work shows, always dealt only with the Chukchee, who perhaps were more or less strongly mixed with the Eskimo, but not with the Namollo, who certainly would not have called themselves "Tuski."

In accordance with their own distinction, he also designates them as "bowhead men," whale men, in contrast to the "deer men," i.e., reindeer men or Chukchee proper. Dall asked one such

/339 cont./ Dall asked one such
174 Tuski man from Plover Bay, named Nokum, who might have been
114 the builders of the stone huts whose remains were to be found in
101 various places in the region, and which were similar to the earth
342 huts of the Innuit (Eskimo) around Norton Sound? Nokum's answer was that his ancestors had lived in huts of this type a long time ago, so long ago that his grandfather knew of them only by tradition; later, since timber was scarce among them, they adopted a different type of dwelling such as the reindeer-men had, and which was much more suitable for the region. Now who was this Tuski man? A coastal Chukchee or a Namollo? In the latter case his account would directly contradict my theory concerning the Onkilon huts set forth above. At first glance this in fact seems to be the case, for the same Nokum told Dall that the reindeer-men were the original inhabitants of the country, while the whale-men, to whom he belonged, had come over from the islands /340/ (Diomedes Islands) a long time ago, because they had been proved the weaker in the war with a people who wear bone plates in their lips. Dall adds that the correspondence of this account with the traditions of the Reindeer Chukchee was confirmed for him by one of the latter. It is, of course, possible that formerly there were also coastal Chukchee on the adjacent islands, who were pushed toward the mainland by the Eskimo. What definitely makes me regard the Tuski man, Nokum, as not a Namollo but a coastal Chukchee, and accordingly to associate his tale about the former dwellings of his people with the coastal Chukchee, is the circumstance that in fact for a long time the latter, even in winter, have lived in the same kind of tents (jaranga) as their countrymen wandering with reindeer, while the Namollo as late as 1828, when Lütke became acquainted with them, were all living in earth yurts. If they had since given up these yurts and likewise adopted tents, such an important event in the life of a people would still have been vivid in everyone's memory in Dall's time, about 37-38 years later (1), and could not have been

1. Dall's investigations were in the years 1865 and 1866.

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114 connected with a tradition referring only to ancient times. There-
174 fore Dall's informant must have been a coastal Chukchee, and
101 then the tradition related by him fully confirms my opinion that
342 this people, too, formerly lived in earth yurts and later exchanged
them for tents when they adopted reindeer breeding.

Y To the west of the Chukchee we find another Paleo-Asiatic peo-
342 ple, the Yukagir, now dying out, who are regarded as the
174 descendants of the Omok or ancient Yukagir, who have already
[101] disappeared (2). There is no doubt but that they, too, lived in

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2. Gedenshtrom", "Putesh. po Ledovit. moriu i ostrovakh" onago lezhashch. ot" ust'ia Leny k" vost. /Journey on the Arctic Ocean and among the Islands Lying to the East of the Mouth of the Lena/" (Sibirsk. Viestn., publ. by Grig. Spasskii, 1822, Pt. 18, Sec. III, p. 105); the same, Otryvki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, St. Petersburg, 1830, p. 97.

Y earth yurts. In 1639, when the Cossack Jelissei Busa came from
[175] the Arctic Ocean to the Jana /Yana/ and went up this river, he
[361] met, at the place where the Tschendona empties into it, Yukagir
who lived in earth huts (3). At the mouth of the Indigirka,

3. Vrangel', Putesh., etc., Part I, p. 6.

Kosmin, Wrangell's companion, found a number of dilapidated earth-yurts with fireplaces and stone tools, remains which were ascribed to the ancient Yukagir or Omok (4). Under the pressure

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4. Wrangell, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 141.

of the more recent Siberian peoples, the Tungus and Yakut, and later the quickly advancing Russians, they were even forced in part to leave the mainland altogether. According to a legend

Y 173 167 731 172

widespread in Ustjansk and along the Indigirka, they are said to

172 /340 cont./
173 have moved in great numbers, fleeing before a smallpox epidemic
167 about the middle of the seventeenth century, to the islands to
731 the north of the mainland (5), and in fact one finds, both on the

[174] [113]

5. Hedenström, op. cit.. Similarly according to the reports by Ssannikof and Pschenizyn (Sibirsk. Viestn., 1822, Part 20, Sec. III, p. 176), which stem from the year 1811, and in which it is said that the emigration took place about 150 years ago, which would closely coincide with the Russian immigration along the Jana and Indigirka. On this subject see also my article, "Zur Vorgeschichte der von der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. ausgerüst. Exped. nach den Neusib. Ins. und dem Jana-Lande /On the Antecedents of the Expedition Sent by the Imperial Academy of Sciences to the New Siberian Islands and the Yana Region/" (Beitr. zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, series 3, Vol. III, p. 14).

/341/ Bear (Medweshji) Islands and on the New Siberian Islands, remains of earth yurts and old tools of mammoth tooth or stone, which are designated by the Russians simply as Yukagir (1).

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1. Such remains were observed on the Bear Islands as early as 1724 by the Jakutsk Ssyn-bojarskij, Amossof (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, pp. 46) and later, in 1763, by Sergeant Andrejef (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. I, 1781, pp. 234, 235. Likewise Sibirsk. Viestn., 1822, Part 19, Sec. IV, p. 123; 1823, Part 4, Geogr. Sec., pp. 64, 67, 68) and, finally, also confirmed by Wrangell (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 100; Vol. II, p. 45). For the New Siberian Islands, see the sources cited in notes 2 and 5 on the preceding page.

/341 cont./

1. (cont.)
Siberian Islands, see the sources cited in notes 2 and 5 on the preceding page.

342 175 114 10 [171] Finally, as among the peoples remaining on Asiatic soil, we also find the earth yurt among the Paleo-Asiatic peoples pushed into America, the Eskimo and the Aleut. It has already been stressed many times above that the few Eskimo who migrated back to Asia in later times lived in such earth yurts. They are mentioned in the oldest accounts that we have from the Chukchee region (2), but were erroneously ascribed to the

[113] 2. For instance, in the "Aussage des Jakutskischen Kosaken Peter Iljin Ssyn Popow /Declaration of the Yakutsk Cossack, Peter Iljin Ssyn Popow/," and his two interpreters, written in 1711 at Anadyrsk (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 58).

coastal Chukchee, until the inhabitants were recognized as the same Eskimo (3) who, according to Lütke, call themselves

3. Billings and Ssarytschof already stressed the fact that the so-called "sedentary Chukchee" on Lorenz Bay, Metschigmen Bay, and other points of the Bering Strait were wholly different linguistically from the Reindeer Chukchee and were closely related to the inhabitants of Kadjak /Kodiak/ (Eskimo), but they kept this designation, which involved a mix-up with the coastal Chukchee. (Cf. Cap. Jos. Billings' Geogr.-astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Gegenden Russlands zur Unters. der Münd. des Kowima-Fl., der ganzen Küste der Tschuktschen und

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2: Schrenck--491 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
YuitRY5

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3. (cont.)
der zwischen dem festen Lande von Asien und Amerika befindl. Inseln, in den J. 1785 bis 1794, nach den Orig. -Pap./ Captain Joseph Billings' Geographical-Astronomical Journey to the Northern Areas of Russia, for an Investigation of the Mouth of the Kovima River, of the Whole Coast of the Chukchee, and of the Islands between the Continents of Asia and America, in the Years 1785 to 1794, from the Original Papers/, ed. by Sauer, transl. from the English, Berlin, 1802, pp. 370, 377; likewise Sarychev", Putesh. kap. Billingsa chrez" Chukotskuiu zemliu ot" Beringova proliva do Nizhnekolymsk. ostroga, izvlech. iz" razn. zhurn. /Journey of Captain Billings through the Chukchee Region from the Bering Strait to the Nizhne-Kolymsk Fort, Taken from Various Magazines/, St. Petersburg, 1811, pp. 5, 15, 67; and the same Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sib., Ledov. moriu i Vostochn. okeanu, Pt. II, St. Petersburg, p. 105.)

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"Namollo" (4), but, according to Dall (5), "Juĭt" (6). On

4. Lütke, Voyage aut. du monde, "Partie hist.," Pt. II, p. 260. Lütke, by the way, on the whole stretch between the East Cape and the mouth of the Anadyr, met only Namollo, who lived in earth huts, and no coastal Chukchee at all; he therefore also sometimes uses for the former the designation "sedentary Chukchee" or "Namollo-Chukchee," despite his own statement that they are erroneously called "Chukchee." On the East Cape, Kotzebue (Entdeckungs-Reise, Vol. I, p. 156), too, saw many subterranean dwellings in the shape of small round mounds, beside which numerous whale ribs were arrayed.

2: Schrenck--492 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
YuiT RY5
Eskimo ND2

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5. Proceed. of the Royal Geograph. Soc. of London, Vol. XLIX, p. 569; the same, "On the so-called Chuktchi and Namollo people of Eastern Siberia" (The American Naturalist, 1881, p. 866).

6. Following Dall's example, Nordqvist (Ymer, 1882, p. 31), Gerland (Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdk. zu Berlin, Vol. XVIII, 1883, pp. 196, 202), and others use the latter name for the Namollo. Sagoskin /Zagoskin/, by the way, remarks, (Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie, proizved. v" 1842-1844 gg. /A Pedestrian's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America, Done in 1842-1844/, Pt. I, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 40) that he asked many northwest American Eskimo who they were and received the answer, "Juggyt," i.e., human beings.

E On
342 American soil the earth yurt is not absent among any of the
184 numerous Eskimo peoples from the Bering Sea and Kadjak to Greenland. It would lead me too far were I to pursue it for each
E people individually on this whole stretch. I shall therefore con-
[121] tent myself with mentioning only a few of them, namely those among whom it has reached colossal dimensions and a unique development and complexity, or where its presence is of special significance for our knowledge of the shifts and migrations of the whole Eskimo tribe.

E /342/ Among all the Eskimo peoples of northwest America,
342 for example, the Kanjagen /Koniag/ on Kadjak, the dwellers
345 along the Kuskokwim, the Kwichpak or Yukon and their tribu-
184 taries, the Eskimo along Norton Sound, along the Bering Strait; and even along the Arctic Ocean, one finds, in addition to the small earth yurts rising mound-like out of the ground and inhabited by one or several families, which, with a fireplace in the center,

/342 cont./

342 are provided with a smoke hole above it and sleeping benches
345 along the walls, and into which one climbs down sometimes
184 through the smoke hole, sometimes through a narrow, likewise semisubterranean passageway, larger earth-yurts for general use. They are the so-called kashim, which serve all the men of a place as a common dwelling, where they have their meetings, take communal baths, and in which the entertainments of the whole local population, dances, festive plays, and the like, take place. Dawydof mentions them from Kadjak (1);

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1. Dvukrat. putesh. v" Amer. morsk. ofits. Khvostova i Davydova /The Repeated Journey to America by Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1810, Part II, p. 21. According to Dawydof (op. cit., pp. 19, 20), the individual earth-huts of the Kanjagen, in addition to the central room with the fireplace, have two or three small, likewise subterranean, adjoining rooms, into which one can crawl from the former only with difficulty through a small, round, closable opening, and which, as in Kamchatka, are called shupan by the Russians. Such a room is generally occupied by two or three families, more rarely by one. The earth yurts of the Kanjagen are mentioned in even older reports on Kadjak, for instance, by Bragin ("Bericht von einer im J. 1772 angetretenen vierjähr. Seereise zu den zwischen Kamtschatka und Amerika geleg. Inseln /Report of a Four-Year Voyage Begun in 1772 to the Islands between Kamchatka and America/," in Pallas' Neue Nord. Beytr., St. Petersb. and Leipz., Vol. II, 1781, p. 315), Schelechof (Pervoe stranstvovanie s" 1783 po 1787 g. iz" Okhotska po Vostochn. Okeanu k" Amerik. bereg. i pr. Vo gradie Sv. Petra 1793 g. /The First Journey from 1783 to 1787 from

2: Schrenck--494 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Eskimo ND2

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1. (cont.)
Okhotsk across the Eastern Ocean to American Shores, etc. In the City of Saint Peter in 1793/, p. 82; in German transl. in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Vol. VI, 1793, p. 202), and Billings (Geogr.-astron. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russl., etc., p. 208). Likewise in Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 56). When I refer here to Schelechof, among others, I must add that the passage concerned is found in the first half of his above-named work, also reprinted by Pallas in German translation, which alone is noteworthy in that it contains the explorer's own observations. The second half, however, which bears the title, "Historische und geographische Beschreibung der Kurilischen, Aleutischen, Andrejanofschen und Fuchs-Inseln, die sich von Kamtschatka nach America hin im Oestlichen Ocean erstrecken /Historical and Geographical Description of the Kurile, Aleutian, Andreanof, and Fox Islands, Extending from Kamchatka to America in the Pacific Ocean/" is borrowed in literal translation from several sources, and, since this is neither noted in general nor is one of the sources named, but rather the whole description is printed as though coming from the explorer himself, it must be labeled as plagiarism. With regard to the part of it referring to the Kurile Islands, I have already on an earlier occasion pointed it out (see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Remarks on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/," in the Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IV, p. 428, note 47; Mél. biol., Vol. IV,

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1. (cont.)
p. 116, note 47). Baer believed that in the Schelechof work he had found the source from which the article, "Neue Beschreibung der Kurilischen Inseln /New Description of the Kurile Islands/," in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Vol. IV, was taken. But this is impossible because this volume of Pallas' Beiträge had already appeared in the year in which Schelechof first began his voyage from Okhotsk (1783), and, in addition, because it contains much information that is absent in Schelechof's work (second half). The latter, therefore, could either have been taken from the same Russian original that was the basis for the Pallas article, or it might only be merely an excerpted translation of the article published in the Beiträgen. At present it seems to me that there is scarcely any doubt but that it in fact originated in this latter fashion, for even the part referring to the Aleut is nothing but a translation of excerpts from the accounts given by various Russian voyagers (Lasaref /Lazarev/, Ssolowjof, Krenizyn, and Lewaschof, among others), which were first published by Will. Coxe, and it may be that either the original English work by the latter (Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, London, 1780) or the German translation of it (Die neuen Entdeckungen der Russen zwischen Asien und Amerika, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1783) was used. What makes the plagiarism even worse is the circumstance that the information given by the aforementioned Russian voyagers concerning the inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands, and especially of Unalaska, as the largest of them, is simply applied by Schlechof to the Kanjagen

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/342 cont./

1. (cont.)
of Kadjak, though the latter, being an Eskimo tribe, are completely different from them.

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/343/ Wassiljef (1), Sagoskin (2), Dall (3), Jacobsen (4) give

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1. See Wrangell, "Statist. und ethnogr. Nachr. über die Russ. Besitz. an der Nordwestküste von Amerika /Statistical and Ethnographic Information on the Russian Possessions on the Northwest Coast of America/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. I, St. Petersb., 1839, pp. 129-130). Glasunof also mentioned the kashim along the Kwichpak (Wrangell, op. cit., p. 146).

2. Peshekhod. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie, St. Petersburg, Pt. 1, 1847, p. 95; Pt. II, 1848, pp. 9, 12. The construction of
[171] the simple earth-yurts of the dwellers along the Kwichpak and Kuskokwim, which correspond completely with those of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, is described in detail by Sagoskin (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 55; Vol. II, p. 23). Among the Mag-
[171] mjuten, who live in the lowlands between the Kishunjak and Kapnajak, two branches of the Kwichpak), one is said to climb down through the smoke vent into the yurt, as among the Kamchadal in former times (Sagoskin, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 18).

3. Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, pp. 126, 127. The ordinary earth yurt of the Eskimo from the Kwichpak and from Norton Sound is likewise illustrated in Dall (op. cit.,

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3. (cont.)
pp. 13, 65), both as it appears from the outside, as a small mound, covered with snow in winter, with the entrance constructed of beams and an anteroom next to it, and in an ideal cross-section. Descriptions and an illustration of these earth yurts can also be found in Whymper (Travel and adventure in the territory of Alaska, London, 1868, pp. 131, 139, 152, 165), and elsewhere.

4. Capitain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerika's, 1881-1883 /Capt. Jacobsen's Journey along the Northwest Coast of America, 1881-1883/, ed. by A. Woldt, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 159, 260, etc.. In this work, by the way, the term kashim is always given in a somewhat distorted form as "kassigim" or "kassigit."

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342 detailed descriptions of the kashim along the Kuskokwim,
345 Kwichpak, and on Norton Sound. Dall adds to the description of
184 the interior nature of the kashim a vertical cross-section of it. Aside from its considerable size a kashim differs chiefly from the ordinary earth-yurt of the western American Eskimo in that just in front of the entrance, in the covered passageway through which one descends into the yurt, there is still another opening, which leads into a space below the wooden floor of the yurt, from which one reaches the latter through a trap door. On the occasion of festive entertainments, the performers of festival plays and dancers appear in this way before the spectators assembled in the kashim. The wooden floor can be completely
[515] removed. This is done, for instance, when the men take their
[354] communal bath, during which a mighty fire blazes on the floor in the middle of the kashim. In the more heavily populated
[352] places, where the kashim must accommodate a great many people -- and there are some that will hold up to 500 (5) --

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5. Sagoskin, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 23.

several rows of sleeping benches run along the walls above one another, like an amphitheater. Thus, with respect to size and complexity, the kashim, especially along the Kwichpak and Kuskokwim, represents the highest achievement in the construction of the earth yurt, which is so characteristic of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

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The other Eskimo tribes of the northwestern part of America also have just such earth-yurts, mound-shaped from the outside, for the winter, which are entered through a narrow, semisubterranean, covered passageway. Hence, the accounts or descriptions of them agree with one another in essentials, for example those that we have from Port Clarence (6), /344/ from the Bering

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6. F. W. Beechey, Narrat. of a Voyage to the Pacific and Berings-Strait, perf. in H. M. S. Blossom, London, 1831, Part II, p. 542.

Strait (1), from the Ssarytschof Islands (2), from Kotzebue

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1. Berth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt und drei Fahrten der kön.-brit. Freg. Herold nach dem nördl. Polarmeere zur Aufs. Sir John Frankl. in d. J. 1845-1851 /Voyage around the World and Three Expeditions of the Royal British Frigate "Herold" to the Polar Sea in Search of Sir John Franklin in 1845-1851/, 2nd ed., Hannover, 1858, Vol. II, pp. 20, 60, 62. According to Seemann's description these earth yurts are quite comfortable in winter, as I also found on Sakhalin; but toward the summer, when the snow melts, the floor in them is covered with several inches of water, and the inhabitants are forced to seek refuge in tents (op. cit., p. 63).

2: Schrenck--499 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Eskimo ND2

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2. O. v. Kotzebue, Entdeckungs-Reise in die Süd-See und nach der Berings-Strasse /Voyage of Discovery in the South Seas and the Bering Strait/, Vol. I, p. 139.

Sound (3), and from various points farther north and east along

3. Bedford Pim in Seemann, op. cit., p. 145.

the American coast of the Arctic Ocean, such as Point Hope (4),

4. Beechey, op. cit., Part I, p. 265.

the Arctic Cape (5), Franklin Point (6), Cape Barrow (7), Toker

5. Beechey, op. cit., pp. 272, 276, 304.

6. Beechey, op. cit., p. 274.

7. Hooper, Ten months among the tents of the Tuski, p. 227.

Point on Richard's Island, located opposite the mouth of the Mackenzie River (8), etc. Petitot (9) has given us the most

8. Hooper, op. cit., p. 343.

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9. Monographie des Esquimaux Tchiglit du Mackenzie et de l'Anderson, Paris, 1876, pp. 13, 14. In this work Petitot argues in favor of an Asiatic origin of the Eskimo.

detailed description and an illustration (a longitudinal cross-section and a ground plan) of these earth yurts as they are customarily found among the Tschiglit Eskimo between the Colville River and

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342 Cape Bathurst. If one cast only a fleeting glance at this illustra-
184 tion, he might think that it showed a small winter yurt of the
[171] Sakhalin Gilyak, so much do these earth huts correspond to each other in ground plan and in all essential features. Following the same ground plan, the Tschiglit Eskimo also build huts in the
345 snow for an overnight camp or a temporary stop (10). In addition
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10. Petitot, op. cit., p. 9 and illustration.

to and beside the individual yurts one also finds among the Eskimo living around the Arctic Ocean larger earth yurts or kashim for communal use, dancing, festival plays, and the like (11), only

11. Beechey, op. cit., Pt. I., p. 268; Pt. II, pp. 550, 568. Seemann, op. cit., p. 62. Petitot, op. cit., p. 22.

they, in accordance with the thinner population of these regions and the scarcity of building material, which is provided by driftwood in contrast to the forests along the Kwichpak and Kuskokwim, are of smaller dimensions than in those principal sites of the Eskimo population in northwestern America.

According to Richardson, the last kashim, going eastward from the Mackenzie River, is to be found at Point Atkinson, somewhat to the west of Cape Bathurst. None occur among the Eskimo living farther to the east, though the designation is familiar
000 to them (12). Among them the earth hut is being replaced more

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12. Sir John Richardson, Arctic Searching Expedition; a Journal of a boat-voyage through Ruperts Land and the arct. sea, London, 1851, Vol. I, p. 254. In the description of Franklin's second polar voyage (Narrat. of a sec. Expedit. to the shores of the Polar sea in the years 1825-1827, London 1828), in which, as is well known Richardson also participated, in particular

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12. (cont.)
traveling over the stretch of coast between the Mackenzie River and the Coppermine River, there is a plan and a description of the kashim at Point Atkinson (pp. 215 ff).

342 Among them the earth hut is being replaced more
184 and more, and at present almost completely, by snow huts,
[354] which, as has already been mentioned, are built according to
[198] the same ground-plan, but are warmed and illuminated only by train-oil lamps instead of the fire blazing in the center of the earth yurts of the Eskimo of the American Northwest and the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. /345/ Parry and Lyon, Hall, Klutschak, and others have given detailed descriptions and, in many instances, illustrations of these snow huts, their nature in the interior, the way in which they are constructed, etc. (1).

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1. Will. Edw. Parry, Journal of a second voyage for the discov. of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, performed in the years 1821-1823 in H.M.S. Fury and Hecla, London, 1824, pp. 160, 187, 499, etc., and the pertinent plates. Ch. Fr. Hall, Life with the Esquimaux, London, 1864, Vol. I, pp. 207, 209, 292, etc. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimo, pp. 46, 47, etc. According to the latter (op. cit., (p. 151), the Netschillik Eskimo of King William's Land and of the Adelaide Peninsula erect an especially large snow-hut for the celebration of festivities, in which, at a given signal, everyone assembled, men, women, and children.

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On the Melville Peninsula and the nearby islands, Parry and Lyon found the Eskimo living almost exclusively in snow huts, but at several points there, especially on Iglulik /Igloolik/ Island in the Fury and Hecla Strait, where the explorers spent the winter of 1822/23, there were some permanent dwellings

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342 built out of solider materials, particularly earth, stones, and
184 whale bones (2), which one would be fully justified in calling

2. Parry, op. cit., p. 279.

earth huts, and many traces and remains of such dwellings were found in many other places, such as, for instance, on the Calthorpe Islands in the same strait and on the opposite shore
[237] of Baffin Land (3). These stone or bone huts, as Parry calls

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3. Parry, op. cit., pp. 285, 349. Also, Rae (Narrat. of an Exped. to the shores of the Arctic Sea, London, 1850, p. 133) found remains of such ancient Eskimo dwellings along Christie Lake, not far from Repulse Bay.

them, are not sunk into the ground, which would be too difficult to be feasible for the Eskimo, with the ground here constantly frozen even at shallow depths and only inadequate building implements, but the lower part does consist of a circular stone or earth embankment, over which is raised a roof framework made out of whale and walrus bones converging inward and toward the top (4); in addition, this framework, as well as

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4. The driftwood occurring only sparsely there is too highly prized by the Eskimo as material for making various implements, such as spear points and the like, for them to use it for housebuilding.

all the crevices and in general the whole edifice, is covered on the outside with earth, turf, sod, etc., and, finally, here, too, a low, narrow, similarly covered passageway, through which one has to crawl on all fours, leads into the interior of the hut, so that this completely has the character and the nature of an earth yurt. Around Frobisher Bay in

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342 184 Baffin Land, the Eskimo had lived exclusively in snow huts during the winter for only a few years when Hall stayed among them in 1860-62, and at several points there were still remains of their former bone, stone, or earth huts precisely of the above-mentioned type (5). In 1883 and 1884, in Cumberland Sound

5. Hall, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 131; Vol. II, pp. 90, 111, 289. In the last-named places there is mention of the remains of Eskimo huts completely sunk into ground and provided with subterranean entrances.

and along the Davis Strait, Boas saw the Eskimo living in snow huts, but at several places he found rows of old stone-huts, which they provided with new roofs in the fall and very happily [361] likewise used as dwellings (6). /346/ The reason why the

[113] 6. Dr. Franz Boas, "Baffin-Land, Geograph. Ergebnisse einer 1883 und 1884 ausgeführten Forschungsreise /Baffin Land, Geographical Results of an Exploratory Expedition Undertaken in 1883 and 1884/," (Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., Supplementary Issue, No. 80, pp. 65, 77).

Eskimo of all these regions are forced to erect snow huts obviously is that in order to be able to pursue successfully the various branches of hunting necessary for their existence, they are obliged to change their dwelling sites often even in winter, sometimes moving closer to the edge of the oceanic ice, sometimes back farther into the lee of the coast, and occasionally [174] undertaking a greater shift in locality. It is therefore certain that the snow huts have been used by the Eskimo since ancient [177] times besides and in addition to the stone or earth huts. If, [161] however, the latter are disappearing more and more before the

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342 184 [177] 174 [161] former and at present are to be found almost solely in numerous remains, I would explain it by the fact that the Eskimo in these very regions so frequently visited by whalers have been especially heavily decimated as a result of introduced diseases and the like and are already rapidly dying out (1), so it is only

1. See Boas, op. cit., pp. 69 ff., concerning the rapid disappearance of the Eskimo in Cumberland Sound and along the Davis Straits in recent times.

natural that they should turn away from the stone and bone dwellings, which are difficult to erect, and, on the other hand, turn to housing that can be built with less trouble and in less time out of a material present everywhere in abundance (2).

[114] 2. Hall (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 325, with the accompanying illustration) thought that the Eskimo took the pattern for their snow huts from the shelters that the seals make for their young when they are dropped, which consist of mound-shaped excavations in the snow over their ice holes. But the nature of the snow huts of the Eskimo can be explained much more simply and more naturally by the fact that these temporary dwellings are simply modeled after the traditional, permanent, stone or earth huts.

The dwellings of the Greenland Eskimo are similar to those on the American mainland. When Hans Egede went there (1721), everywhere on the west coast in winter they lived in stone and earth huts, of which, because of the still numerous population at that time, there were sometimes very many together; at one place, for example, up to 30, and among them a house of especially large dimensions, in which

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some 50 men lived with their wives and children (3). Cranz

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3. Hans Egede, Ausführliche und wahrhafte Nachricht vom Anfange und Fortgange der Grönländischen Mission /Detailed and Accurate Account of the Start and Progress of the Greenland Mission/ etc., Hamburg, 1740, pp. 27, 28.

gives a detailed description, as well as a ground plan and an illustration, of the interior of these houses (4), which are quite

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4. David Cranz, Historie von Grönland, enthaltend die Beschreib. des Landes und der Einwohner etc., insbes. die Gesch. der dortigen evangel. Brüder /History of Greenland, containing a description of the country and the inhabitants, etc., in particular the history of the Evangelical Brothers there/, Barby and Leipzig, 1770, Pt. 2, P. 185, Pl. IV.

similar to the above-mentioned stone and earth huts of the Eskimo of the American mainland, both in their exterior and their construction out of stones, earth, turf, and sod, and in their interior, especially in the long, low, and narrow covered-passageway which leads to it. The winter houses of the Eskimo on Prudhoe Land, or the "Arctic Highland" of Greenland as John Ross called it (5), with whom Kane and Hayes /347/ often

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5. Entdeckungsreise mit den kön. Schiff. "Isabella" und "Alexander," um Baffins-Bay anszuforschen /Voyage of Discovery with the Royal Ships "Isabella" and "Alexander" to Explore Baffin Bay/, etc., transl. from the English by P. A. Nemnich, Leipzig, 1820, p. 59.

2: Schrenck--506 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Eskimo ND2

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342 184 came in contact in 1853-55 and 1860/61 from their winter stations (Rensselaer Harbor and Port Foulk) (1) are quite similar,

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1. Elisha Kent Kane (Arctic Explorations: the second Grinnel Exped. in search of Sir John Franklin, London, 1861, pp. 72, 227, 242, 334) gives detailed descriptions and also an illustration of the Eskimo huts in Anoatok, Itah, etc.

though much smaller, in the form of hemispherical, stone and earth mounds from the outside, and likewise provided with a long, low, tunnel-shaped entranceway. [192] The huts and remains of huts found by the younger Scoresby (2) on Jameson's

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2. Tagebuch einer Reise auf den Walfischfang, verbunden mit Untersuch. und Entdeck. an der Ostküste von Grönland, im Sommer 1822 /Diary of a Whaling Expedition Connected with Investigations and Explorations along the East Coast of Greenland in the Summer of 1822/; translated from the English and annotated by Friedr. Kries, Hamburg, 1825, pp. 231, 236, 328, etc., and Plate VIII (map of the deserted Eskimo village on Jameson's Land).

Land, on the east coast of Greenland, on Traill Island, etc. were of precisely the same type, in part even sunk into the ground and provided with a long subterranean entranceway, as, in all probability, were those that Clavering encountered in 1828 on the island named after him (3), and which were

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3. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1868, p. 228, with map, Pl. 17; 1870, p. 325 and Pl. 21.

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342 substantiated by the second German Arctic Expedition of 1870
184 both there and on other points of Greenland's east coast (4).
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4. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, pp. 414, 418. Clavering had also met several natives there, whereas the German Arctic Expedition did not find any.

342 As is well-known, the remains of huts and other traces of
172 human habitations in former times have been brought to light
174 on the islands stretching polewards from the American continent up to the extreme north, where at present there is no longer any population. In 1865, Markham noted the locations of these hut remains on a map and linked them with far-reaching conclusions concerning migrations which, he believes, once took place in the upper Arctic regions of America and Asia (5). He,

[113] 5. Clem. R. Markham, "On the Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Esquimaux" (The Journal of the Royal Geograph. Soc., London, Vol. XXXV, 1865, pp. 87-99).

too, believes that the Eskimo came to America from Asia via the Bering Strait and spread from there to Hudson Bay and the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, where, in what was formerly Vinland, the Normans, coming from Greenland, first met them and called them "Skrällinger" because of their small stature; but he absolutely rejects the notion that they might have gone from there via Davis Strait or Baffin Bay to Greenland (6). Rather

[114] 6. Markham does not explain further why he regards it as inadmissible -- he quite categorically says only: "the Esquimaux assuredly never crossed over to Greenland by navigating Davis-Strait or Baffins-Bay" (op. cit., p. 89).

/347 cont./

342 he says that southern Greenland received its indigenous (Eskimo)
172 population from the north, from the so-called "Arctic Highland,"
174 and this, in turn, had received its population from the west, from Siberia. According to Markham, the route by which this happened is clearly shown by the above-mentioned hut-remains. These extend in an unbroken belt from Banks Land and Melville Island eastward over the entire Parry Archipelago to Baffin Bay and Smith Sound opposite the Arctic Highland of Greenland. But if one goes westward and southward from the Parry Archipelago, one comes to the part of the Siberian coast of the Arctic Sea, where there are many traditions, handed down to us by Wrangell and others, of peoples who had formerly been permanently settled there, /348/ but have now disappeared and are scarcely known even by name, such as the Omok, Schelager, Yukagir, etc., all of whom are said to have moved northward across the Arctic Ocean (1). According to Markham,

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1. It must almost certainly be regarded as only a slip of the pen when among these peoples who have disappeared and are now barely known by name Markham (op. cit., p. 91) also names the Tungus, this most widespread tribe, in its many branches, in Siberia today, for otherwise complete ignorance of the ethnological situation in this region would be revealed.

the cradle of the Greenland Eskimo is to be sought here, and the point of departure for their migration, which lasted for centuries and finally brought them to their present homeland. In answer to the possible objection against such a migration, that the vast expanse between Siberia and the western parts of the Parry Archipelago appears unbridged to this day, Markham pointed out the possibility that in this area there might be a large mainland or a chain of islands on which one might eventually find hut remains similar to those on the Parry Archipelago.

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114 On the other hand, he completely ignores the fact arguing even
174 more against his above view, that the Eskimo on Greenland and
172 those on the American continent on the basis of language, physical characteristics, customs, etc., undoubtedly belong to one and the same people. Dr. F. Boas has recently presented an even more detailed and complete map of all the traces and remains of the former population of the Arctic-American archipelago (2), but in so doing reached results completely different

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2. "Ueber die ehemalige Verbreitung der Eskimo im arktish-amerikanischen Archipel /On the Former Distribution of the Eskimo in the Arctic-American Archipelago/" (Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XVIII, 1883, pp. 118-136, plus map, Pl. 2).

from those of Markham. From the fact that the traces and remains of huts, fire and tent or camping places, the bones of slain animals, weapons, etc. are only sparsely found in the western part of the territory in question and even seem to be completely missing on the westernmost island of the Parry Archipelago, Prince Patrick Island, but in the eastern half, on Bathurst and Cornwallis Islands, North Devon, Ellesmere and Grinnell Lands, and even in the extreme northwest of Greenland, are numerous and in fact occur in the largest accumulations in the vicinity of regions still inhabited by Eskimo today, and from the circumstance that the hut remains most completely preserved or described in greater detail by travelers (3), and likewise the weapons and tools, are quite similar

3. For instance, the two huts found in the Bay of Mercy on Banks Land, which had roof frames of whale bones, or the stone huts deep in the ground in the vicinity of Point Palmer on Melville Island (Boas, op. cit., pp. 126, 127), and others.

/348 cont./

114 to the dwellings, weapons, and tools of the neighboring Eskimo,
172 Boas quite justifiably draws the conclusion that all these remains
174 belong to the Eskimo and are not, say, landmarks of their migration from the west, but merely signs of various shifts in locality or irregular migrations such as the Eskimo carry out for various reasons almost everywhere along the borders of the regions inhabited by them, for example, for the purpose of changing their hunting territories, or in their dealings with one
174 another, and so forth. /349/ It cannot be denied, however, that in the course of time a movement or shift toward the north has taken place in the distribution of the Eskimo. This is shown beyond any doubt by a survey of their entire area of distribution and especially from a consideration of the relatively southern latitudes in which the Normans first met them in the eleventh century, their absence on Greenland at that time, and their present far northern, in part even arctic, sites. As I have already
[648] mentioned (1), this northward movement of the Eskimo was

1. See p. 249 /untranslated/ above.

caused by their compulsory retreat before the steady advance, considerably reinforced by the European colonization of the Indian tribes living to the south of them, with whom, on the whole line of their southern boundary, they have had bloody feuds handed down from generation to generation and continuing to this day. The consequences of this movement of the Eskimo are nowhere more apparent than in the extreme northwest and northeast of the American mainland: just as in the former a branch of them, the Namollo, was forced back by this movement across the Bering Strait to Asia (2), so in the latter were

2. See above, pp. 250 /untranslated/, 496.

the Eskimo pushed from the Hudson Bay areas to Greenland. And to be sure, the migration of the Eskimo here could have

2: Schrenck--511 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Eskimo ND2

/349 cont./

174 been to several places simultaneously, or, more probably, successively to one after another: first from Baffin Land and from the Cumberland Peninsula across the narrowest place in Davis Strait, perhaps from Cape Walsingham to South Bay (3),

3. As Cranz (Historie von Grönland, Vol. I, p. 338) also assumes.

from where they spread along the west coast of Greenland southward to its southern tip and then northward along the east coast, and then from North Devon, Ellesmere Land and Grinnell Land, over the northern end of Baffin Bay and Smith Sound, to Prudhoe Land or the so-called Arctic Highland of Greenland, where they remained separated from their southern tribesmen because of the glaciers and ice masses of Melville Bay, but they extended their migrations northward up to the northernmost edge of Greenland known up to now, Thank-God-Harbour and other points along Robeson Channel (4). In part, the migration of the

4. Boas, "Ueber die ehem. Verbreitung der Eskimo," op. cit., p. 134. Boas thinks that it is not unlikely, especially according to the most recent facts discovered by Greely (as yet unpublished), that the Eskimo migrated on Greenland from Robeson Channel to the north and in this manner reached the east coast (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., Supplementary Issue, No. 80, p. 90). Captains Holm and Rink are also inclined to think that the Eskimo of eastern Greenland (Angmagsalikker) reached the east coast via the north of Greenland (H. Rink, "Die Ostgrönländer in ihrem Verhältniss zu den übrigen Stämmen /The Relationship of the Eastern Greenlanders to the Other Tribes/. -- Deutsche Geograph. Blätter, Vol. IX, p. 239).

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Eskimo ND2
Aleut NA6

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174 Eskimo to Greenland may have been an involuntary one, in that, according to the testimony of polar explorers, it not infrequently happens that boats manned from the ice by Eskimo or fields of ice on which seal-hunting Eskimo find themselves are detached from the shore by high waves, seized by the wind and current, and driven to other, more or less distant coasts (5).

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5. Hall (Life with the Esquimaux, London, 1864, Vol. I, pp. 264, 305), Kane (Arctic Explorations: the sec. Grinnell Exped., London, 1861, p. 394), Boas (Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. für Erdk. zu Berlin, Vol. XVIII, 1883, p. 123), and others report such cases. Hall (op. cit., I, p. 255) even says that no winter passes without similar cases occurring among the Eskimo.

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/350/ Finally -- to return to the winter houses of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples -- it remains for me to discuss the Aleut. When they were first discovered, they, too, lived everywhere, on the so-called Fox Islands, Unalaska, Umnak, etc., as well as on the Andrejanof Islands farther west, in earth yurts, which, as is said in the reports on the old Russian voyages in the Bering Sea (1), were similar to those of the Kamchadal, sedentary Koryak, and Eskimo.

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1. For instance, in the reports on the voyages of Lasaref, Puschkarjof, Korowin, Ssolowjof in the years 1761-1764. See Coxe, Die neuen Entdeck. der Russen zwischen Asien und Amerika /New Russian Discoveries between Asia and America/, transl. from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1783, pp. 75, 85, 118, 178; also Pallas, "Erläuterungen über die im östl. Ocean zwischen Sibirien u. Amerika geschehenen Entdeckungen /Commentary on the Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean between

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1. (cont.)
Siberia and America/" (Neue Nord. Beitr. Vol. I, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1781, p. 311), and the same, "Auszug aus dem Reiseber. des Russ. Steuermanns Saikof über eine bis an das feste Land von Amerika geschehene Schifffahrt /Excerpt from the Travel Account of the Russian Navigator Saikof on a Voyage to the American Mainland/" (Neue Nord. Beitr., Vol. III, 1782, p. 280).

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Koryak, and Eskimo. Like these, they essentially consisted of a pit dug quite deeply into the ground and a roof built over it out of driftwood or whale bones covered with sod, grass, and earth, in which there was one or, in the case of yurts of considerable size, several openings which served as smoke vent and window, and through which one descended into the yurt on notched beams. Sometimes in these, in addition to the central room, there were also side rooms built into the earth walls, which, by means of a narrow channel, opened to the outside and served as another exit out of the yurt for the occupants in case of need or danger, hence an arrangement quite similar to the yurts of the Kamchadal and the shupan, as the Russians call them, of the Kadjaker (2). In Ssarytschof (3), Sauer (4),

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2. See above, p. 473, note 2, and p. 493, note 1.

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3. Puteshestvie po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri i pr., Pt. II, St. Petersburg, pp. 14, 157.

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4. Billing's Geogr.-astron. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, transl. from the Eng., Berlin, 1802, p. 294.

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342 and Langsdorf (5), one finds descriptions of these Aleut yurts, and
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5. Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803-1807, Frankf. a. M., Vol. II, pp. 30, 56.

in the first also a view of the exterior. The most detailed description of their construction and interior arrangement, however, was given by Weniaminof (6), though at the time of his

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6. Zapiski ob" ostrovakh" Unalashk. Otdiela /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Pt. II, pp. 204-211.

stay on the Aleutian Islands (1824-1834) there were no longer any yurts of the old original style, because after 1805, when a revision of the Russian-American Company was made by Chamberlain Rjasanof, the Aleut, by his orders, had to build their yurts more according to the model of the Russian log-houses, as much as possible on level ground, with the same kind of doors
175 and windows, etc. Moreover, since that time, instead of the
342 formerly very large yurts as a rule, in which several families
[178] lived beside one another, more and more small dwellings intended for individual families have gradually appeared among
[345] them. Incidentally, even the most spacious of the old yurts were always private houses and not used exclusively for communal purposes, though occasionally dances and festivities took
175 place in them (7). On the other hand, /351/ according to
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7. Thus, on Unalaska, Kotzebue (Entdeckungs-Reise in die Süd-See u. nach der Berings-Strasse, Weimar, 1821, Vol. I, p. 167) watched the dances of many Aleut assembled in a "large subterranean dwelling."

Weniaminof, there were never any kashim, such as among the North American Eskimo, among the Aleut, either in his time or

2: Schrenck--515 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
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in more ancient times (1).

1. Weniaminof, op. cit., p. 201.

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After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth yurt, the toryf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tschadryf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have therefore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

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2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mizul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

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3. "Histor. Ber.," etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ocherk" o. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (5), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

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000 winter houses from the Chinese. That it reached the Gilyak
342 from the south, down the Amur, is shown, as was mentioned
111 above, by the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese
[174] winter-yurts in their area, in particular by the fact that on Sakhalin the latter are found only along the west coast of the island facing the mouth of the Amur. Actually, this type of construction of the winter house can be followed continuously among all the peoples of the lower Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, up to the Chinese along the Ussuri and Sungari. There it is prevalent everywhere among the
342 Manchu, Chinese and Daur (6). For example, the Chinese
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6. The latter will be dealt with separately below.

U-tschen, in the description of his birthplace, Ninguta, written by him in 1722, mentions that the houses there have three kang, i.e., sitting and sleeping benches or plank beds running along the walls and heated by pipes running under them (7).

7. According to U-tschen, the kang, about six feet wide and two fathoms, five to six feet long, were put along the north, west, and south walls of the houses; along the east wall, separated by a partition from the rest of the room, was the women's room, which had two kang, along the north and along the south wall. The kang are covered with reed or straw mats, over which a red felt carpet is frequently spread. Cf. U-tschen's writing in the translation by Wassiljef: "Zapiski o Ningutie" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. XII, 1857, p. 98).

2: Schrenck--517 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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The French missionary Venault (8) and the Korean Kimaĭ-

8. "Excursion dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., Vol. XXX, 1852, Vol. II, p. 208).

Kim (9) likewise mention the kang in the houses of Ninguta,

9. "Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évêque de Belline, 1844" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., 1847, Vol. I, p. 71).

Girin, Ssan-Ssin, and other places which they touched on their travels through Manchuria, /352/ and later travelers, such as Williamson (1), Barabasch (2), and others found it in general

1. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 229.

2. "Sungariiskaia eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., Vol. XVII, 1874, No. 2, p. 332).

use along the Sungari, Nonni, Churcha or Mutuan-ho, etc. (3).

3. In the middle of the house, where among the Gilyak the dogs' table stands, there is an elevation made of clay or bricks with a cavity the size of an ordinary tub. Wood and charcoal are kept burning in it, so that it is always full of hot ashes; kettles with hot water stand there for replenishing the tea cups, brandy and beer are warmed there in tin containers, etc. Williamson, op. cit.

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342 354 171 352 Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of pipes going out from the hearth, running under the sleeping benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house, is by no means of an indigenous Manchurian origin, but rather of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from the motherland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies. For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in North China (4) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, are

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4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part older, in part more detailed discussions or descriptions of it; for example, in Du Halde (Descript. géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et litér. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 346), Davis (La Chine ou descript. génér. des moeurs et des coutumes etc. de l'empire Chinois, transl. from Eng. by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 331), Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 380), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 192-194 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 24), and Girard (France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

2: Schrenck--519 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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352 more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),
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5. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733-1743, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. I, p. 448), Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Maimatschin opposite Kjachta. In Huc (Souv. d'un Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 13), there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, espe-

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6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of modifications and complications in the heating of the houses, just as in the rest of the construction; for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of rooms (7), the heating pipes

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7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing hoei-tien." Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1843, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor and in the walls separating the rooms (8), etc.,

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8. Van Braam, op. cit. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte "Novara" um die Erde in den J. 1857-1859 unter den Befehlen des Kommod. B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair /Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the World under the Command of Commodore B. von Wüllerstorf-Urbair/, Anthropol. Part,

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8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

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Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uftsch, uftsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

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352 running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than
354 for the head. There is another justification for this custom in
513 the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his
516 head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats,
171 which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which al-
[136] ways run along the walls, would be constantly running over the
G face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse
[184] to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their lang,
[199] if superstition did not demand strict observance of the tradi-
tional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by
G whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.
342 Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be deter-
171 mined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the
Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the
earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of
G Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of
[175] Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak
at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-
45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that
342 time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kam-
199 chadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear
175 before an imported, foreign type of house construction within
the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheninnikof
and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the
Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above.
Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's
third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the
peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

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4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

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K 342 175 177 Shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Ssarytschof reported /354/ from his journey through the country that there were no longer any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style houses (log houses, so-called isba) had been built everywhere; only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal, which are likewise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by

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1. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

Mamia Rinsô on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that the same thing had happened among the Gilyak on the Amur. Coming from the territory of the S'janta (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Horo (Chjare), he noticed that from there on people, dwellings, implements, and way of life changed and became exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts as on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Krusenstern had found Chinese winter-yurts among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. If, in addition, one considers the fact that Mamia Rinsô was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur region were too different to have produced an equally rapid disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled

K 342 177 G [342] [177] K [648]

K 342 177 648 /354 cont./

permanently among the natives, who were greatly decimated by the previous bloody battles, building their houses in their own way and entering into permanent, peaceful relations with the Kamchadal, even mixing with them more and more. It is therefore not surprising that their style of building soon became the customary one throughout the region. Matters were different in the lower Amur region among the Chinese and Manchu: a conquest and colonization of this region by the peoples named have never taken place. As was discussed above in detail (3),

G 342 177 439 [648]

3. See pp. 119, 142-144 above.

it instead was and is visited only from time to time by individual Manchu officials and Chinese merchants who, in a few places where they have their own houses, always take up residence in the houses of the natives, and this only among the Tungusic Amur-peoples, for the Gilyak have even denied the Chinese traders entry into their region. Hence, it undoubtedly must have taken a long time before the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak from the Chinese on the Sungari, spreading down this river and the Amur from people to people, and the trading expeditions which the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from ancient times to now have conducted annually to the Chinese along the Sungari and on which they have had repeated opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese house, must certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

G [174]

G 342 /355/ In April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak find it necessary to abandon their winter dwellings and to move into their summer dwellings. First the inhabitants of the earth yurts are driven out of their houses, because they are made wet and uninhabitable by the water running in both from the top and the sides as a consequence of the melting snow and the thawing of the ground. The Chinese winter-yurts, set on level ground, are more serviceable, even in spring and summer, though even in them water sometimes comes through or over

/355 cont./

342 the low threshold and soaks the floor when the snow melts quickly or when there are heavy rains. Even these dwellings, however, become impossible in summer because of the warm sleeping benches, which inevitably are heated each time food is cooked, and because of the above-mentioned vermin, and, finally, the catching of fish carried on in this season of the year requires the move into the summer dwellings, which are more favorably and conveniently located for it.

[184] The summer dwelling of the Gilyak is of the same type everywhere, on the continent as well as on Sakhalin, and bears the same designation in both places: kăryf. The most striking exterior feature is that it rests on piles which rise four to five feet above the ground. Only at isolated points on the west coast of Sakhalin, south of the Amur-Liman, especially in Tangi, Choji, Arkai, and Dui, did I see summer houses set on level ground, but otherwise of exactly the same type, outside and in, as those resting on piles (1). The aim that the Gilyak have in

[251]

[361]

1. The large village on Nadeshda Bay at the northern tip of Sakhalin (Ngywr-wo, see p. 467 above), which was visited by Krusenstern, had summer houses resting on piles. See his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 182.

in mind with this construction on piles is a twofold one: first, to protect their dwellings against inundations, since the Amur, as a result of prolonged rainfall, often rises considerably and floods the lower stretches of its banks; and then also to make the houses airier and drier by setting them not directly upon the damp ground but somewhat above it, with a constant flow of air under them and penetrating even into the house itself through the crevices in the floor; this is all the more necessary since part of the fish supply is stored in them. Both may also

[184] have been decisive for the Gilyak living along the seacoast, for there, too, depending on the locality, a sudden rise of the waters as a result of stormy winds must be reckoned with, and

/355 cont./

342 184 as far as the humidity of the air is concerned, it is even greater there due to the nearness of the sea and the exceedingly frequent fogs and rain. Thus, if the Gilyak on Sakhalin build their summer houses on level ground in places, they must know that they are safe there against the first menace and in addition have other important reasons for building such dwellings. I think that one of these reasons is that these dwellings, less exposed to the wind, are warmer than those resting on piles and therefore can be moved into earlier in the year and can be occupied longer in the autumn. The first circumstance, /356/ however, is of importance in particular for the southern part of the Gilyak area of Sakhalin, where the Gilyak are driven from their earth yurts earlier in the year by the melting snow. It was in this southern part that I encountered the summer house built on level ground. In Tangi I found it occupied as early as February 8/20, and in Arkai on February 28 (March 11), when it was still fully winter. In Duĭ, however, it was still uninhabited on [122] February 27 (March 10), although I stayed in it because the two winter-yurts of the village were overcrowded as a result of a great confluence of Gilyak. This latter summer house, in contrast to several others built close to the shore, was farther from the sea, beside the winter yurts, and its owner planned to use it even in late autumn and not leave it until winter set in /Illustration appears here./

342 On Plate XIII[2]a summer dwelling of the Amur Gilyak is shown, and, to be sure, a yurt in Mão, the summer residence of the Gilyak living in Kuĭk in the winter. It is a structure resting on piles, about three fathoms wide and four to five fathoms long, and looks rather clumsy. The walls are made of thin beams which, as in the case of the winter houses, are not joined at the ends, but are somewhat pointed and are stuck into the grooves of the upright piles. The rather flat roof consists of crudely hewn boards which are held together by poles fastened crosswise. On a notched [417] beam slanting against the front of the house one climbs onto a level narrow sill which runs along the whole front of the house, is partly covered by the somewhat projecting roof, and which

[See category 116, P. 993--Analyst]

/356 cont./

342 one might call a narrow balcony (1). On the accompanying plan

1. Krusenstern (op. cit.) calls it a gallery.

of a Gilyak summer-house it is the space a bounded with a dotted line toward the front. The entrance to it (b) is precisely in the middle of the front side of the house, or, as in the illustration on [353] Plate XIII, somewhat to the side. Through this, however, one

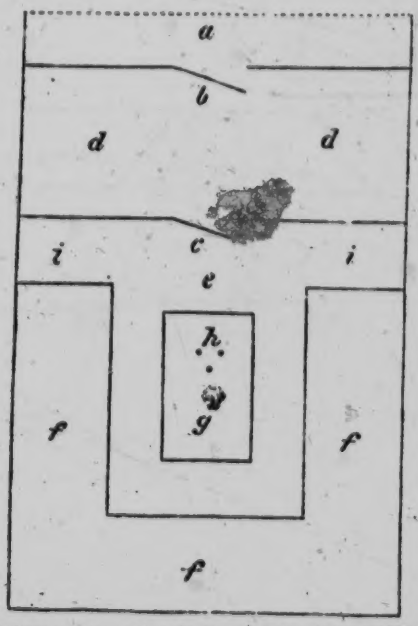

a -- Sill or narrow balcony along the front side of the yurt. b, c -- Doors. d -- Anteroom for the storage of implements and supplies. e -- Actual living room. f -- Sleeping benches. g -- Hearth. h -- Stone triangle for the big kettle. i -- Corners for odds and ends.

Plan of a Gilyak Summer-Yurt (käryf).

first enters a good-sized front space (d), which is used for the storage of various implements, as well as for storing supplies of fish and the like, and only behind it is the living room proper (e) found (2). This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,

[114]

2. Krusenstern found this room locked and though that it was the room for the women, which fitted in with his general conception of a northern Sakhalin population consisting of "Tatars," which, however, does not at all correspond with reality.

342 /357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,
[352] in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along
[354] three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (c), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.
[417] Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle
[353] over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply
342 of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a
354 whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mão at the
342 time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to
825 be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction
[251] of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing
342 up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/357 cont./

342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

342 231 The above description also applies, apart from the specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a sort of antehouse is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

251 [22] [226] [417] Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter, one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite similar to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crosspoles under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see 000 Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer,

1. A more detailed description of the treatment of the fish before they are dried, as well as of the use of the individual parts and the like, will be given later at the appropriate place.

343 [251] /358 cont./ For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer, there are special storehouses, which, however, since consumption takes place in winter, are always located beside the winter dwellings, and the supplies are carried to them as they accumulate.

The storehouses of the Gilyak (njö, in the Tro and Tymy dialect njo) /illustration appears here/ appear at first glance to be very similar to the summer dwellings in that, like them, they rest on piles (on which the above-mentioned pieces of birch bark may not be absent) (2) and have the same kind of walls and roofs, indeed,

[113] [171]

2. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 482) mentions that the Cheremis along the Kama and Wjatka, like most of the Kasan Tatars, put their sheaves of stored grain in round, pointed heaps above four piles connected by beams and covered

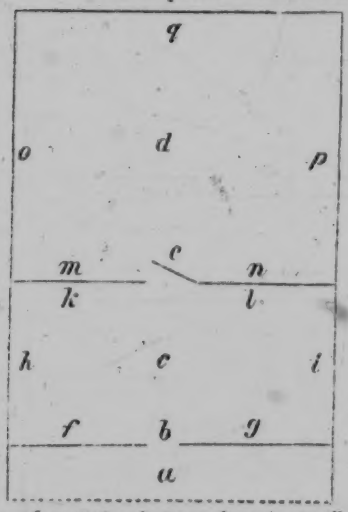

a -- Balcony-like sill on the front side of the house. b -- Entrance opening. c -- Front section, d -- rear section. e -- Door between them. f to q -- The eleven wall surfaces.

Plan of a Gilyak Storehouse (njö, njo).

with bark, which makes them inaccessible to mice.

even the same balcony-like sill on the front side, to which one climbs on a thin, notched beam, which can easily be taken away; but even the largest of them are always smaller than the latter, and the entrance is likewise lower and narrower, indeed, sometimes

G /358 cont./
343 merely an approximately square hole which is just big enough so that a person can go through it in a stooped position, and whose cover is a board that fits it exactly, before which a crosspiece of wood is advanced instead of a bolt (3). The interior of the store-

3. An illustration of the front side of such a storehouse, among other things, will be found below on a plate showing a funeral procession of the Gilyak.

house is usually divided by a partition into two sections, which are connected by a door, so that in it, as the accompanying plan indicates, there are eleven separate, larger or smaller wall surfaces, along which the supplies of fish are stacked.

G
342 /359/ Like the earth yurt, all the pile buildings mentioned above, the summer yurt, the storehouse, etc., are original,
343 peculiarly Gilyak structures which the neighbors of the Gilyak,
171 the Tungusic Amur-peoples, lack, but which recur among many other Paleo-Asiatic tribes. For example, according to
K [175] Krascheninnikof's and Steller's descriptions and an illustration
[342] given by the latter, the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal are pyramidal huts built on high piles, which are called balagan
000 by the Russians (1). The Eskimo of the American Northwest along

K [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 215. Steller also gives the dampness of the air and the ground as the compelling reason for the construction of such "airy dwellings" on Kamchatka. This explains why these peculiar dwellings continued to be retained after the earth yurts, as mentioned above, had already been forced out by Russian-type dwellings.

K [132]

K [178] [179]

2: Schrenck--531 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Eskimo ND2

G 343 171 E 343

/359 cont./ The Eskimo of the American Northwest along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, and the Arctic Ocean erect their storehouses on high piles above the ground in order to safeguard the supplies of fish, skins, furs, and the like stored in them during the summer both against the humidity and against attacks by mice, foxes, wolves, and especially the dogs, which are always hungry during the summer (2).

2. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie, St. Petersburg, 1847, Pt. I, p. 56. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 27. Jacobsen, Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, Leipzig, 1884, p. 173. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, Hannover, 1858, p. 62. In Dall (op. cit., pp. 13 and 65) there are also illustrations of such "dovecote-like" buildings, as Seemann aptly calls them. The designation barabora for them (Sagoskin, op. cit.), which Dall also uses for the summer and winter dwellings of the Eskimo (op. cit., pp. 39, 65), arose according to Steller (op. cit., p. 218; for him, "barabara"), through the corruption on the part of the Russian Cossacks in Kamchatka of the word "pasapar," by which, however, the Kamchadal refer to a hut made out of long grass for an overnight stay.

E [192]

G 342 194

Thus, the Gilyak, where they have kept their original dwellings and constructions, and many another Paleo-Asiatic people can to a certain extent be called cave-dwellers or troglodytes in winter and pilework-dwellers in summer. In this respect they stand at a point which on European soil belongs to a far distant, prehistoric period. From this point of view, too, the designation of Paleo-Asiatic peoples, which I have proposed for these remnants of an ancient population formerly more widespread on Asiatic soil, is in a certain sense justified.

/359 cont./

342 Before I leave the Gilyak, I must come back to the question touched on above about an approximate determination of their total number according to the number of their winter dwellings. Such an estimate can only be undertaken on the basis of the winter dwellings, not the summer ones, if only because the number of the former is far easier to ascertain with some precision than is that of the latter. If the large winter houses with their separate chimneys nearby, with smoke sometimes pouring out, more readily strikes the eye of the traveler at any time, this is especially the case in winter, since on the journey then from village to village the dog-drawn /360/ sled brings him directly in front of one of the winter houses, whereas the summer houses off to one side and sometimes at a considerable distance from them, without a road or path, can easily be overlooked, or even confused with the storehouses, which are of very similar construction. Moreover, the statements of the Gilyak themselves, when asked about the number of houses in this or that place, always refer only to the winter dwellings, for it is in these solid, spacious winter dwellings, erected with a great expenditure of labor and energy, that the life of the Gilyak is concentrated during the greater part of the year, from about the middle of October to the middle of May, that is, seven months. Everyone of them finds a hospitable reception there on his winter travels and journeys, shelter and food for himself and his dogs, the bear festivals are celebrated there amid a confluence from near and far, etc.; in short, the winter dwellings are the true permanent dwellings of the Gilyak, whereas in summer the fishing and the gathering of all kinds of provisions puts the whole population in a more or less fluctuating movement and scattered over a broad area, and in addition the mild season makes a house less necessary. For this reason, incidentally, winter is also the most suitable time of the year for ethnographic investigations among the Gilyak. The number of winter dwellings in the individual Gilyak villages is of interest for still another reason, for it gives an immediate yardstick for their size and importance and indicates the principal and central points of Gilyak life both

/360 cont./

342 in general and in the individual areas. Such principal and
[177] central points are of special importance for the ethnographer, because here the national character of a people as a rule appears more sharply and precisely stamped and the peculiar usage and customs remain protected longer against foreign influences, whereas in smaller villages it more readily happens that, as a result of personal intercourse, the mixed marriages of the few residents with members of a neighboring tribe, etc., many a national characteristic is obliterated; indeed, in the course of time many a foreign idea or custom finds entry, for which I shall have more than one opportunity to cite examples in the following.

Unfortunately, I am not in a position to give the number of winter dwellings in the whole Gilyak area. In those parts through which I traveled, such as along the Amur River and the Liman on the mainland, on Sakhalin along the west coast from Poghobi to Dui and in the interior along the entire Tymy River to somewhat north of its mouth, I have been able to ascertain it myself by my own count, and in other adjacent parts, such as on the west coast of Sakhalin north of Poghobi and south of Dui, by means of many inquiries among the Gilyak. For the east coast of Sakhalin a few statements by Glehn are available (1). Only on the parts of the Gilyak territory along

[113] 1. "Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 235).

the Sea of Okhotsk do we not have /361/ any data at all, except for the small stretch between Kulj and the Amur Liman likewise visited by me (1).

342 131 361 113 1. Middendorff was told during his stay on Tugur Bay (in 1844) that there were four large Gilyak villages between Cape Umelongte (Muktelja), the point of this coast

/361 cont./

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361
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1. (cont.)
which projects farthest to the north, and the mouth of the Amur (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersburg, 1855, p. 618).

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361
342
114
127

For the sake of clarity and because many of the individual villages of the Gilyak will be mentioned repeatedly in the course of this work, I give the following tabular list of all the Gilyak villages, in part from me, and mostly from personal experience, and in part from Glehn's statements, and the number of their winter dwellings.

000 /The following chart, which runs across pp. 362-363 in the original text, is given on four pages in the translation, the first page bearing the four columns pertaining to the mainland, the second page bearing the four columns pertaining to Sakhalin, and the next two pages containing the final column of notes./

2: Schrenck--585 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

/362/

G
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List of the Gilyak Villages and the Number of Their Winter Dwellings[1)]

MAINLAND					
Amur River Upstream from the Mouth. Purely Chinese Yurts.				Amur-Liman form N to S. Purely Chin. Yurts[5)]	Coast of the Sea of Okhotsk from the Liman Westward. Purely Chin. Yurts
Left bank		Right bank			
Tscheharbach	3	Ngalo-we	3	Lungr	8	Abdi	1
Tscherkyrkrach	2	Wasaj	3	Pulr	3	Olgh-we	1
Putchi	1	Pyghe	1	Piittach	3	Tägl	1
Kulk (Kuigri-we)	2	Allof	2	Prunge	2	Kulj (Kolj)	10 [6)]
Seobach	2	Kuki	3 (?)	Ngalo	1		
Wair (Wait)	16	Erli	2	Chusi	1		
Kunatif	2	Tebach	7	Tschori	1	Further data lacking	
Mughe	11	Chosaj	3	My	4		
Kalghe	8	Tschylm	3	Warki	2		
Pall-we	2 (?)	Tscht	8	Tymi	1		
Tschlja [3)]	1	Kaborusbach	1	Tschomi	11		
Nykhi	1	Kuk	3	Total	36		
Thle	1 (?)	Angkaim	3	1 earth yurt among them			
Total	40	Kalm	2				
		Mokh [3)]	3				
		Tsur-we	2				
		Tylm	2				
		Achza	1				
		Tschalmok	1				
		Mchyl	3				
		Palych	1				
		Patt	3				
		Chylk	2				
		Holm	1 (?)				
		Pulmi	1				
		Chjaro	1				
		Auro [4)]	3				
		Total	70				
Total on the Amur River 119							

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103
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342

2: Schrenck--536 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/1889/

103
361
342

SAKHALIN ISLAND

West Coast from N to S. Chinese and Earth Yurts [7]).

Ngywr-wo	5	Chin. y.
Tumi-wo	2	"
Pilja-wo	1	" +1 ear.
Mnisih-wo		– – 1 ear.
Pomyr-wo	3	Chin. y.
Ngyl-wo	1	"
Wisak-wo	3	"
Lyrkr-wo	4	"
Tamla-wo . . over	12	"
Matomi-tigr-wo	3	"
Tylomi-tigr-wo	1	"
Nganj-wo	4	"
Mangal-wo	1	"
Matech-wo	2	"
Tulkaj	2	"
Talvami-tigr-wo	1	" +1 ear.
Tscheghngi	1	earth yurt
Pyrki	1	"
Jugdama	1	"
Lektschi	1	"
Dshongi	1	Chin. y.
Ngyith	1	earth yurt
Warsj	1	"
Wismeryf	1	"
Poghobi	2	"
Tyk	6	"
Wjachtu	1	"
Choji	2	"
Taagi	1	"
Mygnai	1	"
Arkai	1	"
Dui	2	"
Adagi	1	"
Kthous[1])	3	"
Chogranj	1	"
Pilja-wo[2]) (Pereketam)	3	"
Total	48	Chin. y.
		+ 31 ear.

Tymy River Downstream from Its Sources. Purely Earth Yurts

Left bank		Right bank	
Ngachd-wo	1	Dejak-wo	1
Erling-wo	3	Ud-wo	1
Pud-wo[9])	2	Pud-wo	3
Pahling-wo	1	Sill-wo	2
Dawl-wo	1	Tschla-wo	2
Iwlk	1	Udmk-wo	7
Ytkym	2	Plub-wo	1
Tchchar-wo[9])	1	Tadka-wo	1
Miwwach	1	Tschchar-wo	1
Total	13	Total	19

Total on the Tymy River 32

East Coast from N to S. Purely Earth Yurts

Kolbygr-wo[10])	1
Chankes	1
Ngöd	1
Urdkt	1
Kakr-wo	3
Charkr-wo	?
Tschai-wo	10
Laḑ-wo	3
Tyramys	?
Nyi	6
Wenggi	2
Kasengat-wo	1
Mandshubafd-wo	1
Milk-wo / Tagri[11])	0
Ngahil	3
Lub-wo	?
Lang-wo	?
Pilngi	?
Tschamr-wo	?

Total without the villages with a questionable number of yurts. . . . 42

with them, assuming the number of yurts to be two each (to be discussed later) . . . 54

G 361 /363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschilwi with six yurts.

G 361 162 4) This Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidsi which among its six houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

G 361 5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pättach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Middendorff among the Gilyak on Ulban Bay and made available to me.

G [114] 7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with his statements on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be excused if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some decrease in the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data ascertained by me personally are considered in this list.

G [161] [128]

G [162] [128] 8) Since this village and Pilja-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Ainu, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

G [114] 10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

/363 cont./

361 114 Elisabeth and Maria, and believes that it is the same village that Krusenstern saw on "North Bay." Since the latter, however, was a very large village ("with 27 houses," among which some were certainly only storehouses), larger than the one later visited by him on Nadeshda Bay (Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 162 and 184), and this village, Ngywr-wo, still had five Chinese yurts in my time, it is inconceivable that only a few years later the village on North Bay should have been reduced to one small earth yurt, as Glehn thinks (op. cit., p. 232, note 1).

361 11) Presumably this is the same village that Glehn lists under the name of Takr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on the other side), in contrast to the above village of the latter name, which he calls Tukr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on this side). I must therefore apply the number of yurts given by Glehn for Takr-Nyi to this village of Tagri and the neighboring village to the north, Milk-wo, the first villages located to the south, or, proceeding from the north, on the other side of the Tymy mouth.

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As may be seen from this list, very many Gilyak villages consist of only a single winter dwelling, be it a Chinese yurt or an earth yurt. Most Gilyak villages contain only two or three winter yurts. As one can see for himself from the above list, this is the average number of yurts in the Gilyak villages, and, to be sure, on the continent, along the Amur River and Liman, the average is three each, and on the island of Sakhalin, on the west coast and in the Tymy valley, two yurts to a village. For [128] this reason, in determining the total number of the winter yurts on the east coast of Sakhalin for the six villages whose number of yurts remained unknown to both Glehn and me, I reckoned two earth yurts for each village. Villages with four or five yurts belong among the large ones and are few in number in all the individual areas of the region occupied by the Gilyak; but in each of these areas there are individual places with a larger number of yurts, from six to ten and more, and they can be designated as the principal and central points of the individual areas, indeed, the largest among them as the principal and central points of the whole Gilyak region. The largest Gilyak village on the mainland is Wair, or Wait, as the Russians customarily call it. Located in the estuary part of the Amur River, nearly equidistant from the area extending above its last bend and the Amur-Liman, from North Sakhalin and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Wair lies at the center, as it were, of the entire habitation area of the Gilyak, continental as well as insular. With its 16 winter houses lying somewhat inland from the river in two rows, the many summer yurts rising close to the bank in front of them, the numerous large and small storehouses scattered alongside and in between, open or roofed drying racks, and the like give an impression of a large, heavily populated village, a metropolis of Gilyak life. Only a little above Wair there is another large Gilyak village, Magho with eleven yurts, and diagonally across from it Tebach with seven yurts, which, located at the last bend of the river toward the east, belongs to both the estuary part of it and to the adjacent part upstream. In the latter part of the Gilyak habitation area the villages are closest together, though they are almost purely small villages with two or three yurts, and only the two Principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number.

/364 cont./

361 principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number. Along the Liman, Langr in the north and Tschomi in the south are in dominant positions, the former as the chief exchange point between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin, the latter in constant communication with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, and, on the other hand, with the villages on the Amur beyond the mountains. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Kulj or Kolj is the principal village, about whose existence Middendorff received information even at Tugur Bay (1), and, according to the

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1. In Middendorff's handwritten notes on his visit among the Gilyak the place is called "Kwol," and in Baer's report on his journey (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 620) "Kwel."

descriptions of the Gilyak, seems to play a role there similar to Wair's on the Amur River. /365/ Along the Liman coast of Sakhalin the same significance belongs to the above-mentioned Tamla-wo, of bad repute because of the predatory tendencies of its, as the name indicates, large population. The part of the west coast of Sakhalin that is washed by the northern part of the Sea of Japan has only small villages almost entirely, in that the village of Tyk with its six earth yurts is the only larger place and the principal point of the entire coast. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin, which has a great number of small villages in its upper part in particular, Pud-wo and Udmk-wo are the principal points, and, finally, on the east coast of Sakhalin Tschai-wo and Nyi are the principal places.

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Now, if one wants to draw any conclusions about the size of the Gilyak population in its individual areas, as well as in general, from the number of winter dwellings, it must first be determined how many permanent residents on the average may be reckoned for a Chinese or an earth yurt. Just as the

342 /365 cont./ Just as the
161 Gilyak houses are not erected by individuals, but rather are erected
592 more or less with the help and participation of all the fellow-
[476] members or people belonging to a place, so also as a rule, in accordance with the communistic spirit which characterizes primitive peoples, are they not inhabited by a single family, but by several together. As may be seen from the above description, a winter yurt of the Gilyak, built following the Chinese pattern with its four long sleeping benches, provides adequate and comfortable space for four families. If one reckons the average family at four persons, husband, wife, and two children, this already gives 16 occupants for each Chinese winter-yurt. Some yurts, to be sure, are occupied by only one or two families, as I myself have repeatedly seen, and occasionally one even comes across a yurt apparently standing empty throughout the entire winter. On the other hand, over and above the family members mentioned, single persons of both sexes, be it out of considerations of kinship or in return for certain services, find fixed and permanent lodgings in the yurt. Also, the average figure of only two children per family assumed above is undoubtedly not any too large. Hence I think that it is not estimating too high if I reckon an average of 16 persons for a Chinese winter-yurt, and for an earth yurt, since it contains only three sleeping benches, and much shorter ones at that, and in general provides considerably less space, only half as many, that is, only eight persons on the average. On this basis, approximate counts of the population for the individual parts of the Gilyak area mentioned above can be ascertained without difficulty. The available data are inadequate for this for only one part, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, for the number of the winter dwellings of the Gilyak along this coast, with the exception of the small stretch between the Amur-Liman and the village of Kulj, is still unknown to us. Hence
161 estimates must be made here in another way. The part of this coast which is unfamiliar to us, from Kulj to Tugur Bay, is about six to seven times the size of the stretch between Kulj and the Liman, and one therefore only needs to multiply by six or seven the population figure ascertained for the latter according to the

G /365 cont./
161 number of their yurts to obtain the approximate size of the population of the entire /366/ coast up to Tugur Bay. Since, however, it is not unlikely that the size of the Gilyak population along this coast increases as one approaches the mouth of the Amur, the Amur-Liman, and Sakhalin, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there is no second Kulj farther westward along it, I believe that it would be more correct and again not reckoning too high if I take, not six or seven, but only five times the number ascertained for the stretch between Kulj and the Amur-Liman for determining the total Gilyak population along this coast.

Accordingly, the following minimum population figures are given for the individual parts of the area and for the whole area of the Gilyak:

Mainland		Sakhalin Island	
Amur River	1904	West Coast	1016
Amur-Liman	568	Tymy River	256
Coast of Sea of Okhotsk	1040	East Coast	432
Total	3512	Total	1704

Thus the total number of Gilyak on the continent and on the island of Sakhalin amounts to at least 5,216, or, in round figures, some five thousand souls.

Gi 342 [361] In going from the Gilyak to the Tungusic Amur-peoples, a glance must first be cast at the Orok roaming in Gilyak territory. As reindeer nomads they do not have permanent dwellings, but pitch tents, which are of very simple construction, when they stay at a place temporarily or even for a longer period. Long wooden poles arranged in conical fashion, form the framework of the tent, over which a covering stitched together out of fish skins is spread in such a way that only at the top, where the poles come together, does an opening remain to let the smoke escape when a Gi [361] fire is made inside the tent. Since the migrations of the Orok

/366 cont./

342 361 always proceed through more or less forested regions (1) and after

1. See pp. 35, 38 above.

a certain time they come back again to the same points, they leave the tent framework stand when departing from a place and take only the tent covers with them. On my travels in the winter of 1856 I repeatedly encountered these tent frames of the Orok in the Tymy Valley and on the pass from there to the west coast of Sakhalin. I also met their expeditions, but I never saw a tent set up. At all seasons of the year the Orok seem to use only the fish-
342 237 skin coverings for roofing their tents. At least Glehn (2) en-

2. Op. cit., p. 196.

countered them near Kăkr-wo in northern Sakhalin on March 19 (1860) and Schmidt in Tschogbo, on the Bay of Patience, at the beginning of February (1861) in their "conical fish-skin tents," /367/ in spite of the fact that in the latter place at the time it reached a coldness of 30°R. /Reaumur/ so that it was also painfully cold in the Orok tents (1). According to Mamia Rinsô (2),

1. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 114, 116. In mentioning the Orok tents, Schmidt refers to the illustration of them given in Siebold's
[114] Nippon. This can only be a mistake, however, by his taking the huts shown in the background on Pl. XX, the only one devoted to the Orok in the work named, for Orok tents, whereas Siebold himself (in his annotations to Mamia Rinsô's "Tôtats-ki ko" -- Nippon, VII, p. 204) says that they "are summer dwellings such as the Aino on Krafto build."

2. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 190).

/367 cont./

342 the Orok also use tent coverings sewed together out of fish skins,
237 which are soaked in fish oil, and pieces of birch ("kaba") bark. In a heavy snowfall, they are said to prefer the fish skin coverings because they do not break as easily under the weight of the snow.
[184] Reindeer-skin coverings, such as the Orochon in the upper Amur region and other northern peoples have for covering their tents in winter, seem not to be used at all among the Orok. Perhaps the reason why the Orok are satisfied with only fish-skin coverings for their tents is, for one thing, their lighter weight, which makes them easier to carry, and then, too, they are easily made because of Sakhalin's great abundance of fish, especially Salmo
342 lagocephalus. It is very noteworthy that the Orok, in addition to the conical tents which Schmidt and Glehn saw among them and whose frameworks I repeatedly encountered, have still another tent form completely different from that one. Poljakof, who during the winter of 1882 spent some time among the Orok in Ater-wo and in other places on Nyi Bay on the east coast of Sakhalin (3), saw them living in rectangular tents which appeared

[113] 3. I. S. Poliakov", Puteshestvie na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/, St. Petersburg, 1883 (Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izviestii I. R. Geogr. Obshch.), p. 81.

to be conical only when seen from the front or from the back, but from a side view simply roof-shaped. Their framework consists of two poles driven vertically into the ground, on which a long crosspole rests; additional poles stuck slantingly into the ground lean on either side of it, and this is covered from top to bottom with tree bark weighted down from the outside by a series of crosspoles and pressed against the framework. There is a door on each of the two transverse sides, next to the vertical poles, but only the one protected from the wind is used at any given time for entering and leaving, and the other one is then kept shut. In the interior, in the middle of the tent, a rectangular area is

/367 cont./

342 marked off by a series of short vertical sticks connected by wooden crosspieces and is used for making fires. As a rule, two, three, or
[354] even more fires are made in it, depending on the number of families living in the tent. On the crosspoles surrounding the fireplace,
[251] one sees fish hung for drying, smoking, or for some other treatment, and the sleeping places for the tent's occupants are behind this enclosure, along the walls.

342 184 Thus, the Orok, even though as discussed above (4), they

4. See above pp. 38, 286, and 279 /untranslated/.

are only a branch of the Olcha that migrated to Sakhalin, have neither the winter nor the summer dwellings of the latter, /368/ but, in accordance with their nomadic way of life, always live in tents, which, as we shall see in the following, have similarities in part with those of the likewise nomadic Orochon and Manegir of the upper Amur, in part with those of the Orochi of the seacoast, who for the most part roam as hunters.

343 Finally, as Mamia Rinsô reports, besides their tents, the Orok have permanent storehouses always remaining in place at certain points which they touch on their wanderings or at which they stay for a longer period. They are small bins erected on
[177] piles at some height above the ground, evidently for protection against beasts of prey -- a type of construction which they perhaps have copied from their neighbors, the Gilyak.

342 The dwellings of the Tungusic Amur-peoples neighboring the
184 Gilyak on the mainland, the Olcha, Negda, Samagir, Goldi, and
[101] Orochi are quite different. With a similar, rather sedentary way of life like the former, they all have, like the Gilyak, different dwellings in the winter and in the summer, and for the most part
[177] permanent ones. It has already been pointed out with regard to the winter dwellings that the Chinese method of house construction with sleeping benches running along the walls and heated by pipe lines, spreading down the Sungari and Amur, has found entry
000 among all these peoples. It is therefore sufficient with respect to

342 171 /368 cont./ It is therefore sufficient with respect to it to refer to the above description of the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak and only take note of the few deviations from it, which, however, as I must state immediately, are always only of a minor nature, whereas the basic principles of their construction always remain the same.

342 171 352 354 [563] The winter yurt (hagdu) of the closest neighbors of the Gilyak on the Amur, in general so very similar to the Gilyak one that where houses of the two nationalities are side by side, as in Aure, absolutely no difference can be found between them. In some Olcha localities, however, especially where a Chinese merchant has taken up temporary residence, as in Kidsi, Adi, etc., one sees houses kept neater than among the Gilyak, the moldings of the roof provided with some carvings, the walls daubed with clay on the outside, in the interior not only the sleeping benches, but the walls directly above them covered with reed mats; small Chinese rugs are spread on the bench for one to sit on, and in the evening, for lighting the yurt, wicks resting in small bowls filled with fish oil are lighted in the four corners. [285] As I had an opportunity to see in the village of Adi, the above-mentioned plank-bed and wall mats are plaited by the Olcha women out of a type of reed growing along the Amur (Phragmites communis; in Olcha and Goldi holgochta) by first splitting the reed stem along one side lengthwise, pressing it flat, and drying [084] it. In addition, however, there are among the Olcha, particularly in the southern part of their area, above Kidsi, especially small yurts such as I never saw among the Gilyak, and which on the basis of only half the number of hearths, sleeping benches, and windows in comparison with the ordinary winter-yurts, I would like to designate as only half-yurts, as it were. In these, as the accompanying /369/ plan taken from one of the two yurts of the village of Pulssa shows, there are only two sleeping benches, along one long wall and one transverse wall, and only one hearth, which, at the beginning of the former, stands immediately beside the entrance. /Illustration appears here./ The dogs' table usually found in the center of the yurt has been moved to a corner diagonally across from the one in which the two sleeping benches come

342 352 [354]

[i.e. the Chinese style winter dwellings. --Analyst]

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Negidal
Samagir

/369 cont./

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a -- Door. b -- Window.
c -- Hearth. d -- Opening for feeding it. e -- Hole for the large kettle.
f -- Sleeping benches.
g -- Pipes for heating them. h -- Chimney.
i -- Dogs' table.

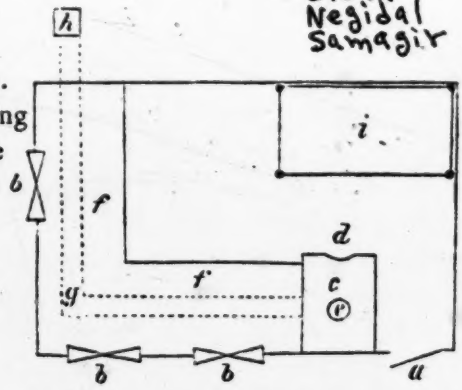

Plan of a Small Winter Yurt of the Olcha.

342 352 together. There are windows only in the walls along which they run, two in the long wall, one in the transverse wall. The space provided by these yurts is very cramped, and for certain purposes, for instance, for the keeping and leading around of bears in the yurt, which is so popular among the Gilyak, they are quite useless, and this is perhaps the reason why they are not used among them.

342 [171] That the Negda along the Amgunj /Amgun/ have winter yurts quite similar to those of the Gilyak and the other peoples of the lower Amur region is known through Schmidt, who visited them in the spring of 1862 (1). -- I know this with respect to

1. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 147.

[184] the Samagir from my own experience. The three yurts in their village of Ngagha on the Gorin, with the generally customary construction, were very neat and were large and bright to an extent that I saw nowhere else in the Amur region; each of them had ten windows, three in each of the long walls and two in each of the transverse walls. A yurt owned by a Samagir in the Olcha village of Pulu (or Pulj) on the Amur, in which, incidentally, three Chinese traders had taken up temporary residence, was

/369 cont./

342 distinguished by the fact that the entrance was in the middle of a transverse wall, and the two hearths stood at a considerable distance from it, symmetrically to the left and right, at the beginning of the two long walls. The walls of the yurt on the outside and the two transverse walls on the inside as well were daubed with a mixture of clay and chopped straw.

342 184 177 352 Even more than among the Olcha and Samagir, one finds direct traces of Chinese influence on and in the winter dwellings of the Goldi, and all the more so the farther upstream and the closer one is to the mouth of the Sungari. In Turme, on the mouth of the Ussuri, for instance, I saw a Goldi house, one wall of which consisted almost entirely of windows closely beside one another, just as I had previously seen before in the Chinese houses in Zjanka at the mouth of the Gorin. Also, the roomy table for the dogs, taking up the center of the dwelling among the Gilyak, was entirely absent. Farther up, in Sselgako, I even noticed some Chinese furniture in the Goldi dwellings, particularly small chests with many small drawers standing on the sleeping benches, which I had not seen below. In addition, /370/ however, there are very often among the Goldi only those small yurts that I mentioned above in connection with the Olcha. By the way, [563] the houses of the Chinese who live singly or in twos or threes [439] scattered among the Goldi on the Ussuri and are engaged in small-scale trade, or, farther to the south, in seeking the ginseng root, are very similar in nature.

342 184 Finally, the winter dwellings of the Orochi along the upper courses of the right Amur and Ussuri tributaries are the same, but, if possible, even smaller and always more wretched and untidier (1).

[113] 1. Veniukov", "Obozr. rieki Usuri i zemel' k" vost. ot" neia do moria /Survey of the Ussuri River and of the Lands to the West of it toward the Sea/" (Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II, Res. and Mat., p. 224); the same, Putesh.

/370 cont./

342 184 113

1. (cont.)
po okr. russk. Azii /Journey through the Outlying Districts of Asiatic Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 89, etc.

342 184 [177] [563] Along the latter, incidentally, only the few Orochi who, following the example of the Chinese living among them, lead a more sedentary life based upon a certain amount of field cultivation and in particular the cultivation of vegetables, live in such winter yurts. Early in the eighties, when Lieutenant Colonel Nadarof [175] traveled on the right Ussuri tributaries, these Orochi numbered [162] not more than 20, who lived in three winter huts or so-called [361] fansen, two on the Ima and one on the Biki (2). Most of the

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2. I. Nadarov", "Sieverno-Ussuriiskii krai /North Ussuri Krai/" (Zap. Imper. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, pp. 73, 77).

Orochi population there, however, in keeping with their nomadic hunting life, had no housing, even in winter, other than tents, so-called tschukdi (3), which will be discussed below. I was told

3. Nadarof, op. cit., p. 74.

the same about the Orochi living along the upper courses of the Amur tributaries, especially the Chongar, Munamu, etc. The 342 824 low winter temperature is prepared for, of course, by more carefully covering the tent, on the roof as well as along the walls, with tree bark, as well as maintaining a constant fire in it, for which the extensive forests in which the Orochi always travel provide easily procured and inexhaustible material. Also at that time a mat made of several layers of tree bark is spread on the sleeping places in the tent and, as a poor conductor of heat, gives excellent protection against the cold of the ground.

/370 cont./

342 Whereas the winter dwellings of the Tungusic peoples of
171 the lower Amur region, built according to a common Chinese
[177] pattern, correspond to one another and to those of their northern neighbors, the Amur Gilyak, their summer dwellings show great and extensive differences. Among none of these peoples are there permanent summer-houses erected piles at some height above the ground like the käryf of the Gilyak. There are always only tents easily set up on level ground, which, however, among each of them are of different shape and construction.

342 The summer dwelling of the Olcha, which among them, as among the Samagir and Goldi, is called dauro, most nearly resembles a house. One of them from the village of Beller on the Amur is shown on Plate XIV, Fig. 1.[3] It consists of a rather thin and light wooden frame covered with birch bark. The ground plan is approximately square. For the walls of the roughly square structure /371/ thick poles are stuck in the ground about a foot apart and are connected by thinner crosspoles, sticks, and switches about the same distance apart, so that a kind of wide-meshed network or latticework is produced. In the front and in the rear, along the two transverse walls, the poles, or at least some of them are thicker, like slender pillars, which increase in length from the sides toward the middle; a number of thin crossbeams rest on them and support the roof structure, which, incidentally, like the walls, consists of a latticework of longitudinal and trans-
[824] verse poles and sticks. The whole wooden framework is covered on walls and roof with birch bark, the individual pieces of which are further held together on the roof by a series of poles placed lengthwise and crosswise. A few holes in the wooden framework along the long walls remain uncovered for window openings, over which birch bark or reed mats may be hung, and a larger opening in the front transverse wall is used as the entrance, which can be closed by a door either likewise consisting of birch bark or made out of several boards. In the interior of this tent-yurt, two thin beams placed on the floor to the right and to the left of the door the length of the yurt mark off the side areas serving for resting

[3] [See category 116, P. 994.--Analyst]

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

/371 cont./

342 for sitting and sleeping, from the central area. Sometimes each
[352] of the side areas is occupied by a sleeping bench about a foot high, made of boards, and equipped with a raised rim on the
[354] inside. In the central area the fire is made on a place equipped with crude field stones, and above it there is an opening in the roof for smoke to go out. An opening in the front transverse-wall, in the roof gable, seems to me to be intended for the same purpose, clearing the air. In addition such a strong draft is created by these openings and the usually open window-holes that a gathering of gnats can scarcely take place in the tent.

342 The dauro of the Samagir on the Gorin is of the same type.
353 During my journey in the winter of 1855, I spent a night in one of them, which belonged to the Samagir of Ngagha and was a
[122] few versts from the winter village. With the same shape and con-
[184] struction as the Olcha dauro, it was nevertheless more solidly built and roomier than that one; the central crossbeam running from one transverse wall to the other was supported by a pillar
[354] standing inside the tent-yurt. The fireplace, with the smoke vent above it, was near this pillar. Everything was so spacious that a proper fire with blazing flames could be made and maintained without any danger. The reason for this is probably that these dauro, of which there are several in the vicinity of Ngagha, being located in regions rich in forests and game, are not dismantled for the winter, but remain standing and are used for a temporary sojourn while hunting. On the framework inside the dauro, one could see various kinds of hunting apparatus hanging, such as spring guns, bows and quivers with arrows, lances, etc., and many hunting trophies, such as skulls and the head pelts of does and musk deer, a piece of fur from an elk, the wing of a mountain cock, the foot of a merganser, etc. /372/ In the background, however, lay nets and other fishing implements, and outside against the dauro, a boat -- proof of its use as a summer dwelling. The sleeping places were equipped with straw mats, the windows covered. Thus the whole, with a blazing fire, made a cozy abode even in winter.

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According to Middendorff's description (1), the summer

1. Middendorff, Reise nach dem äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens, Vol. IV, Part 2, p. 1533.

dwelling of the Negda on the Amgunj, neighboring the Samagir and closely related to them, seems to me to be quite similar. I can see only the one difference that in it, opposite the entrance closable by a hanging of bark in front of it instead of a door, on the rear side of the yurt, there is a second door just like it. This makes it possible to open the one or the other door, depending on the direction of the wind, or to make a strong current of air by opening both. Moreover, Middendorff found in the Negda
[412] summer dwelling a grill-like tier made out of many thin sticks, which was used to smoke fish and especially fish roe, a contrivance which perhaps was set up only temporarily for this purpose.

The dauro of the Goldi, however, are of an entirely different form (2). Usually located in the willow bushes on the low

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2. The term dauro for the summer dwelling is customary generally among the lower Goldi up to the Geong Mountains; above these mountains to the Ussuri and along this latter it is usually called anzo, and I have also heard it called njo by the Amur Goldi above the Ussuri mouth.

Amur islands along the river branches rich in fish, they look like small rounded hills or giant ant hills from a distance. (See Pl. XIV, Fig. 2.) In comparison with the Olcha and Samagir dauro, their construction is much simpler and more primitive. Long, thick willow switches bent in a semicircle, stuck into the ground above one another, and connected by means of thinner switches and twigs plaited together in between form the framework of the Goldi dauro. With the exception of an entrance

/372 cont./ with the exception of an entrance
342 opening and another at the top of the tent, which serves for the
184 escape of smoke, this framework is entirely covered with birch
[354] bark, the pieces of which are pressed against the wooden frame-
[824] work and held together by means of crosspieces put on it and longer poles stuck into the ground in a slanting position. Many of the implements leaned against the tent from the outside, such as oars, nets and baskets, wooden idols, etc., perform the same service. The entrance opening, with the log or board put diagonally on the ground in front of it, is just large enough for a person to get into the tent through it in a very stooped position.
[824] The door is represented by a birch-bark mat which can be rolled up and fastened in this position by means of a string. Inside the
[353] arrangement is the same as in the Olcha dauro, except that the space is much more cramped and smaller: to the left and right
[354] of the entrance lie the sleeping places; in the center, beneath the smoke hole, the fireplace. But only a small fire can be
[136] made here, and it does not take much to fill the tent with smoke, but this is usually not disagreeable to its occupants because it keeps off the annoying gnats, which are especially numerous in the willow bushes of the low and humid Amur islands. /373/ Everywhere along the Amur and Ussuri I saw the Goldi live exclusively in these dauros, unless, as sometimes happens, they prefer to remain in their winter dwellings throughout the summer as well, and from here visit the localities in the vicinity which are especially suitable for fishing.

The situation seems to be different, however, among the Sungari Goldi. In the village of Gaidje, just below the mouth
[824] of the Sungari, I saw a few conical straw tents standing beside the usual winter dwellings of the Goldi. The bundles of straw, placed around a conical framework of poles, crossed at the top, form a cup. The door likewise consisted of a straw mat. As I discovered later, these tents were made just like those in the small Manchurian guardposts above the mouth of the Sungari, for instance, in Ssung-bira, etc. Furthermore, there was the same type of straw tent here and there on the islands covered with willow bushes at the confluence of the Sungari and the Amur

/373 cont./

342 184 River (1). A few days' journey up the latter river, in the prairie

[113] [285] 1. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 143) likewise saw in Ssilbi, near the mouth of the Sungari, a conical tent covered with reed mats.

that comes down from the spurs of the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, I again came upon a few tents of natives on the left bank of the Amur at a place named for me as Kudjurko. They be-
[221] longed, so the occupants told me, to a few Goldi who had come here from the Sungari, from the village of Lachsso, with their wives and children, in order to spend the summer fishing and hunting. These tents, as Plate XV, Fig. 2,[1] shows, were likewise of a pointed, conical shape, but, instead of straw, were covered with birch-bark mats; the door consisted of a plaited reed mat. The interior was the same as in the tent-dwellings described above. On the basis of these facts I suspect that among the Sungari Goldi, instead of the low, hemispherical form, a tall, pointed, conical dauro form is in use, which has also found entry among the Amur Goldi living closest to the Sungari.

Even simpler and more primitive than the dauro of the Goldi is the summer dwelling of their neighbors on the seacoast, the Orochi. On Plate XVI,[2] is pictured one which I had an op-
[114] portunity to become familiar with in Hadshi Bay, or Kaiserhafen, in the summer of 1854 as soon as I stepped from the corvette "Olivuza" onto the coast of the Amur region. It is a simple,
[824] roof-shaped tent which consists of a framework of poles covered with square pieces of larch bark. The pieces of bark are held together and pressed against the wooden framework by means of long poles stuck obliquely into the ground and leaned against the roof. The rear side of the tent is closed; the entrance, with a bark mat hanging down as a door, is at the front. The sleep-
[353] ing places are to the right and left, along the walls of the tent,
[354] in the back there are all sorts of provisions and utensils, and in the center the fireplace, with the cooking kettle hanging over it.

[1] [See Category 116, P. 995--Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, P. 996--Analyst]

/373 cont./

342 the center the fireplace, with the cooking kettle hanging over it.
184 Here there is no special opening in the roof for the escape of
[354] smoke from the tent, because it can easily escape through the usually open or only halfway closed entrance and cracks /374/ and gaps in the roof, and in any case may be desired to a certain extent by the occupants as protection against the gnats. I
[122] generally found it so strong that I could stay in the tent for only a short time. According to Nadarof's description (1), the tent-

1. Nadarof, op. cit., pp. 75, 76.

dwellings (tschukdi) used in summer and winter by the Orochi of the interior, on the right tributaries of the Amur and the Ussuri, on the Poor, Biki, Ima, etc., are quite similar in nature. Among them, however, the tent framework, as a rule, is covered
[824] with birch-bark mats, over which other tree barks are spread as
[354] needed; in particular a series of bark pieces bent at an angle are fastened along the ridge of the roof, but in such a way that an opening remains above the fireplace for the escape of smoke.
342 The interior of the tent either forms only one room (as along
184 the Biki and Ima) or is divided by means of tree bark into three
353 rooms (on the Poor): two smaller rooms along the shorter sides
354 of the tent, which serve for an entrance or for storing household utensils, etc., and a larger central room, which is the actual living-chamber, with the fireplace in the middle and the sleeping places on both sides.

342 As can be seen from the above, the summer dwellings of
361 the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region are all of such
166 a type that they can be built without much labor from materials which in part are available everywhere, such as wooden poles, especially willow poles and switches, and in part can be transported easily, such as mats made of birch bark, straw, or reeds, etc. Therefore it is not difficult, if necessary, to tear them down again and move elsewhere. And actually the locality of the summer residence of these peoples is often changed, not only from year to year, but even in the course of one and the

/374 cont./

342 same summer. Where numerous summer tents stood beside one
361 another one year, one perhaps finds in the following year, as
166 has happened to me, not a single tent, and dauros which one discovered early in the summer may be found a few weeks or a couple of months later, even though in the same general area, at other places, on other islands or along other branches of the mighty, much divided river. The principal reason for this frequent change of locality probably lies in the fact that the most favorable localities for fishing are always sought, which may vary not only from year to year, but even change in different months, depending for example, on what species of salmon happens to be migrating upstream or what kind of fish is the best catch at the time.

342 Dauros are built, however, only if a relatively long stay
184 at one place is planned. If, on the other hand, it is a matter of only a quite brief stay, perhaps for only a couple of days or a night, even smaller and more primitive tents are erected, if circumstances require it, for protection against bad weather, rain, or the exceedingly annoying plague of gnats. In such cases the Olcha as well as the Goldi put up a so-called /375/ homorá (1)

1. According to Maximowicz, among the more southern Goldi it is also called komborá.

or an adiangman-a'ungá. The former is a low, longish tent which has the shape of a cylinder cut lengthwise and with the cut surface placed on the ground. The front end of a homora of the Goldi is illustrated on Plate XXX.[1] Several willow switches bent into the shape of a semicircle, with their ends stuck into the ground about a foot apart in a line, and joined together by means of others interlaced lengthwise forms the framework. This is covered with mats made of birch bark or thin straw, or with a cover sewed together out of fish skins, for which, in order to make the casing as raintight as possible, the mats are laid over one another so that the side edge of the higher mat always covers the edge of the adjacent lower one. The rear end of the

[1] [See category 116, p. 1010 -- Analyst]

/375 cont./

342 homora is completely closed off with the same material; before
184 the open front, however, instead of a door, there hangs a birch bark or straw mat, which rolls up and can be fastened in this
342 position by means of a string. If a homora is supposed to take the
354 place of a dauro for a whole family and perhaps for some time,
184 it is built about as tall as a man; in this case, a small fire may even be lighted in the center, and a small opening is found in the roof over the fireplace as a smoke vent. If it is intended for only one person, however, or a few persons, the latter is absent, and the height is only sufficient for a person to enter in a stooped position. In this case, the fire is made outside, in front of the entrance, and the smoke, driven over or inside by the wind, keeps the gnats at a distance.

The adiangman-a'unga is even simpler -- merely an overnight tent, as the name indicates, in shape and construction quite similar to the Goldi dauro, but much smaller, meant for only one or two people, and provided with a single opening serving as an entrance, which does not even have a door-mat hanging at it and in front of which the fire is made outside.

342 The small tent, the so-called tschoro or tscholo, used by
184 the Goldi above the mouth of the Ussuri, is just as artless and simple. Whereas the adiangman-a'unga is patterned after the hemispherical Goldi dauro, the tschoro is patterned after the conical one: a few willow poles arranged conically forms the framework, which is covered on all sides with straw or hay, as a rule, from the Calamagrostis grass spreading far and wide over the prairies, so that only a small side opening, like the opening in a beehive, so to speak, is left, through which one can crawl into the tent. Such a tschoro is found among the Orochi along the Ussuri tributaries, though they also construct a tschoro patterned after their summer and winter tent, the tschukdi; if it is a matter of providing some protection against wind and weather for a night, two sticks, forked at the top, are stuck into the ground, connected with a crosspole, /376/ against one side of which some poles or switches are leaned in a slanting position, and birch bark is spread over this frame. If the stay

/376 cont./

342 is prolonged or if the weather becomes bad, a protective roof is
184 erected on the other side along the same crosspole, and thus a small roof-shaped tent is obtained (1).

1. Nadarof, op. cit., p. 75.

342 In passing I must also mention here a device which our
484 guides, Olcha and Goldi, made on trips, when spending the
513 night in the open, to protect themselves in particular against the exceedingly numerous gnats in the willow bushes of the Amur islands. From the calico fabric which they requested as advance payment, each one made himself a sack two and a half to three feet deep out of it, the bottom of which consisted of a rectangle approximately as long as a man and correspondingly wide. In order to keep the bottom taut, sticks of the appropriate length were stuck in it along the transverse sides, and by means of these the sack, turned bottom up, was placed on a pair of forked sticks set into the ground, so as to make a low, parallelepiped sleeping-tent, into which a man crawled by lifting one of
[177] the hanging side-walls, These maika, as they called them, were copied immediately by our Russian people.

343 Since the supplies of fish needed for the fall and winter
[251] are prepared in summer, and especially at the time when the various species of salmon ascend the Amur, one as a rule sees
[417] standing beside the dauro the racks used for drying the fish in the sun, and now and then a little house to put supplies in temporarily. Such a storehouse (Goldi tachto) is erected at some height above the ground in order to make its contents safe against humidity and attacks by mice and other animals. Crosspoles are placed on six piles, which rise about four feet above the ground and are covered with a piece of birch bark at the top, and a floor is built on them, on which the little house, with walls and roof made of curved willow-switches and covered with straw or hay, is set.

342 In connection with the above-described summer tents of
184 the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, I must here, in
484 conclusion, mention some more or less similar tents which they

/376 cont./

342 erect in winter for a stay in the forest wildernesses during their
184 hunting expeditions, which not infrequently are very extended
484 in space and time. Among the Olcha, Samagir, and Goldi
these hunting tents generally bear the name alko. In the winter
[114] of 1855, in the Langysk (or Adara) Mountains between the
Amur River and the Liman, I came across such an alko which
was temporarily occupied by four Olcha from the Amur and one
Samagir. From the outside and on the interior it was made like
342 the above-described summer tents of the Orochi. A fish-skin
35 cover hung in front of the entrance. In the middle of the tent
184 a small fire was kept going, at which a few small kettles stood,
484 and off to one side lay various household utensils, several
wooden bowls, hunting implements, spring guns, ski, etc. In
the game-rich hunting grounds along the Gorin, visited by the
peoples named every winter and often from great distances,
/377/ there are many alko always put in isolation in the forest
[122] wilderness. I myself have spent a few hours of the midday rest
or a night in a number of them. The first one of this kind that
I reached from the mouth of the Gorin was of unusually solid
construction and large dimensions. It was named for me as
Poijonge and was said to belong to the Goldi of Bitschu on the
Amur, but among its temporary inhabitants at the time there
were also Goldi from Chongar, Onmoi, and Zollazi even
farther up, who had come here to hunt. This alko even had walls
made of beams laid on top of one another to a height of several
feet; in each of the two transverse sides of the house stood two
posts, which were connected at the top by longitudinal beams and
supported the roof made out of boards. Two other, thinner,
longitudinal beams ran parallel to them, somewhat lower, between
the same posts and were used for hanging up articles of clothing
and drying them near the fire; finally on the ground lay the two
longitudinal beams that marked off the sleeping places in the
tent. Above the fireplace there was an opening with a grill in
the roof, and below it hung a pole which had multiple spikes
342 and notches for hanging the kettle over the fire. Inside the tent
184 many household and hunting implements lay together in confusion,
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484

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

484 /377 cont./
342 as well as some pieces of fur and bone from various animals,
184 such as leg bones from a musk deer, etc. Outside more of the
[353] same was hanging on the surrounding trees and racks: the skins of does and musk deer, the stretched skin of an elk, the mighty antlers of a stag (Cervus elaphus), etc. Other alko in the same area, for instance the one belonging to the Samagir of Ngagha in which I spent a night and which bore the name Wai, were smaller, so that four people could find space in it only with difficulty, but otherwise was the same. In an emergency, when it is a matter of building a shelter against bad weather as quickly as possible, the hunters will build a homora, even in winter, large enough for one or two people, as I have seen several times along the Gorin. This winter homora is exactly like the one customarily built in summer and described above, but with the difference that the framework built in the snow is covered with fir branches instead of the bark or straw mats. In good weather,
484 however, no homora is needed to spend the night in the open in
[342] winter: the night is spent around a blazing fire, and there is merely the campsite to be properly chosen and the resting place arranged as comfortably as possible according to the circumstances. For this, the snow is first tested as to its depth, just as the Gilyak do, and then by means of the ski is shoveled out as much as possible to the ground, so that more or less high, protective walls are made in the rear and to the sides of the fire and sleeping
[824] places. Then a thick layer of fir branches is spread over the sleeping places, and the surrounding snow walls, in order to keep them from being melted by the radiation from the fire, are also covered with such branches, and finally a supply of good fire-wood, and as dry as possible, in sufficient quantity for the night,
[122] is collected. I have spent many a night comfortably, in spite of so low a temperature, at such overnight sites of the Amur natives, which had been deserted shortly before.

/378/

342 The winter dwellings built after the Chinese prototype are
171 in general use in the upper Amur region just as in the lower. It
177 is self-evident that the villages of the Chinese, Manchu, and Daur scattered among one another in the civilized sector of the Amur River below Aigun only contain houses of such construction. No difference is to be found between the houses of the one or the other of these peoples: the Daur houses in Chormoldin, for example, are of the same nature outside and inside as the supposedly Manchurian houses in Torell, Gulssoja, and other places which
342 I visited. The entrance always leads into a kind of anteroom in
352 which the hearth is found, serving to heat the sleeping benches
353 in the adjoining living room. A kettle which can be covered
[354] with a wooden lid is set in the hearth over the fire. The sleep-
[415] ing benches are provided with reed mats and small rugs, on
[285] which stand the well-known, low, small, Chinese tables; along the walls there are small chests with numerous drawers. The window frames are covered with Chinese paper and in warmer
[354] seasons are removed altogether; on the floor, consisting of clay stamped firm, a masonry charcoal brazier used to light the pipes
[351] rises in the center of the room. Each house lies in a farmyard formed partly by various outbuildings, granaries, storehouses,
[241] and partly by the fence surrounding the vegetable garden. The fence consists of vertical poles interlaced with straw and now and
417 then is provided with gates leading into the vegetable garden
343 and beyond to roads running between the fields. The outbuildings
[412] are in part made of wood, like the dwellings, but in part only of
[407] lumps of clay with finely chopped straw kneaded into it and con-
[493] tain in part the implements used for garden and field cultivation,
[251] plows, hoes, shovels, two-wheeled carts, etc., and in part the
[231] already harvested field and garden produce; in addition there are fenced enclosures for horses, cattle, pigs, a low chicken-coop made of sticks, a pigeon house resting on long poles, and other farm equipment.

342 The exact time when the Daur adopted the Chinese method
648 of house construction cannot be ascertained. It unfortunately
17 cannot be learned from the report of the Russian freebooters and Cossacks who made war on the Daur along the upper Amur and

/378 cont./

342 648 17 [131] [439] its source rivers around the middle of the seventeenth century what sort of dwellings they had at that time. Since, however, they were already a sedentary agricultural and livestock-raising people who were widely distributed, not only along the Amur, but also along the Nonni, a tributary of the Sungari, and carried on a brisk trade with the Chinese, and also were visited from time to time by officials of the Chinese government to collect tribute (1), it is very likely, indeed probable, that they lived

1. See pp. 337 ff. above.

in houses of the Chinese type even at that time. And they must have succumbed even more to the influence of the Chinese when, upon the orders of the Chinese /379/ government (in 1654), the Daur living on the Amur and spared by the Russians had to leave that river and move to the Nonni (1). With regard to the dwelling

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1. See p. 367 above.

of the Daur, that was confirmed soon afterward by European travelers. When about forty years later (1693) Ysbrants Ides and Adam Brand visited the Daur on the Nonni, they found them living in houses which were identical with those of the Chinese, in that they likewise had wide, low sleeping-benches along the walls, covered with plaited reed mats and heated by pipes running under them, etc. (2). More recently Kropotkin (3)

[352] [354]

[113]

2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 71. Ad. Brand, Neuvermehrte Beschreib. seiner grossen Chines. Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. innerhalb 3 Jahren vollbracht hat, Lübeck, 1734, p. 132.

[113]

3. "Poiezdka iz" Zabaikal'ia na Amur" chrez" Man'chzhuriiu /Journey from Transbaikalia to the Amur through

2: Schrenck--563 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RUS
Daur

/379 cont./

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[113]

3. (cont.)
Manchuria/" (Russk. Viestn., Vol. LVII, 1865, June, p. 669).

reported on the basis of his own experiences that the Daur living along the upper tributaries of the Nonni, on the Ganj, Gujuil, etc. have houses which are built entirely in the Chinese manner. Later on, when the Daur were permitted by the Chinese government to return to the Amur, though with certain restrictions, they soon gained a prominent position there, thanks to their inclination and aptitude for trade, especially with the Tungusic peoples known to them from ancient times and in part related, and to a certain extent in the upper Amur region there fell to them the role that the Chinese play in the lower (4). As in-

[648]
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4. See pp. 79, 107, 371 above.

defatigable traders working their way in everywhere, they have done more than the latter to spread Chinese products and wares, Chinese customs, etc. among the Tungusic peoples of the upper Amur region, and if at many places among them a more sedentary life, with field and vegetable cultivation, with permanent dwellings of the Chinese type, etc., has developed, it is certainly to be attributed for the most part to the Daur. It is their work for instance, that the Orochon on the eastern slopes of the Great Chingan Mountains, along the Ganj, Gujuil, and other tributaries of the Nonni, otherwise so greatly devoted to the nomadic hunting life, have in place become sedentary farmers and, living together in villages, have adopted the Chinese agriculture and way of life (5).

5. Kropotkin, op. cit., p. 670.

Tungus RU5
Birar

/379 cont./

342 The same thing happened to the Birar on the Amur where
177 they are directly adjacent to the Daur, as above the Bureja
[101] Mountains. Despite their nomadic tendencies otherwise, here they
[361] changed to a sedentary life with field and vegetable cultivation
and also adopted the Chinese type of house construction. I
[114] visited such a Birar house in the village of Kalta: its walls were
made of thin beams, exactly like the winter dwellings of the
lower Amur peoples, built following the Chinese pattern. The
entrance in the center of one of the long walls led into a kind
of anteroom from which a door to the right and left led into the
two living chambers proper, which were identical and approxi-
342 mately square. In each of them /380/ stood a low hearth with
177 a kettle embedded in it, and wide, low sleeping-benches ran
[354] along all four walls, whose windows had Chinese paper in them
[352] instead of panes of glass. Corresponding to these two divisions,
a chimney rose from the ground on either side of the transverse
wall of the house. In comparison with the above-described
winter-dwellings of the lower Amur peoples, this Birar dwelling
351 could be called a double yurt. A farmyard made up of out-
343 buildings, which contained various field and garden implements,
241 and a fenced vegetable-garden surrounded the house, just as
184 in the Daur and Manchu-Chinese villages with which I became
171 acquainted soon afterward farther up the Amur.

From the upper Amur, the Daur, advancing along the
171 Bureja, Dseja /Zeya/, the Ssilimdshi, etc. in the interests of
177 trade, exerted their civilizing influence far to the north, as far
352 as the southern slope of the Stanovoi Mountains. It is note-
354 worthy that there in the dwellings of the Yakut traders, who
114 came from the north for the same purpose as the Daur, one like-
[439] wise finds along the walls those sleeping benches heated by pipes,
though the Yakut have nothing of the kind in their yurts in their
homeland. Middendorff, to be sure, in imparting these facts,
voices the opinion that this principle (1) was borrowed from the

1. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, Part 2, p. 1560) says, "the principle of a pipe built into the clay bench running

Tungus RUS
Birar
Manegir

/380 cont./

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1. (cont.)
around the wall," which to me can only refer to the sleeping benches heated by pipes.

Gilyak, but this view can be explained by the fact that he only saw it among the Gilyak (on the Sea of Okhotsk). On the basis of what was said above about the Chinese origin of the sleeping benches heated by pipes, we shall not be wrong if we ascribe its transfer to the Yakut, not to the Gilyak, but to the Daur coming in contact with the Yakut merchants along the southern slopes of the Stanovoi Mountains.

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It is only among those parts, more numerous, to be sure, of the Tungusic population of the upper Amur, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, who have remained faithful to their traditional hunting and nomadic life that the winter dwelling constructed in the Chinese fashion has not as yet found entry. They retain the tent occupied in summer also in the winter and content themselves with merely making it serviceable then, even in the severe cold, by means of a thicker and stronger casing made of animal skins.

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In the summer (July and August) of 1856 along the Amur above the Bureja Mountains, I repeatedly came across tents of nomadic Birar, because this was still the time of the year when they stay along this river and its tributaries to fish, whereas later they leave them in order to spend the fall and winter hunting in the mountains (the Bureja Mountains and the Morra or Horse Mountains, as the Birar named them to me, extending to the south between the Amur and Sungari tributaries). These tents [171] /381/ were of a pointed, conical shape and covered with mats made of birch bark, exactly like the tent of the Sungari Goldi described above and illustrated on Plate XV, Fig. 2.

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[184]

The tents (dshu) of the nomadic Manegir are of the same type. Maack, who spent some time among the Manegir during his trip along the Amur, gives a detailed description of

[See category 116, P. 995 -- Analyst]

/381 cont./

342 them (1). Depending on the size of the family for which the tent

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" v" 1855 g.,
St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 70.

is intended, the framework of a Manegir tent consists of 20-40 poles arranged in a conical shape. Six of them are distinguished by special thickness and forked upper ends. Four of these main poles are arranged in pairs in such a way that the poles concerned are not very far apart, and these two pairs stand diametrically opposite each other; the other two main poles are set to form a cross with them and are likewise diametrically opposite each other. Inasmuch as these six main poles interlock by means of the prongs of their upper forked ends, they provide the principal support of the whole framework. The other poles fill the spaces between them. Birch-bark mats consisting of large [824] pieces sewed together with elk or reindeer tendons are spread [283] over this framework in such a manner that the upper mat always [237] covers the edges of the lower one. To fasten the tent cover to the framework it is weighted down from the outside with a few poles, or ropes plaited out of horse hair are wound around it. In winter the lower part of the framework is covered with elk skins instead of birch bark, and, in order to make the tent even more airtight, snow is heaped around it. Only two openings remain in the tent: an upper one at the top of it, for the smoke to get out, and one at the side, between the two parts of a pair of poles, which serves as an entrance and is hung with an elk-skin or [417] fish-skin cover as a door. In the interior of the tent, supported [354] by the four paired poles, run two parallel crosspoles, one of which is used to hang the kettle above the fire constantly main- [417] tained in the center of the tent. If, however, the tent is intended for only the summer and is of a lighter construction without either the six main poles or the two crosspoles, then a tripod made out of poles for this very purpose is used for hanging the [352] kettle over the fire. At a distance of 2-3 feet from the fireplace, [513] to the right, left, and in the rear, lie the sleeping places, marked

/381 cont./

342 off by means of wooden blocks, where beds are made of grass,
[352] little twigs, and a small rug. Each member of the family has
[513] his assigned place. The places to the left of the entrance and the
[554] fireplace belong to the owner of the tent and his wife; those on the right to the other members of the family. The place in the rear of the tent opposite the entrance is regarded as the place of honor and is granted to guests, but only men may use it. As a
[353] rule a place for idols is found above it. Close to the door, to the
[352] left and right of it inside the hut, there are low benches /382/ supported by small posts driven into the ground and holding all kinds of implements in daily use.

342 Since the Manegir lead a rather regulated nomadic life in
221 that in summer, for fishing purposes, they move to the banks of
361 the mighty river running through their territory and in the fall wander back to the mountains for hunting, there are certain, especially favorable spots and localities in both areas where they appear annually and in great numbers. Even after the departure of the nomads in the fall such places can be recognized by the many substantial tent-frames left standing, by the earth trampled down and grazed off all around by the horses, by means of which the migration takes place, etc. On my journey up the Amur I came across many such places. Though it was late in the season I nevertheless came in contact with Manegir in places where through circumstances of various kinds, such as unexpectedly abundant fishing or hunting booty, on one occasion for example, brought about by the catching of a tremendous sturgeon, they had taken up temporary residence. In such cases, as I saw for myself, only a light, provisional tent is erected, such as illustrated on Plate XV, Fig. 1. It suffices then to make a conical frame-
342 work out of a few poles, around which a birch-bark mat is thrown
824 in such a way that it provides adequate protection against rain or
285 blinding sunshine, and if bad weather sets in or the stay is longer, a few more bark mats are used as needed. As one can see from
[171] the above descriptions, these furnish all the Tungusic peoples of the lower as well as the upper Amur region the most essential and important material for the construction of their summer dwellings,

Tungus RU5
Manegir
Orochon

285 /382 cont./
342 where they are not replaced, as happens in the treeless prairies,
824 by Calamagrostis straw or grass, which is available in abundance
171 and is even easier to obtain. The pieces of birch bark peeled from the tree, in order to make them suitable for tent coverings, are first boiled in water in a large kettle, then rubbed with dry straw or hay, dried in the sun, and sewed together into mats about three fathoms long and an arshin wide (a toiochssa of the Goldi, tichssa of the Manegir and Orochon, tukja of the Orochi). Through this treatment the birch bark loses its brittleness and becomes soft and pliable like leather, so that the mats can be easily rolled up without damage, and they are always stored and transported in this manner. To prevent tearing the mat a narrow strip of similar bark is sewed along each edge of it. About six pieces or rolls of such birch-bark mats are needed to cover a Manegir tent of the kind described above. But, as we have seen, even a single piece can give sufficient protection in an emergency, and therefore an Amur Tungus, whether Goldi, Manegir, or something else, will hardly undertake even a short trip in summer without providing himself with a toiochssa (or tichssa) for any eventuality.

342 /383/ According to Maack's testimony, and Gerstfeld's (1),
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1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhiteliakh" Amura/Concerning the Riverside Inhabitants of the Amur/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. 1857, Sec. II, p. 298).

the tents of the Orochon are exactly like those of the Manegir, except that the former, instead of elk skins for covering the framework in winter, use reindeer skins, which are readily available for, instead of horses, they keep reindeer and use them for riding and burden-carrying on their expeditions.

361 As a rule, one sees standing in front of the Manegir and
484 Orochon tents individual racks made out of vertical and horizontal
[417] poles, which are used for drying fish and meat in the sun, for
[251] drying animal skins, and the like. The nomadic life of these peoples, however, forces them to carry along only what is most

T /383 cont./
361 essential for food, clothing, or housing; on the other hand,
484 everything in the way of provisions, clothing, and the like not
251 needed at the moment is deposited and stored for future use at
T certain points which they always touch on their migrations. For
484 this purpose the most primitive storage-places (dēlkan) are erected.
343 Boards or plaited switches are put in a horizontal position at a
251 height of 5-7 feet on a few piles driven into the ground. All the
361 property to be stored is put on this stand, covered with a birch-bark mat, and weighted from above with poles and stones (2).

2. Maack, op. cit., p. 71. Gerstfeldt, op. cit., p. 302.

It thus remains protected against both dampness from above and below and animal attacks. Plunder by human hands is not to be feared, however, not merely because of the solitude devoid of human beings, but also because the idea of the inviolability of such deposits, and perhaps a superstitious fear of touching them, is widespread generally and to a wide extent even among the neighboring peoples on the same childlike cultural level.

G In casting a general glance at the dwellings of the indige-
Gi nous peoples of the Amur region, that is, excluding the Chinese
T and the Manchu, Daur, Solon, etc., who are becoming more
342 and more assimilated by them, one reaches the conclusion that
171 they most have the character of permanent, stable, solid, and at the same time characteristic housing among the Gilyak, while among the Tungusic peoples living all around they ordinarily seem to be merely tent-like, easily set up and transportable, and suitable for an unsettled, more or less nomadic or roving life. On Sakhalin, for instance, besides the Gilyak staying in stable, permanent dwellings in summer as well as in winter, one also sees, even within part of their territory, the traveling tents of the Orok roaming with their reindeer. On the continent the difference is all the greater the farther one goes upstream from the mouth of the Amur and from the seacoast into the interior. This becomes especially evident from the summer

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dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

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In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

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361 most surely and best obtained by stable, permanent residence in a
433 place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich
[226] in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into
G consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them
[224] with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese
[439] and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

G The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes sur-
Gi rounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessary, indeed
T essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the
224 farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in
226 view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in
231 comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less ex-
433 tensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed,
361 and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the main river to the mountains that skirt its tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wildernesses along the left tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the first and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dseja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is
G possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals,
Gi in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,
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are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an additional motive for the nomadic life.

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Section 5

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External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style, Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized people, they secure them from the same source as their food, whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic animals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

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As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our discussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and seal-hunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only second place among them; furthermore they keep only one domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft animals; and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203. above.

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Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, besides cottons, which since ancient times they have obtained from the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak, possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skins of dogs and seals and fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, fox, otter, sable, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

/386 cont./

291 represent the principal articles in the trade with the Chinese.
439 Since in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange,
[177] besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this, as well as their general association with this civilized people next to them, easily explains the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and patterns of embroidery and other decorations.

291 /387/ The clothing worn next to the body by the Gilyak consists of drawers, which are not taken off even at night, trousers (Gilyak warsch), an under and an outer shirt (Gilyak larkch) reaching to the knees and buttoned from left to right at the neck and
[177] chest. These articles of clothing are always made out of Chinese,
[296] or nowadays also of Russian, blue or grey cotton material, and sometimes also of white, which, however, since the Gilyak never wash their clothing, very soon turns a more or less dirty gray. As a rule, no outer garment is needed during the summer, but if unfavorable weather, not infrequent even in this season, requires it, a winter garment, in particular the dog-fur coat to be described later, is used. High boots of seal leather and fur always serve as footgear. As a rule, the lower or foot part of the
[237] boot (Gilyak ki) and the sole are made of the skin of Phoca barbata (Gilyak kighitsch and kighitsch-langr), which, especially in the case of older specimens, is thicker and more durable than that of the other type of seal very common in the waters of the Amur region (Ph. nummularis; Gilyak pyghi and pyghi-langr) (1) and

1. See my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Langr simply means "seal."

for this purpose deprived of its hair. In accordance with the foot structure of the Gilyak, the lower part of the boot is small and graceful, with a high back keel-shaped in the middle, and the pointed end, turned somewhat upward and back, shows unmistakably the influence of the Chinese pattern. The legs of the boots, broad

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291 and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the thinner and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal, with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and, after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under [142] it with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unneces- [824] sary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical [531] hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chib-hak, i.e., in literal translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark, sewed on the hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII[7/1] and Pl. XX, Figs. 1 and 2)[2/1] (2).

[386] 2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

291 301 177 The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ provided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made either of similar material or of fish skins. Shirt and robe usually have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which is put as decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of

7/1 [See Category 116, P. 997 -- Analyst]
2/1 [See Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

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Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use

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1. During my stay in the Amur region, among such decorations several little brass crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" and a bronze medallion bearing the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wair or one of the nearby villages. In all probability these pieces came from the French missionary, de la Brunière, who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in Wair, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak. His colleague Venault, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], p. 218). To supplement the reports collected by Venault concerning the killing of de la Brunière, it should be noted here in passing that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wair and Ssabach, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wair was named for me as one of the murderers. He evaded or declined to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (uitsch) to destroy a piece of paper with

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characters on it -- no matter whether written or printed -- I hoped that perhaps through him I would succeed in obtaining possible diaries or other written notes of de la Brunière. But despite the high monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak for them, only a few scraps of one of D'Anville's maps of China were brought to me by them after the lapse of some time, when I had already again returned to the Nikolayev post.

281 291 [136] To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use the most common species of salmon in the waters of the Amur region, Salmo lagocephalus (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, on Sakhalin laghi-tscho). For this purpose the skins stripped from them have the scales removed, which is done by pounding the soaked skins in a wooden vessel; then, by scraping, they are cleaned of the adhering muscle and fatty parts, flattened and smoothed, and the individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality is obtained, depending on how carefully these operations are performed. On the robes intended for everyday use or for protection against rain, which are of a yellowish-gray color and usually without any ornaments, the places where the scales were attached to the individual skins can be clearly recognized (Pl. XVIII).[1] The more elegant robes, on the other hand, look as though they were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts especially sharply with the wide black edgings with which the body of the robe in front, above and below, as well as the sleeves at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentioned color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on in the intervening spaces, and the back in particular is distinguished by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with differently colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, Figs. 2, 3 and 4. The above-mentioned metallic ornaments, too, are never lacking on them.

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[1] [See category 116, p. 998--Analyst]

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291 [239] [136] The footgear of the Gilyak women is the same as among the men, except that on their boots in summer they almost always, the men only occasionally, have legs likewise of fish skin instead of seal fur, and, to be sure, besides from Salmo lagocephalus, also from Salmo proteus (Gilyak tengi-tscho), which undoubtedly are lighter and airier than the others, and in this season more suitable for them in view of the considerable activity that the performance of their domestic duties requires. The Gilyak women do not have a head covering intended solely for the summer, corresponding to the birch-bark hat of the men.

The winter clothing of the Gilyak is far more complicated and in many respects more unique. A Gilyak in his complete winter outfit is shown on Plate XVIII,[1] as he is about to set out on a journey. The principal garment of the Gilyak in winter, which they rarely take off, indeed, with which they cover themselves at night on the heated sleeping benches of the yurt, undressed down to their drawers, is the ample fur coat (Gilyak okch) reaching down to the knees and made of a double layer of dog fur, the outer layer with the hair on the outside, the inner layer with the hair on the inside. Whenever possible the Gilyak use for the fur coat, especially for the outer side of it, purely uniformly-colored furs, white, brown, gray, or others. The most highly prized is a uniformly black or dark-brown fur, and next a white one. Poorer people, however, content themselves with fur coats of mixed colors, and one sees such coats on children as a rule (Pl. XIX).[2] Attentive mothers even take the trouble to make their children fur coats with back parts made in checkerboard fashion out of white and black or brown pieces of fur (Pl. XII).[3] The fine and pliable fur of young animals is used preferably, particularly for the inner side of the fur coat.

291 237 It can be stated as a general rule that the Gilyak only wear fur coats made of dog skins. Only on the Liman, where they are chiefly engaged in seal hunting, did I meet isolated individuals who, as exceptions, wore coats of sealskin instead of dog fur, and the same may happen occasionally along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. The reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong

[1] [See Category 116, P. 998 -- Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, P. 999 -- Analyst]
[3] [See category 116, P. 992 -- Analyst]

/389 cont./ the reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong
291 preference for dog fur for their own use may, in part, be the
237 same ones that, according to Steller (1), made the ancient
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1. Steller, Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 137.

Italmen on Kamchatka prefer to use dog fur for their clothing, even preferring it to fox and sable. Of course, in view of the conservate tendencies of every primitive people, the usage once customary, the custom handed down for generations, may also play an important role. Besides this, however, the advantages of this fur, learned from experience, come into consideration, its "warmth," durability, and the firmness of its hair, even if it has been exposed to wetness -- characteristics which must make it especially prized by the common man almost always exposed to bad weather. And finally, in addition to all that, there is
[231] still another circumstance -- and in this may lie the chief reason /390/ for the universal use of dog fur among the Gilyak -- it is the ease and cheapness of obtaining it, since the Gilyak keep dogs in great numbers as indispensable draft animals, and the fur cannot be used profitably in trade with either the Chinese, Japanese, or Russians.

291 Nevertheless fur coats made out of the fur of other animals
554 are found among some Gilyak. They do not serve for use, however,
237 but are carefully stored as valued and rare objects. A lynx coat (Gilyak tschlyghi-okch) in particular plays such a role among them. A person who owns a lynx coat is regarded among the Gilyak as a rich and distinguished man, and at the time of my stay in the Amur region they could name for me only three of their countrymen and one Olcha who enjoyed such a possession. The Gilyak were: Nenjdan in the village of Allof on the Amur, Mesgun in Patt, each having one coat of this type, and Pawgun in Tamla-wo on Sakhalin, who had two of them; and the Olcha Todo in Tschilwi, who likewise had one such fur coat in his possession.

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000 possession. I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all
291 the more a coat made of six skins of this kind, has so high a
435 conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese
439 conceptions. In any case the lynx skin also has considerable real
237 worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not used by the Gilyak like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not impart to their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions
825 of another kind must therefore come into play here. In view of the
171 active, centuries old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese,
[439] they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the mightiest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne: for example, the seats of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the chair cushions carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

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2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar China /A Three-year Trip to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

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covered with tiger skins on the outside (3); long tiger and panther

3. Marco Polo (Reisen, German by Aug. Bürck, with annotations and emendations by Fr. Neumann, Leipzig, 1845, pp. 318-319) relates that the pavilion borne by four elephants in which the Chinese emperor (Kublai Khan) stayed when hunting in the province of Liao-tong, as well as the hunting tents erected for him there, were covered on the outside with tiger, or, as he says, "lion," skins.

tails hang down from the halberds and lances of the officers forming the bodyguard of the emperor and /391/ walking in his retinue during public processions (1), etc. (2). Under Chinese

1. Ysbrants Ides, op. cit., p. 90. Gerbillon, in Du Halde, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 235.

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2. Many more examples of the high esteem for the tiger and its skin in China could be given. I shall content myself, however, with referring here only to some of the older testimony of this kind. On account of its predatory nature, evoking fear and terror, its likeness is put on the garments of officers and and other persons in military service in China, as Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey Through China in the Suite of the Embassy of Great Britain in the Years 1793 and 1794, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. II, p. 31), Staunton (Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China in den J.

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2. (cont.)
1792-1794, nebst Nachr. über China und einen kleinen Theil der chines. Tartarey /Ambassadorial Voyage of the Earl of Macartney to China in the Years 1792-1794, with Reports on China and a Small Part of Chinese Tartary/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. I, p. 341), and others have reported. Ellis (Journal of the Proceed. of the late Embassy to China, etc., second edit., London, 1818, Vol. I, p. 130) also saw several companies of soldiers who were wrapped from head to foot in long, yellow and black striped garments which were supposed to make them look like tigers to terrify the enemy. On the other hand, the tiger also seems to be the object of religious veneration in China. For example, Van-Braam (Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 270) reports that four stuffed tigers in a sitting position were set before the altar in the pagoda Huinon-tsu in Peking. In a similar manner, the Chinese (Man-dse) in the Ussuri region erect chapels for the tiger, in which they offer sacrifices to it and hang pictures of it (Arkhim. Palladii, "Usur. Man'tszy /The Ussuri Man-dse/," Izviest. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 376). I shall come back on another occasion to the value that the Chinese in their superstitious beliefs attach to the meat, gall, tendons, bones, and claws, besides the skin of the tiger.

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825 171 influence similar use of the tiger skin as a mark of honor has become established in Korea (3). The trading trips of the Gilyak

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3. Thus, Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Travels in the Ussuri Region in 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 116) reports that during his visit to the Korean border town of Kygenpu on the Tumen-ula the governor appeared, carried on a chair over which a tiger skin was spread. After he had descended, it was spread on the ground and the traveler was invited to sit on it.

825 439 171 The Trading Trips of the Gilyak

to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari gave them an opportunity to witness the extraordinary fear which the Chinese there (Man-dse), as well as the Goldi, have of the tiger and, prompted by this fear, the respect that they show for it everywhere, in that the former erect small chapels or temples for it and put up in them pictures of it (4), which the latter call it "ambanj," i.e., "master," and

4. Arkhimandr. Palladii, "Usuriiskie Man'tszy" (op. cit., p. 377). Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 347).

even bow to the ground before its remains (5). The impressions

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5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur, completed between 1856 and 1857/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 171). Palladij, loc. cit.

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825 439 171 about the tiger that the Gilyak bring home from these trips, especially the stories that they hear from the Chinese and Goldi about the many human lives annually falling victim to it (6), undoubtedly

6. Przewalski reports (op. cit., p. 233) that in 1867 no fewer than 21 Man-dse were killed and six wounded by tigers along the Zymuche, a tributary of the upper Ussuri.

contribute no little to the panicky fear and superstitious ideas that govern them with respect to the tiger. I have already discussed this above (7) and intend to add more occasionally below.

7. See my Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 90-97, where, in speaking of the distribution of the tiger and leopard in the Amur region, the beliefs of the Gilyak and other Amur peoples concerning them are given.

825 Since /392/, however, the tiger appears in the area of the Gilyak only as a most infrequent guest on its rovings from the south and is scarcely ever killed by them (1), it, and to an even greater

1. The Gilyak did not know of any instance of this kind to relate to me.

degree the leopard, belongs more in the category of mythical animals occupying only their imagination. On the other hand, [439] they meet in their forests, and not so very infrequently, another animal, which through its decidedly predatory nature and its total appearance, the cat-like habitus, the spotted and in part striped marking of its fur, the black tip of its tail, etc., resembles the tiger as well as the panther (2), and whose fur is highly

[171] 2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 242) reports

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2. (cont.)
that the natives of the Ussuri region (Goldi and Orochi or Ta-dse) always answered his questions about the character and way of life of the lynx: "igajan Lau-masa," which means, "like the tiger."

prized and dearly paid for by the Chinese (3). I am referring

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3. Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost. Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Journeys in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in the Years 1855-1859/, Vol. I, "Die Säugethier-Fauna /The Mammalian Fauna/," St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 93) was unable to buy a lynx skin among the Manchu and Daur, even for silver coins, and heard the latter say that it, like a tiger skin, could be acquired only by high Chinese officials. Gerbillon (in Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 295) reported that the animal schulon (French "choulon"), a specimen of which Emperor Kang-hi killed during a hunt in 1692 and which he regarded as a lynx ("loup cervier"), which seems in fact to be wholly correct according to the description, provided one of the most highly prized pelts, which cost 15-20 ducats each in Peking. Elsewhere in Du Halde (op. cit., p. 29) this animal is called "chelason."

825 to the lynx. Therefore, the Gilyak transfer to it some of their conceptions about the tiger as a particularly noble, princely, or royal beast.

/392 cont./

825 291 554 royal beast. Hence it is no wonder that, in accordance with the proverb, "Clothes make the man," which is especially apt among primitive peoples, the Gilyak who can occasionally parade around in a whole coat of lynx skins, and who can thus scorn the profit that would accrue to him from the sale of these skins, is surrounded with an aura of extraordinary distinction and wealth in the eyes of his countrymen.

291 But let us return to the ordinary winter-clothing of the Gilyak. Like the shirt, the fur coat, too, is always buttoned by [179] the Gilyak from left to right over the chest, sometimes with several metal buttons of Chinese or Russian origin, sometimes with a large wooden button of Gilyak workmanship (Pl. XXIX, Figs. 4, 5),[1] and the skirts of the coats likewise overlap. To hold them together, however, the complete winter outfit includes, besides the belt, which will be discussed later, a special piece of clothing, the so-called kossjkha, that is, a short apron-skirt of sealskin extending around the body, which, for a better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII[2] and XIX).[3] [171] The kossjkha seems to be an article of clothing that is genuinely Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, Negda, etc. For /393/ the Gilyak always traveling astride his low dog-sled, the kossjkha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak as we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a swathing fashion and tied at the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of of fabric or leather (Gilyak torknbas; see Pl. XXII,[4] Figs. 4, 5). The hand coverings (Gilyak wom(a)ch) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX,[5] Figs. 3, 4) and distinguished in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a

1 2 3 4 5 [See Category 116, pp. 1009, 998, 999, 1002 and 1000 respectively--Analyst]

/393 cont./

291 flap, through which the hand may be stuck outside of its covering if necessary (1).

[171] 1. On the hand coverings of the Tungus and of the Russians in Siberia the slit for sticking the hand out has no protective flap; on the other hand, it is present on the dog-fur coverings of the Orochi of Hadshi Bay.

[171] The Gilyak never have a hood hanging down the back between the shoulders on their fur coats for protection for the head, as is customary among all the more or less far northern peoples, Kamchadal, Koryak, Chukchee, Eskimo, even Tungus, and others. Instead, the neck and head have special articles of [239] clothing. For the protection of the former a boa made of the tail-fur of squirrels (Gilyak tolp; Pl. XIX)[2] is used and is sometimes worn around the head, in mild weather instead of the cap, in cold weather over it, to protect the forehead (Pl. XVIII).[2] About 30-40 squirrel tails go into a tolp of inferior quality, 50 and more into a handsomely bushy and good one. The Gilyak do not use any other fur for this purpose.

First of all, on their heads, on long journeys, in severe cold, or in biting winds, the Gilyak wear ear muffs (Gilyak tapais), which consist of two flaps connected in front and back by a strap or band. These are either made singly out of sealskin [239] or are lined with fox or otter fur and provided on the outside with a piece of material on which differently colored arabesques are stitched (Pl. XX, Fig. 5,[3] and Pl. XXII, Figs. 1 and 2).[4] Over them there is a large fur cap enveloping the entire head (Gilyak tosn-hak) (2). It is of simple cut, straight at the bottom,

[104] 2. The s is soft in pronunciation here.

and at the front corners has either two bands (as in the pertinent illustration, Pl. XXI, Fig. 1)[5] for tying it under the chin, or only a single band connecting the inner sides of the two corners,

[2,2,3,4,5 See category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1000, 1002 and 1001 respectively -- Analyst]

/393 cont./

291 and in this latter, more common case, to put the cap on, the band mentioned is first brought under the chin, and then the cap
291 is pushed over the head. The cap is always lined with fox fur,
237 which, standing out in front and on the outside, also forms the edging. The outside consists of either the same kind of sealskin throughout or various pieces of fur not infrequently put together artistically and tastefully. /394/ For example, the tosn-hak of a Tschomi Gilyak who visited me in Nikolayevsk, which is illustrated on Pl. XXI, Fig. 1, was of this type. The upper middle piece of this cap, brown in color, was of reindeer skin; the white arabesques on it are of short-haired dog-skin; the edging, separated from the middle piece by a blue band, is made up of pieces of dappled sealskin; the front edge, as always, consists of the fox fur emerging from the inside, but at the bottom the cap is trimmed all around with long-haired, white dog-fur. This trimming, by the way, is not lacking on the less elegant, indeed even on the simplest fur-caps of the Gilyak and gives them all a special, peculiar stamp. The longer the white or gray hair
[171] of the cap reaching down toward the neck, the more beautiful it appears in the eyes of the Gilyak, just as among the ancient Italmen on Kamtchatka trimming the fur coats, which might have been reindeer or fox skin, all around with long dog-hair, was always regarded, as Steller puts it (1), as the "greatest

1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 138.

ornament" on them. This trimming on the caps, by the way, may offer some protection for the neck against wind and snow.

291 On long trips and in severe cold the Gilyak wear several undergarments under the fur coat. In particular, immediately
[177] next to it, for example, there is a short, quilted robe or jacket of cotton material or of cloth, the so-called ssikky in Gilyak, a garment undeniably of Chinese cut, which they wear in mild weather or on walks without a fur coat, with only the tolp around

/394 cont./

291 the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which
[177] they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur coat, inside the yurt. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the area of the pit of the stomach especially warm, a flap lined with fur, the so-called koch-passj, is worn there under the shirt, on the naked body, hung round the neck with a small band and at the bottom knotted around the body by two others. The example of
[177] the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 3 which I saw in the possession of the Gilyak Judin in Tebach, was of Goldi workmanship. It was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with fox fur, and trimmed all around with otter fur, but provided on the outside with multicolored and in part artistic embroidery on black cotton material, which I shall come back to below. Here there must still be mentioned a peculiar undergarment that I noticed in particular among the Tro Gilyak in Nyi, both among adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a pouch tied around the loins and of use to the male sex only. For the Gilyak sitting astride their sleds it is especially important to protect the knees against wind and weather, and a knee sheath (Gilyak panj) made of sealskin and tied around the leg below or above the knee serves for this purpose.

291 /395/ The footgear has already been mentioned above. In
171 winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put some dry grass in their boots,
175 as more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). Accord-
824

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland, for example (Rob. Brown, "Das Innere von Grönland /The Interior of Greenland/," in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 384).

ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a description of the town of Ninguta in 1722, it is also customary among the Manchu there, and for this they use a soft, fine, longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

/395 cont./

291 824 171 175 [113] ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with

2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

[113] 3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

291 824 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

293 412 [291] Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt, in particular as a holder for some of the implements always accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always [531] of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI, 2 Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

[104] 4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.

2 [See Category 116, P. 1011 -- Analyst]

293 /395 cont./
412 and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2).
[531] The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata)
[237] adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX)[2] (5). Usually a second knife is also worn at

[128] 5. On Pl. XVIII[2] the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dshakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4),[3] quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring
[239] at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made of sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dshakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the
415 /396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as
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1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container
[531] for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small
[237] bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak tschondak, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5),[4] usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[2,3,4] [See category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respectively --Analyst]

293 /396 cont./
372 Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well
415 as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a
[531] sturgeon that is softened beforehand for the purpose and later
[237] hardening like wood: on the Amur out of the skin of the tukki-tscho of the Gilyak (Acipenser Schrenckii Brandt), on Sakhalin out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the northern part of the Sea of Japan and called okras by the Gilyak. The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be inverted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that, after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper
372 piece can be lifted off the lower one. Like the tinder box, the
293 steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain (Gilyak kessj-kessj) equipped with various appendages (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1,[2] and Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1).[2] Sometimes there is also found
293 on this a bent, little iron rod pointed at the bottom (Pl. XXVIII,
412 Figs. 1 and 2), which is also carried separately and serves for all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap, at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc.
[321] This instrument (Gil. kedak) is not infrequently also made of
[531] horn or bone, and as insignificant and unessential as it is in itself, nevertheless it is usually decorated with all sorts of carved
293 figures (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, various other odds and ends usually hang in the belt of the Gilyak as he happens to find them, for instance, a boar's tusk or tooth, a piece of antelope horn or deer antler, etc.

291 In winter, the Gilyak women also wear coats of dog fur,
237 which are made like those of the men; nevertheless they are sometimes seen, though rarely, in coats of more precious furs. In the winter of 1856, for instance, in Tangi on Sakhalin, I saw one of the wives of the Gilyak Kombrein wrapped in a coat of fox skins with the fur turned to the outside, under which two under-coats of blue and of patterned Chinese material trimmed with otter and sable furs were visible. On neatly dressed girls, children of well-to-do parents, one sometimes sees on the dog-fur coat a narrow fox-fur collar, the so-called mungrusk in Gilyak,
[2, 2 [See Category 116, PP. 1008 and 1009 respectively--Analyst]

/396 cont./

291 which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long
237 tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

/397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar
291 and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees
177 them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies
53 from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tulv-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2).* It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter consists of single Chinese material, usually black or dark-blue cloth.
[237] On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the
292 edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl.
177 XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is
53 more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are
[237] represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

[171]
[113]

1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des vers l'Emper. de la Chine

* [See category 116, P. 1001--Analyst]

/397 cont./

292 177 53 [171] [113]

1. (cont.)
en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

292 53 177 237 fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to [301] the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women 292 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use 237 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

/398 cont./

292 is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The
237 inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration
[554] was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

[126] 1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

171 A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed
29 animal as headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation
230 of the whole animal may occur among many primitive peoples.
825 I cannot refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is the most dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear caps of wolf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an erect position (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

[113] 2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

also takes place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern America. The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northernmost Maleig-müt down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made out of the head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the tail of a wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this latter animal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo

/398 cont./

171 let a wolf or wolverine tail hang down at the neck from their
291 elegant reindeer-fur caps, trimmed with otter or wolverine skin,
237 to their backs (3). One would not err, I believe, if he assumed
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3. Lagoskin", Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vladienii v" Amerikie /Description of a Journey on Foot through Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847 and 1848, Pt. II, pp. 21, 22.

that such articles of clothing based on the imitation of animals are of ancient national origins among those people for whom they are customary and in whose lives the animals in question are of special importance, bringing harm or advantages. It certainly seemed obvious to primitive man to pursue and carry out in detail the similarity with a given animal that he acquired by clothing himself in its fur. Here and there superstitious beliefs of the kind, say, that by imitating an animal in one's clothing, he might gain its good will or render it harmless, might also have given rise to garments copying animals. It is, therefore, not surprising that the idea of special elegance and high distinction becomes attached to such ancient national garments. This also explains why the tschlyghi-hak of the Gilyak /399/ women, though made out of purely native materials, is regarded as more elegant than the tscharp-hak made out of expensive Chinese silk with dragon designs.

291 I cannot leave this subject without permitting myself yet another pertinent and general remark. Since the customary practice among all primitive peoples clothing themselves in animal skins is to wear the skin with the hair on the outside, might not the thought of using the skin for protection against the inclemencies of the climate in the same way as it is given to the animal as natural clothing have arisen out of the imitation of animals, until experience taught that this is in fact the way of using animal skins for clothing that gives the most protection? Without any other covering as nearly air- and water-tight as possible, which primitive people were not familiar with, animal

/399 cont./

291 skin undoubtedly affords better protection against cold, wind, and rain when the hair is on the outside than when it is turned to the inside, and if it were first tested in this position, it would be natural to add another layer of it or of another skin in the opposite position, with the hair on the inside, and thus, avoiding a foreign covering, to obtain that double fur undoubtedly giving the best protection, as one finds among all the northern and polar peoples.

291 The above-described or illustrated garments are sufficient
292 to show that the Gilyak like to provide their clothing with all
531 kinds of variously shaped, gay-colored embroidery and other ornamentation. I have sometimes seen among them whole collections of embroidery designs, and I brought back some of them. These consist of fabric or fish-skin patches on which the designs are embroidered or on which various figures cut out of thin birch-bark and symmetrically arranged are pasted (Pl. XXIII and XXIV).[1] Among them, however, are also found larger pieces of fabric sometimes made up of several multicolored patches and not used for embroidery, but on which arabesques and animal figures of the most varied kinds are colorfully, but always symmetrically arranged beside or intertwined with one another (Pl. XXV-XXVII).[2] If for the moment, we disregard the latter, to which I shall come back later, particularly in connection with the animal figures, and if we consider only the designs to be embroidered on the articles of clothing previously discussed, we find in them a peculiar character and taste which fundamentally distinguishes them from those of the Siberian
531 peoples. Whereas among the Siberian Tungus, for instance,
[171] who likewise adorn their clothing with embroidery, the simplest patterns and motifs recur with great uniformity and often, for example, only rows of the same simple figures, small triangles, squares, circles, crude curlicues, and the like, running over or beside one another, are to be found (as the Tungusic specimens illustrated on Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIV, Figs. 5 and 6 show), in the Gilyak designs and ornamentation beautiful, curved and interlaced lines, diverse arabesques artistically overlapping,

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 1003-1004 --Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, pp. 1005-1007--Analyst]

/399 cont./

531 and snail-shaped spiral figures prevail throughout.

/400/ As on their garments, the Gilyak like to decorate all the other implements in their household and their lives with all kinds of designs and ornamentation, as we noted on the above-mentioned implements worn at the belt and as we shall frequently have occasion to see below. The general character of these decorations is always the same, as is described in more detail above, whether the articles are made of wood, tree bark, leather, bone, or iron, and only the execution will be less exact and neat in the case of more brittle material, although with every type of object we shall come across some which testify to the great skill and dexterity on the part of the Gilyak in the use of the simplest tools. The talent of the Gilyak for ornamentation, 531 294 however, appears to us in its boldest and greatest development in the embroideries for the decoration of their clothing, utilizing for this in particular, besides the easier reproduction of diverse lines and figures, also the effects obtained by putting together various colors. And of this the Gilyak, as much as in general they prefer somber colors for their clothing, also popular among the Chinese (1), a more or less dark blue or gray, make liberal,

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59.

but moderate and tasteful use in decorating their clothing, as [439] the above illustrations show. This is made possible by the variously colored silk and cotton thread obtained in trade from the Chinese.

531 I have previously described the general character of Gilyak 177 ornamentation as unique and completely different from that of the Siberian peoples. Also, no trace of Russian national influences, as are quite explicable among the latter as a result of centuries old, manifold, and constant intercourse with the Russians, is found among the Gilyak. On the other hand, much of the Gilyak ornamentation, spiral-shaped coiled lines,

/400 cont./

531 177 artistic interlacing of bands, tapering ornamental borders with multiple points, and the like, can also be recognized on ancient Chinese articles, costly garments and porcelain and ivory objects such as our museum has. Furthermore, quite similar ornamentation is found on some old Japanese objects, for example, on the brass mountings of half decayed wooden scabbards in our possession, which we obtained through Mr. Poljakof from ancient Ainu graves on southern Sakhalin and which undoubtedly are of Japanese origin. I therefore feel justified in concluding that the [439] Gilyak ornamentation has developed largely under the influence of ancient Chinese and, in part, ancient Japanese models, since in view of the anciently established and constant trade relations of the Gilyak on the mainland up the Amur and Sungari with the Chinese and on Sakhalin with the Japanese, and the Ainu completely subject to their influence, it could scarcely be otherwise (2).

2. The role that the Gilyak play as middlemen in trade between the Chinese and the Japanese will be discussed below.

531 177 171 /401/ Thus, as in other things, so also with regard to ornamentation, Chinese cultural influence spread along the natural route of trade, down the Sungari and Amur to the Gilyak. If, in addition to what has been presented above, more direct proof were needed, it is provided by the fact that the same type of ornamentation on clothing and other objects is found among all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, from the Gilyak upstream along the main river, as well as along its tributaries up to the Sungari. Though these peoples are from Tungusic tribes, they nevertheless have nothing in common with the Russian-Siberian Tungus with regard to the ornamentation customary among them, but rather are linked to the Chinese and Gilyak. In this connection, however, we are met by the striking phenomenon that the feeling for ornamentation and the development of the latter in the Amur region do not decrease but increase with greater distance from the civilized people concerned,

531 /401 cont./
177 the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest
171 from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is
not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned,
531 but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep them-
174 selves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent
648 direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

[439] Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

294 Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must
412 mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it.
[439] For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the
294 Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles(Gil. nugsis,
415
412
[114]

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2),[2] worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the

[2] [See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

294 415 [412] 415 171 /401 cont./ latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This ingenious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

[170] And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

415 171 531 Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

[114] tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite [789] crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilyak and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting them

415 /402 cont./
171 on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be
531 removed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by suc-
789 cess -- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

294 The thread with which garments are sewed varies accord-
283 ing to the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for example, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, fine thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call mydisk and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as pilengat-mydisk, mimk-myd., kych-myd., etc. (5), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. *Pilengat* is *Cyprinus Carpio L.*; *mimk* -- *Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii* Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name *kych* refers to.

(Gil. kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fish-
[177] ing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed
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6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread likewise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the
294 work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak
412 woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although
[177] they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (chasa) for them; instead they only use a knife. For smoothing
[531] the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pans), which is

/402 cont./

294 beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some
412 decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the
531 tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).[1]

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak,
286 who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements
283 and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of
171 the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

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1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izviestiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

[1] [See category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]

2: Schrenck--603 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/403 cont./

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1. (cont.)
Geogr. Obshch., po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 379, 390, 392, 500). N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 70). Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1[illegible], pp. 31, 132. Recently Dr. Ssuprunenko has given our museum several articles of clothing woven out of elm bast by the Ainu of Sakhalin.

likewise with the utilization of nettle fibers, among many Siberian peoples, such as the Ostyak, Kirgiz, Bashkir, Vogul on the Ural, and others, as an anciently familiar one (2).

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2. Witsen, Noord en Oost-Tartarye, second printing, 1705, pp. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, Leben und Gewohnheiten der Ostjaken /Life and Customs of the Ostyak/, Berlin, 1720, p. 30. Castren, Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845-49 /Travel Account and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 55. Beliaevskii, Poiezdka k" Ledovit. moriu /Journey to the Arctic Ocean/, Moscow, 1833, pp. 73, 77. Abramov", Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Krai/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 406). Archimandrite Platon, "Sur les Vogouls" (Klaproth, Magasin Asiat., Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 251).

Moreover, in China, from where so much cultural influence reached the Gilyak and other Amur peoples, one type of nettle (Urtica nivea) is even cultivated in fields for use in weaving (3).

3. Barrow, Reise durch China im Gefolge

/403 cont./

3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

286 I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu,
174 knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the
171 nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced
[126] whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I
[714] acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas
[177] the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

/404 cont./

made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

G 291 171 All the other peoples of the lower Amur region in general have the same clothing as the Gilyak. Nevertheless, to the extent that the natural conditions of the regions, the means of subsistence, and the principal occupations of the people differ, more or less conspicuous differences and peculiarities show up among them, in that other clothing materials gradually gain the upper hand, many an article of clothing no longer corresponding to the changed requirements will be modified or disappear, and, on the other hand, many a new one appear, etc.

G. G1 291 171 [101] [433] [231] The greatest, and in fact virtually complete, correspondence with the Gilyak in their clothing is shown by their nearest neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha, who live under the same physical conditions and in the same manner as they do, chiefly by fishing and, in de Castries Bay, also by seal hunting, and, like the Gilyak, keep many dogs, as their sole domestic animal, for winter trade and intercourse with the neighboring peoples. During the long period of living beside and in part among the Gilyak, G1 [177] the Olcha adopted, among other things, the clothing of the latter completely, and every one of the garments described above, not excepting even the lynx cap so peculiarly Gilyak, as well as the implements customarily used for making them, is found identically among the Olcha and has an Olcha-Tungusic designation. Nevertheless, among the Olcha, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution, closer to the Samagir and Goldi borders, one sometimes comes across an article of clothing that came from the last-named peoples and is foreign to the Gilyak, such as a deer-leather or elk-leather robe, a boa made of musk-deer skins instead of squirrel tails, etc.

G 291 171 G1 291 177 The situation is the same with regard to the clothing of the Negda on the Amgunj /Amgun/. When Middendorff, coming from the Tugur Tungus, visited them, everything gave him the impression, despite their language, differing only dialectally from the Siberian Tungus, "that he had come upon a new people": the shape and cut of the individual articles of clothing, the

G /404 cont./
291 patterns and figures embroidered on them, the pendent metallic
171 ornaments, the implements customarily used in making the
Gi clothing and other small hand-tools, everything revealed itself
291 "as an emanation from another center of fashion" (1).
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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1526 ff.

Middendorff realized quite correctly that this center was to be sought among the Gilyak on the Amur and had developed under Chinese influence spreading down this river. In fact, /405/ the illustrations of Negda or "Nigidaler" clothing and utensils shown in his travel account look as though they were made by copying Gilyak articles, as I have already mentioned above in connection with individual ones. Like the clothing of the Olcha, that of the Negda shows the greater distance of their habitation area from the seacoast as compared to the Gilyak, because, instead of the sealskin robes customary among the latter, they wear robes of elkskin (1).

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1531.

Gi A situation quite different from that among the Amur Olcha,
291 who have been completely assimilated with the Gilyak in their
171 way of life, behavior, and clothing, prevails among the Olcha
who migrated to Sakhalin -- the Orok. They remained reindeer
Gi nomads and therefore preserved an essential difference in their
[233] clothing, in that the reindeer also furnish them their chief cloth-
[237] ing material. The Orok whom I met on their winter migration
[221] through the Tymy Valley and near Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin were dressed completely in reindeer skins, in that fur coats, caps, and boots were made out of it. The former were of the same cut as the dog-fur coat of the Gilyak, without the hood in the back, but the boots did not have the above-mentioned form of the Gilyak boots, reminiscent of the Chinese, but rather appeared more uniformly wide and clumsier, and the caps differed from those of the Gilyak in that they always were

/405 cont./

291 provided with a visor consisting of a piece of cloth sometimes
171 decorated with embroidery. The latter may be necessary for them in order to provide protection for their eyes against snow blindness, in view of their continuous roaming through mountainous stretches and regions that are less forested but richer in the moss needed by their reindeer. On top of the fur coat the Orok wore the short, round apron of sealskin (kossjkha) customary among the Gilyak. The Orok women whom I also saw roaming in the company of their husbands had on fur coats provided with blue material on top and held together by wide belts with inlaid metal, and caps which looked quite similar to the common winter caps (tulv-hak) of the Gilyak women.

291 As Mamia Rinsô reported (2), aside from reindeer skins,
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2. "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 190.

sealskins and fish skins were the principal clothing materials of the Orok, corresponding to their occupation in summer and fall of seal-hunting and fishing along the east coast of Sakhalin and especially at the mouth of the fish-rich Tymy River, and, finally, in addition, Chinese cotton cloth which they obtain through the Gilyak. From the latter source they also get the Chinese copper
[301] coins and small disks customarily used for decorating the women's
291 robes (3), as well as all their luxury items. It is therefore not
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3. Mamia Rinsô, loc. cit.

surprising that the Orok, aside from the reindeer-skin clothing discussed above, are otherwise governed wholly by Gilyak usage and taste in everything else concerning the individual garments, the embroideries and other ornamentation on them, indeed even using precisely the same implements both in the sewing and in other handiwork and activities. For example, /406/ the Orok fish-skin robe pictured in Siebold's Nippon (1) exhibits embroidery

1. Section VII, Pl. XXI, Fig. 1.

Gi 291 294 177 415 /406 cont./

(Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in connection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

A Gi 177 291 Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

A 291 177 [114] [171] [439] I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to add anything new to what has already become known from various sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

A 291 177

Ainu ABG
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

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/406 cont./
straw or grass, and on muddy ground in the villages, wooden shoes such as are not used by either the Gilyak or any other Amur people (2).

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2. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 76 ff. Busse, op. cit., p. 70. Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 27, 28, etc.

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Let us return to the mainland, to the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries. It is self-evident that the individual Samagir living among the Olcha on the Amur or on Lake Udyl in the closest proximity and in constant contact with them have the same clothing as they do. Along the Gorin, however, where they live in more isolation, in denser numbers, and under essentially different conditions, their clothing, too, shows considerable differences. /407/ Instead of fishing, here in the extensive forest wilderness, hunting plays the chief role and provides the people with their foremost means of getting food and clothing. Immediately upon my arrival, in March, 1855, in Ngagha, the chief center of the Samagir on the Gorin, I was struck by their clothing, which differs from that of the Olcha and Gilyak: instead of the dog-fur coats and sealskin robes, everyone was dressed in robes of elk or deer leather, indeed, even the women wore such leather robes instead of the fish-skin robes, usually with green-colored neck and shoulder pieces, which gave the robe a handsome and elegant appearance as long as it was still new and white. For a complete winter outfit a fur coat made of roe-deer, reindeer, or musk-deer skin is worn over it, which one never sees among the Gilyak only rarely and as an exception among the Olcha (1). Like the material, the cut of the clothing

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[224]
[433]
[114]

1. I never encountered a musk-deer coat even among the Olcha.

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[481]

among the Samagir, in accordance with their way of life, differs in many respects from that of the Amur dwellers. For the hunter roaming on ski through thick underbrush and bushes a short fur or leather robe with tight-fitting sleeves narrowing toward the wrists is required.

Gi /407 cont./
291 is required. The full fur cap becomes a fur hood tightly fitting
184 the head. The legs must not be impeded in their movements,
G and as good a service as the stiff apron-skirt of sealskin, the
[291] Gilyak kossjkha, performs for the Gilyak and Olcha usually skimming along on their dog-drawn sleds, it would be useless, in fact, an impediment, to the hunter on his own graceful advance through the forest thickets. Thus, whereas the Gilyak
G, Gi and Olcha are almost never seen in winter without this apron-
[171] skirt, I never once encountered it among the Samagir on the Gorin, which is not to say that they do not use it on long trips to the Goldi, Olcha, or Chinese traders on the Amur.

As strikingly different as the clothing of the Samagir on the Gorin is from that of the Olcha, as the result of a different way of life, the difference in the clothing going from the Olcha up the Amur to the Goldi is not very marked. Apart from their hair style, to be discussed later, one would imagine himself to be among the same people. In particular, among the Goldi, perhaps even more than among the Olcha, the fish-skin clothing
Gi is generally in use among the women and children. The Goldi
[462] women are especially skilled at preparing the fish skins nicely
[281] and neatly and providing the robes with multicolored and diverse
[294] embroidery of exactly the nature of the forms and figures discussed above. One sees the children, however, and especially the boys, go around in summer as a rule in quite simple short, fish-skin robes, torn or patched here and there (Pl. XXX).[1] Fish
Gi skins (always from Salmo lagocephalus) have this importance as
[237] the principal clothing material throughout the Goldi territory on the Amur as well as on the Ussuri, and not until one goes beyond the mouth of the Sungari, where the Birar, living by hunting, appear along the spurs of the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, do they disappear and give way to the leather of game animals. Thus,
Gi /408/ the Goldi were the first people clad in fish-skins whom the
[195] Chinese, advancing northward and eastward from the Sungari
[199] region, met on the Amur and on the Ussuri, and undoubtedly they
[101] are meant first and foremost among the people whom the Chinese designated with the name "Jupi-tatse," i.e., Fish-skin Barbarians,

[1] [See category 116, p. 1010 -- Analyst]

Gi 291 184 /408 cont./
[175] and whom the Jesuit missionaries sent to the lower Amur region
[177] in the previous century by the Peking government mention by
[101] this name (1). Only with greater distance up the Amur from the

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1. Cf. Du Halde, Decr. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Vol. IV, pp. 10 ff. Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Vol. I, pp. 142 ff.

Olcha does one notice more and more the difference in the total appearance and character of the clothing of the Goldi in comparison with the Olcha. The great, ever-increasing distance
G Gi [171] from the sea upstream more and more eliminates sealskin from use (2): the Gilyak kossjkha, still quite general among the Olcha

2. The extreme limit to which seals go up the Amur still lies within Olcha territory (at Yrri; see my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, p. 180), still a good stretch to the north of the Goldi boundary.

disappears among the Goldi, and the fewer dogs in their economy
Gi make the dog-skin coat likewise less general. On the other hand,
[237] however, one more and more sees different furs appear among
[439] them, such as red deer, roe deer, musk deer, Canis procyonoides, etc., which they obtain in abundance and inexpensively in part through their own hunting and in part through trade with their hunting neighbors along the tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri, the Samagir, the Kile along the Kur, and the Orochi. At the
Gi 291 184 177 same time, the farther one goes upstream, the more the direct influence of the Chinese appears in the clothing of the natives, in that plainly Chinese garments come into use. Among the Goldi, for instance, I occasionally found black, Chinese sheepskins with a cotton covering; in the Geong Mountains, among the upper Goldi, the use of the above-described birch-bark hats ceases, and, on the other hand, broad-brimmed, Chinese straw-hats and, even more, black or gray felt hats likewise coming

Gi /408 cont./
291 from them (see Pl. XXX) are in general use, etc. The cut of the
184 individual garments also becomes more and more purely Chinese,
177 and the Goldi pictured on the latter plate, for example, is in no way distinguished in his clothing from a Chinese laborer or a Daur raftsman, as I often saw them on the upper Amur. Nadarof (3),

3. Op. cit., pp. 67 and 77.

too, in describing the clothing of the Goldi and Orochi living along the Ussuri and its right tributaries, stresses that over-all, as well as in each individual piece, it is of Chinese cut. Finally,
Gi [648] in the clothing of the Goldi, in comparison with that of their northern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha and especially the Gilyak, one can see in general the difference that it as a rule is scantier, poorer, and more neglected than among them, as a result of the direct oppression and exploitation of this people by the Manchu and Chinese.

This is the case to an even greater extent among the Orochi, especially in the southern part of their area of distribution, between the Ussuri and the seacoast, where they /409/ live mixed with Chinese. In the northern part, on the other hand, where the Chinese do not come and where the Orochi have contact with them only through the mediation of the Goldi and Olcha, the Chinese influence decreases more and more. In Hadshi Bay, for instance, they did not seem to me to differ essentially in their clothing from their related neighbors along the Amur, except that they might, as avid hunters, use various animal skins and, as coastal dwellers, sealskin to a greater extent, just as the foot and leg coverings among them consisted of the latter almost everywhere.

T I can properly pass lightly over the clothing of the upper
291 Amur peoples, since I myself came into only fleeting contact
171 with them during my trip up the Amur in the summer of 1856.
177 It will suffice therefore to note that the Chinese type of clothing prevails everywhere in the entire Manchu-Chinese-Daur culture area of the Amur River between the Bureja Mountains and the mouth of the Dseja /Zeya/, regardless of whether the

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291 villages are inhabited by Manchu, Chinese, or Daur. This is also
171 the case among the Birar settled on the Amur directly above the
177 Bureja Mountains, who, like them, live by field and garden
[184] cultivation and can not be distinguished in their clothing from their closest neighbors, the Daur. The situation is different among the nomadic peoples of the upper Amur region, the roving Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, living by hunting. Here, too, Chinese influence diminishes more and more in proportion to the distance from that culture area on the Amur River; in material, cut, and ornamentation the clothing acquires the general Siberian-Tungusic character, and in addition a Yakut influence from the north makes itself felt, and, through the mediation of the Yakut, who follow the nomads as traders, a Russian influ-
291 ence, too. Especially subject to the latter are the Orochon, who
177 live adjacent to the Russians in Transbaikalia and in fact have
[648] remained under Russian rule according to the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1).

1. See pp. 91-95 and 160 above.

[237] It is in this, as well as in the circumstance that the Orochon are
[184] reindeer nomads and consequently reindeer skin and leather play a predominate role in their economy, that the chief difference in their clothing rests, in contrast to that of their neighbors gravitating toward the Chinese-Daur world, the Manegir and Birar (2).

[113] 2. For detailed descriptions of the clothing of the Manegir and Orochon, see Maack (Putesh. na Amur", St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. 50 and 71-73) and Gerstfeldt ("O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura /Concerning the Population of the Amur Coast/." -- Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 294).

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As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

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This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

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The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

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302 [171] 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however, [753] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the [761] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and 302 765 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and preserved by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

302 515 136 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the [751] presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about 515 825 his health and took him back again. In connection with this, the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi- [123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy, I was given the answer that they were paying back the little animals for what the latter were doing to them.

/411 cont./

000 G 302 171 000 animals for what the latter were doing to them.

Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Olcha, and their fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamia Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

A 302 177 It may be pre-sumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

A 175 302 177 the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/ shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

2: Schrenck--617 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

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3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

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5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

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6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

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1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

2: Schrenck--618 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

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1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

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no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom

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and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

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3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Manchu AG4

A 302 199 413 /412 cont./

with which they lift the mustache while drinking, an instrument that the other tribes on Sakhalin and in the Amur region, with less heavy or scanty beards, do not need.

Gi 302 171 The Ainu experience with the Japanese in regard to their hair style is similar to that of the peoples living on the mainland from the Olcha upstream along the Amur and its tributaries with the Chinese. The Samagir on the Gorin and the Goldi differ

Gi [184] sharply from their related neighbors, the Negda and the Olcha, with respect to their hair style: on the whole front of the head, from temple to temple, the hair is shaved off or cut short, and the rest is plaited into a braid hanging down the back (see Pl. III). This hair style is so common among them that it is even found on the Goldi living dispersed among the Olcha. As is well known, however, this is also the present hair style of the Chinese. In ancient times, however, the Chinese did not shave the hair on the front of the head, but let it grow all over and treated it with great care by gathering it together at the crown, tying it with a strip of cloth or a ribbon, decorating it with gold wire, etc. Indeed, it is said that at the time of the Han Dynasty (179-155 B.C.) one form of punishment for a crime was to shave off the culprit's

M 302 648 656 171 /413/ head hair (1). Only after the presently ruling Manchu

1. Pauthier, Chine moderne ou descript. hist., géogr. et littér. de ce vaste emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 231.

dynasty ascended the Chinese throne did a governmental edict require the present hair style of Manchu type -- a measure which frequently encountered the most violent resistance, produced uprisings and rebellions, and in part could be carried out only by

000 the force of arms (2). The peoples of the Amur region under

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2. Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tartar. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Kaiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of

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2. (cont.)
Tartary and now to the Emperor of China/," by the Chinese Dionysius Kao in the appendix to Ysbrants Ides' Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 183. Zusätze zu des Joh.Bapt. Du Halde ausführl. Beschr. des Chines. Reiches u. der Gross. Tartarei /Appendix to the Description of the Chinese Empire and Greater Tartary Given by J. B. Halde/, translated from the French, Rostock, 1756, pp. 91, 101, 110, 157. Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Part II, p. 280. Pauthier and Bazin, Chine mod., etc., Part I, pp. 416, 227, 429. Davis, La Chine, translated from the English, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 185. Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey /The Peoples of Manchuria/ Göttingen, 1830, Vol. I, p. 270; Vol. II, p. 709. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 126) notes with regard to the Chinese of Kjachta that they admit with reluctance that they now cut their head hair in Manchu fashion. Just as in various places in China, the above edict of the Chinese government also caused rebellion among the Koreans already tributary to the Manchu at the time of the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty (Plath, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 297). Even today the Koreans do not shave their head hair, but gather it up and plait it into a braid pointing upward; the women, however, wind it around the head and tie it together (Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 108). Even the small mountain tribe of the Miao-tseu living in the province of Kueĭ-tschen were able to

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2. (cont.)
evade the edict, maintaining their independence (Davis, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 150, 188).

M The Peoples of the Amur region under
302 Manchu-Chinese rule also had to submit to this measure insofar
171 as that rule was effective. In the lower Amur region there were
656 first of all the Goldi, who live next to the Manchu-Chinese on
648 the Sungari as well as on the Ussuri and have a number of perma-
Gi nent residences of Manchu-Chinese officials in their territory.
302 Perhaps the Manchu way of wearing the hair found readier ac-
177 ceptance among the Goldi because, even prior to the conquest
171 of China by the Manchu, they had had close contact with a tribe
of the latter, the Djutscheren, and in part had even lived among
ooo them (3). At any rate, it has now been fully adopted among

3. See p. 318 ff. above. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the hair style that the Djutscheren had before they were transplanted to the Churcha. There is no doubt but that today they or their descendants have the general Manchu-Chinese hair style.

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302 At any rate, it has now been fully adopted among
177 them. In the region of the Sungari mouth, Maack (4) saw even
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4. Putesh. na Amur", St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 141.

the Goldi women, despite the special conservatism that characterizes their sex, wear their hair in the fashion of the Manchu women, that is, brushed back, with or without a part, plaited into two braids, and these wound into a flat or a high pile, which was held together by long, bone or silver hairpins carved
[765] at one end or adorned with a stone (Goldi ssopcho). Indeed, even the Chinese custom of cutting off the braid as a sign of mourning over the death of a close relative (5) has found

5. Iakinf", Kitai, ego zhit., nravy,

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302 171 177 765

5. (cont.)
obychai, prosvieshch. /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 177. Moreover, among the Chinese the head and beard hair is not cut for a certain length of time as a sign of mourning (Pauthier, Chine mod., etc., Part II, p. 260).

ooo acceptance among the Goldi (6). /414/ Thus, it was probably

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6. Wenjukof /Veniukov/ ("Obozr. r. Usuri i zemel'k" vost. ot" neia do moria /Survey of the Ussuri River and the Lands to the West of It toward the Sea/." -- Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 25, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 199) saw a Goldi who mourned his deceased mother in this manner on the Ussuri.

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Thus, it was probably primarily through the mediation of the Goldi that the Manchu-Chinese hair style was taken up among the Samagir along the Gorin River, especially since close to the point where this river empties into the Amur, in Zjanka, there is a permanent settlement of Chinese merchants, and somewhat farther up along the main stream, in Mylki, a permanent residence of Manchu-Chinese officials, from which the Samagir could constantly be reminded of Chinese sovereignty.

302 171 177 [648] [101]

The peoples living farther to the north and downstream, on the other hand, the Olcha, Negda, and Gilyak, among whom there are no officials of this kind and who are only nominally under Chinese rule, have evaded the Manchu-Chinese governmental edict, if indeed it ever reached them, and retained their old hair style. Hence these are the peoples whom the Chinese designate simply with the name of the long-haired ones -- "Tschang-Mao-tse," according to Venault, in contrast to the "Tuang-Mao-tse" or Tatars (barbarians) with shaved heads, the

Gi /414 cont./
307 Goldi, etc. (1). These peoples therefore regard the unshaved and
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1. Venault, "Excursion dans les parties intérieures de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Annales des voyages, Vol. XXX, 1852 [II], pp. 205, 214. Actually it is not difficult to recognize the Olcha villages of Adi, Pulu, and Uchtr in the Tschang-Mao-tse villages mentioned by Venault, "Aki," the first, going downstream, "Pulo," and "Uktu." It has already been mentioned above (pp. 212 and 388, note 1) that the "Kili-mi" belonging to the Tschang-Mao-tse, who through the murder of de la Brunière gave rise to Venault's voyage, are the Gilyak. Venault also notes that in their physiognomy the Tschang-Mao-tse are closer to the European type than the Tuang-Mao-tse, which is absolutely correct for the Gilyak and Olcha in contrast to the Goldi, Orochi, etc. (See pp. 286 ff. /untranslated/ above.)

unshorn hair as a symbol of freedom, as the Ainu do with regard
G to the braid. This also explains the aversion, heightened to
302 superstition, of the Gilyak, who are especially proud of their
648 freedom from the Manchu-Chinese, against shearing their hair or even cutting the braid plaited with all of it.

Gi How much the distribution of the Manchu-Chinese hair style
302 among the Amur peoples depended on the expansion of the ef-
171 fective, not merely nominal rule of the Celestial Empire can be
177 seen from the Orochi. In the southernmost part of their habita-
[648] tion area, where they, designated as Ta-dse, are under considerable pressure from the many Chinese (Mandse) living among them, they wear their hair exactly like the latter, except that, as is also very frequent among the Goldi and Samagir, it is not shaved on the front of the head, for lack of the necessary tools, but only cut quite short (2). Farther north, such as in

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2. Veniukov", "Obozr. rieki Usuri" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 25, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 234). The same, Putesh. po okrain. Russk. Azii i Zap. o nikh" /Journey through the Outlying Districts of Russian Asia and Notes concerning Them/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 88.

Olga Bay or along the upper Poor, where the number of Chinese is smaller and the Orochi can move somewhat more freely, one finds in their hair style the difference from the former in that whereas they treat the front of the head the same, the remaining hair is not plaited into one braid, but rather, by men and women alike, into two braids which, running behind the ears, fall toward the front, and the ends are tied together by means of a string of beads. This peculiarity that the men, /415/ too, wear two braids was not encountered by me among any of the other Amur peoples (1). Finally, still farther to the north, where the

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1. I did see it on a number of Orochi whom I met on the Ussuri and who had come down the Poor in their boats. Mrs. Wassiljef describes it in the same way for the natives of Olga Bay (Olimpiada Vasil'eva, "Gavan' Sv. Ol'gi /The Harbor of Saint Olga/," -- Izviestiia Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VIII, 1872, Sec. II, p. 67) and Beresin ("Ocherk" russk. port. v" Tatarsk. prol. i Iaponsk. morie /Essay on the Russian Ports in the Tatar Gulf and the Sea of Japan/." -- Morsk. Sborn., 1861, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 163) for the Ta-dse of the seacoast, without any more detailed statement as to the locality.

Orochi live quite undisturbed by the Chinese, as in Hadshi Bay, they wear their hair, as I myself saw, in the same fashion as the Olcha and Gilyak, that is, completely uncut and plaited in one braid hanging down the back for the men, Two for the women.

/415 cont./

000 braid hanging down the back for the men, two for the women.

SS 302 177 648 With regard to their hair style, the peoples of the upper Amur region had the same experience as most of those of the lower Amur region: subjugated by the Chinese they had to give up their hair style as a sign of their submission. And while a few tribes in the latter place, living at a greater distance, were able to evade the governmental order concerned, all the tribes in the upper Amur region, with one insignificant exception, had to submit, because of the greater number and concentration of the Manchu-Chinese. It goes without saying that at present the Daur T 302 and sedentary Birar, clothing themselves and living entirely in 171 Chinese fashion, have also made the hair style of the latter en- 177 tirely their own. It has also, however, been transmitted further T to the nomadic tribes, to the roaming Birar and the Manegir, [648] and unquestionably contributing to its being adopted among them were first the Daur merchants following the nomads, as well as, on the other hand, the Manchu-Chinese officials annually crossing the region to collect tribute and to check the border markers, and intimidating the people with the might of the Celestial Em- T pire. Indeed, the Manegir, if they have the means, even imi- [965] tate the Chinese to the extent that they lengthen the braid by plaiting in black silk threads (2), and they cut it off as a sign of

2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 72.

mourning over the loss of a relative and abstain from shaving or cutting the hair on the front of the head for some time (3).

3. Middendorff (Reise in den äuss. Nord. und Ost. Sibir., Vol. IV, p. 1505) observed a case of this sort.

The Manegir, incidentally, are the last people, going up the Amur, among whom the Manchu-Chinese hair style is ordinarily T customary. Farther west, among the Orochon, we meet the same [131] phenomenon that we have already observed among the Orochi in the extreme eastern part of the Amur region: whereas in the

2: Schrenck--626 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3
Ainu ABC

T 302 171 177 [131]

/415 cont./

southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuil, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

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1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

A G Gi T SS 302 171 177 648

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

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302 and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such
171 fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand
177 and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the
648 degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

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301 Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external
171 appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7),[1] or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the
Gi
[301] cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or
Gi facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and
301 the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this

1/A [See category 116, p. 1009-- Analyst]

Gi 301 /417 cont./

1. (cont.)
ornament on a male individual, a Goldi from Mylki. I did not come across such a case.

whom, however, it is never absent, so that by it one can immediately distinguish the women of these nationalities from
Gi [304] [515] those of the Olcha and Gilyak. This is a nose ring shaped exactly like the small earring described above, but still smaller, which hangs down from the pierced septum to the upper lip -- a most peculiar, ugly ornament and one which in addition impedes cleanliness, in which all these peoples are so deficient anyway.
Gi [171] [184] Finally, among the Orochi the same situation is found with regard to the kinds of ornaments discussed as with regard to the hair style: the northern Orochi, such as those on Kaiserhafen Hadshi Bay), correspond in this with the Olcha and Gilyak, but the southern ones, or Ta-dse, along the seacoast at least from Olga Bay downward (2) and along the right Ussuri tributaries, corre-

2. Olympiada Wassiljewa, op. cit., p. 67.

spond with the Goldi and Samagir, that is, the former wear only earrings, and the latter, those of the female sex, also nose rings. Moreover, one sees among the Orochi women or girls, and sometimes also among those of the Goldi along the Ussuri and on the Amur near the mouth of the Ussuri, just such a small ring in the right or the left nostril (3). From what has been said, it is readily

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3. According to Przewalski (op. cit., p. 105) in the right nostril; according to Nadarof (op. cit., p. 78) and Maack (op. cit., p. 179) in the one or the other nostril.

G Gi SS 301 302 171 177 From what has been said, it is readily seen that the custom of wearing nose rings, strangely enough, has spread among the peoples of the lower Amur region only as far as the Manchu-Chinese hair style has been accepted by them; where this has not been taken up by them, there are likewise no nose rings in either the nostrils or the nasal septum. I would not know,

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SS /417 cont./

302 however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hair
301 style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the
171 lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not
177 wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, the
T Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and
[302] even far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes there
[301] wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Manegir, nor the Orochon.
[171] Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus tribes of the Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

G A more common customary ornament among all the peoples
301 of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver
171 or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyisj) made out of the same material or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. On
G Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak work-
[531] manship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilyak, who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XLV, 1 n Fig. 5 /in the original work; the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop securely soldered and overlapping on the outside. This
Gi ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite
[301] practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi
[462] (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves them as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work,
Gi however, is not done by the men, but by the women.
[113]

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.

1 n [See category 116, p. 1025--Analyst]

/418 cont./

000 however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
30 | 17 | 411 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring

[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely, Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[177] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[579] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

30 | 171 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this

/418 cont./

301 is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it
171 made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubtedly

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5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch.-Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

302 In concluding this section I must still raise the question
304 as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, painting or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

G /419 cont./

302 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can
304 state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them
171 today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even
A though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the
302 coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced
304 chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this
[175] island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araï Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as
A on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks
304 and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied
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[113]

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more
[175] or less discussed by the European or North American travelers
[184] who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

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2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

2: Schrenck--633 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/419 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 74), Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Vol. I, p. 285), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien, and the Kurile Islands." -- Amer. Journ. of Science, Sec. Ser., Vol. XLV, May, 1868), St. John ("The Ainos, Aborigines of Yeso." -- Journ. of the Anthropol. Instit. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II, 1873, p. 249), and others.

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among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3), but the Japanese traveler Mamia

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3. Among the many reports concerning it the one by Dobrotworskij, who spent more than five years (1867-1872) as a physician in Aniwa on Sakhalin, deserves special attention. According to him, the operation of tattooing as it is done by the Ainu on the girls from their tenth year on -- up to four times a year -- is by no means as easy and harmless as one generally thinks. As a result of rubbing the pricked or scratched places on the skin with the oily soot taken from their Japanese kettles, the lips often swell so severely that the mouth cannot be opened and for three or four days the patients must live on only liquid food which they suck through a tube. The tattooing starts in the middle of the upper lip and is gradually continued from there. (Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhn. chast' ostr. Sakhalina." -- Izviestiia Sibirsk. otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 27. The same, Ainsko-russk.

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2: Schrenck--634 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu A86
Kamchadal RY3

A 304 175 [113]

/419 cont./

3. (cont.)
slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univ. 1875g., p. 33.

A 304 184

Rinsô (1808) (4) already noticed that the women there /420/ tattoo

4. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

themselves more feebly than those from Jesso and that in general this custom becomes less frequent there as one goes farther inland, that is, farther north from Aniwa. Finally, the same custom prevails among the Ainu of the Kurile Islands, and, indeed, according to Krascheninnikof (1), it extends to both sexes

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1. Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Polnoe sobranie putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 258).

there, but the men content themselves with blackening the middle of the lips, while the women tattoo themselves all around the mouth and also on the hands and arms almost up to the elbows.

K 302 [304]

It is very noteworthy that the ancient Italmen on Kamchatka, though surrounded by tribes among whom tattooing was a matter of course, did not themselves adhere to this habit, or bad habit, but only painted themselves white and red, which, before the arrival of the Russians, they practiced very heavily, "like monkeys," according to Steller, but later "much more moderately, in the fashion of the Cossack women" (2).

K [113] [386]

2. Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, p. 300. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 68. To paint with white, the Italmen used either decayed wood or a naturally calcined mica which occurs here and there

K /420 cont./
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2. (cont.)
in Kamchatka, but for painting with red, a seatang pulverized with fish oil or seal oil.

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Among the peoples living farther to the north and east, on the other hand, tattooing is again a locally customary practice. Among the Koryak, to be sure, it is limited to only the women and is not general even among them, where it begins with the wedding and new designs are added every year, so that, according to Ditmar's testimony, some old women look mottled all over as a consequence of the tattooing (3). The custom of

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3. Ditmar, "Ueber die Korjäken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen /On the Koryak and the Very Closely Related Chukchee/" (Bull. de la classe hist. philol. de l'Acad. Impér. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 102; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 5).

C The custom of
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tattooing is more generally widespread among the Chukchee, for among them it also extends to the girls from their ninth or tenth year on and even to some of the men. The latter, however, as a rule content themselves with only one or two short horizontal strokes above the root of the nose, a cross on each jaw, or the like, whereas the women tattoo more or less the entire face and the arms from the shoulder down to the wrist.

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According to Nordqvist (4), who has discussed this subject

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4. "Bidrag till kännedomen om Tschuktscherna /Contribution to Knowledge about the Chukchee/" (Ymer, 1882, p. 38).

in detail and has published a few patterns of Chukchee tattooing, they correspond in the basic features to those that Dr. Stuxberg

2: Schrenck--636 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Chukchee RY2
Eskimo ND2

C 304 171 [113]

/420 cont./

had drawn by the Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island (5), except that

5. Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas /The Circumnavigation of Asia and Europe/, Vol. II, pp. 242, 243.

E 304 171

they are much simpler than the latter. The general spread of the custom of tattooing among the Eskimo, and, to be sure, likewise among the women in particular, is well known and can be followed through all these tribes in an uninterrupted sequence from the Bering Sea and the Yukon Territory (6), along the

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6. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 140.

coasts of the Arctic Sea across the Mackenzie, /421/ the Anderson (1), the Great Fish River (2), etc., to Hudson Bay (3),

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1. Petitot, Monographie des Esquimaux Tchiglit du Mackenzie et de l'Anderson, Paris, 1876, p. 7.

2. Back, Reise durch Nord-Amerika bis zur Münd. des Grossen Fisch-Flusses und an den Küsten des Polarmeeres in den J. 1833-1835, translated from the English by Andrée, Leipzig, 1836, p. 320, and illustration.

3. Parry, Journ. of a second Voyage for the discov. of a North-West Passage, London, 1824, p. 498.

Davis Strait (4), and Greenland (5). Finally, tattooing is no

E [113]

4. Hall, Life with the Esquimaux, London, 1864, Vol. II, p. 315.
5. Cranz, Historie von Grönland, 1770, Vol. I, p. 185.

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000 5. Cranz, Historie von Grönland, 1770, Vol. I, p. 185.

304 Finally, Tattooing is no
177 less an indigenous custom among the Aleut. When Ssarytschof
175 visited the island of Unalaska (1790), it seems to have been still generally practiced there among the women (6). Langsdorff (7),

[113] 6. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovostoch. chasti Sibiri /A Voyage along the North-eastern Part of Siberia/, Part II, p. 17.

7. Bemerk. auf ein. Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 38.

however, in 1805 found it strongly curtailed as a result of Russian influence, so that mostly only old women were still to be seen with tattooings, and Weniaminof (8) characterized this custom

[113] 8. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashkinsk. otdiela, St. Petersburg, 1840, Part II, p. 113.

304 as already completely vanquished. Nevertheless, he succeeded
175 (1825-1834) in seeing a few Aleut women with tattooed faces and collected data on the formerly rich and varied tattooing of the Aleut (9).

9. Some of their beauties, like the daughters of renowned and rich people, sought, for example, to glorify in their tattooings the heroic deeds of their ancestors, fathers, and uncles, by having the designs on their faces show how many enemies they had slain in war and how many powerful beasts they had killed while hunting, and the like. Weniaminof, loc. cit.

2: Schrenck--638 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Kamchadal RY3
Goldi RX3

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In the whole series of Paleo-Asiatic peoples from Jesso to Greenland we find only two small tribes who lack the custom of tattooing -- the Italmen on Kamchatka and the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin. Under these circumstances one might think that the custom of tattooing was formerly indigenous among these two peoples, too, but had disappeared in the course of time. Such an assumption, however, is not permissible. Steller's and Krascheninnikof's reports on the Italmen come from a time when the latter had by no means lost their national characteristics to such an extent that such a prominent and, if it existed among them, ancient custom as tattooing could have already completely disappeared without any remnants or traces and even without having left behind any accounts in the traditions. And, as was pointed out at the very beginning of this work, I became fully acquainted with the Gilyak at a time when they were still in full possession of their individuality. The complete lack of tattooing among the former as well as among the latter must therefore be regarded as part of their individuality in contrast to the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

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At first glance it might seem that this individuality of the Gilyak in the Amur region was also shared by other peoples, in particular those living adjacent to the Gilyak, for the Olcha, the Orok on Sakhalin, the Negda, and Samagir do not have the custom of tattooing. But the situation is essentially different among them. I think I can say with certainty that tattooing is not at all customary at present among the Olcha, /422/ for I became acquainted with them on several voyages throughout their habitation area. I became acquainted with the Samagir on the Gorin only in Ngagha, the largest of their villages, to be sure, and concerning the Orok on Sakhalin and the Negda, I met only isolated individuals, but other travelers, too, who had more contact with them, did not observe any kind of tattooing among them, for example, neither Middendorff and Schmidt among the Negda nor Poljakof, after a stay of several weeks on the east coast of Sakhalin, among the Orok there. This is very noteworthy

2: Schrenck--639 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Tungus RUS

G. 304 171

/422 cont./

inasmuch as all these peoples belong to the Tungusic tribe, in which in other parts of its vast area of distribution the custom of tattooing existed and more or less still exists everywhere. As can be seen from the old descriptions of Siberia (1) and the reports

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1. Der allerneueste Staat von Siberien, einer grossen und zuvor wenig bekannten Moscowitischen Provinz in Asien /The Most Recent Siberian State, a Large and Hitherto Little Known Muscovite Province in Asia/, etc., Nuremberg, 1725, p. 166.

of travelers of the previous century (2), tattooing was not as

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2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 57. Messerschmidt, "Wasserreise von Mangasea die Nishnaja Tunguska hinauf, im J. 1723 /Journey by Water from Mangasea up the Lower Tunguska in the Year 1723/" (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. III, 1782, p. 109). Bell d'Antermony, Voyage depuis St. Pét. en Russie dans diverses contrées de l'Asie, Paris, 1746, translated from the English by M***, p. 101. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien /Travels through Sibiria/, Vol. I, pp. 80, 358; Vol. II, pp. 208, 645; Vol. III, p. 432.

generally widespread and popular among any Siberian peoples as it was among the Tungus; indeed, in view of this, it was almost regarded as a specifically Tungusic custom. Among the Siberian peoples of non-Tungusic tribes, such as the Ostyak, Samoyed, Yakut (nothing is being said here about the Paleo-Asiatic tribes discussed above), it was never practiced very much (3). From

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3. For observations on this, see Gmelin (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 79), Pallas (Reise durch versch.

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3. (cont.)
Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 41), Erman (Reise um die Erde, Histor. Ber. /Voyage around the World, Historical Report/ Vol. I, p. 637), Middendorff (Reise in den äuss. Nord. u. Ost. Sibir., Vol. IV, pp. 1427, 1461), and others.

304 From
171 the later and more recent reports on this subject, which confirm
178 this predilection of the Tungus, it can be understood without any doubt that tattooing is gradually declining among them, too (4).

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4. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1428. According to Kostrof /Kostrov/, for instance ("Ocherki Turukhansk. kraia /Sketches of the Turukhansk Region/" -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book IV, 1857, p. 88) it still occurs among the Tungus of the Turukhansk region, but according to Kriwoschapkin /Krivoshapkin/ ("Ob" Ostiakakh", Tungusakh", i proch. inorodts. Eniseisk. okr. /On the Ostyak, Tungus, and Other Foreign Peoples of the Yenisei Region/. -- Zap. Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VI, 1863, p. 66), no longer -- it must therefore be rare and in the process of disappearing.

In passing it should be noted that, whereas the tattooing custom-
304 ary among the Paleo-Asiatic peoples is consistently designated
171 as acupuncture (5), all the statements concerning the tattooing

5. Cranz (op. cit.), however, describes the tattooing among the Greenlanders as an operation done by sewing.

/422 cont./

304 171 of the Tungus and other Siberian peoples almost without exception say that it is done by sewing, in that a thread or a fine tendon blackened in soot, crushed black crayon, coal, Chinese ink, etc., is drawn through the skin, from which the Russian term wyschiwatj, i.e., "to stitch," arose for tattooing (6).

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6. Erman (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 36) disputes this and traces the tattooing of the Tungus, Ostyak, etc. likewise back to acupuncture, but this is untenable in view of the detailed account by Gmelin (op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 649-652), who was present during the operation, and the authentic reports by Stepanof (Eniseiskaia Guberniia, St. Petersburg, 1835, Pt. II, p. 80), Middendorff (op. cit., p. 1478), and others. I know of only one account that speaks of the tattooing of the Tungus and Ostyak by means of acupuncture and rubbing soot into it, the one by Spasskij (Sibirsk. Viestn., 1820, Part XII, Sec. I, p. 45), but I do not know how reliable and authentic it is.

304 171 174 /423/ In addition, as I must note in passing, the very diversity in the process of tattooing speaks against the widespread view that this custom started in one country of the earth and, to be sure, as is generally thought (1), had its origin on the Pacific

1. Cf. for instance, Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1427.

Ocean or in southern Asia, and from there spread to all the places where it demonstrably has existed or still exists -- and that includes every part of the world and thus practically the whole earth. Now, while it may have arisen, like the painting of the skin, which is likewise very widespread among primitive peoples,

T /423 cont./
304 out of the need of the human being to take away the impression
171 of nudity or out of his natural inclination for adornment, or it
174 may have had its origin in genealogical or religious purposes and motives (2) -- and each of these motives may have been decisive

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2. Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 180. Franz Heger, "Ueber die Tätowirung bei den Südsee-Insulanern /On Tattooing among the South Sea Islanders/". (Mittheil. der Anthropol. Gesellsch. in Wien, Vol. XV, Febr., 1885).

here or there -- we must always think of it, like clothing, body ornaments, the production of religious symbols, and other activities arising out of general human impulses, as having originated autochthonously in various places, though the mode of execution may point to its spread from this or that center.

Gi T 304 171 175 From Siberia the practice of tattooing can also be traced farther eastward among a number of Tungusic tribes of the Amur region. Maack (3) observed it, albeit rarely, among the Orochon

3. Putesh. na Amur", p. 144.

on the upper Amur. He did not see any tattooing among the Manegir farther downstream. He again came across this custom however, in the lower Amur region among the Goldi. He came upon it first in the village of Ssilbi on the Amur, near the mouth of the Sungari, where almost all the men and women were tattooed. It was not limited to this village, however, and after repeated observations he regarded it as a general custom of the Goldi on this part of the Amur River from the Sungari to the Ussuri and perhaps even somewhat below the latter. There was only a modest amount of tattooing here; he never saw such colorfully marked faces as he had encountered along the Yenisei. For the most part it was limited to a cross marked out by five blue dots between the eyes at the root of the nose, sometimes

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also a similar cross on the forehead and a series of dots at the root of the nose; on some the hands also bore small designs. The tattooing is said to be done by drawing a thread dyed in the juice of the plant called dafaró by the Goldi, which Maack leaves unidentified, or in Chinese ink through the skin at the places concerned by means of a needle. The method is therefore the same as among the Siberian Tungus. Maack did not see any tattooed individuals among the Goldi living farther down the Ussuri, and Maximowicz and I did not meet any there either, despite our several trips in this part of the Amur region. The facts mentioned concerning the upper and lower Amur regions seem to me sufficient for drawing the conclusion that the custom of tattooing existed both among the Siberian Tungus and formerly also among all /424/ the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region and only in the course of time fell out of use among most of them. How and under what influences this happened likewise seem obvious to me. It is quite understandable that the Orochon on the upper Amur and its tributaries still preserve the custom of tattooing in view of their direct contact with their Siberian fellow-tribemen. If therefore among their neighbors, the Manegir and Birar, this custom has in fact disappeared, this may be ascribed merely to a weakening of these contacts as a result of Chinese rule and to the Manchu-Chinese and Daur influence to which they were subjected and which is also demonstrated in their clothing, hair style, and even in the facial features and the language of these peoples in contrast to the Orochon. The gradual and almost total disappearance of the custom of tattooing in the lower Amur region must be thought of differently. There, as we saw, it still exists only among the Goldi and only in the uppermost part of their habitation area, though this part is closest to the seats of the Manchu-Chinese. It disappears farther downstream, and it is certainly no longer found among the lower Goldi and their neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha, who in their entire habitus, with the sole exception of their language, lead over to the Gilyak. As among the Ainu on Sakhalin, on the mainland, too, it thus disappears as one approaches the Gilyak, to whom the

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Gi T 304 171 177

Gi T 304 171 177

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custom of tattooing has always been foreign. As a matter of fact, if one considers that the Tungusic tribes who migrated to the lower Amur in the vicinity of the Gilyak, especially the Olcha, have become assimilated with the Gilyak in the course of time through constant intercourse, mixed marriages, etc. to such an extent that externally for the most part they can no longer be distinguished from them, it is not otherwise conceivable but that they must have also lost their original Tungusic custom of tattooing there. In part directly, in part through the mediation of the Olcha, the influence of the Gilyak system penetrated to the Goldi and spread farther and farther upstream, so that finally a few scant traces of tattooing still survived only in the most remote part of their habitation area. Whether the branch of the Olcha that migrated to Sakhalin, the Orok, had already lost the custom of tattooing on the mainland or not until they were on the island cannot be ascertained, but in any case the absence of it among them indicates a greater influence on them by the Gilyak than by their other neighbors, the tattooing Ainu, as we pointed out above with reference to their hair style and clothing, and as we shall have the opportunity to note in a number of other connections.

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On the basis of all this one is justified in concluding among the peoples of the Amur region, on the basis of their total external aspect, the Gilyak present the most individual and significant appearance, which could not fail to have a decisive influence upon the Tungusic tribes living around them.

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Section 6

OOC

Food. Animal and Vegetable Foodstuffs. Household and Table Utensils. Luxuries: Liquor, Tobacco

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Since all the peoples of the Amur region are fishermen or hunters and only a small part of them living in the closest proximity to the Manchu-Chinese and Daur practice any field and garden cultivation, their food is predominantly animal, consisting chiefly of fish or meat. Vegetables play only a subordinate role

SS /425 cont./
262 in that they more or less provide merely a kind of accompaniment,
171 and to be sure, they are either the wild, natural products of the country, which are simply gathered, some cereals and vegetables obtained by trade from the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese,
SS Japanese, and, more recently, Russians. The individual peoples
[184] of the Amur region primarily differ from one another as far as food is concerned only in that fish among some or meat among others is the principal food, each according to their principal occupation, and furthermore the proportion of plant food to animal food differs for each one according to their greater or lesser communication and trade relation with the Chinese or Japanese.

G Among all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are
*262 the most pronounced ichthyophagi. One cannot imagine their
G life without fish; it is the conditio sine qua non of their own
[231] existence as well as that of their only domestic animal, the dog, which provides them with food as well as transportation and
G clothing. There is hardly a fish in their country that the Gilyak
*262 would not, if necessary, use as food. But standing in the first
226 rank, of course, are those fish that, because of their seasonal
251 appearance in great numbers, make it possible to prepare the large supply needed to last through the long winter when fish are scarce, hence the species of salmon coming up the rivers from the sea, among which, in turn, Salmo lagocephalus Pall. (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin laghi-tscho) and Salmo proteus Pall. (Gilyak /426/ tengi-tscho) play the principal role (1).

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1. In all of eastern Siberia to Kamchatka and northwestern America, the Russian terms for these two species of salmon are keta and gorbuscha; hence in the following I shall refer to them occasionally as keta and gorbuscha salmon.

At the time when these fish come up into the lower Amur and its tributaries, which falls in June for S. proteus, in August for S. lagocephalus, an active life prevails among the Gilyak, for everyone is busy with preparing supplies of fish for the winter.

/426 cont./

*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[462] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
[412] side and on the belly side with the tschomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1),[1]
and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head;
then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the
meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them
is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper
end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[192] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is
the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it, which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalong of the Olcha and
[258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
252 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
825 (Gilyak well), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[226] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longr[sch]), Salmo leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively—Analyst]

/426 cont./

*262 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both quali-
252 tatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the
825 two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma,
*262 always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

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3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running
574 through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak
264 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches,
*262 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4)[1] with
412 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

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1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014--Analyst]

/427 cont./

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1. (cont.)
unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, p. 232), the Buryat (Radde, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 140; Raev", "Buriaty /The Buryat/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 24, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 10), the Ostyak (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 46), the Samoyed (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands /Travels to the Northeastern Part of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 311; Islavin", Samoiedy /The Samoyed/, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 35; Abramov", "Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 354; Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, 1453), and others. The Tungusic tribes of the Amur region do the same thing. The Nertscha /Nercha/ Tungus call it "to eat from the knife" and maintain that meat so eaten is much tastier than if it is first cut in pieces (Usol-tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/," Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, I, p. 76).

*262 When a Gilyak
484 undertakes a long trip, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable
574 reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his countrymen, he nevertheless takes along a bundle of jukola just in case bad weather should force him to spend the night under the open sky, in which case the ma, warmed or slightly roasted over the campfire, will serve him very well.

/427 cont./

000 campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not
*262 only eaten au naturel, but is also an important ingredient of many
[252] dishes, whose composition and preparation I shall come back to
[231] later. Finally, in addition to the chark, it is the principal food for
*262 the dog. In view of the importance of jukola for the Gilyak, it is
221 understandable that, despite the indolence and carelessness more or
226 less characteristic of all primitive peoples, they are very intent on
252 preparing the largest possible supply of it and do not hesitate to make long trips and even temporary changes of residence for this purpose. Thus, for example, when those types of salmon come up into the rivers, some of the Liman Gilyak come to the Amur in order to take advantage of its surplus; others, such as some of the Tschomi Gilyak and the inhabitants of some places on the west coast of Sakhalin, move to the Tymy /Tym'/ River in the interior of the island, which is especially rich in fish, and do not return with the acquired supplies until winter. On the other hand, at the other times, for instance, when the kangi-tscho (Gadus wachnja Pall.) migrates in large numbers along the sea coast, some of the Tymy Gilyak, conversely, betake themselves to their countrymen on the west coast of Sakhalin in order to feast for a while on these fish.
[628] In this respect there seem /428/ to have developed in the course of time certain mutual agreements and relations based on reciprocity between the inhabitants of certain places, for example, between the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak, or between the latter and the Gilyak of Duĭ, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast of Sakhalin.

226 However plentiful the jukola supplies might be, however,
*262 they would never suffice to make the life of the Gilyak secure if
361 there were not at every season of the year more or less, depending on the locality, many other kinds of fish, which the Gilyak eat fresh, besides those salmon. In this connection the most favorable locality in the Gilyak region is, of course, the mighty Amur River, and therefore along its banks, as discussed above, one also finds the largest concentration of the population and the richest development of the Gilyak individuality. The dwellers along the banks of the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat.

/428 cont./

226 the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat. Needless to say,
*262 the above-mentioned species of salmon used for jukola by the Gilyak are also eaten fresh and even constitute their principal food when they come upstream in great numbers. In addition, however, the river also offers them an abundance of fresh food in its more or less permanent species of fish, such as sheatfish (Silurus asotus L., Gilyak mub), eelpout (Lota vulgaris Cuv., Gilyak mad[r]sch), pike (Esox lucius L., Gilyak iwys), and especially many cyprinoids, among which the pilengat (Cyprinus carpio L.) plays the principal role (1). But more important and

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1. Incidentally, on the basis of the findings of Herzenstein and Warpachowski ("Notizen über die Fischfauna des Amur-Beckens /Notes on the Fish Fauna of the Amur Basin/," in Trudy S. Peterb. Obshch. Estestvoisp. po otd. Zool., Vol. XVIII, 1887), we shall name here a number of the permanent Amur fish, the larger of which are generally used for food by the Gilyak, the smaller only when necessary and if nothing else is available. Thus, the following: lering (Carassius vulgaris Nilss.) uk or uk-tscho (Barbus labeo Pall.), koll (Pseudas pius leptocephalus Pall.), kunung (Parabramis bramula Val.), mimk (Hypophtalmichthys dybowskii Herz.), wa (Culter erythropterus Basil.), mykyk (Idus waleckii Dyb.), isn-ngoch (Pseudogobia amurensis Dyb.), markram (Gasterosteus pungitius L.), and others.

more precious to the Gilyak than all these fish are the two species of Acipenser that occur in the Amur and sometimes reach tremendous proportions, the tukki-tscho (Acipenser schrenckii Brandt), the Amur sturgeon, and the patch-tscho (Acipenser orientalis Pall), the Amur hausen (2). On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from

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2. Cf. J. Fr. Brandt, "Einige Worte über die

/428 cont./

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2. (cont.)
europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

114 On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from
226 Sakhalin, I reached the village of Tschcharbach at the mouth of
*262 the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish sup-
439 plies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the sturgeon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at practically every season of the year and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tukki-tscho which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /429/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular,
226 since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they
*262 themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it
[439] very much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which
[252] they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities
[196] of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival.
[231] Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these
[439] fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

/429 cont./

226 Next to the Amur the Tymy River on Sakhalin is the Gilyak locality richest in fish. It is therefore the vital artery of the en-
[132] tire Gilyak northern half of the island, and especially along its
[361] upper course, where it does not freeze even in winter, despite the low air-temperatures dropping to below the freezing point of mercury, small Gilyak villages lie more tightly packed than almost anywhere else in the Amur region. To be sure, the tastiest
[221] and largest fish of the Amur River, the above-mentioned sturgeon, is missing in the Tymy River, but it is especially rich in salmon, and, to be sure, not only in those above-mentioned species generally widespread in the Amur region and, as a result of their great quantity, principally used for the preparation of jukola, which annually in the fall, as previously mentioned, also attract the inhabitants of more distant localities to its banks (1), but also in

[113] 1. During the past few years even the Japanese have come to the mouth of the Tymy to fish there when the Salmo lagocephalus come up, and, as Mizzul (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, 1873, p. 120) and Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island, 1881-1882/, pp. 70-80) reported in detail, they return home with a rich booty.

various other species, such as the nem(a)lja, (Salmo coregonoides Pall.), the longr(sch) (S. callaris Pall.), njalych (probably S. sanguinolentus Pall.), loimang (a species of trout), etc. Indeed, there are even species there that are absent in the Amur River, such as choi-tscho (Salmo orientalis Pall.) and the tschawytscha of the Kamchadal, the largest and most prized salmon species of the shores of the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). The

2. The Nyi Gilyak, among whom I saw two large specimens of choi-tscho in

/429 cont./

226 2. (cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

221 The
226 mainland Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infre-
*262 quently bring some pieces of choi-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

226 Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habita-
*262 tion sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas
[361] or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greatest importance to them is a fish which is insignificant in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnja Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and even more in Duĭ, Arkai, Tangi, and other
252 places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is
*262 always the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins
[231] is cut out along the back and thrown away, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the laghi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating of it than with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten
[264] without any accompaniments, placed on the sleeping bench of the
000 yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

184 /430 cont./ Moreover,
252 with regard to these and similar views, there are many local dif-
114 ferences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not object if the kangi fish intended for me was roasted on the spit in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as uitsch and permissible without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

226 As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the conti-
221 nental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kulj, Tägl, Hisska (Petrofski Simowjo), etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, where in the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more closed-off part of the Liman, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

*262 Next to fish, seals represent the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly at all the places in their habitation area, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Liman, where this food source, of course, is supplied most abundantly, various species of seals, as I have set forth at another place (1), also come

1. See Vol. I, pp. 180 ff., of this work.

up the Amur through the entire Gilyak area and far into that of the Olcha. /431/ The Gilyak think the least of the seal meat itself
[114] as a food. Sperk is even of the opinion that they themselves do
[231] not even eat it, but only feed it to their dogs (1). This is indeed

[113] 1. Ed. Shperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Vostochn. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Mediko-

/431 cont./

*262 [113]

1. (cont.)
topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 13).

[114] [231] the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like *262 the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, 252 whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, a superstition I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "uïtsch, uïtsch" (unlucky) could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to [251] finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

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2. Steller (op. cit., p. 323) also points out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak that they do not like frying, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

*262 136 Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important and precious foodstuff to almost the same extent. It is the white whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak pomi-tscho), which, with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

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*262 [136] Sea of Japan, likewise occurs throughout the habitation area of the Gilyak and goes up the Amur River just as far as the seal (3). I

*262 225 [231]

3. See Vol. I, p. 191, of the present work.

learned this much about it, that though, like the latter, it, too, is used by the Gilyak as food for people and dogs (4), nevertheless

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4. According to Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 106), the fat of the white whale is not at all like train oil and the meat, too, has quite a good taste.

it comes after the seal, because hunting it, which will be discussed later, is much more difficult and dangerous and can be done for only a shorter period in the year, only as long as the river is open, and furthermore because it is not nearly as useful as the seal, which, besides food, also yields valuable clothing materials. Nevertheless, the numerous white-whale skulls which one sees hanging on trees and branches at many places along the banks of the Amur River indicate that /432/ the white whale is not infrequently captured by the Gilyak and, in conformity with its significance, is treated in traditional, superstitious ways.

*262 [17] [136] The Gilyak behave quite differently toward another cetacean, the so-called keng (Balaenoptera longimana Rud.), which is occasionally stranded within the range of their dwelling sites on the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of Japan. To be sure, they acquire these animals in order to feed their dogs with the fat and meat, but they themselves do not eat any of it. In fact, their physical and moral abhorrence of it is such that keng fat or meat is not brought into the yurt, but may be kept only in the storerooms. I could not learn from them what this abhorrence was based on. It is all the more striking, however, since among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples whale meat and blubber are among the most popular foods. The Ainu, for instance, do not leave a stranded whale until all the meat and fat on it have

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*262 171 been consumed (1). Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3) describe

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1. According to a written communication from Rudanofskij. Cf. also Dobrotworskij /Dobrotvorskii/, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37.

2. Op. cit., pp. 98-105.

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3. "Opis. Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. 1, pp. 420 ff.).

in detail the tremendous importance that the whale has in the diet and the entire economy of the Kuriles, Kamchadal, sedentary Koryak, and Chukchee. It is the same among the Aleut (4) and

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4. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashkinsk. otdiela /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Pt. I, pp. 81, 82.

among the Eskimo in different parts of their broad area of distribu-
[165] tion (5). Experience has taught these peoples to distinguish between

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5. For instance, at the two ends of their territory, on Kadjak /Kodiak/ in the east (Davydov", Dvukratnoe putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitserov" Khvostova i Dav. /The Repeated Journey to America of the Two Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1812, Pt. II, p. 72) and on Greenland in the west (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland, Vol. I, p. 189).

the species of whale suitable for food and the harmful or "poisonous" ones and not to use dead animals cast up by the ocean until

165 /432 cont./
*262 they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For
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6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

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7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) witnessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

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8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

/432 cont./

*262 17 [165] preserved in memory by tradition, may have given rise to the fear and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence, of whale meat and blubber in their yurts. Moreover, the Gilyak do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (9), /433/

[113] 9. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye /North and East Tartary/, 1705, p. 47.

for example, and the Koljuschen /Kolosh/ (1), with the sole

[113] 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Trip around the World/, Vol. II, p. 112. Weniaminof, op. cit., Pt. III, pp. 60, 99.

exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat and no whale blubber or oil.

224 *262 Since the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only pursue fur-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts, the land mammals provide only a small part of their food in comparison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasionally falls into their hands, not excepting even beasts of prey, such as *262 the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., it is eaten. Only one animal is [136] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken close at hand and without much trouble: it is the rat (Mus decumanus Pall., Gilyak njagrsch), which is present in such extraordinary numbers in their yurts. This is all the more surprising because, without doubt, [191] the rat in the Amur region is a gift from China (2) and, as is well

2. See Vol. I, p. 128, of this work.

known, is not at all scorned as food by the Chinese, who otherwise are so authoritative for the Amur peoples (3). Could it be that the

[113] 3. Davis, La Chine, etc., translated from

/433 cont./

*262 171 113

3. (cont.)
the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 312. John Bowring, "Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche /The Chinese, Their Usages and Customs/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32. Others, like the English missionary Milne (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) and Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 272), deny the use of rats for food among the Chinese.

*262 Gilyak were taught better by experience, perhaps as a result of painful or even fatal cases of trichinosis? Among all the land mammals there are only two that are of special significance as food for the Gilyak, and, to be sure, both on account of their general and frequent use and the great importance that they place upon them. These are the bear and the dog.

*262 231 796 Bear meat and bear fat are the greatest delicacies that there are for a Gilyak. For the purpose of eating it, the bear is taken from its lair and kept in captivity for a long time and fed. But, according to Gilyak custom, it may not be eaten except at certain times and with the observance of a number of ceremonies and practices that are undertaken in large ad hoc festive gatherings. I have had an opportunity, as an eyewitness, to become acquainted with these bear festivals, which play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, in all their individual acts from beginning to end, and therefore I am obliged to discuss them in a special, later section of this work. Besides that, however, they gave me considerable insight into the food and cooking of the Gilyak in general, for to entertain the large festive company assembled many dishes must be prepared in a way to suit the palates of the Gilyak. And so most of what is presented below concerning their culinary achievments was observed by me on such occasions.

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*262 231 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained [237] inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak [123] [439] palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

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1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo [113] one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

23 /434 cont./
*262 from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become use-
[123] less on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however,
[439] without an urgent reason. Such a reason can appear readily
enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered
useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly,
a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise
[114] to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village
[782] of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe
[789] snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of
a few traveling Tschomi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm
the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in
vain, three young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was
to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and
[252] the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part be-
ing added to the jukola soup for the dogs, and -- characteristically
enough -- I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite
off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and hand
another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to en-
252 joy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Duĭ, I
*262 was a witness to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak
23 with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent
[114] to a bear festival held there a short time before, traces of which
were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the
yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by
me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disemboweled, the
meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one
animal wrapped in its pelt. /435/ Inside the yurt, the place be-
tween the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold
with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two staffs, between which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

/435 cont./

231 shavings, the so-called zach, whose significance will be discussed
252 in the following. The bundles containing the meat and bones of
*262 the dogs were now brought into the yurt and arranged on the rear sleeping bench, whereupon the women went to kindle the fire under the kettles on the hearth in order to cook the meat and to make a broth out of the bones. These preparations, however, took so much time that the meal could not take place until late in the evening. Meanwhile the flames leaping on the hearth, the steam and smoke rising from the kettles, and the crowd of people, who not only occupied all the sleeping benches, but had also settled down on the floor of the small earth-yurt, soon made any further stay in it so unbearable that I found it necessary to leave before the actual meal and to seek another shelter for the night.

114 If one wished as a conjecture to grant for the northern peo-
171 ples the discovery made in the south among various Negro tribes,
231 namely, that the enjoyment of dog meat is generally the first step
*262 toward anthropophagy and accompanies it (2), he would look quite

2. Schweinfurth, "Das Volk der Monbuttu in Central-Afrika /The Monbutto People in Central Africa/" (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, Vol. V, 1873, p. 10). Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 168.

in vain for evidence of it among them. I have never come across anything among the so generally and markedly cynophagous Gilyak that would even distantly support such a conjecture. On
171 the other hand, I believe it can be said as a general rule for these
231 peoples with respect to the custom of eating dogs that it is com-
*262 mon only in the case of those among them who keep the dog as the only domestic and draft animal, for only in this case can it be considered quantitatively as a food and morally nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the draft dog does not at all stand in the close, individual, and to a certain degree personal

/435 cont./

231 relationship to his master as does the hunting or house dog,
*262 who, through loyalty, personal attachment, and other character-
171 istics lacking in the draft dog, makes himself the constant companion and friend of man. Accordingly, just as among the Gilyak, one also finds cynophagy among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for example, among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3) and of

[113] 3. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' (supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37). Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 204.

Jesso /Yesso/, the latter of which supposedly even fatten dogs for eating them later (4). The Eskimo, too, eat dogs (5), but at

[113] 4. According to Adam Laxmann; see Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 501).

[113] 5. Alois v. Becker, "Arkt. Reise der engl. Yacht 'Pandora' im J. 1876, unter dem Commando des Capit. Sir Allen Young /Arctic Voyage of the English Yacht 'Pandora' in 1876, under the Command of Captain Sir. Allen Young/" (Ausland, 1879, p. 455).

present in most /436/ places, especially in the north and east of their area of distribution, they may be scarcely better off than in Greenland, where, according to Rob. Brown (1), the highly prized

[113] 1. "Die Säugethiere Grönlands und der Grönländ. Meere /The Mammals of Greenland and the Greenland Seas/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1869, p. 464).

/436 cont./

231 dog meat is still a rare delicacy because of its naturally very
*262 high price. The ancient Italmen on Kamchatka seem to be a
171 striking and completely unique exception to the rule, for though they had dogs to pull the sleds and had no other domestic animal besides them, nevertheless among all the animals of their country "only dogs, mice, and lizards were excluded from their menu" (2),

2. Steller, op. cit., p. 323. Krascheninnikof does not mention this.

as Steller expressly states. Or had they perhaps already given up eating dogs in Steller's time, as a result of their well-known, exceedingly eager imitation of the Russians (3), for whom it was a

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 285 and elsewhere.

particular abomination? And all the more since it could not have been difficult for them in material respects in view of Kamchatka's great wealth of fish (4). On the other hand, those peo-

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4. According to the observations made by the Vega Expedition, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen refused to eat the meat of a slain dog (Nordenskiöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas /A Voyage around Asia and Europe/, Vol. II, p. 96). Whether this is general among the Chukchee has not yet been ascertained.

ples -- as I should like to formulate the above rule further -- who keep the dog only for hunting or to guard house and grounds, but use another domestic animal, the reindeer or the horse, for traveling, riding, or burden-carrying, such as the Orok, the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, Orochon, Manegir, etc., not only eat no dog meat, but even have a more or less marked aversion to it.
080 From this point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha, who at

Gi 23 262 /436 cont./ From this point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha, who at present have quite the same way of life as the Gilyak and likewise have only one domestic animal, the dog, and, to be sure, as a draft animal, nevertheless do not eat dog meat. When Gi [186] Pargatschefskij asked them about this in the village of Pulj, they expressed their aversion to such fare and even designated this as the factor distinguishing them from the Gilyak (5). One might

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5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimnim" putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 162).

Gi 174 23 262 one might at first glance see in this a contradiction of the first part of the rule set forth by me above; considered more carefully, however, it is a splendid confirmation of the second part. For, as discussed above, the Olcha were formerly reindeer nomads and were forced into settling along the Amur and into the life of fishermen like the Gilyak only through the loss of their reindeer (6). And since

6. See pp. 284, 308, and elsewhere above.

the memory of that change in their way of life is said to live on in their legends, it should not surprise us that their aversion to eating dog meat, which dates from that nomadic period, has also been preserved among them. Conversely, one can also see in this aversion of theirs more proof for their former reindeer nomadism. The situation may be similar for the Negda, Samagir, and Kile (7).

7. See pp. 322-329 above.

In fact, neither from my own experience nor through other travelers (Wenjukof, Przewalski, Nadarof) /437/ is it known that G 23 the Goldi and Orochi eat dog meat. Thus cynophagy in the Amur region, Sakhalin included, remains limited to the two Paleo-

* 262 171 [See category 116, P. 665--Analyst]

2: Schrenck--667 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/437 cont./

231 Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Ainu, and must be regarded as a
*262 custom peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the cir-
171 cumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the
114 Amur region farther upriver, towards the Ussuri and Sungari, makes
177 it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as is well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand,

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1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by lower people out of lack of any other food, but generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tart. Cham /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 275. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by M***, Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 236. Iakinf", Kitai i pr. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 262, 369, 377. Itier, Journ.

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1. (cont.)
d'un Voyage en Chine /Journal of a Voyage to China/, Paris, 1848, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une Ambass. Franc. en Chine /A French Ambassador in China/, Paris, 1854, p. 197. Bowring, "Die Chinesen" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, p. 249. Girard, France et Chine, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32.

231 the popular enjoyment of dog meat in Korea (2) may perhaps be
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2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p.57. O.Genest, "Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern /Captain Jacobsen's Visit among the Koreans/" (Globus, Vol. LII, p. 61).

traced back to Chinese influence.

223 Birds furnish the Gilyak much less food than do mammals,
*262 merely for the reason that they are not hunted very much on account of their little use otherwise and, as a rule, they are much more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however, is consumed indiscriminately, and some birds which are periodically more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At
[136] several places, for instance, the ptarmigan (Lagopus albus Gm., Gilyak parrä, on Sakhalin tschleola-nga) is caught by them in large numbers by means of simple snares. Along the west coast
[136] of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Duĭ, I saw them consuming with great relish the Phaleris cristatella Pall. (Gilyak nochla-nga), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they alight individually or in small flocks on the ice near open places in the sea and freeze
*262 to it. The meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its
231 nest and raise with fish in order to sell the tail to the Japanese, is
439 consumed by them when its hour of death tolls.

/437 cont./

ooo is consumed by them when its hour of death tolls. The Gilyak
* 262 seem not to eat on principle only the crow (Corvus corone L.,
825 Gilyak karr), although, or perhaps because, it lives for the most part on the same food as they themselves do, for it happily and in great numbers stays in the vicinity of their villages and huts in order to benefit from the scraps from the catch of fish or the preparation of jukola, and appears at the midday or overnight campsites of traveling Gilyak even before the fire has gone out, in order to eat any possible remains from the meal; in fact, they not infrequently steal a march on them in consuming /438/ a nochla-nga
* 262 frozen fast to the sea ice or an animal caught in a trap. Perhaps
825 the Gilyak are also governed in this by some kind of superstitious
171 belief concerning this bird, like, say, the Chukchee (1) and the

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1. Kiber", "Chukchi /The Chukchee/" (Sibirsk. Viestn., 1824, Pt. II, Ethnography, p. 119).

Eskimo (from Kotzebue Sound), who regard the carrion crow as the creator of the world (2). At any rate, I saw them sometimes

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2. Berth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 30, 72.

carry with them on trips a crow's head on top of the sleds laden with provisions and trade articles as a means, as they themselves told me, of bringing good luck. Incidentally, ideas quite similar to those concerning the crow prevail among the above-named peoples, the Chukchee, the Eskimo from Kadjak, the Kenai, and the Koljuschen in connection with the raven, and the latter there-
ooo fore do not eat it (3). In view of the great similarity between the

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3. Lutké, Voyage autour du monde /Voyage around the World/, Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 189, 214. According to Nordenskiöld (Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, Vol.

*262 /438 cont./
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3. (cont.)
II, p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating a raven that had been shot.

*262 In view of the great similarity between the
825 two birds in externals and in their way of life, it is quite possible that the Gilyak have the same attitude toward both and therefore likewise do not eat the raven.

Among the reptiles and amphibians, there is not a single animal that the Gilyak eat, for with regard to all of them, but especially snakes and toads, they have a fear rooted in superstitious beliefs, which will be discussed in the following (4).

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4. In China, frogs, turtles, and even snakes are eaten. Jakinf, op. cit., p. 262; John Bowring, loc. cit.

226 Finally, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few
* 262 invertebrates must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not scorn gathering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks tossed up by the sea or left behind by the ebb. For example,
[136] on the west coast of Sakhalin they designated for me the Tellina venulosa (Gilyak kär wub) (5), Mactra sachalinensis (Gilyak

5. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

moghomi-wellach) (6), and a third mussel, which they called

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6. Ibid., pp. 575-578. As is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a snail shell or mussel shell in general, but the animal of the moghomi-wellach is called pubk, according to Glehn.

jotang-wellach and which remains unknown to me, as the species whose animals they eat and at the same time praised them as being "sweet as sugar."

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*262 Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is far behind. In the first rank here, because they are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local, wild, natural products, many kinds of berries, small tree-fruits, [252] tubers, herbs, algae, and seatang. All of these vegetable foods are eaten only as accompaniments to animal food or mixed with it and made into various kinds of dishes. The bilberry, Vaccinium [137] vitis idaea L. (Gilyak myghr-als (7), or also /439/ simply called

[104] 7. The s is soft in pronunciation in this word, like the French z.

als, i.e., "berry") (1), in particular stands first among them with

[192] 1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry itkt or paghla(n)-als, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold uses and 222 the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the [221] fall great stores of this berry are put up for the winter. For this purpose whole families, but in particular the women and children, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying into the Amur or Liman. At a convenient place there a tent or merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected, in front of which a fire blazes, and the whole time is devoted to the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kamr and Litsch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such [251] families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, birch-bark bags and baskets and brought by boat to the house, where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around Nikolayevsk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs throughout the winter, they also supplied the Russians there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil 252 and stirred, represent the whole of the customary accompaniment *262 for the fish, especially jukola, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, they

/439 cont./

252 are a popular ingredient in many dishes of the Gilyak, for example,
*262 among others, one of the most important of these, the so-called mossj. This is a mixture of ground fish-skins, or, lacking them, of chopped jukola, with fish oil and berries. For the preparation of mossj, the fish skins, from lyghi-tscho or tengi-tscho, are cut up in small pieces, well cooked, ground, and stirred with fish oil to a mush of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance, like thick cream (sour

[191] 2. A quite similar dish, made out of cooked and ground fish-skins with an admixture of pounded cedar-nuts, was used by the Kuriles on the southern tip of Kamchatka, according to Steller (op. cit., p. 325).

[196] cream). I saw mossj prepared for the bear festival in Tebach, for it is an essential part of it and is both eaten by the participants and given to the bear. At other times, however, I saw it made out of finely cut jukola that was cooked and mixed with fish oil and bilberries. If the substance is cooled sufficiently or freezes a little, it can be cut into slices with a knife. Depending on the kind of fish used, the Gilyak distinguish between lyghi-mossj and tengi-mossj, giving preference to the former. They like to take a small supply of it along on winter journeys. For the midday meal around the blazing fire I have seen them perfectly satisfied with a few strips of jukola warmed or slightly roasted at the
*262 flames, several slices of mossj, and a drink of snow-water. Next
[137] to the bilberry, Empetrum nigrum L. (Gilyak yghych) is the most commonly used and favorite berry among the Gilyak. Just like the former, indeed often in place of it, it is used both as an accompaniment and as an ingredient for mossj and other dishes, /440/ and is likewise collected and stored in great quantities. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin it is even more common and more frequently used than the bilberry. Elsewhere, for instance, near
[137] Tymi on the Liman, the cranberry, Vaccinium oxycoccus L.

/440 cont./

*262 (Gilyak tym-als), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but
[139] does not replace the former two in the mossj. Other berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak edeni-als), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called
[192] tityrsch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin pilj-als, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113] 1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn called pilja-latsch by the Gilyak there; see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/" (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 213, 215).

[251] Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I
[252] repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to a mush which is eaten with spoons.

*262 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the
252 Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits
264 of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrs),
[142] a primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by
[137]

[192] 2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tassj (Prunus padus) and chim (Pinus cembra; pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the
252 kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is like-
*262 wise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this
[192] connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

/440 cont./
252 which among the Gilyak on the mainland is called kyp, on
* 262 Sakhalin kap. The kernels and shells of the cembra nuts are
[192] kneaded into a dough-like mass of a reddish-brown color, obtained from the ground bark of the black alder with the addition of seal oil, which is given the form of cakes or small loaves of bread about one span long and equally wide and decorated on the upper side with some figures.

The number of roots which the Gilyak use as food is not inconsiderable. Unfortunately, I am not in a position with regard to many of them to give the taxonomic names of the plants
[137] to which they belong (3). Most of the roots, especially those
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3. The names given in the following are based on the findings that were made by Maximowicz in working up his "Primitiae florae amurensis," St. Petersburg, 1859 (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. par divers savants, Vol. IX), and Fr. Schmidt for the botanical part of his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin," 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 212), on the basis of the material collected by him and Glehn.

of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria kamtschatkensis Gawl. (Gilyak kark) and of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak nork), which one sees strung on cords and hanging in their storage chambers; likewise the roots of Corydalis ambigua Cham. (Gilyak tschjurk), Heracleum dissectum Led. (Gilyak ryghr), and many other roots with which I am not familiar, such as tuksj, udalak, /441/ mryu, plim, a(r)sj, etc. Some bulbs, such as those
263 called ngyfki by the Gilyak, which presumably belong to a species
252 of Allium, are cut up in the fresh state and added to dishes as
137 seasonings, and likewise the chopped and dried leaves of some

/441 cont./

263 species of leeks (Gilyak hagi), for the most part from Allium
252 schoenoprasum L. on the mainland and from Allium victoriale L.
137 on Sakhalin, are put in the broths to make them tastier, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

[103]

1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the small islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Hagi-mif (mif means land in general) by the Gilyak, a designation which the Russians have extended to the entire archipelago embracing eight small islands.

*262 The young leaves and peeled leaf stalks and stems of a
252 number of other plants are used for food by boiling them with fish or seal oil into a soup, for example, Cacalia hastata L. (Gilyak pytk), Epilobium angustifolium L. (Gilyak tschola), and, according to Glehn, also Polygonum weyrichii Schm. (Gilyak haps), Heracleum barbatum Led. (Gilyak nukr), Senecio pseudo-arnica Less. (Gilyak kengs), and Petasites japonicus S. et Z. (Gilyak löllu and tol-achs) (2). The first plant in particular seems to be

2. Glehn, op. cit., pp. 212-214,

used a great deal. I have seen it eaten by the Gilyak in the village of Tyk even in winter, after a very protracted and complicated preparation. First, the leaves were plucked off the dried plant, gathered in the summer to be stored, and cooked in water in a kettle. Then the contents were poured into a wooden trough and cooled, whereupon the water was wrung out of the leaves as out of a piece of laundry. The longish bundles of leaves thus
[264] produced were then cut into very small pieces with the large fish-knife, stirred with lyghi-tscho roe, and the whole again cooked in water to a thick soup, which was in part eaten with a spoon and in part drunk out of wooden bowls. A few days later I saw the same dish

/441 cont./

252 prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe,
*262 finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The
[137] Gilyak also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially
[192] reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chitwyrk) (3), and

3. Among the Olcha: chity.

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwalch, and, to be sure, distinguished as kana (white) and piula (blue) tschwalch), for food by making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

[137] Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vegetable food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak putsch).

4. Glehn, op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants, in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, whereupon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white
[172] color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in
[171] small stocks for the winter, which they may have learned from
[251] the Ainu, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Ainu busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artificially rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

*262 While the natural vegetable products discussed above are
434 of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are avail-
177 able to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation,

/442 cont./

*262 matters are quite different with respect to those vegetable foods
439 that the region itself does not produce and which the Gilyak can
177 obtain only by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals
[554] and legumes, are, to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole have less significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent may even be called luxury items because they are directly available only to those who are better off and not always to them, but rather are eaten only upon certain occasions. In daily life
*262 they are used only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During
439 the bear festivals, however, great quantities of them are con-
177 sumed, and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently
796 and, in keeping with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, are attended by numerous participants, the foods of this kind, stored up by an individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are always shared with a greater or lesser number of other and less prosperous Gilyak. On such occasions I have learned in detail the various foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak and the form in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not many of them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese. The most common and the most popular among the Gilyak is Chinese, or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria italica (Gilyak budá), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudi). Far rarer and less popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak ssjussj) (2).

[192] 2. The first two have the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called ssjussu by them and by the Goldi.

Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, though it is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very
[114] distinguished Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended in the winter of 1856 in the village of Tebach, still had the remnants of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the Japanese (Sisam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set
000 before the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

*262 439 177 /442 cont./ As soon as the Russians settled in the lower Amur region, in Petrofskoje Simowjo, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk, the Gilyak began to obtain small quantities of various cereals from them. Buckwheat groats in particular found the greatest approval among them, and I saw it served in great quantities during the above-mentioned bear festival of 1856. They also greatly liked the inexpensive Russian rye flour (Gilyak (b) owa), since they /443/ could obtain from the Chinese only small quantities of wheat flour (Gilyak rhak) at a high price. All the above-mentioned *262 252 439 177 cereals are cooked by the Gilyak to a thick dry mush and eaten with fish oil, which, like melted butter among us, is poured with a spoon or a small stick into a depression made in the groats. Flour has a variety of uses among them. The principal one is in the preparation of a kind of cake or small loaf of bread. For this purpose, it has fish oil poured over it and is kneaded into a dough -- a work which the women accomplish by taking a mouthful of water and, while kneading the dough, let as much of it as is needed run into it. From this dough, flat, longish, or round small loaves are formed, cooked in water in the large kettle at the hearth, and, finally, broken into pieces and sprinkled with fish oil. They obtain [139] another dish which is very pleasing to the Gilyak palate by mixing the flour with fish oil and partly crushed bilberries or cranberries (Empetrum nigrum /crowberry/) and stirring this to a mush. Only one garden vegetable is used among them, and this almost solely on festive occasions. It is the common white or yellowish beans [139] (Phaseolus vulgaris L., Gilyak tursch), which they obtain from the Chinese living farther up along the Amur and Sungari. They are first cooked and then mixed with fish oil, chopped kyp (see above) and finely chopped dried leeks (hagi), and sometimes also berries from Empetrum nigrum -- a truly peculiar culinary achievement owing to its curious composition.

*262 Thus, not merely the various native vegetable foods, which serve more as supplements, but also the few really nutritious exotic ones which the Gilyak use as food are not eaten by them other than with a more or less strong addition of fish oil. The ichthyophagous nature of the Gilyak remains true even here. And thus, in spite of the not inconsiderable vegetable foods listed above,

/443 cont./

*262 animal food, and especially fish food, on the whole, constitutes the basis and mainstay of the existence of the Gilyak.

263 A noteworthy circumstance in connection with the diet of the Gilyak must still be considered here. It is the fact that they do not use any salt at all with their food and, indeed, even have a certain aversion to it. I am taking the liberty of repeating here what I wrote several years ago in a letter to Dr. Gustav Bunge (1),

1. At that time a docent in Dorpat, now a professor in Basel.

which has also been published by him (2). Despite my long stay

[113]

2. In his article "Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und das Verhalten der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus /Ethnological Supplement to the Discussion on the Significance of Cooking Salt and the Effect of Potassium Salts on the Human Organism/" (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Vol. X, Munich, 1874, p. 115).

among the Gilyak and many an observation of their food and the preparation of dishes, I never saw them add salt to any dish or eat it in any other way. I was never asked for any by them and do not know /444/ that they ever asked for it in Nikolayevsk, where it
114 was sold. The following experience gave me further evidence of
263 how little it is required by them: since toward the end of my journey in the winter of 1856 my salt was exhausted, I asked for some in every Gilyak village that I passed through on the west coast of Sakhalin and along the Amur-Liman, but always in vain, until Pronge, on the mouth of the Amur, a hazelnut-sized lump of salt wrapped in a dirty rag, which its owner had once happened to get and had kept as a worthless curiosity, was finally brought to me. The Gilyak repeatedly expressed their repugnance for it when they saw me eat salt. From the numerous similar reports on the use or
[171] non-use of salt by various peoples Dr. Bunge draws the conclusion,

/444 cont./

114 certainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
263 almost exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
171 (and the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar with salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas peoples nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods have an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable food" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations from the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
263 confirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

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1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp. 109 ff.

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
263 of salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
796 at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
114 eat plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
262 quantities. Is it therefore not surprising that at that time the Gilyak distaste for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the contrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is regarded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet, this does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclusion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the bear festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten at them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise, and in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear festivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak, among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn resistance.

/444 cont./

000 resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they be-
263 came acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that
174 they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a some-
[796] what modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation taftsch for
[192] salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dabssun (Mongolian: dabassu) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

[113] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298; Sprachatlas /Linguistic Atlas/ p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Djutscheren, engaged in agriculture, livestock-breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Ussuri, from where they were transplanted to the Churcha in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among the Gilyak -- certainly proof that there was no physiological need for it.

Whereas the Gilyak aversion to salt is so pronounced and
263 general, sugar (Gilyak ssäta), on the other hand, finds great ap-
439 proval among them, and to be sure, in the form in which they became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

[192] 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian ("ssachar")?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

263 /445 cont./
439 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for
[482] dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other household needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2; Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
415 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
177 ormotsch(?)-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of

[See category 116, p. 1013--Analyst]

/446 cont./

415 the two hearths to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
177 earth yurt and in the summer yurt is placed on the platform of the hearth on top of three stones. It is always of Chinese origin and is used for the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs and some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, depending on the circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part likewise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 3: matsch-wunj (i.e., small kettle) and kughi-wunj (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
[412] made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5 and 6,[1] Gilyak myich and mityr) are used, and for smaller kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, Gilyak komb).
415 To prepare and serve mush-like dishes, such as the above-mentioned groats and the like, the Gilyak, according to need, use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and orong), which are quite similar in form to those out of which the dogs
[531] are fed and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. I saw other
[824] foodstuffs and dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
[531] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls made of birch bark, whose bottoms and rims were decorated with various arabesques; they are the so-called tottangr in Gilyak (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service, so also do the vessels intended for the use of individuals as cups and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
264 served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is suf-
415 ficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachtschitsch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped in fish oil and consumed. Liquid foods, like the above-mentioned

[1] [See Category 116, p. 1014 -- Analyst]

264 415 /446 cont./
broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat, blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir (3)

[104] 3. The s is soft in this word and is to be pronounced like the French z.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously on account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thumb-
[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves
415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great
531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for
796 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not by any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin and the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi, all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decorations put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artistic carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively
322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-
412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

/447 cont./

322 yi-dshakko already mentioned, several knives of special shape.
412 Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of various sizes, the us(i)r-wossj of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4), is used; for finer carving, the kydr-dshakko, a knife with a very
412 narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among
177 the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschawkr) (1)

[192]

1. Presumably borrowed from the Manchurian tschabcha. Among the Olcha: alako.

copied from the Chinese must be mentioned, a specimen of which, from the village of Wassj, is shown on Plate XXXIII, Fig. 6. These owe their origin among the Gilyak more to the imitative instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard to anything Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

415 As one sees from the above, all the household and table
323 equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood
439 or birch bark. Earthenware is not found among them at all; they
[322] neither make any themselves nor is there used among them, in spite of their contacts with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain made by these peoples, for at most a single piece of it, usually one or several of the small porcelain bowls used by the Chinese for drinking brandy, is kept here and there by a well-to-do Gilyak as an article of value or as an oddity. The fact that pottery, even
323 in its beginnings, is completely foreign to the Gilyak, despite
114 their being exceedingly skilled in other things, for example, in woodworking and, as we shall see later, at the smith's trade, certainly merits full consideration, and I am therefore permitting myself a few remarks about it. In order first to put the fact itself still further beyond doubt, I must expressly emphasize that despite my long and various stays among them I never saw a piece of pottery of any kind in their households nor did I even hear of any from others. Hence, some entirely different statements in Mamia Rinsô's report on his travels on Sakhalin (Krafto) and in the Amur region were all the more striking to me. He found that the earthen-
[171] ware and porcelain of the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin was

/447 cont./

323 114 171 similar in shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (2). /448/

[113] 2. Mamia Rinsô, "Tôtats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

323 114 171 174 One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Mamia Rinso goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Mankô) near Kidsi (1). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidsi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still farther upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Ussuri, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Maack had the same experience, except that in the Goldi village of Ssilbi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the natives (2). This village, however,

[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 143.

is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinsô's reports, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were likewise familiar with this industry -- an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion

323 174 171 648

323 /448 cont./
171 of the trade relations of the Amur peoples, and especially of the
174 Gilyak, with the neighboring civilized peoples. For the moment,
648 it will suffice to make the general remark that it most probably was brought about by violent seizure and devastation plotted by the Manchu-Chinese government itself for political reasons and to which Mamia Rinso's voyage may even have given rise. Through the devastating blow that the government, feared by the natives, executed, among other things, against the pottery and porcelain manufacturing of the Olcha on the Amur, they were forced back, like their neighbors upstream and downstream, the lower Goldi and Gilyak, to their traditional woodworking industry and were so strongly and lastingly prejudiced against all pottery and porcelain that from then on even articles of this sort made in China or Japan could not find approval and acceptance among them. This
415 destruction of the pottery manufacturing in the lower Amur region,
174 on the other hand, may have prompted the Goldi to take up the
171 mass production of wooden implements, to turn those large bowls
322 and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kota, respectively.

323 Whereas the pottery and porcelain industry was destroyed
171 along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made rapid and unimpeded
[648] progress in southern Manchuria and along the Sungari and its tributaries. /449/ According to the notes of the Chinese U-tschen in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

[113] 1. Vasil'ev", "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Imp. russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also arose there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

[113] 2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

/449 cont./

323 utensils produced there, some of them of very good quality, which
171 were shipped far away, and, according to Barabash (3), there is

[113]

3. Barabash", "Sungar. ekspeditsiia 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

one or several of them in every Sungari town. The pottery that Maack saw in Ssilbi on the Amur probably also came from the Sungari. The fact that it does not go farther down the Amur, however, to the lower Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, in spite of their annual trade voyages to the Sungari, attests all too clearly to the aversion that they entertain against such utensils.

323 If, from the statements by Mamia Rinsô given above, one
17 must draw the conclusion that the Gilyak and Olcha, though they do not use pottery in their households today, nevertheless formerly and up to the beginning of this century had it and even manufactured it themselves, it may also be gathered from them that it was by no means an art practiced since ancient times, but rather that they learned it through the Chinese and Japanese in relatively recent times. He found the pieces seen by him on Sakhalin, as was said, similar to those of the Chinese and Japanese, and it is highly probable that the many porcelain factories near Kidsi which he mentions arose under Chinese influence and with Chinese co-operation. And, since it was recent and foreign, this art could so easily again disappear altogether among the Gilyak and Olcha amidst the subsequent unfavorable conditions, without leaving any trace other than the aversion against its products. My view that the making of pottery was originally foreign to the Gilyak and was temporarily picked up by them from the Chinese only in recent times is also supported by the fact that this art, as among the Gilyak, is missing, or was missing up to a short time ago, among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, with one single exception. Mamia Rinsô (4),

4. Op. cit., p. 184.

2: Schrenck--689 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3

G 323 171 A 323 [177] A [175] [172] [415]

/449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),

to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju, i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

A [113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they

G 321 171 K 323 415 [113]

2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K [172]

K [113]

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., P. 184.

2: Schrenck--690 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Chukchee RY2
Koryak RY4
Aleut NA6
Eskimo ND2

/450 cont./

000 G 323 171 K C 323 415 C [439] 000 C [113]

was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand. Also, with regard to the Koryak and Chukchee, the aforementioned travelers, as well as Nordenskjöld and others, know only of the making of eating and drinking vessels out of wood, bone, etc., but do not report any of fired clay. The earthenware pots that the members of the Vega Expedition saw among the Chukchee were of American or European origin (4). Similarly, Weniaminof notes about the Aleut that they

4. Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas auf der Vega, Leipzig, 1882, Vol. II, p. 122.

G 323 171 A 323 439 A [113]

Similarly, Weniaminof notes about the Aleut that they had only such earthenware utensils, cups, plates, etc., as they had occasionally obtained from the Russians (5). The making of

5. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostrov. Unalashkinskago otdiela, Part II, p. 238.

G 323 171 E 323 E [113]

The making of pottery is carried on as an ancient art by only one Paleo-Asiatic people, the Eskimo of northwestern America, for instance, on Kadjak Island (6), along the Kuskokwim and Kwichpak (7), on

6. Dvukratn. putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitser. Khvostova i Davydova, St. Petersburg, 1812, Vol. II, p. 104.

E [113]

7. Wrangell /Vrangel'/, "Statist. und ethnogr. Nachrichten über die Russ. Besitz. an der Nordwestküste von Amerika /Statistical and Ethnographic Reports on the Russian Possessions on the Northwest Coast of America/" (Beitr. zur Kennt. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. I, p. 147). Zagoskin", Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot Traveler's Description of Part of the Russian

2: Schrenck--691 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Eskimo ND2

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/450 cont./

7. (cont.)
Possessions in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847, Part I, p. 58. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 218.

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[177]

Norton and Kotzebue Sounds (8), and elsewhere. Dall says that

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[113]

8. Woldt, Cap. Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerika's /Capt. Jacobsen's Travels on the Northwest Coast of America/, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 214, 215, 299.

among the earthenware vessels made by the Eskimo which he saw on the Yukon (Kwichpak), a few of which are illustrated in his book on Alaska, one was obviously patterned after a Russian model. This may have been the case, for since the Russians settled in this country some Russian drinking and eating vessels undoubtedly reached the natives there. Nevertheless, the making of pottery by the American Eskimo in no way came from the Russians. The latter found it there already, and Dawydof, like Sagoskin, remarks that acquaintance with iron and copper kettles and other implements, which the Eskimo owed to the Russians, caused considerable loss among them in the formerly general distribution of pottery vessels of their own manufacture, with which Dall, too, agrees. Finally, also arguing for the great antiquity of the art of pottery among the Eskimo of northwestern America /451/ is the simple and primitive fashion in which it is practiced: the vessels are shaped freehandedly, and therefore are not quite circular or symmetrical (1), and then are smoothed and decorated by means

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1. As can be seen from the illustrations given in Jacobsen's travel account (pp. 214 and 215).

of peculiar and likewise very simple instruments (2). Without

2. These instruments are likewise illustrated by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 299).

2: Schrenck--692 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Eskimo N82

2. (cont.)
by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 299).

G 323 171 E 323 174

without intending to specify more precisely the date and the manner of the origin of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, I feel able to draw the conclusion, on the basis of the above considerations concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

G 323 648 17

To return to the Amur region, I repeat that the potter's art of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Ainu of which Mamia Rinsô spoke was or is only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent measures of the Manchu-Chinese to be discussed later. If, however, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even further back, it in any case has nothing to do with the potsherds which have recently been found in the earth, together with stone tools, at various points in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, especially along the Patchä River and in Taraika (3). These potsherds,

G 323 172

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Patchä River, about 10 versts from Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tschchyrkrach or Tschnyrrach (as the Russians call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, various stone tools (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, July 1, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk, most of these articles were sent to the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

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3. (cont.)
/Imperial Academy of Sciences/ and are in our museum. Three years later, near the village of Taraika on Sakhalin and likewise at the bottom of pits which looked like the remains of earth huts, Lopatin found numerous stone tools and fragments of pottery vessels (Kropotkin, according to information from Lopatin in Izviest. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 307, 308). Subsequently similar finds were made repeatedly at the southern tip of Sakhalin. Finally, in 1881, Poljakof succeeded in obtaining at the site of the Russian outpost near Duĭ on the west coast of Sakhalin a rich collection of stone tools and old potsherds. The latter were not infrequently marked with patterns which were reminiscent of those that he had found in the Olonez District and in the Oka Valley in European Russia (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 19).

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some of which have been available to me (4) and which were

4. The potsherds, in part from the Patchä River and in part from Naiputschi on southern Sakhalin, that were available to me were made of a coarse, reddish-yellow to blackish clay, which in places contained fine gravel, small pieces of quartz, and sometimes little pea-sized pieces of rubble. They were sometimes provided with fine impressions arranged in rows, sometimes with crisscrossed stripes or

G /451 cont./
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4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchã River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however.
A 172 173 323 [648] Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

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2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

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2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

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After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

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The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

/453 cont./

361 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east
133 of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation
for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the
226 Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak,
262 this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and
[361] in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus,
which play the principal role, since, entering even the small
coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the
preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less
a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large
schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance.
226 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally,
648 also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at
464 the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern
Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the
disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for
the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil
prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish
to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the
soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own
000 needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

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1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

2: Schrenck--697 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/453 cont./ Next to fish The
225 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal
262 foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

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2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of
[139] Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come
226 to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential,
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4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result
[133] of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

2: Schrenck--698 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/453 cont./

226 262 [133] island with its southern half, as well as the salt content of the ocean rapidly increasing in proportion to the distance from the Amur-Liman and the /454/ warm Tsu-sima current (a branch of the Kuro-siwo) (1) running from the Straits of Korea to the

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1. Cf. my article, "Strömungsverhältn. im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 25 ff., plus map, Pl. XII).

southern end of Sakhalin, the southern part of the island is far richer in invertebrate marine animals and seatang than the north. And accordingly, the latter, like the former, plays a far greater role among the foodstuffs of the Ainu than among those of the Gilyak. Everything that the sea yields in such products and occasionally casts ashore in great quantities is used by the Ainu for food, especially the large oysters and scallops, an octopus of considerable size (called achkoipa by the Ainu), whose arms are regarded as a special delicacy, sea urchins and starfish, actiniae and [526] holothurians, the so-called trepang, and others (2). In order to

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 97. Dobrotworskij, in the preface to the Ainu dictionary, op. cit., p. 37.

get the trepang and similar animals from the bottom of the sea, the Ainu of Jesso, as the Japanese Rinsifée reported in 1786, are said to have been skilled at diving from the age of ten on (3).

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3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese-Chinese by Klaproth, Paris, 1832, p. 229.

2: Schrenck--699 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

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Subsequently, however, just as for seatang fishing (4), they have

4. See p. 674 ff. above.

also learned more efficient methods for the catching of trepang from the Japanese, who pursue these sources of food in the waters of Sakhalin and Jesso with the same zeal as the Chinese (Man-dse) on the opposite Manchurian coast from about Vladimir Bay to the Korean border (5). But though the sea is the principal source of

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5. The center of seatang fishing along the Manchurian coast is Nachodka Bay (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 16). The most and best seatang is taken between it and Olga Bay. That from around Possjet Bay is inferior to this, and all the more so to the Japanese seatang (op. cit., p. 79, note, and p. 89). Vladivostok is famous among the Man-dse on account of the trepang fishing that takes place in its vicinity (op. cit., p. 16). Further information concerning the Man-dse methods of seatang and trepang fishing, the volume and sales of the catch, etc. is to be found, in addition to the periodical named, in Lopatin ("Obzor" iuzhn. chasti primorsk. oblasti vost. Sib. za r. Suifunom" /Survey of the Southern Part of the Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia beyond the Suifun River/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, 1864, p. 191), Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Farming Conditions in the Amur Region/." -- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 124. The same in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 91), Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, pp. 86 ff.), and others.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection
[231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only
[191] domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1) --and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113] 1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII,
[251] No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack
177 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

A /455 cont./
262 a little fish and oil, almost the only food (3), clearly indicates
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3. In that they are paid daily for their work with a few handfuls of rice from the Japanese.

that the Ainu are under the influence of a different culture than
Gi the Gilyak.
226 The third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, are, to be sure,
231 chiefly ichthyophagous and, as a consequence of the location of their habitation area along the seacoast, are destined to get their principal food from the sea, but the circumstance that, in addition to the dog, they keep another domestic and draft animal, the reindeer, and by means of it lead a seminomadic life, brings
Gi about a not unimportant modification of their food situation in
221 contrast to the Ainu and Gilyak. In the summer and fall, the
226 seasons of the year which the Orok spend on the seacoast to fish
262 and hunt seal and to prepare supplies for the winter, again princi-
251 pally jukola, seal oil, and various berries and roots, their food
Gi consists almost exclusively of fish. Poljakof, who spent several
175 weeks during the summer of 1881 among the Orok in the region
226 around the mouth of the Tymy, which they visit annually because
262 of its wealth of fish, described their daily diet during this period
264 of the most active fishing in the following manner: the first meal, taken early in the morning, consists of a fat salmon head (from Salmo lagocephalus); then in the course of the day jukola roasted over the fire follows, with seal oil and fish with various plant accompaniments, such as roots, cedar nuts, and especially berries, which are mixed with finely chopped or even pre-chewed (!) fish;
ooo and a fat salmon head again ends the day (4). The nomadic life

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4. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 89).

Gi
262 The nomadic life
231 of the Orok and the smaller number of dogs satisfying them very
224 considerably lessen their need for winter provisions, and all the

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262 more since, on the other hand, their second and true draft animal,
231 the reindeer, despite the fact that they are able to keep it only in
224 relatively small numbers, provides a contribution to their diet, and their stay, joined with hunting, in the forests through which their winter migrations take place must provide them with various meat
221 foods. Finally, the Orok cannot conduct their migrations, the
177 very peculiar nature of which I /456/ shall discuss in more detail
439 in the following chapter, without remaining in continuous contact with the Gilyak, through whose territory they roam and, through barter, make some of their food supplies their own.

262 The nearest fellow-tribesmen of the Orok on the mainland,
171 the Olcha, completely correspond to the Amur Gilyak with respect to their food. From many of my own experiences I can
[196] testify that both in daily life and on festive occasions, such as, for instance, the bear festivals, which I also had the opportunity of attending among them, they eat dishes of exactly the same composition and preparation as those of the Gilyak, and even use
262 the same implements. The only difference that I could see in the
224 food of the Olcha in contrast to the Gilyak, aside from the afore-
171 mentioned aversion of the former against dog meat, which, however, as a negative attitude, is not very obvious, was the fact that among them, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution (above Kidsi), hunting begins to play a predominant role for the direct procurement of food, in that it is not limited to merely fur-bearing animals, as among the Gilyak, but is also directed toward those animals whose chief value lies in their meat. Some of these animals, such as the red deer and wild pig, do not even occur among the Gilyak, but first appear, going upstream, in Olcha territory (1); others, such as the roe, musk deer, and elk,

1. See Vol. I, pp. 154, 173, of this work.

occur in greater frequency in the same direction (2). Thus, among

2. See ibid., pp. 162-166, 174.

/456 cont./ Thus, among
262 the Olcha the Tungusic inclination for hunting, favored by natural
224 conditions, again makes headway and has the result that they, even though primarily likewise ichthyophagous, are by far not such to the great extent and almost exclusively as the Gilyak are, but also eat a good share of meat.

262 This proportion between a fish diet and a meat diet which
226 emerges among the Olcha in the upper part of their habitation area
224 rapidly increases in favor of the meat diet among the inhabitants
184 along the left tributaries of the lower Amur River, the Negda, Samagir, and Kile on the Kur. Whereas the former, like their neighbors, the Gilyak, are involuntarily forced toward ichthyophagy by the circumstance that they live directly on the banks of a mighty river teeming with fish, which cuts through the entire length of their area, and, in de Castries Bay, have one foot on the seacoast, the situation is different for the last-named peoples. The rivers along which they live are not poor in fish, to be sure, but could not measure up to the Amur in the wealth of fish by far; in particular, they lack the largest and finest fish of the latter, the large sturgeon and the hausen, as well as the carp and probably other cyprinoids, etc. On the other hand, along them there spread extensive forest wildernesses, which, apart from the fur-bearing animals, shelter an inexhaustible wealth of game of all kinds and provide an ample meat diet for the hunter. Among the Samagir, with whom I became acquainted in the middle of their hunting grounds along the Gorin, /457/ merely the clothing, the red-deer and elk leather robes, the roe-deer and musk-deer fur-coats, etc., revealed that these game animals, and especially the largest and most common of them, the elk, called buju by them, that is, simply "the animal," were essential for their existence.

Farther upstream from the Olcha, among the Goldi, as Amur dwellers, fish food is again in first place, though not as exclusively among the former, and still less so compared to the Gilyak. Rather a no smaller, and the farther south an ever larger amount of meat food is associated with them. This is inevitable since some, and among them the largest, of the above-mentioned game animals,

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262 such as the red deer and the wild pig, become all the more com-
226 mon the farther south one goes along the Amur River and reach
224 their maximum frequency in the lower Amur region in the luxuri-
184 ant leafy forests, on the many low river islands overgrown with willows and high grass, and in the swampy prairies, often with reed thickets, near the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. More-
131 over, the Goldi population also extends into the valleys of the
224 right tributaries of the Amur River, the Pächssa, Naiche, and Chongar Rivers, where there is certainly no lack of good hunting grounds, which are probably also visited occasionally by the Amur
224 dwellers. Indeed, along the Gorin I repeatedly met Goldi who
484 had come here from Zollazi and other places on the Amur to hunt
262 and were now returning home with their sleds laden with elk meat. Of course, besides the meat, the fat of large game is also an
262 important foodstuff of the Goldi and for them substitutes for seal
[171] oil, which is so indispensable for the Gilyak and Ainu and to a large extent is also used by the Olcha. In speaking of the meat diet of the Goldi, it should be mentioned that, as a result of the southern location of their habitation area, the Amur River also furnishes them with a food which is lacking among the aforementioned peoples living farther to the north and which, insignificant in itself, to be sure, is noteworthy on account of its uniqueness. It is the Amur turtle, Trionyx maackii Brandt, whose meat and eggs are eaten by the Goldi -- probably the only reptile used for
000 food in the Amur region (1). Finally, a very important factor

[192] 1. On the Amur the Goldi call the turtle aja; on the Ussuri, kaila.

Finally, a very important factor
231 pertaining to the diet and a particularly characteristic one for the
262 Goldi in contrast to the above-mentioned peoples is that among
241 them, going upstream, are found the first domestic animals kept
177 solely for food and similarly the first beginnings of the cultivation of vegetables and cereals. Both are undoubtedly a consequence
[439] of their closer contact with the Sungari region and with the Chinese who for trade purposes permanently reside among the Goldi at

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various places on the Amur and especially on the Ussuri and have small gardens and farms. Apart from the dog and the house cat occasionally present among the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak /458/ and treated merely as a luxury item (1), the first domestic animal

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1. Concerning the distribution of the house cat in the Amur region and its position among the Amur peoples, see what is said in the first volume of this work, pp. 98-100.

met among the Amur peoples, going upstream, is the pig. As was discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (p. 155), individual specimens are found even among the Olcha (2), but

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2. There was none among the Gilyak in my time. Later, when there were pigs raised by the Russians in Nikolayevsk, the Gilyak occasionally bought some in order to consume them in festive fashion (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59).

a regular breeding of pigs is found first among the Goldi, up the Amur from about Ssargu and Naiche on and along the Ussuri.
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The animals, fed on fish, are sold by the Goldi to their countrymen or to Chinese traders, through whose mediation they reach the Olcha farther downstream. The Goldi get the breeding animals, however, in part from the Man-dse (Chinese) along the upper Ussuri (3), but for the most part from the Sungari region

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3. F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie" (Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 122).

where the pig is raised in great numbers everywhere by the Chinese

2: Schrenck--706 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Historical Manchuria AG2

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and Manchu (4) and, as in China, is the principal meat food of the

4. Williamson, Journ. in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 69. Barabash", "Sungar. eksp. 1872 g." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 343).

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population (5). According to Wassiljef (6), the pig is the oldest

5. Already in Witsen (Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, pp. 39, 92), one finds the report that the Njutschi on the Sungari and Nonni (Manchu and Daur) eat pork and bacon with pleasure and in great quantities.

6. "Opisanie Man'chzhurii /Description of Manchuria/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., XII, 1857, p. 52).

of all the domestic animals in Manchuria, and this country, according to Palladij (7), has been famous at all times, even in China, for its Pig-breeding.

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7. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska, chrez" Man'chzhuriiu v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the Way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 351). Wassiljef, too, notes among other things that Peking gets its best pigs from Manchuria and that almost all of North China is supplied with Manchurian pork.

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GOD G 235 China, for its pig-breeding. Besides the domestic pig, one also finds among the Goldi the first domestic poultry, and, to be sure, primarily chickens (Goldi tscheko), which also come from the Sungari region. Maack (8) came across some in Chula on the Amur,

8. Op. cit., p. 230.

a little above Da, and I myself saw the Goldi in Chaizo on the Ussuri raising chickens just like the Chinese living beside them (9).

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9. This fact, noted in my travel journal, was overlooked by me in the discussion of domestic fowl in the first volume of this work (p. 404); on the other hand, it is mentioned there that the hen is known by sight to the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from the Chinese and is popularly represented by them in woodcarvings and metalwork.

Gi 241 177 Gi [103]

Finally, the Goldi also learned from the Chinese about the cultivation of vegetables and cereals, only the rudiments of which are understood by them. The northernmost point along the Amur River where at the time of my journey there was still a small vegetable garden cultivated by Chinese was the village of Zjanka, as the Chinese called it, or Otza, as the Goldi called it, consisting of one Chinese house and two Goldi houses, located on an island near the mouth of the Gorin. At such places, whose number increases going upstream and up the Ussuri, the Goldi were able to learn, indeed, must have learned about a number of vegetables and cereals at first hand, and already in the vicinity of the mouth of the Ussuri, in Messur, Turme, and even /459/ more along this latter river, we saw them cultivating beans, squash, cucumbers, cabbage, onions, etc., and even maize, in their own gardens. Naturally at the same time, as the result of greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese along the Ussuri and Sungari and more active intercourse with them, the use of the cereals handled by them in trade, such as millet, barley, sorghum, wheat, etc., increased among the Goldi.

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000 increased among the Goldi. Hence the diet of the basically like-
262 wise ichthyophagous Goldi, thanks to the abundance of game in
177 their region and the influence of a closely neighboring civilized people, developed into a far more varied and mixed one than among the Amur peoples living farther downstream.

Finally, concerning the Orochi, who neighbor the Olcha
262 and Goldi along the entire stretch from de Castries Bay to the
226 sources of the Ussuri in the east toward the sea, they correspond,
224 with regard to their diet, more to the former in the northern part
[184] of their elongated area of distribution and more to the latter in the southern part. Fish, especially the species of salmon that go
[231] from the sea up into the coastal rivers and from the Amur and Ussuri into their right tributaries, among which Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus again play the principal role, are the principal constituent of their diet and also enable them to maintain their only domestic animal, the dog. In addition, however, hunting, always pursued by preference, also provides them with a considerable quantity of meat, which steadily increases in relation to fish toward the south, with the increasing abundance of game and de-
[222] crease in fish. On the other hand, the plant food of the Orochi is scanty everywhere and in the north of their area of distribution is limited almost entirely to the natural products of their region, a few previously mentioned berries and roots and the like also
262 used among their neighbors. Of all the peoples of the lower Amur
439 region the farthest from the Amur, the main artery for their trade with the Chinese, the northern Orochi receive the least of the plant foods, the various legumes, cereals, etc., which are exported down the Amur from the Chinese agricultural colonies
[563] along the Sungari. This changes in the southern part of their habitation area, along the right tributaries of the Ussuri and along the corresponding seacoast, in that the Orochi there live mixed with Chinese, the so-called Ussuri Man-dse, who cultivate various vegetables and cereals, some of which go to the Orochi in barter
241 or as payment for labor. Indeed, some of the latter even have
262 their own small vegetable gardens (1). Nevertheless, even
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1. Nadarov", "Sieverno-Ussur. krai

2: Schrenck--709 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

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1. (cont.)
/North Ussuri Region/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. XVII, 1887, No. 1, p. 80).

among the southern Orochi the amount of vegetable food is still only very small compared with the meat food and much smaller than among the neighboring Ussuri Goldi (2). Thus on the whole,

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2. Nadarof (op. cit., p. 79), on the basis of his experiences, comes to the conclusion that the Orochi use about three times less cereal food than the Goldi.

the chief constituents of the diet change among the Orochi from north to south, even though within /460/ narrow limits, just as among the Amur dwellers from the mouth of the river up to the Ussuri and Sungari.

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While we saw above that hunting and with it a meat diet, as opposed to fishing and a fish diet, play a more important role among the inhabitants of the left tributaries of the lower Amur River, the Negda, Samagir, and Kile on the Kur, than among the inhabitants of the main river, this proportion increases still more farther westward and inland, and the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon living on the western and southern slopes of the Bureja /Bureya/ and Stanovoi Mountains and along the left tributaries of the upper Amur River no longer appear to us, on the basis of their principal source of subsistence, as more or less sedentary fishermen, like the peoples of the lower Amur region, but as roaming hunters. This situation, already discussed above (1),

1. Page 571.

must be pointed out again here, because it is of decisive importance for the diet of the peoples concerned no less than for their dwellings.

T Gi 262 /460 cont./

As a result of it, the roles that meat and fish play among the constituents of their diet in the one place or the other is directly reversed: just as fish food comes first among the lower Amur peoples, meat food does among the upper Amur peoples, and, like hunting among the former, fishing gives the latter only a subordinate auxiliary source of food that is sometimes in somewhat greater supply. Contributing no little to this different proportion of the principal constituents of the diet among the peoples of the lower and upper Amur regions are also the domestic animals accompanying them, basically different with regard to their nature and services: among the former, the dog, for whose support in greater numbers, as a draft animal, considerable supplies of fish are required, and which -- apart from the cynophagous Gilyak and Ainu -- brings its supporter no food in return; among the latter, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, the horse and reindeer, which do not need those supplies and, on the contrary, supply their owners with food themselves. For not only were the animals that as a consequence of injury had become useless for moving to a new locality consumed, and in case of need or on special occasions even perfectly strong and healthy ones, but the Orochon also have a special liking for drinking reindeer milk (2), which is especially noteworthy

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2. Usol'tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nerchi River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XX, 1857, Sec. II, p. 91). According to Tscherkassof (Zap. okhotnika Vostochn. Sibiri /Notes of a Hunter from Eastern Siberia/, St. Petersburg, 1867, p. 588), the Orochon sometimes even suck the reindeer milk directly from the udders of the animals.

inasmuch as it happens among no other reindeer people of Siberia and only among the Lapps in the extreme northwestern part of Europe (3).

Gi T [113]

3. Pallas, Zoogr. Rosso-asiat., Vol. I,

2: Schrenck--711 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

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Gi /460 cont./
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3. (cont.)
p. 209. A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands, Dorpat, 1854, Vol. II, p. 387.

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With respect to the small amount of vegetable food in proportion to the animal food in both cases, it seems to me that there likewise exists a not insignificant difference, and to a certain extent analogous to the former one, between the peoples of the lower and upper Amur regions. For, just as among the animal foods fish and meat change roles among them so among the vegetable foods do the native /461/ natural products, on the one hand, and the vegetable products acquired from the neighboring civilized peoples on the other hand. Whereas in the economy of the lower Amur peoples the former foods, on account of their general distribution and accessibility, are on the whole of greater importance than the latter, this is reversed among the peoples of the upper Amur region: the native, vegetable, natural products have lost importance for them, in contrast to the former peoples, while, on the other hand, the imported cultivated products, in particular cereals, flour, groats, etc., have gained considerably. The former is probably related to their nomadic life, which is generally unsuited to the gathering and storing of supplies, especially plant products, berries, roots, and the like, which have little nutritional value and would therefore be required in great quantities, and, moreover, at precisely the time of the year most favorable for it, they are staying in localities which, as immediately on the banks of the Amur River, offer very few of these edible plants and where, on the other hand, they have to devote all their time to a more important activity, fishing. It must be noted in passing that there are also some different species of plants to which they give their greatest preference: whereas the natives of the lower Amur region especially like various berries growing close to the ground, in particular cranberries and bilberries, and gather great supplies of them for the winter, among all the nomadic tribes of the upper

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Amur region, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, the grape cherries or bird cherries (Prunus padus), acquired with little effort, enjoy the greatest popularity (1). On the other hand, the reason why,

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1. I have seen how the Birar dry great quantities of grape cherries on reed mats over a small fire so that they could store them. They are later eaten by them, just as among the Manegir (Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 78), either plain, or baked in cakes with a dough of flour and some oil or fat, or, finally, pounded to a powder that is used as an ingredient for various dishes. The seeds and the skins are always eaten, too, as I also saw among the Gilyak (see p. 673 above), and as is done in the similar use of this fruit among the Negda on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1535), on Kamchatka, according to Erman (Reise um die Erde /Voyage around the World/, Part I, Histor. Ber. /Historical Report/, III, p. 415), and, according to Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 350), also among the Sagai Tatars, who mix with milk the coarse powder obtained by pounding the grape cherries, and other Siberian peoples.

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On the other hand, The reason why,
conversely, the cultivated plant products, such as flour, various types of groats, etc., have greater significance among these peoples than among the natives of the lower Amur region undoubtedly lies in the fact that these foods are supplied to them by various parties, from more numerous and closer sources, and therefore, on the whole, also in greater quantities, than to the lower Amur peoples. The latter, before the Russian colonization of their region

T. Gi 439 262

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(in the fifties) began (2), could obtain such cultivated products

2. And -- I repeat -- only this period is being considered here.

only from the Sungari and upper Ussuri, either through Chinese traders or on long and strenuous travels undertaken on their own for trading purposes. In the upper Amur region, on the other hand, the role of the Sungari is played to a certain extent by the so-called civilized sector of the Amur River, where, facing the mouths of the Bureja and Dseja /Zeya/ and in the immediate /462/ vicinity of the habitation and roaming areas of the Birar and Manegir, there are large agricultural and livestock-raising villages of Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and even sedentary Birar, in which these nomads can easily obtain various cereals and vegetables. From there as well as from the Nonni and Komar, these articles are brought to them by the industrious Daur traders even far into the mountain valleys of their homeland. Moreover, these peoples, and especially the Orochon and Manegir along the upper Amur and its tributaries, obtain a constant supply of cereals through their dealings with the Russian Cossacks coming down from the Argunj and the Schilka /Shilka/ and other hunting and trading people. Finally, from the northwest, Yakut traders also make their way to the nomadic peoples of the upper Amur region and bring them, among other wares, Russian cereals, flour, groats, etc. Even if these tribes do not consume as great a quantity of these foods at one time as the Olcha and Gilyak do at the time of their bear festivals, their use of them is nevertheless far more widespread and common, and the total consumption is therefore greater. If one now considers the far greater nutritional value of these plant foods in comparison with the wild plants used for food especially among the natives of the lower Amur region, one necessarily comes to the conclusion that, besides the animal food, the diet of the upper Amur peoples is also composed of vegetable constituents to a much higher degree than that of the lower Amur peoples. And this is also in harmony with the fact that the upper Amur peoples use far more

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Gi salt with their food than do those of the lower Amur. We found
263 a pronounced aversion to it among the Gilyak. The Goldi and
T the Orochi only use very little of it (1). Of the Manegir, however,
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1. Nadarov", "Siev.-Ussur. kraĭ" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 80).

Maack (2) reports that every well-to-do person among them has

2. Op. cit., p. 79.

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263 salt in his household. They buy it from the Daur and have a
439 designation borrowed from the Daur ("katà") for it: katachàn.
192 Presumably therefore, they first became acquainted with it through the Daur, and at a time when the latter, prior to the Russian invasion, lived all along the upper Amur and its source rivers, the Schilka and Argunj, engaged in agriculture and livestock-raising, and had barter-trade relations with the hunting tribes in the north (3). Therefore, even at that time the tribes

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3. See p. 339 ff above.

of the upper Amur region may already have obtained a number of cereals for food from the Daur.

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/463/ There should be added to a consideration of the diet of the Amur peoples a few remarks concerning the luxuries used among them, especially liquor and tobacco.

The Gilyak do not know how to make any beverage for

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pleasure, either by an infusion of water upon the leaves, stems, barks, or other parts of certain species of plants or from the juice of berries and other fruits of their region, as is understood so well by the Italmen of Kamchatka, according to the testimony of

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273 Steller (1) and Krasheninnikof (2). I came across just as little of
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1. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, pp. 76-89.

2. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossi, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.).

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272 I came across just as little of
273 anything of the kind among the Olcha and Goldi (3). Even tea,

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3. I am thinking here only of beverages for pleasure, but not medicinal potions. Among the Manegir on the upper Amur I saw a moss that they gather in the forest and call mogo drying in the sun on birch-bark mats. As far as I could learn from them, they take it to the city of Aigun, where they are paid well by the inhabitants, to be drunk in an infusion, like tea. Presumably, however, this infusion is used only as medicine for some ailment.

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272 Even Tea
177 which these peoples must have known for a long time through
439 their association with the Chinese (4) and which they were able

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4. The Gilyak have the designation pyncht for it.

to buy in Nikolayevsk as well as in Mariinsk since the Russian occupation of the region (in the fifties), had not found acceptance among them at the time of my stay in the Amur region (5).

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5. Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin", pp. 88-90) reported that in 1881 the Orok on Sakhalin prized tea highly and, if there were any, drank it regularly toward evening. But this could have appeared only since the

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Gi 114 177 272

5. (cont.)
Russian colonization of the island, therefore only quite recently -- was by no means the case at the time of my travels on it, or Schmidt's and Glehn's.

Gi 272 They did not know coffee at all and considered it, when they saw
G me drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor
273 was, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be
171 sure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other peoples of the mainland,
[192] under the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) araki or arki, also customary among the Manchu and among all the Tungusic, Mongolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (6). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Klaproth's Asia polyglotta. There are, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araku, airaki, etc.

G undoubtedly
273 acquaintance with liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the
171 time of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread
439 rapidly since then. Through the trading trips of the Goldi, Olcha,
Gi and especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must
[439] have soon been introduced to the Gilyak there. The latter, to be
G sure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from
273 another direction, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained
177 their liquor, the so-called ssaki, and even learned how to make
439 a weak ssaki themselves (7); but the stronger and presumably cheaper

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7. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, p. 132. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar', Preface, p. 38.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinsô (8) reported

8. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 192).

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273 in 1808 that the Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Sakhalin hardly know of
197 the Japanese ssaki at all, to say nothing of /464/ making it them-
439 selves, but, on the other hand, "obtain a type of it, called arka,
from the Man-kôs (Amur-dwellers), which in taste is very similar
SS to the Japanese sôtsu." Like all products of civilization, liquor,
G too, is supplied to the Gilyak and all the other peoples of the lower
273 Amur region chiefly from the Sungari region, where there are
439 numerous and some very large distilleries established and run by
Chinese (1) and in part also from the Ussuri, where the production

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1. Williamson, Journ. in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, Vol. II, p. 67. Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

of liquor is likewise carried on by the Chinese, and, to be sure,
SS exclusively for trade. The liquor made by them varies in quality
273 depending on the grain from which it is made, either from kao-
ljan, i.e., Sorghum vulgare, which is especially used for this
purpose (2), or from one of the species of millet cultivated by the

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2. Barabash (loc. cit.) says that extensive kao-ljan fields along the lower Sungari always indicate distilleries in the vicinity.

Chinese (Setaria italica, Panicum miliaceum, etc.), or from a
SS mixture of the latter with one another and with barley (3). De-
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3. For more details concerning the Chinese liquor and its preparation, especially in the Ussuri region, see Nadarof, Sieverno-Ussur. krai, pp. 105 ff.

pending on the quantity and the place of destination, the liquor is sold by the Chinese either in large bottles inclosed in wickerwork

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273 made out of willow switches and lined on the inside with strong
439 paper, or in square chests made of six boards and likewise with
paper stuck on the inside, on which an opening, closable by a
SS bolt, is found on top on one of the edges (4). One of the purposes
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4. Williamson, op. cit., p. 68. Nadarof, op. cit., p. 113. Maack, op. cit., p. 196.

of a Sungari journey by the Gilyak, Olcha, or Goldi is to buy such a chest (Gilyak kylmr-wakke) (5) of araki, for the liquor

5. Wakke means box or chest in general.

is naturally much cheaper at the place of production than among the Chinese retail merchants along the Amur.

G Along with the liquor the Gilyak and the other peoples of the
SS lower Amur region have also adopted the manner of drinking it
273 from the Chinese. Like them, they always drink it warm (6) out
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6. Marco Polo already remarks that the Chinese do not drink the "rak" (arrack) until after they have first heated it (Marco Polo's Reisen, the German by Bürck, p. 341, note 284).

of tiny porcelain bowls which they likewise buy from the Chinese for the purpose, just like the metal can in which the liquor is heated beforehand by putting the can into hot water or in the hot ashes of a basin filled with glowing coals always kept handy for this
000 purpose as well as for lighting the pipe (7). This is how the Chinese

7. The Chinese way of drinking liquor has often been described, for instance, by Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 390) and others.

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Gi /464 cont./ This is how the Chinese
273 merchant on the Amur does it as he deals with his customers
177 and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is
439 how he is imitated by all well-to-do Goldi, Samagir, Olcha, or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is precisely how Mamia Rinsô describes the manner in which the Smerenkur on /465/ Sakhalin drink their "arka" brought from the
G. Amur. I also saw the libation preceding the drinking, which
Gi consists of first moistening the tips of the thumb and forefinger
273 with liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the
[782] left, up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less
[171] carefully executed, just as by the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur, also by the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and even Orochi
G. in Hadshi Bay. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these peo-
Gi [177] ples is done in a definite way sanctioned by usage, from peculiar
Gi foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of cer-
273 tain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this
439 circumstance, besides the others mentioned above, the procurement of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I must testify to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I knew best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the lower Amur, in Nikolayevsk and Mariinsk, a new and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not
G even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This
273 last seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact
796 that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as uitsch (unlucky) -- a conception which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

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273 preservation and augmentation of their property, which is peculiar
796 to the Gilyak to a high degree; for with the large number of participants at such festivals the host's expensive supply of araki would be gone in no time, apart from other dangers. Furthermore,
157 thanks to this characteristic of the Gilyak and the rare energy of
273 their character, there appeared at the very beginning of their re-
439 lations with the Russians a phenomenon which may hardly be
648 equaled in the history of the relations between primitive and civilized peoples: instead of being exploited by the Russians through liquor and losing everything, they, on the contrary, knew how to win many an advantage from the Russian sailors and Cossacks with their small supplies of Chinese liquor. Their moderation and power of resistance were also greatly aided by the fact that during the first years of the Russian occupation of the Amur region only very little liquor was imported, while the number of the Russian consumers of it grew rapidly (1). Later, however, after

1. For instance, in 1855 the crews of several war vessels from Kamchatka and several detachments of Cossacks from Transbaikalia were added to the previous garrison of the lower Amur region.

the end of the Crimean War, when the importation of liquor into Nikolayevsk, handled by many and in particular North American and Hamburg trading ships, /466/ greatly increased, and, simultaneously, the ancient, original ways of life and views of the Gilyak were more and more undermined and began to disappear under the impact of Russian immigration and colonization, it was also the end of their moderation and power of resistance to alcohol, and as early as the sixties one could read in the local newspapers, as well as in the reports of returning travelers and other eyewitnesses, of the ever increasing drunkenness and gluttony among the Gilyak, especially during their bear festivals and other celebrations (1).

[113] 1. Cf., for instance, Arth. Nordmann,

2: Schrenck--721 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Historical Manchuria AG2

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1. (cont.)
"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/" (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 254); also Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59 and elsewhere.

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Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the Amur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and even the children are given the opportunity to become accustomed to it at an early age. It seems obvious to me where these peoples first learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As is well-known, Manchuria is the country from which China, at least the northern part, obtained the tobacco plant and the custom of smoking tobacco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about two and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dynasty ascended the throne (1644), upon whose orders the introduction of tobacco into China took place (2) and under whose protection the

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2. Huc, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Poussielgue, Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 66. Wassiljef ("Opisanie Man'chzhurii." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, pp. 52, 53) says: if one may give credence to a Chinese drama, the Chinese were not familiar with the smoking of tobacco up to the Manchu Dynasty.

cultivation of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (3).

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3. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

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3. (cont.)
an attempt was made, to be sure, to forbid the use of tobacco (and opium in China, but the prohibition was unsuccessful, because tobacco had already become an indispensable item for the Chinese (Plath, Die Völker der Mandshurey /The Peoples of Manchuria/, Vol. II, p. 948).

Tobacco had come to Manchuria from Korea, and to Korea from Japan (4), to where it had been brought at the beginning of the

4. Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 341), following Witsen, states that among the Koreans tobacco is called panggamk-sio, i.e., "herb that comes from the south," because they obtained it from the Japanese:

seventeenth century by the Portuguese and where it likewise had a general distribution in a short time (5). Tobacco found very

5. Schouw, Die Erde, die Pflanzen und der Mensch /The Earth, Plants, and Man/, from the Danish by Zeise, Leipzig, 1851, p. 264.

favorable soil in Korea, as in Manchuria, and was soon the object of general and diligent cultivation. Even today, these countries,
[439] and especially Manchuria, send the most famous tobacco to China, where it is preferred to the Chinese tobacco and costs more than the
ooo latter (6). In particular the tobacco cultivated in the Girin region

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6. Huc, Wassiljef, Williamson, op. cit. The popularity of Korean tobacco in China was already pointed out by Lange (Journal de la résid. de Sieur Lange de S.M.I. de la grande Russie à la cour de la Chine, dans les ann. 1721 et 1722, Leyden, 1726, p. 65).

HM 276 439 /466 cont. /In particular the Tobacco cultivated in the Girin region is regarded as the best, not only in China, but everywhere in Manchuria, and in the winter the Chinese merchants assemble in the town of Girin on the Sungari in order to make their wholesale purchases of tobacco: "all the inns of the town," says an eyewitness, the /467/ archimandrite Palladij, "are then filled with these merchants, and their spacious courtyards are occupied by bundles of tobacco." "This plant," the same traveler continues, "which, according to the words of Chinese physicians, makes a drunken person sober and a sober person drunk, a hungry person sated and a sated person hungry, finds a market everywhere in China under the name of guanj-dun-ädsy, i.e., leaves of Manchuria" (1). As well as southward to China, tobacco has also

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1. Archimandrite" Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska, chrez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g." (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 398).

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spread northward and eastward from Manchuria to all the peoples of the Amur region. And, indeed, this must have happened at about the same time, or at any rate still in the seventeenth century. In 1693, when Ysbrants Ides came to Tsitsikar (for him, Naunkoton) on the Nonni, he saw the Daur of the region cultivating all sorts of field produce and much tobacco, which, in addition to other wares, such as blue cotton, etc., they used in barter-trade with the Tungusic tribes to the north (2), a trade which they later

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2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar China, pp. 70, 129.

expanded more and more and are carrying on to this day (3).

3. See p. 79 above.

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17 Moreover, one may safely assume that, like the Daur and Manchu in the Sungari region, the tribal relatives of the Manchu who were formerly distributed from the Sungari along the southern Amur River to far below the mouth of the Ussuri, approximately to the present Goldi village of Dondon, the Djutscheren, who lived in large farming and livestock-raising villages (4), also cultivated

4. See pp. 316 ff. above.

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17 tobacco among other things. Finally, it must have also spread from the Sungari and from Korea to the upper Ussuri and down this river to the Amur. There can be no doubt but that even before the Russian military expeditions in the seventeenth century the Goldi had become acquainted with tobacco and its cultivation from the Manchu (Djutscheren) neighboring them, indeed, in part
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[249] even living mixed in with them. Even today, tobacco is cultivated not only by individual Chinese living in the area, but also by them themselves, on the Ussuri as well as on the Amur, and on the latter, strangely enough, exactly as far as the dwelling sites of the Djutscheren formerly extended. For, going upstream, we found the first Goldi cultivation of tobacco in the village of Da, which lies on the right bank of the Amur, opposite the above-mentioned Dondon located on an island. Like the Goldi, the Orochi living on the sources and tributaries of the Ussuri also obtained tobacco in this way. Furthermore, the other peoples of
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[249] the lower Amur region, the Olcha, Samagir, Negda, and Gilyak, in contact with the Goldi as well as with the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur and Sungari, must have also become acquainted with
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[249] tobacco as early as the seventeenth century even though tobacco could not be cultivated among them because of climatic and
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17 other reasons. Finally, through the Gilyak and Olcha of the mainland tobacco also reached their countrymen, the Gilyak and Orok of Sakhalin, whereas the third people of the island, the Ainu, probably received it from /468/ another source, directly
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[192] from the Japanese (1). Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had

1. The designation for tobacco, as among

2: Schrenck--725 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

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1. (cont.)
the Manchu (dambagu) and Mongols (tamachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too; thus, among the Goldi and Olcha damche, tamche, and tamache, among the Gilyak tam(a)ch, among the Ainu tambaku, etc.

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Later, after the Manchurian Tobacco had already spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable necessity for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the west and north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders with the Orochon, Manegir, and other tribes of the upper Amur region, and through the Yakut merchants who in part followed these nomads and in part visited certain trading points at which they established relations with them as well as with other peoples of the lower Amur region (2). Nevertheless, up

2. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the fifties, Manchurian tobacco was definitely predominant among all the peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian (Circassian) tobacco began to replace it very rapidly, first and especially of course, among those peoples who did not cultivate tobacco themselves, hence among the Gilyak, Olcha, etc. What made it especially popular among them is its much greater strength or acridness in comparison with the Manchurian tobacco, as well as its being far cheaper. The great popularity of Russian tobacco and the general and heavy demand for it among the peoples named soon made it the most important and most necessary article of trade in dealing with them.

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Like tobacco, the Gilyak and the other peoples of the Amur region also adopted from the Manchu the form of the pipe (Gilyak tai), which is also widespread throughout China and consists of two metal pieces connected by a thin, black-colored,

G SS 276 177 /468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every G [554] [321] well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

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4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439 The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their A [824] own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [191] [127]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

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000 1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII,
No. 2, p. 99).

276 415 (171) Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8)[1] and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily [237] made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with [531] Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

276 574 The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. [439] I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014 — Analyst]

G /469 cont./
276 If the Gilyak run out of tobacco, they seize upon various
824 substitutes for it. The most common of these makeshifts is fine dry wood shavings from any kind of wood, but always from a soft type, presumably willow by preference. Such shavings are even mixed with the tobacco when it is beginning to get low. When it is all gone, the wood shavings mixed with tobacco oil are smoked
G 276 in place of it. For this purpose the tobacco oil is scraped out of
415 the pipes from time to time and stored in a special small pouch (Gilyak niryghsis), which /470/ is made of a few scraps of leather fastened between two pieces of sealskin (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6), 1 on which the tobacco oil is smeared and, when required, is scraped
G 276 off, mixed with the wood shavings, and again returned to the
824 pipe (1). Moreover, the Gilyak use some of their native herbs as

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1. The very same tobacco substitutes is also used by the Chukchee, who, however, obtain it by putting the wood shavings in the tube, much wider on their pipes, above the pipe bowl, where it is gradually saturated with nicotine from the smoke passing through it (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 429; Dall,

tobacco substitutes, for example, an herb that they named for me in Allof on the Amur as tschomr, in Tyk on Sakhalin as wurpi, and which, judging by the dried fragments that I saw, seemed to be a
G 276 fern. Among the Goldi in Köurmi on the Amur I likewise saw
824 hanging bundles of an herb which they called toina and used as a substitute for tobacco. For the present the taxonomic names of these plants must remain unknown.

SS 276 The taking of snuff and tobacco-chewing are not found at all among the Amur peoples, at least in the lower Amur region (2).

SS [171]

2. Among the Aleut, who became acquainted with tobacco through the Russians, it is mostly chewed, taken as snuff very little, and not

1 [See category 116, p. 1008--Analyst]

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2. (cont.)
smoked at all (Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, Part II, 1840, p. 236). The Chukchee, it is said, often chew it first, then dry it behind the ear, and store it in a special pouch in order to smoke it later (Nordenskiöld, Die Umsegel. Asiens und Europas auf der Vega, Vol. II, p. 114).

Neither of them is among the customs of the Chinese either. The taking of snuff is found among them (3), to be sure, but is also

3. Staunton, Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China, from the English, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 71.

said to be done only in the upper positions among the learned mandarins and high officials, and to date from the time of the old French Jesuit missionaries who, by their example, obtained entry for it at court and in the aristocracy of Peking, at which place, it is said, one finds most of the takers of snuff even today (4).

4. Huc (L'Empire Chinois, loc. cit.) further mentions that the missionaries had French tobacco brought from Europe for their own use, and, since at that time it bore as a stamp a coat-of-arms with three fleur-de-lis, the latter design became the sole sign for snuff-selling in Peking and is to this day.

With so slight a spread of this custom in China, it is easy to understand why it has not yet spread from there to the Sungari region and hence to the Amur peoples.

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SS 276 On the other hand, it is surprising that up to the present time the Amur peoples have not been afflicted with another narcotic advancing toward them via the route mentioned -- I am thinking SS [114] of opium. At the time of my stay in the Amur region opium was still completely unknown there, and nothing was even to be heard about any cultivation of it by the Manchu or Chinese on the Sungari (5). In 1866, when Williamson traveled through Manchuria,

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5. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 243), by the way, saw one Manchu official on the Amur near the mouth of the Sungari, smoke a substance which he thought might be opium.

HM 175 276 249 In 1866, when Williamson Traveled Through Manchuria, he was assured that a few years before opium had been completely unknown in this country; at the time he saw it being grown everywhere. Near the village of Fata-mun, for instance, somewhat north of Girin, where, according to the natives, there had been no opium 3-5 years earlier, /471/ 130-160 acres of land were planted with poppies. It was said that poppy cultivation was much more lucrative than the cultivation of any kind of grain; to be sure, it was illegal, but the government officials concerned HM could be bought with money or opium. Considerable quantities 276 of opium were already being shipped from Manchuria to Peking, 439 and even in the country itself the smoking of opium had already reached regrettable dimensions, in that the majority of the male youth had succumbed to it (1). It is certainly to be feared that

1. Williamson, Journeys, etc., Vol. II, pp. 65, 230, and elsewhere.

under such circumstances and thanks to the Chinese merchants the Amur peoples will not be spared from it in the future.

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Section 7

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Means of Moving and Going from Place to Place by Land and Water: Ski, Sleds; Draft, Riding, and Pack Animals -- Dog, Reindeer; Horse; Boats and Canoes.

SS 433 484 As has already been mentioned frequently, the three principal occupations which provide the Amur peoples with clothing and food, as well as the luxuries that have become necessities, are fishing, hunting, and trade -- occupations that cannot be pursued except with various and more or less considerable moving from SS 121 481 place to place. Hence, before I start considering these principal occupations, I think that it is necessary to go into a special discussion of the manner and type of locomotion among the Amur peoples and the means used for it. This will naturally fall into two parts in that it has to deal, on the one hand, with locomotion by land or on the ice-cover of the water and, on the other hand, by water.

G 484 [361] A fishing people like the Gilyak, who always set up their dwelling places in the closest proximity to the water, from which they get their food almost exclusively, and, furthermore, before whom, on the Amur River as well as along the west coast of Sakhalin, direct waterways stretch out for trade and intercourse with the neighboring tribes and with the closest civilized peoples, the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari and the Japanese on southern Sakhalin, such a people must naturally spend a great part of their lives in moving and going from place to place on the water. But the climatic conditions of the Amur region are such that locomotion by water is possible only during about five months, from May to September -- during the remaining and longest part of the year it must be done by land. And when winter shackles the waters and covers the surface of the earth with a thick layer of snow, it makes it possible for the Gilyak to move and go from place to place by land, or on the ice cover of the water, and opens up new 000 territories and routes of communication for them. The

484 /473/ The northern primeval forest, inaccessible in summer on account
224 of the thick underbrush and the many fallen, half-rotted, and mossy trees, is accessible under certain conditions to foot-travelers and light sleds, thanks to the deep layer of snow leveling out all the unevenness of the ground, precisely at the time when it shelters the fur-bearing animals in their valuable winter coats. As a result,
[222] the forest, empty of human beings in the summer, or at most visited only here and there along its edges by women and children gathering berries and roots, becomes in winter a theater of action for the hunters. Through the impassable forest and mountain wilderness, hunters and merchants make paths and trails which temporarily connect otherwise remote villages. Moreover, the ice of the Amur-Liman does away with the insular position of Sakhalin for months at a time, and finally and primarily the smooth ice-cover of the Amur River provides for the Gilyak a main artery of communication from the Liman up to the Sungari.

481 Let us now survey in greater detail the means which the Gilyak use for winter locomotion. With all the similarity, and, indeed, in part even identity, with those of other northern peoples, they offer enough deviations and peculiarities. The great amount of snow in the lower Amur region makes it necessary for the Gilyak to use ski at every step. Even for only a short walk from the house, indeed, for merely a few steps off the trodden or traveled path, ski are required if one does not wish to sink into the snow up to the waist and deeper. They are, of course, even more indispensable on longer trips through the forest, where the snow is especially deep and loose, or after snowstorms, when, driven by the wind, it accumulates in places, and especially along mountain slopes, in valleys and gorges, in such colossal quantities that crossing them without ski is unthinkable. For such trips as the Gilyak has to make often enough to set up or inspect his animal traps and for other hunting purposes, or on journeys when snowstorms surprise him, it is necessary, for easier and faster progress, that the ski not only prevent sinking into the snow as much as possible, but also permit gliding over it. In order to satisfy these various needs the Gilyak have two types of ski: small ones -- lakk; and large ones -- enj.

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481 The small ski of the Gilyak consist of two thin boards without a fur covering. They are about four and a half feet long and five to six inches wide, and are completely flat and level except for the more or less sharply tapering front end gently curving upward. Depending on the degree of this tapering at the front end, several forms of the small ski may be distinguished among the Gilyak in certain regions. Thus, the form with a gradual tapering of the tip, illustrated on Plate XXXV /see p.1015/, Figs. 1 and 2 prevails along the Amur River as far down as Wair. Below Wair, at the mouth of the Amur, along the Liman, and along the opposite coast of Sakhalin, the ski have the form shown in Fig. 3, with a more abrupt tapering, and, finally, on Sakhalin there is a third form with an even more abrupt tapering of the front end, but unfortunately, I had no opportunity to get an illustration of it. These small ski are an absolutely indispensable /474/ item for the Gilyak, and in winter it is almost only inside the yurt that he is seen without them. Not only does he need them for even the shortest walk, but he also keeps them on his feet when traveling sitting astride his sled, both so that he can get off and take a few steps in the snow if necessary, say, for example, to adjust the harness of the dogs, and also in order to facilitate the movement of the sled, to which I shall come back later. Once he has reached the spot where he plans to spend the night in the open, the ski, with its rear and level end, serves him as a shovel for readying the campsite as required (1) and for filling

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1. See p. 559 above.

with snow the kettle hung over the fire, and, finally, when he sits down on the fir branches in front of the blazing fire, his legs crossed under him, a ski placed across his knees serves as a tray, taking the place of the chachtschitsch in the yurt (2), for eating

2. See pp. 647 and 683 above.

the evening meal.

G /474 cont./
481 As essential a service as the small ski performs, however, they are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they prevent sinking into the snow only in a very imperfect way, they are not very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they are not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expeditions and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small
G ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.1015/).
[824] Like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as lakk-tschchar, i.e., ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provided

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3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99; Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi out of ash wood (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, p. 128).

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481 with a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same
[824] shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made of
G sealskin, which, with the hair pointing toward the rear, is pasted
[237] as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebone or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of the ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps for

/474 cont./

481 the feet are like the ones on the small ski, but wider and stronger throughout. The tip of the foot, beyond the toes, is stuck under the front loop fastened to two straps running through the ski and its cover; the rear loop lies over the heel, and the two lateral straps, provided with several holes, are also fastened together there, and, to be sure, by one /475/ strap being passed through the other and a wooden peg inserted to prevent slipping. In fastening the ski to the foot in this manner, the heel retains full freedom of movement up and down as well as to the right and left, and forward motion takes place merely by a forward push of the ski with the tip of the foot. The ease and speed of the motion thus depends chiefly on the ease with which the ski glides over the surface of the snow, and this is effected to a high degree for the Gilyak ski by the cover with the short-haired and smooth sealskin and the whalebone rails or the wooden ones rounded off on the outside and polished. The principal advantage of the Gilyak ski lies in this extraordinary smoothness. The rails, whether of whalebone or of wood, also serve to prevent skidding toward one side or the other. The more easily the Gilyak ski glide over the snow for the above-mentioned reasons, however, the less suitable they are for mountain climbing, since the only slightly cross-grained sealskin can offer only all too little resistance to sliding backward, and this resistance is paralyzed by the smooth whalebone or wooden rails projecting beyond the fur. As in the case of great unevenness of the terrain, another essential disadvantage of the Gilyak ski appears with a slight unevenness of the ground such as the northern primeval forest exhibits everywhere. This disadvantage is their lack of flexibility. The Gilyak take for their ski, perhaps for greater durability and because they count on the smoothness provided by the fur cover and the rails, not especially thin boards and, moreover, as was already mentioned, make them so flat and level that, when they are placed upon the ground without weight, they rest on it with their entire lower surface, apart from the front end curving upward. As a result of their lack of flexibility, however, they cannot accommodate themselves sufficiently to the unevenness of the ground and therefore sink in more deeply, which understandably, greatly impedes and

G /475 cont./
481 slows travel on such ground. All things considered, and on the basis of their construction and their entire nature, the ski of the Gilyak are less suitable for traversing uneven mountain and forest wildernesses than for rapidly sweeping over broad, flat surfaces deeply covered with snow, such as the ice-cover of the Amur River, the Amur-Liman, the many gulfs and bays, and other level stretches offered to them by their homeland. In conclusion, mention must be made here about the stick which the Gilyak, like other northern peoples, use when traveling on ski and which serves both as rudder in skiing down mountains as a support in ordinary forward motion. The latter is made possible by the fact that there is attached to the stick a little above its lower end, which tapers into a straight or curved tip, a wooden hoop which has a somewhat movable connection with it by means of several straps drawn like spokes from its periphery to the stick and through it. Thanks to it, the stick has sufficient resistance in the snow to give some support, whereas its movability facilitates pulling the stick out of the snow again and thus avoids unnecessary effort. Finally, the upper end of the stick, widened somewhat like a shovel, is used /476/ /illustration appears here/ to remove the snow that collects and packs together under the foot.

Gi Both types of ski, the small and the large, are also used
481 among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region who neighbor the
[192] Gilyak. The small ski, called kángulta by the Olcha and Goldi, have the same form and nature among them as among the Gilyak.
Gi The large ski among them (the Olcha and Goldi ssultá, or also
481 ssoch-ssultá), however, in comparison with those of the Gilyak,
171 show very considerable and characteristic differences, which I must discuss here in some detail. As a whole they correspond to the ski, described in detail by Middendorff, "of the nomadic hunters of Siberia," a general designation which in this case, as I think can be definitely concluded from the pertinent description and illustration (1) refers to the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, in whose

1. Middendorff, Reise in den Nord. und Ost. Sibir. /Travels in Northern and Eastern Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1349.

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company Middendorff undertook his journey along the southern slopes of the Stanovoi Mountains from the Sea of Okhotsk to the upper Amur, and whom, among all the peoples of Siberia, this general designation best fits. Corresponding, however, to the greater prosperity and polish of the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region in contrast to their Siberian fellow-tribesmen, their ski, too, especially those of the Goldi and Samagir, are finer, more skillfully and artistically made, so that they probably represent the highest degree of perfection that has yet been achieved for this implement. They are longer and proportionately wider than the large Gilyak ski. The length can be given only in general terms at about five to six feet, because the rule is that they must always be the length of the individual for whom they are intended -- a rule which, of course, is not always observed. In spite of their larger dimensions, the Amur-Tungusic ski, as I shall simply call them -- the Gilyak call them rdhy-enj, i.e., Samagir ski -- are much lighter than the Gilyak ski because of the extreme thinness of the board. This thinness of the board and the peculiar, slightly wavy shape that is imparted to it during the drying result in the extraordinary flexibility of this ski. As one can see from the illustrations

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Ski Stick

Gily. kyssj: a -- upper, shovel-shaped end, b -- movable hoop, Gily. tschrop, c -- tip of lower end, Gily. itusp.

48 [126] /476 cont./ As one can see from the illustrations shown on Plate XXXV, Figs. 7-9 /see p.1015/ sketched from a pair of Goldi ski which I acquired in the village of Ssamahagdu on the Amur and, like /477/ the Gilyak ones illustrated beside them, used myself during my stay in the Amur region, the board of the Amur-Tungusic ski runs in a double wavy line. At the place where the foot stands, and this does not lie in the exact middle of the ski, but rather at the beginning of the rear half, the board is gently arched upward and descends from there toward the front and toward the rear, only to rise again at both ends, though only slightly at the rear and very considerably in front. Therefore, if this ski is placed on level ground with no weight on it, it does not rest on it with its entire under surface, as the Gilyak one does, but only at the two places where it begins to rise toward the ends. Only when the foot steps in does the intermediate, middle portion of the ski-sole come in contact with the ground. Because of the characteristics mentioned, these ski accommodate themselves much more to a slight unevenness of the ground and present sinking into the snow much better than the Gilyak ski. Leg fur from elk or reindeer is used [237] to cover the Amur-Tungus ski; sometimes, too, the middle strip consists of the former, and the rest is of the latter. The pieces of fur are turned up along the edges and fastened there by means of a few flat straps drawn through the board, as well as by isinglass. The Amur-Tungusic ski never have rails of whalebone or wood, but the outer strip of the fur covering is always set off somewhat from the side pieces, which adequately prevents the ski from skidding sideways. As a result of this covering, the Amur-Tungusic ski are less smooth than the Gilyak ones, to be sure, but, thanks to the greater cross-grain of the furs mentioned, offer far greater resistance for mountain climbing. For the further protection of the thin board, arched upward somewhat at the place for the foot, from damage by the pressure of the foot, it is covered at this place with a second thin little board, or even with a plate of bark or fine bone, on which the foot stands. Finally, with regard to the straps, one can see from the illustrations that they are very similar to those of the Gilyak ski, but are also more practical inasmuch as putting on or taking off the ski by means of them does not require any bending

/477 cont./

48 down and help with the hands: in order to put the ski on, once the rear strap, which slides along the side straps, is fastened in the right place, depending on the size of the foot, one need only place the foot in the straps in such a manner that the rear strap comes over the heel, and then by a sideways movement of the foot the tip of it is brought under the wide front strap. Removing the ski is just as easy, since one need only slip the rear strap down over the heel with the ski stick.

It is apparent from the above what great advantages the ski of the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir, have over the Gilyak ski, and how much more suitable they are for winter travel across forest and mountain wildernesses. Like the clothing and food, the nature of this /478/ important means of locomotion also shows that among these people, despite the fact that in general nowadays they are likewise sedentary fishermen, hunting plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak. And especially noteworthy is the circumstance that the Olcha, who otherwise have made so much from the Gilyak system their own that one cannot distinguish them from the Gilyak in their external appearance, nevertheless, with regard to the ski kept the Tungusic type traditional among them, though improved in the Amur region.

[132] The great amount of snow in the lower Amur region makes the use of the ski necessary throughout the entire area to the southern border. The missionary de la Brunière (1), for instance,

[113] 1. "Excurs. en Mandchourie en 1845" (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, Vth series, Vol. XVI, 1848 [Vol. IV], p. 110).

mentions the speed and skill with which the Goldi ("Jupi-tatse") on
48 the Ussuri move on their ski. Indeed, they are even used south of
171 the lower Amur region. For even old Witsen (2) reported, on the
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2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 48.

G1 /478 cont./
481 basis of tales told by the Hollanders who had been prisoners in Korea
171 in the middle of the seventeenth century, that in winter there one
175 binds small boards under the feet in order to be able to walk over the snow without sinking into it.

G Of the greatest importance for the economy and the whole
G1 life of primitive peoples is the manner in which they undertake
484 their greater moves from place to place by land, and in this re-
171 spect we find in the Amur region very different, and for the individual peoples characteristic, phenomena.

G Of all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the
492 ones who use the dog for traveling to the greatest extent and
231 among whom the dog plays more important role in the economy and whole life than among any other of these peoples. For, aside from its principal purpose as draft animal, it furnishes the Gilyak, as we have seen, with the generally most popular and most used fur for clothing, and even serves them as food, which, aside from the Ainu, does not occur among any other people in the Amur region. Nowhere is the keeping of dogs for winter travel required by natural conditions and by the way of life and needs of the people to such an extent as among the Gilyak. If the dog is to serve as a draft animal, it must, because of its little strength, be kept in large numbers, and for that, in view of its predatory nature, large, never-failing stores of animal food are required, such as, not the roaming hunters, but fishermen settled along a river rich in
G fish or along the seacoast are in a position to provide for them.
226 These requisites, as discussed above (3), are best met among the
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3. See pp. 645 ff. above.

Gilyak, who occupy the part of the Amur region richest in fish and are the most sedentary of its peoples and the one most devoted to fishing, and who, in addition, are impelled by their lively commercial spirit to undertake winter trips and voyages more than the others.

/479/

23 13 The dogs of the Gilyak are of the same breed as the draft dogs distributed throughout Siberia and over to North America with the Eskimo: wolf-like, long-haired, with short, erect ears, and of all possible colors, black, white, brown, fox-red, mottled, and especially often of a striking wolf-like yellowish-gray color. The Gilyak dogs are small in comparison with the dogs of the polar regions of eastern Siberia, of the Jana /Yana/ and Indigirka regions, or even with those of Kamchatka as they were formerly and still occur in isolated specimens (1). Nothing is done among

23 [232]

1. In the summer of 1854, in Peter-Paul Harbor, I saw two extremely large dogs which had been brought to the governor from the interior of the peninsula. I measured a still young, not quite fully grown animal likewise belonging to the large, old-Kamchatka stock, which was 11 decimeters long from the point of the snout to the root of the tail, four of which was the head and neck to the withers, and at the latter seven and a half to eight decimeters high.

the Gilyak to improve the breed: they neither convert especially large and strong individuals into breeding animals nor sort out and care for the whelps afterwards. A circumstance greatly contributing to the deterioration of their breed of dog is the bad treatment that they give the bitches. They do not use them for harnessing, and so they shortsightedly do not give them the same amount of food as the male dogs. Whereas the latter, insofar as circumstances permit, are fed with great regularity, daily in winter, every other day in summer, the former are excluded from these meals and in winter receive only a little food from time to time, just enough so they will not starve, but in summer no one concerns himself about them and they are left to find all of their food themselves. One therefore sees them, wretched and emaciated, slinking around the yurts and in them and greedily snapping at any scrap.

/479 cont./

231 The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters, consists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provided [136] in particular by the same fish appearing on the coasts and in the rivers in shoals at certain seasons on which the existence of the Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of salmon, especially lyghi-tscho and tengi-tscho (Salmo lagocephalus and Salmo proteus), and in winter along the seacoast the kangi fish (Gadus wachnja), which, however, on account of its smallness, stands far behind the former. The part of these fish especially and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentioned (2),

2. See p. 646.

so-called chark in Gilyak, the pieces consisting of the head and backbone with a little flesh attached to it (3). Only if there is no

3. The Russians in the Amur region and throughout Siberia very aptly call it kosstj, that is, bones, which in fact is all it is.

more of it available is the jukola intended for the people used as dog food. Next to this, seal and white-whale meat, and along the seacoast not infrequently the meat and blubber of stranded whales, serves the same purpose. With the exception of the latter, which, as was mentioned above, may not be brought into the yurt, according to Gilyak superstition, /480/ food is never given to the dogs in the raw state, as the Russians do, but rather cooked to a soup. Also, the feeding does not take place outside, but always in [462] the yurt. Like all housework, it falls upon the women. In the [352] tschadryf, the table found in the center or in a corner (Gilyak kyll) (1) is used for this purpose; in the toryf, the platform of the

1. See pp. 458, 462, 546 above.

[462] hearth. When the soup, made out of the above-mentioned materials in one of the large hearth-kettles, is ready, which is al- [512] ways one of the first of the daily chores of the women, a couple of

/480 cont./

231 [462] [512] long troughs are placed along the edge of the dogs' table or the hearth platform, the door of the yurt is opened, and the dogs lying outside and held by straps or chains are untied. As soon as this is done, the dogs, already impatient, dash straight into the yurt, often jumping on and over one another, and stand on the kyll or on the ground in front of the troughs. Meanwhile, the women, with the help of large ladles (2), have filled several

2. See p. 683 and the illustration above.

buckets with the soup, bubbling and steaming in the kettle, and now pour it into the troughs. Since the whole pack ravenously and greedily pounces on the food, each animal trying to outdo the other and to snatch everything for himself, furious struggles and fights usually break out between neighboring dogs, but are stilled by blows on the heads of the animals delivered with sticks by the women and children standing by and holding the dogs by leashes or chains. Plate XII /see p. 992/ illustrates the feeding of the dogs in one of the large, Chinese winter-yurts of the Gilyak. In the earth yurt, where the low sitting and sleeping benches are separated from the hearth platform by only a narrow passage, this takes place so close to one that he finds himself almost surrounded by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold streaming in over the floor through the open door and the steam rising from the hot fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure does not exactly contribute to the comfort of a stay in the earth yurt. Beyond this meal the Gilyak dogs get nothing to eat when they are at home resting. In times of scarcity, however, even this meal is very meager; for instance, in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, I noticed that the dogs received only a soup made of a little jukola, reindeer moss, and a small amount of seal oil, and if times become even more difficult, the feedings become more infrequent, only every other day. On long journeys, however, the Gilyak, if [484] about noontime they do not reach a village in which the dogs are [171] given their usual meal, throw them some chark or ma twice a day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such times

/480 cont./

23 [484] [171] feed their dogs only once, only at the overnight campsite and always only dry jukola. The Russian dogs, therefore, are perhaps even more exclusively ichthyophagous than the Gilyak dogs. Lacking jukola, I once had them given elk meat, and they left it untouched. Only severe hunger makes the dogs omnivorous, and in summer along the Amur one cannot adequately protect his belongings /481/ against the starving dogs of the natives, seizing everything that is of animal nature, such as fish-skin and fur covers, boots, etc.

Like the grown animals, the whelps, too, are fed in the yurt. To be sure, on Sakhalin they are often kept inside the house the rest of the time, too, and on the sleeping benches at the very rear where they come up against the roof. The greater care of the whelps on Sakhalin may be the reason why the dogs there, and especially those of the Tymy Gilyak, are said to be the largest and finest in the whole region.

Since the actual master and owner of the dogs, as soon as he has returned from a trip, no longer pays any attention to them and their entire care and feeding are managed by the female occupants of the yurt, with the assistance of the children, they are actually as good as masterless and they do not have the usual characteristics of the dog which is kept more or less singly as the follower and companion of man, such as personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance, or they are not developed in them. The situation is the same, incidentally, with respect to the Russo-Siberian draft-dogs so that one may probably say in general that dogs kept in large numbers for harnessing and treated more or less as a pack, in comparison with hunting or watchdogs, have remained on a lower level of culture, so to speak, or have again sunk to one. But a certain attachment to the place and house where they get their food may be found among them, too, so that, even unleashed, they do not readily leave it, and if, in harness, they get free from their driver as the result of an overturned sled, they go home as a rule, or to the nearest village (1). The dogs

[113] [171]

1. According to Sujef (see Pallas, Reise

/481 cont./

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1. (cont.)
durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

231 The dogs
171 of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure,
439 but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

493 The Gilyak sled (tu) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian narte, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions
[123] and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11
[192] times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles /runners/ (Gilyak tusskrj, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect
[192] them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside.

/482 cont./

493 all along the horizontal middle piece, with mountings, or rather,
[192] if one thinks of the considerable length of the latter, with a second pair of soles, the protective soles (Gilyak motassj, b in the illustration), which are fastened by means of wooden pegs and, at their sharply reduced ends, also by means of leather straps to the main soles. The sole-mountings are usually likewise of
[237] wood and can easily be replaced when worn out. In the spring, however, when the snow melting in the sun sticks to the wooden sole and makes travel very difficult, instead of the wooden mountings, some made of whalebone are fastened to the sled, or the wooden protective soles are covered with a whalebone plate, as I have seen on several occasions, especially on Sakhalin, where this material is more readily available (1). A very characteristic feature of the

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[136]

1. As was discussed in the first volume of this work (p. 193), these quite long whalebone plates come from a kind of whale which the Gilyak call kalm and which presumably is Balaena australis Desmoul, but as a rule the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw or the ribs of Balaenoptera longimana Rud. (Gilyak keng), the one most frequently stranded along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even among the Russians in Siberia bone or whalebone mountings are often used on the sleds, especially for travel over sea ice which is covered with salt crystals that have separated out (Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i po Levod. moriu /Journey along the Northern Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/, Vol. II, p. 238). According to information given by A. Schroot in the Leipziger Tageblatt, bone sled-mountings (sled-runners), as well as bone skates, were formerly used in many regions of Germany, for instance, in the province of Brandenburg, in several Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut,

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/482 cont./

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1. (cont.)
etc., and such bones have been found a number of times in excavations in Scandinavia, on Iceland, on the Zealand Islands, in Friesland, Pomerania, in the March, in Moravia, and even in the pile dwellings of the Swiss lakes (St. Petersb. Zeit., 1880, No. 58).

493 Gilyak sled is that when it is equipped with the protective soles and is placed on firm level ground, the latter is touched by only a small part of the sole, equivalent to about one-quarter of the total length of the sled, while the two ends rise to a considerable height above it. For example, in the case of the specimen measured by me, their distance from the ground amounted to one foot,
493 ten inches. Between the two ends of the thus shallowly arched
192 soles run, as sinews, the two longitudinal side-bars (Gilyak kigi, c in the illustration) of the sled, which form the frame of the very shallow sled-basket serving as a seat and for holding effects. They rest on several thin little supports (Gilyak ich, d in the illustration) set into the soles from above, and their ends, moreover, are connected with the soles by means of a perforating wooden crosspiece
493 (Gilyak kemghi, h in the illustration). The ich, of which a/483/ Gilyak sled of regular size, like the one illustrated, has five on either side, a smaller one only four, are rather wide and solid at their ends, somewhat reduced toward the middle, and their position and distance from one another and from the ends of the sled likewise seem to be standardized by quite definite proportions. If there are five of them, the middle one is exactly in the center of the entire length of the sled, all the others are at a distance of 1' 10" from one another, that is, at precisely one-eighth of the sled's length, and the distance of the two outermost ones (the front and the back ich) on either side from the sled-ends is double that, therefore 3' 8" or two-eighths of the length of the sled each. The sled touches level and firm ground only with the part of the soles which is found between the two supports standing next to the

/483 cont./

493 central ich, that is, therefore, with only a quarter of its total length, while the other three-quarters, unloaded, rise more or less above it, and only as a result of loading do the soles come in contact with the ground farther toward the front and back. The mountings serving to protect them extend at least as far as the outermost ich, and very often almost as far as the ends of the soles.
493 The ich opposite each other are connected on top by wooden cross-
192 pieces (Gilyak tynyssj, e in the illustration). On these rest the long rods (Gilyak turssj, f in the illustration) which form the bottom of the sled; they are lashed to each of the crosspieces with straps, and where there are no crosspieces, in the front and back quarters of the sled, also by means of a pair of straps plaited across and stuck through the wooden, longitudinal side-pieces, and finally their ends are stuck through a crosspiece bored for the purpose (Gilyak warr(o)s, g in the illustration) which connects the two wooden, longitudinal side-pieces of the sled just in front of the above-mentioned kernghi. Finally, at each end of the sled there is a curved piece of wood (Gilyak mich, i in the illustration), which, in a gently sloping position, is lashed to both the longitudinal side-bars and to the ends of the soles projecting beyond the last cross-
493 piece. The guide rope for harnessing the dogs is attached to the soles immediately below the curved piece of wood at the front end. The curved piece of wood at the rear end is used for knotting on a strap which the Gilyak takes in his hand or fastens to his belt when he follows the sled on ski, in order to have himself thus dragged along by the dogs and to prevent them from running away without him. Sometimes, however, the curved piece of wood in the rear is missing, and in this case the front and rear ends of the sled differ, whereas otherwise they exhibit no differences. The Gilyak
[824] make all the pieces of the sled out of birch wood (both from Betula
[192] alba L., Gilyak chiws, and from B. ermani Cham., Gilyak kedras) (1), which on Sakhalin they designated separately for me as

[104] 1. In both Gilyak words the final s is soft and should be pronounced like the French z.

"tulytynt-tschchar," i.e., "wood for sled-building," with the sole

/483 cont./
493 exception of the curved pieces of wood at both ends of the sled,
[192] which are made out of the particularly flexible wood of the black-
[824] alder tree, and the bottom of the sled used for sitting, which is either likewise made of black-alder or of willow switches.

/484/ As is to be seen from the above description, lightness is the basic characteristic of the Gilyak sled: it has no iron at all and throughout is made only out of thin, carefully selected and fitted pieces of wood also fastened together in part by means of straps. It owes to the resulting flexibility its ability to withstand even rough trails such as the forest or the river and sea ice all too often present to it. It is not suitable, however, for carrying much baggage and heavy loads. In this respect it falls far behind the Russo-Siberian narte. This, generally provided with larger dimensions and wide soles, rests on the same principle as the ski, the distribution of the load over the largest possible surface and the greatest possible elimination of friction-resistance in movement, for which purpose, before a trip, the soles are provided with a thin layer of ice with a damp cloth, which to a certain extent substitutes for the fur covering of the ski (1). The narrow soles of the

1. The above-mentioned covering of the sled soles with bone or whalebone plates serves the same purpose.

Gilyak sled encounter only a little friction-resistance and therefore do not need the ice coating; on the other hand, it does not allow for a distribution of the load over a large surface and hence, even with a small load, cuts too deeply into the snow to be able to glide along easily. In accordance with its lightness and small size, the Gilyak sled has little space for baggage, for the basket designed for it is, as was pointed out, very shallow, only as deep as the wooden longitudinal side-pieces rise above the switches forming the bottom of the sled, and this is very little. To prevent the
[237] baggage from falling off, a cover made out of fish skin (Gilyak mytsch) is first spread over the bottom of the sled, the baggage is placed on it, wrapped in it, tied crisscross to the sled with a long strap.

493 /484 cont./
long strap. If a longer trip is undertaken, a few of the most necessary weapons, a lance or a bear spear, are stuck under the strap. In front, approximately above the outermost ich, a saddle-
[192] shaped hollow is left when the baggage is loaded, which, covered
[237] with a piece of fur (Gilyak tyws) (2) likewise fastened to the sled,

[104] 2. The s here is soft, pronounced like the French z.

and, to be sure, a piece of fur from either a bear's head or an elk's head (Gilyak kotr-ngar-tyws and toch-tschongr-tyws, respectively, serves as a seat for the Gilyak going on the trip, who, with small ski on his feet, sits astride it (see Pl. XXXVII /see p.1017/).

492 The Gilyak dog-harness is very simple and primitive: to
[192] the above-mentioned long guide-line (Gilyak nygtsch, Pl. XXXVI
[237] /see p.1016/, Fig. 2) plaited out of seal straps are fastened, at regular intervals and alternating from one side to the other, seal-leather neck-bands or collars (Gilyak chall) of the form shown in Fig. 3 of the last-mentioned plate, and such a one, but without the movable iron ring, is also attached to the end of the strap (Gilyak lat) serving as an extension of the guide-line. This latter /485/ neck-band is pulled over the head of the lead dog, the others over the other dogs, and the team is ready. The harnessing of the dogs, therefore, is the work of only a few minutes among the
[192] Gilyak. On solemn and festive occasions, such as matchmaking trips or the dog races arranged during the bear festivals, and the like, instead of ordinary collars the dogs get elegant ones with high-standing, Chinese horsehair braids and tassels made of red-dyed sheep or goat wool, the so-called rüssk of the Gilyak, like those illustrated on Plate XXXVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5. The accompanying woodcut serves to show the way in which such a collar is put on the dog. /Illustration appears here./ The chief disadvantage of the Gilyak harness is that the dogs have to pull with their necks, and, with great exertion and in violent excitement, they all too readily choke themselves. In this it is far behind the

/485 cont. /In this it is far behind the
492 harness used among the Russians
171 both in eastern Siberia and along the Amur, which forces the dogs to pull with their chests, and this may explain why the Gilyak dogs tire and are exhausted more quickly than the Russian dogs. On the other hand, it has the advantage over the latter in that it does not get tangled so easily, and, if this happens, can be promptly put to rights again. With the Russian harness, the dogs, except

A dog's head adorned with the rüssk.

the front one, do not run singly, but in pairs, and each animal is fastened by two straps to the long guide-line running between them: by means of the rear strap the dog pulls the sled, but the front one prevents him from running sideways. With so complicated a harness, confusion arises all too easily as a result of the tempers of the dogs: sometimes the two dogs of a pair run toward the same side, sometimes an animal jumps over his harness strap, which then gets caught between his legs, etc. And when two sleds meet, especially a Russian one and a Gilyak one, without stopping in time, the dogs of the two vehicles angrily jump at one another, forming a cluster of perhaps twenty or more biting dogs, which can be disentangled only by a violent tugging and pulling apart of the fighting animals amid a rain of blows from both sides, and causing great confusion and damage in the harness, especially of the Russian dogs. The Gilyak, as well as the Russians, therefore carefully try to avoid such encounters by turning aside promptly, stopping and setting the sled, and holding fast to the pack, especially the lead dog.

/485 cont./

492 The Gilyak stop and set their sleds with not one but with
17 two simple, iron-tipped sticks (Gilyak kaur, Russo-Siberian
[192] oschtoll), which are thrust into the snow on either side of the sled. To put little bells on the upper end of such a stick, as the Russians do on Kamchatka and in other /486/ parts of Siberia, is not customary among them, and therefore the spur of the tinkling bells is unfamiliar to their dogs, which is why it has been abandoned in the Amur region by the Russians who get their dogs from the Gilyak and other natives. These Russians, however, spur their dogs at the first signs of fatigue in many another way that is likewise unfamiliar to the Gilyak. For instance, they sometimes hurl the braking stick at one or another of the animals appearing too lazy, which the Gilyak cannot do because, riding astride the sled, he cannot jump off during the journey, as the Russian does, to retrieve the stick and hoist himself back on the sled (1). And he just as little copies the Russian practice of

1. The Russian dog-drivers, or "Kajuren," as they are called along the Amur, in Kamchatka, and elsewhere in Siberia, always sit sidewise (on the right) on their sleds and can easily jump off, which they are often obliged to do in order to give the sled a push toward one side or the other to prevent the soles /runners/ from passing over the fresh excrement of the dogs and thereby lose their smoothness. If this is ever neglected, one must stop after a brief time and turn the sled over on one side, in order to scrape off the soles and, if possible, apply a new ice-coating.

spurring on the dogs in extreme exhaustion by throwing small pieces of jukola ahead of them. He cares too much for his dogs
492 to strain them excessively. If the shouts of "tach, tach" are no

492 /486 cont./
longer sufficient to make them run, he climbs down, continues on his way on ski, and pulls the dogs with the sled behind him. Incidentally, thanks to the circumstance that he is seated astride and has ski on, he can be more or less helpful during the trip: if the movement is impeded because the sled-soles /runners/ cut too deep into the snow or otherwise meet an obstacle, he gets up on the ski, and not until the dogs have got the sled, relieved of its chief burden, moving again does he let himself down on it again. If the snow is too deep and loose and the dogs sink into it, the Gilyak helps them by going ahead on ski and making a firmer path for them (2). But if in this case the sled is heavily

2. Often enough this must also be done in the case of the broad-soled Russian sleds, and on Sakhalin I myself have had to go in front of my sled on ski in order to probe the path, drifted over by snowstorms, with a long stick and make a new trail.

loaded and the route uneven and sloping first toward one side and then toward the other, he will even harness himself in front of the sled, in order, in part, to help pull it and in part to prevent it from overturning in the deep snow. This is done in the following manner: across the front end of the sled a braking stick or a similar stick is tied, and by means of it two long poles gently sloping upward are attached to the sled. The Gilyak stands on
[192] ski between these poles /Pfiemerstangen/ (Gilyak tädf), embracing the poles with his arms, and, by a timely lifting of the one or the other of them, prevents the overturn of the sled and at the same time helps to pull it, while the guide-line to which the dogs are harnessed runs between his legs or, as I have also seen, is tied
[481] to his belt. /487/ In a similar manner, incidentally, the Gilyak sometimes has himself pulled, standing on his ski without any sled, by a couple of dogs which he holds by a line in his hands and urges to run over a level surface of ice or snow, whereby he moves forward exceedingly fast, especially going homeward. Just

G /487 cont./ Just
492 as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during
484 the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness
492 to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak,
171 is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other
174 Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly
492 the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the
493 sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are
[648] treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113]

1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G [492] [171]
A [171]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

Ainu ABG
Kamchadal RY3
Northeast Siberia RY1

A 492 493 698 /487 cont./ oppression of Japanese domination weighing down upon them and paralyzing the general life of the people.

It is known from the detailed descriptions by Steller (2) and

K 492 493 [113]

2. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 132 ff, 370 ff.

Krascheninnikof that the Italmen on Kamchatka since time immemorial have used dogs for traveling, for which they selected and trained the largest and strongest of them and built sleds of a peculiar form and construction. Like the Gilyak sleds, the Kamchadal sleds, too, were characterized by their extreme lightness, flexibility, and durability; /488/ but whereas the former are shallow and low, the latter had a relatively high-placed and deep sled-basket, on which the dog-driver usually sat side ways and only at times astride. Later the Russians in Kamchatka adopted this type of sled and have them even today (1). Besides them,

K [171]

K 493 171 NS 493 177 171

1. Several sleds of this type brought from Kamchatka in the previous century have been preserved in the Anthropological-ethnographic Museum of the Academy.

however, they were also, even in Steller's time, and especially for the transportation of heavier loads, using the above-mentioned long and broad-soled dog-sleds or narten (2) such as are also

2. Steller (op. cit., p. 370) calls them "narden."

customary elsewhere in Siberia. They may therefore have already been familiar with them before their arrival in Kamchatka. There is no reason to assume with Matjuschkin (3) that the Russians first

NS 492 114 177 [113]

3. Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sibiri i po Ledov. moriu, Part II, p. 110, footnote *.

NS /488 cont./
492 learned about the use of dogs for harnessing through the Kamchadal,
177 for before they reached Kamchatka they had come into contact
114 with many other peoples among whom this practice prevailed,
either in traditional fashion or in a manner adopted from one of
NS the neighboring tribes. Without intending to settle the question
492 of from which people the Russians learned of the use of dogs for
177 harnessing, I must point out here that in the seventeenth century,
Y along the Jana /Yana/, Indigirka, and Kolyma, the Russians
492 encountered the Yukagir, a Paleo-Asiatic people who had likewise
493 used dogs for traveling since ancient times and for this purpose
built sleds of a peculiar form, as may be concluded from a specimen
of this type found on the island of Kotelnyi, which I have dis-
ooo cussed elsewhere (4) at great length (5). Later, just as in

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4. "Zur Vorgesch. der von der Akad. der Wiss. ausgerüsteten Exped. nach den Neusib. Ins. und dem Jana-Lande /On the Early History of the Expedition to the New Siberian Islands and the Yana Region, Sponsored by the Academy of Sciences/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, third series, Vol. III, pp. 11-13).

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5. Ssarytschof /Sarychev/ (Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri /Journey through the Northeastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. I, p. 65) also mentions the use of dogs for traveling in the case of the Yukagir.

NS Later, just as in
492 Kamchatka, the largest and strongest draft-dogs (6) and the
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6. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1296. The best are said to be the dogs from the Jana, next those from the Indigirka, and only then those from the Kolyma. Gedenshtrom", Sib. Viestn., 1822, Part 19, Sec. III, p. 156. See also my above-mentioned work (Beitr., p. 29).

NS /488 cont./
492 development, also by the Russians, of the greatest and fullest use
484 of them and for the longest journeys, for instance, to the New Siberian Islands, etc., were found there along the Jana and Indigirka.

K To the north of Kamchatka we find another Paleo-Asiatic
231 people, the Koryak living in permanent sites along Penshinsker
[361] /Penzhinskaya/ Gulf and along the Bering Sea, who likewise
[492] have only the dog as a domestic and, at the same time, draft animal. I believe that I have already proved above (7) that

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7. See pp. 481 ff.

formerly the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and the closely related Chukchee (the Onkilon) had permanent habitation sites and, in fact, earth yurts, just as they did, and, correspondingly, as fishermen, seal-hunters, etc., like them, they, too, may have had only the dog as a companion until they became acquainted with the domesticated reindeer, probably through the Tungus pressing in on them from the south and the west, and with it took up their present nomadic life.

G /489/ Thus, we must designate the dog, this oldest of all
Gi animals domesticated by man, as the only domestic animal and
NS therefore, especially in its position as draft animal, as, so to
K speak, a characteristic form of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, this
231 oldest formation of peoples in northeastern Asia. Where, subse-
171 quently, another domestic animal appears among them, such as the reindeer among the nomadic Koryak and Chukchee in the case mentioned above, it is always a gift brought to them at a later period by a younger family of peoples with whom they came in contact.

E Without doubt it may be assumed that the Eskimo, like
231 other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, had the dog as their only domestic
171 animal and used it in harness when they were still on their
174 original Asiatic soil. With this domestic animal they crossed over to America, and there, continuing to live in the same way by fishing, seal-hunting, etc., they spread across the entire northern

E /489 cont./

231 part of the continent, from the Bering Sea to Greenland, which
171 explains the fact, so surprising at first glance, that in America
174 there are no peoples at all devoting themselves to keeping tame reindeer, as in the Old World, in spite of the fact that the physical conditions for it are not lacking there, and the reindeer in the wild state occur there frequently and commonly enough and
C are hunted by the Eskimo for food and clothing. America re-
174 ceived all of its population in the reindeer zone from an Asian
231 group of peoples who did not yet know the domesticated reindeer
171 and had only the dog as a domestic animal, and, to be sure, for the purpose of harnessing it, and thus necessarily kept in great numbers and in a stage of domestication in which the nobler qualities of personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance were still missing in it, and, on the other hand, its predatory nature appeared on every occasion. This latter circumstance in itself makes inconceivable a separate domestication of another animal defenseless against the dog, like the reindeer, by such peoples (1).

> 1. Middendorff (Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1302) remarks that in those places of Siberia where the harness dogs prevail, neither sheep nor poultry can gain a foothold, and even calves are threatened by constant danger. In Kamchatka, not only poultry, but pigs and cows, too, were attacked by dogs, which gave rise to the removal of the latter for the summer from Peter-Paul Harbor, as is done today, and keeping them at another place.

And, furthermore, why should a fishing people, such as the Eskimo and all the Paleo-Asiatics, think of domesticating an animal for which they have no food, and on this account they would be ob-
Ch K liged to give up their permanent habitation sites and change their
174 entire way of life? The ancestors of the nomadic Chukchee and
231 Koryak certainly did not domesticate the reindeer themselves,
177 but obtained it already domesticated from a nomadic tribe wandering toward them -- as was mentioned above, presumably from the Tungus.

/489 cont./

000 T 231 174 171

Tungus. Whether the latter did it[1] and how cannot be ascertained, but it seems conceivable, since they, in accordance with their original and most typical character as roaming hunters, had the dog, not in great numbers for harnessing, like the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, but only individually, as faithful companions and helpers in hunting, who also very probably adapted themselves to being watchdogs /490/ and protectors of the reindeer herds of their masters. As unsettled hunters it must also have been of the greatest utility for them to make an animal useful for locomotion, one which, like themselves, needed a frequent change of locale for its support. Finally, perhaps also contributing to the domestication of the reindeer by the Tungus was the circumstance that on the northern and eastern rims of High Asia they came in contact with the nomadic pastoral peoples of the latter, who use horses and camels for getting from place to place. Some Tungusic tribes, as is well known, adopted the former, and presumably in this way; such a tribe, the Manegir, is found even in the upper Amur region. And this, in turn, may have induced others of their fellow-tribesmen living farther to the north or higher up toward the mountains to use, instead of the horse, another animal native to their country and adapted to its environment, namely, the reindeer, and at first in exactly the same way, as a riding and pack animal. But whatever the case may be, one can designate the reindeer as the most typical domestic animal, the characteristic form, of the Tungus, and the latter in particular as the reindeer people, who through their extraordinary expansion in all directions also gave the reindeer a correspondingly large homeland and were also instrumental in its adoption among the neighboring tribes as far as the Koryak and Chukchee, on the one hand, and the Samoyed and Lapps on the other. As was mentioned above (1) and is to be discussed at

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1. See p. 248 /untranslated/.

greater length in the following, some waves of this movement of reindeer-nomads even reached Sakhalin and Kamchatka; America, however, was and remains beyond their reach. Thus, it seems to

[1] [i.e., whether or not the Tungus domesticated the dog -- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--760 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Circumpolar Culture R3
Eskimo ND2

C /490 cont./
231 me, the fact that this continent, despite the wide distribution of
174 wild reindeer in it, nevertheless has no reindeer nomads among its
171 peoples is sufficiently explained by the geographic and ethnographic conditions discussed above, which are essentially different in comparison with the Old World.

E Before continuing, I should like to be permitted to insert a
231 remark concerning the dog-keeping Paleo-Asiatics of America,
174 the Eskimo. Though the dog is of essential use to them throughout their entire area of distribution (2), its use for harnessing has
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2. Very significantly R. Brown says (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1869, p. 463): "If the Greenland dog becomes extinct, the Greenlander must perish, and more surely than will be the case for the Prairie Indian when the last buffalo has been shot."

not developed anywhere among them to the extent that it has in the Old World (3). This is the case most of all along the American

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3. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amer. /A Foot-Traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, 1847, Part I, p. 59. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV p. 1266.

coast of the Bering Sea closest to their original homeland, in the fish-rich drainage areas of the Kwichpack and Kuskokwim (4), where the

E (113)

4. Cf. Wrangell ("Statist. u. ethnogr. Nachr. über die Russ. Besitz. an der Norwestküste von Amerika /Statistical and Ethnographic Information about the Russian Possessions on the Northwest Coast of America/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. I, pp. 130, 147, and elsewhere), Whymper (Travel and Adventure in the territory of Alaska), and Dall (Alaska and its resources, passim).

E /490 cont./
23 Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality.
171 The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/
174 the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural
E conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the
[492] dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

G After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region,
Gi the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes,
A the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur
492 region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the
174 use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all;
171 whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant
Gi 177 times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

Gi 231 /491 cont./

One of these peoples, the Orok on Sakhalin, even today is
177 a hybrid of reindeer nomads and sedentary, dog-keeping fishermen,
a strange phenomenon resulting from the contact of the various
Gi 175 peoples on this island. As has already been mentioned above,
492 even the oldest report concerning the Orok, dating from the beginning of the previous century, gives the information that, instead of horses, they "keep a kind of tame deer which they use for pulling the sleds" (3). A century later (1808) the Japanese traveler,

3. See p. 277 above.

Mamia Rinsô (4), reported that the Orotsko on Krafto (Orok of

4. "To-tats kiko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 190.

Sakhalin) take with them, instead of dogs, other animals called tonakai (the Ainu designation for reindeer) and on their migrations load them with their household utensils, food supplies, etc., and in this form, as beasts of burden, they are shown on Siebold's plate (XX) made from the drawings of the traveler. According to this, the Orok use the reindeer in a dual capacity, as a beast
Gi of burden or pack animal and as a draft animal. The former in
492 particular seems certain on the basis of Mamia Rinsô's testimony
171 and is in accord with the natural conditions, the mountainous
174 and densely forested character of the island, as well as the customs
T and habits of the Tungusic tribe, for on the mainland of Asia,
492 too, the Tungusic peoples, such as the Orochon and all the other Reindeer Tungus, use the reindeer for riding and burden-carrying. In view of these facts and considerations one would almost be inclined to doubt the trustworthiness of the older statements coming from the Manchu concerning the use of the reindeer
Gi among the Orok for harnessing. /492/ Nevertheless, I myself
492 have seen this use of the reindeer among them. On my trip
114 through Sakhalin in the winter of 1856, I met an expedition of
493 the Orok on February 17/29 in the Tymy Valley. As we crossed

Gi /492 cont./
492 the river near the Gilyak village of Plub-wo, we saw in the willow
493 thickets along its bank three sleds harnessed to dogs, whose drivers
[114] had climbed down and were holding their dogs. They informed us
G. at once that an Orok reindeer-expedition was approaching and that
Gi we must likewise hold back our dogs. Two of the men could be
[291] recognized as Orok merely by their clothing, the reindeer-fur coats, caps, boots; the third was dressed like a Gilyak, in a coat of dog fur, with sealskin boots and apron-like skirt (kossjkcha), the latter

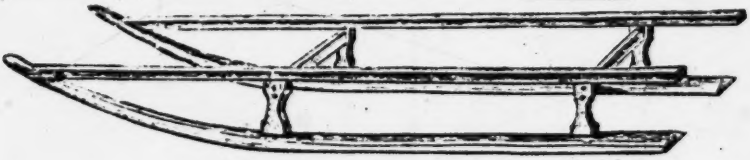

Orok Sled

Gi of which was not lacking on the other two. Their sleds differed
493 no less than their clothing: two of them could not be distinguished from the Gilyak sleds, but the third, a national Orok reindeer-sled, was of an entirely different nature. The accompanying illustration which was made from a hastily drawn sketch in my diary, may give an approximate idea of it. In comparison with the Gilyak sled, it was far shorter and somewhat wider, with the same height; the soles /runners/ were likewise wider than among them, triangular in cross-section, and provided with a sharp edge at the top. Toward the rear they were completely horizontal up to the blunt ends; toward the front they gradually sloped upward to join the longitudinal side-bars of the sled at an acute angle; but there was no curved piece of wood connecting the soles and the longitudinal bars on either side, so that from the front the sled seemed to gape, so to speak. Two of the waiting sleds were loaded with reindeer
Gi moss; the third contained some household utensils, ski, lances,
492 bows, etc. It was not long before the reindeer-expedition of the
493 Orok could be seen and passed by us in a curve. It consisted of 5-7 sleds of exactly the type described above. Each of them was harnessed to one reindeer, which pulled the sled by one strap. The guide-strap ran from the horns down under the neck and chest

/492 cont./

492 and between the legs and was fastened to a crosspiece of wood
493 in about the middle of the sled. A man sat in each sled, quite far toward the back, a long switch in his hand, with which he urged the animal on. Since the guide-strap was fastened to the sled near his seat, he could stop the animal and bring the vehicle to a standstill by means of it without standing up. One or two reindeer walked behind each sled, in some cases tied to it, in other cases completely free and totally unburdened. As soon as the expedition had disappeared, the sleds harnessed to dogs set off behind them. We, too, set out again, and, since we had to take the same path along which the Orok had just come, our dogs, constantly sniffing the reindeer tracks, sped along in frantic haste without interruption, even though they were no longer fresh, /493/ until we stopped for the night, their violence giving us an idea of what would have happened in case of a sudden and unexpected encounter between them and an Orok reindeer-expedition.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Orok use the
492 reindeer for driving, like the polar peoples, the Chukchee,
493 Koryak, Samoyed. This gives Sakhalin a feature that is polar
171 in character, such as the nature of the northern half of the island far out into the Sea of Okhotsk bears. But whereas those polar peoples harness several reindeer side by side in front of their large and high-set sleds, the Orok, like the Lapps on the opposite end of the Eurasian continent, are forced by the mountains and forests of their homeland to use only one animal harnessed in front of a small and low vehicle. As different as the clumsy sled-trough of the Lapps is from the lightly-built sled of the Orok, not even closed in front by a knee timber, the analogy of these phenomena in the ethnic picture of the extreme east and west of Eurasia is obvious. And it is all the more remarkable because the Orok, among all the so very numerous and widespread Tungusic tribes, are the only ones who use the reindeer for driving.

/493 cont./

114 492 But how is this fact to be reconciled with the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô that among the Orok the reindeer serves as a beast of burden for carrying loads? I did not see it, to be sure, and I know of no later report which confirms it, but I believe that his statement cannot simply be dismissed, both on the grounds of inherent probability cited above and because Mamia Rinsô had been on Sakhalin himself and perhaps had met some Orok there, but in any case could have collected reliable information on them from the Ainu and Gilyak there. On the other hand, however, it also seems inadmissible to me to conclude from a comparison of that statement with what I saw that since the time of Mamia Rinsô there has been a change among the Orok in the use of the reindeer, because for that the interval of less than 50 years between Rinsô's trip and mine is too short. And so no other conclusion 114 492 remains for me but that if the Orok, on their migrations, use the reindeer for driving as well as for riding and burden-484 carrying, such a dual use of a domestic animal for getting from place to place may be unique among primitive peoples. And, to be sure, the Orok may use one or the other mode of locomotion, depending on the area and locality of the island through which they are roaming. If, hunting fur animals, they roam in the deserted mountainous wildernesses east and west of the Tymy Valley, which are entered only by them, the reindeer may accompany them there, just as, under similar conditions, it does among their tribal relatives on the mainland, as an indispensable beast of burden used for riding and burden-carrying. The statements by Mamia Rinsô obviously refer to these migrations when he speaks of the use of the reindeer among them. This comes out also in his further remark, "the tonakai is by nature extremely gentle and tame, but very fearful before the dogs, and therefore one cannot under any circumstances /494/ bring them into villages where there are any in great numbers" (1).

1. Mamia Rinsô, op. cit., p. 192.

G: 114 492 484 [221] [439] /494 cont./
He had no knowledge of the Orok migrations through the Tymy Valley studded with Gilyak villages in which there are many dogs. And on these migrations, which take place every winter for the purpose of trade with the Gilyak, Ainu, Chinese, and Japanese, and which have already been discussed above with regard to their direction and final aims (2), the Orok use, as

2. See p. 38 ff. above; also Vol. I, pp. 169 and 170, of this work.

has just been described in detail, the reindeer for harnessing in front of the sleds.

G: 492 174 177 648 Although in the above I had to reject the idea that a change in the way the reindeer was used could have taken place among the Orok on Sakhalin since Mamia Rinsô's trip, on the other hand, this seems to me quite undeniable much farther back in time. Undoubtedly the Orok formerly, when they roamed on the mainland with their tribal relatives, the Olcha, used the reindeer, like other Tungusic tribes, only for burden-carrying and riding. It was not until they went to Sakhalin that they also learned to use it as an animal to harness to the sled. But how could this have happened? I think that it must be ascribed merely to the influence of their new homeland, especially the inevitable contact with the Gilyak surrounding them everywhere there. Even though the Orok, when they migrated from the mainland to northern Sakhalin with their reindeer, found favorable natural conditions for a continuation of their nomadic life in its coniferous forests rich in moss and lichen, they could nevertheless gain a permanent foothold on the island only if they established friendly relations with the peoples there and the latter also benefited from the newcomers. This was particularly necessary with regard to the Gilyak, because they occupied both coasts in the northern part of the island and all of the Tymy Valley, and it always lay in their power, because of their greater numbers and energy, to deprive the encircled newcomers of all means of existence and to destroy them.

G [361] [648]

Gi /494 cont./
492 Fortunately for the Orok, however, the Gilyak intellect, directed
174 less toward warfare than toward gain and profit, soon made them
648 recognize that they did not have to fear any curtailment of their
439 interests by the immigrating newcomers, but rather could get
G considerable gain, for the treasures of precious furs that they,
439 as skilled hunters, brought to light on their migrations in the
648 remote mountainous forests of the island would have to benefit
them the most as the first buyers and inevitable middlemen in
the trade with the Chinese and Japanese. I shall return to this
Gi trade later. The advantage that the Gilyak derive from the Orok
492 by means of it sufficiently explains the tolerance and forbear-
648 ance that they show toward the latter in allowing them, despite
174 the many inconveniences to themselves, to pass unhindered with
G their reindeer on the /495/ paths made by their dog-sleds through
648 the Tymy Valley. Such a possibility for the Orok, growing
out of their good relations with the Gilyak and enabling them
to use the paths made by the Gilyak sleds through the entire
Tymy Valley and beyond, across the mountains and the Liman
to the Amur, and along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience,
may have prompted them to use their reindeer on these migra-
tions in the same manner as the Gilyak and Ainu did with their
dogs, that is, to harness them to sleds constructed for this pur-
pose. Indeed, they must have come to it all the more readily
since, as a result of their relations with the Gilyak, they were
sometimes forced, for example, when they came into the
latter's villages for trading purposes, to use dogs for driving.
Furthermore, a few sleds harnessed to dogs are indispensable to
them on their migrations in order to hasten in front of the rein-
deer expedition and prevent sudden encounters with Gilyak or
other dog-teams. The sleds that I met near Plub-wo were of
Gi this kind. Later on I repeatedly saw Orok traveling on dog-
492 drawn sleds near Nyi and in the region of the Tymy mouth.
177 Thanks to their contact and intercourse with the Gilyak, the
Orok on Sakhalin represent for us the certainly very rare,
though not wholly unique case of a primitive people that has no
less than three methods of locomotion by land, in that the
reindeer is riden and driven, and in addition the dog is used for

/495 cont./

492 177 driving. They have simply borrowed the latter from the Gilyak, and therefore the sled and harness among them for this type of locomotion are exactly the same as among the former. Their dogs, however, kept alongside the reindeer from the time they are small, presumably become so accustomed to them that they are less dangerous to them than the Gilyak dogs and therefore can be used as escorts for the reindeer expeditions. In order to [221] be able to feed the dogs, which are scarcely less necessary to [433] them than the reindeer, the Orok are forced to lead the life of sedentary fishermen along the east coast of Sakhalin during part of the year, and, to be sure, as was mentioned above, in summer and fall, and only after the fur animals have donned their precious winter coats, do they again set out on their migrations for hunting and trading with the help of their reindeer.

Just as the area through which the Orok roam is a very 231 limited one and cannot remotely be compared with the migra- 422 tion areas of the mainland nomads, so is the number of reindeer 556 at their disposal only very small. Mamia Rinsô reported in 1808 that a rich Orok often had 12 or more. Boschnjak, who became acquainted with this people in 1852 in the vicinity of Nyi and the Tymy mouth, expressed the opinion that the number of reindeer for the richest Orok does not amount to more than 30 (1).

[113] 1. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-Amursk. kraie /Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 11, Unofficial Part, p. 189).

About 30 years later (1881) Poljakof visited them in the same region, and his estimate is even lower than that of his predecessor, for, according to him, an Orok of /496/ average means has about 10-15 reindeer, only very few have more than 20 of them, 231 and poor people only two or three animals (1). In the vicinity

[113] 1. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" /Journey to Sakhalin Island/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 82).

/496 cont./

231 of Taraika near the Bay of Patience, at the time of Schmidt's voyage (1861), only a few reindeer were still kept in the village of Walendsä; everywhere else they had perished from lack of food, since the deep snow in those regions makes the maintenance of these animals very difficult (2). In view of

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. /Historical Report/," etc., op. cit., p. 115.

the lack of endurance of the Orok reindeer herds, their future does not appear very secure, and it is to be feared that they might even become extinct under unfavorable conditions, such as epidemics, devastation by wolves, etc. With the loss of their reindeer, however, the Orok, deprived of their foremost means of existence, would either likewise perish or, at best, if they were still tolerated by the Gilyak, would meet the same fate as their tribal relatives on the mainland, the Olcha, that is to say, they would have to lose all the peculiar characteristics of their life and activities and adapt themselves completely to the way of life and the customs of their mightier neighbors, the Gilyak.

492 How far this has been accomplished among the Amur
177 Olcha has already been pointed out several times in discussing
174 their food, clothing, and behavior. The same can be said in connection with the methods of locomotion among them. The use of the dog as a draft animal, the treatment of them, the method of harnessing, in the shape and nature of the sleds, everything is precisely as it is among the Gilyak. Undoubtedly the Olcha borrowed this from the Gilyak, not the other way around, for, as was discussed above at great length (3), the

3. See pp. 284-306 above.

Olcha formerly lived as reindeer nomads, and it was only after the loss of their reindeer that they became sedentery fishermen along the Amur River in the immediate neighborhood of the Gilyak, who have kept dogs since ancient times.

/496 cont./

492 Such an altered way of life was also most probably ex-
179 perienced by the other Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur
174 region, especially the Negda, Samagir, and Goldi, though it
184 is less demonstrable among them than among the Olcha, who in the Orok have a branch continuing to lead its nomadic life even today. Like the Olcha, and presumably in part through them, they have also adopted the Gilyak method of winter locomotion, with all the peculiarities of the dog harness, the sled form, etc. also repeated among them (4). Nevertheless

[114]

4. When Maack (Putesh. na r. Amur" /Journey to the Amur River/, p. 202) taking the Goldi as his point of departure, asserts that the dog harness among the natives of the Amur region is of such a kind that the animals run in pairs, this is entirely incorrect and no possible distinction between the Goldi and the Gilyak is found in this: rather, among all of them, the dogs are harnessed in the same way, and, to be sure, alternating, as has been described in detail above.

492 Nevertheless
17 it cannot but be recognized that among all these peoples, to the
[433] extent that, in comparison with the Gilyak, they are more hunters than fishermen and do not /497/ have such extensive trade relations as the latter, the keeping and use of dogs are less in the foreground of their lives, because the number of animals, the concern about them, and thus also their value and efficiency are far less than among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, driving with dogs, even among the Goldi, is done throughout their area of distribution, up the Amur and up the Ussuri and the Sungari (1). In addition, however, one sometimes also sees

[113]

1. De la Brunière, "Excursion en Mandchourie, en 1845" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, year 1848 [Vol. IV], p. 114). Cf. also Wenjukof ("Obozr. r. Ussuri

/497 cont./

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1. (cont.)
/Survey of the Ussuri/." -- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., pp. 230, 237; the same, Putesh. po okrain. Russk. Azii /Journey to the Outlying Districts of Russian Asia/, 1868, p. 81); Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, p. 100), and others. In the summer of 1855, among the Ussuri Goldi, I myself saw dog sleds in storage that were exactly like the Gilyak sleds.

[114]
[493]

492 In addition, however, one sometimes also sees horses among them along the Amur above the mouth of the Ussuri and along this latter river. During my journey in the summer of 1855, the Goldi in Turme at the mouth of the Ussuri told me that they used to have horses, which, however, had been destroyed by tigers a short while before (2). Going upstream

[114]

2. See Vol. I, p. 177, of this work. Maack was told the same thing (see his Putesh. na Amur", p. 170).

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[439]

I encountered the first horses in the village of Sselgako on the Amur. According to the Goldi, they had obtained them from a people living far upstream, whom I later recognized as the Manegir (3). There I also saw crude wooden saddles used for

3. See p. 100 above.

riding on the horses, presumably stemming from the same source. Next to them, however, stood the dog sleds used for traveling in the winter, and which were exactly like the Gilyak sleds. For here, as among the Manegir, horses serve only for riding. Thus, among the Goldi of Sselgako, one could see side by side means of locomotion which had been borrowed

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/497 cont./

492 177 from two peoples basically different and living as far apart as the Manegir and the Gilyak. Horses reached the Ussuri Goldi [439] from the Sungari region through the agency of the Chinese living among them, who use them, in part with the assistance of the Goldi in their service or dependent on them, chiefly for the transportation of goods from and to the Sungari towns on the road leading from the Ussuri to Ssan-ssin, for which the horses are loaded directly as pack animals in summer, but in winter are harnessed to sleds (4) -- a use to which I shall return

[113] 4. Korsun; see Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl." (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX and X, 1867, p. 374).

[224] in the following. In addition, however, the Goldi use their horses in spring, after the snow has melted, in order to go now and again for hunting purposes up along the Ima, Waku, and other right tributaries of the Ussuri.

231 224 Whereas the significance of the dog as a draft animal decreases among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region in proportion to their distance from the Gilyak, on the other hand another use of it, foreign to the Gilyak, appears among them, its use as a companion and helper of man in hunting. Thus, the 231 184 224 Ussuri Goldi not infrequently, in addition to draft dogs, keep hunting dogs, which, to be sure, are of the same breed as the former, but are used only for hunting, not for driving (5). This

[113] 5. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Ussuri" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 237).

takes place to a still greater extent among the Orochi. They

Goldi RX3
Orochi
Southeast Siberia RX1

Gi 231 224 184 [492]

/498/ They use dogs for driving in the northern part of their habitation area, on Hadshi Bay and along the right tributaries of the Amur, entirely in the fashion of their neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi; in the southern part of their area, on the other hand, along the right tributaries of the Ussuri, where they live almost entirely by hunting, they are usually not in a position, simply because of a lack of fish, to keep draft dogs, which in any case would be of little use to them in the mountainous wildernesses of their homeland, and therefore limit themselves to keeping hunting dogs, which they feed with the scraps from the slain animals, especially with a broth prepared from their bones, but in winter communication among them takes place only on foot, on ski (1). Nevertheless it can be seen as a reflection of

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1. According to Korsun; see Budistschef, op. cit., p. 355.

the custom generally prevailing there that the sedentary and well-to-do Chinese living among the Orochi and Goldi keep dogs for driving (2).

2. Budishchev", op. cit., p. 414. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie, p. 139.

SS 492 184

At the southern borders of the Orochi in the Ussuri region and of the Goldi along the Sungari the use of dogs for harnessing ceases entirely, and in the Sungari region, among the agricultural and livestock-raising Manchu, Chinese, and Daur, there is a whole series of domestic animals foreign to the natives of the lower Amur region, such as horses, mules, donkeys, and cattle, serving for locomotion, which will not be discussed further here. Concerning them, I refer to the information given in the zoological part of this work (3), to which

3. Vol. I, pp. 160 and 175-179.

/498 cont./

492 184 I add, concerning their use for locomotion, only that the first three are used among the peoples named, both in the Sungari region and in their colonies in the so-called civilized area of the Amur River, mostly for riding and for burden-carrying, whereas the horses, as well as the cattle, are harnessed in summer to carts and in winter to sleds (4). The frequently

[113] [493]

4. Thus, for example, in 1844 the missionary Kimaĭ-Kim traveled from Kuang-tschen-dse via Girin and Ninguta to Hun-tschun in a horse-drawn sled (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 1847, Vol. I, pp. 66 ff.), and in 1850 Venault made his trip from Ssan-ssin to the Ussuri in the same fashion (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 1852, Vol. I, p. 209). Pargatschefskij ("Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru /Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur River/." -- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 175), guided by Manchu, came to the city of Aigun in a sled drawn by oxen. According to his description (Putesh. na Amur", p. 303), like Maack's, these sleds are of such a type that the thick soles /runners/ extend out in front directly into the guide poles /Pfiemerstangen/, which makes them very clumsy and awkward.

The frequently

114 493 484 171 mentioned Chinese U-tschen, who was born and grew up in the Sungari region, adds by way of explanation in his article on Ninguta, when he mentions travel in sleds as customary in the country, that the sled (pa-li) is a vehicle similar to a cart, but without wheels, and the translator of his article, the Sinologist Wassiljef, notes that such an explanation was necessary for the Chinese, because in their country they had no

493 /498 cont./
484 conception of sleds. (5). Therefore, when the Chinese /499/
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5. Vasil'ev", "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96). In passing it should be noted that John Barrow (Reise durch China von Peking nach Canton im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den J. 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China from Peking to Canton in the Suite of the Embassy of Great Britain in the Years 1793 and 1794/, from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. II, p. 160) expressed his amazement that the ingenuity of the Chinese had not extended to the invention of sleds or other vehicles suitable for traveling over ice and snow. Yet the embassy of the Netherlands-Indies Company to the Peking court in 1794 and 1795 noted that chairs put on sled-soles were pulled or pushed by human beings over the ice of the ponds (van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des Indes orient. Holland. vers l'Emper. de la Chine, ed. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, pp. 187-189; Vol. II, pp. 271-277).

493 Therefore, when the Chinese /499/
171 and Manchu in the Sungari region use sleds for traveling, one
179 may see this as a consequence of their ancient and multiple re-
492 lations with the Goldi and other natives of the lower Amur region, although among them the harness animal is a different one.

492 The upper Amur region, from the mouth of the Sungari up-
184 ward, in general stands in absolute contrast to the lower Amur region with regard to the nature of the locomotion by land of its indigenous tribes, for whereas all the peoples of the latter, from

SS /499 cont./
492 Sakhalin, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the mouth of the
184 Amur to the Sungari, use their dogs for driving, this kind of locomotion is not used by a single people of the former -- a fact that better than any other distinguishes the contrasting character of sedentary fishermen in the one and a nomadic hunting population in the other. Except for the few sedentary Birar living just
T above the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, who have become com-
361 pletely assimilated in their entire way of life, and hence also in
492 their manner of locomotion, with their neighbors, the Daur, Manchu, and Chinese, there are in fact in the upper Amur region only hunting nomads, who either, like the Manegir and nomadic Birar, wander on horses, or, like most of the Orochon, on reindeer, but keep dogs only as individuals for hunting purposes (1).

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 310.

T Horses, like reindeer, are used only as a riding or pack animal.
492 The Manegir horses are identical with those of Transbaikalia and Manchuria; they are not large, but are strong and have great endurance. Constantly kept out in the open, they are used to any inclemancy of the weather and in winter have to be satisfied with whatever food they can scratch up from under the snow -- a circumstance which in itself would suffice to make their existence impossible under the same conditions in the lower Amur region with its deep snow. Also, in view of the abundance of snow in this area they would not be as useful by far to the natives there as dogs, which along with everything else, have the advantage of having the same diet as their ichthyophagous
T masters. As the designation for the horse, which is practically
492 the same among all Tungusic tribes and was borrowed from the
124 Mongolian, shows (2), they owe their first knowledge of this
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2. Cf. Klaproth (Asia polyglotta, pp. 267, 287), Pallas (Zoogr. rosso-asiat., Vol. I, p. 256), and my Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, p. 175.

T /499 cont./
492 animal and its use to their Central Asiatic neighbors, the
174 Mongols--a fact that finds further confirmation in the circum-
177 stance stressed by Maack (3) that the designations referring to

3. Putesh. na Amur", p. 77.

the coloring, pace, and other characteristics of the horse and
T to the various parts of the harness among the Manegir, as
492 among the Manchu, are of Mongolic orgin. The truly charac-
174 teristic form of the Tungus, /500/ however, is and remains,
[178] as has already been mentioned (1), the reindeer, and even the

1. See p. 759 above.

Manegir are no execption to this inasmuch as they, as was discussed above in detail (2), were formerly likewise reindeer nomads

2. See pp. 376 ff. above.

and only later, as they advanced from the mountains into the prairies along the Amur and the Dseja /Zeya/, exchanged the reindeer for the horse, just like the Orochon who descended from the Chingan Mountains southward and eastward into the river valleys leading to the Nonni. In the north and east, however, the Orochon of the upper Amur and its tributaries
SS are followed by the Russian Reindeer-Tugus living entirely in the same manner, who move along the Stanovoi Range and
492 its northern spurs as far as the Sea of Okhotsk. In general,
184 therefore, concerning the means of locomotion of the Amur peoples, the dog and the horse may be designated, in very
Gi sharp contrast, as the characteristic forms, the former of the
T lower Amur region, the latter of the upper. The use of the
492 reindeer, however, appears in the entire northern expanse of the Amur region, along the Chingan and Stanovoi Mountains to the Sea of Okhotsk and from there to the northern and eastern part of Sakhalin as far as the Bay of Patience, but the above-discussed difference exists between the mainland and the island

SS /500 cont./
492 of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and
184 Reindeer Tungus, the reindeer serves only as a riding and pack
G animal, but on the latter, among the Orok, it serves also as a
492 harness animal, and in this its use joins that of the dog.

SS As dwellers on a great river and its tributaries or the sea
501 and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are
184 more or less oriented toward moving and traveling from place to
484 place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The diverse nature of the waters on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sleds, always built after one and the same pattern, the boats used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the actual forms adapted to the character of the waters are repeated with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

G None of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the
501 water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live by fishing and
484 who are inclined by their genius for trading to undertake long
[226] river and sea voyages. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by no means bold and skillful mariners and hunters of marine animals, who in small, easily maneuverable vessels, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarkas, /501/ would be inclined
G or able to battle the high ocean waves. Principally concen-
[361] trated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers
[181] them, in addition to an extraordinary abundance of fish, a natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Manchu-Chinese along the Sungari, and, on the other hand, favored by the nearness of a large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cuts them off from the open sea and, with its long meridional expanse, gives them a bridge, so to speak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their over-all pursuits

/501 cont./

501 for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are
484 timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators.
[36] And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the
[181] coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and
trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft
501 boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

396 In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily
[192] consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put to-
[824] gether have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twissjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from
[192] above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

/501 cont./

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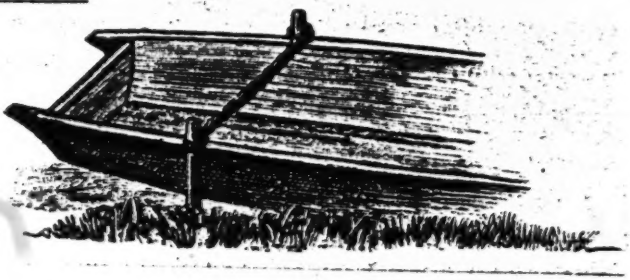

Gilyak Boat Construction

396 For this purpose several sticks are driven into the ground opposite one another on either side to serve as supports for the boards; around the upper end of each pair of the sticks standing opposite each other a strap or cord is looped (see the accompanying woodcut), and by a stronger or weaker tightening of it the side boards can be brought precisely into position so that their lower edges coincide with those of the bottom board. Once the boat has been tied together in this manner, its final strengthening can [192] /502/ begin. First several crosspieces (Gilyak tschylch) are put between the side boards, connecting them with each other. One such connecting stick is found in the rear end of the boat, another in the middle, and a third just before the prow. The fastening [412] of the side boards to the bottom board, and likewise all the other [192] boards to one another, is done by means of wooden pegs, which, with the help of a little iron rod (Gilyak ottauws, Pl. XXXII /see p.1017/, Fig. 7), are driven into holes made beforehand with the large drill (Gilyak lung, ibid., Fig. 6) along the edges of the boards concerned.

412 In passing it should be mentioned that these implements, 531 not used merely in making boats, but also on other occasions, for example, for attaching the above-mentioned sole-mountings on the sleds, are always neatly made in Gilyak fashion and likewise provided with many decorations, the little iron rod with fine strips of inlaid copper and silver, the wooden handle of the 412 drill with many graceful carvings. Two persons are required to

412 /502 cont./ Two persons are required to
[372] work with this drill, in that, by means of a piece of wood, one person presses it from above, where a little iron peg set into the handle is found, against the place where the hole is to be, and the other one sets it in rotating motion by quickly pulling a strap looped several times around the handle -- a procedure which I also observed in connection with the Gilyak method of making fire by friction to be discussed later and in another
[192] connection. For this reason, I am inclined to regard the lung,
[174] as well as a second, quite similar and also similarly operated, but somewhat thinner drill, which the Gilyak call pisk, as ancient instruments perhaps invented by them themselves, whereas the small drill for finer work and similar to our tools of this type (ibid., Fig. 8), whose Gilyak designation is still unknown to me and which is wholly of iron, may be later and foreign in origin. (1). This is undoubtedly also the case for another

1. The Olcha-Tungusic designation for this small drill, according to Maximowicz, is sselgefő and sseldschefő.

[192] instrument, the saw. I myself never encountered this among the Gilyak, but in the village of Tylm Maximowicz saw a specimen of it which looked exactly like our ordinary carpenter's saw and was called puf by the Gilyak, pőfo by the Olcha -- a correspondence in designation which likewise indicates a common borrowing of the object concerned by both peoples from a foreign source.

396 But after this digression let us return to the construction of the boat. The rear end of it is closed off with a vertical
[192] stern-board, and above it and between /503/ the two side-boards a horizontal board (Gilyak ott(o)ms), projecting somewhat toward the rear, is put in to serve as a seat for the steersman. The boat is closed off in front by two obliquely placed boards (Gilyak alp), the left one always rising a little higher than the right one, which gives the prow a pointed shape. All the seams, and especially the two longest ones, between the bottom and the two side-boards of the boat, are calked, but this must be done

/503 cont./

396 very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together
[824] only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only
[412] with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water
[192] and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motassj), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips
[192] put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the case of larger boats even three, pairs of oar-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misgyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too,
[532] with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-boards always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surfaces, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-boards for protection against rot,

/503 cont./

396 which is done by raising it on a pair of rather high trestles and lighting the brushwood spread under it.

[192] The oars (Gilyak ywnj) are provided with a broad, rounded blade tapering off to a point and with a hole at a thicker place on the handle for setting them on the oar-pins (Pl. XXXVIII

501 /see p.1018/, Fig. 2) (1). The Gilyak boat does not have fixed

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1. This illustration has a fundamental error, so that one should visualize the direction in which the oar handle is bored as shifted by an angle of 90°, that is, not perpendicular to the blade, but in the same plane.

rowing benches resting on the side walls of the boat, /504/ for they would tear the side boards from the bottom board by their pressure. Instead, the Gilyak use small removable stools which rest only on the bottom board, without touching the side boards. For the same reason, in loading a boat, it is carefully seen to that the entire load rests on the bottom board and does not exert any pressure on the side boards. To this end several pieces of wood considerably shorter than the width of the bottom board are first placed across it, and upon these several boards which are to bear the load are spread the length of the boat -- a precaution which also serves to prevent the objects transported from getting wet in the bottom of the boat. From

114 personal experience I realized how necessary it is to treat a

501 Gilyak boat with such care and precaution. In the spring of 1855, when I was about to start on my first summer trip up the Amur and Ussuri, I bought from the Gilyak two boats which apparently had been used very little. Still unfamiliar with their construction, I thought it best if I first had them inspected and put in order in the harbor of Nikolayevsk. One of the naval officers saw to it that they were calked like regular sloops by one of the best experts of the harbor and were equipped with rowing benches and a bench for the erection of a mast. But when I wanted to go aboard and the boats were put in the water, both of them

/504 cont./

114 proved to be leaking, and all the efforts of the workers to re-
501 pair them were in vain. I now saw that through the rough and incorrect handling the side boards were more or less torn off and detached from the bottom board along their entire length; no amount of hammering, plugging, and calking the seams would help any longer -- one of the boats had to be given up altogether, and I reached the nearest Gilyak village in the other only with great effort and constant, strenuous bailing. There, in Ssabach, I bought a new, somewhat larger boat, which I treated from then on in accordance with its construction and entrusted it only to Gilyak hands for repairs when needed. And it served me very well, for in the same year I not only went up the Amur and Ussuri and back again to Nikolayevsk in it, but, in the following year, also up the entire Amur and a large part of the Argunj /Argun/ until I was forced by the drifting ice and the cold to abandon it near the village of Mulatscha on the Argunj.

501 Entirely different from the oars, the Gilyak steering oar
[192] (Gilyak menj) is provided with an elongated narrow blade and at the upper end with a short transverse handle (ibid., Fig. 3). As a rule, the Gilyak steer the boat by hand. In order to give the helm more support in high waves or a strong current, however, a short loop of cord or an upright semicircular strip through which the steering oar can be stuck is found at the rear edge of the board on which the helmsman sits.

The Gilyak boat does not have a mast. Instead of this,
[192] the Gilyak, if they want to sail, which rarely happens, use two poles tied crosswise (Gilyak kyrsh), which are stuck by their lower ends into corresponding /505/ holes in the side boards of the boat, while two long lines running from the upper ends
[192] are slung around the hindmost crosspiece in the boat. The sail (Gilyak tulatsch) consists of a square piece sewed together out of fish skins, which is attached by corners to the upper ends of the above-mentioned cross-mast, but at each of the lower ones is provided with a sheet to haul in and to stretch or loosen the sail as desired. With such inadequate equipment it is understandable that the Gilyak are no masters or heroes at sailing,

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501 and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is cautiously avoided. I also observed that the Gilyak, and likewise the [114] Olcha and Goldi, who accompanied me as guides or oarsmen [157] in my boat always became mortally afraid when sailing in a brisk wind; in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate mast bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and implored me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. There is no doubt, to be sure, that a boat without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and even capsize with high waves and an unskilled steersman. In order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to [192] the side wall. The Gilyak equip their boats with such sham- [484] edges (Gilyak ardsch) in particular when they undertake sea voyages, for instance, along the coast of Sakhalin to the Japanese, etc.

Of great usefulness on the Gilyak boat is the continuation of the bottom board extending under the prow, because it not only protects the latter from the immediate impact of the waves and possibly also from a severe impact on steep rocks along the shore, with another boat, etc., but it also permits the boat to glide over the waves more easily. Since the oars sit on fixed prongs, very little effort is required to propel a Gilyak boat if it is not moving against a strong current or high waves. It is not very well adapted to battle against them, however, and demands skilled and powerful handling of [114] the rudder. More than once it has happened to me in traveling around rocks and capes protruding into the Amur River that the boat, seized by the strong countercurrent, suddenly turned around and was irresistibly driven back. Undoubtedly the

/505 cont./

501 above-mentioned forward continuation of the bottom-board, which, in other situations, is so very useful, contributes no little to the cumbersome movement of the Gilyak boat against the current. Finally, it also affects the method of landing customary among the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and generally among all the other Amur peoples with the same type of boat: this is always done with the rear end of the boat, which is not very easy in high waves beating against the shore, because the boat must then first be put with the bow against the waves in order to be lifted by them and carried toward the shore. The Gilyak, /506/ or Olcha, etc., lands in such a way that he literally sits down on land with his boat, as it were.

To conclude these considerations I am giving the measurements of an ordinary, medium-sized Gilyak boat as I took them from a specimen in the village of Kalgho, from which the above-mentioned illustration was also made:

Length from the tip to the rear edge of the steersman's seat	25'--
Width at the steersman's seat	3'4"
" from edge to edge in the middle	3'2"
" " " " " at the bow, immediately in front of the prow boards	2'2"
Width of the bottom board	1'--
" " " steersman's seat	1'--
Depth of the boat in the middle where it is the greatest	1'6"

The length of a medium-sized oar is about 7 feet; that of the steering-oar 6 1/4 feet; the width of the blade on the latter, 4 inches.

I never saw boats other than the type described for the Gilyak either on the Amur and Liman or on the west coast of Sakhalin, and Middendorff does not mention any from the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. In the interior of Sakhalin, however, on the torrential and in places shallow Tymy River, quite a different vessel is used, a boat hollowed out of a single tree-

501 184

/506 cont./

501 184 [192] trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These [171] boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/ 396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75;
Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak musskrj), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

2: Schrenck--788 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

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longer voyages they use the commonly built Japanese boats (2).

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

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Exactly the same type of boat as among the Gilyak is also in general use among their closest neighbors along the Amur River, the Olcha and Goldi. In appearance it exhibits no differences in shape or construction from those of the former. The Gilyak, however, asserted that their boats curved upward less at the prow end and therefore were better able to travel against the current than those of their neighbors -- an assertion whose accuracy I must leave undecided, though it agrees with some of my own experiences. They are completely different from one another, however, in the kind of wood from which they are made. Whereas the Gilyak make their boats out of the wood of the fir tree (Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissjk, Olcha and Goldi chassjchta), the Olcha and Goldi always use cedar (Pinus cembra, var. excelsa, Pinus mandshurica Rupr., among the Olcha and Goldi koldong). When, during our summer voyage of 1855, we landed near the Olcha village of Adi, the approaching inhabitants of the place, who, among other things, occupy themselves principally with boat-building and who therefore closely examined ours, immediately recognized from the wood in them that one of them (mine) was of Gilyak origin, and the other (Maximowicz's) was of Olcha origin, as was in fact the case. But whereas among the Gilyak on the Amur one sees only boats of this one kind, the Olcha and Goldi have some of quite different shape and construction. This is simply the result of the circumstance that, besides the Amur, they also navigate many of its torrential and, in spots, shallow tributaries along

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501 [184] which they in part hunt and in part also have permanent settlements. For such waters, however, as we saw, the Amur boat is not suitable, so they have various kinds of boats hollowed out of tree trunks. They are always made out of the trunks of [824] a species of willow growing in the tributary valleys of the lower Amur River, as well as along the seacoast, the Salix praecox Hoppe (Olcha and Goldi hämmagda) (3). The most character-

[113] 3. Maximowicz, "Prim. florae amurensis" (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. par divers sav., Vol. IX, p. 242).

istic and most interesting among them is the one that the Olcha call unj- or unni-magda, the lower Goldi likewise onni-magda (4), and the upper Goldi awarpe (Pl. XXXVIII /see p.

[192] 4. Unj or unni among the Olcha and onni among the Goldi means "river" in general, especially a smaller river or tributary of the Amur River.

1018/ Fig. 4). /508/ It seems to be patterned after the Amur boat; at least it has the most characteristic feature of the latter, the continuation of the bottom projecting to the prow. Otherwise, however, both ends of the boat are cut off bluntly. Several crosspieces serve to give the thin side-walls more support. It is propelled against the current by means of poles and rowed downstream. The measurements of such a boat which I saw in Dshare among the upper Goldi, and which in shape was exactly the same as the one in which I went with the Olcha from Pädanj up a long stretch of the torrential Pä River, were the following:

Length . . . 24 1/2 feet, 2 1/2 of which on the front bottom-projection
Width . . . . 1 foot, 8 inches
Height . . . . 1 " 4 "
Oar and steering-oar were small in size, each 4' 8".

[824] The small canoes, likewise hollowed out of the hammagda [192] tree and tapering to points at front and rear, which are distinguished

Goldi RX3
Olcha,
Orochi

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501 192 [824] by the Olcha and Goldi as otongo and gulba on the basis of minor differences in the proportions, are much simpler and more primitive. Both in general have the same shape, pointed in front and back, but the gulba is not as wide in proportion to its length and, on the other hand, more deeply hollowed out and with thicker walls than the otongo, is more suitable than the latter for use even in high waves or in water full of stones and rocks. These canoes are propelled by means of a double oar (Goldi ssoje) with long and narrow blades, swung alternately from one side to the other, and in places, over shallow and calm water, only by a pair of small paddles with short handles (Goldi mylpku), and over very shallow spots one pushes himself forward with the help of two short sticks (Goldi gao), which are planted against the ground on either side.

501 184 [824] In the main, boats of various kinds hollowed out of the trunks of the hammagda tree are used among the Orochi of the seacoast and of the rivers flowing from the coastal mountains to the sea or to the lower Amur or Ussuri, and, up these latter rivers, even reach the Goldi and Olcha on the main river. For example, the awarpe described and illustrated above was made by the Orochi on the upper Munamu River and was brought down it to the Amur. Conversely, though only rarely on account of the long trip, a boat made out of boards on the Amur by Goldi, Olcha, or Gilyak sometimes finds its way to the Orochi on the seacoast. But the latter, for their trips along the seacoast, make for themselves precisely just such boats as are used among the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak. For fishing in the rivers, however, they use the hollowed-out boats. During my visit to Kaiserhafen I noticed two unj-magda of somewhat different sizes lying in front of the Orochi tent at the mouth of the Hadshi River (Pl. XVI /see p. 996/). Of the wooden canoes pointed at both ends [192] the Orochi use in particular the more stable gulba, which they call momä.

2: Schrenck--791 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orok

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The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is done among all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilyak, Orok,

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Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of the Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the Admiralty Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is illustrated in the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which Mr. Poljakov acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, and which is made in the following manner. At the upper end of a forked branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron blade, ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong, and by means of its upper part, which is all that remains of it, while the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the adze. This

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171 adze is essentially of the same shape and construction as the ones formerly used, and still used to some extent, for similar purposes by the inhabitants of various South Sea islands. For the sake of comparison two of the most interesting specimens of this kind from our museum are shown beside an Orok one: Fig. b -- an adze of the Tahiti islanders which stems from Cook's third voyage (1), and Fig. c.-- a Papuan adze brought

1. In passing it might be mentioned here how this specimen, along with other objects collected on the same voyage, came into the possession of our museum. It is well known that Captain Clerke, who became the head of the expedition after Cook's death, went from the Sandwich Islands to Peter-Paul Harbor in Kamchatka and was given a very hospitable and friendly reception there. In gratitude he donated to Major Behm, then the commanding officer of Kamchatka, part of the "curios" which the expedition had collected on various South Sea islands (cf. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungs-Reise nach der Südsee in den J. 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Cap. Cook, Clerke, Gore und King /Dairy of a Voyage of Discovery to the South Seas in 1776-1780 under the Leadership of Captains Cook, Clerke, Gore and King/, translated by J. R. Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 321). These articles were sent by Behm, with labels from his own hand, to the Russian government in St. Petersburg, which turned them over to the Academy of Sciences.

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by Miklucho-Maklai from the Admiralty Islands. But both be-
[114] long to the Stone Age, for the former has a stone blade, and the latter has one made out of the shall of a marine snail (presumably

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412 Terebra maculata). And one would naturally suppose that the
171 adzes used in other countries in the Stone Age far in the past
[174] were of a similar character.

The birch-bark canoes, used far more and more generally
501 by the Olcha and Goldi than the wooden canoes and also
184 customary among other Tungusic tribes both along the Amur
[171] tributaries and in the Stanovoi /510/ Mountains (1) and other

1. Cf. Middendorff, Sib. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1357 (with illustration) and elsewhere.

places, consist of only a thin wooden frame covered with birch bark. In general of the same nature and of the same form,
[192] pointed at both ends, everywhere, these canoes, called dsaĭ by the Olcha and Goldi, show some differences in form and measurements, as well as in individual features. Thus, roughly corresponding to the gulba and the otongo, there is a form that is narrower and deeper in proportion to the length, usually with the front and back part likewise covered with birch bark on top, and with only slightly curved tips, and a broader, shallower, completely or almost completely open form with the tips curved
[126] sharply upward. The drawing on Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 5 made from a specimen from the Olcha village of Mongole, gives an idea of the former; the accompanying woodcut /see p. 794/ showing an Amur Goldi from above the mouth of the Ussuri in his dsaĭ gives a notion of the latter. /Illustration
501 appears here./ The former, because of its over-all shape, as well as because of the covering on the ends for protection against the bursting in of water, is more suitable for use in high waves; the latter, on the other hand, offers /511/ more space for accommodating fishing or hunting equipment and the catch
[411] concerned. A long-handled harpoon is always hung along the outside of the dsaĭ. The handling of this bark canoe is exactly the same as that of the above-mentioned wooden canoes, the otongo or the gulba. The measurements of the dsaĭ from

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Mongole illustrated below are the following:

Length from one tip to the other . . . . 18 1/2 feet
Width in the middle where it is greatest . 2 1/4 "
Height or depth, ibid. . . . . 11 inches.

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Broader and shallower, and thereby completely open form of the birch-bark canoe (dsaï) of the Goldi (original sketch by Mr. Poliwanof).

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On these unsteady and light bark-canoes the Amur Tungus, Olcha, Goldi, etc., like their Siberian fellow-tribesmen, develop a skill and dexterity which, especially in the high waves of the mighty river, often reminds one of the boldness and proficiency of the Aleut in their bidar and is in great contrast to the clumsiness and wary caution of the Gilyak. What the ski are in winter is what these birch-bark canoes are to the Tungus as soon as the waters have cast off their covering of ice. In addition, their light weight permits them to be carried easily, if necessary, for some distances on

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50 land in order to reach other water, which makes them even more
[502] serviceable for hunting expeditions, temporary migrations, etc. Thus, the birch-bark canoe is the most peculiar, typical, and characteristic vessel of the readily mobile Tungus, who, even as a fisherman, aleays enjoys hunting and roaming.

The above-described boats hollowed out of a tree trunk and pointed at both ends, as well as the birch-bark canoes, are also found among all the native tribes of the upper Amur region. Since they are chiefly nomads living by hunting, who only temporarily descend from their hunting grounds and from the Amur tributaries to the main river in order to engage in fishing, those simple, easily constructed, and to some extent also easily transported vessels, which, in addition, are useful on rapidly flowing and on shallow waters, completely satisfy their needs. And, to be sure, one finds both types of vessels among them, the boats hollowed out of a tree trunk as well as those made of birch bark, and not merely in the small sizes of the otongo or dsaï, but also in quite considerable dimensions. In particular they do their moving from their winter quarters to their summer quarters and vice versa in such boats, when, besides wife and child, all kinds of provisions and implements are to be taken along. For example, among the Birar of Ossika on the Amur, I saw a boat hollowed out of a trunk, called mango among them (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 6), which was 28 feet long, 3 feet wide, and a foot high or deep, and another time I came across a much larger one in which Birar from the Aar River were returning from their summer fishing grounds along the Amur to their winter quarters. It was heavily laden and even carried a mast and a sail, which consisted of a piece of linen and was held at its lower ends with the hand instead of
[824] sheets. According to the Birar, these boats were hollowed out of the trunks of the dshagda tree, i.e., the pine (Pinus sylvestris L.), growing commonly along the upper course of the Aar and other tributaries of the Amur River and even
[191] farther up along the latter itself. Likewise, the Birar and the Manegir have birch-bark /512/ boats which are exactly

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like the dsai in form and nature, but twice as long, while the width remains about the same. Thus, among the latter I saw such a boat that was 35 1/2 feet long and only 2 feet and 2 inches wide. Such a boat, like the multiple-seated Aleutian bidar and, incidentally, also like the large mango, if the latter are not propelled, say, by poles, is propelled by two or three persons equipped with double oars and rowing uniformly on one side and then the other, and thus shooting forward with great speed.

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It is very noteworthy that the above-described boat made out of boards, which is distributed throughout the lower Amur region, among the Goldi, Olcha, Gilyak, and Orochi, is completely absent in the upper Amur region. At least, I never saw any there, and Maack, traveling down the Amur from the Schilka, did not meet the first boat of this kind until at the mouth of the Ussuri (1). And, correspondingly, the form of

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 178.

the hollowed-out boat that is patterned after this boat, the unjmagda or awarpe, also seems to be absent in the upper Amur region. I must therefore designate this boat made out of boards in a specific fashion as solely and exclusively peculiar to the lower Amur region and characteristic of it. And yet, I believe, one may not regard it altogether as an invention of those peoples or one of them. Whereas the hollowed-out or birch-bark boats bear the stamp of originality, the Amur boat, or, as I would prefer to call it in accordance with the above, the Goldi-Gilyak boat, reveals in its more ingenious form and construction a certain cultural influence, and I believe that I do not err if I trace this back to the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari. For centuries Chinese traders and sometimes also Manchu officials have traveled from the Sungari into the lower Amur region, the former in order to engage in trade with its peoples, the latter in order to collect from them the tribute owed to the Chinese government. The boats in which they made these trips are, to be sure, much larger and more

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complicated than the Goldi-Gilyak boats, but essentially and in general are the same in form and construction. For example, like the latter, the Manchu-Chinese boat also consists chiefly of three long boards -- a bottom board which projects for quite a distance beyond the prow, and two side or edge boards, which are bluntly closed off in the rear by a vertical stern-board, and in front, in a pointed prow, by two small boards of uneven length. Furthermore, the way in which the boards are joined and fastened to one another, the way in which the seams are stuffed with moss and covered with strips inside and outside, etc. are the same in both cases. The far larger dimensions of the Manchu-Chinese boats (the bottom board is from 7 to 9 1/2 fathoms long), however, permit or demand certain additions or modifications in contrast to the Goldi-Gilyak boat. For example, the sides are always raised by a second board on either side, which /513/ is attached to the first one from the outside; this is done among the Goldi and Gilyak only as an exception, in case a boat is to be used for a sea voyage. These upper side-boards project toward the rear about a fathom beyond the stern board serving as their support, and at their rear ends they are joined to each other by a plank, but on top are covered with boards placed crosswise so that at the rear end of the boat there is a wide bridge or platform. On this, at the rear edge, are placed two vertical rods, between which the rudder is stuck in order to be controlled by the steersman standing on the platform. The greater depth of the boat given by the considerable width of the lower side-board and the added upper side-board further permits laying a floor made up of crossboards loosely set against one another in the rear part, over which a piece of wickerwork made out of several rods bent into a semicircle and a few horizontal ones is erected, which, covered with reed or straw mats, gives a kind of tent or cabin in which one may sit, or even stand in a stooped position, protected against rain and bad weather. A similar, though much smaller and lower covering under which a few persons may crawl in case of an emergency is found in the frontmost part of

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the boat. For this purpose a long and strong switch is stuck into the continuation of the bottom board there, bent toward the rear over the prow, and likewise provided with wickerwork made out of semicircular and horizontal switches, over which reed or birch-bark mats are spread. Furthermore, unlike the Goldi-Gilyak boat, the Manchu-Chinese boat has fixed rowing benches resting on the edges of the lower side-boards and a like mast-bench, through which the square lower end of the mast is inserted into the mast bearers put on the bottom board underneath it and, superfluously, tied with a cord to the nearest rear cross-piece connecting the lower side-boards to each other. Finally, on the Manchu-Chinese boat the arrangement of the oars is different, in that they are not stuck on prongs, and, accordingly, are not bored, but are set into correspondingly deep indentations in a board attached to the upper edge. They have only relatively narrow blades and on the upper end a transverse handle which is seized with both hands for rowing, always done at only one side. The rudder, provided with a blade that bulges toward the bottom, likewise has such a transverse handle. It is heavy and, when traveling under ordinary circumstances, seems to rest almost immovably, but a slight turn to the right or to the left is sufficient to give the boat the required direction.

This description will suffice to show that the boat of the dwellers along the lower Amur River and that of the Manchu and Chinese along the Sungari completely correspond in their basic features and their construction, and that the former is, so to speak, only the husked and pared down kernel taken, I might say, from the latter. It can hardly be assumed that the Chinese, clinging to their ancient customs, shaped their boat after a pattern borrowed from the Amur peoples standing far below them and provided improvements and additions only in accordance with their needs. And so /514/ there remains only [177] the conclusion, which in fact is much more probable, that, conversely, the natives of the lower Amur region, first the Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Olcha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

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boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form in that they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their means and powers. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as is done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the other peoples of the lower Amur region. Maximowicz saw a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a jug of liquor two feet tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet groats. Only in one point, as is seen from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars stuck on prongs, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; on the other hand, it recurs generally among the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

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1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Ainu-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

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transferred to the boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese. The amount of local invention by the lower Amur peoples on their boat is not nearly as large as it might seem at first glance -- rather, we see that, with respect to the nature of the river vessels, just as in the construction of the winter houses and in so many other things, Chinese influence has spread from the Sungari over the whole lower Amur region.

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How could it have happened, however, that the so practical and useful boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese pattern and distributed throughout the lower Amur region /515/ nevertheless remained wholly foreign to the upper Amur region which was under its dominance and inhabited by peoples of related tribes? The explanation for this must undoubtedly be sought in the political policy, often mentioned above, which the Chinese government observed in this region after the departure of the Russians from the Amur in the seventeenth century and which consisted of leaving its upper section as depopulated as possible and of isolating it by vast, uninhabited stretches from the Sungari region which was especially important to them (1). For

1. See above, pp. 332, 369.

this purpose the natives of the lower Amur region and, so it seems, also the Chinese traders on the Sungari, were forbidden by them to go beyond the mouth of the latter up the Amur, and, in order to enforce this prohibition, a permanent guard-station was established at the mouth of the Sungari (2). In this

2. See above, pp. 72, 119.

manner communications between the upper and lower Amur peoples on the water route connecting them, and thus also a compromise in the means used for it, was prevented by the measures of the Chinese government. But all the conditions for any possible independent imitation of the Manchu-Chinese boat on the part of the natives were lacking in the upper

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Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inbue the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as was said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

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In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development on the whole than in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

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Section 8

000 Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon. Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed [171] that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the [433] peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descriptions of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequences [361] of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing [221] exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kinds of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail. [121] And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn the way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most important fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the times when it is done and some of the details connected with it.

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, and, to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amur is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profitable and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

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226 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
796 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
226 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
782 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1009/). It was a long boat with
[501] one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
[192] automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
[174] to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

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796 Presumably only loosely hung over the racks upon departure,
226 they could only too easily have fallen off during the rapid
782 and wild voyage and could have been carried into the river by the wind. Indeed, the latter may even have been the precise intention of the sacrificers, for the entire sacrificial voyage is supposed to serve to gain the favor of the river or the river spirit through the gifts mentioned, and through that to secure good luck and success in fishing and during all river travel in the coming /518/ summer and fall. My opinion concerning the zach in connection with the sacrificial voyage on the Amur was confirmed by the fact that in the fall, as soon as a new covering of ice has formed on the river, another celebration with sacrifices and zach takes place. The Gilyak then go out on the ice in front of their village: here a hole is cut in the covering of ice, and beside it a pole decorated with zach is erected. Now the above-mentioned gifts are thrown into the river by means of this hole, obviously to obtain its favor for the winter fishing and perhaps also for the traffic on the ice covering.

226 Immediately after the Amur is open, there comes up it from the sea the best and largest fish that it has to exhibit: the Amur sturgeon (Acipenser schrenckii, Gilyak tukki-tscho) and the even larger Amur hausen (Ac. orientalis, Gilyak patch-tscho). Both go far up the Amur and its major tributaries, the Ussuri, Sungari, etc., and, indeed, of the latter, the kaluga of the Russians, it was reported as early as Pallas that it also occurs in the source rivers of the Amur, in the Schilka /Shilka/ and in the Argunj /Argun/ (1). It has already been pointed out

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1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 207. The same, Zoogr. Rosso-asiatica, Part III, p. 107. Georgi, who gave the first description of this fish, which was also used by Pallas, called it

/518 cont./

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1. (cont.)
Ac. dauricus, as Brandt also does in turn (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 172. Among the source rivers of the Schilka, the Onon has it especially abundantly, whereas the Ingoda, as Georgi noted (Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in 1772/, Vol. I, p. 353), and recently Maack (Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 27), is too shallow and stony for it. When in other older as well as more recent reports on Dauria, chiefly Russian ones, reference is made simply to hausen (bieluga) and sturgeon (osetr") in connection with the kinds of fish occurring in its rivers, as, for instance, in Hedenström (Otryvki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, 1830, p. 146), Parschin (Poiezdka v" Zabaikal'skii krai /Journey to the Transbaikalia Region/, Moscow, 1844, p. 117), Hagemeister (Statist. obozr. Sibiri /Statistical Survey of Sibiria/, St. Petersburg, 1854, Vol. I, p. 351), Kaschin ("Nieskol'ko slov" ob" Arguni /A Few Words about the Argun/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VI, Irkutsk, 1863, p. 103), Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1367), and others, undoubtedly the two Acipenser species named, which go from the Amur up its source rivers, are to be understood.

226 above how greatly the Gilyak prize sturgeon and hausen. The
226 situation is the same among the other Amur peoples. There is
171 eager pursuit of them everywhere, and the methods of fishing are

/518 cont./

226 [17] in general the same everywhere. But the individual peoples prefer one or another method of fishing, according to their nature and the local conditions in their part of the river. The Gilyak chiefly catch them with nets, which are knotted with large meshes and very strong twine so as not to be torn by the resistance of the large animals. The shape of these nets and the way they are handled differ, however, and in this the season of the year in particular is also a definite factor, for it depends, for example, on whether the fish are present in larger or smaller quantities, whether they stay closer to the surface or at greater depths, whether the river is open or covered with ice, and so forth.

Toward the end of May and in June, when the sturgeon and hausen coming from the sea are most abundant around the mouth of the river and stay near the surface, especially in calm weather, the Gilyak get along with a simple, longish-quadrangular net, on the upper edge of which are fastened a few wooden floats and on the lower edge occasional small stones. In two boats the Gilyak go out in the channel of the /519/ river with this net, cast it across it, and, holding the upper ends of the net, let themselves be driven downstream by the current against the ascending fish. If the surface of the river is calm, they recognize with a sharp and practiced eye the approach of a large fish from afar, by a gentle swirling of the water, etc., and guide their boats with the net between them toward the fish. When it has reached the net and has [192] become entangled in it, the wooden float affected gives notice of it, and now both boats go to the spot where the fish is, the net is lifted, and the fish entangled in it is pulled into the boat by means of an iron hook attached to a pole (Gilyak schab-tschamrch, Pl. XI /see p.1020/, Fig. 2) and killed by a blow on the head with a club. If the fish is very large and the boat small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and [411] taken to land to be killed there. The proper club for this is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

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226 [411]

ancient use of this weapon from the Stone Age (1).

1. I myself did not see it among the Gilyak, but received a picture of it through one of my friends in Nikolayevsk, as well as one of a similar instrument used for smashing the bear skull, which are to be shown on a later plate.

When the water is more agitated and the sturgeon or hausen stay at greater depths, the net, especially at its lower ends, is weighted with larger stones so that it will sink deeper, and at the same time an arrangement is made so that from each of the two lower ends of the net a string runs through several rings plaited out of willow bast on the side edges of the net to the hands of the fishermen. Since, in addition, with more agitated water the entry of a large fish into the net would not be indicated as noticeably by the wooden floats, there are attached to the rear wall of it several thin strings (Gilyak umyssj), the ends of which are likewise in the hands of the fishermen, and which by their subsequent jerky tension, reveal the presence of the fish in the net. As soon as this is recognized, the net is raised by pulling on the aforementioned two strings, and thus withdrawal from it is cut off for the fish, whereupon it is killed in the previously described manner.

Finally, the Gilyak also use a bag net for catching sturgeon and hausen. It is likewise equipped with stones at the lower edge of its opening and with wooden floats at the upper one. At each of the places where the ones end and the others begin, there are a ring plaited out of willow bast and a few strings which serve for holding or fastening the net. Fishing with this bag net is done in the same manner as with the abovementioned net, in that the fishermen go out in two boats, cast the net, and, holding it in between at the sides, go downstream toward the ascending fish. As soon as the movement of one of the wooden floats or the jerky tension of one of the signal lines

/519 cont./

226 (umyssj) running from the walls of the bag betray the entrance /520/ of the fish, the net is drawn together, and the fish is caught. Sometimes this bag net is set permanently in the river, for which two posts are driven as firmly as possible into the river bed as far apart as the diameter of the bag opening, and the net is fastened to them by means of the rings and cords on its edges on either side. A Gilyak sitting in a boat takes up his station at one of the posts and holds the signal strings in his hand so that, as soon as a fish has entered the net, he either catches it definitively and recovers it himself or he procures the help needed to do it.

The two last-mentioned nets are also used for fishing in winter, but the ice cover of the river then makes necessary a few other devices and manipulations. First of all, for each net, two holes must be made at a distance corresponding to its length, or, in the case of the bag net, to the diameter of its
226 opening. To scoop out the detached pieces of ice floating in
192 the holes the Gilyak use the hand net (Gilyak chuntulk) (1)

[227]

1. The net stretched in the hoop is called assj in Gilyak, the crosspiece in the lower part of the hoop -- lott, the long and crude handle-stick, with which the new ice that perhaps arose in the hole is sometimes broken up -- kip.

illustrated on Plate XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 3. A special instru-
[227] ment is used for setting up the net under the ice: it is a long,
[532] flat, wooden staff curved slightly upward toward the tip, the so-called odn, which on the end runs out into an approximately triangular plate with two points directed toward the rear and with two eyes carved in it in a primitive manner, which bears the name odn-tschongr, i.e., odn head (see Pl. XL, Fig. 4).
226 One reaches into one of the holes in the ice with this staff and shoves it forward, close under the ice, until the tip, the odn-tschongr, comes out at the other hole. Here one of the two

/520 cont./

226 upper corners of the net, or, in the case of the bag net, one of the sections of the bag opening equipped with the rings and cords, is hooked onto the prongs of the odn-tschongr, while the other corner of the net, or the place on the bag opening diametrically opposite the first one, is fastened to a pole placed across the hole, and the rest of the net, weighted with stones at the lower edge, is let down into the water. Now the odn is withdrawn, and the corner of the net coming out with it at the other hole is fastened, like the first one, to a pole. In this fashion the net is set up, like a wall directly under the ice, between the two holes. From these also emerge the cords by which it can be raised, and, finally, to one of them run the signal cords from the wall of the net or bag, so that the presence of fish in the net must be watched for here. From the foregoing it is to be seen that the length of the odn, determined by the size of the net and the distance of the holes in the ice from each other, is very considerable. It may therefore consist of several pieces. [532] The representation of a face on the odn-tschongr is always necessary, however, according to Gilyak belief, and very essential for success in catching sturgeon or hausen. In this connection another /521/ Gilyak superstition should be considered, one specifically referring to the catching of sturgeon [825] and hausen with nets. It is that a cuckoo feather attached to the net will make the fishing successful -- a superstition to which I shall return later with regard to its consequences.

226 171 Another way of catching sturgeon and hausen among the Gilyak, though far less common, is to set out fishhooks. This is the same method of fishing that is known in Siberia as ssamolowy (automatic fishing) and has been described by Pallas in the various modifications with which it is practiced along the lower Obj, on the Irtysch, Jaik, and along the Volga (1).

1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. II, pp. 339, 444; Vol. III, p. 88.

/521 cont./

226 [192] Among the Gilyak this fishing is done in the following way. An anchor (Gilyak tschabch) consisting of a branched tree-root, or of three wooden pegs connected with one another in the manner shown on Plate XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 10, and fastened to a stone between them, is lowered into the deep channel of the river by a rope (Gilyak tyk) (2) plaited out of willow bast and

2. Perhaps tyk merely means "rope" in general.

many fathoms long. Extending from this thick rope at certain intervals are thinner and shorter bast cords, and at the end of each one there is fastened a wooden clog (Gilyak kita, ibid., Fig. 9) equipped with a pointed and sharply ground iron hook. From the upper end of each of these clogs a thin string runs to the surface of the water where it bears a wooden or bark float. At certain intervals stones are tied to the main rope so that it will remain lying on the river bed, while the clogs with their iron hooks float some distance above it and, thanks to the floats, assume a more or less vertical or slanting position. Finally, at the very end of the main rope, which is lowered into the water last as the apparatus is being set up, a heavy wooden block is attached as a float, which makes the end of the rope easy to find at any time. The fish going up the river run into the clogs, push past them or even play with them, injure themselves in doing so, thrash about, and only remain ever more firmly hung on the hooks, as is revealed by the movements of the corresponding wooden floats. As soon as the Gilyak notice this, they come along in the boats, wind up the rope from the floating wooden block, and lift the fish into the boat by means of the hooks described above.

226 411 In fishing for sturgeon and hausen, the Gilyak use the harpoon, though again less frequently than the net, simply because, as was said above, they move on the water with great caution and not too easily and boldly. The fish-harpoons customarily used among them are of two kinds: one consists of a simple iron point equipped with a couple of barbs, which

/521 cont./

226 411 is also used for seal-hunting and is to be described in the following in discussing this; the other is a trident (Gilyak tschak, Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 8), with barbs put on each prong. The one as well as the other is /522/ put on the tip of a wooden pole for hurling and, in addition, is tied to the end of a long strap remaining in the hand of the fisherman, by means of which the fish hit is pulled in and out of the water. The former weapon is more common among the Gilyak than the latter and bears the name tugngy.

226 Finally, it not infrequently happens that sturgeon and hausen get into the nets set up for salmon and are caught together with the latter, or, and especially in midsummer with receding water, as I myself have seen, they are stranded in the shallows and then merely need be simply clubbed.

Soon after the opening of the river, the ascent of the species of salmon in the Amur and its tributaries begins, which, all together, lasts throughout the summer and early fall until into October, in fact, even after a new ice cover has formed, not ceasing suddenly and completely. Some species go upstream singly or in small parties, others in mighty processions repeated at intervals, and in particular there are two species of the greatest importance to the Gilyak on account of the great numbers in which they appear. These are the tengi or tengi-tscho, [136] Salmo proteus, and even more the lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin laghi-tscho, S. lagocephalus. How essential and indispensable they are for the diet and the total economy of the Gilyak has already been discussed in detail above. We shall therefore have to go into somewhat more detail on the catching of these fish, and especially the latter. First, however, space might be found here for a few remarks about their seasons of migration both in the Amur and along the adjacent seacoasts to the north and south.

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226 Salmo proteus, the gorbuscha of the Russians (1), is not

1. I.e., the same as saying hunchbacked fish or hunchbacked salmon. As is well known, it is called this because of the bulge that develops on the back of the spawning fish.

only one of the most abundant, but is also one of the earliest species of salmon entering the rivers along the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, northwest of the Amur-Liman, and along the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan south of it. Here it always precedes Salmo lagocephalus (the Russian keta) by a few weeks. According to Mizul, it appears on the west coast of Sakhalin in June and goes up all of its rivers and streams indiscriminately and in great quantities (2); the keta, however,

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Standpoint of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 46.

appears in them somewhat later and in smaller numbers (3).

3. Mizul /Mitsul'/, op. cit., p. 49.

The situation seems to be similar along the opposite coast of the mainland (4), with the difference, however, that there the keta,

4. In the Ssuifun, according to Barabasch ("Sungar. Eksp. /Sungari Expedition/." -- Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 1, p. 167), the gorbuscha is caught chiefly and is sold by the Chinese fishermen to the gold-washers in the interior of the country, and in part even as far as Ninguta.

G /522 cont./
226 too, appears in great quantities, at least at the mouths of the large rivers. For one spot along this coast, Kaiserhafen at the mouth of the Hadshi River, there are detailed reports concerning the date of the appearance of the two species of salmon named, which here, too, play the principal roles. Margaritof,
Gi 226 who, for the /523/ purpose of ethnographic research, spent a
[114] whole summer among the Orochi in Kaiserhafen, reports that there the gorbuscha (okó among the Orochi), as well as the keta (dawá among the Orochi), have three migration periods each, during which they enter the bay and the rivers emptying into it in greater quantities and alternate with each other in intervals of half a month each, in that the gorbuscha comes there during the first halves of the three summer months, but the keta during the second halves. With regard to the keta, he says in greater detail that their first migration begins around the middle of June and lasts until the first days of July, whereupon a pause of about ten days occurs, after which, about the 20th of July (the statements follow the old style /calendar/), they appear anew and continue to come until the beginning of August; then there is another interruption of a couple of weeks, after which, toward the end of August, the third migration period begins, which lasts far into September. The first of these migration periods, however, for the one species as well as for the other, scarcely deserves the name as such: the fish only appear in small numbers and do not go up the rivers but appear only at their mouths as far as the tide reaches in them. During the second period of migration they advance upstream in shoals, and, finally, in the third, they reach their maximum number, whereupon, however, as a result of exhaustion and the process proceeding in their organisms and, as is well known, manifesting itself by external changes, their goodness decreases in the same proportion, so that the jukola supplies made during the third migration period are the easiest
Gi to procure, to be sure, but at the same time are the most
226 inferior in quality. Incidentally, the Orochi are said to
262 prefer the gorbuscha generally for making their supplies of
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226 jukola, despite the greater tastiness of the keta, both on ac-
262 count of its greater quantity and because, as a result of its
251 smaller size, it can be dried or smoked more easily and there-
fore keeps better (1). It is obvious that the above data based on

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1. V. P. Margaritov", Ob" Orochakh" Imperat. gavani /Concerning the Orochi of Imperial Harbor/, St. Petersburg, 1888, pp. 15-21. In this connection I cannot refrain from noting that the cited work by Margaritof contains some valuable information about the Orochi of Kaiserhafen, especially about their catching fish and game, but his comments on their relationship to the Olcha are totally wrong and indicate that he completely misunderstood what I have said on the subject in the first number of this work, in spite of the fact that this has also appeared in Russian. He does not even know where the Olcha are to be found, though this would require only a glance at the ethnographic map appended to the work, and even denies completely the existence of the Olcha as a separate branch of the Amur Tungus, and, to be sure, merely for the reason that one Orochi to whom he directed the question as to whether he were an Olcha answered in the negative, as, of course, was to be expected. Finally, in addition, he distorts the name of this people, in that he always has it "Olitschi," and this, allegedly, following my example ("Schrenck's Olitschi," op. cit., p. 3), whereas no such distortion is to be found anywhere in my work.

226 /523 cont. /It is obvious that the above data based on
262 research in the field and the experiences of one summer can
25 have only an approximative value and that in individual years
[114] more or less considerable shifts in the time of the migrations of the one as well as of the other species must occur. In 1854, for instance, between July 25 and 28 (old style), I found the Orochi /524/ in Kaiserhafen busy at preparing winter provisions from the still abundant S. proteus, but S. lagocephalus was not yet to be seen.

226 These species of salmon, and especially Salmo proteus, also appear in the same quantity in de Castries Bay. When La
[175] Pérouse discovered it in 1787 and spent five days there (from July 28 to August 2; July 17-22), he found the cove at the bottom of it so filled with salmon that he called it Salmon Cove (Baie des saumons). The fish entered the mouths of the small rivers or jumped up in great quantities from the seatang on the ocean floor, which was exposed at low tide, and it was not difficult to catch more than two thousand of them in one day.
[251] They were smoked and dried in great quantities by the natives for winter supplies (1). La Pérouse does not name the species

1. La Pérouse, Voyage autour du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, pp. 61-63.

of this salmon, but from their small size and their light weight (from 3 to 4 pounds each) it can be assumed with some certainty that it was S. proteus. He also, however, mentions a larger species (30 to 40 pounds each) which furnishes the skins used by the natives for making their clothing, and adds that they are not caught in summer (2). We know (3) that the species of

2. La Pérouse, op. cit., p. 69.

3. See pp. 576, 609, and elsewhere above.

salmon serving the above purpose among all the peoples of the lower Amur region is S. lagocephalus and must therefore conclude from La Pérouse's above statement that the latter does

Gi /524 cont./
226 not appear in larger numbers in de Castries Bay until fall, that is, toward the end of August at the earliest and during September.

G Farther to the north, in the Amur-Liman, I was told by
226 the Tschomi Gilyak, unfortunately without any reference to
114 dates, that both species, the tengi-tscho and the lyghi-tscho,
221 were to be found among them, but the latter in numbers in-
184 sufficient for their needs, so that, as has already been men-
484 tioned (4), when this fish migrates, they, like the Gilyak from

4. See p. 647 ff. above.

Tangi, Arkai, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with larger quantities of winter supplies there.

G Some data for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
114 to the northwest of the Amur-Liman, are found in Middendorff.
226 In the list given by him for the dates of the migrations of various fish and especially of the species of salmon at the mouths of the rivers of Siberia and northwestern America, June 22 is given as the arrival time of S. proteus at the mouth of the Udj, and July 9 as that for S. lagocephalus along the same coast (5).

5. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1226 and 1227. The statement contained in the same work (p. 1192, note 2), but not in the above-mentioned list and standing in contradiction to the data in it, that S. lagocephalus arrives at the mouths of the Ala and Uda (that is, Udj) fairly regularly about June 10, and 7-10 days later also at the mouth of the Tugur, does not seem trustworthy to me and, incidentally, is given with the reservation, "as is said." It is regrettable, as I must note here in passing, that the explanation of the abbreviations which are used for the sources

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5. (cont.)
utilized for the above-mentioned list of the migration dates of the fish (op. cit., p. 1228) is limited to only a part of them and many remain completely incomprehensible.

Moreover, /525/ the statement that S. lagocephalus does not seem to occur in the waters of Great Schantar Island, whereas S. proteus is caught there (1), is of interest for our purposes.

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1261

226 Finally, so far as the mouth of the Amur is concerned, S. proteus enters it as early as May, soon after the ice goes. But it appears then only in small numbers, only as the vanguard, so to speak, of a second, large migration which takes place in June. During the latter month it is eagerly caught by the Gilyak for use in the preparation of supplies of jukola and also goes up the first major Amur tributary, the Amgunj /Amgun/, where it, together with S. lagocephalus, is the mainstay of the economy of the Negda (2). In July, finally, some stragglers

2. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1524.

appear around the mouth of the Amur, but they are scarcely worth mentioning. It would therefore be an exaggeration to speak of three migration periods for S. proteus into the Amur; it is more correct to assume an initial weak migration in May and a second strong or principal migration in June. Salmo lagocephalus does not appear in the Amur mouth until August and, in fact, except for a few forerunners, its actual great ascent into the river in shoals begins around the middle of August, reaches its peak toward the end of this month and the beginning of September, and then lasts with waning energy, all through this latter month and continues into October, until

/525 cont./

226 the ice cover forms. Middendorff's migration date for S.
226 lagocephalus into the Amur (end of August) known to him
114 through the work of Przewalski (3) -- who, however, had not

3. Puteshestv. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, p. 97.

been at the mouth of the Amur himself -- did not seem to agree with that for the same species along the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (4). But for this he had in mind only the

4. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1201.

statement, questioned by me and, one can almost say with certainty, erroneous, concerning the migration date of S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Udj, which has been discussed above (p. 816, note 5), The subsequent entry of S. lagocephalus into the Amur, much later than Middendorff presumed (5), explains quite simply and naturally the fact stated

5. Op. cit., p. 1220, where it is said that the keta salmon goes up into the Amur at least at the same time as into the Tugur (June 17-20), and probably even earlier.

by him (6) that the keta salmon going up the Tugur arrive much

6. Op. cit., pp. 1220 and 1485.

earlier than those going up the Amur and Amgunj at the point where the Tugur and the Amur systems come close together as a result of a bend in the river beds of the Tugur and Nemilen, so that the Tungus have plenty of time to do their fishing at the Tugur bend (near Burukan) and then to move over to the nearby Nemilen to fish anew for keta salmon there.

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226 [114] The dates given here for the migrations of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Amur agree very well with the dates given above for various points of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, especially if one keeps in mind, as is required on the basis of the available data, the multiple, intermittent, more or less large migrations or ascents of one and /526/ the same species. If one also takes into account the greater or smaller numbers in which they appear at the points mentioned above, one comes to the conclusion that S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, moving northward from the northern part of the Sea of Japan reach the Amur-Liman and the mouth of the Amur River, in the course of which the former, especially toward the end of its migration period, enters all the bays and inlets, and even the smallest rivers of both coasts, in great quantities, whereas the latter visits only the larger and major ones among them, but avoids the smaller ones, and in the main, moving against the current coming from the Liman and strongly mixed with fresh water, strives for the mighty Amur in order to go far up into its extensive network and in particular into the large tributaries of its lower course. In the following, while discussing the fishing of the other peoples of the Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, we shall repeatedly encounter it on its migration. First, however, we must remain for a moment with the appearance of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus in the Gilyak area.

226 192 805 The arrival and the mass migration of these two fish especially important for the economy of the Gilyak are, of course, phenomena of such extraordinary significance for them that they are used by them to designate the periods of the year, the months, in which they occur. For instance, May is known among them as the month in which the tengi-tscho (S. proteus) first comes upstream, walten-tengi-long, and June, in which its mass migration takes place, tengi-wota-long (1). August

1. Long in Gilyak means "month"; I am unable to offer a detailed explanation of the expressions "walten" and "wota," but

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1. (cont.)
it seems to me that in these as well as in the following designations for the months the first expression refers to the first and still sparse appearance of the fish concerned, and the latter to the main or mass appearance of it.

during which the lyghi-tscho (S. lagocephalus) goes up the Amur River in colossal numbers and the activity of the entire population is required for the preparation of winter supplies, is called among the Gilyak lyghi-wota-long or pilja-tschrar- (2), or simply

2. The word "tschrar" is undoubtedly related to "tscho," fish.

pilja-long, i.e., the "great fish-month," or also simply "great month." This latter designation gives especially convincing evidence of the great importance which S. lagocephalus has for the entire economy of the Gilyak. In comparison with June and especially with August, July is only poor for fish. Among the species of fish peculiar to it S. lycaodon (Gilyak well, the nerka of the Russians) is the most prominent. This species of salmon, however, only plays a certain role farther upstream, among the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed at the appropriate place, but for the Gilyak it is of no special importance, inasmuch as it does not appear by far in such quantities as S. proteus or even S. lagocephalus and does not provide as good and as long-lasting a jukola as these do; indeed, in view of the certain quantities of lyghi-tscho to be expected soon, the Gilyak regard it as useless and not worth the trouble /527/ to prepare jukola supplies from the well. In contrast to August, the "great fish-month," July is therefore called by the Gilyak matschn-

226 192 805 /527 cont./
tschrar-long -- "the little fish-month" (1).

[128]

1. At the appropriate place in the following there will be a discussion of the other designations which the months May-August bear among the Gilyak and which are derived from factors other than the periods of the migrations of fish, as well as the names customary among them for the other months.

226 The direction and the time of migration of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus along the east coast of Sakhalin seem to be somewhat different than in the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in the Liman, and at the mouth of the Amur. According to Mizul, the former goes along this coast from south to north, reaches the Bay of Patience about the middle of June, and in July and until late August goes up the Plyi or Poro-nai and its tributaries. During the first half of August it also appears along the island's coast located to the north of the Bay of Patience, goes up into the Tymy River, and by the middle of this month and until late in the fall is found in its upper course and its tributaries. S. lagocephalus appears somewhat later than S. proteus, and, as Mizul expressly remarks, first in the northern part of southern Sakhalin and not until later in the southern part, so that its migration here, in contrast to that of S. proteus, seems to go from north to south; moreover, it appears there in smaller quantities and not in all, but only in certain rivers, in these, however, every year, though in variable numbers (2). It therefore seems principally to strive

2. Mizul, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

for the larger rivers on the east coast of Sakhalin also, that is, the Poro-nai and especially the Tymy. At the mouth of the latter, in Nyi Bay, Poljakof in 1881 witnessed the mass appearance and ascent of S. lagocephalus into the river, which continued

/527 cont./

226 throughout the second half of August and did not decrease until
000 the 30th (3). For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and

3. Poliakov", Putesh. na o. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. I. R. Geogr. Obshch., p. 97).

226 For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and
184 especially along its upper course in great density, September
805 is therefore chiefly the month that brings them the greatest quantities of laghi-tscho, so essential to their economy, and in which, traveling to meet the ascending fish, they devote themselves entirely to fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter. This explains the fact, repeatedly told to me by the Tymy Gilyak, that among them not August, but September bears the name pilja-long, "great month," whereas August, less rich in fish in comparison with it, is designated only as matschki-long, "little month." Thus, as a result of somewhat different natural conditions, a shift in the names for the months customary among the Amur Gilyak takes place there (4). Whether this also extends to the Tro Gilyak, for

4. The shifts or other differences in the names of the rest of the months that occur among the Tymy Gilyak in contrast to their countrymen on the Amur will be discussed later where appropriate.

whom the names customary along the Amur would actually be more appropriate, I am unable to say because I had too little contact with them. But it is not impossible, since the Tymy Gilyak speak the same dialect as they do and generally have a /528/close and, to a certain extent, decisive relationship with them, similar to the one that the Amur Gilyak have with those of the Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/528 cont./

226 The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and [251] children participate in this work, and within a short time one [252] boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken. [462] While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as [462] the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen, in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream toward the ascending fish and draw up the filled net first into the one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces, 227 drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight differences in shape and the manner in which they are used and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size [192] of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

/528 cont./

227 192 quadrangular net is called tschessk and, depending on the size of its meshes, is a lyghi-tschessk or a tengi-tschessk; another one was named for me as kyrn-kä and likewise distinguished as lyghi-kyrn-kä and a tengi-kyrn-kä (1), etc.

1. Kä in Gilyak means "net" in general.

226 In order to catch greater quantities of the ascending fish without much trouble, weirs are erected from the bank into the river for the purpose of deflecting the fish from the direction of their migration and directing them into a bag net set up alongside. For this, places are chosen on higher banks in the vicinity of a projecting tongue of land, where there is a stronger current and, as is known from experience, the fish usually ascend in great multitudes. /529/ The nature of such a salmon [192] weir, called myr among the Gilyak, is the following. From the bank a series of piles one fathom apart is driven out into the river, and from the end of it, at a right angle, a second, shorter stretch running downstream is driven into the river bottom. The spaces between the piles are then so closely interwoven with osier switches from the surface of the water as far down [192] as possible that the fish can find no exit. Between the lower end of the row of piles running downstream and a single post standing some distance from it and closer to the bank, the bag net, the myrch-kä of the Gilyak, is fastened. This has the shape of a long funnel very gradually becoming narrower toward the bottom: a specimen from the village of Tschcharbach that I measured, spread out on the ground, had a length of six and a half meters and a width of three meters at the upper end and one and a half meters at the lower one. From the upper edge of this funnel-shaped net, equipped with two parallel willow-bast cords, a slit in the net about 12 decimeters long runs down along one side, and on each of the two tips thus formed along the edge of the funnel are put two cords, which, like the similar cord found diametrically opposite them, serve for fastening the net [192] to the appropriate piles. Furthermore, from one of the above-mentioned tips there extends the signal cord (Gilyak umyssj), a

/529 cont./

226 [192]

thin cord, initially single, but very soon divided into three strings which are attached by their ends, at about half the length of the net, to its opposite wall. When the net is to be set up, its lower end is drawn together into a bag by means of a strap, it is weighted with stones above at the lower edge of the bag opening, and, by means of the cords on it, it is fastened to the above-mentioned myr piles, whereby the side of the net equipped with the slit in its upper part is turned toward the middle of the river, and the opposite one toward the bank. In order to give the net more support and also in order to pull it out later, a long, thick cord runs from the opening of the bag to the bank and is fastened there to a pile. /530/ Once the net is set up, a Gilyak stations himself in a boat at its exterior point of attachment at the end of the second row of piles and holds the signal cord in his hand, putting each part of it between two fingers. The salmon ascending along the bank and now coming upon the willow plaiting built out crosswise to them find no way through it and, in order to get around it, crowd along the plaiting running downstream and thereby get into the net. This is made known to the Gilyak

A salmon-weir (Gilyak myr) in the Amur River.

on guard by a pulling and tugging on the signal cords, and, as soon as he can assume from the repeated and strong tension on them that the net is

/530 cont./

226 full of fish, he lets the signal cord fall and draws together the opening of the bag, whereupon it is dragged ashore with the booty. Needless to say, besides the salmon going upstream at the time, other fish, sometimes even sturgeon and hausen, are caught in these bag nets. Since some labor and trouble is connected with making a myr, the Gilyak usually erect them only to catch the species of salmon most important to them and at the same time ascending in the greatest multitudes, the lyghitscho. They cannot have enough of this fish, and therefore at the time of its ascent the myr are not infrequently seen throughout the Gilyak area of the Amur River.

The Gilyak pursue salmon fishing in the Tymy River on Sakhalin in the same manner and with no less zeal. But this is less suitable for the erection of myr on account of its smaller size and, in places, its shallowness. They are nevertheless in use in its lower course and at the point where it empties into Nyi Bay. It is here that at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus, 226 171 648 in addition to the Gilyak, the Orok, too, zealously engage in fishing and the preparation of fish supplies. Indeed, during the last decades, the Japanese, too, after they have applied themselves, with the help of the Ainu, to the herring fishing on the coasts of southern Sakhalin and the catching of S. proteus at the mouth of the Poronai, generally appear at the mouth of the Tymy at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus and engage in catching it with great energy and ruthlessness. Poljakof, who met them there at this occupation in August, 1881, reports, among other things (1), that they had first erected a weir of the

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-79 and p. 99.

kind described above reaching across the entire river and opened one-twelfth of the width of the river only as a result of his threatening demand, but then immediately above the first erected a second weir blocking no less than nine-tenths of the river. Under these circumstances it is understandable that they annually take large quantities of this species of salmon out of the

/530 cont./

226 Tymy River; no less understandable, however, is the harm that
[171 they do through this to the Orok and especially to the Gilyak of
648] the entire Tymy Valley who rely on the abundance of fish of their river.

Nothing special is to be said about the catching of the fish living permanently in the Amur, such as carp, eelpout, sheatfish, pike, etc. for it is carried on with ordinary nets during the /531/ periods when there is no more important fishing, therefore especially in winter, under the ice, in the same way as sturgeon is then caught. In the calm, lake-like wide places with a muddy bottom, of which there are many along the banks of the Amur River, and which are always connected with it by a more or less swampy branch of the river or a small watercourse, I have seen the Gilyak set up bag-shaped nets on poles in order to catch crucians and similar fish, which are abundant in these small basins.

One type of fishing must be given special consideration, both on account of its great importance for some of the Gilyak, and also on account of the characteristic, original way in which it is carried out. This is the kangi fishing along the west and east
[136] coasts of Sakhalin. The importance of the kangi fish (Gadus wachnja Pall.) for the Gilyak and the way it is used have been discussed above (p. 653 ff.). The vast quantities in which they appear directly under the ice of the sea permits the Gilyak to employ the simplest means to catch them in abundance. All
[192] they need for this is a span-long iron hook (Gilyak kätsch-kossj, Pl. XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 1) hung on a cord about three feet long which can be moved up and down by means of a wooden handle. The Gilyak sitting beside the hole in the ice casts with this short fishing-rod without any bait, in that he lets it down into the water and immediately draws it up again, pulling one fish after another onto the ice. In the few minutes that I stood by -- it was on February 27 (March 10), 1856, near Arkai on the west coast of Sakhalin -- my Gilyak pulled out several dozen fish, which the hook had sometimes caught at the gill flaps and sometimes at the lower jaw or the mouth. Some fir branches

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish: even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

286 283 [824] In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first [462] part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women; the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, [114] as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kuik. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak puksj) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

286 283 /532 cont./
this work and describes it as follows (1). "The thread intended for

[113] [114]

1. Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 230, note 5; Mél. biolog., Vol. II, p. 501, note 5. The observations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on a voyage in the lower Amur region between the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts; to be sure, it is not said whether he was among the Gilyak or among the Olcha, but it may be safely assumed that the work discussed is done in precisely the same way among both of these peoples.

the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is protected against unwinding. The threads running through the ring are tied to a suspended spindle, which is kept in rotating motion until the cord is firmly twisted together sufficiently, and, as a consequence of this, the rotating spindle has been forced almost up to the ceiling. The firmly twisted piece of cord is now wound on the suspended spindle and protected against unwinding. Then new thread is released from the stationary spindles, the rest is made fast, and the work continues in the same way." The cords obtained in this manner are in no way inferior in tightness and uniformity to good types of our hemp cords.

286 [227] In view of the considerable variation in size of just the principal fish that the Gilyak catch, say, from the smaller cyprinoids or the tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, to the colossal hausen, the nets used for catching them are also made with meshes varying greatly in size and out of cord of various thicknesses. And, correspondingly, the instruments used by the Gilyak for knotting their nets are of widely varying sizes, while

/532 cont./

286 uniform in shape. Nevertheless, as we shall see in a moment, only a few, about four, can be distinguished among them as the most important and most practicable sizes on the basis of the principal types of fish. But before we discuss them in more detail, consideration must be given to one instrument which is used by the Gilyak for knotting all nets, no matter how fine or coarse they may be, for an uninterrupted and an even flow of the work. This is the so-called pork (Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 7) -- a wooden reel revolving around its axis, with two arms at the top and at the bottom, on which the cord for the net is wound and which is hung by its lower handle-end on a ceiling beam of the /533/ yurt or elsewhere, so that the threads required as the work progresses always run smoothly and unchecked to the knotter.

[192] The two most important tools used by the Gilyak for net-knotting are a peculiar netting-needle, Gilyak kilks (1) (Pl.

1. Among the Olcha it is called ssarpol, and among the Goldi ssarfo.

XLI /see p.1021/, Figs. 1-4), and a rectangular wooden board called kiwu (2) (ibid., Figs. 5 and 6). The former consists of

[104] 2. The w in this word is pronounced like the English w. Among the Olcha the kiwu is called keror or kerul.

a long, narrow, and thin wooden plate, the lower end of which is two-pronged as a result of the cutting out of a section, while in the upper half two long cutouts running parallel to the edges and meeting just short of the tip, leaves a long prong in between reaching almost to the tip, which I shall call the upper prong to distinguish it from the two on the lower end. The cord to be used for making the net, unwinding from the above-mentioned reel, is wound around these three prongs, and, indeed, in such a manner that it is alternately slung around the one and the other of the two lower prongs and, in between, always around the upper prong.

/533 cont./

286 Wound in this manner, the kilks, like a shuttle, moves from one
192 side to the other and back again, providing the material for the net and at the same time, knotting its meshes. But in order to make the latter and at the same time give them a certain uniform size, the kiwu is used, a rectangular little board, straight and horizontal at the top and bottom and indented at the sides, with two, approximately triangular cutouts, which, however, seem to be there only for stringing these boards on a cord, like a bunch of keys, and thus making it easier to store them.

286 The larger the meshes of a net are to be, the larger must
192 be the instruments used in making it, the kilks and the kiwu.
226 The net used for catching hausen (patch-tscho) and occasionally
[225] also for seals -- Gilyak patch-kä -- has the largest meshes and, correspondingly, is made out of the thickest cord. Therefore to make it the largest instruments are used: the netting needle, Fig. 4, called patch-kä-kilks by the Gilyak (also tolles-kilks and kerwagn-kä-kilks), and the corresponding mesh-board, patch-kä-kiwu, Fig. 6 on the plate cited. Then, according to size, the equipment used for the knotting of the sturgeon net, Gilyak tukki-kä, follows: tukki-kä-kilks (also jaghsin-kä-kilks), Fig. 3, and tukki-kä-kiwu, Fig. 5 of the plate named. The next smaller, third netting-needle, Fig. 2, called anga-kä-kilks or also nokn-kä-kilks, is used for making the nets with which such fish as pilengat (Cyprinus carpio), mimk (Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii), kych, etc. are caught. A fourth, even smaller netting-needle, Fig. 1, was designated for me by the Gilyak as myrch-kä-kilks, that is, as the needle which serves for making the bag net (myrch-
286 kä) used in the above-mentioned salmon weirs. They added,
226 however, that nets knotted with this needle were also used for catching the tengi, S. proteus. /534/ From this one may conclude that the bag nets of the salmon weirs used chiefly, or indeed, as far as I could see, exclusively, for catching S. lagocephalus are relatively fine-meshed, for even fish much smaller than S. lagocephalus, such as S. proteus in particular, do not require finer nets. And that is probably the result of learning by experience that with larger meshes in a bag net the fish entering it in

/534 cont./

226 286 great multitudes and heavily crowding one another could easily slip through, which would considerably reduce or even bring to naught the mass catch of the most important of all fish aimed at by erecting the myr. Furthermore, this bag net need not be made out of a very thick cord, because, when filled, it is immediately dragged to the not very distant bank. I did not see the mesh-board which go with the latter two netting-needles, and which of course, are likewise of correspondingly smaller size in comparison with those mentioned earlier. Since the Gilyak have even finer nets than the myrch-kä, such as, for example, the bag nets used in the smaller river-branches and lakes for catching crucians and smaller fish, they must certainly have even smaller netting-needles and mesh-boards than the last-named ones, even though always of the same form; but these are of so much less importance that, when I inquired about them, they were neither able to show me any nor give me special names for them.

286 Now when the knotting of a net with the instruments described is being done, a special wooden fork designed for this purpose is fastened to the bench in the yurt, on the edge of the boat, or wherever the work is to be done, and one of its prongs is used to hold the net being knotted, while over the other one are hung the pieces already completed (1). After the knotting

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1. The Gilyak designation for this fork remains unknown to me; according to Maack (op. cit., p. 130), the Goldi call it chalang.

is completed, the net is edged all around with cord twisted out of willow bast and is provided with a second cord of this kind at the upper and lower ends on the outside, running close to the first one and connected with it only at individual points. While 227 fishing, small stones or the above-mentioned wooden or bark floats are fastened between these two cords as required. The [286] nets of the Gilyak are always handled with great care and

G /534 cont./
227 consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
[286] the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
[784] are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superstition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

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Gi
226 /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
433 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in
G part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught.
Gi First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
[262] all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among
G. all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest
Gi to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life,
[224] hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this
G. away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish-
Gi ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the
221 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

G. /535 cont./
G1 kinds of eager and assiduous hunting of game, whereas the onset
226 of winter seems to awaken in the latter a passion not entirely sup-
221 pressed by the fishermen's life, which temporarily transforms them,
as it were, into hunting nomads. Nevertheless it should not be
thought that among the Amur peoples the Gilyak alone busy
000 themselves in the winter with fishing (1). The Olcha likewise

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1. As, for example, Arthur Nordmann ("Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/." -- Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part 2, 1861, p. 230) says.

G1
226 The olcha likewise
221 practice it to a very considerable extent, and the Mariinski post
184 in the middle of their area was abundantly supplied with fresh
[439] fish by them in the winters of 1855 and 1856. The Amur Goldi,
[262] too, devote themselves to it, but it gradually decreases among
them going upstream: as I myself experienced, the traveler
going in this direction in winter is more and more commonly
offered deer, elk, and wild-pig meat or fat instead of fresh
fish. Przewalski (2) said of the Ussuri dwellers that fishing

2. Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, p. 98.

practically ceases among them in winter because all the able-bodied men go hunting then and only the old men and the women left behind engage in angling. Sitting for hours at the holes in the ice, they continually move their tackle, equipped with only a small piece of red cloth or a bit of fur instead of bait, /536/ up and down, and, despite this simple procedure, it is said that on good days they succeed in catching from two to three pood of fish, chiefly carp (Cyprinus carpio) and salmon
000 trout (Salmo fluviatilis Pall.). I found the Samagir along the

Goldi RX3
Southeast Siberia RX1

Gi 114 226 226 224 184

/536 cont./ I found the Samagir along the Gorin, during the few days that I spent among them, likewise occupied only with hunting in the winter and not with fishing at all.

Gi 226 [184] [192]

As among the Gilyak, so, too, among the Olcha and Goldi, of all the fish the sturgeon and the hausen, Acip. schrenckii and Ac. orientalis, come first, the former of which among them is called kundo or kongdo below the Geong Range, ssura above it, and kilfu or kirfu along the Ussuri and above the mouth of the Ussuri, but the latter is called adi up to the mouth of the Ussuri, and above it and along the Ussuri adsi. Both are distributed throughout the Olcha area, since from the Amur they go up into its two large southern tributaries, the Ussuri and Sungari, and some of their tributaries. According to Przewalski (1), they are found

1. Op. cit., pp. 62, 95, and 204.

all year round in the Ussuri and in Lake Kengka (or Chanka) connected with it by the Ssungatschi River, but they are especially numerous just after the ice has disappeared. With low water in the fall, they are said to move downstream again toward the Amur and in doing this always keep to the same river-branches through which they came -- a fact which is taken into consideration by the Goldi who as a rule fish when the water is low (2).

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2. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Usuri /Survey of the Ussuri River/" (Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. or Res. and Mat., p. 231). The same, Putesh. po okr. Russk. Azii /Journey to the Outlying Districts of Russian Asia/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 82. Maak", Putesh. v" dolinie r. Usuri /Journey to the Valley of the Ussuri River/, pp. 200-203.

SS 226 SS [175]

The situation with regard to the presence of these fish in the Sungari may be similar to that in the Ussuri. The fact that there are many sturgeon, or, judging by the Chinese designation

SS /536 cont./
226 zin-jui (3), hausen, in the Churcha or Mutwan-ho (Mudan-dsan
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3. According to Maack (op. cit., p. 201), Acip. orientalis is called zing-huan by the Chinese.

in the Russian version), the last large right tributary of the Sungari, and that they are speared with iron fishhooks through holes in the ice in winter, was reported even by the Chinese U-tschen in his memoir on Ninguta written in 1722 (4). But of all

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4. Vasil'ev", "Zap. o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, p. 88).

the Sungari tributaries the Nonni is said to be the richest in fish (5). The big sturgeon or hausen which Father Paranin served

5. Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 1, p. 149; No. 2, p. 346).

to the Russian ambassador Ismailof and his party in Peking in the winter of 1721, and which allegedly had been brought from the Amur frozen and packed in snow, may even have come from the Sungari or Ussuri (6).

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6. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage depuis St.-Pétersb. en Russie dans diverses contrées de l'Asie, Paris, 1746, translated from the English by M ***, p. 366. According to Maack (op. cit., p. 201), Chinese merchants annually bring hausen and other fish from the Ussuri to Peking to sell.

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226 Aside from some minor differences in details, the methods
184 of catching sturgeon and hausen among the Olcha and Goldi are
G exactly the same as among the Gilyak, but the inclination toward
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Gi /536 cont./
226 hunting inherent in them, as in all Tungusic tribes, makes it
184 certain that they will prefer methods of fishing that are less
G common among the Gilyak. For example, the /537/ above-
226 mentioned method of fishing with a hook attached to a wooden
Gi clog, which is little used among the Gilyak, is very popular
226 among the Olcha and even more among the Goldi, both on the
184 Amur and in particular on the Ussuri, and, judging by the striking
G correspondence in the designations for the individual pieces of
226 this fishing apparatus among the former and among the latter (1),
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1. For example, the anchor part of this apparatus is called tschabch by the Gilyak, tschaghbe by the Olcha and Goldi; the main rope fastened to the bottom by means of it is called tyk by the former, dyka by the latter; the clog equipped with the hook is called kita by the former, kuital and kuitzale by the latter.

I am inclined to believe that the Gilyak, despite the fact that in most things concerning fishing they may be regarded as the teachers of their Tungusic neighbors, have borrowed this method of fishing from the latter. Still greater and more characteristic in comparison with the Gilyak is the preference of the Olcha and in particular the Goldi for catching sturgeon and hausen with the above-mentioned and illustrated (Pl. XLI /p.1021/, Fig. 8) too, the fact that the Gilyak term for this weapon (tschak) is very similar to that of the Olcha-Goldi (dshogbo) seems to me to argue in favor of a borrowing of it on the part of the Gilyak from their Tungusic neighbors, whereas the much simpler one-pronged harpoon, the tugngy, was probably theirs originally. In the
Gi 226 preference of the Olcha and Goldi for this method of fishing,
[224] which is closest to hunting, indeed, in fact is more fish-hunting
Gi than fishing, their Tungusic hunter-nature is clearly to be seen.
[501] Moreover, it is intimately bound up with the boldness, ease, and adroitness with which they glide over the water in small

/537 cont./

226 501 birch-bark canoes even in high waves. As soon as the one thus traveling catches sight of a large fish, he puts his double oar aside and takes up the short paddles in order, with their help, to approach the animal silently and close enough so that he can hurl the always ready and never absent harpoon at it. If it penetrated the flesh deeply enough, the fish is pulled in by the strap extending from it and, depending on its size, is either lifted into the boat or taken in tow and thus brought to land. If one considers that many an Amur hausen reaches a weight of 30 to 40 pood and a length of more than two fathoms (2), one

[114]

2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 63) tells of a specimen caught at the mouth of the Ussuri that weighed 47 pood, so the statement of the Chinese there that there are animals even weighing 50 pood does not seem exaggerated.

can imagine that the battle which the lone hunter or fisherman in his light birch-bark canoe has to engage in with such a colossus is none too easy. The reward which the catching of 226 [262] [237] [439] sturgeon and hausen offers the Olcha and Goldi lies not only in the meat and fat of the animals serving as food and in the fish glue obtained from the hausen bladder, but also to a very considerable extent in the cartilage and the spinal column (chorda dorsalis) of the animal, which are highly prized by the Chinese and therefore, carefully cleaned and tied into bundles, are used by the natives in trade with them.

[433] /538/ Though the Olcha and Goldi like to fish for sturgeon and hausen, their economy, like that of the Gilyak, remains based essentially on the catching of the salmon which 226 go upstream in great masses. For they, too, need a winter 251 supply of fish consisting of dried or smoked salmon (makore and 262 dalong, see above p. 645 ff.) for themselves as well as for their [224] dogs. Since, however, they spend the greater part of the [439] winter hunting, which yields them a considerable amount of immediate foodstuffs, and, as a consequence of less active and

Gi 262 33 226 /538 cont./

extensive trade relations, keep a smaller number of dogs than the [224] [439] Gilyak, their requirements for winter supplies of fish are not as large as among the latter. And naturally they spend less time Gi 226 184 and effort on obtaining and preparing them. Linked with these more or less purely quantitative differences in the salmon fishing of the Olcha and Goldi in contrast to that of the Gilyak, there are also qualitative ones inasmuch as the individual species of salmon go up the Amur and its tributaries in varying numbers and frequency and therefore vary in their importance for some of the G [226] dwellers on it. Salmo proteus, for instance, highly regarded among the Orochi, the Gilyak on the coast and on the Amur, and the Negda on the Amgunj on account of its mass migrations, very soon loses its importance farther upstream. To be sure, it Gi [227] occurs throughout the Olcha area and is said to go up the small river emptying near the village of Kada as far as the lake in its upper course; indeed, a fine-meshed net used among them, as well as among the lower Goldi, for catching smaller fish bears the designation oko-magda after it, but it was not named for me among the Gorin fish by the Samagir in Ngagha, and it is likewise not mentioned by Maack, Przewalski, and others for the Ussuri. On the other hand, another species of salmon, S. G [226] lycaodon, which is less important to the Gilyak, receives greater consideration among the Olcha and Goldi. Whereas it plays only a very subordinate role in the mouth part of the Amur River, in comparison to the great masses of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, between whose migrations it appears in incomparably smaller numbers, its appearance farther upstream comes at a time when there are relatively few fish, in that the former gradually declines Gi and the latter appears later, and therefore meets a definite need [114] of the river dwellers. On July 3/15, 1855, I saw the Olcha of Adi and in the days following also the Goldi of Kōurmi and the G Gi adjacent villages upstream busily catching chelke or sselke, as [251] they call S. lycaodon; not only did they feast on the freshly caught fish, but they also took advantage of the great schools in which they traveled for the preparation of supplies, which the Gilyak, as a rule, disdain to do with this species of salmon (their well).

Gi /538 cont./
226 In spite of the fact that the Olcha and Goldi villages named,
184 where I saw S. lycaodon in great numbers, lie quite close to the
[36] mouth of the Gorin, it does not seem to enter this latter river, for among its fish enumerated for me by the Samagir the chelke was absent. In the Amur, however, it also occurs farther upstream and is designated by the Goldi above the Geong Mountains with the name uru. Nevertheless it does not seem to reach the Ussuri; at least I did not get any information about it there, /539/ and in the later reports by Maack and Przewalski concerning the fish fauna of this river, it is not mentioned.

Gi By far the most important of all the species of salmon,
226 however, for all the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region,
G as for the Gilyak, is S. lagocephalus, called daua or dawa (1)
[226]

1. The w here is pronounced like the English w.

by all of them. This salmon goes from the lower Amur into all its tributaries, the Amgunj, Gorin, Chongar, and Ussuri, and goes up to their uppermost tributaries. In the region of the latter, strange to say, it avoids Lake Kengka, otherwise so rich in fish, and, to be sure, as Przewalski (2) suspects, because of its all too

2. Op. cit., p. 97, footnote.

muddy water. Its migration up the Ussuri is said to last for about
Gi 14 days, from the middle of September on. Late in the summer of
[114] 1855, when I traveled down the Amur from the Ussuri mouth, I met the first specimens of S. lagocephalus going upstream on August 25 and 26 (September 6 and 7) near Ssoja and Emmero at the outlet from the Geong Mountains. Just three days later, near Chongar and Onmoi, I met it in mass migrations, and the Goldi were completely absorbed in catching it. In the latter village, where I rested for a few days, an old and very intelligent man told me that the mass migration of the daua lasted here for about ten days, after which it was scarcer, to be sure, but continued to migrate for another 20 days or so. Farther downstream

[i.e. The villages of Adi and Köurmi--Analyst]

Gi 226 [251] /539 cont./ Farther downstream everything revolved exclusively around the catching of this fish and the preparation of winter supplies out of it, everyone feasted on it, the drying racks standing around the yurts were hung with tight rows of cut-up fish, like wide red ribbons, and the refuse poisoning the air yielded abundant food for the dogs, crows, and blowflies. In Mongole, near the northern boundary of the Olcha, on September 13/25, the people thought that the mass migration of the daua had already come to an end, and only stragglers were still going upstream. Nevertheless I found the Gilyak as far as Nikolayevsk still busy everywhere catching lyghi-tscho, either at the salmon weirs or with the help of ordinary nets. By the way, the catching of S. lagocephalus is done among the Olcha and the Goldi in precisely the same way as among the Gilyak, in part with ordinary nets, which, with meshes of a definite size, bear the name daua-magda after this principal fish, and in part with the help of the above-mentioned salmon weir, called mynga by them. The bag-shaped net on this latter (adule) is also made exactly like the myrch-kä of the Gilyak, is likewise equipped with signal cords (Gilyak umyssj, Olcha and Goldi ssiracha), and is also handled in the same way. But the salmon weirs of the Olcha and Goldi, in accordance with the above general remarks about their fishing in comparison with that of the Gilyak, are, as a rule, smaller, less carefully made, and less numerous than among the latter.

G [226] Gi 226 Gi 184

Gi 226 136 Prior to the surplus of fish brought about by the appearance of S. lagocephalus, there is a rather long period that is relatively poor for fish, during which the Olcha and Goldi /540/ are dependent on the fish living permanently in the Amur. The most important among them, aside from the species of Acipenser already discussed, are several cyprinoids, such as Cyprinus carpio (Olcha uja, Goldi kyzzi), Carassius vulgaris (Olcha and Goldi chargu), Pseudaspius leptocephalus (Olcha and Goldi ssowa and ssua), Hypophtalmichthys dybowskii (Olcha and Goldi takko and tawo), Culter erythropterus (Olcha and Goldi dsadsichi), and others, as well as Salmo fluviatalis (among the Olcha and Goldi dshäl, among the Samagir on the Gorin dshöli), the sheatfish, Silurus asotus (Olcha and Goldi lacha), and the pike (Olcha koro, Goldi guzza, Samagir gutscha).

Gi /540 cont./
226 Goldi guzza, Samagir gutscha). I have even seen jukola made
[252] from the last two, though only in small quantities and for the
G immediate future. Certainly a river so rich in fish as the Amur
Gi could provide the dwellers on it with a rich yield of fish even
226 when it is not filled with species of salmon going upstream, if
157 only they were willing to fish with diligence and energy, but in
Gi this respect the Olcha and Goldi fall far behind the Gilyak. I
184 sometimes saw the Goldi badly in want in the middle of summer, but instead of energetically going fishing, which would certainly have crowned their efforts with success, even though not to the same extent as in the period of the migrating salmon, they contented themselves with lazily and comfortably angling for small fish near the shore, which were supposed to relieve their momentary distress. They lack what is needed to overcome their natural indolence, the peculiarly Gilyak love of fishing, if it does not have the character of hunting, as in the case of sturgeon and hausen fishing carried on with a harpoon.

Gi With regard to the fishermen's nets of the Olcha and
227 Goldi, it is to be noted that, with the same nature as the Gilyak
184 nets, they nevertheless present some variety with regard to the
[824] materials used in making them, for they are not only made out of nettles, but also, and, to be sure, the more frequently the farther upstream one goes, out of the stems of the hemp plant (Cannabis sativa L., Olcha and Goldi onochto), which grows in great profusion along with nettles and artemisia around their
Gi yurts. Moreover, instead of the stones which the Gilyak some-
227 times use to weight their nets, they use oblong-parallelepipedal
184 pieces of clay (ilbicha) intended expressly for the purpose, which
323 fit exactly in between the two willow-bast cords (Olcha and Goldi bartoche) framing the net and are equipped with suitable straps for being fastened to them. For making these net-weights, a wooden mold consisting of two individual halves is used: it is first greased with fish oil, then the clay is packed in, and any protruding beyond the mold is cut off with a knife. These pieces of clay are not fired, however, after they are taken out of the mold, but instead are dried and slightly hardened on the warm sitting-benches or in front of the hearth-fire in the yurt.

/540 cont./

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[824]

warm sitting-benches or in front of the hearth-fire in the yurt. And finally, instead of the wooden or bark floats customary among the Gilyak, the Olcha and Goldi use on their nets pieces of cork cut into parallelepipedal shape (Olcha and Goldi kokto and kochto) from a tree peculiar to the Amur region, Phellondendron amurense Rupr., and, to be sure, one finds them among the former even below Kidsi, though the tree in question does not appear until much farther upstream, from about the Chongar mouth and Onmoi on. It was these pieces of cork on /541/ the fishermen's nets of the natives that first drew our attention to the presence of a cork-forming tree in the Amur region.

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While among the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, in spite of their innate love for hunting, fishing nevertheless continues to be their main occupation, which provides a livelihood for them as well as for their only domestic animal, the dog, kept in large numbers for harnessing, the situation is completely reversed among their fellow-tribesmen in the upper Amur region. Whereas the former, upon reaching the giant river and its large tributaries teeming with fish, gave up their hunting lives and became more or less sedentary fishermen who, the farther downstream they went, all the more adopted the way of life of their teachers in fishing, the anciently settled Gilyak, the Tungusic peoples of the upper Amur region have to this day remained hunting nomads who only temporarily, during the summer, come down from their hunting grounds to the Amur in order to take advantage of its wealth of fish, and, to be sure, only for their own food, since their domestic animals, or, more accurately, roaming animals, the reindeer and the horse, are herbivorous in nature. Fishing, therefore, in comparison with hunting, plays only a very subordinate role among them, in that it merely provides a supplement to their diet and brings some variety into it.

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There is a causal connection between this phenomenon in the life and history of the Amur peoples and the fact that the Amur River in its upper course does not by far have the wealth of fish that is found in the lower one. In particular those fish that through their regular and mass migrations from the sea and

2: Schrenck--844 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Golbi RX3
Tungus RU5

Gi T 226 T [114]

/541 cont./

into the lower Amur River and its tributaries provide the dwellers there with a certain and abundant source of subsistence, the various species of salmon discussed above and among them Salmo lagocephalus in particular, which stands in first place throughout the lower Amur region, are more or less absent from the upper course of the Amur. Middendorff was told, presumably by the Tungus accompanying him, that the keta salmon did not go as far as the Bureja /Bureya/; the Unmü, a river which I cannot identify with any that I know, was said to be the highest tributary of the Amur to which it goes (1). Maack says that it goes

1. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1261. This river does not appear on the "Hydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges /Hydrographic Map of the Stanovoi Mountains/" drawn up by him on the basis of Chinese sources.

up as far as the mouth of the Komar and then into this river, but only very rarely occurs in the Amur above this mouth (2).

2. Maak", Putesh., p. 74.

The first seems very questionable to me, but the latter is quite creditable. It is totally absent in the source rivers of the Amur, the Schilka and Argunj, and therefore the settlers on the upper Amur coming from there did not want to eat it, according to Schmidt's statement (3), /542/ because it was completely un-

3. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 20.

known to them. Thus, Salmo lagocephalus, thanks to its distribution, limited to the lower Amur region, and to the great significance that it has for its entire population, may be designated from an ethnological viewpoint as a significant characteristic form of the lower Amur region in contrast to the upper one.

Gi T 226 /542 cont./

Whereas an essential and characteristic difference between the upper and the lower Amur regions with regard to fishing is caused by the above-mentioned distribution of salmon and especially of S. lagocephalus, the Acipenser species characteristic of the entire Amur River as far as its Daurian source rivers provides a common feature directly connecting the two sections with each other. Like their fellow-tribesmen in the lower Amur region, so, too, do the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon take special pleasure in catching these largest fish of the Amur River, especially the gigantic Amur hausen, and they practice it for the most part, not with fishermen's nets, like the Gilyak, but with the harpoon hurled from the light bark-canoe, just as would be natural and appropriate for a hunting people (1). Each individual

T 226 [411] [501]

T [262] [439]

1. Even the designations for these fish among the upper Amur peoples are very similar to those among the upper Goldi: for example, according to Maack (op. cit., pp. 58 and 60), among the Orochon, Ac. orientalis -- adsin, Ac. schrenckii -- kilemma.

catch of this kind provides the hunters with a considerable quantity of meat for food, like their major forest animals, such as elk, deer, etc., and, in addition, a large amount of the cartilage to be very advantageously turned to good account in trade with the Chinese. When on my journey up the Amur I crossed the Manegir area and, on August 17/29, came to the place where ancient Albasin had stood and where there were now two Manegir tents, I saw how a large hausen, just slain, was brought to land in tow by a bark-canoe, in order to be cut up and divided among all the tent occupants. First the head was separated from the body and submerged in the water not far from the bank, for protection against its spoiling and against flies, so it was said, but more probably on account of a superstition prevailing among the natives of the lower Amur region with regard to many a game animal, To which I shall come back later.

T [114]

T 226 252 [251] [825]

T /542 cont./
226 animal, to which I shall come back later. Then the rows of
252 scales were removed, the animal was eviscerated, and its stomach and intestines were thrown away, but the other soft parts, such as the heart, the liver, and all the meat, were so divided and cut up that everyone received an approximately equal share of the fish, which he could dispose of as he liked.
T [114] Unfortunately my voyage through the territory of the Manegir
[221] and Orochon fell in a period of the year when most of them had already left the Amur and had moved to their fall and winter hunting grounds. Hence I am unable to report on their methods
T of fishing in detail on the basis of my own experience. The
[251] wooden racks for drying the fish, however, left standing here and
[417] there on the deserted tent sites, are evidence that fishing in the Amur served not merely for a temporary food supply for them during their stay along the river, but also for the preparation of /543/ some provisions for the future. But, on account of the inadequate means of transportation available to the nomads, there could only be a small amount of them, no more than there could
T be during a change of hunting grounds. In briefly summing up
226 in conclusion, for these peoples fishing is not, as it is among
433 those of the lower Amur region, a constant source of subsistence
361 absolutely necessary for the entire economy, forcing them into
224 a more or less permanent sedentariness, but rather is an auxiliary occupation that is only practiced from time to time and fitted into their otherwise nomadic life as hunters. It is in this different significance of fishing and hunting for the peoples of the lower and upper Amur regions that the most essential and decisive difference in their whole lives and existence lies.

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G: Before I go into a specific discussion of hunting among
225 the Amur peoples, I must mention two ways of catching animals that, as a consequence of natural conditions, are practiced only in the lower Amur region and therefore, along with the previously discussed situation with regard to fishing, provide essentially different features in the pattern of life for the lower and the upper Amur peoples. I am referring to the hunting of seals and dolphins, or white whales.

/543 cont./

225 184 Just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches of work the Gilyak stand first among all the peoples of the Amur region. One can see well enough from the above descriptions how great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them for food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing the means of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next [433] to fishing, hunting seals is therefore their chief occupation, which, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation area, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of Sakhalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, in which, as was already pointed out, the seals migrate as far as the Olcha territory. In fact, among the coastal Gilyak, along the Sea of Okhotsk and on the Liman, seal-hunting often even comes before fishing. It can be seen merely from the clothing of these Gilyak, consisting to a great extent, indeed, often wholly, of sealskin, that among them seal-hunting plays a far more important role than among the Amur Gilyak. It 225 should also be noted in this connection that on the Amur-Liman 36 there are two places that bear the names of "Langr-wo," or [103] "Langr" for short, and "Langri," that is, seal village, perhaps because they are especially favorably located for seal-hunting or perhaps because their inhabitants practice it with special and traditional skill and success. I cannot say anything further about one of these places, Langri, located on the west coast of Sakhalin, which, according to Glehn (1), is merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

summer village of the Gilyak of Tulksj. /544/ The other one, however, Langr, located on a small island at the entrance to the Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited myself, seems fully to justify its name and the conjectures [438] associated with it. It is one of the largest villages of the Amur-Liman, and its inhabitants carry on a lively trade with the Amur Gilyak, using in particular the products of their seal-hunting, such as sealskins and furs and seal oil as articles for bartering with them.

/544 cont./

000 bartering with them. Tschomi plays the same role in the south-
225 ern part of the Amur-Liman that Langr does in the north. In
184 particular the small group of the Hagimif Islands is one of the
[361] localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living adjacent to it. In order to hunt seals, however, the enterprising Tschomi Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Mamia-Rinsô Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Poghobi, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur River, at Tschcharbach, Ngale-wo, and Pronge, where in particular the small island of Uïsut is an especially favorable spot for it.

225 According to the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the
136 Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception of the "alch," Phoca equestris Pall., but the old animals are said to go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the younger ones go up farther. In any case, Ph. nummularis Schleg., which in the adult state is called phghi-langr by the Gilyak, gjäuchssa by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is
225 therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak.
237 One sees its more or less densely spotted fur everywhere among
136 them and used in all kinds of ways, for clothing, as was discussed in detail above, ski, bags, small pouches, etc. Scarcely less important for them, however, is the kighitsch, the Ph. barbata Müll., which is less common in the river and whose thicker skin, with the hair removed, is used for making the foot part and the soles on their boots, the dog harness, and the
225 straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to go about 60 versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Plyi or Poron-ai (1), but as yet nothing is known about

[113] 1. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 48.

the habits of the individual species.

/544 cont./

225 184 [192] [221] Along the seacoast and in the Amur-Liman seal-hunting takes place during every season of the year. In winter and in general as long as there is an ice-cover, the Gilyak lie in wait for the seals at the places where they come to the surface of the ice to breathe, in order to kill them with the ordinary harpoon, the tugngy (2) (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 2), also used for spearing

2. This designation primarily refers to the iron point illustrated, but it is also used for the entire harpoon equipped with a pole for hurling it.

sturgeon and hausen, or, when they have crawled out on the ice itself, to cut them off from the water /545/ and simply club them. The latter can be done more often and to a greater extent in the spring, because then the seals are said to enjoy coming out on the surface of the ice to sun themselves. Both the Tschomi [221] Gilyak whom I met in Poghobi and the inhabitants of Tägl on the mainland coast of the Sea of Okhotsk told me that the month of April, arkail-long, was the month in which more productive seal-hunting begins along the seacoast and in the Liman. In the Amur, on the other hand, seal-hunting is practiced only when the river has no ice, and, to be sure, especially in August, the piljatschrar-long, because then the seals go into the river in greater numbers in order to feed on the masses of keta salmon (S. lagocephalus) going up it. There is a similar situation at the mouth of the Tymy on Sakhalin, where not only the Gilyak and Orok living there, but also the Gilyak coming from the upper course of the Tymy to fish, engage in seal-hunting as well as fishing. For the former and in open water everywhere, in the sea as well [192] as in the Amur-Liman and the Amur River, the Gilyak sometimes use the ordinary harpoon (tugngy, Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 2), which is hurled from the boat, and sometimes, and most often, another weapon intended especially for seal-hunting, which is called lych among them. It consists of a board about a foot long, which rises a little in front and runs out into a horizontal

/545 cont./

225 184 [192] prong (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (tugngy), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, on the other hand, where a deep groove is carved, the board is joined to a pole (Gilyak tla) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Uïsut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is lowered to the water and pushed along, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal resting on a stone or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the bank, until it is close enough so that a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more floating beams to a post driven into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the shore in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the lych held in readiness (2).

[128] [126]

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 751, 763, 780, 791, and 825 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Fr. Russow, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, or contained in my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

/546/

225 825 789 532 Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lych, like the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.

Use of the lych for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon. 225 825 Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any use is made of a slain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife, whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown into the water, and, furthermore, the snout, or, to achieve both things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put into the water. The guiding thought in this is to leave the slain [799] animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in the future. The same conception is evidently the basis for the [191] above-mentioned similar procedure of the Manegir with their slain sturgeon and hausen. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to terms with this superstition in another and less costly way. Perhaps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

G 225 825 /546 cont./ seals was very inconvenient for me inasmuch as, because of it, I was unable to obtain perfectly whole and intact skins of the seals of the Amur region.

A 225 Just as among the Gilyak, seal-hunting also plays an important role among the Ainu living on both coasts of Sakhalin and is practiced by them in quite similar ways. Thus, according to Mizul's information (2), the above-described, long-handled

2. Op. cit., p. 130.

harpoon, the Gilyak lych, is also used among them, and even Mamia Rinsô mentions /547/ that they put in the water small wooden floats onto which the seals crawl and are then killed with javelins (1).

1. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

Gi 225 Among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region it is possible for only a few, because of the location of their habitation area, to turn to seal-hunting among other sources of subsistence, or to practice it at all. The former is the case in particular among the Orochi of the coast, who do not practice seal-hunting merely to satisfy their own needs for seal furs, skins, and oil, but also get from it important articles to barter in trade with their western neighbors, the Goldi. Nevertheless, even among the Orochi seal-hunting falls far behind the preferred hunting of forest animals. The Olcha, too, though to a lesser extent, have an opportunity to devote themselves to seal-hunting within their own borders, thanks, on the one hand, to their dwelling sites on de Castries Bay and, on the other hand, to the ascent of the seals in the Amur River far into their territory. There can be no doubt but that they practice it in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak, who here again are their teachers. Finally, the Negda, though living at a distance from the sea, annually travel in some number from the Amgunj, and especially from their northeastern dwelling sites on Lake Orell and

Gi [439] Gi [361] Gi [191] [197] Gi 225 221 361

G1 225 221 361 /547 cont./
Lake Tschlja, across the mountains to the Sea of Okhotsk, in order to occupy themselves there for a time with seal-hunting (2).

2. According to Boschnjak and Schmidt, see pp. 26 and 63 above.

G1 225 171 For the other Tungusic peoples of the Amur region nothing can be said about seal-hunting.

G 225 136 Catching the white whale comes into consideration for the Amur region within even narrower limits than seal-hunting. The distribution of the white whale (Delphinapterus leucas Pall., Gilyak pomi-tscho, Olcha malta) in the Amur region approximately coincides with the habitation area of the Gilyak; only along the east coast of Sakhalin and in the Amur River does it go somewhat beyond it to the south, whereas on the west coast G 136 of the island it falls back to the north behind it. An inhabitant of the arctic seas, among which the Sea of Okhotsk also belongs in view of its general character, the white whale goes down along the east coast of Sakhalin to its southern end and occurs in particular in great numbers in the Bay of Patience and at the mouth of the Poronai (3). On the other hand it remains far from

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3. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" /Journey to Sakhalin Island/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 107, 111). The same, Otchet" ob" izslied. na ostr. Sakhalinie, v" Iuzhno-Ussuriisk. kraie i v" Iaponii /Summary of the Research on Sakhalin Island, in the Southern Ussuri Region, and in Japan/ (supplement to Vol. XLVIII of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 6, pp. 5-7). At the latter place, Poljakof reports that the white whale appears in large schools in front of the mouth of the Poro-nai even before the river has shed its cover

/547 cont./

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3. (cont.)
of ice, and at low tide go upstream under it, since the layer of air between it and the lower surface of the river makes breathing possible for it. But when high tide sets in, all the individuals, often with their young on their backs, return to the sea. This disappearance and reappearance of the white whale in front of the mouth of the Poronai was repeated with the regularity of the high and low tides, and the excited sniffling and barking of the dogs on top attested to the movement of the animals under the ice-co[illegible].

the warmer northern Sea of Japan. /548/ As has already been discussed in great detail in the first volume of this work (1),

1. "Säugethiere des Amur-Landes /Mammals of the Amur Region/," p. 191.

it goes from the Sea of Okhotsk into the Amur-Liman and Amur River and goes up the latter for a considerable distance from the mouth, throughout the habitation area of the Gilyak and into that of their southern neighbors, the Olcha, always staying in the deepest channel of the river and therefore usually along its high right bank. In particular it is seen in especially great numbers in the lowermost, Gilyak part of the Amur River, and, to be sure, in August and September, when it goes toward the sea, meeting the salmon (S. lagocephalus) coming up in multitudes. The colossal, dazzlingly white animals constantly emerging and diving into the river even drew the attention of the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô (2).

2. The traveler calls them "sira-kuzira," white whales "Tôtats-ki ko" in Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177).

/548 cont./

225 171 In view of this distribution of the white whale in the Amur region, the Gilyak are practically the only one of its peoples that occupies itself with catching it. To be sure, the Ainu along the east coast of Sakhalin would have the opportunity for it, but there is no mention of such an occupation by any of the travelers who became acquainted with them. Little inclined toward bolder hunting ventures, they presumably are satisfied, so far as the white whale is concerned, to capture the individuals stranded on the shore, just as they do in the case of the larger 225 true whales. With regard to the latter the Gilyak do no differently, but they pursue the white whale with weapons, and, to be sure, for this they use a harpoon intended specifically for this purpose, their so-called parr (Pl. XLII /see p.1022/, Figs. 3 and 4). This consists of a thick and short bone tube into which a dagger-shaped, double-edged and pointed iron lamella provided with a barb on either side in the back is inserted. This piece is mounted on a wooden shaft (Gilyak werl) for hurling it and, in addition, is equipped with a long, stout strap by which the wounded animal is pulled in, either to the boat or directly on land, depending on where the hunter may be, in order finally [825] to be beaten to death. Here, too, as in seal-hunting, superstition, and presumably as the result of a similar idea, demands that, first of all, the head of the slain animal be cut off; it is not thrown into the water, however, but hung on a tree standing on the bank, after all the muscle meat and the like have first been removed from it. At various places along the right bank of the Amur I saw such trees with many skulls of white whales hanging in them, which at the same time showed the success [171] of the Gilyak in hunting /549/ the white whale. I cannot say whether the Olcha, in whose territory the white whale is much rarer, likewise hunt them, but, if this should be the case, only the Gilyak could have been their teachers. Thus, the hunting of the white whale is a characteristic feature in the way of life of the Gilyak in contrast to the other Amur peoples and brings them closer, in view of the arctic nature of this animal, to the 000 polar peoples. And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking

225 /549 cont. /And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking
171 the skulls of slain white-whales on a tree or, lacking one of them,
825 on vertical piles driven into the ground prevails among some of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed and

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1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 85; Zoographia rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 275.

Ostyak along the Obj River.

/550/ Section 9

Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

224 As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence
171 of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forest, I must first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing, increases the more in immediate importance and significance the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region, just like fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

224 The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observations, are accordingly, as the most sedentary, the most ichthyophagous, and in general the most pronounced fishing people of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peoples
[439] to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them catching fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for themselves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these ends

/550 cont./

224 439 only indirectly inasmuch as it furnishes them with those articles by means of which they can acquire through trade with the neighboring civilized peoples the foreign clothing, food, and stimulants which have become necessities for them. Hence, among them hunting is principally directed toward those animals for whose furs there is a sure and good market among their principal trade-lords, the Chinese, and since, merely in order to preserve the pelts as intact as possible, it is practiced for the most part by means of various kinds of traps, snares, poison pellets, etc., one can designate it, in accordance with its greatly predominant purpose and character, as the catching of fur-bearing animals.

224 /551/ Obviously, the Gilyak engage in hunting only in the winter, for they are then occupied with fishing only a little, have enough time for it, and, on the other hand, the animals are in their full, valuable winter-fur. In addition, the deep snow then covering the dense underbrush in the forest facilitates to a great extent movement through it, so that, as experience has taught, the Gilyak, too, know without any doubt that the heavier the snow is in winter, the more rewarding and successful the hunting will be. Nevertheless the Gilyak do not devote [171] themselves to hunting in winter nearly as much as their Tungusic neighbors do. Whereas the latter, as we shall see, frequently move then from their own habitation area into distant forest and mountain wildernesses, in order to live there for weeks entirely by hunting, the Gilyak content themselves with practicing it only in their own territory in a certain area, larger or smaller according to the locality, around their winter dwellings. For this purpose the latter are often erected separately, and sometimes even quite far from the summer dwellings, at such places which have an especially favorable location for hunting.

The most important fur-bearing animals for the Gilyak, because they are generally highly valued in trade and are present in great numbers in the Amur region, are the sable (Gilyak lunir, among the Tymy and Tro Gilyak oghrob and myghr-nga, i.e., brown animal), the otter (Gilyak ngy, among the Tymy and Tro Gilyak pchyik), and the fox (Gilyak käkch, among the Tymy

/551 cont./
224 and Tro Gilyak paghlant and paghlantsch, i.e., the red one) in its different color variations (1).

[104]

1. Concerning the designations for these color variations of the fox among the Gilyak and the other Amur peoples, as well as the kinds and the geographic distribution of both the mammals named and those still to be named in the following, one should read my pertinent discussion of the first volume of this work.

The Gilyak for the most part catch the sable, unquestionably standing first in importance, with traps. The one most [192] commonly used is the so-called ha, a pinch-trap /Quetscfalle/, which is set up in the following manner. In the trunk of a tree, at a height of about three or four feet above the ground, a hollow is made, and in it the end of a beam of corresponding thickness is stuck and supported by a little stick resting upon another little wooden stick or plate, which starts at the bait at the bottom of the hollow. As soon as the animal lured by the bait, a piece of fish (jukola) or seal blubber, nibbles at it, the little supporting stick slides off its base and lets the beam fall. But in order that the latter pinch the animal more firmly and securely, the edge of the hollow lying under it is framed by a small wooden crosspiece. The ha is naturally set up at places which the sable likes to visit, in particular in the bottoms of valleys, on the banks of small rivers, in which case the pinch-beam is laid across the brook, because sables like to use fallen tree trunks as bridges in order to cross over from one slope of a valley to the other (2). Thus,

2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 101) even maintains, having often observed it, he says, in the tracks of this animal, that the sable never goes around a fallen

/551 cont./

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2. (cont.)
tree-trunk, but always runs over it lengthways.

/552/ in the small side valleys of the upper Tymy River on Sakhalin I repeatedly came across either sable traps of this kind still set up or traces of them remaining on the trees. To the [192] chagrin of the Gilyak, however, other small and more or less worthless animals often get caught in the ha instead of sables, such as squirrels (Gilyak lakr and lakrs, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin lafkor), ermine (Gilyak tymr and tymrsch, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin tchymr), and on the mainland especially frequently the Mustela sibirica (Gilyak zongrsk), which is so much like the sable in its way of life and is absent on Sakhalin, and, indeed, in the village of Warki on the Liman, the Gilyak even brought me a jay (Garrulus glandarius) which had been found in a ha and bore the [171] marks of the pinching on its neck. This sable trap of the Gilyak, by the way, is not at all original, since, apart from the Amur Tungus, it recurs with the same or quite similar construction among a number of Siberian peoples, for example, among the [illegible]dentary Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, in the northern [illegible]amchatka (1), among the Russian Tungus in the Stanovoi

[113] 1. Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 108.

Mountains (2), and others, and in general rests on the same

[113] 2. Sievers, "Briefe aus Sibirien /Letters from Siberia/," (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Vol. VII, p. 212).

principle that the traps used for catching polar fox, hares, etc. throughout the polar north of Siberia are based on (3).

[114] 3. A detailed description and an illustration of this last trap is to be found, among

/552 cont./

224 [114]

3. (cont.)
others, in Middendorff (Sibir. Reise /Siberian Journey/, Vol. IV, p. 1387).

The same can be said of a second device used among the Gilyak for catching sable, a clamp-trap /Klemmfalle/ con-
[171] structed with a bow. This trap, distributed throughout Siberia, has already been described and illustrated many times by travelers (4), and I could therefore pass over it quickly if it did not seem

4. Recently, for instance, by Bush (Reindeer, dogs and Snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 316) and by Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1388).

to me of interest to point out, besides its in part peculiar use among the Gilyak, the designations customary among them for its individual components in comparison with those, in part identical, for another apparatus to be discussed immediately below, which can be done much more briefly and clearly with
224 the help of illustrations. Among the Gilyak the clamp-trap in
192 question, shown on Plate XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 4, bears the name klai and is made as follows: a simple wooden bow (Gilyak puntsch, a of the illustration) is set into appropriate lateral notches in two sticks (Gilyak assj, b of the illustration) put together in the form of a fork and joined at the top. Above the crossboard (d, Gilyak lyms) connecting them at some distance from their lower, pointed ends, they are provided with longitudinal cutouts, into which the lower part, consisting of another such crossboard, of the wooden piece c, connected at the top with the bowstring, is stuck and can move up and down depending on the tautness of the bow. Curiously enough, the wooden piece c is simply called ku, that is "arrow," by the Gilyak -- a striking /553/ generalization such as is not often found among them otherwise, and, correspondingly, an upper crosspiece (e) connecting the two side staffs with each other and provided with a cutout for the movements of the ku is called kurscho(gr)tsch (1). A small stick (f,

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1. The letters in parentheses are only

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1. (cont.)
barely pronounced, like a faint growl.

Gilyak tschymrch), fastened to the side staffs as well as to the bowstring, serves for stretching the bow, and another (h, Gilyak ksull), which is connected with the former by a cord (g, ksull-puks), holds it taut, which is possible only as long as it is itself supported at its lower end on a thin stick (i, Gilyak taghr-tschissj) inserted into the cutouts in the side staffs between ku and lyms. The slightest pressure on it is sufficient to make the little stick h fly off, whereupon the taut bowstring is released and shoots the ku down to the lyms, tightly clamping anything found in between. In order to set up the klai, the Gilyak first make a hollow in a tree trunk directly above the snow, into which they put some jukola or seal blubber as bait, and then stick the trap under discussion in the snow in front of it in such a way that the animal can only reach the bait by way of the wooden step i and thus inevitably must be caught. In the klai, also, aside from sable, the above-mentioned, worthless small animals are all too often caught. According to the Gilyak, they sometimes also use this trap in their dwellings in order to catch in them the very numerous and annoying rats (Mus decumanus, Gilyak njagrsch), which, by the way, are not used in any way among them.

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[136]

Taking advantage of the above-mentioned fondness of the sable to run the length of tree trunks felled across a brook, the Gilyak set up snares on them to catch the little animal. For this purpose, in about the middle of the trunk, a cross row of upright sticks more or less hidden by the tree branches is set up and only a single opening just large enough for the sable to slip through is left between them. Not far from there an upright flexible tree branch is stuck in the bottom of the stream, and the tip of it is bent down to the horizontal trunk by means of a string ending in a noose and is fastened in the opening left for the sable between the cross-sticks, in which the noose, too, is found, with the help of a little hook. The latter, since the opening is small, must inevitably fly off when the sable enters it, whereupon the bent branch jerks upward and the noose tightens around the

/553 cont./

224 animal and lifts it off the beam so that it hangs in the air above the brook and in this position is kept safe from beasts of prey. The hunter, therefore, even in case of a delayed inspection of [171] the traps set by him, does not lose his catch. As customary as this method of catching sable, which is also used by other Amur and Siberian peoples, may be among the Gilyak, I never happened to come across it and am unable to give their name for it.

[171] Furthermore the Gilyak pursue both the previously named, especially precious animals and some others by means of an apparatus which /554/ has much in common with the above-described clamp-trap and, though likewise known throughout Siberia, must be discussed here in greater detail for the reasons already stated. It is the so-called self-firer /Selbstschuss/ (Russian ssamostrel) (1), a bow which at the slightest touch shoots

[192]

1. It is very indicative of the common principle of these two devices that the clamp-trap, which is generally called tscherkan in Russian, is also called ssamostrel in the Orenburg Gouvernement, according to Tscherkassof (Zapiski okhotnika Vostochnoi Sibiri /Notes of a Hunter in Eastern Siberia/, St. Petersburg, 1867, p. 336).

224 192 off an arrow. Among the Gilyak it is called ngarchotsch (z) and has the following nature. A simple wooden bow, as in the case of the clamp-trap, is fastened at its center to a wooden crosspiece (Pl. XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 1, c, Gilyak ksull) (2), on which

2. The identification in the naming of this piece with the small wooden piece h in the klai is most striking; we would rather expect such a one with the fork sticks (assj) of the klai.

/554 cont./

224 192 the arrow to be shot (d) lies. By means of a looped cord put in its upper part and a little stick f (Gilyak tschymrch)[1] bent in a right angle (cut from a branch) and likewise fastened to it, the bow is stretched and through that the upper end of the arrow, lying in front of the stretched bowstring is pressed so strongly against its support that it cannot slip off even if the whole apparatus were inclined. Finally, when the bow is stretched, a small piece of wood (Gilyak wett(a)k, g and Fig. 2, ibid., natural size) (3),

3. In this figure, it is shown in a reversed position, the upper side turned downward.

equipped with a long and as fine a cord as possible, is inserted by its upper, flatly pointed, and polished end at the upper end of the tension stick and the looped cord. A slight pull on the cord of this little piece of wood (h, Gilyak tschoch) is sufficient to make it fly off, whereupon the looped cord also slips off the tension stick, and, as a result, the arrow is shot. The self-firing bow is set up on a tree trunk, or on a special pole (Gilyak kips) stuck in the snow for the purpose, in a more or less inclined position, and the above-mentioned thin cord, in a taut state, is drawn across the place where there is an animal trail or where one expects an animal to pass. The main thing is to give it the proper inclination so that the arrow will not shoot beyond the animal or into the ground in front of it or underneath it. The inclination naturally varies in accordance with the kind of animal expected and according to the distance at which the self-firer is set up from its probable path. For each type of animal, special aim must be taken in setting up the self-firer and adjusting the arrow, and for this the Gilyak use a special target-stick, their so-called tschraff (ibid., Fig. 3), which they know to be accurate by experience. in setting up the self-firer, it is put at the point where the animal is to be killed, and the arrow is aimed at one of the transverse stripes marked on it, according to the

/554 cont./

224 192 kind of animal expected. I have seen only the target-stick used for the three most important fur-bearing animals, sable, otter, and fox, as well as for hares (Gilyak chuĭ and chuĭk, along the east coast and in the interior of Sakhalin ossjk and kanak, i.e., the white one). /555/ On it three stripes or bands, each between 224 two transverse lines, are marked off: if a fox is expected, the arrow is aimed at the uppermost stripe, point a of the illustration; if the shot is readied for a hare, one aims at the second stripe, point b; for sable one aims the arrow toward the third stripe, point c, and, finally, for the otter, toward the base of the target-stick, point d. The height of these transverse lines and stripes above the base of the target-stick is the following:

Height of transverse line ef above the base (rs) . . .	245	mm.
" " " " gh " " " " . . .	240	"
Average target-height for fox, point a	242 1/2	"
Height of transverse line ik above the base	188	"
" " " " lm " " "	180	"
Average target-height for hare, point b	184	"
Height of transverse line no above the base	118	"
" " " " pq " " " . .	112	"
Average target-height for sable, point c	115	"
The length or height of the whole target-stick amounts to	260	"

[192] The arrow (Gilyak kor) used with the self-firer for the animals mentioned has, in comparison with ordinary arrows, a very peculiar iron point which consists of two prongs equipped on their inner sides with one barb each (1). So that the animal struck by

1. It is noteworthy that whereas the

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1. (cont.)
downward-shooting wooden piece on the klai, in no way resembling an arrow in its form, is designated in a generalizing fashion only as ku, "arrow," this proper arrow, distinguished only by the form of its point, has a special designation among the Gilyak.

the arrow, but possibly not fatally and only wounded, will not escape, the arrow is fastened by a loosely hanging cord (Gilyak toghr-puks) to the pole on which the self-firer rests.

224
[435] The high value of sable, fox, and otter furs makes the use of the self-firer in the form described very general among the Gilyak, and in the forests surrounding their dwellings one can easily run into an apparatus of this kind set up, which makes caution necessary when roaming in them. It is surprising that on the above-described target-stick the worthless hare has been given consideration along with the three most highly prized fur-bearing animals. This perhaps may be explained by the fact that it is very common in the entire lower Amur region and on Sakhalin and, in the absence of other animal trails, often provides booty for the self-firers, whereby a good piece of meat and a fur for his own needs always fall to the hunter.

/556/ On the other hand, I have never heard it said that the Gilyak use the self-firer for killing other, more or less valuable, but larger animals, such as the lynx, wolf, alpine wolf, musk deer, reindeer, and elk. There may be various reasons for this.
[171] In general, the Gilyak are not hunters enough and are not enough interested in hunting animals other than those with precious furs to undertake long and strenuous hunting trips over a wide territory, to lay out barricades, and to set up self-firers with arrows aimed horizontally in their passageways, as is customary, for example, among the Tungusic peoples and is discussed at length by

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224 [171] Middendorff and others (1). Thus, larger animals are usually

1. Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1382 ff., and the woodcut.

only killed by chance with the weapons to be described later. 224 825 Some of the animals mentioned above, such as the lynx, the wolf, and the alpine wolf, conventionally offer such highly prized skins that one would expect regular pursuit of them by the Gilyak, and yet, as far as I know, they do not set up any self-firers for them. Undoubtedly superstitious beliefs are in part the reason for this. With regard to the lynx (Gilyak tschlyghi), it has already been pointed out above (2) that the

2. See p. 583 ff. above.

Gilyak see in it an image, as it were, of the tiger, of which they have such a panicky fear that they hardly dare name it or talk about it aloud (3). This awe alone may prevent them from

3. See Vol. I, p. 94, of this work.

hunting it in a premeditated fashion and with the same devices as other animals, and only permits them to go after the carcass adorned with precious fur in case of an accidental meeting and, so to speak, in self-defense. The situation is similar with regard to the alpine wolf (Canis alpinus, Gilyak tschoramlatsch, on Sakhalin tschchodamlatsch), which the Gilyak do not hunt at all out of superstitious fear, and which, in addition, only stays in remote mountain wildernesses, into which, with their slight inclination for hunting, they may come but rarely. Finally, with 224 regard to the ordinary wolf (Gilyak ligs, along the east coast and in the interior of Sakhalin attk), it is pursued by the Gilyak regularly, although not with the self-firer, but rather by means of a device which I shall discuss in a moment. Thus, the self- [171] firer, which in more or less differing forms is used in Siberia both

/556 cont./

224 [191] by the native tribes, Tungus, Yakut, Ostyak, Samoyed, and by the Russians for slaying all the animals possible, from the largest, such as bear and elk, down to the sable and squirrel, is used much less among the Gilyak and is limited to only the most important fur-bearing animals -- a circumstance which is likewise evidence of their slight inclination for hunting and, at the same time, their predominant and decisive interest in trade.

The great benefit that the Gilyak derive from fox fur both in trade and for their own use induces them to hunt this animal, not only with the self-firer, but also in other ways. For example, they likewise use for catching it a clamp-trap, which, constructed in the same way and only somewhat larger, /557/ is also used for 224 192 wolves. This is their so-called kasma (1). It consists of a peg

[104] 1. The s is pronounced softly here, like the French z.

stuck into the ground and running up into a two-pronged fork at the top. The two prongs, only very gradually diverging from each other from their common base, are of unequal lengths. The shorter one (called wa in Gilyak) is sharpened on its inner side, side, the longer one rounded off. On the latter, not far from its tip, there is a cross-stick (Gilyak tabs-tigrsch) (2), on which

[104] 2. The s again pronounced softly. Tigrsch means "wood" in general.

the bait, a piece of jukola or meat, a dead crow, or the like, is 224 put. The fox or wolf jumps against the peg in order to reach the bait with its paw, whereby its foot slides off the cross-stick and remains clamped between the two prongs. The height of the kasma is different for the fox and the wolf: for the former it must rise to about three and a half feet above the snow; for the latter, four and a half feet.

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224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
208 catch foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
192 which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
439 and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call
käkch-ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

41 When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all,
170 though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two
439 directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (pórokh"): póroke.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though likewise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy
000 Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

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5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

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411 177 439 113

5. (cont.)
Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 192 The Gilyak also have their own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun, its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is called mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," shot -- matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small arrows," 000 and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 177 152 It was surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a gun, whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at the sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At the

/558 cont./

411 same time, however, they did not show any particular timidity
177 or fear in front of the gun, whereas a pistol imbued them with a
152 great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had
[123] to threaten them with the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they beseeched me not to make use of it, because this would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Could this fear simply be based upon the still great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unperceived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

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1. At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning another and similar superstitious fear on the part of the Gilyak, which at first seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely by accident that I later obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how profoundly certain impressions gained through unusual experiences persist in the mind and memory of a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout their entire area. I owned one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Nikolayev post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was used for fishing. I had scarcely pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me to put the thing away and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

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the same thing was repeated several times later with other Gilyak from the various villages along the Amur and Liman, so that I never once succeeded in producing my stick in front of them, and from then on gave it up completely, trying in vain to think of a reason for this strange, highly excited, and fearful behavior toward an object as harmless as a fishing rod. How great, therefore, was my surprise when, already in St. Petersburg after my return, I once happened to hear Mr. v. Middendorff, who had visited the Gilyak ten years before I had, and, to be sure, in their most remote dwelling sites along Ulban Bay in the Sea of Okhotsk, relate how he had once played the following joke on them. As he stood in their company
[231] in front of a white-tailed eagle which, chained, was perched on one of the fish-drying racks -- a very common sight in their villages, which will be discussed further in the following -- in front of their eyes he cut off a thin willow switch, stuck its point, unnoticed, into a little bottle of prussic acid which he carried with him, and held it in front of the beak of the eagle. The animal immediately collapsed and died, but the Gilyak were seized with horror and fear and from then on regarded our traveler as a powerful sorcerer. To me there now remained no doubt: obviously the news

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1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

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In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

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2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

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In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

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3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

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411 which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illus-
239 trated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from
[53] Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call
[192] puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the
[434] Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur
region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak
411 kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white
192 whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal)
239 is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku)
[283] have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fish-
[415] ing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the
411 musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended
192 for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

411 /559 cont./
[192] yghli or orkai by the Gilyak (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 1), is used to kill wild fowl, ducks, geese, and the like. It consists almost wholly of wood, in that at the top the shaft runs out into a knob crowned with a point and in which are found three iron points, but blunt ones, turned in different directions (5). I have

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5. There is mention of similar, knob-shaped arrows among various peoples of Siberia in some of the oldest reports on it. For example, Georg Adam Schleissing in his work, Neuentdecktes Sieweria, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden /Newly Discovered Siberia, Where the Sables Are Caught/, etc. (Danzig, 1692, p. 49), reports that the people there do not shoot pointed arrows but rather "in order that the rare hide not be damaged, the arrow, instead of a point, has a thick iron knob with which they shoot the sable down from the tree, so that it is dizzy and then they run up and beat it to death." Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. I, p. 323) mentions wooden arrows with knob-shaped points which the Kalmyk use to kill birds and small animals. Sujef (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obj for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1276, woodcuts e and d), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

41 /559 cont./ I have
171 never heard anything among the Gilyak about poisoning their arrows, as is done among the Ainu of /560/ Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/ (1) and, according to Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3),

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1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, etc., pp. 95, 96, 112, on the basis of reports by Hieron. de Angelis, Joan Saris, and Vries; the same, Nippon, VII, pp. 185 and 201, according to Mamia Rinsô; the same, Fauna Japon., Mammalia, p. 29. Langsdorf, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 287. v. Brandt (Verhandl. der Ges. für Anthrop., Ethnol. u. Vorgesch., Year 1872, p. 28). Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Preface (supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 45), etc.

2. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 27, 95, 236.

3. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, p. 334).

is said to have been customary among the Kuriles, Italmen, Koryak, and Chukchee, and perhaps in part still is. Middendorff (4), to be sure, says that the same custom is supposed

4. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1377.

to have been passed on to the Tungus of Manchuria, but he gives no source to support his statement. Maack (5) states that the

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5. Putesh. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegir smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region.

411 415 [531] The quiver (Gilyak pi) used for stowing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carved arabesques or other figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow points (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is relatively heavy and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, [171] one holds the exceedingly light and portable quiver of the Orochi from Kaiserhafen, made solely out of animal skins (ibid., Fig. 8)(6),

6. It is made out of pieces of reindeer and elk leg-fur; the crossband in the middle is made of otter fur.

this in itself would show that hunting among the Gilyak, in comparison with their Tungusic neighbors, falls far behind.

411 796 I doubt very much that the Gilyak are skilled archers, though I do not have sufficient experience to be able to say anything more definite about it. The one time I saw them shooting was under conditions which would not permit drawing any conclusion as to their skill. It was at the bear festival in Tebach, when the three bears, held by chains and led about, were finally shot. The marksman in each case approached the erect animal from the right side to within about five paces. The first two bears went down with loud roars after the first shot, struck in the right lung; in one of them the arrow had penetrated to the middle of the shaft. The third marksman had struck his victim too low, in the abdomen, and therefore had to send a second arrow, which cut down the animal and caused it to die slowly.

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411 Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapons, bear pikes, spears, and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting the large animals of the forest, and they handle them /561/ much [192] more skillfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike uni- [191] versally used among them (Gilyak lachtsch (z), Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 2) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long. [192] The lances (Gilyak kach) (1) are of even greater length. The

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /spear/." And yet they certainly must have different designations for them, as we have seen above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off toward the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting on this shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their middle line have a projecting, rounded keel gradually flattening out toward the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workmanship [531] and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly and finely [126] worked pieces, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabesques, and the like are inlaid in silver, copper, and brass, such as the specimens illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5, which I saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, however,

2. The illustrations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

/561 cont./ such specimens, however,
411 are not used as a rule, but rather, carefully wrapped in birch
556 bark, are stored away by their owner as symbols of great wealth.

Bear pikes and lances are the weapons most commonly
224 used by the Gilyak against elk, reindeer, bears, and the like. During the first period of my stay at the Nikolayev post, when it consisted of only a few log houses erected at the edge of the still completely uncleared forest, it happened almost in front of my eyes that an elk came running out of the forest toward the river, and, when it came upon a group of Gilyak camping there, tried to keep on going by swimming; but the Gilyak immediately pursued it in their boat and stabbed it in the water with their lances, whereupon I received the skin of the animal. In winter when the all too deep snow greatly impedes movement for the elk and reindeer, the Gilyak pursue them on ski in order to kill them eventually with their pikes and lances. They get at the reindeer, which is especially common on the unforested plains of northern Sakhalin and sets out in small herds on the ice of the Liman, in still other ways. When in early spring, under the influence of the midday sun and the nightly frosts, a thin crust of ice has formed on the snow and is strong enough to support the dogs, but breaks under the reindeer, they pursue it on a light sled harnessed to dogs until they can attack it with their pikes and lances.

Most frequently, however, they use these weapons against
[825] the bear. Aside from the tiger, almost only mythical because of its great rarity, and the no /562/ less unfamiliar leopard, which, out of superstitious fear, the Gilyak scarcely dare mention by name (1), the bear is the largest and most powerful beast of

1. I have already discussed this at great length in the first volume of this work (pp. 90-96) in speaking of the occurrence and distribution of these animals in the Amur region. I shall return in the following to the tiger and leopard idols alluded to there.

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224 prey in their region and at the same time the animal that most pleases their palates and that, because of the festivities connected with eating it, also plays an especially important role in their social life. Striving, above all, to capture the animal alive, they eagerly search in the fallen snow for where a bear might have its winter quarters. When this has been discovered, a number of courageous and strong men band together, in order, equipped with the required paraphernalia of ropes, chains, pikes, etc., to surprise the sleeper in its lair, disturb its rest, fetter it, and lead it into captivity. Needless to say, this cannot be done [577] without a fight, and however skilled the usually experienced bear-catchers may be, more or less serious wounds not infrequently result, which, however, are borne more easily than others by the Gilyak, because they are regarded as especially honorable and lend the one concerned an aura of manly fortitude. 224 Nevertheless, the frequency of the bears kept in captivity among 231 the Gilyak indicates that the outcome of the battle is usually or often successful; there is scarcely a village of any size in which on a trip through the region, one would not see one or several such animals. If the place where the bear was lifted from its lair and fettered is not far from the village to which its captors belong, it is simply taken to it in its fetters by ropes and put in the prison kept ready for it. For greater distances, however, the sleds on which the hunters came also serve to take their booty home. The fettered bear is put on one or, if the route permits, even on two sleds put side by side and tied together, and is brought to its new domicile in a triumphal procession amid the loud cheers of the sled drivers and the barking of the many, passionately excited dogs. The nature of the bear's prison and the treatment of the captured animal will be discussed later in speaking of the bear festivals of the Gilyak, but at the moment 224 it is primarily only a question of its capture. The battle with a bear disturbed from its rest does not always end in its being fettered. It often defends itself so tenaciously and vigorously and is so dangerous for its adversaries that they find it necessary to put an end to it with their pikes and lances. In fact, the latter happens

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224 as a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are [262] fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the processions, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on 224 184 a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1)

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two trees standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-nooses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

224 Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly asso- 78 ciated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their ob- 825 servance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in 224 case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by 114 Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans 756 to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce 533 825

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it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts
224 on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do
825 not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect.
[796] The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward
[797] off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the
224 profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the fol-
825 lowing superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I
123 entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I
777 saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

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224 825 123 779 animal, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, after a while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch bark, and put it with the other possessions of the house. My efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered; I was told categorically that it was already "uïtsch" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unskinned, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if she were to sell it to me in an intact 224 825 state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

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1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 851) in speaking about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

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224 to fishing or seal-hunting, a natural explanation is found in the
825 circumstance already pointed out in the beginning, that among them hunting does not by far stand in the foreground of life to the degree that fishing and seal-catching do.

223 In discussing the various kinds of arrows used by the Gilyak, the hunting of wild fowl was also considered above in passing. A few pertinent remarks might in addition follow here. By far the greatest number of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl are not killed by the aforementioned knob-shaped arrows, which on the whole are used very little, but are caught in nets during the molting season and simply beaten to death. Only incidentally, but not infrequently, they capture birds that get their food by diving into the water and become entangled in the nets. Among these they pay special attention to the divers. Colymbus septentrionalis L. and C. arcticus L. (Gilyak ugn), which however, is done, not for practical, utilitarian reasons, but out of superstition, about which I shall speak later when discussing their methods of burial. The hazel grouse (Gilyak hang) and white grouse (Gilyak parrä, along the Tymy on Sakhalin tschleola-nga), with which the Gilyak /565/ amply supplied the Nikolayev post during the winters of 1855-1857, are caught by them in snares (Gilyak kusi). With regard to the white grouse,
[532] which one also finds represented on amulets among the Gilyak,
[825] although in a completely unrecognizable, only symbolic fashion, I likewise noted among them the above-mentioned superstition relating to the head of the animal, in that in selling this bird they greatly desired to remove the head first.

For the Gilyak the most important of all the birds are the fishing eagles: Haliaëtos pelagicus Pall. (Gilyak tscharngai-tscham) and H. albicilla Briss. (Gilyak mygh-tscham, in the interior of Sakhalin ach-tscham). The former, however, occurs only rarely in their territory and chiefly along the seacoast, but the latter, on the other hand, is common and occurs throughout the region, and it is therefore always meant when merely the
[439] tscham (eagle) is mentioned. The benefit that the Gilyak derive from it consists in the fact that their rectrices are an important

G 223 [439] /565 cont./ article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

G [239] [411] [164] G 223 231 439 Gi 231 439 114 136

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

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A 231 439 /565 cont./ reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 239 411 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113] 1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G 326 [411] At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the G [342] Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction [396] of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. [493] always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the [335] individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of G foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even [175] in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

175 /566 cont./ During his
114 captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
411 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
326 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
[10] "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence

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2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the
[531] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's
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4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

/566 cont./

326 especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to
411 use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them
556 away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may
361 have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region,
326 the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above
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1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak.
361 In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje
648 was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

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2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

/567 cont./

114 On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching
325 the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The
326 smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the
192 entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor underneath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr) made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and immediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube immovably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak, placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows, alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another, adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the

[104] 3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordi-
[293] nary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yidshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj,

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/ which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner, a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

/568 cont./
114 Gilyak (1).
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1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008, Fig. 1.

325 For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to
326 iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass
[531] (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the
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[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna-
[439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
325 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
197 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
174 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

G /568 cont./
325 with the latter probably extend back into earlier times than those
177 with the former, in that, as I have tried to show on other
174 grounds (4), before they came to the mouth region of the Amur,

4. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

they already had a homeland on Sakhalin, where they were directly in contact with the Ainu and thus also indirectly with the Japanese -- this circumstance points to the latter as the source of the Gilyak's knowledge of iron and other metals, and as their teachers, even though only indirectly, in the smith's art. And a series of facts corroborate me in this view.

G. If the use and the working of iron had come to the Gilyak
Gi from the Chinese, that is to say, down the Sungari and Amur
325 through the intermediation of the Manchu and Goldi, one would
174 expect in the opposite direction, going upstream from the Gilyak, an increase in skill in the forging of iron. Actually, however, in the direction mentioned there is not only no increase, but, on the contrary, a decrease in the fineness and neatness of the
Gi metalwork. For the Olcha, to be sure, may be scarcely less
[114] skilled ironsmiths, and especially armorers, than their teachers,
[326] the Gilyak, but the Goldi are far behind the Olcha in this (5),

5. This is Maack's opinion also (see his Putesh. na Amur", pp. 175 and 207).

though they are extraordinarily skilled at many other things, such as boat-building, sewing, embroidery, and plaiting. In this connection, they do something different from the Gilyak in forging in that they use only one bellows, and also accessories that are not insignificantly /569/ different, for instance, an anvil shaped quite differently, and the like (1). Finally, it is not to

1. See Maack, op. cit., p. 207.
and Plate II, Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 24.

2: Schrenck--891 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Ainu AB6

Gi 325 174 Gi [117]

/569 cont./

be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

A G 325 17

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

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2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Ssiranussi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak: he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

A 114 325 17

A /569 cont./
114 cutting edges of their weapons in Japanese fashion and that in
325 general their method of forging is "approximately the same as
17 in Japan," still Mamia-Rinsô does not draw the obvious conclusion that the Ainu have to thank the Japanese for their knowledge of iron and other metals and the working of them, and, indeed, he maintains instead that they did not learn their manner of forging iron from any other people, but rather seem to have invented it themselves. This should not surprise us, however, because the careful traveler gives in his short and sober report only what was seen and experienced by him and stays away from all categoriza-
A tion and conclusions. It therefore even more establishes beyond
325 doubt that the spread of iron and the art of working it took place
17 from Japan to the Ainu of Jesso and Sakhalin and through them to the Gilyak in a very ancient period, a period which is too far back for any accounts or traditions concerning that event to have been preserved among the Ainu at Rinsô's time.

G /570/ Finally, the fact, too, that the Gilyak iron utensils
325 and weapons, knives, spears, and the like are for the most part
17 of the same form as those of the Ainu and that the figures engraved or inlaid in other metals on the more elegant weapons are often reminiscent of Japanese patterns -- as was noted above (1)

1. See p. 597.

with reference to the decorations on their clothing and on various wooden and bone implements -- this fact stands in agreement, or at least not in contradiction, with the Japanese origin of the familiarity of the Gilyak with iron and the working of it. There is only one thing that might appear strange at first glance, namely, the fact that the greatest skill of the Gilyak in forging iron is not found on Sakhalin, but on the Amur and therefore in that section of their habitation area which is the farthest from Japan and, on the other hand, is most open to Manchu-Chinese influence. This can be explained, however, on the basis of
OOD political conditions. According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony,

A /570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinsô's Testimony,
325 the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron
114 more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a
174 result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork.
648 We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery,
G and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were
174 in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance
167 of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances
648 and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

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174 At any rate, the political independence which they were able to
648 maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the
325 Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Gi Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin,
325 the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of
177 it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

Goldi RX3
Orok
Kamchadal RY3

Gi 325 177 /570 cont./ them but from the two peoples between which they had wedged themselves on the island. It is certainly a remarkable fact that /571/ a poor and not very numerous nomadic people like the Gi 325 439 177 Orok does not satisfy its small requirements in iron utensils from the neighboring sedentary peoples, but rather make their own. Yet it is even more noteworthy that the Orok manufacture these articles in such quantities that they even use them as articles for barter in their trade with the Gilyak, who themselves are skilled in the smith's craft, indeed, more skilled than the Orok, and from whom the latter, no less than their tribal relatives on the mainland, the Amur Olcha, presumably once learned it. In Ytkyrn in the Tymy Valley I saw a number of knife blades of various kinds (from the belt-knife, fish knife, etc.), which the Gilyak had obtained in trade from the Orok on the Poro-nai for tobacco (a few leaves for each piece). They were only crudely made and entirely without handles, merely the basic raw material, so to speak, which still needed to be worked over individually for polishing, buffing, mounting, and decorating by the Gilyak in order to reach its final specifications. Thus, in the making of iron tools, the Orok play the role of suppliers of raw material, so to speak, for the Gilyak -- a relationship that rests, on the one hand, on the large requirements of the Gilyak for such tools, with only a relatively small quantity of raw material, and, on the other hand, the opportunity offered by the Orok to procure this material in greater quantities from the not too distant Japanese, either directly or through the Ainu. If in this whole situation the Orok occupy only a subordinate place in relation to the Gilyak they, on the other hand, manifest an unquestionable superiority in comparison with the Ainu, at most functioning only as middlemen for the raw material, and their far greater political independence with respect to the Japanese corresponds to this.

K 325 177 In addition to the Ainu and Gilyak, there is still another Paleo-Asiatic people that received its first knowledge of iron from Japan. This is the Italmen or Kamchadal, and, to be sure, the iron, as in the case of the Gilyak, was brought to them by the Ainu.

2: Schrenck--895 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu ABG

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Ainu. Steller (1) and Krascheninnikof (2) expressly state that the

1. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 249, note a, and p. 320.

2. /Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Region of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

first iron implements of the Kamchadal, which they knew and used even prior to the arrival of the Russians in their country, were large Japanese iron needles, and their Kamchadal name also points to this origin of them, for "sühse" (according to Steller) or "schisch" (according to Krascheninnikof), as I have pointed out above (3), only means "Japanese" after the designation for

3. See pp. 407-412 above.

the Japanese passed on to the Kamchadal by the Ainu of the Kurile Islands. The Kamchadal, as Steller further reports, knew how to do some forging on these needles, which they presumably learned from the same Ainu who had brought them the needles. For instance, if the eye of the needle broke off during use, they made it red-hot, gave it a form like its former and by hammering it with a stone, /572/ and bored another hole in it with the help of another needle. Likewise prior to the arrival of the Russians, they also received through the Kurile Ainu pieces of Japanese iron ore. They knew of no other use for these, however, than to fasten them, if, as Steller relates, they were about 2-3 inches long and had roughly the shape of a knife, to the tip of a pole and set this up in front of their houses as a symbol of great respect and wealth. It is certain that this esteem of the Kamchadal for such an insignificant and in itself quite useless thing for them was based on information from the Ainu that this was the material out of which the Ssisan (Japanese), who in

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2: Schrenck--896 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

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/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

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For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1).

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1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

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2: Schrenck--897 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

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of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

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If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

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One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says

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1. Op. cit., p. 194.

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114 714 [192] that it is known under the name of "bettsi," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct; in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare antiques [179] of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Mamia Rinsô also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

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It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2)

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2. Cf. Neuhof, Die Gesantschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tatarian Khan and Now Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 394. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Njutschi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

G 171 175 714 G [113]

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emperor himself (3). Also of interest for our purpose is the

3. Gerbillon in Du Halde, Descript. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 273.

statement by Iakinf, the well-known member of the Russian mission in Peking in the years 1807-1820, according to which, among the gifts prescribed by law which the Chinese emperor /574/ had to give to the father of his bride and young wife upon his engagement and marriage was to be found a certain number of pieces of armor and helmets (1). Under these circumstances it is

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1. Iakinf", Kitai, ego zhiteli, nravy, obychai, prosvieshch. /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 164.

quite understandable that these objects would also appear as most valuable and honorable possessions in the eyes of the peoples of the lower Amur region standing under the rule or at least under the influence of the Manchu-Chinese, down to the Gilyak, and, accordingly, would be used by them in their most important social transaction, the purchase of a wife.

Gi 714 325 179 [114] [101]

The art of making iron armor was also passed from the Manchu-Chinese to the Goldi immediately neighboring them in the Sungari and lower Amur region, and Mamia Rinsô specifically mentions the latter, distorting their national name in Japanese fashion as "Kordekke" (2), as makers of the iron armor. Needless

2. See p. 315 above.

to say, these were not the first and only objects that the Goldi learned how to make from their southern neighbors. Here, therefore, we see the art of forging iron advancing along another route from the Manchu-Chinese, down the Sungari and Amur,

Gi 325 171

Gi /574 cont./
325 to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem
171 to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

G The net armor (Gilyak kä-petsch) is entirely different in
714 nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole
[192] or short shirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 1), which is plaited
[237] with multiple strands of nettle-yarn cord, such as is also used for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone
G added here and there. The neck opening is trimmed with long-
[237] haired dog fur and has a button and a loop for buttoning it; otherwise the armor, pulled on over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on account
G of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material;
[126] the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak Mradamn in Ssabach, is 2' 4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 28 1/2 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the
G Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major
[628] feuds when, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like, a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found
G in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me
714 shows the signs of great age, and its aged former owner was of the
126 opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it new.
556 Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragmentary and rusted Manchurian armor (1).

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1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

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G 714 171

1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak kä-petsch or a similar one. During the bloody fights which the North Americans had with the Koreans in 1871, they saw them clad in armor which consisted of forty layers of stout cotton material and was almost impenetrable for saber or bayonet (Nordische Presse, 1871, No. 214, according to a report sent to the Times by its reporter in Shanghai). On the other hand, Ditmar ("Ueber die Koräken und Tschuktschen /The Koryak and Chukchee/." -- Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 131; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 41) relates that the Chukchee use armor made out of whalebone and thick animal-skins.

C 714 [113]

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To conclude the remarks concerning the weapons of the Gilyak, I must consider a piece which, to be sure, is harmless in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It is their so-called mungtsche (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 3), a roundish or slightly angular stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom bears the characteristic, barely indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears, and harpoons, and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the palm of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mungtsche is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an acorn, in the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a saber and is always provided with a deep groove on the back. From the Gilyak this strange weapon has also advanced to the Negda along the Amgunj, among whom it is called muketschi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally widespread. Middendorff became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

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/575 cont./

411 114 he gives an illustration of it and calls it a wooden saber (2) and

2. Vol. IV, p. 1535. The specimen brought back by him and now in our museum is in fact flattened somewhat like a saber in the last third, as mentioned above.

"cudgel of honor." In his opinion it is used only to settle matters of honor in combat, during which it is seized with both hands, and the blows are parried by moving the stick to and fro. His host, the old Negda Oltungab, on the Nemilen (a tributary of the Amgunj showed him how this weapon was used. This agrees essentially with what I learned about it from the Gilyak. During 411 [115] the initial period of my stay in the Amur region, the Patchä-Gilyak Jutschin, a very intelligent person to whom I am indebted for the first groundwork of my Gilyak vocabulary, appeared at the Nikolayev post armed solely with the mungtsche. When I questioned him, he demonstrated the fencing movements for me with his wooden weapon. From his total handling of it, however, it could be assumed without any doubt that it was more than a simple fencing stick or "cudgel." For as he held it in front of him with outstretched right arm, like a halberd resting on the ground, he assumed an air of dignity as though he were a most distinguished person. Also, he did not want to be separated from it even when sitting down. Finally, the respect and regard that he rendered to his mungtsche were also expressed in the fact that at several places where it had been damaged /576/ it was carefully covered with birch bark and through that had not only not suffered in the eyes of its owner, but, on the contrary, had gained in value. All in 411 174 all the mungtsche gave me the impression of a conventional weapon of honor, which originated in ancient times, perhaps in imitation of Japanese lances, and has inherited with the latter its continuing traditional significance. The deep groove always present on the back of the mungtsche, which Middendorff leaves unexplained, but obviously is supposed to represent a channel for the blood, also points to such a prototype.

G /576 cont./
224
171 In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

A It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence
G in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peo-
224 ples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinsô's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese
A
225 traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of
114 sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat
[192] doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

A
[113]

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is
000 known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

A /576 cont./ More Trustworthy
224 and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of
114 the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up
[192] snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the
musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance
G with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am
A inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a simi-
224 lar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among
A them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein-
[411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, ex-
cept that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was
A mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear
411 pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to
439 them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging
325 skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant
178 lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded
as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and en-
couraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however,
A the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure,
224 not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood
181 chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give
433 them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy
648 and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them,
too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more
abundant and better existence through a more active practice
of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account
in trade with the Gilyak.

G The situation is different for the other neighbors of the
224 Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for
433 hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious
and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers
between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have
remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads
G in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely
[439] necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy them-
selves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting
along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from
sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

Gi /577 cont./
224 pursued in the mountain wildernesses, as well as in the extensive
433 northern lowlands of the island, secures this for them, in that it
439 supplies them, in part directly, with foodstuffs and material for clothing, especially reindeer meat and skins, and in part provides them with the means for barter with the Gilyak, and in this way, too, satisfaction for their necessities of life. I shall come back
G to this trade, but it should be noted here in general that the
[186] Orok know how to procure very successfully the principal means for this, the precious sable, fox, and otter furs, and they are praised no little by the Gilyak as skillful reindeer hunters and courageous bear hunters.

SS The predominant inclination and talent for hunting appears
224 among the Tungusic tribes neighboring the Gilyak on the main-
136 land to a greater extent and in broader and more manifold features than on the limited area of Sakhalin. It has already been pointed out above that in general the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and into the left tributaries of it, the more hunting, in contrast to fishing, increases in scope and importance in the lives of the peoples dwelling there. Insofar as natural conditions are decisive for the way of life of a people, this situation rests on the fact that, on the one hand, in the direction indicated the abundance of fish in the Amur decreases, whereas, on the other hand, the number and frequency of game animals
SS increase rapidly. For example, the largest mammal of the Amur
136 region, the elk, completely absent on the island of Sakhalin, increases rapidly in frequency on the mainland in the direction indicated, /578/ reaching its maximum in the extensive forests along the Amgunj and Gorin and on the Amur beyond the mouth of the latter. Going up the Amur, there further appear the roe deer at the mouth of the Amgunj, the wild pig at the mouth of the Chaselach on the southern border of the Gilyak territory, and the red deer at the mouths of the Chelasso and Gorin -- three kinds of animals that become more and more frequent farther upstream as the forests and all the vegetation take on a more
Gi southerly stamp. The territories of the Negda, Samagir, Olcha,
136 and Goldi in particular share in this rapid increase in the
132 mammalian fauna upstream and inland from the mouth of the

/578 cont./

136 Amur, conditioned by the orographic and climatic conditions of
132 the lower Amur region. Toward the seacoast, to be sure, there is a southward dip of their polar boundaries (1) as a consequence of

1. A more detailed and in part graphic presentation of these conditions was given in the first volume of this work both in the discussion of the individual species of animals and also in the general conclusions concerning the character of the mammalian fauna of the Amur region (pp. 195 ff) and on the accompanying map.

the great quantities of winter snow, which make movement and obtaining food difficult for the animals named, but with respect to game animals, even the territory of the Orochi has considerable advantages over that of the Gilyak. Moreover, the habita-
224 tion areas of all the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region
439 mentioned are by no means inferior to that of the Gilyak with respect to the fur-bearing animals especially prized in trade -- indeed, the most important of these animals, the sable, sometimes has a fur of greater quality and beauty in the former than in the latter. If it is even more frequent on Sakhalin than on the mainland, presumably on account of the absence of Mustela sibirica, which lives on the same kind of food, it bears a lighter
224 and therefore less valuable fur there. On the mainland, however, this increases in quality toward the interior from the coast, so that the sables of the right Amur tributaries are in general inferior to those of the left ones, and, among the latter the Amgunj and Gorin sables in particular are regarded as the best on account of their thick hair and dark color (2). In view

2. See Vol. I, pp. 30-31, of this work.

of such favorable natural conditions and the passion for hunting deeply ingrained in all the Tungus, it is very understandable that

Gi /578 cont./
224 it must have gained far greater scope among all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region and must be of more essential significance for their entire lives than is the case among the Gilyak.

G Gi 224 439 Among the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, too, just as among the Gilyak, the catching of precious fur-bearing animals, such as sable, river otter, and the fox, comes first, simply because by trading them they obtain not only clothing materials and foodstuffs, but also the universally popular luxury items, and especially tobacco, which has become indispensable to them. It is also practiced in the same ways and with the same means, but over a greater area and with more adroitness and skill and, therefore, with more success.

G 224 439 Gi 224 262 But whereas among the Gilyak hunting is limited almost solely to the catching of fur-bearing animals and thus wholly in the interests of trade, among the Tungusic Amur /579/ peoples it also extends to no less an extent to the above-mentioned kinds of red deer, big game, wild boars, and, to be sure, they are not merely slain and utilized on occasion, as happens among the Gilyak, but are pursued regularly and zealously, because they are used directly and very essentially for their clothing and food. This has already been pointed out above in the discussion of these two points. With regard to food, however, all Gi the more significance must be ascribed to hunting among the [221] Tungusic Amur peoples, for it takes up much more of their time than among the Gilyak, and the farther upstream and inland, the more, and the more exclusively, it takes up the entire winter and part of the fall and spring.

G Gi 224 484 Hand in hand with the longer period of hunting among the Tungusic Amur peoples also goes its extension over a far larger area. Whereas the Gilyak contents himself with a relatively small sphere for hunting, sets up his traps and self-firers in the localities that he knows to be favorable from experience and at the spots suggested by animal tracks in the snow, visits them from time to time, and at night always returns again to his

G. /579 cont./
Gi permanent winter-dwelling along the river or on the seacoast,
224 the Amur Tungus not infrequently undertake long hunting ex-
484 peditions which may last many days or, indeed, weeks. This
Gi most significantly expresses their predominant hunting nature,
224 in contrast to the Gilyak. Although on the whole they have like-
484 wise become sedentary fishermen, their original inclination for
the nomadic hunting life has not been entirely suppressed and
G breaks through from time to time triumphantly and irresistibly.
[481] In small parties of two to five men, they go on ski to the hunting
[492] grounds chosen by them, carrying with them on light sleds
[493] harnessed to a few dogs the necessary hunting equipment, a few
of the most needed utensils, such as small cooking pots, etc.,
and some food supplies for the initial period. Having arrived
Gi there, they set up at a suitable place in the forest a hunting tent
[342] of the kind described above, a so-called alko, which serves them
as a common dwelling and from which they make their further
hunting expeditions in various directions in a closer or wider
sphere. During the day each one goes to hunt and to inspect
the traps and self-firers set by him, and toward evening the
small company appears in the tent around a blazing fire, to eat
a meal prepared from the meat of the captured animals. If, how-
Gi ever, a hunter has been diverted too far by following an animal's
[342] trail or is delayed too long by some special occurrence or ad-
venture while hunting to be able to return in time, he prepares
for himself, depending on the weather, either a small arched
tent of fir branches, a so-called homorá, which I have likewise
described above, or a simple resting-place in the snow, in order
to have his meal and his night's rest there beside a small fire.
Gi If it is required in the interests of the hunting, the fixed quarters
[481] are moved and the hunting carried on over other, less frequented,
[492] and more productive terrain, and, finally, when enough game
[493] has been collected and the passion for hunting has sufficiently
cooled, the return trip to the kin who remained behind in the
winter dwellings, to wife and child, is begun, on which /580/
the hunters in part precede on ski the sleds laden with the hunting
booty and make a path through the deep snow for them and in
Part Pull along with The dogs.

/580 cont./

224 484 [439] part pull along with the dogs. Having arrived at home, the hunters above all enjoy a rest and leisure, indulge themselves with a varied diet, and try to sell their hunting booty to Chinese or other traders in order to obtain the articles needed by them and theirs for clothing, food, and pleasure, and in particular tobacco for their low or completely exhausted supply. Not infrequently, however, after a certain longer or shorter rest period, another hunting expedition is undertaken, and so on, as long as the season permits.

224 484 648 The choice of hunting terrain among the Tungus of the lower Amur region seems to be made quite freely and without any consideration of possible tribal boundaries, so that, for hunting purposes, they often visit areas which, strictly speaking, are no longer within their own habitation area, but in that of a neighboring tribe, which, however, in view of their communistic outlook and because these wildernesses are always uninhabited, does not cause any quarrels or feuds between them. In particular the Tungusic tribes neighboring the Gilyak like to roam in the territory of the latter because they do not practice any extensive hunting. For instance, in the north, the Russian Reindeer-Tungus from the Tugur and the Negda from the Amgunj do their hunting in the Mäwatschan Mountains between the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, that is to say, entirely within Gilyak territory, and the Olcha do the same in the south. In February, [114] 1855, when I traveled from the Amur-Liman along the small Tymi River toward the mountains in order to cross them and pass through the Chaselach Valley to the Amur River, I suddenly heard the barking of dogs in the wilderness, and, following this, I came to a tent somewhat off our trail and pitched in the middle of a high forest, where five hunters had their temporary quarters. Four of them were Olcha, one of them from the village of Koim on the Amur, and the fifth was a Samagir from Pulj. They were hunting here on the eastern slope of the mountains toward the Amur-Liman, and thus on terrain quite unquestionably in Gilyak territory, and they showed me a number of

/580 cont./

224 pelts, and sable pelts in particular, which they had bagged.
484 And yet my guide, a Tschomi Gilyak, who acted as my
648 interpreter with the Olcha, found this quite in order and by
no means viewed it as an infringement upon the rights of his
[114] countrymen. The Samagir and one of the Olcha were getting
ready to return home, the former on foot on ski, the latter in
his sled with the help of his dogs, and since I was going in the
same direction, they joined me in order to use the path made
224 by my wide-soled Russian sled. In like manner, the Olcha
484 living above Kidsi on the Amur frequently undertake hunting ex-
peditions and excursions into the Orochi territory along the upper
Tumdshi and its tributaries, and the Goldi do the same with re-
gard to the Orochi, and all the more so since their habitation
sites extend more or less far along the rivers emptying into the
Amur from the right, where they border on those of the Orochi.

224 /581/ The greatest freedom in the choice of hunting
484 grounds, however, is found along the lower Gorin. Here there
619 extends a vast, completely international hunting area, where
one may meet almost all the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur
region. Whereas along the upper course of the Gorin and its
northern tributaries approaching the Amgunj system, Samagir
and Negda hunters meet, the extensive forest and mountain
wildernesses along its lower course are traveled by, in addition
to the Samagir, the Olcha and Goldi. The latter in particular
come very often and in great numbers and in part from distant
villages along the Amur River. For example, I myself have met
there some from Onmoi, Chongar, and even from Zollazi, which
[487] is about 150 versts from the mouth of the Gorin. In winter this
river gives the Goldi a very convenient route into the above-
mentioned hunting area, as it does the Samagir living along its
224 upper course. Hence, the most and the largest of the temporary
484 quarters for the one nationality as well as for the other are lo-
361 cated along its banks, and, to be sure, those of the Goldi are to
619 be found more along the lower course of the river and those of
the Samagir higher up and closer to Ngagha, their first permanent
settlement on it.

/581 cont./

000 settlement on it. Such alko are not taken down after the de-
224 parture of the hunters; but rather remain standing so that new
36 arrivals from the same or a different tribe may use them during
342 their stay. Hence, their occupants change many times during the
485 course of the hunting season. Occasionally, hunters or Chinese
[122] traders passing through the area stay in them, just as I myself stopped at midday or spent the night in the alko of Poionge and of Wai. Even if the current occupants of the hunting tent are not at home, one nevertheless finds it open and sees immediately by its exterior, as well as its interior, that it is inhabited. The animal skins hung up to dry on tree trunks or on poles in front of the tent show this, as do the sleds ski, sticks, lances, bows, self-firers, and other hunting equipment leaning against
[353] it. Inside the tent, scraps from the hunt and hunting trophies lying or hanging around, such as pieces of fur, horns, skulls, and bones of various animals, as well as the kettles and bowls on the hearth and the fire perhaps still smoldering in the ashes, testify to the only momentary absence of its occupant. The use
485 of the tent and its household equipment is available to anyone,
574 but the inviolability of the game and the hunting equipment
421 in and near it is taken for granted -- a trust that is said to be never abused and therefore appears wholly justified.

In addition to these more or less spacious and, so to speak,
224 permanent hunting tents or alko in the Gorin forests, one very
342 frequently also comes across those arched overnight tents made
[361] out of willow switches and fir branches for individual hunters, the so-called homora, or also small alko, which copy the large ones in form and construction, but are so small that they are obviously intended for one hunter, and two could find space in them only in an emergency. They are either erected by individual roaming hunters, or are used when a large area is being exploited by a small company of hunters, /582/ to make the inspection of the more distant traps and self-firers by its individual members easier and more convenient. During my Gorin trip I,
[122] too, spent a night in such an alko, from which, however, the
[192] snow first had to be shoveled. My Goldi guide called it a

/582 cont./

224 "ssäfa-, mudu-, ssole-ware-alko," that is, a sable-, otter-,
342 and fox-hunting tent -- a designation directly pointing to the
192 above-mentioned purpose of it, to make it easier to inspect the apparatus set up to catch these animals.

224 Undoubtedly, here too the hunting of the above-mentioned
439 fur-bearing animals that are generally highly valued in trade is of primary importance. And how very successfully it is practiced is indicated by the fact that some of the Chinese merchants temporarily settled along the Amur do not shrink from the trouble of going there and as far as the Samagir sites along the upper Gorin in order to buy the precious goods on the spot, and incidentally probably also, taking advantage of any possible distress of the hunters, for the lowest possible price. I repeatedly met
114 their sleds loaded with various commodities and driven by them
439 in a manner just like that of the natives. I was just ahead of two of them in taking the alko of Wai, and since I had taken possession of the tent with my people, a Cossack and a guide, they set up their camp beside it, just as the natives do. They were a Chinese merchant from Köurmi on the Amur, with a queue hanging down to his heels, and his clerk or guide, and while the former behaved ostentatiously like the master and gave his orders in a very loud manner, the latter, anxious to serve, started the fire, prepared the food, etc.

224 In the Gorin wildernesses hunting for big game is practiced no less than the catching of fur-bearing animals. The largest of the mammals of the Amur region, the elk, is unquestionably the most important of such game. Its frequency and the general and
[192] important use made of it for food and clothing by the Samagir, as well as by the other Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region, elevates it to the position of the primary game animal here and makes it quite understandable that, in addition to its specific name (to and toke), it is designated by them with yet another one, "buju," i.e., simply animal. One sees skins from it hung up to dry not only in front of the hunting tents, but even in the middle of the forest or in the brush of the Gorin islands one sometimes comes upon some that were deposited by a hunter and will be

/582 cont./

224 picked up later. Again and again we came across tracks of the animals in the snow, and several times we came to places where, as my guide concluded from the trampled snow, an animal had
224 been killed. Of special interest to me, however, was a place
825 in the forest where the skulls and bones of these animals, stuck on a row of poles, rose above the snow -- a sight that reminded me of the trees hung with the skulls of white whales among the Gilyak and of a couple of large bear-skull depositories which I had seen shortly before in the immediate vicinity of Ngagha, and which I shall come back to in another place. Here, then, the elk joins those animals which, in view of their predominant importance in the life of a people, /583/ requires a special treat-
224 ment dictated by superstition after their death. A further indication of the success of elk-hunting in the Gorin area is the number of sleds of returning hunters that we met on the road,
[230] laden with elk meat and elk skins. Pieces of the leg-fur of the
[481] elk in particular are of special value for all the Tungusic tribes,
[438] because they are used to cover their indispensable ski. The Amur Goldi even sell these pieces among their countrymen along the Ussuri, because the elk occurs only infrequently there and reaches its equatorial border somewhat to the south, on the Ssuifun (1).

1. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriiskom" kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, p. 262.

[439] Next to the elk, the red deer is the largest game animal and the one most sought by hunters in the Gorin wildernesses, and, to be sure, all the more because, besides its use for food and clothing, it provides in its horns, when they are newly acquired and not yet hardened, an article that is highly prized and dearly paid for by the Chinese on account of their alleged fortifying effect. Nevertheless, in the Gorin area, close to its polar boundary, it is far behind the elk in frequency and, like the roe deer and the wild pig, attains its full value only farther to the south and west.

/583 cont./

224 237 The musk deer is frequently bagged by the hunters along the lower Gorin, as was proved to me by the pelts, skulls, and bones of this animal which were to be seen in or before the hunting tents. It is always welcome booty for the hunter, because among the Samagir and Goldi its fur is used for smaller articles of clothing and rugs, the meat is a popular food, arrowheads are carved out of the leg bones, and, finally, the musk sac of the male is a trade article paid for handsomely by the Chinese.

[291] [262] [411] [439]

224 184 For the Goldi living farther up the Amur, above the Geong Mountains, the Gorin area is too far away to be visited regularly by them. On the other hand, they, as well as their countrymen along the Ussuri, have excellent hunting grounds along the tributaries coming down from the coastal mountain range to these rivers, the latter in particular and especially along the upper Biki, Ima, and Waku. In addition, the hunting activity of the Goldi constantly increases in the direction indicated, up the Amur and Ussuri. Along the latter, as soon as the fall fishing comes to an end and a cover of snow has fallen, the entire able-bodied male population leaves to go hunting, to spend the entire winter at it, and, indeed, some even hasten to set out before the smaller rivers are frozen and to make their journey to the hunting grounds by boat (2). Most of them, however, set out on

224 [22] [481] [492]

2. Przewalski, op. cit., p. 99.

ski, pulling behind them the necessary hunting and household equipment on a sled harnessed to a few dogs. And, to be sure, they prefer this method all the more because they often use the dogs in hunting. As long as the snow is not very deep, they pursue the sable not only with traps and self-firers, but also with the help of their dogs. They chase on the ground the sable fleeing from tree to tree, /584/ without taking their eyes off it until they have brought it to bay, whereupon it is shot by the hunter. If it succeeds in slipping into a hollow tree, the latter is felled, but if it crawls under a tree root, a stone, or the like, it is smoked

2: Schrenck--915 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3

/584 cont./

224 out and caught by means of a bag-net set up in front. Dogs
[262] are used no less for hunting the Canis procyonoides Gray, which
[439] is common in the Ussuri region and called jandako by the Goldi, Olcha, and Samagir, the meat and fat of which are eaten, but the fur is sold to the Chinese. Since this is a nocturnal animal, the hunters, according to Nadarof's information (1), go at night

[113] 1. I. Nadarov", "Sieverno-ussuriiskii krai /North Ussuri Region/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 118).

to catch it, each with one or two dogs, for which they tie small bells around the necks of the dogs, in order to be told immediately by their strong tinkling when and where prey has been seized by them. Since in the autumn the jandako is very fat and, as a result, slow and able to move only with difficulty, the dogs, once they have caught its scent, overtake it very soon and bite it dead after a brief struggle. Still other animals, absent or occurring only as exceptions in the northern part of the lower Amur region, such as Ursus thibetanus Cuv., Mustela flavigula Bodd., Antilope crispa Temm., Cervus axis Erxl. (2), appear

[113] 2. Cf. Radde, Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Travels in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in 1855-1859/, Vol. I, Die Säugethierfauna /The Mammalian Fauna/, St. Petersb., 1862, pp. 12, 21, 262, 286. Przewalski, op. cit., pp. 245, 247, 265.

to the hunters in the Ussuri region as more or less welcome booty. Here, too, however, their chief interest remains directed toward the generally widespread and valuable fur-bearing animals often mentioned above, sable, river otter, and fox, the frequency of these animals in the aforementioned forested and mountainous

/584 cont./

224 wildernesses making up for their sometimes inferior quality, for the sable in the upper Ussuri region, where it approaches its equatorial boundary, has a far less beautiful, shorter haired, and lighter fur than on the Amur (3), and the fox, too, usually occurs

3. Przewalski, op. cit., p. 249.

there only in its lighter coloring and only extremely rarely as the cross fox or black fox (4). Here, too, it is the same meat ani-

4. Przewalski, op. cit., p. 252.

mals as along the Amur above and below the mouth of the Ussuri, red deer, roe deer, and wild pig, that claim most of the attention of the hunters and, by their quantity, yield them a rich reward. The Goldi hunt them in different ways, depending on the season, sometimes catching them in pitfalls, slaying them by means of the self-firer, shooting them from hiding, or pursuing them with dogs who bring the animal to bay for the hunter to shoot or to attack with the lance. This latter hunting method is [184] especially successful for the red deer in the earliest spring, as soon as a thin layer of ice has formed on top of the snow, because this impedes the movement of the heavy animal constantly breaking through it, and the hunter gliding along on ski can easily overtake it -- a /585/ method of hunting which is also practiced farther down on the Amur and Gorin by the Goldi and Samagir and is reminiscent of the similar pursuit of elk and reindeer among the Gilyak. Even more noteworthy is the analogy offered by the most rewarding method of the Ussuri Goldi, the hunting of roe deer. Thoroughly familiar with the [825] regular migrations that the roe deer, congregated in large herds, make twice a year between the right Ussuri and Sungari tributaries, they lie in wait for them at the places where they usually cross the Ussuri. When a herd is on its way and has reached about the middle of the river, light bark canoes, each manned by one person, dart out from hiding on all sides. In no time the animals are cut off from the one as well as from the other bank,

/585 cont./

224 and now, with loud shouts of jubilation, a slaughter begins, during which they each receive only one lance stab through the neck so as to bleed to death slowly and are lifted out of the water by the women and children who in the meantime have rowed up in larger boats (1). Who would not thereby be reminded

1. Cf. Przewalski, op. cit., p. 267.

of the quite similar butchering of reindeer in the polar regions of Siberia, when on their migrations between the tundra of the Arctic Sea and the forest regions they try to cross the rivers lying in their path (2)?

2. Cf., for instance, Pallas (Zoogr., Vol. I, p. 212; the same, Neue Nord. Beyträge, Vol. I, p. 244), Wrangell (Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i po Ledov. moriu /A Voyage along the North Coast of Siberia and through the Arctic Ocean/, Part II, p. 87), Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1147), and others.

The wild pig falls victim to the Goldi in much smaller numbers than the red deer or the roe deer, and, as a rule, they hunt directly only the female and young animals, but dare to attack or pursue adult boars almost as little as the tiger. The latter is killed by them only occasionally or out of necessity when it comes as far as their homes to steal dogs or pigs or confronts them themselves and unavoidably attacks. The fear
[789] of such visits and confrontations governs them constantly and, to avert them, prompts them to make those wooden figures, idols, and amulets which I have already discussed elsewhere (3)

3. See Vol. I, pp. 92 ff., of this work.

and to which I shall return occasionally in the following. The same is true of the "jerga" (leopard), which, to be sure, is far

224 /585 cont./
rarer, but therefore arouses all the more fear in their superstitious minds. If they succeed in killing a tiger, however, their [439] profit is not inconsiderable, in that not only does the skin of this animal, held in high esteem by the Chinese (4), bring a

4. Concerning this, see p. 580, note 2, above.

high price paid by the merchants, but its other parts, too, such as the claws, bones, muscles, sinews, and even the gall, find a good market among them on account of their medicinal use in China and Manchuria (5).

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5. Information concerning the use of the various parts of the tiger as remedies among the Chinese, Manchu, and Goldi, as well as their presumed effect, may be found as early as Gerbillon (in Du Halde's Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise, Vol. IV, pp. 248 and 301) and later in Przewalski (op. cit., p. 235), Palladij ("Usur. Man'tszy /Ussuri Man-dse/." -- Izviest. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 377), Barabasch ("Sungar. eksped. /Sungari Expedition/." -- Voennyi Sborn., 1874, and others. For example, the eating of tiger meat or pulverized tiger-bones is said to instill courage and audacity, etc.

224 433 184 226 /586/ Much more than among the Goldi, hunting is essential and decisive for the entire life of their eastern neighbors, the Orochi. Though, in accordance with the basic system of the former, despite their great predilection for hunting, which occupies the male part of the population the major part of the year, one may designate them as a fishing people because they have permanent dwelling sites along the rivers, the Amur, the

226 /586 cont./
224 Ussuri, and their right tributaries, and fishing in them is, after
433 all, the basis of their existence, this can no longer be done
184 with the Orochi. Rather, according to their nature and their
entire way of life, they are preponderantly hunters. In compari-
22 son with hunting, fishing sinks to the level of a secondary occupa-
433 tion among them, for only during a short period of the year do
184 they stay in their tent dwellings along the seacoast and at the
mouths of the rivers, in order in part to collect some supplies
221 of fish and to hunt seals. The entire remaining and by far the
224 greater part of the year, from the first snowfall until summer,
484 the Orochi exclusively leads the life of a hunter, roams
through the river valleys and forests of the coastal mountains,
and, sometimes by himself, sometimes accompanied by wife
and child, pitches his hunting tent here or there, depending on
the circumstances. Each one usually has his favorite hunting
area, within which he annually again visits the river valleys
and other localities located in not too large an area for him to
walk through each one and known by him to be rich in game;
and still, because of the sparse population and the extensive
wildernesses, there is always more space in reserve for the
224 individual. The Orochi do not seek out distant hunting areas
484 located in the territories of neighboring tribes, both because
487 they do not have such an easy and convenient artery of com-
munication as the frozen surface of the Amur River and its large
tributaries, in view of the location of their homeland, isolated
by the coastal mountains, and because they keep only a few
224 dogs used chiefly for hunting purposes. It hardly need be men-
tioned that here, too, hunting is primarily aimed at the desirable
fur-bearing animals, sable, river otter, and fox, as well as the
same meat animals used for food and clothing, and is done in
the same way, by means of traps, self-firers, bows and arrows,
spears, and lances. Only one animal is to be given special con-
sideration here, because, in accordance with the mountainous
nature of their territory, it is more eagerly hunted by the Orochi
and seems to be slain in greater numbers than by their neighbors --
[439] I am referring to the musk deer, which they catch chiefly with

2: Schrenck--920 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orochi

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the help of snares (1) in a manner similar to that of the Ainu,

1. Margaritov", Ob" Orochakh" Imperatorskoi gavani /Concerning the Orochi of Imperial Harbor/, St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 13, Pl. II, Fig. 2.

and from which they use the contents of the musk sacs in particular in trade with the Chinese. In converting their hunting booty into profit, however, the Orochi, because of the great isolation of their homeland, find themselves at a great disadvantage in comparison with all the other peoples of the lower Amur region. In the southern part of their territory, where, as so-called Ta-dse, they live intermingled with the Chinese they do find, to be sure, a ready market among the latter for all their hunting but, as a rule, they are greatly exploited by them in connection with this /587/ and not infrequently, through advance payments, are made their lifelong debtors. Farther to the north, however, where the Chinese element is missing, the Orochi, living almost exclusively by hunting, rely on their neighbors, the Goldi and Olcha, to sell their booty.

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In concluding the above consideration of the way hunting is practiced among the peoples of the lower Amur region and its greater or lesser importance for the total pattern of their lives, I cannot but make room for an observation which the traveler who has ethnographic aims in mind is involuntarily forced to make. Whereas winter is by far the most favorable season of the year for ethnographic research among the Gilyak, and summer the most unfavorable, this reverses itself more and more into the exact opposite in an upstream direction along the Amur and its right tributaries toward the Goldi and Orochi. During the summer the Gilyak are wholly occupied with fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter and even bring something nomadic into their lives, inasmuch as many, in order to seek localities more favorable for fishing, then change their place of residence temporarily and often simply camp in tents scattered on the

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22 islands of the river and along the tributaries. With the onset of
36 winter, however, all of them again assemble in the more com-
114 fortable and spacious winter dwellings, and there begins a long period of a quieter and more settled life which, in its regular routine with the hunting carried on only in the vicinity, the sturgeon fishing on the ice, the trade and communication, the manifold domestic tasks and handicraft, the peculiar and prolonged bear festivals, etc., offers the ethnographer a rich field
G: for observation and study. It is almost the same among the
22 Olcha. Among them, however, and to an even greater extent
114 among the Goldi, life in summer assumes an even more nomadic
36 character as a result of the easily transportable tent dwellings solely used then, and the farther upstream one goes, the more the winter dwellings are deserted, because part of the men have left to hunt in more or less remote regions. As we saw, among the Ussuri Goldi only women, children, and aged people are to be found in them in winter, because all the able-bodied men go hunting, and, finally, the Orochi not infrequently take their wives and children along into the wilderness on their hunting, which takes up the entire winter. With respect to them, therefore, summer, which calls them back from the forests and for fishing and seal-hunting assembles them in the summer dwellings, which, though likewise only tent-shaped, are located at definite points along the seacoast and at the mouths of the rivers, offers the traveler the best time, in fact, almost the only possible time, for ethnographic research. Thus, all the living conditions of the lower Amur tribes vary and change greatly, depending on whether and to what extent fishing or hunting plays the principal role among them.

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224 /588/ I cannot discuss in detail the hunting practices of the
114 peoples of the upper Amur region, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, because I had only fleeting contact with them, and at a time when, far from their hunting areas, they were still in part occupied with fishing in the Amur River. With respect to

2: Schrenck--922 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

T 224 114 /588 cont./ them, therefore, I can only refer to the descriptions by Maack (1),

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 49, 75, and 76.

T [184] Gerstfeldt (2), Ussolzef (3), and others. The picture of the hunting

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2. "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amur /Concerning the Population of the Amur Coast/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 307).

3. "Putesh. po dolinie r. Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/" (op. cit., pp. 77 ff.).

practices of these peoples that they give shows the greatest similarity with that presented by their neighbors to the north and to the west, the Russo-Siberian Tungus, who are likewise not at all sharply demarcated from them geographically. On the other hand, how very greatly the upper Amur peoples contrast in this direction, as hunters and hunting nomads, from the more or less sedentary fishing peoples of the lower Amur region has already been noted several times in connection with phenomena discussed above, their dwelling, clothing, food locomotion, and especially their fishing.

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To conclude these observations on the hunting of the Amur peoples, as a supplement, so to speak, the contrast that can be observed between the inhabitants of the upper and lower Amur region with regard to the animal species representing the principal objects of their hunting might be pointed out here. Whereas in the lower Amur region, and especially among the most typical and ichthyophagous of its peoples, the Gilyak, hunting is directed primarily and particularly against the precious fur-bearing animals, so that, in accordance with its principal aim and character, one can designate it as fur-bearing-animal hunting, or, on the

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basis of the most numerous and generally most popular of these animals, simply as sable hunting, among the peoples of the upper Amur region, who rely on hunting almost entirely for their food and in large part for their clothing, the meat animals, elk, red deer, roe deer, and wild pig, stand in first place as the objects hunted. Also contributing to this is the fact that the two large animals named first are also used for tributary payments to the Manchu officials (4), and the young and still soft deer antlers are

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4. I again draw attention to the fact that my descriptions apply to the 50's, that is, a time when almost the entire Amur region was still under Chinese rule.

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an important trade item. To be sure, the precious fur-bearing animals, and especially the sable, are regarded as most desirable booty, and, accordingly, zealously hunted, by the upper Amur peoples, too, but their number has so greatly declined in the course of time, both because of the constant and strenuous hunting and because of the frequent and extensive forest fires, in part caused by negligence and in part intentional, that, in addition to them, other animals formerly regarded as worthless and ignored have acquired value. In particular, as the sable gradually disappeared, the squirrels serving as food for it became so much more common and numerous that along the upper Amur and its /589/ tributaries on both sides they have already become the principal objects of attention for the hunters, and, though of little value individually, they repay their labor and expense because of their great numbers. The Schilka and Argunj Cossacks, who annually in the fall and organized in small companies (artels) undertake long hunting expeditions lasting for weeks and months in the Orochon and Manegir territories, therefore simply call this hunting of theirs, in accordance with its chief purpose, "belkowjo" (1), i.e., squirrel pursuit. Thus, another

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1. Accordingly, the verb "belkowatj," i.e., to pursue squirrel-hunting.

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/589 cont./ Thus another characteristic difference between the hunting conditions of the lower and of the upper Amur regions is presented by the sable hunting of the one side and the squirrel pursuit of the other.

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Contributing very essentially to the change from the former to the latter in the upper Amur region, however, in addition to the causes given above, are the handy firearms, the small-caliber, Russo-Siberian rifles, which came from Siberia and whose importation and adoption are growing more and more in the course of time. Whereas in the lower Amur region at the time of my stay in it there were no guns at all, with a few minor exceptions (2), these rifles were already in general use among the

2. See p. 868 above.

Orochon, thanks to their immediate proximity to and long association with the Russians, and among the Manegir, too, they were already gradually pushing out the long and unwieldy Chinese matchlock guns, which were not very serviceable for hunting. Since the occupation and colonization of the entire Amur region by the Russians, the spread of good or at least serviceable fire-arms has made rapid advances in the lower part, which, in combination with the growing number of hunters must lead to a heavy decline in its wealth of sables and other animals in the future. How disastrous the consequences of this will be for the indigenous population of the region living on this wealth is easily grasped and can be judged in greater detail on the basis of the following discussion.

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Section 10

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Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rest of Life. Trade Relations of the Amur Peoples with One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Rule of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

433 As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence
439 of the Amur peoples, they nevertheless cannot directly satisfy
171 all of their needs; they cannot procure some of their requirements in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of subsistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

439 It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the observations on the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region has as much interest in and talent for trade and such ex-
[175] tensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that in the first information which the Russians received about them -- I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Perfiljef heard from the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus in the years 1639 and 1640 (1) -- they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (Schilka) and having trade connections
[441] with the Chinese. In fact, they do more trading with the Chinese and Japanese than all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /591/ live farthest from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in that of the two civilized peoples with each other.

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439 in that of the two civilized peoples with each other. Thus, they stand in the center, so to speak, of all international trade relations in the lower Amur region. This is especially true of the
439 Amur Gilyak, while those on Sakhalin and the southern coast
184 of the Sea of Okhotsk have hardly less a peripheral position in this respect than the other peoples of the region. The former, however, are also favored more than the latter two by their geographical position, in that, besides the sea route to the Japanese by way of the Liman and along the west coast of Sakhalin, they also have a second water artery on the Amur River, which leads them to the Chinese living on it as well as on the Sungari. Finally, in the trade with the Russians, too, the Gilyak, and, to be sure, again those of the Amur River, occupy a central and intermediary position, so to speak, in contrast to the neighboring peoples, merely as a result of the fact that the occupation of the Amur region in the 50's by the Russians started at the mouth of the Amur and the first settlements were founded in Gilyak territory, in particular the Nikolayev post, which for some time remained the headquarters of the Russian administration and from which the further exploration of the lower Amur region and of Sakhalin took place.

175 If one calls to mind the violent and bloody resistance with
648 which the Gilyak opposed the Russian freebooters in the seven-
157 teenth century (1) and considers that by nature they are by no

1. See pp. 218-227 above.

means as good-natured, docile, and indolent as the Tungus, but rather, far to the contrary, are malicious, spiteful, and deceitful, while at the same time energetic and even ready to shed blood if humiliation or greed are involved (2), it might be surprising

2. The killing of de la Brunière by the Gilyak mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) is evidence of this. Shortly before my arrival in the Amur region, the crew of a

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2. (cont.)
whaler that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tammlawo and the boat was plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak of Poghobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

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that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning took place in such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very essentially contributed to this. The possibility of being able to exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no market, such as fish, game, berries, etc., for various articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev post soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /592/ that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Murawjof post in Aniwa Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening, when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

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123 country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them,
184 express the suspicion that they were now only exploring the
648 country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it later and to push out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, as in Tyk, Duĭ, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even directly opposed me insubordinately and hostilely in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal, and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. This latter refusal was even worse than the two first ones, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in
439 hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however,
123 I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the trade articles which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if just one yielded to temptation and made a small trade, the ice was broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had more than enough of what was needed. With the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all
439 other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, clever-
157 ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of known practical utility excites their inclination to buy: on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "tsa-tsa-ä," accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better ones, in the course of which they praise them and insist on the first demand. In short, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how very much this in fact fits them can be seen from the following more detailed statements.

439 Despite the fact that all trade in the Amur region, and
435 hence also that of the Gilyak, is only barter and no money is used among them, nevertheless a not merely relative but absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

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437 trade or even otherwise in their life and household has been de-
435 veloped among them. This necessarily presupposes, however, the existence of an accepted absolute unit of value among them, through the multiplication of which the appraisal of the objects is made or their price standardized. What is this unit of value or of what does it consist? /593/ It was not easy for me to determine this, as one will see from the following reasons. Since the Gilyak are only familiar with barter, they answer any question about the price of an article, as a rule, by mentioning the quantity of goods desired in return (for instance, three bundles of tobacco, two fathoms of cloth, etc.). A question as to the absolute value of the foremost goods and objects, their price in themselves, the basis of even barter-trade, is rarely understood and only by the more intelligent, and even then the answer consists of only a number preceding the verb "to cost, to be worth" (Gilyak tschalhatsch), without the stating of any unit of value. In this connection, however, that form of the numbers which serves for the counting of animate objects is always used. I cannot say for what reason. To the question as to how much an article costs, properly understood in the above sense, the Gilyak will therefore give as an answer: "njunj, mor, tschor (1), etc.

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1. Not njakr, mjakr, tschakr, etc., as the ordinary form of the numbers used for counting inanimate things runs.

tschalhatsch, or -- with the addition of the suffix ra meaning "is" -- tschalhara" (2), that is, it costs one, two, three, etc.,

2. Similarly, just as kauk means "not," kaukra means "is not"; or ngalskotsch, "bad," ngalskora, "is bad."

[435] [437] and nothing more. The unit of value under consideration is never expressed, as if it were self-evident, as if it needed no special designation. I was therefore able to make a numerical list of the

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439 values or current prices of all the articles playing a more or
435 less important part in the life and household of the Gilyak long
before I knew the unit to which the numbers referred. Not
Gi 435 until I was among the Olcha and thanks to my finding there a
115 guide who besides his mother tongue, also had a command of
171 the Gilyak language did I get on the right track, and my stay
[191] among the Goldi helped to give me complete certainty with
Gi [192] regard to the questionable unit of value also generally current
[802] among the Gilyak. Chossiambo, as my guide was called (3),

3. He came from the Olcha village of Uda and owed his knowledge of Gilyak chiefly to the fact that he had a Gilyak woman from Tebach as a wife.

designated the value of various articles in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak do, in that he put only the pertinent number in front of the verb "ssalé" (to cost, Gilyak tschalhatsch);
G Gi sometimes, however, instead of "omu (one) ssalé," he said
435 "omu jan ssalé," etc. After the removal of the n, obviously
177 inserted on phonetic grounds, it was clear that the unit on which the value of the object was based among the Olcha and Gilyak is the ja -- as was to be expected, a magnitude of value of Chinese origin. The further, confirming and illuminating information concerning it was obtained without difficulty from the Goldi. The term "ja" for the unit of value in appraising trade items and other articles is quite familiar to them; they were also able to say that the Chinese divide the ja into 10 parts, called dicha among them (the Goldi), each of which is worth 100 Chinese brass coins (Goldi zirikta dicha), so that 1,000 pieces of the latter equal one ja. This is therefore the Chinese silver ounce (liang or tael), almost equal to two Russian rubles in /594/ silver. The fact that the Chinese unit of value also serves the peoples of the lower Amur region as the general basis for the evaluation of trade products and other property indicates better than anything else the dominant, in fact, almost

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Gi /594 cont./
435 solely decisive position which the former occupy in the trade
177 with them. Among the Goldi, who live closest to the Sungari
Gi Chinese and have constant retail-trade relations with them, a tenth
[439] part and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja or the silver
ounce comes into consideration, which makes it necessary for
them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value
G. (ja or dicha). For the more distant Olcha and Gilyak, however,
Gi who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods
439 in larger quantities in Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, the tenth and
435 the hundredth of the ja are no longer of any practical significance --
177 for they are concerned only with the whole unit of value and its
multiples, and therefore there is no need among them to name it
expressly in making appraisals, but rather it suffices to give only
G. the number concerned. If I had made my investigations into this
Gi question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Goldi, in the opposite
435 direction, going from the latter to the former, the unit of value
177 upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent
to me without any difficulty, automatically, as it were. Incidentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it is not represented among the latter by any coin, is always only an imaginary quantity for the Amur peoples, and they are able to form only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or quantity of the corresponding pieces of goods or other articles.
G As is well known, in China only the thousandth part of a silver
[192] ounce is current in the form of coins -- the round brass coins
with a square hole in the center (Gilyak tschcha), which are
usually strung ten and a thousand on a string. On account of
G their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention
[436] to them, and, like the variously shaped brass lamellas, they are
[301] used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also
G. as shirt and belt buttons. In my time Russian coins, likewise
Gi called tschcha (that is, probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak,
435 were not accepted either by them or by the other natives of the
436 lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their
177 value and because the Chinese merchants likewise would not
ooo accept them (1). Through their association with the Russians,

1. The only coins for which a use could be

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found with respect to the Chinese merchants during my time in the Amur region were Spanish (Mexican) piasters, so-called colonnados, and even these were always first carefully tested as to their weight with the help of hand scales.

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Through their association with the Russians however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the use of their coins (2).

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even Russian notes as payment. As proof of their great shrewdness in monetary and trade matters the following incident, which occurred during my stay, might be mentioned. The frequently mentioned Poswein, a Gilyak from Kulj, who had been close to the Russians ever since their first appearance in the region, made a voyage from Nikolayevsk to Sakhalin for the sole purpose of exchanging with his countrymen there various small items for all kinds of valuables and especially gold and silver coins, which they had stolen from a stranded American whaler after killing part of the crew, and then to make a profit out of them with the Russians.

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/595/ By means of the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese and common to all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the barter trade which they carry on among themselves and with the Chinese is, by and large, given a fixed standard in that the in part very heterogeneous wares involved in it appear equal in value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size, quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

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either the buyer or seller. The price or the value of the trade commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser demand which they enjoy among the Chinese and, on the other hand, the more or less strong need for them found among the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, and which is itself determined in turn in large part by their use in the trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities inevitably arose when the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, also came in contact with the Russians, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian commodities began in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese. More than elsewhere, therefore, it must be kept in mind in connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that my descriptions refer to a period when this contact had first been made and had not yet had the consequences that it has today. Finally, concerning the value of objects not involved in trade among the Gilyak, but associated with their households and the rest of their life and activities, the decisive factors are to be sought in their customs, conceptions, and views, evidence of which will be given in the following.

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By means of many and repeated inquiries among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn the values, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russians, and the foremost articles in their life and households, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Thus, among them:

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A sable pelt, depending on its quality, ... equals 1-3 ja
A pelt from the red fox (pas(1)-nga) . . " 2 "

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[104]

1. The s is pronounced soft, like the French z.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (pladf) . . equals 3 ja

/595 cont./

435 439 A pelt from the black fox (hädf), depending on its quality, ... equals 10 ja and more

A lynx pelt with head, the leg pieces, and the tail . . . . . " 8-10 "

A lynx pelt without head, leg pieces, and tail . . . . . " 5 "

/596/

A river otter pelt is estimated according to its size; each finger-span of it is equal to . . . 1 ja

A sealskin, either Phoca nummularis (pyghi) or Ph. barbata (kighitsch), provided it is very good, equals . . . . . 1 "

Four fathoms (1) of ordinary cotton cloth (possj) cost . . 1 "

[804]

1. That is, arm spans, since the Gilyak do not have any measure other than arm and finger spans.

Two fathoms of terry velvet (poibröz-possj) cost . . . 1 ja

One and a half fathoms of cloth (dshangta) . . . . . " 1 "

Four fathoms of Manchurian (2) (very colorful) silk fabric (tscharp) are equal to . . . . . 5 "

2. More correctly stated, Chinese. Four fathoms of it constitute one piece.

The value that the Gilyak give to their various pieces of clothing is judged according to the quality and price of the materials; thus, it costs for:

A long, wide-sleeved robe of Manchurian silk (ucht) . . . . . 5 ja (3)

3. Perhaps reckoned somewhat too low.

/596 cont./

435 439 A woman's cap made of the same material (tscharp-hak) . . . . . 3 ja
A woman's cap made of lynx head-fur (tschlyghi-hak). . 2 "
A good boa made of squirrel tails (tolp) . . . . . 1 "
" woman's robe made of fish skins (tschurk), with considerable embroidery on it . . . . . 1 "
" fur coat of lynx pelts (about 6 pelts) . . . . . 30 "
A coat made of dog-pelts is evaluated primarily by its color and next by its quality, that is, whether they came from grown animals or from whelps; thus, it costs for:
A gray-brownish-yellow dog-fur coat (tschabr-okch) . . 1 "
" spotted or brown-and-white mixed dog-fur coat (alchalch-okch) . . . . . 1 "
" white . . . . . .dog-fur coat (tschang-okch) . . . . . 2 "
" black or very dark-brown dog-fur coat (yghr-okch): made of pelts of grown animals . . 3 "
made " " from whelps . . . . 2 "

The other garments of the Gilyak, such as shirts of ordinary cotton, short half-skirts of cloth or terry velvet, trousers, apron skirts of sealskin, ordinary winter caps, summer hats of birch bark, sleeve bands, ear muffs, gloves, etc., do not have the value of one ja, though the last three are, as a rule, provided with embroidery. Furthermore, the Gilyak value:

One sack of flour as equal to . . . . . 2 ja
Four Manchurian sacks (tall, but narrow) of millet as equal to 4 sables, that is, about 6 or . . . . . 4-8 "
/597/
One wooden case (kylmr-wakke) of liquor is regarded as equal to . . . . . 10 "
Ten bundles of tobacco leaves, and in times of scarcity even only 5, cost . . . . . 1 "
A very large sturgeon (tukki-tscho) equals . . . . . 2 "

/597 cont./

435 A very large hausen (patch-tscho) equals . . . . . 4-5 ja
439 " live, still young, and small bear equals . . . . 25 "
" " full-grown bear, depending on its size, equals . 30-40 "
" dog of ordinary quality and size, equals . . . . . 1 "
" ordinary sled equals . . . . . 1 "
" pair of Tungusic ski with elk-skin covering (Gilyak rdhy-enj, i.e., Samagir ski equals . . . . 1 "
The local ski covered with sealskin, on the other hand do not reach the value of one ja.
A small to middle-sized boat, depending on its size, equals . . . . . 3-7 "
A large, new boat equals. . . . . 13 "
" sail made of fish skins equals . . . . . 1 "
Each ten fathoms of fish netting comes to . . . . . 1 "
A bow covered with a whalebone plate equals . . . . 1 "
" " " " " buffalo or rhinoceros horn plate and with silver clamps (ngynif-puntsch), depending on the number of the latter, equals . . . 8-10 "
A gun with one barrel is valued by the Gilyak at . . . 2 "
" Russo-Siberian rifle " " " " " " . . . 4 "
One double-barreled gun " " " " " " . . . 6 "
A spear approximately an ell long without inlaid silver figures equals . . . . . 1 "
Such a spear with inlaid figures of silver equals . . . 3 "
A spear point about as long as an arm without silver decorations equals . . . . . 3 "
A like-sized spear point with silver and other decorations will be valued, depending on the amount of the latter, as equal to . . . . . 8-10 "
A Manchurian ax is equal to . . . . . 1 "
A coat of old Manchurian iron armor (wytsch-petsch) is valued by the Gilyak at . . . . . 30 "
A coat of old armor of local workmanship (kä-petsch) on the other hand, is valued at only . . . 3-4 "

/597 cont./

435 The value of the kettle embedded in the hearth and
439 the portable kettle is reckoned in part, on the basis of size, but in part and chiefly on the basis of their origin, because the Manchurian (Chinese) kettles are far inferior in quality to those of Japanese: the former easily crack over the fire if they contain no water, but the latter will not. Accordingly, it costs for:

A large Manchurian hearth-kettle (tsch) (ormoz-wunj)	4 ja
/598/	
A smaller Manchurian hearth-kettle	3 "
" Manchurian portable kettle (matsch-wunj) with handles, depending on the size	3-7 "
A small Japanese kettle (Gilyak kughi-wunj, i.e., Ainu kettle)	7-8 "
A large kettle of the same kind	20 "
" " Japanese kettle with three handles . . .	30 "

435 The evaluation used among the Gilyak for
342 their houses is very peculiar, inasmuch as it
343 costs for:

A winter yurt (tschadryf) with two hearths only . .	4 ja
" summer yurt (käryf) only	2-4 "
A storehouse(njö), on the other hand, depending on the number of compartments	10 " and more.

435 A number of conclusions concerning the trade of the Gilyak,
439 as well as telling numerical evidence of certain of their customs and beliefs, can be drawn from this table, some of which have already been discussed in the previous sections and some will be discussed in the following. For the moment it will suffice to draw attention only to the following points:

1) Furs, the most important barter item of the Gilyak in their trade with the Chinese, have a relatively low price, which

/598 cont./

435 undoubtedly can be explained by their great quantity, by the
439 as yet still undiminished wealth of animals in the lower Amur region. Only two types of fur considerably surpass all the others with their high prices: the black fox and the lynx. The former owes its high price, not only to the absolute beauty of its fur, also recognized and highly appreciated by the Chinese, but certainly also to its far greater rarity. The lynx fur, on the other hand, as was pointed out above, has too high an imaginary value in the eyes of the Gilyak themselves to be marketed in great quantities.

435 2) Like the lynx fur, several other articles are distinguished in the above table by their very high price, in no way corresponding to their real value. Among these in particular are the old Manchurian iron armor and helmets discussed above at great length and the Japanese kettles with three handles, which, unfortunately, I did not see, but these could hardly so greatly surpass in quality the kettles from there with two handles, or otherwise somewhat different from them in form, as to justify
[556] the great difference between them in price. The necessity for special marks of wealth and distinction, present even among the otherwise practical Gilyak, is expressed in these things.

825 3) The same motive, vanity, also explains the high value
556 of a live bear among the Gilyak. It brings its owner not only no material /599/ advantage, but, on the contrary, even disadvantages, for the killing and consumption of it can take place only in a festive fashion which entails expense for the owner and host; in return, however, it brings him the flattering reputation of a rich and renowned man.

435 4) Among the various clothing materials which represent
439 the principal barter item of the Chinese in dealing with the
291 Gilyak, the latter most prize the colorful silk materials with dragons and other Chinese patterns and often gold and silver interwoven through them, but not because they themselves take special pleasure in them and live in luxury with them -- instead, one sees them used among them almost exclusively in small

/599 cont./

439 435 291 pieces for elegant women's caps -- but rather because they want them for trade with the Japanese -- a matter that I shall come back to in the following and which gives the best proof for their outstanding talent for trade.

439 273 435 5) Something similar is the basis for their very high evaluation of the liquor (araki /arrack/) in the barter trade with the Chinese. One would be very much mistaken if he concluded from this evaluation of the liquor that they were strongly addicted to drinking it and therefore readily let themselves be plundered by means of it. To be sure, they do not reject liquor, but they used it, as was pointed out above (1), in moderate fashion at the time

1. See p. 719 above.

of my stay among them. On the other hand, their gaze, constantly looking for advantages and profit, could not miss the value of so generally popular a commodity in the trade relations with both their own countrymen living farther away from the source of supply and in particular their less energetic Tungusic neighbors. Thus, their genius for trade also proved itself with respect to liquor and, as has already been mentioned, with the help of it they were even able to obtain many an advantage in their barter with the Russian Cossacks and sailors.

435 6) The articles that they themselves make for their household and the rest of their life and activities, such as utensils of all kinds, pieces of clothing, etc., however neatly made and adorned with decorations they might be, are not very highly valued by the Gilyak, unless they contain a precious material acquired from the Chinese, such as bows covered with buffalo horn, or the lances furnished with inlaid figures of silver, etc. It is not the fineness and beauty of the work or the time and labor spent on them, but the bit of silver or horn that gives these objects their high value in the eyes of the Gilyak.

G 435 342 343

/599 cont./

7) At first glance the evaluation of their various kinds of housing on the part of the Gilyak as given in the table seems very irrational, for one can scarcely believe that a structure as large and relatively complicated as their winter dwelling, built on the Chinese pattern and provided with two hearths, four wide sleeping benches heated by pipelines, and large windows, is worth only about half as much as a /600/ storehouse lacking all of these accessories. Nevertheless I must stand by the above figures, repeatedly confirmed for me by the Gilyak and hope to be able to give an adequate explanation for them in the following while discussing the social relations of the Gilyak and their socio-communistic attitude coming to light in the construction and utilization of their houses, as well as in other things, as I learned from them themselves.

G. G. 435

8) Finally, if I compare the table of prices of the Gilyak with that drawn up by Maximowicz (1) in a similar way among the

1. In his handwritten notes put at my disposal.

Goldi, I find an almost complete correspondence in most things, obviously because the prices prevailing among the Sungari Chinese are decisive for both. Nevertheless, some differences, which are characteristic of region and people, can be recognized in them. Among the Goldi, for example, all fur seems to have a higher price than among the Gilyak (a good sable, for example, is valued by them at 4-5 ja, a red fox at 3 ja, a black one even at 30-60 ja), undoubtedly because the animals involved are less frequent in their territory than in the abundantly forested north, and perhaps also because the Gilyak accumulate a greater quantity of them through their industrious trade, as middlemen, with the neighboring peoples. In this connection, too, among the Goldi attention is paid to the smaller animals, such as squirrels, ermine, Mustela sibirica, and the like (ten specimens of the former, for example, cost

G /600 cont./
Gi 1/2 ja, a whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 ja), whereas the Gilyak
435 with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to
G these worthless, trifling materials. In further contrast to the
Gi Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing
[224] animals and fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins
of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with
the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 ja among
G them, a red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 ja, tanned 2 ja). Like
Gi the furs, the principal products from fishing also have a higher
[226] price among the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon,
for example, costs 10 ja among the former), on the one hand be-
cause the fish supply in the Amur River decreases upstream, and
on the other hand because they are nowhere near as productive in
this respect as the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing.
Gi Cereals and vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem
[241] to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of
their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because
G they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is
276 quite decidedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "string" of
435 it, equal to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 ja (2).
439

2. At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to the above table /see p. 935/.

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Circassian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

G Since principal commodity of the Amur peoples in trading
439 with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable,
184 fox, and otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on
the whole, only /601/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters,
they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade
on a large scale, think of procuring this commodity in the largest
G quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way
[438] better suited to their nature. To this end they trade with their

/601 cont./

439 Tungusic neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting,
438 and the Amur Gilyak, who have the most dealings with the
184 Chinese, also trade with their more distant countrymen living along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin and buy from them the desired furs. The Amur Gilyak, and in part the Tschomi Gilyak too, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which Chinese wares are brought into circulation throughout the territory of the Gilyak and of the tribes immediately neighboring them, the Negda, Reindeer Tungus, Orok, and even the Ainu, and they are also the ones who draw the greatest advantage from
439 it. There is not a single Chinese merchant in this whole area.
648 The northernmost and easternmost point in the lower Amur region
[487] where such a one stays temporarily is the village of Pulj, located still in Olcha territory on the Amur, near the Gilyak border, which can easily be reached in winter, even from Tschomi, via the oft-mentioned Tymi-Chaselach route from the Liman (1). It was said that sometimes a Chinese merchant

1. See pp. 144 and 909 above.

steals through from Pulj along the deserted left bank of the Amur to the Negda on the Amgunj, but carefully avoids the right bank, inhabited by the Gilyak, because they, as they themselves told me, will not permit any Chinese merchants in their territory and 25 years ago killed one who ventured it. Whether they assumed this hostile attitude toward the Chinese merchants in order to defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese or in order to shake it off is still uncertain, but in any case it is
439 greatly to their advantage commercially. For the role that is played farther upstream by the Chinese merchants living among the Olcha, Goldi, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur region or visiting them, in that they act as middlemen in the trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers along the Sungari, falls in the Gilyak-Tungusic area, intowhich they are not allowed to come, to the Amur Gilyak themselves. And the latter perform their role of middlemen with great skill and success. The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that

484
437 /601 cont./ The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that
439 they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes,
[157] is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commodities, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the like, in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these foreign articles and with some of their own products, such as sturgeon or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to
[221] the places named. This is done especially in winter when there
[492] is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dogs which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish in the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests. Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to take only a small quantity of commodities with them each time, the frequency and common practice of such trading trips among them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goods, and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same, the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese, they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting. Here again experience proves that the producer of a commodity always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using it.

439 These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose men-
437 tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Negda
484 on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Gilyak Hynk) and the Samagir on Lake
648 Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhotsk,
[487] and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter, aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone, they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportunity.

G /602 cont./
439 First of all, the Amgunj offers them a direct and convenient
437 route to the Chinese merchants along the Amur; secondly, in
484 winter only a short distance separates them from the Samagir on the Gorin, who are likewise visited by Chinese merchants; and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Nemilen, the chief northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a low watershed, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, ooo with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 166 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Siberian Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 and 150).

G
439 under these circumstances
437 the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the
484 Negda are not very great, except perhaps in those places where
484 the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from
361 those trade opportunities, namely, on Lake Orell and Lake
Gi Tschlja, where there is also a Gilyak village and which, more-
439 over, lie on the route from the Amur to the southern coast of the
361 Sea of Okhotsk. Like the Negda, the Samagir, too, in addition to their principal territory on the Gorin (Gilyak Kyr), have still other habitation sites remote from it and closer to the Gilyak -- these are their settlements on Lake Udyl, and, like the Negda lakes, these, too, are /603/ visited by the Amur Gilyak for trade, and, to be sure, in winter as well as in summer. Thus, on May 18 (30), 1856, I met the Gilyak Mesgun in Patt at the moment when he was about to set out in a boat laden with various Chinese commodities to travel to the "Rdhy" (Samagir) living
Gi on Lake Udyl. On the whole, however, the latter lies, geographi-
[197] cally as well as on the basis of the linguistic relationships of the dwellers on it, closer to the Olcha than to the Gilyak.

/603 cont./

438 The Amur Gilyak find a field for their trading operations
439 as middlemen that is far more favorable than among the Negda
[439] and Samagir among their own countrymen along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, which they reach in a short time, going either from Pall-wo to Kulj via the lakes mentioned, or from Wair to Hisska, or by way of the Amur Liman, and where they are the sole suppliers of Chinese and, since the abandonment of the Petrofski post, also Russian wares. In exchange for these, they are supplied with animal pelts which the Gilyak living there in part capture themselves in the coastal region and on the Schantar Islands and in part obtain from the Tungus hunting along the Tugur and in the Mäwatschan Mountains in exchange for the yield from their fishing and hunting of sea animals and articles previously procured from the Amur Gilyak. Furthermore, they buy eagle tails from their countrymen in order to use them in trade with the Japanese, and, finally, they cheaply procure there seal oil and skins both for their own use and for trade with their southern neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi.

184 The Amur Gilyak, and in part also the Tschomi Gilyak,
438 get their greatest booty in animal skins for trade with the
439 Chinese, however, on Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the former chiefly in the northern part of the island, along the Liman and Tro coasts, and the latter on the west coast south of Poghobi and along the upper course of the Tymy River, without there being any strict division of these trade areas between them. It is strange that the Sakhalin Gilyak, unlike their aforementioned countrymen, do little moving about and almost never come to the mainland, to say nothing of their undertaking more distant trading trips, but rather they are content to exploit their nearest neighbors on the island, the Orok and the Ainu, and, in turn, let themselves be supplied with the Chinese commodities coveted by them, too, tobacco, liquor, cloth, and the like, by the continental Gilyak, who come over to them. The Orok likewise only rarely roam beyond the Liman in order to approach the Chinese traders in Pulj along the Tymi-Chaselach route, and, finally,

/603 cont./

438 the mainland remains remote to the Ainu. Thus, the trade in
439 Chinese commodities on Sakhalin rests almost exclusively in
184 the hands of the continental Gilyak. And they know how to draw great advantage from it for their own purposes. As we have already seen, the island is exceedingly rich in the fur-bearing animals particularly sought by them and hunted successfully by all three tribes on it, but chiefly concentrated in the hands of the Sakhalin Gilyak. The greatest quantity of fur-bearing animals is undoubtedly captured by the Orok, roaming and hunting throughout the winter, who, however, impelled or forced by their nomadic life, as well as by their, on the whole, carefree and lighthearted Tungusic nature, /604/ turn the largest part of it over to the sedentary and enterprising Tymy and other Sakhalin Gilyak. The latter know how to take advantage of the scarcities that not infrequently occur among their wandering neighbors with regard to food and luxuries for themselves or food for their dogs; with the help of supplies bartered from the Amur Gilyak or stored by them themselves, they carry on an extremely profitable trade with them, indeed, by means of advances, sometimes, at a great profit, even make them their debtors. They similarly draw advantages from the Ainu, who, when they can, prefer to turn to them with their hunting booty rather than to the Japanese, for they are always underpaid by the latter with only a little rice and sake and not infrequently are not paid at all. Thus, even the Sakhalin Gilyak, though they lack the enterprising spirit of their countrymen on the continent, do not in any way belie the passion for trade and profit peculiar to their tribe. Inasmuch, however, as they sell to them the animal pelts captured by them themselves or bought from their neighbors, they furnish them with the means to carry on trade on a larger scale with the Chinese, which also benefits them. Moreover, the continental Gilyak make their purchases on the island not only among their countrymen or through their agency, but, particularly in the north and south of the island, outside the Tymy region, occasionally trade directly with the Orok and Ainu. In fact, they obtain a great portion of the coveted animal skins from the Japanese. But this

G /604 cont./
438 trade will be discussed separately later, after we have first be-
439 come acquainted with that which they carry on with the Chinese,
184 and which furnishes them the means for the former.

G. As was pointed out at great length above (1), there is along
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1. See pp. 142 and 144.

the lower Amur, in the Olcha and Goldi area, a number of centers at which Chinese merchants stay temporarily or even more or less permanently, and which were very cleverly chosen by them in order to carry on trade with the adjacent native tribes and especially to acquire from them the precious furs. They are cunning and sly traders, who do not shrink from any trouble and deprivation or from any means, in order to draw the greatest possible profit from their calling in either their own or their employer's interests. Outwardly they are very affable and courteous toward the natives in order to win them over; when I was in the aforementioned village of Pulj, in a yurt in which one of the three Chinese permanently living in the village had his domicile, and the Olcha and Gilyak in whose company I had come from the Liman entered it, the Chinese immediately took pains to help them shake the snow off their fur coats and then handed each of them a leaf of tobacco. After he had again taken his former seat on the plank-bed, he asked the newcomers to take a seat likewise, lighted his pipe at the basin filled with glowing charcoal that stood beside him, and passed it around from /605/ hand to hand. Conversation was soon flowing, and it was not long before the Chinese lifted a small can filled with liquor from the coal-pan, put several small porcelain bowls on the low table standing beside him, filled them, and handed them to his guests. During the conversation the Chinese talked boastfully and took pains to point out to his listeners and to me that his countrymen, the Nekan, were the best friends of the Olcha, Goldi, Gilyak, etc., because they provided for their needs and paid for every piece of fur with clothing materials, millet, tobacco, liquor, or the like, according to their desires, and were always friendly to them, whereas the Manchu were their mutual enemies and only exploited and

/605 cont./

G. Gi 437 439 G. [186] mistreated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal servings of liquor, made to the natives by Chinese merchants, and they never miss their mark, especially in the case of the Goldi who, living in the closest proximity to the Manchu and entirely dependent on them, have often personally experienced their cruelty and avarice and even give them the nickname "ssingare," rats, to indicate that they act like the latter around their supplies and possessions. On the Gilyak, however, to whom the Manchu officials do not come to collect tribute and to practice all kinds of extortion, the flattering and seductive behavior of the Chinese merchants makes little impression. On the other hand, the great profit that the latter make by selling to the Amur peoples at retail for a very high price the commodities that they purchased cheaply at wholesale on the Sungari is obvious to their commercial sense, and, little inclined to contribute to it at their own expense, they try to imitate them and keep the profits for themselves. This explains their above-mentioned opposition to granting Chinese merchants access to their territory and the little encouragement that the latter find among them in general.

G 184 438 439 G [487] The Chinese trade center on their border, in Pulj, is visited, apart from the Olcha, Samagir, and Orok, almost exclusively by the Tschomi Gilyak, who, far from the Amur, find there the means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and especially along the Tymy River. The Amur Gilyak, on the other hand, try to utilize the route offered to them by nature and, avoiding the profit-seeking middlemen located on it, fetch what is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, from the Sungari themselves.

G 437 439 484 To be able to undertake a trading trip to the Sungari or, as the Gilyak usually express it, "to the Manchu," is the goal of their most ardent desires and constant practical endeavors. It is chiefly for this purpose that sables, otters, and foxes are hunted and the trips to the neighboring tribes to buy precious furs are carried out. For without a considerable supply of this

/605 cont./

437 barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is con-
439 sidered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would
484 not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the unavoidable payment of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment. For a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that it leads through the territory, not only of their neighbors, the Olcha, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Ussuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they could quite easily lose their dogs altogether, and through that get into the greatest difficulty. Moreover, at best by this method such a small quantity of wares could be transported that the journey would
[487] pay only slightly, if at all. The only way to do it safely and profitably is by boat up the Amur and Sungari. For this, however, a number of men are needed to propel the boat, loaded with furs and some supplies, even though not heavily, against the occasionally very strong current, sometimes by rowing and sometimes by pulling on ropes. Hence, a small, but well-organized company, with an authoritative and commanding leader at the head, is always required for such a journey.

[361] The goal of the Sungari journeys of the Gilyak is always the town of Ssan-ssin, or Itscha-choton, as it is called by all the Amur peoples, located at the point where the Churcha or Mutuan-ho empties into the Sungari. They are not permitted

/606 cont./ They are not permitted
437 by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just
439 as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are
484 not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari,
648 the so-called Sachali River -- a prohibition whose observance the
823 Manchu officials stationed in Dshang-dshu at the confluence of the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal observation. What they have to say about the towns of "Kirchk-
[103] choton" and "Nungdy-choton" (Ninguta?) located, respectively, above Itscha-choton on the Sungari and on its above-mentioned tributary, which they call "Ula" (which, however, in Manchu and Tungusic, as is well known, simply means "river"), as well as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Sachali River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they may have heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in part perhaps through Daurian-Yakut traditions in Burukan. The
437 fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak
439 access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners,
484 indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does
648 nothing in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not send either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Ssan-ssin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

G /607 cont./
437 time they must submit to being treated like the Goldi and other
439 peoples directly subject to the Manchu-Chinese. And in order
484 to achieve their commercial ends, they behave, as they them-
648 selves told me, toward them on their part just like the latter, that is, they bend the knee before them in greeting or to make a request, which otherwise is not at all customary among them. The Gilyak in Ssan-ssin put on an act of complete submission to the Manchu-Chinese government, and the latter is satisfied with this, along with the gifts collected from them in the form of tribute and probably going into the pockets of the local officials, and otherwise leaves them in peace.

G; 439 648 The treatment of the natives of the lower Amur region appearing annually on the Sungari for trade on the part of the Manchu officials and Chinese merchants there is extremely harsh, inconsiderate, and humiliating, and in particular the gentle and shy Goldi, who live closest to them and are directly subject to them, have to suffer under them. According to the description by Chilkofakij (1) and Barabasch (2), who traveled up the Sungari

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1. Khilkovskii (Izviest. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. II, 1866, Sec. II, p. 227. In the excerpt in Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., 1868, p. 345).

G; [113]

2. Ia. Barabash", "Sungariisk. Eksped. 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 3, p. 141).

to Pe-tune (Bo-dune) in 1866 and 1872, they first had to pay for a permit for travel to Ssan-ssin and for the trading itself, which was done in the village of Ssussu, lying somewhat below the latter, by paying a considerable amount of sturgeon and hausen cartilage and glue to the Manchu official stationed there. Upon reaching Ssan-ssin, they first of all have to pay the tribute (alban) owed to the Chinese Crown, which consists of one sable,

Gi /607 cont./
439 and, to be sure, the best, per man. In order to find it, however,
648 the officials in charge of this rummage through and inspect the entire collection of sables of each of the newcomers -- a procedure during which the owner in question must continually kneel down in respect, and many a one remains on his knees for an hour and longer before the best sable has been selected from his collection. It is obvious that, as a rule, this does not stop at one, but no protests or resistance would help here, since for the slightest offense of this /608/ kind the one concerned is punished mercilessly by beatings with bamboo. When the officials are satisfied, it is the merchants' turn to plunder, and they have at their disposal, among other things, so powerful a means as liquor, which no Tungus can easily resist. It is said that not infrequently the Chinese traders confront the Goldi with fabricated or false claims and demand from one or another of them the repayment of so many sable pelts allegedly still owed by his father or grandfather -- demands which the Goldi, out of fear of the punishment threatened and especially of the withdrawal of their trading permit by the officials, who have an understanding with the merchants, usually obey.

G For furs, especially sable, otter, and fox furs, and sturgeon
439 and hausen cartilage, spinal cords, and glue, the only products of their region that the Gilyak bring to Ssan-ssin, they get in trade from the Chinese various commodities required by them in part for their own subsistence and in part for trade with the neighboring peoples. Among these are the aforementioned cereals and vegetables used in great quantities at the bear festivals, such as millet, barley, wheat flour, white and yellow beans, and then liquor and tobacco, along with the implements customarily used in enjoying them, the small porcelain bowls and the Chinese pipes distributed everywhere and provided with brass, glass, or stone (agate and chalcedony) mouthpieces. Of special importance for the Gilyak, furthermore, are the clothing materials which they obtain from the Chinese: the indispensable blue and gray cotton cloth worn by

/608 cont./

439 men and women, black woolens and velvet materials, silk fabrics, silk thread of all colors, sewing needles, buttons, and a quantity of Chinese ornaments, silver ear-pendants, rings and bracelets, glass beads, sheet-brass figures for decorating women's robes, and the like, as well as, finally, a number of household utensils, such as large and small kettles, etc. If the quantity of 439 goods acquired in trade in Ssan-ssin, in part heavy and bulky, 439 is too large to be transported without injury in the small boats 484 in which the Gilyak customarily make the arduous upstream [501] voyage to and on the Sungari, a so-called Manchu boat, made by the Goldi there, is bought, in which the return voyage downstream can be made easily and quickly. And since, in order to have a stronger current, one usually stays far from the banks, he at the same time avoids the danger of being belatedly fleeced even yet by the Manchu officials and Chinese traders stationed or residing here and there temporarily or permanently. After the return trip is completed, the boat can still be used for a second type of trading voyage -- the voyages to the Ssisam (Japanese), to a consideration of which we must now turn.

439 Among the above-named commodities which the Gilyak obtain by trade in Ssin-ssan, one article plays an especially important role. It is the colorful Chinese silk fabric bearing designs of dragons and other figures and often with gold and silver interwoven in it, which is brought to market in part in whole pieces and in part worked up into long and wide-sleeved dressing gowns. /609/ Whereas the other commodities serve the Gilyak exclusively for their own use or for trade with their neighbors, these find their foremost and best purchasers outside of the Amur region, among the Japanese, and therefore give them the principal reason for direct trade with the latter. There is mention of this trade, which, however, does not take place in Japan, but in the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin, even in the oldest accounts of this island which we have from the Japanese. The Japanese interpreter Kannemon, who visited Jesso /Yesso/ before 1652, already speaks of special fabrics which the inhabitants of this island get from "Krato" or "Kraft".

/609 cont./

439 (Sakhalin), and which he therefore calls "Kraft-ori" (1).

[113] 1. "Jesoki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, publ. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 162, 164). Cf. also p. 262, note 3, above.

175 439 There is an even more definite statement in Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, published in Jedo /Yedo, or Tokyo/ in 1785 or 1786, where it is said that the inhabitants of Jesso (Matsmai) exchange their products on Karafuto with the "Mantsiu" for blue glass beads, eagle wings, tobacco pipes, silken fabrics embroidered with dragons, and colored linen and cotton materials (2). This undoubtedly refers to the trade which

[113] 2. Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 190. Cf. also Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 487.

the Manchu-Chinese, Gilyak, and Olcha, with the above-named, mostly Chinese commodities, but in part also indigenous products of the Amur region (such as the eagle tails), conducted on Sakhalin with the Japanese and Ainu of this island and, through their intermediation, also with the inhabitants of Jesso, and which the last-named indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region and some of the Goldi still conduct. To be sure, they are not named there, but this is not to be expected in view of the lack of knowledge about the peoples of the lower Amur region at that time on the part of the Japanese, and, rather, it is to be assumed that under "Mantsiu" in the collective sense they meant all those people there carrying on trade with Manchu-Chinese

/609 cont./

175 439 commodities. The Gilyak and Olcha coming to Sakhalin to trade with the Japanese are simply designated as "Manchu" even by many a more recent Russian reporter (3), though at present

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3. For instance, by Rudanofskij (cf. P. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazovaniia Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii i dieistv. eia do nastoiashch. vrem. /Historical Survey of the Founding of the Russian-American Company and of Its Activities up to the Present/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 127), Busse, (Ostrov" Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 g. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 62, 72, 85), and others.

neither they nor the Chinese merchants referred to as a rule under this name by the Russians visit Sakhalin. The first Russian report concerning the trade in question is almost as old as the last-mentioned Japanese account. In 1792, Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese on Jesso speak of the "Sandan-aino" who bring beads and fabrics to "Karap" (Krafto, Sakhalin) and barter for animal furs, sable, fox, etc. (4). To be sure, he thought that

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4. Cf. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, pp. 493, 541). Similarly see p. 245 above.

these "Sandan People" must be Koreans, but since, as was discussed above at length (5), "Santan" is the Japanese and Ainu

5. See pp. 245 and 247, as well as the footnote.

/609 cont./
175 designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no
439 doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

439 The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the
437 Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter and
484 located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,
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1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made
[501] in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the
[103] higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these keelless vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsô Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaref (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

[104] 2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible. But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and especially south of Duï as far as Pilja-wo, is steep and rocky, offers many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

/610 cont./

439 they take only a small supply of food with them and depend al-
437 most entirely on their fish nets for their subsistence (3), the
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3. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

sea voyage sometimes takes a longer time. Under favorable conditions, however, they are said to be able to cover the worst stretch, from Duĭ to Kussunai, often in four to five days. On winter voyages to the Ssisam, which are made in dog-drawn sleds, the above-mentioned steep, rocky coastal stretch puts great obstacles in the way. For the sea does not always freeze along it, and even if a fringe of ice has formed, with a strong wind it often, and sometimes very suddenly and unexpectedly, is broken up again and carried off by the high waves of the sea. The travelers are therefore forced to cover this stretch by land, and, on account of the mountains lying behind it, that can be done only by way of a long detour: they leave the seacoast at Arkai, shortly before Duĭ, turn inland over low passes to the Tymy sources, go from them to the Plyi or Poronai River, and follow its course up to the mouth in the Bay of Patience, on which there are settlements of all three of the peoples represented on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. From there they travel along the east coast of the island to Manuë and then, along a low and convenient pass located at the narrowest point of Sakhalin, /611/ cross again to the west coast, which they reach at Kussunai and which they then follow to Ssiranussi (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 110.

439 As has already been mentioned, one of the purposes of the Ssisam voyages of the Gilyak is to trade with the Ainu and to obtain furs from them in exchange for cotton cloth, tobacco, pipes, glass beads, and other Manchu-Chinese articles. This is done wherever they meet them, on the east coast of Sakhalin as

439 /611 cont./
well as on the west coast. A principal center for this trade, however, is the village of Najoro, not far from Kussunai, to which the Ainu come for this purpose from considerable distances themselves, from Aniwa Bay and elsewhere (2). For

2. Busse, op. cit., p. 84. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 92.

egoistical reasons the Japanese view this trade with great dislike and try as far as possible to prevent it, because they want to get for themselves the furs captured by the Ainu. Since they do this in a way which is very injurious to the latter, in that they buy their goods far below the price in part under threats of punishment and other coercive measures, and, indeed, sometimes for nothing, as payment for alleged debts (3), the Ainu, whenever they

3. Busse, op. cit., p. 71.

can, avoid trading with them and try to sell their furs, kept hidden from them, to the Sakhalin Gilyak or, preferably, to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha from abroad. The latter are said to
[435] pay them two to three fathoms (arm spans) of Chinese cotton cloth for one sable pelt, depending on its quality, and just as much for each quarter of an arshin (finger span) of river-otter skin, so that the latter, with a length of 5/4 arshin, which is easily attained as a result of the unavoidable stretching of the fur in skinning, will bring about ten fathoms of the material named (4) -- prices which generally correspond to the values

4. Busse, op. cit., p. 84.

given above for these articles among the Gilyak.

[648] Having reached Ssiranussi, the Ssisam voyagers, before they may begin to trade with the Japanese, submit to a ceremony introduced by the latter which consists of two or three blows across the back with a stick received by each of them, as a

/611 cont./

439 token of their submissiveness from the highest Japanese official.
[648] After this is done, the goods are taken away from them and brought to an official building of the Japanese, which no one except them may enter, in order to be subjected to a close scrutiny (5). It can hardly be doubted that some of the pieces

5. According to Rudanofski, in Tichmenef's Istorich. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, [illegible] II, p. 127.

and certainly not the worst ones, never find their way back to their rightful owners. The Japanese, however, do not permit themselves to treat the newly arrived Gilyak and Olcha in the same inconsiderate and predatory manner as they do the Ainu, simply for the reason that otherwise they might easily shy away altogether from trading with them and the coveted commodities that they bring to them would be lost. Besides /612/ this trade is all the more profitable for them since they principally use sable, fox, and river-otter furs in it, articles which they procure in great quantities and almost without cost, thanks to their systematic extortion practiced on the Ainu on Sakhalin, as well as on Jesso, and for which they have no market in Japan because of the well-known aversion to fur among its inhabitants. They further owe great profit to the popularity of their iron kettles, provided with handles, among the Gilyak. Finally, rice, tobacco, sake, porcelain and lacquered wooden bowls, and the like are readily marketable articles for them in this trade, in exchange for which they principally try to obtain from the Gilyak and Olcha those colorful, red and blue Chinese silk materials and the eagle tails likewise mentioned several times. How
439 popular the one as well as the other is among them can be seen
435 from the high prices that they pay for them. According to Poswein, the Gilyak from Kulj, the Japanese give for a piece of silk material seven fathoms long and one arshin wide five river-otter pelts, five fox pelts, and five sable pelts, and for an eagle tail from Haliaëtos pelagicus 12 otter pelts, and from the far less

/612 cont./

439 prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjelm,
[435] at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

439 Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin
484 for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often ex-
487 tends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they
[231] still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

order to raise them at home.

648 The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go
439 beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of
484 Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the
[823] southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

/612 cont./
439 their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of
484 the Ssisam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin
648 (Lär-mif) and separated from it by a "small sea" (matsch-kerchk).
[823] /613/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the
175 Amur region by the Russians, however, the Japanese also tried
648 to keep the traders from there away from Ssiranussi and Endungomo,
439 their second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Ssiranussi by the Japanese but only as far as Endungomo, and in the following year the Olcha traders were prohibited from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kussunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2). Even Judin, the

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2. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, pp. 22, 26). Also, Schmidt, "Hist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebach, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Ssiranussi and was well known there; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, stemming from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our considerations.

G 439 /613 cont./

If one surveys all of the above-described trade activities of the Gilyak, he will not hesitate to acknowledge that they are a people extremely gifted for trade by nature and completely G [181] dedicated to it. Too indolent to obtain by hunting the means for trade with the neighboring civilized peoples on a larger scale in keeping with their inclinations, they know how to win them from the tribes neighboring them, who are more skilled at hunting, by means of trade indefatigably pursued from small be- G [437] ginnings. Thus enriched, they undertake, in spite of their primi- [484] tive means of locomotion, long trade journeys to the Sungari and to southern Sakhalin, to the "Manchu" and to the "Ssisam," and since they exchange the wares and products of the one for those of the other, they serve as middlemen between the two greatest civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the C 439 Japanese. This latter activity of the Gilyak permits comparing 437 them with another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Chukchee, who, 484 likewise only poor hunters, but animated by a great genius for trade, roam over the northern tundra and cross the Bering Strait in order to trade for the furs bagged by the Eskimo in the Yukon territory with the commodities of the Russo-Siberian merchants, and, conversely, along the Anjui, the latter for the former, and so in the polar north they act as trade intermediaries between Europe-Asia and America (3). None of the Siberian peoples can

C [113] 3. Concerning this trade of the Chukchee, see the detailed and exhaustive account by Matjuschkin /Matiushkin/ (in Wrangell's /Vrangel'/ travel account, Russian edition, Vol. I, pp. 331 ff.), Ditmar (Bull. de la cl. hist.-philol. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, 1856, pp. 129 ff.; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 39 ff.), and others.

Gi 439 177 None of the Siberian Peoples Can be compared, with regard to its trade activities, /614/ to these two Paleo-Asiatic peoples, except perhaps the Olcha, whose strongly developed genius for trade, however, as we shall see in a moment, must be traced back to the influence of the Gilyak.

/614 cont./

439 Next to the Gilyak, the Olcha carry on the most extensive trade in the lower Amur region, and, to be sure, in a manner very similar to that of the former and in part even along the same routes. Although they are more zealous and skillful hunters than the Gilyak, they are not satisfied to offer in trade to the Chinese merchants on the Amur and Sungari merely the results of their own hunting, but for this purpose likewise try to obtain, by acting as middlemen in trade, the hunting booty of their neighbors. The area of their intermediary trade, however, is sharply separated from that of the Amur Gilyak. With the exception of the Samagir sites around Lake Udyl, which are visited by both for trading, the Amur Gilyak carry on their activities as middlemen, as was pointed out above, among the Negda and, chiefly to the north and east, among their own countrymen along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as among the Orok and Ainu, whereas the area of the intermediary trade of the Olcha lies to the south among the Orochi on the seacoast and along the rivers emptying into the sea. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Orok do not belong in the trade sphere of their closest tribal relatives on the mainland, the Olcha, but rather, because of the geographical position of their habitation sites in the northeastern part of Sakhalin, in that of the Gilyak, who are foreign to them with regard to tribe as well as language, and to whose influence they submit in other things, too, besides trade.

439 Routes determined by the geographical position of their
437 habitation sites are likewise the basis for the intercourse of the
487 Olcha with the Orochi. From de Castries Bay, their only site on the sea, the Olcha, carrying on trade, travel southward along the mainland coast, inhabited by Orochi, to the Chinese settlements located on it. In May, 1855, when Ditmar visited this bay, he saw many of them in their light boats, which are built exactly like those of the Gilyak, returning from a trade voyage of this kind (1). The natural and the shortest route from the Amur

[113] 1. K. v. Ditmar, "Reisen u. Aufenthalt in

2: Schrenck--964 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Olcha

439 /614 cont./
437
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[113]

1. (cont.)
Kamtschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and a Stay in Kamchatka in the Years 1851-1855/," Part I (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 818.

River to the coast that is available to the Olcha in the center of their area of distribution empties to the north of de Castries on the small Bay of Taba. It is formed by Lake Kidsi, which branches off from the Amur River far to the east, and the small Taba River emptying into it from the northeast, which is separated from Taba Bay by only a narrow and in part swampy stretch of land. Here even in ancient times, and presumably by the Olcha themselves, a crossrow of /615/ beams was laid on the ground, over which the boats are dragged from the small [114] Taba River to the sea. This was also the route over which the "Bitschi" (Goldi from Bitschu) came from the Amur to de Castries Bay, from whose accounts La Pérouse erroneously concluded that at the northern end of the Straits of Tartary the island of Sakhalin was connected with the mainland by sandbanks which were exposed at ebb tide (1). The same route was

1. See Vol. II /untranslated/, p. 733, and Vol. III, p. 296, of this work.

used by Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/ when, in 1809, he traveled from Krafto (Sakhalin) to the Santan or lower Amur region (2).

2. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 171).

In winter the sizable Tumdshi River gives the Olcha their main route for trade with the Orochi, in that, setting out from the Amur, sometimes traveling in sleds, sometimes going on ski and

439 /615 cont./
437 pulling the dog-drawn sleds behind them, they cross the mountain
487 passes located on the Pä, Jaï, Miäta, and Chelasso to the Tumdshi and then follow this river to its mouth near Kaiserhafen.

Though, according to the above descriptions, the area in
439 which the Olcha carry on an intermediary trade with their neigh-
438 bors is rather large, it nevertheless stands considerably behind that of the Gilyak in size and lucrativeness. The latter in particular is greatly reduced because, in addition to the Olcha the Orochi are also visited and exploited for trade purposes by the Goldi. Indeed, because of the geographical conditions, the latter are in an even more favorable position for this than the former inasmuch as they are immediate neighbors of the Orochi along the Chongar, Naiche, Munamu, and all the right Ussuri tributaries and have more or less convenient routes to the sea, though they are farther away from the aforementioned lake route to it.

439 Like the Gilyak, the Olcha use the furs obtained through their own hunting and through trade with the neighboring tribes in their trade with the Chinese. But the profit that they derive from this trade, in comparison with that of the Gilyak, is also less, and, to be sure, because in connection with it, instead of those long and strenuous Sungari journeys, they often turn to the Chinese merchants who reside more or less permanently at many places in their region, such as Pulj, Mongole, Kidsi, Adi, and others, and who, only middlemen themselves, are masters at always knowing how to maintain their advantage. The Olcha lacked the courage and energy to keep these middlemen, who exploit them, out of their region, as the Gilyak did. Nevertheless they are by no means entirely at their mercy, like, say, some of the Goldi or Orochi (Ta-dse) in the southern part of their habitation area, but rather likewise try to avoid them as far as possible and to trade directly with the Sungari Chinese.

439 Concerning the Sungari journeys of the Olcha, I must refer
437 to the information above, because they are exactly like those
487 of the Gilyak in both their execution and their purpose, which culminates in the purchase of Chinese silks for the sake of trade

/616/

439 with the Japanese on Sakhalin. For the journey to the latter, the
437 Olcha use the above-mentioned Kidsi-Taba route, and their
487 trade activities on the island are exactly the same as those of the Gilyak on their Ssisam voyages, so they could already be discussed above when the latter were.

439 Even though the Olcha in their total trade activity remain considerably behind the Gilyak, this activity must still be described as very outstanding on account of its scope, complexity, and even more its character in intermediating between two civilized peoples, the Chinese and the Japanese. And an espe-
[181] cially striking fact is that such trade activity is practiced by a people of purely Tungusic stock, a stock which, wherever one meets it, is distinguished by its easy-going disposition, unconcerned about the future, and its passionate attachment to a roaming hunter's life, and nowhere shows any, even moderate, special inclination and capacity for trade. If, on the other
[177] hand, one considers that, through years of living beside the Gilyak and frequent mixing, the Olcha have in large part become assimilated with these neighbors of theirs in their way of life, their customs and usages, in short, in their entire system, then one certainly cannot hesitate to regard their highly developed commercial sense and their brisk trade activity as the result of the influence exerted on them by the Gilyak.

439 Through the Olcha this influence, even though to a lesser
648 degree, has been transmitted to their closest neighbors upstream, the Goldi. In the above there has already been mention of the trade connections which the latter maintain with the Orochi of the coast, with the Chinese on the Sungari, and even, though to a far smaller extent than the Olcha and Gilyak, with the Japanese on Sakhalin. What especially cripples the trade activities of the Goldi is the Manchu-Chinese rule burdening them, the merciless exploitation and constant oppression on the part of the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants to which they are exposed.
[181] The insecurity of property and the frequent curtailment of property rob them of pleasure and enthusiasm in augmenting it, and the power of resistance and energy, which they, like all the Tungusic

Gi 439 648 [181]

/616 cont./

tribes, possess to only a very slight degree, gives way more and more to despondency and indolence. This becomes increasingly obvious the closer one comes to the Sungari as the center and point of departure of the Manchu-Chinese domination over the lower Amur region. Despite the fact, therefore, that the chief trade market for the peoples of the lower Amur region lies on the Sungari, their trade activity increases in proportion to the distance from it as a consequence of their simultaneously increasing independence from the Manchu-Chinese, and finally reaches its peak among the Gilyak, who have remained the freest and the most independent.

SS 439 178

/617/ So much for the trade conditions in the lower Amur region at the time of my stay there. A comparison with earlier reports concerning it, however, teaches that they were considerably different only a short time ago, no more than half a century. It is all the more interesting to make this comparison because, in doing so, a chapter of the most recent history of the lower Amur region and its peoples will appear before our eyes. Mamia Rinsô's reports on the lower Amur region from the years 1808 and 1809 will provide the material for this. As has already been mentioned (1), his journey was made by order of

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1. See pp. ~~148~~ and 151 above.

the Japanese government, which, out of fear that the destruction of the Japanese settlements in Aniwa Bay committed by the Russians in 1807 might be repeated, wanted to investigate Sakhalin and the Amur region more thoroughly, with special attention to the attitude of the Russians there. On the island itself, he learned that on the opposite mainland, near the coast, there was a frequently visited trade center named Deren (2).

SS [361]

2. Mamia Rinso, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

SS /617 cont./
175 He now made it the goal of his voyage, and after he traveled up
439 the Amur River for three days, departing from Kidsi, which he had reached by the aforementioned route via the lake of the same name, he arrived in Deren on August 10 and stayed there not less than seven days, at first molested by the people as a stranger, but later treated with respect by the Manchu officials and, following their example, by all the others. A few of the
SS main features from his detailed description of this place and of
175 the life and activity there (3) will be presented here. According
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3. Op. cit., pp. 173-176.

SS to it, Deren was located on the right bank of the Amur River on
[443] a plain lost in the distance in thick underbrush. The market place was a large square surrounded by a double row of palisades, in which huts used for trading were erected on both sides and in
SS the rear. In the middle, however, there was a space, likewise
[344] fenced in and with only one gate, in which the guardhouse stood and the trade commodities and the mutual gifts were stored by
SS foreigners as well as by the Manchu officials. These officials
175 did not stay in Deren permanently, but came there only in
439 summer for the trading period from "Itsjô-fotto," a place which
648 Mamia Rinsô believed to be located only a few "ri" above Deren,
M but which one easily recognizes as Itscha-choton, i.e., Ssan-
647 ssin (4). Mamia Rinsô distinguished three classes of officials: to
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4. He also saw one of the Manchu from Deren set out to go there, "to Sansei."

the first and foremost there belonged only three persons, who were clothed in damask and satin and wore hats plaited out of "rotting" (straw) and provided with a brass button and a silk tassel hanging down; to the second class there belonged 50-60 men whose clothing was made of cotton; and, finally, the third contained so many people that he was unable to give their exact number, especially since they were dressed like the "Santaner" (Olcha and Gilyak) and "Kordekke" (Goldi).

SS /617 cont./
175 (Olcha and Gilyak) and "Kordekke" (Goldi). A few of these
439 lower "officials," who obviously were only police clerks, guards,
648 and the like, /618/ remained overnight in the guardhouse, but
M the higher ones came only in the morning and, after business was
649 over, returned at night to their dwellings on their boats drawn
648 up on the bank, which for the purpose carried either a covering
175 of tree bark or a small wooden hut on its rear section. The numerous strangers (natives) coming to trade lived, as Mamia Rinso did, in bark tents which were likewise erected on the bank
SS of the river in front of the marketplace. Custom required, ac-
175 cording to orders, that every new trader appear twice in the
439 guardhouse before the Manchu officials: the first time, immedi-
576 ately after his arrival in order to greet them, for which he had
648 to bow (i.e., probably kneel down) before them bareheaded
M three times and be given in welcome liquor (1), rice, and millet;
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1. The Japanese in his fashion calls the beverage "ssaki."

the second time, in order to hand over his "gifts," which usually consisted of sable furs, and to receive from them a gift in return, which as a rule consisted of silk materials or, for ordinary boatmen, of cotton and the like. This time, too, hat in hand, he had to bow three times in front of the three highest Manchu officials and then take his place on the ground in front of them, while they sat on stools (or, presumably, elevated benches). These rules, however, extended only to the foreign traders, not to the Chinese (2), who could trade freely and arbitrarily, without

2. Mamia Rinsô likewise calls them Manchu, like the officials.

reporting to the higher officials. Undoubtedly, therefore, the "gifts," only required from the strangers (natives), were nothing but tribute which they had to give in order to receive permission to trade.

/618 cont./

000 to trade. Once these requirements were met, they could proceed
175 with their trading unhindered, and in view of the great number of
439 buyers and sellers who congregated every day, there was, as the
443 traveler pointed out, "often a mad turmoil: in the motley
648 throng of strangers quarrels and thefts were the order of the day; to be sure, from time to time a bell (probably a gong) is struck for peace and order, but this actually helps very little, and the bustle and pushing continues far into the night." With all this, however, unconditional obedience was demanded and generally given when it was a matter of the observance of ancient laws and customs prescribed by the government. Mamia Rinsô saw one of the highest officials beat soundly with a stick a foreigner who did not want to submit to the customs, but after the punishment had been meted out and had brought results, he was able to pursue his trading as before. For the most part the foreigners coming to Deren brought animal furs to sell, which they carried in bundles under their arms and offered for sale, exchanging them for liquor, tobacco, clothing materials, iron goods, etc.

One can see from this description that at that time there was a place on the lower Amur only about a three-day journey above Kidsi where annually during the summer Chinese merchants and many natives from the lower Amur region congregated and, under the supervision and /619/ administration of Manchu officials sent there from Ssan-ssin, carried on a lively trade, with regard to which the situation was about the same as it is today in Ssan-ssin, and even the same humiliating treatment, the same collection of tribute, extortion, and the like were practiced by the Manchu against the natives.

174 The place where Deren was located can be ascertained
114 with certainty, though no trace of the guardhouse which Mamia
361 Rinsô mentions remains; it is the somewhat elevated plain
443 on the right bank of the Amur, where today one finds the village of Dyra consisting of two yurts about a verst apart. I visited both of them repeatedly, in summer as well as in winter. One of them lies in the rear of a shallow bay, the other somewhat above it on a higher river bank in the vicinity of a small cape.

/619 cont./

174 Though the place still lies within Olcha territory, the occupants
361 of both yurts were Goldi, and those from the one as well as those
103 from the other designated both their dwelling and the closely
443 neighboring one with the name of Dyra, so this obviously covers the entire locality (1) -- the entire stretch of bank and the

1. My guide, however, likewise a Goldi, had a second name -- Monglomai -- for the upper yurt, to distinguish it from the lower one.

adjoining plain on which the former trade center of Deren lay. Proof that it was actually located there, in addition to the still similar name of the designated locality and its nature and distance from Kidsi corresponding to Mamia Rinsô's statements, is given by the fact that all the places through which the traveler passed on his way to it can be recognized precisely even today; for when he speaks of "Sjai, Horupé, Kuwore, Urugé," he must undoubtedly be referring to the Olcha villages of Dshaï, Borbi (2),

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2. In the travel account by the Japanese (op. cit., p. 172), the locality at this place was quite correctly designated as a rocky one.

Kuwty, and Yrri, which are located in the same order.

178 But where half a century ago there was lively trade activity,
443 "bustle and pushing by a motley throng" of Manchu, Chinese,
439 and various natives of the region, who from time to time, when the mad confusion went too far, were called to order by the Manchu officials in charge by means of the loud clanging of the gong, there now extends a grassy plain completely deserted and lifeless, except for a few miserable huts. When one adds that at the present time -- I am referring to the time of my stay in

/619 cont./

178 the Amur region -- there are no official trade centers installed
443 or administered by the Manchu-Chinese government even
439 farther along on the lower Amur, apart from some individual Chinese and Manchu carrying on trade, for the peoples of the lower Amur region is Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, there can be no doubt but that in the last half a century, between Mamia Rinsô's visit and my visit to the Amur region, a decline in the official Manchu-Chinese trade, a withdrawal of it from the lower Amur and concentration on the Sungari, has taken place.

175 At the same time, and hand in hand with the trading,
439 however, a retreat of all /620/ Manchu-Chinese authority from
648 a large part of the lower Amur region took place. Proof of this may also be obtained from Mamia Rinsô's travel report (1).

1. Op. cit., pp. 179-181.

175 At the time of his stay on Sakhalin (1808), the peoples there,
439 the Ainu as well as the Gilyak, were tributary to the Manchu,
622 in that their chiefs or elders, appointed by the latter under the
648 names of harata and kasinta, had to bring an annual tribute of furs ("gifts," as the traveler called it) to the Manchu officials in Deren, just as did the natives of the lower Amur region coming there to trade. During his stay in Deren, Mamia Rinsô personally became acquainted with some of these elders, for instance, those from "Damurawo" and "Pohokanu," villages which are easily recognized as the Gilyak village of Tammla-wo and the Ainu-Gilyak Poro-kotan (2) or Pilja-wo. When he

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2. In Mamia Rinsô's report a question mark follows the name Pohokanu, presumably a distortion of "Poro-kotan." There can be no doubt but that "Damurawo" is Tammla-wo, since the Japanese do not use the l and always replace it with r.

SS /620 cont./
175 questioned them as to how they came to be tributary to the
648 Manchu, he received the following information from several
439 inhabitants of the island: "In former times," they said, "when
622 they were not yet tributary, some Manchu vessels came to them every year in order to buy furs. The crews, however, behaved in an unfriendly and dissolute manner toward the inhabitants of the island, so that quarrels and brawls frequently broke out between them, whereupon a great number of Manchu landed one day, inspected the island everywhere, and took possession of it. Most of the inhabitants fled to the mountains out of fear, but some of those who had remained on the coast were summoned by the Manchu, who conferred with them and appointed one of them harata, that is, chief or elder. This event took place on the west coast of the island near Itoi (Itoikotan, Itoje). Similarly, they invested two men from the northern part of the east coast with this office (3), and in the same manner they also

3. Mamia Rinsô also knows the names of these three harata who were the first to be named.

appointed kasinta, or second elders. A black sea-otter fur was agreed upon as the annual gift (tribute) that the elders were to bring the Manchu, for which the Manchu gave them as a return gift a piece of silk fabric interwoven with gold and promised to
SS G sell them all the other trade commodities at a very cheap price."
175 That "Itoi, Itoikotan, or Itoje," which, according to the map
174 drawn by Siebold on the basis of the original notes by Mogami
361 Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô (4), is near Cape Otsisi (the southern
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4. Atlas to Siebold's Nippon, Plate XXV.

tip of the Bay de la Jonquière), is undoubtedly the Gilyak village of Duĭ, and thus the whole of the above incident refers to the subjugation of the Sakhalin Gilyak, or making them tributary.

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175 648 439 Rinsô also heard a very similar account concerning the Sakhalin Ainu, for upon further investigation of the subject, which he undertook among "dignified men fully acquainted with the facts," four old men 70-75 years old (whose names he mentions), he learned the following. "In their youth," they related, "in Najoro there was a chief /621/ named Jajebirakan, a very hot-tempered and evil man, who had the Smerenkur and Santaner (Gilyak and Olcha) belonging to the Manchu killed when they came to trade and confiscated the trade goods that they brought with them. Some of them, however, had fortunately escaped and took their complaints to the Manchu in Deren. In the following year three Manchu boats manned by Santaner and Smerenkur came and captured those who had participated in the atrocity, as well as some of the chiefs of the surrounding villages, because they had not come to the assistance of the unfortunate Smerenkur and Santaner. The prisoners offered to give all of their possessions as atonement, and the Manchu finally accepted this, but Jakebirakan's crime was too great to let him off with such a punishment; they therefore took his two sons with them as hostages and stipulated that the Kraftoër (Sakhalin-Ainu) would have to declare themselves subject to the Manchu and in the future deliver to them in Deren an annual tribute consisting of furs, in return for which they would receive a gift and the rest of the trade goods at moderate prices and they would be assured of protection against any mistreatment upon their arrival in Deren. From this time on, after the two sons of the chief were taken as hostages to Manchu-Tartary, it became customary for the Manchu to take along with them the sons or siblings of those who are unable to pay their debt. Since the Kraftoër now paid their tribute punctually [622] every year, the hostages were returned and appointed harata and kasinta by the Manchu and given written directives." Rinsô saw these documents still preserved by Jajenkur, the chief of Najoro, but was unable to read them because they were written in the

A /621 cont./
175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's
G time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
Gi to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
[114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

2: Schrenck--976 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6

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and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

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2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

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G Gi 648 178 439

Let us now compare the conditions described by Mamia Rinsô with the position that the Manchu-Chinese occupied in relation to the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region half a century later at the time of my visit. This has already been discussed in the foregoing on various occasions, and therefore I shall now only recapitulate /623/ briefly the principal features of it to make comparison easier. At the time of my visit, the Manchu or Chinese no longer made any trade journeys to Sakhalin at all (1). An obligation for the payment of tribute by the Sakhalin

A [648] A G [622]

1. Also, the above-mentioned Ssetakurero questioned by Mr. Schmidt could not remember having seen Manchu about (in Najoro); it was always only "Ssanta" (Olcha) or "Ssumeri" (Gilyak) who came there for trade purposes (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 94).

Ainu and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Manchu likewise did not exist, and thus there were none of those appointed chiefs or elders among them. Almost the same situation prevailed with regard to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha: the former were visited neither by the Manchu nor by Chinese merchants; among the latter, to be sure, Chinese traders stayed here and there, but they carried on their business entirely by their own hands, and a tribute, or, more accurately, a specific assessment in furs, was collected from the one as from the other only in Ssan-ssin for the granting of permission to trade. The Goldi, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Manchu-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Manchu officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it must be concluded that in the period between Mamia Rinsô's travels in the Amur region and mine a retreat of the Manchu-Chinese control from Sakhalin and the lowermost course of the Amur, from the territories of the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had taken place.

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The question now is how and why this happened. It is to be firmly denied, in view of the complete lack of evidence or any indication of it, that it was brought about by force, as the result of warlike attacks on Manchu-Chinese authority by the indigenous tribes of the Amur region or by the Japanese or Russians. It can only have taken place in a completely peaceful manner, from the wishes and decision of the Manchu-Chinese government itself. The motive for it, however, may have been the fear of a warlike attack or an invasion on the part of the neighboring peoples, especially the Russians. As early as the end of the previous century, European vessels, those of La Pérouse and Broughton, had appeared in the Straits of Tartary and had established relations with the natives on the west coast of Sakhalin and de Castries Bay; in 1805 Krusenstern on the "Nadeshda" was at the northern tip of the island and in front of the northern entrance into the Amur-Liman, and in the following years (1806 and 1807) Chwostof and Dawydof destroyed the Japanese settlements in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin. The Manchu-Chinese government must have learned of this latter event from Mamia Rinso, if it was not known earlier, since it had brought about his voyage to Sakhalin and the Amur region and he associated a great deal with the Manchu officials in Deren. Moreover, Russian vessels, coming from the Amgunj ("Hongo"), were sometimes seen on the Amur, as we learn from him, and even reached Deren. After all this, it is not improbable that the Chinese government, /624/ particularly distrustful of the Russians with regard to the Amur region, believed that its rule on Sakhalin and on the lower Amur was seriously threatened from this direction, and, in order to prevent a conflict and a possible hostile invasion from there, which could easily extend to the heart of the country, seized on the same policy that it had already used once against the Russians in the seventeenth century along the upper Amur -- a policy that consisted of retreating from the immediately threatened territory and leaving behind as desolate and barren a countryside as possible between themselves and the enemy. This time, however, since it was only a case of apprehension, not as radical a step was

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648 required as at the time when the Daur and the Djutscheren were
17 moved from the Amur to the Nonni and Churcha and the vast stretches on the Amur formerly inhabited and cultivated by them were left desolate (1). It may have been regarded as sufficient

1. See p. 368 above.

to break off the official relations with Sakhalin and the lowermost part of the Amur region, to discontinue the sending of officials there to supervise trade and collect tribute from the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha -- with the intention, perhaps, of being repaid for it by collecting tribute and extortions from the natives who came to Ssan-ssin to trade -- and, finally, to depopulate and leave deserted that stretch of land on which an attack was most likely and chiefly to be feared. This stretch lay along the direct and shortest route between Deren and Sakhalin, which the Manchu, too, had formerly used, and which led down the Amur to Kidsi and across Lake Kidsi and the small Taba River to the sea. It has already been pointed out above that the first two measures were carried out by the Chinese government, and it remains for me merely to prove that the devastation of the country along the aforementioned stretch took place at the same time.

114 For this purpose I must again turn to Mamia Rinsô, whose
648 journey went through the very part of the country designated
17 above. If I compare his quite meager statement concerning it with the condition in which I found it 50 years later, I am involuntarily led to believe that devastation took place during this interval of time. I shall not attach any weight to the fact that Rinsô mentions a place named Nukkurankata on Lake Kidsi, because he did not indicate whether this was a village or, say, merely a popular anchorage. Of greater importance is what he has to say about the village of Kidsi. For this place, in comparison with what I saw, he gives double the number of houses (about 20) (2). Manchu officials lived there, one of whom bore

2. In this connection, he very carefully

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2. (cont.)
distinguished the dwellings from the store-houses or packhouses.

the title of harata and two that of kasinta, and during Rinsô's stay Chinese merchants appeared there, and, as he says in conclusion, "various entertainments and feasts with music by lyre and drum were provided"; in short, it was an important and
114 lively place. I was surprised, on the contrary, to see directly in front of /625/ this village, on a gentle slope leading up to it, a field strewn with many human skulls and bones such as I had found nowhere else in the Amur region. I could not find out where they came from. If they had come from the destroyed tombs of the village (small houses in which the corpses are buried), the number of the latter must have been considerable. But no remnants either of these or of the clothing of the corpses or of any other articles customarily buried with them were to be seen at the place of the bones, and arguing against the possible conjecture that the destruction of the tombs had been perpetrated by the men of the Mariinski post, recently set up in the vicinity, was the fact that the little burial houses of the two yurts of Choto, located close to it, stood there completely undisturbed (1).

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1. I myself took the skull described and illustrated above (p. 294 /untranslated/, Fig. 6 of Plates V-IX /see pp. 427-431/) from one of them.

Also, the condition in which these bones were found gave me the impression that they had lain unprotected from atmospheric influences for a long time. It may be, however, that this field of bones is connected with another fact which I shall discuss in a moment.

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174 323 [114] Rinsô's statement that there were "especially many porcelain factories" in or near Kidsi seems to me to be of the utmost importance. I have already reported in detail above (2)

2. See pp. 685 and 686.

that in my day there was no manufacture of earthenware utensils there or anywhere else in the lower Amur region and that the Olcha and Gilyak generally use neither locally made earthenware nor Chinese or Japanese earthenware imported from the Sungari or from southern Sakhalin, with the single and in any case rare exception of the small Chinese porcelain bowls used for drinking liquor. Thus, in point of time, the downfall of the porcelain industry in the lower Amur region coincides with the aforementioned proceedings on the part of the Manchu-Chinese government, the suspension of its supervision of trade and its other administrative and political activities there, and it is obvious that not a mere coincidence but a causal connection is to be seen in this. Lacking positive facts, one must think about this in the following manner. The ancient Chinese porcelain industry distributed throughout the Sungari region (3) was undoubtedly imported by

174 323 648 [117]

3. See p. 688 above.

the Chinese into the Amur region and was carried on there either by the Chinese themselves or at any rate under their active guidance and participation. Therefore, when the Manchu-Chinese government decided to withdraw its administration from the lowermost Amur region in order to avoid a feared conflict with the Russians, the Chinese taking part in the porcelain industry presumably also received orders to discontinue their activities and to return to the Sungari. Now this order may have accomplished the desired result generally, as seems probable to me in view of the total disappearance of the industry concerned in the Amur region, or some individuals may have disregarded it /626/ and remained in the region without protection on the part of the government, but in any case, since the

SS 174 323 648 /626 cont./

native population was also involved, the affair could not have taken place without some destruction, devastation, and even bloody conflicts, and therefore perhaps it is precisely at the place where formerly "especially many porcelain factories" were found that today a field strewn with many human bones is to be found.

SS 178 439 161 G 361 Needless to say, such violent events as the crippling of trade and traffic brought about by the removal of the single place with organized trade in the region must lead to the impoverishment, depopulation, and devastation of it. And, as a matter of fact, country around Lake Kidsi and above it, formerly enlivened by traffic and trade, is now the most desolate part of the Olcha territory and the lowermost Amur region in general. Gi 361 167 Whereas to the north of Kidsi there are many and for the most part large Olcha villages along the Amur, and a few are even to be found sprinkled about in Gilyak territory (1), to the south

1. Such as Tschylwi and Tyr, see p. 28 above.

of it, along the whole stretch between Kidsi and Adi, the last of the Olcha villages, there are only small places usually consisting of two or three houses, indeed, often only one, and some of these are not even inhabited by Olcha, but by Goldi (2). Evidently,

Gi [103] [114]

2. For instance, the villages of Dyra, Chywwunda, Ssamahagdu, and others; see p. 56 above. Incidentally, I wish to correct here the statement made at the place cited that at the time of my visit both houses belonging to the village of Dyra, and not only one of them, were inhabited by Goldi, and the village of Ssamahagdu is not located somewhat above, but somewhat below Chywwunda.

those events drove many Olcha northward out of the southern part of their territory, and, on the other hand, some of the

Gi /626 cont./
361 Goldi, in order to escape pressure by the Manchu, have moved
167 into the deserted area -- a movement which was still going on
Gi in my time (3). It is therefore not surprising that the inhabitants
[443]
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3. Concerning this, too, see p. 56 above.

of Dyra, just such Goldi who had immigrated later, could give me no information in answer to my inquiries about the trade center of Deren which had once stood there.

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With regard to trade in the upper Amur region, which I only became acquainted with on a journey through it along the main river, I must limit myself to pointing out a few general features particularly characteristic of it in contrast to the lower Amur region. If we first consider the peoples of the former which are analogous to the indigenous tribes of the latter, the Birar, Manegir and Orochon, both the articles that they bring to trade and those that they take away in exchange are practically the same for the one as for the other. For the former, which in both places are obtained solely by hunting, show only the /627/ minor, almost exclusively quantitative differences and modifications pointed out above in discussing hunting, and, concerning the latter, they are in general also the same clothing, food, and luxury items often mentioned above, which have become indispensable for the primitive peoples of both regions. An essential and characteristic difference between the upper and the lower Amur peoples with regard to trade, however, is to be found in their disparate relations with the neighboring civilized peoples caused by the location and other geographical and political conditions of the region. As was pointed out above,
G. the peoples of the lower Amur region, prior to the occupation of
Gi it by the Russians, had practically no trade relations with them at
SS all, apart from some slight contact along the Tugur. Instead,
439 such took place only with the Japanese and Chinese, and the latter was centered on the Sungari, from where Chinese goods, through the intermediation of the Chinese merchants as well as

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/627 cont./

of the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, were carried down the Amur to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and along the island of Sakhalin to the Japanese. Therefore, as far as trade was concerned, the lower Amur region was a region closed toward the west and completely dominated by the Sungari, to a certain extent a continuation of the Sungari region extending as far as the sea and including the island of Sakhalin stretching out in front of it.

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The situation is different for the upper Amur region. Because of its continental location and great distance from the sea, it is out of reach for communication, and its population is kept away from the lower Amur and the Sungari by the political measures of the Chinese government. Following the policy of keeping the Sungari cut off from the upper Amur, adopted in the seventeenth century in order to ward off a Russian invasion, it permits no direct trade and shipping connections between them and also prevents free communication between the inhabitants of the upper and lower Amur on the river connecting them. As a consequence of these geographical and political conditions the trade of the upper Amur peoples, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, turned toward the west and north, that is, first toward the source region of the Amur River, or so-called Russian Dauria, and the Lena area, and in the south, following the uppermost Amur, the Desja /Zeya/, and the Bureja /Bureya/ downstream, is concentrated in the culture area of the Amur River located between the mouths of these last two rivers and occupied by Manchu, Chinese, and Daur, in which Aigun, the Ssan-ssin of the upper, or more correctly, the middle Amur, is located, which, in turn, is oriented toward Tsitsikar, the administrative center of the Chinese Helong-Kiang district, which embraces the upper Amur region. The trade link between the upper Amur region and the Sungari region is, therefore, not the mouth of the Sungari, but Tsitsikar, which is located on the Nonni.

The extent and complexity of the trade ties which connect the Orochon, Manegir, and Birar with the Russians and Yakut of the adjacent sections of Siberia have already been indicated above in the discussion of the indefinite, overlapping, fluctuating, and

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/627 cont./
shifting boundaries which separate these peoples from one another /628/ as well as from the Russian Reindeer-Tungus adjacent to them on the north. In view of the non-existence, in reality, of any definite boundary between the Tungus tribes belonging or tributary to China or to Russia in the Stanovoi Mountains and the impossibility of setting up and maintaining such a boundary by means of political treaties without adequate force in the midst of a nomadic population constantly roaming after game, the booty of the hunter quite naturally flows in the direction in which it finds elements more favorable to trade and thus easier and more convenient paths. Without wishing to weigh these against one another in detail, I cannot refrain from pointing out here in a few words the most important elements involved in the trade of the peoples mentioned on both sides.

The location of the major part of the habitation area of the Orochon in the immediate neighborhood of and direct river communication with one of the most populous parts of eastern Siberia, Russian Dauria, makes their connection with it in regard to trade, the flow of their hunting booty in this direction in exchange for Russian products, quite understandable. In addition, there are also the activity and alertness of the Russians, demonstrated in the fur trade throughout Siberia and especially active here at the gateway to the Amur region, which has been regarded as an inexhaustible fur Eldorado since the freebooter expeditions of the seventeenth century. With reference to this point, it is to be added to the above (1) information concerning the steady

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1. See p. 162 above.

advance of the Russian fur traders, hunters, Cossacks, and other people down the Amur into the Orochon territory and through the latter even to the Manegir, that in the former, in addition to some irregular trade centers springing up here and there, depending on circumstances, and disappearing again after a brief time, there is also a place where the little Ajan River empties into the

2: Schrenck--986 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Tungus RU5
Yakut RV2

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Oldoi, at which Russian Cossacks and traders congregate every year in December in order to buy furs from the Orochon (2).

2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 316.

Only the Orochon living along the Amur and to the north of it, however, have such trade relations with the Russians. Those in the Great Chingan Mountains, the eastern slopes of which face the Nonni, sell their furs to the Chinese and Daur there, the latter often accompanying them on their hunting expeditions in order to take immediate possession of the ultimate yield.

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Enterprising Russian fur traders or hunters visit the Manegir and Birar living farther from them much less and more rarely (3).

3. Concerning such visits, see p. 164 above.

Instead, a different element comes to them from the north, from the Lena area and also from the Udj, the Yakut -- skilled, experienced through their association with the Tungus, and shrewd traders, who sometimes settle among them in one place or sometimes roam after them and by means of their wares acquire the furs captured by them. Many such proceedings discovered by Middendorff in the Dseja as well /629/ as in the Bureja areas have already been reported above (1). Well acquainted with the needs

1. See p. 81 above; also Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc. (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 36).

and with the weaknesses of the hunting nomads, they know how to supply them with whatever they require or covet, but at the same time how to exploit them, and not infrequently, with occasional advance payments, to make them into their permanent debtors who constantly feel obligated to pay (2). Among other

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 133.

2: Schrenck--987 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Tungus RU5
Yakut RV2

/629 cont./

T Y SS 439 Russo-Siberian wares, the Manegir and Birar also get from them the highly prized small-caliber rifles which have also found their way to the Samagir in the lower Amur region, even though only in small numbers, and with which the long and heavy Chinese matchlock guns cannot compete.

T 439 While, thanks to the Yakut, some of the furs captured by the Manegir and Birar in the Dseja and Bureja areas flow to the north, into the Lena area, their principal trade naturally remains turned toward the south, toward the Amur River, to which a large part of them go in summer simply to fish, and where they find in the villages of the Manchu, Chinese, and Daur carrying on the cultivation of field crops, vegetables, and tobacco, and especially in the city of Aigun, the opportunity to acquire by trade all their needed clothing, food, and luxury items more or less firsthand and at far cheaper prices than from the merchants who visit them at their habitation sites. On the other hand, there T 439 648 can be no doubt but that the Manchu-Chinese government is anxious to collect from those appearing in Aigun for trade a tribute in furs similar to what is done in Ssan-ssin with regard to the natives of the lower Amur region and formerly also was done in Deren. And the same takes place in Tsitsikar with regard to the "Butchani," i.e., the Solon, Daur, Orochon, and other natives of the region who must pay tribute. According to T 439 543 648 Palladij's report, the "tschulchanj," or great annual fair, is held there annually in June-July, for which many people from the tribes mentioned congregate and camp in tents around the city, but only after all the tribute owed has been paid in sable furs and in exchange some gifts in the form of cereals, money, and other articles have been received is the fair opened and the trading in furs, livestock, and the like begun, in which the Chinese merchants play the chief role (3).

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3. Arkhimandrit" Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch. cherez" Man'chzhuriiu /Travel Notes on the Way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of

/629 cont./

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3. (cont.)
Manchuria/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 429). Palladij gives the total number of sable pelts paid as tribute on such an occasion at 5,500 pieces.

In the upper Amur region, however, the chief role in the
439 trade with the indigenous tribes by no means falls to the Chinese, but to the Daur. They have the trade with the Manegir on the Komar River and the Orochon in the Great Chingan Mountains in their hands, and they are the ones who, in part with their own, in part with Chinese products, move along the Dseja and Bureja and their tributaries as far as the slopes and into the valleys of the Stanovoi Mountains in order to trade with the Manegir, Birar, and other Tungus tribes, in which they compete successfully
[437] with the Yakut who come there from the north (4). /630/ In fact,
[484]

4. See pp. 81 and 107 above.

as was mentioned above (1), they sometimes come from the

1. See p. 371.

sources of the Bureja or the Ssilimdshi across the Jam-alin Mountains as far as the trade center of Burukan located on the Tugur and visited by the Negda and Gilyak. In the Daur, therefore, one would have, as an exception, a people of Tungusic stock that has a special predilection and talent for trade. It is not to be forgotten,
[563] however, that, as a consequence of their transfer from the upper
[197] Amur to the Nonni, they have become greatly mixed with Mongols and Chinese and, by living with the latter, have adopted much from their nature and characteristics, and among these their industriousness and skill in trading. Also contributing to their
[648] success in trade in the upper Amur region is the favor shown to them, to a greater extent than to the Chinese, it seems, by the

T /630 cont./
439 Manchu officials there, in that the privilege of collecting tribute
[648] among the Manegir and Birar is conferred upon them by the latter, though presumably in return for a suitable guarantee and substantial payment, for which, however, they know how to get ample repayment in the trading. If one looks at their entire trading activity briefly outlined above, they can be compared, on the one hand, with the Chinese carrying on trade in the lower Amur region, and, on the other hand, in an even more striking way, with the Gilyak. For like the latter they carry their own and, even more, Chinese goods and products great distances to the neighboring tribes and, through trade, use their hunting booty
G for their own advantage. In any case, with regard to trade,
T these two peoples, the Daur and the Gilyak, are the most
439 prominent and the most significant characteristic formations in the Amur region -- the former in the upper and the latter in the
G lower part of it. But it is noteworthy that these two peoples
T nowhere come in direct contact with each other except in that
[177] one place on the Tugur located outside the Amur region -- a consequence of the above-mentioned mutual isolation determined by geographical and political conditions in which the upper and the lower Amur region are found with regard to the trade of their peoples, and which has essentially contributed to the formation and preservation of peculiar ethnographic conditions in them.

2: Schrenck-- 290 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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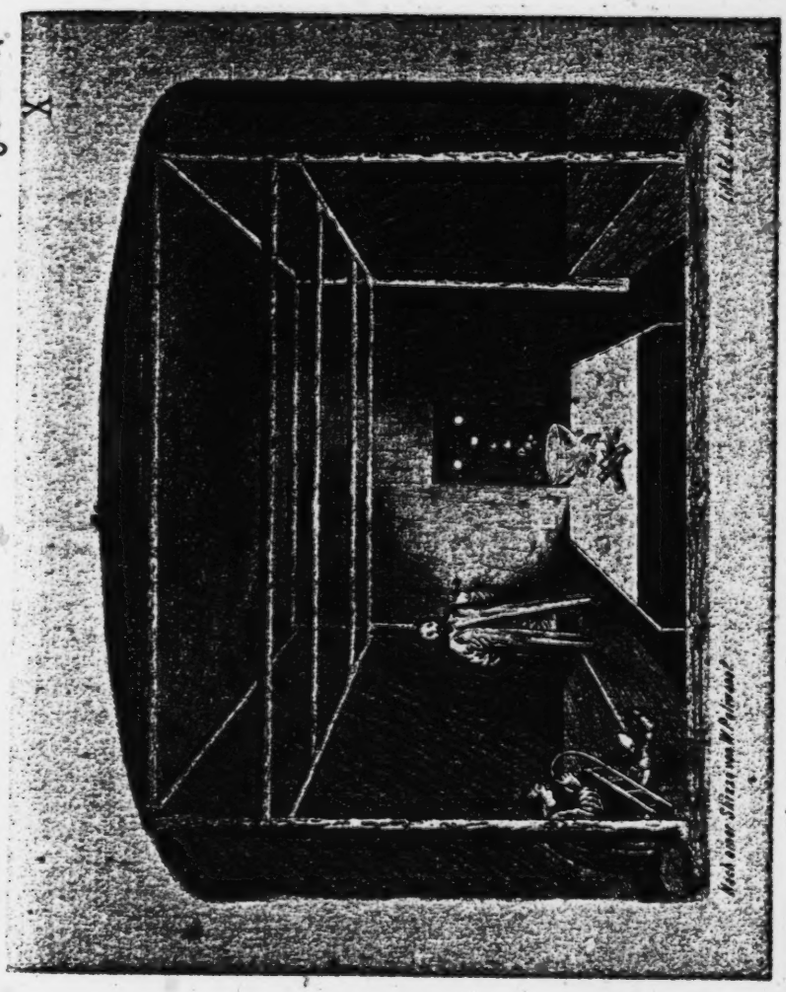

The interior of a Gilyak winter yurt on Sakhalin.

2: Schrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak winter houses, decorated for the bear festival. Entertainment in front of them.

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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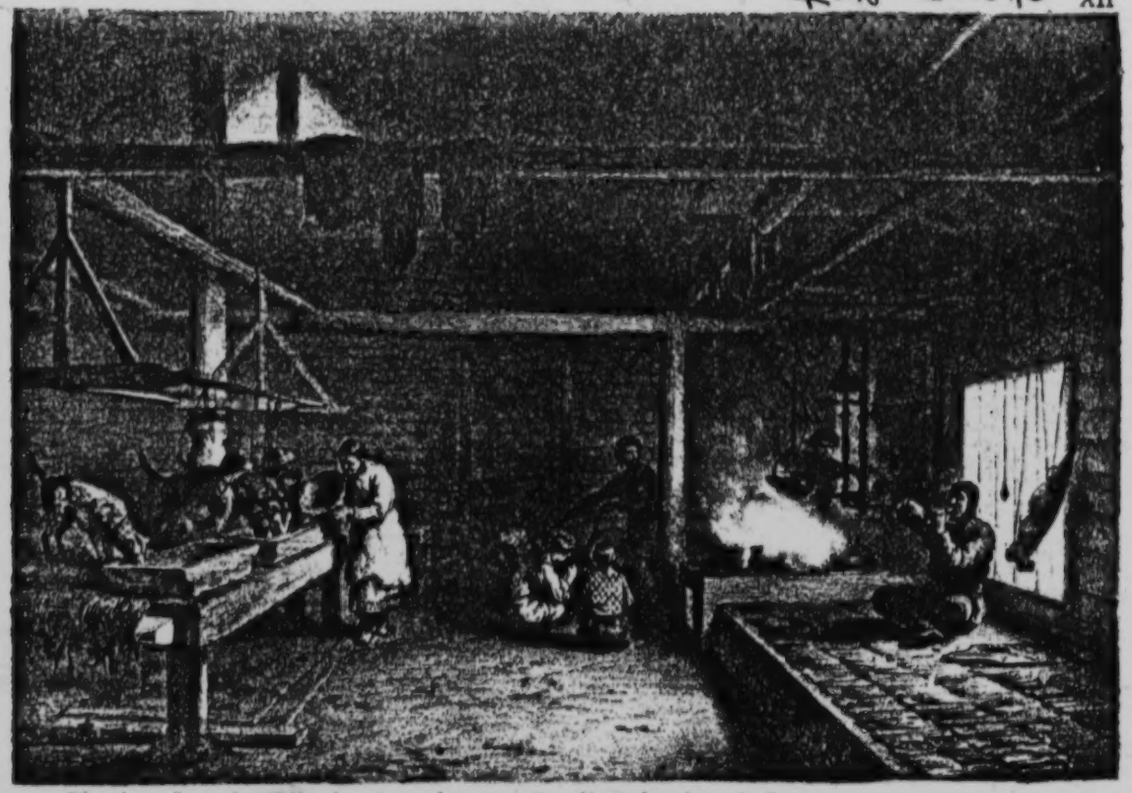

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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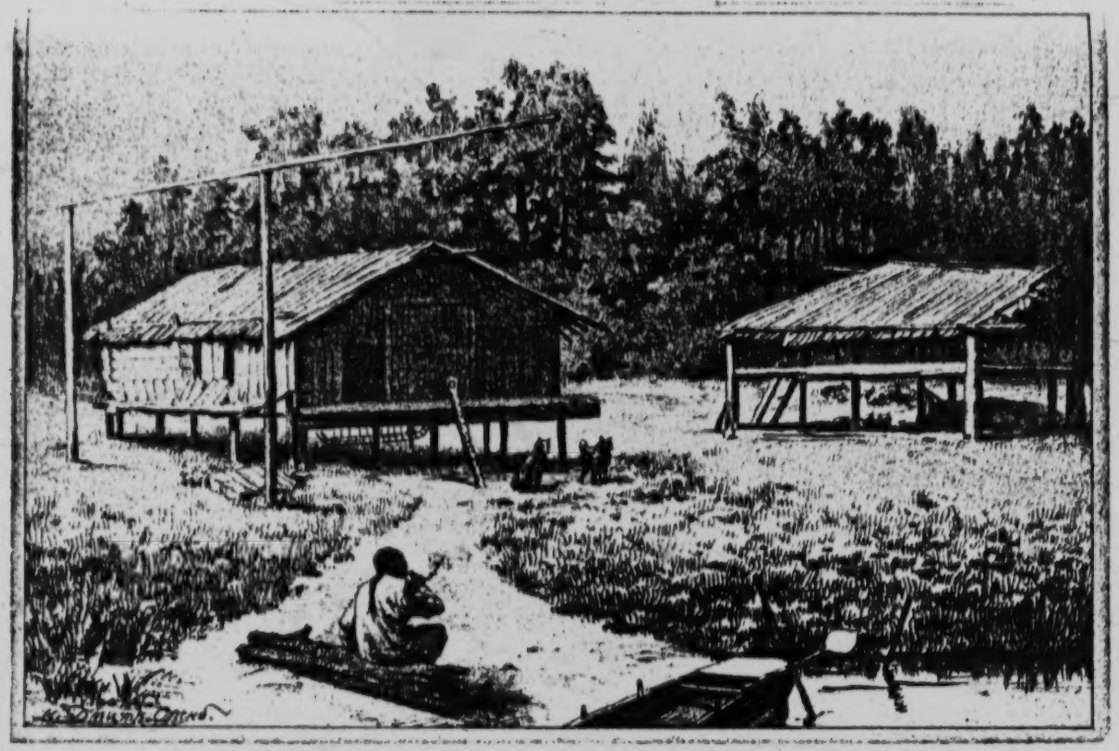

Gilyak summer yurt.

2: Schrenck--994 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Olcha

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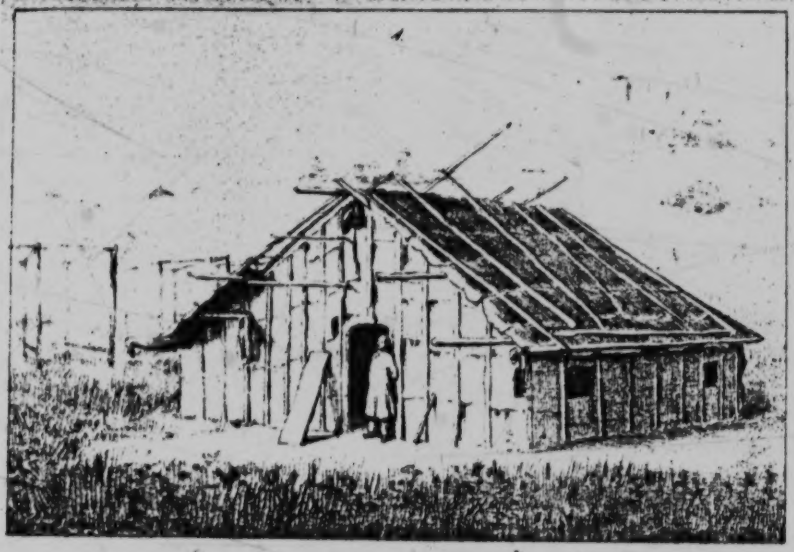

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1 -- Olcha summer yurt; 2 -- Goldi summer tent.

2: Schrenck--995 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5
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1 -- Manegir tent; 2 -- summer tent of the Sungari Goldi.

2: Schrenck--996 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi; RX3
Orochi

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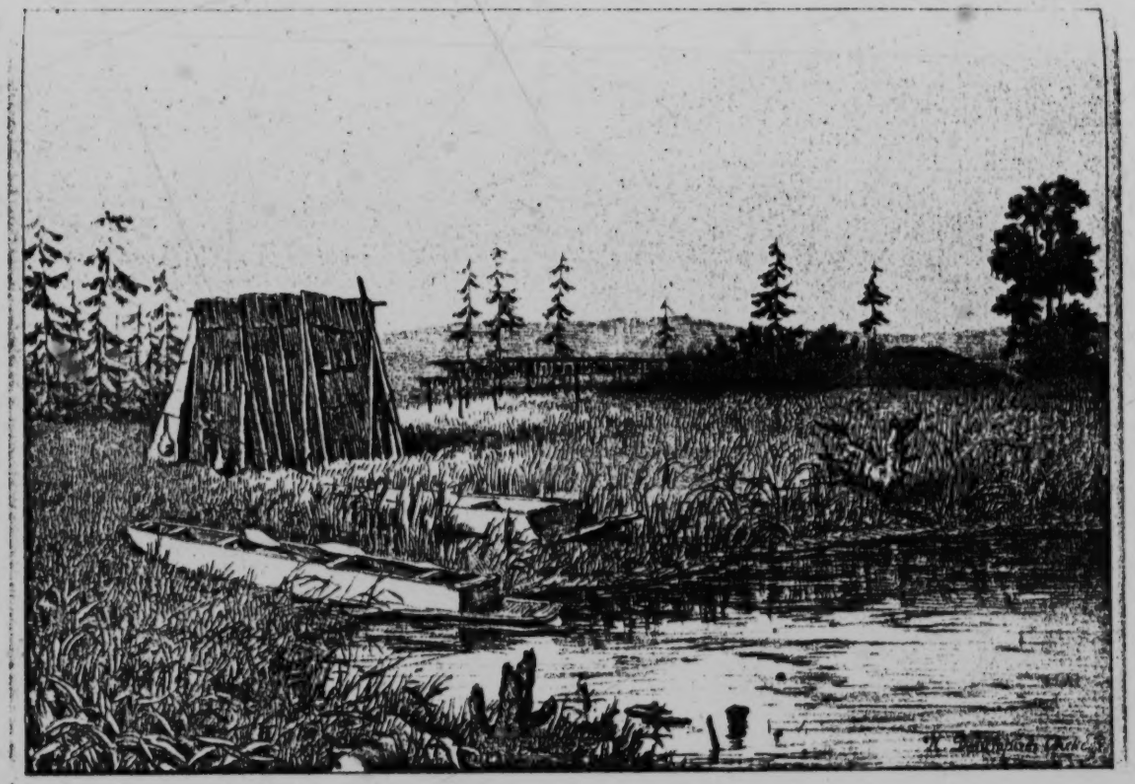

Summer tent of the Orochi at Kaiserhafen.

2: Schrenck--997 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak in summer clothing.

2: Schrenck--998 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

2: Schrenck--999 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

2: Schrenck--1000 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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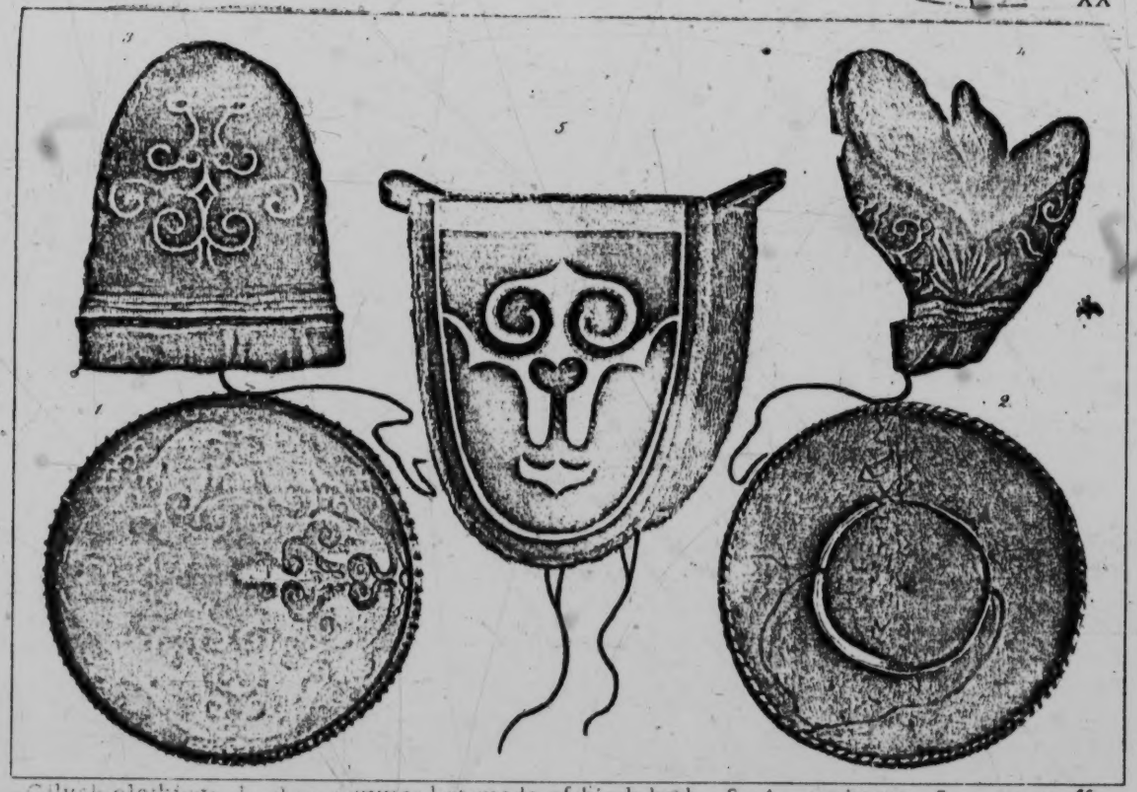

Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- summer hat made of birch bark, 3, 4 -- mittens; 5 -- ear muffs.

2; Schrenck--1001 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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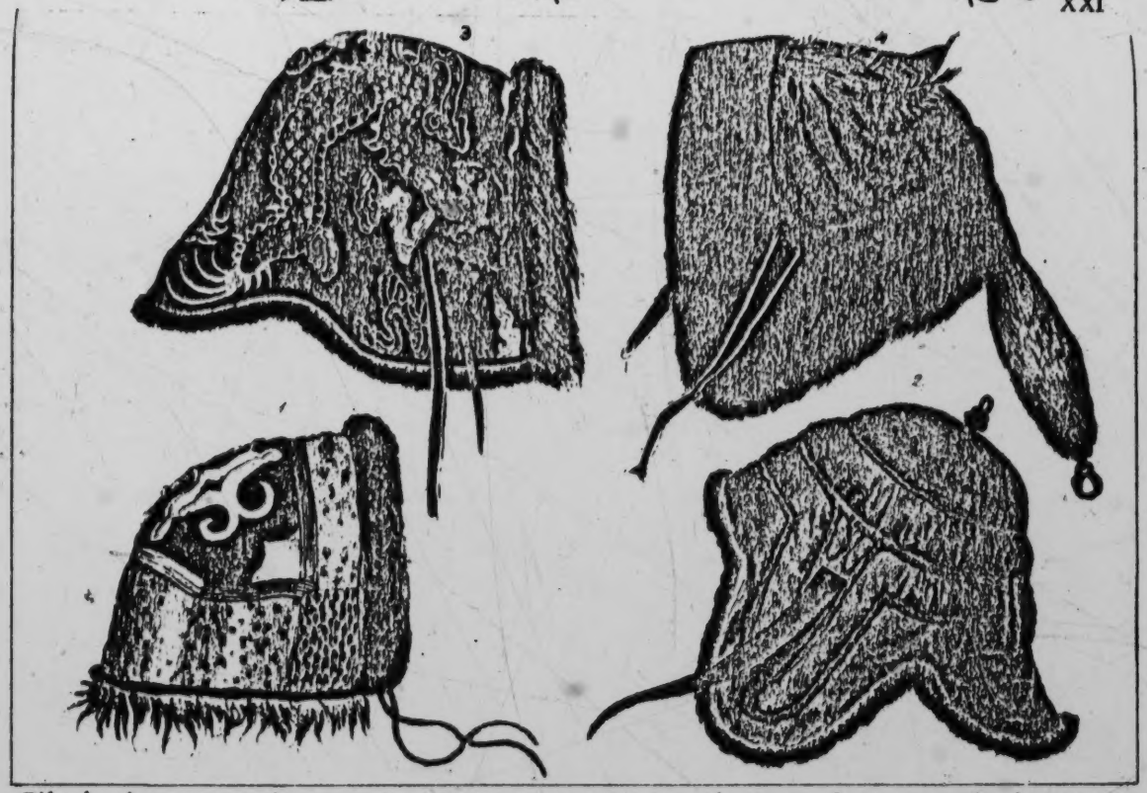

Gilyak winter caps: 1 -- men's cap; 2 -- women's everyday cap; 3 -- women's elegant cap made of Chinese silk material; 4 -- the same made of lynx fur with sable trimming.

2: Schrenck--1002 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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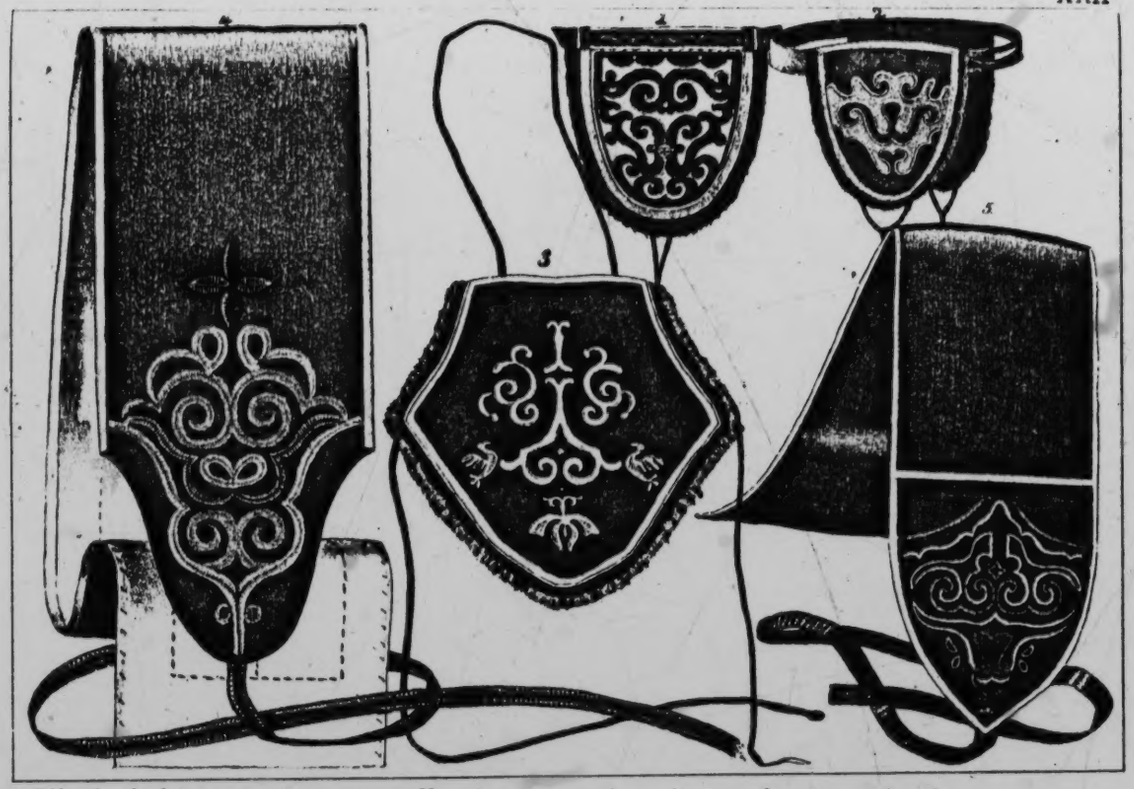

Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- ear muffs; 3 -- stomacher; 4, 5 -- fur sleeve-bands.

2: Schrenck--1003 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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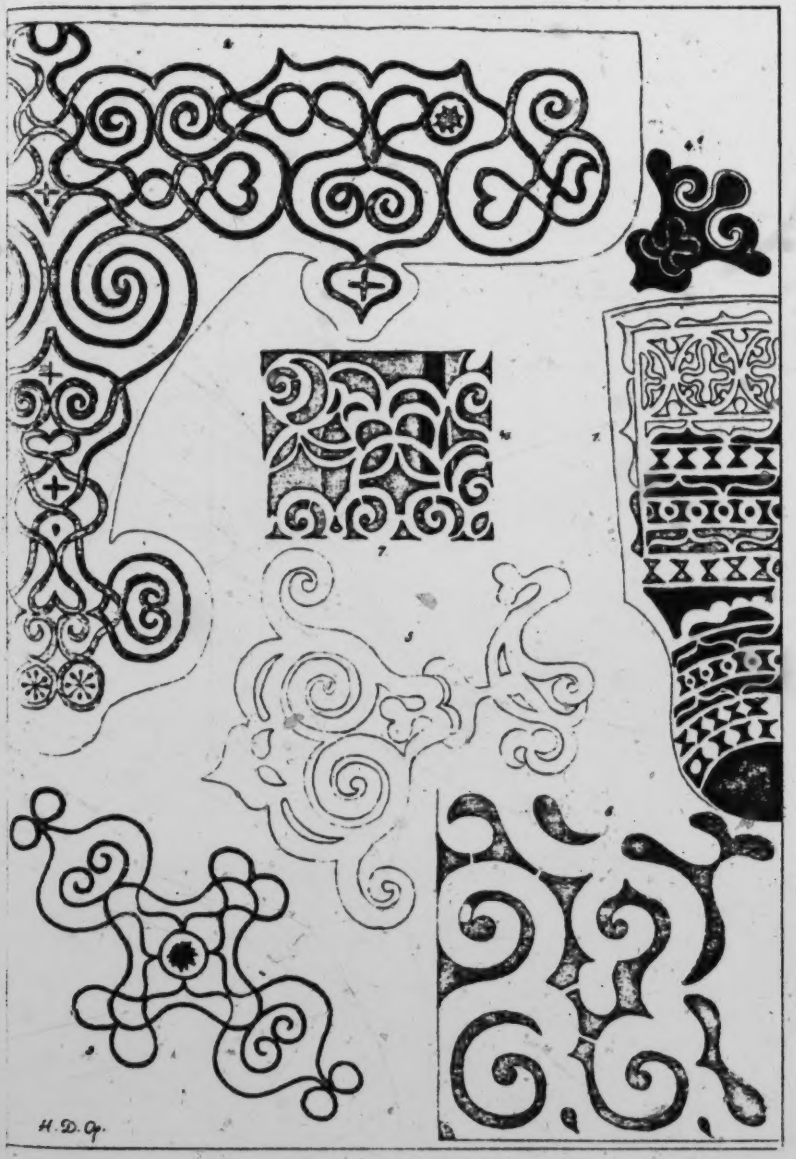

Gilyak pattern for needlework.

2: Schrenck--1004 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak patterns for needlework.

2: Schrenck--1005 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

2: Schrenck--1006 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

2: Schrenck--1007 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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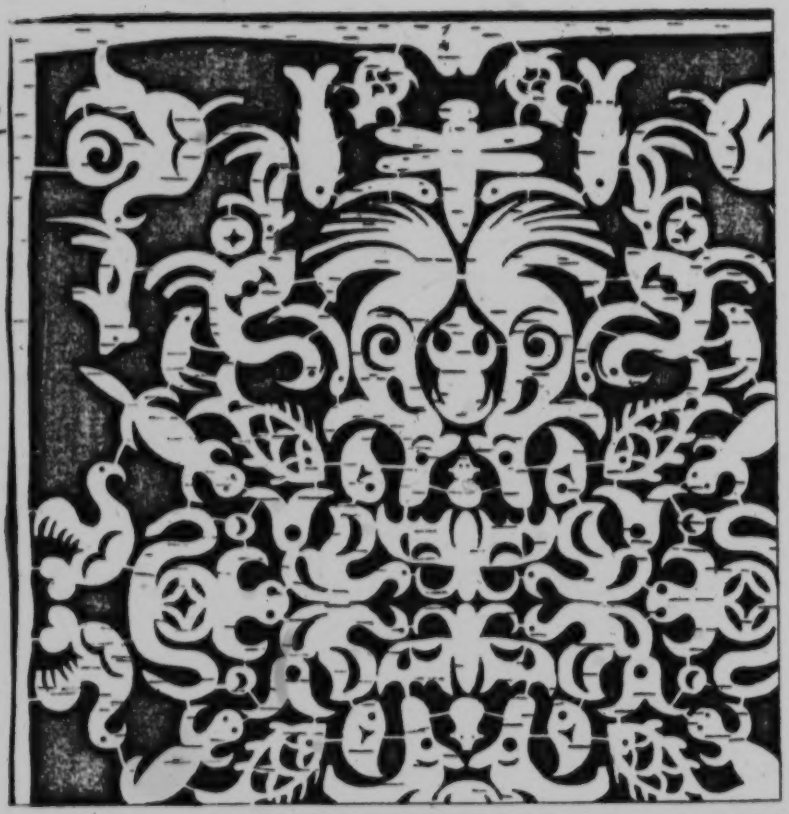

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

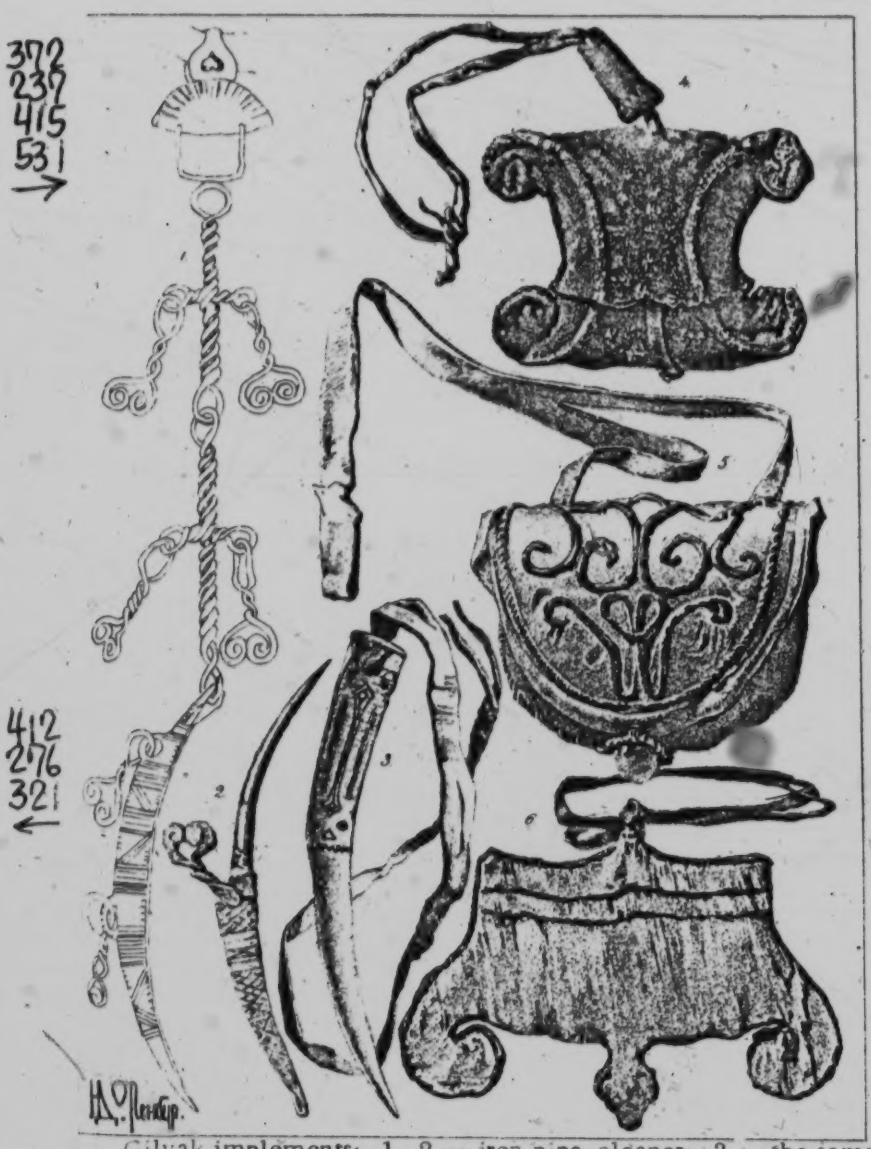

Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

2: Schrenck--1009 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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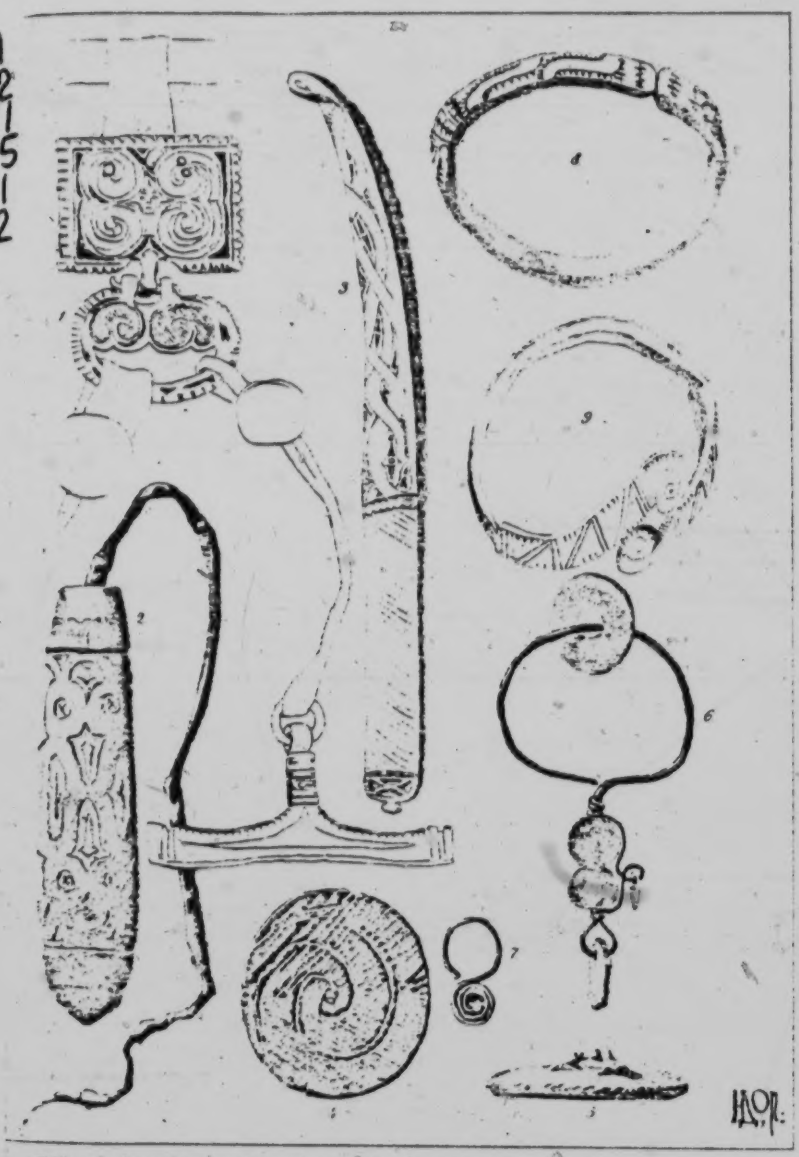

Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

2: Schrenck--1010 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3
III.

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Goldi in summer clothing in front of a birch-bark tent (homora').

2: Schrenck--1011 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak knives: 1 -- ordinary large belt-knife (ngawta-dshakko corrected to ngawla-dshakko on p. 589, note 4/); 2 -- belt-knife with inlaid work; 3 -- sheath for same; 4 -- knife for cutting wood, etc. (yi-dsh.); 5 -- sheath for same; 6 -- knife for cutting up fish (ascho-mauwa).

2: Schrenck--1012 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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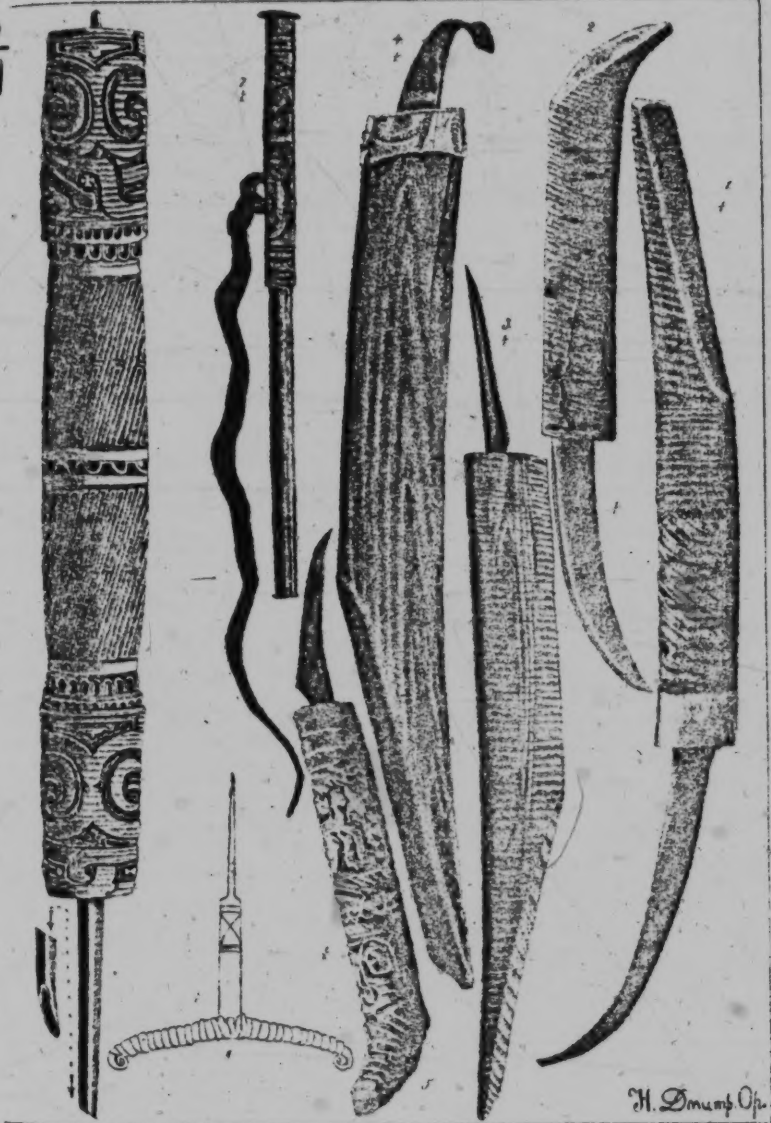

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Gilyak implements: 1 -- fish knife; 2 -- knife, "tan-dshakko"; 3 -- knife for fine woodworking; 4 -- knife for hollowing; 5 -- umbilical-cord knife; 6 -- large drill; 7 -- small iron rod that goes with it; 8 -- small drill.

2: Schrenck--1013 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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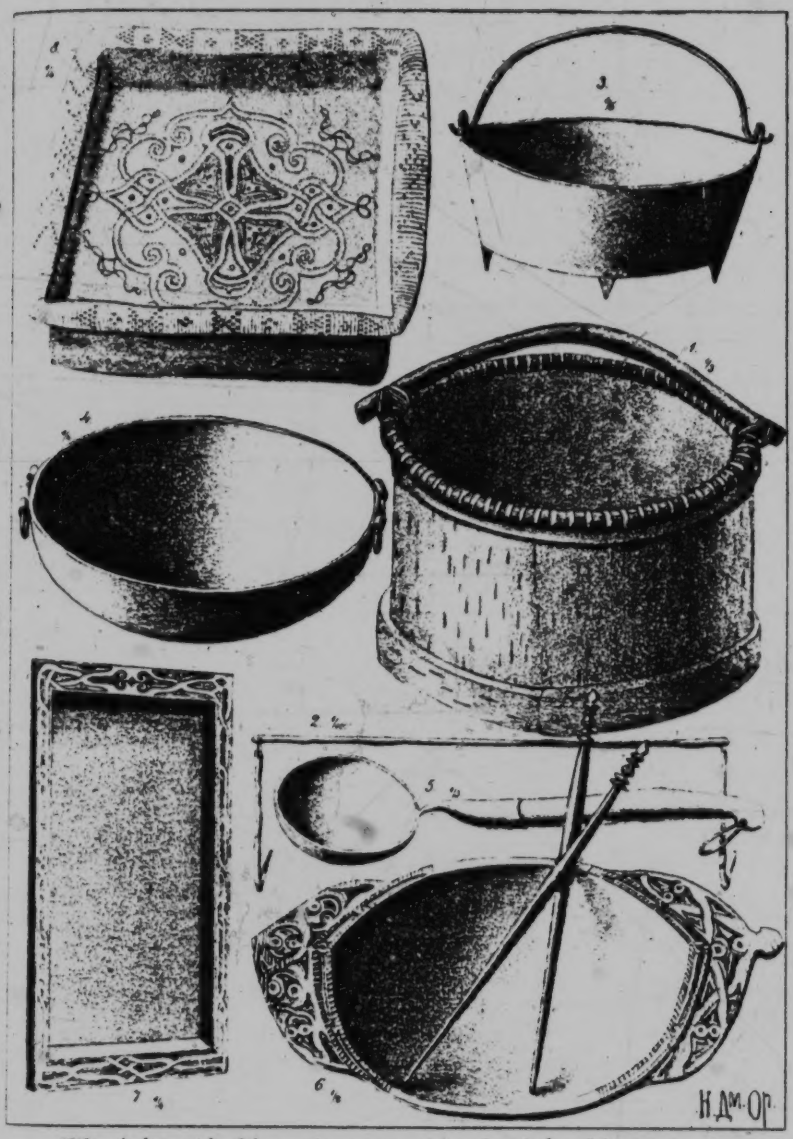

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke; 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop; 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.

2: Schrenck--1014 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

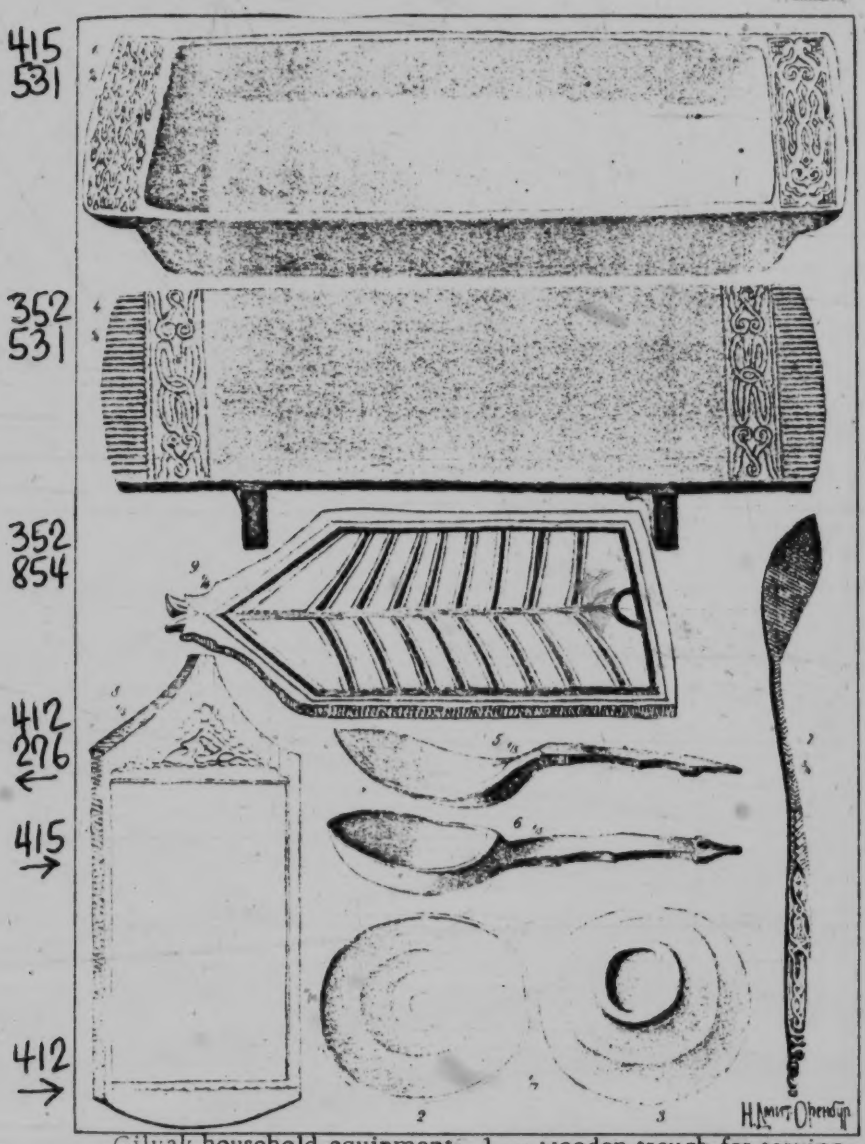

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop, 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

2: Schrenck--1015 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
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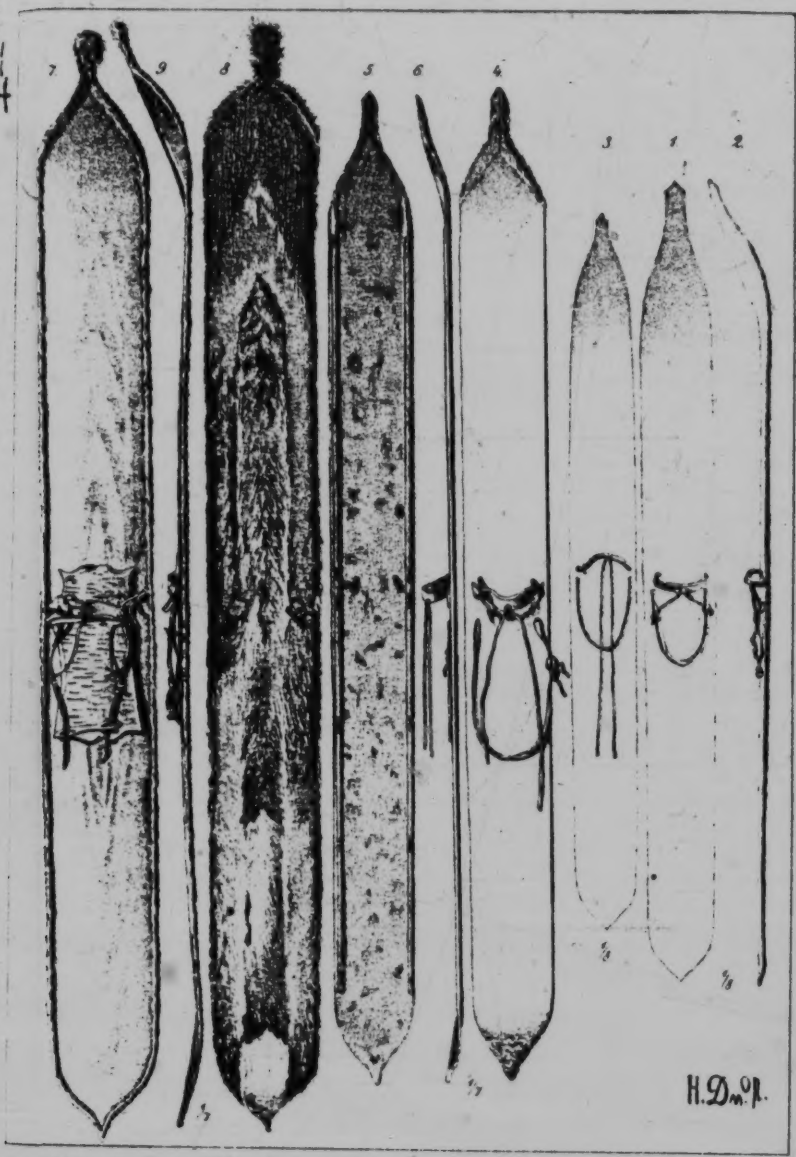

Ski: 1-3 -- Gilyak, small; 4-6 -- Gilyak, large; 7-9 -- Goldi, large.

2: Schrenck--1016 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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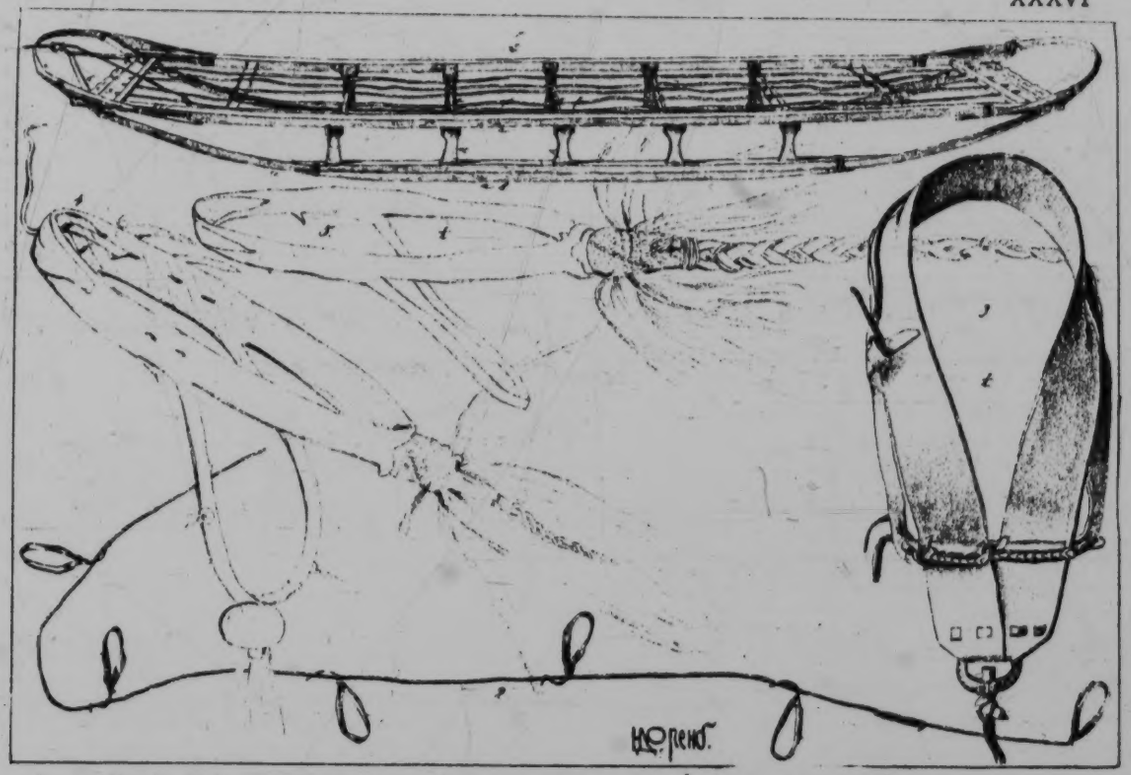

1 -- Gilyak sled, and 2, 3 -- dog harness; 4, 5 -- fancy dog-collars.

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2: Schrenck--1017 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Sled travel of the Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1018 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

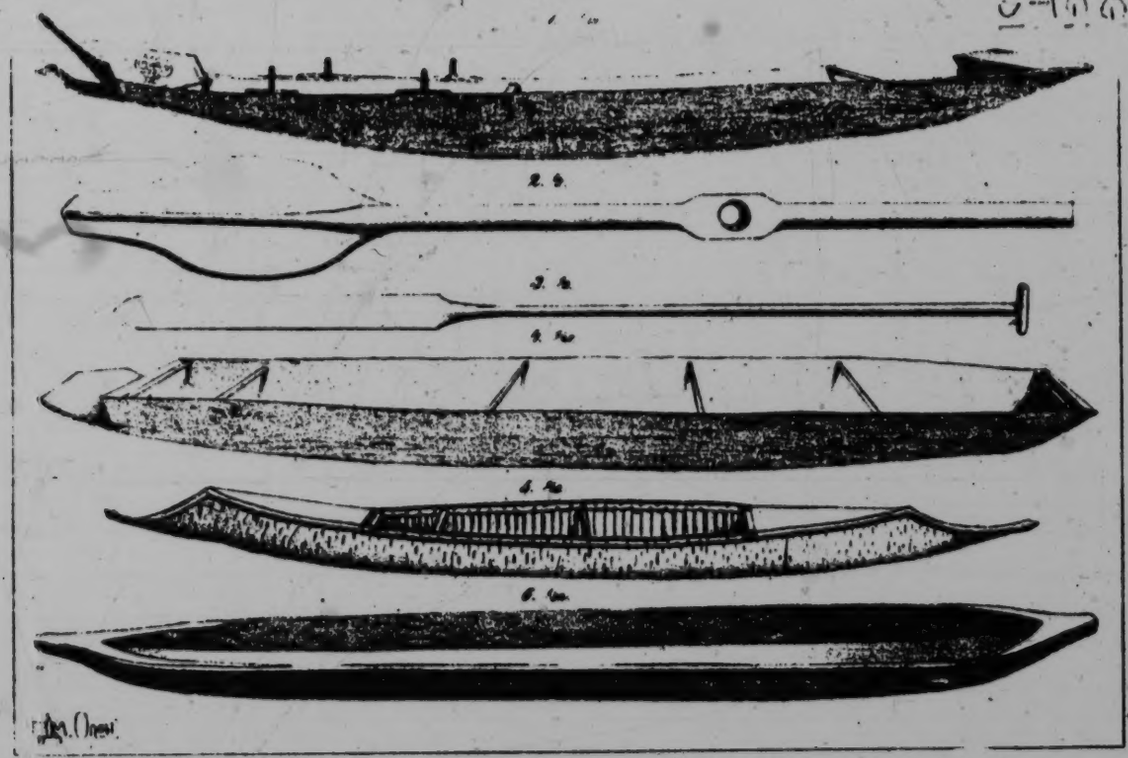

1. Ordinary Gilyak boat. 2. Oar, and 3, steering oar, for it. 4. Boat made out of a tree trunk (Goldi, Orochi). 5. Birch-bark boat (Olcha, Goldi). 6. Birar boat made out of a tree trunk.

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2: Schrenck--1019 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Sacrificial trip of the Gilyak in connection with the opening of the river.

2: Schrenck--1020 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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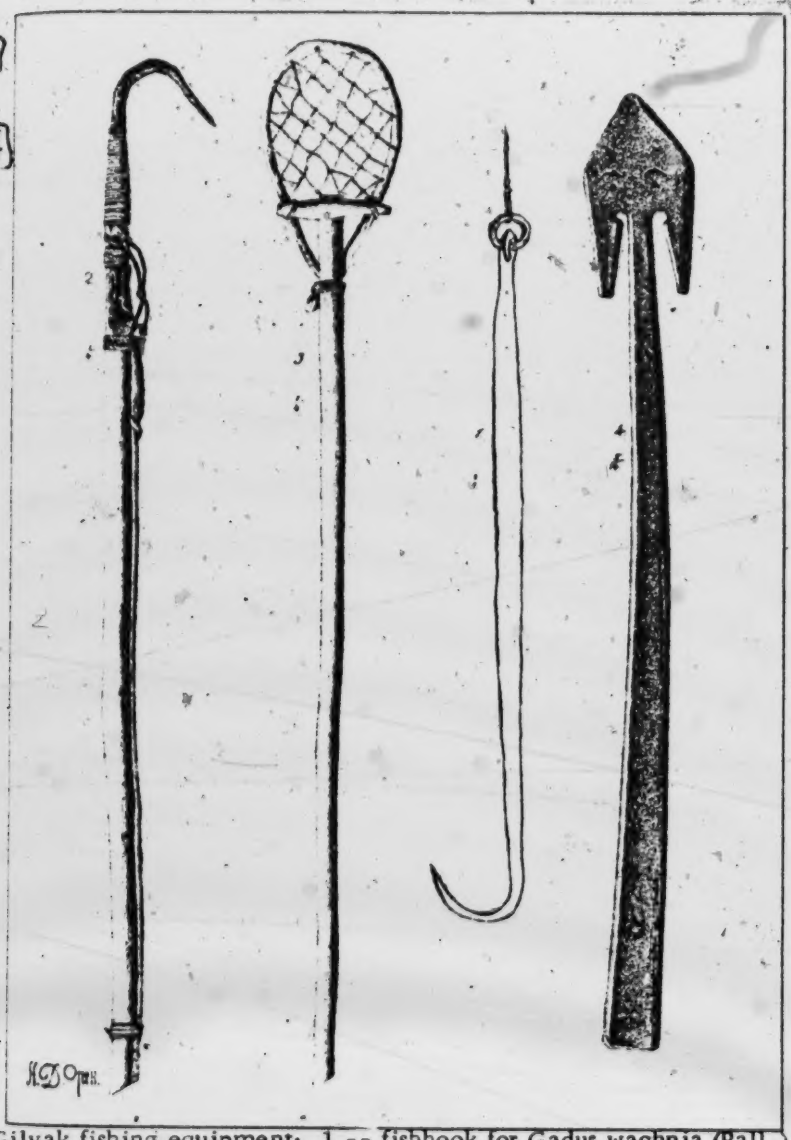

Gilyak fishing equipment: 1 -- fishhook for Gadus wachnja (Pall.); 2 -- hook for pulling out fish; 3 -- net for cleaning out the holes in the ice; 4 -- odn-tschongr of the Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1021 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3 XLI

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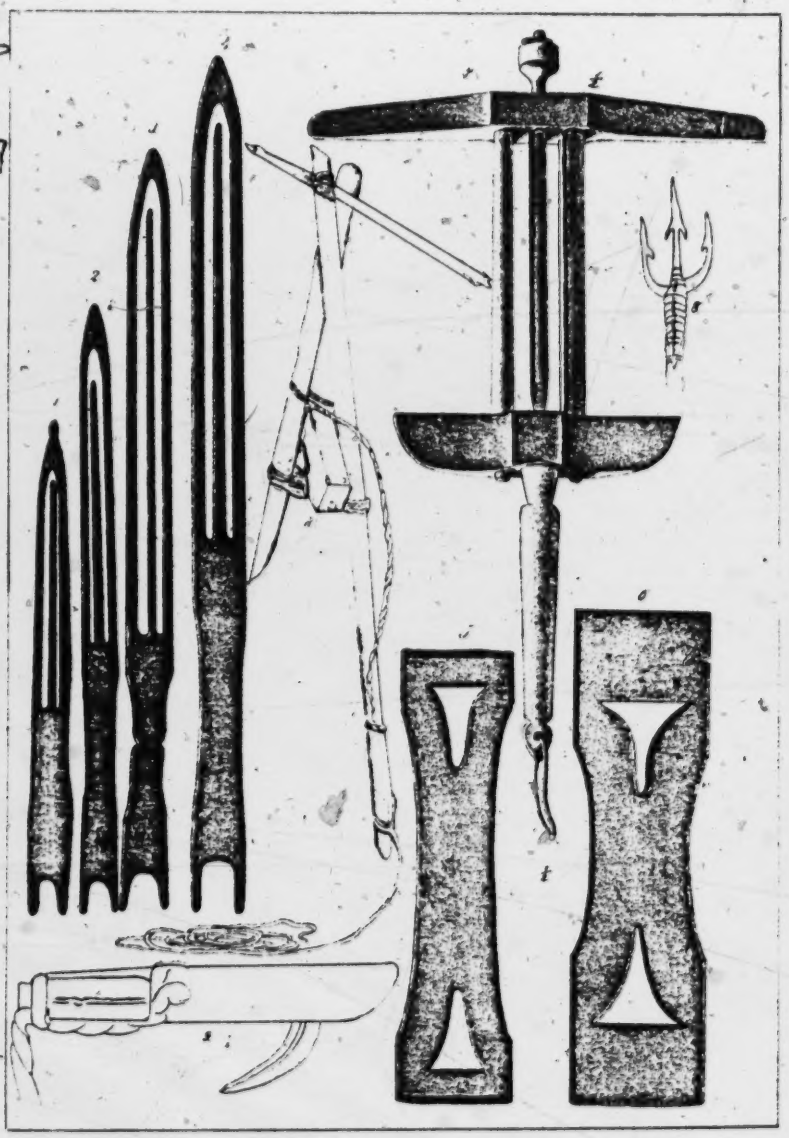

Fishing equipment of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi: 1-6 -- needles for plaiting nets (Gilyak) /see the listing for Pl. XLI, p. 431hh /; 7 -- yarn reel (Gilyak); 8 -- fish harpoon (Goldi); 9 -- fishhook for sturgeon (Goldi); 10 -- anchor that goes with it (Goldi).

2; Schrenck--1022 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak Rx2

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Gilyak hunting equipment: 1, 2 -- weapons for killing seals; 3, 4 -- weapons for killing white whales.

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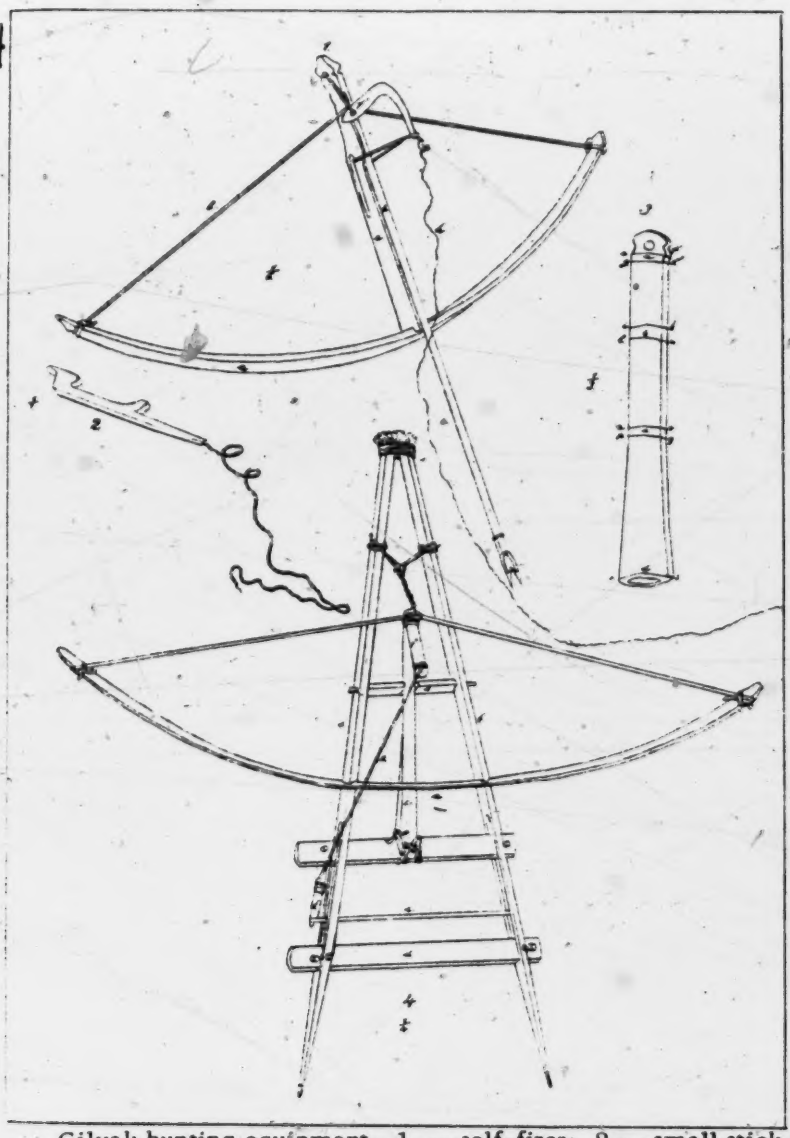

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1 -- self-firer; 2 -- small stick (g) that goes with it; 3 -- target stick for setting up the self-firer; 4 -- trap for small animals.

2: Schrenck--1024 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Historical Manchuria AG2
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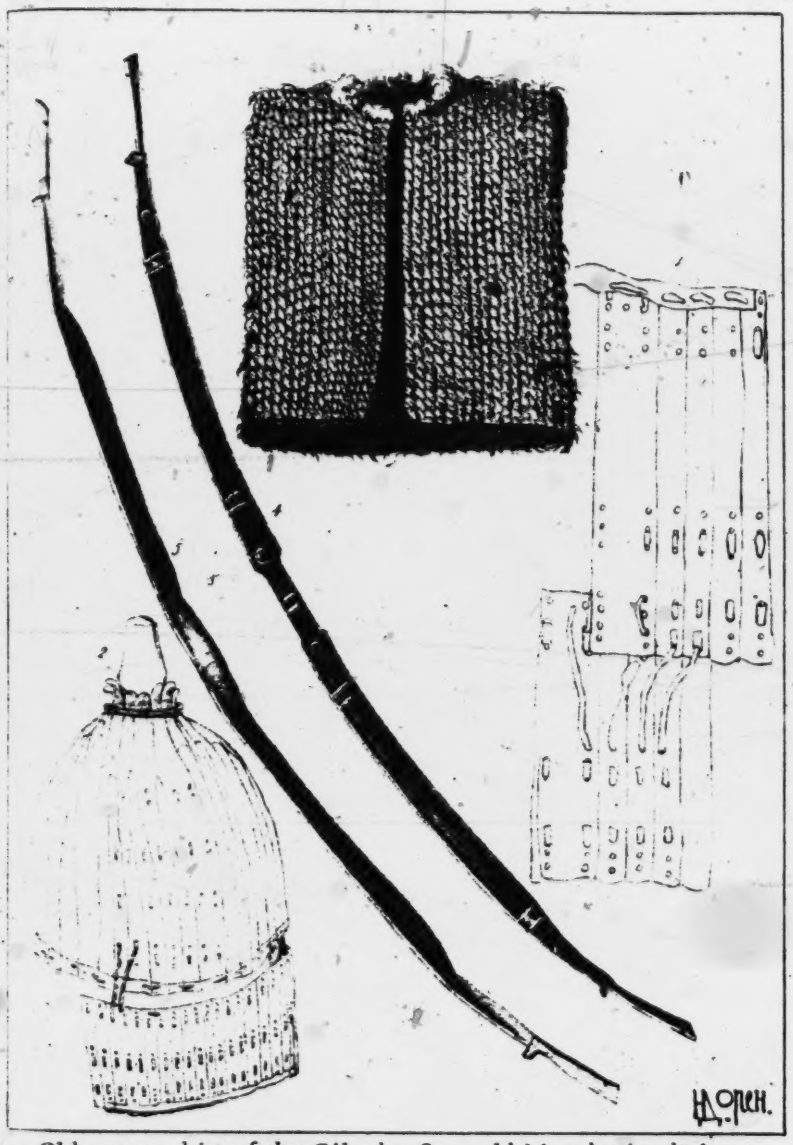

1 -- Old armor-shirt of the Gilyak; 2 -- old Manchurian helmet;
3 -- piece of an old Manchurian armor-shirt; 4 -- Gilyak bow;
5 -- the same on the inside.

2: Schrenck--1025 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orochi
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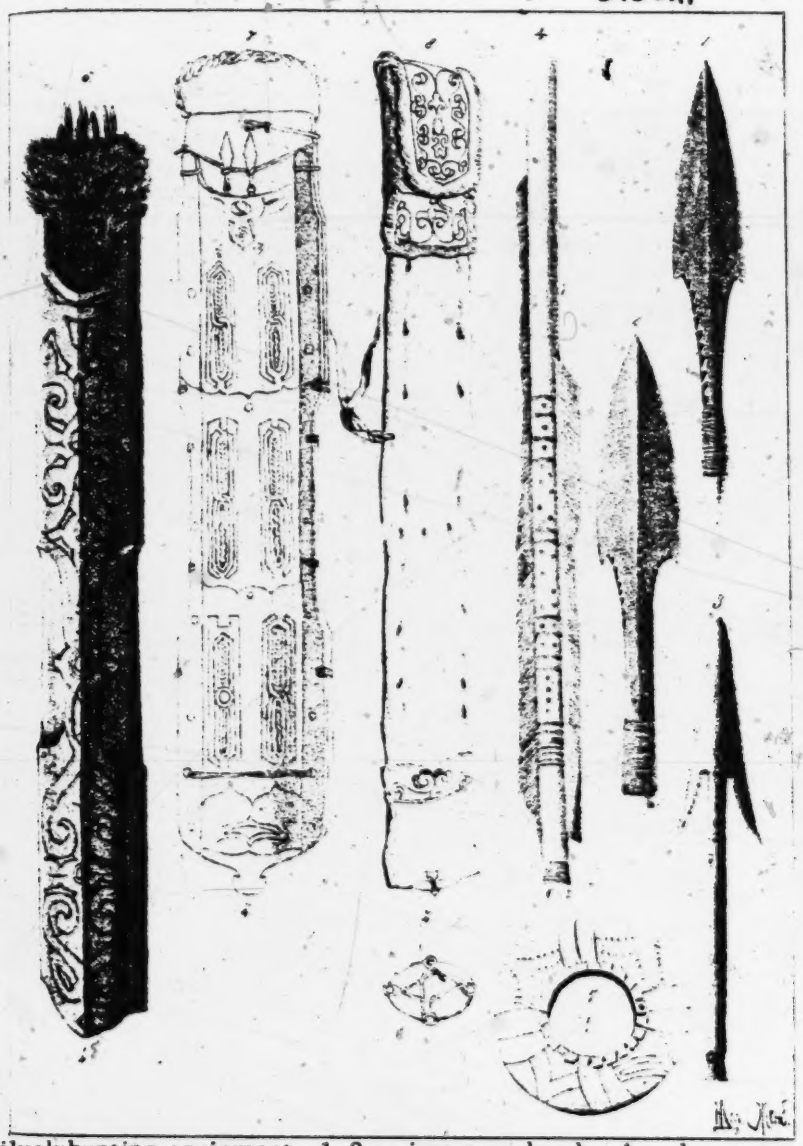

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1-3 -- iron arrowheads; 4 -- lower part of an arrow shaft; 5 -- thumb-ring for stretching the bow; 6-7 -- quivers; 8 -- Orochi quiver.

2: Schrenck--1026 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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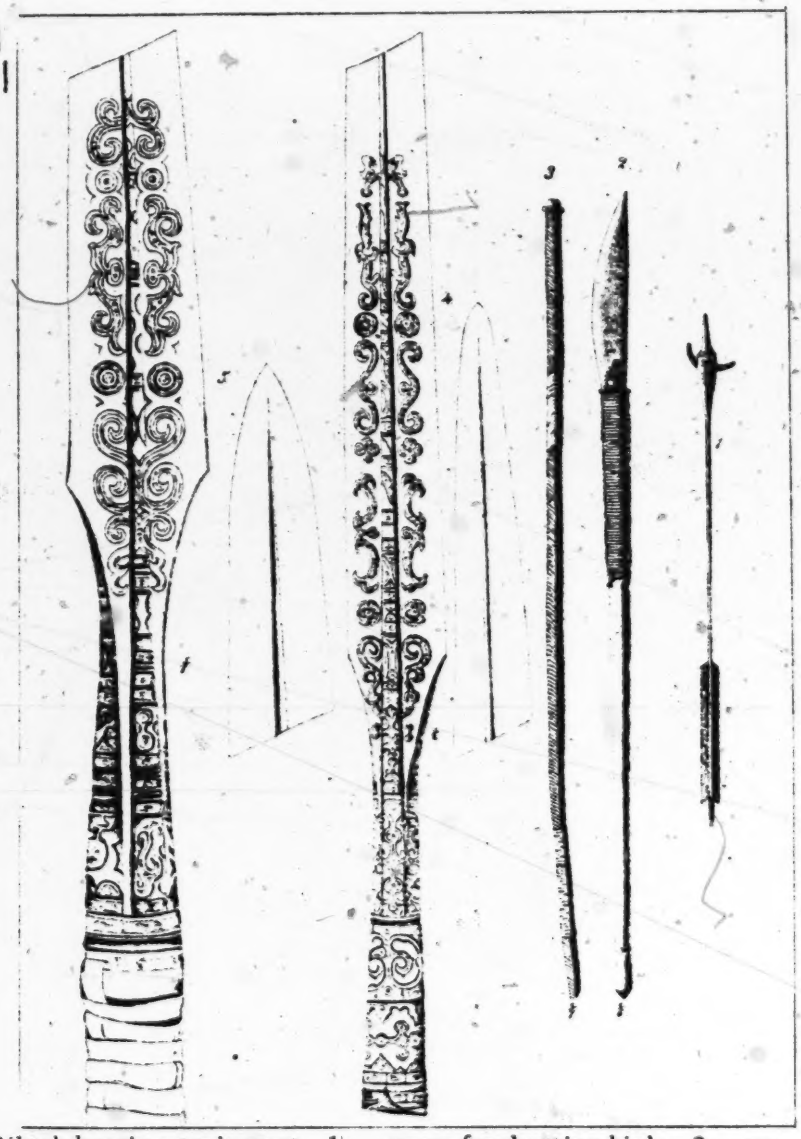

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1 -- arrow for shooting birds; 2 -- ax with long shaft; 3 -- long cudgel; 4, 5 -- spear with inlaid work.

2: Schrenck--1026a E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Vol. III, No. 3

Ethnographic Part -- Second Half

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Preface

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128 It was not granted to the author of Travels and Research in the Amur Region to carry out his work to its completion. Nevertheless, he had gone far enough just before his death so that with the present printing of the manuscript that he left behind it is very nearly brought to an end. Although existing notes make it appear that the author had plans for several more sections, among them such important ones as those on religious conceptions, ideas about sickness and death, the customs associated with these, etc., it was nevertheless felt that a continuation of the work on the basis of the remaining travel notebooks and journals should not be contemplated, especially since there was no way of judging how critically the author himself would have dealt with the notes
128 made decades ago. Since in the meantime a number of lithographic plates had been made in advance for the unfinished remainder, and they would be meaningless without an explanatory text, it seemed advisable, insofar as necessary for an understanding of the illustrations, to have excerpts from the notebooks and journals follow as an appendix in the framework of the missing sections, the compilation of which was assigned to the undersigned by the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

From the standpoint of their content, the excerpts fall into the following two main groups:

I. Religious conceptions of the Amur peoples. -- Idols. Amulets, Shamans.

II. Conceptions about life after death and the corresponding treatment of the dead.

The text of the notebooks and journals, which fills 14 closely written octavo notebooks in the smallest handwriting, has been reproduced verbatim except for unessential editorial changes. The added footnotes are marked ** to distinguish them from those of the author.

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128 At the conclusion of each individual excerpt (for possible future revisers) the pertinent place in the notebooks is indicated; the latter bear the following complete and abbreviated designations from the hand of the author:

Natural-historical and ethnographic remarks /Bemerkungen, abbreviated to Bm. during the stay at the Nikolayev post, 1854-1856.
Notebook I (1854-55).
Notebook II (1856). } Bm. I, II.

Journey /Reise; W.R. = winter journey/ to the island of Sakhalin and through a part of Manchuria, undertaken in the winter of 1855 (Jan. 27 -- March 28).
Notebook I Journey to Sakhalin.
Notebook II Journey through Manchuria. } 1 W.R. I, II.

Journey through various parts of Manchuria undertaken in the summer of 1855 /S.R. = summer journey/.
Notebook I (May 13 -- July 2)
Notebook II (July 3-25).
Notebook III (July 26 -- August 23)
Notebook IV (Aug. 23 -- Sept. 17). } 1 S.R. I-IV.

Journey to the island of Sakhalin, undertaken in the winter of 1856.
Notebook I (Jan. 30 -- Feb. 20).
Notebook II (Feb. 20 -- March 12). } 2 W.R. I, II.

Journey up the Amur River (return journey to St. Petersburg), undertaken in the summer of 1856.
Notebook I (May 13 -- July 8).
Notebook II (July 8 -- Aug. 10).
Notebook III (Aug. 10 -- Sept. 10).
Notebook IV (Sept. 10, 1856 -- Jan. 7, 1857). } 2 S.R. I-IV.

Fr. Russow,
Curator of the Academic Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography.

2: Schrenck--1026c E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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2: Schrenck--1026L E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Plate LIII

Idols (*) in human shape: 1 -- of the Gilyak. House idol

* With reference to the medicinal significance of the idols and amulets illustrated here and on the following plates, as well

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as of the shamans, cf. Dr. Max Bartels, Die Medicin der Naturvölker /Medicine of Primitive Peoples/, Leipzig, 1893, with illustrations, which is referred to here in particular for analogous descriptions.

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Plate LVII

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2: Schrenck--1026y E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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III. Ethnographic Part

Second Half: Basic Features of Family Life, Social Life, and the Inner Life

Section 11

Family relations: marriage, wife purchase, and wife capture. Morality. Domestic tasks and occupations of husband and wife. Childbirth, the feeding, treatment, and rearing of children. Position of the male and female slaves in the household. The family law of inheritance. Blood revenge.

121 If in the discussion of the basic conditions and elements of the external life of the Amur peoples I deemed it necessary to dwell more or less exhaustively only on the peoples of the lower Amur region, but, with regard to those on the upper course of the river, to point out only in a general way the particularly typical and characteristic differences in contrast to them, this will be the case to an even greater extent in the following considerations turning more and more to the inner life. In fact, I must here limit myself almost exclusively to the Gilyak and to the Olcha, who, except in language and some ideas and customs which are in part perhaps rooted in tribal peculiarities, have been permeated by the Gilyak spirit and almost completely Gilyakized, and even the adjacent tribes on the lower Amur will only be touched upon for comparison, for it was only with the former that I had intercourse long enough to obtain some, albeit superficial, insight into the problems to be discussed here. Hence the discussion of the Amur peoples, which up to now has been kept comparative as much as possible, will in this last part take on more of the character of a monograph and will center almost exclusively on the people that has been the focus and point of departure for all of our previous discussions.

595 The Gilyak are not bound by custom or religion to any definite form of marriage. Actually, however, by far the majority of them live in monogamy. In fact, it prevails /632/ among them to such an extent that one may designate it as the general rule, but polygamy, on the other hand, occurring only under

/632 cont./

595 certain conditions, as, on the whole, a rare exception. According to the statements of the Gilyak, the latter is practically not
[184] found at all on Sakhalin, along the Liman, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, whereas among the Amur Gilyak it occurs more frequently. An explanation for this will appear from the information in the following. In polygamous marriage the number of wives is usually limited to two. Among the Amur Gilyak I discovered several such marriages (1). Marriages with three

1. For example, the Gilyak Ssogin in Kulk (Mão) had two wives, Keüguk and Malguk; similarly, the Gilyak Tschjegun had two, Chumsisk and Tyisuk, etc.

to five wives are very rare, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there are none at all among them with more than five wives. In addition to voluntary polygamy, however, there is among the Gilyak a form of polygamy brought about by the law of inheritance or, more accurately, by hereditary obligations, which will be discussed later.

583 The chief motive which impels the Gilyak toward monogamy is the custom of buying their wives which prevails among them, as among most primitive peoples and in particular among all the indigenous peoples of Siberia (2). The Gilyak expression for "to

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2. As, for instance, among the Tungus, Ostyak, Samoyed, Tatars, Cheremis, Chuvash, Votyak, and others (cf. note 1 on p.1030). The same custom also prevails among the Chinese (Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Vol. II, p. 261. Bazin, Chine moderne, 2nd Part, Paris, 1843, p. 482). Even among the ancient Germans, marriage was originally a purchase, as in Iceland, Norway, and among the Anglo-Saxons (Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 237).

/632 cont./ The Gilyak expression for "to
583 marry" is "umgu genytsch," to buy a wife. If a Gilyak wants to
[192] marry in a peaceful and lawful fashion, he must pay the father, or, if the latter is no longer living, the brothers of the girl he desires to marry, a certain amount determined by mutual agreement. Depending on the circumstances, this consists of various articles needed in daily life and housekeeping, such as clothing materials, cooking kettles, boats, sleds, dogs, etc., as well as a number of luxury items of hypothetical value, such as neatly worked spears provided with small inlaid silver plates, old Manchu iron-armor, and so on. To give an idea of the amount of the bride price among the Gilyak, I shall add here the payments which a couple of Gilyak whom I knew had to pay for their respective wives. The Gilyak
583 Ssogin in Kulk (Mäo), for instance, had to pay the following price
435 for his second wife, Malguk from Langr:

6 large spears with inlaid silver, at 10 ja apiece (3), together . . 60 ja

3. The prices presented in the following may serve at the same time as a partial confirmation of and a supplement to the above (pp. 933-937) table of prices of the Gilyak compiled independently.

2 large Chinese hearth-kettles,	at 4 ja	apiece,	together	. . . .	8 ja
3 Japanese kettles (kughi-wunj),	" 9 "	"	"	. . . . .	27 "
4 large boats,	" 10 "	"	"	. . . . .	40 "
20 dogs,	" 1 "	"	"	. . . .	20 "
				Total	155 ja =

about 310 rubles.

/633/ My guide Chossiambo, who, to be sure, was an Olcha himself, but had married a Gilyak woman, the daughter of the oft-mentioned Judin in Tebach, had to pay the following price for his wife, according to his and her testimony:

/633 cont./

583 435

5 pieces of Chinese silk at 4 ja each, together	20 ja
1 large Chinese hearth-kettle	3 "
1 Japanese kettle with three handles	30 "
1 Manchurian iron-armor	30 "
1 large bear	30 "
5 especially good dogs (kyla-kan) at 4 ja each	20 "
Total	133 ja = about 266 rubles.

583 The bride price is therefore very high among the Gilyak, which indicates the relative prosperity of the people (1). Custom

583 171 113

1. For the sake of comparison I shall cite here the bride price of several Siberian peoples in older and more recent times. At the time of Adam Brand (Neuverm. Beschr. seiner grossen Chinesisch. Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. /Newly Enlarged Description of His Great Chinese Journey Which He in 1692, etc./, Lübeck, 1734, p. 99), it amounted to 10-15 reindeer among the Tungus on the Werchnaja Tunguska. A rich Ostyak girl on the Obj at the time of Pallas was not often given in marriage for less than 100 reindeer and a quantity of all kinds of furs (Sujef, in Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersb., Vol. III, 1776, p. 52). According to Castren (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845-1849 /Travel Report and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 56), the current price for an ordinary girl in marriage among the Ostyak on the Irtysch amounted to 200-300 rubles in

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1. (cont.)
money, one horse, a cow, and an ox, 7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hops for the preparations for the wedding celebration. The high bride-prices which Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord. und Ost. Siberien's /Travels in the North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1459) gives for the Assja-Samoyed women are somewhat reduced by the dowry which the bride brings, so that under some circumstances it almost only amounts to an exchange, which is never the case among the Gilyak. On the other hand, the bride price was very low among the Votyak, Cheremis, and Chuvash: among the former, who were the poorest, it amounted to only 5-15 rubles, among the latter two 10-30 rubles, and among the Kungur Cheremis, who were the wealthiest, 100 rubles and more (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /A Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, p. 369).

583 requires that it be paid at one time and not in installments. In
583 view of the circumspect and thrifty nature of this people, con-
595 stantly thinking in terms of augmenting its possessions, as has
556 been pointed out in my previous descriptions, even a well-to-do
184 man will not find it easy to buy a second or a third wife, in addition to the one. Only a particularly intense desire to have his wealth duly appreciated by his countrymen and thus to gain special esteem among them would prompt him to do so. Therefore, polygamy is more frequent among the generally wealthier Amur Gilyak living together more densely than it is among their countrymen along the Liman, on Sakhalin, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/633 cont./

583 121 182 [562] It is to be seen in part from the preceding that the custom of wife purchase has, on the whole, a beneficial influence upon a primitive people. Even though, to our minds, it involves an insulting disregard for human dignity and the personal rights of the woman, /634/ in that, in relation to the man, it makes her simply a commodity, nevertheless it exerts some moral pressure upon the men. For, above all, it forces them, through activity and industry, to acquire the means to buy a wife and to found a household of their own, and thus it puts an effective curb on premature marriages. Moreover, as we have seen, through the material obstacles that it puts in the way of polygamy, it promotes monogamy. And, finally, it provides the wife with both a guarantee of good treatment on the part of her parents, for a well-fed and well-supported girl can be married off more easily and at a higher price, and, in particular, some protection against rough mistreatment on the part of the husband, for what is bought with difficulty and at some expense is as a rule, among primitive people in particular, more highly prized and better cared for than that which is attained without effort and for a low price or even as a gift. Thus, among primitive peoples, the bride price to [562] a certain extent constitutes a corrective for their lack of esteem and spiritual appreciation of the wife, and the higher it is, the greater its effect is bound to be, and the more favorable the prognosis for the marital and family relations of the people concerned. To what extent this may be true among the Gilyak, beyond the above-mentioned prevalence of monogamy among them, we shall have occasion to learn from the following observations.

583 On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the higher the bride price, the greater the temptation for poor but enterprising young men to avoid paying it and to gain possession of a wife by a ruse or force. Indeed, among the Gilyak the abduction of women is by no means rare. According to their own statements, it almost always takes place by prearrangement between the two parties, the abductor and the one to be abducted. In order to carry it out, the man appears, as if by chance, in the house

/634 cont./

583 of the parents of the desired girl, calmly makes use of the customary hospitality, and seizes the proper moment, when the host and hostess are very busy or have gone off, to flee with the girl on a waiting sled or boat. He follows the same procedure in abducting a woman who is unfaithful to her husband. As soon as the wronged father or husband notices the theft, he pursues the fugitives with a few relatives or villagers. If they are overtaken, the abducted woman can be brought back, but not without a bloody fight with the abductor and his helpers, in case he has provided for some, since both parties resort to knives and spears. In most cases, however, the abductor was clever enough to provide for an escape with his willing booty. Then the feud continues and may be prolonged for years, since, as a result of the blood vengeance practiced among the Gilyak, which will be discussed later, revenge is demanded and an opportunity to carry it out is sought both by those who have suffered directly by the abduction and by those who have been injured in the fighting. Whole villages may thus become involved, so that the inhabitants of them, in order to avoid the danger of a surprise attack, carefully avoid each other and /635/ intercourse between the villages ceases entirely (1). In the face of such complications and dangers, the

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1. In my time, for example, the villages of Tammla-wo and Talwantigr-wo, along the Liman coast of Sakhalin, were engaged in such a feud, and the inhabitants of the latter, as much the smaller, had to be on their guard against those of the former.

Gilyak rarely undertake the abduction of a woman in a neighboring village, but, as a rule, select a more distant field of operations. It most frequently happens that Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk and from the Liman coast of Sakhalin abduct the daughters or wives of their countrymen on the Amur, either because, in view of their distant habitation sites, they need have less fear of their revenge, or, as a result of their being less well off, are unwilling

/635 cont./

583 or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And
628 among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious
684 and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in
[533] abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the
[126] conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

583 Another point with regard to the abduction of women must
114 be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year (1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent: among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage; later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

[113] 2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

/635 cont./

583 wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what
114 has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always undertake the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said, is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

582 Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriage among
601 the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the children of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "atschek" mean older and younger brother as well as older and younger cousin on the father's side, and "ransh" means sister as well as female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyond that,
582 the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin group, which, as we shall see later, is also taken into account in other connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and,

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1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak, Samoyed, Lapps Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Müller, p. 359).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

[113]

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Pauthier,

/636 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Chine mod. ou descr. de ce vaste Emp. d'après des docum. chinois, Part I, pp. 25, 275; Part II, p. 238. Iakinf", Kitai /China/, St. Petersb., 1840, p. 198.

a much distorted form, among the Goldi (3). Even a difference

3. A more detailed explanation of this will be given in the following.

563 Even a difference
682 of nationality is by no means as decisive for the conclusion of the marriage of the Gilyak as one would expect from the radical difference of their language from those of all their neighbors. On the mainland there are frequent marriages between the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha, and probably it is to this circumstance above all that the similarity in the customs and usages of the two peoples, or, in other words, the Gilyakization of the Olcha stressed several times already, is to be attributed. To a lesser degree the same thing also takes place with the Negda. Occasionally an Amur Gilyak will bring home from a trading trip to the Japanese a wife from the Ainu people (4).

4. The mother of the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach, for instance, was an Ainu woman, as was mentioned above (p. 224 /untranslated/).

Conversely, however, it hardly ever happens that Amur-Gilyak women marry Ainu men, because the latter are not in the habit of leaving their island and, if this should happen as an exception, would not be in a position to pay the high bride price of the Gilyak. Where, however, as on Sakhalin, the two peoples live directly beside each other and the bride price is also lower, frequent marriages take place between them, as Mamia Rinsô reported (5),

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, 195.

and the assimilation between the two tribes is considerable.

/636 cont./

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and lead her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier [556] people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, mossj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

591 592 As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live, and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are of the type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with its owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and some of them have the means to build another house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides 592 the central room used by all the members of the household, with 342 the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the winter house 35 built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

577 171 As little as such living together by all the members of the household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, 577 Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

/637 cont./

577 no doubt that the greater moral austerity of the Gilyak is tied up with character traits in which they excel beyond these tribes, namely, their greater energy, self-control, and moderation, which, as has been pointed out (1), they also show in their

1. See above, p. 719.

577 drinking of liquor. On the other hand, however, in comparison
177 with the other Amur peoples, the Gilyak were always in a more
648 favorable situation with regard to morality inasmuch as their dwelling sites were the farthest from the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, and the latter do not have any settlements in Gilyak territory. How demoralizing an effect they have upon the natives is evident from the fact that the Japanese and Chinese always come, the former to Sakhalin and the latter into the Ussuri and lower Amur region, without their wives and, supplied with liquor and other tempting commodities, try to acquire concubines among the women and daughters of the Ainu, or the Orochi, Goldi, and Olcha. It was therefore to the advantage of the Gilyak, not merely with regard to trade, but also in connection with morality, that they refused the Chinese traders entry into their territory, just as it was also evidence of their /638/ farsighted shrewdness and energy (1).

1. See above, pp. 145 and 948.

With the occupation of the Amur region by the Russians in the fifties, conditions changed, much to the disadvantage of the Gilyak, for this occupation began precisely in their territory and they were the first and the most drawn into close contact with the new civilized peoples approaching them from the north, a contact which, with regard to morality, could only be detrimental to them, as it always is to a primitive people in such instances, and as subsequent reports from there abundantly prove. But I shall return to the conditions and situations which I myself witnessed.

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834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
577 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

[113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

577 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
847 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

837 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
[581] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/638 cont./

586 material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

462 For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their com-
462 mon household, the greater share by far falls to her. In
22 general, the man only has to attend to providing the most important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it,
[251] make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods insofar as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries,
462 roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to
[313] it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
[251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The
462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does
264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men
[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women
462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper
[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations
462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work
411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting
[517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
593 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible,
842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlà, tammlà, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from
The help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

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593 842 the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

[595] [586] [825] [789]

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

844 114 [132]

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 343 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

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844 erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
[343] also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter tempera-
[132] tures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[165] a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that
the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally
small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this
bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it.
It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition
[846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during
delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary,
after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn
[963] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of
the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

/642 cont./

114 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the
844 villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot
768 affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kuĭk, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in child-
844 birth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other
532 superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth.
782 Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254 /) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

844 No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in
413 confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife
[531] (Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, the

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2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuĭk.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes care of it.

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553 852 Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any ceremony: the father simply names the name desired by him or the mother, or /643/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts are [756] practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving. In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a special [556] celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share with a few villagers and friends.

854 When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle [192] (Gilyak tschjakk). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists of [352] a canoe-shaped or fluted, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its head, can be fitted into it comfortably. While its upper end, usually pointed, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked buttocks, is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow, whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to the other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII /see p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by excrement that might seep through the basket, a longish board (Gilyak mu, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with raised rims and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can be put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal position as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of various small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

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854 when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw 854 in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, 789 which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a [856] spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or, more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai, that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

855 The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak 862 mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous 855 demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This re- 862 minded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in 171 de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

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1. (cont.)
Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 53), the Kalmuck (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersb., 1776, Vol. I, p. 167), the Tungus (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1496), and others.

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Among the Gilyak it not infrequently happens that, in addition to the actual suckling, several older children drink from the mother (2). The excessively long nursing of the children is un-

2. Among the Tungus, according to Middendorff (op. cit.), it even happened that "a ten-year-old urchin quite calmly sucked from the mother the remains of the milk left by his youngest brother."

doubtedly the main reason that the Gilyak women age and decline so early. I have seen some among them who, judging by their wrinkled and ruined appearance, one would say were at least 50 to 60 years old, and yet who still nursed their children and therefore presumably were only about 30 to 40 years old. And undoubtedly this is one of the reasons for the small number of people and the slow increase of the Gilyak population.

855

Children at a later age, just as in the cradle, are not kept very clean; in fact, when they have outgrown the cradle and run about freely, the little cleanliness and hygienic care that came their way up to that time usually cease altogether. It is extremely rare to see a mother wash a somewhat older child, and, to be sure, in the manner I witnessed and described above (3) in the

3. See above, p. 222 /untranslated/.

/644 cont./

855 case of a small boy; but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the howls that he emitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and annoying the whole procedure was for him.

855 291 In spite of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair, the Gilyak children are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very fully. In their garments, made for them as a copy of those of the adults, often down to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments and embellishments on a reduced scale, one can see that in this respect the mothers spare no toil or effort for the sake of their children and are probably not lacking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that one 524 273 sees on many a small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together by a belt on which hang all the numerous implements carried by an adult, ngawla- and yi-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., except that they are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that the fathers, too, in their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time to their children and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.

855 861 Otherwise, one cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children, of any training in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the like for them; they simply grow up, following the patterns that they have set before their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without anyone paying any attention to them.

524 The Gilyak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and mimicking in their games the activities; work, and amusements of parents and adults. One of the earliest, most common, and most popular games of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of wooden figures which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworthy that these figures, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite stereotyped among the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260/) and only now and then vary in size. Whether they are made by the parents or by older brothers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is obviously never intended in producing them. The legs of the animal, for instance, are not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply the conventionally assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or could it perhaps be, as one might almost suspect from its general usage among the Gilyak, a fragment of an old conventional picture language among them? Other animal figures allegedly likewise carved for the delight

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524 and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really 857 similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to 868 romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

595 In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not com- [593] pletely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placing a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another. For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

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595 presence of several women around one man in the same room and in a common household is, in the long run, scarcely con-
595 ceivable. Therefore very rich Gilyak who are impelled by
567 vanity to display their wealth and indulge in the luxury of
[556] polygamy, frequently seize upon another means to lighten the work for their wives and, without disturbing the peace, to be able to favor one or another of them. This means is to keep slaves, usually of the female, but sometimes of the male sex, for the purpose of performing the heaviest work in the house.
595 These, however, are by no means to be thought of as lone Gilyak
567 men or women who attach themselves to a family and, in ex-
357 change for free food and lodging, assume the obligation to perform the heavy work in the house, such as fetching water, felling and splitting firewood, etc. There are such domestic persons, who are hired, so to speak, among the Gilyak, but the situation that they are in is entered into by them voluntarily, it can be dissolved at will, and it in no way deprives them of the esteem of their countrymen, nor does it injure their social position with equal rights among them.

567 The situation is entirely different; however, with regard to the slaves. The Gilyak have a special term for them: kryghryss, or, with a statement of the sex, kryghryss-umgu -- female slave, and kr.-utgu -- slave of the male sex. It is to be stressed, first of all, that they are never and under no circumstances Gilyak, but are always individuals bought from the neighboring tribes, Ainu or Goldi. The Ainu (Kughi) supply the most slaves, and especially female slaves, to the Gilyak, the Goldi supply them in smaller numbers, and, to be sure, the "Jant" as well as the "TscholdoK," that is, the lower as well as the upper Goldi. The Gilyak were unable to name for me any other tribes furnishing them with slaves. Thus, significantly enough, the shameful sale of girls and boys of their own tribe into slavery is practiced only by the two peoples of the Amur region who are the immediate neighbors of the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Japanese and Chinese, and who are the most dominated and oppressed by them. It is certainly no mere accident that the

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567 people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the ones most involved in the slave trade. Finally, [177] indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is [648] rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought [181] by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is [439] the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have best been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain conditions sell them again, but they most decidedly abhor keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen that he would be in constant danger of his life.

567 435 On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in [583] particular in their resale by the Gilyak. It is much more expensive to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Ssogin in Kuik, for instance, paid far more for his slave, an Ainu woman named Kot, than for his second wife, Malguk from Langr: as noted above, he bought the latter for 155 ja = 310 rubles, but the former cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 ja, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because [556] of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful about it, as, for instance, Ssogin was. Such a possession seems [584] so enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does [583] not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in [556] exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the purchase price in some other form.

/647 cont./

567 purchase price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are
435 cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less handy and are lazier and therefore less useful in the house than the female slaves are, and in addition perhaps also because, in spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give cause for jealousy on the part of the head of the house.

567 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no rights: they are nothing more than domestic animals in human shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of course, all the heavy work in the house, such as felling and splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they are only to obey and to serve. Therefore, where there is a slave in the house, the housework is done almost exclusively by her, while the wives of the head of the house devote themselves only to handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make the lot of the slaves, and especially the female slaves, so hard among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they remain excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with those around them. No Gilyak may marry a slave; indeed, he may not sell a slave to another Gilyak if the latter expresses an
[595] intention to marry her. The use of a female slave as a concubine
[558] is no less strictly forbidden among the Gilyak: if anyone did so,
[556] he would not only lose completely all the respect that the possession of a slave /648/ as a sign of great wealth gave him, but would stir up a general storm of indignation among his countrymen. This is certainly another indication of the moral austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female slaves very useful for the household, for in their position they cannot arouse the jealousy of the wife or wives of their owners and thus, for their part, do not bring any discord into the house, as happens all too frequently in the case of polygamy. Perhaps

/648 cont./

567 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A
567 Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has,
595 will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more
192 because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (lawful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryss-umgu (female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper understanding of his marital situation.

567 As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is
[836] not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will
[851] never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother and likewise, as kryghryss, becomes the property of her owner, who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up, sells it as kryghryss. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case
[848] happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and
[847] brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not unhappily permits a marriage between his male and female kryghryss; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children they might have will be his kryghryss and, as such, can be turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against
[563] assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

/648 cont./

114 175 567 592 It must be noted here that the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinso, either misunderstood the conditions just described, and especially the position of the slaves among the Gilyak, or else intentionally put them in a different light and thereby gave rise to completely false conceptions concerning their domestic and marital situation. With reference to his stay among the Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Cape Noteito on the west coast /649/ of Sakhalin (1), he says that "there it is the custom of the country

1. Cape Noteito is not given on Mamia Rinsô's map as reproduced by Siebold (*Op. cit.*, *Pl. XXV*), but on Mogami Tok'nai's map it is shown somewhat diagonally across from Taba Bay or the entrance into Taba-Kidsi Straits (see above, p. 964).

that the women give orders to the men, treat them like servants, and have them perform all the work. He himself, it is said further, had to bend under the yoke of the mistress of the house, and he, like the rest, had his daily work imposed on him by her, but since the mistress of the house was particularly well disposed toward him, her other men became jealous, and he, who was well aware of this, was careful not to become involved in things which he would have had to conceal, but rather occupied himself solely with domestic work under the eyes of the other men, and, as a result of this modesty, he gained the confidence and esteem of the former, who presented him with meat and fish" (2).

2. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tatskiko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 169.

[191] It is difficult to understand how Siebold (3), on the basis

3. Op. cit., p. 198.

/649 cont./

114 of this statement by Rinsô, could express the conjecture that the
171 kojektschutsch or kojachtschitsch of the Kamchadal known
175 through Steller and Krascheninnikof (4), that is, men being used
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4. Steller, op. cit., p. 351, note. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 40. See also p. 473, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak. Suffice it to state that neither I nor, as far as I know, any other traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Siebold's con-
114 jecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there
595 seems to be more justification for his conclusion, drawn from
175 the same statement by Rinsô, that polyandry exists among the Smerenkur on Krafto (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast of Krafto," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means accurate: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the "rest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house" in Noteito, be explained? The trustworthiness of Mamia Rinsô, often stressed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting the report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the moment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he so accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (5), as

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in this

6. See p. 1046 above.

/649 cont./

114 case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came
175 into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which
595 can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the
114 Smerenkur (Gilyak)at Cape Noteito for an opportune moment to
175 carry out his planned trip to Tôtats (on the opposite mainland),
592 which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and without
595 any provisions, Mamia Rinsô found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a time, [357] then, he entered the ranks of persons obligated to perform do- [567] mestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyandry nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the undignified and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged [515] custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dark, and sooty earth huts.

114 Even though Mamia Rinsô avoids speaking of slaves in re-
175 ferring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he is
567 well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)
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1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trade with the Santaner, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

/650 cont./

114 and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4,
175 often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and
567 stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services,
[435] are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the
[439] Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations
[304] named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

[184] customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Be-
175 sides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get
567 their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ainu who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say,
[648] they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

567 Before I go further in describing the family relations of the
171 Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

/651 cont./

567 171 In this respect, the situation was, and, so it seems, is even now, worse among the Koreans. Following the accounts of Dutch prisoners, Witsen (1) reported that they keep many male and female slaves,

1. Noord en Oost Tartarye, Amsterdam, 1705, p. 59.

some masters several hundred, who all come from among their own people. According to Dallet (2), their number subsequently

2. Histoire de l'église de Corée précédée d'une introd. sur l'hist., les institut., la langue, les moeurs et cost. coréennes /History of the Church of Korea, preceded by an introduction on the history, the institutions, the language, Korean manners and customs/, Paris, 1874, Reviewed in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1875, p. 113.

gradually decreased, but the bad custom still exists, in that poor people sell themselves or their children as slaves, and children born to a slave, as well as abandoned children, fall to slave standing, and, finally, there are slaves belonging to the state. There can be no mistake here about the influence of immediately adjacent China, where, as is well known, the same thing goes on (3). Among the more northern Paleo-Asiatic

3. Cf., for instance, Neuhof, Die Gesantsch. der Ost-Indich. Geselsch. in den verein. Niederländen an dem Tartar. Cham /The Embassy of the East Indian Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tartarian Khan/, etc., Amsterdam, 1666, p. 293. Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 128. Iakinf", Kitai, St. Petersb., 1840, pp. 337, 338, and elsewhere.

/651 cont./

567 171 peoples slavery originated, as a rule, when prisoners of war, in other words, individuals from a foreign tribe, were made slaves and, in particular, women and girls were captured by the enemy to serve as wives and concubines. This was the case among the Italmen, Koryak (4), and Aleuts before they were

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 235.

subjugated by the Russians. The Aleuts in particular were distinguished by their cruelty to their slaves, in that on festive occasions they sometimes slaughtered a great number of them (5).

5. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. Otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, Pt. II, pp. 83-89.

Wrangel (6) even reported of the Chukchee, who retained their

6. Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i pr. /Journey in the Region of the Northern Coast of Siberia/, Pt. II, pp. 339, 340.

independence and individuality the longest, that among them, and, to be sure, the nomadic as well as the sedentary ones on the sea coast, there is a kind of serfdom or slavery, in that since ancient times the well-to-do have owned whole serf families who are not permitted to move away, have no property, and are wholly subject to the whims of their masters, who use them for the heaviest services and labor and in return feed and clothe them. Wrangel was unable to find out anything definite about the origin of these slaves, but he thinks it probable that they are the descendants of former prisoners of war, and therefore from foreign tribes. The fact, however, that they have existed since ancient times and in whole families /652/ allows one to conclude that the Chukchee, too, keep from mixing with them and do not enter into either marriage or concubinage with their female slaves.

/652 cont./

567 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the
17 Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

The law of inheritance existing among them gives us
428 further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After
562 what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and,
[601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, be-
[768] cause of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken
[583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers
587 dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

/652 cont./

428 has one or several wives. This shows most clearly that the Gilyak
587 have no aversion to polygamy in principle and only live in monogamy for the most part for practical and economic reasons. The same happens when a widow with minor daughters or only the latter survive: the latter are regarded as part of their parents' estate, as it were, and they are inherited by the second husband of their mother, and, when they have reached marriageable age and suitors arrive, they can be purchased only by payments to him. On the other hand, if minor sons survive with the widow, her brother-in-law inherits her and the daughters, but the property of her deceased husband goes to /653/ him only temporarily for the use of the profit from it and must be handed over to her sons as their property as soon as they have grown up.

587 The marriage of the widow to her brother-in-law is not absolutely obligatory: if there is a man who wants to marry her, he can have her with the consent of her brother-in-law and for the payment of a sum designated by him, and, as happens as a rule among the Gilyak, can take her children as well. But once they are grown up and are claimed by their paternal relatives, he cannot keep them, but is obliged to let them go without any compensation or consideration.

587 If, however, the deceased was the youngest of the brothers,
428 his older brothers inherit his property, to be sure, but the widow does not go to any of them, but may marry any eventual suitor, as she wishes, and the latter does not have to pay her brothers-in-law anything for her. With regard to her children from the first marriage, however, the above-mentioned rules apply.

In the last-mentioned cases, where widow and child form at least part of the objects of the estate and therefore the principle of equal shares for all the brothers cannot be observed, the Gilyak law of inheritance favors, not the older brother, but the younger one. In spite of the fact that the oldest brother is distinguished from the younger ones by a special designation, the latter are actually favored by the inheritance law.

428 Finally, if a Gilyak dies and there are neither sons nor brothers to take possession of the inheritance, it goes to the

/653 cont./

428 nearest male relatives of the deceased, that is to say, brother's and father's brother's sons, or nephews and cousins of the first and second degrees, but always only on the father's side. The 428 Gilyak say that in such a case the inheritance belongs to the kall 614 of the deceased. To explain this, I must point out that they 601 make a definite distinction between the relatives on the father's side and those on the mother's side: the former are called ngafk and they alone are regarded as related by blood; the latter, on the other hand, are merely called ámal or ármal, which means roughly "friends." The vocative amalá, Friend, is the customary term of address which the Gilyak use among themselves as well as to a stranger, and which one uses them, whereas the much more meaningful naifká is only rarely heard and then only when they are speaking to one another. The totality of the ngafk, the paternal relatives of a Gilyak, constitutes his kall. This word, however, does not mean merely tribe /Stamm/, kin group /Geschlecht/, kindred /Sippe/, but also name. A kall, then, is exactly the same as a kin group bearing the same paternal or family name among us. It is the Goldi hala, which originally designated only a family relationship, but later, used by the Manchu government for administrative purposes, it was given a meaning going far beyond the family, which will be discussed in detail in the next section. The Gilyak, however, who were always outside Manchu rule, have been hardly affected by this /654/ and cling to their original conception of the kall, which is restricted to the family in the manner indicated above.

614 In view of all this, it might be expected that they also have special names for their various kin groups, and, indeed, I do not doubt but that they do have them. I never heard them use one, however. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that, as a rule, only the closest members of a kall have personal relations with one another, and they are aware of their membership in the same kin group without the common kin-group name. Moreover, the practical significance of this membership is considerably reduced for the Gilyak, in that it plays no part whatsoever in one of the most important family occasions, the conclusion of marriage, for among them, as has already been

/654 cont./

614 mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1035, above.

peoples, members of one and the same kall may marry each other.
562 From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it became
428 evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brothers, and then, as a widow, to the next brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for
[592] herself. The only thing left for her is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

171 A law of inheritance very similar to the one among the
428 Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possessions consist of their reindeer herds. According to Ditmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 33.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother,
171 the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the de-
587 ceased was married and leaves a widow, she goes to his youngest
428 brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second youngest, the third youngest, and so forth, always under the same conditions. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

428 /654 cont./
587 brothers-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, she becomes
171 free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In
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3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivoshapkin", "Eniseisk. okr. /The Yenisei District/," Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Res. and Mat., p. 178. Tret'iakov", "Turukhansk. krai /The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 403), among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

428 In
171 principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

614 While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal
607 relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal rela-
628 tives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge prevailing among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful, decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possible,

/655 cont./

614 and then in swift flight to reach a safe hiding place offering pro-
602 tection, in order not merely to escape immediate revenge in
628 this way, but also to make it more difficult or even impossible for the opponent to carry it out in the future and thus expose him to the unavoidable evil consequences of neglected blood-revenge. The Gilyak therefore usually executes an act of bloodshed resolved upon in his heart in the most treacherous manner with the ngawla-dshakko, the large knife which, always worn at the belt, arouses the least suspicion and which he can most easily and inconspicuously plunge into his opponent's side while he is sitting beside him in apparent peace and eating a meal or smoking a pipe. Having fled to his native village, he will henceforth avoid setting foot in the village where he committed the act of bloodshed and will also carefully avoid its inhabitants elsewhere. The victim, however, if he has escaped with his life, henceforth thinks only of how he can take revenge on his enemy without delay, for the more time is wasted, the worse he can expect the consequences of his neglect to be and the more fraught with danger the future
159 looms before him. The power which this constantly nourished
628 superstitious fear can exercise over the mind and the entire being of a primitive man was vividly brought to my attention in one case. The Gilyak Nenjdan, a respected man in his village (Allof), who visited me occasionally in Nikolayevsk and to whom I owe many an interesting bit of information concerning his people, was one day, when he appeared before me again after a long interval, in a strikingly downcast and depressed mood: his otherwise erect and quite stately figure, such as I seldom found among the Gilyak, appeared somewhat stooped, his eyes looked straight ahead, staring and sad, and words would not come. Since I would not desist from directing various questions to him, he finally broke out with the words, "I must die soon," and when I then asked whether he was sick and what ailed him, his answer was, /656/ "Not sick, and yet I must die soon." This thought seemed to dominate him completely, and then he told me the following. On a trip to the Manchu, while trading with them, he quarreled with a Gilyak from Kaki. The matter finally ended peacefully, however, and he regarded it as closed and forgot it to such an

/656 cont./

159 extent that after their return home he once traveled from Allof
628 to Kaki and stopped at one of the houses there. His host and hostess, well known to him, were quite friendly toward him; in the evening, however, after he had eaten the meal offered him, a man lying next to him on the sleeping bench, the very one with whom he had had the quarrel, suddenly thrust his knife into his side. Returning to Allof, he soon recovered from his wound, but his blood enemy had set out for Langr the following night, accompanied by a relative, and had not been seen again. Meanwhile two years had passed, during which he himself had in vain gone to the greatest trouble to find any trace of him, but he could not go to Langr itself, because he is a stranger there, whereas his blood enemy would have the secure protection of his relatives. Thus, even in the future he had no prospect or hope of getting rid of the obligation for blood revenge weighing upon him, "and therefore," he concluded, "I must die soon." I do not know what happened to him later, for I did not see him again, nor did I hear anything about him. Undoubtedly, however, the psychic condition in which such a superstitious fear of death puts primitive man can have a fatal effect simply through its influence on his physical condition and his behavior in the manifold dangers through which his life moves. And in this way, as well as in consequence of the universally practiced logic of post hoc, ergo propter hoc, the superstition connected with blood revenge is constantly nourished and spread.

614 Carrying out blood revenge is in part made easier and in
602 part more difficult for the individual because it is not restricted
628 to those who directly participated in the act of bloodshed, but also more or less involves their relatives and imposes certain obligations on them. Among the Gilyak, however, these obligations do not extend to all the relatives, but only to the ngafk, the paternal relatives. Without any qualifications and with all the consequences, they are faced with the obligation for blood revenge if the person concerned lost his life through the act of bloodshed, either immediately or as a result of wounds received, and is therefore no longer able to carry out the revenge himself. It must then be carried out by the son, brother, brother's son,

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614 602 628 grandson, etc., depending on the degree of kinship. No ngafk of the person slain can refuse to accept this obligation if it is his turn. On the other hand, if the person wounded by the act of bloodshed comes away with his life, the carrying out of the blood revenge remains reserved for him, but his ngafk have the duty to help him by finding out the whereabouts of his enemy, trying to arrange a meeting with him, and helping as much as possible in carrying out the revenge, indeed, if need be, even stepping in for him. Quite similar obligations exist, on the other hand, for the ngafk of the perpetrator of the act of bloodshed. /657/ They must do everything to thwart the designs of their opponents and to protect their relative from the revenge threatening him. Thus blood revenge with the demands and obligations growing out of it creates a strong family tie which arouses and preserves the consciousness of solidarity and homogeneousness in all members of the same paternal kin-group. The larger a kin group is, and the stronger this consciousness is in it, the more protection and help it can offer each one of its members. It is therefore understandable that the members of a paternal kin-group like to live in one place or within easily accessible proximity and also that those members who, as children and as a result of a second marriage of their widowed mother, moved away with their stepfather do not like to become estranged (1).

1. See p. 1062 above.

The solidarity of all the ngafk among one another with respect to blood revenge further offers each individual and especially the members of larger kin-groups a certain guarantee against wanton bloody attacks. And this is of no little significance in view of the easily wounded, vindictive temper of the Gilyak, treacherously reserved, but quickly resolved on an act of bloodshed at a favorable moment. Most of their blood feuds, however, arise from serious motives, especially from the abduction of women so common among them and the conflicts brought about by this. Often, however, only petty motives, an imagined insult or insignificant damage to property or profit, as, for

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G /657 cont./
614 example, in the above-mentioned case of Nenjdan, drive one to
602 bloodshed, and then the instinct of self-preservation may keep many
628 a one from plunging into the hornets' nest of a strong and large kin-group. Quarrelsome and rapacious members of such a kin group, however, confident in the protective power standing behind them, may be goaded on all the more in their wantonness and may let themselves be carried away to commit acts that lead to blood feuds or that are a direct challenge for blood revenge, as, for example, is said of the Tammla-wo Gilyak on Sakhalin by their countrymen on the Amur. On the whole, however, this abuse does not nullify the beneficial effects which blood revenge with its rules has among the Gilyak, in that with the legal relations still unregulated, it gives the individual a certain amount of protection, and, to be sure, it strengthens the basis of every social arrangement and development, the family.

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648 Concerning the family relations of the Amur peoples living
177 adjacent to the Gilyak, the only ones who, as was pointed out at the beginning of this section, can be spoken of here, I must limit myself to a few statements tied in with the above remarks about the Gilyak.

/658/ In the preceding chapters the high degree of equalization that has taken place between the Olcha and the Gilyak in all aspects of the external life has been discussed -- an equalization which must be regarded as an assimilation of the former by the latter. This kind of equalization has also taken place with regard to the family relations of the two peoples, which, in fact, became the basis for the most penetrating and enduring manifestation of this assimilation, both externally and internally.
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[582] And the medium that served and still serves to bring about this equalization may be clearly discerned, namely, the frequent mixed marriages which have taken place between these two peoples since the Olcha migrated to the Amur and, after the loss of their reindeer, settled down there as fishermen in the immediate neighborhood of the Gilyak, marriage which even today are concluded between them continually. In this manner the

Gi /658 cont./
648 Gilyak family customs and organization are constantly being
177 brought to the Olcha and in the course of time have taken root and spread in much the same form among them. Of course, they were bound to undergo certain modifications in their general character, in that they were transplanted in the soil of a very
G Gi different people with respect to their natural disposition. The
157 Olcha, a branch of the large Tungus tribe spread over all of
[101] Siberia and the Amur region, are by nature much more kind-hearted, gentler, more pliable, more carefree, and more easy going than the Gilyak. They do not have the perseverance and energy of the latter, but, on the other hand, they are far from having their avariciousness, treacherousness, and vindictiveness.
G Gi These original character traits of the Olcha, however, are like-
[177] wise undergoing change as a result of the assimilation of this people by the Gilyak -- and this has in part already taken place -- but they appear time and time again, and, among other things, also in their family relations.

Among the Olcha, for instance, in addition to the gen-
G Gi erally customary purchase of wives, there is also the abduction
648 of women, though by far not as frequent and usually, as among
Gi the Gilyak, primarily for the reason that, with more moderate
583 demands, they more readily come to terms in dealing with one
157 another and with their neighbors of the Tungus tribe, and that for abduction quick and decisive action is required, which is not in their nature, and, finally, probably also out of a natural love of peace and fear of the evil and bloody consequences that usually follow the abduction of a woman. Strangely enough, however, they most often carry it out exactly in the direction from where they can most expect lasting revenge, namely, among the Gilyak, either because they have the most active intercourse with these neighbors of theirs or because the Gilyak women have a special attraction for them, and, on the other hand, the high demands of the Gilyak for their daughters, especially if they are to go out of the country, often make a peaceful settlement impossible. In such cases, which the Gilyak often told me about, bloody conflicts are unavoidable, although they

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Gi /658 cont./
648 do not by far reach the proportions that blood feuds caused by
Gi the abduction of a woman and its attendant outrages among the
583 Gilyak themselves not infrequently assume. And this is again
157 attributable to the more peace-loving Tungusic disposition of the Olcha.

G /659/ In general, all acts of bloodshed, and especially
Gi those carried out in an unexpected, treacherous manner, are far
648 rarer among them than among the Gilyak, and hence the occasions for blood revenge are far fewer. But it is even more characteristic of them that in cases where such an occasion arises the matter may have a peaceful outcome, for they can be persuaded to desist from blood revenge by a payment, which could scarcely ever happen, or only in the rarest cases, among the
Gi Gilyak. For example, the Olcha from Pulssa let themselves be
[628] bought off by the Gilyak Judin of Tebach for an act of bloodshed
[583] which his brother had committed among them, whereas he himself relentlessly sought to take revenge on an Olcha from Uchtr for the abduction of his daughter.

Gi If, as may be seen from what has been presented, many
648 a harshness of the Gilyak family relations is softened among the
157 Olcha by their gentler nature, so also, on the other hand, does
439 the moral austerity prevailing among the Gilyak undergo a considerable relaxation among them. To a large extent this is due to the fact that they do not have the energy of the Gilyak in refusing the Chinese merchants and traders entry into their territory, much less a more or less permanent stay in it. As has already been mentioned (1), there are many places in Olcha

1. See pp. 144 and 946 above.

territory where Chinese traders stay among them temporary or even almost permanently, and they have all the more corrupting an effect upon them because they have no dwellings of their own, but, with concubines taken from among the natives themselves, set up their domicile in their houses and in their midst. Also, the liquor that these traders always have at their disposal con-
000 tributes no little to the corruption of morals. Accordingly, the

567 /659 cont./ Accordingly, the
439 moral attitude of the Olcha toward their male and female slaves,
159 which they, like the Gilyak, though less frequently and in smaller numbers, procure by purchase from the Ainu people on their trading trips to Sakhalin is less strict and rigorous. In this, however, they subscribe to the principle of the Gilyak and keep no individuals of their own people as slaves, much less sell them to other peoples.

352 Finally, I must note that in the external appurtenances of
177 their family life, too, despite the great correspondence with the
854 Gilyak, there are various minor traits through which their original,
[171] distinctly Tungusic character manifests itself. For instance, the above-described, very characteristic Gilyak cradle has not been accepted among them. Instead of it the Olcha use an elongated basket plaited out of fine wooden switches, which is somewhat higher at the head-end, is suspended from one of the crossbeams of the yurt, and, by means of a long band fastened to it, can be rocked back and forth even from a distance. This simpler
[174] and lighter cradle may have survived among them from the
[157] time of their nomadic way of life as a consequence of the especially conservative tendency of the female sex.

177 The situation is different for the Goldi. Here there is no
648 question of any assimilation by the Gilyak, /660/ although, as a result of the direct communication of the two peoples with each other, and chiefly through the agency of the Olcha living between them and related to the Goldi, a number of things from the Gilyak system have been transmitted to them. On the other hand, they are very strongly under Chinese influence, which, going upstream on the lower Amur, steadily increases and reaches its maximum on the Ussuri and Sungari. They are in fact, and not merely nominally, like their northern neighbors on the Amur, subject to Chinese rule, in that in their territory there are several permanent seats of Manchu-Chinese government officials collecting tribute and exercising power (1), and, among other things,

[114] 1. Once more I wish to call attention to the fact that only the conditions which I personally found in the Amur region in the years

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1. (cont.)

1854-56 are being discussed here.

they had to adopt the hair style prescribed by the Manchu dynasty for all the subjects of the Celestial Empire, while the Olcha and Gilyak, living farther away, were able to avoid this (2). Chinese

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2. See pp. 617-624 above.

traders from the Ussuri and especially from the Sungari constantly come, and in far greater numbers than among the Olcha, into the lower territory of the Goldi and establish themselves among them in order to enrich themselves as much as possible on them. The corrupt influence which these intruders exert upon the family relations and morals of the Olcha, as mentioned above, therefore makes itself felt to a far greater degree among the Goldi. In fact, they have it all the easier among them, since they are even more good-natured than the Olcha, and they lack the power of resistance which is inherent in the latter, thanks to an admixture of Gilyak blood which has resulted in the course of time. The material exploitation of the Goldi by the Chinese goes hand in hand with the loosening of family relations and the corruption of morals. Deprived of their possessions and plunged into debt through alcohol and other means, they lose all interest in acquisition, as well as the energy needed for it, and more and more sink into laziness and sloth, which inevitably leads to total poverty and depravity. Naturally, they have not all and everywhere reached this point by far, but the pernicious influence of Manchu-Chinese domination and exploitation in the direction indicated is unmistakable even where they are in the most favorable conditions, such as in the lowermost part of their habitation area, on the Amur, between the mouth of the Gorin and the Geong Mountain Range. They lack the free and self-assertive attitude of the Gilyak and, in part, of the Olcha, too, as well as the bent toward acquisition and gain which not infrequently manifests itself to the foreigner in rather obtrusive

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177 ways, and, on the contrary, they always have something de-
157 jected, reticent, fearful, and even shy in their nature. How
648 far their national consciousness has already been suppressed may
[567] be seen from the fact that, even though they are well aware of
[439] the despised position of male and female slaves among the
Gilyak and, like them will themselves now and then keep an
Ainu female slave brought from Sakhalin in their houses, never-
theless they do not scorn selling individuals from among their
own people into slavery to the Gilyak, which would never
happen among the latter and would be branded as wicked. /661/
177 Of course, the Manchu officials and Chinese traders have the
648 most destructive influence on the family relations of the Goldi,
because through threats, intimidation, and purchase they pre-
vail upon them to let them use their wives and daughters as
[182] concubines. Thus the loosening and dissolution of all family
ties are in fact sealed and will gradually be accomplished
177 without any further aid by the Chinese. Thus the tie, so tight
648 among the Gilyak, which links together all the members of
614 one and the same paternal kin-group, the Gilyak kall, or hala
171 as it is known among the Goldi, was bound to become very slack,
so that the Chinese government could not have found it difficult
to give it a local-district substratum, instead of a kinship one,
in order to utilize it for their administrative purposes, as will
be shown in detail in the following. As a result of this, however,
the rule which forbids marriage between members of one and the
same paternal kin-group (hala), if it originally existed among
the Goldi (1), could no longer fulfill its purpose of preventing

1. See above, p. /No page number is given in the original source, but see pp. 1035 and 1062./

marriages between persons tooclosely related by blood. Another
likewise very strong family tie among the Gilyak, which arises
from the rules of blood revenge, no longer exists among the
Ussuri Goldi, because the latter is said to have already

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179 disappeared from among their customs (2). Finally, the tight
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2. Veniukov", "Obozr. r. Usuri i zemel' k" vost. ot" neia do moria /Survey of the Ussuri River and of the Lands Eastward from the River to the Sea/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXV, 1859, Sec. II, p. 239).

171 Finally, the Tight
587 family organization which among the Gilyak, Koryak, and Siberian peoples regulates the relationship of the brothers of a deceased person to their widowed sister-in-law (3) seems to

3. See above, p. /No page number is given in the original source, but see pp. 1061-1064./

have been disrupted among the Goldi. Wenjukof (4) mentions

4. Op. cit., p. 200; also Putesh. po okrain. Russk. Azii i zap. o nikh" /Notes on a Journey in the Borderlands of Asiatic Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 27.

an Ussuri Goldi, the father of a family and about 30 years old, who had three wives, two of whom he had inherited after the death of his younger brothers. As we have already seen (p. /no number given; see pp. 1061-1064/), this is not permitted among the Gilyak, Koryak, and other Siberian peoples, but only the opposite is customary, namely, that the widow is inherited by one of the younger brothers of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, in a definite order of succession. Now, since the latter is certainly not excluded among the Goldi, one can only draw the conclusion that among them both the older and the younger brothers of the deceased have a claim to his surviving

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171 587 widow, a drawback which presumably arose out of disregard of the original, definite family organization and can all too easily cause discord and strife between the brothers.

177 648 Chinese influence has had the most pernicious effect on the family relations of the Amur peoples among the Orochi, or Ta-dse, of the uppermost Ussuri tributaries and the adjacent seacoast. What was merely held out as a prospect for the Goldi in the above description has already been reached there: the destruction of all family ties and the greatest economic ruin and moral decay. Also, however, the Chinese are in the greatest [162] numbers there, outweighing the Orochi, in part as permanent /662/ traders mixed in with the indigenous population, small field and garden cultivators, ginseng seekers, etc., and in part as riffraff of all sorts annually streaming in in great numbers for seatang fishing, to wash gold, and to pursue other occupations, as has already been described above (1).

1. See p. 139 above.

Thus, if one travels from the mouth of the Amur, up the Amur and Ussuri almost constantly in a meridional direction, and from the sources of the latter to the neighboring coast, through the territory of the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and Orochi, one may observe a steady and rapid decline in the family customs and organization of the indigenous population, until finally, instead of the crude, it is true, yet tightly organized and, in their way, civilized family relations of the Gilyak, one is faced at the other extreme, among the Orochi, with the spectacle of their complete dissolution and destruction. And this change is taking place under the influence of a civilized people (Asiatic, it is true) which itself, in its homeland, is devoted to the ancestor cult.

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Section 12

000 Social relations: political and legal position. Social organization on the basis of wealth. National communism. Inviolability of property. Hospitality. Caution and indecision on journeys: wind and weather tests. Superstitious calming of storms. Greeting and expressions of thanks. The custom of giving gifts and return-gifts to one another. Reliability in business affairs. Time reckoning. Calender. Cosmic conceptions. Amusements: singing, music, dancing, games.

128 In connection with the family, the basis of all social organization, the most essential and important characteristics of the latter among the Gilyak and the neighboring peoples in the lower Amur region were discussed in the preceding section: morality, slavery, blood revenge. It remains for us to consider those aspects of their social life which are less directly and immediately connected with the family.

175 648 At the time of my stay in the Amur region the Gilyak were not subject or tributary to either China or Russia. At the beginning of the century the Chinese government had exercised some authority over them on the Amur as well as on Sakhalin and in several places appointed elders from among them, who were to collect a certain amount of tribute in their districts and deliver it to Deren. In the twenties, however, as was discussed in detail above (1), it relinquished this authority and confined it to

1. See pp. 970 ff. above.

those parts of the lower Amur region located farther upstream around the Sungari, so that the Gilyak and the Olcha remained only nominally subject to it, and since from then on no tribute was collected and delivered to the Manchu-Chinese government, the posts of village or district elders created by it automatically perished, too. For the Gilyak in particular, more conscious of their freedom, they had already in my time /664/ disappeared

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175 from memory to such an extent that I never heard them men-
648 tioned by them and learned of no Gilyak term for them. On the part of the Russians, however, in my time, at the beginning of the fifties, a firm foothold was held at individual points in the lowermost Amur region, for example, in Petrovskoye, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk (1), but they did not pay any atten-

1. See pp. 174-181 above.

tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions and customs as long as they did not disturb the order within the
000 Russian settlements (2). Thus in my time the arrangements made

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2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (Russ. starosta) appointed by them from among the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the district chief (Russ. isprawnik /ispravnik/) residing in the nearest post. Dr. Seeland, who had already met such village elders among the Gilyak in the years 1878-80 (Russische Revue, Vol. XXI, p. 233), failed to recognize the wholly Russian origin of this arrangement, and generally failed to distinguish adequately between what was originally peculiar to the Gilyak and what they took over from the Russians -- and at that time this had already spread very far and deeply -- deprives his description of them of almost all its value.

175 Thus in my time the arrangements made
648 by the Manchu-Chinese for governing the Gilyak had already disappeared, and none had yet been introduced by the Russians; the people were left to themselves and within the limits men-
648 tioned, could do as they pleased. The following remarks pertain

648 /664 cont./ The following remarks pertain
128 only to this period, certainly a very favorable one for the study of their peculiarities.

621 Beyond the family and the paternal kin-group, the Gilyak
622 have no legal-administrative structure or organization for self-government: there are among them no individuals provided by them themselves with authoritative power, say, for preserving order, for settling disputes, and the like. And there seems to be no need for that among them. Since they wage no wars with their neighbors or among themselves, undertake no joint raiding expeditions into foreign territory, collect no tribute and do not have to deliver any, etc., they need no leaders, chiefs, elders, or the like. Order is maintained by observing the ancient usages and the traditional customs, and in case of disputes and conflicts, self-help enters in, supported by the rules of blood
[567] revenge. Thus the Gilyak have no superiors or masters in their midst, but rather they are all legally equal, with, of course, the exception of the slaves, who, however, as has been said, are not Gilyak, but are foreigners in serfdom among them. For
[177] the concept of "master," which they first learned from the Manchu-Chinese, they therefore, for both the latter and the Russians, use the Chinese expression dshangin (3). Only once

3. Gerbillon (in Dukalde /Du Halde/, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 385) mentions the term "tschanghin" for a high official who enjoys the special confidence of the emperor.

did I hear a Gilyak designate himself as such: it was in the isolated yurt of Miwwach located at the end of the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin and occupied by a married couple, where the host introduced himself to me as the "dshangin of Miwwach," but evidently he merely wanted to indicate that he was the sole owner of the yurt.

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556 While there is no ranking of individuals as superior or inferior in a legal sense among the Gilyak, a social structure determined by differences of wealth is very marked among them. Among a people so generally and to such a high degree devoted to trade as the Gilyak, it could not be otherwise but that wealth would play an important role in social life and become decisive for the reputation, moral power, and influence of the individual. The rich man among them, who on trading trips to the Manchu and the Ssisam provides himself with a stock of everything that his countrymen regard as necessary and desirable, is an important and indispensable person for the less well-to-do who are unable to make such trips: at his place they can always dispose of the precious furs, which they themselves have hunted, in exchange for the clothing, food, or luxuries that they need and, in case of necessity, can also count on help and receive some things perhaps on credit, but other things, and the most essential ones, even for nothing. Furthermore, thanks to his trading trips and his extensive contacts, the rich Gilyak is as a rule superior to his poorer countrymen in farsightedness, experience, discernment, and judgment and thus has not only an economic, but also a moral influence upon them. Finally, his means permit him to put himself at the very center of the whole social life now and then and to make his house the scene of social pleasures, especially the great bear festivals and the sumptuous feasts associated with them, in which his poor fellow-villagers and business associates may participate. Under these circumstances there is among the Gilyak a quite spontaneous superiority or inferiority of individuals in social relations, based on their greater or lesser wealth. Thus if one enquires among them, as I often did, about this or that person, they will never fail to mention first of all the financial position of the person concerned by briefly stating whether he is a tscholla nibach, i.e., a poor man, or a kolla nibach, a richer one, or mykstschr-kolla nibach, that is, a very rich man, with which at the same time his social position and the respect that he enjoys among them are generally indicated.

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556 Among the Gilyak the man who undertakes frequent journeys to the Manchu and Ssisam, carries on extensive trade with his countrymen and the neighboring tribes, and in general lives in evident prosperity is regarded as rich, kolla, and therefore esteemed. He is regarded as belonging to a higher level, however, as mykstschr-kolla nibach, a very rich and highly esteemed man, only if, in addition, he also meets the following conditions: 1) if he owns many of the above-mentioned (1)

1. See pp. 933-937 above.

objects which are especially valuable in the eyes of the Gilyak, such as a lynx-fur coat, old Manchurian iron-armor, bows with buffalo and rhinoceros horn mountings, three-handled Japanese cooking kettles, and the like, and then does not sell these inherently useless, but yet very costly articles, /666/ thus putting them to practical use, but keeps them only as dead capital and heirlooms for his sons, he proves his great wealth; 2) if from time to time he gives great bear festivals with opulent feasts and arranges for the invitation of many guests; or finally, 3) if he displays a particularly large household and has 3-5 wives besides several male and female slaves. It is not necessary that all three conditions be met by one person -- it is enough if one or another of them is satisfied as long as this is done to a particularly high degree. Ssogin in Kuĭk-Mäo, for instance, owned a number of luxury items and also had two wives and a female slave, but he was nevertheless regarded as only a kolla nibach. On the other hand, Numkwin in Wair (1), Ansin in Kaki, Ssondon and

1. The same who was mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) as one of the murderers of de la Brunière.

his son Libgun in Tschylm, Jondom in Kalm, Pysgun and Mesgun (2) in Patt, and, especially, Judin in Tebach were

[104] 2. In all the Gilyak names mentioned here the s is pronounced soft, like the French z.

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556 named for me as mykstschr-kolla. The latter in particular was especially esteemed and popular among his countrymen, aside from other reasons, on account of his lavish and much visited bear festivals, in one of which I, too, took part. They related that he was held in such esteem that even the Chinese in Ssansin and the Japanese on Sakhalin referred to him as Gilyak dshangin and treated him accordingly, which prompted some of them, too, to refer to him occasionally in this way, and yet, they said, he is no dshangin, of whom there are none among them, but only a mykstschr-kolla nibach. Thus do they cling, even with the great differences in means and, accordingly, also in social position, to their complete equality legally.

426 735 When I previously said that the poor Gilyak, in case of necessity, count on the help of their richer countrymen and may expect to receive from them some things on credit, but others for nothing, this needs an explanation. One might accordingly [439] think that the latter treat the former in about the same way as the Chinese traders, who, in an emergency, give the Goldi, Orochi, and other natives of the region among whom they reside the things required, calculated at a very high price, on credit, in order that afterwards, by means of repeated and unchecked promissory notes, they will never be out of debt to them for the rest of their lives; in fact, the debts are even inherited by their children. This never happens among the Gilyak. As much as I was in contact with the rich and the poor among them, I never heard of anything that would permit one to conclude that there is any considerable debt relationship between the one and the other. Both are also probably too cautious and practical, too subtly and cleverly calculating, to enter into such relationships, disadvantageous for both, for the one injurious to his respect and popularity, for the other to his existence. Not that they do not have any debts among one another -- but these always seem to be only small advances within their means to one person or another, the casual repayment of which is taken for granted, but often, and probably usually in cases of unequal means, /667/ is not even claimed,

426 and not much is said about it. Perhaps related to this is the fact

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426 that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

735 Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in distress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence 181 of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the [186] Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense 421 national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries, 735 and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in 421 case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

/667 cont./

735 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature
421 furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely
[182] active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

342 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle
421 in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with
423 long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less importance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated con-
[476] struction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-
[574] villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on
[427] it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

343 The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
423 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is
[427] arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

/669/

423 224 226 619 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting, except for the places on the river where they have their salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the seacoast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the [648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

685 [421] [123] Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-[186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to 685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from 648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted [192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch, Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met 685 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc., 123 whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

/669 cont./

685 cigar missing. I had even greater confidence in the latter.
123 Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop
[122] erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in that it almost constantly threw sparks from its chimney over my house, which was covered only with tree bark and hence might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had planned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the village of Ssabach for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak Mradamn. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied crosswise by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

574 Finally, hospitality, too, is based on the national princi-
648 ple. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me.
123 They are too suspicious, too avaricious, /670/ too concerned
[159] about their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on the occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to prevent me from using the fire in their yurt and even threatened me with a knife, so that I had to resort to grave threats with my pistol in order to have my way. I must say, however, that prior to my first journey to Sakhalin the rumor had spread among the Gilyak that the Russians wanted the island for themselves and therefore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a winter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous connections, from which they could see that I meant well and was always friendly toward them, they became friendly and hospitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, and I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there
574 was always a great difference according to whether it was a
[648] Russian (lotscha) or a nibach (Gilyak) who was to be given lodgings: as soon as the cry "nibach pritsch" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak warwars) was used to scrape and beat the snow from the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and ma was offered as a welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

/670 cont./

574 took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

484 574 The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather takes him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for the dogs of the newly arrived guest. Needless to say, he then stays there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

484 821 [114] In any case, however, the weather is first carefully checked, especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler in danger. During the several days of bad weather which detained me in the village of Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which overcomes the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the consultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides them on land as well as on sea journeys. On several occasions, however, I also had an opportunity to marvel at their knowledge of the climatic conditions of their country /671/ and the experiences that they had with them, for I had once made ready to continue my journey and found myself forced to return to the hated village where I had been received so inhospitably. On another occasion I reached the seacoast, which was 5-7 versts from the village, and continued my journey along it, but had to endure very bad weather and snowstorms. The Gilyak especially feared being surprised by an ady (north and northwest) or

[157] [114] [123] 821

/671 cont./

821 tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas the ladwilantsch (southeast wind), the tungyrsch and ngaluws (1)

[104] 1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French z.

(west and southwest wind), and the kongrsch (south wind) cause

[484] them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

[823] 2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: ady, tschlangi, kongrsch, and tungyrsch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Duĭ to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

[782] [789]

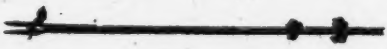

Magic arrow for exorcising storms.

821 789 782 front of the sleds of the travelers. In the village itself several methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a square piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing tinder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the stormy ady-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

/671 cont./

821 782 789 others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pur-

3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

poseful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

576 [574] [127] I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too. 576 177 648 [123] With me they likewise constantly came and went without a salutation, or at most, later, with a "sdrástwui" and "proschtschái" learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Ssan-ssin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

576 574 But what surprised me even more is the fact that the word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

576 /672 cont. / with regard to me,
123 however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I,
too, never received any thanks from the Gilyak. I am not think-
[735] ing now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak
houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which
mainly children are urged forward. They may never have learned
to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amaze-
ment at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak
greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable
reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their
dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they
could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other
things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the
then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiko, that an investigation was
made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of
wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was
convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation.
Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the
best and most respected Gilyak.

On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to
431 exchange small gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer,
123 perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received
such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told
that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I
was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that,
in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift
in return, while repeating the same word /673/ pai. If the latter
were not done, the objects offered in return would be rejected,
and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was
even told in what form the return gift should be, for example,
that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, sev-
431 eral buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon
acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely
examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never
deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with
the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not
[439] by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy
natures, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

431 /673 cont./ This
439 custom may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations
177 of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Ssan-
648 ssin, as well as in Ssiranussi, have their officials and trade agents who demand such captatio benevolentiae in their own interest and to the detriment of the government or the trading houses concerned.

437 Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, pai. And this is precisely what Judin did when, in the transaction with the Russian-American Company for the sizable sum that he received for compensation, he wanted to be given various costly fabrics and other luxury items.

437 I must say for the Gilyak, however, that as a rule one can
123 trust their word and their honesty in business dealings with them,
157 for example, the delivery of wares or other articles paid for in advance. As guides, too, they are generally trustworthy; in fact, some of them so identified themselves with my interests that they occasionally even warned me against the thievish instincts of the population of this or that village which in their eyes was notoriously
114 bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very diffi-
157 cult to get guides for a trip, for as a rule the Gilyak are too suspi-
123 cious and fearful to give up their freedom and cast their lot in with that of the traveler. More than once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their exact knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening beside the blazing fire, with their communicativeness and cleverness. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deserted me. And that happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad snowstorm. The broad-soled Russian sled stubbornly stuck to the wet snow, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but to drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf larch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. No wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

/673 cont./

114 157 123 snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kullj before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

484 805 Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day-before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

484 804 805

/674 cont./

484 them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial
804 distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is
805 usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the
[192] Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspatj), with the derived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

805 It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat
821 further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

805 The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But
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[191]

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months.

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1. (cont.)
and the time from one new moon to another is called taktuk, like the moon itself. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /An Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 208.

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these have several different designations, not merely in one and the same place, but also in various parts of the Gilyak area. In particular there are those used by the Gilyak of the Amur River and the Amur-Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and, on the other hand, the others used in the interior and along the east coast of the island, by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak. I shall give them next as I noted them myself after repeated inquiries and shall later add a few remarks.

List of the Gilyak Names of the Months:

	on the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin	in the interior and on the east coast of Sakhalin
January . . .	Tscham-long	Klu-long.
February . .	Karr-long	Tscham-long.
March	Tschrad-long	Karr-long.
April	Arkail-long	Tschrad-long.
May	Walten tengi-long, also Kopengwa-l. and Kittägtsch-l. (2) . . .	Pittun-long.

[114]

2. In the Gilyak word-list compiled by Dr. Grube the last two terms have erroneously been applied to April instead of to May: see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, pp. 44, 58, 59, and 120 /the appendix

/675 cont./

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[114]

2. (cont.)
referred to is not included in the book translated here/. Tschrad-long (March) is likewise erroneously identified with July (op. cit., p. 108).

/676/

June	Tengi-wota-long, . . . also Pota-long	Arkail-long.
July	Matschn-tschrar-long . .	Tscho-taghr-long.
August . . .	Lygi-wota-l., also Pilja-tschrar-l., and simply Pilja-l.	Matschki-long.
September . .	Ngarwi-long, also Tschitsch-ngar-long	Pilja-long.
October . . .	Oni-lami-long, also Pottschawo-long . . .	Ngadgho-long.
November . .	Tlo-long	Kawekö-long.
December . .	Anj-long	Tlo-long.

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Unfortunately, Glehn does not indicate in which of the two above-named parts of the Gilyak area he learned their names for the months. According to him, they run as follows:

January, February, March } just as according to me.

April . . . Pitul-long.

May . . . Arschkai-long.

/676 cont./

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June . . Tingi-long and Tingivata-long.

July
August } are not given.
September

October . . Iging-long and Mugiti-long.

November . Klu-long and Anj-long (in the north).

December . Tschlo-long.

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From the fact that the first three months in Glehn bear exactly the same names as I noted down according to statements of the Gilyak of the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin, I venture to conclude that he, too, inquired about them there. The same is true for June, whose name refers to the mass migration of the tengi-tscho (Salmo proteus), which, according to him, is called tingi-tscho. The other names of the months found in Glehn, however, seem to me to have been learned among the Tro Gilyak.

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My knowledge of the Gilyak language does not extend far enough to explain all the names of the months given above. For only a few of them shall I venture a word or two of explanation. It could readily be assumed that they are based upon especially striking natural phenomena and conditions characteristic of the month concerned, which, however, with regard to time, might now and then differ considerably in the habitation area of the Gilyak. This happens particularly in the case of the mass migration upstream of Salmo lagocephalus in the Amur and in the Tymy River on Sakhalin and calls forth among the dwellers along the latter a corresponding shift in the names of the months as compared to the Amur Gilyak, as I have already mentioned in detail on another occasion (1). In a similar manner, /677/ the

1. Pages 819-823.

/677 cont./

805 Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for
184 January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound
805 of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-
184 month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the
825 former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas
[439] of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese
000 origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long --

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3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

/677 cont./

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3. (cont.)
des Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the Topographical Knowledge of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 539), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jirij; see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

805 In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long--
184
114 a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for December (anj-long), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tlo-long, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tschlo-long, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-long, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which presumably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is arkail, which remains unintelligible to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the
805 individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that arkail-long (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

/678 cont./

805 when the river becomes free of ice September -- when the kalchalch geese (Anser grandis) migrate, and November -- when an ice cover again forms on the Amur and much snow falls. The uncertainty in which the Gilyak live in general with regard to the current month naturally makes fixing a date further in the future especially difficult among them.

The twelve months of the year are distributed very unequally into the individual seasons of the year by the Gilyak. Actually, they distinguish only two seasons: winter (tulf or tulv-anj) and summer (tolf or tolv-anj), for which the decisive factor is probably whether they live in their winter or summer dwellings. Accordingly, there are seven months (October to April) in the former, five (May to September) in the latter. Autumn (tylf or tylv-anj) and spring (chonf or chonv-anj) hardly count at all, and one very seldom hears them mentioned. But if the distinction is made, each of these seasons has only one month -- they are the months of the customary transfer from the summer dwellings to the winter ones and vice versa, in October and April, respectively. In this case, then, there are among the Gilyak:

5 months of winter -- November to March.
1 month of spring -- April.
5 months of summer --- May to September.
1 month of autumn -- October.

821 In connection with the reckoning of time, a few words might be said about the cosmic conceptions of the Gilyak. As a result of the visible rising and setting of the sun, the Gilyak naturally assume that the earth (mif) stands fast and the sun (keng) moves about it. On the basis of the circular horizon, they believe further that the earth has the shape of a circular disk. As a rule they do not give any account of where the sun stays after it has set and night has fallen, and to my question concerning this they answered, amid smiles, with a counterquestion as to whether I had seen it then. From the constant succession of day and night,

/678 cont./

82 the thought of a continuous movement of the sun around the earth and thus an alternation of day and night on the side of the earth turned toward or away from it did come to the deeper thinkers among them, such as Iutschin and Ruigun --a thought which immediately gave rise to the question as to whether there were also animals and men on the other side of the earth. Moreover, the idea that the earth did not have a disk-shape, but a globular-shaped form was accepted by them more easily than I had imagined According to their view, the stars moved around the earth just like the sun. They have, however, a cosmic conception of them advanced to the point that they regard them as celestial bodies similar to the earth, which appear so small to them only because of the great distance. This /679/ undoubtedly arose from their indiscriminate use of the designations unghyr, "star," and unghyr-mif, "earth-star." Some of the constellations bear special names among them. For example, the three stars in the tail of the Great Bear are called tscharw(u)kritsch, the four in its body njagrnjo (1), that is, rats' storehouse; a constellation with

[192] 1. In the Tymy dialect; njo = njö on the mainland.

numerous stars near the Great Bear, perhaps the Pleiades (?), bears the name lumr (sable) on the Amur and, on Sakhalin, taghr-njo, that is, storehouse of Tamias striatus, or also tamml-unghyr (many stars); the sword of Orion is called tschechwak, the Milky Way taighonantif, which means roughly "unknown way," etc. One of their first and most frequent questions was whether there were [756] human beings on the stars. To my answer that these objects were too small to be seen even with a telescope because of the great distance of the stars they replied with great assurance that nevertheless their shamans had seen them, and from their stories they firmly believed that on the stars there are tall trees and extensive forests, various animals, such as sable, otter, foxes, bears, dogs, etc., and, finally, even human beings. These human beings, whom they called, again indiscriminately,

/679 cont./

821 sometimes unghyr-nibǎch (star men) and sometimes unghyr-mif-nibǎch (star-earth men), were of especially gigantic stature, the eyebrows bushy, the nose long and strong, etc. Occasionally an [756] earth man might meet a star man, and the shamans knew how one would have to behave toward him. The story of such a meeting followed, but unfortunately I was unable to follow it in its fantastic and confused details.

128 If for the moment, however, we glance away from the shamans, their arts, conjuring the spirits, dances, and songs, to which a later section of this work will be devoted, and still dwell on the phenomena of the everyday social life of the Gilyak, a few remarks concerning their amusements, songs, music, dances, and games remain.

533 The minds of the Gilyak are turned too much toward more sober, serious, and practical purposes, such as acquisition, trade, and profit, for them to devote themselves much or often to singing. In particular I have never heard them sing at the bear festivals or at other occasional gatherings for the purpose of amusing or pleasing themselves and others. Only when the Gilyak knows that he is alone and unobserved and in the stillness of Nature surrounding him, does a melancholy mood come over him as he is sitting, for instance, beside the dying fire in the silent forest or drifting down the river in a light boat with the wind still and without the stroke of an oar -- only in such and similar cases have I heard him sing in the daytime, and then the prolonged gutteral notes of his song come over to one sounding so monotonous and melancholy. 533 On the other hand, he very often sings at night in order to shorten 513 the slowly creeping, sleepless hours. Stretched out on the sleeping bench under his dog-fur coat, he begins to sing in a loud voice, unconcerned about the repose of his neighbors and the other sleepers. When he has finished a stanza, a gutteral ga usually comes from here /680/ or there as a sign that he has found a fellow-sufferer and his song should by all means go on. With this encouragement, a second stanza follows, then a third, etc. Sometimes it is a man, sometimes a woman, who renders the nocturnal song or the encouraging ga. Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I

533 /680 cont. /Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I
513 myself, or more often my men, put a stop to it. The Gilyak,
[123] however, are perfectly accustomed to this disturbance of the
night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. It
533 is the same among the other natives of the lower Amur region,
513 Olcha, Samagir, Goldi (1), only among them the call of ga urging
171

[113]

1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but when he once asked them to repeat their songs in the evening by the fire, they explained unanimously and with a sort of religious awe that it was sinful to sing at night (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Histor. Bericht /Journey around the World, Historical Report/, Vol. II, p. 354). Perhaps the Russians taught them this so as not to be disturbed during their night's rest.

the continuation of the song is replaced by a nasal kä, kä (2).

[113]

2. Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/," Zap., Sibirsk. Otd. Georg. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 29) relates that an Ainu in the village of Tschikapergunai, after drinking sake, had begun to sing a song, an improvisation about his voyage. As soon as he stopped, all the Ainu called out in unison the words kä, kä, i.e., more, more, in order to make him keep on singing, and so it went on endlessly. Hooper (Ten months among the Tents of the Tuski, London, 1853, p. 137) similarly reports that the Chukchee, as spectators at such performances as dancing, imitations of the Eskimo, etc., which take place among them, express their approval with the words kah! kah!, which means the same as da capo.

/680 cont./

513 On the whole, it is surprising how often and readily the Gilyak,
171 or Olcha, etc., interrupts his night's sleep even apart from the nocturnal singing, he abandons his bed as soon as sleep leaves his eyelids, gets up, squats in front of the hearth, stirs up the fire in it or on it, smokes one pipe after another, etc. But I never
[123] saw him, day or night, pace back and forth in the yurt, and whenever I did it, which was not infrequent on stormy days which permitted no activity in the open, this walking back and forth, inexplicable to them, evoked general amazement and smiles among those present, indeed, sometimes a direct question as to the purpose of it.

533 Since I rarely heard the Gilyak sing in the daytime, for the reasons given above, a statement by Middendorff about this, which I found among his handwritten notes left for me to use, is all the more interesting to me. My predecessor in the northern Amur region (3) became acquainted with the Gilyak at the Tugur

3. It is well known that Middendorff crossed the northern river system of the Amur from the mouth of the Tugur and via the Amgunj /Amgun/, the Bureja /Bureya/, and Dseja /Zeya/ to Ustj-Strelka, at the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and Argunj /Argun/ to the Amur (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615-625).

and Ulbanj Bays, that is to say, at their extreme northwestern boundary, to which he had come in the company of some Yakut and Tungus. Through the latter his attention was called to the fact that there were some accomplished singers among the inhabitants of the place, and he requested them to exhibit their art. At first they refused; then one sang for a while, but soon, perhaps becoming embarrassed, he broke into laughter, whereupon all the others followed him. Now each one had to step forward in turn. In general they sang with far more melody than the Yakut, but gutteral and /681/ nasal trills also always played an important

533 part. In pithy and drastic language, after a statement about the music concerned, Middendorff characterizes the style of singing of the individual singers. "First, the Gilyak Lamran stepped forward. He had a pleasant voice and truly a great deal of skill. During the singing one could hear only a few words besides anga -- ynga, and it seems as though these words, used as an introduction and refrain with each song, had no meaning, but simply belonged to the singing. Here are the notes:

1. 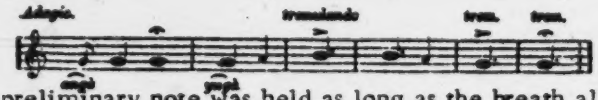

The preliminary note was held as long as the breath allowed and formed (without words) the introduction. The trill is a gutteral trill and is likewise held a long time. Since Lamran held a very pure note and also had an acceptable vibrant gutteral trill, this slow style was very pleasant, but not a little melancholy.

The second singer was the Gilyak Dsheien, and his melody the following:

2. 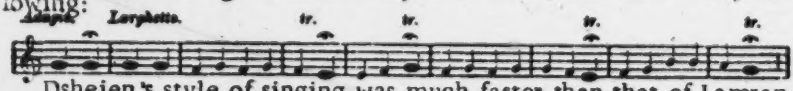

Dsheien's style of singing was much faster than that of Lamran, but the over-all impression was somewhat sad. Although the holding of the gutteral trills was also the most important thing for him, a special virtuosity was added: in holding the note, he suddenly acted as if he were losing his breath and as if someone were choking him, so that one became quite fearful and afraid that he would suffocate, but then the word begun came out quite clearly. Moreover, in between there was a sort of belching and sobbing, during which only the beginning of the word was pronounced, as by a stutterer, for example, an --- anga; then the loss of breath and the sobbing and belching fol-

3.

lowed, and then the anga came out clearly This did not merely introduce the whole and the various stanzas, but was even frequently inserted between individual words.

Finally the Gilyak Njaungur stepped forward as third. He sang as follows: /see No. 3 above/

/681 cont./

533 Njaungur showed special virtuosity in singing: even the melody was much more varied than the previous ones; in addition, however, he, too, produced the stuttering, the loss of voice, strangulation and the stopping of the gutteral sounds, besides the subsequent belching out /682/ of the words like greater skill, and, moreover, besides the sobbing gutteral trill, he also made a falsetto nasal trill. In his case the trills, and especially the latter, reminded one vividly of the vibrating sound of the jew's-harp. These trills require a great deal of practice, and it is impossible for us to hold them so long and to produce them so clearly. It is also interesting physiologically that in producing these trills the soft palate plays an important role."

Middendorff continues: "From all these songs the differences caused by the individuality of the singers became clear: whereas Lamran, with a good voice and a clear trill, had in his way a melancholy, pleasant, and grave style of singing, the other two singers were like our artistic virtuosos who play violin variations on the cello. Along with the singing it must also be kept in [194] mind that the Gilyak language, and thus also the anga, sounds as though the nose had a chicken wishbone clamped on it; in addition there is the childish pronunciation of the r, which sounds as though it were midway between the r, g, and l and which is connected with d, g, and h, and, furthermore, the French ng, the English th and w, the g combined with d, etc."

114 533 Middendorff also noted down the words of the last two songs, but unfortunately I must disregard them here since they cannot be even approximately deciphered. And this should not surprise one, for, in view of the traveler's very short sojourn among the Gilyak, the many and very peculiar sounds of their language must have sounded most strange and bewildering to his ear, which was as yet wholly unaccustomed to them. And there is also the circumstance, making comprehension more difficult to so great a degree, that the singer has the greatest freedom to change and to modulate the words as he pleases to make them fit his rhythm and melody -- a freedom which he does not give up as a rule even in repeating the words, because they were once impressed upon his memory this way during the singing. Hence it is more than doubtful that an interpreter, of

/682 cont./

533 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among
114 the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song; instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also
[126] the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under the title of Walghytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only

1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list; see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p. 41 /this appendix is not included in the book translated here/.

on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection with the /683/ place Mlygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two
[439] musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, accordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood, and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining attached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

/683 cont./

534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

517 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the
533 sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw
534 forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

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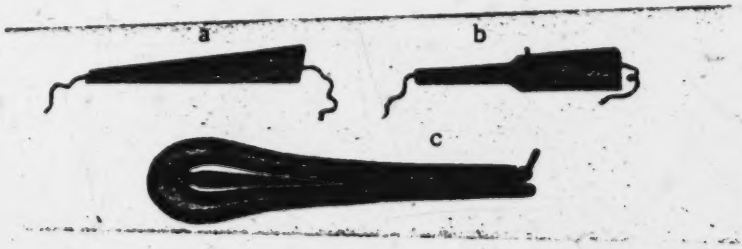

Gilyak jew's-harps.

517
533 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy.
534 And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.

/684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar
534 to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak tyngrsch, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-
[824] casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means
[923] of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

/684 cont./

534 The gut string is fastened to the short end and from there runs over
[192] a bridge set up on the fish skin (Gilyak twua, as in the case of the bow) to the other end of the stick, where there is a device for keeping the string taut. The fiddle bow (Gilyak tyngr-puntsch) is sharply curved and strung with horsehair (Gilyak kich). The string, of course, is played between the bridge and the long end of the
[191] stick stuck through the cylinder-casing. The instrument seems to me, judging also by its name, to be of Olcha, Goldi, or at any rate Tungusic origin. I saw it and heard it played only in Kidsi, and the monotonous and melancholy melody was very similar to those of the Gilyak.

535 It is very characteristic of the serious, sober, and practical state of mind of the Gilyak that in the course of two years I never saw dancing either at their bear festivals or on any other occasion; apparently this type of social entertainment does not appeal to them at all. Middendorff encountered it, but it took place under quite extraordinary circumstances: it was in Burukan, a place which the Gilyak visit only for trade; the Tungus, presumably excited by alcohol, performed a wild demonic dance, into which the Gilyak, at first only spectators, finally let themselves be drawn (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p 1486.

Otherwise, they said, they did not do it, as Middendorff, too, remarks in his handwritten notes. And at the time their entire behavior revealed this. Whereas the Tungus in their short, tight-fitting fur-jackets moved nimbly and skillfully, the movements of the Gilyak, who kept on their long dog-fur coats reaching down to their calves, were bear-like and extremely stiff and awkward. Moreover, when they tried to imitate the former, the dance always soon ended in exhaustion and a loud burst of laughter, because they felt so childishly silly behaving in this, to them, completely strange and foreign manner.

545 It seemed no less surprising to me to find nothing among
171 the Gilyak that might suggest the performance of masquerades or

/684 cont./

545 171 theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks, etc. whereas other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great delight in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /685/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected [157] for the purpose (1). The Gilyak seem to have such a sober frame

1. Concerning the theatrical performances of the Aleuts see in particular: Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Part II, pp. 85, 93. With regard to the Eskimo, see above, pp. 492-498.

of mind that they are not capable of illusion.

527 [526] Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for their very active participation in preparing the latter, play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a 128 chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section, devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on the program for it and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

524 439 Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak game which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese; I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small, Chinese playing-cards, which Chinese traders bring from the Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory of the Goldi and Olcha (2), and thus into the hands of the Gilyak.

[171] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 198) saw for example, these Chinese playing

2: Schrenck--1111 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

G 524 439 171

/685 cont./

2. (cont.)
cards, the game being played with 120
cards, in use among the Goldi of Ykka.

G 524 525 171

The latter have only the expression pai, that is, gratis or free, for card-playing, proof of the harmless fashion in which it has been practiced up to now. In fact, in my time the Gilyak only played for tobacco, which, in view of the common enjoyment of each pipe of tobacco as a rule, even more reveals it as an entirely harmless pleasure. But they knew that the "Manchu" (Chinese) made a quite different use of it and played for much higher stakes. Przewalski describes how widespread the card game is among the Chinese in the upper Ussuri and the adjacent coastal area, especially along the Zymu-che and Ssutschan, where during the winter unemployed riffraff spend entire days and nights playing cards and cause the ruin of many a formerly rich houseowner (3). Under

3. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 90.

these circumstances it is surprising that it has not spread more rapidly down the Amur and that it has not found favorable soil in particular among the greedy and acquisitive Gilyak. It is undoubtedly because of the energy with which the latter have been able to keep the Chinese away. In the meantime it may also have been carried to them by the Russians.

Gi 648

Before I start the description of the bear festival of the Gilyak, I must cast a brief comparative glance at the peoples immediately adjacent to them, the Olcha and Goldi, with regard to the social and co-operative relations touched on above.

/686/ In my time, after the official Manchu-Chinese trade center of Deren was abandoned sometime in the twenties the Olcha, like the Gilyak, were not tributary to either China or Russia Only if one or the other went to the Sungari to trade did they have to pay, as has been mentioned above (1), to the

Gi [439]

1. Cf. p. 950.

Gi 648 [439] /686 cont./

officials in Ssan-ssin a certain amount of tribute in order to obtain permission to do so. Nevertheless there was a very noticeable difference in the position of these two peoples with respect to the rule over them, abandoned only recently and to a certain extent compulsorily by the Manchu-Chinese. Henceforth the more energetic Gilyak paid no attention to the district elders appointed by the Manchu-Chinese government for the purpose of collecting tribute and previously disliked by them, and permitted neither a Manchu official nor a Chinese trader to enter their territory. The gentler and more fearful Olcha, however, did not have the courage for such a decision; they were still afraid of a return of Manchu-Chinese domination and of the events that seem to have followed the abandonment of the trade center of Deren located in their territory (2). This fear can be explained in part by the fact that

G [648]

2. See pp. 978-982 above.

the lower Goldi immediately adjacent to them and the Samagir on the Gorin still remained under Manchu-Chinese rule and the Olcha received many a fugitive and immigrant from there. In part it was also fostered by the fact that the Chinese traders staying here and there among the Olcha, freed from any kind of control, such as had formerly been exercised by the Manchu officials in Deren, now treated the Olcha with even more imperiousness and audacity, especially since they found among them long-customary, humble submissiveness.

Gi 648 181 556

The fear of a return of Manchu-Chinese rule and the accompanying insecurity with regard to property, as well as, on the other hand, the Tungusic nature of the Olcha with its much less industriousness and gain-seeking in comparison with the Gilyak, further explain the fact that greater or lesser prosperity does not by far play as considerable a role among them as among the Gilyak, and the social organization which has developed on the basis of it is more or less missing among them. Not that there are no wealthy individuals among them, for example, Todo in Tschiloi, who was one of the few Olcha who even owned a lynx-fur coat (3).

Gi 556

3. See p. 579 above.

Gi /686 cont./
556 But wealth does come into consideration to the extent that it does among the Gilyak, and those blessed with it do not enjoy nearly as much esteem, moral influence, and popularity as among the latter. But the reason for this, too, in large part is again the
G [157] greater industriousness and gain-seeking of the Gilyak. If one of them acquires a certain amount of wealth, he continues unceasingly to try to increase it by buying new furs in the neighborhood and on trade voyages, through which his name and reputation /687/ will become known far and wide in the country. The
G [157] Olcha, on the other hand, are decidedly of a more indolent and more easily satisfied nature in this respect.

Gi 181 171 Another social trait that distinguishes the Olcha from the Gilyak is that their communism does not work merely within the boundaries of tribal affiliation nearly as much as is the case among the latter. And this is explained by the fact that, while, to be sure, they are most like the Gilyak in their way of life, their customs and practices, on the other hand they are surrounded by closely related Tungusic tribes with whom they have many character traits in common and whose dialects are readily intelligi-
Gi [735] ble to them. Thanks to this considerably lessened national consciousness, the individual man, to be sure, finds among them, in case of need, no such support by his more prosperous countrymen as among the Gilyak, but, on the other hand, a decidedly milder and more humane spirit than among the latter prevails over the whole.

Gi 42 224 Evidence that the Olcha, and likewise the Goldi, Samagir, etc., do not limit their communism to such narrow tribal boundaries as the Gilyak is given by the hunting customs already discussed above (1). On the Gorin, for instance, the Olcha,

1. See p. 910.

Goldi, and Samagir have their hunting tents, but these stand open, with their household and hunting equipment, to all hunters, regardless of what nationality they are, with the tacit presupposition that no pilfering of the hunting booty or implements

/687 cont./
421 will take place. An honesty going beyond the tribal boundaries
224 is therefore also presupposed. And I myself have had the oppor-
42 tunity to see that such does in fact exist. In one hunting tent,
114 for example, I saw a whole musk deer, not yet skinned, which
439 I wanted to buy. The owner, however, an Olcha, was absent,
and the tent was empty when I arrived. My guide, a Goldi, ex-
pressed the opinion that the transaction could easily be carried
out and that the animal was not worth more than a bundle of
[211] tobacco leaves. I increased the price to two bundles, whereupon,
in the place where the animal had been, he put a wooden stick
with notches, one of which, the upper notch, indicated that one
animal had been bought, and the notches put below on another
side gave the number of articles in kind paid for it. When later
on by accident I met the same Olcha on the Amur, he confirmed
that he had received the price mentioned for the musk deer and
was quite satisfied with the trade. The Olcha, Goldi, and
421 Samagir have the same respect for the property of a traveler; in
685 their villages I never discovered any pilfering of my property,
[123] let alone theft with violence, such as may occur among the Gilyak.
[171] True, this does not always happen out of honesty, but rather in
part their greater contentment and less striving to increase their
possessions keep them from doing it, as well as in part their more
timid and apprehensive nature.

/688/ Finally, hospitality among the Olcha and other
574 Tungusic tribes is far less nationally colored than among the Gilyak.
576 It has more eager helpfulness and kindness associated with it and is
177 expressed in more civil and friendly ways. Sometimes the host of
[171] the house receives one at the door, bows his head in greeting or
utters a friendly ssoro-de, good day, and, with a motion of his
hand, invites one to enter. Occasionally, a knee is bent before
the traveler, as the Samagir and Goldi usually do, and, to be
sure, the latter in all the more humble a form the farther upstream
one travels; that is, the closer one comes to the Manchu and
Chinese; in fact, the upper Goldi, in bending a knee, may even
put the palms of their hands together as though in supplication.
In the house the host spreads a small rug on the sleeping bench for

Gi /688 cont./
574 the traveler and puts a low table and a basin with glowing embers
576 (jachalacco) beside it; indeed, he may even light his pipe at the
177 embers and offer it to the guest in the hope that the latter will do likewise -- clearly customs borrowed from the Manchu and Chinese. In the meantime, the women have taken the baggage of the traveler from the sled and have brought it into the house.

Gi In the houses of the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir one is very
574 pleasantly impressed by the lighter atmosphere so much freer of
576 superstitious restraints. Despite many contacts with them, I
171 never heard any Olcha or Goldi expression for the Gilyak uïtsch,
[123] and none expressed in reiterated shouts from all sides of the yurt as a sign of general displeasure, such as happened to me so often
000 among the Gilyak (1). They are much too modest and reserved

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1. On the basis of the many uïtsch in the Gilyak yurts I likewise made the observance of three uïtsch mandatory for the Gilyak who frequented my house in the Nikolayev post. Namely, they could not: 1) sit on my bed, 2) spit in the middle of the floor, and 3) smoke their own tobacco, but only mine -- an uïtsch that they accepted gladly.

Gi they are much too modest and reserved
574 for that. Finally, I must note a sign of more humane feeling
576 or at least more civil formality among the Olcha and Goldi:
171 the expression of gratitude, which appears so utterly alien to the Gilyak, I think I heard repeatedly among the former in the expression fodomonero.

Gi In my time, the situation among the Goldi in politico-
648 administrative respects was different than among the Gilyak and
175 Olcha. Even after the abandonment of the trading center of Deren, the Goldi, like the Samagir and the Orochi, remained tributary to the Manchu-Chinese government, a situation which did not come to an end until 1858, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun between Russia and China and the subsequent

648 /688 cont./
175 definitive occupation of the lower Amur region by the Russians.
648 In order to collect the tribute (Goldi álba), the Manchu-Chinese
177 government made use of the traditional organization of the Amur
622 peoples according to the paternal kin-groups /Geschlechtern/ or
631 tribes /Stämmen/ (hala) and for each of them appointed a tribal elder (halada), who had to collect the tribute and keep a record of it, as well as of the deaths and births that occurred in his tribe, /689/ and give an account of this to a Manchu official, who was obliged to travel through the country from time to time, and hand over the tribute collected. Originally, the office of halada was said to be hereditary in each tribe. But since the individual tribes were spread over various villages, separated and confused, the division by tribes gradually changed into one by districts to which several villages belonged and in one of them the halada, usually appointed by the Manchu officials, had his residence. Mamia Rinsô became familiar with this administration of the lower Amur region by the Manchu-Chinese government in the place itself, first on Sakhalin, to which it extended at that time, and later in Deren and along the Amur River. In the speech of the Japanese, however, who replaces the letters l and d with r and t, the designation of the tribal elder, halada, took the form harata (1). Though the names of the tribes were retained for the

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1. See p. 972 above. The etymology of the term used by this same traveler for the second-elder of the tribe, kasinta, is unknown to me.

648 Though the names of the Tribes were retained for the
631 districts, nevertheless with this division of people and land, which
619 was more suitable for administrative purposes, the awareness of
622 tribal affiliation was bound to disappear more and more among the people. For example, the Goldi Dshinga, on whose story the above data and the following handwritten notes by Maximowicz are based, had to think a long time about the name of his own tribe, whereas he could enumerate the villages under
648 a halada without hesitation. This predominance of an administra-
631 tive point of view among the Goldi, as it was taught them by the
622

/689 cont./

648 631 622 Manchu-Chinese government, in contrast to the idea of the kall among the Gilyak (2), which is conditioned altogether by family

2. See pp. 1063 ff.

relations, the laws of inheritance, and blood revenge, constitutes a very characteristic difference between these peoples. The 648 631 622 103 halada whom Dshinga could enumerate were: a Gilyak in Tschomi, an Olcha in Uchtr, Kasm, and Gauwne, although there had been none among the Gilyak and Olcha for a long time, and a number of Goldi, for instance, in Köurmi, one halada to whom the Samagir villages on the Gorin were also subject, in Zollazi, Dsongmi, Odshal, Boolan, Emero, Katar, and Kewurda, for the Kewur River emptying from the left below the Ussuri, etc. Also the names of several tribes and of the villages over which they had spread were known to him, for example: the Tummala hala with the villages of Belho, Chome, etc.; the Ssioiger hala with 13 villages and among them Odshob; the Bjelde hala embracing the villages of Daisso, Dole, Dshare, Kjaure, Ssoja, Chula, and others; the Possar hala with the villages of Mare, Tolho, Adseko, Dondon, Da, Gassieng; the Geikar or Onni hala with the villages of Naiche, Dyrerga, Boaza; the Dsjads'chor hala, in part likewise in Tolho and Da; the Kilengko hala, in part living in Gassieng; the Achtar hala in Ssündaka; the Udi hala in Kewurda, etc.

648 631 622 [485] In addition to his above-mentioned duties, the halada is also responsible for the upkeep of the little tribute house (giassa) located in his district and serving for the temporary stay of a Manchu official traveling through, and for taking care of him with regard to supplies of fish, boat repairs, and the like. These little tribute houses, one of which, for example, /690/ is located opposite the village of Mylki on the right bank of the Amur on a river inlet formed by an island, look like a palisaded [203] Goldi dauro. During the time of the stay of the Manchu official in the giassa, the halada must arrange for spreading the news of it over as general and wide an area as possible so that those who have not yet paid their tribute may appear there.

/690 cont./

648 The tribute consists of one sable pelt per male soul, and
651 everybody who is older than 15 is obligated to pay it. Every tribute-payer receives a gift in return, which may consist, depending on the circumstances, of several pieces of various Chinese cotton fabrics, which are known among the Goldi under the names of ssamssa, ssangnja, chodo-bosso, and amba-bosso, of white, blue, or red color, the two first ones of four fathoms each in length, the chodo-bosso of eight, and the amba-bosso of ten. The number of pieces of cloth given in return for the tributary sable depends on the greater or lesser quantity of cotton material available in Itscha-choton. In 1855, for instance, the Manchu in Itscha-choton allowed only four pieces of ssamssa and two pieces of chodo-bosso in return for the tribute, whereas in former years they gave four pieces of ssamssa, eight pieces of ssangnja, and one piece of amba-bosso for each tributary sable. Moreover, the Manchu allow more for the tributary sable if one travels to Itscha-choton in person than if one delivers it to the official locally.

648 The halada is distinguished from the rest by the fact that he
651 pays two sables in tribute annually and, in exchange, receives
622 not only the cotton fabrics, but also a piece of silk. If a new halada is appointed, however, he must first make an inauguration journey to Itscha-choton, which costs him a number of sables. In return, he receives the right to wear a Chinese official's hat with a small dark-blue glass button.

Since, as a rule, the halada have no idea of the number of natives dwelling in their area and the account obligatorily made for Manchu official, showing both the number of tribute-payers and the number of deaths and births that have occurred in the meantime, is likewise extremely faulty, and, furthermore, since everyone tries to avoid paying tribute as much as possible and, if he does not succeed, must pay double and triple the amount as a penalty, the collection of tribute becomes an altogether arbitrary act and gives rise to violence and extortions
648 of all kinds. There is hardly a Manchu official who will let such an opportunity go by without enriching himself at the expense of the natives, and they are therefore generally feared

/690 cont./

648 and despised by the Goldi and, though outwardly treated humbly, are designated with the nickname ssingare, rats, behind their backs, because, like the latter, they devour their principal item of wealth, sable furs.

648 177 157 The constant prospect of being forcibly plundered by the Manchu officials and the feeling of powerlessness with regard to the Chinese traders who make them their permanent debtors through advances of all kinds of goods, especially liquor, tobacco, cloth, and the like deprive the Goldi of all pleasure and enjoy-
[461] ment in property and in increasing it. Added to this is the disruption of their family relations caused by the latter /691/ as well as their indifference and indolence toward setting to work unless forced to do so by dire need, which is more or less characteristic of all primitive peoples, but especially of the
[511] carefree Tungus. These living conditions and character traits of the Goldi are the reason why, in spite of the wealth of large game and fish in their homeland, they are far from living in prosperity like the Olcha and the Gilyak, and it is not so decisive a factor in their social relations.

648 157 The same reasons also explain their somewhat depressed and fearful demeanor as a rule, which is in sharp contrast to the self-reliance and frankness of the Gilyak. Their submissiveness toward the Manchu-Chinese goes so far that they always try to say what will please them and do not dare express anything that might in any way be unpleasant to them; therefore, if they observe this or are afraid of it, they are immediately prepared to maintain the opposite of what has just been said. This be-
157 123 havior in relation to their tyrannical rulers has become part of their nature, and they felt obliged, as guides and oarsmen on our boats, to observe it toward us. For instance, the answer to our question as to whether it was still far to the next village was "Yes, far," and, if merely a slight, unpleasant doubt were expressed about it on our part, it was immediately said, "No, it is near." They therefore first liked to sound out one's own opinion and give the answer accordingly, or they simply say nossa, "I do not know," or more naïvely: bichaissa, ssisare, "How should I know, you know it" -- an answer which often,

/691 cont./

157 especially in matters which were certainly well known to them,
123 made us angry. But the exceedingly great goodheartedness, peacefulness, honesty, and lightheartedness of these people always made up to us for their faults, taught to them by the Manchu-
648 Chinese. The Manchu-Chinese government, constantly dogging
123 the footsteps of the Russians in the Amur region, had forbidden
122 the Goldi to serve us as guides or as oarsmen on our boats. This prohibition, however, was not observed by them, because they did not have the strength to resist the good wages which we offered them and probably also saw nothing wrong in disobeying the hated Manchu as long as there was no danger to themselves involved. But they anxiously avoided every village where a government official was staying, and once, when they did not succeed in this and caught sight of him, their fear was so great that they wanted to get out of their obligation to us immediately and to run away without having received their wages, which we were able to prevent only by threatening them with force. That in no way disturbed our good relations, for, as soon as they had recovered from their fright, they were glad not to have lost their wages, and soon their former willingness and friendliness, indeed,
526 even cheerfulness appeared again. When we landed during the day
[533] for a meal or stopped for a day of rest, after several days of travel,
[527] there was always something for passing the time, sometimes singing, sometimes some game, either a native one or one learned from the Manchu-Chinese, several of which we became acquainted with in this way among the Goldi. Sometimes, for example, a rope, the one that was used to drag the boat upstream, was swung back and forth by two men, while /692/ a third made various evolutions over it in such a way that the rope could always swing back and forth unimpeded--a game that was called tabbaterē: first the one involved threw himself down on all fours and, alternately supported on his arms or on his feet, let the rope swing through; then he lay flat on his back, threw his legs in the air, and jumped over the rope with his arms, etc. After about three or four evolutions of different character, as soon as the rope came to

/692 cont./

526 a standstill, another man stepped in (1). Sometimes there was

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1. According to Castrén (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845-1849, p. 223), this game also occurs among the Tungus on the Yenisei, who exhibit an extraordinary adroitness at it, in that, while jumping over the swinging rope, they pick up a bow and arrows from the ground, draw the bow, and shoot the arrows -- indeed, in the same way especially bold persons among them are said to expose their legs to the blade of a bear-ax which a person stretched out on the ground swings around with the greatest force.

competitive wrestling (Goldi ngwatschê), sometimes competitive jumping, either on one leg (toomendí) or on both, but with the legs close together and without a running start (derindí), for which the important thing was to give oneself a swing forward by a forceful movement of the arms; the one who threw the other
524 to the ground or made the longest jump was the victor. On another occasion, our Goldi drew a chessboard on the wet sand of the bank and played various chess or, more properly, checker-like games on it with two kinds of small wooden sticks. One of them, which I watched and which they called "Manchu" after its origin, or tonga (five) anaká after the number of wooden sticks on both sides, consisted of the following. The square chessboard was divided into 4 × 4 small squares or fields; the players were given five specially marked sticks each, which they first placed on two opposite sides at the points where the lines bordering the fields intersected. Alternately each player was allowed to make a move forward, backward, or sideways along these lines, but not diagonally across the field. As soon as two sticks of one player were behind one another on the same horizontal or vertical line and a stick of the opponent was immediately in front of them,

Goldi RX3
Olcha

/692 cont./

524 it was removed, and this continued until all the sticks of one or
[177] the other player were eliminated. As the special term for this
game (tonga-anaká) in itself indicates, the Goldi surely have
various others of the same type, which they in part may have
learned from the Manchu or Chinese and in part put together
themselves.

Now and then they also passed the time with a song ren-
533 dered by one or another of them. One who particularly distin-
171 guished himself in this respect was a young Goldi by the name of
177 Hykkerlaké, whom I had hired as a guide above the mouth of the
[122] Ussuri on my return trip down the Amur. Always in a good mood
and very talkative, he possessed an inexhaustible supply of not
only Goldi songs, but allegedly Manchurian and Chinese songs
as well, which he sang for me even en route, rowing his bark
canoe close to my boat, hooking onto it with one leg, and
letting himself be towed along. The Goldi songs, to be sure,
usually are also somewhat melancholy and solemn and, as a
rule, are sung with a drawn-out voice, but without the gutteral
tones which represent an essential attribute of the Gilyak songs,
and there is /693/ far more melody and euphony of language in
them. The Chinese songs, on the other hand, seemed very
artificial to me, not to say distorted, when sung by the Goldi.

Since in the discussion of the social relations of the Gilyak
805 their time-reckoning has also been considered above, a few re-
171 marks here on the same subject with regard to their neighbors
on the mainland, the Olcha and the Goldi, follow. In spite of
the already far advanced assimilation of the Olcha, in their way
of life and their customs, with the Gilyak, their time-reckoning
corresponds, not to that of the Gilyak, but to that of their south-
ern Tungusic neighbors, the Goldi and, so it seems, the Manchu.
805 In the handwritten notes of Maximowicz, who spent some time
among both peoples, I find the following notes on the subject.
"If one asks," it says there, "an Olcha or Goldi about their
division of time, the answer runs as a rule: 'How should we
know that, ask the Manchu or Chinese, who will tell you.'
To be sure, everyone is able to name one month or another
and also the season of the year into which it falls: obtua (winter),

/693 cont./

805 niengnia (spring), dshoa (summer), or bolo (autumn), but it usually does not go beyond that. In Mylki I finally met a Goldi who named 12 months for me, but I do not know whether all the names are Goldi or some perhaps of Manchurian or even of Chinese origin. According to him, these 12 months (bie) of the year (afnganie) are named as follows: Nguíren (when the ice begins to form on the river), Itschía (when the river is covered with a firm covering of ice), Gússe, Agdsema, Naúdsema, Chu, Chíela (when the ice breaks), Niúngun-bie (the sixth month), Nádan-bie (the seventh month), Dshákfun-bie (the eighth month), Chújun-bie (the ninth month), and Dshóan-bie (the tenth month). But in spite of his assertion that the year had only 12 months (bie), he then named a thirteenth one, Pótkianko, in which the salmon species daua (Salmo lagocephalus) is caught and much jukola is
805 prepared from it." In Odshal, moreover, Maximowicz became
221 acquainted with a Goldi who in part confirmed the above information for him and in part supplemented it with the following, the natural conditions or activities of the Goldi and Olcha characterizing the individual months. "In Nguiren," he said, "when the river freezes over, people go to the mountains and forests to catch sables, and they do not return before the month of Chu-bie, after having hunted during the months of Itschia, Gusse, Agdsema, and Naúdsema. While the Goldi are hunting, the Olcha make their trading trips to the Orochi (which they do in part also during the summer). In Chiela the river opens up; one then catches adi (Acipenser orientalis) and uja (Cyprinus carpio) in abundance and dries what is not immediately consumed. The Nadan-bie is poor for fish. In Dshakfun-bie uru is caught and, below Kidsi, also sselke (Salmo lycaodon), as well as uja, kundu (Acip. schrenckii), and, sporadically and rarely, also adi. In Dshoan-bie and Potkianko the catching of daua and the preparation of jukola from it take place. With the month of Potkianko one begins the counting of the months in the year and counts (as is also the case among the Gilyak), not according to days, but according to nights."

/693 cont./

805 Needless to say, the 13 months of the Goldi cannot coincide exactly with our 12. Nevertheless the natural events and activities of the natives taking place in them /694/ indicate clearly enough the months to which the Goldi names refer. At one 805 184 point, by the way, the two informants of Maximowicz do not agree with each other: whereas the Mylki Goldi mentioned Potkianko as simply a thirteenth month, the Odshal Goldi designated it directly as the one with which the counting of the months, that is, the new year, begins. If one counts, accord- 805 171 ing to the statements by the Mylki Goldi, backward from the months designated only by numbers, one comes to Gûsse-bie as the first one in the year. In literal translation this is Tschamlong or eagle month, the January of the Gilyak. But I do not know whether the latter actually begin the counting of the months of the year with it, or whether this, as well as the name of the month among the Goldi and Gilyak respectively, is to be traced 805 back to Manchu-Chinese influence. As far as the Goldi are con- 221 cerned, we are told that their new year begins with Potkianko, the month when the mass migration of Salmo lagocephalus up the Amur takes place. This highly important event for all the dwellers on the Amur River and its tributaries commences at its mouth around the middle or end of August and continues farther upstream, in the territory of the Olcha and Goldi, throughout September and, in fact, in the Ussuri, even as late as October, with diminishing intensity, until the ice begins to form (1).

1. See p. 817 above.

805 Therefore just as August among the Gilyak on the mainland, but, 171 because of the later appearance of the mass migrations of Salmo 221 lagocephalus, for those on Sakhalin September is designated as pilja-tschrar-long or simply pilja-long, i.e., "great fish month" or simply "great month," so it seems to be among the Olcha and Goldi with their Potkianko, which occurs, earlier among the former, later among the latter, from September to October and inaugurates the beginning of a new year and a new cycle of

805 22 [17]

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activities (2). In any case a national feature in the calendar of

2. Could not the other designation, Pottschawo-long, which I heard among the Amur Gilyak in addition to the more customary Oni-lami-long for October, also be traced back to Potkianko and thus be of Olcha-Goldi origin?

the Goldi and Olcha is expressed in it. Potkianko is followed by: Nguiren -- November, Itschia - December, Gusse - January, Agdsema - February, Naudsema - March, and Chu-bie - April -- months which the Goldi spend almost entirely and the Olcha at least for the greater part in hunting in the forest and mountain wildemesses. If one considers how extraordinarily important for them this activity is and how happily they pursue it, it will seem characteristic that for these months, too, they have special names and do not merely designate them by numbers. To these is to be added Chiela-bie, May, which is of the greatest importance for them inasmuch as then a new source of food becomes available to them with the opening of the river and the beginning of fishing and especially hunting with harpoons the largest fish of the river, the sturgeon and hausen. For the following summer months from June to August, however, in accordance with the far less zeal with which they do the other fishing, they have only designations by means of numbers, which may cause considerable uncertainty in use, in contrast to the more ichthyophagous Gilyak who for this very /695/ season, from May to August, use national months-names that refer to fishing throughout.

821 Neither Maximowicz nor I were able to find out anything definite about the cosmic conceptions of the Goldi. Maack (1),

1. Puteshestvie na Amur", St. Petersburg, 1859, pp. 164, 189.

however, following the story of a Goldi informant, relates that they have the earth revolving around the polar star, which they

/695 cont./

821 regard as the only fixed star in the sky and therefore call chadá-ossikta, "fixed star." The same man was able to give him the names of several other stars. Thus, Jupiter is called choraktá among them, the eagle ilan-ossikta (three stars), Lyrae dsára, α Aurigae ssuen dsara, the Great Bear faulja. Special veneration
[171] is given to the latter in China, since, according to Pauthier (2),

2. Chine moderne ou descr. hist. géogr. et litér. de ce vaste emp., Part II, p. 262 (L'Univers).

in the capital of each of the 18 provinces of this empire among the other temples there must also be one dedicated to the constellation of the Great Bear (wen-tschang-li-kiun). Hence, it is not sur-
[177] prising that in the Amur region, too, perhaps under Manchu-Chinese influence, special attention is given to this constellation by the Goldi and Gilyak. The Goldi call the Milky Way ba-mamgu, which Maack connects with the designation Mamgu for the Amur, though the latter more properly is Mangu (3). If

3. See pp. 306-310 above.

there is such a connection, by the way, it could only lie in the fact that the Goldi think they see a reflection of the Amur River in the Milky Way. The Manchu Kächuïng, whom we met at the
[171] mouth of the Ussuri, pointed to the converging arms of the Milky Way and said, "yi Sachali, yi Sungari," which reminds one of the conception of the Australians who see in the Milky Way a reflection of the Darling River, on whose banks their transfigured departed engage in fishing (4).

4. Peschel, Völkerkunde, p. 352.

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Section 13 (1)

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1. The table of contents for this chapter is missing in the manuscript.

(The bear festivals. Their cultural character and social significance. -- The bear festivals among the Amur Gilyak. Ceremonies and entertainments before and during the killing of the bears, as well as during the consumption of them. Burial of the bones and skulls of the bears. Modifications among the Olcha, as well as among the Gilyak on Sakhalin and the Ainu.

825 The bear plays an outstanding role in the life of all the peoples of the Amur region and Siberia up to Kamchatka. But among none of them is this the case to the extent that it is among the Gilyak. The huge size that it attains in the Amur region (2),

2. See my measurements of bear skulls in Vol. I, pp. 8 ff., of this work.

its vicious nature, which, perhaps because there it does not find anywhere near the abundance of food that it does in Kamchatka, makes it not hesitate to attack even human beings, and its frequent occurrence at all times make it the most feared beast of prey of the region. It is therefore not surprising that the imagination of the Gilyak is much occupied with it and surrounds it, in life as well as after death, with fearful superstitious ideas. For instance, there prevails among them the belief that the soul of a Gilyak who was killed in a fight with a bear moves into the body of this beast of prey, which may have chiefly arisen from the fact that the bear in its mode of life and its bearing reveals many a similarity with them, in that it, like them, feeds largely on the salmon ascending the river in masses, on berries, plant tubers, and the like, like them it prepares a place for itself for the winter in caves under snow-covered twigs, like them it stands upright in combat, etc.

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825 like them it stands upright in combat, etc. In spite of all this,
[262] however, the Gilyak is not willing to forgo the great enjoyment which bear meat and fat provides for his palate, and he longs for it especially if the bear first lived in captivity for a time and was fed on fish, for this food adds a fishy flavor to its meat and fat, which is especially agreeable to the Gilyak. Moreover, a person may /697/ then indulge in the enjoyment of these savory morsels quite without danger and without punishment, for, in order to achieve this, according to Gilyak belief, a long series of preliminary act is necessary, all of them aimed at outwitting the bear during its lifetime by attestations of esteem and to deceive it, as it were, about everything that is done with it, but, after its death, to pacify the angered spirits of revenge of the mighty beast by paying homage even to the manes of the slain animal.

231 The attestations of esteem begin immediately with the leading of the bear into captivity. If the bear has been discovered in its lair and safely shackled following a successful battle, it is taken, as has been said (1), on two sleds put side by side and tied

1. See p. 878-880 above.

together, in a triumphal procession to the place from which the hunters set out, and it is received there with loud shouts of jubilation from young and old. The same thing happens when a Gilyak returns from a trading trip to Sakhalin and in the central space of his boat brings with him one or a couple of young bears bought on the island (2). In the Gilyak villages there is usually

2. See p. 960 above.

never a lack of lodging for putting up the bear, but if need be a new one is erected for it. This consists of a square box made of beams, open at the top, with a small, heavily barricaded door and an even smaller, always open window. The bear is forced to climb into it and, after it has been unfettered, is prevented from escaping its prison by a layer of boards spread over it, fastened with poles, and weighted with stones. From now on

231 /697 cont./ From now on
796 it belongs, so to speak, to the whole village, for all its members
[421] have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are entitled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor,
[182] ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The bear festival, then, in a very eminent sense is a communistic festival which unites all the individual members of one village community and therefore understandably represents the climax of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original owner of the bear, the man who bought it or who arranged for its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course,
[574] within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host, he may make the feast a more or less opulent one by adding culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and, accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances, even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally, after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

231 The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of the village takes place in accordance with a previously established order. The food given to it, through the little window in the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state (jukola), mossj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or crowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form, but in winter only as ice or snow. The long spoon (Gilyak nichyr) illustrated on Plate LI /p.125/, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the food, in particular the mossj and the water. From time to time, but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however, which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman, it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose round the neck of the bear still in the cage, and shackling its

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231 hind legs. After this the other boards on top of the cage are removed, and the bear is dragged by a number of people into the yurt, where the dogs' table found in the middle of it has meanwhile been removed. Since one cannot depend on merely the leather noose thrown around the neck of the animal, if it is full-grown, a Gilyak now jumps in front of the bear with legs apart, seizes it by the roots of the ears, and presses its head against the floor. Simultaneously two other Gilyak armed with wooden poles do the same thing with its front paws, and now still another jumps on the back of the animal, straddles it, and puts a collar on it, from which, by means of a revolving ring, long iron chains and leather straps run in two directions. With these the bear, after its hind legs have once more been unfettered and, roaring loudly, it has stood erect, is now tied between the two central posts of the yurt in such a way that it can comfortably lie down and get up again. As a reward, so to speak, or as a token of fondness a few slices of jukola or seal fat are then given to it, whereupon it is led around the inside of the house several times and then back to its cage.

114 231 175 Undoubtedly this Gilyak custom of keeping bears in captivity, occasionally bringing them into their houses, and treating them in the manner described has given rise to the legend, very widespread in Siberia, that they tame bears and use them as domestic animals for riding and driving. In a Russian document about the Amur stemming from the seventeenth century and published by Spasskij (2) ("Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie /Story

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2. In his article, "Sviedieniia Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII. stol. /The Russians' Knowledge about the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geograf. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, Res., p. 20.

about the Great Amur River/"), it is said: "on a large island (Sakhalin) lying opposite the mouth of the river live the Gilyak peoples, who keep 500-1000 dogs in their villages, eat all kinds

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of animals, and feed bears for peaceful work" (3). At the

3. In the original the latter passage reads: "i medvyedei kormyat" v" ulusakh" dlya raboty mirno."

beginning Spasskij did not want to give any credence to the latter statement, both on account of its strangeness and from the lack of any other confirmation. But in the "Copy of a Sketch from the Siberian Country" (Spisok" s" chertezha Sibirskiia zemli) published by him in 1849, it is said explicitly: "The Gilyak people sow no grain, eat fish, and drive or ride on /699/ bears" (Gilyanskie lyudi khlyeba ne syeyut", pitayutsya ryboyu, a yezdyat" (1) na medvyedyakh"). Witsen also found

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1. The Russian verb, yezdit', means both "to drive" and "to ride."

the same legend, that at the mouth of the Amur River "lives a savage people, called Gilaki, who keep many bears and dogs in order to utilize their services" (2). Finally, it is also found in

2. Witsen, Noord- en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/, 1705, p. 884.

Strahlenberg (3), for it says there: "at the mouth of the Amur

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3. Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, pp. 386, 387.

River lives a people whom the Russians call Kilaki; some 'Yakut Tatars' have related to me about these people that they tame bears and use them as we do horses" (4).

4. Witsen (op. cit., p. 686) was also told

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4.(cont.)
this fable by the Yukagir in the country of "Ssabatsia" (sobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

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The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival. As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

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*796 After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the [123] Nikolayev post by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Judin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, precisely in order to make a few purchases for the forthcoming festi- [114] val. With my friend and later colleague at the Academy, C. Maximowicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allof, we entered Wair about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place: one of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little fir tree which stood in front of its transverse walls on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to [778] the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak, hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon when we drove up before Judin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wair. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd *796 of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young 526 men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who, [574] in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

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*796 526 to some of our French rounds: the players joined hands, forming a circle; the circle moved around rapidly until it broke at one point, and a single row was made out of the circle. As soon as this happened, the first man passed under the raised arms of the last two members at the other end of the row, pulling the whole row after him, and making it necessary for the last man to turn himself around himself. If he succeeded in doing this and thus became the first man, he did what the first one had done, and so it alternated on and on, until the clumsiness of one of the leaders or a slip and fall by a member of the chain caused the whole row to break up, which happened not infrequently in the slippery, unevenly packed snow in front of the house and was always accompanied by the resounding laughter of all the bystanders. Close by another circle made up of young boys romped about and imitated exactly everything relating to the adults (see Plate XI /p. 991/). Many women, girls, and small children of the village had gathered around both circles and at every opportunity expressed their approval by wildly shouting in unison and by stamping and loudly beating on their furs and robes.

*796 231 After the game had come to an end, Judin approached us and urged us to enter the house, /701/ into which the whole crowd from outside followed us. The dogs' table had been removed and in its place were three bears who were tied to the two central posts of the yurt and to the supports on either side of the absent dogs'-table top, for the latter alone would not have offered enough resistance. The bear wears a stout leather band around its neck and a second on its back connected with the first around its body directly behind the front legs, which serves to keep the neck-band from slipping over the head of the animal. The space otherwise taken up by the dogs' table is rather small for three bears, especially since the animals cannot be put too close together, so the chains running from the neck-band, which are extended by a long rope on either side, are drawn quite taut, but always so that the animals can lie down, get up again, and move somewhat to the side. This greatly restricts the free

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*796 231 traffic within the yurt, for now with every step one has to stay close to the edge of the sleeping benches in order not to be unexpectedly seized by the paw of a bear.

Only two of the bears, a very large animal of the female sex and a considerably smaller, yet fully grown, seven-year-old male bear, belonged to Judin, who had bought them in the villages of Tschilwi and Aure, inhabited entirely and half by Olcha, respectively; the third and likewise male bear of medium size came from Kalm and was the property of another Tebach Gilyak. As in size, the animals also differed in coloring: the small bear was light brown, the large one dark brown, and the medium-sized one almost black. Moreover, the large bear differed from the other two in that it had a whitish-gray band on the lower part of its neck, but not enough to be called a collared bear (Gilyak molk) by the Gilyak, which happens only if the white is quite pure and extends over a large part of the throat. Finally, the three bears also differed in their behavior, especially in the way they defended themselves, as we shall presently see.

*796 526 [191] Immediately after we, followed by the throng, had taken seats on one of the sleeping benches, another game was begun here, despite the limited space, the one that I described above in discussing the Goldi games and which consists of jumping over a rope swung by two persons. The Gilyak called it tyk-tyk (1),

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1. Tyk means cord.

and the activity that goes with it, tykyrtsch. But it did not last long and was not performed nearly as skillfully as by the Goldi. Nevertheless it is part of the entertainment program during a bear festival and, judging by the noise, shouting, and laughter of the onlookers, found hearty approval. I did not see it performed by the Gilyak at other times, and the fact that it took place in the limited space of the house and not outside, where, in the moonlit night, it would have been much better and more comfortable for the fur-clad players as well as for the spectators, and the brief duration of the game, /702/ almost permit one to conclude that

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*796 it took place only in honor of the bears present. The latter, more-
*796 231 over, were immediately afterwards treated with mossj, which they licked from long nichyr.

Next came the chief entertainment of the festival, the procession with the bears from house to house. For this, as for all subsequent events, the same order was always observed with the animals, in that first came the small one, then the large one, and finally the medium-sized bear -- an order evidently determined by the unequal share of their owners in the festival, since two of them belonged to Judin and he was at the same time the chief host of the entire festival. Accordingly, the procession began with the small bear. The ropes with which it was tied to the posts were loosened, and at each of them a long row of Gilyak posted themselves in alternating order. The two men standing next to the bear on either side had reversed their fur coats, wearing the back in front, and their sealskin apron-skirts (kossjkha) were around the body as tightly and smoothly as possible, so that if a bear claw grazed them, it would not catch anywhere, but would slide off the smooth skin. Each of them also held a short stick in his hand in order to tease the bear. The first man standing in the direction in which the procession is supposed to go now jumps in front of the bear with his legs apart and his chest pushed far out and goads it with his stick. The animal roars loudly, throws itself forward, partly lifts itself up, and flies out at its opponent with its paw. But the latter instantly jumps back a step, and all those standing at the same rope move one step forward toward the house door, dragging the bear after them. The same thing is repeated a second time, a third time; the bear tries in vain to seize its opponent, but its claws always slide off the smooth skirt. Meanwhile others are busy with sticks and poles pushing the bear in the direction it is to go. If it presses the man in front too much, if it has not only grazed him with its paw, but clawed his fur coat, making his plight dangerous, the first man in the row behind the bear goads the animal from the rear and forces it to turn around and to direct its attacks at him, while those standing at the rear rope at the same time drag the animal backward.

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*796 354 231 Thus the procession sways along, sometimes forward, sometimes backward, but always closer and closer to the house door, amid the loud roars of rage of the bear being tugged back and forth, in which the other two animals join, and amid the wild, intermittent shouts of jubilation of the bear leaders as well as the bystanders. The few oil-lamps do not sufficiently illuminate the large space of the yurt with its dark sooty beams so that all those who are busy with the bear can clearly see its movements, and yet this is absolutely essential for the prompt intervention of one or the other man in front. Hence a number of boys leap onto the sleeping benches and from there illuminate the turbulent proceedings, following the procession back and forth with improvised torches, which consist of rolled-up birch-bark and sometimes flare up brightly and then again spread only dark smoke. Truly a strange picture (see Plate XLVII /p.1247/).

*796 231 The two other bears were then /703/ led out of the house in the same manner as the small bear. The first one was decidedly the most enraged and intractable of all, which the Gilyak ascribed to the fact that it had broken a leg while being captured and consequently was still limping. It was remarkable how differently the three bears expressed their rage and defended themselves: whereas the small bear and the large one straightened themselves up and tried to claw the man goading them, the third bear behaved quite differently; it did not try to get up at all, but attempted to ward off the thrusts of the stick by holding its paw in front of its face and reaching out for the legs of the one goading it, or it would lie down on its back and defend itself with its paws. It was also the only one of the three which in its fury, tried to scratch up the stamped-earth floor of the yurt, which, however, the Gilyak stopped it from doing each time.

[825] The purpose of the procession with the bears was to lead them through all the houses in the village, of which there were seven in Tebach; the procession with the three bears turned into each of them, and everywhere they were arranged in the same order, the large bear in the middle, the two others at the sides, and treated with mossj from nichyr spoons as a sign that they are held in esteem and are welcome guests in each house.

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*1796 231 and are welcome guests in each house. Thus the procession lasted a long time, and the bears were not returned to Judin's house for the night, but remained in one of the other houses. It was not until the morning of the following day (January 11) that the two animals belonging to our host, the small and the large bear, were brought back to his house and were displayed there in the customary manner.

Meanwhile it was time to feed the dogs which always takes place in the morning. There were many of them on account of the many guests who had traveled to the place. Since the dogs' table had been removed, another arrangement had to be made in order to feed the dogs in the house. For this, a long pole was put through an opening in one of the central posts between which the large bear stood, and it was fastened at the ends to the supporting posts at either side of the top of the dogs' table. The dogs, very excited by the presence of the bears in the house, were now tied to this pole; and in front of them lay a board upon which the troughs with the steaming fish-broth were placed. The feeding of the dogs seemed to be done with special care this time, because dog races were to take place on the following day. Judin was very busy and concerned that everything should be done properly for his guests.

After the arrangement for feeding the dogs had been removed, the leading of the bears in and out began again, without my being able to discern any apparent purpose for it: the small bear was taken into another yurt, while the large bear was led out of the door of the house and immediately back in again four times, with intervals of only a few minutes. Perhaps through the frequent repetition of this experiment the neck-band on this bear may have become somewhat loose or damaged in some other way; it soon appeared necessary to the Gilyak to provide it with some auxiliary ropes -- an undertaking that was most interesting for me, for it showed me the great intrepidity /704/ of the Gilyak in confronting the bears and their enormous skill and adroitness in dealing with them. This task was even more difficult than putting on the neck and body bands at the beginning, which was

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*796 231 described above, for the latter was done after the hind legs of the animal had already been fettered in the cage, but here the bear could make full and free use of all four extremities and its teeth. While the procession halted outside the house, all the ropes and straps required for carrying out the feat were held in readiness. Seizing the moment when the mighty animal stood fully erect, one of the Gilyak threw himself from the front around its neck and embraced it as firmly as he could. At the same moment a second one muzzled the animal. Simultaneously several others seized the animal from the rear, pulled its hind legs from under it by means of nooses, and held them against the ground. The bear fell on its front paws, but here, too, someone was ready to press them against the ground with a pole and to fetter them. Thus through quick and concerted steps the animal was completely disarmed and fettered in an instant, and now the auxiliary ropes needed on its neck-band could be put on in peace and safety. As soon as this was done, all the Gilyak jumped off the bear, all the knots and nooses fastened around its snout and paws with special skill were loosened with one jerk, and the bear again stood there on its chain entirely free and unfettered, except for the neck and body band, roaring loudly, repeatedly shaking itself. Now, together with the small bear, it was led back into the house and regaled there with finely crushed ice and crowberries /Strickbeeren/, whereupon, after a short pause, the same procedure was again repeated several times, that is, the small bear was taken immediately from Judin's house to another one, but the large bear only after having been led in and out four times, or sometimes only twice.

*796 322 998 Immediately after the bears had been removed, the male youth of the village began to carry large and small sticks of alder and mountain ash into the house and to deposit them at the place where the bears had stood, until there was a large pile of them. Everybody who had a knife, except for the women and girls, began to cut the sticks at one end, or, more properly, to whittle them, that is, to make the so-called nauws (1) of the Gilyak out of them.

[104]

1. The s here is to be pronounced soft, like the French z.

778 /704 cont./
*796 Many of them were whittled with the knife on only one side, but
[322] most of them on two opposite sides, and some all around; indeed, from some of them very fine and gracefully curled wood-shavings (the repeatedly mentioned so-called zach of the Gilyak) hung down from the upper end of the stick to the lower one. This symbol, which among the Gilyak accompanies all religious performances based on the fear of the influence of evil spirits, such as the giving of offerings to the river (2) conjuring away storms (3), etc.,

2. See pp. 802-804 above.

3. See p. 1088 above.

may not, of course, be absent from the bear festival. Thus we already see it exhibited over the roof of the house in which a bear festival is to be celebrated and at the same time a part of the bear cult is to be enacted. We were to /705/ encounter it in more copious masses as the bear festival progressed. For the moment, however, the whole heap of whittled sticks was again carried out, in order to be used on the following day. While the men, youths, and boys carved on the sticks, the women prepared a fresh supply of mossj, into which this time they also mixed pulverized fir-needles (from Picea ajanensis, Fisch., Gilyak twisk -- an activity which lasted until evening.

*796 Meanwhile the leading of the bears in and out of the other
231 houses of the village went on without interruption. The Gilyak can never have enough of this entertainment, and they take as lively an interest in all the individual incidents that occur in connection with it as is shown among other peoples at, say, contests, festive games, or dances with the merry music, which in
[554] this case is provided by the roaring of the bears. Everyone has an opportunity as the head of the one or the other row of bear-leaders to display his prowess, intrepidity, skill, and presence of mind; the closer he allows the infuriated animal to approach him, the greater the danger to which he exposes himself, the louder is his share of the applause and the greater his fame and distinction among the people. Every detail is followed attentively and afterward

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*796 23/ talked about in an animated discussion; in short, on such an occasion one hardly recognizes the otherwise serious, sedate, cautious, and somewhat taciturn Gilyak. Late at night the procession with the medium-sized bear paid a brief visit to Judin's house. But only the two bears that belonged to him returned to it for the night. Men and animals had tugged themselves weary and seemed to need a rest. The night also passed more quietly than one would expect with two bears quartered in the house.

Toward the morning, January 12, however, I was awakened by a loud roar from the bears; the leading of the animals back and forth, out of the house and back again, had begun anew. First our two sleeping companions were taken out, and then all three bears were brought back in again, in the order established at the beginning of the festival, and fed out of three nichyr, the mossj that had been prepared the day before, some of which the people ate, and then the foreign bear was removed again, while the other two *796 remained in the house. Then began the preparation of the place where on the following day the bears were to meet their deaths and then be skinned and cut up. For this, a rectangular area not far from the house was marked off with the sticks (nauws) carved the day before, and at each of four places about a fathom apart on its longitudinal diameter two strong stakes with head-shaped tips were rammed into the ground beside each other. These stakes were old and may already have served the same purpose several times. They were likewise surrounded by whittled sticks. At one end, in line with the row of stakes, an entrance to the area marked out by the nauws (the so-called kahdra of the Gilyak) was left open; at the other, opposite end a small structure made out of boards (called läsng (1) among the Gilyak stood somewhat elevated above

[104] 1. The s is to be voiced like the French z.

the ground on four posts driven into the earth and was closed in the back, but in front, in the direction of the row of stakes, was quite /706/ open, and here, besides a crosspole near the roof, had a second, lower crosspole, by means of which the opening was

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*796 divided into approximately even halves. The path leading from Judin's house to this place of death for the bears was also marked out with a few whittled sticks.

*796 231 541 Meanwhile the dog-feeding was going on in the house in the same way as on the day before, except that those animals that were to participate in the races an hour hence did not get anything for the time being; they were also brought into the house, to be sure, but could only watch while the other dogs ate, their feeding being postponed until after the races in order to stimulate them to run faster. Everyone now set out for one end of the racecourse, which was laid out on the ice-cover of the river and consisted of a strip about two fathoms wide, on which the snow had been shoveled to the sides and the ice smoothed somewhat for a distance of about one and a half to two versts. Here stood two sleds, one harnessed to 14 dogs, the other to ten, of which the three front ones on the first sled were adorned with elegant Manchurian collars, the above-mentioned rüssk (1). In front of the sleds two other dogs were held

1. See p. 750 ff. above with the woodcut, and Plate XXXVI /p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5.

on long straps. Many spectators had stationed themselves on the elevated embankments at both sides of the racecourse. First the two dogs not harnessed to the sleds were released; they pulled behind them at the end of their long straps only a fox tail and the tail of a black dog, respectively With this light burden they disappeared from the racecourse in an instant and ran up the hill to the house where they were caught by the women and children. They were particularly swift-footed animals, one of which was a so-called kylå or kylå-kan among the Gilyak, over the possession of which Judin was very proud, saying that in the whole Amur region there were only two or three animals of the same quality, and he could name their owners. It was not clear to me, however, what the special characteristics of the kylå-kan are, aside from swift-footedness. The animals harnessed to the sleds did not get off so easily, for although the burden which they had to pull was

/705 cont./

*796 hardly greater -- on each of the otherwise quite empty sleds lay
231 only two brake-sticks stuck into the plaited work -- obstacles of
541 another kind were put in their path. As soon as the dogs were racing along at top speed, a Gilyak standing on the embankment of the racecourse threw himself on the sled and tried to gain control of the dogs and their vehicle by using the brake-sticks, at which, of course, he was not immediately successful. If one failed, a second one did it, and a third: throwing himself upon the sled, he held on to it tightly, the sled overturned two or three times, but the man held on tightly and let himself be dragged along at the utmost speed until he succeeded in sitting astride and, with the two brake-sticks in his hands, driving up the
*796 hill in triumph. During the entire race the women drum with
541 cudgels and sticks upon a /707/ beam suspended from a framework
534 in front of the house. This is done with a certain regularity and requires some special knowledge, for there are various types and modes of drumming, depending on the occasion. Every woman is given two cudgels, or one cudgel and one stick, and beats with them on the beam two or three times, either simultaneously or alternately, then cudgel on cudgel or cudgel on stick, then again on the beam, etc., in different rhythms and tempos, as the mode
*796 of the moment requires (see Plate XLVIII /p1248/). As soon as all
541 the dogs participating in the races have returned the longed-for meal
231 is set before them in the house by the women. The men, however, in-
[521] dulge in a lively discussion of all the details occurring in connection with the races, in that one dog is to be praised and another criticized, but even more to laugh over the ineptitude of one of their countrymen and to marvel at the courage and agility of a second and third. For, as is to be seen from this description, the dog races among the Gilyak do not serve to test the quality of the dogs as much as to give the men an opportunity to show off their above-mentioned physical and moral virtues, just as is the case for other entertainments that are part of the bear festival.

*796 After this interlude, the leading of the bears which had
231 been interrupted in the morning, was resumed, and everything was repeated as on the preceding days, for example, the large

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*796 231 bear did not leave or enter Judin's house until after it had been led back and forth through the door four times. Again the bears had to be led through all the houses in the village and treated everywhere with mossj and crushed ice. Twice they came into Judin's house and received the same treatment. The Gilyak especially like to see their boys, even if they are very small, participate in the feeding of the bears: they bravely step up to the animal and offer it the spoon filled with mossj, which is sometimes held and supported by several small hands; many a little fellow who can hardly stand on his legs, not to speak of holding a nichyr, must be helped by the father or older brother, who lifts up the little one. Perhaps this is done for pedagogical reasons, but more probably for superstitious reasons, namely, in the belief that through this the children will continue to have the good will of the mighty animal even after they are grown. As soon as the bears have again been taken out of the house, however, the children use the free space to romp about in and to perform an exact duplicate of what they have seen during the leading of the bears, during the changing of the bands on them, etc., most faithfully imitating all the movements, positions, and demeanors of the adults, as has been described above (pp. 1136 ff.). Thus they learn how to deal with the bears long before they can lend a helping hand.

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*796 231 In the evening, in bright moonlight, the bears were led beyond the village and all the way around Cape Tebach on the river ice. It was a long procession that started moving down toward the river, for, in addition to the three bears, who were led in the same order as /708/ always, a great number of idle boys followed them. Since the bank is high and slopes rather steeply down to the river, it was interesting to see how the procession moved down the slippery hill without falling into disorder even for a moment: while those standing at the front rope ran down at top speed, the ones busy on the rear rope had to hold back with all their might in order to prevent the bear from running down just as quickly and causing damage below; by their combined efforts, however, they succeeded in letting all three bears slide down the hill slowly and evenly. It was much easier going back, for those

/708 cont./

*796 23 in the rear let themselves be taken in tow by the bears and dragged up the hill. During the whole procession the women again drummed incessantly on their beam. A short pause followed, during which a few games were played in front of the house, such as the above-mentioned roundelays, the competitive jumping, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two, which I had previously seen among the Goldi, and then the popular leading of the bears, never tiring the Gilyak began again and continued far into the night. For during this night immediately preceding the killing [513] of the bears no one among the Gilyak may sleep: the men spend it alternately leading and feeding the bears, while the women prepare the foods for the feast that is to take place on the following day. Let us therefore now turn to these for a moment.

*796 262 [177] In a previous section (1), it has already been pointed out

1. See pp. 676 ff. above.

that the foodstuffs used in connection with the bear festival are primarily of a vegetable nature and in particular consist of the cereals and legumes of Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russian origin named there. This is especially true of the great feast held shortly before the killing of the bears and, as we shall see in the following, of the one during which, sometimes at a much later date, the bear itself is eaten. Aside from these two, I might almost say official feasts, which are held in a more or less opulent manner in all or at least most of the houses of the village where a bear festival takes place, and which sometimes are even repeated for a certain length of time, the Gilyak also eat their regular fish diet even during the bear festival, but in an irregular fashion, during the intervals between the individual festive events and generally in accordance with the requirements of the individuals. Considering the large number of people invited to the festival or taking part in it generally, however, the consumption of fish on such an occasion is always very considerable, and I was amazed at the colossal quantities of hausen and sturgeon which were used, in addition to the regular jukola diet of the Gilyak, in Judin's house alone.

/708 cont./

000 house alone. Hence it is quite understandable that during the
*796 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the
252 principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the
preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been men-
[354] tioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the center area
*796 and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore
[824] call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, quite large quantities of fresh fir branches (from the Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissk) are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festival, which may be one of the attestations of homage which are given to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them. Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of burned pine-needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.

*796 On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the
231 leading of the bears finally ceased. After they had made their last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak, and arranged and carefully bound there between the stakes standing in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again the same so that the small bear was closest to the building in the back of the kadhra, the läsgn, the large one in the middle, and
*796 the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden troughs, round wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood
[574] The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule, it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

/709 cont./

*796 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit.
574 In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On it, therefore,
[123] as Judin told us, there are even more ul'tsch to be observed than elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw some sketches of it from there, he asked us with great politeness to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented
516 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones immediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path on which the bowls traveled from one end of the bench to the other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc. The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in
[614] this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him, while the maternal/710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the friends and acquaintances, may participate in the meal. Judging by the quantity of foods and bowls that traveled back and forth, it was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Nevertheless, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another house in order to eat there, and this went on from house to house throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause
*796 after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep. The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women
541 began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

/710 cont./

*796 [541] amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river [264] and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

*796 824 From all the houses of the village the people congregated around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of [291] [239] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks, or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

*796 231 Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experiment. [156] Chucisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

/710 cont./

*796 231 156 bears, volunteered to do this. The day before he had already performed a feat on the large bear that /711/ brilliantly proved his bold and resolute courage. When this bear was led out of the house, it seized so firmly with its claws the front Gilyak goading it that the latter could not free himself any more and was pulled close to the furious animal. At this moment, Chusisin, who stood immediately behind the bear, jumped over the animal's back and landed directly in front of its snout; the startled bear, infuriated anew, dropped its first prey and bit at the second, but fortunately without success. Now, for the small bear, Chusisin took the precaution of wearing his dog-fur coat reversed, with the fur on the inside, and over it he put on a reindeer-fur coat with the fur on the outside and the back part turned to the front, at the same time tying his belt around himself in such a manner that the fur coat projected out in front of him hump-like and stuck out far from his body. So equipped, he waited for the moment when the bear, goaded with sticks, showed its teeth in a roar; now he stepped up to it with chest thrust forward and let it bite into the puffed-out fur-coat over it. Then he threw himself around the animal's neck, seized its head at the ears, and bent it down. The men standing around were ready at this moment to muzzle it, to press its paws down, etc., as I have already described above.

*796 231 After this was taken care of, the bears set out on their last walk: in the same order as before, the procession, accompanied by the loud drumming of the women, went down the high bank to the river. Having reached there, it circled at a distance of several steps the hole in the ice where the women scoop water (see Plate XLVIII /p.1248/), and returned up the hill. The bears passed close to Judin's house and the one where the owner of the third animal lived: the doors were open, and the procession involuntarily came to a halt because the bears made the greatest effort to get back in. But they were no longer permitted to do this. The procession halted at the entrance to the kadhra. Boys [857] came running from all sides in order to shoot their small, but not always harmless arrows at the animals, which the leaders, visibly amused, permitted them to do.

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*796 visibly amused, permitted them to do. The choice of the archer
231 who is to dispatch the fatal arrow toward the bear, however, is
[554] made by the owner himself and is regarded as an honorary token of his favor. For the two animals belonging to him Judin had chosen two young people, one of them an Olcha from Tschilwi whose father was a friend of his and from whom he had bought one of the bears. Both animals, hit in the right lung at a distance of about five paces, fell dead after the first shot; the third
[784] animal died slowly after it had been hit by two arrows. The blood
[826] which they lost in dying was immediately covered with snow, for otherwise someone might step in it, which would definitely be uitsch.

As soon as the bears were dead, they were dragged into the kadhra by their chain and an auxiliary strap tied around the snout, and put down at the places where they had stood in life, on a bed prepared for them out of peeled sticks. Here all three carcasses lay in the same order and the same position: the snout and the front legs to the front pointing toward the entrance into the kadhra, the hind legs to the rear, pointing toward the läsng. The neck /712/ and body bands were taken off of them and the snow beaten off their fur with sticks. Next the carcasses were skinned and cut up. For this purpose a /illustration appears here/ strap was next slung around the neck of the animal and attached
[784] to the stake in front. Again it is uitsch to step over this strap -- one may only walk around it, either in front or in back. The bear was now rolled over on its back, and a cut was made down the middle of the entire belly side, beginning at the throat, and from this middle cut four others went out to the legs. Then the fur was stripped off and cut around the paws in such a manner that a ring of fur remained above the claws on each one. After the belly side had been skinned, the animal was turned over and the fur stripped off the back side up to the head. Then the man standing at the tail end once more waved the fur up and down over the carcass and threw it over the head of the bear to his companion at the head end, who threw it back again. This

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experiment was repeated several times, whereupon the carcass was once more rolled over on its back to be cut up. First of all the layer of fat, about two inches thick, had to be removed. For this purpose a narrow strip of fat was first cut off along the middle

Place of death for the bears.

of the entire belly side, provided at one end with an eye-shaped cut, and hung by it on one of the surrounding peeled sticks. A similar strip of fat reaching from the head to the tail was also taken from the back side of the /713/ carcass, again rolled over, and was treated similarly. Then, between these two longitudinal strips, two narrow transverse strips were cut out on either side, one directly behind the front legs, and the other directly in front of the hind legs, and the same was done with them. Obviously this was intended as an offering, which perhaps was to serve to appease the spirits of revenge of the slain bears. The whole layer of fat was divided by the longitudinal and transverse grooves cut in the fat into six areas, which were now individually removed and each one immediately placed between two fresh fir-branches and carried into the storage chamber. While this work was going on, the Gilyak could not resist nibbling at the fat now and then. Cutting up the rest of the carcass now followed: first the legs were amputated, then the breast and belly pieces carved out, the intestines removed and squeezed out, and, finally, the rest of the body was severed

/713 cont./

*796 231 from the head and cut into halves on one side along the spine. Thus the dismemberment was completed, and only the head remained in the skin. All three bears were treated in exactly the same way. After the pieces of meat and bone of the bears, and finally also the strips of fat hung on the sticks and meanwhile frozen, were put away in the storage chamber, the three bear-heads with the rest of the skin were carried to the läsng and there, by means of a strap slung around the

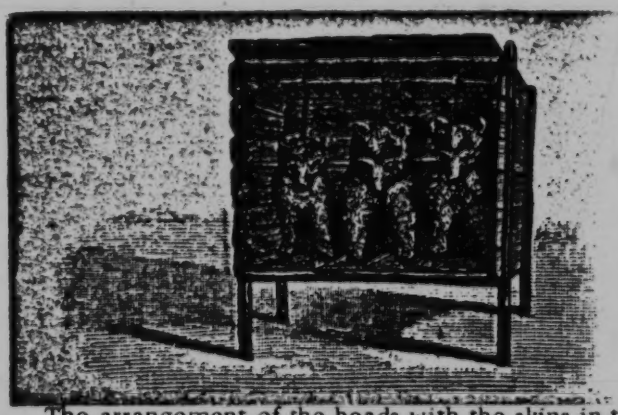

The arrangement of the heads with the skins in the läsng.

skin directly behind the head and knotted to the upper cross-pole, arranged so that the heads rested on the lower crosspole, but the skins inside the structure. It thus appeared as though the bears had entered this abode and were looking out of it through the window opening, the large one in the middle, to the left of it the small one, and to the right the medium-sized bear, that is, in the order in which they had stood in the house. In front of this structure, however, a fir branch was planted in the snow, the tip of which reached to the heads of the bears and partly shaded them.

*796 With this the first big act of the bear festival came to an end. The head and the skin of the bear are kept in the

/713 cont./

*796 läsng, and the cut-up pieces of meat and fat are kept in the storage chambers until it has been decided to resume the festival. But Judin did not seem to be in any hurry about that -- he was thinking instead of first going on a trading trip to Sakhalin. I *796 114 regretted this delay, but I had the consolation of having seen the further course of the bear festival the previous year in the village of Uda. This village, to be sure, is no longer in the territory of [171] the Gilyak, but in that of the Olcha, but since the entire custom of the bear festival was undoubtedly transmitted from the former to the latter, it is not likely, in view of the conservative nature of primitive peoples, that there are any essential differences between them in the main features of the festival. In Judin's house quiet had been restored: the many guests had departed, the dogs' table was set up again, and /714/ uïtsch-fears had given way to a *796 114 126 greater freedom of movement inside the house. We stayed there for another day: I in order to organize and complete the many notes in my journal made during the past days, and Mr. Maximowicz in order to add the landscape background of Tebach to the sketches drawn from life. These sketches of my friend, now unfortunately deceased, are reproduced on Plates XI /p. 991/, XLVII /p.1247/, and XLVIII /p. 1248/, as well as in the woodcuts on pages 1150 and 1151 of this work, after having been technically improved, with the strictest regard for all details, the former here on the spot by Mr. Dimitrijef-Orenburgskij, the latter by Mr. Fr. Russow, custodian of our museum.

*796 114 On the evening of January 15 we were again in Nikolayevsk, where I immediately began the preparations for my second trip to Sakhalin. The day for my departure had already been set when Judin again appeared at my place. He had put the question bothering him, whether it would be more favorable to resume the previously begun bear festival before or after his planned trading trip, before some of the older members of the village, among whom there was also a shaman, and they were of the opinion that the festival should first be brought to a conclusion. He had therefore come to Nikolayevsk again in order to make a few purchases. In reply to his repeated invitation to come also, I

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*796 114 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The [126] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the [127] further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

[113] 1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 824 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only *796 with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

[123] [126] 1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249 /. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

/715 cont./

*796 [123] [126]

1. (cont.)
put in the way of making sketches during the bear festival, only one bear is pictured on our plate, which is sufficient for comprehension. But there were two of them in Judin's house.

the second shelf of the étagère, under each bear, lay the pelvis belonging to it and a few fish (Cyprinus carpio, Gilyak pilengat), which were put before them for food, as it were. At the sides of the rack, from the little fir trees and branches decorating it, hung pieces of fur from previously consumed bears and all kinds of gracefully carved wooden spoons and bowls, the purpose of which [184] will be discussed later, as well as numerous zach. In another house in the same village, where the owner of the third (medium-sized) bear lived, there was the same arrangement and decoration in the interior, but the étagère was smaller, though all the more elaborately decorated, and only one bear's head looked down. It is always left to the owner, if he has two or more bears, to erect either a special étagère for each one or one common one for all and therefore correspondingly wider.

When everything is prepared and decorated in the house as required, the transfer of the bears' heads from the läsng into the house takes place. This had already preceded the arrival of Messrs. Ditmar and Brevern in Tebach. But as they later learned, and as I myself had heard from the Gilyak, it is done in the following way. The oldest Gilyak of the village, "cheimar," i.e., graybeards, lift the bear's head and skin out of the läsng, carry it around the house three times on a path made through the snow and decorated here and there with peeled sticks, curled wood-shavings, and fir branches, and then stop in front of a window in the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth. The frame of this window has been removed, and through this opening, not through the house door, the bear is carried into the house and directly in front of the hearth dedicated to it, in order to warm itself first before it is lifted to the étagère as the place of honor. At this window,

*796 532 825 /715 cont./ At this window, after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation of a toad (Gilyak mipitsch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see the woodcut, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig. 3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

2. In order to be seated, the figure concerned is movable in the hip and knee joints; the clothing, of course, is only very crudely and rudimentarily realized.

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259 /, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in detail later.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the misfortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and finally, consumption. It is the scapegoat upon which the Gilyak heap all guilt and responsibility for their actions against the bear, and it is therefore not admitted into the festively decorated house, but remains /716/ outside of it stuck to the window, where it may witness its misdeeds. The bear, on the other hand, is greeted as a welcome guest by the participants at the festival and, as an equal (hence the clothing) is given a place on the bench of honor. Further proof of the correctness of this interpretation, which I can express only as a conjecture, will be given in the following. /Illustration appears here./

*796 252 Immediately after the feeding of the dogs, which even on this day takes place in the house in spite of the festive decorations, the work of the day begins -- the cooking of the bear meat in the hearth concerned. This work is given to only the oldest men, the

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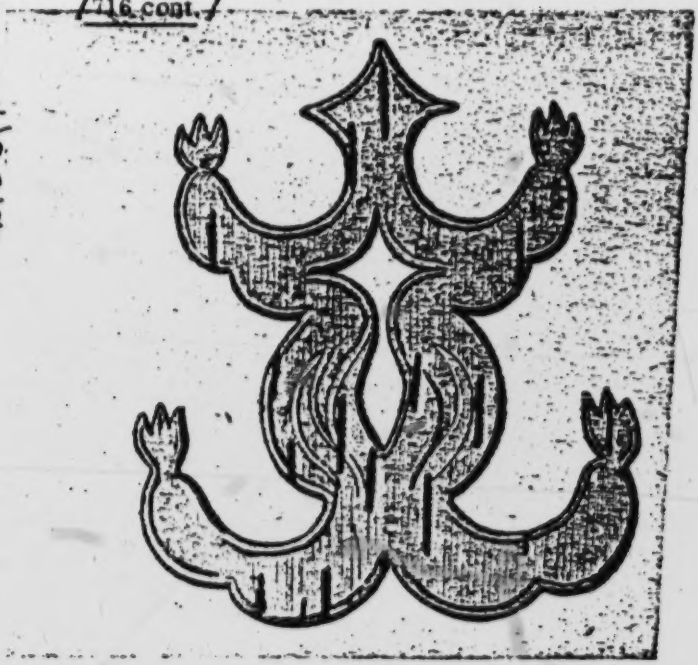

Toad made out of birch bark.

*716 graybeards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys
252 and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly,
[888] deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the
[887] fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a
similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the
[784] kettle was filled with snow for it is uĩtsch to use water for cooking
bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and
fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time.
Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly
under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor.
[532] The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and
figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and
on the other side a toad likewise executed.

[887] The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not
until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs
and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of
the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only
then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were
fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

/716 cont./

*796 252 hanging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking and the transfer to the trough.

*796 412 (252) [887] Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat, which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the house and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was mentioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from the storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached to the bear rack in colorful confusion pieces of fur and the skins of paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were led while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of hair from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uīng-dshakko of the Gilyak, with which it is uītsch to cut anything other than bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth obtained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when consuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed discussion.

[415] [264]

*796 412 415 532 322 The bowls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-spoon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always carved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and 2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat broth, the latter (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat. What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood, and sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

322 /717 cont./
*796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
[126] came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly uïtsch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p.1250 /, Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252 /, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band; Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

*796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
263 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

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*796 252 [784] [263] just as it would be extremely uïtsch if one wanted to fry, not only bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward [782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and were intended for the forthcoming feast.

*796 [887] [251] In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in additional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival. *796 231 541 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng. Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 252 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads, and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the meantime, more life and commotion had entered into these preparations for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

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*796 252 sturgeon lying in front of the bears, and a little to one side, in an unworthy place, so to speak, where they could not be seen by the bears, the women began to prepare various dishes, such as mossj, several kinds of groats, beans with fish oil or seal oil, and the like -- work which, undertaken quite differently and in the ordinary way, proceeded rapidly and vigorously.

*796 /719/ The morning of the following day (January 30) began with putting on the bear rack the two pelves of the bears, three carp (Cypr. carpio, Gilyak pilengat) and a portion of all the dishes prepared the day before and put in various bowls of birch bark, whereupon an old man seated himself in front of the bears and immediately began to eat some of the freshly prepared mossj out of two bear-bowls.

There followed the customary feeding of the dogs inside the house and, as on the previous days, a race of decorated dogs along with drumming by the women. Next, strips of bear fat were again hung on the étagère and then, amid the heavy incense of fir branches, the internal organs of the bear were cut up and placed in [252] small bear-bowls. It seems that these parts are not cooked, but eaten raw; like the fat.

At the same time, the women congregated in one corner of the house around a little old woman and, out of motley rags, began to sew together a band about ten inches long and three inches wide -- the so-called tschudbas of the Gilyak. At sunset *796 325 552 322 824 this band is wound around the snouts of the bears just below their eyes in order to dry the tears welling out of them. Fastened in the middle of it, however, on the ridge of the snouts, there is a representation of a toad, cut out of birch bark (1). I can give no

1. Like the one pasted on the window, see p. 1157.

interpretation for this symbolic act in connection with what has been said above other than the following. With the cutting up of its internal organs, heart, liver, and the like, the bear knows that its fate is sealed and sheds tears over the evil spirit, the toad,

/719 cont./

*796 825 that led him to it and was the cause of it all. It itself thus recognizes the toad as the culprit. The Gilyak, on the other hand, have shown it only kindness: they have received it as a guest in their houses, put it in the seat of honor, offered it some of all the foods, in general did everything only with its knowledge and permission, and their women show it a final act of kindness by consolingly drying the tears in its eyes. Therefore no guilt for its fate or responsibility for it falls on them. At the same time a second symbolic *796 act is carried out on the bears, the explanation for which, it seems to me, must be sought somewhat further afield. In addition to the tschudbas, a second head-band is put on them: a strap tied crosswise, on which are found one or two agate balls about one and a half inches large, which rest on the forehead and a little to one side (2). The small bear was given a band with one agate

2. See the woodcut, p. 1163.

ball which lay above its eyes in the middle of its forehead, the large bear was given two such balls, that is, in addition to that one, a second one which rested over the right parietal bone, and, finally, a band with two agate balls in the middle of the forehead, one directly over the other, was put on the medium-sized bear displayed in another house (that of its owner). On this point it seems that if more balls than bears are available, there is room for choice and only the ball in the middle of the forehead is obligatory. *796 These agate balls are of Chinese ("Manchurian") /720/ workman- 197 ship and are highly prized and never sold by the Gilyak. Their 174 exotic origin seems to me to suggest an explanation for the entire procedure. /Illustration appears here./ During the many years of frequent intercourse between the Gilyak and the Chinese on the Sungari, it could certainly not have escaped them that the Buddhist divinities of the latter as a rule had a bump or swelling on the forehead above the eyes, indeed, it is possible and probable that they viewed this as a sign of the special holiness of the divinities [825] concerned in the eyes of the Chinese. If one now considers the [796] striving of the Gilyak to imitate Chinese ways, it is quite

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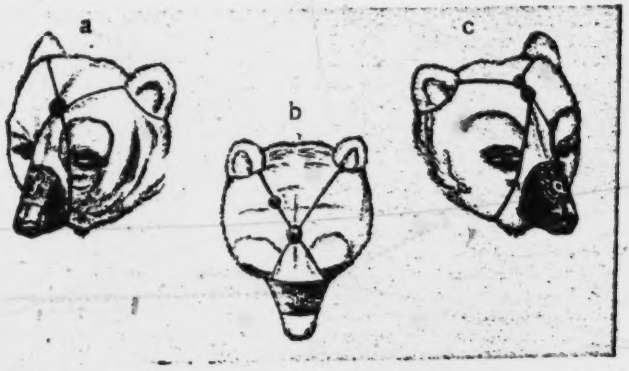

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

*796 177 174 825 776 conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine, and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, according to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

*796 574 415 576 With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give themselves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred [262] utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it, simple circular

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*796 574 262 415 576 wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aam-ngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each *796 574 576 side of the étagère a man was busy lifting one plate after another from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXIII /p.1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped the aforementioned mush from a trough and served it on the plates which were then immediately taken back again to their places. This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured [562] back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the feast; indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a [262] meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the following day.

*796 574 262 576 This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already appeared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

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*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
762 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[855] pated in the meal; indeed, even the women and children re-
[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[857] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
[533] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated, for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

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*796 574 262 576 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this in their möps as provisions for the trip.

*796 53 562 171 Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon, however, for the first and only time the women actively participated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappers, and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work and activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals, a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

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2. See p. 719 above.

*796 756 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely, that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that in the eyes of the Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

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It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/ who are likewise able to practice this art, because they might easily misuse it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the festive meals as a matter of principle.

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The bear festivals have no definite duration: the feasting goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives, friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear meat and fat lasts; in Tebach, Judin told his guests, Ditmar and Brevern, that it would last for many days since three bears had been killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13) the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to Nikolayevsk.

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As was mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previous year (1855) to witness this second part of the bear festival, concluding with the eating of the bear, among the Olcha in the village of Uda. My conjecture that their customs would not differ essentially from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Ditmar's report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

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When I arrived in the village of Uda, located only five versts below Kidsi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in the morning and stepped into one of its five houses, I found it decorated in the interior in the same manner as is done among the Gilyak for an imminent bear-festival feast. Here, however,

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opposite the étagère decorated with the bear's head and skin and with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak zach = Olcha gjamssassá), a second rack quite similar to the first one but somewhat smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its shelves likewise held meat and pieces of the fat of the dismembered bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passageway between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

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Olcha

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796 central area of the house between the two étagères was thickly covered with fir branches, on which troughs filled with bear meat and fat and decorated with gjamssassa stood here and there. At [415] both sides of them birch-bark bowls and large round wooden plates (Gilyak aam-ngir = Olcha kotá) for the diners were arranged in neat rows, though for the time being they were turned upside down; the bear bowls (Gilyak nichyr-ngir = Olcha nechará), however, described above in detail, stood upright on and below the bear rack. The number of these various implements came to seven on each side, which indicated 14 participants at the feast. To [574] begin with, there were only guests of honor from various villages, a Gilyak from Tylm among them; the villagers and other friends and acquaintances were not to participate until the following days.

And now the foods intended for the feast besides the bear 796 meat and fat /724/ were brought in wooden troughs and birch- 574 bark bowls and were set down side by side or one on top of the 576 other between central area of the yurt, covered with fir branches, and the bear hearth, and some of them were replaced by new ones as needed during the course of the meal. First, there were [415] four troughs about three feet long and a foot wide containing [177] millet mush (Olcha, like Gilyak, budá), a smaller trough only [262] about two feet long containing barley mush (Olcha, like Gilyak, mudí), a similar trough and a birch-bark basket two feet square in size containing yellow beans (Olcha turé) -- all Manchu-Chinese products; in addition, there was a trough two feet long with fairly well-crushed bilberries and a birch-bark bowl of fish oil. The server of the food sat astride a sled standing in front of the bear hearth, and the guests sat down on the bench of honor along the wall with the two most distinguished ones, among them the Gilyak from Tylm, in the center or innermost in the row numbering seven men from either side.

It was 12 o'clock; from outside resounded the previously [533] described drumming of the women, and the feast began. Each side of diners, counting from the center to the outer end, had its server and its marshal. The two former are young men appointed as such for the duration of the meal; I shall designate as

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796 marshals the two guests who sit on either side at the extreme end
574 of the diners First the servers turned up the large plates (kota)
[415] standing in one row on the floor, and likewise the birch-bark bowls
[412] in a second row behind them, with the hollow upwards, then took the plates from the floor, carried them to the server, who put in each of them an equal portion determined by the large iron ladle, and put them back in their former places, beginning with the rearmost plate standing next to the bear rack and proceeding toward the front and first attending to the implements on one side and
[262] then on the other. The first dish consisted of dry millet-mush. When the plates were provided with their portions, the two marshals got up and stationed themselves back to back at the pole put crosswise from the bear rack to the bench of honor, the server handed them the full plates, and they put them in the middle of the bench in front of the guests, always in the same order, beginning with the two in the middle and working toward the ends, so that the plates intended for themselves were put down last. Next they took the spoons from the bear rack and put one on each plate. Now the servers stepped forward again and took a taste from each one, always in the same order. Only then did the guests draw their plates closer and take a bite, but then laid the spoons down and pushed the plates away again, whereupon the two marshals, who had done likewise, got up again, first collected the spoons and put them back in place, and then gave the plates back to the servers, who put them on the floor. All this was done in the same order with regard to the guests. The servers now poured the contents of the plates into a birch-bark bowl, and the children were immediately at hand to lick the plates clean again to the great amusement of the guests. When they were finished with that, the second dish was carried in and served with the observation of the same formalities. /725/ It, too, consisted of
[262] millet mush, but with a small stick the server made a depression in each portion and put a spoonful of fish oil in it. This dish was not merely tasted by the guests and then pushed back, but was eaten; in fact, they summoned the children, who stretched out in front of them flat on their stomachs and were fed by them, and

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796 even older boys and youths stepped up and, having been bidden,
574 ate from the plates. After the utensils were once more cleaned in
576 the same fashion, the third dish, which consisted of cooked beans,
[262] came amid the same formalities and met the same fate as the first.
Then the guests moved forward to the edge of the bench so that
[415] they sat on it with their feet hanging down, and the servers handed
[271] them the bark cup ordinarily used for drinking water and fastened
to a handle with a bent end (1). It was full of water, and everyone

1. For hanging it on the rim of the large water-container found in every house near the house door.

drank from it. When they now stood up, there was confusion and noise in the house: the young people and boys, armed with fir branches, hastened to the door and posted themselves there, and the guests, in the order in which they had eaten, from the midmost to the outermost, first the one side and then the other, went to the door and received blows on their backs with the fir branches. The younger ones among them received especially many, and when they tried to avoid them by speed and agility there was great
[533] merriment among young and old. Outside they were greeted in the same way by youths and boys, but with drumming on the suspended beams by the women and girls. The first part of the feast was thus at an end.

After a short pause, when the guests had entered again and had taken their places in the same order, the second part began, which in all the details of the ceremonial, was identical with the first and ended the same way. The effort to keep everything the same went so far that even the same spoon had to be placed on the same plate -- which certainly was not done out of possible disgust -- and when one marshal once made a mistake in this, his attention was drawn to it by one of the guests and the spoon was immediately changed. Only some of the dishes were different. In this part
[262] beans formed the first course, with a spoonful of fish oil in each portion (the first part had ended with this same dish without the oil). This dish and the third as well, which consisted of fairly well

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796 crushed bilberries with a spoonful of fish oil, were consumed and
574 shared with a number of the younger and small fellow-guests who
576 were beckoned over, whereas the second dish, consisting of dry
[262] millet-mush, was refused and poured into a birch-bark bowl which stood in readiness. After this second part of the feast, which was concluded in the same way, there was a somewhat longer pause, which some of the guests used for sleeping.

796 After all the guests had assembled once more and had taken
574 their former places, the third part of the meal began, but of its
[262] three courses, which consisted of dry /726/ millet-mush, beans with fish oil, and dry barley-mush, only the second was eaten and was also approved by the nibbling youngsters, but the other two were
796 again cleared away in the customary manner. This part was dis-
574 tinguished from the previous two in that in the somewhat longer
533 pause between the second and third courses, one of the marshals, an aged, well-dressed man, who wore a belt of wood shavings around his fur coat, such as a number of other guests also had, in part recited and in part sang a few songs and thus contributed greatly to the entertainment of the company. It also provided another deviation in that at the end some of the young men went to the beam hanging in front of the house and on it, in place of the women and girls who otherwise acted here, performed several airs with changing rhythm.

796 The fourth part began with the same formalities as the earlier
574 ones and again millet mush with fish oil was brought as the first dish. When this was consumed, however, the large wooden plates
[415] were removed altogether and in their place the bear bowls (nechara)
[262] were brought to the food server. Into each bowl the latter poured a spoonful of liquid (albeit cold) bear fat (Olcha chimssa, i.e., fish oil) and then put on it several strips of solid bear-fat (Olcha nymu), which were cut into strips about a span long and half an inch wide
[264] and were strung on thin wooden sticks. Likewise he provided each bowl with a small, shovel-shaped stick and a handful of fine wood-shavings (gjamssassa), which, to be sure, are regarded as a symbol of holiness, but in this case serve for wiping the mouth and fingers.
[576] When all the bowls, filled, stood on the floor, they were put before

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796 the guests by the server and marshal in the same ceremonious
574 fashion. Before the guests pulled them toward them, however, a
576 taste had to be taken from each of them, which the servers did at three or four portions and then let themselves be succeeded by other young people in order to grant them, too, some of the choice morsels. The portions were measured out so generously that they could not be dealt with by the guests alone, and therefore members of the household and other members of the village, who had gradually begun to make their appearance for the forthcoming fifth part, were diligently helping the guests. After the drink of water, offered by the server as always, departure followed, and the scene customary at the end of each part was enacted at the door and outside the house.

796 The fifth part of the meal required some preparation, and the
574 pause between it and the fourth part was therefore longer than at other
[264] times: the bear bowls, set in a row on the floor, were cleaned by collecting and taking away in one of them the remains left in a few of them, but the rest were licked clean by the children. Similarly, the birch-bark bowls containing the foods which had merely been tasted were put aside. Their contents were intended for the next day and would suffice for almost as large a company, since during the first three parts a dish pushed back had always alternated with a dish that was eaten, and the former was always dry, while the latter was served with a spoonful of fish oil in each portion. Finally, the bear bowls as well as the small shovel-shaped sticks and the gjamssassa had to be taken to their places, /727/ the former below and around the bear rack, the latter two on its shelves. In the meantime the house was gradually filling up more and more with people, for in this now imminent last part of the feast not only the invited guests, but other adult villagers of the male sex were permitted to take part, and they had come in large numbers indeed and had taken their seats on the remaining benches of the house next to the row of guests. In the passageway between the benches and the central area of the house boys were scuffling, and even some women and girls could be seen standing in the front section.
[576] With so large a number of diners, the ceremonial hitherto most

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Olcha

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796 strictly observed, with one server and one marshal on either side
574 of the house, seemed to be regarded as no longer feasible, or at
[576] least as unnecessary. On the other hand, the food server was given
[262] an assistant to speed up the carving of the bear meat into individual portions. The head of the bear provided the first two portions, the skull with the upper jaw forming the one portion, and the lower jaw the other. Each of them was placed on a round piece of
[237] the head-skin of the bear, the hair turned up, with a layer of fir
[415] twigs directly underneath. The rest of the bowls or plates likewise consisted of such pieces, about a foot in diameter in size, from the head or leg and foot skin of previously killed bears, and some of them were sewed together out of several patches. Like the bear bowls or wooden plates and the like, they are part of the household utensils of the yurt or, more correctly, of the village, since, as common property, they are used as needed, sometimes in one or sometimes in another of its houses. The bear meat, however, is never placed directly upon these skin bowls, but always on fir twigs spread over them, which, however, is not exactly clean either, since they probably do not even undergo the aforementioned cleaning method. The first two portions were put before the two most distinguished guests, who were sitting in the middle, one of whom was the Gilyak from Tylm. The rest also received their portions as soon as they were divided up, but without any ceremony, by one
[262] of the servers. The portions were shockingly large, for, in addition to the meat, they contained 7-8 huge strips or slices of bear fat.
796 But no one as yet touched the portion allotted to him. First the oil
354 lamps in the house had to be lighted: four in the vicinity of the
574 four corners of it, where they usually burn, a fifth lamp at one of its longitudinal walls, and finally, a sixth which is specifically associated with the bear festival. Driven into the floor behind the bear rack, that is to say, in the passageway between the latter and the bench of honor, in front of the two guests sitting in the center of it, there was a stick which at the upper end spread out in three diverging arms. On them was set a pecten shell (from
[237] Pecten jessoensis Jay), filled with fish oil or seal oil and equipped with a wick. The small flame of this lamp threw its light especially

Gi /727 cont./
796 upon the rack in the central section of the yurt, decorated with
574 fir branches, numerous wood shavings (gjamssassa), and the bear-
[354] skin hanging down from the top, while the other lamps shed a gloomy light upon the long row of totally befurred fellow-diners sitting along its walls and, with legs crossed, waiting for the meal.
Gi There was /728/ something orderly and yet savage and uncivilized
796 about this strange picture. Now one of the servers stepped up to the
574 guests who had received the two head-pieces of the bear, cut from each o
576 these, as well as from the portions of those sitting next to them, a small piece of meat into his bear-bowl, and went off with it. Only now did the two guests in the middle draw up their portions and begin to eat, and all the others followed their example forthwith. Immediately smaller and larger fellow-guests presented themselves here and there, and a few young men passed along the whole row of diners and collected from them contributions in special bear-bowls for those who did not participate in the meal, and a few bites were also given to the women and girls.

Gi By now it was 7:30 in the evening; the feast had therefore
796 lasted seven and a half hours and, judging by the size of the still unconsumed portions, would not be over for a long time. Unfortu-
Gi nately I was obliged to depart, since the night had to be utilized for
[114] traveling on account of the great amount of surface water that had already formed over the ice covering of the river at this time of year.

G Let us now compare this second act of the bear festival as it
+796 proceeds, on the one hand, among the Gilyak and, on the other,
171 among the Olcha. In spite of the great similarity in the principal
Gi and secondary features of this festive performance, a very different
796 spirit in the way it is carried out among the Gilyak and among the
171 Olcha is apparent to us. Among the former the character of the festival is altogether original; among the latter, that of having been transmitted. While the object of the whole is exactly the same, purely utilitarian, in both cases -- the ultimate consumption of the bear -- very different ways are used by the one and by the other to
G try to attain it. Among the Gilyak the bear festival proceeds from
+796 the idea of the bear cult, or at least is tied up with it: it is
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825 produced in part by veneration for the mighty beast, in part by
171 superstitious fear of it and its spirits of revenge, it is given the
Gi place of honor in the house, the people appear to act only with
796 its permission, reluctantly and out of sheer necessity, as it were,
825 and, finally, all guilt and responsibility are shifted from them.
171 On the other hand, scarcely anything of the sort is noted among
Gi the Olcha: the only superstitious conceptions referring to the bear
[123] and the bear festival which I found among them consisted in the
[372] fact that they did not want to sell me any bear meat and that they
[177] regarded it as uïtsch (an idea which they have likewise received
[784] from the Gilyak) to go outside with fire taken from the hearth during the bear festival, which, they said, was by no means forbidden at any other time. In contrast to the fearful, superstitious, and, as it were, religiously colored conception of the Gilyak, the second and most important part of the bear festival has degenerated into mere ceremonial among the Olcha, a series of pedantically observed formalities, such as one might expect from the millenniums-
Gi old Chinese, but not from a primitive people. Perhaps this degenera-
[177] tion of a custom originally foreign to the Olcha, which does not have its roots in the people, has indeed come about under Manchu-
G Chinese influence. Among them, too, all the foods served at the
*796 festival, with almost the sole exception of bear meat and fat, are
262 of Manchu-Chinese /729/ origin, whereas among the Gilyak, in
177 accordance with ancient tradition, sturgeon and hausen meat and
Gi mossj prepared from species of salmon play a prominent role at the
796 festival. It can be observed, incidentally, that the eating of for-
262 eign, Manchu-Chinese foods is always done with greater formality
177 even among the Gilyak, which can be explained by the fact that it automatically lifts primitive man out of his everyday routine and
Gi puts him in an elevated festive mood. The greater number of Manchu-
[439] Chinese foods at the bear festival of the Olcha in comparison with the Gilyak is undoubtedly due to the fact that their sources for these products are closer and more numerous as a result of both the permanent residence of Chinese traders in the habitation areas of the Olcha and Goldi and the more frequent and active intercourse between these peoples and the Chinese on the Sungari.

/729 cont./

G *796 114 262 Gi 796 114 262 After this insertion on the bear festival of the Olcha, which seemed to me necessary for a comparison with the same festive act among the Gilyak, let us again take up the thread of our description of the bear festival of the Gilyak. We still lack any knowledge of its final act: what happens to the skull and bones of the animal after the fat, meat, and internal organs of the bear have been eaten? Unfortunately I was not an eyewitness here, and I can only report what I heard from the Gilyak and what must follow from other facts. Ditmar left Tebach before this final act. He concludes his notes from there with the remark that his further presence there would apparently offend Judin and other Gilyak, and that the repeated assertions by the former that he could not wait for the end of the festival because it would drag out for a long time yet showed only too clearly the desire that he speed up his departure. On the day before, when the first bear-meat was eaten, the bear heads were still untouched and bore their snout and head bands. When I arrived among the Olcha in Uda, I did not see these bands: if they are used at all by the Olcha, they had already been removed; the skull and the lower jaw had been removed from the skin and were, as was said, set before the guests for the consumption of the meaty parts. The former was not split, and I saw nothing of the brain parts. It is not likely, however, that they would forgo these especially tasty morsels. But in order to get at them, they must split the skull. From this one may surely conclude that the teachers of the Olcha, the Gilyak, do likewise and, after the other parts of the bear have been eaten, finally skin the head and split the skull. But this final blow directed against the bear, the splitting of its skull, may be one of the acts that are preferably done in secret, or at least not in the presence of strangers, and therefore Ditmar's departure from Tebach was especially desired. Just like the removal of the bear head from the skin, so most probably is the splitting of the skull done in the house, where immediately or soon afterward its meat and the brain parts are eaten. Arguing in favor of this is the circumstance that the instrument with which the skull of the bear is split is brought into the house at the very beginning of the second act of the festival. /730/ It is a pickax (Gilyak

G *796 262 G *796 262 G *796 262 G *796 412

G /730 cont./
* 796 mytsching), which is illustrated on Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 5,
412 from a specimen that lay on the bear rack in Judin's house during
G the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially
[172] by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, this pickax is unmistakably a specimen from ancient times and certainly in former times had a stone blade, which was later replaced with an
G iron one (1). Finally, when the brain of the bear has been eaten,
* 796
766
825
[262]

1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and used to kill sturgeon and hausen has a stone end-piece (see above, p. 806). The caption on Plate LI should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest -- an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skull, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull of the bear, however, is treated differently, in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I
Gi had had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The
[412] above-mentioned pickax, apparently from the Stone Age, is also used for a similar purpose by the Goldi, to judge from traces of
Gi blows. They do not, however, split the skull of the bear, but con-
[825] tent themselves, forgoing eating the brain, with beating a hole
[262] through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Buri, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Ussuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed it in order to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

G
[136]

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 8-16).

G /730 cont./
*796 sometimes the right, sometimes the left parietal bone. In the
766 habitation area of the Gilyak I saw trees hung with dolphin skulls,
825 to be sure, but I never came across any with bear skulls, though the number of bears killed or captured and eaten there annually is probably much larger than among the Goldi. This definitely indicates that, unlike the Goldi, the Gilyak, aside from breaking open or splitting the bear skull, do something else to it which is scarcely less suitable than the covering of the bones for removing it from the sight of human beings. In fact at various places in the forest near Gilyak dwellings I have came across spots which, upon close inspection, proved to be sites of bear skulls: trunks of young trees were cut off several inches above the ground, the remaining piece of trunk was split into two prongs, and the bear skull, split down to its base was wedged into the split in such a way that the two prongs projected out of the zygomatic arches and held it clamped between them close to the ground; in addition, on either side a short wooden peg was driven from above through the zygomatic arches and into the ground. /731/ If grass grows over the spot,
Gi nothing is recognizable to the casual glance. This method of deal-
796 ing with the bear skulls was transmitted from the Gilyak to the
766 Olcha and from them to the Samagir, who are closely related to
825 them and also directly adjacent to them on Lake Udyl and else-
[171] where. In the immediate vicinity of the village of Ngagha on the
G Gorin I found such bear-skull sites in two directions and in one of
[171] them, which lay in an open birch grove, counted within a circle of 30 paces, no less than nine bear skulls treated in exactly the same way as among the Gilyak. Since the rest of the bear bones presumably also lie buried in the same places, they are not merely bear-skull sites, but general bear-bone grounds.

The Goldi, who hang their bear skulls on trees, do something similar with other bear bones that are suitable for it. Near
Gi Bitschu, at the mouth of the Gorin, for example, I saw a decayed
[182] or split bear-skull lying on the stump of a broken tree a few feet high, but below it in the underbrush hung various bones of the animal, among them a shoulder blade and a number of dorsal vertebrae

Gi /731 cont./
1796 which were strung in a row by means of the Foramina vertebralia
766 on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Goldi birch-
825 bark bowls and baskets, such as are found also on the grave sites,
782 of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as
a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

G It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ es-
*796 sentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their
825 basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, espe-
184 cially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having
174 come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur, they found a home
[648] there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu,
migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them, determined chiefly by the different method of construction and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

G As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a
*796 low, conical, snow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the
184 top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the
[342] bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young
fir trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow
at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ringlet-shaped, curled
wooden-shavings (zach) hanging down from their crowns and from
G the branches of neighboring shrubs. Only when a bear has been
[239] eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or
even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior deco-
rating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck
obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small rail-
ing, and in front of it is put a bundle of wooden curls (zach) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk, Duĭ, Jwlk, Pud-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/732 cont./

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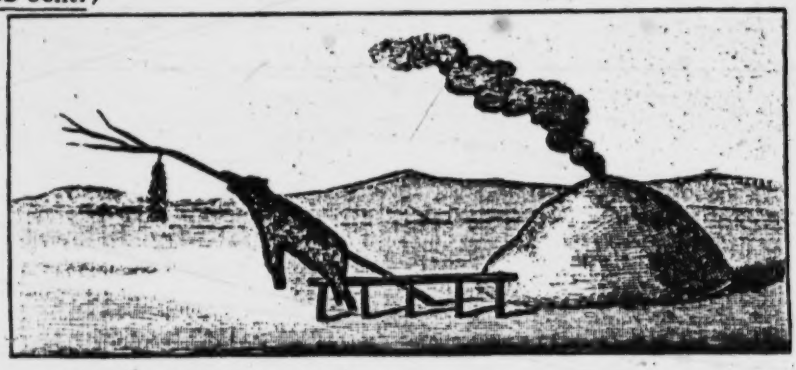

Bearskin hung up near the yurt.

If the head and leg pieces of the skin have already been cut off to be used as bowls at the bear-festival feasts, they are sewed back on the rump section on such an occasion, in order to make the skin look whole.

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The narrow, low, and dark passageway leading into the earth yurt and the small entrance often closed only with a board that can be pushed in a horizontal direction instead of a door make it impossible to lead the bear in and out here, and in the interior of the yurt, taken up almost entirely by the hearth and the three sleeping-benches, there is no room for temporarily displaying even one bear, much less two or three (1). Thus this principal pleasure of the Amur

1. See the plan and the arrangement of a Gilyak earth-yurt, p. 452 of this work.

Gilyak during a bear festival must be renounced by their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin, in so far as there are only earth yurts there.

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The opportunity for this was first offered to the Gilyak when the earth yurts (toryf), originally customary among them even on the mainland, were replaced by houses built in the Chinese fashion (tschadryf), which in my day had already taken place throughout on the mainland, except for one earth yurt in Pättach, and to a large extent along the Liman coast of Sakhalin (2). At first, the conservative spirit which

2. See p. 469 above.

/732 cont./

*796 animates all primitive peoples may have resisted any change in the
342 traditional custom, but gradually there must have been greater
184 utilization of the advantages which the new housing offered to them
177 by its position on level ground and its greater spaciousness also for the celebration of the bear festival and this could not have taken long for a people with such practical talents as the Gilyak. If one sees the Amur Gilyak lead their bears, temporarily displayed in the houses, out through the door and immediately back in again many times, apparently without any purpose whatsoever, and stroll around with them in this fashion from house to house throughout the entire village, it gives the impression as though, with their traditional memory, so to speak, of the limitation that was formerly imposed on them in this respect and within which their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin still find themselves today they revel in the enjoyment offered to them by their present /733/ dwellings, which are more suitable for the bear festival. As a matter of fact, this custom seems to be only the manifestation of joy and satisfaction gradually becoming customary among the continental Gilyak over the change in the construction of their dwellings which has taken place in the course of time.

*796 Another difference in the bear-festival practices determined
342 by the different construction of the dwellings among the continental
184 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Gilyak pertains to the transfer of the bear's head from the läsng into the yurt. Among the former this is done, not through the door, but always through one of the windows of the house. The earth yurt, however, has no windows and gets daylight only through the smoke vent, which, aside from the door, is generally the only opening in it leading to the outside. I therefore suspect that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, this transfer taken place, not through the door, but through the smoke vent, which would scarcely be possible in the Gilyak houses built in the Chinese fashion, and therefore the continental Gilyak are obliged to use the window opening instead of the smoke vent, which is also much easier. I think that confirmation of this conjecture of mine with regard to the Sakhalin Gilyak is to be found in the fact that over a yurt in which a bear has been eaten the skin of the animal consumed, immediately after the meal is finished, is spread over a pole jutting

/733 cont./

*796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

*796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

*796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

[192] 1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

*796 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of
778 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
353 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
184 from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt.
[171] In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau.

184 /734 cont./
*796 I was present at the bear festival in Tyk when the meat of
574 the animal was already being eaten, that is, toward the end of the
262 second act. Parts of the dismembered animal were still lying on
[114] the bear rack, and among them the skull already cleaned of the muscle meat, which I tried to buy, in vain, of course, from the owner of the animal. Several Gilyak busily eating their portions still sat on the benches, others were either crowding around them or in the passageways between the hearth and the benches, each one trying to snatch a piece of meat here or there with his knife. One of the members of the household was collecting contributions from the diners in a little trough in order to give them to the women and children, and similar troughs with pieces of bear meat were carried to the other yurts of the village. Even among the Amur Gilyak, when this time comes during the feast, formalities usually cease, and here not a trace of them remained -- everybody milled
[177] around informally in the narrow space. A meal of Manchu-Chinese products, cereals and legumes, such as is customarily served to guests in the Amur villages in lavish amounts, seemed not to have preceded the eating of the meat, since the host and owner of the bear evidently was not one of the well-to-do and only a little of these products reach Sakhalin, and that only through the Amur Gilyak and Olcha. Under these circumstances it was understandable that in Dui, where soon thereafter a bear festival was celebrated amid a great conflux of participants, a subsequent celebration took place immediately afterward for the gratification of the latter, at which, lacking other food, dogs were eaten, as has already been mentioned above (1) in connection with the discussion

1. See pp. 661 and 662.

of cynophagy among the Gilyak.

*796 It struck me that on Sakhalin there was nothing to be seen
184 of any of the collateral entertainments, such as dog races, all kinds of games for young and old, etc., which customarily accompany the bear festival among the Amur Gilyak. In summing up, one may conclude that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, especially in the region with earth yurts exclusively, that is, along the

G /734 cont./
*796 northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the
184 Tymy Valley, as a result of their greater remoteness and poorer circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

A /735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a
175 glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/.
796 Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed
A 796 accounts of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube
114 with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Messrs. Rudanofskij (2)

A [113]

1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Aino /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Mittheil. der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

A [113]

2. See P. Tikhmenov", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-127.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

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3. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.

/735 cont./

796 114 the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussuja, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," [176] in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to

[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure, 796 182 [114] thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation,

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsia. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.

which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion [181] at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me
[171] to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and
the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
796 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
23 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,
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[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[182] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
[183] actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss] is more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first, or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

/736 cont./

231 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and
171 built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

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1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut.

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

796 These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called
798 inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imi-
171 tations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

/736 cont./

796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
778 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedicated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke and fragrance produced by buring them and to express to it or its manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
231

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
[413] has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.
[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear, more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear, which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of honors.

796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a libation, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth decorated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedicated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

A /737 cont./

796 782 [535] horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage, whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

000 /739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 776 124 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ýżigy (**) and designate

G [361] * From the villages of Patchä and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

G [104] ** Wherever the author used ы and я from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kĭngulātsch, an attribute that means the same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to G [778] [532] whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuĭk (***). But they

G [361] *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo; see pp. 448, 535.

776 /739 cont./ But they
124 insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
778 called Mäü and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human
171 figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

124 I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
782 but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
771 question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
776 side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god" and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction between their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for various idols and their shamanism that I found:

771 Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
776 of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-
[782] stract,commpletely empty one and does not at all fit into the life, into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing concrete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word "pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about "God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except that he is "kíngulātsch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,
771 however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them, such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him, therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/740 cont./

771 powers always only directed against him and superior to him in strength, and which he more or less personifies in concrete, but crude representation. This feeling of his own helplessness in the 771 face of the forces hostile to him, and yet the inalienable wish to 812 avoid their harmful encroachment upon his life -- these causes, together with the inevitable, involuntary, and unconscious view that in the action of these powers, as in his own actions, there is a cause-and-effect, cause-and-consequence relationship, lead him to a series of conclusions through which his own acts and the action of the powers hostile to him are brought into a causal nexus 771 And this is the origin of his many-shaped superstition which gives 812 rise to customs and special performances that are intended to pacify the evil forces or to keep them away, as well as to the per- 532 sonified representation of the evil powers in this or that crude, approximate fashion, through carving animal and human figures in wood, and to shamanism The many wooden figures of bears, lizards, toads, snakes, and even of human beings which are found among the Gilyak may have this origin and meaning. The Gilyak does not regard them as gods and does not worship them. They are only representations or intimations of hostile powers in Nature from which he seeks to escape. The fact that human figures are also found among them should not be interpreted as though they were personified representations of divine beings, such as anthropomorphism has created in more spiritual fashion in other places. 771 In the view of a primitive people, and the Gilyak, too, man stands 812 wholly and exclusively within Nature; according to their superstition he stands /741/ in a close and immediate causal relationship with the events of Nature (or evil powers), and this in itself may make the representation of a human being necessary for the performance of many a shamanistic act. The conception of God, the [776] Good One, however, is much too vague and lacking in content among the Gilyak to make it possible to speak of any connection with it and thus also of anthropomorphic ideas and representations. But though the Gilyak do not regard this superstition and shamanism, etc. as divine service or prayer, but only as a practical act in their lives in order to escape all harm, nevertheless we are obliged to call this their religious consciousness. And thus we find a strange

/741 cont./

771 and monstrous contradiction in the religious conceptions of the
812 Gilyak: on the hand, the idea of a single supreme and benevolent being, even though so completely empty that it precludes the worship of it, and, on the other hand, the purification of countless evil powers, along with a crude cult to ward them off and keep them away; many representations of animal and human forms in the yurts, and yet the Gilyak say that they have no representations of God; countless superstitious and shamanistic acts, and yet they deny that they pray. And, on the other hand, they speak of a supreme, wholly good being and have the word "pray" (mjāgratsch) and yet do not worship this god. How is this to be ex-
174 plained? It seems to be that there is not a dualism of conceptions
771 here, but rather a matter of two completely separate concepts with
812 connection with each other and also historically distinct. -- The former is a thoroughly attenuated, obscure, and now only traditional deism which among the Gilyak consists of no more than merely a few traditional words -- God, the Good One, pray; and exerts no influence upon the rest of their so-called religious conceptions and acts (superstition, shamanism, idols) other than that those words are not carried over to these conceptions and acts. The second religious conception is probably basically identical with that of many primitive Siberian peoples and aims at keeping evil spirits and powers away from human beings by means of various superstitious observances and performances. The former deistic belief is probably the echo of an ancient conception perhaps
[171] commemorative of the cradle of the Gilyak. In fact, in the attribute of "God," kingulātsch, and in the abstract, nihilistic character of the conception there is accord with the Central Asiatic religious systems, but the second conception may have originated at a much later time, after the Gilyak tribe had moved downstream into the wilderness of the eastern forests of the Asiatic continent (?) and therefore shows many points of contact and similarities with the religious conceptions of the neighboring Siberian peoples, and even of the Ainu. The first conception was completely lost, except for a few words, and another, a cruder and more concrete one developed, without, however, on account of the persistence of

771 /741 cont. /
174 tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the
812 Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[196] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. 1, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kägn and tschngai (1).

[192] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped säwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises
532 him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

/742 cont./

778 it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often
789 it is not exactly an idol, but some other kind of amulet, straps
755 knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the sick man's
532 neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery.
Such an amulet is called ngif and kissj. From Judin in Tebach I
[126] obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face
(see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. 1, pp. 57, 58.)

778 3. Gilyak. The village of Poghobi on the west coast of
755 Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shavings
184 on a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whole
bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This
zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in
her chest and sat there groaning and complaining. The zach was
tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her
bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to
be a remedy. In fact, after she had received this medicine, the
woman stopped groaning and behaved very calmly and quietly the
rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a super-
stition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still
used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to
take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures
which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman.
(2 W.R. I, p. 6.)

778 4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate
755 LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 4, was named for me by the Gilyak as myikr.
532 It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one
was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circum-
stances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is
carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off
[126] sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kuik. In the same vil-
778 lage among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away
532 for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of
another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical
pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented
human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically
pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

/743 cont./

778 down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in
532 back and seem to represent hair. Below the face the hair is fastened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with loose grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols were named for me by the Allof Gilyak as tybys. The Gilyak Surgin, however, did not know this name and used the expression tyf-ýzigy, i.e., house god. This was the first time that I heard the word ýzigy used in connection with the idols of the Gilyak, and I believe that this was done only in order to make me understand. I was likewise unable to find out whether by tyf, that is, house, the yurt of the Gilyak or the little idol-house was meant. Since the latter bears the name kánigs, I must relate it to the yurt of the Gilyak, and it therefore seems that these idols mainly play the part of lares or guardians of the house. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

778 5. Gilyak. In the Gilyak village of Patt (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) I saw three idols standing outside a storage chamber,
532 human figures hewn out of blocks of wood, very similar to those
171 of the Olcha, though not with the particular expression which seems to be characteristic of all the idols of the latter. When I inquired, the Gilyak informed me that they revere these kägn like gods. In Patt, they said, they are also kept in the yurts, but not among other Gilyak. I then had the idols in the yurt showed to me: three large, wooden human-figures with old, smoky zach around their necks, as is also the custom among the Olcha, stood there on the beams of the yurt above the rear sleeping-bench. --
778 In the village of Kuik, too, I saw idols in the yurts, standing in the
532 same place as in Patt This is a very dark spot in the yurt, con-
184 cealed from sight, and anyone who does not know that the Gilyak
[353] keep their idols there will not easily find them. Many a yurt may therefore have contained idols, while seeming to me not to have any. But many a one actually does not have any, as I discovered in Wait. -- It seems to me that /744/ the farther downstream one goes on the Amur the less esteemed or at least less obviously revered the idols are. (1 W.R. II, pp. 119, 137, note 5.)

/744 cont./

778 755 532 [126] 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p.1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

[782] All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not excepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

778 532 751 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar purpose: they are the lalż and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

/744 cont./

778 run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a
951 lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one
532 another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

778 The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang
776 figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifi-
532 cally: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the re-
[953] ports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring
[961] him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no
775 wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
766 the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
776 to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
[532] two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
[778] with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

778 I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans,
532 if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the
[951] purpose of the whole semicircle Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

G 778 532 /745 cont./ more general meaning and to refer to amulets in general (Bm. II, pp. 30-32).

Gi 778 532 [184] 7. Idols in human shape among other Amur peoples. The wooden idols, säwa, of the Samagir are shaped exactly like those of the Olcha and Goldi (Plate LIII /p.1253 /, Figs. 6-8) and stand in the same place, propped upright on the sleeping bench along the transverse wall of the yurt, away from the door. (1 W.R. II, p. 77.)

Gi [171] [126] 8. Goldi. The same custom as among the Gilyak, wearing idols around the neck, probably exists among all Amur peoples. Fig. 1 on Plate LIV /p. 1254/ represents such a small idol worked in lead, which I obtained from a Goldi on the Ussuri. (Bm. I, p. 58.)

9. Samagir. I found a small idol hanging in a deserted hunting-hut of the Samagir along the Gorin, and it reproduced the human figure in exactly the same manner and with the same features as the large säwa which one sees in the yurts of the Samagir, Goldi, and Olcha. The single deviation was that it bore a wooden eyelet on the head, through which a strap was drawn for the purpose of wearing it around the neck (Plate LIV /p. 1254 /, Fig. 2). When this is done, my guide said, the säwa is fed by the one wearing it, in that the owner smears around its mouth a bit of everything that Gi [755] he himself eats. When I asked what the säwa actually is, he said that it is everything, the well-being of everyone, and thus his, my guide's, physical well-being, for example, the healing of his leg bitten by one ooo of my dogs. I could not find out anything more (2). There is

2. The guide of the author also called säwa the little stick, mentioned on p. 1113, deposited for a musk deer taken from a hunting tent on the Gorin (1 W.R. II, pp. 84, 85).

Gi 778 777 17 ooo There is evidently connected with the säwa the idea of the prosperity and well-being of man under the influence of a power outside of him and superior to him. This conception may not be very different from that of the Gilyak. A /746/ fact which speaks very much in

778 /746 cont. /A /746/ fact which speaks very much in
791 favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples,
171 whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

778 10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the
532 animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The
825 reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kägn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few
[171] bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kuĭk, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

[126] 2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

/746 cont./

778 the front side of the bear-idol, the lizard mä(r)ngai on the back side
532 of it, and the snake kýlanga, whose image is found on either side
825 between the first two. I often witnessed the awe and fear of the Gilyak before reptiles (*).

* See Appendix 20, paragraph 2 /p. 1204/.

Among the Gilyak, besides the bear, one finds idols of the att or märeder, with downright superstitious fear connected with it among them. But since the tiger and leopard, which are united under the same name of att or märeder, are rarely seen in their northern homeland and casualties caused by them are rare, the idols of the att are less common than those of the bear. The slight acquaintance of the Gilyak with these predatory animals causes them to make the idols of them poorly and superficially (3);

3. See Vol. I, pp. 92-94, of this work.

see Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, Figs. 4, 5, 6. Fig. 4 represents an att idol which I found in the village of Kuik. It bears none of the marks which characterize the tiger and leopard and are present on the representations of these animals among the Goldi. Only the general shape is similar to those figures. /747/ But that this figure is in fact supposed to represent an att is certain, since I obtained the idols from a Gilyak expert in this. (Bm. I, pp. 59, 61.)

532 11. Gilyak. A fish carved out of wood, which came from
825 the Gilyak village of Tebach, seems to serve less as an idol or amulet than as a piece of carving, as a representation, tschngai in general. It is supposed to represent the fish ngy-tscho, which is unknown to me. Even earlier I acquired from Tebach the figure of another small fish, the pilengat, Cyprinus carpio, which likewise had no significance other than that of pai (see p. 1090). Both are illustrated on Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 4, 5. Later, I obtained another carved fish from Tebach, which was supposed to represent the pak(ch?)-tscho, i.e., a large pilengat-tscho. (Bm. II, p. 32.)

/747 cont./

778 532 825 123

12. Olcha. In the village of Adi (on the Amur) my first concern was to search for a wooden idol which was supposed to represent a tiger and which Maximowicz had seen here on his first voyage upstream. At that time it was located in a nearby grove under an old ash tree. But we could not find it there anymore. We therefore inquired among the natives and demanded to see the idol, but the people simply did not want to understand us and finally declared that such a thing would cause them sickness of the body. It was not until we promised them tobacco that they were willing to show the idol. First they led us to a smashed idol of the animal. There was little to be seen on it: it represented the animal lying down, the tail lying over the back, and the broad short head clearly indicated a kind of cat. Then an Olcha guided me into the woods and pointed out to me here a second idol of the animal, which he carefully kept in a small crate made out of pieces of wood. A tiger could be recognized from this idol without any doubt: it was about two feet long and likewise represented the animal as it lies in wait, except that the tail was resting on the back. The head was short and broad, the chin likewise short. Over the back of the animal a black stripe was drawn, from which alternating black and red (one of the Olcha said "yellow") stripes ran crosswise over the sides. This representation made it certain that the idol represented the tiger and not Felis irbis, which was further confirmed by the accurate oral description which they were able to give of the animal. The idol, however, had not been made by them themselves, but by the shaman. The people called the animal máre and máre-mafá. The latter designation, with the epithet "the old one," in itself reveals an analogy with the attitude toward the bear to whom this epithet specifically and exclusively belongs, for among them the bear is called simply mafá or búju-mafá, the old animal, although búju also refers to the elk. The fear that the animal inspires in the natives may have led to the epithet "the old one" for the tiger, just as for the bear. For this reason a superstition similar to the one linked to the bear may be linked ot it, and this fear may give rise to the making of idols -- bears as well as tigers. They did not

778 532 825

/747 cont./

778 like to speak of the tiger, like the bear, avoided naming it, and
532 hesitated to show the idol for fear of coming to grief and /748/
[825] falling ill because of it. This was the first and unmistakable trace that I found of the tiger in the Amur region.

In the woods where the tiger idol was there were other wooden idols -- representing bears and other animals, as well as human beings, most of them under larger trees, propped against the trunk or hidden in the bushes. Many had already fallen over or had been pushed to another spot and lay there neglected under the feet of passers-by. This disregard of the idols absolutely proves that the representation and keeping of them is prompted only by a superstitious fear and that they are only a means of escaping evil powers rather than a means of attracting good spirits and making friends with them, in which case the idols would have to be held in esteem. (1 S.R. II, pp. 2-4.)

778 13. Olcha. In the Olcha village of Dshai I acquired an
532 idol for warding off sicknesses, which represents an imaginary ani-
751 mal with a large heart in its mouth (Plate LIX /p. 1259/, Fig. 5). --
126 (2 S.R. I, p. 35.)

778 14. Goldi. In the village of Naichi I again saw two tiger
532 idols of exactly the same nature as the ones in Adi, only not
825 represented as lying down, but erect. Again a black stripe ran over the back, from which alternating black and red stripes were drawn crosswise over the sides. The tail was long and had black and red rings. The Goldi called this idol máre-mafá, too, but since the epithet mafá ordinarily belongs to the bear, the latter, for distinction, is also called sahár-mafá, "the black old one." (1 S.R. II, p. 44.)

15. Goldi. Near the village of Agdrai on the Ussuri, the wooden figure of a large cat from the leopard group stood, concealed by logs, under an oak tree. I immediately summoned some of the older men of the village in order to obtain some information about the animal that it represented. Though the representation was crude, the cat genus was unmistakable. Moreover, the shape of the animal was quite reminiscent of the idols of the tiger in Adi and Naichi. The low legs, indicated only

Goldi RX3
Tungus RUS
Manegir

Gi 778 532 825 /748 cont./ rudimentarily, suggested the lurking pose which is characteristic of cats. The markings of the idol, however, were completely different from those of the tiger: instead of the cross-stripes, numerous ring-shaped rosettes covered the body, and, to be sure, with a red spot in the center alternating with red with a black spot in the center; this marking extended even to the tail. A black stripe ran over the back to the tip of the tail; black and red cross-stripes ran from the snout obliquely toward the neck. The people thought that the representation of the animal (Irbis ?) which they called jérga, was very true to nature.

Gi 778 532 126 I wanted to sketch the idol and asked, since the mosquitoes were very annoying in the woods, whether they could not bring the idol into the yurt. But the Goldi would not agree to this at all, anymore than they did to my question as to whether they would sell me the idol. On the other hand, a Goldi offered /749/ to carve out of wood and to paint for me an identical and true-to-nature idol of the jérga, which he did (Plate LIX /p. 1259/, Fig. 3) (1 S.R. III, pp. 29, 30.)

Gi 778 532 825 126 16. Goldi. In Dschuada on the Ussuri I acquired in trade small wooden idols of a tiger and an Ussuri leopard. The former is somewhat larger than the other one, which may be related to the different sizes of the animals. Both have exactly the same shape as the large idols, but are in miniature. The marking of the Irbis differs from the one from Agdrai in that the ring-shaped rosettes do not enclose one spot, but several (Plate LIX /p. 1259/, Figs. 1, 2). (Bm. I, p. 61.)

Gi 778 532 825 17. Goldi. In Chaizo I had already seen two still smaller idols of the tiger and leopard on a Goldi who wore them attached to the sleeve of his jacket, probably as a kind of amulet against an attack by these animals, just as they also wear wooden human idols around the neck. (1 S.R. III, p. 49.)

T 778 532 751 825 18. Manegir. Among the Manegir I not infrequently noticed small idols carved out of wood which often had the shape of fantastic birds and dragons, and which were probably made for the purpose of warding off evil spirits and sicknesses and the like, as among the peoples on the lower Amur. (2 S.R. III, p. 41.)

778 /749 cont./
532 Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal
825 Figures and Others
755

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with
[775] reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idol-images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's
[126] head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Allof. The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the points marked with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

778 20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not
532 far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the
825 Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (att) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic; see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an att head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

778 Finally I found here the representation of an animal
825 reminiscent of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an
532 amphibian, and the wide snout was densely studded with teeth.
755 The natives called it chaż, or, as an idol, chaż-kägn, but knew nothing about the animal which the figure represented, in that they had neither seen such an animal in the water or on land nor heard it mentioned in their traditions. They simply said that this

778 /750 cont./
532 figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of
825 the ailment (Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)
[755] 21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy
[126] many idols, all different and some of them very interesting, for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 4); several human figures had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

[126] I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the idols is put and which is called toll-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pómi-tscho) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 5), as well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound around them and several clothed in bearskin stood on a shelf in
[126] the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could
778 not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many
415 idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of
532 various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toll-ngir. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p. 1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel
[126] was called tschobrä and was used for the same purpose. No amount
[784] of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that it was uitsch and would cause her death.

/750 cont./

778 532 [126] Several neatly carved and interesting idols were also sold to me in the village of Patt. On one the back of the head had the shape of a heart; on another two human figures stood on a block which represented two hearts (Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 5). /751/ The heart (ngif), by the way, is very often used on such carvings (see 13 /p. 1202/ above).

[825] Among the idols here there was one with the head of a tung or sea bear /fur seal/. The sea dog /harbor seal/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (2 S.R. I, pp. 6-9).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tschchyrkrach at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a flying fish-man. The head is similar to the head of a fish, with iron teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass-beads. The front and rear extremities are attached near the back of the neck. The former are evidently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out toward the front, the latter toward the rear, approximately on a horizontal plane with the head, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 1). C. v. Ditmar (who was in part instrumental in my obtaining the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patchä there is a legend which he was not disinclined to connect with it, since this village and the cape mentioned were not far apart.

778 532 539 "Once upon a time," the story goes, "the Gilyak of Patchä returned from fishing on two boats laden with fish. They were too tired to unload the fish at once and postponed the work until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark or the like. The next morning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly proved that someone had made a hearty meal of them. They therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

G /751 cont./
778 third time and again brought back two full boats. But this time
532 they decided to keep watch during the night in order to detect
539 the destroyer of their catch. They succeeded and the culprit was caught. It was a strange shape with the head of a fish and human arms and legs. The monster was placed in a structure similar to the one erected for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived in this captivity for a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free it. They took it to a cape on the Amur River between the village of Patchä and Cape Tschchyrkrach and tied it there to a well. But the monster bit the rope in two and disappeared, so that when the Gilyak returned it was no longer there."

G I now asked among the Gilyak what the figure represented
778 and what its purpose was. They replied unanimously that the
764 figure was called wagn, and they explained to me that this designated the place where the corpse of a slain Gilyak was burned (Bm. I, pp. 50, 51.)

23. Gilyak. Standing in the brush near the village of Patt (on the right bank of the Amur) there was a wagn which was for a Gilyak who had been killed by an Amgunj /Amgun/ Nägda
G /Negda/. The wagn was old and the eyes had fallen out, but the
[126] extremities were all there, only much less carefully /752/ worked than on the specimen acquired by me in Tschchyrkrach. The wagn reached from the ground up to my belt and was pointing with the head to where the murderer lived, that is, in the direction of the Amgunj. I do not wish to say, however, that such an arrangement was the rule among the Gilyak. (2 S. R. I, p. 8.)

Gi 24. Olcha. The Olcha assign an identical fate to those
778 who die peacefully and those killed by human hand and erect no
825 wagn for the latter, as do the Gilyak. According to the informa-
[764] tion of the Olcha Chossiambo the representation of the wagn is
[763] based on the bird kóro whose appearance in any village is disastrous
Gi for its entire population. For whoever sees it must die. Such a
778 case had happened many years before in the village of Chala,
825 opposite Kisi (Kidsi?). The kóro had come and perched on the tip
173 of a larch tree (Olcha sissa, Gilyak koi), where the inhabitants of Chala saw it, and all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

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778 /752 cont./
825 the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chala has had
173 only a few inhabitants. (2 S.R. I, p. 39.)

Gi
778 25. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw an idol-belt, a säwuchsa,
825 provided with various säwa or representations of idols, to be worn
751 around the body as an amulet against sicknesses (Plate LX /p.1260 /, Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two snakes (dshalda), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fox carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather and on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khasj (chaż of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the toad and the human figure, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak
G. in Chiare and which is also carved by the Olcha as protection
Gi against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak kägn
778 and the säwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the con-
771 clusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious con-
171 cepts and ideas of these peoples. (2 S.R. I, pp. 32-33.)

Shamans

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756 26. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak the shaman is employed much
184 less than among the Tungusic Amur peoples, the Olcha, Goldi,
[171] Kile, and others, and therefore the shaman's implements are much less frequently found among them. Just as among the Amur peoples in general, so also among the Gilyak in particular, shamanism is found more and more rarely downstream toward the Liman or toward Sakhalin. One scarcely comes across shamans and shaman implements from Wassj on and anywhere along the Liman. After repeated inquiries about them, I did not see any or hear of any. Thus shamanism seems to have moved downstream and to have had its origin farther inland. (Bm. I, p. 75.)

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756 /753/ 27. Gilyak. In the whole area of the Amur Gilyak there are only a few shamans who have a reputation among their countrymen. I was told that the most famous of them "a great shaman,"

/753 cont./

756 was Sajan, far above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, less famous one, Tschéžach, lives in the village of Kaki, above Nikolayevsk. In case of an emergency, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called to villages where there are no shamans (1). There are shaman implements, however, such as

> 1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have less a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, to be sure, also follows from the fact that they never designate as shamans, or regard as corresponding to their shamans, clergymen, but rather physicians and apothecaries, because they heal sickness. (The shaman may be present at a bear festival, to be sure, but not "to shamanize"; see pp. 1153. 1165; cf. also p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the brothers Surgin and Sogin in Kuĭk, though neither of them was a shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as is customary in the shaman performances, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without it being regarded as sinful or the practitioners being shamans. For example, a boy in the village of Wait was said to be able to do the shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part [789] of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do certain tricks, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, feats for which they particularly praise their great shamans. (Bm. I, pp. 34, 35.)

756 825 782 787 28. Gilyak. The shaman performance. I learned that snakes are especially feared from information given to me by an eyewitness to the conjuring of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of Petrovskoye. After singing and howling had been performed by the onlookers, the shaman turned to the god ruling heaven, sun, moon, and stars (about whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more than

787 /753 cont./
756 that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and
825 pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as
782 the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During
[534] these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

825 753 29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

[752]

2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipitsch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipitsch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water; hence the former is also designated as mif-mipitsch, the latter as toll-mipitsch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magá, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Porkuk and her son, Dshaman, from Kuik. Jutschin thought that the wap-mipitsch represents the copulation of the toads, which as a rule takes place in the water and the seeing of which is regarded by the Gilyak as uitsch. According to him, the wap-mipitsch must be worn by women.

the wap-mipitsch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, resembles the devil (kins ngarlatsch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and crawl through his mouth into his inner organs, into his chest and stomach, whereupon the person falls

825 /754 cont./
753 sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself
of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however,
755 is a shaman. He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes
756 the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch
532 carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of
[787] the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn
by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future.
A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The
mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-
[322] mipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp.
1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found.
[462] This is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always
[824] made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupa-
tion for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting
arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of
birch bark.

753 The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mä(r)ngai) are
755 similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much
825 less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head
of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the
above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalż) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on
either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the
forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly in-
dicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at
the very front, on the forehead, the lalż bears a frog shape. This
is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not
magá. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak
554 shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admira-
tion and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts
deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputa-
tion of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

756 /754 cont./ such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak
554 Rappun in Tebach, about whom the following miracle is reported.
789 His hands are tied to his back by straps, and his throat is likewise strangled by a strap. Then he sits down on the floor of the yurt,
[533] in which the light and the hearth fire are extinguished. As soon as it is dark, he begins singing, which, in shaman fashion, is performed with long prolongations, monotonously frequent repetition and transposition of the same words, and with a trembling, wailing voice. After this the shaman falls down as if dead. /755/ Now all those present in the yurt, men, women, and children, begin a song that serves to conjure up a kägn.

[787] During this conjuration a kägn appears, invisible to everybody except the shaman, loosens the straps on his neck and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

The shaman Chorvin from Tschcharbach is less powerful, but he is only a boy, a matscherlagu-tscham. Nevertheless, he, too, does miraculous things. Thus the Gilyak say that he sits
[787] down in the yurt with his hands tied to his back, the fires are extinguished, and all the onlookers begin a shamanistic song, in which the kägn is called upon to come and to dance, and in fact, while the singing is still going on, a small kägn hardly larger than a nail comes and dances on his arms. As soon as the singing ceases, the boy shaman stands there unfettered.

756 Each shaman has his own songs; I could not find out what they
533 mean and whether they are also sung on definite occasions. It seems certain that every shamanistic song serves for conjuring up a
787 kägn who is supposed to appear and to lend assistance, be it for curing a sickness or for divulging the future, etc. It also seems that, according to the conception of the Gilyak, the kägn always produces his effect while dancing, a conception that may be connected with the practice of dancing on the part of the shaman himself. In the aforementioned shamanistic songs the kägn is expressly invited to dance (lärta). But the appearance and the dancing of the kägn are never visible to anyone in the yurt other than only the shaman, and this is precisely the mark and proof of his higher power and supernatural strength. (Bm. II, pp. 47, 48.)

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756 [124] 31. Gilyak. The Gilyak Jutschin from Patchä gave me a minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. His report corresponded to the shamanistic performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

756 787 789 It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word tfwyssj, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt -- it emanates from one or several kägn who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kägn, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs berries, or elk fat or a root, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kägn answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative; finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/756/ Now the kägn, during constant noise, approach the shaman lying bound and noisily dance on him. The shaman breathes his last, audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the [533] Gilyak sitting in the yurt begin the conjuration song of the kägn; but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kägn is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (the name in question) sing? Should that one (so-and-so) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The [533] song which the Gilyak begin to sing after the death of the shaman runs: "Restore to life soon, come soon, why hesitate? Come soon, dance soon!"

This song moves the kägn to dance noisily again down from the shaman. Once more one hears him heave a deep sigh -- this time breathing in life anew -- and now he stands there freed

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756 /756 cont./
787 of all his bindings and alive again. With the words, kāutschek via,
789 kāutschek via! (*) which he calls out to each kāgn, the shaman now

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*Perhaps kaunczza = out! virá = let us go! - - according to the Gilyak word-list by Dr. W. Grube.

banishes all kāgn from there again, it is quiet in the yurt, the shaman performance is over, and the fires in the hearths may be rekindled. (Bm. II, pp. 55 and 57.)

G
756 32. Gilyak. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I was told that
184 there are likewise shamans among the Gilyak on Sakhalin; moreover, they are said to have the same instruments of their art as those on the mainland, drum (kasśj), shaman's belt (Olcha jangpá), etc. (Plate LXI /p. 1261/, Figs. 2, 4). (2 W. R. I, p. 10.)

The large village of Tschai-wo on the east coast, consisting of at least ten yurts, was said to have a shaman who was famous among the Gilyak. (2 W. R. II, p. 7.)

Gi
755 33. Samagir. One evening I heard the sound of drums in the
756 village of Ngāgha. I was told that in the neighboring yurt the shaman's drum was being beaten, and I went there immediately. There was no light in the yurt, and even in the two hearths there were only glowing embers, in front of which women and children

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were crouched. The dull tones of the drum, accompanied by a melancholy and monotonous singing, resounded from a remote, dark corner of the large, dim room and occasionally became so powerful that the whole yurt rumbled. Accompanied by my guide, I sat down on one of the sleeping benches and listened for a while

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to the eerie music. When I inquired as to why there was no fire in the yurt, I was told that the shaman sounds were meant for a sick woman in the yurt and that no fire was permitted in connection with this. And, indeed, when after a time the flames were fanned in the hearths and the night-lamps were lighted in the yurt, the drumming and singing instantly ceased. I now approached the shaman, who was sitting on one of the sleeping benches. Next to him lay the sick woman, a pan of coals (jachalacco) with dying

/756 cont./

755 embers at her side. He pointed to the patient and indicated to me
756 that the shaman sounds had been made for her. I now examined
756 more closely the instruments of the frightful music. The drum
534 (ûngtschu of the Kile and other Tungusic Amur peoples) consisted
237 of an irregular oval ring of wood, somewhat pointed at the ends, over which was stretched the membrane of a roe /deer/ bladder. A crossband on the inner surface of the drum served /757/ to hold it, while it was beaten with the foot of a dog or a stick (gessê)
756 covered with the skin of a dog's foot (1). Unfortunately, because
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1. Cf. Plate LXI /p.1261 /, Fig. 4.

of lack of knowledge of the language, I could not learn anything concerning the content of the shamanistic singing (1 W.R. II, pp. 77, 78).

34. Olcha. One evening while I was drinking tea in a yurt in
756 the village of Yrri, I noticed the people arranging two shaman drums and other paraphernalia and, it seemed, preparing them
[114] for use. I now expressed the desire to see the performance, and preparations for it were immediately made. First the shaman
756 drums were slightly warmed in front of the hearth, to give them
534 the right tension and a loud tone. Here, too, they were made of
[237] roe skin (2), but, besides this, the leather of elk, the red deer,

2. Or bladder? See Appendix 33.above.

and reindeer, in other words, of all Cervus types, are used for shaman drums, if they are to be good ones. While the drums were
756 being tuned, the shaman got ready in his costume. He took off his long overcoat and put on the so-called kossjkha of the Gilyak (3).

3. Apron-skirt; see p. 585.

Around his head he put a band of wood shavings, from the back of which a bundle of wood shavings (wood curls) hung down over his back like a queue, the so-called giasadâ. Then he put on the shaman belt, which had on a strap a quantity of iron blades, brass

/757 cont./

756 rings, and similar metallic objects, which serve to make a loud clatter and rattle during the dance of the shaman. In the language of the Olcha, the whole belt is called jangpá and bears the following metal pendants: a large brass ring with a small eye and some relief on the surface, revealing a Manchurian origin. This ring is the so-called tolé, the largest piece among the rattles on the belt. Furthermore, there are several iron pieces in the shape of the fire-steel (jassó) of the Manchu and Tungusic peoples, then numerous sheets of iron of irregular shape, the so-called kyiré, which form the major part of the rattles; then several rolled-up sheets of iron, the so-called kongoró, and finally a kind of small bell of brass, but without a clapper, kongoktó (bell). All these objects hang close together in a bunch and, when the belt is fastened on, lie at the back of it. The belt has considerable weight (*).

* Cf. Plate LXI /p. 1261 /, 4, where the scene depicted is designated as Gilyak, though no other description as pertinent is found in the notes. The drawing therefore probably refers to the Olcha, unless it is perhaps meant to be only a schematic rendering of a Gilyak shaman's performance.

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When the shaman had tied it on, he sat down on the bench, the drum was handed to him, and a sheet of iron with glowing embers was set down before him on the floor, over which was placed the dried herb of Ledum palustre (Olcha siankurá). This immediately spread a strong smelling and undoubtedly also narcotic smoke into the yurt, whereupon the shaman, bending forward toward the rising smoke, began a melancholy song in low and prolonged tones toward the rim of the /758/ drum held up vertically, and he accompanied it from time to time with weaker and then stronger beats on the drum. Gradually, however, the tones grew louder and the drumbeats more vigorous. The shaman stood up and began to accompany his singing with the rattling of the jangpá. This is done by moving the hips back

/758 cont./

755 and forth, likewise in a certain rhythm with the song and the
756 rolling of the drum. The pan of coals with the siankurá was now
533 removed, and the shaman stood in the middle of the yurt, his face turned toward the door and his back to the people sitting around. From time to time, however, he turned, intensifying the clangor
[535] of the jangpá, and faced the people sitting around, during which his feet moved, likewise rhythmically to a certain extent, but always slowly. It was not an actual dance, but only an increased movement of the hips combined with a slow rhythmical turning of the whole body. At the same time he held the drum high and turned it toward all sides of the yurt. The sounds which he produced on the drum also varied greatly, sometimes softly rolling, sometimes piercingly loud, so that the small yurt rang. In order to produce these tones he had to make quite different motions with his hand, but there was always something rhythmical in them, just as in the turns of his body and the movements of his feet. With the more violent clatter of the jangpá and the louder rolling of the drum, the singing itself grew weaker and finally died out completely; only the music and the dancing continued for a long time in an uncannily stirring and at the same time tiring fashion.
[534] The drum was often changed; the one that had lost its tension was tuned again in the meantime by being slowly turned around in front of the fire by one of the people sitting around. And in between the shaman was given a sip of water and once also a small bite, probably of fish. Finally he stopped, apparently quite exhausted, and sat down on the bench, immediately preparing a pipe for himself. But after a brief rest the music and dancing began anew. The shaman stood up and seemed to want to continue in the previous manner. Then he motioned to one of the women seated there. She was now immediately given a kind of large wreath and at the same time a rather high crown of straw for her head, and a wooden band with long points hanging down for around her neck. The fur sack in which the drums are kept was spread on the floor in the center of the yurt. The woman sat down on it, and the shaman began a slow dance around her, accompained by the drum and the jangpá. Then, at a signal from

/758 cont./

755 the shaman, the flames in the hearths were extinguished, I had to
756 blow out my candle, too, and it was now completely dark in the
533 yurt. The shaman stood behind the woman and continued his music for a time. But then I noticed that the drum was being beaten by one of the persons sitting around, a circumstance that, in view of the total darkness, required, led me to suspect that sensuality must play a large part in the shamanistic performances. Finally the shaman himself took the drum in his hand again, the flames in the hearth were fanned again, and my candle, too, was lighted once more. The woman sat as before, but the wreath and neck ornament were missing, and some pieces lay in shreds on the floor. The shaman /759/ touched the woman's head several times, moving his hand rhythmically and in a circle, whereupon she stood up and the cover was removed. The shaman now began another long song, which seemed to consist of regular long stanzas, each one being accompanied in the same fashion with the drum and jangpá. At certain intervals he sang the tones toward the edge of the vertically held and just beaten drum, which, vibrating, resounded vigorously and gave a very peculiar sound to the song, as though it were produced in doubled fashion and from different places. This singing continued for a long time, and the drum was changed several times, until the shaman finally broke off exhausted. This last song undoubtedly contained the essential content of the shamanistic performance. Unfortunately, however, I could not understand it, and my guide could only tell me that the whole ceremony with the woman was säwa (1). (1 W.R. II, pp. 94-97.)

1. See Appendix /p. 1198/.

35. Olcha. The sound of a shaman drum resounded from one of the yurts in the village of Mongolé. A shaman sat there on the bench next to a sleeping patient, and the drumming and singing were for him. Since I did not understand the words, both seemed to me identical with what I had seen and heard among the Samagir in Ngágha (2). Until late in the evening the muffled sound

2. See Appendix 31 /p. 1213.

/759 cont./

755 of the shaman instrument could be heard at intervals in the village
756 (T. 1 W.R. II, pp. 113 and 114).
533 36. Olcha. There was a sick child in a Gilyak yurt in the village of Kalm (3) The Olcha woman on the Olcha boat accom-

3. On the right bank of the Amur.

panying us offered to cure it by shamanism in exchange for three bundles of tobacco. The shaman sounds soon resounded just as I heard them in Mongolé and Ngágha in connection with curing the sick and have described them, except that here they were produced by a woman. After an introductory song with the accompaniment of the drum the woman acting as shaman took a few wood-shavings (säwa) and a rag and with them stroked the naked child lying in the mother's lap, in the manner of magnetizing, and at the same time she sang toward the edge of the resounding drum. When this was done, she concluded the cure with a song and beating the drum, whereupon the child was put back in the cradle. (1 S.R. I, p. 7.)

756 37. Olcha. Only the "good, proper" shamans, of which
772 there are only a few, may go to the land of Bun, the next world of the Olcha, but not the "small or bad" shamans, which may be found in every village. (4). They can only perform the shamanistic

4. See Appendix 27 /p. 1208/.

songs and dances, but they cannot travel in the land of Bun. They are, therefore, not proper shamans, but only solde nei, i.e., ordinary human beings. At the present time the Olcha count only five proper shamans who visit the land of Bun: two of them live on Lake Udyl, one on the Amgunj, and two on the Gorin -- strangely enough, all on the tributaries of the Amur, and none on the great river itself. (2 S.R. I, 37.)

756 /760/ 38. Goldi. While we were busy with observations
764 and collections on Cape Auwa *, a small, heavily laden Goldi
[126]
[361]

*. Aua on the map, on the right bank of the Ussuri.

Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5
Manegir

G:
756
764

/760 cont./

boat passed us. Two women sat in it, and an old man pulled it with a rope. It stopped in Auwa, and we learned that there was a corpse in it. When it arrived in Auwa, a general lamentation and wailing were raised by the inhabitants of the dauro (**) lo-

G:
[361]

** Summer tent of the Goldi, see p. 552; In the travel journals of the author, however, one also finds the expression "dauro of (so many) tents," which indicates that it also refers to a summer colony.

cated there, mourning in which a Chinese who had come over from his nearby residence, likewise called Auwa, joined. It was the corpse of the husband of one of the women in the boat. She had cut her long hair in mourning and tied up her head. The people pitched their tent in front of the dauro in order to spend the night. When evening came, a fire was burning in front of their tent, and the shaman drums were stretched in front of it. The shamanizing was done by a woman (not, however, the widow of the deceased) in the customary way. The moon came out from behind a dark cloud. Its pale light fell upon the ugly spirit-conjuress, who, singing, swung her large drum before the blazing fire and, dancing, moved the clinking shaman-belt. The widow and the Goldi from the dauro, however, sat and stood around the fire and listened silently to the singing and the eerie sounds of the drum and the belt. The shamanizing evidently was for the corpse and lasted until late evening only to be resumed at sunrise, whereupon the tent was taken down and the boat with the corpse put underway for the rest of its journey. The death of the husband probably broke up an established household, and the widow was looking for a home upstream (1 S.R. III, p. 34).

G:
[302]

G:
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825
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39. Goldi. The stork is not used by the Goldi, except that its meat is eaten by the shamans. (1 S.R. IV, p. 14.)

T
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114

Note. The author was unable to learn anything about the shamans of the Manegir beyond the fact that they do exist. (2 S.R. III, p. 41.)

Tungus RU5
Daur
Manchu AG4

T 756 /760 cont./

40. Daur. In the village of Chormoldin on the upper Amur I was shown the shaman utensils customary among the Daur. They consisted of a crown made out of cardboard, with human faces painted upon each of its prongs (***), and a cloak of red cloth on

T [292]

T [177]

*** Perhaps patterned after the Buddhist priest's crown, just as in the case of the crowned Gilyak idols; see Appendix 20 and 21 /pp. 1204-1205/. The Academic Museum owns some similar idols, but with animal figures standing erect on the heads, from the Orok on Sakhalin.

which large sheets of brass and smaller pieces of metal hung in several rows, which gave the cloak an enormous weight. One could not help but pity the shaman who had to perform his dance movements under such a load. The host and owner of the cloak claimed to be a shaman himself and to be able to conjure away sickness. According to him, the Manchu practice similar shamanistic customs. Among both, however, one finds small temples in the vegetable gardens, which seem to be Buddhistic. (2 S.R. II, p. 57.)

T M [346] [177]

M 756 177

/761/ 41. Manchu. In the village of Torell we heard the well-known, but for a long time not heard, sounds of a shaman drum, which came to us rather unexpectedly here, for Torell was inhabited by Manchu, whom we were inclined to regard as Buddhists. But here was proof that the shamanistic belief is current among the Manchu, and, if not exclusively, nevertheless mixed with Buddhism. (2 S.R. II, p. 59.)

/761 cont./

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II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

775 42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven [532] is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wagn, which [778] resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

775 533 [124] 43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rschyvguk, from Wair, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place [766] in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 Above.)

/761 cont./

000 775 heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it.

[764] The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

775 766 The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

[171] /762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

[122] [196] Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-

[774] mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

G /762 cont./
775 on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to
766 heaven and therefore no longer needs earthly food. Furthermore,
[825] this idea may in part also give rise to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. II, 57-59.)

G 44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (***),
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[171]

*** See Appendix 45, below.

the soul of a person drowned in the river or in the sea (according to Jutschin's report) does not go to heaven or to Mlygh-wo, but goes into a seal dog, and, to be sure, into a kighitsch or pyghilangr, i.e., the adult Phoca vitulina or nautica. A number of uitsch are therefore connected with the catching of a sea dog. For example, when the sea dog is caught and before any use is made of it, a cut with the knife must always be made through each eye so that the liquid can flow out. This is caught in the hollow of the hand and thrown back into the river. Only then may the sea dog be used as needed (†).

†. See p. 851.

G
775 It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (tlö),
766 where the souls of the murdered are said to go. As an answer to
821 my question as to whether these souls go to one of the stars, which are also earths, I was told that they also went beyond these, kikr, i.e., "inland" from the stars (††). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

†† Therefore beyond them; see the star-dwellers, p. 1101.

Gi 45. Olcha. From Chossiambo I learned the following about the
775 views of the Olcha with regard to the fate of the dying and the
[115] metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/762 cont./

775 If an Olcha dies a "peaceful" death or violently through murder, he has gone to the land of Bun. Chossiambo could not say where this country was located, whether upstream or downstream, and found my question strange since he had never been there. But he emphatically denied that it was on earth; this [171] conception therefore seems to be different from the Mlygh-wo of the Gilyak. Moreover, Chossiambo could say much more about the land of Bun than the /763/ Gilyak could about their Mlygh-wo. He said that it was of exactly the same nature as this land (the earth) with sun, moon, and stars, a mangu (Amur River), with mountains and with all the animals and plants that there are here, with various peoples and families who go about their occupations there just as here. The only difference is that when it is summer here, there is snow and ice there and people are traveling with dogs in the land of Bun, and vice versa, and similarly, if it is daytime here, it is night there and people are asleep. The fate of the Bun inhabitants is also correlated with mankind here: if in one year they catch many fish and kill many bears, only a few fish are caught and few bears are killed during the same period here, and vice versa. The prophecies of the shamans are based [787] upon their knowledge of these conditions. They have the power [756] to go to the land of Bun at will and to return to this world again, which is not granted to an ordinary mortal, who, once he has migrated to the land of Bun, never returns to this earth again as a human being.

The migration to the land of Bun requires a certain amount of time. Choss. thought that, traveling slowly, one would have to stop overnight nine times, at a faster pace only five times, but it could not be reached in four overnight stops. This determination of time is all the more remarkable since there is no determination of area for the land of Bun, about which I had previously inquired. The Olcha thus probably owe most of their conceptions of [756] the other world, about which I learned the following, to the reports of the shamans who betake themselves to the land of Bun:

In the land of Bun, as on this earth, the members of one people, and likewise of one family, remain together, and each one, after his death, takes his proper place within his family. The peoples

Gi /763 cont./
795 in the land of Bun continue to live in the same manner as here. And, finally, like the inhabitants of earth here, the inhabitants of the land of Bun (Buntschi-nei) are mortal and meet a fate in part similar to that of the inhabitants on earth and in part special.

Gi If a Buntschi-nei dies "peacefully" or violently, through
795 murder, he changes into an herb, a grass, or a tree of our earth
824 here. This is therefore the shape in which an ordinary mortal returns from the land of Bun to this earth. Choss. and a Dyra Goldi present expressly affirmed the transformation of the dying Bun-inhabitants into various plants on earth. There was said to be no distinction according to age or sex for the various types of plants, so that a child as well as an adult, a man as well as a woman, can be transformed into a tree or a lowly grass. But there is a great difference according to the good or bad character of the dying Bun-inhabitants. If the Olcha chop off a piece of the trunk of a felled tree and split it along the middle, and the two halves fall apart evenly and are equal in size, they will say, it was a good person, but, if the two halves fall apart unevenly and crookedly, it means: this was a crooked person!

Gi It is different for the Bun inhabitants who have drowned or
795 were torn to pieces by a bear. They suffer the same fate there as
796 do the inhabitants of earth here who have died a similar death.
825 /764/ For in the land of Bun, as on earth, there is an amba (Gilyak kins = devil), who, in a thousand shapes, lives in the forest, mountains, and waters and tries to seize and to devour human beings. If a Bun inhabitant drowns, the water amba (toll-kins of the Gilyak) has eaten him, and he is transformed into a sea dog /harbor seal/, a fish, or some other aquatic animal. If he is torn to pieces by a bear, the forest amba (pall-kins of the Gilyak) has seized him, and he roams the forest as a bear. (2 S.R. I, pp. 36-39.)

Funeral Rites and Mourning

G
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46. Gilyak. One of the inhabitants of Kuĭk was brought to the hospital of Nikolayevsk critically ill. The Gilyak, however, did not permit him to stay there, because they regarded it as

/764 cont./

758 uitsch and took him back to the village, where he died in November, 1854. Although when he was still alive, they had invited
764 114 me to his cremation, this was done (three days after the death) during a violent purga, without their giving any notification (Bm. I, pp. 18, 19).

764 765 47. Gilyak. Everything possible in the way of food is put beside the deceased lying in the yurt; indeed, even after the cremation of the corpse, all kinds of food, as well as liquor, are brought to the ashes for a period of one year because of the belief that the deceased takes nourishment for that long. The corpse, laid out on a sled in winter, is placed upon the funeral pyre, covered with loose branches, and the pyre is lighted. (Bm. I, p. 27.)

764 [114] 48. Gilyak. On May 19, 1856, we reached Chjare (with one yurt on the right bank of the Amur), where I had a stop made at noon. I inquired about fish, but was told at once that no fish had been caught, because the old owner of the yurt had died the day before and was still lying unburied in the yurt. I went there immediately and saw the corpse lying on a sled on the floor in front of the dogs' table (Plate LXII /p. 1262/). It was the same old man who the year before had gone hunting with me on the nearby small lake. The corpse was not yet disfigured, but the color of the face had grown darker and, in fact, copper-colored, and the long white hair contrasted sharply with the face. The corpse was clothed in new blue cloth and covered over the torso with a covering of gray material, on which, over the chest of the corpse, lay three folded pieces of colored cloth and two spears, a larger one and a smaller one, such as the natives use, equipped with crudely worked, short shafts. Around the head and at the sides of the face [824] lay fir branches; over the eyes ran a string with longish pieces of alder bast, threaded on it, three for each eye; a large red bead lay at each ear, and on the neck there was a thick bundle of fine curls of wood-shavings. The legs and the feet were wrapped in the same blue cloth as the whole corpse and were /765/ tied with a string around the ankles and over the toes so that they had the shape of boots. Placed crosswise on the narte /sled/, behind the head,

/765 cont./
764 lay jukola (*), with several tobacco leaves wrapped in birch bark

* See p. 646 of this work.

[493] and a pipe on top of it. The narte was of the ordinary kind, except that the arched or curved pieces of wood (**) in front and in the rear

** See Plate XXXVI /p. 1016 /, Fig. 1, i.

were missing, and instead of them straight short poles projected out on either side. The corpse was tied to the narte under the gray covering.

After I had stood in front of the corpse for a few minutes, three dogs tied to a long strap, were brought into the yurt, and the strap was attached to the narte. Then several men lifted up the narte with the corpse, while another led the dogs, and thus the procession set out (Plate LXIII /p.1263 /). It went out of the yurt, passing by the storage chambers, and into the forest behind the village, where the burial place of the dead was located, marked by several raff (***). The wife of the deceased immediately fol-

*** See Appendix 50 /p.1232 /.

lowed the corpse, with her hair loose, a piece of birch bark in her hand, and setting up a monotonous wail, in which, however, she was not imitated by the other Gilyak, men, women, and children. When the burial ground was reached, the narte with the corpse was placed on the ground next to the pyre already prepared. The latter consisted of a few layers of wood placed alternately lengthwise and crosswise, the first of which was the same length as the corpse. Beside this a large heap of fir branches lay ready for the cremation of the body (1).

[824] 1. This was Pin. picea, as is everything else used for the cremation of the corpse and the decoration of the yurt.

/765 cont. /

764 After the narte had been set down, the dogs were unhitched, and one of them led back to the village, while the other two were tied to a tree. Now the wife of the deceased stepped up to the corpse and removed the pieces of cloth and the spears, the gray shroud, the jukola, the tobacco, and the pipe, and put these articles aside on the ground. She also untied the eye binding and threw it away, as well as the bundle of wood shavings from the neck. Then she took from one of his hands a pinch of fine tobacco and from the other a root which had been placed between the fingers, and finally, untied the string which tied the corpse to the narte. In the meantime an old Gilyak had been busy spreading fir branches on the pyre.

When this bed was ready, the corpse was lifted from the narte and put on the pyre (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /). On the bottom of the narte lay a board and on it a large piece of birch bark which showed traces of its use for storing berries and which had now served as the underlayer immediately under the corpse. The board and birch bark were thrown off, and the sled was pulled aside, where a Gilyak broke it in two and left the pieces lying there. In the meantime, others were busy killing the two remaining dogs, which was done in the following way. One of the Gilyak held the dog on a cord, another threw him a piece of jukola, and, while the dog was eating it, a third hit the dog's neck with a cudgel and pressed it /766/ to the ground with it, whereupon a fourth pierced the animal's heart with a small pointed stick. Both dogs were
764 372 killed in this manner and laid aside (*). Meanwhile, still other

* On Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, due to an error, all three dogs are pictured as present during this act.

Gilyak made the fire for the cremation of the corpse. According to the Gilyak view, this may not be produced in the ordinary way with flint and steel, but must be made by rubbing pieces of wood together. For this purpose a kind of spindle was carved out

/766 cont./

764 of dry larch wood, as well as two elongated pieces of wood with
372 a cavity in the center of each one, into which the tip of the spindle exactly fitted. A small piece of fungus was put into these small depressions in the pieces of wood; the spindle was put into them with its tips vertical, and turned with the help of a strap, which ignited the fungus after a few moments. The fire obtained was then maintained with fungus. (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, left foreground.)

764 Meanwhile the other preparations were made at the funeral pyre. After the corpse had been placed upon the layers of fir branches, as has been mentioned, it was covered up with a thick layer of fir branches, but in such a way that the forehead and the crown with the gray hair were visible in the brushwork. Now long logs, of the same dried larch wood as all the rest, were put around beside one another in the form of a pyramid, with only a small space left open at the head end, through which one could still see the gray crown. At the same time, several long logs were placed inside the pyramid on the fir branches that covered the corpse. When the pyre was ready, the place around it was cleared somewhat, in that the dry brush, the smaller roots, and the grass around the pile of wood were removed with the ax, so that the fire would not spread. Now the widow of the deceased took the glowing fungus, wrapped it in dry moss, wound a wide strip of birch bark around it and, by swinging it back and forth, made the flames which she fanned into bigger ones with another piece of birch bark. Since, out of lack of experience, she did not know where the fire must be put first, an old Gilyak gave her the necessary directions, and she now put the fire under the head part of the pyre (Plate LXV /p. 1265 /). As soon as that was done, other Gilyak came to help, took fire from the wife, and put it at corresponding places on the other side of the pyramid, under the corpse and then all around it, for which they used the birch bark that had lain under the corpse on the narte. The dry and easily inflammable material quickly caught fire, and with the moderate breeze the whole huge wooden pyramid soon stood in blazing flames. The heat streaming from it forced the

/766 cont./

764 bystanders to step somewhat farther back, and there a group of men, women, and children sat under a tree, watching the greedy flames which consumed their dead.

Nearby was the cremation site of an old woman from the same village, who had died not long before /767/ and beside it the raff belonging to it, still quite new (*). This was now to

* The little hut to the right on Plate LXV /p. 1265 /; between it and the pyre, the cremation site.

serve as the raff for the old man, and its door was opened so that the soul of the deceased, during the cremation of his body, would move into this domicile intended for it.

At the moment only the customary raff symbols, discussed below (53-55 /pp. 1233-1234 /), and a few bowls and vessels made of birch bark and wood stood in it. After the corpse is burned, however, and his soul has moved into the raff (for traveling on to Mlygh-wo), then the provisions of berries, fish, tobacco, and the like needed for it are also brought into the raff. -- When the fire had died down somewhat, the widow and a few men took long poles and pushed the burning wood closer together; they also threw on new wood in order to speed up the cremation. Soon nothing could be seen of the corpse except the charred stomach, which burned the slowest. The quantity of material burned and the fresh air of the forest prevented any unpleasant odor from being detected during the cremation of the body. The fire was maintained for a long time so that the body would burn completely to ashes, which are then scraped together and buried (on the spot). In the meantime the women, and among them the

[237] [294] wife of the deceased, take up the slain dogs (**) and begin to skin

** On Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, as on Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, three dogs are erroneously shown instead of two.

G 764 [237] [294] [262]

/767 cont./

them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins. The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten, but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the village. (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

Gi 764 152

49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right bank of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that were some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that came out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I investigated and saw a woman who sat there hunched together and wailing, staring at the sky. I watched her for a while and then inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in reply, buike, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me that her husband had died in the next village and she was lamenting it. She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left, in order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamentation, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (I S.R. IV, p. 17.)

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/,

G 764

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following concerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground, /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

G [114]

* See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration Plate LXVIII /p. 1268/, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r pronounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a small linen-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the center and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under the ground.

G [211]

/768 cont./

764 A rough little rod or a similar stick (wadżach) stuck in the ground is likewise said to mark a place where a corpse is buried. (Bm. I, p. 18.)

764 648 51. Gilyak. In September, 1854, the Gilyak of Kuĭk discovered that one of their burial houses, raff, had been destroyed by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and variously colored rags, peculiar implements, and the like are deposited there. Near Kuĭk, in the birch forest along the Amur, four or five such small houses stood together and formed a burial place, while such structures are otherwise often found individually in the midst of the forest. The Gilyak said that in the destroyed 764 648 751 little house the ashes of six children's corpses were in one vessel, over which the same number of sable furs had been placed. The latter was done in order to prevent a sudden dying of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now, since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of the epidemic. (Bm. I, pp. 15, 16.)

764 [778] 52. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never [784] be transferred to another place. This would be uĭtsch. Therefore; though the Gilyak from Kuĭk bewailed and complained about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they nevertheless decided not to transport the remains to the villages to which they themselves had moved from Kuĭk. (Bm. 1, p. 56.)

53. Gilyak. If one investigates the interior of a little burial-house he always finds in it a longish little board in an upright position: kakk, also tars. The middle of it is pierced, and the hole has a peg, kylms, stuck in it; a strip of linen is wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too, is wrapped in linen and decorated with various rags, kakk- or tars-rawź (Plate LXVIII /p.1268 /, Fig. 2). Close to the board and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ngir,

764 /768 cont./
on the upper end of which is set a small spoon-shaped wooden bowl (Plate LXVIII /p. 1268/, Fig. 4); moreover, there is a small stick whose point is inserted into the quills of 1-3 and four eagle-feathers, tscham-ngar (**) (ibid., Fig. 5), and

** Tcham-eagle.

a third small stick, hook-shaped at the top, tutut or pyk, is carved out of a branch (ibid., Fig. 3). Also lying in the little house, usually crossed over one another, are a couple of arrows without points, variously colored rags, baskets of birch bark, wooden plates with carving, and the like. Sometimes several of the aforementioned boards are present, and they /769/ then do not occupy the middle of the little house. That is probably regulated by the number of corpses whose remains rest under the little house. (Bm. I, pp. 16, 51, 69.)

54. Gilyak. According to Surgin's explanation, a bit of
[765] the skull and head hair from the remains of the cremated corpse is placed in the middle of the kakk where a wooden peg is driven in. The rags around the kakk signify garments which the dead person needs (on the journey of his soul). Also, various kinds of food, such as berries and fish, are set down for the deceased as long as the corpse is still in the yurt and later, after the cremation, for the ashes in the raff; therefore in every raff one finds all kinds of implements, baskets, and bowls of birch bark and the like, on which the food is placed. The little stick with the small bowl at the tip is to serve the dead for more quickly journeying on (therefore as a walking stick); the eagle feathers on the other stick are supposed to lend wings, as it were, to the soul. (Bm. I, p. 54.)

[532] 55. Gilyak. According to the information by Judin from Tebach, the little stick, tutut or pyk (*), which one finds in the

* Pyk occasionally alternates with pyt in the author's work.

/769 cont./

764 raff next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove (tútut) or a
532 cuckoo (pyk). The former is for a man, the latter for a woman. The dove or the cuckoo is also involved with the small stick with the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as food for the bird; hence the designation tutut-ngir and tutut-ngit or pyk-ngir and pyk-ngit, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these sticks. The representation is the same for both birds, for it only most crudely
764 shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches. The word píttyssj, on the other hand, designates another item in the raff. It is a small framework of little sticks (**), on which hang berries,

** According to the appended, very cursory sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknown to me. On the tscham-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed for a de-
[562] ceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are supposed to be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the soul, perhaps this takes into account the difference in physical strength and -- according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the difference in psychic energy of the two sexes. The tutut or pyk is supposed to have almost the same purpose as the tscham-ngar, which is very probable on the basis of the explanation given by Judin concerning these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

764 56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) a newly erected raff stood very close to the bank and close to it a píttyssj, i.e., a storage chamber for the raff, which is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consists of a small roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dovecot. Its roof is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pittyssj, berries, fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

764 In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I found an ex-
184 tremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimrkan, had erected in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his daughter.
556 On the outside it was provided with carvings and arabesques of various kinds. The /770/ carvings, painted black, red, and white,

/770 cont./

764 184 556 represented various animals, bears, horses, hares, cocks, and ducks (Plate LXIX /p. 1269 /).

On the inside the raff was very opulently equipped. The usual articles in it, kakk, pyk-ngir, tcham-ngar, were so luxuriously made that they could hardly be recognized. The former was completely covered with a multicolored cloth, which bore brass ornaments such as the Gilyak women have on their robes, corresponding to the purpose of the kakk, namely, to carry the clothing for the deceased. -- Do the rags on the kakk perhaps come from the garments of the deceased? Very probably, since these rags are called okch, fur. -- A small Manchurian bowl served as pyk-ngir. The floor of the raff was covered with a fine reed or straw mat. Aside from the articles mentioned, there also lay in the raff a great number of birch-bark bowls (with berries, etc.), neatly stacked up, a small box in which lay a tobacco pouch and a pipe, another pipe which was for Kimrkan's daughter, and the like, and, finally, the braids of the two deceased women, cut off at the roots and wrapped in birch bark were preserved here (*).

* See p. 615, where raff is to be read instead of rakk.

764 Kimrkan himself took out the articles and showed them to me, evidently, however, without thinking much about the dead. Moreover, he had now replaced his late wife with three of them. Near the raff there was the cremation site of a corpse and next to it stood the raff that went with it. The raff is never erected directly over the ashes of the deceased, but apart from them (**).

[114]

** The reports concerning this, collected by the author in various places, differ in part from one another; cf. 47 /p. 1227/, 48 /p. 1227/, 51 /p. 1233/.

Kimrkan's deceased, for example, were cremated far in the forest, and their ashes were there, while the raff stood here near

/770 cont./

764 the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

[778] The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, to the right in the middle distance).

[784] There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

764 766 [775] 57. Gilyak. According to Surgin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

[775] the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The 764 burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods 262 are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. 755 Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The [769] depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

/771 cont./

880 years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse
766 of a person killed by an att (tiger and leopard) is taken to a simi-
[262] lar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a
[755] remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

764 59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk,
184 and Tschilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their corpses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for
[162] them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R.I, p. 8.)

60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh
[778] Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood shavings (zach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

766 61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise
778 (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes
532 in the forest, instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of a

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-branches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

/771 cont./

766 778 532 wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the roots,

† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /772/ and, with the pointed end, is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn, [674] projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgho, Tebach, and elsewhere.

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn. Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The same is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wagn is set up.

778 532 825 The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after the ugn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by the Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wagn. Such stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septentr. are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head of the ugn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

[628] [627] 1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect, is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

G 778 532 825 827 628 /772 cont./

1. (cont.)
members of a village -- or -- as in the case
of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

G 766 775 Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

G 766 184 778 62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

G 764 184 63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they likewise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut-ngit in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tscham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

G [784] [171] 64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

Gi 764 531 65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of Bogorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

Goldi RX3
Olcha

/773 cont./

764 531 and especially animal figures, which among them bear the names chöldochsa or chywar (*). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)

* See Plate LXX /p. 1270 /, where one should probably read Olcha instead of Goldi in the caption, since no Goldi tomb and, in general, nothing similar is discussed elsewhere in the journals.

766 [165] 66. Olcha. The sudden outbreaks of bad weather on the Amur may in part be the reason that one so often finds tombs of drowned persons along the bank. I saw one in Dzaĭ (Dshai on the map) on the right bank of the Amur (Plate LXVII /p. 1267/). It was still quite new and therefore equipped with all the accessories that are customary in such cases. The uilepo, the usual small house, in which the coffin stood, was located on a low terrace on the bank facing the river and was surrounded by pierced birch-bark baskets and bowls, which mark every grave site. Beside it lay a boat and somewhat in the background stood a small hut similar to a dovecot. Two rows of giamssassa stuck in into the ground led from the tomb to the river, forming a wide path. At the beginning of it stood a wooden pole in the ground, on which hung many pieces of string, birch bark, etc. A thick nettle rope ran from this wooden pole to another pole which stood in the middle between the two rows of giamssassa, and from here to a third one at the end of the path. Several low poles placed together in two (3?) clusters were in the river itself in front of the end of the path (**). This equipment at the tomb

** Probably the small groups of wood-shavings sticks in the illustration; see the next report.

indicates a very elaborate burial ceremony which may be done out of superstition and the fear of a similar fate. What especially struck me was that in front of the tomb a fresh small tree branch was only slightly stuck into the ground, from which a cord ran

/773 cont./

766 into the coffin through a hole pierced in the wall of the little burial house ***. (1 S.R. I, pp. 54, 55.)

*** Omitted in the drawing.

[114] 67. Olcha. (Supplement to the notes concerning the tomb of a drowned Olcha near Dshai on the Amur, visited in 1855, which the author again visited in the summer of 1856 and this time had sketched, which may explain a few slight deviations in the preceding description.) -- The tomb was still very well preserved; I inspected it more closely and, had some explanations given to me about it. In the uilepo or uilep stood the coffin with the corpse of a man. The head was turned toward the river, that is, to the west. The cord, which led from the 766 interior to a tree branch in front of the uilepo, was still there. 775 It is fastened at the head of the corpse. As far as I could gather 825 from the explanations given, the soul of the deceased migrates out of the burial hut on this piece of string (siri). But why, since according to the explanation of the same informant, the soul of a drowned person /774/ migrates into a seal, a fish, or some aquatic animal? This statement was confirmed by the fact that I found in a small framework similar to the Gilyak pittyssj which was near the uilepo, two idols of seals, in addition to other objects. (Like the Gilyak, the Olcha believe that the soul of a person devoured by a bear goes into a bear.)

766 On the framework where the seal-idols lay, the uilep-aũndsha, that is, burial-house night-lodging, the following additional articles lay on spread-out fresh twigs of Pin. picea: a small kettle, a trough (oto) (Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 2), and a wooden pestle (mónopo) for preparing mossj (ibid., Fig. 3), and hence, the trough is also called mossonso-oto, and, hanging on a small stick above this, a fire-steel and a bark basket with fire-making equipment.

/774 cont./

766 The tree branch (tura) in front of the uilep, still green the year before, was now dried up. Close by and in front of it there was a stick (uilep-tûdsha) on which all kinds of articles were hanging: empty bark-bowls, little bark-baskets with berries, roots, sarana tubers, strings of sarana, etc., surrounded by a large number of wood shavings. From this stick a thick [783] willow-bast cord (*) led to the river, supported by several (**)

* In the preceding report: nettle rope.

** Above -- three sticks.

sticks with curled wood-shavings. On each side of the cord there was a row of whittled sticks (with wood shavings). The thick [775] willow-bast cord is likewise called siri, and its course down to [825] river makes one conclude that it has the purpose of guiding the soul of the drowned person from the uilep into the water and to establish communication between the uilep-tudsha, equipped with all kinds of utensils and provisions, and the river, where dwells the soul that has migrated into a seal. The bâobu have almost the same purpose; they are small clusters of whittled sticks put closely together, which stand at the edge of the water in front of the end of the bast cord and the two rows of wood-shavings sticks. Mossj is put between these sticks, evidently for the drowned persons, and there are therefore several bâobu, depending on the higher or lower level of the water, At the side of the one row of wood-shavings sticks lay a boat with the stern pointing toward the river. In addition to the aforementioned uilep-aündsha, there was another one next to it, a similar one, but somewhat larger, in which there were likewise bowls and the like.-- Around the tomb there were several fire areas and a camping framework, a sign that natives had spent a night here. The fresh fir branches in the uilep-aündsha and next to the uilepo itself evidently were brought by them. Probably a memorial visit [769] by the relatives of the drowned person had taken place. (2 S.R. I, pp. 33-35.)

/774 cont./

766 The little burial house (uilepo) has the same size as the ordinary chóldochsa, if the corpse of the drowned person has been found and is deposited in the little house, whereas otherwise a much smaller one of quite similar construction is erected to his memory, as, for instance, in Aure. (2 S.R.I, p. 26.)

764 /775/ 68. Orochi. In the forest in the vicinity of an Orochi village near de Castries there were several graves which were identical with those of the Olcha: small houses with a door in each of the transverse sides. They are significantly larger than the small tombs of the Gilyak, however, since among the Tungusic Amur peoples the corpses are not cremated first. In the interior of the little houses I always saw one or several long wooden boxes, probably coffins, but there were no boards and sticks with wooden bowls and eagle feathers and the like, such as the Gilyak graves have (see Plate LXX /p.1270 /). (1 S.R. I, p. 37).

69. Orochi. On the west side of Observatory Island (in de Castries Bay), next to the remains of former Orochi tents, there are still old graves of these people. One of them was opened, and in the middle of it I found a coffin likewise opened. It was simply put together out of five boards, but the top board
[322] was missing. The boards were joined in such a manner that at the end of each board a pin (or peg) was left on and this was stuck through a hole in the board adjoining it (*). The coffin was five

* See Plate LXX /p.1270 /.

feet long and one foot and two or three inches wide. (1 S.R. I, pp. 43 and 44.)

70. Orochi and Olcha. In the forest not far from the Olcha
[322] village of Pjedanj (**), I came across an Orochi tomb. A coffin

** Pjedanj = mouth of the Pje.

made out of six boards put together in an unusual way, by means of prongs, stood completely free and uncovered on three tree-trunks standing opposite one another in a triangle about four to

/775 cont./

764 five feet above the ground. On two of them a thin, upright
322 prong was left standing on the trunk of each one (***); on the third

*** In other words, tree stumps are meant.

trunk two of them were present. Poles were laid on these prongs, from the first two trunks to the third, each of them provided at their ends with a corresponding opening for the prongs. The coffin rested on these poles (placed on them crosswise (⊤), pressed

⊤ According to a small schematic drawing in the text.

down on top by similar poles so that it stood between two pairs of cross-poles which were supported by the tree trunks. The corpse
764 in the coffin was wrapped in birch bark. We learned that it was the tomb of an Orochi woman from the village of Tzidźuē (Zidsuē on the map) on the seacoast, who had died here. It was said that this was the customary mode of burial among the Orochi, if, as in the present case, death resulted from sickness. Such a tomb is called igda-chóldochsa. Men, women, and children are buried in the same way.

766 Moreover, this mode of burial is said to be used by the
171 Orochi in cases of violent death, whereas the Olcha erect a chóldochsa (the little house), as the Gilyak do the raff, only for those who die "peacefully" (a natural death), but bury the corpses of murdered persons in an igda-chóldochsa, which is said to be quite similar to those of the Orochi, except that the coffin stands higher above ground.

766 If an Olcha or an Orochi died as a result of being wounded by a bear, a special tomb, a so-called tzéūpo, is erected for him. This is extremely simple, in that /776/ the coffin is set on a pair of longitudinal poles, which are laid on the ground, and is fastened at the sides, whereupon two fir branches (from Pin picea) are stuck into the ground in front of one end of the coffin. Such a tzéūpo was also next to the Olcha tombs near Pjedanj, but the

Gi /776 cont./

766 fir branches were lacking, which is not permissible for a person who has been torn to pieces by a bear.

Gi 764 823 184 The inhabitants of individual villages and localities differ with respect to the position in which they put the corpse in the coffin in relation to the points of the compass. The decisive factor seems to be, not the sun, but, among the coastal dwellers, the sea, and, among the Amur dwellers, the river. But different customs prevail, depending on the locality. The Orochi of the coast from Nangmar to Idi are said to place the corpses in the igda-chôldochsa with the head toward the sea, that is, to the east. At the Orochi tomb in Pjedanj, however, the head was turned toward the Pje River, that is, to the west. The Olcha of Pjedanj, like those on the Amur River in the villages of Kidsi, Dshai, etc., give their dead this same position in the chôldocha, Gi [162] In de Castries the chôldocha, which are not far from the village and are said to belong to the Olcha who died there, although the entire population now consists of Orochi, have their doors toward the west, that is, toward the distant Amur River, and not toward the sea to the east. The door on the chôldochsa, however, is always at the head end of the burial house. Thus, these Olcha, if they actually were such, had it oriented according to the customs of their homeland. But the same custom is not found in all the villages on the Amur. In Darachta, for instance, on the left bank of the Amur, where its direction is to the north, the corpses are said to be placed on one side in the coffin, so that they are turned with the face and the chest toward the east, with the head in an upstream direction toward the south, the feet in a G downstream direction toward the north. Among the Gilyak, the 764 823 river seems to be absolutely decisive for the position of the raff, because I always saw the door of the raff turned toward the river, no matter what its direction was, for example, in Kuñk, Kalgho, Tacht, Kalm, and Chjare, at the first two places, therefore, toward the south; at the latter, toward the west. (2 S.R.I. pp. 25-27)

000 /Page 777 contains a list of errata which have been corrected in the text./

2: Schrenck--1247 E-5 (1854-1856) 18 :895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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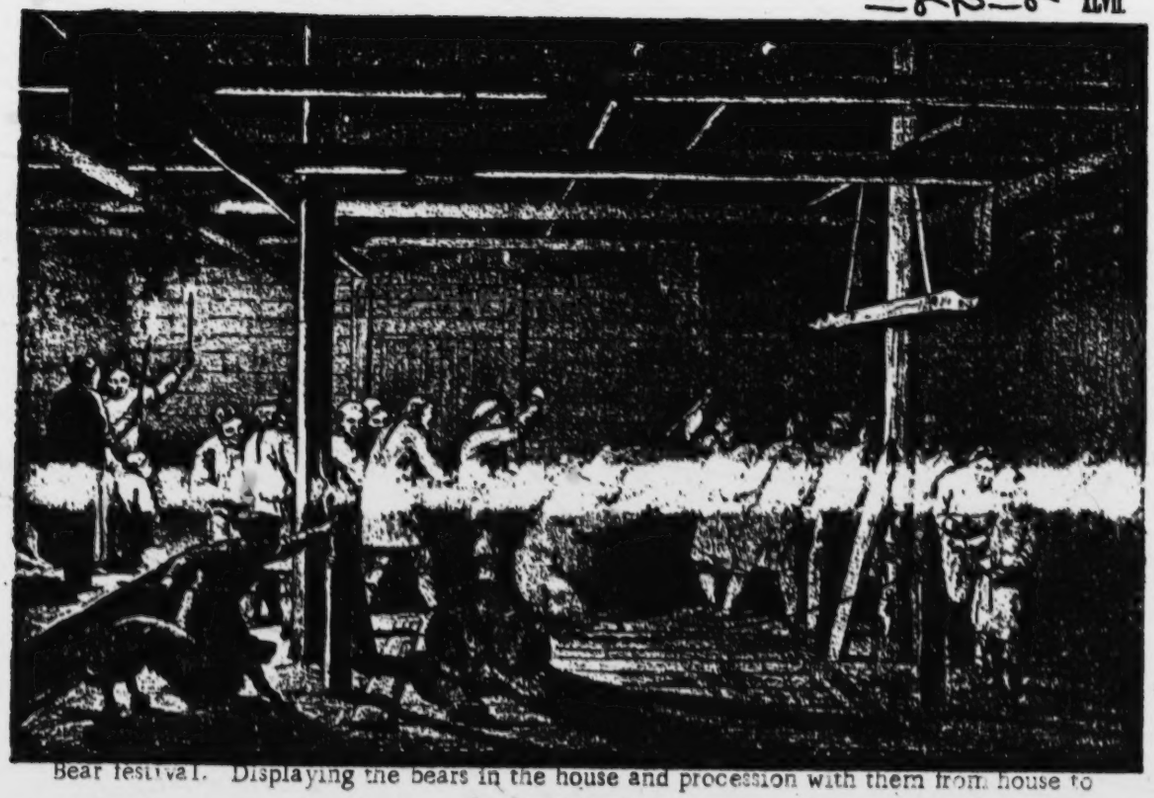

Bear festival. Displaying the bears in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Bear festival. Last procession with the bears (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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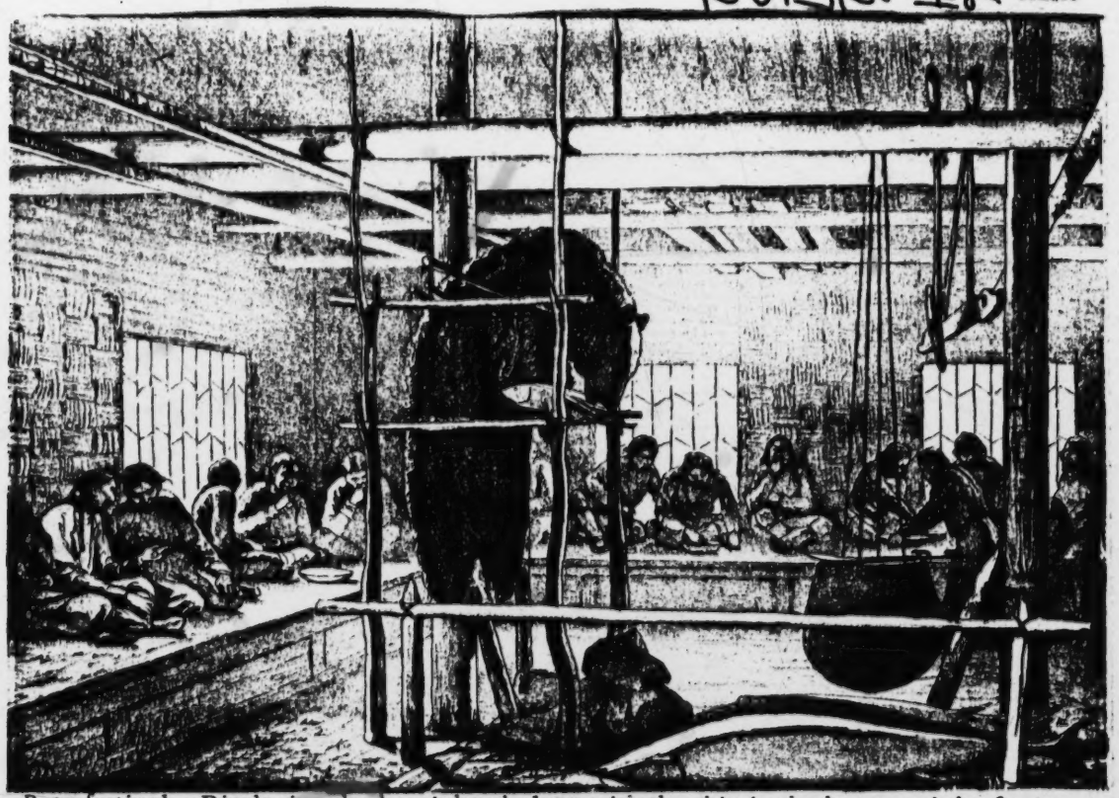

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1250 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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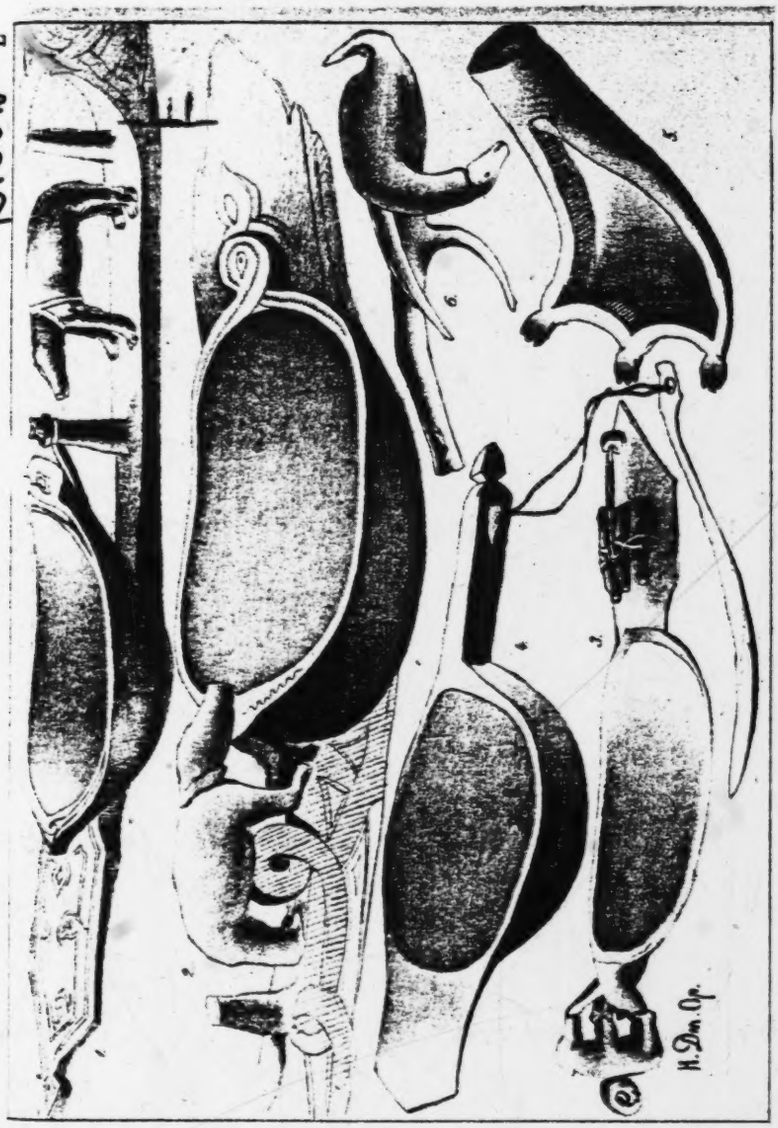

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak; 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax for splitting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

2: Schrenck--1252 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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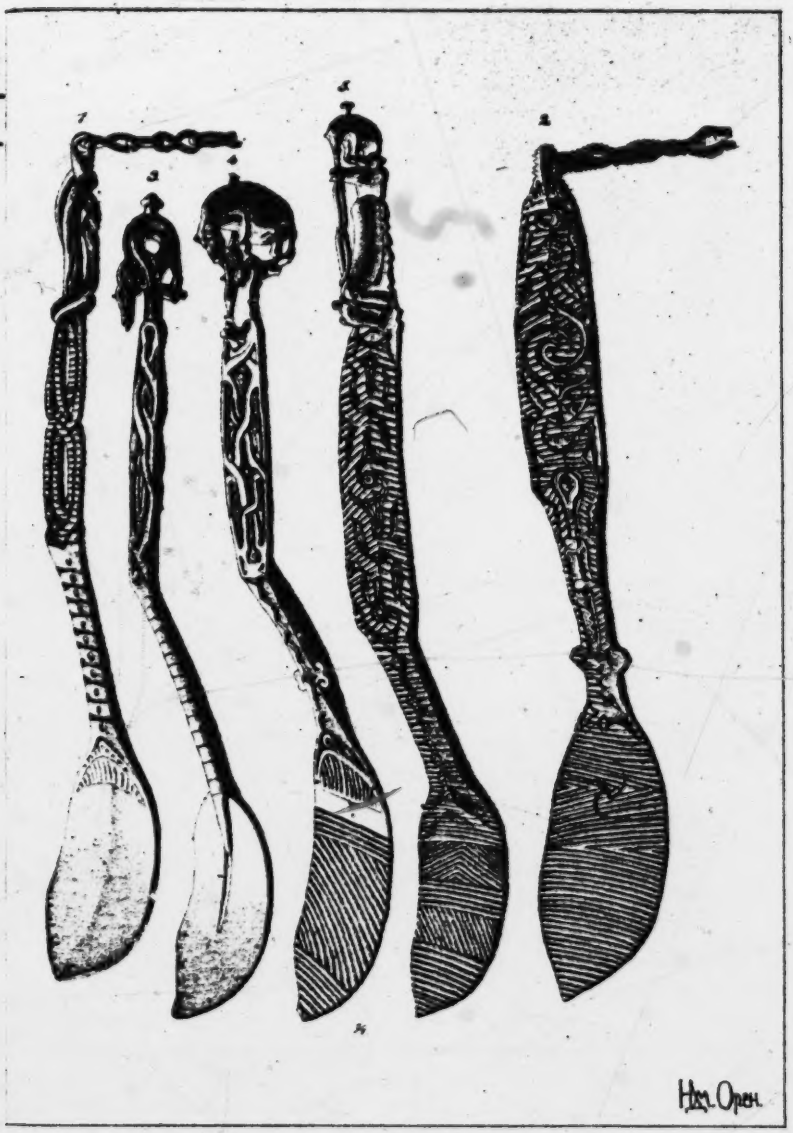

Spoons used at the bear festival of the Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1253 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

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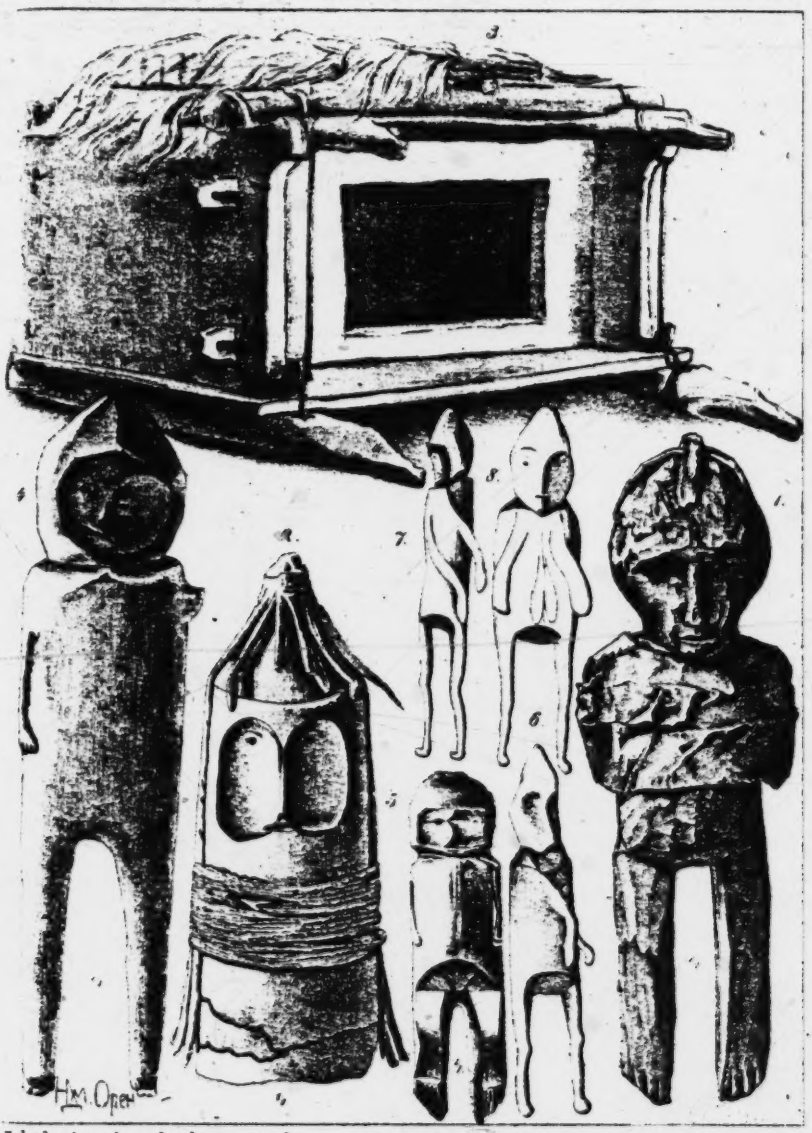

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Idols in simple human form. 1, 2--Gilyak house idols. 3. Dwelling of the idols. Fig. 2 (reduced). 4. One-armed Gilyak idol. 5. Gilyak neck-idol. 6-8. House idols of the Goldi (reduced).

2: Schrenck--1254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3 LIV.

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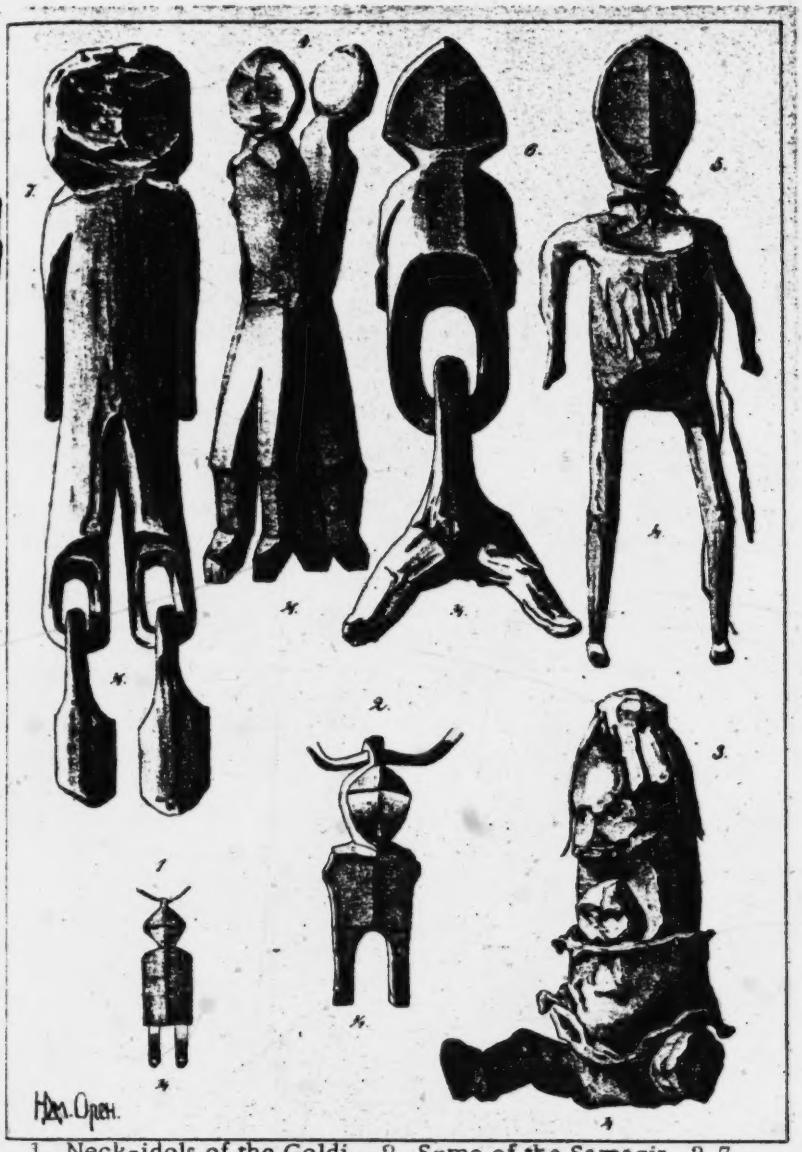

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1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

2: Schrenck--1255 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
LV.

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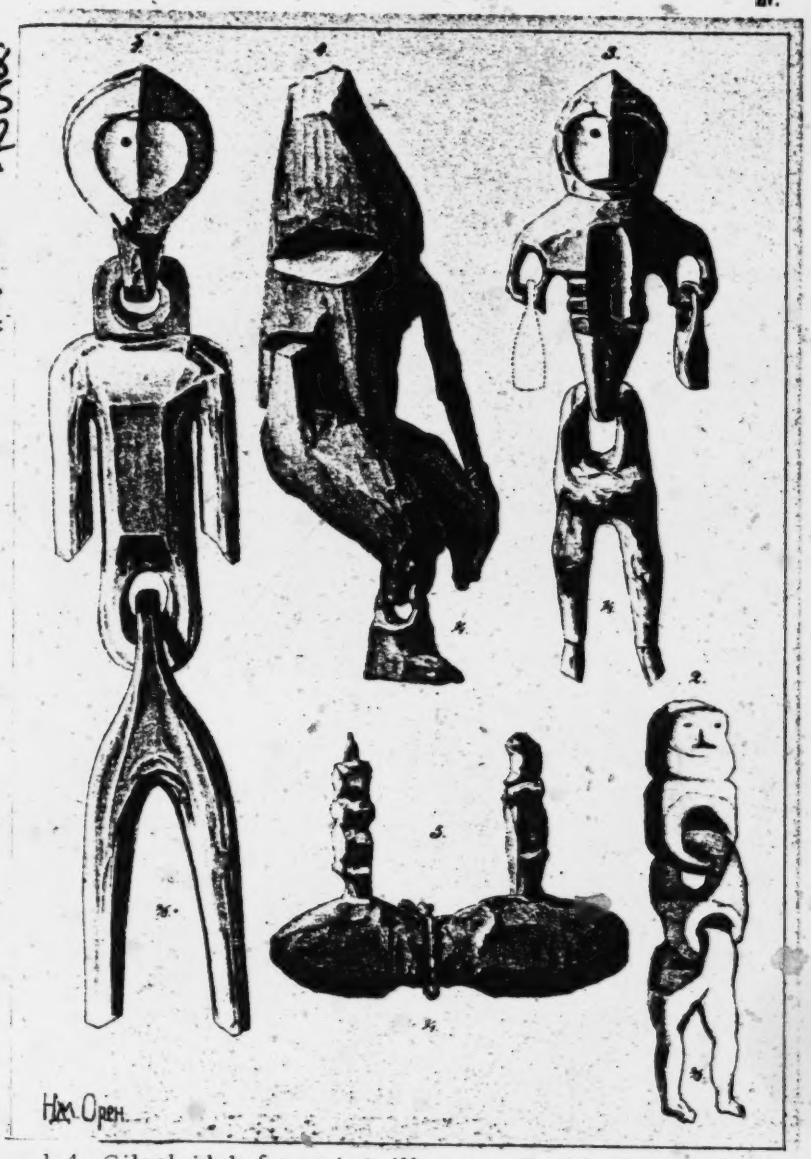

1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

2: Schrenck--1256 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
LVI
778
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Gilyak idols made out of combined human and animal forms. 1. Human being and tiger. 2. Human being, tiger, and bear. 3. Human being and bear. 4. Human being and owl. 5. Human being and white whale.

2: Schrenck--1257 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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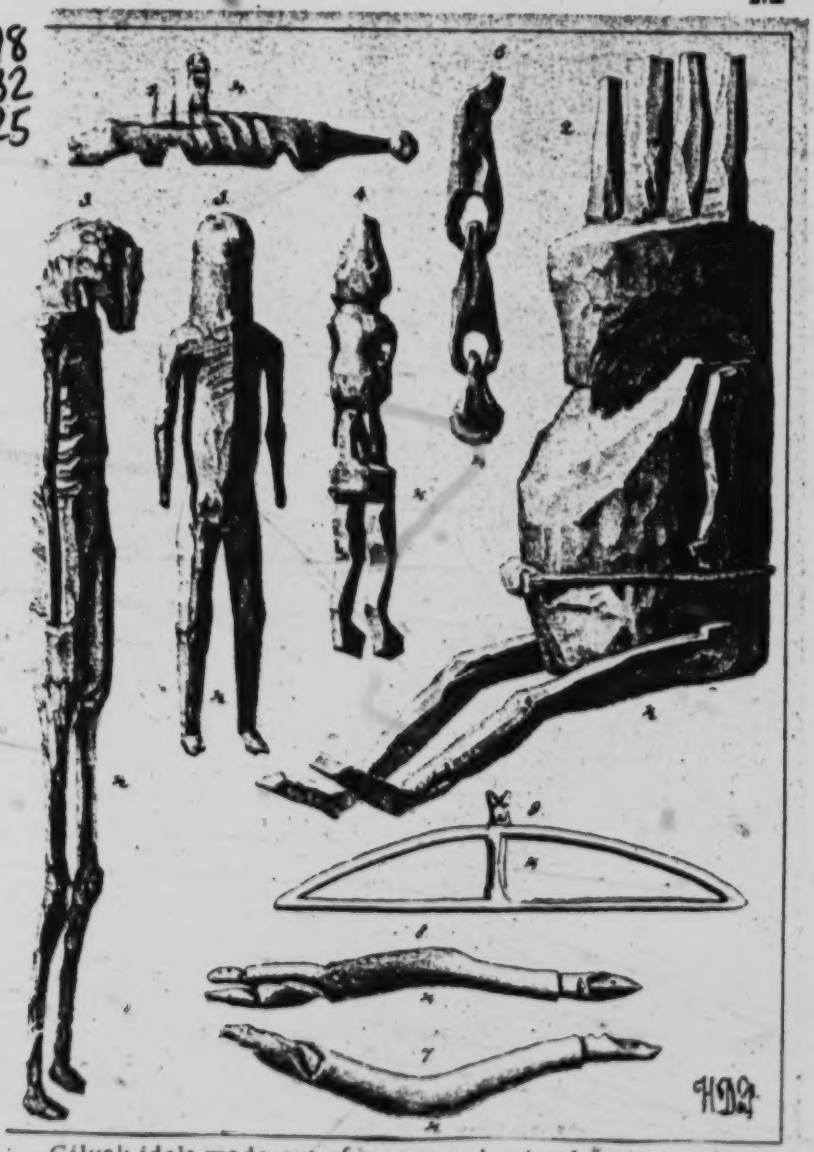

[755]

Gilyak idols made out of human and animal forms combined: 1--human being and tiger; 2--human being with tiger head; 3, 4--human being with bear head; 5--human being with owl head; 6--human back-joint with bear head and paw; 7, 8--Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9--similarly, a bow with human head.

2: Schrenck--1258 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LTR

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Gilyak idols in animal form: 1--bear, a toad in front on the belt; 2--in the back, a lizard and two snakes; 3--bear, jointed, dressed in fish skin; 4-6--tiger.

2: Schrenck--1259 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

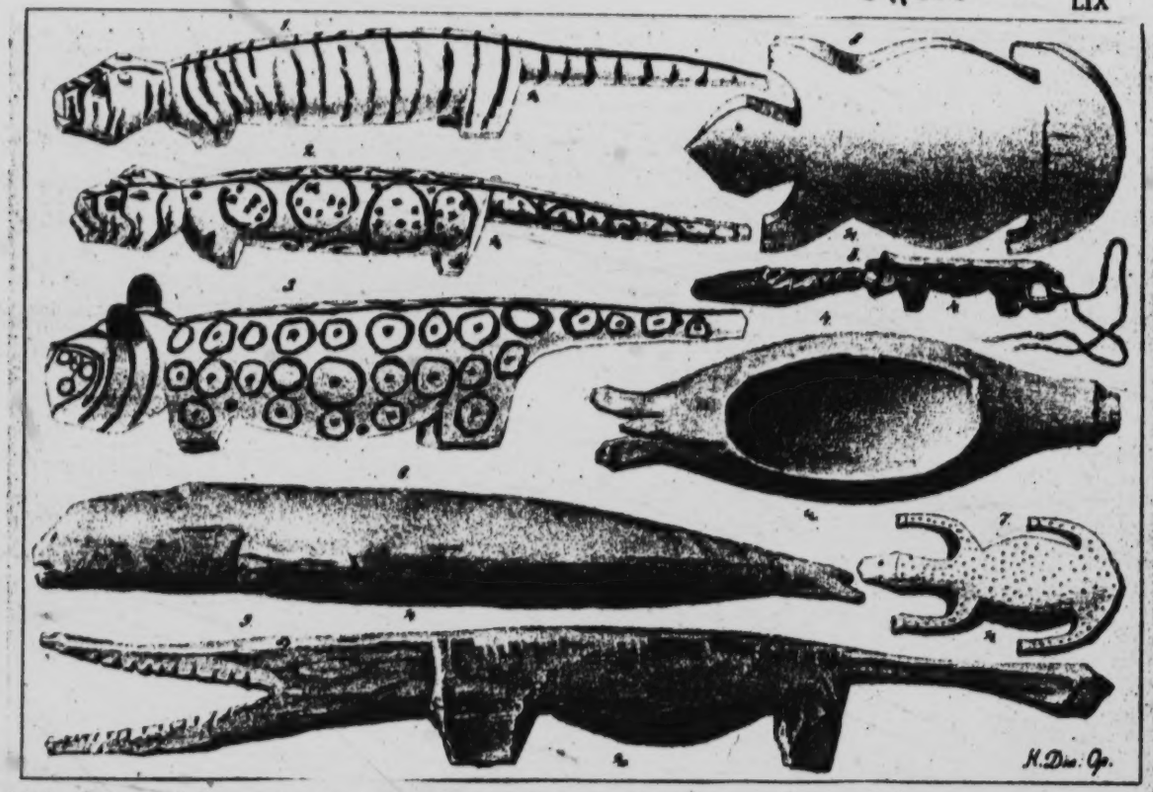

Idols in animal form: 1--tiger (Goldi); 2, 3--leopard (Goldi); 4--seal (Olcha); 5--unidentified animal, a human heart in its mouth (Olcha amulet); 6--white whale (Gilyak); 7, 8--toad (Gilyak); 9--"chas" of the Gilyak.

2:Schrenck--1260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
LX

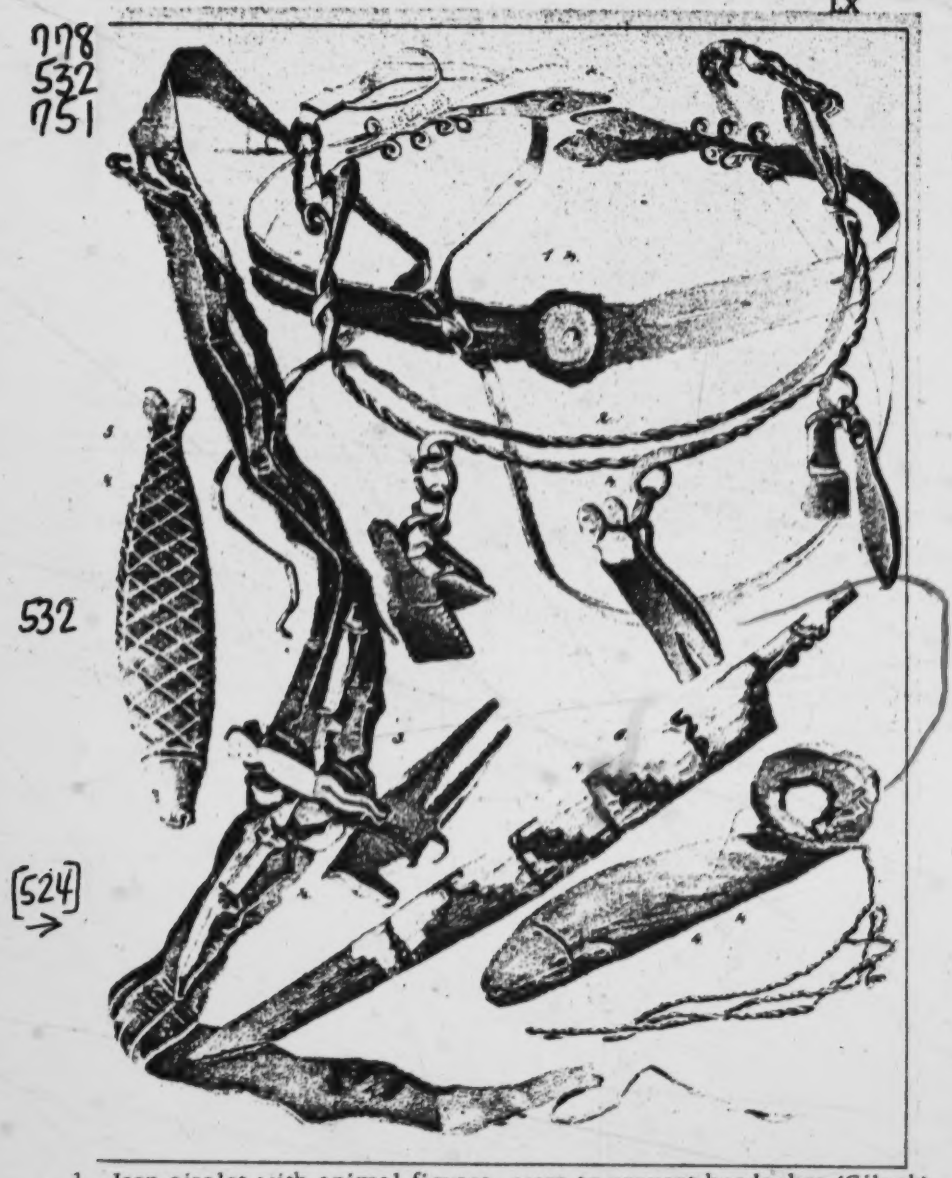

1. Iron circlet with animal figures, worn to prevent headaches (Gilyak). 2. Iron semicircle with symbolic figures, worn around the neck to prevent sickness (Gilyak). 3. Amulet-belt with human and animal figures (Olcha). 4, 5. Fish carved out of wood (Gilyak). 6. Gilyak child's toy representing a dog.

2: Schrenck--1261 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

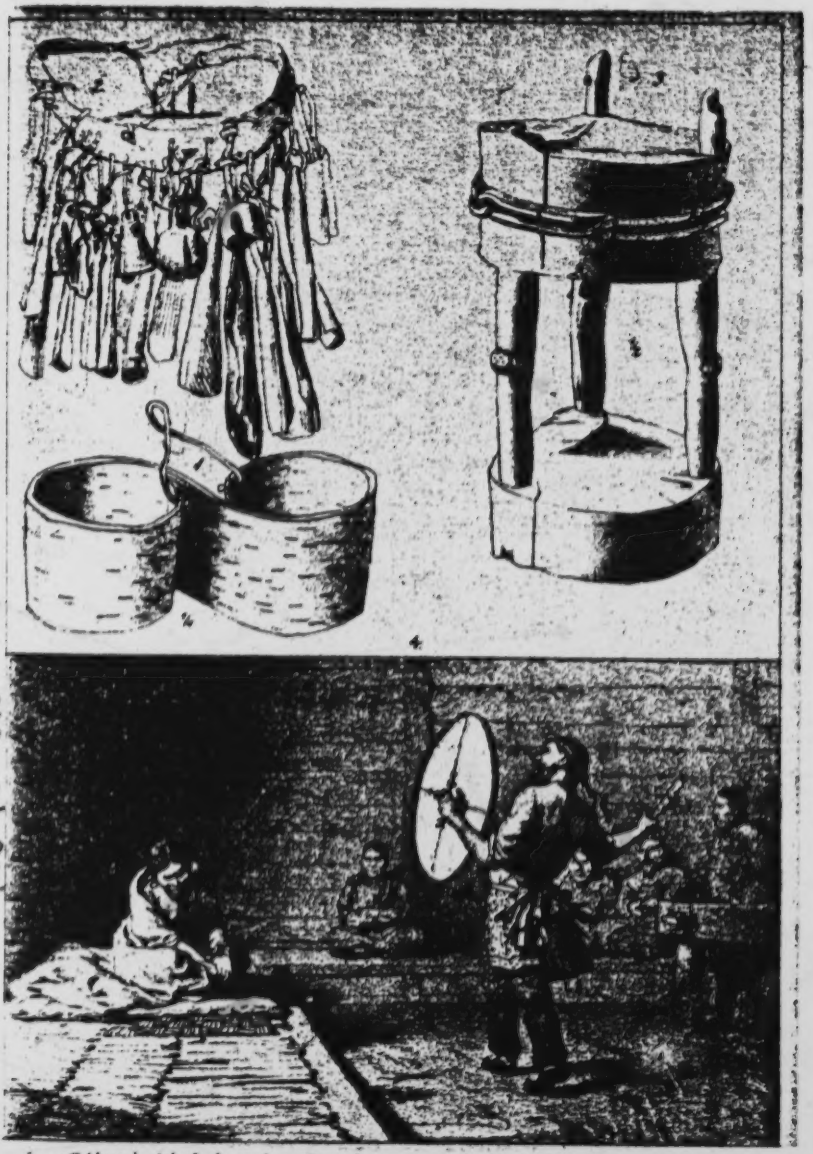

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXII
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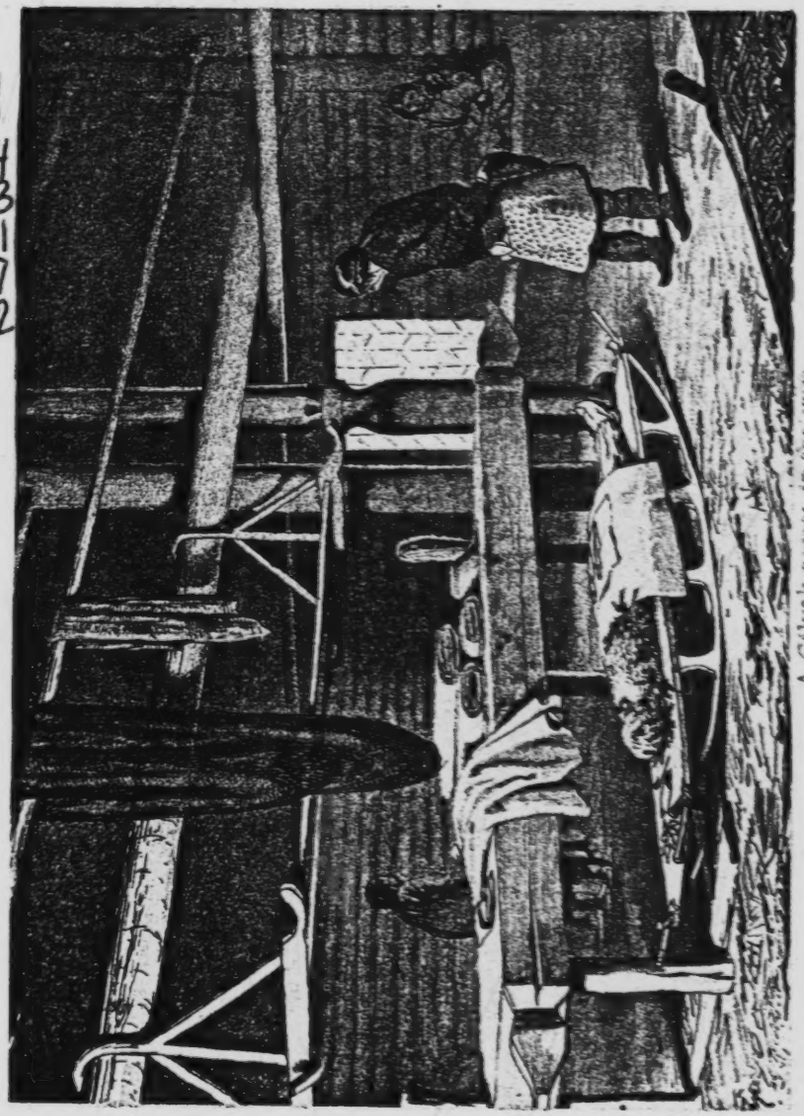

A Gilyak scene in the yurt.

2: Schrenck--1263 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

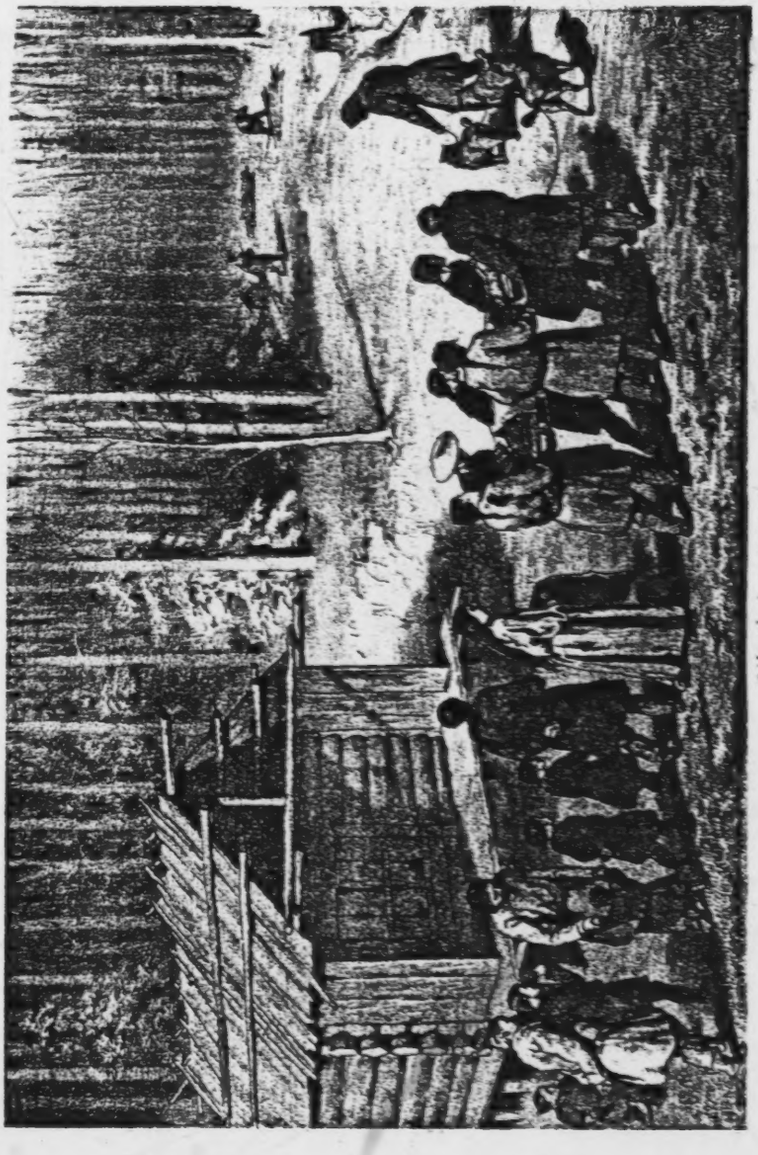

Gilyak Inverment.

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LXIII

2: Schrenck--1264 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak funeral.

2: Schrenck--1265 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

764
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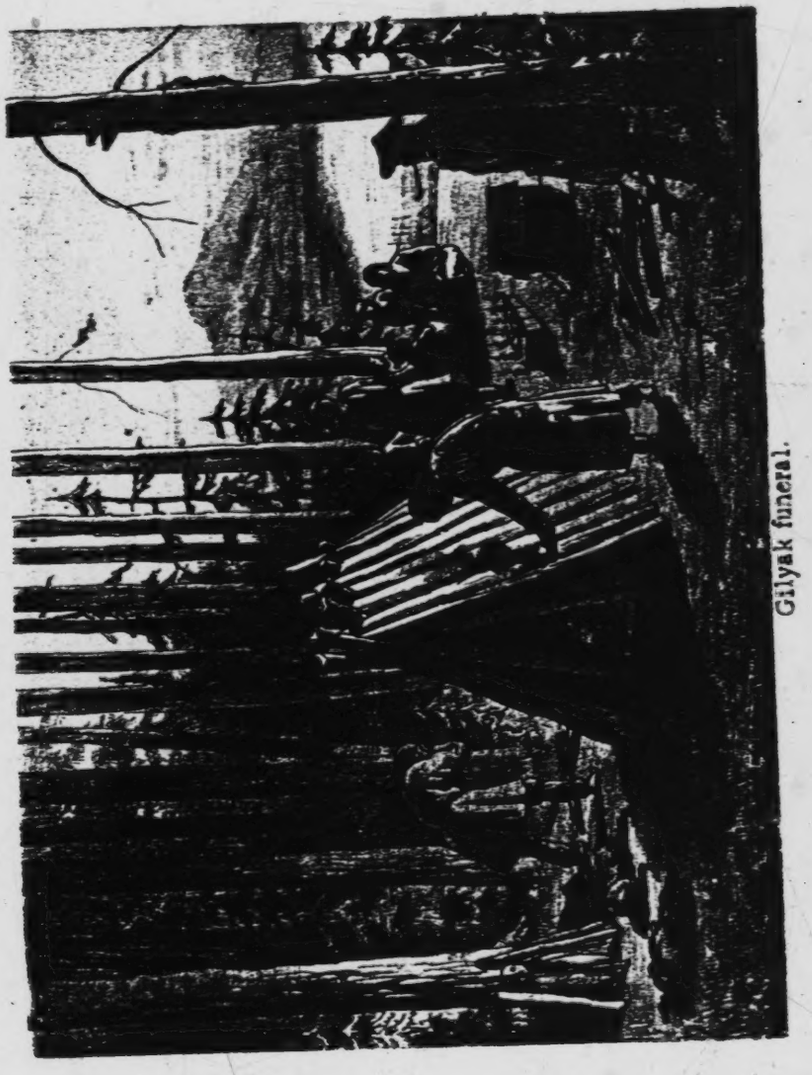

Gilyak funeral.

2: Schrenck--1266 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

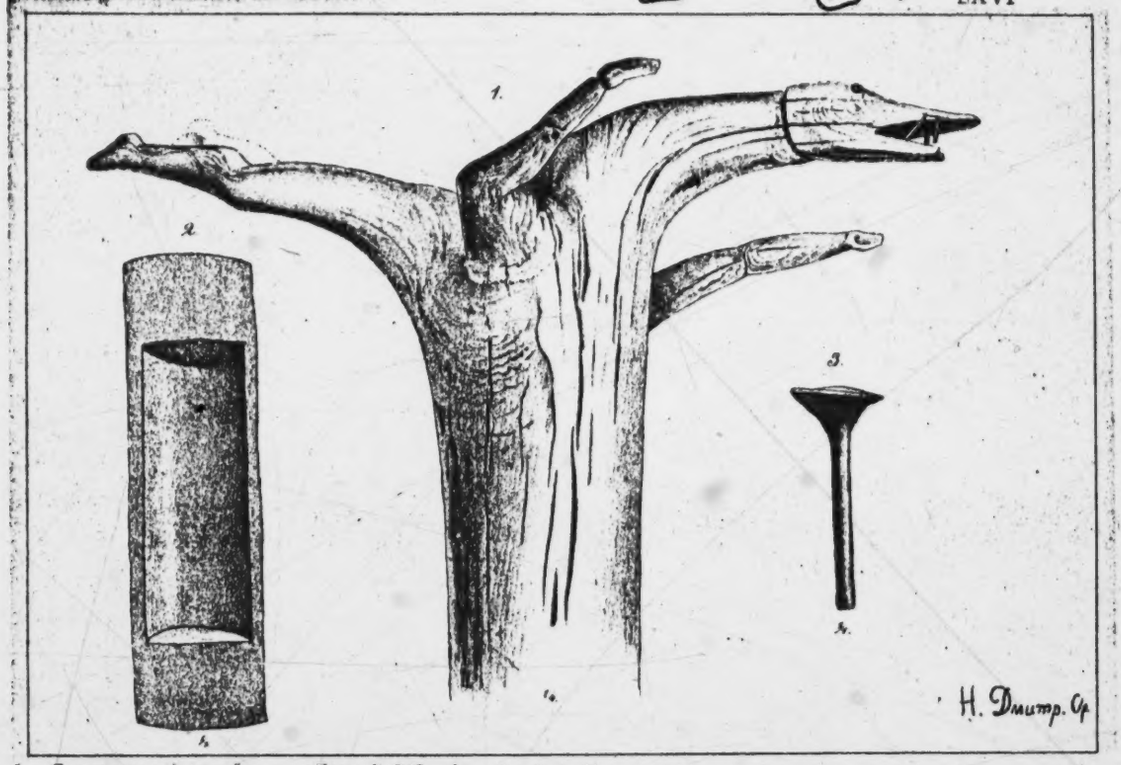

1. Grave marker of a murdered Gilyak. 2. Small wooden trough, along with 3, a pestle, from the tomb of a drowned Olcha.

2: Schrenck--1267 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak Goldi RX3

766

LXVII

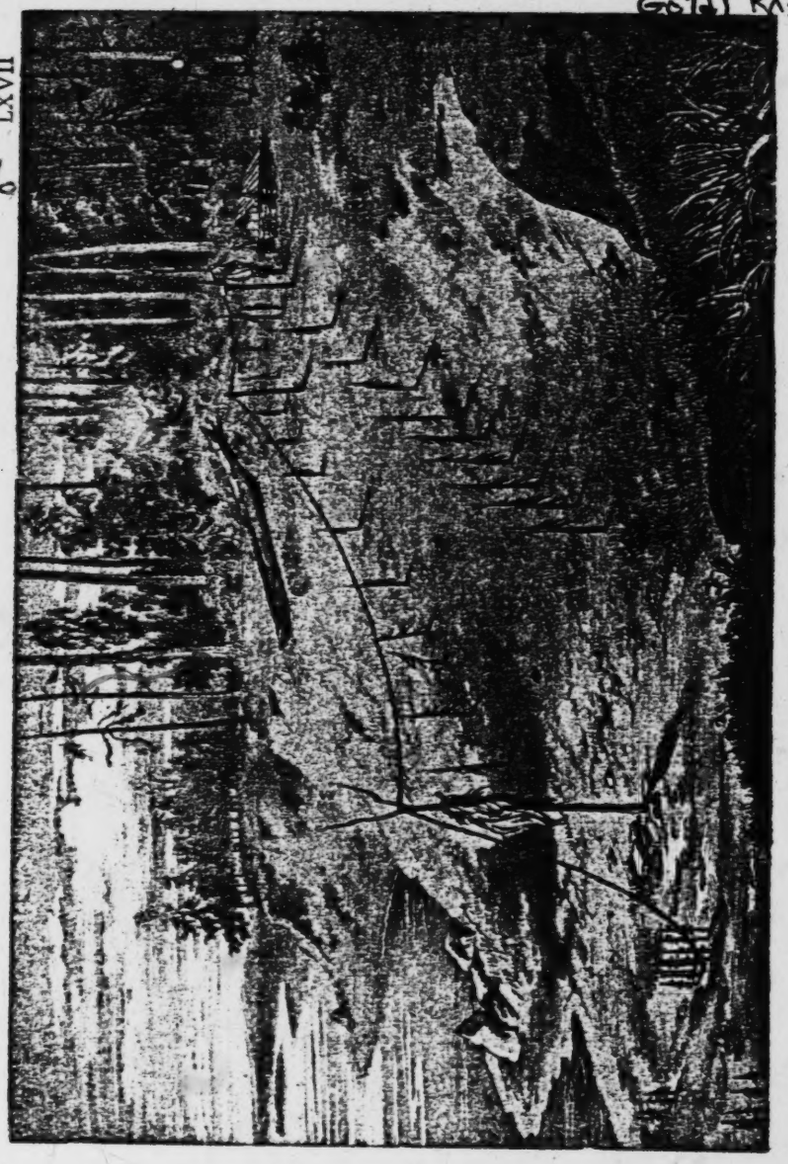

Grave of a drowned Mangunen.

2: Schrenck--1268 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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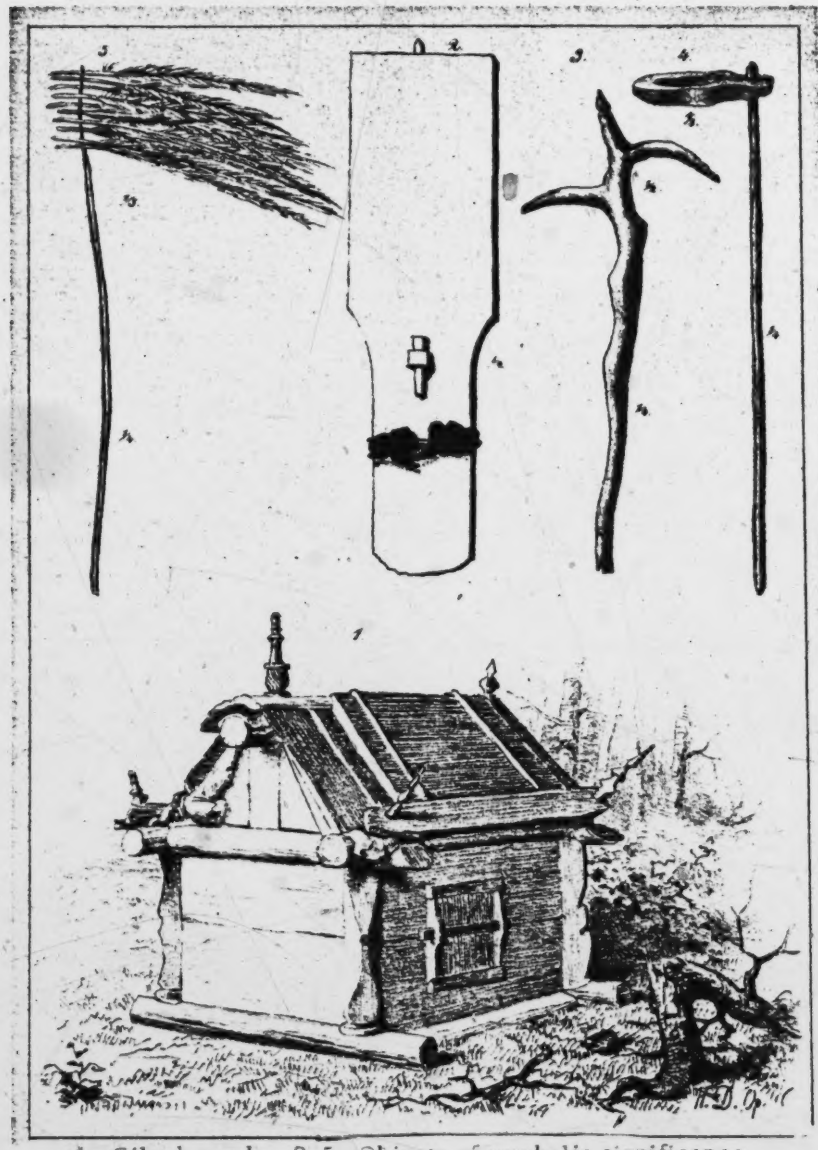

764

1. Gilyak tomb. 2-5. Objects of symbolic significance found in the tomb.

L. Schrenck--1269 5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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An extraordinarily elaborate Gilyak tomb.

2: Schrenck--1270 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3 Olcha LII
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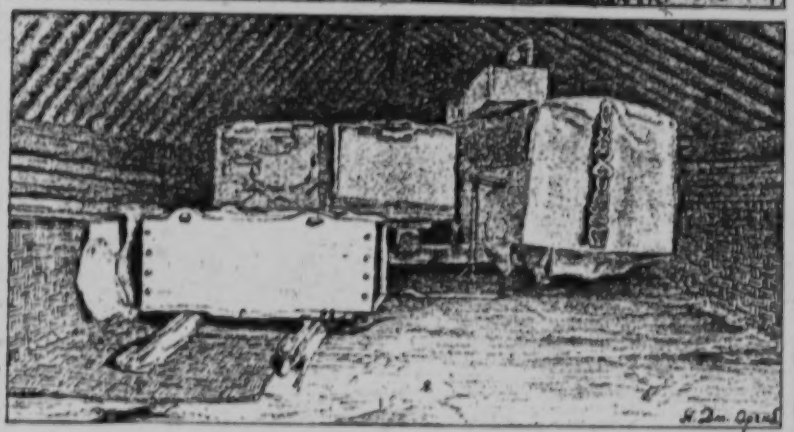

1. Burial house of the Goldi /probably Olcha; see p. 1241, note */. 2. Interior of it.

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Manchu AG4

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131 /For information on the Goguli people of the Amur River region of Southeast Siberia, who are tentatively identified by Schrenck as a Manchu people, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 331-334./

113	Southeast Siberia RX1
101	Ainu AB6
102	Tungus RU5
103	Birar
131	Orochon
133	Daur
	Solon
	Manegir
	Goldi RX3
	Orok
	Orochi
	Olcha
	Negidal
	Kile
	Samagir

/For a map showing the location of the various ethnic groups listed in the OWC headings above, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 418-423 (in English text)./

[For general information on the Dagur (Daur) see also 2: Schrenck in the RX2 Gilyak File, pp. 105-108, 334-362 and 365-373. This material has been marked for the Daur subgroup of the Tungus, but it is suspected that the Daur subgroup in reality refers to the Dagur.]

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648 /For general data pertinent to the culture history of the Amur River region during the
177 latter half of the 19th century, see also 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, pp. 1-3, 6-11, 14-20, 72-73, 158-188, 191-196, 308-311, 331-334, 362-369, 374-376, 408-409, 412-417, 432-448, 614, 625-627, 644-645, 717-719, 721, 723-726, 728-731, 773-778, 835-836, 905, 923, 967-973, and 977-987. The data contained in the above pages will be found under the OWC subheading of Southeast Siberia RX1./

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/For information on the various items entering into the Gilyak diet, see category 116, pp. 645-679./

/For information on the house types of the Polar and West Greenland Eskimo, see also 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 504-512. This information will be found in this source under the OWC subheading of ND2 Eskimo./

343 /For information on the raff, a small burial hut erected at a grave site, see category 764./

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak RX2
Historical
Manchuria AG2

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/Information on itinerant Chinese merchants in the Amur and Manchurian areas will be found in categories 439 and 563./

796

/For specific information and details of the Gilyak bear festival, see category 116, pp. 1132-1167, and 1174-1184./

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

REISEN UND FORSCHUNGEN
IM
AMUR-LANDE

in den Jahren 1854—1856

im Auftrage der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg

ausgeführt

und in Verbindung mit mehreren Gelehrten

herausgegeben

von

Dr. Leopold v. Schrenck.

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[Title Page]

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

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IM

AMUR-LANDE.

BAND III

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[Introductory, p. 1]

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[Introductory, P. ii]

Z: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

DIE VÖLKER DES AMUR-LANDES.

von

Dr. Leopold v. Schrenck.

GEOGRAPHISCH-HISTORISCHER UND ANTHROPOLOGISCH-ETHNOLOGISCHER THEIL.

[Introductory, P. iii]
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INHALTSVERZEICHNISS.

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II. ANTHROPOLOGISCH-ETHNOLOGISCHER THEIL.

3. Abschnitt.

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Tafel I.

Ethnographische Karte des Amur-Landes. (Das Nähere über die Anfertigung der Karte, die Materialien, auf denen sie beruht, die Hauptzwecke, denen sie dienen soll, und dergl. m. s. auf p. 10, 12 und 89—91.)

Tafel II.

Physiognomische Typen der Giljaken (Männer), nach Originalphotographien (wie auch die folgenden Tafeln):

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Fig. 2. Giljake, Namens Kuprin, angeblich 20 Jahre alt, aus dem Dorfe Tebach am Amur, von tungusisch-giljakischem Typus (s. p. 224).

Fig. 3. Giljake, Namens Tybain, aus dem Dorfe Tacht, und Fig. 4. Giljake, Namens Papgun, aus dem Dorfe Magho am Amur, — beide von mittlerem oder schlechtweg giljakischem Typus (s. p. 225).

Tafel III.

Physiognomische Typen aus dem Amur-Lande:

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Fig. 3 und 4. Giljakisches Mädchen, aus dem Dorfe Ssabach am Amur (s. ebenda).

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Fig. 6. Golde, Namens Adungu (s. p. 287).

Fig. 7. Golde, Namens Chanem (s. p. 287).

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Physiognomische Typen der Aino:

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Fig. 3. Aino von Sachalin, von mongolen-ähnlichem Typus (s. p. 266).

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Fig. 4 und 5. Aino-Weiber von Sachalin, erstere von europäer-, letztere von mongolenähnlichem Typus (s. p. 267).

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Fig. 3. Schädel eines Giljaken aus dem Dorfe Allof am Amur (s. p. 240).

Fig. 4. Schädel eines Giljaken-Weibes aus der Umgegend des russischen Dorfes Michailovskoje am Amur (s. p. 241).

Fig. 5. Oltscha-Schädel, vermuthlich weiblichen Geschlechts, aus der Bai de Castries (s. p. 293).

Fig. 6. Oltscha-Schädel, aus dem Dorfe Choto am Kidsi-See (s. p. 294).

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Fig. 12. Tungusen-Schädel, aus dem Dorfe Ankula an der unteren Tunguska (s. p. 306).

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Dieselben Schädel in der Seitenansicht (Norma lateralis), s. ebenda.

Tafel VII.

Dieselben Schädel in der Scheitelansicht (Norma verticalis), s. ebenda.

Tafel VIII.

Dieselben Schädel in der Hinterhauptsansicht (Norma occipitalis), s. ebenda.

Tafel IX.

Dieselben Schädel in der Basilaransicht (Norma basilaris), s. ebenda.

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P 1

EINLEITUNG.

Das Bild, das hier von den Völkern des Amur-Landes entworfen wird, gehört zum grossen Theil bereits der Vergangenheit an. Seitdem Russland definitiven Besitz von diesem Lande genommen, haben sich die ethnographischen Verhältnisse desselben in raschen Zügen verändert. War das Amur-Land in den fünfziger Jahren, als ich es kennen lernte — mit Ausnahme der verhältnissmässig kleinen Strecke zwischen der Dseja- und der Bureja-Mündung, wo eine chinesische Stadt und mandshu-chinesische, Ackerbau und Viehzucht treibende Dorfschaften lagen — noch eine continuirliche Wald- und Prairie-Wildniss, in der, ein paar kleine, neubegründete russische Militärposten abgerechnet, nur halbwilde Fischer- und Jägervölker ungestört ihr Wesen trieben, so breiten sich jetzt längs dem gesammten Amur und Ussuri in Zwischenräumen von je 20—30 Werst Poststationen oder Ansiedelungen russischer Kosaken oder freiwilliger Colonisten aus, am Hauptstrom sind Städte entstanden oder im Entstehen begriffen, an der Küste mehrfache Hafenorte begründet worden, Dampfschiffe laufen den Amur auf und ab und sogar ein Telegraphendrath durchschneidet schon die ehemalige Wildniss. Dass Vorgänge der Art nicht ohne den grössten Einfluss auf das Leben und Treiben der eingeborenen Bevölkerung des Amur-Landes statthaben konnten, versteht sich von selbst. Wird ein Land mit noch fast jungfräulicher Natur der Einwanderung, der Colonisation, der Cultur geöffnet, so ist es nicht seine Pflanzen- oder Thierwelt, die zuerst Einbusse an ihrer Ursprünglichkeit erleidet, sondern der Mensch. Noch ehe die Wälder gelichtet, der jungfräuliche Boden aufgerissen und besäet, die wilden Thiere verscheucht oder vermindert worden, tritt der Mensch, der diese Wälder als Jäger durchstreift oder die Flussufer als Fischer bewohnt, mit den neuen Ankömmlingen in Berührung und Beziehung und trägt in seiner Lebensweise, seinen Sitten und Gebräuchen, seiner Sprache, seinen Anschauungen und Begriffen, kurz im gesammten Zuschnitt seines physischen und geistigen Lebens die Spuren der fremdartigen Berührung davon. Von welchen Folgen diese Berührung, wenn sie bleibend wird, für ein Naturvolk in der Regel zu sein pflegt, hat die Geschichte vielfach gelehrt.

Zunächst in seinen physischen Existenzmitteln, der Jagd, dem Fischfang, durch die neuen Ankömmlinge wesentlich und dauernd geschädigt, unfähig sich neue Erwerbsquellen anzueignen, geschweige denn mit den ihm überlegenen Fremdlingen darin zu concurriren, von diesen oft auch mit Hülfe des unwiderstehlichen Branntweins ausgeraubt und entnervt, Schritt für Schritt aus seiner herkömmlichen Lebensweise herausgerissen, zudem auch in seinem psychischen Leben angegriffen, in Allem was ihm theuer und heilig war verletzt und missachtet, durch die heraufbeschworenen Schrecken des eigenen Aberglaubens gedrückt und gepeinigt und zu all dem vielleicht noch durch Krieg, sicher aber durch verheerende Krankheiten, wie sie der ersten Berührung eines Naturvolkes mit Europäern stets auf dem Fusse zu folgen pflegen, stark mitgenommen und gelichtet, geht es unvermeidlich der raschen Abnahme an Kopfzahl, der Verarmung, dem physischen und moralischen Verfall, der völligen Abhängigkeit von den neuen Ankömmlingen und entweder durch Vermischung mit denselben dem Verlust seiner Eigenart, selbst mit Einbusse der Sprache, oder aber dem gänzlichen Aussterben entgegen[1]. Weicht es aber dem eindringenden Fremdling aus, zieht es sich, wo die Umstände es gestatten, nach entlegeneren Wildnissen zurück, so ist auch damit meist nur eine kurze Frist gewonnen: denn mit dem Verlust seines heimathlichen Bodens, seiner bekannten Jagdgründe und Fischereiplätze, seiner leiblichen Habe und seiner moralischen und psychischen Frische, fällt es durch Verarmung und Verkümmerung schliesslich doch demselben Schicksal anheim. Nach Beispielen ausgestorbener oder ihrer Eigenart völlig verlustig gegangener Völker brauchen wir nicht weit zu gehen. Sibirien bietet deren genug dar. Wo sind z. B. die jetzt nur dem Namen nach bekannten Omoken geblieben, die einst von der Jana bis zur Kolyma gewohnt haben sollen und von denen die Sage erzählt, „es habe ehemals an den Ufern der Kolyma mehr Omoker Feuer als bei klarer Nacht Sterne am Himmel gegeben[2]?“ Was ist aus den gleichzeitig verschollenen Schelagern geworden, von denen die Tradition sich erhalten, dass sie eines Herbstes mit den Omoken in solcher Zahl auf einem grossen See sich versammelt hätten, dass das eine halbe Arschin starke Eis unter der Last gebrochen und Viele von ihnen um's Leben gekommen seien[3]? Hedenström hält zwar die Jukagiren, die zu seiner Zeit in geringer Anzahl zwischen der Jana und Kolyma umherstreiften, für einen Rest der Omoken[4], und Argentof hörte sie in der That von diesem Volke als von ihren Vorfahren reden[5], allein wie ist es heutzutage auch um die Jukagiren be-

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1 Sehr eingehend ist dieser Gegenstand von Dr. Georg Gerland in seiner Schrift „Ueber das Aussterben der Naturvölker“ Leipzig 1868 behandelt worden. Er hält die Angriffe auf das psychische Leben der Naturvölker fast für verderblicher noch als das Losstürmen auf ihre physische Existenz l. c. p. 118.

2 Ф. ф. Врангель, Путеш. по сѣв. берег. Сибири и по ледов. морю, ч. II, Спб. 1841, стр. 80, 81. Deutsche Uebersetzung, Bd. II, p. 3, 6. Киберъ, Свѣдѣн. о инород. прив. Россіи. Петер., изданы въ Нижне-Колымскѣ и опредѣл. около, въ 1821 г. Сибирь. Вѣстн. изд. Грот. Спбургъ, 1823 г. ч. II, Статист., стр. 127.

3 А. Аргентовъ, Свѣд. земли Ян. Изв. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1861, Кн. II, Всякая Матер., стр. 18. In diesem sehr interessanten Artikel sind alle Nachrichten, die sich aus Sagen und Ueberlieferungen von diesen Völkern und ihrer vermeintlichen Auswanderung nach einem nördlicher, im Eismeer gelegenen Lande erhalten liessen, zusammengestellt.

4 Геденшторемъ, Отрывки о Сибири, С. Петерб. 1830, стр. 97.

5 Аргентовъ, Описаніе Нижнеколымскаго округа Ист. Сибири, Отдѣл. Изв. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Кн. III, 1857, стр. 99, 101.

stellt? Traf doch die von Baron Gerh. Maydell geführte Expedition (1868—70) unter ihnen nur noch einzelne wenige Individuen an, welche die Sprache ihrer Väter kannten[1]). Von den Ananlen, einem Volksstamm am Anadyr, mit welchem der Entdecker dieses Stromes, der Kosak Semjon Deshnef, im Jahre 1649 Krieg führte, heisst es ausdrücklich, dieselben seien, da sie nicht zahlreich und doch widerspenstig gewesen, in kurzer Zeit ganz aufgerieben worden[2]). Sämmtliche Völker, die mit den Jenissei-Ostjaken zu demselben Stamme gehören, wie die Ariner oder Arinzen, Assanen, Kotten, sind entweder schon erloschen oder dem Erlöschen nahe. Von den Arinern sprach es schon Fischer, der zuerst die Zusammengehörigkeit dieser Völker erkannte, als vollendete Thatsache aus[3]). Die Kotten fand Castrén noch in fünf lebenden Individuen vor, die ihm die Gelegenheit zum Studium ihrer Sprache boten[4]). Aber auch mit den nunmehr vereinzelt stehenden Jenissei-Ostjaken verhält es sich jetzt nicht viel besser als mit den oben erwähnten Jukagiren, den Itälmenen oder Kamtschadalen und so manchen anderen sibirischen Völkerschaften. Zwar haben sie sich bis auf den heutigen Tag erhalten, allein in Folge ihres stäten und nahen Verkehrs und Zusammenlebens mit den Russen hat sich ihr eigenthümliches nationales Gepräge vollständig verwischt, und kaum dürfte es jetzt der genauesten Forschung noch möglich sein, das ursprüngliche Bild dieser Völker wiederherzustellen. Wie weit und in wie kurzer Zeit hat sich z. B. der Zersetzungsprozess auch der entfernteren und durch die halbinsulare Lage ihres Landes isolirteren Kamtschadalen vollzogen? Hätten nicht Krascheninnikof und Steller ihre Hauptzüge fixirt, wir wüssten von ihnen jetzt kaum mehr was zu sagen. Was hier einmal versäumt worden, lässt sich später nicht wieder einholen.

Auch die Völker des Amur-Landes sind gegenwärtig in einen solchen Zersetzungsprozess getreten. Ja, bei ihnen dürfte derselbe noch um so rascher vor sich gehen, als die Colonisirung dieses Landes russischerseits, wie oben erwähnt, mit einer Energie betrieben worden ist, die in Sibirien ihres Gleichen nicht hat. Auch stellen Schilderungen späterer Reisenden ausser Zweifel, dass die Eigenart dieser Völker in raschem Verschwinden begriffen ist. Schon jetzt dürfte es oft schwer fallen, das Ursprüngliche und Eigenartige in ihren Sitten, Gebräuchen und Anschauungen unter dem es überwuchernden Fremden und Ueberkommenen herauszufinden. Diese Schwierigkeit bestand zur Zeit, als ich deren Bekanntschaft machte, noch nicht. Die einzigen Culturvölker, mit denen sie bis dahin in längerer Berührung gestanden hatten, waren die Chi-

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1) Nach Neumann (Нѣкц. свѣдѣн. о говор. и произход. чук. корят. Якутск. обл. Извѣст. Спб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. T. III, Иркутск 1872, стр. 38; T. IV, стр. 136) noch 10 Leute; nach Trifonof (Зап. о Нижне-Колымск. Окр. Спб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. T. III, стр. 167) nur einen einzigen Greis. Auch der von Maydell ausgefragte Jukagir, der seine Sprache kannte, hatte nicht immer die Antworten zur Hand und war deshalb genöthigt, sich an seine alte Mutter zu wenden, wenn er sich selbst auf die einzelnen Ausdrücke nicht besinnen konnte. Vrgl. Schiefner, Ueber Baron G. v. Maydell's Jukagirische Sprachproben Bullet. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. XVII, p. 86; Mél. asiat. tirés du Bull. T. VI, p. 600.

2) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. III, St. Petersb. 1758 p. 11.

3) Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte. Bd. I, St. Petersb. 1768, p. 138, 387, Anm. 31.

4) Al. Castrén, Ethnolog. Vorles. über die Altaisch. Völker, herausgeg. von A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1857, p. 87. Desselben Versuch einer Jenissei-Ostjak. u. Kottischen Sprachlehre, herausgeg. von A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1858, p. V, VI.

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nesen und Japaner, allein diese Berührung war, zum wenigsten für die entfernteren unter ihnen, immer nur eine spärliche, fast nur auf Handelsbeziehungen beschränkte; es fehlte der Cultur dieser ostasiatischen Völker, wenigstens bis dahin, der expansive Charakter der europäischen, um so zersetzend wie diese auf die Naturvölker wirken zu können. Wie weit sie dennoch von Einfluss auf dieselben gewesen, soll in den nachstehenden Blättern dargethan werden. Bedacht, die wissenschaftliche Erforschung Nordasiens stets in dem Maasse zu fördern, als es die politischen Umstände gestatten, hat die Akademie ihre erste, mir anvertraute Expedition nach dem Amur-Lande schon zu der Zeit ausgesandt, als dieses Land, nach den blutigen Kämpfen unternehmender Freibeuter und Kosaken des XVII. Jahrhunderts, zuerst von den Russen wieder betreten wurde, um fortan in bleibenden Besitz genommen zu werden. Für ethnographische Forschungen hat sie damit den günstigsten Zeitpunkt wahrgenommen, wie er für diese Gegenden in Zukunft nicht wieder eintreten kann. Dieser Begünstigung durch die Zeitumstände mir bewusst, habe ich den ethnographischen Verhältnissen des Amur-Landes so viel Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, als es einem Reisenden, dem vor Allem naturhistorische Forschungen zur Aufgabe gemacht worden, irgend möglich war. Auch hatte die Akademie mir einen Zeichner beigesellt, wodurch es möglich ward, Vieles aus dem Leben der Amur-Völker auch durch bildliche Darstellung zu fixiren. So wurde während der Reise dahin gearbeitet, die erforderlichen Beobachtungen und Materialien zu sammeln, um ein möglichst detaillirtes Bild von den Völkern des Amur-Landes aus der Zeit entwerfen zu können, da sie noch ihre volle oder zum wenigsten durch die Berührung mit einem europäischen Culturvolk noch keineswegs geschädigte Eigenart besassen. Stets sind daher im Nachstehenden die ethnographischen Verhältnisse des Amur-Landes zu jener Zeit gemeint, auch wenn sich die Betrachtung der Form nach in der Gegenwart bewegt.

Nicht das ganze Stromgebiet des Amur soll hier in ethnographischer Beziehung besprochen werden. Ein Theil desselben, das sogenannte Daurien oder das Quellland des Amur-Stromes, bleibt uns hier fern. Dieses seit dem Nertschinsker Grenztraktat von 1689 unangefochten dem Russischen Reiche verbliebene Land ist auch schon vielfach von älteren und neueren Reisenden besucht und auch in seinen ethnographischen Verhältnissen, mit seiner vorherrschend russischen, zum geringeren Theile noch mongolisch-tungusischen Bevölkerung, wiederholentlich besprochen worden. Erst wo Schilka und Argunj zum Amur sich vereinigen, beginnt, ostwärts von der mongolisch-daurischen Hochebene, das Stufen- und Tiefland des Amur-Stromes, das eigentliche Amur-Land, das, erst neuerlich von Russland in Besitz genommen, in ethnographischer Beziehung nur sehr wenig oder kaum bekannt ist. Nur dieses eigentliche Amur-Land wird in den nachstehenden Blättern in Betracht kommen. Doch müssen wir zu demselben, aus physisch-geographischen wie ethnographischen Gründen, nicht bloss die Landschaften am Amur und seinen Zuflüssen, sondern auch die angrenzenden Küsten am Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere, vom Tugur-Busen bis zur Grenze von Korea, so wie die der Mündung des Amur-Stromes vorgelagerte, die Festlandsküste in geringer Entfernung begleitende Insel Sachalin rechnen, die gleichsam als Brücke nach Japan und den Kurilen hinüberführt.

Nicht alle Völker ferner, die das solchergestalt begrenzte Amur-Land bewohnen, werden Gegenstand unserer Betrachtung sein. An sich ausgeschlossen aus derselben sind natürlich die bekannten Culturvölker Ostasiens, die Chinesen und Japaner, die nicht ursprünglich dem Amur-Lande angehören, sondern nur von Süden aus mehr oder weniger weit in dasselbe vorgedrungen sind; ja, auch die Mandshu, die zwar im Stromgebiet des Amur ihre Heimath haben, aber durch ihre Geschichte, ihre Herrscherstellung in China, ihre Schriftsprache u. dgl. m. jenen Culturvölkern sich anreihen. Bilden doch diese Völker in linguistischer, historischer, culturhistorischer und anderer Beziehung den Gegenstand vielfacher, eingehender Forschungen besonderer Fachgelehrten. Hier können sie nur in ihren Beziehungen zu den Eingeborenen des Amur-Landes und soweit sie einen Einfluss auf dieselben ausgeübt haben, in Betracht kommen. So bleiben uns nur die indigenen Völker des Amur-Landes übrig, die man zwar nicht mehr als Naturvölker bezeichnen kann, die aber dennoch von der Cultur selbst jener ihrer Nachbaren nur wenig berührt worden sind und noch auf dem Standpunkte einfacher Jäger- und Fischervölker sich befinden.

Aber auch für diese immer noch zahlreichen Völker konnte jener oben gestellten Aufgabe nur zum Theil und in sehr beschränktem Maasse Genüge geleistet werden. Die grosse Ausdehnung des Amur-Landes, das zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes in demselben zumeist noch ganz unter chinesischer Herrschaft stand, so wie die damals noch schwere Zugänglichkeit mancher seiner Theile gestatteten mir natürlich nicht, in dem verhältnissmässig nur kurzen Zeitraume von etwas über zwei Jahren, den meine Reisen im Amur-Lande in Anspruch nahmen, mit allen über dasselbe zerstreuten Völkern in Berührung zu kommen, geschweige denn sie näher kennen zu lernen. Der Umstand, dass man russischerseits, vom Ochotskischen Meere vordringend, zuerst an der Mündung des Amur-Stromes festen Fuss fasste, nöthigte mich, der ich das Amur-Land von der Seeseite betrat, ebenfalls hier, in dem eben begründeten Nikolajevschen Posten mein Standquartier zu nehmen, um von dort aus im Sommer wie im Winter grössere und kleinere Ausflüge und Reisen in's Innere des Landes, nach der Meeresküste und auf die Insel Sachalin auszuführen. Das Nähere über diese Reisen ist in der Einleitung zum ersten Bande dieses Werkes, so wie in mehreren, im Bulletin der Akademie veröffentlichten Reiseberichten zu finden[1]). Sie führten mich zweimal nach der Insel Sachalin, die ich übrigens im Sommer 1854 auch schon an der Südspitze berührt hatte, an die Küsten des Ochotskischen und Nördjapanischen Meeres, zum Gorin und Ussuri und endlich, auf der Rückreise, den ganzen Amur und einen Theil des Argunj-Flusses aufwärts. Während der Winterreisen zumal lebte ich ganz mit und unter den Eingeborenen. So waren es also hauptsächlich die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, insbesondere die Giljaken, alsdann aber auch die Oltscha (Mangunen) und Golde, mit denen ich näher bekannt zu werden Gelegenheit hatte, während ich mit den übrigen nur in mehr oder weniger flüchtige Berührung kam. Einige Nachrichten über die Giljaken verdanke ich auch Middendorff, der dieses Volk

1. Reisen u. Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Bd. I, p. IX bis XXII. Bulletin de la classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Petersb. T. XIV, p. 10—16, 181—192, 217—222; T. XV, p. 169—176, 241—254; Melanges phys. et chim. tires du Bull. T. [illegible], p. 318—333, 446—456, 492—497; T. III, p. 8—17; Mel. russes, T. III, p. 90—93, 297—300, 311—323.

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schon im Jahre 1844 und zwar an der äussersten Nordwestgrenze seines Verbreitungsgebietes kennen lernte. Die von ihm damals niedergeschriebenen Notizen hat er in seinem Reisewerke nicht publizirt, sondern mir zur Verwerthung an diesem Orte freundlichst übergeben, und da ich diesen Theil des Giljaken-Gebietes selbst nicht besucht habe, so sind sie mir in der That von grossem Werthe. Wo ich mich daher im Nachstehenden auf Middendorff berufe, ohne auf seine Schriften zu verweisen, rühren meine Nachrichten aus der erwähnten handschriftlichen Quelle her. Sehr viel trug ferner zur näheren Kenntniss der Völker des unteren Amur-Landes auch der Umstand bei, dass während ich inmitten des Giljaken-Gebietes mein Standquartier hatte, mein Freund und jetziger College, C. J. Maximowicz, das seinige im Oltscha-Gebiet und zwar in dem kurz zuvor begründeten Mariinskischen Posten nahm. Seine damals, so wie auf einer späteren Reise, in den Jahren 1859 und 60, über die Oltscha und Golde gesammelten und mir übergebenen Nachrichten bilden somit einen wesentlichen Theil von dem nachstehend über diese Völker Mitgetheilten. Für die ethnographische Forschung waren dies glückliche Fügungen, denn gerade die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes boten unzweifelhaft das meiste Interesse dar, indem ihr Leben in Folge ihrer grösseren Entlegenheit sowohl von den Mandshu, Chinesen und Japanern, wie von den Russen, am meisten eigenartig sich gestaltet und erhalten hatte. Insbesondere aber gilt dies von den auch in sprachlicher Beziehung unter allen Amur-Völkern ganz isolirt stehenden Giljaken[1].

Gleichwohl traten auch hier, trotz häufigen Verkehrs mit den Eingeborenen, der näheren Erforschung ihrer Sitten, Gebräuche, religiösen Anschauungen u. dgl., noch manche Hindernisse entgegen. Das grösste derselben für einen Reisenden, zumal wenn er Natur- und nicht Sprachforscher ist, liegt in der Unkenntniss der Sprache eines Volkes und in der Schwierigkeit, sie in kurzer Zeit soweit zu erlernen, um sich in derselben unterhalten zu können. Allerdings pflegt man diesem Uebelstande dadurch zu begegnen, dass man sich mit einem Dolmetscher versieht, allein wo die erste Berührung mit einem Volke stattfindet, da giebt es eben noch keine solchen. Auf meiner ersten Reise den Amur aufwärts, zu den Oltscha, Golde, Samagirn, verstanden die mich begleitenden Kosaken von den Sprachen dieser Völker so wenig, dass ich selbst, der ich ein jedes Wort, dessen Bedeutung ich erfuhr, mir sogleich notirte, ihnen als Dolmetscher dienen musste. Vom Giljakischen habe ich, so wenig es auch war, doch jederzeit mehr als alle übrigen Ankömmlinge im Amur-Lande verstanden, da mir an der Erlernung dieser Sprache mehr als irgend wem gelegen war. Auch kann ich mir das den Giljaken selbst abgelauschte Zeugniss geben, ihre Sprache nicht wie die übrigen Russen (oder Fremden), sondern in der Art wie sie selbst gesprochen zu haben[2], was ohne Zweifel auf den Gebrauch meinerseits mancher ihrer

1 Gelegentlich sei bemerkt, dass schon bei Vorbereitung der zweiten Bering'schen Expedition die Instructionen, welche im Schosse der Akademie für die ethnographischen Untersuchungen entworfen wurden, auf einen Besuch bei den Giljaken drangen. (Baer, Kurzer Bericht über wissensch. Arbeiten u. Reisen etc. s. Beitr. z. Kenntn. d. Russ. Reichs, Bd. IX. 2. Abthl. St. Petersb. 1855, p. 108, Anmerk.). Diesem Wunsche konnte somit erst über ein Jahrhundert später durch Middendorff's und meine Reisen entsprochen werden.

2 Er spricht »mer ngarlatscho«, d. h. »uns gleich«, hörte ich sie unter einander von mir sagen.

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Verbalformen und Suffixe ging, die meinen Zeitgenossen im Amur-Lande noch völlig fremd waren, und übrigens bei der überhaupt äusserst geringen Kenntniss dieser letzteren vom Giljakischen nicht viel sagen will. Aehnlich wie mir mit den **Giljaken** ging es Hrn. **Maximowicz** mit den **Oltscha** und **Golde**. Nichts von dem weiter unten über diese Völker Mitgetheilten ist daher der Vermittelung von Dolmetschern zu verdanken. Dieser Umstand macht unsere Nachrichten vielleicht weit unvollständiger, als sie sonst ausgefallen wären, da wir die erste Zeit, vor Erlernung der Sprache, bloss auf die Wahrnehmung durch das Auge uns beschränken und auf die viel wichtigere Belehrung durch das Ohr verzichten mussten. Andererseits aber können die Nachrichten, zumal über abstrakte Dinge, religiöse Vorstellungen u. dgl. m., an Zuverlässigkeit und innerem Werthe nur gewinnen, wenn sie direkt und unmittelbar geschöpft und nicht in dem Lichte wiedergegeben werden, wie sie sich im Gehirn eines ungebildeten Dolmetschers reflectiren.

Eine andere und kaum geringere Schwierigkeit ethnographischer Forschung liegt in dem leicht erklärlichen Misstrauen, dem der Reisende unter einem halbwilden fremden Volke nur gar zu leicht begegnet und das die Leute entweder schweigsam und zurückhaltend macht, oder gar zu absichtlich falschen und unwahren Angaben veranlasst. Ich habe dem einerseits durch freundliches Entgegenkommen, kleine Geschenke, Bewirthungen und Verbindlichkeiten aller Art, andererseits durch Vorsicht in der Aufnahme aller Mittheilungen, durch häufiges Prüfen und Controliren derselben vermittelst wiederholter Erkundigungen über denselben Gegenstand, so wie endlich wiederum durch Erlernen ihrer Sprache zu begegnen gesucht. Den häufiger nach dem Nikolajevschen Posten kommenden **Amur-Giljaken** gegenüber glaube ich meinen Zweck auch völlig erreicht zu haben, indem ich unter ihnen allmählich ein Vertrauen und eine Popularität gewann, wie sie später vielleicht nicht wieder vorgekommen sind. Wenn **Giljaken** im Winter in den Nikolajevschen Posten kamen, fuhren sie direkt vor mein Haus, spannten ihre Hunde ab, zogen ihre leichten Schlitten in's Vorzimmer hinein und liessen sich getrost bei mir nieder, sicher von mir sowohl Futter für ihre Hunde, als auch für sich selbst Essen und Tabak zum Rauchen à discretion, ja vielleicht noch einige Kleinigkeiten, einige Nadeln, Knöpfe u. dgl. zum Geschenk zu erhalten. Das gab mir die Gewähr, auf meinen Fahrten eventuell auch bei Jedem von ihnen gastliche Aufnahme zu finden. An mich wandten sie sich, wenn ihnen im Verkehr und Handel mit den Russen, ihrer Meinung nach, ein Unrecht geschehen war; mir klagten sie ihre Noth, wenn ihnen etwa ein Hund gestohlen, eine Vorrathskammer ausgeplündert, ein Grabmal zerstört worden war; ja, gegen mich äusserten sie zuweilen auch ihre Besorgniss darüber, was bei wachsender Anzahl der Russen und ihrer Ansiedelungen aus ihnen werden würde. Als ich im Winter 1855/56 einige Wochen am gastrischen Fieber darniederlag, verbreitete sich die Kunde davon schnell unter den **Giljaken**, und als ich endlich im Frühling 1856 ganz fortzuziehen im Begriff stand, erhielt ich vielfache Kundgebungen ihres Bedauerns, mich künftighin nicht mehr im Nikolajevschen Posten zu wissen. Weiter vom Amur ab, im Innern und an der Ostküste von Sachalin, ist es gleichwohl auch mir begegnet, dass die **Giljaken** nach längerer, unbefangener Mittheilung plötzlich inne hielten und sich unter einander die Frage stellten,

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wozu ich wohl die betreffenden Nachrichten brauchen möge? Und nachdem sie dahin übereingekommen waren, dass wohl von meiner Aussage über die Beschaffenheit des Landes eine etwaige Ansiedelung der Russen unter ihnen abhängen werde, hörten die Mittheilungen theils auf, theils nahmen sie einen ganz anderen, möglichst schwarz gefärbten oder gar schlechtweg negirenden Charakter an. Dass ich ihre Unterredung verstanden haben könnte, argwohnten sie freilich naiver Weise nicht.

Der oben erwähnte Umstand, dass es mir nicht vergönnt war, mit allen Amur-Völkern in gleich nahe Berührung zu treten, musste natürlich auch für die Art der Behandlung des Gegenstandes in den nachstehenden Blättern wesentlich maassgebend sein. Lägen uns detaillirte, auch nur annähernd vollständige Nachrichten über alle Amur-Völker vor, so wäre vielleicht eine monographische Besprechung derselben am angemessensten, da bei einer solchen Gesammtzeichnung des physischen und geistigen Lebens eines jeden einzelnen Volkes seine ganze Individualität prägnanter vor die Augen treten müsste. So reiches Material steht uns aber nicht zu Gebote. Auch wäre bei einer solchen Behandlung ein Uebelstand, ich meine häufige Wiederholungen, unvermeidlich. Denn Natur- oder wenigstens noch halbwilde Völker, die mit einander benachbart unter demselben Himmelsstrich wohnen, auf dieselbe Natur, dieselben Nahrungsquellen und Existenzmittel angewiesen sind, ja auch unter denselben, wenn gleich geringen Cultureinflüssen stehen, werden immer, wie verschieden sie auch nach Abstammung und Sprache sein mögen, in ihrer Lebensweise, ihren Sitten und Gebräuchen, ihren Anschauungen u. s. w. viel Uebereinstimmendes mit einander haben. Aus diesen Gründen habe ich es vorgezogen, die verschiedenen hier überhaupt in Betracht kommenden Völker des Amur-Landes nicht einzeln nach einander, sondern in vergleichender Weise neben einander zu betrachten, wobei ich stets von den bisher fast nur dem Namen nach, mir hingegen gerade am genauesten bekannten Giljaken ausgegangen bin. Gewährt auch eine solche Behandlung von keinem der betreffenden Völker ein volles, abgerundetes und geschlossenes Bild, giebt sie vielmehr nur abgerissene Schilderungen, aus denen sich der Leser das Gesammtbild selbst zusammenzustellen hat, so dürfte sie doch, ausser der bereits hervorgehobenen Vermeidung von Wiederholungen, vielleicht auch den Vorzug vor der monographischen Behandlung haben, dass sie mehr Gelegenheit zu allgemeineren Vergleichungen und Schlussfolgerungen über einzelne Erscheinungen im Leben der Naturvölker bietet und damit auch manchen tieferen Blick in die Natur- wie in die Culturgeschichte des Menschen überhaupt zu thun gestattet. Endlich dürfte sie, indem sie stets das ganze Land im Auge behält, auch zu einem vollständigeren ethnographischen Gesammtbilde desselben führen.

Dieser Behandlung des Gegenstandes gemäss sind auch die beigefügten Tafeln geordnet. Ihnen habe ich noch einige Worte vorauszuschicken. Da mir die Akademie einen Zeichner mitgegeben hatte, so ging mein Streben dahin, von dem Leben der Amur-Völker und Allem, was drum und dran hängt, ihrer Wohnung, Kleidung, ihrem Haus-, Jagd- und Fischereigeräth, ihren Grabmälern, Götzen u. dgl., auch durch Zeichnungen ein möglichst anschauliches und detaillirtes Bild zu geben. Ueber manche Dinge zumal, wie z. B. über den Grad der Kunstfertigkeit dieser Völker im Bereiten ihrer Utensilien, über den beim Ausschmücken ihres Geräthes wie ihrer Kleidung ausgesprochenen Geschmack, über den etwaigen Einfluss dabei fremder, chinesi-

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scher und japanischer Muster, liesse sich ohne die Abbildungen überhaupt kein Urtheil bilden. Eine anschauliche, concrete Vorstellung von dem gesammten Sein und Thun eines Völkes kann aber gewiss nur bei einer gewissen Vollständigkeit bildlicher Darstellungen gewonnen werden. Es schien mir daher nicht angemessen, mit der Zahl dieser Abbildungen gar zu sparsam zu sein und sie überall dort wegzulassen, wo sich in früheren Reisewerken, bei Gelegenheit der Besprechung anderer und namentlich sibirischer Völker, ähnliche, wenn auch zuweilen sehr rohe Darstellungen finden. Aus demselben Grunde habe ich auch nur in seltenen Fällen von den an und für sich sauberen Abbildungen Notiz genommen, die in dem schwer zugänglichen Atlas zu der von Hrn. Maack im Amur-Lande ausgeführten Reise sich befinden, um so mehr als das betreffende Werk [1] keinen ethnographischen Text, sondern nur ein dürftiges Verzeichniss der Abbildungen enthält, meist sogar ohne Angabe, auf welches der Amur-Völker sie zu beziehen sind. Den Giljaken gehören übrigens die dort abgebildeten Gegenstände jedenfalls nicht, da Hrn. Maack's Reise ihr Gebiet nicht berührte. Mehrere unserer Abbildungen hätten durch Verweisung auf einige der Holzschnitte vermieden werden können, welche sich in der letzten Lieferung des Middendorff'schen Reisewerkes — zur Illustration des Hausgeräths der Nigidal — finden, wenn diese Lieferung nicht zu einer Zeit erschienen wäre, als die nachstehenden Tafeln bereits alle hergestellt waren.

Sind es, wie oben angegeben, besonders die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, die hier ausführlicher besprochen werden sollen, so gelten ihnen und namentlich den Giljaken auch die meisten unserer Abbildungen. Ja, wo mir dieselben oder sehr ähnliche Gegenstände von verschiedenen Amur-Völkern vorlagen, habe ich für die Abbildung stets den giljakischen den Vorzug gegeben, um solchergestalt wenigstens von einem dieser Völker, und ohne Zweifel dem eigenartigsten und interessantesten, ein möglichst vollständiges Bild zu liefern.

Bei weitem die meisten der hier beigefügten Abbildungen sind von dem Zeichner meiner Expedition, Hrn. W. Poliwanof, während unseres Aufenthaltes im Nikolajevschen Posten, einige auch während der Reisen entworfen oder wenigstens skizzirt worden. Einen nicht geringen Theil der Abbildungen, namentlich auch die Skizzirung mancher Scenen aus dem Leben der Giljaken, verdanke ich Hrn. Maximowicz, mit dem ich manche Fahrten im Amur-Lande gemeinschaftlich ausführte. Noch andere sind erst hier nach den von der Reise mitgebrachten ethnographischen Gegenständen gemacht worden; so die meisten Götzenbilder von Hrn. A. Baumer, die Zeichnungen giljakischer Muster von Hrn. Nezwetajef. Endlich lag mir noch eine Sammlung in den sechziger Jahren theils von W. Lanin in Nikolajevsk, theils von anderen Photographen ausgeführter Arbeiten vor, namentlich zahlreiche Photographien von Giljaken, Golde und Aino. Sämmtliches Material wurde nun in die Hand eines geschickten Künstlers, Hrn. Dmitrijef-Orenburgskij, gegeben, um es theils zu verarbeiten und zu vollenden, theils dem Format dieses Werkes conform direkt auf Stein zu bringen. Da Hr. Dmitrijef selbst im

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1) Путешествіе на Амуръ, совершенное по распоряженію Сибирск. Отдѣла Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. въ 1855 г. | Р. Маакомъ. С. Петербургъ 1859.

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Amur-Lande nicht gewesen, so lag es mir um so mehr ob, alle seine Ausführungen auf ihre Treue hin genau zu prüfen, und ich bin ihm das Zeugniss schuldig, dass in allen seinen Arbeiten sowohl das Ganze, wie jedes Einzelne vollkommen treu und wahr wiedergegeben worden ist. Zur Veranschaulichung der craniologischen Verhältnisse der Amur-Völker, ist vom Photographen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Hrn. W. Clasen, mit gewohnter Meisterschaft eine Anzahl phototypischer Tafeln angefertigt worden, über die Näheres am betreffenden Orte gesagt werden soll. Desgleichen endlich auch über die allen Illustrationen vorausgeschickte ethnographische Karte des Amur-Landes, die in der unter Leitung des Hrn. General-Majors O. v. Stubendorff stehenden topographischen Abtheilung des hiesigen Generalstabes ausgeführt worden ist.

Es ist mir eine angenehme Pflicht, allen genannten Herren, die an der künstlerischen Ausstattung und Ausschmückung dieses Werkes gearbeitet haben, insbesondere meinem Reisebegleiter, Hrn. Poliwanof, durch dessen hingebenden Fleiss die meisten Zeichnungen entstanden, hier meinen verbindlichsten Dank öffentlich auszusprechen. Gelingt es diesem Werke, ein getreues und anschauliches Bild von den Amur-Völkern und ihrem Leben und Treiben zu geben, so wird dies gewiss nicht zum geringen Theil auf Rechnung seiner Illustrationen zu bringen sein.

[P. 11]

I. GEOGRAPHISCH-HISTORISCHER THEIL.

1. Abschnitt.

Allgemeine Uebersicht der indigenen Völker des Amur-Landes. Jetzige Grenzen ihrer resp. Verbreitungsgebiete. Räumliche Stellung der Culturvölker Ostasiens. Chinesen und Japaner, im Amur-Lande. Räumliche Stellung der Russen den Amur-Völkern gegenüber. Ethnographische Karte des Amur-Landes.

Gehört eine gewisse über weite Räume sich erstreckende Gleichförmigkeit der Erscheinungen im Natur- wie im Völkerleben überhaupt zum Charakter Nordasiens, so tritt sie im Amur-Lande doch in weit geringerem Grade als in Sibirien hervor. Mit mannichfaltigeren Naturverhältnissen, abwechselnden Gebirgszügen und Ebenen, ausgedehnten Waldungen, grasreichen Prairien, mächtigen, fischreichen Strömen, langgezogenen Meeresküsten, einem wenn auch rauh-continentalen, doch im Vergleich mit Sibirien milderen Klima ausgestattet, bietet das Amur-Land, gleich wie in seiner Pflanzen- und Thierwelt, so auch in seinen ethnographischen Verhältnissen ein mannichfaltigeres und reicheres Bild dar. Sieht man zunächst von den fremden, aus den benachbarten Culturstaaten, China, Japan und neuerdings aus Russland eingewanderten Elementen ab, so hat man es im Amur-Lande mit drei indigenen, der Sprache nach gänzlich von einander verschiedenen Völkerschaften zu thun — **Gäljaken, Aino** und **Tungusen.** Zwar hat sich auch ein Mongolen-Stamm von Südwesten her bis in das Sungari-Gebiet vorgeschoben, allein er wird von den Chinesen und von einem tungusischen Volke mehr und mehr zurückgedrängt und dürfte dem Amur-Lande bald ganz fern bleiben. Von den drei genannten Amur-Völkerschaften (das Amur-Land stets mit Inbegriff der Insel Sachalin verstanden) zerfallen die Tungusen wiederum in zahlreiche, nach Sprache und Sitte mehr oder weniger weit auseinandergegangene Stämme oder Völker. Diese tungusischen Völker sind es, welche den bei weitem grössten Theil des Amur-Landes inne haben, während die Giljaken und Aino nur verhältnissmässig kleine Gebiete im äussersten Nordosten und Südosten desselben bewohnen. Begegnet man tungusischen Völkern auch noch weit über das Amur-Land hinaus, bis zum Jenissei, bis zu den Eismeerküsten und Kamtschatka, so scheint das Amur-Land doch ihre eigentliche Heimath zu sein, in der sie das höchste

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Maass der ihnen bisher zugänglichen Cultur erreicht und von der aus sie sich nach allen Weltgegenden hin verbreitet haben. Am Sungari und seinen Zuflüssen liegt der Hauptsitz der **Mandshu**, des einzigen tungusischen Volkes, das eine Schrift und Literatur besitzt und das durch seine wiederholten erfolgreichen Kriege mit China, welche ihm die Herrschaft über dieses grösste Culturreich Asiens verschafft haben, auch eine historische Bedeutung gewonnen hat. In den Ebenen am Nonni oder Naun, dem Hauptzuflusse des Sungari, wohnen die **Dauren**, die, ehemals viel weiter verbreitet, vor allen die Kämpfe mit den kühnen russischen Freibeutern zu bestehen hatten. Höher hinauf am selben Flusse sind die Reste der ehemals kriegerischen **Solonen** zu suchen. Folgt man der Hauptader des Landes, dem Amur-Strome, von der Vereinigung der Schilka und des Argunj abwärts, so begegnet man oberhalb des Bureja-Gebirges und der mandshu-chinesischen Ansiedelungen am Amur den umherstreifenden Stämmen der **Orotschonen** und **Manägirn**, unterhalb des genannten Gebirges dem weitverbreiteten Volke der **Golde**, das sich auch längs den grossen rechten Zuflüssen des Amur fortzieht, und den **Oltscha** oder **Mangunen**, den Grenznachbaren der Giljaken am Amur. Andere tungusische Völker haben ihre Wohnsitze an den zahlreichen linken Zuflüssen dieses Stromes; so die **Biraren** an der Bureja, die **Kile** am Kur, die **Samagirn** am Gorin, die **Negda** am Amgunj. Ostwärts vom unteren Amur und vom Ussuri, an den Quellen ihrer rechten Zuflüsse, im Küstengebirge und längs der Meeresküste liegt das ausgedehnte, nur sparsam bevölkerte Gebiet der **Orotschen**, und über das Festland hinaus, im mittleren Theile der Insel Sachalin, begegnet man endlich noch einem tungusischen Volke, den halbnomadischen **Oroken**. Manche kleinere tungusische Stämme, die alljährlich mit ihren Rennthieren vom Ochotskischen Meere nach den Zuflüssen des unteren Amur oder aus dem Udj- und Lena-Gebiet auf den Südabhang des Stanowoi-Gebirges an die Zuflüsse der Bureja und Dscja hinüberstreifen, oder zum Theil auch beständig an den letzteren sich aufhalten, sind bei dieser Aufzählung noch unerwähnt geblieben. So ist die Zahl der verschiedenen Völker im Amur-Lande keine geringe, und namentlich ist es der Tungusen-Stamm, der dort seine reichste Verzweigung und grösste Entfaltung hat.

Die Verbreitungsgebiete aller genannten Völker genau gegen einander abzugrenzen, ist bei der unstäten, halbnomadischen Lebensweise mancher dieser Völker und dem vielfachen Ineinandergreifen ihrer Jagdgründe und Fischereiplätze nicht immer möglich. Am leichtesten lässt es sich noch für die sesshafteren Völker des unteren Amur-Landes ausführen, während es je höher den Amur und seine oberen Zuflüsse hinauf, um so schwieriger und unthunlicher wird. Auf der beifolgenden ethnographischen Karte des Amur-Landes habe ich es versucht, die Grenzen der einzelnen Gebiete theils nach eigenen Erfahrungen und den Angaben der Eingeborenen selbst, theils nach Beobachtungen anderer Reisenden möglichst genau zu verzeichnen und zugleich ein Gesammtbild der geographischen Verbreitung der Amur-Völker zu geben. Gehen wir nun diese Gebiete nach ihrer Lage und Begrenzung einzeln und ausführlicher durch.

Die **Giljaken** bewohnen den äussersten Nordosten des Amur-Landes: den untersten Theil des Amur-Stromes, den Amur-Liman, die angrenzende Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres und die nördliche Hälfte der Insel Sachalin. Am Amur beginnt, stromabwärts gegangen, das Gebiet der Giljaken mit den Dörfern Chjare am rechten und Tlals am linken Stromufer, in der Entfernung von etwa 175 Werst von der Amur-Mündung. Von dort ziehen sich ihre Wohnsitze anfangs nur am rechten Ufer, später aber, von der letzten Wendung des Amur-Stromes nach Osten ab, an beiden Ufern desselben bis zum Liman fort. Der Amur-Liman ist rings herum von Giljaken bewohnt, ein rein giljakisches Gewässer. Südwärts von der Amur-Mündung an der Festlandsküste ist Tschomi, an dem gleichnamigen Flüsschen gelegen, das letzte giljakische Dorf, über welches hinaus, an der Mamia-Rinsô-Strasse, ein unbewohntes, nur der Jagd und des Fischfangs wegen von den Giljaken besuchtes Gebiet sich erstreckt. Nordwärts von der Amur-Mündung ziehen sich die Wohnsitze der Giljaken über den Liman hinaus längs der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres fort. Zwar soll dort Kulj oder Kolj der letzte beständig von den Giljaken bewohnte Ort sein, allein auch weiterhin halten sich noch Giljaken, zum wenigsten zeitweise, der Jagd, des Robbenschlags und Fischfangs wegen auf. So sollen sie z. B. nach Poplonskij des Erwerbes wegen zeitweise nach dem Konstantinovschen Hafen an der Ulban-Bucht kommen[1]). Dort und noch etwas weiter westlich, am Tugur-Busen, lernte auch Middendorff die Giljaken kennen. Der äusserste Grenzpunkt seiner Wanderung nach Osten, ein Vorgebirge in der Ulban-Bucht, trägt bei ihm[2]) den Namen Cap Giljak, vermuthlich doch nach den, wenn auch zeitweisen, Bewohnern jener Gegend. Am Ulban-Flusse, drei Werst oberhalb seiner Mündung in die gleichnamige Bucht, traf er eine aus zwei Winterhäusern und einem Sommerhause bestehende Niederlassung der Giljaken; $^{3}/_{4}$ Werst ostwärts von ihr wieder ein Sommerhaus[3]). Die letzten, äussersten Wohnsitze der Giljaken nach Nordwesten am Ochotskischen Meere liegen aber im Tugur-Busen. Ueber die schmale, niedrige Landenge, welche die Halbinsel Ssegneka stielförmig mit dem Festlande verbindet, führt ein aus aneinander gelegten Knüppeln gebildeter Schleppweg, der nach Middendorff schon auf einer alten, aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert herrührenden Karte unter dem Namen «giljakischer Schleppweg» (Гиляцкая переволока) verzeichnet ist, und den Giljaken und Tungusen dazu benutzen, ihre Böte meist unter Beihülfe von Hunden aus dem Busen der Akademie (an der Konstantinovschen Bucht) nach dem Tugur-Busen zu transportiren und so das mühsame und gefahrvolle Umrudern der langen, mit steilfelsigen Ufern versehenen Halbinsel Ssegneka zu vermeiden. Längs diesem Schleppweg sah Middendorff die bei den Giljaken zum Dörren der Fische gebräuchlichen Gerüste und an der Ausmündung desselben zur Bucht Wolok im Tugur-Busen ein giljakisches Sommerhaus stehen[4]). Etwas südlicher an der letztgenannten Bucht lagen auch zwei Winterhäuser derselben[5]). Noch etwas südlicher und

1) Поплонскій, Зап. Гидрогр. Департ. Т. VI, С. Петерб. 1818, стр. 98.

2) Karten-Atlas zu Middendorff's Reise in den äusersten Norden und Osten Sibiriens, 1859, Taf. XVII.

3) Middendorff, Reise in den auss. Nord. u. Osten Sibir., Bd. IV, p. 128.

4) L. c. p. 116, 117.

5) Ebenda, p. 123.

westlicher endlich, wo der Tugur ausmündet und kurz zuvor den Kutin-Fluss aufnimmt, fand er sieben giljakische Hütten nebst drei tungusischen Birkenzelten. Das waren die ersten belebten Wohnungen, auf die Middendorff stiess, seitdem er die Udj-Mündung verlassen hatte [1]). Auch Orlof traf, im Jahre 1849 längs der Meeresküste von Ajan kommend, die ersten Giljaken an der Tugur-Mündung [2]). Hier liegt also die äusserste Nordwestgrenze des Giljaken-Gebietes, und weiterhin breitet sich bis zum Udj ein unbewohntes, wohl nur von Tungusen durchstreiftes Terrain aus.

Viel weiter nach Süden als auf dem Festlande erstreckt sich das Verbreitungsgebiet der Giljaken auf der Insel Sachalin und besonders an der Westküste derselben. Dort zieht sich die giljakische Bevölkerung von der äussersten Nordspitze durch den Amur-Liman bis weit in das Nordjapanische Meer hinein. Ihr südlichster Punkt an dieser Küste ist das Dorf Pilja-wo, nahe dem 50° n. Br. und also fast genau auf halber Länge dieser in Meridianrichtung langgestreckten Insel gelegen. Etwas weniger weit nach Süden reicht die giljakische Bevölkerung an der Ostküste der Insel. Den Nachrichten zufolge, die ich bei den Giljaken im Tymy-Thale und im Dorfe Nyi an der Ostküste sammelte, giebt es südlich von diesem Dorfe und von der Mündung des Tymy-Flusses noch vier giljakische Dörfer [3]), von denen das südlichste und letzte, drei Tagereisen von Nyi entfernt, das Dorf Tschamr-wo ist, über welches hinaus die Küste weithin unbewohnt sein soll. Diese Nachrichten wurden später durch den Bergingenieur Lopatin bestätigt, der im Jahre 1868 eine mühsame Fusswanderung längs dieser öden Küste ausführte: er fand, von Süden kommend, das erste giljakische Dorf Tschamr-wo [4]), nach Kropotkin's Wiedergabe seiner Mittheilungen [5]), anderthalb Tagereisen nördlich vom Cap Delisle de la Croyère, nach den Angaben, die er bei Durchsicht seiner Tagebücher an Fr. Schmidt machte [6]), «hinter» dem genannten grossen Felscap, das bei den Giljaken den Namen Harpach trägt [7]). Jedenfalls liegt also die Südgrenze des giljakischen Gebietes an der Ostküste Sachalin's nahe vom Cap Delisle de la Croyère, d. i.

1) L. c. p. 121. Auch in Middendorff's vorläufigem Reisebericht Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. des sc. T. IV, p. 233; desgl. Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, herausgeg. von Baer u. Helmersen, Bd. IX, 2. Abthl. p. 613, 616, wird der am Ulban-Flusse, auf der Sagnoka-Halbinsel und an der Tugur-Mündung von ihm angetroffenen Giljaken gedacht.

2) Vrgl. H. Тихменевъ, Истор. обозр. образов. Росс.-американ. Компаніи, С. Петербургъ, 1863, ч. II, стр. 61.

3) Vrgl. die Karte zum I. Bande dieses Werkes. Die von Schebunin nach den Materialien der Sibirischen Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geographischen Gesellschaft entworfene Karte setzt noch einige Ortsnamen zwischen diesellben. Vielleicht ist also die Zahl dieser Giljaken-Dörfer grösser, als mir angegeben worden, vielleicht aber beziehen sich die hinzugefügten Namen auch nur auf die zu den genannten Winterdörfern gehörigen Sommerwohnungen der Giljaken, oder auch auf Nachtlagerplätze und anderweitige ähnliche Localitäten.

4) «Tcham-wo», wie Lopatin das Dorf nennt, oder «Tschamr-wo», wie ich es gehört habe und für richtiger halte, heisst im Giljakischen so viel wie «Adlerdorf». Der Lesart «Tchang-wo», wie auf der Schebunin'schen Karte von Sachalin angegeben, kann ich nicht beistimmen.

5) Пантелей Изм. Рагск. Геогр. Обзр., Т. V, 1889, Отдѣлъ II, стр. 308, 311.

6) Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil. 1870, p. 387.

7) Schmidt giebt den giljakischen Namen des Caps Delisle de la Croyère nach Lopatin «Harpa» an. Dass die Endung nicht «pa», sondern «pach» lautet, unterliegt keinem Zweifel, da diese sich in den giljakischen Ortsnamen oft wiederholt und so viel wie «Fels» oder «Stein» bedeutet. Ich vermuthe aber, dass auch die erste Silbe nicht ganz richtig wiedergegeben ist und dass das Cap nicht «Harpa», sondern «Tschcharpach», d. i. «Holz»- oder «Waldfels» lautet — ein Name, der auch an der Amur-Mündung wiederkehrt.

etwa im 54° n. Br., oder um einen Grad nördlicher als an der Westküste der Insel[1]). Ausser den beiden Küsten ist endlich auch das Innere Sachalin's von Giljaken bewohnt, und zwar ist es der ansehnliche, fischreiche Tymy-Fluss, an welchem bis zu seinen Quellen hinauf eine verhältnissmässig dichte giljakische Bevölkerung sitzt. Damit schneidet aber das Gebiet der Giljaken auch ab, denn südwärts an dem vielleicht noch ansehnlicheren Ty-Flusse, wie er bei den Giljaken, oder Poro-nai wie er bei den Aino heisst[2]), giebt es eine ständige Bevölkerung erst im unteren Laufe und an der Mündung, und diese Bevölkerung ist, bis auf einzelne versprengte Glieder, nicht mehr giljakisch.

Ueberblickt man das gesammte Verbreitungsgebiet der Giljaken, so findet man, dass es zumeist längs dem Meere, dem Ochotskischen, Nordjapanischen, dem Amur-Liman, und alsdann auch längs zwei grossen Flüssen, dem Amur auf dem Festlande und dem Tymy auf Sachalin, sich erstreckt — ein Umstand, der schon darauf hindeutet, welche Rolle Meer und Fluss im Leben und Haushalt dieses Volkes spielen. Zugleich haben die Giljaken, bei solcher Lage und Begrenzung ihres Verbreitungsgebietes, nach Norden und Osten und also in einem geraumen, ja im grössten Theile desselben keine Nachbaren, sondern nur welche im Westen und Süden. Hier aber stossen sie unmittelbar mit vielen der Amur-Völker zusammen, so mit den Rennthiertungusen vom Ochotskischen Meere und vom Stanowoi-Gebirge, mit den Negda, Oltscha und Orotschen auf dem Festlande und mit den Oroken und Aino auf Sachalin. Diese Momente zusammen genommen verleihen den Giljaken einerseits eine isolirtere Stellung unter den Amur-Völkern und grössere Selbständigkeit, andererseits machen sie dieselben zum natürlichen Verbindungsgliede zwischen den Völkern des Festlandes und der Insel Sachalin, auch die respectiven Culturvölker beider Gebiete, die Chinesen und Japaner, nicht ausgenommen.

So scharf dabei die Giljaken durch ihre eigenartige Sprache von allen Amur-Völkern geschieden sind, so findet an jenen Grenzen mit ihren oben erwähnten Nachbaren doch ein mehrfaches gegenseitiges Ineinandergreifen der respectiven Verbreitungsgebiete statt. Dass am Tugur- und Ulban-Busen gleichzeitig mit den Giljaken auch Tungusen ihrem Erwerbe nachgehen und neben den giljakischen Jurten ihre leicht transportablen Birkenzelte aufrichten, ist oben schon erwähnt worden[3]). Ja, sie streifen längs dem Ochotskischen Meere weit nach Osten, selbst in das beständig von den Giljaken bewohnte Gebiet hinein: sah ich doch selbst im Winter 1856 ihre konischen Zeltgerüste noch östlich von Kulj stehen. Dahin, zum Tugur- und Ulban-Busen, sollen alljährlich des Robbenschlags wegen auch manche Negda vom Amgunj ziehen[4]). An den Seen Orell und

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1) Die oben erwähnten Dörfer und zumal das letzte derselben, Tschamr-wo, werden daher etwas mehr nach Süden, als auf meiner ersten Karte angegeben, zu rücken sein.

2) D. i. „grosser Fluss". Es ist die „Newa" von Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, St. Petersburg, 1811, Bd. II, p. 93). Auf Schebunin's oben erwähnter Karte, wie in Gilchin's Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin (Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Russ. Reichs, herausgeg. von Baer u. Helmersen, Bd. XXV, p. 203, 233 ff.) heisst dieser Fluss auch Plyi — ein Name, der nach Gilchin ebenfalls giljakisch ist.

3) Poplonskij (l. c.) fand im Konstantinovschen Hafen in der Ulban-Bucht ebenfalls Tungusen an.

4) Бошняк, Зап. о Пр.-Амурск. крае (Морск. Сборник, 1859, № 2, ч. неоф., стр. 332. Fr. Schmidt, Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859—1862 (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, herausgeg. von Baer u. Helmersen, Bd. XXV, p. 148.

Tschlja, sowie an dem sie verbindenden Flussarme wohnen die Negda beständig, obgleich an dem letzteren auch ein giljakisches Dorf, Tschlja, liegt. Diese Nachrichten, die ich von einem zuverlässigen, mir sehr ergebenen Giljaken (Judin in Tebach) erhielt[1]), fanden durch spätere Reisende, Schenurin[2]), Schmidt[3]), ihre Bestätigung. Uebrigens nennt schon Middendorff auf einer zum Theil nach chinesischen Angaben gearbeiteten, unedirt gebliebenen Karte («Erster Versuch einer hydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges und seiner Ausläufer, zwischen dem 45. und 62. Grade nördl. Br.») den Orell-See «Negda-See».

Tiefer noch als die Negda sind in das Gebiet der Giljaken ihre Amur-Nachbaren, die Oltscha, vorgedrungen. Beginnen auch jene, wie oben erwähnt, mit dem Dorfe Chjare, so liegen doch weit nördlicher von diesem, am rechten Stromufer, von rein giljakischen Dörfern umgeben, zwei Orte, Tschylwi und Tyr, die nur von Oltscha bewohnt werden, jenes mit sechs, dieses mit zwei Winterjurten. Ja, noch weiter nördlich, am selben Ufer, befindet sich der nur aus einer Winterjurte nebst Zubehör bestehende Ort Kaberazbach, in welchem zur Zeit meiner Reise als einziger Wirth ein Oltscha schaltete, der eine Giljäkin zum Weibe hatte. Umgekehrt stösst man auch tief im Oltscha-Gebiet auf einzelne beständige Giljaken-Sitze. So fand ich von den sechs Winterjurten, welche das nur wenig nördlich von Kidsi gelegene Dorf Aure bilden, drei in langjährigem Besitze von Giljaken. Hier wie da hielten diese versprengten Glieder eines fremden Volkes an ihrer respectiven Muttersprache und heimischen Sitte nach Möglichkeit fest.

Anders als am Amur verhält es sich am Liman und an der Küste des Nordjapanischen Meeres, indem dort auf dem Festlande zwischen dem Giljaken- und dem Orotschen-Gebiet eine ansehnliche Strecke unbewohnten Landes liegt, welche — aus Gründen, die wir später berühren wollen — die beiderseitigen Völker scharf auseinanderhält. Auf Sachalin, den Aino und Oroken gegenüber, wiederholt sich aber, und zum Theil in noch höherem Grade, dasselbe was wir am Amur und am Ochotskischen Meere kennen gelernt haben. An der Westküste der Insel mischen sich den Giljaken, noch ehe sie ihre Südgrenze erreicht haben, einige ständige Aino-Familien bei. So sollten, wie mir die Giljaken in Arkai sagten, von den Dörfern, die südlich von Dul liegen, Adagi noch rein giljakisch sein, Kthëus zwei giljakische und eine Aino-Jurte enthalten, Chogranj wiederum nur von Giljaken und Pilja-wo endlich halb von Giljaken und halb von Aino bewohnt sein[4]). Der letztere

1: Nach Judin's Angabe heisst der Orell-See bei den Giljaken Kend-tu («tu» bedeutet «See»), der Tschlja-See And-tu. An jenem liegen die Dörfer Pfyrpt-wo und Kuldsh, an diesem Tschomokr und Tschlja, an dem Flussarm, welcher beide Seen verbindet, das Dorf Kesf (das «ss» weich) — sämmtlich Negda-Dörfer, mit Ausnahme von Tschlja.

2: Schenurin traf an der Ost- wie an der Westseite des Orell-Sees Jurten von Negda oder Nigidalzen. S. dessen Tagebuch, das veröffentlicht ist in dem Artikel: «О новыхъ путяхъ изъ Нижнаго-амура, посуху, что на р. Амуръ, въ Хасиій Островъ», in den Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Кн. III, 1857, Смѣсь, стр. 11.

3: Histor. Ber. etc. l. c. p. 148. Schmidt führt nur das Negda-Dorf Nemorchon an dem die beiden Seen Orell und Tschlja verbindenden Flussarme an. l. c. p. 142. Dieser Name ist vermuthlich negdaisch, jedenfalls nicht giljakisch.

4: Auch Schmidt traf in Kthëus, das übrigens zu der Zeit nur aus zwei ärmlichen Jurten bestand, von Norden kommend, die ersten Aino. Chogranj nennt er ebenfalls eine Aino-Ansiedelung (Histor. Ber. etc. l. c. p. 65, 66). Mit der Lesart der Namen für die oben erwähnten Orte, «Ktausk», «Chokkorm» und «Pil-wo», auf Schebunin's Karte kann ich jedoch wiederum nicht übereinstimmen.

Ort trägt denn auch bei den Aino die mit seinem giljakischen Namen «Pilja-wo», d. i. «grosses Dorf», gleichbedeutende Bezeichnung «Poro-kotan»[1]). Ueber diesen Ort hinaus ist die Küste eine weite Strecke lang unbewohnt und wird von den Giljaken nur zeitweise des Erwerbes wegen besucht. So traf z. B. Schmidt am Flusse Aroko-nai, zwischen den Caps Tribis und Tunai, einen Giljaken, der bei Otta-endu dem Robbenfange obgelegen hatte[2]). Auch kommt es bisweilen vor, dass Giljaken auf ihren Handelsreisen nach Ssiranussi, an der Südspitze Sachalin's, irgendwo zu überwintern genöthigt sind, wobei sie leicht für beständige Bewohner des Ortes gehalten werden können. — Complicirter als an der Westküste sind die Grenzverhältnisse an der Ostküste Sachalin's, indem dort drei Völker, Giljaken, Aino und Oroken, aneinanderstossen[3]). Zwar bricht, wie wir oben sahen, das Gebiet der ersteren an der Küste mit dem Dorfe Tschamrwo und im Innern an den Tymy-Quellen ab, nichtsdestoweniger trifft man noch am Golfe der Geduld, nahe der Ausmündung eines Küstensees in das Meer, eine Giljaken-Jurte, Ssiska, deren Bewohner Schmidt kennen lernte[4]). An demselben See liegt eine Oroken-Ansiedelung, Tschogbo, nördlicher eine zweite, Taran-kotan, und noch nördlicher, am Taraika-See, neben mehreren Oroken-Ansiedelungen das grosse Aino-Dorf Taraika[5]). So greifen hier die Wohnsitze dieser drei Völker in einander. Noch verwickelter werden aber diese Verhältnisse dadurch, dass die Oroken nicht bloss hier zwischen die Giljaken und Aino sich einschieben, sondern auch im Norden der Insel, wo unzweifelhaft giljakisches Gebiet sich erstreckt, tief in dasselbe eingedrungen sind und es in regelmässigen Wanderzügen weithin durchstreifen. Wir werden diese Verhältnisse bei Betrachtung des Verbreitungsgebietes der Oroken näher kennen lernen.

Wie die Giljaken den äussersten Nordosten, so haben die Aino den äussersten Südosten des Amur-Landes in seiner oben bezeichneten Begrenzung inne, und wie jenen die Nordhälfte, so

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1) Auch Rudanofskij (Восточное Поморье, 1866, стр. 36) nennt Poro-kotan oder giljakisch «Pile-wo», von Süden gegangen, das erste Dorf der Giljaken. Er giebt ihm zehn Jurten. Mir nannten die Giljaken nur drei, was jene Bezeichnung des Ortes etwas unmotivirt erscheinen liess. Nach Schmidt (l. c. p. 87) soll es aber in der That früher ein grosses Dorf gewesen sein, zu seiner Zeit jedoch nur noch drei armliche Jurten enthalten haben. Die Angabe Mizul's (Очерки, стр. Сахалина и его жителей, отдел. С. Петербург 1873, стр. 129), dass es nördlich von Pilja-wo (Poro-kotan) keine Aino mehr gebe, ist also nach dem Obigen nicht ganz richtig.

2) Schmidt, Hist. Ber. etc. l. c. p. 71.

3) Siehe meinen Reisebr. im Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. T. XV, p. 171; Mel. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull. T. III, p. 11.

4) Histor. Ber. etc. l. c. p. 113.

5) Schmidt, l. c. p. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore (The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands. — Amer. Journ. of Science, May 1868, p. 13) hält dafür, dass es auch Aino an der Nordspitze von Sachalin, zwischen den Caps Elisabeth und Maria giebt, und sieht sogar darin einen Beweis, dass die Aino die ursprünglichen Bewohner der Insel, die Giljaken und Oroken bei ihm «Orotschi» hingegen später eingewandert seien. Allein diese Angabe steht ganz isolirt da und beruht offenbar nur auf irrthümlicher Deutung russischer Berichte über die Zahl der Aino-Dörfer auf Sachalin, indem er die an der «Ochotskischen Küste» verzeichneten Dörfer dahin versetzen zu müssen glaubte, statt sie an der Ostküste Sachalin's zu suchen. Wie ihm dabei die grosse Zahl dieser Dörfer (22) einer solchen Deutung nicht hinderlich erschien, ist unbegreiflich, zumal in demselben Bericht (Rudanofskij's) die Gesammtzahl der Aino-Dörfer auf der stärker bevölkerten Westküste Sachalin's auf 35 angegeben wird.

gehört diesen die Südhälfte der Insel Sachalin. Ausserdem aber bilden sie bekanntlich das indigene Volk von Jesso und der Kurilischen Inseln, da die sogenannten Kurilen nur Aino mit zum Theil dialektisch verschiedener Sprache sind. Die auf Sachalin am weitesten nordwärts gelegenen, an der Westküste bis in das giljakische Gebiet vorgeschobenen Wohnsitze der Aino haben wir oben bereits kennen gelernt. Desgleichen ist der unbewohnten Küstenstrecke Erwähnung gethan, die sich von Porokotan südwärts hinzieht. Mit dem 49. Grade nördl. Breite hat sie ihr Ende, und alsdann beginnt der ausschliesslich von Aino bewohnte Theil der Insel. So bildet im Westen von Sachalin jene öde Küstenstrecke die eigentliche Grenze zwischen den Aino und Giljaken, und es hat offenbar besonderer, übrigens nahe liegender Gründe, von denen später die Rede sein wird, bedurft, um manche Individuen des ersteren Volkes diese Grenze nordwärts, in das fremde Gebiet hinein überschreiten zu lassen. Das Dorf Orokes, an der gleichnamigen kleinen Bai und zugleich in der Nähe der Bai d'Estaing gelegen, ist, von Norden gegangen, das erste im eigentlichen Aino-Gebiet [1]). An der Ostküste fängt dieses, wenn man von dem oben erwähnten, durch Oroken-Ansiedelungen getrennten Dorfe Taraika absieht, auch nur wenig nördlicher, etwa mit Naioro an. Genau genommen, haben also die Aino nicht die ganze südliche Hälfte, sondern nur etwas über ein Drittel der Insel inne. In diesem bewohnen sie übrigens nicht bloss die Meeresküsten, sondern in geringer Anzahl auch das Innere der Insel, längs manchem ihrer grösseren Flüsse [2]). Die echte Aino-Insel, mit der dichtesten Bevölkerung dieses Stammes, ist aber Jesso, von welchem sich die Aino nicht bloss nordwärts nach Sachalin, sondern auch nordostwärts über die Kurilen verbreitet haben. Ihr Gebiet erstreckt sich fast über die ganze Inselkette der Kurilen, bis nach Poromuschir oder der sogenannten «zweiten Insel», welche sie noch vor Ankunft der Russen in Kamtschatka eingenommen haben. Die Insel Schumschu hingegen, die letzte nach Norden oder die erste von Kamtschatka aus, hat ihre Bevölkerung zunächst von dieser Halbinsel erhalten, durch Kamtschadalen oder Itälmenen, die vor den Russen flohen und später mit herübergekommenen Aino (Kurilen) sich vermischten [3]). Dass die Aino ehemals auch Nippon bewohnten, wird später noch erwähnt werden. So umfasst das Verbreitungsgebiet der Aino durchweg nur Inseln am Ostrande Asiens; Festlands-Aino, von denen nach Klaproth's Vorgange öfter die Rede gewesen, giebt es gar nicht. Doch darauf kommen wir unten noch ausführlicher zurück.

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1) Nach Rudanofskij (Вост. Поморье, 1866, стр. 93). Brylkin (Изв. Сахал. — Зап. Спб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. VII, Прауссъ 1861, стр. 14) giebt «Usuri» als nordlichstes ausschliesslich von Aino bewohntes Dorf an, doch vermuthe ich in diesem Namen einen Druckfehler für «Urusis». Auf Schebunin's Karte ist gleich südlich von Orokes ein Dorf «Urotzis» angegeben. Dieses wird wohl gemeint sein.

2) Rudanofskij, l. c. Аборигенологъ, Жизнь русск. в мореход. на остр. Сахалинъ, Спб. 1871, стр. 39.

3) Крашенинниковъ, Опис. земли Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путеш. по Россіи, Т. I, С. Петерб. 1818, стр. 143, 145. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, herausgeg. von J. B. S. Frankf. u. Leipzig 1774, pag. 7. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. III, St. Petersb. 1758, p. 79, St. Schlözer, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. Halle 1771, p. 133, 134. Neue Beschr. d. Kurilischen Inseln (nach den Nachrichten von Tschernyi, Antipin u. Otscheredin) in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr. Bd. IV, 1783, p. 117. Siebold, Aardrijks- en volkenk. toelichl. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerritsz. Vries, Amsterdam 1838, p. 117. A. Поленовъ, Курилы (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По отдѣл. Этногр. Т. IV, Спб. 1871, стр. 374, 375, 421, 423).

Zwischen die beiden erwähnten Völker, Giljaken und Aino, schiebt sich auf Sachalin ein drittes Volk, die **Oroken**, ein. Während jene sesshafte Fischervölker sind, führen diese zum Theil ein halbnomädisches Leben, indem sie zu gewissen Jahreszeiten mit ihren Rennthieren regelmässige Wanderungen ausführen. Das macht eine genaue Abgrenzung ihres Verbreitungsgebietes noch schwieriger. Feste oder wenigstens halbwegs feste Wohnsitze haben sie nur an der Ostküste von Sachalin, die Westküste hingegen berühren sie nur auf ihren Zügen. Der nördlichste Oroken-Sitz, von dem ich Kenntniss erhielt, und zugleich einer ihrer Hauptsitze ist Käkr-wo, wie es die Giljaken nennen. Die Angaben der letzteren über diesen Ort lauteten jedoch so verschieden, dass ich über die Lage desselben ungewiss blieb: bald sollte er nur eine Tagereise nordwärts vom giljakischen Dorfe Nyi, bald eben so weit von dem viel nördlicher gelegenen, ebenfalls giljakischen Dorfe Tschai-wo entfernt sein. Glehn, der den Norden Sachalin's bereist hat, giebt die Lage von Käkr-wo in 52° 58′ n. Br. an[1]), und ebenso ist dieser Ort auch auf Schebunin's Karte von Sachalin, die in diesem ihrem Theile auf Glehn's Angaben beruht, eingetragen. Es liegt also der nördlichste Oroken-Sitz — denn auch Glehn kennt keinen nördlicheren — genau am Cap Würst und also tief im giljakischen Gebiete, ja fast genau in der Mitte des gesammten Antheils, den die Giljaken an der Ostküste von Sachalin haben. Weniger weit sind die südlichsten Wohnsitze der Oroken in das ihnen benachbarte Aino-Gebiet vorgeschoben. Wir haben diese südlichsten Oroken-Sitze oben bereits kennen gelernt: sie liegen am Golfe der Geduld und an den Küstenseen, welche die Mündungsarme des Ty-Flusses oder Poro-nai der Aino begleiten. Der südlichste von allen ist wohl Tschogbo am Ssiska-Fluss und See[2]). Bemerkenswerth ist es, dass an den erwähnten Grenzen des Verbreitungsgebietes der Oroken auch ihre einzigen oder zum wenigsten weitaus zahlreichsten einigermaassen festen Niederlassungen liegen, während der ganze weite Zwischenraum von ihnen nur durchwandert wird. Namentlich hat auch die Ostküste Sachalin's nördlich vom Cap der Geduld keine Oroken-Niederlassungen. Schmidt wurden zwar drei Orte der Art genannt, die auch auf der seinen Bericht begleitenden Karte von Schebunin angegeben sind[3]),

1) P. v. Glehn, Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, herausgeg. von Baer u. Helmersen, Bd. XXV, p. 231). Mithin war die Angabe der Giljaken, dass es eine Tagereise von Tschai-wo nordwärts entfernt sei, die richtige, und giebt die Karte zum ersten Bande meiner Reise die Lage dieses Ortes um etwa $^3/_4$ Grad zu sehr nach Süden an. Glehn u. Schmidt schreiben den Ort «Kekr-wo». Ersterer nennt dabei die Oroken in seinem Reisebericht durchweg «Olitschas». Mit welchem Rechte, werden wir später sehen.

2) S. oben p. 17; desgl. Schebunin's Karte von Sachalin. Der Admiral Newelskoi führt zwar in seinen erst nach seinem Tode erschienenen Berichten über die Thätigkeit der sogenannten Amur-Expedition, welcher er noch im Range eines Capitains vorstand und welche zuerst Sachalin und einen Theil des unteren Amur-Landes bereiste und für Russland in Besitz nahm, wiederholentlich an, dass die Oroken bei ihm «Orotschonen» über den ganzen Süden Sachalin's bis nach der Bai Asiwa verbreitet seien und mit den Aino durch einander wohnten, ja dass sich diese Völker sogar völlig mit einander vermischt hätten (vergl. Полвгод русск. экспед. на востоке Росеіи, 1849—55 г. Прим-амурск. и прим-уссурійскій край. Посмертн. зап. Адмирала Невельскаго, Изд. сумрскаго морскаго Д. Д. П. по ихъ рукоп. В. Вахрина. С. Петерб. 1878, стр. 273, 293, 293, 301, 303 и пр.), allein diese Angaben sind nicht zuverlässig, da die Herren — aus Gründen, die wir später berühren werden — überall auf Südsachalin Oroken sahen und sehen wollten. Auch sind dieselben von den späteren Reisenden nicht bestätigt worden.

3) Diese drei Orte, wie sie ein Aino ihm nannte, sind: Tanko-nai, Tsea-mokt und Uni am Flusse Ura-nai oder Nori-nai, von denen der letztere sogar ein Hauptsammelplatz

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

allein Lopatin fand, wie bereits erwähnt, diese Küste bis zum giljakischen Dorfe Tschamr-wo völlig unbewohnt, was auch mit den Nachrichten übereinstimmt, die ich von Sachalin-Giljaken erhielt [1]). Bisweilen mag sie ja wohl von umherstreifenden Jägern besucht werden, wie denn auch Lopatin, «orokischen Jagdpfaden folgend» [2]), an dieselbe gelangte, allein auch die regelmässigen Wanderungen der Oroken zwischen Käkr-wo und den Ortschaften am Golfe der Geduld finden nicht längs dieser Küste, sondern durch das Innere der Insel, längs dem Laufe ihrer beiden grössten Flüsse, des Tymy und Ty oder Poro-nai, statt. In diesen Richtungen führen die Oroken auch ihre allwinterlichen Wanderungen von der Ostküste Sachalin's nach der Westküste und auf das Festland aus. Längs dem Ty-Flusse durchwandern sie dabei ein weites, ebenes, unbewohntes Land, in welchem sich nur ein paar, vielleicht auch nur zeitweise bewohnte Oroken-Jurten befinden [3]). Anders am Tymy-Flusse, dieser Hauptader des giljakischen Verbreitungsgebietes auf Sachalin. Hier folgen die Oroken, von Käkr-wo und den anderen Ortschaften an der Ostküste kommend, dem Gebirge, welches das Tymy-Thal im Westen säumt, bis nahe zu den Quellen dieses Flusses, wo sie bei Mgatsch oder Arkai zur Westküste der Insel hinabsteigen. An der Meeresküste ziehen sie nordwärts bis zum Amur-Liman, den sie in der Richtung nach Tschomi durchschneiden und von dort nordwärts bis zum Tymy-Flüsschen [4]) verfolgen, um alsdann längs diesem das niedrige, waldreiche Langgysk- oder Adara-Gebirge [5]) zu überschreiten und am kleinen Chaselach-Flusse in's Amur-Thal hinabzusteigen. Dort bleiben sie in der Nähe des Oltscha-Dorfes Pulu oder Pulj stehen, um nach einiger Zeit dieselbe Wanderung wieder zurück zu machen. Wir werden die Ziele und Zwecke dieser allwinterlichen Wanderungen der Oroken später ausführlicher besprechen, hier genüge die Bemerkung, dass sie die Oroken durch das Gebiet der ihnen fremden Giljaken hindurch nach den Wohnsitzen des ihnen zunächst verwandten Volkes, der Oltscha am Amur, führen. Sie zeigen uns vielleicht noch jetzt den Weg an, auf welchem in früherer, nicht näher bestimmbarer Zeit die erste Einwanderung der Oroken nach Sachalin stattfand. Durch diese Einwanderung erhielt die Insel einen Zweig des grossen, auf dem Festlande weit ausgebreiteten, echt continentalen Tungusen-Stammes, was ihr in ethnographischer Beziehung gewissermaassen einen halbinsularen Charakter verleiht. Bemerkenswerth ist dabei auch, dass dieses einzige tungusische Volk auf Sachalin gerade den

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der Oroken sein sollte Schmidt, Histor. Ber. l. c. p. 118. Auf der betreffenden Karte sind die beiden ersteren Orte etwas abweichend, nämlich Sasoko-nai und Tschonmoki genannt. Man hört es diesen Namen in der That an, dass sie von Aino-Ursprung sind. Oronisch mögen sie, wie Schmidt bemerkt, anders lauten. «Uno» wurde ihm z. B. von einem Oroken «Uno» genannt. Vermuthlich sind es nicht Niederlassungen, sondern sonstige Localitäten, Flüsse, Vorgebirge, Zeltstellen, Nachtlagerplätze u. dgl. m., die oft eine besondere Bezeichnung bei den Eingeborenen haben.

1) S. oben p. 14. Ganz irrig aber ist nach all' dem Gesagten die Angabe Brylkin's (Инсаннсъ Сахалина. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Т. VII, стр. 21), dass die Küste von Tarajka bis Nyi von Oroken bewohnt und sogar recht bevölkert sei.

2) Schmidt, in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil. 1870, p. 387.

3) Nach Glehn (Reiseber. etc. l. c. p. 238), der diese Gegend bereist und ausführlich beschrieben hat, liegen dort am Plyi- (oder Ty-) Flusse nur die zwei Oroken- (bei ihm «Oltscha»-) Jurten Chulé und etwas oberhalb die Jurte Muika. Schmidt (Histor. Bericht etc. l. c. p. 118) nennt den letzteren Ort Myge, was Glehn für die giljakische Bezeichnung desselben hält.

4) Nicht zu verwechseln mit dem gleichnamigen Flusse auf Sachalin.

5) Ersteres ist die giljakische, Letzteres die oltschakische Bezeichnung für dieses Gebirge.

Theil der Insel bewohnt und durchwandert, welcher durch seine grösste Breitenausdehnung, die ansehnlichste Flussentwickelung und gewiss auch nach seinen klimatischen Verhältnissen am meisten continentale Züge an sich trägt. Eine selbständige, eigene, ihnen allein gehörige Heimath haben jedoch die Oroken auf Sachalin nicht gewonnen; vielmehr lehnt sich dieselbe, wie wir sahen, in eigenthümlicher Weise an die Grenzgebiete der Giljaken und Aino an. Wir werden auf diese Thatsachen später noch zurückkommen und alsdann auch Einiges zur Erklärung derselben anführen, sowie auch auf manche analoge Erscheinungen im Osten Sibirien's hinweisen.

Fassen wir nun das ethnographische Bild Sachalin's zusammen, so sind es, von den Japanern und Russen abgesehen, drei Völker ganz verschiedenen Stammes, Giljaken, Aino und Oroken, die sich in der oben angegebenen, sehr ungleichen Weise in den Besitz dieser Insel getheilt haben. Bei der zwar ansehnlichen Längen-, aber nur sehr geringen Breitenausdehnung der Insel gewiss eine reiche ethnographische Gliederung! Durch die Giljaken schliesst sich die Insel an die Küsten des Ochotskischen Meeres und die Mündung des Amur-Stromes, durch die Oroken an das übrige Amur-Land mit seiner tungusischen Bevölkerung und durch die Aino endlich an Jesso, die Kurilen und Japan an[1]).

Kehren wir von der Insel Sachalin wieder auf das Festland zurück und gehen wir auch dort von den uns schon bekannten Grenzen des Giljaken-Gebietes nach Süden, so stossen wir zunächst der Meeresküste auf das Verbreitungsgebiet der **Orotschen.** In weiter Ausdehnung umfasst dieses die gesammte Festlandsküste am Nordjapanischen Meere, das Küstengebirge (Ssichota-alin), den oberen Lauf der aus diesem Gebirge zum unteren Amur und zum Ussuri laufenden Flüsse und die Quellen dieses letzteren Stromes. An der Meeresküste schliesst sich jedoch das Gebiet der Orotschen nicht unmittelbar an dasjenige der Giljaken an, sondern es bleibt zwischen beiden eine weite Strecke unbewohnten Landes liegen, indem der letzte, südlichste Ort der Giljaken Tschomi am Liman, der erste, nördlichste Punkt der Orotschen aber Nangmar oder die Bai de Castries ist. Zwischen beiden und nur wenig nördlich von der letztgenannten Bai liegt die alte Verkehrsstrasse der Oltscha, Golde und mitunter wohl auch der Giljaken zum Meere, die vom Kidsi-See nach der Bai Taba führt und, gewissermaassen als international betrachtet, vielleicht eine Grenze gegenseitiger Völkerverbreitung abgegeben hat. Uebrigens ist die Orotschen-Bevölkerung an der Meeresküste auch nur eine so sparsame, dass zu einem Vordringen derselben nordwärts über die Bai de Castries hinaus kein Grund vorliegen dürfte. Die Liman-Giljaken aber ihrerseits würden sich bei einer Verbreitung längs der Festlandsküste nach Süden nur mehr und mehr von der Insel Sachalin entfernen, mit deren Bevölkerung sie durch theilweise Stammgemeinschaft wie durch vielfache Handelsinteressen in natürlicher und beständiger Verbindung stehen. So findet hier bezüglich der Giljaken kein Ineinander-

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1) Siehe meinen Reisebericht im Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, T. XIV, pag. 188; Mélanges phys. et chim. T. II, pag. 119.

greifen der beiderseitigen Völkergrenzen statt [1]). Anders verhält es sich mit den Oltscha: diesen bietet der See von Kidsi eine natürliche Strasse zum Meere, an welchem dann südlich von Taba die Bai de Castries die erste tiefere und geschützteren Bucht ist. Neben den Orotschen haben daher auch sie ihren beständigen Wohnsitz in derselben.

Nannten wir vorhin die Orotschen-Bevölkerung an der Meeresküste eine sparsame, so wäre es doch völlig irrthümlich, wollte man die Bai de Castries, wo wir die Orotschen schon seit La Pérouse und sogar unter diesem ihrem Namen kennen [2]), nur für einen ganz vereinzelten, weit nordwärts vorgeschobenen Orotschen-Sitz, die weitere Küste aber bis zu dem Kaiserhafen oder der Bai Hadshi, wie es noch ganz neuerdings geschehen, für gänzlich unbewohnt halten [3]). Von vielbewanderten Oltscha ist mir vielmehr zu wiederholten Malen eine Anzahl Ortschaften genannt worden, die in geringen Entfernungen, von zwei, drei Tagereisen, von einander an der betreffenden Küste liegen und von denen manche, wie z. B. Choï, zahlreiche Orotschen-Zelte enthalten sollen. Ich habe die meisten derselben auf der Karte zum ersten Bande dieses Werkes angegeben [4]), wenn schon manche von ihnen vielleicht auch nur beliebte Nacht- oder vorübergehende Zeltlagerplätze sein dürften. Von anderen lauteten die Angaben bestimmt dahin, dass es nur im Sommer des Fischfangs wegen von den Orotschen bewohnte Orte seien; so z. B. das zunächst nach Süden von de Castries gelegene, aus drei Jurten bestehende Dorf Du, dessen Bewohner zum Winter an den zum Kidsi-See mündenden Fluss Jaï ziehen.

So viel über die Nordgrenze der Orotschen an der Meeresküste. Die Südgrenze ihres Ge-

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1. Ganz falsch und einer, wie wir sehen werden, häufig wiederkehrenden Verwechselung zuzuschreiben ist die Angabe Dm. Romanof's (Прогосударственные Амура. — Русское Слово, 1859, Авг., Отд. I, стр. 131, 135), Blekmore's (The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl. — Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 11 u. A., dass die Bai de Castries von Giljaken bewohnt sei — demselben Volke, wie Letzterer meint, das auch Rollin in La Pérouse's Reise von dort beschrieben habe.

2. La Pérouse, Voyage autour du monde, réd. par Millet-Mureau, Paris, an V (1797), T. III, p. 62 et suiv.

3. So lautet namentlich die Angabe des Oberstlieut. Bolschef, Chef der im Jahre 1874 längs dieser Meeresküste zwischen den Baien Olga und de Castries zur topographischen und astronomischen Aufnahme ausgeführten Expedition. (Siehe das Referat über den in der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellschaft von ihm verlesenen Bericht in der St. Petersb. Zeitung, 1876, № 100, und in den С. Петерб. Вѣдомости, 1876 г., № 101). Weiterhin, im Kaiserhafen und südlicher, soll übrigens die Bevölkerung nach Bolschef aus Orotschen und Giljaken bestehen, von welchen letzteren hier doch nicht im Entferntesten die Rede sein kann. Dieselbe Verwechselung begeht auch Tronson, indem er die Eingeborenen der Bai Barracouta (Hadshi) durchweg Giljaken nennt und ihr Wohngebiet von dort bis nach Ajan und der Nordwestspitze von Sachalin reichen lässt; ja, er giebt sogar ein Verzeichniss «giljakischer» Wörter, welche jedoch natürlich nicht der giljakischen, sondern der Orotschen-Sprache entnommen sind. (Tronson, Person. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtchatka, Siberia, Tartary and var. parts of coast of China, in H. M. S. Barracouta, London 1839, p. 208, 323 etc.).

4. Aus meinen Tagebüchern lassen sich noch folgende zweiOrtenachtragen: Dshnanko, zwischen Data und Hadshi, und Kopi, zwischen Hadshi und Idi. Die Jurten von Kopi sollen übrigens seit 1861 unbewohnt stehen, da sämmtliche Einwohner an der Pockenepidemie gestorben sind; nach Petrowitsch, s. Бутаковъ, Опис. лѣваго берега Приамурья, обласеи (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Кн. IX и X, Иркутскъ 1867, стр. 348). Auch Boschnjak, der zuerst, im Frühling 1853, die Küste von der Bai de Castries bis zum Kaiserhafen näher untersucht hat, lernte auf derselben folgende, theils beständig, theils nur im Sommer von den Orotschen bewohnte Dörfer kennen: Dugu, Choï, Saurkum oder Cheismo, Aukan, Chojol, Byki, Data, Dshnanko und Ui. Aus mehreren von ihnen, wie Saurkum, Chojol und Byki, sollen die Orotschen zum Winter an den Tumdshi-Fluss ziehen. (Бошняк, Письма съ Приамурья, крас. — Морск. Сборн. 1859, № 37, Ч. неоф., стр. 201—205).

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bietes soll nach Prshewalskij[1]) am Ssuifun liegen, der in den Guerin- oder von den Russen höchst unpassender Weise sogenannten Amur-Golf mündet. In diesem südlichen Theile ihres Verbreitungsgebietes sind jedoch die Orotschen nicht die alleinigen Bewohner, sondern es gesellen sich zu denselben an der Meeresküste wie an allen zum Meere oder zum Ussuri laufenden Flüssen zahlreiche, mit und unter ihnen lebende Chinesen, die hier unter dem Namen der Man-dse oder Mansen bekannt sind. Wir werden über dieselben später ausführlicher handeln, hier nur die Bemerkung, dass sie im Verbreitungsgebiet der Orotschen, von Süden gegangen, bis über die Baien Olga und Wladimir hinaus, ja bis zum 16. Grade nördl. Br. anzutreffen sind, über diesen hinaus aber nicht mehr vorkommen[2]). Erwägt man die grosse Zahl der Man-dse, so wie den Umstand, dass es nur Männer sind, die aus ihrer chinesischen Heimath nach diesen Wildnissen ziehen, und dass sie dort mit Orotschen-Weibern in der Ehe oder im Concubinat leben, so begreift man leicht, welchen Einfluss dieses Zusammenleben der Man-dse mit den Orotschen im Laufe der Zeit auf die physische Beschaffenheit, wie auf die Lebensweise, die Sitten, den Charakter und selbst die Sprache der letzteren ausüben musste. Auch werden sie in der Regel unter einem besonderen und zwar dem ihnen von den Chinesen verliehenen Namen der Ta-dse oder Tasen (russ. Тадзы und Таза) aufgeführt, ohne dass ihre Zusammengehörigkeit mit den Orotschen immer erkannt worden wäre[3]).

Von Norden nach Süden erstreckt sich also das Orotschen- und Ta-dse-Gebiet über nahe neun Breitengrade. Es nimmt einen langen, aber im Verhältniss zu seiner Länge nur schmalen Streifen Landes ein, denn landeinwärts von der Meeresküste reicht es nur wenig über das Küstengebirge hinaus. So natürlich seine Ostgrenze durch das Meer gegeben ist, so schwer hält es, die Westgrenze desselben zu bestimmen. Da die Orotschen meist umherstreifende Jäger sind und nur daneben am Meere und an den Flüssen dem Fischfang obliegen, während ihre westlichen Nachbaren, die Oltscha und besonders die zahlreicheren und mächtigeren Golde, fast ausschliesslich Fischer sind, so mag sich die gegenseitige Abgrenzung ihrer Gebiete nach der grösseren oder geringeren Ergiebigkeit der Jagd und des Fischfanges an den vom Küstengebirge zum unteren Amur und zum Ussuri laufenden Flüssen vollzogen haben. So weit als in diesen ein leichter und ergiebiger Fischfang betrieben werden kann, drangen die Golde in dieselben vor, wo hingegen der Fischreichthum unbedeutend oder der Fang beschwerlich wird, dafür aber ein ergiebiges Jagdterrain sich ausbreitet, fiel das Land den Orotschen anheim. Durchweg gehört daher diesen der obere Lauf der Flüsse; an den Flüssen mit gebirgigeren Ufern und einer reissenderen Strömung, wie sie viele der Amur- und fast alle Ussuri-Zuflüsse aus dem Küstengebirge haben, nehmen die Golde nur die Mündung, an den grösseren rechten Neben-

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1) Путеш. въ Уссурійск. край, 1867 — 1869 г. С. Петербургъ 1870, стр. 103.

2) Венюковъ, Обозр. р. Уссури и земель къ востоку отъ нея до моря (Извѣст. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. 25, 1859, Отд. II (Изсл. и Матер.), стр. 226, 233. Его же, Путеш. по окраин. Русск. Азіи и зап. о янахъ, С. Петерб. 1868, стр. 86.

3) So scheint es z. B. Berezin (Очеркъ русск. торговли съ Татарск. проз. и Японск. морь. — Морск. Сборн. 1861, № 1, Ч. неоф., стр. 102), Plaxin (Прилоеж. Обитель Восточн. Сиб. — Воен. Сборн. 1869, № 12, стр. 193, 196), Bolschef (l. cr.) u. A. ergangen zu sein.

flüssen des Amur auch einen Theil ihres unteren Laufes ein. So nähern sich die Orotschen vom Küstengebirge hinab mehr oder weniger dem Amur und Ussuri, jedoch ohne dieselben irgendwo zu erreichen, mit alleiniger Ausnahme der im Gebirge gelegenen Quellen des letzteren Stromes. Betrachten wir uns nun die einzelnen Flüsse in Beziehung auf ihre obenerwähnte heterogene Bevölkerung etwas genauer.

Die kleinen, aber reissenden Flüsse Pä und Jai, die von Süden her vereint in den Kidsi-See münden, sind, wie ich bei einem Besuch dieser Gegend im Juni 1856 erfuhr, von Orotschen bewohnt, welche zum Sommer nach der Meeresküste ziehen. Den Kidsi-See, der nur eine grosse Seitenausbuchtung des Amur-Stromes ist, und damit also auch den Amur selbst, erreichen sie aber nicht, denn kurz vor der Mündung des Pä liegt an demselben das Oltscha-Dorf Pädane. Die südwärts folgenden Flüsse, der Miäta, der zwischen den Dörfern Pulssa und Ssamachagdu in den Amur mündet, und der Chelasso oder Sselasso, sind unbewohnt und bieten nur Gebirgsstrassen, auf denen im Winter handeltreibende Oltscha vom Amur zu den Orotschen am Jai und Tumdshi ziehen. Am viel ansehnlicheren, reissenden Chongar geht die Orotschen-Bevölkerung weit abwärts. Nach den Angaben der Golde aus dem an der Mündung dieses Flusses in den Amur gelegenen gleichnamigen Dorfe, giebt es an demselben nur noch drei Golde-Dörfer, von denen das letzte, Hadshal, drei bis vier Sommer- oder eine Wintertagereise vom Amur entfernt ist[1]. Weiter aufwärts, wo der Chongar noch reissender wird, beginnt mit dem Dorfe Ultur schon das Orotschen-Gebiet, in welchem es an diesem Flusse, bis zur Mündung des Uldji in denselben, noch fünf Orotschen-Dörfer giebt[2]. Der ebenfalls reissende Naiche- oder Da-Fluss[3] und sein aus der Nähe der Chongar-Quellen kommender Zufluss Munamu sollen, ebenfalls nach Angabe der Golde, nur in ihrem oberen, im Gebirge gelegenen Laufe von Orotschen, im unteren hingegen von Golde bewohnt sein[4]. Der zum Ussuri fallende Kij-Fluss scheint nur zeitweise von Orotschen besucht zu werden. Als ich am 5./17. August 1855 an seiner Mündung vorbeifuhr, sah ich zahlreiche Orotschen-Böte den Fluss herabkommen. Ihre Inhaber waren vom Poor gebürtig und schlugen auf der Rückkehr dahin ihre Zelte zeitweise am Ussuri auf. Am Poor[5]) sollen die Orotschen nicht eher als etwa 60 Werst von der Ein-

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1) Die beiden anderen Dörfer sind: Cheroie mit einer und Goarmo mit zwei Jurten, wie auch Hadshal; alle drei am rechten Ufer des Chongar gelegen.

2) Nach Angabe der Golde wird Ultur, das aus 3—4 am rechten Ufer des Chongar gelegenen Jurten besteht, nur im Sommer von den Orotschen bewohnt, während im Winter seine Bewohner nach den beiden nächsten der weiter aufwärts liegenden Chongar-Dörfer ziehen. Diese sind: Odome mit einer und Ui-odome mit zwei Jurten, beide am linken Ufer gelegen, Piz am rechten Ufer mit einer Jurte, Dshigdana, das seine Bewohner im Sommer ebenfalls nach Ultur schickt, und Uldji mit einer Jurte, beide am linken Ufer gelegen. Weiterhin ist der Chongar unbewohnt.

3) Auf den Karten stets unter dem Namen «Dondon»-Fluss angegeben. Bei den Golde hörte ich für ihn ausser den oben angeführten Namen noch die Bezeichnung «Sacra».

4) Es wurden mir hier die Golde-Dörfer Janka und Dulala genannt, während viel weiter oberhalb die Orotschen-Orte Sacrachsa und Bera liegen sollten.

5) Von den Eingeborenen hört man diesen Fluss auch «Foko» und «Choora» oder «Choorra» nennen, welche Bezeichnungen man auch bei Maack, Wenjukoff u. Prshewalskij findet. (Маакъ, Путеш. по долинѣ р. Уссури, С.-Петерб. 1861, стр. 11, 83. Венюковъ, Обозр. р. Уссури и земель къ сѣв. отъ нея до моря. — Ивст. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. 23, 1859, Отд. II, стр. 194. Пржевальскій, Путеш. въ Уссур. краѣ, стр. 45).

mündung des Flüsschens Keheten-daban in denselben anzutreffen sein[1]). Von da ab halten sie sich aber sowohl an diesem Flusse selbst, wie an vielen seiner Zuflüsse, so an der Korssona u. a., theils umherstreifend, theils in festen Sitzen auf[2]). Dort, an den oberen Zuflüssen des Poor, finden sich unter ihnen auch schon einige sesshafte Chinesen ein, deren Zahl südwärts am Ussuri und seinen Zuflüssen im Allgemeinen mehr und mehr wächst. Der Biki und der Ima oder Ema, mit seinem grossen Nebenflusse Waku, fallen mit Ausnahme ihres unteren Laufes ganz in das Gebiet der Orotschen; am Waku z. B. liegt, stromaufwärts gegangen, die erste Orotschen-Wohnung, die Jurte Peile, in der Entfernung von etwa 65 Werst von seiner Einmündung in den Ima, die ihrerseits ganz nahe vom Ussuri sich befindet. Doch bewohnen oder durchstreifen die Orotschen besonders die Gegend an dem oberen Laufe der genannten Flüsse und ihren Zuflüssen, gemeinschaftlich mit zahlreichen Chinesen[3]). Am Ussuri selbst endlich liegt die Grenze zwischen den Orotschen und den Golde an der Einmündung des Daubiche[4]): bis dahin, aufwärts gegangen, wohnen an demselben Golde, von dort ab Orotschen, beide und besonders die letzteren hier mit noch zahlreicheren Chinesen untermischt. Nach Wenjukof ziehen sich die Golde auch noch eine Strecke am Daubiche aufwärts, doch gehören die Quellen desselben wiederum den Orotschen an[5]); nach Wassiljef hingegen gehört den Golde nur das Dorf Ssjangssan an der Mündung des Daubiche, während höher hinauf ausschliesslich Chinesen wohnen[6]). So fällt die Westgrenze des Orotschen-Gebietes keineswegs mit der Wasserscheide zwischen den Zuflüssen des Amur und Ussuri einerseits und des Nordjapanischen Meeres andererseits zusammen[7]), sondern verläuft durchweg westlich von derselben. Ihr Verlauf lässt deutlich den alpinen Charakter des gesammten Verbreitungsgebietes der Orotschen erkennen. Das waldbewachsene Küstengebirge, Ssichota-alin, durchzieht dies Jägervolk in seiner ganzen Länge von Nord nach Süd, und an den wildreichen Abdachungen desselben breitet es sich beiderseits so weit aus, als es günstiges oder aber ihm nicht streitig gemachtes Terrain findet: nach Osten bis zum nahen Meere, nach Westen bis in die Nähe des Amur und Ussuri, die es jedoch nicht erreicht, da ihm dort mächtigere Nachbaren, Oltscha und Golde, den Weg vertreten.

1: Nach Korsun, s. Бутаковъ, Опис. зап. частей Приморск. обл. Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. IX и X, Иркутск. 1867, стр. 366.

2: Korsun, l. c. Венюковъ, Обозр. края Уссури, Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. 23, 1859, Отд. II, стр. 191, 193.

3: Korsun, l. c. p. 378. Wenjukof l. c. p. 198, hielt noch dafür, dass es am Biki nur Orotschen, keine Chinesen gebe. Spätere Reisende trafen dort ebenfalls welche an. So soll nach Korsun l. c. p. 364 der auch von Orotschen am meisten bewohnte Theil dieses Flusses derjenige sein, in welchem das chinesische Dorf Tschamudyndsa liegt.

4: Von der Daubiche-Mündung an aufwärts hört der Name Ussuri auf: der grössere der Flüsse, der den Daubiche von links aufnimmt, heisst nunmehr Ulache und von der Einmündung des Fudsi oder Lifudin in denselben an aufwärts — Samdogu.

5: Венюковъ, Обозр. края Уссури, стр. 233. Бутаковъ, Опис. зап. частей Приморск. обл. стр. 128, 129. Приложеніе, Путеш. на Уссур. краѣ, стр. 93.

6: Маацъ, Путеш. по зап. р. Уссури, стр. 36.

7: Im oberen Ussuri-Gebiet glaubte Maximowicz das Küstengebirge oder die Wasserscheide zwischen dem Ussuri und dem Meere auch als Völkerscheide zwischen Golde und Orotschen ansehen zu dürfen. Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1861, Кн. III, Сибирь, стр. 5).

Wie an der Meeresküste die Orotschen, so grenzen längs der Hauptader des Amur-Landes, dem Amur-Strome, an die Giljaken nach Süden die **Oltscha** an. Die Oltscha oder Mangunen, wie sie von den Russen genannt werden[1]), sind ein reines Amur-Volk, das seine Wohnsitze, die Bai de Castries als einzigen Punkt an der Meeresküste abgerechnet, nur am Amur, zwischen den Giljaken im Norden und den Golde im Süden hat. So scharf und leicht sie aber von ihren beiderseitigen Amur-Nachbaren sich unterscheiden lassen, von jenen durch ihre grundverschiedene, tungusische Sprache, von diesen durch dialektische Eigenthümlichkeiten, wie durch manche, später zu erwähnende Züge in ihrer äusseren Haltung und Lebensweise, so ist doch ihre Abgrenzung gegen dieselben bisher von keinem der vielen Reisenden, die den Amur auf- oder abwärts und also durch das ganze an dieser Hauptstrasse gelegene Oltscha-Gebiet gegangen sind, auch nur annähernd richtig erkannt worden. Bald sehen wir ihr Gebiet auf ein Minimum reducirt[2]), bald und noch häufiger verschwinden sie gänzlich, indem sie mit den Giljaken schlechtweg zusammengeworfen werden[3]). Sieht man von den wenigen oben erwähnten, in das Giljaken-Gebiet vorgeschobenen Oltscha-Dörfern[4]) ab, so bilden die nur in geringer Entfernung von den letzten giljakischen Wohnsitzen am Amur, Chjare und Ilals, gelegenen Orte Tentscha am rechten und Uchtr am linken Stromufer die Nordgrenze des Oltscha-Gebietes[5]).

1 Eine Erklärung dieses Namens, wie aller übrigen im Amur-Lande vorkommenden Völkernamen, wird später gegeben werden.

2 So bei Sawerbejef Опис. плав. по р. Амуру изд. геогр.-статист. Общ. Восточн. Сибири въ 1854 г. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. III, С. Петерб. 1857, стр. 72, 74, der die Golde erst bei Dshai aufhören und bei Kidsi schon die Giljaken beginnen lässt. Es bliebe alsdann für die Oltscha nur etwa das Dorf Gaunne am Amur übrig. Dieser Irrthum, dass die Eingeborenen von Kidsi und der Umgegend Giljaken seien, wiederholt sich bei den russischen Schriftstellern fast durchweg; so bei D. Romanof Очерки обитателей земли зея-Буреи и р. Амура. — Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. 24, 1859, Отд. II (Ист. и Матер.), стр. 131—138; bei J. Mecнев Путешествіе въ Сиб. и Амурск. страны. — Отечеств. Зап. Т. CXLVIII, стр. 281, der Kidsi das Hauptdorf der Giljaken nennt; bei Dr. Pfaxin Путешеств. въ Восточн. Сиб. — Вестн. Сборн. 1860, № 12, стр. 194, der die Giljaken von Saofijsk (Dshai) beginnen und ausser am Amur und am Ochotskischen Meere auch über den Amgunj und einen Theil der Meerenge der Tartarei sich ausbreiten lässt, u. s. w. Bei Letzterem werden übrigens die Amur-Völker so durcheinander geworfen, dass Mangunen und Managirn als synonyme Bezeichnungen erscheinen. Auch der Amerikaner Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes, London 1872, p. 77, 86—89) hält die Anwohner des Kidsi-Sees für Giljaken. Selbst Boschnjak, der ganz richtig bemerkt, dass beim Dorfe Uchtr eine scharfe Grenze zwischen den Giljaken und Mangunen liegt, indem jene nur unterhalb desselben wohnen, mit dem genannten Dorfe aber, stromaufwärts gegangen, die letzteren beginnen (Путеш. въ Прим-Амурск. край. — Морск. Сборн. 1859, № 1, Ч. неоф., стр. 125), kann nicht umhin, an einem anderen Orte (М. С. 1859, № 3, Ч. неоф., стр. 209) dennoch von »Kidsi-Giljakens« zu sprechen.

3 Pargatschewskij (Побережье Шант. моря, вверхъ по р. Амуру, отъ Николаевска, почти до Хеста-Стрелкова, карандаш. топографическ. въ 1856—57 гг. — Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. 21, 1857, Отд. II (Ист. и Матер.), стр. 161, 165) kennt z. B. die Oltscha gar nicht, sondern lässt die Giljaken von der Mündung des Amur-Stromes bis nach Adi reichen und von dort ab die Golde beginnen. Ebenso Dr. Speck (Географо-статистическія очерки Вост. Сиб. — Мелко-топографъ. Сборн. С. Петерб. 1870, стр. 68), der den Giljaken sogar den ganzen unteren Amur von der Mündung des Ussuri an einräumt. Auch Th. Busse (Очерки ученій древнихъ, въ Амурск. край. — Зап. Имп. Русск. геогр. общ. Кн. II, Трубинскимъ, Амг. — Лен. 1869) übergeht die Oltscha schlechtweg.

4 Tschylwi, Tyr und Kaberazbach, s. oben pag. 18.

5 Permikin (Путеш. верхъ. плав. по р. Амуру отъ Хеста-Стрелкова, карандаш. до впад. его въ Татарск. проз. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. II, С. Петерб. 1857, стр. 81) hielt fälschlich dafür, dass die Giljaken von Puljan nordwärts beginnen und also auch die Dörfer Tentscha und Uchtr (Ochto) bewohnen. Ebenso hielt er die Bewohner von Tyr für Giljaken (l. c. p. 67), während es Oltscha sind.

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Die Südgrenze aber, gegen die Golde, geben das grosse Dorf Adi am rechten und das kleine Dorf Kulgu am linken Amur-Ufer ab[1]). Das uns schon seit den Reisen des Japaners Mamia Rinsô bekannte Kidsi liegt also fast genau in der Mitte des ganzen Oltscha-Gebietes, und die weite Ausbuchtung, durch welche sich dort der Amur-Strom dem Meere bis auf wenige Werste nähert, der sogenannte Kidsi-See, öffnet den Oltscha von diesem ihrem Mittelpunkte aus eine natürliche Strasse zur Meeresküste nach der Bai de Castries. So umfasst das ganze Verbreitungsgebiet der Oltscha nur etwa anderthalb Breitengrade am Amur-Strome. In die Nebenflüsse des Amur verbreiten sich die Oltscha, von den Handelsreisen abgesehen, nicht über ihre Mündungen hinaus; auch giebt es in ihrem Gebiet keine Amur-Zuflüsse von irgend erheblicher Grösse. Es ist also das Oltscha-Gebiet eines der kleinsten Völkergebiete im Amur-Lande. Zudem trifft man in demselben oft einzelne versprengte Familien aus den Nachbarvölkern. Seitens der Giljaken ist dies weniger der Fall[2]). Um so mehr aber von Seiten der den Oltscha stammverwandten Golde. So gehörte zur Zeit meiner Reisen im Amur-Lande das eine der beiden das Dorf Dyra oder Dere bildenden Häuser einem Golde; desgleichen die an der Mündung des Flusses Chelasso liegende Jurte Chywwunda; in dem wenig oberhalb des letzteren gelegenen Dorfe Ssamahagdu wohnten ebenfalls einige Golde; ja, im Februar 1855 besuchte ich selbst vom Mariinskischen Posten aus eine unweit von demselben am Kidsi-See im Entstehen begriffene Golde-Ansiedelung. Was die Golde zum Auswandern in das Oltscha-Gebiet treibt, ist nicht etwa Mangel an Raum in den eigenen Grenzen, sondern der Druck, den sie dort von Seiten der Mandshu zu erleiden haben. Da die faktische Herrschaft der letzteren am Amur-Strome so weit sich erstreckt, als das Golde-Gebiet reicht, so findet umgekehrt ein Einwandern der Oltscha in dieses ihr Nachbargebiet nicht statt, und nirgends findet man dort versprengte Oltscha-Familien, geschweige denn ganze Niederlassungen, wie wir sie im giljakischen Gebiete kennen gelernt haben.

So klein das Oltscha-Gebiet, so ausgedehnt ist hingegen dasjenige ihrer südlichen Nachbaren, der **Golde**. Dieses umfasst nicht bloss den Amur-Strom von den Oltscha-Grenzen bis zum Sungari, sondern reicht auch mehr oder weniger weit an den rechten Zuflüssen des Amur, insbesondere am Ussuri und Sungari hinauf und überschreitet endlich an manchen Punkten auch das linke Amur-Ufer. Die nördlichsten Golde-Dörfer am Amur, von denen ab, stromauf-

1) Gleich wie die Nordgrenze des Oltscha-Gebietes, so wird auch die Südgrenze desselben, gegen die Golde, durchweg falsch angegeben. So heisst es z. B. im Berichte Tschichatschof's, eines der ersten Reisenden, die das Oltscha-Gebiet betraten, dass es, stromabwärts gegangen, erst von Chywwunda an beginne; s. das posthume Werk Newelskoi's «Подвиги русск. моряк. основ. на востоке. восточн. Россіи», 1849 — 55 г. стр. 163. Anderer, noch fehlerhafterer Angaben ist oben (p. 26, Anm. 2) schon Erwähnung gethan.

2) Oben (p. 16) ist der im Oltscha-Dorfe Aure beständig wohnhaften Giljaken bereits gedacht worden.

wärts gegangen, reines Golde-Gebiet beginnt, sind Tschintscha am rechten und Kõurmi am linken Stromufer, beide in geringer Entfernung von den oben genannten letzten Oltscha-Dörfern gelegen. Die Südgrenze der Golde am Amur-Strome bildet die Sungari-Mündung. Oberhalb derselben wird der Amur oder, wie ihn die Mandshu von dort an nennen, der Sachali nur zeitweise, im Sommer der Jagd und des Fischfanges wegen von Sungari-Golde besucht[1]; den Amur-Golde, wie allen übrigen unteren Amur-Völkern, ist hingegen der Zutritt zum Sachali mandshurischerseits untersagt, und ein militärischer Posten in Dshangdshu an der Sungari-Mündung hat unter Anderem auch auf die strenge Einhaltung dieses Verbotes zu wachen. Am Amur allein nehmen somit die Golde eine Strecke ein, die mehr wie doppelt so lang als das ganze Oltscha-Gebiet ist[2]. Aber sie beschränken sich, wie gesagt, nicht bloss auf diesen Strom, sondern gehen auch über seine beiden Ufer hinaus. Zwar sind die beiden grössten Zuflüsse, die der Amur innerhalb des Golde-Gebietes linkerseits erhält, der Gorin und der Kur, nur an ihrer unmittelbaren Mündung von Golde bewohnt, während ihr mittlerer und oberer Lauf anderen tungusischen Völkern, den Samagirn und Kile gehören; allein etwa halbwegs zwischen diesen beiden Flüssen breitet sich der Bolang-See (goldisch «Nor-chywwo»)[3]—vielleicht auch nur eine weite seitliche Ausbuchtung des Amur-Stromes, wie der Kidsi-See, die Ssargu-Seen u. a. — aus, in welchen zahlreiche kleinere Flüsse münden, und unter diesen hat der grösste, der Ssedsemi, eine verhältnissmässig dichte Golde-Bevölkerung[4]. In Beziehung zum Amur wäre dies also der westlichste Punkt, den die Golde erreichen.

Ihre Ostgrenze, den Orotschen gegenüber, am Chongar, Naiche-Fluss und am Ussuri haben wir oben bereits kennen gelernt. Am letzteren sahen wir die Golde bis zur Mündung des Daubiche und vielleicht auch eine Strecke diesen Fluss aufwärts, jedoch nicht bis an die Quellen desselben reichen, welche von Orotschen bewohnt werden. Vom Daubiche geht die Südostgrenze der Golde an den Lefu, einen Zufluss des Kengka-Sees (oder Chanka der russ. Karten), und an diesen See selbst[5],

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1) So traf ich Sungari-Golde, die angeblich aus dem Dorfe Lachao kamen, am Amur oberhalb der Sungari-Mündung, an einem Orte, der mir Kodjurko genannt wurde, in Sommerzelten, von deren einem weiter unten eine Abbildung gegeben werden soll.

2) Die meisten russischen Reisenden hielten nur einen Theil dieses Raumes für Golde-Gebiet, und zwar nicht immer denselben, so dass sich ihre Angaben bisweilen in keinem Punkte decken. So lässt z. B. Dr. Speck (l. c. p. 68) die Golde nur von der Sungari- bis zur Ussuri-Mündung, Dr. Plaxin (l. c. p. 183) hingegen nur von der Ussuri- bis zur Gorin-Mündung wohnen. Kein Wunder daher, wenn ihnen die Golde-Bevölkerung auch nur äusserst gering erscheint («крайне ничтожное населеніе» Speck, l. c.). Andere vindicirten hingegen den Golde auch noch einen grossen Theil des Oltscha-Gebietes; so Sawerbejef (s. oben, p. 26, Anm. 2).

3) «Chywwo» heisst «See».

4) Ein Golde des Dorfes Majì, der ehemals selbst am Ssedsemi sesshaft gewesen, nannte mir nicht weniger als neun, allerdings kleine, an diesem Flusse gelegene Dörfer. Sie sind nach meinem Tagebuch, flussaufwärts gegangen, folgende: Dshusung, Saafarõõ, Chyralzu, Pudjimoda, Bogdamu, Chutu, Sanomun, Ehaze und Dshaña.

5) Венюковъ, Обозр. р. Уссури и пр. Ивств. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 23, (1859, Отд. II, стр. 203); его-же, Путеш. по окр. Русск. Азіи, 1868, стр. 37. Анносовъ, Озеро Ханкай и его капитаны, особенно. (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1864, Кн. II, Отд. Нжат. и Матер. стр. 116). Ф. Бусе, Очерки усов. земл. въ Амурск. кр. (Зап. для чтенія, изд. Трубниковымъ, Авг.—Дек. 1869, стр. 116, 117). Nach den Angaben, die ich von den Golde des unteren Ussuri einsammelte, sollten am Kengka-See ihre nur wenig zahlreichen Landsleute in fünf Dörfern zerstreut wohnen. Wenjukof giebt (a. a. O.) die Golde-Bevölkerung am Kengka-See nur auf fünf Familien an. Annosof erwähnt

wo sie jedoch, ebenso wie am ganzen oberen Ussuri, mit zahlreichen Chinesen (Man-dse) untermischt sind. Der Verlauf der Westgrenze der Golde-Bevölkerung im Ussuri-Gebiet lässt sich noch nicht genau bestimmen, da das Land an den linken Zuflüssen des Ussuri noch wenig bekannt ist. Jedenfalls scheinen die Golde an diesen Flüssen nur wenig über die Mündungen hinauf zu reichen und alsdann zerstreut wohnenden Chinesen den Platz zu räumen. Am Ssungatschi, dem einzigen Abfluss des Kengka-Sees zum Ussuri, liegt nur eine Golde-Hütte, Chyichyl, etwa auf der halben Länge seines Laufes[1]). Ueber den Muren wissen wir in dieser Beziehung noch nichts. Am Noor scheint die Grenze der Golde-Bevölkerung noch am weitesten nach Westen zu reichen, weil hier eine Strasse nach Ssan-ssin an den Sungari führt[2]). Wie dem aber auch sei, immer giebt der Ussuri eine Hauptader goldischer Bevölkerung im Amur-Lande ab, und nirgends sind die Golde vielleicht seit jeher so zu Hause gewesen wie hier. Wir werden im Verlaufe unserer Betrachtungen historische Thatsachen kennen lernen, welche diese Ansicht unterstützen und das Ussuri-Land als die eigentliche Heimath der Golde erscheinen lassen.

Lange nicht so weit als am Ussuri reicht die Golde-Bevölkerung am Sungari hinauf. Ja, an diesem nimmt sie einen verhältnissmässig nur geringen Theil seines untersten Laufes ein[3]). Mit etwa 13 oder 14[4]), zum Theil sehr ansehnlichen, aber meist im Weidengebüsch versteckt gelegenen Dörfern zieht sie sich ausschliesslich am rechten Sungari-Ufer fort[5]), bis sie mit dem Dorfe Indamo ihre Grenze erreicht[6]). Von dort ab folgen nur mandshurische und chinesische Dörfer und in einer nicht allzuweiten Entfernung, an der Mündung des Churcha in den Sungari, auch die erste mandshu-chinesische Stadt, Ssan-ssin oder Han-hala, wie sie die Mandshu, und Itsche-choton, wie sie die Golde und nach ihnen auch die übrigen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes nennen. So grenzen hier die Golde unmittelbar an ihre nächsten Stammverwandten und gegenwärtigen Beherrscher[7]), die Mandshu und die im Gebiete dieser letzteren fast noch zahl-

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(a. a. O.) eines Golde-Dorfes an der Mündung des Lefuinden Kengka-See. Jedenfalls ist der beständige Aufenthalt von Golde am genannten See unzweifelhaft, während Ussolzof (Лаксманъ, прим. — Морск. Сборн. 1861, № 6, 2. отд., стр. 188) der Ansicht war, dass sie nur besuchsweise an denselben kommen und alsdann von den Chinesen aufgenommen werden.

1) Маакъ, Путеш. по долинѣ р. Уссури, С. Петерб. 1861, Т. I, стр. 63.

2) Maack, l. c. p. 60.

3) Nach Maximowicz (Nachricht. vom Sungari Fluss. — Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. T. IV, p. 231; Mél. biolog. tirés du Bull. T. IV, p. 39) reicht das Goldegebiet etwa 240 Werst den Sungari hinauf.

4) Maximowicz (l. c.) giebt die Zahl der Golde-Dörfer am Sungari, Dshangdshu an der Mündung desselben nicht mitgerechnet, auf 13 an, zählt aber selbst 14 mit Namen auf.

5) Nach Aussagen, die ich von den Amur-Golde erhielt, sollten am Sungari sämmtliche Golde-Dörfer am rechten Ufer liegen. Dies bestätigten die Angaben von Maximowicz und von Barabasch, welcher Letztere den Sungari weithinauf befahren hat (s. dessen Суматрёвъ. Экспед. 1872 г. — Военный Сборн. 1874, № 2, стр. 328); ja, nach Ersterem (l. c.) dürfen sogar die Golde das linke Sungari-Ufer nicht bewohnen.

6) Maximowicz, Bull. l. c. p. 233, 241; Mél. biolog. T. IV, p. 39, 67. Barabasch (l. c.) lässt die Golde bis zum Dorfe Dsan-ma-sso reichen, doch ersieht man aus einer anderen Angabe desselben (l. c. p. 326), dass dies nicht sowohl das letzte goldische, als vielmehr das erste chinesische Dorf ist. Auch klingt dieser Name nicht goldisch, wohl aber wie das nach Maximowicz 1—2 Werst oberhalb Indamo gelegene erste Mandshu-Dorf Dijamssa in chinesischer Aussprache.

7) Seit der Besitznahme des Amur-Landes durch die Russen ist dies natürlich nur noch zum Theil der Fall.

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reicheren und culturhistorisch jedenfalls wichtigeren Chinesen an. Dieser Umstand, so wie die Lage des Golde-Gebietes an den drei ansehnlichsten Strömen des Amur-Landes, dem Amur, dem Sungari und dem Ussuri, und nicht minder auch die grosse Ausdehnung desselben, verleihen den Golde im ethnographischen Bilde des Amur-Landes eine so hervorragende Stellung und eine für den Charakter des Ganzen so wesentliche Bedeutung, wie sie kein anderes Volk dieses Landes beanspruchen kann.

Verlassen wir die Hauptader des Amur-Landes und gehen wir westwärts über dieselbe hinaus, so begegnen wir noch drei tungusischen Völkern, die ihre Sitze an den drei grössten linkerseits zum unteren Amur fallenden Flüssen, dem Amgunj, dem Gorin und dem Kur haben. Das nördlichste von ihnen, das im Nordosten an die Giljaken grenzt, sind die **Negda** oder Nigidalzen und Neidalzen, wie sie von den Russen genannt werden[1]). Ihr Verbreitungsgebiet wird fast ganz durch das Flusssystem des Amgunj bestimmt, denn über dieses hinaus findet man nur einzelne wenige vorgeschobene Posten derselben. Von einem dieser Posten ist oben schon die Rede gewesen: es sind die Niederlassungen der Negda an den Seen Orell und Tschlja und dem sie verbindenden Flussarme[2]). Da es immerhin beständige, durch keinen Zwischenraum mit anderer Bevölkerung vom Amgunj-System getrennte Wohnsitze dieses Volkes sind, so müssen wir sie als die äusserste Nordostgrenze des Negda-Gebietes bezeichnen. Etwas anders verhält es sich mit dem nordwestlichsten Punkte, an welchem die Negda angetroffen worden sind. Middendorff und später Boschnjak lernten nämlich mehrere Familien dieses Volkes kennen, die ihren beständigen Wohnsitz an dem Platze Burukan am Tugur hatten[3]). Da dies ein Ort ist, wo Leute verschiedener Nationalität, russische Rennthier-Tungusen, jakutische Kaufleute, gelegentlich vielleicht auch Giljaken, des Handels wegen zusammenkommen, so dürfen wir auch die wenigen Negda dort nur als Fremdlinge betrachten. Gehen doch, wie wir oben sahen[4]), einzelne Individuen dieses Stammes des Robbenschlags wegen bisweilen auch an den Tugur- und Ulban-Busen am Ochotskischen Meere. Ueberschreitet man aber die schmale Wasserscheide, welche den Tugur von einem Zufluss des Amgunj, dem Nemilen, trennt, so gelangt man in ganz unzweifelhaftes Negda-Gebiet. Es ist dies der wegen seiner geringen Breite von den beiderseitigen Eingeborenen als Schleifweg für ihre Kähne benutzte Uebergang von Ukakyt, den auch Middendorff zurücklegte, um im Flussgebiet des Amgunj die Bekanntschaft des

1) Middendorff (Reise in den aus. Norden und Osten Sibiriens, Bd. IV, p. 1323 ff.) schreibt «Nigidal». In Newelskoi's Berichten über seine und seiner Gefährten Thätigkeit im unteren Amur-Lande in den Jahren 1849 bis 1855 (Полезныя русск. морск. свѣд. из крайн. вост. Россіи. Посмертн. изд. Адмир. Невельскаго, С.-Петербургъ 1878) werden sie durchweg «Neidalzen» genannt. Wir werden auf diese Namen und noch einige Variationen derselben im folgenden Abschnitt zurückkommen.

2) S. oben p. 16.

3) Middendorff, Reise in den Norden und Osten Sibiriens, Bd. IV, p. 192. Бошняк, Зап. о При-амурск. край. — Морск. Сборн. 1860, № 2, ч. неоф., стр. 333.

4) S. oben p. 15.

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Negda-Volkes zu machen. In der That traf er es am oberen Nemilen in festen Wohnsitzen, die in so fern einen vorgeschobenen Posten desselben bildeten, als der Nemilen in seinem weiteren Verlaufe bis zum Amgunj und dieser wiederum bis zwei Tagereisen unterhalb der Einmündung des Amal in denselben unbesiedelt sein sollten, so dass die Negda vom Nemilen nicht weniger als sechs Tagereisen Bootfahrt durch unbewohntes Gebiet bis zu ihren nächsten Landsleuten am Amgunj hatten [1]). Gewiss sind es eben jene Handelsbeziehungen zu den Rennthier-Tungusen und Jakuten am Tugur, welche die Negda bewogen haben, trotz des noch grossen Raumes am Amgunj, der Hauptader ihres Gebietes ihre Wohnsitze bis an den oberen Nemilen vorzuschieben. Die Continuität der sparsamen Negda-Bevölkerung wird dabei jedoch durch kein anderes Volk unterbrochen, und so fällt die Nordwestgrenze ihres Gebietes mit der Wasserscheide zusammen, welche das Flusssystem des Amgunj von dem des Tugur trennt. Aehnlich verläuft auch die Südgrenze desselben, denn sie wird von der Wasserscheide zwischen dem Amgunj und Gorin gebildet. Trotz jener Oeden am unteren Nemilen und am Amgunj unterhalb des letzteren, ziehen sich die Negda-Sitze am oberen Amgunj, oberhalb der Nemilen-Mündung, und am Oldshekan, dem Abfluss des Tschuktschagir-Sees zum Amgunj fort [2]). Ueberschreitet man hingegen südwärts die Wasserscheide, so betritt man am Eworon-See und am Gorin das Gebiet der Samagirn [3]). Doch soll von den neun Geschlechtern, in welche die Negda nach Middendorff's Erkundigungen zerfallen, das eine, die Muktagern, unter den Samagirn wohnen [4]). Ostwärts endlich erstreckt sich das Negda-Gebiet längs dem Amgunj bis zur Mündung desselben in den Amur. Auf den niedrigen, von Weidengebüsch bewachsenen Inseln, welche die Amgunj-Mündung verdecken, habe ich beim Vorüberfahren zahlreiche Jurten der Negda gesehen. Hier grenzen also die Negda, wie am Orell- und Tschlja-See, an die Giljaken, deren nächste Dörfer am linken Amur-Ufer jedoch in weiter Entfernung von der Amgunj-Mündung liegen [5]). Fast genau gegenüber der letzteren befinden sich aber jene in das Gebiet der Giljaken vorgeschobenen Oltscha-Dörfer, von denen oben die Rede gewesen, und daher liegt es nahe anzunehmen, dass bei der Wahl dieser Ansiedelungspunkte im fremden Lande den Oltscha die Nähe eines

1) Middendorff, Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 1523.

2) Schmidt (Histor. Ber. etc. l. c. p. 131) nennt am oberen Amgunj die Negda-Dörfer Hoidshan und Nilan, letzteres an der Mündung des gleichnamigen Flusses, am Oldshekan das Negda-Dorf Baniku.

3) Schmidt, l. c. Der Eworon-See ist derselbe, der auf der Karte zum I. Bande meines Reisewerks, nach den Nachrichten von Boschnjak und Tschichatschof, die diesseitigen Gegenden bereist haben, unter dem Namen Samager-See eingetragen ist.

4) Die übrigen sind nach Middendorff: Ajunskan, Altschakal, Torombon, Tschuktschager, Njassekagr, Udsdan, Tschemakogr und Tapkal; die letzteren sollten schon am Amur, die Torombon hingegen am weitesten den Amgunj hinauf wohnen. Siehe dessen Reise etc. Band IV, pag. 1523.

5) Wenn Newelskoi in seinem oben erwähnten posthumen Werke (Полвиги русс. моряк. etc. p. 130, 132, 140, 163, 170 u. a.) theils nach den Berichten der von ihm ausgesandten Officiere, theils nach Aussagen von Eingeborenen, auch von Negda spricht, die mit den Oltscha (Mangunen) zusammen am Gorin, am Amur unterhalb Chywwunda, in Kidsi, in der Bai de Castries u. s. w. wohnen, so beruhen diese fehlerhaften Angaben nur auf dem Umstande, dass man damals die Negda unter allen tungusischen Stämmen des Amur-Landes zuerst kennen lernte und die anderen, ihnen benachbarten und von ihnen nur dialektisch verschiedenen Völker noch nicht zu unterscheiden verstand.

stammverwandten Volkes, der Negda, und damit die Aussicht auf leichte, gewinnbringende Verkehrs- und Handelsbeziehungen maassgebend waren. Im Ganzen liegt also das Negda-Gebiet zwar in naher Berührung mit den Gegenden am Stanowoi-Gebirge und den nächsten Flussgebieten des Ochotskischen Meeres, doch bleibt es mit seiner Hauptader, seiner Gesichtsseite dem Amur-Strome zugewandt, und dem entsprechend trägt es auch in ethnographischer Beziehung, trotz mancher Berührung seines Volkes mit russischen Rennthier-Tungusen, jakutischen Händlern u. s. w., im Allgemeinen doch nur den Charakter einer Dependenz des Amur-Landes.

In noch höherem Grade ist Letzteres mit dem zweiten der an den linken Zuflüssen des Amur-Stromes wohnhaften tungusischen Völkern, den Samagirn oder Samagern, wie wir sie auch genannt haben[1]), der Fall. Wie das Negda-Gebiet durch den Amgunj, so wird dasjenige der Samagirn durch das Flusssystem des Gorin bestimmt. Ausserhalb des letzteren trifft man sie wohl nur mehr oder weniger versprengt und in der Fremde. So war zur Zeit meiner Reise der Inhaber einer Jurte im Oltscha-Dorfe Pulj am Amur ein Samagir. Etwas anders mag es sich vielleicht mit der Gegend am Udyl-See verhalten. Da dieser See im Oltscha-Gebiet in den Amur mündet, so liegt es nahe, in seinen Anwohnern Angehörige dieses Stammes zu erwarten. Zum Theil mag es auch richtig sein. Doch sind mir ausdrücklich auch die Samagirn als Anwohner desselben genannt worden, und da die Mündung des Sees in den Amur dem Dorfe Pulj gegenüber liegt, so mag auch die Ansässigkeit jenes Samagirn in dem genannten Dorfe für das Vorhandensein von Samagir-Sitzen am nahen Udyl-See sprechen. Andererseits erzählten mir die Giljaken des Dorfes Patt von Handelsreisen, die sie zum Udyl-See machen, um von den Anwohnern derselben, die sie Rdhy nannten, verschiedenes Pelzwerk, an dem sie reich seien, einzutauschen[2]). Unter dem Namen «Rdhy» und «Rdhyngu» verstehen aber die Giljaken, wie ich aus anderen Angaben entnehmen muss, die Negda. Beide Völker sind jedenfalls nahe verwandt mit einander und werden vielleicht giljakischerseits nicht immer von einander unterschieden; vielleicht sind aber auch beide am Udyl-See zu finden[3]). Für die Samagirn läge übrigens an diesem See, wenn sie dort wohnen, ihre Nordostgrenze, und es liesse sich alsdann die seltsame Analogie

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1) S. den 1. Bd. dieses Werkes. Nach der hier angenommenen Schreibart müssten wir diesen Namen, um das harte *s* in demselben wiederzugeben, «Samagirs» schreiben, was jedoch der Kürze wegen unterbleiben soll, nachdem es hier ein für allemal vermerkt worden ist.

2) Die Giljaken bezeichneten mir auch die am Udyl-See gelegenen Dorfer der Rdhy; es sind: Koltschom, Kiltschirn und Tentscha, alle drei ansehnlich, das letztere aus vier Jurten bestehend. Der letztere Name ist gleichlautend mit demjenigen eines am rechten Amur-Ufer der Mündung des Udyl-Sees schräg gegenüber liegenden Oltscha-Dorfes.

3) Lieut. Boschnjak ist im Sommer 1852 am Udyl-See gewesen und spricht in seinem betreffenden Reisebericht auch von den dortigen Eingeborenen, ohne jedoch ihre Nationalität zu bezeichnen. Auch er lernte dort drei Dörfer kennen, deren Namen er ähnlich wiedergiebt, wie ich sie oben nach giljakischen Angaben mitgetheilt habe: Ssoljangsa, Sollschura und Tentscha. Vrgl. Бошняк, Экспед. на Нижн-амурск. край (Морск. Сборн. 1860, № 1, Ч. неоф., стр. 124).

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in der Begrenzung ihres Verbreitungsgebietes und desjenigen der Negda nicht verkennen, dass nämlich beide Völker ihre Sitze aus dem ihnen eigenen Flusssystem nach einem oder mehreren, östlicher oder nordöstlicher gelegenen, ebenfalls zum Amur münd'enden Seen vorgeschoben hätten. Den Samagirn erwüchse aber daraus noch der Vortheil, dass sie dort einen Weg hätten, auf welchem sie ihre Jagdausbeute mit Umgehung der sie bedrückenden Mandshu und Chinesen an die nördlichen, freien Amur-Völker, die Oltscha und Giljaken absetzen könnten. Vielleicht hat daher dasselbe Motiv, welches die Golde zum Auswandern in das Oltscha-Gebiet bestimmt, die Samagirn an den Udyl-See getrieben[1]).

Wie dem aber auch sei, immer bleibt das eigentliche Gebiet der Samagirn das Flusssystem des Gorin. Oben haben wir schon die Nordgrenze desselben gegen das Negda-Gebiet kennen gelernt, die mit der Wasserscheide zwischen dem Gorin und Amgunj zusammenfällt. Auch nach Westen, gegen das Bureja-Gebirge hin, wie nach Süden, zum Flusssystem des Kur, scheint es mit der respectiven Wasserscheide seinen natürlichen Abschluss zu finden. Doch fehlt es uns darüber noch an positiven Nachrichten. Was ich bei meinem Besuch der Samagirn im Winter 1855 in Erfahrung bringen konnte, ist, dass sich die dichteste Bevölkerung nicht den oberen Gorin selbst, sondern einen rechten, also wohl von Westen oder Südwesten kommenden Zufluss desselben, den Chui, hinaufzieht. An diesem wurden mir nicht weniger wie zehn, von 1—6 Jurten zählende Dörfer der Samagirn genannt[2]). Bemerkenswerth endlich ist die Ostgrenze des Samagirn-Gebietes, zum Amur hin. Ich lernte sie auf der erwähnten Winterreise kennen[3]). Die Mündung des Gorin in den Amur ist von Golde besetzt: dort liegt ihr Dorf Bitschu. Weiter den Gorin hinauf giebt es keine Golde-Dörfer mehr. Dennoch liegt das erste Samagirn-Dorf, Ngagha am Gorin, nicht eher als etwa 120 bis 130 Werst Entfernung von Bitschu[4]). Zwischen den beiden Völkern bleibt also ein weiter Raum unbewohnten Landes liegen — ein waldiges, wildreiches Terrain, das beiden zum Jagdrevier dient. Ich stiess dort zu wiederholten Malen auf winterliche Jagdzelte (sogen. Alko's) zunächst der Golde, die selbst aus weit entlegenen Dörfern am Amur hinkommen[5]), alsdann, etwa halbwegs, auf ganz ähnliche Jagdzelte der Samagirn, bis endlich die zerstreuten Sommerwohnungen der Samagirn von Ngagha und ein paar Stunden später auch das gleichnamige Winterdorf selbst vor mir lagen. Was mag der Grund zu so scharfer Scheidung der Wohngebiete so nahe verwandter Völker sein? Haben doch am Amgunj die Negda ihre Wohnsitze bis an den Amur vorgeschoben, wo sie unmittelbar, nur über den Strom weg, an ein ihnen fremdes Volk,

1) Lieut. Boschnjak Окнен.ъ въ Прм-амурск. край. — Морск. Сборн. 1859, № 2, ч. неоф., стр. 331) lässt die Samagirn auch an dem unteren Laufe des Amgunj bis zum Dorfe Kewittin und erst von dort aufwärts die Negda wohnen; allein mir scheint diese Angabe auf einer Verwechselung beider Stämme zu beruhen, oder aber durch zeitweisen Aufenthalt von Samagirn am Amgunj veranlasst zu sein.

2) Es sind folgende: Kukulekt, Chuinda, Jamektanka, Zongiuka mit je 2 Jurten, Kondonka mit 6, Serrochjanka und Zorgunka mit je 3, Churadjaka mit 2, Cheroke mit einer und Kadakado mit 2 Jurten.

3) S. meinen Reisebr. im Bull. de la classe physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. T. XIV, pag. 189; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., T. II, pag. 132, 133.

4) Ich legte diese Strecke im Hundeschlitten auf der Hinfahrt in 2½, auf der Rückfahrt, unter günstigeren Verhältnissen, in 2 Tagereisen zurück.

5) So z. B. aus Onmoi, Chongar, ja sogar aus Zollani, das etwa 150 Werst oberhalb Bitschu am Amur liegt.

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die Giljaken grenzen. Der Unterschied zwischen hier und dort besteht jedoch darin, dass dort freie Völker wohnen, während hier, im Golde-Gebiet, die Mandshu herrschen, deren Macht sich allerdings auch den Gorin hinauf Bahn gebrochen hat. Es mag daher die Furcht, ihren Bedrückern gar zu nahe zu kommen, die Samagirn von der Verbreitung bis zum Amur zurückgehalten haben.

Das dritte und letzte Volk der grösseren linken Zuflüsse des unteren Amur-Stromes sind die **Kile** am Kur. Von keinem der Amur-Völker sind jedoch die Nachrichten so spärlich wie von diesem. Selbst der Name «Kile» ist ungenügend, denn es ist dies nur eine von den Chinesen entstellte tungusische Allgemeinbezeichnung, deren Etymologie wir später besprechen werden. Kein Reisender hat noch die Kile am Kur besucht, ja, es ist nicht einmal die Gegend, wo dieser ansehnliche Fluss den Amur erreicht, immer richtig angegeben worden. Maack lässt ihn z. B. bei Poddale, also unterhalb des Chongar in den Amur münden[1], während er doch etwa $1^1/_2$ Breitengrade südlicher davon und nur wenig nördlich vom Ussuri seine Mündung hat. Diese liegt aber am niedrigen linken Amur-Ufer, in einem entlegenen Arme des mächtigen, verzweigten Stromes, durch zahlreiche mit Weidengebüsch bewachsene Inseln verdeckt, so dass die in der Regel dem hohen rechten Ufer entlang gehenden Reisenden ihrer unmöglich ansichtig werden können. Auch mir entging sie, obgleich ich mich auf meiner Rückreise vom Ussuri nach Nikolajevsk, im Sommer 1855, meist an das mir noch unbekannte linke Amur-Ufer hielt. Nur das in diesem Theile des Amur-Laufes den Horizont west- und nordwestwärts begrenzende Wanda-Gebirge, in welchem der Kur seinen Ursprung nimmt, kann keinem Reisenden entgehen. Dass ich gleichwohl auf dieser Reise einige, wenn auch spärliche Kunde von der Existenz des Kile-Volkes am Kur erhielt, verdanke ich den Mittheilungen der Golde in den der Kur-Mündung benachbarten Amur-Dörfern. Nach ihren Angaben bewohnen die der Sprache nach nur wenig von ihnen verschiedenen Kile[2] den Kur und seine Zuflüsse. Den Kur hinab erstreckt sich ihr Gebiet bis an dessen Mündung, wo noch ihr Dorf Ssäwan- oder Ssiwan-Gauwne zwischen den Golde-Dörfern Inminda im Süden und Kozja im Norden liegt. Wie weit es flussaufwärts reicht, habe ich nicht erfahren können, doch sollte ein Dorf der Kile, Ssäfandu, noch oberhalb des in den Kur fallenden Urmi-Flusses liegen[3]. Auch lässt sich aus dem Umstande, dass die Kile gute Jäger und reich an Pelzwerk sein sollen, mit ziemlicher Gewissheit der Schluss ziehen, dass sie sich nicht bloss auf den im Tieflande gelegenen unteren Lauf des Kur beschränken, sondern auch den oberen Lauf und die Zuflüsse desselben bis an das wildreiche Wanda-Gebirge wenn auch nicht beständig bewohnen, so doch als ihr eigenstes Jagdgebiet durchstreifen. Und somit wird das Kile-Gebiet am Flusssystem des Kur wohl auch seine natürliche Begrenzung haben.

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1) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, сокращ. по распоряж. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. въ 1855 г. С. Петерб. 1859, стр. 197.

2) Eine kleine Probe dieser dialektischen Verschiedenheit mögen die von mir gesammelten und im I. Bande dieses Werkes mitgetheilten Bezeichnungen der Thiere bei den Kile liefern.

3) Zwischen den beiden genannten Kile-Dörfern sollten am Kur noch folgende sich befinden: Chyja-manga (d. h. «starke Strömung»), Iwu, Adi, Kusinabo.

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Soweit die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes. Als Grenze für den unteren Amur haben wir dabei die Sungari-Mündung angenommen. Und in der That spielt der Sungari in ethnographischer Beziehung für das ganze untere Amur-Land eine sehr wichtige Rolle: vom Sungari geht der mandshu-chinesische Einfluss aus, der sich bis in die fernsten Theile des unteren Amur-Landes Bahn gebrochen hat; über den Sungari hinaus in den Amur vorzudringen, ist den unteren Amur-Völkern mandshu-chinesischerseits streng untersagt; alle Fäden des Handels, des Verkehrs, der Tributzahlung u. s. w. knüpfen sie daher nicht an den mittleren und oberen Amur, den bei den Mandshu sogenannten «Sachali», sondern an den Sungari[1]). Jenseits des Sungari betreten wir daher eine andere ethnographische Provinz des Amur-Landes, deren Völkerschaften denjenigen des unteren Amur-Landes zwar meistens stammverwandt, aber doch fremd sind. Auch sind diese beiden ethnographischen Provinzen des Amur-Landes längs der Hauptader desselben durch weite unbewohnte Gebiete von einander getrennt: es sind dies die niedrigen, grasreichen Prairien am Amur gleich oberhalb der Sungari-Mündung, in denen man nur ab und zu auf die konischen Zelte zum Fischfang herangewanderter Sungari-Golde stösst, sowie die steilen Felsgehänge des vom Amur in reissender Strömung durchschnittenen Bureja-Gebirges. Erst am Westfusse dieses Gebirges beleben sich wieder die Amur-Ufer. Halten wir uns zunächst an dieselben, um von dort aus die räumliche Vertheilung der Völker auch im mittleren und oberen Amur-Lande näher kennen zu lernen.

Das erste Volk, dem wir am Amur oberhalb des Bureja-Gebirges begegnen, sind die **Biraren.** Schon gegen den Westabhang dieses Gebirges hin kann man auf einzelne Zelte der Biraren stossen. Mir ist es zwar nicht passirt, aber nach Radde, der im Bureja-Gebirge einen Winter zugebracht hat, machen sie meistens den von links in den Amur mündenden unteren Ditschun-Fluss zur Grenze ihrer Jagdzüge, und zuweilen, wenn auch selten, dehnen sie dieselben auch bis unterhalb des Golin-Baches aus[2]). Da es zum grössten Theil ein von der Jagd lebendes und daher umherstreifendes Volk ist, so lernen wir hier zugleich die Ostgrenze seines Gebietes kennen. Nur wenig westlicher, am U-Flusse, schneidet die Ostgrenze des Biraren-Gebietes auch das rechte Amur-Ufer. An diesem Flusse sollen nämlich beständig einige Biraren-Familien wohnen, zu denen vom Sungari aus über das Gebirge handeltreibende Dauren kommen[3]). Zahlreicher, wenn auch immer sparsam, ist die Biraren-Bevölkerung in der Prairie gleich oberhalb des Bureja-Gebirges. Unter dem Einfluss ihrer westlichen Grenznachbaren, der Dauren, Mandshu und Chinesen, nimmt sie dort einen sesshafteren Charakter an. Grössere und kleinere, mit Gemüsegärten versehene, von Feldern umgebene Biraren-Dörfer liegen dort bald am linken, bald am rechten Amur-Ufer bis über die Bureja-Mündung hinaus. Das letzte dieser Dörfer, das ich stromaufwärts gegangen antraf, war das am rechten Amur-Ufer gelegene Kadagan, auf

1) S. meinen Reisebr. im Bullet. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. T. XV, p. 243; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., T. III, p. 319, 336.

2) G. Radde, Bericht über Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibir., im Auftrage der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. ausgeführt in den Jahren 1855 bis 1859 (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, herausgeg. von Baer u. Helmersen, Bd. XXIII, St. Petersburg 1861, p. 336 und das Kärtchen zu p. 312).

3) Radde, l. c. p. 319.

welches mehrfache, einzeln liegende Häuser gewerbtreibender Chinesen und alsdann das daurische Dorf Chormoldin folgten. Bei Kadagan haben wir also schon die Westgrenze des Biraren-Gebietes am Amur, welches somit zwar beide Ufer dieses Stromes, aber nur auf der verhältnissmässig geringen Strecke von etwas oberhalb der Bureja-Mündung bis in das Bureja-Gebirge hinein umfasst. Auch ist dies nur ein kleiner Theil des gesammten Biraren-Gebietes, das hauptsächlich an den auf dieser Strecke von links in den Amur sich ergiessenden grösseren Flüssen, am Aar und besonders an der Bureja, dem Njuman-bira[1]) der Eingeborenen, und ihren Zuflüssen sich ausbreitet.

Im Flusssystem der Bureja gehen die Biraren weit nach Norden, ja sie überschreiten es sogar nach Westen und halten oder hielten sich wenigstens früher auch am oberen Ssilimdshi und seinen Zuflüssen auf. So berichtete schon Pojarkof, der Führer des ersten russischen Streifzuges an den Amur, nach der Rückkehr von demselben (1646), dass am oberen Ssilimdshi (Ssilimba) zahlreiche Birar-Tungusen wohnen[2]). Später (1681) erwähnte ihrer der Ssyn bojarskij Ignatij Milowanof auch weiter abwärts am Ssilimdshi, indem er berichtete, dass an der Mündung dieses letzteren in die Dseja daurische Leute von ihnen Tribut für die chinesische Krone erheben[3]). Zur Zeit von Middendorff's Reise hielten sich «Byral-» oder «Bural-Tungusen», wie er die Biraren nennt, in ständigen Wohnsitzen an der Byssa, einem Nebenfluss des Ssilimdshi, am Elge, einem Zufluss der Byssa, u. s. w. auf, ja, er spricht von Byral-Tungusen, die des Sommers in Kähnen den Ur, einen rechten Nebenfluss der Dseja, weit hinauf gingen und so dem Stanowoi-Gebirge sich näherten[4]). Es wäre jedoch falsch, wollte man an den angegebenen Orten die Nordgrenze des Biraren-Gebietes annehmen. Offenbar liegt einigen dieser Angaben eine Verwechselung der Biraren mit anderen tungusischen Stämmen, namentlich mit ihren nächsten Grenznachbaren, den Manägirn, zu Grunde. Sagt doch Middendorff selbst, dass einer dieser Bural, falls er ihn richtig verstanden, zum Stamme der «Manigirj» sich zähle, ein anderer, an der Bureja, als «Guragr» sich bekannte[5]). Auch fügt er der Angabe Milowanof's über die «Birjär-Tungusen» des oberen Ssilimdshi hinzu: «richtiger vielleicht Guragr; gehören zum Stamme der Manegirj»[6]). Ich kann dieser Ansicht nicht beistimmen, schon aus dem Grunde, weil sie eine fernere Verwechselung der sogen. Guragr mit den Manägirn involvirt. Im Gegentheil kommt es mir sehr wahrscheinlich vor, dass an dem den rechten Zuflüssen der Bureja so sehr genäherten oberen Ssilimdshi ebenfalls Biraren wohnen. Desgleichen mögen sie sich am Elge und an der Byssa aufhalten, die einerseits nicht weit von mehreren

1) «Bira» oder «bera» heisst in der Sprache der Biraren, Golde u. s. tungusischen Völker so viel wie «Fluss».

2) Донесн. къ англиск. историч., собр. и изданн. археогр. комисс. Т. III, С. Петерб. 1848, стр. 33.

3) Отписка стольника Василія Ѳ. Л. Милованова посланн. въ 1681 г. для обозрѣнія Амура сына Боярскаго Игн. Милованова, mitgetheilt von Spasskij: Сибл. Русск. о рѣкѣ Амурѣ въ XVII стол. (Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. VII, 1853, Отд. Изслѣд. и Матер., стр. 40, 41).

4) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 107, 1303.

5) L. c. p. 1303. Dass die Bezeichnung «Guragr» sehr wahrscheinlich auf die Kile vom Kur zu beziehen ist, werde ich später darthun.

6) L. c. p. 167. Ussolzef nennt die Biraren an der Bureja durchweg «Manägerne»: s. Шкаврн, Полробн. отч. о результ. изслѣд. Матеиат. Отд. Сибирск. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., С. Петерб. 1861, I, стр. 31.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Bureja-Zuflüssen, andererseits gewissermassen auf dem Wege von der Bureja und ihren Hauptzuflüssen nach dem von allen dortigen Gebirgsnomaden des Handels wegen zeitweilig besuchten Orte Inkanj[1]), im Dseja-System, liegen. Was hingegen die Anwohner des Ur betrifft, so sind diese sicherlich keine Biraren, sondern Manägirn — ein nahe verwandter tungusischer Stamm, von dem sogleich die Rede sein wird.

Wie dem übrigens auch sei, genau die Gebiete der Biraren, der Manägirn und ihrer nördlichen Nachbaren, der russischen Rennthier-Tungusen vom Stanowoi-Gebirge, gegen einander abzugrenzen, ist nicht wohl möglich. Als Jäger führen sie alle ein umherstreifendes, nomadisches Leben: wo reiche Jagdausbeute sich erwarten lässt, da dringen sie vor, unbekümmert ob aller politischen Grenzen, und bewährt sich die Erwartung, so nehmen sie an dem Orte wohl auch einen längeren und bleibenderen Aufenthalt, mögen sie sich dabei von ihren Stammgenossen noch so sehr entfernt und in ein Gebiet begeben haben, das Andere aus Prioritätsgründen für das ihrige anzusehen pflegen. Daher denn auch die mancherlei Zusammenstösse und Reibungen zwischen ihnen, bei denen es, wie Middendorff erzählt[2]), nicht immer bei Drohungen bleibt, sondern auch zu Thätlichkeiten kommt und Schiessgewehre abgenommen, Reit- und Lastthiere erschossen werden u. s. w. Die traktatmässig zwischen Russland und China festgesetzte Grenze, das Stanowoi-Scheidegebirge, ist dabei für die gegenseitige Gebietsabgrenzung der bis vor Kurzem noch chinesischen Biraren und Manägirn einerseits und der russischen Rennthier-Tungusen andererseits keineswegs maassgebend. Zwar dürften die ersteren den Südabhang dieses Gebirges nicht überschreiten, aber um so weniger bleiben die letzteren auf den Nordabhang desselben beschränkt, sondern dringen vielmehr über das Gebirge hinweg an der Bureja wie an der Dseja tief in das vermeintlich chinesische Gebiet vor. Middendorff theilt aus eigener Erfahrung viele Fälle der Art mit. So traf er am Kebeli, einem Nebenfluss des zur Bureja mündenden Niman, vier sesshafte Familien russischer Tungusen[3]): an der Mündung des erstgenannten Flusses wohnte wiederum ein russischer Tunguse[4]); andere waren den Tyrmi hinabgezogen bis fast zur Bureja[5]). Schmidt traf eine russische (christliche) Tungusen-Familie sogar 40 Werst unterhalb der Mündung des Tyrmi in die Bureja: sie war in Udskoi Ostrog angeschrieben, hatte aber hier, am Flusse Malmalty, ihr Jagdrevier, das sie seit langer Zeit besuchte[6]). Ja, nach den von Ussolzef bei den Biraren (bei ihm «Manägern») eingesammelten Nachrichten, nomadisiren die russischen Tungusen — welche er übrigens schlechtweg «Orotschonen» nennt — an der Bureja mit ihren Rennthieren bis zum Orte Schewaki, etwa 14 Tagereisen von der Mündung dieses Stromes. Weiter abwärts können sie mit den Rennthieren nicht kommen, weil sie dort kein Futter für ihre Thiere finden, allein in Rindenkähnen streifen noch Manche von ihnen bis zur Bureja-Mündung hinab[7]). Im Gefolge der Tungusen, oder aber dieselben mit sich

1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 180.
2) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1303.
3) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 167.
4) l. c. p. 189.
5) l. c. p. 166, Anmerk. 1.
6) Schmidt, Histor. Ber. etc. p. 167.
7) Шкапскій, Нетрофн. отч. о результ. изслѣд. Маньчж. Отд. Сибирск. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Кн. I, стр. 31.

fortlockend, ziehen auch unternehmende handeltreibende Jakuten über das Stanowoi-Gebirge und lassen sich bisweilen auch für längere Zeit im chinesischen Gebiet an der Bureja oder Dseja und deren Nebenflüssen nieder. Middendorff rechnete zusammen, dass zu seiner Zeit gegen 25 von Jakutsk ausgehende Händler bald diesseits, bald jenseits des Dseja- und Bureja-Gebirges in Bewegung waren[1]). An dem oben erwähnten Vereinigungsorte der Biraren, Manägirn und russischen Tungusen am Inkanj wohnte ein Jakute beständig; andere kamen zeitweise mit verschiedenen Waaren und Lebensbedürfnissen von Jakutsk wie von Udskoi Ostrog hin. Nicht minder sassen welche neben und mit den Tungusen am Kebeli und Niman, ja, am ersteren Orte war ein Jakute bereits seit sechs Jahren ansässig. Middendorff's jakutischer Führer (Wantscha) hatte selbst vor 18 Jahren den Jorach, einen Nebenfluss der Bureja, besucht. Ein anderer Jakute (Trofim), mit dem er eine Zeit lang zusammen wanderte, war vor 26 Jahren sogar die Bureja hinabgeschwommen bis 60 Werst oberhalb ihrer Mündung, wo er auf einen chinesischen Wachtposten stiess[2]). Wie den russischen Tungusen die Jakuten, so gehen andererseits den chinesischen Biraren und Manägirn die Dauren nach. In gleichem Handelsinteresse wie jene begeben sie sich vom Amur aus die Bureja, die Dseja und ihre Zuflüsse hinauf. Ja, in früheren Zeiten sollen sie häufig den Ssilimdshi bis zum Inkanj hinauf gegangen sein[3]). Durch das Ineinandergreifen der Gebiete jener tungusischen Stämme bedingt, findet hier also eine Begegnung auch dieser weit auseinander wohnenden Völker statt. Wir werden auf diese beiderseitigen Handelsreisen und Handelsbeziehungen später bei Gelegenheit noch zurückkommen, hier musste ihrer vorübergehend gedacht werden, um den unbestimmten Charakter der Völkergrenzen in diesem Theile des Amur-Landes in seinem vollen Umfange hervortreten zu lassen. Das Stanowoi-Gebirge, eine Wasserscheide der umfassenden Flusssysteme des Amur und der Lena, ist eben keine Völkerscheide, und darum ist es, trotz aller Traktate, auch politisch nur eine unhaltbare Grenze gewesen.

Bestimmender für die gegenseitige Vertheilung der in Rede stehenden Völker, zum wenigsten im Grossen und Ganzen, ist vielleicht ein anderes Moment, auf welches Middendorff mit Recht aufmerksam macht[4]). Ist beiden, den russischen Tungusen vom Stanowoi-Gebirge wie den chinesischen Biraren und Manägirn an der Bureja und Dseja, die Jagd eine gleich unumgängliche Existenzbedingung, indem sie ihnen Nahrung und Mittel zur Befriedigung aller übrigen Lebensbedürfnisse bietet, und nöthigt die Jagd diese wie jene zum Umherstreifen

1) L. c. p. 168.

2) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 166, Anmerk. 1. Hingegen ist die zuerst von Billings gebrachte und weiter ausgesponnene, später von vielen Anderen wiederholte Nachricht von dem Entweichen von 6000 Jakuten über die russische Grenze in das Amur-Land (Sauer, Cap. Jos. Billings' Geogr.-astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Gegend. Russlands zur Unters. der Münd. des Kowima-Flusses etc. Aus d. Englischen, Berlin 1802, p. 367, 368) nach Middendorff nur durch Verwechselung entstanden (Sauer hatte diese Nachricht im Hause des Isprawnika Hornoffskij von den Hrn. Assessoren Ewers u. Kyschkin erhalten), und hat ein solcher massenhafter Uebertritt der Jakuten in das chinesische Gebiet nie stattgehabt (s. dessen Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 169). Ich muss dem vollkommen beistimmen, da eine solche Zahl von Einwanderern aus einem so lebenskräftigen, zähen und unternehmenden Volke, wie die Jakuten, im Amur-Lande jedenfalls sich bemerkbar gemacht hätte, während dort in Wirklichkeit, ausser jenen einzelnen Handlern, nichts von Jakuten zu spüren war.

3) Middendorff, l. c. p. 166, Anm. 1: p. 1336.

4) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1501, 1503.

und Wandern im Gebirge, so besteht doch zwischen beiden der Unterschied, dass die russischen Tungusen vom Stanowoi-Gebirge sich dabei zum Reiten und Lasttragen des Rennthieres, die chinesischen Biraren und Manägirn aber des Pferdes bedienen: jene sind Rennthier-, diese Pferde-Tungusen. Jenen bieten daher die hochgelegenen Gebirgswaldungen mit ihrem dicken Moosteppich, diesen die grasreichen Prairien, die sonnigen Vorberge und breiteren Thalgründe günstigere Bedingungen zum Wandern wie zum Aufenthalte dar. Wo diese oder jene Natur entschieden vorherrscht, da fällt das Land gewissermassen von selbst demjenigen Volke anheim, dessen Bedürfnissen es entspricht. Nur wo beide Naturen sich mehr oder weniger begegnen und durchdringen, auf subalpinem Terrain, kann auch eine häufigere Begegnung der in Rede stehenden Völker stattfinden und ein andauernder Kampf um den Besitz des fraglichen Bodens geführt werden. Ereignet es sich dann z. B., dass durch Ungeschick der Rennthier-Tungusen weite Nadelwaldstrecken niederbrennen, oder dass Grasbrände in der Prairie, die von den Pferde-Tungusen absichtlich, um einen üppigeren Graswuchs zu erzielen, hervorgerufen werden, sich auch über die höher gelegenen moosreichen Kiefernwaldungen ausbreiten, so werden die Rennthier-Tungusen höher in das Gebirge hinauf oder auch ganz aus der Gegend hinausgedrängt, während die Pferde-Tungusen im Gegentheil mehr Spielraum gewinnen. Die Grenze zwischen Prairie und Gebirge ist also im Grossen und Ganzen auch die natürliche Grenze zwischen den Rennthier- und den Pferde-Tungusen.

Und mit dieser Grenze fällt, wie Middendorff nachgewiesen hat[1]), ziemlich genau auch die Linie zusammen, welche durch die chinesischen Grenzzeichen gegeben ist. Trotzdem nämlich, dass durch den Nertschinsker Traktat das Stanowoi-Gebirge als Grenze zwischen dem Russischen und Chinesischen Reiche festgestellt wurde, befinden sich doch die Grenzzeichen, welche von der chinesischen Regierung errichtet worden sind und durch ihre Beamten alljährlich revidirt werden, nicht etwa auf dem Kamme dieses Gebirges, sondern weit südlicher, ziemlich am Fusse seines ausgedehnten Südabhanges und seiner zahlreichen Ausläufer zur Prairie hin. Das westlichste der von Middendorff in dieser Gegend aufgefundenen chinesischen Grenzzeichen stand am Einfluss des Gilui in die Dseja. Das nächstfolgende nach Osten hat er zwar selbst nicht besucht, doch gab ihm ein Tunguse, der es oft gesehen, die Stelle desselben an der Mündung des Mewan-Baches in die Nara, einen rechten Zufluss des Ssilimdshi, an. Am Ssilimdshi selbst sollte es ebenfalls ein Grenzzeichen geben, und zwar an der Mündung des Killer-Flusses in denselben, doch konnte Middendorff über diese Oertlichkeit nichts in Erfahrung bringen. Hingegen constatirte er wiederum selbst das nunmehr nach Osten folgende, welches bereits im Bureja-System, am Einflusse des Nimakan in den Niman steht. Von den weiter ostwärts folgenden chinesischen Grenzzeichen haben wir keine Kunde, nur soll das letzte, am weitesten nach Ost befindliche, nach Aussage der Tungusen, auf der Wasserscheide zwischen dem Tugur und Nemilen, an dem oben erwähnten Schleifwege von Ukakyt, und somit auch auf der Grenze zwischen den

1) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 171—173.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

russischen Tungusen und den Negda, gelegen haben. Wo die Linie dieser Grenzzeichen das Bureja-Gebirge schneidet, wissen wir nicht. Verbindet man das Grenzzeichen am Niman mit demjenigen von Ukakyt durch eine gerade Linie, so bleibt der ganze obere Lauf der Bureja und so ziemlich auch ihr ganzes Flusssystem südlich von derselben liegen. Jedenfalls verläuft sie in diesem ihrem Theile nach Nordost, während sie von den westlichsten Dseja-Zuflüssen zum Bureja-System eine südöstliche Richtung einhielt. Und damit bleiben auch alle Völker der linken Zuflüsse des unteren Amur-Stromes, die Kile vom Kur, die Samagirn und die Negda, südwärts von dieser Linie, auf der chinesischen Seite liegen. Vergessen wir jedoch nicht, dass wenn diese Grenzzeichenlinie in einem Theile ihres Verlaufes auch mit der Grenze zwischen Prairie und Gebirge, welche für die Verbreitung verschiedener Völkerstämme von Bedeutung sein kann, ziemlich zusammenfällt, sie doch selbst keine ethnographische, sondern nur eine politische Grenzlinie ist. Sie bezeichnet nur die äussersten Punkte, bis wohin die chinesische Herrschaft im Amur-Lande faktisch sich erstreckt hat, oder mit anderen Worten, bis wohin von den Eingeborenen der an China schuldige Tribut durch die chinesischen Beamten wirklich erhoben wurde. Jenseits derselben lag zwar bis zum Stanowoi-Gebirge auch traktatmässig chinesisches Land, doch mochte oder konnte vielleicht die chinesische Regierung dieses entlegene und jedenfalls nur dünn bevölkerte Gebirgsland nicht in den Bereich der regelmässig durch ihre Beamten zu bereisenden Tributländer einschliessen. Darin liegt aber keineswegs ein Beweis dafür, dass nicht dieselben Völkerschaften, welche die Bureja und Dseja bis zu jener politischen Grenzlinie bewohnen, Biraren und Manägirn, auch noch weiter nordwärts sich fortziehen sollten. Ja, wäre es sogar ursprünglich nicht der Fall gewesen und hätte die chinesische Regierung jene Zeichen genau an den Gebietsgrenzen der genannten Völker errichtet, so wäre doch diese Grenzlinie von ihnen gewiss nicht eingehalten worden, da die gewinnverheissende Jagd in den nördlicheren Gebirgsthälern und die Möglichkeit, durch Ueberschreitung jener Grenzlinie der Tributzahlung sich zu entziehen, dieselben immer nordwärts getrieben hätte.

Wir kommen nach all' dem Gesagten zu dem Schlusse, dass so weit an der Bureja und Dseja die Prairie vorherrscht, und das ist ungefähr auch bis zur Linie der chinesischen Grenzzeichen, unzweifelhaft ziemlich reines Biraren- und Manägirn-Gebiet sich ausbreitet, weiterhin aber zwar noch dieselben Völker sich fortziehen, jedoch nicht mehr allein, sondern ihr Gebiet mit russischen Rennthier-Tungusen theilend, welche zumal das höhere Gebirge und die moosreichen Gebirgswaldungen als ihr natürliches Jagd- und Wanderterrain inne haben. Die Ausbreitung der Biraren im Flusssystem der Bureja ist somit räumlich im Vergleich mit dem geringen Antheil, den sie am Amur-Strom haben, so überwiegend, dass man jenes als ihr Haupt- und eigentliches Gebiet betrachten kann. Wie wir später sehen werden, sind sie auch von dort aus an den Amur gelangt. Man kann sie daher für den oberen oder richtiger mittleren Amur gewissermassen in Parallele mit den Anwohnern der grossen linken Nebenflüsse des unteren Amur-Stromes, den Kile, Samagirn und Negda bringen.

Mit den Biraren haben wir im Obigen vielfach auch ihrer Grenznachbaren, der **Manägirn**, Erwähnung gethan. Gehen wir nun zur speciellen Besprechung ihres Verbreitungsgebietes über. Die Manägirn oder Monjagern, wie man sie ebenfalls nennen hört[1]), sind nur im Norden ihres Verbreitungsgebietes, an der Dseja und ihren linken Zuflüssen unmittelbare Nachbaren der Biraren. Am Amur-Strom hingegen liegen gleich oberhalb des Biraren-Gebietes nach und durcheinander daurische, mandshurische und chinesische Dörfer, ja selbst eine Stadt, Aigun, — mit einem Worte, es folgt erst derjenige Theil des Amur-Stromes, den wir schon oben als das mandshu-chinesische Culturstück desselben bezeichnet haben. Wir überspringen ihn jetzt, um später auf denselben zurückzukommen. Der Dseja-Mündung nahe gegenüber, am rechten Amur-Ufer, liegt das letzte mandshurische Dorf, zugleich der Aufenthalt eines mandshu-chinesischen Wachtpostens. Gleichzeitig bricht auch die offene Prairie ab, und fortan säumen Gebirge das breite Thal des Amur-Stromes, hie und da näher an denselben herantretend. Von der Dseja-Mündung beginnt das Manägirn-Gebiet: die Culturlandschaft am Strome hat aufgehört, man ist wiederum in der Wildniss und wird nur ab und zu, und immer selten genug, durch ein luftiges Manägirn-Zelt oder die einsame Hütte eines chinesischen oder daurischen Holzflössers an die Anwesenheit von Menschen gemahnt[2]). Ungleich den Biraren, haben sich die Manägirn auch am Amur-Strome, unter den günstigsten Bodenverhältnissen, nicht im Geringsten dem Ackerbau und der Viehzucht zugewandt, sondern sind ihrem Nomadenleben treu geblieben. Meist halten sie sich am Amur des Fischfangs wegen auf und sind daher fast nur im Frühling und Sommer dort anzutreffen, während sie im Herbst und Winter der Jagd in den Gebirgsthälern nördlich und südlich vom Amur nachgehen. Als ich im Jahre 1856 von Ende August bis Anfang October (neuen Stiles) den Amur durch das Manägirn-Gebiet aufwärts zog, stiess ich öfters auf verlassene Wohnstätten und Lagerplätze der Manägirn, mit nackten Zeltgerüsten, ringsum abgeweidetem Grase u. s. w., aber nur selten gelang es mir die Bewohner selbst noch anzutreffen. Da auch die unmittelbaren westlichen Nachbaren der Manägirn am Amur, die Orotschonen, ein ähnliches Jagd- und Nomadenleben führen, so ist die Ermittelung der Grenzen zwischen den Verbreitungsgebieten dieser beiden Völker sehr schwierig. Ganz falsch ist die Angabe Iakinf's, dass die Manägirn das rechte, die Orotschonen das linke Ufer des Amur von Ustj-Strelka an abwärts bewohnen[3]).

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1) S. dieses Werkes I. Bd.

2) Gerstfeld (Путешеств. вдоль Амура. — Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XX, 1857, Отд. II. Смѣсь и Матер., стр. 293) lässt die Manägirn stromabwärts nur bis zur Komar-Mündung reichen; doch steht dies im Widerspruch mit einer späteren Angabe in demselben Artikel (l. c. p. 313), laut welcher es zwischen dem Komar und der Dseja ebenfalls Manägirn giebt. Maack (Путеш. на Амуре, стр. 69, 97) meint, dass sie unterhalb der Komar-Mündung entweder gar nicht, oder nur selten zu begegnen seien. Ich habe Manägirn-Zelte sehr bald oberhalb der Dseja-Mündung gesehen, noch an demselben Tage, an welchem ich vom Dseja-Posten (dem jetzigen Blagoweschtschensk) aufgebrochen war. Aehnlich lautet Prshewalskij's Angabe (s. dessen Путеш. въ Уссурійск. край, p. 11). Umgekehrt dehnen Andere das Gebiet der Manägirn zu weit den Amur abwärts aus. So lässt z. B. Th. Busse (Очерки русск. землев. въ Амурск. край. — Зап. Имп. Геогр. Общ. по Сибири, Амур.—Деп. 1869, стр. 116) sie von Alhasin bis an den kleinen Chingan (Bureja-Gebirge) wohnen.

3) Іакинѳъ, Статист. Описаніе Китайской Имперіи, С. Петерб. 1842, Т. II, стр. 1, Примѣч. Die betreffende Angabe lautet eigentlich dahin, dass man in Transbaikalien die Tungusen des rechten Amur-Ufers von Ustj-Strelka ab «Mangirens», diejenigen des linken Ufers aber «Oro-

Beide haben vielmehr ihr Gebiet am rechten und am linken Amur-Ufer, nur liegt das Gebiet der Manägirn unterhalb desjenigen der Orotschonen. Dabei reicht jenes nicht gleich weit westwärts an beiden Ufern, sondern bricht, ganz entgegen Iakinf's Angabe, am rechten Ufer früher ab als am linken. Daher ist auch die mehrfach ausgesprochene Ansicht, dass die Grenze zwischen den Orotschonen und den Manägirn am Amur bei dem ehemaligen Albasin (Jaxa der Mandshu-Chinesen) liege [1]), nur zum Theil richtig. Am rechten Amur-Ufer hört nämlich das reine Manägirn-Gebiet in der That unterhalb der Albasicha, des Emur der Tungusen, auf und beginnt mit der Mündung dieses Flusses das Gebiet der Orotschonen. Während aber diese ihre Jagden nicht weiter stromabwärts ausdehnen, gehen die Manägirn im Frühling und Anfang des Sommers, des Fischfangs wegen, auch über diese Grenze hinaus und kommen, nachdem sie ihre Pferde am Niwer oder unterhalb der Albasicha zurückgelassen haben, bis an die Flüsse Monastyrskaja, Ignaschina, ja bis zur kleinen und grossen Ssestra [2]). Lässt sich nun Letzteres noch als ein blosses Hinüberstreifen in fremdes Gebiet bezeichnen, so ist es anders am linken Amur-Ufer, wo die Manägirn westwärts beständig weit über Albasin hinaus sich erstrecken. Ich habe dort ihre letzten Zelte noch oberhalb des Kotomanga-Flusses und des damals an demselben errichteten gleichnamigen russischen Postens, in der Nähe der Oldoi-Mündung angetroffen. Damit stimmen auch die Angaben Maack's und Orlof's über ihre Westgrenze überein. Ersterer lässt die Manägirn stromaufwärts bis an den Fluss Newir reichen, bemerkt aber dabei, dass sie zeitweise auch noch weiter oberhalb, z. B. an der Kotomanga, anzutreffen seien [3]); Letzterer zieht die Grenze zwischen dem Manägirn- und dem Orotschonen-Gebiet einmal den Niwer [4]) hinauf und von dessen Quelle längs dem Gebirge zur linken Oldoi-Quelle, ein anderes Mal längs dem Oldoi selbst [5]). Dass übrigens die Jagdgebiete beider Völker hier wie anderer Orten vielfach ineinandergreifen; liegt nach dem oben Gesagten in der Natur der Dinge, und nur der Umstand, dass die Manägirn zum Lasttragen und Reiten ausschliesslich das Pferd, die Orotschonen aber zumeist das Rennthier gebrauchen, mag sie vor häufigerem Aneinanderstossen bewahren. Im Ganzen ist also der Antheil, den die Manägirn am Amur-Strome haben — von der Dseja bis zum Oldoi — ein sehr ansehnlicher. Und doch kann man Tage lang reisen, ohne auch nur ein Zelt derselben anzutreffen, so gering ist ihre Zahl an diesem Strome.

Anders an den beiden grössten Zuflüssen, die der Amur auf dieser Strecke von links und von rechts erhält, an der Dseja und am Komar. Dort liegen die Hauptsitze der Manägirn. Wir haben ihre Ausbreitung an der Dseja und deren Zuflüssen, sowie ihre dortige Abgrenzung

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tschonen» nenne. In demselben Werke, etwas später (p. 217), heisst es, der Amur sei bis Jaxa (Albasin) unbewohnt, im Gebirge aber gebe es Tungusen unter verschiedenen, von den Russen ihnen gegebenen Stammesnamen: «Minegren» und «Orotschonen».

1) Переговскій, Отрывочн. извѣст. Амура, (Вѣстн. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XX, стр. 203). Приемальский, Путеш. въ Уссурійск. краѣ, стр. 11. Ф. Буссе, Очеркъ усовершенств. въ Амурск. краѣ (Зап. Дал. отд. И. Русск. Географическ. Общ., Авг.—Дек. 1869, стр. 115).

2) Орловъ, Амурскіе Орочоны (Вѣстн. Имп. Русскаго Геогр. Общ., Ч. XXI, 1857. Отд. II, стр. 193, 194, 196).

3) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 69, 318.

4) Auf der Karte von Schwarz (Карта рѣчн. бассеин. Амура, южной части Лены и Енисея и остр. Сахалина. С. Петерб. 1861): Liwer.

5) L. c. p. 193, 194, 197.

gegen die Biraren und die russischen Rennthier-Tungusen oben im Allgemeinen schon angedeutet. Soweit an der Dseja, am Ssilimdshi, an der Nara, am Ur u. s. w. offene, grasreiche Prairie sich ausbreitet, ist reines, unbestrittenes Gebiet dieser Pferdenomaden. Die oben besprochene Linie chinesischer Grenzzeichen an den genannten Flüssen bezeichnet nahezu auch die Nordgrenze dieses Gebietes. Ussolzef, der einen grossen Theil des Manägirn-Gebietes bereist hat, giebt namentlich den mittleren und unteren Lauf des Ssilimdshi, sowie den Raum zwischen diesem, der Dseja, dem Depp und einem grossen rechten Zuflusse des Ssilimdshi, den er zwar nicht nennt, der aber in $2^1/_2$ Tagen Reitens von der Mündung des letzteren zu erreichen sein soll und der unzweifelhaft die Nara ist, als das Gebiet an, auf welchem die verhältnissmässig dichteste Bevölkerung von Manägirn zu finden ist[1]). Doch beschränken sie sich nicht auf diesen Raum, sondern ziehen sich in geringerer Anzahl und stets mehr oder weniger zeitweise, wie es das Jagdleben mit sich bringt, die oben genannten Ströme und deren Zuflüsse hinauf bis in die Nähe des Stanowoi-Gebirges. Der Jagd auf Zobel und Eichhörnchen nachgehend, gelangen sie z. B. an den oberen Ssilimdshi und seine Zuflüsse[2]), wo sie mit russischen Rennthier-Tungusen zusammentreffen. Den letzteren müssen sie auch an der oberen Dseja und ihren rechten Zuflüssen begegnen[3]). Merkwürdigerweise stiess jedoch Ussolzef am Gilui kein einziges Mal auf Manägirn, sondern traf sie erst unterhalb des letzteren an der Dseja, von der Mündung des Moktscha-Flusses in dieselbe an[4]). Dass sie auch den Ur in Kähnen weit hinaufgehen, haben wir oben schon aus einer Nachricht Middendorff's entnehmen können[5]). An diesem Flusse, der in seiner ganzen Länge ziemlich parallel dem Amur-Strome verläuft und nur durch das Dseja-Gebirge von demselben getrennt wird, befinden sie sich auch wieder in der Nähe der linken Zuflüsse des Amur, bis zum Oldoi hinauf, an welchem ihre Grenze gegen die Orotschonen liegt.

Nimmt das Manägirn-Gebiet an der Dseja und ihren Zuflüssen den weitesten Raum ein, so soll, nach Angabe ihrer Landsleute vom Amur, die grösste Verdichtung ihrer Bevölkerung doch nicht in den Prairien an der Dseja, sondern an einem rechten Zuflusse des Amur-Stromes, am Kómar oder Kúmar (Komará oder Kumará der Russen) zu finden sein[6]). Dort liegen auch die beständigen Wintersitze vieler Manägirn, die zeitweise, im Frühling und Sommer des Fischfangs wegen an den Amur kommen. Doch nehmen die Manägirn nicht den ganzen Komar-Fluss ein: nur der untere Lauf desselben und vielleicht ein Theil des mittleren gehört ihnen, der übrige Theil des letzteren und der gesammte obere Lauf des Stromes wird von Dauren bewohnt[7]). In der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft mit diesem betriebsamen, handeltreibenden Volke, das den Manägirn wie den Biraren bis in die entlegensten Theile ihrer Verbreitungsgebiete manche ihnen zum Bedürfniss gewordene Nahrungs- und Luxusgegenstände zuträgt, liegt gewiss auch der

1) Усольцевъ, Путеш. въ верхнв. р. Гилюя и на р. Зею, апрѣль 1856 г. (Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. ч. XXII. 1858. Отд. II, стр. 156).

2) Ussolzef, l. c. p. 155, 156.

3) Maack (Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 104, 105) spricht von Manägirn und Orotschonen im mittleren und oberen Laufe der Dseja. In den letzteren kennen wir nur Rennthier-Tungusen sehen. Doch darüber später.

4) L. c. p. 153.

5) S. oben p. 36.

6) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 69.

7) Maack, l. c. p. 98.

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Hauptgrund zur Verdichtung der Manägirn-Bevölkerung am Komar. Auch sollen die Manägirn selbstverständlich je weiter stromaufwärts und je näher zu den Dauren, um so mehr nach Sprache und Sitte dem Einfluss der letzteren unterliegen[1]). Ob dieser Einfluss aber auch so weit geht, dass die Manägirn dort ihr Nomadenleben aufgeben und gleich den Dauren mit Ackerbau und Viehzucht sich beschäftigen, wie wir es bei den Biraren am Amur sahen, erfahren wir nicht.

Ueberblickt man nun das gesammte Manägirn-Gebiet, so lässt sich nicht verkennen, dass der Theil desselben, der am Amur liegt, so gross auch seine Erstreckung ist, doch dem Raume wie der Bevölkerungsdichtigkeit nach nur eine untergeordnete Rolle spielt und bald in einer, bald in beiden Beziehungen den Gebietstheilen am Komar und an der Dseja bei Weitem nachsteht. Die letztere ist es namentlich, die mit ihrem ausgebreiteten Flussnetz dem Raume nach das Hauptgebiet der Manägirn bildet. Wie wir daher oben die Biraren, trotz ihres Antheils am Hauptstrome, in Analogie mit manchen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes, insonderheit als die Insassen eines linken Amur-Zuflusses, der Bureja, bezeichneten, so könnte man die Manägirn in ihrer gegenwärtigen Ausbreitung vornehmlich, wenn auch keineswegs ausschliesslich, als Dseja-Volk auffassen. Ich sage in ihrer gegenwärtigen Ausbreitung, nicht aber nach dem historischen Gange derselben, denn dieser lehrt, wie wir weiter unten sehen werden, dass sie erst später an die Dseja gelangt sind.

Das oberste Volk im Laufe des Amur-Stromes und zugleich das äusserste im Nordwesten des Amur-Landes sind die **Orotschonen.** Ihr Gebiet liegt am oberen Amur und an seinen rechten und linken Zuflüssen, erstreckt sich aber im Westen auch über das eigentliche Amur-Land hinaus, nach Daurien, ja über das Stanowoi-Gebirge hinweg bis in das Flusssystem der Lena. Die Ostgrenze desselben am Amur, den Manägirn gegenüber, haben wir oben bereits kennen gelernt: sie wird im Norden dieses Stromes vom Oldoi, im Süden von der Albasicha gebildet. Nordwärts bildet, so weit die Orotschonen dem Amur-Lande angehören, das Stanowoi-Gebirge, von den Quellen des Oldoi bis zu denen des Amasare, und westwärts Ustj-Strelka oder die Vereinigung des Argunj und der Schilka, von welcher an der eigentliche Amur-Strom beginnt, die Grenze ihres Gebietes. Wirkliche ethnographische Grenzen sind aber durch diese Localitäten keineswegs gegeben, denn auch über dieselben west- und nordwärts hinaus zieht sich dieselbe Bevölkerung fort. Nach Orlof wird das eingeborene tungusische Volk ostwärts von Bargusin, an der oberen Angara, Kitschera und bis zum Witim (incl.) schlechtweg Tungusen, dasjenige aber östlich vom Witim, an der Olekma, am Tungir, an der Njuksha, Schilka und am oberen Amur bis zum Oldoi Orotschonen genannt[2]). Dass derjenige Theil dieser letzteren, der jenseits des Stanowoi-Gebirges an den genannten Lena-Zuflüssen umherstreift, nach Sprache und Sitte irgend welche wesentliche Differenzen von den Amur-Orotschonen biete, wird uns

1) Maack, l. c. p. 98.

2) Орловъ, Амуръ. Орочоны, l. c. p. 193.

dabei nicht gesagt und kommt mir auch durchaus nicht wahrscheinlich vor. Durch sein Lebenselement, die Jagd, und sein einziges Hausthier ausser dem Hunde, das Rennthier, das ihm zum Lasttragen und Reiten dient, auf rauhe, alpine Gegenden angewiesen, fand dies Volk am Stanowoi-Gebirge nicht nur kein Hinderniss, sondern im Gegentheil die günstigsten Bedingungen zur weiteren Ausbreitung. Die Orotschonen sind eben Rennthier-Tungusen, wie ihre mehrfach erwähnten östlicheren Stammgenossen im Stanowoi-Gebirge und am Ochotskischen Meere, und wie diese an die Bureja, den Ssilimdshi, die Dseja u. s. w. gelangt sind, so haben jene, südwärts vorrückend, den in seinem oberen Laufe dem Stanowoi-Gebirge nahe gelegenen und mit alpinem Charakter versehenen Amur-Strom selbst erreicht und eingenommen[1]). Wir werden auf diese zum Theil in ganz recenter Zeit vor sich gegangene Ausbreitung der Orotschonen später, bei Besprechung der historischen Nachrichten über die Amur-Völker, noch zurückkommen.

Einmal an den Amur gelangt, fanden die Orotschonen an dem von Süden an den oberen Lauf dieses Stromes herantretenden grossen Chingan-Gebirge eine zu noch weiterer Verbreitung nach Süden geeignete Bahn. Auf den waldbewachsenen Gehängen dieses Gebirges und in den Thälern am oberen Laufe der nach Westen zum Argunj und nach Osten zum Nonni hinabströmenden Flüssen streifen sie als Jäger auf kleinen muthigen Pferden, oft in Begleitung einiger sie ausbeutender Dauren umher. So traf sie Kropotkin am Ganj, einem Zufluss des Argunj, am Nomin, der zum Nonni läuft, u. s. w.[2]). Ja, wenn uns Lange erzählt, dass in den finsteren, undurchdringlichen Waldungen des Chingan-Gebirges zwischen dem Chailar u. a. Zuflüssen des Argunj und dem Jalo u. a. Nebenflüssen des Nonni «Tungusen» leben, die kein anderes Lastvieh als das Rennthier haben[3]), so können wir nicht umhin, in ihnen dieselben Orotschonen zu erkennen. So weit nach Süden reicht hier ihr Verbreitungsgebiet. Am Ostabhange des Chingan-Gebirges grenzen sie dabei an die Dauren, die ausser dem Handel mit Ackerbau und Viehzucht sich beschäftigen. Und dort haben denn auch die Orotschonen, gleich den Biraren am Amur, zum Theil eine sesshafte, auf Feldbau begründete Lebensweise angenommen. So passirte Kropotkin, nachdem er im Thale des Gujuil (auch Hujur), der zum Ganj und damit zum Nonni läuft, das erste daurische Dorf hinter sich hatte, weiter abwärts einige Dörfer sesshafter Orotschonen[4]). Damit haben sie aber auch ihren natürlichen Boden eingebüsst: es ist ihre äusserste Südostgrenze, denn am Ganj fand Kropotkin nur noch ackerbauende Chinesen und weiter nach Mergen zu Mandshu[5]).

Fasst man das gesammte Verbreitungsgebiet der Orotschonen in's Auge, so lassen sich manche Analogien mit demjenigen der Manägirn erkennen: gleich diesem erstreckt es sich zu

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1) Aus der erwähnten vielfachen Uebereinstimmung der Orotschonen mit den östlicheren Rennthier-Tungusen des Stanowoi-Gebirges erklären sich die mehrfachen Nachrichten, dass an der Dseja (Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 104, 105) oder gar im Bureja-Gebirge (Гаммонъ, Изъ путешествія замѣчанія встрѣчаемыя опредѣленіи. мѣстн. рр. Амура и Уссури. — Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1862. Кн. I, Отд. Изслѣд. и Матер., стр. 121) ebenfalls «Orotschonen» umherstreifen.

2) П. Кропоткинъ. Поѣздка отъ Забайкалья на Амуръ чрезъ Маньчжурію (Русск. Вѣстн. T. LVII, 1865, Іюнь, стр. 663, 669).

3) Tagebuch einer im Jahre 1738 unter Anführ. des Kanzleir. Lange von Zurochaitu durch die Mongolei nach Peking verrichtet. Karawanenreise, in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr. Bd. II, 1781, p. 170.

4) L. c. p. 670.

5) L. c. p. 671.

beiden Seiten des Amur-Stromes, wobei aber der an dem letzteren selbst gelegene Theil an Raum und Bedeutung weit hinter denjenigen Gebietstheilen zurückbleibt, die sich an den Nebenflüssen desselben, und besonders den linken, ausbreiten. Mit anderen Worten, für die Orotschonen und Manägirn — und ebenso auch für die Biraren — ist der Amur, obgleich er ihre Gebiete ebenfalls durchschneidet, lange nicht eine solche Hauptader des Landes, wie für die an demselben wohnhaften Völker des unteren Amur-Landes. Und der Grund davon ist leicht einzusehen: während diese letzteren Völker ganz vornehmlich vom Fischfang leben, finden jene ihre ergiebigste Existenzquelle in der Jagd, welche sie naturgemäss dem entlegeneren Gebirge zutreibt. Je kleiner aber der Antheil der Orotschonen am Amur-Strome, um so grösser ist ihre Ausbreitung nord- und südwärts von demselben. Wir begegnen ihnen einerseits an den Nebenflüssen des Nonni und also des Sungari, andererseits über das Amur-Land hinaus an den südlichen, rechten Zuflüssen der Lena. Durch diese Verbreitung geben sie gewissermassen ein ethnographisches Bindeglied zwischen dem Amur-Lande und dem angrenzenden Ostsibirien ab. Auch sind sie, trotz des Nertschinsker Traktates, der alles Land östlich vom Argunj und von der Schilka, wo diese die Gorbiza aufnimmt, dem chinesischen Reiche zumaass, am Amur und an seinen linken Zuflüssen faktisch doch unter russischer Botmässigkeit geblieben und haben so der Ausbreitung russischen Einflusses nach dem Amur-Lande manchen Vorschub geleistet.

Damit wäre die Reihe der eigentlichen Amur-Völker zu Ende, wir meinen derjenigen Völker, die ihre Wohnsitze im Laufe des Amur-Stromes von der Mündung bis zur Vereinigung seiner Quellflüsse, der Schilka und des Argunj, und an den vielen Zuflüssen desselben haben, mit Ausnahme jedoch eines Zuflusses, und zwar des mächtigsten von allen, der bei den Mandshu und Chinesen sogar für den Hauptstrom gilt, — des Sungari. Nur seinen untersten Lauf haben wir oben, als einen Theil des Golde-Gebietes, in Betracht gezogen. Zugleich ist auch auf die grosse Bedeutung hingewiesen worden, die er in ethnographischer Beziehung für das ganze untere Amur-Land hat, indem den Völkern des letzteren Alles, was sie bis dahin an Cultur hatten, vom Sungari und nicht vom Sachali oder oberen Amur zugetragen worden ist. Auch nach dem oberen Amur sind die wenigen Culturelemente vom Sungari aus gelangt, nur dass sie ihren Weg dahin nicht diesen ganzen Strom abwärts, sondern zumeist seinen linken Hauptzufluss, den Nonni, aufwärts und von dort nach demjenigen Theile des Amur-Stromes nahmen, den wir bereits oben das mandshu-chinesische Culturstück desselben nannten. Die Sungari-Völker nehmen somit den eigentlichen Amur-Völkern gegenüber eine höhere Stellung, gewissermassen die Stellung von Culturvölkern ein. Dies gilt zunächst und vor Allem von den Chinesen; die zwar kein eigentliches Sungari-Volk, gegenwärtig aber in der Mandshurei fast heimischer als alle anderen Völker sind; ferner, in geringerem Grade von den Mandshu und Dauren, und zuletzt und am entferntesten endlich von den Solonen. Worin die Culturelemente bestehen, die sie den Amur-Völkern zugetragen haben, werden wir später am betreffenden Orte sehen. Genug, dass sie in solchen Beziehungen zu den Amur-Völkern stehen, so wie dass sie ausser dem Sungari auch am Amur

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selbst vielfach festen Fuss gewonnen haben, um uns die Nothwendigkeit an die Hand zu geben, auch ihre Wohnsitze näher kennen zu lernen. Nur erwarte man hier keineswegs eine nach allen Seiten detaillirte Abgrenzung derselben, da es uns zur genauen Ermittelung der Völkergrenzen in diesem unter chinesischer Herrschaft verbliebenen und darum immer nur wenig und schwer zugänglichen Theile der Mandshurei noch sehr an eingehenden und zuverlässigen Nachrichten fehlt, und dieser Mangel um so empfindlicher ist, als andererseits die genannten Völker durch historische Ereignisse und politische Vorgänge seitens der chinesischen Regierung, wie durch die wachsende Einwanderung aus China ziemlich bunt durcheinander gewürfelt worden sind.

Am unbestimmtesten und ungenügendsten lauten die Nachrichten über die Wohnsitze der **Solonen**[1]). Wir haben nicht diejenigen zahlreichen Glieder dieses Volkes im Auge, die, sei es als Beamte, sei es als Soldaten des Achtbannerheeres, im direkten Dienste der chinesischen Regierung stehen: diese können natürlich überall vorkommen, wo es chinesische Verwaltungskörper oder Truppen giebt, in den Städten am Sungari und Amur ebensowohl wie in Peking, in der Mongolei oder am Ili. Hier kann nur von den nicht im Dienste befindlichen, ihrem Gewerbe, sei es Ackerbau, Viehzucht, Jagd oder Handel, frei nachlebenden Solonen die Rede sein, die der Regierung bloss einen jährlichen Tribut zu entrichten haben und also, nach Palladij, «Butcha-Solonen» sind oder in die Kategorie der «Butchani» (Tributpflichtigen) gehören[2]). Darin stimmen alle Nachrichten überein, dass die Solonen am Nonni ihre Wohnsitze haben; wo und wie weit aber an demselben ihr Gebiet sich erstreckt, ist aus ihnen kaum zu ermitteln, zumal sie einander mehrfach widersprechen. Die Angaben der alten französischen Missionäre lauten nur sehr allgemein[3]). Auf den Karten von d'Anville[4]) und nach ihm auch von Grosier[5]) nehmen die Solonen das rechte, die Dauren das linke Ufer des Nonni ein. Unbestimmter giebt Fischer an, der Fluss Naun oder Nonni bilde die Grenze zwischen beiden[6]). In Iakinf's statistischer Beschreibung des Chinesischen Reiches heisst es einmal, dass von den beiden Gebirgsketten, welche den Lauf des Nonni begleiten, die östliche durch das Land der Solonen, die westliche durch dasjenige der Dauren laufe[7]); an zwei anderen Stellen desselben Werkes werden hingegen

1) Ein für allemal sei vermerkt, dass das *s* in diesem Namen hart ist und dass derselbe daher nach der hier angenommenen Weise «Ssolonen» geschrieben werden müsste, was nur der Kürze wegen unterbleibt.

2) Архимандр. Палладій, Лорисп. записки о пути отъ Пекина до Благовѣщенска, чрезъ Маньчжурію, въ 1870 г. (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По отд. Геогр. T. III, 1869, стр. 428, 433, 439).

3) Da heisst es einmal, dass die dritte Provinz oder das dritte Gouvernement der chinesischen Tartarei, mit der Hauptstadt Taitsikar, vom Nonni durchströmt und von Mandshu, Solonen und Dauren (Tagnri) bewohnt werde (Du Halde, Descripti. géogr., histor., chronol., polit. et phys. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise. Paris 1735, T. IV, p. 15). Sehr Viele aus dem Volke der Solon-tatse sollen namentlich in Nierguï wohnen, einem grossen, von Taitsikar wie von Morgen wenig entfernten und also wohl am Nonni gelegenen Dorfe (Du Halde, l. c. p. 17). An einer anderen Stelle (l. c. p. 36) giebt Du Halde nach Auszügen aus Gerbillon noch allgemeiner an, dass die «Provinz Solons von der Einmündung des Argunj in den Amur längs diesem letzteren bis etwa nach Ninguta (am Churcha, einem Nebenfluss des Sungari) sich erstrecke.

4) Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet. La Haye 1737, № 1, 18, 23.

5) Descripti. génér. de la Chine, Paris 1787, T. I.

6) Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte, St. Petersburg 1768, Bd. I, p. 468, Anm. 18.

7) Іакинфъ, Статист. Опис. Китайск. Имп. С.-Петербургъ, T. II, стр. 3.

die Solonen als Bewohner des rechten, die Dauren als diejenigen des linken Nonni-Ufers angegeben [1]). Neueren Nachrichten zufolge ist jedoch keine dieser Angaben richtig und wohnen die Solonen an beiden Ufern des Nonni, und zwar von etwas oberhalb der Stadt Tsitsikar (dem ehemaligen Naun-choton) an, wo ihre südlichen Grenznachbaren, die Dauren abbrechen, aufwärts [2]).

So lässt sich die Südgrenze des Solonen-Gebietes noch einigermassen ermitteln. Hinsichtlich seiner Nordgrenze bleiben wir aber noch in völliger Ungewissheit. Bei Mergen verliess der Archimandrit Palladij, dem wir jene Nachricht über die Wohnsitze der Solonen verdanken, den Nonni, um über das Gebirge Ilchuri-alin an den Amur, nach Aigun und Blagoweschtschensk zu gehen. In jenem Theile des Nonni-Laufes sind die Solonen sesshafte Ackerbauer; ausserdem soll aber ein Theil dieses Volkes auch das Nomadenleben der Jäger führen. Diesen dürfte man wohl in den Gebirgen am oberen Nonni und seinen Zuflüssen begegnen. Aber wie verläuft dort ihre Grenze gegen die Manägirn der Komar-Zuflüsse, die Dauren des oberen Komar-Laufes und die Orotschonen des Chingan-Gebirges? Und wie verhalten sich überhaupt diese Völker zu einander? So lange wir das nicht wissen, lassen sich bei gleicher Lebensweise der Völker in den Angaben flüchtiger Reisenden leicht auch manche Verwechselungen erwarten, und wie die ackerbauenden Solonen für Dauren oder umgekehrt diese für jene, so können die umherstreifenden, von der Jagd lebenden hie und da für Manägirn oder Orotschonen — wo die letzteren, wie im Chingan-Gebirge, nicht des Rennthieres, sondern des Pferdes sich bedienen — oder umgekehrt diese für jene genommen worden sein. Das ist um so eher möglich, als manche Nachrichten nur auf den Angaben der Eingeborenen beruhen. Ich will nur auf ein paar Möglichkeiten der Art aufmerksam machen. Als ich bei den Golde von Sselgako am Amur, stromaufwärts gegangen, die ersten Pferde sah, wurde mir gesagt, sie rührten, gleich wie auch die Pferde am Ussuri, von den Solonen her, denen ich am oberen Amur begegnen würde. Letzteres ist nun zwar nicht geschehen, wohl aber lernte ich dort die Manägirn als Pferdehändler kennen, die ihre Waare oft weit stromabwärts bringen. Entweder lag hier also eine Verwechselung der Manägirn mit den Solonen, oder aber eine Unkenntniss der Wohnsitze dieser letzteren vor. Sollte nicht vielleicht auch ein Theil jener oben erwähnten Orotschonen, welche als berittene Jäger im Chingan-Gebirge bis weit nach Süden hinab umherstreifen sollen, Solonen sein? Wie nahe andererseits die Möglichkeit einer Verwechselung der letzteren mit den Dauren liegt, möge man z. B. aus Nachrichten wie die folgende ersehen. Lange berichtet, am Bache Tynyken oder Tynysken, einem Zuflusse des Chailar, zugleich mit Mongoleh auch Solonen angetroffen zu haben, welche aus der Naun-Gegend hingekommen seien, und fügt dabei zur Erklärung, was man unter «Solonen» zu verstehen habe, hinzu: «daurische Tungusen» [3]), was jedoch, streng genommen, nur eine Umschreibung für «Dauren» wäre, da diese ebenfalls zum Tungusen-Stamm gehören. Uebrigens erfahren wir aus dieser und anderen Nachrichten, dass die Solonen

1) L. c. p. 8 und p. 29, Anm. *
2) Palladij, l. c. p. 434.
3) Tagebuch einer im Jahre 1736 von Zurcheitu durch die Mongolei nach Peking verrichteten Karawanenreise (Pallas' Neue Nord. Beytr. Bd. II, 1781, p. 164).

ausser dem Nonni, wo sie in compakterer Menge wohnen, auch in anderen Theilen des Amur- und Sungari-Landes anzutreffen sind. Ich meine wiederum nicht als Beamten oder Soldaten im chinesischen Dienste, sondern als gewerb- und namentlich handeltreibende Leute. So ist oben schon des Handels mit Pferden gedacht worden, den sie den Amur abwärts und nach dem Ussuri betreiben sollen. Zu den Biraren im Bureja-Gebirge sollen allwinterlich ausser Dauren auch Solonen kommen, die letzteren allerdings zumeist als Beamten, die ersteren als Kaufleute[1]). Middendorff erzählten die russischen Tungusen, dass wenn ihnen von der Verwaltung zu Jakutsk längere Zeit hindurch kein Pulver abgelassen worden, sie solches zu geringem Preise von den «Solorns» bezögen. Er deutet zwar diese Angabe entweder auf einen Handelsplatz an einem der oberhalb Albasin in den Amur einfallenden Flüsschen, oder aber auf Kosaken, die aus Transbaikalien hinkämen, und meint demnach, dass es transbaikalisches Pulver sei[2]). Allein aus der ganzen Erzählung der Tungusen, wie sie Middendorff wiedergiebt, geht unzweifelhaft hervor, dass die «Solorns» kein Ort, sondern ein Volk sind, und wir werden nicht irren, wenn wir in denselben handeltreibende Solonen erkennen. Dies ist um so wahrscheinlicher, als die Solonen, bei dem unter allen Sungari-Völkern allgemeinen Gebrauche von chinesischen Luntengewehren[3]), leicht auch grössere Pulvervorräthe haben können, während die aus Sibirien in das Amur-Land hinüberstreifenden Jäger oder Kosaken damit nur kärglich versehen zu sein pflegen und den geringen, ihnen selbst so unentbehrlichen Vorrath gewiss nicht verkaufen dürften, geschweige denn gegen einen geringen Preis. Mögen sich übrigens ausser den oben erwähnten Punkten noch manche andere im Amur- und Sungari-Lande finden, wo sich beständig oder auch nur zeitweilig Solonen aufhalten, immer bleibt ihr gesammtes Verbreitungsgebiet (von den im Dienste stehenden natürlich wiederum abgesehen) nur ein sehr geringes, namentlich im Vergleich zu demjenigen ihrer unmittelbaren Grenznachbaren, der Dauren.

Kein Volk im gesammten Amur-Lande, vielleicht mit alleiniger Ausnahme der Chinesen, hat so zerstreute Wohnsitze wie die **Dauren**. Wir haben ihrer daher auch schon zu wiederholten Malen als theilweiser Grenznachbaren der Biraren, Manägirn, Orotschonen und Solonen erwähnen müssen. Gleich wie bei den letzteren, müssen wir auch bei den Dauren, um uns einen annähernden Begriff von ihrer Ausbreitung im Amur-Lande zu bilden, von den im unmittelbaren Dienste der chinesischen Regierung stehenden Gliedern dieses Volkes absehen und nur die nicht im Dienste befindlichen, tributpflichtigen (Butchani) im Auge behalten. Mit am compaktesten scheinen die Dauren noch am Nonni und einigen seiner Zuflüsse zu wohnen. Dort, zumal in der Gegend

1) Radde, im Bern. Hun. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 9. XXIII, 1858, Отд. I, стр. 31, Прежде.

2) Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Norden u. Osten Sibiriens, Bd. IV, p. 1862, 1864.

3) A. a. O., p. 1511, spricht Middendorff auch selbst von den Solorn-Büchsen, die grossen Kalibers waren, theurer als die Erbsrohre und, wenn gut bezahlt, bis 200 R. das Stück geschätzt wurden, — offenbar chinesische Luntengewehre.

von Tsitsikar (Nam-chuton), lernten sie schon unsere älteren Reisenden, Ysbrants Ides, Lange u. A. kennen[1]). Ein neuerer Reisender, Barabasch, giebt namentlich den Theil des Nonni von Tsitsikar abwärts bis Mocholo als das Gebiet der Dauren an: es ist zwar nur eine kurze Strecke (von etwa 35 Werst), allein diese soll ausschliesslich von grossen daurischen Dörfern eingenommen sein[2]). Nach Norden grenzen also die Dauren am Nonni an die Solonen. Nach Süden beginnt von Mocholo abwärts das Gebiet eines Mongolen-Stammes, und zwar, nach dem Archimandrit Palladij, des Korloss-Aimak[3]), der sich den ganzen unteren Nonni hinab und am Sungari von Da-chutun bis zur Stadt Petune (oder Bodune) hinzieht. Diesen Mongolen sind am Nonni[4]) sowohl wie besonders am Sungari Dauren und Chinesen untermischt[5]), und beide und zumal die letzteren gewinnen den Mongolen beständig mehr und mehr Terrain ab. Denn obwohl diese von der chinesischen Regierung zum Ackerbau an den genannten Localitäten angesiedelt wurden[6]), so entspricht diese Beschäftigung und die damit verbundene sesshafte Lebensweise doch nicht ihrem angeborenen Nomadensinne. Es sind daher dort nur kleine Fehlwirthschaften, die von den Mongolen, zumeist auch mit Hülfe chinesischer Arbeiter, betrieben werden: das Meiste haben die Chinesen durch Pacht oder Kauf an sich zu bringen gewusst, und unter ihrem Einfluss wandeln sich auch die Mongolen nach Sprache und Sitte meistens in Chinesen um[7]). Nur weiter westwärts ab vom unteren Nonni und Sungari, wo reine Steppe sich ausbreitet und die Mongolen ihr gewohntes Nomadenleben führen[8]), kann sich auch ihre Eigenart erhalten. So dringt dort, wo die innerasiatische Steppe in das Amur-Land vorspringt, auch der in dieser Naturform besonders heimische Volksstamm in dasselbe vor, ohne jedoch in dem Stromlande selbst festen Fuss fassen zu können. Die Mongolen bleiben dem Amur-Lande Fremdlinge, und daher können wir hier, bei Betrachtung der Amur-Völker, mit diesen wenigen gelegentlichen Bemerkungen füglich über dieselben hinweggehen.

Wie einen Theil des Nonni, so bewohnen die Dauren auch die rechten, vom Chingan-Gebirge kommenden Zuflüsse desselben, den Jalo[9]), den Gujuil[10]) u. a., vielfach mit ackerbauenden Chinesen untermischt. Wir haben sie dort bereits am Ostfusse des Chingan-Gebirges als die Nachbaren der unter ihrem Einfluss, oft in ihrem Dienste stehenden Orotschonen kennen gelernt. Wie weit sie sich aber dabei nordwärts erstrecken und wo und wie sie an die Solonen grenzen, ist bisher unbekannt. Reicht etwa ihr Gebiet continuirlich, wenn auch mit sparsamer Bevölkerung, längs dem Ostabhange des Chingan-Gebirges bis zu den Komar-Quellen? oder wird es am oberen Nonni und seinen Zuflüssen durch Solonen unterbrochen? oder kommen endlich auf

1) Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China. Amsterdam 1704, p. 70. Lange, l. c. p. 173—178. S. auch Ritter, Asien, Bd. II, p. 282.

2) Ф. Барабашъ, Сунгарійск. экспед. 1873 г. (Восп. наук Сборн., 1874, № 1, стр. 228).

3) Oder Korloss-Horde (Palladij, l. c. p. 111).

4) Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongol. Völkersch. St. Petersburg, Bd. I, p. 173.

5) Barabasch, l. c.

6) Pallas, l. c.

7) Palladij, l. c. p. 111, 123.

8) Barabasch, l. c.

9) Ritter, Asien, Bd. I, p. 118; nach Ysbrants Ides und Lange.

10) Nach Kropotkin (s. oben p. 48).

der letzteren Strecke vielleicht beide Völker durcheinander vor? Jedenfalls lernen wir nach dem mittleren Nonni am Komar eine zweite Gegend kennen, in welcher eine compaktere daurische Bevölkerung ihren Sitz hat. Und zwar nehmen die Dauren den oberen und mittleren Lauf dieses Flusses ein, während der untere den Manägirn gehört[1].

Die dritte Localität endlich, wo uns die Dauren in grösserer Verdichtung begegnen, liegt am mittleren Amur, zwischen den Antheilen der Biraren und Manägirn an demselben oder von etwas oberhalb der Bureja- bis zur Dseja-Mündung. Während aber am Komar die Dauren, so weit ihre Grenzen reichen, das Land allein inne haben, theilen sie es am Amur mit den Mandshu und Chinesen. Ihre Wohnsitze liegen dort mit denen der beiden letzteren Völker bunt durcheinander, und zwar gehört bald ein ganzes Dorf nur einem Volke an, bald haben auch zwei oder jedes von ihnen ihre respectiven Antheile an demselben. Bei der grossen Zahl dieser Dörfer, die, von weiten Aeckern umgeben, längs den beiden Ufern des Stromes sich hinziehen und von denen ich manche nur aus der Ferne gesehen habe, war es mir nicht immer möglich zu erfahren, welcher Nationalität sie angehörten. Das äusserste Dorf der Dauren nach Osten ist das uns bereits bekannte Chormoddin, an der unmittelbaren Grenze des Biraren-Gebietes am Amur gelegen[2]. Welches ihr äusserstes Dorf nach Westen ist, weiss ich nicht, doch muss es noch unterhalb der Stadt Aigun liegen, da oberhalb desselben, zum wenigsten am rechten Amur-Ufer, nur Mandshu-Dörfer sich befinden. Die grossen daurischen Dörfer Dungtscheba und Berotochso am linken Amur-Ufer liegen auch noch unterhalb Aigun, und vielleicht ist das letztere auch das äusserste nach Westen. Ueberhaupt dürften die Dauren mehr in der östlichen, die Mandshu mehr in der westlichen Hälfte dieses von den drei genannten Völkern durcheinander bewohnten Gebietes concentrirt sein. Dabei scheinen sie jedoch das Land alle drei in nahezu gleichem Verhältniss einzunehmen. Nannten wir daher oben diesen Theil des Amur-Stromes das mandshu-chinesische Culturstück desselben, so geschah es sowohl der Kürze wegen, als auch weil die Mandshu und Chinesen in politischer und historischer Beziehung eine wichtigere Rolle als die Dauren spielen; richtiger aber wäre für dasselbe die Bezeichnung dauro-mandshu-chinesisches Stück. Und das um so mehr, als die Dauren für das mittlere und obere Amur-Land durch ihre vielfachen Handelsbeziehungen zu dessen Völkern eine immerhin nicht zu unterschätzende culturhistorische Bedeutung haben.

Ausser den drei bezeichneten Gebieten, am Nonni, am Komar und am mittleren Amur, wo die Dauren in compakterer Menge zusammen wohnen, sind sie in kleineren Partien oder einzeln durch das ganze obere und mittlere Amur-Land anzutreffen. Denn sie sind es besonders, welche als unternehmende, gewinnsüchtige Händler chinesische, mandshucische oder auch ihre eigene

1) S. oben p. 43.

2) Ganz irrthümlich hat Gerstfeldt (Очерки сем. жит. Амура. — Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. XX, 1857, Отд. II, стр. 313) für die gesammte Bevölkerung zwischen dem Komar und besonders der Dseja und dem Usuri nur die eine Bezeichnung «Dauren», indem er meint, dass diese die Hauptmasse derselben bilden. Dabei will er mit diesem Namen nicht einmal den Begriff eines besonderen Volksstammes verbinden. Die Bezeichnungen Biraren, Golde kommen bei ihm gar nicht vor.

Waare zu den Biraren, Manägirn und Orotschonen tragen, um sie gegen deren Jagdausbeuten zu vertauschen. Bei Besprechung der Verbreitungsgebiete der genannten Völker haben wir dieser daurischen Kaufleute, die sich bald ständig, bald nur zeitweilig an den verschiedensten Punkten unter ihnen aufhalten, oftmals erwähnt. Vom mittleren Nonni und seinen Zuflüssen gehen sie den im Chingan-Gebirge umherstreifenden Orotschonen nach; aus ihren Wohnsitzen am Sungari ziehen sie diesen Strom abwärts und seine linken Zuflüsse aufwärts, um über das Gebirge zu den Biraren am U und anderen rechten Nebenflüssen des Amur zu gelangen; die daurischen Dörfer am mittleren Amur entsenden die zahlreichen Händler, die im ganzen Biraren-Gebiet an der Bureja und ihren Zuflüssen bis in das Gebirge hinauf zu finden sind, und vom Komar endlich kommen die daurischen Handelsleute, die mit den Manägirn sowohl am oberen Amur, als besonders auch an der Dseja und deren Zuflüssen ihre Geschäfte betreiben. Wir haben oben bereits gesehen, dass sie ehemals sogar bis nach Inkanj den Ssilimdshi hinauf kamen[1]), sowie dass sie noch jetzt bei ihrer Ausbreitung nach Norden an vielen Punkten des Bureja- und des Dseja-Gebietes mit den zu gleichen Zwecken von Norden herabkommenden Jakuten zusammentreffen. Nur eine Grenze scheint ihnen im Amur-Lande von der chinesischen Regierung selbst gesetzt zu sein: die Sungari-Mündung überschreiten sie nicht, und im unteren Amur-Lande, wo ihrem Handelstriebe ein weites Feld offen stände, sind sie nicht anzutreffen. In dieser Beziehung treten sie vor den ähnlich begabten, aber begünstigteren Chinesen zurück.

So haben die Dauren, ungleich allen bisher von uns betrachteten Völkern, kein einheitliches, zusammenhängendes Verbreitungsgebiet, sondern treten uns einerseits an mehreren Orten in grösserer Verdichtung und andererseits in vereinzelter Weise, unter fremden Völkern auf weitem Raume zerstreut entgegen, — eine Erscheinung, die unwillkürlich daran mahnt, dass sie gegenwärtig im Amur-Lande nicht in ihrer ursprünglichen, stetig ihnen verbliebenen Heimath, sondern nur auf unlängst errungenem, secundärem Boden sich befinden dürften. Und das lehrt, wie wir sehen werden, auch die Geschichte.

Gehören die Dauren, trotz ihrer zerstreuten Wohnsitze, ihrer gesammten Verbreitung nach dem Amur-Lande an, so ist dies mit dem unserer Betrachtung noch übrig gebliebenen letzten und historisch wichtigsten der Sungari-Völker, den **Mandshu**, keineswegs mehr der Fall. Zur Herrschaft über das Chinesische Reich gelangt, haben sie sich auch weit über die Grenzen ihrer ursprünglichen Heimath verbreitet. Uns liegt es fern, den historischen Gang und den ganzen Umfang ihrer Ausbreitung verfolgen zu wollen, wir haben hier nur ihre Wohnsitze im Amur-Lande näher kennen zu lernen.

Bekanntlich ist das zwischen dem Amur und den weissen Bergen (Schan-alin) gelegene, vom Sungari und seinen Zuflüssen durchströmte Land die eigentliche Mandshurei, die Heimath der mehrfachen, nahe verwandten Stämme, aus deren Vereinigung das Volk der Mandshu hervor-

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1) Nach Middendorff; s. oben p. 38.

ging [1]). Blieb es auch später, nachdem die Mandshu, siegreich vorrückend, die Herrschaft über ganz China gewonnen hatten, zusammen mit der zuerst eroberten Provinz Liao-tung, welche ihnen bald zur zweiten Heimath wurde, stets das bei den Herrschern besonders beliebte und von ihnen bevorzugte Mandshu-Land, so legten jene Ereignisse doch den Grund dazu, dass es diese Bezeichnung gegenwärtig kaum mehr beanspruchen darf. Und dies aus dem Grunde, weil es in demselben gegenwärtig fast keine Mandshu mehr giebt. Die bevorzugte Stellung, die sie in dem neueroberten Lande fanden, bewog schon unter Kaiser Kang-hi — und wohl auch später — viele Mandshu ihre Heimath zu verlassen und nach Peking und anderen Orten China's zu ziehen [2]). Andererseits eröffnete sich auch den Chinesen die Möglichkeit, aus ihrem übervölkerten Lande nach der nunmehr zu einer Provinz ihres Reiches gewordenen Mandshurei auszuwandern [3]). Es begann die Colonisation der Mandshurei durch die Chinesen, die, stetig und unablässig betrieben, bald zu kolossalen Dimensionen anwuchs und den Mandshu verhängnissvoll wurde. Der praktische, fleissige, betriebsame Sinn der Chinesen, ihre Ueberlegenheit in allen Gewerben und Hantirungen, ihre Zähigkeit und Ausdauer sicherten ihnen den Sieg über die trägen, arbeitsscheuen, unwissenden und doch im Bewusstsein ihrer Herrschaft stolzen und vornehmthuenden Mandshu. Bald waren Ackerbau und Viehzucht, alle ländlichen und städtischen Gewerbe, aller Handel und Wandel in den Händen der Chinesen, während die Mandshu in demselben Maasse mehr und mehr in Armuth und Abhängigkeit von ihnen geriethen und zu blossen Handlangern derselben oder gar zu Proletariern herabsanken. Getreu den Sitten und Ueberlieferungen ihrer Heimath, richteten die Chinesen in jedem irgend erheblichen Dorfe aus eigenen Mitteln Schulen ein, in denen das Mandshu natürlich keinen Eingang fand, während für mandshurische Schulen nur die Regierung und kaum in den wenigen Städten sorgte [4]). Dadurch wurde auch die mandshurische Jugend von frühe an der chinesischen Sprache, Sitte und Anschauung gewonnen. Zu alledem trugen auch manche Maassregeln der Regierung dazu bei, die Mandshu

1) Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris 1823, pag. 291. J. H. Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey, Göttingen, Bd. I, 1830, pag. 233 ff., u. A.

2) Gerbillon; vrgl. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, T. IV, p. 36.

3) Plath (Die Völker der Mandschurey, Bd. II, 1831, p. 942) meint, dass so ungern die chinesischen Kaiser der Mandshu-Dynastie die Auswanderungen aus China sahen, diejenige nach Norden, in die Mandshurei, doch nie verboten gewesen, ja vielmehr immer von ihnen begünstigt worden sei. Aehnlich spricht sich der Archimandrit Palladij aus (Лорнетъ, зап. etc. l. c. p. 373). Nach Huc hingegen ist bis zum Kaiser Tao-kuan das Betreten der Sungari-Gegenden und besonders der Anbau des Landes in denselben den Chinesen untersagt gewesen; erst zu Anfang der Regierung dieses Kaisers, der 1820 den Thron bestieg, wurde dieses Verbot aufgehoben und, um dem Reichsschatz aufzuhelfen, der Verkauf von Ländereien auch an Chinesen gestattet, welche nunmehr wie Raubvögel über das Sungari-Land herfielen (Huc, Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine pend. les années 1844—1846, Paris 1850, T. I, p. 150). Da jedoch alles Land in der Mandshurei in die Hände der Chinesen überzugehen drohte, verbot die Regierung nachmals die fernere Uebersiedelung ackerbauender Chinesen nach der Mandshurei, — ein Verbot, das im Geheimen überschritten wurde und daher 1844 wieder erneuert werden musste. (Н. Захаровъ, Новенькая сибирь въ Китаѣ. — Трудъ членовъ Россійской Духовной миссіи въ Пекинѣ, Т. II, С. Петерб. 1853, стр. 65). Ob es noch besteht, weiss ich nicht; sollte es aber auch bestehen, so wird es jedenfalls umgangen.

4) Варабашъ, Сунгар. экспед. 1872 г. (Военный Сборн. 1874, № 2, Отд. I, стр. 325).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

in die Reihen der Chinesen zu treiben. So lange den letzteren der Erwerb von Ländereien in der Mandshurei untersagt war, wussten sie sich ihrer in der Art zu bemächtigen, dass der nominelle Besitz, aber damit zugleich auch die Abgabenpflicht für denselben auf Seiten der Mandshu blieb [1]). Diese sind auch vor Allen zum Dienste im Achtbannerheer berechtigt und verpflichtet, während die Chinesen aus demselben ausgeschlossen sind [2]). Nach einem Reichsgesetz muss nun in jedem der acht Banner alle drei Jahre eine Zählung der Mandshu stattfinden und werden diejenigen, die sich dabei nicht melden, um ihre Namen in die Rollen eintragen zu lassen, als aus der Mandshu-Nation ausgeschieden betrachtet. Da lag es denn nahe, dass alle diejenigen Mandshu, welche aus Armuth oder Trägheit nach einer Befreiung von den Abgaben und dem Militärdienst strebten, diesen Zählungen fern blieben und so in die Reihen der Chinesen traten, deren Sprache, Sitten und Gebräuche sie nunmehr definitiv zu den ihrigen machten [3]). Dass endlich durch häufige Mischehen die physischen Differenzen zwischen den Mandshu und Chinesen sich mehr und mehr verwischten [4]), versteht sich von selbst. So hat es kommen können, dass die Mandshu, die Eroberer und Beherrscher von China, ihrer Nationalität mehr und mehr verlustig gehen und von dem eroberten Volke assimilirt und verschlungen werden. Ganz übereinstimmend schildern uns diesen rasch sich vollziehenden Prozess des Aufgehens der Mandshu in der chinesischen Nationalität und des Verschwindens ihres Idiomes aus der Zahl der lebenden Sprachen alle Reisenden, welche verschiedene Theile der Mandshurei besucht haben. Man kann gegenwärtig, sagt Huc, die Mandshurei bis an den Amur durchstreifen, überall ist es, als ob man in einer Provinz China's reiste, so vollständig hat sich dort alle Localfärbung verwischt. Mit Ausnahme einiger Nomaden [5]), spricht Niemand mehr mandshurisch, und vielleicht wäre jetzt keine Spur mehr von dieser schönen Sprache nachgeblieben, wenn die Kaiser Kang-hi und Kien-lung ihr nicht unvergängliche Denkmäler gesetzt hätten [6]). Hatte Du Halde von der durch die Jesuiten auf Befehl des Kaisers Kang-hi entworfenen Karte der Mandshurei gesagt, dass die chinesischen Bezeichnungen auf derselben aus dem Grunde weggelassen wären, weil es für einen Reisenden in der Mandshurei von keinem Nutzen sein könne, wenn er z. B. wüsste, dass der Sachali-ula von den Chinesen Hei-long-kiang genannt werde, da er es dort nicht mit Chinesen, sondern mit Mandshu zu thun habe, die jenen chinesischen Namen vielleicht nie gehört hätten, so sei dies, meint Huc, vielleicht zu Kang-hi's Zeiten richtig gewesen, jetzt aber gelte das Gegentheil [7]). Man könnte meinen, dass Huc über die Mandshurei

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1) Huc, Souv. etc. T. I, p. 149.

2) Mit Ausnahme, heisst es, derjenigen, die gleich bei der Eroberung des Reiches die Partei der Mandshu ergriffen hatten (Plath, l. c. p. 737), oder die mit den letzteren aus der Mandshurei gekommen waren (Latimore, Сравнительн. Опис. Китайск. Имперр. С. Петерб., 1842, ч. II, стр. 231) und deren Nachkommen, womit faktisch alle später nach der Mandshurei eingewanderten Chinesen aus dem Heere ausgeschlossen blieben.

3) Huc, l. c. p. 150.

4) Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London 1870, Vol. II, p. 60.

5) Huc rechnet die Solonen ebenfalls zu den Mandshu und meint, dass bei ihnen der Mandshu-Typus sich noch rein erhalten habe.

6) Huc, l. c. p. 151.

7) Huc, l. c. p. 181.

und die Mandshu etwas aus der Ferne urtheilte, — darnach vielleicht, was er in China, in der Mongolei und höchstens an den Südgrenzen der Mandshurei gesehen und gehört hatte. Allein ganz ähnlich lauten auch die Berichte solcher Reisenden, die tiefer in dieses Land eingedrungen sind. Die südliche Mandshurei, die Provinz Liao-tung, ist nach Fleming[1]), Richthofen[2]), Williamson[3]), selbst ihre Hauptstadt Mukden nicht ausgenommen, rein chinesisch: Mandshu sind dort nicht mehr zu finden und die Mandshu-Sprache ist so gut wie ausgestorben, kaum wird sie noch von Einzelnen verstanden. Williamson meint, dass ein grosser Theil der Mandshu von dort nach Norden, in das Sungari-Land — die centrale Mandshurei, wie er es nennt, — ausgewandert, ein anderer Theil aber, der sich zu den Chinesen an manchen Orten wie 1 zu 3, an anderen auch wie 1 zu 10 verhalte, in Liao-tung verblieben sei und von den Chinesen mehr und mehr assimilirt werde. Nach Richthofen hingegen hätte kein Verdrängen der Mandshu durch die Chinesen, sondern nur eine Amalgamirung beider stattgefunden, der Art jedoch, dass die Mandshu-Sprache der chinesischen Platz gemacht habe. Nur in den Dörfern der Provinz Kirin[4]), sagt er, soll das Mandshu noch als lebende Sprache existiren. Nach den direkten Nachrichten aus dem Sungari-Lande ist aber auch dies kaum noch der Fall. Williamson nennt auch die centrale Mandshurei nur eine unmittelbare Fortsetzung von China, indem auch dort die Mandshu in Sprache, Sitten, Kleidung, Manieren den Chinesen blindlings folgen und alles Nationale von Kindheit an abthun[5]). Giebt die Sprache, sagt Barabasch, das Kennzeichen der Nationalität ab, so lassen sich unter den Anwohnern des Sungari, Nonni und Churcha vier Völker, Chinesen, Mongolen, Dauren und Golde, unterscheiden, — Mandshu, d. h. Leute die mandshurisch sprechen, trifft man nicht, und zwar hat dies nicht bloss für die Dörfer, sondern auch für die Städte, diese Nester mandshurischen Beamtenthums, seine Richtigkeit. Und dies aus dem Grunde, weil die Chinesen, die seit der Thronbesteigung der jetzigen Dynastie die Mandshurei zu überfluthen begannen, das herrschende Volk ganz in Chinesen zu verwandeln gewusst haben[6]). So leicht die Söhne des himmlischen Reiches alle Sprachen erlernen und die ihnen scheinbar unmöglichen fremden Worte radebrechen, eine Sprache ist aus ihrem Lexikon als unnütz verbannt, — die mandshurische, bemerkt ebenfalls nach seinen Erfahrungen in der Mandshurei der Archimandrit Palladij[7]). Es ist demnach auch die oben angeführte Bemerkung Huc's über die gegenwärtig in der Mandshurei gebräuchlichen chinesischen Ortsnamen zum grossen Theil richtig. Noch neuerdings berichtete z. B. Barabasch, dass der auf allen unseren Karten dieses Landes übliche mandshurische Name «Churcha» für den grossen Fluss, an welchem die Stadt Ninguta liegt, in der Mandshurei selbst ganz unbekannt sei und der Fluss hingegen all-

1) Travels on Koreschork in Mantchu Tartary. London 1863, p. 344.

2) Reise durch Liao-tung und Pe-tschili nach Peking, Mai—Juli 1869 (Petermann, Geograph. Mittheil. 1870, p. 371). Desselben, Schreiben über seine Reisen zur Grenze von Korea und in der Prov. Hu-nan (Zeitschrift der Gesellsch. für Erdk. zu Berlin, Bd. V. p. 319, 320).

3) Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London 1870, Vol. II, p. 39.

4) Oder Girin, also im Sungari-Lande.

5) Williamson, l. c. p. 39, 60.

6) Barabasch, l. c. p. 322.

7) L. c. p. 396.

gemein den chinesischen Namen «Mudan-dsan» trage[1]). So ist das weite Gebiet am Sungari und seinen Zuflüssen, die eigentliche Mandshurei, nur noch nominell mandshurisch.

Nicht ganz so schlimm sieht es mit den Mandshu in anderen Theilen des Amur-Landes aus, obwohl dies nur später von ihnen occupirte Gebiete sind. Durch Mongolen und Dauren von dem mandshu-chinesischen Gebiet am Sungari getrennt, wohnen die Mandshu am Nonni oberhalb Tsitsikar. Es sind zumeist, etwa zu $^{8}/_{10}$, sogenannte «Itschä-Mandshu» (»neue Mandshu»), d. h. Nachkommen solcher Geschlechter, die ursprünglich im östlichen Theile der Provinz Girin gewohnt haben und von dem Begründer der jetzigen Dynastie (Tai-tsu) aus dem Ussuri-Lande an den Nonni versetzt worden sind[2]). Diese sollen unter einander noch mandshurisch, mit Anderen aber chinesisch sprechen[3]). Die reinere Erhaltung ihrer Nationalität verdanken sie ohne Zweifel ihren entlegeneren und von den Chinesen des Sungari-Gebietes durch andere Völker getrennten Wohnsitzen. Doch haben sich auch unter ihnen bereits Chinesen niedergelassen, und so ist auch ihre Entnationalisirung nur eine Frage der Zeit.

Dasselbe gilt auch von dem dritten Mandshu-Gebiet, demjenigen am mittleren Amur, im ofterwähnten mandshu-chinesischen Culturstück desselben. Zwar wohnen sie auch dort sowohl mit Dauren, als auch mit den ihrer Nationalität so verhängnissvollen Chinesen durcheinander, allein noch scheint die Zahl der letzteren nicht genügend gewesen zu sein, um das Mandshu-Element so weit zu unterdrücken, wie es am Sungari und Churcha geschehen ist. Vielleicht ist dabei auch der Umstand zu berücksichtigen, dass sowohl dieser Theil des Amur-Stromes, wie der Nonni Verbannungsgegenden sind und also zum grossen Theil nur schlechtere chinesische Elemente erhalten, die ihrer Nationalität nicht so bald den Einfluss und die Geltung verschaffen können, welche die freien Ansiedler so leicht gewinnen. Ich habe wenigstens auf der bezeichneten Strecke am Amur beiderseits manche grosse Dörfer gesehen, die angeblich noch rein mandshurisch waren, daneben aber allerdings auch welche mit gemischter, mandshu-chinesischer Bevölkerung. Auch mag die Stadt Aigun oder Aicho-choton, aus den oben angeführten Gründen, weniger chinesische

1) Barabasch, l. c. p. 131, Anmerk. Der koreanische Missionar Kimai-Kim (Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évêque de Bellne etc. — Nouv. Annales des Voyages, V-e Sér. T. IX, 1847 (T. I), p. 69) nennt seinen chinesischen Namen (französisch geschrieben) «Mou-toum», Venault (Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850. — Nouv. Annales des Voyages, V-e Sér. T. XXX, 1852 (T. II), p. 207): «Moutam». Auf Williamson's (englischer) Karte der Mandshurei (s. dessen Journeys etc.) heisst er «Mootwan-ho». Dagegen wurde mir dieser Fluss von Saargu-Golde (also weit unterhalb der Ussuri-Mündung) mit seinem mandshurischen Namen «Churcha» bezeichnet.

2) Archim. Palladij, l. c. p. 432. Plath (l. c. p. 983, Anm. 4) erklärt nach Klaproth die «Itschä-Mandshu» für Nachkommen derjenigen Mandshu, die, im Gegensatz zu den alten oder «Fe-Mandshu», nicht in China einfielen, sondern von den letzteren erst später unterworfen wurden oder sich ihnen anschlossen. Der Chinese U-tschen, der 1681 in Ninguta, wohin sein Vater verbannt war, geboren wurde und bis 1681 dort verblieb, erzählt in seiner Beschreibung dieses Ortes, dass diejenigen Leute aus dem «Churcha- oder Chulcha-Volke» (Mandshu vom Churcha-Flusse), die sich durch Tapferkeit ausgezeichnet, von der Regierung Ringe und Sklaven (aus der Zahl der Verbannten) zum Geschenk erhalten hätten. Ihnen sei später befohlen worden nach Ninguta, von dort nach Mukden und wiederum zwei Jahre später nach Peking überzusiedeln. Dies, sagt er, seien die «Itschä-Mandshu», die anfangs zwar ungeschickt und unbehülflich, später aber, als er sie in Peking sah, von den echten Mandshu fast gar nicht mehr zu unterscheiden waren. Vergl. Wassiljef's Uebersetzung von U-tschen's Schrift Гонжна о Нингуть. — Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. ч. XII, 1857, стр. 93).

3) Palladij, l. c.

Bestandtheile als die Sungari-Städte enthalten, gleichwie auch Mergen und Tsitsikar, in denen es neben Chinesen auch Mandshu, Dauren und Solonen giebt [1]), während Girin, Ninguta, Petune, Ssan-ssin fast rein chinesische Städte sind. Das östlichste der Mandshu-Dörfer am Amur ist das bald oberhalb des östlichsten daurischen Dorfes (Chormoldin) gelegene Dorf Torel. Besonders nehmen aber die Mandshu-Dorfer, wie schon erwähnt, den westlichen Theil jener Strecken am Amur ein, unter- und oberhalb der Stadt Aigun, am rechten Ufer bis gegenüber der Dseja-Mündung. Ja, sie ziehen sich auch längs diesem letzteren Flusse fort, gegenwärtig jedoch nur längs dem linken Ufer desselben, bis etwa 20 Werst oberhalb seiner Mündung, während sie früher beide Ufer der Dseja einnahmen [2]).

Ausser den betrachteten Mandshu-Gebieten müssen wir endlich als mandshurisch auch diejenigen Punkte im Amur-Lande betrachten, wo grössere oder kleinere Wachtposten sich befinden oder von der chinesischen Regierung angestellte Beamten sich aufhalten, obwohl die betreffenden Personen keineswegs immer nur Mandshu sind, sondern es unter ihnen auch Solonen, Dauren, ja selbst Chinesen giebt [3]). Es liegt uns fern, alle Orte der Art aufzählen zu wollen, wir begnügen uns nur auf diejenigen hinzuweisen, die am Amur und seinen Zuflüssen unter den hier in Rede stehenden Völkern liegen; denn eine gewisse ethnographische Bedeutung lässt sich ihnen immerhin nicht absprechen, schon weil sie uns ein Bild von der mandshu-chinesischen Machtstellung den Amur-Völkern gegenüber geben, und weil ferner in denselben die Tributerhebung stattfindet, mancher Handel mit den Eingeborenen betrieben wird und mehr noch aller Art Erpressungen von Seiten der Machthaber geübt werden.

In der nach Tsitsikar, als ihrer Hauptstadt, ressortirenden Provinz He-long-kiang, unserem mittleren und oberen Amur-Lande, liegen oberhalb der Stadt Aigun und der Dseja-Mündung, im Manägirn-Gebiet mehrere mandshurische Posten: so Ulussu-modon an der unterhalb der Komar-Mündung befindlichen, schlingenförmigen Krümmung des Amur-Stromes, zwei Posten an der Komar-Mündung, der eine unmittelbar an derselben, der andere ihr gegenüber am linken Ufer, und endlich wiederum zwei an und gegenüber dem durch seine steilen weissen und gelben Wände leicht kenntlichen Zagajan-Berge. Diese sind auch die letzten stromaufwärts, denn im Orotschonen-Gebiet giebt es keine, obgleich dieses nach dem Nertschinsker Traktat auch noch zum Chinesischen Reiche gehörte; es wurde nur gelegentlich, auf den Reisen zur Revision der Grenzzeichen, von chinesischen Beamten besucht. Stromabwärts von Aigun liegt im Biraren-Gebiet der Wachtposten Ssung oder Ssung-bira an der Mündung des gleichnamigen, von rechts in den Amur einmündenden Flusses und etwas oberhalb der Bureja-Mündung. An diesem letzteren Flusse befindet sich etwa 60 Werst oberhalb seiner Einmündung in den Amur wieder ein mandshurischer Posten, der offenbar bestimmt ist, über die Biraren Wacht zu halten, von

1) Lange, Tageb. einer Karawanenreise, in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr. Bd. II, p. 177. Palladij, l. c. p. 429.

2) Schmidt, Histor. Bericht etc. p. 33. Vgl. auch den Bericht Usolzof's in Schwarz's Пѣшеход. Отч. о ревизіи пограничн. знаковъ. Мачевар. Отдѣлъ Сибирск. Общ. Ист. Рус. Геогр. Общ. С. Петерб. 1861, Т. I, стр. 31.

3) So war der Beamte, der mir aus Aigun entgegengeschickt wurde und mich ein paar Tage lang, bis ich diese Stadt erreichte, begleitete, von chinesischer Nationalität.

ihnen Tribut einzusammeln und vielleicht auch das Vordringen russischer Tungusen und Jakuten an den Amur zu verhindern[1]).

In der Provinz Girin, unserem unteren Amur-Lande, liegen die mandshurischen Wachtposten oder ständigen Aufenthaltsorte mandshurischer Beamten sämmtlich im weit ausgedehnten Golde-Gebiet. Einer der wichtigsten unter ihnen ist der von Dshang-dshu an der Sungari-Mündung, dessen oben schon erwähnt wurde. Ein zweiter liegt in Gaidje, am rechten Amur-Ufer. Ein beständiger Aufenthaltsort von einem, wie es scheint, ziemlich hohen chinesischen Beamten im unteren Amur-Lande war ferner zu meiner Zeit das Golde-Dorf Chöchzyr, am rechten Amur-Ufer, nahe der Ussuri-Mündung. Am Ussuri selbst gab es zwei mandshurische Posten: der eine, den ich besucht habe, befand sich im Golde-Dorfe Dshoada, im unteren Laufe des Stromes; der andere, Namens Schang-jeng, liegt am linken Ufer, schräg gegenüber der Ima-Mündung und ist der Aufenthaltsort mehrerer mandshurischer Beamten, die von hier aus ihre Fahrten auch an den oberen Ussuri zur Erhebung des Tributs von den Eingeborenen machen[2]). Doch sollen diese Fahrten nur sehr selten geschehen und auch wohl nur bis zu einem gewissen Punkte, denn die ziemlich wüste Strecke, die sich oberhalb der Ssungatschi-Mündung und besonders zwischen der Kuburche- und der Nyntu- oder Nautu-Mündung hinzieht, scheint ziemlich die faktische Grenze der mandshurischen Herrschaft am Ussuri zu sein. Die weiter oberhalb wohnenden Chinesen werden von den Mandshu so gut wie gar nicht mehr belästigt[3]). Der letzte beständige Aufenthaltsort mandshurischer Beamten im unteren Amur-Lande endlich ist das Golde-Dorf Mylki, ein paar Tagereisen oberhalb der Gorin-Mündung. Weiter stromabwärts, im Oltscha und giljakischen Theile des Amur-Stromes, so wie bei den Orotschen an der Meeresküste gab es weder mandshurische Posten, noch auch unter den Eingeborenen sich aufhaltende Beamten. Ja, diese Gegenden wurden auch nicht einmal vorübergehend von mandshurischen, behufs Tributerhebung oder Revision der Grenzzeichen reisenden Beamten berührt, so dass sie, wie wir später noch sehen werden, einer so gut wie völligen Unabhängigkeit von den Mandshu genossen.

Wir haben im Vorhergehenden bei Besprechung der Wohnsitze der Mandshu im Amur-Lande nicht umhin können, auch des Schritt für Schritt vor sich gehenden Verschwindens ihrer Nationalität zu gedenken, weil nur unter gleichzeitiger Berücksichtigung dieses Umstandes die faktische Ausdehnung ihres Verbreitungsgebietes und die Stellung, die sie in dieser Beziehung im Amur-Lande und unter den Amur-Völkern einnehmen, in ihrem wahren Lichte erscheinen. So gross das ursprüngliche Mandshu-Gebiet war und nominell noch ist, so gering und unbe-

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1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 166, Anm. 1.

2) Maack (Путеш. по Амуру р. Уссури, С. Петерб., 1861, стр. 11, 36) nennt nur diesen einen Mandshu-Posten am Ussuri; der von Dshoada ist ihm entgangen oder war vielleicht schon aufgehoben, da dieses Dorf am rechten Ufer des Ussuri liegt, welches zur Zeit von Maack's Reise (1861) bereits in russischen Besitz übergegangen war.

3) Венюков, Обозр. р. Уссури и пр. (Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XXV, 1859, Отд. II, стр. 208). Его-же, Путеш. по окраин. Русск. Азіи, стр. 42, 53.

deutend ist es, in Folge des Hinschwindens der Mandshu-Nationalität, in Wirklichkeit. Es liegt daher die Schlussfolgerung nahe, dass ein Volk, welches trotz seiner bevorzugten Eroberer- und Herrscherstellung nicht im Stande ist, sich selbst im eigenen Gebiete zu erhalten, auch nicht fähig sein dürfte, einen irgend erheblichen Cultureinfluss auf andere Völker auszuüben. Um so Grösseres lässt sich hingegen von demjenigen Volke erwarten, das, ungeachtet seiner politischen Unterjochung, den Eroberern ihr eigenes Land abzugewinnen und sie selbst seiner Nationalität einzuverleiben verstanden hat. Ich meine von den Chinesen. Es ist uns daher auch für alle späteren Betrachtungen über die Amur-Völker von Interesse, zunächst das Gebiet kennen zu lernen, welches dieses älteste Culturvolk Ostasiens im Amur-Lande zu der Zeit bereits gewonnen hatte, als wir die Bekanntschaft jener Völker machten.

Die **Chinesen** nehmen im Amur-Lande theils zusammenhängende, grössere und kleinere Gebiete, die sie sich ganz oder zum grössten Theil zu eigen gemacht haben, theils einzelne, weit unter die Amur-Völker vorgeschobene Posten ein. Das weitaus grösste solcher Gebiete, auf dem sie die faktischen Herren sind, ist dasjenige, welches sie den Mandshu abgewonnen haben, — das weite und fruchtbare Sungari-Land. Wir haben oben bereits gesehen, wie nach der Eroberung China's durch die Mandshu der Strom chinesischer Auswanderung nicht bloss über das zunächst gelegene Liao-tung, sondern auch über die eigentliche, sogenannte centrale Mandshurei sich ergoss und dieses Land so stark überfluthete, dass es heutzutage nach seiner herrschenden Bevölkerung, Sprache, Sitte nur eine unmittelbare Fortsetzung China's ist. Die Hauptader des Landes, der Sungari mit seinen fruchtbaren Ufern, ist ganz von Chinesen bevölkert, unter denen, wie wir sahen, auch viele zu Chinesen gewordene Mandshu sich befinden. Eine kleine Unterbrechung bildet nur die Strecke zwischen der Stadt Petune und Da-chutun, wo sie den Mongolen und Dauren gegenüber noch in der Minderzahl vorhanden sind, allmählich jedoch durch Arrendirung der mongolischen Ländereien, wie durch Handel, Anlage von Gasthäusern, Herbergen u. s. w. mehr und mehr Terrain gewinnen [1]). Von Da-chutun ab, in der äusserst fruchtbaren, vom Sungari benetzten Niederung breitet sich aber wieder sowohl am Strome, wie landeinwärts, und zumal um die Städte Bajan-ssussu, Ashi-che, Ssuan-tschang-pu u. a., die sämmtlich erst in neuerer Zeit entstanden sind, eine zahlreiche, Ackerbau, Handel und Gewerbe aller Art treibende chinesische Bevölkerung aus. Zwischen den Städten Bajan-ssussu und Ssuan-ssin liegen am Sungari die jüngsten Ansiedelungen der Chinesen. Barabasch, dem wir die Schilderung dieser Bevölkerungsverhältnisse am Sungari entnehmen [2]), traf im Jahre 1872 manche dieser Colonien noch im ersten Entstehen, die Ankömmlinge noch in Zelten und Erdhütten

1) Назаров, Геогр. замѣтки за 1870 г. (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По отд. Геогр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 123). Барабашъ, Сунгар. экск. 1872 г. (Восм. Сборн. 1874, № 1, стр. 327). Die chinesische Regierung begünstigt die Zunahme der Seßhaftigkeit im Gebiete der nomadischen Mongolen, indem sie darin eine Bürgschaft für die Ruhe und Gefahrlosigkeit ihrer Grenzländer sieht. Davon Gebrauch machend, ziehen die Chinesen den Grund und Boden der Mongolen an sich, indem sie das Land zunächst arrendiren oder in Pacht nehmen und alsdann durch Handel, Vorschüsse u. dgl. die ursprünglichen Besitzer zu ihren Schuldnern machen (Palladij, l. c).

2) L. c. p. 326—327.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

wohnend an. Dennoch erstrecken sich die chinesischen Niederlassungen am Sungari schon seit langer Zeit auch über Ssan-ssin hinaus, und zwar ziehen sie sich auf dem rechten Sungari-Ufer noch auf einer Strecke von etwa 145 Werst, bis zum Dorfe Dsan-mu-sso fort, von welchem abwärts das Golde-Gebiet beginnt; auf dem linken Ufer aber brechen sie in etwa 60 Werst Entfernung von Ssan-ssin, mit dem Dorfe Wan-juan-wo-ken ab, auf welches unbewohnte Prairiewildniss bis zum Amur folgt. Nächst dem Sungari bietet sein grösster rechter, bei Ssan-ssin in denselben einmündender Zufluss, der Churcha oder Mu-tuan-ho, die dichteste chinesische Bevölkerung. Besonders zieht sie sich längs dem zum Ackerbau geeigneteren rechten Ufer dieses Flusses, bis nach Ninguta und über dieses hinaus fort. Von dort in der Richtung zur russischen Grenze, also zum oberen Ssuifun hin, bildet das Thal des Flüsschens Mo-do-schi die Grenze der dichten chinesischen Bevölkerung: denn weiterhin, bis nach Wan-lun-ho und über dieses hinaus bis zur russischen Grenze, giebt es nur einzelne Chinesen-Hütten, deren Bewohner sich mit etwas Feld- und Gemüsebau oder mit dem Unterhalt von Herbergen für die zahlreichen Durchzügler abgeben, welche nach dem oberen Ssuifun, dem oberen Ussuri oder der Küstengegend, sei es des Goldwaschens wegen oder zu anderen Zwecken, passiren. Minder dicht, aber doch ebenfalls ganz vorherrschend chinesisch ist die Bevölkerung an den übrigen Zuflüssen des Sungari, am Hulan, Maiche u. s. w., mit Ausnahme des Nonni, an welchem, wie wir bereits gesehen haben, die Chinesen im unteren Laufe mit Mongolen und Dauren, weiter hinauf mit diesen und mit Solonen untermischt wohnen und zunächst nur die Minderzahl der Bevölkerung bilden.

Da das weite Sungari-Land noch vielen Raum für Colonisation darbietet, so hat der beständige Zuzug von Chinesen dahin, trotzdem er schon vor ein paar Jahrhunderten begann, noch lange nicht aufgehört. Ja, es scheint, dass die Besitznahme von einem grossen Theile des Amur-Landes durch die Russen die Auswanderung der Chinesen nach dem Sungari-Lande noch verstärkt hat, sei es weil sich ihnen dadurch die Aussicht auf einen lebhafteren Handel, auf einen leichteren und vortheilhafteren Absatz der am Sungari gebauten Produkte eröffnete, sei es auch weil die Pekinger Regierung die Auswanderung begünstigte, um sich durch zahlreiche und homogene chinesische Bevölkerung den Besitz des ihr verbliebenen Landes in Zukunft möglichst zu sichern. Williamson sah im Jahre 1866, auf seiner Reise von Peking nach der Mandshurei, als er Ying-tse, den Hafen an der Mündung des Ssira-muren, verlassen hatte und durch das Innere von Liao-tung zog, jeden Tag Schaaren von Auswanderern, die ihren Weg nach Norden nahmen[1]). Das grösste Contingent dieser Auswanderer stellen die gleich übervölkerten chinesischen Provinzen Schantung und Schansi, und nächst diesen auch Tschili, die drei der Mandshurei auch geographisch zunächst gelegenen Provinzen China's. Aus Schantung ergoss sich, in Folge von Missernten, schon gleich nach der Eroberung China's durch die Mandshu, ein starker Strom von Auswanderern nach der Mandshurei[2]), die den ersten Grund zur Colonisation dieses Landes von Seiten China's legten. Von dort bezieht es auch seine besten Colonisten: er-

1) Journeys etc. Vol. II, p. 163. 2) Archim. Palladij, l. c. p. 373.

fahrene, fleissige Ackerbauer, in allen ländlichen und städtischen Gewerben kundige Leute, die mit ihren Familien hinkommen, um sich ein entsprechendes Arbeitsfeld zu gewinnen und sesshafte, bleibende Bewohner des Landes zu werden [1]). Sie sind es besonders, die die Mandshurei in eine chinesische Provinz zu verwandeln, die dem einheimischen, herrschenden Volke allen Boden abzugewinnen und es durch ihren moralischen Einfluss, durch Errichtung von Schulen u. s. w. auch um seine Nationalität zu bringen gewusst haben. Ihre Sprache, der Schantung-Dialekt, ist auch die herrschende unter allen Mandshu-Chinesen oder Man-dse — wie man sie auch dort zu nennen pflegt [2]), — sie überwuchert alle anderen Dialekte, mit alleiniger Ausnahme desjenigen der Schansi-Leute, die ihre Sprache nur schwer verändern [3]). Dabei behalten jedoch alle Chinesen im Charakter und im Wesen die Eigenthümlichkeiten ihrer respectiven Heimathsprovinz bei, so dass man bei hinlänglicher Bekanntschaft mit China, trotz der gleichlautenden Sprache, sogleich die aus Schantung, aus Tschili u. s. w. Stammenden erkennen kann. Gleichwie Schantung liefert übrigens auch Tschili der Mandshurei meist arbeitsame, tüchtige, im Lande verbleibende Ackerbauer und Gewerbsleute, wenn auch in geringerer Zahl als jenes erstere. Anders Schansi. Die meisten Auswanderer aus dieser Provinz wenden sich in der Mandshurei dem Handel zu: es sind unternehmende, gewandte, praktische Leute, die durch unermüdliche Thätigkeit sich des gesammten Gross- und Kleinhandels in allen Städten und Dörfern der Mandshurei bemächtigt haben [4]), die «Juden des himmlischen Reiches», wie der Archimandrit Palladij sie treffend bezeichnet [5]), die der Reisende überall, im eigentlichen China wie in den Nebenländern des Chinesischen Reiches zu sehen und deren von allen anderen scharf sich unterscheidenden Dialekt er überall zu hören bekommt. Bei ihrer grossen Zahl und Ausbreitung, ihrem pekuniären und moralischen Uebergewicht den Mandshu gegenüber und der Unentbehrlichkeit, die sie für dieselben gewonnen haben, gebührt ihnen ein nicht geringeres Verdienst wie den Schantung-Leuten, dem chinesischen Wesen, der chinesischen Sprache und Nationalität in der Mandshurei allenthalben Eingang und Boden verschafft zu haben. Im Gegensatz zu den Schantung-Chinesen, fesseln sich jedoch die Schansi-Leute in der Mandshurei nur selten und ungern an die Scholle: meist kommen sie ohne Familie in's Land, suchen sich möglichst bald zu bereichern und kehren ihm dann den Rücken, um von neuen Ankömmlingen ersetzt zu werden. Sie bilden daher, schon ihrem Berufe nach, eine nomadischere, fluctuirendere Bevölkerung und geben dem Lande auch keine so bleibenden Colonisationselemente wie die Schantung-Leute ab. Dafür treibt sie aber die Gewinnsucht wie die Natur ihres Berufes immer weiter und weiter

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1) Williamson, l. c. Vol. II, pag. 163. Захаровъ, Нѣсм. свѣдѣн. въ Китаѣ (Труды член. Россійск. Духовн. миссіи въ Пекинѣ, Т. II, 1853, стр. 63). Archim. Palladij, l. c. p. 408. Barabasch, l. c. p. 323.

2) В. Васильевъ, Замѣтки о Инорцѣ (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. XII, 1857, стр. 86). Карабанъ, Сунгар. экск. 1872 г. (Восн. Сборн., 1874, № 1, стр. 321).

3) Palladij, l. c. p. 373, 374, 409.

4) Williamson, Palladij, Barabasch, ll. cc. Damit ist jedoch nicht gesagt, dass es in der Mandshurei nicht auch Kaufleute aus Schantung und umgekehrt Ackerbauer oder Gewerbsleute aus Schansi gebe. So traf z. B. Williamson (Journ. etc. Vol. II, p. 222) in Sam-sein Kaufleute, die aus den Städten Tung-tschu-fu und Lai-tschu-fu im östlichen Schantung gebürtig waren.

5) L. c. p. 398.

vorzubringen, und so sind es gerade die handeltreibenden Schansi-Chinesen, welche über die eigentliche Mandshurei hinaus fast unter allen Völkern des Amur-Landes anzutreffen sind, und welche somit als die ersten Pioniere für die Verbreitung chinesischer Cultur in demselben angesehen werden können. Wir werden daher in den folgenden Betrachtungen noch Gelegenheit finden, auf dieselben wieder zurückzukommen.

Ausser den erwähnten Elementen trägt der Strom der Auswanderung aus dem übervölkerten China, und besonders wiederum aus Schansi und Schantung, der Mandshurei auch eine Menge minder brauchbaren Volkes aus den ärmsten und niedrigsten Schichten, ja zum grossen Theil auch des verkommensten Gesindels aller Art zu: Leute, die durch Laster und wüstes Leben, zumal durch das in China so allgemein betriebene und so verderblich wirkende Kartenspiel, um ihr Hab und Gut gekommen sind, Verbrecher, die, um der Strafe des Gesetzes zu entgehen, die Flucht ergriffen u. s. w. Diese suchen sich zunächst als Tagelöhner, Fischer, Jäger, als Arbeiter auf den Goldwäschen u. dgl. m. ihr Brod zu verdienen, und Manchem von ihnen gelingt es, durch Fleiss und Energie auch zu höheren und besseren Stellungen emporzukommen.

Mehr oder minder alle Provinzen China's liefern endlich der Mandshurei ihr Contingent an demjenigen Theile ihrer chinesischen Bevölkerung, welcher ihr nicht durch freiwillige Auswanderung, sondern in Folge von Verbannung durch die Regierung zufliesst. Keineswegs sind es nur schlechte Bevölkerungselemente, welche die Mandshurei auf diesem Wege aus China erhält: denn neben allerdings stark gravirten gemeinen Verbrechern, Räubern, Falschmünzlern, Staatsdieben etc., verfallen der Strafe der Verbannung ganz besonders auch die politischen Verbrecher, Glieder geheimer politischer und staatsgefährlich erscheinender religiöser Gesellschaften, zu denen wiederholentlich auch das Christenthum gerechnet wurde[1]), durch Intrigucn in Ungnade gefallene Staatsdiener und Hofbeamten, überwiesene oder vermeintliche Feinde der herrschenden mandshurischen Dynastie u. s. w. Solche Verbannte konnten und mussten unter Umständen eine grosse colonisatorische Macht in der Mandshurei gewinnen. Nicht alle Gegenden derselben werden aber in gleichem Maasse als Verbannungsorte benutzt. Die im Herzen des Sungari-Landes gelegenen Städte Ninguta und Girin und mehr noch das über die eigentliche Mandshurei hinaus, am Amur gelegene Aigun werden uns seit je als solche Verbannungsorte genannt[2]). Aigun oder die Gegend ober- und unterhalb desselben ist auch immer gemeint, wenn schlechtweg von einer Verbannung an den Amur die Rede ist[3]). Palladij nennt auch Hulan,

1) Ein Edikt vom Juli 1811, unter dem Kaiser Kia-king, besagte z. B., dass alle Chinesen, welche das Christenthum angenommen hatten und nicht davon lassen wollten, nach dem Amur exilirt werden sollten (Plath, l. c. p. 931).

2) Gerbillon, s. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 6, 36, 182, 250. Іакинѳъ, Кратк. геогр. извѣст. о Китаѣ, пріобрѣт. С. Петербургъ, 1840, стр. 299, Прим. **. Его-же, Стат. опис. Китайск. Имп. С. Петербургъ, 1842, ч. II, стр. 231, Прим. **.

3) So wurde z. B., um nur einiger Fälle der Art zu erwähnen, unter dem Kaiser Yung-tscking (1727) Yo-tschu, der Sohn des ersten Ministers und zugleich nahen Verwandten des kaiserlichen Hauses, Lung-ko-to, nach dem Amur verbannt (Plath, l. c. p. 534). Unter dem Kaiser Tao-kuang (etwa 1844) wurde der Nomunchan von Lassa, wegen Ermordung dreier noch im unmündigen Alter stehender Dalai-Lama's, zu lebenslänglicher Verbannung an die Ufer des Amur verurtheilt (Huc, Souvenirs d'un Voyage etc. T. II, p. 288. C. F. Koeppen, Die Religion des Buddha, Berlin, Bd. II, 1859, p. 234).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

am gleichnamigen Flusse, Hu-lun-buïr und ganz besonders Tsitsikar, nach welchem die zahlreichsten und schwersten Verbrecher kommen sollen, als solche Orte[1]). Dorthin, an den Nonni, liess schon der Kaiser Kang-hi zahlreiche Chinesen aus Yunnan, die als Anhänger von Ussan-kuei für die Unabhängigkeit China's von den Mandshu gekämpft hatten, versetzen und ihnen Land zum Anbau geben. Durch fleissige und tüchtige Arbeit erweiterten deren Nachkommen ihren Besitz, und gegenwärtig bilden die Yunnan-Chinesen, die übrigens im Wesen und Charakter alle Eigenthümlichkeiten ihrer Provinz conservirt haben sollen, grosse Ackerbaucolonien am Nonni[2]). So musste auch der weitentlegene Süden China's zur Colonisirung der Mandshurei und zur Verbreitung chinesischer Sprache und Sitte in derselben beitragen. Man wird übrigens die Bedeutung, die solche und ähnliche Verbannungen für die Mandshurei und das Amur-Land hatten, um so weniger unterschätzen, wenn man erwägt, dass die chinesische Regierung oftmals bei Verhängung der Verbannungsstrafe auch den Zweck der Populationsvergrösserung in der Mandshurei im Auge hatte[3]), und dass ferner, dem entsprechend, die Verbannten, zum mindesten die weniger schwer gravirten, an dem Orte ihres Exils eine gewisse Freiheit geniessen, indem die ganze Controle über dieselben nur auf eine von Zeit zu Zeit, ein oder zweimal monatlich stattfindende Aufrufung sich beschränkt[4]). Schlimmer geht es ihnen freilich bei verschärfter Strafe; allein auch wenn diese ihr höchstes Maass erreicht, d. h. wenn die Verschickten den dienstthuenden Solonen und Dauren in Sklaverei gegeben werden[5]), ist dem geschickteren und intelligenteren Sklaven noch immer die Möglichkeit eines gewissen Einflusses auf seinen roheren Herrn geboten. So hat auch die mandshu-chinesische Regierung, indem sie ihr eigenes Stammland zum Deportationslande machte, ohne es zu wollen selbst dahin gewirkt, die Mandshu-Nationalität fast verschwinden und die Mandshurei in eine chinesische Provinz sich umwandeln zu lassen.

Nur unbedeutend im Vergleich mit dem weiten Sungari-Gebiet ist der Raum, den die Chinesen, in compakteren Massen zusammenwohnend, am Amur einnehmen. Wir finden sie in solcher Weise nur in jenem sogen. mandshu-chinesischen Culturstück am mittleren Amur, zwischen der Dseja- und der Bureja-Mündung, wo sie an beiden Ufern des Stromes meist in grossen Dörfern, mit Ackerbau und Viehzucht beschäftigt, zuweilen aber auch einzeln, kleinem Handel nachgehend, wohnen. Mit Dauren und Mandshu untermischt, haben sie dort aus Gründen, deren wir oben schon erwähnten, auf jene Völker noch nicht in so assimilirender Weise wie im Sungari-Lande gewirkt, um bereits für das herrschende Volk gelten zu können. Auch dürften dort wie am Nonni die ihnen in mancher Beziehung, namentlich an praktischem Sinn, an berechnendem, unternehmendem Handelsgeist näher stehenden Dauren ihrem Einfluss einen

1) Palladij, l. c. p. 428, 429. Nach Pauthier (Chine moderne ou descr. hist., geogr. et litter. de ce vaste Empire, II. Part. Paris 1853, p. 233) soll die schwerste aller Verbannungen die nach Ili sein. Der Verbannung geht stets die Bastonnade, mit einer der Schwere des Vergehens entsprechenden Anzahl von Schlägen, voraus. Vrgl. Du Halde, l. c. T. II, p. 135. Ἰαπωνῶν, Ctar. omnemie Kurzbrs. Hun. T. I, crp. 234.

2) Palladij, l. c. p. 402, 413.

3) Gerbillon (s. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 6, 36) spricht dies ganz direkt aus.

4) Palladij, l. c. Barabasch, l. c. p. 324.

5) Palladij, l. c.; vrgl. auch Plath, l. c. p. 938.

kräftigeren Widerstand entgegensetzen als die Mandshu. Ja, es scheint sogar, dass die Dauren von den Gegenden, in welchen ihr Haupthandelsgebiet liegt, von der Bureja und Dseja — dem Biraren- und Manägirn-Gebiet — die Chinesen bis dahin ganz fern zu halten gewusst haben.

Eine viel grössere Ausbreitung als am mittleren Amur haben die Chinesen im Küstengebiet der Mandshurei und an dem oberen Ussuri und seinen Zuflüssen gewonnen. Wir haben ihrer in diesem ihrem Gebiet, wo sie, gleichwie übrigens auch am Sungari, unter dem Namen der Man-dse bekannt sind, im Allgemeinen schon erwähnt, bei Besprechung der Verbreitungsgebiete der Orotschen und Golde, mit denen sie zum grossen Theil untermischt wohnen. Werfen wir nun noch einen besonderen Blick auf die von ihnen dort eingenommenen Localitäten.

Das Küstengebiet der Mandshurei, d. i. der Streifen Landes zwischen dem Meere und dem nahen Küstengebirge, Ssichota-alin, wird von den Chinesen von der Grenze Korea's und also auch der jetzigen russischen Besitzungen am Japanischen Meere an, bis über die Bai Wladimir und den Fluss Tasuschi oder Lifule[1]) hinaus bewohnt. Je weiter aber nach Norden, um so geringer ist ihre Zahl, und über den 46. Breitengrad, von welchem ab auch die Natur rasch ein nordischeres Gepräge gewinnt, sollen sie nicht hinaus gehen[2]). Insbesondere bewohnen sie die Thäler der vom Küstengebirge quer durch's Land herabkommenden Flüsse. Unmittelbar an der Meeresküste bauen sich die Chinesen nur selten an, sei es weil sie nicht gern vom Meere aus gesehen sein wollen, oder um sich den unmittelbaren klimatischen Einflüssen desselben, den starken Seewinden u. s. w. zu entziehen. Am zahlreichsten sind sie im fruchtbaren Thale des Ssutschan und in seinen Nebenthälern. Nach Prshewalskij[3]) soll es da nicht weniger als 11 Dörfer und 75 einzeln gelegene Häuser oder Fansen von Chinesen geben. Alsdann folgen nach dem Bevölkerungsgrade die Thäler des Tasuschi, Zymuche, Tassuduche, Pehussun, Maiche u. s. w.[4]). Auch die Gegenden um Wladiwostok und die Bai Possjet haben eine verhältnissmässig zahlreiche chinesische Bevölkerung. Hingegen ist der ödeste Theil der gesammten hier in Betracht kommenden Küste die Strecke zwischen dem Flusse Ta-uchu und der Bai Olga[5]), sowie natürlich die Strecke nördlich vom Tasuschi, wo die chinesische Bevölkerung allmählich ganz aufhört. Uebrigens wechseln die Bevölkerungsverhältnisse in diesem Küstengebiete der Mandshurei sehr ansehnlich mit den Jahreszeiten, denn ausser den sesshaften, mit Feld- und Gemüsebau und dem Handel mit den Orotschen (Ta-dse) sich abgebenden Chinesen kommt im Sommer eine

1) Dieser auf den Karten übliche Name ist nach Prshewalskij (Путеш. въ Уссурійск. краѣ, стр. 156, Прим.) an Ort und Stelle unbekannt, gleichwie auch der Name Fudsi für Lifodin, einen Zufluss des Ulache (oberen Ussuri).

2) Венюковъ, Обозр. р. Уссури и зап. въ вост. отъ нея до моря (Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., ч. XXV, 1859, Отд. II, стр. 226, 233). Его-же, Путеш. по окр. Русск. Азіи, стр. 86.

3) Путеш. въ Уссурійск. краѣ, стр. 143.

4) Prshewalskij, l. c. p. 78, 138, 139, 151, 157. Am Tasuschi sollen, mit den Wohnungen der minder zahlreichen Orotschen zusammen, etwa 35, am Zymuche 30, am Tassuduche und Pehussun zu je 20, am Maiche 10 Fansen liegen. Für den Tasuschi oder Lifule s. auch Wenjukof, Обозр. etc. l. c. p. 218; Путеш. etc. p. 89.

5) Prshewalskij, l. c. p. 181.

grosse Menge vagirenden Volkes hinzu, um an der Küste Seetang und Trepang zu fischen oder an den Flüssen Gold zu waschen. Dadurch belebt sich zeitweise die gesammte zwischen der Bai Possjet und der Bai Olga gelegene Meeresküste, an welcher die Fischereien stattfinden, so wie die Gegend zwischen dem Ussuri-Golf und den Flüssen Zymuche und Ssutschan, wo die hauptsächlichsten Goldwäschereien sich befinden. Im Herbst, wenn die Arbeit vollendet, kehren die meisten Leute, die sie verrichtet, auf demselben Wege, auf dem sie gekommen, wieder zurück, nach Hun-tschun, Ninguta u. s. w. Viele von ihnen, vermuthlich solche, die jene Beschäftigungen auf eigene Hand betreiben, bleiben aber auch den Winter über im Küstengebiet, theils als Arbeiter bei den sesshaften Chinesen, theils auch ohne Arbeit, vom Ertrage des im Sommer Verdienten zehrend. Daher sammelt sich in manchen Gegenden des Küstengebietes, besonders am Zymuche und Ssutschan, im Winter eine fast doppelt so starke Bevölkerung von Chinesen an, als sie im Sommer haben[1]). Je grösser aber dort die Zahl der Chinesen, um so geringer ist diejenige der Ta-dse oder Orotschen, die überhaupt mehr landeinwärts, zum Gebirge hin wohnen, wo auch die ergiebigeren Jagdgründe sich befinden. Doch fehlen auch dort einzeln wohnende Chinesen nicht, die handeltreibend von der Jagdausbeute der Orotschen leben.

Steigt man über das Küstengebirge in das Ussuri-Gebiet hinab, so betritt man auch dort ein Land, in welchem die Chinesen noch weithin eingebürgert sind. Im Allgemeinen wiederholt sich aber auch dort dasselbe, was wir an der Küste sahen: je weiter nordwärts, um so geringer wird ihre Zahl, um so kleiner und vereinzelter werden ihre Ansiedelungen. Am zahlreichsten sind sie an den beiden Flüssen zu finden, die man mit Recht als die beiden Quellflüsse des Ussuri betrachten darf, aus deren Vereinigung erst dieser Strom entsteht, wie er denn von da ab auch erst den Namen Ussuri trägt, — ich meine am Ssandogu, der nach Aufnahme des Lifudin (Fudsi) den Namen Ulache bekommt, und am Daubiche[2]). Dort wohnen die Chinesen, mit Feld- und Gemüsebau, etwas Viehzucht u. dgl. beschäftigt, bald einzeln, bald in ganzen Dörfern zusammen und bilden, den Eingeborenen, Orotschen und Golde gegenüber, auch der Zahl nach die herrschende Bevölkerung[3]), wogegen abwärts sowohl am Ussuri, wie an seinen rechten Zuflüssen mehr und mehr das umgekehrte Verhältniss statthat, und zuletzt die Chinesen nur in einzelnen, von kleinen Gemüsegärtchen umgebenen Fansen und als Händler unter den Eingeborenen sitzen.

Was die rechten Zuflüsse des Ussuri betrifft, so sind die beiden grössten unter ihnen, der Ima mit dem Waku und der Biki, noch von verhältnissmässig zahlreichen Chinesen bewohnt, die sich beständig dort aufhalten, kleine Aecker und Gemüsegärten haben und mit den allerdings zahlreicheren, aber meist nomadischen Orotschen Handel treiben. Am Waku ziehen sich ihre Ansiedelungen noch bis zwei Tagereisen oberhalb der Einmündung des kleinen reissenden Tundsi-Flusses in denselben. Minder zahlreich als am Ima sind die Chinesen schon am Biki, an welchem der belebteste Theil derjenige sein soll, wo ihr Dorf Tschamudyndsa liegt, weil in dessen Umgegend auch die ergiebigste Jagd

1) Peshewalskij, l. c. p. 88.

2) Gewöhnlich wird, wie oben schon erwähnt, der erstere allein als Quellfluss des Ussuri angesehen.

3) Венюковъ, Обозр. и пр. стр. 217, 233; Пузин. и пр. стр. 87.

betrieben wird[1]). Der letzte der rechten Zuflüsse des Ussuri nach Norden, an welchem sich noch einige Chinesen aufhalten, und zwar als Händler unter den Orotschen, ist der Poor mit seinen Zuflüssen[2]). Es ist dies für sie auch aus dem Grunde ein wichtiger Punkt, weil von dort den Pächssa-Fluss hinab eine Strasse an den Amur führt, auf welcher manche Amur-Golde im Winter zur Jagd an die Poor-Zuflüsse ziehen, und welche auch die chinesischen Händler zuweilen benutzen. Am Ussuri selbst liegen die letzten beständigen Wohnsitze der Chinesen noch etwas unterhalb der Poor-Mündung, und zwar sind es am linken Ufer zwei von kleinen Gemüsegärten umgebene Häuser, die den Namen Chaizo tragen, und am rechten Ufer, noch etwas weiter abwärts, das Golde-Dorf Tumurgu, in welchem auch eine chinesische Fanse sich befindet, deren Inhaber, drei chinesische Händler, mir den Ort Chai-tsching-ju-tscha nannten[3]).

An den linken Zuflüssen des Ussuri liegen die Verhältnisse etwas anders, weil sie mit ihren Quellen dem Sungari-Gebiet sich nähern und durch mehrfache Strassen mit demselben in Verbindung stehen. Ninguta und Ssan-ssin sind namentlich die Orte im Sungari-Lande, von welchen mehrfache Strassen nach den linken Ussuri-Zuflüssen führen. Von Ninguta laufen nicht weniger als drei solcher Strassen aus, und zwar einmal über den oberen Ssuifun an den Lefu und Daubiche, dann an den Kengka-See und endlich an den Muren, einen der grössten und jedenfalls wichtigsten der linken Nebenflüsse des Ussuri; von Ssan-ssin führt eine viel begangene Strasse an den Noor[4]). Damit sind der Ausbreitung der Chinesen im westlichen Ussuri-Gebiet viel günstigere Bedingungen geboten: es schliesst sich mehr oder weniger unmittelbar, wenn auch nur mit zerstreuter und sparsamer Bevölkerung, an das Sungari-Gebiet an. Betrachten wir uns die einzelnen linken Zuflüsse des Ussuri genauer, so ist das üppige, aber im unteren Theile sumpfige Thal des Lefu nur von ganz wenigen Chinesen bewohnt[5]). Am Ssianche, einem anderen Zufluss des Kengka-Sees, wie an diesem selbst ist ihre Zahl auch nur gering; westwärts aber vom See und nach dem oberen Ssuifun hin, wo die Strassen nach Ninguta zusammenlaufen, wird sie grösser[6]). Der Ssungatschi hat nur in der Nähe seines Austritts aus dem Kengka-See eine chinesische Ansiedelung[7]). Am Muren soll es im unteren Laufe, von dem allein

1) Корсунъ, см. Бурлиманъ, Опис. зем. части Приморск. обл. (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. IX, X, стр. 333, 379, 381). Венюковъ, Обозр. и пр. стр. 201; Путеш. и пр. стр. 29.

2) Korsun, l. c. p. 353.

3) Maack (Путеш. по долин. р. Уссури, Т. I, стр. 9 и 13) giebt auch den Ort Chaizo als den äussersten Chinesen-Sitz am Ussuri an; doch versetzt er ihn an das rechte Ufer und fasst die Chinesen dort unter Golde wohnen, was nur auf Chai-tsching-ju-tscha oder Tumurgu der Golde passt.

4) Die Quellen des Noor sollen von denen des Woken, eines Zuflusses des Sungari, nur durch einen Berg getrennt sein (Венюковъ, Обозр. р. Уссури. — Ивест. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XXV, II, стр. 197. S. auch Маакъ, Путеш. по долин. р. Уссури, Т. I, стр. 12, 56, 61, 68; nach eigenen Ermittelungen und nach Wassiljef, Приамурскій, Путеш. въ Уссур. край, стр. 88, 208. Архив. Назалій, Уссурійскіе Манчжуры. — Изв. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. VII, 1871, Отд. II, стр. 372, 373). Am oberen Ssuifun zweigt sich der Weg von Ninguta einerseits nach Huntschun, andererseits nach den Flüssen Maiche, Zymache, Ssutschan u. s. w. ab. Ausserdem laufen unzählige kleinere, von den Man-dse gebahnte Fusspfade nach dem Küsten- und dem östlichen Ussuri-Gebiet ab (s. Prshewalskij und Palladij, ll. cc.).

5) Maack, l. c. p. 58. Prshewalskij, l. c. 214.

6) Maack, l. c. p. 60, 61. Prshewalskij, l. c. pag. 68, 211.

7) Maack, l. c. p. 63.

wir einige Kunde haben, auch nur ein paar kleine chinesische Dörfer geben[1]). Bevölkerter mit Chinesen sind der Duma und der Kirki, weil die Berge und Wälder in ihrer Umgegend und an ihren Quellen reich an der so hoch geschätzten Ginseng-Wurzel sein sollen, weshalb auch ein Weg von dort an den Sungari führt[2]). Am meisten Chinesen giebt es aber am Noor, dem letzten ansehnlichen Zufluss des Ussuri von links: nicht bloss mit Feld- und Gemüsebau, sondern vornehmlich auch mit Handel beschäftigt, wohnen sie dort meist in kleinen Dörfern, welche oft mit eben solchen der Golde abwechseln[3]). Während daher an den rechten Zuflüssen des Ussuri die chinesische Bevölkerung nach Norden und mit der Entfernung von der Hauptader des Landes abnimmt, findet an seinen linken Nebenflüssen, aus den oben erwähnten Gründen, eher das umgekehrte Verhältniss statt.

Es bleibt uns nur noch übrig, einige Worte über den Ursprung der Ussuri-Man-dse zu sagen. Er ist im Allgemeinen derselbe wie derjenige der Sungari-Chinesen, nur mit dem Unterschiede, dass das Ussuri-Gebiet und die Meeresküste ihre chinesische Bevölkerung oft schon aus zweiter Hand, aus dem Sungari-Lande erhalten. Das grösste Contingent direkter Auswanderer nach dem Ussuri und der Küste senden wiederum dieselben drei, der Mandshurei zunächst gelegenen chinesischen Provinzen, Schantung, Schansi und nächst ihnen Tschili[4]). Doch ist der Charakter der Auswanderer, die sich hieher oder dorthin wenden, ein vielfach verschiedener, was wesentlich durch das verschiedene Verhalten der chinesischen Regierung diesen Ländern gegenüber bedingt wird. Während sie das Sungari-Land der Einwanderung chinesischer ackerbauender Colonisten öffnete und die Gründung grosser Ackerbaucolonien dort gestattete, hielt sie Beides vom Ussuri-Lande fern[5]) und lenkte dahin vielmehr den Strom einer beweglichen, industriellen Bevölkerung, aus Furcht, wie es heisst, der mandshurischen Befehlshaber in Ninguta und Girin vor der Ansammlung dort einer allzustarken chinesischen Population. Zugleich gewährte sie den Ussuri-Man-dse eine grosse Freiheit, indem sie zu ihnen nur ab und zu Beamten aus Ninguta oder Ssan-ssin schickte, die einen willkürlichen Tribut von jedem Hause erhoben, im Uebrigen aber sie ganz unbehelligt liess[6]). Die Folge dieser Maassregeln war, dass der bessere Theil der chinesischen Auswanderer, namentlich Alle, die mit ihren Familien hinauszogen, in der Absicht, sich wirklich eine neue Heimath zu gründen und sesshafte,

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1) Dorshidaroff, der den Muren in seinem unteren Laufe besucht hat, fand an demselben nur ein chinesisches Dorf an der Einmündung eines ziemlich grossen Flusses, wie er vermuthet, desselben, der auf chinesischen Karten den Namen Jergun trägt, und ein zweites nahe seiner Mündung in den Ussuri (Maack l. c. p. 41).

2) Пошкоть, Одеор. и пр. стр. 190; Путеш. и пр. стр. 23. Маакъ, Путеш. по дал. р. Уссури, Т. I, стр. 63.

3) Maack, l. c. p. 42, 66.

4) Восточное Поморье, 1866, стр. 56, 57.

5) Wenn nichtsdestoweniger auch im Ussuri-Lande, wie wir oben sahen, Ackerbau betrieben wird, so geschieht dies doch nur im Kleinen, im nächsten Umkreise der Fansen, von deren Besitzern, allein oder mit Hülfe von einigen Arbeitern, wobei der äusserst fruchtbare Boden und die klimatischen Verhältnisse die Mühe reichlich lohnen. Ausgebreiteten Ackerbau, geregelte Feldwirthschaften, mit Allem was drum und dran hängt, wie im Sungari-Lande, giebt es aber dort nicht. Die Ussuri-Man-dse selbst klagen darüber, dass die chinesische Regierung ihnen nicht erlaubt hat Ackerbaucolonien zu begründen (Назаров, Уссурійск. Манчжуры, рукоп. стр. 370—372).

6) Назаров, рукоп.

ackerbauende Bewohner derselben zu werden, dem Sungari-Lande sich zuwandte; dem Ussuri-Gebiet hingegen flossen nur die schlechteren Elemente zu — Leute, die keine Familienbande kannten, die auch in ihrer Heimath nur ein unstätes, vagirendes Leben geführt hatten, arme und niedrige Arbeiter und Tagelöhner, insbesondere aber allerhand verkommenes und verdächtiges Volk, Uebelthäter und Verbrecher, die in der Flucht ihre Rettung suchten, aus der Gesellschaft ausgestossene Sträflinge und ähnliches Gesindel, das in der Ungebundenheit und Gesetzlosigkeit, in dem Mangel aller staatlichen Aufsicht und Controle im Ussuri-Lande einen besonderen Vorzug sah. Aehnliche Elemente strömten ihm aus denselben Gründen auch aus Liao-tung und dem Sungari-Lande zu. Viele dieser Leute tragen sogar an sich die Spuren der körperlichen Strafen, mit denen sie in der Heimath begangene Verbrechen zu verbüssen hatten[1]. Wie roh, verkommen, sittenlos diese Bevölkerung ist, geht aus den Schilderungen der Reisenden zur Genüge hervor. Prshewalskij findet an den Ussuri-Man-dse keinen hellen Zug hervorzuheben; drastisch schildert er hingegen das wüste Leben der im Zymuche- und Ssutschan-Thale überwinternden Goldwäscher, Seetangfischer und anderen Gesindels, ihre Trunksucht, ihr leidenschaftlich betriebenes Kartenspiel, bei welchem Mancher all' sein Hab und Gut in einer Nacht verspielt, und das oft von Mord und Todtschlag begleitet wird[2]. Von irgend welchen gemeinnützigen Einrichtungen, Schulen u. dgl., wie im Sungari-Lande, findet sich hier auch bei dem besseren Theile der Man-dse, den kleinen sesshaften Ackerbauern, den von Ssan-ssin oder Ninguta herübergekommenen Kaufleuten, nicht das Geringste vor. Dass unter solchen Umständen der chinesischen Bevölkerung im Ussuri-Gebiet auch jene moralische, civilisatorische Macht und Bedeutung abgeht, die sie im Sungari-Lande den Mandshu gegenüber gewonnen hat, versteht sich von selbst. Dazu fehlte es den Chinesen im Ussuri-Gebiet an der ersten und nothwendigsten Bedingung — der Familie. Kein chinesisches Weib betritt das Ussuri-Land. Die dortigen Man-dse sind daher genöthigt, wenn sie nicht, wie es allerdings meistens geschieht, ein einsames Leben führen wollen, mit Orotschen- oder Golde-Weibern Ehen oder Concubinate einzugehen[3]. In beiden Fällen aber wachsen die Kinder, wenn sie auch von früh an chinesisch sprechen lernen — was übrigens unter den mit den Chinesen untermischt wohnenden oder viel verkehrenden Eingeborenen auch sonst vielfach der Fall ist — unter dem Einfluss ihrer respectiven Mütter um nichts besser als die Orotschen- und Golde-Kinder auf und fallen auch in ihrem späteren Leben, von einigen Modifikationen im Charakter, im äusseren Habitus u. s. w. abgesehen, nach

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1) Пеньковъ, Записки казачьяго офиц (Морск. Сборн. 1864, № 8, 9, неоф., стр. 199).

2) Путеш. въ Уссур. край, стр. 83, 86, 90.

3) So viel ich chinesische Fanzen am unteren Ussuri — und übrigens auch einzeln gelegene Hauser chinesischer Handler am oberen Amur — besucht, habe ich in denselben fast immer nur Männer, selten auch Weiber von Eingeborenen, niemals Chinesinnen gesehen. Aehnlich lauten für verschiedene Theile des Ussuri-Gebietes die Angaben von Wenjukof (Обозр. р. Уссури и пр. стр. 211, 212; Пут. по сер. Росс. стр. 100, 101), Maximowicz (Ман. Вен. Росс. Геогр. Общ. 1861, Кн. III, Отдѣл, стр. 3), Ussolzef, Claxmanden, прим. — Морск. Сборн. 1864, № 8, 9, неоф., стр. 190), P. v. Helmersen (Petermanns Geogr. Mittheil. 1860, p. 84), Budischtschef (Описание сбл. части Прим. обл. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ., Т. IX и X, 1867, стр. 182), Schmidt (Histor. Bericht etc. l. c., pag. 139), Prshewalskij (Пут. въ Уссур. кр. стр. 83, 103), u. A.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

ihrem ganzen Sein und Treiben diesen Nationalitäten anheim. So ist es der chinesischen Regierung allerdings gelungen, das Anwachsen einer mächtigen chinesischen Bevölkerung im Ussuri-Gebiet zu verhindern, allein sie hat damit, kurzsichtig genug, nur ihren eigenen Interessen entgegen gearbeitet und der Besitznahme dieses Landes und leichteren Assimilirung seines Volkes durch die Russen wesentlich Vorschub geleistet [1].

Dies die Gebiete chinesischer Massenbevölkerung im Amur-Lande. Sie sind die Centren, die Heerde, von denen alle über das Amur-Land zerstreuten chinesischen Einzelelemente ausstrahlen. Von dort gehen die zahlreichen chinesischen Handelsleute aus, die zu allen Amur-Völkern vordringen, um ihre mandshu-chinesischen Waaren und Produkte im Tausch gegen deren Jagdausbeuten *abzusetzen. Und nicht bloss vorübergehend besuchen sie dieselben*, sie haben an manchen Punkten auch festen Fuss unter ihnen gefasst, mehr oder weniger bleibenden Aufenthalt genommen, kleine Handelsposten oder Handelsstationen errichtet. Wir werden den Handel, den die Chinesen — ob umherstreifend oder an einen Orte fixirt — mit den Amur-Völkern betreiben, später, am betreffenden Orte, ausführlich besprechen, zunächst interessiren uns ihre Handelsstationen von einem anderen Gesichtspunkte. Im Gefolge des Handels dringt nämlich auch chinesisches Wesen, chinesische Cultur, Sitte oder Unsitte zu den Amur-Völkern, und jede chinesische Handelsstation ist daher wiederum ein kleiner Heerd, von dem chinesischer Einfluss auf die Amur-Völker ausstrahlt. Liegt es uns daher, um diesen Einfluss im Verlauf unserer Betrachtungen über die Amur-Völker überall zu ermitteln und zu ermessen, zunächst ob, das Verbreitungsgebiet der Chinesen im Amur-Lande näher kennen zu lernen, so müssen wir durchaus auch diesen ihren kleinen, unter die Amur-Völker vorgeschobenen Handelsstationen nach ihrer ungefähren Zahl, Lage u. dgl. Rechnung tragen.

Es ist schon für die verschiedene Stellung und Beziehung der Mandshu und der Chinesen zu den Amur-Völkern höchst bezeichnend, dass während wir bei jenen nur mit Wachtposten und ständigen Beamtensitzen zu thun hatten, bei diesen nur von Handelsposten und ständigen Sitzen von Handelsleuten die Rede ist. Und nicht minder bezeichnend ist es, dass diese letzteren nicht bloss jene an Zahl stark übertreffen, sondern auch weit über die Grenzen hinausreichen, innerhalb welcher jene liegen. Wo die faktische Macht des Mandshu aufhört, hat der Chinese durch die Macht des Handels noch festen Fuss zu fassen verstanden. Und das, trotzdem er selbst manchen Einschränkungen und Bedrückungen von Seiten der mandshurischen Machthaber sich unterziehen muss. Am geringsten ist die Ausbreitung der chinesischen Händler am oberen Amur, oberhalb der Dserja-Mündung, wohin sie aus Aigun und den anliegenden chinesischen Dörfern sich begeben. Ich traf sie dort nur an vier Punkten, und der letzte dieser Händler, stromaufwärts gegangen, hatte seinen Sitz noch etwa eine Tagereise unterhalb des Wachtpostens Ulussumodon. Sie bleiben also dort noch im Manägirn-Gebiet zurück, und unter den Orotschonen finden sich keine mehr. Die Gründe, welche sie abhalten, nach dieser Richtung hin weiter und

1) Vergl. auch Palladij, l. c.

in grösserer Anzahl vorzudringen, scheinen mir folgende zu sein. Zunächst und hauptsächlich die geringe und dabei nur nomadische Bevölkerung in diesem Theile des Amur-Stromes. Das schmälert und erschwert nicht bloss den Handel, sondern macht auch die Händler zu halben Nomaden. Da die Manägirn am Amur keine festen Wohnsitze haben, so können auch die chinesischen Händler ihre Sitze nicht bei ihnen aufschlagen, wie sie es mit den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes thun, sondern müssen selbst durch Errichtung eines Hauses und Anbau von etwas Gemüse für Wohnung und Nahrung sorgen. Verödet aber im Herbst, mit dem Abzug der Manägirn, der Amur gänzlich, dann bleibt auch ihnen nichts übrig, als nach Aigun oder einem anderen Orte, woher sie gekommen, zurückzukehren, um erst wieder im Frühling, wenn auch die Nomaden zum Fischfang wieder an den Amur kommen, auf ihren Handelsposten sich einzufinden. Ein anderer den chinesischen Händlern am oberen Amur nachtheiliger Umstand ist die Concurrenz, die sie dort von Seiten der Dauren erfahren, und die ihnen um so mehr Abbruch thut, als die letzteren, schon durch ihre festen Wohnsitze am mittleren und oberen Komar und ihre beständigen Beziehungen zu den Manägirn, in günstigerer Lage sich befinden und ausserdem, wie es scheint, auch von den mandshurischen Beamten vor den Chinesen begünstigt werden. Ja, es dürfte das weitere Vordringen am oberen Amur den chinesischen Händlern von ihrer Regierung sogar direkt untersagt sein, denn nirgends ist diese so misstrauisch-ängstlich, so bemüht jeden Grenzverkehr zu verhindern als gerade an der russischen Grenze, am lange und blutig bestrittenen oberen Amur. Darum reichen dort ausnahmsweise die chinesischen Handelsposten auch nicht über die mandshurischen Wachtposten hinaus, sondern bleiben weit unterhalb derselben zurück. Ausser an den oberen Amur gehen aber von Aigun und den umliegenden chinesischen Niederlassungen keine Händler aus, denn die Dseja und Burreja mit ihren Zuflüssen scheinen ausschliesslich von daurischen Kaufleuten besucht zu werden.

Ein viel weiteres Feld als am oberen Amur haben die chinesischen Händler im unteren Laufe dieses Stromes. Auf der Strecke zwischen der Sungari- und der Ussuri-Mündung giebt es allerdings, so viel ich erfahren konnte, keine beständigen Aufenthaltsorte chinesischer Kaufleute, theils wegen der sehr geringen Bevölkerung, theils auch wegen der Nähe jener Ströme und also auch der an denselben gelegenen Handelspunkte. Unterhalb der Ussuri-Mündung, im dichter bevölkerten Theile des Golde-Gebietes, giebt es aber deren mehrere. Als solche lernte ich z. B. selbst die Dörfer Da, Onmoi, Mylki, Zjanka, Könrmi kennen — alle im Sommer und Winter von einigen handeltreibenden Chinesen bewohnt. An anderen Orten, welche auch die Golde im Sommer verlassen, um für den Fischfang günstiger gelegene Punkte aufzusuchen, halten sie sich nur den Winter über auf, während sie den Sommer dazu benutzen, um sich mit neuen Waaren zu versorgen und unterwegs mit den Golde zu handeln. Die Wahl der genannten Dörfer zu bleibenden Aufenthaltsorten seitens der chinesischen Kaufleute erklärt sich übrigens durch ihre günstige Lage. Alle liegen sie nämlich an solchen Punkten, wo die Naturprodukte, namentlich das Pelzwerk, von verschiedenen Völkern her auf natürlichen Bahnen zusammenströmen. So mündet bei Da der im unteren Laufe noch von Golde, im oberen von Orotschen bewohnte Da- oder Naiche-Fluss; von Onmoi aus lassen sich ebenfalls nicht bloss die Anwohner des Amur,

sondern auch die Golde und Orotschen des gegenüber einmündenden Chongar-Flusses besorgen oder ausbeuten; Zjanka und Kourmi endlich liegen in derselben Weise gegenüber, resp. in der Nähe der Gorin-Mündung, so dass die Chinesen von dort aus auch ihre allwinterlichen Handelsreisen zu den Samagirn ausführen. Zjanka ist dabei ein echter kleiner Handelsposten der Chinesen, indem sie dort ihr eigenes, mit einem Gemüsegarten versehenes Haus besitzen. Die beiden letztgenannten Orte liegen übrigens schon über den äussersten Mandshu-Posten hinaus, nahe der Grenze des Golde-Gebietes, mit welchem auch die faktische Mandshu-Herrschaft ihre Grenze erreicht. Die chinesischen Kaufleute ziehen jedoch noch weiter, durch das ganze Oltscha-Gebiet und halten sich dort an verschiedenen Orten auch beständig auf. So namentlich in den Oltscha-Dörfern Adi, Kidsi und Pulj, wo ich sie im Winter 1855 selbst kennen lernte. Alle drei Orte sind von ihnen auch wieder sehr geschickt gewählt. Denn Adi ist das grösste aller Oltscha-Dörfer und zugleich nahe dem Golde- und dem Samagirn-Gebiete gelegen: Kidsi liegt einerseits in der Mitte des Oltscha-Gebietes und andererseits durch den Kidsi-See, von welchem ein Schleppweg nach der Meeresküste führt, wie durch die Flüsse Pä und Jal, von denen es eine Strasse nach dem Tumdshi-Fluss und dem Kaiserhafen giebt, zugleich in unmittelbarer Nähe der Orotschen; und Pulj endlich hat den grossen Vorzug, dass es einmal in naher Nachbarschaft der Amur-Giljaken, und dann auch an der Schwelle der Strasse liegt, die im Winter über das Adara-Gebirge nach dem Liman hinüberführt, und auf welcher nicht bloss Liman-Giljaken, sondern, wie wir oben sahen, auch die Oroken von Sachalin an den Amur herüber kommen. Dies ist aber auch die äusserste einigermassen beständige Handelsstation der Chinesen im unteren Amur-Lande; denn weiterhin machen sie nur noch längs dem bis zur letzten, östlichen Wendung des Amur-Stromes von den Giljaken — mit Ausnahme des Dorfes Tlals — unbewohnten linken Ufer desselben zeitweise Handelsreisen zu den Negda am Amgunj[1]). Das rechte, verhältnissmässig dicht bevölkerte Ufer des Amur und von seiner letzten Wendung nach Ost ab auch das linke bleiben ihnen verschlossen. Denn die Giljaken, obwohl — wie wir sehen werden — selbst eifrige Händler, gestatten doch keinem Chinesen den Zutritt in ihr Land, vielleicht in der richtigen Befürchtung, dass die Händler den Herrschern den Weg bahnen könnten. Liegt es ihnen doch, nach den Erfahrungen, die sie selbst auf ihren Handelsreisen an den Sungari machen, in der That nahe, Mandshu und Chinesen, ob sie gleich dieselben der Nationalität nach unterscheiden, doch der Macht- und Herrscherstellung nach, ihnen — den Giljaken — wie den übrigen Amur-Völkern gegenüber, für identisch zu halten. Auch bezeichnen sie die Chinesen zuweilen schlechtweg mit dem Namen «Mandshu» — ein Umstand, der zu manchen Verwechselungen dieser Völker auch von Seiten der Reisenden Veranlassung gegeben hat[2]).

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1) Коммаевъ, Экспед. въ Приамурск. край (Морск. Сборн. 1859, № 2, Ч. неоф., стр. 331 и др.).

2) So führen z. B. Orlof (vergl. Тихменевъ, Истор. обозр. обрав. Рос.-Амер. Комп., С. Петерб. 1863, Ч. II, стр. 81 и сл.), Tschichatschof (Tichmenjef, l. c. p. 89 ff.), Bereein (ibid. p. 91 sq.), Boschnjak (Ibid. въ Прим-амурск. край. — Морск. Сборн. 1859, № 1, Ч. неоф., стр. 113—118, 123, 128; № 2, Ч. неоф., стр. 332 до 337; № 3, Ч. неоф., стр. 195 и сл.), u. A. die chinesischen Händler vom unteren Amur und vom Amgunj immer nur als «Mandshu» auf. Ebenso Pargatschefskij (Побережье зап. пустыня между р. Амуром. — Прим.

Der Ausgangspunkt aller Chinesen, die man als reisende oder sesshafte Kaufleute im unteren Amur-Lande antrifft, ist der Sungari und insbesondere die letzte mandshu-chinesische Stadt an demselben, Ssan-ssin oder Itschä-choton. Zwar kommen bisweilen chinesische Händler im Sommer auch den Ussuri abwärts[1]), oder im Winter vom Poor längs der Pächssa-Strasse an den Amur[2]), allein auch diese Wenigen stammen mittelbar vom Sungari her, indem sie meistens doch erst von Ssan-ssin an den Ussuri gezogen sind und mit dieser Stadt auch später in beständiger Verbindung bleiben. Wie die meisten Sungari-Kaufleute sind also auch die Amur-Händler Schansi-Chinesen, gewinnsüchtige, unternehmende Leute, die, von keinen Familienbanden gefesselt, ihr Glück in der Ferne suchen. Wir werden sie später noch genauer kennen lernen.

Dieselbe Rolle, welche den Amur-Völkern gegenüber die Mandshu und Chinesen auf dem Festlande spielen, gebührt auf der Insel Sachalin den **Japanern.** Sie sind die Beherrscher zum wenigsten eines Theiles dieser Insel und das Culturvolk, mit welchem die Bewohner derselben in langjähriger, naher Berührung und Beziehung gestanden haben und zum Theil noch stehen, und dem sie daher unzweifelhaft manchen Cultureinfluss zu verdanken haben. Gleich wie wir daher dort die Ausbreitung der Mandshu und Chinesen betrachten mussten, ist es uns hier zunächst von Interesse, das Gebiet kennen zu lernen, welches die Japaner auf Sachalin inne haben oder bis vor Kurzem noch inne hatten[3]). Die Herrschaft der Japaner hat sich immer nur auf den südlichen Theil von Sachalin erstreckt; sie hat auch zur Zeit ihrer grössten Ausbreitung nur so ziemlich das ganze Aino-Gebiet umfasst, die beiden anderen Völker Sachalin's aber, Oroken und Giljaken, niemals berührt. Da sie von verhältnissmässig neuem Ursprunge ist und aus kleinen Anfängen erst in den letzten Jahren zu grösseren Dimensionen gelangte, in Folge von Ereignissen, welche gerade um die Zeit stattfanden, als ich die Insel kennen lernte, gegenwärtig aber in weiterer Folge derselben Ereignisse wieder ganz aufgehört hat, so glaube ich sie nach ihrem Umfange nicht besser zeichnen zu können, als indem ich ihre Geschichte in wenigen Zügen skizzire.

Als der Japaner Mogami Tok'nai 1785 und 86 die Insel Sachalin oder Krafto (Karafuto) — wie sie japanisch heisst — bereiste[4]), gab es auf derselben noch keinerlei feste Ansiedelungen

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Нов. Русск. Геогр. Обш. Ч. XXI, 1858, Отд. II, стр. 161, 163), die in Poij und Adi sich aufhaltenden Chinesen. In Folge derselben Verwechselung lässt Peschtschurof die Mandshu fast bis zur Mündung des Amur sich ausbreiten; er nennt sie dabei «von Natur furchtsame Krämer» (s. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil. 1857, p. 303), was nur auf die Chinesen passen kann, keineswegs auf die Mandshu. Ebenso dürften die «Mandschus», die nach Prshewalskij (Путеш. на Усур. край, стр. 11) mit ihren Waaren an die Mündung des Komar kommen, nach dem Obigen Chinesen sein; u. s. w.

1) Маньч. Путеш. на Амур. р. Уссуры. Т. I, стр. 60.

2) S. oben p. 66.

3) Ich erinnere nochmals daran, dass meine Betrachtungen auf diejenigen Zustände und Verhältnisse Bezug haben, welche ich selbst in den fünfziger Jahren im Amur-Lande und auf Sachalin vorfand.

4) Es war dies, nach der zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts, auf Befehl des Statthalters von Matsumai, Fürsten Kinfiro, unternommenen Expedition, die erste japanischerseits zur Untersuchung von Sachalin ausgeführte Reise (Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, 127).

von Japanern. Erst als ein Jahr darauf die Schiffe von La Pérouse an der Westküste von Sachalin und in der Bai Aniwa sich sehen liessen, beschloss die japanische Regierung, wie Golownin erzählt, aus Furcht, die Europäer könnten sich der Insel bemächtigen, den südlichen Theil derselben, den die Japaner bis dahin nur des Handels wegen besucht hatten, durch Ansiedelung in Besitz zu nehmen, den nördlichen aber den Chinesen zu überlassen [1]). Vielleicht hat, wenn dieser Beschluss nicht sogleich ausgeführt worden, auch das bald darauf, in den Jahren 1792 und 93, erfolgte Erscheinen Laxmann's in den Häfen von Jesso und bei den südlichen Kurilen mit zur Realisirung desselben beigetragen. Der angeführte Grund zur ersten Ansiedelung der Japaner auf Sachalin ist jedenfalls ganz glaubwürdig, da auch die spätere Erweiterung ihrer Niederlassungen daselbst, wie wir sehen werden, aus ähnlichen Beweggründen hervorging [2]). Bald darauf lernen wir die ersten Ansiedelungen der Japaner auf Sachalin in der That kennen: Krusenstern und seine Begleiter besuchten 1805 zwei derselben in der Bai Aniwa, an den von den Holländern Salmbai und Tomari-Aniwa genannten Punkten [3]). Die letztere Niederlassung heisst bei den Aino Kussun-kotan. In beiden gab es sowohl japanische Officiere wie Kaufleute, und beide schienen, nach dem Zustande der Gebäude wie nach den Angaben der Japaner zu urtheilen, unlängst begründet zu sein [4]). Sehr wahrscheinlich beschränkten sich die Niederlassungen der Japaner zu der Zeit auf die ihnen zunächst gelegene Bai Aniwa. Höchstens könnte man glauben, dass es noch eine japanische Handelsniederlassung in Sairanussi, an der Westküste gleich oberhalb des Caps Crillon, einem alten, unzweifelhaft auch von den Japanern besuchten Handelsplatze, von dem später noch öfters die Rede sein wird, gegeben habe; doch scheint dies, wie wir sogleich sehen werden, in der That nicht gewesen zu sein. Nach der Bai Aniwa allein richteten auch Chwostof und Dawydof in den Jahren 1806 und 1807 die Raubzüge, die sie auf Geheiss des von Japan abgewiesenen russischen Gesandten Resanof gegen die japanischen Niederlassungen auf Sachalin auszuführen hatten [5]). Die Zerstörungen, die sie dort

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1) Лаксманъ ф.л. изъ. Голownинъ о прав.ство, его на остр. у Японцевъ. С. Петербургъ 1816, Ч. III, стр. 168. Wenn daher N. Russe (Петровъ Сахалинъ и экспедиція 1853 и 1854 г. С. Петербургъ 1872, стр. 72), die Angabe Golownin's reproducirend, sagt, die japanische Regierung habe die ersten Ansiedelungen auf Sachalin zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts begründet, und zwar aus Furcht, dass die Russen sich die Insel aneignen könnten, so ist dies nicht ganz correct.

2) So soll auch erst die Besitznahme der nördlichen Kurilen durch die Russen die Japaner zur Ansiedelung auf den ihnen zunächst gelegenen südlichen Kurilen, Kunaschir und Iturup, bewogen haben (Golownin, l. c. p. 157; vrgl. auch Siebold, l. c. p. 127).

3) Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, St. Petersburg 1810, Bd. II, pag. 62 ff. Langsdorff, Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfurt a./M. 1812, Bd. I, p. 290 ff.

4) Hinsichtlich der Ansiedelung in der Salmbai zog Krusenstern (l. c. p. 65) diesen Schluss daraus, dass sowohl die Wohnhäuser der japanischen Officiere, als besonders auch die Packhäuser noch ganz neu, ja einige noch nicht einmal beendigt waren. In Tomari-Aniwa (Kussun-kotan) erzählten die japanischen Officiere Langsdorff (l. c. p. 293), dass einer von ihnen sechs, der andere schon acht Jahre auf Sachalin lebte. Vielleicht ist daher diese Ansiedelung die ältere von beiden, wie sie schon damals auch die grössere war. Nach Polonskij (Курилы. — Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. по отд. Этногр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 539) wäre die Niederlassung der Japaner in der Bai Aniwa sieben Jahre vor dem ersten Angriff, den sie daselbst von Chwostof erfuhren, also im Jahre 1799 erfolgt.

5) Eine ausführliche Auseinandersetzung und Beleuch-

anrichteten, nöthigten die japanische Regierung zu grösserer Wachsamkeit und Umsicht für ihre Colonien und veranlassten sie unter Anderem, im Jahre darauf einen geschickten und zuverlässigen Mann, den Geometer Mamia Rinsô, nach Krafto abzusenden, um diese Insel sowohl wie auch das anstossende untere Amur-Land für ihre Zwecke auszukundschaften[1]). Wir werden auf diese auch in ethnographischer Beziehung höchst interessante Reise, deren Bekanntmachung man Ph. F. v. Siebold verdankt[2]), in der Folge noch vielfach zurückkommen; jetzt erwähne ich ihrer nur, weil man aus ihr entnehmen kann, dass es zu der Zeit auf der Westküste Sachalin's keine japanischen Ansiedelungen gab. Auch von einer solchen in Ssiranussi, wohin Mamia Rinsô zunächst ging und wo er drei Tage mit Vorbereitungen zur weiteren Reise zubrachte, ist bei ihm nicht die Rede; nur des Handels der Japaner an diesem Orte erwähnt er in seinem Bericht[3]).

So gering aber an Zahl und Umfang die japanischen Ansiedelungen auf Sachalin im Anfange auch waren, so hatten sie doch gleich zur Folge, dass ein Theil der Aino von den Japanern abhängig wurde. Die Veranlassung dazu gab namentlich der Umstand, dass die letzteren, um den an den Küsten Sachalin's so lohnenden Fischfang in grösserem Umfange zu betreiben, der Hülfe der Aino bedurften. Da es nun unter diesen, bei der Sorglosigkeit, die alle Naturvölker kennzeichnet, stets welche gab, die nach aufgezehrtem, unzureichendem Wintervorrath, Mangel und Noth litten, so konnte es den Japanern nicht schwer fallen, gegen Nahrung und Kleidung Arbeiter unter den Aino zu finden. Die einmal Gewonnenen sanken aber durch die Unmöglichkeit, in die sie sich versetzt sahen, weiterhin für sich selbst zu arbeiten, durch kleine Vorschüsse, die sie zu Schuldnern der Japaner machten, durch mancherlei Versprechungen, Einschüchterungen, überhaupt durch den Druck des ihnen überlegenen, mit ihren Schwächen schon von Jesso her bekannten Culturvolkes, in kurzer Zeit zu beständigen, völlig abhängigen Arbeitern und Knechten der Japaner herab. So wurde, wie Fr. Schmidt[4]) richtig bemerkt, aus der anfangs freiwilligen Arbeit der Aino für die Japaner bald eine erzwungene. Natürlich suchten dabei die letzteren, um ihrer Arbeiter gewiss zu sein, sie stets in ihrer Nähe zu behalten, und

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tung dieser Ereignisse gab der Admiral Schischkof im Vorwort zu Dawydof's Beschreibung der von Chwostof und ihm ausgeführten Reisen (Двухкратное путешествіе въ Америку морск. офицер. Хвостова и Давыдова. С. Петерб. 1810, Ч. I, Предуведомл., стр. XIII—XXVI).

1) Siebold, Nippon I, p. 129; VII, p. 197. Man kann aus dem oben Angeführten leicht ersehen, in welch' vollkommenem Widerspruch mit allen historischen Thatsachen die Behauptung Newelskoi's steht — auf die er jedoch immer und immer wieder zurückkommt (vrgl. sein posthumes Werk: Подвиги русск. морск. офиц. на крайнемъ востоке. Россіи, стр. 132, 256, 275, 302) — dass nämlich die Japaner erst nach den Russen, und zwar erst von 1810 an, und also auch nach dem Besuch der Bai Aniwa durch Chwostof und Dawydof, nach Sachalin zu kommen und sich dort niederzulassen begonnen hätten. Diese Behauptung ist ebenso falsch, wie eine zweite, im selben Satze (l. c. p. 256) von ihm geäusserte, dass nämlich Sachalin zuerst, und zwar im Jahre 1740, von Russen beschrieben worden sei (als ob es ein Jahrhundert zuvor nicht einen Vries gegeben hätte), und wie auch noch eine dritte, dass die Oroken zu Anfang des XVI. Jahrhunderts aus dem Udj-Gebiet ausgewanderte russische Tungusen seien. Die letztere werde ich später noch genauer besprechen und bei der Gelegenheit auf die allen diesen Behauptungen zu Grunde liegende Tendenz hinweisen.

2) Tô-tats ki ko, d. i. Reise nach der östlichen Tatarei (Nippon, VII, p. 167—198).

3) L. c. p. 187.

4) Histor. Bericht etc. l. c. p. 198.

so sammelte sich um die japanischen Niederlassungen eine zahlreiche Bevölkerung abhängiger Aino, es bildeten sich ganze Dörfer derselben, während ihre früheren Wohnsitze verödeten.

Zugleich dehnten die Japaner ihre Niederlassungen auf Sachalin mehr und mehr aus. Doch fand dies bis zum Jahre 1854 nur sehr langsam und allmählich statt. Nächst der Bai Aniwa breiteten sie sich namentlich längs der Westküste Sachalin's von Ssiranussi nordwärts aus. Im Herbst 1853, als neben Kussun-kotan russischerseits der Murawjofsche Posten gegründet wurde, hatten die Japaner drei grosse oder Hauptniederlassungen auf Sachalin: Kussun-kotan, Ssiranussi und Endungomo (Tunai, Mauka)[1], zwischen denen, in den Aino-Dörfern oder auch abseits von denselben, an der Meeresküste zahlreiche, zur Aufnahme der Fischvorräthe dienliche Scheunen und Packhäuser und ab und zu auch einzelne, nur im Sommer benutzte japanische Wohnhäuser lagen. Diese zogen sich nordwärts auch noch eine Strecke über Endungomo hinaus fort: das letzte, nördlichste Haus der Art fand Lieut. Rudanofskij, der Südsachalin im Winter 1853/54 vom Murawjofschen Posten aus bereiste, in der Bucht Tokmako, nur wenig nördlich von Endungomo, und die letzten japanischen Scheunen in Tubu, Notossam und Paikassabussi. Uebrigens hatten die Japaner in dem Winter auch Endungomo zeitweise verlassen, wie sie es bis dahin in der Regel zu thun pflegten, schon aus dem Grunde, weil ihre Schiffe beim Ueberwintern in den nur wenig geschützten Buchten dieses Theiles von Sachalin manchen Gefahren ausgesetzt waren. Dennoch war um Endungomo für die Fischereien der Japaner im Sommer eine so zahlreiche Aino-Bevölkerung wie kaum irgendwo auf Sachalin concentrirt. Rudanofskij schätzte allein die Menge, die ihn bei seiner Ankunft empfing, auf 300 Mann, nach Angabe der Aino selbst aber sollte ihre Zahl dort etwa 700 betragen[2]. Wie Endungomo der Fischerei, so lebte Ssiranussi vornehmlich dem Handel. Diese Niederlassungen trugen somit im Vergleich mit Kussun-kotan, wo es beständig auch einige japanische Officiere gab, einen anderen Charakter — den reiner Fischerei- und Handelsstationen. So wesentlich waren überhaupt den Japanern auf Sachalin diese letzteren Interessen, dass ihre grösste Befürchtung bei Errichtung des Murawjofschen Postens dahin ging, die Russen könnten ihnen die Aino abspenstig machen und dadurch ihren dortigen Fischfang und Handel vernichten. Als daher dieser Posten, beim Ausbruch des Krimkrieges, im Mai 1854 aufgehoben wurde, beeilten sich die Japaner ihre Niederlassungen auf Sachalin mittlerweile möglichst auszudehnen und zu verstärken, um bei eventueller Wiederkehr der Russen im faktischen Besitz des ganzen Aino-Gebietes der Insel zu sein. Rasch verbreiteten sich die übertriebendsten Gerüchte über diese Ausbreitung der Japaner nicht bloss unter den Aino, sondern auch unter ihren nördlichen Nachbaren, den Giljaken. Als ich im Winter 1854/55 im Nikolajevschen Posten die Zurüstungen zu meiner ersten Reise nach Sachalin traf, trugen mir Liman-Giljaken die

1) Schmidt, Historischer Bericht etc. l. c. pag. 105. A. D. Brylkin, Statist. und topograph. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. XXV, p. 278).

2) Die obigen Nachrichten sind dem handschriftlichen Reisejournal des Hrn. Rudanofskij, das er mir freundlichst zur Benutzung mittheilte, entnommen. Ob es in extenso irgendwo abgedruckt ist, weiss ich nicht.

seltsamsten Erzählungen darüber zu: neben der wahren Nachricht, dass die Japaner in diesem Jahre in grösserer Anzahl auf Sachalin erschienen und auch zum Winter nicht fortgezogen seien, erzählten sie auch, dass dieselben bereits im Sommer durch Sendlinge, die bis zum Cap Lasaref und nach Tschomi gekommen wären, das Treiben der Russen im Liman und am Amur ausgekundschaftet hätten, dass ihre Schiffe bis zum giljakischen Dorfe Pilja-wo vorgedrungen seien und dort winterten, dass ihrer Drohung gemäss, fortan kein Giljake, der sich bei ihnen sehen liesse, mit dem Leben davon kommen würde u. s. w. Ohne Zweifel wurden diese Nachrichten zum Theil durch Aino vermittelt, welche vor den Japanern flüchteten und, um ihre Unabhängigkeit zu wahren, in den Grenzdörfern der Giljaken Zuflucht suchten. Da sich Aehnliches sicherlich auch schon früher, bei Errichtung der ersten japanischen Niederlassungen auf Sachalin und zumal auf seiner Westküste, wiederholentlich zugetragen hat, so erklärt sich daraus die oben erwähnte gemischte Bevölkerung in den südlichsten, an das Aino-Gebiet grenzenden giljakischen Dörfern.

Jetzt nahmen die Japaner auch die Ostküste Sachalin's, auf der sie bis 1854 gar keine Niederlassungen gehabt hatten, in Angriff, und an beiden Küsten ging ihre Ausbreitung ziemlich gleichmässig vor sich. Im Jahre 1857 lag ihre nördlichste Ansiedelung an der Westküste in Naioro, nur wenig südlich vom Kussunnai-Flusse[1]). Im Jahre darauf wurden russischerseits die Posten Kussunnai an der West- und Manuë an der Ostküste gegründet[2]), deren Lage insofern von besonderer Wichtigkeit ist, als zwischen ihnen der schmalste Theil der Insel sich befindet, mit der kürzesten und leichtesten, quer über dieselbe führenden Strasse, die seit je dem Verkehr zwischen den beiden Küsten gedient hat[3]). Gleichsam als Gegenzug, errichteten bald darauf auch die Japaner hart daneben ihre Niederlassungen Kussunnai und Wari[4]). Als Schmidt die Insel bereiste (1860), traf er die Japaner an der Westküste schon bis zur Grenze des eigentlichen Aino-Gebietes vorgerückt. Ihre nördlichste Ansiedelung lag in Ustomonaipu, in der Bai d'Estaing, aber ihre Fischereien dehnten sich noch nördlicher aus, denn in Urotzi sah er eine grosse, von ihnen errichtete Niederlage gesalzener Lachse, und noch weiter darüber hinaus, nördlich von dem Aino-Dorfe Orokes, am Cap Chazkopespo, stiess er auf Japaner, die sich zu zeitweiligem Aufenthalt eine Rindenhütte errichtet hatten und mit Sammeln und Trocknen von Seetang, *Laminaria esculenta*, beschäftigt waren[5]). Orokes ist aber, wie wir oben sahen[6]), der nördlichste Ort mit reiner Aino-Bevölkerung: auf ihn folgt nordwärts eine ziemlich wüste Küstenstrecke, welche das Aino-Gebiet von dem der Giljaken trennt, und jenseits derselben beginnen mit Pilja-wo schon Dörfer mit gemischter Bevölkerung aus Giljaken und Aino, wobei die letzteren sich nur als durch die Japaner dahin versprengt

1) Schmidt, Histor. Ber. etc. l. c. p. 77.
2) Schmidt, l. c. p. 106.
3) Schon Rudanofskij ist diese Strasse im Januar 1854 gegangen.
4) Schmidt, Histor. Bericht etc. l. c. p. 108. А. Ермакинъ, Письма съ Сахалина (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. VII, Иркутскъ 1861, стр. 4).
5) Schmidt, Histor. Ber. etc. l. c. p. 73—77.
6) S. oben p. 18.

betrachten lassen. So standen die Japaner an der Westküste von Sachalin, wenn sie nicht auch in das Giljaken-Gebiet sich ausbreiten wollten, schon im Jahre 1860 am Ziele ihrer Wünsche.

Nur wenig später gewannen sie dieselbe Stellung auch an der Ostküste. Dort war im Jahre 1860 ihr nördlichster Punkt Mogun-kotan[1]). Im Sommer des folgenden Jahres nahmen sie schon die fischreichsten Stellen an der westlichen Mündung des Ty- oder Poronai-Flusses in Besitz und gründeten daselbst ihre Niederlassung Sisska, in welcher sie auch zum Winter einige Mann zurückliessen[2]). Von dort aus verlangten sie, dass auch die letzten, östlichsten, bis dahin noch unabhängigen und darum wohlhabendsten Aino, die von Taraika, ihre Oberhoheit anerkannten. Noch im selben Jahre sollte zu dem Zwecke ein japanischer Beamter nach Taraika gehen und eine japanische Ansiedelung an diesem Orte gegründet werden, und jetzt, schrieb Brylkin 1864[3]), ist dies ohne Zweifel schon ausgeführt. Dass es in der That geschehen sein sollte, berichtete später auch Schmidt[4]). Ja, nach Mizul[5]), sollen die Japaner von Taraika aus zur Zeit des Fischfanges sogar nach Nyi gehen. Vermuthlich sind dies jedoch nicht sowohl regelmässige, als vielmehr nur einzelne, behufs Kenntnissnahme von der weiteren Küste von den Japanern ausgeführte Fahrten gewesen, da Nyi weit von Taraika, schon im Gebiet der Giljaken liegt und die Küste bis kurz davor unbewohnt ist. Jedenfalls lässt sich nicht annehmen, dass die Japaner ihre Herrschaft auf Sachalin jemals über das Aino-Gebiet hinaus auszudehnen beabsichtigt hätten. Denn sie mussten wohl wissen, dass sie an den Giljaken kein so dienstwilliges und leicht zu unterjochendes Volk wie an den ihnen schon von Jesso her bekannten Aino finden würden. Diese Bekanntschaft der Japaner mit der Sprache, wie mit der Art und Weise der Aino hat der Ausbreitung ihrer Herrschaft über Südsachalin wesentlichen Vorschub geleistet. Auch ist die japanische Colonisation Sachalin's naturgemäss stets von Jesso ausgegangen: sie ist nämlich von den beiden Fürsten von Matsumai und von Hakodate betrieben worden, denen die sechs Bezirke japanischer Ansiedelungen, die es auf Sachalin gab, in administrativer Beziehung auch unterworfen blieben; und zwar erkannten die drei südlichen Bezirke, Ssiranussi, Kussum-kotan und Tunaitscha, die Oberhoheit des Fürsten von Matsumai, die drei nördlichen, Tunai (Endungomo), Kusumnai und Manuë oder Wari, welcher letztere Bezirk sich bis zum Golfe der Geduld erstreckte, die Oberhoheit des Fürsten von Hakodate an[6]). Diesen Verhältnissen machte der 1875 zwischen Russland und Japan abgeschlossene Traktat ein Ende, welchem zufolge alle russischen Kurilen, von Urup bis Schumschu, an Japan abgetreten wurden, und dieses dagegen auf den Besitz von Südsachalin zu Gunsten Russlands verzichtete.

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1) Brylkin, l. c. p. 20.

2) Brylkin, l. c. p. 53. Минуэ, Очерк острова Сахалина, стр. 119.

3) L. c. p. 38, 53.

4) Histor. Ber. etc. l. c. p. 108, 114.

5) L. c. p. 120.

6) Brylkin, Statist. und topogr. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin, l. c. p. 279—287. Dort findet man auch ein genaues Verzeichniss aller japanischen Ansiedelungen, so wie auch der Aino-Dörfer auf Sachalin.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Ausser der Ausbreitung der ostasiatischen Culturvölker, Chinesen und Japaner, ist hier endlich auch die räumliche Stellung zu bezeichnen, welche die Russen zu der Zeit im Amur-Lande einnahmen, als ich die Bekanntschaft seiner Völker machte. In der Einleitung ist bereits erwähnt worden, wie rasch in den letzten Decennien die Besitznahme und Colonisation des Amur-Landes von Seiten Russlands vor sich ging; es ist hervorgehoben worden, dass damit zugleich die Nationaleigenthümlichkeiten der Amur-Völker rasch sich zu verwischen begannen, und dass es daher eine Gunst der Verhältnisse genannt werden muss, wenn wir diese Völker noch vor dem Verlust ihrer Eigenart kennen zu lernen Gelegenheit fanden. Nur die ersten Anfänge russischer Besitznahme und Colonisation fielen in die Zeit meines Aufenthaltes im Amur-Lande oder gingen ihr unmittelbar voraus. Nur diese wären hier daher genauer zu bezeichnen. Bekanntlich datiren jedoch die ersten Berührungen der Russen mit den Amur-Völkern schon mehr als zwei Jahrhunderte zurück, und nachweislich haben später auch immer welche stattgefunden. Es liegt uns daher nahe, zuvor auch ihnen einige Rechnung zu tragen.

Aus den Schriften der Historiographen Sibirien's, G. Müller, J. E. Fischer u. A., kennt man zur Genüge die Kriegs- und Raubzüge russischer Kosaken und Freibeuter im XVII. Jahrhundert im Amur-Lande, die sich den Lauf des Amur-Stromes abwärts bis zu dessen Mündung und dem angrenzenden Theile des Ochotskischen Meeres erstreckten und an vielen Punkten zur Errichtung zeitweiliger Winterquartiere, befestigter Lager, Verschanzungen, Dörfer, ja auch einer Stadt, Albasin am oberen Amur, führten. Manche Einzelheiten dieser Ereignisse werden später gelegentlich berührt, manche in ethnographischer Beziehung für das Amur-Land hochwichtige Folgen derselben genauer erörtert werden, eine gesammte wiederholte Schilderung aller jener Vorgänge wäre hier um so weniger am Platz, als die Berührungen der Russen mit den Amur-Völkern dabei von zu kurzer Dauer, von zu ausschliesslich feindlicher Natur waren, um, von zahlreichen Zerstörungen und Verwüstungen abgesehen, auf das Leben, die Anschauungen, die Sitten und Gebräuche der letzteren einen nachweisbaren Einfluss auszuüben. Bekanntlich setzte den damaligen Unternehmungen der Russen der zu Nertschinsk 1689 abgeschlossene Traktat ein Ende, nach welchem China die Herrschaft über das ganze Amur-Land eingeräumt wurde. Man darf jedoch nicht glauben, dass damit die Berührungen der Russen mit den Amur-Völkern in deren eigenem Lande ganz aufhörten. Die Triebfedern, welche die ersten russischen Kosaken nach den Amur-Strom gelenkt hatten, Hoffnung auf reiche Beute an kostbarem Pelzwerk, an edlen Metallen, an wer weiss welchen noch unbekannten Schätzen in diesem weiten und noch unbekannten Lande und dabei die Aussicht auf ein freies, ungebundenes, uncontrolirbares Hantiren unter seinen Völkern, wirkten fort und waren traktatmässig nicht zu unterdrücken. So schwere Strafen der Nertschinsker wie der später, 1728, vom Grafen Ragusinskij mit China abgeschlossene Vertrag auf das Ueberschreiten der russisch-chinesischen Grenze auch festsetzten, so fand Solches doch mehr oder weniger auf der ganzen Strecke vom Argunj und der Schilka bis zum Ochotskischen Meere statt. Russische Pelzjäger, Kaufleute, Kosaken, Abenteurer und Ausreisser aller Art, auch entlaufene Sträflinge u. dgl. begaben sich tief in das Amur-Land hinein, bald nur zeitweilig, bald auch zu längerem Aufenthalt, ja,

manche liessen sich ganz dort nieder. Zum Theil trug auch der unbestimmte und unbekannte Verlauf der Grenzlinie in jenen Wald- und Gebirgswildnissen, so wie ihre vollkommene Unhaltbarkeit den russisch-tungusischen Gebirgsnomaden gegenüber, zu beständigen Verletzungen der Grenzverträge bei. Middendorff hat diese Verhältnisse sehr eingehend geschildert und aus Handschriften, aus Archivpapieren, aus eigenen Erkundigungen und Erfahrungen eine lange Reihe von Thatsachen mitgetheilt, die den besten Beweis liefern, dass der Verkehr zwischen den Russen und den Amur-Völkern, wenn über denselben auch nichts verlautete, doch hier oder dort fast ununterbrochen stattfand[1]). Er glaubt ihm sogar einen Einfluss auf die Gesichtsbildung der Bewohner des unteren Amur-Landes zuschreiben zu dürfen[2]). In einzelnen Fällen, namentlich in den Grenzdistrikten, durch welche Middendorff's Reise ging, mag vielleicht ein solcher Einfluss in der That kenntlich sein, im Grossen und Ganzen kann ich jedoch diese Ansicht nicht theilen; ja, ich glaube vielmehr, dass die Nationaleigenthümlichkeiten der Amur-Völker durch jenen Verkehr kaum irgend gelitten haben können, da die Russen in dieser Zeit das Amur-Land doch nur mehr oder weniger einzeln, zeitweise, als Fremdlinge und unter Verhältnissen besuchten, die ihnen nicht gestatteten oder zum wenigsten nicht gerathen erscheinen lassen mussten, mit ihrer Eigenart hervorzutreten, sondern sie eher nöthigten, sich den Sitten und der Lebensweise der Eingeborenen zu accomodiren.

Den meisten Verkehr hatten die Russen jedenfalls mit den Völkern des oberen Amur-Landes, den Orotschonen, Manägirn, Biraren. Die ersteren standen ihnen schon aus dem Grunde am nächsten, weil sie an den oberen Lena-Zuflüssen, an der Olekma, am Tungir u. s. w. auch unbestritten russisches Gebiet bewohnen und an der Schilka und am Argunj ihnen unmittelbar benachbart sind. Zudem nehmen sie den Theil des Amur-Landes ein, in welchem die Russen vor dem Nertschinsker Traktat wirkliche Ansiedelungen, Dörfer mit Ackerbau[3]) und eine Stadt, das mehrmals und so heldenmüthig vertheidigte Albasin, hatten. Selbstverständlich musste sich daher bei den letzteren auch nach dem Traktat die Anschauung erhalten, dass dies eigentlich ihr Land sei, welches ihnen von den Chinesen nur entrissen worden, und dass die Orotschonen, wie an der Olekma, am Tungir u. s. w., so auch an dem oberen Amur und seinen Zuflüssen nicht China, sondern Russland den Tribut schuldeten. Zu alledem endlich lag dort vor den Russen die breite, verführerische, so oft mit Erfolg von ihnen begangene Amur-Strasse, die mitten in das Orotschonen-Gebiet hineinführte, und sie lag vor ihnen offen und unbewacht, denn die mandshu-chinesischen Wachtposten am Amur beginnen erst viel weiter abwärts, im Manägirn-Gebiet, und die einmal jährlich zu bestimmter Zeit stattfindende Fahrt chinesischer Beamten zur Revision des Grenzzeichens an der Gorbiza-Mündung konnte ihnen den Strom unmöglich sperren. Kein Grenztraktat hätte daher je die unternehmenden und gewinnsüchtigen russischen Pelzjäger, Kosaken und Abenteurer ver-

1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 100—106, 142—175.
2) L. c. p. 157.
3) Müller, Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 391, 392. Stuckenberg, Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, St. Petersburg 1848, Bd. II, p. 778. Vrgl. auch Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 158.

hindern können, von der Schilka und dem Argunj in das benachbarte Amur-Land hinüberzustreifen. Dort lag ihr ergiebigstes Jagdrevier, von wo sie sich die geschätzten Zobel und, als diese seltener wurden, zahlreiche Eichhörnchenfelle holten. Alljährlich im Herbst zogen sie truppweise, mit allem Nöthigen versehen, auf diese Jagden, die nach ihrer Hauptausbeute schlechtweg den Namen «Eichhörnchenjagden» (бѣлковье und davon das Verbum бѣлковать) erhielten. Nach Middendorff's Erkundigungen gingen sie nicht bloss das Stanowoi-Gebirge und das linke Amur-Ufer entlang bis zum Ur, nicht bloss den Amur auf Flössen abwärts fast bis zur Albasicha, sondern namentlich auch auf dem rechten Amur-Ufer, im Gebiet der Albasicha, Panga und sogar bis zum Komar[1]). Im October 1856 sah ich die Kosaken in den unteren Argunj-Dörfern theils noch mit Vorbereitungen zur «Eichhörnchenjagd» beschäftigt, theils schon im Aufbruch begriffen. Monate lang verweilen sie in jenen Wildnissen, und vielfach sind die Berührungen, welche dort zwischen ihnen und den Waldnomaden, seien es russische Tungusen, oder chinesische Orotschonen und Manägirn, stattfinden. Auch Händler, die gegen Branntwein oder andere Waaren, und russische Grenzkosaken, die als Tribut für die Regierung den Tungusen ihre Ausbeute abnehmen, finden sich dort ein. Middendorff traf z. B. am Uritschi, auf traktatmässig entschieden chinesischem Boden, eine ganze Abtheilung solcher Kosaken nebst ihren unmittelbaren Befehlshabern, die von den Orotschonen Tribut einsammelten und natürlich zugleich auch einen vortheilhaften Pelzhandel betrieben[2]). Manche der Jäger und Händler nahmen auch einen bleibenderen Aufenthalt am Amur, oder gingen gar weiter stromabwärts. So erzählt schon Müller, dass um das Jahr 1738 ein Nertschinsker Kosakensohn, Danilo Ssoldatof, mit seiner ganzen Familie an der Albasicha-Mündung gewohnt habe und einmal sogar bis nach Aigun gegangen sei, wo ihn die Chinesen gefangen genommen, auf die Aussage hin aber, dass er sich verirrt habe, wieder losgelassen hätten[3]). Besonders oft mögen Läuflinge ihre Zuflucht im Amur-Lande gesucht und weite Wanderungen in demselben ausgeführt haben, oder auch ganz dort geblieben sein, in der Regel jedoch ohne irgend welche Spur von sich zu hinterlassen. Nur in seltenen Fällen verdankt man ihnen auch einige Nachrichten über das Amur-Land. Besonders bemerkenswerth sind namentlich die Fahrten des Läuflings Gurij Wassiljef, der den ganzen Amur-Strom bis zu dessen Mündung hinabgeschifft ist. Nach Ladyshinski fanden diese Fahrten zwischen den Jahren 1815 und 1826 Statt[4]). Nach einem auf den Angaben Wassiljef's selbst beruhenden Schreiben des Barons Schilling von Cannstadt aus Irkutsk[5]), erreichte er aber im letztgenannten Jahre erst die Amur-Mündung. Von dort wandte er sich zuerst nach Süden, brachte den Winter an der Grenze zwischen den Giljaken und Aino (also

1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 160, 168, Anmerkung 2.

2) Reise etc. l. c. p. 160.

3) In Büsching's Magazin für die neue Histor. und Geogr. 2. Thl., 2. Aufl., Hamburg 1769, p. 491, 503. Vrgl. auch Middendorff, l. c. p. 167, Anm. 2.

4) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 156, Anm. 1.

5) An den Direktor des Asiatischen Departements in St. Petersburg, datirt vom Januar 1832 (А. Романовъ, Присоединеніе Амура къ Россіи. — Русское Слово, С. Петербургъ 1859, Іюнь, Отд. I, стр. 384. П. Тихменевъ, Истор. Обозр. образ. Росс.-Американ. Комп. и дѣйств. ея до настоящаго времени Ч. II, С. Петербургъ, 1863, стр. 43).

auf Sachalin) zu und ging dann, da er von den ersteren oftmals gehört hatte, dass nördlich vom Amur Russen wohnten, im Frühling 1827 wieder an die Mündung dieses Stromes zurück und nordwärts von derselben längs der Küste weiter. Ehe er jedoch den Tugur erreichte, in etwa 35 Werst Entfernung von demselben, musste er nochmals unter den Giljaken überwintern. Mit diesen ging er dann im Frühjahr 1828 in Hundeschlitten zur Tugur-Mündung und von dort endlich mit Rennthier-Tungusen nach Udskoi Ostrog, wo er sich der russischen Localobrigkeit stellte. Die auf Gurij Wassiljef's Aussagen beruhenden Aufzeichnungen enthalten auch in ethnographischer Beziehung so viel des Interessanten, dass wir in der Folge noch mehrmals auf dieselben zurückkommen werden [1]).

Kaum minder als von Westen her fand ein Verkehr der Russen mit den Amur-Völkern auch von Norden, über das Stanowoi-Gebirge statt. Hier waren es besonders die Manägirn und Biraren, mit denen sie in Berührung kamen. Und wie dort die russischen Orotschonen, so waren es hier ebenfalls russische Tungusen, die diese Berührung vermittelten und gewissermassen veranlassten. Denn ihnen gegenüber war die durch den Nertschinsker Traktat festgestellte Grenze, weil sie den das Leben der Gebirgsnomaden bestimmenden Naturverhältnissen keine Rechnung trug, seit jeher unhaltbar. Vom Stanowoi-Gebirge hinab zogen sie sich daher, der Jagd nachgehend, im Dseja- und Bureja-System weit in das chinesische Gebiet hinein, ab und zu bis an den Amur streifend. In ihrem Gefolge fanden sich häufig jakutische Händler ein. Wie sollten nicht trotz aller Grenzverbote desselben Weges auch russische Pelzjäger, Kosaken u. dgl. vordringen? In der That erzählt schon Müller, dass im Jahre 1737 die Geodäten Skobelzyn und Schetilof am Gilui und seinen Zuflüssen mehrfach auf Jagdhütten russischer, nach Nertschinsk gehöriger Pelzjäger gestossen seien [2]); er erwähnt, an einer anderen Stelle [3]) und vielleicht jene Nachrichten nur generalisirend, der «verbotenen Zobeljagd, die von Nertschinsk aus an dem Flusse Seja vorzugehen pflegete». Den zahlreichen, von Middendorff aufgebrachten Nachweisen [4]), dass häufig auch Jakuten als Händler den russischen Tungusen in das Dseja- und Bureja-Gebiet nachzogen und mitunter sogar bleibenderen Aufenthalt dort nahmen, können wir nach L. Schwarz's Angaben [5]) hinzufügen, dass auch russische Kaufleute, Kosaken aus Udskoi Ostrog und anderen Orten, die unbestimmten Grenzverhältnisse benutzend, alljährlich weite Reisen in jenen traktatmässig chinesischen Gegenden ausführten. Um den religiösen Bedürfnissen dieser zerstreuten orthodoxen Bevölkerung nachzukommen und zugleich unter den noch heidnischen Tungusen das Christenthum zu verbreiten, begaben sich zuweilen auch russische Priester dahin [6]). Später, schon nach Middendorff's

1) Middendorff hat in seinem Reisewerke (Bd. IV, p. 136—160) die wichtigsten dieser Nachrichten nach den handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen Ladyshinskij's wiedergegeben. Er weist auch darauf hin, dass Iakinf bei Beschreibung des Amur-Stromes (Стат. опис. Китайск. Имперіи, С. Петерб. 1842, ч. II, стр. 218 и слѣд.) die Angaben Wassiljef's ausgebeutet hat.

2) In Büsching's Magaz. l. c. p. 491. Vrgl. auch Middendorff's Amur-Reise, Band III).

3) Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Bd. III, 1732, p. 300.

4) L. c. p. 163 ff. S. auch oben p. 29.

5) Подробныя отчеты о результатахъ изслѣд. Магистрск. Отд. Сибирск. Экспед. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1864, Гл. III, стр. 68, 76.

6) So ging z. B. im Jahre 1826 der Priester Germogen Djatschkovskij mit demselben Jakuten (Wantscha), Middendorff, l. c. p. 160, 169.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Reise, wurden dort an mehreren Punkten russische Kapellen errichtet: so am kleinen Myni nahe seiner Einmündung in den Ssilimdshi, im Dseja-Gebiet, die Inkanj-Kapelle; an den Quellen des Dolnikan, eines linken Zuflusses der Bureja, die Bureja-Kapelle, und am Tugur — die Burukan-Kapelle. Diese Punkte wurden mit der Zeit zu festen Handelsplätzen, an denen russische und jakutische Kaufleute, russische und chinesische Tungusen (resp. Manägirn, Biraren und Negda), sowie regelmässig auch russische Priester und behufs Tributerhebung, welche übrigens den Handel nicht ausschloss, auch Kosaken von Udskoi Ostrog sich einfanden[1]). Schwarz hat im Jahre 1852 alle drei Kapellen besucht und ihren geographischen Ort bestimmt: die Inkanj-Kapelle war übrigens im Jahre zuvor von den Mandshu, die ihre Revisionsreise diesmal ausnahmsweise über das weit südlicher gelegene Grenzzeichen hinaus bis zum Udj-Thale ausgedehnt hatten, zerstört worden, die beiden anderen aber fand er noch ganz unversehrt[2]).

Die Burukan-Kapelle und der gleichnamige Handelsplatz liegen übrigens schon jenseits des Bureja-Gebirges, am Tugur, der dort nur durch eine schmale und niedrige, mit einem Schleifwege versehene Wasserscheide (Ukäkyt) vom Nemilen, dem nördlichen Hauptzuflusse des Amgunj, getrennt wird. Wir sind also damit in's untere Amur-Land hinübergetreten, und wie westlich vom Bureja-Gebirge mit den Manägirn und Biraren, so fand hier ein Verkehr der Russen mit den Negda und ihren nächsten Nachbaren nach Süden und Osten, den Samagirn und Giljaken statt. Wie dort treffen wir auch hier wiederum in das angeblich und vermeintlich chinesische Gebiet hineinstreifende russische Tungusen, Jakuten und russische Kaufleute und Kosaken an[3]). Der regste Verkehr fand namentlich, Dank jener nahen Lage des Tugur und des Handelsplatzes Burukan zum Amgunj, mit den Negda statt. Dieser Handelsplatz ist von den drei erwähnten der bedeutendste und wird regelmässig von russischen und jakutischen Kaufleuten aus Udskoi Ostrog und Jakutsk besucht, die ihre Waaren auf zahlreichen Lastthieren, Pferden und Rennthieren, hinbringen[4]). Mehrere Negda hatten sich, wie oben erwähnt[5]), mit ihren Familien ganz dort niedergelassen; andere kamen zeitweise des Handels wegen hin. Mit den russischen Waaren nahmen manche Negda, vom Priester wie vom Kaufmann[6]), auch den christlichen Glauben an. Aus welchen Motiven, bleibt dahingestellt. Doch will Lieut. Boschnjak in den Häusern

der auch Middendorff zum Führer diente, im Bureja-Gebiet bis zum Jorach, unterhalb des Zusammenflusses des Nimar und der Bureja, hinauster.

1) Schwarz, l. c. p. 76. Oben ist nach Middendorff's Angabe schon bemerkt worden, dass früher auch die Dauren, um Handel zu treiben, bis nach Inkanj gingen, was später unterblieb.

2) Später — Schmidt sagt in der Beschreibung seiner Reise von 1862 «vor einigen Jahren» — wurde eine Kapelle am Soulak, einem Quellzufluss des Amgunj, erbaut, welche an Stelle der Bureja-Kapelle zum Handelsplatz russischer und jakutischer Kaufleute mit den tungusischen Stämmen der Umgegend wurde. Auch dorthin kam zuweilen ein Priester aus Udskoi Ostrog (vrgl. Schmidt, Histor. Bericht etc. p. 161).

3) Middendorff, l. c. p. 161, 163 u. a. Romanow, Записка о Приамурск. крае (Морск. Сборн. 1859, № 3 §. геоб., стр. 331—333). Schwarz, l. c. p. 60.

4) In den vierziger und fünfziger Jahren kam namentlich der reiche Kaufmann Nowgorodof aus Jakutsk all' ander Jahr selbst hin (Boschnjak, l. c. p. 332).

5) S. oben p. 30.

6) Middendorff, l. c. p. 175.

[P. 83]

der fünf getauften Negda-Familien, die er (1852) am Amgunj antraf, eine grössere Sauberkeit als bei ihren heidnischen Landsleuten bemerkt haben[1]). Von Burukan gingen Russen wie Jakuten unbehindert an den Amgunj hinüber, den sie handeltreibend befuhren und an dessen Ufern sich auch wohl Einer oder der Andere dieser letzteren niederliess[2]). Mit dem Amgunj aber lag ihnen auch die Strasse an den unteren Amur offen, von der sie ohne Zweifel oft genug Gebrauch machten, um so mehr als die Herrschaft der Chinesen über die dortigen Völker, die Giljaken und Oltscha, gleich wie auch über die Negda, kaum jemals mehr wie eine nominelle war. So erzählt schon Mamia Rinsô in seinem Reisebericht (1808), dass er auf dem Mankô (Amur) zwischen den Dörfern Horomô und Harmê (offenbar dem giljakischen Dorfe Kalm) vier Fahrzeuge gesehen habe, die ihm durch ihr fremdartiges Aussehen auffielen. Auf seine Erkundigungen, woher sie wohl gekommen sein mögen, wurde ihm gesagt, dass es Fahrzeuge von Russen wären, die sich bereits seit einiger Zeit am Flusse Hongô (Amgunj) aufhielten, am Ufer Rindenzelte aufgeschlagen hätten und sich mit Fischfang beschäftigten[3]).

Noch einen Umstand gab es endlich, der an der äussersten Nordostgrenze des Amur-Landes unwillkürlich zu manchen Berührungen der Russen mit den Amur-Völkern, namentlich mit den Giljaken, Veranlassung gab: es waren dies die fast ununterbrochenen Unternehmungen, die im vorigen Jahrhundert russischerseits von Udskoi Ostrog nach den Schantarischen Inseln ausgingen. Middendorff hat die Geschichte dieser Unternehmungen sehr ausführlich geschildert und nach den Aufzeichnungen, die er im Archiv von Udskoi Ostrog aufstöberte, eine lange Reihe derselben namhaft gemacht[4]). Hoffnung auf gute Ausbeute an schätzbarem Pelzwerk, an edlen Metallen, vielleicht auch auf reichen Tribut von noch unbekannten Völkern war auch hier das Hauptmotiv, welches bald einzelne unternehmende Leute nach den Schantarischen Inseln trieb, bald kleine Handelscompanien Expeditionen dahin abzusenden bewog. Die Regierung sah ihrerseits diese Unternehmungen nicht ungern, da sie eventuell ihre Tributskasse bereichern und ihre Macht erweitern konnten. Die schwere Schifffahrt um die Schantaren, die schlechten Fahrzeuge, ihre mangelhafte Ausrüstung und oft wohl auch ungeschickte Führung, sowie die zusammengewürfelte, undisciplinirte, beute- und abenteuerlustige Mannschaft, gaben jedoch oft Veranlassung, dass die Schiffe frei- oder unfreiwillig anstatt der Inseln, die sich als unbewohnt erwiesen, die im Angesicht derselben gelegene, von Giljaken bewohnte Festlands-

1) L. c. p. 333. Im Dorfe Wjachto auf Sachalin zeigte ihm ein altes Negda-Weib, das in ihrer Jugend vom Amgunj dahin gebracht worden war, einige ihr dort von Russen geschenkte Blättchen slavonischer Kirchengesänge, deren eines sie ihm gegen etwas Tabak auch abtrat; desgleichen einige Bogen eines slavonischen Kalenders, welche sie jedoch so werth hielt, dass sie sich ihrer nicht entäussern mochte (Комаровъ, Экспед. въ Приамурск. край. — Морск. Сборн. 1858, № 12, ч. неоф., стр. 192).

2) So fand z. B. Lieut. Boschnjak (Морск. Сборн. 1859, № 2, ч. неоф., стр. 331) das Dorf Mangi nur aus einer jakutischen Familie (dem alten Jakuten Sawa nebst zwei Jakutinnen) und einem Tungusen bestehend.

3) Tô-tats ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177). In Rinsô's Bericht, wie ihn Siebold wiedergiebt, heisst es, sie hätten am Ufer «Karia's» aufgeschlagen. Eine Erklärung dieses Fremdwortes ist dabei nicht gegeben, und wenn ich statt denen «Rindenzelte» sage, so geschieht dies nur vermuthungsweise. Oder sollte man dem Reisenden wirklich das russische Wort «kurja» (корова, Rennrinde) gemeint haben?

4) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 97—114.

küste anliefen. Dort aber lagen die von demselben Stamme und dichter bevölkerten Ufer des unteren Amur-Stromes, die Amur-Mündung, ja sogar die Insel Sachalin in verlockender Nähe. Wie manche der Schantaren-Fahrer mögen daher, der Verlockung nachgebend, dort ihr Glück gesucht haben? So erfahren wir z. B., dass der nach Udskoi gehörige Bauer Kudrjaschef[1]), der sich 1817 auf den Schantaren aufhielt, angeblich durch Hungersnoth an die Amur-Mündung getrieben worden sei und sich dort bis zum Jahre 1821 aufgehalten habe. Eines anderen russischen Ansiedlers an der Amur-Mündung erwähnte der Arzt Stankewitsch in einem handschriftlichen Berichte aus Udskoi vom Jahre 1841[2]). Viel früher, 1789, überwinterte der jakutische Bürger Terentjef mit zwölf Mann unfern von der Amur-Mündung, also unter den Giljaken, auf einer Fahrt, die er von Udskoi Ostrog nach der Insel Sachalin unternommen hatte[3]). Wiederholentlich ist von Läuflingen, besonders Jakuten die Rede, die im Dienste russischer Handelscompanien standen und nach den Schantaren geschickt wurden, statt dessen aber an den Amur oder nach Sachalin flüchteten. Durch sie kam nach Udskoi auch die Nachricht von einem im November 1790 auf Sachalin gestrandeten, vielleicht russischen Seefahrzeuge, das von Giljaken und haarigen Rennthier-Tungusen (Oroken) in grosser Anzahl besucht wurde[4]). Auch Mamia Rinsô hörte (1808) auf Sachalin, dass russische Fahrzeuge häufig die Gewässer im Westen der Insel besuchten, und dass ehemals Russen nach Noteito (in der Gegend des Caps Ljak) und Usijoro (um die Bai d'Estaing) gekommen seien, bis sie endlich ihres räuberischen Benehmens wegen von den vereinten Eingeborenen theils vertrieben, theils ermordet worden seien. Mamia Rinsô nennt sogar die Namen dieser Russen: Kamutsi, Simena, Momu und Wasirê[5]). In den drei letzteren lassen sich in der That unschwer die russischen Taufnamen Ssemjon, Foma und Wassilij erkennen. Der erstere erscheint zunächst fraglich, aber auch über ihn erhalten wir später Auskunft. In Folge der häufigen Entweichungen nach Sachalin hatte sich unter den Russen die Ansicht festgesetzt, dass es auf der Insel russische Ansiedelungen gebe[6]). Als daher im Jahre 1852 der Lieut. Boschnjak das nördliche Sachalin besuchte, erkundigte er sich bei den dortigen Giljaken, ob es nicht irgendwo auf der Insel angesiedelte Russen gebe, und erhielt endlich im Dorfe Tangi an der Westküste folgende Auskunft. Vor etwa 35 bis 40 Jahren, hiess es, sei an der Ostküste Sachalin's beim Dorfe Ngabi (offenbar Ngabil) ein Schiff gestrandet; die Mannschaft habe sich längere Zeit im Dorfe aufgehalten, dort ein neues Fahrzeug gebaut und sei auf diesem um das Südende der Insel herum nach der Westküste derselben gegangen. Dort hätten die Leute beim Dorfe Mgätsch

1) Middendorff, l. c. p. 157. Romanof (Присоед. Амура къ Россіи. — Русское Слово, 1859, Іюнь, Отд. I, стр. 362) nennt ihn Kudrjawzof.

2) Middendorff, l. c.

3) Von den früheren Ueberwinterungen von Russen im giljakischen Gebiete wird später die Rede sein.

4) Middendorff, l. c. p. 162, 163.

5) Tô-itsi ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169, 181).

6) Der Admiral Schischkof führt, bei Besprechung der Motive, welche den japanischerseits nicht acceptirten russischen Gesandten Resanof veranlassten, den bekannten Raubzug Chwostof's und Dawydof's nach Sachalin anzuordnen, sogar die Ansicht an, dass die Russen um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts sich dieser Insel bemächtigen wollten und eine Colonie hingebracht hätten, welche später verschollen sei (Изъясн. нѣкот. мѣстъ Амурскаго морск. берега. Хвостова и Давыдова. С. Петербургъ 1816, Предувѣд., стр. XIV).

wiederum Schiffbruch gelitten und seien sämmtlich umgekommen, bis auf einen Mann Namens Kämz, der sich nach dem Dorfe gerettet habe. Zu ihm seien bald zwei Russen, die vom Amur kamen, Wassilij und Nikita, gestossen, die grosse Angst vor dem russischen Zaren hatten, — ohne Zweifel Läuflinge. Alle drei hätten sich darauf im Dorfe Mgatsch niedergelassen und dort gleich den Giljaken von Thierfang und Handel mit den Japanern gelebt, bis sie alle drei auf Sachalin auch ihr Ende gefunden[1]). Lieut. Boschnjak scheint bei diesen Mittheilungen von dem obigen, sehr übereinstimmenden Berichte Mamia Rinsô's nichts gewusst zu haben. Man erkennt aber in dem Kamutsi des letzteren sogleich den Haupthelden seiner Erzählung wieder. So treu hat die Tradition selbst die Namen dieser zeitweisen, fremden Bewohner der Insel unter den Giljaken aufbewahrt. Dass später auch der Läufling Gurij Wassiljef ein paar Jahre unter den Giljaken, und zwar sowohl auf Sachalin, als auch an der Festlandsküste zubrachte, ist oben schon erwähnt worden.

Wie häufig übrigens russische Kaufleute, Kosaken, Flüchtlinge und anderes Volk, entgegen den bestehenden Traktaten, das Amur-Land auch besuchten, einen grösseren Einfluss auf die Sitten seiner Völker können sie, wie oben erwähnt, schon aus dem Grunde nicht gehabt haben, weil sie sich unter ihnen immer nur mehr oder weniger einzeln und vorübergehend aufhielten. Ein solcher Einfluss konnte und musste sich erst von dann ab einstellen, als russischerseits grössere, feste und bleibende Ansiedelungen im Amur-Lande gegründet wurden und damit die Colonisation und Besitznahme desselben begann. Der Anfang dazu wurde kurz vor meinem Besuche des Amur-Landes gemacht, und zwar ging man zunächst an der Mündung und im unteren Laufe des Amur-Stromes vor. Die Ungunst klimatischer Verhältnisse im Ochotskischen Meere, die ungeheuere Entfernung und Abgeschiedenheit seiner Häfen von allen grösseren Centren Sibirien's nöthigten südwärts vorzurücken, und die augenfällige Bedeutung des Amur-Stromes, als der einzigen natürlichen und bequemen Wasserstrasse aus dem Inneren Sibirien's nach den russischen Besitzungen am Stillen Ocean — eine Bedeutung, die man nach den russischen Freibeuterfahrten mehr und mehr erkannte und auf die immer wieder hingewiesen wurde[2]), — drängte

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1) Romanzow, Записк. въ Пра-амурск. край (Морск. Сборн. 1858, № 12, Ч. неоф., стр. 192). Einer der Giljaken zeigte Hrn. Boschnjak auch einen Spiegel, den sein Vater von dem erwähnten Kämz zum Geschenk erhalten hatte und den er so werth hielt, dass er ihn um keinen Preis weggeben wollte.

2) Dem langen Verzeichniss dieser Hinweisungen bei Middendorff (Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 175, 176) kann ich noch folgende hinzufügen. Schon im Jahre 1791 wies der Akademiker Erich Laxmann in der Instruction, die er behufs Ausrüstung einer neuen Expedition nach Japan entwarf, auf die grosse Bedeutung hin, die der Amur-Strom für die Schifffahrt der Russen im Stillen Ocean und die Colonisation Sibirien's habe, und auf die Nothwendigkeit ihn zu annectiren. Zu dem Zwecke, meinte er, müssten oberhalb Gorbiza zwei Schiffe gebaut werden, um auf ihnen, unter dem Vorwande, entlaufene Mannschaft zu suchen, die Schilka und den Amur abwärts zu gehen. Die Expedition nach Japan kam bekanntlich unter Führung Adam Laxmann's (des Sohnes von Erich L.) zu Stande: der Vorschlag, den Amur in Besitz zu nehmen, wurde hingegen von der Kaiserin Katharina II. verworfen, um nicht Collisionen mit der chinesischen Regierung hervorzurufen und dadurch den Zwecken der japanischen Expedition zu schaden (s. Новосильв, Курнал. — Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По отд. Этногр. Т. IX, 1871, стр. 470, 474). J. D. Cochrane (Narrat. of a pedestr. journey through Russia and Siberian Tartary, London 1825, Vol. I, p. 418) hob ebenfalls die commerzielle Bedeutung des Amur-Stromes für Sibirien hervor.

unaufhaltsam zur Besitznahme dieses Stromes. Am 29. Juni (10. Juli) 1850 wurde in einer Bai des Ochotskischen Meeres, die den Namen «Bai des Glückes» erhielt, durch den Capit.-Lieut. (späteren Admiral) Newelskoi, der im Jahre zuvor auf der Brigg «Baikal» die Küste vom Tugur-Busen bis zum Amur-Liman untersucht hatte, und den Schiffsfähnrich Orlof der Petrovskische Posten (eigentlich Petr. Winterquartier — «Petrovskoje Simowjo») gegründet[1]). In unmittelbarer Nähe vom nördlichen Eingang in den Amur-Liman und nur etwa 45 Werst geradliniger Entfernung vom Amur gelegen, sollte dieser Posten nur ein Uebergangspunkt nach dem letzteren sein. Und in der That nahm Newelskoi noch im selben Jahre Besitz von der Amur-Mündung, indem er von Petrovskoje zu Boot in den Amur ging und dort am 6./18. August in einer Bucht des linken Ufers, etwa 35 Werst oberhalb der Ausmündung des Stromes in den Liman, nahe dem giljakischen Winterdorfe Kuïk (oder nach russischer Bezeichnung Kuëgda), an dem von den Giljaken Tschorbach[2]) genannten Punkte, unter Aufhissung der russischen Kriegsflagge den Nikolajevschen Posten gründete[3]). Diese Gründung war jedoch insofern nur eine provisorische, als die dort hinterlassenen 6 Mann Befehl erhielten, nachdem der Amur-Strom und Liman sich beeist hätten, nach Petrovskoje zurückzukehren und sich erst mit der letzten Winterbahn wieder dorthin zu begeben, um an den Bau von Häusern zu schreiten. Letzteres scheiterte aber an dem Widerstand der Giljaken und konnte erst vom 9./21. August 1851 ab begonnen werden, als Capit. Newelskoi mit einer grösseren Anzahl von Leuten hinkam und dort 25 Mann unter Anführung des Flottenlieut. Boschnjak hinterliess. Damit war also erst die definitive Gründung des Nikolajevschen Postens oder der nachmaligen Stadt Nikolajevsk geschehen[4]).

Waren es zunächst auch nur ein paar Blockhäuser, die sich dort erhoben, so hatte man damit doch wieder festen Fuss am Amur gefasst. Von dort lernte man das untere Amur-Land, die anstossende Küste des Nordjapanischen Meeres und die Insel Sachalin näher kennen, und 1853 wurden mit denselben geringen Mitteln noch andere kleine Posten begründet: der Mariinskische am Eingange in den See von Kidsi, an der Stelle des kleinen Oltscha-Dorfes Choto[5]), der Alexandrovsche in der Bai de Castries[6]), der Konstantinovsche in der Bai Hadshi,

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1) Л. Романовъ, Присоед. Амура къ Россіи (Русск. Слово, 1859, Іюль, Отд. I, стр. 117). Тихменевъ, Историч. обозр. образов. Росс.-амер. Комп. Ч. II, стр. 72. Новосельскій, Положеніе русск. морск. воен. на крайн. восг. Россіи, стр. 107.

2) D. h. «Fischfels», von otscho—Fisch und «pacho—Stein, Fels. Der Anlaut im letzteren Worte hält ungefähr die Mitte zwischen p und b und nähert sich in den zusammengesetzten Wörtern mehr dem letzteren.

3) In Newelskoi's posthumem Werke (Полн. русск. м пр. стр. 111) ist der 1./13. August als Tag der Gründung des Nikolajevschen Postens angegeben; nach Romanof (Присс. Амура.—Русск. Слово, 1859, Іюль, Отд. I, стр. 118) und Tichmenjef (Истор. обозр. м пр. Ч. II, стр. 72) wäre es hingegen der 6./18. August. Das letztere Datum ist auch in meinen Tagebüchern auf Grund von Newelskoj's eigener Angabe verzeichnet.

4) Комиссія, Экск. въ При-амурск. край (Морск. Сборн. 1858, № 12, Ч. неоф., стр. 180). Романовъ, Присс. Амура (Русск. Слово, 1859, Іюль, Отд. I, стр. 123).

5) Am 7./19. August (Романовъ, Присс. Амура.—Русское Слово, 1859, Іюль, Отд. I, стр. 130). Rush (Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes; a journ. of Siber. trav. and explor. London 1872, p. 86) giebt irrthümlich 1851 als Jahr der Erbauung des Mariinskischen Postens an. Nebenbei bemerkt, findet man in demselben Werke (p. 89) auch die Angabe, dass der Amur von den Russen erst 1843 entdeckt worden sei (!).

6) Am 8./17. August, nach Romanof (l. c.), wie nach meinen, auf Newelskoi's Angaben beruhenden Aufzeichnungen.

die den Namen Kaiserhafen erhielt [1]), und der Murawjovsche in der Bai Aniwa auf Sachalin [2]). Die drei letzteren, an der Meeresküste gelegenen Posten konnten jedoch einem Angriff von der Seeseite zunächst nicht Widerstand leisten und mussten daher schon im folgenden Jahre, beim Ausbruch des Krimkrieges, zeitweise wieder geräumt werden. Als ich am 22. Juli (3. Aug.) 1854 auf der Corvette «Olivuza» die Bai Aniwa besuchte, fand ich den Murawjovschen Posten bereits verlassen [3]); im Kaiserhafen und in der Bai de Castries, die wir am 25. und 30. Juli (6. und 11. Aug.) anliefen, waren nur kleine Wachen von 10, resp. 7 Mann Kosaken mit je einem Unterofficier hinterlassen worden.

Auch die beiden am Amur gelegenen Posten waren bis dahin nur sehr unbedeutend, denn der Nikolajevsche zählte, als ich ihn am 7./19. August 1854, also genau drei Jahre nach seiner Gründung, zuerst betrat, etwa ein halbes Dutzend kleiner Blockhäuser, und der Mariinskische war noch kleiner. In Folge der Nothwendigkeit, die Küste zu verlassen und um so festeren Fuss am unteren Amur zu gewinnen, wuchsen aber beide von jetzt ab ansehnlich. Wenige Wochen nach meiner Ankunft im Nikolajevschen Posten, siedelte sich der Capit. Newelskoi mit fast sämmtlicher Mannschaft von Kosaken und Matrosen vom Petrovskischen Posten dorthin über und machte somit diesen Ort zum Regierungssitz des faktisch occupirten unteren Amur-Landes. Fast gleichzeitig kam dorthin auch die Mannschaft der Fregatte «Diana», die dem Vice-Admiral Putjatin zum Ersatz der unbrauchbar gewordenen Fregatte «Pallas» geschickt worden war und von dieser auch deren Mannschaft erhielt [4]). Zum Winter gab es daher im Nikolajevschen Posten schon eine ganze Reihe grösserer und kleinerer Häuser, die rasch aus dem an Ort und Stelle niedergehauenen Walde aufgezimmert worden waren. Darunter auch mein bescheidenes Blockhaus, das sich als letztes zum Walde hin an die sogen. Slobodka, die Reihe der Kosakenhäuser, anschloss.

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1) Am 23. Mai (4. Juni) 1833 wurde die Bai Hadshi vom Lieut. Boschnjak entdeckt und «Hafen des Kaisers Nikolai» genannt (Морск. Сборн. 1859, № 3, ч. неоф., стр. 205, 206). Im selben Jahre, am 1./13. August gründete Newelskoi daselbst den Konstantinovschen Posten. (Das obige Datum findet sich sowohl bei Romanof (l. c. p. 130), wie in meinen Aufzeichnungen, während in Newelskoi's obenerwähntem posthumen Werke (p. 237) dafür — offenbar durch Verwechselung mit dem Tage der Gründung von Nikolajevsk — der 6./18. August angegeben ist). Erst drei Jahre später (am 11. Mai 1856) wurde dieselbe Bai vom Capit. Portescue auf dem englischen Kriegsschiff «Barracouta» aufgefunden und nach seinem Schiff benannt (Tronson, Person. Narr. of a Voyage in H. M. S. Barracouta, London 1859, p. 267—271).

2) Nach Boschnjak (Замѣчѣ чаетъ о-ва Сахалина и заливъ ея Императорскаго ранаго.—Морск. Сборн. 1859, № 10, ч. неоф., стр. 397) am 21. September (3. October), nach Newelskoi's posthumem Werke (p. 233, 283) am 23. September (4. October). In demselben Jahre, und zwar nach Romanof (l. c. p. 139) am 21. Juli (2. August), nach Newelskoi (l. c. p. 269) am 30. August (11. September) — und diesmal wird wohl die letztere Angabe die richtigere sein — wurde auch bei Kusonnai, an der Westküste Sachalin's, durch den Schiffsfähnrich Orlof ein Posten gegründet und fünfzehn Posten benannt; allein derselbe wurde sogleich wieder verlassen und erst mehrere Jahre später (1857) definitiv wieder eingenommen. Dieselben Data hinsichtlich der Gründung russischer Posten im Amur-Lande, wie bei Romanof, finden sich auch in Sagibnof's Artikel: Аигурская экспедиція 1854 г. Расказъ очевидца (Дѣловая и военная Россія, С. Петерб. Т. III, 1878, стр. 222).

3) Es war schon am 30. Mai (11. Juni) geschehen.

4) Die ausrangirte und dessarmirte Fregatte «Pallas» wurde in den Kaiserhafen gebracht, um dort, im Falle sie vom Feinde entdeckt werden sollte, vernichtet zu werden, was im Frühling 1856 auch in der That geschah (vrgl. Tronson, l. c. p. 279).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Eine viel grössere Erweiterung des Nikolajevschen wie des Mariinskischen Postens brachte aber, unter gleichzeitiger Entstehung neuer Ansiedelungen, das Jahr 1855. Bereits im Frühling kam sämmtliches Marine- und Beamtenpersonal von Petropawlovsk in Kamtschatka, den Gouverneur Contre-Admiral Sawoiko an der Spitze, an den Amur. Es folgten bald zwei Drittel von der Mannschaft der am 11./23. December 1854 in der Bai von Simoda auf Nippon durch ein Erdbeben zerstörten Fregatte «Diana»[1]). Inzwischen hatte, sogleich nachdem der Amur seine Eishülle abgeworfen, auch der General-Gouverneur Murawjof ein halbes Bataillon transbaikalischer Kosaken zu Fuss und eine Ssotnja (ein Hundert) Kosaken zu Pferde, nebst den ersten ackerbauenden Colonisten mit ihren Familien den Amur abwärts gebracht. So strömten dem unteren Amur von der Land- wie von der Seeseite zahlreiche russische Elemente zu. Was davon der Marine gehörte oder mit ihr in Beziehung stand, nahm seinen Aufenthalt im Nikolajevschen Posten, der nun beträchtlich anwuchs und von dem aus zwei kleinere Wachtposten, der eine am Cap Lasaref, am südlichen Eingange in den Liman, der andere beim giljakischen Dorfe Pall-wo, zur Aufsicht über die desarmirten und in den Amur geborgenen Kriegs- und Transportschiffe, errichtet wurden. Die Landtruppen wurden hingegen um den Mariinskischen Posten angesiedelt: die Kosaken zu Fuss beim Dorfe Kidsi und die zu Pferde auf der im Angesicht des letzteren gelegenen Insel Ssutschu. Ein Theil der ersteren wurde auch an der Bai de Castries, in einiger Entfernung von der Meeresküste stationirt. Den ackerbauenden Colonisten endlich wurden mehrere Punkte zwischen den beiden Posten zur Ansiedelung angewiesen, theils im Oltscha-, theils im Giljaken-Gebiete: beim Dorfe Aure entstand auf diese Weise die Ansiedelung Irkutskoje, bei Tentscha — Bogorodskoje, in der Nähe von Chylk das ansehnliche Dorf Michailovskoje; eine kleine Partie wurde in der Nähe des Dorfes Angkalm angesiedelt, fiel aber in kurzer Zeit bis auf einen Mann dem Typhus zum Opfer, und eine fünfte Niederlassung endlich bildete sich am Litsch-Flusse, wenig oberhalb des Nikolajevschen Postens.

Wie man sieht, beschränkten sich die russischen Ansiedelungen bis dahin nur auf den untersten Lauf des Amur-Stromes; oberhalb des Mariinskischen Postens hingegen gab es noch keinerlei Anfänge derselben. Ja, auch im Sommer 1856, als ich auf der Rückreise nach Europa den gesammten Amur aufwärts ging, traf ich an demselben auf der ganzen Strecke vom letztgenannten Orte bis nach Ustj-Strelka nur fünf kleine provisorische Wachtposten, an den Punkten, wo man Niederlagen von Lebensmitteln für die vom unteren Amur nach Transbaikalien zurückkehrenden Truppen errichtet hatte. In dem der Sungari-Mündung gegenüber liegenden, stromaufwärts gegangen, ersten dieser Wachtposten (Sungarijskij

1) Eine ausführliche Beschreibung dieses Ereignisses durch Augenzeugen findet man in den officiellen Berichten des Vice-Admirals Putjatin und des Capitains der Fregatte, Lessovskij, an die russische Regierung, im Морск. Сборн. 1855, № 4, Отд. IV, стр. 293—296; № 7, Отд. II, стр. 231—257. Vergl. auch Hawks, Narrat. of the Exped. of an Amer. Squadron to the China seas and Japan, perform. in the years 1852—1854, und. the comm. of commod. M. C. Perry, New-York 1856, pag. 387. Das letzte Drittel der Diana-Mannschaft wurde an Bord der amerikanischen Brigg «Greta» am 20. Juli 1855 von dem englischen Kriegsschiff «Barracouta» gefangen genommen (s. Tronson, l. c. p. 139 ff.).

Piket), waren zur Zeit als ich ihn berührte, am 15./27. Juli, auch diese Vorräthe noch nicht angelangt. Der zweite befand sich gleich oberhalb des Eintritts des Amur-Stromes in das Bureja-Gebirge (Chinganskij Piket), gleich allen anderen am linken Ufer desselben; der dritte und grösste lag nahe der Dseja-Mündung (Ustjseiskij Piket), an der Stelle der jetzigen Stadt Blagoweschtschensk; der vierte gegenüber der Komar-Mündung (Kamarskij P.), und der fünfte endlich am Flüsschen Kotomanga (Kotomandskij P.)[1]. So wurden zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes im Amur-Lande russischerseits nur die ersten Schritte zur Besitznahme und Colonisation eines Theiles desselben gemacht. Erst nach Beendigung des Krim-Krieges, als das Amur-Land den Russen von der Seeseite wieder zugänglich wurde, und besonders nach dem Abschluss des Aiguner Traktates (1858), durch welchen die jetzigen Grenzen zwischen Russland und China festgestellt wurden und der grösste Theil des Amur-Landes auch de jure in russischen Besitz kam, begann jene energische, fast fieberhafte Colonisirung, deren eingangs erwähnt worden und die auch auf die ethnographischen Verhältnisse des Landes von dem grössten Einflusse sein musste. Diese Vorgänge liegen jedoch schon ausserhalb des Bereiches unserer Schilderungen.

Zum Schluss dieser Uebersicht erlaube ich mir noch einige theils historische und kritische, theils allgemein zusammenfassende Bemerkungen anlässlich der beifolgenden, die oben besprochene geographische Verbreitung der Amur-Völker bildlich veranschaulichenden Karte zu sagen. Sie ist die erste speciell auf das Amur-Land sich beziehende ethnographische Karte. Schon auf der dem ersten Bande dieses Werkes beigegebenen Karte hatte ich die an dem Amur und seinen Zuflüssen wie auf Sachalin wohnhaften Völker verzeichnet, ohne jedoch ihre respectiven Gebiete abzugrenzen. Später, im Jahre 1873, erschien eine ethnographische Karte des asiatischen Russlands von Wenjukof, auf welcher auch der russische Theil des Amur-Landes aufgenommen ist[2]. Bei dem verhältnissmässig kleinen Maassstabe der ganzen Karte, entfallen aber auf das Amur-Land nur wenige Quadratzoll. Dem entsprechend sind auch die Angaben meist nur summarisch, indem die einzelnen tungusischen Stämme, welche ja fast das ganze Amur-Land einnehmen, nicht oder höchstens nur durch einige, jedoch meistens nicht an der richtigen Stelle gesetzte Aufschriften unterschieden werden und von einer Abgrenzung ihrer respectiven Gebiete keine Rede ist. Dabei sind diese zusammengefassten tungusischen Stämme des Amur-Landes von den beiden anderen, auf der Karte unterschiedenen Völkern, den Giljaken und Aino, zumeist auch noch falsch abgegrenzt. So giebt diese Karte eigentlich nur ein annäherndes Gesammtbild von der bei weitem überwiegenden tungusischen Bevölkerung des Amur-

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1) Vrgl. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. XIX—XXI.

2) Этнографическая карта Азіатской Россіи. Масшт. въ 1/10,500,000 дюймъ 250 верстъ или. Dem Werke desselben Autors «Опытъ военнаго обозрѣнія Русскихъ границъ въ Азіи, С. Петербургъ 1873» beigegeben, aber auch einzeln zu haben.

2: Schrenck -RX2 Gilyak

Landes, in die sich zu jener Zeit längs dem Amur, dem Ussuri, am Kengka-See und den Sanifun abwärts nach dem Golfe Peter's des Grossen bereits russische Colonisation ergossen hatte[1]). Dieses letztere Moment geht unserer Karte noch so gut wie gänzlich ab, da sie die ethnographischen Verhältnisse des Amur-Landes aus der Zeit wiedergiebt, als die Russen nach einer Pause von 200 Jahren erst wieder in das Amur-Land vorzudringen begannen, um es fortan nicht wieder zu verlassen. Indem die Colonisirung besonders den Hauptflüssen, dem Amur und dem Ussuri folgte, hat sie die ethnographischen Verhältnisse hauptsächlich dort abgeändert, wo auch die eingeborene Bevölkerung am dichtesten zusammensass. Dort mögen daher seitdem viele Ortschaften der letzteren verdrängt, verschoben, reducirt worden, ja sogar völlig, selbst dem Namen nach verschwunden sein. Und die Zukunft wird in dieser Richtung raschen und unerbittlichen Laufes noch mehr thun. Indem nun unsere Karte die von diesen Veränderungen noch nicht berührten

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1) Zum Belege meines obigen Ausspruchs über diese Karte, so weit sie das Amur-Land betrifft, mögen folgende Detailbemerkungen dienen. Trotzdem, dass die Giljaken durch ihre Sprache von allen ihren Nachbaren scharf unterschieden sind, ist ihr Gebiet auf der Karte von Wenjukof nur auf Sachalin richtig angegeben, auf dem Festlande hingegen nach allen Seiten falsch abgegrenzt. So beginnt es im Norden nicht am Tugur-Busen, sondern erst östlich vom Ulban-Busen; im Süden, am Amur-Strome, lässt er es noch über den Kidej-See hinaus bis nach Sanfijk (an der Stelle des Oltscha-Dorfes Dshai), also bis in die Mitte des Oltscha-Gebietes hineinreichen. Von dort zieht er die Südgrenze der Giljaken nach der Bai de Castries, wo doch schon La Pérouse ganz richtig Orotschen angab. Dagegen zieht er sie von der Liman-Küste, von der Amur-Mündung und von dem zunächst angrenzenden Theile der Küste des Tschotskischen Meeres westwärts weg und setzt dorthin einen tungusischen Stamm, während in Wirklichkeit der Amur-Liman ringsum nur von Giljaken bewohnt wird. — Den Aino auf Sachalin rückt die Karte nach Norden ein zu weites Gebiet ein, indem es den ganzen Ty- oder Poronai-Fluss umfassen und bis an die Tymy-Quellen reichen soll, während es in der That am Golfe der Geduld abbricht und am Ty ein unbewohntes, von Giljaken und Orokenvielfach begangenes Terrain liegt. — Die Oröken, welche auf der Karte schlimmer Weise «Orokapens» heissen (worüber später), sind nur in demjenigen Theile Sachalin's angegeben, in welchem es gar keine Bevölkerung giebt, und fehlen an ihren wirklichen Sitzen. — Die Aufschriften für die einzelnen tungusischen Stämme des Amur-Landes stehen fast durchweg an falscher Stelle: die Orotschen z. B. sind nur im südlichsten Theile ihres ausgedehnten Gebietes angeführt, die Mangunen (Oltscha) fast ganz in das Golde-Gebiet gerückt, die Samagirn an den Amgunj versetzt, an Stelle der Negdo, die gar nicht genannt sind, gleich wie auch die Birarcn, Managirn, Orotschonen. Die Dauren, deren es doch ausser am Nonni und Komar auch an der Bureja und am Amur welche giebt und die man gewiss nicht, gleich den letztgenannten Völkern, schlechtweg unter der allgemeinen Bezeichnung Tungusen subsumiren darf, fehlen auf der Karte gänzlich, während die wenigen, erst neuerdings über den Tumen-Fluss in das russische Gebiet hinübergezogenen Koreaner angegeben sind.

Noch weniger Berücksichtigung finden die verschiedenen tungusischen Völker des Amur-Landes auf der ethnographischen Karte des asiatischen Russlands, welche der Statistische Atlas des Russischen Reiches von Iljin (Ѳемъ статист. атласа Россійской Имперіи, С. Петербургъ 1874, изд. 14), allerdings in noch kleinerem Massstabe, brachte. Denn diese kennt im russischen Theile des Amur-Landes (vom Chinesen und Mandchu abgesehen) an indigenen Völkern, ausser den ebenfalls falsch abgegrenzten Giljaken und Aino, nur noch «Tungusens (im Allgemeinen) und «Goldes», deren Gebiet aber am Amur von oberhalb der Bureja bis nach Mariinsk angegeben ist.

Dieselben Fehler endlich wie auf der Wenjukof'schen Karte wiederholen sich auch auf der von Petermann neuerdings entworfenen ethnographischen Karte des Russischen Reiches (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, Taf. 1), die für das asiatische Russland ganz auf den Angaben jener beruht. Trotz des viel kleineren Massstabes giebt sie die obige, als falsch dargethane Begrenzung des Giljaken-Gebietes genau wieder. Die Namen der einzelnen tungusischen Amur-Völker sind aber auf ihr ganz weggelassen, so dass das Amur-Land, mit Ausnahme der kleinen Strecke im unteren Laufe seines Hauptstromes, gleich dem anstossenden Theile von Ostsibirien nur von «Tungusens bewohnt erscheint.

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ethnographischen Verhältnisse des Amur-Landes fixirt, wird sie in Zukunft einen Maassstab für die ersteren abgeben können. Und das kann ihr wissenschaftliches Interesse nur erhöhen. Von welchem Werthe wäre uns z. B. gegenwärtig eine genaue ethnographische Karte des Amur-Landes aus der Zeit der ersten russischen Invasion? Wie Vieles liesse sich daraus für die im nächsten Abschnitt zu behandelnden Fragen entnehmen!

Was den anderen oben berührten Punkt, das auf der ethnographischen Gesammtkarte des asiatischen Russlands so anschauliche Uebergewicht der tungusischen Bevölkerung im Amur-Lande betrifft, so fällt dasselbe auf unserer Karte beim ersten Anblick allerdings weniger in die Augen, und zwar aus dem Grunde, weil auf derselben die tungusischen Völkerschaften nicht unterschiedslos zusammengeworfen, sondern ebenfalls durch verschiedene Farbentöne auseinander gehalten worden sind. Man braucht sie jedoch bloss zusammenzufassen und den stammverschiedenen Giljaken und Aino gegenüber zu halten, um ein deutliches Bild davon zu gewinnen, wie gross ihr räumliches Uebergewicht über die letzteren ist und wie sehr hingegen diese nur auf den äussersten Rand des Continents und die anliegenden Inseln beschränkt bleiben. Und so muss uns schon aus den räumlichen Verhältnissen der Völkerverbreitung im Amur-Lande der Gedanke entgegentreten, dass die Giljaken und Aino durch tungusische Völkerschaften an den Rand des Continents gedrängt worden sind — ein Gedanke, der in den historischen und ethnologischen Betrachtungen der folgenden Abschnitte eine fernere Begründung finden wird.

[P. 92]

2. Abschnitt.

Veränderungen und Verschiebungen in den Verbreitungsgebieten der Amur-Völker in historischer Zeit, nach russischen, chinesischen, japanischen Nachrichten; nebst Sichtung und Deutung der im Amur-Lande gebräuchlichen oder auf dasselbe bezüglichen Völkernamen.

Ist es schon nicht leicht, ja oft kaum möglich, die gegenwärtigen Verbreitungsgebiete halbnomadischer Jäger- und Fischervölker auf weitem, noch wenig durchforschtem Raume mit einiger Genauigkeit gegen einander abzugrenzen, wie viel mehr Schwierigkeiten bieten sich der Untersuchung dar, wenn es sich um die Fragen handelt, ob und welche Veränderungen und Verschiebungen in den Verbreitungsgebieten dieser Völker im Laufe der Zeit vor sich gegangen sind? wann und woher dieses oder jenes von ihnen in seine jetzigen Wohnsitze eingerückt ist? und welches andere Volk es aus denselben verdrängt hat? Auch muss ich von vornherein bemerken, dass ganz bestimmte und ausreichende Antworten auf diese Fragen in Beziehung auf die Völker des Amur-Landes in den nachstehenden Blättern nur selten zu finden sein werden. Feste, unläugbare, selbstredende Thatsachen giebt es in dieser Richtung nur sehr wenige, wohl aber manche Erscheinungen und Verhältnisse, an welche sich Combinationen und Vermuthungen knüpfen lassen, die eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich halten dürften.

Dass auch im Amur-Lande in historischer Zeit manche Veränderungen und Verschiebungen in den Wohnsitzen seiner Völker vor sich gegangen sind, kann wohl keinem Zweifel unterliegen. Wie sollten die grossen Völkerbewegungen, die nachweislich ringsum sich vollzogen, ihre Wellen nicht auch in das Amur-Land getrieben haben? Und wie ist es denkbar, dass die wiederholten Kriege, deren Schauplatz das Amur-Land gewesen oder an denen viele seiner Völker Theil genommen, nicht auch mancherlei Verschiebungen in ihren Verbreitungsgebieten zur Folge gehabt hätten? Man bedenke nur, dass ehe die Mandshu im XVII. Jahrhundert den Kaiserthron von China eroberten, ihre Vorfahren durch erfolgreiche Kriege sich bereits zweimal zu Beherrschern dieses mächtigen Reiches aufgeschwungen hatten: das erste Mal als Khitan oder Liao im X. Jahrhundert (907—1125), und dann im XII. (1125—1243) als Jutschi

(Njutschi, Dschurdschi) oder Kin, wie ihre Dynastie auf dem Throne sich benannte. Das Hervorbrechen dieser kriegerischen Horden aus ihren Wäldern und Bergen musste nothwendig das ganze südliche Amur-Land in Mitleidenschaft ziehen. Die unmittelbar darauf folgende Bewegung der Mongolen unter Tschingis-Chan und seinen Nachfolgern, die selbst aus dem Quellande des Amur-Stromes hervorging und unter Anderem die Macht der Kin in China brach, rief wiederum eine Reihe von Völkerbewegungen hervor, welche sich von Westen und Norden her auch in das Amur-Land fortpflanzen mussten. Indem die Burjaten, ein mongolischer Stamm, in das Quellland des Amur-Stromes und weiter, zum Baikal-See vordrangen, stiessen sie an dem letzteren auf die türkisch-tatarischen Uranwohner desselben, die Jakuten, welche, vor jenen Eindringlingen zurückweichend, in das Lena-Thal hinabstiegen und längs diesem Strome ihre Ausbreitung nordwärts nahmen[1]). Dort aber stiessen sie ihrerseits auf zahlreiche Tungusen-Stämme, welche ihnen einen hartnäckigen Widerstand entgegensetzten und, wie es noch im vorigen Jahrhundert in ihren Ueberlieferungen frisch fortlebte, erst nach vielen blutigen Kämpfen das Feld räumten[2]). Während ein Theil der Tungusen nach Westen, bis an den Jenissei auswich[3]), ein anderer nach dem äussersten Norden, bis zum Eismeer verdrängt wurde, zogen noch Andere ostwärts, längs den rechten Lena-Zuflüssen dem Stanowoi-Gebirge, dem Ochotskischen Meere und dem Amur-Lande zu. Da die zähen und lebenskräftigen Jakuten in ihrer Ausbreitung nicht inne hielten, bis sie im Norden wie im Nordwesten und Nordosten die Eismeerküsten erreichten[4]), so mussten auch die unter den Tungusen und anderen Völkern[5]) dadurch veranlassten Bewegungen in den angedeuteten Richtungen noch lange fortdauern. Noch hatten sich aber diese Wellen nicht verlaufen, als von Westen her eine neue und noch folgenschwerere Bewegung anbrach, — der Andrang russischer Eroberer, der auf die ethnographischen Verhältnisse

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1) Nach Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen 1751, Bd. II, p. 344, 343) gab es noch zu seiner Zeit unter den Jakuten eine alte Erzählung von dem Drucke, den sie von den Burjaten erlitten hatten und durch den sie zum Fortziehen das Lena-Thal abwärts bewogen worden seien. Vrgl. auch Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. VI, 1761, p. 147; Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. St.Petersb. 1768, Bd. I, p. 108, 109; Schlözer, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. Halle 1771, p. 416; Сгеньевъ, Записки. ряб. С. Петербургъ 1833, ч. II, стр. 43; Ritter, Asien, Bd. II, p. 3; Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Nord. und Osten Sibir. Bd. IV, p. 1332, 1335. Auch der Name «Baikal» soll jakutischen Ursprungs sein und soviel wie «reiches Gewässer» bedeuten (vrgl. Laxmann, Sibirische Briefe, herausgeg. von Schlözer, Göttingen 1769, p. 37, Anmerk.).

2) Gmelin, l. c. p. 343; Müller, l. c. p. 180, 181; Fischer, l. c. p. 110; Schlözer, l. c.

3) Den Zeitpunkt, wann die Tungusen an den Jenissei kamen, versetzt Stepanof (Записки ряб. ч. II, стр. 43) in das XII. oder XIII. Jahrhundert, was wohl zu weit zurückgegriffen sein dürfte, da sie erst im XIV. Jahrhundert durch die Burjaten aus ihren Sitzen am Baikal-See verdrängt wurden (s. Middendorff, l. c.).

4) Ueber das allmahliche Vordringen der Jakuten im XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert sowohl im Lena-Thale, bis zu den Küsten des Eismeeres, als im Nordwesten, nach dem Taimyr-Lande, und im Nordosten, nach der Jana, Indigirka, Kolyma, ja in unserem Jahrhundert bis an das Ochotskische Meer, s. Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1324, 1487, 1543. Ihres vielfachen Vordringens in das Amur-Land ist oben wiederholentlich gedacht worden.

5) So unter den Jukagiren, Tschuwanzen u. a. Schon doch Manche darin auch die Ursache, welche die Ureinwohner des Hochnordens, wie z. B. die Omoken, Stammverwandte oder Vorfahren der Jukagiren (s. oben p. 2), dahin trieb, das Festland der Sage zufolge zu verlassen und nach einem noch unbekannten Polarlande auszuwandern; so Markham (s. Whymper, Trav. and adven. in the territ. of Alaska, London 1868, p. 251), Neumann (Изв. Сибирск. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Т. III, Иркутскъ 1872, стр. 34; Т. IV, стр. 133) u. A.

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von ganz Sibirien natürlich den grössten und nachhaltigsten Einfluss ausüben musste. Unaufhaltsam vorrückend; ergoss sich der Strom dieser nicht sowohl zahlreichen, als unerhört kühnen Eroberer im XVII. Jahrhundert von Norden und Westen auch in das Amur-Land, um über dasselbe, gleich wiederholten Sturmfluthen, vielfach verheerend von einem Ende zum anderen hinwegzugehen. Vom Festlande endlich musste manche jener Bewegungen auch auf die nahe gelegene Insel Sachalin hinüberspielen, wo übrigens ausserdem auch von Süden her, durch Vorgänge wie die allmähliche Ausbreitung der Japanischen Macht nach Norden, manche Veränderungen in der ursprünglichen Abgrenzung seiner Völker erfolgen mussten.

Welche Verschiebungen nun in den Wohnsitzen der Amur-Völker in Folge jener Ereignisse in der That stattgefunden haben, können wir nur aus den historischen Nachrichten entnehmen, die sich bei den angrenzenden, an den erwähnten Ereignissen mehr oder weniger betheiligten Culturvölkern, bei den Russen wie bei den Chinesen und Japanern über das Amur-Land erhalten haben. Leider reichen jedoch diese Nachrichten, so weit wir sie hier brauchen können, nicht sehr weit zurück. Die ältesten Nachrichten über das Amur-Land lassen sich jedenfalls bei den unmittelbar angrenzenden Chinesen erwarten; allein diese Nachrichten betreffen nur die eigentliche Mandshurei, die Vorfahren und Stammverwandten der jetzigen Mandshu, die, wie schon oben angedeutet, zu wiederholten Malen eine so hervorragende Rolle in der Geschichte China's gespielt haben, nicht aber die Jäger- und Fischervölker des nördlichen und östlichen Amur-Landes, die den Gegenstand unserer Betrachtungen bilden. Auch liegt die Prüfung und Verwerthung dieser Nachrichten, selbst wenn sie indirekt eines oder das andere der letzteren Völker beträfen, auf dem mir ganz fremden Gebiete sprachlich-historischer Forschung über China und seine Grenzländer. Die wenigen Nachrichten hingegen über die hier in Betracht kommenden Völker, die sich in chinesischen Quellen finden und von den Sinologen durch Uebertragung in europäische Sprachen allgemein zugänglich gemacht worden, reichen nicht weiter zurück als bis in den Anfang der Regierungszeit der jetzt herrschenden Dynastie. So alt sind ungefähr auch die ältesten russischen Nachrichten über die Amur-Völker: denn sie datiren aus der Zeit, da sich die Russen bei der Eroberung Sibirien's dem Amur-Lande näherten, was ungefähr gleichzeitig mit dem Regierungsantritt der Mandshu-Dynastie in China stattfand. Viel jünger, und zwar nicht über das Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts zurückreichend, sind endlich die Nachrichten, welche man den Japanern über Sachalin und das Amur-Land verdankt.

Sehr weitgehende Veränderungen in den Wohnsitzen der Amur-Völker lassen sich in so kurzem Zeitraume — von etwa 200 Jahren — überhaupt nicht erwarten. Wenn dennoch einige recht starke Verschiebungen in dieser Zeit stattgefunden haben, so liegt der Grund davon in den wichtigen, tief eingreifenden Ereignissen, welche sich während derselben im Amur-Lande abspielten, in jenen oft erwähnten Raub- und Kriegszügen russischer Kosaken und Freibeuter und ihren Conflicten mit der mandshu-chinesischen Macht. Kleinere Grenzverschiebungen der einzelnen Völkergebiete können und müssen im Laufe dieser Zeit vielfach erfolgt sein, allein diese sind aus den vorhandenen historischen Nachrichten am schwersten zu ersehen. Denn einerseits stehen die Gebietsgrenzen umherstreifender Jäger- und halbnomadischer Fischervölker überhaupt nicht so

fest und sind uns bei den Amur-Völkern auch in der Gegenwart nicht hinreichend bekannt, andererseits leiden die betreffenden historischen Nachrichten, da man sie meist den Aufzeichnungen und Berichten einfacher, ungebildeter, praktischen Interessen nachgehender Leute verdankt, für unsere Zwecke in der Regel an allzu grosser Unbestimmtheit, mitunter auch an Unklarheit, und, was das Schlimmste ist, sie führen die Amur-Völker nicht selten unter Namen auf, die uns heutzutage vollkommen fremd sind und die also zuvor noch einer Deutung bedürfen. Ob nun diejenigen Deutungen und Erklärungen, die man in den nachstehenden Blättern finden wird, immer die richtigen sind, muss zunächst dahin gestellt bleiben, — meinerseits hoffe ich, da sie nicht unmotivirt sind, dass sie sich zum wenigsten in den meisten Fällen bewähren und dadurch den Schlüssel zur richtigeren Auffassung mancher historischer Nachrichten über das Amur-Land und der in denselben enthaltenen ethnographischen Thatsachen bieten dürften.

Beginnen wir wiederum mit den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes und unter diesen mit dem äussersten, den **Giljaken.** Die erste gedruckte Erwähnung der Giljaken findet sich auf der von Nicolaus Witsen 1687 in Amsterdam herausgegebenen, Peter dem Grossen gewidmeten Karte «Nieuwe Land-Karte van het Noorder- en Ooster-Deel van Asia en Europa»[1]) und in dem

1) Eine eingehende Beschreibung und Würdigung dieser Karte gab Müller (Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Bd. I, p. 203 ff. und Bd. VI, p. 29 ff.). Mir liegt ausser der seltenen Originalausgabe dieser Karte noch eine weder von Muller in seiner «Nachricht von Land- und See-Carten, die das Russ. Reich und die zunächst angrenzenden Länder betreffen» (Samml. etc. Bd. VI), noch von Adelung in seinem Artikel «Ueber die älteren ausländischen Karten von Russland» (Beitr. zur Kennin. des Russ. Reichs, herausgeg. von Baer und Helmersen, Bd. IV) erwähnte, von Allard in kleinerem Massstabe besorgte und mit einigen Verbesserungen versehene Copie der Witsen-schen Karte vor. Sie trägt den Titel: «Tartaria, sive Magni Chami Imperium ex credendis Amplissimi Viri D-ni Nicolai Witsen, Cos: Amst: Allorumque probandorum, et hodie vigentium Geographorum Archetypis congestum, auctum, et in lucem editum a Carolo Allard, Amst: Bat: Cum Privilegio Potentissimorum D. D. Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae, ohne Jahreszahl. Die holländischen Inschriften der Originalausgabe sind in lateinischer Sprache wiedergegeben. Die Karte hat fast genau denselben Rahmen, im Osten jedoch mit Hinzunahme von Korea und dagegen im Westen mit Ausschluss des Wolga-Laufes. Ich nenne sie eine Copie der Witsen'schen, weil sie diese in der That, zumal im Norden und Osten, in allen Stücken bis in das kleinste Detail wiederholt. Auch auf ihr findet man z. B. dieselben Curiosa wie bei Witsen, dass nämlich unverstandene russische Worte und Ausdrücke für Ortsnamen genommen sind. So steht am Zusammenfluss der Schilka und des Argunj mit grosser Schrift der Landschaftsnamen: «Otsel Poschols, offenbar weil es in einer russischen Angabe (und zwar einer Karte!) hiess: отсель поше.ъ Амуръ (d. h. von hier, vom Zusammenfluss der Schilka und des Argunj, beginnt der Amur); im unteren Laufe der Lena und östlich von ihr finden sich ebenso die Landschaften: «Omoro» (aus: отъ моря — vom Meere), «Nasahsten (из заказъ — im Westen) und «Wostok» (востокъ — Osten); das Gebirge, welches die Zuflüsse der Lena von denen des oberen Amur trennt (Stanowoi), trägt bei Witsen die Aufschrift: «het gebergte goris» oder bei Allard «montes Goris» (russisch: горы — Berge) u. s. w. Speciell das Amur-Land betreffend, wiederholt sich auf der Allard'schen Karte auch die Eigenthümlichkeit der Witsen'schen, dass auf ihr so viele Flüsse in Folge unvermittelter Eintragung verschiedener Nachrichten, doppelt verzeichnet sind; so der Ussuri als Schur oder Usiur und als Uschuri, die Dscja als Sia und als Zija, der Urkan als Urka und als Urki u. s. w. Hingegen giebt die Allard'sche Karte den Lauf des Sungari anders als die Witsen'sche: auf der letzteren geht dieser Fluss unter dem Namen Singal zum Amur und gleichzeitig in weiter Biforkation als Schingal oder Querfluss zum Meere; die Allard'sche Karte aber reisst ihn auseinander und lässt den Singal zum Amur, den Querfluss — was bekanntlich der chinesische Name für den Sungari ist — zum Meere fliessen. Gelegentlich sei hier auch eines Kärtchens erwähnt, das der 3. Ausgabe des Witsen'schen Werkes «Noord en Oost Tartaryen» vom Jahre 1785 (Band I) beigegeben ist und auf welcher auch der Amur doppelt eingetragen ist: einmal unter dem Namen Amur, mit seinen Zuflüssen Schur (Ussuri), Schingal (Sungari) u. a. und mit dem Lande Giletskaja an seiner Mündung, und ein anderes Mal weiter östlich, unter dem Namen Holung (ho-

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bald darauf, 1692, erschienenen bekannten Werke desselben «Noord en Oost Tartarye». An vielen Stellen dieses dickleibigen, an bunt durcheinandergewürfelten Nachrichten überreichen Werkes sind die Giljaken genannt, und zwar unter vielfacher Modification eines und desselben Namens; so als «Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski und Gilanki», oder «Giliakische und Gilaitse Volken» und ihr Land als «Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije und Gilanska gewest oder landtschap»[1]). Dabei sind manche, zwar oft entstellte, aber dennoch charakteristische Züge aus ihrem Leben und Treiben mitgetheilt, auf die wir später bei Gelegenheit zurückkommen werden. Verschiedener noch als der Name lauten bei Witsen die Angaben über die Wohnsitze der Giljaken. Denn bald heisst es nur sehr allgemein, dass sie am rechten Ufer des Amur und südwärts ihre Sitze haben[2]), bald, dass sie um die Mündung des Amur-Stromes und an der Seeküste nördlich und auch südlich von derselben[3]), so wie auf einer sehr grossen, der Amur-Mündung gegenüber liegenden Insel wohnen, Giliat genannt[4]), welche offenbar Sachalin ist; bald sollen sie sich an der Seeküste südwärts beinahe bis nach China[5]) und nordwärts bis zum Flusse Anadyr erstrecken[6]), und bald endlich werden ihre Wohnsitze am nördlichen Ufer des Amur-Stromes unweit Nertschinsk[7]), also ganz fern von der See angegeben. Dem entsprechend sind die Giljaken auch auf der Karte an drei Orten angegeben: einmal an der Seeküste gleich nördlich von der Amur-Mündung («Zemle Giletskaja» — Giljaken-Land)[8], dann hoch im Norden, an dem Anadyr, und endlich weit im Westen, an den Quellen eines nördlichen Amur-Zuflusses, der auf der Karte den Namen Urka trägt und vermuthlich der Urkan ist.

Wie fast alle auf Witsen's Karte oder in seinem Werke vorkommenden sibirischen Orts- und Völkernamen, verrathen auch die obigen Bezeichnungen für die Giljaken und ihr Land durch ihre Endungen unzweifelhaft ihren russischen Ursprung. Witsen giebt auch selbst wiederholentlich sowohl in den betreffenden einzelnen Fällen, wie in der Einleitung zu seinem Werke an, dass er vielfach aus russischen Quellen geschöpft habe[9]). Für die Karte dienten ihm

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kanntlich der chinesischen Bezeichnung für den Amur), mit den Zuflüssen Songora, Quentung u. a., das Land Nichi oder Nikanskaja (der Mandshu und Chinesen) durchströmend und von dem Volke Jupi an der Mündung bewohnt. Die oben besprochene Allard'sche Karte fand ich in zwei Exemplaren in unserer akademischen Bibliothek.

1) Ausgabe 1692, 2. Thl. p. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 320, 328, 513; Ausg. 1705, p. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 98, 108, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

2) Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. p. 29; Ausg. 1705, p. 67.

3) Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. p. 33, 36; Ausg. 1705, p. 88, 108.

4) Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. p. 31; Ausg. 1705, p. 98.

5) Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. p. 104; Ausg. 1705, p. 267.

6) Die Flüsse, an deren Mündungen sie wohnen, werden ausdrücklich genannt und zwar in doppelter Lesart (Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. p. 32; Ausg. 1705, p. 86 und 103), darunter die spätere, correctere lautet: Lama, Ochota, Towoi (offenbar Ta-ni), Tadui, Penchion (Penshina), Kamtschatka, Tschiundon und Anadir.

7) Ausg. 1705, p. 77.

8) Auf der Allard'schen Karte sind hier ausserdem noch die «Holakis» vermerkt.

9) Nach Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. I, p. 262) ist ihm beim Zusammenbringen der Nachrichten über Sibirien ganz besonders auch behülflich gewesen der «Dumnoi djak» Andr. Winius, dessen er jedoch nicht erwähnt. Neuerdings machte Spasskij (Сиб. Русск. о ранн. Амурѣ въ XVII столѣтіи, im Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., ч. VII, 1853, Отд. II, стр. 17 и слѣд.) eine «Erzählung vom Flusse Amur» bekannt, die er in einer Sammlung von Handschriften aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert fand und die offenbar noch vor Abschluss des Nertschinsker Trak-

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

namentlich als Hülfsmittel, wie er selbst sagt, sowohl einige sibirische Holztafeln, als besonders auch eine Karte Sibirien's, welche auf den 1667 vom Zar Alexei Michailowitsch erlassenen Befehl vom Befehlshaber von Tobolsk Peter Godunof und seinen Gehülfen gemacht und in Moskau im Holzschnitt, mit Angabe der Entfernungen der auf ihr verzeichneten Orte, gedruckt worden war[1]). Dank Middendorff's Beleuchtung der ältesten sibirischen Karten[2]), wissen wir, dass dies der sogenannte erste «Sibirische Riss» (Ssibirskij tschertesh) war, der zwar seitdem verloren gegangen ist, von dem sich aber eine verbesserte und vervollständigte Ausgabe in Remesof's Atlas erhalten hat. Dieses aus 24 handschriftlichen Blättern bestehende Kartenwerk[3]) wurde ebenfalls für verloren gehalten, bis es 1842 von Wostokof im Rumjanzof'schen Museum aufgefunden wurde. Obwohl Remesof das ganze Werk erst im Jahre 1701 vollendete, war die erste (im Atlas die letzte) Karte doch schon 1673 entworfen worden: sie ist ethnographischen Inhalts — die erste ethnographische Karte Sibirien's, die in bunten, grell geschiedenen Farbenflecken die Wohnsitze der zahlreichen sibirischen Völker darstellt[4]). Ein anderes, vielleicht das wichtigste Blatt, welches die Uebersichtskarte von ganz Sibirien enthält, hat Middendorff, der die Bedeutung des Remesof'schen Werkes überhaupt erst in das richtige Licht setzte, in vierfach verkleinertem Maassstabe, der russischen Ausgabe seines Reisewerkes beigegeben[5]). Auf dieser Karte findet man an der Amur-Mündung und der Seeküste nördlich von derselben die Aufschrift «Giljaken-Land» (Царство Гиляско), ebenso wie auf der Witsen'schen «Zemle Giletskaja». Vergleicht man überhaupt diese Karte mit der Witsen'schen, so erscheint es unzweifelhaft, dass die letztere, so weit sie Sibirien betrifft, nicht bloss mit Hülfe, sondern geradezu auf Grundlage jenes eben besprochenen ersten «Sibirischen Risses» entworfen worden ist[6]). Dieser erste «Riss» aber und die spätere, vervollständigte und verbesserte Ausgabe von Remesof's Karten sind für das Amur-Land nach den Nachrichten zusammengestellt, welche die russischen Kriegszüge aus demselben heimbrachten, welche jedoch in ihrem vollen Umfange, wie sie in den Berichten der Anführer und Theilnehmer an jenen Expeditionen niedergelegt sind, damals noch ungehoben in den sibirischen Archiven ruhten.

Von Witsen rührt, nach Müller's Auseinandersetzungen[7]), auch die Karte her, welche die

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tates (1689) verfasst ist. Sie trägt die Aufschrift: «Сказаніе о великой рѣкѣ Амурѣ, которая разграничила Русское государство съ Китайцы» (Erzählung vom grossen Flusse Amur, der die Grenze zwischen den russischen Ansiedelungen und den Chinesen bildet). In ihr erkennt man eine der von Witsen benutzten russischen Quellen. Die Nachrichten, die sie giebt, finden sich bei Witsen in wörtlicher Uebersetzung wieder. So unter Anderem auch jene Angaben über die Lage des Giljaken-Landes (Тилаоская земля) an der Amur-Mündung und an der Meeresküste nördlich und südlich von derselben, über die Flüsse, die im Giljaken-Lande sich in die See ergiessen: Lama, Ochota, Tawni, Todui, Penshin, Kamtschatka, Tchuldan und Anadyr, u. s. w.

1) Witsen, l. c. Voor-rede; desgl. Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. Schrenck's Amur-Reise, Band III.

p. 536, 537; Ausg. 1705, p. 839. Vergl. auch Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. I, p. 204.

2) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 34—38, 176, 177.

3) Unter dem Titel: «Чертежная книга.... всей Сибири»; s. Middendorff, l. c.

4) Nach Middendorff, l. c. Ich habe den Remesof'schen Atlas nicht in Händen gehabt.

5) Путеш. на сѣв. и вост. Сибири, ч. I, стр. 37. Die Karte führt den Titel: «Чертежъ всѣхъ сибирскихъ городовъ и земель».

6) Dafür sprechen auch die eben (p. 98, Anm. 4) angeführten, durch Uebertragung russischer Aufschriften entstandenen Curiosa auf der Witsen'schen Karte.

7) Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. VI, p. 32.

älteste, in holländischer Sprache erschienene Beschreibung der Reise von Ysbrants Ides begleitet[1]); sie ist von ihm auf Grundlage seiner eigenen Karte entworfen und nur nach den Nachrichten verändert — und nicht immer zum Besseren — welche Ysbrants Ides auf seiner Reise erkundet und ihm zugestellt hat. Auf dieser Karte sind die Giljaken nur einmal, und zwar, wie auf Remesof's Uebersichtskarte, nur an der Meeresküste zwischen dem Amur und Tugur verzeichnet. Hingegen sehen wir auf der viel späteren Karte von Strahlenberg[2]) alles Land an den nördlichen Zuflüssen des Amur-Stromes, von der Dseja bis zum Meere, als «terra Giliakorum» bezeichnet, während es in seinem bekannten Werke über den nördlichen und östlichen Theil von Europa und Asien heisst, dass die «Kilani», die von den Jakuten «Kilett» und von den Russen «Kilaki» genannt werden, um die Mündung des Amur-Stromes wohnen[3]). So unglaublich klangen übrigens die Nachrichten, die er von ihnen mittheilte — obwohl sie, wie wir später sehen werden, keineswegs aller Wahrheit entbehrten — und so abenteuerlich war jedenfalls seine Ableitung derselben von den Awaren, die im XIII. Jahrhundert durch den Schach von Persien Mangu aus der Gegend zwischen dem Kaspischen und Schwarzen Meere nach China versetzt worden seien — wobei er in dem noch bestehenden gleichlautenden Namen Kilan (Gilan) für eine persische Provinz am Kaspischen Meere eine Bekräftigung seiner Ansicht sah — dass Gmelin die ganze Angabe Strahlenberg's in Zweifel zog. Höchstens, meinte er, könnten die «Kilani» ein Geschlecht der Tungusen sein, wie es deren in Sibirien so viele giebt, die sich mit besonderem Namen belegen, nicht aber ein eigenes, verschiedenes Volk, das noch dazu, wie Strahlenberg angab, durch seine Fertigkeit in einer so wichtigen Kunst wie das Schmieden von Waffen sich auszeichnete, — wie könnte es, sagt er, ein solches Volk geben, ohne dass ganz Sibirien darum wüsste?[4]) Und dennoch war es schon Gmelin's Reisegefährte, der, ohne das Amur-Land zu betreten, den grössten Beitrag zur historischen Kenntniss seiner Völker und unter ihnen auch der Giljaken lieferte.

Müller hob zuerst den reichen Schatz von Nachrichten, die sich in den sibirischen Archiven über das Amur-Land angesammelt hatten und von denen Witsen nur einige Brocken zugekommen waren. Später wurde auf diesem Felde noch mehrfache Nachlese gehalten. Dadurch sind die am weitesten zurückgehenden Nachrichten zu Tage gebracht worden, die man bisher über die hier in Rede stehenden Amur-Völker hat. Ihnen zufolge erhielten die Russen die

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1) Driejaarige Reize naar China, te lande gedaan, door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides, etc. Amsterdam 1704. Die Karte trägt den Titel: «Nova Tabula Imperii Russici, ex omnium accuratissimis, quae hactenus extiterunt, Imprimis viri Ampliss: Nic: Witzen delineationibus conflata, quam ipse locorum lustratione edoctus, multum emendavit Everardus Ysbrants Ides»; mit einer Widmung an Peter den Grossen.

2) Nova Descriptio Geographica Tartariae Magnae tam orientalis quam occidentalis in particularibus et generalibus Territoriis una cum Delineatione totius Imperii Russici imprimis Siberiae accurate ostensa. Mit einer Widmung an Friedrich I, König von Schweden; ohne Jahreszahl.

3) Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia, Stockholm 1730, p. 380. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. VI, p. 69) sagt, die Karte sei zugleich mit dem genannten Werke im Jahre 1731 erschienen.

4) J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen 1751—1752, Bd. II, Vorrede.

erste Kunde von den Giljaken noch ehe sie das Amur-Land betraten. Als der Jenisseiskische Kosakenanführer Maxim Perfiljef in den Jahren 1639 und 1640 den Witim und seinen linken Nebenfluss Zypir (Zipa) fast bis zum Baunt-See aufwärts drang, erzählten ihm die dortigen Tungusen von dem Volke der Dauren, das am oberen Witim und an der Schilka wohne und mit den Chinesen Handel treibe, so wie von einem an der Ausmündung des letzteren Flusses in das Meer, also an der Amur-Mündung, wohnhaften Volke «Kilorzy», das sich durch seine Sprache von allen anderen Völkern unterscheide und ebenfalls mit den Chinesen, die zur See hinkämen, in Handelsverkehr stehe[1]). Wir erhalten hier also von den beiden zu der Zeit äussersten Völkern am Amur-Strome Nachricht, denn dass unter den «Kilorzy» die Giljaken zu verstehen sind, scheint keinem Zweifel zu unterliegen und ist auch schon von Fischer bei Wiedergabe dieser Nachricht bemerkt worden. Es ist eben nur eine von den mehrfachen Versionen dieses Namens, wie wir deren oben schon welche kennen gelernt haben: sie stimmen alle unter einander in dem Hauptlaute Kil oder Gil überein und differiren nur in den Endungen. Diese älteste Version führt aber unmittelbar zur Erklärung, wie und woher der Name «Giljaken» für dieses Volk entstanden ist.

Die Giljaken selbst bezeichnen sich unter einander keineswegs, wie von Manchen behauptet worden, mit diesem Namen: sie thun es nur den Russen gegenüber, weil sie wissen, dass sie von diesen so genannt werden. Unter einander nennen sie sich nur «Nib(a)ch»[2]), d. h. Mensch, indem ihnen, wie so vielen Völkern auf ähnlicher, niederer Culturstufe, der Begriff Mensch mit demjenigen eines Individuums ihres Stammes und ihrer Sprache zusammenfällt und der allgemeinere, abstrakte Begriff noch fehlt. Den Russen wurden die Giljaken, jener Nachricht zufolge, zuerst von den Witim-Tungusen genannt. Sieht man von der russischen Endung des Namens, wie er von den Kosaken wiedergegeben worden, ab, so mag er bei den Tungusen Kilor oder Kiler gelautet haben. Die Tungusen hatten ihn von den Dauren am Witim und an der Schilka, mit denen sie in Verkehr standen, und diese wiederum von den Chinesen, welche sowohl mit ihnen, wie mit den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes Handel trieben, indem sie zu den letzteren, wenn auch nicht zur See, wie die Tungusen erzählten oder die Russen verstanden haben wollten, doch zu Boot, den Amur abwärts fuhren. Die Bezeichnung Kilor oder Kiler muss also chinesischen Ursprungs sein, mit tungusischer Unterlage und vielleicht auch mit etwas tungusischer Abänderung. In der That findet man ein Volk dieses oder eines ähnlichen Namens unter denjenigen, die von mandshu-chinesischen Geographen oder nach mandshu-chinesischen Quellen aus dem unteren Amur-Lande aufgeführt werden. So zählt die chinesische Reichs-

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1) J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. 1. Thl. St. Petersburg 1768, p. 327—330. Hier wie an einem anderen Orte seines Werkes (p. 477) nennt Fischer den Urheber dieser Nachrichten Perfirjef und bezeichnet ihn als Jenisseiskischen (Kosaken-) Ataman. In Pojarkof's Originalbericht von seinem Zuge an den Amur (Ілоньм. хъ лет. встор. Т. III, С. Петербургъ 1868, стр. 31, 32) heisst er aber bald Perfiljef und bald Perfirjef und wird als Kriegsmann des Jenisseiskischen Ostroges (Енисейскаго острога служилый человѣкъ) angeführt.

2) Die Klammern um den einen Vokal sollen andeuten, dass er bei der Aussprache kaum vernommen wird.

geographie der Dynastie Tsing[1]) im Distrikt Ssan-ssin, welches das untere Amur-Land mit der Küste umfasst, ausser Mandshu und Chinesen noch folgende Völkerschaften auf: Kilerchadshi, Wiyaka (Fiaka), Lerkoje, Oruntschun und Kiyakla. In Timkovski's von Klaproth herausgegebenen Reise nach Peking[2]) werden von dem unteren Amur und der Meeresküste die Kileng und die Fiaka genannt. Der Archimandrit Palladij[3]) zählt aus der Provinz Girin folgende Völker auf, die, vor Besitznahme des unteren Amur-Landes durch die Russen, ihren Tribut in Zobelfellen an den Pekinger Hof lieferten: die Chädshä oder Chädsin, die Fiaka, die Kiler, die Kuä, die Orontscho und die Kjakala. Es sind dies lange nicht alle Aufzählungen chinesischer Völkernamen aus dem unteren Amur-Lande, sondern nur diejenigen, in welchen die Kiler oder Kileng vorkommen; von anderen wird später die Rede sein. Man darf jedoch nicht erwarten, dass die von den Chinesen unterschiedenen Völker mit den uns jetzt aus denselben Gegenden bekannten immer genau zusammenfallen. Bei der sehr geringen Kenntniss der Chinesen vom unteren Amur-Lande, konnte und musste es vielmehr geschehen, dass sie zuweilen verschiedene Völker, besonders die weiter entlegenen, von einander nicht unterschieden oder unter einem Collectivnamen zusammenfassten, und in anderen Fällen hingegen, wo es nähere und bekanntere Gegenden galt, nur wenig dialektisch verschiedene Zweige oder Stämme eines und desselben Volkes mit verschiedenen Namen belegten. Kein Wunder daher, dass man in den bisherigen Deutungen jener mandshu-chinesischen Völkernamen, bei welchen der obige Gesichtspunkt nicht immer eingehalten worden und welche zudem auch von Männern ausgingen, denen die persönliche Bekanntschaft mit den unteren Amur-Völkern fehlte, einander widersprechende Angaben findet. So hielt Klaproth anfangs dafür, dass Fiaka und Chedshen die Mandshu-Bezeichnungen für die Giljaken seien[4]); später[5]) glaubte er hingegen in den Kileng, wie sie sich selbst nennen sollen, die Giljaken der Russen zu erkennen. Palladij aber hielt noch neuerdings die Fiaka für Giljaken, die Kiler hingegen für Amgunj-Tungusen, also Negda. Zieht man die angeblichen Wohnsitze dieser Völker, sowie die wenigen Mittheilungen über ihre respectiven Charakterzüge, Lebensweise, Kleidung u. dgl. in Betracht, so muss man zwar der letzteren Deutung mehr Recht geben, kann ihr aber auch nicht ganz beistimmen. Die Beschreibung der Fiaka im Atlas zu Timkovski's Reise, als eines rohen, aber tapferen Volkes, das im Winter in Pelzen von Hundefellen gekleidet geht, passt unstreitig besser auf die Giljaken als die der Kileng, deren Kleidung aus Hirsch- (oder

1) Tai Tsing hoei tien. Peking 1818, Bd. XI, 2; nach Ritter, Asien, Bd. III, p. 444. Pauthier (Chine moderne ou descript. histor., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris 1853, I. partie, p. 168. — L'Univers) führt aus dem genannten chinesischen Werke dieselben Völker in derselben Reihenfolge, aber mit etwas anderer Lesart auf; in seiner französischen Wiedergabe lauten sie: Tchi-tché, Fei-ya-khé, Li-eurh-kou-yé, Golun-tchun und Go-khe-la.

2) G. Timkovski, Voyage à Peking à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821. Trad. du Russe par N****, revu par J. B. Eyriès; publ. avec des correct. et des notes par J. Klaproth. Paris 1827. Atlas, Tab. VII, Explic. p. 25.

3) Дорожн. записки из пути отъ Пекина до Благовѣщенска через Маньчжурію, въ 1870 г. (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По общ. Геогр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 399).

4) Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, p. 290, 301. Die Giljaken hält er dabei für Kurilen des Continentes, worüber später.

5) Atlas zu Timkovski's Reise, l. c.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

vielleicht auch Reh- oder Rennthier-) Fellen schon auf ein in höherem Grade der Jagd ergebenes, tungusisches Volk hinweist[1]). Die angeblichen Wohnsitze der fraglichen Völker scheinen ebenfalls zu Gunsten dieser Deutung zu sprechen, indem die Kileng hauptsächlich am Amgunj[2]), die Fiaka an der Meeresküste bei der Amur-Mündung wohnen sollen. Dass die Fiaka auf die Giljaken zu beziehen sind, erscheint ferner fast unzweifelhaft, wenn Iakinf[3]) nach mandshu-chinesischen Quellen und ohne eigenen Commentar anführt, dass es auf Sachalin drei Völker, Fjakä (Фякэ), Eluntschun und Kuä giebt, offenbar Giljaken, Oroken und Aino. Auch unter den Angaben der alten Jesuiten-Missionäre giebt es endlich welche, die man nicht anders als im obigen Sinne deuten möchte; so die Angabe Gerbillon's[4]), dass der unterste Theil des Amur-Stromes bis an das Meer von dem Volke Fiatta oder Fiattu[5]) bewohnt sei, das eine ganz verschiedene Sprache spreche, nur von Fischen sich nähre und das er den Schilderungen, die er erhielt, zufolge mit den Irokesen vergleichen müsse. Darauf hin erklärte schon Müller[6]), dass die Giljaken von den Mandshu mit dem Namen Fitta bezeichnet würden. Hingegen berichteten die Jesuiten-Missionäre[7]), die auf Befehl des Kaisers Kang-hi die eigentliche Mandshurei und einen Theil des unteren Amur-Landes bereisten, um eine Karte von denselben zu entwerfen, von den Fiatta in ganz abweichendem Sinne. Ihnen zufolge ist dies nur die Mandshu-Bezeichnung für die Sprache der Ketscheng oder Ketsching, eines Volkes, das längs dem Amur-Strome von Tondon an bis zu seiner Mündung und an der Meeresküste ostwärts vom Ussuri und Amur wohne, so wie vermuthlich auch desjenigen Volkes, welches die Seeküste nordwärts von der Amur-Mündung bis zum 55. Breitengrade, der äussersten Nordostgrenze des Chinesischen Reiches, inne habe[8]). Hier sehen wir also schon, dass die Bezeichnung Fiatta oder, wie Klaproth will, Fiaka in Folge mangelhafter Kenntniss als Collectivbezeichnung für eine Anzahl verschiedener Völker des Amur-Landes oder ihrer Sprache, und darunter auch für die Giljaken gebraucht wird. Und dasselbe muss man aus den Angaben des Chinesen U-tschen schliessen, der wie oben schon angeführt, 17 Jahre — von seiner Geburt an — in Ninguta, wohin sein Vater verbannt war, zubrachte und später, nach China zurückgekehrt, im Jahre 1722 eine Beschreibung seiner Geburtsstadt entwarf. Abwärts von den Cheidsin oder Chädshen am Amur-Strome lässt er das Land der Fei-ja-cha folgen, deren Beschreibung aber nur zum Theil auf die Giljaken, mehr — wie z. B. die Nasenringe,

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1) Auch die Abbildungen der Kileng und Fiaka (Atlas, Tab. VII), so roh und unähnlich sie im Ganzen wie in den Einzelnheiten sind, gestatten eher eine solche Deutung.

2) Khenkhoin bei Klaproth (l. c.), Henkon auf den Karten von d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet. La Haye 1737, № 1, 18).

3) Статист. Опис. Китайск. Имп. С. Петерб. 1842, ч. II, стр. 36, Прим.

4) J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris 1735, T. IV, p. 37.

5) Klaproth (Atlas, l. c.) erklärt ausdrücklich »Fiatta« für einen Fehler, statt »Fiaka«.

6) Von dem Amur-Flusse, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr. 2. Thl. 2. Aufl. Hamburg 1769, p. 500.

7) Regis, Jartoux und Fridelli, 1709.

8) Du Halde, Descript. etc. T. IV, p. 7. 12. Ritter (Asien, Bd. III, p. 446, 447) hat die einander widersprechenden Angaben der Jesuiten-Missionäre und Klaproth's in Eins verschmolzen, was die grösste Verwirrung giebt.

die Birkenrindenböte, der Fischfang im Meere u. dgl. — auf die Golde, Oltscha und Orotschen passt[1]). Ganz entschieden spricht sich endlich in diesem Sinne Iakinf aus, indem er angiebt, dass alle die verschiedenen Stämme, welche abwärts von den Chädshe an beiden Ufern des Amur-Stromes wohnen und auch den nördlichen Theil von Sachalin einnehmen, unter dem gemeinsamen Namen Fjakä (Фяка) verstanden werden[2]). Aus alle dem lässt sich der Schluss ziehen, dass die Fiaka der mandshu-chinesischen Geographen oder Berichterstatter keineswegs immer nur auf die Giljaken zu beziehen sind: mögen Einzelne, besser unterrichtete unter dieser Bezeichnung in der That die Giljaken gemeint haben, so gab es Andere, welche sie mit den benachbarten tungusischen Stämmen zusammenwarfen, indem sie dort, wo ihre ethnographische Kenntniss des unteren Amur-Landes aufhörte, was bald früher, bald später eintrat, das Gebiet der Fiaka, dieses Volkes ihrer ultima Thule, beginnen liessen.

Aehnlich verhält es sich mit den Ketscheng und Kileng. Ich werde später nachzuweisen suchen, dass unter den ersteren meistens die Golde, zum wenigsten ein Theil derselben, und die Oltscha verstanden wurden. Aus den obigen Angaben ist aber zugleich zu ersehen, dass diese Bezeichnung, aus ähnlichen Gründen wie bei den Fiaka, mitunter auch auf andere, weiter abwärts am Amur wie an der Meeresküste wohnende Völker, bis hinab zu den Giljaken ausgedehnt wurde. Was endlich die Kileng oder Kiler betrifft, so liegt ein Beweis für den Collectivbegriff, der dieser Bezeichnung chinesischerseits gegeben wurde und noch wird, schon in der Verbindung derselben mit den Ketscheng oder Chädshe, wie man sie in der Reichsgeographie der Tai-Tsing findet. Die dort erwähnten Kiler-chadshi umfassen die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, die von den Chadshi (Golde) inclusive an bis hinab zu den Fiaka der Meeresküste sich erstrecken. Die Anwendung der Bezeichnung Kileng, Kile oder Kil von Seiten der Chinesen lässt sich aber auch im Speciellen fast für jedes einzelne dieser Völker nachweisen. So ist oben schon der Kileng vom Amgunj erwähnt worden, unter denen nach Wohnort und Beschreibung die Negda zu verstehen sind. Wenn es in der betreffenden Nachricht über dieselben heisst, dass sie sich auch selbst Kileng nennen[3]), so ist dies nur insofern richtig, als sie sich den Chinesen gegenüber so bezeichnen, wie sie von ihnen genannt werden, gleichwie es ja auch die Giljaken mit ihrer Bezeichnung den Russen gegenüber thun. Denselben Namen aber, den sie den einen, für sie wichtigsten und maassgebendsten Fremden gegenüber gewissermassen acceptirt haben, gebrauchen sie natürlich leicht auch allen anderen gegenüber. Als ich mich bei den Golde nach dem Namen der Samagirn oder des Volkes am Gorin, so wie desjenigen am Kur erkundigte, nannten sie mir das eine wie das

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1) In Wassiljef's Uebersetzung: Ланскиъ о Нанкуръ (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XII, 1837, стр. 90—93). Dort heisst es auch, dass die Fiaka, Cheldsin und Churcha oder Chulcha einander mit dem Worte *sandä* anreden. Dies ist aber ein tungusisches Wort, das auch den Golde, Oltscha etc. zukommt und soviel wie «Freund» bedeutet; giljakisch heisst es *«emalä»*.

2) Іакинфъ, Статист. Опис. Китайск. Имперіи, Ч. II, стр. 12.

3) Klaproth, im Atlas zu Timkowski's Reise, pag. 23.

andere wiederholentlich «Kile», offenbar weil sie bei den Chinesen diesen Collectivnamen tragen und sich dann ihnen gegenüber auch selbst mit demselben bezeichnen. Ebenso nannten mir ferner auch die Giljaken die Samagirn «Kil». Bei der vollkommenen Verschiedenheit der Golde- und der Giljaken-Sprache liegt also der Schluss, dass dies nur ein Fremdname sein könne, überaus nahe. Von reisenden chinesischen Kaufleuten am Amur habe ich endlich zuweilen sogar die nördlichen, entfernteren Golde, in der Regel die Oltscha, ja auch die Giljaken mit diesem oder einem ähnlichen Namen bezeichnen hören. Ein solcher Kaufmann z. B., den ich in Amtscho am Amur traf, erkundigte sich bei mir eifrig darnach, ob die weiter unterhalb wohnenden «Kilam» oder «Kilang» viele Zobel hätten, wobei er, um sich verständlicher zu machen, dies Thier auch in der Kilam-Sprache nannte: das Wort lautete «*lombr*» und liess das giljakische «*lumr*» deutlich erkennen. Ganz ähnlich wurden die Giljaken auch dem Missionär Venault, als er behufs Nachforschung über den von ihnen ermordeten de la Bruniere den Amur abwärts ging, von seinen chinesischen Begleitern «Ki-li-mi» genannt[1]). Aus all' dem Gesagten geht hervor, dass die Chinesen unter der Collectivbezeichnung Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam u. dgl. so wohl die Völker der linken, nördlichen und westlichen Zuflüsse des unteren Amur-Stromes, des Kur, Gorin, Amgunj, als auch die Anwohner des Hauptstromes selbst in seinem untersten Laufe und zwar vornehmlich die ihnen am wenigsten bekannten Giljaken, alsdann aber auch die Oltscha, und zuweilen sogar einen Theil der Golde verstehen; oder mit anderen Worten, gleichwie die Fiaka und Chädshen, so lassen sie auch die Kile und Kileng im unteren Amur-Lande um so früher oder um so weiter oberhalb beginnen, je geringer ihre Kenntniss von dem Lande und seiner Bevölkerung ist. Die entferntesten unter diesen Völkern, die Negda und noch mehr die Giljaken, mussten daher am häufigsten und allgemeinsten unter dieser Collectivbezeichnung verstanden werden.

Von den Chinesen gelangte nun, wie wir oben sahen, durch die Dauren und Witim-Tungusen die erste Kunde von dem Kiler-Volke an der Amur-Mündung zu den Russen, bei denen dieser Name, mit russischer Endung versehen, zu «Kilorzy» wurde. Nur wenig später, als sie selbst ihre Züge den Amur abwärts ausführten, mussten sie im unteren Laufe desselben wiederholentlich von den stromabwärts wohnenden Kile oder Kileng hören, bis sie das letzte jener Völker erreichten und in diesem in der That ein von den ihnen schon vielfach bekannten tungusischen Stämmen ganz verschiedenes Volk kennen lernten, für welches sie nun den ihnen überlieferten Namen, natürlich nur mit russischer Endung versehen, als Kiljaki, Kiljaizy, Kiljany u. s. w. beibehielten, woraus dann, dem Geiste der Sprache gemäss, Giljaki, Giljaizy, Giljany u. s. w. wurde. So kommen wir auf alle jene Versionen dieses Namens, die schon Witsen aus russischen Quellen wiedergiebt, und die sich theils aus den oben angeführten verschiedenen Versionen der chinesischen Bezeichnung für das Volk der Kile und theils aus der willkürlichen Wahl der russischen Endung erklären.

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1) Venault, Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, V-e Sér., T. XXX, 1822 (T. II), p. 216—223).

Es konnte jedoch nicht fehlen, dass manche von den russischen Kosaken, welche den Amur abwärts schifften, die Stammverschiedenheit der Giljaken den angrenzenden tungusischen Völkern gegenüber auch nicht erkannten. Diese mussten daher, indem sie jene Bezeichnung, gleich den Chinesen, mehr oder weniger als Collectivnamen brauchten, die Giljaken schon viel weiter oberhalb am Amur, als ihre wahre Grenze liegt, beginnen lassen. Bei der späteren genaueren Musterung der betreffenden Angaben werden wir z. B. sehen, dass nach Einigen mit dem Oltscha-Gebiet, nach Anderen noch früher, schon bald unterhalb des Ussuri, und also mitten im Golde-Gebiet, das Land der Giljaken anhebt. Und, bezeichnend genug, wiederholt sich dasselbe, wie ein Nachklang aus jener Zeit, noch bis auf den heütigen Tag. Es ist oben hervorgehoben worden, wie schwankend und falsch alle neueren russischen Angaben über die Südgrenze der Giljaken am Amur sind, wie allgemein diese Grenze tief in das Oltscha-, ja sogar in das Golde-Gebiet hinein und in diesem bis zum Ussuri hinauf verlegt wird[1]). Und das hat seinen Grund zum grossen Theil in dem Umstande, dass die Bezeichnung «Giljaken» von den Russen auch jetzt noch oft als Collectivname für alle Anwohner des unteren Amur-Stromes und der angrenzenden Meeresküste gebraucht wird. Beim gemeinen Mann ist es fast durchweg gang und gäbe, Oltscha, Golde, ja, wie ich mich ebenfalls selbst überzeugt habe, sogar die Orotschen von de Castries und vom Kaiserhafen schlechtweg Giljaken zu nennen. Wer von den Reisenden daher seine Angaben auf die Aussagen russischer Ansiedler oder Kosaken gründete — und das haben Viele gethan — konnte nicht anders als falsche Nachrichten über die Gebietsabgrenzung der Giljaken und der übrigen, oben genannten Völker geben. Aber selbst ein Reisender wie Boschnjak, der die Grenze zwischen den Giljaken und Oltscha (bei ihm Mangunen) nach der Grundverschiedenheit ihrer respectiven Sprachen scharf und richtig bezeichnet, spricht dennoch in demselben Artikel von «Kidsi-Giljaken», während es doch in Kidsi gar keine Giljaken im engeren und wahren Sinne giebt[2]). Die Auffassung dieser Bezeichnung als Collectivnamen für viele Völker des unteren Amur-Landes macht die ältesten russischen Angaben für die Frage nach der etwaigen Verschiebung der Wohnsitze der Giljaken und ihrer Nachbaren oft unbrauchbar, gleichwie dies, aus demselben Grunde, auch mit allen chinesischen Nachrichten über die Kile oder Kileng der Fall ist.

Scheint es nach den obigen Erörterungen unzweifelhaft, dass der russische Name Giljaken für das Volk um die Amur-Mündung aus dem chinesischen Kile oder Kileng entstanden ist, so bleibt noch die Frage übrig, wie sich die Entstehung dieser letzteren Bezeichnung erklären lässt. Aller Sprachforschung fremd, erlaube ich mir in dieser Beziehung nur eine Vermuthung zu äussern, auf die ich durch einige Thatsachen geleitet worden bin. Man bemerkt leicht, dass sehr vielen Namen tungusischer Völker, Stämme oder Geschlechter die Endsilbe gir anhängt. Von den zahlreichen Fällen der Art unter den Tungusen Sibirien's abgesehen[3]), weise ich

1) S. oben p. 26 und p. 90, Anm. 1.

2) S. oben p. 26, Anm. 2.

3) Unter den von Georgi (Bemerk. auf einer Reise im Russ. Reiche im Jahre 1772, Bd. I, St. Petersb. 1775, p. 244—246) aus verschiedenen Gegenden Sibirien's aufgezählten Tungusen-Stämmen findet man eine Menge solcher Namen.

unter den im Amur-Lande wohnhaften oder umherstreifenden tungusischen Stämmen beispielsweise auf die Manägir, Ullagir, Bojagir, Lalegir, Guragir, Samagir, auf manche Geschlechter der Negda, wie die Muktegir, Tschutktschagir, Njassekagir, Tschemakogir[1]) u. s. w. hin[2]). Bemerkenswerth ist dabei, dass dies sämmtlich Anwohner der linken, nördlichen und westlichen Zuflüsse des Amur-Stromes sind. Was diese Endsilbe gir bedeutet, weiss ich nicht. Die mir zu Gebote stehenden tungusischen Wörterverzeichnisse[3]) geben darüber keine Auskunft. Wie dem aber auch sei, aus gir wird nach chinesischer Aussprache kil, und den Namen «Sama-gir» habe ich die Chinesen «Sama-kil» aussprechen hören. Ebenso lauten den Chinesen auch die Namen der übrigen obengenannten tungusischen Völkerstämme auf kil aus. Es kommt mir daher nicht unwahrscheinlich vor, dass sie diesen gemeinsamen Auslaut zum Collectivnamen für alle jene Völker des nördlichen und unteren Amur-Landes mit Einschluss auch der in ihren Augen nicht wesentlich verschiedenen Giljaken gemacht haben. Aus Kil und Kileng entstand aber, wie oben dargethan, die russische Bezeichnung Kiljaki und Giljaki. Und so ergiebt sich, wenn meine Vermuthung richtig ist, die eigenthümliche Thatsache, dass der chinesischerseits durch Entstellung eines tungusischen Wortes entstandene Collectivname für eine Anzahl fast ausschliesslich tungusischer Stämme gegenwärtig auf dasjenige Volk beschränkt ist, welches im gesammten unteren Amur-Lande allein von nicht tungusischem Ursprunge ist.

Kehren wir nach dieser Abschweifung zur Prüfung der historischen Nachrichten über die Wohnsitze der Amur-Völker und zunächst der Giljaken zurück. Sehr bald nachdem die Russen von der Existenz der Giljaken erfahren hatten, lernten sie dieselben auch selbst kennen. Denn ihr erster Zug in das Amur-Land, unter Wassilij Pojarkof, führte sie in den Jahren 1644 und 1645 durch das gesammte am Amur gelegene Gebiet der Giljaken hindurch. Erst vier Tagereisen unterhalb des Ussuri — den Pojarkof übrigens als oberen Amur auffasste — hörte das Volk der Djutscheren (Дючеры), von denen später die Rede sein wird, auf, es folgten die Natken (Натки) und auf diese die Giljaken, welche, wie der Bericht sagt, den untersten Theil des Amur-Stromes bis an das Meer inne hatten. Durch die Gebiete der beiden letzteren Völker ging Pojarkof je 14 Tage, bis er die Amur-Mündung erreichte, wo ihn die späte Jahreszeit zum Ueberwintern nöthigte. An welchem Punkte diese erste Ueberwinterung der Russen unter den Giljaken stattfand, ist mit Sicherheit nicht zu ermitteln, — vielleicht am Cap Tschnyrrach oder Tschchyrkrach, wie es die Giljaken selbst nennen, am linken Amur-Ufer, denn dort sah ich Unebenheiten in dem mit dichtem Walde und auffallend üppigem Strauchwerk bewachsenen Boden, die sehr wohl Reste ehemaliger Erdhütten sein könnten. Von dort ging Pojarkof im Sommer 1645 zur See längs der Küste bis an den Fluss Ulja, den er

1) Middendorff (Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 1833) schreibt, die Endsilbe verkennend, «Muktegr, Tschuktschager, Njässokagr, Tschemakogr».

2) Wo dieselbe Endsilbe in dem Namen eines nicht tungusischen Volkes vorkommt, wie «Jukagir», da möchte ich vermuthen, dass der Name tungusischen Ursprungs ist.

3) Klaproth, Asia polyglotta. Sprachatlas. Paris 1823, p. XLII E. Castrén's Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss, herausgegeben von A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1856.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

nach zwölf Wochen erreichte und an dem er wiederum überwinterte, um erst im folgenden Jahre nach Jakutsk zurückzukehren[1]). Von dieser Seereise sind jedoch keinerlei Details bekannt. Ich gebe hier gleich auch die Berichte der Nachfolger Pojarkof's, soweit sie die Giljaken und ihre nächsten Nachbaren betreffen, um alsdann die Angaben gegen einander zu halten und einige Bemerkungen an dieselben zu knüpfen.

Im Jahre 1651 betrat Jerofei Chabarof, den Amur abwärts schiffend, den unteren Lauf desselben. Sieben Tagereisen vom Sungari ab wohnten noch Djutscheren, alsdann begann mit einem grossen, auf einem Berge am rechten Ufer gelegenen Dorfe das Volk der Atschanen (Ачаны), in deren Gebiete, noch mehrere Tagereisen abwärts, Chabarof am 29. September Halt machte und an einer Stelle des linken Ufers, wo es ein grosses Dorf gab, zum Winterlager eine Festung, Atschanskoi gorod, errichtete. Von dort sollte man noch zehn Tagereisen bis zu den Giljaken haben, die bis an das Meer und um dasselbe herum wohnten[2]). Chabarof besuchte jedoch diese nicht, sondern trat im nächsten Frühling, nach siegreich überstandener Belagerung seiner Festung seitens der Djutscheren und Atschanen, wieder den Zug stromaufwärts an. Unterwegs, vermuthlich in der Gegend der Sungari-Mündung, verfehlte er aber den Kosaken Iwan Nagiba, der ausgeschickt war, ihn aufzusuchen und von der Ankunft frischer Mannschaft und Munition am oberen Amur zu benachrichtigen. Nagiba ging mit seinem kleinen Gefolge von 26 Mann Kosaken und Freiwilligen von Banbulajev gorod (oberhalb der Dseja) vier Wochen lang den Amur abwärts; da hörten sie von einem gefangen genommenen Natken, dass Chabarof sich noch weiter unterhalb, bei den Giljaken befinde. Sie behielten daher diesen Mann als Wegweiser, sahen sich aber nach einer Fahrt von abermals drei Wochen mitten im Strome von einer Menge giljakischer Fahrzeuge so eingeschlossen, dass sie weder vor- noch rückwärts konnten. Drittehalb Wochen verbrachten sie in dieser Lage, im Flusse vor Anker liegend, bis endlich Hunger und Verzweiflung sie nöthigten, die Reihen der Belagerer zu durchbrechen und sich nach einem nahe gelegenen Dorfe durchzuschlagen, um sich der vor demselben zum Dörren ausgehängten Fische zu bemächtigen. Dies gelang ihnen jedoch erst nach heissem Kampfe, in welchem über 30 Giljaken blieben. Drei Tage später befanden sie sich an der Amur-Mündung[3]). Auch dort von den Giljaken bedrängt, ausser Stande

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1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, 1736, p. 302, 303. Desselben, Nachrichten von dem Amur-Flusse, in Büsching's Magazin für die neue Historie und Geogr. 2. Thl. 2. Aufl. Hamburg 1769, p. 865. Vrgl. auch Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. Bd. II, 1768, p. 788, 789. Den Originalbericht Pojarkof's s. in den Дополненія къ актамъ историческимъ, собр. и изданн. археограф. Коммиссіею, С. Петерб. 1848, T. III, стр. 53 (die betreffende Stelle des Berichts).

2) Müller, Samml. l. c. p. 320 ff.; Fischer, l. c. p. 808 ff.; Дополн. къ актамъ истор. T. III, стр. 384, 388.

3) Nach Müller, l. c. p. 328 ff. Als Tag der Ankunft Nagiba's an der Amur-Mündung giebt Müller hier den 26. Juni und an einem anderen Orte (Büsching's Magaz. Thl. 2, p. 368) den 2. Juli (drei Tage nach Petri-Pauli) an, was jedoch keineswegs zutrifft, wenn die Fahrt, wie es ebenda heisst, am 4. Mai angetreten wurde und — die oben angeführten Zeiträume zusammengenommen — zehn Wochen gedauert hat. Bei Fischer (l. c. p. 817) heisst es statt dessen zu Ausgang des Juli-Monats, was aber nach jener Rechnung wieder etwas zu spät wäre. In dem ausführlichen, drastisch gehaltenen Bericht des Kosaken Iwan Uwarof, eines Theilnehmers an diesem Zuge (s. Дополн. къ актамъ истор. T. III, p. 384 ff.), fehlen fast alle jene Daten, bis auf den Tag der Abreise (4. Mai) und die Angabe, dass sie bereits nach zehn Tagen Fahrt unter

die Rückreise stromaufwärts zu machen, bauten sie sich ein grösseres Fahrzeug und traten die Seefahrt längs der Küste nordwärts an. Allein am 13. Tage nach der Abreise[1]) wurde das Schiff von treibendem Eise zerdrückt[2]), wobei sie ihren ganzen Vorrath an Lebensmitteln wie an Pulver und Blei verloren und nur nach vieler Mühe mit dem nackten Leben davonkamen. Fünf Tage lang gingen sie zu Fuss längs der Meeresküste weiter, von Wurzeln, Beeren, Seetang, Seehunden und anderen Auswürfen der See sich nährend[3]). Dann bauten sie sich ein neues Fahrzeug, mit welchem sie in 14 Tagen rudernd den Fluss Utschalda erreichten, an dem Giljaken und Tungusen wohnten. Dort verweilten sie bis zum 15. December, worauf sie ihre Reise landeinwärts fortsetzten und nach 14 Tagen oder, einer anderen Nachricht zufolge, in vier Wochen an den Tugur-Fluss kamen, an welchem sie eine zahlreiche Bevölkerung von Tungusen mit reichlichen Lebensmitteln fanden. Im nächsten Frühling, 1653, ging Nagiba den Tugur abwärts bis zur Mündung und trat von dort mit fünf Mann die Rückreise längs der See und dann über's Gebirge nach Jakutsk an, während er die übrigen Leute unter Iwan Uwarof zurückschickte, um unter den Tungusen am Tugur eine «Jassaschnoje Simowjo», d. i. eine Winterhütte zur Tributeinsammlung zu errichten[4]).

Die nächste und letzte Berührung der Russen mit den Giljaken, von der wir aus jener Zeit der ersten russischen Kriegszüge im Amur-Lande wissen, fand unter Chabarof's Nachfolger, dem Kosaken Onufrij Stepanof statt. Bereits den Winter 1653/54 hatte Letzterer im Lande der Djutscheren, «in der Giljaken Nachbarschaft»[5]) zugebracht. Im Herbst 1655 kam er mit dem inzwischen aus Jakutsk entsandten «Ssyn bojarskoi» Fedor Puschtschin wiederum in das untere Amur-Land, und zwar diesmal über die Djutscheren hinaus zu den an dieselben grenzenden Giljaken[6]). Diese hatten kurz vorher eine Gesellschaft von 30 Jakutskischen Kosaken, die von Ochotsk über Land zu ihnen gekommen waren, ermordet und wurden nun von Stepanof dafür gezüchtigt. Auch baute er unter ihnen einen Ostrog, dem er nach seiner Lage auf einem Bergabhange den Namen Kossogorskoi gab[7]). In diesem brachte er den Winter zu, nahm von den Giljaken reichen

zahlreichen Djutscheren und Natken sich befanden, die ihnen hinfort beständig zusetzten und nirgends Ruhe liessen; die Belagerung durch giljakische Fahrzeuge im Amur soll nur zwei Wochen gedauert haben.

1) Nach Uwarof's Bericht (l. c. p. 333) am 10. Tage.

2) Müller (l. c. p. 330) hielt Treibeis im Ochotskischen Meere zu solcher Jahreszeit für undenkbar. Wir wissen hingegen, Dank den Erfahrungen Middendorff's, Starizkij's u. A., dass es zu den charakteristischen Erscheinungen jenes nordwestlichen Winkels des Ochotskischen Meeres gehört. S. dieses Werkes Bd. II, p. 738; desgl. meine «Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere» (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. VII. Sér. T. XXI, № 3), p. 10.

3) Fischer (l. c. p. 848) sagt auch von Walrossen, wie es übrigens auch in Uwarof's Bericht heisst, doch giebt es bekanntlich keine im Ochotskischen Meere; es dürften aber darunter Weisfische gemeint sein, an denen dieses Meer reich ist.

4) Seltsamerweise sagt Uwarof in seinem Berichte, er habe den Nagiba mit fünf Mann, deren Namen genannt werden, nach Jakutsk entlassen, während er doch sonst beständig Nagiba als den Anführer des Zuges hinstellt.

5) Müller, Samml., l. c. p. 343. In Stepanof's Bericht an den Jakutskischen Wojewoden Michail Lodyshenskij (Λοπωλ. κτ ωνεων ιστορ. T. III, стр. 324) heisst es κτ Δωνεφεωοϊ ωπωρ, ωε λοπωλωνε Γιλεωκιε ωπωνω, d. h. im Lande der Djutscheren, oberhalb des Giljaken-Landes.

6) Müller, l. c. p. 334, 335; Fischer, l. c. p. 849.

7) In Stepanof's Bericht heisst der Ostrog «Kossogirskoi»; s. Λοπωλ. κτ ωνε. ιστορ. T. IV, C. Петерб. 1884, стр. 82.

Tribut an Pelzwerk und begab sich im Frühling 1656 wieder den Amur aufwärts. Zwei Jahre später kehrte ein Theil seiner Mannschaft, der sich dem Abgesandten des neuen Befehlshabers, Paschkof, nicht hatte fügen wollen und flüchtig geworden war, an den unteren Amur zurück, überwinterte an der Mündung desselben (1658/59) und ging mit reichem, von den Giljaken erhobenem Tribut wieder stromaufwärts zurück [1]). Anderweitige Nachrichten über die Giljaken liegen aber von diesem Besuche derselben durch die Russen nicht vor.

So lauten die ältesten russischen Nachrichten über die Giljaken und ihre nächsten Nachbaren. Was lässt sich nun aus denselben über die damalige gegenseitige Abgrenzung dieser Völker entnehmen? Der Zug Nagiba's lehrt uns die Giljaken an der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres westwärts wenigstens bis zum Flusse Utschalda, und zwar in Gesellschaft von Tungusen kennen, die offenbar auch damals zeitweise der Jagd und des Fischfanges wegen bis an das Meer heranstreiften, wie es noch heutzutage geschieht [2]). Zwar ist die Lage des Utschalda-Flusses bis jetzt nicht ermittelt [3]), indessen lässt sich kaum zweifeln, dass er östlich und vielleicht unweit von den grossen Meerbusen — dem Ulban- und Ussalgin-Busen — zu suchen ist, welche tief in das Land einschneiden und welche wohl auch die Veranlassung dazu gaben, dass Nagiba und seine Gefährten dort die weitere Fahrt längs der Küste, von deren Beschaffenheit sie durch die Giljaken und Tungusen hörten, aufgaben und statt dessen lieber den Winter abwarteten, um, wohl in Gesellschaft und unter Führung der Tungusen, landeinwärts an den Tugur zu ziehen. An diesem Flusse erwähnen weder Nagiba noch Uwarof der Giljaken, sondern nur zahlreicher Tungusen, obgleich sie, wie ihre Berichte zeigen, diese Völker von einander wohl zu unterscheiden wussten. Es scheint demnach, dass die Giljaken damals noch nicht bis an den Tugur-Fluss verbreitet waren. Damit stimmt es überein, wenn in der Erzählung von der ersten Fahrt der Russen nach den Schantarischen Inseln, auf welcher sie den ganzen Sommer 1712 und den Winter bis zum Mai des folgenden Jahres an der Tugur-Mündung zubrachten, der Giljaken gar nicht erwähnt wird [4]), während doch auf späteren Fahrten der Russen an der weiter östlich gelegenen Küste Conflikte mit den Giljaken stattfanden. Ebenso steht es damit im Einklange, wenn Müller noch im Jahre 1737 nach in Jakutsk gesammelten Nachrichten schrieb, dass die Tungusen längs der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres nicht viel weiter als bis an den Tugur-Fluss sich erstreckten und darauf die Giljaken folgten [5]). Nördlich von der Tugur-Mündung, an den Tugur-Busen sind aber die Giljaken schon damals gegangen, denn

1) Müller, l. c. p. 367: Λοσο.ω. ετ ωτεετ ωετορ. T. IV, стр. 176.

2) S. oben p. 15.

3) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 178. Ganz unbegreiflich ist es, wie Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russischen Reiches, Bd. II, St. Petersburg 1844, p. 749) die Utschalda mit dem Udj identificiren konnte. Dadurch verwirrte er die so einfache und klare Erzählung vom Zuge der Schiffbrüchigen gänzlich und sah sich zu einer zweiten, ebenso unzulässigen Annahme genöthigt, dass nämlich unter ihrem «Tugur» der Utschur, ein Nebenfluss des Aldan, gemeint sei. Wie kämen sie aber aladann, diesen abwärts schiffend, an das Meer? Und wie unrichtend ist jene Voraussetzung in ethnographischer Beziehung: aladann hätten ja Giljaken am Udj gewohnt!

4) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. III, p. 98.

5) Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka, p. 87 (Anhang zu Steller's Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka. Frankfurt und Leipzig 1774).

auf einer alten russischen handschriftlichen Karte, deren Ursprung Middendorff aus mehrfachen Gründen in die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts setzt, findet man die Angabe eines «Giljakischen Schleifweges» (Гиляцкая переволока), der über die stielförmig verengte Stelle der Halbinsel Ssegneka hinüber vom Ulban- nach dem Tugur-Busen führte[1]). Auf diesem Wege, quer über den Ulban-Busen und die Halbinsel Ssegneka, können die Giljaken auch an die Tugur-Mündung gekommen sein. Derselbe Weg lag ihnen auch aus einem anderen Grunde nahe: quer über den Ulban-Busen zur Halbinsel Ssegneka und längs dieser nordwärts mussten sie gehen, wenn sie auf Küstenfahrten, ohne sich allzu sehr vom Lande zu entfernen, die Schantarischen Inseln erreichen wollten.

Von diesen Inseln ist in den oben angezogenen Berichten noch keine Rede, obwohl Pojarkof und Nagiba auf ihrer Rückreise vom Amur sie gesehen haben müssen. In den ältesten Nachrichten über dieselben, die auf das Jahr 1709 zurückzuführen sind und auf Erzählungen in Udskoi Ostrog gewesener Kosaken und dortiger Tungusen beruhen, heisst es, dass die Schantar-Inseln keine beständigen Bewohner haben, sondern nur von Giljaken der Jagd wegen besucht werden[2]). Müller meinte, dass auch ihr Name giljakischen Ursprunges sei, indem «schantar» auf giljakisch so viel wie Insel bedeute[3]), was jedoch keineswegs der Fall ist[4]). Als die Rüssen unter dem Kosaken Semjon Anabara im Sommer 1713 zuerst nach den Schantaren kamen, fanden sie dieselben in der That unbewohnt; nur auf einer der drei von ihnen besuchten Inseln, auf der es reichlichen Wald und gute Jagd gab und auf der sie auch überwinterten[5]), fanden sie ein Weib vor, dessen Sprache sie nicht verstanden, — vermuthlich eine

1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 116, Anm. 2. Die Karte befindet sich in der Bibliothek der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr. 2. Thl. 2. Aufl. 1769, p. 360) spricht ebenfalls von einem Schleppwege, den die Giljaken zu gebrauchen pflegen und der daher «vor Alters im Russischen Giljazkaja perewoloko genannt» wird. Dies war jedoch, wie er sagt, ein Schleppweg, der zur Umgehung der nördlichen Landspitze an der Amur-Mündung diente, indem er von einem Bache, der nach Süden in den Meerbusen der Amur-Mündung fällt, nach einem anderen Bache führte, der nach Norden in die See fliesst. Müller fügt hinzu, dass der letztere Bach auf chinesischen Karten den Namen «Gole» trägt, und das lässt den Schleppweg erkennen, denn offenbar ist «Gole» auf das an der Meeresküste gelegene giljakische Dorf Kulj oder Kuij und vielleicht auch auf einen gleichnamigen Bach zu beziehen. Es ist hier also entweder der Uebergang vom Amur nach dem See Tschlja und von diesem nach Kulj, oder aber aus dem gleich oberhalb Nikolajevsk in den Amur fallenden Kamr-Fluss nach dem Hiuka-Bache und diesen abwärts zum Meere nur wenig östlich von Kulj zu verstehen. Beide Wege werden noch heutzutage von den Giljaken begangen, um vom unteren Amur nach der Seeküste oder umgekehrt zu gelangen. In keinem Falle kann aber unter der von Müller erwähnten «Giljatskaja perewoloka» der Schleppweg am Ukskyl — vom Nemilen an den Tugur — gemeint sein, wie Middendorff (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 198) vermuthet, da alsdann weder die angegebenen Localitäten, noch die Bezeichnung «Giljakischer Schleppweg» zutreffen würden. Bei Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russischen Reiches, Bd. II, p. 774) ist von demselben Schleppwege wie bei Müller die Rede.

2) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. III, p. 97.

3) L. c. p. 96. Desgl. in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr. 2. Thl. 2. Aufl. p. 310.

4) Insel heisst im Giljakischen *pillo-mif*, ein zusammengesetztes Wort, indem *mif* Erde oder Land bedeutet; so *Ta-mif* — das Amur-Land, *Laur-mif* — Sachalin, *Chagi-mif* — Zwiebel-Land, die kleine Inselgruppe im südlichen Theile des Amur-Limanes, u. s. w. Was *pillo* bedeutet, weiss ich nicht. Nach Middendorff (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 108) kommt der Name «Schantar» zuerst auf der im Jahre 1720 nach den Arbeiten der Geodäten Jewreinof und Lushin entworfenen handschriftlichen Karte vom äussersten Osten Sibirien's vor, und zwar trägt auf derselben die südlichere von den beiden östlichsten Inseln dieser Gruppe den Namen «Schandarskij».

5) Nach Middendorff (l. c. p. 98) ist es wahrscheinlich die Grosse Schantar-Insel gewesen.

Giljakin, die sich aber nach einiger Zeit auf der Insel verlor, ohne dass man von ihr später irgend welche Kunde erhalten hätte [1]). Ob dieses Weib in der That von ihren Landsleuten auf der Insel zurückgelassen, oder, wie Middendorff meint [2]), von den Kosaken selbst auf dem Festlande geraubt und nach der Insel gebracht worden war, muss dahingestellt bleiben. Auch die folgenden Fahrten nach den Schantaren bestätigten, dass sie keine beständigen Bewohner hatten. Auf der zweiten Fahrt, im Jahre 1718, unter dem Sayn bojarskoi Filkejef, der jedoch selbst nicht hinkam [3]), winterte man auf der Grossen Schantar-Insel, die sich als unbewohnt erwies. Durch Unvorsichtigkeit beim Feueranmachen, heisst es, gerieth der Wald auf der Insel in Brand, und in Folge dessen verloren sich dort die Zobel. Auf der Rückreise, im nächsten Sommer, wollten die Kosaken längs der Festlandsküste zwischen dem Tugur und Amur dem Fischfang nachgehen, wurden aber zum grössten Theil von den Giljaken erschlagen [4]). Bemerkenswerth ist, dass auch die Nachrichten über den zeitweisen Besuch der Schantarischen Inseln durch die Giljaken nur mangelhaft und ungewiss sind. Direkt angetroffen hat man dort die Giljaken bei keinem der zahlreichen Besuche dieser Inseln, soviel von ihnen bekannt ist. Die betreffenden Angaben beruhen daher nur auf den oben bereits erwähnten Aussagen der benachbarten Tun-

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1) Muller, l. c. p. 99.

2) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 183.

3) Müller, der in Jakutsk Filkejef selbst noch gesprochen hat, sagt ausdrücklich, dass er sich in Folge von Differenzen mit seiner Mannschaft an der Tugur-Mündung mit zwei Kosaken am's Land setzen liess (Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. III, p. 107). Darnach sind also die Angaben von Sankolof (Опись Удскаго бер. и Шантарскихъ, остр. порут. Колмина. — Зап. Гидрогр. Департ. Ч. IV, С. Петерб. 1850, стр. 3. Прим. 4) und von Middendorff (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 99, Anm. 1), die Filkejef selbst nach den Schantaren gelangen lassen, zu berichtigen.

4) Vermuthlich knüpft sich an dieses Ereigniss, die Erzählung, welche Sankolof, offenbar in wörtlicher Abschrift aus einem Schiffsjournal, im Morskoi Sbornik (1855, № 6, Смѣсь, стр. 107, — es ist die von Middendorff, l. c. p. 99, Anm. 2, angedeutete Notiz, die er in Folge falschen Citates nicht hat wieder auffinden können) mittheilt. Der Matrose Petrof, der an der Expedition Ivan Schestakof's nach den Schantaren, im Jahre 1730, theilgenommen, erzählte nämlich, dass sie auf der Grossen Schantar-Insel drei Mann Russen vorgefunden und an Bord genommen hätten, welche über sich folgende Auskunft gaben: sie hätten etwa 20 Jahre auf der Insel zugebracht; als sie des Fischfangs wegen nach dem Lande der Giljaken gekommen waren, hätten diese sie bewältigt und 17 von ihnen todtgeschlagen; nur sie drei seien dem Giljaken entgangen und nach der Grossen Schantar-Insel entkommen, auf der sie von der Zeit an gelebt hätten. Man sieht, die Erzählung lautet jener oben erwähnten ganz ähnlich, nur treffen, im Falle es dasselbe Ereigniss sein sollte, die 20 Jahre Aufenthaltes auf der Insel nicht zu, da ihrer nur 12 sein mussten. Doch ist diese Zahl nur ungefähr angegeben und könnte nach dem Stil der Erzählung, der deutlich eine Lücke verrath, ebensogut auch auf die Zahl der ursprünglich auf der Insel vorhandenen Russen bezogen werden, wobei nur die Zahl der Aufenthaltsjahre ausgelassen wäre; denn es heisst im russischen Original: шесть изъ нихъ остались на тому острову лѣтъ съ 20, которые убили ихъ ту зимнюю ихъ рыбную ловлю . . . u. s. w. Uebrigens ist diese Mittheilung auch noch aus dem Grunde interessant, weil sie gewissermassen eine Bestätigung dafür abgiebt, dass Schestakof im Jahre 1730 (nicht 1720, wie es bei Middendorff a. a. O. heisst) in der That auf den Schantaren gewesen ist, wozu Middendorff auf Grundlage der kurzen und ungenügenden Nachrichten bei Müller (l. c. p. 130 ff.) Zweifel äussert. Nach ihm brauchten sogar die Inseln, die Schestakof auf der Hin- und Herfahrt zwischen Kamtschatka und Udskoi Ostrog sah, gar nicht die Schantaren gewesen zu sein, da man die Südspitze jener Halbinsel umschiffte und an die Ostküste derselben kam. Letztere Behauptung erscheint mir jedoch ganz unbegründet zu sein, da die Fahrten Schestakof's, nach den von Müller aus dessen eigenem Berichte angeführten Daten, nur im Ochotskischen Meere, zwischen der Westküste von Kamtschatka, Udskoi Ostrog und Ochotsk stattfanden. Auch spricht sich Müller selbst aus gerade zweifelnd oder ungewiss darüber aus, dass die Schantaren von Schestakof besucht worden, sondern bedauert nur, in Ermangelung des Schiffsjournals nichts Näheres von dieser Reise anführen zu können.

gusen und auf angeblichen Spuren, welche der zeitweise Aufenthalt der Giljaken auf manchen dieser Inseln hinterlassen hat. So soll, nach Krascheninnikof[1]), die Insel Chudoi (d. i. schlechter) Schantar ihren Namen daher erhalten haben, weil sie gar keinen Wald trägt, was jedoch nicht immer der Fall gewesen: ehemals sei sie vielmehr gut bewaldet und auch reich an Zobeln gewesen, aber seitdem die Giljaken einmal beim Verlassen der Insel das Feuer auszulöschen vergessen hätten, sei aller Wald auf derselben verbrannt[2]). Krascheninnikof kann jedoch diese Nachricht nur aus Ueberlieferungen und Erzählungen geschöpft haben, da er selbst niemals auf den Schantaren, ja nicht einmal in deren Nachbarschaft gewesen ist. Zudem erinnert sie sehr an die obenerwähnte Erzählung von dem Waldbrande auf der Grossen Schantar-Insel, was gerade nicht dazu dient, ihre Glaubwürdigkeit zu erhöhen. Wichtiger erscheint die Angabe Kosmin's, dass er im Nordosten der Grossen Schantar-Insel unweit vom See Boljschoje zerfallene Jurten gesehen habe, in welchen ehemals Giljaken gewohnt haben sollen[3]). Doch begegnen wir auch bezüglich dieser Nachricht einem Zweifel, indem die Ueberlieferungen, welche Middendorff in Udskoi Ostrog erkundete, diese Jurten ausdrücklich den russischen Pelzjägern zuschrieben[4]). Trotz dieser wenigen und ungewissen Nachrichten, zweifle ich nicht, dass die Giljaken ehemals die Schantaren besucht haben. Die oben angeführte, dahin lautende Angabe der Tungusen, die man gleich bei der ersten Nachricht über diese Inseln erhielt, verdient allen Glauben. Während die Tungusen am Ochotskischen Meere hauptsächlich der Jagd nachgehen und nur zeitweise des Fischfanges wegen bis an das Meer heranstreifen, halten sich die Giljaken beständig an demselben auf und sind daher, wie schon Müller richtig vermuthete[5]), auch seetüchtiger als jene. Vollkommen glaublich erscheint es demnach, dass sie auch die grossen, im Angesicht ihrer Küste gelegenen, reich bewaldeten und noch unbewohnten Inseln, auf denen sie ungestört der Jagd auf schätzbare Pelzthiere, Zobel u. s. w., und an den Küsten ergiebigem Fisch- und Thierfange nachgehen konnten, von Zeit zu Zeit besuchten. Ja, ich möchte glauben, dass während ihre Verbreitung längs der Festlandsküste westwärts anfangs nicht einmal bis an den Tugur, später nicht über denselben hinaus reichte, sie die Schantarischen Inseln bis zur westlichsten von allen, bis zu der über den Tugur-Busen hinaus gelegenen Bären-Insel (Medwäshij) besuchten. Zum wenigsten ist der Name «Ngorbak», den angeblich die Tungusen dieser Insel geben[6]), unzweifelhaft giljakischen Ursprungs, indem «Ngarbach»

1) Описаніе земли Камчатки (Полн. Собр. учен. путеш. по Россіи. Т. I, С. Петерб. 1818, стр. 135).

2) Middendorff meint, dass es wohl nicht gelingen dürfte, dem Namen «Chudoi Schantar», der auf keiner Karte verzeichnet sei, seine richtige Stelle anzuweisen (Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 108, Anm. 1). Nach Krascheninnikof's Angaben, die er nicht beachtet zu haben scheint, lässt sich aber kaum zweifeln, dass darunter die Kleine Schantar-Insel (Малый Шантаръ) gemeint sei, gleichwie auch Middendorff (l. c.) auch unter dem Namen «Sowchot (Trockener) Schantar». Auf der «Karte von der Lage von Kamtschatka» in Steller's betreffendem Werke findet man übrigens eine Insel «Hudé Schantar» westlich von der Insel Bjelitschij, wie es auch Krascheninnikof angiebt; doch will dies nicht viel sagen, da die Schantaren dort ziemlich in einer Reihe, ungefähr von West nach Ost liegen.

3) Зап. Гидрогр. Департ. Ч. IV, стр. 46.

4) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 108, Anm. 1. Middendorff fügt hinzu, dass ihm Letzteres noch viel wahrscheinlicher vorkomme.

5) Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. III, p. 97.

6) Middendorff, l. c. p. 110.

im Giljakischen so viel wie «Thierfels» bedeutet [1]). Sehr zahlreich sind aber die Giljaken auf den Schantaren sicherlich niemals gewesen, da einmal ihre Zahl auch auf der angrenzenden Festlandsküste nicht gross ist, und da andererseits die Schifffahrt um diese Inseln in Folge der reissenden und wechselnden Strömungen, der treibenden Eismassen, der häufigen Nebel, der starken Brandungen u. s. w. eine schwierige und gefahrvolle ist. Es war daher natürlich, dass sobald die Russen sich auf den Schantaren zeigten, dort überwinterten, sie überhaupt in Besitz nahmen, die Giljaken von denselben fernblieben, gleichwie sie sich auch später, 1820, als eine Partie Russen an der Mündung des Grossen Uikon Winterquartiere nahm, von der Tugur-Mündung zeitweise zurückzogen [2]). Und sehr wahrscheinlich traten die Giljaken, eben weil sie sich durch die Russen von den Schantaren verdrängt sahen, so feindselig gegen dieselben auf, sobald diese von dort herüber auch in ihr Gebiet auf dem Festlande eindrangen. Kein Wunder, dass sie alsdann, von ihrer Ueberzahl Gebrauch machend, die Eindringlinge schlechtweg niedermetzelten. Da nun die Fahrten der Russen nach den Schantaren, wie Middendorff nachgewiesen, von jenen ersten Zügen an fast ununterbrochen stattfanden, so ging den Giljaken dieses ihr ehemaliges Jagdgebiet für immer verloren. So scheinen sie im Nordwesten ihres Verbreitungsgebietes im Laufe der Zeit auf den Inseln an Terrain verloren, auf dem Festlande hingegen etwas mehr nach Westen sich vorgeschoben zu haben.

Viel weniger lässt sich aus jenen ältesten russischen Nachrichten vom unteren Amur-Lande über etwaige Grenzverschiebungen im Süden des giljakischen Gebietes, am Amur-Strome, entnehmen. Es werden uns in denselben nur die Grenznachbaren der Giljaken genannt und höchstens noch die Zahl der Tagereisen bezeichnet, die erforderlich waren, um ihre respectiven Gebiete zu passiren. Zudem lauten sämmtliche Angaben verschieden, indem nach Pojarkof an die Giljaken stromaufwärts die Natken, nach Chabarof die Atschanen und nach Stepanof die Djutscheren grenzten. Es fragt sich daher zunächst, ob und wie sich diese Völker mit den uns gegenwärtig aus dem unteren Amur-Lande bekannten identificiren und jene scheinbar sich widersprechenden Nachrichten mit einander in Einklang bringen lassen?

Wie schon Müller [3]) und nach ihm Fischer [4]) richtig bemerkten, verstand Pojarkof unter der Bezeichnung Natki dasselbe Volk wie später Chabarof unter dem Namen Atschany. Die Vermuthungen aber, die Fischer zur Erklärung dieser verschiedenen Bezeichnungen aussprach, sind sammt und sonders falsch [5]). Diese Verschiedenheit erklärt sich vielmehr sehr ein-

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1) Von *aga*-Thier und *pach*-Stein, Fels (s. oben p. 88, Anm. 2). Aehnliche giljakische Ortsnamen sind Tschchawbach, Tschorbach, Tebach u. s. w.

2) Kosmin; nach den Erzählungen des Priesters von Udskoi Ostrog, Djutschkovskij, der es bei Bereisung seiner Diöcese im Winter 1829/30 in Erfahrung brachte (Sim. Tzap. Aen. Ч. VI, стр. 30).

3) Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 230.

4) Sibir. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 269.

5) Fischer meinte nämlich, dass dieses Volk vielleicht in seiner eigenen Sprache Atschani heisse, von den Djutscheren aber Natki genannt werde; oder, dass das eine der Name des ganzen Volkes, das andere der eines besonderen Geschlechtes sei; oder endlich, dass die Natken und Giljaken ein und dasselbe Volk seien. Letzteres kam ihm sogar als das Wahrscheinlichste vor, und zwar aus dem Grunde, weil in den späteren Nachrichten, im Berichte Stepanof's, die Natken gar nicht mehr erwähnt und die Djutscheren als Nachbaren der Giljaken genannt werden. Allein alsdann müsste man auch

fach dadurch, dass unter den «Natken» wie unter den «Atschanen» nicht ein Volk, sondern, nach unseren Unterscheidungen, zwei Völker, die Golde und die Oltscha — wie es auch später oft geschehen — zusammen verstanden worden sind, wobei Pojarkof den Namen für das vermeintliche eine Volk den ersteren, Chabarof aber den letzteren entlehnte.

Dass der Name Natken eigentlich auf die Golde zu beziehen ist, glaube ich aus folgenden Gründen schliessen zu dürfen. Eines Volkes dieses Namens geschieht schon in der ältesten Nachricht Erwähnung, welche die Russen vom Amur erhielten[1]). Als nämlich Tomskische Kosaken im Jahre 1639 den zum Ochotskischen Meere fallenden Fluss Ulja erreichten und dort eine Tributhütte (Jassaschnoje Simowjo) erbauten, kamen dorthin Tungusen vom Udj, die ihnen unter Anderem erzählten, dass am Flusse Omut — in welchem schon Müller den Amgunj vermuthete[2]) — Tungusen wohnten, die mit einem am unteren Amur ansässigen Volke «Natkani» Handel trieben. Dieses Volk redete seine eigene Sprache. Ihm vertauschten die letzterwähnten Tungusen ihre Zobel gegen Silber, kupferne Kessel, Glaskorallen und mancherlei seidene und wollene Zeuge, welche Gegenstände jedoch die Natkani nicht selbst verfertigten, sondern anderswoher bekämen. Von einem Volke, das ebenfalls am Amur — den die Udj-Tungusen Mamür nannten — wohne, aber Feldbau und Viehzucht treibe und Branntwein brenne, erhielten die Natkani auch Mehl auf dem Strome zugeführt. Wir lernen hier also ein am unteren Amur oberhalb des Amgunj wohnendes Volk kennen, das die Amgunj-Tungusen, also Negda, und nach ihnen auch die Tugur- und Udj-Tungusen mit dem Namen «Natka» bezeichneten (denn das ni oder ny [ны] am Ende ist offenbar nur russisches Anhängsel für den Plural). Ich will sogleich anführen, dass auch Middendorff in denselben Gegenden unter den Völkerschaften, mit denen die tungusischen Stämme des Südabhanges des Stanowoi-Gebirges in Berührung kommen, die «Ngatku» genannt wurden, und zwar als ein Volk, das am Amur ober-

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die Atschanen durch Identificirung mit den Giljaken beseitigen. Beides ist ganz unzulässig. Wir werden später eine andere Erklärung für die Angabe Stepanof's finden.

1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 293.

2) Auf Witsen's Karte trägt der seiner Lage nach dem Amgunj entsprechende Fluss den Namen «Chamuh». In seinem Werke «Noord en Oost Tartarye» (Ausgabe 1692, 2. Thl, p. 32, 826; Ausg. 1705, p. 88, 838) heisst er auch «Gamon» und «Chamuno», welches letztere jedoch nur die russische Genitivform von «Chamun» (Хамунъ) ist, wie er in den russischen Berichten und Erzählungen aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert (Сказаніе о зел. р. Амурѣ, im Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. VII, 1853, Отд. II, стр. 19; Дополн. къ ист. матер. Т. XI, С. Петерб. 1869, стр. 220, 224) genannt wird. Dieser letztere Name des Flusses kommt dem jetzt üblichen schon sehr nahe. Auch erkannte schon Müller in ihm den Amgunj (Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 278). Gelegentlich sei bemerkt, dass der Amgunj auf der russischen Karte von Posnjakof (Генералъ. карта Азіатской Россіи, изд. военно-топогр. депо, 1823 г.) «Nepkon» (Непконъ) heisst, auf der deutschen Weimar'schen aber «Hinkon», was Middendorff (Reisebr., im Bull. de la cl. phys. - math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., T. IV, p. 238, Anm. [1]) desgl. Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abth., p. 622, Anm. 1) zu der Vermuthung führte, dass die russische Bezeichnung wohl der richtige chinesische Name dieses Flusses sei, die deutsche aber nur eine Copie, bei welcher die russischen Buchstaben für französische abgelesen wurden. Es verhält sich jedoch damit gerade umgekehrt: die russische Bezeichnung bei Posnjakof ist beim Copiren der d'Anville'schen Karte (Carte générale de la Tart. Chinoise, 1732, im Nouv. Atlas de la Chine etc.), auf welcher der Amgunj «Henkon» heisst, durch Ablesen der französischen Buchstaben für russische entstanden. Schon Müller (l. c. p. 278) identificirte den Henkon der «Chinesischen Landkarte» mit dem Amgun und Chamun.

halb des Amgunj wohne und eine andere als die tungusische Sprache rede [1]). Stimmt nun die obige Schilderung der Tungusen von den Natka, ihrem Wohnort und ihrer Lebensweise nach, mit den Angaben Pojarkof's über die Natken und Chabarof's über die Atschanen, die ebenfalls ohne Ackerbau und Viehzucht nur vom Fischfang lebten, und passt sie nach dieser Seite ebensowohl auf die Golde wie auf die Oltscha, so ist doch nicht anzunehmen, dass auch die Tungusen, zumal die Negda, diese beiden von ihnen nicht so entlegenen Völker nicht unterscheiden sollten. Die Erfahrung lehrt vielmehr, dass bei Naturmenschen ganz im Gegentheil die Neigung vorherrscht, selbst kleinere Abzweigungen eines und desselben Volkes, einzelne Geschlechter u. s. w. für verschiedene Völker und dialektische Differenzen für besondere Sprachen anzusehen und mit besonderen Namen zu belegen. Erwägt man daher die viel grössere Verschiedenheit des Golde- als des Oltscha-Dialektes von dem der Negda und der angrenzenden Tungusen, so unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass die letzteren unter den eine eigene Sprache redenden Natka eher die Golde als die Oltscha verstanden haben. Auf die Golde passt ferner auch ganz vorzüglich, was in der obigen Erzählung der Tungusen von der handelsvermittelnden Rolle der Natka gesagt ist, die den Negda ihre Zobel gegen allerhand mandshu-chinesische Produkte abnahmen und die andererseits von ihren ackerbautreibenden Nachbaren, unter denen sich damals auch die Djutscheren befanden, Mehl stromabwärts zugeführt erhielten. Vielleicht lässt sich endlich auch die Entstehung des Namens Natka für die Golde aus ihrer Sprache erklären. Sie selbst bezeichnen sich zwar nicht mit diesem Namen, allein «*nai*» heisst im Goldischen «Menschen, Leute» und wird einem einzelnen Ortsnamen angehängt, um die Bewohner dieses Ortes zu bezeichnen [2]). Auch giebt es einen verhältnissmässig grossen, mitten im Golde-Gebiet gelegenen Ort, der den Namen «Naiche» trägt; ob aber die Etymologie desselben mit jenem Worte zusammenhängt, vermag ich nicht zu sagen.

Ist Natka die tungusische Bezeichnung für die Golde, so ist es auch verständlich, weshalb wir diesem Namen in Pojarkof's wie später in Nagiba's Berichten begegnen, während er bei Chabarof und Stepanof nicht vorkommt. Die beiden ersteren nahmen ihren Rückweg von der Amur-Mündung mehr oder weniger durch das Gebiet der Küsten-Tungusen des Ochotskischen Meeres, bei denen jene Bezeichnung für die Golde üblich ist. Pojarkof überwinterte namentlich an der Ulja-Mündung, also an dem Orte, wo den Russen durch Udj-Tungusen

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1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1538. Scheint diese Angabe auch keinen Zweifel darüber zu lassen, dass «Ngatku» eine tungusische Bezeichnung für jenes Amur-Volk war, so sagt Middendorff doch an einem anderen Orte (Reiseber., im Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., T. IV, p. 233; desgl. Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abth., p. 618), dass er von diesem Volke durch die Giljaken Nachricht erhalten habe. Indessen sind es auch in diesem letzteren Falle doch nur dem Tugur-Busen benachbarte Grenz-Giljaken gewesen, die dem Reisenden offenbar den unter ihren Nachbaren, den Tungusen, für jenes Volk üblichen Namen angaben; denn so viel und so oft ich mich bei den Giljaken am Amur, im Liman und auf Sachalin nach den ihnen bekannten Völkern erkundigte, den Namen Ngatku habe ich niemals gehört. Für die Oltscha und Golde haben sie jedenfalls andere Bezeichnungen, von denen späterhin die Rede sein wird.

2) So z. B. *Dondon-nai* — Leute oder Bewohner von Dondon u. s. w. In der Oltscha-Sprache lautet dasselbe Wort «*nari*».

die erste Kunde von dem Natka-Volke zugekommen war, und verfasste den Bericht über seine Züge im Amur-Lande erst nach seiner Rückkehr, in Jakutsk[1]). Es ist daher erklärlich, wenn er sich für das Volk, das er am Amur kennen gelernt hatte, auch des bei den angrenzenden Tungusen üblichen Namens bediente. Ebenso Nagiba, der auf seiner Rückkehr einen Winter unter den Tugur-Tungusen, den nächsten Nachbaren der Negda weilte, von denen jene Bezeichnung für die Golde sogar ausgegangen zu sein scheint. Dass Beide dabei den Unterschied zwischen Golde und Oltscha übersahen und den für die ersteren angenommenen Namen auch auf die letzteren übertrugen, so dass die Natken ihnen zufolge bis an die Giljaken reichten, darf uns nicht weiter wundern, wenn wir uns der vielen oben erwähnten Fälle ähnlicher Art aus der neuesten Zeit erinnern[2]). Im Gegensatz zu den Beiden, berührten Chabarof und Stepanof das Gebiet jener Tungusen gar nicht, sondern kehrten von ihren Winterquartieren am unteren Amur stromaufwärts wieder zurück, so dass sie dem Namen Natka für die Golde nirgends begegneten.

Dass der Name Atschany, den Chabarof für alle Amur-Bewohner zwischen den Djutscheren und Giljaken, also im Umfange der Natken Pojarkof's für unsere Golde und Oltscha zusammen gebrauchte, den letzteren entlehnt ist, liegt noch mehr auf der Hand. In der That braucht man nur die russische Endsilbe zu entfernen, um in dieser Bezeichnung den Namen Oltscha nur wenig verändert wiederzuerkennen. Und dies ist auch der Name, den sich dieses Volk selbst giebt. Ich werde auf denselben später noch zurückkommen. Nach dem Volke nannte Chabarof auch die Festung, die er zum Winterlager errichtete, Atschanskoi gorod. Wo dieselbe lag, ist aus seinem Berichte nicht zu ersehen. Da es jedoch der äusserste Punkt war, den er am Amur erreichte, und da der angeführte, hier zum ersten Mal uns entgegentretende Name des Oltscha-Volkes von diesem selbst erkundet sein musste, so darf man, glaube ich, annehmen, dass sie schon im Oltscha-Gebiet lag. Oder es müsste denn sein, dass man beim Erkunden des Namens zufällig mit im Golde-Gebiet weilenden Oltscha zu thun hatte, was jedoch weniger wahrscheinlich ist. Chabarof muss also auf dem Amur recht weit unterhalb des Ussuri vorgedrungen sein. Das war aber bei der immerhin kurzen Dauer seiner Fahrt von der Sungari-Mündung ab[3]) nur möglich, wenn er dem Hauptstrome und nicht dem stark ausgebuchteten rechten Ufer folgte. Und so scheint es auch in der That gewesen zu sein, da er sonst die Ussuri-Mündung gewiss nicht übersehen hätte.

Lernen wir aber durch Pojarkof und Chabarof auch schon die jetzigen Nachbaren der

1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 220. In diesem Umstande sah Müller sogar einen Grund, in den Fällen, wo die Differenz zwischen Pojarkof's und Chabarof's Nachrichten allzu gross ist, den letzteren, die an Ort und Stelle geschrieben zu sein scheinen, den Vorzug zu geben. Hinsichtlich der Natken und Atschanen hat sich jedoch die Differenz nach dem Obigen zur Genüge auf, ohne dass man dem einen oder dem anderen Berichterstatter den Vorzug zu geben brauchte.

2) S. oben p. 26.

3) Ganz genau ist die Dauer dieser Fahrt nicht zu ermitteln; so viel sich aber aus Chabarof's Bericht entnehmen lässt, scheint er etwa am 15. Sept. an der Sungari-Mündung gewesen und von dort ab 14 Tage stromabwärts gegangen zu sein, da er am 29. September den Ort erreichte, wo er sein Winterlager aufschlug.

Giljaken am Amur kennen, so lässt sich doch aus ihren Berichten keineswegs ersehen, wo zu jener Zeit die Grenze zwischen diesen Völkern lag, da die Angaben der Entfernungen in Tagereisen, ohne jegliche Bezeichnung oder Erwähnung erkennbarer Localitäten, allzu unbestimmt sind und keinerlei feste Anhaltspunkte bieten. Etwas mehr scheint auf den ersten Blick aus Stepanof's Berichte entnommen werden zu können, da er zur Ueberwinterung unter den Giljaken eine Festung, Kossogorskoi Ostrog, erbaute. Allein, wie Romanof nachgewiesen hat, lag dieser Ort höchst wahrscheinlich auf der bei Kidsi im Amur gelegenen Insel Sautschu. Er fand dort die Reste eines niedrigen Erdwalles, mit Gruben innerhalb desselben, den Spuren ehemaliger Erdwohnungen, — das Ganze auf der schiefen Ebene eines Bergabhanges gelegen, so dass der Name Kossogorskoi Ostrog vollkommen gerechtfertigt erschien [1]). Daraus schliesse ich, dass Stepanof gar nicht unter den Giljaken, sondern unter den Oltscha winterte, die er, wie später Romanof u. A. [2]), von den Giljaken nicht unterschied. Und daraus erklärt sich auch seine Angabe über die an die Giljaken grenzenden Djutscheren: er fasst nämlich unter jenem Namen alle Völker am unteren Amur-Strome — Golde, Oltscha und Giljaken — zusammen, wie es auch neuerdings noch wiederholentlich geschehen ist. So löst sich der Widerspruch zwischen den Angaben Stepanof's und seiner Vorgänger, Pojarkof und Chabarof, über die unteren Amur-Völker hinlänglich auf, und zugleich erweisen sich die ersteren, in Folge jener collectiven Ausdehnung des Namens Giljaken auf ganz verschiedene Völker, als die unbestimmtesten und zu unseren Zwecken unbrauchbarsten [3]).

Von den späteren, jedoch auch noch aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert herrührenden russischen Nachrichten über das Amur-Land und speciell über die Wohnsitze der Giljaken in demselben, wie wir sie in der von Spasskij publicirten «Erzählung vom Amur» und bei Witsen finden, ist oben schon die Rede gewesen [4]). Die betreffenden Angaben lauten nur ganz allgemein, ja sie sind sogar zum Theil falsch, weil sie eben nur zusammengestellten Erzählungen, nicht Originalberichten, wie die oben besprochenen, angehören.

Die nächsten eingehenden Nachrichten über die Wohnsitze der Giljaken, namentlich am Amur-Strome, kommen uns erst über ein Jahrhundert später, und zwar von ganz Anderer, von japanischer Seite zu. Man verdankt sie dem japanischen Reisenden Mamia Rinsô, der auf Geheiss seiner Regierung in den Jahren 1808 und 1809 die Westküste Sachalin's bereiste und 1810 auch das untere Amur-Land oder Santan, wie die Japaner es nannten, besuchte. Vom

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1) А. Романовъ, Очеркъ известія прежду зах. ар Насуры и р. Амуромъ (Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XXIX, 1859, Отд. Изслѣд. и Мат., стр. 126, Прим. 1). Schon Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 388) erklärte sich den Namen Kossogorskoi Ostrog aus der Lage des Ortes «an der abhängigen Seite eines Berges». Im Originalbericht Onufrij Stepanof's heisst übrigens diese Festung nicht Kossogorskoi, sondern Kossogirskoi Ostrog (Дополн. къ ист. истор. Т. IV, 1851, стр. 82).

2) S. oben p. 98, 99, 104.

3) Fischer war, wie oben (p. 112, Anm. 3) erwähnt, im Gegentheil geneigt, die Angaben Stepanof's für am meisten massgebend zu halten. Daher hat er wohl auch auf seiner Karte des alten Sibirien's (Sibir. Gesch. Bd. II, Tab. II) die Natken, die nach ihm vielleicht nur ein und dasselbe Volk mit den Giljaken sein könnten, unterhalb der Atschanen angegeben, während es nach unserer obigen Deutung dieser Namen umgekehrt hätte geschehen sollen.

4) S. oben p. 96 ff.

Cap Rakka (Lak)[1]) auf Sachalin ging er auf das Festland hinüber, folgte der Küste desselben südwärts bis zum Cap Musibo (an der Bai Taba), zog sein Boot über den vielbegangenen Schleppweg nach dem Flüsschen Taba hinüber, schiffte dieses abwärts in den See von Kidsi und gelangte so nach dem grossen, am Amur gelegenen Dorfe Kidsi. Von dort ging er den Amur aufwärts bis zu dem damaligen Handelsorte Deren, verweilte dort einige Tage und kehrte dann, indem er dem Amur bis zu seiner Mündung abwärts folgte und den Liman dreimal kreuzte, wieder nach Sachalin zurück. Auf dieser Reise kam er in nahe Berührung mit den Giljaken und ihren südlichen Nachbaren am Amur-Strome, den Oltscha. Beide waren ihm und den Japanern überhaupt schon bekannt: die ersteren sowohl als beständige Bewohner des nördlichen Sachalin's, wie als häufige Handelsgäste in Ssiramussi, die letzteren nur als zeitweise vom Continent herüberkommende Händler. Unter den Giljaken von Sachalin, am Cap Noteito[2]), hatte Mamia Rinsô sogar den ganzen Winter von 1809/10 zugebracht. «Smerenkur» lautet der Name, den sie in seiner Reisebeschreibung, wie überhaupt bei den Japanern tragen. «Ssumerenkur» nannte ihn mir ein vielgereister Oltscha aus Tyr, der selbst wiederholentlich bei den Japanern auf Sachalin gewesen war, mit dem ausdrücklichen Bemerken, dass dies der Name sei, den die Aino und nach ihnen auch die Japaner den Giljaken geben. In der That ist sein Ursprung aus der Aino-Sprache sogleich aus der Endsilbe ersichtlich, denn «*kur*, *kuru*, *guru*» bedeutet in derselben «Mensch»[3]). Vielleicht lässt sich aber auch die übrige Etymologie dieses Namens erklären, denn «*ssumari*» heisst bei den Aino von Sachalin «Fuchs»[4]), und so würde «Ssumarinkur» so viel wie «Fuchsvolk» bedeuten. Was den Giljaken diese Bezeichnung seitens der Aino zugezogen haben könnte, vermag ich nicht mit Bestimmtheit zu sagen: vielleicht der Umstand, dass sie, den Handel zwischen den Aino und den Mandshu-Chinesen vermittelnd, die Hauptabnehmer des von jenen erbeuteten Pelzwerks und darunter auch der auf Sachalin häufigen Fuchsfelle sind; oder aber, was mir noch wahrscheinlicher vorkommt, der Name entstand daher, weil die Giljaken ehemals, bei grösserem Reichthum als die Aino, zum grossen Theil selbst in Fuchsfelle gekleidet gingen[5]).

Anders verhält es sich mit der bei den Japanern üblichen Bezeichnung für die des

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1) Siebold, dem wir die Bekanntmachung der so schätzenswerthen Reisen Mamia Rinsô's verdanken (Tôfuku ki ko, d. i. Reise nach der östlichen Tatarei, in Nippon, VII, p. 167—190), hält es für höchst wahrscheinlich, dass unter C. Rakka das C. Tekka gemeint sei und jener erstere Name nur durch Verwechselung der einander sehr ähnlichen japanischen Schriftzeichen für *Te* und *Ra* entstanden sei (l. c. p. 199, Anm. 6). Nach eigener Bekanntschaft mit diesen Localitäten, muss ich dies jedoch entschieden in Abrede stellen. C. Rakka ist unzweifelhaft die niedrige vorspringende Landzunge von Lak, da die Japaner bekanntlich, in Ermangelung des Lautes *l* in ihrer Sprache, denselben durch *r* ersetzen; C. Tekka aber ist das etwas südlicher gelegene C. Tyk.

2) Zwischen dem C. Lak und dem C. Tyk. Zu meiner Zeit gab es dort kein Dorf.

3) Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris 1823, p. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, Anm. 3.

4) Nach Fr. Schmidt; s. meine «Bemerk. über die Saugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen» (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. T. IV, p. 120; Mél. biol. T. IV, p. 183). Nach Klaproth (Asia polygl. p. 366; Sam kokf tsou ran tu setsu, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, trad. de l'origin. japonais-chinois, Paris, 1832, p. 243; desgl. in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankf. a./M. 1812, Bd. I, p. 301) — «sschumari» und «schimmari».

5) In der aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert stammenden Erzählung vom grossen Amur-Strome (Ѳкспл. Нив. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. VII, 1853, Отд. II, стр. 20) heisst es, dass

Handels wegen vom Festlande nach Sachalin herüberkommenden Amur-Anwohner tungusischen Stammes. Ich muss sogleich bemerken, dass es nicht bloss Oltscha, sondern in gleichem Maasse auch Golde sind, die aber von den Aino und Japanern nicht unterschieden, sondern mit dem gemeinsamen Namen «Santan» oder «S'janta» belegt werden. Nach dem Volke wird dann auch das von ihm bewohnte Land, das Amur-Land, mit demselben Namen bezeichnet[1]). Mamia Rinsô's Vorgänger, der japanische Reisende Mogami Tok'nai, der jedoch über Sachalin nicht hinausgekommen ist, versetzte das Land Santan in den der Insel zunächst gelegenen Theil des Festlandes: nach ihm erstreckte es sich von der Mündung des Amur-Stromes längs dem rechten Ufer desselben und längs der Meeresküste bis etwa zum 50° n. Br. Für den Namen des Volkes und des Landes hatte er aber eine weit hergeholte Erklärung aus dem Chinesischen[2]). Mamia Rinsô hingegen, der das Santan-Land selbst besucht hat, erkannte alsbald, dass jener Name weder von den Chinesen, noch aus dem Lande und von dem Volke selbst herrührte, sondern ihm nur von den Aino und Japanern gegeben sei. Sein geübteres Ohr liess ihn den Namen Santan auch als «S'janta» und «Z'janta» hören[3]). Auch mein vielgereister Oltscha aus Tyr gab «S'janta» als den Namen an, mit welchem die Aino und nach ihnen die Japaner sein Volk bezeichnen. Und das führt uns auf den, wie ich glaube, richtigen Ursprung dieses Namens. Er stammt von den Giljaken her. «Jant» oder «Janta» ist nämlich der giljakische Name für die Golde. Da nun die Giljaken einerseits die unmittelbaren Nachbaren der Aino auf Sachalin und andererseits die meisten, gewiss auch die ältesten Vermittler ihres Handels mit den Amur-Völkern bis hinauf zu den Mandshu sind, so ist es kaum anders denkbar, als dass die Aino die erste Bekanntschaft mit dem grössten und ausgebreitesten jener Völker, den Golde, durch die Giljaken gemacht haben. Und damit wird es verständlich, wenn sie für dasselbe auch den giljakischen Namen, nur im Geiste ihrer Sprache leicht abgeändert, acceptirten und diesen Namen auch auf die in ihren Augen zum selben Volke gehörigen Oltscha ausdehnten[4]).

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die Giljaken auf der grossen, der Amur-Mündung gegenüberliegenden Insel Zobel- und Fuchsfellkleider tragen.

1) Adam Laxmann hörte auch, bei seinem Besuche der Insel Jesso (1792), die Japaner von «Sandan-sinoo (Sandan-Leuten) reden, die nach Sachalin des Handels wegen kämen; er hielt sie aber für Koreaner (vergl. Новоизвѣст. Кураноо. — Лан. Нов. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Пб. Отд. Этногр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 193, 311). Ganz falsch wurde Krusenstern von Japanern auf Jesso wie auf Sachalin dahin unterrichtet, dass diese letztere Insel, oder, wie er in Aniwa hörte, auch nur ihr nördlicher Theil, von den Aino «Sandan» genannt werde (s. dessen Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 49, 52, 63).

2) «Santan» sollte demnach nur eine neuere Benennung sein: vormals hiessen Land und Volk Itan oder Kitan, was rothgestreifte Wilde bedeutet. Mit der steigenden Kultur verliessen die barbarischen Völker die Küsten und Ebenen und zogen sich in die Gebirge zurück, daher sie San-tan, d. h. Bergvolke, genannt wurden. Siebold fügt, indem er diese Erklärung wiedergiebt (Nippon, VII, p. 108, Anm. 3) hinzu, das man jenes Land schon auf einer nach einem japanischen Original copirten Karte von Japan, die Reland im Anfange des vorigen Jahrhunderts zu Amsterdam herausgegeben hat, mit dem chinesischen Buchstaben *Hien chen* bezeichnet findet.

3) Tô-tats ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 178, 180, Anm. 3; dagl. Nippon, I, p. 131).

4) Wenn daher in einem aus dem Jahre 1780 datirenden russischen Schreiben, das Middendorff unter den Archivpapieren in Udskoi Ostrog fand (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 102, Anm.), angegeben wird, die Insel Sachalin heisse tungusisch «Jankur», so lässt sich darin, nach der Anfangs- wie nach der Endsilbe, leicht die oben erläuterte, durch die Giljaken vermittelte Aino-Bezeichnung für die ihre Insel besuchenden tungusischen Amur-Völker erkennen.

Wurde aber der Name Santan oder S'janta von Aino und Japanern auf Sachalin auch schlechtweg für die Oltscha wie für die Golde gebraucht, so ist dies doch bei Mamia Rinsô in seiner Reisebeschreibung keineswegs der Fall. Er hielt sich am Amur nur in den Gebieten der Giljaken und Oltscha auf. Ueber das letztere ging er südwärts nicht hinaus. Nur einzeln traf er in demselben auch Golde an und lernte für sie auch einen eigenen Namen kennen, auf den wir später zurückkommen werden. Seine S'janta sind daher ausschliesslich Oltscha. Und mit grosser Genauigkeit giebt er, stromabwärts schiffend, an, wo die S'janta aufhören und ihre nördlichen Nachbaren, die Smerenkur, beginnen. Man erkennt in den meisten Ortschaften, die er in der Reisebeschreibung oder auf der Karte anführt[1]), noch die heutigen Dörfer wieder. In Aorei (Aure) befand er sich noch unter den S'janta; mit Horomo oder Horo, dessen Entfernung von dem ersteren er auf 4 Ri (etwa 15 Werst) abschätzt, beginnt das Gebiet der Smerenkur, und von dort ab, sagt er, sind Menschen, Wohnungen, Geräthe und Lebensweise gerade so wie auf Krafto (Sachalin)[2]). Dieses Horo ist unzweifelhaft Chjare, das erste giljakische Dorf, stromabwärts gegangen. Zum Beweise dafür dient auch der Umstand, dass gleich oberhalb von Horo auf Rinsô's Karte der Ort Furu angegeben ist, in welchem man leicht das heutige vorletzte Oltscha-Dorf Pulu erkennt. So lag die Grenze zwischen den Giljaken und Oltscha zu Rinsô's Zeit (1810) schon genau da, wo ich sie 45 Jahre später ebenfalls fand[3]).

Ausser am Amur-Strome lernen wir durch Mamia Rinsô auch die damalige Südgrenze der Giljaken an der Meeresküste kennen. Im Amur-Liman besuchte er nämlich das Dorf Tsjomen, das aus ansehnlichen, zerstreut an einem Flüsschen gleichen Namens gelegenen Wohnungen der Smerenkur bestand[4]). Genau so ist, wie ich aus eigener Erfahrung bestätigen kann, noch heute Tschomi, das äusserste an der Meeresküste nach Süden gelegene Dorf der Giljaken, beschaffen. Und dass es auch damals das letzte war, beweist die punktirte Linie, die auf Rinsô's Karte von Horo am Amur zur Meeresküste gleich südlich von Tsjomen verläuft und die ohne Zweifel die Südgrenze des Smerenkur-Gebietes auf dem Festlande bezeichnen soll. Von dort nach Süden bis über die Bai Taba hinaus erstreckte sich, wie man ebenfalls aus Mamia Rinsô's Angaben entnehmen muss, auch damals nur eine unbewohnte Küste: er umschiffte auf seiner Rückreise nach Sachalin das Cap Wasibuni (C. Lasaref, von den Oltscha Wasfun genannt) bis in die von Siebold mit Recht nach ihm benannte Strasse, gleich wie er auf der Hinreise einem Theile der Küste nördlich von Taba gefolgt war, und nennt zwar auf derselben eine Reihe von Ortsnamen, allein mit dem ausdrücklichen Bemerken, dass die Küste unbewohnt und jene Orte nur Ankerplätze seien[5]). So gab es auch dort zu

1) Ausser der von Siebold (Nippon, VII, Tab. XXV) wiedergegebenen, mit Mamia Rinsô's Namen bezeichneten Karte, rührt auf der an demselben Orte mitgetheilten Tok'uai'schen Karte der das Amur-Land und die gegenüberliegende Westküste Sachalin's darstellende Theil, wie Siebold (Nippon I, p. 170, Anm. 162) bemerkt, ebenfalls von Rinsô her. Auf dieser letzteren Karte ist auch alles Detail über das Amur-Land zu finden.

2) Tô-itsu ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177).

3) S. oben p. 13, 18, 36 u. s.

4) Tô-itsu ki ko, l. c. p. 178.

5) L. c. p. 179, 178.

Rinsö's Zeit schon dieselben Grenzverhältnisse zwischen den Giljaken und ihren südlichen Nachbaren, wie sie zu meiner Zeit auch bestanden.

Im Allgemeinen lassen sich also längs der gesammten festländischen Südgrenze der Giljaken seit der Zeit unserer ersten Bekanntschaft mit diesem Volke, d. i. in etwa 200 Jahren, keinerlei Verschiebungen wahrnehmen. Doch sind die ältesten Nachrichten so mangelhaft, dass man etwaige Veränderungen auch nicht mit Bestimmtheit in Abrede stellen kann: sie lassen uns kaum mehr erkennen, als dass die Grenznachbaren der Giljaken nach Süden vor zwei Jahrhunderten dieselben waren wie jetzt. Nur soviel steht unzweifelhaft fest, dass die Grenzverhältnisse, die ich dort in den 50-er Jahren fand, genau ebenso auch vor einem halben Jahrhundert bestanden.

Gehen wir endlich nach der Insel Sachalin hinüber, so tritt uns dort ein noch grösserer Mangel an brauchbaren älteren Nachrichten entgegen. In den oben besprochenen Berichten von den ältesten Zügen, welche die Russen bis zur Amur-Mündung und über dieselbe hinaus ausführten, wird ihrer speciell gar nicht gedacht, sondern in einem derselben nur im Allgemeinen bemerkt, dass die Giljaken auch die benachbarten, im Meere gelegenen Inseln inne haben[1]), was jedoch eben so gut auch auf die Schantaren bezogen werden konnte[2]). Erst in der oben erwähnten, ebenfalls aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert herrührenden «Erzählung vom grossen Amur-Strome», und zum Theil nach ihr auch bei Witsen, heisst es bestimmter, der Amur-Mündung gegenüber liege eine grosse Insel, auf welcher zahlreiche «Giljakische Völker» wohnen[3]). An einer anderen Stelle bemerkt Witsen von dieser Insel, dass sie Giliat heisse[4]). Was sonst an den angegebenen Orten von dieser Insel mitgetheilt wird, knüpft zwar an Thatsächliches und Wahres an, trägt aber doch durchweg, wie z. B. in der Angabe vom hohen Schilfdickicht, das ihre Küste unzugänglich mache u. dgl. m., den Charakter auf Hörensagen beruhender Erzählungen. Und in der That zuverlässige, wenn auch kurze Berichte, wie diejenigen über das Amur-Land, haben wir über Sachalin und seine Völker aus jener Zeit nicht, da diese Insel von den Russen im XVII. Jahrhundert gar nicht berührt worden ist. Später, im XVIII. Jahrhundert, als die Fahrten nach den Schantaren russischerseits in Aufnahme kamen, wurde zwar Sachalin, wie oben erwähnt[5]), wiederholentlich von russischen Läuflingen, Schiffbrüchigen u. s. w. besucht, allein ohne dass uns irgend welche Nachrichten über dasselbe hinterlassen worden wären.

Eben so wenig Anhaltspunkte bieten die ältesten chinesischen Nachrichten über Sachalin. Als die Jesuiten Regis, Jartoux und Fridelli im Jahre 1709 die Karte des unteren Amur-Stromes aufnahmen, erzählten ihnen die Eingeborenen, dass der Amur-Mündung gegen-

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1) In Pojarkof's Bericht (s. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 302).

2) In der That verwechselte Fischer bei dieser Gelegenheit Sachalin mit den Schantaren (s. dessen Sibir. Gesch. Thl. II, p. 788, und die Karte: Sibiriae veteris Tab. II).

3) Сказкиъ, Сбка. Русск. о р. Амурѣ въ XVII стол. (Ежегод. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. VII, 1853, Отд. II, стр. 20). Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. p. 32; Ausg. 1705, p. 87. Vrgl. auch Müller, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr. 2. Thl. 2. Aufl. p. 806.

4) L. c. Ausg. 1705, p. 96.

5) S. oben, p. 84.

über eine Insel liege, die von einem ihnen ähnlichen Volke bewohnt sei. In Folge dessen schickte der Kaiser Kang-hi bald darauf zur Erforschung der Insel einige Mandshu aus, die in Böten der Eingeborenen nach derselben übersetzten, jedoch nach dem Zeugniss der Jesuiten ihre Aufgabe nur sehr ungenügend lösten, indem sie den südlichen Theil der Insel ganz unberührt liessen und auch im nördlichen nur die Namen der Ortschaften aufzeichneten, durch die sie kamen, während sogar der Gesammtname der Insel unerforscht blieb[1]). Auch von den die Insel bewohnenden Völkern erfuhren wir durch sie nicht einmal die Namen.

Die ersten eingehenden Nachrichten über die Völker Sachalin's verdanken wir wiederum den Japanern, und zwar denselben Reisenden, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 und 1786) und Mamia Rinsô (1808—1810). Bereits ein Jahrhundert vor jener Mandshu-Expedition, in den Jahren 1613—1615, wurden von Jesso aus unter dem Statthalter Kinfiro einige Japaner nach Krafto geschickt, um eine Karte von diesem Lande aufzunehmen, doch drangen sie nicht sehr weit vor, und über die Völker desselben lieferten sie wohl kaum irgend welche Auskunft; wenigstens weiss Siebold, dem wir die Nachricht verdanken[2]), darüber nichts zu sagen. Weitere Unternehmungen nach Sachalin gingen von den Japanern nicht aus, bis Mogami Tok'nai und bald nach ihm Mamia Rinsô die Insel betraten. Zwar wurde Sachalin um dieselbe Zeit auch von europäischen Seefahrern — La Pérouse (1787), Broughton (1797) und Krusenstern (1805) — geographisch aufgedeckt, ja an seiner Ostküste schon etwa $1^1/_2$ Jahrhunderte früher von dem Holländer Vries betreten, allein mit seiner Bevölkerung kamen sie doch nur an einzelnen Küstenpunkten in Berührung und konnten daher in ethnographischer Beziehung auch nicht mehr als einzelne Notizen geben, von denen später gelegentlich die Rede sein wird. Jene Japaner haben hingegen nicht bloss beide Küsten — die Westküste beinahe bis zu ihrem Nordende, die Ostküste bis zur Bai der Geduld — sondern auch einen Theil des Innern von Sachalin kennen gelernt[3]). Ihnen verdankt man die erste Kenntniss von den drei auf Sachalin wohnhaften indigenen Völkern, Giljaken, Aino und Oroken. Da jedoch ihre Nachrichten, und zumal diejenigen Mamia Rinsô's, nicht so weit zurückliegen, und da auf dem Continent, wie wir gesehen, seitdem durchaus keine Grenzveränderung zwischen den Giljaken und ihren südlichen Nachbaren stattgefunden hat, so lassen sich auch auf der Insel in diesem

1) Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin. Vol. IV, Paris 1735, p. 12, 13. Nach Angabe der abgesandten Mandshu sollten die Bewohner des Festlandes die Insel sehr verschieden benennen, je nach den Dörfern, die sie auf derselben zu besuchen pflegten, doch wäre der allgemeine Name, der ihr zukäme, «Saghalien anga hata», d. h. Insel der Mündung des Schwarzen Flusses, eine Bezeichnung, welche die Jesuiten auf ihre Karte setzten, und aus welcher bekanntlich der jetzt übliche Name entstand. Nach Klaproth (Asia polygl. p. 301) bedeuten aber die Worte «Sachalim anga chada» nur «Felsen (nicht Insel) der schwarzen Mündung» und hätten nur auf einige dicht vor der Mündung des Amur liegende Felsen Bezug. Ich muss bemerken, dass die Ufer des Stromes an seiner Mündung, namentlich das linke, allerdings felsig sind, wenn auch nicht sehr hoch; einzeln aus dem Wasser emporsteigende Felsen giebt es aber vor derselben nicht. Ueber noch andere Namen Sachalin's, deren es so viele giebt, bei Gelegenheit weiter unten.

2) Nippon, I, p. 126.

3) Mogami Tok'nai ging z. B. von der Bai der Geduld längs dem Poro-nai (Ty- oder Piyi-Fluss) quer über die Insel nach Otaisi (in der Nähe von Duï). Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128.

kurzen Zeitraume keine irgend erheblichen Grenzverschiebungen erwarten. In der That giebt Mamia Rinsô an, dass das Gebiet der Smerenkur auf der Westküste Sachalin's nördlich von der noch von Aino bewohnten Landschaft Kitosi anhebt [1]). Diese erstreckte sich aber nach der betreffenden Karte mit ihrem Nordende bis nach Porokotan [2]), und dies ist, wie wir oben sahen [3]), zugleich das Pilja-wo der Giljaken, ihr letztes Dorf nach Süden, in welchem sie schon mit Aino untermischt wohnen. Eine solche gemischte Bevölkerung zieht sich gegenwärtig, wie oben ausführlicher dargethan, auch noch eine Strecke nördlich von Pilja-wo fort. Vielleicht ist dies zu jener Zeit noch nicht oder nicht in dem Maasse der Fall gewesen und grenzten die beiden betreffenden Völker schärfer gegen einander ab, obschon eine Vermischung durch Ehebündnisse zwischen ihnen immer stattgefunden hat. In solchem Falle würde die ganze Veränderung, die sich dort seit Mamia Rinsô's Besuch dieser Gegenden bis zu dem meinigen in dem Grenzverhältniss zwischen Giljaken und Aino zugetragen hat, nur darin bestehen, dass eine stärkere oder weiter reichende Vermischung beider eingetreten ist, wohl in Folge davon, dass manche Aino sich schon damals aus Furcht vor den Japanern nordwärts zu den Giljaken flüchteten, wie Solches später, als die japanische Colonisation sich rasch auszubreiten begann, ganz notorisch stattfand [4]). Für die Ostküste Sachalin's fehlt es gänzlich an Nachrichten, um über eine etwaige Verschiebung der Grenze des giljakischen Gebietes an derselben zu urtheilen, da der betreffende Theil der Insel weder von früheren, noch von den beiden genannten japanischen Reisenden besucht worden ist.

Fasst man alles über die Giljaken bisher Gesagte zusammen, so lässt sich der Schluss ziehen, dass so weit unsere historischen Nachrichten über dieses Volk reichen, die allerdings keinen sehr grossen Zeitraum umfassen, eine irgend erhebliche Veränderung oder Verschiebung ihrer Wohnsitze nicht stattgefunden hat. Ob und wie sich aber eine solche in vorhistorischer Zeit zugetragen haben könnte, darüber lässt sich nur vermuthungsweise nach anderweitigen Thatsachen und Erscheinungen urtheilen, welche wir später zu besprechen gedenken.

Fehlte es uns für die Giljaken an weit zurückgehenden historischen Nachrichten, so ist dies hinsichtlich der Aino keineswegs der Fall. Indessen gilt dies auch nur für einen Theil dieses Volkes: namentlich für denjenigen, der ausserhalb des Rahmens dieses Werkes liegt. Je weiter nach Süden, desto früher tauchen die Aino, nach Maassgabe und in Folge ihrer Berührung mit den Japanern, aus dem Dunkel vorhistorischer Zeit empor: zuerst lernt man sie auf Nippon, dann auf Jesso und zuletzt auf Sachalin und den Kurilen kennen. Da ihr gesammtes Verbreitungsgebiet

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1) Tô-tsis ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

2) Auf der Karte, auf die wir uns beziehen (mit der Aufschrift «Mogami Tok'nai» 1786, s. oben p. 119, Anm. 1) steht «Torokotan», offenbar nur in Folge eines Druckfehlers oder der Verwechselung von p und t japanischerseits, wie auch schon die nebenbei befindliche, «Mamia Rinzo 1808» überschriebene Karte beweist, auf welcher derselbe Ort «Porokotan» heisst.

3) S. oben p. 16, 17.

4) S. oben p. 78.

aus Inseln besteht, die durch Meerengen mit zum Theil reissenden Strömungen von einander getrennt sind, und die Japaner sich nur langsam von Insel zu Insel nordwärts ausbreiteten, so liegen die ältesten Nachrichten über die südlichen und über die nördlichen Aino weit auseinander, und während jene 2½ Jahrtausende alt sind, reichen diese nur ebenso viele Jahrhunderte zurück. Nach Siebold[1]) war zur Zeit der Begründung Japan's unter dem Stifter der Mikado-Dynastie, Zinmu, um das Jahr 660 vor Chr., der Norden Nippon's von Aino bewohnt, die in der Geschichte von Japan «Asuma Jebisu», d. i. Ostwilde, genannt werden. Sie sassen namentlich in den heutigen Landschaften Mutsu, Dewa und dem nördlichen Theile von Jetsigo, welche daher damals «Jebisu no Kuni», das Land der Wilden, hiessen[2]). Noch im VII. Jahrhundert nach Chr. wohnten die Aino in den beiden erstgenannten Provinzen südwärts bis zum 38° n. Br., lagen aber beständig mit den Japanern im Kriege. Zu Anfang des IX. Jahrhunderts erstreckte sich die Herrschaft der Mikado bereits über ganz Nippon: dennoch hatten die nordwärts vordringenden Japaner noch beständig mit den Aino zu kämpfen, bis diese endlich ganz unterworfen wurden und theils mit den Ueberwindern verschmolzen, theils vernichtet oder vertrieben wurden. Viele von ihnen, die sich dem Joche der Japaner nicht hatten beugen wollen, flüchteten über die Ssangar-Strasse zu ihren Landsleuten nach Jesso. Nach dieser Insel waren die Japaner schon und zuerst im Jahre 658 unter dem Fürsten Abehirafu gelangt und hatten Ansiedelungen an der Mündung des Siribesi gegründet, die jedoch 729 von den Aino zerstört wurden[3]). Gegen Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts (1189) flüchtete der japanische Feldherr Jositsune nach Jesso und streute, wie Siebold sagt[4]), die ersten Samen der Cultur unter den Aino der Ostküste aus. Erst im XV. Jahrhundert (1443)[5]) wurden aber die Aino, und zwar zunächst diejenigen des südlichen Jesso, der Mikado-Herrschaft unterworfen. Wann die Japaner, nordwärts vorrückend, zuerst nach Sachalin (Krafto) hinübergingen, steht nicht fest, aber zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts (1605—1622) schickte schon der Statthalter von Matsmai, Kinfiro, Expeditionen zur Aufnahme einer Karte von Sachalin ab, die jedoch mit vieler Mühe nur bis Ussijam und Naritari vordrangen[6]) und auf welche dann nach längerem Zwischenraum die Reisen Mogami Tok'nai's und Mamia Rinsô's folgten. Die südlichen Kurilen endlich

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1) Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries: benev. eene verband. over de Ainotaal en de voorthrengs. der Aino-landen. Amsterdam 1838, p. 92, 116.

2) In der Chinesischen Geschichte ist nach Siebold (l. c. p. 116), dem wir diese Nachrichten entnehmen, zuerst unter der Dynastie der Han (199 v. Chr. bis 30 n. Chr.) von dem Volksstamm der «Mao-min» (Aino) die Rede, die auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite der östlichen See wohnten und am ganzen Leibe behaart sein sollten. Desgleichen wird in der Geschichte der Sui-Dynastie (608 bis 622 n. Chr.) eines Volkes «Mozin» erwähnt, das aus 30 Horden bestand und im Gebirge im Nordwesten des Landes Woke (Japan) wohnte.

3) Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 123.

4) L. c. p. 126, 168.

5) Nicht im XIV. Jahrhundert, wie Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel. p. 93, im Widerspruch mit seiner Angabe in Nippon, I, p. 128, sagt.

6) Kanneman, Jeso-kî, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso, trad. du japon. par Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, publ. par Malte-Brun, T. XXIV, Paris 1811, p. 162). Desgleichen, offenbar nach derselben Quelle, Klaproth in den Zusätzen zu Rinsifée's San kokf tson ran to setz, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris 1832, p. 192. Vrgl. auch Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128, wo übrigens der erstgenannte Ort Usisjam heisst (bei Klaproth, a. a. O., auch Utsusijam).

wurden japanischerseits nicht eher als 1672 zufällig von einem durch Sturm verschlagenen Küstenfahrer entdeckt[1]).

Die ersten Nachrichten, welche Europäer von den Aino und zwar zunächst von denjenigen Jesso's brachten, stammen aus dem XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert. Wir verdanken sie den Jesuitenpatres Aloisius Froes (1565) und Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), dem Abgesandten der Englischen Handelscompanie John Saris (1613) und dem Chef des holländischen Handels in Japan François Caron (1639 und 40). Wenige Jahre später (1643) lernte der holländische Seefahrer Vries die Aino nicht bloss auf Jesso, sondern auch auf Sachalin, in den Baien Aniwa und Patientie, sowie auf den südlichen Kurilen kennen[2]). Doch geben alle genannten Schriftsteller ihre zum Theil sehr interessanten Notizen über die Aino, ohne diese mit irgend welchem Eigennamen zu bezeichnen. Dem Namen «Aino» begegnet man in der europäischen Literatur zum ersten Mal in einem 1619 in München erschienenen Werke Eliud Nicolai's[3]), in welchem auch zum ersten Mal von Jesso als einer besonderen Insel die Rede ist, indem es heisst, alle früheren Karten begingen den Fehler, dass sie «oberhalb Japan (Nippon) eine grosse Insel auslassen, von den Japonensern Jezo, von den Inwohnern Aino-moxoti (Aino-mosiri, d. i. Aino-Insel) genannt». Sei es nun aber, dass dieses Buch nicht genugsam bekannt wurde, oder dass man aus dem Namen der Insel denjenigen des Volkes nicht herauslas, genug die Aino blieben noch lange ohne besondere Bezeichnung, und selbst La Pérouse und Broughton, die auf Sachalin und Jesso mit ihnen in Berührung kamen, haben für dieselben keinen Eigennamen[4]). Erst seit Krusenstern's Reise erhielten sie europäischerseits den Namen Aino,

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1) Kannemon, Jeso-ki, l. c. p. 210; Rinsifee, San kokf tson ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

2) Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart. Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. p. 46 — 62; Ausg. 1705, p. 128 — 132. Siebold, Aardr. etc. p. 93 ff. Bickmore, The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile islands, p. 14 sqq. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). Letzterer giebt an, Hieronymus de Angelis sei, Krusenstern zufolge, im Jahre 1620 nach Sachalin gekommen, vermuthlich als erster Europaer. Ich wüsste aber durchaus nicht, wo Krusenstern dies gesagt hätte. Auch bei Siebold finde ich nichts davon.

3) Newe vnd warhaffte relation, von deme was sich in beederley, das ist, in den West- und Ost-Indien zugetragen etc. (vergl. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 131).

4) Beide bezeichnen die Aino nur nach den resp. Inseln, die sie bewohnen. So nennt Broughton die Aino von Jesso nur Bewohner von Inso, wie sie selbst diese Insel nennen sollen (A Voyage of discov. London 1804, pag. 99, 272; vergl. auch Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bem. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Bd. I, p. 303). Gelegentlich muss ich bemerken, dass der Name, den die Aino von Jesso ihrer Insel geben sollen, auch nach Golownin (Записки о приключ. его въ плѣну у Японцевъ, ч. III, стр. 136, Прим. 1) ähnlich lautet, nämlich «Einso-zis oder schlechtweg «Einsos», woraus durch Entstellung bei Japanern und Europaern ihr jetziger Name entstand. Andererseits aber liegt die Vermuthung nahe, dass «Einsos» oder, wie ich es lieber schreiben möchte, «Ainsos» (bei Golownin russisch: Эйнзо) aus dem oben angegebenen «Aino-mosiri» entstanden ist und also auch nur Aino-Insel bedeutet. Wie Broughton mit den Bewohnern von Jesso thut, so bezeichnet La Pérouse die Aino von Sachalin auch nur als «Ségaliens» oder «Oku-Jessoïs» (da man mit den Japanern unter Oku-Jesso, d. i. Gross-, Hoch-, Ober- oder, nach Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 108), inneres Jesso, das nördlich von Jesso gelegene Land verstand), obgleich er übrigens von ihnen gehört haben wollte, dass sie selbst ihr Land «Tschoka» nennen (Voyage aut. du monde, Paris 1797, T. III, p. 36, 115, 118). Krusenstern erkundigte sich jedoch sowohl auf Jesso, wie auf Sachalin vergeblich nach diesem Namen (Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 51), und nach Fr. Schmidt (Petermann, Geogr. Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432) verdankt er seinen Ursprung nur einem Irrthum, indem «*tschoka*» in der Aino-Sprache soviel wie «ich» und «wir» bedeutet. (Auch nach Klaproth (in Langsdorff's Bemerkung. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Bd. I, p. 302) heisst «ich» bei den Aino von Sachalin «*tschogoi*»; nach desselben Vokabula-

mit dem sie sich selbst bezeichnen sollen[1]) und der darin seine Erklärung findet, dass das Wort «*aino*» oder «*ainu*» bei allen zum selben Stamme gehörigen Bewohnern von Jesso, Sachalin und den Kurilen so viel wie «Mensch» bedeutet[2]). Durch Krusenstern's Reise wurde auch der von einigen japanischen Karten her bekannte, auf eine nördlich von Jesso gelegene Insel bezügliche Name «Karafuto, Karafto» oder «Krafto» mit Sachalin identificirt[3]). Man hielt ihn für japani-

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rium im San kokf etc., p. 232, heisst es «*toogoi*» und bei den Aino auf Kamtschatka «wir» — «*tschogaich*». Uebrigens führt La Perouse in seinem Verzeichniss von Aino-Wörtern (l. c. p. 118) noch einen zweiten Namen an, den die Eingeborenen ihrer Insel geben sollen, wenn auch seltner als jenen; er lautet: «Taninas». Von diesem vermeintlichen Namen Sachalin's ist aber später nie mehr zu hören gewesen. Millet Mureau, der Herausgeber der La Perouse'schen Reise, macht endlich die kurze Bemerkung, dass die Chinesen Sachalin «Ta-han» nennen (l. c. p. 83, Anm. c.), was jedoch vermuthlich nur eine Entstellung für «Ta-hai», d. i. grosse Insel, ist. Denn auch Iakinf (Статист. Опис. Китайск. Имп. С. Петерб. 1842, ч. II, стр. 30, 221, Прим.) giebt an, dass Sachalin bei den Chinesen «Da-tshe-ns (Ta-tsacy), d. h. grosse Insel, genannt werde. In der Geschichte der Tang-Dynastie soll diese Insel «Lu-gui» heissen (Iakinf, l. c. p. 31).

1) Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, St. Petersburg 1811, p. 31; Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfurt a. M., Bd. I, p. 282.

2) Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc. l. c. p. 282, Anm., p. 301; desselben, Asia polyglotta, p. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to setz p. 243.

3) Krusenstern, l. c. p. 49, 52 u. a. Bereits 1802 war vom Karten-Depot in St. Petersburg eine Karte herausgegeben worden, auf welcher die Insel «Karafuto» nach einer japanischen Karte aufgenommen war, welche der Japaner Kodai, den Ad. Laxmann im Jahre 1792 nach seiner Heimath zurückbringen musste, nach Russland gebracht hatte (Krusenstern, l. c. p. 30). In Matomai sah Laxmann bei einem japanischen Beamten ebenfalls eine Karte, auf welcher sowohl Jesso, als auch eine andere Insel dargestellt war, die den Namen «Karap» trug (Новонаход., Курилы. — Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По Отд. этногр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 193, 341). Kurz vorher, 1785 oder 1786, war in Jedo das Werk Rinsifee's «San kokf tsou ran to setz» erschienen (von Klaproth in's Französische übersetzt und mit einigen Zusätzen versehen, unter dem Titel: San kokf etc. ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes, Paris 1832), in welchem (p. 187) auch von dem nördlich von Jesso gelegenen, durch eine Meerenge von ihm getrennten Lande «Karafuto» oder «Krafto» die Rede ist. Auf den dem Werke beigegebenen Karten ist dieses Land als eine weit südlich von der Amur-Mündung gelegene Halbinsel des Festlandes dargestellt, doch will Rinsifée für die Richtigkeit dieser Darstellung nicht einstehen, da einige Geographen es schlechtweg als Insel an der Küste des östlichen Tattan (Tartarei) bezeichnen. Daneben ist übrigens auf diesen Karten genau der Amur-Mündung gegenüber eine grosse von West nach Ost gelagerte Insel, Namens «Sagarimo», dargestellt, von welcher der japanische Autor, vielleicht aus mandshurischen oder chinesischen Quellen Kunde erhalten hatte. So erscheinen hier Nord- und Süd-Sachalin auseinandergerissen, und während jenes den Japanern nur noch eine unbekannte, fern abliegende Insel war, hatten sie dieses schon als nahe gelegenes Land erkannt, das sie sich, Dank seinen Handelsverbindungen mit den Mandshu, als direkt zum Festlande hinüberführende Halbinsel dachten. Uebrigens lässt sich die Bekanntschaft der Japaner mit dem Namen «Krafto» für Sachalin auch noch weiter zurück verfolgen; denn in der Beschreibung Jesso's von Ara Taikugo-no-kami (Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso, trad. du japonais par feu M. Titsingh. — Annales des Voyages, publ. par Malte-Brun, T. XXIV, Paris 1814, p. 191, 205), der sich um das Jahr 1720 eine Zeit lang auf dieser Insel aufhielt, heisst es, dass die dortigen Aino die Insel Oku- oder Oki-Jesso (Sachalin) «Krato» oder «Karato» nennen. Ja, noch früher berichtete der japanische Dolmetscher Kannemon, der vor dem Jahre 1632 Jesso besuchte, «Krato» oder «Krafi» sei eine Provinz der Tartarei, von wo die Bewohner Jesso's eine besondere Art Zeuge («Kraft-ori», offenbar über Sachalin kommende chinesische Zeuge) bezögen (s. dessen Jeso-ki, ebenfalls von Titsingh übersetzt, l. c. p. 162, 164). Bei dieser Gelegenheit sei bemerkt, dass es diese beiden von Titsingh übersetzten Jeso-ki's zu sein scheinen, welche Klaproth während seines Aufenthalts in Irkutsk zur Vervollständigung der von Rinsifée im San kokf tsou ran to setz über Jesso gegebenen Nachrichten benutzt hat. Dies möchte ich sowohl aus dem mit dem Jeso-ki's fast identischen Inhalte seiner Zusätze zu dem letztgenannten Werke, als auch aus der Angabe der Jahreszahlen folgern, wann die beiden benutzten Beschreibungen von Jesso verfasst worden waren (s. Klaproth's Vorwort zum San kokf etc. p. IV). Nur ist die eine Jahreszahl (für Kannemon's Jeso-ki), wohl in Folge eines Druckfehlers, um ein Jahrhundert verjüngt angegeben (1732 statt 1632).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

schen Ursprungs[1]), allein nach Schmidt rührt er von den Aino der benachbarten Inseln, Jesso, Kunaschir, Iturup, her und ist von den Japanern nur angenommen worden[2]). Vermuthlich ist er daher auch den Aino auf Sachalin selbst eigen[3]).

Wenn übrigens Vries die Eingeborenen im Golfe der Geduld auch mit keinem besonderen Namen bezeichnet, so unterliegt es doch nach seiner Beschreibung derselben keinem Zweifel, dass er es in der That mit Aino und nicht etwa mit Oroken oder Giljaken zu thun hatte, die, wie oben dargethan, in jenem Theile Sachalin's, wenn auch in geringer Zahl, mit den Aino zusammenstossen. Somit lernen wir dieses Volk im Jahre 1643, vor mehr als zwei Jahrhunderten, schon an demselben Orte kennen, der auch gegenwärtig seine Nordgrenze an der Ostküste Sachalin's bildet. Dass sie sich seitdem nicht weiter nordwärts ausgebreitet haben, da die Meeresküste nördlich von der Bai der Geduld doch auf weiter Strecke noch unbewohnt ist, lässt sich vielleicht dem Umstande zuschreiben, dass die Japaner erst zu Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts ihre ersten Ansiedelungen auf Sachalin begründeten und dieselben, wie wir oben sahen, lange Zeit hindurch nicht weiter ausbreiteten[4]), also auch auf die entfernteren Aino keinen so erheblichen Druck ausübten, um sie zum ferneren Ausweichen nach Norden zu bewegen.

Verhältnissmässig weiter und rascher scheint die Ausbreitung der Aino über die Kurilischen Inseln vor sich gegangen zu sein. Oben ist schon erwähnt worden, dass sie noch vor Ankunft der Russen auf Kamtschatka alle Kurilischen Inseln bis nach Poromuschir, der vorletzten, von Süden gegangen, inne hatten[5]). Steller und Krasheninnikof geben ausdrücklich an, dass diese Insel von Aino («Kurilen») bewohnt wird, die von der Insel Onekotan herüberge-

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1) Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 301; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198.

2) Petermann, Geogr. Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432. Auch die oben angeführten Angaben Kannemon's und Arai Taikugo's über «Krato» und «Kraft» sprechen dafür, dass dies ein den Japanern fremdes, ihnen durch die Aino zugetragenes Wort sei.

3) Rinsifée (Sankokf tsou etc. p. 187, 284) giebt hingegen an, der wahre Name des von den Japanern Karafuto genannten Landes sei «Taraikai» oder «Tarakai», woraufhin Klaproth (Sankokf etc. p. 188, Note; Asia polygl. p. 301) und Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 198) letzteren für den indigenen Aino-Namen der Insel halten. Schmidt (Petermann, Geogr. Mitth. 1869, p. 432) hebt aber mit Recht hervor, dass dieser Name wohl von dem im Golfe der Geduld gelegenen Dorfe Taraika stamme, das früher besonders mit der Mandshurei in Handelsverbindungen stand. Die letzteren sind hier jedoch insofern von keinem Belange, als der Gebrauch des Namens Taraikai für Sachalin von den Japanern herrührt. Diese haben offenbar den Namen jenes Dorfes von den Aino gehört und ihn fälschlich für denjenigen der ganzen Insel genommen. In Kannemon's Jeso-ki wird in der That Taraika's noch als einer besonderen Localität Krato's erwähnt (Annales des Voyages, T. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), während über ein Jahrhundert später Rinsifée den Namen Taraikai auf das ganze Land bezieht. Neuerdings ist übrigens noch ein anderer Name als Aino-Bezeichnung für Sachalin angegeben worden: nach Dobrotworskij (Японско-русск. словарь. — Новые Лан. Казанск. Университ. 1873, Прилож., стр. 32) soll nämlich diese Insel bei den Aino «Trepunmosiri» heissen (Mizuf hatte in seinem Очерк. острова Сахал. въ географско-хозяйств. отнош. С. Петербургъ 1873, стр. 126, als solchen Namen «Trenun-mussir» oder auch schlechtweg «Mussir», d. h. Insel, angegeben), und sollen demgemäss die Aino von Jesso ihre Landsleute auf Sachalin «Trepun-mosiri-utara» nennen. Schliesslich sei hier erwähnt, dass die Japaner ausser der oben besprochenen Bezeichnungen für Sachalin noch manche andere haben: so soll es auch «Nerubesis» genannt werden (Sankokf etc. p. 187), ferner «Kita-sima», d. h. nördliche Insel (von Jesso: vrgl. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), oder auch schlechtweg «Kita-Jesso», nördliches Jesso (Arai Taikugo, Jeso-ki, l. c. p. 205), u. s. w.

4) S. oben p. 73 ff.

5) S. oben p. 18.

kommen sind, und zwar, wie man glauben muss, vor nicht gar langer Zeit, denn zwischen den Bewohnern dieser beiden Inseln bestand ein nahes Gastfreundschaftsverhältniss, während hingegen die Bewohner der entfernteren Inseln öfters Raubzüge nach Onekotan ausführten, welche vielleicht auch den Grund zur Auswanderung eines Theiles der Bevölkerung dieser Insel nach Poromuschir abgaben[1]). Die folgende, letzte der Kurilischen Inseln, Schumschu, hat hingegen ihre Bevölkerung nicht mehr von Süden, sondern von Norden, von der nahe anliegenden Halbinsel Kamtschatka erhalten. Es sind nicht Aino, sondern Itälmenen oder Kamtschadalen, die anfangs diese Insel nur des Thierfanges wegen besuchten, seit der Ankunft der Russen aber in Kamtschatka, aus Furcht diesen zinsbar zu werden, sowie in Folge von Zwistigkeiten unter einander, sie beständig zu bewohnen anfingen[2]). Für diese Ausbreitung der Aino und Itälmenen über die Kurilen sprechen auch die Namen der erwähnten Inseln, denn «Poro mosiri» oder «Poromoschiri» heisst in der Aino-Sprache «grosse Insel»[3]), und «*samatsch*» soll in der itälmenischen Sprache «Insel» bedeuten[4]). Uebrigens hatten sich die Itälmenen der Insel Schumschu und der Südspitze nicht unvermischt den Aino der ferneren Inseln gegenüber erhalten: seit langen Jahren waren sie in Ehebündnisse mit den letzteren getreten, und da sie zwischen dem Festlande und der nächsten Insel hin und her zogen, und andererseits auch Aino — die, wie Steller sagt, ebenso zur See umherschweifen, wie die Tataren zu Lande — wiederholentlich nach Kamtschatka kamen, so hatte sich im ganzen Süden der Halbinsel ein Mischvolk aus Itälmenen und Aino gebildet, welches von den nördlicher wohnenden Kamtschadalen im Aeussern wie in der Sprache manche Differenzen zeigte[5]). Kein Wunder daher, wenn die Russen anfänglich die Bewohner des südlichen Kamtschatka für dasselbe Volk mit den Bewohnern der Inseln, den Aino, hielten und sie auch wie diese mit dem Namen Kurilen bezeichneten[6]). Und dieselbe Bezeichnung, in adjectivischer Form, übertrugen sie auch auf manche Localitäten in Südkamtschatka, wie die Namen Kurilskoje

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1) Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 7, 23, 24: Крашенинниковъ, Описаніе земли Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путеш. С. Петерб. 1818, Т. I, стр. 143, 146).

2) Steller, l. c. p. 7, 30; Крашенинниковъ, тамъ же, Т. I, стр. 143; Т. II, стр. 2, 4.

3) Nicht einfach «Insel», wie Steller (l. c. p. 7) den Namen «Boro mosch» und das, wie er meint, von den Russen daraus gemachte «Paramusir» erklärte.

4) Steller, l. c. p. 6. Daher nennen auch die Bewohner der Südspitze Kamtschatka's diejenigen der Inseln «Samtschusis, d. h. Insulaner (Steller, l. c. p. 7).

5) Steller, l. c. p. 7, 23; Крашенинниковъ, тамъ же, Т. I, стр. 143; Т. II, стр. 4.

6) Daher der Widerspruch zwischen den früheren Angaben Müller's, in seinem Artikel «Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakutz, 1737» (im Anhange zu Steller's Beschreibung von Kamtschatka) und denjenigen Steller's und Krascheninnikof's. Müller (l. c. p. 18) lässt die Kurilen auf Kamtschatka an der Ostküste bis nach Awatscha und an der Westküste bis zum Flusse Kompakowa wohnen; er spricht von Bolscherezkischen Kurilen (p. 21); er hält die Bewohner von Schumschu, die er übrigens auch von Norden kommen lässt, für ganz ebensolche Kurilen wie diejenigen von Poromuschir (p. 45) u. s. w. Krascheninnikof giebt zwar für die Kurilischen Inseln südlich von Onekotan Müller's Nachrichten in getreuer Uebersetzung wieder, für die nördlicheren aber wie für Südkamtschatka ignorirt er sie vollständig, da er hier seinen eigenen Erfahrungen und Erkundigungen, so wie denjenigen Steller's folgen konnte. Später (Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. III, 1758, p. 79) trat auch Müller den Angaben Steller's und Krascheninnikof's bei und erklärte, dass es nur «gemeiner Gebrauch» bei den Russen auf Kamtschatka sei, die Bewohner der ersten Insel und des Festlandes südlich von Bolscherezk Kurilen zu nennen, während es doch nur Kamtschadalen mit dialektisch verschiedener Sprache seien.

osero, Kurilskij Ostrog, auf einer Insel im genannten See gelegen, Kurilskaja Lopatka u. dgl. m. beweisen.

Was nun die Entstehung des Namens «Kurilen» für die Aino der südwärts von Kamtschatka gelegenen Inselkette betrifft, so ist es bei den russischen Autoren seit Golownin, ich möchte fast sagen, Brauch geworden, den Namen des Volkes von dem der Inseln, diesen aber von ihren rauchenden Vulkanen (курящіяся сопки) abzuleiten[1]). Schon Steller wies aber darauf hin, dass die bei den Russen gebräuchliche Bezeichnung Kurilen für die Bewohner der gleichnamigen Inseln mit dem Namen zusammenhängt, den die Itälmenen, von Bolschaja reka bis Lopatka, diesem Volke geben und der «Kuschi» oder «Kusi» lautet[2]). Fälschlich leitete er aber selbst diesen letzteren Namen von einer besonderen, bei diesem Volke üblichen Art zu tanzen ab, so dass «Kuschi» so viel wie «Tanzende» oder «Springende» bedeuten sollte[3]). Bei ihren Nachbaren auf Sachalin, den Giljaken, haben die Aino einen ganz ähnlich lautenden Namen, «Kughi»[4]), der auch unter den Giljaken des Festlandes allgemein im Gebrauch ist[5]). Ohne Zweifel haben alle diese Namen denselben Ursprung, indem sie sämmtlich, wie Klaproth es von dem Namen Kurilen angiebt, aus dem Worte «*kur*» oder «*kuru*», das in der Aino-Sprache «Mensch» bedeutet, entstanden sind[6]). Auch wurden die Kurilischen Inseln, wie der Japaner Araï Tsikugo schon im Jahre 1720 unter anderen schätzbaren Nachrichten über dieselben bemerkt, von den Aino unter dem Gesammtnamen «Kuru-misi» (d. h. Menschen-Land) zusammengefasst[7]). Hier liegt also die einfache Erklärung jenes Namens für Volk und Land.

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1) Головнина, Зап. о приключ. его въ плѣну у Японцевъ, въ 1811, 1812 и 1813 г. Ч. III. С. Петербургъ 1816, стр. 138; А. Сгибневъ, Бунтъ Беньковскаго въ Камч. въ 1771 г. (Русск. Старина, 1876, Мартъ, стр. 531). Polonskij (Курилы.—Зап. Геогр. Общ. По Отд. Этногр. T. IV, 1871, стр. 369) malte es noch weiter aus, indem er meinte, dass der von den rauchenden Vulkanen entlehnte Name sich um so mehr erhalten musste, als diese Inseln dem nahenden Schiffer aus dem Nebel, in welchen sie fast beständig gehüllt sind, wie aus dickem Rauche auftauchen und dabei selbst wie rauchend erscheinen. Auch in Bickmore's Artikel über die Aino (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 19) wird diese Ableitung des Namens Kurilen wiederholt. Als Curiosität möchte ich Tronson's Angabe anführen, dass der Name Kurilen für die Inseln von einem im Süden Kamtschatka's gelegenen gleichnamigen See (Kurilskoje osero) herrühre, dessen Anwohner höchst wahrscheinlich nach den Inseln ausgewandert seien (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London 1859, p. 158).

2) Steller, l. c. p. 8, 7, 30.

3) Steller, l. c. p. 248, Anm. a.

4) Ich schreibe *gh*, wenn das *g* stark guttural lautet, zwischen *g* und *ch*.

5) Middendorff hörte von den Giljaken am Tugur-Busen die Kurilen «Kówi» nennen (s. dessen Reiseber., im Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. IV, p. 233, 235; desgl. Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abthl., p. 613, 618).

6) Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. Im San kokf tsou ran to sets (p. 183, 184) heisst es, «*kuru*» bedeute «Stamm, Tribus».

7) Araï Tsikugo, Jeso-ki, en Descr. de Jesso, l. c. p. 192, 207, 211. Vrgl. auch Klaproth's Zusätze zum San kokf tsou ran to sets, pag. 191, 193, 194 — nach derselben japanischen Quelle. Im Jeso-ki (pag. 211) berichtet der japanische Autor, dass nach Erzählung der Bewohner von Oku-Jesso (Sachalin-Aino) im Meere ostwärts zwei Inseln liegen mit Namen «Guromisos», und knüpft daran die seltsame Vermuthung, dass diese Angabe sich auf Grönland beziehen könne, von dem er durch die Holländer gehört habe. Die Redaction der «Annales» macht ihrerseits die Bemerkung, dass «Guromises» wahrscheinlich die Insel «Goltsi» im Norden Sachalin's seien. Offenbar meinte sie unter Goltsi die Insel Ghiljaï, von der Witsen nach alten russischen Berichten erzählte (s. oben p. 120). Beiden ist aber entgangen, was doch

Der bei den Giljaken übliche Name für die Aino ist auch zu den Mandshu und Chinesen gedrungen. So nennt Iakinf nach einer chinesischen Topographie die drei auf Sachalin wohnhaften Völker «Fjakä, Eluntschun und Kuä», welche letzteren ohne Zweifel die Aino sind[1]). Ebenso zählt der Archimandrit Palladij unter den Völkern der Provinz Girin, von denen nach chinesischen Angaben ehemals ein reicher Tribut an Zobelfellen für den Pekinger Hof erhoben wurde, auch die «Kuä» (Aino) auf[2]). Jetzt wird es uns auch erklärlich, wenn in der chinesischen Reichsgeographie[3]) unter den tributpflichtigen Völkerschaften des Distriktes Ssanssin unter anderen auch die «Lerkoje»[4]) oder, wie Pauthier[5]) schreibt, «Li-eurh-kou-yé» genannt werden. Es sind dies die Sachalin-Aino. Denn «Laer, Laerch» oder «Laer-mif» ist der giljakische Name für Sachalin[6]), und «Koje» oder «Ku-yé» muss nach dem Obigen auf die Aino bezogen werden. «Laer-kughi» würde daher die genaue giljakische Bezeichnung für die Sachalin-Aino lauten, was mit den obigen Namen in der chinesischen Reichsgeographie nahe übereinstimmt[7]). Gleichwie also die Aino und Japaner die Bezeichnung S'janta für die Golde (und Oltscha) den Giljaken entlehnt haben, so verdanken demselben Volke auch die Mandshu und Chinesen ihren Namen für die Aino. Mit den Handelswaaren, welche die Giljaken, wie wir später sehen werden, zwischen den Aino und Japanern und den Mandshu-Chinesen hin und her tragen, haben sie bei denselben auch jene Völkernamen vermittelt.

Um die Reihe der oben gelegentlich besprochenen Namen der Insel Sachalin abzuschliessen, mag hier im Vorübergehen noch der, wie mir scheint, leicht erklärlichen Etymologie des zuletzt erwähnten, giljakischen Namens dieser Insel gedacht sein. «Laer-mif» ist, glaube ich, aus «La-erri-mif» entstanden, was, da «La» der giljakische Name für den Amur ist, «*erri*» aber Strom, Fluss und «*mif*» Land, Erde bedeutet, so viel wie «Amur-Strom-Land» besagt[8]). Es hätte demnach der giljakische Name für Sachalin dieselbe Bedeutung, welche, den Jesuiten-Missionären zufolge, jene vom Kaiser Kang-hi zur Erforschung dieser Insel abgesandten Mandshu durch die Bezeichnung

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nahe genug lag, dass Guru-misi dasselbe was «Kuru-misi» und also Kurilische Inseln sind. Die Japaner nennen die zwischen Jesso und «Kamsikatka oder Kamaskas» gelegenen 37 Inseln «Tsi simas», d.h. die tausend Inseln (Klaproth, Sin kokf etc. p. 103, 105).

1) Іакинфъ, Статистика. Опис. Китайск. Имп. Ч. II, стр. 30, Прим. Fälschlich sind aber daselbst die Kuä als Bewohner des mittleren, die Eluntschun (Oroken) als diejenigen des südlichen Theiles der Insel angegeben, während es umgekehrt lauten sollte.

2) Арх. Палладій, Дорожн. зап. за путн. отъ Пекина до Благовѣщ., чрезъ Маньчжурію, въ 1870 г. (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По общ. Геогр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 399).

3) Tai Tsing hoei tien, Bd. XI; s. Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien, Bd. III, p. 444.

4) Ritter fügt in Klammern hinzu: «Koje der Karten».

5) Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris 1853, 1. partie, p. 168.

6) Den Namen «Laer» für Sachalin hörte auch Middendorff bei den Giljaken am Ochotskischen Meere (s. dessen Reisebericht, im Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. IV, p. 233; desgl. Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abthl. p. 615).

7) Sollte nicht vielleicht auch der Name «Huyé», den nach Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 13) einige Personen in Peking der Insel Sachalin haben beilegen wollen, und von welchem die zur Untersuchung derselben abgesandten Mandshu meinten, dass er weder den Eingeborenen des Festlandes, noch denjenigen der Insel bekannt sei, nur eine Entstellung des Wortes Kughi oder Kuä, also der Bezeichnung für ein Volk dieser Insel sein?

8) Das Amur-Land selbst heisst bei den Giljaken «La-mif».

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

«Saghalian anga hata» haben ausdrücken wollen, wenn auch dieser Ausdruck, nach Klaproth, nicht ganz correkt ist[1]). Unwillkürlich drängt sich daher der Gedanke auf, ob ihnen nicht der giljakische Name der Insel in der Form «La-erri-mif» verdollmetscht worden ist.

Fasst man alles vorstehend über die Aino Gesagte zusammen, so lässt sich der Schluss ziehen, dass sie in historischer Zeit aus dem südlichen Theile ihres ursprünglichen Wohngebietes, aus Nippon, durch die Japaner verdrängt worden sind und sich hingegen weiter nach Norden gezogen haben. Die grosse, gebirgige, im Mittelpunkt ihres Verbreitungsgebietes gelegene Insel Jesso scheint das Aino-Land insonderheit zu sein, das sie bis zur Ankunft der Japaner allein inne hatten und das bei ihnen auch nur schlechtweg Aino-Insel (Aino-mosiri, Ainso) hiess. Südsachalin und die nächsten Kurilen, Kunaschir, Iturup, mögen sie von dort aus schon in ältester Zeit eingenommen haben; zur weiteren Verbreitung nach beiden Richtungen, nord- und nordostwärts, drängten sie aber gewiss auch die von Nippon nach Jesso und weiter vordringenden Japaner. Auf Sachalin scheint dabei die Ausbreitung der Aino ruhiger und langsamer vor sich gegangen zu sein als auf den Kurilischen Inseln, wo die spärlichere Natur sie zum Thierfang auf grösserem Raume, zum beständigen Leben in See und Umherschweifen auf den Inseln nöthigte, wodurch sie jedoch eine grössere Seetüchtigkeit und damit zugleich auch eine grössere Befähigung zur weiteren Ausbreitung gewannen.

Von dem dritten Volke der Insel Sachalin, den **Oroken**, sind die historischen Nachrichten äusserst spärlich. Die erste Kunde von ihnen erhielt man, wenn auch ohne dass ihr Name genannt wurde, durch die bald nach 1709 vom Kaiser Kang-hi nach Sachalin abgesandte Expedition. Die zurückgekehrten Mandshu berichteten, dass es dort zwar keine Pferde gäbe, dass aber die Insulaner an verschiedenen Orten eine Art zahmer Hirsche hielten, die sie zum Ziehen der Schlitten gebrauchten[2]). Dies passt nur auf die rennthierhaltenden Oroken. Erst zu Ende des XVIII. und Anfang des XIX. Jahrhunderts lernten sie die japanischen Reisenden Mogami Tok'nai und Mamia Rinsô näher kennen. Sie nennen sie «Orotsko» und die von ihnen bewohnte Landschaft «Orikata». Auf der von dem Ersteren entworfenen Karte von Sachalin[3]) bezeichnet eine punktirte Linie den Umfang dieser Landschaft. Die Linie beginnt am Golfe der Geduld, ungefähr übereinstimmend mit der Angabe in Mamia Rinsô's Reisebeschreibung, wo es heisst, bei Si und Taraika fange das Land der Orotsko an[4]), und läuft in einem Bogen, das Flusssystem des Poro-nai oder Ty umfassend, wieder zur Ostküste zurück, wo sie etwas nördlich vom Cap Delisle de la Croyère und noch südlich vom Tymy-Flusse endigt. Nur in ihrem südlichen Theile entspricht diese Grenzlinie ihrem jetzigen Verlaufe, und auch nur dort kann sie

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1) S. oben p. 121, Anm. 1.

2) Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, Paris 1735, p. 13.

3) Siebold, Nippon, VII, Tab. XXV: die «Mogami Tok'nai 1786» überschriebene Karte.

4) Tô-ists hi ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

von den Japanern nach eigener Beobachtung angegeben sein. Mogami Tok'nai bereiste nämlich die Ostküste Sachalin's bis zum Golfe der Geduld und durchschnitt auf seiner Fahrt von dort längs dem Poro-nai nach Otsisi an der Westküste auch den südlichen Theil des Oroken-Gebietes[1]). Er fand diese Gegend damals, in den 80-er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts, nur wenig bewohnt, genau wie es noch heute der Fall ist, da es ein Passage-Land für Giljaken und Oroken ist, in welchem höchstens nur einzelne, zeitweise besetzte Jurten der letzteren zu finden sind[2]). Im Westen und Norden entspricht die von den Japanern angegebene Begrenzung des Oroken-Gebietes der gegenwärtigen gar nicht, denn sie schliesst nicht bloss das ganze Tymy-Thal, durch welches ihre alljährlichen Wanderungen gehen, sondern auch ihre viel weiter im Norden, an der Küste um Käkr-wo gelegenen Hauptsitze aus demselben aus; ja, sie nimmt an der Meeresküste nördlich vom Cap der Geduld für die Oroken nur den Theil in Anspruch, der gegenwärtig, wie oben nachgewiesen, so gut wie ganz unbewohnt ist. Daraus darf man jedoch nicht schliessen, dass sich die Oroken seitdem um soviel weiter nach Norden und Westen ausgebreitet haben; vielmehr lässt sich die erwähnte Differenz dem Umstande zuschreiben, dass der nördlich vom Golfe der Geduld und vom Poro-nai gelegene Theil Ostsachalin's weder von den genannten, noch von früheren japanischen Reisenden jemals besucht worden ist und jene Angaben daher nur auf Nachrichten beruhten, die man von den Eingeborenen hie und da einzog und die in dem betreffenden Falle um so weniger ein genaues und zuverlässiges Resultat ergeben konnten, als es sich um ein zum grossen Theil wanderndes Volk handelte. Sind uns doch auch heutzutage die Grenzen ihres Wohn- und Wandergebietes nur ihren allerersten Hauptzügen nach bekannt!

Von anderer als japanischer Seite giebt es über die Oroken so gut wie gar keine historischen Nachrichten. Russischerseits wusste man von diesem Volke bis zu meiner Reise gar nichts. Zwar hatten verschiedene Mitglieder der sogen. Amur-Expedition, Boschnjak, Orlof, Rudanofskij, sie schon vor mir kennen gelernt, allein ihre Berichte erschienen im Druck erst nach meinen brieflichen Mittheilungen an die Akademie. Seitens der Mandshu und Chinesen waren sie nur dem Namen nach bekannt. So werden sie in der chinesischen Reichsgeographie[3]) in der Zahl der zum Distrikt Ssan-ssin gehörigen tributpflichtigen Völker aufgeführt, unter dem mandshurischen Namen «Oruntschun» oder, in verdorbener chinesischer Lesart, «Golun-tschuns[4]). Iakinf nennt sie ebenfalls nach chinesischen Quellen «Eluntschun» und räumt ihnen, unter den drei auf Sachalin wohnhaften Völkern, fälschlich den südlichen Theil der Insel ein[5]). Ganz neuerdings endlich führte sie Palladij, auf Grundlage mandshu-chinesischer Angaben, unter dem Namen «Orontschon» als eines der Völker an, welche vor Zeiten ihren Tribut an den Pekinger Hof in Zobelfellen nach Girin zu stellen hatten[6]).

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1) Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128.

2) S. oben p. 20.

3) Tai Tsing hoei tien, 1818, Bd. XI; s. Ritter, Asien, Bd. III, p. 441.

4) In derselben Reichsgeographie nach Pauthier, Chine moderne, I, partie, p. 168.

5) Сочинен. Иакинфа. Изд. С. Петербург. 1842, ч. II, стр. 30, примѣч.

6) Дорожн. зап. из пути отъ Пекина до Кяхты. Сбн. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По отд. Геогр. Т. IV, 1851,

Von japanischer wie von mandshu-chinesischer Seite werden also die Oroken mit demselben, hier und dort nur etwas abgeänderten Namen bezeichnet. Ganz ähnlich lauten auch die Namen, die sie bei ihren nächsten Nachbaren, den Aino und Giljaken haben; denn von jenen werden sie «Orochko» genannt[1]), und von den Giljaken habe ich sie an der Westküste Sachalin's «Orongta» und im Tymy-Thale, wo ich selbst wiederholentlich mit ihnen zusammentraf, «Oroko» nennen hören[2]). Denselben Namen, mit unbedeutender Abänderung, tragen aber bekanntlich auch einige tungusische Völker des Festlandes: so namentlich die Orotschen an der Küste des Nordjapanischen Meeres und die Orotschonen am oberen Amur; ja auch der Name Oltscha ist, bei der unter den Tungusen häufigen Verwechselung des *r* und *l*, ebenfalls nur als gleichlautend mit Ortscha oder Or(o)tscha zu betrachten. Auch werden die Oltscha von ihren Nachbaren, den Giljaken «Orongr» und «Orongsch» genannt[3]).

Die Etymologie aller dieser nahe gleichlautenden Namen liegt auf der Hand und ist hinsichtlich eines derselben (der Orotschonen) auch schon von verschiedenen Seiten angedeutet worden[4]). «*Oro*» oder «*orom*» heisst nämlich bei den tungusischen Völkern des Amur-Landes[5])

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erp. 309). Palladij fügt zwar zur Erklärung jenes Namens in Klammern «Orotschonen» hinzu, allein sofern darunter das Volk dieses Namens vom oberen Amur verstanden sein soll, ist die Erklärung falsch, denn dieses Volk gehörte zu der Provinz Helong-kiang oder dem oberen Amur-Lande. In der Provinz Girin oder dem unteren Amur-Lande giebt es an ähnlichen Namen nur die Orotschen der Meeresküste und die Oroken von Sachalin; jener wird aber in der Aufzählung besonders unter dem Namen Kjakala erwähnt, und so bleiben für die Orontscho nur die letzteren übrig.

1) Бранденштеть, Нечаевъ и Сахаровъ Этн. Сб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. VII, 1861, стр. 31.

2) Nur bei den Amur-Giljaken habe ich für die Oroken auch den Namen «Tosongo» gehört, den ich mir aber nicht zu erklären vermag. Sollte er nicht Trosong lauten und mit Tro, der giljakischen Bezeichnung für einen Theil von Sachalin, von der später die Rede sein wird, zusammenhängen?

3) Dass die Oroken auf der oben besprochenen ethnographischen Karte des Asiatischen Russlands von Wenjukof, wie in dem Werke, dem sie beigegeben (Опытъ историко-этнограф. русскихъ въ Азіи, С. Петерб. 1873, стр. 38) unter dem Namen «Orokapen» (Орокапы) aufgeführt sind, ist oben schon erwähnt worden. Von früher erschienenen Werken bin ich auf diesen Namen nur noch in einem im Pariser «Bulletin de la Société géographique» (VI-e Sér. T. IV, Ann. 1872, Juillet—Décembre, p. 172) aus dem «Alaska Herald» mitgetheilten Aufsatze gestossen. Dieser zeichnet sich aber dadurch aus, dass er die Namen der drei Völker Sachalin's in einer Form wiedergiebt, welche sie kaum erkennen lässt: er wiederholt nämlich im Französischen genau die Schreibart, die der Verfasser des englischen Alaska Herald-Artikels wählen zu müssen glaubte, um die russischen Bezeichnungen dieser Völker getreu wiederzugeben. «Les indigènes de l'île de Sakhaline», heisst es im Bull. de la Soc. géogr., [illegible] trois races: les Hoelyakoe, les Orokappen et les Oyenne» (nach den russischen Benennungen: Giljaki, Orokapy(?) und Ainy). Kein Wunder daher, wenn Hellwald (Das Volk der Ainos. — Ausland, 1873, p. 913) in dieser Angabe keines der drei Völker erkannte, indem er in Bezug auf dieselbe sagt: «der Aino geschieht also keine Erwähnung, und es wird auch nicht gesagt, ob diese Namen etwa Aino-Stämme bezeichnen, was nicht wahrscheinlich ist». Was nun aber den seltsam entstellten Namen «Orokapy» bei Wenjukof und in den erwähnten nichtrussischen Artikeln betrifft, so möchte ich noch Folgendes bemerken. In Tichmenjef's «Geschichte der russ.-amerikan. Handelscompanie (Ист. обозр. образ. рус.-амер. комп. Ч. II, стр. 117) wird nämlich dieses Volk nach den ersten Berichten, welche die Compagnie von einigen ihrer nach Sachalin geschickten Beamten erhielt, unter dem Namen «Orokatys» oder «Orugatys» angeführt, in denen man leicht die oben besprochenen japanischen, resp. giljakischen Bezeichnungen «Orotsko, Orikatsko und «Orongs» erkennt. Aus «Orokatys» konnte nun bei flüchtiger Wiedergabe leicht auch «Orokapy» entstehen.

4) Schon von Gerbillon (s. Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 37); später von Klaproth (Orig. de la nat. des Mandchous, in den Mém. relat. à l'Asie, T. I, Paris 1824, p. 153; Asia polygl., p. 280) u. A.

5) S. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 167.

wie auch bei denen Sibirien's [1]), das Renntbier, namentlich das zahme, und jene Namen bedeuten daher sämmtlich nur so viel wie «Renntbiervolk» oder «Renntbierhalter». Zwar ist diese Bezeichnung gegenwärtig nur auf zwei der Amur-Völker anwendbar, auf die Orotschonen im äussersten Westen des Amur-Landes und auf die Oroken im äussersten Osten desselben, allein, dass sie sich auch bei einigen anderen erhalten, dient zum Beweise, dass diese Stämme ehemals auch Renntbiernomaden gewesen und erst nach dem Verlust ihrer Renntbiere durch Ansiedelung am Amur und an der Meeresküste zu Fischervölkern geworden sind [2]). Von welcher Seite ist aber diesen Völkern der Name «Renntbierhalter» zuerst gegeben worden? Denn dass sie sich selbst nach einem ihnen wenn auch noch so wichtigen Hausthiere genannt haben sollten, ist nicht wohl denkbar. Klaproth sagt ausdrücklich, dass die Mandshu mit dem allgemeinen Namen «Orotschon» alle übrigen Tungusen belegen [3]). Für den mandshurischen Ursprung dieses Namens spricht in der That der Umstand, dass er nur unter den Tungusen des Amur-Landes vorkommt und den Russen nicht eher bekannt wird, als bis sie einen renntbierhaltenden tungusischen Stamm kennen lernen, der unter mandshurischer Herrschaft stand, die jetzigen Orotschonen des oberen Amur-Landes, was verhältnissmässig spät geschah [4]). Dass dieses letztere, den Mandshu nahe genug wohnende, ihnen bis vor Kurzem tributpflichtige und noch heutzutage Renntbiere haltende Volk einen allgemein üblich gewordenen mandshurischen Namen erhielt, ist leicht verständlich. Schwieriger gestaltet sich die Frage hinsichtlich der Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, der Oltscha und Orotschen, für welche die Mandshu heutzutage andere Bezeichnungen haben, sowie hinsichtlich der Oroken von Sachalin, welche sie, wie oben erwähnt, erst in verhältnissmässig sehr später Zeit, im ersten Viertel des vorigen Jahrhunderts kennen lernten. Lassen wir zunächst die Orotschen, von denen später besonders die Rede sein wird, bei Seite und behalten wir jetzt nur die Oltscha und Oroken im Auge, so ist doch nicht anzunehmen, dass die Giljaken die bei ihnen für diese ihre nächsten Nachbaren üblichen Namen von den Mandshu entlehnt hätten? Noch weniger wahrscheinlich wäre andererseits die Annahme, dass sie selbständig zu derselben Bezeichnung für diese Völker gekommen wären, welche die Mandshu den Orotschonen geben, zumal dieselbe auch ihrer Etymologie nach nicht giljakischen, sondern tungusischen Ursprungs ist. Nach alledem glaube ich die einzige

1) A. Schiefner, Alex. Castrén's Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre, nebst kurz. Wörterverzeichniss, St. Petersburg 1856, p. 76, 109, 150.

2) Derartige Wandlungen im Leben der Völker sind aus der Geschichte Sibirien's in Menge bekannt. So besteht, um nur einige Beispiele namhaft zu machen, nach Wrangell und Matjuschkin die jetzige, allerdings nicht zahlreiche Bevölkerung am grossen und kleinen Anui aus Tungusen, Lamuten (Küsten-Tungusen), Jukagiren und Tschuwanzen, die sämmtlich früher Renntbiernomaden gewesen sind, aber ihre Renntbiere zu verschiedenen Zeiten durch Seuchen oder Wölfe eingebüsst und sich darauf an den genannten Flüssen als Fischer und Jäger niedergelassen haben. Врангель, Путеш. по Сиб. и Ледов. морю, С.-Петербургъ 1841, ч. II, стр. 7, 28, 138, 173).

3) Asia polygl., p. 289. Fürst Kostrof Сборникъ Туруусовъ, прим. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. IV, 1857, стр. 41) gab neuerdings an, dass die Mongolen die Tungusen «Orotschonen» oder «Orontschonen» nennen; allein nach Klaproth (l. c.) ist ihr Name bei den Mongolen «Chum-nojon». Jedenfalls ist die Bezeichnung Orotschon nicht mongolischen Ursprungs.

4) Wir werden darauf weiter unten noch zurückkommen.

Lösung dieser Frage in der Annahme zu finden, dass diese Völker die ihnen noch zur Zeit, da sie fern von ihren jetzigen Wohnsitzen als Rennthiernomaden im Gebirge lebten, von den Mandshu oder deren Vorfahren ertheilte Bezeichnung acceptirten, oder doch wenigstens Fremden gegenüber sich zu eigen machten, so dass sie auch unter ihren späteren Nachbaren, den Giljaken, natürlich in etwas veränderter Gestalt, üblich wurde. In der That gaben mir die Oltscha auf wiederholte Nachfragen an, dass sie sich selbst mit diesem Namen bezeichneten[1], den ich übrigens auch zuerst von ihnen selbst hörte, da die Russen für sie eine andere, später zu besprechende Bezeichnung (Mangunen) haben. Glehn[2]) nennt auch die Oroken von Sachalin schlechtweg Oltscha, freilich ohne dabei zu erwähnen, dass dies der Name sei, den sie sich selbst beilegen. Da er aber nichts davon zu wissen scheint, dass auch die Mangunen (Oltscha) am Amur sich so nennen, und für diese vielmehr gelegentlich den eben erwähnten, russischerseits üblichen Namen gebraucht[3]), so wird er jene Bezeichnung Oltscha wohl selbst unter den Oroken gehört haben. Und dies kommt mir um so wahrscheinlicher vor, als die Oroken, wie oben schon angedeutet[4]) und wie auch ihre Sprache und ihr gesammter Habitus darthun, an den Oltscha ihre nächsten Verwandten haben, ja, wohl nur ein, vielleicht nicht einmal vor sehr langer Zeit, auf dem oben bezeichneten Wege vom Festlande nach der Insel hinübergewanderter Stamm der letzteren sind[5]). Gleich den Giljaken, gäbe es daher auch Amur- und Sachalin-Oltscha. Da jedoch die beiden Stämme, der auf dem Fest-

1) Er lautete in der Regel zwischen Öltscha und Öltza, so dass ich, diesem Mittellaute Rechnung tragend, den Namen eigentlich Öltscha schreiben müsste, was nur der Kürze wegen nicht geschieht.

2) Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, herausg. von Baer und Helmersen, Bd. XXV, p. 156 u. a.).

3) L. c. p. 197.

4) S. oben p. 20.

5) Nach Schmidt (Historisch. Bericht etc. — Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. XXV, p. 121) geben sie auch selbst an, mit den Oltscha zu einem und demselben Stamme zu gehören. Ganz falsch und nur tendenziös ist die von Nowelskoi in seinem posthumen Werke (Путешествіе Русск. морскаго офиц. на шхуне „Восторгъ" Россіи) unzählige Male (so p. 131—133, 156, 275, 293, 295, 299, 302, 305 u. a.) und in den verschiedensten Versionen wiederholte Behauptung, dass die Oroken von Sachalin Nachkommen von Tungusen des Udskoi-Gebietes seien. Veranlassung zu dieser Ansicht mag zunächst der Umstand gegeben haben, dass sie sich, gleich den letzteren, der Rennthiere bedienen, was bei keinem der übrigen Völker Sachalin's oder des unteren Amur-Landes der Fall ist. Sie passte aber ferner auch zu den annexionslustigen Absichten des Chefs der Amur-Expedition. Auf Grund derselben glaubte er die Oroken, als Emigrirte eines (wenn auch erst später) von den Russen in Besitz genommenen Landes, für russische Unterthanen erklären zu dürfen. So wurde sie weiter und weiter gesponnen; man glaubte sie bald aus den eigenen Angaben der Oroken herauszulesen, ja man meinte aus denselben sogar den Zeitpunkt entnehmen zu können, wann ihre Uebersiedelung stattgefunden habe. Doch lauten die darauf bezüglichen Behauptungen so verschieden, dass man aus ihnen deutlich ersieht, wie ein Jeder die Angabe erhielt, die er selbst als richtig voraussetzte; denn bald sollte es zu Anfang, bald zu Ende des XVI., bald zu Anfang und bald um die Mitte des XVII. Jahrhunderts geschehen sein, je nach dem, wie man sich den Zeitpunkt der Eroberung des Lena- und Udj-Gebietes durch die Russen dachte. Ja, man verstieg sich so weit, die Oroken von Sachalin sogar für ein Mischvolk zwischen Russen und Tungusen zu erklären, und zwar auf Grund sowohl ihrer Aeusserem, als auch wiederum ihrer eigenen Aussagen (l. c. p. 303, 306). Um endlich dem Ganzen die Krone aufzusetzen, hiess es endlich, dass die schon aus einer Mischung von Russen und Tungusen entstandenen Oroken auf Sachalin sich noch mit den Aino vermischt (p. 306) und bis an die Südspitze der Insel verbreitet hätten. In solchen und ähnlichen oben schon erwähnten Scheingründen (s. p. 74, Anm. 1) suchte Nowelskoi die Berechtigung zu seinem mit den Wünschen der damaligen Regierung nicht übereinstimmenden, aber jedenfalls kühnen, energischen und verdienstvollen Vorgehen im Amur-Lande und auf Sachalin.

lande verbliebene und der nach der Insel fortgezogene, seit der Trennung in ihrer Lebensweise völlig auseinandergegangen sind und zu den übrigen Differenzen, wie es nicht anders sein kann, gewiss auch sprachliche in vielleicht nicht geringerem Grade als zwischen manchen anderen tungusischen Völkern des Amur-Landes sich eingestellt haben, so bleiben wir dabei, die Sachalin-Oltscha als besonderes Volk mit dem Namen Oroken zu bezeichnen. Ist nun «Oltscha» der Name, den sich die Mangunen am Amur geben, und lautet ebenso auch derjenige, den sich die Oroken auf Sachalin beilegen, so ist die Entstehung der giljakischen Bezeichnungen Orongr oder Orongsch für jene und Orongta oder Oroko für diese leicht erklärlich. Von den Giljaken, die zuerst mit den nach Sachalin hinübergewanderten Oroken in Berührung traten, entnahmen dann auch ihre Nachbaren, die Aino, ihren ganz ähnlich lautenden Namen Orochko für dieses Volk, und den Aino verdanken wiederum die Japaner ihre Bezeichnung Orotsko für diese Rennthiernomaden. So glauben wir die seltsame Thatsache erklären zu können, dass den Oroken von weit entlegenen und ganz verschiedensprachigen Völkern, mit nur unerheblichen Modifikationen, eine und dieselbe Benennung ertheilt wird.

Sehr anders als mit den Oltscha und Oroken verhält es sich, glaube ich, trotz des nahe gleichlautenden Namens, mit den Orotschen des continentalen Küstengebietes, sowohl was den Gang ihrer allmählichen Ausbreitung, als auch was die Entstehung der für sie jetzt üblich gewordenen Bezeichnung betrifft. Bei ihrer weiten Meridianerstreckung, bis zu den Grenzen von Korea, bieten die Orotschen die Analogie mit den Aino, dass sie im südlichen Theile ihres Verbreitungsgebietes, in Folge der Berührung mit einem Culturvolke Ostasiens, den Chinesen, weit früher bekannt werden als im Norden. Südlich vom 46. Breitengrade, wo sich ihnen Chinesen, je weiter nach Süden, mehr und mehr beimischen, tragen sie bei diesen den Namen «Ta-dse» (Ta-tse, Ta-tsche und Ta-dshe), den gegenwärtig auch die Russen für sie angenommen haben[1]). «Ta-dshe» ist aber nach Klaproth[2]) nur aus «Ta-ta» entstanden, einer Bezeichnung, welche die Chinesen ursprünglich (vom IX. Jahrhundert an) den im Nordwesten von ihnen wohnenden mongolischen Völkern gaben, die jedoch später zu einem Collectivnamen wurde und auch auf die tungusischen Völker oder, wie Ritter sich ausdrückt, auf das Völkergemisch im Nordosten überging[3]). So heissen «Schui-tadshe», Wasser-Tataren, die Altvorderen der Mandshu bei den chinesischen Autoren, «Jupi-tatse», Fischhaut-Tataren, die in Fischhäute sich kleidenden Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, — vielleicht richtiger Fischhaut-Barbaren, da Ta-tse auch gleichbedeutend mit dem Chinesischen «Pe-tie», Barbar oder eigentlich Nordbarbar, sein soll[4]). In nähere Berührung traten aber die Chinesen mit den von ihnen jetzt schlechtweg als Ta-dse bezeichneten Süd-Orotschen wohl erst seit Installirung in China der jetzt herrschenden

1) S. oben p. 23.
2) Asia polygl. p. 263.
3) Vgl. Ritter, Asien, Bd. I, p. 276 ff.
4) Klaproth, l. c. p. 269; Ritter, l. c. p. 277.

Mandshu-Dynastie, die das Amur-Land ihrer bald frei-, bald unfreiwilligen Einwanderung und Ansiedelung öffnete.

Die Jesuiten-Missionäre, die zu Anfang des XVIII. Jahrhunderts auf Geheiss des Kaisers Kang-hi einen Theil des unteren Amur-Landes bereisten, wähnten die Meeresküste östlich vom Amur, welche sie selbst nicht besucht haben, von denselben Ketscheng (Golde und Oltscha) bewohnt, die sie am Amur kennen gelernt hatten[1]). Dem entspricht auch die Angabe in d'Anville's Atlas[2]), dass an der Meeresküste gegenüber der Insel Sachalin das Volk Ketscheng wohne, — eine Angabe, welche sich noch auf viel späteren russischen Karten wiederholt[3]). In der chinesischen Reichsgeographie der Tai-Tsing sind aber die Orotschen unter einem mandshurischen Namen, als «Kiyakla»[4]) oder, mit stärkerer chinesischer Entstellung, als «Go-khe-la»[5]) angeführt. Auch Palladij nennt, nach mandshu-chinesischen Quellen, unter den tributpflichtigen Völkern der Provinz Girin die «Kjakala» und bezieht diesen Namen auf die Ta-dse der Meeresküste[6]). Von den Golde am Ussuri wurde mir dieses Volk wiederholentlich mit dem gleich wiederzuerkennenden Namen «Käkar», einmal aber auch nur ganz allgemein und unbestimmt als «Lamuka» (Seebewohner) bezeichnet. Merkwürdig, dass jener Name für die Orotschen auch unter den Giljaken üblich ist. Schon Mamia Rinsô erfuhr während seines Aufenthaltes unter den Sachalin-Giljaken von einem Volke «Kiakkara», das auf dem gegenüberliegenden Festlande wohne[7]), und sah später, als er selbst das Festland betrat, in der Bai Taba Fahrzeuge derselben, die von Weitem, wie er meinte, aus der Nähe von Kôrai (Korea) kamen[8]). Middendorff hörte bei den Giljaken am Ochotskischen Meere von einem Volke «Kjächkal», das am Amur und jenseits desselben wohne[9]). Ein in der Geographie des Amur-Landes für seine Mittel sehr gut bewanderter Giljake aus Ytkyrn im Tymy-Thale, der viele Handelsreisen nach dem Festlande ausgeführt hatte und die Aino- und Oltscha-Sprache kannte, nannte mir, neben anderen, mir schon bekannten Völkern auf dem Continent, auch die «Käkal», die an der Meeresküste von der Bai de Castries ab südwärts wohnen sollten. Oben ist auch schon mehrfach eines an der Ostküste Sachalin's gelegenen, gegenwärtig von Giljaken und nebenbei von Oroken bewohnten Dorfes erwähnt worden, das nach jenem Volke den im Uebrigen giljakischen Namen «Käkr-wos»[10]) trägt. Welchem Umstande es diesen Namen zu verdanken hat, darüber soll später

1) Du Halde, Descrp. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, pag. 12.

2) Nouv. Atlas de la Chine. Carte 1-e (1731) et 18-e (1733).

3) So namentlich auf der vom Kriegstopograph. Depot herausgegebenen Karte von Poanjakof: Генералная карта Азіатской Россіи. (1823 г.

4) Vrgl. Ritter, Asien, Bd. III, p. 554.

5) Pauthier, Chine moderne, I. partie, p. 168.

6) Арх. Палладій, Лорокм. зап. о пр. Кит. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По отд. Геогр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 399; сравн. Географическое Описаніе Маньчжуріи Русск. Геогр. Общ. Т. VII, 1871, Отд. II, стр. 93, 122.

7) Tô-tats ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

8) L. c. p. 171. Siebold sucht, durch zufällige Lautähnlichkeit verleitet, für diesen Namen eine weit abliegende Erklärung, in dem er sagt «Kiak kara» erinnere an die Bergkirgisen, Kara genannt, d. i. die Schwarzen (l. c. p. 199).

9) Reisebericht, im Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. IV, p. 238; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. IX, 2. Abth., p. 810.

10) «Wos» heisst im Giljakischen «Dorf».

eine Vermuthung geäussert werden. Bleiben wir zunächst noch beim Namen Käkal oder Käk(a)r stehen, so möchte ich daraus, dass er bei den Giljaken ganz ebenso wie bei den Golde und, mit geringer Modifikation, auch bei den Mandshu lautet, den Schluss ziehen, dass die ersteren ihn von den letzteren entnommen haben, nicht umgekehrt. Denn die Golde sind den Orotschen auf der ganzen Linie vom Chongar bis zu den Ussuri-Quellen unmittelbar benachbart, sie stehen mit einander in vielfacher Beziehung und Berührung, wie ich denn selbst wiederholentlich vorüberziehende Orotschen auf goldischem Gebiet angetroffen habe; zwischen den Giljaken und Orotschen hingegen breitet sich eine weite Strecke unbewohnten Landes aus, und die Berührungen dieser Völker mit einander können nur äusserst gering sein. So oft die Giljaken in Handelsinteressen längs der Westküste Sachalin's bis nach Sairanussi hinabziehen, so fremd und unbekannt bleibt ihnen die öde, nur sehr sparsam von Orotschen bewohnte Festlandsküste. Auch das nach Süden hin breiter werdende und im Winter in seiner Mitte nicht mehr gefrierende Meer schliesst die Berührung zwischen den Orotschen und den gegenüber wohnenden Sachalin-Giljaken — wie natürlich in noch höherem Grade auch den Aino — aus. Jenen Bezeichnungen nach scheinen also die Giljaken die Orotschen zuerst durch Vermittelung der Golde kennen gelernt zu haben. Nimmt man nun auch den Umstand in Betracht, dass die Orotschen noch heutzutage im südlichen Theile ihres Verbreitungsgebietes zahlreicher sind und nach Norden hin immer sparsamer werden, so drängt sich Einem der Gedanke auf, dass sie sich von Süden aus, etwa von den Grenzen Korea's und dem Quellgebiet des Ussuri längs dem Küstengebirge und der Seeküste allmählich nordwärts ausgebreitet haben. Ist dies aber der Fall, so können sie auch nicht ursprünglich Rennthierhalter gewesen sein, wie die Oltscha und Oroken, sondern man hat sie sich gleich als einfache Jäger und Fischer zu denken, wie sie es noch sind. Allein, wie liesse sich alsdann ihr jetziger, das gerade Gegentheil davon besagender Name erklären?

Bekanntlich lernte man die Orotschen europäischerseits zuerst unter diesem Namen kennen, und zwar durch La Pérouse, der mit ihnen im Jahre 1787 in der Bai de Castries in Berührung kam [1]). Da er zugleich eine wenn auch kurze, doch anschauliche und anziehende Schilderung von denselben entwarf und man ihm überhaupt die erste Kenntniss dieser Meeresküste verdankte, so fand auch der von ihm aufgebrachte Name «Orotschen» eine allgemeine Aufnahme. Ohne Zweifel hat ihn La Pérouse von den Eingeborenen der Bai selbst gehört. Man könnte somit meinen, dass dies die Bezeichnung sei, welche die Orotschen sich selbst geben und die ihnen daher auch mit Recht zukomme. Und doch ist dies keineswegs der Fall und der Name Orotschen nur fälschlich auf dieses Volk übertragen worden. Wie oben erwähnt [2]), hat nämlich die Bai de Castries, Dank ihrer geographischen Lage, eine gemischte Bevölkerung aus Oltscha und Orotschen. So war es auch schon zur Zeit, als La Pérouse diese

1) La Pérouse, Voyage autour du monde, publ. et rédigé par Millet-Mureau, T. III, Paris, an V (1797), p. 62 sq.

2) S. oben p. 23, 27.

Bai entdeckte. Das geht unzweifelhaft aus dem Umstande hervor, dass er dort Häuser und namentlich zahlreiche Grabmäler von ganz verschiedener Construction fand. La Pérouse meint zwar, dass die einen dieser letzteren den reichen, die anderen den armen Individuen eines und desselben Volkes angehört haben mögen, allein seinen Beschreibungen und Abbildungen nach[1]) erkennt man in denselben sogleich die grundverschiedenen Grabmäler der Oltscha und der Orotschen. Ich habe mich während meines zweiten Aufenthaltes in der Bai de Castries, im Sommer 1855, auch selbst vom Vorhandensein dort beider Arten von Grabmälern überzeugt. Es kommt mir daher nicht einen Augenblick zweifelhaft vor, dass La Pérouse sich über den Namen des Volkes nicht von Orotschen, sondern von Oltscha unterrichten liess. Von diesen musste er, da sie sich in der That selbst so nennen, eine Bezeichnung hören, die, bei der unter den tungusischen Amur-Völkern so häufigen Verwechselung der Consonanten *l* und *r*, ebensowohl Oltscha, wie ich sie gehört habe, als auch Or(o)tscha lauten könnte. La Pérouse hat übrigens den Namen Orotschen keineswegs auch auf die Bewohner der südwärts am Japanischen Meere gelegenen Küste ausgedehnt, da er dieselbe nach dem Besuch in der Bai de Castries nicht mehr berührt hat. Dies geschah erst später, russischerseits, als man Besitz vom Amur-Lande und vom ganzen Küstengebiet am Nordjapanischen Meere nahm. Und es geschah natürlich, indem man zwar einerseits die Verbreitung desselben Küstenvolkes bis zur Bai de Castries kennen lernte, andererseits aber von der gemischten Beschaffenheit der Bevölkerung in dieser Bai und von der Zugehörigkeit eines Theiles derselben zu den Oltscha, ja zum Theil auch von der Existenz dieses letzteren Namens für die sogenannten Mangunen in Unkenntniss blieb[2]). Und so ist auf das Küstenvolk am Nordjapanischen Meere mit nur geringer Modifikation der Name eines anderen, am Amur wohnhaften Volkes übertragen worden, ein Name, der ihm selbst und seinen nächsten Nachbaren im Süden wie im Norden, den Golde wie den Giljaken, vollkommen fremd ist. Es ist dies aber um so mehr zu bedauern, als dadurch einmal die Zahl der einander sehr ähnlichen, leicht zu Verwechselungen führenden Namen der Amur-Völker — Orotschonen, Oltscha, Oroken — noch um einen, Orotschen, vermehrt worden ist, und als ferner aus der Etymologie dieses Namens leicht Consequenzen über die ehemalige Lebensart und über die Ausbreitung des betreffenden Volkes gezogen werden können, welche auf dasselbe keineswegs anwendbar sein dürften. Denn dass die jetzt sogenannten Orotschen keine Rennthiernomaden gewesen sind und als solche auch nicht von Norden, sondern von Süden aus sich über das Küstengebiet des Nordjapanischen Meeres verbreitet haben, ist oben bereits dargethan worden. Am besten thäte man daher, den Namen Orotschen schlechtweg fallen zu lassen und durch einen anderen zu ersetzen, etwa durch den Namen Käkar, oder durch denjenigen,

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1) La Pérouse, l. c. p. 67; Atlas, Pl. № 53.

2) In meinen Reiseberichten an die Akademie habe ich auch selbst, und zwar im Druck mit unter den Ersten, den Namen Orotschon für das Küstenvolk am Nordjapanischen Meere gebraucht (Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersbourg, T. XIV, 1856, p. 43, 48, 188, 220; T. XV, p. 348 u. a.; Mél. phys. et chim. T. II, p. 350, 353, 452; Mél. russes, T. III, p. 83, 350 u. a.); ich that es sowohl weil sich dieser Name damals russischerseits schon festgesetzt hatte, als auch weil mir zu der Zeit der richtige Einblick in die oben geschilderten Verhältnisse noch fehlte.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

den sie sich selbst geben, wenn es nämlich einen solchen für alle Orotschen und Ta-dse von der Bai de Castries bis zum Ssuifun hinab giebt. Noch weiss man aber gar nicht, wie sich die Orotschen selbst nennen. Und aus diesem Grunde, wie um etwaigen anderen Missverständnissen zu entgehen, habe ich es auch hier vorgezogen, noch bei dem jetzt üblichen Namen zu bleiben und nur auf dessen Unzuträglichkeiten hinzuweisen.

Ehe ich weiter gehe, muss ich gelegentlich erwähnen, dass La Pérouse in der Bai de Castries ausser Orotschen auch einige Individuen eines anderen Volkes antraf, welches er nach Angabe der ersteren «Bitschi» nennt[1]). Sie sollten weiter südlich am Amur-Strome wohnen und waren jetzt nur besuchsweise, in vier Böten, die La Pérouse auch selbst hatte einlaufen sehen, nach der Bai de Castries gekommen. Ein Volk dieses Namens giebt es jedoch weder am Amur-Strome, noch überhaupt im Amur-Lande. Wohl aber sind mir dort zwei Localitäten dieses Namens bekannt: ein Fluss Bitschi, der in den Udyl-See mündet und dessen Boschnjak in seinem Reisebericht erwähnt[2]), und ein Dorf Bitschu an der Mündung des Gorin-Flusses in den Amur, das ich selbst im Winter 1855 besucht habe. Erwägt man, dass auf die Frage, aus welchem Volk die Individuen seien, leicht zur Antwort der Ort genannt wird, von dem sie kommen, so darf man annehmen, dass es Eingeborene der einen oder der anderen jener Localitäten waren, also entweder Samagirn (resp. Negda)[3]), oder Golde. Die ersteren sind jedoch keine eigentlichen Amur-Anwohner; auch liegt der Bitschi-Fluss nicht südlich, sondern nördlich von de Castries oder von Kidsi, bei welchem man auf dem Wege von der Bai den Amur erreicht; endlich wüsste ich auch nicht, dass Samägirn oder Negda solche weite Handelsreisen machten. Die Böte der Bitschi waren aber, nach der Beschreibung und Abbildung von La Pérouse zu urtheilen[4]), recht grosse, vielruderige, mit verschiedenen Handelswaaren, Zeugen, Cerealien etc. beladene Fahrzeuge. Sehr wahrscheinlich sind es daher Golde von Bitschu gewesen, die, auf einer Handelsreise nach Sachalin begriffen, nachdem sie vom Amur über den Kidsi-See bei Taba an's Meer gelangt waren, einen Abstecher nach der nahen Bai de Castries machten, um gelegentlich auch dort etwas Handel zu treiben. So lernen wir in den Bitschi von La Pérouse jene S'janta der Sachalin-Aino und Japaner, von denen oben die Rede gewesen, auf ihrer Fahrt nach der Insel kennen. Bekanntlich bestärkte ihre Erzählung von dem Wege, den sie zu machen hätten, um aus dem Amur nach der Bai de Castries zu gelangen, den berühmten Seefahrer in seiner Ansicht über die Unschiffbarkeit des sogen. Golfes der Tartarei. Indem er keine Ahnung von der Annäherung des Amur-Stromes durch den Kidsi-See an das Meer hatte und sich nicht anders denken konnte, als dass die Bitschi durch die Amur-Mündung in's Meer gelangten, bezog er ihre Angabe, dass sie die Böte eine Strecke weit über Land zu ziehen hätten, auf eine wenn auch nur schmale und niedrige Landenge

1) Nach französischer Schreibart «Bitchys» (La Pérouse, l. c. p. 62 u. s.).

2) Комаровъ, Экспед. въ Приамурье, изъ Мерен. Сборн. 1859, № 1, Ч. неоф., стр. 123).

3) S. was oben (p. 32) über die Anwohner des Udyl-See's gesagt worden. Nach Boschnjak (l. c.) führt eine Winterstrasse vom Bitschi-Fluss zum Amgunj.

4) Voyage autour du monde, l. c. Atlas, Pl. № 62.

zwischen Sachalin und dem Festlande und zog daraus den Schluss, dass die vermeintliche Insel wenigstens zur Zeit der Ebbe durch Entblössung des Meeresbodens in eine Halbinsel sich verwandele [1]).

Im Vorhergehenden ist, zumal bei Besprechung der Oroken und Orotschen, so vielfach auch schon der Oltscha erwähnt worden, dass es jetzt, da von ihnen speciell die Rede sein soll, fast nur noch Einiges nachzutragen und zusammenzufassen giebt. Keines der Amur-Völker ist seit jeher so vielfach mit seinen Nachbaren, sowohl den ober- wie den unterhalb am Amur wohnenden, verwechselt und zusammengeworfen worden, wie die Oltscha. Darum darf man von vornherein nicht erwarten, aus einer Vergleichung der ältesten historischen Nachrichten über dieselben irgend welche Verschiebung ihrer Grenzen ersehen zu können. Sowohl mandshu-chinesischer-, wie russischerseits werden sie in diesen Nachrichten nur unter gemeinsamen Namen meist mit den Golde, zuweilen auch mit den Giljaken aufgeführt, so dass weder die Süd-, noch die Nordgrenze ihres Gebietes zu erkennen ist.

In der allerunbestimmtesten Weise sind die Oltscha bei den alten Jesuiten-Missionären mit allen ihren Nachbaren zusammen unter dem Collectivnamen «Ketsching, Ketscheng» oder «Ketscheng-tatse» begriffen, indem dieser Name alle Völker am unteren Amur-Strome, von Dondon abwärts bis zu seiner Mündung, ja auch die Bewohner der Sachalin gegenüber liegenden Meeresküste bezeichnen sollte [2]). Eine schon etwas beschränktere und bestimmtere Bedeutung und richtigere Form hat jener mandshurische Name in der 1722 verfassten Schrift des Chinesen U-tschen [3]): sein Volk «Cheidsin» oder «Chädshen» am unteren Amur reicht nämlich nicht mehr bis an die Mündung desselben, wo vielmehr ein anderes Volk, die Fei-ja-cha (Giljaken) [4]), seine Wohnsitze hat. Noch um etwas präcisirter, wenngleich immerhin collectivisch, erscheint er in der Reichsgeographie der Tai-Tsing, insofern dort ausser den Giljaken auch das Volk an der Meeresküste, die Orotschen, unter besonderem Namen (Kiyakla) aufgeführt wird. Nur finden wir ihn dort, nach Ritter's Wiedergabe [5]), mit der chinesischen Bezeichnung für die tungusischen Völker der linken unteren Amur-Zuflüsse combinirt, als «Kilerchadshi». In der vom Archimandrit Palladij ebenfalls nach mandshu-chinesischen Quellen gegebenen Aufzählung der ehemals nach Girin tributpflichtigen Völker sind endlich auch die Kiler abgetrennt, und so bleibt der Name Chädshä oder Cheidsin, wie der Autor meint [6]), nur auf die Golde, oder, wie ich hinzufügen muss, auf die Golde und Oltscha beschränkt, denn

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1) La Pérouse, l. c. p. 72.

2) Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin. T. IV, p. 7, 12, 13 u. a. Nach französischer Schreibart: «Ketchinge» etc.

3) Uebersetzt von Wassiljef: Зап. о Инокрыт (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XII, 1857, стр. 90—93).

4) Wenigstens zum grössten Theil; s. oben p. 101.

5) Erdk. von Asien, Bd. III, p. 444.

6) Палладій, Дорожн. зап. за путь отъ Пекина до Благовѣщенска (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По Общ. Геогр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 399).

für die letzteren giebt er keinen besonderen mandshu-chinesischen Namen und unterscheidet sie auch überhaupt in keiner Weise von den ersteren. Dass in der That beide Völker mandshu-chinesischerseits unter dem erwähnten Namen verstanden werden, unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Hinsichtlich der Golde bedarf es kaum einer weiteren Erörterung. Schon die Jesuiten-Missionäre geben an, dass das Volk Ketscheng mit dem Dorfe Dondon am Amur beginne; dieses Dorf existirt aber noch unter demselben Namen, und von ihm abwärts breiten sich die Golde noch beinahe über zwei Breitengrade am unteren Amur aus. Es sind dies die unteren oder, wie ich sie schon im ersten Bande dieses Werkes unterschieden habe, unterhalb des Geong-Gebirges, das in der Nähe von Dondon an den Amur ausläuft, wohnenden Golde, die von den oberhalb, am Ussuri wohnhaften manche dialektische Verschiedenheiten zeigen und den Oltscha in sprachlicher Beziehung weit näher stehen als die letzteren[1]). Dass auch die Oltscha denselben Namen bei den Mandshu tragen, erfuhr ich von ihnen selbst: der mehrfach erwähnte, vielgereiste Oltscha in Tyr, dem ich manche schätzenswerthe Auskunft verdanke, theilte mir mit, dass seine Landsleute von den Mandshu «Chydsha» genannt werden. Diese kleine Modifikation desselben Namens verrieth mir auch deutlich seinen Ursprung. Denn «*chydji*» oder «*chydshi*» bedeutet in der Oltscha-Sprache «unterhalb» oder «stromabwärts». Ähnlich wird es wohl auch im Goldischen lauten, welches wiederum dem Mandshu am nächsten steht. «*Chydshi-nei*» würde also in der Oltscha-Sprache nur so viel wie «Leüte von unterhalb» bedeuten, und daraus dürften alle jene oben angeführten Modifikationen dieses Volksnamens bis zu den Ketscheng der Jesuiten-Missionäre entstanden sein. Den Mandshu waren zur Zeit der russischen Kriegszüge am Amur, des Kaisers Kang-hi und der Reise der Jesuiten-Missionäre die unteren Amur-Völker noch sehr fremd. Nur wenn Angehörige dieser Nationalitäten selbst nach Ninguta kamen, brachten sie, um die Erlaubniss zum Handeln zu erlangen, der mandshu-chinesischen Obrigkeit einen bestimmten Tribut in Pelzwerk dar, wie es zu meiner Zeit die Oltscha und Giljaken in Ssan-ssin auch thaten. Von Dondon abwärts hatten die Golde auch nicht die mandshurische Haartracht[2]), die von den Mandshu durch ganz China eingeführt worden ist, — was den besten Beweis liefert, dass die von da ab wohnenden Völker des unteren Amur-Landes nicht direkt unter der mandshu-chinesischen Herrschaft standen, gleich wie zur Zeit meiner Reisen noch die Oltscha, Negda, Giljaken und nördlichen Orotschen. Nach alledem ist es verständlich, wenn die Mandshu diese ihnen noch so fremden und unbekannten Völker schlechtweg nur mit einem ihrer geographischen Lage entnommenen Collectivnamen, als das «untere oder unterwärts (am Amur) wohnende Volk» bezeichneten, — eine Bezeichnung, die später, nachdem sie die Giljaken und Orotschen als besondere Völker kennen gelernt und benannt hatten, auf die Golde und Oltscha, denen sie zuallererst galt, beschränkt ward.

Gleichwie von mandshurischer Seite, so werden auch in den ältesten russischen Nach-

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1) Vrgl. z. B. auch die im I. Bande dieses Werkes, bei Abhandlung der einzelnen Säugethiere und Vögel des Amur-Landes angeführten Thiernamen.

2) Du Halde, l. c. p. 12; U-tschen, s. Wassiljef, l. c.

richten die Oltscha unter gemeinsamem Namen mit den Golde aufgeführt, als ein Volk, das Pojarkof «Natken», Chabarof «Atschanen» nennt[1]). Der erstere Name ist oben schon von der tungusischen Bezeichnung für die Golde abgeleitet worden, und in dem letzteren glaube ich den Namen «Oltscha» wiederzuerkennen, den sich dieses Volk selbst giebt. Der von Plath[2]) ausgesprochenen Ansicht, dass «Atschani» und «Ketschen» ziemlich dasselbe Volk sei, kann ich nicht beistimmen. Daraus würde folgen, dass Chabarof diesen Namen den Mandshu entlehnt habe. Allein da «Ketschen» selbst nur eine von den späteren Jesuiten-Missionären entstellte Form für «Chädshä» oder «Chydsha» ist, so würde die russische Bezeichnung des Volkes in diesem Falle etwa Chädsheny lauten, was mit jener Chabarof'schen, mit Ausnahme der gleichgültigen Endsilbe, nichts gemein hat[3]). Aus «Oltscha» folgt hingegen, wie oben schon bemerkt, die russische Form «Altschany» und also auch «Atschany», wie man sie bei Chabarof findet, ganz von selbst. Ist unsere Deutung richtig, so läge in der Nachricht Chabarof's auch die älteste Erwähnung des Namens Oltscha, wenngleich in einer etwas entstellten Form und mit Ausdehnung desselben auch auf die südlichen Nachbaren der Oltscha, die Golde.

Die erste Unterscheidung der Oltscha von den Golde und damit auch die erste Erwähnung derselben unter besonderem Namen findet sich in Iakinf's Statistischer Beschreibung des Chinesischen Reiches[4]). Bei Besprechung des Amur-Stromes heisst es daselbst, dass vom Ussuri ab bis zur Mündung drei Völker an demselben wohnen, die «Jant[5]), Orlik und Giljaken», über die auch manche treffende und charakteristische Einzelheiten mitgetheilt werden. Da wir in den ersteren schon die Golde, nach ihrer giljakischen Bezeichnung, kennen, so unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass unter «Orlik» die Oltscha gemeint sind. Laut Iakinf's eigener Angabe[6]) sollte, da er bekanntlich selbst nicht am Amur gewesen ist, die oben erwähnte Beschreibung desselben in seinem Werke nach den Erzählungen chinesischer Kaufleute und einer chinesischen

1) Der dritte unter den alten russischen Kosakenführern, der sie persönlich kennen lernte, Stepanof, zählte die Oltscha und Golde schlechtweg zu den Giljaken, worüber s. oben p. 118.

2) Die Völker der Mandschurey, Bd. 1, Göttingen 1830, p. 83.

3) Neuerdings ist bei russischen Schriftstellern auch wiederholentlich von einem Volke «Chodsenys» und «Chodshenys», worunter namentlich Ussuri-Golde zu verstehen sind, die Rede: so bei Maack (Путешеств. на Амуръ, С. Петерб. 1859, стр. 139 и др.; Путеш. по долинѣ р. Уссури, С. Петерб. 1861, стр. 9 и др.), Brylkin (Краткій очеркъ о туземн. Уссурійскаго края. — Лѣт. Сѣв. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. VII, 1861, Смѣсь, стр. 4 и др.) u. A. Mit welchem Rechte, werden wir später sehen. Gleichwie Plath, identificirt dabei auch Maack (in seinem erstgenannten Werke, s. a. O.) die «Chodsengs» (Хозенгъ) mit den Atschony (Ачоны, sic!) Chabarof's, indem er den letzteren Namen nur für eine Entstellung des ersteren hält. Als Gründe dafür giebt er an, dass die angeblichen Wohngebiete beider zusammenfallen und dass er nirgends am Amur von einem Volke «Atschonen» gehört habe. Wie hinfällig aber diese Gründe sind, lässt sich schon daraus ersehen, dass er die nur von Fischfang lebenden «Atschanen» Chabarof's weit hinauf, oberhalb des Ussuri versetzt, wo zu jener Zeit die ackerbauenden Djutscheren wohnten. Dort will er auch die Spuren von Chabarof's Winterfeste, Atschanskoi gorod, gefunden haben, und zwar auf dem steilabfallenden Bergvorsprunge Kyrma, also am rechten Amur-Ufer, während Chabarof (Лопоазн. къ актамъ истор. Т. III, стр. 364) ausdrücklich sagt, dass er die Festung am linken Ufer erbaute.

4) Статистическое Описаніе Китайской Имперіи. Ч. II, С. Петерб. 1842, стр. 222—224.

5) Auf Seite 220 des genannten Werkes heissen sie gelegentlich auch «Ante».

6) L. c. p. 224, Прим. (**).

topographischen Karte entworfen sein. Ich muss gestehen, dass mir diese Angabe, nach den angeführten Völkernamen zu urtheilen, mindestens fraglich erschien. Neuerdings hat Middendorff in der That nachgewiesen, dass jene Nachrichten über den Amur keineswegs aus chinesischer, sondern aus russischer Quelle stammen, indem Iakinf den nur handschriftlich vorhandenen Bericht des Läuflings Gurij Wassiljef ausgebeutet hat, der nach Ladyshenskij zwischen den Jahren 1815 und 1826 wiederholentlich im Amur-Lande gewesen und den Strom bis zu seiner Mündung hinabgeschifft ist[1]). Die ziemlich ausführlichen Mittheilungen Middendorff's aus Wassiljef's Bericht stellen die Sache ausser allen Zweifel. Aus den Benennungen, die Letzterer den unteren Amur-Völkern ertheilt, lässt sich aber zugleich ersehen, dass er sich einige Zeit unter den Giljaken aufhielt und von ihnen manche Auskunft über ihre näheren und ferneren Nachbaren erhielt. Denn «Jant» ist, wie schon mehrmals erwähnt, die Bezeichnung, welche die Giljaken den Golde geben und die bis dahin, und auch später, nirgends, sei es in russischen, oder in chinesischen Nachrichten über das Amur-Land vorkommt[2]). Daraus lässt sich schon vermuthen, dass auch der Name «Orlik» oder «Orlich», wie ihn Middendorff nach Wassiljef schreibt, desselben Ursprungs ist. Und in der That glaube ich ihn für eine im Munde eines russischen Läuflings sehr verständliche Entstellung der giljakischen Bezeichnung «Orongr» oder «Orongsch» für die Oltscha halten zu dürfen[3]). Trotz der verschiedenen Bezeichnungen für die drei am unteren Amur wohnhaften Völker, giebt Wassiljef doch nichts an, wodurch sie sich, sei es im äusseren Habitus, sei es in der Lebensart, oder in der Sprache u. s. w., von einander unterscheiden. Ja, er verwechselt sogar zum Theil ihre Wohngebiete, indem er die Jant nur vom Ussuri bis zum Dondon-Fluss, von dort abwärts bis Zikdochi, das oberhalb der Gorin-Mündung liegen soll[4]), die Orlik und noch weiter unterhalb bis zur Amur-Mündung die Giljaken wohnen lässt. Dieser Abgrenzung zufolge wären die Jant Wassiljef's nur die oberen, oberhalb des Geong-Gebirges wohnenden Golde und die Orlik die unteren Golde, während die Oltscha mit den Giljaken zusammengeworfen sind. Dies Alles bestärkt mich in der Ansicht, dass Wassiljef jene Bezeichnungen für die unteren Amur-Völker nur nachträglich von den Giljaken erfragt und in seiner Weise irrthümlich gedeutet hat.

Erst als man in den 50er Jahren russischerseits wieder an die Besitznahme des Amur-Landes ging und von den Giljaken an der Amur-Mündung stromaufwärts vorrückte, lernte man die sprachlich von ihnen so ganz verschiedenen Oltscha unterscheiden, obwohl sie, wie wir

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1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 138 ff. Vrgl. auch oben p. 80, 81.

2) Wenn Iakinf angiebt, am Amur unterhalb der Ussuri-Mündung wohnten Tungusen, die von den Russen «Jante genannt würden, so erklärt sich dies dadurch, dass er selbst aus den Aussagen eines Russen schöpfte und sich so zu jenem Ausspruch berechtigt glaubte. In Wassiljef's Bericht, so weit ihn Middendorff mittheilt, kommt nichts Aehnliches vor.

3) Sgibnef (Awypex. Jurne.. — Apeun. u nov. Poccia, T. III, 1870, стр. 319) bezieht den Namen «Orlik» auf die Golde; seltsamerweise meint er, diese würden von den Mandshu so genannt, weil sie die Adler hoch schätzten und häufig welche in Käfigen gefangen hielten. Nun ist allerdings «Orjol», dimin. «Orlik», das russische, keineswegs aber das Mandshu- oder das Golde-Wort für «Adler»!

4) Gegenwärtig giebt es dort keinen Ort dieses oder eines ähnlichen Namens.

gesehen, meist auch später, und zwar bald, in Folge collectiver Auffassung des Namens Giljaken, mit diesen und bald mit den ihnen stammverwandten Golde verwechselt wurden [1]). Der Name, der sich russischerseits für sie festsetzte, lautete «Mangunen», was jedoch nur so viel bedeutet wie «Amur-Leute», denn «Mangu» heisst bei den Oltscha, Golde und Orotschen der Amur-Strom. Dieser Bezeichnung der Oltscha begegnet man auch anderwärts und schon früher, namentlich beim japanischen Reisenden Mamia Rinsô, nur dass er bei der Namensableitung die Sache gewissermassen umkehrte. Als er nämlich zu den Oltscha am Amur kam, gewann er die Einsicht, dass dieselben nur von den Aino und Japanern S'janta genannt würden, eigentlich aber «Mankô» hiessen, und meinte nun, dass in Folge dessen auch der Strom, der durch ihr Land fliesse, denselben Namen trage [2]). Wie leicht man in der That zu der irrthümlichen Ansicht gelangen kann, dass dies der Name sei, den sich das Volk selbst gebe, davon habe ich mich selbst zu wiederholten Malen überzeugen können. Von Oltscha wie von Golde erhält man nämlich nicht selten auf die Frage, wer sie seien, zur Antwort: «*вы Mangu-nei*», resp. «*Mangu-nai*», womit sie jedoch nur sagen wollen, dass ihr Wohnort am Amur und nicht an einem seiner Nebenflüsse liege. In demselben Sinne werden beide Völker bisweilen auch von den Orotschen nur schlechtweg als «Mangu-nai», Amur-Leute, bezeichnet, wogegen diese umgekehrt die Orotschen «Lamuka», Meeresanwohner, nennen [3]). So ist der Name Mangunen einer unter den Eingeborenen des Amur-Landes gebräuchlichen Bezeichnung entlehnt, die weder ein Volksname überhaupt ist, noch auch den Oltscha allein zukommt [4]).

Uebrigens ist dieser Name unter den Russen, in Folge ihrer oben erwähnten mangelhaften Unterscheidung des betreffenden Volkes, immer noch wenig eingebürgert. Ich habe ihm daher in diesem Werke durchweg den Namen Oltscha vorgezogen, den sich das Volk gegenwärtig selbst beilegt. Dass dem so ist, unterliegt keinem Zweifel: ich habe mich davon gleich auf meiner ersten Reise durch das Oltscha-Gebiet, im Winter 1855, überzeugt [5]). Durch diesen Namen, dessen Etymologie oben bereits besprochen worden [6]), gewinnen wir einen Einblick in die Vorgeschichte der Oltscha, indem es Dank demselben mehr als wahrscheinlich wird, dass sie ehemals als Rennthiernomaden in den westwärts gelegenen Gebirgen gelebt haben, gleichwie ein Stamm derselben, die Oroken, es noch heutzutage auf Sachalin thut, und erst durch den Verlust ihrer Rennthierheerden zur Niederlassung am Amur-Strom und zum Fischerleben gedrängt worden sind. Aehnlich ist es ja, im Grossen wie im Kleinen, auch manchen tungusischen

1) S. oben p. 26.

2) Tô-tats ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 178).

3) Ebenso erzählt Korsun (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. IX, X, Иркутскъ 1867, стр. 379), dass die am Ussa, einem Nebenfluss des Ussuri, wohnenden, von der Meeresküste herangewanderten Orotschen sich selbst «Lamukan» nennen und auch von den Chinesen so genannt werden, was hingegen von den Orotschen am Biki nicht gilt, — offenbar, meine ich, aus dem Grunde, weil diese nicht vor ihren Augen von der Seeküste gekommen, sondern schon alte Bewohner des Binnenlandes sind.

4) Aus «Mangunen» ist dann auch «Manguten» gemacht worden; so bei Fr. Müller, Allgem. Ethnographie, Wien 1873, p. 243.

5) S. meinen Reisebericht, im Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. T. XIV, p. 188; Mél. phys. et chim. T. II, p. 481.

6) S. oben p. 132 ff.

Stämmen Sibirien's ergangen. Hinsichtlich der Oltscha kann ich aber noch hinzufügen, dass, wie weit ihnen dieses Ereigniss auch zurückliegen mag, die Erinnerung an dasselbe sich bis auf den heutigen Tag in ihren Sagen erhalten haben soll.

Anknüpfend an die oben erwähnte Bezeichnung der Oltscha, Golde und Orotschen für den Amur, muss ich hier im Vorübergehen auch die vielfach ventilirte Frage nach dem Ursprung des heute allgemein üblichen russischen Namens für diesen Strom berühren. Man hat verschiedene, zum Theil weit hergeholte Erklärungen dieses Namens gegeben. Bald sollte er einem kleinen rechten Nebenflusse des Amur, dem gegenüber der ehemaligen russischen Feste Albasin einmündenden Emur oder Emuri (Albasicha) entnommen sein[1]); bald wurde auf die mongolische Bezeichnung «Kara-muren» für den oberen Amur hingewiesen, welche dieselbe Bedeutung wie der mandshurische Name «Sachäli» oder «Sachalin-ula» (schwarzer Fluss) hat[2]); bald sollte sogar ein Gruss der Tungusen, mit dem sie den ersten Entdeckern des Stromes entgegen kamen und der in ihrer Sprache «*amur*», d. i. glücklichen Frieden! lautet, den Namen des Stromes veranlasst haben[3]). Alle diese Erklärungen sind schon aus dem Grunde völlig unhaltbar, weil sie sich auf den oberen Amur beziehen, der bei den Russen anfänglich gar nicht diesen Namen trug, sondern nach der übereinstimmenden Bezeichnung, welche ihm alle anwohnenden tungusischen Völker geben und die «Schilkar, Schilkir, Ssilkar, Ssilkir», auch «Ssirkal» lautet, ebenfalls Schilka, wie noch jetzt sein nördlicher Quellarm, hiess. Den Namen «Amur» erhielt der Strom anfangs nur in seinem unteren Laufe, bei Pojarkof vom Ussuri ab, als dessen Fortsetzung er angesehen wurde, während er oberhalb Schingal oder Schungal hiess[4]). Chabarof brauchte den Namen Amur schon von der Sungari-Mündung ab[5]), und noch später wurde er, wie Ritter richtig bemerkt, bis auf die Plateauhöhe, an den Zusammenfluss der Schilka und des Argunj verlegt[6]). Nur am unteren Amur darf man daher auch den Ursprung dieses Namens suchen. Und in der That ist er unverkennbar gleich in der ersten Nachricht zu finden, welche die Russen von diesem Strome erhielten. Als nämlich, wie Müller erzählt[7]), Tomskische Kosaken im Jahre 1639 an der Mündung des Ulja-Flusses in das Ochotskische Meer winterten, erfuhren sie durch Udj-Tungusen, dass «Mamur» der Name eines Flusses sei, an welchem die Natkani (Golde)[8]) wohnten, die den Amgunj-Tungusen (Negda) ihre Zobel gegen Silber, kupferne Kessel, Glaskorallen, seidene und wollene Zeuge u. drgl. Sachen abnähmen, welche sie selbst wieder von einem oberhalb

1) Іакинѳъ, Статистика, опис. Китайск. Имп. С. Петербургъ, Ч. II, 1842, стр. 5, Прим. (**), 216, Прим. Eine namentlich von russischen Schriftstellern gegenwärtig fast allgemein getheilte Ansicht.

2) Iakinf, l. c. p. 5.

3) Stuckenberg, Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. II, St. Petersburg 1844, p. 782; nach den Memoiren des Gener. d'Anvray, der die chinesische Grenze selbst bereist hat. Im Mongolischen heisst, Iakinf (l. c. p. 8) zufolge, «amor» still, friedlich.

4) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 302. Pobrosch's Amur-Reise, Band III.

Pojarkof's Bezeichnung «Schungal» für die später gebräuchliche «Schingal» weist deutlich auf die Entstehung derselben aus «Sungal, Sungari» hin. Nach dem Obigen wird es auch verständlich, wenn es in den alten russischen Nachrichten heisst, die Dauja falle in die Schilka (oberen Amur), diese in den Schingal (Sungari) und dieser endlich in den Amur.

5) Müller, l. c. p. 330.

6) Ritter, Asien, Bd. II, p. 296.

7) Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 303.

8) S. oben, p. 113.

wohnenden, Ackerbau, Viehzucht und Branntweinbrand treibenden Volke (Djutscheren, Mandshu) bezögen. Man erkennt leicht in der Erzählung der Udj-Tungusen den Namen wieder, welchen der untere Amur bei seinen tungusischen Anwohnern, den Oltscha, Golde, Negda, ja auch bei den Orotschen der Meeresküste trägt, und der «Mangu[1]), Mamgu»[2]), auch «Mamu»[3]) lautet. Andererseits ist es vollkommen begreiflich, dass die russischen Kosaken aus Mamur «Amur» machten[4]). So verdankt dieser Name seinen Ursprung den tungusischen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes. Wie die Etymologie ihrer oben erwähnten Bezeichnung für den Amur-Strom lautet, weiss ich nicht. Jedenfalls ist es aber nach dem Obigen ganz unzulässig, dieselbe für das Wort «*amur*» zu suchen und dieses gar für giljakischen Ursprungs zu halten, wie Fischer und nach ihm Ritter u. A. gethan haben[5]). Die Giljaken haben mit jenen Bezeichnungen des Amur-Stromes nichts zu thun: sie nennen ihn, wie wir schon sahen, ganz anders — «La» oder «La-erri».

War es bei den bisher besprochenen Völkern nicht wohl möglich, eine irgend erhebliche Veränderung oder Verschiebung der Wohnsitze in historischer Zeit wahrzunehmen, so verhält es sich anders mit den **Golde**. Zuerst lernen wir sie unter ganz anderen, mehr oder weniger collectiven Namen kennen, russischerseits als Natken und Atschanen, mandshu-chinesischerseits als Ketscheng, Chädshen, Cheidsin u. s. w. — Bezeichnungen, deren Ursprung, Etymologie und Umfang oben schon ausführlich besprochen worden sind. Sie haben sämmtlich auf die Amur-Gölde Bezug; die Golde vom Ussuri hingegen blieben den Russen anfänglich ganz unbekannt, da letztere auf ihren Kriegszügen im XVII. Jahrhundert diesen Fluss gar nicht berührten, und von den Jesuiten-Missionären, die im Jahre 1709 im Auftrage der Pekinger Regierung das untere Amur-Land besuchten, werden sie nur unter dem chinesischen Namen «Yupi-tatse», d. i. Fischhaut-Tataren oder Barbaren, erwähnt[6]), der nach dem eigenen Zeugniss der Chinesen[7]) auch auf die anderen Völker von ähnlicher Lebensweise am unteren Amur wie an der Meeresküste ausgedehnt wurde. Neuere russische Reisende, wie Maack und Brylkin, haben die Golde vom Ussuri und vom Amur oberhalb der Ussuri-Mündung, obgleich sich

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1) Nach Mamta Rinsô «Mankô»; s. oben, p. 144.

2) So bei den Negda; nach Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1524.

3) Wie Maack (Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 158) zuweilen auch gehört haben will.

4) Gleichwie sie z. B. später aus «Usuri», Ussura, Uschura, Schura u. drgl. machten.

5) Fischer (Sibirische Gesch. 1. Thl. p. 433; 2. Thl. p. 793) meinte, die Russen hätten den Namen «Amur» zuerst von den Tungusen am Udj und nachher von den Natken und Giljaken gehört, bei denen ein jeder grosse Strom «amur» heisse. Ritter (Erdk. von Asien, Bd. II, p. 298) sagt, offenbar dasselbe wiedergebend, «amur» oder «yamur» bedeute bei den genannten Völkern, wie bei den tungusischen Uferanwohnern am Ostmeer, «grosses Wasser». Das ist weder für die tungusischen Amur-Völker, noch für die Giljaken richtig. In der Sprache der letzteren würde grosses Wasser «*pilja tschach*» und grosser Fluss «*pilja erri*» heissen, welche letztere Bezeichnung sie dem Amur in der That zuweilen geben.

6) Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, T. IV, p. 10 sq.

7) U-tschen, Übers. von Wassiljef (Зап. о Маньчж. — Зап. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XII, 1857, стр. 90—95).

dieselben den Russen gegenüber ebenfalls Golde nennen, als besonderes Volk bezeichnen wollen, und zwar unter dem Namen «Chodsen» oder «Chodshen», in der Meinung, dass dies der Name sei, den sie sich selbst beilegen[1]). Man erkennt aber in demselben leicht die oben ausführlicher besprochene Bezeichnung, welche die Mandshu auch den weiter unterhalb am Amur wohnenden Golde und den Oltscha geben und die mit der von den Jesuiten-Missionären gebrauchten Bezeichnung «Ketscheng» identisch ist. Auch in sprachlicher Beziehung lässt sich eine solche Trennung der Ussuri-Golde von ihren Landsleuten am unteren Amur, so viel es mir scheint, nicht rechtfertigen. Dialektische Differenzen bestehen unter den Golde in den verschiedenen Theilen ihres weiten Gebietes ohne Zweifel, und namentlich werden die den Mandshu zunächst wohnenden auch sprachlich denselben am nächsten stehen, wie dies schon von den alten Missionären bemerkt worden ist[2]). Indessen so gross dürften die Differenzen nicht sein, um auf Grund derselben einen Theil der Golde unter besonderem Namen von den übrigen abzutrennen[3]), vollends in der von Maack angenommenen Begrenzung. Mir kam vielmehr die dialektische Verschiedenheit zwischen den Amur-Golde unter- und den oberhalb des Geong-Gebirges grösser als diejenige zwischen den letzteren und den am Ussuri oder auch oberhalb des Ussuri am Amur wohnenden vor. Ich sehe daher keinen Grund ein, diesen gegenwärtig allgemein angenommenen und eingebürgerten Namen auch nur theilweise durch einen anderen und zumal einen solchen zu ersetzen, der, in Folge seiner mehr oder weniger collectiven Auffassung, leicht zu Missverständnissen und Verwechselungen führen könnte.

Der Name «Golde» ist erst seit Kurzem bekannt. Im Druck kommt er vielleicht zum ersten Mal in meinem Reisebericht vor[4]). Ich fand ihn unter den wenigen Russen des Nikolajevschen und Mariinskischen Postens schon im Gebrauch. Dennoch ist er sicherlich nicht russischen Ursprungs, wie Maack[5]) und Brylkin[6]) zu glauben scheinen. Ich wüsste wenigstens durchaus nicht, wie die Russen von selbst auf einen solchen Namen, dessen Etymologie uns ganz unbekannt

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1) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, С. Петерб. 1859, стр. 145 и сдѣд.; его же, Путеш. по долд. р. Уссури, С. Петербургъ 1861, Т. I, стр. 9; Брылкинъ, Замѣч. о свойствахъ языка Ходзеновъ и Ходзенскій словарь (im Anhang zu Maack's letztgenanntem Werke); его же, Краткій очеркъ о гуасах. Уссурійск. края (Зап. Спб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Кн. VII, 1864, Смѣсь, стр. 1). Dieselbe, wie man aus dem Obigen ersieht, vielfach variirte Bezeichnung erkennt man auch in den «Khoudsongens», deren Fr. Müller in seiner Allgem. Ethnographie, p. 343, erwähnt.

2) Du Halde, l. c. p. 12.

3) Auch Wenjukof (Обозр. р. Уссури.—Вѣстн. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XXV, 1859, Отд. II, стр. 223; его же, Путеш. по окраинамъ Русск. Азіи и зам. о нихъ, С. Петербургъ 1868, стр. 86) spricht sich in diesem Sinne aus.

4) Datirt vom Nikolajevschen Posten, den 7. Mai 1855, vorgelegt der Akademie am 9./21. November desselben Jahres (Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. XIV, p. 188; Mél. phys. et chim. T. II, p. 431). Unabhängig von meinem Reisebericht, findet sich der Name Golde etwas später bei Permikin, in seinem «Путеводитель», по р. Амуру» (Зап. Спб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Кн. II, С. Петерб. 1856). So fremd war aber den Russen damals noch dieser Name, dass in der ohne mein Wissen angefertigten Uebersetzung meines Reiseberichtes, im Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1857 г. Кн. I, die Golde als «Золотое племя» (goldnes Volk) wiedergegeben wurden, wofür Hr. Romanof seltsamerweise mich selbst verantwortlich machte (Русское Слово, 1860, Май, Отд. III, стр. 36).

5) Путеш. по долд. р. Уссури, Т. I, стр. 9.

6) Зап. Спб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Кн. VII, 1864, Смѣсь, стр. 1.

ist, gekommen wären? Was ganz entschieden gegen den russischen Ursprung dieses Namens spricht, ist der Umstand, dass wir ihm ausser und früher als bei den Russen von ganz anderer, von japanischer Seite begegnen, wenn auch in einer auf den ersten Blick schwer wiederzuerkennenden Form. Schon auf Sachalin hörte nämlich Mamia Rinsô (1809) von einem Volke des Festlandes, «Kordekke» genannt; im Jahre darauf begegnete er einzelnen Individuen desselben, und zwar als Fremdlingen am Amur (Mankô) oberhalb Kidsi und in Deren, also im Oltscha-Gebiet, wohin sie des Handels wegen stromabwärts kommen. Er fand sie ganz wie die Santaner (Oltscha) gekleidet. Sie sind es, nach ihm, welche die bei den Smerenkur (Giljaken) so hoch geschätzten, aus aneinander gehefteten Eisenplättchen bestehenden Harnische verfertigen, von denen später die Rede sein wird; sie bauen Fahrzeuge für die Smerenkur u. s. w.[1]). Siebold ist zwar der Ansicht, dass die Kordekke «unbezweifelt die Korjaken» sind[2]), allein er lässt sich dabei offenbar nur durch eine zufällige Lautähnlichkeit bestimmen, denn wie kämen die weit ab, im Norden des Ochotskischen Meeres und auf Kamtschatka wohnenden Korjaken an den Amur-Strom? und was haben sie überhaupt mit den Amur-Völkern zu thun? Um sich die «Kordekke» Mamia Rinsô's zu erklären, braucht man sich vielmehr nur zu erinnern, dass die Japaner den ihnen fehlenden Laut *l* durch *r* ersetzen; restituirt man daher den ersteren und erwägt man zugleich die Verwandtschaft der Laute *k* und *g*, so erhält man für jenen Volksnamen «Koldekke» und «Goldekke». Und auf die Golde passt denn auch Alles, was oben nach Mamia Rinsô's Bericht über die Kordekke angeführt worden ist.

Diese Uebereinstimmung in den Bezeichnungen der Golde von japanischer und von russischer Seite weist auf einen gemeinsamen Ursprung derselben hin. Welches könnte aber dieser Ursprung sein? Am nächsten läge die Vermuthung, dass sie sich selbst so nennen. In der That bezeichneten sie sich mir gegenüber auf die Frage, wer sie seien oder wie sie hiessen, wiederholentlich als «*Goldé*». Dennoch will ich nicht behaupten, dass sie es auch untereinander thun. Es kann dies vielmehr nur eine von ihnen im Verkehr mit den Russen acceptirte Bezeichnung sein, gleichwie ja auch die Giljaken sich den letzteren gegenüber Giljak, unter einander aber Nib(a)ch nennen. Vielleicht dürfte der Ursprung dieses Namens ganz wo anders zu suchen sein. Mamia Rinsô hörte ihn jedenfalls nicht von den Golde, sondern während seines Aufenthaltes auf Sachalin, von den Giljaken. Den Russen blieb er anfangs, im XVII. Jahrhundert, als sie das Golde-Gebiet stromabwärts fahrend besuchten, noch fremd; erst als sie in den 50-er Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts an die Wiederbesitznahme des Amur-Landes schritten und von der Amur-Mündung aus vorgingen, indem sie zunächst unter den Giljaken sich festsetzten, tauchte unter ihnen der Name Golde für die früheren Natken und Atschanen auf. Diese Umstände führen schon zu der Vermuthung, dass der Name Golde

1) Tô-tsfs hi ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169, 172, 174, 194, 195).

2) L. c. p. 199.

in russischer und Kordekke in japanischer Version giljakischen Ursprungs sein könnte. Nun lautet zwar, wie schon mehrfach erwähnt[1]), die giljakische Bezeichnung für die Golde «Jant», allein fragt man die Giljaken nach den stromaufwärts von ihnen am Amur wohnhaften Völkern, so zählen sie dieselben in folgender Reihenfolge auf: «Orongsch, Jant, Tscholdok oder Tscholdoch[2]), Mandshu». Da nun die Wohnsitze der Golde unmittelbar an die der Mandshu stossen, so entfallen auf dieselben sowohl die Jant, wie die Tscholdok, indem jene offenbar die unteren, diese die oberen Golde, vielleicht vom Geong-Gebirge oder von Dondon an gerechnet, sind. Aus «Tscholdok» könnte aber, wie es mir scheint, leicht in japanischer Version «Kordekke» und in russischer «Golde» entstanden sein. Gleichwie also die Namen «Janty» oder «Anty» bei einigen russischen Schriftstellern[3]) für die Golde und «S'janta» oder «Santan» bei den Aino und Japanern, so dürften auch diese Bezeichnungen für dasselbe Volk, «Golde» und «Kordekke», ihren Ursprung giljakischer Vermittelung zu verdanken haben.

In causalem Zusammenhange mit der mehrfach erwähnten Differenz zwischen den unteren und den oberen Golde, die ihnen von mancher Seite sogar verschiedene Namen zugezogen hat, stehen die Veränderungen, die sich in historischer Zeit in der Umgrenzung ihres Verbreitungsgebietes zugetragen haben. Während gegenwärtig die Golde ein zusammenhängendes Gebiet einnehmen, das etwa von der Gorin-Mündung ab den Amur und den Ussuri-aufwärts fast bis zu den Quellen des letzteren und bis in den Sungari hinein sich erstreckt, ist dies zur Zeit, da wir die Golde zuerst kennen lernen, nicht der Fall gewesen. Als Pojarkof (1644), Chabarof (1651) und Stepanof (1655) ihre kühnen Kriegs- und Raubzüge den unteren Amur hinab ausführten, war die Strecke vom Sungari bis weit über die Ussuri-Mündung hinaus von den «Djutscheren» oder «Shjutscheren» und «Dshjutscheren», wie sie auch genannt werden, bewohnt, — einem Volke, das, ungleich den nur vom Fischfang lebenden Natken oder Atschanen, Ackerbau und Viehzucht betrieb[4]). An beiden Ufern des Amur-Stromes wie am unteren Sungari breiteten sich ihre zahlreichen, je 60 bis 80 Häuser zählenden Dörfer aus. Pojarkof lässt sie schon am oberen Amur, von der Dseja-Mündung an beginnen, Chabarof aber erst vom Sungari an. Wie weit sie sich den Amur abwärts erstreckten, lässt sich aus den genannten Berichten mit Genauigkeit nicht entnehmen, da in diesen die Entfernungen nur nach Tagereisen angegeben werden: nach Pojarkof reichten sie bis vier Tagereisen unterhalb des Ussuri, nach Chabarof, der die Ussuri-Mündung nicht bemerkte, 7—8 Tagereisen unterhalb des Sungari. Die Jesuiten-Missionäre, die diese Gegenden im Jahre 1709 besuchten, geben aber ausdrücklich an, dass Tondon das

1) S. oben, p. 118, 142, 143.

2) Auch Middendorff hörte bei den Giljaken am Ochotskischen Meere von einem am Amur wohnhaften Volke «Tschjoldón» (s. dessen Reisebericht, im Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. IV, p. 233; vgl. in den Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abth. p. 618).

3) Iakinf, nach Wassiljef; s. oben, p. 142.

4) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, 302, 320, 353; — Лопатин, въ актахъ истор. Т. III, стр. 53, 364, 524, Т. IV, стр. 82, 95; Сказ. о великой рѣкѣ Амурѣ и пр. (Сибирь, Сѣвер. Русск. о р. Амурѣ въ XVII. стол. — Вѣстн. Геогр. Общ. Ч. VII, 1853, Отд. II, стр. 18, 19).

erste Dorf der Ketscheng sei[1]). — offenbar das jetzige Dondon, mit welchem, wie wir oben sahen, die unteren Golde beginnen. Die Djutscheren schoben sich also am unteren Amur quer zwischen den Ussuri- und den (unteren) Amur-Golde vor, — ein Ackerbau, Viehzucht und manche ländliche Industrien betreibendes Volk zwischen halbwilden, ausschliesslich vom Fischfang und von der Jagd lebenden Stämmen. Von den russischen Kosaken und Freibeutern werden sie wiederholentlich als «chinesische ackerbauende Leute» (китайскіе пашенные люди) bezeichnet[2]). Es kann wohl keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass die Djutscheren ein Mandshu-Stamm waren, und zwar, wie schon der Name beweist, Nachkommen jener Jutschi, Njutschi, Dshurdschi, die im XII. Jahrhundert die Macht der Khitan stürzten und sich an deren Stelle zu Beherrschern des Chinesischen Reiches unter dem Namen der Kin erhoben, einer von den Stämmen, aus deren Vereinigung im XVII. Jahrhundert die Mandshu hervorgingen[3]). Aus ihrer Heimath am Sungari nordwärts vordringend, waren sie einerseits an den Amur oberhalb des Bureja-Gebirges gelangt, wo sie jedoch unter den zahlreicheren angesessenen Dauren nur wenig Fuss gefasst zu haben scheinen, wie man aus dem Umstande schliessen möchte, dass Chabarof z. B. sie dort gar nicht kennen gelernt hat; andererseits verbreiteten sie sich vom Sungari den Amur abwärts bis über die Ussuri-Mündung hinaus, wo sie in das Gebiet der Golde vordrangen. Man darf aus der oben hervorgehobenen Gleichartigkeit und Zusammengehörigkeit der Ussuri- und der Amur-Golde mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit den Schluss ziehen, dass sie in continuirlicher Verbreitung den Ussuri und einen grossen Theil des Amur unterhalb dieses letzteren, bis etwa zur Gorin-Mündung, inne hatten. Diese Continuität ihres Verbreitungsgebietes an beiden Strömen wurde durch das Vordringen der Djutscheren unterbrochen, und zwar entweder ganz, indem die Golde vor dem überlegenen Feinde sich zurückzogen, oder, was mir wahrscheinlicher dünkt, zum grössten Theil, indem die Zurückgebliebenen sich der Herrschaft der Djutscheren fügten, ihnen dienstbar wurden und sich ihrer Sitte und Lebensart anbequemten, wie sie es noch heutzutage den Mandshu und Chinesen gegenüber thun. Eine natürliche Folge davon war, dass die Golde von oberhalb Dondon und des Geong-Gebirges sich auch in sprachlicher Beziehung anderen Einflüssen als ihre unterhalb dieser Grenze wohnenden Landsleute ausgesetzt sahen, wodurch wohl zum grossen Theil jene sprachliche Differenz zwischen den oberen und den unteren Golde entstand, deren wir oben erwähnten.

Dieser Verbreitung der Djutscheren am Amur, weit in das Golde-Gebiet hinein, setzten die Kriegs- und Raubzüge der Russen ein unbeabsichtigtes Ende. Da die kühn vordringenden russischen Eroberer weder selbst mit dem Anbau des Landes sich abgaben, noch für eine regel-

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1) Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 7.

2) Сказ. о сиб. язык Амурск., l. c.

3) Klaproth, Descript. de la Chine sous le règne de la dynastie Mongole, trad. du Persan de Rachid-eddin, Paris 1823, p. 28; desselben, Mém. relat. à l'Asie, Paris, T. I, 1824, p. 449; Pfath, Die Völker der Mandsburey, Göttingen, 1830, I. Thl. p. 64; Ritter, Asien, Bd. II, p. 484, u. A. Uebrigens sprach sich schon Witsen (Noord en Oost Tartar. Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. p. 103; Ausg. 1705, p. 266) ganz in diesem Sinne aus. Desgleichen Gerbillon (Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Paris 1735, T. IV, p. 37) u. A.

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mässige Zufuhr von Lebensmitteln Sorge trugen, sondern ihren Unterhalt nur daher bezogen, dass sie die Dörfer und Aecker der Eingeborenen plünderten, so beschloss die chinesische Regierung, ihre ackerbauenden Völker vom Amur und unteren Sungari zurückzuziehen und dadurch die Russen dort gewissermaassen auszuhungern. Als Stepanof und Puschtschin im Frühling 1656 aus ihrer Winterfeste, Kossogirskoi Ostrog im Oltscha-Lande, wieder den Amur aufwärts fuhren, fanden sie die Djutscheren dort nicht mehr vor; eben so wenig am unteren Sungari: ihre Dörfer waren eingeäschert, ihre Felder unbestellt; kaum fanden sich einzelne Menschen — vermuthlich den Djutscheren dienstbar gewesene Golde — von welchen sie erfuhren, dass ein Abgesandter des chinesischen Kaisers, Namens Ssergudai, den Djutscheren den Befehl überbracht hatte, ihre Wohnsitze am Amur und unteren Sungari zu verlassen, die Häuser in Brand zu stecken, die Aecker zu verwüsten und an den Churcha, einen Nebenfluss des Sungari, überzusiedeln[1]). Diese Maassregel der chinesischen Regierung hatte in der That den Erfolg, dass der untere Amur und der Sungari von den russischen Freibeutern fortan nicht mehr heimgesucht wurden, allein sie schränkte zugleich die Ausbreitung der Mandshu (Djutscheren) ein und verwandelte weite, fruchtbare, angebaute Strecken am Amur und Sungari in Wüsteneien. Statt der ackerbauenden Djutscheren breiteten sich nun allmählich ichthyophage Golde am unteren Amur und Ussuri in dem von jenen verlassenen Gebiete aus. So stellte sich die durch die Djutscheren, wenn auch vielleicht niemals ganz unterbrochene Continuität in der Verbreitung der Golde am Amur und Ussuri wieder her; ja, so fassten sie auch Fuss am Sungari, an dem sie früher, wie es scheint, niemals heimisch gewesen sind. Die Nähe dort der Mandshu und Chinesen, besonders der letzteren, welche ihnen manche ihnen zum Bedürfniss gewordene Nahrungs- und Luxusartikel im Handel zutragen und denen sie sich auch möglichst zu assimiliren trachten, scheint sogar die Golde hauptsächlich an den Sungari gelockt zu haben, da sie dort gegenwärtig, den Nachrichten der Reisenden zufolge[2]), wenn auch auf das rechte Stromufer beschränkt, doch in verhältnissmässig ansehnlicher Zahl vorhanden zu sein scheinen. In dem ehemals von Djutscheren bewohnten Theile des Amur-Stromes hingegen traf ich, genau zwei Jahrhunderte nach ihrer Auswanderung, die Golde im Vergleich zu dem unterhalb Dondon gelegenen Gebiete und zum Ussuri nur in geringer Anzahl. Insbesondere überraschte es mich, an dem mächtigen, vielgetheilten, inselreichen Strome oberhalb der Ussuri-Mündung, wo er durch fruchtbare, am rechten Ufer hin und wieder von kleinen Gebirgen unterbrochenen Prairien hinfliesst, nur wenige und meist kleine Golde-Dörfer anzutreffen. Und obgleich die Insassen derselben ausschliesslich vom Fischfang leben, stösst man am Ufer des Stromes zuweilen noch auf einzelne Cerealienhalme. Das sind Thatsachen, die in den oben besprochenen Ereignissen der Völkerverbreitung in diesem Stromtheile ihre Erklärung finden.

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1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 353. 358; Λόνοιμ. κα ἀνταμ. ἀστρομ. T. IV, стр. 82. Im Originalbericht Stepanof's, am letzteren Orte, wie bei Müller heisst der Fluss, an welchen die Djutscheren versetzt wurden, Kurga; es ist jedoch nicht schwer, in demselben den bei Ssan-ssin in den Sungari mündenden Churcha (chines. Mu-tuan) zu erkennen.

2) Maximowicz, Barabasch: s. oben, p. 29.

Nach all' dem Obigen wird man, glaube ich, den Schluss berechtigt finden, dass wie nahe auch die Golde und Oltscha einander dort stehen, wo sie seit Jahrhunderten unter gleichen Verhältnissen neben einander wohnen, und wie oft sie auch mit einander verwechselt worden; wir uns doch die Geschichte ihrer ursprünglichen Ausbreitung im Amur-Lande sehr verschieden zu denken haben. Denn während die Oltscha ehemalige Rennthiernomaden sind, die aus den westwärts gelegenen Gebirgen nach Verlust ihrer Rennthiere in das Amur-Thal niedergestiegen und zu Fischern geworden sind, hat die Verbreitung der Golde in das Amur-Land höchst wahrscheinlich von Süden her stattgefunden. Die nahe Verwandtschaft derselben mit den Mandshu lässt vermuthen, dass ihre Heimath derjenigen dieser letzteren benachbart war, also ebenfalls am Fusse des Schan-alin- oder Tschang-pe-schan-Gebirges lag, und dass während die Mandshu von dort aus in dem Flussgebiet des Sungari sich ausbreiteten, die Golde nach dem Usuri hinabstiegen und diesen abwärts an den unteren Amur-Strom gelangten.

Von den drei noch übrigen Völkern des Amur-Landes, den Negda, Samagirn und Kile am Sur, fehlt es uns an allen historischen Nachrichten, um über etwaige Verschiebungen und Veränderungen ihrer Wohnsitze zu urtheilen. Da sie den Rennthier-Tungusen des Stanowoi-Gebirges näher wohnen und mit ihnen auch näher verwandt sind als die Amur-Stämme, so lässt sich wohl vermuthen, dass sie aus jenen Gebirgen des Festlandes, und zwar nachdem schon die Oltscha zum Amur-Strom ausgewandert waren, in die betreffenden Thäler des Amgunj, Gorin und Kur hinabgestiegen sind.

In den ältesten russischen Nachrichten werden die Negda nur schlechtweg als Tungusen vom Amgunj (Omut) bezeichnet[1]. Die erste Erwähnung ihres jetzt gebräuchlichen Namens, wenn auch in etwas anderer Form, finde ich im Bericht des Schiffslieutenants Kosmin über seine Arbeiten zur Aufnahme der Meeresküsten am Udj-Busen und auf den Schantaren. Da heisst es, der Priester Djatschkovskij habe, von seiner Amtsreise im Februar 1830 nach Udskoi Ostrog zurückgekehrt, erzählt, dass in Burukan bei der Ankunft russischer Leute das Gerücht sich verbreitet habe, ein russisches Schiff werde an die Tugur-Mündung kommen und alle umwohnenden Eingeborenen, wie Giljaken, «Negodanzens» u. s. w., müssten sich alsdann taufen lassen[2]. Middendorff, der die Negda am Nemilen aufsuchte, nennt sie «Nigidal» und «Nigidalers»[3], was aber, glaube ich, auch nur der Bezeichnung entnommen ist, welche die

1: Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 203. Siehe auch oben, p. 113.

2: Отчет 3 гг. бер. о Шелагорск. остр. за 1829, 1830 и 1831 гг. (Лет. Гидрогр. Департ. Морск. Министер. Ч. IV, С. Петербургъ 1848, стр. 38).

3: Bullet. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. IV, p. 297; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abthl. p. 821; Reise in den Norden u. Osten Sibir. Bd. IV, p. 1822 u. a. Er schreibt übrigens den Namen dieses Volkes auch «Nigidahl» und fügt hinzu, der Plural laute «Nigidattere».

Russen am Amur und in Udskoi Ostrog diesem Volke geben und welche «Neidalzy, Nigidalzy» und «Nischdalzy» lautet [1]). Schon diese Schwankungen der russischen Bezeichnung, Negedanzy und Nei- oder Nigidalzy, weisen darauf hin, dass das *l* nicht zum ursprünglichen Namen gehört, sondern nur russisches Anhängsel ist. Ein Mann dieses Volkes, den ich im Sommer 1855 im Dorfe Tyr am Amur traf, bezeichnete sich mir gegenüber als «Negda» vom «Anhuu». Denselben Namen habe ich wiederholentlich im Amur-Lande brauchen hören, ohne mir freilich gegenwärtig über die einzelnen Fälle genauere Rechenschaft geben zu können. Auch Middendorff giebt endlich auf der von ihm meist nach chinesischen Angaben zusammengestellten, unedirt gebliebenen Karte («Erster Versuch einer hydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges und seiner Ausläufer zwischen dem 45. und 62. Grade n. Br.») den zum Theil von Negda bewohnten See Orell unter dem Namen «Negda-Sees an [2]). Nach alledem scheint mir diese jedenfalls ursprünglichere Form vor der aus ihr abgeleiteten russischen Bezeichnung «Nigidalzen» und der von Middendorff gebrauchten «Nigidal» und «Nigidalen» den Vorzug zu verdienen. Fast möchte ich nach dem oben Angeführten glauben, dass «Negda» der Name ist, den sich das Volk selbst giebt, zumal ich mir sonst die Entstehung der russischen Bezeichnung gar nicht zu erklären weiss. Middendorff giebt freilich an, dass sie sich selbst «Ylkán» nennen [3]); sollte dies aber nicht vielleicht der Name sein, den ihnen ihre Nachbaren, die Tungusen am Tugur oder im Stanowoi-Gebirge geben? Der giljakische Name für die Negda lautet, wie ich mich durch wiederholte Nachfragen bei den Giljaken (z. B. Judin in Tebach u. a.) überzeugt habe, «Rhdy» und «Rhdyngus» [4]). Mit Hülfe desselben lässt sich, glaube ich, auch der Name dieses Volkes im Reisebericht Mamia Rinsô's wiedererkennen. Als der japanische Reisende im Dorfe Noteito unter Giljaken an der Westküste Sachalin's winterte (1809), wurden ihm verschiedene Völker ge-

1) Unter dem ersteren Namen erwähnt ihrer namentlich Orlof, in seinem Bericht vom Jahre 1818 an die Hauptverwaltung der Russisch-Amerikanischen Companie über seine Fahrt zum Orte Burukan am Tugur, wo er in Gesellschaft vieler Tungusen auch 20 Personen beiderlei Geschlechts aus diesem am Amguaj wohnhaften Volke antraf (П. Тихменевъ, Историческое обозрѣніе образованія Росс.-Америки. Кокн. Ч. II, стр. 62, Прим.). Dieselbe Bezeichnung, «Neidalzy», findet sich beständig bei Boschnjak (Зап. въ Прив-амурск. краѣ. — Морск. Сборн. 1859, № 2, Ч. неоф., стр. 332). Dem Namen «Nigidalzy» begegnet man z. B. in den Briefen des Erzpriesters (nachmaligen Erzbischofs von Jakutsk und nach späteren Mitropolits von Moskau) Innokentij an den Mitropolit Philaret, in denen er nach Berichten des Priesters von Udskoi Ostrog von der schon im Jahre 1815 erfolgten Bekehrung einiger Individuen sowohl dieses Volkes, als auch anderer Stämme des Amur-Landes zum Christenthum spricht (vrgl. Tichmenjef, l. c. p. 63). In Sebennrin's Artikel «О нравахъ нрав. нов. Нимг. нов. ив р. Амуръ, въ Хаситъ Остроговъ» (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. III, 1857, Смѣсь, стр. 11) heisst das Volk «Nischdalzy», und derselbe Name findet sich in den von Romanof (Прим. Амуръ въ Россіи. — Русск. Слово, 1859, Іюнь, Отд. I, стр. 383) kurz reproducirten Angaben des Bauern Kudrjavzof oder Kudrjaschof, der in den Jahren 1818 und 1819 mit einigen Angehörigen dieses Volkes am Orte Burukan zusammentraf und an den Amguaj ging. Sollte aber «Нимгалалинъ» nicht bloss ein Druckfehler für «Нигидалинъ» sein?

2) S. oben, p. 18. Näheres über diese Karte s. in Middendorff's Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 142.

3) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1224. A. a. O. sind auch die Namen angegeben, mit welchen die Negda verschiedene andere Völker bezeichnen; so sollen sie die russischen Tungusen «Dumgytkas», die Giljaken «Giljkas», die Jakuten «Jäkoo» nennen. Die letzteren Namen deuten jedenfalls auf russische Vermittelung hin.

4) Das h hinter dem r soll die schnarrende Aussprache des letzteren bezeichnen.

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nannt, die im Amur-Lande zusammenkämen, darunter auch die «Idâ»[1]). Siebold versucht zwar diese Völkernamen zu deuten und thut es, wie wir oben sahen, zum Theil in der abenteuerlichsten Weise, indem er z. B. die Kordekke (Golde) für Korjaken hält, bei den Kiakkara (Orotschen) an die Bergkirgisen denkt u. s. w., allein den Stamm der Idâ weiss er dennoch in keiner Weise zu ermitteln[2]). Erwägt man aber, dass Mamia Rinsô seine Angaben von den Giljaken bezog und dass aus «Rhdy» im sachalinischen Dialekt des Giljakischen «Rhda» wird, so liegt es nahe, zumal bei der schnarrenden, etwas undeutlichen Aussprache des *r*, den Namen «Idâ» nur für eine Entstellung von «Rhda» zu halten und ihn somit auf das Volk der Negda zu beziehen.

Neueren Datums noch als die Kenntniss der Negda ist diejenige der Samagirn vom Gorin. Als Middendorff die Negda am Nemilen besuchte, hörte er bloss von dem Volke der «Schamagren», das weit jenseits des Amgunj wohnen sollte, von welchem aber Einige alljährlich in Boten den Nemilen aufwärts bis nach Chamykan kämen; leider waren sie jedoch in dem Jahre (1844) nicht erschienen[3]). Erst als die Russen, zu Anfang der fünfziger Jahre, sich am unteren Amur festsetzten, lernte man auch die Samagirn kennen. Ich habe sie im Winter 1855 in ihren Wohnsitzen am Gorin aufgesucht, und mein Reisebericht[4]) enthält wohl die erste gedruckte, auf Autopsie beruhende Nachricht über dieselben. Der Name «Samagir» ist uns gleichwohl schon lange bekannt, da es nur ein tungusischer Geschlechtsname ist, der sich bei der weiten Verbreitung und Versprengung des Tungusen-Stammes auch an manchen anderen Orten wiederholt. So berichtete schon Pojarkof, dass er an der Dseja (im Winter 1644) einen «Schamagir»-Tungusen, Namens Topkuni, als Geissel eingezogen und über das Land ausgefragt habe[5]). Georgi zählt unter den Tungusen der Baunt-Gegend auch den «Tschamagir»- und unter den Bargusinischen den «Schamagir»-Stamm auf[6]); auch Radde wurde für die Bargusin-Gegend und die nördliche Angara der «Samagir»-Stamm angegeben[7]). Hier liegt also die Vermuthung nahe, dass es versprengte Glieder des tungusischen Samagir-Geschlechtes waren, wie man ès noch in der Baikalgegend findet, die nach dem Verlust ihrer Rennthiere aus dem Stanowoi- oder dem Bureja-Gebirge nach dem Gorin hinabstiegen und dort den Grund zu dem jetzigen Samagir-Volke legten, das im Laufe der Zeit durch veränderte Lebensweise und durch Verkehr und Vermischung mit seinen jetzigen Nachbaren, den Golde, Oltscha und Negda, sowie in Folge mandshu-chinesischen Einflusses zu einem vom ursprünglichen nach Sprache und Sitte vielfach verschiedenen Gepräge gelangten. So lässt sich bei ihnen, gleich wie

1) Tô-tats ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 160).

2) L. c. p. 100.

3) Middendorff, Reisebericht (Bulletin de la classe physico-math. de l'Acad. Impér. des sc. T. IV, p. 232; Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. IX, 2. Abthl. p. 622); desselben, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1838.

4) Datirt vom 7. Mai 1855; s. Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. XIV, p. 189; Mél. phys. et chim. T. II, p. 482.

5) Георгіи, Описаніе всероссійскаго. Т. III, стр. 32, 33.

6) J. G. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russisch. Reich, im Jahre 1772, St. Petersburg 1775, Bd. I, p. 245.

7) G. Radde, Bericht über Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. XXIII, p. 233, Anmerk.); desselben, Очеркъ Забайкалья (Обозр. Имп. Россіи. Геогр.-Стат. Ч. XXI, 1857, Отд. II, стр. 145).

bei den Oltscha, aus dem Namen, den sie tragen, ein Stück ihrer Vergangenheit und Geschichte herleiten. Ob übrigens die Samagirn sich selbst in der Gesammtheit mit diesem Namen bezeichnen, habe ich von ihnen nicht erfahren können. Wahrscheinlich aber ist es wohl, da einerseits ihre nächsten Stammverwandten und Nachbaren, die Negda, mit denen sie in vielfachem Verkehr stehen, sie ebenfalls so nennen [1]), und da ich sie andererseits auch von den Chinesen als «Sama-kil» habe bezeichnen hören. Durch Vermittelung der Negda, mit denen die Russen früher als mit den Samagirn in Berührung kamen, ist auch die russische Bezeichnung «Samagirzy» für das Volk am Gorin entstanden. Mit dem Obigen steht es nicht im Widerspruch, wenn die Samagirn, wie ich mich selbst überzeugt habe, Fremden gegenüber sich auch «Kile» nennen, da dies, wie oben ausführlich dargethan [2]), der Collectivname ist, den ihnen, sowie den meisten anderen tungusischen Stämmen des unteren Amur-Landes, ja mitunter selbst den Giljaken, die Chinesen ertheilen. «Kil» lautet endlich auch der Name, den ich von den Giljaken für die Samagirn habe brauchen hören. Daher unterliegt es, glaube ich, kaum einem Zweifel, dass wenn Mamia Rinsô nach Angabe von Sachalin-Giljaken eines Volkes «Kiren» im Amur-Lande erwähnt [3]), darunter die Samagirn zu verstehen sind, und keineswegs, wie Siebold meint [4]), der Volksstamm, der den Landstrich «Kyrin-ula», also die Gegend von Girin am Sungari bewohnt.

Was endlich die Kile am Kur betrifft, so ist oben schon erwähnt worden, dass die erste Kunde von ihnen erst seit meiner Reise stammt, obgleich ich sie selbst auch nicht besucht habe, sowie dass uns sogar der richtige Name derselben bisher noch unbekannt ist, da «Kile» nur ein bei den Chinesen und demzufolge auch bei den Golde u. a. gebräuchlicher Collectivname für verschiedene tungusische Völker des unteren Amur-Landes ist [5]). Wie schon die jetzigen Wohnsitze dieses Volkes am Kur, dessen Quellen im Wanda-Gebirge, einem Zweige des Bureja-Gebirges, liegen, vermuthen lassen, sind es wahrscheinlich wohl Jäger und vielleicht ehemalige Rennthiernomaden dieser Gebirge gewesen, die sich als Fischer am Kur niederliessen und diesen Fluss abwärts bis zum Amur ausbreiteten. Während aber die veränderte Lebensweise, der Handel und Verkehr mit den Golde und Chinesen ihnen im Laufe der Zeit ein wesentlich anderes und mehr oder weniger eigenthümliches Gepräge verleihen mussten, blieben sie mit ihrer Jagd, die ihnen die nothwendigen Handelsmittel liefert, auf jene Gebirge angewiesen, wo sie mit Biraren, gewiss ihren nächsten Stammverwandten, und bei weiteren Streifzügen mit Manägirn, ja auch mit russischen Rennthier-Tungusen zusammenstossen mussten, von denen allen sie auf den ersten Blick schwer zu unterscheiden sein dürften. Ich kann mich daher der Vermuthung nicht entschlagen, dass wenn Middendorff unter den Buralen (Biraren) an der Bureja einen antraf, der sich als «Guragr» bekannte [6]), dies ein Kile vom Kur war. Denn

1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1824.
2) S. oben, p. 102 ff.
3) Tô-tats hi ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).
4) L. c. p. 199.
5) S. oben, p. 31 und 102 ff.
6) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1809.

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bei dem so häufig vorkommenden Auslaut der tungusischen Geschlechtsnamen auf «gir», wäre «Kuragir», und bei härterer Aussprache «Guragir», gerade die Bezeichnung, welche man für die Anwohner des Kur zu erwarten hätte. Bemerkt aber Middendorff an einem anderen Orte[1]), anknüpfend an die von Milowanof erwähnten Birar-Tungusen am oberen Ssilimdshi[2]), es seien «richtiger vielleicht Guragr, die zum Stamme der Manegir gehören», so steht dies bei der allgemeinen nahen Verwandtschaft aller dieser Stämme untereinander und der noch so sehr geringen Kenntniss derselben, zumal der sogen. «Guragr», jener Vermuthung vor der Hand nicht im Wege.

Weit mehr Verschiebungen in den Verbreitungsgebieten der Völker als am unteren Amur-Strome haben in den letzten Jahrhunderten, so weit uns historische Nachrichten vorliegen, im oberen Amur-Lande stattgefunden. Und dies aus dem Grunde, weil das obere Amur-Land in viel höherem Grade sowohl von den Angriffen und Verheerungen der russischen Kosaken- und Freibeuterschaaren, wie von den zur Abwehr derselben chinesischerseits ergriffenen Maassregeln betroffen wurde. Man braucht, um sich davon zu überzeugen, nur die Völkervertheilung, welche die Russen auf ihren ersten Zügen im oberen Amur-Lande antrafen, mit derjenigen zu vergleichen, welche wir, wie oben geschildert, zwei Jahrhunderte später daselbst vorfanden.

Geht man den Amur von der Sungari-Mündung aufwärts, so ist hier zunächst eines Volkes zu erwähnen, welches den russischen Berichten zufolge im XVII. Jahrhundert um den das Bureja-Gebirge durchbrechenden Theil des Stromes, sesshaft war, und dessen Spur sich gegenwärtig weder dort, noch anderswo mit Sicherheit auffinden lässt. Es sind dies die **Gogull**. So nennt sie Chabarof, der auf seinem Zuge stromabwärts im Jahre 1651 ihre Dörfer am Amur, im Gebirge wie ober- und unterhalb desselben antraf[3]). Jetzt breitet sich, wie wir sahen, unterhalb des Gebirges eine unbewohnte Prairie aus, auf welcher nur zeitweise, zum Fischfang einige wenige halbnomadische Golde vom Sungari sich einfinden; im Gebirge aber und oberhalb desselben am Amur wohnen nur spärliche Birarен.

Was waren nun die Gogulen und wo sind sie geblieben? Der Uebersetzer und Ergänzer von Ritter's Asien, Hr. Ssemenof, meint, dass es dasselbe Volk sein könnte, welches man später unter dem Namen Golde kennen gelernt hat[4]). Dieser Vermuthung, die nur auf einer entfernten Lautähnlichkeit der betreffenden Namen beruht, kann ich jedoch keineswegs beistimmen. Chabarof lernte auf seinem Weiterzuge die Golde (bei ihm Atschanen)[5]) selbst kennen, aber nicht eher, als nachdem er durch das ganze Gebiet der Djutscheren, d. i. von der Sungari-Mündung ab noch 7 bis 8 Tagereisen den Amur abwärts gegangen war. Erst nach-

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1) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 167.
2) S. oben, p. 38.
3) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 220; Дополн. къ актамъ истор. Т. III, стр. 384.
4) Землевѣд. Азіи К. Риттера. Перев. съ дополн. составл. П. Семеновымъ, Т. I, С. Петербургъ 1858, стр. 187, Прим. (***).
5) S. oben, p. 108, 112 ff.

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dem die Djutscheren, wie oben erwähnt, auf Geheiss der chinesischen Regierung ihre Sitze am Amur und unteren Sungari verlassen mussten, konnten die Golde sich auch westwärts von der Ussuri-Mündung und bis in den Sungari hinein ausbreiten, aber die Mündung des letztgenannten Stromes am Amur zu überschreiten, blieb ihnen auch in der Folgezeit untersagt[1]). Und gleichwie nach ihren Wohnsitzen, können die Gogulen auch nach dem, was sich aus Chabarof's Bericht über ihre Lebensweise entnehmen lässt, unmöglich Golde gewesen sein. Denn diese waren damals, wie sie es auch noch sind, ausschliesslich Fischer; von den Gogulen aber heisst es, dass sie gleich den Djutscheren von Ackerbau und Viehzucht lebten und sich von den letzteren vornehmlich nur dadurch unterschieden, dass ihre Dörfer viel kleiner waren, indem sie in der Regel nicht über 10 Häuser enthielten, während diejenigen der Djutscheren deren 60 bis 80 zählten.

Schon aus diesem letzteren und mehr noch aus einem anderen Grunde, den ich sogleich anführen will, möchte ich mir über die Nationalität der Gogulen eine andere Vermuthung erlauben. Es ist bemerkenswerth, dass Chabarof der einzige ist, der eines Volkes dieses Namens erwähnt. Weder vor, noch nach ihm ist von einem solchen die Rede. Sein Vorgänger am Amur, Pojarkof, nennt nur ein Dorf Goguli, das am Einfluss des Ssilimdshi in die Dseja lag und in welchem eine kleine daurische Festung sich befand[2]). In dem Stromtheile, in welchem nach Chabarof die Gogulen sassen, lässt Pojarkof, und zwar schon von der Dseja ab, die Djutscheren wohnen. Während also Chabarof diese beiden Völker von einander unterscheidet und die Sungari-Mündung als Grenze ihrer respectiven Wohngebiete angiebt, fasst Pojarkof sie unter dem gemeinsamen Namen Djutscheren zusammen. Wer von ihnen mehr Recht hatte, müssen wir dahingestellt sein lassen. So viel scheint mir aber aus dem Gesagten als wahrscheinlich hervorzugehen, dass es jedenfalls nahe verwandte, vielleicht nur dialektisch leicht von einander verschiedene Stämme des Mandshu-Volkes waren, so dass man die Gogulen auch als Djutscheren von oberhalb der Sungari-Mündung bezeichnen könnte, gleichwie wir z. B. unter den Golde nach dialektischer Verschiedenheit obere und untere oder Golde von ober- und von unterhalb des Geong-Gebirges unterschieden haben. Ferner wird es alsdann wahrscheinlich, dass, als die Djutscheren chinesischerseits den Befehl erhielten, ihre Wohnsitze am Amur zu verlassen und nach dem Sungari-Lande überzusiedeln, dieses Gebot auch auf ihre oberhalb des Sungari am Amur wohnhaften Vettern, die Gogulen sich erstreckte, indem es der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung darauf ankam, ihre Hauptsitze am Sungari den Russen durch Entvölkerung der Amur-Ufer möglichst unzugänglich zu machen. Aus diesem Grunde wurde von ihr die gleich oberhalb der Sungari-Mündung am Amur gelegene Gegend auch später in ganz unbevölkertem Zustande erhalten. So verschwanden gleich den Djutscheren auch die Gogulen vom Amur-Strome: wo vor zwei Jahrhunderten ihre Dörfer und Aecker lagen, breitet

1) S. oben, p. 28, 33. Auch die wenigen Golde, die man zeitweise oberhalb der Sungari-Mündung am Amur antrifft, kommen dahin nicht diesen Strom aufwärts, sondern indem sie vom Sungari mit Lastpferden über die Prairie ziehen.

2) Дневн. на запискъ экспедиц. Т. III, стр. 31.

sich jetzt unterhalb des Bureja-Gebirges eine öde, unbetretene, hochgrasige Prairie aus, und nur in den Theil ihres ehemaligen Gebietes, der im Gebirge selbst und oberhalb desselben lag, sind — dem Einzuge der Golde in das von den Djutscheren verlassene Gebiet analog — spärliche, halb nomadische, halb sesshafte Biraren eingerückt.

Oberhalb der Gogulen breitete sich zur Zeit der ersten russischen Invasion im XVII. Jahrhundert am Amur und seinen grösseren Neben- und Quellflüssen das Land der **Dauren** aus. So viel ich weiss, findet sich die erste gedruckte Erwähnung dieses Namens auf Witsen's oben besprochener Karte vom Jahre 1687 [1]), auf welcher das obere Amur-Land die Aufschrift «Daurias» trägt, sowie in seinem bald darauf erschienenen Werke «Noord en Oost Tartarye», in welchem der Dauren unter verschiedentlicher Abänderung dieses Namens, wie «Daurianen, Dauhri, Daori», oder zuweilen — da Witsen's Mittheilungen hauptsächlich russische Nachrichten und Erzählungen zu Grunde lagen — mit deutlich erkennbarer Anlehnung an die russische Form, wie «Danertzen, Dourskу und Dawerskу Volk» u. dgl., Erwähnung geschieht [2]). Zum Theil dieselben und zum Theil noch andere Versionen dieses Namens kommen auch bei den späteren Schriftstellern und Reisenden vor. So bemerkt Ysbrants Ides, der im Jahre 1693 auf seiner Reise nach Peking das ganze sogenannte daurische Land südlich vom Amur durchzog, dass die Bewohner desselben «Daori» oder in alter Sprache «Dauri» heissen [3]), nennt sie aber an anderen Stellen seines Werkes, offenbar nach russischer Version, auch «Daorzi» und «Daourzen» [4]). Bei den alten Jesuiten-Missionären heissen sie «Tagouri» [5]); auf der Grosier's Werk über China [6]) begleitenden Karte «Tahuri». Pallas nennt sie mit dem Namen, den ihnen die heutigen Tungusen in Daurien geben sollen, «Dagurens» [7]), und unter demselben Namen werden sie auch in einer russischen, über die Nertschinsker Berg- und Hüttenwerke handelnden Schrift vom Jahre 1780 angeführt [8]). Nach Ritter werden in der chinesischen Reichsgeographie der Tai-Tsing vom Jahre 1818 unter den Völkern des Departements He-long-kiang (Amur) auch die «Dachor» aufgezählt [9]). Aus derselben Quelle führt sie Pauthier [10]) unter dem chinesischer lauten-

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1) Karte van het Noorder- en Oester-Deel van Asia en Europa etc.

2) So z. B. Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. p. 27 ff., 31 ff., 320, 328; Ausg. 1705, p. 64 ff., 85 ff., 92, 838, 847 u. s. w.

3) Dreijaarige Reise naar China, Amsterdam 1704, p. 70.

4) L. c. p. 129.

5) Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 15; d'Anville, Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, La Haye, 1738, Pl. № 1 et 18. Der Pater Gerbillon macht auch die Bemerkung, dass das Land der Solon von den Russen «Dauvre» genannt werde, was jedoch eher der Name des Volkes als des Landes sei (Du Halde, l. c. p. 36).

6) Descript. géném. de la Chine, Paris 1787, T. I. Im Texte dieses Werkes (p. 148 ff.) werden die Dauren auch «Tagouri» genannt.

7) Reise durch verschiedene Prov. des Russ. Reiches, St. Petersburg, Bd. III, 1776, p. 238, 428.

8) In deutscher Uebersetzung in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beyträgen, Bd. IV, 1783, p. 260.

9) Ritter, Die Erdkunde von Asien, Bd. III, p. 442.

10) Chine moderne, ou descript. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, 1-e partie, Paris 1853, p. 168.

den Namen «Ta-hou-eurh» an: «Dachur» soll endlich nach Klaproth der Name sein, unter welchem dies Volk in einer chinesischen Beschreibung Russlands angeführt wird[1]), und denselben Namen trägt es auch in Iakinf's Beschreibung des Chinesischen Reiches[2]). Man sieht, es sind nur Versionen eines und desselben Namens. Und zwar ist dies der Name, den sie sich selbst geben: «Dauoro» nannten sie sich mir gegenüber[3]); «Dauor» oder «Dahor» giebt Maack als ihre Bezeichnung für sich selbst an[4]), und «Dahur» würde dieselbe nach den Angaben des Archimandrits Palladij lauten[5]). Doch getraue ich mir keineswegs, irgend welche Ansicht hinsichtlich der Etymologie dieses Namens auszusprechen[6]).

Die erste Kunde von den Dauren kam den Russen, noch bevor sie das Amur-Land betraten, fast gleichzeitig von zwei verschiedenen Seiten zu. Im Jahre 1639 hörten nämlich Tomskische Kosaken, die an der Mündung des Flusses Ulja in das Ochotskische Meer winterten, von herangewanderten Udj-Tungusen, dass sie mit einem Volke Handel trieben, welches an den Flüssen Tschia (Dseja) und Ssilkar (Schilka und oberem Amur) seine beständigen Wohnsitze habe und von Ackerbau lebe, und dem sie ihre Zobel gegen Getreide vertauschten[7]). Zwar wird der Name des Volkes in dieser Nachricht nicht genannt[8]), allein aus den Angaben erhellt zur Genüge, dass damit die Dauren gemeint waren. Andererseits erfuhr der Jenisseiskische Kosakenanführer Maxim Perfiljef, als er in den Jahren 1639 und 1640 den Witim und seinen Nebenfluss Zypir (Zipa) aufwärts ging, von den dortigen Tungusen, dass am oberen Witim von der Einmündung der Karga in denselben bis zum See Jerawna, so wie längs der Schilka bis zu deren Mündung, d. i. also wohl am oberen Amur bis zum Sungari, das Volk der Dauren wohne, welches von Ackerbau und Viehzucht lebe, Silbererze schmelze und mit den Chinesen grossen Handel betreibe, indem es von ihnen gegen Zobelfelle seidene Zeuge und mancherlei andere Waaren beziehe[9]). Vier Jahre später, auf Pojarkof's Zuge an den Amur, fand an der Dseja die erste Berührung zwischen den Russen und den Dauren statt, die anfangs zwar friedlich vor sich ging, bald aber jene blutigen und für die Dauren verheerenden Kämpfe nach sich zog, welche aus der Geschichte des Amur-Landes hinlänglich bekannt sind. Ungleich ihrer jetzigen zerstreuten Verbreitung, nahmen die Dauren damals ein weites, zusammenhängendes Gebiet ein, das den oberen Amur und seine Nebenflüsse, Dseja, Komar u. a. umfasste, längs seinen Quellflüssen, der Schilka und dem Argunj, weit

1) Klaproth schreibt französisch «Dakhoure» (Descr. de la Russie trad. du Chinois. — Mém. relat. à l'Asie, T. I, 1824, p. 93, 94).

2) Іакинфъ, Статист. опис. Китайск. Имп. С. Петерб. 1842, Ч. II, стр. 12.

3) S. meinen Reisebericht (Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. XV, p. 248; Mél. russes tirés du Bull. T. III, p. 334).

4) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 251.

5) Палладій, Дорожн. записки и пр. (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По отд. Геогр. T. IV, 1871, стр. 444).

6) Nur beiläufig die Bemerkung, dass Witsen diesen Namen aus dem Mongolischen herleitete, indem «dour» mongolisch «Grenze» und «Dauria» also das «Grenzland» bedeuten sollte (Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 99). Nach Klaproth (Asia polygl. p. 273) heisst aber die Grenze im Mongolischen «ssachar».

7) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 283.

8) Die betreffende Angabe bei Ritter (Asien, Bd. I, p. 602), der dies übersehen, wäre demgemäss zu berichtigen.

9) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 299; Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. I. Thl. p. 326; s. auch oben, p. 99.

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hinauf reichte und ostwärts vom letzteren bis an den Nonni und seine Zuflüsse sich erstreckte. An der Dseja traf Pojarkof, stromabwärts gehend, die ersten Dauren an der Mündung des Umlekan [1]). Ohne Zweifel zogen sie schon damals, Handel treibend, längs der Dseja und ihrem Hauptzuflusse, dem Ssilimdshi, wie an anderen nördlichen Zuflüssen des oberen Amur-Stromes auch weiter zu den Tungusen hinauf, zumal sie von ihnen die zum Handel mit den Chinesen so unumgänglichen Zobelfelle erhielten; vom Umlekan ab aber sassen sie an der Dseja und weiterhin am Amur in zahlreichen und grossen Dorfschaften, mit verschiedenartigem Feld- und Gemüsebau [2]) wie mit Viehzucht beschäftigt, ihre Häuptlinge oder Fürsten auch in kleinen, von Holzwerken, Erdwällen und Gräben geschützten Festungen, welche Chabarof in seinem Berichte sogar Städte nennt [3]), und die von den Dauren ursprünglich zur Vertheidigung gegen die mit der Eroberung China's auch nach dieser Seite hin sich ausbreitende Macht der Mandshu erbaut worden waren [4]). Am Amur unterhalb der Dseja erstreckten sich die Dauren bis in die Nähe des Bureja-Gebirges, wo nach Chabarof das Gebiet der Gogulen begann. Hier waren sie aber schon damals mit Mandshu untermischt, die Pojarkof schlechtweg Djutscheren nennt [5]), wie auch die Anwohner des Amur-Stromes unterhalb der Sungari-Mündung, während Chabarof diesen Namen, wie wir oben sahen, nur den letzteren ertheilt. Einen dieser Mandshu traf Pojarkof schon an der Dseja: es war, wie er ihn nennt, der Djutscheren-Fürst Tschinega, der ihn in seinem Winterquartier an der Umlekan-Mündung aufsuchte [6]) — vermuthlich ein Mandshu-Beamter, der sich behufs der Tributerhebung unter den dortigen Dauren aufhielt. Oberhalb der Dseja-Mündung am Amur lag reines, wenn auch ebenfalls der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung tributpflichtiges Dauren-Land. Dort sass eine zahlreiche Bevölkerung und befanden sich auch die meisten daurischen Festungen, unter ihnen auch diejenigen des Fürsten Lavkai, von dessen Reichthümern die Russen schon durch die Witim-Tungusen gehört hatten. Besonders waren von den Dauren auch die Mündungen der Nebenflüsse des Amur besetzt, da diese ihnen die besten Wege darboten, um zu den in den Verzweigungen des Stanowoi-Gebirges umherstreifenden tungusischen Völkern zu gelangen und sich durch Tauschhandel in den Besitz ihrer Jagdausbeute an Zobeln u. dgl. zu setzen. Der grösste der hier zum Amur mündenden Flüsse, der Komar, scheint damals sogar in seinem ganzen Laufe oder wenigstens bis hoch hinauf von den Dauren bewohnt gewesen zu sein [7]), — ein Umstand, der wohl auch für die

1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 298; Лопатин. въ актахъ истор. Т. III, стр. 32.

2) Pojarkof nennt sechserlei Feldfrüchte, welche die Dauren an der Dseja und am Amur bauten: Gerste, Hafer, Hirse, Buchweizen, Erbsen und Hanf, und als Gemüse und Gartenfrüchte: Gurken, Mohn, Bohnen, Knoblauch, Aepfel, Birnen, Wallnüsse und Haselnüsse (Лопатин. въ актахъ истор. Т. III, стр. 33). Müller (l. c. p. 301) erwähnt der Birnen und Wallnüsse nicht.

3) Müller, l. c. p. 308; Лопатин. въ актахъ истор. Т. III, стр. 339 и слѣд. Die daurische Festung, die am der Mündung des Ssilimdshi in die Dseja lag, trägt bei Müller (l. c. p. 300) und bei Fischer (Sibir. Gesch. 2. Thl. p. 783; desgl. seine Karte: Veter. Sibir. Tab. II) den Namen «Moldikitschida», während sie in Pojarkof's Originalbericht «Moldykiditsche» heisst (Лопатин. въ актахъ истор. Т. III, стр. 33).

4) Müller, l. c. p. 313.

5) Müller, l. c. p. 302; Лопатин. и пр. l. c. p. 33.

6) Müller, l. c. p. 299; Лопатин. и пр. l. c. p. 32.

7) Спасск. о земл. край Амура и пр. (Сыновей, Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1853, Отд. II, стр. 18).

Russen maassgebend war, um an der Mündung desselben eine Festung zu errichten (Komarskoi Ostrog), die zur Zeit ihrer Kämpfe mit den Dauren und ihren damaligen Oberherren, den Mandshu-Chinesen, neben Albasin eine Hauptrolle spielte[1]).

Noch weiter den Amur hinauf, an seinen Quellflüssen, der Schilka und dem Argunj, waren die Dauren zu jener Zeit ebenfalls heimisch, und bekanntlich hat dieses Land, trotzdem es später seiner daurischen Bevölkerung vollkommen verlustig gegangen, den Namen Daurien bis auf den heutigen Tag beibehalten. Dort hatten sich die Dauren, dank ihrer grösseren Entfernung von den Hauptsitzen der Mandshu, unabhängiger von diesen zu erhalten vermocht, ja dorthin waren, um der sich ausbreitenden Macht der Mandshu zu entgehen, auch manche ihrer Landsleute aus den südlicheren und östlicheren Theilen ihres Gebietes geflüchtet, wie z. B. der Fürst Gantimur, der aus diesem Grunde seine Heimath am Nonni-Fluss verlassen und sich mit seinem ganzen Gefolge an der Nertscha niedergelassen hatte[2]). Wie weit das Gebiet der Dauren an den Quellflüssen des Amur reichte, lässt sich nicht genau ermitteln; gewiss ist, dass sie im Norden und Westen noch an den Zuflüssen der Schilka von umherstreifenden Tungusen, im Süden von mongolischen Völkerschaften umgeben waren. Schwieriger noch ist die Frage, bis in welche Zeit die Ansässigkeit der Dauren an den Quellflüssen des Amur-Stromes zurückreicht? und ob und in wie weit die zahlreichen Spuren alter Cultur, die man in Daurien und Transbaikalien findet, Reste ehemaliger Bewässerungskanäle, Gräben und Rinnen auf den Feldern, eiserne, gegossene (nicht geschmiedete) Pflugscharen, kupferne und eiserne Waffen, Steigbügel und anderes Geräth, Steingräber, alte Schmelzheerde, Schürfe, Schlackenhalden u. dgl. m., auf die Dauren zurückzuführen sind? Ohne diese Fragen, über die verschiedene und zum Theil recht unklare und verworrene Ansichten geäussert worden, definitiv beantworten zu wollen, möchte ich hier auf einige Umstände aufmerksam machen, welche zu einer anderen Lösung derselben nöthigen dürften.

Es fehlt nicht an älteren und neueren Geographen, welche alle Spuren alten Feld- und Bergbaues in Transbaikalien und Daurien schlechtweg einem Volke und zwar den Dauren zuschreiben. So spricht schon Georgi in seiner Reisebeschreibung die Ansicht aus, dass die alten Barguten, welche die Sage als Urheber der zahlreichen Spuren alten Ackerbaues bezeichnet, die man am Bargusin, an seinen Zuflüssen und nordwärts bis zur oberen Angara hinauf findet, vermuthlich ein und dasselbe Volk mit den Dauren gewesen seien[3]). Ebenso hält in neuerer

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In dem von Gerbillon wiedergegebenen Schreiben, das die zum Abschluss eines Friedens mit den Russen abgesandten chinesischen Mandarine im Jahre 1688 an die russischen Bevollmächtigten richteten, ist von dem Lande der «Humaris» die Rede, in welches die Russen von Albasin (Yakes) aus eingefallen waren (Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 121). Demzufolge findet man auf d'Anville's Karte der Chinesischen Tartarei (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, Pl. 18) längs dem Humari-bira (Chumar, Komar) das Volk der «Humaris» angegeben, — eine Angabe, welche sich auch auf der Karte zu Grosier's «Descr. génér. de la Chine» wiederholt und die nur auf die Komar-Dauren Bezug haben kann.

1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 239.

2) Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. Thl. II, p. 771, 773. Vergl. auch Ritter, Erdk. von Asien, Bd. I, p. 610.

3) J. G. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, im Jahre 1772, Bd. I, p. 127, 128. Lepatin (Sporadi

Zeit Hagemeister auf Grundlage jener Spuren von altem Feld- und Bergbau, welche man allenthalben in Transbaikalien zerstreut findet und die er den Dauren zuschreibt, diese für die Aborigenen des Landes[1]). Viel wahrscheinlicher ist jedoch die Ansicht Ritter's, welcher zufolge die Barguten nicht Dauren, sondern Burjaten und zwar aus dem Stamme der Barga-Burjat (Bargut-Buriat der chinesischen Reichsgeographie) waren, einem Stamme, der noch heute das Land im Norden des Baikal-Sees bis an die obere Lena bewohnt[2]). Damit fiele denn auch jeglicher Grund fort, eine ehemalige Verbreitung der Dauren über das Stromsystem des Amur hinaus bis zum Baikal-See anzunehmen, und nur die ostwärts vom Scheidegebirge, in dem noch heutzutage sogenannten Daurien sich findenden Spuren ehemaliger Cultur liessen sich eventuell noch den Dauren zuschreiben. Mit den Resten ehemaligen Bergbaues, den alten Schürfen, Schmelzöfen, Schlackenhalden u. dgl., geschah und geschieht dies in der That, ja es scheint die Ansicht, dass sie daurischen Ursprungs seien, noch immer die gangbarste zu sein. Georgi spricht sich wiederholentlich dahin aus, dass die Dauren, die alten Insassen des nach ihnen benannten Landes, dort auch Bergbau trieben, bis sie, in Folge der Besitznahme ihres Landes durch die Russen, dasselbe freiwillig verliessen und in's Chinesische Reich zogen, worauf auch ihr Berg- und Schmelzwesen vergessen ward[3]). Ritter ist offenbar derselben Ansicht, wenn er die Dauren «ein friedliches, bergmännisch nicht ungeübtes Culturvolk» nennt, «das vor den ersten rohen Entdeckern, den Kosakencommando's Chabarof's und seiner Nachfolger, aus seinen Erzgebirgen fast ohne Gegenwehr zurückwich und eine fast menschenleere Einöde zurückliess, die von dem nunmehr russischen Bergbau zum zweiten Mal hie

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[illegible] Бурятскаго Нагаменскаго [illegible]. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Т. IX, X, стр. 309), der 1863 einige der alten Grabmäler am Argunsk untersuchte, giebt ebenfalls an, dass man dort gegenwärtig das Volk, dem sie angehörten, Barguten nenne. Nach Kehlberg (Полная [illegible] зап. Забайк. край. — Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1861, Кн. I, Отд. Этногр. и Матер., стр. 182) werden dort hingegen die alten Irrigationskanäle stets «chinesische» genannt.

1) Ф. Гагемейстеръ, Статистич. обозр. Сибири, составл. по Высоч. Е. И. В. повелѣнію при Сибирскомъ комит. С. Петербургъ 1851, Ч. II, стр. 23. Pawlinkij (Краткое описаніе гнѣзъ каменнаго Чудскаго Дренокопей и пр. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. IX и X, Иркутскъ 1867, стр. 180) meint hingegen, dass wenn diese Ansicht überhaupt richtig sei, doch immer nur die Reste ehemaliger fester Ansiedelungen (Städte), alter Grabhügel und Gräber den Dauren zugeschrieben werden könnten, keineswegs aber auch die Bergwerksreste, da die in denselben sich findenden Gegenstände auf ein viel höheres Alter hinweisen.

2) Ritter, Asien, Bd. II, p. 116. Ueber die Barga-Burjat vergl. auch Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 270. Eine ganz abweichende, aber zugleich auch ganz unhaltbare Ansicht über den Ursprung der bei Argunsk sich findenden Spuren alten Ackerbaues sprach Spasskij (Забайк. Тунгусы. — Сибирь. Вѣстн. С. Петерб. Ч. XVIII, 1822, Отд. II, стр. 28) aus: er meinte, dass sie weder von den Vorfahren der Tungusen, noch von denen irgend eines anderen sibirischen Volkes, sondern wahrscheinlich von den zuerst hingekommenen Russen herrühren dürften.

3) J. G. Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, im Jahre 1722, St. Petersb. 1773, Bd. I, p. 106, 118; desselben, Geograph.-physik. u. naturhist. Beschreib. des Russ. Reichs, Thl. I, Konigsberg 1797, p. 222. An. an. Ou. heisst es zwar, dass die alten Insassen Daurien's auch «Dutcheren, Bogdani und Bogdochanis» genannt wurden, doch hält Georgi alle diese Bezeichnungen für identisch unter einander und mit den Dauren und Mandshuren — indem «Bogdani und Bogdochanis» nur verschiedene Benennungen für die Mandshuren, die «Dutcheren» nur ein Stamm der ehemaligen Dauren oder Mandshuren seien — und bleibt daher schliesslich für die Urheber jener Bergarbeiten bei dem Namen Dauren stehen.

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und da colonisirt wurde»[1]). Ich kann jedoch diese Ansicht keineswegs theilen, sondern bin vielmehr der Meinung, dass die Dauren zu der Zeit, welche der russischen Invasion unmittelbar vorausging, keinen Bergbau betrieben, und dass die Reste alter Berg- und Schmelzwerke in Daurien aus älterer Zeit und von einem anderen Volke, vermuthlich von den alten Jutschi, Njutschi oder Dshurdschi herrühren, die im XII. Jahrhundert unter dem Namen Kin eine zeitweise Herrschaft über das Chinesische Reich gewannen.

Forscht man nach, worauf jene Ansicht beruhen könnte, so erweist sich als einzige Nachricht der Art jene mehrfach erwähnte Erzählung der Witim-Tungusen, durch welche den Russen die erste Kunde von den Dauren kam, und zwar als von einem reichen Volke, das in seinem Lande an der Schilka verschiedentliche Erze, Kupfer-, Blei- und Silbererze habe, dieselben schmelze und gegen Zobel zu verhandeln pflege. Indem Fischer in seiner Sibirischen Geschichte diese Nachricht wiedergab, glaubte er dieselbe auf die Dauren am Argunj beziehen zu müssen[2]), da es dort bekanntlich Reste alter Berg- und Schmelzwerke gab und Gmelin daselbst Kupfer- und Bleierze gefunden hatte. Aber wie bewährte sich die Erzählung der Witim-Tungusen? Bekanntlich gab sie mit Veranlassung zum ersten Vordringen der Russen in das Amur-Land: jenes Volk, von dem sie handelte, aufzusuchen, es mit Tribut für die russische Krone zu belegen, die Silber-, Kupfer- und Bleierze auszukundschaften und an den Punkten, wo sie sich befinden, Festungen zu errichten, war dem Anführer der ersten Expedition, Wassilij Pojarkof, vom Wojewoden von Jakutsk, Peter Golowin, direkt vorgeschrieben[3]). Und je verlockender den Kosaken und Freibeutern selbst die Aussicht auf die schätzbaren Metalle, besonders auf das Silber war, um so eifriger forschten sie denselben nach. Aber weder stiessen sie selbst auf die Erze, noch erhielten sie von den Eingeborenen, trotz vielfacher Nachfragen und nicht selten auch gewaltsamer, inquisitorischer Verhöre, eine ihr Vorkommen bestätigende Angabe. Vielmehr hiess es immer und immer wieder[4]), dass es weder an der Schilka und Dseja, noch am Sungari und Amur, noch auch an irgend welchem Nebenflusse derselben Silber-, Kupfer-, Zinn- oder Bleierze gebe; dass sie diese Metalle, gleichwie auch die verschiedenartigen, seidenen und baumwollenen Zeuge und andere Waaren nur vom Chan Borboi gegen Zobelfelle erhielten, dass jedoch auch dieser Fürst die Metalle und Zeuge nicht in seinem Lande gewinnen respective verfertigen lasse, sondern dieselben seinerseits aus China im Handel gegen die Zobelfelle beziehe[5]). Ueber den Sitz des Fürsten Borboi erfuhr Pojarkof nur, dass man von der Umlekan-Mündung bis dahin zu Pferde über das Gebirge und über die Schilka weg sechs Wochen zu reisen habe. In Chabarof's Bericht wird, wie es scheint, derselbe, über alle Dauren gesetzte

1) Ritter, Asien, Bd. I, p. 866, 895. Bei neueren russischen Schriftstellern begegnet man dieser Ansicht wiederholentlich; so z. B. bei Sgibnof (Ахунеевъ Василій. Разсказъ очевидца. — Русская старина, Т. III, 1878, стр. 228) u. A.

2) Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. I. Thl. p. 329, Anmerk. 58, 59.

3) Донесеніе въ архивъ острога. Т. III, стр. 81.

4) Pojarkof's Bericht (l. c. p. 32, 33) ist voll solcher Aussagen.

5) Ausser dem oben citirten Originalbericht Pojarkof's (a. a. O.) vergl. auch Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 300.

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Fürst «Bogdoi» genannt[1]) — offenbar ein Mandshu, da er eine eigene, den Dauren unverständliche Sprache reden sollte[2]) — und sein Sitz in einer Stadt am Nonni-Fluss (Naun-koton, Tsitsikar)[3]) angegeben; doch habe, heisst es, über ihn noch ein viel mächtigerer Chan — ohne Zweifel der Kaiser von China — zu gebieten. In einem zweiten Bericht Chabarof's wird über den Fundort edler Metalle nach der Aussage eines aus dem Bogdoischen (mandshurischen) Heere gefangen genommenen Nikaner's (Chinesen) die noch bestimmtere Nachricht gegeben, dass alles Silber und Gold, gleichwie auch die schätzbaren seidenen und baumwollenen Zeuge, die man im Bogdoischen Gebiete antreffe, aus dem Nikanischen (Chinesischen) Lande komme; es werden die einzelnen Fundorte näher beschrieben, die Art und Weise, wie die Erze gewonnen werden u. s. w.[4]) Beziehen sich diese von Pojarkof und Chabarof eingezogenen Nachrichten auch hauptsächlich auf die Gegenden am Amur, an der Dseja und am Sungari, wo der Schauplatz ihrer Fahrten und Kriegsthaten lag, so erstrecken sie sich doch andererseits vom oberen Amur auch über die Gegenden an den Quellflüssen desselben, an der Schilka und dem Argunj, und es ist vollkommen undenkbar, dass während eifrige Nachforschungen den Russen Nachrichten über edle Metalle selbst aus dem fernen China zuführten, in ihrer Nähe, am Argunj oder an der Schilka von denselben Dauren Berg- und Schmelzarbeiten betrieben wurden, von denen sie keinerlei Kunde erhielten.

Zu demselben Resultat führt auch eine genauere Prüfung der späteren Nachrichten über Daurien. Der erste europäische Reisende, der eingehendere Nachrichten über dieses Land gab, war Ysbrants Ides, der Gesandte Peter's des Grossen an den Chinesischen Kaiser. Obgleich damals (1693) noch nicht 40 Jahre seit dem Abzuge der Dauren aus ihrem Lande vergangen waren, so fand er doch die alten Berg- und Schmelzwerke in einem Zustande, der dafür sprach, dass sie seit Jahrhunderten unberührt gelegen hatten: die Silbergruben z. B., welche sich unweit Argunskoje am Flusse Sserebrjanka befinden, und die noch eine grosse Menge Schlacken von ehemals geschmolzenem Metall aufzuweisen hatten, waren, wie er sagt, in den vielen Jahren, da sie wüst gelegen, von den eingestürzten Bergen bedeckt und von oben eingefallen[5]). Aus derselben Zeit rühren auch die Angaben Witsen's her: ihm erzählte der zum Abschliessen eines Friedenstraktates mit China abgesandte Statthalter von Brjansk, Fedor Alexejewitsch Golowin, dass er die Silberminen Daurien's besucht und dort alte Gruben gesehen habe, die vor vielen hundert Jahren im Betriebe gewesen seien. Auch die Mongolen («Mugalen»), sagt er, sind der Meinung, dass diese Silber-

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1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 310; Дополн. къ актамъ истор. T. III, стр. 239 и сл.; Die erste, sehr eingehende Nachricht über den Fürsten Bogdoi erhielt Chabarof von einem daurischen Weibe, Namens Mogoltschak, das er gefangen nahm und das sich eine Schwester des Fürsten Laukai nannte; sie hatte selbst beim Fürsten Bogdoi einige Zeit in Gefangenschaft zugebracht, bis ihr Bruder sie loskaufte. Ebenso heisst der Fürst auch in der Aussage des Tungusenweibes Damanaa, das unter den Dauren am Amur sich aufgehalten hatte, von Chabarof's Mannschaft aber, nach Ermordung ihres Mannes, gefangen genommen und nach Jakutsk gebracht worden war (Дополн. къ актамъ истор. T. III, стр. 317).

2) Wie es schon Pojarkof angab (Дополн. къ актамъ истор. T. III, стр. 53).

3) Ueber diese Stadt s. eine spätere Anmerkung.

4) Дополн. къ актамъ истор. T. III, стр. 367.

5) Ysbr. Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam 1704, p. 63.

gruben vor uralten Zeiten abgebaut wurden. Witsen erhielt auch zu wiederholten Malen Proben dieser Erze und liess sie in Amsterdam auf ihren Silbergehalt untersuchen[1]). Ganz ähnlich wie Ysbrants Ides sprach sich über den Zustand der alten Bergwerke Gmelin aus, der wiederum etwa 40 Jahre später (1735) Daurien bereiste: «man hat, sagt er, in den Argunskischen Bergwerken über tausend alte Heerde gefunden, aber alle waren mit Erde zugeschüttet, woraus man abnehmen kann, dass es schon sehr lange sein müsse, dass die Alten hier geschmelzen haben, welches noch dadurch bestätigt wird, dass man in dem Kultuk einige zu dem Bau des Schachtes aufgerichtete Balken von Birken fand, an denen nichts mehr als die äussere Rinde übrig war»[2]). So spricht schon der Zustand, in welchem man die ehemaligen Berg- und Schmelzwerke Daurien's fand, unzweifelhaft für ihr sehr hohes Alter. Noch andere Gründe gesellen sich aber dem hinzu. Wären die Dauren die Urheber dieser Berg- und Schmelzwerke gewesen, so hätte sich zu Golowin's und Ysbrants Ides' Zeit die Kenntniss davon bei den ihnen ehemals benachbarten Tungusen, die zum Theil in das von jenen geräumte Gebiet einzogen, in dem kurzen Zeitraume von etwa 40 Jahren ganz gewiss noch erhalten. Ysbrants Ides fand aber unter den Tungusen, die er in der Gegend zwischen Nertschinsk und Argunskoje zahlreich antraf, nichts davon: hinsichtlich des Ursprungs der aus hartem Felsgestein errichteten und zum Theil verfallenen Schanzen, deren er in den Thälern viele Hunderte sah und die vielleicht eben so alt waren, wiesen sie vielmehr auf eine sehr entfernte Zeit hin, da sich die Mongolen und westlichen Tatären zusammenthaten und das Reich Njutschi überfielen[3]). Ysbrants Ides schreibt daher auch die ehemaligen Bergwerke den alten Njutschi und Mongolen zu[4]). Noch weniger als den Tungusen wäre es den kühn vordringenden, nach Bereicherung aller Art, zumal durch edle Metalle, stets ausschauenden russischen Kosaken und Freibeutern entgangen, wenn die vor ihnen zurückweichenden Dauren noch im Betriebe befindliche Berg- und Schmelzwerke in ihrem Lande hinterlassen hätten. Sicherlich hätten sich die Russen sogleich derselben bemächtigt und sie auf eigene Hand auszubeuten versucht. Auch wäre ihnen alsdann gewiss russischerseits die Bezeichnung «Daurische Gruben» geworden und geblieben. Statt dessen werden sie von den Russen nur «Tschudische Gruben» (Чудскія ямы) genannt[5])

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1) Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye. Tweede Druck, 1705, p. 83.

2) J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien von dem Jahre 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen 1751—1752, Bd. II, p. 37. Aus der Anzahl der Heerde meinte übrigens Gmelin schliessen zu dürfen, dass die Alten (wer diese waren, lässt er unbestimmt und der Dauren erwähnt er überhaupt mit keinem Worte) sich um das Blei nicht bekümmert, sondern nur wegen des Silbers gearbeitet hätten.

3) Ysbrants Ides, l. c. p. 62.

4) So spricht er sich namentlich in seinem schlicht gehaltenen Reiseberichte aus (l. c. p. 63.; in dem Nachtrage zu demselben, in welchem auf Grund des inzwischen erschienenen Witsen'schen Werkes «Noord en Oost Tartarye» (Ausg. von 1692) schon von manchen Dingen und Gegenden die Rede ist, die er selbst nicht gesehen hat, heisst es von demselben Silberminen von Argunskoje (l. c. p. 129.), dass dort vor Zeiten die «Njutschi oder Daurzens» viel Silber geschmolzen hätten. Indessen sind auch hier offenbar nicht die unlängst aus ihrem Lande ausgewanderten Dauren gemeint, sondern es scheint nur ein eben solches Zusammenwerfen der Bezeichnungen für die alten Insassen des Landes zu sein, wie man es später wiederholentlich, z. B. bei Georgi (s. oben, p. 102, Anmerk. 4) u. A. findet.

5) Laut einer russischen Schrift vom Jahre 1780 über

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und also, gleich anderen ähnlichen Bergbauresten im übrigen Sibirien und gleich den alten Grabhügeln Nordrusslands, für das Werk eines uralten, unbekannten Volkes gehalten. Der Bergbau wurde aber in Daurien erst auf Befehl der Regierung und nicht früher unternommen, als bis sie wiederholentliche Proben silberreichen Erzes erhalten hatte. Zwar lief schon im Jahre 1679, so erzählt Georgi[1]), beim Nertschinskischen Wojewoden und durch ihn beim Tobolskischen eine Anzeige daurischer Tungusen ein, dass es bei ihnen Gold-, Silber- und Bleierze gebe, doch hatte sie nur eine fruchtlose Untersuchung zur Folge. Fast 20 Jahre später, 1698, legten einige Burjaten, Aranschi Damanja und seine Kameraden, dem Nertschinskischen Wojewoden reiche Silberstufen aus einem alten Bergwerke[2]) vor, und nun erst, 1702, befahl die Sibirische Kanzlei, den Bergbau daselbst in Angriff zu nehmen. So führt Alles zu dem Schlusse, dass die Dauren, die vor der russischen Invasion das Land an der Schilka und dem Argunj inne hatten, dort keinen Bergbau betrieben, sondern gleich ihren Landsleuten am oberen Amur nur von Ackerbau und — worauf wir später noch zurückkommen werden — in Folge ihrer Nachbarschaft mit den Mongolen, besonders ausgebreiteter Viehzucht lebten.

Waren aber die Dauren zu der Zeit, als wir sie kennen lernen, im XVII. Jahrhundert, kein bergbautreibendes Volk, so sind sie es höchst wahrscheinlich auch früher nicht gewesen, da sonst, bei dem conservativen Charakter eines noch ziemlich primitiven Volkes in Allem was seine Lebensart und seine Existenzquellen betrifft, der Bergbau sich auch später unter ihnen erhalten hätte; zum wenigsten ist kein Grund einzusehen, wie und wodurch sie denselben, bei dem lange nicht erschöpften Erzreichthum ihres Landes, mit der Zeit ganz und gar hätten verlernen und vergessen können. Es müssen daher die Reste alter Berg- und Schmelzwerke in Daurien einem anderen, den Dauren in jenem Lande vorausgegangenen Volke zugeschrieben werden. Oben ist schon erwähnt worden, dass Ysbrants Ides dieselben den alten Njutschi und Mongolen zuschrieb, gestützt auf eine Sage der Tungusen, dass die vielen alten Schanzen aus der Zeit herrühren, da diese letzteren an die Eroberung des Reiches der Njutschi gingen. Zu diesem gehörte, heisst es an demselben Orte, das ganze Land von Nertschinsk oder, wie die Chinesen es noch bis jetzt nennen, Njutschi[3]) und dem oberen Amur bis nach Liao-tung hin. In dem Theile dieses Landes, von welchem hier die Rede ist, an den Quellflüssen des Amur, waren einige Zeit vor Ysbrants Ides' Reise grosse Mühlsteine und mit Eisen beschlagene Wagenräder gefunden worden, und da diese bei den Mongolen nirgends zu finden, bei den an die Landschaft Liao-tung angrenzenden Njutschi hingegen noch im Gebrauch waren, so zog er daraus den Schluss, dass dieses letztere Volk vormals auch im russischen Daurien gewohnt habe. Folgerichtig hätte er alsdann auch die ehemaligen Bergwerke Daurien's nur den Njutschi

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die Nertschinskischen Berg- und Hüttenwerke; deutsch in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr. Bd. IV, p. 208.

1) Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, Bd. I, 1773, p. 418; Georgi, physikal. und naturhist. Beschreibung des Russ. Reiches, Thl. I, 1797, p. 222.

2) Im Dreifaltigkeitsberge (Troizkaja gora), wo jetzt die Nertschinskische Hütte steht.

3) Ysbr. Ides (l. c. p. 62) schreibt holländisch «Niuchen» und «Niochen». Sollten nicht auch die russischen Namen Nertscha, Nertschinsk und Nertschinskij Sawod durch Entstellung aus «Njutschi» entstanden sein?

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und nicht auch den Mongolen zuschreiben sollen. Dieselbe Ueberlieferung der Tungusen ist uns auch von anderer Seite zugekommen. Auf ihr beruht jene Angabe Georgi's, dass die Dutscheren, die er selbst für einen Stamm der ehemaligen Dauren oder Mandshuren hielt, und die eben jene Njutschi, Jutschi, Dshurdschi, Vorfahren der heutigen Mandshu, sind, die alten bergbauenden Insassen Daurien's waren[1]). Sie hat ferner Veranlassung zu der noch gegenwärtig üblichen russischen Benennung einer der Hütten des Nertschinskischen Bergbezirkes gegeben: denn die etwa 50 Werst von Nertschinskij Sawod entfernte Djutscherskische Silberhütte (Дючерскій заводъ) hat unzweifelhaft ihren Namen daher erhalten, weil dort einer durch die Mongolen auf die Tungusen gekommenen Ueberlieferung zufolge ehemals Djutscheren gewohnt und Bergbau getrieben haben[2]). Darf man auf diese Ueberlieferung bauen, so lässt sich auch die Zeit, aus welcher die Reste ehemaligen Bergbaus in Daurien stammen, ungefähr bestimmen. Denn gewiss dürfte derselbe noch zur Zeit der grössten Ausbreitung und Machtentfaltung der Njutschi betrieben worden sein, und diese fand im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert statt, als sie sich unter dem Namen Kin zu Beherrschern China's emporschwangen (1115—1234)[3]). Sein Ende aber erreichte er, als die Mongolen unter Tschingis-Chan und seinen Nachfolgern die Macht der Kin niederwarfen und an ihrer Statt die Herrschaft über China errangen. Ja, die in Daurien sesshaften Njutschi mussten die ersten sein, welche die Macht der vom Onon und Kerlon (oberen Argunj) hervorbrechenden Eroberer an sich erfuhren, — eine Macht, der sie wohl theils unterlagen, theils durch die Flucht zu ihren Stammgenossen am Sungari sich entzogen. Demnach ist es ganz falsch, wenn Georgi[1]) und später C. Ritter[5]) die Djutscheren als bergbaukundige Leute, Grubenarbeiter und Metallschmelzer bezeichnen, die von den Russen aus ihren Sitzen verdrängt wurden. Denn als die Russen nach Daurien kamen, im XVII. Jahrhundert, fanden sie dort lange keine Djutscheren mehr vor, sondern Dauren, die, wie oben dargethan, keinen Bergbau trieben; am Amur aber sassen zwar noch Djutscheren, welche nach blutigem Zusammenstoss mit den Russen auf Befehl der chinesischen Regierung sich zurückzogen, allein Bergbau hatten sie ebensowenig wie die Dauren, vielmehr lebten sie auch nur von Ackerbau und Viehzucht. An der Hand dieses historischen Ereignisses, der Niederwerfung der Njutschi durch die Mongolen, lässt sich endlich auch ein Haltpunkt zur annähernden Abschätzung der Zeit gewinnen, wann die Dauren an die Quellflüsse des Amur gekommen sein

1) S. oben, p. 162, Anmerk. 4.

2) Georgi, Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich, Bd. I, p. 362, 401, 408, 411; Geogr.-physik. u. naturhist. Beschr. des Russ. Reiches, Thl. II, p. 1000; Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Bd. IV, p. 207. Nach Georgi hat die Djutscherskische Hütte wegen ihrer Lage am Kaluktscha-Bache, der zur unteren Borsa, einem linken Zufluss des Argunj, mündet, früher Kaluktschinskische, später Borsinskische geheissen, bis sie ihren jetzigen Namen erhielt. Auch auf der den dritten Band von Pallas' »Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches« (1776) begleitenden Karte der Strecke zwischen dem Jenisei und dem Amur ist »Dutcherskoi Sawod« angegeben. Auf der grossen Karte Ostsibirien's von Schwarz (Карта ея-тов. восточной Сибири, составленная Ивану и Ермеку и сочинена Сахаровым, С. Петерб. 1881) lautet der Name nicht ganz correct »Djutscharskija (Sawod).

3) So meint auch Fischer (Sibir. Gesch. Thl. I, p. 113), dass die alten Denkmäler Daurien's von den Njutsche unter der Regierung der Kin gestiftet sein dürften.

4) Geogr.-physikal. und naturhist. Beschreib. des Russ. Reiches, Thl. II, p. 1000.

5) Asien, Bd. II, p. 333.

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mögen. Denn man darf wohl annehmen, dass sie erst nachdem die Njutschi den Mongolen unterlegen waren und nachdem diese in ihrem Eroberungsgange südwärts sich gewandt hatten, allmählich vom oberen Amur in das verödete Land an der Schilka und dem Argunj einzogen. Und somit wären sie lange nicht so alte Bewohner dieses Landes, wie man bisher nach den fälschlich ihnen zugeschriebenen Resten ehemaligen Bergbaues gemeint hat.

Der letzte Theil des weiten Gebietes, das die Dauren zur Zeit der russischen Invasion einnahmen, lag am Nonni. Dort scheinen sie, dank günstigerem Klima und der grösseren Nähe China's, den meisten, durch Ackerbau, Viehzucht und Handel erzielten Wohlstand, sowie die frühzeitigste Verdichtung erreicht zu haben, andererseits aber, in Folge ihrer unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft mit den Mandshu, auch zu allererst ihrer Oberherrschaft verfallen zu sein. Schon auf ihren ersten Zügen, unter Pojarkof und Chabarof, erhielten die Russen Kunde von dem Reichthum der dortigen Dauren an Vieh, Getreide, mancherlei Waaren, sowie von ihrer Stadt am Nonni-Fluss (Naun-koton, dem späteren Tsitsikar)[1], in welcher es Kaufläden mit allerhand kostbaren Gegenständen gebe und die zugleich die Residenz des oben erwähnten reichen, über die Dauren gebietenden Fürsten Borboi oder Bogdoi, eines Statthalters des Kaisers von China, sei[2]). Später, 1686, hörten sie durch einen gefangen genommenen Chinesen oder Mandshu, dass noch eine zweite Stadt am Nonni gebaut werden sollte: wie Müller vermuthet, Mergen[3]). Dies geschah übrigens schon zu einer Zeit, als die Bevölkerung dort in Folge besonderer Umstände noch mehr zugenommen hatte; denn dieselben Ereignisse, welche, wie wir sogleich sehen werden, die übrigen Theile des daurischen Gebietes ihrer Bevölkerung fast gänzlich beraubten, hatten am Nonni im Gegentheil eine Verdichtung derselben zur Folge.

Im Vorübergehen muss ich hier eines auf diesen Theil des daurischen Gebietes bezüglichen Volksnamens erwähnen, der uns schon in den alten Nachrichten über dasselbe entgegentritt,

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1) Yabrants Ides (l. c. p. 76) nennt die unlängst erbaute Hauptstadt der Dauren am Nonni-Fluss «Naun koton» (d. i. Naun-Stadt); «Xitigar» dagegen ist bei ihm der Name eines etwa ¼ Meile vom Nonni entfernt gelegenen Fleckens, zugleich aber auch derjenige einer ganzen Landschaft, da er auch von anderen Xitigarschen Dörfern spricht (l. c. p. 67). Ebenso werden diese Namen von Witsen gebraucht, der in der 2. Ausgabe seines Werkes für diese Gegenden ausser Yabrants Ides' Reisebericht auch andere Nachrichten benutzte; nur nennt er die Stadt meistens schlechtweg wie den Fluss «Nauma (Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 79—82, 88, 91—93 u. a.). In den alten russischen Berichten, so weit Müller sie wiedergiebt, heisst die Stadt «Tschitschigar», und zwar wird ihrer zuerst bei Gelegenheit der Reise des Gesandten Spafari (1675—1677), der dort die ersten Unterhandlungen mit den Chinesen hatte und von dort aus Befehle an die Russen nach Albasin schickte (Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 382, 383), und später noch mehrfach erwähnt (l. c. p. 396 u. a.). Bei den alten Jesuiten-Missionaren, wie auf d'Anville's Karten heisst sie ebenfalls nur «Tçitçicar» (Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 13 bis 17; d'Anville, Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, Pl. 1 et 18). Nach Wassiljef (Onur. Manswypin. — Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. XII, 1857, стр. 28) hat an der Stelle von Tsitsikar früher das Dorf Bokei gelegen; zum Range einer Stadt wurde dieser Ort erst im Jahre 1791 erhoben.

2) S. oben p. 163, 164.

3) Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 398. Als Yabrants Ides diese Gegenden besuchte (1693), bestand schon die Stadt Mergen, und hatte die äusserste (westlichste) chinesische Wacht am Yalu-Flusse den Befehl, sobald sie Fremde sich nähern sah, die Obrigkeit der Stadt davon zu benachrichtigen, wie dies auch mit ihm geschah (Driejaar. Reize naar China, p. 63). Desgleichen erwähnen ihrer die alten Jesuiten-Missionäre, denen zufolge sie vom Kaiser Kang-hi erbaut worden ist (Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 18, 36).

der aber von mehr als zweifelhaftem Werthe ist, da er bald ein besonderes Volk bezeichnen soll, bald für gleichbedeutend mit dem Namen Dauren gehalten, und bald endlich nur auf die Bewohner einer einzelnen Localität im Dauren-Lande bezogen wird. Unter den wechselvollen Ereignissen, welche die ehemalige Stadt Albasin während der kurzen Zeit ihres Bestehens zu verzeichnen hatte, wird auch erzählt, dass im Jahre 1686, als sie nach ihrer Zerstörung durch die Chinesen russischerseits wieder aufgebaut wurde, die erste Nachricht davon durch einige Leute aus dem «Volke der Targatschinen», die auf dem Zobelfange von Albasinischen Kosaken angefallen worden waren, nach Tsitsikar gelangte. Der dortige Statthalter schickte darauf, um sichere Nachrichten zu erhalten, Dauren aus, die einen russischen Bauern in der Nähe von Albasin festnahmen und dadurch die Angabe der Targatschinen bestätigten [1]). Auf der, nur ein Jahr nachdem diese Ereignisse stattgefunden, erschienenen Witsen'schen Karte der Tartarei, sowie in der ersten Ausgabe seiner «Noord en Oost Tartarye» (1692) [2]) wird, offenbar nach russischen Quellen, ein Volk «Targanskie» am Yalo, einem rechten Zuflusse des Nonni, namhaft gemacht [3]). Der erste Reisende, der dieses Volk selbst kennen lernte und genauere Nachrichten über dasselbe gab, war Ysbrants Ides [4]). Von Daurien kommend, traf er am 5. September 1693 ostwärts von der ersten chinesischen Wacht am Yalo die ersten Targazinischen Hütten und ging am folgenden Tage schon an den letzten derselben vorüber. Nach ihm bilden die «Targazinen» eine eigene, dem Kaiser von China tributpflichtige Horde, leben von Ackerbau und Viehzucht, sind äusserst geschickte Bogenschützen und reden eine meist mit dem Tungusischen übereinstimmende Sprache [5]). In dem Nachtrage zu seinem Reisebericht [6]) sagt Ysbrants Ides noch, dass die Tungusen (des russischen Daurien's) sich für eines Geschlechts mit diesen Targazinern oder Dauren und für deren Abkömmlinge halten. Dies könnte leicht so aufgefasst werden, als wären die beiden letzteren Bezeichnungen ganz gleichbedeutend, und Ritter stellt sie auch ohne Weiteres zusammen [7]). Indessen braucht es noch keine solche Identificirung zu sein: mit dem Früheren zusammengenommen, sollte es wohl nur heissen, dass es nahe verwandte tungusische Völker seien. Erwägt man nun, wie leicht unter noch wenig fortgeschrittenen Völkern eine Zersplitterung in kleinere Einheiten vor sich geht, so wird man in denselben auch nur verschiedene Zweige eines und desselben Volkes sehen dürfen. Spricht doch Ysbrants Ides bisweilen in gleicher Reihe mit den Targazinern auch von den «Xixigarssen» (Tsitsikarern) als einem besonderen Volke [8]). Wie diese, so möchte ich daher auch jene nur für einen Zweig der Dauren halten, einen Zweig, der, am Yalo wie vielleicht an anderen Zuflüssen des Nonni näher zum Gebirge wohnend, neben dem Ackerbau und der Viehzucht auch noch der Jagd in höherem Grade als die weiter ab in der Ebene sitzenden Dauren zugethan war und damit im Zusammen-

1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 307.

2) P. 31.

3) Ausserdem ist auf der Witsen'schen Karte am Dalai-noor ein Volk «Kargatsinte» angegeben.

4) Beiejaar, Reise nach China, p. 83 ff.

5) Genau dasselbe sagt auch Ysbr. Ides' Reisebericht (s. Amur-Reise, Band III, gleiter, Adam Brand (Neu-vermehrte Beschreibung seiner grossen Chinesischen Reise etc. 3. Druck, Lübeck 1734, p. 123), nur nennt er das Volk «Targutzinere».

6) L. c. p. 129.

7) Asien, Bd. II, p. 323.

8) L. c. p. 129.

hange auch manches Abweichende in seiner Lebensweise hatte. Vieles davon mag sich in der Folge unter gemeinsamer mandshu-chinesischer Herrschaft ausgeglichen haben; jedenfalls ist später von den Targazinern als besonderem Völke, so viel mir bekannt, nicht weiter die Rede, und gegenwärtig wird diesem Namen russischerseits eine ganz andere Bedeutung gegeben.

Bekanntlich schickt die chinesische Regierung alljährlich aus Tsitsikar, Mergen und Aigun Beamte zur Besichtigung der russisch-chinesischen Grenze an der Schilka und dem Argunj aus. Die eine Partie derselben begiebt sich aus Tsitsikar an einen Punkt am Argunj, gegenüber Alt-Zuruchaitujevsk; die zweite — aus Mergen an den Ort Onochoi, gegenüber dem Dorfe Olotschinskaja am Argunj; und die dritte endlich geht von Aigun den Amur und die Schilka aufwärts bis zum Flüsschen Gorbiza [1]). Nachdem die ersteren das Grenzzeichen (zwei mit Angabe des Jahres und Datums, wann die Revision stattgefunden, versehene Brettchen, von denen das eine an einen Baum gehängt, das andere am Fusse desselben in die Erde vergraben wird) am betreffenden Orte erneuert haben, begeben sie sich den Argunj abwärts zur Vereinigung mit der zweiten Partie, worauf beide zusammen die dritte bei deren Rückkehr in Ustj-Strelka aufsuchen und sodann alle gemeinschaftlich den Amur abwärts zurückkehren [2]). Pallas berichtet nach den Erkundigungen des Studenten Ssokolof, dass diese mandshu-chinesischen Beamten nebst ihrem Gefolge von den Russen «Mergenzy» genannt werden [3]). Nach dem Archimandrit Palladij hingegen werden sie als «Torgatschiny» bezeichnet [4]). Beide haben zum Theil Recht, denn unter jenem Namen werden die aus Mergen und unter diesem die aus Tsitsikar an den Argunj kommenden Grenzbesichtiger verstanden, während die von Aigun ausgehenden Beamten wiederum eine eigene Bezeichnung, «Bogdoizy» [5]), haben. Von ihnen haben unstreitig die meiste Bedeutung für das russische Grenzland die Torgatschinen, denn ihnen allein ist während ihres Aufenthaltes an ihrem Bestimmungsorte ein offener Handel mit den Russen oder den ihnen untergebenen Völkern möglich, da Alt-Zuruchaitujevsk traktatmässig nächst Kjachta der zweite zum russisch-chinesischen Grenzhandel bestimmte Ort ist. Die übrigen können nur heimlich etwas Handel treiben, wie es von den Mergenzen auch in der That geschieht. Selbstverständlich versorgen sich daher die Torgatschinen vor Antritt ihrer Reise auch in reichlicherem Maasse mit allerhand zum Handel am Argunj tauglichen Waaren und nutzen ihren etwa einen Monat dauernden Aufent-

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1) Da diese letztere Grenzlinie gegenwärtig abgeändert ist, so wird wohl auch die frühere Ordnung in der Abfertigung der chinesischen Beamten zur Revision derselben eine entsprechende Aenderung erfahren haben.

2) Middendorff (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 161) wurde von Kosaken in Ustj-Strelka erzählt, dass die erste Partie, nachdem sie die zweite bei Olotschinskaja aufgesucht, sogleich wieder den Argunj aufwärts zurückkehre, die zweite und dritte aber sich in Ustj-Strelka vereinigten und zusammen den Amur abwärts schifften. Ebenso soll es Ladyschinskij in seinen handschriftlichen Bemerkungen angeben.

3) Pallas, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches, Bd. III, 1776, p. 128. Sie selbst sollen sich «Russais» nennen. Middendorff wurden sie von Kosaken in Ustj-Strelka «Margänzy» genannt. Doch führt er selbst an, dass sie nach den handschriftlichen Bemerkungen von Ladyschinskij aus «Mergynji» (Mergen) kommen sollen (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 161, Anmerk. 1). Die ältere Angabe von Pallas war ihm nicht gegenwärtig.

4) Палладій, Дорожныя записки и пр. Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По общ. Геогр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 443).

5) Wie die Kosaken in Ustj-Strelka sagten, «Bogdoto» (Middendorff, l. c.).

halt in der Nähe von Alt-Zuruchaitujevsk mit möglichstem Vortheil für sich aus. Dank diesem Handel sind sie bei den verschiedenen Völkern des russischen Daurien's auch am meisten bekannt. Daraus erklärt sich die Angabe von Pallas, dass die daurischen Steppen-Tungusen die Chinesen «Tergezin» nennen [1]). Es sind eben diese chinesischen Grenzbesichtiger und Händler, die sie darunter verstehen. Dass dies übrigens der Nationalität nach keine Chinesen zu sein brauchen, versteht sich von selbst. Ssokolof berichtete z. B., dass die aus der Stadt Naun (Tsitsikar) kommenden Grenzbesichtiger weder chinesisch, noch mongolisch verstünden und also wohl die Sprache der Daguren redeten [2]). Woher kommt ihnen aber der Name Torgatschinen? Nach Analogie der für die zweite, ebenfalls vom Nonni kommende Partie von Grenzbesichtigern üblichen russischen Bezeichnung «Mergenzy», die dem Abfertigungspunkte dieser Beamten entlehnt ist, liesse sich vermuthen, dass Tsitsikar auch Targazin heissen müsse. Und in der That findet sich bei Witsen die Angabe, dass die Stadt Naun anders auch «Targatsien» genannt werde [3]). Bei welchem Volke es diesen letzteren Namen trägt oder trug, ist nicht gesagt, vermuthlich jedoch bei den Russen in Daurien, und dies vielleicht aus dem Grunde, weil die Stadt unfern der Mündung des Yalo-Flusses liegt, der, wie wir oben sahen, durch das Gebiet der Targaziner läuft. Doch bleibt dies nur eine Vermuthung, und bedarf jene Angabe Witsen's noch der Bestätigung. Sollte sie übrigens auch ihre volle Richtigkeit haben, so erscheint es, angesichts der oben besprochenen Nachrichten von Ysbrants Ides u. A., immerhin nicht wohl zulässig, unter Targazinern ebenso nur die Angehörigen einer Stadt (Tsitsikar's), gleichviel von welcher Nationalität (Chinesen, Mandshu, Dauren, Solonen) sie seien, zu verstehen, wie es mit den Mergenzen unzweifelhaft der Fall ist.

Die oben geschilderte weite Ausbreitung der Dauren erlitt nun durch die russische Invasion im XVII. Jahrhundert eine rasche und beträchtliche Einschränkung. Das Land an den Quellflüssen des Amur-Stromes, Schilka und Argunj, das später allein den Namen Daurien behielt, scheinen sie beim ersten Andrange der Russen fast ohne allen Widerstand geräumt zu haben. Selbst solche unter ihnen, wie der Fürst Gantimur und sein Gefolge, die einst, um der Herrschaft der Mandshu zu entgehen, nach Daurien geflüchtet waren, zogen es vor, das Land beim Anzuge der Russen wieder zu verlassen und in das von ihren alten Feinden besetzte Gebiet jenseits des Chingan-Gebirges zurückzukehren [4]). Es scheint mir dieses rasche und volle Zurückweichen der Dauren von der Schilka und dem Argunj dafür zu sprechen, dass sie dort nicht sehr zahlreich gewesen, was ihre Angst vor den heranrückenden Russen erheblich vermehrt haben dürfte. Grösseren Widerstand leisteten sie am Amur, wo sie dichter und zahlreicher zusammen sassen und manche befestigte Punkte hatten. Von keineswegs kriegerischem Sinne, hätten sie sich übrigens selbst von der kleinen Schaar kühner und tapferer Kosaken leicht unterwerfen lassen und sich

1) Pallas, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches, Bd. III, p. 238.

2) Pallas, Reise etc. Bd. III, p. 428. Nach Ladyshinskij waren die «Mergenzy» Mandshu und Solonen (Müddendorff, l. c.).

3) Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 91.

4) Fischer, Sibirische Gesch. 2. Thl. p. 775; s. auch oben, p. 161.

zur Tributzahlung an die russische Krone bequemt, wenn sie nicht schon den zu grosser Macht gelangten Mandshu tributpflichtig gewesen wären und an ihnen einen Rückhalt gefunden hätten. So war ein blutiger Conflikt unvermeidlich, wobei die weitaus grössere Kriegstüchtigkeit der Russen, ihre Entschlossenheit, sich gegen die Ueberzahl der Feinde zu behaupten, so wie ihre Bewaffnung mit Schiessgewehren die Zahl der Dauren stark lichteten. Man braucht z. B. nur daran zu denken, wie es bei Erstürmung der Festung Guigudar's (Guigudarov gorod) durch Chabarof herging, wo die Dauren 661 Mann an Todten verloren und in der gefallenen Stadt 243 ihrer Weiber und Mädchen und 118 Kinder erbeutet wurden, während die Russen nur 1 Todte und 45 Leichtverwundete zählten [1]). Wiederholentlich heisst es in ihren Berichten, Alles sei kurz und klein gehauen, die Dörfer gestürmt, die Weiber und Kinder gefangen genommen worden u. s. w. [2]). Gewiss wären daher die Dauren am Amur bei fortgesetztem Kampfe mit den Russen ganz vernichtet worden, wenn die chinesische Regierung nicht einen anderen Modus zur Abwehr des Feindes ergriffen hätte. Den Umstand benutzend, dass die russischen Kosaken und Freibeuter weder für eine regelmässige Zufuhr von Lebensmitteln sorgten, noch sich an den Anbau des Landes machten, sondern nur davon lebten, was sie von den Dauren erbeuteten, erliess sie 1654 an diese den Befehl, ihre Aecker und Gärten unbesäet zu lassen und vom Amur und seinen Zuflüssen, der Dseja u. a., nach dem Nonni überzusiedeln [3]). Zugleich schickte sie zahlreiche, mit Feldgeschützen und Schiessgewehren versehene Heere, in welche auch viele Dauren und Djutscheren eingereiht waren, gegen die kleine, aber gefürchtete Schaar der Russen aus. Zwar wussten sich die letzteren noch eine Zeit lang dadurch zu helfen, dass sie ihre Streifzüge ausdehnten und von den Djutscheren am unteren Amur und Sungari Lebensmittel erbeuteten, allein zwei Jahre später wurde ihnen durch Versetzung der Djutscheren an den Churcha auch diese Quelle der Verpflegung genommen [4]). Von nun an mehren sich in ihren Berichten die Klagen über die Noth, welche die russischen Kriegsleute am Amur durch Hunger und Kälte, durch Mangel an Munition, durch die Ueberzahl und bessere Bewaffnung der Feinde u. dgl. m. zu erdulden hätten [5]). In der Folgezeit, wenn auch spät, 1672 und 1673, wurden zwar zur Ab-

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1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 315; Fischer, Sibirische Gesch. 2. Thl. p. 801; Доп. къ актамъ истор. Т. III, стр. 360. Müller und Fischer schreiben den Namen des daurischen Fürsten beständig «Gingudaro», ja auf der zu dem Werke des letzteren gehörigen Karte heisst die Festung sogar «Gagudarev», während der Name nach Chabarof's und anderen Originalberichten «Guigudaro und «Guigudarov gorod» lautet.

2) ....отъихъ Дауровъ въ семъ порубили всѣхъ съ головы на голову ... многихъ людей побили ... острогъ пожгли ... улусы пропали... и. т. д. (Допол. къ акт. истор. Т. III, стр. 360, 362, 364, 372 и пр.).

3) Допол. къ актамъ истор. Т. III, стр. 328. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 337; desgl. in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr. 2. Thl. 2. Aufl. p. 490) sagt, die Dauren seien an den Schingal (Sungari) und Naun versetzt worden; im oben citirten Originalbericht Onufrij Stepanof's wird jedoch nur der letztere Fluss genannt.

4) S. oben, p. 131.

5) So heisst es z. B. in Stepanof's Bericht, im J. 1654: «а хлѣба за Амуръ нѣтъ, а у Богдойскихъ людей, какъ они изъ пушекъ стрѣляютъ, изъ тѣхъ пушекъ сидятъ острогъ на 2 и болѣе, а у насъ въ войскѣ государева снаряду одна пушка и та поломана за 2 мѣсяцы нѣтъ зелья» (Допол. къ актамъ истор. Т. III, стр. 327). Oder, im J. 1656: ... «съ служилыми людьми и Амурскими острожными казаками стали всѣ голодны и холодны и всякаго осудали, хлѣбовъ запасовъ въ войскѣ не стало, сколько и сѣмяну и порогу нѣтъ, все истерзали и изрѣзали

hülfe der Noth und definitiven Festsetzung im Lande russische Ackerbaucolonien von Nertschinsk aus am oberen Amur begründet, die bei der Fruchtbarkeit des Landes vielen Erfolg hatten und unter denen die einige Werst unterhalb Albasin's gelegene Ansiedelung Pokrovskaja Sloboda die ansehnlichste war[1]), allein die Uebermacht der Mandshu-Chinesen blieb nach wie vor dieselbe, und es ist bekannt, wie die Russen, trotz heldenmüthiger Vertheidigung der von ihnen besetzten Punkte, allendlich nach dem Nertschinsker Traktat das Amur-Land haben räumen müssen.

So verödete das Land am oberen Amur bis zur Dseja hinab vollständig, indem es erst seine daurische und nachher die wenige russische Bevölkerung verlor. In solchem Zustande der Verödung suchte die chinesische Regierung es auch später zu erhalten, indem sie darin eine gewisse Garantie gegen einen abermaligen Einfall der Russen sah. Namentlich war sie beflissen, dort fortan keine sesshafte, Ackerbau und Viehzucht treibende Bevölkerung mehr zu dulden. Vor Allem lag es nahe, dass nach Abzug der Russen die an den Nonni versetzten Dauren nach ihrer alten Heimath, wo sie oder ihre Väter in Wohlstand gelebt hatten, zurückstreben würden. Die Rückkehr an den Amur wurde jedoch den Dauren nur unter gewissen Beschränkungen gestattet. Feste, auf Ackerbau und Viehzucht begründete Ansiedelungen der Dauren finden sich nämlich später nur in dem Theile des Amur-Stromes ein, der unterhalb der Dseja und der inzwischen zu grösserem Umfang und grösserer Geltung gelangten mandshu-chinesischen Stadt Aigun[2]) bis zum Bureja-Gebirge sich erstreckt[3]). Weiter aufwärts am Amur, wo doch ehemals die meisten Dörfer und Festungen der Dauren lagen, wie im Unterlaufe des Komar-Flusses blieb ihnen aus dem oben angeführten Grunde die Ansiedelung untersagt, und ohne Zweifel lag es den Beamten von Aigun und den bis über die Komar-Mündung am Amur vorgeschobenen mandshurischen Wachtposten ob, unter Anderem auch auf die strenge Einhaltung dieser Maassregel Acht zu haben. Nur im oberen Laufe des Komar begegnet man wieder sesshaften, feldbauenden Dauren, offenbar weil die chinesische Regierung sie dort für hinlänglich weit entfernt vom Amur hielt, um die Oede desselben irgend erheblich zu beeinträchtigen. Vielleicht brauchten sie

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.... жить и какъ чѣмъ питаться, и впредь не маемъ, какъ нашъ холопечь государевымъ стало государевымъ всякомъ и своими головами промышлять, и вовсѣ всѣ войскѣ отошли и осуздали, питаемся травою и кореньемъ, и отыскаемъ государева указу, а сойти съ Бельскія рѣки Амура безъ государева указу не смѣемъ, мы суда; а Богдойскіе воинскіе люди нашъ стоятъ близко, и намъ противъ нихъ Богдойскихъ всякихъ людей стоять и дрожа стало нечѣмъ, пороху и свинцу нѣтъ никоторыя» (Лет. и пр. Т. IV, стр. 82). Aehnlich an vielen anderen Stellen.

1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 372.

2) Nach den alten französischen Missionären wurde die Stadt Aigun (»A-kouu) schon unter dem chinesischen Kaiser Yung-lo, aus der Dynastie der Tai-Ming, gegründet, und zwar am linken Ufer des Amur-Stromes (Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 13). In den russischen Nachrichten ist von ihr zuerst im Jahre 1676 die Rede, und zwar als von einer alten Stadt oder Festung, die eine halbe Tagereise unterhalb der Dseja am nördlichen Amur-Ufer lag. 1683 wurde sie stärker befestigt und zum Waffenplatz eines ansehnlichen Heeres gemacht, zwei Jahre später aber auf das rechte Amur-Ufer etwas weiter stromabwärts verlegt, wo das heutige Aigun oder Sachalin-ula-cholon der Mandshu steht (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 377, 381). Wassiljef (Описаніе Маньчжуріи. — Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. XII, 1857, стр. 29) giebt als Gründungsjahr dieses letzteren 1684 an.

3) S. oben, p. 51.

von dort, dank diesem Umstande, im XVII. Jahrhundert gar nicht fortzuziehen, oder es sind Dauren, die sich damals vom Amur und dem unteren Komar dahin zurückzogen, oder endlich spätere, vom Nonni herübergekommene Ansiedler.

Ganz anders als mit den sesshaften Ackerbauern nahm es die chinesische Regierung mit den mehr oder weniger umherziehenden Kaufleuten. Ihnen stand das ganze zum Regierungsbezirk von Tsitsikar gehörende obere und mittlere Amur-Land offen, und nur über die äussersten Wachtposten am oberen Amur hinaus mit den Russen in Verkehr zu treten, war auch ihnen untersagt. Dank dieser Erlaubniss und der Neigung und Befähigung der Dauren zum Handel, besonders mit den ihnen stammverwandten und von altersher bekannten tungusischen Jagdvölkern im Norden des Amur-Landes, sehen wir sie bald jene weite Ausbreitung als Kaufleute längs der Dseja, dem Ssilimdshi, der Bureja und deren Zuflüssen gewinnen, von welcher oben bereits ausführlich gesprochen worden ist[1]). Nur auf einen Umstand möchte ich hier noch besonders aufmerksam machen, der sowohl für den Umfang dieser Ausbreitung der Dauren, als auch für die Rolle bezeichnend ist, welche sie dabei den tiefer stehenden Amur-Völkern gegenüber spielen. Obgleich die Dauren das untere Amur-Land nicht betreten dürfen und es andererseits auch den Völkern dieses letzteren chinesischerseits untersagt ist, auf dem Amur die Sungari-Mündung und auf dem Sungari die Stadt Ssan-ssin zu überschreiten, so sind die daurischen Kaufleute doch selbst den am weitesten von ihnen entfernten Giljaken bekannt. So oft ich mich bei diesen nach den den Amur aufwärts wohnenden Völkern erkundigte, immer wurden mir über die Mandshu hinaus noch die «Jam-Mandshu» genannt. Lange blieb es mir unbekannt, welches Volk sie darunter verstehen. Wie ich jetzt nicht mehr zweifle, sind es die Dauren. Trotz jenes Verbotes der chinesischen Regierung, kommen nämlich daurische Kaufleute von den Quellen der Bureja oder des Ssilimdshi über das Jam-alin-Gebirge nach dem am Tugur gelegenen Orte Burúkan[2]), wo andererseits zu Zeiten, des Handels wegen, Tungusen vom Tugur wie vom Ochotskischen Meere, Negda vom Amgunj und Giljaken vom Amur sich einfinden. Gegen die allbeliebten Zobelfelle erhalten sie dort von den Dauren wohl ziemlich dieselben Waaren wie von den Chinesen am Amur und müssen von ihnen natürlich gelegentlich auch erfahren haben, welche Rolle sie in dem jenseits des Jam-alin gelegenen Lande, an der Bureja, dem Ssilimdshi und der Dseja bis zum Amur hinab spielen: dass sie dort allen Handel betreiben, von den Biraren und Manägirn den Tribut für die chinesische Regierung einsammeln u. s. w.[3]). Erwägt man nun dass die Giljaken, wie oben bereits bemerkt[4]), die Mandshu und Chinesen, obwohl sie dieselben der Nationalität nach unterscheiden, nicht selten beide schlechtweg als «Mandshu» bezeichnen, so ist es ganz verständlich, wenn sie den vom Jam-Gebirge herüberkommenden Dauren, die jenseits dieses letzteren dieselbe Rolle wie die «Mandshu» am Amur spielen, auch den Namen «Jam-Mandshu»

1) S. p. 38, 82.

2) Vrgl. auch die Angaben eines Augenzeugen, des Priesters Djatschkovskij, bei Kosmin, in den Зап. Географ. Обществ. Морск. Минист. Ч. IV, стр. 36.

3) Middendorff (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 166, Anm. 1) erzählt, dass die Dauren dem Jäkuten Trofim sogar imponirend zu schildern wussten, wie sie eine grosse Stadt am Amur besässen, an welcher der Strom querüber durch eine mächtige Kette gesperrt sei.

4) S. p. 71.

ertheilen. Ob sie daneben, der verschiedenen Nationalität Rechnung tragend, noch einen anderen Namen für die Dauren haben, ist mir nicht bekannt. Bei den russischen Tungusen sollen sie «Djulu», bei den Biraren «Dahu-halj» heissen[1]), — eine Bezeichnung, in welcher sich der Name Dahur oder Daur leicht wiedererkennen lässt.

So lange die Gogulen und Dauren am Amur sassen, waren die Biraren, Manägirn, Orotschonen auf das Stanowoi-Gebirge und seine südlichen Abdachungen und Verzweigungen beschränkt. In keiner Nachricht aus der Zeit der russischen Invasion wird ihrer vom Amur-Strome erwähnt. Erst durch den Abzug jener Völker vom Amur und dank der chinesischen Politik, im Oberlaufe desselben keine sesshafte Bevölkerung zu dulden, gewannen sie freien Spielraum, sich so weit südwärts, bis an den Amur, ja zum Theil über denselben hinaus auszubreiten, wie wir es oben kennen gelernt haben. Nach Maassgabe als sie gegen Süd vorrückten, drangen andere, russische Tungusen-Stämme von Norden mehr und mehr auch in die südlichen Verzweigungen des Stanowoi-Gebirges ein. Die Biraren und Manägirn sahen sich dabei genöthigt, indem sie aus ihrer alpinen Heimath hinabstiegen und längs der Bureja, dem Ssilindshi, der Dseja in die niedrigen Vorberge und grasreichen Prairien gelangten, auch ihr alpines Hausthier, das Renn, gegen ein anderes Reit- und Lastthier, das Pferd, zu vertauschen, während die Orotschonen im gebirgigen Oberlaufe des Amur bei ihrem altgewohnten Rennthier verblieben. Ganz dasselbe ging auch an den Quellflüssen des Amur-Stromes, in Daurien vor sich, indem in das von den Dauren geräumte Gebiet, wie Ritter sich ausdrückt[2]), «Tungusische Wildlinge» einrückten, die, aus dem Gebirge in die waldlose Ebene gelangt, ihr Rennthier gegen das Pferd vertauschten oder sogar, gleich den Mongolen, der Viehzucht sich anbequemten und so aus Wald- oder Rennthier- in Pferde- und Steppen-Tungusen sich umwandelten[3]). So fand unter den Amur-Völkern eine Reihe von Wanderungen und Wandelungen statt, zu denen sämmtlich ein Ereigniss, die Invasion der Russen im XVII. Jahrhundert, den ersten Anstoss gab: wie sie im unteren Amur-Lande die Uebersiedelung der Djutscheren an den Churcha und dadurch die Ausbreitung der Golde westwärts bis an den Sungari veranlasste, so rief sie im oberen Amur-Lande den Abzug der Gogulen und Dauren vom Hauptstrom und seinen Quellflüssen hervor, der wiederum jene Bewegungen unter den tungusischen Stämmen im Süden und sogar im Norden des Stanowoi-Gebirges zur Folge hatte. Fügen wir nun diesen allgemeineren Bemerkungen noch einige speciell auf die Biraren, Manägirn und Orotschonen bezügliche historische Daten hinzu.

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1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1556. Das birarische «halj» wird wohl soviel wie das goldische und mandshurische «halu», d. i. Stamm, Geschlecht, bedeuten.

2) Erdkunde von Asien, Bd. II, p. 323.

3) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. VI, p. 132, u. A.

Die älteste Kunde von den **Biraren** rührt vom ersten Zuge der Russen an den Amur unter Pojarkof her: nach seiner Rückkehr von demselben (1646) berichtete er, dass an den Quellen des Ssilimdshi («Ssilimba») zahlreiche rennthierhaltende Birar-Tungusen (Тунгусы Бирарскіе) wohnen[1]). Fünfunddreissig Jahre später (1681) wurde Ignatij Milowanof von Nertschinsk nach der Dseja und dem Ssilimdshi abgeschickt, um die früher errichteten Wacht- und Tributposten zu besichtigen und in Erfahrung zu bringen, wo es fruchtbares Land gebe und ein neuer Posten begründet werden könnte. Inzwischen hatte der Abzug der ackerbauenden Dauren vom Amur und von der Dseja bereits stattgefunden, und Milowanof sah an beiden Flüssen zahlreiche Spuren ihrer ehemaligen Aecker und Dörfer. Vom Ssilimdshi («Sselimba») berichtete er aber, dass es mit geringer Macht unmöglich sein würde, die dortigen Birar-Tungusen tributpflichtig zu machen, sowie dass daurische Leute an die Mündung dieses Flusses kämen, um von ihnen Tribut für die chinesische Krone zu erheben. Er nennt dabei die Biraren Pferde-Tungusen (конные Бирарскіе Тунгусы)[2]). So hatten sich dieselben mittlerweile schon weiter abwärts am Ssilimdshi gezogen und sich den dortigen Naturbedingungen gemäss in Pferdenomaden umgewandelt. Die Dauren erschienen aber bei ihnen nur zeitweise, als tributempfangende Beamte oder Händler[3]). Drei Jahre später meldete auch der Kosakenanführer Gerassim Zypandin, dass er in Udskoi Ostrog zwei Biraren-Häuptlinge vom Ssilimdshi als Geisseln aufgetrieben und zurückbehalten habe[4]). So lernen wir aus den frühesten russischen Nachrichten die Biraren schon unter diesem ihrem Namen kennen. Ich glaube auch, dass sie sich selbst, wenigstens Fremden gegenüber, in der That so bezeichnen, denn ich habe diesen Namen von ihnen selbst erkundet, ohne ihn je früher gehört zu haben[5]). Nicht anders wird es Radde gegangen sein, der während seines Aufenthaltes im Bureja-Gebirge am Amur mit den Biraren in häufige Berührung kam und sie stets mit diesem Namen bezeichnet[6]). Dennoch bedeutet derselbe nur so viel wie «Flussanwohner», wobei sie unter dem «Fluss» (*bira*) schlechtweg nicht etwa den Amur, sondern den Njuman-bira verstehen, der aus diesem Grunde auch bei den Russen den nur durch Entstellung jenes Wortes entstandenen Namen Bureja erhalten hat. Der Njuman-bira war nämlich der Hauptstrom ihres Gebietes: von ihm aus sind sie vermuthlich in früherer Zeit an den nahen Oberlauf des Ssilimdshi hinübergegangen; ihm folgend, haben sie sich später, nach dem Abzuge der Gognlen und Dauren, bis an den Amur, ja über denselben hinaus verbreitet. Am Amur, wo sie ehemals bebautes, fruchtbares Land fanden, ist ein Theil von ihnen, wie wir oben sahen, sogar zu sesshaften Ackerbauern geworden, wozu es ihre nahen Stammverwandten,

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1) Дополн. къ актамъ истор. Т. III, стр. 33.

2) Отписка Стеньки и Василья Ив. Дежнева, Василья, отъ послана, въ 1681 г. для обзор. Амура сына - Боярскаго Игнатья Милованова, mitgetheilt von Spasskij, im Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1853, Ч. VII, Отд. II, стр. 38, 41.

3) Milowanof, l. c. p. 39.

4) Дополн. къ актамъ историч. Т. XI, С. Петербургъ 1869, стр. 202.

5) S. meinen Reisebericht, datirt Irkutsk, d. 13. Nov. 1856, im Bull. de la cl. phys. math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersbourg, T. XV, p. 247; Mél. russes, T. III, p. 353.

6) »Birar-Tungusen«, s. Radde, Bericht über Reisen im Süd. und Ost. Sibir. (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXIII, p. 326 u. a.).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

die Manägirn und Orotschonen, nicht, oder wenigstens nicht in dem Maasse, gebracht haben. Durch diese Verbreitung rücken sie auch den Sitzen der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung, Aigun und namentlich Tsitsikar, der Hauptstadt der Provinz Helong-kiang (Amur), um Vieles näher. In der chinesischen Reichsgeographie der Tai-Tsing werden sie in der Zahl der zu diesem Distrikt gehörenden Völker aufgeführt, und zwar unter demselben, selbst in chinesischer Version noch leicht kenntlichem Namen, als «Builar»[1]) oder «Pie-li-eurh» (Pilar)[2]). Ebenso und noch übereinstimmender lautet der vom Archimandrit Palladij[3]) für dieses Volk gebrauchte, vielleicht aus derselben Reichsgeographie entlehnte Name «Bilar». Man erkennt ihn endlich leicht auch in dem oben schon mehrfach erwähnten, von Middendorff auf seiner Reise durch den nördlichen Theil des Biraren-Gebietes ganz selbständig erkundeten Namen «Byral- oder Bural-Tungusen»[4]). Die kleine Modification in demselben liesse sich vielleicht, in Folge des Umstandes, dass die Reise Middendorff's in Gesellschaft russischer Tungusen geschah, auf russischen Einfluss, namentlich auf eine Anlehnung an die russische Bezeichnung «Bureja» für den Njuman-bira zurückführen[5]).

Eben so weit wie über die Biraren reicht auch die älteste Nachricht über die Manägirn zurück. Im Jahre 1647 machte nämlich der «Promyschlennik» Grigorij Wishevzof im amtlichen Verhöre zu Jakutsk die Aussage, dass er die beiden vorhergehenden Jahre, seinem Erwerbe nachgehend, am Tugir (Tungir), einem Zuflusse der Olekma, zugebracht habe, woselbst zu ihm unter Anderen auch drei «Managir-Tungusen» (Манагиры) kamen[6]). Wo dieser angeblich zahlreiche Stamm seine Wohnsitze hatte, ist nicht speciell gesagt, doch heisst es weiter, dass sie alljährlich im Winter auf Rennthieren nach der Schilka (Amur) hinabgehen, um dort mit den Dauren Handel zu treiben, wozu sie der Njuga (Njuksha), einem Zuflusse des Tungir, aufwärts bis zum Gebirge folgen und alsdann zum Ui (Urkan) hinüber und diesem entlang bis zu seiner Mündung in die Schilka gehen, wo sie schon dem Fürsten Lavkai untergebene Dauren treffen. Daraus lässt sich ersehen, dass die Manägirn damals noch Rennthiernomaden waren, die hoch im Stanowoi-Gebirge, an dessen Nord- und Südabhange, an den Quellen der Njuksha, des Urkan und — da ihr Stamm zahlreich sein sollte — wohl auch der zunächst ostwärts gelegenen Flüsse, des Oldoi, Ur u. a., umherstreiften. In Pojarkof's Bericht über seinen gleichzeitigen Zug, der vom Stanowoi-Gebirge die obere Brjanda und die Dseja abwärts ging, wird der Manägirn nicht erwähnt: den ersteren Fluss fand er unbewohnt, an der unteren (zweiten) Brjanda sassen Rennthier-Tungusen vom Stamme Ullagir, am unteren Ur viehzuchttreibende

1) Ritter, Asien, Bd. III, p. 412.

2) Pauthier, Chine moderne, I. partie, p. 168.

3) Лоренцъ лаврит и пр. (Сборн. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По общ. геогр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 143).

4) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 167, 1505 u. a.

5) Auch wird bei Wiedergabe tungusischer u. a. Wörter das i russischerseits leicht in u (das wir hier conventionell durch y wiedergeben) umgewandelt, wie z. B. aus «Kidsi» Kysy (Кызы) gemacht wurde u. s. w. Darnach müsste auch aus «bira» byra (бира) entstehen, und daher vielleicht die Version «Byral-Tungusen».

6) Распросныя рѣчи пропитомленного человѣка Григ. Вижевзова (Дополн. къ акт. истор. Т. III, стр. 162).

Bajagir-Tungusen und an der Dseja vom Umlekan ab Dauren[1]). Von diesen beiden Tungusen-Stämmen ist jedoch später im Amur-Lande nicht weiter die Rede, wonach sich schon vermuthen lässt, dass es nur einzelne versprengte Glieder ihres Stammes waren, wie solche in den Ländern mit nomadischer tungusischer Bevölkerung stets vorzukommen pflegen. Von den Bajagirn ist zudem notorisch bekannt, dass sie ein, wie Middendorff sich ausdrückt, nach allen vier Winden verstreutes Geschlecht sind, von denen sich einzelne Repräsentanten durch ganz Sibirien finden lassen[2]). Wie die Manägirn zur Zeit von Pojarkof's Zuge an der Brjanda und Dseja fehlten, so gab es, nach Ussolzef, auch zwei Jahrhunderte später noch keine am Gilui[3]), diesem westlich von der Brjanda vom Stanowoi-Gebirge herabkommenden rechten Zuflusse der Dseja. Angesichts dieser Thatsachen muss man daher die Heimath der Manägirn, von welcher aus sie sich später bis an die Dseja und über dieselbe hinaus verbreitet haben, erst westlich vom Gilui, d. h. also in demjenigen Theile des Stanowoi-Gebirges suchen, auf welchen die obige Angabe Wishevzof's zum Theil direkt hinweist. Am nächsten und näher als der Dseja waren sie dort dem oberen Amur, und zu diesem stiegen sie auch, wie jene älteste Nachricht besagt, längs den direkt hinführenden Flüssen, dem Urkan u. s. w., des Handels mit den Dauren wegen allwinterlich hinab. Dies ist aber gerade derjenige Theil des Amur-Stromes, in welchem sich die Russen im XVII. Jahrhundert am ehesten und meisten festsetzten, in welchem ihre grössten und besten Festungen wie später ihre Ansiedelungen lagen, und in welchem sie sich auch am längsten und nachhaltigsten behaupteten. Darin liegt der Grund, weshalb die weitere Ausbreitung der Manägirn im Amur-Lande erst später als diejenige der Biraren stattfinden konnte. War diesen die Möglichkeit dazu schon gleich nach dem Abzuge der Gogulen und Dauren vom Amur geboten, so konnte hingegen die Ausbreitung der Manägirn aus ihrer Gebirgsheimath nach Süden und Osten nicht eher beginnen, als nachdem auch die Russen den oberen Amur geräumt hatten, was erst 35 Jahre später, in Folge des Nertschinsker Traktates geschah. Als daher 1681 Ignatij Milowanof zur Besichtigung der Dseja abgesandt wurde, fand er dort noch keine Manägirn vor, während die Biraren sich am Ssilimdshi bereits so weit abwärts gezogen hatten, dass die chinesischen Beamten den Tribut von ihnen an der Mündung dieses Flusses in die Dseja einsammeln konnten[4]). Wie bald nach dem Abzuge der Russen vom Amur die Ausbreitung der Manägirn begann und welchen Verlauf sie nahm, lässt sich nicht genauer bestimmen, da mit jenem Abzuge leider auch so ziemlich alle Nachrichten über das Amur-Land auf lange Zeit hinaus versiegten. So viel scheint mir jedoch aus dem

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1) Лопатин, ив записокъ истор. Т. III, стр. 31, 32. Bei Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geograph. 2. Thl. 2. Aufl. p. 494) heisst der zweite der genannten Stämme «Buiagirs».

2) Middendorff (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1479, 1512) erwähnt z. B. einzelner Bojägern — wie er den Namen schreibt — die er zum Theil selbst gesehen, von den Quellen der Cheta, westlich vom Jenissei, vom Wilui, Aldan, Tungir (Olekma), vom Amur etwas unterhalb Ussj-Strelka, vom Dahukyt, Oldoi, Ur, von der Bolanza, vom Temtjon und von Udskoi Ostrog.

3) Усолцевъ, Путеш. на сверн. р. Гилюя и на хребетъ Зеи, 1836 г. (Сѣвер. Русск. Геогр. Обз. ч. XXII, 1858, Отд. II, стр. 133).

4) S. oben, p. 176.

Obigen als wahrscheinlich hervorzugehen, dass sie zunächst auf ihrem altgewohnten Wege, die Flüsse Urkan, Oldoi u. s. w. abwärts, zum gänzlich verödeten oberen Amur hinabstiegen und alsdann, diesem Strome folgend, an den Komar und die Dseja gelangten, längs welchen sie sich so weit aufwärts ausbreiteten, als sie unbesetztes und ihren Bedürfnissen entsprechendes Terrain fanden. Zur Dseja führte sie übrigens vielleicht auch noch ein zweiter Weg, ich meine den Ur abwärts. Daher vielleicht, wie hauptsächlich wohl aus dem Grunde, weil die Prairien an der unteren und mittleren Dseja und ihren Zuflüssen den Pferdenomaden, zu welchen die Manägirn, nach den Vorbergen und der Ebene hinabgestiegen, allmählich geworden waren, die günstigsten Bedingungen boten, fand sich dort in der Folge auch die zahlreichste Manägir-Bevölkerung ein. Nirgends, weder an der Dseja, noch am Komar oder am Amur, wandte sie sich aber dem Ackerbau und einer sesshaften Lebensweise zu, wozu jedoch der Grund nicht allein in dem tiefwurzelnden Nomadensinn der Tungusen, sondern vornehmlich wohl in jener oben berührten Politik der chinesischen Regierung zu suchen ist, diese der russischen Invasion zunächst und am meisten ausgesetzten Gegenden in möglichst ödem und wüstem Zustande zu erhalten.

Bemerkenswerth ist ferner, dass die Manägirn, trotz ihrer oben angegebenen weiten Ausbreitung im Amur-Lande und ihrer Umwandlung in Pferdenomaden, in den Augen der Mandshu-Chinesen doch dieselben Rennthier-Tungusen blieben, die sie ehemals waren. Die chinesische Reichsgeographie der Tai-Tsing kennt für sie keinen besonderen Namen, wie für ihre nahen Stammverwandten, die Biraren, sondern subsummirt sie unter der allgemeinen, auch ihre westlichen Nachbaren, die Orotschonen, umfassenden und auf diese auch gegenwärtig noch passenden Bezeichnung «Oruntschun»[1]) oder «Go-Jun-tschun»[2]), d. h. Rennthiervolk. Darin liegt, glaube ich, auch von chinesischer Seite eine Bestätigung der von uns oben aus anderen Gründen abgeleiteten Behauptungen, dass nämlich die Manägirn noch unlängst als Rennthiernomaden in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft der Orotschonen sassen, dass sie von dort aus zum oberen Amur und diesen abwärts zum Komar und zur Dseja sich ausbreiteten, und dass diese Ausbreitung erst in verhältnissmässig später Zeit erfolgte. Die älteste mir bekannte Nachricht übrigens, in welcher von den Manägirn schon als von Anwohnern des Amur-Stromes die Rede ist, gehört der Neuzeit an. Sie ist dem russischen Läufling Gurij Wassiljef zu verdanken, dessen Aussagen in den handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen Ladyshinskij's niedergelegt, später aber, wie Middendorff nachgewiesen[3]), von Iakinf in seiner Statistischen Beschreibung des Chinesischen Reiches ohne Nennung der Quelle ausgebeutet worden sind. In diesem Werke heisst es demgemäss, dass unterhalb Ustj-Strelka in den Bergen an beiden Ufern des Amur Tungusen-Stämme wohnen, die von den Russen die Namen «Minegren» (Минегрэ) und «Orotschonen» erhalten haben[4]); und an einer anderen Stelle — offenbar auch nach einer anderen Quelle — dass man in Transbaikalien die Tungusen des rechten Amur-Ufers unter-

1) Ritter, Asien, Bd. III, p. 442.
2) Pauthier, Chine moderne, I. partie, p. 168.
3) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 156, Anm. †; s. auch oben, p. 81.
4) Іакинфъ, Статист. опис. Китайск. Имп. С. Петербургъ 1842, ч. II, стр. 217.

halb Ustj-Strelka «Mangiren» (Манґиры), diejenigen des linken Ufers aber «Orotschonen» nenne[1]). Die neueren Amur-Reisenden erwähnen der Manägirn stets unter demselben, nur in den Vokalen verschiedentlich abgeändertem Namen; über den Ursprung desselben findet man aber bei ihnen höchstens nur Nachklänge der von Iakinf ausgesprochenen Ansicht. So hält Gerstfeldt[2]) diesen Namen für russischen Ursprungs bloss aus dem Grunde, weil er in den chinesischen Volkszählungstabellen (in der Reichsgeographie der Tai-Tsing, s. oben) fehlt. Ja, auch Maack, der sich am längsten unter den Manägirn aufhielt, meint, dass sie sich zwar gegenwärtig selbst «Manjachyr» nennen, dass es jedoch noch dahingestellt bleibe, ob sie diesen Namen nicht von den Russen acceptirt hätten[3]). Dem kann ich nun keineswegs beistimmen: wie sollten die Russen auf diesen Namen, der im Russischen durchaus keine Bedeutung hat, gekommen sein? Dass er vielmehr von Tungusischem Ursprung ist, dafür spricht, wenn wir auch seine Etymologie zunächst nicht kennen, schon die Endsylbe desselben[4]). Auch tritt er uns gleich bei der ersten Berührung der Russen mit den Manägirn, in jener Nachricht aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert entgegen. Offenbar bezeichneten sie sich schon Wishevzof gegenüber, also zu einer Zeit, da sie noch gar keinen russischen Namen haben konnten, als Managir, gleichwie sie es zwei Jahrhunderte später Maack und mir gegenüber thaten. Mir klang dabei der Name, den sie sich selbst beilegten, bald «Manägir» und bald «Monjager» oder «Manjager», woraus sich jene Schwankungen in den Vokalen bei Wiedergabe desselben durch verschiedene Reisende leicht erklären lassen.

Am genauesten und bestimmtesten unter den drei hier in Rede stehenden Völkern lauten die Nachrichten über die Ausbreitung der **Orotschonen** im Amur-Lande. Und dies aus dem Grunde, weil sie einerseits am spätesten erfolgte und andererseits an der unmittelbaren Grenze der russischen Bezitzungen, ja von denselben aus und also gewissermassen vor den Augen der Russen stattfand. Bemerken wir zuvörderst, dass obwohl man gegenwärtig russischerseits unter Orotschonen die Rennthier-Tungusen versteht, welche oberhalb der Manägirn am Amur und seinen Nebenflüssen, ja auch über dieselben hinaus, im Stanowoi-Gebirge an den oberen Zuflüssen der Olekma und im Chingan-Gebirge an einigen Zuflüssen des Nonni umherstreifen, so ist ihnen dieser Name doch nicht, wie die oben angeführte, zum Theil dem Gorij Wassiljef nachgesprochene Angabe Iakinf's fälschlich besagt, von den Russen ertheilt worden. Sein mandshurischer Ursprung ist oben ausführlich besprochen worden[5]). Da er nur so viel wie «Rennthiervolk» bedeutet, so könnte er auf sehr verschiedene Tungusen-Stämme Anwendung finden. Wie weit er bei den Mandshu oder deren Vorfahren zurückreicht, wissen wir nicht, allein der Umstand, dass er den Oltscha am unteren Amur, die ihr Rennthiernomadenthum längst aufgegeben, sowie den Oroken von Sachalin verblieben ist, weist auf ein hohes Alter des-

1) L. c. p. 1, Anm.; s. auch oben, p. 41.

2) О прибрежн. жителяхъ Амура (Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XX, 1857, Отд. II, стр. 283, примѣч. 2).

3) Маакъ, Путеш. по Амуру, С. Петербургъ 1859, стр. 68.

4) S. oben, p. 101, 103.

5) S. oben, p. 122 ff.

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selben hin. Dass die chinesische Reichsgeographie der Tai-Tsing ihn neben den Orotschonen auch auf die Manägirn ausdehnt, noch aus der Zeit, da diese Rennthiernomaden waren, was nicht so weit zurückliegt, ist oben schon erwähnt worden. Bekannt wird diese mandshurische Bezeichnung für die Rennthier-Tungusen seit den alten Jesuiten-Missionären[1]. Bei den Russen ist hingegen der Name Orotschonen erst seit Kurzem im Gebrauch und hat als Fremdwort natürlich auch nicht jene collective Anwendung wie bei den Mandshu, sondern bezieht sich als specieller Eigenname nur auf die Rennthier-Tungusen am oberen Amur in den oben angeführten Grenzen. In den Berichten aus der Zeit der ersten russischen Invasion im Amur-Lande kommt er noch gar nicht vor. Wo die Russen damals Rennthier-Tungusen im Amur-Lande trafen, nannten sie dieselben, gleichwie sie es auch in Sibirien thaten, nach deren eigenen Stamm- oder Geschlechtsnamen, wie die Bezeichnungen Birar-Tungusen, Ullagir, Managir u. a. beweisen. Erst sehr viel später, nachdem das ganze Amur-Land traktatmässig chinesisches Land geworden war und die Russen, nunmehr einzeln und in kleinen Partien von Daurien aus in dasselbe vordringend, dort zuvörderst auf Rennthier-Tungusen stiessen, die wenigstens nominell den Mandshu-Chinesen tributpflichtig waren und bei ihnen den Namen Orotschonen trugen, acceptirten sie ebenfalls diesen Namen; und da dieselben Nomaden sich bis über den Nordabhang des Stanowoi-Gebirges und an die Quellflüsse der Olekma erstreckten, so wurde jener Name russischerseits auch in dieser weiteren Ausdehnung üblich. Die älteste mir bekannte Nachricht, die von dem Gebrauch des Namens Orotschonen bei den Russen Zeugniss giebt, rührt von einem Dr. Schneegass her, welcher in den ersten Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts (vor 1805) durch Sibirien nach Japan reiste, um sich dort, wie es heisst, mit den russischen Erdumseglern (Krusenstern) zu vereinigen[2]. Indem er von den Solonen und Dauren spricht, die jenseits des Argunj in der Mandshurei ihre Wohnsitze hätten, sagt er, «in derselben Gegend um den Fluss Amur herum ist auch eine grosse Anzahl Orotschonen, nämlich Olenni-Tungusen[3]) gelagert», — eine Nachricht, die durch ihre erklärenden Schlussworte deutlich verräth, dass sie auf russischen Angaben beruht. Beinahe aus derselben Zeit — aus den Jahren zwischen 1815 und 1826 — stammt die oben angeführte, durch Ladyshenskij der Vergessenheit entzogene Aussage des Läuflings Gurij Wassiljef. Bei unseren Reisenden, die Daurien im vorigen Jahrhundert besuchten, Messerschmidt, Gmelin, Pallas, Georgi, so wie in Müller's und Fischer's Schriften kommt er nicht vor. Er mag daher erst ganz zu Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts unter den Russen des angrenzenden Daurien's üblich geworden sein.

Daraus folgt nun freilich keineswegs, dass die Orotschonen damals erst an den Amur gelangt sind; allein sehr viel früher kann es auch nicht gewesen sein. Denn wie

1) Gerbillon, s. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 37.

2) Siehe den Anhang: «Beyträge zur Länder- und Staatenkunde der Tartarey; aus russ. Berichten», zu John Barrow, Reise durch China von Peking nach Canton im Gefolge der Grossbrit. Gesandschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794; aus dem Englischen übersetzt und mit einigen Anmerkungen begleitet von J. A. Hüttner, Bd. II, Wien 1805, p. 338.

3) D. h. Rennthier-Tungusen.

die Ausbreitung der Manägirn vom Stanowoi-Gebirge nach Süd und Ost, so kann auch diejenige der Orotschonen erst nach der durch den Nertschinsker Traktat beschlossenen völligen Räumung des Amur-Landes durch die Russen begonnen haben. Ja, sie ist sogar nachweislich später als jene erfolgt. Denn gleichwie an den Quellflüssen der Bureja und des Ssilindshi den südwärts sich bewegenden Biraren Rennthier-Tungusen vom Stanowoi-Gebirge nachdrängten, so rückten hier den Manägirn die Orotschonen nach und nahmen manche ursprünglich von jenen inne gehabten Gebiete ein. Während z. B. ehemals, wie wir oben sahen, die Manägirn noch im Norden des Stanowoi-Gebirges, an der Njuksha umherstreiften und an den Tungir kamen, auch den Urkan abwärts zu den Dauren gingen, breitet sich dort gegenwärtig unbestrittenes Orotschonen-Gebiet aus und läuft die Grenze zwischen beiden Völkern von der linken Oldoi-Quelle längs diesem Flusse oder noch östlicher, längs dem Niwer zum Amur hinab[1]). Aehnliches fand, als die Ausbreitung dieser Völker den Amur erreicht hatte, auch an diesem statt. Orlof, der einen grossen Theil des Orotschonen-Gebietes bereist hat, ist es gelungen in Erfahrung zu bringen, dass die Orotschonen des linken und des rechten Amur-Ufers zwei verschiedenen, wenn auch nahe verwandten Stämmen angehören, die auch zu verschiedenen Zeiten an den Amur gelangt sind[2]). Beide stammen aus dem Jakutskischen Gebiete, also nördlich vom Stanowoi-Gebirge, vermuthlich vom Tungir, von der Olekma u. s. w. her. Diejenigen vom linken Amur-Ufer, dem Ninagan'schen Stamme angehörig, sind von älterer Verbreitung. Sie sind es offenbar, die unmittelbar nach West und Nordwest von den Manägirn, als diese noch Rennthiernomaden waren, ihre Heimath hatten und diesen auf dem Fusse gefolgt sind, bis sie an den Amur gelangten, wo sie, ihre Vorgänger drängend, bis an den Oldoi und Niwer sich ausbreiteten[3]). Viel später, erst vor etwa 30 Jahren, sagt Orlof, also um das Jahr 1827, wanderten freiwillig, wohl aus benachbarter Heimath, Rennthier-Tungusen vom Schologon'schen Stamme an das rechte Amur-Ufer heran, die nun den anderen Theil der Amur-Orotschonen abgeben. Auch Middendorff wurde 1844 von den Kosaken am Beginn des Amur erzählt, dass vor etwa zwölf Jahren, also um 1832, Tungusen aus dem Ssologon-Geschlecht («Ssologonzy»), die früher jenseits des Oldoi an den Quellen der Dseja-Zuflüsse gehaust hätten, auf chinesisches Gebiet zwischen dem Argunj, dem Amur-Anfang und der Albasicha übergetreten wären. Ihnen seien vor vier Jahren auch die Böljöt gefolgt, zwölf der russischen Krone Tribut zahlende Häupter aus dem Kangalas-Stamme, welche, nach Versicherung der Tungusen, ursprünglich am Aldan lebten und wegen schwerer Zeiten, so wie um Bedrückungen zu entgehen, von dort auswanderten[4]). Die Orotschonen des rechten Amur-

1) S. oben, p. 12.

2) Орлонъ, Амурскіе Орочены (Вѣстникъ Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XXI, 1857, Отд. II, стр. 96, 97).

3) Zur Zeit von Middendorff's Reise (1844) sommerten Ninigan-j-Tungusen ihrer Rennthiere wegen an den Quellen des Oldoi, Niwer («Liwer») und Gilni («Rilé»); etwa zehn rennthierlose Familien desselben Geschlechts sassen am Uritschi, in grosser Armuth. Sie waren erst seit 17 Jahren dort angeschrieben. Der Häuptling zeigte unserem Reisenden ein Papier der Behörde von Jakutsk vom Jahre 1683, um seine Erzählung von ihrer Herkunft zu bewahrheiten (Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1510, 1511).

4) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1511. Fast möchte man es aber nur für einen Druckfehler halten,

Ufers breiteten sich, meist in der Nähe des Hauptstromes sich haltend und ohne auf das linke Ufer hinüberzugehen, bis zu den Quellen der Albasicha und dann längs diesem Flusse bis zu dessen Mündung aus, wo gegenwärtig ihre äusserste Grenze am südlichen Amur-Ufer liegt. Auch sie hatten dabei, wie Orlof ausdrücklich bemerkt, Manägirn zu verdrängen, welche übrigens noch jetzt zeitweise des Fischfangs wegen über die Albasicha-Mündung hinaus in das Orotschonen-Gebiet streifen [1]). Der Grund aber, weshalb es den Orotschonen gelang, den Manägirn an beiden Ufern ein nicht unbedeutendes Terrain abzugewinnen, dürfte nicht etwa in ihrer grösseren Zahl — diese ist im Gegentheil sehr gering — auch nicht in irgend welcher sonstiger physischer oder geistiger Ueberlegenheit, sondern einzig und allein in dem Umstande zu suchen sein, dass der rauhe, nordische Gebirgscharakter der beiderseitigen Ufer des Amur-Stromes in diesem seinem Theile den Rennthiernomaden einen günstigeren Boden als den Pferdenomaden bietet, während die letzteren im Gegentheil sich von der Natur um so mehr begünstigt sahen, je weiter sie stromabwärts zogen [2]).

Das letzte der indigenen Völker des Amur-Landes, von dem hier die Rede sein muss, sind die **Solonen.** Die Nachrichten über dasselbe sind übrigens so mangelhaft und ungenügend, dass sich aus ihnen, wie wir oben sahen, kaum etwas Bestimmteres über seine jetzigen Wohnsitze entnehmen lässt, — wie viel weniger über etwaige, im Laufe der Zeit erfolgte Veränderungen und Verschiebungen derselben. Nur bei Gelegenheit der Erklärung des Namens dieses räthselhaften Volkes sind auch einige Vermuthungen über den Ursprung oder die ursprüngliche Heimath desselben ausgesprochen worden, an die ich einige Bemerkungen knüpfen möchte. Die älteste Erwähnung des Volkes der Solonen von Seiten europäischer Schriftsteller ist bei den alten Jesuiten-Missionären zu finden. Nach Gerbillon nimmt nämlich, wie oben schon erwähnt, die Provinz Solon den westlichsten Theil des Gouvernements Tsitsikar ein, das eigentlich vom Zusammenfluss des Argunj und der Schilka («Ergonè» und «Saghalien oula») beginnen soll [3]).

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wenn Middendorff an demselben Orte die Saologon-Tungusen auch schlechtweg S'olorn-Tungusen nennt, während er wenige Seiten vordem (p. 1302 und 1304) S'olorn für einen Handelsplatz erklärt. Oben (p. 49) ist schon dargethan worden, dass die wenigen Nachrichten, die er über «S'olorn» hatte, sich auf die Solonen beziehen.

1) S. oben p. 42.

2) Gelegentlich sei hier auf die von dem oben Auseinandergesetzten ganz abweichende und meinem Dafürhalten nach auch ganz irrthümliche Ansicht Maack's über den Ursprung der Amur-Orotschonen und Manägirn hingewiesen. Nach ihm (Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 68) wären beide gesammten Völker nur Nachkommen der Lavkajef'schen Tungusen. Es ist schwer zu sagen, was man sich darunter denken soll, da Lavkai ein daurischer Fürst war und das Volk, dem er angehörte und das damals am oberen Amur wohnte, die Dauren, zwar von tungusischem Stamme ist, aber doch nicht schlechtweg als Tungusen bezeichnet werden kann. Bekanntlich wurden die Dauren auf chinesischen Befehl vom Amur versetzt; sollten aber auch Einzelne von ihnen zurückgeblieben sein, wie können aus diesen in zwei Jahrhunderten zwei verschiedene Völker, Orotschen und Manägirn, entstanden sein? Von einer späteren Herauswanderung an den Amur anderer Stämme ist bei Maack überhaupt nicht die Rede.

3) Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, pag. 38, 40.

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In diesem Lande, bei Mergen am Nonni, lernten die vom Kaiser Kang-hi mit der Anfertigung der Karte von China beauftragten Missionäre die Solonen oder «Solon-tatse» kennen und schildern sie als kühne und geschickte Jäger, die, mit Bogen und Pfeilen bewaffnet, alljährlich auf die Zobeljagd in die Gebirgswildnisse ausziehen. Sie selbst, heisst es da[1]), halten sich ihrem Ursprunge nach für Mandshu, indem sie meinen Nachkommen derjenigen Njutschi zu sein, die sich nach der Niederlage, welche ihr unter dem Namen Kin über Nordchina herrschender Stamm im Jahre 1201 durch die Mongolen erlitt, nach den jetzt von ihnen bewohnten Gegenden retteten. Zwar ist nicht speciell gesagt, von wo aus sie flüchteten, allein da wir oben die Njutschi auch in Daurien, am Argunj, in der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft der Mongolen und namentlich der Heimath ihres Besiegers Tschingis-Chan's kennen gelernt haben, so liegt es nahe, die Richtigkeit jener Angabe der Solonen vorausgesetzt, ihre Vorfahren in den Njutschi am Argunj zu vermuthen. Und dies um so mehr, als eine Flucht von dort sie nothwendig die rechten Zuflüsse des Argunj hinauf und über das Chingan-Gebirge an den Nonni führen müsste, wo in der That ihre jetzigen Wohnsitze liegen. Denselben Weg haben ja, wie wir oben sahen, 4½ Jahrhunderte später auch die Nachfolger jener Njutschi, die Dauren, zurückgelegt, als sie, von den Russen gedrängt, das Land am Argunj räumen mussten. Da aber am Nonni schon vordem, ja vielleicht schon vor der Einwanderung der Njutschi-Solonen, Dauren wohnten und ihre Zahl nunmehr durch die fast gleichzeitigen Uebersiedelungen ihrer Landsleute vom Argunj und vom Amur noch ansehnlich wuchs, so konnte es nicht fehlen, dass die ohnehin nur wenig zahlreichen Solonen mehr und mehr nach dem für Ackerbau und Viehzucht minder günstigen oberen Laufe des Nonni und seiner Zuflüsse gedrängt wurden, wo sie sich naturgemäss auf die Jagd im wildreichen Gebirge angewiesen sahen. Als Nachkommen eines ehemals mächtigen, tapferen und kriegerischen Volkes konnten sie dort zu den geschickten, kühnen, allen Gefahren Trotz bietenden Jägern werden, als welche die alten Missionäre sie rühmen. Dabei mussten sie jedoch, mit dem Verfall und der Abnahme landwirthschaftlicher Beschäftigungen, an Wohlstand und Bildung nothwendig hinter den industrielleren Dauren zurückbleiben. Ich finde es daher damit, wie mit Allem, was oben über die Abstammung der Solonen von den alten Njutschi gesagt worden, vollkommen im Einklange, wenn der Archimandrit Palladij, ohne jene Ansicht zu theilen, ja vielleicht ohne sie zu kennen, sich in der folgenden Weise über dieses Volk ausspricht[2]). Nach den Erzählungen der Chinesen, sagt er, gehörte einst alles Butcha-Land[3]) den Solonen und war ihr Name so berühmt, dass Dahuren und Orontscho es für eine Ehre hielten, für Solonen zu gelten; auch jetzt noch stellt man sich in Peking dieselben als ein kriegerisches und tapferes Volk vor. Vielleicht war es einmal so. Gegenwärtig aber stehen die Dahuren in allen Stücken höher als die Solonen, und jedesmal, wenn wir einen Dahuren fragten, was er sei, Solon oder Dahur, gab er eiligst zur

1) Du Halde, l. c. p. 11, 18.

2) Лоренц. зап. на пути отъ Пекина до Кяхты, чрезъ Монголію, въ 1870 г. (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По общ. геогр. Т. IV. 1871, стр. 113).

3) D. h. Land der Tributpflichtigen.

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Antwort «Dahur», mit einem Tone, als wollte er sagen: civis romanus sum. In dieser Erzählung lässt sich die Tradition, dass die Solonen einst einem herrschenden Volke angehörten, nicht verkennen. Wie den Chinesen, so wird dies ohne Zweifel auch den Mandshu bekannt sein, und es ist vielleicht zum grossen Theil auch das Bewusstsein gemeinsamer Stammesangehörigkeit, was die letzteren bestimmt, die Solonen so gern im Kriegsdienst, im Achtbannerheer und besonders in den Wachtposten und Garnisonen der entlegensten Grenzorte vom Amur bis nach Kuhlsha hin zu verwenden[1]). Angesichts dieser Thatsachen scheint mir die oben entwickelte Ansicht über den Ursprung der Solonen unter allen die meiste Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich zu haben.

Ganz anderer Ansicht über den Ursprung der Solonen ist der Archimandrit Palladij. Er hält es für das Wahrscheinlichste, dass die Solonen Nachkommen der Urjanchen seien, eines wenig bekannten Volkes, welches ehemals das Land nördlich vom Pallisadenzaune bewohnte und nach chinesischen Schriftstellern der Min-Dynastie ein Rest der Khitan war, der unter den Mongolen von mongolischen Chefs regiert wurde[2]). Ich erlaube mir über die Halt- oder Unhaltbarkeit dieser von Palladij a. a. O. nur kurz angedeuteten Ansicht, welche er auch selbst nur eine Hypothese nennt, kein Urtheil. Uebrigens bemerkt er, dass der Name «Solon» oder «Solun», der in China schon zur Zeit der vorigen Dynastie bekannt war[3]), noch zu einer anderen Vermuthung über den Ursprung dieses Volkes führt, die er jedoch selbst nur für wenig wahrscheinlich hält. Ihr zufolge wären die Solonen nur die Nachkommen einer Colonie von Koreanern, welche etwa zwischen dem VIII. und X. Jahrhundert ihre Heimath verliessen und sich nach der Mandshurei begaben. «Solongo» sei nämlich die mongolische Bezeichnung für Korea, woraus die mandshurische «Solcho» für die Koreaner entlehnt sein könne[4]). Ohne mir ein Urtheil in dergleichen historisch-linguistischen Fragen zu erlauben, muss ich bekennen, dass mir diese Herleitung der Solonen doch etwas weit hergeholt erscheint. Auf eine vielleicht nur zufällige Lautähnlichkeit im Namen hin werden Koreaner und Mongolen zu Hülfe genommen, um den Ursprung eines schliesslich doch tungusischen Volkes zu erklären!

Auch von anderer Seite wird übrigens dem Namen «Solon» ein mongolischer Ursprung zugeschrieben. Pallas leitete ihn vom mongolischen Worte «*ssolón*», Schütze, her[5]), — eine Ansicht,

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1) Nach Iakinf (Сборн. относ. Китайск. Имп. Ч. I, 1832, стр. 233) sind 47 Companien von Solonen und nur 37 aus den viel zahlreicheren Dauren den Garnisonen in den verschiedenen Provinzen zugezählt. Unter den im Gebiet von Kuhlsha stationirten Truppen gab es zur Zeit von Putimzef's Reise (1811) 6000 Solonen (Ritter, Asien, Bd. I, p. 443) u. s. w.

2) Палладій, Хроник. зап. о пр. (Лан. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По общ. Геогр. Т. IV, стр. 444).

3) Nach chinesischen Schriftstellern soll er richtiger «Soölo» heissen (Palladij, l. c. p. 443).

4) Nach Klaproth (Asia polygl. p. 257; Mém. relat. à l'Asie, T. I, 1824, p. 171, 199) ist «Solongo» der mongolische Name für Korea und seine Bewohner. Palladij hält es für unzweifelhaft, dass er aus «Sinlo» (auch «Sylo» und «Sinlu») entstanden ist, welches drei Jahrhunderte hindurch (bis zum X. n. Chr.) ein starkes, ganz Korea umfassendes Reich war; damals sei jene Colonie nach der Mandshurei verpflanzt worden.

5) Pallas, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russ. Reiches, Bd. III, p. 238; desselben, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften, St. Petersburg, 1776, Bd. I, p. 2, Anm. (*).

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die später mehrfach wiederholt worden ist[1]) und vermuthlich darum so vielen Anklang gefunden hat, weil sie zu der oben erwähnten Schilderung der Jesuiten-Missionäre von den Solonen als kühnen Jägern und geschickten Bogenschützen passt. Nach Pallas verstehen die Mongolen unter «Solon» sowohl die unter chinesischer Herrschaft stehenden Tungusen, die im Chingan-Gebirge und in den östlicher, zum Amur hin gelegenen Wildnissen umherstreifen, als auch die russischen Tungusen in Daurien, und von den Mongolen, meint er, hätten diesen Namen auch die Chinesen angenommen. In der That begegnen wir ihm z. B. in einer chinesischen Reisebeschreibung aus dem Jahre 1712[2]), und zwar wird in derselben der Name «Solun» auf Tungusen angewandt, welche die Reisenden zwischen Irkutsk und Jenisseisk antrafen[3]). Desgleichen geschieht in einer von Klaproth übersetzten chinesischen Beschreibung Russlands der «Solon» Erwähnung, die an den Ufern des Argunj wohnen und von den Russen beunruhigt werden[4]). Diese weite Auffassung des in Rede stehenden Namens bei den Mongolen wie bei den Chinesen scheint mir jedoch gewissermassen schon darauf hinzuweisen, dass derselbe ursprünglich weder von den Einen, noch von den Anderen herrührt, sondern von Beiden, gleichviel ob mittel- oder unmittelbar, entweder von den Solonen selbst, oder von einem ihrer nächsten, tungusischen Nachbarvölker, den Dauren oder Mandshu, entlehnt und alsdann auf alle in ähnlicher Weise wie die Solonen umherstreifenden Tungusen-Stämme ausgedehnt worden ist.

Fast unwillkürlich drängt sich Einem an Ort und Stelle, im Amur-Lande, eine Erklärung des Namens Solon auf, die von jener fern abliegt und jedenfalls den doppelten Vorzug hat, dass sie einmal den Sprachkreis der tungusischen Völker nicht überschreitet und dass sie ferner mit der Lage der jetzigen Wohnsitze der Solonen, ja, wenn man will, auch der ehemaligen ihrer vermuthlichen Vorfahren, der Argunj-Njutschi, in Uebereinstimmung bleibt. Bei den tungusischen Völkern des Amur-Landes, den Oltscha, Golde, vermuthlich auch bei den mit diesen letzteren nahe verwandten Mandshu u. a., heisst nämlich «*ssolo*» oben oder oberhalb, wie «*chydji, chydshi*» unten oder unterhalb. Es passirt Einem dort nicht selten bei Begegnungen mit Eingeborenen auf die Anfrage, wer sie seien, von den Oltscha z. B. nur die Antwort «*chydji*»- oder «*ssolo-nci*», d. h. Leute von unter-, resp. von oberhalb, zu be-

1) So z. B. von Spasskij (Лѣсопм. Тунгусы. — Сиб. Вѣстн. С. Петерб. Ч. XVIII, 1822, Отд. II, стр. 22) u. A. Auch Pauthier (Chine moderne, I. partie, p. 168) fügt, bei Aufzählung der nach der chinesischen Reichsgeographie der Tai-Tsing zum Gouvernement Heilong-kiang gehörigen Völker, dem Namen «So-lun» in Klammern «archers», Bogenschützen, hinzu. Der Fürst Kostrof (Очерки Тунгусского края. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. IV, 1857, стр. 81) meint zwar, dass der Name «Solon» dem betreffenden Volke von den Mandshu gegeben sei, schreibt ihm aber doch die Bedeutung «Schütze» bei.

2) Sie ist vom Missionär Gaubil in's Französische übersetzt und von Müller nach einem Auszuge von Souciet deutsch wiedergegeben worden, in der Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Bd. I, p. 327—348.

3) Müller, l. c. p. 335. In einer Anmerkung heisst es zugleich, dass dies die Bezeichnung der Chinesen sowohl für die russischen, wie für die chinesischen Tungusen sei. Doch vermag ich nicht zu sagen, ob und in wie weit diese Angabe von Müller oder von Gaubil herrührt, da es in der deutschen Uebersetzung nur im Allgemeinen heisst, die Anmerkungen seien durchgängig verbessert und wo nöthig vermehrt worden, der französische Text mir aber zur Vergleichung nicht vorliegt.

4) Klaproth, Mém. relat. à l'Asie, T. I, p. 93, 94.

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kommen. Dieselben Ausdrücke konnten natürlich auch zur Bezeichnung ganzer, ober- oder unterhalb wohnender Völker gebraucht werden. Gleichwie nun in der That aus dem ersteren der mandshurische Name Chydshan, Chädshen, Chodsen u. s. w. oder, in chinesischer Version, Ketsching und Ketscheng-tatse für die Golde und Oltscha wurde[1]), so könnte der letztere Veranlassung zur Unterscheidung im oberen Amur-Lande eines Volkes «Solon» gegeben haben. Ich möchte es nicht für eine nur zufällige Uebereinstimmung damit halten, wenn Gerbillon sagt, Solon sei bei den Mandshu die westlichste, von den Russen Dauvré genannte Provinz, die eigentlich, d. h. so weit die faktische Herrschaft der Mandshu reichte, dort beginnt, wo sich der Argunj in den Amur ergiesst. Dieselbe wurde vielmehr ohne Zweifel so bezeichnet, weil sie den obersten Lauf des Amur-Stromes umfasste. Zu ihr gehörte auch das Quellgebiet und der obere Lauf des Nonni, eines für die Mandshu, wie auch für die Dauren, nicht minder wichtigen Stromes, an welchem die Hauptstadt der Provinz, der Sitz der Regierung, Tsitsikar, liegt. Und hier wie dort, am Amur wie am Nonni, waren die Solonen das oberste Volk: am Amur — in früherer Zeit, denn am Argunj, den man als dessen obersten Lauf betrachten kann, hatten ihre Vorfahren, die Njutschi, gesessen, eine Thatsache, die vielleicht auch den Mandshu als ihren nächsten Stammgenossen traditionell bekannt war; am Nonni aber sind sie es noch bis zum heutigen Tage. Kein anderes der Amur-Völker hatte mehr Recht auf diesen Namen: weder die Dauren, denn diese erstreckten sich am Amur weit abwärts, bis in die Prairien hinein, und am Nonni sassen sie unterhalb der Solonen, ja hatten diese zum Theil selbst aufwärts gedrängt; noch auch die Manägirn und Orotschonen, die jetzt eine solche Bezeichnung beanspruchen könnten, denn diese stiegen erst später zum Amur hinab, als jener Name sich längst festgesetzt hatte. In letzterer Beziehung glaube ich übrigens, dass die Solonen ihren jetzigen Namen nicht schon am Argunj, sondern erst in ihrer nachmaligen Heimath, am oberen Nonni erhielten, wohin sie immerhin, wie oben erwähnt, schon im XIII. Jahrhundert gekommen sein können und wo sie in der Wald- und Gebirgsnatur auch erst zu jenen kühnen und geschickten Jägern wurden. Am Nonni, wo ausserdem Mandshu, Chinesen und im Unterlaufe auch Mongolen zusammenstossen, konnte dann der bei den ersteren für die Solonen übliche Name am leichtesten auch zu den letztgenannten Völkern übergehen. Dass endlich auch die Solonen selbst sich gegenwärtig Fremden gegenüber desselben Namens zur Bezeichnung ihres Volkes bedienen, der sich bei ihren Beherrschern, den Mandshu-Chinesen, festgesetzt hat, ist selbstverständlich[2]), und haben wir Aehnliches auch bei anderen Amur-Völkern gesehen. Wie sie sich unter einander bezeichnen, ist noch unbekannt.

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1) S. oben, p. 141.

2) Schmidt (Histor. Bericht über die Thätigkeit der physik. Abtheilung der Sibirischen Expedition. — Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. XXV, p. 38) traf am Amur im Bureja-Gebirge Solonen aus der Ansiedelung Ul-bira, die sich ihm gegenüber selbst so nannten.

Was die in so vielfacher Beziehung zu den Amur-Völkern stehenden ostasiatischen Culturvölker, die Mandshu, Chinesen und Japaner betrifft, so gehören die Fragen über deren Ursprung, Ausbreitung, Entstehung ihrer Namen u. s. w. selbstverständlich nicht in den Rahmen dieses Werkes, sondern fallen historischen und linguistischen Forschungen der respectiven Specialisten anheim. Hier können sie nur in soweit berührt werden, als die in Rede stehenden indigenen Amur-Völker an ihnen Theil haben oder durch dieselben betroffen werden. In solcher Weise ist es im Obigen bei Gelegenheit auch schon wiederholentlich geschehen, und namentlich die Ausbreitung und gegenwärtige räumliche Stellung der genannten Culturvölker im Amur-Lande ausführlich besprochen worden. Ihre anderweitigen, politischen, socialen, commerciellen und drgl. Beziehungen zu den Amur-Völkern werden später, an den betreffenden Orten ebenfalls zur Sprache kommen. So bleibt uns hier nur übrig, einigen Bemerkungen über die Namen, die sie bei den Amur-Völkern tragen, Raum zu geben.

Bekanntlich ist der Name **Mandshu** erst in verhältnissmässig neuerer Zeit, vor etwa drei Jahrhunderten entstanden[1]), als die verschiedenen, dieses Volk gegenwärtig bildenden Stämme sich unter einem Oberhaupt zusammenthaten und ihren Kriegs- und Eroberungsgang gegen China antraten, dem sie seine jetzige Kaiserdynastie gaben. Mit der Erweiterung der Mandshu-Macht drang auch ihr Name bis zu den entferntesten Amur-Völkern, und gegenwärtig ist er bei ihnen allen im Gebrauch. Zur Zeit jedoch, als die Züge der Russen nach dem Amur-Lande stattfanden, scheint dies noch nicht oder jedenfalls nicht in dem Maasse der Fall gewesen zu sein. Wenigstens ist es sehr auffallend, dass in den Berichten der Russen, trotzdem diese mit allen Amur-Völkern wie mit den Mandshu selbst in vielfache Berührung kamen, der Name «Mandshu», sei es auch nur als Bezeichnung der Eingeborenen für dieselben, kein einziges Mal vorkommt. Pojarkof scheint sie, gleich wie die Gogulen, mit unter dem Namen Djutschery begriffen zu haben; namentlich dürften von ihm Mandshu gemeint sein, wo es sich um einzelne, unter den Dauren angetroffene Djutscheren handelt[2]). Erst in Chabarof's Berichten findet sich eine besondere Bezeichnung für die Mandshu, die fortan in allen russischen Schriftstücken aus jener Zeit üblich wird. Chabarof erfuhr (1650), dass ein Fürst Bogdoi, ein Statthalter des Chans (Kaisers von China), über alles Land und Volk am Amur und Sungari herrsche, und nannte daher seine Stammgenossen, die Kauf-, Kriegs- und Dienstleute, die sich

1) Genau lässt sich der Zeitpunkt, wann es geschehen, nicht bestimmen. Nach Rémusat gelangte Aisin Gioro, der zuerst seinen Unterthanen den Namen «Mandshu» gab, um das Jahr 1320 zur Herrschaft (Pfath, Die Völker der Mandschurey, Göttingen 1830, Thl. I, p. 233). Gorskij (О происхожд. рус. назв. инородц. Амурскаго Края. — Труды Амурскаго Экспедиціи, ч. I, 1852, стр. 213. Vrgl. auch Semenof, Земл. Азіи Карла Риттера, T. I, стр. 411) versetzt ihn hingegen in das XIV. Jahrhundert, und zwar in die Jahre 1368—1398. Wenn Klaproth (Asia polygl. p. 200) sagt, alle unter China stehenden Tungusischen Stämme führen den gemeinschaftlichen Namen Mandshu, so ist dies nach dem Obigen nicht richtig und beruht auf der damaligen Unkenntniss der Amur-Völker. Zusammenstellungen der verschiedenen über den Ursprung des Namens Mandshu gebrauchten Ansichten (von Langles, Klaproth, J. Schmidt, Gorskij) sind bei Pfath (l. c. p. 230), C. F. Koeppen (Die Religion des Buddha, Berlin, Bd. II. 1859, p. 467) u. A. zu finden.

2) Wie z. B. der Djutscheriische Fürst Tschinego (Лопатин, Путешествіе стр. T. III. стр. 32, 33).

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des Handels und der Tributerhebung halber unter den Dauren aufhielten, «Bogdoi's oder Bogdoische Leute» (Богдоевы oder Богдойскіе люди) oder auch schlechtweg «Bogdojer» (Богдои) und ihr Land das «Bogdoische Land» (Богдойская земля)[1]. So scheint mir, seiner Form und dem Zeitpunkt seines Aufkommens nach zu urtheilen, dieser Name für die Mandshu unter den Russen entstanden zu sein, — nicht durch direkte Vermittelung der Mongolen, indem diese den Kaisern der Mandshu-Dynastie das Epitheton *bogdo* (heilig) beifügen und sie demnach «Bogdo-Chane» nennen, wie Fischer und Spasskij wollen[2]. Ob jedoch Bogdoi der wirkliche Eigenname des erwähnten Fürsten, oder aber vielleicht nur eine generelle, dem Titel oder der Stellung desselben zukommende und von den Mongolen herrührende Bezeichnung desselben war, vermag ich nicht zu sagen.

Um so auffallender ist die damalige Unkenntniss oder wenigstens der Nichtgebrauch des Namens Mandshu von Seiten der Russen, als letztere die mandshurische Bezeichnung für die **Chinesen** schon damals und zwar von diesen selbst in Erfahrung brachten und fortan vielfach gebrauchten. Ein mandshurischer Kriegsknecht aus Ninguta («Njulgutskoi gorod»), von Geburt ein Chinese, der bei der Belagerung der russischen Festung Atschanskoi gorod im März 1652 durch die Mandshu von den Russen gefangen genommen war, erzählte, von Chabarof zum Verhör gebracht, unter Anderem auch, dass sein Volk von den Mandshu «Nikan» genannt werde[3]. Witsen hatte, nach russischen Quellen, ebenfalls Kenntniss davon und erwähnt dessen zu verschiedenen Malen, ja, er fügt auch eine Etymologie dieses Namens hinzu. Derselbe sollte aus dem Chinesischen entnommen sein und so viel wie «nichtsnutzig, albern, plump, ungeschickt» oder auch «Knecht» und «Bauer» bedeuten[4], — eine Etymologie die nach den Angaben neuerer Kenner der Mandshu-Sprache in der That ihre Richtigkeit zu haben scheint[5]. Im Munde so hochmüthiger Eroberer wie die Mandshu wäre eine derartige Bezeichnung für das unterjochte Volk keineswegs undenkbar. Wie dem übrigens auch sei, der Name Nikan

1) Лопатин, на кит. истор. Т. III, стр. 239 и сл., 339 и сл.

2) Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. p. 812, Anm. (41; Спарскій, Сибирь, Русск. о ней Акунф (Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. VII, 1853, Окт. II, стр. 26). Falsch sind auch die vielleicht zum Theil durch Fischer's Ansicht veranlassten Formen «Bogdanis» und «Bogdochanis, die Georgi als verschiedene russische Benennungen für die Mandshu anzieht (s. oben, p. 182, Anm. 1).

3) Muller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. II, p. 325; Лопатин, на китайск. истор. Т. III, стр. 307. Der Aussage dieses gefangenen Chinesen, dessen Name im russischen Berichte Kubyschetka lautet, über den Reichthum des Nikaner Landes an Gold, Silber, Perlen u. drgl. ist oben schon gedacht worden.

4) Witsen (Noord en Oost Tartarye, Ausg. 1692, 2. Thl. p. 2; Ausg. 1705, p. 2) sagt einmal, die Njutschi oder Mandshu «Bogdoizens» nennen die Chinesen scherzweise «Nicons», was so viel heisst als «ondeugend, gek, plomp of lots». An einer anderen Stelle (Ausg. 1705, p. 11) heisst es, die Njutschi hätten ehemals China «Nica coninus, d. h. Reich der Barbaren, genannt, gegenwärtig aber nennen sie es «Tulimpa coinus», d. i. Reich der Mitte. An einer dritten Stelle endlich (Ausg. 1705, p. 41) findet man die Erklärung, die Tataren («Njutschis), die China erobert, hätten den Chinesen aus Verachtung den Namen «Nikanens» oder «Nikanders», der in der chinesischen Sprache «Knechte» oder «Bauern» bedeute, gegeben und ihre Hauptstadt Nanking in «Nikanga, Knechtsstadt, umbenannt.

5) Sacharof (Полный мандчжурско-русскій словарь, С. Петербургъ 1873, стр. 223) giebt an, das Wort «nikan» komme vom chinesischen «chang» und bedeute soviel als «Chinese, chinesisch, habe aber auch die Bedeutung «Bauer» und «Bauerlümmel». Auch Klaproth (Asia polygl. p. 290) führt «Nikan» als den Mandshu-Namen für China und die Chinesen an, ohne ihn jedoch weiter zu erklären.

für die Chinesen ist mit geringen Abänderungen von den Mandshu zu allen übrigen Amur-Völkern gedrungen. Ich habe ihn im unteren Amur-Lande unter den Golde, Oltscha und Giljaken gehört. Zwar nennen sie gewöhnlich die chinesischen Kaufleute auch schlechtweg Mandshu, allein bei genauerer Nachfrage wissen sie sehr wohl anzugeben, dass jene ersteren eigentlich einem ganz anderen, von den letzteren unterworfenen Volke angehören, welches mir die Golde und Oltscha «Nekan», die Giljaken bald «Neka» und «Nekagu»[1]), bald «Nenga» nannten[2]). Da die Mandshu-Beamten bei den Amur-Völkern, in Folge der Erpressungen, die sie sich ihnen gegenüber erlauben, allgemein verhasst und gefürchtet sind, so liegt es im Interesse der Chinesen selbst, wenn sie sich als Händler gefahrlos unter den Eingeborenen des Amur-Landes aufhalten wollen, bei ihnen die Kenntniss von ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu einem anderen, ebenfalls unterdrückten Volke zu erhalten und zu verbreiten. Ich traf im Dorfe Pulj, nahe der Grenze zwischen dem Oltscha- und Giljaken-Gebiet am Amur, einen chinesischen Kaufmann, der sich angelegentlich bemühte, mir den Unterschied zwischen seinen Landsleuten, den friedlichen und betriebsamen «Nicha», und den herrschsüchtigen und arbeitsscheuen Mandshu auseinanderzusetzen. Wir waren dabei von Samagirn, Oltscha und Giljaken umringt. So mögen die Chinesen zum grossen Theil selbst ihren mandshurischen Namen unter den Amur-Völkern verbreitet haben.

So allgemein aber bei den genannten Völkern der Name Nikan für die Chinesen ist, so werden diese in einem grossen Theile des Amur-Landes, namentlich im Sungari- und Ussuri-Gebiet wie an der angrenzenden Meeresküste, doch mit einem anderen Namen, und zwar als «Mandses (russisch «Mansa» oder «Mandsa», Plur. «Mandsy») bezeichnet, — einem Namen, dessen sie sich dort gegenwärtig Fremden gegenüber auch selbst bedienen[3]). Man begegnet diesem Namen ebenfalls schon im Berichte Chabar of's, indem in der Aussage des obenerwähnten gefangen genommenen Chinesen Kabyscheika, von dem grossen, gegen tausend Jurten zählenden «Mansa-Dorfe» (Манзанской улусъ) die Rede ist, aus welchem das gegen Atschanskoi gorod ziehende mandshurische Heer einen Zuschuss von 120 Mann erhielt[4]). Wie jener erstere Name,

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1) Ansing, der Form nach, dem giljakischen Bezeichnungen für die Negda «Rdhys und «Rdhyngu» (s. oben, p. 33). Sollte daher das angehängte Wörtchen «gu» nicht den Collectivbegriff bezeichnen, oder so viel wie «Volk» bedeuten, wie das sinische «kuo» oder «gur»?

2) Als Curiosum und zum Belege, wie grundfalsch und unbedacht die Angaben flüchtiger Reisenden bisweilen sein können, wo es sich um den Namen, den sich ein Volk selbst giebt, handelt, diene die Bemerkung, dass Gamof (Изъ путев. замѣт. натуралиста, опредѣленныя въ 1859 г. ивера. рр. Амура и Уссури. — Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1862, Кн. I, Отд. Natural. и Матер., стр. 122) allen Ernstes behauptet, die Golde und Giljaken bezeichneten sich selbst mit dem Namen «Nikanzens. Poschtschurof (Petermann, Geogr. Mittheil. 1857, p. 304) spricht von «Nekanen» in dem von uns angen. Culturstück des Amur-Stromes, ohne jedoch, wie es scheint, zu ahnen, dass es Chinesen sind.

3) Примѣчаніе, Путешествіе въ Уссурійск. край, стр. 78; Барабашъ, Сумар. свѣдѣн. 1872 г. (Военный Сборн. 1874, № 2, стр. 324). Selbst sollen sich diese chinesischen Colonisten der Mandshurei «Pao-tui-tsze oder «Pao-tui-rdis, d. h. Fussgänger oder Umhertreiber, nennen, ohne jedoch dieser Bezeichnung eine schlechte Bedeutung beizulegen. Daraus soll im officiellen Stile «Pao-fu» gemacht worden sein, was dasselbe bedeutet, Vergl. Palladij (Уссур. Мемуаръ. — Изв. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Т. VII, 1871, Отд. II, стр. 309); desgl. Barabasch, l. c.

4) Аномъ. въ мемуаръ автор. Т. III, стр. 387.

Nikan, mandshurischen, so soll dieser mongolischen Ursprungs sein. Nach Davis[1]) und Wassiljef[2]) haben ihn die Mongolen, zur Zeit ihrer Herrschaft über China, aus der Bezeichnung «Man» oder «Man-tse» entnommen, welche die Chinesen einem südlich von ihnen wohnenden Volke oder den «Südbarbaren» gaben. Ersterer kannte ihn jedoch nur in der Anwendung auf Südchina, Letzterer hingegen schon in seiner Ausdehnung auf die Chinesen der Mandshurei. Denn er macht jenen Hinweis auf die Man in seiner russischen Uebersetzung der vom Chinesen U-tschen zu Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts verfassten Beschreibung von Ninguta, in welcher auch von den Man-dse die Rede ist[3]). Wie aber jene chinesische Bezeichnung der Südbarbaren durch die Mongolen auf die Chinesen an ihrer äussersten Nordgrenze, im Sungari- und Usuri-Lande, übertragen werden und sich dort einbürgern konnte, darüber sprechen sich fast gleichzeitig und sehr übereinstimmend ein anonymer Pekinger Correspondent der Russischen Geographischen Gesellschaft[4]) und der Archimandrit Palladij[5]) aus. Ihnen zufolge gaben die Mongolen nach Eroberung von Nordchina den Südchinesen spottweise diese Bezeichnung, als Mischlingen mit den barbarischen Urbewohnern, den Man. Dieselbe wurde dann durch die Colonien von Südchinesen, welche Kublai-Chan, theils zur Sicherung gegen etwaige Einfälle in sein Reich, theils auch zum Betriebe von Ackerbau und von Goldwäschereien, nach der Mandshurei und an die Grenzen von Korea schickte, in das Sungari- und Usuri-Land getragen, wo sie in der Folge auf alle chinesischen Einwanderer überhaupt ausgedehnt wurde[6]). Diese Angaben der russischen Sinologen ergänzend, fügt Marthe[7]) hinzu, dass man in der That kaum fehl gehen wird, wenn man in den von ihnen besprochenen Man-dse die «Mangi» oder «Manzi» des Marco Polo[8]), die «Manse» des Rubruquis und das «Mangia» (Mansen-Land) Plano Carpini's

1) La Chine, ou descr. génér. des moeurs et des coutumes du gouv. etc. de l'Empire Chinois. Trad. de l'Angl. par Pichard, rev. et augm. d'un append. par Bazin aîné. Paris 1837, T. I, p. 180.

2) Лит. о Монгуръ (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XII, 1857, стр. 46).

3) Und zwar heisst es dort (Wassiljef, l. c.), das rauhe Klima von Ninguta sei allmählich mit der wachsenden Zahl der Chinesen wärmer geworden, was die Mandshu veranlasse zu sagen, die Man-dse hätten die Wärme gebracht. Undenkbar ist es in der That nicht, dass der von den Chinesen betriebene Anbau des Landes einen günstigen Einfluss auf die localen klimatischen Verhältnisse von Ninguta ausgeübt hat.

4) П. К., О Маньцзяхъ и Европейцахъ (Извѣст. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Т. VI, 1870, Отд. II, стр. 19, 20).

5) Дорожн. зам. за пути отъ Пекина до Кяхты (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По общ. Геогр. Т. IV, 1871, стр. 422); его же, Усурійск. Маньцзы (Извѣст. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Т. VII, 1871, Отд. II, стр. 369).

6) Palladij und der erwähnte Anonymus widerlegen damit auch die Angabe Przewalski's, dass «Man-dse» so viel wie «Vagabunde» heisse. Letzterer muss vermuthlich diese Ansicht in einem seiner vorläufigen Reiseberichte geäussert haben, denn im Reisewerke selbst (Путеш. въ Усурійск. край, 1870, стр. 78) sagt er ausdrücklich, er habe die Chinesen oft nach der Bedeutung jenes Namens ausgeforscht, jedoch nie eine befriedigende Antwort erhalten; gewöhnlich hiess es, dies sei der eigentliche Name der Chinesen. Hingegen ist mir wohl eine derartige Angabe von Budischtschef bekannt, indem dieser von einem französischen Missionar, welcher lange Zeit in China zugebracht hatte und 1862 am Amur war, gehört haben will, das Wort «Mandse» bedeute so viel wie «Vagabunde» (Бушевъ, Опис. хлѣб. маньчж Приамурья. Общ. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Т. IX, X, 1867, стр. 182). Vielleicht liegt dem eine Verwechselung mit der oben erwähnten chinesischen Bezeichnung zu Grunde, welche die Mandse sich selbst geben und die allerdings eine ähnliche Bedeutung haben soll (s. oben, p. 190, Anm. 3).

7) Zeitschr. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Bd. VI, p. 432.

8) Auf diese wies auch schon Wassiljef (l. c.) hin.

wiedererkennt. Dabei macht er jedoch auch auf den Umstand aufmerksam, dass wenn man die Stelle im Rubruquis, an welcher von den Völkern Taule und Manse die Rede ist [1]), mit ihm dahin deuten will, dass «Taules nur für Caule steht, also Kaoli, Korea bedeutet, so folgt aus derselben, dass die Man-dse auch schon vor den Colonien Kublai-Chan's, von welchen die russischen Quellen das Aufkommen dieses Namens im Ussuri-Lande ableiten wollen, in oder nahe bei Korea zu finden waren. Mit Marthe überlassen wir natürlich die schliessliche Lösung dieser Frage den Geschichtsforschern und Sinologen.

Es bleibt uns noch übrig, die bei den Amur-Völkern für das dritte der ostasiatischen Culturvölker, mit denen sie in Berührung stehen, für die **Japaner** üblichen Namen zu besprechen. Bekanntlich giebt Steller [2]) an, dass die Kamtschadalen oder Itälmenen die Japaner «Sühsamans» oder «Sühsemens» nennen, und dies, wie sie ihm ausdrücklich erzählten, aus dem Grunde, weil die Japaner ihnen die ersten eisernen Nadeln gebracht, während sie sich vordem nur selbst welche aus Zobelknochen gemacht hätten; die Nadel heisse aber auf itälmenisch, und zwar in allen Dialekten, *sühse*. Dasselbe, aber nur unbestimmter und offenbar Steller nachsprechend, erzählt auch Krasheninnikof [3]); nur sollen nach ihm auf itälmenisch die Nadel «*schischjs*» und darnach die Japaner «Schischamans» heissen. Dass diese Erklärung falsch ist und nur auf einem Missverständniss beruht, wird sich aus dem Folgenden ergeben. Mit ganz ähnlichem Namen wie von den Kamtschadalen werden nämlich die Japaner auch von den Amur-Völkern, zum wenigsten denjenigen von der Insel Sachalin und dem Unterlaufe des Amur-Stromes bezeichnet. Die Giljaken auf dem Festlande wie auf der Insel nennen sie «Ssisam» [4]) und die Oltscha und Golde «Ssissa» [5]). Bei dem Mangel jeglicher Berührung zwischen den Amur-Völkern und den Kamtschadalen und der völligen Verschiedenheit ihrer Sprache, weist der fast gleichlautende Name, den sie für die Japaner haben, darauf hin, dass sie ihn

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1) Marthe, Taule et Manse (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdk. zu Berlin, Bd. VI, p. 173 ff.). Die betreffende Stelle des Rubruquis lautet: «Narravit mihi magister W. quod ipse vidit nonnullos quorundam hominum, qui dicuntur Taule et Manse, qui habitant in insulis, quorum mare congelatur in hyeme, ita quod tunc possunt Tartari currere ad eos.

2) Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 3, 219, 320.

3) Описаніе земли Камчатки (Пол. собр. учен. путешествій по Россіи, Т. II, стр. 40).

4) Wenn daher in einem von Middendorff im Archiv von Udskoi Ostrog aufgefundenen, aus dem Jahre 1711 datirenden handschriftlichen Papier von den «Sayusizyn» die Rede ist, die ein Fahrzeug an der Amur-Mündung vernichtet hatten (vergl. dessen Reise in den russ. Nord. etc. Bd. IV, p. 165), so sind darunter unzweifelhaft Japaner zu verstehen, nach ihrer giljakischen, von den Russen sich mundgerecht gemachten Bezeichnung. Middendorff hatte übrigens selbst auch den Namen «Saissam» unter den Giljaken am Ochotskischen Meere gehört, ihn aber auf die südlichen Kurilischen Inseln beziehen zu müssen geglaubt (vergl. Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. IV, p. 233; desgl. Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abthl. p. 613).

5) Desselben Namens für die Japaner bedienen sich auch die chinesischen Kaufleute am Amur und Sungari. Venault hörte noch im Sungari-Lande von einem im Norden gelegenen Reiche «Si-sam», das er auf seiner Reise den Amur abwärts (1850) zu erreichen hoffte. Unterwegs erfuhr er von chinesischen Kaufleuten, dass sie selbst nie nach Si-sam gingen, sondern mit demselben nur durch Vermittelung der Jupi-tatan Handel trieben. Er vermuthet nach allen Erkundigungen, die er eingezogen, dass «Si-sam» die Insel Karafto (Sachalin) sei (s. dessen Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie. — Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, V-e Sér., T. XXX, 1852 (T. II), p. 207, 215, 222, 224).

aus derselben Quelle geschöpft haben. Und diese Quelle ist leicht gefunden. Es sind die Aino: für die Amur-Völker die Aino von Sachalin, für die Kamtschadalen die Aino der Kurilen: wie die eine Brücke, Sachalin, von Jesso, der Hauptinsel der Aino, nach dem Amur-Lande, so führt die andere, die Inselkette der Kurilen, von Jesso nach Kamtschatka hinüber. Dass die Aino von Jesso für die Japaner eine ähnliche Bezeichnung haben, ist aus japanischen wie aus europäischen Quellen bekannt. In der vom Japaner Kannemon im XVII. Jahrhundert verfassten, von Titsingh übersetzten Beschreibung von Jesso [1]) heisst es, dass die Eingeborenen dieser Insel die Japaner «Samos» nennen. Broughton giebt «Ssitschams» (englisch geschrieben: «Seechams») als Bezeichnung der Aino von Jesso für die Japaner an [2]). Nach Klaproth's Angabe lautet sie «Siyamos» [3]). Dass die Aino von Sachalin die Japaner «Ssisans» und «Ssisams» nennen, haben sowohl Rimskij-Korssakof [4]), Rudanófskij, Schmidt u. A., wie ich selbst wiederholentlich gehört. Für die Aino der Kurilen kenne ich zwar keine specielle Angabe, doch kann es nach dem Obigen keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass auch sie dieselbe Bezeichnung für die Japaner haben. Auch wird es sicherlich nur einer auf Missverständniss beruhenden Verwechselung zuzuschreiben sein, wenn Krascheninnikof [5]) sagt, die Kurilen bezeichneten die Russen mit dem Namen «Ssiissians», denn dies ist offenbar dasselbe «Ssisans», also wohl ihr Name für die Japaner. Eine ähnliche Verwechselung liess sich auch La Pérouse zu Schulden kommen, indem er aus den Angaben der Aino von Sachalin entnehmen zu dürfen glaubte, dass sie die Insel Jesso «Schischa» (franz. «Chicha») nennen [6]). Obwohl er jedoch diesen Namen in seinem Reisewerke beständig in dem angegebenen Sinne braucht, so war er dessen doch nicht ganz gewiss, denn in seinem Verzeichniss der Aino-Wörter [7]) heisst es, Schischa sei der Name einer Insel oder eines Volkes südlich von Tschoka (Sachalin). Der Herausgeber seiner Reisebeschreibung, Milet-Mureau, übersah jedoch diese letztere Angabe, und indem er daran festhielt, dass Schischa Jesso sei, corrigirte er Krascheninnikof's (Steller kannte er nicht) oben angeführte Erklärung des Namens Schischaman dahin, dass dies nicht «Nadel-Männer», sondern nur «Männer von Schischa» (Jesso) bedeute, und dass also darunter nicht die Japaner, sondern vielmehr die Eingeborenen von Jesso, also die Aino zu verstehen seien [8]). Indessen so stolz auch Milet-Mureau darauf war, dass Franzosen die «Unkenntniss» der Russen über die ihnen benachbarten Inseln aufdecken und sie eines Anderen belehren mussten, so hatten in der That die Letzteren doch weit mehr Recht. Denn unter «Schischa» verstanden die

1) Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso etc. comp. par l'interpr. Kannemon et publ. en 1632; trad. par Titsingh, Ambass. holl. au Japon (Ann. des Voyages, T. XXIV, Paris 1814, p. 148). Vergl. auch Klaproth, im Sin kokf tsou ran to setsu, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 228, nach derselben Quelle.

2) Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North. Pacif. Ocean. London, 1804, p. 300. Offenbar dieselbe Angabe wiederholt Klaproth in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfurt a./M., 1812, Bd. I, p. 303.

3) Sin kokf tsou ran to setsu, p. 217.

4) В. Р.-К., Сруч. и записки на японск. языкѣ «Всегодо» (Мерск. Сборн. 1838, № 3, ч. неоф., стр. 9).

5) Опис. земли Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путеш. Т. II, стр. 6).

6) Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, rédi. par Milet-Mureau, Paris, an V (1797), T. III, p. 83 et suiv.

7) L. c. p. 118.

8) L. c. p. 112, Anmerk. b.

von La Pérouse befragten Aino von Sachalin, indem sie nach Süden zeigten, nicht die Insel Jesso[1]), sondern, wie wir aus der Uebereinstimmung dieses Namens mit Ssissa und Saisam unzweifelhaft schliessen dürfen, nur die von dort herüberkommenden Japaner. «Sühsaman» oder «Schischaman» der Kamtschadalen sind also nicht Aino von Jesso, sondern, wie Steller und Krascheninnikof ganz richtig angaben, Japaner; nur erhielten sie diesen Namen nicht nach dem itälmenischen Worte für die Nadel, sondern umgekehrt die Stahlnadel bezeichneten die Kamtschadalen, weil sie von den Japanern herrührte, als «*sühse*» oder «*schisch*», d. h. japanisch. Für die ihnen schon früher bekannte knöcherne Nadel werden sie dagegen unzweifelhaft eine besondere Bezeichnung gehabt haben[2]).

Zum Schlusse sei auch des Namens erwähnt, mit welchem die Amur-Völker die Russen bezeichnen. Er scheint bei allen durchweg derselbe zu sein. Von den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes, mit denen ich selbst längere oder kürzere Zeit verkehrt habe, den Giljaken, Oltscha, Orotschen, Golde, Samagirn, habe ich die Russen stets «Lotscha» nennen hören. Denselben Namen hörte Radde bei den Biraren[3]). Eben so wird es sich mit den übrigen Völkern des Amur-Landes verhalten. Es ist aber dies dieselbe Bezeichnung, welche mit kleinen Modificationen sowohl die Chinesen, als auch andererseits alle sibirischen Völker für die Russen haben. So werden diese in der von Gaubil in's Französische und nach diesem in einem Auszuge von Müller in's Deutsche übersetzten «Chinesischen Reise-Beschreibung von Peking durch Sibirien», aus dem Jahre 1712, «Olossen» genannt[4]). Bald «Oloszu» und bald «Lo scha» (franz. «Lo cha») heissen sie auch in der von Klaproth übersetzten chinesischen Beschreibung Russlands[5]). Auch der zu Ninguta geborene und aufgewachsene Chinese U-tschen, dessen oben mehrfach erwähnt worden, bezeichnet die Russen, die zu seiner Zeit in das Amur-Land einfielen, als «Leute aus dem Reiche Lo-tschä»[6]). So oft ich endlich selbst mit Chinesen und Mandshu im Amur-Lande zusammengetroffen bin, immer habe ich sie die Russen «Lotscha» nennen hören. Was die sibirischen Völker betrifft, so sind ähnliche Bezeichnungen für die Russen («Lotscha, Lota,

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1) Begreiflicher Weise erkundigte sich daher auch Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 31, 32) sowohl in der Rumjanzof-Bai auf Jesso, wie in der Aniwa-Bai auf Sachalin vergeblich nach dem Namen Schischa (der bei ihm in buchstäblicher Wiedergabe der französischen Schreibart und zugleich in Folge eines Versehens oder Druckfehlers «Chica» lautet) und Tschoka, mit welchen La Pérouse diese Inseln bedacht hatte.

2) Dass die Stahl- und die knöcherne Nadel, trotzdem sie den Kamtschadalen zu verschiedener Zeit bekannt wurden und gewiss auch von verschiedener Form waren, dennoch von ihnen mit demselben Worte bezeichnet werden sollten, ist schon aus dem Grunde undenkbar, weil es einen so hohen Grad von Generalisationsvermögen voraussetzen würde, wie man ihn bei keinem auf so niedriger Stufe der Cultur stehenden Volke findet.

3) Radde, Bericht über Reisen im Süden von Ostsibir. (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, herausg. von Baer und Helmersen, Bd. XXIII, p. 391, Anm.).

4) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. I, p. 331, 341.

5) Mém. relat. à l'Asie, T. I, p. 88, 93—95. Anderweitige, gleichlautende Angaben s. bei Klaproth, l. c. p. 29; Pleth, Die Völker der Mandsh. p. 606, u. A.

6) Man erkennt in U-tschen den echten Chinesen wieder, wenn er sagt, zur Zeit als er ein Kind war, rebellirten die Leute aus dem Reiche Lo-tschä, kamen an den U-lou-klang (Amur) und raubten von den Einwohnern im Lande Cheidsia Zobelfelle. Dabei heisst es, ihre Waffen seien sehr schrecklich (Высказывания, Зап. о Нингуте.— Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XII, 1857, стр. 92, 93).

Ljnotscha, Lutscha, Lutsa, Lutschae, Lutze, Lutschi» und drgl.) bei ihnen ganz allgemein: so bei den Tungusen, am Ochotskischen Meere[1]), in Daurien[2]), am Jenissei bis nach Turuchansk hinab[3]), bei den Jakuten[4]), bei den Samojeden, sowohl im Taimyr-Lande[5]), wie im Norden des europäischen Russland's[6]) u. s. w. Wie man sich denken kann, hat es nicht an verschiedenen und darunter den abenteuerlichsten Erklärungen dieser Bezeichnungen für die Russen gefehlt[7]). Und doch lag es auf der Hand, in ihnen nur Verstümmelungen des russischen «Rossija» und «Russkij» zu erkennen, wie dies in der That schon von Müller[8]) hinsichtlich der chinesischen und später von meinem Bruder Alexander bei Besprechung der samojedischen Bezeichnung für die Russen hervorgehoben worden ist[9]). Der Umstand, dass dieselbe Bezeichnung, wie oben dargethan, so allgemein durch ganz Sibirien bis nach China verbreitet und noch bei den entferntesten Amur-Völkern zu finden ist, stellt die Richtigkeit dieser Ansicht ausser allen Zweifel.

Wirft man einen Gesammtblick auf alles oben Abgehandelte zurück, so lässt sich nicht läugnen, dass unsere Kenntniss von dem Ursprunge, den Wanderungen und Verschiebungen der Amur-Völker, so weit sie auf historischen Nachrichten beruht, auf Spuren, die sich in ihren

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1) Klaproth, Mém. relat. à l'Asie, T. I, p. 433.

2) Pallas, Reise durch versch. Provinzen des Russ. Reichs, Bd. III, p. 238.

3) Pallas, l. c. p. 67, Anm.*; Кострова, Очерки Туруха. края (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. IV, 1857, стр. 99).

4) Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia, Stockholm 1730, p. 63.

5) Middendorff, Reise in den auss. Nord. und Ost. Sibir. Bd. IV, p. 1442.

6) Schlözer, Allgemeine Nord. Gesch. Halle 1771, p. 293; Alex. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russl. Dorpat 1848, Bd. I, p. 615.

7) So z. B. meinte Strahlenberg, die Russen hiessen bei den Jakuten deshalb «Lutschae oder «Ludzae», weil sie ihnen sagten «*my lutschae kak wy*» (wir sind besser als ihr). Schlözer (l. c. Anm. D.) sagt, «*lutze*» bedeute bei den Samojeden «Mensch» (was nach meinem Bruder Alexander nicht der Fall ist) und bei den Jenissei-Ostjaken «Teufel», und stellt die Frage, ob sich etwa der wilde Samojede beim Russen einen Menschen κατ' ἐξοχὴν und der erschreckene Ostjake bei eben diesem Volke, das ihn unterjochte, den Teufel gedacht habe? Pallas (l. c. Bd. III, p. 67, Anm.*) meinte hingegen, dass der Name «Luzze», den die Samojeden den Russen beilegen und aus welchem die Tungusen «Lutscha» gemacht hätten, in samojedischer Derivation eigentlich einen Krieger bedeute, indem «*luzz nimsime*» im Samojedischen «zornig» heisse. In Scherer's «Nordischen Nebenstunden» (Thl. I, Frankfurt und Leipzig 1776, p. 57—68) findet sich ein besonderer Artikel: «Warum nennen die Jakuten die Russen Lutze oder Luzze?», in welchem Strahlenberg's obenerwähnte Erklärung widerlegt und der Beweis geführt wird, dass die Samojeden das Wort *lutze* für «Teufel» von den Jenissei-Ostjaken entlehnt und zu den Jakuten an der Lena gebracht hätten. Indessen findet der Autor in diesem Worte eine grosse Aehnlichkeit mit dem russischen *luschchij* (лукій) für «Waldteufel», und meint daher, die genannten Völker könnten ihr Wort *lutze* daraus gebildet haben, was jedoch die Erklärung ihrer Bezeichnung der Russen mit demselben hinfällig machen würde. Er sucht daher einen anderen Ursprung für die letztere, und zwar im Hebräischen, ... u. s. w., u. s. w.

8) Müller, Sammlung Russisch. Gesch. Bd. I, p. 331, Anmerk.*

9) Bei den Chinesen namentlich, die das r gar nicht kennen, waren jene Verstümmelungen unvermeidlich. Die Mandshu und die Amur-Völker, besonders diejenigen tungusischen Stammes, Golde, Olitscha, haben zwar das r, ersetzen es aber auch häufig durch l. Aehnlich mag es sich auch mit den Tungusen und anderen Völkern Sibirien's verhalten.

Benennungen erhalten haben u. drg.. m., äusserst gering ist. Nur im Westen und Süden unseres Gebietes, wo die Amur-Völker in anhaltender oder weiter zurückreichender Berührung mit den Russen oder mit den alten Culturvölkern Ostasien's, den Chinesen und Japanern gestanden, konnten die Schlüsse etwas bestimmter gefasst werden. Aber auch dort bleiben sie in der Regel auf eine verhältnissmässig neuere Zeit beschränkt. Wir werden ihnen in der Folge einige weiter zurückgehende, jedoch nur hypothetischen Charakter tragende Ergänzungen hinzufügen, wie sie sich aus der Betrachtung der respectiven Stammverschiedenheit oder Zusammengehörigkeit der Amur-Völker ergeben.

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II. ANTHROPOLOGISCH-ETHNOLOGISCHER THEIL.

3. Abschnitt.

Abstammung und weitere Gliederung der Amur-Völker, nach Sprache und physischer Beschaffenheit, insbesondere Schädelbau und Gesichtsbildung. Gruppe der nordostasiatischen Randvölker oder Paläasiaten. Gruppirung der tungusischen Amur-Völker.

Ist schon gleich im Eingange dieser Schrift hervorgehoben worden, dass die Amur-Völker zum Theil von sehr verschiedenem Stamme — Giljaken, Aino, Tungusen — zum Theil auch Zweige einer und derselben grösseren Völkerfamilie, der tungusischen, sind, so bin ich doch die Beweisgründe dafür bisher noch schuldig geblieben. Es mag daher jetzt, nachdem wir sie räumlich gegeneinander abgegrenzt haben, auch eine genauere Abgrenzung derselben nach ihrer Abstammung folgen. Bekanntlich sind bei Fragen solcher Art hauptsächlich zwei Momente, die physische Beschaffenheit und die Sprache maassgebend. Alles Uebrige, wie eine etwaige Uebereinstimmung in manchen eigenthümlichen Sitten und Gebräuchen, in Sagen und Traditionen, in religiösen Anschauungen und Vorstellungen, im Nationalcharakter u. drgl. m., ist dabei nur von untergeordneterer Bedeutung. Sie kann zwar unter Umständen zur Bekräftigung der aus jenen ersteren Momenten gefolgerten Stammverwandtschaft dienen, allein ebensowohl und in der Regel wird sie sich, zumal bei benachbarten Völkern, auch auf den Einfluss gleicher Naturverhältnisse oder historischer Ereignisse, auf langjährigen nahen gegenseitigen Verkehr der Völker, ja zum Theil auch auf die in ihren Grundzügen überall gleiche Natur des menschlichen Geistes, seines Denkvermögens, seiner psychischen Regungen u. s. w. zurückführen lassen. Die nachstehenden Blätter werden, hoffe ich, manchen neuen Beleg dafür bringen. So sehr daher diesen Verhältnissen im weiteren Verlaufe unserer Betrachtungen Rechnung getragen werden wird, so sollen hier doch zunächst, behufs Abschätzung der Stammverschiedenheit oder Verwandtschaft der Amur-Völker, nur jene beiden ersteren Momente zur Sprache kommen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Es scheint mir vor Allem, dass in ethnologischen Fragen, wie die obige, die Körperbeschaffenheit und die Sprache eine lange nicht gleich wichtige Rolle spielen. Darf vielmehr letztere schon im Allgemeinen eine gewichtigere Stimme beanspruchen, so tritt in unserem Falle, um dies Uebergewicht zu verstärken, noch der Umstand hinzu, dass auch das nach den beiden Seiten uns vorliegende Material von sehr ungleichem Umfange ist. Wenn es sich um die Körperbeschaffenheit verschiedener Völker handelt, so ist man bestrebt, die Differenzen vor Allem im Schädelbau und in der Gesichtsbildung, alsdann auch in den Verhältnissen der übrigen Körpertheile, in der Farbe der Haut, in der Beschaffenheit des Haares u. s. w. zu suchen. Nur in Beziehung auf die ersteren ist man aber bisher durch genaue und zahlreiche Vergleichungen und Messungen zu der Präcision der Begriffe und der Weite des Umblickes gelangt, um an eine Unterscheidung der Völker, an eine systematische Gliederung des Menschengeschlechts auf Grundlage bestimmter, craniologischer Merkmale überhaupt denken zu können. Lässt sich jedoch schon a priori erwarten, dass auf Grundlage der Bildung eines einzelnen, wenn auch noch so wesentlichen und wichtigen Körpertheiles oder Organes auch nur ein künstliches System errichtet werden könne, gleichwie man welche in der Botanik und Zoologie kennt, ein System craniologisch verschiedener Typen des Menschengeschlechts, nicht ein System natürlicher Gesammtorganismen, wie die Völker, — kurz, ein craniologisch-anatomisches, nicht ein ethnologisches System, so hat die wachsende Erfahrung dies vollständig bestätigt. Sie hat zu der Erkenntniss geführt, dass die Ansicht oder richtiger Voraussetzung, jeder Volksstamm besitze eine bestimmte nationale Schädelform [1]), eine falsche sei, dass vielmehr ganz ähnliche Schädelformen sich bei den verschiedensten, einander ganz fern stehenden Völkern wiederholen und umgekehrt bei einem und demselben Volke die verschiedensten Verhältnisse im Schädelbau vorkommen können. Wie Ihering [2]) trefflich dargethan hat, kann daher die Aufgabe craniologischer Untersuchungen, sofern sie ethnologischen Zwecken dienen wollen, in Zukunft nur die sein, durch eine grosse Zahl von Vergleichungen und Messungen einerseits die bei einem Volke vorherrschende, mittlere, typische Schädelform zu bestimmen und andererseits die äussersten Grenzen zu ermitteln, innerhalb welcher seine Schädelformen und alle einzelnen Maasse derselben schwanken [3]). Je reicher und wechselvoller dabei die Vergangenheit eines Volkes gewesen, je

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1) R. Wagner, Zoolog.-antropolog. Untersuchungen, Gottingen, 1861, I, p. 10. Schon Retzius setzte in einem Briefe an G. Nicolucci vom Jahre 1852, bei Aufzählung der Resultate seiner Arbeiten, an die Spitze den Satz: «les différentes races et peuples ont leurs propres formes crâniennes» (Ethnolog. Schriften von And. Retzius, nach dem Tode des Verf. gesammelt. Stockholm 1864, p. 120). Aehnlich äusserten sich später Broca (Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthropolog. de Paris, T. VI, 1863, p. 44: «autre crâne, autre race»), Hanson (ebenda, p. 515: «le type crânien — le caractère essentiel des races») u. A. Vrgl. H. v. Ihering, Zur Reform der Craniometrie (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, herausgeg. von A. Bastian und R. Hartmann, Berlin, Bd. V, 1873, p. 166), wo die obigen Aeusserungen behufs Widerlegung zusammengestellt sind.

2) L. c. p. 167 ff.

3) Dass übrigens dieser Gesichtspunkt zum Theil auch schon früher eingehalten worden ist, beweist z. B. die eingehende Abhandlung Welcker's über die Brachycephalie und Dolichocephalie der deutschen Stämme, in seinen «Kraniologischen Mittheilungen» (im Archiv für Anthropologie, Braunschweig, Bd. I, 1866, p. 127 ff., nebst dazugehöriger Taf. II).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

weiter es sich vom Naturzustande entfernt und in allen seinen Schichten in mannigfaltige Culturformen eingelebt hat, je zahlreicher, vielseitiger und verschiedenartiger die Mischungen gewesen, die es im Laufe der Zeit erfahren hat, um so ansehnlicher werden voraussichtlich auch jene Schwankungen in seiner Schädelform sein und einer um so grösseren Zahl von Vergleichungen und Messungen wird es bedürfen, um seine mittlere, typische Schädelform kennen zu lernen. Dass aber auch innerhalb eines der Cultur fernstehenden, sogenannten wilden oder Naturvolkes die Schwankungen und Differenzen in der Schädelform immerhin sehr weit gehen können, ist vielfach bekannt und wird auch im Nachstehenden manche Bestätigung finden. Freilich bleibt uns von solchen Völkern in der Regel unbekannt, welche Wechselfälle, Veränderungen der Verbreitungsgebiete, Beimischungen fremder Elemente u. s. w., sie im Laufe der Zeit erfahren haben. Was will es nun dieser im Dienste der Ethnologie an die Schädeluntersuchungen zu stellenden weiten Aufgabe gegenüber sagen, wenn uns von den Amur-Völkern je ein, zwei bis höchstens vier Schädel vorliegen? Wissen wir doch nicht, ob sie mehr oder weniger die Mittelform, oder extreme Formen repräsentiren? ob die Inhaber derselben reinen Stammes waren, oder aus Mischchen mit den Nachbarvölkern entsprungen waren? Es sind dies daher nur ganz einzelne, zum Theil die ersten Bausteine, welche erst verhundertfacht ein Fundament für ethnologische Schlüsse im obigen Sinne abgeben können. So hat die erweiterte craniologische Erfahrung das Bedürfniss nach einem noch weiteren Materiale hervorgerufen, ohne uns jedoch dabei in Aussicht zu stellen, an der Schädelform jemals ein Unterscheidungsmittel verschiedener Völker zu gewinnen. Was sie verspricht, ist nur, durch Ermittelung der bei einem Volke vorherrschenden, mittleren Schädelform und der durch die extremsten Bildungen gebotenen Schwankungsgrenzen diejenigen craniologischen Charakterzüge kennen zu lehren, welche im Verein mit anderen der Körperbeschaffenheit entlehnten Zügen den mehr oder weniger ausgesprochenen physischen Typus oder Habitus des ganzen Volkes und seiner einzelnen Gruppen und Glieder bestimmen.

Neben und mit der Schädelform kommt also zur physischen Charakterzeichnung eines Volkes noch eine Reihe anderer Körpertheile und Verhältnisse in Betracht, welche jedoch an sich sammt und sonders ebenso wenig, ja noch weniger wie der Schädel durchgehende, absolute Unterscheidungsmittel verschiedener Völker darbieten. So die Form der Weichtheile des Gesichts, der Augen, Nase, Lippen, die Grössenverhältnisse der einzelnen Körpertheile, namentlich der Gliedmassen, die Hautfarbe, die Beschaffenheit des Haares u. s. w. So scharf und praegnant der Unterschied in einem oder dem anderen dieser Charaktere zwischen manchen Völkern hervortritt, so fehlt es doch nicht an äusserst zahlreichen, vielfältigen, unmerklichen Zwischenformen und Uebergängen sowohl unter den Völkern, wie zuweilen auch unter Individuen eines und desselben Stammes, so dass eine natürliche Gliederung oder Classificirung der Völker auf Grundlage dieser Charaktere als unausführbar sich erwiesen hat. Was die Grössenverhältnisse der einzelnen Körpertheile betrifft, so fehlt es auch noch an hinlänglich zahlreichen Vergleichungen und Messungen, welche übrigens dieselben Aufgaben wie die craniologischen Untersuchungen zu verfolgen haben und in keinem Falle weiter reichende Resultate versprechen können. Wie schwankend, unsicher und unbestimmt die Angaben über die Haarbeschaffenheit und Haut-

farbe — eben wegen der zahlreichen unmerklichen Zwischenformen und Uebergänge — oft zu sein pflegen, ist zur Genüge bekannt. Fehlt es doch bisher noch an einer zur Richtschnur dienenden Farbenskala, obwohl das Bedürfniss nach einer solchen wiederholentlich ausgesprochen worden ist, und lassen sich doch daher die jedes einheitlichen Principes entbehrenden Angaben verschiedener Autoren auch nicht wohl mit einander vergleichen. Zudem ist jedenfalls die Hautfarbe mehr als andere physische Charaktere dem Einflusse der Atmosphärilien ausgesetzt, oder wird auch in Folge ganz äusserlicher Ursachen, z. B. durch beständigen Aufenthalt in rauchigen Wohnungen, grosse Unreinlichkeit und drgl. m., in ihrer wahren Beschaffenheit unkenntlich.

Denkt man sich übrigens alle oben erwähnten, sowie noch etwaige andere physische Charaktere bei den verschiedenen Völkern genau ermittelt und in ihrer Gesammtheit berücksichtigt, so würde dies, aus den oben entwickelten Gründen, zwar zu einer sehr vollständigen physischen Charakterzeichnung der Völker führen, keineswegs aber ein Mittel zur Unterscheidung der ihnen zugehörigen Individuen an die Hand geben. Desgleichen würde sich auf der Gesammtheit der physischen Charaktere zwar eine anatomische oder, wenn man unter Anthropologie nur die Lehre vom physischen Menschen verstehen will, anthropologische, keineswegs aber eine ethnologische Gliederung des Menschengeschlechts, ein Völkersystem errichten lassen. Ich meine — kein solches, in welchem die Individuen und Gruppen eines Volkes, die Völker einer und derselben Familie nicht vielfach und mehr oder weniger weit auseinandergerissen wären, also kein natürliches Völkersystem. Immer wird ein selbst auf der Gesammtheit der physischen Charaktere begründetes System der Gliederungen des Menschengeschlechts in ethnologischer Beziehung nur ein künstliches bleiben, weil es nur die eine Seite des Menschen, die physische, nicht aber die andere, die psychische und geistige in Betracht zieht, deren vollster Ausdruck die Sprache ist. Wie die durch das Denkvermögen des Menschen bedingte, dieses zur Erscheinung bringende Sprache überhaupt zum Wesen des Menschen gehört, eine durchgehende, unüberbrückbare Kluft zwischen ihm und der Thierwelt bildend, so giebt eine besondere Sprache den Grundzug und das Wesen derjenigen Menschenbesonderheit ab, die wir Volk nennen. Auf der Besonderheit der Sprache beruht der Begriff von Volk. Nicht physische Differenzen — ob sie gleich bestehen mögen — sondern die Verschiedenheit der Sprache hat zunächst zur Unterscheidung von Völkern geführt und thut es noch. Das Bewusstsein einer gemeinsamen, von anderen verschiedenen Sprache nöthigt die einzelnen Individuen sich, soweit eben diese Gemeinsamkeit und Besonderheit reicht, als ein Ganzes, ein Volk zu betrachten und sich, als Gliedern desselben, auch eine gemeinsame Bezeichnung zu geben, sei es auch dass diese Bezeichnung, wie so oft bei Naturvölkern, nur so viel wie «Mensch» bedeutet. In demselben Umfange, wie ein Volk sich selbst als eine Gesammtheit auffasst, also im Bereiche der gemeinsamen Sprache, wird es auch von uns als solches betrachtet und womöglich auch mit dem Namen, den es sich selbst giebt, bezeichnet. Noch hat kein Reisender, auch kein Naturforscher, wenn er zuerst ein unbekanntes Land betrat, die Bewohner desselben nach physischen Charakteren in Völker zu gliedern und durch besondere Namen zu unterscheiden gesucht, — immer sind vielmehr jene durch Besonderheit der Sprache bedingten Gesammtheiten erforscht und unter den Namen, die sie sich selbst oder

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

die ihnen ihre Nachbaren geben, als besondere Völker aufgeführt worden; wo aber grössere physische Differenzen unter den Individuen desselben Sprachenbereiches sich fanden, da hat man mehrere Typen innerhalb eines und desselben Volkes zu unterscheiden und sie, sei es durch Beimischung fremder Elemente, sei es durch den Einfluss anderer, physischer oder socialer Verhältnisse zu erklären gesucht. So lernen wir Völker kennen und unterscheiden, ohne noch an ihnen unterscheidende physische Charaktere gefunden zu haben und lange bevor wir ihren physischen Typus auch nur entfernt zu definiren im Stande wären. Noch lässt sich z. B. nicht genau bestimmen, worin der physische Typus der Tungusen besteht, und doch kennen wir dies Volk schon seit Jahrhunderten und erkennen es in seinen vielfachen Abweigungen, ob wir ihm am Jenissei oder in Kamtschatka, am Eismeer oder an der Schilka begegnen. Steht es aber einmal fest, dass Völker durch Besonderheit der Sprache bestimmte Gesammtheiten sind, so scheint es mir ganz und gar undenkbar, ohne Berücksichtigung der Sprache, auf alleiniger Grundlage physischer Charaktere zu einer natürlichen Gliederung der Völker, einem Völkersystem zu gelangen. Man kann wohl auf dieser Grundlage allerhand künstliche, weitere und engere Abtheilungen und Gruppen, Lang- und Breitköpfe, Weisse und Schwarze, Schlichthaarige und Wollköpfe u. drgl. m., im Menschengeschlecht unterscheiden, nur keine Völker. Niemals werden die so unterschiedenen Gesammtheiten mit denen sich decken, die wir Völker nennen, und das aus dem Grunde, weil dies von ganz verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten gebildete Begriffe, gewissermassen incommensurable Grössen sind. Will man auf rein anthropologisch-anatomischem Boden bleiben, so werfe man daher consequenter Weise auch die jetzigen Unterscheidungen von Völkern, mit ihren gangbaren Bezeichnungen u. s. w., weil auf sprachlicher Grundlage beruhend, bei Seite. Behält man sie aber bei, so ist für sie ein natürliches System nur auf sprachlicher Basis, unter Mitberücksichtigung ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit und natürlich, so weit möglich, auch historischer Thatsachen denkbar.

Wenn ich für die Unterscheidung und systematische Anordnung der Völker ein solches Gewicht auf die Sprache legen möchte, so bin ich mir mancher dagegen gemachter Einwendungen bewusst, welche auf eines der hier in Rede stehenden Völker zum Theil sogar direkt bezogen worden sind und die ich daher um so weniger mit Stillschweigen übergehen darf. Man hat gemeint, die Sprache sei darum zu ethnologischen Eintheilungen untauglich, weil sie der Ausdruck des Entwickelungsganges eines Volkes, gleichsam ein genetischer Vorgang sei, der einem unbekannten, für uns incommensurablen Ende entgegenstrebe, oder, mit anderen Worten, weil sie ihrer Veränderlichkeit wegen einen zu unsicheren Maassstab abgebe[1]). Allein die Veränderungen, die eine Sprache in ihrem Entwickelungsgange erfährt, heben nicht ihre Besonderheit auf, und bilden sich im Laufe der Zeit Differenzen aus, zweigen sich Dialekte ab, so kennzeichnen diese am besten die Zusammengehörigkeit der betreffenden Völker. Hat aber erst ein Volk eine Schrift, so dient diese

1) Bastian, Das natürl. System in der Ethnologie (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, Bd. I, 1869, p. 1); derselbe in den Verhandl. der Berliner Gesellsch. für Anthropol., Ethnol. und Urgesch., in der Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. IV, 1872, p. (99).

dazu, historische Denkmale seiner Sprache aus allen Zeiten zu erhalten und damit die Continuität ihres Entwickelungsganges zu fixiren. Unterliegt nicht andererseits ähnlich der Sprache auch die physische Beschaffenheit eines Volkes vielfachen und weitgehenden Veränderungen, — durch Wechsel des Wohnorts, der Lebensweise, der Nahrungsmittel, durch Cultur und geistige Entwickelung und besonders durch vielfache Vermischung mit anderen Völkern? Dabei ist noch der Uebelstand, dass eine Besonderheit des Typus, wenn sie vorhanden gewesen, aus der Mannigfaltigkeit der Formen und Uebergänge nicht mehr herauszulesen und für die Zusammengehörigkeit der von einem Stamme auseinandergegangenen Zweige kein Kriterium mehr zu finden ist. Liesse sich z. B. die physische Besonderheit der alten Germanen jetzt noch irgendwie bestimmen? Wissen wir über dieselbe nicht viel weniger als über die altgermanische Sprache? Und an welchen physischen Kennzeichen wäre die nahe Stammverwandtschaft aller jetzigen germanischen Völker zu erkennen, wenn nicht die Sprache dafür Zeugniss ablegte? Selbstverständlich kann dabei, wenn von sprachlicher Basis ethnologischer Unterscheidungen und Gliederungen die Rede ist, nur eine gründliche und umsichtige, nicht jene oberflächliche und unkritische Sprachvergleichung gemeint sein, die aus ein paar gleich oder ähnlich lautenden Vokabeln oder gar aus unerkannten Lehnwörtern voreilige Schlüsse über Verwandtschaft der Völker zieht, wie Solches auch schon geschehen und gerügt worden ist[1]).

Am häufigsten und stärksten wird gegen die Zulässigkeit der Sprache zur Unterscheidung und systematischen Anordnung der Völker der Umstand betont, dass manche Völker ihre Sprache im Laufe der Zeit ganz eingebüsst und statt derselben eine fremde, ursprünglich ihnen vielleicht sehr fernstehende sich angeeignet haben. Unläugbare Thatsachen der Art sind allgemein bekannt, aber ich glaube, dass man ihnen eine zu grosse Tragweite beimisst und aus immerhin nur einzelnen, unter besonderen Umständen stattgehabten Fällen auf eine Häufigkeit und Leichtigkeit solcher Vorgänge schliesst, wie sie der Wirklichkeit nicht entsprechen. Mit Steinthal[2]) bin ich der Ansicht, dass ein Sprachenwechsel nur dann möglich ist, wenn ein culturloses oder nur wenig cultivirtes Volk mit einem ihm an Cultur und Civilisation wie an politischer Macht weit überlegenen in dauernden Conflikt geräth, wenn es von ihm unterjocht, beherrscht, in allen seinen bisherigen Lebensäusserungen beschränkt und bedrückt wird. Ist es selbst culturfähig und stehen die beiden Völker hinsichtlich ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit nicht weit auseinander, so geht der Assimilisationsprozess verhältnissmässig rasch und leicht vor sich: das unterworfene Volk wird in seiner Gesammtmasse je mehr und mehr vom fremden Elemente durchdrungen, es entsteht ein Mischvolk, das sich Schritt für Schritt auch die Sitten, Anschauungen und die Sprache seiner Beherrscher aneignet, indem es dadurch selbst zum herrschenden wird. Durch Verschmelzung kommt es zur Ausgleichung. So mögen z. B. slavische Stämme an der Ostsee, Elbe und anderen Orten germanisirt, Celten, Iberer romanisirt worden sein u. s. w.

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1) Letzteres z. B. von R. Hartmann, Untersuchungen über die Völkersch. Nord-Ost-Afrikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnol., Berlin, Bd. 1, 1869, p. 30).

2) Verhandl. der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropol., Ethnol. und Urgeschichte, in der Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Bd. IV, 1872, p. (98).

Anders gestaltet es sich dort, wo die zusammenstossenden Völker von sehr ungleicher physischer Beschaffenheit sind und das unterdrückte, culturlose zur Cultur auch wenig befähigt ist. Wenn es da nicht in ungleichem, blutigem Kampfe bald ausgerottet wird oder, wie es die Indianer in Nordamerika thun, vor den Unterdrückern, wenn auch nur zeitweise, zurückweichen kann, so beginnt jener chronische Prozess physischen und moralischen Hinsiechens und Verkommens, von dem eingangs die Rede war[1]). Unfähig sich rasch zu höherer Cultur zu erheben und mit seinen Unterdrückern zu verschmelzen, vermag es auch nicht, sich in kurzer Zeit deren Sprache anzueignen, sondern macht, mehr und mehr verkommend und hinschwindend, auch in seiner Sprache denselben Prozess der Zersetzung und des allmählichen Aussterbens durch. Wie wenig ist z. B. von den früheren Kamtschadalen oder Itälmenen nach? Dies Wenige wie ist es arm, elend, durch fremde Beimischung vollkommen unkenntlich geworden? Und doch ist die itälmenische Sprache noch immer nicht ganz verklungen. Noch konnte C. v. Ditmar während seines Aufenthaltes und seiner Reise in Kamtschatka in den fünfziger Jahren ein Vokabularium des Kamtschadalischen zusammenstellen. Wie sind die Jukagiren bis auf wenige, physisch nicht mehr als besonderes Volk kenntliche Individuen hingeschwunden? Und doch war es einem der jüngsten Reisenden im Nordosten Sibirien's (Maydell, 1870) noch möglich, Sprachproben unter ihnen zu sammeln, die der Akademiker Schiefner wissenschaftlicher Betrachtung unterzogen hat[2]). Hier sehen wir also in Folge des Conflikts mit einem Culturvolke langsam hinsterbende Völker, und wie am Individuum das Herz, so ist an ihnen das *ultimum moriens* die Sprache: ist diese verklungen, so ist auch der letzte Rest einer Eigenart dahin. Von einem Sprachenwechsel kann daher bei solchen Völkern eigentlich nicht die Rede sein: sie räumen vielmehr ihren Platz einem anderen Volke ein und vererben ihm nur manche ihm ursprünglich und an anderen Orten seines Verbreitungsgebietes fremde physische und moralische Charakterzüge, manche aus ihrer Sprache entlehnte Fremdwörter u. s. w. Ich will damit keineswegs behaupten, dass nicht in anderen Fällen auch bei scheinbar grosser physischer Ungleichheit das niedriger stehende, culturlose Volk die Sprache des mit ihm in Contakt getretenen Culturvolkes, wenn auch vielleicht mit manchen Entstellungen, angenommen habe. So mag es sich z. B. mit manchen gegenwärtig arabisch redenden Stämmen Nord- und Centralafrika's verhalten[3]). Ich kenne sie nicht speciell und vermag daher auch nicht über dieselben zu urtheilen, da jeder einzelne Fall der Art besonders erwogen sein will. Jedenfalls aber ist die Gefahr, die durch solche Vorkommnisse der ethnologischen Gliederung auf sprachlicher Grundlage erwächst, keine sehr grosse. Denn hier wird eben, wenn keine Reste der früheren Sprache mehr vorhanden sind, die Mitberücksichtigung der physischen Beschaffenheit der betreffenden Völker so wie historischer Thatsachen sogleich auf die richtige Fährte führen. Und an den letzteren zumal wird es in solchen Fällen in

1) S. oben, p. 2.

2) Schiefner, Ueber Bar. G. v. Maydell's jukagirische Sprachproben (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. XVII, p. 36). Vergl. auch oben, p. 3.

3) Hartmann, Untersuchungen über die Völkerschaften Nord-Ost-Afrikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Bd. I, 1869, p. 30).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

der Regel nicht fehlen; denn, wie gesagt, kann Sprachenwechsel nur beim Zusammenstoss eines culturlosen Volkes mit einem der Cultur ergebenen eintreten, — wo aber Cultur ist, ist Geschichte.

Kein Sprachenwechsel findet hingegen dort statt, wo nur culturlose oder auf nahe gleicher Culturstufe stehende Völker in gegenseitigem, und sei es Jahrhunderte altem, nahem und vielfachem Verkehr mit einander leben. Die Erfahrung lehrt vielmehr, dass in solchen Fällen, trotz weitgehender, die physischen Typen ausgleichender Vermischung, trotz mancher Ausgleichung in Lebensweise, Sitten und Anschauungen, ein jedes Volk an seiner Sprache mit unerschütterlicher Zähigkeit festhält. Von Culturvölkern dürfte es nicht leicht bezweifelt werden, aber auch hinsichtlich der culturlosen wird Jedermann, der Gelegenheit hatte, sie unter solchen Verhältnissen näher kennen zu lernen und zu beobachten, der Richtigkeit dieser Behauptung beistimmen. Es wäre mir unmöglich, die Giljaken, trotzdem ich vielleicht die meisten derselben gesehen und persönlich gekannt habe, nach dem physischen Habitus allein auch nur mit einiger Sicherheit von den Oltscha zu unterscheiden: so sehr haben sich, unzweifelhaft in Folge von häufigen Mischehen unter diesen Völkern, die Typen derselben ausgeglichen und so wenig fehlt es beiderseits an Mittelformen und Uebergängen, die eben so gut dem einen wie dem anderen Volke angehören könnten. Ich habe auch manche Individuen aus dem noch heute durch auffälligere Eigenart seines physischen Typus ausgezeichneten Volke der Aino gesehen, die ich von den Giljaken nicht habe unterscheiden können. Nach der Sprache sind aber diese Völker immer grundverschieden geblieben: sie drückt die trotz aller Vermischung noch heute bestehende Eigenart ihres Wesens aus und grenzt sie heutzutage noch an denselben Orten ab, wie in den Zeiten, aus welchen unsere ältesten, allerdings nicht sehr weit zurückgehenden Nachrichten über dieselben herrühren. Ja, ich habe selbst kleinere Complexe von Individuen des einen Volkes, die in den Gebietsgrenzen des anderen wohnen, Oltscha unter Giljaken und umgekehrt, an ihrer eigenen Sprache zäh festhalten sehen[1]). So ist gerade die Sprache dasjenige am Volke, was den festeren und bleibenderen Bestand hat, während die physische Beschaffenheit als das Veränderlichere an ihm bezeichnet werden muss. Es scheint mir daher recht wohl möglich zu sein, dass ein Volk sich in seiner physischen Erscheinung im Laufe der Zeit durch langjährige Vermischung mit einem Nachbarstamme so weit verändert, dass es mehr oder weniger in seiner Gesammtheit manche besonders prägnante, und vielleicht auch besonders erbliche, Charakterzüge des letzteren erhält und auf diese Weise einen ihm ursprünglich fremden Typus gewinnt, während es seine eigene, altübergebrachte Sprache mehr oder weniger unverändert beibehält. Physischer Typus und Sprache des Volkes würden uns alsdann in offenbarer Disharmonie erscheinen. So möchte ich mir z. B. die Thatsache erklären, dass manche ihrer Sprache nach türkisch-tatarische Völker, wie die Jakuten und Kirgisen, eine ganz mongolische Gesichtsbildung haben. In der That haben die ersteren, bevor sie in das Lena-Thal einrückten, ihre Sitze am Baikal-See gehabt, in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft und inniger Berührung

1) S. oben, p. 18.

mit mongolischen Völkerschaften, namentlich mit den Burjaten, durch deren Druck sie zum Ausweichen nach Norden bewogen wurden. In der neuen Heimath stiessen sie aber auf ein anderes, mit den Mongolen verwandtes und diesen ähnliche Gesichtszüge tragendes Volk, die Tungusen, was ihnen, in Folge häufiger Vermischung mit demselben, zu einer neuen Quelle leiblicher Mongolisirung werden musste[1]). Dass auch die Sprache der Jakuten vielfache Spuren der nahen und anhaltenden Berührung dieses Volkes mit den Mongolen davongetragen, hat Böhtlingk bis in die Einzelheiten nachgewiesen[2]). Noch älter und schon darum vielleicht durchgehender und allgemeiner scheint die physische Mongolisirung der Kirgisen zu sein, obwohl der Mongolen-Stamm, von welchem sie speciell ausgegangen, nicht näher bezeichnet werden kann[3]). Durch die Kirgisen werden ferner noch gegenwärtig die ihrer Sprache nach ebenfalls zu den türkisch-tatarischen Völkerschaften gehörigen Baschkiren mehr und mehr mit mongolischem Typus versehen[4]). In allen diesen Fällen, deren Zahl sowohl im Allgemeinen, als auch speciell auf dem Boden Sibirien's noch um Vieles vermehrt werden kann, hätten wir also nicht, wie man gewöhnlich meint, Sprachen-, sondern meiner Ansicht nach Typenwechsel. Büsst dabei auch die Sprache etwas an ihrer ursprünglichen Reinheit ein, indem sie einzelne Wörter, vielleicht auch manche grammatische Formen aus der anderen entlehnt, so bewahrt sie dabei doch ihre Besonderheit und dürfte der Stamm, dem sie angehört, immer mehr oder weniger leicht sich erkennen lassen. Der umgekehrte Fall — Sprachen- ohne Typenwechsel — scheint mir hingegen, zum wenigsten in demselben Maasse, nicht wohl denkbar. Denn wo, wie wir oben sahen, ein culturloses Volk beim Contakt mit einem Culturvolke seine Sprache gegen eine andere vertauscht, da hat in Folge der Vermischung und Verschmelzung immer auch ein weitgehender Typenwechsel stattgefunden: die ganze ursprüngliche physische Eigenthümlichkeit kann sich bei einem Volke, das seine Sprache gewechselt, unmöglich erhalten haben[5]), — höchstens nur einzelne, besonders prägnante und stärker erbliche Züge, die dem Anthropologen einen Handgriff zur richtigen Beurtheilung des Falles abgeben können.

Eines Beispiels von Sprachenwechsel möchte ich hier noch besonders erwähnen, und zwar aus dem Grunde, weil es sibirische Völker betrifft und auf den ersten Blick gegen die hier verfochtene

1) Vrgl. oben p. 93; desgl. Middendorff, Reise in den auss. Nord. u. Ost. Sibir. Bd. IV, p. 1513, Anmerk. 1, u. p. 1545.

2) O. Böhtlingk, Über die Sprache der Jakuten, Thl. I, p. XXXVII; in Middendorff's Reise etc. Bd. III. Vrgl. auch des letzteren Werkes Bd. IV, p. 1516.

3) In den Aeusserungen Middendorff's über die Kirgisen stösst man auf einen offenbaren Widerspruch. Denn einmal spricht er von ihrer noch weiter als bei den Jakuten gehenden Mongolisirung (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1545, Anmerk. 2, u. p. 1546), wonach sie also von türkisch-tatarischem Stamme wie ihre Sprache wären. Ein anderes Mal hingegen (Reise etc. p. 1463; Die Baraba, St. Petersb., 1870, p. 87. — Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VII-e Sér. T. XIV, № 9) bezeichnet er sie als körperlich «ganz unvermischt» dem mongolischen Stamme angehörig, ja sogar schlechtweg als Mongolen und führt sie als «grossartiges Beispiel» dafür an, wie ein Volk im Laufe der Zeit seine Sprache gegen eine andere vertauschen könne: demnach wären sie also nicht leiblich mongolisirt, sondern sprachlich türk-tatarisirt.

4) Middendorff, Die Baraba, l. c.

5) Dies ist jedoch wiederholentlich nicht blos für möglich, sondern auch für thatsächlich erwiesen gehalten worden; so, wenn ich mich auf ein Zeitungsreferat berufen darf, noch neuerdings von Leo Meyer, in einem in der Jahresversammlung der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft in Dorpat, am 18. Januar 1878 gehaltenen Vortrage (St. Petersburger Zeitung, 1878, № 27).

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Ansicht, dass unter gleich culturlosen Völkern kein Sprachenwechsel vorkomme, zu sprechen scheint. Castrén hat nämlich von einer Anzahl kleiner Völkerschaften des oberen Jenissei-Gebietes, den Arinen, Assanen, Kotten, Koibalen, sowie von einem Theile der sogen. Kamassinzen nachgewiesen, dass sie zum selben Stamme mit den bekanntlich ihre eigene, sehr aparte Sprache redenden Jenissei-Ostjaken gehören, gegenwärtig aber sprachlich tatarisirt und die Kotten zum Theil auch burjatisirt sind [1]). Diese Thatsachen stehen nach Castrén's Zeugniss ohne Zweifel fest, aber die oben entwickelte Ansicht scheinen sie mir noch nicht umzuwerfen. Denn einmal ist es wahrscheinlich oder doch möglich, dass diese kleinen, mit den Jenissei-Ostjaken verwandten Stämme dem türkisch-tatarischen Volke und den Burjaten, deren Sprachen die ihrigen verdrängten, an Cultur und Macht weit nachstanden, dass sie von diesen unterworfen und bedrückt wurden, wodurch ihre Zahl mehr und mehr schwand und die Nachbleibenden ihrer Nationalität allmählich verlustig gehen mussten. Dabei hat sicherlich auch eine starke physische Vermischung stattgefunden. Später ist auch noch der Conflikt mit den Russen eingetreten, wodurch ein Theil derselben russificirt worden ist und also seine Sprache nochmals gewechselt hat. Wenn nach alledem immer noch einzelne Individuen sich fanden, die ihre ursprüngliche Sprache kannten und es dadurch Castrén ermöglichten, die Verwandtschaft dieser Sprachen mit dem Jenissei-Ostjakischen zu erkennen und für das Kottische auch ein Wörterverzeichniss und eine Sprachlehre zu entwerfen, so darf man darin, glaube ich, eher einen Beweis zähen Festhaltens an der Sprache als leichten Aufgebens und Wechselns derselben sehen.

Aus dem Angeführten möchte ich den Schluss ziehen, dass man in Fällen, wo uns eine Disharmonie zwischen der Sprache und dem physischen Typus eines Volkes entgegentritt, dieselbe nicht eher durch einen Sprachenwechsel sich erklären darf, als wenn dafür zeugende historische Thatsachen oder Reste der alten Sprache vorliegen. Wo diese fehlen, wird man, meiner Ansicht nach, immer eher an einen in Folge von Vermischung mit anderen Stämmen stattgehabten Typenwechsel denken dürfen, wenn eine eingehende und umfassende Untersuchung des betreffenden Volkes die fragliche Disharmonie nicht dadurch auflöst, dass sie die vermeintliche Uebereinstimmung seines physischen Typus mit demjenigen eines anderen, ihm sprachlich fremden Volkes als eine nur scheinbare und bei genauerer Einsicht unbegründete nachweist.

Ich habe mir die obigen allgemeineren Betrachtungen erlaubt, einmal weil sie auch auf die Amur-Völker und zum Theil ganz unmittelbar Bezug haben, und dann auch weil sie mir für die Berechtigung zu sprechen scheinen, bei Unterscheidung und Abgrenzung der Völker nach ihrer Stammverwandtschaft oder Verschiedenheit das grösste und entscheidendste Gewicht auf die Sprache und erst in zweiter Instanz auch auf die physische Beschaffenheit derselben zu legen. Man erwarte jedoch darum noch nicht, in den nachstehenden Blättern eingehende sprach-

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1) Al. Castrén's Reiseber. und Briefe aus den Jahren 1845—1849, herausgeg. von A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1856, p. 290, 320—322, 343, 360, 383, 387 u. a.; desselb. Versuch einer Jenissei-Ostjakischen und Kottischen Sprachlehre nebst Wörterverzeichn. aus den genannten Sprachen, herausgeg. von A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg 1858, p. I—IX.

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liche Untersuchungen zu finden: als Naturforscher muss ich diese den Linguisten überlassen und mich damit begnügen, auf die bei persönlicher Bekanntschaft mit verschiedenen Völkern auch dem Nichtlinguisten leicht wahrnehmbaren, in dem Wortschatz ihm entgegentretenden Grund- oder nur dialektischen Verschiedenheiten der respektiven Sprachen hinzuweisen. Zwei der indigenen Hauptsprachen des Amur-Landes, das Ainische und das Tungusische, sind übrigens den Linguisten auch schon vielfach bekannt, das letztere freilich mehr in den sibirischen und nur kaum in einem oder dem anderen der so zahlreich im Amur-Lande vertretenen Dialekte. Für die dritte, bisher noch ganz unbekannte indigene Hauptsprache des Amur-Landes, das Giljakische, wird ein ziemlich reichhaltiges, von mir und Glehn gesammeltes Wörterverzeichniss diesem Werke beigegeben werden. Eingehender als das Sprachliche soll hingegen das wenn auch sehr unvollständige und geringe Material besprochen werden, welches uns zur genaueren Beurtheilung der physischen Beschaffenheit der Amur-Völker vorliegt.

Zur Zeit meiner Reise nach dem Amur-Lande galt die Ansicht, dass die Giljaken eines Stammes mit den Aino oder Kurilen seien. Der Urheber dieser Ansicht ist Klaproth: er hat sie wiederholentlich und mit grosser Bestimmtheit ausgesprochen. Die Aino oder Kurilen, sagt er, breiten sich von der Südspitze Kamtschatka's bis nach Japan hin über alle, nach ihnen sogenannten Kurilischen Inseln aus, bewohnen Tschoka (Sachalin), die ganze gegenüberliegende Küste des Festlandes und den unteren Amur bis zum Einfluss des Ussuri in denselben. Sie sind es nach ihm, die auf dem Festlande von den Mandshu «Chedshen» und «Fiaka» oder «Fiatta» und von den Russen «Giljaki» genannt werden. So trägt, fügt er hinzu, da die Tungusen den Amur abwärts nur bis zur Ussuri-Mündung bewohnen, vom Meere aber durch die «Kurilen des Festlandes» getrennt werden und dasselbe erst an der Uda (Udj) erreichen, diese Gegend den Namen Tungusien mit Unrecht[1]). Klaproth rechnete also zu den Aino oder Kurilen nicht bloss die Giljaken, sondern auch einen Theil der tungusischen Völkerschaften des unteren Amur-Landes, nach unserer jetzigen Kenntniss derselben, die Orotschen, Oltscha und die Golde bis zur Ussuri-Mündung. Seine Angabe stand zwar im Widerspruch mit derjenigen von La Pérouse, der wenigstens von den «Orotschy» und «Bitschi»[2]) nach eigener Anschauung anführte, dass sie in ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit weder mit den Mandshu, noch und viel weniger mit den Bewohnern von Oku-Jesso (Sachalin), Jesso und den Kurilen übereinstimmten und auch nicht von gemeinsamer Abstammung mit diesen sein könnten[3]), allein sie musste um so mehr Gewicht haben, als er sich dabei auf seine eigenen «linguistischen Untersuchungen» berief[4]). Merkwürdig ist jedoch, dass sich in keinem seiner Werke auch nur

1) Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfurt a. M., Bd. I, 1812, p. 283, Anmerk. Desselben, Asia polyglotta, Paris 1823, p. 288, 300, 301; Memoires relatifs à l'Asie, Paris, T. I. 1824, p. 452, T. III, 1828, p. 53.

2) S. oben, p. 137—139.

3) La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, red. par Milet-Mureau, Paris, an V (1797), T. III, p. 101, 114. Vrgl. auch Plath, Die Völker der Mandshurey, Gottingen 1830, p. 81.

4) Siehe Langsdorff's Reise, a. a. O.

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ein einziges Wort aus der Sprache der Giljaken oder der anderen oben genannten Völker des unteren Amur-Landes findet. Hätte er aber auch nur wenige Wörter aus diesen Sprachen gekannt, so wäre die Fabel von den «Kurilen des Festlandes» sowie Nordsachalin's nicht entstanden. Klaproth's Ansicht fand bei Balbi[1]), Rémusat[2]), Ritter[3]), Joh. Sev. Vater[4]) u. a. Aufnahme und damit auch allgemeine Verbreitung[5]). Ich habe sie schon vom Amur-Lande aus, in meinen Berichten an die Akademie widerlegt und mich bestimmt dahin ausgesprochen, dass Giljaken und Aino zwei nach Abstammung und Sprache, wie nach Charakter und Lebensweise, völlig von einander verschiedene Völker sind, und dass die übrigen Völker des Amur-Landes, darunter also auch die oben genannten Bewohner der Meeresküste und der unteren Stromlandschaft, zu einem dritten, ebenso verschiedenen Stamme, dem tungusischen, gehören[6]). Gleichwohl hatte sich die Klaproth'sche Ansicht von der Identität der Giljaken und Aino so sehr eingebürgert, dass sie auch später und selbst von Reisenden, die im Amur-Lande gewesen waren, aber freilich das eine dieser Völker nur kaum, das andere gar nicht gesehen hatten, noch festgehalten wurde. So von Gerstfeldt[7]), von Maack[8]), ja sogar noch von Middendorff[9]), obgleich meine Reiseberichte an ihn, als den damaligen Secretär der Akademie, gerichtet waren. Und ebenso wird diese Ansicht noch in den neueren systematischen Werken über Völkerkunde nachgesprochen[10]).

Nicht glücklicher ist es den Giljaken von einer anderen Seite her ergangen. Am Nordende von Sachalin sah und besuchte Krusenstern im Jahre 1805 einige ansehnliche Dörfer, deren Bewohner auf ihn wie auf seinen Begleiter Löwenstern den Eindruck machten, dass sie zu einem anderen Volke gehören müssten als die Aino, welche sie im Süden der Insel kennen gelernt hatten. Ohne den Namen des Volkes in Erfahrung gebracht zu haben, schloss Krusenstern aus dem physischen Habitus und der Kleidung der von ihm gesehenen Individuen, dass es «unstreitig» Tataren seien. Da er jedoch ebenfalls der Ueberzeugung war, ganz Sachalin

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1) Atlas Ethnographique du globe, ou classificat. des peuples anciens et modernes d'après leurs langues, Paris 1826, IX, VII-e Tableau (des langues asiat.).

2) Recherches etr. T. I, p. 148, a. Pfath l. c.

3) Erdkunde von Asien, Berlin, Bd. I, 1832, p. 88; Bd. III, p. 170 u. a.

4) Literatur der Grammat., Lexica und Wortersammlung. aller Sprachen der Erde, Berlin 1847, p. 213.

5) Noch neuerdings spricht Léon de Rosny (Congrès internat. des oriental. Paris 1874, p. 64, 173, 201) von Aino oder Kurilen der Festlandsküste der Tartarei.

6) S. meine Reiseber. datirt vom Nikolajevschen Posten, d. 9./21. Nov. 1853 und d. 26. Oct./7. Nov. 1856, im Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersbourg, T. XIV, p. 186, 188, T. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. T. II, p. 448, 449, 451, T. III, p. 11.

7) О прибреж. жителях Амура (Вѣстн. Русск. Географ. Общ. Ч. XX, 1857, Отд. II, стр. 292). Vrgl. auch Petermann, Geogr. Mittheil. Jahrg. 1860, p. 90.

8) Путеш. на Амуръ, С. Петербургъ 1859, стр. 210.

9) Reise etc. Bd. IV (letzte Lieferung, 1875), p. 1463.

10) Fr. Müller, Allgemeine Ethnographie, Wien 1873, p. 192; O. Peschel, Völkerkunde, Leipzig 1874, p. 414. Letzterer giebt nur in einer Anmerkung an, Wenjukof versichere dagegen, dass die Sprache der Giljaken sowohl vom Tungusischen, wie vom Kurilischen, welches die Aino reden, verschieden sei (Journ. of the R. Geogr. Soc., London 1872, Vol. XLII, p. 383). Ist Wenjukof auch selbst nicht bei den Giljaken gewesen und kann er auch nicht als Autorität für dieselben gelten, so hätte seine Angabe, da er mit der Literatur des Amur-Landes bekannt sein musste, doch mehr Glauben verdient. Aus Müller's Ethnographie ist die Angabe, dass die Giljaken mit den Aino identisch oder stammverwandt seien, auch in Hellwald's eingehenden Artikel über die Aino (Das Ausland, 1873, p. 878) übergegangen.

müsse von Aino bewohnt sein, so hielt er diese Tataren nur für eine vom Festlande, aus der Gegend der Amur-Mündung herübergekommene Colonie, welche die Aino ganz ebenso im Norden der Insel verdränge und schliesslich auch wohl ganz ausrotten werde, wie die Japaner es im Süden derselben thun[1]). Bei der Unbestimmtheit der Bezeichnung «Tataren» ist es nicht zu verwundern, wenn Plath die Vermuthung aussprach, dass diese angeblichen Tataren auf Sachalin Mandshu sein könnten[2]). Aus der ziemlich umständlichen Beschreibung, die Krusenstern von seiner Begegnung mit ihnen entwirft, lässt sich jedoch mit Sicherheit entnehmen, dass es Giljaken waren. Inzwischen ist einer der im Atlas zu seiner Reise von diesen Giljaken abgebildeten Köpfe, und zwar derjenige des vermeintlichen tatarischen Chefs in der Bai Nadeshda[3]), von Gliddon, in dem bekannten Werke über die verschiedenen Racen des Menschengeschlechts, sogar als Repräsentant des Tataren-Typus reproducirt worden[4]).

Noch in einer dritten Weise endlich sind die Giljaken hinsichtlich ihrer Abstammung verkannt worden. Manche russische Reisende nämlich, die entweder in Transbaikalien von ihnen nur gehört, wie Parschin[5]), oder aber sie im Amur-Lande auch selbst kennen gelernt haben, wie Permikin[6]), Sswerbejef[7]) u. a., rechnen die Giljaken gleich wie alle anderen Amur-Völker zu den Tungusen. Dazu hat, ausser der vollständigen Unkenntniss oder Nichtbeachtung der giljakischen Sprache, ohne Zweifel auch der Umstand beigetragen, dass die Bezeichnung «Giljaken» russischerseits, wie wir oben gesehen, oft in collectivem Sinne gebraucht und so schlechtweg auch ihren tungusischen Nachbaren beigelegt wird[8]). Ebenso stellt Kennan die Giljaken vom Amur mit den Tungusen und Mandshu in eine Gruppe von Völkern zusammen, von denen er meint, dass sie offenbar und unzweifelhaft von chinesischem Ursprunge seien[9]).

Die Giljaken sind ihrer Sprache nach weder mit ihren Nachbaren, den Aino und den tungusischen Völkerschaften, noch überhaupt mit irgend einem Volke Sibirien's oder auch Nord-

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1) Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, St. Petersburg 1811, Bd. II, p. 183, 180. Krusenstern meinte sogar, der Hof zu Peking wisse wahrscheinlich nichts von dieser Ausbreitung der Tataren nach Sachalin, was jedoch mit seiner eigenen Angabe im Widerspruche steht, dass die chinesische Regierung, eifersüchtig auf den Besitz des Amur-Stromes, an dessen Mündung Böte zur Wache hatte, um über alles dort Geschehende sogleich unterrichtet zu werden (l. c. p. 187). Das war es ja auch bekanntlich, was ihn bewog, das Vordringen in die Amur-Mündung aufzugeben.

2) Plath, Die Völker der Mandshurey, p. 41, Anm. 3. Nannten doch die alten Jesuiten-Missionäre die Mandshu sehr oft auch «Tartares Mantchoux» (Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Vol. IV, passim).

3) Tafel LXXXII und LXXXIII («chinesische Tataren auf Sachalin»), nach Zeichnungen von Tilesius. Einzelne Züge sind giljakisch, im Ganzen geben aber die Abbildungen den Typus nicht wieder.

4) J. C. Nott and Geo. R. Gliddon, Indigenous races of the earth, or new Chapters of Ethnological Inquiry, Philadelphia 1857, p. 622, Fig. 9 des zum Artikel von Gliddon gehörigen «Ethnographical Tableau». Die Reproduction nähert sich dem Typus mehr wie das Original, doch ist auch in ihr der Nasenrücken zu hoch, die Nase zu hervorragend u. s. w.

5) Поѣздка въ Забайкальскій край, Москва 1844, ч. II, стр. 8, 70.

6) Путеш. через. назв. по р. Амуру (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Кн. II, С. Петерб. 1858, стр. 64).

7) Опис. назв. по р. Амуру мисіон. протоіер.-суйсеры. Восг. Сибири въ 1854 г. (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Кн. III, С. Петерб. 1857, стр. 77).

8) S. oben p. 104.

9) G. Kennan, Tent life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London 1871, p. 219.

ostasien's und Nordwestamerika's in nähere, stammverwandtschaftliche Beziehung zu bringen. Sie bilden ein Volk für sich, gleich den Kamtschadalen, den Aleuten, den Tschuktschen und Korjaken. Vielleicht werden Linguisten im Bau ihrer Sprache eine grössere oder geringere Annäherung an dieses oder jenes der sibirischen oder ostasiatischen Völker nachweisen, der Wortschatz ihrer Sprache ist aber, von manchen, ihren Nachbaren entlehnten Wörtern oder auch mit den Aino und Tungusen gemeinsamen japanischen, resp. mandshurischen oder chinesischen Fremdwörtern abgesehen, ein durchaus selbständiger und eigener. Das weiterhin folgende giljakische Wörterverzeichniss, welches von mir binnen zwei Jahren zum Theil und hauptsächlich auf dem Festlande, zum Theil auch auf der Westküste und im Innern, wie an einem Punkte der Ostküste Sachalin's (Nyi), und von Glehn besonders im Norden der Insel gesammelt worden ist, wird den besten Beweis dafür liefern. Schon der Klang der giljakischen Sprache ist von dem der tungusischen oder ainischen so grundverschieden, namentlich durch die Häufung der Consonanten und das starke Vorherrschen von Nasen-, Kehl- und Zischlauten so sehr viel härter, dass man auch ohne sie zu kennen gleich bei der ersten Begegnung mit Giljaken den Eindruck ihrer unzweifelhaften Stammverschiedenheit von den Tungusen und Aino davonträgt. Um so mehr ist daher jene mehrfach erwähnte Verwechselung oder Identificirung derselben mit diesen Völkern zu verwundern.

Aus dem giljakischen Wörterverzeichniss wird man zugleich ersehen, dass es unter den Giljaken, trotz ihres im Ganzen nur wenig ausgedehnten Gebietes und ihrer nur geringen Anzahl, doch mehrere scharf ausgesprochene Dialektverschiedenheiten giebt. Zur Ausprägung von solchen musste schon der Umstand beitragen, dass die Giljaken an verschiedenen Enden ihres Gebietes an ganz verschiedensprachige Völker stossen, und in der gegenseitigen Abgrenzung der Dialekte lässt sich der Einfluss grenzbestimmender Naturverhältnisse und der durch dieselben bedingten grösseren oder geringeren Verkehrsbeziehungen und Berührungen der einzelnen Gebietstheile unter einander erkennen.

Zunächst machen sich in dieser Beziehung Festland und Insel als verschiedene Gebiete geltend. Auf dem Festlande bildet der fischreiche Amur-Strom, der zugleich eine Handelsstrasse zu den Mandshu und Chinesen abgiebt, die Hauptader der giljakischen Bevölkerung. An ihm findet ihre grösste Verdichtung statt. Dahin gravitiren auch die minder zahlreichen Giljaken der Festlandsküsten des Ochotskischen Meeres und des Amur-Limanes. So weit mir bekannt, herrscht in diesem ganzen Gebiete auch nur eine Form der giljakischen Sprache, — dieselbe, die man am Amur-Strome hört; nur ist zuweilen, wo sich mehrere Bezeichnungen für einen Gegenstand finden, die eine hauptsächlich am Amur, die andere hauptsächlich am Liman oder am Ochotskischen Meere gebräuchlich, und diese ist dann meist auch die auf Sachalin allein übliche Bezeichnung[1]).

Am meisten vom Amur und vom Festlande überhaupt abgewendet und entfernt liegt die

1) So heisst z. B. der Bär, dieses, wie wir später sehen werden, in das Leben der Giljaken tief eingreifende Thier, in ihrer Sprache *lotr* und *tschchyf*: die erstere Bezeichnung ist am Amur, die letztere am Liman die gebräuchlichere; auf Sachalin kennt man nur die letztere.

Ostküste und das Innere von Sachalin, wo namentlich der Tymy-Fluss, der ansehnlichste und fischreichste in der Nordhälfte der Insel, einen Hauptsitz der Giljaken bildet. Durch die in Meridianrichtung über Sachalin verlaufenden Gebirge ist dieser Theil der Insel auch von der Westküste derselben mehr oder weniger getrennt. Wo er im Osten vom Meere bespült wird, trägt er bei den Giljaken auch einen besonderen Namen, dessen Bedeutung und Begrenzung bisher jedoch nicht genauer ermittelt werden konnte. Schon Middendorff hörte die Giljaken an der Tugur-Mündung von den «Tro» auf Sachalin sprechen; er vermuthete, dass dieser Name die Tungusen bezeichne [1]). Ich konnte soviel mit Gewissheit feststellen, dass derselbe nicht auf ein tungusisches Volk (etwa die Oroken), sondern auf die Ostküste Sachalin's sich bezieht: «Tro-nibach» sind die dortigen Giljaken, «Tro-kerchk» das jene Küste bespülende (Ochotskische) Meer, «Tro-mif» das Land an demselben. Was aber ursprünglich unter der Bezeichnung «Tro» zu verstehen sei, ob das Land oder das Meer, vermag ich mit Gewissheit nicht zu sagen. Ich glaube aber das erstere, im Gegensatz zu «Lärch» oder «Lär-mif», welches wohl hauptsächlich auf die Westküste von Sachalin sich beziehen dürfte [2]). Glehn, der die Tro-Küste Sachalin's bereist hat, spricht sich darüber nicht aus. Auch über die Ausdehnung des von den Giljaken unter «Tro» verstandenen Landstriches bleiben wir noch im Zweifel. So viel ich aus ihren Angaben entnehmen konnte, ist darunter die ganze von den Giljaken bewohnte Ostküste Sachalin's gemeint, so dass z. B. sowohl das gleich nördlich von der Tymy-Mündung gelegene Dorf Nyi, in welchem ich mich ein paar Tage aufhielt, als auch die südlicheren Dörfer, bis Tschamr-wo hinab, noch Tro-Dörfer sind. In solchem Umfange ist diese Bezeichnung auch in meinem giljakischen Wörterverzeichniss wie an anderen Stellen dieses Werkes gebraucht. Glehn beschränkt hingegen die Bezeichnung «Tro» auf einen geringeren Theil der giljakischen Ostküste Sachalin's, indem er Käkr-wo, den Hauptsitz der Oroken, das nördlichste der Tro-Dörfer nennt [3]). Welches Moment aber dieser Bezeichnung alsdann zu Grunde läge, wüsste ich gar nicht zu sagen. Wie dem übrigens auch sei, so viel ist gewiss, dass gleichwie auf dem Festlande die Giljaken des Ochotskischen Meeres zum Amur-Strome, ebenso die Tro-Giljaken zum Tymy-Flusse, als der Haupt- Handels- und Verkehrsader ihres Landes, gravitiren. Bei ihren Landsleuten am oberen Tymy finden sie nicht bloss reiche Fischvorräthe, sondern auch manche durch Vermittelung der Amur- und Liman-, besonders der Tschomi-Giljaken erhaltene mandshu-chinesische Waaren, und von den Tymy-Quellen führt die Ty- oder Poronai-Strasse zu den Aino am Golf der Geduld, wo bereits manches japanische Produkt zu haben ist. Tymy- und Tro-Giljaken stehen daher in beständiger Berührung mit einander und gehören auch sprachlich ebenso zusammen, wie die Amur- und Küsten-Giljaken des Festlandes. Bei ihrer Abgeschiedenheit von den letzteren bildet aber zugleich ihre

1) Bullet. de la classe physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. T. IV, p. 233; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abthl., p. 618.

2) In meinem Reisebericht (Bull. de la classe physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersbourg, T. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. T. III, p. 11), in welchem zuerst von den Tro-Giljaken die Rede ist, glaubte ich den Ausdruck «Tro» schlechtweg auf das dortige Meer beziehen zu müssen.

3) Glehn, Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 198, 228).

Sprache die grösste dialektische Verschiedenheit, die es innerhalb des Giljakischen giebt. Nicht nur haben sie für manche Gegenstände ganz andere Bezeichnungen, sondern auch wo diese dieselben sind, bieten der Tymy- und Tro-Dialekt oft noch ansehnliche Lautabweichungen dar. Um nur einige der auffallendsten unter ihnen hervorzuheben, will ich bemerken, dass der bei den Continental-Giljaken so häufige Laut *tsch*, auf welchen auch die Infinitivform aller Zeitwörter ausläuft, von den Tymy- und Tro-Giljaken in der Regel in *t* umgewandelt wird; so sagen sie z. B. statt *puntsch* (Bogen) *punt*, statt *ngalskotsch* (schlecht) *ngalskot*, statt *mutsch* oder *muntsch* (sterben) *munt*, statt *ässka(n)tsch* (nicht wünschen, nicht mögen) *ässkant* u. s. w. Ferner werden manche Vokale und Diphtonge im Tymy- und Tro-Dialekt meist, wenn auch nicht durchgängig, durch andere ersetzt: so das *y* (russische ы) durch *a* — z. B. *taf* statt *tyf* (Haus), *pat* statt *pyt* (morgen), *namr* statt *nymr* (gestern) u. s. w. — das *e* durch *ä* und zuweilen sogar durch *a* — z. B. *jäghsunt* statt *jeghsutsch* (nicht wissen), *jamatsch* statt *jematsch* (wissen, verstehen) — das *ö* durch *o* — z. B. *mlo* statt *mlö* (Feuerzeugdose), *njo* statt *njö* (Vorrathskammer), *tlo* statt *tlä* (Himmel) u. drgl. m. Erwägt man, dass in der Aino-Sprache, nach Dobrotworskij[1]), der Laut *y* (russ. ы) gar nicht vorkommt und die harten Vokale *a*, *ä*, *o* vor den weichen *ja* (russ. я), *e*, *ö* vorherrschen, so liesse sich in der erwähnten Vokaleigenthümlichkeit des Tymy- und Tro-Dialektes, dem Continental-Giljakischen gegenüber, vielleicht ein Einfluss der benachbarten Aino-Sprache wahrnehmen. Im Ganzen klingt dieser Dialekt in seinen Vokallauten breiter und härter als das Amur-Giljakische, während er in den Consonantenlauten wohlklingender als das letztere ist. Auch der Umstand endlich, dass der Tonfall und die Accentuirung der einzelnen Wörter bei den Tymy- und Tro-Giljaken manche Abweichungen darbieten, indem sie namentlich und zumal in den Zeitwörtern den Accent gern auf die letzte Sylbe verlegen, verleiht ihrer Sprache, derjenigen ihrer Landsleute auf dem Continent gegenüber, ein besonderes Gepräge.

Anders verhält es sich mit der Westküste Sachalin's. Die vom Continent abgeschiedene Lage des Innern und der Ostküste der Insel theilt sie nicht; sie ist im Gegentheil demselben zugekehrt und nur durch ein schmales, im Winter zum Theil gefrierendes Meer von ihm getrennt. An der schmalsten Stelle dieses Meeres, über die Mamia-Rinsô-Strasse, vom Cap Lasaref zum Dorfe Poghobi, finden auch die flachkieligen, für's offene Meer nicht geeigneten Böte der Amur- und Liman-Giljaken eine leichte Ueberfahrt nach der Insel, längs deren Küste sie bis zur Südspitze hinabgehen, um ihre mandshu-chinesischen Waaren bei den Japanern umzusetzen. Im Winter kreuzen Amur- und besonders Tschomi-Giljaken dieselbe Strasse in hundebespannten Schlitten über die Eisdecke, um, ebenfalls in Handelsinteressen, sei es nun die Westküste der Insel, oder die Tymy-Quellen, oder auch, die Ty-Strasse abwärts, die Aino und Oroken am Golfe der Geduld zu besuchen. So stehen die Giljaken der südlich von Poghobi, also am Nordjapanischen Meere gelegenen Westküste Sachalin's mit ihren Landsleuten auf dem Festlande in beständigem und regerem Verkehre als mit denen am Tymy oder an der Tro-Küste.

1) М. Добротворскій, Айско-русск. словарь, Казань 1875 (Прилож. къ Учен. Зап. Имп. Казанск. Университета 1875 г.) стр. 63, 65.

Kein Wunder daher, dass auch ihre Sprache die Dialekteigenthümlichkeiten der letzteren nur in geringem Grade theilt und zumeist mit der Sprache der Continental-Giljaken übereinstimmt. Dies gilt jedoch, wie gesagt, nur von den südlich von Poghobi, nicht von den nördlich davon, an der Limanküste und bis zur Nordspitze Sachalin's hinauf wohnenden Giljaken. Diese stehen mit dem Festlande in geringerer Berührung, weil sie von ihm durch ein breiteres, der Ueberfahrt im Sommer wie im Winter grössere Hindernisse entgegensetzendes Meer, den Amur-Liman, das «*matsch-kerchk*» (kleines Meer) der Giljaken — im Gegensatz zum «*pilja-kerchk*», dem «grossen (Ochotskischen) Meere» — getrennt sind und in Folge dessen auch abseits von der oben geschilderten Handelsstrasse der Continental-Giljaken liegen bleiben. Ich habe diesen Theil Sachalin's selbst nicht kennen gelernt; nach Angabe aber einiger der dortigen Giljaken (aus den Dörfern Nganj-wo und Dshongi), die mich zugleich mit welchen aus dem Dorfe Tschcharbach, am Nordufer der Amur-Mündung, im Nikolajevschen Posten besuchten, bietet ihre Sprache manche Differenzen von derjenigen der Continental-Giljaken dar, wenn sie auch lange nicht so verschieden ist, wie diejenige der Tymy- und Tro-Giljaken. Hier wäre also vielleicht noch ein dritter Dialekt des Giljakischen zu unterscheiden.

Sprachforschern bleibe es überlassen, zu ermitteln, in welchen Berührungen und Beziehungen das Giljakische sowohl in seinem grammatischen Bau, wie auch im Wortschatz zu den Idiomen der Nachbarvölker steht, und wie weit sich in letzterer Beziehung auch die oben angedeuteten Dialekte desselben durch etwaige Entlehnungen aus ihren respectiven Nachbarsprachen von einander unterscheiden. Ich möchte mir erlauben, in dieser Hinsicht hier nur auf einen Punkt aufmerksam zu machen, welcher mir als Naturforscher bei Erkundigung über die Thierwelt Sachalin's und des Amur-Landes sogleich auffiel, und der für die Frage nach der Heimath und Ausbreitung der Giljaken und damit auch nach ihrer etwaigen, wenn auch entfernten Stammverwandtschaft mit den ihnen benachbarten Völkern von Interesse ist. So verschieden nämlich das Giljakische von den Nachbaridiomen ist, so finden sich in demselben doch manche aus dem Tungusischen entlehnte Thiernamen[1]). Dass namentlich, mit alleiniger Ausnahme des Hundes, alle Hausthiere, wie Pferd, Rind, Schaf, Schwein, Katze, solche Bezeichnungen bei den Giljaken tragen, kann nicht weiter auffallen, denn diese Thiere sind ihnen fremd: sie haben sie nur bei den stromaufwärts wohnenden tungusischen Völkern kennen gelernt[2]) und beziehen von den Mandshu und Chinesen höchstens einzelne Produkte derselben, wie z. B. Schafsfelle, und auch diese nur als Luxusartikel[3]). Ebenso begreiflich sind ferner die aus dem Tungusischen entnommenen Bezeichnungen der Giljaken für solche wilde Thiere, die in ihrem eigenen Gebiete nicht vorkommen und ihnen nur aus dem tungusischen Theile des Amur-Landes bekannt

1) S. meine Abhandlung über die Säugethiere des Amur-Landes, im I. Bande dieses Werkes.

2) Dass die Amur-Tungusen ihrerseits wieder manche dieser Hausthiere durch die Mongolen kennen gelernt und daher auch aus dem Mongolischen entlehnte Bezeichnungen für dieselben haben, ist hier zunächst gleichgültig und soll am betreffenden Orte besprochen werden.

3) Dass man in seltenen Fällen auch eine Hauskatze, an der Kette oder im Käfich gehalten, bei den Giljaken findet, ist im I. Bande dieses Werkes (p. 98) erwähnt. Sie wird ihnen aber damit noch nicht zum Hausthier.

sind, wie Edelhirsch, *Canis procyonoides* u. a.[1]). Auffallend ist es hingegen, dass die Giljaken Namen von tungusischem Ursprunge auch für manche von solchen Thieren haben, die auch im giljakischen Theile des Amur-Landes mehr oder weniger weit und allgemein verbreitet sind, so für das Reh, das Elenn, den Dachs[2]). Dies sind jedoch lauter Thiere, die wenn auch auf dem Festlande verbreitet, doch der Insel Sachalin fehlen, wogegen die auch auf der Insel vorkommenden bei den Giljaken weder tungusische, noch ainische, sondern sämmtlich echt giljakische Namen tragen. Man könnte zur Erklärung dieser Thatsachen meinen, dass die von tungusischen Stämmen rings umgebenen Continental-Giljáken sich im Laufe der Zeit auch manche tungusische Thiernamen angeeignet haben können. Allein in solchem Falle würde sich dies gewiss nicht auf die der Insel Sachalin fehlenden Thiere allein beschränken, sondern auch auf andere und vornehmlich auf die im Handelsverkehre der Giljaken mit ihren tungusischen Nachbaren, sowie mit den Mandshu und Chinesen besonders wichtigen Thiere, wie Zobel, Fuchs, Otter u. drgl., erstrecken, was jedoch keineswegs der Fall ist. Mir scheinen vielmehr jene Thatsachen dafür zu sprechen, dass die Giljaken ehemals nur auf der Insel Sachalin heimisch waren, später aber von dort aus auch auf den angrenzenden Theil des Festlandes übergingen, wo bis dahin vermuthlich nur nomadische Jagd-Tungusen umherstreiften. Jene ihrer Heimath fehlenden Thiere wurden ihnen daher zunächst durch die Tungusen bekannt und behielten somit auch bei ihnen ihre, natürlich in giljakischer Weise modificirten, tungusischen Namen. Ist diese Annahme richtig, so darf man sich auch nicht denken, dass die jetzigen südlichen Nachbaren der Giljaken auf Sachalin, die Aino, ursprünglich die ganze Insel bewohnt hätten und erst durch die vom Festlande herübergekommenen Giljaken aus der nördlichen Hälfte derselben verdrängt worden seien. Die Bewegung fand vielmehr in umgekehrter Richtung, von Süden nach Norden und von der Insel nach dem Continent statt. Die Aino zogen sich, wie oben schon erwähnt, durch die Japaner gedrängt, aus ihrer südlicheren Heimath, Nippon und Jesso, nordwärts nach Sachalin und den Kurilen, und vielleicht ist es dieser Andrang der Aino gewesen, der wiederum die Giljaken bewog, ihrerseits von Sachalin nach dem nahegelegenen Festlande, an den unteren Amur und bis zu den Küsten des Ochotskischen Meeres auszuweichen[3]). Auch stehen dort die Giljaken, wie wir oben sahen, in sprachlicher Beziehung ganz isolirt und ohne jegliche Stammverwandte da. So weit die Sprache lehrt, sind also die Giljaken, gleich den Aino, als ein indigenes Volk des äussersten, insularen Küstensaumes von Ostasien zu betrachten.

Bei so isolirter Stellung der Giljaken in sprachlicher Beziehung, liesse sich erwarten,

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1) Nur das Wildschwein, das zwar im Giljaken-Lande nicht vorkommt und doch im Giljakischen eine vom Tungusischen ganz verschiedene Bezeichnung (*ajara* und *ajerda*) trägt, scheint hier eine Ausnahme zu bilden. Doch ist vielleicht diese Bezeichnung auch nicht giljakischen Ursprungs.

2) Auch die giljakische Bezeichnung für *Mustela sibirica*, *ssangrake*, scheint mir aus dem Tungusischen abgeleitet zu sein (s. d. I. Bd. dieses Werkes, p. 37).

3) In den Traditionen der Aino von Sachalin ist von blutigen Kämpfen mit den Giljaken die Rede (s. Dobrotworskij, Амуръ-русскій сборникъ. — Прилож. къ Учен. Зап. Имп. Казанск. Университ. 1875 г., стр. 33).

dass sie sich auch in ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit durch manche, mehr oder weniger prägnante Eigenthümlichkeiten von den Nachbarvölkern unterscheiden müssten. Und doch ist dies keineswegs der Fall. Obwohl oder, richtiger vielleicht, weil ich so viele, ich möchte fast glauben, die meisten Giljaken selbst gesehen habe, bin ich völlig ausser Stande, einen durchgehenden physischen Einzelcharakter oder auch einen allen gemeinsamen, durch die Gesammtheit der Züge bedingten Typus zu bezeichnen, an welchem der Giljake von den übrigen Amur-Völkern, einem Oltscha, Tungusen, ja mitunter selbst von einem Aino mit Sicherheit zu unterscheiden und in seiner Nationalität zu erkennen wäre. Haben die Giljaken ehemals vielleicht einen durchgehenden Typus gehabt, so hat sich derselbe gegenwärtig, in Folge langjähriger und vielfacher Vermischung mit den Nachbarvölkern, verwischt und verloren; es hat statt dessen eine Mannigfaltigkeit der Bildungen Platz gegriffen, und will man dieselbe einigermassen überblicken, so wird man genöthigt, mehrere Typen unter ihnen zu unterscheiden. Betrachten wir ihren Körperbau in seinen Einzelzügen genauer.

Es ist mir leider nicht möglich gewesen, Messungen an den Giljaken anzustellen, um ihren mittleren Gesammtwuchs und die Verhältnisse der einzelnen Körpertheile unter einander und zum Ganzen genauer zu ermitteln. Jedem Versuche der Art widersetzten sich die Giljaken standhaft, offenbar aus Angst, einer Zauberei zu verfallen. Wollten sie mir doch anfangs auch nicht gestatten, sie portraitiren zu lassen, in der Befürchtung, mit dem Bilde würde auch die Macht über ihr Leben und Wohlsein in meine Hand fallen und ich brauchte nur jenes zu zerreissen, um auch diese zu schädigen oder zu vernichten. Nicht besser ist es mir mit den Oltscha und Golde ergangen, und was die übrigen Amur-Völker betrifft, so bin ich mit ihnen zu kurze Zeit in Berührung gewesen, um überhaupt an derartige Messungen denken zu können. Mit den Aino von Sachalin machte übrigens schon La Pérouse dieselbe Erfahrung: zwar liessen sie es zu, dass man sie portraitirte, nicht aber dass man ihre Körpertheile vermaass[1]). Aus dem angeführten Grunde können daher meine Angaben über den Gesammtwuchs und die verhältnissmässige Grösse der einzelnen Körpertheile bei den Amur-Völkern nur annähernde und ungefähre sein.

Die Giljaken sind in der Regel von mittlerem, oft auch von kleinem Wuchse; mehr als mittelwüchsige Gestalten sind selten, und wirklich grosswüchsige habe ich unter ihnen niemals gesehen. Sie sind dabei von untersetztem, kräftigem Bau, kräftigerem als ihre Nachbaren, sowohl die tungusischen Völkerschaften, als die Aino[2]). Der Kopf erscheint verhältnissmässig

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1) Voyage aut. du monde, T. III, p. 40. La Pérouse vermuthete auch, dass sie es für Zauberei hielten, da eine solche Art derselben in China und der Tartarei verbreitet sei und einige Missionare deshalb als Zauberer vor Gericht gezogen worden seien, weil sie beim Taufen ihre Hände den Kindern auf das Haupt legten. Die Angst vor Verzauberung beim Vermessen brauchen jedoch die Amur-Völker keineswegs aus China entnommen zu haben: sie dürfte mehr oder weniger bei allen uncivilisirten Völkern zu finden sein. So ist es mir, um ein möglichst weit entlegenes Beispiel anzuführen, im Moment gegenwärtig, dass Du Chaillu sie bei den Aschango und Obongo im äquatorialen Afrika antraf. Vrgl. Petermann, Ueber Zwergvölker in Afrika (Geogr. Mittheil. 1871, p. 183).

2) Schon Mamia Rinsô bemerkte dies von den Smerenkur von Sachalin im Vergleich zu den Kräftigern

gross; wollte man nach seinen Maassen den ganzen Wuchs bestimmen, so würde dieser zu lang ausfallen. Der Hals ist in der Regel kurz; die Schultern recht breit; der Brustkasten geräumig; der Rumpf im Verhältniss zu den Extremitäten, wenigstens den unteren, lang, oder diese im Vergleich zum Rumpfe kurz; die Hände und Füsse auffallend klein und zierlich, — ein Zug, den sie mit ihren Nachbaren, Aino und Tungusen, theilen[1]), und der an den Füssen durch den chinesischen Schnitt des Stiefels — mit hohem Blatt und aufwärts gebogener Spitze — noch mehr in die Augen fällt. Der ganze Körper ist sehnig-muskulös, hager, ohne Fettansatz; beleibte Individuen kommen eben so wenig vor wie lange.

Da mir das vollständige Skelet eines Giljaken vorliegt — wohl das erste und einzige, welches bisher nach Europa gelangt ist, — so bin ich im Stande, etwas mehr über den Bau des ganzen Knochengerüstes, so wie über die Beschaffenheit und die Maasse der einzelnen Knochen bei den Giljaken zu sagen, ohne jedoch für diese Bemerkungen eine allgemeine Geltung für das ganze Volk beanspruchen zu wollen, da Manches gewiss nur auf Rechnung individueller Verschiedenheit zu schreiben sein dürfte. Unser Skelet rührt von einem, nach der Beschaffenheit des später zu besprechenden Schädels zu urtheilen, zwischen 30 und 55 Jahre alten, im Hospital zu Nikolajevsk im Jahre 1866 verstorbenen Giljaken aus dem Dorfe Allof am Amur her und ist dem Museum der Akademie von dem dortigen Medicinalinspector, Dr. Pfeiffer, zugestellt worden. Trotz des starken, massiven Schädels ist das ganze Knochengerüste fein gebaut. Dabei treten jedoch die kleinen Hervorragungen, die Ansatzlinien und Flächen der Muskeln allenthalben sehr deutlich und scharf begrenzt hervor, — eine Eigenthümlichkeit, die auch am Knochengerüste der Aino[2]), wie an denjenigen mancher anderen, uncivilisirten oder niederen Racen bemerkt worden ist[3]), und welche auf die gleichzeitig starke Entwickelung der Muskulatur bei ihnen hindeutet.

Die Wirbelsäule zählt die normale Zahl von Hals-, Brust- und Lendenwirbeln. Am Atlas ist der hintere Bogen, Arcus posterior, dick und hoch, höher als der vordere, mit doppeltem, links besonders starkem Tuberculum. Die Apertura spinalis ist oval, nicht dreieckig. Die vordere Wurzel am Foramen transversarium ist viel dicker als die hintere. Die Incisura vertebralis ist an der einen (linken) Seite durch eine darüber laufende, dünne, übrigens nicht ganz vollständige Brücke in ein Foramen verwandelt, — eine Bildung, welche von Anutschin an seinen beiden Aino-Skeleten und zwar beiderseits beobachtet worden ist[4]), und die übrigens auch bei Europäern vorkommt; rechterseits ist davon bei unserem Skelet nichts zu sehen. Am Epistropheus ist der Processus spinosus nicht lang, aber verhältnissmässig sehr breit, dick, stark und

(Aino): vergl. dessen Tô-tats ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 101).

1) Nach Middendorff (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1413) ist ein kleiner Fuss in allgemeinerer Weise als die verschiedenartige Kopfbildung den Eingeborenen Sibirien's, zumal den Samojeden und Tungusen eigen.

2) Анучинъ, Матер. для антропол. черепа. Азіи. I. Черепъ Айновъ (Труды. Имп. Общ. любит. Естествозн., Антроп. и Этногр. Т. XX. Труды Антроп. Отд. Вып. 2, Москва 1876, стр. 112).

3) Negritos (Virchow), Kaffern und Hottentotten (Fritsch); s. Anutschin, l. c.

4) l. c. p. 113.

nach unten dachförmig gespalten. An den folgenden Halswirbeln bis zum 5. ist der Dornfortsatz auch nur kurz, aber robust, mit mehr oder weniger deutlicher Zweispaltung; am 6. ist er besonders kurz und ohne Spaltung; am 7. hingegen robust und stark. An den Brustwirbeln sind die Processus spinosi zwar nicht besonders lang, aber dick und stark und (am 3. bis 7.) an der Spitze ansehnlich nach unten verlängert. An den Lendenwirbeln endlich sind sie ebenfalls nicht lang, aber stark und von oben nach unten verhältnissmässig breit.

Das Kreuzbein besteht scheinbar aus 6 Wirbeln, indem der erste Steissbeinwirbel vollständig mit demselben verschmolzen ist, so dass vorn und hinten je 5 Foramina sacralia entstehen. Es ist wenig ausgebogen; die hintere Seite sehr rauh. Die Processus spinosi spurii sind, mit Ausnahme des obersten, sämmtlich mit einander verschmolzen, zu einer hohen, starken, nach unten an Dicke zunehmenden Leiste, die auf dem 4. Wirbel, über dem Hiatus canalis sacralis, zu einer dicken, rundlichen, knopfförmigen Wulst anschwillt. Desgleichen nehmen die Processus obliqui spurii nach unten an Grösse zu und schliessen mit dicken, wulstförmigen Cornua sacralia, denen sich die aufwärts gerichteten Cornua coccygea des mit dem Kreuzbein verschmolzenen ersten Steissbeinwirbels so weit nähern, dass nur eine kleine Spalte zwischen bleibt. Die ebenfalls zusammenfliessenden Processus transversi spurii bilden einen unebenen, wulstförmigen Rand am Kreuzbein. Die übrigen Stücke des Steissbeines sind an unserem Skelet nicht erhalten.

Das Brustbein ist auf seiner vorderen Fläche sehr rauh, namentlich das Manubrium. Dieses ist auch verhältnissmässig kurz. Der Processus xiphoideus fehlt uns. Die Rippen haben die normale Anzahl von 12 Paaren. An allen Rippen sind die Anguli deutlich; von der fünften ab sind sie oft in kleine Spitzen ausgezogen und von aussen mit rauher, wulstförmiger Erhabenheit versehen.

Das Schlüsselbein ist stark und trägt am Acromialende eine ansehnliche, zu einer Protuberanz angeschwollene Rauhigkeit. Das Schulterblatt ist am unteren Ende ungewöhnlich breit, gleichsam in eine nach vorn gebogene Platte ausgezogen, so dass der Margo anterior eine concave Linie bildet. Die Schultergräte ist stark; ihr hinterer Rand breit, nach abwärts ausgezogen, mit deutlich entwickelten Labien. Das Acromion ist stark und breit. Die Incisura scapularis schmal und tief[1]). Die Fossa subscapularis und die Fossa infraspinata haben, zumal am Rande, deutliche Muskelansatzflächen und Leisten.

Das Oberarmbein ist im Verhältniss zu seiner Länge recht dick, der Gelenkkopf gross, die Tuberculа minus und majus sind stark, die von ihnen herablaufenden erhabenen Linien, Spinae, und die rauhen Stellen am Oberarmbein sehr entwickelt. Am Vorderarm sind Ulna und Radius ebenfalls verhältnissmässig stark, mit ansehnlichen rauhen Erhabenheiten (Tuberositates ulnae et radii). Die Mittelhandknochen sind auf der Dorsalfläche, zumal in der ersten Hälfte, sehr rauh, auf der Volarfläche, mit Ausnahme des Daumenknochens, scharfkantig. An den Fingern

1) An den Aino-Skeleten beobachtete Anutschin (l. c. p. 144) das umgekehrte Verhältniss.

ist die erste Phalanx des Mittelfingers die längste; ihr folgt die der vierten und dann erst diejenige des Zeigefingers. Ebenso ist die respective Grösse der zweiten Phalanx.

Die Darmbeine sind in der Mitte sehr dünn, an den Rändern dick, mit ansehnlicher Crista, an welcher die Labien und Darmbeinstachel deutlich zu unterscheiden sind. Die Linea arcuata ist scharf, besonders am Tuberculum iliopectineum, stellenweise mit spitzigen Erhabenheiten. Die absteigenden Aeste der Schambeine sind sehr dünn. Das Foramen ovale ist gross, oval, oben weiter, unten enger.

Das Oberschenkelbein hat in seiner Mitte nicht den von Anutschin[1]) am Aino-Skelet beobachteten Durchschnitt, indem dieser nahe dreieckig ist, vorn abgerundet, an den beiden Seiten abgeflacht; dabei ist der rechtsseitige Knochen in seiner Mitte eben so breit wie dick, der linksseitige dicker als breit. Die Linea aspera am Os femoris tritt sehr hervor, und zwar das Labium externum als scharfe Kante, das Labium internum als rauhe Linie. An der Tibia ist der Perimetralindex (Verhältniss des kleinsten Umfangs zur Gesammtlänge des Knochens) noch grösser, als ihn Anutschin bei den Aino-Skeleten fand, nämlich 0,233[2]). Dabei ist die Tibia scharfkantig und die an ihrer Hinterfläche schräg hinabsteigende Linea poplitea sehr rauherhaben. Die Fibula ist ebenfalls scharfkantig, an den Ansatzstellen der Muskeln rauh, an der Innenseite zum Theil rinnenförmig. Am Calcaneus ist der hintere Höcker, der den unteren Rand der ansehnlichen und rauhen Tuberositas calcanei bildet, sehr bedeutend, ja, eigentlich sind es zwei durch eine kleine Vertiefung getrennte Höcker: ein äusserer, rauher, aber abgerundeter und ein innerer, nach vorn scharfkantiger. Der Mittelfussknochen der grossen Zehe hat ein besonders starkes Capitulum. Das Os metatarsi secundum ist das längste und die zweite Zehe überhaupt die längste von allen. Die Tuberositas an der Basis des Os metatarsi quinti ist ganz ansehnlich.

Indem ich an die Angabe der Maasse des Giljaken-Skelets und seiner einzelnen Theile gehe, muss ich bemerken, dass manche derselben, wie die Gesammtlänge, die Länge der Wirbelsäule, manche Dimensionen am Becken, nur einen annähernden Werth haben können, da die Bandscheiben der Wirbelkörper und der Faserknorpel der Schambeinfuge durch Lederläppchen ersetzt sind. Indessen scheinen mir diese letzteren von ziemlich richtiger Dicke zu sein, so dass auch der durch dieselbe bedingte Fehler kein beträchtlicher sein kann[3]).

Maasse des Giljaken-Skelets und seiner einzelnen Theile.

Gesammtlänge, vom Scheitel bis zur Fusssohle	1535 mm
Länge der Wirbelsäule, vom Atlas bis zum Promontorium	551 „

1) L. c. p. 149, Fig. 7.

2) An den Aino-Skeleten betrug er nach Anutschin (l. c. p. 151) 0,206—0,196.

3) Länge und Breite der Knochen sind, sofern nicht das Gegentheil angegeben ist, geradlinig gemessen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Länge ihrer einzelnen Theile, längs der Krümmung an der Innenseite gemessen:	
der Halswirbel	117 mm
» Brustwirbel	277 »
» Lendenwirbel	176 »
Länge des Kreuzbeines, vom Promontorium an, incl. den mit ihm verschmolzenen ersten Steissbeinwirbel	114 »
Dieselbe, längs der Krümmung an der Innenseite gemessen	129 »
Breite des Kreuzbeines oben	104 »
Länge des Brustbeines, ohne Processus xiphoideus	136 »
» » Manubrium sterni	42 »
» » Corpus sterni	94 »
» » Schlüsselbeines	133 »[1])
» der Basis scapulae	160 »
» des Margo anterior scapulae	134 »
» » » superior, bis zur Basis des Processus coracoideus	55 »
» » Acromion	53 »
» der oberen Extremität (Oberarm + Vorderarm + Hand)	729 »
» des Oberarmbeines in der Mittellinie	301 »
Umfang des Gelenkkopfes an seinem äusseren Rande	138 »
» der Diaphyse unterhalb des Gelenkkopfes, am Foramen nutritium	76 »
» des Humerus in der Mitte	69 »
Kleinster Umfang desselben	65 »
Länge der Ulna in der Mittellinie	252 »
» des Radius » »	230 »
» der Hand bis zur Spitze des Mittelfingers	176 »
» des Carpus	30 »
» » Metacarpus	60 »
» » Mittelfingers	86 »
Querdurchmesser des grossen Beckens zwischen den Labia interna cristae oss. ilium	247 »
» zwischen den Spinae anteriores superiores oss. ilium	236 »
Entfernung von der Spina anterior superior ossis ilium bis zur Mitte des oberen Randes der Symphysis pubis	141 »
» von der Spina anter. super. bis zum Tuberculum iliopectineum	88 »
» vom Tuberculum iliopectineum bis zur Mitte der Symphysis pubis	66 »
Gerader Durchmesser vom Promontorium zum oberen Rande der Symphysis pubis (Diameter conjugata)	103 »

1) Dieses Maass konnte nur ungefähr bestimmt werden, da das Schlüsselbein beiderseits an dem einen Ende schadhaft ist.

Querdurchmesser zwischen den Lineae arcuatae interiores oss. ilium (Diam. transversa)	118 mm
Schräger Durchmesser zwischen Tuberculum iliopectineum und Symphysis sacro-iliaca der anderen Seite (Diam. obliqua)	117 »
Gerader Durchmesser von der Vereinigung des 2. und 3. Kreuzbeinwirbels zur Mitte der hinteren Fläche der Symphysis pubis	100 »
Querdurchmesser zwischen den Spinae ischii[1])	85 »
» » den Tubera ischii	86 »
Länge der unteren Extremität (Oberschenkel + Unterschenkel + Höhe des Fusses)	759 »
Länge des Oberschenkelbeines, vom Trochanter major an	383 »
Umfang des Caput ossis femoris	118 »
» » Collum ossis femoris	97 »
» » Os femoris in seiner Mitte	89 »[2])
Länge der Patella	45 »
Breite derselben	47 »
Grösste Dicke der Patella	20 »
Länge der Tibia in der Mittellinie	313 »
Umfang derselben in der Mitte	80 »
Kleinster Umfang derselben	73 »
Länge der Fibula in der Mittellinie	326 »
Umfang derselben in der Mitte	36 »
Kleinster Umfang derselben	35 »
Länge des Fusses von der Tuberositas calcanei bis zur Spitze der 2. (längsten) Zehe	215 »
» » Tarsus	101 »
» » Metatarsus	68 »
» der zweiten Zehe	52 »
Höhe des Fusses	63 »
» » Calcaneus an der Tuberositas	45 »

Nach den obigen Maassen war das Individuum von kleinem Wuchse, unter fünf Fuss, wogegen der Kopf, wie die später folgenden Schädelmaasse zeigen, verhältnissmässig gross erscheint. So wenig ferner die Maassverhältnisse eines einzelnen Individuums für den Bau des ganzen Volkes maassgebend sein können, so will ich doch hervorheben, dass die Grössenverhältnisse der Extremitäten an unserem Giljaken-Skelet sich sehr nahe und am nächsten denjenigen anreihen, welche Anutschin an zwei Skeleten, einem männlichen und einem weiblichen,

1) Die Spitzen der Spinae ischii sind abgebrochen, weshalb dieses Maass um ein paar Mm. zu gross sein dürfte.

2) Dies ist zugleich auch der kleinste Umfang des Oberschenkelbeines. Letzteres ist an dieser Stelle an der rechten Seite 28mm dick und eben so breit, an der linken 29mm dick und 27 breit (s. oben, p. 218).

von Sachalin-Aino fand. Gleichwie bei diesen, erscheint auch bei unserem Giljaken die obere Extremität verhältnissmässig lang, die untere kurz, was vornehmlich durch die im Verhältniss ansehnliche Länge des Radius und resp. Kürze des Femur, und in geringerem Grade auch der Tibia, bedingt wird. Zum Belege möge folgende Zusammenstellung dieser Grössenverhältnisse bei unserem Giljaken mit den von Anutschin bei den Sachalin-Aino gefundenen dienen. In Procenten des Gesammtwuchses ausgedrückt, ist die Länge der einzelnen Extremitätenknochen:

		Humerus	Radius	Femur	Tibia
bei unserem Giljaken		19,6	15,0	25,0	20,4
bei den Aino	männl.	19,4	14,6	26,5	21,2
	weibl.	19,1	15,1	24,2	20,3 [1])

Setzt man die Länge der unteren Extremität (Femur + Tibia) = 100, so beträgt diejenige der oberen (Humerus + Radius):

beim Giljaken		76,3
bei den Aino	männl.	71,3
	weibl.	77,7 [2])

Im Verhältniss zur Länge des Humerus (= 100 gesetzt) beträgt endlich diejenige des Radius:

beim Giljaken		76,4
bei den Aino	männl.	75,5
	weibl.	80,7 [3])

Allgemeinere Schlüsse wird man jedoch aus diesen Einzeldaten selbstverständlich noch nicht ziehen dürfen.

Die Hautfarbe der Giljaken ist immer mehr oder weniger gelblich, oft recht dunkel, gelbbräunlich. Bei Männern und bei alten Individuen fand ich sie dunkler als bei Frauen und Kindern; die letzteren und die Mädchen auch in der Jugend sehen zuweilen recht weiss und sogar etwas rothwangig aus. Uebrigens hält es in der Regel sehr schwer, über die Hautfarbe der Giljaken, gleichwie auch anderer unter ähnlichen Verhältnissen lebender Völker, zu urtheilen, da man bei ihrer Unsauberkeit, ja ihrem Abscheu vor dem Waschen nicht weiss, wie viel vom dunklen, zuweilen in's Schwärzliche schlagenden Teint auf Rechnung des angesammelten Schmutzes zu schreiben ist [4]). Nicht wenig mag dazu namentlich auch ihr vielfacher Aufenthalt

1) Zum Vergleich führt Anutschin (l. c. p. 145) unter vielen anderen Daten an, dass dieselben Grössen nach den von Humphry (A Treat. of the hum. skel. Cambr. 1858, p. 106) an 25 europäischen Skeleten ausgeführten Messungen im Mittel betrugen: Humerus 19,3, Radius 14,1, Femur 27,3, Tibia 21,1.

2) Bei Europäern (nach Humphry, s. Anutschin) 67,8.

3) Bei Europäern (nach demselben) 74,8.

4) Sollten die giljakischen Frauen im Allgemeinen auch reinlicher als die Männer sein — was mir noch zweifelhaft erscheint — so müssten sie sich in einem halben Jahrhundert doch sehr verändert haben, wollte man der Angabe Mamia Rinsô's Glauben schenken, der ihnen nachrühmt «durch tägliches Waschen sei ihr Angesicht und ihre Haut ausnehmend zart und schön» (Tô-tats hi ko, bei Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

in raucherfüllter Luft beitragen, wie es im Winter die auf Sachalin noch meist üblichen Erdjurten, im Sommer das Bedürfniss, sich der lästigen Mücken zu erwehren, mit sich bringen. Ich bin einmal Zeuge des seltenen Schauspieles gewesen, wie eine Mutter ihren etwa fünf- oder sechsjährigen Jungen der mühsamen Operation des Gesichtwaschens unterwarf: sie bediente sich dabei nur des im Munde bereitgehaltenen Wasservorraths und fuhr dem heftig widerstrebenden und aus Leibeskräften brüllenden Rangen mit der flachen Hand über das Gesicht auf- und abwärts. Das Resultat war nichtsdestoweniger, dass der vordem schwärzliche Teint wenigstens stellenweise einer ganz leidlich weissen und, vielleicht in Folge der Reibung und des Affektes, sogar etwas rothwangigen Gesichtsfarbe wich.

Hinsichtlich des Haarwuchses nehmen die Giljaken gewissermassen eine mittlere Stellung zwischen den tungusischen, mongolischen und anderen sibirischen Völkern einerseits und den Aino andererseits ein, jedoch so, dass sie den ersteren entschieden näher stehen als den letzteren: der Haarwuchs ist bei ihnen im Allgemeinen stärker als bei jenen und um Vieles schwächer als bei diesen. Dies gilt sowohl von dem Haupt-, wie namentlich von dem Barthaar. Das Haupthaar, das auch bei den erstgenannten Völkern von ansehnlicher Länge und Dichtigkeit ist, dürfte bei den Giljaken vielleicht nur noch ein wenig stärker sein, ohne aber je die Fülle wie auf den Aino-Köpfen zu erreichen. Der Bartwuchs zeigt grössere Differenzen: er ist bei den Giljaken um den Mund, am Kinn und an den Backen weit stärker als bei den nicht selten ganz bartlosen Tungusen und Mongolen. Dennoch bleibt der Bart auch bei ihnen sehr undicht, kurz und struppig und kann sich niemals auch nur im Entferntesten mit dem langen, dichten Schnurr- und Kinnbart der Aino oder mit dem eben so langen und dichten und dabei oft noch weich- und kraushaarigen Barte mancher Europäer messen. Schön nach unseren Begriffen ist der Bart bei den Giljaken niemals. In der Regel am schwächsten ist namentlich die Partie um den Mund. Middendorff giebt die Länge des Schnauz- und Kinnbartes bei einem Giljaken am Ochotskischen Meere auf 1½ Zoll an; ich habe bei Giljaken am Amur wie auf Sachalin nicht selten auch Kinnbärte von grösserer Länge gesehen, die aber stets an den oben erwähnten Mängeln litten. Uebrigens lassen sich gerade auch im Bartwuchs nicht unbeträchtliche Verschiedenheiten unter ihnen beobachten, die mit den später zu besprechenden mehrfachen Typen in ihrer Gesichtsbildung zusammenfallen. Ueberhaupt ist alles Haar der Giljaken schlicht, hart und an Farbe völlig schwarz. Blonde oder rothhaarige Individuen sind mir nicht begegnet. Dabei erhält sich das Haarpigment in der Regel bis zum hohen Alter; doch habe ich unter ihnen auch manche grau-, ja selbst ganz weisshaarige alte Häupter gekannt.

In den Gesichtszügen der Giljaken spricht sich im Grossen und Ganzen der sogenannte mongolische Typus aus: rundes, flaches Gesicht, niedrige Stirn, vorragende Backenknochen, schiefgeschlitzte Augen, kurze, dünne Nase, dazu der oben erwähnte schwache Bartwuchs und gelbliche Teint. Doch muss ich sogleich bemerken, dass sich dieser Typus bei ihnen keineswegs rein ausgeprägt findet; vielmehr kommen so ansehnliche und so häufige Abweichungen von demselben bald in einzelnen Gesichtszügen, bald auch in der Gesammterscheinung vor, dass man, um eine richtige Vorstellung von der Gesichtsbildung der Giljaken zu gewinnen, nothwendig mehrere Typen

unter ihnen unterscheiden muss. Mir sind in dieser Beziehung, von individuellen Verschiedenheiten abgesehen, drei deutlich markirte Typen entgegengetreten: zwei gewissermassen extreme Bildungen, die jedoch keineswegs vereinzelt dastehen oder Ausnahmefälle bilden, sondern oft genug sich wiederholen, um als typisch betrachtet zu werden, und eine dritte, mittlere Form. Die beiden ersteren lassen eine starke Annäherung an die Aino, respective die Tungusen, die beiden Nachbarstämme der Giljaken, erkennen und können daher als ainisch-giljakischer und tungusisch-giljakischer Typus unterschieden werden; der dritte Typus, den ich den mittleren oder schlechtweg giljakischen nennen möchte, zeigt die oben kurz angedeutete, aber ihrer Schroffheiten beraubte und durch fremdartige, ebenfalls ainische Anklänge gemilderte und modificirte, mongolische Gesichtsbildung. Die nach Photographien entworfenen Figg. 1—3 auf unserer Taf. II können als Repräsentanten dieser drei Typen gelten[1]).

Beim ainisch-giljakischen Typus verschwindet der mongolische Charakter der Gesichtsbildung fast gänzlich: das Gesicht ist nicht rund, sondern länglich oder oval, die Stirn nicht zurückweichend, die Backenknochen treten keineswegs auffallend hervor, die Nasenwurzel ist ziemlich hoch, der Nasenrücken ansehnlich gewölbt, die Augen sind fast oder ganz gerade gestellt, die Augenbrauen stark und scharf markirt, der Bart mässig stark. Man könnte geneigt sein solche Gesichter für kaukasische zu halten, und Middendorff, der ihnen unter den Giljaken am Tugur-Busen begegnete, bezeichnet sie auch als solche und leitet sie von einer starken Vermischung der Eingeborenen mit den russischen Abenteurern im XVII. Jahrhundert, zur Zeit der Besitznahme des unteren Amur-Landes durch die Letzteren, her[2]). Da der Tugur-Busen die äusserste, den russischen Besitzungen am meisten genäherte Grenze des Giljaken-Gebietes bildet, so lag eine solche Vermuthung nicht ganz fern. Ich habe jedoch Giljaken von derartiger, auf den ersten Blick anscheinend fast kaukasischer Gesichtsbildung allenthalben auch im übrigen Verbreitungsgebiete dieses Volkes angetroffen, am Amur wie auf Sachalin, wo von einer russischen Beimischung nicht wohl die Rede sein kann. Hingegen erinnere ich daran, dass die südlichen Grenznachbaren der Giljaken auf Sachalin, die Aino, zum grossen Theil so wenig mongolische und so sehr an die kaukasischen Völker erinnernde Gesichtszüge

1) Die im Atlas zu Maack's Reise auf dem Amur (Атласъ къ путеш. на Амуръ), Taf. XVII, Fig. 11 und 13 wiedergegebenen Giljaken-Köpfe, eines Mannes und eines Weibes, haben keinen Werth, da sie nicht auf Photographien beruhen, sondern nur auf Handzeichnungen, die der verstorbene Maler G. Meyer entworfen hat, und die später, ohne dessen Wissen, in Paris lithographirt worden sind. Dasselbe gilt auch von allen übrigen Darstellungen der Physiognomien der Amur-Völker auf dem erwähnten Blatt: an wem auch die Schuld liegen mag, sie sind sämmtlich mehr oder weniger verzeichnet und geben kein richtiges Bild von den Gesichtszügen der betreffenden Völker, weshalb ich sie weiterhin nicht berücksichtigen werde. Ebenso unbrauchbar, weil nicht auf Photographien beruhend, sind in physiognomischer Hinsicht die Abbildungen in dem so splendid ausgestatteten Werke von Pauly (Description ethnographique des peuples de la Russie, St. Pétersbourg 1862), das in Beziehung auf die Amur-Völker die vollen Gestalten eines Giljaken-Mannes und Weibes, eines Aino von den Kurilischen Inseln und eines Negda (unter der fehlerhaften Bezeichnung «Nendale», russ. «Нендальцы») giebt. Sie könnten höchstens als Costumbilder gelten, sind aber auch als solche nicht ganz correkt.

2) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1408. Es gab, sagt Middendorff, unter den dortigen Giljaken Gesichter, die bei europäischer Kleidung von Europäern nicht zu unterscheiden gewesen wären.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

haben[1]), dass sie, wie wir später sehen werden, von manchen Reisenden für ein Volk von kaukasischer Race gehalten worden sind. Mit den Aino haben die Giljaken auch nicht bloss in kurzer, vorübergehender und vereinzelter, sondern in Jahrhunderte langer, beständiger und vielfacher Berührung gestanden. Und zwar gilt dies nicht bloss von den Giljaken von Sachalin, deren Verkehr mit ihren Nachbaren selbstverständlich unausgesetzt, bald in friedlicher, bald in feindlicher Art stattfand, sondern auch von denen des Festlandes, die noch heutzutage ihre althergebrachten und gewohnten Handelsreisen zu den Aino machen, wobei sie nicht selten unter ihnen überwintern oder selbst mehrere Jahre zubringen und unter den erhandelten Waaren auch manches Aino-Weib, sei es zur Ehe, sei es, wie wir später sehen werden, als Sklavin heimbringen. Ich habe selbst Giljaken aus solchen Mischehen gekannt; so z. B. war die Mutter des reichen und unter seinen Landsleuten angesehenen Giljaken Judyn in Tebach ein Aino-Weib. Man darf also, glaube ich, mit Recht diesen Typus der Gesichtsbildung unter den Giljaken auf ihre langjährige und starke Vermischung mit ihren südlichen Nachbaren, den Aino, zurückführen.

Den grössten Contrast zum ainisch-giljakischen Typus bildet der tungusisch-giljakische, der in unserer Fig. 2 einen ausgezeichneten Repräsentanten hat. Man wird ihn von einem Tungusen nicht unterscheiden können. Die diesem Volke zukommenden mongolischen Gesichtszüge sind bei ihm im vollsten Maasse ausgeprägt: das Gesicht ist rundlich, die Stirne schmal und zurücktretend, die grösste Breite des Gesichts liegt in den stark hervortretenden Backenknochen, die Augen sind durch die am inneren Winkel herabfallende obere Augenliedfalte auf schmale, schiefe Schlitze reducirt, die Augenbrauen nur schwach angedeutet, die Nasenwurzel ist eingedrückt und fast ganz platt, der Nasenrücken kaum gewölbt, die Nase breit und dünn, das ganze Gesicht bartlos. Man darf natürlich nicht erwarten, diesen Typus unter den Giljaken immer so scharf ausgeprägt zu finden, wie ihn die Figur 2 wiedergiebt; dennoch sind Gesichter mit ausgesprochen tungusisch-mongolischen Zügen in allen Theilen des giljakischen Gebietes oft genug anzutreffen. Und die Erklärung davon ist auch gewiss nicht schwer zu finden, indem die Giljaken, so weit ihr Land nicht vom Meere bespült wird und mit alleiniger Ausnahme ihrer Aino-Grenze, durchweg von tungusischen Völkern umgeben sind und Mischehen zwischen ihnen zu den gewöhnlichen Dingen gehören. So war, um nur ein paar mir selbst bekannte Fälle der Art anzuführen, der Giljake Poswein, der einzige seines Stammes, der zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes im Amur-Lande das Russische so weit sich angeeignet hatte, dass er zur Noth als Dolmetscher dienen konnte[2]), von Geburt ein Mischling, indem sein Vater ein Tunguse aus dem Udskoi-Gebiet war, der seine Heimath seit vielen Jahren verlassen und unter den Giljaken am Amur sich eine Familie gegründet hatte[3]). Eines anderen Falles ist oben schon erwähnt

1) Man vergleiche unter Anderem auch unsere Taf. IV.

2) Als solcher wurde er auch allgemein gebraucht, um Auskunft über Land und Leute zu erhalten. Ich selbst wandte mich anfangs auch an ihn, wiederholte jedoch den Versuch nicht zum zweiten Male, da ich die Unzuverlässigkeit und Willkürlichkeit seiner Angaben bald merkte.

3) Перешмшмъ, Нугеп. нугра. нагл. по р. Амуру (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. II, С. Петерб. 1856, стр. 76).

worden, ich meine des Giljaken von Kaberazbach, dessen Frau ein Oltscha-Weib war[1]). Und ähnlicher Beispiele giebt es viele.

Beim dritten Typus, der in unserer Fig. 3 und im Profil auch in der Fig. 4 vertreten ist, hat die Gesichtsbildung im Ganzen ebenfalls ein mongolisches Gepräge, aber in viel gemilderterer Form und mit einigen Anklängen an die Aino. Das Gesicht ist ebenfalls rundlich, die Backenknochen sind zwar auch breit und stark, springen aber lange nicht so hervor, die Augen sind in der Regel etwas schief gestellt, aber von markirten, starken Brauen überschattet, die Nasenwurzel ist weniger eingedrückt, der Nasenrücken höher gewölbt, der Bartwuchs in der Regel um Vieles stärker als bei den Tungusen. Letzteres ist freilich aus unseren Abbildungen nicht oder nur kaum zu ersehen, so dass sie in dieser Beziehung nicht ganz typisch sind. Doch giebt es zwischen den verschiedenen Typen der Uebergänge und Zwischenformen so viele und so mannigfaltige, dass eine scharfe Abgrenzung derselben überhaupt nicht möglich ist. Bildet doch dieser dritte Typus überhaupt gewissermassen nur eine Mittelform zwischen den beiden erstgenannten. Dennoch lässt er sich nicht ohne Weiteres auf jene zurückführen und ist andererseits so zahlreich und so häufig unter den Giljaken vertreten, dass eine Unterscheidung desselben, mit der Bezeichnung des schlechtweg giljakischen, dadurch hinlänglich motivirt erscheint. Auch er weist also auf eine, wenn auch im Vergleich mit den beiden anderen Typen geringere oder entferntere Vermischung mit tungusischen und ainischen Elementen hin.

An den giljakischen Weibern lassen sich die drei eben besprochenen Typen der Gesichtsbildung lange nicht in demselben Maasse wie an den Männern unterscheiden. Dazu trägt wesentlich schon der Umstand bei, dass das eine, besonders für den ainisch-giljakischen Typus und in geringerem Grade auch für die Mittelform im Gegensatz zum tungusisch-giljakischen Typus so maassgebende Moment des stärkeren Bartwuchses ganz wegfällt. Davon abgesehen, scheinen aber auch in den übrigen Charakteren die Differenzen geringer zu sein. Die Weiber haben fast durchweg eine ausgesprochenere mongolische Gesichtsbildung als die Männer. Middendorff sagt zwar, dass von den beiden Frauen eines Giljaken vom Tugur-Busen, die er gesehen, die eine «nach unseren Begriffen schön genannt werden konnte»[2]), also, dürfen wir schliessen, keine vorspringenden Backenknochen, keine schief geschlitzten Augen u. s. w. hatte; allein man darf annehmen, dass sie dem Reisenden in sofern in günstigerem Lichte erscheinen musste, als die andere dieser Frauen nach seinem Zeugniss ganz im Gegentheil «eine extrem-chinesische Schönheit hätte vorstellen können», also die schief geschlitzten Augen etc. im höchsten Grade besass. Man wird daher nicht irren, wenn man auch bei der ersteren noch keine kaukasischen, sondern nur stark gemilderte mongolische Gesichtszüge voraussetzt[3]). Doch sind auch solche unter den giljakischen Weibern nur selten, während umgekehrt ganz ausgeprägt tungusisch-mongolische Physiognomien sehr oft vorkommen. In der Regel ist das Gesicht der Giljakinnen,

1) S. oben, p. 16.

2) Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1406.

3) Auch Mamia Rinsô, der die Schönheit der giljakischen Frauen rühmt, sagt von ihnen dennoch, dass sie denjenigen der «Orotshon», also tungusischen Frauen sehr gleichen (Tô-tats ki ko, bei Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

wie auch aus den Figuren 1—4 auf unserer Taf. III ersichtlich, rund, ja, nach Middendorff's Ausdruck, ein «fast kreisförmiges Vollmondgesicht», dabei flach, mit vortretenden Backenknochen, schief gestellten Augen, eingedrückter Nasenwurzel und breiter, oft so niedriger Nase, dass sie in der Profilansicht zwischen den Backenknochen ganz oder fast verschwindet. Gemeinsam mit den Männern aller drei Typen haben auch die giljakischen Weiber immer schwarze Augen, dünne, selten etwas angeschwollene Lippen (Fig. 3) und ansehnlich grosse Ohren. Zu den letzteren mag übrigens den Weibern zum Theil auch die Sitte verhelfen, in den Ohrläppchen mehrere grosse silberne oder kupferne, zuweilen mit Glaskugeln beschwerte Ringe zu tragen. Doch sind die Ohren keineswegs abstehend, was vielleicht dem Umstande zuzuschreiben sein dürfte, dass die Giljaken, gleichwie auch ihre tungusischen Nachbaren am Amur, den Kopf des Säuglings mit einer eng anliegenden Kappe zu bekleiden pflegen. Gleichwie die Weiber, so haben endlich auch die Kinder bei den Giljaken in der Regel eine ausgesprochenere mongolische Gesichtsbildung als die Männer.

Bei so grosser typischer Verschiedenheit in der Gesichtsbildung der Giljaken, ist natürlich auch der allgemeine Gesichtsausdruck bei ihnen ein sehr verschiedener. Selbstverständlich ist es nicht möglich, ihn auch in dieser Begrenzung so zu fixiren, dass nicht eine Menge von Ausnahmen vorkommen sollten. Aus persönlicher Bekanntschaft mit einer grossen, vielleicht mit der Mehrzahl der Giljaken habe ich jedoch den Eindruck davongetragen, dass in ihrem Gesicht, bei gewöhnlichem, schlechtweg giljakischem Typus, in der Regel der Ausdruck von Energie und Entschlossenheit, oft auch von List, Verschmitztheit und Tücke liegt. Nähert sich das Gesicht mehr dem tungusischen Typus, so spricht sich in demselben auch mehr von der den Tungusen eigenthümlichen Indolenz und Gutmüthigkeit aus. In den Gesichtern von ainisch-giljakischem Typus habe ich hingegen sehr oft als allgemeinen Ausdruck etwas Gedrücktes, Finsteres, Melancholisches gefunden. Die giljakischen Weiber endlich tragen in ihren frühe und rasch verblühenden Gesichtern vor Allem die Spuren der schweren häuslichen Mühen und Arbeiten, mit denen sie im Uebermaass belastet sind: sie sehen meistens ernst, müde und gedrückt aus. Diese Bemerkungen können jedoch — ich wiederhole es — keine Ansprüche auf Allgemeingültigkeit haben. Und dies noch aus dem Grunde, weil bei den Giljaken, neben den besprochenen typischen Differenzen in der Gesichtsbildung, auch die individuellen Verschiedenheiten für ein uncivilisirtes Volk verhältnissmässig sehr ansehnlich sind.

Es ist von Reisenden wiederholt bemerkt worden, dass ihnen die einzelnen Individuen eines uncivilisirten Volkes beim ersten Anblick desselben von solcher Aehnlichkeit unter einander erschienen, als ob sie sämmtlich ein und dasselbe Gesicht hätten, und dass es erst einer Gewöhnung und Schärfung des Auges bedürfe, um die individuellen Verschiedenheiten unter ihnen wahrnehmen zu können[1]. Nicht anders verhält es sich ja auch mit dem Ohr, das erst durch Ue-

1) Sehr trefflich sagt z. B. Middendorff (Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1401), ein solches Volk erscheine dem Reisenden anfangs wie eine Heerde von Schafen, bis sich bei ihm allmählich der Blick des Schäfers entwickelt, der unter Hunderten von Thieren seiner Heerde jedes einzelne an seiner besonderen Physiognomie erkennt. Zahlreiche Be-

bung und Schärfung die Fähigkeit gewinnt, die eigenthümlichen Laute einer ihm ganz fremden Sprache richtig aufzufassen[1]. Ich muss gestehen, dass ich beim ersten Anblick der Giljaken ebenfalls den Eindruck von einer gewissen Gleichförmigkeit ihrer Physiognomien erhielt. Spätere Erfahrungen lehrten mich jedoch erkennen, dass die individuellen Differenzen in der Gesichtsbildung und dem Gesichtsausdruck bei ihnen weit ansehnlicher als bei den übrigen Amur- und wohl auch bei den meisten sibirischen Völkern sind. Und der Grund davon ist leicht ersichtlich. Lässt sich die Gleichförmigkeit der Physiognomien eines uncivilisirten Volkes aus der Gleichförmigkeit der geistigen Bildung oder richtiger Unbildung aller seiner Individuen, der Gleichförmigkeit ihrer Lebensweise und Beschäftigungen, ihrer Anschauungen, Vorstellungen und Begriffe, dem Mangel jeglicher socialer und ständischer Gliederung, kurz aus der mangelhaften Ausprägung geistiger Individualität erklären[2], so steht es um die Giljaken in dieser Beziehung um Vieles günstiger und besser als um die anderen Amur- oder manche sibirische Völker. Ungleich den tungusischen Wald- oder den mongolischen Steppenbewohnern, die nur eine Natur und eine Beschäftigung kennen, sind die Giljaken bald Fischer und bald Jäger, bald am Strom oder an der Meeresküste, bald im Wald und Gebirge; im Sommer zu Boot, im Winter auf hundebespannten Schlitten führen sie weite Reisen bald zu den Mandshu und Chinesen, bald zu den Japanern aus, durchziehen dabei die Gebiete mancher anderen Völker, der Oltscha, Golde, Aino u. s. w., und bringen neben dem Absatz eigener Waaren auch einen Austausch der Produkte zwischen jenen Culturvölkern Ostasiens zu Wege. Dazu kommt, dass sie sich in ihren Grenzen frei von der Herrschaft dieser letzteren zu machen oder zu erhalten gewusst haben, während fast alle anderen Amur-Völker ihrem Drucke mehr oder weniger unterlegen sind. Im Gefühl und Bewusstsein dieser Freiheit, die ihnen den vollen Gewinn ihrer Unternehmungen sichert, liegt ohne Zweifel der mächtigste Hebel derselben. Selbstverständlich müssen aber solche Unternehmungen zur Erweiterung des geistigen Gesichtskreises, zum An- und Umsatz von Erfahrungen, Anschauungen und Begriffen, zur Entwickelung des Charakters u. s. w. führen, und da sie nicht von Jedermann und auch nicht immer in gleichem Umfange ausgeführt werden können, so haben sie nothwendigerweise eine Ausbildung geistiger und physischer Verschiedenheiten im Volke, eine gewisse und nicht unbedeutende Ausprägung geistiger Individualität zur Folge. Zugleich mussten diese Fahrten den Giljaken Gelegenheit bieten, neben den Handelsverbindungen auch manche Verwandtschaftsbande mit ihren Nachbarvölkern anzuknüpfen und so ihren Familien immer mehr und mehr fremdartige Elemente zuzuführen. Nun meint zwar Middendorff, dass bei Vermischung von Nomaden oder überhaupt uncivilisirten Völkern keine so verschiedenartigen, unentwirrbaren, Einiges vom Vater, Anderes von der Mutter entlehnenden Zwischenglieder wie bei civilisirten Völkern entstehen, sondern dass die Mischlinge

lege solcher Gleichförmigkeit der äusseren Erscheinung bei uncivilisirten Völkern s. bei Waitz, Anthropol. der Naturvölker. Zweite Auflage, verm. und herausgeg. von Dr. G. Gerland. 1. Thl. Leipzig 1877, p. 76ff.

1) Ich sah mich z. B. genöthigt, meine ersten Aufzeichnungen giljakischer Wörter später in ihren Lauten vielfach und von Grund aus zu berichtigen, resp. zu verändern.

2) Vergl. Waitz, l. c. p. 77.

derselben mit grosser Einseitigkeit ganz in den Typus des Vaters oder der Mutter zurückschlagen[1]). Es mag dies auch in der That dort seine Richtigkeit haben, wo sich, bei völliger Gleichförmigkeit des physischen und geistigen Daseins unter allen Individuen eines Volkes, eine grosse Constanz des Typus festgestellt hat. Wo hingegen, wie unter den Giljaken, jene Gleichförmigkeit in dem Maasse nicht besteht, wo vielmehr schon eine gewisse geistige und damit auch physische Individualität sich ausprägt, da müssen auch die Resultate der Mischung denjenigen, die man bei den Culturvölkern wahrnimmt, näher kommen. Und so mussten also die vielfachen Vermischungen der Giljaken mit ihren Nachbarvölkern, den Aino und den verschiedenen tungusischen Stämmen, nicht bloss jene oben besprochenen Typen verschiedener Gesichtsbildung unter ihnen herbeiführen, sondern zugleich auch das Maass der individuellen Verschiedenheit im ganzen Volke um Vieles vergrössern.

So viel über die Gesichtsbildung der Giljaken nach lebenden Individuen. Es bleibt mir nun noch übrig, die osteologischen Verhältnisse des Gesichts und des gesammten Schädels der Giljaken genauer zu betrachten, — Verhältnisse, auf die man bei Erwägung der Frage nach der Stammesangehörigkeit eines Volkes das meiste Gewicht zu legen pflegt. Mir liegen vier authentische Giljaken-Schädel vor, drei männliche und ein weiblicher, — so viel ich weiss, die ersten, die bisher nach Europa gelangt sind. Allerdings ist ein angeblich diesem Volke gehöriger Schädel nacheinander von Pruner-Bey[2]) und von Barnard Davis[3]) beschrieben und von Letzterem auch abgebildet worden; desgleichen hat Virchow nach einem Gypsabguss einige Bemerkungen über denselben veröffentlicht[4]). Allein es lässt sich unzweifelhaft nachweisen, dass dies kein Giljaken-Schädel war. Die Geschichte desselben ist nach Barnard Davis folgende. Ein polnischer Exilirter, H. Weber, fand ihn im Jahre 1858 in der Umgegend des Kidsi-Sees[5]) im Amur-Lande und schickte ihn einem anderen Exilirten, A. Giller in Irkutsk, zu, der ihn zwei Jahre später nach Europa brachte und seinem Freunde und Verwandten, Dr. Isid. Kopernicki in Warschau, später in Bukarest und Krakau, schenkte. Von Letzterem erhielten ihn zeitweise Pruner-Bey in Paris und Barn. Davis in London; auch theilte er einen Gypsabguss von demselben Virchow mit[6]). Hr. Weber stiess auf den Schädel in einem Walde, wo er ihn in den Zweigen eines Baumes hängen sah. Da es nun aber um den See von Kidsi, wie oben dargethan, durchaus keine Giljaken giebt, ihr Gebiet vielmehr erst um ein gutes Stück weiter abwärts am Amur beginnt, sie auch ihre Leichen verbrennen — weshalb es überhaupt so schwer hält Giljaken-Schädel zu bekommen — so liegt gar kein Grund vor, den fraglichen Schädel für einen giljakischen zu halten. Hingegen ist oben schon mehrfach erwähnt worden, dass die Eingeborenen von Kidsi und der Umgegend, die Oltscha, von den Russen oft mit den

1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1404.

2) Bullet. de la Soc. d'Anthropol. de Paris, 1867, Sér. II, T. II, p. 371.

3) Account of the Skull of a Ghiliak (Memoirs read before the Anthropol. Soc. of London, Vol. III, 1870, p. 366 ff.).

4) Verhandl. der Berliner Gesellsch. f. Anthropol., Ethnol. und Urgesch. 1873, p. (135) ff. (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Bd. V, 1873).

5) Bei B. Davis, und nach ihm auch bei Virchow, lautet der Name des Sees etwas entstellt «Kizim».

6) Verhandl. der Berliner Ges. für Anthropol., Ethnol. u. Urgesch. 1874, p. (77) (Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. VI, 1874).

Giljaken verwechselt oder zusammengeworfen und ebenfalls schlechtweg Giljaken oder auch Kidsi-Giljaken genannt werden[1]). Es läge daher scheinbar am nächsten, einen bei Kidsi gefundenen Schädel dem Oltscha-Volke zuzuschreiben. Indessen wäre dies im betreffenden Falle auch noch sehr fraglich: denn die Oltscha setzen ihre meisten Leichen, namentlich diejenigen der eines natürlichen Todes Verstorbenen oder Ertrunkenen, in Särgen in kleinen hölzernen Grabhäuschen bei, und nur für die durch Menschenhand Getödteten wird ein Baumgrab errichtet, d. h. der Sarg auf Querstangen gestellt, welche zwischen drei Baumstämmen etwa einen Faden oder höher über dem Erdboden befestigt werden. Letzteres ist hingegen die ganz gewöhnliche Bestattungsweise der Leichen bei den Orotschen. Ich habe selbst solche Baumgräber bei ihnen am Jai-Flusse, nahe seiner Einmündung in den Kidsi-See gesehen. Noch andere tungusische Stämme, wie z. B. die sibirischen Renthier-Tungusen, betten ihre Leichen, und namentlich diejenigen der Schamane, auch ohne Sarg in den Zweigen der Bäume[2]). Ob dies unter Umständen auch bei den Orotschen oder bei anderen Amur-Tungusen, den Negda, Samagirn u. s. w. geschieht, die mir weniger bekannt sind und die den sibirischen Renthier-Tungusen um Vieles näher stehen als die Oltscha und Golde, weiss ich nicht, dürfte aber leicht möglich sein. Aus alledem folgt, dass der von Weber in der Umgegend des Kidsi-Sees gefundene Schädel jedenfalls einem Individuum tungusischen Stammes angehörte, wahrscheinlich einem Orotschen, vielleicht auch, wenngleich minder wahrscheinlich, einem Oltscha, in keinem Falle aber einem Giljaken[3]).

Von den vier mir vorliegenden Giljaken-Schädeln habe ich den einen selbst mitgebracht: ich erhielt ihn vom Dr. Orlof, der ihn einer beim Petrovskischen Posten von den Meereswellen an's Land gespülten Leiche entnommen hatte. Dieselbe war vollkommen giljakisch gekleidet, und da ringsum auch nur Giljaken wohnen, die wenigen, zuweilen bis an das nahebiegende Gebirge heranstreifenden Tungusen aber die Meeresküste in der Regel nicht betreten, noch weniger sich in See begeben, so unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass es die Leiche eines beim Fischen oder auf einer Ueberfahrt ertrunkenen Giljaken war. Die beiden anderen männlichen Giljaken-Schädel erhielt die Akademie in den Jahren 1863 und 1866 durch den Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolajevsk: der eine derselben stammt aus dem Dorfe Magho am unteren Amur, von einem Individuum, das, nach der starken Verletzung der linken Stirnseite zu urtheilen, vermuthlich in einer Rauferei gefallen war; der andere gehört zu dem oben bereits besprochenen Skelet eines im Hospital zu Nikolajevsk verstorbenen Giljaken aus dem Dorfe Allof. Den vierten, weiblichen Schädel endlich brachte der Ingenieurcapitän Beljzof mit: er rührt von einem Weibe der Umgegend von Michailovskoje am unteren Amur her, das von ihren Stammgenossen für schlechte Aufführung umgebracht wurde; hinzugekommene Russen verhinderten das Verbrennen und ver-

1) S. oben, p. 26, 164 u. a.

2) Reisenden in Sibirien ist es daher wiederholentlich begegnet, im Walde auf einen am Baume hängenden Menschenschädel zu stossen.

3) Darnach muss also auch Alles, was von den genannten Herren (ll. cc.) über den Schädelbau der Giljaken gesagt worden, nicht auf diese, sondern auf die Orotschen oder Oltscha bezogen werden.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

scharrten die Leiche, die einige Jahre später auf Veranlassung des Hrn. Beljzof durch den Kaufmann Iwanof in Michailovskoje ausgegraben wurde.

Nachstehend folgen nun zunächst die Maasse dieser vier Schädel, und zwar, der leichteren Uebersicht und Vergleichung halber, in tabellarischer Anordnung zugleich mit denjenigen aller übrigen hier zur Vermessung gelangten Schädel der Amur-Völker, so wie einiger sibirischer Tungusen. Das Nähere über die einzelnen Schädel wird an den betreffenden Orten gegeben werden. Zuvor muss ich jedoch zum richtigen Verständniss der in den beiden Tabellen, der absoluten Maasse und der Verhältnisszahlen oder Indices, enthaltenen Daten einige erläuternde Bemerkungen über die von mir eingehaltene Art der Schädelmessung vorausschicken.

So indicirt es auf den ersten Blick schien, bei Betrachtung einiger weniger Schädel sich strikt an eine der gangbarsten Messungsmethoden, etwa an diejenige von Baer[1]), von Virchow[2]), von Welcker[3]) u. A. anzulehnen, so habe ich mich doch für keine derselben ganz entscheiden können. Ich habe mich vielmehr an die von Ihering entwickelten Gesichtspunkte gehalten, weil sie mir als die rationellsten erscheinen und ich überzeugt bin, dass sie sich in der Craniometrie immer mehr und mehr Bahn brechen werden. Demgemäss sind die Schädel beim Vermessen nach der von ihm vorgeschlagenen Horizontale aufgestellt worden, d. i. nach der die Mitte der äusseren Ohröffnung mit dem unteren Rande der Orbita verbindenden Linie, welche wenn auch nicht durchweg für jeden einzelnen Schädel, doch im Allgemeinen am richtigsten die Horizontalstellung des Kopfes angeben dürfte[4]). Es mussten sodann die drei Hauptdimensionen des Schädels, die grösste Länge, Breite und Höhe desselben, nicht zwischen bestimmten anatomischen, sondern zwischen den vorragendsten Punkten des Schädels in der Horizontalebene, resp. in der senkrecht zu derselben stehenden Medianebene gemessen werden. Um zugleich die Gegend zu ermitteln, wo die grösste Breite und die grösste Höhe des Schädels liegen, und darnach die Lagenindices derselben zu berechnen[5]), wurde der Theil des Längendurchmessers bestimmt, welcher vor seinem Kreuzungspunkte mit dem Breiten-, resp. Höhendurchmesser des Schädels liegt. Nebenbei ist in Anmerkungen auch die Lage des grössten Breitendurchmessers in Beziehung auf die äussere Ohröffnung angegeben, in der Weise, wie es Baer bei seinen Schädelmessungen gethan[6]). Eine Reihe von Maassen ferner, wie die untere, die kleinste und die grösste Stirnbreite, die Breite zwischen den Scheitelhöckern, die grösste Breite zwischen den

1) Crania selecta ex thesauris anthropologicis Academiae Imp. Petropol. 1839 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. VI-e Série. sc. nat. T. VIII, p. 213 ff.); Baer und R. Wagner, Bericht über die Zusammenkunft einiger Anthropol. im Sept. 1861 in Göttingen, Leipzig 1861, p. 46 ff.

2) Gesamm. Abhandl. zur wissensch. Medicin, Frankf. 1856, p. 914; Untersuch. über die Entwickelung des Schädelgrundes, Berlin 1857, p. 22 u. a.; Die altnord. Schädel zu Kopenhagen (Archiv für Anthropol. Bd. IV, Braunschweig 1870, p. 37 ff.).

3) Untersuch. über Wachsthum und Bau des menschl. Schädels, I. Thl., Leipzig 1862, p. 22 ff.; Kraniolog. Mittheilungen (Archiv für Anthropol. Bd. I, Braunschweig 1866, p. 90 ff.).

4) J. v. Ihering, Ueber das Wesen der Prognathie und ihr Verhältn. zur Schädelbasis (Archiv für Anthrop. Bd. V, Braunschweig 1872, p. 372 ff.); Zur Reform der Craniometrie (Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. V, Berlin 1873, p. 134 ff.).

5) Kopernicki, Ueber den Bau der Zigeunerschädel (Archiv für Anthrop. Bd. V, p. 299); Ihering, Zur Ref. der Craniom. l. c. p. 137.

6) Crania selecta, l. c. p. 244, 245.

Jochbögen, die kleinste Entfernung zwischen den Lineae semicirculares auf dem Scheitel und dem Hinterhaupt, die grösste Wangenbreite, die grösste Breite der Augenhöhle, der Nasenöffnung, des Oberkiefers am Alveolarrande u. a. m., sind ebenfalls ohne scharf bestimmte anatomische Punkte in Ebenen gemessen worden, die zur Horizontalebene parallel laufen. Sollte die Bestimmung der Schädeldurchmesser, in der für dieselben maassgebenden Horizontalstellung, und ebenso auch diejenige der letztgenannten Maasse richtig ausfallen, so war vor Allem darauf zu achten, dass die Messung auch stets in der Horizontal- oder in einer mit ihr parallelen, resp. in der senkrecht zu ihr stehenden Medianebene ausgeführt werde. Ich glaube dies durch folgendes Verfahren erreicht zu haben. Nachdem der Schädel mit Hülfe einer Libelle in die richtige Horizontalstellung gebracht und in einiger Erhöhung über dem Tisch vermittelst in die Oberöffnungen eingreifender Zapfen eines messingnen Gestelles und einer Stütze am Oberkiefer fest und unbeweglich eingestellt war, wurden die Messungen theils mit dem Taster- oder dem Stangenzirkel, theils (wie z. B. die grösste Höhe u. a.) mit einem Apparat gemacht, wie ihn in ähnlicher Weise auch Virchow[1]) benutzt hat, und der aus einem breiten Metallstabe besteht, an dessen einem Ende sich ein feststehender senkrechter Arm befindet, während an dem anderen Ende ein ebenfalls senkrechter, aber verschiebbarer Arm angebracht ist. Da diese Arme recht dick sind, so stellen ihre einander zugekehrten, eben polirten Seiten parallele Ebenen dar, deren Entfernung von einander an dem die Arme verbindenden Metallstabe unmittelbar gemessen werden konnte. Um aber die Gewissheit zu haben, dass die mit diesem Apparat wie mit dem Zirkel genommenen Maasse in der Horizontal-, oder einer ihr parallelen, oder auch in der zu ihr senkrechten Medianebene liegen, wurde auf dieselben bei jeder Vermessung eine Libelle gesetzt. Durch mehrmalige Wiederholung einer jeden Messung endlich wurde auch eine Garantie für ihre Genauigkeit gewonnen. Letzteres bezieht sich übrigens nicht bloss auf die obengenannten, sondern auch auf alle übrigen Maassbestimmungen, für welche es sonst kaum irgend welcher besonderen Bemerkungen bedarf. Der Horizontal-, Vertikal- und Querumfang des ganzen Schädels oder einzelner Theile, so wie die Entfernung der Protuberantia occipitalis vom Foramen magnum und der Umfang des Unterkiefers von Winkel zu Winkel, wurden natürlich mit dem Messbande, der erste in der Horizontal-, der zweite in der Median- und der dritte in einer zur Horizontale senkrechten Ebene gemessen. Für alle übrigen Maasse, mit Ausnahme der Winkelbestimmungen, ist der Taster- oder der Stangenzirkel gebraucht worden. Diese Maasse entsprechen übrigens, sofern sie nicht ebenfalls grösste oder kleinste Dimensionen angeben, den oben in Betracht gezogenen Anforderungen Ihering's an die Craniometrie keineswegs, indem sie sich auf die Entfernungen zwischen bestimmten anatomischen Punkten beziehen[2]). Nichtsdestoweniger halte ich sie nicht für überflüssig, weil sie vielleicht für manche von anderen Craniologen mehr oder weniger betonte Verhältnisse des Schädelbaues ein erwünschtes Vergleichungsmaterial bieten können, was um so mehr zu beachten war, als die meisten der hier betrachteten Schädel craniologisch bisher noch ganz unbekannten Völkern angehören. Ist doch Virchow bei seinen

1) Die altnord. Schädel zu Kopenhagen (Archiv für Anthrop. Bd. IV, p. 58).

2) Vrgl. Ihering, Zur Reform der Craniom. l. c. p. 131, 163 u. a.

umfassenden craniologischen Forschungen zu dem Schlusse gekommen, «dass die Zahl der Messungen an den einzelnen Schädeln bedeutend über das gewöhnliche Verhältniss vermehrt werden müsse, dass man namentlich die Grenzen der einzelnen Schädelknochen bestimmen und die einzelnen Näthe messen müsse, — ein Gesichtspunkt», fügt er hinzu, «der seitdem von der Mehrzahl der Craniologen angenommen, jedoch keineswegs überall genügend ausgebeutet worden ist»[1]). Seine eigenen Untersuchungen zeigten z. B., wie maassgebend für die Entwickelung des grossen Keilbeinflügels und damit für die Gestalt der Schläfengegend die Länge der Sphenofrontal- und Sphenoparietal-Naht ist[2]). So ist ferner von verschiedenen Seiten und verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten aus auf die Entfernung der Ohröffnung oder des Foramen magnum von der Nasenwurzel, von der Spina nasalis anterior, vom Kinn, desgl. auf die Entfernung der Nasenwurzel von den letztgenannten Punkten u. s. w. mehr oder weniger Gewicht gelegt worden.

1) Virchow, Die altnord. Schädel zu Kopenhagen (Archiv für Anthrop. Bd. IV, p. 37).

2) Virchow, Ueber einige Merkmale niederer Menschenrassen am Schädel, in den Abhandl. der königl. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, 1875, p. 9 ff., und unter demselben Titel neuerdings in der Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Bd. XII, 1880 p. 1 ff.

Tabelle I. Absolute Th

MAASSE.	Gilijaken. Männer. I. Ochotsk. Meer.	II. Amur (Magho).	III. Amur (Allof).	Weib. IV. Amur (Tumgurat v. Michailowskoje).	Oltscha. V. Bai de Castries.	VI. Amur (Chabar).
Grösste Länge[1])	186	187	176	183	164	197
» Breite[2])	131	150	150	135	140	141
» Höhe	133	141	132	135	129	149
Theil des Längendurchmessers vor seiner Kreuzung mit dem Breitendurchmesser	102	114	112	103	94	115
Theil des Längendurchmessers vor seiner Kreuzung mit dem Höhendurchmesser	113	114	105	103	96	115
Untere Stirnbreite (zwischen den Processus zygomatici oss. frontis)	109	99	112	103	95	106
Kleinste Stirnbreite (zwischen den Lineae semicirculares)	99	89	100	94	90	93
Grösste Stirnbreite (an der Sutura coronalis)	116	—	120	115	113	111
Breite zwischen den Scheitelhöckern	125	126	125	129	129	134
» » » Ohröffnungen	110	109	117	105	104	114

Bekanntlich ist z. B. die Länge der Schädelbasis, oder die Entfernung des vorderen Randes des Foramen magnum von der Nasenwurzel, von Virchow und Welcker, wenngleich in ganz entgegengesetztem Sinne, auch mit der Pro- oder Orthognathie des Schädels in Beziehung gebracht worden [1]). Nachstehend ist freilich weder der vom Ersteren, noch der vom Letzteren vorgeschlagene Nasenwinkel zum Maasse der grösseren oder geringeren Prognathie des Schädels angenommen worden, sondern der von Ihering bezeichnete Profilwinkel, den die von der Nasenwurzel zur Mitte des Alveolarfortsatzes des Oberkiefers gezogene Profillinie mit der Horizontale bildet [2]). Die Maasse desselben an unseren Schädeln finden sich daher auch in der nachstehenden Tabelle verzeichnet. Zum Schlusse dieser Vorbemerkungen möchte ich noch anführen, dass je weniger ich selbst aus der geringen Zahl der mir vorliegenden Schädel der Amur-Völker bestimmte ethnologische Resultate habe ziehen können und dürfen, um so weniger hielt ich mich für berechtigt, die Zahl der Maasse, die Anderen vielleicht manche Anhaltspunkte bieten dürften, zu verkürzen.

1) Welcker, Unters. über Wachsthum und Bau des menschl. Schädels, p. 47; Kranich, Mittheil. l. c. p. 105.

2) Ihering, Ueber das Wesen der Prognathie und ihr Verhältn. zur Schädelbasis, l. c. p. 349 ff.

Millimeter.

Tabelle I.

Ainos.	Nanäer.	Orotschonen.	Tungusen.			ANMERKUNGEN.
VIII. (Sachalin.)	IX. Amur (Koinonga).	X. Nertschinsk.	XI. Wilui (Ajakit).	XII. Untere Tungusska.	XIII. Wilui (Dshegdon-dali).	
183	190	182	182	177	180	1) Kommt, bei der oben bezeichneten Horizontalstellung, an allen unseren Schädeln zwischen der Stirnnasenwulst und der Hinterhauptsschuppe, etwas oberhalb der Protuberantia occipitalis zu liegen. 2) Liegt bei I zwischen den Scheitelbeinen, etwas oberhalb der Schläfenbeine, in der durch die Oeffnung des äusseren Gehörganges gehenden Senkrechten; bei II und III zwischen den Leisten, welche von den Proc. zygomatici nach hinten laufen, 20, resp. 18mm hinter der durch die Oeffnung gehenden Senkrechten; bei IV zwischen den Scheitelbeinen, 9mm hinter derselben Senkrechten; bei V nahe der Schuppennaht, in der durch die Oeffnung gehenden Senkrechten; bei VI ebenso wie bei II und III, jedoch 17mm hinter der durch die Oeffnung gehenden Senkrechten; bei VII zwischen den Scheitelbeinen, 12mm hinter derselben Vertikale; bei VIII nahe der Schuppennaht, 18mm hinter der durch die Oeffnung gehenden Senkrechten; bei IX zwischen den die Arc. zygomatici fortsetzenden Leisten, 19mm hinter der Vertikale der Oeffnung; bei X am Rande der Schuppennaht, 9mm hinter der durch die
131	153	153	141	150	148	
127	132	122	126	137	135	
103	117	111	107	97	89	
99	112	108	107	102	97	
94	111	104	105	97	100	
93	96	93	96	84	90	
122	123	118	114	118	123	
121	145	135	128	131	132	
115	118	122	112	119	109	

MAASSE.	Gilijaken. Männer. I. Ochotsk. Meer.	II. Amur (Maghe).	III. Amur (Alloé).	Weib. IV. Amur (Umgegend v. Mohai-berskoje).	Oltscha. V. Bai de Castries.	VI. Amur (Khoto.
Grösste Breite zwischen den Jochbögen	—[3])	134	132	131	—[4])	143
Kleinste Entfernung zw. den Lin. semicirculares auf dem Scheitel	97	87	92	102	—[5])	91
Kleinste Entfernung zw. den Lin. semicirculares *auf dem Hinterhaupte*	74	77	80	—[6])	—[6])	78
Horizontalumfang i. d. Ebene d. grössten Länge[8])	522	525	517	512	484	518
Stirnbeinantheil an demselben	168	161	167	162	152	161
Schläfen- u. Scheitelbeinanth. an demselb., rechts	126	125	122	126	121	140
» » » » » links	128	127	119	127	122	140
Hinterhauptsantheil an demselben	100	112	109	97	100	106
Vertikalumfang in der Medianebene, bis zum For. magnum	362	372	355	373	340	400[10]
a) Stirnbeinantheil an demselben	131	127	125	128	118	130
b) Scheitelbeinantheil »	116	120	125	120	109	135
c) Hinterhauptsantheil »	115	125	107	125	113	135
Sehne zu *a*	116	113	111	110	104	120
» » *b*	104	106	109	110	97	120
» » *c*	93	104	87	100	95	117
Entfernung d. Protuber. occipitalis v. For. magn.	48	45	48	50	58	61
Länge des Foramen magnum	37	39	32	32	34	—[11]
Breite » » »	29	30	32	26	28	—
Entfernung des For. magnum von der Nasenwurzel (Schädelbasis)[12]	111	106	102	100	95	109
Querumfang zw. den Spitzen der Proc. mastoidei	371[13])	375	370	372	360	385
Entfernung der Spitzen der Proc. mastoidei von einander	104	104	114	101	95	108
Entfernung d. Öhröffnung v. d. Nasenwurzel[14])	114	107	109	103	100	111
» der Nasenwurzel von der Spina nasalis anterior (Gesichtsbasis)[15]	53	56	53	47	46	56
Entfernung des For. magnum von der Spina nasalis anterior	102	97	94	94	87	100
Breite der Nasenbeine an der Nasenwurzel	6	6	10	6	10	8
Kleinste Breite der Nasenbeine	5	5	9	6	8	7
Breite der Nasenbeine am unteren Ende	—[16])	15	17	14	16	20
Grösste Breite der Apertura pyriformis	26	28	30	30	23	29
Höhe der Apertura pyriformis	—[17])	31	—[17])	27	23	35
Grösste Breite der Augenhöhle	44	40	43	38	36	40
» Höhe » »	36	34	34	33	34	40

Ort.	Hanägir.	Oretschene.	Tungusen.			ANMERKUNGEN.
[illegible]	IX. Amur (Kotomanga).	X. Nertschinsk.	XI. Wilui (Ajakit).	XII. Untere Tungusen.	XIII. Wilui (Dshegdundali).	
[illegible]	149	143	137	139[3])	133	Ohroffnung und in der durch die Processus mastoidei gehenden Senkrechten; bei XI nahe der Schuppennaht, 13mm hinter der Vertikale der Ohroffnung; bei XII und XIII dicht über derselben Naht, in der bezeichneten Vertikale.
[illegible]97	72	101	59	92	100	
[illegible]93	83	101	68	70	—[7])	3) Wegen der beiderseits fehlenden Jochbogen nicht zu bestimmen.
[illegible]41	515	540	527	515	520	4) Wegen des einerseits fehlenden Jochbogens nicht zu bestimmen.
[illegible]43	159	158	158	155	162	5) Da der Jochbogen an der einen Seite schadhaft ist, so ist diese Grosse nur annähernd richtig.
[illegible]28	130	130	133	122	122	6) Die Lineae semicirculares sehr undeutlich.
[illegible]30	134	135	133	122	136	
[illegible]09	122	125	103	117	100	7) Auf dem Hinterhaupt werden die Linien allzu undeutlich.
[illegible]12	365	360	361	352	362	8) Stets durch Messung, nicht durch Summirung der einzelnen Antheile bestimmt, daher von der auf letzterem Wege sich ergebenden Zahl zuweilen um einige Millimeter differirend. Dasselbe gilt für den Vertikalumfang.
[illegible]20	130	130	125	122	125	
[illegible]19	128	107	113	109	114	
[illegible]02	107	125	123	121	123	
[illegible]08	116	113	109	109	111	9) Da die Lambdanaht unkenntlich ist, so waren diese Grossen und die beiden folgenden nur annähernd zu bestimmen.
[illegible]06	115	102	103	99	105	
[illegible]5	90	93	93	101	101	
[illegible]0	49	54	61	67	65	10) Da der hintere Rand des Foramen magnum zerbrochen ist und die Sutura coronalis superior und lambdoidea unkenntlich sind, so können diese Zahl und die sieben folgenden nur einen annähernden Werth haben.
[illegible]37	40	35	38	38	37	
[illegible]30	34	29	29	31	31	11) Da die Ränder des For. magnum hinten und an den Seiten zerbrochen sind, so bleiben seine Dimensionen unbestimmt.
[illegible]00	106	94	97	101	97	
[illegible]65[10])	384	374	360	368	366	12) Vom vorderen Rande des Foramens gemessen, wie auch in anderen Massen mit demselben Ausgangspunkte.
[illegible]09	114	116	111	106	110	13) Der Processus mastoideus der einen Seite fehlt: daher konnten dieses und das folgende Maass nur annähernd bestimmt werden, in der Voraussetzung nämlich, dass der fehlende Fortsatz dem vorhandenen gleich gewesen sei.
[illegible]01	113	107	106	110	103	
[illegible]57	59	54	55	55	49	14) Vom vorderen Rande der Ohroffnung gemessen.
[illegible]91	99	92	96	89	90	15) Bis zur Basis der Spina gemessen, wie auch im folgenden Masse.
[illegible]31	10	8	10	13	8	16) Defekt.
[illegible]7	9	5	7	8	6	17) In Folge des am unteren Ende in der Medianlinie defekten Zustandes der Nasenbeine nicht zu bestimmen.
[illegible]19	19	21	19	—[16])	—[16])	
[illegible]25	29	29	28	26	26	
[illegible]29	30	30	30	—[17])	—[17])	
[illegible]34	40	40	39	37	40	
[illegible]35	33	37	37	32	37	

MAASSE.	Gilijaken. Männer. I. Ochotsk. Meer.	II. Amur (Magho).	III. Amur (Allof).	Weib. IV. Amur (Umgegend v. Nikolajevsk-je).	Olscha. V. Bai de Castries.	VI. Amur (Choin).
Breite der Augenscheidewand [18])	20	19	25	21	20	25
Grösste Wangenbreite, zw. d. Ossa zygomatica [19])	—[20])	123	135	115	104	121
» Breite d. Oberkiefers am Alveolarrande	68	68	70	61	60	69
» » » harten Gaumens	35	38	39	37	30	37
Länge d. harten Gaumens in der Medianebene [21])	51	59	49	55	46	53
Profilwinkel	90°	87°	90°	84°	84°	86°
Entfernung der Nasenwurzel von der Kinnspitze (Gesichtslänge)	—[22])	123	119	—[23])	104	124
Entfernung d. For. magnum von der Kinnspitze	—	119	108	—	92	118
Umfang d. Unterkiefers, v. Winkel zu Winkel [24])	—	197	215	—	—[24])	218
Entfernung der Unterkieferwinkel von einander	—	109	116	—	—	105
Höhe des Unterkiefers in der Medianlinie	—	34	33	—	26	36
Grösste Dicke des Unterkiefers ebenda [25])	—	15	16	—	13	16
Höhe des Unterkiefers am Process. coronoideus	—	56	58	—	—	62
» » » » » condyloideus [26])	—	52	52	—	—	60
Länge des Ramus ascendens, vom Winkel an	—	59,5[27])	57	—	—	65
Winkel des Unterkiefers	—	121°	118°	—	—	120°

Tabelle II.

Längenbreitenindex	70,4	74,9	85,2	73,8	85,4	73,1
Breitenhöhenindex	101,5	100,7	88,0	100,0	92,1	103,5
Längenhöhenindex	71,5	75,4	75,0	73,8	78,7	75,6
Lägenindex des Breitendurchmessers [1])	54,8	61,0	63,6	56,3	57,3	58,4
» » Höhendurchmessers	60,8	61,0	59,7	56,3	58,5	58,4
Unterer Frontalbreitenindex	58,6	52,9	63,6	56,3	57,9	53,8
Kleinster »	53,2	47,6	56,8	51,4	54,9	47,2
Grösster »	62,4	—	68,2	62,8	68,9	56,3
Parietalbreitenindex [2])	67,2	67,4	71,0	70,5	78,7	68,0
Aurikularbreitenindex	59,1	58,3	66,5	57,4	63,4	57,9
Jugalbreitenindex	—	71,7	86,4	71,6	—	72,6
Wangenbreitenindex	—	63,8	76,7	62,8	63,4	61,4
Oberkieferbreitenindex [3])	36,6	36,4	39,8	33,3	36,6	35,0
Längenbreitenindex des Foramen magnum	78,4	76,9	100,0	81,3	82,4	—
Nasalindex (nach Broca [4])	49,1	50,0	56,6	63,8	50,0	51,8
Orbitalindex	81,8	85,0	79,1	86,8	94,4	100,0

Ure.	Manägir.	Oroitschone.	Tungusen.			ANMERKUNGEN.
	IX. Amur (Kotomanga).	X. Nertschinsk.	XI. Wilui (Ajakit).	XII. Untere Tunguska.	XIII. Wilui (Dshegdandali).	
23	26	21	24	20	20	18) Am oberen Ende des Thränenbeines gemessen.
[illegible] 7)	131	122	122	129	115	19) Kommt zwischen den beiderseitigen Superficies faciales der Wangenbeine, dort, wo von ihnen die Process. temporales ausgehen, und also vor dem Anfange der Arcus zygomatici zu liegen.
35	—	66	62	70	61	
36	38	40	39	39	33	
39	51	52	53	52	49	20) Wegen des einerseits zerbrochenen Wangenbeines nicht zu ermitteln.
94	94°	93°	85°	91°	—	
119	— 22)	— 22)	120	— 22)	— 22)	21) Vom hinteren Rande bis zu den Alveolen der Schneidezähne.
100	—	—	113	—	—	22) Der Unterkiefer fehlt.
190	—	—	203	—	—	23) Längs dem unteren Rande gemessen.
100	—	—	97	—	—	24) Da der Unterkiefer stark ladirt und zum Theil verwittert ist, so konnten an demselben nur ein paar Maasse genommen werden.
30	—	—	31	—	—	25) Zwischen Spina mentalis interna und Protuberantia mentalis externa.
15	—	—	13	—	—	
35	—	—	62	—	—	26) Auf die Horizontalebene projicirt.
50	—	—	52	—	—	27) Mittel zwischen den beiderseitigen Grössen, da die Länge des aufsteigenden Astes des Unterkiefers linkerseits 58, rechterseits, in Folge des etwas mehr nach vorn gelegenen Winkels, 61mm beträgt.
121°	—	—	119°	—	—	

Tabelle II.

83,2	80,5	84,1	77,5	84,7	82,2	1) Wie beim ersten Maass und wie bei allen folgenden, mit Ausnahme der drei letzten, den Längendurchmesser des Schädels gleich 100 gesetzt.
88,2	86,3	79,7	89,4	91,3	91,2	
73,4	69,5	67,0	69,2	77,4	75,0	2) Für die Breite zwischen den Scheitelhöckern; s. Tab. I.
63,5	61,6	61,0	58,8	54,8	49,4	
57,2	58,9	59,3	58,8	57,6	53,9	3) Für die Breite des Oberkiefers am Alveolarrande.
56,6	58,4	57,1	57,7	54,8	55,6	
53,8	50,5	51,1	52,7	47,5	50,0	4) D. i. Verhältniss der Breite der Nasenöffnung (Apertura pyriformis) zur Länge der Nasalgegend, nämlich zur Entfernung der Nasenwurzel von der Basis der Spina nasalis anterior, diese Länge gleich 100 gesetzt. Vrgl. Broca, Rech. sur l'indice nasal (Revue d'Anthropol., publ. sous la direct de M. P. Broca, T. I, Paris 1872, p. 1 ff.).
69,5	64,7	64,8	62,6	66,7	68,3	
71,7	76,3	74,2	70,3	74,0	73,3	
66,5	62,1	67,0	61,5	67,2	60,6	
[illegible]	78,4	78,6	75,3	78,5	73,9	
[illegible]	68,9	67,0	67,0	72,9	63,9	
37,6	—	36,3	34,1	39,5	33,9	
91,1	85,0	82,9	76,3	81,6	83,8	
53,9	49,2	53,7	50,0	47,3	53,1	
92,1	82,5	92,5	94,9	86,5	92,5	

Um nun von den vermessenen Schädeln der Amur-Völker, namentlich auch von ihrer Gesammtform, sowie von manchen der Messung sich entziehenden Verhältnissen ein möglichst volles und anschauliches Bild zu geben, sind von denselben, unter Einhaltung der Horizontalstellung, photographische Abbildungen gefertigt worden[1]), und zwar in je fünf Ansichten: in der Norma facialis, lateralis, verticalis, occipitalis und basilaris (Taff. V—IX). Betrachten wir nunmehr, unter Hinweisung auf diese Abbildungen wie auf die obigen Maasse, zunächst die Giljaken-Schädel einzeln und genauer.

Der Schädel des ertrunkenen Küsten-Giljaken vom Ochotskischen Meer (№ I der obigen Tabellen, Fig. 1 der Taff. V—IX) gehörte, nach der Beschaffenheit seiner Nähte zu urtheilen, einem jungen, etwa 24—30 Jahre alten Individuum[2]): die Basilarfuge (Symph. sphenobasilaris) ist bei ihm geschlossen, die Nähte aber sind alle noch offen und klaffend; im Gebiss sind die Tardivi vorhanden und die übrigen Zähne schon recht stark abgerieben, was bei den Giljaken, in Folge des vielen Genusses von hartem, trockenem, gedörrtem Fisch, bereits frühzeitig zu geschehen pflegt. Der Schädel ist verhältnissmässig lang und hoch: hält man sich an Ihering's Eintheilung der Schädel nach ihrem Längenbreiten- und Breitenhöhenindex zugleich, so ist er als hypsidolichocephal zu bezeichnen[3]). Dieselben oder ähnliche Bezeichnungen anderer Craniologen sind auf unsere Schädel natürlich nicht schlechtweg anwendbar, da sie auf solchen Indices beruhen, die, weil durch andere Maasse bestimmt, mit den hier ermittelten nicht direkt vergleichbar sind. Nach der Auffassung Welcker's jedoch, der zum Breitenmaass der Schädel nicht die «grösste», sondern nur die «Schläfenbreite» nahm[4]), dürfte die Dolicho- wie die Hypsicephalie dieses Giljaken-Schädels noch anschnlicher erscheinen[5]). Im Vergleich zum geringen Breitendurchmesser des Schädels ist seine Breite an der Stirn eine recht ansehnliche; sie wächst nur langsam nach hinten und erreicht ihr Maximum wenig hinter der halben Länge, daher die Ge-

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1) Wie schon erwähnt, verdanke ich dieselben dem durch seine Arbeiten für die Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften rühmlichst bekannten Photographen Classen hieselbst.

2) Vergl. die Tabelle zur Altersbestimmung erwachsener Schädel bei Welcker, Kraniol. Mittheil. (Archiv für Anthropol. Bd. I, p. 119).

3) Die von Ihering (Zur Reform der Craniometrie.— Zeitschr. f. Ethnol. Bd. V, p. 162) vorgeschlagene Eintheilung der Schädel ist folgende:

	Längenbreitenindex unter 72.	Längenbreitenindex 72—79,9.	Längenbreitenindex 80,0 und mehr.
Breitenhöhenindex unter 100.	Platydolichocephalus.	Platymesocephalus.	Platybrachycephalus.
Breitenhöhenindex 100 und darüber.	Hypsidolichocephalus.	Hypsimesocephalus.	Hypsibrachycephalus.

4) Kraniol. Mittheil. (Archiv f. Anthrop. Bd. I, p. 137). Der Welcker'sche Längendurchmesser (von der Intertuberalmitte des Stirnbeines bis zu derjenigen Stelle des Hinterhauptes, welche dem Occipitalhöcker des Kinderschädels entspricht, s. «Unters. über Wachsth. und Bau des menschl. Schädels», p. 24) und der hier benutzte Ihering'sche sind zwar auch verschieden, stehen sich aber doch näher als die respectiven Breitendurchmesser.

5) Nach dem Baer'schen Messungsverfahren wäre hingegen seine Dolichocephalie etwas kleiner, Baer's Längenbreitenindices sind mit den unsrigen überhaupt leichter vergleichbar, weil wenigstens die Breitendurchmesser dieselben sind. Sein Längendurchmesser (von der Glabella zum hervorragendsten Punkte des Hinterhauptes) weicht aber meist um einige Millimeter nach der einen oder der anderen Seite von dem unsrigen ab. Um einen eventuellen Vergleich zu ermöglichen, habe ich ihn an unseren Schädeln bestimmt. Er beträgt:

bei I	183mm	bei VI	199mm	bei XI	182mm
» II	186 »	» VII	178 »	» XII	180 »
» III	174 »	» VIII	172 »	» XIII	174 »
» IV	183 »	» IX	185 »		
» V	183 »	» X	181 »		

stalt des Schädels in der Scheitelansicht eine ziemlich elliptische, jedoch vorn etwas abgestutzte ist, mit beiderseits deutlich vortretenden Jochbögen. Die Stirn tritt mässig zurück. Die Arcus supraciliares sind angeschwollen und stossen zu einer dicken Stirnnasenwulst zusammen, von welcher eine schwach erhabene Linie auf dem Stirnbein aufwärts verläuft und erst zum Scheitel hin sich verliert. Die Stirn- und Scheitelhöcker sind nur schwach. Die Lineae semicirculares lassen sich in ihrem ganzen Verlaufe bis zu den Proc. mastoidei verfolgen und steigen recht hoch hinauf, so dass die Plana semicircularia gross sind. In der Hinterhauptsansicht ist der Schädel fünfeckig, hoch, mit abgerundeten Scheitelwinkeln; die oberen Seiten leicht convex, die unteren ziemlich senkrecht, nach unten hin etwas eingebogen, die Basis leicht ausgeschweift. Das Hinterhaupt ist gewölbt, im oberen Theil etwas von oben abgeflacht, von der Protuberantia occipitalis zum Foramen magnum sanft gekrümmt. Letzteres ist horizontal gelegen, gross, länglich-oval, nach hinten verschmälert. Die Leisten auf dem Hinterhauptsbein, sowie auch eine Anschwellung hinter dem sehr ansehnlichen Processus mastoideus sind stark entwickelt. Die Schläfenbeinschuppe ist flach; ein Stirnfortsatz an derselben nicht vorhanden. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel sind breit, indem die Sutura sphenofrontalis beiderseits je 19, die Sut. sphenoparietalis beiderseits je 22^{mm} lang ist. Der Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeins reicht tief hinab. Die Nasenbeine sind schmal, sattelförmig eingebogen und bilden keinen deutlichen Nasenrücken. Nach dem Broca'schen Nasalindex ist die Nase mesorhin, wie bei den mongolischen Völkerschaften[1]). Die Augenhöhlen sind gross, nach dem Orbitalindex mikrosem[2]), dabei nach unten und aussen ausgezogen; die Augenscheidewand nicht breit. Die Fovea maxillaris ist flach.

Der zweite unserer Giljaken-Schädel, aus dem Dorfe Magho am unteren Amur (№ II der Tabb., Fig. 2 der Taff. V—IX), gehörte einem Individuum, dessen Alter sich nach dem Zustande der Nähte und der Zähne auf zwischen 30 und 55 Jahre abschätzen lässt: die Nähte coronalis inferior, sphenofrontalis, sphenoparietalis, sphenotemporalis sind obliterirt, wenn auch deutlich zu erkennen; die Nähte sagittalis anterior und lambdoidea fangen stellenweise ebenfalls an zu verwachsen. Die Zähne sind in ihrer Gesammtzahl von 32 vorhanden und stark abgerieben. Wie oben schon erwähnt, ist der Schädel linkerseits am Stirnbein eingeschlagen und von der eingeschlagenen Stelle gehen mehrere Risse durch das Scheitelbein, ein Riss längs der linken Seite des Stirnbeins nahe seiner Mitte, ein anderer schräg durch dasselbe bis zur rechten Augenhöhle, ein Riss durch das Keilbein u. s. w. Nach den Verhältnissen seiner Hauptdimensionen ist dieser Schädel als hypsimesocephal zu bezeichnen: die Breite ist im Verhältniss zur Länge etwas grösser, die Höhe im Verhältniss zur Breite etwas geringer als bei I, doch ist die Differenz, wie die betreffenden Indices zeigen, keineswegs ansehnlich. Die grösste Breite liegt in der Ebene der grössten Höhe des Schädels, während sie bei I vor derselben sich befindet. Die Stirn ist mässig zurücktretend, schmal; der Schädel wird nach hinten allmählich breiter; seine Form in der Scheitelansicht ist elliptisch, vorn leicht abgestutzt, mit geringem Vortreten der Jochbögen.

1) Broca, Rech. sur l'ind. nas. l. c. p. 17.
2) Broca, Rech. sur l'indice orbitaire (Revue d'Anthropol. T. IV, Paris 1875, p. 384).

Die Arcus supraciliares sind nur mässig; über der Nasenwurzel bilden sie eine Wulst, von welcher eine schwach erhabene Linie aufwärts läuft und nach dem Scheitel hin sich verliert; doch stossen die Scheitelbeine an der Pfeilnaht bis etwa zur halben Länge derselben in Form einer flachen, abgerundeten Dachfirste zusammen und fallen dann zum Hinterhaupt ab. Die Lineae semicirculares sind anfangs sehr markirt, verlieren sich aber rasch und sind auf den Scheitelbeinen, wo sie hoch hinaufgehen, und auf dem Hinterhaupt nur kaum erkennbar. Die Stirnhöcker sind schwach, die Scheitelhöcker hingegen recht ansehnlich. In der Hinterhauptsansicht ist der Schädel fünfeckig, nur wenig höher als breit; der mittlere (obere) Scheitelwinkel deutlich ausgeprägt, die seitlichen abgerundet, die oberen und unteren Seiten leicht convex, die Basis etwas ausgeschweift. Das Hinterhaupt ist ziemlich gewölbt, mit starker Protuberantia occipitalis; von dieser zum Foramen magnum schräg abgeflacht. Dieses ist horizontal gelegen, gross, oval, nach hinten verschmälert. Die Leisten auf dem Hinterhauptsbein, die Anschwellung hinter dem Proc. mastoideus und eine Leiste in der Fortsetzung des Jochbogens sind stark entwickelt. Die Schläfenbeinschuppe ist flach; ein Stirnfortsatz an derselben nicht vorhanden. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel sind breit, indem die Sutura sphenofrontalis rechts 21, links 25^{mm}, die Sutura sphenoparietalis rechts 15, links 14^{mm} beträgt. Der Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeines reicht tief hinab. Die Nasenbeine sind an der Basis und in der Mitte sehr schmal, bilden aber einen recht scharfen, wenn auch wenig hervorragenden Nasenrücken. Die Nase ist mesorhin, der Nasalindex nur wenig grösser als bei I. Die Augenhöhlen sind im Verhältniss zur Breite etwas höher, nach dem Orbitalindex mesosem, dabei ebenfalls etwas nach unten und aussen ausgezogen; die Augenscheidewand noch weniger breit als bei I. Die Fovea maxillaris ist flach. Der Unterkiefer stark und dick.

Der dritte Giljaken-Schädel, von Allof am Amur (Æ III der Tabb., Fig. 3 der Taff. V—IX), gehörte, nach dem Zustande seiner Nähte zu urtheilen, einem zwischen 30 und 55 Jahre alten Individuum: die Nähte coronalis inferior, sagittalis posterior und lambdoidea sind obliterirt, jedoch bis auf die erstere — und auch die nur linkerseits — von ausser. leicht kenntlich; die übrigen Nähte sind nicht obliterirt. In der Lambdanaht, zwischen dem Hinterhauptsbeine einerseits und den Schläfen- und Scheitelbeinen andererseits, finden sich mehrere kleine Schaltknochen. Im Gebiss sind die Tardivi nur rechts im Ober- und links im Unterkiefer vorhanden, die anderen aber nicht zur Entwickelung gekommen. Sämmtliche Zähne sind dabei sehr stark abgerieben und abgestumpft. Nach seiner Form ist dieser Schädel das direkte Gegentheil vom ersten und in geringerem Grade auch vom zweiten: er ist verhältnissmässig breit und niedrig, nach seinen oben angeführten Längenbreiten- und Breitenhöhenindices platybrachycephal[1]). Auch die übrigen Breitendimensionen sind im Verhältniss zur Länge des Schädels grösser als beim ersten. Die

1) Wollte man die Höhe nicht im Verhältniss zur Breite, sondern ebenso wie diese im Verhältniss zur Länge betrachten, und demnach Längenbreiten- und Längenhöhenindices gegen einander stellen und nach deren positiver oder negativer Differenz die Hypsi- oder Platycephalie bemessen, wie es Welcker (allerdings mit anderer Bestimmung der Schädeldurchmesser, als hier geschehen) thut (Kraniol. Mittth. l. c. p. 153), so wären immer unsere

Breite wächst von der Stirn nach hinten erst rascher, nachher langsamer und erreicht ihr Maximum weiter nach hinten, nicht in der durch die Ohröffnung gehenden Senkrechten, sondern noch etwas hinter derselben. In der Scheitelansicht ist daher der Schädel kürzer und gedrungener, breit eiförmig, vorn und hinten abgestutzt, etwas der quadratischen Form sich nähernd, mit stark vorragenden Jochbögen. Seine grösste Höhe liegt nicht hinter, sondern etwas vor der grössten Breite. Ganz besonders gross ist die Breite zwischen den Jochbögen, indem sie die grösste Breite der Schädelkapsel noch um Einiges übertrifft — ein Verhältniss, das sich an keinem der übrigen von mir vermessenen Schädel der Amur-Völker wiederholt. Die Stirn ist mässig zurücktretend. Die Arcus supraciliares sind stark gedrungen und stossen zu einer ansehlichen Wölbung über der Nasenwurzel zusammen, ohne dass jedoch eine erhabene Linie von dort stirnaufwärts verliefe. Die Stirn- und Scheitelhöcker sind nur schwach. Die Lineae semicirculares lassen sich in ihrem ganzen Verlaufe bis zu den Proc. mastoidei deutlich verfolgen, steigen, zum Scheitel und Hinterhaupte einander sich nähernd, hoch hinauf und grenzen weite Plana semicircularia ab. In der Hinterhauptsansicht ist der Schädel fünfeckig, breiter als hoch; die drei oberen Winkel sind abgerundet, die oberen Seiten leicht convex, die unteren nach unten zu divergirend, die Basis in der Mitte eingeschnitten. Das Hinterhaupt ist gewölbt, von der Prot. occipitalis zum Foramen magnum schräg abgeflacht. Letzteres ist klein, eben so lang wie breit, fast kreisrund, nur an den Seiten vorn durch die langen, aber schmalen Gelenkflächen etwas eingeengt. Die Hinterhauptsleiste ragt scharfkantig hervor. Die Processus mastoidei, die Leisten, welche sich auf dem Schläfenbein vom Proc. zygomaticus fortziehen, und alle Muskelleisten überhaupt sind stark. Auch die flache Schuppe des Schläfenbeines ist durch kleine Leisten rauh. Ein Stirnfortsatz ist an derselben nicht vorhanden. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel sind breit: die Sutura sphenofrontalis rechts 19, links 16, die Sut. sphenoparietalis rechts 12, links 18^{mm} lang. Der Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeines reicht sehr tief hinab. Die Nasenbeine sind etwas breiter als bei I und II, haben eine sehr geringe Einbiegung und bilden einen wenn auch stumpfkantigen, doch deutlichen Nasenrücken. Die Nase ist dem Broca'schen Nasalindex nach platyrhin. Die Augenhöhlen sind gross, ihrem Index zufolge noch etwas mikrosemer wie bei I, dabei nach unten und aussen ausgezogen; der Zwischenraum zwischen denselben sehr breit. Wie der Schädel, so zeichnet sich auch das ganze Gesicht durch seine Breite aus: die Wangenbreite ist sehr ansehnlich, die Oberkieferbreite auch verhältnissmässig grösser als an allen anderen oben vermessenen Schädeln. Die Fovea maxillaris ist flach. Der Unterkiefer sehr robust, dick, mit starken Muskelleisten.

Der vierte, weibliche Giljaken-Schädel (№ IV der Tabb., Fig. 4 der Taff. V—IX) gehörte einem Individuum von etwa 24—30 Jahren: die Nähte sind alle noch unverwachsen, manche klaffend; die Zähne oder wenigstens deren Alveolen sind im Oberkiefer in ihrer Gesammtzahl vorhanden;

Giljaken-Schädel I und II, wenn auch in geringem Grade, hypsicephal, III hingegen stark platycephal. Die massgebenden Zahlen wären nämlich:

Schrenck's Amur-Reise, Band III.

	I.	II.	III.
Längenbreitenindex	70,4	74,9	83,2
Längenhöhenindex	71,5	75,4	72,0
Differenz	+ 1,1	+ 0,5	— 10,2
		31	

der Unterkiefer fehlt. Der Schädel nähert sich in seiner Gesammtform, wie in allen einzelnen Verhältnissen am meisten demjenigen von Magho, № II. Er ist ebenfalls lang und hoch, nach den respectiven Indices hypsimesocephal. Die Stirn ist aufsteigend, recht breit, der Schädel nimmt nach hinten allmählich an Breite zu; seine Form in der Scheitelansicht ist elliptisch, vorn abgestutzt, mit wenig vortretenden Jochbögen. Die grösste Breite liegt wie bei II in der Ebene der grössten Höhe. Eine Stirn- und Scheitelfirste ist nicht vorhanden, der Schädel ist auf dem Scheitel vielmehr flach abgerundet und in der Hinterhauptsansicht daher rundlich fünfeckig; der obere Winkel ist so sehr abgerundet, dass die beiden oberen Seiten fast eine continuirliche convexe Linie bilden; die unteren sind ziemlich gerade und convergiren etwas nach unten; die Basis ist gerade mit einem schwachen Einschnitt in der Mitte. Die Arcus supraciliares sind schwach, nur zur Nasenwurzel hin stärker, wo sie zu einer breiten, wenig erhabenen Wulst zusammenstossen. Die Stirn- und Scheitelhöcker sind ziemlich deutlich. Die Lineae semicirculares sind anfangs scharf, verlieren sich aber schon auf dem Stirnbein und werden weiterhin ganz unkenntlich — ein Umstand, in welchem die Schädel II und IV ebenfalls übereinstimmen, von den beiden anderen giljakischen, wie fast von allen übrigen hier vermessenen Schädeln aber abweichen. Das Hinterhaupt ist stark gewölbt, mit ansehnlicher, jedoch von oben abgeflachter, wulstförmiger Protuberanz. Die Muskelleisten auf dem Hinterhauptsbein wie auf den Schläfenbeinen in der Fortsetzung der Proc. zygomatici und hinter den Proc. mastoidei treten, wenn auch weniger stark als bei den männlichen Schädeln, doch immerhin deutlich hervor. Das Foramen magnum liegt horizontal und ist klein, elliptisch, in der Mitte am breitesten. Die Schläfenbeinschuppe hat keinen Stirnfortsatz. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel sind nach hinten ausgezogen, breit; die Sutura sphenofrontalis rechterseits 24, linkerseits 19, die Sut. sphenoparietalis rechterseits 15, linkerseits 19^{mm} lang. Der Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeins reicht tief hinab. Die Nasenbeine sind an ihrer Wurzel eben so schmal wie bei I und II, dabei flach und an der Basis wie in der Mitte stark eingebogen. Der Nasalindex erreicht eine ganz ausnahmsweise Grösse[1]) und verräth eine in hohem Grade platyrhine Nase. Die etwas nach unten und aussen ausgezogenen Augenhöhlen sind absolut kleiner als an den männlichen Schädeln, ihre Höhe ist aber im Verhältniss zur Breite grösser, der Orbitalindex daher ansehnlicher, wie es nach Broca bei den Weibern im Vergleich zu den Männern desselben Stammes in der Regel zu sein pflegt[2]), und die Orbita somit in höherem Grade mesosem. Der Interorbitalraum ist breit. Die Fovea maxillaris ziemlich stark vertieft.

Fasst man nun die vier Giljaken-Schädel zusammen, so bieten die drei männlichen unter ihnen drei verschiedene Formen dar: eine hypsidolichocephale, eine hypsimesocephale und eine platybrachycephale, während der vierte sich als weibliche Form an № II anschliesst. Von diesen drei Schädeln stehen die beiden ersteren einander recht nahe, während der dritte, zumal dem ersten gegenüber, nach den Verhältnissen der Länge, Breite und Höhe eine diametral entgegen-

1) Das Maximum desselben dürfte nach Broca bis 73 und darüber reichen.

2) Rev. d'Anthrop. T. IV, p. 394.

gesetzte Form darbietet: jener ist lang und schmal, dieser kurz und breit, jener hoch, dieser niedrig. Es ist leicht möglich, dass sie noch nicht die äussersten Schädelformen unter den Giljaken repräsentiren, jedenfalls lässt sich schon jetzt der Schluss ziehen, dass die Schwankungen in der Schädelform bei ihnen sehr ansehnliche sind, indem der Längenbreitenindex zum wenigsten von 70,4 bis 85,2 und der Breitenhöhenindex von 88,0 bis 101,5 betragen, jener also um 14,8, dieser um 13,5 variiren kann. Dieser Umstand scheint mir, ebenso wie die oben besprochene Mannigfaltigkeit in der Physiognomie der Giljaken, dafür zu sprechen, dass sie im Laufe der Zeit manche Vermischungen mit anderen Völkern erfahren haben. Dennoch lassen sich die obigen Schädelformen der Giljaken nicht schlechtweg auf die bei ihren jetzigen Nachbaren, den Aino und den tungusischen Völkern, vorwaltenden Formen reduciren. Bei beiden letztgenannten Völkern kommen vielmehr, wie wir später ausführlicher nachweisen werden und wie man zum Theil auch schon aus der obigen Tabelle der Indices ersehen kann, sowohl hypsidolicho- und hypsimesocephale, wie platybrachycephale Formen vor. Bei den tungusischen Völkern scheint zugleich, nach den vorhandenen Maassangaben zu urtheilen, die letztere Form die vorherrschende zu sein. Ob dies auch bei den Giljaken der Fall ist, bleibt noch dahingestellt. Der Umstand, dass unter unseren vier giljakischen Schädeln drei hoch und lang oder mittellang sind und nur einer niedrig und kurz, scheint auf den ersten Blick dagegen zu sprechen, doch kann dies bei der geringen Gesammtzahl derselben auch nur zufällig gekommen sein. Nach der äusseren Erscheinung einer Menge giljakischer Köpfe möchte ich jedenfalls schliessen, dass die platybrachycephale Schädelform, von der uns ein praegnantes Exemplar vorliegt, unter den Giljaken häufig genug vorkommen dürfte. Und dies ist auch die echt mongolische Schädelform[1]). Noch mehr tragen die einzelnen Züge an unseren Giljaken-Schädeln, und zwar auch an den hohen und langen oder mittellangen Exemplaren, einen mongolischen Charakter; so namentlich die ausnehmende Breite in den Jochbögen, die Breite und Flachheit des ganzen Gesichts, die grosse Breite der Wangen, des Oberkiefers und des harten Gaumens, der grosse Abstand der Unterkieferwinkel von einander, die schmalen, flachen Nasenbeine, die eingebogene Nasenwurzel u. s. w. Auch der Nasalindex ist selbst bei der hypsidolichocephalen Form von der Grösse, welche Broca den mongolischen Völkerschaften zuschreibt; an zweien unserer Schädel verräth er, vielleicht ausnahmsweise oder als Extrem, sogar eine platyrhine Nase. Derselbe Charakter spricht sich auch in der grossen Breite des Interorbitalraumes aus, während der Orbitalindex hinter demjenigen, den unsere tungusischen Schädel fast durchweg zeigen und der nach Broca[2]) den mongolischen Völkern zukommt, ansehnlich zurückbleibt. Auffallend ist

1) Die 12 von Baer (Crania selecta etc. — Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb. l. c. p. 258) vermessenen Schädel von Kalmücken, also echten Mongolen, waren sämmtlich platybrachycephal, mit einem mittleren Längenbreitenindex von 82,7 und einem mittleren Breitenhöhenindex von 86,3. Unter den 20 ebenfalls authentischen Schädeln desselben Volkes, die Metschnikof (Антропол. очерк Калмыковъ. — Извѣстія Общ. любит. Естествозн., Антропол. и Этногр. Т. XX; Труды Антропол. Отд. Вып. 2, Москва 1876, стр. 211) untersuchte, finden sich 12 brachycephale, 7 mesocephale und nur eine dolichocephale Form. Die respective Höhe der Schädel ist nicht angegeben.

2) Rev. d'Anthrop. T. IV, p. 598.

endlich an unseren Giljaken-Schädeln noch ein Charakter, der europäischen Schädeln fehlt, den sie aber fast mit allen hier untersuchten tungusischen Schädeln theilen und der Virchow auch am Aino-Schädel «in Erstaunen setzte»[1]): es ist die starke Ausbildung aller Fortsätze, Leisten und Erhabenheiten, die zur Muskelinsertion dienen, sowie besonders die ausnehmende Grösse der Ansatzflächen der Kaumuskeln, wie sie von den hoch hinaufreichenden, auf dem Scheitel wie auf dem Hinterhaupte einander sehr genäherten und in ihrem ganzen Verlaufe deutlich erkennbaren Lineae semicirculares angedeutet wird. Es ist dies ein Charakter, der sich wohl auch bei anderen, auf harte und rohe Nahrungsstoffe angewiesenen Naturvölkern wiederholen dürfte.

Sowohl in den Gesichtszügen, wie in der Schädelbildung herrscht also bei den Giljaken der mongolische Typus vor. Man könnte sie daher ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit nach recht wohl zu den im weiteren Sinne mongolischen oder mongolisch-tungusischen Völkern rechnen und die mancherlei oben besprochenen nichtmongolischen Züge in ihrer äusseren Erscheinung, wie z. B. die viel stärkere Behaarung u. drgl., auf Rechnung ihrer langen und vielfachen Vermischung mit ihren südlichen Nachbaren, den Aino, bringen, wenn nicht ein mächtiger Einwand sich dagegen erhöbe — ihre Sprache. Denn diese steht, wie wir oben sahen, wenigstens ihrem Wortschatze nach, allen mongolisch-tungusischen Sprachen fern und bisher ganz isolirt da. Ich kann daher, dem oben hervorgehobenen zähen Festhalten eines Volkes an seiner Sprache Rechnung tragend, die Giljaken nicht zu den mongolisch-tungusischen Völkern rechnen, sondern möchte vielmehr glauben, dass sie ehemals auch in ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit eigenartiger waren und sich nur im Laufe der Zeit, in Folge ihrer Vermischung mit den Tungusen, mehr und mehr mongolisirt haben. Wir werden später sehen, dass es sich auch mit den Aino, wenngleich in geringerem Grade, doch ähnlich verhält, indem sie, bei ebenfalls im Wortschatz ganz eigenartiger Sprache, in ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit vielfach einen mongolischen Typus tragen, der sich in den Gesichtszügen zwar nur wenig ausspricht und oft sogar einem fast europäischen Charakter zu weichen scheint, in der Schädelbildung aber entschieden vorherrschen soll[2]). Es giebt im Nordosten Asien's noch eine ganze Reihe solcher Völker, die in sprachlicher Beziehung eine ganz vereinsamte Stellung einnehmen, in ihrem Aeusseren aber mehr oder weniger mongolische Züge tragen. So die Itälmenen oder Kamtschadalen, die Korjaken und Tschuktschen[3]), die Jukagiren, die Jenissei-Ostjaken

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1) Verhandl. der Berlin. Gesellsch. für Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgesch., in der Zeitschr. für Ethnol., Bd. V, Berlin 1873, p. (122).

2) Virchow, l. c.; W. Dönitz, Bemerk. über Aino's (Mittheil. der deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasien's, 6. Heft, Dec. 1874, Yokohama, p. 64); Anutschin, l. c. p. 168, 169.

3) Ich meine die eigentlichen, d. h. theils mit ihren Rennthieren umherwandernden, theils des Thier- und Fischfanges wegen, und oft nur zeitweise, an der Eismeerküste sich aufhaltenden Tschuktschen (russisch: «olenwyje», d. i. Rennthier-, und «beregowyje», d. i. Küsten-Tsch.), nicht die sogen. Cap-Tschuktschen («mossowyje»), die sprachlich ganz verschieden sind und zum Eskimo-Stamme gehören. Letzteres ist bekanntlich schon von Billings (Путеш. экс. Биллингса через Чукотск. землю, изд. его разн. пут. Г. Сарычевымъ, С. Петербургъ 1811, стр. 67) erkannt, aber fälschlich auf alle sogen. «eigtlichen» Tschuktschen ausgedehnt worden. Spätere Reisende berichtigten es dahin, dass es sich nur

und die fast verschwundenen oder tatarisirten Kotten, Arinen, Assanen. Neuerdings hat Friedr. Müller[1]) alle diese Völker und dazu noch die Aleuten und Eskimo in eine Gruppe unter dem vom geographischen Standpunkte gewählten Namen «Arktiker oder Hyperboreer» zusammengefasst. Peschel macht aus ihnen zwei Gruppen seiner über fast ganz Asien, Polynesien und Amerika reichenden «Mongolenähnlichen Völker», indem er die Jenissei-Ostjaken, die Jukagiren und die Aino, mit Einschluss der Giljaken, als «Nordasiaten von unbestimmter systematischer Stellung», die übrigen obengenannten Völker aber, mit Hinzuzählung der Thlinkit oder Koluschen und der Vancouver-Stämme, als «Beringsvölker» bezeichnet[2]). Mir kommen jedoch weder diese Gruppirungen hinlänglich begründet, noch die Bezeichnungen für dieselben glücklich gewählt vor. Mit welchem Rechte, in der That, lassen sich die Giljaken oder gar die ehemals notorisch bis nach dem milden, vom warmen Kurosiwo bespülten Nippon verbreiteten Aino vom geographischen Standpunkte als arktische oder hyperboreische Völker bezeichnen? Hat man ferner allen Grund die Jenissei-Ostjaken, Jukagiren, Aino und Giljaken, ihrer völlig isolirten Sprache wegen, als «Nordasiaten von unbestimmter systematischer Stellung» zu bezeichnen, so gilt dies in gleichem Grade auch von den Kamtschadalen, Korjaken und Tschuktschen. Mit welchem Rechte sind daher diese Völker von jenen abgetrennt und mit den schon durch ihre polysynthetischen Sprachen[3]), wie zum Theil auch durch manche Züge der Gesichts- und Schädelbildung[4]) allen jenen Völkern viel ferner stehenden Eskimo, Aleuten, Thlinkit und Vancouver-Stämmen zusammengestellt? Lässt man demnach diese amerikanischen Völker einstweilen bei Seite und bleibt nur bei jenen nordasiatischen stehen, so wird ihre Zusammenfassung in eine Gruppe zwar auch nur

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auf das an der Berings-Strasse, zwischen dem Ostcap (Pask) und der Anadyr-Mündung wohnende Volk beziehe, welches sich selbst «Namollo» nenne (Lütke, Voyage autt. du monde dans les ann. 1826—1829, trad. du russe, Paris 1835, T. II, p. 260), von den Tschuktschen aber «Aigwan» (Маклай, Отд. Чукотск. экспед. на пар. «Вост. Берег» — Изв. Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Т. II, Иркутск 1871, № 1 и 2, стр. 68) oder «Aiguan» (Нордквистъ, Зап. о чукчахъ и корякахъ, полуостр. Чукчей, между по берегу Ледов. моря. — Изв. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Т. XVI, 1880, стр. 93. Vergl. auch Petermann's Geogr. Mittbl. 1881, p. 41) genannt werde. (Nach Wrangell — Путеш. по сѣв. бер. Сиб. и по Ледов. морю, С. Петерб. 1841, Ч. II, стр. 233 — sollte der Name «Onkilon», d. h. Seeleute, und nach Neumann — Изв. Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Т. I, № 4 и 5, стр. 25 — «Ang-kalis», d. h. nahe am Meere, lauten). Aus den Angaben Nordqvist's, eines Theilnehmers an der Vega-Expedition, welche die asiatische Küste an der Berings-Strasse allerdings nur an ein paar Punkten flüchtig berührte, geht übrigens hervor, dass die Namollo sich gegenwärtig stark mit den Tschuktschen vermischt haben müssen. Er möchte sie nur noch für ein Mischvolk zwischen Tschuktschen und Eskimo halten. Auf den Höhen, welche die Lorenz-Bucht umgeben, fand jedoch auch die Vega-Expedition Steingrabhügel von reinem Eskimo-Typus, die wahrscheinlich zwei- bis dreihundert Jahre alt waren.

1) Allgemeine Ethnographie, Wien 1873, p. 188.

2) O. Peschel, Völkerkunde, Leipzig 1874, p. 413, 418.

3) F. Wiedemann, Classifik. der Bevölkerung des Russ. Reiches nach den Sprachen (St. Petersburger Kalender für das J. 1880, p. 326, 336). Die oben genannten asiatischen Völker haben hingegen sämmtlich Sprachen mit einfacher Flexion (ebenda, p. 323).

4) Der Eskimo-Schädel z. B. ist auffallend hoch und schmal. Welcker (Kraniol. Mittbl. — Arch. für Anthropol. Bd. I, p. 139) sagt von den Eskimo, dass sie sogar «eine ausgezeichnete Stellung im Gebiete der Hypsistenocephalie einnehmen», während die Mehrzahl der Mongolen die diagonal entgegengesetzte, platybrachycephale Schädelform haben. Ebenso sind sie auch durch eine den mongolischen Völkern fremde, in hohem Grade leptorhine Nasenbildung unterschieden (s. Broca, Revue d'Anthrop. T. IV, p. 599).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

eine collective, nicht auf der Stammeinheit der betreffenden Völker beruhende, aber doch um Vieles natürlichere sein, und gewiss würden sich alsdann für diese Völker vom sprachlichen, wie vom geographischen Standpunkte auch richtigere und zutreffendere Gesammtbezeichnungen finden lassen. Vom ersteren Gesichtspunkte möchte ich sie namentlich als sprachlich isolirte Nordasiaten bezeichnen, gleichwie es ja auch sprachlich isolirte Völker in Europa oder überhaupt im Westen der alten Welt (viele der Kaukasischen Stämme, die Basken, vielleicht auch die ehemaligen Guanchen), in Amerika (die Aleuten, Thlinkit u. s. w.) und in anderen Welttheilen giebt. In geographischer Hinsicht aber fällt es sogleich in die Augen, dass fast alle diese Völker am äussersten Rande oder im Umkreise der Continente, entweder noch auf dem Festlande, auf seinen vorspringenden Halbinseln, oder auf den es begleitenden Inseln zu finden sind. Im Osten Asien's namentlich, wo die Küste fast durchweg eine solche Configuration, mit Halbinseln und continentalen Inseln oder Inselketten hat, zieht sich eine ununterbrochene Reihe sprachlich isolirter Völker bis in den höchsten Norden fort. So, von etwaigen hier nicht in Betracht kommenden südlichen Völkern der Art abgesehen, die Giljaken, Aino, Kamtschadalen, Korjaken und Tschuktschen, Jukagiren, Tschuwanzen, ja, vermuthlich auch die verschwundenen, der Sage zufolge nach einem grossen Polarlande ausgewanderten Omoken, Schelager u. s. w. An dieselben schliessen sich geographisch die sprachlich isolirten Völker des genäherten und ähnlich configurirten Nordwestamerika's an, die Aleuten, in gewisser Weise, wie wir sehen werden, auch die Eskimo u. s. w. Unwillkürlich drängt sich einem daher für diese Völker vom geographischen Standpunkte die Bezeichnung Randvölker und für unsere Nordasiaten im Speciellen nord- oder nordostasiatische Randvölker auf. Nur auf ein paar dieser Völker, ich meine die im Innern Sibirien's wohnenden Jenissei-Ostjaken und die fast verschwundenen oder tatarisirten Kotten, Arinen und Assanen, scheint diese Bezeichnung auf den ersten Blick nicht zu passen. Bei genauerer Betrachtung wird man jedoch finden, dass auch sie ihre Wohnsitze am Rande grosser, natürlich abgegrenzter Erd- und Völkergebiete haben: zwischen den Hochebenen Central- und dem weiten Tieflande Nordasien's, an den Abfällen des völkerscheidenden Altai-Gebirges, oder, weiter im Tieflande, zwischen dem ebenen West- und dem gebirgigen Ostsibirien und zugleich auch zwischen den weiten Gebieten finnischer Völker im Westen und Norden, tungusischer im Osten und tatarischer und mongolischer im Süden. Fasst man daher die Bezeichnung «Randvölker» in diesem Sinne auf, nach welchen sie keineswegs nothwendig Küstenbewohner zu sein brauchen, so lassen sich auch jene sprachlich isolirten Völker des Innern von Sibirien ganz natürlich unter dieselben einreihen.

Ausser dem sprachlichen und geographischen Gesichtspunkte möchte ich aber bei Betrachtung dieser Völker auch noch einen dritten, weiteren, historischen Gesichtspunkt geltend machen. Erwägt man nämlich ihre sprachliche Vereinsamung, ihren Sitz am Rande der Continente oder überhaupt verschiedener grösserer Erd- und Völkergebiete, erwägt man ferner die geringe Erstreckung ihrer Wohngebiete und ihre kleine, im Schwinden begriffene Kopfzahl, so drängt sich einem unwillkürlich der Gedanke auf, dass sie nur Reste ehemals stärkerer,

weiter verbreiteter und verzweigter Völker sind, gleichsam nur die Ausgehenden einer älteren Völkerformation, über welcher sich durch wiederholte spätere Fluthen neue Formationen abgelagert haben. Da namentlich die ehemalige weitere Verbreitung und Verzweigung dieser Völker unzweifelhaft auf asiatischem Boden, näher zum Innern des Continentes lag, so möchte ich sie, so lange die Sprachforschung keine anderweitigen Beziehungen und Gliederungen nachweist, vom historisch-geographischen Gesichtspunkte in eine Gruppe unter dem Namen der Paläasiaten oder, specieller, der nördlichen oder nordöstlichen Paläasiaten zusammenfassen. Von überlegenen, lebenskräftigeren und expansiveren Völkern überfluthet und gedrängt, sind wohl die meisten Zweige derselben allmählich verschlungen und verwischt worden, und nur einzelne haben sich hie und da auf kleinem Terrain, zwischen den von ihren Bedrängern eingenommenen Gebieten, oder, beständig zurückweichend, in etwas grösserer Zahl am Rande der Continente erhalten können. Wo sie namentlich auf Inseln oder abgeschiedeneren Halbinseln eine Heimath fanden, da konnte und musste neben der sprachlichen auch ihre physische Eigenthümlichkeit länger und in höherem Grade gewahrt bleiben. Immer aber konnte es nicht fehlen, dass sie an dieser letzteren durch die theilweise Vermischung mit dem auf sie herandrängenden Volke manche Einbusse erlitten und mehr oder weniger viele mit demselben gemeinsame Züge gewannen. So kann man sich vielleicht die oben hervorgehobene Thatsache erklären, dass die jetzigen nordasiatischen Randvölker, einst von Stämmen mit mongolischem Typus überfluthet und gedrängt, trotz ihrer untereinander gänzlich verschiedenen Sprachen, doch sämmtlich in ihrer Schädel- und Gesichtsbildung vorherrschend mongolische, daneben aber auch manche eigenartige, entschieden nichtmongolische Züge haben, und dies um so mehr, je mehr sie, wie die Aino und in geringerem Grade die Giljaken, durch ihre Verbreitung nach den anliegenden Inseln einen Schutz gegen fernere mongolisch-tungusische Einflüsse gewannen. Die Ueberfluthung und allmähliche Verdrängung der nördlichen Paläasiaten durch andere, finnische oder uralaltaische, türkisch-tatarische, mongolische, tungusische Völkerschaften mag in weit entfernten Zeiten ihren Anfang genommen und durch lange Zeiträume bald langsam, bald in zeitweise beschleunigterer Weise sich fortgesetzt haben. Manche dieser Fluthen lassen sich auch in historischer Zeit, ja einzelne Wellen noch in der jüngsten Vergangenheit wahrnehmen. So ist bereits oben der im XIV. Jahrhundert erfolgten Bewegung der Burjaten an den Baikal-See, der Jakuten das Lena-Thal abwärts und der Tungusen sowohl nach Westen, bis an den Jenissei, wie nach Osten, zum Ochotskischen Meere, zum Stanowoi-Gebirge und zum Amur-Lande, gedacht worden. Nachdem die Aino bereits zu einem Randvolke Ostasien's geworden, werden sie durch die Japaner aus einem Theile ihres Gebietes, aus Nippon, verdrängt[1]) und dadurch zur weiteren Ausbreitung längs den Kurilen und nach Sachalin getrieben. Vielleicht geschah es unter diesem Andrange der Aino von Süden, dass ein Theil der Giljaken die Insel Sachalin verliess und sich wieder auf das Festland, nach dem unteren Amur und zur Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres hinzog, wie es die oben erwähnten sprachlichen Gründe anzudeuten scheinen[2]).

1) S. oben, p. 122. 2) S. oben, p. 212, 214.

Von der Bewegung tungusischer Stämme im Amur-Lande nach Osten ist oben wiederholentlich die Rede gewesen. Einen besonders sprechenden Beleg für ihr Vordringen gegen die nördlichen paläasiatischen Völker bietet das oben besprochene[1]), chronologisch zwar nicht näher zu bestimmende, sehr wahrscheinlich aber vor nicht gar langer Zeit erfolgte Einwandern der Oroken, eines Zweiges der amur-tungusischen Oltscha, nach Sachalin, mitten zwischen die Giljaken und Aino. Und ganz Aehnliches hat sich neuerdings auch auf der durch manche ihrer Naturverhältnisse[2]), wie durch ihre paläasiatische Bevölkerung mit insularem Charakter versehenen Halbinsel Kamtschatka zugetragen. Im Jahre 1854 schrieb C. v. Ditmar aus dem Peterpaulshafen an die Akademie[3]): «Die Lamuten (bekanntlich Küsten-Tungusen vom Ochotskischen Meer) sind eine ganz neue Erscheinung in diesen Gegenden, ja, aus dem Munde der Koräken hörte ich oft, dass erst seit 20 Jahren diese reitenden Rennthiernomaden in den koräkischen Grenzen sich gezeigt haben und nun von Jahr zu Jahr in grösserer Menge erscheinen. Die Koräken bezeugen ihnen die Gastfreundschaft, jedoch so, dass sie ihnen gleichsam eine Strasse öffnen in das an Wild und Fischen reiche Kamtschatka. Die Lamuten ihrerseits erkennen sehr wohl die freundliche Gesinnung ihrer Gastfreunde und ziehen in rascher Reise in die höheren Gebirgsthäler an dem westlichen Abfall des Kamtschatka'schen Mittelgebirges, wo sie sich seit etwa 6—7 Jahren in kleinen Horden niedergelassen zu haben scheinen und in der allerletzten Zeit ihre Streifereien sogar bis nach Bolscherezk ausdehnten». Man kann die Analogie in diesen Bewegungen — der Oroken nach Sachalin und der Lamuten nach Kamtschatka — nicht verkennen. Auf die Tungusen drängen aber von Westen die Jakuten, deren Ausbreitung vom Lena-Thal ostwärts, wie vor Jahrhunderten, so noch heutzutage stattfindet und ihre Wellen, wie oben schon mehrfach hervorgehoben, immer tiefer und tiefer in das tungusische Gebiet treibt.

Bekannter als diese Vorgänge im äussersten Norden und Osten Asien's sind die vielfachen Völkerfluthen, welche ebenfalls vom Innern Asien's nach Norden und Westen sich ergossen und wiederholentlich selbst bis zu den äussersten Enden Europa's sich fortpflanzten. Auch dort finden sich daher Reste älterer Völkerformationen, welche namentlich am Rande des Continentes zu Tage treten, und wo die Sprachforschung ihr entscheidendes Wort noch nicht gesprochen, kann man sie zeitweilig vom historischen Gesichtspunkte auch als paläeuropäische oder west-paläasiatische Völker bezeichnen. Liegt mir auch ihre Betrachtung hier fern, so kann ich doch nicht umhin, auf ein paar solcher europäischer Randvölker hinzuweisen. So begegnet man noch heutzutage am Golfe von Biscaya dem sprachlich vollkommen vereinsamten Volke der Basken, einem Reste der alten, von den Kelten verdrängten Iberier. Von einem anderen paläeuropäischen Volke, den Etruskern im Westen der Apenninischen Halbinsel, haben sich wenigstens Sprachproben erhalten, die auch von vereinsamter Eigenart zeugen[4]). Im Westen der dritten südlichen

1) S. oben, p. 134.

2) Vergl. unter Anderem dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 200.

3) C. v. Ditmar, Ueber die Koräken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen (Bullet. de la cl. historico-philol. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. T. XIII, p. 100; Mél. russes, T. III, p. 2).

4) Aus Peschel's Völkerkunde (p. 543) entnehme ich die Angabe, dass es neuerdings dem Sprachforscher Corssen geglückt sein soll, auch das Etruskische als eine altitalische Sprache zu entziffern, dass aber die

Halbinsel Europa's, in den Gebirgen Albanien's, stösst man auf die Schkipetaren oder Arnauten, deren Sprache zwar zum indo-europäischen Stamme gehören, jedoch ausserhalb aller geschwisterlichen Beziehungen zu irgend einem seiner Zweige stehen soll. Auch später haben in Europa die wiederholten Fluthen indo-europäischer Völker die älteren Zweige desselben Stammes theils verschlungen, theils verdrängt, so dass sie gegenwärtig geographisch auch nur als spärliche Randvölker noch auzutreffen sind. So haben sich die Verdränger der Iberier, die Kelten, mit eigener Sprache nur am äussersten Rande Westeuropa's, und zwar mit kymrischer Mundart nur in der Bretagne und in Wales, mit gaelischer oder gadhelischer Mundart nur im Westen Irland's, auf der Insel Man und in Schottland erhalten [1]). Im Norden Europa's werden Glieder der auf asiatischem Boden noch weite Räume einnehmenden ural-altaischen Völkerfamilie mehr und mehr nach dem äussersten Nordrande des Continents gedrängt; so die ehemals viel weiter nach Süden verbreiteten Lappen [2]) und die Samojeden durch finnische Völker, gegen welche wieder Skandinavier und Russen vordringen.

Ganz ähnlichen Erscheinungen begegnet man auch in der neuen Welt. Ich will hier nur bei einigen Völkern des Nordens und Nordwestens von Amerika verweilen, die in gewisser Beziehung zu unseren nördlichen Paläasiaten stehen. Wie Ritter bemerkt, giebt die erste Entdeckung dieses Welttheils durch die Normannen auch einigen Aufschluss über eine amerikanische Völkerwanderung [3]). Als nämlich die Normannen gegen Ende des X. Jahrhunderts ihre ersten, später verschollenen Colonien auf Grönland gründeten, fanden sie dies Land unbewohnt, während sie in dem nur wenig später, um das Jahr 1000 von ihnen entdeckten Winland, an der Ostküste Nordamerika's, Eskimo antrafen, welche sie ihres kleinen Wuchses wegen Skrällinger (Abschnitzel, Zwerge) nannten. Bei der Wiederentdeckung Nordamerika's, zu Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts, fand man hingegen die Eskimo schon durch Indianer-Stämme verdrängt, und als man 1721 unter Hans Egede Südgrönland wieder betrat, gab es dort keine Normannen mehr, statt ihrer aber ein neues Volk — die Eskimo, welche, wie spätere Forschungen ergaben, in der Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts dorthin eingewandert waren [4]). So lernen wir dieses Volk gleich auf seiner Wanderung nach Norden kennen. Der gewaltige Vorschub europäischer Colonisation in Nordamerika, der die Indianer nord- und westwärts drängte, musste auch den Druck auf die Eskimo verstärken. Erwägt man, dass sich Spuren ihrer Wohnungen an der Ostküste Grönland's noch bis zum 76° n. Br. finden [5]),

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Veröffentlichung der Beweise bis dahin (1874) noch nicht erfolgt sei.

1) Fr. Müller, Allg. Ethnogr. p. 383; Peschel, Völkerkunde, p. 343.

2) Nach Nilsson, s. Baer, Ueber den Schädelbau der Rhätisch. Romanen (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. T. I, 1860, p. 53).

3) C. Ritter, Gesch. der Erdkunde und der Entdeckungen. Vorles. herausg. von H. A. Daniel, Berlin 1861, p. 214.

4) Nach Konr. Maurer, in der Zweiten deutschen Nordpolarfahrt, Leipzig, 1873, Bd. I, p. 234. Vrgl. Peschel, Völkerkunde, p. 62, 419.

5) Clavering traf 1823 noch Eskimo an der Ostküste Grönland's in etwa 74° N.; die zweite deutsche Nordpolar-Expedition (1870) fand allerdings nur Reste ihrer ehemaligen Wohnungen, aber bis zum Cap Arendts, in 76° n. Br., hinauf (Jul. Payer, in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil. 1872, p. 190, 413 und Taf. 19).

so kann man sich schwer denken, dass sie im Nordwesten des Continentes nicht auch von derselben Bewegung ergriffen worden seien. Auf diese Weise können die wenig zahlreichen, auf der asiatischen Seite der Berings-Strasse südlich vom Osteap (Pääk) bis etwa zur Anadyr-Mündung ansässigen Namollo, ein Zweig der Eskimo, leicht von Amerika herübergekommen sein. Dennoch wäre dies nur eine theilweise Rückwanderung der Eskimo nach Asien, gleich der oben erwähnten Rückwanderung der Giljaken von Sachalin nach dem asiatischen Festlande. Denn die Gesichtszüge der Eskimo wie ihre Traditionen machen es wahrscheinlich, dass sie von asiatischem Ursprunge sind. Nehmen sie auch durch ihre Sprache und ihre Schädelbildung den jetzigen asiatischen Völkern gegenüber eine gewisse Sonderstellung ein, so tragen doch ihre Gesichtszüge, nach dem übereinstimmenden Zeugnisse aller Reisenden, die sie persönlich kennen lernten, einen unverkennbar mongolischen Typus[1]). Bei den Kanjagen (Kanjag-mjut), einem gegenwärtig mit den Koljuschen vielfach vermischten Eskimo-Stamme, fand Pinart die Tradition, dass ihre Vorfahren in einem nach Westen gelegenen Lande gewohnt hätten[2]). Nach Wrangell[3]) sollen sie aber ihren Ueberlieferungen zufolge, ebenso wie die Tschugatschen, Kuskokwimer u. a. verwandte nordwestamerikanische Eskimo-Stämme, nach ihren jetzigen Wohnorten, auf Kadjak und Aljaska, am Tschugatskischen Meerbusen, am Kuskokwim-Flusse u. s. w., von Norden gekommen sein. Daraus lässt sich, in Verbindung mit der mongolischen Gesichtsbildung, auf eine Einwanderung der Eskimo aus Asien über die Berings-Strasse nach Amerika schliessen, wie dies auch schon von Chamisso[4]), Wenjaminof[5]) u. A. ausgesprochen worden ist. Vermuthlich ist der Norden Amerika's damals unbevölkert gewesen, was den Eskimo die Möglichkeit gab, ungehindert von der Berings-Strasse südwärts bis nach Aljaska, der Insel Kadjak und dem Tschugatskischen Meerbusen, wo sie auf die Koljuschen stiessen, und ostwärts bis zur Atlantischen Küste sich auszubreiten, und dadurch im Laufe der Zeit auch zu vielfacher Verzweigung des Stammes, zur Ausprägung dialektischer und anderer Differenzen führte. Eben weil sie in Amerika einen so freien und weiten Spielraum fanden, kommt es mir auch wahrscheinlicher vor, dass die Namollo nicht sowohl auf asiatischem Boden zurückgebliebene, als

1) So nennt Chamisso (Bem. u. Ans. auf einer Entdeckungsreise, in Kotzebue's Entdeckungs-Reise in die Süd-See und nach der Berings-Strasse, Bd. III, Weimar 1821, p. 176) die Eskimo von der Berings-Strasse bis nach Grönland «einen Menschenstamm von ausgezeichnet mongolischer Gesichtsbildung». Nach Lütke, (Voyage autt. du monde, T. II, Paris 1835, p. 264) treten bei den Namollo die mongolischen Gesichtszüge besonders auffallend an den Weibern und Kindern hervor. Virchow hat sich wiederholentlich, bei Untersuchung von Grönland- und neuerdings von Labrador-Eskimo, dahin ausgesprochen, dass, trotz eigenthümlichem Schädelbau, ihre Gesichtsbildung doch eine mongolische sei. «Wenn man sich, sagt er, «den Kopf in zwei Theile zerlegt denkt, in den Theil, welcher das Gehirn umschliesst, die eigentliche Schädelkapsel, und den, welcher das Gesicht bildet, den eigentlich physiognomischen Theil, so kann man sagen: der physiognomische Theil ist mongolisch, der Gehirntheil eigenthümlich, absonderlich» (Verhandl. der Berl. Ges. f. Anthrop., Ethnol. u. Urgesch., in d. Zeitschr. f. Ethnol. Bd. XII, 1880, p. [236]).

2) A. Pinart, Esquimaux et Koloches. Idées rélig. et tradit. des Kanisgmiontos (Revue d'Anthropol. 1873, № 4), p. 6 (des Separatabdruckes).

3) Statist. u. ethnogr. Nachr. über die Russ. Besitz. an der Nordwestküste von Amerika (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, herausg. von Baer und Helmersen, Bd. I, St. Petersb. 1839, p. 124).

4) A. a. O.

5) Записки объ остр. Уналашкинскаго отд. С. Вениам. 1840, Т. I, стр. 112, 113.

vielmehr später, bei eingetretenem Druck von Süden, von Amerika nach Asien zurückgewanderte Eskimo sind [1]). Wie dem aber auch sei, immer bleibt der asiatische Ursprung der Eskimo so gut wie unzweifelhaft.

Aehnlich verhält es sich auch mit den Aleuten. In ihren Gesichtszügen scheint der mongolische Typus noch auffallender hervorzutreten. «Beim ersten Blick», sagt Wrangell, «erkennt man in ihnen die asiatische Abstammung von Mongolen oder Mandshu, und die Japaner, welche von einem auf den Sandwich-Inseln gescheiterten Schiffe nach Neu-Archangelsk kamen, erinnerten lebhaft an die Bewohner von Unalaschka» [2]). Auch soll sich unter ihnen, nach Wrangell wie nach Wenjaminof [3]), die Tradition erhalten haben, dass sie, durch andere Völker gedrängt, von einem grossen, im Westen, unter mildem Himmel gelegenen Lande nach ihren Inseln gekommen seien [4]). Wenjaminof meint daher auch, dass sie vielleicht aus Japan über die Kurilen, Kamtschatka und die Berings-Insel nach den Aleuten eingewandert seien, also auf ganz maritimem Wege, wie man es in der That angesichts der ausserordentlichen, von keinem anderen Volke erreichten Geschicklichkeit und Kühnheit, die sie noch heutzutage auf der See, ihrem eigensten Lebenselemente, entwickeln, gern glauben möchte. Den Weg zur weiteren Ausbreitung längs dem Festlande Amerika's fanden sie jedoch durch Koljuschen und Kanjagen verlegt, weshalb sie auch nicht zu der Verzweigung wie die Eskimo kommen und dagegen, auf ihre Inseln beschränkt, die mongolischen Gesichtszüge in höherem Grade als diese conserviren konnten.

Haben die Eskimo und Aleuten ehemals ihre Heimath in Asien gehabt, so entsteht die Frage, was sie zum Verlassen derselben bewogen haben kann? Man wird, glaube ich, den Grund dazu in denselben Völkerbewegungen suchen dürfen, von denen oben die Rede gewesen. Indem

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1) Billings (Путеш. экп. Биллингса среди Чукочей, земли, нын. изд. рас. журн. Г. Сарычевымъ, С. Петербургъ 1811, стр. 68) sah die Namollo überhaupt als von Amerika nach Asien eingewanderte Kanjagen (Eskimo) an. Ebenso nennt sie Klaproth (Asia polygl. p. 322) «Polar-Amerikaner in Asien». Uebrigens scheinen die jetzt so reducirten Namollo in Asien ehemals, nach ihrer Einwanderung aus Amerika, eine weitere Ausbreitung gehabt zu haben und später wieder zurückgedrängt worden zu sein. Wrangell (Путеш. по сѣв. бер. Сибири и Ледов. моря, Т. II. стр. 333) erfuhr im Jahre 1823 von einer Tradition, laut welcher sie vor etwa 200 Jahren die ganze Eismeerküste von der Berings-Strasse bis zum Cap Scheiagskoi bewohnten. In der That findet diese Tradition darin eine Stütze, dass sich auf dieser ganzen Strecke zahlreiche Spuren von Wohnungen erhalten haben, die von denjenigen der Tschuktschen ganz verschieden und gleich den Eskimo-Hütten zum Theil in den Erdboden eingesenkt waren. Nach Wrangell giebt es mehrfache Beweise dafür, dass andererseits auch die Tschuktschen damals viel weiter nach Westen, über die Kolyma hinaus verbreitet waren, und dass sie erst nach Eroberung dieses Stromes durch die Lena-Kosaken ostwärts gedrängt wurden. So liegt der Schluss nahe, dass die Tschuktschen, indem sie nach blutigem Conflikt vor den Russen zurückwichen, ihrerseits auf die Namollo drückten und sie endlich bis an das äusserste Ende des Landes, die Küste an der Berings-Strasse, verdrängten.

2) Wrangell, l. c. p. 124. Von den Kanjagen (Kadjakern) sagt er hingegen, dass sie sich nur durch ihre Sprache als Eskimo verrathen, während sie im Aeusseren, in Folge von Vermischung mit den amerikanischen Stämmen, den ursprünglichen asiatischen Charakter verloren haben.

3) A. a. O. Bd. I, p. 109; Bd. II, p. 272.

4) Nach dem Steuermann Saikof hingegen, der die Aleuten in den 70-er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts bereiste, behaupteten die Bewohner Aljaska's, dass die Aleuten in den ältesten Zeiten von dort ausgegangen seien und sich von Insel zu Insel bis zu der entlegensten derselben (Attu) verbreitet hätten (Neue Nord. Beytr. Bd. III, St. Petersburg und Leipzig 1782, p. 284).

die Giljaken, Aino, Kamtschadalen, Korjaken, Tschuktschen u. s. w. von den Sibirien gegenwärtig räumlich beherrschenden Völkern nach dem Nord- und Ostrande Asien's fortgedrängt wurden, schoben sie ihrerseits die Eskimo und Aleuten vor sich hin und drängten sie endlich auf den beiden oben bezeichneten Wegen, über die Berings-Strasse und die Berings-Insel, nach Amerika hinüber. Gleichwie jene gegenwärtig auf den Nord- und Ostrand Sibirien's beschränkten Völker, müssen wir daher auch diese durch dieselbe Bewegung aus ihrer asiatischen Heimath hinaus und nach den gegenüberliegenden Gestaden Amerika's hinübergedrängten Völker als Paläasiaten bezeichnen. Auch tritt wenigstens eines derselben, die Eskimo, trotz der weiten Verbreitung und Verzweigung, die es in Amerika gewann, mit einem Gliede, den Namollo — gleichviel ob diese als Rest der früheren Eskimo-Bevölkerung in Asien zurückgeblieben, oder später von Amerika wieder herübergespült worden — noch gegenwärtig auf asiatischem Boden zu Tage.

Damit glaube ich einigermassen die Stellung bezeichnet zu haben, welche die Giljaken, und desgleichen auch die Aino, unter den Völkern Nordasien's und des angrenzenden Nordamerika's einnehmen. Mit eigener, gegenwärtig vereinsamter Sprache versehen, stehen sie ohne direkte Stammverwandte da, lassen sich jedoch geographisch wie historisch in nächster Beziehung zu denjenigen Völkern auffassen, welche wir gleich ihnen als nordasiatische Randvölker oder als nördliche Paläasiaten bezeichnet haben, und zwar besonders zu denjenigen unter ihnen, welche in Asien verblieben sind, demnächst aber in gewisser Weise auch zu denen, welche unter dem Andrange der letzteren den asiatischen Boden geräumt haben, um nach dem nahen Amerika hinüberzugehen. Es wird zur Rechtfertigung dieser Auffassung dienen, wenn uns in der Folge, bei Betrachtung der Lebensweise, der Sitten und Anschauungen der Giljaken, mancher und der meiste Anklang an die übrigen paläasiatischen Völker entgegentreten wird.

Ist in dem Obigen auch schon die Stellung des Aino-Stammes zu den übrigen Völkern Ostasien's bezeichnet worden, so geschah dies doch nur in vorgreifender Weise, ohne alle Begründung von sprachlicher wie von physischer Seite. Keines der hier in Rede stehenden Völker ist aber nach beiden Seiten so bekannt, wie die Aino. Ich selbst bin mit ihnen nur wenig in Berührung gekommen, kenne nicht ihre Sprache, habe nur wenige Individuen theils in Aniwa, theils unter den Giljaken von Sachalin gesehen und auch keine Gelegenheit gehabt, gut erhaltene Aino-Schädel zu vermessen. Was hier daher über die Abstammung der Aino, ihre Sprache und physische Beschaffenheit folgt, beschränkt sich auf eine kurze Zusammenstellung und kritische Abwägung der verschiedenen darüber geäusserten Ansichten und Angaben.

Ueber kein Volk sind hinsichtlich seiner Abstammung oder Stammverwandtschaft in kurzer Zeit so viele, so weit auseinandergehende, ja, einander so sehr widersprechende Ansichten ausgesprochen worden, wie über die Aino. Die erste dahin zielende Aeusserung findet man bei

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La Pérouse, der, auf die regelmässigeren, den Orotschen der Bai de Castries fremden, mehr «europäischen» Gesichtszüge der Eingeborenen von Oku-Jesso (Aino von Sachalin) gestützt, die Bemerkung hinwarf, dass diese Insel, so wie die vom selben Stamme bewohnten Kurilen und Jesso ihre Bevölkerung sicherlich nicht vom gegenüberliegenden Continent bezogen hätten, sondern dieselbe einer «Asien vielleicht sogar fremden Colonie» verdankten[1]). Die lange Zeit hindurch einzigen Abbildungen von Aino-Köpfen im Atlas zu Krusenstern's Reise[2]) schienen diese Ansicht zu bestätigen. Nicht minder auch manche spätere, denen man jedoch, sobald sie nicht auf photographischem Wege gewonnen worden, heutzutage keine Bedeutung mehr zuschreiben darf[3]). Am entschiedensten ist die Ansicht vom indo-europäischem Ursprunge der Aino von Bickmore ausgesprochen und vertreten worden[4]). Durch ihre Gesichtszüge, meint er, namentlich durch die horizontal geschlitzten, weit offenen Augenlider, durch die keineswegs vorragenden Backenknochen und durch die Haarfülle, stehen die Aino allen sie umgebenden asiatischen Völkern, Japanern, Chinesen, Koreanern, Mandshu, Giljaken und Kamtschadalen, fern und erinnern hingegen an «bärtige russische Bauern von slavischem Stamme»[5]). Er sieht sie daher für «einen Zweig unserer eigenen, arischen Familie» an und fügt, wie um seiner Ansicht noch mehr Gewicht zu verleihen, die Bemerkung hinzu, dass auch der Dr. Pickering, Direktor der ethnologischen Abtheilung der naturforschenden Gesellschaft zu Boston und Ethnolog der «Exploring Expeditions» der Vereinigten Staaten, dieselbe vollständig theile und ihn zur Bekanntmachung dieser seiner Beistimmung autorisirt habe. Gleichwie einige indo-europäische Völker vom Hochplateau Centralasien's über Iran nach Westen, andere, wie die Perser und Hindu, nach Süden gewandert seien, so habe sich, meint Bickmore, noch ein anderer Zweig desselben Stammes nach Osten gezogen, bis er die das heutige Japan bildenden Inseln erreichte, wo wir ihn noch heutigen Tages als Aino antreffen. Bezugnehmend auf Siebold's Angaben über die Sprache der Aino, kommt Bickmore sogar zu dem Schlusse, dass sie ein arisches Volk seien, das eine nichtarische Sprache spreche, und zwar eine ihnen selbst eigene Sprache, welche sie, wenigstens in den letzten 2500 Jahren, von keinem anderen Volke, das sie unterjocht oder von dem sie unterjocht worden, angenommen hätten. Der letzteren Behauptung darf man gewiss beistimmen, um so mehr als man von keinem Volke weiss, dem die Aino ihre Sprache entlehnt haben könnten, und als sie auch heutigen Tages, selbst einem ihnen so weit überlegenen und so mächtig auf sie eindringenden Culturvolke gegenüber, wie die Japaner, an ihrer eigenen Sprache zähe festhalten. Nur hätte dieser Umstand billigerweise auch bei der Ableitung ihres Ursprungs in Betracht gezogen werden sollen.

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1) La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, réd. par Milet-Mureau, T. III, Paris 1797, p. 88, 114.

2) Tab. LXXVII—LXXIX.

3) So die von Haberscham mitgetheilten, bei Nott and Gliddon, Indigen. Races of the Earth, Philadelphia 1857, p. XII; desgl. № 5 im Ethnogr. Tableau des gesammten Werkes.

4) Alb. Bickmore, The Ainos or Hairy man of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 8, 9, 21, 24).

5) Uebrigens sprachen es schon Golownin und Brylkin aus, dass die dichten schwarzen Kinn- und Schnurrbärte die Aino den russischen Bauern sehr ähnlich machen. Vrl. des Letzteren «Пиъмо къ Сахаляну» (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Кн. VII, Иркутскъ 1861, стр. 14).

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Nicht besser scheint mir die Ansicht zu sein, welche den Aino einen semitischen Ursprung zuschreibt. Ein in Hongkong stationirender englischer Geistlicher, Dr. Grey, soll sie nämlich für einen nach den jetzigen Japanischen Inseln versprengten Juden-Stamm halten. Worauf sich aber diese Ansicht gründet, weiss ich nicht, da mir dieselbe nur aus einer Mittheilung R. Gärtner's bekannt ist[1]).

Wie Diese im fernen Westen der Alten Welt, so haben Andere die nächsten Stammverwandten der Aino weit ostwärts, in der Neuen Welt gesucht. Der deutsche Ministerresident in Japan, v. Brandt, fand aus eigener Anschauung zwischen den Aino und manchen Indianer-Stämmen Nordamerika's — namentlich den Utahs und Schoschonen — eine solche Aehnlichkeit, dass er keinen Anstand nahm, sie für stammverwandt zu erklären[2]).

Von viel grösserer Bedeutung und Tragweite ist die Ansicht von Vivien de Saint-Martin über die Abstammung der Aino[3]). Er betrachtet sie als Angehörige einer besonderen Race, welche ursprünglich die gesammte grosse Inselwelt Asien's von Sumatra bis nach den Philippinen bewohnte, und deren Abkömmlinge sich noch jetzt im Innern dieser Inseln finden, wie die Batta von Sumatra, die Dayak von Borneo, die Tagalen von Luçon, die Bizaya von Mindanao u. drgl. m. Diese weisse Race, mit ungefähr, wenn nicht ganz kaukasischen Zügen, hatte geographisch ihren Sitz zwischen den gelblichen Stämmen Ostasien's einerseits und den schwarzen Völkern Südwest-Oceanien's andererseits. Die sie jetzt auf jenen Inseln umgebende Malayische Race sieht er nur als eine in sehr alter Zeit durch Vermischung gelber, asiatischer Völker mit derselben entstandene hybride Form an. Hatte man nun die Existenz einer von den Malayen ganz verschiedenen Race auf den grossen ostasiatischen Inseln schon längst erkannt, so wies Vivien de Saint-Martin zuerst darauf hin, dass sie keineswegs auf dieselben beschränkt sei, sondern sich von dort aus nach zwei Richtungen weithin verzweigt habe. Die eine Verzweigung ging nach Osten, über die ganze Inselwelt Polynesien's, die andere erstreckte sich nach Norden, über alle den Ostrand Asien's begleitenden Inseln, von Formosa bis nach Kamtschatka. Da somit diese Race nur auf Inseln wohnt und über Inseln sich ausgebreitet hat, so nennt Vivien sie die Oceanische Race[4]). Ihr nördlicher Zweig umfasst nach ihm auch die Aino. Namentlich sieht er einen Beweis dafür in der starken Entwickelung bei ihnen des Bart- und übrigen Haarwuchses, wodurch sie von den bartlosen Chinesen, Mandshu und übrigen mongolischen Völkern scharf abstechen und hingegen den Dayak und anderen ähnlichen Völkern des ostasiatischen Archipels verwandt erscheinen. Bemerkenswerth ist aber, dass von demselben Gesichtspunkte, physischer Aehnlichkeit, Peschel über die Abstammung der Aino eine ganz entgegengesetzte Vermuthung ausspricht. Auf Grund ihres starken Haarwuchses, sowie vielleicht auch ihres angeblich schwärzlichen Teints, hält er es nicht für undenkbar, dass sie zu den Aeta

1) Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Bd. II, 1867, p. 381.

2) Verhandl. der Berlin. Gesellsch. für Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgesch., in der Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. IV, 1872, p. (199), (241).

3) L'année géographique, IX-e et X-e ann. (1870—1871). Paris 1872, p. 93—97.

4) Einzelne, sporadische Gruppen dieser Race findet er übrigens auch auf dem Litoral Ostasien's: so z. B. die Moi in den Bergen Cochinchina's (l. c. p. 94).

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oder Negritos der Philippinen in Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen stehen könnten[1]), wonach sie also nicht zu Vivien de Saint-Martin's weisser Oceanischer, sondern zur schwarzen Papuanischen Race zu rechnen wären. Indessen schreibt Peschel selbst dieser «ohne grosse Zuversicht» von ihm ausgesprochenen Vermuthung nur den Zweck zu, eine Vergleichung der betreffenden Idiome anzuregen, von der allein eine Entscheidung über die ethnologische Stellung der Aino zu erwarten sei.

Es fehlt endlich nicht an Stimmen, welche sich für einen continental-asiatischen und zwar mehr oder weniger bestimmt mongolischen Ursprung der Aino aussprechen. So weist ihnen Siebold[2]) nach Sprache und Stamm zwar eine Sonderstellung unter allen bis dahin bekannten Völkern Nordostasien's an, findet aber doch im Aeusseren, in Form und Gestalt, in Sitten und Gebräuchen eine grosse Aehnlichkeit zwischen ihnen und sowohl den Bewohnern der Bai de Castries, wie sie uns La Pérouse schildert, als auch den Stämmen der Kileng und Ketscheng, welche im Hingon (Amgunj)-Thale und an der Meeresküste südöstlich vom Amur und gegenüber der Insel Sachalin wohnen, — d. i., wie wir schon wissen, mit den Orotschen, Oltscha, Golde, Negda, überhaupt also mit den Amur-Tungusen[3]). So müssen sich, meint er, zwar tausendjährige Spuren vom Aino-Stamme an der Küste Asien's auffinden lassen, allein ihn bis zu seiner Wiege zurück zu verfolgen, gestatten die mangelhaften historischen Nachrichten über jene Gegenden nicht. Seiner Vermuthung nach sind jedoch die Aino den Amur abwärts nach den jetzt von ihnen bewohnten Inseln gekommen, und zwar in sehr alter Zeit, noch ehe die Itälmenen auf demselben Wege nach Kamtschatka gelangten. Diese hätten dann von Nordosten, sowie die Korjaken und Tungusen von Norden und Nordwesten und die Japaner von Süden auf die Aino gedrückt und sie solchergestalt auf ihre jetzige Heimath eingeschränkt[4]).

Wird hier den Aino nur ganz im Allgemeinen ein continental-asiatischer Ursprung zugeschrieben und auf ihre Aehnlichkeit mit einem Volke von mongolischer Race, den Amur-Tungusen, hingewiesen, so werden sie von Anderen, auf Grund ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit, ganz direkt zu dieser letzteren Race gestellt. So spricht sich z. B. Dr. Dobrotworskij, der über fünf Jahre auf Sachalin zugebracht und den Aino grosse Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt hat, dahin aus, dass sie nach dem Typus ihrer Physiognomien zur mongolischen Race gehören[5]). Noch bestimmter äussert sich darüber Dönitz, indem er das Resultat seiner Untersuchungen über den Körperbau und besonders über die Gesichtsbildung und Schädelform der Aino dahin zusammenfasst, dass sie Mongolen sind und sich von den Japanern vielleicht weniger unterscheiden als die Germanen von den Romanen, sowie dass «von einer Annäherung derselben an den

1) Ger. Peschel, Völkerkunde, Leipzig 1871, p. 113.

2) Aardrijks- en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries, Amsterdam 1858, p. 117, 118, 121.

3) La Pérouse selbst war übrigens ganz anderer Ansicht. S. dessen Voyage aut. du monde, T. III, p. 101, 114; vgl. auch oben, p. 207.

4) Wie sich Siebold einen Durchzug der Itälmenen durch das von den Aino besetzte Gebiet dachte, bleibt unklar. Der Korjaken geschieht hier wohl nur daher Erwähnung, weil Siebold sie in der japanisch entstellten Bezeichnung «Kordekkes» (für Golde, s. oben p. 148) erkennen zu müssen glaubte.

5) М. Добротворскій, Изв. русск. геогр. Общества (Изв. Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Т. I, № 2 и 3, Иркутскъ 1870, стр. 24); его же, Аборигены-Русскіе Сахалина, Москва 1875, стр. 32 (Прилож. къ Русск. Зап. Изв. Казанск. Университета. 1875 г.).

Typus der Westeuropäer gar keine Rede sein kann»[1]) — ein Resultat, welches mit der oben erwähnten Ansicht von La Pérouse, Bickmore u. A. in direktem Widerspruch steht. So sind aus der physischen Beschaffenheit der Aino die verschiedensten Schlussfolgerungen über ihre Abstammung gezogen worden — ein Umstand, der den besten Beweis dafür abgiebt, dass diese Beschaffenheit grossen Schwankungen unterworfen ist, dass diese Schwankungen nicht hinlänglich berücksichtigt, sondern die Schlüsse immer nur auf einzelne wenige Fälle basirt worden sind, und dass endlich überhaupt die blosse Beachtung der physischen Beschaffenheit eines Volkes, mit Hintansetzung seiner Sprache, zu den irrthümlichsten Resultaten über dessen Abstammung führen kann. Betrachten wir nun beide Momente, wie es oben auch bei den Giljaken geschehen, einzeln und genauer.

Seit der ersten Sammlung kurilischer Wörter, welche Strahlenberg mittheilte[2]), ist die Aino-Sprache durch eine Reihe von Wörterverzeichnissen, sowie durch manche auf ihren Bau bezügliche Abhandlungen näher bekannt geworden. Die ersteren sind zum Theil von Reisenden an Ort und Stelle, sei es auf den Kurilen (resp. Kamtschatka), sei es auf Sachalin oder Jesso niedergeschrieben; so die Wörtersammlungen von Krasheninnikof[3]), La Pérouse[4]), Broughton[5]). Andere derselben sind, entweder ganz oder wenigstens zum grössten Theil, mit Hülfe der Japaner oder nach japanischen Quellen zusammengestellt; so die Wörterverzeichnisse und Vokabularien von Titsingh[6]), Dawydof[7]), Klaproth[8]), Pfizmayer[9]), Siebold[10]) u. A. Das

1) W. Donitz, Bemerk. über Aino's (Mittheil. der Deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasien's, Yokohama, Dec. 1874, p. 61).

2) Das Nord- und Ostl. Theil von Europa und Asia, Stockholm 1730; auf der diesem Werke beigefügten Tabelle, «lingua horen-orientalium unigo Tartarorum Harmonia linguarum», unter der Rubrik: «Kurili oder ost- und südliche Einwohner in Kamtschatkis.» Meist Zahl-, und einige wenige andere Wörter.

3) Описаніе земли Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путешествій по Россіи, изд. Имп. Акад. Наукъ, T. II, С. Петерб. 1819, стр. 267—272).

4) Voyage aut. du monde, T. III, Paris an V (1797), p. 118—123.

5) A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, London 1804, p. 390.

6) In seiner Uebersetzung des «Jeso-kis von Kannemon (Annales des Voyages, publ. par Malte-Brun, T. XXIV, Paris 1814, p. 145—170).

7) Veröffentlicht von Krusenstern, russisch in der russischen Ausgabe seiner Reise um die Welt, Bd. III, p. 342—380, deutsch in seinen Wörtersammlungen aus den Sprachen einiger Völker des östl. Asiens und der Nordwest-Küste von Amerika, St. Petersburg 1813, p. 1—39. Vrgl. auch Pfizmayer, Kritische Durchsicht der von Dawidof verfassten Wörtersamml. aus der Sprache der Aino's, als Beilage zum Decemberheft des Jahrg. 1851 (Bd. VII), der Sitzungsber. der philosoph.-histor. Klasse der Kais. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Wien, p. 382 ff. Krusenstern meint zwar, Dawydof habe die Aino-Wörter selbst gesammelt, allein Siebold (Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries, Amsterdam 1838, p. 120) hält es für höchst wahrscheinlich, dass die Sammlung von einem Japaner zusammengestellt worden ist. Abgesehen von sprachlichen Gründen, scheint mir in der That auch der Umstand dafür zu sprechen, dass die von Resanof aus persönlicher Rache gegen die Japaner veranstaltete Expedition Dawydof's nach Sachalin nur den Zweck der Zerstörung ihrer Colonien auf dieser Insel hatte und demgemäss auch nur sehr kurze Zeit dauerte.

8) In Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankf. a. M. 1812, Bd. I, p. 300—303; Asia polyglotta, Paris 1823, p. 302—318; Sam kokf (sou ran to tets, ou Aperçu géném. des trois royaumes, Paris 1832, p. 242 bis 253. Die in dem letzteren Werke angegebenen, auf Kamtschatka gesammelten kurilischen Wörter sind einem Manuskript von Steller entnommen, welches Klaproth in Irkutsk erhielt (San kokf etc. p. V).

9) Vocabular. der Aino-Sprache (Denkschr. der Kais. Akad. der Wissensch. Philosoph.-histor. Classe, Bd. V, Wien 1854, p. 137—236).

10) Aardrijkskun. volkenkund. toelicht. Amsterdam 1838, p. 127—139.

neueste und reichste aller bisherigen Aino-Vokabularien ist das vom jüngst verstorbenen Dr. M. Dobrotworskij sowohl nach einer grossen Anzahl im Laufe von fünf Jahren von ihm selbst auf Sachalin gesammelter Wörter (5733), als auch unter Benutzung der meisten früheren Sammlungen der Art zusammengestellte[1]). In diesem Werke findet man auch eingehende Bemerkungen über die Lautbildung in der Aino-Sprache, und bei Siebold und besonders in verschiedenen Abhandlungen Pfizmayer's[2]) manche Angaben über den Bau derselben. Fehlt es daher bis jetzt auch noch an einer den Anforderungen der Philologen entsprechenden Grammatik der Aino-Sprache, so musste das vorhandene Material doch schon genügen, um ein Urtheil über die allgemeine Stellung derselben zu anderen Sprachstämmen und Zweigen zu gestatten. Nirgends wird man jedoch eine Angabe finden, die zu Gunsten einer etwaigen Verwandtschaft derselben sei es mit indo-europäischen oder semitischen Sprachen, sei es mit den Idiomen der ostasiatischen Papuanen, der Polynesier oder der Indianer-Stämme Nordamerika's spräche. Von sprachlicher Seite ermangeln daher die oben erwähnten respectiven Angaben über die Abstammung der Aino jeglicher Stütze. Die einzige Verwandtschaft, die man gefunden haben will, weist nach Asien hin. Klaproth meint, die Aino-Sprache biete mehrere Aehnlichkeiten mit dem Samojedischen und anderen nordasiatischen Mundarten dar[3]). Pfizmayer führte jedoch dieselben nur auf ein geringes Maass zurück, und Siebold spricht sich ausdrücklich dahin aus, dass die Aino-Sprache eine eigenartige und selbständige sei, die in ihren Wortstämmen und Wurzeln mit keiner der Nachbarsprachen eine Uebereinstimmung zeige und unter allen nordostasiatischen Idiomen ganz isolirt dastehe[4]) — eine Stellung, wie sie nach ihm auch das Aino-Volk unter den übrigen einnehme. Auf Grund dieser Angaben über die Aino-Sprache wird man daher unsere oben entwickelte Ansicht, dass die Aino gleich den Giljaken ein paläasiatisches, im Laufe der Zeit nach dem insularen Ostrande des Continentes verdrängtes und in seiner Sprache vereinsamtes Volk sei, nicht unberechtigt finden.

Die physische Beschaffenheit der Aino ist von allen Reisenden einer besonderen Aufmerksamkeit gewürdigt worden, da sie den Japanern und anderen asiatischen Völkern gegenüber auf den ersten Blick viel Abweichendes und Eigenthümliches darbietet. Wie schon erwähnt, gehen aber die einzelnen Angaben oft sehr auseinander, nicht weil sie falsch, sondern weil sie auf ein ungenügendes Material basirt sind. Erst aus einer Gegeneinanderhaltung und Zusammenfassung derselben lässt sich ein volles Bild von der physischen Erscheinung der Aino gewinnen. Gehen wir die einzelnen Züge derselben durch.

Die beiden ältesten Nachrichten, in denen des Wuchses der Aino Erwähnung geschieht,

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1) Японско-русскій словарь, Казань 1875 (Прилож. къ Учен.-Зап. Имп. Каз. Унив. 1875 г., 487 стр. 8°). Im Vorwort bespricht der Autor auch alle früheren Wörterverzeichnisse der Aino-Sprache. Seltsamerweise vermisst man aber unter denselben die oben erwähnten von Titsingh, Klaproth im Sen kokf tsou ran to setz und Siebold.

2) Untersuch. über den Bau der Aino-Sprache (Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. Philos.-histor. Classe, Wien 1851); desselb. Abhandl. über die Aino-Sprache, Wien 1852 (Sitzungsber. Jahrgg. 1849 und 1850).

3) Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 302.

4) Siebold, Ardr.- en volkenk. toelicht. p. 121. Dieselbe Ansicht findet man bei Forbes; s. Hellwald, Das Volk der Ainos (Das Ausland, 1873, p. 913).

enthalten nach verschiedenen Seiten extreme Angaben. Während nämlich der Pater Hieronymus de Angelis 1622 aus Japan schrieb, die Aino seien «grösser von Leibe, als Menschen gemeiniglich zu sein pflegten»[1]), berichtete hingegen Joan Saris fast um dieselbe Zeit, dass die Eingeborenen des südlichen Jesso den Japanern an Grösse gleich kämen, die weiter nach Norden auf derselben Insel wohnenden aber «sehr klein, gleich Zwergen» seien[2]). Beiden Angaben merkt man das Fabelhafte an, das zu jener Zeit der nördlich von Nippon gelegenen Inselwelt noch vielfach anhing. Die letztere beruht ausserdem nicht auf eigener Anschauung, sondern auf den Erzählungen eines Japaner's, der die Insel Jesso zweimal besucht hatte. Alle späteren Angaben sprechen den Aino einen mittleren[3]) oder auch etwas darunter zurückbleibenden, niedrigen Wuchs[4]) zu. So erschienen mir auch die Individuen, welche ich in der Bai Aniwa sah. Genauere Angaben über den Wuchs der Aino, in Zahlen, verdankt man La Pérouse[5]) und Rollin[6]), Krusenstern[7]) und Langsdorff[8]), Bickmore[9]), St. John[10]), Dönitz[11]). Auch diese Angaben stimmen mit einander überein, indem sie sämmtlich den Wuchs der Aino auf etwa 5 Par. Fuss oder etwas darüber oder darunter feststellen[12]). Dies wäre, nach Mohnike's Messungen an 50 Individuen männlichen Geschlechts, so ziemlich auch die mittlere Grösse der Japaner (5′1—2″)[13]). Natürlich ist damit das Vorkommen unter den Aino auch entschieden kleiner und grosser Individuen, wie z. B. Whittingham ein solches ohne Maassangaben beschreibt[14]), nicht ausgeschlossen. Weniger übereinstimmend unter einander lauten die An-

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1) Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, Amsterdam 1692, 2. Thl. p. 58; Siebold, l. c. p. 94.

2) Siebold, l. c. p. 97.

3) Krascheninnikof, l. c. 238; Broughton, l. c. p. 88; Forbes, The Western Shores of Volcano Bay, Yesso (Proceed. of the R. Geogr. Soc. Vol. X, London 1866, № IV, p. 170); v. Brandt, Verhandl. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgesch. 1872 (Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., Bd. V, p. [27]); Аврусгиновъ, Жизнь Русск. и мирован. на остр. Сахалинѣ, С. Петерб. 1874, стр. 30, u. A.

4) Vries, s. Witsen, l. c. p. 32; Siebold, l. c. p. 100; Hawks, Narrat. of the Exped. of an Amer. squadr. to the China Seas and Japan, und. the comm. of commod. M. C. Perry, New-York, p. 321; Habersham, s. Nott and Gliddon, Indigen. Races of the Earth, Philadelphia 1857, p. 620; Jos. Barnard Davis, Descript. of the Skeleton of an Aino Woman, and of three Skulls of Men of the same race (Memoirs read before the Anthropolog. Society of London, Vol. III, 1870, p. 35); Blakiston, Journey round the Island of Yezo (Proceed. of the R. Geogr. Soc., Vol. XVI, London 1872, № III, p. 192); Dobrotworskij, l. c. p. 33. Nur vereinzelt steht dagegen die Angabe Duchateau's (Congrès intern. des Oriental. T. I, Paris 1874, p. 197), dass die Aino von hohem Wuchse seien.

5) L. c. T. III, p. 40.

6) La Pérouse, Voyage etc. T. IV, p. 73, 86.

7) Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 74.

8) L. c. Bd. I. p. 284.

9) L. c. p. 6, 10.

10) The Ainos: Aborigines of Yeso (The Journ. of the Anthropolog. Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II, London 1873, p. 218).

11) Bemerk. über die Aino's (Mittheil. der Deutschen Gesell. für Natur- und Völkerk. Ostasien's, 8. Heft, Yokohama 1874, p. 66).

12) Nur unter den Angaben von Dönitz finden sich einige erheblich kleinere Zahlen, doch beziehen sich diese auf sehr junge, offenbar noch nicht ganz erwachsene Individuen, wie dies auch Anutschin (l. c. p. 123) bemerkt.

13) O. Mohnike, Die Japaner. Eine ethnogr. Monographie, Münster 1872, p. 15, 16. Léon de Rosny (Mœurs des Ainos, insulaires de Yéso et des Kouriles, Paris 1857, p. 3) giebt, vermuthlich nach japanischen Quellen, an, dass die Aino im Allgemeinen grösser als die Japaner seien. Nach Bickmore (l. c. p. 10) wäre es aber nur kaum der Fall.

14) Vrgl. Bickmore, l. c. p. 10. Auch Habersham sah manche Individuen, die, wie er sagt, in jedem Lande für gross gelten würden. Vrgl. Nott and Gliddon, l. c. p. 621.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

gaben über den Wuchs der Aino-Weiber. Während Klaproth[1]) sie nach einer japanischen Quelle als im Allgemeinen gross bezeichnet und Bickmore, dieselbe Ansicht theilend, sie den Männern nur wenig nachstehen lässt, werden sie von Anderen geradezu klein genannt[2]). Offenbar ist beiderseits zu früh generalisirt worden; dabei mag zur letzteren Ansicht auch das in Folge übermässiger Arbeitslast oft gedrückte und gebeugte Ansehen der Aino-Weiber beigetragen haben[3]). Die Wahrheit wird wohl in der Mitte liegen. Den meisten der obigen Angaben zufolge sind dabei die Aino von kräftigem, robustem Bau, mit stark entwickelter Muskulatur. Rollin schreibt ihnen auch eine gewisse Fülle zu[4]). Nach St. John hingegen wären sowohl muskulöse, wie füllige Gestalten nur seltene Ausnahmen und leichte, dürre, hagere Erscheinungen unter Männern wie Weibern die gewöhnlichen. Gewiss mögen in dieser Beziehung mancherlei Schwankungen und namentlich auch locale Differenzen statthaben, indem die verschiedentliche Gunst oder Ungunst der Existenzbedingungen und der Stellung der Aino zu ihren Bedrückern, den Japanern, auch auf ihre physische Entwickelung von Einfluss sein muss. So bemerkte schon Golownin, dass die Aino von Jesso von grösserem Wuchs und kräftigerem Bau als die Bewohner der nördlichen Kurilen seien, und suchte den Grund davon in ihrem thätigeren Leben und in dem Ueberfluss an guter, gesunder Nahrung, welche den letzteren hingegen oft abgeht[5]). Auf Sachalin zeichnen sich, nach Awgustinowitsch, die nördlicher, etwa bei Taraika am Golf der Geduld wohnenden Aino nicht bloss moralisch, sondern auch in ihrem Körperbau vortheilhaft vor den am Südende der Insel wohnhaften aus[6]). Jene waren aber auch bis dahin frei geblieben, während diese unter dem harten Druck der Japaner standen.

Ueber die Grössenverhältnisse der einzelnen Körpertheile bei den Aino lässt sich bei dem spärlichen Material, auf welchem die einzelnen Angaben beruhen, nur wenig Bestimmteres sagen. Im Allgemeinen heisst es, dass die Aino von wohlproponirtem Körperbau sind[7]). Dönitz, der noch die meisten und doch auch nur fünf lebende männliche Individuen vermessen hat, zieht aus den von ihm gefundenen Maassen keine allgemeineren Schlüsse über das Verhältniss der einzelnen Körpertheile, weil die vermessenen Individuen noch jung waren (zwischen 15 und 19 Jahren) und mit dem zunehmenden Alter Veränderungen in den Körperverhältnissen zu erwarten waren[8]). Anutschin nahm aber die Mittel aus diesen Maassen und kam, indem er ihr Verhältniss zum mittleren Gesammtwuchs bestimmte und mit den entsprechenden Grössen bei anderen Völkern verglich, zu folgenden Resultaten[9]). Der Kopf wäre demnach bei den Aino verhältnissmässig gross[10]), der Rumpf lang, die Arme im Verhältniss etwas länger als bei Euro-

1) Sen kokf tson ran to setz, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 231.

2) So von Whittingham (s. Bickmore, l. c.) und von St. John, a. a. O.

3) Den Wuchs der Japanerinnen giebt Mohnike (l. c.) im Allgemeinen als klein an, nach 30 von ihm vermessenen Individuen im Mittel auf 4'.1—3".

4) ... un léger embonpoint» (l. c. p. 73).

5) Головнинъ, Записки о приключ. его въ плѣну у Японцевъ, С. Петерб. 1816, Ч. III, стр. 160.

6) Августиновичъ, Жизнь Русск. в мореход. на остр. Сахалинѣ, С. Петерб. 1874, стр. 39.

7) Hawks, Narrat. of the Exped. of an Amer. squadr. to the China Seas and Japan und. the comm. of commod. Perry, New-York 1856, p. 324; St. John, l. c. p. 248.

8) Dönitz, l. c. p. 64.

9) Anutschin, l. c. p. 127.

10) Das bemerkte auch schon Rollin, l. c. p. 74.

päern (und zwar in Folge eines verhältnissmässig längeren Vorderarmes)[1], die Beine hingegen etwas kürzer (in Folge einer verhältnissmässig geringeren Länge des Oberschenkels), Hände und Füsse klein[2]. Zu demselben Resultat hinsichtlich der verhältnissmässigen Grösse der Extremitäten gelangte er auch aus der Vermessung der betreffenden Knochen an zwei Aino-Skeleten von Sachalin, einem männlichen und einem vermuthlich weiblichen[3]. Und damit stimmt auch überein, was schon vor ihm Barn. Davis[4]) bei Vergleichung des Skelets eines Aino-Weibes von Jesso mit dem von Sömmering ausführlich beschriebenen weiblichen Skelet deutscher Herkunft fand. Nur waren in diesem letzteren Falle nicht bloss das Oberschenkelbein, sondern ganz besonders auch die Knochen des Unterschenkels, Tibia und Fibula, so unverhältnissmässig kurz, dass Davis dies als die Hauptverschiedenheit des Aino-Skelets dem erwähnten deutschen gegenüber bezeichnet. Ob sich aber diese Grössenverhältnisse im Körperbau der Aino als Regel hinstellen lassen, wird man erst aus einer grösseren Anzahl von Messungen ersehen können.

So lange zahlreichere Beobachtungen fehlen, darf man ferner auch in den von Davis und Anutschin an den betreffenden Skeleten wahrgenommenen Formverhältnissen der einzelnen Knochen noch keine für die Aino allgemein gültigen, charakteristischen Züge, noch weniger, wie besonders Letzterer wiederholentlich thut, Kennzeichen ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu einer niederen Race erblicken, da diese Formverhältnisse starken individuellen Schwankungen unterliegen. Dahin gehört z. B. die von Anutschin ausführlich besprochene Form der Arm- und Schenkelknochen und besonders ihrer verschiedenen Querschnitte[5], die Form der einzelnen Hand- und Fussknochen[6], desgleichen die von Davis bemerkte Enge des Beckens bei den Aino-Weibern[7]) u. s. w. Letzterer hebt besonders auch ihren robusten Knochenbau hervor, den jedoch Anutschin an den sachalinischen Skeleten nicht fand, so dass auch in diesem Punkte Schwankungen stattfinden. Von weiter reichender, wenn auch nicht charakteristischer Bedeutung scheint mir aber die von Letzterem hervorgehobene starke Entwickelung an den Knochen des Aino-Skelets aller Fortsätze, Protuberanzen, Leisten, überhaupt aller Unebenheiten und Muskelansatzstellen zu sein. Wie oben erwähnt[8], findet dies auch an unserem Giljaken-Skelet statt und ist auch bei anderen rohen Völkern beobachtet worden, ja vielleicht dürfte es mehr oder weniger bei allen Naturvölkern sich wiederholen und mit dem grösseren Maass starker, die Entwickelung einer kräftigen Muskulatur fördernder physischer Gesammtanstrengung, welche der Kampf um's Dasein von ihnen erheischt, im Zusammenhange stehen.

In keinem Punkte der physischen Beschaffenheit der Aino gehen die Angaben so weit auseinander, wie hinsichtlich der Hautfarbe. Geht man die ganze Reihe derselben durch, so be-

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1) Broughton (Voyage of disc. p. 183) erschienen im Gegentheil die Arme im Verhältniss zum Rumpfe kurz.

2) Nach Miss Isab. Bird (Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, London 1880; s. Das Ausland, 1880, p. 992) wären hingegen die Hände und Füsse der Aino gross.

3) L. c. p. 145.

4) Mem. of the Anthrop. Soc. l. c. p. 23.

5) L. c. p. 148 ff.

6) L. c. p. 148, 163.

7) An dem weiblichen Skelet, das Anutschin vorlag, fehlte das Becken.

8) S. oben, p. 216.

gegnet man allen Farbentönen von «beinahe schwarz»[1]) durch braun, kupferfarben, röthlich, bronzefarben, gelb und gelblich bis «weiss»[2]). Diese Differenzen lassen sich nur dadurch erklären, dass einmal dem Antheil äusserer Umstände, wie Schmutz, Russ, Einfluss von Sonnenbrand, von Wind und Wetter, an der scheinbaren Hautfärbung der Aino nicht immer hinlängliche Rechnung getragen worden ist; dass ferner die betreffenden Farbentöne der Art sind, dass sie sich in Worten nicht leicht genau wiedergeben lassen, und dass endlich die Hautfarbe der Aino sicherlich auch manchen, und nicht unerheblichen, individuellen Schwankungen unterworfen ist. Den ersteren Umstand möchte ich namentlich den von einer überaus dunklen, beinahe schwarzen Hautfarbe der Aino redenden Angaben gegenüber geltend machen. Diese Angaben sind auch die minder zahlreichen (Krusenstern, Hawks[3]), Habersham[4]). Letzterer spricht sich zwar sehr bestimmt in diesem Sinne aus: er will mehrere Hundert Aino, Männer, Weiber und Kinder, gesehen haben, und diese waren sämmtlich von dunkel schwarzbrauner Farbe, mit Ausnahme eines einzigen erwachsenen Mannes, den man aber stark in Verdacht haben konnte, von gemischter Herkunft zu sein. Zugleich hebt er aber selbst ihren äussersten Schmutz hervor und spricht sogar den Zweifel aus, dass ein Aino sich jemals wasche. Zudem heisst es doch bei Anderen[5]), dass die Weiber und Kinder hellfarbiger als die Männer seien, was ja auch ganz naturgemäss ist, mit jener Angabe Habersham's aber nicht übereinstimmt. Noch mehr widerspricht ihr endlich die Angabe Brandt's, dass die Hautfarbe bei den älteren Individuen heller als bei den jüngeren ist[6]), wobei unter den ersteren wohl Greise verstanden sein dürften, deren hellerer Teint sich daraus erklären liesse, dass sie sich weniger an den Arbeiten betheiligen und damit auch weniger der Einwirkung des Sonnenbrandes und der Atmosphärilien ausgesetzt sind. So bestimmt also die Behauptung Habersham's lautet, so dürfte sie doch zu rasch und obenhin ausgesprochen sein[7]). Die Aino, welche ich selbst gesehen habe, waren in der That nicht dunkel schwarzbraun, geschweige denn schwarz, sondern nur bräunlich-gelblich, wie sie auch Dobrotworskij[8]) schildert, der während seines mehr als fünfjährigen Aufenthaltes auf Sachalin und in seiner Thätigkeit als Arzt Gelegenheit hatte, wohl die meisten und zuverlässigsten

1) Krusenstern, l. c. p. 74.

2) Nach Jean Saris (1613) und Coen (in dem auf Vries' Seereise geführten «Journaal»; vrgl. Siebold, Aardr. etc. p. 96, 100). Letzterer spricht wiederholentlich von «weissen» (Aino-) Männern und Frauen in Aniwa und in der Bai der Geduld; auch sagt er, die Frauen auf Kraftо seien weisser als die auf Jesso. Hieron. de Angelis berichtete ebenfalls, die Farbe der Aino auf Jesso falle mehr in's Weisse als in's Braune (Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart. 1692, Thl. II, p. 58; Siebold, l. c. p. 94). In der «Korte Beschryv. van het Eyl. Eso» in Vries' Bericht heisst es nur, die Frauen seien nicht so braun wie die Männer (Siebold, l. c. p. 100). Nach alledem ist Annatschin's Angabe (l. c. p. 152), dass die holländischen Seefahrer des XVII. Jahrhunderts die Hautfarbe der Aino als schwarz bezeichnen, falsch.

3) Narrat. of the Exped. of an Amer. squadr. p. 321.

4) Nott and Gliddon, Indigen. Races, p. 621.

5) Vries, bei Siebold, l. c.; St. John, l. c.

6) «Bei den jüngeren leicht bronzefarbig, bei den älteren fast weiss» (v. Brandt, in d. Verh. der Berl. Ges. für Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgesch. 1873, p. [27]. — Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Berlin, Bd. IV, 1872).

7) Barn. Davis (l. c. p. 33) hält es hingegen durch Krusenstern's und Habersham's Zeugniss für definitiv erwiesen, dass die Aino von dunkler Farbe sind, obgleich, fügt er hinzu, das Land, das sie bewohnen, auf seinen Bergen mit ewigem Schnee bedeckt ist. Vermuthlich wird jedoch im Lichte der Forschung jene Färbung bald ebenso verblassen, wie dieser Schnee bereits geschmolzen ist.

8) L. c. p. 33.

Erfahrungen über die Aino zu sammeln. Von den Giljaken, in deren Gesellschaft ich einmal auch Aino sah, kamen sie mir in der Hautfarbe nicht wesentlich verschieden vor. Andererseits bemerkt Dönitz, der gleichfalls die Farbe der Aino als eine fahlbräunliche oder gelbliche angiebt, dass eine Confrontation von Aino und Japanern keinen wesentlichen Unterschied in der Hautfärbung zwischen ihnen ergab: sie zeigte bei jenen nur eine mehr bräunliche als gelbliche Schattirung — eine Farbennuance, die übrigens auch bei den letzteren nicht selten zu finden sein soll[1]). Ein Grund, die Aino der dunkelfarbigen Papuanischen Race, den Aeta oder Negritos der Philippinen zu nähern, liegt also von Seiten der Hautfärbung durchaus nicht vor; vielmehr schliessen sie sich hinsichtlich derselben unmittelbar an ihre asiatischen Nachbarvölker, die Giljaken einer- und die Japaner andererseits an.

So sehr die Angaben über die Hautfarbe der Aino auseinandergehen, so sehr stimmen sie in Beziehung auf ihren Haarwuchs überein. In der That giebt es keine noch so flüchtige Schilderung der Aino, in welcher nicht ihres starken Haarwuchses, als des hervorragendsten Zuges ihrer äusseren Erscheinung, Erwähnung geschähe. Je weiter dabei die Nachrichten zurückreichen, um so stärker sind in der Regel die Farben aufgetragen. Der Pater Aloisius Froes schrieb im Jahre 1565, das Land im Norden von Japan sei von wilden Menschen bewohnt, die am ganzen Körper rauh behaart seien und erschrecklich grosse Kinn- und Schnauzbärte hätten[2]). Dieselbe Angabe, einer starken Behaarung am ganzen Leibe, findet man bei Françoys Caron, Vries u. A.[3]). Der Jesuiten-Missionär Hieronymus de Angelis (1622) erwähnt zwar des übrigen Körpers der Aino nicht, spricht aber auch von Bärten, die zuweilen bis zur Mitte des Körpers herabreichen[4]), und in Kannemon's «Jeso-ki», vom Jahre 1652, heisst es ebenfalls, fast alle Männer hätten sehr dichte, zuweilen bis zwei Fuss lange Bärte, die ausser Augen und Nase das ganze Gesicht bedeckten[5]). Bekanntlich schilderten auch die Russen, als sie im XVIII. Jahrhundert von Kamtschatka aus die Kurilischen Inseln besuchten und zum Theil in Besitz nahmen, die Bewohner derselben, und namentlich der entfernteren südlicheren Inseln, als am ganzen Körper stark behaart und nannten sie daher auch «rauhhaarige Kurilen» oder auch schlechtweg «die Rauhhaarigen» (мохнатые)[6]). Ihnen musste der starke Haarwuchs der Aino um so mehr auffallen, als sie in Sibirien allenthalben nur mit fast bartlosen Eingeborenen zu thun hatten. Auch später findet man noch manche stark aufgetragene Angaben über den Haarwuchs

1) Dönitz, l. c. p. 63.

2) Siebold (Aardr. etc. p. 93) meint, dass diese Schilderung Abraham Ortelius bewogen habe, in seinem «Theatrum orbis terrarum» das nördlich von Japan gelegene Eiland (Jesso) «Satyrorum insula» zu nennen.

3) Siebold, l. c. p. 98, 100.

4) Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart. 1692, Thl. II, p. 38; Siebold, l. c. p. 94.

5) Titsingh, Descr. de la terre de Jesso, trad. du japonais (Ann. des Voyages, T. XXIV, 1814, p. 155); San kokf tsou ran to setz, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, trad. par Klaproth, Paris 1832, p. 230.

6) Крашенинников, Опис. земли Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путеш. по Россіи, T. I, стр. 143, T. II, стр. 258); Neue Beschr. der Kuril. Ins. (Pallas, Nord. Beytr. Bd. IV, p. 117, 132, 133, 138); Полоцкій, Курилы (Зап. Геогр. Общ. По Отд. Этногр. T. IV, 1871, стр. 404, 409 и др.). Vielleicht ist es auch eine Anspielung auf jene alte russische Bezeichnung der Aino, wenn Bickmore seine oben citirten Artikel über dieses Volk mit der Ueberschrift versieht: «The Ainos or Hairy Men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands», obwohl er dessen nicht speciell erwähnt.

der Aino; so z. B. bei Broughton[1]), Golownin[2]), neuerdings noch bei St. John[3]) u. A. Mit La Pérouse[4]) und Krusenstern[5]) fangen jedoch auch schon die Hinweisungen darauf an, dass dergleichen Angaben übertrieben sind, und dass sich ebenso stark behaarte Individuen auch unter Europäern finden lassen — eine Behauptung, die sich durch mehrfache spätere Confrontationen mehr und mehr bestätigt hat[6]). Trägt man aber den Uebertreibungen auch volle Rechnung, so bleibt der Haarwuchs der Aino noch immer stark genug, um einen charakteristischen, den übrigen nord- oder central-asiatischen Völkern gegenüber besonders auffallenden Zug ihrer äusseren Erscheinung abzugeben. Nur gestattet er noch nicht, die Aino den papuanischen Völkern zuzuzählen, denn dazu gehörte sich — von anderen Charakteren abgesehen — auch noch das abgeplattete, eigenthümlich gekräuselte und zu Büscheln vereinigte Haupthaar der letzteren. Und davon ist bei den Aino nichts vorhanden. Ihr Haupthaar ist im Gegentheil, wie die meisten Beschreibungen und photographischen Abbildungen lehren und wie ich es übrigens auch selbst gesehen habe, schlicht herabhängend, so schlicht, dass Krusenstern[7]) darin eine Aehnlichkeit der Aino mit den Kamtschadalen fand. Geht mit einer starken Kräuselung des Haares auch eine hochgradige Abplattung desselben Hand in Hand, was übrigens noch fraglich ist, so stimmt es damit überein, wenn man auch diese letztere an dem Aino-Haupthaar nicht gefunden hat. Hilgendorf's Untersuchungen zeigten zwar eine gewisse Abplattung, Anutschin aber fand an dem aus einem Aino-Grabe auf Südsachalin erhaltenen Haar einen fast kreisrunden Durchschnitt, von derselben Grösse, die man gewöhnlich auch am russischen Haar findet[8]). Es lässt sich also auch darin bei den Aino kein von den Europäern oder von anderen asiatischen Völkern wesentlich verschiedenes, an die Papuas erinnerndes Verhalten entdecken. Was ferner die Farbe des Haares bei den Aino betrifft, so ist sie auch nicht so ausschliesslich schwarz, wie Einige angeben[9]), sondern bisweilen auch bräunlich und braun[10]), wenn auch allerdings niemals blond. Mit dem Alter verliert sich das Pigment und das Haar wird, wie gewöhnlich, grau und weiss[11]). Zu bemerken ist endlich noch, dass es mit dem Alter auch leicht ausfällt, was bei den durch ihre Haarfülle so ausgezeichneten papuanischen Völkern wohl kaum der Fall sein dürfte, und dass in Folge dessen Kahlköpfigkeit eine unter den Aino sehr häufige Erscheinung ist[12]).

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1) A Voyage of disc. p. 105. An anderen Stellen, wie z. B. p. 88, sind die Angaben weit mässiger.

2) Зап. о.з. зап. Головнина о пребыв. его въ плѣнѣ у Японцевъ, ч. III, стр. 160. Golownin spricht sich dabei, seinen Erfahrungen zufolge, dahin aus, dass die Bewohner der nördlichen Kurilen ebenso stark behaart seien, wie diejenigen der südlichen, und ebenso den Namen der «Rauhhaarigen» verdienten.

3) L. c. p. 249.

4) L. c. p. 86.

5) L. c. p. 82.

6) Vgl. Haberham (bei Nott and Gliddon, Indig. Races), v. Brandt, Dönitz, ll. cc. Hilgendorf's Angaben, die mir im Original, im 7. Heft der Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, nicht vorliegen, lauten in demselben Sinne (s. Anutschin, l. c. p. 130).

7) L. c. p. 74.

8) Anutschin, l. c. p. 131. Dort sind auch manche Thatsachen angeführt, die gegen einen causalen Zusammenhang zwischen der Abplattung und der Kräuselung des Haares sprechen. So war auch das von Hilgendorf untersuchte Aino-Haar trotz seiner Abplattung fast ganz schlicht.

9) Dickmore, St. John, ll. cc., u. A.

10) Rollin, Haberham, Anutschin, ll. cc.

11) Dickmore u. A.

12) Dobrotwerskij, l. c. p. 43.

Wie der Haarwuchs der Aino, so ist auch ihre Gesichtsbildung, den heutigen nordasiatischen Völkern gegenüber, eine sehr auffallende. Hinsichtlich derselben gehen jedoch die Beschreibungen weiter auseinander, als es in Betreff jenes Punktes der Fall war. Offenbar giebt es unter den Aino Physiognomien von verschiedenem Typus. Geht man die einzelnen Schilderungen durch und sieht man dabei von kleinen Differenzen ab, so lassen sich unter ihnen namentlich zwei sehr verschiedene Typen erkennen: der eine zeigt eine wesentliche Annäherung an europäische, der andere an mongolische Gesichtsbildung. Diese Unterscheidung zweier physiognomischer Typen unter den Aino finde ich auch schon bei de Rosny[1]) und Anutschin[2]), die, seltsamerweise, beide selbst keine Aino gesehen und jenen Schluss nur aus der Vergleichung zahlreicher Schilderungen und photographischer Abbildungen von Individuen dieses Volkes gezogen haben, während die Reisenden stets nur den einen oder den anderen dieser Typen zeichnen, oder aber Mittelformen, an denen es natürlich auch hier nicht fehlt. Jener erstere, mehr europäische Typus der Gesichtsbildung ist es namentlich, der uns in diesen Schilderungen besonders oft entgegentritt, und dem zufolge die Aehnlichkeit der Aino mit den Völkern kaukasischer Race, und vornehmlich mit den Russen, immer wieder betont wird[3]), ja nach welchem auch ihre direkte Zugehörigkeit zu dieser Race behauptet worden ist[4]). Die besonders charakteristischen Züge dieses Typus sind: eine hohe und breite Stirn, horizontal gestellte, weit offene Augen, von starken, ebenfalls gerade verlaufenden Augenbrauen überschattet, eine an der Wurzel und im übrigen Verlaufe aufgerichtete, gewölbte, regelmässige, zuweilen auch zugespitzte Nase, keine stark hervorragenden Backenknochen, dazu der oben bereits besprochene starke Bartwuchs an Backen, Kinn und Lippen. Es lässt sich nicht läugnen, dass diese Züge, wenn einigermassen rein ausgeprägt, den Aino einen von den angrenzenden asiatischen Völkern durchaus verschiedenen Typus verleihen müssen. Diesen Typus geben im Allgemeinen auch die meisten der gegenwärtig bereits zahlreichen photographischen Aino-Abbildungen[5]), wie z. B. der von Brandt[6]), St. John[7]), L. de Rosny[8]), Anutschin[9]) gelieferten, wieder. Desgleichen

1) Congrès internat. des Oriental. T. I, 1873, Paris 1874, p. 210.

2) L. c, p. 128, 129.

3) So von La Pérouse, (l. c. p. 86), Habersham (Nott and Gliddon, l. c. p. 621), Forbes, Bickmore, Blakiston, St. John (l. cc.), Giglioli (Revue d'Anthrop. publ. sous la direct. de M. Paul Broca, T. I, Paris 1872, p. 530), Léon de Rosny (l. c. p. 211), Herm. Ritter, (Ueber eine Reise im südwestl. Theile von Yezo. — Mitth. der Deutsch. Ges. für Natur- und Völkerk. Ostas. 6. Heft, 1874, p. 37) u. A.; unter den russischen Schriftstellern, welche meist auch auf die Aehnlichkeit der Aino mit den Russen aufmerksam machen, von Golownin, Rimskij-Korssakof (Я.-Р.-Сзуч. и замѣч. на свероз. окраѣ »Восточ.». — Морск. Сборн. 1858, № 3, Ч. неоф. стр. 6), Brylkin (Письма съ Сахалина. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. VII, Иркутскъ 1867, стр. 16), Wenjukof (Обозр. Русскихъ Архип. Вып. I, Вершки и С. Петербургъ 1871, стр. 67), Awgustinowitsch (Жизнь Русск. и иноплем. на Сахалинѣ, С. Петерб. 1874, стр. 39), Anutschin, l. c., u. A.

4) S. oben, p. 233.

5) Von den älteren, nicht photographischen Abbildungen, wie diejenigen von La Pérouse (Atlas, Pl. 30 et 35), Broughton (l. c. Taf. zu p. 90), Krusenstern (Atlas zu seiner Reise, Tab. LXXVII—LXXIX), oder die von Siebold (Nippon, VII, Tab. XVI—XVIII) nach japanischen Zeichnungen entworfenen, muss man, wie schon erwähnt, in physiognomischer Beziehung heutzutage ganz absehen.

6) Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Berlin, Bd. IV, 1872, Tab. III.

7) The Journ. of the Anthrop. Inst. of Gr. Brit. and Ireland, London, Vol. II, Tab. XII, XIII.

8) L. c. Tab. 44—46.

9) L. c. Tab. I und II (nach Photographien, die von Garosin auf Sachalin gemacht worden sind).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

findet man ihn auch unter den auf unserer Taf. IV zusammengestellten, nach Photographien entworfenen Aino-Typen von Sachalin vertreten[1]). Mustert man übrigens diese Abbildungen genauer, so wird man unter ihnen doch nur wenige finden, welche die oben erwähnten, an die kaukasische Race erinnernden Züge einigermassen rein und voll wiedergeben[2]). Auf unserer Tafel soll namentlich Fig. 1 das Bild eines männlichen Vertreters dieses Typus liefern. Meist lassen sich vielmehr neben einzelnen kaukasischen Zügen auch solche bemerken, welche mehr an die mongolische Gesichtsbildung erinnern: bald sind z. B. die Augen etwas schief geschlitzt und lassen das Vorspringen der oberen Augenlidfalte an ihrem inneren Winkel mehr oder weniger deutlich erkennen, bald ist die Nasenwurzel stark eingedrückt und die ganze Nase breit und flach, bald springen die Backenknochen allzusehr hervor und übertreffen erheblich an Breite die Stirn u. s. w. Namentlich scheint Letzteres bei den Aino viel häufiger, als man meint, vorzukommen und nur Dank ihrem starken Bartwuchse weniger in die Augen zu fallen. Auf unserer Tafel IV giebt Fig. 2 ein anschauliches Beispiel solcher Bildung[3]). Sie war auch bei denjenigen Aino von Sachalin ausgesprochen, die auf La Pérouse einen so europäischen Eindruck machten, denn Rollin, der dieselben Individuen ausführlicher beschreibt, hebt ausdrücklich ihre breiten Gesichter und Backen hervor. Ja, nach ihm hatten ihre Züge überhaupt nicht die Regelmässigkeit europäischer Gesichtsbildung. Man darf daher, glaube ich, auch die so oft hervorgehobene Aehnlichkeit der Aino mit den europäischen Völkern nicht zu genau nehmen. Wird diese doch, wie gesagt, besonders zwischen den Aino und manchen russischen Bauern gefunden[4]), und diese sind bekanntlich in manchen Gegenden stark mit finnischen, tatarischen und zum Theil auch mongolischen Elementen vermischt. Zuweilen beschränkt sich übrigens diese Aehnlichkeit auch nur auf den starken Bart, wie z. B. in den Angaben Brylkin's, der, ausser diesem Zuge und der von ihrer Wurzel an gewölbten und regelmässig geformten Nase, den Aino ganz mongolische Gesichtszüge zuschreibt[5]). Nach alledem kann ich auch diesen Typus der Aino nicht schlechtweg als einen europäischen oder kaukasischen, sondern nur als einen in manchen Zügen der kaukasischen Race sich nähernden bezeichnen.

Ist oben schon einzelner, bei den Aino vorkommender, den europäischen Völkern hingegen fremder Gesichtszüge erwähnt, so können sich dieselben auch so weit steigern und häufen, dass sie der gesammten Gesichtsbildung derselben einen wesentlich anderen, den mongolischen Völkern sich nähernden Typus verleihen. Es fehlt daher nicht an Schriftstellern, welche, auf

1) Ich muss bemerken, dass diese Tafel schon vor langerer Zeit, und namentlich vor dem Erscheinen der oben citirten Aino-Photographien, speciell zu dem Zwecke entworfen wurde, um von den verschiedenen hier in Rede stehenden Typen dieses Volkes ein anschauliches Bild zu geben. In dieser Beziehung hat sie auch jetzt, trotz jener zahlreichen Photographien, ihr Interesse nicht verloren.

2) So die Figuren 2 und 5 bei Brandt, also drei männlichen Figuren bei St. John, der Kopf auf Taf. 46 bei Schrenck's Amur-Reise, Band III.

Rosny und die Köpfe 2 und 6 bei Anutschin.

3) Ebenso der Kopf auf Taf. 41 bei Rosny, die Figuren 2 und 3 bei Anutschin, u. a.

4) Wenjukof z. B. weist auf die Bauern der oberen Wolga-Gouvernements hin.

5) «Die kleinen, etwas schief geschlitzten Augen der Ainos, sagt er, «die etwas hervorragenden Backenknochen und die dicken Lippen erinnern einigermassen an den tungusischen Typus» (Brylkin, l. c).

eigene Beobachtungen gestützt, den Aino schlechtweg eine «mongolische» Gesichtsbildung zuzuschreiben und sie demzufolge auch zur mongolischen Race rechnen[1]). Bei solcher Bildung ist die Stirn niedrig und wenig entwickelt, das Gesicht breit und flach, mit stark hervorragenden Backenknochen, die Augen sind klein und in Folge der mehr oder weniger weit übergreifenden oberen Augenlidfalte scheinbar schief geschlitzt, die Nasenwurzel eingedrückt, die Nase breit, flach, mit stumpfer, zuweilen sogar abgeplatteter Spitze, die Lippen dick und aufgeworfen, der Bartwuchs um Vieles schwächer. Die meisten dieser Charaktere sind namentlich von Dönitz, nach einigen von ihm untersuchten Individuen und mit Bezugnahme auf die betreffenden Bildungen bei den Europäern einerseits und bei den Japanern und Chinesen andererseits, eingehend besprochen worden. Es bleibt nur zu bedauern, dass er nicht auch photographische Abbildungen dieser Aino-Individuen geliefert hat, die nach ihm so «durchaus den Typus mongolischer Völker» trugen. Mir ist keine Aino-Photographie bekannt, die einen solchen Typus rein und voll wiedergäbe. Die Fig. 3 auf unserer Tafel IV thut es nur annähernd und unvollständig: die Augen sind nur sehr wenig schief geschlitzt und der Bartwuchs stark; sie giebt eher noch eine Mittelform zwischen dem erstbesprochenen und diesem Typus der Aino[2]). Viel bezeichnender und prägnanter sind manche der von Anutschin mitgetheilten Photographien, namentlich die Köpfe 4, 7 und 9 auf seiner Tafel I. Dieselben zeigen unter Anderem meist auch ein starkes Schwinden des sonst so üppigen Bartwuchses, dieses für die Aino im Allgemeinen so bezeichnenden und vermuthlich auch in hohem Grade erblichen Charakterzuges. Dennoch tragen auch sie noch keinen rein mongolischen Typus: dazu ist die Nase, zumal an ihrer Wurzel, noch zu sehr aufgerichtet, zu wenig breit und flach, die Backenknochen sind zu wenig vorragend, die oberen Augenlidfalten zu schwach entwickelt, die Augenbrauen zu stark, buschig und geradlinig: bei Fig. 4 ist auch der Bartwuchs noch zu stark u. s. w. Sie bieten nur eine mehr oder weniger erhebliche und unzweifelhafte Annäherung an die mongolische Gesichtsbildung. Gleichwie ich daher jenen ersteren physiognomischen Typus der Aino nur einen an die europäischen Völker erinnernden oder annähernd europäischen nannte, so möchte ich diesen zweiten Typus derselben auch nur als einen annähernd mongolischen bezeichnen.

Bisher haben wir nur die Gesichtsbildung der Aino-Männer betrachtet. Was die Weiber

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1) So Tronson (Person. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary, in H. M. S. Barracouta, London 1850, p. 145), Dobrotworskij (Южная часть острова Сахалина. Изв. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Т. I, № 2 и 3, Иркутскъ 1870, стр. 28.—Его-же, Японско-Русскій Словарь, Казань 1873. Прилож. къ Учен. Зап. Имп. Каз. Университ. 1873 г. стр. 32), Dönitz (l. c. p. 63), u. A. Anutschin (l. c. p. 128) führt auch eine ganz ebenso lautende Angabe von Awgustinowitsch und zwar mit denen eigenen Worten an («наши Айносъ часто монгольскаго типа» — das Volk der Aino ist von rein mongolischem Typus), dieselbe steht jedoch in direktem Widerspruch mit der späteren Angabe desselben Autors (Южная Русск. и морской. на остр. Сахал. стр. 39), in welcher es heisst, dass «die Gesichtszüge der Aino überhaupt eher an den europäischen als an den mongolischen Typus erinnern» («особенности черты лица [Айносъ] напоминаютъ скорѣе типъ европейскій, нежели монгольскій»). Auf diese seine letztere Ansicht ist oben (p. 264, Anm. 3) Bezug genommen.

2) Diese Abbildung scheint mir denselben Kopf wie Fig. 1 auf Taf. I bei Anutschin wiederzugeben, obwohl wir unsere Photographien aus verschiedenen Quellen erhalten haben.

betrifft, so findet man fast überall[1]) nur die eine Bemerkung, dass ihre Gesichtszüge hässlicher und gröber als diejenigen der Männer erscheinen, was jedoch mit Recht auf folgende, mehrfache Ursachen zurückgeführt werden kann. Einmal tritt nämlich das an sich nicht gröber geformte Weibergesicht dem Beschauer in seiner Gesammtheit entgegen, während es beim Manne zum grossen Theil durch den starken Bart verdeckt wird, welcher demselben einen wohlthuenden Zug männlicher Kraft verleiht; alsdann wird es bei den Weibern noch durch die Unsitte des Färbens oder Tättowirens der Lippen um Vieles entstellt, und drittens endlich büssen die Weiber, in Folge der auf ihnen ruhenden schweren Arbeit, sehr bald ihre Jugendfrische ein und erscheinen noch vor der Zeit alt und runzelig. Wo aber diese Umstände zum Theil wegfallen, wie bei Kindern und ganz jungen Mädchen, da giebt es auch unter den Aino ganz fein und wohl aussehende Gesichter. Der obigen, auf die Aino-Weiber überhaupt bezüglichen Bemerkung muss ich meinerseits hinzufügen, dass sich auch unter ihnen, bei näherer Betrachtung ihrer Gesichtsbildung, die beiden oben besprochenen Typen deutlich unterscheiden lassen. Dies dürfte kaum besser und prägnanter veranschaulicht werden, als es die beiden unter 4 und 5 auf unserer Taf. IV einander gegenübergestellten Aino-Weiberköpfe thun. Sie geben den ganzen Contrast der beiden physiognomischen Typen viel schärfer und deutlicher wieder, als es die beiden in entsprechender Ordnung über denselben (unter 1 und 3) abgebildeten männlichen Vertreter dieser Typen thun. Doch ist dies, wie ich sogleich hinzufügen muss, nur Zufall, da mir, wie schon erwähnt, kein besserer männlicher Repräsentant des mongolenähnlichen Aino-Typus als der in Fig. 3 abgebildete zu Gebote stand. Auch an den von Anutschin (Taf. II) mitgetheilten Photographien weiblicher Aino-Köpfe lassen sich beide Typen, wenn auch minder scharf und durch Zwischenformen vermittelt, unterscheiden: denn während Fig. 3 und 8 ganz entschieden dem europäerähnlichen Typus angehören, herrscht in Fig. 1 und 2 eine mongolenähnliche Gesichtsbildung vor, und in den übrigen treten neben vorwiegenden Zügen des ersteren Typus auch einzelne des letzteren auf, wie namentlich die bisweilen deutlich schief geschlitzten Augen (Fig. 5 und 6) zeigen[2]).

Wie bei Erwachsenen, so kann man endlich auch schon bei Aino-Kindern die beiden Typen der Gesichtsbildung mehr oder weniger deutlich wahrnehmen; denn während z. B. die Knabenköpfe Fig. 6 auf unserer Tafel und Fig. 7 bei Anutschin, die einander sehr ähnlich, vielleicht sogar identisch sind, fast europäische Züge tragen, verrathen die beiden von Brandt (a. a. O.) in der Aino-Gruppe unter № 4 abgebildeten Knaben durch die schiefe Stellung ihrer Augen, die breite und flache Nase, die dicken, aufgeworfenen Lippen u. drgl. m. eine starke Annäherung an den mongolischen Typus.

Es fragt sich nun, welcher von den beiden physiognomischen Typen der Aino für den ursprünglichen oder älteren anzusehen ist? Sowohl Léon de Rosny, wie Anutschin lassen,

1) So z. B. bei Krusenstern, Whittingham, Blakiston, v. Brandt, Awgustinowitsch, H. Ritter, B. cc., u. A.

2) Der einzige von L. de Rosny wiedergegebene Aino-Weiberkopf (l. c. Tab. 43) lässt deutlich den mongolenähnlichen Typus erkennen.

indem sie jene Typen besprechen, diese Frage unbeantwortet. Ich möchte aber auf einige Umstände hinweisen, welche dafür sprechen, dass nur der erstere, der kaukasischen Race sich nähernde Typus der primäre sein kann. Zunächst ist zu bemerken, dass unter den die Aino gegenwärtig umgebenden Völkern weit und breit kein anderes mit ähnlicher, an die Europäer erinnernder Gesichtsbildung zu finden ist. In ihrer gegenwärtigen Heimath können sie daher diese Gesichtsbildung nicht gewonnen haben, sondern müssen dahin schon mit derselben gekommen sein. Hat aber dort eine theilweise Vermischung der Aino mit ihren Nachbaren stattgefunden, so können sie dadurch nur manche mongolische Züge erhalten haben, da ihre Nachbaren sämmtlich von mehr oder weniger rein mongolischer Gesichtsbildung sind. Von den Japanern und Koreanern im Süden und Südwesten, wie von den Oroken und Kamtschadalen im Norden und Nordosten unterliegt dies keinem Zweifel; nur von den Giljaken könnte es noch zum Theil fraglich erscheinen. Wir sahen indessen schon, dass die Giljaken, wenn sie ursprünglich vielleicht auch eine minder mongolenähnliche Gesichtsbildung gehabt haben sollten, doch im Laufe der Zeit durch Vermischung mit tungusischen Elementen stark mongolisirt worden sind. Auch sie mussten daher den Aino, wenn auch in geringerem Grade als ihre übrigen Nachbaren, mongolische Züge zutragen und von ihnen umgekehrt manches den tungusischen und anderen asiatischen Völkern Fremdartige — einen stärkeren Bartwuchs, weniger schief oder bisweilen sogar horizontal geschlitzte Augenlider u. drgl. m. — erhalten, wie es an dem oben abgehandelten ainisch-giljakischen Typus auch in der That wahrzunehmen ist[1]). So musste sich unter den ursprünglich europäerähnlichen Aino an den Grenzen ihres Gebietes, in Folge von Vermischung mit den Nachbarvölkern, allmählich ein zweiter, mongolenähnlicher Typus bilden und von der Peripherie aus hie und da und mehr oder weniger auch nach dem Innern ihres Gebietes fortpflanzen. Und dass ein solcher Vorgang in der That stattgefunden, wird gewissermassen auch durch die Beobachtung erwiesen. Es ist nämlich nicht schwer zu bemerken, dass bei weitem die meisten Reisenden, welche den Aino eine europäische Gesichtsbildung zuschreiben, und namentlich diejenigen, die sich am entschiedensten für dieselbe aussprechen — wie Habersham, Forbes, Bickmore, Blakiston, St. John, Herm. Ritter — ihre Ansicht auf Beobachtungen gründen, die sie an den Aino von Jesso gemacht haben. Diese Insel ist aber auch der Mittelpunkt des Aino-Gebietes: dort sind sie in grösster Anzahl vorhanden; dort stossen sie mit keinem eingeborenen Volke von anderem Stamme, wie auf Sachalin oder im Norden der Kurilen, zusammen; dort ist endlich ihre Berührung mit den Japanern eine minder alte als auf Nippon, von welchem sie fast ganz verdrängt worden sind, und bleibt auch gegenwärtig fast nur auf die Süd- und Westküste der Insel beschränkt. Dort konnten und mussten sie daher ihren ursprünglichen Typus am reinsten und vollsten bewahren. Ganz im Gegentheil schreiben den Aino am entschiedensten einen rein mongolischen Typus solche Beobachter zu, die sie an den Grenzen ihres Gebietes kennen gelernt haben, — einerseits Dönitz, der in Yedo lebende, aus dem äussersten Südwesten von Jesso gebürtige Individuen untersuchte,

1) S. oben, p. 223.

und andrerseits Dobrotworskij, der sich Jahre lang auf Sachalin aufhielt. Nach dortigen Individuen schrieb auch Brylkin den Aino, trotz ihres starken, an die Russen erinnernden Bartwuchses, im Wesentlichen mongolische Gesichtszüge zu. Von Sachalin rühren endlich auch diejenigen oben besprochenen Photographien her, welche den mongolenähnlichen Typus am vollsten wiedergeben. Ich kann dies Alles nicht für Zufälligkeiten halten, sondern sehe darin einen Beweis für die bei den Aino zunächst und zumeist im Umkreise ihres Gebietes, in Folge von Vermischung einerseits mit Japanern, andererseits mit Giljaken und in geringerem Grade vielleicht auch mit Oroken, theilweise vor sich gegangene Umwandlung ihres ursprünglichen Typus.

Man dürfte erwarten, dass bei so verschiedener Gesichtsbildung auch der Gesichtsausdruck bei den Aino ein sehr verschiedener sein werde. Und doch scheint dies, nach den vorhandenen Angaben zu urtheilen, keineswegs der Fall zu sein. Der Ausspruch Krusenstern's, dass auf dem Gesicht des Aino sein Hauptcharakter, die Herzensgüte, mit unverkennbaren Zügen sich ausspreche [1]), hat niemals einen Widerspruch, wohl aber vielfache, in verschiedener Form ausgedrückte Bestätigungen erfahren. Es genüge nur ein paar derselben anzuführen. Alle Aino-Gesichter, sagt Habersham, entbehren jenes Ausdruckes treuloser Hinterlist, welcher in den Zügen ihrer Meister, der Japaner und Nordchinesen so unverkennbar zu lesen ist [2]). Wäre nicht ihr sanftes, schwarzes Auge, meint Forbes, so würde ihnen die starke Behaarung am Kopf und ganzen Körper entschieden ein wildes Ansehen verleihen. Trotz dieses starken, langen Bartes, der auf den ersten Blick so leicht den Eindruck männlicher Kraft hervorruft, soll sich jedoch im Gesicht der Aino oft etwas Schüchternes, Unfreies, Gedrücktes, Knechtisches aussprechen, was ohne Zweifel dem Drucke zuzuschreiben ist, den sie von den Japanern zu erleiden haben und der sie vielfach zu Armuth und Elend gebracht hat. Wo dieser Druck daher geringer ist oder ganz fehlt und in Folge dessen der Wohlstand der Aino ein grösserer ist, da ist auch ihr ganzes Ansehen ein anderes. Ein solcher Unterschied soll z. B., nach v. Brandt [3]), zwischen den Aino der West- und denen der Ostküste von Jesso bestehen: während jene, von den Japanern vollständig wie Leibeigene behandelt, einen gedrückten und erbärmlichen Eindruck machen, sind diese ein munteres Jäger-, Fischer- und Hirtenvolk, das sich mit vielmehr Freiheit und Ungebundenheit als jene bewegt. Ebenso fand Golowatschof, dass die Aino in der Mordwinof-Bai auf Sachalin, welche von den Japanern zu der Zeit noch wenig oder gar nicht berührt wurde, ein freieres und zufriedeneres Ansehen als diejenigen von Jesso und selbst vom nahe gelegenen Aniwa hatten [4]). So sind es nicht jene Differenzen in der physischen Gesichtsbildung, sondern sociale und moralische Verhältnisse, welche den Gesichtsausdruck bei den Aino vor Allem bedingen und beherrschen.

Dass bei so verschiedener Gesichtsbildung auch die gesammte Schädelform der Aino grosse Verschiedenheiten darbieten muss, versteht sich fast von selbst. Léon de Rosny schreibt in der

1) L. c. p. 78.
2) Nott and Gliddon, l. c.
3) L. c. p. (27).
4) Krusenstern, l. c. p. 89.

That dem einen der oben besprochenen Typen eine dolichocephale, dem anderen eine brachycephale Schädelform zu. Doch stützt er diese Behauptung nur auf allgemeine Angaben und Photographien von Aino-Köpfen, nicht auf Messungen, die allein uns über die verschiedenen Schädelformen und, an Köpfen lebender oder Schädeln im Leben bekannt gewesener Individuen ausgeführt, auch über ihr Zusammenfallen mit den verschiedenen physiognomischen Typen genauer belehren können. Gegenwärtig ist bereits eine Anzahl von Aino-Schädeln genauer untersucht, vermessen und mit Schädeln europäischer und mongolischer Völkerschaften verglichen worden. Mir liegen zwar zwei Aino-Schädel vor, allein beide sind, ihres sehr schadhaften Zustandes und der eine auch seines allzujugendlichen Alters wegen, zur Vermessung nicht geeignet [1]). Ich werde mich daher darauf beschränken, die Hauptresultate, zu denen die bisherigen Untersuchungen in Beziehung auf die Schädelform der Aino im Vergleich mit anderen europäischen oder asiatischen Völkern geführt haben, kurz hervorzuheben.

Obwohl bisher nur etwa 20 Aino-Schädel oder Köpfe auf ihre Maassverhältnisse untersucht worden sind und unter diesen auch lange nicht von allen die zur Vergleichung nothwendigen Daten vorhanden oder, mir wenigstens, bekannt sind, so lassen sich aus denselben doch schon grosse Differenzen und Schwankungen in der Schädelform der Aino erkennen. Es giebt unter ihnen sehr ausgesprochene Lang- und Hochschädel und ebenso scharf ausgeprägte Breit- und Plattschädel — einerseits entschieden hypsidolichocephale, andererseits unzweifelhaft platybrachycephale Formen, durch eine Reihe von Mittelbildungen, von hypsi- und platymesocephalen Formen mit einander verbunden. Gleich der erste genauer untersuchte Aino-Schädel — ich meine den von Busk vermessenen, der von einem Individuum aus Jesso stammte, — ist ein ausgesprochener Hypsidolichocephalus, mit einem Längenbreitenindex von 70,5 und einem Breitenhöhenindex von 103,6 [2]). Sieht man von etwaigen Differenzen im resp. Messverfahren ab, so sind dies fast genau dieselben Verhältnisse, die auch unser Giljaken-Schädel vom Ochotskischen Meer darbietet (Längenbreitenindex 70,4, Breitenhöhenindex 101,5), nur scheint der Aino-Schädel ihn an Höhe noch zu übertreffen. Unter den drei Aino-Schädeln, welche Virchow untersuchte (2 von Sachalin und 1 von Jesso), ist der eine (№ II von Sachalin) [3]) ebenfalls stark hypsidolichocephal, mit einem Längenbreitenindex von 71,8. Doch ist derselbe, wie Virchow bemerkt,

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1) Der eine dieser Schädel wurde von Brylkin im Jahre 1861 in der Nähe des russischen Postens Kussunnai aus einem Grabe genommen, in welchem derselbe in einem hölzernen Sarge, zusammen mit verschiedenen Kleidungsstücken, Waffen u. a. Aino-Gegenständen lag. Angeblich war es das Grab des Aino Tinussai, eines im Jahre 1855 verstorbenen, etwa 15—17 Jahre alten Sohnes des Kussunnaier Aino-Aeltesten. Die Schädelbasis und ein Theil des Hinterhauptes fehlen an demselben. — Der zweite Schädel wurde vom Führer derselben Expedition, Fr. Schmidt, ebenfalls von Sachalin gebracht: er gehörte einem 6-jährigen Aino-Kindje. Die Schädelbasis an demselben ist ebenfalls sehr schadhaft, einzelne Knochen sind auseinandergefallen, die übrigen Nähte stark klaffend.

2) Vrgl. Barn. Davis, Descr. of the Skel. of an Aino Woman and of three Skulls of Men of the same race (Mem. read before the Anthropol. Soc. of London, Vol. II, 1870, p. 28), wo die von ihm und von Busk gefundenen Schädelmasse tabellarisch zusammengestellt sind. Des Letzteren eigene Abhandlung über den in Rede stehenden Aino-Schädel (in den Transact. of the Ethnolog. Soc. of London [New Ser.], Vol. VI) liegt mir nicht vor.

3) Verhandl. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Anthropol., Ethnol. und Urgesch., in der Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. XII, 1880, p. (208).

durch eine ausgedehnte Synostose des Schädeldaches, namentlich der Pfeilnaht, so wie der Kranz- und oberen Lambdanaht, verunstaltet, dass er bei Erörterung der typischen Form ausgeschieden werden muss. Von ausgesprochen dolichocephaler Form ist auch der Aino-Schädel, den Forbes von der Insel Jesso brachte und Huxley zur Untersuchung übergab. Letzterer hatte vordem drei japanische Schädel untersucht, von denen sich zwei, die am meisten charakteristisch zu sein schienen, durch merkwürdige Länge von allen chinesischen und mongolischen Schädeln abhoben. Der Aino-Schädel übertraf sie aber noch an Länge, was Huxley zu der Meinung veranlasste, dass die craniologischen Züge, namentlich die dolichocephale Schädelform, welche die Japaner von ihren westlichen und südlichen Nachbarvölkern unterscheiden, aus ihrer Vermischung mit den Aino abgeleitet werden dürften[1]).

Dieser hypsidolichocephalen Form des Schädels steht bei den Aino eine platybrachycephale gegenüber. Unter den drei von Davis vermessenen Aino-Schädeln von Jesso hat keiner diese letztere Form: der eine ist hypsimesocephal, indem sein Längenbreitenindex 76,7 und sein Breitenhöhenindex 100,0 beträgt; die beiden anderen sind zwar platycephal (mit resp. Breitenhöhenindices von 88,6 und 95,8), erreichen aber in der Breite auch nicht das Maass, von welchem an wir, nach Thering, die Brachycephalie rechnen, indem ihre Längenbreitenindices 77,4 und 78,8 betragen, — sie sind also platymesocephal. Dasselbe gilt von zweien der drei Aino-Schädel, welche Anutschin aus dem südlichen Sachalin erhalten und vermessen hat (Längenbreitenindices 75,9 und 77,9)[2]), so wie auch von den beiden anderen durch Virchow untersuchten, von Sachalin und Jesso herrührenden Aino-Schädeln (mit Längenbreitenindices von resp. 78,9 und 79,3)[3]). Stehen die beiden letzteren schon hart an der Grenze der Brachycephalie, so tritt diese an zweien der fünf von Dönitz in Nippon untersuchten Aino-Individuen ganz entschieden hervor, indem ihre Längenbreitenindices, so weit sich aus den Kopfmaassen entnehmen lässt, 80,0 und 82,0 betragen[4]). Ungefähr dieses letztere Maass von Brachycephalie hat auch einer von unseren Aino-Schädeln (der von Brylkin gebrachte, s. oben), da sein Längenbreitenindex circa 82,8 beträgt. Der brachycephalste Aino-Schädel endlich, den wir bisher kennen, ist der dritte der oben erwähnten von Anutschin untersuchten Schädel, dessen Längenbreitenindex 85,3 beträgt[5]). Dies ist wiederum fast genau dasselbe Maass der Brachy-

1) Proceed. of the Royal Geogr. Soc. of London, Vol. X, 1866, p. 171.

2) L. c. p. 164. Die Breitenhöhenindices sind nicht angegeben und lassen sich auch nicht eruiren, da die betreffenden Maassangaben fehlen; aus der Thatsache aber, dass die Längenhöhenindices, wie es heisst, bei allen drei Schädeln um 4—7 Einheiten kleiner als die Längenbreitenindices sind, folgt, dass die Breite bei allen dreien die Höhe übertrifft, und dass somit alle drei platycephal sind.

3) Verhandl. der Berliner Gesellsch. f. Anthropol., Ethnol. und Urgesch., in der Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. V, 1873, p. (122); Bd. XII, 1880, p. (208). An dem ersteren Orte giebt Virchow auch den Breitenhöhenindex des ersteren dieser Schädel (№ I von Sachalin) an, und zwar auf 98,7. Von dem anderen (aus Jesso) erfahren wir nur die aufrechte Höhe; indessen ist auch dieser Schädel, wenn auch verhältnissmässig etwas höher als jener, doch ebenfalls platycephal.

4) l. c. p. 86. Dönitz hat ausser den fünf lebenden Individuen auch einen Aino-Schädel untersucht, leider aber unter den zahlreichen Maassen desselben dasjenige der Gesammtlänge nicht angegeben, so dass der Cephalindex desselben nicht abzuleiten ist.

5) Dass er zugleich platycephal ist, haben wir oben (Anm. 2) schon bemerkt.

cephalie, welches uns auch an einem Giljaken-Schädel vom Amur (№ III, Längenbreitenindex 85,2) begegnete. Hält man also die beiden uns bisher bekannten äussersten Formen unter den Aino-Schädeln gegen einander, so ergiebt sich zwischen denselben im Cephalindex eine Differenz von 14,8, d. i. genau dasselbe Maass der Schwankung, das wir nach den bisherigen, wenig zahlreichen Daten auch an den Giljaken-Schädeln kennen gelernt haben, das aber selbstverständlich hier wie da noch nicht das wirkliche Maximum zu sein braucht.

Welche der Schädelformen unter den Aino überhaupt die vorherrschende ist, lässt sich natürlich nach dem jetzigen, sehr geringen Erfahrungsmaterial noch nicht bestimmen. So viel scheint aber aus demselben schon jetzt hervorzugehen, dass in verschiedenen Theilen des Aino-Gebietes auch verschiedene Schädelformen vorherrschen, denn die oben erwähnten dolichocephalen Schädel stammen meist von Jesso, die brachycephalen aus den nördlichen und südlichen Grenzgebieten, theils von Sachalin[1]), theils aus dem äussersten Südwesten von Jesso. Von den Mittelformen ferner fallen die hypsimesocephalen auf Jesso, die platymesocephalen zumeist auf die erwähnten Grenzgebiete[2]). Man wird dies ganz in Uebereinstimmung finden mit dem oben dargethanen Vorherrschen in den genannten Aino-Gebieten auch verschiedener physiognomischer Typen: des europäerähnlichen Typus auf Jesso und des mongolenähnlichen auf Sachalin und im äussersten Südwesten von Jesso. Unzweifelhaft stehen also jene Schädelformen und diese Typen der Gesichtsbildung und gesammten Physiognomie der Aino in causalem Zusammenhange. Wie der europäerähnliche Typus, so ist also vermuthlich auch die lange und hohe Schädelform als die ältere oder ursprüngliche bei den Aino zu betrachten, während die mehr brachy- und platycephalen Formen sich erst später, in Folge von Vermischung der Aino mit ihren Nachbaren, den Japanern im Süden und den bereits stark mongolisirten Giljaken und zum Theil auch den Oroken im Norden, gebildet haben dürften. In Folge dieser Vermischung müssten aber andererseits auch unter den Nachbarvölkern der Aino mehr oder weniger dolicho- und hypsicephale Schädelformen vorkommen, und dies ist, wie meine obigen Beobachtungen an den Giljaken und Huxley's an den Japanern zeigen, in der That der Fall.

Wenn übrigens die Aino-Schädel auch sehr ähnliche Formverhältnisse zeigen, wie man sie einerseits bei westeuropäischen, andererseits bei mongolischen Völkern kennt, so gestattet doch ihr Gesammtbau ebensowenig wie auch ihr resp. verschiedener physiognomischer Typus eine Zusammenstellung der Aino schlechtweg mit den einen oder den anderen dieser Völker. So sehr z. B. Busk den von ihm untersuchten, dolichocephalsten Aino-Schädel mit westeuropäischen übereinstimmend fand, so kann er doch nicht umhin, auf Charaktere hinzuweisen, die ihn von europäischen, wie von allen ihm bekannten Schädeltypen unterscheiden: den ersteren

1) Dobrotwarskij (Аинско-Русск. Словарь. — Прилож. къ Изв. Зап. Казанск. Университ. 1873, стр. 32) schreibt den Aino nach seinen Erfahrungen auf Sachalin auch schlechtweg einen brachycephalen Schädel zu.

2) Der von Virchow untersuchte platymeso-, beinahe platybrachycephale Schädel aus Jesso war von den Hrn. G. Schlesinger und Böhmer in der Nähe der vor einigen Jahren gegründeten Stadt Sapporo, an einem Orte ausgegraben worden, wo sich vor etwa 15 Jahren ein grosses Aino-Dorf befand (Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. XII, p. [207]).

gegenüber weist er namentlich auf die grosse Breite des Aino-Schädels in den Jochbögen hin, weshalb er ihn «phenozygous» nennt, und den durchweg unterscheidenden Charakter sieht er in der stark vorgerückten Stellung der Jugularfortsätze des Hinterhauptbeines[1]). Davis konnte zwar diese Angaben nach seinen drei Aino-Schädeln nur zum Theil bestätigen, dennoch hebt auch er wiederholentlich hervor, dass die Aino-Schädel, ob sie gleich mit europäischen eine grössere Aehnlichkeit als mit irgend welchen anderen hätten, doch nicht ganz von derselben Form seien und im Ganzen eine auf den ersten Blick zwar nicht auffallende, bei genauerer Betrachtung aber unläugbare Verschiedenheit der Züge darböten. So zeigten sie schmale und meist sehr wenig vorragende Nasenbeine, viel breitere Nasalfortsätze der Oberkieferbeine und überhaupt in der Gesichtsbildung etwas den europäischen Fremdartiges. Dieses Fremdartige an den Aino-Schädeln hat jedoch Davis in seiner Beschreibung nicht recht zum Ausdruck gebracht, denn, wie Virchow bemerkt, stimmt dieselbe, namentlich in Bezug auf die Kieferbildung und Schädelwölbung, weniger gut als die betreffenden Abbildungen zu einem von ihm durch Mizzul aus Südsachalin erhaltenen Aino-Schädel[2]). Diesem verleiht aber eine Reihe von Charakteren, wie die niedrige und etwas eingebogene Nase, die gleichfalls niedrigen und etwas schiefen Augenhöhlen, das verhältnissmässig stark vortretende Jochbein, die Breite und Prominenz des Oberkiefers, eine, nach Virchow's Ausdruck, «entschieden asiatische, um nicht zu sagen, mongolische Physiognomie». Dazu frappirten ihn am Aino-Schädel noch ein paar andere Eigenschaften, namentlich die erheblich prognathe Bildung des Oberkiefers, der fast kreisförmige Bogen des Zahnrandes an der Gaumenfläche und die colossale Ausbildung der Muskelinsertionen, besonders der Ansatzfläche des Kaumuskels, — eine Eigenthümlichkeit, welche ich oben bei den Giljaken-Schädeln schon besprochen und die ich auch bei manchen amurtungusischen Schädeln gefunden habe. Mag also der von Virchow beschriebene Aino-Schädel dem europäischen Typus auch ferner als die von Davis untersuchten Schädel gestanden haben, so giebt doch seine vielfache Uebereinstimmung mit den Abbildungen dieser letzteren ebenfalls einen Beweis dafür ab, dass die Aino-Schädel, auch wenn sie den europäischen auf den ersten Blick noch ähnlich erscheinen, bei genauerer Betrachtung doch eine Anzahl diesen letzteren fremdartiger, asiatischer oder mongolischer Züge aufweisen. Von einer Identität beider Schädeltypen kann eben nicht die Rede sein, sondern nur von einer gewissen Aehnlichkeit. Ganz entsprechend verhalten sich die Aino-Schädel auch dem mongolischen Typus gegenüber: so sehr sich manche derselben diesem letzteren nähern, so behalten sie doch immer noch etwas ihm Fremdartiges, Eigenthümliches. Selbst bei dem brachycephalsten der bisher bekannten Aino-Schädel fand Anutschin in manchen Zügen eine ansehnliche Annäherung an den kaukasischen Schädeltypus[3]). So behält der Aino-Schädel, trotz seiner grösseren oder geringeren Aehnlichkeit einerseits mit europäischen, anderer-

1) Vrgl. Davis, l. c. p. 37, 38.

2) Virchow, l. c. p. (123). Auch Dönitz (l. c. p. 64) findet die Davis'schen Abbildungen in manchen Punkten, den betreffenden Beschreibungen entgegen, mit dem von ihm untersuchten Aino-Schädel von mongolischem Typus übereinstimmend.

3) Anutschin, l. c. p. 169.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

seits mit mongolischen Schädeln, doch sein eigenthümliches Gepräge und lässt sich schlechtweg weder den einen, noch den anderen anreihen. Sehr treffend spricht sich in diesem Sinne auch Dr. John Kennedy bei Beschreibung des Schädels eines etwa 9 Jahre alten Aino-Kindes aus. Nachdem er die einzelnen, theils an den europäischen, theils an den mongolischen Typus erinnernden Züge desselben abgehandelt, gelangt er zu dem Schlusse, dass der Schädel unzweifelhaft von einem höheren Typus als der gewöhnliche mongolische sei und sich dem europäischen gewissermassen nähere, ebenso unzweifelhaft aber auch vom europäischen wesentlich verschieden und dem mongolischen nahe verwandt sei[1]).

Noch ein besonderer, im Knochenbau des Gesichtes bei den Aino beobachteter Charakter darf hier nicht unerwähnt bleiben, — ich meine die Spaltung des Jochbeines durch die von Dönitz[2]) sogenannte Sutura zygomatica temporalis oder, wie Virchow sie richtiger bezeichnet, Sut. transversa zygomatica. Unter 50 von Dönitz untersuchten Japaner-Schädeln hatten 4 eine vollständige Spaltung des Jochbeines (und zwar darunter 3 auf beiden Seiten); bei 9 anderen war jederseits und bei noch anderen 3 nur links ein Theil dieser Quernaht vorhanden. Die vier ersteren stammten sämmtlich aus dem Norden von Nippon her, wo sich die Aino am längsten selbständig erhalten hatten, und von den übrigen rührten 2, und zwar die beiden einzigen, deren Fundort genauer bekannt war, ebenfalls aus Gegenden her, die noch in später Zeit Aino-Land gewesen waren. Da nun Dönitz ein gespaltenes Jochbein auch bei einem wahren Aino-Schädel fand, so hält er es für eine diesem Volke eigenthümliche und auf die Japaner nur durch Vermischung mit den Aino übertragene Bildung. Später beobachtete auch Virchow[3]) an dem oben erwähnten Aino-Schädel von Jesso rechterseits ein vollständiges Os malare bipartitum (das linke Jochbein war nicht erhalten) und an dem einen Schädel von Sachalin (№ II) beiderseits eine unvollkommene, 7^{mm} lange Quernaht. Bei den übrigen oben berührten Aino-Schädeln wird dieser Bildung nicht erwähnt, und an unseren beiden Exemplaren ist von der gedachten Quernaht nichts zu sehen. Es bleibt daher noch durch eine grössere Anzahl von Beobachtungen festzustellen, ob und in welchem Grade diese Bildung für den Aino-Schädel charakteristisch ist[4]).

Wirft man auf alles über die physische Beschaffenheit wie über die Sprache der Aino oben Angeführte einen Gesammtrückblick, so liegt der Schluss nahe, dass sie zwar keiner der jetzigen Völkergruppen schlechtweg zugezählt werden können, dass sie aber doch von continentalasiatischem Ursprunge sein müssen. Die meisten Berührungen, Aehnlichkeiten und Verwandtschaften im Schädelbau, in der Gesichtsbildung und Physiognomie, in der gesammten physischen

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1) Revue d'Anthrop. publ. sous la direct. de M. P. Broca, T. I, Paris 1872, p. 239; nach einem von Kennedy in der königl. physik. Gesellschaft zu Königsberg 1871 gehaltenen Vortrage. Der Schädel dieses Kindes war mesocephal, sein Längenbreitenindex 78. Unser Aino-Kinderschädel gehört in dieselbe Kategorie, indem sein Cephalindex circa 75,6 beträgt.

2) Verhandl. der Berl. Ges. für Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgesch., in der Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. VIII, 1876, p. (10).

3) Verhandl. der Berl. Ges. etc. Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. VIII, p. (11); Bd. XII, p. (208).

4) Im Hinblick auf die oben an den Gilijak-Schädeln stets beachtete Beschaffenheit der Schläfengegend sei hier beiläufig noch bemerkt, dass auch an unseren beiden Aino-Schädeln die Schläfenbeinschuppe ohne Stirnfortsatz ist.

Beschaffenheit bringen sie nicht in die Nähe der oceanischen Völker, sei es der weissen, oder der dunkelfarbigen, papuanischen Race, sondern in die Nähe der Völker von kaukasischem und mongolischem Stamme, ohne dass sie jedoch den einen oder den anderen dieser beiden einverleibt werden könnten. Erwägt man ferner ihre gegenwärtige sprachliche Isolirung, so wie den Umstand, dass sie in physischer Beziehung, trotz theilweiser, im Laufe der Zeit in Folge von Vermischung unzweifelhaft fortgeschrittener Mongolisirung, doch manche, allen sie umgebenden Völkern von mongolischem Typus ganz fremdartige, ihnen allein eigenthümliche Züge aufzuweisen haben, so wird man nicht anstehen, sie für ein durch mongolische Völkerschaften frühzeitig vom Festlande Asien's nach seinem insularen Ostrande verdrängtes, also paläasiatisches Volk zu erklären. Dank der insularen Beschaffenheit ihrer neuen Heimath, welche sie lange Zeit hindurch vor Vermischung mit anderen Völkern schützte, haben die Aino ihre typischen Eigenthümlichkeiten in hohem Grade erhalten und festigen können. Erst viel später, als die Japaner in ihr Gebiet einwanderten und sie zum Theil nordwärts, nach Sachalin und den Kurilen drängten, wo sie mit Giljaken, Oroken, Itälmenen zusammenstiessen, musste im Süden wie im Norden durch Vermischung mit jenen Völkern eine theilweise stärkere Mongolisirung der Aino eintreten. Aus dem Umstande, dass die Aino vor Ankunft der Japaner nachweislich ganz Nippon bewohnten, nach Sachalin und den Kurilen hingegen erst später sich ausbreiteten, lässt sich endlich auch der Weg erkennen, auf welchem dieses paläasiatische Volk vom Festlande nach seiner neuen, insularen Heimath einwanderte. Es kann nicht, wie Siebold meint [1]), die Amur-Strasse gewesen sein, auf welcher wir ein anderes paläasiatisches Volk, die Giljaken, nach Sachalin einwandern sahen, sondern der Weg, auf welchem die Aino in das jetzige Japan einzogen, muss über Korea und die Tschu-sima-Inseln nach Nippon gegangen sein. Wenn daher irgendwo auf dem Festlande Asien's Reste oder Spuren von Aino, sei es in der Sprache, oder in der physischen Beschaffenheit seiner jetzigen Völker, zurückgeblieben sein sollten, so könnte dies nur in Korea der Fall sein, wo die Aino nothwendigerweise, ehe sie in See gingen, längere Zeit hindurch verweilt haben müssen. Noch ist dieses Land zu wenig durchforscht, um bestimmte Auskunft, positiver oder negativer Art, darüber zu geben. Höchst beachtenswerth scheint mir aber die von Richthofen an der chinesisch-koreanischen Grenze gemachte Beobachtung zu sein, dass es dort Koreaner von zwei Typen giebt, von denen die einen, nach Abbildungen zu urtheilen, an die Aino von Jesso erinnern. «Sollte man», meint er, «es hier vielleicht mit einer den Aino verwandten Urrace zu thun haben, die von den jetzt herrschenden Koreanern verdrängt wurde?» [2]) Mir dient diese Beobachtung Richthofen's in der That zur Bestärkung in meiner oben über den Ursprung und die Wanderung der Aino als eines paläasiatischen Volkes ausgesprochenen Ansicht [3]).

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1) Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. p. 118.

2) Zeitschr. der Berliner Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Bd. V, p. 722.

3) P. Kempermann sucht nachzuweisen, dass auch die Japaner über Korea nach ihrer jetzigen Heimath eingewandert seien. S. Verhandl. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgesch., in der Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. VIII, 1876, p. (91)ff.

Hinter den beiden paläasiatischen Völkern, Giljaken und Aino, oder westwärts von ihnen, breitet sich im gesammten Amur-Lande ein dritter, neuerer, auch über ganz Ostsibirien und in den Mandshu bis nach China verstreuter Volksstamm, der **Stamm der Tungusen** aus. Zu ihm gehören alle übrigen indigenen Völker des Amur-Landes. Das geht unverkennbar aus ihren Sprachen hervor. Es könnte sich hier daher nur noch darum handeln, die Gruppirung der verschiedenen Zweige gegen einander und zum Stamme genauer festzustellen. Dazu bedürfte es aber eines eingehenden Studiums ihrer Dialekte und nicht minder ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit, und zwar, da es sich um feinere Differenzen und Nüancirungen handelt, nach einem noch grösseren und umfassenderen Materiale, als es bereits für die vergleichende Betrachtung von Völkern verschiedenen Stammes erforderlich ist. Das Erstere bleibt natürlich den Sprachforschern überlassen, und zu dem Letzteren reichen nicht bloss meine, sondern überhaupt die bisherigen Beobachtungen lange nicht hin. Die meisten der tungusischen Amur-Völker habe ich nur flüchtig gesehen, wenige etwas näher kennen gelernt, und auch nur von einigen derselben liegt mir je ein Schädel zur Vergleichung vor. Es können daher auch nur einige Materialien und daran geknüpfte Andeutungen und Vermuthungen sein, was ich in der betreffenden Richtung gebe. Aus diesem Grunde und weil die tungusischen Amur-Völker nur Zweige eines Stammes sind, werde ich dieselben auch nicht einzeln nach einander, wie die Giljaken und Aino, sondern gleichzeitig neben einander betrachten.

Zuvörderst sei erwähnt, dass so unzweifelhaft auch diese Völker sämmtlich von tungusischem Stamme sind, so ist doch manchem von ihnen ein anderer Ursprung zugeschrieben worden. In den Oltscha namentlich, die in den russischen Berichten stets Mangunen heissen, vermuthete P. Ssemenof Mongolen, Nachkommen jener Men-gu, die schon in der Geschichte der Khitan genannt werden, später der Kin-Dynastie häufige Niederlagen beibrachten, und von welchen Tschingis-Chan für sein Volk den Namen Mongolen entlehnte. Er meint daher, dass die Men-gu im XII. Jahrhundert nicht bloss an den Quellen, sondern auch am mittleren Laufe des Amur-Stromes wohnten. Ja, er hält an der Identität der Mangunen mit den Men-gu oder Mongolen auch für den Fall noch fest, dass sie im Laufe der Zeit ihre mongolische Sprache gegen eine tungusische vertauscht haben sollten[1]). Diese Ansicht beruht jedoch einzig und allein auf der Lautähnlichkeit des Namens «Mangunen» mit «Men-gu» und «Mongolen», und dass es mit diesem Namen eine ganz andere Bewandtniss hat, ist oben bereits ausführlich dargethan worden[2]).

Aehnlich ist es den Dauren ergangen. Der Archimandrit Palladij führt zwar an, dass sie einer chinesischen Angabe zufolge von einem alten Zweige der Khitan («Daho») abstammen, also zum mandshu-tungusischen Stamme gehören sollen; doch nennt er diese Angabe eine «unbewiesene» und meint, dass man wohl kaum so weit zurückzugehen brauche, um den Ursprung

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1) Н. Семенов, Этнографія Азіи К. Ритера, С. Петерб. 1888, Т. I, стр. 433, 436, 706, 709.

2) S. oben, p. 144.

dieses Volkes zu finden. Er schliesst sich der ebenfalls von chinesischen Schriftstellern geäusserten Vermuthung an, dass die Dauren Reste einer mongolisch-chinesischen Militärcolonie seien, und stützt sich dabei auf den Umstand, dass sie in ihrer Sprache viel chinesische Wörter haben, und dass es andererseits bei den mongolischen Beherrschern China's gebräuchlich war, solche, mit chinesischen Ackerbauern und Handwerkern versehene Colonien in ihren entlegenen Besitzungen zu gründen[1]). Verstehen wir ihn recht, so wären also nach ihm die Dauren eine Mischung von Mongolen, welche das Gros und das militärische Element der Colonie bildeten, und von Chinesen, welche Ackerbau und Industrie in derselben verbreiten sollten. Diese Vermuthung mag glaublich erscheinen, wenn man mit Palladij nur die jetzigen Dauren am Nonni im Auge hat. Bekanntlich waren aber die Dauren ehemals und noch zur Zeit der ersten russischen Invasion ein zahlreiches, weit ausgebreitetes, am oberen Amur und in dem zwischen Argunj und Schilka gelegenen, noch jetzt nach ihnen benannten Lande sesshaftes Volk, das Ackerbau und Viehzucht trieb, seine eigenen Fürsten hatte u. s. w. Und hinsichtlich dieses Volkes lauten die Angaben ganz einmüthig dahin, dass es ein den nomadischen Tungusen durch seine oben erwähnte Lebensweise an Cultur zwar überlegenes, sprachlich aber ihnen wie den Mandshu stammverwandtes Volk gewesen sei[2]). Nach Ysbrants Ides hielten sich die Tungusen um Nertschinsk und am Argunj auch selbst für eines Stammes mit den Dauren[3]). Mir sagten Biraren am Amur, dass sie die Sprache der Dauren sehr wohl verständen, und einem meiner Kosaken, der das Orotschonische sprach und seinen Gesichtszügen nach selbst von tungusischem Ursprunge sein musste, war die Sprache der Dauren, mit denen wir am Amur zusammentrafen, auch nicht ganz fremd. Die Dauren im Dorfe Chormoldin verstanden zwar die goldischen Worte, die ich an sie richtete, so gut wie gar nicht und vom Orotschonischen meines Kosaken auch nur sehr wenig, dennoch fielen mir in ihrer Rede manche und besonders die Zahlwörter als mir bekannte, tungusische auf. Ich kann daher nicht umhin, mich der allgemein geltenden Ansicht, dass die Dauren von tungusischem Stamme sind, anzuschliessen. Andererseits ist es aber unzweifelhaft — und in so weit wird Palladij Recht haben — dass sie eine Menge mongolischer und chinesischer Wörter in ihre Sprache aufgenommen und sich zum Theil auch physisch, und vielleicht in einem höheren Grade als irgend ein anderes der Amur-Völker, mit Mongolen und Chinesen vermischt haben. Waren doch die ersteren schon in Daurien ihre unmittelbaren Grenznachbaren, wie sie es noch heutigen Tages am Nonni sind. Von ihnen, als einem Hirtenvolke insonderheit, mögen sie namentlich, gleich manchen späteren Steppen-

1) Палладій, Апрочн. зам. на путеш. отъ Пекина до Кяхты. (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По отд. Геогр. Т. IV, С. Петерб. 1871, стр. 446).

2) Witsen (Noord en Oost Tart. Amst. 1705, p. 68—72) theilte ein Verzeichniss von daurischen Wörtern mit, welches wohl die Berechtigung zu diesem Schlusse gegeben haben mag. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. VI, p. 182) sagt u. A.: «dass die Daurischen und Mandshurischen Völker ehemals mit den Tungusen ein Volk ausgemacht, welches zeiget die Aehnlichkeit der Sprachen. In demselben Sinne spricht sich Fischer (Sibir. Gesch. p. 238) aus. Vrgl. auch Schlözer, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. Halle, 1771, p. 418; Ritter, Asien, Bd. I, p. 118, Bd. II, p. 608; Pleth, Die Völker der Mandschurey, Göttingen 1830, p. 71; Іакинфъ, Стат. Опис. Кит. Имп. С. Петерб. 1842, Ч. II, стр. 12, и. А.

3) Ysbr. Ides, Drie jaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam 1704, p. 58, 128.

Tungusen, die Viehzucht gelernt haben, wie man aus dem Umstande schliessen darf, dass sie — und, wie Müller bemerkt [1]), die Tungusen überhaupt — für die betreffenden Hausthiere, Pferd, Rind, Schaf, keine eigenen, sondern nur aus dem Mongolischen entlehnte Bezeichnungen haben [2]). Von ihnen sind diese mongolischen Thiernamen auch zu den übrigen Amur-Völkern und darunter, wie wir oben sahen, selbst zu den Giljaken gedrungen. Bemerkenswerth scheint es mir ferner zu sein, dass auch manche wilde Thiere, namentlich solche, die ihres Felles, Fleisches oder Geweihes wegen eine Rolle im Handelsverkehr jener Völker spielen, wie Zobel, Flussotter, Fuchs, Eichhörnchen, Bär, Elenn, Edelhirsch, bei den Dauren ebenfalls Namen von mongolischem Ursprunge tragen, während andere, die von keiner solchen Bedeutung sind, wie z. B. der Wolf, tungusische Bezeichnungen haben [3]). Dass andererseits, gleich den Mongolen und in noch höherem Grade, auch die am Nonni wie im übrigen Sungari- und Amur-Lande unaufhaltsam vordringenden Chinesen auf die Dauren sprachlich wie physisch einen grossen Einfluss geübt haben und noch üben, bedarf nach dem, was oben über das Einbürgern chinesischen Wesens selbst unter den Mandshu gesagt worden, keiner weiteren Erläuterung. Es genügt zu bemerken, dass die Dauren diesem Einfluss vielleicht in noch höherem Grade zugänglich sein müssen. Denn nicht bloss befindet sich, gleich den Mandshu und Solonen, auch ein Theil der Dauren als Soldaten, Beamten u. s. w. im direkten Dienste der chinesischen Regierung, sondern sie tragen in ihrer Neigung zum Ackerbau, zu Gewerben und besonders zum Handel den Chinesen verwandte Züge an sich, welche die gegenseitige Näherung und Amalgamirung um Vieles begünstigen und erleichteren müssen. Spielen doch, wie wir oben schon bemerkten, die unternehmenden daurischen Händler im oberen Amur-Lande dieselbe Rolle wie die chinesischen im unteren. So erklärt sich die Beimischung mongolischer und chinesischer Elemente unter den Dauren ganz natürlich, aus geographischen und historischen Gründen, und ohne dass man ihren tungusischen Ursprung in Zweifel zu ziehen brauchte.

Versuchen wir nun, nach den wenigen bisherigen Wahrnehmungen über die Sprache und die physische Beschaffenheit der einzelnen tungusischen Amur-Völker ein wenn auch nur vorläufiges und annäherndes, nur durch einige Hauptzüge markirtes Bild von ihrer näheren oder ferneren Stellung zu einander und zu ihren Nachbarvölkern zu entwerfen. Was namentlich die Sprache betrifft, so muss ich mich auf einige wenige, theils eigene, theils fremde, immer nur ganz allgemein gehaltene Bemerkungen beschränken, das Nähere den Sprachforschern überlassend.

Oben ist schon der Angabe, dass die Oroken auf Sachalin Nachkommen von Tungusen

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1) Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. VI, p. 181.

2) Vgl. meine Abhandlung über die Säugethiere des Amur-Landes, im I. Bde. dieses Werkes. So heisst das Pferd bei den Dauren morre, das Rind (Kuh) ulur, das Schaf choni. Auch das Schwein hat bei ihnen eine aus dem Mongolischen entnommene Bezeichnung, gugha.

3) Als ein ferneres Beispiel dafür, dass die bei einem Volke üblichen Thiernamen durch Umstände wie die oben hervorgehobenen bedingt sein können, sei hier angeführt, dass der Edelhirsch, dessen Geweih, so lange es noch weich und zart ist, bei jenen Völkern einen hochgeschätzten Handelsartikel bildet, bei den Manägren, einem unzweifelhaft tungusischen Volke, doch keine tungusische, sondern dieselbe mongolische Bezeichnung (buga) wie bei den Dauren (bugha) hat. Vgl. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 171.

aus dem Udskoi-Gebiet oder gar ein Mischvolk dieser Tungusen mit Russen seien, als einer völlig unbegründeten und tendenziösen, in ablehnender Weise gedacht worden[1]). Die wenigen und kurzen Begegnungen und Unterredungen, die ich auf Sachalin mit ihnen hatte, liessen mich von sprachlicher Seite sogleich erkennen, dass sie die nächsten Verwandten, ja vielleicht nur ein seit längerer Zeit vom Continent herübergekommener Zweig der Oltscha seien. Schmidt, Glehn und Brylkin, die mit ihnen in nähere Berührung traten, bestätigten dies und brachten zugleich in Erfahrung, dass sie sich auch selbst dieser Zugehörigkeit zum Oltscha-Stamme bewusst sind[2]). Kleine sprachliche Verschiedenheiten werden sich seit dem Abzuge der Oroken nach Sachalin, wo sie ein von ihren Stammgenossen auf dem Festlande so verschiedenes Leben führen, ohne Zweifel gebildet haben. Dieselben zu ermitteln, bleibt aber den Linguisten noch vorbehalten.

Von der Sprache der Oltscha am Amur hat Hr. Maximowicz während seines Aufenthaltes im Mariinskischen Posten bei Kidsi, also im Centrum des Oltscha-Gebietes, ein Wörterverzeichniss nebst Sprachproben und Liedern zusammengestellt, welche es den Linguisten möglich machen werden, die Stellung dieser Sprache unter den tungusischen Mundarten näher zu bestimmen. Ich kann nur bemerken, dass sie, trotz markirter dialektischer Verschiedenheit, doch derjenigen der nördlicher, am Tugur, im Udskoi-Gebiet u. s. w. lebenden Tungusen nicht sehr fern zu stehen scheint, jedenfalls um Vieles näher als das Goldische. In manchen Wörtern wird man, glaube ich, giljakische Einflüsse erkennen.

In nächster Nähe zum Oltscha-Dialekt stehen diejenigen der Negda und Samagirn. Ich bin mit dem ersteren selbst nicht bekannt und stütze mich daher bei der obigen Behauptung hinsichtlich desselben theils auf die Versicherung Anderer, welche beide betreffende Mundarten gehört haben, theils und noch mehr auf den Umstand, dass die Negda unzweifelhaft in allernächster Verwandtschaft mit den Samagirn stehen, und diese habe ich sowohl in einzelnen Individuen am Amur, als auch in ihrem eigenen Gebiete am Gorin kennen gelernt. Es waren immer nur einzelne kleine dialektische Verschiedenheiten, die ich in ihrer Sprache den Oltscha gegenüber wahrnehmen konnte, und ihre eigene Angabe lautete, dass sie dieselbe Sprache sprächen. So nahe verwandt übrigens der Negda- und der Samagir-Dialekt unter einander und mit demjenigen der Oltscha sind, so lässt sich doch erwarten, dass der erstere, bei dem vielfachen und beständigen Verkehre der Amgunj-Anwohner mit den sogenannten russischen Tungusen, vom Tugur und aus dem Udskoi-Gebiet, von allen die meiste Uebereinstimmung mit der Sprache dieser letzteren darbieten, der Samagir-Dialekt hingegen manche Einflüsse

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1) S. oben, p. 134, Anm. 5.

2) Fr. Schmidt, Histor. Bri. Über den Verlauf der physik. Abthl. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, herausgeg. von Baer und Helmersen, Bd. XXV, p. 131); Брылкинъ, Письма съ Сахалина (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Кн. VII, Иркутскъ 1864, стр. 21). Vergl. auch oben p. 134. Mizzul's Angabe (Очерки остр. Сахалина съ естественнонаучн. отнош. С. Петерб. 1873, стр. 123), dass die Sprache der Orokon derjenigen der Amur-Giljaken ähnlich sei, beruht entweder auf völliger Unkenntniss dieser letzteren, oder auf der russischerseits so oft vorkommenden Verwechselung der Oltscha (Mangunen) mit den Giljaken.

von Seiten der südlich angrenzenden Golde erfahren haben dürfte. In der That bemerkte Middendorff[1]) bei seinem Besuche der Negda, dass ihre Sprache nur kleine Dialekt-Unterschiede von derjenigen der russischen Tungusen aufzuweisen habe. Und was die Samagirn betrifft, so habe ich selbst einige die oben ausgesprochene Erwartung rechtfertigende Wahrnehmungen gemacht. Es liess sich nämlich bemerken, dass die Samagirn, wie in manchen einzelnen Wörtern überhaupt, so namentlich auch in den Thiernamen, wenn diese bei den Oltscha und unteren Golde mehr oder weniger verschieden lauten — was im Allgemeinen nur selten der Fall ist[2]) — die Mundart der letzteren theilen. Man wird diesen Einfluss des Goldischen auch ganz erklärlich finden, wenn man erwägt, dass der Gorin bereits im Golde-Gebiet in den Amur mündet, dass seine Jagdgründe im Winter von zahlreichen Golde besucht werden und dass andererseits auch die Samagirn für den Absatz ihrer Jagdausbeute, und besonders des geschätzten Pelzwerks, zumeist auf die im Golde-Gebiet weilenden chinesischen Kaufleute angewiesen sind. Es ist wohl kaum zu bezweifeln, dass die mit den russischen Rennthier-Tungusen so nahe verwandten Negda und Samagirn aus den Gebirgen im Westen und Norden in ihre respectiven Thäler am Amgunj und Gorin hinabgestiegen und dort zu Fischervölkern geworden sind. Die nahe sprachliche Verwandtschaft beider mit den Oltscha macht aber ferner auch den Schluss wahrscheinlich, den wir oben schon aus anderen Gründen gezogen haben[3]), dass nämlich jenen Völkern vorauf auch die Oltscha auf demselben Wege an den Amur gelangt sind, wo ein Theil derselben am fischreichen Strome zurückblieb, während ein anderer mit seinen Rennthieren weiter, über das Langgysk-Gebirge und den Liman[4]) nach der Insel Sachalin fortzog.

Geht man aus dem Oltscha-Gebiet am Amur in das der Golde über, so ändert sich die Sprache anfangs nur unbedeutend und ohne das Verständniss erheblich zu erschweren: viele Wörter bleiben ganz dieselben, andere zeigen nur in den Vokalen oder verwandten Consonanten eine leichte Abänderung. Je weiter aber stromaufwärts, um so mehr wächst auch die Verschiedenheit der Sprache: die abgeänderten Wörter werden unkenntlicher, und es stellen sich mehr und mehr neue, im unteren Gebiete ungebräuchliche ein. Ist man weit aufwärts im Golde-Gebiet, etwa zwischen der Ussuri- und der Sungari-Mündung, so gewinnt man den Eindruck, dass die Golde-Sprache doch sehr verschieden von jenen Mundarten des unteren Amur-Stromes und seiner linken Zuflüsse ist. Geht diese Veränderung in der Sprache im Ganzen auch allmählich vor sich, so lassen sich doch gewisse Punkte als Grenzscheiden grösserer sprachlicher Differenz bezeichnen. Solche Punkte sind das Geong-Gebirge und die Ussuri-Mündung. Durch dieselben wird das Golde-Sprachgebiet in drei Abschnitte getheilt: 1) den unteren, von der Nordgrenze goldischer Bevölkerung am Amur bis zum Geong-Gebirge; 2) den mittleren, vom Geong-Gebirge

1) Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibir., Bd. IV, p. 1326.

2) So z. B. für den Dachs, den Fuchs, den Luchs, den Edelhirsch, das Haselhuhn. Vrgl. meine Abhandlungen über die Säugethiere und die Vögel des Amur-Landes, im I. Bande dieses Werkes an den betreffenden Orten.

3) S. oben, p. 144.

4) S. oben, p. 26.

bis zur Mündung des Ussuri und diesen Strom und seine Zuflüsse aufwärts, so weit goldische Bevölkerung reicht, und 3) den oberen, von der Ussuri-Mündung aufwärts am Amur und dem Sungari entlang bis zur Südgrenze des Golde-Gebietes. Oben[1]) sind schon die Ereignisse in der Geschichte der Ausbreitung des Golde-Volkes besprochen worden, welche diese sprachlichen Differenzen in verschiedenen Theilen seines Gebietes bedingt haben dürften. Anknüpfend an das dort Gesagte, will ich hier nur hervorheben, dass die unteren Golde, durch die ehemalige Ausbreitung der Djutscheren vom Sungari den Amur entlang bis nach Dondon von ihren Landsleuten am Ussuri gewissermassen abgeschnitten, den nordwärts von ihnen unter gleichen Bedingungen wohnenden Oltscha und Samagirn näher treten und sich auch sprachlich mit denselben mehr amalgamiren mussten. Es sind dies, wie oben erwähnt, die Jant der Giljaken. Im mittleren Theile konnte sich in dem von den Djutscheren unbesetzt gebliebenen Ussuri-Thale die Golde-Sprache in ihrer, übrigens dem Mandshu nahe stehenden Eigenart reiner erhalten und nach Abzug der Djutscheren auch den Amur abwärts verbreiten. Zwischen den Golde am Ussuri und denen am Amur unterhalb desselben bis etwa zum Geong-Gebirge ist daher sprachlich kein irgend erheblicher Unterschied wahrzunehmen[2]), und die Unterscheidung der ersteren als eines besonderen Volkes, wie man sie bei Maack, Brylkin und Anderen findet[3]), erweist sich als ganz unbegründet. Es sind die Golde dieses ganzen mittleren Gebietes vielmehr die rechten und echten, sprachlich vielleicht am meisten intakt gebliebenen Golde, die Tscholdoch der Giljaken — eine Bezeichnung, welche, wie oben dargethan[4]), auch zu ihrem jetzt allgemein gebräuchlichen Namen geführt hat. Die oberen Golde endlich, von der Ussuri-Mündung aufwärts, gravitiren ganz nach dem Sungari, an welchem sie auch ihre weitaus grösste Verdichtung erreicht haben. Sie werden an ihrer Sprache ohne Zweifel am meisten den Einfluss des Mandshu und des Chinesischen erfahren haben.

So viel über die Veränderungen, denen die Golde-Sprache in verschiedenen Theilen ihres Gebietes unterliegt. Von ihrem Wörtervorrath und grammatischem Bau hat man bereits mehr Kenntniss als von allen übrigen tungusischen Idiomen des Amur-Landes. Wenjukof[5]) und in grösserem Umfange Brylkin[6]) und neuerdings der Priester Alex. Protodjakonof haben Wörterverzeichnisse und die Letzteren auch Bemerkungen über den grammatischen Bau der Golde-Sprache gegeben. Bei Besprechung derselben, und besonders des über 1000 Wörter enthaltenden goldisch-russischen Vokabulariums von Protodjakonof, äussert sich der hiesige Professor Sacharof, ein genauer Kenner des Mandshu, dahin, dass das Goldische mit diesem letzteren in nächster Verwandtschaft stehe, wie man aus der Gemeinsamkeit vieler Wörter, aus der Aehnlichkeit der Wurzeln, die in beiden nicht ein-, sondern mehrsilbig sind, aus der

1) Vrgl. p. 149 ff.

2) So nach meiner Erfahrung, und in demselben Sinne spricht sich Wenjukof (Обозр. р. Уссур. — Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XXV, 1859, Отд. II, стр. 235; его-же, Путеш. по окраин. Русск. Азіи и сам. о нихъ, С. Петерб. 1868, стр. 86, 87) aus.

3) S. oben, p. 148.

4) Vrgl. p. 149.

5) In den oben citirten Schriften.

6) Зап. о сколотахъ амура Халтонахъ и Хальсанахъ словарь, in Maack's Путеш. по долине р. Уссури, Прилож. къ Т. I, С. Петерб. 1861.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Gleichheit vieler grammatischer Formen, so der Adjectivformen, der Formen des Praeteritums u. drgl. m., ersehen könne. Die Differenzen zwischen den beiden Sprachen, meint er weiter, hielten sich in den Grenzen von Dialektunterschieden und wiesen immerhin auf eine Zusammengehörigkeit beider Idiome hin, so dass sie nur als verschiedene Zweige, das Goldische als nördlicher, das Mandshu als südlicher Zweig einer und derselben Sprache zu betrachten seien [1]).

Dem Goldischen vermuthlich nahe verwandt ist die Sprache der Orotschen. Leider hat man von derselben nur sehr spärliche Nachrichten. Wenjukof fand sie der Golde-Sprache sehr ähnlich: viele Wörter waren ganz dieselben, nur die Aussprache war merklich anders; im Ganzen schien ihm die Orotschen-Sprache reicher an weichen Lauten zu sein [2]). Dabei hat er die südlichen Orotschen oder sogenannten Ta-dse im Auge; die nördlichen kannte er nicht [3]). Zwischen ihnen lassen sich, auf der weiten Strecke vom Ssuifun bis zur Bai de Castries, sicherlich manche grössere oder kleinere mundartliche Differenzen erwarten. Denn einmal stossen jene an den rechten Zuflüssen des Ussuri an die mittleren, diese im oberen Laufe des Dondon, Chongar und anderer rechten Amur-Zuflüsse an die unteren Golde und die Oltscha, und dann stehen die Ta-dse in vielfacher Berührung und Verbindung mit den beständig und in grosser Zahl unter ihnen wohnenden Chinesen, während die nördlichen Orotschen in ihren entlegenen Berg- und Waldwildnissen oder an ihrer ungastlichen Meeresküste niemals einen Sohn des Himmlischen Reiches bei sich sehen. Sind bei allen Amur-Völkern für manche ihnen ursprünglich fremde Gegenstände oder Begriffe den Chinesen (und auch den Mandshu) entlehnte Bezeichnungen gebräuchlich, so muss sich bei den Ta-dse, unter den oben angedeuteten Umständen, der Einfluss des Chinesischen am allermeisten und nicht bloss im Gebrauch einzelner Fremdwörter, sondern auch in der Lautbildung, in der Aussprache, im Tonfall u. s. w. geltend machen. Und darin wird vermuthlich auch der grösste sprachliche Unterschied zwischen ihnen und ihren nördlichen Landsleuten bestehen.

Von den Kile am Kur sind mir nur einzelne Thiernamen bekannt. Diese lauten nur selten etwas eigenartiger; meist stimmen sie mit denjenigen der oberen Golde überein, oder fallen mit den bei den Biraren und Manägirn üblichen Bezeichnungen zusammen [4]). Das Erstere möchte ich, ebenso wie bei den Samagirn, auf goldischen Einfluss zurückführen, da die Kile ihren meisten Tauschhandel und Verkehr, sei es direkt über die Prairie hinweg, sei es den nur wenig unterhalb des Ussuri mündenden Kur hinab, mit den mittleren und oberen Golde und den bei

1) Н. Захаровъ, О матеріал. для изуч. гольдскаго языка, достиж. отд. А. Протодьяконовымъ (Изв. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1878 г. Вып. I, Геогр. Изв., стр. 49, 50). A. a O. ist auch von den hauptsächlichsten dialektischen Verschiedenheiten zwischen den beiden Sprachen u. drgl. m. die Rede.

2) Венюковъ, Обозр. р. Уссури (Зап. Геогр. Общ. ч. XXV, 1858, Отд. II, стр. 234); его-же Путеш. по сер. Русск. Азіи, стр. 88. Sein Führer, der mehrere tungusische Sprachen und darunter auch die solonische kannte, meinte, dass sie dieser am nächsten komme, worauf allerdings noch nicht viel zu geben ist.

3) Dass Tronson (Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan etc., London 1859, p. 228) einige Orotschen-Wörter aus dem Kaiserhafen (Bai Barracouta), und darunter die Zahlwörter von 1—10, als Probe der giljakischen Sprache giebt, ist oben (p. 22, Anm. 3) schon erwähnt worden.

4) Vrgl. den I. Bd. dieses Werkes.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

ihnen, zumal am Sungari, weilenden chinesischen Händlern unterhalten. Aus den auch bei den Biraren und Manägirn gleichlautenden Thierbezeichnungen der Kile möchte ich hingegen, so weit dies aus so wenigen Wörtern überhaupt möglich ist, die Vermuthung entnehmen, dass die Kile mit den genannten Völkern in allernächster Stammverwandtschaft stehen und nur ein aus dem Bureja-Gebirge in das Kur-Thal hinabgestiegener Zweig des gemeinsamen Stammes sind.

Und damit ist auch schon die Stellung der Biraren und Manägirn zu einander angedeutet. Ohne Zweifel sind es ganz nahe Vettern. Maack schien die Sprache bei beiden ganz dieselbe zu sein, nur fand er bei den ersteren eine Anzahl von den Mandshu entlehnter Wörter [1]). Damit ist allerdings nicht gesagt, dass Linguisten keine dialektischen Differenzen in der Sprache dieser Völker finden dürften, doch können sie nicht gross sein, wenn sie dem Laien so wenig entgegentreten. Andererseits giebt es auch bei den Manägirn Fremdwörter, und zwar ebenso wie bei den Biraren sowohl von den Mandshu, wie von den Dauren und vielleicht auch von den Chinesen entlehnte [2]), da sie mit allen diesen Völkern in vielfacher Berührung stehen; doch mag immerhin die Zahl derselben bei den Biraren grösser sein, da ein Theil dieses Volkes — und auf diesen haben Maack's Angaben Bezug — in festen Wohnsitzen am Amur, in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft der Mandshu und Dauren und ebenso wie diese mit Feld- und Gartenbau beschäftigt, lebt.

Mit den Manägirn stehen ferner, wie wir oben schon aus der Geschichte der Ausbreitung dieser Stämme sahen, in nächster verwandtschaftlicher Beziehung die Orotschonen. Aus dieser Geschichte lernen wir aber zugleich, dass und wie diese Völker in der Folgezeit auseinander gegangen sind: blieben die Orotschonen im Grossen und Ganzen Rennthiernomaden in den Gebirgswaldungen, so stiegen die Manägirn tiefer zur Prairie hinab und eigneten sich das Pferd zum Reit- und Lastthier an; und während jene in beständigem Verkehr und in faktischer, wenn auch nicht traktatmässiger Abhängigkeit von den Russen verblieben, traten diese unter chinesischer Herrschaft in vielfache Berührung mit Dauren, Mandshu, Chinesen. Unter so verschiedenen Umständen und Einflüssen mussten sich zwischen ihnen, trotz unzweifelhaft gemeinsamen Ursprungs, manche mundartliche Differenzen ausbilden, hie und da verschiedenen Völkern entlehnte Fremdwörter einbürgern u. drgl. m. Schon die wenigen von mir gesammelten Thiernamen geben einen kleinen Beleg dafür ab. Gerstfeldt, der mehr Gelegenheit hatte diese Völker zu beobachten, glaubte auch einen Unterschied in ihrer Sprache wahrzunehmen; seine Führer konnten sie schon von Weitem nach ihren verschiedenen Exclamationen unterscheiden [3]). Beide, und insbesondere natürlich die Orotschonen, verriethen übrigens in ihrer Sprache eine grosse Aehnlichkeit mit den nördlicher wohnenden sogenannten russischen Tungusen [4]).

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1) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, С. Петербургъ 1859, стр. 110.

2) Wie dies übrigens auch Maack an einer anderen Stelle seiner Reisebeschreibung (p. 60) angiebt.

3) Герстфельдъ, О нарѣчіяхъ жителей Амура (Пер. Изв. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XX, 1857, Отд. II, стр. 394).

4) Gerstfeldt bemerkte darin einen Unterschied zwischen ihnen, dass die Manägirn und Orotschonen den Accent fast immer auf der letzten Silbe ruhen liessen, die nördlicheren Tungusen hingegen beständig auf der vorletzten.

Von den **Dauren** ist in sprachlicher Beziehung, so weit es hier überhaupt thunlich ist, oben schon die Rede gewesen, und was endlich ihre Nachbaren, die **Solonen**, betrifft, so wird es sich mit diesen vermuthlich ähnlich wie mit jenen verhalten: ihre dem Stamme nach tungusische, dem Mandshu mehr oder weniger nahe verwandte Sprache wird sich im Laufe der Zeit mit zahlreichen mongolischen und zum Theil auch chinesischen Elementen vermischt haben.

Nach den obigen Andeutungen gestaltet sich die Gruppirung der tungusischen Amur-Völker etwas anders, als man sich dieselbe bisher gedacht hat. Mir ist bisher allerdings nur ein Versuch einer Gruppirung, und auch nur eines Theiles, dieser Völker bekannt. Er ist von Ssemenof in seinen Ergänzungen zu Ritter's Asien gemacht worden. Gestützt auf chinesische, von Iakinf[1]) und Wassiljef zugänglich gemachte historische Quellen und auf einige Nachrichten über die jetzigen Amur-Völker, stellt er[2]) die **Dauren**, **Solonen** und **Golde**, als Nachkommen der alten **Khitan** und **Schiwei**, in eine Gruppe, und die **Mandshu** und **Yupi-tatse**, als Nachkommen der **Njutschi**, in eine andere, während er die **Oltscha** (**Mangunen**) für Nachkommen der **Men-gu** oder **Mongolen** hält. Der letztere Punkt ist oben schon widerlegt worden. Dass die chinesische Bezeichnung «**Yupi-tatse**» ganz unbestimmt und ethnologisch unbrauchbar ist, indem sie ziemlich auf alle zum Theil in Fischhäute sich kleidenden Völker des unteren Amur-Landes sich bezieht, ist bekannt und oben ebenfalls schon erwähnt worden[3]). Am nächsten läge es noch, sie hier auf die an die **Mandshu** grenzenden **Golde** zu beziehen. Allein da diese und ebenso die **Oltscha** von Ssemenof besonders genannt werden, so blieben für die **Yupi-tatse** nur etwa noch die **Orotschen** übrig. Anders nach unseren obigen Darstellungen. Ihnen zufolge lassen in sprachlicher Beziehung vier Gruppen erkennen:

1) **Dauren** und **Solonen** — tungusische Stämme mit starker mongolischer Beimischung.
2) **Mandshu**, **Golde**, **Orotschen**.
3) **Orotschonen**, **Manägirn**, **Biraren**, **Kile** am **Kur**.
4) **Oltscha** am **Amur** und auf **Sachalin** (**Oroken**), **Negda**, **Samagirn**.

Die beiden ersteren Gruppen bilden den südlichen oder mandshurischen Ast des tungusischen Volksstammes, die beiden anderen umfassen Zweige seines nördlichen, bis zum Jenissei, dem Eismeer und Kamtschatka verbreiteten sibirischen Astes.

Es fragt sich nun, ob und in wie weit diese oder eine andere Gruppirung der tungusischen Amur-Völker auch aus ihrem physischen Bau entnommen werden kann? Dass zur vollen Beantwortung dieser Frage das Material gegenwärtig noch lange nicht hinreicht, ist oben schon bemerkt worden. Wenn ich daher im Folgenden bei Besprechung einzelner Punkte, wie namentlich der Schädelbildung, auch etwas mehr in's Detail gehen werde, so lässt sich doch

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1) In seinem Werke: Собраніе свѣдѣній о народахъ обитавшихъ въ срединѣ Азіи въ древ. времена, С. Петербургъ 1851, ч. II.

2) Земсгка. Азіи К. Риттера, С. Петерб. 1858, Т. I, стр. 426.

3) Vergl. p. 138, 148.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

die ganze Frage zur Zeit nur annähernd und in allgemeinen Zügen behandeln. Als Zweige eines Stammes, tragen die tungusischen Völker des Amur-Landes in ihrer physischen Erscheinung viel gemeinsame Züge. Die Aehnlichkeit unter ihnen ist gross, die Zusammengehörigkeit unverkennbar. Dennoch haben sich bei ihnen, in Folge früherer oder späterer Abzweigung vom gemeinsamen Stamme, grösserer oder geringerer Berührung und Vermischung mit benachbarten Völkern von fremdem Stamme, vielfach verschiedener Gestaltung ihrer Geschicke, ihrer Lebensweise u. s. w., auch in der physischen Erscheinung manche mehr oder weniger charakteristische Verschiedenheiten herausgebildet. Um sich diese wenigstens in den Hauptzügen einigermassen zu veranschaulichen, wird man vielleicht am besten thun, von dem bisher bekanntesten tungusischen Volke, den russischen oder sibirischen Tungusen auszugehen und die ihnen gegenüber bei den Amur-Völkern gleichen Stammes beobachteten Abweichungen und Besonderheiten hervorzuheben.

So manigfaltigen und verschiedenartigen Bildungen man auch unter den sibirischen Tungusen, in Folge ihrer Mischung mit türkisch-tatarischen (zumal jakutischen), finnischen, mongolischen, ja zum grossen Theil auch mit russischen Elementen, begegnet, so hat man das Typische und Charakteristische in ihrer physischen Erscheinung doch schon ziemlich feststellen können. Die sibirischen Tungusen sind im Allgemeinen von mittlerem oder etwas kleinem Wuchse, mit verhältnissmässig ziemlich grossem Kopfe, breiten Schultern, etwas kurzen Extremitäten und kleinen Händen und Füssen[1]). Wie alle Nomaden des Nordens, haben sie eine trockene, hagere, sehnig-muskulöse Constitution[2]); fettleibige, corpulente Gestalten findet man unter ihnen nicht. Die Hautfarbe ist mehr oder weniger gelbbräunlich, das Auge bräunet, das Haar schwarz; das Haupthaar schlicht, struppig und stark, das Barthaar, auf Lippen, Backen und Kinn, sehr spärlich und kurz, die Augenbraunen in der Regel scharf markirt, zuweilen bogenförmig hinaufgezogen. Die Kopf- und Gesichtsbildung ist entschieden, wenn auch zum Theil abgeschwächt, mongolisch; der Schädel ist immer breit, zuweilen auch sehr hoch, d. h. auf dem Scheitel so sehr nach oben und etwas nach hinten ausgezogen, dass er einem sogenannten Thurmkopf ähnlich wird[3]). Das Gesicht ist in der Regel etwas in die Länge gezogen, an den Backenbeinen breit, zur Stirn hin sich verjüngend; die Backenknochen vorspringend, wenn auch nicht so stark wie bei den echten Mongolen. Die Augenhöhlen sind gross, die Augen schief geschlitzt, schmal. Der Augenzwischenraum ist breit; die Nase an ihrer Wurzel breit, flach, oft eingedrückt, im weiteren Verlaufe schwach gewölbt, klein, hager. Die Lippen sind dünn, die Oberlippe ziemlich

1) Wie oben (p. 216, Anm. 1) schon erwähnt, giebt Middendorff an, dass ein kleiner Fuss allen Eingeborenen Sibiriens, besonders aber den Samojeden und Tungusen eigen sei. Es war ihm und seiner Reisegesellschaft unmöglich, auch die weitesten Pelzstiefel der Nomaden zu benutzen. Könnte man noch bei den Samojeden geneigt sein, an ein Verkümmern der Füsse in Folge ihres geringen Gebrauches derselben zu denken, so war dies bei den rührig wandernden Tungusen nicht möglich. Er stellt daher die Vermuthung auf, dass «Miniaturfüsse eine ursprüngliche Eigenheit der mongolischen Race» seien. Vrgl. seine Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1414, 1413.

2) Middendorff, l. c. p. 1416.

3) Middendorff, l. c. p. 1408, Taff. VI—IX; desgl. p. 1440, 1379.

lang, das Kinn rundlich, die Kiefern etwas prognath[1]). Das Gesicht trägt im Allgemeinen den Ausdruck von Gutmüthigkeit, Faulheit und Indolenz.

Verfolgen wir nun, wie weit sich dieser in seinen Hauptzügen gezeichnete Typus der sibirischen Tungusen auch bei den Amur-Völkern wiederholt und welchen hauptsächlichsten Veränderungen er bei denselben unterliegt. Die Vergleichung kann, bei dem erwähnten mangelhaften Material und namentlich beim völligen Mangel an betreffenden Messungen, selbstverständlich nur ganz allgemein gehalten werden; zumal soll die Schädelform dabei nur ganz vorübergehend in Betracht kommen, da ich dieselbe im weiteren Verlaufe nach den mir vorliegenden Schädel-Exemplaren ausführlicher zu besprechen gedenke.

An den Oroken, denen ich im Tymy-Thale auf Sachalin begegnete, konnte ich in der Körper- und Gesichtsbildung nichts bemerken, was sie von den Oltscha am Amur unterschiede. Auch Schmidt, der ebenda Gelegenheit hatte sie unmittelbar mit einander zu vergleichen, fand sie unter einander vollkommen ähnlich[2]). Allerdings stehen die Oroken nicht bloss, wie die Oltscha am Amur, mit den Giljaken, sondern im Südosten der Insel auch mit den Aino in naher Berührung. Man könnte daher in ihrem Aeusseren zum Unterschiede von den Oltscha manchen Einfluss von Seiten der Aino erwarten. Vielleicht ist dies auch bei einzelnen Individuen der Fall, obgleich uns keine solchen begegneten. Andererseits stehen sich Giljaken und Aino physisch, wie wir sahen, in mancher Beziehung recht nahe, und dann bleiben ihrerseits auch die Oltscha, wie ich sogleich genauer darthun werde, der Berührung mit den Aino nicht ganz fern.

Die Oltscha weisen im Ganzen in ihrer physischen Erscheinung einen ursprünglich tungusischen, aber durch Vermischung mit fremdartigen Elementen vielfach und wesentlich veränderten Typus auf. Die unmittelbare Nachbarschaft, ja an manchen Orten das Durcheinanderwohnen von Oltscha und Giljaken, ihr beständiger Verkehr mit einander, ihre gleiche Lebensweise u. s. w. haben immer zu Mischehen zwischen beiden Völkern Veranlassung gegeben. Ausserdem haben die Oltscha theils durch Vermittelung der Giljaken und theils auch direkt, in Folge ihrer Handelsfahrten nach Sachalin, auch manches Aino-Element in sich aufgenommen. So weiss ich z. B., um nur eines bestimmten Falles zu erwähnen, dass eine Tochter des Giljaken Judin von Tebach, dessen Mutter ein Aino-Weib war, an einen Oltscha in Uchtr verheirathet war. In Folge solcher Einflüsse nähern sich die Oltscha in ihrem Aeusseren sehr stark den Giljaken und bilden gewissermassen ein Mittelglied zwischen ihnen und den Tungusen. Sie sind meist kräftiger und robuster gebaut als die letzteren, mit plumperen Zügen, wenig vorragenden Backenknochen, weniger schief geschlitzten Augen und stärkerem Bartwuchs. Dass es unter ihnen daneben auch echt und charakteristisch tungusische Gesichter giebt — breitbackig, flachnasig, schiefäugig, bartlos — versteht sich von selbst. Da jedoch auch die Giljaken solche Abstufungen bis zu echt tungusischen Gesichtern zeigen, so bleibt es immerhin unmöglich, die einzelnen Individuen nach ihrer Nationalität mit Sicherheit auseinanderzuhalten. Da hilft nur die Sprache.

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1) Middendorff, l. c. p. 1409. Zum Theil auch nach den Beobachtungen Anderer und meinen eigenen.

2) Histor. Ber. etc. (Beitr. zur Kenntn. d. Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 121).

Aehnlich scheint es sich mit den Negda am Amgunj zu verhalten. Middendorff fand bei ihnen «zwar eine tungusische Gesichtsform mit hochköpfiger Richtung, aber die tüchtigen Schnauzen erinnerten, trotz des schwachen Zwickelbartes, an die Nachbarschaft und wohl gelegentliche Beimischung des Blutes der stark behaarten Küsten- und Inselbewohner» [1]). Neben dem gewöhnlichen mongolisch-tungusischen Schnitt der Augen, traten ihm an einem einzelnen Gliede einer Negda-Familie auch so emporgezogene äussere Augenwinkel entgegen, wie man sie nur auf chinesischen Malereien sieht. Aehnliches wiederholt sich auch bei den übrigen tungusischen Amur-Völkern und lässt sich mit vieler Wahrscheinlichkeit auf die im Lande umherreisenden oder an einzelnen Punkten desselben sich aufhaltenden chinesischen Kaufleute zurückführen [2]).

Auf die Samagirn lässt sich das von den Oltscha und Negda Gesagte nicht oder nur in sehr beschränkter Weise und in viel geringerem Grade ausdehnen. Am Gorin wenigstens fand ich sie in ihrer Körper- und Gesichtsbildung den Giljaken entschieden ferner stehend als die Oltscha, wogegen sie die grösste Aehnlichkeit mit den Golde verriethen, mit denen sie, wie oben erwähnt, auch in den meisten Beziehungen und Verbindungen stehen.

Was nun die Golde betrifft, so tritt bei ihnen im Allgemeinen der tungusische Typus sehr ausgeprägt und verhältnissmässig rein hervor. In Folge theilweiser Vermischung in der unteren Hälfte ihres Verbreitungsgebietes mit den Oltscha und in der oberen mit Mandshu und auch mit Chinesen, haben sie aber vielfach auch Züge gewonnen, welche sie von den nördlichen Tungusen unterscheiden. Ihr Bau entspricht genau dem oben als typisch für die Tungusen beschriebenen. Das Gesicht zum grössten Theil auch: es ist rundlich-oval und zeigt die bekannten mongolischen Charakterzüge, namentlich die breiten Backenknochen, die schief geschlitzten, schmalen Augen, die breite, dünne, niedrige Nase, oft, und besonders bei Weibern und Kindern, in sehr ausgesprochener Weise. Daneben findet sich aber nicht minder oft auch eine geringere Breite in den Backen, die Augen stehen weniger schief, die Nase ist höher, gewölbter, fleischiger, die Lippen dicker, aber gleich wie das Kinn bartlos oder nur ganz spärlich behaart, wie auch im ersteren Falle. Ebenso ist der Schädel bald zur Stirn hin verjüngt und nach dem Scheitel hin ausgezogen, bald mehr viereckig, mit breiter Stirn und flachem Scheitel. Mir liegt von dem ersteren, unter den Golde sehr verbreiteten Typus keine ganz sprechende Photographie vor. Fig. 7 der Taf. III nähert sich demselben noch am meisten. Die hochscheitelige Kopfform ist auch in Fig. 6 sehr ausgeprägt, wogegen die Gesichtszüge in derselben und in Fig. 5 die gesammte Schädel- und Gesichtsbildung dem zweiten Typus entsprechen. Es ist nicht möglich,

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1) Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1526. Richtiger müsste es allerdings nur heissen oder stärker behaarten Küsten- und Inselbewohnern, da unter diesen in erster Reihe doch die Giljaken zu verstehen sind, deren Bartwuchs keineswegs an sich, sondern nur im Vergleich mit den tungusischen und mongolischen Völkern stark genannt werden kann. Indessen wirft Middendorff, wie wir oben (p. 206) schon sahen, überhaupt die Giljaken mit den Aino zusammen. S. dessen Reise etc. l. c. p. 1463.

2) Wenn Middendorff (l. c. p. 1527) dabei vom «Mandshu-Kaufmann spricht, so ist daran zu erinnern, dass die Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes die chinesischen Kaufleute schlechtweg Mandshu zu nennen pflegen (s. oben, p. 71).

alle einzelnen, vom Gesammttypus mehr oder weniger abweichenden, übrigens auch verschieden combinirten Züge auf bestimmte Beimischungen seitens der Nachbarstämme zurückzuführen. So viel ist gewiss, dass die südwestlichen, ebenfalls zum Tungusen-Stamme gehörigen Nachbaren der Golde, die Mandshu, die ihnen auch sprachlich am nächsten verwandt sind, im Allgemeinen plumpere und markirtere Züge haben, eine gewölbtere, dickere Nase, fleischigere Lippen, einen grösseren Mund, einen mehr viereckigen Kopf, und in der Regel auch von grösserem Wuchse sind. Die Augen sind auch bei ihnen schief gestellt und der Bartwuchs spärlich. Es lässt sich also in dem zweiten Golde-Typus eine gewisse Annäherung an die Mandshu erkennen, während der erstere den nördlichen Tungusen näher steht. Einzelne Züge, wie die hin und wieder vorkommenden weniger schief geschlitzten Augen oder ein etwas stärkerer Bartwuchs u. drgl., können theils von mehr individueller Natur, theils auch einer durch die Oltscha vermittelten oder auch direkten Beimischung paläasiatischen und besonders giljakischen Blutes zuzuschreiben sein. Das Letztere dürfte um so weniger ganz abzuweisen sein, als zwischen den Golde und den paläasiatischen Völkern im Norden und Osten, durch die alljährlichen Handelsreisen sowohl der Giljaken zu den Mandshu und Chinesen am Sungari, als auch mancher Golde zu den Japanern auf Sachalin, direkte Berührungen stattfinden. Im Ganzen genommen, geben also die Golde ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit nach ein Mittelglied zwischen den nördlichen Tungusen und den Mandshu ab.

Von den Orotschen lässt sich von vornherein behaupten, dass sie in verschiedenen Theilen ihres weit ausgedehnten Verbreitungsgebietes von sehr erheblich verschiedener Körper- und Gesichtsbildung sein müssen. Denn während sie im Norden, in den Wildnissen des Küstengebirges und an der ungastlichen Meeresküste, in ziemlicher Isolirung leben, nur mit ihren Nachbaren an den rechten Amur-Zuflüssen, Golde und Oltscha, in spärlichem Verkehre, oder in der Bai de Castries ab und zu auch von Giljaken besucht, theilen sie im Süden ihre Wohnsitze beständig mit zahlreichen Chinesen, die ganz unter ihnen und in Gemeinschaft mit ihren Weibern und Töchtern leben[1]). Während daher jene ihren tungusischen Typus rein conservirt haben dürften, wird er bei diesen, den Ta-dse, vielfach und wesentlich abgeändert sein. In ihren nördlichsten Wohnsitzen, in der Bai de Castries, sind die Orotschen schon von La Pérouse und besonders eingehend von seinem Begleiter Rollin geschildert worden[2]). Dabei stösst man nur auf den Uebelstand, dass die Bevölkerung der Bai de Castries, wie man aus La Pérouse's eigenen Angaben über die von ihm beobachteten Grabmäler schliessen darf, schon zu der Zeit eine aus Oltscha und Orotschen gemischte war[3]), und man daher nicht bestimmt wissen kann, welcher von diesen beiden Nationalitäten die Beschreibung gelten soll. Geht man sie jedoch genauer durch, so muss man sich für die Orotschen entscheiden. Die Reisenden waren sehr erstaunt, in dieser so nahe von der Westküste Sachalin's,

1) S. oben, p. 23, 68; vrgl. auch Przewalski, Путеш. въ Уссур. крѣ., С. Петерб. 1870, стр. 103.

2) Voyage de La Pérouse, ed. du monde, réd. par Millet-Mureau, Paris 1797, T. III, p. 68; T. IV, p. 81.

3) S. oben, p. 137.

unter gleichen klimatischen Verhältnissen gelegenen Bai eine Bevölkerung zu finden, welche von derjenigen der Insel (Aino), trotz ähnlicher Lebensweise und Sitten, körperlich so sehr verschieden war, dass man in ihr Menschen von «einer anderen Art» erblicken musste[1]). Zugleich frappirte sie ihre ausnehmende Hässlichkeit[2]). Ich kann mich nicht enthalten, ihre Beschreibung der Orotschen in gedrängten Zügen wiederzugeben. Ihr zufolge sind sie von kleinem Wuchse, etwa 4 Fuss, 9—10 Zoll lang, dünn und schwach gebaut; der Kopf verhältnissmässig gross, die Extremitäten klein[3]). Die Hautfarbe ist etwas weniger dunkel als bei den Aino, an den beständig bedeckten Körpertheilen sogar ziemlich weiss oder (nach La Pérouse) olivenfarbig, von Thran und Rauch gefirnisst. Das Haupthaar ist minder dicht als bei den Aino, schwarz oder braun; der Bartwuchs, auf Kinn und Lippen, fast null; die Augenbrauen wenig markirt. Das Gesicht ist flach und fast viereckig; die Stirn klein, gerundet, etwas zurücktretend; die Backenknochen sind breit und vorspringend; die Augen klein, schmal und schief geschlitzt; die Nase klein, platt, an der Wurzel kaum bemerkbar; der Mund gross, die Lippen dick; das Kinn wenig vorspringend. Es ist unmöglich, in dieser Schilderung den tungusischen Typus, wie man ihn bei den sibirischen Tungusen oder auch bei vielen Golde antrifft, zu verkennen. Andeutungen von einer Beimischung paläasiatischen Blutes, von Giljaken und Aino, sind in derselben nicht zu finden[4]). Die obige Schilderung der Orotschen wird auch von späteren Reisenden bestätigt. Hrn. Maximowicz, der noch eben so wenig von der gemischten Bevölkerung der Bai de Castries wusste, entging gleichwohl der im physischen Bau ihrer Bewohner sich äussernde Doppelcharakter derselben nicht. In seinen handschriftlichen, mir zur Benutzung überlassenen ethnographischen Aufzeichnungen aus dem Amur-Lande finde ich folgende kurze, aber prägnante Angabe: «die Orotschen der Bai de Castries sind entweder karrikirt mongolisch, mit geschwollen hervortretenden Backenknochen, verquollenen, geschlitzten Augen und einer mikroskopischen Nase, oder klein, mager, mit hagerem, mongolischem Gesicht, aber mit hoher Nase und starkem Bartwuchs». So verrathen sich schon durch ihre Gesichtsbildung die beiden in der Bai zwar neben einander wohnenden, aber getrennt sich haltenden und auch in ihren Sitten beiderseits sich treu bleibenden Stämme der Orotschen und der Oltscha. Als ich die Bai de Castries besuchte, war sie zeitweise fast menschenleer, und die paar zurückgebliebenen Individuen konnten nicht maassgebend sein. Hingegen hatte ich schon im Juli 1854 Gelegenheit, die Orotschen in der südlicher gelegenen Bai Hadshi oder dem Kaiserhafen kennen zu lernen. In meinem Tagebuche finde ich über ihren Körperbau folgende Notiz: sie sind von

1) ....des hommes d'une espèce différentes. Rollin, l. c. T. IV, p. 81.

2) La Pérouse sagt: «il n'existe peut-être pas de peuple d'une physiognomie plus éloignée des formes auxquelles nous attachons l'idée de la beauté», und Rollin nennt sie «les hommes les plus laids et les plus chétifs que j'aye vus sur les deux hémisphères» — worin natürlich ein gutes Stück Uebertreibung liegt.

3) Rollin stellt (a. a. O. p. 88) auch einige Körpermasse der Orotschen neben denjenigen der Aino zusammen.

4) Nachdem schon La Pérouse und Rollin so prägnante Schilderungen von den Eingeborenen der Sachalin gegenüber liegenden Festlandsküste gegeben hatten, wird die von Klaproth ausgesprochene und von Anderen wiederholte Angabe, dass diese ganze Küste von Kurilen (Aino) bewohnt sei (s. oben p. 207), um so auffallender und unbegreiflicher.

mittlerem Wuchse, eher klein als gross, die Weiber entschieden klein; ihr Bau, sowie die ganze Erscheinung, ist fein und schwächlich; sie sind durchweg bräunet, von braungelblicher Gesichtsfarbe, das Haar schwarz, auf dem Kopfe von kräftigem Wuchse, dicht und lang, im Gesicht, um Lippen und Kinn, nur schwach; Schädel und Gesicht von mongolischer Bildung; die grösste Breitendimension liegt anscheinend in der Backengegend, wogegen die Stirn nur schmal und niedrig ist; die Nase ist flach und breit, die Augen sind schief gestellt. Sehr ähnlich lautet die Schilderung, welche einige Jahre später Tronson von den Eingeborenen derselben Bai (Barraconta) entwarf, nur dass er sie fälschlich für Giljaken hielt [1]). Er hebt ausser den oben angegebenen Zügen noch die scharf gezeichneten, stärker als bei den Chinesen gebogenen Augenbrauen, sowie die kleinen und feinen Hände der Orotschen hervor; auch hatte er stärker und kräftiger gebaute Individuen vor sich. Leider fehlt es uns an ähnlichen Schilderungen der südlichen Orotschen oder Ta-dse. Aus einzelnen, gelegentlich von den Reisenden hervorgehobenen Zügen lässt sich aber wohl entnehmen, dass sie in ihrer Körper- und Gesichtsbildung ihren nördlichen Landsleuten gegenüber nicht unerhebliche Abänderungen erfahren haben, hauptsächlich wohl in Folge jener Gemeinschaft mit den Chinesen. Wenjukof fand sie im Vergleich zu den Baikal-Tungusen weniger hager, mit stärkerer Muskulatur an Armen und Beinen; ihr Gesicht hatte nicht das Eckige der echt mongolischen Völker, der Burjaten, Kalmücken u. s. w.; die Jochbögen waren schwächer, die Nase nicht platt, der Abstand zwischen den Augen weniger gross; die Augen waren oft nur grau, nicht schwarz [2]). Maximowicz fand die Orotschen am Poor sogar von über Mittelgrösse, hübsch gebaut, mit angenehmem, hochnasigem Gesicht, jedoch auch nur mit schwachem Bartwuchs. Zum Theil sieht man in diesen Zügen auch eine Annäherung an die südlicheren Golde und die Mandshu.

Ueber den Körperbau der oberen Amur-Völker kann ich nach eigenen Erfahrungen nur wenig urtheilen, da ich mit ihnen nur hie und da in flüchtige Berührung gekommen bin. Die nomadischen Stämme, namentlich die Manägirn und Orotschonen, hatten in der späten Jahreszeit, da ich den oberen Amur aufwärts ging, schon fast sämmtlich den Strom verlassen und waren zur Jagd in die weiter ab liegenden Gebirgswaldungen gezogen. Die am Amur sesshaften Biraren kamen mir den Mandshu nicht unähnlich vor, und so spricht sich über dieselben auch Maack aus [3]). Er fand, dass sie im ganzen Körperbau und in der Form des Gesichts den Mandshu näher stehen als den Amur-Orotschonen, und niemals begegnete ihm unter ihnen ein so breitbackiges Gesicht, wie sie unter den letzteren so gewöhnlich sind. Manches verräth auch ihre nahe Verwandtschaft mit den Manägirn. Von diesen entwirft er eine genauere Schilderung, da er Gelegenheit hatte, sie näher kennen zu lernen. Meistentheils, sagt er [4]), sind sie von mittlerem oder sogar ziemlich hohem Wuchse, kräftig und gut gebaut; kleine Individuen mit

1) Tronson, Personal Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch. etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London 1859, p. 268.

2) Венюковъ, Обозр. р. Уссури (Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ. ч. XXV, 1859, Отд. II, стр. 234); его же, Путеш. по окр. Русск. Азіи, стр. 88.

3) Путеш. на Амуръ, С. Петерб. 1859, стр. 110.

4) L. c. p. 69.

dünnen Beinen, ähnlich den Orotschonen, sieht man unter ihnen nur ausnahmsweise. Ebenso spricht sich über dieselben auch Sswerbejef aus[1]). Der Gesichtsbildung nach konnte Maack unter den Manägirn zwei Typen unterscheiden: die Einen hatten breite, echt mongolische Gesichter, mit kleiner Nase und vorspringenden Backenknochen; die Anderen — und deren sah er nicht wenige — hatten ein ovales Gesicht, edle Züge, sehr proportionirt gehaltene Backenknochen, eine lange, bald gerade, bald etwas krumme Nase. Er schreibt die Ausbildung dieses letzteren Typus unter den Manägirn mandshurischem Einflusse zu; ich glaube man müsste hinzufügen auch daurischem, zumal die Dauren am Komar ihre unmittelbaren Nachbaren sind und zugleich als Kaufleute viel mit ihnen verkehren. Der erstere Typus hingegen lässt in den Manägirn die nächsten Stammverwandten der Orotschonen erkennen. Von diesen sagt Giller[2]), der am rechten Ufer der Schilka einige Zeit unter ihnen weilte, sie seien von kleinem, seltner mittlerem Wuchse, hässlich, mit rundem Kopfe, niedriger Stirn, schwarzem Haar, brauner Gesichtsfarbe, kleinen, schiefen, dunkelbraunen oder schwarzen Augen, schütteren Augenbrauen, grossem Gesicht mit vorstehenden Backenknochen, flacher Nase und sehr sparsamem Haarwuchs. Die Orotschonen schliessen sich, wie sie faktisch der mandshu-chinesischen Herrschaft fern gestanden haben, auch in physischer Beziehung unmittelbar an die russisch-sibirischen Tungusen an. Gleich wie bei diesen letzteren, ist aber auch bei ihnen der mongolische Typus der Gesichtsbildung keineswegs so ausgesprochen wie bei den echt mongolischen Völkern, den Burjaten, Kalmücken, oder auch bei den physisch stark mongolisirten Jakuten[3]).

Die Dauren und Solonen endlich werden schon von den alten Missionären ihres hohen Wuchses und kräftigen Körperbaues wegen gerühmt[4]). Ihre Gesichtsbildung muss aber eine nicht geringe Mannigfaltigkeit zeigen, da sie im Laufe der Zeit starke Mischungen mit den Mandshu, Chinesen und mit ihren südlichen und südöstlichen Nachbaren, den Mongolen, eingegangen sind. Ich habe auch selbst in den daurischen Dörfern am Amur, so wie an einzelnen Individuen, die mir oberhalb der Dscja-Mündung begegneten, sehr verschiedene Gesichter beobachtet, bald mit plumpen, mandshuähnlichen, bald mit entschieden feineren Zügen, zuweilen mit fast viereckigem, mongolischem Schnitt u. s. w., immer aber mit schief geschlitzten Augen und schwachem Bartwuchs. Doch bin ich zu kurze Zeit und zu selten mit den Dauren, geschweige denn mit den Solonen, in Berührung gekommen, um ein allgemeingültiges Urtheil über ihre physische Gestaltung aussprechen, oder gar bestimmte Typen unter denselben unterscheiden zu können.

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1) Сверберевъ, Опис. нам. по р. Амуру сочин. генер.-губерн. Восточн. Сибири въ 1851 г. (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Кн. III, С. Петерб. 1857, стр. 33).

2) Verhandl. der Berliner Gesellsch. f. Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgesch., in der Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. VI, 1874, p. (77), — ein Auszug aus seinem Werke «Opissanii Zabaikalsky krasnya», das mir nicht zu Gebote steht.

3) Sawerbejef, l. c. Ganz ähnlich spricht sich auch schon Erman (Archiv für wiss. Kunde Russl. Bd. IV, 1844, p. 3) aus, indem er gegen Parschin's Ansicht, die Nertschinsker Tungusen hätten ganz dieselbe Gesichtsbildung wie die Burjaten, ausdrücklich hervorhebt, dass die letzteren breitere Gesichter und eine unterseitzere Gestalt haben und den Jakuten weit ähnlicher als die Tungusen sind.

4) Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, Paris 1735, p. 18, 19.

Vergleicht man nun die Stellung und Gruppirung der tungusischen Amur-Völker gegen einander, wie sie aus ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit sich ergiebt, mit derjenigen, welche wir aus ihrer Sprache entnehmen mussten, so stimmen sie zwar im Allgemeinen ziemlich mit einander überein und bekräftigen sich gegenseitig, decken sich aber doch nicht vollständig, sondern fallen in manchen Punkten auch auseinander. So sahen wir vom sprachlichen Standpunkt die Oltscha, Negda und Samagirn eine Gruppe bilden, während in physischer Beziehung die ersteren von den sprachlich grundverschiedenen Giljaken kaum zu unterscheiden sind, die Negda sich ihnen ebenfalls nähern, die Samagirn hingegen mehr an die Golde sich anschliessen. Ebenso zeigen von den sprachlich mit einander zunächst verwandten Stämmen der Biraren, Manägirn und Orotschonen die beiden ersteren in physischer Beziehung eine starke Annäherung an die Mandshu, während die letzteren ihren nordtungusischen Typus rein erhalten haben. Wir können in diesen Fällen der Incongruenz der sprachlichen und der physischen Charaktere nur einen Beweis dafür sehen, wie viel leichter und rascher die Völker in Folge von Vermischungen ihre physischen als ihre sprachlichen Eigenthümlichkeiten einbüssen. Solche Fälle namentlich, wo zwei ursprünglich grundverschiedene Völker, wie die Giljaken und Oltscha, gegenwärtig nach ihrer physischen Beschaffenheit nicht oder nur kaum mehr zu unterscheiden sind, während die Sprache sie überall auf das Schärfste abgrenzt, werfen ein grelles Licht auf die Veränderlichkeit der physischen Charaktere eines Volkes und auf den ausdauernderen Bestand hingegen seiner Sprache, als des Ausdruckes seines gesammten geistigen Seins und des festesten Bindemittels aller seiner einzelnen Individuen.

Fügen wir nun zur physischen Charakteristik der tungusischen Amur-Völker noch eine Beschreibung der uns vorliegenden Schädel derselben hinzu. Leider ist ihre Zahl eine sehr beschränkte, indem wir nur zwei Oltscha-Schädel und von den Golde, Biraren, Manägirn und Orotschonen je einen, im Ganzen also sechs Schädel von Amur-Tungusen besitzen. An eine Ableitung allgemeinerer Resultate über den Schädelbau dieser Völker ist unter solchen Umständen nicht zu denken. Was hier geboten wird, ist nur erst craniologisches Material, aber zum Theil das erste für die erwähnten Völker. Da diese jedoch sämmtlich tungusischen Stammes sind, so lässt sich dasselbe gleichwohl schon jetzt, wenigstens theilweise, zur genaueren und richtigeren Feststellung des tungusischen Schädeltypus überhaupt verwerthen, wie weiter unten in der That versucht werden soll. Die Maasse dieser Schädel sind bereits oben in tabellarischer Zusammenstellung mitgetheilt worden. Gehen wir nunmehr zur Besprechung der einzelnen Objecte über.

Oltscha-Schädel kannte man bisher gar nicht, wenn nicht der oben[1]) besprochene, vom polnischen Exilirten Weber in der Umgegend des Kidsi-Sees gefundene und von Pruner-Bey und Barnard Davis[2]) beschriebene und abgebildete «Giljaken»-Schädel diesem Volke angehört haben sollte. Ich glaube jedoch nachgewiesen zu haben, dass es viel eher ein Orotschen-Schädel war. Unsere beiden Oltscha-Schädel sind von mir aus dem Amur-Lande gebracht

1) S. p. 228.
2) Memoirs read bef. the Anthropol. Soc. of London, Vol. III, 1870, p. 366 ff.

worden. Von dem einen derselben könnte es allerdings, nach seinem Fundorte zu urtheilen, auf den ersten Blick fraglich erscheinen, ob es ein Oltscha-, oder nicht vielmehr auch ein Orotschen-Schädel sei, denn er rührt aus der von diesen beiden Völkern bewohnten Bai de Castries her. Die näheren Umstände seines Fundes sprechen jedoch für das Erstere. Ich fand ihn nämlich am 11/23. Juni 1855 auf der in der Bai gelegenen Observatoriums-Insel in einem halbzerstörten Grabe, das seiner Construktion nach ein Oltscha-Grab sein musste. Auf dem Festlande am Nordufer der Bai hatte ich bereits mehrere, wohlerhaltene Oltscha-Gräber gesehen, die mit denen am Amur vollständig übereinstimmten, — zu ebener Erde erbaute, niedrige Häuschen, in denen die Leichen, in Särgen beigesetzt, ruhen. An dem Grabe auf der Insel war das Gehälk noch erhalten, aber das Dach fehlte; mitten im Grabe stand ein seines Deckbrettes beraubter, 5 Fuss langer und etwa 14—15 Zoll breiter Sarg, in welchem an einem Ende der hier in Rede stehende Schädel lag. In der Nähe des Grabes waren Spuren ehemaliger Zelte oder Sommerwohnungen zu sehen, was darauf hinwies, dass die Oltscha der Bai sich zeitweise, im Sommer, vermuthlich des Fischfanges wegen, auf der Insel aufhielten. Ist es somit von diesem Schädel nur sehr wahrscheinlich, dass er einem Oltscha angehörte, so unterliegt dies hinsichtlich unseres zweiten Schädels gar keinem Zweifel. Diesen nahm ich aus einem noch keineswegs alten und sehr wohlerhaltenen Leichenhäuschen im Oltscha-Dorfe Choto heraus, das an derselben Stelle lag, wo nachmals der Mariinskische Posten erbaut wurde. Folgendes nun zur näheren Charakteristik dieser beiden Schädel.

Der Oltscha-Schädel aus der Bai de Castries (Æ V der Tabb., Fig. 5 der Taff. V—IX) erscheint mir auch hinsichtlich seines Geschlechtes zweifelhaft: seine durchweg geringen Dimensionen und gerundeten Formen machen es wahrscheinlich, dass er einem Weibe angehörte. Nach der Beschaffenheit der Nähte und Zähne zu urtheilen, war das betreffende Individuum nur etwa 18—24 Jahre alt. Die Basilarfuge ist noch offen; desgleichen sämmtliche Nähte offen, klaffend. Die vorhandenen Zähne sind sehr wohl erhalten, die Tardivi im Ober- und Unterkiefer eben im Durchbruch begriffen. Nach den Verhältnissen der Länge, Breite und Höhe ist er platybrachycephal, und zwar mit einem grösseren Längenbreitenindex als bei irgend einem unserer übrigen Schädel, selbst den breitesten Giljaken-Schädel (Æ III) nicht ausgenommen. Dagegen tritt die Höhe bei ihm nicht so stark gegen die Breite zurück wie bei dem letzteren. Die Stirnbreite ist unten nur gering, oben, an der Kranznaht, hingegen sehr ansehnlich. Der Schädel wird von dort nach hinten rasch breiter und erreicht seine grösste Breite bald hinter der halben Länge, zwischen den Scheitelbeinen, nahe der Schuppennaht, in der durch die Ohröffnung gehenden Senkrechten. In der Scheitelansicht ist er daher breit eiförmig, vorn etwas abgestutzt, mit kaum sichtbaren Jochbögen. Die grösste Höhe des Schädels liegt sehr bald hinter seiner grössten Breite. Die Stirn tritt langsam zurück. Die Stirn- und Scheitelhöcker sind nur unansehnlich; desgleichen die Lineae semicirculares, die sich nach hinten bald verlieren. In der Hinterhauptsansicht ist der Schädel fast kreisrund, eben so hoch wie breit, am Scheitel kaum etwas winklig, an der Basis ausgeschweift. Das Hinterhaupt ist flach und fällt von der Protuberantia occipitalis ziemlich steil zum Foramen magnum ab. Dieses ist horizontal gelegen, klein,

oval, nach hinten zugespitzt. An Stelle der Crista externa verläuft auf dem Hinterhauptsbein eine flache Rinne. Die Processus mastoidei sind klein; überhaupt alle Muskelleisten schwach. Die Schläfenbeinschuppe hat keinen Stirnfortsatz. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel sind breit; die Sutura sphenofrontalis hat beiderseits eine Länge von 18^{mm}, die Sutura sphenoparietalis rechts von 17, links von 21^{mm}. Der Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeins reicht tief hinab. Die Nasenbeine sind an der Wurzel wie im weiteren Verlaufe fast ganz flach, etwas breiter als bei den Giljaken-Schädeln (mit Ausnahme von № III) und lange nicht so eingebogen an der Wurzel. Ihrem Index nach ist die Nase mesorhin. Die Augenhöhlen sind nicht besonders gross, fast eben so hoch wie breit, ihrem Index nach sehr megasem, mehr als dies nach Broca bei den mongolischen Völkern in der Regel zu sein pflegt[1]), dabei etwas nach unten und aussen ausgezogen. Wangen und Oberkiefer scheinen zwar im Verhältniss zum Schädel von geringer Breite zu sein, haben aber bei der geringen Länge desselben ganz ansehnliche Breitenindices. Die Fovea maxillaris ist wenig vertieft.

Der zweite unserer Oltscha-Schädel, aus dem ehemaligen Dorfe Choto am Kidsi-See (№ VI der Tabb., Fig. 6 der Taff. V—IX), ist von dem ersteren sehr verschieden, ja in manchen Verhältnissen von direkt entgegengesetzter Bildung. Er gehörte unzweifelhaft einem männlichen Individuum, das vermuthlich über 50 Jahre alt war: die Schädelnähte sind meist obliterirt, und zwar die Sutt. coronalis superior, sagittalis und lambdoidea superior so vollständig, dass sie von aussen gar nicht mehr sichtbar sind; die Sut. coronalis inferior ist ebenfalls verwachsen, doch bleibt ihr Verlauf noch kenntlich; desgleichen die Sut. lambdoidea inferior, nahe dem Processus mastoideus, wo sie kleine Schaltknochen enthält. Die Zähne sind vollzählig entwickelt gewesen, die vorhandenen stark abgerieben, die Eckzähne ganz stumpf. Der ganze Schädel ist sehr massiv und schwer. Nach seinem Längenbreiten- und Breitenhöhenindex ist er hypsimesocephal; die Höhe namentlich absolut wie im Verhältniss zur Breite grösser als bei irgend einem unserer Schädel. Die grösste Breite liegt im unteren Theile des Schädels (s. oben d. Anm. 2 zur Tab. I), etwas hinter der halben Länge, wo auch die grösste Höhe sich befindet. In der Scheitelansicht ist der Schädel elliptisch, vorn etwas abgestutzt, die Jochbögen stark vortretend. Die Stirn ist flach, zurücktretend. Die Arcus supraciliares treten ansehnlich hervor und fliessen in eine stark gewölbte Stirnnasenwulst zusammen. Die Stirnhöcker sind schwach, die Scheitelhöcker hingegen ansehnlich entwickelt. Die Lineae semicirculares sind sehr markirt, in ihrem Verlauf auf dem Stirnbein durch kleine spitze Erhabenheiten rauh; sie steigen hoch auf die Scheitelbeine hinauf, sind fast bis zu den ansehnlich starken Processus mastoidei deutlich zu verfolgen und schliessen sehr grosse, bis zur Lambdanaht reichende Plana temporalia ein. In der Hinterhauptsansicht hat der Schädel die Form eines hohen Fünfecks mit zwar abgerundeten, aber doch deutlich erkennbaren Winkeln. Die beiden oberen Seiten desselben sind kürzer und etwas eingedrückt, so dass der Schädel einigermassen dachförmig gewölbt erscheint; die beiden unteren Seiten des Fünfecks sind länger und gehen senkrecht hinab, mit einer kleinen Anschwellung

1) Broca, l. c. p. 600.

im unteren Theile (wo die grösste Breite des Schädels liegt); die Basis ist ziemlich gerade, nur an den Seiten etwas ausgeschweift. Das Hinterhaupt ist gross und gewölbt, über der Protuberantia occipitalis ganz senkrecht abgeflacht, von dieser letzteren an, die ungewöhnlich stark entwickelt ist, fast unter rechtem Winkel gegen den oberen Theil abgesetzt und zum horizontal gelegenen Foramen magnum flach geneigt. Die Schläfenbeinschuppe ist flach, ohne Stirnfortsatz. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel sind breit, indem die Sutura sphenofrontalis beiderseits 20, die Sut. sphenoparietalis rechts 9, links 8^{mm} lang ist. Der Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeins reicht sehr tief hinab. Die Nasenbeine sind schmal, bilden aber mit einander einen deutlichen Winkel (Nasenrücken); dabei sind sie stark eingebogen, so dass ihre unteren Enden fast horizontal nach vorn gerichtet sind und auch in der Scheitelansicht des Schädels noch vorragen. Die Augenhöhlen sind gross, nach aussen und unten etwas ausgezogen, quadratisch, genau eben so hoch wie breit und also ihrem Index zufolge äusserst niedrig, — so sehr, wie es nach Broca nur bei künstlich von oben nach unten zusammengedrückten Schädeln zu sein pflegt[1]). Die Augenscheidewand ist sehr breit. Obwohl die Jochbogenbreite eine sehr ansehnliche ist und der grössten Schädelbreite nur wenig nachgiebt, so ist die Wangenbreite doch keineswegs auffallend; im Verhältniss zur Schädelbreite bleibt sie, ebenso wie auch die Oberkieferbreite, hinter den entsprechenden Indices des vorigen Schädels zurück. Die Fovea maxillaris ist aber etwas stärker vertieft. Der Unterkiefer ist sehr dick und stark, wie auch bei den Giljaken. Die auf seiner Innenfläche verlaufende Linea obliqua interna endigt jederseits in einen spitzen Stachel, der auch auf den Photographien deutlich zu sehen ist.

Lassen sich die beiden eben besprochenen Schädel, da sie verschiedenen Geschlechtern angehören, auch nicht unmittelbar mit einander vergleichen, so ist aus denselben doch zu ersehen, wie verschiedene Schädelformen auch unter den Oltscha vorkommen. Gewiss repräsentiren sie noch nicht die äussersten Bildungen, und doch ist der eine hypsimeso-, fast hypsidolichocephal, der andere entschieden platybrachycephal, mit einer Differenz in den Längenbreitenindices von 12,3 und in den Breitenhöhenindices von 11,4, was den Schwankungen, die wir oben in dieser Beziehung an den Giljaken- und Aino-Schädeln kennen lernten, nur wenig nachsteht. Auch ist das Maass der Brachycephalie am breiten Oltscha-Schädel (85,4) fast genau dasselbe wie bei den uns bekannten breitesten Giljaken- und Aino-Schädeln (85,2 und 85,3), und ebenso ist der Grad der Hypsicephalie beim hohen Oltscha-Schädel (103,5) nur um Weniges ansehnlicher als bei unserem höchsten Giljaken-Schädel (101,5). Auch in den übrigen Verhältnissen des Schädel- und Gesichtsbaues lässt sich, von individuellen Differenzen abgesehen, ein ähnlicher Parallelismus zwischen den Oltscha und Giljaken erkennen, und ich glaube nicht, dass eine grössere Anzahl von Messungen denselben verschwinden lassen würde. Stehen sich doch, wie wir oben sahen, diese Völker gegenwärtig auch nach ihrer gesammten Physio-

1) An zusammengedrückten Schädeln der Aymara von Peru fand Broca einen mittleren Orbitalindex von 98,08, an den weiblichen Schädeln allein von 100,53, an einem kaukasischen Mikrokephalen einen Orbitalindex von 103. Vrgl. Rev. d'Anthrop. T. IV, p. 599, 600, 616.

gnomie so nahe, dass es nicht wohl möglich ist, nach derselben die Nationalität der einzelnen Individuen mit Sicherheit zu erkennen, indem es sowohl Giljaken mit rein tungusischem Gesichtstypus, als auch andererseits Oltscha mit den Gesichtszügen echter Giljaken giebt.

Hier ist der Ort, auch auf den oben erwähnten, von Weber in der Nähe des Kidsi-Sees gefundenen und von Pruner-Bey und Barn. Davis abgehandelten, irrthümlicherweise einem Giljaken zugeschriebenen Schädel etwas näher einzugehen, denn die Möglichkeit, dass er einem Oltscha angehört habe, ist, wie oben bemerkt, nach seinem Fundorte nicht ausgeschlossen. Die Umstände, unter denen er gefunden worden, machen es allerdings wahrscheinlicher, dass es ein Orotschen-Schädel ist, allein auch in diesem Falle rührt er aus dem Grenzgebiet der Oltscha und Orotschen her, wo diese ohnehin stammverwandten Völker in vielfacher Berührung und Verbindung mit einander stehen. Jedenfalls liegt also ein Vergleich desselben mit den eben besprochenen, aus demselben Grenzgebiet stammenden Oltscha-Schädeln nahe. Und in der That zeigt er im Ganzen wie im Einzelnen manche Uebereinstimmung namentlich mit dem zweiten derselben, mit dem Schädel aus Choto. Gleich diesem ist er nach dem Verhältniss seiner Hauptdimensionen hypsimesocephal, indem sein Längenbreitenindex 78,0, sein Breitenhöhenindex 100,0 beträgt[1]): im Verhältniss zur Länge ist er also breiter und im Verhältniss zur Breite weniger hoch als unser Oltscha-Schädel. In letzterer Beziehung fehlt ihm namentlich das etwas dachförmige Schädelgewölbe des letzteren. Auch die übrigen Verhältnisse bieten viel Aehnliches dar: so die stark angeschwollenen Arcus supraciliares, die dadurch eingedrückt erscheinende Glabella, die zurücktretende Stirn, das grosse und starke Hinterhaupt, die ausserordentliche Breite in den Jochbögen, die starke Ausprägung der Lineae semicirculares[2]) und aller zum Ansatz der Muskeln dienenden Fortsätze, Stacheln und Leisten, der tief hinabreichende Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeines, die schmalen, an der Wurzel eingebogenen Nasenbeine, die grossen, übrigens mehr breiten als hohen Augenhöhlen u. s. w. Dass sich in allen diesen Charakteren zugleich auch viel Uebereinstimmung mit einigen unserer Giljaken-Schädel ausspricht, geht aus den obigen Darstellungen wie aus der Vergleichung der resp. Maasse und Abbildungen hervor. Gehörte daher dieser Schädel, wie sehr wahrscheinlich, einem Orotschen an, so liefert er den Beweis, dass unter diesem Volke, zum wenigsten an seiner nördlichen Grenze, ganz ähnliche Schädelformen wie unter den Oltscha und Giljaken vorkommen, was bei dem langen und vielfachen Verkehr dieser an einander grenzenden Völker nicht weiter Wunder nehmen darf. Und gleichwie unter den letzteren, fehlt es gewiss auch unter den Orotschen neben hypsimeso- und vielleicht auch hypsidolichocephalen Formen nicht an platybrachycephalen, wie

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1) Der Längenhöhenindex würde bei der ganz gleichen Breite und Höhe des Schädels eben so viel wie der Längenbreitenindex betragen. Diese Zahlen sind nach den von Barn. Davis bestimmten Schädelmassen berechnet. Virchow fand an seinem Gypsabgusse dieses Schädels einen Breitenindex von 77,3 und einen Höhenindex von 78,3 (Verhandl. der Berl. Ges. f. Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgesch. p. (137), in der Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. V, 1873).

2) Barn. Davis giebt zwar an, dass die Lineae semicirculares nicht hoch auf die Scheitelbeine hinaufreichen, allein die beigegebene Abbildung stimmt damit nicht überein und lässt weite Plana semicircularia erkennen. Vergl. Mem. read bef. the Anthrop. Soc. of London, Vol. III, p. 300, nebst Tafel.

man schon aus dem oben nach Individuen der Bai de Castries, des Kaiserhafens und anderer Orte geschilderten Charakter ihrer Gesichtszüge schliessen möchte.

Am bekanntesten nach ihrem Schädelbau sind bisher unter allen Völkern des Amur-Landes die Golde. Durch den Dr. Zwingmann erhielt Virchow[1]) vier Schädel derselben, die vom Bolang-See herstammten, einem im unteren Amur-Lande gelegenen Bassin, das seine Gewässer dem Amur von dessen linker Seite zusendet. Drei dieser Schädel gehörten erwachsenen Menschen, der vierte einem jugendlichen oder fast noch kindlichen Individuum an. Dr. Zwingmann glaubt behaupten zu dürfen, dass die Schädel nicht von Mischlingen herrührten; ich habe keinen Grund es in Zweifel zu ziehen und bemerke nur, dass sich dies, bei der Unkenntniss der betreffenden Genealogie, wie in allen ähnlichen Fällen, nicht weiter constatiren und also auch nicht mit solcher Bestimmtheit behaupten lässt[2]). Auf Virchow's Mittheilungen über diese Schädel komme ich weiter unten zurück.

Uns liegt nur ein Golde-Schädel vor, den Hr. Mordwinof am linken Ufer des Ussuri etwa 200 Werst oberhalb seiner Mündung erhielt. Derselbe (№ VII der Tabb., Fig. 7 der Taff. V—IX) gehörte einem männlichen, nach der Beschaffenheit der Nähte zu urtheilen, zwischen 30 und 55 Jahren alten Individuum an: der untere Theil der Kranznaht ist fast spurlos obliterirt; der obere und die Pfeilnaht sind zwar ebenfalls obliterirt, jedoch stellenweise deutlich zu erkennen; die übrigen Nähte nicht oder nur stellenweise verwachsen; im unteren Theile der Lambdanaht, zwischen dem Hinterhaupts- und dem Schläfenbein, finden sich kleine Schaltknochen. Zähne, resp. Zahnalveolen im Oberkiefer jederseits 8, die ersteren stark abgeschliffen; der Unterkiefer fehlt. Nach dem Verhältniss seiner Hauptdimensionen ist der Schädel platymesocephal, mit einem Längenbreitenindex von 75,8 und einem Breitenhöhenindex von 98,5; es fehlt ihm also nur wenig, um hypsimesocephal zu sein. Die grösste Breite und die grösste Höhe liegen in derselben senkrechten Ebene, welche den Schädel etwas (12^{mm}) hinter der Ohröffnung durchschneidet. In der Scheitelansicht ist der Schädel eiförmig, vorn etwas abgestutzt, mit ziemlich vortretenden Jochbögen. Die Stirn steigt schräg auf. Die Arcus supraciliares sind flach; nur über der Nase ist eine kleine Anschwellung, von welcher eine schwach erhabene Linie aufwärts steigt. Die Stirnhöcker sind schwach und undeutlich, die Scheitelhöcker hingegen treten deutlich hervor. Die Lineae semicirculares sind sehr sichtlich und im ersten Theile ihres Verlaufes erhaben und rauh. Das Hinterhaupt ist gewölbt, von der starken Protuberantia occipitalis zum Foramen magnum schräg abgeplattet; letzteres ist horizontal gelegen, ungefähr elliptisch, in der Mitte stärker erweitert, in der vorderen Hälfte durch die Gelenkflächen etwas eingeengt und nach vorn und hinten ein wenig zugespitzt. In der Hinterhauptsansicht hat der Schädel die Form eines Fünfecks mit abgerundeten Winkeln, das nur wenig höher wie breit ist; die oberen, kleineren

1) Vrgl. Verhandl. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgesch. p. (138), in der Zeitschr. für Ethnol. Bd. V, 1873.

2) Jedenfalls aber sind die zu den Golde am Bolang-See kommenden und zeitweise unter ihnen sich aufhaltenden Händler nicht Mandchu, wie er meint, sondern Chinesen. S. oben, p. 71.

Seiten sind ziemlich gerade, die unteren, längeren fallen fast senkrecht oder nur kaum convergirend hinab; die Basis ist ziemlich gerade, in der Mitte etwas eingeschnitten. Die Processus mastoidei sind lang und stark; die von den Jochbögen nach hinten sich fortziehenden Leisten sehr ansehnlich. Die Schuppe ist flach. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel sind breit, nach hinten zur Schläfenbeinschuppe und linkerseits auch in dieselbe hinein ausgezogen; die Sutura sphenofrontalis ist auf der rechten Seite 26, auf der linken 24^{mm} lang, die Sut. sphenoparietalis auf der rechten 18, auf der linken 16. Das Gesicht ist im Ganzen breit und flach. Der Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeines reicht tief hinab. Die Nasenbeine sind an der Wurzel ganz flach und ziemlich breit, später verschmälern sie sich, erheben sich aber zugleich zu einem schwach erhabenen Nasenrücken, wobei sie ohne Einbiegung gerade hinabsteigen, fast in einer Flucht mit der Stirn. Nach ihrem Index wäre die Nase mesorhin. Die Augenhöhlen sind gross, fast quadratisch, nur kaum breiter als hoch, ihrem Index nach megasem, nach aussen und unten etwas ausgezogen; der Interorbitalraum breit. Die Wangenbreite ist ganz ansehnlich. Die Fovea maxillaris flach.

Vergleicht man unseren Golde-Schädel mit denen vom Bolang-See, so weit Virchow's Mittheilungen über dieselben reichen, so scheint er sich denselben genau anzuschliessen. Nach seinem Längenbreiten- und Längenhöhenindex (75,8 und 74,7) lässt er sich ganz in die Reihe derselben einfügen, da die betreffenden Indices an den Schädeln der drei erwachsenen Individuen vom Bolang-See nach Virchow 73,0, 80,2, 85,0 und 71,1, 79,6, 82,3 betragen[1]). Aus diesen Zahlenreihen ist zugleich ersichtlich, dass auch bei den Golde nach dem Verhältniss der Hauptdimensionen sehr verschiedene Schädelformen vorkommen: während die Einen kaum über das Maass der Dolichocephalie hinausreichen[2]), sind andere sehr ausgesprochen brachycephal. Der Unterschied im Cephalindex zwischen den wenigen bisher bekannten, gewiss noch nicht extremsten Formen beträgt 12,0, was mit den oben bei den Oltscha, Giljaken und Aino bemerkten Schwankungen vollkommen übereinstimmt; auch findet sich beim breitesten Golde-Schädel fast genau derselbe Grad von Brachycephalie wie bei jenen Völkern. Nach den Höhenindices sind die Schädel der vier erwachsenen Golde zwar alle platycephal, jedoch mit einer Höhe, die der Breite nur sehr wenig nachsteht, und der Schädel des jugendlichen Individuums ist sogar hypsicephal. Da nun ausserdem dieser letztere nach Virchow in den übrigen Verhältnissen mit zweien der Erwachsenen ganz übereinstimmte, so zweifle ich nicht, dass es unter den Golde auch im erwachsenen Alter neben platycephalen auch hypsicephale Schädelformen giebt. Auch in den übrigen von Virchow an den Golde-Schädeln als charakteristisch hervorgehobenen Punkten findet eine grosse Uebereinstimmung unseres Schädels vom Ussuri mit denen vom Bolang-See statt; so namentlich in der «auffälligen» Entwickelung des tief hinabsteigenden Nasenfortsatzes des Stirnbeines, in der ausnehmenden Flachheit der Nasenbeine und der daraus folgenden Plattheit der Nase, die in so hohem Grade ausgesprochen ist, dass Virchow unwillkürlich der Ge-

1) Am Schädel des jugendlichen Individuums bestimmte dieser Virchow auf 77,3 und 79,5.

2) Virchow nennt den ersteren der oben angeführten Schädel, mit dem Breitenindex 73,0, sogar ausgesprochen dolichocephal. S. Verhandl. etc. l. c. p. (137).

danke an eine künstliche Pressung oder Abflachung der Nase anstieg, so wie endlich in der Form der Augenhöhlen, welche entweder eben so hoch, oder sogar noch höher als breit sind. So sehr ich aber die von Virchow bezeichneten Charakterzüge auch an unserem Golde-Schädel bestätigt finde, so kann ich ihnen doch nicht die Bedeutung zuerkennen, eine ausschliessliche Eigenthümlichkeit der Golde zu sein, durch welche sie sich von den Aino, Giljaken und Tungusen unterschieden. Bei den beiden ersteren Völkern kommen vielmehr, wie wir oben gesehen, dieselben Züge und überhaupt ein ganz ähnlicher Gesichtstypus nicht selten vor. Ueber die Giljaken zudem urtheilte Virchow nur nach dem Gypsabdruck des einen Schädels, der, wie oben dargethan, nicht einem Giljaken, sondern einem Orotschen oder Oltscha angehörte. Zwischen Golde und Tungusen fand Virchow selbst manche Analogien im Schädelbau[1]), obgleich er nicht wusste, dass diese Völker auch sprachlich zum selben Stamme gehören. Ohne Zweifel hätte er eine solche Analogie auch in den oben erwähnten Charakteren wahrgenommen, wenn ihm eine grössere Anzahl authentischer tungusischer Schädel vorgelegen hätte. Wir werden sie weiter unten an einigen tungusischen Schädeln kennen lernen, gleichwie sie uns auch schon an den Oltscha, die ebenfalls tungusischen Stammes sind, entgegentrat. Ich glaube daher den Schluss ziehen zu dürfen, dass der Schädelbau der Golde — wenn sie in einzelnen Fällen, in Folge von Vermischung mit den Chinesen u. a. Völkern, auch manche fremdartige Züge bekommen haben sollten — doch keineswegs gegen ihre tungusische Abstammung spricht.

Das nächste in craniologischer Beziehung hier zur Sprache kommende Amur-Volk sind die Biraren. Von ihm liegt uns ein Schädel vor — der erste seiner Art, der zur Kenntniss gelangt (№ VIII der obigen Tabb., Fig. 8 der Taff. V—IX). Wir verdanken ihn Hrn. Maack. Am 19. Sept. (1. Oct.) 1855 fand er am rechten Ufer des Amur-Stromes, gleich oberhalb seines Eintritts in das Bureja-Gebirge, einen bei einem Biraren-Dorfe in einem Wäldchen gelegenen Begräbnissplatz. Die Särge, theils aus Brettern zusammengefügt, theils aus Weidenruthen geflochten und von aussen mit Birkenrinde bekleidet, standen in einiger Höhe über der Erde mit ihren Enden zwischen je zwei Pfosten befestigt, so dass es den Anschein hatte, als ruhten sie auf je vier Füssen[2]). Auf ganz ähnliche Särge war er wiederholentlich in den Wäldern am Wilui und Olenek gestossen. Man erkennt in ihnen leicht das Tungusen-Grab. Aus einem jener Särge nahm er den Schädel heraus. Derselbe gehörte einem männlichen, nach der Beschaffenheit der Nähte und Zähne zu urtheilen, noch jungen, nur etwa 18—20 Jahre alten Individuum. Die Basilarfuge ist noch offen; der untere Theil der Kranz- und der hintere Theil der Pfeilnaht fangen zu obliteriren an; in der Lambda- und im hinteren Theile der Schuppennaht finden sich kleine Spaltknochen. Zähne oder Zahnalveolen in jedem Kiefer 14; die Tardivi fehlen noch; die Schneiden und Kronen an den Zähnen noch ganz unversehrt. Der ganze Schädel ist leicht, mit dünnen und glatten Knochen. Seiner Form nach ist er platybrachycephal, mit einem Längenbreitenindex von 83,3 und einem Breitenhöhenindex von 88,2. Die grösste Breite liegt zwischen

1) L. c. p. (128).

2) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, С. Петерб. 1859, стр. 282.

den Scheitelbeinen, nahe der Schuppennaht, 15^{mm} hinter der durch die Ohröffnung gehenden Senkrechten; die grösste Höhe noch etwas vor der grössten Breite. Die Stirn steigt schräg auf und wird nach oben rasch breiter. Der Schädel ist in der Scheitelansicht breit eiförmig, vorn abgestutzt, die Jochbögen nur wenig sichtbar. Die Augenbrauenbögen sind sehr schwach. Die Stirnhöcker treten deutlich hervor; zwischen ihnen läuft eine schwach erhabene Linie aufwärts. Die Lineae semicirculares sind sehr schwach und undeutlich. Die Scheitelhöcker sind zwar schwach, jedoch kenntlich. Das Hinterhaupt ist gewölbt, von der Protuberantia occipitalis ab zum Foramen magnum schräg abgeplattet. Die Muskelleisten auf dem Hinterhauptsbein treten stark hervor; an Stelle der Crista occipitalis läuft eine Rinne hinab. In der Hinterhauptsansicht hat der Schädel die Form eines Fünfecks mit abgerundeten Winkeln, das etwas höher als breit ist; die oberen Seiten sind klein und ziemlich gerade, die unteren gross und leicht bogenförmig, die Basis gerade, in der Mitte eingeschnitten. Das horizontal gelegene Foramen magnum ist oval, nach hinten etwas zugespitzt und wird durch die langen und schmalen Gelenkflächen in seiner Form nicht beeinträchtigt. Die Schläfenbeinschuppe ist flach, ohne Stirnfortsatz. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel sind breit und hoch; die Sutura sphenofrontalis misst rechts 24, links 19^{mm}, die Sut. sphenoparietalis rechts 23, links 18^{mm}. Der Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeins steigt nicht so tief wie bei den Golde- und anderen oben besprochenen Schädeln hinab. Die Nasenbeine sind an der Wurzel breiter und verschmälern sich minder stark nach unten; sie bilden einen deutlichen Nasenrücken und sind nur wenig eingebogen. Ihrem Index nach ist die Nase leptorhin. Die Augenhöhlen sind nur wenig breiter als hoch, megasem. Der Augenzwischenraum ist ansehnlich breit. Die Fovea maxillaris flach. Der Unterkiefer robust.

Wie der Biraren-, so ist auch der uns vorliegende Manägir-Schädel der erste seiner Art, der bekannt wird (№ IX der Tabb., Fig. 9 der Taff. V—IX). Am 19. Sept. (1. Oct.) 1856 stiess ich am linken Ufer des oberen Amur-Stromes etwas oberhalb Kotomanga auf alte Manägir-Gräber, aus deren einem der Schädel genommen wurde. Er gehörte einem männlichen Individuum an, das, nach der Beschaffenheit der Nähte und Zähne zu urtheilen, im Alter zwischen 55 und 80 Jahren stand. Die Nähte coronalis, sagittalis, sphenofrontalis und sphenoparietalis sind obliterirt und in ihrem Verlauf von aussen kaum noch zu erkennen; auch die Lambdanaht ist, zumal in ihrem mittleren Theile, obliterirt; in der Schuppennaht, am hinteren unteren Winkel der Scheitelbeine finden sich jederseits kleine Schaltknochen. Die wenigen vorhandenen Zähne sind stark abgerieben; Zahnalveolen im Oberkiefer (der Unterkiefer fehlt) 14, die übrigen sind offenbar resorbirt. Seiner Form nach ist der Schädel platybrachycephal, mit einem Längenbreitenindex von 80,5 und einem Breitenhöhenindex von 86,3. Die grösste Breite liegt zwischen den von den Jochbögen auf die Schläfenbeine sich fortziehenden Leisten, 18^{mm} hinter der durch die Ohröffnung gehenden Senkrechten; die grösste Höhe etwas vor jener. Die Höhe ist im Verhältniss zur Länge sehr gering, da der Längenhöhenindex nur 69,5 beträgt. Der Schädel ist in der Scheitelansicht breit eiförmig, vorn abgestutzt; die Jochbögen treten dabei stark vor; auch ist die Breite in den Jochbögen eine sehr ansehnliche und steht der grössten Breite nur um sehr Weniges nach. Die Stirn ist flach und stark zurücktretend; die Augenbrauenbögen sind stark

angeschwollen und stossen in einer dicken Stirnnasenwulst zusammen, so dass die Glabella darüber wie eingedrückt erscheint. Die Lineae semicirculares sind sehr deutlich, in ihrem ganzen Verlauf erhaben; sie grenzen sehr grosse, bis zur Lambdanath reichende, mit zahlreichen kleinen, schräge verlaufenden Rauhigkeiten versehene Plana semicircularia ab. Das Hinterhaupt ist gross, gewölbt, von der Protuberantia occipitalis zum Foramen magnum schräg abgeplattet; die Protuberantia und alle Muskelleisten auf demselben, gleichwie auch die Processus mastoidei, stark entwickelt. In der Hinterhauptsansicht erscheint der Schädel einem Fünfeck ähnlich, an welchem die drei oberen Winkel so stark abgerundet sind, dass es fast die Form eines Kreissegments gewinnt; übrigens ist es doch ansehnlich breiter wie hoch; die Basis ist gerade, mit kleinem Einschnitt in der Mitte. Das Foramen magnum ist horizontal gelegen, sehr gross, oval, vorn durch die sehr breiten und grossen Gelenkflächen etwas eingeengt, nach hinten zugespitzt. Die Nasenbeine bilden an der Wurzel einen sehr stumpfen Winkel mit einander, der nach abwärts etwas mehr hervortritt und so einen schwachen Nasenrücken bildet. Die Nase ist nach ihrem Index mesorhin. Die Augenhöhlen sind gross, länglich viereckig, mikrosem; der Augenzwischenraum sehr breit. Das Gesicht ist sehr breit und flach. Die Fovea maxillaris flach vertieft.

Von den mit den Manägirn so nahe verwandten Orotschonen liegt uns ebenfalls ein Schädel vor. Er ist nicht der erste seiner Art, da Malijef einen Schädel dieses Volkes bespricht[1]). Woher dieser letztere stammte, ist nicht angegeben. Der unsrige, im anthropologisch-ethnographischen Museum der Akademie (№ X der obigen Tabb., Fig. 10 der Taff. V—IX), wurde von Hrn. Ssawenko aus Nertschinsk geschickt, stammt also wohl aus der Umgegend dieses Ortes, von einem Schilka-Orotschonen. Er gehörte einem Manne an, dessen Alter zwischen 30 und 55 Jahren betragen haben mag: die Kranznaht ist unten so weit obliterirt, dass sie kaum zu erkennen ist, oben, gleich wie auch die Pfeilnaht, zwar ebenfalls verwachsen, jedoch in ihrem Verlaufe noch deutlich zu sehen; die Sphenofrontal- und Sphenoparietalnaht sind nicht obliterirt. Zahnalveolen sind im Oberkiefer (der Unterkiefer fehlt) 14; die übrigen sind offenbar resorbirt; die wenigen vorhandenen Zähne stark abgerieben. Der Schädel ist platybrachycephal, und zwar in höherem Grade als der vorige, indem sein Längenbreitenindex 84,1, sein Breitenhöhenindex nur 79,7 und sein Längenhöhenindex sogar nur 67,0 beträgt. Es sind dies die kleinsten Höhenindices, die an den hier vermessenen Schädeln zu finden sind. Die grösste Breite liegt zwischen der beiderseitigen Schuppennaht und in der durch den Processus mastoideus, 8^{mm} hinter der Ohröffnung gehenden senkrechten Ebene; die grösste Höhe ein wenig vor jener. Der Schädel ist in der Scheitelansicht eiförmig, vorn stark abgestutzt, hinten ebenfalls etwas abgestumpft und in der Mitte eingeschnitten; die Jochbögen stark vorspringend. Die Stirn ist etwas gewölbt und dabei sehr zurücktretend; die Augenbrauenbögen sind ansehnlich angeschwollen und fallen zur Stirnnasenwulst ab; die Glabella vertieft. Die Lineae semicirculares sind in ihrem ganzen Verlaufe deutlich sichtbar, wenn auch nur im anfänglichen Theile erhaben

1) Н. Малеевъ, Матеріалы для Антроп. восточнаго края Россіи, Казань 1874 (Труды Общ. Естествоиспыт. при Имп. Казанскомъ Университ. Т. IV, № 2), passim.

und rauh; sie reichen weit nach hinten und schliessen grosse, meist mit kleinen Rauhigkeiten versehene Plana semicircularia ein. Die Schläfenbeinschuppe ist ohne Stirnfortsatz. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel sind breit; die Sutura sphenofrontalis misst rechts 22, links 19^{mm}, die Sut. sphenoparietalis rechts 14, links 12^{mm}. Das Hinterhaupt ist gross, von der sehr starken Protuberantia occipitalis zum Foramen magnum schräg abgeplattet; alle Muskelleisten auf demselben sehr entwickelt. Desgleichen sind die Processus mastoidei lang und stark. Der Schädel hat in der Hinterhauptsansicht fast die Form eines Kreissegmentes, das jedoch ansehnlich breiter als hoch ist; die Sehne desselben, zwischen den hinabsteigenden Proc. mastoidei, ist ziemlich gerade, in der Mitte kaum eingeschnitten. Das Foramen magnum ist oval, hinten breit, nach vorn verschmälert, an den Seiten durch die grossen Gelenkflächen etwas verengt. Der Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeins reicht tief hinab. Die Nasenbeine sind an der Wurzel fast ganz flach, später bilden sie einen kaum merklichen Winkel mit einander; an ihrer schmalsten Stelle sind sie stark eingeknickt, von dort laufen sie, breiter werdend, fast mehr nach vorn als nach abwärts. Die Nase ist ihrem Index nach platyrhin. Die Augenhöhlen sind gross, nur wenig breiter als hoch, megasem. Der Augenzwischenraum ist breit. Das ganze Gesicht breit und flach; die Wangenbreite sehr ansehnlich. Die Fovea maxillaris flach vertieft.

Vergleicht man die Indices dieses und des von Malijef vermessenen Orotschonen-Schädels mit einander, so findet man einen sehr ansehnlichen Unterschied: jener ist brachy-, dieser mesocephal, indem die resp. Cephalindices 84,1 und 76,4[1]) betragen, was eine Differenz von 7,7 giebt; jener ist sehr stark platy-, dieser fast hypsicephal, da die resp. Breitenhöhenindices 79,7 und 99,2 betragen, also um 19,5 von einander differiren. Auch die Längenhöhenindices, 67,0 und 75,8, zeigen eine entsprechende Differenz von 8,8. Der Unterschied liegt also hauptsächlich in der Höhe und in geringerem Grade auch in der Breite, wenn man sie in ihrem Verhältniss zu einander und zur Länge betrachtet: unser Orotschonen-Schädel ist ausgesprochen breit (kurz) und sehr niedrig, der von Malijef vermessene mittelbreit und fast hoch zu nennen. So lernen wir auch bei diesem Volke schon nach zwei Schädeln eine recht grosse Schwankung in der Form kennen, ohne jedoch vorerst das Maass derselben und die zahlreicher vertretene oder mehr typische Form bestimmen zu können.

Hält man hingegen unseren Orotschonen- und den Manägir-Schädel gegen einander, so springt einem die überaus grosse Aehnlichkeit derselben sogleich in die Augen. Zwar differiren sie ebenfalls im Verhältniss der Hauptdimensionen, jedoch bleiben beide in den Grenzen entschiedener Platybrachycephalie. Dabei stimmen auch beide, trotz mancher Differenz in den Maassen, doch im Ganzen wie im Einzelnen in hohem Grade mit einander überein. Davon überzeugt man sich am besten durch Vergleichung der betreffenden Photographien auf unseren

1) Malijef, l. c. p. 32. Im Referat über Tschugunof's Schrift »Die Bedeutung des Breitenhöhenindex, sowie des Basilarindex« giebt Prof. L. Stieda (Archiv für Anthrop. Bd. XII, p. 384) den Cephalindex des von Malijef vermessenen Orotschonen-Schädels etwas zu klein (78,0) an, — ob nach einem Versehen Tschugunof's, vermag ich nicht zu sagen. Die drei Hauptdimensionen an diesem Schädel betragen nach Malijef (l. c. p. 34): Länge 178, Breite 136, Höhe 135^{mm}.

Tafeln V—IX, und zwar tritt uns diese grosse Aehnlichkeit in jeder der fünf Schädelansichten entgegen. Gewiss dürfen wir dieselbe nach diesen paar Exemplaren noch nicht für ganz allgemein halten: die beiden in Rede stehenden Schädel liegen eben nach derselben Seite der Formgestaltung. Dass es bei den Orotschonen auch wesentlich andere Schädelformen giebt, dafür spricht schon der oben erwähnte von Malijef untersuchte Schädel. Indessen möchte ich nach dem Obigen doch vermuthen, dass sich auch bei den Manägirn ganz analoge und parallele und dann auch nicht minder ähnliche Formen finden werden. Daneben aber lassen sich freilich in manchen Fällen auch Differenzen erwarten, welche aus der grösseren Berührung der Manägirn mit den Chinesen, Mandshu und Dauren und der Orotschonen mit den Russen entstanden sein können. Jedenfalls scheint mir die oben erwähnte so ausnehmende Aehnlichkeit zwischen den uns vorliegenden Schädeln von Manägirn und Orotschonen ebenfalls für die oben schon aus anderen Gründen gefolgerte nahe und nächste Stammverwandtschaft dieser beiden Völker zu sprechen.

Damit ist auch die Reihe unserer Schädel der tungusischen Amur-Völker zu Ende. Wie man sieht, ist manches derselben dabei gar nicht vertreten. So können wir leider auch dem schon von Blumenbach kurz beschriebenen und abgebildeten Schädel eines Dauren[1]) bisher noch keinen zweiten an die Seite stellen. Dieser Schädel gehörte einem der Dauren an, welche im XVII. Jahrhundert, um der Mandshu-Herrschaft zu entgehen, mit ihrem Fürsten Gantimur ihre Wohnsitze am Naun-Flusse verliessen und in das bereits von den Russen eroberte Land an der Schilka zogen[2]). Er wurde von Roesslein aus einem alten Grabe am Onon hervorgeholt und dem Baron Asch nach Petersburg geschickt, der ihn Blumenbach zustellte. Es ist der Schädel eines Greises von 88 Jahren, mit zahnlosem Oberkiefer. Wie Blumenbach angiebt, trägt er im Ganzen wie im Einzelnen einen mongolischen Typus an sich: ein flaches Gesicht, eine platte Nase, starke, seitlich vorragende Jochbögen, ein etwas vortretendes Kinn u. s. w. Nach Baer's Vermessung[3]) wäre der Längenbreitenindex desselben 86,9, der Breitenhöhenindex 85,3, der Längenhöhenindex 74,2[4]). Der Schädel ist also sehr ausgesprochen platybrachycephal; namentlich ist die Breite im Verhältniss zur Länge grösser als bei irgend einem unserer Schädel aus dem Amur-Lande und die Höhe im Vergleich zur Länge sehr gering. Nach alledem nähert er sich in der That den rein mongolischen Schädeln mehr als irgend einer der oben vermessenen aus dem Amur-Lande. Dies Resultat steht mit dem, was oben über die vielfache Berührung und Vermischung der Dauren mit den Mongolen gesagt worden, in Uebereinstimmung. Doch darf natürlich nach einem Exemplar nicht über die Schädelform des ganzen

1) Blumenbach, Decas tertia coll. suae cran. diversa gent. illustr. Gottingae 1798, p. 7, Tab. XXIII (Cr. «Sinensis Daurica»).

2) Vrgl. Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte, 2. Thl., p. 774, 775.

3) Aus handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen Baer's, die im anthropologisch-ethnographischen Museum der Akademie niedergelegt sind und Beobachtungen und Messungen an Schädeln verschiedener europäischer Museen enthalten.

4) Die betreffenden von Baer bestimmten Masse betragen, in englischen Linien (wie in seinen «Crania selecta») ausgedrückt: Länge 69, Breite 60, Höhe 51,2.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Volkes geurtheilt werden. Die heutigen Dauren stehen ausserdem auch in häufiger Berührung mit den Chinesen, sowie mit ihren tungusischen Nachbarstämmen, Solonen, Mandshu. Schon daraus lassen sich bei ihnen auch beträchtliche Verschiedenheiten in der Schädelform erwarten.

Es fragt sich nun, wie sich die oben betrachteten Schädel der tungusischen Amur-Völker zu denen der sibirischen Tungusen verhalten? ob und in wie weit sie überhaupt noch einen tungusischen, oder aber einen durch Vermischung mit den Nachbarvölkern wesentlich veränderten Typus an sich tragen? Um darauf zu antworten, müsste jedoch zuvor bestimmt werden, was den tungusischen Schädeltypus kennzeichnet. Und das ist noch keineswegs geschehen. Man begegnet vielmehr in dieser Beziehung den widersprechendsten Angaben. So bezeichnen z. B. Retzius, R. Wagner und Baer die Tungusen als dolichocephal[1]). Die ersteren gehen dabei allerdings nur von einem Schädel (oder Gypsabguss) des Göttinger Museums aus, der zudem, nach Welcker[2]), synostotisch ist[2]); Baer stand aber eine grössere Anzahl von Schädeln zur Verfügung: er nimmt Mittelzahlen — aus wie vielen Einzeldaten, ist nicht gesagt — und findet für den Tungusen-Schädel einen Längenbreitenindex von 74,3 und einen Längenhöhenindex von 72,3[4]). Nach diesem mittleren Cephalindex erscheint also der Tungusen-Schädel noch dolichocephaler, als Retzius und Wagner ihn fanden (76,0)[3]). Baer stellt diese Mittelzahlen den entsprechenden Verhältnisszahlen schwedischer Schädel gegenüber (73,1 und 74,0) und findet, dass die Tungusen-Schädel nur wenig breiter und höher als die der Schweden oder, mit anderen Worten, dass diese etwas dolichocephaler als jene sind; und da nun viele germanische Völker ebenfalls weniger lange Schädel als die Schweden haben, so gelangt er zu dem Schlusse, dass die Schädel der Tungusen nach den Verhältnisszahlen der Länge, Breite und Höhe — keineswegs jedoch nach ihren Gesichtstheilen — ziemlich mit denen der Germanen übereinstimmen. Ganz anderer Ansicht ist Welcker. Er fand an den Tungusen-Schädeln der Berliner und an einem zweiten Tungusen-Schädel der Göttinger Sammlung Breitenindices von 79, 81, 82 und 87 (und an drei weiblichen Schädeln von 75, 82 und 84) und hält es demnach für ausgemacht, dass die Tungusen neben den Burjaten und Kalmücken, für die er Mittelwerthe von 83 und 81 erhielt und mit denen er sie auch in fast allen anderen Beziehungen nahe verwandt fand, zu den echten Brachycephalen gehören. Und unter diesen stehen sie denn auch in seinen Tabellen[6]), mit dem mittleren Cephalindex 81. Gleichwie hinsichtlich der Breite, so auch hinsichtlich der Höhe:

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1) Auch Huxley meint, dass die Tungusen vielleicht in die Kategorie der mit besonders langen Schädeln versehenen Völker gehören dürften, gleich den Tschuktschen, Eskimo u. s. w. (Proceed. of the Royal Geogr. Soc. Vol. X, Sess. 1865—66, № I—VI, p. 171).

2) Kraniol. Mittheil. (Archiv für Anthropol. Bd. I, Braunschweig 1866, p. 133, 134).

3) Nach Blumenbach (Dec. sit. coll. suae cran. 1793, p. 11, Tab. XVI) gehörte dieser Schädel einem Rennthier-Tungusen, Namens Tschewin Amurojof, aus einem 330 Werst von Bargusin entfernten Orte.

4) Baer, Nachr. über die ethnogr.-cranioi. Samml. der Kais. Akad. der Wissensch. zu St. Petersb. (Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. T. XVII, 1859, p. 204; Mél. biol. T. III, p. 76).

5) Nach Baer's Messung (in den oben angeführten handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen) wäre der Cephalindex dieses Schädels grösser, 79,8.

6) L. c. p. 134 und 137.

während Baer die Tungusen hochschädliger als die Schweden fand, bezeichnet Welcker sie als «enorme Flachschädler»[1]), indem der Höhenindex bei ihnen weiter als bei allen anderen, in craniologischer Beziehung ihm bekannten Völkern — mit alleiniger Ausnahme der Nordamerikaner mit künstlich geformten Schädeln («Flatheads») — hinter dem Breitenindex zurückbleibt (Differenz — 10)[2]). Nach Welcker sind also die Tungusen unzweifelhaft platybrachycephal.

Welche von den Ansichten ist nun die richtige? Ich glaube, dass schon das Vorhandensein so weit auseinandergehender und doch beiderseits authentischer, auf genauen Messungen beruhender Angaben den Beweis liefert, dass es unter den Tungusen sehr verschieden gestaltete, einen weiten Spielraum der Schwankung umfassende Schädel giebt, — vielleicht im Zusammenhange mit ihrer ausnehmend weiten, nach allen Seiten verstreuten, fast nirgends compakten Verbreitung, welche sie mit beinahe allen Völkern Sibirien's, ural-altaischen, türk-tatarischen, mongolischen, paläasiatischen, sowie im Südwesten mit Chinesen und seit ein paar Jahrhunderten auch mit Russen und manchen anderen Europäern in Berührung bringt. Dennoch liesse sich, glaube ich, auch bei ihnen durch eine grössere Zahl von Messungen, und zumal in Gegenden, wo sie compakter wohnen und reiner sich erhalten haben, die vorherrschende, besonders typische, nur in geringeren Grenzen schwankende Schädelform bestimmen. Mir liegt das dazu erforderliche Material nicht vor. Dennoch kann ich nicht umhin, um der Beantwortung dieser Aufgabe meinerseits vorzuarbeiten, einige unzweifelhaft tungusische Schädel unserer Sammlung näher zu betrachten. Drei derselben, von Maack aus Ostsibirien gebracht, habe ich, behufs genauerer und anschaulicherer Vergleichung mit den Schädeln aus dem Amur-Lande, in derselben Weise vermessen und zwei von ihnen auch neben jenen photographisch abbilden lassen. Besprechen wir sie ausführlicher.

Schädel eines Tungusen, Namens Böktschöris, vom Ajakit, einem Zufluss des Wilui (№ XI der Tabb., Fig. 11 der Taff. V—IX). Nach der Beschaffenheit der Nähte und Zähne zu urtheilen, gehörte er einem zwischen 30 und 55 Jahren alten Individuum. Die Pfeilnaht ist spurlos obliterirt, die Kranznaht stellenweise noch deutlich zu sehen, die Lambdanaht im Obliteriren begriffen, die übrigen Nähte nicht. Die Zähne sind sämmtlich vorhanden, jedoch stark abgerieben, die Schneiden stumpf, die Kronen flach. Seiner Form nach ist der Schädel platymesocephal, mit einem Längenbreitenindex von 77,5 und einem Breitenhöhenindex von 89,4. Die grösste Breite und die grösste Höhe liegen in derselben, etwa 13^{mm} hinter der Ohröffnung liegenden Vertikalebene; die erstere zugleich zwischen den Scheitelbeinen, nahe der Schuppennaht. In der Scheitelansicht ist der Schädel länglich eiförmig, vorn stark, hinten leicht abgestutzt; die Jochbögen treten dabei stark vor, indem der Jugalbreitenindex dem Cephalindex nur wenig nachsteht. Die Stirn steigt mässig schräg auf, mit etwas vertiefter Glabella. Die

1) Kraniol. Mittheil. l. c. p. 188.

2) Bei dem oben besprochenen daurischen Schädel wäre diese Differenz sogar — 12,7; bei den «Flatheads» beträgt sie nach Welcker (l. c. p. 184 und 187) — 13. Unser Orotschonen-Schädel zeigt sogar eine Differenz von —17,1.

Augenbrauenbögen, mässig angeschwollen, stossen zu einer eben solchen Stirnnasenwulst zusammen. Die Lineae semicirculares sind anfangs scharfkantig erhaben und mit kleinen Rauhigkeiten versehen, später meist verflacht, jedoch im ganzen Verlaufe deutlich sichtbar; sie steigen besonders auf den Scheitelbeinen hoch hinauf und schliessen sehr grosse Plana semicircularia ein. Die Stirn- und Scheitelhöcker treten ziemlich deutlich hervor. Die Temporalgegend ist ansehnlich vertieft, so dass sich von dort eine breite Rinne aufwärts zieht und der Schädel zwischen den Stirn- und Scheitelbeinen eingeschnürt erscheint. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel sind lang und breit, nach hinten in eine lange, schmale Spitze ausgezogen, hinter welcher sich auf der linken Seite zwischen den Scheitelbeinen und der Schuppe, in diese einspringend, ein kleiner dreieckiger Schaltknochen befindet. Die Länge der Sutura sphenofrontalis beträgt rechts 21, links 28^{mm}, diejenige der Sut. sphenoparietalis rechts 17, links 14^{mm}. Das Hinterhaupt ist gross, gewölbt, über der Protuberantia occipitalis fast senkrecht abfallend, unterhalb derselben mit scharfer Crista versehen und zum Foramen magnum schräg abgeplattet. Dieses ist länglich oval, vorn durch die einspringenden, sehr breiten und starken Gelenkflächen ansehnlich verschmälert, hinten zugespitzt. Der Schädel erscheint in der Hinterhauptsansicht in Form eines Fünfecks, das etwas breiter als hoch ist und an welchem die Winkel, und besonders der obere, stark abgerundet sind; die Basis des Fünfecks ist ziemlich gerade, in der Mitte etwas eingeschnitten. Der Nasenfortsatz des Stirnbeins steigt tief hinab. Die Nasenbeine sind an der Wurzel ganz flach, später bilden sie einen schwachen Nasenrücken; sie sind im ganzen Verlaufe sattelförmig concav, ohne markirte Einknickung. Ihrem Index nach ist die Nase mesorhin. Die Augenhöhlen sind gross, fast quadratisch, megasem. Die Foveae maxillares ansehnlich vertieft. Der Unterkiefer robust und stark.

Schädel eines Tungusen, Namens Dössins, aus einem beim Dorfe Ankula — am rechten Ufer der unteren Tunguska, etwa 700 Werst von ihrer Quelle — im Walde gelegenen Grabe genommen (№ XII der Tabb., Fig. 12 der Taff. V—IX). Derselbe gehörte einem Individuum von etwa 24—30 Jahren: die Basilarfuge geschlossen, der untere Theil der Kranznaht obliterirt, aber von aussen deutlich erkennbar, der obere und die Pfeilnaht im Obliteriren begriffen, die übrigen Nähte unverwachsen; in der Schuppennaht linkerseits ein kleiner Schaltknochen. Im Gebiss sind die Tardivi entwickelt, die wenigen erhaltenen Zähne, sämmtlich Backenzähne, an ihren Kronen nur sehr wenig angegriffen. Seiner Form nach ist der Schädel ansehnlich platybrachycephal, mit einem Längenbreitenindex von 84,7 und einem Breitenhöhenindex von 91,3. Die grösste Breite liegt zwischen den Scheitelbeinen, dicht über der Schuppennaht, in der durch die Ohröffnung gehenden Senkrechten; die grösste Höhe etwas mehr nach hinten. Der Schädel ist in der Scheitelansicht breit eiförmig, vorn abgestutzt, hinten auch etwas abgestumpft, mit vorspringenden Jochbögen. Die Stirn zurücktretend, in der Mitte mit einer schwach erhabenen Linie, die sich oberhalb der Stirnhöcker verliert, im Profil mit eingedrückter Glabella; die Augenbrauenbögen recht stark angeschwollen, zur Stirnnasenwulst etwas abfallend. Die Lineae semicirculares sind anfangs erhaben und mit kleinen Rauhigkeiten versehen, später flachen sie sich ab; sie steigen hoch hinauf und grenzen sehr grosse Plana semicircularia ab. Die Stirn-

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

höcker treten deutlich, die Scheitelhöcker kaum merklich hervor. Die Scheitelbeine sind in der Sagittallinie erhöht und fallen von dort nach den Seiten ab; hinten sind sie, ebenso wie der obere Theil der Hinterhauptsschuppe, von oben schräg abgeflacht. Die Schläfenbeinschuppe ist flach, ohne Stirnfortsatz; die Schläfen etwas eingedrückt. Die grossen Keilbeinflügel breit; die Sut. sphenofrontalis rechts 23, die Sut. sphenoparietalis 21^{mm} lang; links ist der Schädel an dieser Stelle lädirt. Das Hinterhaupt ist abgeflacht, mit starker Protuberantia occipitalis und sehr ausgesprochenen, von derselben auslaufenden Querlinien; unterhalb der Protuberantia fällt es schräg zum Foramen magnum ab und erscheint im Profil eingedrückt. In der Hinterhauptsansicht hat der Schädel die Form eines Fünfecks mit abgerundeten Winkeln, das etwas breiter als hoch ist; die Basis desselben ist ebenfalls bogenförmig, in der Mitte mit flachem Einschnitt. Das Foramen magnum ist oval, nach vorn durch die langen und schmalen Gelenkflächen etwas eingeengt und verschmälert. Die Nasenbeine sind an der Wurzel recht breit und werden abwärts schmäler; sie bilden oben und noch mehr nach unten einen deutlichen Nasenrücken und sind nur wenig eingebogen. Ihrem Index nach steht die Nase an der Grenze der lepto- und mesorhinen Formen. Die Augenhöhlen sind im Vergleich mit dem vorigen Schädel und mit denen der Amur-Völker klein, ansehnlich breiter als hoch, mesosem. Die Foveae maxillares ziemlich stark vertieft.

Schädel eines Tungusen vom Dshegdandali, einem Zuflusse des Wilui, im letztnamigen Kreise (№ XIII der obigen Tabellen). Gehörte ebenfalls einem Individuum von etwa 24—30 Jahren: der untere Theil der Kranznaht obliterirt und kaum sichtbar, der obere und die Pfeilnaht im Verwachsen begriffen, die übrigen Nähte nicht; Zähne im Oberkiefer (der Unterkiefer fehlt) jederseits 7 entwickelt, aber nur wenige vorhanden und diese stark zerbrochen und abgerieben. Der Form nach platybrachycephal, mit einem Längenbreitenindex von 82,2 und einem Breitenhöhenindex von 91,2, mithin dem vorigen Schädel in seinen Verhältnisszahlen sehr ähnlich, nur etwas länger, oder weniger breit (kurz), und höher. Die grösste Breite liegt an derselben Stelle wie beim vorigen Schädel, die grösste Höhe etwas hinter jener. Die Stirn aufsteigend, die Augenbrauenbögen und die Stirnnasenwulst sind wenig geschwollen; die Lineae semicirculares schwach entwickelt; die Stirnhöcker desgleichen, die Scheitelhöcker hingegen treten ziemlich stark hervor. Der Scheitel ist etwas dachförmig, in der Medianlinie aufgetrieben, nach den Seiten abfallend, sogar etwas eingedrückt. Die Schläfen am Stirnbein, über der Sutura sphenofrontalis, etwas angeschwollen, dahinter, an der Sut. sphenoparietalis, eingedrückt und jederseits mit einem kleinen, dreieckigen Schaltknochen von verschiedener Form und Stellung versehen, der die abgetrennte hintere Spitze des grossen Keilbeinflügels zu sein scheint, dabei jedoch ziemlich tief in die Schläfenbeinschuppe vorspringt. Auf der rechten Seite ist die Sutura sphenofrontalis 16, die Sut. sphenoparietalis 14^{mm} lang; auf der linken Seite betragen die resp. Nähte 25 und 6^{mm}, von welchen letzteren 2 auf die Naht mit dem Schaltknochen kommen. Das Hinterhaupt ist gross und fällt über der Protuberantia occipitalis schräg nach hinten, unterhalb derselben schräg nach vorn zum Foramen magnum ab. Letzteres ist elliptisch, nach beiden Enden hin verschmälert. Die Nasenbeine sind sattelförmig eingebogen, an der Wurzel flach, später bilden sie einen schwachen Nasenrücken; die Naht zwischen denselben verläuft nicht

gerade, sondern zum Theil stark wellenförmig. Die Nase ist platyrhin. Die Augenhöhlen sind gross, breiter als hoch, megasem. Die Foveae maxillares ansehnlich vertieft.

Um mehr Haltpunkte für eine, wenn auch nur vorläufige und annähernde, Bestimmung der typischen Schädelform der Tungusen zu gewinnen, habe ich ferner die Verhältnisszahlen der Länge, Breite und Höhe noch einiger anderen, ebenfalls authentischen Tungusen-Schädel unserer Sammlung bestimmt. Es sind dies namentlich vier Schädel, von denen der eine (nachstehend mit № XIV bezeichnet) aus Turuchansk stammt und dem Dr. Pelikan im Jahre 1856 zugeschickt, von diesem aber dem akademischen Museum übermittelt wurde, und drei andere (№ XV—XVII), die Czekanowsky auf seiner Reise 1873 an verschiedenen Punkten der unteren Tunguska auftrieb. Die betreffenden Maasse der drei Dimensionen (in Mm.) und die aus denselben abgeleiteten Indices sind folgende:

	XIV.	XV.	XVI.	XVII.
Grösste Länge.....	168	175	169	184
» Breite.....	141	145	151	145
» Höhe.....	124	125	125	—[1])
Längenbreitenindex.....	83,9	82,9	89,3	78,8
Breitenhöhenindex.....	87,9	86,2	82,8	—
Längenhöhenindex.....	73,8	71,4	74,0	—

Wie man sieht, sind die drei ersteren Tungusen-Schädel platybrachycephal und der dritte sogar in einem so hohen Grade breit oder kurz, dass er alle hier besprochenen Schädel in dieser Beziehung weitaus übertrifft. Nur der vierte Schädel ist nach unserer Auffassung mesocephal: seine Höhe lässt sich zwar nicht genau bestimmen, ist aber jedenfalls auch nur gering, so dass er als platymesocephal bezeichnet werden kann. Bei allen liegt die grösste Breite in der Nähe der Schuppennaht, sei es zwischen den Scheitel-, sei es etwas niedriger, zwischen den Schläfenbeinen; die grösste Höhe ist ebenfalls bei allen in einer etwas hinter jener gelegenen Vertikalebene zu finden.

Zieht man alle sieben hier vermessenen Schädel sibirischer Tungusen in Betracht, so sind unter ihnen fünf entschieden und beträchtlich brachycephal und zwei mesocephal, dabei alle niedrig, platycephal. Von solcher Gestalt sind auch die vier von Welcker untersuchten Tungusen-Schädel. Dolicho- und hypsicephale Formen sind unter ihnen gar nicht vertreten. Damit soll keineswegs gesagt sein, dass solche Schädel unter den Tungusen überhaupt nicht vorkommen. Oben sind vielmehr dahin lautende Erfahrungen Anderer angeführt worden. So viel scheint sich jedoch schon jetzt feststellen zu lassen, dass lange und hohe Schädel unter den Tungusen nur

1) Die Schädelbasis ist an diesem Exemplar schadhaft, daher die Höhe und ihr Verhältniss zur Breite wie zur Länge nicht zu bestimmen sind.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

ausnahmsweise oder selten angetroffen werden dürften, und dass hingegen die gewöhnliche, vorherrschende, typische Schädelform derselben die **platybrachycephale** ist. Unter dieselbe dürften auch die mehr oder weniger thurmförmig gestalteten Köpfe rangiren, wie man sie bei den **Tungusen** nicht selten sieht. Zwar habe ich sehr ausgesprochene Schädel der Art nicht vermessen, doch möchte ich nach Exemplaren, die entschieden dahin neigen, den Schluss ziehen, dass diese Form dadurch entsteht, dass der Schädel sehr breit und also kurz ist, mit zugleich stark zurücktretender Stirn, und seine grösste Breite im unteren Theile, zwischen den Schläfenbeinen nahe dem Processus mastoideus, oder auch zwischen den Jochbögen hat und sich von dort nach aufwärts und ebenso auch von vorn, mit rascher Flucht der Stirn, nach oben und hinten verjüngt. Im Verhältniss zur Länge kann die Höhe dann allerdings ganz ansehnlich sein, im Verhältniss zur Breite ist sie aber nur gering, und die gesammte Form bleibt daher platybrachycephal. Zu den Charakterzügen der typischen Schädelform der **Tungusen** scheinen mir ferner noch folgende zu gehören: eine, wie erwähnt, zurücktretende Stirn, ein stark entwickelter Hinterhauptshöcker, scharf und deutlich markirte und hoch hinaufsteigende Lineae semicirculares, ein tief hinabsteigender Stirnnasenfortsatz, flache, eingebogene Nasenbeine, angeschwollene Augenbrauenbögen, grosse, fast quadratische Augenhöhlen, starke Wangenknochen, überhaupt ein flaches und breites Gesicht, obwohl nicht von der ausnehmenden Wangenbreite der echt mongolischen Völker, **Kalmücken, Burjaten** u. drgl. m.

Hält man nun dieser typischen Schädelform der sibirischen **Tungusen** die oben beschriebenen Schädel der tungusischen Amur-Völker gegenüber, so zeigen die meisten von ihnen eine sehr grosse, nicht zu verkennende Uebereinstimmung mit derselben. Ganz besonders gilt dies vom **Orotschonen-** und **Manägirn**-Schädel, welche sehr wohl selbst als Repräsentanten jener typischen Form gelten könnten. Auch schliessen sich diese Stämme, wie schon erwähnt, unmittelbar an die sibirischen **Tungusen** an. Die **Manägirn** haben allerdings im Laufe der Zeit auch manche Vermischung mit den **Dauren, Mandshu** und **Chinesen** erfahren, doch muss der uns vorliegende Schädel einem Individuum von reinem Blute angehört haben. Auch der **Biraren**-Schädel trägt im Allgemeinen denselben Typus, wenn auch, bei seinem jugendlichen Alter, hinsichtlich mancher Züge in minder markirter Weise. Unser **Golde**-Schädel steht der typisch-tungusischen Form schon etwas ferner. Dank **Virchow's** Angaben über noch andere Schädel dieses Volkes, gewinnen wir einen ersten Einblick in die Formschwankungen, denen sie unterliegen. Aus denselben möchte ich schon jetzt den Schluss ziehen, dass die vorherrschende Schädelform bei den **Golde** ebenfalls die **platybrachycephale** wie bei den sibirischen **Tungusen** ist. Dass auch in den übrigen craniologischen Verhältnissen eine grosse Analogie oder gar Uebereinstimmung herrscht, ist oben schon hervorgehoben worden [1]). Künftigen Untersuchungen bleibt es anheimgestellt, die craniologischen Charaktere näher zu bestimmen, durch welche sich die **Golde**, vermuthlich mit den **Mandshu** und **Orotschen** zusammen, als ein besonderer, südlicher Zweig, von ihren nördlichen Stammgenossen, den sibirischen **Tungusen**,

1) S. p. 200.

Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C
Sec. D	Sec. E	Sec. F

Chart of the Positions of Fold-out Map facing p. 310 (in foreign text). /facing p. 314/

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[Map facing p. 310, Section A]

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

ETHNOGRAPHISCHE KARTE DES AMUR=LAND

[Map facing P. 310, Section B]

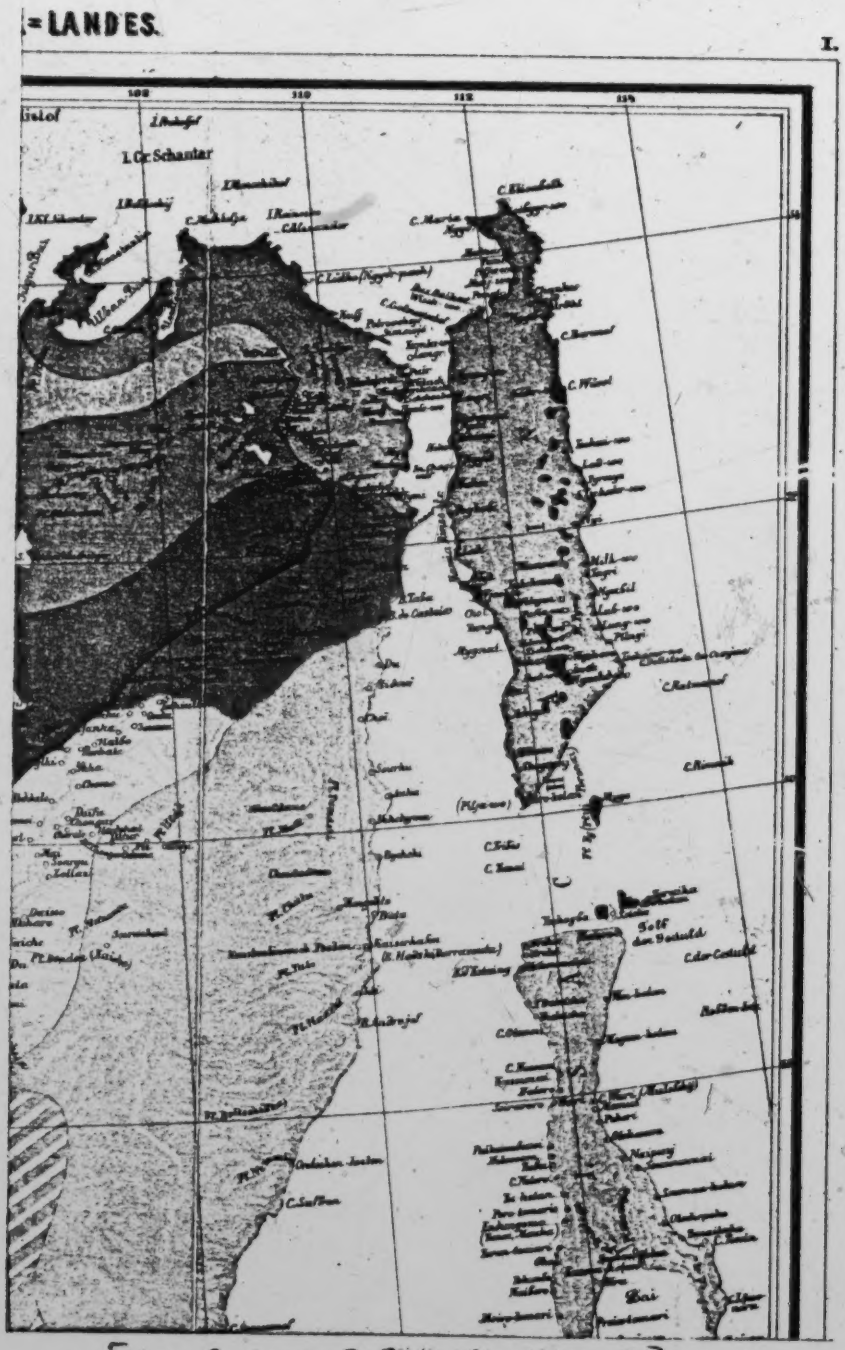

[Map facing P. 310, section C]

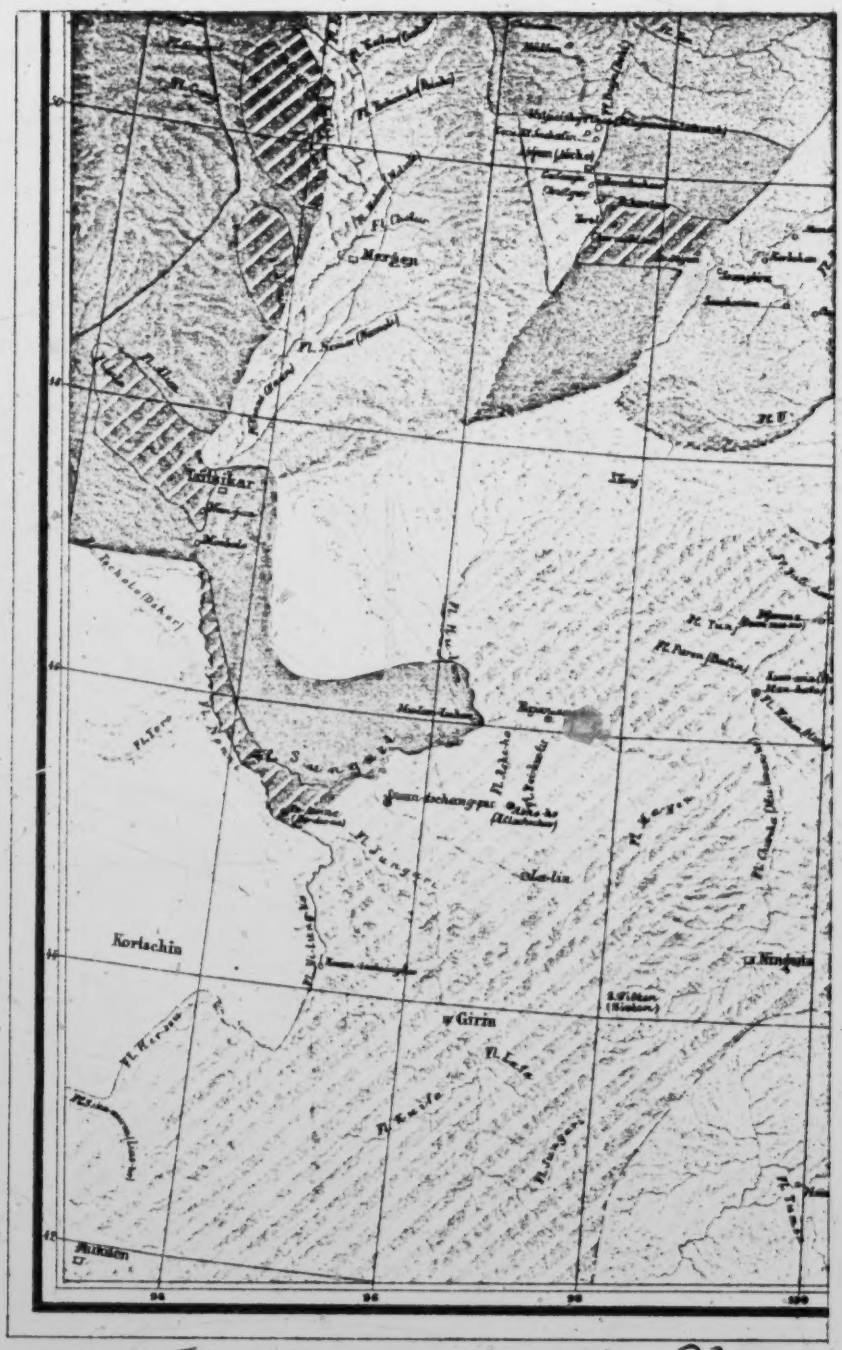

[Map facing p. 310, section D]

[Map facing P. 310, section E]

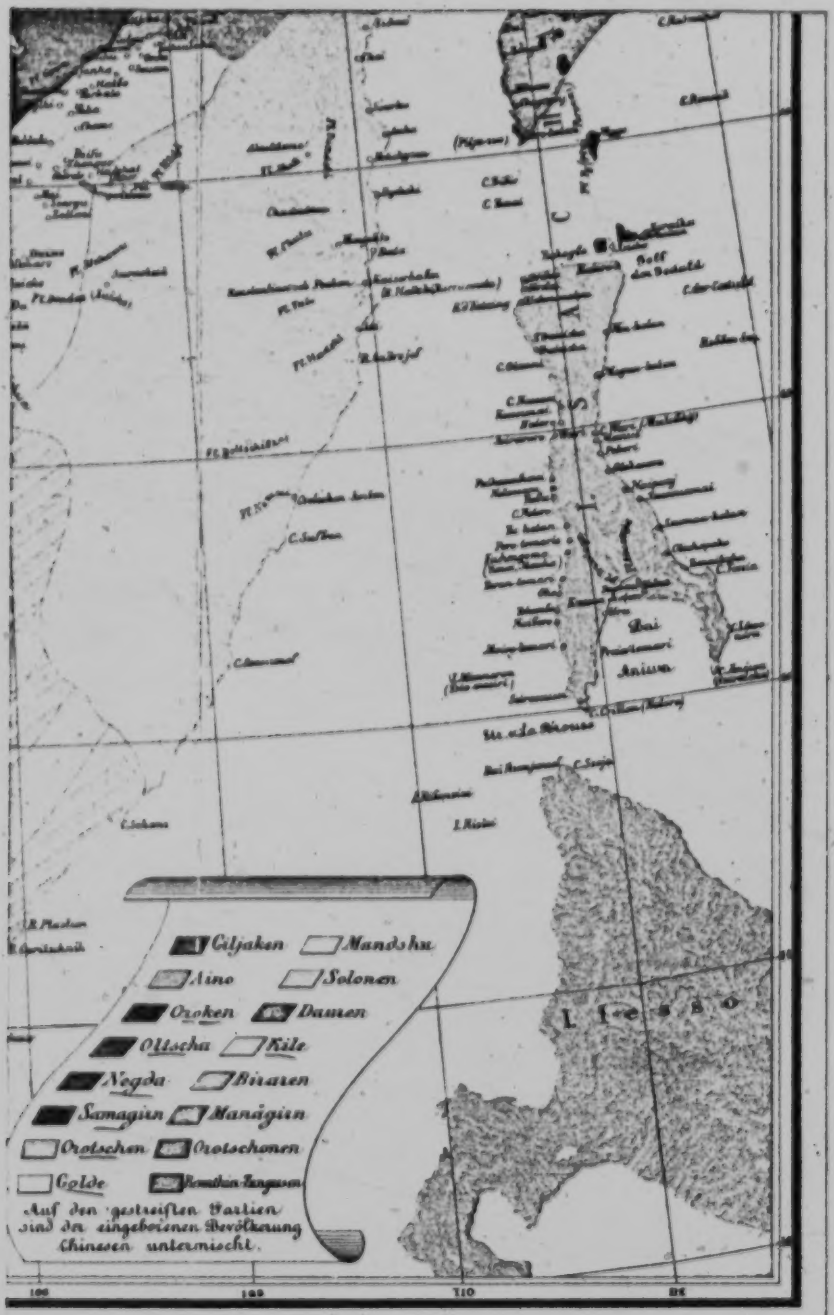

[Map facing P. 310, Section F]

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

unterscheiden. Was endlich die Oltscha, diesen — zumal durch seinen sachalinischen Zweig, die Oroken, — am meisten in das Gebiet der Paläasiaten vorgeschobenen Tungusen-Stamm betrifft, so dürften auch schon die paar uns vorliegenden Schädel, im Verein mit den an zahlreichen lebenden Individuen beobachteten Kopfformen und Gesichtstypen, den Beweis liefern, dass sie auch in craniologischer Beziehung theils ganz und gar an die übrigen Tungusen sich anschliessen, theils mehr oder weniger abgeänderte, paläasiatische Züge an sich tragen, gleichwie andererseits — nur vielleicht in umgekehrtem Verhältniss — auch unter den Paläasiaten, namentlich unter den Giljaken, in Folge uralter Berührung und Vermischung, neben typischen und eigenartigen auch mehr oder weniger, und oft ganz rein und unverkennbar, tungusisch geformte Schädel und Gesichter vorkommen[1]).

Noch sind wir also, wie die obigen Betrachtungen lehren, in Folge allzubeschränkten und lückenhaften Materiales, keineswegs im Stande, unter den tungusischen Völkern des Amur-Landes vom craniologischen Gesichtspunkte verschiedene Gruppen zu unterscheiden, wie wir es oben nach ihrer allgemeinen Physiognomie und nach dialektischen Verschiedenheiten der Sprache gethan haben. So viel steht jedoch fest, dass die vorhandenen craniologischen Thatsachen die aus der Sprache gefolgerte Zugehörigkeit aller dieser Völker zum tungusischen Stamme nicht widerlegen, sondern bestätigen, ja zum Theil auch selbst dazu dienen, die typisch-tungusische Schädelform näher kennen zu lehren. Wie verschieden aber diese von den im Uebrigen noch genauer zu bestimmenden typischen Schädelformen der an die tungusischen Stämme grenzenden paläasiatischen Völker, Giljaken, Aino u. s. w., auch sein mag, so haben sich dieselben doch im Laufe der Zeit, in Folge vielfacher Mischung, theils in ihren Differenzen durch Mittel- und Zwischenformen verschiedenartig ausgeglichen, theils kommen sie, mehr oder weniger rein ausgeprägt, nach beiden Seiten durcheinander vor. Gleichwie nach der Gesichtsbildung und der übrigen physischen Beschaffenheit, so lassen sich also auch nach dem Schädelbau keine scharfen Grenzen zwischen den genannten Völkern ziehen. Und somit bildet das einzig maassgebende, völkerscheidende und grenzbestimmende Moment doch immer wieder die Sprache.

1) Ich verweise z. B. auf den oben besprochenen Giljaken-Schädel № III, sowie noch mehr auf den echt tungusisch geformten Giljaken-Kopf in Fig. 2 der Taf. II.

Gilyaken. Männer.

[P.310, A]

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

1.2 Gilyaken-Weiber. 3.4 Gilyaken-Mädchen. 5.6.7. Golde-Männer

[P 310, 8]

Z: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

[P. 310, C]

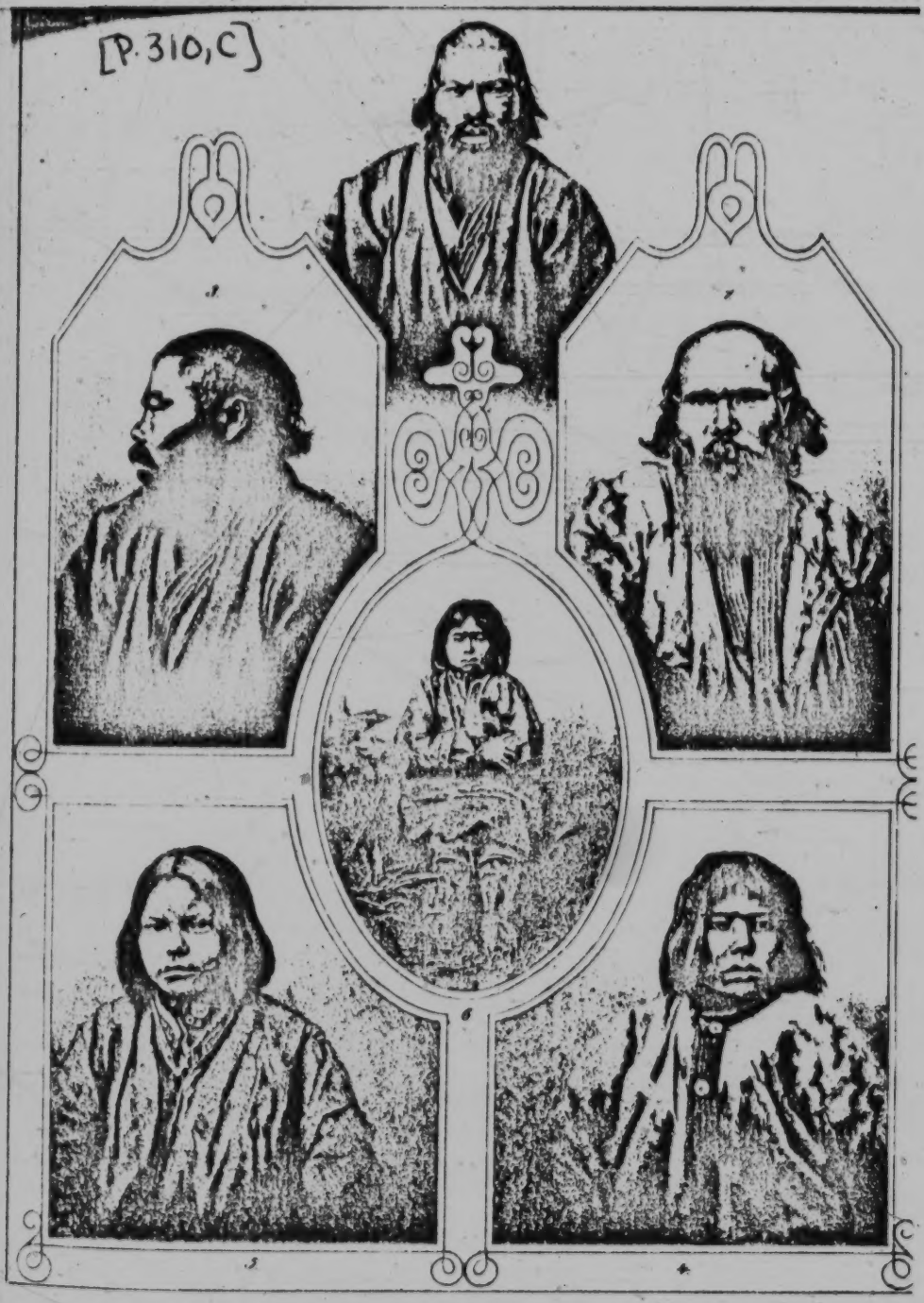

Gilyaken von Sachalin. 1. 2. 3. Männer, 4. 5. Weiber, 6. Knabe

[P·310, D]

V.

[P. 310, E]

VI.

P. 310, F]

VII.

[R 310, G]

VII.

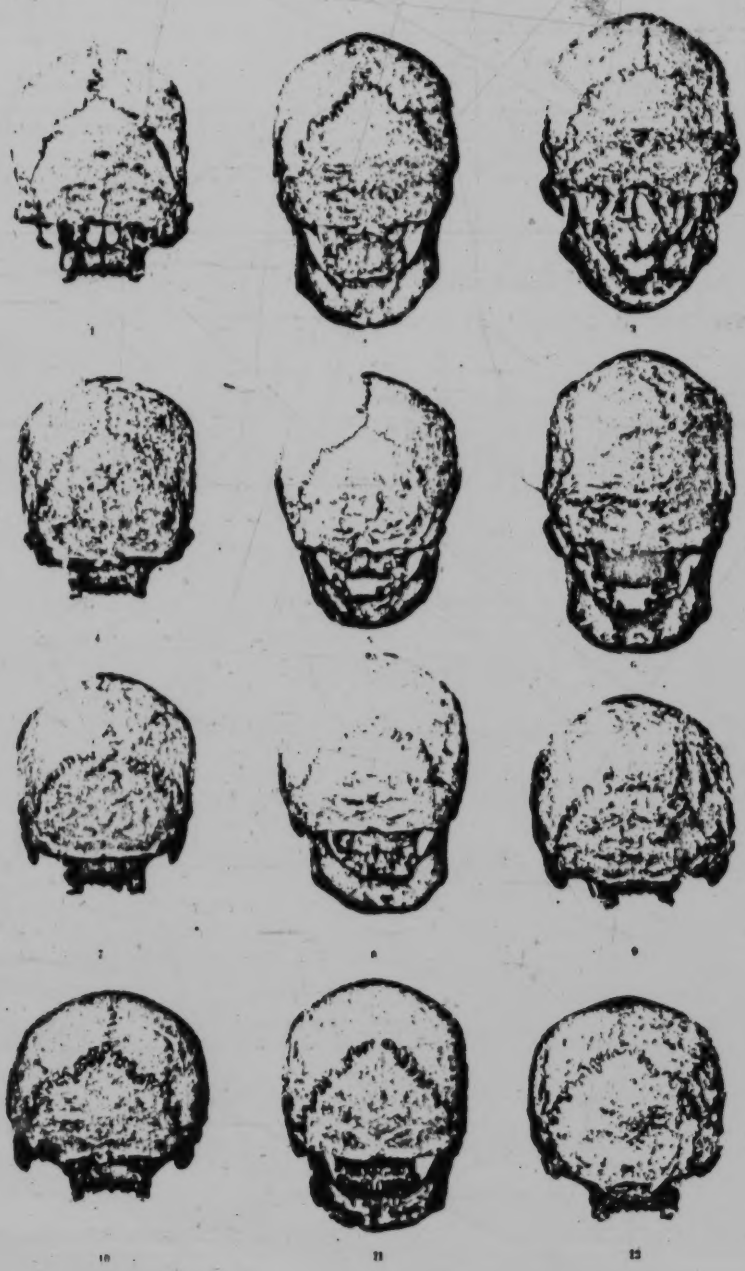

[P. 310, H]

IX.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

[P.310,I]

REISEN UND FORSCHUNGEN
IM
AMUR-LANDE

in den Jahren 1854—1856

im Auftrage der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg

ausgeführt

und in Verbindung mit mehreren Gelehrten

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von

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2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

[P.310, J]

DIE VÖLKER DES AMUR-LANDES.

von

Dr. Leop. v. Schrenck.

ETHNOGRAPHISCHER THEIL. – ERSTE HÄLFTE.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

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Dr. L. v. SCHRENCK'S

REISEN UND FORSCHUNGEN

IM

AMUR-LANDE.

BAND III.

ZWEITE LIEFERUNG.

DIE VÖLKER DES AMUR-LANDES.

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Amerika keine mit dem Halten zahmer Rennthiere sich abgebende Völker giebt. Undenkbarkeit der Zähmung des Rennthiers durch ein palässiatisches Volk. Seine vermuthliche Zähmung durch die Tungusen. Das Rennthier — Charakterform der Tungusen und diese — das Rennthiervolk insonderheit, p. 489, 490. — Einzig dastehende Benutzung des Hundes als Lastthier bei den Eskimo Nordostamerika's. Spätere Anspannung des Gebrauchs von Hunden zum Anspann seitens der tungusischen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes im Gegensatz zu dessen palässiatischen Stämmen, und Entlehnung desselben von den letzteren, p. 491.

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Schlussfolgerung: in Betreff der Lokomotion das Pferd — Charakterform des oberen, der Hund diejenige des unteren Amur-Landes. Im gesammten west-nördlichen Umkreise des Amur-Landes, längs dem Grossen Chingan- und Stanowoi-Gebirge bis zum Ochotskischen Meer und nach Nordsachalin hinüber — das Rennthier im Gebrauch, dort nur als Reit- und Saum-, hier auch als Zugthier, p. 500.

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9. Abschnitt.

Jagd auf die Thiere des Waldes. Jagdgeräth. Eiserne Jagd- und andere Waffen und deren Anfertigung. Schutz- und Ehrenbewaffnung . . . . . 550—589

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Handel. Werthschätzung der vornehmsten im Handel, Haushalt und sonstigen Leben vorkommenden Gegenstände. Handelsverkehr der Amur-Völker unter einander und mit den Mandshu-Chinesen, Japanern und Russen. Ein Blick in die jüngstvergangene Geschichte des Handels und der Herrschaft der Mandshu-Chinesen im unteren Amur-Lande . . . . . 590—630

Handel — die dritte, den Fischfang und die Jagd ergänzende Existenzquelle der Amur-Völker, p. 590.

Giljakes: Dasjenige unter den indigenen Völkern des Amur-Landes, das am meisten Sinn und Begabung für den Handel und die ausgebreitetsten Handelsbeziehungen hat, p. 590. — Centrale Stellung der Giljakes bezüglich des von den Amur-Völkern sowohl unter einander, wie mit den sie umgebenden Culturvölkern betriebenen Handels. Begünstigung durch die geographischen Verhältnisse ihres Landes. Roger Handelsgeist, p. 591. — Praktischer Sinn, Klugheit, Zähigkeit und Gewandtheit im Handel. Trotz des ausschliesslichen Tauschhandels, eine absolute Werthschätzung aller im Handel vorkommenden Gegenstände und somit eine ihr zu Grunde liegende Werthseinheit vorhanden, p. 592. — Schwierigkeit, sie bei den Giljakes zu erkennen, und ihr deutliches Entgegentreten bei den Golde, p. 593. — Die den Chinesen entnommene, durch keine Münze repräsentirte Werthseinheit (Silberunze, gilj. *jn*) bei den Amur-Völkern eine imaginäre Grösse, p. 594. — Normirung des Tauschhandels durch dieselbe. Werthschätzung der vornehmsten Waaren und anderen Gegenstände, p. 595—598. — Schlussfolgerungen daraus bezüglich einzelner Waaren und Gegenstände, p. 598, 599. — Vergleichung des giljakischen Pralecourants mit dem goldischen, p. 600. — Ersetzung der Jagd bei den Giljakes durch den Handel mit ihren jagdfestigeren und gutbiteren Nachbern. Fernhaltung der chinesischen Händler von ihrem Gebiet. Uebernahme ihrer Rolle durch die Amur- und Tschoml-Giljakes, p. 601. — Handelsfahrten der Amur-Giljakes zu den Negda am Amguej und den Samagirn am Udyl-See, p. 602. — Desgl.

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XII

Seite.

zu ihren Landsleuten am Ochotskischen Meer. Fahrten der Amur- und Tschomi-Giljaken nach Sachalin zum Handel mit ihren dortigen Landsleuten und mit den Oroken und Aino, p. 603. — Handel der Sachalin-Giljaken mit den Nachbarstämmen der Insel. Chinesische Händler am unteren Amur und ihr Benehmen den Eingeborenen gegenüber, p. 604. Ihr geringer Erfolg bei den Giljaken, p. 605. — Handelsreisen der Giljaken «zu den Mandshu» am Sungari, p. 605, 606. — Ihr Benehmen der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung gegenüber. Behandlung der zum Handel nach Saan-sin kommenden Giljaken, Oltscha und Golde seitens der Mandshu-Beamten und chinesischen Kaufleute, p. 607. — Beiderseits in den Handel gebrachte Waaren. Rückreise vom Sungari, p. 608. — Aelteste Nachrichten über den Handel der Giljaken und Oltscha mit den Japanern, p. 609. — Handelsreisen der Giljaken «zu den Saisam» (Japanern) auf Sachalin, p. 610. — Unterwegs, besonders zu Najoro betriebener Handel mit den Aino. Behandlung der Saisam-Fahrer in Sairanusi seitens der Japaner, p. 611. — Beiderseits in den Handel gebrachte Waaren. Oft verlangerter Aufenthalt der Saisam-Fahrer auf Sachalin und Rückreise, p. 612. — Neuerliches Bestreben der Japaner, die Saisam-Fahrer fernzuhalten. Rückblick und Schluss: die Giljaken — Handelsvermittler zwischen den Chinesen und Japanern. Parallele mit den Tschuktschen, als Handelsvermittlern im polaren Norden zwischen Europa-Asien und Amerika, p. 613.

Oltscha: Aehnliche, zum Theil in denselben Bahnen sich bewegende Handelsthätigkeit wie diejenige der Giljaken. Handel mit den Orotschen und die ihm zu Grunde liegenden natürlichen Strassen, p. 614. — Geringerer Umfang und geringere Ergiebigkeit ihres Zwischenhandels im Vergleich mit den Giljaken. Schmälerung desselben durch die Golde. Grössere Ausbeutung im Vergleich mit den Giljaken durch die in ihrem Gebiet sich aufhaltenden chinesischen Händler. Handelsreisen zu den Mandshu-Chinesen am Sungari und den Japanern auf Sachalin, wie bei den Giljaken, p. 615. — Die unter den tungusischen Völkern einzig dastehende Handelsthätigkeit der Oltscha einem langjährigen Einfluss der Giljaken zuzuschreiben, p. 616.

Golde: Ausbreitung des giljakischen Einflusses durch Vermittelung der Oltscha auch über die Golde und dem entsprechende, wenn auch viel geringere Handelsthätigkeit der letzteren. Lähmung derselben durch den Druck und die Ausbeutung von Seiten der Mandshu-Beamten und der chinesischen Kaufleute. Zunahme der Handelsthätigkeit bei den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes nach Massgabe ihrer Entfernung vom Haupthandelsmarkt am Sungari und ihrer grösseren Unabhängigkeit von den Mandshu-Chinesen, p. 616.

Vergleichung der geschilderten Handelsverhältnisse mit denen, die etwa ein halbes Jahrhundert zuvor im unteren Amur-Lande bestanden, und daraus ersichtliche Wandlung derselben, — einen Blick in die jüngstvergangene Geschichte des unteren Amur-Landes und seiner Völker eröffnend. Mamia Rinsô's Besuch des Handelsortes Doron und seine Schilderung des Lebens und Treibens in demselben, p. 617, 618. — Gegenwärtige Beschaffenheit der Oertlichkeit, wo Doron lag. Auflösung des Handelsorts, Zurückziehung des officiellen mandshu-chinesischen Handels vom unteren Amur und seine Concentrirung am Sungari, p. 619. — Gleichzeitig erfolgter Rückzug der gesammten mandshu-chinesischen Herrschaft aus einem grossen Theile des unteren Amur-Landes. Mamia Rinsô's Schilderung der Unterwerfung der Sachalin-Giljaken durch die Mandshu und ihrer Tributpflichtigkeit den letzteren gegenüber, p. 620. — Aehnliche Erzählung desselben Reisenden bezüglich der Sachalin-Aino, p. 621. — Bestätigung der Angaben Rinsô's durch andere, europäische Reisende, p. 622. — Gegenwärtige, unabhängige Stellung der Aino, Giljaken und Oltscha den Mandshu gegenüber. Beweggründe der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung zur Zurückziehung ihrer Herrschaft von Sachalin und dem untersten Amur-Laufe, p. 623. — Verwüstung des Landes am Kidsi. Zerstörung der dortigen Porzellanindustrie, p. 624, 625. — Verödung des gesammten oberen Oltscha-Gebietes, p. 626.

Birarn, Hunjiru, Orotschonen: Uebereinstimmung bezüglich der Handelsartikel mit den unteren Amur-Völkern, p. 626. — Durch geographische und politische Verhältnisse bedingte Abgeschiedenheit der oberen Amur-Völker von den unteren bezüglich des Handels. Wesentlich ver-

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schiedene Handelsbeziehungen zu den benachbarten Culturvölkern, p. 627. — Abdüsse der Jagdtrophaeen der Orotschonen nach dem russischen Daurien. Handel der Manügiru und Biraren mit den Jakuten, p. 628. — Hauptrichtung ihres Handels die Bureja und Bureja abwärts zum mittleren Amur und Concentrirung in Aigun, dem Sean-ula des oberen oder mittleren Amur-Stromes. Grosser Jahrmarkt in Tsitsikar, p. 629.

Daurer: Haupthandelsvolk im oberen Amur-Lande gegenüber den Orotschonen des Grossen Chingan-Gebirges und den Manügiru und Biraren an der Bureja und Bureja bis zum Stanowoi-Gebirge hinauf, p. 629. — Berührung mit den Nogda und Giljaken auf dem Handelsplatze Buraten. Begünstigung durch die Mandshu den Chinesen gegenüber. Parallele zwischen den Daboren und Giljaken: jene bezüglich des Handels — die prägnantere Charaktergestalt des oberen, diese — des unteren Amur-Landes, p. 630.

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VERZEICHNISS DER TAFELN.

Da die Tafeln im Laufe mehrerer Jahre und geraume Zeit vor Abfassung des Textes angefertigt wurden, so entspricht die Reihenfolge der einzelnen Abbildungen keineswegs immer dem im Text eingehaltenen Gange. Aus diesem Grunde und um allen Wiederholungen bei Erklärung der Tafeln zu entgehen, ist für eine jede Abbildung der Ort angegeben, wo im Text von dem betreffenden Gegenstande die Rede ist.

Tafel X.

Das Innere einer giljakischen Erdjurte auf Sachalin (p. 321—323).

Tafel XI.

Giljakische Winterhäuser, im Dorfe Tebach am Amur, zum Bärenfest ausgeschmückt (p. 326). Belustigungen vor denselben.

Tafel XII.

Das Innere eines giljakischen Winterhauses (p. 327, 328). Fütterung der Hunde in demselben (p. 480).

Tafel XIII.

Giljakische Sommerjurte, im Dorfe Mäo am Amur (p. 355).

Tafel XIV.

1 — Sommerjurte (*Dauro*) der Oltscha (p. 370). 2—Sommerjurte (*Dauro*) der Amur-Golde (p. 372).

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Tafel XV.

1 — Manägirn-Zelt (p. 381). 2 — Sommerzelt der Sungari-Golde (p. 373).

Tafel XVI.

Sommerzelt der Orotschen im Kaiserhafen (p. 373).

Tafel XVII.

Giljaken in Sommerkleidung, Mann und Weib (p. 387).

Tafel XVIII u. XIX.

Giljaken in Winterkleidung (p. 388, 389).

Tafel XX.

Giljakische Kleidungsstücke: 1, 2 — Hut aus Birkenrinde (p. 387). 3, 4 — Fausthandschuhe (p. 393). 5 — Ohrenwärmer (p. 393).

Tafel XXI.

Wintermützen der Giljaken: 1 — Elegante Männermütze (p. 393). 2 — Gewöhnliche Weibermütze (p. 397). 3 — Elegante Weibermütze aus chinesischem Seidenzeug (p. 397). 4 — Dsgl. aus Luchsfell mit Zobelfellverbrämung (p. 397).

Tafel XXII.

Giljakische Kleidungsstücke: 1, 2 — Ohrenwärmer (p. 393). 2 — Brustlatz (p. 394). 4, 5 — Pelzärmelbinden (p. 393).

Tafel XXIII u. XXIV.

Giljakische Muster zu Nähereien und Stickereien (p. 399, 400).

Tafel XXV, XXVI u. XXVII.

Giljakische Muster mit Thierfiguren und Arabesken aus Birkenrinde (ebenda).

Tafel XXVIII.

Giljakische Utensilien (natürl. Gr.): 1, 2 — Pfeifenpurrer aus Eisen (p. 396). 3 — Dsgl. aus Knochen (p. 396). 4 — Feuerschwammdose aus Störhaut (p. 396). 5 — Feuerschwammtäschchen aus Seehundsleder (p. 396). 6 — Tabaksöltäschchen (p. 469).

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Tafel XXIX.

Giljakische Utensilien und Schmucksachen (nat. Gr.): 1 — Feuerstahl (p. 396). 2 — Nadeldose (p. 401). 3 — Hölzchen zum Glätten von Zeug (p. 402). 4, 5 — Hemdsknopf aus Holz (p. 392). 6 — Grosser Ohrring (p. 416). 7 — Kleiner Ohrring (p. 416). 8, 9 — Armspangen (p. 418).

Tafel XXX.

Golde in Sommerkleidung (p. 407) vor einer sogen. *Homorâ*, einem halbcylinderförmigen Zelte (p. 375).

Tafel XXXI.

Giljakische Messer: 1 — Gewöhnliches grosses Gürtelmesser (*ngawla dshakko*, p. 395). 2 — Gürtelmesser mit eingelegten Figuren aus Silber und Kupfer (p. 395, 567). 3 — Lederne Scheide zu demselben (p. 395). 4 — Messer zum Schneiden von Holz etc. (*yi-ïshakko*, p. 395). 5 — Scheide aus Störhaut zu demselben (p. 395). 6 — Gewöhnliches Fischmesser der Weiber (*tscho-manwa*, p. 426).

Tafel XXXII.

Giljakische Messer u. a. Utensilien: 1 — Messer zum Zerschneiden von Fisch (p. 426). 2 — Messer «*dan-dshakko*», bei den Näharbeiten der Weiber gebräuchlich (p. 402). 3 — Messer «*kydr-dshakko*», mit welchem feinere Holzarbeiten und namentlich auch die Querstreifen auf den Lanzen- und Messerstielen gemacht werden (p. 447, 375). 4 — Messer mit gebogener Klinge, zum Aushöhlen (p. 447). 5 — Messer «*kysmrk-* oder *kynsk-dshakko*», zum Zerschneiden der Nabelschnur. 6 — Grosser Bohrer (p. 502). 7 — Dazu gehöriges Eisenstäbchen (p. 502). 8 — Kleiner Bohrer (p. 502).

Tafel XXXIII.

Giljakisches Haus- und Tafelgeräth: 1 — Wassereimer aus Birkenrinde (p. 445). 2 — Schulterjoch zum Tragen der Eimer (p. 445). 3 — Eiserner Kessel von japanischer Arbeit (p. 446). 4 — Eiserner Kessel von chinesischer Arbeit (p. 446). 5 — Eiserner Schöpflöffel (p. 446). 6, 7 — Hölzerne Speiseschalen nebst Gabelstäbchen (p. 446, 447). 8 — Schale aus Birkenrinde zur Aufnahme von Speisen (p. 446).

Tafel XXXIV.

Giljakisches Haus- und Tafelgeräth: 1 — Hölzerner Trog zum Auftragen von Speisen (p. 446). 2, 3 — Grosse hölzerne Schale (p. 446). 4 — Hand- oder Schoosstischchen (p. 427, 446). 5, 6 — Hölzerne Rühr- und Schöpflöffel (p. 446). 7 — Gewöhnlicher Esslöffel. 8 — Brett

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zum Zerschneiden des Tabaks (p. 469). 9 — Brett, das der Sauberkeit wegen unter die über der Sitzbank hängende Kinderwiege gelegt wird.

Tafel XXXV.

Schneeschuhe der unteren Amur-Völker: 1, 2, 3 — Kleine giljakische Schneeschuhe (p. 473). 4, 5, 6 — Grosse giljakische Schneeschuhe (p. 474, 475). 7, 8, 9 — Grosse amur-tungusische Schneeschuhe, der Sumagirn, Oltscha, Golde (p. 476, 477).

Tafel XXXVI.

1 — Giljakischer Schlitten (p. 481—483). 2, 3 — Giljakischer Hundeanspann (p. 484). 4, 5 — Elegante, mit Quasten aus rothgefärbter Schafs- oder Ziegenwolle versehene Hundehalsbänder (p. 485).

Tafel XXXVII.

Ein Giljake mit vollbeladenem Schlitten auf der Fahrt (p. 484—486).

Tafel XXXVIII.

Böte der Amur-Völker: 1 — Gewöhnliches giljakisches oder goldisch-giljakisches Boot (p. 501—506). 2, 3 — Ruder und Steuerruder dazu (p. 503, 504). 4 — Aus einem Baumstamme ausgehöhltes Boot der Oltscha und Golde (p. 507). 5 — Birkenrindenkahn der Oltscha und Golde, und zwar die schmälere, vorn und hinten verdeckte Form desselben (p. 510). 6 — Aus einem Baumstamme ausgehöhltes Boot der Biraren (p. 511).

Tafel XXXIX.

Opferfahrt der Giljaken beim Aufgang des Amur-Stromes (p. 517).

Tafel XL.

Giljakisches Fischereigeräth: 1 — Angelhaken zum Fange von *Gadus Wachnia* (p. 531). 2 — Stange mit eisernem Haken zum Herausziehen grosser Fische aus dem Wasser (p. 519). 3 — Handnetz zum Reinigen der Eislöcher (p. 520). 4 — Spitze eines langen, zum Aufstellen des Netzes unter dem Eise dienlichen Stabes, gilj. *odn-tschongr* (p. 520).

Tafel XLI.

Fischereigeräth der Giljaken, Oltscha und Golde: 1, 2, 3, 4 — Filetnadeln und 5, 6 — Maschenbrettchen zum Stricken von Fischernetzen (p. 533). 7 — Beim Netzstricken gebräuch-

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liche Garnhaspel (p. 532). 8—Dreizackige Fischharpune (p. 521). 9—Angelhaken zum Fangen von Stören und Hausen. 10—Dazu gehöriger Anker (p. 521).

Tafel XLII.

Seehunds- und Weisswalfanggeräth der Giljaken: 1—Ende einer sehr langstiel gen Harpune (gilj. *lych*) zum Erlegen von Seehunden. 2—Dazu gehörige, auch zum Stör- und Hausenfange dienliche Harpunenspitze (p. 521, 545). 3, 4—Harpune zum Erlegen von Weisswalen (p. 548).

Tafel XLIII.

Giljakisches Jagdgeräth: 1—Selbstschuss (p. 554). 2—Dazu gehöriges, den Schuss vermittelndes Hölzchen (p. 554). 3—Zielstock zum Aufstellen des Selbstschusses für den Zobel, die Flussotter, den Fuchs und den Hasen (p. 555). 4—Klemmfalle für den Zobel u. a. kleine Thiere (p. 552, 553).

Tafel XLIV.

Jagdgeräth und Schutzbewaffnung der Giljaken: 1—Alter giljakischer Netzpanzer (p. 574). 2, 3—Alter mandshurischer Eisenpanzer: Kopfstück oder Helm und (defektes) Brust- oder Rumpfstück (p. 573). 4, 5—Giljakischer Bogen mit Fischbeinbekleidung und Silberverzierungen (p. 559).

Tafel XLV.

Giljakisches Jagdgeräth: 1, 2, 3—Eiserne Pfeilspitzen (p. 559). 4—Unteres, beschwingtes Ende eines Pfeilschaftes (p. 559). 5—Daumenring zum Spannen des Bogens (p. 418). 6, 7—Giljakische Köcher, aus Holz (p. 560). 8—Orotschen-Köcher, aus Fell (p. 560).

Tafel XLVI.

Giljakisches Jagdgeräth: 1—Pfeil zum Schiessen von Vögeln (p. 559). 2—Bärenspiess oder Axt mit langem Schaft (p. 561). 3—Hölzerne Ehrenwaffe «*Mungtsche*» (p. 575). 4, 5—Speerspitzen von giljakischer Arbeit mit eingravirten oder aus Silber, Kupfer und Messing eingelegten Arabesken und Thierfiguren (p. 561, 567).

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III. ETHNOGRAPHISCHER THEIL.

Erste Hälfte: Grundbedingungen und Bestandtheile des äusseren Lebens.

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4. Abschnitt.

Geringe und ungleichmässige Dichtigkeit der indigenen Bevölkerung des Amur-Landes. Folgen ehemaliger Kriegsverheerungen und neuerlicher epidemischer Krankheiten. — Wahl und Wechsel der Wohnorte nach den Jahreszeiten. Winter- und Sommerwohnungen. Jagd- und Nachtlagerzelte. Vorrathshäuser und Niederlagen.

Indem ich an die Schilderung des Lebens und Treibens der Amur-Völker gehe, muss ich zuvörderst eine auf die Behandlung des Stoffes bezügliche Bemerkung vorausschicken. Da es hier wesentlich auf eigene Beobachtungen und Erlebnisse ankommt, und meine Bekanntschaft mit den einzelnen Amur-Völkern, wie schon in der Einleitung erwähnt worden, eine sehr ungleiche ist, so muss die bisher, in den beiden ersten Theilen dieser Arbeit, streng durchgeführte parallele Nebeneinanderbetrachtung aller Amur-Völker hier insofern eine Einschränkung erfahren, als manche von ihnen, mit denen ich nur in allzuflüchtige Berührung gekommen, von der Einzelbetrachtung ausgeschlossen und nur gelegentlich und vergleichsweise erwähnt werden sollen. Das gilt namentlich von den Aino, deren Leben und Treiben in neuerer Zeit, seitdem Japan den Europäern allgemein zugänglich geworden, von mancher Seite recht eingehend geschildert worden sind, während ich dieselben nur im Vorübergehen auf Sachalin kennen gelernt habe. Nicht minder bezieht es sich auf die Sungari- und oberen Amur-Völker, die mir nur in einzelnen Individuen zu Gesicht gekommen sind, ja auch auf manche der Anwohner der linken Zuflüsse des unteren Amur-Stromes. So wird sich die Betrachtung in den nachstehenden Blättern mehr und mehr auf die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes und unter ihnen insbesondere auf die Giljaken concentriren.

So gross auch die Verbreitungsgebiete einzelner Amur-Völker auf unserer Karte erscheinen, so ist die Gesammtzahl der respectiven indigenen Einwohner doch immer nur eine geringe und die

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Bevölkerung allenthalben eine mehr oder minder spärliche. Es verhält sich damit im Amur-Lande wie anderer Orten, denn bekanntlich sind Naturvölker niemals zahlreich. Man pflegt den Hauptgrund davon in den in einer oder der anderen Beziehung ungünstigen Verhältnissen der sie umgebenden Natur zu suchen [1]). Wo, wie im Amur-Lande, ein rauhes, nordisches Klima, mit lange dauerndem, hartem Winter herrscht, da bedarf der Mensch selbstverständlich mancher Culturmittel, um der Unbill desselben erfolgreich widerstehen zu können. Ich möchte jedoch darauf aufmerksam machen, dass es zunächst nicht das Fehlen dieser äusseren Culturmittel, sondern vielmehr gewisse, allen Naturvölkern mehr oder weniger eigene Charaktereigenthümlichkeiten und für ihre Lebensgestaltung maassgebende Anschauungen sind, welche ihren Kampf mit der Natur lähmen und trotz der Fähigkeit des Menschen, sich an jegliches Klima zu gewöhnen, ihrem rascheren Zuwachse hemmend entgegentreten.

Solche Eigenschaften der Naturvölker sind die Sorglosigkeit und Trägheit, welche den Menschen davon abhalten, an die Beschaffung von Lebensmitteln für sich und die Seinigen über die nächste Zukunft hinaus zu denken und ihn somit dem Hunger und Elend oder gar dem Tode preisgeben, wenn ihm wider Erwarten die Natur ihre Gaben zeitweise versagt. Die hauptsächlich vom Fischfang lebenden Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, insbesondere die Giljaken, Oltscha, Golde, trifft dieser Vorwurf in geringerem Grade, und doch habe ich, trotz des zeitweise kolossalen Fischreichthums des Amur-Stromes und seiner Zuflüsse oder des Tymy-Flusses auf Sachalin, zuweilen auch Glieder dieser Völker bei sehr mangelhaften Vorräthen angetroffen. Schlimmer steht es in dieser Hinsicht um die Völker, deren Existenz vornehmlich auf der Jagd beruht, da diese einerseits es mit einem von der Natur minder massenhaft und regelmässig zu bestimmten Zeiten dargebotenen Material zu thun hat, und andererseits eine unstäte, nomadische, dem Anlegen und Sammeln von Vorräthen ungünstige Lebensweise des Volkes mit sich bringt. Unter den Amur-Völkern habe ich dabei hauptsächlich die Orotschen des Küstengebietes und die Biraren, Manägirn und Orotschonen im Auge.

Einen noch grösseren, weil tiefer gehenden Einfluss auf die geringe Kopfzahl und den langsamen Zuwachs unter den Naturvölkern muss ich der unter ihnen so allgemeinen Missachtung und Misshandlung des weiblichen Geschlechts zuschreiben. Wird überhaupt der Bildungsgrad eines Volkes dadurch gekennzeichnet, welche Stellung es dem Weibe in seiner Mitte einräumt, so darf es nicht weiter Wunder nehmen, wenn alle rohen Völker in dem Weibe, weil es physisch schwächer als der Mann ist, gewissermaassen ein Wesen niederer Art sehen und es auch darnach behandeln. In Folge abergläubischer Vorstellungen, die sich bei den Giljaken, wie bei allen Naturvölkern, hauptsächlich an die Geburt und den Tod des Menschen knüpfen, wird bei ihnen das Weib in der Zeit, da es am meisten der Schonung und Pflege bedarf, während der Niederkunft und in den auf dieselbe folgenden Tagen, trotz Wind und Wetter unbarmherzig aus dem Hause gewiesen. Während der Mann die meiste Zeit seines

1) Vrgl. z. B. G. Gerland, Ueber das Aussterben der Naturvölker, Leipzig 1868, p. 82.

Lebens in Nichtsthun verbringt, ruhen auf dem Weibe alle und selbst die schwersten Arbeiten im Bestellen des Hauswesens und in Allem, was drum und dran hängt. In Folge einer solchen, ihre Kräfte oft übersteigenden Arbeitslast haben die Weiber bei den Amur-Völkern meist ein gedrücktes und verkommenes Aussehen, altern frühzeitig und verlieren wohl auch vor der Zeit ihre Fruchtbarkeit. Es ist nicht wohl denkbar, dass eine solche Missachtung und Misshandlung des Weibes auf die Zahl und Kräftigkeit der Progenitur nicht von dem grössten und nachtheiligsten Einfluss sein sollte, und, ohne die Bedeutung der Naturumgebung läugnen zu wollen, glaube ich, dass in diesen Verhältnissen ein Hauptgrund für die geringe Individuenzahl und den langsamen Zuwachs unter den Naturvölkern zu suchen ist.

Bei den obigen Betrachtungen habe ich nur solche Völker im Auge gehabt, die noch in ihren natürlichen Verhältnissen, ohne anhaltende Berührung oder Conflikt mit einem Culturvölke dahinleben. Tritt jedoch ein solcher Conflikt ein, so ändern sich rasch auch die ursprünglichen Bevölkerungsverhältnisse. Dann beginnt jener Zersetzungs- und Auflösungsprozess eines Naturvolkes, der in seinen einzelnen Phasen, wie Verarmung, Abnahme an Kopfzahl, physischer und moralischer Verfall, Verlust aller Eigenart und zuletzt sogar Hinsterben der Sprache und damit auch des Volkes, oben bereits besprochen worden ist[1]), — ein Prozess, der oft noch durch Kriege, immer aber durch verheerende epidemische Krankheiten beschleunigt wird. In einen solchen Prozess, sagte ich[2]), sind gegenwärtig auch die Amur-Völker getreten. Zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes im Amur-Lande war dies jedoch noch nicht der Fall. Allerdings hatte es schon lange vordem Berührungen und Conflikte zwischen ihnen und den sie umgebenden Culturvölkern, Russen, Chinesen, Japanern, gegeben und gab noch welche, allein theils waren diese Berührungen von anderer, friedlicherer Natur, theils hatten sie, wenn sie einen zerstörenden Charakter trugen, doch nur kurze Zeit stattgefunden und auch nicht alle Amur-Völker in gleichem Maasse betroffen. Daher ist auch ihr Einfluss auf die hier in Rede stehende Stärke der indigenen Bevölkerung des Amur-Landes in den verschiedenen Theilen desselben sehr ungleich gewesen.

Ueber das untere Amur-Land gingen die Raubzüge der russischen Kosaken und Freibeuter im XVII. Jahrhundert nur wie ein blutiges Meteor hinweg, und die Insel Sachalin berührten sie gar nicht. Zwar mag die Bevölkerung einzelner Ortschaften, Golde (Natken), Oltscha (Atschanen) und Giljaken, durch dieselben nicht unerheblich vermindert worden sein, allein das völlige Ausbleiben der Friedensstörer in der Folgezeit gab ihr gewiss die Möglichkeit baldiger Erholung von den erlittenen Schlägen. Dass diese erste Berührung der unteren Amur-Völker mit Europäern — wenn man diese aus Sibirien einbrechenden Freibeuterschaaren noch so nennen darf — ihnen irgend welche verheerende Krankheit gebracht hätte, ist zum wenigsten nicht bekannt und übrigens auch nicht wahrscheinlich, — dazu scheint der Conflikt einen zu acuten Charakter gehabt zu haben. Erst zwei Jahrhunderte später, nach der zweiten, definitiven Besitz-

1) S. oben, p. 2 u. 203. 2) S. oben, p. 2.

nahme des Amur-Landes durch die Russen, brachen epidemische Krankheiten unter den unteren Amur-Völkern aus. Im Spätherbst 1856, bereits nach meiner Abreise aus dem Amur-Lande, trat eine verheerende Typhus-Epidemie unter den Golde auf. Sie war ihnen durch die von Kidsi nach Transbaikalien zurückkehrenden russischen Truppen gebracht worden. In Kourmi, wo diese mehrere Tage gerastet hatten, durch Tausch von Kleidern und Effekten am Typhus verstorbener Soldaten auf die Golde übertragen, wüthete die Krankheit besonders in der Umgegend der Gorin-Mündung, verbreitete sich aber auch weit aufwärts, bis zur Sungari-Mündung [1]). Bald darauf wurde das ganze untere Amur-Land von einer heftigen Pocken-Epidemie heimgesucht. Diese war zwar nicht von den Russen importirt, sondern kam von Süden, aus der Mandshurei [2]), und nahm ihren Lauf in umgekehrter Richtung, vom Sungari den Amur abwärts, fand aber in der unteren Stromgegend und auf Sachalin, wo die Eingeborenen durch die russische Kolonisation schon vielfach aus ihren natürlichen Verhältnissen hinausgetreten waren, einen äusserst fruchtbaren Boden. Gegen Ende des December 1856 fand sich die Epidemie, den Sungari abwärts schreitend, an der Mündung desselben ein [3]). Im Juni 1857 erreichte sie, dem unteren Amur folgend, Kidsi, im Juli Uchtr, im September Nikolajefsk, und in den Wintermonaten 1857/58 wüthete sie an der Amur-Mündung, am Liman, am Ochotskischen Meere, bis über Kulj hinaus, und auf Sachalin. Nach den Schilderungen, die ich dem Doctor Pfeiffer, einem Augenzeugen dieser Ereignisse, verdanke, trug die Krankheit durchaus den Charakter einer auf neuem Boden auftretenden, verheerenden Epidemie. Während einzelne Dörfer der Giljaken, wie Tebach, Allof, merkwürdigerweise ganz unberührt blieben, verloren andere, wie Kulj, Langr, ihre halbe Bevölkerung, und viele Jurten starben ganz aus. Die Zahl der Opfer war um so grösser, als die Kranken, mit dem unheimlichen Gaste noch ganz unbekannt, um der Fieberhitze zu entgehen, oft halbnackt Kühlung auf dem Schnee und im Winde suchten. Dr. Pfeiffer meint nach den von ihm gesammelten statistischen Nachrichten, dass etwa 20% der giljakischen Bevölkerung dieser Epidemie erlegen seien. Wenige Jahre später, im Frühling 1863, brachen unter den Golde die Masern aus, doch hatten diese nach Dr. Pfeiffer's Angabe keinen bösartigen Verlauf und fanden sich nur bei Kindern ein. Sehr verheerend sollen hingegen die Pocken-Epidemien gewesen sein, die in den Jahren 1877 und 1881 am Ussuri und seinen Zuflüssen, am Biki, Ima u. a. grassirten, indem sie nach den vom Obristlieutenant Nadarof an Ort und Stelle eingezogenen Nachrichten die Zahl der Golde- und

1) Переяславскій, Нѣсколько замѣч. путт. изслѣдъ на р. Амуру, сосѣрм. въ 1856—57 гг. (Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. XXI, С. Петерб. 1858, Отд. II, стр. 165, 167). Desgl. nach schriftlichen Mittheilungen, die ich von Dr. Pfeiffer aus Nikolajefsk erhielt.

2) In der Mandshurei sind die Pocken, wohl dank den Chinesen, schon lange heimisch. Der Missionär De la Brunière zählt die unter den Krankheiten auf, die auch ihm «durch die Hitze, welche die Pferdeuhrung dem Blute verleiht», im Sommer unter den «Jupi-tatses (Golds) am Ussuri entstehen. Die Pocken sollen dort zuweilen starke Verheerungen anrichten, selbst Greise von 70—80 Jahren ergriffen und sich bei manchen Personen 4 und 5 Mal wiederholen (De la Brunière, Excurs. en Mandchourie, en 1846. — Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Ve Sér. T. XVI, 1848 (T. IV), p. 112).

3) Gerade zu der Zeit, als der Kaufmann Pargatschefskij, den Amur aufwärts reisend, diesen Ort passirte.

Orotschen-Bevölkerung im nördlichen Ussuri-Lande auf etwa ½ bis ¼ ihres früheren Bestandes reducirten [1]).

Kehren wir jedoch von diesen späteren, nebenbei berührten Ereignissen wieder zum ersten Conflikt der Amur-Völker mit den Russen zurück. Viel grössere und nachhaltigere Folgen als im unteren Amur-Lande hat die russische Invasion im XVII. Jahrhundert für die Bevölkerungsverhältnisse des oberen Amur-Landes gehabt. Oben, im 2. Abschnitt dieses Werkes [2]), ist bereits geschildert worden, wie sehr die damals noch zahlreiche daurische Bevölkerung am oberen Amur von den russischen Kriegszügen mitgenommen wurde, wie blutige Opfer sie dem an Tapferkeit und Bewaffnung ihr weit überlegenen Feinde zu bringen hatte, ja, wie sie einem fast sicheren baldigen Verbluten entgegenging. Nicht besser ist es den Gogulen und den bereits im unteren Amur-Lande, von der Sungari-Mündung abwärts seesshaften Djutscheren ergangen, bis die chinesische Regierung, um den russischen Raubzügen ein Ende zu machen, alle diese Völkerschaften vom Amur an den Nonni und Churcha versetzte [3]). Anstatt derselben rückten nun nomadische Jagdvölker, wie Biraren, Manägirn, Orotschonen, in spärlicher Anzahl zum Amur hinab [4]), und wenn in der Folgezeit auch manche Dauren wieder hinzogen, so geschah dies doch nur in sehr beschränktem Maasse, wobei sie sich in der ehemals von ihnen eingenommenen Landschaft oberhalb der Dseja-Mündung nicht wieder ansiedeln durften [5]). So haben sich in Folge jener Kriegszüge die Bevölkerungsverhältnisse am Amur-Strome gewissermaassen umgekehrt: während ehedem das obere Amur-Land der stärker bevölkerte Theil war und eine recht zahlreiche, seesshafte, ackerbautreibende Bevölkerung hatte, die sich von dort in ununterbrochener Folge bis über die Sungari- und Ussuri-Mündung hinzog und nur im untersten Laufe des Stromes einigen sparsamer vertretenen Fischervölkern Raum gab, bot später dieses ichthyophage untere Amur-Land noch den belebtesten Theil des Ganzen dar, stromaufwärts hingegen verödet die Landschaft mehr und mehr, und am oberen Strome begegnet man, von dem einzigen, übrigens auch erst

1) Н. Надаровъ, Сборникъ Географическихъ, Статистическихъ и Этнографическихъ свѣдѣній о Сибири. Вып. 1. Пермь. Геогр. Общ. Но обм. Геогр. Т. XVII, № 1, стр. 23, 28, 73). In dieser Schrift, welche in ethnographischer Beziehung manche schätzenswerthe Mittheilungen über die Man-dse, Golde und Orotschen des Ussuri-Landes enthält, braucht Hr. Nadaroff für die letzteren stets den Namen «Orotschonen», obgleich sie, wie er selbst bemerkt, bei allen unseren Schriftstellern «Orotschen» heissen, und giebt zur Begründung seines Vorgehens an, dass einmal die Orotschen selbst sich «Orotschonen» nennen, und dass ferner auch einige Chinesen, nicht alle Golde und endlich alle Ussuri-Koschen sie mit diesem Namen bezeichnen. Das Letztere will ich gern glauben, da der Name «Orotschon» so sehr an den den Koschen von der Schilka und dem Argunj her bekannten Namen «Orotschonen» anklingt, um von ihnen unterschieden zu werden; die ersteren Angaben sind aber ganz irrthümlich, wie man sich oben aus meiner ausführlichen Erörterung dieses Gegenstandes (s. oben p. 130—139) überzeugen kann. Nur den Koschen oder anderen Russen gegenüber, und nur um von ihnen verstanden zu werden, mögen sich gegenwärtig manche Orotschen selbst «Orotschonen» nennen und auch von Chinesen und Golde so genannt werden. Ob aber eben im Munde der Koschen verständliche und erklärliche Verwechselung die Berechtigung giebt, zwei so verschiedene Völker oder Volkszweige, wie die Orotschen des Ussuri und der Meerestheile und die Orotschonen des oberen Amur und seiner Zuflüsse, schlechtweg unter einem Namen zusammenzuwerfen, wie Hr. Nadaroff es thut, darüber brauche ich mich nicht weiter auszulassen.

2) S. p. 172.

3) S. oben, p. 181, 187.

4) S. oben, p. 179 ff.

5) S. oben, p. 172.

geraume Zeit nach jener Invasion entstandenen mandshu-chinesischen Culturstück abgesehen, nur unstäten, zeitweise an den Strom heranstreifenden Jagdvölkern.

In ähnlicher, wenn auch lange nicht so rascher und handgreiflicher Weise musste auf die Stärke der indigenen Bevölkerung in verschiedenen Theilen des Amur-Landes ihre Berührung mit den Mandshu und Chinesen wirken. Von diesen wurden die Amur-Völker zwar nicht mit Krieg überzogen, dafür hatten sie aber ihren beständigen Druck, oft harte Tributerhebung und die noch schwereren ungesetzlichen Erpressungen und Beraubungen aller Art zu erdulden. Der Mandshu-Beamte, der im Wachtposten oder auf der Rundreise neben der Tributskasse seine eigne Tasche mit den besten Stücken bedachte, und der chinesische Kaufmann, der die Mittel kennt, seine naturwüchsigen Kunden auf scheinbar rechtlichem Wege um ihr Hab und Gut zu bringen, — beide haben sie den materiellen und moralischen Wohlstand der Amur-Völker nicht gefördert. Was dabei noch schlimmere Folgen für diese letzteren haben musste als der jeweilige materielle Verlust, eine etwaige Einbusse an ihrer Jagdausbeute, an schätzbarem Pelzwerk u. drgl., war das unvermeidlich sich einstellende Bewusstsein von der Unsicherheit ihres Besitzes, von der Gefahr, ihn jederzeit verlieren zu können, — ein Bewusstsein, das die Freudigkeit am Erwerbe lähmen und die angeborene Trägheit und Indolenz steigern musste. Fügt man nun zur Verarmung und Niedergeschlagenheit noch manche Schädigungen ihrer Familienverhältnisse durch die Fremdlinge hinzu, manche durch dieselben ihnen zugetragenen Krankheiten und Laster, so wird man zugeben, dass diese Uebel, lange Zeit hindurch beständig gleich einer langsamen Vergiftung wirkend, auch das Maass des numerischen Wachsthums dieser Völker erheblich herabdrücken mussten. Je mehr daher diese letzteren dem mandshu-chinesischen Einflusse ausgesetzt waren oder noch sind, um so weniger darf man unter ihnen eine verhältnissmässig zahlreiche, dichte, wohlhabende und kräftige Bevölkerung zu finden erwarten. Am meisten aber mussten natürlich diejenigen Völker darunter leiden, deren Gebiet am nächsten zu den Hauptsitzen der Mandshu und Chinesen, zum Sungari, zum oberen Ussuri-Lande und zu ihrem Culturstück am oberen Amur liegt, also sämmtliche Völker des oberen Amur-Landes, so wie die Golde und die Ta-dse oder südlichen Orotschen, während die entfernter wohnenden glimpflicher davon kamen, wie die Oltscha und Negda, deren Gebiet von den Mandshu unberührt blieb, und noch mehr die Giljaken, die nicht bloss den Mandshu-Beamten, sondern auch den chinesischen Kaufleuten den Eintritt in ihr Land verweigerten.

So erklärt sich durch die beiden oben besprochenen Thatsachen, den aruten Conflikt der Amur-Völker im XVII. Jahrhundert mit den Russen und den zum Theil noch fortdauernden chronischen mit den Mandshu und Chinesen, die auf den ersten Blick auffallende Erscheinung, dass der unterste Theil des Amur-Landes, trotz seiner rauheren und ungünstigeren klimatischen Verhältnisse, doch die meiste indigene Bevölkerung aufzuweisen hat, stromaufwärts hingegen und nach Süden, wo das Klima milder, die Vegetation mannigfaltiger und reicher, der Fischreichthum zwar geringer, der Wildreichthum aber zum Theil noch grösser ist, die Bevölkerung nichtdestoweniger spärlicher wird und das Land mehr und mehr verödet. Verhältnissmässig am zahlreichsten und am meisten verdichtet, wenn auch immer noch spärlich, scheinen mir namentlich die Giljaken zu

sein, besonders am Amur-Strome, während sie am Liman und am Ochotskischen Meere stärker verstreut sind. Nächstdem die Oltscha, die jedoch überhaupt nur ein kleines Gebiet im Amur-Lande inne haben. Die in ihrer Gesammtheit gewiss zahlreicheren Golde sind über ein weites Gebiet verstreut und somit allenthalben nur sparsam vertreten, am sparsamsten zwischen der Ussuri- und Sungari-Mündung. Der südlichste Theil des Amur-Stromes, zwischen der Sungari-Mündung und dem Bureja-Gebirge, ist eine beinahe völlig menschenleere Prairiewildniss, und alsdann beginnt das obere Amur-Land, das, mit Ausnahme des von Mandshu, Chinesen, Dauren und gleich oberhalb des Bureja-Gebirges auch von sesshaften Biraren bebauten Theiles, nur zeitweise von nomadischen Jagdvölkern besucht wird.

Im Allgemeinen anders als auf dem Festlande liegen die Bevölkerungsverhältnisse auf Sachalin. Hier scheint der südliche, von Aino besetzte Theil eine stärkere Bevölkerung als der nördliche, giljakische Theil der Insel zu haben. Allerdings ist jener südliche Theil, beiderseits von den Ausläufern einer warmen Strömung bespült, in klimatischer Beziehung auch weit bevorzugt vor dem nördlichen, der, zumal an seiner dem Ochotskischen Meere zugekehrten Ostküste, ein äusserst rauhes, fast polares Klima hat; allein auch hier dürfte der Grund jener Erscheinung mehr in historischen und politischen als in den erwähnten physischen Verhältnissen liegen. Von den Japanern im südlichen Theile ihres Gebietes vor Jahrhunderten bekriegt und unterjocht, seitdem beständig gedrückt und bedrängt, haben sich die Aino mehr und mehr nordwärts gezogen und auf Sachalin eine Heimath gefunden, wo sie bis vor wenigen Jahrzehnten, von ihren Feinden unbehelligt, ein freies und selbständiges Dasein führten[1]). Kein Wunder daher, dass auch ihre Zahl dort im Laufe der Zeit erheblich anwuchs. Im nördlichen, giljakischen Theile von Sachalin hat hingegen eine Abnahme der Bevölkerung stattgefunden. Ich glaube aus sprachlichen Gründen nachgewiesen zu haben, dass ein Theil der Sachalin-Giljaken, vielleicht in Folge jenes Andranges der Aino, die Insel verliess und nach dem Continent, an den unteren Amur und die Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres sich hinzog[2]). Auf eine ehemals zahlreichere giljakische Bevölkerung der Insel weist unter Anderem auch der Umstand hin, dass es an ihrer Westküste zwei Dörfer giebt, die den Namen «Pilja-wo», d. h. grosses Dorf, tragen, das eine am Ochotskischen, das andere am Nordjapanischen Meere, und die beide gegenwärtig nur höchst unbedeutend sind[3]). Dennoch ist diese dem Continent und der Amur-Mündung zugewendete Westküste Sachalin's auch gegenwärtig, nächst dem Tymy-Thale, noch der bevölkertste Theil der Insel; die klimatisch weit rauhere Ostküste ist begreiflicherweise viel öder.

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1) S. oben, p. 73 ff., 123 ff.

2) S. oben, p. 214.

3) Das erstere dieser Dörfer hat gegenwärtig, nach Glehn (Reisebr. von der Insel Sachalin. — Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 233), nur eine Jurte; über das andere, das deren drei zählt, s. oben, p. 17, Anm. 1. Wenn übrigens Glehn bei Gelegenheit dieser Spuren einer ehemals stärkeren Bevölkerung des giljakischen Theiles von Sachalin auch der Blattern erwähnt, die in den 50-er Jahren vorherrschend aufgetreten seien, so haben diese mit der hier in Rede stehenden Entvölkerung nichts zu thun. Es ist dies die oben erwähnte Epidemie vom Winter 1857/58, die damals noch frisch im Gedächtniss war, während jenes Dorf schon lange vorher verödet war. Hingegen haben die Blattern andere Spuren der Verwüstung hinterlassen, von denen später die Rede sein wird.

Ich muss mich mit diesen allgemeinen Angaben über die mehr oder weniger starke Bevölkerung der einzelnen Theile des Amur-Landes begnügen und auf numerische Werthe aus Mangel an hinreichenden Daten verzichten. Allerdings begegnet man bisweilen Angaben über die gesammte Individuenzahl einzelner Amur-Völker, allein auf diese Zahlen ist nicht viel zu geben. Dass die in den älteren, chinesischen Bevölkerungstabellen verzeichneten, übrigens bei der damaligen Unkenntniss der einzelnen Völker nur sehr allgemein und unbestimmt gehaltenen Daten von keinem Werthe sind, versteht sich von selbst [1]). Werthvoller könnten etwaige Angaben europäischer Reisenden sein, die das Land zur Zeit seiner Besitznahme durch die Russen oder nur kurze Zeit nach derselben besuchten, bevor die Verhältnisse der indigenen Bevölkerung durch die russische Kolonisation stark verschoben oder verändert wurden. Es giebt einige Angaben der Art. So schätzt Collins, der im Jahre 1857 den ganzen Amur abwärts schiffte, die Zahl der Eingeborenen verschiedener Nationalität in der unmittelbaren Uferlandschaft folgendermaassen [2]):

Giljaken	in	39	Dörfern	(davon	26	am rechten	und	13	am linken	Ufer)	1400	Seelen		
Mangunisen (Oltscha)	in	40	»	»	36	»	»	»	4	»	»	»	1300	» [3])
Golds	in	114	»	»	77	»	»	»	37	»	»	»	3500	»
Nomadische und zerstreute Stämme													2000	»

Schmidt taxirte im Jahre 1862 die Gesammtzahl der Negda, am Amgunj sowohl wie an den Seen Orell und Tschlja, auf noch nicht 1000 Seelen [4]). Die gesammte Bevölkerung der Aino auf Sachalin berechnete Rudanofskij nach seinen im Jahre 1854 gemachten und 1857 vervollständigten Notizen auf 2479 Seelen [5]). Brylkin gab sie im Jahre 1861 auf nicht über 2200 Seelen an [6]). Diese auf Sachalin bezüglichen Angaben beruhen auf ziemlich genauer, durch zahlreiche Reisen im Lande gewonnener Kenntniss desselben. Die uns mehr interessirenden Daten von Collins sind hingegen ganz unsicher. Zählungen liegen ihnen sicherlich nicht zu Grunde; vielmehr sind sie augenscheinlich durch Erkundigungen bei den damals im Amur-Lande ansässigen Russen gewonnen worden, wie man schon aus der specifisch russi-

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1) So giebt Iakinf nach den chinesischen Bevölkerungstabellen von 1812 die Zahl der Tungusen des unteren Amur-Landes, ost- und nordostwärts vom Ussuri bis zur Amur-Mündung, darunter also auch der Giljaken, auf 2300 Familien an (Записки, Кусаб, С. Петерб. 1840, стр. 19; его же: Статист. Опис. Китайск. Имп. С. Петерб. 1842, Ч. II, стр. 30).

2) Petermann, Geogr. Mittheil. 1859, p. 28. Aus dem Berichte, den Perry 1857 Collins der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten einsendete (35th Congress, 1st Session. Ex. Doc. № 98. Explor. of Amoor River. Letter from the Secret. of State, in answer to a resolution of the House, calling for inform. relat. to the explorat. of Amoor River. April 7, 1858).

3) An einem anderen Orte (im «Bln Francisco Herald», s. Petermann, Geogr. Mitth. 1860, p. 437) gab Collins, bei derselben Anzahl von Dörfern, die Zahl der Giljaken auf 1800, diejenige der Oltscha («Mangunisen») auf 1350 Seelen an.

4) Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der Physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. in d. J. 1859—1863 (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 140).

5) Рудановскій, Обозрѣніе island. о. Сахалинъ (Записки Немцева, 1868, стр. 99).

6) Brylkin, Statist. u. topogr. Nachr. über das südl. Sachalin (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 270). Gleichzeitig gab Pomb. Hodgson (Account of four Excurs. in the Japanese Island of Jesso, in der Literary Gazette vom 16. März 1861; s. Petermann, Geogr. Mittheil. 1861, p. 241) die Zahl der Aino auf Jesso auf 20000 (!) an.

schen Bezeichnung «Manguntsen» für die Oltscha schliessen darf. Zuverlässige Daten konnte man aber auf diesem Wege wohl um so weniger gewinnen, als, neben dem Mangel jeglicher Zählung, auch die Gebiete der genannten Völker, namentlich der Oltscha gegenüber ihren nördlichen und südlichen Nachbarn, russischerseits in der Regel falsch abgegrenzt wurden [1]). Des Umstandes ferner, dass es fast in jedem dieser Gebiete versprengte Dörfer anderer Nationalität giebt [2]), war man sich damals noch gar nicht bewusst. Schon aus diesem Grunde, wie auch aus der Nothwendigkeit, Sommer- und Winterdörfer auseinanderzuhalten, lässt sich auch auf die von Collins angegebene Zahl der Dörfer verschiedener Nationalität nichts geben. Uebrigens kann die Zahl der Dörfer schlechtweg auch keinen Maassstab für die Beurtheilung der Bevölkerungszahl abgeben, weil die Dörfer von äusserst verschiedener Grösse sind, und manche z. B. nur aus einem einzigen Hause bestehen [3]). Das einzige Moment, in welchem sich, in Ermangelung einer direkten Zählung der einheimischen Bevölkerung, noch ein ziemlich sicherer Maassstab für eine approximative Abschätzung ihrer Stärke finden liesse, ist die Zahl ihrer Winterwohnungen, falls diese sicher ermittelt wäre. Von der Richtigkeit dieser Behauptung wird man sich leicht überzeugen bei näherer Kenntniss davon, wie die Wohnungen bei den Amur-Völkern überhaupt beschaffen sind. Gehen wir nunmehr zur Betrachtung dieser Verhältnisse bei den einzelnen Amur-Völkern über.

Ein Volk wie die **Giljaken**, das der unmittelbaren Befriedigung seiner Bedürfnisse an Nahrung, Kleidung u. drgl. fast ausschliesslich durch Fischfang und Robbenschlag nachkommt, siedelt sich begreiflicherweise an den grössten, fischreichsten Gewässern seines Gebietes und dabei in möglichster Nähe vom Wasser an. So liegen alle Dörfer der Giljaken unmittelbar am Amur-Strom und Liman, an der Meeresküste oder am Tymy-Flusse, dieser Hauptader der nördlichen Hälfte von Sachalin; vergeblich würde man welche im Gebirge oder überhaupt in

1) Ausführliches darüber s. oben, p. 26 ff.

2) So z. B. im Giljaken-Gebiete die Oltscha-Dörfer Tschytwi und Tyr, s. oben, p. 16.

3) Obgleich alle späteren Angaben über die Kopfzahl der einheimischen Völker des Amur-Landes, die in Folge der russischen Einnahme und Kolonisation desselben starke Veränderungen erfahren mussten, ausserhalb des Rahmens dieses Werkes liegen, so will ich einer dieser Angaben hier doch im Vorübergehen erwähnen, weil sie sich speciell auf die im Vordergrunde meiner Betrachtungen stehenden Giljaken bezieht oder wenigstens beziehen soll. Ich meine die von Dr. N. Seeland in seinem Artikel «Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze» (Russische Revue, herausg. v. Carl Röttger, Bd. XXI, St. Petersb. 1882, p. 99) gemachte Schätzung ihrer Kopfzahl (aus den Jahren 1879—1880). Nachdem er für das Festland die Tributleute russischer Impersuaks (Kreisbeh) in Betracht gezogen und hinsichtlich Sachalin's reisende Feichändler befragt, gelangt er zu dem Schluss, dass «die ganze Giljaken-Volk sich auf 8000 Seelen beläuft». Die dabei gegebene Specialisirung dieser Gesammtzahl nach den einzelnen Gebietstheilen erklärt ihre überaus ansehnliche Grösse, macht sie aber zugleich ganz und gar hinfällig. Denn eines 4000 soll die Zahl der Giljaken des Nikolajefschen Kreises (von der Meeresküste den Amur aufwärts bis Mariinsk), der Bai de Castries und des Kaiserhafens betragen, 1000 diejenige der Giljaken des Sophijskischen Kreises (von Mariinsk bis zum Gorin), und auf gegen 3000 schätzt er die Zahl der Sachalin-Giljaken. Demnach rechnet Dr. Seeland zu den Giljaken nicht blos sämmtliche Oltscha, die beim gemeinen russischen Mann am Amur in der Regel und darnach leider sehr oft auch bei russischen Reisenden (s. oben, p. 104 u. a.) schlechtweg für Giljaken gelten, sondern auch noch die Orotschen der Meeresküste von der Bai de Castries bis zum Kaiserhafen. Wie sonderbar muss es Einen aber berühren gleich am Eingange einer Schrift, die speciell über die Giljaken handeln soll, einer solchen Vermengung derselben mit ihren sprachlich und zum Theil auch der Lebensweise nach ganz verschiedenen Nachbarstämmen zu begegnen!

grösserer Entfernung von den genannten Gewässern suchen. Immer ist zum Wohnort auch eine mehr oder minder günstige Localität gewählt, — am Meere eine durch Felsvorsprünge gegen die herrschenden Stürme gedeckte kleine Bai oder Küstenkrümmung, am Strom ein trockenes, über das Hochwasser emporragendes Ufer, mit hinlänglich tiefem Wasser zum Landen der Böte, mit hohem Wald oder dichtem Gebüsch zum Schutz gegen die winterlichen Schneestürme u. s. w. Wo die Localität eine nach allen Beziehungen günstige ist und den Anforderungen im Sommer und Winter entspricht, da sieht man beständig, wenn auch je nach der Jahreszeit in Häusern von verschiedener Bauart und Beschaffenheit, bewohnte Dörfer liegen. Bietet sie hingegen nur erhebliche Vorzüge in der einen Jahreszeit und beträchtliche Mängel in der anderen, so werden die Sommer- und Winterhäuser an verschiedenen Orten errichtet, und es giebt dann ein Sommer- und ein Winterdorf und dem entsprechend einen zweimal im Jahre stattfindenden Ortswechsel. Oft liegen die zusammengehörigen Sommer- und Winterdörfer, respective einzelnen Häuser, nur wenig weit auseinander; an der Meeresküste z. B. habe ich, auf dem Festlande wie auf Sachalin, die Sommerbehausungen meist dicht am Strande, die Winterhäuser hingegen etwas landeinwärts liegen sehen, wo Berg und Wald mehr Schutz gegen die häufigen Schneestürme bieten, und wo auch das unentbehrliche Feuerungsmaterial leichter zu beschaffen ist. Zuweilen jedoch ist der Abstand zwischen dem entsprechenden Sommer- und Winterdorf ein ganz ansehnlicher. Am Amur kommt es z. B. vor, dass das eine am einen, das andere am anderen Ufer des Stromes liegt. So ist das am rechten Ufer gelegene Mäo nur das Sommerdorf von Kulk (oder Kuĕgda, wie die Russen es nennen), das am linken Amur-Ufer liegt, oder dieses das Winterdorf von jenem. Sämmtliche Bewohner von Kulk siedeln zum Sommer nach Mäo über, das eine für den Fischfang günstigere Lage hat, indem es näher zur Stromrinne liegt, welcher die den Amur aufsteigenden Lachse folgen, auch das Ufer dort höher und zum Landen bequemer ist u. s. w. Im Herbst hingegen kehren sie wieder nach ihren schräge gegenüber liegenden Winterhäusern zurück, wo eine Einbuchtung des Ufers und ausgedehnte Waldungen Schutz gegen die im Winter herrschenden, schneidend kalten West- und Nordwestwinde und Schneestürme gewähren, und zugleich auch ein weiteres, bequemeres und ergiebigeres Jagdterrain als an den Gebirgsabhängen des rechten Ufers sich ausbreitet[1]). Zuweilen ziehen die im Winter in einem Dorfe zusammen wohnenden Giljaken zum Sommer nach verschiedenen Punkten auseinander, um sich im Herbst wieder zusammenzufinden. Liegen die Winter- und Sommerhäuser neben einander, wie z. B. in Wair (oder Wait, wie es bei den Russen heisst), so erscheint der Ort viel grösser und volkreicher, als er in der That ist. Mehr wie die Hälfte aller Häuser kommt alsdann auf die im Vergleich mit den ordentlichen, grossen Winterhäusern viel kleineren Sommerbehausungen, und leicht können auch manche grössere, den letzteren in

1) Im Herbst 1854 fand dieser Umzug der Giljaken von Mäo nach Kulk in der zweiten Woche des October (n. St.) statt, kurze Zeit bevor der Amur sich mit Eis bedeckte. Im Frühjahr 1856 traf ich die Giljaken im Dorfe Sachach, dem ersten oberhalb Nikolajefsk, am 16. (28.) Mai schon in ihren neben den Winterhäusern gelegenen Sommerwohnungen; in den weiter stromaufwärts gelegenen Dörfern aber, bis Tacht, hatten sie dieselben um diese Zeit noch nicht bezogen.

ihrer Bauart ähnliche Vorrathskammern für Wohnhäuser angesehen werden. So erklärt sich die übermässig grosse Zahl von Häusern, die von manchen Reisenden in einzelnen Giljaken-Dörfern angegeben werden[1]). Liegen hingegen die Sommer- und Winterhäuser als besondere Dörfer auseinander, so erscheint dem uneingeweihten Reisenden die Zahl der einzelnen Ortschaften grösser, und in einer anderen Weise gewinnt er wiederum den Eindruck einer stärkeren Bevölkerung des Landes, als sie diesem in Wirklichkeit zukommt. Ich werde auf die Häuserzahl einzelner Dörfer der Giljaken später noch zurückkommen, nachdem wir zuvor die Bauart und Beschaffenheit ihrer Winter- und Sommerbehausungen näher kennen gelernt haben.

Klimatische Gründe sind es hauptsächlich, welche die Giljaken nöthigen, sich für den Winter und den Sommer besondere Behausungen zu errichten. Im Winter gilt es, sich gegen die überaus strenge, oft von heftigen Stürmen und Schneegestöbern begleitete Kälte zu schützen, im Sommer hingegen der allzugrossen, durch die maritime Lage und die beständigen Seewinde, Nebel und Regen bedingten Feuchtigkeit entgegenzuarbeiten. Erfordert Ersteres möglichst geschlossene, von windfesten Wänden umgebene Räume, so kann Letzteres im Gegentheil nur durch luftigere, einem beständigen Luftwechsel ausgesetzte Wohnungen erreicht werden. Beides in entsprechendem Maasse in einem Bau zu vereinen, dürfte die Kräfte und Mittel eines Naturvolkes übersteigen. Sehen wir nun, wie die Giljaken diesen Erfordernissen nachkommen.

Die Winterbehausung der Giljaken ist von doppelter Art: eine einfachere, eigenartige und primitive — die Erdjurte, und eine complicirtere, chinesischem Muster nachgebildete, die eher den Namen eines Hauses als einer Jurte[2]) verdient, und die ich schlechtweg Winterhaus oder auch chinesische Winterjurte nennen will. Die Erdjurte, *toryf* der Giljaken, ist genau nach dem Muster eines Zeltes erbaut: sie ist eigentlich nichts weiter als ein mehr oder weniger geräumiges, festes, halb in die Erde versenktes, von Gebälk überdachtes Zelt. Soll es eine grosse Jurte der Art geben, so wird ein etwa 20—22 Fuss im Quadrat grosses, ungefähr 3—4 Fuss tiefes Loch in die Erde gegraben; die Wände desselben werden geglättet oder, mindestens im oberen Theile, sogar mit dünnen Balken ausgekleidet. Um dasselbe wird ein pyramidales, von allen Seiten

1) Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, St. Petersb. 1811, Bd. II, p. 162) zählte in einem giljakischen (nach ihm «tatarischen») Dorfe, das am Nordende Sachalin's zwischen den Cape Elisabeth und Maria lag, 27 Häuser. In einem anderen, in der Bai Nadeshda, giebt er 16—18 Häuser an, doch lässt die Beschreibung derselben deutlich Sommer- und Winterhäuser erkennen, welche letzteren zudem hier standen (l. c., p. 178, 182, 183). Orlof gab bei seiner ersten Fahrt zu den Giljaken am Ochotskischen Meer (im Juli 1849) die Zahl der Häuser im Dorfe Kulj auf 46 an (vergl. Тихменевъ, Истор. Обозр. образ. Росс.-Америк. Комп. Ч. II, С. Петерб. 1863, стр. 84), worunter manche sicherlich nur Vorrathskammern waren.

2) Mit diesem Wort (russ. юрта) von finnisch-tatarischem Ursprung (s. Ahlqvist, Die Culturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen, Helsingfors 1875, p. 168) bezeichneten die Russen ursprünglich die zeltartigen Wohnungen der sibirischen Eingeborenen. Allmählich jedoch wurde es bei ihnen für alle Behausungen derselben, welcher Art sie auch sein mögen, gebräuchlich, im Gegensatz zum Block- oder Balkenhause russischer Bauern (russ. изба) oder zu anderweitigen europäischen Häusern, und in diesem weiteren Sinne findet man es oft auch in den auf Sibirien bezüglichen Reisebeschreibungen gebraucht. Dem entsprechend wird auch das Winterhaus der Giljaken von den Russen im Amur-Lande in der Regel Jurte genannt, und in demselben Sinne ist dieser Ausdruck auch in diesem Werk aufzufassen.

gleichmässig schräge aufsteigendes Dach errichtet, das aus dünnen, dicht nebeneinander gestellten Balken besteht, welche auf vier Querbalken ruhen, die ihrerseits wieder von vier im Innern der Jurte befindlichen Stützpfeilern (*a*) getragen werden. Nur an der Spitze des Daches bleibt eine als Rauchfang dienende Oeffnung zurück. Von aussen wird das Dach, um es ganz luftdicht zu machen, noch mit trockenem Gras und Erde bedeckt. Fällt im Herbst der Schnee darauf, so sieht die ganze Jurte von aussen nur wie ein verschneiter, an der Spitze durch den aufsteigenden Rauch leicht geschwärzter Hügel aus. An der Seite der Jurte, die von den herrschenden Winden abgewandt oder überhaupt im meisten Windschutz liegt, befindet sich der Eingang (*b*). Dieser führt jedoch nicht unmittelbar in die Jurte, sondern zuerst in einen ziemlich langen, niedrigen, ebenfalls von dünnem Gebälk oder Baumzweigen und trockenem Grase überdachten, langsam absteigenden Gang (*c*), in welchem beiderseits entweder einiges Hausgeräth abgestellt ist, oder auch das Lager für die Hunde sich befindet. Am Ende dieses Ganges erreicht man die Thür (*d*), die entweder wie gewöhnlich vertikal in Angeln geht, oder aber von einem horizontal gelegenen, seitwärts verschiebbaren Brett gebildet wird (Taf. X) [1]. Unmittelbar hinter, resp. unter derselben führen einige Stufen zum Fussboden der Jurte hinab, der aus festgestampfter Erde besteht. In der Jurte läuft zu beiden Seiten und hinten, zwischen den Stützpfeilern und der Erdwand, eine ungefähr $1\frac{1}{2}$ Fuss hohe und 5—6 Fuss breite Sitz- und Schlafbank oder Pritsche (*e*) hin, die nur an den beiden Hinterecken der Jurte eine Unterbrechung erleidet. Diese Ecken (*f.f*) sind, gleich den vorderen, meist abgerundet und dienen zum Abstellen von verschiedenem Geräth, Kisten und Kasten, Handschlitten u. drgl. Dadurch entsteht zwischen den beiden Seitenbänken und der hinteren Bank, die für den besten und vornehmsten Platz in der Jurte gilt, eine, wenn auch nur sehr unvollständige, Scheidewand. Gegenüber dem Innenrande der Bänke, in etwas über Mannshöhe, laufen zwischen den Stützpfeilern wiederum Querstangen, welche zum Aufhängen von Kleidungsstücken u. drgl. dienen. Mitten in der Jurte, zwischen den drei Pritschen und nur etwa 3 Fuss von einer jeden derselben entfernt, liegt der Herd (*g*), eine etwa 4 Fuss breite und doppelt so lange Plattform von gleicher Höhe mit den Bänken. Sie ist von sehr einfacher Beschaffenheit, indem sie nur aus einer hölzernen, aus Brettern zusammengefügten Umrah-

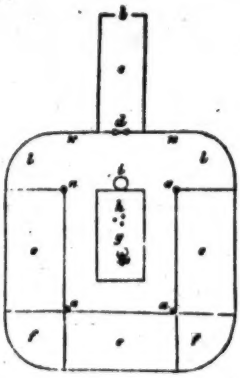

Plan einer giljakischen Erdjurte (*teryf*).
a — Stützpfeiler. *b* — Eingang. *c* — Niedriger Gang. *d* — Thür. *e* — Pritschen. *f* — Hintere Ecken, ohne Pritsche. *g* — Herd. *h* — Steindreieck für den grossen Kessel. *i* — Wasserbehälter. *k* — vordere Wand. *l* — Vordere Ecken der Jurte.

[1] Auf dieser den Innere einer giljakischen Erdjurte darstellenden Tafel ist die Thür, durch die man nur in stark gebeugter Stellung gehen kann, zu hoch gerathen.

mung besteht, die mit festgestampfter Erde ausgefüllt ist. Ueber dem Herde, in etwas über Mannshöhe, befinden sich mehrere Querstangen, zwei über dem vorderen, eine über dem hinteren Theile desselben, die von den oben erwähnten, zwischen den Stützpfeilern angebrachten Querstangen getragen werden. An diese Querstangen über dem Herde werden Stöcke befestigt, die an ihrem unteren Ende in Haken auslaufen, auf welche die Kessel über das auf dem Herde angemachte Feuer gehängt werden. Im vorderen Theile des Herdes ragen drei fest in die Masse desselben eingefügte, im Dreieck gestellte Steine hervor (*h*), auf welchen der grosse, zum Kochen der Suppe für die Hunde bestimmte Kessel steht. In den grossen Jurten giebt es bisweilen auch zwei solche, übrigens auch zum Gebrauch der Menschen dienende Kessel, wie es z. B. auch in der grossen Jurte von Tyk der Fall war, in der ich wiederholentlich und zu mehreren Tagen mich aufgehalten und wo ich auch den hier beigefügten Plan entworfen habe. Im hinteren Theile des Herdes und damit auch mehr in der Mitte zwischen den drei Pritschen wird das zur Erwärmung und Abends auch zur Beleuchtung der Jurte dienende Feuer angemacht. Vor dem Herde stehen ein oder mehrere grosse Gefässe, meist aus Birkenrinde gemachte Kübel (*i*) mit Trinkwasser, und an der vorderen Wand (*k*), rechts und links vom Eingange, oder auch in einer der vorderen Ecken der Jurte (*l*, *l*) ist stets ein Vorrath von trockenem Brennholz aufgeschichtet. In der Höhe, genau über dem Herde befindet sich endlich der Rauchfang, in Form eines länglichen Vierecks, das mit seinem Längs- und Querdurchmesser entweder mit dem Herde correspondirend, oder aber quer zu demselben gestellt ist.

Von ganz ähnlicher Beschaffenheit sind auch die kleineren Erdjurten der Giljaken, nur sind bei diesen alle Dimensionen mehr oder weniger ansehnlich kleiner. Das zum Bau der Jurte in die Erde gegrabene Loch ist z. B. in manchen Fällen so wenig tief, dass hinter der Pritsche nichts von einer Wand mehr zu sehen ist, sondern sogleich das Gebälk des Daches beginnt. In solchen kleineren Jurten werden, um Raum zu gewinnen, auch die beiden Hinterecken mit Pritschen versehen, so dass sich, die vordere Wand und die beiden Vorderecken abgerechnet, ringsum eine fortlaufende Sitz- und Schlafbank erstreckt. Verkleinern sich die Dimensionen der Jurte noch mehr, so wird sie endlich ganz oberflächlich, und Herd und Pritschen, von schmalen, aufgerichteten Brettern umrahmt, erheben sich kaum über den Erdboden, die letzteren nur um so viel, als die Dicke der zum Lager dienenden Schicht von Baumzweigen beträgt; der Rauchfang liegt in geringer Höhe über dem Herde; der zur Thür führende Gang ist verschwunden, oder auf ein paar schützende Vorsprünge eingeschrumpft, — kurz, die Jurte hat sich in ein aus dünnen Holzbalken erbautes Zelt verwandelt. So war die kleine Jurte von Tafiz-wo im Tymy-Thale auf Sachalin beschaffen, in der ich die Nacht auf den 18. Febr. (1. März) 1856 zubrachte und am Morgen das Quecksilber im Thermometer gefroren fand. Ob es nur ein zeitweiliger Bau war, vermag ich nicht zu sagen; jedenfalls war er von einer giljakischen Familie, in der es auch an Kindern nicht fehlte, bewohnt, und daneben stand ihre Sommerjurte. Diese Winterjurte von Tafiz-wo unterschied sich nur durch ihr solideres Baumaterial und ihre grösseren Dimensionen von dem Nothzelt, dass sich die Giljaken unter Umständen zu errichten pflegen, wenn sie auf ihren Winterreisen von einem heftigen Schneesturm überrascht werden. Auf meiner

Winterreise 1855 war ich genöthigt, am 6./18. Febr. an der Westküste Sachalin's, etwas südlich vom Cap Wangi[1]), im Walde auf hohem Meeresufer zu nächtigen. Neben mir lagerten vier Tymy-Giljaken und einer aus dem Dorfe Tyk, die desselben Weges reisten. Bei mässigem Nordwinde fiel recht starker Schnee. Die Giljaken hatten sich im Schnee eine Grube ein paar Fuss tief ausgeschaufelt, Boden und Wände derselben mit Tannenreisig ausgekleidet, darüber von der Nordseite über schräg in den Schnee gesteckte Stäbe eine Decke aus Fischhäuten gebreitet und in der Mitte ein kleines Feuer angemacht, darüber der Kessel hing. Nachts wuchs der Wind, und am Morgen stürmte es so stark, dass an ein Weiterreisen nicht zu denken war. Die Giljaken machten sich sogleich daran, sich ein sturm- und schneefesteres Lager zu errichten. Dazu gruben sie zunächst eine kreisförmige Vertiefung in den Schnee, steckten rings um dieselbe konisch in einem Mittelpunkte zusammenlaufende Stäbe auf und spannten einige Fischhautdecken so über dieselben aus, dass nur eine für den Rauchfang bestimmte Oeffnung an der Spitze des Zeltes zurückblieb; als Thür diente ein zurückschlagbarer Zipfel der Decke. Alsdann wurden die Wände der Grube und der Boden rings um dieselben mit Tannenreisig belegt und darüber die zum Lager dienlichen Bärenhäute ausgebreitet, welche die Giljaken auf ihren Winterreisen stets mitzuführen pflegen. Jetzt wurde auch an die Herstellung eines Herdes in der kleinen Behausung geschritten. Es galt hier vor Allem, eine feste Unterlage für das Feuer zu schaffen, da dieses sonst, unmittelbar über dem Schnee angemacht, in kurzer Zeit tief in denselben hineinsinkt und die Umsitzenden nicht mehr wärmen kann. Zu dem Zweck wurden einige recht flache Holzstücke möglichst genau und dicht aneinandergelegt, an allen vier Seiten von anderen, dickeren, auf ihre Kante gestellten umrahmt und diese letzteren durch Holzpflöcke in ihrer Lage befestigt. So war eine länglich-viereckige Vertiefung für den Herd gewonnen. Auf den Boden derselben breiteten nun die Giljaken Stücke von Lärchenbaumrinde aus, brachten alsdann Klumpen gefrorenen Sandes von der die Meeresküste begleitenden hohen Uferwand herbei, zerkleinerten dieselben vermittelst ihrer Beile, die sie, schon um das nöthige Brennholz für das Nachtlagerfeuer zu beschaffen, auf solchen Reisen stets mit sich führen, und füllten damit die für den Herd bereitete Vertiefung bis an deren Rand aus. Beiläufig muss ich bemerken, dass die auch zum Bau der Häuser u. drgl. m. gebräuchlichen Beile der Giljaken und ihrer Nachbarn zur Zeit meines Aufenthalts unter ihnen entweder, auf Sachalin, von japanischer, oder, auf dem Festlande, von chinesischer Form und Provenienz waren, mit ziemlich langem, geradem Griff und dickem, bis nach unten fast gleich breitem Blatt, wie es auf Taf. XXX in der Hand eines Golde-Knaben abgebildet ist. Russische Beile, mit kurzem, etwas ausgeschweiftem Griff und nach unten stark sich verbreiterndem Blatt, gab es bei ihnen dazumal noch so gut wie gar nicht. So war in kürzester Zeit eine Behausung entstanden, welche den Giljaken hinlänglichen Schutz gegen das Unwetter bot und ihrer Form und Bauart nach lebhaft an ihre Erdjurte erinnerte. Wie jene im Schnee, so sucht diese durch Einsenkung in die Erde Schutz gegen Wind und Wetter zu gewähren. Viel-

1) Die Giljaken nennen dieses Cap «Pilja-Wangi», d. h. Gross-Wangi, und einen kleineren südlicheren Vorsprung, an dem wir uns befanden, «Matsch-Wangi» — Klein-Wangi.

leicht ist auf diese Weise auch die Idee zur Errichtung solcher Erdjurten, wie wir sie bei den Giljaken finden, entstanden. Jedenfalls spricht aber die nach Form, Grundplan und Bauart vollkommene Aehnlichkeit derselben mit jenem Nothzelte für ihren ganz primitiven Charakter.

So einfach und primitiv die giljakische Erdjurte ist, so bietet sie doch, namentlich wenn ihre Dimensionen etwas grösser sind, manche Vorzüge. Die Lage eines Theiles derselben in der Erde, das sorgfältig gebaute, fest schliessende, von aussen noch mit einer dicken Schneeschicht versehene Dach, die Abwesenheit jeglicher Fensteröffnungen gewähren der kalten Aussenluft auch beim stärksten Winde, falls nur die Thür geschlossen ist, keinen seitlichen Zutritt zum Innenraum der Jurte, und das auf dem Herde beständig unterhaltene Feuer erwärmt und ventilirt den kleinen Raum und macht den Aufenthalt in demselben behaglich. Zugleich verleiht der im Mittelpunkt der Jurte gelegene Herd ihr einen einheitlichen Charakter: um die hier in gleicher Entfernung von allen drei Sitzbänken lodernde Flamme ist die ganze Gesellschaft gelagert, Alle einander zugekehrt, Alle aus derselben Quelle Wärme und Licht empfangend. Das führt unwillkürlich zu grösserer Mittheilsamkeit, zum gegenseitigen Austausch von Erlebnissen, Ansichten und Erfahrungen, und ich habe oft die Giljaken bis in die Nacht hinein so im gemeinsamen Gespräch um das Feuer sitzen und die Tabakspfeife von Hand zu Hand gehen sehen, oft und nach Möglichkeit mich auch selbst an ihrem Gespräch betheiligt. Neben diesen Vorzügen bietet jedoch die Erdjurte auch eine Menge von Mängeln. Am empfindlichsten unter ihnen ist namentlich der häufige, starke und rasche Temperaturwechsel, dem sie ausgesetzt ist. Bei jedem Oeffnen der Thür dringt ein kalter Luftstrom in die Jurte und zieht sich längs dem Fussboden hin. Zwar wird er durch den überdachten Gang vor der Thür vermindert, jedoch keineswegs beseitigt, und bleibt die Thür geöffnet, so entsteht zwischen ihr und dem Rauchfang ein so starker, den ganzen Innenraum der Jurte erfassender Zugwind, dass letztere in kürzester Zeit aller ihrer Wärme beraubt wird und so ziemlich die Temperatur der Aussenluft erhält. Und doch muss dieses Experiment gerade bei sehr kaltem und stürmischem Wetter oft mehrmals am Tage wiederholt werden. Alsdann geschieht es nämlich leicht, dass eine Masse kalter Luft durch den Rauchfang niederfällt, oder der wirbelnde Wind hineinfährt, den Rauch niederschlägt und ihm den Ausgang zeitweise versperrt. In kürzester Zeit füllt sich dann der kleine Raum mit erstickendem, Augen, Kehle und Lungen afficirendem Rauch an, und es bleibt nichts Anderes übrig, als durch Oeffnen der Thür einen starken, die Luft wieder reinigenden Zugwind zu erzeugen. Daher ist auch sämmtliches Gebälk in der Jurte von Rauch geschwärzt und nach oben hin mit einer mehr oder minder dicken Rustschicht bekleidet. Empfindlicher noch wird der Temperaturwechsel in den Erdjurten Nachts; denn ist erst das Feuer, bei dem man sich zur Ruhe begeben, erloschen, so füllt sich die Jurte bald mit kalter, durch den Rauchfang niederfallender Luft. Zwar soll dieser auch geschlossen werden können, allein so oft ich auch bei den Giljaken genächtigt, niemals habe ich es thun sehen. Und zwar ist dieser Uebelstand um so schlimmer, je kleiner die Jurte ist und je weniger hoch der Rauchfang über dem Herde und den Schlafbänken liegt. In der kleinen Zeltjurte von Tafs-wo, an deren Rauchfang man mit der Hand heranreichen konnte, und die darum auch kein grosses, lange vorhaltendes Feuer anzumachen

gestattete, hatten wir daher in der Nacht sehr bald die Temperatur der Aussenluft, die sich zudem unter empfindlichem Zugwinde einstellte. Wie sehr ist unter solchen Umständen, mag es auch noch so kalt sein, wofern es nur kein Schneegestöber giebt, ein Nachtlager im Freien bei beständig lodernder Flamme vorzuziehen!

Von ganz anderer Beschaffenheit ist die nach chinesischem Muster erbaute Winterjurte, *tschadryf* der Giljaken. Sie hat immer das Aussehen eines mit Wänden und Dach versehenen Hauses. Es ist ein ungefähr quadratischer, gewöhnlich jedoch etwas längerer als breiter Bau, von etwa 6—7 Faden Länge und etwa 5—6 Faden Breite, mit niedrigen Wänden und einem grossen, nach den beiden Längsseiten flach abfallenden Dache (s. Taf. XI). [1]). Die Wände bestehen aus dünnen, horizontal gelegten Balken, die an ihren Enden nicht in einander gefügt, sondern zugespitzt und in seitliche Rinnen einiger dickerer, senkrecht aufgestellter Balken eingelassen sind. An den Querwänden, die höher aufsteigen, und besonders in der Mitte derselben, sind diese senkrechten Balken von ganz ansehnlicher Dicke. Die Ritzen zwischen den Balken werden mit Moos verstopft und von aussen mit Lehm beworfen. Das grosse, recht flache Dach, das im Winter noch eine ansehnliche Schneelast zu tragen hat, bedarf zu seiner Construction und Stütze eines recht complicirten Gebälks. Es hat einen ordentlichen, aus Längs- und Querbalken zusammengesetzten Dachstuhl. Die Dachfirste wird ausser den mittleren, senkrecht gestellten Balken der beiden Querwände (s. Taf. XI) noch durch zwei im Innern des Hauses aufragende dicke Pfeiler (*a* auf dem beigefügten Plan) gestützt. Zuweilen erheben sich hier statt eines sogar je zwei in geringer Entfernung von einander stehende Pfeiler. Aehnliche, jedoch viel kleinere und dünnere Pfeiler (*b*) erheben sich zuweilen auch hie und da von den Seiten und dienen, zugleich mit den beiden nächsten senkrechten Balken der Querwand, zur Stütze des mittleren Theiles des Daches, und im unteren Theile wird es durch die Längswände der Jurte getragen. Zwischen den im Innern aufragenden Pfeilern laufen wiederum hie und da Längs- und Querbalken, desgleichen auch welche zum oberen Rande der Längswände, — ein Gebälk, das zur gegenseitigen Verbindung und

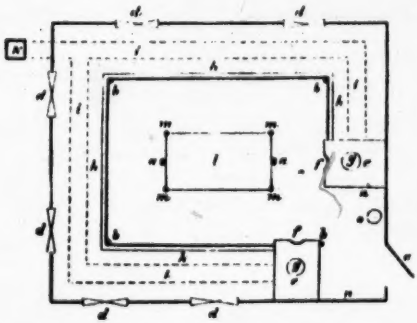

Plan einer chinesischen Winterjurte der Giljaken (*tschadryf*). *a* — Grosse, *b* — kleinere Stützpfeiler des Dachstuhls. *c* — Thür. *d* — Fenster. *e* — Herde. *f* — Oeffnung zum Heizen des Herdes. *g* — Loch für den grossen Kessel. *h* — Sitz- und Schlafbänke. *i* — Zum Erwärmen derselben dienliche Röhren. *k* — Schornstein. *l* — Hundetisch. *m* — Pfosten, auf denen die Tischplatte ruht. *n* — Räume zum Abstellen von Hausgeräth. *o* — Wasserbehälter.

1) Diese Tafel soll zugleich zur Illustration der während des Bärenfestes üblichen Ausschmückungen des Hauses und einiger vor demselben stattfindenden Behelligungen dienen, von denen später die Rede sein wird.

dadurch Festigung und Aufrechterhaltung der Wände dient. Daneben wird der unterste, nicht allzuviel über Mannshöhe erhabene Theil desselben auch zum Aufstapeln verschiedener Gegenstände, sowie zum Aufhängen von Kleidungsstücken u. drgl. benutzt. Auf unserer Tafel XI sieht man die Enden der obenerwähnten Längsbalken an der Querwand, sowie an der Firste und den Seitenrändern des Daches, recht lang vorragen, wobei die Seitenbalken des letzteren sich an den Giebeln unter einander und mit der Dachfirste weithin kreuzen. Das übrige, feinere Dachgitter wird aus dünneren, kreuz und quer angebrachten Stangen und Stöcken zusammengesetzt, alsdann mit Baum-, namentlich Tannenrinde und zuletzt mit einer Lage von trockenem Gras oder Stroh von *Calamagrostis* u. drgl. bedeckt, das durch ein paar Reihen mit der Dachfirste parallel gelegter Stangen angedrückt und festgehalten wird. An der einen Ecke des Hauses, und zwar, wenn man vor einer seiner Längsseiten steht, immer zur rechten Hand, befindet sich in der Quer- oder Längswand desselben der Eingang, mit einer gewöhnlichen Thür (*c*), die aus mehreren durch ein paar breite Querleisten zusammengehaltenen Brettern besteht, und immer auch mit einer hohen Schwelle, durch welche das Zuströmen kalter Luft zum Fussboden, sowie das Eindringen von treibendem Schnee und abfliessendem Regenwasser in das Haus nach Möglichkeit verhindert werden soll. Nach allen vier oder wenigstens nach drei Seiten ist das Haus mit Fenstern (*d*) versehen, und zwar haben die beiden Längswände und die hintere Querwand deren je zwei, die vordere Querwand eines. Mehr wie diese sieben Fenster habe ich auch an den geräumigsten giljakischen Häusern nie gesehen [1]); sehr oft hingegen fehlt das Fenster in der vorderen Querwand, wie z. B. auch an dem auf Taf. XI im Vordergrunde stehenden Hause von Tebach, und nicht selten haben auch die andere Quer- und die hintere Längswand nur je ein Fenster, welches alsdann stets unsymmetrisch, näher zu der einen oder der anderen Ecke des Hauses liegt, ja, an den kleineren Häusern fehlt auch das Fenster in der hinteren Längswand, so dass die Zahl der Fenster bei denselben sich sogar auf 3 reducirt. Dennoch erhellen auch diese, bei ihrer ansehnlichen Grösse, das Innere des Hauses noch ganz erträglich. Die Fenster sind bald quadratisch, 3—4 Fuss gross, bald etwas länger als breit oder umgekehrt. Ein Fensterkreuz haben sie nicht, sondern anstatt desselben nur eine Anzahl in gleicher Entfernung von einander befindlicher, vertikaler Stäbchen, und die Stelle des Glases zwischen denselben vertritt Fischhaut. Dazu werden namentlich Häute von *Salmo lagocephalus* (giljak. *lyghi-* oder, auf Sachalin, *laghi-tscho*) [2]), dieser häufigsten Lachsart des Amur-Stromes, durch Abschaben und Stampfen möglichst dünn und durchscheinend gemacht und dann so an einander genäht, dass die Nähte zahlreiche Längs- und ein paar im Zickzack verlaufende Querlinien bilden. Oeffnen lassen sich die Fenster nicht, sondern nur mit dem ganzen Rahmen ausheben. Der Fussboden im Hause besteht aus festgestampfter lehmiger Erde. Rechts und links vom Eingange liegen die beiden aus Lehm geformten Herde (*e*, gilj. *tschenk*). Sie werden durch viereckige, an ihrer Vorderseite gelegene Oeffnungen (*f*) geheizt und haben oben

1) Bei den anderen Amur-Völkern ist es mir wohl begegnet, doch darüber später.

2) Bei den Russen in ganz Sibirien unter dem Namen *kéta* bekannt.

ein rundes Loch (*g*) für den grossen Kessel, in welchem die Fischbrühe für die Hunde und unter Umständen auch Speisen für die Menschen bereitet werden. Unmittelbar an die Herde, schliessen sich die ein wenig einspringenden und auch etwas niedrigeren, ungefähr 1½ Fuss hohen und einen Faden breiten Sitz- und Schlafbänke oder Pritschen an (*h*, gilj. *tikky*), die rings um die Wände laufen. Ihr wesentlichster Charakter besteht darin, dass sie von unten erwärmt werden, durch hölzerne, mit Lehm ausgelegte Röhren (*i*), die von beiden Herden ausgehen, unter den Bänken fortlaufen und in der dem Eingange diagonal entgegengesetzten Ecke des Hauses sich vereinigen; von hier läuft die den beiden Herden gemeinsame, zugleich zum Abzuge des Rauches dienende Röhre unterirdisch zum Hause hinaus und mündet unweit desselben in einen ebenso geformten, senkrecht stehenden, hohen, das Haus meist überragenden Schornstein (*k*, gilj. *kla*). Auf den Bänken sind meist von den Giljaken selbst aus einer Schilfart geflochtene Matten ausgebreitet, die nur den Rand der Bank freilassen, und nicht selten sind auch die Wände stellenweise mit solchen Matten belegt. In der Mitte des Hauses, zwischen den beiden die Dachfirste stützenden Pfeilern erhebt sich ein massiver, grosser, etwa zwei Faden langer und halb so breiter Tisch (*l*), auf welchem die Hunde gefüttert werden und den ich daher schlechtweg Hundetisch nennen werde (gilj. *kyll*). Die Platte desselben, die an ihren Längskanten meist in grobgeschnitzte, pyramidale, kegel- oder hakenförmige Fortsätze ausläuft, ruht auf vier fest in die Erde eingerammelten Pfosten (*m*) und kann nöthigenfalls, wenn Raum im Hause geschafft werden soll, wie z. B. während der Bärenfestlichkeiten, von denselben abgehoben werden. Ueber den beiden Enden des Hundetisches hängen vom mittleren Längsbalken des Hauses zwei Querhölzer herab, zwischen die eine lange Stange gesteckt werden kann, an welche die Hunde während der Fütterung angebunden werden. Unsere Taf. XII, die diese später zu besprechende Hundefütterung darstellt, giebt auch einen Einblick in die Beschaffenheit des Innern eines giljakischen Winterhauses; nur muss ich bemerken, dass der Hundetisch auf derselben etwas zu klein und hingegen der Raum zwischen demselben und der Pritsche zu gross angegeben ist. Spätere Bilder, die zur Illustration der Bärenfestlichkeiten und der Leichenbestattung bei den Giljaken dienen sollen, treffen in dieser Beziehung ein richtigeres Verhältniss und geben zugleich eine Vorstellung von manchem anderen oben berührten Detail im Bau und in der inneren Einrichtung eines giljakischen Winterhauses. Zum Schluss dieser Beschreibung muss ich noch erwähnen, dass an den Wänden (*n*) gleich rechts und links vom Eingange hie und da Wandbretter oder Repositorien zum Abstellen von Hausgeräth sich befinden, und hier ist auch der Platz für ein oder mehrere grosse Gefässe, die den nöthigen Bedarf an Wasser zum Trinken und zum Bereiten der Speisen enthalten. Desgleichen hängt längs der hinter dem Herde befindlichen Wand eine Etagère mit verschiedenem Koch- und Speisegeräth herab. Endlich sei noch bemerkt, dass in der vorderen Querwand des Hauses, nahe dem Dache ein rundes, durch eine ebensolche Strohmatte verschliessbares Loch sich befindet, dass zur Ventilation des Hauses dient, wenn dasselbe beim Bereiten der Fischbrühe für die Hunde sich mit Dampf und Qualm oder bei mangelhaftem Zuge in den Ofenröhren mit Rauch angefüllt hat. Uebrigens habe ich es fast immer offen stehen und nur zur Nacht schliessen sehen. Da in Folge des Rauchlochs die an der vorderen

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Querwand gelegene Pritsche am meisten dem Zuge ausgesetzt ist, so giebt diese den schlechtesten Platz im Hause ab und entbehrt in der Regel der Strohmatten, wogegen die an der vorderen Längs- und nächstdem die an der hinteren Querwand sich hinziehende Bank für die besten Plätze gelten, und hier wird einem Gaste zu Ehren auf die nie fehlende Strohmatte bisweilen noch ein kleiner, von den Chinesen erhandelter Teppich ausgebreitet.

So unzweifelhafte Vorzüge die chinesische Winterjurte der Giljaken vor ihrer Erdjurte hat, insofern sie viel geräumiger, heller und, in Folge der Röhrenleitung unter den Pritschen, im Allgemeinen auch wärmer und keinem so raschen Temperaturwechsel ausgesetzt ist, so bietet sie doch auch manche Mängel, und zum Theil solche, welche die Erdjurte nicht oder wenigstens nicht in dem Grade kennt. Die dünnen Aussenwände und grossen Fenster vermögen den scharfen Frösten und heftigen Schneestürmen keinen vollen Widerstand zu leisten: es zieht an denselben oft in empfindlicher Weise, und an manchen Stellen dringt feiner Schneestaub ein, oder lagern sich Eisniederschläge ab. Stärker noch ist der Zug am Fussboden, namentlich weil die Thür unmittelbar nach draussen und nicht in einen schützenden Vorraum, wie bei der Erdjurte, mündet. Zudem muss sie auch bei diesen Winterjurten bisweilen eine Zeit lang offen gehalten werden, um einen allzustarken Qualm oder Rauch aus denselben zu entfernen. Zug und Kälte am Fussboden sind hier um so empfindlicher, als die Pritschen im Gegentheil oft sehr warm sind. Die Giljaken freilich leiden weniger darunter, da sie meist mit kreuzweise untergeschlagenen Beinen auf der Pritsche sitzen. Wie stark diese letzteren sich erhitzen und dadurch wiederum unbequem werden können, davon konnte ich mich überzeugen, als ich im Januar 1856 mehrere Tage lang den Bärenfestlichkeiten in Tebach beiwohnte. Um die zahlreichen Gäste zu bewirthen, wurde in beiden Herden ununterbrochen ein starkes Feuer unterhalten, und in Folge dessen stieg die Temperatur der Pritschen so sehr, dass in meinem ledernen Handkoffer, den ich neben mir hielt, einige vorräthige Stearinlichte vollständig schmolzen. Die heizbaren Schlafbänke haben übrigens auch noch den grossen Uebelstand, dass sie der Vermehrung von mancherlei Ungeziefer starken Vorschub leisten. Unter denselben, an unzugänglichen, verborgenen Stellen, längs den Röhren u. s. w., nisten unzählige Ratten (*Mus decumanus*), die Nachts herauskommen, um ihrer Nahrung nachzugehen. Ich habe sie oft, wenn Alles zur Ruhe gegangen und ich noch an meinen Tagebüchern schrieb, aus ihren Schlupflöchern hervorkommen und in geringer Entfernung von mir ihr Wesen treiben sehen. Sie verschmähen es nicht, sich sogar auf das innere Gebälk des Hauses zu begeben: als ich mir einst, um anderem Ungeziefer zu entgehen, dort eine Hängematte anbringen liess, warnten mich die Giljaken davor, dass die Ratten die Riemen zernagen und die Matte zum Fallen bringen würden. Noch lästiger aber ist das Ungeziefer, vor dem ich mich in solcher Weise zu schützen suchte: auf den warmen Pritschen wimmelt es von Flöhen, die in den Ritzen und Fugen der groben Strohmatten einen vorzüglichen Aufenthaltsort finden. Betritt man im Sommer ein leerstehendes giljakisches Winterhaus, so ist man im Nu buchstäblich übersäht von ihnen. Ja, ich habe mich überzeugen müssen, dass es alsdann nicht gerathen ist, sein Zelt auch nur in der Nähe eines solchen Hauses, auf dem es umgebenden glatten und festen Erdboden aufzurichten. Ohne Zweifel liegt in dieser Menge

von Ungeziefer und insbesondere von Flöhen, so wie übrigens auch in der Unmöglichkeit, sich im Sommer auf erhitzten Pritschen aufzuhalten, ein Hauptgrund, wesshalb die Giljaken bei nahendem Frühling ihre Winterhäuser verlassen und anders construirte Wohnungen beziehen.

Es fragt sich nun, welche von den beiden oben beschriebenen Arten winterlicher Behausung bei den Giljaken in den verschiedenen Theilen ihres Wohngebietes üblich ist. Zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes im Amur-Lande (1854—56) war die Erdjurte so gut wie ausschliesslich auf Sachalin beschränkt, dort aber herrschte sie bei Weitem über die chinesische Winterjurte vor. Die Ostküste der Insel und das Tymy-Thal kannten nur die Erdjurte [1]). Auf der Westküste, soweit sie vom Nordjapanischen Meere bespült wird, d. i. von Pilja-wo, dem südlichsten Punkte der Giljaken, bis nach Poghobi, gab es auch nur Erdjurten [2]). Allein von dort nordwärts, am Liman und am Ochotskischen Meer bis zur Nordspitze der Insel, lagen bald aus Erd-, bald aus chinesischen Jurten bestehende Dörfer, und zuweilen kamen auch beide Formen winterlicher Behausung neben einander vor. Ich bin in diesem Theile Sachalin's selbst nicht gewesen, habe aber detaillirte Nachrichten über die in demselben gelegenen Dörfer, sowie über die Zahl und Beschaffenheit ihrer Jurten gesammelt, unter Anderem auch von dortigen Giljaken, die mich im Nikolajefschen Posten in Gesellschaft von mir befreundeten Tschcharbach-Giljaken besuchten [3]). Einige Jahre später (1861) bereiste Glehn einen Theil dieser Küste und gab ein Verzeichniss aller auf derselben befindlichen Dörfer, nebst der Zahl und Beschaffenheit ihrer Jurten [4]). Vergleiche ich meine Nachrichten mit den seinigen, so stimmen sie im Wesentlichen überein, zeigen jedoch auch einige Differenzen, die fast sämmtlich der Art sind, dass man auf eine in der Zwischenzeit stattgehabte Abnahme der Bevölkerung in diesem Theile Sachalin's schliessen möchte. So ist die Zahl der Dörfer, namentlich der kleinen, nur eine einzige Erdjurte zählenden, in meiner Liste grösser als bei Glehn, wobei jedoch die Namen derselben auch bei ihm vorkommen, aber mit anderen Bezeichnungen, als auf einen und denselben, nicht minder kleinen Ort bezüglich, zusammengezogen werden. Ebenso giebt meine Liste für die grösseren Ortschaften fast durchweg eine grössere Anzahl von Jurten als die Glehn'sche an. Und diese schon nach meiner Zeit eingetretene Entvölkerung erklärt sich vollständig durch die oben erwähnte starke Pocken-Epidemie, die im Winter 1857/58 gerade diesen Theil des Amur-Landes verwüstete. Wie bereits bemerkt, starben dabei manche Jurten ganz aus, und von manchen kleinen Ortschaften, die deren nicht mehr als eine zählten, blieb daher nur der Name übrig, der von späteren Reisenden leicht als synonyme Bezeichnung auf eines der nächstgelegenen Dörfer bezogen werden konnte. Wo

1) Die Angabe Mizul's (Очерк осгр. Сахалина въ сельско-хоз. отнош. С. Петерб. 1873, стр. 134), dass die Giljaken im Tymy-Thale in Häusern von chinesischer (=mandshurischer) Bauart wohnen, ist ganz falsch und kann nur auf sehr mangelhafter Erkundigung beruhen.

2) Im J. 1861 fand Glehn (Reiseber. von der Ins. Sachalin. — Beitr. zur Kenntn. d. Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 234) in Pöghobi ohne grosse mandshurischen Jurte (oder ?), die jedoch zu meiner Zeit noch nicht existirte, wie ich mit Bestimmtheit behaupten kann, da ich an diesem Orte in den Jahren 1855 und 1856 nicht weniger als viermal gewesen bin.

3) Es waren dies namentlich die Giljaken Jaftan und Pryugan aus dem Dorfe Dshongi und Tanshin aus dem Dorfe Ngunj-wo am Liman.

4) A. a. O., p. 222 ff.

unsere Nachrichten in Beziehung auf die Beschaffenheit der Jurten — ob Erd- oder chinesische Jurten — auseinandergehen, da handelt es sich stets um solche Orte, die von Glehn nicht besucht worden sind und über die er daher auch nur nach Angaben der Eingeborenen berichten konnte. Aus diesem Grunde und weil ich bei allen vor- und nachstehenden Betrachtungen aus dem Amur-Lande stets die Zeit meines Aufenthalts daselbst im Auge habe, muss ich auch die Vertheilung der Erd- und chinesischen Winterjurten auf Sachalin nach den von mir selbst eingezogenen Nachrichten schildern. Demnach lagen zu jener Zeit nördlich von Poghobi zunächst noch drei aus je einzelnen Erdjurten bestehende Dörfer. In Dshongi traf man, von Süden gegangen, die erste chinesische Winterjurte, auf welche jedoch wiederum vier je eine Erdjurte zählende Dörfer folgten. Nordwärts von Talvant-tigr-wo, das eine Erd- und eine chinesiche Jurte enthielt, beginnt mit Tulksj[1]) eine Reihe von Dörfern, die nur aus Häusern der letzteren Art bestehen. Es ist dies, wie schon erwähnt, mit der bevölkertste Theil von Sachalin, mit den grössten Dörfern, darunter auch das zu meiner Zeit durch seine räuberische Bevölkerung übelberüchtigte Tamla-wo, das nach Angabe der Giljaken über 12 Häuser zählte[2]). Das letzte dieser in ununterbrochener Reihe gelegenen Tschadryf-Dörfer Sachalin's ist Pomyr- oder Pomyt-wo, am Ochotskischen Meer. Glehn ist über dieses Dorf nach Norden nicht hinausgekommen und giebt für den übrigen Theil der Westküste Sachalin's bis zur Nordspitze der Insel nur Erdjurten an. Nach meinen Erkundigungen aber überwiegt auch dort die chinesische Winterjurte; denn nach einem kleinen Toryf-Dorfe, Muisib-wo (Musjv bei Glehn), folgt das ehemals wohl grössere Pilja-wo, mit einer Erd- und einer chinesischen Jurte, und dann giebt es noch zwei Tschadryf-Dörfer, Tumi-wo und Ngywr-wo (bei Glehn Ngyd), von denen das letztere recht ansehnlich ist (5 Jurten) und von der Nordspitze der Insel (dem *Mif-ych*, wie die Giljaken es mir bezeichneten) nicht mehr fern liegt. Nach seiner Lage in der kleinen Einbuchtung, die Krusenstern Bai Nadeshda nannte, muss Ngywr-wo dasselbe Dorf sein, welches dieser Seefahrer im Jahre 1805 besuchte. Aus seiner ziemlich ausführlichen Beschreibung desselben ersieht man, dass die Giljaken («Tatarens») zur Zeit — es war am 15./27. August — in ihren Sommerjurten wohnten; etwas abseits lagen aber andere, scheinbar besser gebaute, mit Feuerherden und Schornsteinen versehene Häuser, die jedoch zu der Zeit leer standen[3]), — offenbar die oben beschriebenen Winterjurten der Giljaken. Hier hat man also einen anderen Beweis für das Vorhandensein von Tschadryf-Dörfern auch in diesem Theile Sachalin's[4]).

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1) Bei Glehn heisst es Jordënt-tigr-wo.

2) Glehn fand deren nur 9. Auf die grosse Zahl der Häuser und Einwohner dieses Orts deutet auch sein Name, denn *tamla*, *tamlatsch* oder *tamlantsch* bedeutet im Giljakischen «zahlreich».

3) Krusenstern, Reisenm die Welt, Bd. II., p. 178, 182.

4) Um meine obigen Angaben noch zu ergänzen und zu belegen und zugleich die Möglichkeit zu geben, sie mit denen Glehn's genauer zu vergleichen, füge ich hier die ganze von mir erkundete Liste der auf Sachalin nördlich von Poghobi gelegenen Dörfer mit Angabe der Zahl und Beschaffenheit ihrer Jurten bei. Zwar haben wir die Namen der Dörfer nicht immer ganz gleich gehört, doch fällt es nicht schwer, dieselben wiederzuerkennen. In Klammern füge ich auch die von Glehn angegebene Jurtenzahl bei, da man aus derselben, namentlich für den von Pomyr-wo an südwärts sich erstreckenden Theil der Küste, wo Glehn die meisten Punkte selbst besucht und

In viel höherem Grade noch als auf Sachalin die Erdjurte herrscht bei den Giljaken des Continents die chinesische Winterjurte vor. Ja, hier gab es zu meiner Zeit nur noch eine einzige Erdjurte, die seitdem vermuthlich auch verschwunden ist: es war dies die kleine Erdjurte von Pättach, am Liman gleich nördlich von der Amur-Mündung. Ich habe sie im März 1856 besucht; sie lag in einiger Entfernung von der chinesischen Winterjurte desselben Orts und war ganz ebenso wie die kleineren Erdjurten Sachalin's beschaffen. Dass sie in der That die einzige ihrer Art auf dem Festlande war, lässt sich mit ziemlicher Bestimmtheit behaupten. Im übrigen Liman, am Amur und am Ochotskischen Meere, vom Liman bis nach Kulj, dem grössten, 10 (?) Winterjurten zählenden Dorfe an jener Küste, giebt es sicherlich keine Erdjurten mehr. Am Tugur- und Ulban-Busen, wo Middendorff die Giljaken kennen lernte, bewohnen sie im Winter, wie ich aus seinen handschriftlichen Notizen ersehe [1]), ganz eben solche Häuser wie im Liman und am Amur. Es lässt sich daher nicht annehmen, dass es in dem Zwischenraume zwischen Kulj und dem Ulban-Busen, der einzigen Strecke, über die uns keine Augenzeugennachrichten vorliegen, anders wäre. Auch wussten mir die Giljaken, so oft ich sie darum befragte, von keiner Erdjurte auf dem Festlande, ausser der oben erwähnten von Pättach, zu berichten.

Kurz zusammengefasst, bildet also gegenwärtig die chinesische Jurte bei den Giljaken auf dem Festlande, so weit deren Verbreitung reicht, die einzige Art der Winterbehausung; auf der Insel Sachalin hingegen kommt sie nur auf der dem Festlande gegenüber liegenden Westküste, am Liman und am Ochotskischen Meere, mit der Erdjurte untermischt, vor, während im ganzen übrigen giljakischen Theile der Insel diese letztere Form allein zu finden ist. Aus dieser Vertheilung beider Arten von Winterwohnungen lässt sich schon der Schluss ziehen, dass die Erdjurte die ursprüngliche, den Giljaken eigenartige Behausung ist, die bei ihnen ehemals auch auf dem Continent allgemein gebräuchlich war, später aber durch eine fremdartige, den Amur abwärts gekommene Form auf dem Festlande allmählich ganz und auf der ihm zunächst gelegenen Küste Sachalin's zum grossen Theil verdrängt wurde und nur bei den entfernter woh-

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ihre Jurten gezählt hat, einigermaassen über die Entvölkerung urtheilen darf, welche die Pocken-Epidemie von 1857/58 daselbst hervorgerufen hat. Demnach liegen nördlich von Poghobi folgende Dörfer:

Wismeryf . . .	mit	1	Erdjurte
Warej	»	1 (1)	»
Ngyllb	»	1 (4)	»
Dshongi	»	1	chines. Jurte
Loktschi	»	1 (1)	Erdjurte
Jägdsuss	»	1 (1)	»
Pyrki	»	1 (1)	»
Tschoghngi . . .	»	1 (1)	»
Tulvant-tigr-wo .	»	1 (1)	» und 1 chines. Jurte
Tulkaj	»	2 (2)	chines. Jurten
Langri (Sommerdorf von Tulkaj)			
Hatsch-wo . . .	»	2	»
Hangal-wo . .	»	1 (1)	»
Nganj-wo . . .	mit	4 (3)	chines. Jurten
Tyhent-tigr-wo .	»	1 (2 ?)	»
Matent-tigr-wo .	»	3 (2)	»
Tamla-wo . . .	» über	12 (9)	»
Lyrkr-wo . . .	»	4	»
Wissk-wo . . .	»	5 (3)	»
Ngyl-wo	»	1 (1)	»
Pomyr-wo . . .	»	3 (3)	»
Mutsib-wo . . .	»	1 (2)	Erdjurte
Pilja-wo	»	1 (1)	» und 1 chines. Jurte
Tumi-wo	»	2 chin. Jurt. (1 Erdj.)	
Ngywr-wo . . .	»	5 » » (3 »).	

1) Auch in seinem Reiseberichte (s. Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abthl., p. 619) erwähnt er der «zweckmässigen, unter den Schlafbänken fortgeleiteten Wärmehaltungsröhren in den Häusern der dortigen Giljaken.

nenden Insel-Giljaken sich erhalten hat. Dafür, dass die Erdjurte in der That die ursprüngliche Winterwohnung der Giljaken ist, spricht endlich, ausser dem obenerwähnten höchst einfachen und primitiven, dem Zelte nachgebildeten Bau derselben, auch der Umstand, dass sie, nur mit geringen Modifikationen, auch bei den übrigen paläasiatischen Völkern zu finden ist.

Bei den nächsten Nachbarn der Giljaken, den Aino, ist sie in allgemeinem Gebrauch. Nach Mamia Rinsô's Schilderung[1]) graben die Aino von Südsachalin erst eine 3—4 Ken[2]) tiefe Grube in die Erde, schlagen dann Pfosten an den Ecken ein, und errichten darüber ein aus Baumrinde und Zweigen zusammengesetztes Dach, das über dem Eingange vorspringt und so einen Vorplatz bildet, von welchem aus eine Stiege in die Wohnung hinabführt. Im Inneren derselben ist die Einrichtung auch ganz ähnlich wie in den giljakischen Erdjurten, nur liegt der Herd seitwärts neben der Stiege und hat über sich eine Oeffnung im Dach, während im Mittelraume, zwischen den seitlichen Sitz- und Schlafplätzen, nur bisweilen, wenn es besonders kalt ist, ein Feuer zu ebener Erde angemacht wird; doch braucht dies nur selten zu geschehen, da diese Wohnungen, wie Mamia Rinsô ausdrücklich hervorhebt, durchgehends äusserst warm sind. Rudanofskij[3]), Busse[4]), Dobrotworskij[5]) u. A. haben ausführlichere Beschreibungen derselben geliefert, aus denen man ersieht, dass die an den beiden Seiten der Jurte sich erstreckenden Schlafplätze niedrige Pritschen sind, wie bei den Giljaken, aber mit Schiebläden versehen, worin ich einen japanischen Einfluss sehen möchte; dass ferner jederseits, wo die Pritschen beginnen, ein Herd, in kleineren Jurten aber auch nur ein solcher in der Mitte der Wohnung, also genau wie in den giljakischen Erdjurten, liegt, und über jedem Herde eine Oeffnung im Dach zum Austritt des Rauches sich befindet; dass endlich zu letzterem Zwecke bisweilen auch eine Röhre vom Herde nach dem Vorhause läuft und etwa eine halbe Arschin hoch aus demselben emporragt, u. s. w. Gleichwie die Aino von Sachalin, bewohnen auch diejenigen von Jesso im Winter Erdjurten[6]).

Das nächste paläasiatische Volk, die Kamtschadalen, wohnte noch zur Zeit von Steller und Krascheninnikof den Winter über ausschliesslich in Erdjurten. Bei den genannten Reisenden findet man eine ausführliche Beschreibung und bei Steller auch einen Plan und eine Ansicht vom Inneren derselben[7]). Abgesehen von manchem Detail in ihrer inneren Einrichtung,

1) Tô-iata kîko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

2) Nach Siebold 6—8 Meter, was aber jedenfalls zu tief wäre.

3) In den mir zur Benutzung anheimgestellten schriftlichen Aufzeichnungen von seiner Reise im Winter 1853/54 durch das südliche Sachalin; desgl. in Полезныя русск. зоол. сооб. на прибл. вост. Россіи 1849—1857 г., посвященныя зап. адмир. Невельскаго, изд. подъ ред. П. Фаттина, С. Петерб. 1878 г., стр. 296.

4) И. Буссе, Остр. Сахалинъ и Экспед. 1853 и 54 гг.; дневникъ съ 23. Авг. 1853—19. Мая 1854 г., С. Петерб. 1872, стр. 97, 98.

5) М. Добротворскій, Южная часть остр. Сахалина, извлеч. изъ его посмерт. отчета за 1868 г. (Изв. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Т. I, № 2 и 3, Иркутскъ 1870, стр. 29); auch in desselben Аранско-русскій словарь, Казань 1873 (Прилож. къ Учен. Зап. Имп. Каз. Унив. 1873 г.), стр. 35.

6) Голонинъ, Зап. о пребыв. его въ плену у Японцевъ въ 1811, 1812 и 1813 гг., С. Петерб. 1816, ч. III, стр. 164.

7) Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankf. u. Leipzig 1774, p. 212. Крашенинниковъ, Опис. земли Камчатки (Пам. сибир. учен. путеш. по Россіи, изд. Имп. Акад. Наукъ, Т. II, С. Петерб. 1819, стр. 37).

hat die kamtschadalische Erdjurte die interessante Abweichung von der giljakischen, dass bei ihr der äussere, gedeckte, zur Thür führende Gang in einen Kanal sich verwandelt hatte, der, mit seiner inneren Mündung auf den in der Mitte der Jurte gelegenen Herd gerichtet, dazu diente, beim Feueranmachen einen starken Luftzug hervorzubringen, nachher aber, wenn das Feuer ausgegangen, an seinem äusseren Ende geschlossen wurde. Durch diesen Kanal aus der Jurte hinaus oder in dieselbe hinein zu kriechen, war nach Steller[1]) nur den Kindern gestattet[2]); den Erwachsenen hingegen diente zum Ein- und Ausgange das gerade über dem Herde befindliche Rauchloch, von welchem ein schräg gestellter, mit tiefen Einkerbungen versehener Balken zum Boden der Jurte hinabführte. Wie Steller berichtet[3]), wurden die Kamtschadalen am Penshinischen (Ochotskischen) Meer wegen ihrer Erdjurten von ihren Nachbarn im Norden, den Rennthier-Korjaken, «Namalau» oder «Namalan», d. h. in unterirdischen Behausungen Wohnende, genannt, — eine Bezeichnung, von welcher Gerland den Namen Namollo für die von Amerika nach der asiatischen Küste des Berings-Meeres zurück gewanderten Eskimo oder Juit — wie sie sich selbst nennen — ableitet[4]).

Von den Korjaken, einem ebenfalls paläasiatischen Volke, hat ein Theil, die sesshaften Korjaken, so weit sie nicht bereits russische Sitten und damit auch russische Wohnungen angenommen haben, die Erdjurte noch bis auf den heutigen Tag beibehalten; so, nach Ditmar[5]),

1) L. c., p. 214.

2) Nach Krascheninnikof (l. c., p. 40) auch den Weibern und Kojektschutsch oder Kojachtschitsch (Steller, l. c., p. 331, Anm.), d. h. den als Weiber sich gerirenden Männern; that es hingegen ein Mann, so setzte er sich dem Hohn aller Anwesenden aus. In Folge von Verstümmelung der kamtschadalischen Bezeichnung für die äussere Oeffnung dieses Kanales (*schopnetsch*) nannten die russischen Kosaken denselben *shupen*.

3) L. c., p. 8 und 240.

4) G. Gerland, Zur Ethnogr. des äussersten Nordostens von Asien (Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Bd. XVIII, 1883, p. 221). Ob diese Ableitung begründet ist, vermag ich nicht zu entscheiden, die obigen Angaben Steller's hat jedoch Gerland vollständig missverstanden, indem er meint, dass die Korjaken mit dem ersteren jener Namen (Namalau) die am Kamtschatka-Fluss wohnenden Kamtschadalen und mit dem letzteren (Namalan) die Tungusen, ebenfalls ihrer Erdhütten wegen, bezeichnen. Nach Steller beziehen sich diese Namen weder auf die Einen, noch auf die Anderen, sondern beide gleicherweise auf die Kamtschadalen (Itelmenen) am Ochotskischen (Penshinischen) Meere. Von den am Kamtschatka-Fluss wohnenden sagt er ausdrücklich, dass die Korjaken sie, ohne einen Grund dafür angeben zu können, «Jutilitam» nennen (p. 8); von den Tungusen aber — die übrigens gar keine Erdjurten haben — bemerkt er nur (p. 240), dass sie, trotz ihrer öfteren, bereits vor Ankunft der Russen bis an den Penshina-Fluss ausgedehnten Einfälle, von den Kamtschadalen nichts wüssten. Man kann sich ein solches Missverstehen Steller'scher Angaben, wie es Gerland widerfahren, theils aus dem verschlungenen Stil Steller's, theils aus der häufig (und auch am betreffenden Orte, p. 8) äusserst mangelhaften und incorrekten Interpunction in dieser Ausgabe seines Werkes erklären. Wie ich bereits an einem anderen Orte (Reis. u. Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Bd. II, p. 763, Anm. 3) hervorgehoben habe, sagte Pallas von derselben, dass sie «aus einer Kladde abgedruckt und unter den Handen des Herausgebers (J. B. S.) mit den unverantwortlichsten, eine grobe Unwissenheit verrathenden Copir- und Druckfehlern überhäuft worden sei» (Neue Nord. Beytr. Bd. II, p. 235). Von der Richtigkeit dieses Urtheils von Pallas kann man sich beim Lesen des Steller'schen Werkes auf Schritt und Tritt überzeugen. Aus diesem Grunde glaube ich, dass auch die scheinbare Differenz jener beiden korjakischen Bezeichnungen für die Kamtschadalen nur auf einen Druckfehler sich zurückführen lässt. Steller giebt ausserdem an, dass die am Ochotskischen Meere ansässigen Korjaken von ihren mit Rennthieren nomadisirenden Landsleuten «Nümala» skalitsa», d. h. Sitzende, Ruhige, genannt werden. Sollte aber dies «Nümala» nicht auch wie jenes «Namalau» auf ihre unterirdischen Wohnungen Bezug haben?

5) Ueber die Koräken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen (Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., T. XIII, p. 104, 107, 109; Mél. russes, T. III, p. 8, 13, 16).

namentlich die am Penshinsker Meerbusen ansässigen Kamenzen und Parenzen, nebst den nördlichsten Pallanzen (in Pusstorezk und Podkagernaja), und die meisten Olutorzen an der Nordostküste von Kamtschatka. Nach Ditmar ist die korjakische Erdjurte von sehr einfacher Beschaffenheit: eine Grube von etwa 2—3 Faden im Quadrat, mit Holzklötzen ausgefüttert und überdacht und, wie die ehemalige kamtschadalische, mit dem Eingange durch's Rauchloch[1]). Nach Maydell hat übrigens die korjakische Erdjurte auch einen seitlichen Eingang, der durch einen engen, etwas absteigenden Kanal in das Innere führt, doch wird dieser nur einmal im Jahr benutzt: wenn nämlich der Wirth im Herbst seine Jurte bezieht, so kriecht er zuerst durch diesen Gang hinein, schliesst ihn aber dann sofort mit einer in einem Rahmen ausgespannten Seehundshaut, worauf in der übrigen Zeit nur das Rauchloch zum Ein- und Ausgehen benutzt werden darf[2]). Die wandernden Korjaken haben natürlich keine Erdjurten. Sollten aber ihre Vorfahren nicht auch welche gehabt haben? In der Regel meint man zwar, dass die sesshaften Korjaken ehemals auch Rennthiernomaden gewesen seien und erst nach Verlust ihrer Heerden an der Meeresküste sich niedergelassen hätten, um hier von Thier- und Fischfang zu leben, — eine Umwandlung, wie sie zum Theil auch unter den Tschuktschen stattgefunden hat und noch stattfindet[3]). Allein zwischen den sesshaften oder Küsten-Tschuktschen und den sesshaften Korjaken besteht der grosse Unterschied, dass diese in der That sesshaft sind und feste Winter- und Sommerwohnungen haben, während jene auch nach Verlust ihrer Rennthiere und nach ihrer Niederlassung an der Meeresküste ein halbnomadisches Leben beibehalten und dem entsprechend auch keine festen Wohnungen, keine Erdjurten errichten, sondern nach wie vor in ihren transportablen Zelten wohnen[4]). Jenes scheint mir eine althergebrachte, gewissermaassen ursprüng-

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1) Krasheninnikof (Опис. зем. Камчатки. — Полн. собр. путеш. и пр., Т. II, стр. 195), Müller (Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka, im Anhang zu Steller's Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtsch., p. 21), Ditmar (l. c.), Rush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes; a journ. of siber. travels and explor. made in the years 1865—1867, London 1871, p. 352), Kennan (Tent life in Siberia and Adventures among the Koraks and oth. tribes in Kamtschatka and North. Asia, London 1871, p. 153, 178) u. A. Letzterer namentlich schildert das Ein- und Ausgehen durch's Rauchloch in der korjakischen Jurte und all' die damit verbundenen Unbequemlichkeiten in höchst drastischer Weise.

2) Laut mündlicher Mittheilung des Hrn. G. v. Maydell.

3) Schon Krasheninnikof (l. c., Bd. II, p. 204) meinte, dass die sesshaften Korjaken ehemals Rennthiernomaden gewesen seien. Ebenso sprechen sich Erman (Reise um die Erde, 1. Abth., Histor. Bericht, Bd. II, Berlin 1838, p. 123, Anm.), Ditmar (Bull. etc. l. c., p. 103, 127; Mél. l. c., p. 7, 36), Kennan (l. c., p. 159) aus. Nach Ditmar soll diese Verarmung schon in lange vergangener Zeit, der Sage nach in den Kämpfen mit den Tschuktschen erfolgt sein. Sarytschof (Путеш. по Сибири и Восточн. Ок., Ч. II, стр. 108) meinte Dasselbe von den Tschuktschen, verwechselte aber dabei die sesshaften Tschuktschen mit den Namollo. Dass die richtigen Küsten-Tschuktschen aus Nomaden desselben Stammes, die ihre Rennthiere verloren haben, entstanden sind und noch entstehen, unterliegt wohl keinem Zweifel und wird von Wrangell (Путеш. по сѣв. бер. Сиб. и по Ледов. морю, Ч. II, стр. 333), Ditmar (l. c.) u. A. angegeben.

4) Wrangell (Путеш. и пр., Ч. II, стр. 338), Nordenskjöld (Die Umsegel. Asiens und Europas auf der Vega, Deutsche Uebers. Leipzig 1882, Bd. II, p. 82). In dem letzteren Werke findet man auch eine nach einer Photographie von L. Palander wiedergegebene Abbildung von einem Zelte der Küsten- oder sesshaften Tschuktschen (Bd. I, p. 394). Auch ist in demselben vielfach von der Zahl und Beschaffenheit der steinernen Zelte in den Dörfern, welche die Mitglieder der Vega-Expedition auf ihren Winterfahrten besuchten, sowie von dem auch im Winter bisweilen stattfindenden Umzuge der Küsten-Tschuktschen die Rede (so z. B. Bd. I, p. 443 u. a.). Ebenso bei Nordqvist (s. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1881, p. 42).

liche Lebensweise zu sein, dieses nur eine spätere, ja bisweilen bloss zeitweilige Rückwandelung. Meiner Ansicht nach muss man sich daher jene Wandelung im Leben dieser Völker in umgekehrter Weise denken: gleich den noch jetzt sesshaften Korjaken hatten auch die Vorfahren der jetzigen wandernden Korjaken und ebenso auch die mit ihnen stammverwandten, nur dialektisch von ihnen verschiedenen Tschuktschen[1]) ehemals feste Wohnsitze, und zwar eben solche Erdjurten, bis sie von ihren Nachbarn, vermuthlich den auf sie eindrängenden Tungusen, das domesticirte Rennthier, ein den paläasiatischen Völkern noch fremdes Hausthier, kennen lernten und sich aneigneten; sobald dies geschehen, mussten sie ihre sesshafte Lebensweise aufgeben und ein Nomadenleben antreten, womit sie natürlich auch ihre feste Erdjurte gegen ein transportables Zelt zu vertauschen genöthigt waren. Und damit steht vollkommen im Einklange, wenn Wrangell[2]) zur Charakteristik der Tschuktschen sagt, dass sie trotz ihres Wanderlebens viel mehr Sesshaftes in ihrem ganzen Wesen als alle anderen Nomadenvölker haben: nur die Dürftigkeit der Weideplätze und der Mangel an Futter für ihre Rennthiere können sie zwingen einen Ort zu verlassen; ihre Neigung zur sesshaften Lebensweise tritt auch darin hervor, dass sie Vorräthe machen, sparsam, ja sogar geizig sind, — lauter Eigenschaften, die den Nomadenvölkern ganz und gar abgehen; ja selbst ihre Kleidung, das breite, plumpe Pelzhemd und die langen Fellbeinkleider sind mehr für eine sesshafte Lebensweise geeignet[3]).

Ist dem aber so, haben ehemals alle Korjaken und Tschuktschen feste Wohnsitze, Erdjurten gehabt, so müssten sich im unberührten, meist gefrorenen Erdboden ihrer Heimath noch heutzutage Reste und Spuren derselben finden, namentlich von den Erdjurten der Tschuktschen, denn die Korjaken haben bekanntlich zum Theil noch jetzt solche Wohnungen; oder aber es müssten sich Spuren davon in den Sagen und Traditionen dieser Völker erhalten haben. Beides ist auch in der That der Fall, — nur wird es bisher anders gedeutet. Fast alle Reisenden im Tschuktschen-Lande erwähnen der in demselben vorkommenden Reste alter Erdjurten, an denen das Holzwerk vielfach durch Walfischrippen ersetzt wird. Nach Wrangell kommen sie an der Eismeerküste auf der ganzen Strecke zwischen der Berings-Strasse und dem Cap Schelagskij vor[4]). Auf dieser Strecke, am Cap Irkaipij (Nordcap) und an anderen Orten traf sie auch die Vega-Expedition: manche derselben wurden geöffnet und alte Stein- und Knochenwerkzeuge aus denselben zu Tage gebracht; bisweilen sah man diese alten Wohnstätten von den jetzigen Tschuk-

1) Steller (l. c., p. 8, Anm. a) und Krascheninnikof (l. c., Bd. II, p. 197) wiesen schon auf die nahe Stammverwandtschaft beider Völker hin, die später vielfache Bestätigung fand. So z. B. von Szarytschof (Путеш. изъ Иркутска черезъ Нижнерусскій острогъ, Ч. II, стр. 67, Петерб. 1811), C. Hervé (Voyage autour du monde, sur la corv. La Sénégalaise, dans les ann. 1836—1839, Partie hist., T. II, Paris 1853, p. 262; desgl. in Erman's Archiv für wiss. Kunde von Russland, Bd. III, 1843, p. 449) u. A.

2) L. c., p. 232.

3) Insbesondere hebt Wrangell diese Eigenthümlichkeiten der Tschuktschen den Tungusen gegenüber hervor, diesen Nomaden insonderheit, von denen Adam Brandt (Neuverm. Beschreib. seiner gross. Chines. Reise, welche er anno 1692 von Moscau aus über Gross-Ustiga, Sibirien, Dauren und die grosse Tartarey bis in Chinam und von da wieder zurück nach Moscau innerhalb 3 Jahren vollbracht, 3. Druck, Lübeck 1734, p. 99) den in dieser Beziehung charakteristischen Zug anführt, dass sie keinen anderen Fluch kennen, als: «dass du unter den Russen wohnen, dass du den Acker bauen müchtest!»

4) Врангель, Путеш. и ор., Ч. II, стр. 298, 333.

tschen als Speckkeller benutzt [1]). Ssarytschof fand solche Reste auch noch westlicher, beim Baranof-Felsen [2]). Man schreibt sie den Onkilon zu. Was war das aber für ein Volk? Darüber sind die Ansichten verschieden. Wrangell meinte, dass die Onkilon, die der Sage zufolge ehemals bis zum Cap Schelagskij verbreitet waren, dieselben Eskimo seien, die noch heutzutage in ganz ähnlichen Erdjurten an der asiatischen Küste der Berings-Strasse und des Berings-Meeres wohnen, also die Namollo oder Jult [3]). Nordenskjöld bezeichnet sie bloss als ein von den Tschuktschen aus seinen Sitzen an der Eismeerküste vertriebenes Volk, das der Sage zufolge nach einigen weit hinaus im Polarmeere belegenen Inseln fortgezogen sei. Sollte man aber unter den Onkilon nicht die Vorfahren der Tschuktschen zu verstehen haben, aus der Zeit, da sie noch, gleich den Korjaken am Penshinsker Meerbusen und am Berings-Meere, in festen Erdjurten am Eismeere lebten? Folgende Gründe scheinen mir dafür zu sprechen.

Wrangell hatte den Namen «Onkilon» für die Bewohner jener Erdhütten von den Tschuktschen gehört und glaubte ihn und damit auch jene Sage auf die asiatischen Eskimo beziehen zu müssen. Durch Nordqvist, der von allen Mitgliedern der Vega-Expedition die meiste Bekanntschaft mit den Tschuktschen und deren Sprache gemacht hat, erfahren wir aber [4]), dass der Name, mit welchem sie die asiatischen Eskimo bezeichnen «Aiguam» lautet [5]); als «Angkadli», was mit «Onkilon» ohne Zweifel identisch ist [6]) und auch dieselbe Bedeutung hat, nämlich «Seeanwohner», wie es auch Wrangell angiebt, bezeichnen sich hingegen die Küsten-Tschuktschen selbst, wobei sie sich jedoch, ebenso wie ihre wandernden Landsleute, für «Tschautschu» (Tschuktschen) ausgeben [7]). In den Angaben der Tschuktschen ist also durchaus kein Grund vorhanden, die Onkilon-Hütten den Eskimo zuzuschreiben; vielmehr geht aus denselben hervor, dass es die Wohnungen ihrer ehemals fest am Meere ansässigen Landsleute und Vorfahren waren. Von diesen ihren ehemaligen festen Wohnsitzen am Meere redet wohl auch jene Sage, deren Wrangell erwähnt. Sicherlich waren sie dabei auch über das Cap Schelagskij nach West verbreitet, wie die von Ssarytschof am Baranof-Felsen gefundenen Reste von Erdhütten beweisen. Nach Wrangell [8]) wohnten die Tschuktschen ehemals auch noch westlich von der Kolyma, und zwar noch zur Zeit, als die Russen bis in diese Gegenden vor-

1) Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens u. Europas auf der Vega. Autorisir. deutsche Ausgabe. Bd. I, Leipzig 1882, p. 403—406, 456 u. a. Dort findet man auch eine Darstellung der Ueberreste einer solchen alten Hütte, nach einer Zeichnung von Nordqvist, und mehrerer in derselben gefundenen Werkzeuge.

2) Сарычевъ, Путеш. по Сѣверовост. части Сибири, Ледов. морю и Вост. океану, Ч. II, стр. 95, 96.

3) Oben (p. 251, Anm. 1.) ist von dieser Ansicht Wrangell's über die ehemalige Verbreitung der asiatischen Eskimo ebenfalls die Rede gewesen, — einer Ansicht, die ich jedoch gegenwärtig, wie man aus dem Folgenden ersehen wird, nicht mehr theile.

4) Osc. Nordqvist, Bidrag till kännedomen om tschuktschernas (Ymer, 1882, p. 29—31). Vrgl. auch Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1881, p. 41.

5) Wie auch schon Maydell angab. S. oben, p. 244, Anm. 3.

6) Nach Neumann (s. oben, p. 244, Anm. 3) lautet es «Ang-kalle.

7) Nach den Gebrüdern Krause (Deutsche Geograph. Blätter, herausgegeb. von der Geogr. Gesellsch. in Bremen, Bd. V, 1881, p. 119) nennen die Renthier-Tschuktschen sich selbst «Tschautschuates», die Küstenbewohner aber «Aukadlläs» oder «Aigwam», — ein Name, der jedoch, wie es ebenda (p. 122) heisst, mehr den Unterschied in der Lebensweise und im Wohnort (vrgl. Angkadli) als in der Nationalität ausdrückt.

8) L. c., p. 231.

drangen, also im XVII. Jahrhundert. Darauf weisen sowohl die russischen Namen für ein paar von links in die Kolyma-Mündung sich ergiessende Flüsse («Boljschaja-» und «Malaja-Tschukotschja», d. h. Grosser und Kleiner Tschuktschen-Fluss), als insbesondere auch die unter den Einwohnern des Kolymsker Bezirkes verbreitete Tradition, dass die ersten Ansiedelungen der Russen unter häufigen und verheerenden Ueberfällen der Tschuktschen zu leiden hatten, wovon einige Ortsnamen, wie «Pogromnoje» und «Ubijennoe», Zeugniss abgeben sollen. Zu dieser Zeit führten jedoch die Tschuktschen ohne Zweifel schon ihre jetzige nomadische Lebensweise.

Eine fernere Stütze für meine Ansicht, dass die sogenannten Onkilon-Hütten den in alter Zeit ansässigen Tschuktschen und nicht den Eskimo angehörten, muss ich in dem Umstande sehen, dass diese Reste bis zur Berings-Strasse und also auch in dem Gebiete zu finden sind, wo das letztere Volk noch heutzutage in ähnlichen Erdjurten wohnt [1]). Gehörten sie den Eskimo an, so wäre gar nicht abzusehen, warum diese sie verlassen und sich daneben neue Erdhütten errichtet hätten. Dies wird aber vollständig begreiflich, wenn man annimmt, dass diese Eskimo, wie ich es oben schon besprochen habe [2]), trotz des asiatischen Ursprunges des ganzen Stammes, erst in viel späterer Zeit über die Berings-Strasse nach Asien zurückgewandert seien, in Folge des Druckes, welchen die Entdeckung und Kolonisirung Amerika's durch die Europäer auf die Indianer und durch diese auf die Eskimo ausübte [3]). Unbekümmert um jene alten Hüttenreste, bauten sie sich natürlich in dem Lande, nach welchem sie herüberkamen, ihre eigenen Wohnungen, die, nach demselben Princip, als Erdjurten, und aus denselben Materialien — Walfischrippen und Knochen — errichtet, jenen ersteren nicht unähnlich sein mussten.

Ich werde ferner in meiner Ansicht über die Onkilon-Hütten dadurch bestärkt, dass die Vega-Expedition in der Nähe derselben auch alte, offenbar demselben Volke angehörige Opferplätze fand, welche nichtsdestoweniger auch von den jetzigen Rennthier-Tschuktschen als solche benutzt werden [4]). Dieses continuirliche Uebergehen der Opferplätze von den Onkilon auf die Küsten-Tschuktschen spricht sehr entschieden für die Identität beider Völker, denn es ist kaum denkbar, dass ein Volk die Opferplätze eines anderen, ihm feindlichen und von ihm bekriegten und schliesslich verdrängten Volkes benutzen sollte.

Endlich muss ich zur Begründung meiner Ansicht über den Ursprung der Onkilon-Hütten noch einen Umstand zur Sprache bringen. Dall [5]) erwähnt einer Tradition, die er im

1) So lagen z. B. die Reste einer lange verlassenen Erdjurte, die Hooper (Ten months among the tents of the Tuski, London 1853, p. 18) entdeckte, in der Plover-Bai, unweit von Cap Tschukotskij. Ebenda sah auch Whymper (Travel and adventure in the territ. of Alaska, London 1868, p. 90) Reste ehemaliger Erdhütten (underground houses), die einem jetzt nicht mehr vorhandenen Volke angehörten. Desgleichen Dall (Alaska and its resources, Boston 1870, p. 375).

2) S. oben, p. 249 und 250.

3) Wie ich aus dem oben citirten, mir bis dahin unbekannten Werke von Dall ersehe, vertritt er ebenfalls die Ansicht, dass die Eskimo in späterer Zeit, und zwar erst vor etwa drei Jahrhunderten nach Asien zurückgewandert seien.

4) Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, p. 406.

5) Alaska, p. 375.

Tschuktschen-Lande in Erfahrung brachte, und die auf den ersten Blick meiner Ansicht direkt zu widersprechen scheint, bei genauerer Analyse aber dieselbe vollständig bestätigt. Da es dabei wesentlich darauf ankommt, von welcher der im Tschuktschen-Lande gegenwärtig einheimischen Nationalitäten er die Tradition hörte, muss ich vorausschicken, dass er sämmtliche in Amerika nördlich und westlich von den Indianern wohnenden und zum Theil auch nach Asien hinübergreifenden Völker in eine Gruppe zusammenfasst, die er ihrer Küstenverbreitung wegen als «Orarians»-Gruppe bezeichnet [1]), und in welcher er drei Unterabtheilungen oder Völkerschaften unterscheidet: 1) die Innuit oder Eskimo, von Grönland bis zur Westküste Amerika's und zu den in der Nähe der Berings-Strasse gelegenen Inseln [2]); 2) die Aleuten oder Bewohner Aljaska's und der Aleutischen Inseln, und 3) die Tuski oder Bewohner der Küsten des Tschuktschen-Landes, von der Koljutschin-Bai bis zum Anadyr-Golf. Hier fasst also Dall unter dem sehr unglücklich gewählten Namen «Tuski» [3]) die Küsten-Tschuktschen und die Namollo als ein Volk zusammen. Ihrer eigenen Unterscheidung gemäss, bezeichnet er sie auch als «bowhead mens», Walfisch-Männer, im Gegensatz zu den «deer mens», d. h. Rennthier-Männern oder eigentlichen Tschuktschen. Einen solchen Tuski-Mann aus der Plover-Bai, Namens Nokum, fragte nun Dall, wer wohl die Erbauer der Steinhütten wären, deren Reste man an verschiedenen Orten im Lande findet, und die den Erdhütten der Innuit (Eskimo) am Norton-Sunde ähnlich sind? Die Antwort Nokum's war, dass solcher Art die Hütten gewesen seien, in denen sein Volk vor langer Zeit gewohnt habe, so langer Zeit, dass sein Grossvater davon nur durch Tradition wüsste; später hätten sie, da das Holz bei ihnen nur sparsam zu finden sei, eine andere Art von Wohnungen angenommen, wie sie die Rennthier-Männer hätten, und die viel geeigneter für das Land sei. Was war nun dieser Tuski-Mann? Ein Küsten-Tschuktsche, oder ein Namollo? In letzterem Falle würde seine Erzählung direkt wider meine oben entwickelte Ansicht von den Onkilon-Hütten sprechen. Auf den ersten Blick scheint dies in der That so zu sein, denn derselbe Nokum erzählte Dall, dass die Rennthier-Männer die ursprünglichen Bewohner des Landes, die Walfisch-Männer hingegen, zu denen auch er gehörte, vor langer Zeit von den Inseln (Dio-

1) Also «Küsten-» oder Randvölker, wie ich vom geographischem Standpunkte diese und eine Reihe anderer, asiatischer, resp. europäischer Völker auch genannt habe (s. oben, p. 246 ff.).

2) «Innuit» nennen sich die Eskimo selbst (Dall, Alaska, p. 136. H. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimo, eine Schilder. der Schwatka'schen-Franklin-Aufsuchungs-Exped., in den J. 1878—1880, Wien, Pest, Leipz. 1881, p. 201).

3) Diesen Namen wählte Dall, wie er sagt, aus dem Grunde, weil Hooper bestimmt behauptet, dass sie sich selbst so nennen. Allein Hooper (Ten months among the tents of the Tuski, p. 34 ff). bezieht ihn auf alle Tschuktschen überhaupt, indem er diesen letzteren Namen als «Tuski» lautend gehört haben will, und unterscheidet daher die «Tuski Proper», eigentliche oder Rennthier-Tschuktschen, und die «Allen Tuski», d. h. fremde oder Ausland-Tschuktschen, worunter er die vor Zeiten vielleicht aus Amerika eingewanderte Küsten-Bevölkerung, also Küsten-Tschuktschen und Namollo zusammen versteht, die er auch nirgends von einander trennt. Warum Dall die Bezeichnung «Tuski» gerade für die letzteren beibehielt, da sie doch den ersteren viel mehr zukommt, ist unbegreiflich. Uebrigens hat Hooper, wie aus seinem ganzen Werke hervorgeht, immer nur mit Tschuktschen zu thun gehabt, die mitunter vielleicht mehr oder weniger stark mit Eskimo untermischt waren, nicht aber mit den Namollo selbst, welche sich sicherlich auch nicht «Tuski» genannt haben würden.

medes-I.) herübergekommen seien, weil sie sich im Kriege mit dem Volke, das Knochenplatten in den Lippen trägt, als die Schwächeren erwiesen hätten. Die Uebereinstimmung dieser Erzählung, fügt Dall hinzu, mit den Traditionen der Rennthier-Tschuktschen wurde ihm auch von einem dieser letzteren bestätigt. Indessen wäre es immerhin möglich, dass es ehemals auch auf den anliegenden Inseln Küsten-Tschuktschen gab, die von den Eskimo nach dem Festlande verdrängt wurden. Was mich aber definitiv nöthigt, den Tuski-Mann Nokum nicht für einen Namollo, sondern für einen Küsten-Tschuktschen zu halten und demnach auch seine Erzählung von den ehemaligen Wohnungen seines Volkes auf die Küsten-Tschuktschen zu beziehen, ist der Umstand, dass diese letzteren in der That seit langer Zeit auch im Winter ebensolche Zelte (*jaranga's*) wie ihre mit Rennthieren nomadisirenden Landsleute bewohnen, während die Namollo noch im Jahre 1828, als Lütke sie kennen lernte, durchweg in Erdjurten wohnten. Sollten sie daher seitdem diese Jurten aufgegeben und sich ebenfalls Zelte angeeignet haben, so wäre ein solches, in das Leben eines Volkes tief einschneidendes Ereigniss zu Dall's Zeiten, nach etwa 37—38 Jahren[1]), gewiss noch in Jedermann's frischer Erinnerung und gäbe unmöglich nur eine auf uralte Zeiten bezügliche Tradition ab. Es muss also Dall's Berichterstatter ein Küsten-Tschuktsche gewesen sein, und dann bestätigt die von ihm mitgetheilte Tradition vollständig meine Meinung, dass auch dieses Volk ehemals in Erdjurten gewohnt hat und dieselben später, als es zur Rennthierzucht überging, gegen Zelte vertauschte.

Westlich von den Tschuktschen finden wir noch ein paläasiatisches Volk, die im Aussterben begriffenen Jukagirn, die für die Nachkommen der bereits verschwundenen Omoken oder alten Jukagirn gehalten werden[2]). Dass sie ebenfalls in Erdjurten wohnten, unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Als der Kosak Jelissei Busa im J. 1639 vom Eismeer in die Jana kam und diesen Fluss aufwärts ging, traf er an der Einmündung der Tschendona in denselben Jukagirn, die in Erdhütten wohnten[3]). An der Mündung der Indigirka fand Kosmin, der Begleiter Wrangell's, eine Menge halbverfallener Erdjurten mit Feuerherden und Steinwerkzeugen, Resten, die den alten Jukagirn oder Omoken zugeschrieben werden[4]). Unter dem Andrange der neueren sibirischen Völker, der Tungusen und Jakuten, und später der rasch vordringenden Russen wurden sie sogar genöthigt, das Festland zum Theil ganz zu verlassen. Einer in Ustjansk und an der Indigirka verbreiteten Sage zufolge sollen sie etwa um die Mitte des XVII. Jahrhunderts, vor einer Pocken-Epidemie flüchtend, in grosser Zahl nach den vom Festlande nordwärts gelegenen Inseln gezogen sein[5]), und in der That findet man sowohl auf den

1) Dall's Forschungen fallen in die Jahre 1865 u. 1866.

2) Геденштромъ, Путеш. по Ледовит. морю и островамъ онаго, лежащ. отъ устья Лены къ вост. (Сибирск. Вѣстн., изд. Грат. Сибирцевымъ, 1822, Ч. 18, Отд. III, стр. 165); его же, Отрывки о Сибири, С. Петерб. 1830, стр. 97.

3) Врангель, Путеш. и пр., Ч. I, стр. 6.

4) Wrangell, l. c., Bd. II, p. 141.

5) Hedenström l. cr. Desgleichen nach den Nachrichten von Sannikof und Pschenitzyn (Сибирск. Вѣстн., 1822, Ч. 20, Отд. III, стр. 176), die aus dem J. 1811 stammen, und in denen es heisst, dass die Auswanderung vor etwa 150 Jahren stattfand, was mit der Zeit der russischen Einwanderung an die Jana und Indigirka nahe zusammenfallen würde. S. darüber auch meine Schrift: «Zur Vorgeschichte der von der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. ausgerüst. Exped. nach den Neusib. Ins. und dem Jana-Lande (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, 3. Folge, Bd. III, p. 14).

Bären- (Medweshji-), wie auf den Neusibirischen Inseln Reste von Erdhütten und alte Werkzeuge aus Mammuthzahn oder Stein, die von den Russen schlechtweg als jukagirsche bezeichnet werden [1]).

Wie bei den auf asiatischem Boden verbliebenen, so finden wir endlich die Erdjurte auch bei den nach Amerika hinübergedrängten paläasiatischen Völkern, den Eskimo und den Aleuten. Dass die wenigen in späterer Zeit nach Asien zurückgewanderten Eskimo solche Jurten bewohnen, ist oben schon mehrfach hervorgehoben worden. Sie werden bereits in den ältesten Berichten, die wir aus dem Tschuktschen-Lande haben, erwähnt [2]), aber fälschlich den Küsten-Tschuktschen zugeschrieben, bis man in den Bewohnern derselben Eskimo erkannte [3]), die sich selbst nach Lütke «Namollo [4]), nach Dall [5]) «Jult» nennen [6]). Auf amerikanischem Boden fehlt die Erdjurte bei keinem der zahlreichen Eskimo-Völker vom Berings-Meer und Kadjak bis nach Grönland. Es würde mich zu weit führen, wollte ich sie auf dieser ganzen Strecke bei jedem Volke einzeln verfolgen. Ich begnüge mich daher nur auf einige derselben hinzuweisen, namentlich solche, bei welchen sie kolossale Dimensionen und eine eigenthümliche Entwickelung und Complikation erreicht hat, oder wo ihr Vorhandensein von besonderem Interesse für die Kenntniss der Wanderungen und Verschiebungen des gesammten Eskimo-Stammes ist.

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1) Auf den Baren-Inseln wurden solche Reste schon im J. 1724 vom Jakutskischen Syn-bojarskij Amossof (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Bd. III, p. 46), später, 1763, vom Sergeanten Andrejef (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Bd. I, 1781, p. 234, 235. Дегл. Сѣверск. Вѣстн., 1822, Ч. 19, Отд. IV, стр. 123; 1823, Ч. 4, Отд. Геогр., стр. 64, 67, 68) beobachtet und endlich auch von Wrangell (l. c., Bd. I, p. 100; Bd. II, p. 45) bestätigt. Für die Neusibirischen Inseln s. die auf der vorigen Seite in den Anmerk. 2 und 5 citirten Quellen.

2) So z. B. in der zu Anadyrsk im J. 1711 niedergeschriebenen «Aussage des Jakutskischen Kosaken Peter Iljin Syn Popow» und seiner beiden Dolmetscher (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Bd. III, p. 58).

3) Zwar hoben schon Billings und Saarytschof hervor, dass die sogenannten «sesshaften Tschuktschen» an der Lorenz-, Metschigmen-Bai u. a. Punkten der Berings-Strasse sprachlich von den Renthier-Tschuktschen ganz verschieden und mit den Bewohnern von Kadjak (Eskimo) nahe verwandt seien, indessen blieben sie doch bei jener Bezeichnung, die eine Verwechselung mit den Küsten-Tschuktschen involvirte. (Vrgl. Cap. Jos. Billings' Geogr.-astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Gegenden Russlands zur Unters. der Münd. des Kowima-Fl., der ganzen Küste der Tschuktschen und der zwischen dem festen Lande von Asien und Amerika befindl. Inseln, in den J. 1785 bis 1794, nach den Orig.-Pap. herausgeg. v. Sauer, aus dem Englisch. übers., Berlin 1802, p. 370, 377; дегл. Сарычевъ, Путеш. изъ Якутска чрезъ Чукотскую землю отъ Берингова пролива до Нижнекоымскаго острога, извлеч. изъ разн. журн., С.-Петерб. 1811, стр. 3, 16, 67; und desselb. Путеш. по Сѣверовост. части Сиб., Дѣлоп. морю и Восточн. океану, Ч. II, С.-Петерб., стр. 105).

4) Lütke, Voyage autt. du monde, Partie hist., T. II, p. 260. Lütke traf übrigens auf der ganzen Strecke zwischen dem Ostcap und der Anadyr-Mündung nur Namollo, die in Erdhütten wohnten, und gar keine Küsten-Tschuktschen; er brauchte daher für die ersteren bisweilen auch die Bezeichnung «ansässige Tschuktschen» oder «Namollo-Tschuktschen» trotz seiner eigenen Bemerkung, dass man ihnen den Namen «Tschuktschen» mit Unrecht beilegt. Am Ostcap sah auch Kotzebue (Entdeckungs-Reise, Bd. I, p. 136) viele unterirdische Wohnungen in Gestalt kleiner, runder Hügel, neben welchen zahlreiche Walfischrippen aufgestellt waren.

5) Proceed. of the Royal Geograph. Soc. of London, Vol. XLIX, p. 369). Desselben, On the so called Chukitchi and Namollo people of Eastern Siberia (The American Naturalist, 1881, p. 806).

6) Letzteren Namen brauchen für die Namollo nach Dall's Vorgange auch Nordqvist (Tmer, 1883, p. 31), Gerland (Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdk. zu Berlin, Bd. XVIII, 1883, p. 196, 202) u. A. Uebrigens bemerkt schon Sagoskin (Путешествіе вдоль сѣвер. берега Россіи, изд. въ Америкѣ, переведен., въ 1842—1844 гг., Ч. I, С.-Петерб. 1847, стр. 49), dass er von verschiedenen nordwestamerikanischen Eskimo auf die Frage, wer sie seien, zur Antwort erhalten habe: «Juggyt», d. h. Menschen.

Bei allen Eskimo-Völkern des nordwestlichen Amerika's, wie z. B. den Kanjagen auf Kadjak, den Anwohnern des Kuskokwim, des Kwichpak oder Yukon und deren Zuflüssen, den Eskimo am Norton-Sunde, an der Berings-Strasse, ja selbst noch am Eismeer, findet man ausser den von einzelnen oder mehreren Familien bewohnten kleinen, hügelförmig aus der Erde hervorragenden Erdjurten, die mit einem Feuerherde in der Mitte, einem Rauchloch darüber und Schlafbänken längs den Wänden versehen sind, und in die man bald durch's Rauchloch, bald durch einen engen, ebenfalls halbunterirdischen Gang hinabsteigt, auch grössere, zum gemeinsamen Gebrauch bestimmte Erdjurten. Es sind dies die sogen. *Kashim's*, die allen Männern eines Ortes zur gemeinsamen Wohnung dienen, wo sie ihre Berathungen halten, gemeinsame Bäder nehmen, und in denen auch die Belustigungen der gesammten örtlichen Bevölkerung Tänze, Festspiele u. drgl. stattfinden. Dawydof erwähnt ihrer von Kadjak[1]), Wassil-

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1) Дауыдоф. путеш. въ Америк. морск. компан. Хвостова и Давыдова, С. Петерб. 1810, ч. II, стр. 21. Nach Dawydof (l. c., p. 19, 20) haben die einzelnen Erdhütten der Kanjagen ausser dem Mittelraum mit dem Feuerherde noch 2—3 kleine, ebenfalls unterirdische Nebenräume, in die man von jenem aus nur mit Mühe durch eine kleine, runde, verschliessbare Oeffnung hindurchkriechen kann, und die von den Russen ebenso wie in Kamtschatka «ahupana» genannt werden. Ein solcher Raum wird in der Regel von 2—3 Familien, seltner von einer bewohnt. Auch in älteren Nachrichten über Kadjak, so bei Bragin (Bericht von einer im J. 1772 angetretenen vierjahr. Seereise zu den zwischen Kamtschatka und Amerika geleg. Inseln, in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., St. Petersb. und Leips., Bd. II, 1781, p. 315), Scholochof (Первое странствование съ 1783 по 1787 г. изъ Охотска по Восточн. Океану къ Америк. берег. и пр. Во градѣ Св. Петра 1793 г., стр. 82; in deutscher Uebersetz. in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Bd. VI, 1793, p. 202), Billings (Geogr.-astron. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russl. etc., p. 208), wird der Erdjurten der Kanjagen erwähnt. Desgleichen bei Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 56). Wenn ich mich hier unter Anderen auch auf Scholochof beziehe, so muss ich hinzufügen, dass die betreffende Angabe sich in der ersten, von Pallas auch in deutscher Uebersetzung wiedergegebenen Hälfte seines obengenannten Werkes befindet, welche allein beachtungswerth ist, indem sie die eigenen Wahrnehmungen des Reisenden enthält. Die zweite Hälfte hingegen, welche den Titel trägt: «Historische und geographische Beschreibung der Kurilischen, Aleutischen, Andrejanofschen und Fuchs-Inseln, die sich von Kamtschatka nach Amerika hin im Östlichen Ocean erstrecken», ist in wörtlicher Uebersetzung aus verschiedenen Quellen entlehnt, und da dies weder im Allgemeinen bemerkt, noch eine der Quellen genannt ist, sondern die ganze Beschreibung als vom Reisenden selbst herrührend gedruckt ist, so muss sie als Plagiat bezeichnet werden. Hinsichtlich des auf die Kurilen bezüglichen Theiles derselben habe ich schon bei einer früheren Gelegenheit darauf hingewiesen (s. meine Bemerk. über die Saugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen, im Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. T. IV, p. 128, Anm. 47; Mél. biol. T. IV, p. 116, Anm. 47). Baer glaubte nämlich in der Scholochof'schen Arbeit die Quelle gefunden zu haben, nach welcher der in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr., Bd. IV, enthaltene Aufsatz «Neue Beschreibung der Kurilischen Inseln» entworfen sei. Das ist aber aus dem Grunde nicht möglich, weil der betreffende Band der Pallas'schen Beiträge bereits in dem Jahre erschien, in welchem Scholochof erst seine Reise von Ochotsk aus antrat (1783), und ausserdem auch weil er mancherlei Angaben enthält, die in dem Scholochof'schen Werk (2. Hälfte) fehlen. Letzteres konnte daher entweder nach demselben russischen Original entworfen sein, welches auch dem Pallas'schen Aufsatz zu Grunde gelegen hat, oder aber nur eine blosse auszügliche Uebersetzung des in den Beiträgen publicirten Artikels sein. Gegenwärtig scheint es mir kaum einem Zweifel zu unterliegen, dass es in der That auf diesem letzteren Wege entstanden ist, denn auch der auf die Aleuten bezügliche Theil desselben ist nichts mehr als eine Uebersetzung von Auszügen aus den von verschiedenen russischen Seefahrern (Lässaref, Soolowjof, Krenisyn und Lewaschof u. A.) gegebenen Berichten, welche zuerst von Will. Coxe veröffentlicht wurden, sei es nun, dass dabei das englische Originalwerk des Letzteren (Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, London 1780), oder die deutsche Uebersetzung desselben (Die neuen Entdeckungen der Russen zwischen Asien und Amerika, Frankf. u. Leipzig 1783) benutzt worden ist. Was aber das Plagiat noch schlimmer macht, ist der Umstand, dass die von den oben erwähnten russischen Seefahrern über die Bewohner der Aleutischen

jef[1]), Sagoskin[2]), Dall[3]), Jacobsen[4]) geben ausführliche Beschreibungen der Kashims am Kuskokwim, Kwichpak und am Norton-Sunde. Dall fügt zur Erläuterung der inneren Beschaffenheit des Kashim's auch einen senkrechten Durchschnitt durch denselben hinzu. Der Hauptunterschied des Kashim's von den gewöhnlichen Erdjurten der westamerikanischen Eskimo besteht, von seiner viel ansehnlicheren Grösse abgesehen, darin, dass in dem verdeckten Gange, durch den man zur Jurte hinabsteigt, kurz vor dem Eingange in dieselbe noch eine andere Oeffnung sich befindet, die in einen unter der bretternen Diele befindlichen Raum führt, aus welchem man durch eine Luke auf die letztere gelangt. Auf diesem Wege erscheinen namentlich bei den gemeinsamen Belustigungen die Aufführer von Festspielen und Tänzen vor den im Kashim versammelten Zuschauern. Die bretterne Diele lässt sich aber auch ganz entfernen. Dies geschieht z. B., wenn die Männer ihr gemeinsames Bad nehmen, wobei auf dem Fussboden in der Mitte des Kashim's eine gewaltige Flamme lodert. In den stärker bevölkerten Ortschaften, wo die Kashims eine grosse Anzahl von Menschen aufnehmen müssen, — und es giebt welche, die deren bis 500 beherbergen können[5]), — laufen längs den Wänden mehrere Reihen von Schlafbänken amphitheatralisch über einander hin. So bieten die Kashims, zumal am Kwichpak und Kuskokwim, an Umfang und Complikation das Höchste, wozu es der für die paläasiatischen Völker so charakteristische Erdhüttenbau gebracht hat.

Auch die übrigen Eskimo-Stämme des nordwestlichen Amerika's haben zum Winteraufenthalt ganz ebensolche, von aussen hügelförmige Erdjurten, in die man durch einen engen, halbunterirdischen, überdachten Gang gelangt. So lauten im Wesentlichen ganz übereinstimmend mit einander die Erwähnungen oder Beschreibungen derselben, die wir z. B. von Port Clarence[6]),

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lateln und besonders Unalaschka's, als der grössten derselben, mitgetheilten Nachrichten von Scholechof schlechtweg auch auf die Kanjagen von Kadjak bezogen werden, obgleich diese, zum Eskimo-Stamme gehörig, von jenen wesentlich verschieden sind.

1) Siehe Wrangell, Statist. und ethnogr. Nachr. über die Russ. Besitz. an der Nordwestküste von Amerika (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, herausg. v. Baer und Helmersen, Bd. I, St. Petersb. 1839, p. 129, 130). Auch Glasunof erwähnte der Kashims am Kwichpak (Wrangell, l. c., p. 146).

2) Путеход. опись чаетн русск. влад. въ Америкѣ, С. Петерб., Ч. I, 1847, стр. 95; Ч. II, 1848, стр. 9, 12. Auch die Construktion der einfachen Erdjurten der Anwohner des Kwichpak und Kuskokwim, die ganz mit denjenigen der Giljaken auf Sachalin übereinstimmen, ist von Sagoskin eingehend beschrieben worden (l. c., Bd. I, p. 55; Bd. II, p. 23). Bei den Mag-mjuten, Bewohnern der Niederung zwischen dem Kishunjak und Kapnajak, zwei Armen des Kwichpak, soll man auch durch den Rauchfang in die Jurte hinabsteigen, wie ehemals bei den Kamtschadalen (Sagoskin, l. c., Bd. II, p. 18).

3) Alaska and its resources, Boston 1870, p. 126, 127. Die gewöhnliche Erdjurte der Eskimo vom Kwichpak und vom Norton-Sunde ist bei Dall (l. c., p. 13, 43) ebenfalls abgebildet, und zwar sowohl wie sie sich von aussen darstellt, als ein kleiner, im Winter schneebedeckter Hügel mit dem aus Balken gezimmerten Eingang und Vorraum daneben, als auch in einem idealen Durchschnitt. Desgleichen findet man Beschreibungen und eine Abbildung dieser Erdjurten bei Whymper (Travel and adventure in the territory of Alaska, London 1868, p. 131, 139, 152, 165) u. A.

4) Capitän Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerika's, 1881—1883, bearb. von A. Woldt, Leipzig 1884, p. 159, 260 u. a. In diesem Werke ist übrigens die Bezeichnung Kashim immer in etwas entstellter Form, als «Kassigiuk» oder «Kassigik» wiedergegeben.

5) Sagoskin, l. c., Bd. II, p. 23.

6) F. W. Beechey, Narrat. of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behrings-Strait, perf. in H. M. S. Blossom, London 1831, P. II, p. 362.

von der Berings-Strasse[1]), von den Ssarytschof-Inseln[2]), vom Kotzebue-Sunde[3]) und von verschiedenen Punkten weiter nord- und ostwärts an der Eismeerküste Amerika's, wie Point Hope[4]), Eiscap[5]), Point Franklin[6]), Cap Barrow[7]), Point Toker auf der der Mackenzie-Fluss-Mündung gegenüber gelegenen Richard's-Insel[8]) u. drgl. m., haben. Die ausführlichste Beschreibung und zugleich auch eine Abbildung (einen Längsdurchschnitt und einen Plan) dieser Erdjurten, wie sie bei den zwischen dem Colville-Fluss und dem Cap Bathurst wohnhaften Tschiglit-Eskimo gebräuchlich sind, hat uns Petitot gegeben[9]). Wirft man einen flüchtigen Blick auf diese Abbildung, so könnte man glauben, dass sie eine kleine Winterjurte der Sachalin-Giljaken wiedergiebt, so sehr stimmen diese Erdhütten im Grundplan und in allen wesentlichen Zügen mit einander überein. Nach demselben Grundplan errichten sich die Tschiglit-Eskimo auch im Schnee zum Nachtlager oder zu zeitweisem Aufenthalt dienende Hütten[10]). Ausser und neben den Einzeljurten findet man auch bei den am Eismeer ansässigen Eskimo grössere, zu gemeinsamem Gebrauch, Tänzen, Festspielen u. drgl. dienende Erdjurten oder Kashims[11]), nur sind dieselben, der dünneren Bevölkerung dieser Gegenden und dem spärlicheren Baumaterial entsprechend, welches das Treibholz im Vergleich mit den Waldungen am Kwichpak und Kuskokwim liefert, von geringeren Dimensionen als an jenen Hauptsitzen der nordwestamerikanischen Eskimo-Bevölkerung.

Der letzte Kashim, ostwärts vom Mackenzie-River gegangen, ist nach Richardson bei Point Atkinson, etwas westlich vom Cap Bathurst zu finden. Bei den weiter nach Osten wohnenden Eskimo kommen keine mehr vor, obwohl die Bezeichnung dafür auch ihnen bekannt ist[12]). Auch die Erdhütte wird bei ihnen mehr und mehr und gegenwärtig schon fast allenthalben durch Schneehütten ersetzt, die, wie bereits erwähnt, ganz nach demselben Plan errichtet, jedoch statt des in der Mitte der Erdjurten der nordwestamerikanischen Eskimo und der anderen paläasiatischen Völker lodernden Feuers nur durch Thranlampen erwärmt und beleuchtet werden.

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1) Berth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt und drei Fahrten der kön.-brit. Freg. Herald nach dem nördl. Polarmeere zur Aufs. Sir John Frankl. in d. J. 1845—1851, 2te Aufl., Hannover 1858, Bd. II, p. 20, 60, 62. Nach Seemann's Schilderung ist der Aufenthalt in diesen Erdjurten im Winter ganz behaglich, wie ich es auf Sachalin auch fand; wenn jedoch zum Sommer hin der Schnee schmilzt, so bedeckt sich der Fussboden in denselben einige Zoll hoch mit Wasser und zwingt die Bewohner ihre Zuflucht in Zelten zu suchen (l. c., p. 63).

2) O. v. Kotzebue, Entdeckungs-Reise in die Süd-See und nach der Berings-Strasse, Bd. I, p. 139.

3) Bedford Pim, bei Seemann, l. c., p. 148.

4) Beechey, l. c., P. I, p. 263.

5) Beechey, l. c., p. 272, 276, 304.

6) Beechey, l. c., p. 274.

7) Hooper, Ten months among the tents of the Tuski, p. 227.

8) Hooper, l. c., p. 343.

9) Monographie des Esquimaux Tchiglit du Mackenzie et de l'Anderson, Paris 1876, p. 13, 14. Petitot tritt in dieser Schrift für den asiatischen Ursprung der Eskimo ein.

10) Petitot, l. c., p. 9, nebst Abbildung.

11) Beechey, l. c., P. I, p. 268; P. II, p. 350, 368. Seemann, l. c., p. 62. Petitot, l. c., p. 22.

12) Sir John Richardson, Arctic Searching Expedition: a Journal of a boat-voyage through Rupertsland and the arct. sea, London 1851, Vol. I, p. 254. In der Beschreibung von Franklin's zweiter Polarreise (Narrat. of a sec. Expedit. to the shores of the Polar sea in the years 1825—1827, London 1828), an welcher bekanntlich auch Richardson theilnahm, indem er namentlich die Küstenstrecke zwischen dem Mackenzie- und dem Kupferminenflusse bereiste, ist auch ein Plan und eine Beschreibung von dem Kashim von Atkinson-Point gegeben (p. 215 ff.).

Parry und Lyon, Hall, Klutschak u. A. haben ausführliche Beschreibungen und mehrfache Abbildungen von diesen Schneehütten, ihrer Beschaffenheit im Innern, der Art und Weise ihrer Herstellung u. drgl. m. gegeben[1]). Auf der Melville-Halbinsel und den anliegenden Inseln fanden Parry und Lyon die Eskimo fast nur in Schneehütten wohnen; doch gab es dort an manchen Punkten, so namentlich auf der Insel Iglulik in der Fury- und Hecla-Strasse, wo die Reisenden den Winter 1822/23 zubrachten, auch ständige, aus festeren Materialien, namentlich Erde, Steinen und Walfischknochen errichtete Wohnungen[2]), die man mit vollem Recht auch als Erdhütten bezeichnen darf, und an vielen anderen Orten, wie z. B. auf den Calthorpe-Inseln in derselben Strasse, auf der gegenüber liegenden Küste des Baffin-Landes u. a. m., fanden sich vielfache Reste und Spuren solcher Wohnungen[3]). Zwar sind diese Stein- oder Knochenhütten, wie Parry sie nennt, nicht in die Erde eingesenkt, was den Eskimo bei dem hier schon in geringer Tiefe beständig gefrorenen Erdboden und ihren nur mangelhaften Baututensilien allzu schwer ausführbar wäre, allein ihr unterer Theil besteht doch aus einem kreisförmigen Stein- oder Erdwall, über welchen sich ein aus nach innen und oben convergirend aufgerichteten Walfisch- und Walrossknochen zusammengesetztes Dachgerüste erhebt[4]); zudem wird dieses Gerüste sowohl wie alle Spalten und überhaupt das ganze Gebäude von aussen mit Erde, Torf, Rasen u. drgl. überdeckt, und endlich führt auch hier ein niedriger, enger, ebenfalls überdachter Gang, durch den man nur auf allen Vieren hindurch kriechen kann, ins Innere der Hütte, so dass diese ganz den Charakter und die Beschaffenheit der Erdjurten gewinnt. Im Baffin-Lande, an der Frobisher-Bai wohnten die Eskimo, als Hall 1860—62 sich unter ihnen aufhielt, erst seit einigen wenigen Jahren den Winter über ganz ausschliesslich in Schneehütten, und an manchen Punkten gab es noch Reste ihrer ehemaligen Knochen-, Stein- oder Erdhütten genau von der oben beschriebenen Beschaffenheit[5]). Auch im Cumberland-Sunde und an der Davis-Strasse sah Boas in den Jahren 1883 und 1884 die Eskimo in Schneehütten wohnen, doch fand er an manchen Stellen Reihen alter Steinhütten, die von ihnen im Herbst mit neuen Dächern versehen und sehr gern ebenfalls als Wohnungen benutzt wurden[6]).

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1) Will. Edw. Parry, Journal of a second voyage for the discov. of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, perform. in the years 1821—1823 in H. M. S. Fury and Hecla, London 1824, p. 160, 187, 499 u. a., nebst den zugehörigen Tafeln. Ch. Fr. Hall, Life with the Esquimaux, London 1864, Vol. I, p. 207, 209, 202 u. a. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimo, p. 46, 17 u. a. Nach Letzterem (l. c., p. 151) errichten die Netchillik-Eskimo von King-William's-Land und der Adelaid-Halbinsel zur Abhaltung von Festlichkeiten eine besondere, grosse Schneehütte, in der sich auf ein gegebenes Zeichen Alles versammelt, Männer, Weiber und Kinder.

2) Parry, l. c., p. 279.

3) Parry, l. c., p. 283, 349. Auch Rae (Narrat. of an Exped. to the shores of the Artic Sea, London 1850, p. 133) fand am Christie-Sye, unweit der Repulse-Bai, Reste solcher alten Eskimo-Wohnungen.

4) Das dort nur spärlich vorhandene Treibholz wird von den Eskimo als Material zur Bereitung verschiedener Utensilien, wie Lanzenspitzen u. drgl., zu hoch geschätzt, um zum Hausbau verwendet zu werden.

5) Hall, l. c., Vol. I, p. 131; Vol. II, p. 90, 111, 289. An den letzterwähnten Orten ist von den Resten ganz in die Erde eingesenkter und mit unterirdischen Eingängen versehener Eskimo-Hütten die Rede.

6) Dr. Franz Boas, Baffin-Land, Geograph. Ergebnisse einer 1883 und 1884 ausgeführten Forschungsreise (Petermann's Geograph. Mitthell., Ergänzungsheft № 80, p. 65, 77).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Der Grund, der die Eskimo aller dieser Gebiete zur Errichtung von Schneehütten zwingt, liegt offenbar darin, dass sie, um den verschiedenen zu ihrer Existenz erforderlichen Jagdzweigen mit Erfolg nachgehen zu können, genöthigt sind, ihre Wohnsitze auch im Winter mehrfach zu ändern, sie bald näher zur Seeeiskante vorzuschieben, bald mehr in den Schutz der Küste zu rücken, ja mitunter auch einen grösseren Ortswechsel vorzunehmen. Gewiss sind daher die Schneehütten bei den Eskimo schon seit alter Zeit neben und ausser den Stein- oder Erdhütten im Gebrauch. Wenn aber diese letzteren mehr und mehr vor jenen gewichen und gegenwärtig fast nur noch in zahlreichen Ueberresten zu finden sind, so möchte ich mir dies dadurch erklären, dass die Eskimo gerade in diesen, von Walfischfahrern so vielfach besuchten Gebieten, in Folge importirter Krankheiten u. drgl., ganz besonders stark gelichtet worden und bereits in raschem Aussterben begriffen sind[1]), wobei es denn ganz natürlich ist, dass sie sich von den mühsam zu errichtenden Stein- und Knochenwohnungen ab- und hingegen solchen Behausungen zuwenden, die sich mit geringer Mühe und in kurzer Zeit aus einem überall in Menge vorhandenen Material herstellen lassen[2]).

Von ähnlicher Beschaffenheit wie auf dem Festlande Amerika's sind auch die Wohnungen der Eskimo auf Grönland. Als Hans Egede dahin kam (1721), wohnten sie an der Westküste im Winter durchweg in Stein- und Erdhütten, deren es bei der damals noch zahlreichen Bevölkerung bisweilen recht viele beisammen gab: an einem Orte z. B. bis 30, darunter ein Haus von besonders grossen Dimensionen, in welchem etwa 50 Männer mit Weibern und Kindern sich aufhielten[3]). Cranz giebt eine ausführliche Beschreibung, sowie einen Grundriss und eine Abbildung von der inneren Beschaffenheit dieser Häuser[4]), die sich sowohl durch ihr Aeusseres und ihren Aufbau aus Steinen, Erde, Torf, Rasen, als auch durch ihre innere Beschaffenheit und besonders auch durch den langen, niedrigen und engen überdachten Gang, der zu denselben führt, ganz an die oben mehrfach erwähnten Stein- und Erdhütten der Eskimo des Festlandes von Amerika anschliessen. Ganz ähnlich, nur viel kleiner, von aussen in der Form halbkugelförmiger Stein- und Erdhaufen und gleichfalls mit einem langen, niedrigen, tunnelförmigen Eingange versehen sind die Winterbehausungen der Eskimo auf Prudhoe-Land oder dem von John Ross[5]) sogenannten «Arktischen Hochlande» Grönland's, mit denen Kane und Hayes

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1) Ueber das rasche Zusammenschmelzen der Eskimo im Cumberland-Sunde und an der Davis-Strasse in der letzten Zeit s. Boas, l. c., p. 99 ff.

2) Hall (l. c., Bd. II, p. 325, nebst zugehöriger Abbildung) meinte, dass den Eskimo zum Modell für ihre Schneehütten die Behausungen gedient hätten, welche die Seehunde zur Wurfzeit für ihre Jungen machen, und die in kuppelförmigen Aushöhlungen der Schneedecke über ihren Eislöchern bestehen. Allein die Beschaffenheit der Schneehütten der Eskimo erklärt sich viel einfacher und natürlicher daraus, dass diese zeitweiligen Wohnungen schlechtweg den altbergebrachten ständigen Stein- oder Erdhütten nachgebildet wurden.

3) Hans Egede, Ausführliche und wahrhafte Nachricht vom Anfange und Fortgange der Grönländischen Mission etc., Hamburg 1740, p. 27, 28.

4) David Cranz, Historie von Grönland, enthaltend die Beschreib. des Landes und der Einwohner etc., insbes. die Gesch. der dortigen evangel. Brüder; Barby und Leipzig 1770, 2. Thl., p. 185, Taf IV.

5) Entdeckungsreise mit den kön. Schiff. «Isabella» und «Alexander», um Baffins-Bay auszuforschen etc., aus dem Englischen übers. v. P. A. Nemnich, Leipzig 1820, p. 86.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

in den Jahren 1853—55 und 1860/61 von ihren Winterungsstationen (dem Rensselaer Hafen und Port Foulk) aus vielfach verkehrten[1]). Genau von derselben Beschaffenheit, zum Theil sogar in die Erde eingesenkt und mit langem unterirdischen Eingange versehen waren die Hütten und Hüttenreste, welche Scoresby der Jüngere[2]) an der Ostküste Grönland's, auf Jameson's-Land, auf der Traill-Insel u. a. O. fand, so wie aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auch diejenigen, welche Clavering im Jahre 1823 auf der nach ihm benannten Insel antraf[3]), und die 1870 von der zweiten Deutschen Nordpolar-Expedition sowohl dort, als auch an anderen Punkten der Ostküste Grönland's constatirt wurden[4]).

Bekanntlich sind Hüttenreste und andere Spuren ehemaligen Menschenaufenthaltes auch auf den dem Festlande Amerika's polwärts vorgelagerten Inseln bis in den höchsten Norden hinauf, wo es gegenwärtig keine Bevölkerung mehr giebt, nachgewiesen worden. Markham hat die Fundorte dieser Hüttenreste im Jahre 1865 auf einer Karte zusammengestellt und daran weitreichende Schlüsse über Völkerwanderungen geknüpft, die seiner Meinung nach einst in den hocharktischen Breiten Amerika's und Asien's stattgefunden haben[5]). Zwar ist er auch der Ansicht, dass die Eskimo von Asien über die Berings-Strasse nach Amerika gekommen seien und sich dort bis zu der Hudsons-Bai und den Küsten des Atlantischen Oceans verbreitet hätten, wo, in dem ehemaligen Winland, die von Grönland herübergekommenen Normannen sie zuerst kennen lernten und ihnen ihres kleinen Wuchses wegen den Namen Skrällinger gaben; allein, dass sie von dort über die Davis-Strasse oder die Baffins-Bai auch nach Grönland hinübergegangen sein können, davon will er durchaus nichts wissen[6]). Das südliche Grönland soll vielmehr seine indigene (Eskimo-) Bevölkerung von Norden, aus dem sogen. «Arktischen Hochlande», und dieses wiederum die seinige von Westen her, aus Sibirien erhalten haben. Der Weg, auf welchem dies geschehen, wird nach Markham von jenen obenerwähnten Hüttenresten deutlich bezeichnet. Diese erstrecken sich nämlich von Banks-Land und der Melville-Insel in einem fortlaufenden Gürtel über den ganzen Parry-Archipel ostwärts bis zu der Baffins-Bai und dem Smith-Sunde gegenüber dem Arktischen Hochlande von Grönland. Geht man aber vom Parry-Archipel west- und südwärts, so stösst man auf den Theil der Eismeerküste Sibirien's, wo es zahlreiche, durch Wrangell u. A. uns überlieferte Traditionen von ehemals dort sesshaft ge-

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1) Elisha Kent Kane (Arctic Explorations: the second Grinnel Exped. in search of Sir John Franklin, London 1861, p. 72, 227, 242, 334) giebt ausführliche Beschreibungen und auch eine Abbildung von den Eskimo-Hütten in Anoatok, Itah u. a. O.

2) Tagebuch einer Reise auf den Walfischfang, verbunden mit Untersuch. und Entdeck. an der Ostküste von Grönland, im Sommer 1822; aus dem Englisch. übersetzt und mit Zusätzen und Anmerk. versehen v. Friedr. Kries, Hamburg 1825, p. 231, 236, 328 u. a., nebst Taf. VIII (Situationsplan des verlassenen Eskimo-Dorfes auf Jameson's-Land).

3) Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1868, p. 323, nebst Karte, Taf. 17; 1870, p. 325 und Taf. 21.

4) Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, p. 414, 418. Clavering hatte dort auch noch einige Eingeborene angetroffen, während die deutsche Polarexpedition keine mehr vorfand.

5) Clem. R. Markham, On the Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Esquimaux (The Journal of the Royal Geograph. Soc., London, Vol. XXXV, 1865, p. 87—90).

6) Aus welchen Gründen er es für unzulässig hält, erklärt Markham nicht weiter, — er sagt nur ganz kategorisch: «the Esquimaux assuredly never crossed over to Greenland by navigating Davis-Strait or Baffins-Bay» (l. c., p. 89).

wesenen, gegenwärtig verschwundenen und kaum noch dem Namen nach bekannten Völkern giebt, wie die Omokon, Schelager, Jukagirn u. a., die sämmtlich nordwärts über das Eismeer fortgezogen sein sollen [1]). Hier ist nach Markham die Wiege der Grönlands-Eskimo zu suchen und der Ausgangspunkt ihrer durch mehrere Jahrhunderte fortgesetzten Wanderung, welche sie schliesslich nach ihrer jetzigen Heimath brachte. Zur Beseitigung des gegen eine solche Wanderung etwa zu erhebenden Einwandes, dass der weite Raum zwischen Sibirien und den westlichsten Gliedern des Parry-Archipels bis heute noch unüberbrückt erscheint, wies Markham auf die Möglichkeit hin, dass in demselben ein grosses Festland oder eine Kette von Inseln liegen könne, auf denen man vielleicht mit der Zeit ähnliche Reste wie auf dem Parry-Archipel finden dürfte. Die noch mehr gegen seine obige Ansicht sprechende Thatsache hingegen, dass die Grönlands- und die amerikanischen Festlands-Eskimo nach Sprache, physischer Beschaffenheit, Sitte u. s. w. ganz unzweifelhaft zu einem und demselben Volke gehören, liess er merkwürdigerweise ganz unbeachtet. Neuerdings hat Dr. F. Boas eine noch ausführlichere und vollständigere Karte aller Reste und Spuren ehemaliger Bevölkerung des arktisch-amerikanischen Archipels entworfen [2]), ist aber dabei zu ganz anderen Resultaten als Markham gelangt. Aus der Thatsache, dass diese Reste und Spuren von Hütten, Feuer- und Zelt- oder Lagerstellen, Knochen erschlagener Thiere, Waffen u. drgl. im westlichen Theile des bezeichneten Gebietes nur spärlich zu finden sind, auf der westlichsten Insel des Parry-Archipels, der Prince Patrick-Insel, sogar ganz zu fehlen scheinen, in der Osthälfte hingegen, wie auf der Bathurst-, Cornwallis-Insel, North-Devon, Ellesmere- und Grinnell-Land, ja auch im äussersten Nordwesten Grönland's, zahlreich sind und überhaupt dort in grösster Anhäufung vorkommen, wo es in der Nähe noch heutzutage von Eskimo bewohnte Gegenden giebt, sowie auch aus dem Umstande, dass die vollständiger erhaltenen oder von den Reisenden ausführlicher beschriebenen dieser Hüttenreste [3]) und ebenso die Waffen und Werkzeuge ganz den Wohnungen, Waffen und Werkzeugen der benachbarten Eskimo ähnlich sind, zieht Boas gewiss mit vollem Rechte den Schluss, dass alle jene Ueberbleibsel den Eskimo angehören und nicht etwa Marksteine einer Wanderung derselben von Westen her, sondern nur Zeichen verschiedentlichen Ortswechsels oder unregelmässiger Wanderungen sind, wie sie die Eskimo an den Grenzen der von ihnen bewohnten Gegenden aus verschiedenen Gründen, so z. B. zum Zweck der Veränderung ihrer Jagdgebiete, oder im Verkehr mit einander u. drgl. m., fast allenthalben auszuführen

1) Dass Markham (l. c., p. 91) unter diesen verschwundenen und jetzt kaum noch dem Namen nach bekannten Völkern auch die Tungusen, diesen in seinen zahlreichen Verzweigungen noch heutzutage am weitesten verbreiteten Volkstamm Sibirien's, nennt, möchte man fast nur für einen Lapsus calami halten, da es sonst eine vollkommene Unkenntniss der ethnologischen Verhältnisse dieses Landes verrathen würde.

2) Ueber die ehemalige Verbreitung der Eskimo im arktisch-amerikanischen Archipel (Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, XVIII. Jahrg., 1883, p. 118—138, nebst Karte, Taf. 2).

3) So z. B. die beiden in der Bay of Mercy auf Banks-Land gefundenen Hütten, die Dachgerüste aus Walfischknochen hatten, oder die tief im Boden steckenden Steinhütten in der Nähe von Point Palmer auf der Melville-Insel (Boas, l. c., p. 126, 127) u. a. m.

pflegen. Daneben ist jedoch nicht zu läugnen, dass in der Verbreitung der Eskimo im Laufe der Zeit eine Bewegung oder Verschiebung nach Norden stattgefunden hat. Das geht aus einem Ueberblick ihres gesammten Verbreitungsgebietes und namentlich aus der Erwägung der verhältnissmässig südlichen Breiten, in denen die Normannen sie im XI. Jahrhundert zuerst kennen lernten, ihres damaligen Fehlens auf Grönland und ihrer jetzigen hochnordischen, ja zum Theil arktischen Sitze unzweifelhaft hervor. Diese Nordwärtsbewegung der Eskimo trat, wie ich oben bereits erwähnte [1]), durch das nothgedrungene Zurückweichen derselben vor dem steten, durch die europäische Kolonisation noch ansehnlich verstärkten Andrange der südwärts von ihnen wohnenden Indianerstämme ein, mit denen sie auf der ganzen Linie ihrer Südgrenze in beständiger, von Geschlecht auf Geschlecht sich forterbender und bis zum heutigen Tage andauernder blutiger Fehde stehen. Nirgends treten die Folgen dieser Bewegung der Eskimo sichtbarer als im äussersten Nordwesten und Nordósten des amerikanischen Festlandes hervor: wie dort ein Zweig derselben, die Namollo, durch diese Bewegung über die Berings-Strasse nach Asien zurückgeworfen wurde [2]), so wurden hier die Eskimo aus den Hudsonsbai-Ländern nach Grönland hinüber geschoben. Und zwar kann der Uebergang der Eskimo dahin an verschiedenen Stellen zugleich, oder wahrscheinlicher nach einander erfolgt sein: einmal vom Baffin's-Lande und von der Cumberland-Halbinsel über die schmalste Stelle der Davis-Strasse, etwa von Cap Walsingham nach der Südbai [3]), von wo sie sich längs der Westküste Grönland's südwärts bis zur Südspitze desselben und dann längs der Ostküste nordwärts verbreiteten, und dann von North-Devon, Ellesmere- und Grinnell-Land über das Nordende der Baffin's-Bai und den Smith-Sund nach Prudhoe-Land oder dem sogen. Arktischen Hochlande Grönland's, wo sie durch die Gletscher und Eismassen der Melville-Bai von ihren südlichen Stammgenossen getrennt blieben, nordwärts aber ihre Wanderungen bis zum äussersten bisher bekannten Nordrande Grönland's, der Thank-God-Harbour und anderen Punkten am Robeson-Channel ausdehnten [4]). Zum Theil kann der Uebergang der Eskimo nach Grönland auch ein unfreiwilliger gewesen sein, indem es sich nach dem Zeugniss der Polarreisenden nicht selten ereignen soll, dass vom Eise besetzte Böte mit Eskimo oder Eisfelder, auf denen der Seehundsjagd nachgehende Eskimo sich befinden, nachdem sie durch hohen Wellengang vom Ufer abgelöst worden, von Wind und Strömung erfasst und nach anderen, mehr oder minder entfernten Küsten getragen werden [5]).

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1) S. oben, p. 249.

2) S. oben, p. 250, 373.

3) Wie auch Cranz (Historie von Grönland, Bd. I, p. 338) annimmt.

4) Boas, Ueber die ehem. Verbreitung der Eskimo, l.c., p. 134. Boas hält es, zumal nach den neuesten, durch Greely gewonnenen (bis dahin noch nicht veröffentlichten) Thatsachen, nicht für unwahrscheinlich, dass die Eskimo vom Robeson-Channel aus Grönland im Norden umwanderten und so nach der Ostküste desselben gelangten (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., Ergänzungsheft № 80, p. 90). Auch Capit. Holm und Rink neigen sich der Ansicht zu, dass die Eskimo von Ostgrönland (Angmagssalikker) um den Norden Grönland's nach dessen Ostküste gelangt seien (H. Rink, Die Ostgrönländer in ihrem Verhältniss zu den übrigen Stämmen. — Deutsche Geograph. Blätter, Jahrg. IX, p. 239).

5) Hall (Life with the Esquimaux, London 1864, Vol. I, p. 264, 305), Kane (Arctic Explorations: the sec. Grinnell Exped., London 1851, p. 394), Boas (Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. für Erdk. zu Berlin, Bd. XVIII, 1883, p. 132) u. A. berichten von dergleichen Fällen. Hall (l. c., I., p. 233) sagt sogar, dass kein Winter vergehe, ohne dass ähnliche Fälle unter den Eskimo sich ereigneten.

Es bleibt mir endlich — um auf die Winterwohnungen der paläasiatischen Völker zurückzukommen — noch übrig, auf die Aleuten hinzuweisen. Auch sie wohnten, als man sie zuerst kennen lernte, allenthalben, sowohl auf den sogen. Fuchsinseln, Unalaschka, Umnak u. s. w., als auch auf den westlicher gelegenen Andrejanof'schen in Erdjurten, welche, wie es in den Berichten über die alten russischen Schifffahrten im Berings-Meere heisst[1]), denjenigen der Kamtschadalen, sesshaften Korjaken und Eskimo ähnlich waren. Gleich diesen bestanden sie im Wesentlichen aus einer recht tief in die Erde gegrabenen Grube und einem aus Treibholz oder auch aus Walfischrippen erbauten, mit Rasen, Gras und Erde bedeckten Dache darüber, in welchem sich eine oder, bei ansehnlicher Grösse der Jurte, auch mehrere Oeffnungen befanden, die als Rauchfang und Fenster dienten, und durch die man auf eingekerbten Balken in die Jurte hinabstieg. In dieser gab es ferner ausser dem Mittelraume bisweilen noch seitwärts in den Erdwänden angelegte Nebenräume, die durch einen engen Kanal nach aussen mündeten und den Bewohnern im Falle der Noth oder Gefahr einen anderen Ausgang aus der Jurte boten, also eine ganz ähnliche Einrichtung, wie jener an den Jurten der Kamtschadalen und der Kadjaker von den Russen sogenannte Shupan[2]). Bei Ssarytschof[3]), Sauer[4]), Langsdorf[5]) findet man Beschreibungen dieser aleutischen Jurten und beim Ersteren auch eine Ansicht ihres Aeusseren. Die ausführlichste Beschreibung des Baues und der inneren Beschaffenheit derselben gab aber Weniaminof[6]), obgleich zur Zeit seines Aufenthaltes auf den Aleutischen Inseln (1824—1834) dort keine Jurten von alter, ursprünglicher Form mehr zu finden waren, indem die Aleuten seit 1805, als eine Revision der Russisch-amerikanischen Companie durch den Kammerherrn Rjasanof stattfand, auf Befehl desselben ihre Jurten mehr nach dem Muster der russischen Blockhäuser, möglichst zu ebener Erde, mit eben solchen Thüren und Fenstern etc., bauen mussten. Ferner sind bei ihnen seitdem an Stelle der ehemaligen, in der Regel sehr grossen Jurten, in denen mehrere Familien neben einander wohnten, allmählich mehr und mehr kleine, für einzelne Familien bestimmte Wohnungen getreten. Uebrigens waren auch die geräumigsten jener alten Jurten, in denen gelegentlich auch Tänze und Festspiele stattfanden[7]), doch immer nur Privatwohnungen und nicht ausschliesslich zu gemeinsamen Zwecken dienende Räumlichkeiten. Kashims hingegen, wie bei den nordamerikanischen Eskimo, hat

1) So z. B. in den Berichten über die Fahrten von Lasarof, Puschkarjof, Korowin, Ssolowjof in den Jahren 1761—1764. S. Coxe, Die neuen Entdeck. der Russen zwischen Asien und Amerika, aus d. Englischen übersetzt, Frankf. u. Leipzig 1783, p. 73, 85, 118, 178; desgl. Pallas, Erläuterungen über die im östl. Ocean zwischen Sibirien u. Amerika geschehenen Entdeckungen (Neue Nord. Beitr., Bd. I, St. Petersb. u. Leipz. 1781, p. 311), und desselben, Auszug aus dem Reisebr. des Russ. Steuermanns Salhof über eine bis an das feste Land von Amerika geschehene Schifffahrt (Neue Nord. Beitr., Bd. III, 1783, p. 280).

2) S. oben, p. 334, Anm. 2, und p. 342, Anm. 1.

3) Путешествіе по Сибири Ссарыч. части Сибири и пр., ч. II, С. Петерб., стр. 14, 157.

4) Billing's Geogr.-astron. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, aus d. Engl. übers., Berlin 1802, p. 294.

5) Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803—1807, Frankf. a. M., Bd. II, p. 30, 56.

6) Записки объ островахъ Уналаск. Отдѣлъ, С. Петерб. 1840, ч. II, стр. 204—211.

7) So wohnte z. B. auch Kotzebue (Entdeckungs-Reise in die Süd-See u. nach der Berings-Strasse, Weimar 1821, Bd. I, p. 167) auf Unalaschka dem Tanze zahlreich versammelter Aleuten in einer geräumigen, unterirdischen Wohnung bei.

es nach Weniaminof bei den Aleuten niemals, weder zu seiner, noch in einer älteren Zeit gegeben [1]).

Kehren wir nach dieser Abschweifung, welche uns die Erdjurte mit ihren mannigfachen Modifikationen als die ursprüngliche Winterbehausung aller paläasiatischen Völker bis nach Grönland und dem äussersten Norden Amerika's kennen lehrt, wieder zu unserem Ausgangspunkte, dem Amur-Lande und den Giljaken zurück. Wie die Erdjurte, das *Toryf*, die ursprüngliche, nationale Winterwohnung der Giljaken ist, so muss die zu ebener Erde errichtete, mit einer Röhrenheizung versehene Jurte, das *Tschadryf*, als eine spätere, ihnen von aussen her, im Verkehr mit anderen Völkern, namentlich durch chinesischen Einfluss zugetragene Form der Winterbehausung bezeichnet werden. Ich habe sie daher oben auch schlechtweg chinesische Winterjurte genannt. Glehn [2]), Schmidt [3]), Mizul [4]) u. A. nennen sie «mandshurische» Jurte; allein, wenn dies nicht bloss eine jener häufigen Verwechselungen der Chinesen im Amur-Lande mit den Mandshu ist, von denen oben [5]) die Rede gewesen, wie ich in der That glaube, so ist dagegen anzuführen, dass auch die Mandshu diese Bauart ihrer Winterhäuser von den Chinesen entlehnt haben. Dass sie zu den Giljaken von Süden, den Amur abwärts gelangt ist, darauf weist, wie oben erwähnt, schon die Vertheilung der Erd- und der chinesischen Winterjurten in ihrem Gebiete hin, namentlich die Thatsache, dass die letzteren auf Sachalin nur an der der Amur-Mündung gegenüberliegenden Westküste der Insel zu finden sind. In der That lässt sich diese Bauart des Winterhauses ununterbrochen bei allen von den Giljaken stromaufwärts wohnenden Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes bis zu den Chinesen am Ussuri und Sungari verfolgen. Dort ist sie allenthalben, bei den Mandshu, Chinesen, Dauren [6]) üblich. So erzählt schon der Chinese U-tschen in der 1722 von ihm verfassten Beschreibung seiner Geburtsstadt Ninguta, dass die Häuser dort drei «*Kangs*», d. h. längs den Wänden sich hinziehende, durch darunter verlaufende Röhren erwärmte Sitz- und Schlafbänke oder Pritschen zu haben pflegen [7]). Auch der französische Missionär Venault [8]) und der Koreaner Kimal-Kim [9]) erwähnen des Kang's in den Häusern von Ninguta, Girin, Ssan-ssin und anderen Orten, die sie auf ihren Reisen durch die Mandshurei berührten.

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1) Weniaminof, l. c., p. 201.

2) Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Bd. XXV, 1867, p. 233 ff.).

3) Histor. Ber. etc. — Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. XXV, p. 120.

4) Очерки о. Сахалина, С. Петерб. 1873, стр. 134.

5) S. dieses Werkes p. 71, nebst Anm. 2.

6) Von diesen letzteren wird weiter unten noch besonders gehandelt werden.

7) Nach U-tschen werden die etwa 6 Fuss breiten und 2 Faden, 5—6 Fuss langen Kangs an der Nord-, West- und Südwand des Hauses angebracht; an der durch eine Scherwand vom übrigen Raum abgetrennten Ostwand liegt das Frauengemach, das mithin zwei Kangs, längs der Nord- und längs der Südwand hat. Die Kangs sind mit Schilf- oder Strohmatten bedeckt, über die oft noch ein rother Filzteppich gebreitet wird. Vrgl. U-tschen's Schrift in der Uebersetzung von Wassiljef: Записки о Нингуть (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., кн. XII, 1857, стр. 96).

8) Excursion dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850 (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., T. XXX, Année 1852, T. II, p. 206).

9) Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évêque de Bellino, 1844 (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., Année 1847, T. I, p. 71).

und spätere Reisende, wie Williamson[1]), Barabasch[2]) u. A., fanden ihn überall, am Sungari, Nonni, Churcha oder Mutuan-ho u. s. w. im Gebrauche[3]). Doch ist diese Bauart der Häuser, mit einer vom Herde ausgehenden, unter den Schlafbänken verlaufenden und in einen ausserhalb des Hauses stehenden Schornstein ausmündenden Röhrenleitung, keineswegs eine indigen mandshurische, sondern vielmehr von unzweifelhaft chinesischem Ursprung, durch die Chinesen nach der Mandshurei, wie nach ihren anderen Kolonien aus dem Mutterlande importirt. Denn dieselbe Bauart der Häuser findet sich in ganz Nordchina[4]) und in anderen, gleich der Mandshurei mehr oder minder unter chinesischer Herrschaft stehenden Ländern, in der Mongolei[5]), Korea[6]) u. s. w. Dabei findet natürlich in grösseren und sauberer gebauten Häusern, zumal in den Städten, wie im übrigen Bau, so auch in der Beheizung der Häuser manche Modifikation und Complikation statt, indem z. B. die Zahl der Kangs je nach der Anzahl der Zimmer eine verschiedene ist[7]), und die erwärmenden Röhren nicht bloss unter den Sitz- und Schlafbänken, sondern auch unter der Diele und in den die Stuben von einander trennenden Wänden verlaufen[8]) u. s. w., wodurch in den Häusern eine solche Gleichmässigkeit der Temperatur erreicht wird, wie sie in jenen primitiven Wohnungen der Amur-Völker gar nicht denkbar ist.

Auch der Umstand endlich, dass die warmen Schlafbänke von den Giljaken und allen übrigen Amur-Völkern ganz in derselben Weise wie von den Chinesen benutzt

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1) Journeys in North China, Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, London 1870, Vol. II, p. 229.

2) Сунгарійская экспед. 1872 г. (Воен. Сборн., Т. XVII, 1874, № 2, стр. 332).

3) In der Mitte des Hauses, dort wo bei den Giljaken der Hundetisch steht, befindet sich eine aus Lehm oder Ziegelsteinen gemachte Erhöhung mit einer Höhlung von der Grösse einer ordentlichen Wanne. In dieser werden stets Holz und Holzkohlen gebrannt, so dass sie immer voll heisser Asche ist; da stehen Kessel mit heissem Wasser zum Nachfüllen der Theetassen, da werden Branntwein und Bier in zinnernen Gefässen gewärmt u. s. w. Williamson, l. c.

4) Obgleich es kaum ein Werk über China geben dürfte, in welchem nicht auch vom Kang als einer charakteristischen Eigenthümlichkeit der chinesischen Wohnungen die Rede wäre, so will ich hier doch auf einige, theils ältere, theils ausführlichere Erwähnungen oder Beschreibungen desselben hinweisen; so bei Du Halde (Descript. géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et litér. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris 1735, T. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandoises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. par Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, an VI (1798), T. I, p. 346), Davis (La Chine ou descript. génér. des moeurs et des coutumes etc. de l'empire Chinois, trad. de l'Angl. par Pichard, Paris 1837, T. I, p. 331), Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris 1854, T. II, p. 280), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London 1863, p. 193—194, 251 u. a.), Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de M-me de Bourboulon, Paris 1866, p. 24), Girard (France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois, Paris 1869, T. II, p. 384) u. A.

5) Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733—1743, Gottingen 1751, Bd. I, p. 418), Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. III, St. Petersb. 1776, p. 116) u. A. gaben ausführliche Beschreibungen des Kangs und der übrigen Bauart der chinesischen Häuser in Maimatschin gegenüber Kjachta. Bei Huc (Souv. d'un Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris 1850, T. I, p. 13) findet man eine ebensolche aus der Mongolei nahe der chinesischen Grenze.

6) Williamson, l. c. Vol. II, p. 304. Приморская обл., Путеш. въ Уссурійск. краѣ, С. Петерб. 1870, стр. 107.

7) Im Tai-Tsing hoei-tien ist es vorgeschrieben, wie viele Kangs es in den verschiedenen Gesandtschaftshotels geben soll. Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris 1843, II. Partie, p. 218.

8) Van Braam, l. c. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte »Novara« um die Erde in den J. 1857—1859 unter den Befehlen des Kommod. B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair, Anthropol. Theil, 3. Abtheil.: Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedr. Müller, Wien 1868, p. 158. In dem letzterwähnten Werke wird die Heizung durch Röhrenleitung »russische Art« genannt, was jedoch keineswegs eine nationalrussische Einrichtung ist.

werden, spricht für den chinesischen Ursprung derselben. Nach U-tschen legen sich die Chinesen auf dem Kang stets der Quere nach hin[1]), die Füsse gegen die Wand gerichtet[2]), und dasselbe wird auch von den Giljaken und den anderen Amur-Völkern mit abergläubischer Strenge beobachtet, während man in den Erdjurten in umgekehrter Lage, den Kopf gegen die Wand gekehrt, schläft. Als ich mich einmal in einem giljakischen Winterhause am Amur, um eine Stütze für das Kopfkissen zu haben, ebenso wie in der Erdjurte, den Kopf gegen die Wand gekehrt bettete, erregte es einen allgemeinen Unwillen der Giljaken, und von allen Seiten erscholl der Ruf: «*uitsch, uitsch*», was soviel wie «Unheil» oder «unheilbringend, unerlaubt» bedeutet. Der Grund, weshalb die Chinesen stets jene Lage auf dem Kang einnehmen, soll darin liegen, dass der an die Wand stossende Theil der Schlafbank in Folge der darunter verlaufenden Röhre besonders stark erwärmt wird und sich darum besser für die Füsse als für den Kopf eignet. In den Winterhäusern der Amur-Völker kommt noch ein anderer Umstand hinzu, der diese Sitte rechtfertigt. Legt man sich nämlich mit dem Kopf gegen die Wand, so setzt man sich dem aus, dass die Ratten, an denen diese Häuser überaus reich sind, und die stets längs der Wand hinlaufen, Einem beständig über das Gesicht rennen. Dennoch würde dies allein die Giljaken nicht bewegen, auch den Fremden diese Lage auf ihrem Kang nicht zu gestatten, wenn nicht der Aberglaube eine strenge Beobachtung der überlieferten Sitte verlangte und von einer jeden Verletzung derselben, durch wen es auch sei, Unheil für alle Inwohner des Hauses befürchtete.

Wann die chinesische Winterjurte zu den Giljaken am Amur gelangt ist und in allmählicher Verbreitung stromabwärts, die Erdjurte verdrängend, den Amur-Liman, die Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres und die Limanküste der Insel Sachalin erreicht hat, lässt sich aus Mangel an historischen Daten nicht bestimmen. In den Berichten von Pojarkof und Nagiba, die 1644/45 und 1652 unter den Giljaken an der Amur-Mündung und am Ochotskischen Meere überwinterten[3]), findet sich leider keinerlei Andeutung, die auf die Beschaffenheit der giljakischen Häuser zu jener Zeit schliessen liesse. Bei einem anderen paläasiatischen Volke, den Kamtschadalen, sehen wir die ursprüngliche Erdjurte in dem kurzen Zeitraume von etwa 50 Jahren vollständig vor einer importirten, fremdartigen Bauart der Wohnungen verschwinden. Zu Krascheninnikof's und Steller's Zeiten (in den vierziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts) wohnten die Kamtschadalen noch sämmtlich in Erdjurten von der oben erwähnten Beschaffenheit. Auch im Jahre 1779, als Clerke, der Nachfolger Cook's auf dessen dritten Reise, Kamtschatka besuchte, gab es, wenigstens im Süden der Halbinsel, zwischen dem Peterpaulshafen und Bolscherezk, noch Erdwohnungen[4]). Nur wenig später, 1790, berichtete aber Ssary-

1) Vrgl. Wassiljef's Uebersetzung von U-tschen's Schrift, l. c., p. 98.

2) Pallas, l. c. Auch im Amur-Lande habe ich die Chinesen nie anders auf dem Kang liegen sehen.

3) S. oben, p. 105, 107.

4) Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776—1780, unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, übers. von J. R. Forster, Berlin 1781, p. 333.

tschof von seiner Reise durchs Land, dass es nirgends mehr Erdjurten gebe, und dass statt derselben allenthalben Häuser nach russischem Muster (Blockhäuser, sogen. *isba's*) erbaut seien; nur die ebenfalls eigenthumlichen Sommerwohnungen der Kamtschadalen hatten sich noch erhalten [1]). Auf Grund einer Bemerkung Mamia Rinsô's auf seiner 1809 von Deren den Amur abwärts ausgeführten Reise könnte man auf den ersten Blick glauben, dass es in ähnlicher Weise auch bei den Giljaken am Amur zugegangen sei. Als er nämlich, aus dem Lande der S'janta (Oltscha) kommend, bei Horo (Chjare) das Gebiet der Smerenkur (Giljaken) betrat, bemerkte er, dass von dort ab Menschen, Wohnungen, Geräthe und Lebensweise anders und genau so wie auf Krafto (Sachalin) wurden [2]). Man könnte also meinen, dass die Giljaken am Amur damals noch in Erdjurten wie auf Sachalin wohnten. Allein das ist nicht möglich, denn, wie oben (p. 331) erwähnt, fand Krusenstern schon vier Jahre zuvor chinesische Winterjurten bei den Giljaken an der Nordspitze Sachalin's, also bereits an dem äussersten Punkte, bis wohin man diese Wohnungen auch heutzutage antrifft. Erwägt man zudem, dass Mamia Rinsô im Sommer reiste, so bleibt kein Zweifel übrig, dass seine obige Bemerkung sich auf die Sommerwohnungen bezieht, die in der That, wie wir sogleich sehen werden, bei den Giljaken am Amur ebenso wie auf Sachalin und ganz anders als bei ihren Nachbarn, den Oltscha, und den übrigen tungusischen Amur-Völkern sind. Die Verhältnisse lagen auch zu verschieden in Kamtschatka und im unteren Amur-Lande, um an beiden Orten ein gleich rasches Verschwinden nationaler Eigenthümlichkeiten hervorzubringen. Dort siedelten sich die Russen nach Eroberung des Landes unter den durch die vorhergegangenen blutigen Kämpfe stark gelichteten Eingeborenen bleibend an, indem sie Häuser nach ihrer eigenen Art bauten, und traten in beständigen, friedlichen Verkehr mit den Kamtschadalen, ja vermischten sich sogar mehr und mehr mit denselben. Kein Wunder daher, dass auch ihre Bauart der Häuser bald die allein übliche im ganzen Lande wurde. Anders mit den Chinesen und Mandshu im unteren Amur-Lande: eine Eroberung und Kolonisation dieses Landes durch die genannten Völker hat niemals stattgefunden. Wie oben ausführlich erörtert [3]), wurde und wird es vielmehr nur zeitweise von einzelnen Mandshu-Beamten und chinesischen Kaufleuten besucht, welche zudem, ein paar Punkte, an denen sie eigene Wohnungen haben, abgerechnet, ihren Aufenthalt stets in den Häusern der Eingeborenen nehmen, und dies auch nur unter den tungusischen Amur-Völkern, während die Giljaken auch den chinesischen Händlern den Zutritt in ihr Land verwehrten. Ohne Zweifel muss es daher lange gedauert haben, bis die chinesische Winterjurte von den Chinesen am Sungari, diesen Strom und den Amur abwärts von Volk zu Volk sich verbreitend, zu den Giljaken gelangte, und gewiss haben die Handelsreisen, welche Golde, Oltscha und Giljaken von Alters her alljährlich zu den Chinesen am Sungari auszuführen pflegen, und auf denen sie immer wieder Gelegenheit hatten, die Bauart der chinesischen Häuser kennen und schätzen zu lernen, am meisten zur Einbürgerung und weiteren Verbreitung derselben unter den Amur-Völkern beigetragen.

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1) Сарычевъ, Путеш. по Сѣверовост. части Сибири, ч. I, стр. 178.

2) Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Vrgl. auch oben, p. 118.

3) S. oben, p. 38, 70—71.

Beim Anbruch des Frühlings, im April und Mai, sehen sich die Giljaken genöthigt, ihre Winterwohnungen zu verlassen und die Sommerwohnungen zu beziehen. Zuerst werden die Bewohner der Erdjurten aus ihren Behausungen getrieben, indem diese durch das in Folge der Schneeschmelze und des Aufthauens des Erdbodens sowohl von oben, wie von den Seiten eindringende Wasser nass und unbewohnbar werden. Brauchbarer auch im Frühjahr und Sommer sind die zu ebener Erde gelegenen chinesischen Winterjurten, obwohl auch in diese bei rascher Schneeschmelze oder starken Regengüssen zuweilen Wasser durch oder über die niedrige Thürschwelle eindringt und den Fussboden aufweicht. Doch machen sich auch diese Wohnungen durch ihre warmen Schlafbänke, die schon durch die Bereitung der Speisen unwillkürlich immer von Neuem erhitzt werden, sowie durch die oben erwähnte Menge von lästigem Ungeziefer im Sommer unmöglich, und endlich verlangt auch der in dieser Jahreszeit zu betreibende Fischfang den Umzug in die für denselben günstiger und bequemer gelegenen Sommerwohnungen.

Die Sommerwohnung der Giljaken ist allenthalben, auf dem Festlande wie auf Sachalin, von derselben Beschaffenheit und trägt hier wie dort auch dieselbe Bezeichnung: *kàryf*. Der auffallendste Zug in ihrem Aeusseren ist, dass sie auf Pfählen ruht, die etwa 4 bis 5 Fuss über der Erde hervorragen. Nur an einzelnen Punkten der Westküste Sachalin's, südlich vom Amur-Liman, namentlich in Tangi, Choji, Arkai und Doï, habe ich auch zu ebener Erde gelegene Sommerhäuser gesehen, die jedoch im Uebrigen ganz von derselben äusseren und inneren Beschaffenheit wie die auf Pfählen ruhenden waren[1]). Der Zweck, den die Giljaken bei diesen Pfahlbauten im Auge haben, kann ein doppelter sein: einmal der, ihre Wohnungen vor Ueberschwemmungen zu schützen, da der Amur nicht selten in Folge lange anhaltender Regen stark anschwillt und die niedrigen Uferstrecken überschwemmt, und dann auch der, die Wohnungen dadurch, dass sie nicht unmittelbar auf dem feuchten Erdboden, sondern in einiger Höhe über demselben stehen und unter ihnen ein beständiger Luftzug stattfindet, der durch die Ritzen der Diele auch in das Haus selbst eindringt, luftiger und trockener zu machen, was um so nothwendiger ist, als in denselben meist auch ein Theil der bereits gemachten Fischvorräthe aufbewahrt wird. Beides dürfte auch für die an der Meeresküste wohnenden Giljaken maassgebend sein, denn auch dort muss, je nach der Lokalität, ein plötzliches Ansteigen des Wassers in Folge stürmischer Seewinde im Auge behalten werden, und was die Feuchtigkeit der Luft betrifft, so ist sie dort in Folge der Meeresnähe und der äusserst zahlreichen Nebel und Regen eine noch grössere. Wenn daher die Giljaken auf Sachalin stellenweise ihre Sommerhäuser zu ebener Erde bauen, so müssen sie sich dort, dank den Lokalverhältnissen, vor jener ersterwähnten Gefahr sicher wissen und ausserdem andere gewichtige Gründe zur Errichtung solcher Wohnungen haben. Und einen solchen Grund glaube ich darin zu finden, dass diese dem Winde minder ausgesetzten Wohnungen wärmer als die auf Pfählen ruhenden sind und darum schon früher im Jahre bezogen und längere Zeit in den Herbst hinein bewohnt werden können. Der erstere Umstand

1) Das grosse an der Nordspitze Sachalin's in der Bai Nafeshda gelegene Dorf (Ngyur-wo, s. oben, p. 331), das Krusenstern besuchte, hatte auf Pfählen ruhende Sommerhäuser. S. dessen Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 182.

ist aber namentlich für den südlichen Theil des giljakischen Gebietes von Sachalin von Bedeutung, wo die Giljaken schon früher im Jahr durch die Schneeschmelze aus ihren Erdjurten vertrieben werden. In jenem südlicheren Theile war es auch, wo ich solche zu ebener Erde gelegene Sommerhäuser antraf. In Tangi fand ich es schon am 8./20. Februar, in Arkai am 28. Febr. (11. März) bewohnt, als es noch völligen Winter gab. In Dul hingegen stand es am 27. Febr. (10. März) noch unbewohnt, doch logirte ich in demselben, weil die beiden Winterjurten des Orts in Folge eines starken Confluxes von Giljaken allzu überfüllt waren. Dieses letztere Sommerhaus lag, ungleich mehreren anderen, hart am Strande erbauten, weiter ab vom Meere, neben den Winterjurten und sollte seinem Besitzer namentlich noch im späten Herbst zum Aufenthalt dienen und erst zum Winter hin verlassen werden.

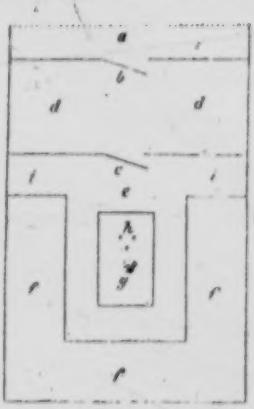

Plan einer giljakischen Sommerjurte (kâry/).

a — Gesims oder schmaler Balkon längs der Vorderseite der Jurte. *b*, *c* — Thüren. *d* — Vorraum zum Abstellen von Geräth und Vorräthen. *e* — Eigentliches Wohngemach. *f* — Schlafbänke. *g* — Herd. *h* — Steindreieck für den grossen Kessel. *i* — Kramwinkel.

Auf Taf. XIII ist eine Sommerwohnung der Amur-Giljaken, und zwar eine Jurte von Mäo, des Sommeraufenthaltes der im Winter in Kuik wohnenden Giljaken, abgebildet. Es ist ein auf Pfählen ruhender, etwa 3 Faden breiter und 4—5 Faden langer Bau von ziemlich plumpem Aussehen. Die Wände sind aus dünnen Balken aufgebaut, die ebenso wie an den Winterhäusern an ihren Enden nicht in einander gefügt, sondern nur etwas zugespitzt und in die Rinnen senkrecht stehender Pfähle gesteckt sind. Das ziemlich flache Dach besteht aus roh zugehauenen Brettern, die durch quer befestigte Stangen zusammengehalten werden. Auf einem an der Vorderseite des Hauses schräg aufgestellten, mit Einkerbungen versehenen Balken steigt man auf ein ebenes, schmales, längs der ganzen Façade des Hauses verlaufendes und durch das etwas vorspringende Dach zum Theil noch gedecktes Gesims, das man einen schmalen Balkon nennen möchte [1]). Es ist der nach vorn durch eine punktirte Linie begrenzte Raum *a* auf dem beifolgenden Plan des giljakischen Sommerhauses. Genau in der Mitte der Vorderseite des Hauses oder auch, wie in der Abbildung auf Taf. XIII, etwas zur Seite befindet sich der Eingang zu demselben (*b*). Durch diesen gelangt man jedoch erst in einen ansehnlichen Vorraum (*d*), der zum Abstellen verschiedener Geräthe, wie zum Aufbewahren von Fischvorräthen u. drgl. m. dient, und erst hinter demselben befindet sich das eigentliche Wohngemach (*e*) [2]). Dieses ist genau ebenso wie das Innere der Erdjurten beschaffen,

1) Krusenstern (l. c.) nennt es eine Galerie.

2) Krusenstern fand dieses Gemach verschlossen und hielt es für das Frauengemach, was zu seinen übrigen Vorstellungen über eine aus «Tataren» bestehende Bevölkerung Nordsachalin's passte, der Wirklichkeit aber gar nicht entspricht.

indem längs drei Wänden desselben, zu beiden Seiten und hinten, der Eingangsthür (*c*) gegenüber, niedrige und breite Pritschen oder Schlafbänke (*f*) verlaufen, und in der Mitte, zwischen denselben, ein ebenso wie dort geformter Herd sich erhebt, über welchem im Dach eine Oeffnung sich befindet, die als Rauchfang dient und eigentlich aus zwei in den beiden Dachhälften gelegenen und am Giebelbalken zusammenstossenden Oeffnungen besteht. Unter derselben sind über dem Herde einige Längs- und Querstangen angebracht, auf welche das Hakenholz gehängt wird, dass den Kessel über dem Feuer zu tragen hat. Aehnliche Längs- und Querstangen laufen zum Theil auch über den Schlafbänken und dienen zum Aufhängen von Kleidungsstücken. In den Winkeln zwischen den seitlichen Schlafbänken und der Vorderwand, rechts und links von der Thür, stehen Etagéren mit allerhand Geräth, ein grosses Gefäss mit Trinkwasser, ein kleiner Vorrath Brennholz für den Herd u. drgl. m. Da das ganze Gemach nicht hoch und das Dach ziemlich flach ist, so liegt auch die grosse Rauchfangöffnung nur in geringer Höhe über Einem, was zusammen mit den vielen Ritzen in den Wänden und der Diele das Haus in der That sehr luftig macht. Werden zudem auch die Thüren nach dem Vorraum und aus diesem nach draussen geöffnet, so entsteht ein starker Zugwind. Die Sommerwohnung ist daher in der Regel ganz frei von Rauch und, was sehr wichtig ist, auch ziemlich frei von Mücken. Auch der Vorraum (*d*) kann, wenn die in demselben lagernden Vorräthe es erfordern, noch besonders ventilirt werden, indem seine Wände zum Theil nur aus senkrecht aufgerichteten Brettern bestehen, die in beliebiger Anzahl leicht herausgehoben werden können, wie es an der Jurte von Mäo zur Zeit, als sie abgebildet wurde, auch geschehen war. Endlich ist noch eines zwar unscheinbaren, aber in seinen Folgen für die Giljaken doch sehr wichtigen Umstandes beim Bau ihrer Sommerwohnungen zu erwähnen. Um diese den in den Winterjurten so zahlreichen Ratten unzugänglich zu machen, was bei der Menge der in ihnen sich ansammelnden Fischvorräthe äusserst nothwendig ist, wird auf das obere Ende eines jeden die Jurte tragenden Pfahles ein den Umfang desselben nach allen Seiten überragendes Birkenrindenstück gelegt, was erfahrungsgemäss vollkommen ausreichen soll, um die Ratten zu verhindern, durch Aufwärtssteigen längs den Pfählen in die Jurte einzudringen. Unter der Jurte, zwischen den Pfählen werden die Schlitten zum Schutz gegen den Regen aufgehängt, und unter demselben schirmenden Dach finden auch die Hunde einen passenden Aufenthaltsort.

Die obige Beschreibung gilt, wenn man von dem speciell auf den Pfahlbau Bezüglichen absieht, auch für die an manchen Punkten Sachalin's zu ebener Erde gelegenen und, wie bereits erwähnt, ganz ebenso beschaffenen Sommerwohnungen der Giljaken, und es genügt daher ihr nur noch folgende, speciell auf diese letzteren bezügliche Bemerkung hinzuzufügen. Steht die Jurte zu ebener Erde, so kommt auch das an ihrer Vorderseite vorspringende flache Gesims, der Raum *o*, auf dem Erdboden zu liegen. So lange noch der Winter währt, wird dieser Raum dazu benutzt, vor dem Eingange zur Jurte einen, wenn auch nur nothdürftigen Schirm zu errichten. Zu dem Zweck werden hier zu beiden Seiten und vorn, wo auf dem Plan die punktirte Linie sich befindet, einige Stangen und Bretter senkrecht aufgestellt und, mit Ausnahme eines Durchganges, durch ein Ruthengeflecht mit einander verbunden und die Zwischenräume noch mit

Gras und Reisig ausgefüllt, so dass eine Art Vorhaus entsteht. Dieses wird den Hunden zum Aufenthaltsort angewiesen, welche, zu beiden Seiten des Einganges zum Hause gelagert, eine gute Wache für dasselbe abgeben.

Da die Hauptbeschäftigung der Giljaken während des Sommers im Fischfang und im Bereiten von Fischvorräthen für den Winter besteht, so sieht man neben den Sommerwohnungen stets auch manche dem letzteren Zweck dienliche Vorrichtungen. So fehlen nirgends mehr oder minder zahlreiche offene, zum Aufhängen und Dörren der Fische an der Sonne bestimmte Gerüste, und nicht selten findet man ein von Pfählen getragenes, ganz ebenso wie an den Sommerjurten, nur noch rober gezimmertes Dach, mit Querstangen darunter, an welchen die reihenweise aufgehängten Fische, gegen Regen und Sonne geschützt, im beständigen Luftzuge getrocknet werden (s. Taf. XIII)[1]. Zur Aufbewahrung der im Sommer gemachten Vorräthe dienen besondere Vorrathshäuser, die aber, da der Verbrauch im Winter stattfindet, stets neben den Winterwohnungen liegen, so dass die Vorräthe, nach Maassgabe als sie anwachsen, dahin abgeführt werden.

Die Vorrathshäuser der Giljaken (*njö*, im Tro- und Tymy-Dialekt *njo*) sehen auf den ersten Blick den Sommerwohnungen sehr ähnlich aus, indem sie wie diese auf Pfählen (denen das obenbesprochene Birkenrindenstück nicht fehlen darf[2]), ruhen und ebensolche Wände und Dächer, ja auch ein ebensolches balkonartiges Gesims an ihrer Vorderseite haben, zu welchem man auf einem mit Einkerbungen versehenen dünnen Balken, den man leicht abheben kann, hinansteigt; nur sind auch die grössten unter ihnen stets kleiner als jene, und der Eingang ebenfalls niedriger und enger, ja bisweilen nur eine ungefähr quadratische Luke, die gerade gross genug ist, dass ein Mensch in gebückter Stellung hindurchsteigen kann, und deren Verschluss aus einem genau passenden Brett besteht, vor welches statt eines Riegels ein Querholz vorgeschoben wird[3]. Das Innere des Vorrathshauses ist meist durch eine Querwand in zwei Abtheilungen getheilt, die durch eine Thür mit einander in Verbindung stehen, so dass es in demselben, wie der beifolgende Plan zeigt, elf gesonderte, grössere oder kleinere Wandflächen giebt, an denen die Fischvorräthe aufgehäuft werden.

Plan eines giljakischen Vorrathshauses (*njö*, *njo*).
a — Balkonartiges Gesims an der Vorderseite des Hauses. *b* — Eingangsluke. *c* — Vordere, *d* — hintere Abtheilung. *e* — Thür zwischen denselben. *f* bis *q* — Die elf Wandflächen.

1) Genaueres über die Behandlung der Fische vor dem Trocknen, sowie über die Verwerthung der einzelnen Theile derselben u. drgl. wird später, am entsprechenden Orte mitgetheilt werden.

2) Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. III, p. 482) erzählt, dass die Tscheremissen an der Kama und Wjatka, gleich wie auch die mohrian Kazan'schen Tataren, ihr vorräthiges Getreide in Garben zu runden zugespitzten Haufen über vier durch Balken verbundene und mit Rinden bedeckte Pfähle aufstellen, wodurch es den Mäusen unzugänglich gemacht wird.

3) Auf einer später folgenden, einen Leichenzug der Giljaken darstellenden Tafel findet sich u. A. auch die Abbildung der Vorderseite eines solchen Vorrathshauses.

Wie die Erdjurte, so sind auch sämmtliche oben besprochene Pfahlbauten, die Sommerjurte, das Vorrathshaus u. s. w., ursprüngliche, eigenartig giljakische Baulichkeiten, die den Nachbarn der Giljaken, den tungusischen Amur-Völkern fehlen, hingegen aber bei manchem anderen paläasiatischen Volke wiederkehren. So z. B. waren die Sommerwohnungen der Kamtschadalen, nach Krascheninnikof's und Steller's Beschreibungen und einer vom Letzteren mitgetheilten Abbildung, auf hohen Pfählen erbaute, pyramidale Hütten, die von den Russen mit dem Namen *Balagan* belegt wurden [1]). Die nordwestamerikanischen Eskimo am Kwichpak, am Norton-Sunde und auch am Eismeere errichten ihre Vorrathshäuser auf hohen Pfählen über der Erde, um die in denselben während des Sommers aufbewahrten Fischvorräthe, Häute, Felle u. drgl. sowohl gegen die Feuchtigkeit, als auch gegen die Angriffe der Mäuse, Füchse, Wölfe und besonders der im Sommer allezeit hungrigen Hunde sicher zu stellen [2]).

Somit kann man die Giljaken dort, wo sie noch ihre ursprünglichen Wohnungen und Baulichkeiten beibehalten haben, und ebenso manche andere paläasiatische Völker im Winter gewissermaassen als Höhlenbewohner oder Troglodyten, im Sommer als Pfahlbaubewohner bezeichnen. Sie stehen in dieser Beziehung noch auf einem Standpunkt, der auf europäischem Boden einer weit zurückliegenden, prähistorischen Zeit angehört. Auch von dieser Seite wird also die Bezeichnung paläasiatische Völker, welche ich für diese Ueberreste einer alten, ehemals auf asiatischem Boden weiter verbreiteten Bevölkerung vorgeschlagen habe, in gewissem Sinne gerechtfertigt.

Bevor ich die Giljaken verlasse, muss ich noch auf die oben berührte Frage einer ungefähren Bestimmung ihrer Gesammtzahl nach der Anzahl ihrer Winterwohnungen zurückkommen. Eine solche Schätzung kann nur auf Grundlage der Winter-, nicht der Sommerwohnungen vorgenommen werden, schon aus dem Grunde, weil die Zahl der ersteren sich weit leichter als diejenige der letzteren mit einiger Genauigkeit ermitteln lässt. Fallen die grossen Winterhäuser mit ihren gesondert nebenanstehenden, bisweilen gar Rauch ausströmenden Schornsteinen dem Reisenden jederzeit leichter in die Augen, so ist dies im Winter noch ganz besonders der Fall, denn auf der alsdann von Dorf zu Dorf gehenden Fahrt bringt ihn die mit Hunden bespannte

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1) Крашенинниковъ, Опис. земли Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путеш. по Россіи, Т. II, С. Петерб. 1819, стр. 37). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankf. u. Leipz. 1774, p. 218. Auch Steller giebt als zwingenden Grund für die Erbauung solcher «lüftigen Wohnungen» die Feuchtigkeit der Luft und des Erdbodens in Kamtschatka an. Daraus lässt sich auch die Thatsache erklären, dass diese eigenartigen Wohnungen sich noch forterhielten, nachdem die Erdjurten, wie oben erwähnt, bereits durch Häuser von russischer Art verdrängt worden waren.

2) Загоскинъ, Путешеств. внутрь русск. владѣн. въ Америкѣ, С. Петерб. 1847, Ч. I, стр. 86. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston 1870, p. 27. Jacobsen, Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, Leipzig 1884, p. 173. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, Hannover 1858, p. 62. Bei Dall (l. c., p. 13 und 63) finden sich auch Abbildungen solcher, wie Seemann treffend sich ausdrückt, «taubenähnlichen» Gebäude. Die Bezeichnung *Barabara* für dieselben (Zagoskin, l. c.), welche Dall übrigens auch für die Sommer- und Winterwohnungen der Eskimo braucht (l. c., p. 39, 62), ist nach Steller (l. c., p. 218, bei ihm «*Barabara*») durch Entstellung seitens der russischen Kosaken in Kamschatka des Wortes «*barapara*» entstanden, worunter jedoch die Kamtschadalen eine zum Nachtlager aus langem Grase errichtete Hütte verstehen.

Narte unmittelbar vor eines der Winterhäuser, während die abseits und bisweilen in ziemlich grosser Entfernung von denselben ohne Weg und Steg gelegenen Sommerhäuser leicht übersehen, oder auch mit den ihrem Baue nach sehr ähnlichen Vorrathshäusern verwechselt werden können. Zudem beziehen sich die Angaben der Giljaken selbst, auf die Frage nach der Anzahl der Häuser an diesem oder jenem Orte, stets nur auf die Winterwohnungen. Denn in diesen festen, geräumigen, mit einem grösseren Aufwande von Kraft und Mühe errichteten Behausungen concentrirt sich das Leben der Giljaken während der längsten Zeit des Jahres, etwa von Mitte October bis Mitte Mai, also sieben Monate hindurch. Dort findet ein Jeder von ihnen auf seinen Winterfahrten und Reisen gastliche Aufnahme, Obdach und Nahrung für sich und seine Hunde, dort werden unter Conflux von nah und fern die Bärenfestlichkeiten begangen u. s. w., kurz, die Winterwohnungen sind die eigentlichen festen Wohnsitze der Giljaken, während im Sommer schon der Fischfang und das Sammeln von Vorräthen aller Art die gesammte Bevölkerung in eine mehr oder minder fluctuirende Bewegung versetzen und über einen weiteren Raum zerstreuen, und zudem auch die mildere Jahreszeit das Haus weniger erforderlich macht. Desshalb ist der Winter, nebenbei bemerkt, auch die für ethnographische Forschungen unter den Giljaken geeignetste Jahreszeit. Uebrigens ist die Anzahl der Winterwohnungen der einzelnen giljakischen Ortschaften auch noch aus einem anderen Grunde von Interesse, denn sie giebt einen unmittelbaren Maassstab für die Grösse und Bedeutung derselben ab und lässt die Haupt- und Mittelpunkte des giljakischen Lebens sowohl im Ganzen, wie in den einzelnen Gebietstheilen erkennen. Solche Haupt- und Mittelpunkte sind aber für den Ethnographen stets von besonderer Wichtigkeit, weil dort der Nationalcharakter des Volkes in der Regel schärfer und prägnanter ausgeprägt erscheint und die eigenartigen Sitten und Gebräuche am längsten vor fremden Einflüssen bewahrt bleiben, während es an kleinen Orten leichter dazu kommt, dass in Folge von persönlichem Verkehr, von Mischehen der wenigen Insassen mit Angehörigen eines Nachbarstammes u. drgl. mancher nationale Charakterzug sich verwischt, ja im Laufe der Zeit auch manche fremdartige Anschauung und Sitte Eingang findet, wofür ich in der Folge mehr als einen Beleg anzuführen Gelegenheit haben werde.

Leider bin ich nicht im Stande, die Zahl der Winterwohnungen im gesammten Giljaken-Gebiete anzugeben. In den von mir bereisten Theilen desselben, wie auf dem Festlande am Amur-Strom und Liman, auf Sachalin an der Westküste von Poghobi bis Dul und im Innern längs dem ganzen Tymy-Fluss bis etwas nördlich über seine Mündung hinaus, habe ich sie durch eigenes Nachzählen, in anderen, anstossenden Theilen, wie an der Westküste Sachalin's nördlich von Poghobi und südlich von Dul, durch vielfaches Nachfragen bei den Giljaken selbst ermitteln können. Für die Ostküste Sachalin's liegen einige Angaben Glehn's vor[1]). Nur von dem am Ochotskischen Meer gelegenen Theile des Giljaken-Gebietes fehlen uns, die kleine, eben-

1) Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 238).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

falls von mir besuchte Strecke zwischen Kulj und dem Amur-Liman abgerechnet, alle Daten [1]).

Der Uebersichtlichkeit wegen und weil von vielen einzelnen Ortschaften der Giljaken im Verlaufe dieses Werks noch oftmals die Rede sein wird, theile ich nachstehend ein tabellarisches Verzeichniss sämmtlicher mir theils und zumeist aus eigener Erfahrung, theils aus den Angaben Glehn's bekannten Giljaken-Dörfer und der Zahl ihrer Winterwohnungen mit.

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1) Middendorff wurde bei seinem Aufenthalt im Tugur-Busen (im J. 1844) erzählt, dass es vom Cap Umolongto (Muktelja), der am weitesten nordwärts vorspringenden Spitze dieser Küste, bis zur Amur-Mündung vier grosse Giljaken-Dörfer gäbe (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abtheil., St. Petersb. 1853, p. 818).

Verzeichniss der Giljaken-Dörf

Festland.

Amur-Strom von der Mündung aufwärts. Lauter chinesische Jurten.				Amur-Liman von N nach S. Lauter chines. Jurten[1]).	Küste des Ochotsk. Meeres vom Liman westwärts. Lauter chinesische Jurten.	Westküste von N nach S. Chin Erdjurten[1]).
Linkes Ufer.		Rechtes Ufer.				
Tschcharbach	3	Ngale-wo	3	Langr	8	Abdä	1	Ngywr-we	3 chin
Tschchyrkrach	2	Wassj	3	Puir	3	Olgh-wo	1	Tumi-we	2 »
Pelchä	1	Pyghu	1	Pattach	2	Tägl	1	Pilja-we	1 »
Kuik (Kutgri-wo)	2	Allof	2	Pronge	2	Kulj (Kolj)	10 [4]	Muisih-we	—
Saabach	2	Kaki	3 (?)	Ngalu	1	Weiterhin fehlt es an Daten.		Pomyr-we	3 chin
Wair (Wail)	16	Erli	2	Chusl	1			Ngyl-we	1 »
Kunstif	2	Tebach	7	Tachori	1			Wisuk-we	3 »
Magho	11	Chessj	3	My	4			Lyrkr-we	4 »
Kalgho	5	Tschylm	3	Warki	2			Tanla-we	über 12 »
Pall-wo	2 (?)	Tscht	8	Tymi	1			Matent-tigr-we	3 »
Tschlja [2])	1	Kaharezbach	1	Tschomi	11			Tylent-tigr-we	1 »
Nyhki	1	Kuk	3	Gesammtzahl 36				Nganj-we	4 »
Tlale	1 (?)	Angkalm	3	darunter 1 Erdj.				Mangal-we	1 »
Gesammtzahl	49	Kalm	2					Matach-we	2 »
		Hokk [3])	3					Tulkaj	2 »
		Taur-we	2					Talvant-tigr-we	1 »
		Tylm	2					Tscheghngi	1 Erdj
		Achza	1					Pyrki	1 »
		Tschalmak	1					Jugdama	1 »
		Mchyl	3					Lektachi	1 »
		Palych	1					Dshongi	1 chin.
		Pati	5					Ngyith	1 Erdj
		Chylk	2					Warsj	1 »
		Holm	1 (?)					Wismeryf	1 »
		Pulmi	1					Poghobi	2 »
		Chjaro	1					Tyk	6 »
		Aure [4])	3					Wjachto	1 »
		Gesammtzahl	70					Choji	2 »
								Tangi	1 »
								Mygnai	1 »
								Arkai	1 »
								Dui	2 »
								Adogi	1 »
								Kiheus [3])	3 »
								Chogranj	1 »
								Pilja-wo [3]) (Porohotan)	3 »
Gesammtzahl am		Amur-Strom 119.						Gesammtzahl	48 chin.

e Zahl ihrer Winterwohnungen[1]).

Insel Sachalin.

Tymy-Fluss von den Quellen abwärts. Lauter Erdjurten.		Ostküste von N nach S. Lauter Erdjurten.
Linkes Ufer.	Rechtes Ufer.	
[illegible]-wo . . . 1	Dejah-wo 1	Koihygr-wo[10]) . 1
[illegible]-wo . . . 3	Ud-wo 1	Chankes 1
[illegible][2]) . . 2	Pud-wo 3	Ngod 1
[illegible]-wo . . 1	Sill-wo 2	Urdkt 1
[illegible] . . . 1	Tachlo-wo . . . 2	Kakr-wo 3
[illegible] . . . 1	Udmk-wo . . . 7	Charkr-wo . . . ?
[illegible] . . . 2	Plub-wo 1	Tschai-wo . . . 10
[illegible]-wo[3]) . . 1	Tafts-wo 1	Lad-wo 3
[illegible] . . . 1	Tachchar-wo . . . 1	Tyrmyx . . . . ?
[illegible] . 13	Gesammtzahl . 19	Nyi 6
Gesammtzahl	am Tymy-Fluss . 32	Wenggi 2
		Kasengat-wo . . 1
		Mandshubafd-wo . 1
		Milk-wo } Tagri[11]) } . . . 9
		Ngabll 3
		Lub-wo . . . . ?
		Lung-wo . . . . ?
		Pilngi . . . . . ?
		Tschamr-wo . . . ?
		Gesammtzahl ohne die Dörfer mit fraglicher Jurtenzahl 42
		mit denselben, die Zahl ihrer Jurten zu je zwei angenommen (worüber später) 51

ANMERKUNGEN.

1) Die meisten der hier angeführten kleinen Orte haben auf der Karte des beschränkten Raumes wegen nicht angegeben werden können.

2) An dem mit dem Amur in Verbindung stehenden See gleiches Namens gelegen (s. oben, p. 16).

3) Zwischen diesem und dem folgenden Dorfe liegen die beiden oben (p. 18, 26) erwähnten Ottscha-Dörfer Tyr mit 2 und Tschilwi mit 6 Jurten.

4) Von diesem etwas nördlich von Kidsi gelegenen Ottscha-Dorfe, das unter seinen 8 Hausern drei beständig von Giljaken bewohnt hat, ist oben (p. 18) die Rede gewesen.

5) Mit alleiniger Ausnahme der einen, oben (p. 332) besprochenen Erdjurte von Pattach.

6) Nach den von Middendorff bei den Giljaken am Urban-Busen eingesammelten, mir handschriftlich mitgetheilten Nachrichten.

7) Die längs dieser Küste Sachalin's am Liman und am Ochotskischen Meer gelegenen Dörfer sind oben (p. 332) schon aufgezählt worden, behufs Vergleichung der Mittheilungen Glehn's über dieselben mit den von mir gesammelten Nachrichten, welche mit jenen Angaben in Beziehung auf die Zahl und Beschaffenheit der Winterwohnungen, sowie zum Theil auch in Beziehung auf die Namen der Ortschaften nicht ganz harmoniren. Man möge es daher entschuldigen, wenn sie der allgemeinen Uebersicht wegen hier nochmals angeführt werden. Da sich jedoch aus jener Vergleichung eine gewisse Abnahme der Bevölkerung dieser Küste in den Jahren 1857 bis 1861 ergab, und es hier darauf ankommt, die noch vor derselben, zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes im Amur-Lande gewesenen Verhältnisse zu constatiren, so sind in diesem Verzeichnisse nur die von mir selbst ermittelten Daten berücksichtigt worden.

8) Da dieses Dorf und das südlicher gelegene, ebenso viele Jurten zählende Pilja-wo eine halb aus Giljaken, halb aus Aino zusammengesetzte Bevölkerung haben, so sind bei der Summirung für beide Orte zusammen nur 3 Jurten gezählt worden.

9) Die Dörfer Pud-wo und Tachchar-wo liegen an beiden Ufern des Flusses mit der angegebenen Jurtenzahl.

10) Glehn beginnt mit diesem Dorfe die Reihe der an der Westküste Sachalin's gelegenen Ortschaften, giebt aber selbst an, dass es an der Nordspitze der Insel, zwischen den Caps Elisabeth und Maria liege, und meint, dass es dasselbe Dorf sei, welches Krusenstern in der Nord-Bais sah. Da letzteres jedoch ein sehr grosses Dorf war (somit 27 Häusern, darunter freilich manche gewiss nur Vorrathshäuser waren), grösser als das später in der Bai Nadeshda von ihm besuchte (Krusenstern, l. c., p. 182 u. 184), und dieses Dorf, Ngywr-wo, noch zu meiner Zeit 5 chinesische Jurten zählte, so ist nicht wohl denkbar, dass das in der Nord-Bai gelegene Dorf nur wenige Jahre später, wie Glehn (l. c., p. 232, Anm. 1) meint, bis auf eine kleine Erdjurte zusammengeschmolzen sein sollte.

11) Vermuthlich ist dies dasselbe Dorf, welches Glehn unter dem Namen Tahr-Nyi (d. h. jenseitiges Nyi) aufführt, im Gegensatz zu dem obigen Dorfe dieses letzteren Namens, das er als Tuhr-Nyi (d. h. diesseitiges Nyi) bezeichnet. Auf dieses Dorf Tagri und das ihm nordwärts benachbarte Milk-wo, die ersten südwärts oder, von Norden gegangen, jenseits der Tymy-Mündung gelegenen Dörfer, muss ich daher auch die von Glehn für Tahr-Nyi angegebene Jurtenzahl beziehen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Wie man aus diesem Verzeichniss sieht, bestehen sehr viele giljakische Ortschaften nur aus einer einzigen Winterwohnung, sei es eine chinesische, oder eine Erdjurte. Nur zwei oder drei Winterjurten zählen die meisten Giljaken-Dörfer. Dies ist, wie man sich aus dem obigen Verzeichniss überzeugen kann, die mittlere Jurtenzahl in den Giljaken-Dörfern, und zwar kommen auf dem Continent, am Amur-Strom und Liman, im Durchschnitt je drei, auf der Insel Sachalin, an der Westküste und im Tymy-Thale, je zwei Jurten auf ein Dorf. Aus diesem Grunde habe ich oben bei Bestimmung der Gesammtzahl der Winterjurten an der Ostküste Sachalin's für die sechs Dörfer, deren Jurtenzahl sowohl Glehn, wie mir unbekannt geblieben ist, je zwei Erdjurten auf das Dorf gerechnet. Dörfer von 4 und 5 Jurten gehören schon zu den ansehnlichen und sind in allen Einzelgebieten des von den Giljaken eingenommenen Landes nur in geringer Zahl anzutreffen; doch giebt es in jedem dieser Gebiete auch einzelne Orte mit noch grösserer Jurtenzahl, von 6 bis 10 und darüber, und diese lassen sich als die Haupt- und Mittelpunkte der einzelnen Gebietstheile, ja die grössten unter ihnen auch als die Haupt- und Centralpunkte des gesammten Giljaken-Landes bezeichnen. Das grösste giljakische Dorf auf dem Festlande ist Wair oder Wait, wie die Russen es zu nennen pflegen. Im Mündungstheile des Amur-Stromes gelegen, in ziemlich gleicher Entfernung sowohl von dem oberhalb seiner letzten Biegung sich erstreckenden Gebiete, als auch vom Amur-Liman, von Nordsachalin und der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres, liegt Wair gewissermaassen im Mittelpunkte des gesammten, festländischen, wie insularen Wohngebietes der Giljaken. Mit seinen 16, etwas landeinwärts vom Strome in zwei Reihen gelegenen Winterhäusern, den vielen davor, dicht am Ufer sich erhebenden Sommerjurten, den zahlreichen, neben und zwischen verstreuten grossen und kleinen Vorrathshäusern, offenen oder überdachten Trockengerüsten u. drgl. macht es den Eindruck eines grossen, stark bevölkerten Dorfes, einer Metropole des giljakischen Lebens. Nur wenig oberhalb Wair's liegt ein anderes grosses Giljaken-Dorf, das 11 Jurten zählende Magho, und schräg gegenüber das 7 Jurten starke Tebach, das, an der letzten Biegung des Stromes nach Osten gelegen, sowohl dem Mündungs-, wie dem nach aufwärts angrenzenden Theile desselben gehört. In diesem letzteren Stücke des Wohngebietes der Giljaken liegen die Dörfer am dichtesten zusammen, doch sind es fast lauter kleine Orte mit je 2 oder 3 Jurten, und nur die beiden Hauptpunkte Tacht und Patt gehen über jenes Maass hinaus. Am Liman nehmen Langr im Norden und Tschomi im Süden die dominirende Stellung ein, jenes als Hauptvermittelungspunkt zwischen der Amur-Mündung, der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres und Nordsachalin, dieses im beständigen Verkehr sowohl mit der Westküste Sachalin's, den Tymy- und Tro-Giljaken, als auch andererseits über das Gebirge hinweg mit den am Amur gelegenen Dörfern. An der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres ist Kulj oder Kolj der Hauptort, von dessen Existenz Middendorff schon am Tugur-Busen Kunde erhielt[1]), und der den Schilderungen der Giljaken zufolge dort eine ähnliche Rolle wie Wair am Amur-Strome zu spielen

[1]) Der Ort heisst in Middendorff's handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen über seinen Besuch bei den Giljaken «Kwob» und in Baer's Bericht über dessen Reise (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abthl., p. 820) «Kwob».

scheint. Dieselbe Bedeutung gebührt an der Liman-Küste Sachalin's dem bereits oben erwähnten, durch den räuberischen Sinn seiner, wie schon der Name sagt, zahlreichen Bevölkerung übel berüchtigten Tamla-wo. Der vom Nordjapanischen Meer bespülte Theil der Westküste Sachalin's hat fast nur kleine Dörfer aufzuweisen, indem das sechs Erdjurten starke Dorf Tyk der einzige grössere Ort und der Hauptpunkt der ganzen Küste ist. Im Tymy-Thale auf Sachalin, das namentlich in seinem obersten Theile eine Menge kleiner Ortschaften hat, geben Pud-wo und Udmk-wo die Hauptpunkte ab, und an der Ostküste Sachalin's endlich sind Tschai-wo und Nyi die Hauptorte.

Will man nun aus der Zahl der Winterwohnungen auf die Stärke der giljakischen Bevölkerung in ihren einzelnen Gebietstheilen, wie im Ganzen schliessen, so muss zuvörderst bestimmt werden, wie viel ständige Bewohner im Durchschnitt auf eine chinesische und eine Erdjurte gerechnet werden dürfen. Wie die giljakischen Häuser nicht von einem Einzelnen errichtet werden, sondern mehr oder minder unter Mithülfe und Betheiligung aller Ortsgenossen oder Angehörigen entstehen, so werden sie dem communistischen Geiste gemäss, der die Naturvölker auszeichnet, in der Regel auch nicht von einer einzelnen Familie, sondern von mehreren zugleich bewohnt. Wie man aus der obigen Beschreibung ersieht, bietet eine nach chinesischem Muster gebaute Winterjurte der Giljaken mit ihren vier langen Schlafbänken einen hinlänglichen und bequemen Raum für vier Familien dar. Rechnet man nun den Bestand einer Familie im Durchschnitt auch nur auf vier Personen, Mann, Frau und zwei Kinder, so gäbe das schon je 16 Insassen auf eine chinesische Winterjurte. Allerdings wird gewiss manche Jurte auch nur von einer oder ein paar Familien bewohnt, wie ich es selbst wiederholentlich gesehen habe, ja hier und da stösst man auch auf eine den ganzen Winter über leer stehende, anscheinend verlassene Jurte. Dafür finden aber in den Jurten neben und ausser den erwähnten Familiengliedern auch einzelnstehende Personen beiderlei Geschlechts, sei es aus verwandtschaftlichen Rücksichten, sei es gegen bestimmte Dienstleistungen, ein festes und beständiges Unterkommen. Auch ist jene oben angenommene Durchschnittszahl von nur je zwei Kindern auf eine Familie ohne Zweifel nicht allzu gross. Ich glaube daher gewiss nicht zu hoch zu greifen, wenn ich auf eine chinesische Winterjurte im Durchschnitt 16 und auf eine Erdjurte, da sie nur je drei und dazu viel kürzere Schlafbänke als jene enthält und überhaupt ansehnlich weniger Raum bietet, nur halb so viel, also durchschnittlich nur 8 Personen rechne. Auf dieser Grundlage lassen sich annähernde Bevölkerungszahlen der einzelnen, oben besprochenen giljakischen Gebietstheile unschwer ermitteln. Nur für einen dieser Gebietstheile, die Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres, langen die vorhandenen Daten auch dazu nicht hin, da uns die Zahl der an dieser Küste gelegenen Winterwohnungen der Giljaken, mit Ausnahme der kleinen Strecke zwischen dem Amur-Liman und dem Dorfe Kulj, noch unbekannt ist. Hier muss daher noch in einer anderen Weise annähernd gerechnet werden. Der uns unbekannte Theil dieser Küste, von Kulj bis zum Tugur-Busen, beträgt etwa das Sechs- bis Siebenfache der zwischen Kulj und dem Liman gelegenen Strecke; man braucht daher nur die für diese letztere nach der Anzahl ihrer Jurten ermittelte Bevölkerungszahl 6—7 mal zu vergrössern, um eine annähernde Grösse für die Bevölkerung der ganzen

Küste bis zum Tugur-Busen zu erhalten. Da es jedoch nicht unwahrscheinlich ist, dass die Stärke der giljakischen Bevölkerung längs dieser Küste mit der Annäherung zu der Amur-Mündung, dem Amur-Liman und Sachalin wächst, und es in der That an derselben weiter westwärts, auch den Angaben der Giljaken zufolge, kein zweites Kulj mehr giebt, so glaube ich richtiger zu gehen und wiederum nicht zu hoch zu greifen, wenn ich zur Bestimmung der Gesammtzahl der giljakischen Bevölkerung an dieser Küste nicht das Sechs- bis Sieben-, sondern nur das Fünffache der für die Strecke zwischen Kulj und dem Amur-Liman ermittelten Zahl nehme.

Demnach ergeben sich für die einzelnen Gebietstheile und das Gesammtgebiet der Giljaken folgende minimale Bevölkerungszahlen:

Festland.		Insel Sachalin.	
Amur-Strom	1904	Westküste	1016
Amur-Liman	568	Tymy-Fluss	256
Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres	1040	Ostküste	432
zusammen	3512	zusammen	1704

Somit beträgt die Gesammtzahl der Giljaken auf dem Festlande und der Insel Sachalin zum wenigsten 5216 oder in runder Zahl etwa 5000 Seelen.

Gehen wir von den Giljaken zu den tungusischen Amur-Völkern über, so muss zuvörderst ein Blick auf die noch im Gebiet der Giljaken umherwandernden **Oroken** geworfen werden. Als Rennthiernomaden haben sie keine ständigen Wohnungen, sondern schlagen bei zeitweisem und selbst längere Zeit dauerndem Verweilen an einem Orte Zelte auf, die von sehr einfacher Construction sind. Lange, konisch zusammengestellte hölzerne Stangen bilden das Zeltgerüste, über welches eine aus Fischhäuten zusammengestickte Decke so ausgebreitet wird, dass nur an der Spitze, wo die Stangen zusammenstossen, eine Oeffnung bleibt, die zum Entweichen des Rauches dient, wenn im Zelt ein Feuer angemacht wird. Da die Wanderungen der Oroken stets durch mehr oder minder bewaldete Gegenden vor sich gehen[1]) und sie nach gewissen Zeiträumen wieder zu denselben Punkten zurückführen, so lassen sie beim Aufbruch von einem Orte die Zeltgerüste stehen und nehmen nur die Zeltdecken mit. Ich bin daher auf meiner Reise im Winter 1856 im Tymy-Thale und auf dem Passübergange von dort nach der Westküste Sachalin's wiederholt auf Zeltgerüste der Oroken gestossen. Auch ihren Zügen bin ich begegnet, aber ein aufgerichtetes Zelt habe ich nicht zu sehen bekommen. Zur Bedachung der Zelte scheinen die Oroken sich zu jeder Jahreszeit nur der Fischhautdecken zu bedienen. Wenigstens trafen sie Glehn[2]) bei Kákr-wo, im nördlichen Sachalin, am 19. März (1860) und Schmidt im Tschogbo, am Golf der Geduld, zu Anfang des Februar (1861) in ihren kegelförmigen Fischhautzelten an,

1) S. oben, p. 19, 20. 2) L. c., p. 192.

trotzdem es am letzteren Orte zu der Zeit bis 30° R. Kälte gab, so dass es auch in den Orokenzelten empfindlich kalt war[1]). Nach Mamia Rinsô[2]) gebrauchen die Oroken auch aus Fischhäuten, die in Thran getränkt worden, und Stücken von Birken(«Kaba»)-Rinde zusammengenähte Zeltdecken. Bei starkem Schneefall sollen sie namentlich den Fischhautdecken den Vorzug geben, weil sie nicht so leicht wie die Rinde unter der Schneelast brechen. Rennthierfelldecken, wie sie die Orotschonen im oberen Amur-Lande und andere nordische Völker zum Bekleiden ihrer Zelte im Winter haben, scheinen bei den Oroken gar nicht im Gebrauch zu sein. Vielleicht liegt der Grund, weshalb die Oroken sich immer nur mit Fischhautdecken für ihre Zelte begnügen, einmal in dem geringeren Gewicht dieser letzteren, das sie geeigneter zum Transport macht, und dann auch in der durch den grossen Reichthum Sachalin's an Fischen und besonders an *Salmo lagocephalus* bedingten Leichtigkeit ihrer Herstellung. Sehr bemerkenswerth ist, dass die Oroken ausser dem kegelförmigen Zelte, das Schmidt und Glehn bei ihnen kennen lernten, und auf dessen Gerüste auch ich wiederholentlich stiess, noch eine andere, von jenem ganz verschiedene Zeltform haben. Poljakof, der im Winter 1882 einige Zeit unter den Oroken in Ater-wo und anderen Orten am Nyi-Busen, an der Ostküste Sachalin's zubrachte[3]), sah sie in länglich-viereckigen Zelten wohnen, die nur von vorn und hinten gesehen kegelförmig, bei seitlicher Ansicht aber einfach dachförmig erschienen. Ihr Gerüst besteht aus zwei senkrecht in die Erde getriebenen Stangen, auf denen eine lange Querstange ruht; an diese werden jederseits andere, schräg in die Erde gesteckte Stangen angelehnt und diese von oben bis unten mit Baumrinde bekleidet, welche von aussen durch einige Reihen von Querstangen belastet und an das Gerüst gedrückt wird. An den beiden Querseiten, neben den Vertikalstangen befindet sich je eine Thür, doch wird nur die jeweilig im Windschutz befindliche zum Ein- und Ausgange benutzt, die andere aber unterdessen geschlossen gehalten. Im Innern ist in der Mitte des Zeltes durch eine Reihe kurzer, senkrechter, durch Querhölzer mit einander verbundener Stäbe ein länglich-viereckiger Raum abgesteckt, der zum Anmachen des Feuers dient. Gewöhnlich werden auf demselben zwei oder drei oder auch mehr Feuer, je nach der Anzahl der das Zelt bewohnenden Familien, angemacht. Auf den den Feuerplatz umgebenden Querstangen sieht man zum Dörren, Räuchern, oder zu anderweitiger Behandlung bestimmte Fische hängen, und hinter dieser Einfassung, längs den Wänden liegen die Lagerstätten der Zeltbewohner.

So haben die Oroken, obgleich sie, wie oben[4]) dargethan, nur ein nach Sachalin hinübergewanderter Zweig der Oltscha sind, weder die Winter-, noch die Sommerwohnungen dieser letz-

1) Schmidt, l. c., p. 114, 116. Bei Erwähnung der Oroken-Zelte weist Schmidt auf die in Siebold's Nippon gegebene Abbildung derselben hin. Dies kann jedoch nur ein Versehen sein, indem er die auf Taf. XX, der einzigen, die in dem genannten Werke den Oroken gewidmet ist, im Hintergrunde dargestellten Hütten für Oroken-Zelte genommen hat, während Siebold selbst (in seinen Anmerkungen zu Mamia Rinsô's Tôtsts-ki ko — Nippon, VII, p. 204) sagt, dass es «Sommerwohnungen sind, wie sie die Aino auf Krafto bauen».

2) Tô-tsts ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 190).

3) Н. С. Поляковъ, Путешествіе на остр. Сахалинъ въ 1881—1882 гг., С. Петерб. 1883 г. (Прилож. къ XIX тому Записокъ И. Р. Геогр. Общ.), стр. 81.

4) S. p. 26, 134, 279.

teren, sondern halten sich, ihrer nomadischen Lebensweise entsprechend, stets in Zelten auf, die, wie wir in der Folge sehen werden, theils mit denen der ebenfalls nomadischen Orotschonen und Manjägirn des oberen Amur, theils mit denjenigen der meist als Jäger umherstreifenden Orotschen der Meeresküste Aehnlichkeit haben.

Ausser ihren Zelten besitzen endlich die Oroken, wie Mamia Rinsô erzählt, an manchen Punkten, die sie auf ihren Wanderungen berühren, oder an denen sie sich längere Zeit aufhalten, feste, stets an Ort und Stelle verbleibende Vorrathshäuser. Es sind dies kleine, offenbar zum Schutz gegen die Raubthiere auf Pfählen in einiger Höhe über dem Erdboden errichtete Behälter, — eine Bauart, die sie vielleicht von ihren Nachbarn, den Giljaken, abgesehen haben.

Ganz anders verhält es sich mit den Wohnungen der auf dem Festlande den Giljaken benachbarten tungusischen Amur-Völker, der **Oltscha, Negda, Samagirn, Golde** und **Orotschen.** Von ähnlicher, ziemlich sesshafter Lebensweise wie jene, haben sie alle gleich den Giljaken im Sommer und im Winter verschiedene, zum grossen Theil ständige Wohnungen. In Betreff der Winterwohnungen namentlich ist oben schon hervorgehoben worden, dass die chinesische Bauart der Häuser, mit längs den Wänden verlaufenden, durch eine Röhrenleitung erwärmten Schlafbänken, den Sungari und Amur abwärts sich verbreitend, bei allen diesen Völkern Eingang gefunden hat. Bezüglich derselben genügt es daher für alle genannten Völker auf die oben entworfene Beschreibung der chinesischen Winterjurte der Giljaken zu verweisen und nur auf die etwaigen Abweichungen von derselben aufmerksam zu machen, die jedoch, wie ich sogleich bemerken muss, immer nur von untergeordneter Art sind, während das Grundprincip ihrer Construction stets dasselbe bleibt.

Die Winterjurte (*hagdu*) der nächsten Nachbarn der Giljaken am Amur, der Oltscha ist im Allgemeinen der giljakischen so sehr ähnlich, dass wo, wie in Aure, Häuser beider Nationalitäten neben einander liegen, ein Unterschied zwischen ihnen schlechterdings nicht zu finden ist. An manchen Oltscha-Orten jedoch, namentlich wo ein chinesischer Kaufmann seinen zeitweiligen Sitz hat, wie in Kidsi, Adi u. a., sieht man auch sauberer als bei den Giljaken gehaltene Häuser, das Dachgesims mit einigem Schnitzwerk versehen, die Wände von aussen m Lehm beworfen, im Innern nicht bloss die Schlafbänke, sondern auch die Wände unmittelbar über denselben mit Schilfmatten bekleidet; auch werden Einem kleine chinesische Teppiche zum Sitzen auf der Bank ausgebreitet und Abends, zur Beleuchtung der Jurte, in den vier Ecken derselben in kleinen, mit Thran gefüllten Schalen ruhende Dochte angezündet. Die erwähnten Pritschen- und Wandmatten werden, wie ich im Dorfe Adi zu sehen Gelegenheit hatte, von den Oltscha-Weibern aus einer am Amur wachsenden Schilfart (*Phragmites communis*, oltschaisch und goldisch: *holgochta*) geflochten, nachdem die Schilfstengel zuvor an einer Seite der Länge nach geschlitzt, platt gepresst und getrocknet worden. Daneben giebt es aber bei den Oltscha, namentlich im südlichen, oberhalb Kidsi gelegenen Theile ihres Gebietes, auch besonders kleine Jurten, wie ich sie bei den Giljaken nie gesehen habe, und die ich nach der im Vergleich mit den gewöhnlichen Winterjurten nur halben Zahl der Herde, Schlafbänke und Fenster gewissermaassen nur als Halbjurten bezeichnen möchte. In diesen giebt es nämlich, wie der beifolgende,

nach einer der beiden Jurten des Dorfes Pulssa entworfene Plan zeigt, nur zwei Schlafbänke, an der einen Längs- und der einen Querwand, und nur einen Herd, der im Beginne der ersteren, gleich neben dem Eingange steht. Der sonst in der Mitte der Jurte befindliche Hundetisch ist nach einer Ecke versetzt, diagonal gegenüber derjenigen, in welcher die beiden Schlafbänke zusammenstossen. Nur in den Wänden, an denen diese hinlaufen, befinden sich Fenster, und zwar zwei in der Längs- und eines in der Querwand. Der Raum, den diese Jurten bieten, ist sehr beengt, und zu manchen Zwecken, wie z. B. zu dem bei den Giljaken so beliebten Halten und Umherführen von Bären in der Jurte, sind sie ganz unbrauchbar, und darin liegt vielleicht auch der Grund, wesshalb sie bei diesen nicht im Gebrauch sind.

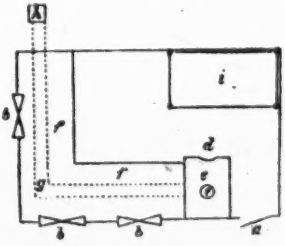

Plan einer kleinen Winterjurte der Oltscha.

a — Thür. *b* — Fenster *c* — Herd. *d* — Oeffnung zum Heizen desselben. *e* — Loch für den grossen Kessel. *f* — Schlafbänke. *g* — Röhren zum Erwärmen derselben. *h* — Schornstein. *i* — Hundetisch.

Dass die Negda am Amgunj ganz ähnliche Winterjurten wie die Giljaken und die anderen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes haben, ist durch Schmidt, der sie im Frühling 1862 besuchte, bekannt[1]). — Von den Samagirn weiss ich es aus eigener Erfahrung. Die drei Jurten in ihrem Dorfe Ngagha am Gorin waren bei der allgemein üblichen Construction recht sauber gehalten und so gross und hell, wie ich sie sonst nirgends im Amur-Lande gesehen habe; jede von ihnen hatte 10 Fenster, und zwar je 3 in den Längs- und je 2 in den Querwänden. Eine im Oltscha-Dorf Pulu (oder Pulj) am Amur gelegene, einem Samagirn gehörige Jurte, in der übrigens drei chinesische Händler ihren zeitweiligen Sitz aufgeschlagen hatten, war dadurch ausgezeichnet, dass der Eingang in der Mitte der einen Querwand lag und die beiden Herde in geraumer Entfernung, symmetrisch rechts und links von derselben, im Anfange der beiden Längswände standen. Dabei waren die Wände der Jurte von aussen und die beiden Querwände auch von innen mit einem Gemisch von Lehm und gehacktem Stroh beworfen.

Mehr noch als bei den Oltscha und Samagirn findet man direkte Spuren chinesischen Einflusses an und in den Winterwohnungen der Golde, und zwar um so mehr, je weiter stromaufwärts und je näher zur Sungari-Mündung. So sah ich in Turme an der Ussuri-Mündung ein Golde-Haus, dessen eine Wand fast ganz aus dicht neben einander stehenden Fenstern bestand, genau so, wie ich es schon an den Chinesen-Häusern in Zjanka an der Gorin-Mündung gesehen hatte. Auch fehlte der bei den Giljaken die Mitte der Wohnung einnehmende, geräumige Hundetisch hier gänzlich. Weiter oberhalb, in Sselgako sah ich in den Golde-Wohnungen auch schon manche chinesische Meublen, namentlich mit vielen kleinen Schiebfächern versehene Schränkchen auf den Schlafbänken stehen, wie sie mir unterhalb nicht begegnet sind. Daneben kommen aber bei

1) Schmidt, Histor. Ber. etc., l. c., p. 137.

den Golde sehr oft auch nur jene kleinen Jurten vor, deren ich oben bei den Oltscha erwähnt habe. Von ganz ähnlicher Beschaffenheit sind übrigens auch die Häuser der am Ussuri einzeln oder zu zweien und dreien zerstreut zwischen den Golde wohnenden Chinesen, die sich mit kleinem Handel oder, weiter südlich, mit dem Suchen der Ginseng-Wurzel beschäftigen.

Eben so, nur wo möglich noch kleiner und stets ärmlicher und unsauberer sind endlich auch die Winterwohnungen der Orotschen im oberen Laufe der rechten Amur- und Ussuri- Zuflüsse beschaffen[1]). An den letzteren wohnen übrigens in solchen Winterjurten nur die wenigen Orotschen, welche nach dem Beispiel der unter ihnen sich aufhaltenden Chinesen ein sesshafteres, auf etwas Feld- und namentlich Gemüsebau begründetes Leben führen. Die Zahl dieser Orotschen betrug zu Anfang der 80-ger Jahre, als der Obristlieut. Nadarof die rechten Ussuri-Zuflüsse bereiste, nicht mehr als 20, die in 3 Winterhütten oder sogen. Fansen, davon 2 am Ima und eine am Biki, wohnten[2]). Das Gros der dortigen Orotschen-Bevölkerung hingegen hatte, dem nomadischen Jägerleben entsprechend, auch im Winter keine andere Behausung als Zelte, sog. *tschukdi*[3]), die weiter unten noch besprochen werden sollen. Dasselbe wurde mir auch von den am oberen Laufe der Amur-Zuflüsse, namentlich des Chongar, Munamu u. a. lebenden Orotschen erzählt. Natürlich wird dabei der niedrigen Wintertemperatur durch sorgfältigeres Umkleiden des Zeltes, am Dach wie an den Wänden, mit Baumrinden Rechnung getragen, so wie im Uebrigen auch durch das Unterhalten eines beständigen Feuers in demselben, wozu die ausgedehnten Waldungen, in denen die Orotschen sich stets bewegen, ein leicht zu beschaffendes und unerschöpfliches Material liefern. Auch auf die Schlafstätten im Zelt wird alsdann eine aus mehreren Schichten von Baumrinde zusammengesetzte Matte gebreitet, welche als schlechter Wärmeleiter einen vorzüglichen Schutz gegen die Kälte des Erdbodens abgiebt.

So übereinstimmend die nach gemeinsamem, chinesischem Muster gebauten Winterwohnungen der tungusischen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes unter einander und mit denen ihrer nördlichen Nachbarn, der Amur-Giljaken, sind, so grosse und durchgehende Verschiedenheiten bieten ihre Sommerwohnungen dar. Bei keinem dieser Völker kommen ständige, auf Pfählen in einiger Höhe über dem Erdboden, wie das *Käryf* der Giljaken, errichtete Sommerwohnungen vor. Immer sind es nur leichthin zu ebener Erde aufgestellte Zelte, die jedoch bei jedem derselben von verschiedener Form und Construction sind.

Am meisten einem Hause ähnlich ist die Sommerwohnung der Oltscha, das bei ihnen, wie bei den Samagirn und Golde sogen. *Dauro*. Auf Taf. XIV, Fig. 1, ist ein solches aus dem Dorfe Beller am Amur dargestellt. Es besteht aus einem recht dünnen und leichten, mit Birkenrinde überkleideten Holzgerüst. Behufs der Wände des ungefähr quadratischen Baues werden

1) Вашковъ, Обозр. рѣкъ Уссури и сообщ. къ вост. отъ нея до моря (Вѣстн. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 25, 1859, Отд. II, Насѣл. и Матер., стр. 224); его же, Путеш. по сер. русск. Азіи, С. Петерб. 1868, стр. 89 и др.

2) Н. Надаровъ, Сѣверно-Уссурійскій край (Зап. Импер. Русск. Геогр. Общ., по общ. геогр., Т. XVII, № 1, стр. 73, 77).

3) Nadarof, l. c., p. 74.

dicke Stangen in der Entfernung von ungefähr je einem Fuss von einander in die Erde gesteckt und durch etwa eben so weit von einander entfernte dünnere Querstangen, Stäbe und Ruthen mit einander verbunden, so dass eine Art grobmaschigen Netz- oder Fachwerks aus Stangen und Stäben entsteht. Vorn und hinten, an den beiden Querwänden sind die Stangen, oder wenigstens einige von ihnen, dicker, dünnen Pfeilern gleich und nehmen von den Seiten zur Mitte hin an Länge zu; auf ihnen ruhen einige dünne Streckbalken, die den Dachstuhl tragen, der im Uebrigen ebenso wie die Wände aus einem Fachwerk von Längs- und Querstangen und Stäben besteht. Dies ganze Holzgerüst wird an Wänden und Dach mit Birkenrinde überkleidet, deren einzelne Stücke auf dem Dach noch durch eine Reihe längs und quer gelegter Stangen zusammengehalten werden. Ein paar an den Längswänden unbekleidet gebliebene Fächer des Holzgerüstes geben die Fensteröffnungen ab, die durch Birkenrinden- oder Schilfmatten verhängt werden können, und eine grössere Oeffnung in der vorderen Querwand dient zum Eingang, der durch eine entweder ebenfalls aus Birkenrinde bestehende oder aber aus mehreren Brettern gemachte Thür geschlossen werden kann. Im Innern dieser Zeltjurte grenzen zwei, rechts und links von der Thür der Länge der Jurte nach auf den Erdboden gelegte dünne Balken die zum Aufenthalt, zum Sitzen und Schlafen dienenden Seitenräume derselben von dem Mittelraum ab. Bisweilen werden die Seitenräume auch von je einer etwa einen Fuss hohen, aus Brettern gemachten, nach innen mit erhöhtem Rande versehenen Schlafbank eingenommen. Im Mittelraum, an einer mit rohen Feldsteinen versehenen Stelle wird das Feuer angemacht, und über derselben befindet sich im Dach die zum Austritt des Rauches dienende Oeffnung. Zu demselben Zweck, der Luftreinigung, scheint mir auch eine in der vorderen Querwand, am Dachgiebel vorhandene Oeffnung bestimmt zu sein. Durch diese Oeffnungen und die in der Regel offenen Fensterlöcher wird zudem ein so lebhafter Luftzug hervorgerufen, dass auch eine Ansammlung von Mücken im Zelt kaum stattfinden kann.

Ganz von derselben Beschaffenheit ist das *Dauro* der Samagirn am Gorin. Ich habe in einem solchen, das den Samagirn von Ngagha gehörte und einige Werst vom Winterdorf entfernt lag, auf meiner Reise im Winter 1855 eine Nacht zugebracht. Bei ganz gleicher Form und Construction mit den Oltscha-Dauros war es doch solider gebaut und geräumiger als jene; der mittlere, von einer Querwand zur anderen laufende Streckbalken war noch durch einen im Innern der Zeltjurte stehenden Pfeiler gestützt. In der Nähe dieses letzteren lag die Feuerstelle mit der Rauchfangöffnung darüber. Alles war so geräumig, dass ein ordentliches Feuer mit lodernder Flamme ohne Gefahr angemacht und unterhalten werden konnte. Dies hat wohl seinen Grund darin, dass diese in wald- und wildreicher Gegend gelegenen Dauros, deren es in der Umgegend von Ngagha mehrere giebt, auch zum Winter nicht abgetragen werden, sondern stehen bleiben und zu zeitweisem Aufenthalt in Jagdzwecken benutzt werden. Auch sah man am Fachwerk im Innern des Dauro's verschiedene Jagdgeräthschaften, wie Selbstschüsse, Bögen und Köcher mit Pfeilen, Lanzen u. drgl., und zahlreiche Jagdtrophäen, wie Schädel und Kopffelle von Rehen und Moschusthieren, ein Fellstück vom Elenn, Auerhahnflügel, einen Sägetaucher-

fuss u. drgl. m. hängen. Im Hintergrunde lagen aber auch Netze und andere Fischfangutensilien und draussen am Dauro ein Boot, zum Beweise seiner Bestimmung, als Sommerwohnung zu dienen. Die Schlafstellen waren mit Strohmatten versehen, die Fenster vermacht. So gab das Ganze bei lodernder Flamme auch im Winter einen gemächlichen Aufenthaltsort ab.

Ganz ähnlich scheint mir nach Middendorff's Beschreibung[1]) auch die Sommerwohnung der den Samagirn benachbarten und mit ihnen zunächst verwandten Negda am Amgunj zu sein. Den einzigen Unterschied kann ich nur darin sehen, dass in der letzteren dem durch eine vorhängende Rindentapete statt der Thür verschliessbaren Eingange gegenüber, an der Hinterseite der Jurte, noch eine zweite, ganz ebensolche Thür sich befindet. Das giebt die Möglichkeit, je nach der Richtung des Windes die eine oder die andere Thür zu öffnen, oder auch durch Oeffnung beider einen starken Luftzug hervorzubringen. Ausserdem fand Middendorff in der Negda-Sommerwohnung eine rostartig aus vielen dünnen Stäben zusammengesetzte Lage, die zum Räuchern der Fische und besonders des Fischrogens diente, eine Vorrichtung, die vielleicht nur zeitweise, zu dem genannten Zweck angebracht wird.

Von ganz anderer Form sind dagegen die Dauros der Golde[2]). Meist im Weidengebüsch der niedrigen Amur-Inseln an fischreichen Flussarmen gelegen, sehen sie in einiger Entfernung wie kleine rundliche Hügel oder riesige Ameisenhaufen aus. (S. Taf. XIV, Fig. 2). Ihr Bau ist im Vergleich zum Oltscha- oder Samagirn-Dauro viel einfacher und primitiver. Lange, dicke, halbkreisförmig gebogene Weidenruthen, die über einander in die Erde gesteckt und durch dazwischen geflochtene dünnere Ruthen und Zweige unter einander verbunden werden, bilden das Gerüst des Golde-Dauro's. Dieses Gerüst wird allenthalben mit Ausnahme einer Eingangsöffnung und einer anderen im Gipfel des Zeltes, die zum Austritt des Rauches dient, mit Birkenrinde bekleidet, deren Stücke durch darauf gelegte Querhölzer und längere, schräg in die Erde gesteckte Stangen gegen das Holzgerüst gedrückt und zusammengehalten werden. Denselben Dienst verrichten auch manche von aussen an das Zelt gelehnte Utensilien wie Ruder, Netze und Körbe, hölzerne Götzen u. drgl. m. Die Eingangsöffnung mit dem an der Erde quer davor gelegten Klotz oder Brett ist nur gerade so gross, dass ein Mensch in sehr gebückter Stellung durch dieselbe ins Zelt hineinsteigen kann. Die Thür wird durch eine Birkenrindenmatte vertreten, die sich nach oben aufrollen und in dieser Lage vermittelst einer Schnur befestigen lässt. Im Innern ist die Einrichtung dieselbe wie im Oltscha-Dauro, nur der Raum viel enger und kleiner: rechts und links vom Eingange liegen die Schlafplätze, in der Mitte, unter dem Rauchloch die Feuerstelle. Doch lässt sich hier nur ein kleines Feuer anmachen, und es gehört sich nicht viel, um das Zelt mit Rauch anzufüllen, was seinen Bewohnern behufs Vertreibung der lästigen, im Weidengebüsch der niedrigen und feuchten Amur-Inseln ganz besonders zahlreichen Mücken meist nicht uner-

1) Middendorff, Reise nach dem äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens, Bd. IV, Thl. 2, p. 1853.

2) Die Bezeichnung *dauro* für die Sommerwohnung ist bei den unteren Golde bis zum Gaong-Gebirge allgemein üblich; oberhalb dieses Gebirges bis zum Usuri und an diesem letzteren heisst sie gewöhnlich *anzo*, und von den Amur-Golde oberhalb der Usuri-Mündung habe ich sie auch *ajo* nennen hören.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

wünscht kommen mag. Allenthalben am Amur und Ussuri habe ich die Golde nur in solchen Dauros wohnen sehen, wenn sie es nicht vorziehen, wie es allerdings bisweilen vorkommt, auch den Sommer über in ihren Winterwohnungen zu bleiben und von diesen aus die in der Nähe gelegenen, zum Fischfang besonders geeigneten Lokalitäten zu besuchen.

Anders scheint es sich aber mit den Sungari-Golde zu verhalten. Schon im Dorfe Gaidje, gleich unterhalb der Sungari-Mündung, sah ich neben den gewöhnlichen Winterwohnungen der Golde einige konische Strohzelte stehen. Die um ein konisches Stangengerüst gelegten Strohbündel durchkreuzten sich an der Spitze kelchartig, die Thür bestand ebenfalls aus einer Strohmatte. Wie ich mich später überzeugte, waren diese Zelte ganz ebenso wie diejenigen in den kleinen mandshurischen Wachtposten oberhalb der Sungari-Mündung, so z. B. in Ssung-bira u. a., beschaffen. Ebensolche Strohzelte gab es ferner auch hie und da auf den mit Weidengebüsch bewachsenen Inseln am Zusammenfluss des Sungari und des Amur-Stromes[1]). Ein paar Tagereisen aufwärts am letzteren Strome, in der Prairie, die sich von den Vorbergen des Bureja-Gebirges abwärts zieht, traf ich am linken Amur-Ufer, an einem Ort, der mir Kudjurko genannt wurde, wiederum ein paar Zelte von Eingeborenen. Sie gehörten, wie mir die Insassen sagten, einigen Golde an, die vom Sungari, und zwar aus dem Dorfe Lachsso mit Weib und Kind herangewandert waren, um hier den Sommer über dem Fischfang und der Jagd nachzugehen. Diese Zelte waren, wie Taf. XV, Fig. 2, zeigt, ebenfalls von spitzkonischer Gestalt, aber statt des Strohs mit Birkenrindenmatten bekleidet; die Thür bestand aus einer geflochtenen Schilfmatte. Das Innere war ebenso wie in den früher beschriebenen Zeltwohnungen beschaffen. Auf Grund dieser Thatsachen vermuthe ich, dass bei den Sungari-Golde statt der niedrigen, halbkugelförmigen eine hohe, spitzkonische Dauro-Form im Gebrauch ist, die auch bei den dem Sungari zunächst wohnenden Amur-Golde Eingang gefunden hat.

Noch einfacher und primitiver endlich als das Dauro der Golde ist die Sommerwohnung ihrer Nachbarn zur Meeresküste hin, der Orotschen. Auf Taf. XVI ist eine solche dargestellt, die ich in der Bai Hadshi oder dem Kaiserhafen im Sommer 1854, gleich nachdem ich von der Korvette «Olivuza» aus die Küste des Amur-Landes betrat, kennen zu lernen Gelegenheit hatte. Es ist ein einfaches, dachförmiges Zelt, das aus einem mit viereckigen Lärchenrindenstücken bedeckten Stangengerüste besteht. Die Rindenstücke werden durch lange, schräg in die Erde gesteckte und ans Dach gelehnte Stangen gegen das Holzgerüst gedrückt und zusammengehalten. Die hintere Seite des Zeltes ist geschlossen, an der vorderen liegt der mit einer herabhängenden Rindenmatte als Thür versehene Eingang. Rechts und links, längs den Zeltwänden befinden sich die Schlafstätten, hinten, im Grunde, liegen allerhand Vorräthe und Utensilien, und in der Mitte die Feuerstelle, mit dem darüber hängenden Kochkessel. Eine besondere, für den Austritt des Rauchs aus dem Zelte bestimmte Oeffnung im Dach giebt es hier nicht, indem derselbe schon hinlänglich durch den meist offenstehenden oder nur halbwegs geschlossenen Eingang und die vielen Ritzen

1) Маак (Путеш. на Амуръ, С.Петерб. 1859, стр. 143) sah in Ssifbi, nahe der Sungari-Mündung, ebenfalls ein konisches, mit Schilfmatten gedecktes Zelt.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

und Spalten des Daches entweichen kann und übrigens als Schutz gegen die Mücken den Zeltinsassen bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch ganz erwünscht sein mag. Ich fand ihn allerdings so stark, dass ich immer nur kurze Zeit im Zelt aushalten konnte. Von ganz ähnlicher Beschaffenheit sind nach Nadarof's Beschreibung[1]) auch die im Sommer wie im Winter benutzten Zeltwohnungen (*tschukdi*) der Orotschen des Binnenlandes, an den rechten Amur- und Ussuri-Zuflüssen, am Poor, Biki, Ima u. s. w. Nur dienen bei ihnen zur Bekleidung des Zeltgerüstes in der Regel Birkenrindenmatten, über welche je nach Bedürfniss noch andere Baumrinden gebreitet werden; namentlich wird längs der Dachfirste eine Reihe winklig gebogener Rindenstücke befestigt, jedoch so, dass über der Feuerstelle eine zum Austritt des Rauches dienende Lücke übrig bleibt. Das Innere des Zeltes bildet entweder nur einen Raum (am Biki und Ima), oder ist durch Baumrinden in drei Räume getheilt (am Poor): zwei kleinere an den Schmalseiten des Zeltes, die zum Eingang, resp. zum Aufbewahren von Hausgeräth u. drgl. dienen, und einen grösseren Mittelraum, der das eigentliche Wohngemach abgiebt, mit der Feuerstelle in der Mitte und den Schlafstätten zu beiden Seiten.

Wie man aus dem Obigen sieht, sind die Sommerwohnungen der tungusischen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes sämmtlich der Art, dass sie ohne viel Mühe aus Materialien hergestellt werden, die theils überall vorhanden sind, wie Holz- und besonders Weidenstangen und Ruthen, theils leicht transportirt werden können, wie Birkenrinden-, Stroh- oder Schilfmatten u. drgl. Es hält daher auch nicht schwer, dieselben, wenn erforderlich, wieder abzureissen und anderswohin zu versetzen. Und in der That wird der Ort des Sommeraufenthaltes von diesen Völkern oft genug gewechselt, und zwar nicht bloss von Jahr zu Jahr, sondern auch im Laufe eines und desselben Sommers. Wo in dem einen Jahre zahlreiche Sommerzelte neben einander standen, findet man vielleicht, wie es mir selbst begegnet ist, im Jahre darauf kein einziges Zelt, und Dauros, die man im Frühsommer kennen gelernt hat, trifft man einige Wochen oder ein paar Monate später, wenn auch im Allgemeinen in derselben Gegend, doch an anderen Stellen, auf anderen Inseln oder an anderen Armen des mächtigen, vielgetheilten Stromes wieder. Der Hauptgrund dieser häufigen Ortswechsel liegt wohl darin, dass stets die für den Fischfang günstigsten Lokalitäten aufgesucht werden, die nicht bloss von Jahr zu Jahr verschieden sich gestalten können, sondern auch in den verschiedenen Monaten wechseln, je nachdem z. B., welche Lachsart gerade ihren Zug stromaufwärts hält, oder welcher Fischart überhaupt der vornehmlichste Fang zur Zeit gilt.

Dennoch werden Dauros nur dann erbaut, wenn ein verhältnissmässig längerer Aufenthalt an einem Ort beabsichtigt wird. Wenn es sich hingegen nur um einen ganz kurzen Aufenthalt, vielleicht nur von ein paar Tagen oder einer Nacht, handelt, so werden, wenn die Umstände es erfordern, zum Schutz gegen Unwetter, Regen oder die überaus lästige Mückenplage, noch kleinere und primitivere Zelte errichtet. Oltscha wie Golde stellen sich dann eine sogen. *Ho-*

1) Nadarof, l. c., p. 75, 76.

mord[1]) oder eine *Adiangman-a'ungi* her. Erstere besteht aus einem niedrigen, länglichen Zelt, das die Form eines der Länge nach durchschnittenen und mit der Schnittfläche auf den Erdboden gelegten Cylinders hat. Auf Taf. XXX ist das vordere Ende einer *Homora* der Golde abgebildet. Mehrere halbkreisförmig gebogene und mit ihren Enden in einer Linie in der Entfernung von etwa einem Fuss von einander in die Erde gesteckte Weidenruthen, die durch andere, der Länge nach dazwischengeflochtene mit einander verbunden sind, bilden das Gerüst derselben. Dieses wird mit Birkenrinden- oder dünnen Strohmatten, oder auch mit einer aus Fischhäuten zusammengestickten Decke überzogen, wobei, um die Umhüllung möglichst regendicht zu machen, die Matten so über einander gebreitet werden, dass stets die höher zu liegen kommende Matte mit ihrem Seitenrande den Rand der anstossenden niedriger gelegenen Matte deckt. Das hintere Ende der Homora ist vermittelst derselben Materialien ganz verschlossen; vor dem offenen vorderen aber hängt statt einer Thür eine Birkenrinden- oder Strohmatte herab, die aufgerollt und vermittelst einer Schnur in dieser Lage befestigt werden kann. Soll eine Homora eine ganze Familie und vielleicht gar längere Zeit hindurch an Stelle eines Dauro's aufnehmen, so wird sie etwa mannshoch gemacht; alsdann kann in ihrer Mitte sogar ein kleines Feuer angemacht werden, und über der Feuerstelle befindet sich als Rauchfang eine kleine Oeffnung im Dach. Ist sie aber nur für einen oder ein paar Menschen bestimmt, so fehlt die letztere und die Höhe ist nur gerade genügend, dass ein Mensch in gebückter Stellung hineintreten kann. Das Feuer wird alsdann draussen, vor dem Eingange angemacht, und der durch den Wind vorüber oder hinein treibende Rauch hält die Mücken von demselben fern.

Die *Adiangman-a'unga* ist noch einfacher, — ein blosses Uebernachtungszelt, wie auch schon der Name besagt, dem Golde-Dauro nach Form und Construction ganz ähnlich, nur viel kleiner, bloss für einen oder zwei Menschen bestimmt und mit einer einzigen, zum Eingange dienenden Oeffnung versehen, die nicht einmal mit einer Thürmatte verhängt und vor welcher draussen das Feuer angemacht wird.

Ebenso kunstlos und einfach ist das bei den Golde oberhalb der Ussuri-Mündung gebräuchliche kleine Zelt, das sogen. *Tschoro* oder *Tscholo*. Wie die *Adiangman-a'unga* dem halbkugelförmigen, so ist das *Tschoro* dem konischen Golde-Dauro nachgebildet: einige kegelförmig zusammengestellte Weidenstangen bilden das Gerüst, welches von allen Seiten mit Stroh oder Heu, in der Regel von dem die Prairien weithin überziehenden *Calamagrostis*-Grase, bedeckt wird, so dass nur eine kleine, seitliche, so zu sagen, bienenlochähnliche Oeffnung übrig bleibt, durch die man in's Zelt hineinkriechen kann. Ebensolche Tschoros findet man bei den Orotschen an den Ussuri-Zuflüssen, oder aber sie errichten sich auch ein ihrem Sommer- und Winterzelt, dem Tschukdi nachgeformtes Tschoro: gilt es sich zur Nacht einigen Schutz gegen Wind und Wetter zu schaffen, so werden zwei nach oben gabelförmige Stöcke in die Erde gesteckt, durch eine Querstange ver-

1) Bei den südlicheren Golde heisst sie, nach Maximowicz, auch *Komkord*.

bunden, an diese von der einen Seite einige Stangen oder Ruthen in schräger Stellung angelehnt und über dieses Gerüst Birkenrinden ausgebreitet. Verlängert sich der Aufenthalt, oder verschlimmert sich das Wetter, so wird längs derselben Querstange auch nach der anderen Seite ein Schirmdach errichtet und so ein kleines, dachförmiges Zelt gewonnen [1]).

Ich muss hier gelegentlich noch einer Vorrichtung erwähnen, welche unsere Führer, Oltscha und Golde, auf der Reise trafen, um sich beim Nächtigen im Freien besonders gegen die im Weidengebüsch der Amur-Inseln überaus zahlreichen Mücken zu schützen. Aus dem Calicozeuge, das sie sich zum Voraus als Lohn erbaten, verfertigte sich ein Jeder von ihnen einen $2^1/_2$—3 Fuss tiefen Sack, dessen Boden aus einem etwa mannslangen und entsprechend breiten Rechteck bestand. In diesen Boden wurden an den Querseiten, um ihn zu spannen, entsprechend lange Stäbe gesteckt, und vermittelst dieser wurde der mit dem Boden zuoberst gekehrte Sack auf ein paar in die Erde gesteckte, oben gabelförmige Stöckchen aufgestellt, so dass ein niedriges, parallelipipedisches Schlafzelt entstand, in welches der Mann durch Aufheben einer der herabhängenden Seitenwände unterkroch. Diese von ihnen sogenannte *Maika* wurde auch von unseren russischen Leuten sogleich nachgemacht.

Da im Sommer und zumal zur Zeit des Aufsteigens der verschiedenen Lachsarten im Amur die zum Herbst und Winter erforderlichen Fischvorräthe gemacht werden, so sieht man neben den Dauros in der Regel auch die zum Trocknen der Fische an der Sonne dienlichen Gerüste und ab und zu auch ein zur zeitweisen Aufnahme der Vorräthe bestimmtes Häuschen stehen. Ein solches Vorrathshaus (gold. *tachto*) wird, um das darin zu Bergende gegen Feuchtigkeit und Angriffe durch Mäuse u. a. Thiere sicher zu stellen, in einiger Höhe über dem Erdboden errichtet. Auf 6 Pfähle, die etwa 4 Fuss über dem Erdboden emporragen und oben mit einem Birkenrindenstück bedeckt sind, werden Querstangen gelegt und darauf eine Diele errichtet, auf welche das an Wänden und Dach aus gebogenen Weidenruthen construirte und mit Stroh oder Heu bedeckte Häuschen gestellt wird.

Im Anschluss an die oben geschilderten Sommerzelte der tungusischen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes muss ich hier endlich auch einiger, mehr oder minder ähnlicher Zelte erwähnen, die sie sich im Winter auf ihren nicht selten nach Raum und Zeit recht ausgedehnten Jagdstreifzügen zum Aufenthalt in den Waldwildnissen errichten. Bei den Oltscha, Samagirn und Golde tragen diese Jagdzelte allgemein die Bezeichnung *Alko*. Im Langysk (oder Adara)-Gebirge, zwischen dem Amur-Strom und Liman, stiess ich im Winter 1855 auf ein *Alko*, das von vier Oltscha vom Amur und einem Samagirn zeitweise bewohnt wurde. Es war von aussen und von innen ganz wie die obenbeschriebenen Sommerzelte der Orotschen beschaffen. Vor dem Eingange hing eine Fischhautdecke. In der Mitte des Zeltes wurde ein kleines Feuer unterhalten, an dem ein paar kleine Kessel standen, weiter ab lag verschiedenes Hausgeräth, einige hölzerne Schalen, Jagdutensilien, Selbstschüsse, Schneeschuhe u. drgl. In den von den genannten Völkern allwinterlich und oft aus grosser Ferne besuchten wildreichen Jagdgründen am Gorin

1) Nadarof, l. c., p. 78.

giebt es zahlreiche, immer einzeln in der Waldwildniss gelegene Alkos. Ich habe selbst in manchen von ihnen einige Stunden der Mittagsrast oder eine Nacht über zugebracht. Gleich das erste der Art, das ich von der Gorin-Mündung aus erreichte, war von ungewöhnlich solider Construction und grossen Dimensionen. Es wurde mir Poijonge genannt und sollte den Golde von Bitschu am Amur gehören, doch gab es unter seinen gegenwärtigen, zeitweisen Bewohnern auch Golde von Chongar, Onmoi und dem noch weiter oberhalb gelegenen Zollazi, die der Jagd wegen dorthin gezogen waren. Dieses Alko hatte sogar Wände, die ein paar Fuss hoch aus horizontal über einander gelegten Balken gezimmert waren; in den beiden Querseiten standen je zwei Pfeiler, die oben durch Längsbalken verbunden waren und das aus Brettern zusammengesetzte Dach trugen. Zwei andere, dünnere Längsbalken liefen tiefer abwärts jenen parallel zwischen denselben Pfeilern hin und dienten zum Aufhängen von Kleidungsstücken und Trocknen derselben am Feuer; am Boden endlich lagen die beiden Längsbalken, welche die Schlafstellen im Zelt abgrenzen. Ueber der Feuerstelle war eine mit einem Gitter versehene Oeffnung im Dach, und tiefer abwärts hing eine Stange herab, die mehrfache Zinken und Einkerbungen zum Aufhängen des Kessels über dem Feuer hatte. Im Zelt lag vielfaches Haus- und Jagdgeräth durcheinander, auch manche Fell- und Knochenstücke von verschiedenen Thieren, wie z. B. Beinknochen vom Moschusthier u. dgl. Draussen, an den umstehenden Bäumen und Gerüsten hing noch mehr der Art: Reh- und Moschusthierfelle, eine aufgespannte Elennhaut, ein mächtiges Hirschgeweih (von *Cervus elaphus*) u. s. w. Andere Alkos in derselben Gegend, wie z. B. das den Samagirn von Ngagha gehörige, in welchem ich übernachtete, und das den Namen Wai trug, waren zwar kleiner, so dass vier Menschen in demselben nur mit Mühe Raum finden konnten, im Uebrigen aber ganz ebenso beschaffen. Im Nothfall, wenn es gilt sich eiligst einen Schutz gegen das Unwetter zu schaffen, errichten sich die Jäger auch im Winter eine Homora, gross genug, um einen oder ein paar Menschen aufzunehmen, wie ich deren am Gorin mehrere gesehen habe. Diese winterliche Homora ist ganz wie die oben beschriebene, im Sommer übliche beschaffen, nur mit dem Unterschiede, dass das im Schnee erbaute Gerüst an Stelle der Rinden- oder Strohmatten mit Tannenzweigen bedeckt wird. Bei gutem Wetter bedarf es jedoch im Winter zum Uebernachten im Freien auch keiner Homora: die Nacht wird am lodernden Feuer zugebracht und nur der Lagerplatz richtig gewählt und das Lager je nach Umständen möglichst comfortabel eingerichtet. Dazu wird, wie es auch die Giljaken thun, zuerst der Schnee auf seine Tiefe hin sondirt und dann vermittelst der Schneeschuhe möglichst bis auf den Erdboden ausgeschaufelt, so dass hinten und zu den Seiten der Feuer- und der Lagerstätte mehr oder minder hohe, schützende Schneewände entstehen. Alsdann werden auf der Lagerstätte Tannenzweige in einer ansehnlich dicken Schicht ausgebreitet und auch die umgebenden Schneewände, um sie vor dem Schmelzen durch die Feuerstrahlen zu schützen, mit solchen Zweigen bekleidet, und endlich wird ein für die Nacht genügender Vorrath an möglichst trocknem und gutem Brennholz herbeigeschafft. Auf solchen, kürzlich verlassenen Nachtlagerstätten der Amur-Eingeborenen habe ich selbst manche Nacht, ungeachtet einer noch so niedrigen Temperatur, mit Bequemlichkeit zugebracht.

Gleichwie im unteren, so sind auch im oberen Amur-Lande die nach chinesischer Urform gebauten Winterwohnungen in allgemeinem Gebrauch. Dass die im Culturstück des Amur-Stromes, unterhalb Aigun durcheinander gelegenen Dörfer der Chinesen, Mandshu und Dauren nur Häuser von solcher Bauart enthalten, ist selbstverständlich. Dabei ist kein Unterschied zwischen den Häusern des einen oder des anderen dieser Völker zu finden: die daurischen in Chormoldin z. B. waren von aussen und innen ganz ebenso wie die angeblich mandshurischen in Torell, Gulssoja u. a. Orten, die ich besuchte, beschaffen. Der Eingang führt stets in eine Art Vorzimmer, in welchem sich der Herd befindet, der zur Erwärmung der Schlafbänke im anstossenden Wohngemach dient. Im Herde ist über dem Feuer ein Kessel eingemauert, der mit einem hölzernen Deckel geschlossen werden kann. Die Schlafbänke sind mit Schilfmatten und kleinen Teppichen versehen, auf welchen die bekannten niedrigen chinesischen Tischchen stehen; an den Wänden sind kleine Schränke mit zahlreichen Schiebfächern aufgestellt. Die Fensterrahmen sind mit chinesischem Papier ausgekleidet und werden bei warmer Jahreszeit ganz ausgehoben; auf dem aus festgetretenem Lehm bestehenden Erdboden erhebt sich mitten im Zimmer ein gemauertes Kohlenbecken, das zum Anzünden der Pfeifen dient. Jedes Haus liegt in einem Gehöft, das theils von verschiedenen Nebengebäuden, Scheunen, Vorrathshäusern, theils von dem den Gemüsegarten begrenzenden Zaun gebildet wird. Dieser besteht aus vertikalen, mit Stroh durchflochtenen Stangen und ist ab und zu mit Pforten versehen, die nach den in den Gemüsegärten und weiterhin zwischen den Feldern verlaufenden Fahrstrassen führen. Die Nebengebäude sind zum Theil ebenso wie die Wohnhäuser aus Holz, zum Theil nur aus Lehmpatzen mit eingeknetetem klein zerhackten Stroh aufgeführt und enthalten theils die zum Garten- und Feldbau dienlichen Utensilien, Pflüge, Harken, Schaufeln, zweiräderige Karren u. drgl., theils die bereits eingeernteten Feld- und Gartenfrüchte; daneben befinden sich umzäumte Räume für Pferde, Rindvieh, Schweine, ein niedriger aus Stäben zusammengeschlagener Hühnerstall, ein von hohen Stangen getragenes Taubenhäuschen und andere wirthschaftliche Vorrichtungen.

Wann die Dauren die chinesische Bauart der Wohnhäuser angenommen haben, lässt sich nicht genau bestimmen. Aus den Berichten der russischen Freibeuter und Kosaken, welche um die Mitte des XVII. Jahrhunderts die Dauren am oberen Amur und seinen Quellflüssen bekriegten, ist leider nicht zu ersehen, von welcher Beschaffenheit ihre damaligen Wohnungen waren. Da sie jedoch schon damals ein sesshaftes, von Ackerbau und Viehzucht lebendes Volk waren, das in weiter Verbreitung ausser dem Amur auch am Nonni, einem Zufluss des Sungari, ansässig war und mit den Chinesen in lebhaftem Handelsverkehr stand, auch von Zeit zu Zeit der Tributserhebung halber von Beamten der chinesischen Regierung besucht wurde[1]), so ist es sehr möglich, ja wahrscheinlich, dass sie schon damals in Häusern von chinesischer Bauart wohnten. Noch mehr mussten sie dem Einfluss der Chinesen anheimfallen, als auf Befehl der chinesischen

1) S. oben, p. 139 ff.

Regierung (im J. 1654) auch die am Amur wohnenden und von den Russen verschont gebliebenen Dauren jenen Strom verlassen und nach dem Nonni übersiedeln mussten[1]). Das wurde in Beziehung auf die Wohnung der Dauren nicht lange darauf auch durch europäische Reisende bestätigt. Als etwa 40 Jahre später (1693) Ysbrants Ides und Adam Brand die Dauren am Nonni besuchten, fanden sie dieselben in Häusern wohnen, die ganz mit denjenigen der Chinesen übereinstimmten, indem sie ebenfalls breite, niedrige, durch darunter laufende Röhren erwärmte und mit geflochtenen Schilfmatten bedeckte Schlafbänke längs den Wänden hatten u. drgl. m.[2]) In neuerer Zeit berichtete Kropotkin[3]) nach eigener Erfahrung, dass die an den oberen Zuflüssen des Nonni, am Ganj, Gujuil u. s. w. wohnenden Dauren Häuser haben, die ganz nach Art der chinesischen erbaut sind. Als den Dauren später von der chinesischen Regierung, wenn auch unter einigen Beschränkungen, nach dem Amur zurückzukehren gestattet wurde, gewannen sie dort bald, dank ihrer Neigung und Befähigung zum Handel, besonders mit den ihnen von altersher bekannten und zum Theil stammverwandten tungusischen Völkern, eine hervorragende Stellung, und es fiel ihnen im oberen Amur-Lande gewissermaassen die Rolle zu, welche die Chinesen im unteren spielen[4]). Als unermüdliche, überallhin durchdringende Handelsleute haben sie mehr wie die letzteren zur Verbreitung chinesischer Waaren und Produkte, chinesischer Sitten u. s. w. unter den tungusischen Völkern des oberen Amur-Landes beigetragen, und wenn sich unter diesen an manchen Orten ein sesshafteres Leben, mit Feld- und Gemüsebau, mit ständigen Wohnungen nach chinesischer Art u. drgl., entwickelt hat, so ist dies sicherlich zumeist dem Einfluss und der Vermittelung der Dauren zuzuschreiben. Ihr Werk ist es z. B., dass die sonst so sehr dem umherstreifenden Jägerleben zugethanen Orotschonen am Ostabhange des Grossen Chingan-Gebirges, am Ganj, Gujuil u. a. Zuflüssen des Nonni stellenweise zu sesshaften Ackerbauern geworden sind und, in Dörfern zusammenlebend, chinesische Feldcultur und Lebensweise angenommen haben[5]).

Ganz ebenso ist es den Biraren am Amur ergangen, dort wo sie, gleich oberhalb des Bureja-Gebirges, unmittelbar an die Dauren stossen. Trotz ihres sonstigen Nomadensinnes sind sie hier zu einem sesshaften Leben mit Feld- und Gemüsebau übergegangen und haben auch die chinesische Bauart der Häuser angenommen. Ich habe ein solches Biraren-Haus im Dorfe Kalta besucht: die Wände desselben waren aus dünnen Balken ganz ebenso wie an den nach chinesischem Muster gebauten Winterwohnungen der unteren Amur-Völker gezimmert. Der in der Mitte einer Längswand gelegene Eingang führte in eine Art Vorzimmer, aus welchem man nach rechts und links durch je eine Thür in die beiden, unter einander ganz gleichen, ungefähr quadratischen eigentlichen Wohnräume gelangt. In jedem dieser letzteren stand ein

1) S. oben, p. 172.

2) Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reise naar China, Amsterdam 1704, p. 71. Ad. Brand, Neuvermehrte Beschreib. seiner grossen Chines. Reise, welche er anno 1693 etc. innerhalb 3 Jahren vollbracht hat, Lübeck 1734, p. 132.

3) Поѣздка изъ Забайкалья на Амуръ чрезъ Маньчжурію (Русск. Вѣстн., T. LVII, 1865, Іюнь, стр. 669).

4) S. oben, p. 30, 82, 174.

5) Kropotkin, l. c., p. 670.

niedriger Herd mit eingemauertem Kessel und liefen breite niedrige Schlafbänke längs allen vier Wänden hin, deren Fenster mit chinesischem Papier an Stelle von Glasscheiben versehen waren. Diesen beiden Abtheilungen entsprechend, ragte jederseits neben der Querwand des Hauses ein Schornstein aus der Erde empor. Im Vergleich mit den oben beschriebenen Winterwohnungen der unteren Amur-Völker kann man also diese Biraren-Wohnung gewissermassen als eine Doppeljurte bezeichnen. Ein von Nebengebäuden, die verschiedenes Feld- und Gartengeräth enthielten, und einem umzäunten Gemüsegarten gebildetes Gehöft umgab das Haus, ganz ebenso wie in den daurischen und mandshu-chinesischen Dörfern, die ich bald darauf weiter oberhalb am Amur kennen lernte.

Vom oberen Amur aus haben die Dauren, in Handelsinteressen längs der Bureja, der Dseja, dem Ssilimdshi u. s. w. vordringend, ihren civilisatorischen Einfluss noch weit nach Norden, bis zum Südabhange des Stanowoi-Gebirges geltend gemacht. Bemerkenswerth ist die Thatsache, dass man dort in den Wohnungen der zu gleichem Zweck wie die Dauren von Norden kommenden jakutischen Händler ebenfalls jene durch eine Röhrenleitung erwärmten Schlafbänke längs den Wänden findet, obwohl die Jakuten in ihrer Heimath nichts Derartiges in ihren Jurten haben. Middendorff meint zwar, indem er diese Thatsache mittheilt, dass dies Princip[1]) den Giljaken entlehnt sei, allein diese Ansicht erklärt sich daraus, dass er es nur bei den Giljaken (am Ochotskischen Meer) gesehen hat. Wir werden nicht irren, wenn wir nach dem, was oben über den chinesischen Ursprung der durch eine Röhrenleitung erwärmten Schlafbänke gesagt worden, die Uebertragung derselben auf die Jakuten nicht den Giljaken, sondern den mit den jakutischen Händlern am Südabhange des Stanowoi-Gebirges zusammenstossenden Dauren zuschreiben.

Nur bei denjenigen, allerdings zahlreicheren Theilen der tungusischen Bevölkerung des oberen Amur-Landes, **Biraren, Manägirn** und **Orotschonen,** die ihrem angestammten Jäger- und Nomadenleben treu geblieben sind, hat die nach chinesischem Muster construirte Winterwohnung bisher keinen Eingang gefunden. Diese behalten ihre im Sommer bewohnten Zelte auch im Winter bei und begnügen sich nur damit, dieselben alsdann durch eine aus Thierfellen gemachte, dickere und festere Umhüllung auch bei strenger Kälte brauchbar zu machen.

Auf Zelte nomadischer Biraren bin ich im Sommer (Juli und August) 1856 am Amur oberhalb des Bureja-Gebirges wiederholentlich gestossen, da es noch die Jahreszeit war, in welcher sie sich des Fischfangs wegen an diesem Strome und seinen Zuflüssen aufhalten, während sie später dieselben verlassen, um den Herbst und Winter über im Gebirge (dem Bureja- und dem südlich, zwischen den Amur- und den Sungari-Zuflüssen sich hinziehenden Morra- d. h. Pferde-Gebirge, wie die Biraren es mir nannten) der Jagd nachzugehen. Diese Zelte wa-

1) Middendorff (Reise etc., Bd. IV, Thl. 2, p. 1560) sagt: «das Princip einer inmitten der rings um die Wand laufenden Lehmbank eingesetzten Röhrenleitung», worunter ich nur jene durch Röhren erwärmte Schlafbänke verstehen kann.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

ren von spitzkonischer Form und mit Birkenrindenmatten bekleidet, ganz so wie das oben beschriebene und auf Taf. XV, Fig. 2, abgebildete Zelt der Sungari-Golde.

Von derselben Art sind auch die Zelte (*dshu*) der nomadischen **Manägirn**. **Maack**, der sich auf seiner Reise an den Amur längere Zeit unter den **Manägirn** aufgehalten, giebt eine ausführliche Beschreibung derselben [1]). Das Gerüst eines **Manägirn**-Zeltes besteht, je nach der Grösse der Familie, für welche das Zelt bestimmt ist, aus **20—40** kegelförmig zusammengestellten Stangen. Darunter zeichnen sich sechs durch besondere Dicke und gabelförmige obere Enden aus. Vier dieser Hauptstangen werden paarweise geordnet, so dass der Abstand der betreffenden Stangen von einander nur gering ist, und diese beiden Paare einander diametral gegenüber gestellt; die beiden übrigen Hauptstangen stehen mit jenen ins Kreuz und einander ebenfalls diametral gegenüber. Indem diese sechs Hauptstangen mit den Zinken ihrer oben gabelförmigen Enden in einander greifen, geben sie den Haupthalt dem ganzen Gerüste. Die übrigen Stangen füllen die Zwischenräume zwischen denselben aus. Um dieses Gerüst werden Birkenrindenmatten, die aus grossen, vermittelst Elenns- oder Rennthiersehnen an einander genähten Stücken bestehen, so ausgebreitet, dass die obere Matte stets die Ränder der unteren deckt. Zur Befestigung der Zeltdecke an das Gerüst wird sie von aussen mit einigen Stangen beschwert, oder aber mit aus Rosshaar geflochtenen Seilen umwunden. Im Winter wird der untere Theil des Gerüstes statt der Birkenrinden mit Elennsfellen bekleidet und, um das Zelt noch luftdichter zu machen, der Schnee ringsum aufgehäuft. Nur zwei Oeffnungen bleiben im Zelt: eine obere, an der Spitze desselben, zum Austritt des Rauches, und eine seitliche, zwischen den beiden Stücken eines Stangenpaares, die zum Eingange dient und mit einer Elennshaut oder Fischhautdecke als Thür verhängt wird. Im Innern des Zeltes laufen zwei einander parallele, von den vier paarweise gestellten Stangen getragene Querstangen hin, deren eine zum Aufhängen des Kessels über dem stets in der Mitte des Zeltes angemachten Feuer dient. Ist das Zelt aber nur für den Sommer bestimmt und von leichterer Bauart, so dass es weder jene sechs Haupt-, noch die beiden Querstangen hat, so dient zum Aufhängen des Kessels über dem Feuer ein aus Stangen eigens dazu gemachter Dreifuss. In 2—3 Fuss Entfernung von der Feuerstelle, nach rechts, links und hinten liegen die durch Holzklötze gegen dieselbe abgegrenzten Schlafstellen, auf denen das aus Gras, kleinen Baumzweigen und einem kleinem Teppich bestehende Lager aufgemacht wird. Jedes Familienglied hat seinen bestimmten Platz. Die Plätze zur linken Hand vom Eingang und vom Feuer gehören dem Besitzer des Zeltes und seiner Frau, diejenigen zur rechten den übrigen Familiengliedern. Der im Hintergrunde des Zeltes, dem Eingange gegenüber gelegene Platz gilt als Ehrenplatz und wird Gästen eingeräumt, darf aber nur von Männern benutzt werden. Ueber demselben findet in der Regel ein Götze Platz. Hart an der Thür, rechts und links von derselben, sind im Innern des Zeltes niedrige, von klei-

1) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ въ 1855 г., С. Петерб. 1859, стр. 70.

nen, in die Erde geschlagenen Pfählen getragene Bänke errichtet, die zum Abstellen von allerhand im täglichen Gebrauch befindlichem Geräth dienen.

Da die Manägirn ein ziemlich geregeltes Nomadenleben führen, indem sie zum Sommer des Fischfangs wegen an die Ufer des mächtigen, ihr Gebiet durchschneidenden Stromes ziehen und im Herbst der Jagd halber wiederum dem Gebirge zuwandern, so sind es hie wie da bestimmte, besonders günstig gelegene Punkte und Lokalitäten, an denen sie sich alljährlich und in grösserer Zahl einfinden. Solche Punkte lassen sich im Herbst auch nach Abzug der Nomaden an den zahlreichen stehengebliebenen soliden Zeltgerüsten, dem von Pferden, vermittelst welcher der Umzug stattfindet, ringsum zertretenen und abgeweideten Erdboden u. s. w. erkennen. Ich bin auf meiner Reise den Amur aufwärts an manchen derartigen Punkten vorübergekommen. Doch gelang es mir, auch bei der vorgerückten Jahreszeit stellenweise noch mit Manägirn zusammenzutreffen, wo sie, durch Umstände verschiedener Art, wie durch eine unerwartet reiche Jagd- oder Fischfangbeute, das eine Mal z. B. durch den Fang eines kolossalen Störes, veranlasst, einen zeitweiligen Aufenthalt genommen hatten. Alsdann wird, wie ich mich überzeugte, auch nur ein leichtes, provisorisches Zelt errichtet, wie es auf Taf. XV, Fig. 1, abgebildet ist. Es genügt alsdann ein konisches Gerüst aus einigen wenigen Stangen, um welche eine Birkenrindenmatte so geschlungen wird, dass sie hinlänglichen Schutz gegen Regen oder blendenden Sonnenschein bietet, und tritt Unwetter ein, oder verlängert sich der Aufenthalt, so können, je nach Bedürfniss, noch einige Rindenmatten mehr zu Hülfe genommen werden. Diese geben, wie man aus den obigen Schilderungen sieht, überhaupt allen tungusischen Völkern des unteren, wie des oberen Amur-Landes das wesentlichste und wichtigste Material zur Herstellung ihrer Sommerwohnungen ab, wenn sie nicht, wie es mitunter in der baumlosen Prairie geschieht durch das in Fülle vorhandene und noch leichter zu beschaffende *Calamagrostis*-Stroh oder Gras ersetzt werden. Die vom Baum abgeschälten Birkenrindenstücke werden, um sie zu Zeltdecken verwendbar zu machen, zunächst in einem grossen Kessel in Wasser gekocht, darauf mit trockenem Stroh oder Heu abgerieben, an der Sonne getrocknet und zu Matten von etwa 3 Faden Länge und einer Arschin Breite (eine *Toiochsso* der Golde, *Tichsso* der Manägirn und Orotschonen, *Tukja* der Orotschen) aneinander genäht. Die Birkenrinde verliert bei solcher Behandlung ihre Brüchigkeit und wird lederartig weich und biegsam, so dass die Matten sich bequem und ohne zu leiden zusammenrollen lassen und stets auch in dieser Form aufbewahrt und transportirt werden. Dabei wird, um das Zerreissen der Matte zu verhüten, längs jedem Rande derselben ein schmaler Streifen von ebensolcher Rinde aufgenäht. Zu einem Manägirn-Zelte der oben beschriebenen Art sollen etwa 6 Stück oder Rollen solcher Birkenrindenmatten erforderlich sein. Aber auch ein einzelnes Stück kann, wie wir sahen, zur Noth noch hinlänglichen Schutz gewähren, und daher wird ein Amur-Tunguse, sei er Golde, Manägir oder was Anderes, im Sommer schwerlich auch nur eine kleine Fahrt unternehmen, ohne sich für alle Fälle mit einer *Toiochsso* (resp. *Tichsso*) zu versehen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Ganz genau ebenso wie die Manägirn-Zelte sind endlich nach Maack's, wie nach Gerstfeldt's[1]) Zeugniss auch diejenigen der Orotschonen beschaffen, nur mit dem Unterschiede, dass diese zur Umhüllung der Gerüste im Winter nicht Elenns-, sondern Rennthierfelle gebrauchen, welche sie leicht haben können, da sie statt der Pferde Rennthiere halten und zum Reiten und Lastentragen auf ihren Streifereien und Umzügen gebrauchen.

Vor den Zelten der Manägirn und Orotschonen sieht man in der Regel einzelne, aus senkrechten und horizontalen Stangen errichtete Gerüste stehen, die zum Dörren von Fisch oder Fleisch an der Sonne, zum Trocknen von Thierfellen u. drgl. dienen. Das Nomadenleben dieser Völker zwingt sie jedoch, nur das zur Nahrung, Kleidung oder Wohnung Nothwendigste mit sich zu führen, alles an Vorräthen, Kleidungsstücken u. drgl. zur Zeit Entbehrliche hingegen zu etwaigem künftigen Gebrauche an bestimmten Punkten, die sie auf ihren Wanderungen immer wieder berühren, niederzulegen und aufzubewahren. Zu diesem Zweck werden höchst primitive Vorrathsbehälter (*dëlkan*) errichtet. Auf einigen in die Erde getriebenen Pfählen werden in der Höhe von 5—7 Fuss Bretter oder ein Ruthengeflecht in horizontaler Lage angebracht. Auf dieses Gestell wird alles aufzubewahrende Hab und Gut niedergelegt, mit einer Birkenrindenmatte bedeckt und diese mit Stangen und Steinen von oben beschwert[2]). So bleibt es sowohl gegen Nässe von oben wie von unten, als auch gegen Angriffe durch Thiere geschützt. Plünderung durch Menschenhand ist aber nicht zu befürchten, nicht bloss wegen der menschenleeren Einöde, sondern auch weil die Vorstellung von der Unantastbarkeit solcher Niederlagen, sowie vielleicht auch eine abergläubische Furcht, an denselben zu rühren, allgemein und in weitem Umkreise auch bei den auf gleicher, kindlicher Culturstufe stehenden Nachbarvölkern verbreitet ist.

Wirft man einen Gesammtrückblick auf die Wohnungen der indigenen Völker des Amur-Landes, also mit Ausschluss der Chinesen und der sich mit ihnen mehr und mehr assimilirenden Mandshu, Dauren, Solonen etc., so gelangt man zu dem Schluss, dass dieselben am meisten den Charakter beständiger, fester, solider und dabei eigenartiger Behausungen bei den Giljaken tragen, während sie bei den ringsum wohnenden tungusischen Völkern durchweg nur zeltartig, leicht aufführbar und transportabel und einem unstäten, mehr oder minder nomadischen oder umherstreifenden Leben angemessen erscheinen. So sieht man auf Sachalin neben den im Sommer wie im Winter in festen, bleibenden Wohnungen sich aufhaltenden Giljaken, ja zum Theil innerhalb ihres Gebietes, die Wanderzelte der mit ihren Rennthieren umherziehenden Oroken. Auf dem Festlande wird der Unterschied um so grösser, je mehr man sich von der Amur-Mündung stromaufwärts und von der Meeresküste ins Binnenland begiebt. Das tritt Einem besonders deutlich an den Sommerwohnungen der in dieser Richtung aufeinanderfolgenden Völker entgegen. Man vergleiche nur in der That das auf Pfählen ruhende, aus Balken gezimmerte Sommerhaus der Giljaken mit den Dauros der anstossenden tungusischen Völker. Und sind ferner die Dauros der Oltscha, Negda, Samagirn, wenn auch nur aus leichten

1) Гершельманъ, О кочующихъ инородцахъ Амура (Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ., 1857, Отд. II, стр. 200).

2) Maack, l. c., p. 71. Gerstfeldt, l. c., p. 202.

Materialien, Holzstangen, darunter vielleicht ein paar von etwas grösserer Dicke, Birkenrinde u. drgl. erbaut, doch noch recht geräumig und von aussen einem Hause ähnlich, so schrumpfen diejenigen der Golde zu kleinen, nur aus Weidenruthen und Birkenrinden construirten und leicht von Ort zu Ort übertragbaren Zelten zusammen, und die Dauros der Orotschen gehen sogar nicht über die Dachform, die einfachste aller Zeltformen hinaus. Im oberen Amur-Lande, bei den nomadischen Biraren, Manägirn, Orotschonen treten zwar wiederum Zelte von konischer Form auf, allein diese sind ganz für ein Wanderleben eingerichtet und beschränken sich oft, bei kürzerem Aufenthalt an einem Orte, auch nur auf wenige Stangen und eine um dieselben geschlagene Rindenmatte. Zudem ist zu diesen Völkern, gleichwie zu den Oroken auf Sachalin, am diametral entgegengesetzten Ende des Amur-Landes, auch die im ganzen Zwischenraum verbreitete, bei den Giljaken auch am Ochotskischen Meer und an der Nordspitze Sachalin's übliche, nach chinesischem Muster construirte Winterwohnung nicht gedrungen, und das Zelt, nur mit Fellbekleidung versehen, bildet ungeachtet des harten Klima's auch ihre Winterwohnung.

In diesen Wohnungsverhältnissen der indigenen Amur-Völker spricht sich ein grundverschiedener Zug zwischen den seit Alters sesshaften, paläasiatischen Giljaken und den sie umgebenden, später, ja zum Theil sogar in nicht gar weit zurückliegender Zeit herangewanderten und immer zum Wander- und Nomadenleben geneigt bleibenden tungusischen Völkern aus. Die angeführten Wohnungsdifferenzen stehen nämlich im innigsten Zusammenhange mit der gesammten Lebens- und Ernährungsweise der genannten Völker. Die Giljaken sind ganz vorherrschend Fischer und an der Meeresküste auch Robbenschläger und dem entsprechend auch fast ausschliesslich ichthyophag, gleichwie auch ihr einziges Hausthier, der Hund. Um nun sich selbst und ihren zahlreichen, sowohl zur Ausführung der vielen winterlichen Fahrten und Handelsreisen, als auch zur Beschaffung der üblichen Winterkleidung erforderlichen Hunden in der fischarmen Zeit das Leben zu fristen, bedürfen sie ansehnlicher Fischvorräthe, und diese lassen sich am sichersten und besten bei stätem, beständigem Aufenthalt an einem durch die Erfahrung als günstig erkannten Orte, sei es an einem fischreichen Strome, wie der Amur, sei es an der Meeresküste erhalten. Die Jagd kommt bei den Giljaken nur insofern in Betracht, als sie ihnen das für den Handel mit den Chinesen und Japanern so nothwendige kostbare Pelzwerk liefert und im Tausch gegen dasselbe manche zur Kleidung nöthige Zeuge, Tabak, Branntwein und andere Luxusartikel zuführt.

Anders verhält es sich mit den die Giljaken umgebenden tungusischen Stämmen. Bei ihnen wird die Jagd, und zwar um so mehr je weiter stromaufwärts und je tiefer ins Binnenland hinein, auch zu einem nothwendigen, ja wesentlichen Ernährungs- und Existenzmittel. Zudem nimmt bei dem geringeren Handelsgeiste dieser Völker im Vergleich mit den Giljaken, ihren minder häufigen und ausgedehnten Winterreisen und Fahrten auch die Zahl der zu ernährenden Hunde und damit das Bedürfniss nach grösseren Fischvorräthen ab. Auch wird mit der Entfernung vom Hauptstrome nach den seine Zuflüsse säumenden Gebirgen zu der Fischfang überhaupt minder lohnend, während der im selben Maasse wachsende Wildreichthum die Jagd

um so verlockender macht. Je mehr aber der Fischfang in den Hinter-, und die einen häufigen Ortswechsel verlangende Jagd in den Vordergrund tritt, um so unstäter gestaltet sich das Leben des Volkes. Dass die in den Wald- und Gebirgswildnissen an den linken Zuflüssen des Amur und Ussuri lebenden Orotschen bereits mehr Jäger als Fischer sind, ist oben mehrfach hervorgehoben worden. Noch weit mehr aber ist dies mit den Völkern des oberen Amur-Landes, den nomadischen Biraren, Manägirn und Orotschonen der Fall. Bei ihnen wird, ganz im Gegensatz zu den Giljaken, die Jagd zur ersten und vornehmlichsten Ernährungsquelle, während der Fischfang nur in untergeordnetem Grade in Betracht kommt, indem sie nur zeitweise, im Sommer ihre Jagdgründe verlassen und des Fischfangs wegen an den Amur, die Dseja oder Bureja heranziehen. Auch bedürfen sie keiner Fischvorräthe für ihre Hausthiere, da sie den Hund höchstens zur Jagd, nicht aber, wie es nur bei sesshaften Völkern möglich ist, als Zugthier gebrauchen. Ihre Haus-, namentlich Reit- und Lastthiere, Pferd und Rens, sind dagegen der Art, dass sie beim Wanderleben in Folge des Wechsels der Weidegründe nur um so reichlichere Nahrung finden und daher gewissermaassen Mitveranlassung zum Nomadenleben ihrer Besitzer geben.

[P 386]

5. Abschnitt.

Aeussere Haltung: Kleidung, Haartracht, Schmuck, Tätowirung.

Mehr noch als die Wohnung steht die Kleidung der Naturvölker im innigsten Zusammenhange mit ihrer gesammten Lebens- und Ernährungsweise. Denn sofern ihnen die zur Kleidung erforderlichen Stoffe nicht durch ein Culturvolk im Tauschhandel zugeführt werden, beziehen sie sie aus derselben Quelle, aus welcher sie auch ihre Nahrung schöpfen, sei es eben Fischfang, Jagd oder die Pflege nährender, resp. zur Ortsveränderung dienlicher Hausthiere, und geben ihnen auch einen ihrem Leben und Treiben, ihren Gewerben und Hantierungen angemessenen Zuschnitt.

In Betreff der **Giljaken**, mit denen wir wiederum unsere Betrachtung beginnen wollen, muss daher zuvörderst wiederholt werden, dass Fischfang und Robbenschlag ihre Hauptbeschäftigung bilden, die Jagd hingegen bei ihnen nur in zweiter Reihe in Betracht kommt, dass sie ferner nur ein Hausthier, den Hund, diesen aber in grosser Anzahl, als Zugthier um sich halten, und dass sie endlich, wie schon die älteste Kunde, welche die Russen von ihnen erhielten, besagt [1]), in beständigem Handelsverkehr mit den Chinesen stehen. Dem entsprechend bilden neben Baumwollenzeugen, welche sie seit Alters von den Chinesen und gegenwärtig auch von den Russen beziehen (giljakisch: *posaj*, russisch-sibirisch: *dalsi*), Hunds- und Seehundsfelle und Fischhäute ihre Hauptkleidungsstoffe, während die Felle der Waldthiere, Fuchs, Flussotter, Zobel, Eichhörnchen u. s. w., nur zu Verbrämungen oder kleineren Kleidungsstücken, wie Mützen, Handschuhe, Halswärmer u. drgl. dienen, im Uebrigen aber die Hauptartikel im Tauschhandel mit den Chinesen abgeben. Da die **Giljaken** dabei ausser verschiedenen Zeugen, einfarbigen und gemusterten, auch manche fertige Kleidungsstücke eintauschen, so lässt sich schon daraus, wie überhaupt aus ihrem Verkehr mit diesem ihnen zunächst stehenden Culturvolke der in ihrer Kleidung nach Form, Schnitt, Art und Muster der Stickereien und anderen Verzierungen erkennbare Einfluss chinesischer Sitte und chinesischen Geschmackes leicht erklären.

1) S. oben, p. 99.

Die dem Körper zunächst liegende Kleidung der Giljaken besteht in Calecons, welche auch Nachts nicht abgelegt werden, Beinkleidern (gilj. *warsch*), einem unteren und einem bis zu den Knien hinabreichenden Oberhemde (gilj. *larkch*), das am Halse und auf der Brust stets von links nach rechts zugeknöpft wird. Diese Kleidungsstücke sind immer aus chinesischem, oder neuerdings auch russischem, blauem oder grauem Baumwollenzeuge gemacht, bisweilen auch aus weissem, welches jedoch, da die Giljaken ihre Kleidungsstücke niemals waschen, sehr bald eine mehr oder minder dunkle Schmutzfarbe annimmt. Eines Oberkleides bedarf es im Sommer in der Regel nicht; erfordert es aber die auch in dieser Jahreszeit nicht selten unfreundliche Witterung, so wird eines der Winterkleidungsstücke, namentlich der später zu beschreibende Hundsfellpelz zu Hülfe genommen. Zur Fussbekleidung dienen stets hohe Stiefel aus Seehundsleder und Fell. Und zwar wird in der Regel das untere oder Fussstück des Stiefels (gilj. *ki*) nebst der Sohle aus der Haut der *Phoca barbata* (gilj. *kighitsch* u. *kighitsch-langr*) verfertigt, welche, zumal bei älteren Individuen, dicker und haltbarer ist als diejenige der anderen, in den Gewässern des Amur-Landes allgemein verbreiteten Seehundsart (*Ph. nummularis*, gilj. *pyghi* und *pyghi-langr*)[1]) und zu dem Zweck ihres Haares beraubt wird. Der Fussbildung der Giljaken entsprechend, ist das untere Stück des Stiefels klein und zierlich, mit hohem, längs der Mitte kielförmigem Rücken, und das zugespitzte und etwas nach auf- und rückwärts gekehrte Ende desselben macht den Einfluss chinesischer Muster unverkennbar. Die im Verhältniss zum Fussstück breiten und weiten Stiefelschäfte werden aus dem dünneren und geschmeidigeren, mit dem Haar nach aussen gekehrten Fell der letztgenannten Seehundsart gemacht; sie reichen fast bis ans Knie und werden, nachdem die Hosenenden hineingesteckt worden, unter demselben vermittelst eines ein- oder angenähten Riemens zusammengeschnürt. Eine Kopfbedeckung ist beim starken Haupthaarwuchs der Giljaken im Sommer meist entbehrlich. Doch bedienen sie sich zum Schutz gegen Regen und Sonnenschein eines eigenthümlichen, ziemlich flachkonischen Hutes aus Birkenrinde (gilj. *chib-hak*, d. h. in wörtlicher Uebersetzung «Birkenrindenhut»), der in der Regel mit verschiedenartigen, strahlenförmig um die Spitze geordneten, schwarzen und rothen Arabesken verziert ist, welche ebenfalls aus dünner Birkenrinde geschnitten und vermittelst feiner Darmfäden auf den Hut aufgenäht sind (s. Taf XVII und Taf. XX, Fig. 1 und 2)[2]).

Die Weiber tragen ganz ähnliche Unterkleider, aber ein längeres, weit über die Knie hinabreichendes Hemd und darüber einen mit Aermeln versehenen, vorn zum Knöpfen eingerichteten Rock, der entweder aus ähnlichem Zeuge, oder aus Fischhäuten gemacht wird. Hemd und Rock haben meist einen breiten Saum von andersfarbigem Zeuge, über welchem, namentlich auf dem Rock, als Zierrath eine oder ein paar rundherum laufende Reihen von verschiedenförmigen, an kleinen Riemen herabhängenden Messingplättchen von chinesischer Arbeit oder auch

1) S. meine Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Bd. I, p. 180 *K. Langr* heisst «Seehund» schlechtweg.

2) Die Farben (Schwarz und Roth) werden vom Regen nicht abgewaschen. Ich vermuthe daher, dass sie durch eine Mischung chinesischer Tusche, resp. Eisenocker mit Fisch- oder Seehundsthran hervorgebracht werden.

von den bekannten, mit einem viereckigen Loch versehenen chinesischen Kupfermünzen angebracht sind (s. Taf. XVII u. Taf. XVIII). In Folge dessen werden alle Bewegungen der Weiber, jeder Schritt, den sie thun, von einem durch das Aneinanderschlagen der erwähnten Metallplättchen oder Münzen hervorgebrachten Geklapper begleitet. Diese Sitte ist, wie auch schon die Verzierungen selbst verrathen, ohne Zweifel von chinesischem Ursprung [1]). Zur Anfertigung der Fischhautröcke benutzen die Giljaken die in den Gewässern des Amur-Landes häufigste Lachsart, *Salmo lagocephalus* (gilj. *lyghi-*, auf Sachalin *laghi-tscho*). Die abgestreiften Häute derselben werden zu dem Zweck ihrer Schuppen beraubt, was durch Stampfen der aufgeweichten Häute in einem Holzgeschirr geschieht, alsdann durch Schaben von den anhaftenden Muskel- und Fetttheilchen gereinigt, gepresst und geglättet und die einzelnen Stücke an einander genäht. Je nachdem, wie sorgfältig diese Operationen ausgeführt werden, erhält man einen Stoff von verschiedener Güte. An den zum Alltagsgebrauch oder zum Schutz gegen den Regen bestimmten Röcken der Art, die von gelblichgrauer Farbe und meist ohne allen Zierrath sind, lassen sich noch die Ansatzstellen der Schuppen auf den einzelnen Häuten deutlich erkennen (Taf. XVIII). Die eleganteren Röcke der Art sehen hingegen so aus, als seien sie aus einem feinen, gelblichweissen Leder gemacht. Dieses hebt sich noch besonders scharf gegen die breiten schwarzen Säume ab, mit welchen das Rumpfstück des Rockes vorn, oben und unten, sowie die Aermel zur Schulter und zur Hand hin vermittelst Anstrichs mit der oben erwähnten Farbe versehen sind. In den Zwischenräumen sind verschiedenartige Stickereien angebracht, und ganz besonders zeichnet sich das Rückenstück durch hübsch verschlungene, mit verschiedenfarbigen Fäden gestickte Arabesken aus, wie sie auf Taf. XXIII, Fig 2, 3 und 4, dargestellt sind. Dabei fehlt auch der oben erwähnte metallische Zierrath nie.

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1) Unter diesem Zierrath fanden sich während meines Aufenthalts im Amur-Lande an einem Weiberrock aus dem Dorfe Wair oder einem der Nebendörfer ein paar messingne Kreuzchen mit der Inschrift «Souvenir de mission» und eine das Bildniss des Heilands mit einer chinesischen (?) Inschrift tragende bronzene Medaille. Diese Stücke rührten höchst wahrscheinlich vom französischen Missionar de la Brunière her, der im Jahre 1846, nachdem er den Winter in Wair zugebracht hatte, von den Giljaken ermordet und ausgeplündert wurde. Schon sein Amtsbruder Venault, der im Jahre 1850 im Auftrage des apostolischen Vikars der Mandshurei, um dem Verbrechen nachzuforschen, eine Reise von Asha-ho am Sungari zu den Giljaken am Amur machte, sah viele Kinder derselben solche Kreuzchen und Medaillen tragen (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, Ve Sér. T. XXX, 1853 [T. II], p. 218). Zur Vervollständigung der von Venault über die Ermordung de la Brunière's erkundeten Nachrichten sei hier gelegentlich bemerkt, dass dieselbe nach dem, was ich von den Giljaken erfuhren, auf dem linken Amur-Ufer, zwischen den Dörfern Wair und Ssabach stattfand, an der Stelle, wo die Felsen mit einer eigenthümlichen Bildung, in der Form eines Thores, an den Strom herantreten. Ich habe dieselbe auf meiner Winterreise des Jahres 1855 am 29. März (10. April) besucht. Unter den Mördern wurde mir auch der bereits bejahrte Giljake genannt, in dessen Hause im Dorfe Wair ich abgestiegen war. Meinen Erkundigungen über den Hergang der Sache gegenüber verhielt er sich ausweichend oder ablehnend. Da jedoch die Giljaken es für unheilbringend (ulisch) halten, ein mit Schriftzeichen — gleichviel, ob geschriebenen, oder gedruckten — versehenes Papier zu vernichten, so hoffte ich durch ihn vielleicht in den Besitz etwaiger Tagebücher oder sonstiger schriftlicher Aufzeichnungen de la Brunière's zu gelangen. Allein trotz der hohen Geldbelohnungen, welche ich den Giljaken für dieselben in Aussicht stellte, wurden mir von ihnen nach Verlauf von einiger Zeit, als ich bereits wieder nach dem Nikolajefschen Posten zurückgekehrt war, doch nur einige Flicke einer der D'Anville'schen Karten von China gebracht.

Die Fussbekleidung der giljakischen Weiber ist ganz dieselbe wie bei den Männern; nur haben sie an ihren Stiefeln im Sommer fast immer, die Männer bloss bisweilen statt aus Seehundsfell ebenfalls aus Fischhaut, und zwar ausser von *Salmo lagocephalus* auch von *Salmo proteus* (gilj. *tengi-tscho*), gemachte Schäfte, die ohne Zweifel leichter und luftiger und ihnen darum, bei der vielen Bewegung, welche die Ausübung ihrer häuslichen Pflichten erfordert, in dieser Jahreszeit auch zweckmässiger sind als jene. Eine eigens für den Sommer bestimmte, dem Birkenrindenhut der Männer entsprechende Kopfbekleidung haben die giljakischen Weiber nicht.

Weit complicirter und vielfach auch eigenartiger ist die Winterkleidung der Giljaken. Auf Taf. XVIII ist ein Giljake in vollem Winteranzuge dargestellt, wie er im Begriff steht sich auf eine Reise zu begeben. Das Hauptkleidungsstück der Giljaken im Winter, das sie nur selten ablegen, ja mit welchem sie sich auch zur Nacht auf der warmen Schlafbank der Jurte, bis auf die Calecons entkleidet, bedecken, ist der breite, bis zu den Knien hinabreichende Pelz (giljakisch: *okch*) aus einer doppelten Lage von Hundsfellen, die äussere Lage mit dem Haar nach aussen, die innere mit dem Haar nach innen gekehrt. Wo möglich nehmen die Giljaken zum Pelz, namentlich für die Aussenseite desselben, lauter gleichfarbige, weisse, braune, graue oder andere Felle. Am meisten wird namentlich ein einförmig schwarzer oder dunkelbrauner, nächstdem ein weisser Pelz geschätzt. Aermere Leute begnügen sich jedoch auch mit buntscheckigen Pelzen, und an Kindern sieht man solche in der Regel (Taf. XIX). Sorgsame Mütter scheuen auch nicht die Mühe, ihren Kindern Pelze mit schachbrettartig aus weissen und schwarzen oder braunen Flicken zusammengesetztem Rückenstück zu machen (Taf. XII). Mit Vorliebe wird, namentlich für die Innenseite des Pelzes, auch das feine und geschmeidige Fell junger Thiere benutzt.

Es lässt sich als allgemeingültige Regel aussprechen, dass die Giljaken nur aus Hundsfellen gemachte Pelze tragen. Nur am Liman, wo sie hauptsächlich mit Seehundsfang sich beschäftigen, sind mir einzelne Individuen begegnet, die ausnahmsweise statt der Hundspelze welche aus Seehundsfell trugen, und vielleicht geschieht Aehnliches hie und da auch an der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres. Die Gründe, wesshalb die Giljaken für den eigenen Bedarf dem Hundspelzwerk in so hohem Maasse den Vorzug vor jedem anderen geben, mögen zum Theil dieselben sein, welche nach Steller's Angabe[1]) auch die alten Itälmenen auf Kamtschatka bestimmten, sich mit Vorliebe des Hundspelzwerks zu ihrer Kleidung zu bedienen und es sogar dem Fuchs- und Zobelfell vorzuziehen. Gewiss mag, bei dem conservativen Sinne eines jeden Naturvolkes, das einmal gewohnte Herkommen, der durch Generationen fortgeerbte Brauch auch hiebei eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Daneben kommen jedoch auch die durch Erfahrung erkannten Vorzüge dieses Pelzwerks in Betracht, seine «Wärme», Dauerhaftigkeit und die Festigkeit seines Haares, auch wenn es der Nässe ausgesetzt gewesen, — Eigenschaften, welche es dem gemeinen, fast immer der Unbill des Wetters ausgesetzten Manne besonders schätzenswerth machen müssen. Und zu all dem gesellt sich endlich noch ein Umstand — und darin dürfte vielleicht der Hauptgrund des allge-

1) Steller, Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankf. und Leipzig 1774, p. 127.

meinen Gebrauchs des Hundspelzwerks bei den Giljaken liegen, — es ist die Leichtigkeit und Billigkeit seiner Beschaffung, indem die Giljaken Hunde als unumgängliches Zugthier in grosser Anzahl halten und die Felle derselben im Handel weder den Chinesen, noch den Japanern, noch auch den Russen gegenüber verwerthen können.

Dennoch finden sich bei manchen Giljaken auch aus anderen Thierfellen bereitete Pelze. Diese dienen aber nicht zum Gebrauch, sondern werden nur als hohe und seltene Werthobjekte sorgfältig aufbewahrt. Eine solche Rolle spielt bei ihnen namentlich der Luchspelz (giljak. *tschlyghi-okch*). Wer einen Luchspelz besitzt, gilt bei den Giljaken für einen reichen und angesehenen Mann, und zur Zeit meines Aufenthalts im Amur-Lande konnten sie mir nur 3 ihrer Landsleute und einen Oltscha nahmhaft machen, welche sich eines solchen Besitzes erfreuten; es waren dies die Giljaken: Nenjdan im Dorfe Allof am Amur, Mesgun in Patt, die je einen Pelz der Art besassen, und Pawgun in Tamla-wo auf Sachalin, welcher deren zwei hatte, sowie der Oltscha Todo in Tschilwi, in dessen Besitz sich ebenfalls ein solcher Pelz befand. Den Grund, warum bei den Giljaken gerade das Luchsfell und umsomehr ein aus etwa sechs Fellen der Art zusammengesetzter Pelz einen so hohen conventionellen Werth hat, glaube ich in dem Einfluss chinesischer Vorstellungen suchen zu müssen. Allerdings hat das Luchsfell für die Giljaken auch einen ansehnlichen realen Werth, da es im Handel mit den Chinesen etwa zwei Flussotter- oder 10 Zobelfellen gleich geachtet wird [1]), indessen giebt es noch theurere Pelzwerke, ein schwarzes Fuchsfell z. B. kommt in demselben Handel 15 bis 20 Zobeln gleich, und doch wird es von den Giljaken nicht wie das Luchsfell zu Pelzen von imaginärem Werthe benutzt. Auch giebt es, wie eine später mitzutheilende Tabelle der Werthschätzung verschiedener Gegenstände seitens der Giljaken zeigen wird, im Haushalt derselben manche Dinge, welche sie noch höher als einen Luchspelz schätzen, und welche ihrem Besitzer doch nicht einen solchen Nimbus von Reichthum und Ansehen wie dieser letztere verleihen. Hiebei müssen also noch Vorstellungen anderer Art im Spiele sein. Bei dem regen, Jahrhunderte alten Handelsverkehr der Giljaken mit den Chinesen kann es ihnen nicht unbekannt sein, in welch' hohen Ehren in China das Fell des Tigers, als des mächtigsten, reissendsten und gefährlichsten aller Thiere, sowie auch dasjenige seines Gattungsverwandten, des Panthers, bis zum Throne hinauf stehen: dass z. B. die Sessel der hohen chinesischen Beamten, Gouverneure, Mandarine, Heerführer u. drgl. bei feierlichen Gelegenheiten oder Aufzügen mit Tiger- und Pantherfellen behängt werden und die hinter ihnen getragenen Sitzkissen eben solche Fellüberzüge haben [2]); dass die Jagdzelte des Kaisers von aussen mit Tigerfellen bekleidet werden [3]); dass von den Hellebarden und Lanzen der die Leibwache des Kaisers bildenden und bei

1) Schon zwei Beinstücke vom Luchsfell und der Schwanz sind so viel wie zwei Zobel werth.

2) Ysbrants Ides, Dreijarige Reise naar China, Amsterdam 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris 1735, T. IV, p. 28.

3) Schon Marco Polo (Reisen, deutsch von Aug. Bürck, nebst Zusätzen und Vorbess. von Fr. Neumann, Leipzig 1845, p. 318, 319) erzählt, dass der von vier Elephanten getragene Pavillon, in welchem der chinesische Kaiser (Kublai-chan) auf seinen Jagden in der Provinz Liao-tong sich aufhielt, so wie die Jagdzelte, die für ihn dort errichtet wurden, von aussen mit Tiger- oder, wie es bei ihm heisst, cLöwen-Fellen bedeckt waren.

öffentlichen Prozessionen in seinem Gefolge schreitenden Officiere lange Tiger- und Pantherschwänze herabhängen [1]) u. s. w.[2]). Ein ähnlicher ehrenvoller Gebrauch des Tigerfelles hat sich unter chinesischem Einfluss auch in Korea festgesetzt [3]). Die Handelsreisen der Giljaken nach Ssan-ssin am Sungari bieten ihnen Gelegenheit, selbst Zeugen der ausserordentlichen Furcht zu sein, welche die dortigen Chinesen (Man-dse) sowohl, wie die Golde vor dem Tiger haben, und der Ehrerbietungen, welche sie ihm, von dieser Furcht getrieben, überall erweisen, indem die Ersteren ihm kleine Kapellen oder Tempelchen errichten und in denselben Bildnisse von ihm anbringen [4]), die Letzteren aber ihn *sambanji*, d. h. Herr, nennen und sich sogar vor seinem Leichnam bis zur Erde verbeugen [5]). Die Eindrücke, welche die Giljaken von diesen Fahrten in Betreff des Tigers heimbringen, insbesondere die durch Golde und Chinesen ihnen zu Ohren kommenden Erzählungen von den vielen, alljährlich ihm zur Beute fallenden Menschenleben [6]) tragen gewiss nicht wenig zu der panischen Furcht und den abergläubischen Vorstellungen bei, welche sie selbst dem Tiger gegenüber beherrschen. Ueber diese habe ich mich bereits früher einmal ausgesprochen [7]) und denke in der Folge gelegentlich noch Manches hinzuzufügen. Da

1) Ysbrants Ides, l. c., p. 90. Gerbillon, bei Du Halde, l. c., T. IV, p. 235.

2) Es liessen sich noch viele Belege für die Hochschätzung des Tigers und seines Felles in China beibringen. Ich begnüge mich jedoch, hier nur noch auf einige ältere Zeugnisse der Art hinzuweisen. Wegen seines Furcht und Schrecken einflössenden Raubthiercharakters wird sein Bildniss in China namentlich auf den Gewändern von Officieren und anderen im Kriegsdienst stehenden Personen angebracht, wie schon Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794; aus dem Engl. übersetzt von Hüttner, Wien 1805, Bd. II, p. 31), Staunton (Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China in den J. 1792—1794, nebst Nachr. über China und einen kleinen Theil der chines. Tartarey; aus dem Engl. übersetzt, Frankf. u. Leipzig 1798, Bd. I, p. 341) u. A. berichteten. Ellis (Journal of the Proceed. of the late Embassy in China etc. Second Edit., London 1818, Vol. I, p. 130) sah auch einige Compagnien Soldaten, die vom Kopf bis zum Fuss in lange, gelb und schwarz gestreifte Gewänder gehüllt waren, welche ihnen zum Schrecken der Feinde das Ansehen von Tigern verleihen sollten. Andererseits scheint dem Tiger in China auch dort Raum gegeben zu werden, wo es sich um religiöse Ehrfurcht handelt. So erzählt Van-Braam (Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. par Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, an VI (1798), T. I, p. 270), dass in der Pagode Huinen-tsu in Peking vor dem Altar vier ausgestopfte Tiger in sitzender Stellung aufgestellt waren. In ähnlicher Weise errichten die Chinesen (Man-dse) im Ussuri-Lande dem Tiger Kapellen, in denen sie ihm Opfer darbringen und Abbildungen von ihm aufhängen (Архим. Иннокентій, Уссур. Маньчжы. — Извѣст. Геогр. Общ., Т. VII, 1871, Отд. II, стр. 376). Auf den Werth, welchen die Chinesen in abergläubischer Vorstellung ausser dem Fell des Tigers auch dem Fleisch, der Galle, den Sehnen, Knochen und Krallen desselben beimessen, werde ich bei einer anderen Gelegenheit zurückkommen.

3) So erzählt Przewalski (Путеш. въ Уссурійск. край, 1867—1869 г., С. Петерб. 1870, стр. 116), dass bei seinem Besuch der am Tumen-ula gelegenen koreanischen Grenzstadt Kygenpu der Gouverneur derselben auf einem Sessel getragen erschien, über den ein Tigerfell gebreitet war. Nachdem er abgestiegen war, wurde dieses auf die Erde gebreitet und der Reisende eingeladen, auf demselben Platz zu nehmen.

4) Архимандр. Иннокентій, Уссурійскія Маньчжы (l. c., p. 377). Барабашъ, Сунгар. Экспед. 1872 г. (Военный Сборн., 1874, № 2, стр. 347).

5) Напраченскій, Поѣздка экспед. пушекъ вверхъ по Амуру, совершн. въ 1856—57 гг. (Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. XXI, 1858, Отд. Наслѣд. и Матер., стр. 171). Palladij, l. c.

6) Przewalski berichtet (l. c., p. 332), dass am Kymuche, einem Zufluss des oberen Ussuri, im J. 1867 nicht weniger als 21 Man-dse vom Tiger zerrissen und 6 verwundet wurden.

7) S. meine Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Bd. I, p. 96 — 97, wo bei Besprechung der Verbreitung des Tigers und Irbis' im Amur-Lande auch die Ansichten der Giljaken und anderen Amur-Völker über dieselben mitgetheilt sind.

jedoch der Tiger im Gebiet der Giljaken nur als ein höchst seltener Gast auf seinen Streifzügen von Süden her erscheint und auch kaum jemals von ihnen erlegt wird[1]), so gehört er, und in noch höherem Grade der Irbis, bei ihnen mehr zu den mythischen, nur ihre Phantasie beschäftigenden Thieren. Dahingegen stossen sie in ihren Wäldern, und nicht so gar selten, auf ein anderes Thier, das durch seinen ausgesprochenen Raubthiercharakter und seine Gesammterscheinung, den katzenartigen Habitus, die gefleckte und zum Theil gestreifte Zeichnung seines Felles, die schwarze Schwanzspitze u. drgl. an den Tiger, wie an den Panther erinnert[2]), und dessen Fell zudem von den Chinesen hochgeschätzt und theuer bezahlt wird[3]). Ich meine den Luchs. Auf ihn wird daher von den Giljaken ein Theil jener Vorstellungen vom Tiger als einem besonders vornehmen, fürstlichen oder königlichen Thiere übertragen. Kein Wunder somit, dass nach dem Sprichwort: «Kleider machen Leute», das sich bei Naturvölkern ganz besonders bewahrheitet, um denjenigen Giljaken, der sich gelegentlich in einem ganzen Pelz von Luchsfellen sehen lassen kann, und der also auch den Vortheil, welcher ihm aus dem Verkauf dieser Felle erwachsen würde, gering schätzen darf, in den Augen seiner Landsleute ein Nimbus von aussergewöhnlichem Ansehen und Reichthum sich verbreitet.

Kehren wir darnach wieder zur gewöhnlichen Winterkleidung der Giljaken zurück. Wie das Hemd, wird von den Giljaken auch der Pelz auf der Brust stets von links nach rechts zugeknöpft, bald mit ein paar metallischen Knöpfen von chinesischem oder russischem Ursprung, bald mit einem grossen hölzernen Knopf von giljakischer Arbeit (Taf. XXIX, Figg. 4, 5), und ebenso werden auch die Pelzschösse über einander geschlagen. Zum Zusammenhalten derselben dient aber bei vollem Winteranzuge ausser dem Gürtel, von dem später besonders die Rede sein wird, zunächst noch ein besonderes Kleidungsstück, die sogen. *Kossjkha*, d. h. ein kurzer, rings um den Leib reichender Schurzrock aus Seehundsfell, der zur besseren Anschmiegung an die Taille, und um die Bewegungen des Körpers nicht zu hindern, oben mit einem breiten Saume aus Fischhaut versehen ist, durch welchen die zum Zuschnüren dienenden Riemen laufen (s. Taf. XVIII u. XIX). Die Kossjkha scheint ein echtes, ursprünglich giljakisches Kleidungsstück zu sein, obgleich man sie zum Theil auch bei den den Giljaken benachbarten und in ähnlicher Weise wie diese lebenden tungusischen Völkern, den Oltscha, Negda u. a. findet. Dem stets rittlings

1) Mir wussten die Giljaken von keinem Falle der Art zu erzählen.

2) Przewalski (l. c., p. 242) erzählt, dass die Eingeborenen des Ussuri-Landes (Golds und Orotschen oder Ta-dse) auf seine Nachfragen über den Charakter und die Lebensweise des Luchses stets zur Antwort gaben: *dzyjem Lou-mazza*, was so viel wie «dem Tiger gleich» bedeute.

3) Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien in den J. 1855 — 1859, Bd. I. Die Säugethier-Fauna, St. Petersb. 1862, p. 93) konnte bei den Mandshu und Dauren selbst gegen Silbermünze keinen Luchsbalg erhandeln und hörte die Letzteren sagen, dass er gleich den Tigerfellen nur von den hohen chinesischen Beamten acquirirt werde. Schon Gerbillon (bei Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. IV, p. 395) berichtete, dass das Thier *Schulon* (französ. «Choulon», von welchem der Kaiser Kanghi auf der Jagd im J. 1692 ein Exemplar erlegte, und das er selbst für einen Luchs (*chaup cervier*) hielte, was der Beschreibung zufolge, auch in der That ganz richtig zu sein scheint, eines der geschätztesten Pelzwerke liefert, welches in Peking 15 bis 20 Dukaten das Stück kostet. An einer anderen Stelle bei Du Halde (l. c., p. 29) wird dieses Thier auch «Chalazon» genannt.

auf seiner niedrigen Hundenarte fahrenden Giljaken giebt die Kossjkha einen vortrefflichen Schutz des Unterleibes gegen den entgegentreibenden Wind und Schnee oder Regen ab, und auch bei manchen anderen, wie wir in der Folge sehen werden, speciell durch die Sitten der Giljaken bedingten Gelegenheiten leistet sie ihnen treffliche Dienste. Um das Hineinfahren von Wind und Schnee in die Aermel zu verhüten, werden dieselben an der Handwurzel vermittelst einer breiten, aus Zeug oder auch aus Leder bestehenden Aermelbinde (gilj. *torknbas*, s. Taf. XXII, Fig. 4, 5) windelartig umwickelt und zugebunden. An die Aermelenden sind die Handschuhe (gilj. *wom(a)ch*) gebunden. Es sind in der Regel immer mit Fuchsfell ausgekleidete Fausthandschuhe (Taf. XX, Fig. 3, 4), dadurch in ihrem Schnitt ausgezeichnet, dass an der Handwurzel in einiger Entfernung vom Daumen ein durch eine Klappe geschützter Schlitz sich befindet, durch welchen die Hand nöthigenfalls aus ihrer Bekleidung hinausgesteckt werden kann [1]).

Eine auf dem Rücken zwischen den Schultern herabhängende, zum Schutz für den Kopf bestimmte Kapuze, wie sie bei allen mehr oder minder hochnordischen Völkern, Kamtschadalen, Korjaken, Tschuktschen, Eskimo, ja auch Tungusen u. a. üblich ist, haben die Giljaken an ihrem Pelz niemals. Hals und Kopf haben vielmehr ihre besonderen Kleidungsstücke. Zum Schutz des ersteren dient eine aus Schwanzfellen des Eichhörnchens gemachte Boa (gilj. *tolp*, Taf. XIX), welche übrigens zuweilen auch um den Kopf getragen wird, und zwar bei mildem Wetter an Stelle der Mütze, bei kaltem noch über derselben, zum Schutz für die Stirne (Taf. XVIII). Auf einen Tolp von geringer Qualität gehen etwa 30—40, auf einen hübsch dichthaarigen und guten 50 und mehr Eichhörnchenschwänze. Andere Felle benutzen die Giljaken dazu nicht.

Auf dem Kopf tragen die Giljaken auf weiteren Fahrten, bei strenger Kälte oder scharfem Winde zuvörderst Ohrenwärmer (gilj. *tapais*), die aus zwei vorn und hinten durch einen Riemen oder ein Bändchen verbundenen Klappen bestehen. Diese sind entweder einfach aus Seehundsfell gemacht, oder von innen mit Fuchs- oder Flussotterfell ausgekleidet und von aussen mit einem Stück Zeug versehen, auf welchem verschiedenfarbige Arabesken ausgenäht sind (Taf. XX, Fig. 5 und Taf. XXII, Fig. 1 und 2). Darüber kommt eine grosse, den ganzen Kopf einhüllende Pelzmütze (gilj. *tosn-hak*) [2]). Sie ist von einfachem, unten geradem Schnitt und hat an den Vorderecken entweder zwei Bändchen (wie in der betreffenden Abbildung Taf. XXI, Fig. 1) zum Zuknüpfen unter dem Kinn, oder auch nur ein einziges, die Innenseiten beider Ecken verbindendes Bändchen, und in diesem letzteren, gewöhnlicheren Falle wird, um die Mütze aufzusetzen, erst das erwähnte Bändchen unters Kinn gebracht und dann die Mütze über den Kopf geschoben. Inwendig ist die Mütze stets mit Fuchsfell ausgekleidet, welches, nach vorn und aussen hervortretend, auch den Rand derselben bildet. Die Aussenseite besteht entweder durchweg aus gleichartigem Seehundsfell, oder aber aus verschiedenen, nicht selten kunst- und geschmackvoll zusammen-

1) An den Handschuhen der Tungusen und auch der Russen in Sibirien hat der zum Hinausstecken der Hand dienende Schlitz keine schützende Klappe; an den aus Hundsfell gemachten Handschuhen der Orotschen der Bai Hadshi hingegen ist dieselbe vorhanden.

2) Das *s* ist hier weich auszusprechen.

gestellten Fellstücken. Von solcher Art war z. B. der auf Taf. XXI, Fig. 1, dargestellte *Tasnhak* eines Tschomi-Giljaken, der mich in Nikolajefsk besuchte. Das obere Mittelstück dieser Mütze, von brauner Farbe, besteht aus Rennthierfell, die weissen Arabesken darauf sind von kurzhaarigem Hundsfell, der durch ein blaues Band vom Mittelstück getrennte Rand ist aus verschiedengefleckten Seehundsfellstücken zusammengesetzt; der Vorderrand besteht wie immer aus dem von innen hervortretenden Fuchsfell, unten ist aber die Mütze rundum noch mit langhaarigem, weissem Hundsfell verbrämt. Diese letztere Verbrämung fehlt übrigens auch den minder eleganten, ja selbst den einfachsten Pelzmützen der Giljaken nicht und giebt ihnen insgesammt ein besonderes, eigenthümliches Gepräge. Je länger dabei das zum Nacken hinabreichende weisse oder graue Fellhaar der Mütze ist, für um so schöner wird es in den Augen der Giljaken erachtet, gleichwie auch bei den alten Itälmenen auf Kamtschatka eine Einfassung der Pelze, mögen nun diese aus Rennthier- oder Fuchsfell gewesen sein, ringsum mit langen Hundshaaren nach Steller's Ausdruck[1]) allezeit für die «grösste Zierräth» an denselben galt. Uebrigens mag diese Verbrämung der Mütze dem Nacken auch einen gewissen Schutz gegen Wind und Schnee bieten.

Unter dem Pelz tragen die Giljaken auf weiten Fahrten und bei strenger Kälte noch mehrere Unterkleider. So namentlich denselben zunächst einen kurzen, wattirten Rock oder eine Jacke aus Baumwollenzeug oder auch aus Tuch, das giljakisch sogen. *ssikky*, ein Kleidungsstück von unverkennbar chinesischem Schnitt, das sie bei milderem Wetter oder auf Gängen auch ohne Pelz, nur mit dem *Tolp* um den Hals oder Kopf, oder auch mit der Pelzmütze versehen, tragen (s. Taf. XIX), und in welchem sie auch nach Abwerfung des Pelzes in der Jurte sitzen bleiben. Um ferner Brust und Bauch in der Gegend der Herzgrube besonders warm zu erhalten, wird daselbst noch unter dem Hemde, am blossen Körper ein mit Fell gefütterter Latz, der sogen. *Koch-passj* getragen, der an einem Bändchen um den Hals gehängt und unten durch zwei andere um den Leib geknöpft wird. Das auf Taf. XXII, Fig. 3, abgebildete Exemplar der Art, das ich beim Giljaken Judin in Tebach sah, war von goldischer Arbeit. Es war von fünfeckiger, unten abgerundeter Form, auf der Innenseite mit Fuchsfell ausgekleidet, rundum mit Flussotterfell verbrämt, aussen aber auf schwarzem Baumwollenzeuge mit verschiedenfarbigen, zum Theil kunstvollen Stickereien versehen, auf die ich in der Folge noch zurückkommen werde. Hier muss noch eines eigenthümlichen unteren Kleidungsstückes erwähnt werden, das ich namentlich bei den Tro-Giljaken in Nyi sowohl bei Erwachsenen, als auch bei einem Knaben von etwa 7 Jahren sah; es ist dies ein um die Lenden gebundener, nur für das männliche Geschlecht brauchbarer Beutel. Von besonderer Wichtigkeit ist es den rittlings auf ihren Narten sitzenden Giljaken, die Knie gegen Wind und Wetter zu schützen, und dazu dient eine aus Seehundsfell gemachte, ober- und unterhalb des Knies um das Bein festgebundene Kniehose (gilj. *panj*).

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1) Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 138.

Von der Fussbekleidung ist oben schon die Rede gewesen. Im Winter legen die Giljaken der Wärme halber etwas trockenes Gras in die Stiefel, wie dies mehr oder minder alle nordischen Naturvölker thun[1]). Nach Angabe des Chinesen U-tschen, der im Jahre 1722 eine Beschreibung der Stadt Ninguta verfasste, ist Dasselbe auch unter den dortigen Mandshu üblich, und zwar gebrauchen diese dazu ein feines, weiches, längliches, in der Nähe von Wasser wachsendes Gras, welches sie *ula* nennen[2]), und das im Volksmunde neben dem Gin-seng und dem Zobel für einen der drei Schätze Ninguta's gilt[3]). Ob die Giljaken zu dem erwähnten Zweck dieselbe oder überhaupt nur irgend eine bestimmte Grasart gebrauchen, vermag ich nicht zu sagen, so viel scheint mir aber unzweifelhaft zu sein, dass auch sie dabei nicht ohne einige Auswahl verfahren, denn als ich im Winter 1855 den Besitzer der Jurte von Poghobi auf Sachalin darum bat, mir etwas von dem Grase abzutreten, schlug er meine Bitte mit dem Bemerken ab, dass er selbst nur sehr wenig davon habe.

Ein wichtiges Stück giljakischer Kleidung ist endlich der Gürtel, namentlich auch als Träger mancher, den Giljaken stets begleitender Utensilien. Dazu gehört zunächst und vor Allem ein grosses Messer, das sogen. *Ngawla-dshakko*, das sowohl beim Essen, wie nöthigenfalls auch als Schutz- oder Angriffswaffe benutzt wird. Wie fast alle eisernen Utensilien, ist es stets von giljakischer Arbeit, meist einfach, mit grosser Klinge und kurzem, hölzernem, in der Regel schräg gestreiftem Stiel (Taf. XXXI, Fig. 1[4]), zuweilen auch ganz von Eisen mit eingelegten silbernen und kupfernen Arabesken und verschiedenen Gravirungen (ebenda, Fig. 2). Die Scheide ist immer von dickem Seehundsleder (von der *Phoca barbata*), mit verschiedenartigen darauf gepressten Arabesken geschmückt, und von sehr constanter Form, in der Mitte am breitesten, nach unten sich verjüngend, an der Spitze aber nicht geschlossen, sondern nur mit einem Büschel lederner Zipfel zum Schutz für die Klingenspitze versehen (ebenda, Fig. 3, desgl. Taf. XIX[5]). Meist wird auch noch ein zweites Messer am Gürtel getragen: das dem Giljaken ganz unentbehrliche *Yi-dshakko* (Taf. XXXI, Fig. 4), mit kleiner, spitzer Klinge an einem starken, hölzernen Stiel, der behufs grösserer Festigkeit am unteren Ende mit einem knöchernen Ringe versehen ist. Es steckt stets in einer festen Scheide aus Störhaut, mit hölzerner oder knöcherner Spitze (ebenda, Fig. 5). Das *Yi-dshakko* wird zum Schneiden von Holz, zum Verfertigen von allerhand sowohl grober, wie feiner Gegenstände aus demselben u. drgl. m. gebraucht. Dabei ist zu bemerken, dass die Giljaken stets gegen sich, nicht von sich ab zu schneiden pflegen, wie es Mamia Rinsô auch von den Aino im Gegensatz zu den Japanern

1) So z. B. ausser den sibirischen Völkern auch die Eskimo Nordwestamerika's und Grönland's (Rob. Brown, Das Innere von Grönland, in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 384).

2) Nach Maximowicz (Primitiae florae amurensis, in d. Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., T. IX, 1859, p. 506) wohl eine Cyperacee. Von den Eskimo in Nordwestamerika und Grönland werden nach R. Brown *Hierochloë alpina* und ähnliche Grasarten dazu gebraucht.

3) U-tschen, in der Uebersetzung von Wassiljef: Записки о Нингуть (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. XII, 1857, стр. 98). Der Uebersetzer fügt in einer Anmerkung hinzu, dass auch in Peking Stiefel verkauft werden, deren Sohlen mit dieser Grasart ausgestopft seien.

4) Die betreffende Unterschrift *ngawla-dshakko* ist in *ngawla-dshakko* zu berichtigen.

5) Auf der Taf. XVIII ist das nie fehlende grosse Gürtelmesser nur in Folge eines Versehens weggeblieben.

hervorhebt[1]). Ebenso wenig wie die erwähnten Messer fehlt am Gürtel der Giljaken das Feuerzeug: ein Behälter für Schwamm und Feuerstein und ein Feuerstahl. Jener besteht entweder aus einem seehundsledernen, meist ebenfalls mit aufgepressten Arabesken oder kleinen aufgenähten Fellrosetten verzierten Täschchen[2]) (gilj. *tschondak*, Taf. XXVIII, Fig. 5), oder aber aus einer dem Material, wie der Form und Einrichtung nach sehr eigenthümlichen Dose (gilj. *mlo*, ebenda, Fig. 4). Diese wird nämlich aus der zu dem Zweck zuvor aufgeweichten, später holzartig erhartenden Haut einer Störart gemacht, am Amur aus der Haut des *Tukkitscho* der Giljaken (*Acipenser Schrenckii* Brandt), auf Sachalin aus derjenigen einer angeblich ähnlichen, im Nordjapanischen Meere vorkommenden und von den Giljaken *okras* genannten Art. Das *Mlo* besteht aus zwei einander ganz ähnlichen, über einander stülpbaren Stücken, die an ihren oberen, resp. unteren Enden spiralförmig umgebogen und derartig auf einen Riemen gereiht sind, dass nach Abschiebung einer auf diesem letzteren laufenden, knöchernen Röhre das obere Stück vom unteren abgehoben werden kann. Wie die Schwammdose, so hängt auch der Feuerstahl oft an einer langen mit verschiedenen Anhängseln versehenen Kette (gilj. *kessj-kessj*) vom Gürtel herab (Taf. XXVIII, Fig. 1 und Taf. XXIX, Fig. 1). An dieser befindet sich bisweilen auch ein gebogenes und nach unten zugespitztes eisernes Stäbchen (Taf. XXVIII, Fig. 1 und 2), das auch besonders getragen wird und zu allerhand Zwecken dient, bald ein Loch in einen Riemen zu bohren, bald einen Knoten zu lösen oder die Pfeife zu reinigen u. drgl. Dasselbe Instrument (gilj. *kedak*) besteht nicht selten auch aus Horn oder Knochen, und so unscheinbar und unwesentlich es an sich ist, pflegt es doch auch mit allerlei eingeschnitzten Figuren verziert zu sein (Taf. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Endlich hängen am Gürtel des Giljaken meistens noch verschiedene andere Kleinigkeiten, wie sie der Zufall ihm in die Hände spielt, ein Eberzahn oder Hauer, ein Stück eines Antilopenhorns oder Rehgeweihes u. drgl. m.

Die Weiber der Giljaken tragen im Winter ebenfalls Hundsfellpelze, die auch wie diejenigen der Männer beschaffen sind; doch sieht man sie bisweilen, wenngleich selten, auch in Pelzen von edlerem Fell. So sah ich im Winter 1856 in Tangi auf Sachalin eines der Weiber des Giljaken Kombrein in einen mit dem Fell nach aussen gekehrten Fuchspelz gehüllt, unter welchem noch zwei Unterpelze, aus blauem und aus buntem chinesischen Zeuge mit Flussotter- und Zobelfellverbrämungen sichtbar waren. An sauber gekleideten Mädchen, Kindern wohlhabender Eltern, sieht man mitunter am Hundspelz einen schmalen Fuchsfellkragen, den giljak. sogen. *Mungrusk*, der um Nacken und Hals läuft, und von welchem zwei lange, mit Perlen ausgenähte Zipfel von den Schultern über die Brust herabhängen.

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1) Vrgl. Mamia Rinsô, Tô-tats ki ko, in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 128, nebst Anmerkung des Letzteren, p. 202.

2) Im Dorfe Tyk auf Sachalin sah ich z. B. ein Exemplar der Art, das mit kleinen Fellstückchen der *Otaria ursina* verziert war, den ersten, die mir bis dahin von diesem Thiere im Amur-Lande begegnet waren (s. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 189).

Von eigenthümlicher und mannigfacher Art ist die winterliche Kopfbekleidung der giljakischen Weiber. Die Alltagsmütze, in der man sie auch bei ihren häuslichen Verrichtungen sieht, wenn sie Nahrungsmittel aus den Vorrathshäusern holen, Wasser aus dem Fluss oder Brennholz in die Jurte tragen, die Hunde besorgen u. drgl. m., ist der sogen. *Tulo-hak*, d. h. »Wintermütze« schlechtweg (Taf. XXI, Fig. 2). Sie ist von einer eigenthümlichen, durch den erhöhten, meist mit einer Schnuragraffe versehenen Scheitel und die zum Schutz für Nacken und Ohren nach hinten und seitwärts herablaufenden Verlängerungen einem Helm nicht unähnlichen Form, wozu auch die der Form entsprechende, concentrische oder ausgeschweifte Steppereí der Oberseite zum Theil beiträgt. Diese letztere besteht aus einfachem, chinesischem Zeuge, meist schwarzem oder dunkelblauem Tuch. Von innen ist die Mütze mit Fuchsfell ausgekleidet und am Rande mit Flussotterfell verbrämt. Eleganter ist der auf weiteren Fahrten, bei festlichen Gelegenheiten u. drgl. gebräuchliche *Tscharp-hak*, d. h. »Seidenmütze« (Taf. XXI, Fig. 3). Diese ist ungefähr von der Form der Pelzmütze der Männer, nur mit einem etwas höheren Gipfel und tiefer über Ohren und Nacken hinabreichend. Der Bezeichnung entsprechend, wird sie aus chinesischem Seidenzeuge gemacht, auf welchem buntfarbige, stellenweise mit Goldfäden durchwirkte Drachen und andere Figuren dargestellt sind [1]). Inwendig ist diese Mütze ebenfalls mit Fuchsfell ausgekleidet, welches in einem breiten Streifen auch den Gesichtsrand der Mütze umgiebt, unten und hinten mit Flussotterfell verbrämt. Der Tscharp-hak bildet jedoch noch nicht den Gipfel der Eleganz bei den giljakischen Weibern. Das eleganteste und angesehenste Stück ihrer gesammten Wintertoilette ist die Luchsmütze (*Tschlyphi-hak*, Taf. XXI, Fig. 4). Diese wird aus dem Kopf- und dem Schwanzstück eines Luchsfells gemacht. Das erstere, mit den aufgerichteten, gepinselten Ohren des Thieres, bildet den Scheitel der Mütze. Die Ohrmuscheln werden von innen mit rothem chinesischen Seidenzeuge ausgekleidet und am Rande mit kleinen Büscheln oder Pinseln von blauen Seidenfäden oder auch von schwarzer Schafswolle [2]) versehen. Eine Reihe ebensolcher Pinselchen zieht sich auch über die Mitte des Kopfstücks, von der Stirn zur Schnauzenspitze hin. Ringsum ist das Luchskopffell mit einem breiten Streifen von Zobelfell verbrämt, der nach unten zum Schutz für die Ohren jederseits in eine verlängerte Spitze ausläuft. Von dieser Verbrämung hängt hinten der Luchsschwanz zopfartig zum Rücken hinab und ist an seiner Spitze mit einem kleinen Ringe oder einem jener durchbrochenen messingnen Plättchen versehen, mit welchen die Weiber auch den Saum ihrer Röcke zu schmücken pflegen. Durch eine solche Verwendung sowohl des Luchskopf-

1) Bekanntlich ist die Drachenzeichnung auf Stoffen, Mobilien und sonstigen Gegenständen bei den Chinesen sehr beliebt, doch soll es nur dem Kaiser zustehen, auf seinen Kleidungsstücken und Utensilien fünfklauige Drachen zu führen, während alle übrigen Personen, von den kaiserlichen Prinzen und Mandarinen ab, sich mit vierklauigen Drachen begnügen müssen (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollend. vers l'Empor. de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. par Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, an VI, T. II, p. 237 (Note de l'éditeur). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris 1869, T. I, p. 99). Von letzterer Art sind auch die auf dem oben abgebildeten, einem giljak. Weibe aus dem Dorfe Alief gehörigen *Tscharp-hak* dargestellten Drachen.

2) Als solche wurde mir von den Giljaken das Material der schwarzen Pinsel bezeichnet, wobei, da die Giljaken selbst keine Schafe haben, ebenfalls von chinesischem Ursprunge sein muss.

felles, als auch des Luchsschwanzes gewinnt der *Tschlyghi-hak* den Charakter einer Imitation des ganzen Thieres. Die innere Auskleidung der Luchsmütze besteht wiederum aus Fuchsfell. Obgleich der Eleganz und dem Ansehen nach gemissermaassen ein Analogon des Luchspelzes der Männer, wird die Luchsmütze von den Weibern doch nicht bloss aufbewahrt, sondern dank weiblicher Putzsucht und Eitelkeit auch wirklich getragen. So habe ich sie selbst bei Gelegenheit eines Bärenfestes in Tebach an zwei Weibern gesehen, und nach einem dieser Exemplare ist auch die obige Abbildung gemacht worden [1]). Stets kennzeichnet aber die Luchsmütze das Weib eines reichen Giljaken, der entweder schon einen Luchspelz besitzt, oder auf dem besten Wege dazu begriffen ist.

Eine ähnliche Benutzung des Kopffells eines besonders angesehenen Thieres zur Kopfbekleidung und gewissermaassen auch eine Imitation des ganzen Thieres mag sich bei manchen Naturvölkern wiederholen. Ich kann nicht umhin, hier nur auf einige Fälle der Art bei anderen paläasiatischen Völkern hinzuweisen. So tragen die wandernden Korjaken am Penshinsker Meerbusen, die am Wolf den gefährlichsten Feind ihrer Rennthierheerden haben, im Winter Mützen aus Wolfsfell, an welchen die Ohren dieses Thieres in aufrechter Stellung emporragen [2]). Ganz Aehnliches findet nach Sagoskin auch bei vielen Eskimo-Stämmen des nordwestlichen Amerika's statt. Die Männer des Volkes Kan-julit, von den nördlichsten Maleig-müt bis zu den Ugaschenzen hinab, tragen aus dem Kopffell des Wolfes gemachte Mützen und hinten am Gürtel einen Wolfs- oder Vielfrassschwanz, an welchen auch noch die Schnauzenspitze dieses letzteren Thieres befestigt ist. Die Weiber der Kuskokwim-Eskimo lassen von ihren eleganten, mit Flussotter- oder Vielfrassfell verbrämten Rennthierpelzmützen im Nacken einen Wolfs- oder Vielfrassschwanz zum Rücken hinabhängen [3]). Man wird, glaube ich, nicht irren, wenn man annimmt, dass solche auf Nachahmung von Thieren beruhende Kleidungsstücke von altnationalem Ursprunge innerhalb desjenigen Volkes selbst sind, bei welchem sie gebräuchlich und in dessen Leben die betreffenden Thiere, Schaden oder Nutzen bringend, von besonderer Bedeutung sind. Lag es doch dem Naturmenschen gewiss nahe, die Aehnlichkeit, die er mit einem bestimmten Thiere dadurch gewonnen, dass er sich selbst in dessen Fell kleidete, auch weiter bis in die Einzelheiten zu verfolgen und auszuführen. Hie und da mögen zum Theil auch abergläubische Vorstellungen, der Art etwa, dass man durch Nachahmung eines Thieres in seiner Kleidung die Gunst desselben gewinnen, resp. es sich unschädlich machen könne, Veranlassung zur Entstehung thiernachbildender Kleidungsstücke gegeben haben. Kein Wunder daher, wenn sich an solche altnationale Kleidungsstücke auch die Vorstellung von besonderer Eleganz und hohem Ansehen knüpft. Und dadurch erklärt sich auch die Thatsache, dass der Tschlyghi-hak der giljakischen

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1) Und zwar, gleichwie auch die beiden anderen Weibermützen auf derselben Tafel, von meinem Collegen Maximowicz, während unseres mehrtägigen Aufenthaltes in jenem Dorfe.

2) G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London 1871, p. 117.

3) Sarochann, Путешествие среди чукчей, изданіе отъ Академіи, С. Петерб. 1847 и 1848 гг., ч. II, стр. 21, 22.

Weiber, obgleich aus lauter einheimischen Materialien gemacht, in ihren Augen für eleganter noch als der aus theurem chinesischen, mit Drachen gezeichneten Seidenstoff gefertigte Tscharphak gilt.

Ich mag diesen Gegenstand nicht verlassen, ohne mir noch eine einschlagende allgemeinere Bemerkung zu erlauben. Sollte die bei allen in Thierfelle sich kleidenden Naturvölkern übliche Sitte, das Fell mit dem Haar nach aussen gekehrt zu tragen, nicht auch ursprünglich aus Thiernachahmung, aus dem Gedanken entstanden sein, das Fell in derselben Weise zum Schutz gegen die Unbill des Klimas zu verwenden, wie es dem Thier als natürliche Kleidung verliehen ist, bis die Erfahrung lehrte, dass dies in der That die den meisten Schutz gewährende Art der Verwendung des Thierfelles zur Kleidung ist? Ohne einen anderweitigen, möglichst luft- und wasserdichten Ueberzug, den die Naturvölker nicht kannten, schützt das Thierfell gewiss besser gegen Kälte, Wind und Regen, wenn es mit dem Haar nach aussen, als wenn es mit diesem nach innen gekehrt wird, und war es erst in jener Lage erprobt, so lag es nahe, demselben eine zweite Schicht desselben oder eines anderen Felles in umgekehrter Lage, mit dem Haar nach innen gekehrt, hinzuzufügen, um so, mit Umgehung eines fremdartigen Ueberzuges, jene ohne Zweifel den besten Schutz gewährenden Doppelpelze zu erlangen, wie man sie bei allen nordischen und polaren Völkern findet.

Die oben geschilderten, resp. abgebildeten Kleidungsstücke zeigen zur Genüge, dass die Giljaken ihre Kleidung gern mit allerhand verschiedenförmigen, buntfarbigen Stickereien und anderem Zierrath versehen. Ich habe bei ihnen zuweilen ganze Sammlungen von Mustervorlagen zu Stickereien gesehen und auch welche mitgebracht. Diese bestehen aus Zeug- oder Fischhautflicken, auf welchen Muster gestickt, oder aber verschiedene, aus dünner Birkenrinde ausgeschnittene, symmetrisch zusammengestellte Figuren aufgeklebt sind (Taf. XXIII und XXIV). Darunter befinden sich aber auch grössere, nicht zur Stickerei dienende, zuweilen aus mehreren, verschiedenfarbigen Flicken zusammengesetzte Zeugstücke, auf denen Arabesken und Thierfiguren in verschiedenartigster Art bunt, aber stets symmetrisch neben und durch einander zusammengestellt sind (Taf. XXV—XXVII). Sehen wir zunächst von diesen letzteren ab, auf die ich später, namentlich in Betreff der Thierfiguren zurückkommen werde, und behalten wir nur die zu Stickereien bestimmten, resp. auf den oben besprochenen Kleidungsstücken ausgeführten Muster im Auge, so tritt uns in denselben ein eigenartiger Charakter und Geschmack entgegen, durch welchen sie sich wesentlich von denjenigen der sibirischen Völker unterscheiden. Während z. B. bei den sibirischen Tungusen, die ebenfalls ihre Kleidungsstücke mit Stickereien zu schmücken pflegen, die einfachsten Muster und Motive in grosser Einförmigkeit sich wiederholen und oft z. B. nur über oder neben einander verlaufende Reihen derselben einfachen Figuren, kleiner Dreiecke, Vierecke, Kreise, ungeschickter Kringelfiguren u. drgl. zu finden sind (wie es auch die auf Taf. XXIII, Fig. 1, und Taf. XXIV, Fig. 5 und 6, abgebildeten tungusischen Stücke zeigen), herrschen in den giljakischen Mustern und Ornamenten durchweg schön geschwungene und verflochtene Linien, mannigfaltige, kunstvoll in einander greifende Arabesken und schneckenförmig gewundene Figuren vor.

Wie ihre Kleidungsstücke, so schmücken die Giljaken gern auch alle übrigen zu ihrem Leben und Haushalt gehörigen Gegenstände mit allerhand Zeichnungen und Ornamenten, wie wir es bereits an den obenerwähnten, am Gürtel getragenen Utensilien bemerkten und in der Folge noch häufig zu sehen Gelegenheit haben werden. Immer ist der allgemeine Charakter dieser Verzierungen derselbe, oben genauer bezeichnete, mögen nun die Gegenstände aus Holz, Baumrinde, Leder, Knochen oder Eisen sein, und nur die Ausführung wird bei grösserer Sprödigkeit des Materials eine minder feine und saubere, obwohl wir bei jeder Art von Gegenständen auf welche stossen werden, die von grosser Fertigkeit und Geschicklichkeit der Giljaken im Handhaben der einfachsten Instrumente Zeugniss ablegen. In freiester und weitester Entfaltung tritt uns aber der Sinn der Giljaken für Ornamentik in den Stickereien zur Verzierung ihrer Kleidung entgegen, zumal diesen ausser der leichteren Wiedergabe der mannichfaltigen Linien und Figuren auch der durch Zusammenstellung verschiedener Farben gewonnene Effekt zu Hülfe kommt. Und von diesem machen die Giljaken, so sehr sie bei ihrer Kleidung im Allgemeinen die auch bei dem chinesischen Volke beliebten düsteren Farben[1]), ein mehr oder minder dunkles Blau oder Grau vorziehen, bei der Verzierung ihrer Kleidung, wie die obigen Abbildungen darthun, einen ausgiebigen, aber maass- und geschmackvollen Gebrauch. Die Möglichkeit dazu bietet ihnen das von den Chinesen erhandelte verschiedenfarbige Seiden- und Baumwollengarn.

Ich habe vorhin den allgemeinen Charakter der giljakischen Ornamentik als einen eigenartigen, von demjenigen der sibirischen Völkerschaften durchaus verschiedenen bezeichnet. Auch von national-russischen Einflüssen, wie sie bei den letzteren, in Folge des Jahrhunderte alten, vielfachen und beständigen Verkehrs mit den Russen ganz erklärlich sind, findet sich bei den Giljaken keine Spur. Hingegen lassen sich manche jener giljakischen Ornamente, spiralförmig gewundene Linien, kunstvolle Bandverschlingungen, mit mehrfachen Spitzen sich verjüngende Schildbegrenzungen u. drgl., auch auf altchinesischen Gegenständen, kostbaren Kleidungsstücken, Porzellan- und elfenbeinernen Sachen, wie sie u. a. auch unser Museum besitzt, erkennen. Zum Theil ganz ähnliche Ornamente finden sich ferner auch auf altjapanischen Gegenständen. So z. B. liegen uns welche auf den messingnen Beschlägen halb vermoderter hölzerner Waffenscheiden vor, die wir durch Hrn. Poljakof aus alten Aino-Gräbern auf Südsachalin erhalten haben, und die unzweifelhaft japanischen Ursprungs sind. Es scheint mir demnach der Schluss gestattet, dass die giljakische Ornamentik sich vielfach unter dem Einfluss altchinesischer und zum Theil auch altjapanischer Vorbilder entwickelt hat, wie es übrigens bei dem altherkömmlichen, beständigen Handelsverkehre der Giljaken auf dem Festlande, den Amur und Sungari aufwärts, mit den Chinesen und auf Sachalin mit den Japanern und den ihrem Einfluss ganz unterworfenen Aino auch kaum anders denkbar wäre[2]).

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1) Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, T. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris 1869, T. I, p. 98.

2) Von der Rolle, welche die Giljaken als Handelsvermittler zwischen den Chinesen und Japanern spielen, wird in der Folge noch die Rede sein.

So hat sich, gleichwie in anderen Dingen, auch in Beziehung auf Ornamentik chinesischer Cultureinfluss auf der natürlichen Verkehrsstrasse, den Sungari und Amur abwärts bis zu den Giljaken ergossen. Bedürfte es dafür, ausser dem oben Angeführten, noch eines direkteren Beweises, so liefert ihn die Thatsache, dass derselbe Charakter der Ornamentik an den Kleidungsstücken und anderen Gegenständen auch bei allen übrigen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes, von den Giljaken aufwärts, am Hauptstrom, wie an seinen Nebenflüssen bis zum Sungari hinauf zu finden ist. Trotzdem, dass diese Völker von tungusischem Stamme sind, haben sie doch in Bezug auf die bei ihnen üblichen Ornamente nichts mit den russisch-sibirischen Tungusen gemein, sondern schliessen sich an die Chinesen und Giljaken an. Dabei tritt uns jedoch die auffallende Erscheinung entgegen, dass der Sinn für Ornamentik und die Entfaltung der letzteren im Amur-Lande mit der Entfernung vom maassgebenden Culturvolke, den Chinesen, nicht ab-, sondern zunehmen und ihren Höhepunkt bei dem von diesen letzteren am weitesten entfernten Volke, den Giljaken erreichen. Und das hat, glaube ich, seinen Grund nicht etwa in den Naturanlagen der betreffenden Völker, sondern in politischen Verhältnissen. Die Giljaken haben es verstanden, sich von der Herrschaft der Mandshu-Chinesen unabhängig zu erhalten und direkte Besuche und Niederlassungen derselben in ihrem Gebiete zu verhindern [1]). Indem sie auf solche Weise einer beständigen Exploitation durch den Mandshu-Beamten und den chinesischen Kaufmann entgingen, konnten sie zu grösserer Wohlhabenheit als die den Mandshu-Chinesen unterworfenen tungusischen Amur-Völker gelangen, und, in ihrem Besitz sichergestellt, mussten sie an demselben grössere Freude gewinnen und damit auch Lust und Antrieb empfinden, über die Beschaffung des bloss Nothwendigen hinaus, für Schmuck und Verschönerung der Kleidung und des sonstigen Geräths zu sorgen, wobei ihnen ferner der ihrerseits mit angeborener Schlauheit und Umsicht geführte Handel mit den Chinesen hülfreiche Hand bot.

Speciell zur Kleidung der Giljaken zurückkehrend, muss ich einiger, zur Anfertigung derselben bei ihnen üblicher Utensilien erwähnen. Die Giljaken bedienen sich gegenwärtig zum Nähen und Sticken durchweg und ausschliesslich der Stahlnadeln, die sie auf dem Continent von den Chinesen, resp. neuerdings von den Russen, und auf Sachalin von den Japanern beziehen [2]). Eigenartig ist der zum Aufbewahren der Nadeln dienende, von den Weibern am Gürtel getragene Behälter (gilj. *nugsis*, von *nug* die Nadel, s. Taf. XXIX, Fig. 2). Er besteht aus einer knöchernen Röhre, durch die ein mit zwei Stöpseln versehener Riemen läuft, in welchen die Nadeln gesteckt werden: während der untere Stöpsel fest an den Riemen geknüpft ist, lässt sich der obere längs demselben fortschieben; hat man den letzteren abgehoben und aufwärts geschoben, so lässt sich am unteren Stöpsel der Riemen mit den in demselben steckenden Nadeln aus der Röhre herausziehen. Diese sinnreiche Construction der Nadeldose findet man auch

1) S. oben, p. 71.

2) Steller's Angabe, dass die Kamtschadalen die Stahlnadeln von den Japanern erhalten hätten, und die daran geknüpfte falsche Erklärung ihrer Benennung für die letzteren sind oben (p. 192 ff.) ausführlich besprochen worden.

bei den Eskimo: Dall sah sie nämlich bei den Innuit am Norton-Sunde[1]). Und von den Giljaken haben sie alle ihre tungusischen Nachbarn, die Oroken[2]), Oltscha[3]) und Negda entlehnt. Bei den letzteren beobachtete sie Middendorff, und die von ihm gelieferte Abbildung[4]) lässt sogar genau dieselben Verzierungen auf der Knochenröhre erkennen, wie sie auch unsere giljakischen Exemplare tragen. Doch kann ich seiner Ansicht, dass diese Figuren sich den auf den Südsee-Inseln herrschenden nähern und als Ausläufer der dort beliebten Todtenkopfform zu betrachten sind, welche mit dem Kannibalismus und den Trophäen von menschlichen Schädeln in Zusammenhang steht, nicht beistimmen. Aehnliche, ganz rohe und primitive Darstellungen eines Menschenantlitzes durch ein paar Kreise mit einem Punkt in der Mitte, einen senkrechten Strich zwischen, einen wagerechten unter denselben, als Augen, Nase, Mund, finden sich nicht selten auf den Utensilien der Giljaken und verdanken, glaube ich, ihre Entstehung der Vorstellung, dass durch Anbringung derselben auf einem Gegenstande der Einfluss eines betreffenden bösen Geistes beseitigt und der Gebrauch des Utensils von Erfolg begleitet sein werde, — einer Vorstellung, auf die ich an einem anderen Orte noch zu sprechen kommen werde.

Je nach dem verschiedenen Stoff der Kleidungsstücke ist auch das Garn, mit dem sie genäht werden, ein verschiedenes. Fischhautröcke z. B. und Birkenrindenhüte werden mit Fischhautgarn, d. h. feinen, aus Fischhaut geschnittenen Fäden genäht, welche die Giljaken *mydisk* nennen und je nach der Fischart, von welcher sie entnommen, als *pilengat-mydisk*, *mimk-myd.*, *kych-myd.* u. s. w. unterscheiden[5]). Pelze und ähnliche Kleidungsstücke mit dem Zwirn (gilj. *kuba*), welchen die Giljaken aus der gewöhnlichen Brennnessel zu bereiten wissen, und der auch zur Anfertigung von Schnüren und Fischernetzen dient[6]). Die aus Kattun oder Tuch bestehenden Kleidungsstücke werden mit chinesischem Baumwollengarn genäht, und zu den mannigfachen Steppereien und Stickereien gebrauchen die Giljaken, je nach der Feinheit und beabsichtigten Eleganz der Arbeit, bald dies letztere, bald das ebenfalls von den Chinesen bezogene Seidengarn. Niemals habe ich die giljakischen Weiber bei ihren Näh- oder Stickarbeiten eine Schere brauchen sehen, obgleich sie dieselbe dank den Chinesen kennen und für sie auch eine besondere Bezeichnung (*chasa*) haben; stets bedienen sie sich dabei nur eines Messers. Zum Glätten des Zeuges dient ihnen ein an einem Ende abgeschrägtes und geglättetes Hölzchen (*pans*), das natürlich auf der Oberseite und am Griff, wie an der Spitze auch mit einigen Verzierungen versehen ist (Taf. XXIX, Fig. 3).

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1) Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston 1870, p. 142, nebst Holzschnitt.

2) Durch Hrn. Poljakof erhielt unser Museum mehrere orokische, mit den giljakischen vollkommen übereinstimmende Stücke der Art.

3) Maack, Bysem. an Amgyn. Ava., vdd. 4, s. 9.

4) Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibir., Bd. IV, p. 1528.

5) *Pilengat* ist *Cyprinus Carpio* L., *Mimk* — *Hypophthalmichthys Dybowskii* Herz.; auf welche Fischart der Name *kych* sich bezieht, ist mir unbekannt geblieben.

6) Wie es auch von den sibirischen Völkern, den alten Kamtschadalen (Steller, l. c., p. 83; Krasscheninikof, l. c., Bd. I, p. 322) u. s. Völkern bekannt ist. Von der giljakischen Art der Bereitung von Zwirn und Schnüren aus den Nesselfasern wird in einem späteren, über den Fischfang handelnden Abschnitt dieses Werkes die Rede sein.

Sehr auffällig auf den ersten Blick ist die Thatsache, dass die in Handarbeiten und Verrichtungen aller Art so geschickten Giljaken, trotzdem, dass sie aus den Fasern einer bei ihnen einheimischen Pflanze Garn zu gewinnen und aus demselben Schnüre und Fischnetze zu bereiten wissen, dies Material doch keineswegs auch zur Anfertigung eines Kleidungsstoffes zu verwenden verstehen, mit anderen Worten, dass ihnen die Webekunst so ganz und gar unbekannt zu sein scheint. Das muss um so mehr auffallen, als ihre nächsten paläasiatischen Nachbarn, die Aino auf Jesso, Sachalin und den Kurilen, in Stoffen gekleidet gehen, welche sie zum Theil selbst aus den Fasern der Nessel und dem Bast von Bäumen weben[1]), und man diese Kunst, und zwar ebenfalls mit Benutzung der Nesselfasern, auch bei vielen sibirischen Völkern, wie z. B. den Ostjaken, Kirgisen, Baschkiren, Wogulen am Ural u. a., als altbekannt antraf[2]). Zudem wird in China, von wo so mancher Cultureinfluss auf die Giljaken u. a. Amur-Völker ausgegangen ist, eine Nesselart (*Urtica nivea*) sogar auf Feldern gebaut, um zu Geweben verwendet zu werden[3]). Ich vermuthe daher, dass gleich den Aino ehemals auch die Giljaken sich rohe Kleidungsstoffe aus den Fasern der Nessel zu bereiten verstanden, und ein altes, aus Schnüren und dazwischen eingelassenen Fischbeinfasern geflochtenes Stück, eine Art Panzerhemd (Taf. XLIV, Fig. 1), das ich von ihnen im Dorfe Ssabach acquirirte, und von welchem später die Rede sein wird, bestärkt mich in dieser Vermuthung. Während aber die Aino, durch den Druck und die Ausbeutung seitens der Japaner in Handel und Wandel zurückgehalten und geschädigt, aus Noth und Armuth vielfach bei ihren eigengefertigten rohen Kleidungsstücken verblieben, wussten die unabhängig gestellten Giljaken im Verkehr mit den Chinesen sehr bald auch deren feinere Kleidungsstoffe durch Tauschhandel sich zu eigen zu machen, und da es ihnen, zumal bei dem Reichthum ihres Landes an schätzbarem Pelzwerk,

1) Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Bd. III, p. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage autt. du monde, T. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, p. 88, 103. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, Tô-jatsu ki ko (Siebold, Nippôn, VII, p. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, Anm. 1. Fr. Schmidt, Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VII Sér., T. XII, № 2, 1868, p. 99, 210 ff.). Добротворскій, Южная часть остр. Сахалина (Изв. Сибирск. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ., T. I, 1870, № 2 и 3, стр. 27). Полонскій, Курилы (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., по Отд. Этногр., T. IV, 1871, стр. 379, 390, 392, 500). П. Кусе, Остр. Сахалинъ и Экспед. 1853 и 54 гг., С. Петерб. 1872, стр. 70). Мацуда, Очерк остр. Сахалина, С. Петерб. 1873, стр. 31, 132. Neuerdings hat Dr. Snapruenske unserem Museum mehrere von den Aino auf Sachalin aus Ulmenbast gewebte Kleidungsstücke zugestellt.

2) Witsen, Noord en Oost-Tartarye, Tweede Druk, 1705, p. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, Leben und Gewohnheiten der Ostjaken, Berlin 1736, p. 38. Castren, Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845—49, St. Petersb. 1856, p. 55. Болонскій, Начатки изъ Геогр. мореп., Москва 1833, стр. 73, 77. Абрамовъ, Опис. Березовск. края (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. XII, 1857, стр. 406). Archimandrite Platon, Sur les Vogouls (Klaproth, Magasin Asiat., Paris, T. I, 1824, p. 231).

3) Barrow, Reise durch China im Gefolge der Grossbrit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, aus d. Engl. übersetzt von Hüttner, Wien 1803, Bd. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litér. de ce vaste Emp., 2e Partie, Paris 1843 (L'Univers), p. 616. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris 1854, T. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843—1846, Paris 1848, T. III, p. 399. Letzterer hat die *Urtica nivea* zugleich mit anderen, ähnlichen Pflanzen in Frankreich zu acclimatisiren gesucht und giebt ihr darin den Vorzug vor allen, dass sie der geringsten Pflege bedarf. Nach Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Bd. V, p. 231) haben auch die Koreaner Kleidungsstoffe, welche, nach Brem Glanz zu urtheilen, aus der Faser einer nesselartigen Pflanze gewebt zu sein scheinen.

an Material für einen solchen Handel nicht fehlen konnte, so gaben sie natürlich die mühsamere Verfertigung eigener und doch nur roher und schlechter Gewebe gänzlich auf.

Dieselbe Kleidung wie die Giljaken haben im Allgemeinen auch alle übrigen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes. Doch machen sich bei ihnen, nach Maassgabe als die Naturverhältnisse des Landes, die Existenzquellen und Hauptbeschäftigungen des Volkes sich ändern, auch mehr oder minder ansehnliche Differenzen und Besonderheiten geltend, indem andere Kleidungsstoffe mehr und mehr die Oberhand gewinnen, manches, den veränderten Bedürfnissen nicht mehr entsprechende Kleidungsstück abgeändert wird oder verschwindet und dagegen manches neue auftritt, u. s. w.

Die meiste und in der That so gut wie vollkommene Uebereinstimmung in ihrer Kleidung mit den Giljaken zeigen deren nächste Nachbarn am Amur-Strome, die Oltscha, die unter denselben physischen Bedingungen und in gleicher Weise wie jene hauptsächlich vom Fischfang und in der Bai de Castries auch vom Robbenschlag leben und eben so wie die Giljaken zum winterlichen Verkehr und Handel mit den Nachbarvölkern als einziges Hausthier zahlreiche Hunde halten. In dem langen Neben- und zum Theil Durcheinanderleben mit den Giljaken haben sich die Oltscha unter Anderem auch die Kleidung dieser letzteren vollständig angeeignet, und jedes der oben beschriebenen Kleidungsstücke, selbst die so eigenthümliche giljakische Luchsmütze nicht ausgenommen, so wie der zur Anfertigung derselben üblichen Utensilien findet sich ganz ebenso bei den Oltscha wieder und hat seine oltscha-tungusische Bezeichnung. Dennoch stösst man unter den Oltscha, namentlich im oberen Theile ihres Verbreitungsgebietes, näher zur Samagirn- und Golde-Grenze, bisweilen auch auf ein den Giljaken fremdartiges, von den letztgenannten Völkern herübergekommenes Kleidungsstück, wie einen hirsch- oder elennthierledernen Rock, eine Boa, die statt aus Eichhörnchenschwänzen aus Moschusthierfell gemacht ist, u. drgl. m.

Ganz ebenso verhält es sich mit der Kleidung der Nègda am Amgunj. Als Middendorff, von den Tugur-Tungusen kommend, dieselben besuchte, machte, trotz ihrer nur dialektisch vom Sibirisch-Tungusischen verschiedenen Sprache, Alles auf ihn den Eindruck, «als sei er unter eine neue Völkerschaft gerathen»: die Form und der Zuschnitt der einzelnen Kleidungsstücke, die auf denselben gestickten Muster und Figuren, der angehängte metallische Zierrath, die zur Herstellung der Kleider üblichen Utensilien und sonstiges kleines Handgeräth, Alles verrieth sich «als Ausfluss eines anderen Modecentrums» [1]). Middendorff erkannte auch ganz richtig, dass dieses Centrum bei den Giljaken am Amur zu suchen sei und unter dem diesen Strom abwärts sich verbreitenden Einflusse der Chinesen sich gebildet habe. In der That sind die

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1) Middendorff, Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 1820 ff.

in seinem Reisewerk mitgetheilten Abbildungen von Negda- oder «Nigidaler»-Kleidungsstücken und Utensilien, wie ich von einzelnen derselben oben schon erwähnt habe, der Art, als wären sie nach giljakischen Gegenständen gefertigt. Gleichwie in der Kleidung der Oltscha, spricht sich endlich auch in derjenigen der Negda die im Vergleich mit den Giljaken grössere Entfernung ihres Wohngebietes von der Meeresküste darin aus, dass sie statt der bei den letzteren üblichen Seehundsfellröcke welche aus Elennshaut tragen [1]).

Anders als mit den Amur-Oltscha, welche sich in ihrer Lebensweise, Haltung und Kleidung ganz mit den Giljaken assimilirt haben, verhält es sich mit den nach Sachalin hinübergewanderten Oltscha — den **Oroken**. Diese sind Rennthiernomaden geblieben und haben daher auch in ihrer Kleidung eine wesentliche Differenz conservirt, indem ihnen die Rennthiere auch den Hauptkleidungsstoff liefern. Die Oroken, denen ich auf ihrer winterlichen Wanderung durch das Tymy-Thal und bei Nyi an der Ostküste Sachalin's begegnete, waren ganz in Rennthierfell gekleidet, indem Pelze, Mützen und Stiefel aus demselben bestanden. Die ersteren waren von demselben Schnitt wie die Hundsfellpelze der Giljaken, ohne Kapuze auf dem Rücken, die Stiefel dagegen hatten nicht die oben erwähnte, an die Chinesen erinnernde Form der giljakischen, sondern sahen mehr gleichmässig breit und plumper aus, und die Mützen zeichneten sich von den giljakischen dadurch aus, dass sie stets mit einem Augenschirm versehen waren, der aus einem bisweilen mit Stickereien geschmückten Zeugstück bestand. Letzterer mag ihnen von Nöthen sein, um bei ihrer anhaltenden Wanderung, zumal durch Gebirgsstriche und Gegenden, die minder bewaldet und reicher an dem für ihre Rennthiere nothwendigen Moose sind, dem Auge einen Schutz gegen die Schneeblendung zu gewähren. Ueber dem Pelze trugen die Oroken die bei den Giljaken übliche kurze Rundschürze aus Seehundsfell (*kosajkha*). Die Oroken-Weiber, die ich ebenfalls auf der Wanderung in Begleitung ihrer Männer sah, hatten mit blauem Oberzeuge versehene und von breiten, mit Metall ausgelegten Gürteln zusammengehaltene Pelze an und Mützen, die den gewöhnlichen Wintermützen (*tulv-hak*) der Giljakinnen ganz ähnlich aussahen.

Ausser Rennthierfellen bilden, wie schon Mamia Rinsô berichtete [2]), Seehundsfelle und Fischhäute die Hauptkleidungsstoffe der Oroken, entsprechend ihrer Beschäftigung im Sommer und Herbst mit Robbenschlag und Fischfang an der Ostküste Sachalin's und besonders an der Mündung des fischreichen Tymy-Flusses; daneben endlich auch chinesische Baumwollenzeuge, die sie durch Vermittelung der Giljaken erhalten. Aus letzterer Quelle beziehen sie auch die zur Verzierung der Weiberröcke üblichen chinesischen Kupfermünzen und Plättchen [3]), sowie überhaupt alle Luxusartikel. Kein Wunder daher, wenn die Oroken, von jener oben besprochenen Rennthierfellkleidung abgesehen, im Uebrigen, was den Stoff und Zuschnitt der einzelnen Kleidungsstücke, die Stickereien und sonstigen Verzierungen auf denselben betrifft, ganz vom giljakischen Brauch und Geschmack beherrscht werden, ja sich auch genau derselben Utensilien sowohl bei den Näh-, wie bei anderen Handarbeiten und Verrichtungen bedienen. So

1) Middendorff, l. c., p. 1831.
2) Tô-tsô ki ko, in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 190.
3) Mamia Rinsô, l. c.

zeigt der in Siebold's Nippon[1]) dargestellte orokische Fischhautrock ganz ähnliche Stickereien (Fig. 1a—1d), wie wir sie oben bei den Giljaken kennen gelernt haben, und ebenda (Fig. 10) ist auch eine genau ebenso wie das originelle giljakische *Mlo* geformte orokische Feuerzeugdose abgebildet. Ebenso lassen sich die Utensilien, welche ich von den Oroken bei meiner flüchtigen Begegnung mit ihnen im Tymy-Thale acquirirte (Nadeldose, knöcherne Stocher u. drgl.), oder die uns Poljakof von seinem längeren Aufenthalte unter ihnen heimbrachte (Bohrer und andere Instrumente, von denen später die Rede sein wird), weder ihrer Form, noch ihren Verzierungen nach von giljakischen Stücken derselben Art unterscheiden.

Zwar kommen die Oroken ausser mit Giljaken am Golf der Geduld auch in vielfache Berührung mit den Aino, und könnte man daher an ihrer Kleidung und sonstigen Haltung auch manche Ausflüsse eines anderen, in Japan liegenden Modecentrums zu finden erwarten, allein solche machen sich bei ihnen, so viel mir bekannt, keineswegs geltend, offenbar weil die gedrückten und vielfach verarmten und verkommenen Aino nicht den Einfluss, wie die freien, verhältnissmässig wohlhabenden, rührigen und kräftigen, in beständigen Handelsverbindungen mit den Chinesen stehenden Giljaken auszuüben im Stande sind.

Mit den Aino bin ich selbst zu wenig in Berührung gekommen, um zu dem, was von verschiedenen Seiten über ihre Kleidung bekannt gemacht worden, etwas Neues hinzufügen zu können. Es sei daher nur bemerkt, dass wenn ihre Kleidungsstoffe auch vielfach dieselben wie diejenigen ihrer Nachbarn auf Sachalin, der Giljaken, sind, namentlich Hunds- und Seehundsfelle, Fischhäute, auch durch die Giljaken ihnen zugebrachte chinesische Baumwollenzeuge, an dem Schnitt ihrer Kleidung doch sofort zu erkennen ist, dass sie unter der Herrschaft eines anderen und zwar des japanischen Modecentrums stehen. Hauptsächlich besteht nämlich die Kleidung der Aino aus zwei oder mehreren, über einander getragenen Schlafröcken, deren äusserster bisweilen aus dem oben erwähnten, von ihnen selbst aus Nesseln oder Baumbast gemachten Gewebe, oder im Winter aus Hundsfellen besteht. Hosen sind nicht immer im Gebrauch, eine Kopfbekleidung giebt es im Sommer in der Regel auch nicht, oder es dient dazu ein flachkonischer Strohhut von japanischer Form. An den Füssen tragen die Aino Seehunds- oder Fischhautstiefel mit Schäften aus demselben Material oder aus Hundsfell, und auf Fusstouren aus Stroh oder Gras geflochtene Schuhe und bei kothigem Erdboden in den Dörfern auch Holzschuhe, wie sie weder bei den Giljaken, noch bei irgend einem anderen der Amur-Völker im Gebrauch sind[2]).

Kehren wir wieder aufs Festland, zu den am Amur und seinen Zuflüssen wohnenden Völkern zurück. Dass die einzelnen unter den Oltscha am Amur oder am Udyl-See in nächster Nähe und beständiger Verbindung mit ihnen lebenden Samagirn dieselbe Kleidung wie jene haben, versteht sich von selbst. Am Gorin jedoch, wo sie isolirter, in compakterer Masse und unter wesentlich anderen Bedingungen leben, zeigt auch ihre Kleidung nicht unerhebliche Verschiedenheiten.

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1) Abth. VII, Tab. XXI, Fig. 1.

2) Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 78 E. | Busse, l. c., p. 70. Dobrotworskij, l. c., p. 27, 28 u. A.

Statt des Fischfangs spielt hier, in der ausgedehnten Waldwildniss, die Jagd die Hauptrolle und liefert dem Menschen die vornehmsten Mittel zur Nahrung und Kleidung. Gleich bei meiner Ankunft, im März 1855, in Ngagha, dem Hauptorte der Samagirn am Gorin, fiel mir die von den Oltscha und Giljaken abweichende Kleidung derselben auf: statt der Hundspelze und Seehundsröcke, war Alles in Röcke von Elenns- oder Hirschleder gekleidet, ja auch die Weiber hatten an Stelle der Fischhautröcke solche lederne Röcke an, meist mit grün gefärbten Hals- und Schulterstücken, die dem Rock, so lange er noch neu und weiss ist, ein hübsches und elegantes Ansehen verleihen. Darüber wird bei vollem Winteranzuge ein Pelz aus Reh-, Rennthier- oder Moschusthierfell getragen, den man bei den Giljaken niemals und bei den Oltscha nur sehr selten und ausnahmsweise sieht[1]). Wie das Material, so ist auch der Schnitt der Kleidung bei den Samagirn, ihrer Lebensweise entsprechend, von dem der Amur-Anwohner vielfach verschieden. Dem auf Schneeschuhen durch dichtes Unterholz und Gebüsch umherstreifenden Jäger ist ein kurzer Pelz- oder Lederrock mit knapp anschliessenden, gegen die Hand hin sich verengenden Aermeln erforderlich. Die füllige Pelzmütze wird zu einer den Kopf knapp umschliessenden Fellhaube. Die Beine dürfen an der Bewegung nicht gehindert sein, und so gute Dienste der steife Schurzrock aus Seehundsfell, die giljakische *Kossjkha*, dem meist auf seiner hundebespannten Narte hingleitenden Giljaken und Oltscha leistet, so nutzlos, ja hinderlich wäre sie dem auf eigenes, leichtes Fortschreiten durch das Waldesdickicht angewiesenen Jäger. Während man daher die Giljaken und Oltscha im Winter fast nie ohne diesen Schurzrock sieht, ist er mir bei den Samagirn am Gorin keinmal begegnet, womit allerdings nicht gesagt ist, dass sie ihn auf längeren Fahrten, zu den Golde, Oltscha oder chinesischen Händlern am Amur, nicht auch gebrauchen sollten.

So auffallend die in Folge anderer Lebensweise von den Oltscha verschiedene Kleidung der Samagirn am Gorin ist, so wenig merklich ist ein Unterschied in der Kleidung, wenn man von den Oltscha den Amur aufwärts zu den Golde gelangt. Sieht man von ihrer später zu besprechenden Haartracht ab, so glaubt man sich unter demselben Volke zu befinden. Namentlich ist auch bei den Golde, ja vielleicht noch mehr als bei den Oltscha, die Fischhautkleidung bei Weibern und Kindern allgemein im Gebrauch. Dabei sind die Golde-Weiber besonders geschickt, die Fischhäute fein und sauber zu bereiten und die Röcke mit mannigfaltigen und buntfarbigen Stickereien genau von dem oben besprochenen Charakter der Formen und Figuren zu versehen. Die Kinder aber und namentlich die Knaben sieht man im Sommer in der Regel in ganz kunstlosen, hie und da zerrissenen oder geflickten kurzen Fischhautröcken gehen (Taf. XXX). Diese Bedeutung, als Hauptkleidungsstoff, behalten die Fischhäute (stets von *Salmo lagocephalus*) im ganzen Golde-Gebiet am Amur wie am Ussuri, und erst oberhalb der Sungari-Mündung, wo an den Ausläufern des Bureja-Gebirges die von der Jagd lebenden Biraren auftreten, verschwinden dieselben und machen dem Leder der Jagdthiere Platz. Somit sind

[1]) Ein Pelz aus Moschusthierfellen ist mir auch unter den Oltscha nicht begegnet.

die Golde das erste in Fischhäute gekleidete Volk, welchem die Chinesen, aus dem Sungari-Lande nord- und ostwärts vordringend, am Amur wie am Ussuri begegneten, und ohne Zweifel sind sie zunächst und hauptsächlich unter dem Volke zu verstehen, das die Chinesen mit dem Namen «*Jupi-tatse*», d. h. Fischhautbarbaren, bezeichneten, und dessen auch die von der Pekinger Regierung nach dem unteren Amur-Lande abgesandten Jesuiten-Missionäre im vorigen Jahrhundert unter diesem Namen erwähnen[1]). Erst bei grösserer Entfernung von den Oltscha den Amur aufwärts tritt Einem der Unterschied in der Gesammterscheinung und Haltung der Kleidung der Golde im Vergleich mit den Oltscha mehr und mehr entgegen. Die grosse, stromaufwärts stets wachsende Entfernung vom Meere setzt das Seehundsfell mehr und mehr ausser Gebrauch[2]): die bei den Oltscha noch ganz allgemeine giljakische *Kossjkha* verschwindet bei den Golde, und die geringere Anzahl von Hunden in ihren Haushaltungen macht auch den Hundsfellpelz weniger allgemein. Dagegen sieht man aber bei ihnen mehr und mehr andere Pelzwerke auftreten, die ihnen theils die eigene Jagd, theils der Verkehr mit ihren jagdtreibenden Nachbarn an den Nebenflüssen des Amur und Ussuri, den Samagirn, Kile am Kur und Orotschen, zahlreich und billig liefern, wie Edelhirsch, Reh, Moschusthier, *Canis procyonoides* u. drgl. Zugleich macht sich je weiter stromaufwärts, um so mehr auch der unmittelbare Einfluss der Chinesen auf die Kleidung der Eingeborenen geltend, indem schlechtweg chinesische Kleidungsstücke in Gebrauch kommen. So habe ich bei den Golde mitunter schwarze chinesische Schafspelze mit einem Kattunüberzuge angetroffen; mit dem Geong-Gebirge, bei den oberen Golde hört auch der Gebrauch der oben beschriebenen Birkenrindenhüte auf, und werden dagegen breitkrämpige chinesische Strohhüte und mehr noch von eben daher stammende schwarze oder graue Filzhüte (s. Taf. XXX) allgemein gebräuchlich u. s. w. Ueberhaupt wird auch der Zuschnitt der einzelnen Stücke mehr und mehr rein chinesisch, und der auf der letzteren Tafel abgebildete Golde z. B. unterscheidet sich in seiner Kleidung durch nichts von einem chinesischen Arbeiter oder einem daurischen Holzflösser, wie sie mir am oberen Amur häufig begegnet sind. Auch Nadarof[3]) hebt bei Beschreibung der Kleidung der am Ussuri und seinen rechten Zuflüssen lebenden Golde und Orotschen hervor, dass dieselbe sowohl im Ganzen, wie in jedem einzelnen Stück von chinesischem Zuschnitt ist. Endlich lässt sich in der Kleidung der Golde im Vergleich mit derjenigen ihrer nördlichen Nachbarn am Amur-Strome, der Oltscha und zumal der Giljaken, im Allgemeinen auch der Unterschied wahrnehmen, dass sie, in Folge der unmittelbaren Bedrückung und Ausbeutung dieses Volkes durch die Mandshu und Chinesen, in der Regel dürftiger, ärmlicher und vernachlässigter als bei jenen ist.

Letzteres ist in noch höherem Grade bei den Orotschen der Fall, namentlich im südlichen Theile ihres Verbreitungsgebietes, zwischen dem Ussuri und der Meeresküste, wo sie mit Chinesen

1) Vrgl. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, T. IV, p. 16 ff. Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, T. I, p. 142 ff.

2) Die äusserste Grenze, bis zu welcher Seehunde den Amur aufwärts steigen, liegt auch noch im Oltscha-Gebiet (bei Yrri, s. meine Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Bd. I, p. 188), noch ein gutes Stück nördlich von der Golde-Grenze.

3) L. c., p. 97 und 77.

untermischt leben. Im nördlichen Theile hingegen, wohin die Chinesen nicht hinkommen, und wo die Orotschen mit ihnen nur durch Vermittelung der Golde und Oltscha im Verkehr stehen, schwindet auch der chinesische Einfluss mehr und mehr. In der Bai Hadshi z. B. schienen sie mir in der Kleidung von ihren stammverwandten Nachbarn am Amur nicht wesentlich zu differiren, nur mögen sie als eifrige Jäger verschiedene Thierfelle und als Küstenbewohner auch das Seehundsfell in grösserem Maasse gebrauchen, wie denn die Fuss- und Beinbekleidung bei ihnen fast durchweg aus letzterem bestand.

Ueber die Kleidung der oberen Amur-Völker kann ich füglich hinweg gehen, da ich selbst mit ihnen nur in flüchtige Berührung, während meiner Reise im Sommer 1856 den Amur aufwärts, gekommen bin. Es genüge daher die Bemerkung, dass im gesammten mandshu-chinesisch-daurischen Culturstücke des Amur-Stromes, zwischen dem Bureja-Gebirge und der Dseja-Mündung, mögen die Dörfer nun von Mandshu, Chinesen oder Dauren bewohnt sein, allenthalben ganz und gar dieselbe, chinesische Art und Weise der Kleidung herrscht. Dies ist auch bei den gleich oberhalb des Bureja-Gebirges am Amur sesshaften Biraren der Fall, die gleich jenen von Feld- und Gartenbau leben und sich auch in der Kleidung von ihren nächsten Nachbarn, den Dauren, nicht unterscheiden lassen. Anders verhält es sich mit den Nomadenvölkern des oberen Amur-Landes, den von der Jagd lebenden umherstreifenden **Biraren, Manjägirn** und **Orotschonen.** Hier schwindet nach Maassgabe der Entfernung von jenem Culturtheil des Amur-Stromes auch der chinesische Einfluss mehr und mehr; die Kleidung gewinnt nach Stoff, Zuschnitt und Verzierungen den allgemeinen sibirisch-tungusischen Charakter, und daneben macht sich von Norden her jakutischer und durch Vermittelung der den Nomaden als Händler nachgehenden Jakuten auch russischer Einfluss geltend. Dem letzteren unterliegen ganz besonders die den Russen in Transbaikalien zunächst wohnenden und auch nach dem Nertschinsker Traktat faktisch unter russischer Botmässigkeit verbliebenen Orotschonen[1]). Darin, sowie in dem Umstande, dass die Orotschonen Rennthiernomaden sind, und dass demzufolge das Rennthierfell und Leder in ihrem Haushalt eine hervorragende Rolle spielt, dürfte denn auch der Hauptunterschied in ihrer Kleidung gegenüber derjenigen ihrer zur chinesisch-daurischen Welt gravitirenden Nachbarn, der Manjägirn und Biraren, liegen[2]).

Wie aus den obigen Schilderungen zu ersehen ist, bietet die Kleidung der Amur-Völker zwar manches Prägnante und Originelle dar, aber keineswegs solche durchgehende Besonderheiten und Verschiedenheiten bei den einzelnen Stämmen, dass man nach derselben sofort die

1) S. oben, p. 44—46, 79.

2) Ausführliche Beschreibungen der Kleidung der Manägirn und Orotschonen s. bei Maack (Путеш. на Амуръ, С.-Петерб. 1858, стр. 69 и 71—73) und Gerstfeldt (О приёмахъ инор. Амура. — Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ., ч. 20, 1857, Отд. Наука и Матер., стр. 204).

Zugehörigkeit einzelner Individuen zu diesem oder jenem Volke erkennen könnte. Die nach Abstammung und Sprache von allen übrigen Amur-Völkern grundverschiedenen Giljaken z. B. lassen sich in der Kleidung von ihren Nachbarn, den Oltscha, durchaus nicht unterscheiden, diese führen wieder unvermerkt zu den Golde hinüber u. s. w. Gleiche klimatische Verhältnisse, gleiche Nahrungs- und Existenzbedingungen, gleiche Lebensweise, gleiche Cultureinflüsse und ein beständiger, wechselseitiger Verkehr haben im Laufe der Zeit auch auf die Kleidung dieser Völker ausgleichend gewirkt und die früher vermuthlich vorhandenen Differenzen theils gemildert, theils gänzlich verwischt.

Nicht so verhält es sich mit einem anderen Moment ihrer äusseren Haltung, der Haartracht. In dieser haben sich ganz im Gegentheil aus der Gleichförmigkeit, die höchst wahrscheinlich ehemals geherrscht, im Laufe der Zeit, in Folge gewisser politischer Vorgänge, Differenzen herausgebildet, die heutzutage zum Theil sogar ganz nahe stammverwandte Völker des Amur-Landes von einander trennen und die Zugehörigkeit einzelner Individuen zu dem einen, oder dem anderen derselben sogleich erkennen lassen.

Die Giljaken tragen langes, in der Mitte gescheiteltes und bei den Männern in einen, bei den Weibern in zwei über den Rücken hinabhängende Zöpfe geflochtenes Haupthaar. Ist es zum Flechten zu kurz oder zu spärlich, so hängt es auch wohl lose vom Kopf herab, was den betreffenden Individuen ein unordentliches und alten Weibern gar ein hexenartiges Ansehen verleiht. Ein üppiger Haarwuchs und langer Zopf werden als Schmuck erachtet, doch habe ich nicht gesehen, dass die Giljaken den Zopf, wie die Chinesen es thun, durch Einflechten von schwarzer Seide künstlich verlängerten. Kahlköpfigkeit hingegen unterliegt dem Spott. Kindern wird, um den Haarwuchs zu fördern, der Kopf von Zeit zu Zeit geschoren, wobei zuweilen, namentlich bei Knaben, irgendwo am Vorderkopf ein Büschel Haare ausgeschont, zusammengebunden oder geflochten und an der Spitze mit einer zur Stirn herabhängenden Perlenrosette versehen wird[1]). Erwachsene lassen jedoch ihr Haupt- oder Barthaar niemals scheren, ja es herrscht bei den Giljaken sogar der Glaube, dass wenn ein Erwachsener unter ihnen sich den Zopf abschneiden und das Haar scheren liesse, dieses ihm Krankheit und Tod zuziehen würde. Nach dem Tode darf aber der Zopf von den Anverwandten des oder der Verstorbenen abgeschnitten und aufbewahrt werden. So zeigte mir der Giljake Kimrkan in Kalm die Zöpfe, welche er seiner ersten Frau und seiner Tochter nach deren Tode abgelöst hatte, und die er in Birkenrinde eingewickelt in dem den Manen der Verstorbenen errichteten Häuschen, dem sogen. *Rakk*, von welchem später die Rede sein wird, sorgfältig aufbewahrte. In der Haltung des Haares sind die Giljaken ebenso unsauber wie in ihrer Kleidung. Daher sieht man sie oft, um dem lästigen Ungeziefer Einhalt zu thun, sich mit der flachen Hand auf den Kopf schlagen, oder auch im Kopf kratzen, was charakteristischerweise stets mit dem Daumen geschieht, während die übrigen

1) Aehnliches sah ich später bei den Dauren im Dorfe Chormoldin: den Knaben war das Haar radirt und nur hie und da, ganz unsymmetrisch, bald auf dem Scheitel, bald auf einer Seite ein Haarbüschel stehen lassen worden, was ihnen ein sehr komisches Ansehen gab. Vermuthlich thun es auch die Chinesen.

Finger auf dem Kopfe ruhen. Ja, die Giljaken halten sogar das Vorhandensein von Ungeziefer im Haupthaar für ein Zeichen guter Gesundheit. So geschah es zur Zeit meines Aufenthalts im Nikolajef'schen Posten, dass ein giljakischer Knabe von einem Russen zur Erziehung in sein Haus genommen wurde, als aber der Vater nach einiger Zeit den Knaben besuchte und in seinem Haar das Ungeziefer vermisste, erklärte er sich besorgt über dessen Gesundheitszustand und nahm ihn wieder zurück. Dabei herrscht auch bei den Giljaken, wie bei so vielen Naturvölkern, die Unsitte, das Kopf-, wie das Kleiderungeziefer im Munde zu knacken. Mein ihnen gelegentlich ausgesprochener Ekel davor erschien ihnen lächerlich, und auf die Frage, warum sie es thäten, da es doch weder ein Nahrungs-, noch ein Genussmittel sein könne, erhielt ich zur Antwort, dass sie den Thierchen ebendamit vergelten, was diese an ihnen thun.

Ganz dieselbe Haartracht wie die Giljaken haben auch ihre nächsten Nachbarn, die **Negda**, die **Oltscha**, und deren Stammgenossen — die **Oroken** auf Sachalin [1]). Man darf vermuthen, dass auch die **Aino** ehemals diese oder eine ähnliche, mehr oder minder naturwüchsige Haartracht hatten, bis sie der Herrschaft der Japaner verfielen und unter deren Druck, zum Zeichen der Unterwerfung, ihre jetzige, der japanischen im Wesentlichen ähnliche Haartracht erhielten. Bekanntlich rasiren die Japaner das Haar auf dem Vorderkopf und Scheitel und lassen es auch am Hinterkopf nicht so lang wachsen wie die Chinesen, flechten es auch nicht in einen Zopf, sondern scheren es in einer gewissen Länge rundum und fassen es in einen Strähn, der, mit einem Bändchen zusammengebunden, auf dem Scheitel in der Richtung zur Stirne hin ruht. Mit Ausnahme nun dieses letzteren Punktes, der für ein Naturvolk allzugekünstelt und unbequem wäre und auch einer allzugrossen Sorgfalt und Pflege bedürfte [2]), machen es die Aino ihren Beherrschern nach. So berichtete schon der Pater Hieronymus de Angelis im Jahre 1622, dass die Eingeborenen von Jesso das Haar am Vorderkopf scheren, so dass die Schläfen kein Haar behalten, hinten aber so lang wie die Japaner (also ohne herabhängenden Zopf) tragen [3]), und Vries fügte hinzu, dass die dortigen Weiber es bald wie die Männer rundum scheren, bald lang wachsen lassen und wie die Japanerinnen aufstecken [4]). Nach Broughton [5]) tragen die Weiber das Haar, wenn auch rundum verschnitten, doch länger als die Männer. Krascheninnikof [6]) zufolge rasiren auch die Aino der Kurilischen Inseln das Haar von der Stirn bis auf den Scheitel, die Weiber aber schneiden es vorn nur ab, dass es nicht in die Augen falle. Dass auch die Aino von Südsachalin, Männer wie Weiber, die oben erwähnte Haartracht haben, kann man schon aus den oben (Taf. IV) mitgetheilten Photographien derselben

1) Von den Oroken bemerkte schon Mamia Rinsô (Tôtsu-kikô, in Siebold's Nippon VII, p. 189), dass sie ihr Haar nicht abschneiden, sondern über die Schultern herabhängen lassen, oder auch im Nacken gleich einem dicken Zopfe zusammengewunden tragen.

2) So z. B. bedienen sich die Japaner, um ihre Frisur beim Schlafen nicht in Unordnung zu bringen, an Stelle des Kopfkissens eines hölzernen Bänkchens, das mit einer der Kopfform entsprechenden Aushöhlung versehen ist.

3) Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye. Tweede Druk, Amsterdam 1705, II. Thl., p. 37. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterd. 1858, p. 94.

4) Siebold, l. c., p. 100.

5) A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London 1804, p. 103.

6) Опис. земли Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путеш. по Россіи, Т. II, стр. 238).

sehen. Weiter nordwärts jedoch, wo die japanische Herrschaft aufhört, legen die Aino die ihnen von den Japanern aufgedrungene Haartracht ab und tragen das Haar ebenso wie die Giljaken, d. h. völlig ungeschoren und in einen zum Rücken hinabhängenden Zopf geflochten. Und zwar thun sie dies nicht etwa bloss in den Grenzorten, wo sie mit den Giljaken untermischt leben, wie in Kthens (Ktausi), Porokotan (giljak. Pilja-wo) an der Westküste Sachalin's[1]), sondern auch an der Ostküste nördlich von Ussuro, bei Esturi u. s. w.[2]), wo es gar keine Giljaken giebt. Es ist eben nicht bloss eine Folge giljakischen Einflusses auf die Aino, wie in manchen Stücken ihrer Kleidung u. A., sondern ein Akt politischer Manifestation: zum Zeichen, dass sie sich von der Herrschaft der Japaner emancipirt haben und von derselben hinfort nichts wissen wollen, nehmen sie die Haartracht an, welche ihre vom japanischen Joch unberührt gebliebenen Nachbarn haben, und welche sie (wie ich vermuthe) — und vielleicht dürfte sich die Tradition davon unter ihnen erhalten haben — auch selbst hatten, bevor sie diesem Joch unterlagen. So gilt den Aino der im Nacken herabhängende Zopf als Zeichen der Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit von den Japanern. Uebrigens beschränkt sich der von diesen letzteren auf die Aino in Betreff der Haartracht ausgeübte Druck auf das Haupthaar, den Bart hingegen brauchen sie nicht zu scheren, und dieser ist bei ihnen bekanntlich von ausnehmender Stärke, wesshalb Manche von ihnen, wie schon die alten Jesuiten-Missionäre erzählen[3]), ein besonderes Stäbchen bei sich tragen, mit welchem sie beim Trinken den Schnurrbart in die Höhe heben, ein Instrument, dessen die übrigen, mit minder starkem oder mit schwachem Bartwuchs begabten Stämme Sachalin's und des Amur-Landes nicht bedürfen.

Aehnlich wie es den Aino mit ihrer Haartracht seitens der Japaner, ist es auf dem Festlande den von den Oltscha aufwärts am Amur und seinen Zuflüssen wohnenden Völkern von Seite der Chinesen ergangen. Die Samagirn am Gorin und die Golde unterscheiden sich von ihren stammverwandten Nachbarn, den Negda und den Oltscha, sehr scharf durch ihre Haartracht: auf dem ganzen Vorderkopf nämlich, von Schläfe zu Schläfe, wird das Haar rasirt oder kurz geschoren und das übrige in einen zum Rücken hinabhängenden Zopf geflochten (s. Taf. III). So allgemein ist bei ihnen diese Haartracht, dass man sie auch an den unter den Oltscha verstreut lebenden Golde findet. Bekanntlich ist dies aber auch die gegenwärtige Haartracht der Chinesen. In alten Zeiten jedoch rasirten auch die Chinesen das Haar auf dem Vorderkopf nicht, sondern liessen es allenthalben wachsen und behandelten es mit grosser Sorgfalt, indem sie es auf dem Scheitel sammelten, mit Hülfe eines Zeugstreifens oder Bandes zusammenknoteten, mit Golddraht verzierten u. s. w. Ja, zur Zeit der Han-Dynastie (179—155 v. Chr.) soll sogar eine Strafe für Verbrechen darin bestanden haben, dass dem Betreffenden

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1) Fr. Schmidt, Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 63).

2) Munyah, Очерки острв. Сахалина, С. Петерб. 1875, стр. 139.

3) So z. B. der Pater Aloisius Froes in einem Brief vom Jahre 1583, v. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. etc., p. 93. Vgl. auch Schmidt, Histor. Bericht etc., p. 93.

das Haupthaar rasirt wurde[1]). Erst als die jetzt regierende Mandshu-Dynastie den chinesischen Thron bestieg, ordnete ein Regierungsedikt die jetzige Haartracht nach Mandshu-Art an, — eine Maassregel, die vielfach auf den heftigsten Widerstand stiess, Aufstände und Empörungen hervorrief und zum Theil nur mit Waffengewalt durchgeführt werden konnte[2]). Dieser Maassregel mussten sich nun auch die unter mandshu-chinesischer Herrschaft stehenden Völker des Amur-Landes fügen, soweit jene Herrschaft eine faktische war. Im unteren Amur-Lande zuvörderst die Golde, die am Sungari wie am Ussuri den Mandshu-Chinesen zunächst wohnen und in ihrem Gebiet eine Anzahl beständiger Sitze mandshu-chinesischer Beamten haben. Vielleicht fand die Mandshu-Art, das Haar zu tragen, bei den Golde auch um so leichter Aufnahme, als sie schon vor der Eroberung China's durch die Mandshu mit einem Stamme dieser letzteren, den Djutscheren, in naher Beziehung gestanden und zum Theil sogar durcheinander gewohnt hatten[3]). Jedenfalls ist sie gegenwärtig unter ihnen ganz eingebürgert. In der Gegend der Sungari-Mündung sah Maack[4]) auch die Golde-Weiber, trotz dem besonders conservativen Sinne, der ihr Geschlecht auszeichnet, das Haar nach Art der Mandshu-Weiber tragen, d. h. mit oder ohne Scheitel nach hinten gekämmt, in zwei Zöpfe geflochten und diese in einen flachen oder thurmförmigen Haufen gewunden, der durch lange, knöcherne oder silberne, an einem Ende geschnitzte oder mit einem Stein geschmückte Haarnadeln (goldisch *asopcho*) zusammengehalten wurde. Ja, auch die Sitte der Chinesen, zum Zeichen der Trauer über den Tod eines nahen Anverwandten sich den Zopf abzuschneiden[5]), hat bei den Golde Eingang gefunden[6]). Haupt-

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1) Pauthier, Chine moderne ou descript. hist., géogr. et littér. de ce vaste emp., II. partie, Paris 1843 (L'Univers), p. 231.

2) Nouhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederland. an den Tartar. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Kaiser etc., Amsterdam 1666, p. 123, 289, 403, 419, 422, 429. Vrgl. auch des Chinesen Dionysius Kao, Kurze Beschreib. des Kaiserreichs China, in der Beilage zu Ysbrants Ides' Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterdam 1704, p. 183. Zusätze zu des Joh. Bapt. Du Halde ausführl. Beschr. des Chines. Reiches u. der Gross. Tartarei, aus d. Franzos. übers., Rostock 1736, p. 91, 101, 110, 157. Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Paris 1787, T. II, p. 280. Pauthier et Bazin, Chine mod. etc., I. Part., p. 416, 227, 429. Davis, La Chine, trad. de l'Angl., Paris 1837, T. I, p. 183. Pfath, Die Völker der Mandshurey, Goettingen 1830, Bd. I, p. 270; Bd. II, p. 709. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. III, p. 126) bemerkt auch von den Chinesen von Kjachta, dass sie selbst mit Unwillen bekennen, dass sie ihr Kopfhaar jetzt nach mandshurischer Art scheren. Wie an verschiedenen Orten China's, so hat das obige Edikt der chinesischen Regierung auch unter den schon zur Zeit des ersten Kaisers der Mandshu-Dynastie den Mandshu zinspflichtigen Koreanern eine Empörung hervorgerufen (Pfath, l. c., Bd. I. p. 297). Und noch heutzutage rasiren die Koreaner ihr Haupthaar nicht, sondern sammeln es nach oben und flechten es in einen aufwärts gerichteten Zopf; die Weiber aber schlingen es um den Kopf und binden es zusammen (Пржевальскій, Путеш. въ Уссурійск. край, С. Петерб. 1870, стр. 108). Auch das kleine, in der Provinz Kuei-tschen wohnhafte Bergvolk der Miao-tseu hat sich, seine Unabhängigkeit wahrend, dem Edikt zu entziehen gewusst (Davis, l. c., T. I, p. 130, 188).

3) S. oben, p. 130. Leider ist uns über die Haartracht, welche die Djutscheren hatten, ehe sie an den Chercha versetzt wurden, nichts bekannt. Dass sie oder ihre Nachkommen jetzt die allgemeine mandshu-chinesische Haartracht haben, unterliegt keinem Zweifel.

4) Путеш. на Амуръ, С. Петерб. 1859, стр. 141.

5) Іакинфъ, Китай, его жит., нравы, обычаи, просвѣщ., С. Петерб. 1840, стр. 177. Desgleichen wird bei den Chinesen zum Zeichen der Trauer das Kopf- und Barthaar eine gewisse Zeit lang nicht rasirt (Pauthier, Chine mod. etc., II. Partie, p. 300).

6) So sah Wenjukof (Обозр. р. Уссури и сопред. ея соет. отъ мая до мая. — Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 25, 1859, Отд. Насѣвка и Матер., стр. 199) am Ussuri einen Golde, der in dieser Weise nach seiner verstorbenen Mutter trauerte.

sächlich wohl durch Vermittelung der Golde hat dann die mandshu-chinesische Haartracht auch bei den Samagirn am Gorin Fuss gefasst, zumal da nahe der Mündung dieses Flusses in den Amur, in Zjanka, eine feste Niederlassung chinesischer Kaufleute und etwas oberhalb am Hauptstrom, in Mylki, auch ein ständiger Sitz mandshu-chinesischer Beamten sich befindet, von welchem aus die Samagirn stets an die chinesische Oberhoheit gemahnt werden konnten.

Die weiter nord- und stromabwärts wohnenden Völker hingegen, die Oltscha, Negda und Giljaken, unter denen es keine solchen Beamten giebt, und die nur nominell unter chinesischer Herrschaft stehen, haben sich jenem mandshu-chinesischen Regierungsedikt, wenn es überhaupt bis zu ihnen gedrungen, entzogen und ihre alte Haartracht beibehalten. Diese Völker sind es denn auch, welche die Chinesen schlechtweg mit dem Namen der Langhaarigen bezeichnen, — «*Tschang-Mao-tse*» nach Venault, im Gegensatz zu den «*Tuang-Mao-tse*» oder Tataren (Barbaren) mit rasirtem Kopfhaar, den Golde u. a.[1]). Wie den Aino der Zopf, so gilt daher diesen Völkern das unrasirte und ungeschorene Haupthaar als Zeichen der Freiheit. Daher denn auch die obenerwähnte, bis zum Aberglauben gesteigerte Abneigung der auf ihre Freiheit von den Mandshu-Chinesen besonders stolzen Giljaken, ihr Kopfhaar zu scheren, oder gar den aus der Gesammtheit desselben geflochtenen Zopf abzuschneiden.

Wie sehr die Verbreitung der mandshu-chinesischen Haartracht unter den Amur-Völkern von der Ausbreitung der faktischen, nicht bloss nominellen Herrschaft des himmlischen Reichs abhing, lässt sich auch an den **Orotschen** ersehen. Im äussersten Süden ihres Wohngebietes, wo sie, mit dem Namen Ta-dse bezeichnet, unter starkem Druck der zahlreichen, untermischt mit ihnen lebenden Chinesen (Mandse) stehen, tragen sie auch ihr Haar ganz ebenso wie diese letzteren, nur dass es auf dem Vorderkopf, wie übrigens sehr oft auch bei den Golde und Samagirn, aus Mangel an den erforderlichen Utensilien nicht rasirt, sondern nur ganz kurz geschoren ist[2]). Weiter nordwärts, wie in der Bai Olga oder am oberen Poor, wo die Zahl der Chinesen geringer ist und die Orotschen sich schon etwas freier bewegen können, findet man in ihrer Haartracht den Unterschied von jenen, dass sie den Vorderkopf zwar ebenso behandeln, das übrige Haar aber nicht in einen Zopf, sondern, Männer und Weiber gleich, in zwei Zöpfe flechten, die, hinter den Ohren laufend, nach vorn fallen, und deren Enden durch eine Perlenschnur mit einander verbunden werden. Diese Eigenthümlichkeit, dass die Männer

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1) Venault, Excursion dans les parties intérieures de la Mandchourie, 1850 (Nouv. Annales des voyages, T. XXX, 1852 [II], p. 203, 214). In der That lassen sich auch in den von Venault angeführten Dörfern der Tschang-Mao-tse «Akis, dem ersten, stromabwärts gegangen, «Pulos und «Uktu» unschwer die Oltscha-Dörfer Adi, Pulu und Uchtr erkennen. Dass die ebenfalls zu den Tschang-Mao-tse gehörenden «Kili-mis, die durch Ermordung de la Brunière's Veranlassung zu Venault's Reise gegeben hatten, die Giljaken sind, ist oben (p. 195 und 199, Anm. 1) schon erwähnt worden. Venault bemerkt auch, dass die Tschang-Mao-tse sich in ihrer Physiognomie mehr dem europäischen Typus nähern als die Tuang-Mao-tse, was von den Giljaken und Oltscha den Golde, Orotschen u. a. gegenüber vollkommen richtig ist. (S. oben, p. 206, ff.).

2) Безмонъ, Обозр. плем. Устья (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 23, 1859, Отд. Этногр. и Матер., стр. 234). Его же, Путеш. по окраин. Русск. Азіи и Зап. океана, С. Петерб. 1868, стр. 82.

auch zwei Zöpfe tragen, ist mir bei keinem der übrigen Amur-Völker begegnet[1]). Noch weiter nordwärts endlich, wo die Orotschen ganz unberührt von den Chinesen leben, wie in der Bai Hadshi, tragen sie das Haar, wie ich es selbst gesehen, ganz ebenso wie die Oltscha und Giljaken, d. h. vollkommen ungeschoren und die Männer in einen, die Weiber in zwei zum Rücken hinabhängende Zöpfe geflochten.

Wie den meisten Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes, ist es auch denjenigen des oberen mit ihrer Haartracht ergangen: von den Chinesen unterjocht, mussten sie sich zum Zeichen ihrer Unterwerfung auch deren Haartracht gefallen lassen. Ja, während dort einige entfernter wohnende Stämme sich dem betreffenden Regierungsbefehl zu entziehen gewusst haben, mussten sich ihm im oberen Amur-Lande, in Folge der grösseren Anzahl und Concentration der Mandshu-Chinesen, alle Stämme, bis auf eine unbedeutende Ausnahme, fügen. Dass die gegenwärtig ganz nach Art der Chinesen wohnenden und sich kleidenden Dauren und sesshaften Biraren auch die Haartracht derselben sich ganz zu eigen gemacht haben, versteht sich von selbst. Dieselbe ist aber ferner auch auf die Nomadenstämme, auf die umherstreifenden **Biraren** und die **Manägirn** übertragen worden, und dass sie sich unter ihnen eingebürgert, dazu haben sicherlich zumeist die den Nomaden nachgehenden daurischen Kaufleute, so wie andererseits die alljährlich zur Tributerhebung und zur Revision der Grenzzeichen das Land durchziehenden und das Volk mit der Macht des himmlischen Reiches einschüchternden mandshu-chinesischen Beamten beigetragen. Ja, die Manägirn machen es auch darin den Chinesen nach, dass sie den Zopf, wenn die Mittel es erlauben, durch Einflechten schwarzer Seidenfäden verlängern[2]), so wie dass sie denselben zum Zeichen der Trauer über den Verlust eines Anverwandten abschneiden und das Rasiren oder Scheren des Haars auf dem Vorderkopf eine Zeit lang unterlassen[3]).

Die Manägirn sind übrigens das letzte Volk, den Amur aufwärts gegangen, bei welchem die mandshu-chinesische Haartracht durchweg üblich ist. Weiter westlich, bei den **Orotschonen** begegnen wir derselben Erscheinung, die wir schon bei den Orotschen im äussersten Osten des Amur-Landes kennen gelernt haben: während sie nämlich im Süden ihres Wohngebietes, an den Ostabhängen des grossen Chingan-Gebirges, um die Zuflüsse des Nonni, am Nomin, Ganj, Gujuil u. a., wo sie in völliger Abhängigkeit von den Dauren und mittelbar von den Chinesen leben[4]), sicherlich auch deren Haartracht theilen, schwindet diese, nordwärts gegangen, mehr und mehr, und am oberen Amur und seinen nördlichen Zuflüssen, wo sie trotz

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1) Ich habe sie an einer Anzahl von Orotschen beobachtet, denen ich am Ussuri begegnete, und die in ihren Böten den Poor abwärts gekommen waren. Frau Wassiljof schildert sie eben so an den Eingeborenen der Bai Olga (Дальнілаз Васильева, Гвазь Сь.-Ольги. — Извѣстія Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. VIII, 1872, Отд. II, стр. 67) u. Beresin (Очеркъ русск. торг. съ Татарск. проз. и Японск. порт. — Морск. Сборн. 1861, № 1, Ч. неоф., стр. 163) an den Ta-dse der Meeresküste, ohne nähere Angabe der Lokalität.

2) Мозгъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 72.

3) Middendorff (Reise in den äuss. Nord. und Ost. Sibir., Bd. IV, p. 1566) beobachtete einen derartigen Fall.

4) S. oben, p. 43.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

des Nertschinsker Traktats faktisch stets unter russischem Einfluss und russischer Herrschaft geblieben sind, haben sie auch ihre ursprüngliche und naturwüchsige Haartracht beibehalten, mit ganz ungeschorenem und entweder schlicht herabhängendem, oder auf dem Scheitel in einen Büschel aufgebundenem Haar [1]).

So ist die Art, das Haupthaar zu tragen, bei allen indigenen Völkern des Amur-Landes ein Zeichen ihrer Ab- oder Unabhängigkeit von den Mandshu-Chinesen oder auf Sachalin von den Japanern. Die Grenze, bis wohin bei den Amur-Völkern die chinesische oder auf Sachalin die japanische Haartracht sich erstreckt, bezeichnet zugleich die Grenze der faktischen Herrschaft der Mandshu-Chinesen oder Japaner über diese Völker. Es ist eine politische, nicht eine ethnographische Grenzlinie: sie läuft im Westen, wie im Osten des Amur-Landes und Sachalin's quer durch das Wohngebiet der betreffenden Völker (Orotschonen, Orotschen und Aino), scheidet nur stellenweise naheverwandte Stämme von einander (so die Oltscha von den Samagirn und Golde) und fällt nirgends mit der Grenze so grundverschiedener Völker wie die Giljaken einer- und die Amur-Tungusen oder Aino andererseits zusammen. In sofern jedoch das Maass der Abhängigkeit der Amur-Völker von den Mandshu-Chinesen oder Japanern von der grössten Bedeutung für ihr gesammtes Sein und Leben ist, hat diese Grenzlinie auch ein hohes ethnographisches Interesse.

Wie die Haartracht, so giebt es noch ein anderes Moment der äusseren Haltung, welches zum Theil mehr als die Kleidung einzelne Völker des Amur-Landes kennzeichnet, — es ist der an manchen Körpertheilen getragene Schmuck.

Allen Eingeborenen des Amur-Landes, und darunter auch den Giljaken, ist der Gebrauch von Ohrringen oder richtiger Ohrgehängen gemeinsam. Dieselben bestehen entweder nur aus einem am oberen Ende ringförmig gebogenen, am unteren spiralförmig gewundenen Silber- oder Kupferdrath (kleiner Ohrring, Taf. XXIX, Fig. 7), oder aus einem in Form eines grossen Ringes gebogenen Silberdraths, auf welchen im oberen wie im unteren Theile grosse Glasperlen oder kreisförmige, in der Mitte durchbohrte Scheiben von einem grau- oder grünlichweissem Stein (Jadegit) aufgereiht sind (grosser Ohrring, Taf. XXIX, Fig. 6). Die Männer tragen stets nur je einen Ohrring in jedem Ohrläppchen, die Weiber aber oft je zwei und drei grosse, bisweilen mehrere Zoll lange Gehänge, von deren Last die Ohrläppchen stark abwärts gerecht werden. Bei giljakischen Kindern habe ich zuweilen am Ohrläppchen neben dem metallischen Ringe auch ein Büschel von Fuchshaaren angebracht gesehen, was vielleicht außer dem Schmuck auch zum Schutz des Ohrläppchens gegen die Kälte dient. Bemerkenswerth ist nun, dass die

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1) Гергоновъ, О предметахъ занятія Амура (Вѣстн. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 20, 1837, Отд. Наукъ и Изв., стр. 298). Ф. Буссе, Очеркъ условій земледѣл. въ Амурскомъ краѣ (Зап. Авг. Отдѣл., изд. Трудовымъ, Амур.—Авг. 1889, стр. 118).

Giljaken, Oltscha, Oroken und, so viel ich weiss, auch die Negda ausser den Ohrringen keinen anderen Schmuck an einem Kopf- oder Gesichtstheile tragen. Bei den Samagirn am Gorin, den Golde und Orotschen kommt hingegen noch ein zweiter, ähnlicher Schmuck hinzu, der allerdings nur auf das weibliche Geschlecht beschränkt bleibt[1]), bei diesem jedoch niemals fehlt, so dass man an demselben sogleich die Weiber dieser Nationalitäten von denjenigen der Oltscha und Giljaken unterscheiden kann. Es ist dies ein Nasenring, ganz von der Form des oben beschriebenen kleinen Ohrringes, nur noch kleiner, der von der durchbohrten Nasenscheidewand über die Oberlippe herabhängt, — ein höchst absonderlicher, hässlicher und zudem der Sauberkeit, an der es allen diesen Völkern ohnehin so sehr gebricht, im Wege stehender Schmuck. Bei den Orotschen endlich findet hinsichtlich der besprochenen Schmuckarten dasselbe Verhältniss wie hinsichtlich der Haartracht statt: die nördlichen Orotschen, wie z. B. diejenigen des Kaiserhafens (Bai Hadshi), stimmen darin mit den Oltscha und Giljaken überein, die südlichen oder Ta-dse hingegen, an der Meeresküste mindestens von der Bai Olga abwärts[2]) und an den rechten Ussuri-Zuflüssen, mit den Golde und Samagirn, d. h. jene tragen nur Ohr-, diese, im weiblichen Geschlecht, auch Nasenringe. Ferner sieht man bei den Orotschen-Weibern oder Mädchen und bisweilen auch bei denjenigen der Golde am Ussuri und am Amur in der Nähe der Ussuri-Mündung einen eben solchen kleinen Ring in der rechten oder linken Nüster[3]). Aus dem Gesagten ist leicht zu entnehmen, dass die Sitte, Nasenringe zu tragen, bei den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes merkwürdigerweise nur so weit verbreitet ist, als die mandshu-chinesische Haartracht bei ihnen Eingang gefunden hat; wo diese von ihnen nicht angenommen worden ist, da giebt es auch keine Nasenringe, weder in den Nüstern, noch in der Nasenscheidewand. Doch wüsste ich keine Erklärung für ein solches Zusammenfallen der chinesischen Haartracht und des seltsamen Gebrauches von Nasenringen bei den Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes zu geben, denn bekanntlich tragen die Chinesen keinen solchen Schmuck. Auch findet man dies Zusammenfallen nur im unteren, nicht auch im oberen Amur-Lande. Zwar ist die mandshu-chinesische Haartracht auch in diesem und sogar weit mehr als in jenem verbreitet, und doch trägt keiner der dortigen Stämme Nasenringe, weder die Biraren, noch die Manägirn, noch auch die Orotschonen. So bleibt diese Sitte im Ganzen nur auf einige wenige der zahlreichen Tungusen-Stämme des Amur-Landes beschränkt und dürfte vielleicht nur als Nachbleibsel aus früherer Zeit betrachtet werden, da ihr vermuthlich eine allgemeinere Verbreitung zukam.

Ein gewöhnlicher, bei allen Völkern des Amur-Landes, namentlich beim weiblichen Geschlecht üblicher Schmuck sind silberne oder kupferne Fingerringe, deren bisweilen mehrere auf einem Finger stecken, und aus demselben Material oder auch aus Knochen gemachte Arm-

1) Nur einmal, ganz ausnahmsweise, sah Maack (Byrem, ss Anypa, crp. 224) diesen Schmuck auch an einem männlichen Individuum, einem Golde aus Mylki. Mir ist kein solcher Fall begegnet.

2) Olympiada Wassiljewa, l. c., p. 67.

3) Nach Przewalski (l. c., p. 103) in der rechten, nach Nadarof (l. c., p. 78) und Maack (l. c., p. 179) in der einen oder der anderen Nüster.

spangen (gilj. *tyiaj*), die oberhalb des Handgelenks getragen werden. Auf Taf. XXIX, Fig. 8 und 9, sind ein paar derartige, kupferne, mit eingelegten Silberplättchen und kleinen Gravirungen versehene Armspangen von giljakischer Arbeit dargestellt.

Interessanter ist ein anderes, im Amur-Lande ebenfalls allgemein verbreitetes Stück, — es ist der grosse und starke, nur von Männern und zwar am Daumen der rechten Hand getragene Ring. Bei den Giljaken, die ihn *aam* nennen, ist er von der auf Taf. XLV, Fig. 5, angegebenen Form und Grösse, aus Kupfer oder Blei, mit verschiedenen eingravirten oder aus eingelegtem Messing und Silber bestehenden Figuren verziert, im inneren Umkreise auch wohl mit einem nach aussen übergreifenden, fest angelötheten silbernen Reif versehen. Dieser Ring ist übrigens kein blosser Schmuck, sondern hat einen bestimmten praktischen Zweck. La Pérouse, der ihn bei den Orotschen (oder Oltscha) der Bai de Castries sah, meinte, dass er ihnen zum Gegenhalt beim Häuten und Zerschneiden von Fischen diene[1]). Allein dies ist eine nicht den Männern, sondern den Weibern obliegende Arbeit. Wie ich es bei den Giljaken selbst gesehen habe und wie es auch von anderen Amur-Völkern (Oltscha, Manägirn, Orotschonen) berichtet wird[2]), dient der Daumenring zum Bogenspannen, um die Sehne besser zu fassen und beim starken Anziehen derselben die Haut am Finger vor Verletzung in Folge starker Reibung zu schützen[3]). Neben seiner praktischen Bestimmung giebt aber der Daumenring auch einen besonderen Schmuck ab, da er als Zeichen der Männlichkeit, der Fähigkeit mit Bogen und Pfeil umzugehen, angesehen wird. Keinem halbwegs erwachsenen Giljaken fehlt daher der *Aam*, und ebenso ist es bei den anderen Amur-Völkern. Ja, auch wo bei ihnen der Bogen bereits durch Feuergewehre, chinesische Luntenflinten oder russisch-jakutische Büchsen, zum grossen Theil verdrängt worden ist, wie bei den Manägirn und Orotschonen, wird der Daumenring allgemein noch weiter getragen[4]). Hier wird er daher, von seinem Nutzen bei einem gelegentlichen Faustkampf abgesehen, mehr und mehr zum blossen Schmuck. Und noch mehr ist dies in China der Fall, wo man ihn mitunter von schöner Arbeit aus Elfenbein, Jaspis, Achat u. drgl. an der Hand hochgestellter Beamten und Mandarine sieht[5]). Ohne Zweifel findet eine

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1) La Pérouse, Voyage autt. du monde, rédigé par Milet-Mureau. Paris, an V (1797), T. III, p. 64.

2) Мозин, Путеш. по Амуру, стр. 75, 207. Губерсонъ, О приёмахъ нат. Амура (Зап. Имп. Рус. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 20, 1857, Отд. Этн. и Метеор., стр. 290).

3) Nach Анучинъ (Лукъ и стрѣлы, Антропологическ. очерки, Москва 1887, стр. 38) ist dies die für die Völker mongolischer Race besonders charakteristische und darum von Morse, in seiner Schrift: Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), sogen. »Mongolische« Art der Bogenspannung.

4) Gerstfeldt und Maack, l. c.

5) Davis, La Chine, trad. de l'Anglais par Pichard, Paris 1837, T. I, p. 222. Nach Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch.-Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederlandern an den Tartar. Chan und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam 1666, p. 64) trug der Vicekönig von Kanton zur Zeit, als die Niederländische Gesandtschaft dort war (1656), einen Daumenring aus Elfenbein. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London 1863, p. 303, 317) sah Daumenringe aus grünlichweissem Jaspis an zwei Mandarinen, von denen der eine zum Militär gehörte, in der an der Meerresküste nahe der grossen Mauer gelegenen Stadt Schanhai-Kuan. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt, 3te Aufl., Leipzig 1875, Bd. III, p. 96) bemerkt, hochgestellte Männer in China trügen stets einen grossen Ring aus weissem oder grünem Jade am Daumen.

solche Achtung und Hochschätzung des Daumenringes in der oben besprochenen ursprünglichen Bestimmung desselben ihre Erklärung.

Zum Schluss dieses Abschnitts muss ich noch die Frage berühren, ob und in wie weit die Sitte, einzelne Körpertheile zu färben, anzumalen oder zu tätowiren, auch bei den Völkern des Amur-Landes zu finden ist?

Was zunächst die Giljaken betrifft, so glaube ich mit Bestimmtheit sagen zu dürfen, dass bei ihnen heutzutage nichts der Art vorkommt. Wenigstens ist mir trotz mehrjährigem und vielfachem Verkehr mit denselben keine Spur einer solchen Sitte unter ihnen begegnet. Das ist insofern bemerkenswerth, als diese Sitte bei ihren unmittelbaren Nachbarn auf Sachalin, den Aino, und mehr oder minder auch bei allen übrigen paläasiatischen Völkern zu finden ist, wenn sie auch mehr und mehr dem Verschwinden entgegengehen mag. Im Aino-Gebiet wird das Färben oder Tätowiren bestimmter Körpertheile am meisten auf Jesso ausgeübt. In den japanischen Beschreibungen dieser Insel, den Jeso-ki's von Kannemon (1652) und Aral Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), wird erzählt, dass die Aino-Weiber ihre Lippen mit dem Saft der *Kudzi-gusa* (oder Mundpflanze) färben und rund um den Mund, sowie auch auf der Stirn, dem Gesicht, den Händen und Füssen vermittelst Nadelstichen und Einreibung eines schwärzlichen Stoffes verschiedenartige, blumen- und wolkenähnliche Figuren hervorbringen[1]). Diese Tätowirungen werden an den Mädchen in der Kindheit von ihren Müttern ausgeführt. Auch von den europäischen oder nordamerikanischen Reisenden, welche Jesso besuchten, werden dieselben mehr oder minder besprochen[2]). Unter den Aino von Sachalin herrscht zwar dieselbe Sitte[3]), jedoch bemerkte schon der japanische Reisende Mamia Rinsô (1808)[4]), dass die dortigen

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1) Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, T. XXIV, 1814, p. 155, 196). Vgl. auch Klaproth, Sen kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, trad. de l'original japonais-chinois, Paris 1832, p. 331.

2) So z. B. schon von Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 160) und später von Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, p. 99, 109), Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 74), Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Bd. I, p. 288), Bickmore (The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile islands. — Amer. Journ. of. Science, Sec. Ser., Vol. XLV, May 1868), St. John (The Ainos, Aborigines of Yeso. — Journ. of the Anthropol. Instit. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II, 1873, p. 349) u. A.

3) Unter den zahlreichen Nachrichten darüber verdient besonders diejenige von Dobrolwowskij Beachtung, der über fünf Jahre (1867—1872) als Arzt in Aniwa auf Sachalin zugebracht hat. Dem zufolge ist die Operation des Tätowirens, wie sie von den Aino an den Mädchen, von ihrem zehnten Jahre an, ein — bis viermal jährlich ausgeführt wird, lange nicht so leicht und ungefährlich, wie man sie sich in der Regel denkt. In Folge des Einreibens der durchstochenen oder geritzten Hautstellen mit dem ihren japanischen Kosaken entlehnten Thranruss schwellen die Lippen oft so stark an, dass der Mund nicht geöffnet werden kann und die Patientinnen genöthigt sind, 3—4 Tage nur von flüssiger Nahrung zu leben, die sie durch eine Röhre einzuzugen. Die Tätowirung beginnt mit der Mitte der Oberlippe und schreitet von dort allmählich weiter. (Добровольскій, Общ. черты осуг. Сахалина. — Наблюдія Сибирск. отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. I, № 2 и 3, Иркутскъ, 1870, стр. 27. Его же, Аинско-русск. словарь, Прилож. къ Русск. Зап. Имп. Геогр. Общ. 1875 г., стр. 53).

4) Tô-tsu ki ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

Weiber sich schwächer als diejenigen von Jesso tätowiren, und dass diese Sitte dort überhaupt desto seltener wird, je weiter man ins Land hinein kommt, d. h. je mehr man sich von Aniwa nordwärts entfernt. Dieselbe Sitte herrscht endlich auch bei den Aino der Kurilischen Inseln, ja, nach Krascheninnikof[1]) erstreckt sie sich dort auf beide Geschlechter, die Männer begnügen sich aber damit die Mitte der Lippen zu schwärzen, während die Weiber dieselben rund um den Mund und ausserdem auch Hände und Arme fast bis zum Ellenbogen hinauf tätowiren.

Sehr bemerkenswerth ist die Thatsache, dass die alten Itälmenen auf Kamtschatka, obgleich von Stämmen umgeben, bei denen das Tätowiren gäng und gebe war, selbst dieser Sitte oder Unsitte nicht anhingen, sondern sich nur weiss und roth schminkten, was sie vor Ankunft der Russen allerdings in sehr starkem Maasse, nach Steller's Ausdruck »wie die Affen«, später aber »nach Art derer Kosaken-Weiber viel mässigere betrieben[2]).

Bei den weiter nach Norden und Osten wohnenden Völkern hingegen gehört die Tätowirung wiederum zu den landesüblichen Sitten. Bei den Korjaken beschränkt sie sich allerdings nur auf die Weiber und ist auch bei diesen nicht allgemein, da sie jedoch mit der Vermählung beginnt und alle Jahr neue Zeichnungen hinzugefügt werden, so erscheinen manche alte Frauen nach Ditmar's Zeugniss in Folge der Tätowirung über und über bunt[3]). Allgemeiner ist die Sitte des Tätowirens unter den Tschuktschen verbreitet, da sie sich bei ihnen auch auf die Mädchen von ihrem 9. oder 10. Lebensjahr an und zum Theil sogar auf die Männer erstreckt. Letztere begnügen sich jedoch in der Regel nur mit einem oder ein paar kurzen Horizontalstrichen über der Nasenwurzel, einem Kreuz auf jedem Kinnbacken oder dergleichen, während die Weiber mehr oder minder das ganze Gesicht und die Arme vom Schulter- bis zum Handgelenk hinab tätowiren. Nach Nordqvist[4]), der diesen Gegenstand ausführlicher besprochen und auch einige Muster tschuktschischer Tätowirung mitgetheilt hat, stimmen diese in den Grundzügen mit denjenigen überein, welche Dr. Stuxberg von den Eskimo der St. Lorenz-Insel entworfen hat[5]), nur sind sie viel einfacher als die letzteren. Die allgemeine Verbreitung der Sitte des Tätowirens unter den Eskimo, und zwar ebenfalls vornehmlich unter den Weibern, ist bekannt und lässt sich in ununterbrochener Folge durch alle Stämme derselben vom Berings-Meer und vom Jukon-Gebiet[6]), längs den Küsten des Eismeers über den Mackenzie-,

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1) Крашенинниковъ, Описаніе земли Камчатки (Полное собраніе сочин. по Россіи, Т. II, С. Петерб. 1819, стр. 216).

2) Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 268. Krascheninnikof, l. c., p. 68. Zum Weissschminken bedienten sich die Itälmenen entweder des feinen Mehles, oder eines in Kamtschatka hie und da vorkommenden, von der Natur entstandenen Meringhaus, zum Rothschminken aber eines mit Fleck- oder Sorbenäthern zerriebenen Bestanges.

3) Ditmar, Ueber die Korjaken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen (Bull. de la classe hist. phil. de l'Acad. impér. des sc. de St. Pétersb., T. XIII, p. 102; Mél. russes, T. III, p. 9).

4) Bidrag till kännedomen om Tschuktscherna (Tromsø, 1885, p. 38).

5) Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, Bd. II, p. 248, 249.

6) Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston 1870, p. 148.

Anderson-,[1]) Grossen Fisch-Fluss[2]) u. s. w. bis zur Hudsonsbai[3]), Davis-Strasse[4]) und Grönland[5]) verfolgen. Nicht minder endlich ist die Tätowirung auch eine unter den Aleuten heimische Sitte. Als Ssarytschof die Insel Unalaschka besuchte (1790), scheint sie dort unter den Weibern noch allgemein üblich gewesen zu sein[6]). Langsdorff[7]) fand sie aber im J. 1805 in Folge des russischen Einflusses schon stark zurückgedrängt, so dass meistens nur noch alte Weiber mit Tätowirungen zu sehen waren, und Weniaminof[8]) bezeichnet diese Sitte als bereits ganz überwunden. Dennoch gelang es ihm noch (1825—1834), einige aleutische Weiber mit tätowirtem Gesicht zu sehen und Nachrichten über die ehemals reiche und mannigfaltige Tätowirung der Aleuten einzusammeln[9]).

In der ganzen Reihe paläasiatischer Völker, von Jesso bis Grönland, begegnen uns somit nur zwei kleine Stämme, denen die Sitte des Tätowirens abgeht, — die Itälmenen auf Kamtschatka und die Giljaken am Amur und auf Sachalin. Unter solchen Umständen läge der Gedanke nicht fern, dass auch bei diesen beiden Völkern die Sitte des Tätowirens ehedem heimisch gewesen, im Laufe der Zeit aber verschwunden sei. Eine solche Vermuthung ist jedoch nicht zulässig. Steller's und Krascheninnikof's Nachrichten über die Itälmenen stammen aus einer Zeit, da diese ihre nationalen Eigenthümlichkeiten noch keineswegs so weit eingebüsst hatten, dass eine so hervorragende und, wenn sie unter ihnen bestanden, jedenfalls altherkömmliche Sitte wie die Tätowirung bereits vollkommen verschwunden sein konnte, ohne Reste und Spuren, ja selbst ohne Nachrichten in der Tradition hinterlassen zu haben. Und die Giljaken vollends habe ich, wie gleich Eingangs dieser Schrift hervorgehoben worden, zu einer Zeit kennen gelernt, da sie noch im Vollbesitz ihrer Eigenart waren. Bei jenen wie bei diesen muss man daher, den anderen paläasiatischen Völkern gegenüber, das gänzliche Fehlen der Tätowirung als zu ihrer Eigenart gehörig betrachten.

Auf den ersten Blick dürfte es übrigens scheinen, als ob diese Eigenart der Giljaken im Amur-Lande auch von anderen, namentlich von den den Giljaken zunächst wohnenden Völkern getheilt werde, denn auch die Oltscha, die Oroken auf Sachalin, die Negda und Samagirn ermangeln der Sitte des Tätowirens. Dennoch verhält es sich mit ihnen wesentlich anders. Dass bei den Oltscha das Tätowiren gegenwärtig gar nicht üblich ist, glaube ich mit Bestimmtheit

1) Petitot, Monographie des Esquimaux Tchigit du Mackenzie et de l'Anderson, Paris 1876, p. 7.

2) Bach, Reise durch Nord-Amerika bis zur Münd. des Grossen Fisch-Flusses und zu den Küsten des Polarmeeres in den J. 1833—1835, aus dem Engl. von André, Leipzig 1836, p. 320, nebst Abbild.

3) Parry, Journ. of a second Voyage for the discov. of a North-West Passage, London 1824, p. 498.

4) Hall, Life with the Esquimaux, London 1864, Vol. II, p. 318.

5) Cranz, Historie von Grönland, 1770, Bd. I, p. 185.

6) Сарычевъ, Путеш. по Сѣверовосточ. части Сибири, Ч. II, стр. 17.

7) Bemerk. auf ein. Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 38.

8) Веніаминовъ, Зап. объ остр. Уналашкинск. отдѣлѣ, С. Петерб. 1840, Ч. II, стр. 113.

9) Manche ihrer Schönheiten, so wie die Töchter angesehener und reicher Leute suchten z. B. in ihren Tätowirungen die Heldenthaten ihrer Ahnen, Väter, Onkel zu verherrlichen, indem die Zeichnungen auf ihrem Gesicht erkennen liessen, wie viele Feinde Jene im Kriege erschlagen, wie viele mächtige Thiere sie auf der Jagd erlegt u. dergl. Weniaminof, l. c.

sagen zu dürfen, da ich sie in ihrem ganzen Wohngebiet auf mehrfachen Reisen kennen gelernt habe. Mit den Samagirn am Gorin habe ich nur in Ngagha, allerdings dem grössten ihrer Dörfer, Bekanntschaft gemacht, und von den Oroken auf Sachalin und den Negda sind mir bloss einzelne Individuen begegnet, allein auch andere Reisende, die mehr mit ihnen zusammengekommen, haben keinerlei Tätowirungen bei ihnen bemerkt; so weder Middendorff und Schmidt bei den Negda, noch Poljakof, nach mehrwöchentlichen Aufenthalte an der Ostküste Sachalin's, bei den dortigen Oroken. Das ist insofern sehr bemerkenswerth, als diese Völker sämmtlich zum Tungusen-Stamm gehören, bei welchem in anderen Theilen seines weiten Verbreitungsgebietes die Sitte des Tätowirens allenthalben bestand und mehr oder weniger noch besteht. Wie man aus den alten Beschreibungen Sibirien's [1]) und den Mittheilungen der Reisenden des vorigen Jahrhunderts [2]) ersehen kann, war das Tätowiren bei keinem der sibirischen Völker so allgemein verbreitet und beliebt wie bei den Tungusen, ja es galt darnach fast für eine specifisch tungusische Sitte. Bei den sibirischen Völkern nichttungusischen Stammes, wie Ostjaken, Samojeden, Jakuten (von den oben besprochenen paläasiatischen Stämmen ist hier nicht die Rede), war es seit jeher weniger üblich [3]). Aus den späteren und neueren Nachrichten über diesen Gegenstand, welche jene Vorliebe der Tungusen bestätigen, lässt sich jedoch unzweifelhaft entnehmen, dass das Tätowiren auch bei ihnen in allmählicher Abnahme begriffen ist [4]). Beiläufig sei bemerkt, dass ebenso übereinstimmend, wie die bei den paläasiatischen Völkern übliche Tätowirung als Acupunktion bezeichnet wird [5]), alle auf die Tätowirung der Tungusen und anderen sibirischen Völker bezüglichen Angaben fast ausnahmslos dahin lauten, dass sie durch Nähen geschieht, indem ein in Russ, zerriebener schwarzer Kreide, Kohle, chinesischer Tusche u. drgl. geschwärzter Zwirnfaden oder eine feine Thiersehne durch die Haut gezogen wird, daher denn auch der russische Ausdruck *wyschiwatj*, d. h. Ausnähen, für Tätowiren entstanden ist [6]).

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1) Der allernordeste Staat von Sibirien, einer grossen und zuvor wenig bekannten Moscowitischen Provinz in Asien etc., Nürnberg 1733, p. 166.

2) Tobrants Idee, Driejser. Reise nach China, Amsterdam 1704, p. 37. Messerschmidt, Wasserreise von Mangasea die Nishneja Tunguska hinauf, im J. 1733. (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr., Bd. III, 1782, p. 109). Bell d'Antermony, Voyage depuis St. Pét. en Russie dans diverses contrées de l'Asie, Paris 1766, trad. de l'Anglais par M'''', p. 191. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Bd. I, p. 99, 350; Bd. II, p. 396, 643; Bd. III, p. 432.

3) Ueber beobachtete Fälle der Art s. Gmelin (l. c., Bd. I, p. 79), Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. III, p. 41), Erman (Reise um die Erde, Histor. Bev., Bd. I, p. 677), Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Nord. u. Ost. Sibir., Bd. IV, p. 1237, 1481) u. A.

4) Middendorff, l. c., p. 1428. Nach Kostrof u. B. (Очерки Тунгузск. прим. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. IV, 1867, стр. 88) kommt es unter den Tungusen des Turochanskoi Gebietes noch vor, nach Krtwosshapkin (Объ Остякахъ, Тунгусахъ и прочъ. народахъ. Енисейск. окр. — Зап. Сибирск. Отд. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. VI, 1863, стр. 66) hingegen nicht mehr, — es kann also nur selten und im Verschwinden begriffen sein.

5) Crans (l. c.) beschreibt jedoch die Tätowirung bei den Grönländern als eine durch Nähen vor sich gehende Operation.

6) Erman (l. c., Bd. II, p. 36) widerspricht dem und führt die Tätowirung der Tungusen, Ostjaken u. a. ebenfalls auf Acupunktion zurück, allein das ist der ausführlichen Beschreibung Gmelin's (l. c., Bd. II, p. 649—652), welcher der Operation selbst beigewohnt hat, sowie den authentischen Nachrichten Stepanof's (Енисейская Губерния, С. Петерб. 1835, Ч. II, стр. 89), Middendorff's (l. c., dagl. p. 1478) u. A. gegenüber unhaltbar. Mir ist nur eine auf Tätowirung der Tungusen und Ostjaken durch Acupunktion und Einreibung von Russ lautende Nachricht bekannt: es ist dieselbe von Spasskij (Сибирь, 1828, Ч. XII, Отд. I, стр. 43), doch weiss ich nicht, wie zuverlässig und authentisch sie ist.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Uebrigens spricht, wie ich gelegentlich bemerken muss, schon die Verschiedenheit des Vorgangs der Tätowirung gegen die so verbreitete Ansicht, dass diese Sitte in einem Lande der Erde und zwar, wie man gewöhnlich meint[1]), am Stillen Ocean oder in Südasien ihren Ursprung genommen und sich von dort aus überall hin, wo sie nachweislich existirt hat oder noch existirt, — und das umfasst alle Welttheile und so ziemlich die ganze Erde — verbreitet habe. Mag sie nun, wie die bei Naturvölkern ebenfalls sehr verbreitete Hautmalerei, aus dem Bedürfniss der Menschen, den Eindruck der Nacktheit aufzuheben, oder aus seinem natürlichen Hange zum Schmuck entstanden sein, mag sie in genealogischen oder religiösen Zwecken und Motiven ihren Ursprung haben[2]), — und jedes dieser Motive dürfte hier oder da maassgebend gewesen sein — immer müssen wir sie uns, gleich wie die Bekleidung, den Körperschmuck, die Herstellung religiöser Sinnbilder und andere Bethätigungen allgemein menschlicher Regungen, als an verschiedenen Orten autochthon entstanden denken, wobei der Modus ihrer Ausführung immerhin auf ihre Verbreitung aus diesem oder jenem Centrum hinweisen mag.

Von Sibirien lässt sich die Sitte des Tätowirens auch weiter ostwärts unter manchen tungusischen Stämmen des Amur-Landes verfolgen. So beobachtete Maack[3]) dieselbe, wenn auch nur selten, unter den Orotschonen am oberen Amur. Weiter abwärts, bei den Manägirn, bemerkte er keine Tätowirungen. Dagegen trat ihm diese Sitte wieder im unteren Amur-Lande, bei den Golde entgegen. Zuerst stiess er auf dieselbe im Dorfe Ssilbi am Amur nahe der Sungari-Mündung, wo fast alle Männer und Weiber tätowirt waren. Doch blieb sie nicht auf dieses Dorf beschränkt, und nach wiederholten Wahrnehmungen hält er dafür, dass sie in diesem Theile des Amur-Stromes, vom Sungari bis zum Ussuri und vielleicht noch etwas unterhalb des letzteren, eine allgemeine Sitte der Golde sei. Die Tätowirung war hier nur eine geringe, niemals sah er so buntgezeichnete Gesichter, wie sie ihm am Jenissei begegnet waren. Meist beschränkte sie sich auf ein durch fünf blaue Punkte markirtes Kreuz zwischen den Augen, auf der Nasenwurzel, bisweilen auch auf ein derartiges Kreuz auf der Stirn und eine Reihe von Punkten auf der Nasenwurzel; bei Manchen trugen auch die Hände kleine Zeichnungen. Die Tätowirung soll in der Weise geschehen, dass ein in dem Safte der von den Golde *dafaró* genannten Pflanze, welche Hrn. Maack jedoch unbekannt blieb, oder auch in chinesischer Tusche gefärbter Zwirnfaden vermittelst einer Nadel an den betreffenden Stellen durch die Haut gezogen wird. Der Modus ist also ganz derselbe wie bei den sibirischen Tungusen. Unter den weiter abwärts vom Ussuri wohnenden Golde hat Maack keine tätowirten Individuen bemerkt, und ebensowenig sind dort Maximowicz oder mir welche begegnet, trotz unserer mehrfachen Reisen in diesem Theile des Amur-Landes. Die angeführten Thatsachen aus dem oberen und unteren Amur-Lande scheinen mir jedoch vollkommen zu genügen, um den Schluss zu ziehen, dass die Sitte des Tätowirens wie bei den sibirischen Tungusen, so ehemals auch bei allen

1) Vergl. z. B. Middendorff, l. c., p. 1127.

2) Peschel, Völkerkunde, Leipzig 1874, p. 180. Franz Heger, Ueber die Tätowirung bei den Südsee-Insulanern (Mittheil. der Anthropol. Gesellsch. in Wien, Bd. XV, Febr. 1885).

3) Πγκεκ. κα Λιγγρ, стр. 144.

tungusischen Stämmen des Amur-Landes bestand und erst im Laufe der Zeit bei den meisten derselben ausser Gebrauch kam. Wie und unter welchen Einflüssen dies geschah, scheint mir ebenfalls auf der Hand zu liegen. Dass die Orotschonen am oberen Amur und seinen Zuflüssen die Sitte des Tätowirens noch bewahrt haben, ist bei dem unmittelbaren Anschluss derselben an ihre sibirischen Stammgenossen ganz verständlich. Wenn daher bei ihren Nachbarn, den Manägirn und Biraren, diese Sitte in der That verschwunden sein sollte, so dürfte dies nur einer in Folge der chinesischen Herrschaft erfolgten Lockerung jener Beziehungen und dem mandshu-chinesischen und daurischen Einfluss zuzuschreiben sein, dem sie unterworfen worden, und der sich auch in der Kleidung, Haartracht, ja selbst in den Gesichtszügen und der Sprache dieser Völker den Orotschonen gegenüber kundgiebt. Anders muss man sich das allmähliche und fast gänzliche Verschwinden der Sitte des Tätowirens im unteren Amur-Lande denken. Dort besteht sie, wie wir sahen, nur noch bei den Golde und zwar auch nur im obersten Theile ihres Wohngebietes, trotzdem dieser Theil den Sitzen der Mandshu-Chinesen am nächsten gelegen ist. Weiter stromabwärts schwindet sie, und bei den unteren Golde und ihren Nachbarn am Amur, den nach ihrem Gesammthabitus, mit alleiniger Ausnahme der Sprache, zu den Giljaken hinüberführenden Oltscha, ist sie sicher nicht mehr zu finden. Wie bei den Aino auf Sachalin, schwindet sie also auch auf dem Festlande nach Maassgabe der Annäherung an die Giljaken, denen die Sitte des Tätowirens von jeher fremd war. Erwägt man in der That, dass die an den unteren Amur, in die Nachbarschaft der Giljaken herangewanderten tungusischen Stämme, insbesondere die Oltscha, sich im Laufe der Zeit durch beständigen Verkehr, Mischehen u. s. w. so sehr mit den Giljaken assimilirt haben, dass sie im Aeusseren von ihnen meist gar nicht mehr zu unterscheiden sind, so ist es nicht anders denkbar, als dass sie dort auch ihre ursprüngliche, tungusische Sitte des Tätowirens einbüssen mussten. Theils direkt, theils durch Vermittelung der Oltscha drang ferner der Einfluss giljakischen Wesens auch zu den Golde und breitete sich weiter und weiter stromaufwärts aus, so dass bei ihnen endlich nur im entlegensten Theile ihres Wohngebietes noch einige spärliche Reste des Tätowirens zurückblieben. Ob der nach Sachalin hinübergewanderte Zweig der Oltscha, die Oroken, die Sitte des Tätowirens bereits auf dem Festlande, oder erst auf der Insel einbüsste, lässt sich nicht ermitteln, jedenfalls aber spricht der Mangel derselben bei ihnen für einen grösseren Einfluss auf sie der Giljaken als ihrer anderen Nachbarn, der sich tätowirenden Aino, wie wir es oben auch hinsichtlich ihrer Haartracht und Kleidung hervorgehoben haben und in der Folge noch in manchen anderen Beziehungen zu bemerken Gelegenheit haben werden.

Nach alledem wird man den Schluss gerechtfertigt finden, dass unter den Völkern des Amur-Landes, ihrer gesammten äusseren Haltung nach, die Giljaken die eigenartigste und praegnanteste Erscheinung abgeben, die nicht ohne maassgebenden Einfluss auf die im Umkreise wohnenden tungusischen Stämme bleiben konnte.

[p.425]

6. Abschnitt.

Nahrung. Animalische und vegetabilische Nahrungsmittel. Haus- und Tafelgeräth. Genussmittel: Branntwein, Tabak.

Da die Völker des Amur-Landes sämmtlich Fischer oder Jäger sind und nur ein kleiner, in nächster Nähe von den Mandshu-Chinesen und Dauren wohnhafter Bruchtheil derselben etwas Feld- und Gemüsebau betreibt, so ist auch ihre Nahrung durchweg eine vorherrschend animalische, aus Fisch oder Fleisch bestehende. Vegetabilien spielen nur eine untergeordnete Rolle, indem sie mehr oder weniger nur eine Art Zukost abgeben, und zwar sind es entweder wilde Naturprodukte des Landes, die schlechtweg eingesammelt, oder aber einige Cerealien und Gemüse, die von den angrenzenden Culturvölkern, den Chinesen, Japanern und neuerdings auch Russen erhandelt werden. Die einzelnen Völker des Amur-Landes unterscheiden sich von einander bezüglich der Nahrung vornehmlich nur dadurch, dass je nach ihrer Hauptbeschäftigung bei den einen Fisch, bei den anderen Fleisch die Hauptnahrung bildet, und dass ferner, je nach ihren grösseren oder geringeren Verkehrs- und Handelsbeziehungen mit den Chinesen oder Japanern, auch das Verhältniss der pflanzlichen Kost zur animalischen ein verschiedenes ist.

Die **Giljaken** sind unter allen Völkern des Amur-Landes die ausgesprochensten Ichthyophagen. Ohne Fisch lässt sich ihr Leben nicht wohl denken: er ist die *conditio sine qua non* ihrer eigenen Existenz sowohl, wie derjenigen ihres einzigen, ihnen ausser der Lokomotion und Kleidung auch zur Nahrung dienenden Hausthieres, des Hundes. Es giebt wohl kaum einen Fisch in ihrem Lande, den die Giljaken nöthigenfalls nicht zur Nahrung benutzen sollten. In erster Reihe stehen aber natürlich diejenigen Fische, die ihnen durch ihr zeitweise massenhaftes Auftreten die Möglichkeit bieten, grössere, namentlich zum Ueberdauern des langen, fischarmen Winters erforderliche Vorräthe zu bereiten, also die aus dem Meere in die Flüsse steigenden Lachsarten, unter welchen wiederum *Salmo lagocephalus* Pall. (gilj. *lyghi-* oder, auf Sachalin, *laghi-tscho*) und *Salmo Proteus* Pall. (gilj.

tengi-tscho) die Hauptrolle spielen[1]). Zur Zeit des Aufsteigens dieser Fische im unteren Amur und seinen Zuflüssen, das für *S. Proteus* in den Juni, für *S. lagocephalus* in den August fällt, herrscht reges Leben unter den Giljaken, indem Alles sich mit dem Bereiten von Fischvorräthen für den Winter beschäftigt. Während die Männer in Netzen und Böten zahllose Mengen dieser Lachse, und besonders des letzteren, ans Land fördern, geben sich die Weiber mit dem Abhäuten und Zerkleinern derselben ab: mit der *Tschomauwa*, einem Messer mit langer und schmaler Klinge (Taf. XXXI, Fig. 6, und Taf. XXXII, Fig. 1), wird an den Fischen jederseits ein Längsschnitt vom Kopf bis zum Schwanz in der Nähe des Rückgrats und ein anderer an der Bauchseite gemacht, darauf ein Querschnitt von oben bis unten gleich hinter dem Kopf; hierauf wird die Haut von den Flanken mit je einem Ruck abgerissen, das Fleisch von denselben in je einem Stück abgelöst und jedes derselben in zwei Längsstreifen zerschnitten, deren jeder an seinem oberen Ende einen Einschnitt erhält, worauf die Fleischstreifen auf eine Schnur gereiht und auf die oben erwähnten, in der Nähe der Sommerjurten befindlichen Trockengerüste gehängt werden. Dies ist die hauptsächlich für die Menschen und nur zum geringeren Theil auch für die Hunde bestimmte Jukola[2]), die *Ma* der Giljaken, *Makoré* der Oltscha und Golde. Der Kopf mit dem Rückgrat und dem daran gebliebenen Fleisch, das längs dem letzteren, um leichter zu trocknen, mit Quereinschnitten versehen wird, giebt die ausschliesslich als Futtervorrath für die Hunde dienende Jukola, das *Chark* der Giljaken, *Dolong* der Oltscha und Golde ab. Aus den besonders fettreichen Bauchstücken wird Thran gekocht, der ebenfalls ein höchst wichtiges Nahrungsmittel abgiebt und in Seehundsblasen und Mägen aufbewahrt wird. Die Eingeweide und die von den Giljaken principiell perhorrescirte Milch fallen den Hunden zu; der Rogen aber wird zwar gegessen und zu verschiedenen Speisen benutzt, jedoch nicht besonders geschätzt. Ausser den beiden genannten Lachsarten wird auch aus anderen Fischen Jukola bereitet, wie z. B. aus dem etwas vor dem Kota-Lachs im Amur aufsteigenden *Salmo Lycaodon* Pall. (gilj. *verll*), *Salmo callaris* Pall. (gilj. *longr*[*ach*]), *Salmo Lencomaenis* Pall. (gilj. *saawong*) u. a. Indessen steht die aus diesen und gelegentlich auch manchen anderen Fischen bereitete Jukola derjenigen, die aus den beiden erstgenannten Lachsarten gewonnen wird, sowohl qualitativ, wie insbesondere quantitativ so sehr nach, dass sie neben jener nur wenig in Betracht kommt, und die Giljaken verstehen daher unter «ma» schlechtweg in der Regel nur jene erstere und unterscheiden sie je nach der Fischart, von welcher sie stammt, als *lyghi-* und *tengi-ma*, wobei sie wiederum der ersteren stets den Vorzug vor der letzteren geben. Ma ist nun die Hauptnahrung, gleichsam das Brod der Giljaken[3]), — das Fundament

1) Die russischen Benennungen dieser beiden Lachsarten in ganz Ostsibirien bis nach Kamtschatka und Nordwestamerika heißen Irbi und gorbusche, weshalb ich sie im Nachstehenden mitunter auch Kota- und Gorbusche-Lachs nennen werde.

2) «Jukola» ist bekanntlich die ursprünglich wohl aus Kamtschatka stammende, bei den Russen durch ganz Ostsibirien übliche Benennung für zerschnittenen und gedörrten Fisch.

3) Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 137) bezeichnete schon die Jukola, und zwar ebenfalls hauptsächlich die vom *Salmo lagocephalus* gewonnene, als das eigentliche kamtschadalische Brod.

ihres Haushalts und der rothe Faden, der sich durch ihren gesammten Nahrungsprocess zieht. Tritt ein angereister Giljake in die Jurte, und hat er auf einer der Schlafbänke Platz genommen, so wird ihm sogleich von einem der Weiber ein kleines Handtischchen (gilj. *chacktschitsch*, Taf. XXXIV, Fig. 4) mit einigen Streifen Ma und einer Schale mit Fischthran (gilj. *tom*), nebst einem kleinen hölzernen Löffel (Taf. XXXIV, Fig. 7) gereicht. Das Tischchen auf dem Schooss, zerkleinert er auf demselben die Jukola mit seinem Gürtelmesser und verzehrt sie in der Art, dass er jedes Stück zuvor in den Thran tunkt, oder diesen abwechselnd hinzulöffelt, oder aber er tunkt das Ende des Jukolastreifens in den Thran, fasst es mit den Zähnen und schneidet den Bissen hart vor dem Munde von unten hinauf ab, mit seinem Messer dicht an den Lippen und der Nasenspitze vorbei fahrend, wie es auch bei so vielen anderen Naturvölkern beobachtet worden ist[1]). Begiebt sich der Giljake auf eine weitere Fahrt, so nimmt er, trotzdem er sicher sein kann, in jedem Dorf seiner Landsleute eine gastfreie Aufnahme für sich und seine Hunde zu finden, doch ein Bündel Jukola für den Fall mit, dass ein Unwetter ihn zwingen sollte, die Nacht unter freiem Himmel zuzubringen, in welchem Falle die am Nachtlagerfeuer erwärmte oder leicht geröstete Ma ihm treffliche Dienste leistet. Uebrigens wird Jukola nicht bloss *au naturel* gegessen, sondern giebt auch einen wichtigen Bestandtheil mancher Speisen ab, auf deren Zusammensetzung und Bereitung ich später zurückkommen werde. Endlich giebt sie neben dem *Chark* auch das Hauptfutter für die Hunde ab. Bei solcher Bedeutung der Jukola für die Giljaken ist es verständlich, dass diese, trotz der allen Naturvölkern mehr oder minder eigenen Trägheit und Sorglosigkeit, doch sehr darauf bedacht sind, sich möglichst grosse Vorräthe von derselben zu bereiten und zu dem Zweck selbst weitere Fahrten und zeitweise Umzüge nicht scheuen. So kommen z. B. zur Zeit des Aufsteigens jener Lachsarten in den Flüssen manche Liman-Giljaken an den Amur, um von seinem Ueberfluss zu profitiren; andere, wie manche Tschomi-Giljaken und die Bewohner einiger Ortschaften an der Westküste Sachalin's, ziehen an den besonders fischreichen Tymy-Fluss im Innern der Insel, um erst im Winter mit den erlangten Vorräthen wieder zurückzukehren. Dagegen begeben sich aber zu anderen Zeiten, wenn z. B. der *Kangi-tscho* (*Gadus Wachnja* Pall.) in grossen Mengen längs der Meeresküste zieht, auch umgekehrt manche Tymy-Giljaken zu ihren Landsleuten an der Westküste Sachalin's, um sich zeitweise an jenem Fisch zu laben. Es scheinen sich in diesem Punkt zwischen

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1) So z. B. bei den Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland, Bd. I, p. 192. Parry, Sec. Voyage etc., p. 508. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 66. Klutschak: Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos, p. 233), Burjäten (Радло, Остро Бабкаръ. — Вѣстн. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 21, 1857, Отд. Наукъ и Мат., стр. 148. Радлъ, Бурятъ. — Вѣстн. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 24, 1858, Отд. Наукъ и Мат., стр. 16), Ostjaken (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. III, p. 46), Samojeden (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands, Dorpat 1848, Bd. I, p. 311. Нелединъ, Самоѣды, С. Петерб. 1847, стр. 33. Абрамовъ, Опис. Березовск. уѣзд. — Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. XII, 1857, стр. 384. Middendorff, Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 1433) u. s. Auch die tungusischen Stämme des Amur-Landes machen es ebenso. Die Nertscho-Tungusen nennen es ersten Monat essen und behaupten, dass das Fleisch, so genossen, viel schmackhafter sei, als wenn es zuvor in Stücke zerschnitten worden (Гренквистъ, Путеш. по долинѣ рѣки Нерчи. — Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., 1857, I, стр. 78).

Z: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

den Bewohnern einzelner Ortschaften, so z. B. zwischen den Tschomi- und den Tymy-Giljaken oder zwischen diesen letzteren und den Giljaken von Duï, Arkai, Tangi und anderen Orten der Westküste Sachalin's im Laufe der Zeit bestimmte, auf Gegenseitigkeit beruhende Wechselbeziehungen und Uebereinkünfte herausgebildet zu haben.

So reichlich jedoch die Jukolavorräthe auch ausfallen mögen, immerhin würden sie nicht genügen, das Leben der Giljaken sicher zu stellen, wenn es nicht ausser jenen Lachsen fast zu jeder Jahreszeit, je nach der Lokalität, noch mehr oder minder viel andere Fischarten gäbe, welche die Giljaken in frischem Zustande verzehren. Die in dieser Beziehung meist begünstigte Lokalität im giljakischen Lande ist natürlich der mächtige Amur-Strom, und an seinen Ufern findet man daher, wie oben schon dargethan, auch die grösste Verdichtung der Bevölkerung und die reichste Entfaltung der giljakischen Eigenart. Den Anwohnern des Amur-Stromes fehlt es kaum je an frischer Fischnahrung. Dass die oben genannten, zur Jukolabereitung dienenden Lachsarten von den Giljaken auch frisch gegessen werden und zur Zeit ihres massenhaften Aufsteigens sogar ihre Hauptnahrung bilden, versteht sich von selbst. Ausserdem aber bietet ihnen der Strom eine Fülle von frischer Nahrung in seinen mehr oder minder ständigen Fischarten, wie Wels (*Silurus asotus* L., gilj. *mub*), Quappe (*Lota vulgaris* Cuv., gilj. *mad[r]sch*), Hecht (*Esox Lucius* L., gilj. *iuys*) und besonders zahlreiche Cyprinoiden, unter denen der *Pilengat* (*Cyprinus carpio* L.) die Hauptrolle spielt[1]). Wichtiger aber und schätzbarer für die Giljaken als alle diese Fische sind die beiden im Amur vorkommenden und bisweilen kolossale Dimensionen erreichenden *Acipenser*-Arten, der *Tukki-tscho* (*Acipenser Schrenckii* Brandt), der Amur-Stör, und der *Putch-tscho* (*Acipenser orientalis* Pall.), der Amur-Hausen[2]). Als ich am 6./18. März 1856, von Sachalin zurückkehrend, das Dorf Tschcharbach an der Amur-Mündung erreichte, waren die dortigen Giljaken mit ihren Fischvorräthen ziemlich zu Ende und sahen mit Ungeduld dem Aufgange des Stromes entgegen, da sich alsdann sogleich auch die Störe zahlreich einzufinden pflegen, um in den Strom zu steigen. Weiter oberhalb im Amur werden aber ziemlich zu jeder Jahreszeit und auch den ganzen Winter hindurch welche gefangen. Den Nikolajefschen Posten versorgten die Giljaken in den Jahren 1855 und 1856 so reichlich mit Störfleisch und Caviar, namentlich von dem im unteren Amur, wie es scheint, häufigeren *Tukki-tscho*, dass es im Winter unsere hauptsächlichste und fast tägliche Nahrung

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1) Beiläufig sei hier, auf Grund der von den Hrn. Herzenstein und Warpachowski (Notizen über die Fischfauna des Amur-Beckens, — in den »Труды С. Петерб. Общ. Естествоисп. по отд. Зоол.», Bd. XVIII, 1887) gemachten Bestimmungen, noch eine Anzahl ständiger Amur-Fische genannt, von welchen die grösseren von den Giljaken allgemein, die kleineren nur im Nothfall und wenn nichts Anderes vorhanden auch zur Nahrung benutzt werden. So die folgenden: *Leuciscus vulgaris* Nilss.), *Uk* oder *Uk-tscho* (*Barbus Lobo* Pall.), *Kell* (*Pseudaspius leptocephalus* Pall.), *Kunung* (*Parabramis brama* Val.), *Mink* (*Hypophthalmichthys Dybowskii* Herz.), *Wa* (*Culter erythropterus* Basil.), *Mykyk* (*Idus Waleckii* Dyb.), *Jen-agoch* (*Pseudogobio amurensis* Dyb.), *Markram* (*Gasterosteus pungitius* L.) u. a.

2) Vrgl. J. Fr. Brandt, Einige Worte über die europäisch-asiatischen Störarten (Bull. de l'Acad. imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., T. XIV, p. 171 ff.

war, deren wir, trotz ihrer anfänglichen Schmackhaftigkeit, mit der Zeit sehr überdrüssig wurden. Besonders gern setzten sie namentlich den Caviar ab, da er ihnen russischerseits gut bezahlt wurde, während sie selbst ihn zwar ebenfalls zur Nahrung benutzen, jedoch nur wenig schätzen. Das Stör- und Hausenfleisch hingegen, das sie stets roh in der oben angegebenen Weise essen, gilt auch bei ihnen für eine der schmackhaftesten Speisen. Kolossale Mengen von Stören und Hausen werden namentlich während der im Winter statthabenden Bärenfestlichkeiten verzehrt. Ganze Reihen mächtig grosser Thiere sah ich bei solcher Gelegenheit auf dem Erdboden der zum Fest geschmückten Jurte liegen, obgleich sie nicht in den Speisezettel der eigentlichen Bärenfestmahlzeiten gehören und nur zwischen denselben, oder aber in den dem Fest vorausgehenden oder ihm folgenden Tagen genossen werden. Wie die Menschen, so erhalten auch die Hunde ihren Antheil an diesen Fischen, indem für dieselben aus den abfallenden, minder guten Stücken und namentlich aus dem Knorpelgerippe mit dem daran hängengebliebenen Fleische eine Suppe gekocht wird, wobei jedoch die Knorpel selbst aus dem Kessel herausgefischt werden, um, gereinigt und getrocknet, an die Chinesen verkauft zu werden.

Nächst dem Amur ist der Tymy-Fluss auf Sachalin die fischreichste Lokalität der Giljaken. Er ist daher auch die belebende Ader der gesammten, giljakischen Nordhälfte der Insel, und an seinem oberen Laufe zumal, wo er auch im Winter trotz der niedrigen, bis unter den Gefrierpunkt des Quecksilbers sinkenden Lufttemperaturen nicht gefriert, liegen kleine Giljaken-Dörfer so dicht gedrängt wie kaum irgendwo sonst im Amur-Lande. Zwar gehen dem Tymy-Fluss die schmackhaftesten und grössten Fische des Amur-Stromes, die oben erwähnten Störe ab, dagegen ist er aber besonders reich an Lachsen, und zwar nicht bloss an jenen obengenannten, im Amur-Lande allgemein verbreiteten und in Folge ihrer grossen Menge hauptsächlich zur Jukolabereitung dienenden Arten, die alljährlich im Herbst, wie schon erwähnt, auch die Bewohner entfernterer Lokalitäten an seine Ufer heranziehen[1]), sondern auch an verschiedenen anderen Arten, wie die *Nem(a)lja* (*Salmo coregonoides* Pall.), der *Longr(ach)* (*S. Callaris* Pall.), *Njalych* (vermuthlich *S. sanguinolentus* Pall.), *Loimang* (eine Forellenart) u. drgl. Ja, es giebt dort sogar Arten, die dem Amur-Strom fehlen, wie z. B. der *Choi-tscho* (*Salmo orientalis* Pall.), die *Tschawytscha* der Kamtschadalen, die grösste und geschätzteste Lachsart der Berings-Meer- und Ochotskischen Gestade[2]). Von Sachalin heimkehrende Festlands-Giljaken pflegen daher nicht selten Stücke vom *Choi-tscho* als einen besonderen Leckerbissen an den Amur zu bringen.

Was endlich diejenigen Giljaken betrifft, die ihre Wohnsitze unmittelbar an der Meeresküste haben, wo es keine Flussmündungen, oder nur unansehnliche Flüsschen giebt, so sind sie insofern schlimmer situirt, als ihnen die meisten jener oben genannten Fische fehlen und sie

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1) Seit einigen Jahren kommen auch die Japaner zur Zeit des Aufsteigens von *Salmo lagocephalus* an die Tymy-Mündung, um dort dem Fischfang obzuliegen, und kehren mit reicher Beute heim, wie Mizzui (Очерк. очер. Сахал. 1873, стр. 120) und Poljakof (Путеш. на остр. Сахалинѣ въ 1881—1882 гг., стр. 79—80) ausführlich berichteten.

2) Die Nyi-Giljaken, bei denen ich im Februar 1856 zwei grosse Exemplare vom *Choi-tscho* sah, meinten übrigens, dass er nur an der Meeresküste Sachalin's vorkomme, ohne in die Flüsse zu steigen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

auch nur geringere Fischvorräthe bereiten können, doch liefert ihnen das Meer selbst im Winter noch manche frische Fischnahrung. Von grösster Wichtigkeit ist ihnen namentlich ein an sich unansehnlicher und wenig schmackhafter Fisch, der sich aber zu einer Zeit, da ihre Herbstvorräthe zur Neige zu gehen pflegen, in der Nähe der Küste schaarenweis dicht unter dem Eise einfindet und mit den primitivsten Mitteln in Menge gefangen werden kann. Es ist der oben bereits erwähnte *Kangi-tscho*, *Gadus Wachnja* Pall. Im Februar und März 1856 sah ich in Nyi an der Ost- und noch mehr in Dul, Arkai, Tangi und anderen Orten an der Westküste Sachalin's Menschen und Hunde fast ausschliesslich von diesem Fisch leben. Er wird nur roh gegessen, und die Manipulation dabei ist stets dieselbe, indem zuerst längs dem Rücken eine dünne, die drei Rückenflossen enthaltende Scheibe abgeschnitten und bei Seite geworfen und alsdann mit je einem Schnitt das Fleisch von den Seiten abgelöst und verzehrt wird; der zurückbleibende Kopf mit dem Rückgrat giebt das *Kangi-chark* ab, das theils sogleich mit dem übrigen Abfall zusammen zur Suppe für die Hunde verkocht, theils als Futtervorrath für dieselben aufbewahrt wird, dem *Laghi-* und *Tengi-chark* aber natürlicherweise bei Weitem nachsteht. Bei solcher Wichtigkeit des Kangi-Fisches für die Küsten-Giljaken knüpft sich an den Genuss und die Behandlung desselben auch mehr Aberglauben als an den Gebrauch der meisten anderen Fische. So darf er nur ohne alle Zuthaten genossen, auch nur in einem offenen Gefäss, einer Schale oder einem Korbe, auf die Schlafbank der Jurte gelegt werden u. drgl. m. Uebrigens herrschen in diesen und ähnlichen Anschauungen auch manche Lokaldifferenzen unter den Giljaken. So hatten die Tro-Giljaken nichts dagegen, dass die für mich bestimmten Kangi-Fische am Spiess vor dem Herdfeuer geröstet wurden, während diejenigen von Arkai es für *nitsch* und nur an einem im Freien lodernden Feuer ohne Schaden zulässig erklärten. Wie auf Sachalin, so kommt der Kangi-Fisch auch an der Festlandsküste des Ochotskischen Meeres, bei Kulj, Tägl, Hisska (Petrofskische Simowjo) u. s. w. vor. Dem Liman hingegen soll er nach Angabe der Giljaken fehlen, wesshalb die Tschomi-Giljaken alljährlich zum Fange desselben nach der am Nordjapanischen Meere gelegenen Westküste Sachalin's gehen, wo ich im Winter 1856 auch welche von ihnen antraf. Vermuthlich dürfte sich jedoch diese Angabe nur auf den südlichen, geschlosseneren Theil des Limans beziehen, nicht auch auf den nördlichen, wo am breiten Ausgange zum Ochotskischen Meere die Verhältnisse ganz ähnlich wie in diesem letzteren sich gestalten.

Nächst den Fischen bilden Seehunde das Hauptnahrungsmittel der Giljaken, ein Nahrungsmittel, das ihnen von der Natur, einzelne, vom Meere entferntere Lokalitäten, wie das Tymy-Thal, abgerechnet, an allen Orten ihres Wohngebietes mehr oder minder reichlich dargeboten wird. Denn ausser den Seeküsten, am Ochotskischen wie am Nordjapanischen Meere, und dem Liman, wo diese Nahrungsquelle natürlich am reichlichsten fliesst, steigen verschiedene Seehundsarten, wie ich an einem anderen Orte dargethan habe[1]), auch den Amur-Strom aufwärts durch das ganze giljakische Gebiet hindurch und weit in dasjenige der Oltscha hinein. Am ge-

1) S. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 160 ff.

ringsten schätzen übrigens die Giljaken das Seehundsfleisch selbst als Nahrungsmittel. Sperk meint sogar, dass sie es selbst gar nicht essen, sondern nur an ihre Hunde verfüttern [1]). Dies ist allerdings der Hauptgebrauch, den sie von demselben machen, doch habe ich sie am Liman auch selbst Seehundsfleisch essen sehen und es bei der Gelegenheit ebenfalls gekostet. Wie alles Säugethierfleisch wird es nur gekocht, nicht roh gegessen, während Letzteres mit Fischen, wie wir schon sahen, oft und zum Theil sogar mit Vorliebe geschieht. Einen allgemeinen, abergläubischen Abscheu hingegen haben die Giljaken vor dem Braten von Fisch oder Fleisch, — ein Aberglauben, gegen den ich beim Aufenthalt in ihren Jurten oft anzukämpfen genöthigt war, denn allemal, wenn für mich ein Stück Fleisch gebraten wurde, liess sich beim ersten Aufzischen der Butter oder des Fetts in der Pfanne von allen Seiten das Geschrei: *sutsch, sitsch* (Unheil) vernehmen, und oft hielt es schwer, die Zubereitung zu Ende zu bringen [2]). So wenig die Giljaken das Seehundsfleisch schätzen, so grossen Geschmack finden sie hingegen am Seehundsfett oder Speck, das sie in Scheiben geschnitten essen, und am beliebtesten endlich ist der aus demselben gewonnene Thran, der bei ihnen in allgemeinem Gebrauche steht und in Seehundsmägen und Blasen unter den Vorräthen aufbewahrt wird, um, von seiner Verwendung zur Beleuchtung der Jurten abgesehen, bald zur Bereitung von mancherlei Speisen benutzt, bald auch gleich dem Fischthran schlechtweg zur Jukola gelöffelt oder anderweitig genossen zu werden. Durch dieses Ingrediens, das, je näher zum Amur-Liman und zur Meeresküste, desto wesentlicher und allgemeiner wird, unterscheidet sich die Nahrung der Giljaken hauptsächlich von derjenigen der anderen, weiter stromauf- und landeinwärts wohnenden Amur-Völker.

Neben den Seehunden bietet die Natur den Giljaken fast in demselben Umfange ein anderes wichtiges und schätzbares Nahrungsmittel dar. Es ist der Weisswal, *Delphinapterus Leucas* Pall. (gilj. *pomi-tscho*), der, mit alleiniger Ausnahme der am Nordjapanischen Meere gelegenen Küste, ebenfalls im ganzen Umkreise des Wohngebiets der Giljaken vorkommt und auch im Amur-Strom ebensoweit wie die Seehunde hinaufgeht [3]). So viel ich erfahren, wird er von den Giljaken auch ebenso wie diese zur Nahrung für Menschen und Hunde verwendet [4]), doch steht er den Seehunden schon desshalb nach, weil die Jagd auf ihn, von der später die Rede sein wird, viel mühsamer und gefahrvoller ist und auch nur kürzere Zeit im Jahr, nur so lange als der Strom auf ist, betrieben werden kann, sowie ferner weil er auch im Uebrigen lange nicht so nutzbar wie die Seehunde ist, die ausser der Nahrung auch schätzbare Kleidungsstoffe liefern. Nichtsdestoweniger geben die zahlreichen Weisswalschädel, die man an manchen Stellen am Ufer des Amur-Stromes an Baumstämmen und Aesten hängen sieht, Zeugniss davon ab, dass

1) Эд. Шперкъ, Географо-статист. очеркъ Востока. Сибири (Мелко-тонорное. Сборн., С. Петерб. 1876, стр. 13).

2) Steller (l. c., p. 323) hebt auch von den Itelmenen und Korjaken hervor, dass sie keine Freunde von Gebratenem seien, im Gegensatz zu den Tungusen und Jakuten.

3) S. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 191.

4) Nach Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 106) ist das Fett des Weisswals keineswegs thranig und auch das Fleisch von ziemlich gutem Geschmack.

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der Weisswal von den Giljaken nicht selten erbeutet und seiner Bedeutung gemäss in herkömmlicher, abergläubischer Weise behandelt wird.

Ganz anders benehmen sich die Giljaken einer anderen Cetacee, dem von ihnen sogen. *Keng* (*Balaenoptera longimana* Rud.) gegenüber, der zuweilen im Bereiche ihrer Wohnsitze an den Küsten des Ochotskischen und des Nordjapanischen Meeres strandet. Zwar beuten sie solche Thiere aus, um mit dem Fett und Fleisch derselben ihre Hunde zu füttern, allein selbst geniessen sie nichts davon. Ja, ihr physischer und moralischer Abscheu davor geht so weit, dass Keng-Fleisch oder Fett nicht einmal in die Jurte gebracht, sondern nur in den Vorrathskammern gehalten werden darf. Worauf dieser Abscheu beruht, konnte ich von ihnen selbst nicht in Erfahrung bringen. Die Thatsache aber ist um so auffallender, als bei allen anderen paläasiatischen Völkern Walfischfleisch und Speck zu den beliebtesten Nahrungsmitteln gehören. Die Aino z. B. pflegen einen gestrandeten Walfisch nicht eher zu verlassen, als bis alles Fleisch und Fett an demselben verzehrt worden ist[1]). Steller[2]) und Krascheninnikof[3]) schildern eingehend die kolossale Bedeutung, welche die Walfische für die Nahrung und gesammte Haushaltung der Kurilen, Kamtschadalen, sesshaften Korjaken und Tschuktschen haben. Aehnlich verhält es sich damit bei den Aleuten[4]) und bei den Eskimo in verschiedenen Theilen ihres weiten Verbreitungsgebietes[5]). Dabei hat aber die Erfahrung diese Völker gelehrt, die zur Nahrung tauglichen Walarten von den schädlichen oder «giftigen» zu unterscheiden und vom Meer ausgeworfene todte Thiere nicht eher zur Nahrung zu benutzen, als bis sie sich von der Unschädlichkeit derselben überzeugt haben[6]). Denn oftmals soll ein voreiliger Genuss vom Fleisch oder Speck solcher Thiere verheerende Krankheiten unter der betreffenden Bevölkerung hervorgerufen und das Aussterben ganzer Ortschaften zur Folge gehabt haben[7]). Dergleichen Fälle können sich sehr wohl auch unter den Giljaken und ihren Grenznachbarn an der Meeresküste zugetragen[8]) und, traditionell in der Erinnerung aufbewahrt, jenen Abscheu und jene Furcht vor dem Genuss, ja selbst vor der Anwesenheit von Walfischfleisch oder Speck in ihren Jurten erzeugt haben. Auch stehen die Giljaken in diesem ihrem Abscheu nicht so isolirt da, denn die Koreaner[9])

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1) Nach schriftlichen Mittheilungen von Rudanofskij. Vrgl. auch Dobrotworskij, Аинско-русск. словарь (Прилож. къ Учен. Зап. Кад. Минист., 1873 г., стр. 37).

2) l. c., p. 98—103.

3) Опис. Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путеш. по Россіи, Т. I, стр. 420 и слѣд.).

4) Веніаминовъ, Зап. объ остр. Уналашкинск. отдѣла, С. Петерб. 1840, Ч. I, стр. 81, 82.

5) So z. B. an den beiden Endpunkten ihres Gebiets, auf Kadjak im Osten (Ланиловъ, Путешествіе путеш. въ Америку морск. померномъ Хвостовымъ, Лит., С. Петерб. 1812, Ч. II, стр. 72) und in Grönland im Westen (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland, Bd. I, p. 189).

6) Und zwar indem sie zuvor beobachten, ob die Vögel und Raubthiere von dem Fleisch derselben fressen u. drgl. (Dawydof, l. c., p. 200. Головнинъ, Замѣчанія о Камчаткѣ и Русской Америкѣ въ 1809—1811 гг. — Матер. для истории русск. мореп. по Берег. Вост. Океана, изд. 2, Прилож. къ Морск. Сборн. № 2, 1861 г., стр. 105).

7) Krascheninnikof (l. c., p. 329) ist in Alaun an der Ostküste Kamtschatka's selbst Zeuge solcher Todesfälle gewesen und sucht die Ursache derselben darin, dass viele Walfische durch vergiftete Pfeile erlegt worden.

8) So z. B. berichtete die in Wladiwostok erscheinende Zeitung gleiches Namens von mehrfachen Fällen starker Epizootien auf Sächalin, darunter von einer im J. 1882 im Murawjofschen Posten, die in Folge von Benutzung des Fettes ausgeworfener Walfische entstanden seien (C. Петерб. Вѣдом. 1883, № 272).

9) Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 47.

z. B. und die Koljuschen[1]), mit alleiniger Ausnahme derjenigen von Jakutat, essen ebenfalls kein Walfischfleisch und keinen Walfischspeck oder Thran.

Da die Giljaken kein Jägervolk sind und professionsmässig nur den Pelzthieren nachstellen, um deren Felle im Handel zu verwerthen, so geben ihnen die Landsäugethiere im Vergleich mit den Fischen und Robben auch nur ein geringes Contingent zur Nahrung ab. Doch wird Alles, was ihnen davon gelegentlich in die Hände fällt, auch Raubthiere, wie Fuchs, Wolf, Vielfrass u. drgl. nicht ausgenommen, verzehrt. Nur ein Thier wird von ihnen standhaft verabscheut, obwohl sie seiner in nächster Nähe und ohne viel Mühe habhaft werden könnten: es ist die in ihren Jurten in so ausserordentlicher Menge vorhandene Ratte (*Mus decumanus* Pall., gilj. *njagrsch*). Man darf sich darüber um so mehr wundern, als die Ratte im Amur-Lande ohne Zweifel ein Geschenk China's ist[2]) und bekanntlich von den für die Amur-Völker sonst so maassgebenden Chinesen als Nahrungsmittel keineswegs verschmäht wird[3]). Sollten daher die Giljaken in diesem Punkt vielleicht durch Erfahrung, in Folge vorgekommener Fälle von schmerzhafter oder gar tödtlicher Trichinose, eines Besseren belehrt worden sein? Unter allen Landsäugethieren giebt es nur zwei, die als Nahrungsmittel für die Giljaken von besonderer Bedeutung sind, und zwar sowohl ihres allgemeinen und häufigen Gebrauchs halber, als auch wegen des grossen Gewichts, das sie auf dieselben legen. Es sind dies der Bär und der Hund.

Bärenfleisch und Bärenfett sind die grössten Delikatessen, die es für einen Giljaken giebt. Der Bär wird zu dem Zweck, um verspeist zu werden, aus dem Lager gehoben und eine Zeit lang in der Gefangenschaft gehalten und gefüttert. Doch darf seine Verspeisung nach giljakischer Sitte nicht anders als zu gewissen Zeiten und unter Beobachtung vielfacher Ceremonien und Gebräuche geschehen, die in zahlreicher, *ad hoc* stattfindender festlicher Versammlung vorgenommen werden. Ich habe Gelegenheit gehabt, diese Bärenfestlichkeiten, die im Leben der Giljaken eine höchst wichtige Rolle spielen, in allen ihren Einzelakten vom Anfang bis zum Ende als Augenzeuge kennen zu lernen und sehe mich daher genöthigt, sie in einem besonderen, späteren Abschnitt dieses Werkes zu besprechen. Daneben gewährten sie mir aber auch manchen Einblick in die Nahrung und Küche der Giljaken überhaupt, denn zur Bewirthung der zahlreich versammelten Festgesellschaft müssen auch mancherlei Speisen bereitet werden, wie sie dem Gaumen der Giljaken zusagen. Und so ist das von ihren kulinarischen Erzeugnissen weiter unten Angeführte von mir meist bei solcher Gelegenheit beobachtet worden.

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1) Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 112. Wenjaminof, l. c., Th. III, p. 60, 90.

2) S. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 128.

3) Davis, La Chine etc. trad. de l'Angl. par Pichard, Paris 1837, T. I, p. 312. John Bowring, Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1853, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, T. II, p. 32. Anderseits der engl. Missionar Milne (s. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) und Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme de Bourboulon, Paris 1866, p. 272) läugnen den Gebrauch von Ratten zur Nahrung bei den Chinesen.

Von ganz anderer, nicht sowohl socialer, als praktischer Bedeutung ist die Benutzung des Hundes zur Nahrung seitens der Giljaken. Begreiflicherweise müssen sie bestrebt sein, ihrem einzigen Hausthier, das sie zudem als Zugthier in grösserer Anzahl zu halten genöthigt sind, einen möglichst grossen Nutzen abzugewinnen. Das wird erreicht, indem sie es auch im Fall seines Unbrauchbarwerdens zur Lokomotion, in Folge von Entkräftung oder Beschädigung, noch dadurch verwerthen, dass sie sein Fell zur Kleidung und sein Fleisch zur Nahrung gebrauchen. Erst durch diese dreifache Nutzbarkeit gewinnt der Hund für die Giljaken dieselbe Bedeutung, welche das Rennthier für die Tungusen und andere Rennthiernomaden hat. Zudem finden die Giljaken am Hundefleisch grossen Wohlgeschmack, was insofern ganz verständlich ist, als dasselbe in Folge der fast ausschliesslichen Fischnahrung, welche die Hunde bei ihnen erhalten, ebenfalls stark nach Fisch schmecken muss, und dies einem giljakischen Gaumen nicht anders als höchst angenehm sein kann[1]). Aus diesem Grunde waren die Giljaken auch stets bereit, mir die auf der Reise unbrauchbar gewordenen Hunde gegen ein Billiges abzunehmen. Ohne zwingenden Grund verzehren jedoch die Giljaken ihre Hunde nicht. Ein solcher Grund kann aber leicht genug durch Beschädigung und Unbrauchbarwerden einzelner Thiere, oder bei allzu grosser Zahl derselben und Mangel an entsprechendem Futtervorrath eintreten, ja selbst manche abergläubische Vorstellungen können Veranlassung dazu geben. So habe ich es z. B. gesehen, dass im Dorfe Tyk auf Sachalin, wo ich im Februar 1856 in Gesellschaft einiger angereister Tschomi- und Tymi-Giljaken mehrere Tage lang durch heftige Schneestürme zurückgehalten wurde, zur Besänftigung des Unwetters, nachdem andere Mittel bereits vergeblich versucht worden, drei junge Hunde erdrosselt und verzehrt wurden, was sich im Falle der Erfolglosigkeit am nächsten Tage wiederholen sollte. Fleisch und Eingeweide der Thiere wurden in den Kessel, ein Theil auch zu der für die Hunde bestimmten Jukola-Suppe gethan, und — charakteristisch genug — sah ich das mit diesen Anrichtungen beschäftigte Weib von dem blutigen Eingeweide zuvor selbst ein Stück abbeissen und ein anderes Päckchen davon einem Kinde reichen, das sich ebenfalls daran zu laben schien. Ein anderes Mal, im Dorfe Duï, war ich Zeuge der Bewirthung einer zahlreichen Giljaken-Gesellschaft mit Hundefleisch. Dieselbe geschah zur Nachfeier eines vor Kurzem dort begangenen Bärenfestes, von welchem noch Spuren in der äusseren und inneren Ausschmückung der Jurte zu sehen waren. Die Hunde, darunter auch ein paar von mir gelieferte Invaliden, wurden vor der Jurte getödtet, abgebalgt, ausgeweidet, das Fleisch und die Knochen zerkleinert und alle zu einem Individuum gehörige Stücke in das Fell desselben einge-

1) Selbst vom Hundefleisch, das die Giljaken in meiner Gegenwart assen, zu kosten, habe ich nicht über mich bringen können, die Erfahrung aber, dass das Fleisch eines mit Fisch aufgefütterten Thieres einen penetranten Fischbeigeschmack bekommt, habe ich an einem derartigen Schweinchen gemacht, das Maximowicz und ich von den Golde am Usuri kauften, und von dessen Genuss wir, trotz lang entbehrter Fleischnahrung, aus dem erwähnten Grunde bald abstanden. Schon bei Strabo findet man die Bemerkung, dass im Lande der Ichthyophagen (an der Küste des jetzigen Beloschistan) das Fleisch der Rinder nach Fisch schmecke (Tyler, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation, aus dem Englisch. von H. Müller, p. 269). In Kamtschatka weiss man, dass auch die Milch der Kühe, wenn diese eine Zeitlang in Ermangelung von Heu mit Jukola gefüttert worden, stets einen mehr oder minder starken Fischbeigeschmack gewinnt.

schlagen. In der Jurte war die Stelle zwischen der hinteren Schlafbank und dem Herde, wo während des Bärenfestes das Gerüst mit dem Bärenkopf gestanden hatte[1]), durch zwei Stäbe abgegrenzt, zwischen denen ein mit einem Büschel dünner, lockenförmig gekräuselter Holzspäne, dem sogen. *Zach*, über dessen Bedeutung in der Folge noch gehandelt werden soll, versehener Stock auf dem Erdboden lag. Jetzt wurden die das Fleisch und die Knochen der Hunde enthaltenden Bündel in die Jurte gebracht und auf der hinteren Schlafbank in Reih und Glied aufgestellt, worauf die Weiber daran gingen, Feuer unter den Kesseln auf dem Herde anzumachen, um das Fleisch zu kochen und aus den Knochen eine Brühe zu bereiten. Diese Zubereitungen nahmen jedoch soviel Zeit in Anspruch, dass das Mahl erst spät Abends stattfinden konnte. Mittlerweile machten aber die auf dem Herde lodernden Flammen, der aus den Kesseln aufsteigende Dampf und Qualm und die Menge von Menschen, die nicht bloss alle Schlafbänke eingenommen, sondern auch auf dem Erdboden der kleinen Erdjurte sich gelagert hatten, den weiteren Aufenthalt in derselben bald so unerträglich, dass ich mich genöthigt sah, sie noch vor dem eigentlichen Mahle zu verlassen und mir zur Nacht ein anderes Obdach zu suchen.

Wollte man übrigens der im Süden, an verschiedenen Negerstämmen gemachten Erfahrung, dass der Genuss von Hundefleisch der erste Schritt zur Anthropophagie und ihr Begleiter zu sein pflege[2]), auch für die nordischen Völker vermuthungsweise Raum geben, so dürfte man bei ihnen ganz vergeblich nach Belegen dafür suchen. Unter den so allgemein und ausgesprochen kynophagen Giljaken ist mir nie etwas begegnet, was eine derartige Vermuthung auch nur entfernt unterstützen könnte. Hingegen glaube ich für diese Völker in Betreff der Sitte, Hunde zu essen, als allgemeine Regel aussprechen zu können, dass sie nur bei denjenigen unter ihnen gäng und gebe ist, welche den Hund als einziges Haus- und zwar als Zughthier halten, denn nur in diesem Falle kann er als Nahrungsmittel auch quantitativ einigermaassen in Betracht kommen und steht seinem Gebrauch als solches auch von moralischer Seite nichts im Wege, da der Zughund keineswegs in dem nahen, individuellen und gewissermaassen persönlichen Verhältniss zu seinem Besitzer steht, wie der Jagd- oder Haushund, der sich durch Treue, persönliche Anhänglichkeit und andere dem Zughunde abgehende Eigenschaften zum beständigen Gefährten und Freunde des Menschen macht. Dem entsprechend, findet man die Kynophagie gleichwie bei den Giljaken auch bei manchen anderen paläasiatischen Völkern. So bei den Aino von Sachalin[3]) und von Jesso, welche letzteren sogar Hunde mästen sollen, um sie nachher zu verzehren[4]). Auch die Eskimo essen Hunde[5]), doch mag es ihnen damit gegenwärtig an den meisten

1) Das Nähere hierüber wird in dem betreffenden, diesem Gegenstande speciell gewidmeten Abschnitt zu finden sein.

2) Schweinfurth, Das Volk der Monbuttu in Central-Afrika (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, Bd. V, 1873, p. 10). Peschel, Völkerkunde, Leipz. 1874, p. 168).

3) Лопатинъ, Японо-русск. словарь (Прилож. къ Русск. Зап. Имп. Рус. Геогр., 1873 г., стр. 37). Vegl. auch Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 204.

4) Nach Adam Laxmann, s. Новоземл, Курилы (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Отд. Этногр., Т. IV, 1871, стр. 501).

5) Alois v. Becker, Arkt. Reise der engl. Yacht »Pandora« im J. 1876, unter dem Commando des Capit. Sir Allen Young (Ausland, 1879, p. 433).

Orten, zumal im Norden und Osten ihres Verbreitungsgebietes, kaum besser als auf Grönland gehen, wo nach Rob. Brown[1]) das sehr geschätzte Hundefleisch wegen seines natürlich sehr hohen Preises nur noch ein seltener Leckerbissen ist. Eine auffallende und ganz einzeln dastehende Ausnahme aus jener Regel scheinen die alten Hälmenen auf Kamtschatka zu bilden, denn obschon sie auch Hunde zum Ziehen der Schlitten und daneben kein anderes Hausthier hatten, so waren doch, wie Steller ausdrücklich bemerkt, unter allen Thieren ihres Landes «nur Hunde, Mäuse und Eiderhsen von ihrer Tafel ausgeschlossen»[2]). Oder sollten sie vielleicht das Hundeessen, bei ihrer, wie bekannt, überaus eifrigen Nachahmung der Russen[3]), denen es ein besonderer Gräuel war, zu Steller's Zeit bereits aufgegeben haben? Umsomehr, als es ihnen bei dem grossen Fischreichthum Kamtschatka's in materieller Beziehung nicht einmal schwer fallen konnte[4]). Solche Völker hingegen, — so möchte ich die obige Regel weiter formuliren — welche den Hund nur zur Jagd oder zur Bewachung von Haus und Hof halten, zum Fahren, Reiten oder Lastentragen aber sich eines anderen Hausthieres, des Rennthiers oder Pferdes bedienen, wie die Oroken, die sibirischen Rennthier-Tungusen, Orotschonen, Manägirn u. s. w., essen nicht nur kein Hundefleisch, sondern haben sogar einen mehr oder minder ausgesprochenen Abscheu davor. Von diesem Gesichtspunkte ist es bemerkenswerth, dass die Oltscha, die gegenwärtig ganz dieselbe Lebensweise wie die Giljaken haben und ebenfalls nur ein Hausthier, den Hund, und zwar als Zugthier besitzen, dennoch kein Hundefleisch essen. Als Pargatschefskij im Dorfe Pulj sie darum befragte, drückten sie ihm ihren Abscheu vor einer solchen Kost aus und bezeichneten dies sogar als das sie von den Giljaken unterscheidende Moment[5]). Man könnte darin auf den ersten Blick eine Widerlegung des ersten Theiles der oben von mir aufgestellten Regel sehen; genauer betrachtet, giebt es aber eine glänzende Bestätigung ihres zweiten Theiles ab. Denn, wie oben dargethan, sind die Oltscha ehemals Rennthiernomaden gewesen und erst durch den Verlust ihrer Rennthiere zur Niederlassung am Amur und zu einem Fischerleben gleich den Giljaken gedrängt worden[6]). Und wie die Erinnerung an jenen Lebenswechsel in ihren Sagen fortleben soll, so darf es uns nicht wundern, dass auch der aus jener Nomadenzeit datirende Abscheu vor dem Genuss von Hundefleisch sich bei ihnen erhalten hat. Man kann daher auch umgekehrt in diesem ihrem Abscheu einen Beweis mehr für ihr früheres Rennthiernomadenthum sehen. Aehnlich dürfte es sich damit bei den Negda, Samagirn und Kile verhalten[7]). Ja, auch von den Golde und Orotschen ist mir weder aus eigener Erfahrung, noch durch andere Reisende (Wenjukof, Przewalski, Na-

1) Die Säugethiere Grönlands und der Grönländ. Meere (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1869, p. 464).

2) Steller, l. c., p. 323. Krascheninnikof erwähnt dessen nicht.

3) Steller, l. c., p. 283 u. a.

4) Nach den von der Vega-Expedition gemachten Beobachtungen verschmähen übrigens auch die Tschuktschen von Pitlekai und Jinretlen von dem Fleisch eines getödteten Hundes zu essen (Nordenskiöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, Bd. II, p. 96). Ob dies aber allgemein bei den Tschuktschen ist, bleibt noch dahingestellt.

5) Паргачевскій, Инородцы нижняго теченія р. Амура (Сборн. Мат. Русск. Геогр. Общ., ч. 21, 1857, Отд. Этн. и Этногр., стр. 162).

6) S. oben, p. 132, 144 u. a.

7) S. oben, p. 132—134.

darauf) bekannt, dass sie Hundefleisch ässen. So bleibt die Kynophagie im Amur-Lande, Sachalin mit einbegriffen, auf die beiden paläasiatischen Völker, Giljaken und Aino, beschränkt und muss als eine ihnen seit uralter Zeit eigene Sitte betrachtet werden. Schon der Umstand, dass sie allen im Amur-Lande weiter stromaufwärts, zum Ussuri und Sungari hin wohnenden Völkern abgeht, macht es unzweifelhaft, dass dabei an einen etwaigen Einfluss von Seiten der Chinesen, die bekanntlich alles Mögliche und darunter auch Hunde, Katzen, Ratten u. drgl. essen [1], nicht im Entferntesten zu denken ist. Dahingegen dürfte der in Korea beliebte Genuss von Hundefleisch [2]) vielleicht auf chinesischen Einfluss zurückzuführen sein.

Weit weniger Nahrungsmittel als die Säugethiere liefern den Giljaken die Vögel. Schon aus dem Grunde, weil denselben ihres anderweitigen geringen Nutzens wegen nur wenig nachgestellt wird und sie in der Regel auch weit schwerer zu erbeuten sind. Was jedoch davon den Giljaken in die Hände fällt, wird ohne Unterschied verzehrt, und manche Vögel, denen zeitweise leichter beizukommen ist, geben hie und da auch einen etwas grösseren, wenn auch immer nur geringen Beitrag zu ihrer Nahrung ab. So wird von ihnen z. B. an manchen Orten das Schneehuhn (*Lagopus albus* Gm., gilj. *parrä*, auf Sachalin *tschleola-nga*) vermittelst einfacher Schlingen in Menge gefangen. An der Westküste Sachalin's, von Tyk bis Dui, sah ich sie mit vielem Vergnügen die *Phaleris cristatella* Pall. (gilj. *nochla-nga*) verzehren, die ihnen im Winter dadurch leicht zur Beute fällt, dass sie sich in der Nähe offener Meeresstellen bald einzeln, bald in kleinen Schwärmen aufs Eis niederlässt und an dasselbe anfriert. Auch das Fleisch des Seeadlers, den die Giljaken aus dem Horst heben und mit Fisch auffüttern, um den Schwanz an die Japaner zu verhandeln, wird, wenn seine Todesstunde geschlagen, von ihnen verzehrt. Nur die Krähe (*Corvus Corone* L., gilj. *karr*) scheinen die Giljaken principiell nicht zu essen, obgleich oder vielleicht weil sie meistentheils von derselben Nahrung wie sie selbst lebt, denn sie hält sich gern und zahlreich in der Nähe ihrer Dörfer und Hütten auf, um vom Abfall des Fischfanges und der Jukolabereitung zu profitiren, und stellt sich auf dem Mittags- oder Nachtlagerplatze reisender Giljaken, noch ehe das Feuer auf demselben erloschen, ein, um die etwaigen Mahlzeitsreste zu verzehren; ja, sie kommt ihnen nicht selten mit dem Verspeisen

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1) Und zwar wird Hundefleisch in China nicht etwa bloss vom niederen Volk, aus Mangel an anderweitiger Nahrung, sondern allgemein und selbst an den besten und elegantesten Tafeln gegessen. Unter den vielen älteren und neueren Nachrichten darüber möge hier nur auf folgende verwiesen werden: Nieuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tart. Cham, Amsterd. 1666, p. 275. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China, Amsterd. 1704, p. 183. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Paris 1735, T. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie, trad. de l'Angl. par M***, Paris 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China, aus dem Engl., Frankf. und Leips. 1798, Bd. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine etc. T. I, p. 312; T. II, p. 236. Isaunos, Karak u. sp., C. Hervé, 1840, cvp. 262, 369, 377. Itier, Journ. d'un Voyage en Chine, Paris 1848, T. I, p. 302; T. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une Ambass. Franç. en Chine, Paris 1854, p. 197. Bowring, Die Chinesen (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Manchu Tartary, London 1863, p. 249. Girard, France et Chine, Paris 1869, T. II, p. 33.

2) Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1785, p. 57. O. Genest, Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern (Globus, Bd. LII, p. 61).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

einer ans Meereseis festgefrorenen *Nochla-nga* oder eines in die Falle gerathenen Thieres noch zuvor. Vielleicht werden die Giljaken dabei auch noch von irgend welcher auf diesen Vogel bezüglichen abergläubischen Vorstellung beherrscht, wie etwa die Tschuktschen [1]) und die Eskimo (vom Kotzebue-Sunde), welche die Rabenkrähe für die Ueberin der Welt halten [2]). Jedenfalls sah ich sie auf Reisen bisweilen oben auf der mit Provision und Handelsgegenständen beladenen Narte einen Krähenkopf mit sich führen, wie sie mir selbst sagten, als ein Glück bringendes Mittel. Ganz ähnliche Vorstellungen wie über die Krähe herrschen übrigens bei den oben genannten Völkern, den Tschuktschen, den Eskimo von Kadjak, den Kenaiern und den Koljuschen auch in Beziehung auf den Raben, und die Letzteren essen diesen daher auch nicht [3]). Bei der grossen Aehnlichkeit beider Vögel im Aeusseren wie in der Lebensweise, ist es sehr wohl möglich, dass auch die Giljaken sich gegen beide gleich verhalten und den Raben somit ebenfalls nicht essen.

Unter den Reptilien und Amphibien giebt es kein einziges Thier, das die Giljaken ässen, da sie vor allen, insbesondere aber vor Schlangen und Kröten eine in abergläubischen Vorstellungen wurzelnde Furcht haben, von welcher in der Folge noch mehrfach die Rede sein wird [4]).

Endlich muss unter den animalischen Nahrungsmitteln der Giljaken auch einiger wirbellosen Thiere Erwähnung geschehen, denn die Küsten-Giljaken verschmähen es nicht, manche von der See ausgeworfene oder von der Ebbe hinterlassene Crustaceen und Weichthiere aufzulesen und zu verzehren. So bezeichneten sie mir z. B. an der Westküste Sachalin's die *Tellina venulosa* (gilj. *kär wub*) [5]), die *Mactra sachalinensis* (gilj. *moghomi-wellach*) [6]), noch eine dritte Muschel, die sie *jotang-wellach* nannten, und die mir unbekannt blieb, als solche Arten, deren Thier sie ässen, und rühmten ihnen zugleich nach, dass sie «süss wie Zucker» seien.

Der animalischen Nahrung gegenüber tritt die vegetabilische bei den Giljaken stark zurück. In erster Reihe stehen hier, weil allgemein zugänglich und umsonst zu haben, die einheimischen wilden Naturprodukte, mancherlei Beeren, kleine Baumfrüchte, Wurzelknollen, Kräuter, Algen und Seetange. Alle diese Vegetabilien werden nur als Zukost zur animalischen Nahrung oder mit dieser gemischt und zu verschiedenartigen Speisen bereitet genossen. Obenan unter ihnen steht namentlich die Preisselbeere, *Vaccinium Vitis idaea* L. (gilj. *myghrells* [7]) oder auch

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1) Кашеръ, Чукчи (Сибирск. Вѣстн., 1824, Ч. II, Этнографія, стр. 119.

2) Berth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 30, 72.

3) Lutké, Voyage autour du monde, Paris 1835, T. I, p. 189, 214. Nach Nordenskiöld (Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, Bd. II, p. 96) hingegen hatten die Tschuktschen von Pitlekai und Jinretlen gegen den Genuss eines geschossenen Raben nichts einzuwenden.

4) In China werden auch Frösche, Schildkröten und selbst Schlangen gegessen. Jakinf, l. c., p. 262, John Bowring, l. c.

5) S. dieses Werkes Bd. II, p. 356—358.

6) Ebenda, p. 378—378. Wie s. a. O. bereits erwähnt, heisst wellach eine Schnecken- oder Muschelschale überhaupt; das Thier der *Moghomi-wellach* aber soll nach Glehn pubk heissen.

7) Das *s* ist in diesem Worte weich auszusprechen, gleich dem französischen *s*.

als, d. h. «Beeren schlechtweg genannt»[1]), sowohl was die Quantität ihrer Consumtion, als auch ihre vielfältige Verwendung und den Wohlgeschmack betrifft, den die Giljaken am Genuss derselben finden. Alljährlich im Herbst werden daher grosse Vorräthe von dieser Beere für den Winter gemacht. Zu dem Zweck begeben sich ganze Familien, namentlich aber die Weiber und Kinder in den Wald, besonders die kleinen, zum Amur oder Liman mündenden Flüsse aufwärts. Dort wird an gelegener Stelle ein Zelt oder auch nur ein schräges, von vier Stangen getragenes Schutzdach errichtet, vor welchem ein Feuer lodert, und die ganze Zeit dem Sammeln von Beeren gewidmet. In der Umgegend des Nikolajefschen Postens bin ich am Kamr- und Litsch-Flusse wiederholt auf solche beerensammelnde Familien gestossen. Die Beeren werden in grosse, aus Birkenrinde gefertigte Taschen und Körbe geschüttet und zu Boot nach Hause gebracht, wo sie in den Vorrathskammern, mit Gras bedeckt, den Winter über in gefrorenem Zustande aufbewahrt werden. Die Giljaken um Nikolajefsk hatten davon so viel, dass sie ausser dem eigenen Bedarf den ganzen Winter hindurch auch die dortigen Russen damit versorgten. Preisselbeeren, mit Fisch- oder Seehundsthran übergossen und umgerührt, bilden die ganz gewöhnliche Zukost zur Fisch-, namentlich Jukolanahrung der Giljaken. Ausserdem geben sie aber auch eine beliebte Zuthat für viele Speisen der Giljaken ab, so unter Anderem für eine der wichtigsten derselben, das sogen. *Mossj*. Dies ist ein Gemisch von zerriebenen Fischhäuten oder in Ermangelung solcher auch von zerkleinerter Jukola mit Fischthran und Beeren. Die Fischhäute, vom Lyghi- oder vom Tengi-tscho, werden zur Bereitung von Mossj in kleine Stückchen zerschnitten, stark gekocht, zerrieben und mit Fischthran zu einem Brei von weisser Farbe zusammengemischt, in welchen zuletzt noch Preisselbeeren hineingerührt werden[2]). Das giebt eine dickflüssige Masse, gleich dicker Milchsahne (saurem Schmand). So habe ich das Mossj zum Bärenfest in Tebach bereiten sehen, da es nothwendig zu einem solchen gehört und sowohl von den Festtheilnehmern gegessen, als auch dem Bären gereicht wird. Zu anderen Zeiten habe ich es aber auch aus feinzerschnittener, gekochter und mit Fischthran und Preisselbeeren zusammengerührter Jukola herstellen sehen. Kühlt sich die Masse hinlänglich ab, oder gefriert sie ein wenig, so lässt sie sich mit dem Messer in Scheiben schneiden. Je nach der benutzten Fischart unterscheiden die Giljaken *Lyghi-* und *Tengi-mossj*, von welchen sie dem ersteren den Vorzug geben. Ein kleiner Vorrath davon wird von ihnen gern auch auf Winterreisen mitgenommen. Zum Mittagsmahl am lodernden Feuer habe ich sie dann mit ein paar Streifen an der Flamme erwärmter oder leicht gerösteter Jukola, einigen Scheiben Mossj und einem Trunk Schneewassers vollkommen Vorlieb nehmen sehen. Nächst der Preisselbeere ist *Empetrum nigrum* L. (gilj. *yghych*) die gebräuchlichste und beliebteste Beere bei den Giljaken. Sie wird ganz ebenso wie jene, ja oft an Stelle derselben sowohl als Zukost, wie als Zusatz zum Mossj und anderen Speisen

1) Die Giljaken von Tymy und der Ostküste Sachalin's nennen die Preisselbeere *ilkt* oder *pughla(n)-als*, d. h. rothe Beere.

2) Eine ganz ähnliche Speise, aus gekochten und zerrieben Fischhäuten mit Beimischung von zerstampften Cedernüssen, war nach Steller (l. c., p. 333) auch bei den Kurilen auf der Südspitze Kamtschatka's gebräuchlich.

benutzt und auch ebenso in Menge gesammelt und aufbewahrt. Im Tymy-Thale auf Sachalin ist sie sogar häufiger und gebräuchlicher als die Preisselbeere. An anderen Orten, wie z. B. bei Tymi am Liman, wird die Kransbeere, *Vaccinium Oxycoccus* L. (gilj. *tym-als*) mit Vorliebe und in Menge gegessen, doch ohne jene beiden ersteren auch im Mossj zu ersetzen. Auch andere Beeren, wie *Rubus Idaeus* L. (gilj. *kclam*), *R. Chamaemorus* L. (gilj. *cdeni-als*) u. a. werden gelegentlich gegessen, ohne jedoch von Bedeutung zu sein.

Eine schmackhafte Speise liefert den Giljaken die Frucht der wilden Rose, *Rosa cinnamomea* L., giljakisch auf dem Festlande *tilyrsch* und *tschi*, auf Sachalin *pilj-als*, d. h. grosse Beere, genannt[1]). Die im Herbst vorräthig eingesammelten Hagebutten werden, wie ich es in Tyk an der Westküste Sachalin's wiederholentlich gesehen, noch gefroren in den Kessel gethan, erwärmt, zerrieben und mit Seehundsthran zu einem Brei gerührt, der mit Löffeln gegessen wird.

Charakteristisch für das vorzügliche Gebiss und die kräftigen Kauwerkzeuge der Giljaken ist der Gebrauch, den sie von den Früchten von *Prunus Padus* L. und von den Ceder- oder Zirbelnüssen (gilj. *tohrs*), einem vornehmlichen Produkt Sachalin's, machen[2]). Beide habe ich sie handvollweise wie die weichsten Beeren verzehren sehen, ohne dass die Kerne oder die Nüsse zuvor zerstampft und die Schalen entfernt worden wären. Letzteres geschieht auch nicht, wenn aus ihnen eine Art Kuchen bereitet wird. Die Faulbaumfrüchte werden dabei nur zerstampft und mit Hülfe von etwas Mehl und Thran zu einem Kuchen geformt, der bei den Giljaken auf dem Festlande *kyp*, auf Sachalin *kop* heisst. Die Zirbelnusskerne und Schalen aber werden in eine aus der zerriebenen Rinde des Faulbaumes mit Hülfe von Seehundsthran gewonnene teigartige Masse von rothbrauner Farbe eingeknetet, welcher man die Form etwa spannenlanger und ebenso breiter, auf der Oberseite mit einigen Figuren verzierter Kuchen oder Brödchen giebt.

Nicht unansehnlich ist die Zahl der Wurzeln, welche die Giljaken als Nahrungsmittel gebrauchen. Leider bin ich von vielen nicht im Stande, den systematischen Namen der Pflanze anzugeben, zu welcher sie gehören[3]). Die meisten Wurzeln, namentlich diejenigen verschiedener Zwiebelgewächse, werden in Fisch- oder Seehundsthran gekocht genossen. So insbesondere die Zwiebeln von *Fritillaria kamtschatkensis* Gawl. (gilj. *kark*) und von *Lilium spectabile* Link. (gilj. *work*), welche man auf Fäden aufgereiht in ihren Vorrathskammern hängen sieht; desgleichen die Wurzeln von *Corydalis ambigua* Cham. (gilj. *tschjurk*), *Heracleum dissectum* Led. (gilj. *ryghr*) und manche andere, mir unbekannt gebliebene Wurzeln, wie *tukaj*, *udalak*,

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1) Desgleichen auf Sachalin die Frucht der *Rosa rugosa* Thbg., bei den dortigen Giljaken nach Glehn *piljalatsch* genannt; s. Schmidt, Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIe Sér., T. XII, № 2, p. 213, 218).

2) Die entsprechenden Bäume heissen bei den Giljaken *tasaj* (*Prunus Padus*) und *chim* (*Pinus Cembra*, *pumila*).

3) Die nachstehend mitgetheilten Namen beruhen auf den Bestimmungen, welche Maximowicz bei Ausarbeitung seiner «Primitiae floras amurensis», St. Petersb. 1859 (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. par divers savants, T. IX) und Fr. Schmidt für den botanischen Theil seiner «Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin», 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. Pét., VIIe Sér., T. XII, № 2, p. 212) nach den von ihm und Glehn gesammelten Materialien gemacht haben.

mryu, *plim*, *a(r)sj* u. drgl. m. Manche Zwiebeln, wie die von den Giljaken *ngyfki* genannte, welche vermuthlich einer *Allium*-Art angehört, werden in frischem Zustande zerschnitten und den Speisen als Würze beigefügt, und ebenso wird auch das zerschnittene und getrocknete Kraut mancher Laucharten, (gilj. *hagi*), auf dem Festlande wohl meist von *Allium schoenoprasum* L., auf Sachalin von *Allium victoriale* L., in die Brühen gethan, um sie schmackhafter zu machen, weshalb die Giljaken sich zum Winter mit einem ansehnlichen Vorrath desselben versorgen [1]).

Von manchen anderen Pflanzen werden die jungen Blätter und geschälten Blattstiele und Stengel zur Nahrung benutzt, indem man sie mit Fisch- oder Seehundsthran zu einer Suppe verkocht; so von *Cacalia hastata* L. (gilj. *pytk*), *Epilobium angustifolium* L. (gilj. *tschola*), nach Glehn auch von *Polygonum Weyrichii* Schm. (gilj. *haps*), *Heracleum barbatum* Led. (gilj. *nukr*), *Senecio pseudo-arnica* Less. (gilj. *kenga*) und *Petasites japonicus* S. et Z. (gilj. *lillu* und *tal-achs*) [2]). Die erstere Pflanze namentlich scheint sehr gebräuchlich zu sein. Ich habe sie von den Giljaken im Dorfe Tyk auch im Winter essen sehen, nach einer sehr langwierigen und complicirten Zubereitung. Zunächst wurden von der trockenen, im Sommer vorräthig eingesammelten Pflanze die Blätter abgerupft und in einem Kessel in Wasser gekocht. Alsdann wurde der Inhalt in einen hölzernen Trog geschüttet und abgekühlt, worauf das Wasser aus den Blättern wie aus einem Stück Wäsche ausgerungen wurde. Die so entstandenen länglichen Blätterballen wurden nun mit dem grossen Fischmesser in sehr kleine Stückchen zerschnitten, mit Lyghi-tscho-Rogen durcheinander gerührt und das Ganze nochmals in Wasser zu einer dickflüssigen Suppe gekocht, welche aus hölzernen Schalen halb gelöffelt und halb getrunken wurde. Ein paar Tage später sah ich dieselbe Speise nur mit dem Unterschiede bereiten, dass an Stelle des Fischrogens fein zerschnittener Seehundsspeck den Blättern beigemischt wurde. In ganz ähnlicher Weise verwenden die Giljaken auch verschiedene Flechten, namentlich die Rennthierflechte, *Cetraria islandica* L. (gilj. *chitwyrk*) [3]), und eine Baumflechte, *Usnea* (gilj. *tschwalch*, und zwar als *kana* (weisser)- und *piula* (blauer) -*tschwalch* unterschieden), zur Nahrung, indem sie aus ihnen mit Hinzufügung von Fischrogen oder Seehundsthran Suppen bereiten.

Wie der Wald, so liefert den Giljaken endlich auch das Meer einige vegetabilische Nahrungsmittel, darunter namentlich eine essbare Alge, welche sie *tschollach* nennen [4]), und die *Laminaria esculenta* (gilj. *putsch*). Letztere habe ich im Dorfe Tyk in ganz ähnlicher Weise wie die obenerwähnten Baumalgen und andere Pflanzen verzehren sehen, indem sie mit zerkleinerter Jukola vermischt in Wasser gekocht wurde, wobei sie, wenn ganz zerkocht, in der Suppe eine kleistrige, zähe Masse von weisser Farbe abgab. Die Giljaken sammeln und trocknen die *Laminaria* in kleinen Vorräthen für den Winter, was sie vielleicht den Aino abgesehen haben,

1) Vermuthlich von der Menge dieses Naturproduktes hat eine der kleinen, im südlichen Theile des Amur-Limanes gelegenen Inseln von den Giljaken den Namen Hagi-mif (*mif* heisst Land überhaupt) erhalten, eine Bezeichnung, welche die Russen auf den ganzen, acht kleine Inseln umfassenden Archipel ausgedehnt haben.

2) Glehn, l. c., p. 212—214.

3) Bei den Ottscha: *chitg*.

4) Glehn, l. c., p. 214.

die es nach Schmidt[1]) ihrerseits von den Japanern gelernt haben, welche die Aino dazu anhalten und alljährlich ganze Schiffsladungen von getrockneter und künstlich aufgerollter *Laminaria* von Sachalin nach Hakodate und Matsmai senden.

Sind die oben besprochenen vegetabilischen Naturprodukte den Giljaken insofern von grosser Bedeutung, als sie bei einiger Mühe und Vorsorge Allen zugänglich sind und, wenn auch an sich nur wenig nahrhaft, doch wesentlich zur grösseren Schmackhaftigkeit und Mannigfaltigkeit ihrer Nahrung beitragen und sie in kargen Zeiten, wenn kein Fisch- und Thierfang stattfindet und die animalischen Vorräthe stark zur Neige gegangen, sogar vor Hungersnoth bewahren, so verhält es sich ganz anders mit denjenigen Vegetabilien, welche das Land selbst nicht producirt, und welche die Giljaken nur im Handel mit den angrenzenden Culturvölkern, Chinesen, Japanern und Russen, sich verschaffen können. Diese Nahrungsmittel, einige Cerealien und Leguminosen, sind zwar weit nahrhafter, haben aber für sie im Ganzen eine geringere Bedeutung, ja können gewissermaassen als Luxusartikel bezeichnet werden, indem sie direkt nur den Bemittelteren unter ihnen zukommen und auch von diesen nicht beständig, sondern nur bei gewissen Gelegenheiten genossen werden. Im alltäglichen Leben werden sie von den Giljaken nur selten oder fast gar nicht gebraucht. Während der Bärenfestlichkeiten hingegen werden grosse Mengen derselben verzehrt, und da solche Feste nicht eben selten statthaben und beim communistischen Sinne der Giljaken zahlreiche Theilnehmer finden, so kommen allerdings die im Besitz eines Einzelnen angehäuften Nahrungsmittel der Art, sobald er als Gastgeber auftritt, stets auch einer mehr oder minder grossen Anzahl anderer und minder bemittelter Giljaken zu gute. Bei solchen Gelegenheiten habe ich denn auch die verschiedenen, bei den Giljaken üblichen Nahrungsmittel der Art und die Form, in welcher sie von ihnen genossen werden, näher kennen gelernt. Es sind ihrer, wie gesagt, nicht viele. In erster Reihe stehen die von den Chinesen bezogenen Cerealien. Am häufigsten und beliebtesten bei den Giljaken ist chinesische oder, wie sie stets sagen, mandshurische Hirse, *Setaria italica* (gilj. *budá*), und nächstdem chinesische Gerste (gilj. *mudi*). Weit seltener und auch weniger beliebt ist *Sorghum vulgare* L. (gilj. *sajusaj*)[2]). Sehr hoch geschätzt dagegen ist bei den Giljaken japanischer Reis doch ist er nur sehr selten bei ihnen zu finden. Judin, ein sehr angesehener Giljake, der Gastgeber des Bärenfestes, dem ich im Winter 1856 im Dorfe Tebach beiwohnte, besass noch den Rest eines Vorraths, den er sich vor Jahren von den Japanern (Sisam) auf Sachalin geholt hatte, doch war dieser zu klein, um den zahlreichen Gästen vorgesetzt zu werden. Sobald die Russen sich im unteren Amur-Lande, in Petrofskoje Simowjo, Nikolajefsk und Mariinsk niedergelassen hatten, begannen die Giljaken sich auch bei ihnen mit kleinen Quantitäten verschiedener Cerealien zu versorgen. Namentlich fanden Buchweizengraupen bei ihnen den grössten Beifall, so dass ich diese auf dem erwähnten Bärenfeste 1856 schon in grosser Menge auftischen sah. Desgleichen sagte ihnen das billige russische Roggenmehl (gilj. *owa*) sehr zu, da sie von den Chi-

1) L. c., p. 98.

2) Die beiden ersteren haben auch bei den Ollscha diesselbe Bezeichnung, das letztere heisst bei ihnen und bei den Golde *sjusau*.

nesen für einen hohen Preis nur geringe Quantitäten von Weizenmehl (gilj. *rhak*) beziehen konnten. Alle oben erwähnten Cerealien werden von den Giljaken zu einem dicken, trockenen Brei gekocht und mit Fischthran genossen, der, wie bei uns die geschmolzene Butter, in eine vermittelst des Löffels oder eines Stäbchens in die Grütze gemachte Vertiefung gegossen wird. Das Mehl findet bei ihnen eine verschiedene Verwendung. Die hauptsächlichste besteht in der Bereitung einer Art Kuchen oder Brödchen. Zu dem Zweck wird es mit Fischthran übergossen und zu einem Teig geknetet, — eine Arbeit, welche die Weiber in der Art ausführen, dass sie den Mund voll Wasser nehmen und davon beim Kneten des Teiges so viel als nöthig in denselben herabfliessen lassen. Aus diesem Teige werden flache, längliche und runde Brödchen geformt, im grossen Kessel des Herdes in Wasser gekocht und schliesslich hin und her zerbrochen und mit Fischthran übergossen. Eine andere, dem Gaumen der Giljaken sehr zusagende Speise erhalten sie dadurch, dass das Mehl mit halbzerquetschten Preissel- oder Rauschbeeren (*Empetrum nigrum*) und Fischthran vermischt und zu einem Brei umgeführt wird. Von Gemüsen ist bei ihnen nur eines und auch dieses fast nur bei festlichen Gelegenheiten im Gebrauch. Es sind dies gewöhnliche, weisse oder gelbliche Bohnen (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L., gilj. *tursch*), die sie von den weiter oberhalb am Amur und am Sungari wohnenden Chinesen beziehen. Diese werden zunächst gekocht und alsdann mit Fischthran, zerkleinertem Kyp (s. oben) und fein geschnittenem trockenen Lauch (*hagi*), ja bisweilen auch noch mit Beeren von *Empetrum nigrum* durchgeführt, — eine durch ihre seltsamen Zusammenstellungen in der That eigenthümliche kulinarische Leistung.

So werden nicht bloss die mancherlei einheimischen, mehr als Zukost dienlichen, sondern auch die wenigen, wirklich nahrhaften exotischen Vegetabilien, welche die Giljaken als Nahrungsmittel gebrauchen, von ihnen nicht anders als mit einem mehr oder minder starken Zusatz von Fischthran genossen. Die ichthyophage Natur der Giljaken bleibt sich eben auch hiebei treu. Und somit bildet, trotz der nicht wenigen oben aufgezählten vegetabilischen Nahrungsmittel, die animalische und speciell Fischnahrung im Grossen und Ganzen doch die Basis und Grundbedingung der Existenz der Giljaken.

Eines hinsichtlich der Nahrung der Giljaken beachtenswerthen Umstandes muss hier noch gedacht werden. Es ist die Thatsache, dass sie bei ihrer Nahrung gar kein Salz gebrauchen, ja sogar einen gewissen Abscheu vor demselben haben. Ich erlaube mir hier zunächst zu wiederholen, was ich darüber bereits vor einigen Jahren dem Hrn. Dr. Gustav Bunge[1]) brieflich mitgetheilt habe, und was von ihm auch gedruckt wiedergegeben worden ist[2]). Trotz meines längeren Aufenthaltes unter den Giljaken und manches Einblickes in ihre Nahrung und Speisebereitung, habe ich nie gesehen, dass sie zu irgend welcher Speise Salz hinzufügten, oder es sonst wie genössen. Ich bin auch nie von ihnen um welches angegangen worden und wüsste nicht,

1) Damals Docent in Dorpat, gegenwärtig Professor in Basel.

2) In seinem Artikel «Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und das Verhalten der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus» (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Bd. X, München 1874, p. 115).

dass sie in Nikolajefsk, wo es käuflich zu haben war, je darnach gefragt hätten. Einen sprechenden Beleg dafür, wie wenig es zu ihren Bedürfnissen gehört, lieferte mir ferner folgendes Erlebniss: da mir gegen Ende meiner Reise im Winter 1856 das Salz ausgegangen war, erkundigte ich mich darnach in jedem Giljaken-Dorfe der Westküste Sachalin's und des Amur-Liman's, das ich passirte, jedoch stets vergeblich, bis mir endlich im Pronge an der Amur-Mündung ein haselnussgrosses, in ein schmutziges Läppchen eingewickeltes Klümpchen davon gebracht wurde, das der Besitzer einmal zufällig erhalten hatte und als werthloses Curiosum aufbewahrte. Wiederholt äusserten mir auch die Giljaken, wenn sie mich Salz essen sahen, ihren Widerwillen dagegen. Aus zahlreichen ähnlichen Aufzeichnungen über den Gebrauch oder Nichtgebrauch des Salzes bei verschiedenen Völkern zieht Dr. Bunge den gewiss ganz richtigen Schluss, «das alle diejenigen Völker, welche fast ausschliesslich von animalischer Nahrung leben, — Jäger, Fischer, Nomaden (und dazu gehören auch die Giljaken) — das Salz entweder gar nicht kennen, oder, wo sie es kennen lernen, verabscheuen, während die vorherrschend von Vegetabilien sich nährenden Völker ein unwiderstehliches Verlangen darnach tragen und es als unentbehrliches Lebensmittel betrachten», — ein Verhalten, das sich nach seinen trefflichen Auseinandersetzungen vom chemisch-physiologischen Gesichtspunkte als ganz begründet erweist[1]). Hinsichtlich der Giljaken aber sehe ich mich durch die erwähnten Auseinandersetzungen Dr. Bunge's zu einigen ferneren Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch oder vielmehr Nichtgebrauch des Salzes bei ihnen veranlasst. Die einzige Gelegenheit nämlich, bei welcher die Giljaken, wie aus den obigen Mittheilungen zu ersehen ist, pflanzliche Nahrungsmittel und zwar Cerealien und Leguminosen in grösseren Quantitäten zu sich nehmen, sind die Bärenfeste. Ist es daher nicht auffallend, dass der Abscheu der Giljaken vor dem Salz alsdann nicht nur nicht schwindet, sondern im Gegentheil ganz besonders praegnant zu Tage tritt, indem es beim Bärenfest sogar für *nitsch* (unheilbringend) gilt, Salz zu den Speisen hinzuzufügen? Dennoch scheint mir dies jener Schlussfolgerung Dr. Bunge's und ihrer chemisch-physiologischen Begründung nicht zu widerstreiten. Denn einmal finden die Bärenfeste doch nur zeitweise hier oder da statt, was den im Ganzen sehr vorwiegend animalischen Charakter der giljakischen Nahrung nicht alterirt; zweitens sind die auf denselben zur Verspeisung kommenden Mengen pflanzlicher Nahrung auch nur in dem Falle erheblich, wenn der Gastgeber ein sehr bemittelter, im Handel mit Chinesen, Russen oder Japanern stehender Mann ist, während sie sonst und für gewöhnlich der Menge animalischer Nahrung, namentlich an Bärenfleisch und Fett, doch nachstehen dürften; und drittens endlich sind die Bärenfeste eine altnationale, wie wir sehen werden, mit manchem tiefwurzelnden Aberglauben durchdrungene Sitte der Giljaken, bei welcher eine jede Neuerung auf besonders hartnäckigen Widerstand stossen musste. Sie hat sicherlich bei ihnen bestanden, lange bevor sie das Salz kennen gelernt hatten, wie man schon aus dem Umstande schliessen möchte, dass sie für dieses letztere keine selbständige, sondern nur eine etwas modificirte fremdländische Bezeichnung haben. Denn die giljakische Bezeichnung *toftsch* für das Salz dürfte doch wohl aus dem

1) Vrgl. auch sein Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie, Leipzig 1887, p. 199 ff.

mandshurischen *dabssun* (mongolisch: *dabussu*)[1]) entnommen sein. Auf diese Etymologie gestützt, möchte ich auch vermuthen, dass die Giljaken das Salz zuerst in der Zeit kennen lernten, als ein Mandshu-Stamm, die Djutscheren, mit Ackerbau, Viehzucht u. drgl. beschäftigt, am unteren Amur von der Sungari- bis unterhalb der Ussuri-Mündung wohnten, von wo sie um die Mitte des XVII. Jahrhunderts auf Geheiss der chinesischen Regierung an den Churcha versetzt wurden[2]). In den zwei seitdem vergangenen Jahrhunderten hat also das Salz keinen Eingang bei den Giljaken finden können, — gewiss ein sprechender Beweis dafür, dass kein physiologisches Bedürfniss darnach vorlag.

So ausgesprochen und allgemein die Abneigung der Giljaken gegen das Salz ist, so grossen Beifall findet bei ihnen hingegen der Zucker (gilj. *ssäta*), und zwar in der Form, wie sie ihn von den Russen kennen gelernt haben[3]). Der ihnen schon früher bekannte chinesische Zucker von brauner Farbe und nur schwach süssem Geschmack hat für sie keine Attraction, und da er zudem nur für einen hohen Preis und auch nur ausnahmsweise von den chinesischen Händlern am Amur, die meist nur kleine Quantitäten davon zum eigenen Bedarf bei sich führen, zu haben ist, so kennen ihn die wenigsten Giljaken[4]). Nach russischem Zucker sind sie hingegen sehr begierig: er bildete zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes unter ihnen nächst dem Tabak den Hauptgegenstand ihrer häufigen und sehr zudringlichen Betteleien, bei welchen sie in der Regel Kinder vorschoben und an denselben, um Mitleid zu erregen, Augenkrankheiten vorschützten, mit der Behauptung, dass gegen diese nur Zucker zu helfen im Stande sei. Nicht selten kauften sie sich auch welchen in Nikolajefsk, um denselben ihren Speisen, namentlich den oben erwähnten Mehlkuchen und solchen, zu deren Bereitung Preissel- oder Rauschbeeren u. drgl. gehörten, beizufügen. Ja, sie erklärten sich nicht abgeneigt, dies auch mit den zum Bärenfest bereiteten Speisen zu thun, falls er in genügender Menge vorhanden wäre, was ihre ganz verschiedene Stellung dem Zucker und dem Salz gegenüber kennzeichnet.

Zum Schluss unserer Mittheilungen über die Nahrung der Giljaken möge hier eine kurze Besprechung ihrer wichtigsten, zur Aufnahme der Nahrungsmittel, wie zur Bereitung und Verzehrung der Speisen dienlichen Geräthschaften und Utensilien folgen. Es sollen zunächst nur die gewöhnlichen, im alltäglichen Leben gebrauchten Gegenstände der Art Erwähnung finden, während das besondere, beim Bärenfest übliche Geräth später, am betreffenden Ort besprochen werden wird. Wie oben schon angegeben, steht in der Jurte gleich am Eingange ein mit Wasser gefüllter, aus Birkenrinde gemachter Kübel, an welchem ein paar zum Schöpfen und Trinken bestimmte Schalen hängen. Das Wasser für denselben wie für den übrigen Hausbedarf wird von den Weibern in ebenfalls aus Birkenrinde gemachten, an ein Schulterjoch gehängten Eimern (Taf. XXXIII, Fig. 1 und 2, gilj. *kormulk*, resp. *dshamda*) aus dem Fluss gebracht. Des-

1) Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298; Sprachatlas, p. XXXXVI.

2) S. oben, p. 150.

3) Sollte nicht auch die angeführte giljakische Bezeichnung desselben aus der russischen (=*ssachar*) entlehnt sein?

4) Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) erzählt, dass die Giljaken (Smerenkur) auf Sachalin den japanischen Zucker, von welchem er ihnen zu kosten gab, zwar sehr schmackhaft fanden, jedoch nicht mehr davon verlangten.

gleichen ist oben des grossen eisernen Kessels (gilj. *ormotsch-wunj*) gedacht worden, der im Winterhause in jeden der beiden, rechts und links vom Eingange befindlichen Herde eingemauert, in der Erd- und in der Sommerjurte aber auf der Plattform des Herdes über drei Steinen aufgestellt ist. Er ist stets von chinesischer Provenienz und dient zum Bereiten der Fischbrühe für die Hunde und auch mancher Speisen für die Menschen. Daneben haben aber die Giljaken auch kleinere Kessel, die sie je nach Umständen, sei es in der Erd- oder Sommerjurte, im Jagdzelt oder beim Campiren im Freien brauchen, und die theils ebenfalls chinesischen, theils japanischen Ursprungs sind, wie die auf Taf. XXXIII, Fig. 4 und 3, abgebildeten: *matsch-wunj* (d. h. kleiner Kessel) und *kughi-wunj* (d. h. Aino-Kessel). Zum Umrühren und Schöpfen der im grossen Kessel bereiteten Brühe dienen grosse hölzerne Löffel (Taf. XXXIV, Fig. 5 und 6, gilj. *myich* und *mityr*) und bei kleineren Kesseln auch kleinere Schöpflöffel von Eisen (Taf. XXXIII, Fig. 5, gilj. *komb*). Zum Bereiten und Auftragen breiartiger Speisen, wie die oben erwähnten Grützen u. dgl., bedienen sich die Giljaken je nach Bedürfniss grösserer oder kleinerer hölzerner Tröge (gilj. *odong* und *orong*), die denjenigen, aus welchen die Hunde gefüttert werden, in der Form ganz ähnlich sind und bisweilen auch dazu gebraucht werden. Ein an den Enden mit eingeschnitzten Arabesken verziertes Stück der Art aus dem Dorfe Tebach ist auf Taf. XXXIV, Fig. 1, abgebildet. Andere Nahrungsmittel und Speisen, wie die oben beschriebenen Mehlkuchen, Bohnen, verschiedene Beeren u. drgl., sah ich in niedrigen, ungefähr quadratischen Schalen aus Birkenrinde auftischen, deren Boden und Ränder mit verschiedenartigen Arabesken verziert waren; es sind dies die giljakisch sogen. *Tottangr* (Taf. XXXIII, Fig. 8). Wie diese Gefässe, die man ihrer Bestimmung nach als die Schüsseln des giljakischen Services bezeichnen könnte, so sind auch die für den Gebrauch des Einzelnen bestimmten, als Tassen und Teller dienenden Gefässe je nach der Natur der einzunehmenden Speise von verschiedener Beschaffenheit. Handelt es sich nur um einige Streifen Jukola, so genügt, wie schon erwähnt [1]), ein kleines, hölzernes Handtischchen (*chachtschitsch*), auf welchem sie zerschnitten wird, um, in Fischthran getunkt, verzehrt zu werden. Flüssige Speisen, wie die oben erwähnten Brühen, werden aus hölzernen Schalen, gilj. *mumk-ngir* [2]) (Taf. XXXIII, Fig. 6), genossen, und zwar mehr geschlürft als gelöffelt. Zum Genuss fester Speisen, Fisch, Fleisch, Speck u. drgl., bedient man sich länglich viereckiger, wenig tiefer Schalen, gilj. *es-ngir* [3]) (ebenda, Fig. 7). Demselben Zweck dienen auch hölzerne, kreisrunde, ziemlich flache Schalen oder Teller (Taf. XXXIV, Fig. 2 und 3) von etwa einem Fuss im Durchmesser, die bei den Giljaken, offenbar wegen ihrer runden, dem oben besprochenen Daumenringe (*aam*) ähnlichen Form, den bezeichnenden Namen *aam-ngir*, Ring- oder Daumenringschalen tragen [4]). Die Giljaken machen sie jedoch nicht selbst, sondern beziehen sie von den Golde, welche sich mit dem Drechseln derselben beschäftigen. Auf den Bärenfesten sowohl bei den Giljaken, wie bei den Oltscha werden sie in grosser Zahl, namentlich zum Verspeisen der oben erwähnten Grützarten benutzt, doch gehören sie keineswegs zu den ausschliess-

1) S. oben, p. 427.

2) *Ngir* heisst Schale überhaupt.

3) Das s ist in diesem Wort weich, gleich dem französischen *z* auszusprechen.

4) Bei den Oltscha heissen sie *kola*.

lich bei diesen Festlichkeiten gebrauchten Geräthen, wie man schon aus ihrem exotischen Ursprunge und dem vollkommenen Mangel an irgend welchen Ornamenten und Schnitzereien schliessen darf. Auch habe ich sie von den Giljaken im Alltagsleben oft genug benutzen sehen. Diesen schmucklosen, von den Golde fabrikmässig gedrechselten Schalen gegenüber heben sich alle anderen oben besprochenen, von den Giljaken selbst aus freier Hand gemachten Gefässe stets durch allerlei an denselben angebrachte Verzierungen ab, welche jedoch weit hinter den kunstvollen Schnitzereien zurückbleiben, die wir an den ausschliesslich bei Bärenfesten gebräuchlichen Geräthschaften kennen lernen werden. Zum Verfertigen aller oben angeführten Gefässe, Schalen, Löffel u. drgl., sowie zum Ausführen der Schnitzereien an denselben, wie an anderen Utensilien bedienen sich die Giljaken ausser dem schon erwähnten *Yi-dshakko* noch einiger besonders geformten Messer. So dient zum Aushöhlen von Holz ein Messer mit rinnenförmig gebogener Klinge von verschiedener Grösse, das *Us(i)r-wossj* der Giljaken (Taf. XXXII, Fig. 4), zum feineren Schnitzen das *Kydr-dshakko*, ein Messer mit sehr schmaler und spitzer Klinge (ebenda, Fig. 3) u. drgl. m. Endlich müssen unter den Tafelutensilien der Giljaken auch die den chinesischen nachgebildeten Gabelstäbchen (gilj. *tschawkr*)[1]) erwähnt werden, davon auf Taf. XXXIII, Fig. 6, ein aus dem Dorfe Wassj herstammendes Exemplar abgebildet ist. Doch verdanken diese ihre Entstehung bei den Giljaken mehr dem Nachahmungstriebe, der sich namentlich allem Chinesischen gegenüber gern geltend macht, als einem wirklichen Bedürfniss, denn im Gebrauch findet man sie bei ihnen so gut wie gar nicht.

Wie man aus dem Obigen ersieht, ist alles von den Giljaken selbst gemachte Haus- und Tafelgeräth ausschliesslich aus Holz oder Birkenrinde. Irdenes Geschirr findet man bei ihnen gar nicht, ja, weder machen sie selbst welches, noch sieht bei ihnen, trotz ihres Verkehrs mit den Chinesen und Japanern, das von diesen Völkern fabrizirte Porzellan im Gebrauch, denn höchstens wird davon hie und da von einem bemittelten Giljaken ein einzelnes Stück, meist eines oder ein paar jener kleinen von den Chinesen zum Branntweintrinken gebrauchten Porzellanschälchen, sei es als Werthobjekt, oder als Curiosum aufbewahrt. Diese Thatsache, dass den Giljaken, trotzdem sie in anderen Dingen, so im Holzschnitzen und, wie wir später sehen werden, auch im Schmiedehandwerk äusserst geschickt sind, die Töpferei selbst in ihren Anfängen ganz und gar fremd ist, verdient gewiss alle Beachtung, und ich erlaube mir daher noch einige darauf bezügliche Bemerkungen. Um zunächst die Thatsache selbst noch mehr ausser Zweifel zu stellen, muss ich ausdrücklich hervorheben, dass ich trotz des langen und vielfältigen Aufenthalts unter ihnen, nie ein Thongeschirr irgend welcher Art in ihrem Haushalte gesehen, noch auch durch Andere von einem solchen gehört habe. Um so auffallender mussten mir daher einige ganz anders lautende Angaben in Mamia Rinsô's Bericht über seine Reisen auf Sachalin (Krafto) und im Amur-Lande sein. Er fand, dass das irdene Geschirr und Porzellan der Giljaken (Smerenkur) auf Sachalin in seiner Form mit dem chinesischen und japanischen Aehnlichkeit hatte[2]).

1) Vermuthlich aus dem mandshurischen *tschabcha* entnommen. Bei den Oltscha: *alako*.

2) Mamia Rinsô, Tôtats kiko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

Man könnte meinen, der Reisende habe es nicht mit ursprünglich giljakischem, sondern nur mit importirtem chinesischen und japanischen Thongeschirr, das er bei den Giljaken gesehen, zu thun gehabt, allein damit würde der Widerspruch mit meinen obigen Angaben doch nicht gehoben sein, denn weiterhin erzählt Mamia Rinsô, dass es am Amur (Mankô) bei Kidsi besonders viel Porzellanfabriken gebe[1]). Dies bezieht sich nun allerdings nicht mehr auf die Giljaken, deren Gebiet erst eine Strecke stromabwärts von Kidsi beginnt, allein auch bei den Oltscha, auf die es Bezug haben müsste, und noch weiter aufwärts bei den Golde, wenigstens bis zum Ussuri hinauf, ist mir weder von solchen Fabriken, noch von deren Erzeugnissen irgend etwas zu Gesicht gekommen. Ebenso ist es auch Maack gegangen. Nur in dem Golde-Dorfe Ssilbi sah er unter dem Hausgeräth der Eingeborenen auch irdene Töpfe[2]). Dieses Dorf liegt jedoch schon ganz in der Nähe des Sungari, an welchem, wie wir sogleich sehen werden, auch in dieser Beziehung ganz andere Verhältnisse herrschen. Will man daher den Angaben Mamia Rinsô's Glauben schenken, und das verdienen sie nach meinen Erfahrungen vollkommen, so ist man genöthigt anzunehmen, dass die Oltscha und vermuthlich auch die unteren Golde noch zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts die Thongeschirr- und Porzellanfabrikation betrieben und die Erzeugnisse derselben auch unter den Giljaken bis nach Sachalin hin absetzten, ja, dass diese letzteren jene Industrie ebenfalls kannten, — eine Industrie, die ihnen fünfzig Jahre später, als ich das Amur-Land kennen lernte, völlig abhanden gekommen war. Wie und wodurch dies geschehen konnte, soll in einem der nächsten Capitel, bei Besprechung der Handelsbeziehungen der Amur-Völker und insbesondere der Giljaken mit den angrenzenden Culturvölkern, soweit möglich, beleuchtet werden. Hier genüge vorerst die allgemeine Bemerkung, dass es höchst wahrscheinlich durch gewaltsame Eingriffe und Verwüstungen zu Wege gebracht worden ist, die aus politischen Gründen von der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung selbst ausgingen, und zu welchen jene Reise Mamia Rinsô's mit Veranlassung gegeben haben kann. Durch den zerstörenden Schlag, den die von den Eingeborenen gefürchtete Regierung unter Anderem auch gegen die Thon- und Porzellanfabrikation der Oltscha am Amur ausführte, wurden diese, wie ihre Nachbarn stromauf- und abwärts, die unteren Golde und Giljaken, auf ihre althergebrachte Holzindustrie zurückverwiesen und gegen alles Thon- und Porzellangeräth so stark und nachhaltig eingenommen, dass fernerhin auch die in China oder Japan verfertigten Gegenstände der Art keinen Beifall und Eingang bei ihnen finden konnten. Andererseits hat vielleicht diese Zerstörung der Thongeräthfabrikation im unteren Amur-Lande den Golde zur fabrikmässigen Herstellung von Holzgeräth Veranlassung gegeben, zum Drechseln jener grossen Schalen und Teller, welche bis heutzutage bei den Giljaken und Oltscha, unter den resp. Bezeichnungen *aamagir* und *kota*, in allgemeinem Gebrauch stehen.

Während die Thon- und Porzellangeschirr-Industrie am unteren Amur von den Mandshu vernichtet wurde, nahm sie in der südlichen Mandshurei, sowie am Sungari und seinen Zuflüssen

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1) L. c., p. 172. 2) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 143.

einen ungestörten und raschen Fortgang. Nach den Aufzeichnungen des Chinesen U-tschen im Jahre 1722 hatten die Mandshu damals noch kein Thongeschirr, sondern nur hölzerne Schüsseln, Schalen und Teller [1]). Mit der wachsenden Kolonisation des Landes durch die Chinesen entstanden aber in demselben auch zahlreiche Thon- und Porzellangeschirrfabriken. Williamson [2]) sah bei Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong viele derartige Fabriken und verschiedenes, dort producirtes Geräth, darunter welches von sehr guter Qualität, das weithin versandt wird, und nach Barabasch [3]) giebt es deren je eine oder mehrere in allen Sungari-Städten. Vom Sungari stammte wohl auch das Thongeräth her, welches Maack in Ssilbi am Amur antraf. Dass es aber nicht auch weiter den Amur abwärts, zu den unteren Golde, Oltscha und Giljaken gelangt, trotz ihrer alljährlichen Handelsfahrten nach dem Sungari, zeugt nur allzudeutlich von der Abneigung, welche sie gegen ein solches Geräth hegen.

Muss man aus den oben angeführten Angaben Mamia Rinsô's den Schluss ziehen, dass die Giljaken und Oltscha, trotzdem sie heutzutage kein Thongeschirr in ihrem Haushalte gebrauchen, doch ehemals und noch zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts welches hatten und sogar selbst verfertigten, so lässt sich aus denselben andererseits auch entnehmen, dass dies bei ihnen keineswegs eine seit uralter Zeit geübte Kunst war, sondern dass sie dieselbe erst in verhältnissmässig neuer Zeit durch die Chinesen und Japaner kennen gelernt hatten. Die auf Sachalin von ihm gesehenen Stücke fand er, wie gesagt, den chinesischen und japanischen ähnlich, und dass die zahlreichen bei Kidsi gelegenen Porzellanfabriken, deren er erwähnt, unter chinesischem Einfluss und chinesischer Mitwirkung entstanden waren, ist im höchsten Grade wahrscheinlich. Und weil neu und fremdartig, konnte diese Kunst bei den Giljaken und Oltscha unter den in der Folge eingetretenen ungünstigen Verhältnissen auch so leicht wieder ganz und gar verschwinden, ohne eine andere Spur als die Abneigung gegen ihre Erzeugnisse hinterlassen zu haben. In dieser Ansicht, dass die Anfertigung von Thongeräthen den Giljaken ursprünglich fremd war und ihnen nur in neuerer Zeit durch die Chinesen vorübergehend beigebracht worden, werde ich endlich auch durch die Thatsache unterstützt, dass diese Kunst, gleich wie den Giljaken, auch allen anderen paläasiatischen Völkern, mit einer einzigen Ausnahme, abgeht oder noch vor Kurzem abging. Allerdings berichtet Mamia Rinsô [4]) von den Aino auf Südsachalin, dass sie Thongefässe und zwar von zweierlei Art verfertigen, die einen von etwa 6—7 Zoll im Durchmesser mit Ohren an zwei Seiten, *tojes'ju*, d. h. irdene Pfannen, die anderen *kawai'aju*, d. h. göttliche Pfannen genannt, doch wird man den recenten, japanischen Ursprung dieser ihrer Kunst nicht verkennen. Als Vries und seine Begleiter im XVII. Jahrhundert Jesso und die anliegenden Kurilen entdeckten, sahen sie die Bewohner derselben aus lackirten hölzernen Schalen

1) Васильевъ, Записки о Инородцѣ (Зап. Имп. русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. XII, 1857, стр. 96).

2) Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

3) Барабашъ, Сунгар. письмо, 1872 г. (Записки Сибир., 1874, № 2, стр. 231).

4) L. c., p. 184.

Z: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

und vierkantigen Trögen essen[1]), und eben solche Schalen, aber keinerlei Thongefässe finden sich unter den Gegenständen, welche Poljakof nebst Schädeln und Knochen in alten Aino-Gräbern auf Sachalin gefunden und unserem Museum zugestellt hat. Bezüglich der alten Kamtschadalen findet man zwar in dem von Witsen[2]) veröffentlichten Berichte des Kosaken Atlassof die Nachricht, dass sie zu ihrem Gebrauch irdene und hölzerne Gefässe verfertigen, allein die ersteren sind mehr als fraglich. Steller und Krascheninnikof sahen bei ihnen nur hölzerne Gefässe, und Ditmar[3]) stiess bei seinen Nachgrabungen an den Stellen, wo einst ihre Jurten gestanden, unter zahlreichen Steinwerkzeugen nur einmal auf ein kleines Thongeschirr, das ihm unter den Händen zerfiel, weil es nicht oder höchstens nur ganz schwach gebrannt worden war, und das er für eine mit der Hand geformte Thranlampe hält. Auch hinsichtlich der Korjaken und Tschuktschen wissen sowohl die genannten Reisenden, als auch Nordenskjöld u. A. nur über Anfertigung von Ess- und Trinkgefässen aus Holz, Knochen u. drgl., nicht aber von welchen aus gebranntem Thon zu berichten. Die irdenen Töpfe, welche die Mitglieder der Vega-Expedition bei den Tschuktschen sahen, waren von amerikanischem oder europäischem Ursprunge[4]). Ebenso bemerkt Weniaminof von den Aleuten, dass sie an irdenem Geschirr nur solche Stücke, Tassen, Teller u. drgl., besitzen, die sie gelegentlich von den Russen erhalten haben[5]). Nur von einem paläasiatischen Volke, den Eskimo Nordwestamerika's, wird die Anfertigung von Thongeschirr wie eine althergebrachte Kunst betrieben; so auf der Insel Kadjak[6]), am Kuskokwim und Kwichpak[7]), am Norton- und Kotzebue-Sunde[8]) u. a. O. Dall bemerkt, dass unter den von Eskimo gemachten Thongefässen, die er am Jukon (Kwichpak) sah, und deren einige in seinem Werke über Alaska auch abgebildet sind, eines offenbar nach einem russischen Modell geformt worden war. Das mag sein, denn seit der Ansiedelung der Russen in diesem Lande ist ohne Zweifel auch manches russische Ess- und Trinkgefäss zu den dortigen Eingeborenen gelangt. Dennoch rührt die Thongeräthfabrikation der amerikanischen Eskimo keineswegs von den Russen her. Diese fanden sie dort vielmehr schon vor, und sowohl Dawydof, wie Sagoskin bemerken, dass die Bekanntschaft, welche die Eskimo dank den Russen mit eisernen und kupfernen Kesseln und sonstigen Geräthen machten, der ehemals allgemeinen Verbreitung von Thongefässen eigener Fabrikation unter ihnen manchen Abbruch that, womit auch Dall übereinstimmt. Für das hohe Alter der Töpferkunst bei den Eskimo Nordwestamerika's

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1) Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries, p. 108.

2) Noord en Oost Tartarye, Ausg. von 1705, p. 873.

3) Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka in den Jahren 1851—1855 (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, 3te Folge, Bd. VII, p. 246).

4) Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas auf der Vega, Leipzig 1882, Bd. II, p. 122.

✓ 5) Веніаминовъ, Зап. объ остров. Уналашкинскаго отдѣла, Ч. II, стр. 238.

✓ 6) Лауксаръ. путеш. въ Америку морск. офицер. Хвостова и Давыдова, С. Петерб. 1812, Ч. II, стр. 101.

7) Wrangell, Statist. und ethnogr. Nachrichten über die Russ. Besitz. an der Nordwestküste von Amerika (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, herausg. von Baer und Helmersen, Bd. I, p. 147). Загоскинъ, Путешествіе отъ части русск. влад. въ Америкѣ, С. Петерб. 1847, Ч. I, стр. 58. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston 1870, p. 218.

8) Woldt, Cap. Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerika's, Leipzig 1884, p. 214, 215, 290.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

spricht endlich auch die einfache und primitive Art, in welcher sie ausgeübt wird: die Gefässe werden nämlich aus freier Hand geformt, wesshalb sie nicht ganz kreisrund oder symmetrisch sind[1]), und alsdann vermittelst eigenartiger und ebenfalls sehr einfacher Instrumente geglättet und mit Verzierungen versehen[2]). Ohne daher den Zeitpunkt und die Art und Weise der Entstehung der Töpferkunst unter den Eskimo näher bestimmen zu wollen, glaube ich aus den obigen Betrachtungen über die paläasiatischen Völker den Schluss ziehen zu dürfen, dass die Eskimo ihre asiatische Heimath noch ohne Kenntniss der Töpferkunst verliessen und diese erst in Amerika, vermuthlich in Folge von Süden her an sie herangetretener Einflüsse kennen lernten.

Um auf das Amur-Land zurückzukommen, wiederhole ich, dass die Töpferkunst der Giljaken, Oltscha und Aino, von welcher Mamia Rinsô spricht, nur von modernem Ursprunge war, resp. ist und bei den beiden ersteren Völkern nach kurzem Bestehen in Folge später zu erörternder gewaltsamer Vorgänge der Mandshu-Chinesen wieder verschwand. Sollte man sie aber, meiner Ansicht entgegen, auch weiter zurückdatiren wollen, so hat sie doch jedenfalls nichts mit den Thonscherben zu thun, welche man neuerdings an verschiedenen Punkten des Amur-Landes und Sachalin's, namentlich am Patchä-Flusse und in Taraika, mit Steinwerkzeugen zusammen im Erdboden gefunden hat[3]). Diese Gefässscherben, deren mir auch welche vorgelegen haben[4]), und die mit den in anderen Ländern unter ähnlichen Verhältnissen gefundenen Stücken der Art im Wesentlichen ganz übereinstimmen, gehören auch hier einer Vorzeit an, die so weit zurückliegt, dass sie mit der Jetztzeit in keinen ethnologischen Zusammenhang gebracht werden kann. Dennoch muss ich hier hinzufügen, dass man die am Patchä-Fluss gefundenen Gegenstände (s. die

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1) Wie man dies auch an den in Jacobsen's Reisebeschreibung (p. 214 und 245) mitgetheilten Abbildungen sehen kann.

2) Diese Instrumente sind bei Jacobsen (l. c., p. 299) ebenfalls abgebildet.

3) Im Jahre 1865 wurden an dem etwa 10 Werst von Nikolajefsk entfernten, nur wenig oberhalb des Caps Tschchyrkrach oder Tschnyrrach (wie die Russen es zu nennen pflegen) in den Amur mündenden Patcha-Flusse beim Aufgraben der Erde auf dem Boden einiger Gruben, welche Reste ehemaliger Erdwohnungen zu sein schienen, in der Tiefe von drei Fuss Thonscherben nebst Spuren von Holzkohle und an einer anderen Stelle in 6 Fuss Tiefe verschiedene Steinwerkzeuge gefunden (Восточное Поморье, 1866 г., 1. Імаг, стр. 58). Dank der Vermittelung des Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolajefsk sind die meisten dieser Gegenstände der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zugeschickt worden und befinden sich in unserem Museum. Drei Jahre später fand Lopatin beim Dorfe Taraika auf Sachalin ebenfalls auf dem Boden von Gruben, welche das Ansehen von Erdhüttenresten hatten, zahlreiche steinerne Werkzeuge und Bruchstücke von Thongefässen (Kropotkin, nach Mittheilungen von Lopatin in den Извѣст. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. V, 1869, Отд. II, стр. 307, 309). Aehnliche Funde wurden in der Folge mehrfach an der Südspitze Sachalin's gemacht. Im Jahre 1881 endlich gelang es Poljakof, an der Stelle des russischen Postens bei Dui an der Westküste Sachalin's eine reiche Ausbeute von Steinwerkzeugen und alten Topfscherben zu machen. Die letzteren waren nicht selten mit Mustern gezeichnet, welche an diejenigen erinnerten, die er im Olonez'schen Gouvernement und im Oka-Thale im europäischen Russland gefunden hatte (Поляковъ, Пугеш. на остр. Сахалинѣ въ 1881—1882 гг. Прилож. къ XIX тому Изв. Русск. Геогр. Общ., стр. 19).

4) Die theils vom Patchä-Fluss und theils von Naiputschi auf Südsachalin stammenden Topfscherben, die ich in Händen gehabt, bestanden aus einem groben, röthlich-gelben bis schwärzlichen Thon, der stellenweise feinen Kies, kleine Quarzkörnchen und mitunter erbsengrosse Geröllstückchen enthielt. Sie waren bald mit reihenförmig zusammenstehenden feinen Eindrücken, bald mit geraden, wellen- oder zickzackförmigen, bald auch in Art eines Geflechts sich durchkreuzenden Streifen und Bändern versehen.

Anmerk. 3, auf der vorigen Seite) vielen Giljaken zeigte [1]), um von ihnen in Erfahrung zu bringen, ob sie nicht noch dergleichen Werkzeuge, oder aber irgend welche auf dieselben bezügliche Traditionen hätten, — sie waren ihnen aber ganz unbekannt. Ueber die in Taraika gefundenen Steinwerkzeuge und Topfscherben befragte Lopatin die dortigen Aino und Oroken. Die letzteren meinten zwar, dass in den ehemals an Stelle der Gruben gewesenen Erdhütten die Aino sich während der Kriege verborgen gehalten hätten, allein den Aino selbst waren die Steinwerkzeuge ganz unbekannt. Hingegen erzählten ihm diese von einer Sage, welche jene Gegenstände einem Volke Namens Toissi zuschreibt, das ehemals diese Gegenden bewohnt, später aber sich nach Norden zurückgezogen habe. Ihm werden auch die bei Mogunkotan am Golfe der Geduld, beim Cap Ssiraroro und an anderen Orten Sachalin's befindlichen Reste von Erdhütten zugeschrieben. Diese Sage fand Lopatin über den ganzen von ihm bereisten Theil Südsachalin's verbreitet [2]).

Indem ich nach dieser Abschweifung zur Besprechung der Nahrung der Amur-Völker zurückkehre und von den Giljaken zu ihren näheren und ferneren Nachbarn übergehe, muss ich vorausschicken, dass ich mich bezüglich derselben hauptsächlich darauf beschränken werde, auf die bei ihnen in der Nahrung den Giljaken gegenüber statthabenden Abweichungen und Verschiedenheiten hinzuweisen, wie solche durch andere Naturverhältnisse, eine andere Lebensweise und andere Beziehungen zu den angrenzenden Culturvölkern bedingt werden.

Die nächsten Nachbarn der Giljaken auf Sachalin, die Aino, sind im Allgemeinen nicht minder ausgesprochene Ichthyophagen wie jene, doch macht sich dabei der durch die Natur ihres Landes bedingte, für die Nahrung bedeutsame Umstand geltend, dass sie in ihrem Gebiet keinen einzigen grösseren Fluss haben, an welchem die Bevölkerung sich im Innern des Landes concentriren könnte, sondern allenthalben nur mehr oder minder unmittelbare Küstenbewohner sind. In der That gehört von den beiden grössten Flüssen Sachalin's der eine, der oft genannte fischreiche Tymy-Fluss, ganz den Giljaken an, und von dem anderen, dem Plyi oder Poronai (d. h. auf Ainisch grosser Fluss), haben die Aino nur die Mündung und auch diese nur in Gemeinschaft mit den Oroken und Giljaken inne. Sieht man ferner von ein paar etwas ansehnlicheren, in den Golf von Aniwa sich ergiessenden Flüssen, wie Ssussuja und Truotaga, ab, so giebt es im gesammten Aino-Gebiet Sachalin's nur kleine Küstenflüsse. So besteht

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1) Wie in der oben erwähnten Zeitung (Восточное Поморье) s. a. O. ausdrücklich berichtet wird.

2) Da der angebliche Name des Volkes, von welchem der Sage nach jene Steinwerkzeuge und alten Topfscherben herrühren sollen, wie man sich aus der oben erwähnten Angabe Mamiz Rinsô's über die Töpferarbeiten der Aino (*dojes'jun*, d. h. irdene Pfannen) und aus den Wörterverzeichnissen und Wörterbüchern der Aino-Sprache (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 303, 313; Dobrotworskij, l. c., p. 326, 327) überzeugen kann, nur so viel wie Thongeschirr bedeutet, so scheint mir die Möglichkeit eines durch mangelhafte Kenntniss der Aino-Sprache veranlassten Missverständnisses in der obigen Mittheilung Lopatin's nicht ausgeschlossen zu sein.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

das eigentliche Wohngebiet der Aino auf Sachalin nur aus einer doppelten, im Westen und im Osten der Insel sich hinziehenden und am Südende durch die Zweitheilung derselben noch um ein ansehnliches Stück verlängerten Küstenstrecke. Ueberall am Meere wohnend, schöpfen die Aino aus demselben auch ihre Hauptnahrung. Diese besteht wie bei den Giljaken aus Fisch, und zwar sind es wiederum die Salmoniden und zum Theil sogar dieselben Arten, *Salmo lapocephalus* und *S. Proteus*, welche dabei die Hauptrolle spielen, indem sie, selbst in die kleinen Küstenflüsse in Menge eintretend, das Material zur Bereitung von Wintervorräthen an Jukola und Thran bieten. Nicht minder sind auch die zu Zeiten in grossen Schaaren längs der Küste hinziehenden und in die Buchten und Baien eintretenden Häringe von grösster Bedeutung. Der ausserordentliche Fischreichthum dieser Küsten wird übrigens auch von den Japanern ausgenutzt, und zwar geschah dies zur Zeit meiner Reisen im Amur-Lande, als Südsachalin noch unter japanischer Herrschaft stand, insofern sehr zum Nachtheil der Aino, als diese genöthigt waren, den Fischfang für die Japaner zu betreiben, und während die letzteren, ausser dem gleich am Ort des Fanges bereiteten Thran, ganze Schiffsladungen von Fischen nach ihrer Heimath sandten, wo sie hauptsächlich zur Düngung des Bodens benutzt wurden, sahen die Aino sich ausser Stande, für ihre eigenen Bedürfnisse durch Bereitung von entsprechenden Wintervorräthen zu sorgen [1]). Nächst den Fischen geben auch den Aino die grossen Seesäugethiere das Hauptnahrungsmittel ab, und zwar spielen hier neben den Seehunden auch die Seebären (*Otaria ursina* L.) und Seelöwen (*O. Stelleri* Schleg.) [2]), deren Fleisch und Fett von den Aino nicht minder wie das der Seehunde geschätzt wird, eine Hauptrolle. Ausserdem liefern endlich vom Meere ausgeworfene Walfische, die von den Giljaken verschmäht werden, den Aino stets einen erwünschten Beitrag zu ihren Nahrungsmitteln [3]). Ist namentlich hinsichtlich der letztgenannten Pinnipedien und, wie es scheint, auch der Cetaceen der äusserste Süden Sachalin's besonders bevorzugt, so findet dagegen der reichste Robbenschlag seitens der Aino im nördlichen Theile ihres Gebiets, im Golfe der Geduld statt. Nach Tarsika kommen daher nicht selten auch Tymy-Giljaken, um sich bei den Aino mit Seehundsthran zu versorgen [4]). Minder wesentlich, aber doch auch sehr wichtig für die Aino sind die ihnen an niederen Thieren und Seetangen vom Meere zufliessenden Nahrungsmittel. In Folge der südlicheren Breiten, welche die in Meridianrichtung langgestreckte Insel mit ihrer Südhälfte erreicht, sowie des mit der Entfernung vom Amur-Liman rasch wachsenden Salzgehalts der See und der von der Korea-Strasse zum Süd-

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1) Ueber diese Ausbeutung der Aino durch die Japaner s. oben p. 74—77. Nachdem die Japaner im Traktat von 1875 auf Sachalin verzichtet hatten, wurde sie in dem Maasse nicht mehr möglich, indess hörte ihr Fischfang an den Küsten Sachalin's damit noch nicht auf, ja sie dehnten ihn noch weiter nordwärts, bis nach Nyi an der Tymy-Mündung aus, wo Poljakof sie im Jahre 1881 antraf; doch bedienten sie sich jetzt nicht mehr der Aino, sondern japanischer Arbeiter beim Fischfang (Поляковъ, Путеш. въ остр. Сахалинъ въ 1881—1883 гг. Прилож. къ XIX Т. Изв. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., стр. 60 и слѣд.).

2) Fr. Schmidt, Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 83). Новокшеновъ, Полн. русск. мореп. осоц. на краин. остр. Росеіи, С. Петерб. 1878, стр. 290. (Nach Rudanofskij).

3) S. oben, p. 432.

4) Schmidt, l. c., p. 115.

ende Sachalin's verlaufenden warmen Tsu-sima-Strömung (eines Zweiges des Kuro-siwo)[1]) ist der Süden der Insel weit reicher an verschiedenartigen wirbellosen Seethieren und an Seetangen als der Norden. Und dem entsprechend, spielen diese wie jene unter den Nahrungsmitteln der Aino eine weit grössere Rolle als unter denjenigen der Giljaken. Alles, was die See an derartigen Produkten liefert und gelegentlich auch in Menge an der Küste auswirft, wird von den Aino zur Nahrung verwendet, insbesondere die grossen Austern und Kammmuscheln, ein *Octopus* von ansehnlicher Grösse (bei den Aino *achkoipa* genannt), dessen Arme für einen besonderen Leckerbissen gelten, Seeigel und Seesterne, Actinien und Holothurien, der sogen. Trepang, u. drgl. m.[2]). Um den Trepang und ähnliche Thiere vom Meeresgrunde zu heben, sollen die Aino von Jesso, wie der Japaner Rinsifée im Jahre 1786 berichtete, von ihrem zehnten Jahre an im Tauchen geübt werden[3]). In der Folge haben sie aber, ebenso wie für die Seetangfischerei[4]), auch für den Fang des Trepangs zweckmässigere Methoden von den Japanern kennen gelernt, welche diesen Erwerbsquellen in den Gewässern Sachalin's und Jesso's mit demselben Eifer wie die Chinesen (Man-dse) an der gegenüberliegenden mandshurischen Küste, etwa von der Bai Wladimir bis zur koreanischen Grenze, nachgehen[5]). So sehr aber das Meer auch die Hauptnahrungsquelle der Aino ist, so sind doch auch manche Erzeugnisse des festen Landes für sie von grösster Bedeutung. So schenken sie, gleich den Giljaken, unter allen Landthieren die grösste Beachtung dem auf Sachalin wie auf Jesso häufig vorkommenden Bären, dessen Fleisch und Fett von ihnen hochgeschätzt und nicht anders als in festlichen Versammlungen verzehrt werden, auf welche ich in der Folge, bei Besprechung des Bärenfestes der Giljaken, noch zurückkommen werde. Dass die Aino auch Hunde, ihr einziges, zum Schlittenziehen dienendes Hausthier, essen, ist oben schon erwähnt worden. Wie in dem Obigen, so stimmen endlich die Aino hinsichtlich ihrer Nahrung auch darin mit den Giljaken überein, dass sie zahlreiche Vegetabilien ihres Landes, Beeren, Wurzeln, Kräuter — zum grössten Theil sogar die-

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1) Vrgl. meine Schrift: «Strömungsverhältn. im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere» (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIe Sér., T. XXI, № 3, p. 25 ff., nebst Karte, Taf. XII).

2) Schmidt, l. c., p. 97. Dobrotworskij, in der Vorrede zum Aino-Wörterbuche, l. c., p. 37.

3) Sam kokf tsou ran to seis, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, trad. de l'original japonais-chinois par Klaproth, Paris 1832, p. 229.

4) S. oben, p. 441.

5) Das Centrum der Seetangfischerei an der mandshurischen Küste ist die Bai Nachodka (Восточное Поморье, 1886, стр. 16). Zwischen ihr und der Bai Olga wird der meiste und beste Seetang gefischt. Der aus der Umgegend der Bai Possjet stammende ist schlechter als jener, geschweige denn als der japanische (l. c., p. 79, Anmerk., u. p. 89). Wladiwostok ist bei den Man-dse wegen des in seiner Umgegend stattfindenden Trepangfanges berühmt (l. c., p. 16). Näheres über die Art und Weise der Seetang- und Trepangfischerei der Man-dse, über den Umfang und Absatz der Ausbeute u. drgl. m. ist ausser der genannten Zeitschrift bei Lopatin (Обзоръ южн. части приморск. области восточ. Сиб. зап. Суйфунскъ. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., кн. VII, 1864, стр. 191), Busse (Очеркъ услов. земледѣл. въ Амурск. крѣп. — Зап. для чтенія, изданн. Трубниковымъ, Авг.—Дек. 1869, стр. 124. Desgl. in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 91), Przewalski (Путеш. въ Уссурійск. краѣ, стр. 86 и слѣд.) u. A. zu finden.

selben Arten[1]) — und ebenfalls stets mit einem Zusatz von Seehundsthran verzehren[2]). Dahingegen spricht sich in der Thatsache, dass den Aino die oben genannten, den Giljaken vielfach zum Bedürfniss gewordenen mandshu-chinesischen Cerealien so gut wie gänzlich fehlen und anstatt derselben japanischer Reis ein häufiges, ja bei den im Dienste der Japaner stehenden Arbeitern zeitweise sogar das vornehmste und nebst etwas Fisch und Thran fast ausschliessliche Nahrungsmittel bildet[3]), deutlich aus, dass die Aino sich unter dem Einfluss einer anderen Cultur als die Giljaken befinden.

Das dritte Volk Sachalin's, die **Oroken**, ist zwar auch hauptsächlich ichthyophag und in Folge der Lage seines Wohngebietes an der Meeresküste darauf angewiesen, seine Hauptnahrung aus der See zu schöpfen, allein der Umstand, dass es ausser dem Hunde noch ein anderes Haus- und Zugthier, das Renn, hält und vermittelst desselben ein halbnomadisches Leben führt, ruft auch in seinen Nahrungsverhältnissen den Aino und Giljaken gegenüber nicht unwesentliche Modifikationen hervor. Im Sommer und Herbst, den Jahreszeiten, welche die Oroken an der Meeresküste zubringen, um dem Fischfange und der Seehundsjagd nachzugehen und Vorräthe für den Winter, hauptsächlich wiederum an Jukola, Seehundsthran und verschiedenartigen Beeren und Wurzeln, zu bereiten, besteht ihre Nahrung fast ausschliesslich aus Fisch. Poljakof, der im Sommer 1881 einige Wochen unter den Oroken in der Gegend der Tymy-Mündung zubrachte, welche sie ihres Fischreichthums wegen alljährlich aufsuchen, schildert ihre tägliche Nahrung zu dieser Zeit des regsten Fischfanges in folgender Weise: die erste, früh Morgens eingenommene Mahlzeit besteht aus je einem fetten Lachskopf (von *Salmo lagocephalus*); alsdann folgen im Laufe des Tages: am Feuer geröstete Jukola mit Seehundsthran und Fisch mit verschiedenen pflanzlichen Zuthaten, wie Wurzeln, Cedernüsse und insbesondere Beeren, welche mit dem feinzerstückelten oder gar vorläufig zerkauten (!) Fisch durcheinander gerührt werden, und den Schluss des Tages bildet wieder ein Lachskopf[4]). Das Wanderleben der Oroken und die ihnen genügende geringere Anzahl von Hunden mindern übrigens ihren Bedarf an Wintervorräthen sehr anschnlich, und zwar um so mehr, als ihnen andererseits ihr zweites und eigentliches Zugthier, das Renn, trotzdem sie es nur in verhältnissmässig geringer Zahl zu halten im Stande sind, doch immerhin auch einen Beitrag an Nahrungsmitteln liefert und der mit Jagd verbundene Aufenthalt in den Waldungen, durch welche ihre winterlichen Wanderungen vor sich gehen, sie mit mancherlei Fleischnahrung versorgen muss. Zudem endlich können die Oroken ihre Wanderungen, auf deren ganz eigenartigen Charakter ich im

1) Vrgl. Schmidt, Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VII° Sér., T. XII, № 2, p. 98, 210 ff.). Unter Anderem bemerkten z. B. schon die alten holländischen Seefahrer (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 166), dass die Aino auf Jesso Vorräthe von Hagebutten für den Winter machen, wie wir es oben auch bei den Giljaken, besonders auf Sachalin, gesehen haben.

2) Momia Rinsô (l. c., p. 183) sagt: die Aino fügen überall Thran hinzu, in der Meinung, dass sie dann von allen Leibschmerzen befreit bleiben, selbst wenn sie etwas Giftiges genossen hätten.

3) Indem sie für ihre Arbeit von den Japanern mit einer Handvoll Reis täglich bezahlt werden.

4) Поляковъ, Путеш. на остр. Сахалинъ (Пруж. къ XIX тому Изв. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., стр. 99).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

folgenden Abschnitt näher eingehen werde, nicht anders ausführen, als indem sie mit den Giljaken, deren Gebiet sie durchstreifen, in stetem Connex bleiben und sich durch Tauschhandel einen Theil ihrer Nahrungsvorräthe zu eigen machen.

Die nächsten Stammgenossen der Oroken auf dem Festlande, die **Oltscha**, stimmen hinsichtlich ihrer Nahrung vollkommen mit den Amur-Giljaken überein. Aus vielfacher eigener Erfahrung kann ich bezeugen, dass sie sowohl im Alltagsleben, wie bei festlichen Gelegenheiten, so z. B. auf dem Bärenfeste, welchem ich auch bei ihnen beizuwohnen Gelegenheit gehabt, ganz ebenso zusammengesetzte und bereitete Speisen geniessen und sich dabei auch ganz eben solcher Geräthschaften wie die Giljaken bedienen. Der einzige Unterschied, den ich hinsichtlich der Nahrung der Oltscha den Giljaken gegenüber habe wahrnehmen können, besteht, von jenem schon erwähnten Abscheu vor Hundefleisch, der aber als negatives Verhalten nicht eben augenfällig ist, abgesehen, darin, dass bei ihnen, zumal im oberen Theile ihres Verbreitungsgebietes (oberhalb Kidsi), die Jagd eine hervorragende Rolle auch zur unmittelbaren Beschaffung der Nahrung zu spielen beginnt, indem sie sich nicht bloss auf die Pelzthiere, wie bei den Giljaken, beschränkt, sondern auch gegen solche Thiere richtet, deren Hauptwerth in ihrem Fleische liegt. Manche dieser Thiere, wie Edelhirsch und Wildschwein, kommen auch bei den Giljaken gar nicht vor, sondern stellen sich, stromaufwärts gegangen, erst im Oltscha-Gebiet ein[1], andere, wie Reh, Moschusthier, Elenn, nehmen in derselben Richtung an Häufigkeit zu[2]. So bricht sich bei den Oltscha, von den Naturverhältnissen begünstigt, die tungusische Neigung zur Jagd wieder Bahn und bewirkt, dass sie, wenn auch vornehmlich ebenfalls ichthyophag, es doch lange nicht in dem hohen und fast ausschliesslichen Grade wie die Giljaken sind, sondern auch ein gut Theil Fleischnahrung zu sich nehmen.

Dieses bei den Oltscha im oberen Theile ihres Wohngebietes durchbrechende Verhältniss der Fisch- und der Fleischnahrung steigert sich nun bei den Anwohnern der linken Zuflüsse des unteren Amur-Stromes, den **Negda**, **Samagirn** und **Kile** am Kur, in raschen Zügen zu Gunsten der letzteren. Werden jene durch den Umstand, dass sie unmittelbar an den Ufern eines mächtigen, fischreichen Stromes wohnen, der ihr Gebiet seiner ganzen Länge nach durchzieht, und mit einem Fuss, in der Bai de Castries, an der Meeresküste stehen, gleich ihren Nachbarn, den Giljaken, unwillkürlich zur Ichthyophagie gedrängt, so verhält es sich mit den letztgenannten Völkern anders. Die Flüsse, an denen diese wohnen, sind zwar nicht fischarm, können sich aber doch mit dem Amur an Fischreichthum lange nicht messen; namentlich fehlen ihnen die grössten und schönsten Fische des letzteren, die grossen Störe und Hausen, desgleichen die Karpfen und wohl noch manche andere Cyprinoiden u. s. w. Dahingegen breiten sich an denselben ausgedehnte Waldwildnisse aus, die, von den Pelzthieren abgesehen, einen unerschöpflichen Reichthum an Wildpret aller Art bergen und dem Jäger eine reichliche Fleischnahrung gewähren. Bei den **Samagirn**, welche ich inmitten ihrer Jagdgründe am Gorin kennen gelernt

1) S. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 154, 173. 2) S. ebenda, p. 169 — 188, 174.

habe, verräth schon die Kleidung, die hirsch- und elennsledernen Röcke, die Reh- und Moschusthierpelze u. drgl., dass jene Jagdthiere und insbesondere das grösste und häufigste derselben, das Elenn, von ihnen *buju*, d. h. das Thier schlechtweg, genannt, für ihre Existenz von wesentlicher Bedeutung sind.

Weiter stromaufwärts von den Oltscha, bei den **Golde**, als Amur-Anwohnern, steht zwar die Fischnahrung wieder obenan, jedoch lange nicht in der exclusiven Weise wie bei jenen, geschweige denn bei den Giljaken. Vielmehr gesellt sich zu derselben ein nicht geringes und je weiter nach Süden, desto mehr wachsendes Maass von Fleischnahrung hinzu. Das erklärt sich schon aus dem Umstande, dass manche und mit die ansehnlichsten der obenerwähnten jagdbaren Thiere, wie der Edelhirsch und das Wildschwein, je weiter südwärts am Amur-Strom, um so häufiger werden und in den üppigen Laubholzwaldungen, auf den zahlreichen niedrigen, mit Weiden und hohem Grase bewachsenen Inseln des Stromes, sowie in den sumpfreichen, oft mit Schilfdickichten bestandenen Prairien nahe der Ussuri- und Sungari-Mündungen das Maximum ihrer Häufigkeit im unteren Amur-Lande erreichen. Zudem erstreckt sich die Golde-Bevölkerung auch in die Thäler der rechten Zuflüsse des Amur-Stromes, des Pächssa, Naiche, Chongar hinein, wo es sicherlich nicht an ergiebigen Jagdgründen fehlt, welche gelegentlich wohl auch von den Amur-Anwohnern besucht werden. Bin ich doch auch am Gorin mehrfach Golde begegnet, die der Jagd wegen von Zollazi und anderen am Amur gelegenen Orten hingekommen waren und jetzt ihre mit Elennfleisch beladenen Narten heimwärts lenkten. Ausser dem Fleisch bildet natürlich auch das Fett der grossen Jagdthiere ein wichtiges Nahrungsmittel der Golde und ersetzt ihnen den den Giljaken und Aino so unentbehrlichen und auch bei den Oltscha zum grossen Theil noch gebräuchlichen Seehundsthran. Bei Gelegenheit der Fleischnahrung der Golde sei hier ferner erwähnt, dass ihnen in Folge der südlicheren Lage ihres Wohngebiets auch der Amur-Strom ein Nahrungsmittel liefert, welches den vorgenannten, nördlicher wohnenden Völkern abgeht, und das an sich zwar unbedeutend, aber seiner Einzigartigkeit wegen doch bemerkenswerth ist. Es ist die Amur-Schildkröte, *Trionyx Maackii* Brandt, deren Fleisch und Eier die Golde essen, — wohl das einzige im Amur-Lande zur Nahrung verwendete Reptil[1]). Ein in Beziehung auf die Nahrung sehr wichtiges und für die Golde den vorgenannten Völkern gegenüber besonders charakteristisches Moment besteht endlich darin, dass sich bei ihnen, stromaufwärts gegangen, die ersten eigens zur Nahrung gehaltenen Hausthiere und desgleichen die ersten Anfänge von Gemüse- und Cerealienbau finden. Beides ist ohne Zweifel eine Folge ihrer näheren Beziehungen zum Sungari-Lande und zu den Chinesen, welche sich unter den Golde am Amur und insbesondere am [illegible] an verschiedenen Punkten des Handels wegen ständig aufhalten und dabei kleine Garten- und Feldwirthschaften haben. Sieht man von dem Hunde und der bei den Golde, Oltscha und Giljaken ab und zu vorkommen-

1) Die Schildkröte wird von den Golde am Amur *aja*, am Ussuri *kaila* genannt.

den und nur als Luxusartikel behandelten Hauskatze ab[1]), so ist das erste Hausthier, welchem man bei den Amur-Völkern, stromaufwärts gegangen, begegnet, das Schwein. Wie im ersten Bande dieses Werkes (p. 155) ausführlich dargethan, trifft man einzelne Exemplare desselben schon bei den Oltscha an[2]); eine ständige Schweinezucht aber findet erst bei den Golde, etwa von Ssargu und Naiche an aufwärts am Amur wie am Ussuri statt. Die mit Fisch aufgefütterten Thiere werden von den Golde ihren Landsleuten oder chinesischen Händlern verkauft, durch deren Vermittelung sie weiter stromabwärts, zu den Oltscha gelangen. Die Zuchtthiere aber beziehen die Golde theils von den Man-dse (Chinesen) am oberen Ussuri[3]), theils und zumeist aus dem Sungari-Lande, wo das Schwein allenthalben von Chinesen und Mandshu in grosser Zahl gezüchtet wird[4]) und gleichwie in China die hauptsächlichste Fleischnahrung der Bevölkerung bildet[5]). Ist doch das Schwein nach Wassiljef[6]) das älteste aller Hausthiere in der Mandshurei und dieses Land, nach Palladij, selbst in China seit jeher durch seine Schweinezucht berühmt[7]). Ausser dem Hausschwein findet man bei den Golde auch das erste zahme Geflügel, und zwar zunächst Hühner (goldisch *tscheko*), welche ebenfalls aus dem Sungari-Lande stammen. Maack[8]) traf welche in Chula am Amur, etwas oberhalb Da an, und ich selbst habe die Golde in Chaizo am Ussuri ganz ebenso wie die neben ihnen wohnenden Chinesen Hühner züchten sehen[9]). Von den Chinesen endlich haben die Golde auch den bei ihnen allerdings erst ganz im Anfange begriffenen Gemüse- und Cerealienbau gelernt. Der nördlichste Punkt am Amur-Strome, wo es zur Zeit meiner Reise noch einen kleinen, von Chinesen bestellten Gemüsegarten gab, war das auf einer Insel in der Nähe der Gorin-Mündung gelegene, aus einem chinesischen und zwei Golde-Häusern bestehende Dorf Zjanka, wie es die Chinesen, oder Otza, wie es die Golde nannten. An solchen Orten, deren Zahl stromaufwärts und den Ussuri hinauf wächst, konnten und mussten die Golde die Pflege mancher Gemüse und Cerealien aus erster Hand lernen, und bereits in der Nähe der Ussuri-Mündung, in Messur, Turme und noch

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1) Ueber die Verbreitung der Hauskatze im Amur-Lande und ihre Stellung bei den Amur-Völkern s. das im I. Bande dieses Werkes, p. 98—100, Gesagte.

2) Bei den Giljaken gab es zu meiner Zeit noch keine. Später, als es in Nikolajefsk schon von den Russen gezüchtete Schweine gab, kauften auch die Giljaken sich ab und zu welche, um sie in festlicher Weise zu verzehren (Восточное Поморье, 1866, стр. 59).

3) Ф. Бусе, Очерк усеов. земледѣл. въ Амурск. краѣ (Зап. Авр. отдѣл., изд. Трубниковымъ, Авг.—Дек. 1869 г., стр. 122).

4) Williamson, Journ. in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, London 1870, Vol. II, p. 89. Барабашъ, Сунгар. Экск. 1872 г. (Восн. Сборн., 1874, № 2, стр. 343).

5) Schon bei Witsen (Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 39, 92) findet man die Nachricht, dass die Njutschi am Sungari und Nonni (Mandshu und Dauren) gern und viel Schweinefleisch und Speck essen.

6) Описаніе Маньчжуріи (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., XII, 1857, стр. 32).

7) Палладій, Дорожн. зап. из пути отъ Пекина до Кяхтинскаго, чрезъ Маньчжурію въ 1870 г. (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. IV, 1871, стр. 331). Auch Wassiljef bemerkt a. a. O., dass Peking seine besten Schweine aus der Mandshurei bezieht, und dass fast ganz Nordchina mit mandshurischem Schweinefleisch versorgt wird.

8) l. c., p. 230.

9) Diese in meinem Reisetagebuch verzeichnete Thatsache ist von mir bei Besprechung des Haushuhns im ersten Bande dieses Werkes (p. 404) übersehen worden; dagegen ist dort erwähnt, dass das Huhn den Golde, Oltscha und Giljaken von den Chinesen her dem Ansehen nach bekannt ist und von ihnen in Holzschnitzereien oder metallischen Arbeiten gern dargestellt wird.

mehr an diesem letzteren Strome sahen wir sie in eigenen Gärten Bohnen, Kürbisse, Gurken, Kohl, Zwiebeln u. drgl., ja auch Mais bauen. Natürlich wächst bei den Golde zugleich, in Folge grösserer Nähe zu den ackerbauenden Chinesen am Ussuri und Sungari und eines regeren Verkehres mit denselben, auch der Gebrauch der von diesen im Handel vertriebenen Cerealien, wie Hirse, Gerste, Sorghum, Weizen u. drgl. So gestaltet sich die Nahrung der im Grunde ebenfalls ichthyophagen Golde, dank dem Wildreichthum ihres Landes und dem Einflusse eines näher benachbarten Culturvolkes, zu einer weit mannigfaltigeren und gemischteren als bei den weiter stromabwärts wohnenden Amur-Völkern.

Was endlich die mit den Oltscha und Golde auf der ganzen Strecke von der Bai de Castries bis zu den Ussuri-Quellen nach Osten, zum Meere hin benachbarten **Orotschen** betrifft, so stimmen diese hinsichtlich ihrer Nahrung im nördlichen Theile ihres langgestreckten Verbreitungsgebietes mehr mit den ersteren, im südlichen mit den letzteren überein. Allenthalben bildet Fisch, namentlich die aus dem Meere in die Küstenflüsse und aus dem Amur und Ussuri in die rechten Zuflüsse derselben aufsteigenden Lachsarten, unter denen *Salmo lagocephalus* und *S. Pradus* wiederum die Hauptrolle spielen, den Grundbestandtheil ihrer Nahrung und ermöglicht ihnen auch die Erhaltung ihres einzigen Hausthieres, des Hundes. Daneben liefert ihnen jedoch die stets mit Vorliebe betriebene Jagd auch ein erkleckliches, ja nach Süden, mit dem zunehmenden Wild- und abnehmenden Fischreichthum, im Verhältniss zum Fisch mehr und mehr wachsendes Quantum an Fleischnahrung. Die pflanzliche Nahrung der Orotschen ist hingegen allenthalben gering und beschränkt sich im Norden ihres Verbreitungsgebietes fast ganz auf die Naturprodukte ihres Landes, einige auch bei ihren Nachbarn gebräuchliche, oben angeführte Beeren, Wurzeln u. drgl. Von allen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes am meisten abgelegen vom Amur, der Hauptstrasse ihres Handelsverkehrs mit den Chinesen, bekommen die nördlichen Orotschen am wenigsten von den vegetabilischen Nahrungsmitteln, den verschiedenen Cerealien, Leguminosen u. drgl., welche aus den chinesischen Ackerbaukolonien am Sungari den Amur abwärts exportirt werden. Im südlichen Theile ihres Wohngebietes, an den rechten Zuflüssen des Ussuri und an der entsprechenden Meeresküste, ändert sich dies, indem die Orotschen dort mit Chinesen, den sogen. Ussuri-Man-dse, untermischt wohnen, die sich mit dem Anbau verschiedener Gemüse und Cerealien beschäftigen, von welchen ein Theil im Tauschhandel oder als Zahlung für Arbeitsleistungen den Orotschen zufliesst. Ja, Manche dieser letzteren haben auch ihre eigenen kleinen Gemüsegärten[1]). Dennoch bleibt auch bei den südlichen Orotschen die vegetabilische Nahrung im Vergleich mit der animalischen nur sehr gering und viel geringer als bei den ihnen benachbarten Ussuri-Golde[2]). Im Ganzen verändert sich also die Nahrung in ihren Hauptbestandtheilen bei den Orotschen von Nord nach Süd, wenn auch in

1) Наказовъ, Сѣверно-Уссур. край (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., по общ. Геогр., Т. XVII, 1887, № 1, стр. 80).

2) Nadarof (l. c., p. 79) zieht aus seinen Erfahrungen den Schluss, dass die Orotschen etwa dreimal weniger Cerealiennahrung als die Golde gebrauchen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

engeren Grenzen, doch ganz ähnlich wie bei den Amur-Anwohnern von der Mündung des Stromes zum Ussuri und Sungari hinauf.

Sahen wir schon bei den Anwohnern der linken Zuflüsse des unteren Amur-Stromes, den Negda, Samagirn und Kile am Kur, die Jagd und mit ihr die Fleischnahrung dem Fischfang und der Fischnahrung gegenüber eine wichtigere Rolle als bei den Anwohnern des Hauptstromes spielen, so steigert sich dieses Verhältniss weiter west- und landeinwärts noch mehr, und die an den West- und Südabfällen des Bureja- und Stanowoi-Gebirges und an den linken Zuflüssen des oberen Amur-Stromes wohnenden **Biraren, Manägirn** und **Orotschonen** treten uns ihrer Hauptexistenzquelle nach nicht mehr, wie die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, als mehr oder minder sesshafte Fischer, sondern als umherstreifende Jäger entgegen. Auf dieses oben[1]) bereits besprochene Verhältniss muss hier wiederum hingewiesen werden, da es nicht minder als für die Wohnung auch für die Nahrung der betreffenden Völker von maassgebender Bedeutung ist. In Folge desselben werden die Rollen, welche Fisch und Fleisch unter ihren Nahrungsbestandtheilen hier und dort spielen, direkt ausgetauscht: wie bei den unteren Amur-Völkern die Fisch-, so steht bei den oberen die Fleischnahrung obenan, und wie jenen die Jagd, so giebt diesen der Fischfang nur eine untergeordnete, zeitweise etwas stärker fliessende Hülfsquelle der Ernährung ab. Zu diesem verschiedenen Verhältniss der Hauptnahrungsbestandtheile bei den Völkern des unteren und des oberen Amur-Landes tragen nicht wenig auch die sie begleitenden, ihrer Natur und Dienstleistung nach grundverschiedenen Hausthiere bei: dort der Hund, zu dessen Unterhalt in grösserer Anzahl, als Zugthier, ansehnliche Fischvorräthe erforderlich sind, und der seinem Ernährer — wenn man von den kynophagen Giljaken und Aino absieht — kein Nahrungsmittel entgegenbringt; hier, bei den Biraren, Manägirn und Orotschonen, Pferd und Rennthier, die jener Vorräthe nicht bedürfen und dagegen selbst ihren Besitzern Nahrungsmittel liefern. Denn nicht nur werden die in Folge von Verletzungen zur Ortsveränderung unbrauchbar gewordenen und im Falle der Noth oder bei besonderen Gelegenheiten auch ganz kräftige und gesunde Thiere verzehrt, sondern die Orotschonen geniessen mit Vorliebe auch die Rennthiermilch[2]), was insofern besonders beachtenswerth ist, als es bei keinem anderen Rennthiervolke Sibirien's und nur noch im äussersten Nordwesten Europa's, bei den Lappen geschieht[3]).

Hinsichtlich der im Verhältniss zur animalischen wie dort, so auch hier nur geringen vegetabilischen Nahrung scheint mir zwischen den Völkern des unteren und des oberen Amur-Landes ebenfalls ein nicht unwesentlicher und jenem gewissermaassen analoger Unterschied zu bestehen. Denn wie bei ihnen unter den animalischen Nahrungsmitteln Fisch und Fleisch ihre Rollen wechseln, so thun es unter den vegetabilischen die einheimischen

1) S. 383.

2) Теодоровъ, Путеш. по Амуръ къ Нерчи (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. XX, 1857, Отд. II, стр. 91). Nach Tscherkassof (Зап. отдѣленія Восточн. Сибири, С. Петерб. 1867, стр. 388) saugen die Orotschonen zuweilen die Rennthiermilch sogar direkt aus den Eutern des Thieres.

3) Pallas, Zoogr. Rosso-asiat., Vol. I, p. 209. A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands, Dorpat 1854, Bd. II, p. 387.

Naturprodukte einer- und die von den angrenzenden Culturvölkern bezogenen Vegetabilien andererseits. Während für den Haushalt der unteren Amur-Völker die ersteren Nahrungsmittel ihrer allgemeinen Verbreitung und Zugänglichkeit wegen im Ganzen von grösserer Wichtigkeit als die letzteren sind, kehrt sich dies bei den Völkern des oberen Amur-Landes um: die einheimischen vegetabilischen Naturprodukte haben für sie, jenen Völkern gegenüber, an Bedeutung verloren, die importirten Culturprodukte, insbesondere Cerealien, Mehl, Graupen u. drgl., dagegen ansehnlich gewonnen. Ersteres hängt wohl mit ihrem Nomadenleben zusammen, welches zum Sammeln und Anlegen von Vorräthen, zumal wenig nahrhafter und also in grösserer Menge erforderlicher Pflanzenprodukte, Beeren, Wurzeln u. drgl., überhaupt nicht geeignet ist, und das sie ausserdem gerade in der dazu günstigsten Jahreszeit in solchen Lokalitäten verweilen lässt, welche, wie die unmittelbaren Ufer des Amur-Stromes, von jenen Nutzpflanzen nur sehr wenig bieten, und wo sie dagegen ihre gesammte Zeit einer wichtigeren Beschäftigung, dem Fischfange, widmen müssen. Nebenbei bemerkt, sind es übrigens zum Theil auch andere Pflanzenarten, denen sie ihre grösste Vorliebe zuwenden: während die Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes verschiedene nahe dem Boden wachsende Beeren, namentlich die Preissel- und die Rauschbeere besonders gern mögen und in grossen Vorräthen für den Winter einsammeln, erfreuen sich bei allen Nomadenstämmen des oberen Amur-Landes, Biraren, Manägirn und Orotschonen, die mit geringerer Mühe zu erlangenden Trauben- oder Vogelkirschen (*Prunus Padus*) der grössten Beliebtheit[1]). Der Grund hingegen, weshalb bei diesen Völkern umgekehrt die vegetabilischen Culturprodukte, wie Mehl, Graupen verschiedener Art u. drgl., eine grössere Bedeutung als bei den Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes haben, liegt ohne Zweifel darin, dass ihnen diese Nahrungsmittel von verschiedenen Seiten, aus zahlreicheren, näher gelegenen Quellen und darum im Ganzen wohl auch in reichlicherem Maasse als den unteren Amur-Völkern zufliessen. Die letzteren konnten solche Culturprodukte, bevor die russische Kolonisirung ihres Landes (in den 50-er Jahren) begann[2]), nur vom Sungari oder oberen Ussuri beziehen, sei es durch Vermittelung chinesischer Kaufleute, sei es auf eigens zu Handelszwecken unternommenen, immerhin weiten und beschwerlichen Reisen. Im oberen Amur-Lande hingegen spielt gewissermaassen die Rolle des Sungari das sog. Culturstück des Amur-Stromes, wo im Angesicht der Bureja- und Dseja-Mündungen und in der unmittelbaren

1) Ich habe gesehen, wie die Biraren grosse Mengen von Traubenkirschen auf Schilfmatten über einem kleinen Feuer trockneten, um sie aufbewahren zu können. Dieselben werden von ihnen später, ebenso wie von den Manägirn (Маньгунъ, Пугем. из Амура, стр. 78), theils einfach verzehrt, theils mit einem Mehlteig und etwas Oel oder Fett zu Kuchen verbacken, theils endlich zu einem Pulver zerstampft, das als Zuthat zu verschiedenen Speisen dient. Dabei werden die Kerne und deren Schalen stets mitgenossen, wie ich es auch bei den Giljaken gesehen habe (s. oben, p. 110), und wie es bei ähnlicher Verwendung dieser Früchte auch bei den Negda am Amgunj (Middendorff, Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 1333), nach Erman (Reise um die Erde, 1. Abtheil., Histor. Ber., III, p. 415) auf Kamtschatka, nach Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. III, p. 338) bei den Sagaiischen Tataren, welche das durch Zerstampfen der Traubenkirschen gewonnene grobe Pulver unter die Milch mengen, und anderen sibirischen Völkern geschieht.

2) Und — ich wiederhole es — nur diese Zeit kommt hier in Betracht.

Nachbarschaft der Wohn- und Wandergebiete der Biraren und Manägirn grosse, mit Ackerbau und Viehzucht beschäftigte Dörfer von Mandshu, Chinesen, Dauren, ja sogar von sesshaften Biraren liegen, in denen jene Nomaden sich leicht mit mancherlei Cerealien und Gemüse versorgen können. Von dort sowohl, als auch vom Nonni und Komar werden ihnen diese Artikel durch die betriebsamen daurischen Kaufleute auch bis weit in die Gebirgsthäler ihrer Heimath hinein zugetragen. Ferner erhalten diese Völker, und insbesondere die Orotschonen und Manägirn am oberen Amur und seinen Nebenflüssen einen, beständigen Zufluss an Cerealien durch ihren Verkehr mit den vom Argunj und von der Schilka herabkommenden russischen Kosaken und sonstigen Jagd und Handel treibenden Leuten. Endlich dringen von Nordwesten auch jakutische Händler zu den Nomadenvölkern des oberen Amur-Landes vor und tragen ihnen unter anderen Waaren auch russische Cerealien, Mehl, Graupen u. drgl. zu. Sollte es daher bei diesen Völkern auch nicht vorkommen, dass mit einem Male so grosse Mengen dieser Nahrungsmittel wie bei den Oltscha oder Giljaken zur Zeit ihrer Bärenfestlichkeiten verzehrt werden, so ist der Gebrauch derselben bei ihnen doch weit mehr verbreitet und allgemeiner und somit auch der Gesammtverbrauch grösser. Erwägt man nun auch die weit grössere Nahrhaftigkeit dieser Vegetabilien im Vergleich mit den besonders bei den Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes zur Nahrung gebräuchlichen wildwachsenden Pflanzen, so gelangt man nothwendig zu dem Schlusse, dass die Nahrung der oberen Amur-Völker sich in einem höheren Grade als diejenige der unteren Amur-Völker neben den animalischen auch aus vegetabilischen Bestandtheilen zusammensetzt. Und damit steht auch die Thatsache im Einklange, dass die oberen Amur-Völker zu ihrer Nahrung weit mehr Salz als die unteren gebrauchen. Bei den Giljaken fanden wir einen ausgesprochenen Abscheu vor demselben. Die Golde und Orotschen gebrauchen es nur sehr wenig [1]). Von den Manägirn hingegen berichtet Maack [2]), dass jeder Bemitteltere unter ihnen in seinem Haushalte auch Salz hat. Sie kaufen es von den Dauren und haben für dasselbe eine aus dem Daurischen (*«katà»*) entlehnte Bezeichnung: *katachàn*. Vermuthlich haben sie es daher auch durch die Dauren zuerst kennen gelernt, und zwar zur Zeit, als diese, noch vor der russischen Invasion, am ganzen oberen Amur und seinen Quellflüssen, Schilka und Argunj, mit Ackerbau und Viehzucht beschäftigt, wohnten und mit den von der Jagd lebenden Stämmen im Norden in Tauschhandelsbeziehungen standen [3]). Schon damals mögen also die Stämme des oberen Amur-Landes von den Dauren mancherlei Cerealien zu ihrer Nahrung bezogen haben.

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1) Неларовъ, Сѣв.-Уссур. край (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., по отд. Геогр., Т. XVII, № 1, стр. 60).

2) L. c., p. 79.

3) S. oben, p. 160.

An die Betrachtung der Nahrung der Amur-Völker mögen sich einige Bemerkungen über die bei ihnen gebräuchlichen Genussmittel, insbesondere Branntwein und Tabak, schliessen.

Die Giljaken verstehen es nicht, sei es durch Aufguss von Wasser auf die Blätter, Stengel, Rinden oder andere Theile bestimmter Pflanzenarten, sei es aus dem Safte von Beeren und anderweitigen Früchten ihres Landes sich irgend welche dem Genuss dienende Getränke zu bereiten, wie es nach Steller's[1]) und Kraschenninikof's[2]) Zeugniss die Itälmenen auf Kamtschatka in so hohem Grade verstanden. Ebenso wenig ist mir bei den Oltscha und Golde etwas Derartiges begegnet[3]). Auch der Thee, den diese Völker durch ihren Verkehr mit den Chinesen seit langer Zeit kennen müssen[4]), und den sie seit der russischen Besitznahme des Landes (in den 50-er Jahren) in Nikolajefsk wie in Mariinsk beziehen konnten, hatte bei ihnen zur Zeit meines Aufenthalts im Amur-Lande noch gar keine Aufnahme gefunden[5]). Den Kaffee kannten sie gar nicht und hielten ihn, als sie mich welchen trinken sahen, für sehr starken Thee. Dahingegen war der Branntwein im Amur-Lande natürlich allgemein bekannt, und zwar den Giljaken sowohl, wie den übrigen Völkern des Festlandes unter dem auch bei den Mandshu und bei allen tungusischen, mongolischen und türk-tatärischen Völkern Sibiriens üblichen Namen (von malayisch-chinesischem Ursprunge) *araki* oder *arki*[6]). Ohne Zweifel datirt die Kenntniss des Branntweins bei den Amur-Völkern aus der Zeit ihrer frühesten Berührung mit den Chinesen her und hat sich seitdem rasch verbreitet. Durch die Handelsfahrten der Golde, Oltscha und insbesondere der Amur-Giljaken nach Sachalin musste der chinesische Branntwein alsbald auch bei den dortigen Giljaken Eingang finden. Diese hatten allerdings Gelegenheit, den Branntwein auch von einer anderen Seite, und zwar von den Japanern kennen zu lernen, von welchen die Aino ihren Branntwein, den sogen. *Ssaki*, beziehen und auch selbst einen schwachen *Ssaki* zu bereiten gelernt haben[7]); allein der bei ihnen bereits eingebürgerte stärkere und vermuthlich auch billigere chinesische Branntwein gab der Verbreitung des japanischen Getränkes unter ihnen keinen Raum. Mamia Rinsô[8]) berichtete im J. 1808, dass die Smerenkur (Giljaken) auf Sachalin den japanischen *Ssaki* fast gar nicht kennen, geschweige

1) Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 76—89.

2) Опис. Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путеш. по Россіи, Т. I, стр. 308 и слѣд.).

3) Ich habe dabei nur die zum Genuss, nicht aber als Arzneimittel dienenden Getränke im Auge. Die Manägirn am oberen Amur sah ich eine Flechte, die sie im Walde sammeln und *mogo* nennen, auf Birkenrindenmatten an der Sonne trocknen. So viel ich von ihnen erfuhr, bringen sie dieselbe nach der Stadt Aigun, wo sie von den Bewohnern theuer bezahlt wird, um in einem Aufguss, wie Thee, genossen zu werden. Vermuthlich dient jedoch dieser Aufguss nur als Arznei bei irgend welchen Gebrechen.

4) Die Giljaken haben für denselben die Bezeichnung *pyncht*.

5) Poljakof (Путеш. на остр. Сахалинъ, p. 88—90) berichtete vom Jahre 1881, dass die Orokon auf Sachalin den Thee in hohem Grade schätzen und, wenn nur welcher vorhanden, regelmässig gegen Abend geniessen. Allein das kann nur seit der russischen Kolonisirung der Insel, also erst ganz neuerdings eingetreten sein, — zur Zeit meiner, sowie Schmidt's und Glehn's Reisen auf derselben war es noch keineswegs der Fall.

6) S. die Wörterverzeichnisse der genannten Völker in Klaproth's Asia polyglotta. Dabei kommen natürlich vielfache Modifikationen dieser allgemeinen, für Korea wie für Milchbranntwein geltenden Bezeichnung, wie *araka*, *araku*, *airaki* u. s. w., vor.

7) Матуяк, Очерк остр. Сахалина, стр. 133. Добротворскій, Японско-русск. словарь., продолж., стр. 38.

8) Tô-tats hiko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 192).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

denn selbst welchen bereiten, dagegen aber eine Art desselben, *arka* genannt, von den Mankôs (Amur-Anwohnern) erhalten, der im Geschmack sehr viel Aehnlichkeit mit japan. *Sôsu* hat». Wie alle Culturprodukte, so fliesst auch der Branntwein den Giljaken und allen übrigen Völkern des unteren Amur-Stromes hauptsächlich aus dem Sungari-Lande zu, wo es zahlreiche und darunter sehr grosse, von Chinesen angelegte und geleitete Brennereien giebt[1]), und zum Theil auch vom Ussuri, wo die Branntweinsproduction ebenfalls von den Chinesen und zwar ausschliesslich des Handels wegen betrieben wird. Der von ihnen bereitete Branntwein ist von verschiedener Qualität, je nach dem, aus welchem Getreide er gewonnen wird, ob aus dem Kao-ljan, *Sorghum vulgare*, das besonders zu diesem Zweck gebraucht wird[2]), oder aus einer der von den Chinesen angebauten Hirsearten (*Setaria italica*, *Panicum miliaceum* u. a.), oder auch aus einem Gemisch der letzteren unter einander und mit Gerste[3]). Der Branntwein wird von den Chinesen je nach der Quantität und dem Ort seiner Bestimmung theils in grossen, aus Weidenruthen geflochtenen und von innen mit dickem Papier ausgekleideten Korbflaschen, theils in viereckigen, aus 6 Brettern gemachten und inwendig ebenfalls mit Papier beklebten Kasten verkauft, an welchen sich oben an einem der Ränder eine durch einen Schieber verschliessbare Oeffnung befindet[4]). Solch' einen Kasten (gilj. *kylmr-wakke*[5]) mit *araki* zu kaufen, gehört mit zu den Zwecken einer Sungari-Fahrt der Giljaken, Oltscha oder Golde, denn am Ort seiner Produktion ist der Branntwein natürlich viel billiger als bei den chinesischen Kleinhändlern am Amur.

Mit dem Branntwein haben die Giljaken und die übrigen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes auch die Art und Weise ihn zu trinken von den Chinesen entnommen. Denn gleich wie diese trinken sie ihn stets warm[6]), aus ganz kleinen Porzellanschälchen, welche sie sich zu dem Zweck ebenfalls von den Chinesen kaufen, gleichwie auch die metallische Kanne, in welcher der Branntwein zuvor dadurch erwärmt wird, dass man die Kanne in heisses Wasser oder in die heisse Asche eines zu dem Zweck wie auch zum Anzünden der Pfeife stets zur Hand stehenden, mit glühenden Kohlen gefüllten Beckens stellt[7]). So macht es der chinesische Kaufmann am Amur, indem er mit seinen Kunden verhandelt und ihnen ab und zu einen Schluck aus seinem Schälchen zukommen lässt; so machen es ihm alle bemittelteren Golde, Ssamagirn, Oltscha oder Giljaken nach, die sich mit dem geschätzten Trank und den zum Genuss desselben erforderlichen Utensilien zu versorgen vermochten, und genau so schildert Mamia Rinsô auch die Art und Weise, wie die Smerenkur auf

1) Williamson, Journ. in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, Vol. II, p. 87. Барабашъ, Сунгар. Экспед. 1872 г. (Военн. Сборн., 1874, № 2, стр. 351).

2) Ausgedehnte mit Kao-ljan bestandene Felder am unteren Sungari, sagt Barabasch (l. c.), deuten immer auf in der Nähe befindliche Brennereien.

3) Genaueres über den chinesischen Branntwein und seine Bereitung speciell im Ussuri-Gebiet s. bei Nadarof, Сборник-Ссуур. прав, p. 105 ff.

4) Williamson, l. c., p. 88. Nadarof, l. c., p. 113. Maack, l. c., p. 196.

5) Wakke heisst Kasten oder Kiste überhaupt.

6) Marco Polo bemerkt bereits, dass die Chinesen den «Raki» (Arak) nicht anders trinken, als nachdem sie ihn zuvor heiss gemacht haben (Marco Polo's Reisen, deutsch von Bürck, p. 341, Anm. 284).

7) Die ganze Art und Weise, wie die Chinesen den Branntwein trinken, ist oft geschildert worden, so z. B. von Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris 1854, T. II, p. 190) u. A.

Sachalin ihren vom Amur gebrachten «*Arka*» zu trinken pflegen. Auch die dem Trunk vorausgehende Libation, die darin besteht, dass zuvor die Spitzen des Daumens und Zeigefingers mit Branntwein benetzt und einige Tropfen nach rechts und links, nach oben und unten und zur eigenen Brust hin gespritzt werden, habe ich, ebenso wie von den Mandshu und Chinesen am Amur, auch von Giljaken, Oltscha, Golde und selbst Orotschen in der Bai Hadshi mehr oder minder sorgfältig ausführen sehen. So geschieht der Genuss des Branntweins bei diesen Völkern in bestimmter, durch den Usus sanctionirter Weise, aus eigens dazu erforderlichem, fremdländischem Geräth und unter Beobachtung gewisser, durch den Aberglauben eingegebener Formalitäten. Ohne Zweifel musste auch dieser Umstand, neben den anderen, oben erwähnten, der Beschaffung des Branntweins aus weiter Ferne und seinem hohen Preise im Detailhandel der chinesischen Kaufleute am Amur, auf den Consum des Branntweins bei den Amur-Völkern in wohlthätig erschwerender und beschränkender Weise wirken und sie zur Mässigkeit im Genusse desselben erziehen. Und in der That muss ich ihnen und speciell den mir am meisten bekannten Giljaken für die Zeit meines Aufenthalts im Amur-Lande das Zeugniss solcher Mässigkeit ausstellen. Trotzdem sich ihnen mit der Niederlassung der Russen am unteren Amur, in Nikolajefsk und Mariinsk, eine neue, in nächster Nähe gelegene Quelle für dieses geschätzte und beliebte Getränk eröffnete, gab es doch in den ersten Jahren darnach so wenig Trunkenheit unter den Giljaken, dass mir ungeachtet meines vielfachen Verkehrs mit ihnen kein einziger Fall der Art begegnet ist, und zwar nicht einmal auf den mehrfachen Bärenfestlichkeiten, denen ich beigewohnt habe. Letzteres erschien mir besonders auffallend, erklärt sich aber daraus, dass ihren eigenen Mittheilungen zufolge das Branntweintrinken während des Bärenfestes bei ihnen für *uitsch* (unheilbringend) gilt, — eine Vorstellung, die ihre Entstehung vielleicht auch dem den Giljaken in hohem Grade eigenen Sinn für Wahrung und Mehrung ihres Eigenthums verdanken mag: denn bei der grossen Zahl von Theilnehmern an solchen Festen wäre, von sonstigen Fährlichkeiten abgesehen, der theuer erkaufte Vorrath des Gastgebers an *araki* in kurzer Zeit der Vernichtung preisgegeben. Dank ferner jener Eigenschaft der Giljaken und einer immerhin seltenen Energie ihres Charakters trat gleich zu Anfang ihres Verkehrs mit den Russen eine Erscheinung ein, die in der Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Natur- und Culturvölkern kaum ihres gleichen haben dürfte: statt sich von den Russen vermittelst des Branntweins ausnutzen und um Hab' und Gut bringen zu lassen, verstanden sie es, im Gegentheil mit ihren kleinen Vorräthen an chinesischem Branntwein den russischen Matrosen und Kosaken manchen Vortheil abzugewinnen. Allerdings kam ihrer Mässigkeit und Widerstandskraft auch der Umstand wesentlich zu Hülfe, dass in den ersten Jahren der russischen Occupation des Amur-Landes nur sehr wenig Branntwein importirt wurde, während die Zahl der russischen Consumenten desselben ansehnlich wuchs[1]). Später jedoch, als nach Beendigung des Krimkrieges der durch zahlreiche, insbesondere nordamerikanische und Hamburger Handelsschiffe

1) So kamen im J. 1855 zur früheren Besatzung des unteren Amur-Landes noch die Mannschaften mehrerer aus Kamtschatka angelangter Kriegsschiffe und einige Detachements von Kosaken aus Transbaikalien hinzu.

vermittelte Branntweinimport in Nikolajefsk stark zunahm, und gleichzeitig, unter dem Andrange der russischen Einwanderung und Kolonisation, die alten, ursprünglichen Lebensformen und Anschauungen der Giljaken mehr und mehr erschüttert wurden und hinschwanden, war es auch mit ihrer Mässigkeit und Widerstandskraft dem Branntwein gegenüber zu Ende, und bereits in den 60-er Jahren konnte man in der Lokalpresse, wie in den Berichten zurückgekehrter Reisenden und sonstiger Augenzeugen von der unter den Giljaken mehr und mehr zunehmenden und zumal auf ihren Bären- und sonstigen Festlichkeiten zu Tage tretenden Trunkenheit und Völlerei lesen [1]).

Bei allen Völkern des Amur-Landes ist das Tabakrauchen gäng und gebe, und zwar rauchen sowohl Männer wie Weiber, und den Kindern wird schon frühzeitig Gelegenheit gegeben, sich ebenfalls daran zu gewöhnen. Von woher diese Völker zuerst das Tabakskraut und dessen Gebrauch kennen gelernt haben, scheint mir auf der Hand zu liegen. Bekanntlich ist die Mandshurei das Land, aus welchem China, zum wenigsten das nördliche, die Tabakspflanze und die Sitte des Tabakrauchens erhalten hat, und zwar soll dies erst vor etwa 2½ Jahrhunderten geschehen sein, als die jetzt regierende Mandshu-Dynastie den Thron bestieg (1644), auf deren Befehl die Einführung des Tabaks in China stattfand [2]), und unter deren Schutz der Tabaksbau sich rasch im ganzen Lande verbreitete [3]). Nach der Mandshurei gelangte der Tabak aus Korea und nach Korea aus Japan [4]), wohin er zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts von den Portugiesen gebracht worden war, und wo er ebenfalls in kurzer Zeit eine allgemeine Verbreitung fand [5]). In Korea wie in der Mandshurei fand der Tabak den günstigsten Boden und wurde bald ein Gegenstand allgemeinen und eifrigen Anbaues. Noch heute liefern diese Länder, und insbesondere die Mandshurei, den renommirtesten Tabak nach China, der dem chinesischen vorgezogen und auch theurer als der letztere bezahlt wird [6]). Namentlich gilt der im Girin-Gebiet gebaute Tabak für den besten nicht bloss in China, sondern auch in der ganzen Mandshurei, und in der Stadt Girin am Sungari versammeln sich im Winter die chinesischen Kaufleute, um Engros-Einkäufe von Tabak zu machen: «alle Gasthäuser der Stadt», sagt ein Augenzeuge, der

1) Vrgl. z. B. Arth. Nordmann, Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, T. XXXIV, 2. Part., 1861, p. 234); desgl. Восточное Поморье, 1866, стр. 59, u. A.

2) Huc, L'Empire Chinois, Paris 1854, T. I, p. 222—223. Poussielgue, Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris 1866, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, London 1870, Vol. II, p. 46. Wassiljef (Описаніе Маньчжуріи. — Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Кн. XII, 1857, стр. 52, 53) sagt: darf man einem chinesischen Drama Glauben schenken, so kannten die Chinesen bis zur Mandshu-Dynastie das Tabakrauchen nicht.

3) Unter dem Kaiser Kia-king (1796—1820) wurde zwar der Versuch gemacht, den Gebrauch des Tabaks (gleichwie auch des Opiums) in China zu verbieten, allein das Verbot blieb erfolglos, da der Tabak bereits ein unentbehrlicher Artikel für die Chinesen geworden war (Plath, Die Völker der Mandshurey, Bd. II, p. 948).

4) Klaproth (Asia polygl. p. 341) giebt nach Wilson an, dass der Tabak bei den Koreanern *pongpaik-sio* heisst, d. i. Kraut, das aus Süden kommt; weil sie es von den Japanern erhalten haben.

5) Schouw, Die Erde, die Pflanzen und der Mensch, aus dem Dänischen von Zeise, Leipzig 1851, p. 264.

6) Huc, Wassiljef, Williamson, ll. cc. Ueber die Beliebtheit des koreanischen Tabaks in China sprach sich schon Lange (Journal de la résid. du Sieur Lange de S. M. I. de la grande Russie à la cour de la Chine, dans les ann. 1721 et 1722, Leyde 1726, p. 63) aus.

Archimandrit Palladij, «sind alsdann von solchen Kaufleuten überfüllt und ihre geräumigen Höfe von Tabakcollis eingenommen. «Dieses Kraut», fährt derselbe Reisende fort, «das nach den Worten chinesischer Aerzte einen Trunkenen nüchtern und einen Nüchternen trunken, einen Hungrigen satt und einen Satten hungrig macht, findet Absatz in ganz China unter dem Namen *guanj-dun-üdsy*, d. h. Blätter der Mandshurei»[1]). Wie südwärts, nach China, so hat sich der Tabak aus der Mandshurei auch nord- und ostwärts, zu allen Völkern des Amur-Landes verbreitet. Und zwar muss dies ziemlich um dieselbe Zeit, oder doch auch schon im XVII. Jahrhundert stattgefunden haben. Als Ysbrants Ides im J. 1693 nach Tsitsikar (bei ihm Naunkoton) am Nonni kam, sah er die Dauren der Umgegend allerhand Feldfrüchte und viel Tabak bauen, den sie, neben anderen Waaren, blauem Kattun u. drgl., zum Tauschhandel mit den nordwärts wohnenden Tungusen-Stämmen gebrauchten[2]), einem Handel, den sie später noch mehr und mehr ausdehnten und bis heutzutage forttreiben[3]). Man darf ferner mit Sicherheit annehmen, dass, gleichwie die Dauren und Mandshu im Sungari-Lande, auch die ehemals vom Sungari aus längs dem südlichen Amur-Strome bis weit unterhalb der Ussuri-Mündung, etwa bis zum jetzigen Golde-Dorfe Dondon verbreiteten Stammgenossen der Mandshu, die Djutscheren, die in grossen, mit Ackerbau und Viehzucht beschäftigten Dörfern wohnten[4]), unter Anderem auch Tabaksbau betrieben. Endlich musste sich letzterer vom Sungari und von Korea aus auch an den oberen Ussuri und diesen Strom abwärts zum Amur verbreiten. Es kann also keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass die Golde bereits vor den russischen Kriegszügen im XVII. Jahrhundert von den ihnen benachbarten, ja zum Theil sogar mit ihnen untermischt lebenden Mandshu (Djutscheren) den Tabak und dessen Anbau kennen gelernt hatten. Auch gegenwärtig wird der Tabaksbau nicht bloss von einzelnen, in ihrem Gebiet ansässigen Chinesen, sondern auch von ihnen selbst am Ussuri wie am Amur betrieben, und zwar am letzteren merkwürdigerweise genau so weit, als ehemals die Wohnsitze der Djutscheren sich erstreckten. Denn, stromaufwärts gegangen, trafen wir den ersten Tabaksbau der Golde im Dorfe Da, welches dem oben erwähnten, auf einer Insel gelegenen Dondon gegenüber am rechten Amur-Ufer liegt. Gleichwie die Golde, erhielten den Tabak auf diesem Wege auch die an den Ussuri-Quellen und Zuflüssen wohnenden Orotschen. Im Verkehr mit den Golde sowohl, wie mit den Mandshu und Chinesen am Amur und Sungari mussten ferner auch die übrigen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, die Oltscha, Samagirn, Negda und Giljaken schon im XVII. Jahrhundert den Gebrauch des Tabaks kennen lernen, wenn auch der Anbau der Tabakspflanze sich bei ihnen schon aus klimatischen und anderen Gründen verbot. Durch die Giljaken und Oltscha des Festlandes gelangte endlich der Tabak auch zu ihren Landsleuten, den Giljaken und Oroken von Sachalin, während das dritte Volk der Insel, die Aino, ihn wohl aus einer

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1) Архимандритъ Палладій, Дорожн. записки на пути отъ Пекина до Благовѣщенска, чрезъ Маньчжурію, въ 1870 г. (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., по отд. Геогр., Т. IV, 1871, стр. 398).

2) Ysbrants Ides, Driejaarige Reise naar China, p. 70, 129.

3) S. oben, p. 38.

4) S. oben, p. 149 ff.

anderen Quelle, direkt von den Japanern erhielt [1]). Später, nachdem der mandshurische Tabak sich bereits unter allen Amur-Völkern verbreitet hatte und ihnen zum unentbehrlichen Bedürfniss geworden war, drang von Westen und Norden auch russischer Tabak in das Amur-Land ein, sowohl in Folge des beständigen Verkehrs, den russische Kosaken, Jäger und Händler mit den Orotschonen, Manägirn und anderen Stämmen des oberen Amur-Landes unterhielten, als auch durch Vermittelung jakutischer Kaufleute, welche theils jenen Nomaden nachzogen, theils bestimmte Handelspunkte besuchten, an denen sie mit ihnen, sowie mit manchen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes in Verkehr traten [2]). Nichtsdestoweniger herrschte bis zur russischen Occupation des Amur-Landes in den 50-er Jahren bei allen Völkern desselben der mandshurische Tabak entschieden vor, und erst seit diesem Ereigniss begann der russische (tscherkasskische) Tabak rasch an die Stelle jenes ersteren zu treten, zunächst und besonders natürlich bei denjenigen Völkern, die selbst keinen Tabak bauen, also bei den Giljaken, Oltscha u. s. w. Was ihn bei denselben besonders beliebt macht, ist seine im Vergleich mit dem mandshurischen Tabak viel grössere Stärke oder Herbigkeit, sowie auch seine weit grössere Billigkeit. Die grosse Beliebtheit des russischen Tabaks und die allgemeine und starke Nachfrage nach demselben unter den genannten Völkern machten ihn bald zum allerwichtigsten und nothwendigsten Handelsartikel im Verkehr mit ihnen.

Wie den Tabak, so haben die Giljaken und die übrigen Völker des Amur-Landes von den Mandshu auch die übrigens auch in ganz China verbreitete Form der Pfeife (gilj. *tai*) angenommen, die aus zwei durch ein dünnes, schwarz gefärbtes hölzernes Stück mit einander verbundenen metallischen Stücken besteht. Das untere Stück läuft bogenförmig in einen kleinen, nach oben gekehrten, schalenförmigen Kopf aus. Das obere oder Mundstück ist nur beim gemeinen Manne aus Metall (Messing); jeder Bemitteltere Giljake sucht es den Chinesen nachzumachen und sich für seine Pfeife ein steinernes Mundstück, aus Jadegit oder gar aus Chalcedon, Carneol oder Nephrit, wie solche im Sungari-Lande, namentlich in Tsitsikar u. a. Orten fabricirt werden [3]), zu verschaffen [4]). In der Form der Pfeife herrscht bei allen Völkern des Amur-Landes die grösste Uebereinstimmung, da die sie zusammensetzenden Stücke stets aus dem Sungari-Lande stammen, wo sie fabrikmässig gemacht werden. Nur die Aino auf Sachalin haben andersgeformte Pfeifen, weil sie dieselben aus einer anderen Quelle, von den Japanern beziehen. Ich habe bei ihnen Pfeifen von zweierlei Form gesehen: einmal mit ganz kleinem, rechtwinklig nach oben abgesetztem Köpfchen, in welches kaum die Spitze des kleinen Fingers hineinpasst, und dann auch welche mit grösserem, schalenförmigem Kopfe. Ausserdem aber machen sie sich

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1) Die Bezeichnung für den Tabak ist, wie bei den Mandshu (*dombagu*) und Mongolen (*tamachi*), so auch bei allen Amur-Völkern mit ganz geringen Modifikationen stets dieselbe; so bei den Golds und Oltscha: *damche*, *tamche* und *tamache*, bei den Giljaken: *tam(a)ch*, bei den Aino: *tambaku* u. s. w.

2) S. oben, p. 79—82.

3) Барабашъ, Сунгарея. мсто. (Вост. Сборн., 1874, № 2, стр. 351).

4) Das untere metallische Stück, mit dem Pfeifenkopf, heisst giljakisch *hott*, das Mundstück *ûmf*, das sie verbindende hölzerne Mittelstück *tuumdasir*.

auch selbst Pfeifenköpfe, und zwar aus dem Holz der *Hydrangea paniculata* Sieb. et Zucc., welche namentlich bei den Weibern im Gebrauch sind[1].

Der auf einem besonderen Brett (Taf. XXXIV, Fig. 8) fein zerschnittene und, wenn trocken, fast zu Pulver zerfallende Tabak wird bei den Giljaken in einem Beutel gehalten, der ebenfalls immer von einer und derselben, überall im Amur-Lande angenommenen, mandshu-chinesischen Form zu sein scheint, lang und schmal und in der Nähe seines oberen Endes mit einem seitlichen Schlitz versehen, durch welchen die Pfeife hineingesteckt wird, um innerhalb des Beutels mit Tabak gestopft zu werden. In dieser Lage wird sie stets auch mit dem Beutel zusammen getragen, der in der Regel an einen der obersten Pelz- oder Hemdknöpfe befestigt wird und von dort in den Busen herabhängt. Meist ist er aus Fischhaut, Leder oder einem Fellstück gemacht, an den Rändern mit chinesischem Kattun oder Seide eingekantet, oben mit einigen gestickten oder gemalten Arabesken verziert und bisweilen auch ganz aus einem jener Stoffe verfertigt.

Gern theilt der Giljake den Genuss des Tabakrauchens mit Anderen. Doch findet das nie in der Weise statt, dass die Pfeife unter allen um den Herd oder um ein im Freien lodernde Feuer Herumsitzenden von Hand zu Hand in die Runde geht. Das verbietet sich schon durch das geringe Maass der Pfeife, so wie auch durch meist vorhandene sociale oder moralische Differenzen zwischen den Anwesenden. In der Regel sieht man aber die Pfeife zwischen zwei Nebeneinandersitzenden hin und her gehen. Tritt namentlich ein Angereister in die Jurte, so reicht ihm der Wirth, nachdem er neben ihm Platz genommen, seine eben angerauchte Pfeife, welche dieser, nachdem er einen Zug aus derselben gethan, wieder dem ersteren zurückgiebt, um sie nochmals von ihm zu erhalten, und so fort, bis die Pfeife zu Ende ist, worauf der Gast seinerseits mit Gleichem erwidert. Immer ist dies ein Zeichen freundlichen Willkommens und guten Einvernehmens oder einer gewissen Achtung und Gleichstellung. Ich habe die chinesischen Kaufleute am Amur es oft ebenso mit den in die Jurte ein- und an sie herantretenden Eingeborenen thun sehen, was ohne Zweifel den Zweck hatte, sie durch ein solches, für sie sehr schmeichelhaftes Entgegenkommen zu gewinnen und für den Handel günstiger zu stimmen.

Geht den Giljaken der Tabak aus, so greifen sie zu verschiedenen Ersatzmitteln für denselben. Das gewöhnlichste dieser Surrogate ist ein feines und trockenes Holzschabsel, gleichviel von welcher, immer aber von einer weichen Holzart, vermuthlich vorzugsweise von Weidenholz. Solch ein Holzschabsel wird schon dem Tabak beigemischt, wenn er auf die Neige zu gehen beginnt. Ist er zu Ende gegangen, so wird an Stelle desselben das mit Tabaksoel vermischte Holzschabsel geraucht. Zu dem Zweck wird das Tabaksoel von Zeit zu Zeit aus den Pfeifen gekratzt und in einem besonderen Täschchen (gilj. *niryghsis*) aufbewahrt, das aus

1) Fr. Schmidt, dem ich diese Angabe entnehme, fügt hinzu, dass er diese Pfeifenköpfe, trotzdem, dass die *Hydrangea paniculata* nur in der Aniwa-Bai und an der Westküste Sachalin's südlich von Notosama vorkommt, doch noch in Kussunai und Manuo im Gebrauch gesehen habe. S. dessen Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIe Sér., T. XII, № 2, p. 99).

ein paar zwischen zwei Seehundsfellstücken befestigten Lederläppchen besteht (Taf. XXVIII, Fig. 6), auf welche das Tabaksoel geschmiert wird, um, wenn nöthig, abgekratzt zu werden und, mit dem Holzschabsel vermischt, wieder in die Pfeife zu wandern [1]). Ausserdem benutzen die Giljaken auch manches ihrer einheimischen Kräuter als Tabakssurrogat; so z. B. ein Kraut, das sie mir in Allof am Amur *tschomr*, in Tyk auf Sachalin *wurpi* nannten, und das, nach den mir zu Gesicht gekommenen trockenen Bruchstücken zu urtheilen, ein Farrenkraut zu sein scheint. Bei den Golde, in Köurmi am Amur, sah ich ebenfalls Bündel eines Krautes hängen, das sie *toina* nennen und als Surrogat für Tabak gebrauchen. Die systematischen Namen dieser Pflanzen müssen zunächst unbekannt bleiben.

Das Tabakschnupfen und Tabakkauen findet man bei den Amur-Völkern, zum wenigsten im unteren Amur-Lande, gar nicht [2]). Beides liegt auch nicht in den Sitten der Chinesen. Das Tabakschnupfen findet sich zwar bei diesen [3]), soll aber auch nur in den höheren Ständen, unter den gelehrten Mandarinen und hohen Beamten gebräuchlich sein und von den alten französischen Jesuitenmissionären her datiren, die ihm durch ihr Beispiel Eingang am Hof und in der Aristokratie von Peking verschafften, an welchem Orte man auch heutzutage noch den meisten Tabakschnupfern in China begegnen soll [4]). Bei so geringer Verbreitung dieser Sitte in China ist es vollkommen begreiflich, dass sie sich bisher auch nicht von dort aus nach dem Sungari-Lande und so zu den Amur-Völkern hat verbreiten können.

Dahingegen darf man sich wundern, dass die Amur-Völker bisher noch nicht von einem anderen, auf dem erwähnten Wege zu ihnen vordringenden Narcoticum heimgesucht worden sind, — ich meine vom Opium. Zur Zeit meines Aufenthalts im Amur-Lande war das Opium dort noch völlig unbekannt und auch nichts von einem etwaigen Anbau desselben bei den Mandshu oder Chinesen am Sungari zu hören [5]). Im J. 1866, als Williamson die Mandshurei bereiste, wurde ihm dort versichert, dass vor wenigen Jahren noch das Opium dem Lande ganz fremd war; jetzt sah er es aber allenthalben in Anbau. Beim Dorfe Fata-mun z. B., etwas nördlich von Girin, wo es nach Angabe der Eingeborenen vor 3—5 Jahren noch gar kein

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1) Ganz dasselbe Tabakssurrogat ist auch bei den Tschuktschen im Gebrauch, die es aber in der Weise gewinnen, dass sie das Holzschabsel in das an ihren Pfeifen viel dickere Rohr oberhalb des Pfeifenkopfs stecken, wo es vom durchziehenden Tabakrauch allmählich mit Nicotin durchtränkt wird (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes, London 1872, p. 429. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston 1870, p. 84).

2) Bei den Aleuten, die den Tabak von den Russen kennen gelernt haben, wird er am allermeisten gekaut, geschnupft nur wenig und geraucht gar nicht (Вениаминовъ, Зап. объ остр. Уналаск. отд., ч. II, 1840, стр. 236). Die Tschuktschen sollen ihn oft erst kauen, dann hinter dem Ohre trocknen und in einem besonderen Beutel aufbewahren, um ihn später noch zu rauchen (Nordenskiöld, Die Umsegel. Asiens und Europas auf der Vega, Bd. II, p. 114).

3) Staunton, Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China, aus dem Englisch., Frankf. und Leipzig 1798, Bd. II, p. 71.

4) Huc (L'Empire Chinois, l. c.) erzählt ferner, dass die Missionäre sich zu ihrem Gebrauch französischen Tabak aus Europa bringen liessen, und da dieser damals als Stempel ein Wappen mit drei Lilien trug, so wurde letzteres Zeichen zum einzigen Schilde für Schnupftabakverkauf in Peking und ist es noch heutzutage.

5) Maack (Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 243) sah übrigens am Amur, in der Nähe der Sungari-Mündung, einen Mandshu-Beamten einen Stoff rauchen, den er für Opium halten zu dürfen glaubt.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Opium gegeben, standen 130—160 Acres Landes unter der Mohnpflanze. Der Opiumbau, hiess es, sei viel vortheilhafter als der Anbau irgend eines Getreides; zwar sei er gesetzlich verboten, allein die betreffenden Regierungsbeamten liessen sich durch Geld oder eine Abgabe an Opium erkaufen. Ansehnliche Quantitäten von Opium wurden bereits aus der Mandshurei nach Peking verführt, und auch im Lande selbst hatte das Opiumrauchen schon bedauerliche Dimensionen erreicht, indem die Mehrzahl der männlichen Jugend ihm ergeben war[1]). Dass unter solchen Umständen und dank den chinesischen Kaufleuten auch die Amur-Völker in Zukunft davon nicht verschont bleiben werden, ist gewiss zu befürchten.

1) Williamson, Journeys etc. Vol. II, p. 63, 230 u. a.

[P.402]

7. Abschnitt.

Mittel der Bewegung und Ortsveränderung zu Lande und zu Wasser: Schneeschuhe, Schlitten, Zug-, Reit- und Lastthiere, — Hund, Rennthier, Pferd; Böte und Kähne.

Wie schon mehrfach erwähnt, sind die drei Hauptbeschäftigungen, welche den Amur-Völkern sowohl Kleidung und Nahrung, als auch die zum Bedürfniss gewordenen Genussmittel gewähren, Fischfang, Jagd und Handel, — Beschäftigungen, die nicht anders als unter mancherlei, mehr oder minder ansehnlichen Ortsveränderungen stattfinden können. Bevor ich daher an die Betrachtung dieser ihrer Hauptbeschäftigungen gehe, halte ich es für geboten, die Art und Weise der Ortsveränderung bei den Amur-Völkern und die ihr dienenden Mittel einer besonderen Besprechung zu unterwerfen. Diese wird naturgemäss in zwei Theile zerfallen, indem sie sich einerseits der zu Lande oder auf der Eisdecke der Gewässer und andererseits der zu Wasser vor sich gehenden Ortsveränderung zuzuwenden hat.

Ein Fischervolk wie die Giljaken, das seine Wohnsitze stets in nächster Nähe von dem es fast ausschliesslich ernährenden Wasser aufschlägt, und vor welchem ferner auf dem Amur-Strom wie längs der Westküste Sachalin's direkte Wasserstrassen zum Handel und Verkehr mit den Nachbarstämmen und mit den nächsten Culturvölkern, den Mandshu-Chinesen am Sungari und den Japanern auf Südsachalin, sich ausbreiten, ein solches Volk muss natürlich einen grossen Theil seines Lebens in Bewegung und Ortsveränderung auf dem Wasser zubringen. Indessen sind die klimatischen Verhältnisse des Amur-Landes der Art, dass die Ortsveränderung zu Wasser nur während etwa fünf Monaten, vom Mai bis zum September möglich ist, — die übrige und längste Zeit des Jahres muss sie zu Lande geschehen. Und indem der Winter die Gewässer in Fesseln schlägt und die Erdoberfläche mit einer dicken Schneeschicht überkleidet, ermöglicht er den Giljaken die Bewegung und Ortsveränderung zu Lande, resp. auf der Eisdecke der Gewässer und eröffnet ihnen neue Gebiete und Verkehrsstrassen. Der im

Sommer in Folge seines dichten Unterholzes, der vielen umgestürzten, halbvermoderten und übermoosten Bäume ungangbare nordische Urwald wird dank der hohen, alle Unebenheiten seines Bodens ausgleichenden Schneelage unter gewissen Bedingungen für Fussgänger wie für leichte Gefährte zugänglich, gerade zu der Zeit, da er die Pelzthiere in ihrem kostbaren Winterhaar birgt. In Folge dessen wird der im Sommer menschenöde, höchstens nur hie und da, an seinem Rande von Beeren- und Wurzelnsammelnden Weibern und Kindern besuchte Wald im Winter zum Tummelplatz der Jäger. Von Jägern und Händlern werden durch ungangbare Wald- und Gebirgswildnisse Pfade und Wege gebahnt, die sonst entlegene Ortschaften zeitweise mit einander verbinden. Das Eis des Amur-Limanes ferner hebt auf Monate die insulare Lage Sachalin's auf, und insonderheit endlich bietet die ebene Eisdecke des Amur-Stromes den Giljaken eine Hauptverkehrsstrasse vom Liman bis zum Sungari hinauf.

Betrachten wir nun genauer die Mittel, welche den Giljaken zur winterlichen Lokomotion dienen. Bei aller Aehnlichkeit, ja theilweisen Uebereinstimmung mit denjenigen anderer nordischen Völker bieten sie des Abweichenden und Eigenartigen genug dar. Der grosse Schneereichthum des unteren Amur-Landes nöthigt die Giljaken, sich auf Schritt und Tritt der Schneeschuhe zu bedienen. Gilt es auch nur einen kleinen Gang vom Hause, ja sogar nur einige Schritte vom eingetrampelten oder eingefahrenen Pfade abseits zu machen, so sind Schneeschuhe erforderlich, wenn man nicht bis zum Gürtel und tiefer in den Schnee einsinken will. Noch unumgänglicher sind sie natürlich auf weiteren Gängen durch den Wald, wo der Schnee besonders hoch und locker liegt, oder aber nach Schneestürmen, da er, vom Winde getrieben, sich stellenweise und zumal an Bergabhängen, in Thälern und Schluchten in so kolossalen Mengen anhäuft, dass an ein Ueberschreiten derselben ohne Schneeschuhe gar nicht zu denken ist. Für solche Gänge, wie sie der Giljake zum Aufstellen oder Besichtigen seiner Thierfallen und zu anderen Jagdzwecken, oder auf Reisen, wenn ihn Schneestürme überraschen, oft genug zu machen hat, ist es aber zum leichteren und rascheren Vorwärtskommen erforderlich, dass die Schneeschuhe nicht bloss das Einsinken in den Schnee möglichst verhindern, sondern auch ein gewisses Fortgleiten über denselben gestatten. Um nun diesen verschiedenen Bedürfnissen nachzukommen, haben die Giljaken zwei Arten von Schneeschuhen: kleine — *lakk* und grosse — *enj*.

Die kleinen Schneeschuhe der Giljaken bestehen aus zwei dünnen Brettchen, ohne Fellüberzug. Sie sind etwa 4½ Fuss lang und 5—6 Zoll breit, dabei mit Ausnahme des vorderen, sanft aufwärts gekrümmten und mehr oder minder rasch zugespitzten Endes vollkommen flach und eben. Je nach dem Maass dieser Zuspitzung des vorderen Endes lassen sich mehrere, in gewissen Gegenden bei den Giljaken übliche Formen der kleinen Schneeschuhe unterscheiden. So herrscht am Amur-Strome bis nach Wair hinab die auf Taf. XXXV, Fig. 1 und 2, abgebildete Form, mit langsamerer Verjüngung der Spitze. Unterhalb Wair's, an der Amur-Mündung, am Liman und auf der gegenüberliegenden Küste Sachalin's haben die Schneeschuhe die in Fig. 3 wiedergegebene Form, mit rascherer Zuspitzung, und auf Sachalin endlich giebt es eine dritte Form, mit noch rascherer Verjüngung des Vorderendes, zu deren Abbildung ich leider keine Gelegenheit fand. Diese kleinen Schneeschuhe sind dem Giljaken ein ganz unentbehr-

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

liches Stück, ohne welches man ihn im Winter fast nur in der Jurte sieht. Denn er braucht sie nicht bloss zu jedem noch so kleinen Gange, sondern behält sie auch beim Fahren, rittlings auf der Narte sitzend, an den Füssen bei, sowohl um nöthigenfalls, wenn es z. B. am Anspann der Hunde etwas zu ordnen giebt, absteigen und einige Schritte durch den Schnee machen zu können, als auch um die Fortbewegung des Schlittens zu erleichtern, worauf ich später noch zurückkommen werde. Ist der Ort, wo im Freien genächtigt werden soll, erreicht, so dient ihm der Schneeschuh mit seinem ebenen hinteren Ende als Schaufel, um den Nachtlagerplatz wie erforderlich zu bereiten[1]) und den übers Feuer gehängten Kessel mit Schnee zu füllen, und hat er sich endlich auf dem Tannenreisig vor dem lodernden Feuer niedergelassen, die Beine kreuzweise untergeschlagen, so giebt ihm ein quer über die Kniee gelegter Schneeschuh das an Stelle des *Chachtschitsch* in der Jurte[2]) dienende Tischchen zur Einnahme des Abendessens ab.

So wesentliche Dienste aber die kleinen Schneeschuhe den Giljaken auch leisten, so sind sie doch für weitere Gänge über tiefen und lockeren Schnee auf unebenem Waldesboden wenig geeignet. Denn bei ihrer geringen Grösse heben sie das Einsinken nur in einer sehr unvollkommenen Weise auf, sind auch nur wenig elastisch und in Folge des fehlenden Fellüberzuges nur sehr wenig glatt; ja, bei nassem Wetter macht der anhaftende Schnee das Gehen auf denselben sogar recht beschwerlich. Zu ihren Jagdexcursionen und sonstigen weiteren Gängen bedienen sich daher die Giljaken nicht der kleinen, sondern der grossen Schneeschuhe, — *enj* (Taf. XXXV, Fig. 4—6). Diese werden, gleichwie die kleinen Schneeschuhe, in der Regel aus Lärchenholz (gilj. *koi*) gemacht, welches die Giljaken daher auch als *lakk-tschchar*, d. h. Schneeschuhholz, bezeichnen[3]), sind aber erheblich länger und breiter und mit einem Fellüberzuge versehen, im Uebrigen jedoch ziemlich von derselben Form wie jene, namentlich ebenfalls bis auf das sanft aufwärts gekrümmte Vorderende in ihrer ganzen Länge flach und eben. Der Ueberzug ist von Seehundsfell, das, mit dem Haar nach hinten gerichtet, vermittelst Fischleims möglichst glatt über die ganze untere Seite des Schneeschuhes geklebt und an den beiden Rändern nach oben umgeschlagen wird. Ausserdem dienen zur Befestigung desselben zwei lange, schienenartig längs den Rändern des Schneeschuhes verlaufende, durch hölzerne Stifte an das Schneeschuhbrett befestigte Streifen von Fischbein oder von sorgfältig geglättetem Holz. Das zur Aufnahme des Fusses dienende Riemenwerk ist ebenso wie bei den kleinen Schneeschuhen beschaffen, nur durchweg breiter und kräftiger: unter die vordere, an zwei durch den Schneeschuh und dessen Ueberzug gehende Riemen befestigte Schlinge wird die Fussspitze bis über die Zehen gesteckt; die hintere Schlinge kommt über dem Hacken zu liegen, und dort werden auch die beiden seitlichen, mit mehreren Löchern versehenen Riemen zusammengeknüpft, und zwar indem ein

1) S. oben, p. 377.

2) S. oben, p. 427 und 448.

3) Die Aino auf Sachalin machen ihre Schneeschuhe zum Theil aus dem Holze von *Sorbus aucuparia* (Schmidt, Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin. — Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIe Sér. T. XII, № 2, p. 99. Минуэ, Очерк остр. Сахалина, стр. 33), die Golde aus Eschenholz (Бухмоэ, Опис. обитателей Приамурья, обл. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Кн. IX, X, стр. 122).

Riemen durch den anderen gezogen und ein Holzpflöckchen gegen das Abrutschen vorgesteckt wird. Bei solcher Anheftung des Schneeschuhes an den Fuss behält der Hacken seine volle freie Beweglichkeit nach auf- und abwärts, wie nach rechts und links, und die Fortbewegung geschieht lediglich durch ein Vorwärtsschieben des Schneeschuhes mit der Fussspitze. Die Leichtigkeit und Schnelligkeit der Bewegung hängt somit wesentlich von dem leichten Fortgleiten der Schneeschuhe über die Schneefläche ab, und dies wird an den giljakischen Schneeschuhen in hohem Grade durch den Ueberzug mit dem kurzhaarigen und glatten Seehundsfell und die Fischbein-, resp. die nach aussen abgerundeten und geglätteten Holzschienen bewirkt. In dieser ausnehmenden Glätte liegt der Hauptvorzug der giljakischen Schneeschuhe. Die Schienen, ob aus Fischbein oder Holz, dienen zugleich dazu, ein Ausgleiten nach der einen oder der anderen Seite zu verhüten. Je leichter aber die giljakischen Schneeschuhe aus den erwähnten Gründen über den Schnee fortgleiten, um so weniger sind sie zum Bergansteigen geeignet, denn das nur wenig widerhaarige Seehundsfell kann dem Zurückrutschen schon an sich einen nur allzu geringen Widerstand leisten, und dieser Widerstand wird noch durch die glatten, über das Fell vorragenden Fischbein- oder Holzschienen paralysirt. Wie bei den grossen Terrainunebenheiten, so tritt ferner ein wesentlicher Mangel der giljakischen Schneeschuhe auch den kleinen Bodenunebenheiten gegenüber, wie sie der nordische Urwald allenthalben aufweist, zu Tage. Dieser Mangel besteht in ihrer geringen Elasticität. Denn die Giljaken nehmen zu ihren Schneeschuhen, vielleicht der grösseren Dauerhaftigkeit wegen und indem sie auf die ihnen durch den Fellüberzug und die Schienen zu verleihende Glätte rechnen, kein besonders dünnes Brett und machen sie zudem, wie bereits erwähnt, so flach und eben, dass sie, unbeschwert auf den Boden gelegt, denselben, von dem vorderen, aufwärts gekrümmten Ende abgesehen, mit ihrer gesammten unteren Fläche berühren. In Folge ihrer geringen Elasticität können sie sich aber den Unebenheiten des Bodens nicht genügend fügen und sinken daher tiefer ein, was den Gang auf solchem Boden begreiflicherweise sehr erschwert und verlangsamt. Alles zusammengenommen, sind die Schneeschuhe der Giljaken ihrem Bau und ihrer gesammten Beschaffenheit nach weniger zum Durchstreifen unebener Berg- und Waldwildnisse, als zum raschen Dahingleiten über weite, tief verschneite Flächen geeignet, wie sie die Eisdecke des Amur-Stromes, des Amur-Limanes, der vielen Meeresbuchten und Baien und manche sonstige ebene Strecken ihrer Heimath darbieten. Zum Schluss muss hier noch des Stockes Erwähnung geschehen, dessen sich, gleich anderen nordischen Völkern, auch die Giljaken beim Gehen auf Schneeschuhen bedienen, und der sowohl als Steuer beim Bergabrutschen, wie als Stütze bei gewöhnlicher Fortbewegung dient. Letzteres wird namentlich dadurch ermöglicht, dass an den Stock etwas oberhalb seines unteren, in eine gerade oder gekrümmte Spitze auslaufenden Endes ein hölzerner Reif angebracht ist, der mit ihm durch mehrere von seiner Peripherie speichenartig zum Stock und durch denselben gezogene Riemen in etwas beweglicher Verbindung steht. Dank demselben findet der Stock im Schnee einen hinreichenden Widerstand, um einen gewissen Halt zu bieten, während seine Beweglichkeit das Wiederherausziehen des Stockes aus dem Schnee erleichtert und somit auch dabei einen unnützen Kraftaufwand verhindert. Das obere, etwas schauffelförmig erweiterte Ende des Stockes endlich dient dazu, den unter

Schneeschuhstock, gilj. *tyaej:n* — oberes, schaufelförmiges Ende, *b* — beweglicher Reif, gilj. *tschrop*, *c* — untere Endspitze, gilj. *ituep*.

dem Fusse sich ansammelnden und zusammenballenden Schnee zu entfernen.

Beide Arten von Schneeschuhen, die kleinen wie die grossen, sind auch bei den den Giljaken benachbarten tungusischen Völkern des Amur-Landes im Gebrauch. Die kleinen Schneeschuhe, von den Oltscha und Golde *kingulta* genannt, behalten auch bei ihnen dieselbe Form und Beschaffenheit wie bei den Giljaken. Die grossen Schneeschuhe hingegen (oltschaisch und goldisch *ssulta* oder auch *ssoch-ssulta*) zeigen bei ihnen den giljakischen gegenüber sehr erhebliche und charakteristische Differenzen, auf welche ich hier etwas näher eingehen muss. Im Ganzen stimmen sie mit den von Middendorff ausführlich besprochenen Schneeschuhen «der nomadischen Jäger Sibiriens» überein, unter welcher allgemeinen Bezeichnung in diesem Falle, wie ich aus der betreffenden Beschreibung und Abbildung[1]) mit Bestimmtheit schliessen zu dürfen glaube, sibirische Rennthier-Tungusen gemeint sind, in deren Gesellschaft Middendorff seine Reise längs dem Südabhange des Stanowoi-Gebirges vom Ochotskischen Meer bis zum oberen Amur ausführte, und auf die jene allgemeine Bezeichnung unter allen Völkern Sibiriens am meisten passt. Entsprechend jedoch dem höheren Wohlstande und Schliffe der tungusischen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes jenen ihren sibirischen Stammgenossen gegenüber, sind auch ihre Schneeschuhe, insbesondere diejenigen der Golde und Samagirn, noch feiner, geschickter und kunstvoller gemacht, so dass sie wohl den höchsten Grad der Vollendung dieses Utensils, der überhaupt erreicht worden ist, darstellen. Sie sind länger und im Verhältniss auch breiter als die grossen giljakischen Schneeschuhe. Die Länge lässt sich jedoch nur im Allgemeinen auf etwa 5—6 Fuss angeben, denn als Regel gilt, dass sie stets von der Länge desjenigen Individuums sein müssen, für welches sie bestimmt sind, — eine Regel, an die man sich natürlich nicht immer hält. Trotz ihrer ansehnlicheren Dimensionen sind die amur-tungusischen Schneeschuhe, wie ich sie schlechtweg nennen will, — von den Giljaken werden sie *Rdhy-enj*, d. h. Samagir-Schneeschuhe, genannt — doch viel leichter als die giljakischen, in Folge der ausnehmenden Dünnheit des Brettes. Diese Dünnheit des Brettes und die eigenartige, leicht gewellte Form, die ihm beim Trocknen gegeben wird, bedingen die ausserordentliche Elasticität dieser Schneeschuhe. Wie man aus den auf Taf. XXXV, Fig. 7—9, gegebenen Abbildungen ersehen kann, welche nach einem Paar goldischer Schneeschuhe entworfen sind, das ich im Dorfe Ssamahag:du am Amur erquirirte und, gleich wie auch

1) Middendorff, Reise in den Nord. und Ost. Sibir., Bd. IV, p. 1348.

die daneben abgebildeten giljakischen, während meines Aufenthalts im Amur-Lande selbst gebraucht habe, verläuft das Brett der amur-tungusischen Schneeschuhe in einer doppelten Wellenlinie. An der Stelle nämlich, wo der Fuss zu stehen kommt, und die nicht etwa genau in der Mitte des Schneeschuhes, sondern im Anfang seiner hinteren Hälfte liegt, ist das Brett sanft aufwärts gewölbt und fällt von dort nach vorn wie nach hinten ab, um an beiden Enden, und zwar am hinteren nur schwach, am vorderen aber recht stark wieder anzusteigen. Legt man daher diesen Schneeschuh ohne Belastung auf einen ebenen Boden, so berührt er ihn nicht, wie der giljakische, mit seiner ganzen unteren Fläche, sondern nur an den beiden Stellen derselben, wo sie nach den Enden hin anzusteigen beginnt. Erst wenn der Fuss auftritt, kommt auch der zwischenliegende, mittlere Theil der Schneeschuhsohle in Berührung mit dem Boden. In Folge der erwähnten Eigenschaften fügen sich diese Schneeschuhe weit mehr den kleinen Unebenheiten des Bodens an und verhindern das Einsinken in den Schnee viel vollständiger als die giljakischen Schneeschuhe. Zur Bekleidung der amur-tungusischen Schneeschuhe werden Beinfelle vom Elenn oder vom Rennthier genommen; bisweilen besteht auch der Mittelstreifen aus den ersteren, das Uebrige aus den letzteren. Die Felle werden längs den Rändern nach oben umgeschlagen und hier ausser durch Fischleim noch vermittelst einiger, durchs Brett genähter, flacher Riemen befestigt. Schienen, sei es aus Fischbein oder aus Holz, haben die amur-tungusischen Schneeschuhe niemals; dagegen ist aber bei ihnen der Mittelstreifen der Fellbekleidung stets von den Seitenstücken etwas abgesetzt, wodurch das seitliche Ausgleiten der Schuhe hinlänglich verhindert wird. In Folge einer solchen Bekleidung sind die amur-tungusischen Schneeschuhe zwar minder glatt als die giljakischen, leisten aber, dank der grösseren Widerhaarigkeit der genannten Felle, einen weit stärkeren Widerstand beim Bergansteigen. Um ferner das dünne, an der Fussstelle etwas nach oben gewölbte Brett vor Beschädigung durch den Druck des Fusses zu schützen, ist es an dieser Stelle noch mit einem zweiten dünnen Brettchen, oder auch mit einer Rinden- oder feinen Knochenplatte bekleidet, auf welche der Fuss zu stehen kommt. Was endlich das Riemenwerk betrifft, so ist es zwar, wie man sich aus den Abbildungen überzeugen kann, demjenigen der giljakischen Schneeschuhe sehr ähnlich, allein insofern auch zweckmässiger, als das An- und Abthun der Schuhe vermittelst desselben kein jedesmaliges Bücken und Nachhelfen mit der Hand erfordert: ist nämlich der hintere, längs den Seitenriemen verschiebbare Riemen einmal an der richtigen Stelle, je nach der Grösse des Fusses, befestigt, so braucht man, um die Schneeschuhe anzuthun, den Fuss nur derart ins Riemenwerk zu stecken, dass der hintere Riemen über dem Hacken zu liegen kommt, und alsdann durch eine seitliche Bewegung des Fusses die Spitze desselben unter den breiten vorderen Riemen zu bringen. Das Abthun der Schneeschuhe geschieht nicht minder leicht, indem man nur mit dem Schneeschuhstock den hinteren Riemen über den Hacken hinabzuschieben braucht.

Aus dem Obigen ist ersichtlich, wie grosse Vorzüge die Schneeschuhe der tungusischen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, der Oltscha, Golde, Samagirn, vor den giljakischen haben, und wie viel geeigneter sie namentlich zum winterlichen Durchstreifen von Wald- und Gebirgswildnissen sind. Wie die Kleidung und Nahrung, so beweist mithin auch die Beschaffenheit dieses

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wichtigen Lokomotionsmittels, dass bei diesen Völkern, trotzdem sie heutzutage im Allgemeinen ebenfalls seshafte Fischer sind, die Jagd doch eine weit grössere Rolle als bei den Giljaken spielt. Und insbesondere bemerkenswerth ist der Umstand, dass die Oltscha, die sich im Uebrigen so viel vom giljakischen Wesen zu eigen gemacht haben, dass man sie in ihrer äusseren Haltung von den Giljaken nicht zu unterscheiden vermag, hinsichtlich der Schneeschuhe doch bei ihrem althergebrachten, im Amur-Lande allerdings noch vervollkommneten, tungusischen Typus geblieben sind.

Der Schneereichthum des unteren Amur-Landes macht den Gebrauch der Schneeschuhe in seinem ganzen Bereich bis zur Südgrenze nothwendig. So erwähnt z. B. der Missionär de la Brunière[1]) der Schnelligkeit und Gewandtheit, mit welcher sich die Golde («Jupi-tatses) am Ussuri auf ihren Schneeschuhen bewegen. Ja, sie sind auch noch südlich vom unteren Amur-Lande im Gebrauch. Denn schon der alte Witsen[2]) berichtete nach Erzählungen der um die Mitte des XVII. Jahrhunderts in Korea gefangen gewesenen Holländer, dass man sich dort im Winter kleine Bretter unter die Füsse binde, um über den Schnee weggehen zu können, ohne in denselben einzusinken.

Von höchster Bedeutung für den Haushalt und das gesammte Leben und Treiben der Naturvölker ist die Art und Weise, wie sie ihre grösseren Ortsveränderungen zu Lande ausführen, und in dieser Beziehung treten uns im Amur-Lande sehr verschiedene und für die einzelnen Völker charakteristische Erscheinungen entgegen.

Die Giljaken sind unter allen Völkern des Amur-Landes dasjenige, welches sich im ausgedehntesten Maasse der Hunde zum Fahren bedient, und bei welchem überhaupt der Hund eine so wichtige Rolle im Haushalte und gesammten Leben wie bei keinem anderen dieser Völker spielt. Denn neben seiner Hauptbestimmung als Zugthier liefert er, wie wir sahen, den Giljaken das allgemein beliebteste und gebräuchlichste Pelzwerk zur Kleidung und dient ihnen sogar zur Nahrung, was sich, von den Aino abgesehen, bei keinem anderen Volk im Amur-Lande wiederholt. Nirgend ist auch das Halten von Hunden für winterliche Fahrten durch die Naturverhältnisse, wie durch die Lebensweise und die Bedürfnisse des Volkes in solchem Maasse geboten, wie bei den Giljaken. Soll der Hund als Zugthier dienen, so muss er, bei seiner geringen Körperkraft, in grösserer Anzahl gehalten werden, und dazu sind bei seiner Raubthiernatur ansehnliche, nie ausbleibende Vorräthe animalischer Nahrung erforderlich, wie sie nicht der umherschweifende Jäger, wohl aber der an einem fischreichen Flusse oder an der Meeresküste seshafte Fischer zu beschaffen im Stande ist. Diese Erfordernisse treffen, wie oben[3]) schon dargethan, am meisten bei den Giljaken zusammen, die den fischreichsten Theil des Amur-Landes inne haben und das seshafteste, dem Fischfang am meisten ergebene seiner Völker sind, und die zudem durch ihren regen Handelsgeist mehr als andere zu winterlichen Fahrten und Reisen gedrängt werden.

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1) Excurs. en Mandchourie en 1845 (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, Ve Série, T. XVI, 1848 (T. IV), p. 110).

2) Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1785, p. 58.

3) S. p. 436 ff.

Die Hunde der Giljaken sind von derselben Race wie die durch ganz Sibirien und mit den Eskimo auch nach Nordamerika hinüber verbreiteten Zughunde: wolfsähnlich, langhaarig, mit kurzen, aufgerichteten Ohren und von allen möglichen Färbungen, schwarz, weiss, braun, fuchsroth, scheckig und besonders oft von auffallend wolfsähnlicher, gelblichgrauer Farbe. In Vergleich mit den Hunden der Polargegenden Ostsibirien's, des Jana-, Indigirka-Landes, oder auch mit denjenigen Kamtschatka's, wie sie ehemals waren und in einzelnen Exemplaren noch vorkommen[1], sind die giljakischen Hunde nur klein. Es geschieht bei den Giljaken auch nichts, um die Race zu heben: weder werden besonders grosswüchsige und starke Individuen als Zuchtthiere verwandt, noch die Welpen daraufhin gesichtet und gepflegt. Ein Umstand zumal trägt wesentlich zur Deteriorirung der Hunderace bei ihnen bei: es ist die schlechte Behandlung, welche sie den Hündinnen zu Theil kommen lassen. Denn da sie dieselben nicht zum Anspann benutzen, so gönnen sie ihnen in kurzsichtiger Weise auch nicht dasselbe Quantum von Nahrung wie den männlichen Hunden. Während diese, sofern die Umstände es gestatten, mit grosser Regelmässigkeit im Winter täglich, im Sommer all' anderen Tag gefüttert werden, bleiben jene von diesen Mahlzeiten ausgeschlossen und erhalten im Winter nur von Zeit zu Zeit einiges Futter, und auch nur so viel, dass sie nicht verhungern, im Sommer aber kümmert man sich um dieselben gar nicht und überlässt es ihnen ganz, sich ihre Nahrung selbst zu suchen. Elend und abgezehrt sieht man sie daher um die Jurten und auch in denselben umherschleichen und heisshungrig nach jedem Abfall schnappen.

Die Nahrung der giljakischen Hunde besteht, wie diejenige ihrer Herren, fast ausschliesslich aus Fisch. Das Hauptfutter für dieselben liefern namentlich dieselben, an den Küsten und in den Flüssen zu gewissen Zeiten schaarenweise auftretenden Fische, auf denen auch die Existenz der Giljaken hauptsächlich beruht, also die verschiedenen Lachsarten, insbesondere der Lyghi- und Tengi-tscho (*Salmo lagocephalus* und *S. Proteus*) und an der Meeresküste im Winter der Kangi-Fisch (*Gadus Wachnja*), der jedoch schon seiner Kleinheit wegen auch als Hundefutter weit hinter jenen ersteren zurücksteht. Der speciell und ausschliesslich für die Hunde bestimmte Theil jener Fische ist das oben erwähnte[2], gilj. sogen. *Chark*, das aus dem Kopf und Rückgrat nebst einigem daranhängenden Fleisch bestehende Stück[3]. Nur wenn davon nichts mehr vorhanden, wird auch die für die Menschen bestimmte Jukola als Hundefutter gebraucht. Nächstdem dienen Seehunds- und Weisswalfleisch und an der Meeresküste nicht selten auch Fleisch und Speck gestrandeter Walfische zu demselben Zweck. Mit Ausnahme der letzteren, welche, wie schon erwähnt, giljakischem Aberglauben gemäss nicht in die Jurte gebracht

1) Ich sah im Sommer 1854 im Peterpaulshafen noch zwei ausnehmend grosse Hunde, die dem Gouverneur aus dem Innern der Halbinsel gebracht worden waren. Ein ebenfalls zum grossen, alttkamtschatskischen Schlage gehöriges, jedoch noch junges, nicht ganz voll erwachsenes Thier, das ich vermaass, war von der Schnauzenspitze bis zur Schwanzwurzel 11 Decim. lang, davon 4 auf den Kopf und Hals bis zum Widerrist kamen, und an diesem letzteren $7^1/_2$—8 Decim. hoch.

2) S. p. 428.

3) Die Russen im Amur-Lande und in ganz Sibirien nennen es sehr bezeichnend kostj, d. h. Knochen, was es auch in der That nur ist.

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werden dürfen, wird alles Futter den Hunden nicht in rohem Zustande verabfolgt, wie es die Russen thun, sondern zu einer Brühe verkocht. Auch findet die Fütterung nicht draussen, sondern stets in der Jurte statt. Wie alle Hausarbeit, fällt auch sie den Weibern anheim. Im Tschadryf dient dazu der in der Mitte oder in der Ecke befindliche Tisch (gilj. *kyll*) [1]), im Toryf die Platform des Herdes. Ist die in einem der grossen Herdkessel aus den erwähnten Materialien gekochte Suppe bereitet, was stets eine der ersten Tagesarbeiten der Weiber ist, so werden ein paar lange Tröge längs dem Rande des Hundetisches, resp. der Herdesplatform aufgestellt, die Thür der Jurte geöffnet und die draussen an Riemen oder Ketten liegenden Hunde losgeknüpft. Sobald dies geschehen, stürzen die bereits ungeduldigen Thiere spornstracks, oft an und über einander wegsetzend, in die Jurte und stellen sich auf dem Kyll, resp. auf dem Erdboden vor den Trögen auf. Die Weiber haben inzwischen vermittelst grosser Schöpflöffel [2]) mehrere Eimer mit der im Kessel brodelnden und dampfenden Suppe gefüllt und giessen sie nun in die Tröge. Heisshungrig und gierig stürzt sich im Moment die ganze Meute übers Essen her, und indem jedes Thier dem anderen zuvorzukommen und Alles für sich zu erhaschen bestrebt ist, entsteht meist zwischen den Nachbarn ein wüthender Zank und Kampf, der von Seiten der davorstehenden und die Hunde an Riemen oder Ketten haltenden Weiber und Kinder durch Stockschläge auf den Kopf der Thiere beschwichtigt wird. Auf Taf. XII ist die in einer grossen chinesischen Winterjurte der Giljaken vor sich gehende Hundefütterung dargestellt. In der Erdjurte, wo die niedrigen Sitz- und Schlafbänke nur durch einen schmalen Gang von der Platform des Herdes getrennt sind, findet dieselbe in so unmittelbarer Nähe vor Einem statt, dass man sich von der wilden Meute fast umringt sieht. Denkt man sich dazu die durch die geöffnete Thür am Fussboden einströmende Kälte und den von der heissen Fischbrühe aufsteigenden Dampf und Qualm, so wird man leicht begreifen, dass die ganze Prozedur nicht gerade zum Comfort des Aufenthaltes in den Erdjurten beiträgt. Ausser dieser Mahlzeit bekommen die giljakischen Hunde, wenn sie sich in Ruhe zu Hause befinden, nichts zu fressen. In kargen Zeiten fällt aber auch diese Mahlzeit sehr mager aus; so habe ich es z. B. im Dorfe Tyk auf Sachalin gesehen, dass die Hunde nur eine aus etwas Jukola, Rennthiermoos und einem geringen Zusatz von Seehundsthran gekochte Suppe erhielten, und werden die Zeiten noch schwerer, so erfolgt auch die Fütterung noch seltener, nur etwa all' anderen Tag. Auf längeren Fahrten hingegen, pflegen die Giljaken, wenn sie nicht etwa um Mittagszeit ein Dorf erreichen, in welchem die Hunde ihr gewohntes Mahl erhalten, denselben zweimal etwas Chark oder Ma vorzuwerfen, um Mittag und zur Nacht, während die Russen ihre Hunde auch dann nur einmal, und zwar nur auf dem Nachtlagerplatz und immer nur mit trockener Jukola füttern. Die russischen Hunde sind daher vielleicht noch ausschliesslicher ichthyophag als die giljakischen. Ich habe ihnen einmal in Ermangelung von Jukola Elennsfleisch geben lassen, und sie liessen es unberührt liegen. Erst stärkerer Hunger macht die Hunde omnivor, wie man denn im Sommer am Amur seine Effekten

1) S. oben, p. 326, 328, 369.

2) S. oben, p. 438, nebst Abbildung.

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vor den hungernden und darum Alles, was von animalischer Natur ist, wie Fischhaut- und Felldecken, Stiefel u. drgl., angreifenden Hunden der Eingeborenen nicht genug schützen kann.

Wie die erwachsenen Thiere, so werden auch die Welpen in der Jurte gefüttert. Ja, auf Sachalin werden diese oft auch sonst im Hause gehalten und zwar ganz hinten auf den Schlafbänken, wo diese an das Dach stossen. In dieser grösseren Pflege der Welpen auf Sachalin liegt vielleicht auch der Grund, wesshalb die dortigen Hunde, und namentlich diejenigen der Tymy-Giljaken, die grössten und besten im ganzen Lande sein sollen.

Da der eigentliche Herr und Besitzer der Hunde, sobald er von einer Fahrt zurückgekommen, sich gar nicht mehr um sie kümmert und die ganze Verpflegung und Fütterung derselben von den weiblichen Insassen der Jurte, unter Assistenz der Kinder, besorgt wird, so sind sie eigentlich so gut wie herrenlos, und die den Hund sonst, wenn er mehr oder minder einzeln als Begleiter und Gefährte des Menschen gehalten wird, charakterisirenden Eigenschaften, persönliche Anhänglichkeit, Treue und Wachsamkeit, gehen ihnen ab oder kommen bei ihnen nicht zur Entfaltung. Nicht anders verhält es sich übrigens auch mit den russisch-sibirischen Zughunden, so dass man von den zum Anspann in Menge gehaltenen und mehr oder minder stets in Bausch und Bogen behandelten Hunden wohl ziemlich im Allgemeinen sagen darf, sie seien im Vergleich mit dem Jagd- oder Wächterhunde gleichsam auf einer niedrigeren Culturstufe stehen geblieben oder zu einer solchen wieder herabgesunken. Nur eine gewisse Anhänglichkeit an den Ort und das Haus, wo sie ihre Nahrung erhalten, dürfte sich auch bei ihnen finden, so dass sie, auch losgeknüpft, demselben nicht leicht entlaufen, und wenn sie sich im Anspann einmal in Folge Umfallens des Schlittens ihres Lenkers entledigt haben, ihren Weg in der Regel heimwärts oder auch nach dem nächsten Dorfe nehmen [1]). Die zwar von den Giljaken gekauften, aber, wie oben erwähnt, anders gehaltenen und namentlich nur draussen gefütterten Hunde der Russen am Amur dürften den giljakischen in dieser Beziehung noch nachstehen.

Von eigenthümlicher Form und Beschaffenheit ist der giljakische Schlitten (*tu*). Im Vergleich mit der russisch-sibirischen Narte, wie der zum Fahren mit Hunden dienliche Schlitten von den Russen genannt wird, ist der giljakische Schlitten sehr leicht, fein und zierlich gebaut, dabei jedoch in Folge seiner Elasticität nicht minder dauerhaft. Seine Form und Construction ist immer dieselbe, wenn auch die Grösse schwankt, so dass bei Anfertigung desselben ein gewisses Verhältniss der einzelnen Dimensionen und Theile stets eingehalten zu werden scheint. Da die Giljaken mein Haus in Nikolajefsk als Absteigequartier benutzten und sogar die Erlaubniss hatten, ihre Schlitten, nachdem die Hunde abgespannt worden, in einem Corridor desselben abzustellen, so lange sie ihre Angelegenheiten im Ort besorgten, so hatte ich vielfache Gelegenheit, mich mit dem Bau und den Maassverhältnissen dieser Gefährte näher bekannt zu machen. Ein gewöhnlicher, auf Taf. XXXVI, Fig. 1, abgebildeter Schlitten, den ich vermessen, hatte folgende

1) Nach Sujef (s. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. III, p. 44) pflegen auch die Ostjaken am unteren Obj ihre Zughunde zwar draussen zu halten, aber stets in der Jurte zu füttern.

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Grössenverhältnisse: die Länge, von einem Ende zum anderen, betrug 14 Fuss, 8 Zoll (russ. oder engl.), die Breite 1′ 4″, die Höhe, in der Mitte (mit den gleich zu besprechenden Schutzsohlen), 11″. Der Schlitten war also genau 11 mal so lang als breit und 16 mal so lang als hoch. Sein Bau ist, im Ganzen und in den einzelnen Theilen betrachtet, folgender: die schmalen und dünnen Sohlen (gilj. *tusskrj*, *a* der Abbild.) sind nur in ihrem mittleren Theile horizontal, nach den Enden hin aber stetig und sanft aufwärts gerichtet. Bei ihrer Dünnheit würden sie sich leicht abnutzen; um sie davor zu schützen und ihnen zugleich die richtige Aufwärtskrümmung nach den Enden zu geben, werden sie daher unten im ganzen horizontalen Mittelstück mit Beschlägen oder, wenn man die ansehnliche Länge dieser letzteren in Betracht zieht, gewissermaassen mit einem zweiten Sohlenpaar, den Schutzsohlen (gilj. *motassj*, *b* der Abbild.) versehen, welche vermittelst hölzerner Stifte und an ihren stark verdünnten Enden auch durch Riemen an die Hauptsohlen befestigt werden. Die Sohlenbeschläge sind gewöhnlich ebenfalls aus Holz und können, wenn abgenutzt, leicht gewechselt werden. Im Frühling aber, wenn der an der Sonne schmelzende Schnee an der hölzernen Sohle haftet und dadurch die Fahrt sehr erschwert, werden statt der hölzernen Beschläge auch welche aus Walfischknochen an die Schlitten befestigt, oder aber die hölzernen Schutzsohlen noch mit einer Fischbeinplatte bekleidet, wie ich es namentlich auf Sachalin mehrfach gesehen habe, wo dieses Material leichter zu haben ist [1]). Ein sehr charakteristischer Zug des giljakischen Schlittens besteht darin, dass derselbe, wenn er, mit den Schutzsohlen versehen, auf ebenen festen Erdboden gestellt wird, diesen nur mit einem geringen, etwa einem Viertel der ganzen Schlittenlänge gleichkommenden Stücke der Sohlen berührt, während die beiden Enden ganz ansehnlich hoch über denselben emporragen. An dem von mir vermessenen Exemplar z. B. betrug ihr Abstand vom Erdboden 1 Fuss, 10 Zoll. Zwischen den beiden Enden der solchergestalt flach bogenförmigen Sohlen verlaufen als Sehnen die beiden Längsseitenstäbe des Schlittens (gilj. *kigi*, *c* der Abbild.), welche den Rahmen des zum Sitz und zur Aufnahme von Effekten dienenden, allerdings nur sehr flachen Schlittenkorbes bilden. Sie ruhen auf einigen, in die Sohlen von oben eingelassenen flachen Säulchen (gilj. *ich*, *d* der Abbild.) und sind ausserdem an ihren Enden durch je ein perforirendes Querholz (gilj. *kernghi*, *h* der Abbild.) mit den Sohlen verbunden. Die *Ichs*, deren ein

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1) Wie im ersten Bande dieses Werkes (p. 193) dargethan, rühren solche, ansehnlich lange Fischbeinplatten von einer Walfischart her, welche die Giljaken *kaim* nennen, und in der man *Balaena australis* Desmoul. vermuthen darf, die Knochenplatten aber werden wohl in der Regel dem Unterkiefer oder den Rippen der am häufigsten an den Küsten des Ochotskischen Meeres strandenden *Balaenoptera longimana* Rud. (gilj. *kang*) entnommen. Auch bei den Russen in Sibirien sind Knochen- oder Fischbeinbeschläge an den Narten vielfach im Gebrauch, zumal bei Fahrten über Meereseis, das mit ausgeschiedenen Salzkrystallen bedeckt ist (Врангель, Путеш. по сѣв. бер. Сиб. и по Ледов. морю, Т. II, стр. 238). Nach Mittheilungen von A. Schrenk, im «Leipziger Tageblatt», sind knöcherne Schlittenbeschläge (Schlittenkufe), gleichwie auch knöcherne Schlittschuhe, ehemals in vielen Gegenden Deutschlands, z. B. in der Provinz Brandenburg, in einzelnen bayerischen Seo-Distrikten, im Salzkammergut u. a. O. im Gebrauch gewesen, und durch Ausgrabungen sind dergleichen Knochen in Skandinavien, auf Island, den Seeländischen Inseln, in Friesland, Pommern, in der Mark, in Mähren, ja selbst in den Pfahlbauten der Schweizer Seen vielfach zu Tage gefördert worden (St. Petersb. Zeitg., 1890, № 89).

giljakischer Schlitten von gewöhnlicher Grösse, wie der abgebildete, jederseits 5, ein kleinerer auch nur 4 zählt, sind an ihren Enden recht breit und solid, zur Mitte hin etwas verdünnt, und ihre Stellung und Entfernung von einander und von den Schlittenenden scheinen ebenfalls durch ein ganz bestimmtes Grössenverhältniss normirt zu sein. Sind ihrer nämlich 5, so steht das mittlere genau in der Mitte der ganzen Schlittenlänge, die übrigen befinden sich alle in einem Abstande von je 1′ 10″, also genau einem Achtel der Schlittenlänge von einander, und die Entfernung der beiden äussersten (des vorderen und des hinteren *Ich's*) jederseits vom Schlittenende beträgt das Doppelte davon, also 3′ 8″ oder je $^3/_8$ der Schlittenlänge. Nur mit dem Theile der Sohlen, der sich zwischen den beiden dem mittleren *Ich* zunächst stehenden Säulchen befindet, d. i. also nur mit einem Viertel seiner Gesammtlänge, berührt der Schlitten einen ebenen und festen Erdboden, die übrigen drei Viertel ragen, unbelastet, mehr oder weniger über denselben empor, und erst in Folge der Belastung kommen die Sohlen auch weiter nach vorn und nach hinten hin mit dem Erdboden in Berührung. Die ihnen zum Schutz dienenden Beschläge erstrecken sich wenigstens bis über die äussersten *Ichs* hinaus, sehr oft aber auch fast bis zum Ende der Sohlen. Die einander gegenüberstehenden *Ichs* sind oben durch Querhölzer (gilj. *lynysaj*, *e* der Abbild.) verbunden. Auf diesen ruhen die langen Ruthen (gilj. *tursaj*, *f* der Abbild.), welche den Boden des Schlittens bilden; sie werden an jedes der Querhölzer mit Riemen festgebunden, im vorderen und hinteren Schlittenviertel, wo es kein solches Querholz giebt, auch mit einem Paar durch die Längsseitenhölzer gesteckter Riemen quer durchflochten, und ihre Spitzen endlich durch ein zu dem Zweck durchbohrtes Querholz gesteckt (gilj. *warro's*, *g* der Abbild.), das kurz vor dem oben besprochenen *Kerughi* die beiden Längsseitenhölzer des Schlittens mit einander verbindet. An jedem Ende des Schlittens befindet sich endlich ein Krummholz (gilj. *mich*, *i* der Abb.), das in sanft aufgerichteter Lage sowohl an die Längsseitenstäbe, als auch an die über das letzte Querholz vorragenden Enden der Sohlen gebunden ist. An diese letzteren, dicht unter dem am vorderen Ende befindlichen Krummholz, wird auch die zum Anspannen der Hunde dienende Zugleine befestigt. Das Krummholz am hinteren Ende dient dazu, um einen Riemen daran zu knüpfen, den der Giljake in dem Falle, wenn er seinem Schlitten auf Schneeschuhen folgt, in die Hand nimmt oder an seinen Gürtel befestigt, um sich so von den Hunden mit fortziehen zu lassen und zu verhindern, dass sie ohne ihn fortlaufen. Bisweilen jedoch fehlt dieses hintere Krummholz, und dann sind vorderes und hinteres Ende des Schlittens verschieden, während sie sonst keinen Unterschied darbieten. Alle Stücke des Schlittens verfertigen die Giljaken aus Birkenholz (sowohl von der *Betula alba* L., gilj. *chiwu*, wie von der *B. Ermani* Cham., gilj. *kedras*[1]), welches sie mir daher auf Sachalin insonderheit als das «*tulytynt-tschchar*», d. h. «Schlittenbauholz», bezeichneten, mit alleiniger Ausnahme der Krummhölzer an den beiden Enden des Schlittens, die aus dem besonders elastischen Holze des Faulbaums gemacht werden, und des zum Sitzen dienenden Schlittenbodens, der entweder ebenfalls aus Faulbaum-, oder auch aus Weidenruthen besteht.

1) In beiden giljakischen Worten ist das *s* am Ende weich, gleich dem französischen *z* auszusprechen.

Wie aus der obigen Beschreibung zu ersehen, ist Leichtigkeit der Grundzug des giljakischen Schlittens: er ist ohne alles Eisen, durchweg nur aus dünnen, sorgfältig gewählten und aneinander gefügten, zum Theil auch durch Riemen zusammengebundenen Holzstücken gemacht. Der daraus folgenden Elasticität verdankt er seine Widerstandskraft auch bei unebenem Wege, wie ihn der Wald oder das Fluss- und Meereseis nur allzu oft darbieten. Viel Gepäck und schwere Lasten aufzunehmen, ist er jedoch nicht geeignet. Darin steht er der russisch-sibirischen Narte bei Weitem nach. Diese, überhaupt von grösseren Dimensionen und mit breiten Sohlen versehen, beruht auf demselben Princip wie die Schneeschuhe, der Vertheilung der Last auf eine möglichst grosse Fläche und einer möglichst vollen Beseitigung des Reibungswiderstandes bei der Bewegung, zu welchem letzteren Zweck die Sohlen vor einer Fahrt durch Bestreichen mit einem nassen Tuch mit einer dünnen Eisschicht versehen werden, welche gewissermaassen den Fellüberzug der Schneeschuhe ersetzt [1]). Die schmalen Sohlen der giljakischen Schlitten stossen auf einen geringeren Reibungswiderstand und bedürfen daher nicht des Eisüberzuges; dagegen bewirken sie aber auch nicht eine Vertheilung der Last über eine grössere Fläche und schneiden daher schon bei geringerer Belastung allzutief in den Schnee ein, um leicht fortgleiten zu können. Seiner Leichtigkeit und immerhin nur geringen Grösse entsprechend, hat der giljakische Schlitten auch nur wenig Raum für Gepäck, denn der dazu bestimmte Korb ist, wie bereits erwähnt, sehr flach, nur so tief, als die Längsseitenhölzer über die den Schlittenboden bildenden Ruthen emporragen, und das ist sehr wenig. Damit das Gepäck nicht herausfalle, wird daher zunächst eine aus Fischhäuten gemachte Decke (gilj. *mytsch*) über den Schlittenboden gebreitet, das Gepäck darauf gelegt, eingehüllt und vermittelst eines langen Riemens mehrfach ins Kreuz zusammen und an den Schlitten geschnürt. Darüber werden, wenn eine längere Fahrt unternommen wird, ein paar der nothwendigsten Waffen, eine Lanze oder ein Bärenspiess unter die Riemen gesteckt. Vorn, etwa über dem äussersten *Ich*, wird beim Aufladen des Gepäcks eine sattelförmige Vertiefung hinterlassen, welche, mit einem ebenfalls an den Schlitten befestigten Fellstück (gilj. *tywo*) [2]), und zwar entweder einem Bären-, oder einem Elennskopffellstück (gilj. *kotr-ngar-tywo*, resp. *toch-tschongr-tywo*) bedeckt, zum Sitz für den auf die Fahrt sich begebenden Giljaken dient, der, mit kleinen Schneeschuhen an den Füssen, sich rittlings hinein setzt (s. Taf. XXXVII).

Der giljakische Hunde-Anspann ist sehr einfach und primitiv: an die oben erwähnte lange, aus Seehundsriemen zusammengeflochtene Zugschnur (gilj. *nygtsch*, Taf. XXXVI, Fig. 2) werden in gleichen Intervallen und alternirend nach der einen und der anderen Seite seehundslederne Halsbänder oder Kummets (gilj. *chall*), von der Form, wie in Fig. 3 der letzterwähnten Tafel dargestellt, und ein eben solches, nur ohne den beweglichen eisernen Ring, auch an das Ende des zur Verlängerung der Zugschnur dienenden Riemens (gilj. *lat*) befestigt. Dieses letz-

1) Demselben Zweck dient auch das oben besprochene Bekleiden der Schlittensohlen mit Knochen- oder Fischbeinplatten.

2) Das *s* wird hier weich, wie das französische *z* ausgesprochen.

tere Halsband wird dem Leithunde, die anderen werden den übrigen Hunden über den Kopf gezogen, und das Gefährt steht fertig bespannt da. Das Anspannen der Hunde ist daher bei den Giljaken das Werk nur weniger Minuten. Bei feierlichen und festlichen Gelegenheiten, wie Brautwerbungsfahrten oder die während des Bärenfestes veranstalteten Hunderennen u. drgl., werden den Hunden auch statt der gewöhnlichen elegante Kummets, mit aufwärts gerichteten chinesischen Rosshaarflechten und Quasten aus rothgefärbter Schafs- oder Ziegenwolle, angelegt, gilj. sogen. *rüsk's*, wie deren auf Taf. XXXVI, Fig. 4 und 5, welche abgebildet sind. Um die Art, wie ein solches Kummet dem Hunde angelegt wird, zu veranschaulichen, diene der hier beifolgende Holzschnitt. Der Hauptmangel des giljakischen Anspanns besteht darin, dass die Hunde mit dem Halse ziehen müssen und sich daher bei grösserer Anstrengung und in leidenschaftlicher Aufregung allzu leicht die Kehle zuschnüren. Darin steht er dem bei den Russen, wie in ganz Ostsibirien, so auch am Amur gebräuchlichen Anspanne, der die Hunde mit der Brust zu ziehen nöthigt, sehr nach, und vielleicht liegt darin auch mit ein Grund, wesshalb die giljakischen Hunde leichter als die russischen ermüden und sich erschöpfen. Dagegen hat er vor dem letzteren den Vorzug, dass er nicht so leicht in Unordnung geräth und, wenn dies geschehen, sogleich wieder zurecht gestellt werden kann. Beim russischen Anspann laufen die Hunde, mit Ausnahme des vordersten, nicht einzeln, sondern paarweise und ist jedes Thier durch zwei Riemen an die zwischenlaufende lange Zugschnur befestigt: vermittelst des hinteren Riemens zieht der Hund am Schlitten, der vordere aber soll ihn daran verhindern, seitwärts zu laufen. Bei so complicirtem Anspann entsteht in Folge der Leidenschaftlichkeit der Hunde nur gar zu leicht eine Unordnung in demselben: bald begeben sich beide Hunde eines Paares nach derselben Seite, bald springt hie und da ein Thier über seinen Anspannriemen, der ihm zwischen den Beinen stecken bleibt, u. s. w. Begegnen sich gar zwei Schlitten, besonders ein russischer und ein giljakischer, ohne rechtzeitig Halt zu machen, so stürzen sich die Hunde beider Gefährte wüthend über einander, und es entsteht ein Knäuel von etlichen zwanzig und mehr sich beissenden Hunden, der nur durch heftiges Auseinanderzerren und Reissen der streitenden Parteien, unter beiderseits herabregnenden Stockschlägen, entwirrt werden kann und eine arge Verwirrung und Verwüstung im Anspann, namentlich der russischen Hunde, verursacht. Giljaken wie Russen suchen daher sorgsam, solchen Begegnungen durch rechtzeitiges Ausweichen, Hemmen und Fixiren des Schlittens und Festhalten der Meute und namentlich des Leithundes zu entgehen.

Ein mit dem *Rüsk* geschmückter Hundekopf.

Das Hemmen und Fixiren des Schlittens geschieht bei den Giljaken nicht durch einen, sondern durch zwei einfache, mit einer eisernen Spitze versehene Stöcke (gilj. *knur*, russisch-sibirisch *oschtolt*), die jederseits vor den Schlitten in den Schnee gestossen werden. Schellen an das obere Ende eines solchen Stockes anzubringen, wie es die Russen in Kamtschatka und in anderen

Theilen Sibirien's thun, ist bei ihnen durchaus nicht üblich, und ihren Hunden bleibt daher die Anspornung durch Schellengeklingel unbekannt, wesshalb es im Amur-Lande auch die ihre Hunde von den Giljaken und anderen Eingeborenen beziehenden Russen zu thun unterlassen. Die Letzteren pflegen aber ihre Hunde bei beginnender Ermüdung in mancherlei anderer Art anzuspornen, welche den Giljaken ebenfalls fremd ist. So schleudern sie bisweilen den Hemmstab nach einem oder dem anderen der ihnen allzuträg erscheinenden Thiere, was der Giljake schon aus dem Grunde nicht thun kann, weil er, rittlings auf dem Schlitten sitzend, nicht wie jene während der Fahrt abspringen, den weggeschleuderten Stock aufnehmen und sich wieder auf den Schlitten schwingen kann[1]). Ebenso wenig macht er die russische Art, die Hunde bei sehr starker Ermüdung durch Vorausschleudern kleiner Jukolastücke anzuspornen, nach. Er ist zu sehr um seine Hunde besorgt, um sie über die Maassen anzustrengen. Genügen die Zurufe (*«tach, tach»*) nicht mehr, um sie zum Laufen zu bewegen, so steigt er ab, setzt seinen Weg auf Schneeschuhen fort und zieht die Hunde mit dem Schlitten hinter sich her. Dank übrigens dem Umstande, dass er rittlings sitzt und Schneeschuhe an hat, vermag er ihnen auch während der Fahrt mehr oder minder behülflich zu sein: stockt nämlich die Bewegung, indem die Schlittensohlen allzutief in den Schnee einschneiden oder sonst auf ein Hinderniss stossen, so richtet er sich auf den Schneeschuhen auf, um sich erst, wenn die Hunde den dadurch von seiner Hauptbürde entlasteten Schlitten von Neuem in Bewegung gebracht haben, wieder auf denselben herabzulassen. Bei allzu tiefem und lockerem Schnee, in welchen die Hunde einsinken, kommt der Giljake ihnen dadurch zu Hülfe, dass er auf Schneeschuhen vorausgeht und ihnen einen festeren Weg bahnt[2]). Ist aber der Schlitten dabei noch ansehnlich beladen und der Weg uneben und bald nach der einen, bald nach der anderen Seite geneigt, so spannt er sich wohl auch selbst mit vor den Schlitten, um ihn theils ziehen zu helfen und theils vor dem Umstürzen in den tiefen Schnee zu bewahren. Und zwar geschieht dies in folgender Weise: quer über das vordere Ende des Schlittens wird ein Hemmstab oder ein ähnlicher Stock gebunden und vermittelst desselben zwei lange, sanft aufwärts gerichtete Stangen an den Schlitten befestigt. Zwischen diesen Pfiemerstangen (gilj. *tädf*) steht der Giljake auf Schneeschuhen, die Stangen mit den Armen umfassend, um durch rechtzeitiges Heben der einen oder der anderen derselben dem Umwerfen des Schlittens zu wehren und ihn zugleich mit ziehen zu helfen, während die Zugschnur, an welcher die Hunde gespannt sind, ihm zwischen den Beinen läuft oder, wie ich es ebenfalls gesehen habe, an seinen Gürtel geknüpft ist.

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1) Die russischen Hundelenker oder «Kajurens», wie sie am Amur, in Kamtschatka und auch anderwärts in Sibirien genannt werden, sitzen bekanntlich stets seitwärts (rechts) auf ihren Narten und können leicht abspringen, was sie schon darum öfters zu thun genöthigt sind, um den Schlitten durch einen Ruck nach der einen oder der anderen Seite davor zu bewahren, dass die Sohlen über die frischen Excremente der Hunde weggehen und dadurch ihre Glätte verlieren. Ist dies einmal versäumt worden, so muss man nach kurzer Zeit halten und die Narte nach einer Seite umstürzen, um die Sohlen abzuschaben und wo möglich auch mit einem neuen Eisüberzuge zu versehen.

2) Dasselbe muss oft genug auch bei den breitsohligen russischen Narten geschehen, und auf Sachalin bin ich selbst in der Lage gewesen, meiner Narte auf Schneeschuhen vorausgehen zu müssen, um den durch Schneestürme verwehten Weg mit einem langen Stock herauszusondiren und neu zu bahnen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

In ähnlicher Weise lässt sich übrigens der Giljake bisweilen auch ohne Schlitten, auf Schneeschuhen stehend, durch ein paar Hunde, die er an einer Leine in der Hand hält und zum Laufen anspornt, über eine ebene Eis- oder Schneefläche fortziehen, wobei er zumal in dem Falle, wenn es heimwärts geht, äusserst rasch vorwärts kommt. Wie der Giljake auf Reisen seinen Hunden die Arbeit während der Fahrt zu erleichtern sucht, so ist er endlich auch stets bedacht, ihnen Nachts die nöthige Erholung und Ruhe zu schaffen. Lässt sich zur Nacht kein Dorf erreichen, und muss unter freiem Himmel genächtigt werden, so bereitet er den Hunden ein ähnliches Nachtlager wie für sich selbst. Die vom Schlitten abgelöste Zugleine wird an einen Baumstamm befestigt und für jeden der Hunde in entsprechender Entfernung von einander eine Vertiefung in den Schnee gemacht und mit Tannenreisig ausgekleidet. Aus diesen Spuren kann man daher sogleich ersehen, wie viel giljakische Schlitten an einem Nachtlagerplatz gehalten und mit wie viel Hunden ein jeder von ihnen bespannt war.

Ohne Zweifel ist das gegenwärtig so tief in das Leben der Giljaken eingreifende Halten von Hunden zum Anspann vor dem Schlitten nicht etwa eine verhältnissmässig neue, von einem der anderen Amur-Völker entlehnte, sondern im Gegentheil eine ihnen den letzteren gegenüber ursprünglich eigene, in die entferntesten Zeiten zurückreichende Sitte. Aehnlich verhält es sich auch mit den anderen paläasiatischen Völkern ihren respectiven Nachbarstämmen gegenüber: alle sind oder waren sie seit Alters her Fischer, die ihr einziges Hausthier, den Hund, hauptsächlich zur Ortsveränderung gebrauchen, ohne dass eine Entlehnung dieser ihrer Sitte von einem der Nachbarvölker nachzuweisen oder auch nur aus irgend welchen Gründen als wahrscheinlich anzunehmen wäre.

Bei den Aino auf Sachalin spielt der Hund im Allgemeinen ganz dieselbe Rolle wie bei den Giljaken; auch der Bau des Schlittens, der Anspann der Hunde und die Art und Weise ihrer Behandlung und Lenkung sollen dieselben sein [1]). Nur machen die Aino lange keinen so weiten und ausgiebigen Gebrauch von diesem Mittel der Ortsveränderung wie die Giljaken, was, wie wir in der Folge sehen werden, nicht bloss in der für Schlittenfahrten und Reisen minder günstigen Lage ihres Landes, sondern ganz besonders auch in dem auf ihnen lastenden, Handel und Wandel des Volkes lähmenden Druck der japanischen Herrschaft seinen Grund hat.

Dass die Itälmenen auf Kamtschatka seit unnachweislich alter Zeit sich der Hunde zum Fahren bedienten, wobei sie die grössten und stärksten zu dem Zweck aussuchten und abrichteten und Schlitten von eigenartiger Form und Construction bauten, ist aus den eingehenden Schilderungen Steller's [2]) und Krascheninnikof's bekannt. Gleich den giljakischen Schlitten zeichneten sich auch die kamtschadalischen durch grosse Leichtigkeit, Elasticität und Dauer-

1) Н. Бусе, Остр. Сахалинъ и Японія. 1853 и 1854 гг., С. Петерб. 1872, стр. 54. Wie ich aus Hrn. Rudanof-skij's handschriftlichem Reisejournal ersehe, ist bei den Aino auf Sachalin auch die oben beschriebene Anwendung von Pflomerstangen bei besonders beschwerlichem Wege ganz gebräuchlich.

2) Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 132 ff., 370 ff.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

haftigkeit aus; während aber jene flach und niedrig sind, hatten diese einen verhältnissmässig hochgestellten und tiefen Schlittenkorb, auf welchem der Hundelenker meist seitwärts und nur bisweilen auch rittlings aufsass. Nachmals eigneten sich auch die Russen in Kamtschatka diese Art von Schlitten an und haben sie noch heutzutage[1]). Daneben bedienten sie sich aber, namentlich zum Transport grösserer Lasten, schon zu Steller's Zeiten auch der oben erwähnten langen und breitsohligen Hundeschlitten oder Narten[2]), wie sie auch im übrigen Sibirien üblich sind. Diese dürften ihnen daher wohl schon vor ihrer Ankunft in Kamtschatka bekannt gewesen sein. Ueberhaupt liegt kein Grund vor mit Matjuschkin[3]) anzunehmen, dass die Russen den Gebrauch der Hunde zum Anspann erst durch die Kamtschadalen kennen gelernt hätten. Denn bevor sie Kamtschatka erreichten, kamen sie schon mit manchen anderen Völkern in Berührung, bei welchen jener Gebrauch, sei es in althergebrachter, sei es in einer später von einem der Nachbarstämme überkommenen Weise herrschte. Ohne die Frage, von welchem Volk die Russen den Gebrauch der Hunde zum Anspann kennen gelernt haben entscheiden zu wollen, muss ich hier darauf hinweisen, dass sie im XVII. Jahrhundert an der Jana, Indigirka und Kolyma auf die Jukagirn stiessen, ein paläasiatisches Volk, dass sich ebenfalls seit Alters her der Hunde zum Fahren bediente und zu dem Zweck Schlitten von eigenartiger Form construirte, wie man aus einem auf der Insel Kotelnyi gefundenen Stücke der Art, über welches ich mich an einem anderen Orte[4]) ausführlicher ausgelassen habe, schliessen darf[5]). Dort, an der Jana und Indigirka finden sich auch später, gleich wie in Kamtschatka, die grössten und stärksten Zughunde[6]) und entfaltet sich auch bei den Russen der grösste und ausgiebigste Gebrauch derselben, zu den weitesten Fahrten, wie z. B. nach den Neusibirischen Inseln u. s. w.

Nordwärts von Kamtschatka finden wir ferner ein anderes paläasiatisches Volk, die am Penshinsker Meerbusen und am Berings-Meer in festen Sitzen wohnenden Korjaken, die ebenfalls nur den Hund als Haus- und zugleich Zugthier haben. Oben[7]) glaube ich bereits dargethan zu haben, dass ehemals auch die Vorfahren der gegenwärtig umherwandernden Korjaken und der mit ihnen nahe verwandten Tschuktschen (die Onkilon) feste Wohnsitze und zwar Erdjurten wie jene hatten, und dem entsprechend können sie gleich jenen, als Fischer, Robbenschläger und drgl., auch nur den Hund zum Gefährten gehabt haben, bis sie, vermuthlich durch die von Süden und Westen auf sie herandrängenden Tungusen, das domesticirte Rennthier kennen lernten und mit demselben ihr gegenwärtiges Nomadenleben annahmen.

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1) Im Anthropologisch-ethnographischen Museum der Akademie werden mehrere noch im vorigen Jahrhundert aus Kamtschatka gebrachte Schlitten der Art aufbewahrt.

2) Steller (l. c., p. 370) nennt sie «Narden».

3) Врангель, Путеш. по сѣв. бер. Сибири и по Ледов. морю, Ч. II, стр. 110, примѣч. *.

4) Zur Vorgesch. der von der Akad. der Wiss. ausgerüsteten Exped. nach den Neusib. Ins. und dem Jana-Lande (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, 3. Folge, Bd. III, p. 11—13).

5) Auch Ssarytschof (Путеш. по Сѣверовост. части Сибири, Т. I, стр. 65) erwähnt des Gebrauches von Hunden zum Fahren bei den Jukagirn.

6) Middendorff, Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 1298. Am besten sollen namentlich die Hunde von der Jana, nächstdem diejenigen von der Indigirka und dann erst diejenigen von der Kolyma sein. Геденштромъ, Сиб. Вѣстн., 1822, Ч. 19, Отд. III, стр. 186. Vrgl. auch meine oben erwähnte Schrift (Beitr. l. c., p. 39).

7) S. 337 ff.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

So müssen wir den Hund, dieses älteste aller vom Menschen domesticirten Thiere, als einziges Hausthier und darum, namentlich in seiner Eigenschaft als Zugthier, gewissermaassen als Charakterform der paläasiatischen Völker, dieser ältesten Völkerformation Nordostasien's, bezeichnen. Wo sich bei ihnen in der Folge ein anderes Hausthier einfindet, wie z. B. im oben erwähnten Fall, bei den wandernden Korjaken und Tschuktschen das Rennthier, da ist es stets ein ihnen in späterer Zeit von einer jüngeren Völkerfamilie, mit der sie in Berührung getreten, zugetragenes Geschenk.

Ohne Zweifel darf man annehmen, dass gleich anderen paläasiatischen Völkern auch die Eskimo, als sie noch auf ihrem ursprünglichen, asiatischen Boden weilten, den Hund als einziges Hausthier besassen und zum Anspann gebrauchten. Mit diesem ihrem Hausthier sind sie nach Amerika hinübergegangen, und da sie sich dort, in derselben Weise von Fischfang, Robbenschlag u. drgl. weiter lebend, quer über den ganzen Norden des Welttheils, vom Bering's-Meer bis nach Grönland ausbreiteten, so erklärt sich daraus die auf den ersten Blick auffallende Thatsache, dass es in Amerika gar keine mit dem Halten zahmer Rennthiere sich abgebenden Völker, wie in der alten Welt, giebt, obgleich es an den physischen Bedingungen dazu auch dort nicht fehlt, und das Rennthier im wilden Zustande dort vielfach und häufig genug vorkommt und auch von den Eskimo der Nahrung und Kleidung wegen gejagd wird. Amerika erhielt eben seine gesammte Bevölkerung in der Rennthierzone aus einer Völkergruppe Asien's, welche das domesticirte Rennthier noch nicht kannte und nur den Hund als Hausthier besass, und zwar zum Zweck des Anspanns, also nothwendig in grösserer Zahl gehalten und in einem Stadium der Domesticirung, bei welchem ihm die edleren Eigenschaften der persönlichen Anhänglichkeit, Treue und Wachsamkeit noch abgehen und hingegen seine Raubthiernatur bei jeder Gelegenheit wieder zu Tage tritt. Schon dieser letztere Umstand macht eine selbständige Domesticirung eines anderen, dem Hunde gegenüber wehrlosen Thieres, wie das Rennthier, durch solche Völker ganz undenkbar [1]. Und wie sollte ferner auch ein Fischervolk, wie die Eskimo und alle Paläasiaten, darauf kommen ein Thier zu zähmen, für welches es keine Nahrung hat, und dessentwegen es seine festen Wohnsitze aufgeben und seine gesammte Lebensweise ändern müsste? Die Vorfahren der wandernden Tschuktschen und Korjaken haben sicherlich das Rennthier auch nicht selbst gezähmt, sondern es bereits im domesticirten Zustande von einem zu ihnen herangewanderten Nomadenstamme — wie oben erwähnt, vermuthlich von den Tungusen — erhalten. Ob und wie diese letzteren es gethan, lässt sich nicht feststellen, doch erscheint es insofern denkbarer, als sie, ihrem ursprünglichen und eigensten Charakter als umherstreifende Jäger gemäss, den Hund nicht wie die paläasiatischen Völker in grosser Zahl, zum Anspann, sondern nur je einzeln, als treuen Begleiter und Jagdgehülfen um sich hatten, der sich sehr wohl auch zum Wächter

1) Middendorff (Reise, Bd. IV, p. 1302) bemerkt, dass an den Orten in Sibirien, wo die Anspannhunde herrschen, weder Schafe, noch Federvieh Fuss zu fassen vermögen und auch den Kälbern beständige Gefahr droht. In Kamtschatka gaben die Angriffe, denen nicht bloss das Hausgeflügel, sondern auch Schweine und Kühe seitens der Hunde ausgesetzt sind, mit Veranlassung dazu, die letzteren, wie es jetzt geschieht, für den Sommer aus dem Pfahlzaunhofe zu entfernen und an einem anderen Orte zu halten.

und Beschützer der Rennthierheerde seines Herrn eignete. Als unstäten Jägern, musste es ihnen ferner von grösstem Nutzen sein, sich der Lokomotion wegen ein Thier dienstbar zu machen, das gleich ihnen selbst zu seiner Erhaltung eines häufigen Ortswechsels bedarf. Vielleicht hat endlich zur Domesticirung des Rennthiers durch die Tungusen auch der Umstand beigetragen, dass sie an dem Nord- und Ostrande Hochasien's in Berührung und Verkehr mit den nomadischen Hirtenvölkern des letzteren standen, denen Pferd oder Kameel zur Ortsveränderung dienen. Das erstere haben sich bekanntlich, und zwar vermuthlich auf diesem Wege, auch manche tungusische Stämme angeeignet, wie man denn auch im oberen Amur-Lande einem solchen Stamme, den Manägirn, begegnet. Und das konnte wiederum andere ihrer Stammgenossen, die weiter nordwärts oder höher nach dem Gebirge zu wohnten, dazu bewegen, anstatt des Pferdes ein anderes, in ihrem Lande einheimisches und seiner Natur gewachsenes Thier, das Rennthier, und zwar zunächst ganz in derselben Weise, als Reit- und Lastthier zu gebrauchen. Uebrigens, wie dem auch sei, jedenfalls kann man das Rennthier als das eigenste Hausthier, die Charakterform der Tungusen und diese als das Rennthiervolk insonderheit bezeichnen, das durch seine ausserordentliche Ausbreitung nach allen Weltgegenden dem Rennthier eine entsprechend weite Culturheimath bereitete und auch die Einbürgerung desselben bei seinen Nachbarstämmen bis zu den Korjaken und Tschuktschen einer- und den Samojeden und Lappen andererseits vermittelte. Wie oben erwähnt[1]) und in der Folge zum Theil noch näher besprochen werden soll, drangen einzelne Wellen dieser Rennthiernomaden-Bewegung auch bis nach Sachalin und Kamtschatka; Amerika aber war und blieb ihnen unerreichbar. So scheint mir die Thatsache, dass dieser Welttheil, trotz weiter Verbreitung des wilden Rennthiers in demselben, doch keine Rennthiernomaden unter seinen Völkern hat, in den oben besprochenen, im Vergleich zur alten Welt wesentlich verschiedenen geographischen und ethnographischen Verhältnissen eine genügende Erklärung zu finden.

Bevor ich weiter gehe, sei es mir gestattet, noch eine Bemerkung in Bezug auf die hundehaltenden Paläasiaten Amerika's, die Eskimo, einzuschalten. Von so wesentlichem Nutzen ihnen der Hund im gesammten Bereich ihrer Verbreitung ist[2]), so hat doch sein Gebrauch zum Anspann sich nirgends bei ihnen zu der Höhe wie in der alten Welt entwickelt[3]). Am meisten ist dies noch an dem ihrer ursprünglichen Heimath zunächst gelegenen amerikanischen Gestade des Bering-Meeres, in den fischreichen Stromgebieten des Kwichpack und Kuskokwim der Fall[4]), wo die Eskimo überhaupt zur reichsten Entfaltung ihrer Eigenart gelangten. Je kärglicher und schwerer, unter der Ungunst der Naturverhältnisse, ihr Leben im Westen und

1) S. p. 248.

2) Sehr bezeichnend sagt z. B. R. Brown (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1869, p. 463): «Wenn der grönländische Hund ausstirbt, muss der Grönländer zu Grunde gehen, sicherer, als dies bei dem Prairie-Indianer der Fall sein wird, wenn der letzte Büffel weggeschossen sein wird».

3) Зарожная, Помехлая, опыт. чертн русск. языка. ст. Аноф., 1847, ч. 1, стр. 59. Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1266.

4) Vrgl. Wrangell (Statist. u. ethnogr. Nachr. über die Russ. Besitz. an der Nordwestküste von Amerika. — Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. I, p. 130, 147 u. a.), Whymper (Travel and Adventure in the territory of Alaska) und Dall (Alaska and its resources, passim).

Norden ihres Wohngebietes sich gestaltet, um so mehr muss der Mensch sich auch selbst an den Mühen betheiligen, die dem Hunde als Zugthier zufallen. Mitunter wird dort, wenn der Gebrauch von Schlitten allzu beschwerlich oder unmöglich wird[1]), der Hund auch als Lastthier benutzt, wie es z. B. Klutschak auf seiner Reise mit Schwatka nach dem King-Williamslande erfahren hat[2]), — eine Verwendung, die der Natur des Thieres gewiss nicht entspricht und in der alten Welt weder bei den Giljaken, noch, soviel ich weiss, bei irgend welchem anderen Volke vorkommt.

Kehren wir nach dieser Abschweifung wieder zum Amur-Lande zurück, so muss zunächst auf den Gegensatz hingewiesen werden, der uns in Betreff des Gebrauches des Hundes zum Anspann zwischen den beiden paläasiatischen Stämmen, Aino und Giljaken, und den übrigen, sämmtlich zum tungusischen Stamme gehörigen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes entgegentritt: während er bei jenen in die entfernteste Zeit zurückreicht, ihnen gewissermaassen ursprünglich angehört, haben diese sich denselben erst in späterer, verhältnissmässig neuer Zeit, und zwar erst durch direkte oder indirekte Vermittelung der Giljaken zu eigen gemacht.

Eines dieser Völker, die Oroken auf Sachalin, ist noch heutzutage ein Zwittergebilde von Rennthiernomaden und sesshaften, Hunde haltenden Fischern, eine seltsame, aus dem Contakt verschiedenartiger Völker auf dieser Insel resultirende Erscheinung. Wie oben bereits erwähnt, giebt schon die älteste, aus dem Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts datirende Nachricht über die Oroken davon Kunde, dass sie statt der Pferde eine Art zahmer Hirsche halten, die sie zum Ziehen der Schlitten gebrauchen[3]). Ein Jahrhundert später (1808) berichtete der japanische Reisende Mamia Rinsô[4]), dass die Orotsko auf Krafto (Oroken von Sachalin) statt der Hunde andere Thiere, genannt *Tonakai* (die Aino-Bezeichnung für Rennthier), mit sich führen und auf ihren Wanderungen mit ihrem Hausgeräth, Lebensmitteln u. drgl. beladen, und in solcher Gestalt, als Saumthiere, giebt sie auch die von Siebold nach Zeichnungen des Reisenden zusammengestellte Tafel (XX) wieder. Demnach dürften die Oroken das Rennthier in zwiefacher Weise, als Saum- oder Last-und als Anspannthier gebrauchen. Das Erstere namentlich erscheint durch das Zeugniss Mamia Rinsô's als sicher verbürgt und sowohl den Naturverhältnissen, dem gebirgigen und waldreichen Charakter der Insel, als auch den Sitten und Gewohnheiten des tungusischen Stammes angemessen, denn auch auf dem Festlande Asien's bedienen sich die tungusischen Völker, wie die Orotschonen und alle sonstigen Rennthier-Tungusen, des Rennthiers zum Reiten und Lastentragen. Ja, angesichts dieser Thatsachen und Erwägungen könnte man fast geneigt sein, die Glaubwürdigkeit jener älteren, von den Mandshu herrührenden Angabe über den Gebrauch des Rennthiers bei den Oroken zum Anspann in

1) In Grönland geht der Hund zwar ebenso weit nördlich wie der Mensch, wird aber von den Eskimo nicht südlicher als Holsteinborg zum Fahren verwendet, da das Meer im Winter nicht genug gefriert, um darauf in Schlitten fahren zu können (R. Brown, l. c. p. 463).

2) H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos, Wien, Pest, Leipzig 1881, p. 22, nebst Abbildungen auf p. 22 und 109.

3) S. oben, p. 130.

4) Tô-tats kiko, in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 190.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Zweifel zu ziehen. Dennoch habe ich selbst gerade diesen Gebrauch des Rennthiers bei ihnen beobachtet. Auf meiner Reise im Winter 1856 durch Sachalin begegnete ich am 17./29. Februar im Tymy-Thale einem Zuge der Oroken. Als wir beim giljakischen Dorfe Plub-wo den Fluss überschritten, sahen wir im Weidengestrüpp an seinem Ufer drei mit Hunden bespannte Schlitten stehen, deren Lenker abgestiegen waren und ihre Hunde hielten. Sie theilten uns sogleich mit, dass ein orokischer Rennthierzug sich nähere und wir daher unsere Hunde ebenfalls festhalten müssten. Zwei dieser Männer waren schon an ihrer Kleidung, den Rennthierpelzen, Mützen und Stiefeln, als Oroken zu erkennen; der dritte war ganz giljakisch gekleidet, in einem Pelz aus Hundsfellen, mit Seehundsfellstiefeln und Schürzrock (*kossjkcha*), welcher letztere übrigens auch den beiden anderen nicht fehlte. Nicht minder verschieden als die Kleidung waren auch ihre Schlitten: zwei derselben waren von den giljakischen nicht zu unterscheiden, der dritte aber, ein national-orokischer Rennthierschlitten, hatte eine ganz andere Beschaffenheit. Die beifolgende Abbildung, die nach einer in meinem Tagebuch flüchtig entworfenen Skizze gemacht worden ist, mag eine annähernde Vorstellung von demselben geben. Im Vergleich mit den giljakischen war er, bei gleich geringer Höhe, weit kürzer und etwas breiter: die Sohlen waren ebenfalls breiter als bei jenen, im Durchschnitt dreieckig, nach oben mit einer scharfen Kante versehen. Nach hinten verliefen sie bis zum abgestumpften Ende ganz horizontal, vorn waren sie sanft aufwärts gekrümmt, um sich mit den Längsseitenstäben des Schlittens in spitzem Winkel zu vereinigen; doch fehlte ein die beiderseitigen Sohlen und Längsstäbe verbindendes Krummholz, so dass der Schlitten vorn gleichsam klaffend erschien. Zwei der haltenden Schlitten waren mit Rennthiermoos beladen, der dritte enthielt einiges Hausgeräth, Schneeschuhe, Lanzen, Bögen u. drgl. Es dauerte nicht lange, so liess sich auch der Rennthierzug der Oroken sehen und bewegte sich in einem Bogen an uns vorüber. Er bestand aus 5—7 Schlitten genau von der Art wie der oben beschriebene. Jeder derselben war mit einem Rennthier bespannt, das an einem einzigen Riemen den Schlitten zog. Der Zugriemen lief vom Geweih des Thieres ihm unter Hals und Brust hinab und zwischen den Beinen durch und war etwa in der Mitte des Schlittens an ein Querholz desselben befestigt. Ein Mann sass in jedem Schlitten, ziemlich weit nach hinten, eine lange Ruthe in der Hand, mit welcher er das Thier antrieb. Da der Zugriemen in der Nähe seines Sitzes an den Schlitten befestigt ist, so kann er vermittelst desselben ohne aufzustehen das Thier zurückhalten und das Gefährt zum Stehen bringen. Hinter jedem Schlitten gingen ein oder ein paar Rennthiere, bald an denselben gebunden, bald ganz frei und sämmtlich unbelastet. Sobald der Zug verschwunden war, setzten sich auch die mit Hunden bespannten Schlitten hinter ihm her in Bewegung. Auch wir machten uns wieder auf, und da wir desselben Weges fahren mussten, auf welchem die Oroken eben gekommen waren, so liefen unsere Hunde, beständig die Rennthierspuren witternd, trotzdem sie nicht mehr bei frischen Kräften waren, doch in ununterbroche-

Oroken-Schlitten.

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ner rasender Eile, bis wir zur Nacht hielten, fort, durch ihre Leidenschaftlichkeit in uns eine Vorstellung davon erweckend, was wohl bei einem plötzlichen und unerwarteten Zusammenstossen derselben mit einem orokischen Rennthierzuge erfolgt wäre.

Es unterliegt also keinem Zweifel, dass die Oroken das Rennthier zum Fahren gebrauchen, gleich den Polarvölkern, Tschuktschen, Korjaken, Samojeden. Das verleiht Sachalin einen Zug polaren Charakters, wie ihn auch die Natur der weit ins Ochotskische Meer vorgeschobenen Nordhälfte der Insel trägt. Während jedoch jene Polarvölker mehrere Rennthiere neben einander vor ihre grossen und hochgestellten Schlitten spannen, nöthigen Wald und Gebirge seiner Heimath den Oroken, gleich dem Lappen am entgegengesetzten Ende des asiatisch-europäischen Welttheils, das Thier nur einspännig vor einem kleinen und niedrigen Gefährte zu verwenden. So verschieden der plumpe Schlittentrog des Lappen von dem leichtgezimmerten, vorn nicht einmal durch ein Krummholz geschlossenen Schlitten des Oroken ist, die Analogie dieser Erscheinungen im Völkerbilde des äussersten Ostens und Westens von Asien-Europa ist augenfällig. Und sie ist um so bemerkenswerther, als die Oroken unter allen, so sehr zahlreichen und weit verbreiteten tungusischen Stämmen die einzigen sind, die das Rennthier zum Fahren gebrauchen.

Wie verhält es sich jedoch dieser Thatsache gegenüber mit der obenerwähnten Angabe Mamia Rinsô's, dass das Rennthier bei den Oroken als Saumthier zum Lastentragen dient? Ich habe es zwar selbst nicht gesehen und kenne auch keine neuere Nachricht, welche es bestätigte, dennoch glaube ich jene Angabe nicht schlechtweg ablehnen zu dürfen, sowohl aus den oben bereits angeführten inneren Wahrscheinlichkeitsgründen, als auch weil Mamia Rinsô selbst auf Sachalin gewesen und dort vielleicht auch mit Oroken zusammengetroffen ist, jedenfalls aber von den dortigen Aino und Giljaken zuverlässige Nachrichten über dieselben hat sammeln können. Andererseits erscheint es mir aber auch unzulässig, aus dem Gegeneinanderhalten jener Angabe und dessen, was ich selbst gesehen, etwa folgern zu wollen, dass nach Mamia Rinsô bei den Oroken eine Veränderung im Gebrauch des Rennthiers stattgefunden habe, denn dazu dürfte der Zeitraum von nicht voll 50 Jahren, der zwischen Rinsô's und meiner Reise liegt, doch wohl zu kurz sein. Und so bleibt mir kein anderer Schluss übrig, als der, dass die Orokon bei ihren Wanderungen sich des Rennthiers sowohl zum Fahren, wie zum Lastentragen und Reiten bedienen, so vereinzelt ein derartiger zwiefacher Gebrauch eines Hausthiers zur Ortsveränderung unter den Naturvölkern auch stehen mag. Und zwar dürften die Oroken sich des einen, oder des anderen Modus der Lokomotion bedienen, je nach dem, welche Gegenden und Lokalitäten der Insel sie durchwandern. Wenn sie, der Jagd auf Pelzthiere nachgehend, die öden, von ihnen allein betretenen Gebirgswildnisse im Osten und Westen vom Tymy-Thale durchstreifen, so dürfte sie dort, gleichwie unter ähnlichen Verhältnissen auch ihre Stammgenossen auf dem Festlande, das Rennthier als unentbehrliches, zum Lastentragen und Reiten dienendes Saumthier begleiten. Auf diese Wanderungen der Oroken beziehen sich offenbar die Angaben Mamia Rinso's, wenn er vom Gebrauch des Rennthiers bei denselben spricht. Das geht auch aus seiner ferneren Bemerkung hervor, «das *Tonakai* sei von Natur äusserst sanft und zahm, doch sehr angst vor den Hunden, wesshalb man es auf keine Weise

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in Ortschaften hineinbringen könne, in denen sich solche in Menge aufhalten»[1]). Von den Wanderungen der Oroken durch das mit giljakischen Dörfern, in denen es zahlreiche Hunde giebt, besetzte Tymy-Thal hatte er keine Kunde. Und auf diesen nach ihrer Richtung und ihren Endzielen oben bereits besprochenen[2]), zum Zweck des Handels mit den Giljaken, Aino, Chinesen und Japanern allwinterlich stattfindenden Wanderungen bedienen sich die Oroken, wie soeben ausführlich geschildert worden, des Rennthiers zum Anspann vor dem Schlitten.

Wenn ich vorhin den Gedanken, dass seit Mamia Rinsô's Reise auf Sachalin bei den Oroken eine Veränderung in der Art und Weise, das Rennthier zu gebrauchen, stattgefunden haben könnte, zurückweisen musste, so scheint mir hingegen eine solche für weiter zurückliegende Zeiten ganz unleugbar zu sein. Denn ohne Zweifel haben die Oroken ehemals, als sie noch mit ihren Stammgenossen, den Oltscha, zusammen auf dem Festlande nomadisirten, das Rennthier gleich anderen tungusischen Stämmen nur zum Lastentragen und Reiten benutzt. Erst nachdem sie nach Sachalin hinübergegangen, lernten sie es daneben auch als Anspannthier vor dem Schlitten zu verwenden. Wie und wodurch kann dies aber gekommen sein? Ich glaube es nur dem Einfluss dieser ihrer neuen Heimath, namentlich dem unvermeidlichen Verkehr mit den sie dort allenthalben umgebenden Giljaken zuschreiben zu müssen. Fanden die Oroken, als sie mit ihren Rennthieren vom Festlande nach Nordsachalin hinüberwanderten, in den an Flechten und Moosen reichen Nadelholzwaldungen desselben auch günstige Naturbedingungen zum Fortführen ihres Nomadenlebens, so konnten sie doch nur dann für die Dauer festen Fuss auf der Insel fassen, wenn sie in freundnachbarlichen Verkehr mit den dortigen Völkern traten, und diese auch ihren Vortheil von den neuen Ankömmlingen erhielten. Namentlich war dies den Giljaken gegenüber unbedingt nothwendig, da diese beide Küsten im Norden der Insel und das ganze Tymy-Thal inne hatten, und es bei ihrer grösseren Zahl und Energie stets in ihrer Macht lag, die von ihnen umschlossenen Eindringlinge aller Existenzmittel zu berauben und zu vernichten. Zum Glück für die Oroken liess jedoch der weniger auf Krieg als auf Gewinn und Bereicherung gerichtete Sinn der Giljaken diese bald erkennen, dass sie von den eingewanderten Nomaden keine Schmälerung ihrer Interessen zu befürchten hätten, sondern im Gegentheil beträchtlichen Nutzen ziehen könnten. Denn die Schätze an kostbarem Pelzwerk, welche jene als geübte Jäger auf ihren Wanderungen in den entlegenen Gebirgswaldungen der Insel zu Tage fördern, mussten, und sogar zum grössten Theil, auch ihnen als den ersten Abnehmern und unvermeidlichen Vermittlern des Handels mit den Chinesen und Japanern zu gute kommen. Ich werde auf diesen Handel später noch zurückkommen. Der Vortheil, den die Giljaken durch denselben von den Oroken beziehen, erklärt hinlänglich die Duldung und Schonung, welche sie diesen letzteren zu Theil kommen lassen, wenn sie dieselben, trotz mancher Ungelegenheit, die es ihnen selbst bereitet, unbehindert mit ihren Rennthieren auf dem von

1) Mamia Rinsô, l. c., p. 192.
2) S. oben, p. 20; desgl. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 169 und 170.

ihren Hundeschlitten gebahnten Wege durch das Tymy-Thal ziehen lassen. Die solchergestalt den Oroken aus ihrem guten Einvernehmen mit den Giljaken erwachsende Möglichkeit, durchs ganze Tymy-Thal und weiter übers Gebirge und den Liman bis zum Amur, sowie dem Poronai entlang bis zum Golf der Geduld die von den giljakischen Schlitten gebahnten Pfade benutzen zu können, mag sie dazu bewogen haben, sich auf diesen ihren Wanderungen ihrer Rennthiere in derselben Weise zu bedienen, wie die Giljaken und Aino es mit ihren Hunden thun, d. h. zum Anspann vor entsprechend construirten Schlitten. Ja, sie mussten um so mehr darauf gebracht werden, als sie des Verkehrs mit den Giljaken wegen genöthigt waren, bisweilen, wenn sie z. B. des Handels halber in die Dörfer der letzteren kamen, sich auch der Hunde zum Fahren zu bedienen. Einige mit Hunden bespannte Schlitten sind ihnen ferner auch bei jenen ihren Wanderungen unumgänglich, um dem Rennthierzuge vorauszueilen und plötzlichen Begegnungen mit giljakischen oder anderen Hundegespannen vorzubeugen. Der Art waren die Schlitten, denen ich bei Plub-wo begegnete. Später habe ich bei Nyi und in der Gegend der Tymy-Mündung noch wiederholt Oroken auf hundebespannten Schlitten fahren sehen. So bieten uns die Oroken auf Sachalin, dank ihrem Contakt und Verkehr mit den Giljaken, den gewiss sehr seltenen, wenn nicht ganz vereinzelt dastehenden Fall eines Naturvolkes dar, das nicht weniger als dreierlei Arten von Ortsveränderung zu Lande hat, indem es einmal auf Rennthieren reitet und fährt und daneben sich auch der Hunde zum Fahren bedient. Letzteres haben sie schlechtweg von den Giljaken entlehnt, und darum sind bei dieser Art der Lokomotion auch Schlitten und Anspann bei ihnen ganz dieselben wie bei jenen. Vermuthlich dürften jedoch ihre von klein auf neben den Rennthieren gehaltenen Hunde sich soweit an dieselben gewöhnt haben, dass sie ihnen nicht so gefährlich wie die giljakischen Hunde sind und daher zum Eskortiren der Rennthierzüge gebraucht werden können. Um die ihnen kaum minder als die Rennthiere nothwendigen Hunde ernähren zu können, sind aber die Oroken genöthigt, während eines Theiles des Jahres, und zwar, wie oben schon erwähnt worden, im Sommer und Herbst, ein sesshaftes Fischerleben an der Ostküste Sachalin's zu führen, um erst, wenn die Pelzthiere ihr kostbares Winterkleid angethan haben, ihre der Jagd und dem Handel dienenden Wanderungen mit Hülfe der Rennthiere wieder anzutreten.

Wie übrigens der Raum, den die Oroken durchwandern, nur ein sehr beschränkter ist und sich mit den Wandergebieten der Festlandsnomaden nicht im Entferntesten messen kann, so ist auch die Zahl der ihnen zu Gebote stehenden Rennthiere nur gering. Mamia Rinsô berichtete im Jahre 1808, dass ein reicher Oroke deren oft 12 und darüber habe; Doschnjak, der dies Volk 1852 in der Gegend von Nyi und der Tymy-Mündung kennen lernte, meint, dass die Zahl der Rennthiere beim reichsten Oroken nicht mehr wie 30 betrage[1]). Etwa dreissig Jahre später (1881) besuchte sie Poljakof in derselben Gegend, und seine Schätzung bleibt noch hinter derjenigen seines Vorgängers zurück, denn nach ihm besitzt ein Oroke von

1) Помазкинъ, Экск. въ Нро-Амуром. краѣ (Морск. Сборн., 1888, № 11, 2. отд.; стр. 189).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

mittlerem Wohlstande etwa 10-15 Rennthiere, nur sehr Wenige haben deren über 20, arme Leute aber auch nur zwei oder drei Thiere[1]). In der Umgegend von Taraika am Golfe der Geduld wurden zur Zeit von Schmidt's Reise (1861) nur noch im Dorfe Walendsä einige Rennthiere gehalten, an allen anderen Orten waren sie in Folge von Futtermangel umgekommen, da der tiefe Schnee jener Gegenden die Erhaltung dieser Thiere sehr erschwert[2]). Bei so schwachem Bestande der orokischen Rennthierheerden erscheint ihre Zukunft wenig gesichert und liegt die Befürchtung nahe, dass sie unter ungünstigen Verhältnissen, wie Seuchen, Verwüstungen durch Wölfe u. drgl., leicht ganz hinschwinden könnten. Mit dem Verluste ihrer Rennthiere werden aber die Oroken, ihres vornehmlichsten Existenzmittels beraubt, entweder ebenfalls zu Grunde gehen, oder aber im besten Falle, wenn ferner noch von den Giljaken geduldet, demselben Schicksale wie ihre Stammgenossen auf dem Festlande, die Oltscha, anheimfallen, d. h. alle Eigenart ihres Lebens und Treibens einbüssen und sich ganz und gar der Lebensweise und den Sitten ihrer mächtigeren Nachbarn, der Giljaken, anbequemen müssen.

Wie weit Letzteres bei den Amur-**Oltscha** sich vollzogen hat, haben wir bereits mehrmals, bei Besprechung ihrer Nahrung, Kleidung, Haltung, hervorzuheben Gelegenheit gehabt. Ein Gleiches lässt sich nun auch in Betreff der bei ihnen üblichen Art und Weise der Ortsveränderung bemerken. Die Benutzung des Hundes als Zugthier, die Behandlung desselben, die Art und Weise des Anspanns, die Form und Beschaffenheit des Schlittens, Alles ist genau wie bei den Giljaken. Ohne Zweifel aber haben die Oltscha es von den Giljaken entlehnt, und nicht umgekehrt, denn, wie oben ausführlich dargethan[3]), haben die Oltscha ehedem als Rennthiernomaden gelebt und sind erst nach Verlust ihrer Rennthiere zu sesshaften Fischern am Amur-Strome in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft der seit Alters her Hunde haltenden Giljaken geworden.

Eine ebensolche Lebenswandelung haben höchst wahrscheinlich auch die übrigen tungusischen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, namentlich die **Negda**, **Samagirn** und **Golde** durchzumachen gehabt, wenn sie bei ihnen auch minder nachweisbar als bei den Oltscha ist, die an den Oroken einen noch heutzutage sein Nomadenleben fortsetzenden Zweig besitzen. Gleich den Oltscha und vermuthlich zum Theil durch Vermittelung derselben haben sie denn auch die giljakische Art und Weise der winterlichen Ortsveränderung, mit allen, auch bei ihnen sich wiederholenden, auf den Hundeanspann, die Schlittenform u. s. w. bezüglichen Eigenheiten derselben, angenommen[4]). Indessen lässt sich nicht verkennen, dass bei allen diesen Völkern, nach Maassgabe als sie im Vergleich mit den Giljaken mehr Jäger als Fischer sind und keine so

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1) Полаковъ, Путеш. на остр. Сахалинъ (Прилож. къ XIX. Т. Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., стр. 82).

2) Fr. Schmidt, Histor. Ber. etc., l. c., p. 115.

3) S. oben, p. 133—144.

4) Wenn Maack (Путеш. на р. Амуръ, стр. 202), von den Golde ausgehend, angiebt, der Hundeanspann bei den Eingeborenen des Amur-Landes sei der Art, dass die Thiere paarweise laufen, so ist das ganz und gar falsch, und darf darin kein etwaiger Unterschied zwischen den Golde und Giljaken erblickt werden: bei allen werden vielmehr die Hunde ganz gleich und zwar alternirend angespannt, wie oben ausführlich geschildert worden ist.

ausgedehnten Handelsbeziehungen wie die letzteren haben, das Hunde-Halten und Benutzen weniger im Vordergrunde des Lebens steht, indem die Zahl der Thiere, die Sorge um dieselben und damit auch ihre Güte und Leistungsfähigkeit weit geringer als bei den Giljaken sind. Doch ist das Fahren mit Hunden auch bei den Golde noch in ihrem gesammten Verbreitungsgebiet, den Amur, wie den Ussuri und Sungari hinauf, im Gebrauch [1]). Daneben sieht man aber bei ihnen am Amur oberhalb der Ussuri-Mündung und an diesem letzteren Fluss bisweilen auch Pferde. Auf meiner Reise im Sommer 1855 hörte ich von den Golde in Turme an der Ussuri-Mündung, dass es bei ihnen Pferde gegeben habe, welche jedoch kurz zuvor von Tigern vernichtet worden seien [2]). Ich begegnete, stromaufwärts gegangen, den ersten Pferden im Dorfe Sselgako am Amur. Nach Angabe der Golde werden sie ihnen von einem weit oberhalb wohnenden Volke zugeführt, in welchem ich später die Manägirn erkannte [3]). Dort sah ich auch die zum Reiten auf den Pferden dienlichen, vermuthlich aus derselben Quelle stammenden, plumpen, hölzernen Sättel. Daneben standen aber auch die zum Fahren im Winter landesüblichen Hundeschlitten, die ganz wie die giljakischen beschaffen waren. Denn die Pferde dienen, hier wie bei den Manägirn, nur zum Reiten. So konnte man bei den Golde von Sselgako nebeneinander Lokomotionsmittel sehen, die zwei grundverschiedenen und so weit von einander wohnenden Völkern, wie die Giljaken und Manägirn, entlehnt worden sind. Zu den Ussuri-Golde gelangen die Pferde aus dem Sungari-Lande durch Vermittelung der unter ihnen wohnenden Chinesen, welche dieselben, zum Theil unter Mitwirkung der in ihrem Dienste stehenden oder von ihnen abhängigen Golde, hauptsächlich zum Waarentransport von und nach den Sungari-Städten auf der vom Ussuri nach Ssan-ssin führenden Strasse gebrauchen, wobei die Pferde im Sommer als Saumthiere unmittelbar belastet, im Winter aber vor Schlitten gespannt werden [4]), — ein Gebrauch, auf den ich in der Folge nochmals zurückkommen werde. Ausserdem aber benutzen die Golde ihre Pferde im Frühjahr, nachdem der Schnee geschmolzen, zuweilen auch dazu, um in Jagdzwecken längs dem Ima, Waku und anderen rechten Nebenflüssen des Ussuri aufwärts zu gehen.

Nimmt die Bedeutung des Hundes als Zugthier bei den tungusischen Völkern des Amur-Landes nach Maassgabe der Entfernung von den Giljaken ab, so stellt sich bei ihnen dagegen ein anderer, den Giljaken fremder Gebrauch desselben, derjenige als Begleiter und Gehülfe des Menschen auf der Jagd ein. So halten die Ussuri-Golde nicht selten neben Zughunden auch Jagdhunde, die zwar von derselben Race wie jene sind, aber nur zur Jagd, nicht zum Fahren gebraucht werden [5]). In höherem Grade noch findet dasselbe bei den Orotschon statt. Diese

1) De la Brunière, Excursion en Mandchourie, en 1843 (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Année 1848 [T. IV], p. 114). Vrgl. auch Wenjukof (Обозр. р. Уссури. — Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 28, 1859, Отд. Изсл. и Мат., стр. 230, 237; его же Путеш. по окраин. Русск. Азіи, 1868, стр. 81), Przewalski (Путеш. въ Уссур. краѣ, стр. 100) u. A. Ich habe auch selbst bei den Ussuri-Golde im Sommer 1855 abgestellte Hundeschlitten gesehen, die mit den giljakischen vollkommen übereinstimmten.

2) S. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 177. Dasselbe wurde auch Maack erzählt (s. дневн. Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 170).

3) S. oben, p. 48.

4) Корзин, в. Будиновъ, Опис. зѣс. части Приморск. обл. (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Кн. IX и X, 1867, стр. 374).

5) Воинновъ, Обозр. р. Уссури (Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 28, 1860, Отд. Изсл. и Мат., стр. 237).

gebrauchen im nördlichen Theile ihres Wohngebietes, in der Bai Hadshi und an den rechten Amur-Zuflüssen, ganz in der Art ihrer Nachbarn, der Oltscha und Golde, Hunde zum Fahren; im Süden ihres Gebiets hingegen, an den rechten Zuflüssen des Ussuri, wo sie fast ganz von der Jagd leben, sind sie schon aus Fischmangel meist nicht im Stande Zughunde zu halten, die ihnen übrigens in den Gebirgswildnissen ihrer Heimath auch kaum von Nutzen wären, und beschränken sich daher auf das Halten von Jagdhunden, welche sie mit dem Abfall von den erlegten Thieren, insbesondere mit einer aus den Knochen derselben bereiteten Brühe füttern, die Communication aber unter ihnen findet im Winter nur zu Fuss, auf Schneeschuhen statt[1]. Gleichwohl lässt es sich noch als Reflex des auch dort im Allgemeinen herrschenden Landesbrauchs ansehen, dass die unter den Orotschen und Golde wohnenden, sesshaften und bemittelteren Chinesen Hunde zum Fahren halten[2].

Mit der Südgrenze der Orotschen im Ussuri-Gebiet und der Golde am Sungari hört der Gebrauch von Hunden zum Anspann gänzlich auf, und im Sungari-Lande, bei den Ackerbau und Viehzucht treibenden Mandshu, Chinesen und Dauren giebt es eine ganze Anzahl den Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes fremder, zur Ortsveränderung dienender Hausthiere, wie Pferd, Maulthier, Esel, Rind, auf deren Besprechung wir hier nicht weiter einzugehen haben. Indem ich bezüglich derselben auf die Mittheilungen, die im zoologischen Theile dieses Werkes gemacht worden, verweise[3], füge ich in Betreff ihres Gebrauches zur Ortsveränderung nur hinzu, dass die drei ersteren bei den genannten Völkern sowohl im Sungari-Lande, als auch in ihren Kolonien im sogen. Culturstück des Amur-Stromes zwar meist zum Reiten und Lastentragen gebraucht werden, das Pferd aber auch im Sommer vor Karren und im Winter vor Schlitten gespannt wird, gleichwie auch das Rind[4]. Der mehrfach erwähnte, im Sungari-Lande geborene und aufgewachsene Chinese Li-tschen fügt, indem er in seiner Schrift über Ninguta des im Lande üblichen Fahrens in Schlitten erwähnt, erläuternd hinzu, der Schlitten (*pa-li*) sei ein dem Karren ähnliches Fuhrwerk, aber ohne Räder, und der Uebersetzer seiner Schrift, der Sinolog Wassiljef, bemerkt dazu, eine solche Erläuterung sei den Chinesen gegenüber nothwendig, da diese in ihrer Heimath keinen Begriff von Schlitten hätten[5]. Wenn daher die Chi-

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1) Nach Korsun, s. Budistschef, l. c., p. 353.

2) Бухмеевъ, тамъ же, стр. 414. Пржевальскій, Путеш. въ Уссур. край, стр. 138.

3) Bd. I, p. 160 und 175—179.

4) So reiste z. B. der Missionar Kimal-Kim 1844 von Kuang-tschen-dse über Giria und Ninguta nach Huntschun in einem von Pferden gezogenen Schlitten (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Ann. 1847, T. I, p. 66 seq.), und in derselben Weise trat Venault 1850 in Saan-sein seine Reise zum Ussuri an (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Ann. 1853, T. I, p. 209). Pargatschefskij (Новыя свѣд. о нутрѣ по р. Амуру. — Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 21, 1857, Отд. Инод. и Мат., стр. 176) kam, von Mandshu geleitet, in einem von Ochsen gezogenen Schlitten nach der Stadt Aigun. Nach seiner wie nach Maack's Beschreibung (Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 383) sind diese Schlitten der Art, dass die dicken Sohlen sich nach vorn unmittelbar in die Pflomerstangen verlangern, was sie sehr plump und unbeholfen macht.

5) Васильевъ, Записки о Нингуѣ (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. XII, 1857, стр. 96). Beiläufig sei bemerkt, dass schon John Barrow (Reise durch China von Peking nach Canton im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den J. 1793 und 1794, aus dem Engl. von Hüttner, Wien 1805, Bd. II, p. 160) sein Verwundern darüber aussprach, dass der Scharfsinn der Chinesen sich nicht bis zur

2: Schrenck . RX2 Gilyak

nesen und **Mandshu** im Sungari-Lande sich der Schlitten zum Fahren bedienen, so darf man darin eine Folge ihres alten und vielfachen Verkehrs mit den **Golde** und anderen Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes sehen, obgleich das Anspannthier bei diesen ein anderes ist.

Dem unteren Amur-Lande gegenüber steht das obere, von der Sungari-Mündung aufwärts, hinsichtlich der Art der zu Lande stattfindenden Ortsveränderung seiner indigenen Stämme im Allgemeinen in einem schroffen Gegensatze: denn während alle Völker des ersteren, von Sachalin, der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres und der Amur-Mündung bis zum Sungari hinauf, sich der Hunde zum Fahren bedienen, ist diese Art der Ortsveränderung bei keinem einzigen Volke des letzteren im Gebrauch, — eine Thatsache, die besser als alles Andere den gegensätzlichen Charakter sesshafter Fischerbevölkerung in dem einen und nomadischer Jägerbevölkerung in dem anderen kennzeichnet. Mit Ausnahme der wenigen, gleich oberhalb des Bureja-Gebirges wohnenden sesshaften **Biraren**, die sich in ihrer gesammten Lebensweise und somit auch in der Art der Ortsveränderung mit ihren Nachbarn, den **Dauren**, **Mandshu** und Chinesen, völlig assimilirt haben, giebt es in der That im oberen Amur-Lande nur Jagdnomaden, die entweder, wie die **Manägirn** und wandernden **Biraren**, auf Pferden, oder, wie die meisten **Orotschonen**, auf Rennthieren umherziehen, den Hund aber nur in einzelnen Individuen zu Jagdzwecken halten[1]). Pferd wie Rennthier werden dabei nur als Reit- und Lastthiere gebraucht. Die **Manägirn**-Pferde stimmen mit den transbaikalischen wie mit den mandshurischen ganz und gar überein, sind nicht gross, aber stark und von ausnehmender Ausdauer. Beständig unter freiem Himmel gehalten, sind sie jeder Unbill des Klimas gewachsen und müssen sich im Winter mit dem Futter begnügen, das sie sich unter dem Schnee aufscharren, — ein Umstand, der allein schon genügen würde ihre Existenz im schneereichen unteren Amur-Lande unter gleichen Bedingungen unmöglich zu machen. Auch wären sie bei dem grossen Schneereichthum des letzteren den dortigen Eingeborenen lange nicht so brauchbar wie die Hunde, die zu allem Uebrigen noch den Vortheil gleicher Nahrung mit ihren ichthyophagen Herren gewähren. Wie die bei allen tungusischen Stämmen nahe gleichlautende, aus dem Mongolischen entlehnte Bezeichnung für das Pferd beweist[2]), verdanken sie übrigens die erste Kenntniss dieses Thieres und seines Gebrauches ihren nach Centralasien hin anstossenden Nachbarn, den **Mongolen**, — eine Thatsache, die in dem von **Maack**[3]) hervorgehobenen Umstande, dass auch die auf die Färbung, Gangart und andere Eigenschaften des Pferdes und auf die einzelnen Stücke des Pferdegeschirrs bezüglichen Bezeichnungen bei den **Manägirn** wie bei den **Mandshu** von mongolischem Ursprunge sind, eine weitere Bestätigung findet. Die eigentliche Charakterform der **Tun-**

Erfindung von Schlitten oder anderen zum Reisen über Eis und Schnee tauglichen Fuhrwerken erstreckt hat. Doch sah die Gesandtschaft der indisch-holländischen Gesellschaft an den Pekinger Hof in den Jahren 1794 und 1795, dass auf Schlittenschien gestellte Sessel von Menschen über das Eis der Teiche geschoben oder gezogen wurden (**van-Braam**, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des Indes orient. Holland. vers l'Empér. de la Chine, publ. par **Moreau de St. Méry**, Paris, an VI (1798), T. I, p. 187—189; T. II, p. 271—277).

1) **Mosus**, Hyrem. ss Auyps, cvp. 310.

2) Vrgl. **Klaproth** (Asia polyglotta, p. 267, 287), (**Pallas** (Zoogr. rosso-asiat., Vol. I, p. 236) und meine Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Bd. I, p. 175.

3) Hyrem. ss Auyps, cvp. 77.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

gusen ist und bleibt aber, wie schon erwähnt [1]), das Rennthier, und auch die Manägirn machen davon insofern keine Ausnahme, als sie, wie oben ausführlich dargethan [2]), ehemals ebenfalls Rennthiernomaden waren und erst später, nach Maassgabe als sie aus dem Gebirge in die Prairien am Amur und an der Dseja vordrangen, das Rennthier gegen das Pferd vertauschten, gleichwie es auch diejenigen Orotschonen machten, die aus dem Chingan-Gebirge süd- und ostwärts in die zum Nonni führenden Flussthäler hinabstiegen. Nord- und ostwärts aber schliessen sich an die Orotschonen des oberen Amur-Stromes und seiner Zuflüsse die in ganz gleicher Weise lebenden russischen Rennthier-Tungusen an, die sich längs dem Stanowoi-Gebirge und seinen nördlichen Abzweigungen bis zum Ochotskischen Meere hinziehen. Im Allgemeinen lassen sich also in Betreff der Lokomotionsmittel der Amur-Völker Hund und Pferd in recht scharfer Abgrenzung als die Charakterformen jener des unteren und dieses des oberen Amur-Landes bezeichnen. Der Gebrauch des Rennthiers aber zieht sich im gesämmten nördlichen Umkreise des Amur-Landes längs dem Chingan- und Stanowoi-Gebirge bis zum Ochotskischen Meere und von dort nach dem nördlichen und östlichen Sachalin bis zum Golf der Geduld fort, wobei jedoch zwischen dem Festlande und der Insel Sachalin der oben besprochene Unterschied besteht, dass dort, bei den Orotschonen und Rennthier-Tungusen, das Rennthier nur als Reit- und Lastthier, hier aber, bei den Oroken, dasselbe auch als Anspannthier dient und in dieser seiner Verwendung mit dem Hunde zusammenstösst.

Als Anwohner eines grossen Stromes und seiner Zuflüsse oder auch des Meeres und seiner Küstenflüsse sind alle Völker des Amur-Landes des Fischfangs und der Jagd, des Handels und Verkehrs wegen mehr oder weniger auch auf Bewegung und Ortsveränderung zu Wasser angewiesen. Die verschiedene Beschaffenheit der Gewässer, an denen sie wohnen, bedingt aber nothwendig auch eine Mannigfaltigkeit der zum Aufenthalt und zur Bewegung auf denselben dienlichen Fahrzeuge. Im Vergleich mit den stets nach einem und demselben Muster gebauten Hundeschlitten sind die bei den Amur-Völkern gebräuchlichen Böte von sehr verschiedener Form und Beschaffenheit; doch muss von vornherein bemerkt werden, dass die jeweiligen, dem Charakter der Gewässer angemessenen Formen mit geringen Modifikationen sich bei allen diesen Völkern wiederholen und nur wenige von ihnen ein national eigenthümliches Gepräge tragen.

Keines der Amur-Völker hält sich so viel auf dem Wasser auf, wie die am meisten vom Fischfang lebenden und durch ihren Handelsgeist zum Unternehmen weiter Fluss- und Seefahrten geneigten Giljaken. Doch sind sie, trotzdem sie zum grossen Theil am Meere leben und aus demselben ihre Nahrung beziehen, keineswegs kühne und gewandte Seeleute und Seethierjäger, die in kleinem, leicht beweglichem Fahrzeuge, etwa wie die Aleuten in ihren Baidarken,

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1) S. oben, p. 490. 2) S. oben, p. 177 ff.

den Kampf mit den hohen Meereswogen aufzunehmen geneigt und geschickt wären. Hauptsächlich um den unteren Lauf des Amur-Stromes concentrirt, der ihnen neben ausserordentlichem Fischreichthum auch einen natürlichen und leichten Verkehrsweg mit ihren näheren und ferneren Nachbarn bis zu den Mandshu-Chinesen am Sungari bietet, und andererseits durch die Nähe einer grossen, der Amur-Mündung unmittelbar vorgelagerten Insel begünstigt, die sie vom offenen Meere abscheidet und in ihrer langen Meridianerstreckung ihnen gewissermaassen eine Brücke bis nach Japan hinüber schlägt, sind die Giljaken im Gegentheil ihrem gesammten, zur Existenz dienlichen Betriebe, wie ihrem Wesen und Charakter nach nur ängstliche, um- und vorsichtige Fluss- und Küstenfahrer. Und dem entspricht auch das einzige, den Amur- wie den Küsten-Giljaken zum Fischfang wie zu ihren Verkehrs- und Handelsreisen dienende Fahrzeug. Es ist dies ein den hohen Meereswogen durchaus nicht gewachsenes, kielloses und flachgehendes Boot, das im Wesentlichen nur aus drei langen, den Boden und die beiden Seitenwände bildenden Brettern besteht, an welche sich zum Abschluss des vorderen wie des hinteren Endes mehrere kleine Brettchen anschliessen. Der prägnanteste und eigenthümlichste Zug desselben besteht darin, dass das Bodenbrett nach vorn noch um ein gutes Stück über den Bootsschnabel hinausragt (s. Taf, XXXVIII, Fig. 1). Dabei ist es nicht eben, sondern derartig gekrümmt, dass es in der Mitte am tiefsten hinabreicht, nach beiden Enden hin aber langsam ansteigt.

Um den Bau des Bootes näher kennen zu lernen, wollen wir es in seiner Entstehung unter den Händen der Giljaken verfolgen. Sind die drei langen, nothwendig aus je einem Stück bestehenden Bretter, aus denen das Boot zusammengefügt werden soll, vermittelst des Beiles aus Stämmen der *Picea ajanensis* Fisch. (gilj. *twissjk*) oder auch der Lärche (gilj. *koi*) gefertigt und ihre Oberflächen mit dem Messer gehörig geglättet, so geht man daran, dem etwa 3—5 Faden langen und einen bis anderthalb Fuss breiten Bodenbrett (gilj. *moch*) die oben erwähnte, durchaus erforderliche Krümmung zu geben. Zu dem Zweck wird es mit seinen Enden auf zwei niedrige, auf ebenem Boden errichtete Böcke gelegt, welche aus je zwei in schräger Richtung gekreuzt in die Erde eingeschlagenen Stangen bestehen. Die nicht unterstützte Mitte des Brettes sinkt nieder, muss aber, damit die richtige Krümmung erlangt werde, noch so weit heruntergedrückt werden, dass sie den Boden berührt, was entweder durch Beschweren mit Steinen, oder noch einfacher dadurch geschieht, dass ein oder ein paar Menschen sich aufs Brett setzen. In dieser Lage wird es durch ein paar jederseits in die Erde eingeschlagene, das Brett von oben umfassende Kniehölzer befestigt. Jetzt müssen die beiden, je etwa zwei Fuss breiten Seitenbretter (gilj. *arp*) mit ihren unteren, dem Bodenbrett entsprechend abgeschrägten Rändern diesem letzteren unter einem bestimmten stumpfen Winkel genau angepasst und in dieser Stellung provisorisch fixirt werden. Dazu werden jederseits mehrere, einander gegenüber stehende Stäbe in die Erde geschlagen, welche den Brettern zur Stütze dienen, worauf um die oberen Enden je zweier, einander gegenüberstehender Stäbe ein Riemen oder eine Schnur geschlungen wird (s. den umstehenden Holzschnitt), durch deren stärkeres oder schwächeres Anziehen, die Seitenbretter genau in die Stellung gebracht werden können, bei welcher ihre unteren Ränder sich mit denjenigen des Bodenbrettes decken. Steht das Boot so fertig zusammengebunden da, so kann an seine definitive Verfestigung ge-

schritten werden. Zunächst werden zwischen den Seitenbrettern mehrere, dieselben mit einander verbindende Querhölzer (gilj. *tschylch*) angebracht. Ein solcher Verbindungsstab befindet sich im hinteren Ende des Bootes, ein anderer in der Mitte und ein dritter kurz vor dem Schnabel desselben. Die Befestigung der Seitenbretter an das Bodenbrett und ebenso aller übrigen Bretter unter einander geschieht durch Holzstifte, welche mit Hülfe eines eigens dazu dienlichen eisernen Stäbchens (gilj. *ottauwo*, Taf. XXXII, Fig. 7) in die zuvor mit dem grossen Bohrer (gilj. *lung*, ebenda, Fig. 6) längs den betreffenden Bretträndern bereiteten Löcher hineingetrieben werden.

Giljakischer Bootsbau.

Beiläufig bemerkt, sind diese nicht bloss bei Anfertigung von Böten, sondern auch bei anderen Gelegenheiten, so z. B. zur Befestigung der oben besprochenen Sohlenbeschläge an den Schlitten u. drgl., gebräuchlichen Instrumente, nach giljakischer Art stets sauber gearbeitet und ebenfalls mit vielen Ornamenten, das eiserne Stäbchen mit feinen Streifen von eingelegtem Kupfer und Silber, der hölzerne Stiel des Bohrers mit zahlreichen, zierlichen Schnitzereien versehen. Zum Arbeiten mit diesem Bohrer gehören sich übrigens zwei Menschen, indem der Eine ihn vermittelst eines Holzstückes von oben, wo sich ein in den Stiel eingesetztes eisernes Stiftchen befindet, gegen den Punkt, wo das Loch kommen soll, andrückt und der Andere ihn durch rasches Anziehen eines um den Stiel desselben mehrfach geschlungenen Riemens in rotirende Bewegung versetzt, — ein Verfahren, das ich auch bei dem später und bei anderer Gelegenheit zu besprechenden giljakischen Modus, Feuer durch Reibung zu erzeugen, beobachtet habe. Aus diesem Grunde möchte ich den *Lung*, sowie einen zweiten, ganz ähnlichen und auch ebenso gehandhabten, nur etwas schlankeren Bohrer, den die Giljaken *pisk* nennen, für althergebrachte, vielleicht von ihnen selbst erfundene Instrumente halten, während der für feinere Arbeiten dienliche, unseren Instrumenten der Art ganz ähnliche kleine Bohrer (ebenda, Fig. 8), dessen giljakische Bezeichnung mir unbekannt geblieben ist, und der ganz aus Eisen besteht, jedenfalls von späterem und fremdem Ursprunge sein dürfte[1]). Letzteres gilt ohne Zweifel auch für ein anderes Instrument, die Säge. Dieser bin ich selbst bei den Giljaken nie begegnet; Hr. Maximowicz aber sah ein Exemplar derselben im Dorfe Tylm, das mit unserer gewöhnlichen Tischlersäge vollkommen übereinstimmte und von den Giljaken *puf*, von den Oltscha *pófo* genannt wurde, — eine Uebereinstimmung der Bezeichnungen, welche ebenfalls auf eine beiden Völkern gemeinsame, fremdländische Entlehnung des betreffenden Objects hinweist.

Doch kehren wir nach dieser Abschweifung zum Bau des Bootes zurück. Das hintere Ende desselben wird durch ein senkrechtes Spiegelbrett abgeschlossen und darüber und zwischen

1) Die Oltscha-tungusische Bezeichnung für diesen kleinen Bohrer lautet nach Hrn. Maximowicz *sadpsfó* und *saddschsfó*.

den beiden Bordbrettern ein horizontales, nach hinten etwas vorragendes, zum Sitz für den Steuermann bestimmtes Brett (gilj. *ottomus*) angebracht. Vorn wird das Boot durch zwei schräg gestellte Bretter (gilj. *alp*) geschlossen, von denen das linke stets ein wenig über das rechte emporragt, wodurch der Bootsschnabel eine spitze Form erhält. Alle Fugen und insbesondere die beiden längsten, zwischen dem Boden und den beiden Seitenbrettern des Bootes, werden kalfaltert; doch muss dies sehr zart und vorsichtig geschehen, um die nur durch Holzstifte zusammengehaltenen Bretter nicht auseinanderzutreiben. Es wird daher nur mit Hülfe eines Messers von innen aus etwas Moos in die Fugen gestopft, wo diese es zulassen, und dann, ebenfalls vermittelst kleiner Holzstifte, eine schmale Holzleiste über denselben befestigt. Ueber den beiden Längsfugen werden aber ausserdem auch von aussen, und zwar stärkere und breitere, durch Spalten dicker Weidenruthen gewonnene Leisten angeschlagen, so dass das Boot auf dem Lande gewissermaassen auf zwei nach aussen convexen Sohlen ruht, welche ausser dem Schutz der Fugen noch den Nutzen gewähren, dass sie beim Hineinziehen des Bootes ins Wasser oder Herausziehen aus demselben die Reibung des Bodenbretts am Ufersand und Kies vermindern und es somit gegen Beschädigung schützen. Die Analogie dieser äusseren Bootsbeschläge mit den Sohlen oder mehr noch mit den Sohlenbeschlägen der Schlitten fällt so sehr in die Augen, dass sogar die Giljaken, trotz des Mangels an Generalisirung in ihrer Sprache, sie mit demselben Wort wie diese letzteren (*motassj*) bezeichnen, während sie für die im Innern des Bootes über den Fugen angebrachten Leisten ein eigenes Wort (*tvy*) haben. Zum Schluss werden im vorderen Theile des Bootes an den Bordrändern zwei oder an grösseren Böten auch drei Paar Ruderpinnen (gilj. *misgyr*), d. h. kleiner, mit je einer emporragenden Zinke versehener Brettchen angebracht. Die Befestigung derselben an die Bordbretter geschieht ebenfalls durch Holzstifte, so dass am gesammten Boot der Giljaken, gleichwie auch an ihrem Schlitten, kein einziger Nagel, überhaupt kein Eisenstück irgend welcher Art zur Verwendung kommt. Natürlich ermangeln die Giljaken nicht, auch ihre Böte mit einigem Zierrath zu schmücken. So läuft die Spitze des unter dem Bootsschnabel vorragenden Bodenbrettes gewöhnlich in einen grob gemeisselten Schlangen-, Vogel- oder sonstigen Thierkopf aus, die beiden Schnabelbretter tragen stets auf ihrer Innenfläche einige geschnitzte Arabesken, und auf der Rückseite des Spiegelbretts befindet sich in der Regel ebenfalls eine eingeschnitzte, schwarz oder bunt bemalte Figur, ein Viereck, Stern oder drgl. Bevor man das Boot ins Wasser bringt, wird es endlich, zum Schutz gegen Fäulniss, am Boden und unteren Theile der Seitenbretter von aussen leicht verkohlt, was in der Weise geschieht, dass es auf ein paar höhere Böcke gehoben und das darunter gebreitete Strauchwerk angezündet wird.

Die Ruder (gilj. *yvnj*) sind mit einer breiten, abgerundeten, zur Spitze hin sich verjüngenden Schaufel und an einer verdickten Stelle ihres Griffs mit einem Loch zum Aufsetzen auf die Ruderpinne versehen (Taf. XXXVIII, Fig. 2)[1]. Feste, an die Seitenwände des Bootes

1) Diese Abbildung hat den wesentlichen Fehler, dass man sich die Richtung, in welcher der Rudergriff durchbohrt ist, um einen Winkel von 90° verschoben, d. h. nicht senkrecht auf die Schaufel, sondern in derselben Ebene mit dieser denken muss.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

gelehnte Ruderbänke hat das giljakische Boot nicht, da diese durch ihren Druck die Seitenbretter vom Bodenbrett abtreiben würden. Anstatt derselben bedienen sich die Giljaken kleiner, abhebbarer Schemel, die nur auf dem Bodenbrett ruhen, ohne die Seitenbretter zu berühren. Aus demselben Grunde wird auch bei Belastung des Bootes sorgfältig darauf geachtet, dass die ganze Last auf dem Bodenbrett ruhe und keinen Druck auf die Seitenbretter ausübe. Zu dem Zweck werden quer über das erstere zuvor einige seiner Breite anschnlich nachstehende Holzstücke gelegt und auf diese der Länge des Bootes nach mehrere Bretter gebreitet, welche die Lasten zu tragen bestimmt sind, — eine Maassregel, die nebenbei auch dazu dient, die zu transportirenden Gegenstände vor Durchnässung im Boden des Bootes zu bewahren. Wie sehr eine solche zarte und vorsichtige Behandlung des giljakischen Bootes nothwendig ist, davon habe ich mich aus eigener Erfahrung überzeugen können. Als ich im Frühjahr 1855 meine erste Sommerreise, den Amur und Ussuri aufwärts, antreten sollte, erstand ich von den Giljaken zwei anscheinend nur wenig gebrauchte Böte. Mit ihrem Bau noch unbekannt, glaubte ich am besten zu fahren, wenn ich sie zuvor einer Durchsicht und zweckdienlichen Zurichtung im Hafen von Nikolajefsk unterwürfe. Durch Vermittelung eines Marineofficiers wurden sie nun von einem der besten Bootsleute des Hafens in der Weise wie gewöhnliche Schaluppen kalfatert und mit Ruderbänken und einer zur Aufrichtung eines Mastes dienenden Bank versehen. Als ich mich aber einschiffen wollte und die Böte ins Wasser gebracht wurden, erwiesen sich beide als ganz und gar leck, und alle Bemühungen der Leute, sie noch in Stand zu setzen, blieben erfolglos. Die Seitenbretter waren, wie ich jetzt sah, durch die rohe und falsche Behandlung ihrer ganzen Länge nach vom Bodenbrett mehr oder minder abgetrieben und abgelöst, alles Zuhämmern, Verstopfen und Verschmieren der Fugen half nun nichts mehr, — eines der Böte musste völlig aufgegeben werden, und auf dem anderen gelangte ich nur mit vieler Mühe und unter beständigem angestrengten Ausschöpfen bis zum nächsten giljakischen Dorf. Dort, in Ssabach, kaufte ich ein neues, etwas grösseres Boot, das ich hinfort seinem Baue gemäss behandelte und betreffendenfalls nur giljakischen Händen zur Reparatur anvertraute. Und dieses that mir die besten Dienste, denn mit ihm bin ich nicht bloss im genannten Jahr den Amur und Ussuri hinauf und wieder zurück nach Nikolajefsk, sondern im Jahre darauf auch den ganzen Amur und einen grossen Theil des Argunj aufwärts gegangen, bis ich durch Eisgang und Frost genöthigt ward, es beim Dorfe Mulatscha im Argunj zu verlassen.

Ganz abweichend von den Rudern, ist das giljakische Steuerruder (gilj. *menj*) mit einer länglichen, schmalen Schaufel und am oberen Ende mit einem kurzen Quergriff versehen (ebenda Fig. 3). In der Regel steuern die Giljaken aus freier Hand. Um jedoch dem Steuer bei hohem Wellengange oder starker Strömung mehr Halt zu geben, befindet sich am Hinterrande des Bretts, das dem Steuermann zum Sitz dient, eine kurze Schnurschlinge oder auch eine aufrechtstehende halbkreisförmige Leiste, durch welche das Steuerruder gesteckt werden kann.

Einen Mast hat das giljakische Boot nicht. Anstatt desselben bedienen sich die Giljaken, wenn gesegelt werden soll, was nur selten geschieht, zweier schräg ins Kreuz zusammengebundener Stangen (gilj. *kyrsh*), welche mit ihren unteren Enden in entsprechende

Löcher der Seitenbretter des Bootes gesteckt werden, während von den oberen Enden zwei lange Schnüre auslaufen, die man um das hinterste Querholz im Boote schlingt. Das Segel (gilj. *tulatsch*) besteht aus einem aus Fischhäuten zusammengestickten, viereckigen Stück, das mit seinen beiden oberen Ecken an die oberen Enden des erwähnten Kreuzmastes befestigt wird, an den unteren aber mit je einer Schote zum Anholen und beliebigen Spannen oder Lockern des Segels versehen ist. Bei so mangelhafter Vorrichtung ist es verständlich, dass die Giljaken keine Meister und Helden im Segeln sind und es sorgsam vermeiden, bei einigermaassen frischem oder ungleichmässigem Winde das Segel zu gebrauchen. Auch sah ich die Giljaken und ebenso die Oltscha und Golde, die mich als Führer oder Ruderer auf meinem Boot begleiteten, stets in Todesangst gerathen, wenn bei frischem Winde gesegelt wurde: trotzdem mein Boot einen Mast [1]) und ein ordentliches Segel hatte, sassen sie meist leichenblass da und flehten nur um Einziehen des Segels und baldmöglichstes Landen. Dass das kiellose Boot, zumal wenn es stark belastet ist, bei hohem Wellengange und ungeschicktem Steuern leicht Wasser schöpfen und sogar umschlagen kann, unterliegt allerdings keinem Zweifel. Um dem seitlichen Wasserschöpfen des Bootes vorzubeugen, wird übrigens der Bord desselben bisweilen jederseits durch ein an die Seitenwand befestigtes Brett erhöht. Namentlich versehen die Giljaken ihre Böte mit einem solchen Falschbort (gilj. *ardsch*), wenn sie Seefahrten, wie z. B. längs der Küste Sachalin's zu den Japanern u. drgl., unternehmen.

Von vorzüglichem Nutzen am giljakischem Boot ist der unter dem Schnabel desselben sich erstreckende Fortsatz des Bodenbrettes, denn nicht nur schützt er jenen vor dem unmittelbaren Anprall der Wellen und eventuell auch vor starkem Anstoss an steile Uferfelsen, an andere Fahrzeuge u. drgl., sondern er lässt das Boot auch leichter die Wellen hinan gleiten. In Folge des Aufsitzens der Ruder auf festen Zinken bedarf das giljakische Boot nur geringer Kraftanstrengung zur Fortbewegung, wenn es nicht eine starke Strömung und einen hohen Wellengang wider sich hat. Gegen diese anzukämpfen, ist es aber wenig geeignet und verlangt eine geschickte und kräftige Handhabung des Steuerruders. Es ist mir beim Umfahren vorspringender Felsen und Caps im Amur-Strome mehr als einmal passirt, dass das Boot, von der starken Gegenströmung erfasst, plötzlich umgewendet und unaufhaltsam zurückgetrieben wurde. Ohne Zweifel trägt zur schwerfälligen Bewegung des giljakischen Bootes gegen die Strömung nicht wenig auch der obenerwähnte, in anderen Beziehungen so sehr nützliche vordere Fortsatz seines Bodenbrettes bei. Durch denselben wird endlich auch die bei den Giljaken, Oltscha, Golde und überhaupt bei allen dasselbe Boot besitzenden Amur-Völkern übliche Art des Landens bedingt: dieses geschieht nämlich stets mit dem Hinterende des Bootes, was bei hohen, ans Ufer schlagenden Wellen nicht ganz leicht ist, indem das Boot alsdann erst mit dem Bug gegen die Wellen gestellt werden muss, um von diesen ans Ufer getragen und gehoben zu werden. Der Giljake, resp.

1) Für diesen liess ich natürlich, nach meinen oben erwähnten Erfahrungen am giljakischen Boote, hinlängliche Mastwangen am Bodenbrett selbst anbringen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Oltscha etc., landet also in der Weise, dass er sich gewissermaassen buchstäblich mit seinem Boot aufs Land setzt.

Zum Schluss dieser Betrachtungen theile ich die Maasse eines gewöhnlichen, mittelgrossen giljakischen Bootes mit, wie ich sie einem Exemplar im Dorfe Kalgho entnahm, nach welchem auch die obenerwähnte Abbildung gefertigt wurde:

Länge von der Spitze bis zum hinteren Rande des Steuermannssitzes	25′ —
Breite am Steuermannssitz	3′ 4″
» von Bord zu Bord in der Mitte	3′ 2″
» » » » » am Bug, unmittelbar vor den Schnabelbrettern	2′ 2″
Breite des Bodenbrettes	1′ —
» » Steuermannssitzes	1′ —
Tiefe des Boots in der Mitte, wo sie am grössten	1′ 6″

Die Länge eines mittelgrossen Ruders beträgt etwa 7 Fuss, diejenige des Steuerruders 6¼ Fuss, die Breite der Schaufel am letzteren 4 Zoll.

Böte von anderer Art als die geschilderte habe ich bei den Giljaken weder am Amur-Strom und Liman, noch an der Westküste Sachalin's gesehen, und ebensowenig erwähnt Middendorff welcher von der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres. Im Innern Sachalin's hingegen, am reissenden, stellenweise seichten Tymy-Fluss ist ein ganz anderes Fahrzeug, und zwar ein aus einem einzelnen Baumstamm ausgehöhltes Boot im Gebrauch. Ich sah ein solches Boot (gilj. *mlo-mu*)[1]) im Winter im Dorfe Ytkyrn, vom Schnee sorgfältig gereinigt, auf einem Gerüst neben der Jurte stehen. Es war etwa 20 Fuss lang, in der Mitte am breitesten, nach beiden Enden hin verschmälert, — das Hinterende zuletzt senkrecht, brettförmig abgestumpft, das vordere mit einer kleinen Spitze versehen. Auf den Bordrand war jederseits eine mit der Seitenwand gleich dicke Leiste geschlagen, an welche von Bord zu Bord in der Entfernung von etwa zwei Fuss von einander Querleisten befestigt waren, welche ohne Zweifel, ebenso wie die im Innern des Bootes zwischen dem Boden und den Seitenwänden an mehreren Stellen befindlichen Knichölzer, dazu dienten, den Seitenwänden mehr Halt und Widerstandskraft zu geben. Vielleicht war das Boot auch nicht mehr ganz neu und bedurfte daher einer solchen nachträglichen Festigung. Ruderzinken an den Bordrändern, wie die Amur-Böte, hatte es nicht, und dem entsprechend fehlte auch den dabei liegenden Rudern das zum Aufsetzen derselben dienliche Loch; sonst waren sie aber von ganz ähnlicher Form wie am Amur, nur mit einer minder breiten Schaufel. Sicherlich werden diese Böte mitunter, namentlich über seichte Stellen des Flusses, auch nur mit Hülfe von Stangen fortgestossen, wie es die Kamtschadalen mit ihren ganz ähnlich geformten, sogen. Batt's thun, und wie es auch bei den tungusischen Völkern des Amur-Landes mit dergleichen Fahrzeugen geschieht. Gleichwie dort, werden endlich auch hier zum Anfertigen

1) *Mu* heisst im Giljakischen «Boot» überhaupt.

solcher Böte nur Baumarten mit weichem Holz, und zwar Pappeln benutzt [1]). Die Tymy-Giljaken bedienen sich dazu namentlich der Balsampappel (*Populus suaveolens* Fisch., gilj. *musskrj*), welche sie mir daher auch speciell als «*mu-tschchar*», d. h. Boots-Holz, bezeichneten. Aus Stämmen desselben Baumes höhlen sich, nach Schmidt, auch die Aino von Sachalin Canoes aus, die sie zur Communikation auf den Flüssen und kleinen Fahrten an der Meeresküste gebrauchen, während sie zu grösseren Fahrten gewöhnlich gezimmerte japanische Böte benutzen [2]).

Ganz dasselbe Boot wie bei den Giljaken ist auch bei ihren nächsten Nachbarn am Amur-Strome, den **Oltscha** und **Golde** in allgemeinem Gebrauch. Dem Ansehen nach bietet es in seiner Form und Construktion keinerlei Differenzen von jenem ersteren. Die Giljaken behaupteten jedoch, ihre Böte seien zum Schnabelende hin weniger aufwärts gekrümmt und darum zur Fahrt gegen die Strömung geeigneter als diejenigen ihrer Nachbarn, — eine Behauptung, deren Richtigkeit ich dahingestellt lassen muss, obgleich sie mit manchen meiner eigenen Erfahrungen übereinstimmt. Durchgehends verschieden von einander sind sie aber nach der Holzart, aus welcher sie angefertigt werden. Denn während die Giljaken ihre Böte aus dem Holz der Tanne (*Picea ajanensis*, gilj. *twissjk*, oltsch. und gold. *chässjchta*) machen, gebrauchen die Oltscha und Golde dazu stets die Ceder (*Pinus Cembra*, var. *excelsa*, *Pinus mandshurica* Rupr., bei den Oltscha und Golde *koldong*). Als wir daher auf unserer Sommerreise 1855 beim Oltscha-Dorfe Adi landeten, erkannten die herangekommenen Bewohner des Orts, die sich u. A. hauptsächlich auch mit dem Bau von Böten beschäftigen und die unsrigen daher aufmerksam musterten, am Holz derselben sogleich, dass das eine von ihnen (das meinige) von giljakischem, das andere (des Hrn. Maximowicz) von oltschaischem Ursprunge sei, wie es auch in der That der Fall war. Während man aber bei den Giljaken am Amur nur Böte von dieser einen Art sieht, haben die Oltscha und Golde auch welche von ganz anderer Form und Construktion. Das wird schon durch den Umstand bedingt, dass sie ausser dem Amur auch viele seiner reissenden und stellenweise seichten Nebenflüsse befahren, an denen sie theils der Jagd nachgehen und theils auch ständige Wohnsitze haben. Für solche Gewässer eignet sich aber, wie wir sahen, jenes Amur-Boot nicht. So besitzen sie verschiedenartige aus Baumstämmen ausgehöhlte Böte. Diese werden stets aus Stämmen einer in den Nebenthälern des unteren Amur-Stromes, sowie an der Meeresküste wachsenden Weidenart, der *Salix praecox* Hoppe (oltsch. und gold. *hämmagda*) [3]), gemacht. Das eigenartigste und interessanteste unter ihnen ist dasjenige, welches die Oltscha *unj-* oder *unni-magda*, die unteren Golde ebenfalls *onni-magda* [4]) und die oberen Golde *awarpe* nennen (Tab. XXXVIII, Fig. 4).

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1) Vrgl. Steller, l. c., p. 56, 75; Krasheninnikof, l. c., Bd. I, p. 237.

2) Fr. Schmidt, Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin (Mém de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., VIIe Sér, T. XII, № 2, p. 99).

3) Maximowicz, Prim. florae amurensis (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. par divers sav., T. IX, p. 242).

4) *Unj* oder *unni* bei den Oltscha und *onni* bei den Golde heisst «Fluss» überhaupt, namentlich ein kleinerer oder Nebenfluss des Amur-Stromes.

Es scheint dem Amur-Boot nachgebildet zu sein; zum wenigsten hat es ebenfalls den am meisten charakteristischen Zug dieses letzteren, den am Schnabelende vorspringenden Bodenfortsatz. Im Uebrigen aber sind beide Enden des Boots stumpf abgestutzt. Mehrere Querstäbe dienen dazu, den dünnen Bordwänden mehr Halt zu geben. Gegen die Strömung wird es durch Stangen fortgestossen, flussabwärts auch gerudert. Die Maasse eines solchen Bootes, das ich in Dshare bei den oberen Golde sah, und das in seiner Form vollständig mit demjenigen übereinstimmte, auf welchem ich mit den Oltscha von Pädanj den reissenden Pä-Fluss eine Strecke lang aufwärts gegangen bin, waren folgende:

Länge	24½ Fuss,		davon 2½ auf den vorderen Bodenvorsprung.
Breite	1 »	8 Zoll.	
Höhe.	1 »	4 »	

Ruder und Steuerruder waren nur von geringer Grösse, je 4′ 8″.

Viel einfacher und primitiver sind die kleinen, ebenfalls aus dem Hammagda-Baum ausgehöhlten, vorn und hinten spitz auslaufenden Kähne, die nach kleinen Differenzen in den Maassverhältnissen von den Oltscha und Golde als *otongo* und *gulba* unterschieden werden. Beide sind im Allgemeinen von derselben, vorn und hinten gleich zugespitzten Form, die *Gulba* aber im Verhältniss zur Länge weniger breit und dagegen tiefer ausgehöhlt und mit dickeren Wänden als das *Otongo*, daher besser als dieses geeignet, auch bei hohem Wellengange oder in stein- und klippenreichem Wasser gebraucht zu werden. Diese Kähne werden vermittelst eines abwechselnd nach der einen und nach der anderen Seite geschwungenen, lang- und schmalschaufeligen Doppelruders (gold. *ssoje*), stellenweise, über flaches und stilles Wasser, auch nur durch ein Paar kleine, mit kurzen Stielen versehene Ruderschaufeln (gold. *mylpkn*) fortbewegt, und über ganz seichte Stellen schiebt man sich mit Hülfe zweier kurzen Stöcke (gold. *gno*) vorwärts, die jederseits gegen den Grund gestemmt werden.

Hauptsächlich sind die aus Stämmen des Hammagda-Baumes ausgehöhlten Böte verschiedener Art bei den **Orotschen** der Meeresküste und der vom Küstengebirge zum Meer oder zum unteren Amur oder Ussuri strömenden Flüsse im Gebrauch und gelangen diese letzteren Flüsse abwärts auch zu den Golde und Oltscha am Hauptstrome. So war auch die oben beschriebene und abgebildete *Awarpe* von den Orotschen am oberen Munamu-Flusse gemacht und diesen abwärts in den Amur gebracht worden. Umgekehrt findet bisweilen, wenn auch des langen Weges halber nur selten, ein am Amur von Golde, Oltscha oder Giljaken aus Brettern gezimmertes Boot seinen Weg zu den Orotschen an der Meeresküste. Doch fertigen sich diese zu ihren Fahrten längs der Meeresküste auch selbst genau eben solche Böte, wie sie bei den Golde, Oltscha und Giljaken im Gebrauch sind. Zum Fischfang in den Flüssen dienen ihnen aber jene ausgehöhlten Böte. Während meines Besuches des Kaiserhafens sah ich vor dem Orotschen-Zelt an der Mündung des Hadshi-Flusses zwei *Unj-magda's* von etwas verschiedener Grösse liegen (Taf. XVI). Von den beiderseits zugespitzten Holzkähnen ist bei ihnen namentlich die solidere *Gulba*, von ihnen *momd* genannt, im Gebrauch.

Das Aushöhlen von Baumstämmen zu Böten geschieht bei allen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes, Giljaken, Oroken, Oltscha etc., vermittelst einer eigens dazu dienlichen Hohlaxt, die im beistehenden Holzschnitt (Fig. *a*) nach einem der Exemplare, welche Hr. Poljakof von den Oroken Sachalin's für unser Museum erstand, abgebildet ist, und die in folgender Weise hergestellt wird. An das obere Ende einer mehr oder weniger spitzwinkligen Astgabel wird an Stelle der einen Zinke und vermittelst ihres allein stehen gebliebenen oberen Theiles ein scharf geschliffenes eisernes Blatt befestigt, während die andere Zinke den zum Handhaben der Axt dienlichen Stiel abgiebt. Diese Hohlaxt ist im Wesentlichen von derselben Form und Construktion wie diejenigen, welche die Bewohner verschiedener Südsee-Inseln zu ähnlichen Zwecken ehemals gebrauchten und zum Theil noch gebrauchen. Vergleichs halber sind hier zwei der interessantesten Stücke der Art aus unserem Museum neben jenem orokischen abgebildet: Fig. *b* — eine Hohlaxt der Otaheiti-Insulaner, die noch aus Cook's dritter Reise stammt[1]), und Fig. *c* — eine durch Miklucho-Maklai von den Admiralitäts-Inseln gebrachte Papua-Hohlaxt. Beide gehören aber noch der Steinzeit an, denn jene hat ein steinernes und diese ein aus der Schale einer Meeresschnecke (vermuthlich der *Terebra maculata*) gefertigtes Blatt. Und von ähnlicher Beschaffenheit darf man sich natürlicherweise auch die Hohläxte denken, welche in der weiter zurückliegenden Steinzeit anderer Länder üblich waren.

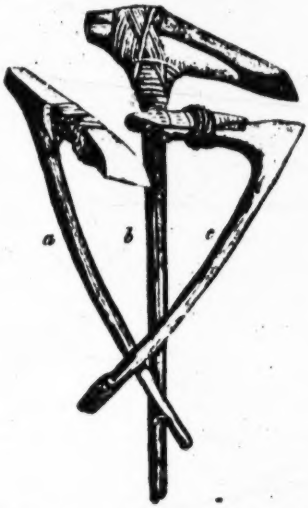

Hohlaxte: *a* — der Oroken von Sachalin, *b* — der Otaheiti-Insulaner, *c* — der Papua auf den Admiralitäts-Inseln.

Weit mehr und allgemeiner als die Holzkähne werden von den Oltscha und Golde die auch bei anderen tungusischen Stämmen sowohl an den Amur-Zuflüssen, als auch im Stanowoi-

1) Beiläufig mag hier erwähnt sein, wie dieses Stück, nebst manchen anderen auf derselben Reise gesammelten Gegenständen, in den Besitz unseres Museums gelangte. Bekanntlich ging Capit. Clerke, der nach Cook's Tode an die Spitze der Expedition trat, von den Sandwich-Inseln nach dem Peterpaulshafen in Kamtschatka und fand dort eine sehr gastliche und freundliche Aufnahme. Zum Dank dafür schenkte er dem damaligen Befehlshaber Kamtschatka's, Major Behm, einen Theil der «Merkwürdigkeiten», welche die Expedition auf verschiedenen Inseln der Südsee gesammelt hatte (vrgl. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungs-Reise nach der Südsee in den J. 1776—1780 unter Anführ. der Cap. Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, übersetzt v. J. R. Forster, Berlin 1781, p. 321). Diese Gegenstände wurden von Behm, mit Etiquetten von seiner Hand versehen, der Russischen Regierung in St. Petersburg zugestellt, welche sie der Akademie der Wissenschaften übermittelte.

Gebirge[1]) und andererorten üblichen Birkenrindenkähne gebraucht, die nur aus einem dünnen, mit Birkenrinde überzogenen Holzgerüste bestehen. Im Allgemeinen allenthalben von gleicher Beschaffenheit und von derselben, beiderseits zugespitzten Form, bieten diese von den Oltscha und Golde *dsaï* genannten Kähne in den Form- und Maassverhältnissen, wie in einzelnen Zügen doch manche Verschiedenheiten dar. So giebt es, ungefähr der *Gulba* und dem *Otongo* entsprechend, eine im Verhältniss zur Länge schmälere und tiefere Form, meist mit ebenfalls durch Birkenrinde von oben verdecktem Vorder- und Hintertheil und mit nur wenig gekrümmten Spitzen, und eine breitere, flachere, dabei ganz oder fast ganz offene Form, mit stark aufwärts gekrümmten Spitzen. Von jener giebt die auf Taf. XXXVIII, Fig. 5, nach einem Exemplar aus dem Oltscha-Dorf Mongole gefertigte Zeichnung, von dieser der beifolgende, einen Amur-Golde von oberhalb der Ussuri-Mündung in seinem Dsaï darstellende Holzschnitt einen Begriff.

Breitere u. flachere, dabei ganz offene Form des Birkenrindenkahns (*dsaï*) der Golde (Originalskizze von Hrn. Poliwanof).

Jene ist durch ihre gesammte Form, wie durch das gegen das Einschlagen des Wassers schützende Verdeck an den Enden geeigneter zum Gebrauch auch bei hohem Wellengange, diese bietet da-

2) Vrgl. Middendorff, Sib. Reise, Bd. IV, p. 1337 (nebst Abbild.) u. A.

gegen mehr Raum zum Unterbringen der Fischerei- oder Jagdgeräthe und der betreffenden Ausbeute. Stets ist längs der Aussenseite des Dsaï auch eine langstielige Harpune eingehängt. Die Handhabung dieser Rindenkähne ist genau dieselbe wie diejenige der oben erwähnten Holzkähne, des Otongo oder der Gulba. Die Maasse des oben abgebildeten Dsaï aus Mongole waren folgende:

Länge von einer Spitze bis zur anderen.	18½	Fuss.
Breite in der Mitte, wo sie am grössten	2¼	»
Höhe oder Tiefe, ebenda.	11	Zoll.

Auf diesen schwanken und leichten Rindenkähnen entwickeln nun die Amur-Tungusen, Oltscha, Golde u. a., gleich ihren sibirischen Stammgenossen, eine Geschicklichkeit und Gewandtheit, die, zumal bei hohem Wellengange des Riesenstromes, nicht selten an die Kühnheit und Fertigkeit der Aleuten in ihren Baidaren erinnert und sehr im Contrast zur Schwerfälligkeit und bedächtigen Vorsicht der Giljaken steht. Was die Schneeschuhe im Winter, das sind den Tungusen diese Birkenrindenkähne, sobald die Gewässer ihre Eisdecke abgeworfen haben. Ihr geringes Gewicht gestattet zudem, sie nöthigenfalls mit Leichtigkeit auch eine Strecke weit über Land zu tragen, um nach einem anderen Gewässer zu gelangen, was sie zu Jagdstreifzügen, zeitweisen Umzügen u. drgl. noch zweckdienlicher macht. So giebt der Birkenrindenkahn das eigenste, typische und charakteristische Fahrzeug des leicht beweglichen, auch als Fischer noch stets jagd- und wanderlustigen Tungusen ab.

Die oben geschilderten, aus einem Baumstamm ausgehöhlten und beiderseits zugespitzten Böte, sowie die Birkenrindenkähne finden sich auch bei allen eingeborenen Stämmen des oberen Amur-Landes. Da diese hauptsächlich von der Jagd lebende Nomaden sind, die nur zeitweise aus ihren Jagdgründen und von den Amur-Zuflüssen an den Hauptstrom herabsteigen, um hier dem Fischfang nachzugehen, so genügen jene einfachen, leicht herstellbaren und zum Theil auch leicht transportablen Fahrzeuge, die auch auf rasch fliessenden und seichten Gewässern noch brauchbar sind, ihren Bedürfnissen vollständig. Und zwar findet man bei ihnen beiderlei Fahrzeuge, sowohl die aus einem Baumstamm ausgehöhlten, wie die aus Birkenrinde gemachten Böte, nicht bloss von der geringen Grösse des Otongo oder Dsaï, sondern auch von ganz ansehnlichen Dimensionen. In solchen Böten führen sie namentlich ihre Umzüge von den Winter- nach den Sommeraufenthaltsorten und umgekehrt aus, auf denen es ausser Weib und Kind auch mancherlei Vorräthe und Utensilien mitzunehmen giebt. So sah ich bei den Biraren von Ossika am Amur ein aus einem Stamm ausgehöhltes Boot, bei ihnen *mango* genannt (s. Taf. XXXVIII, Fig. 6), das 28 Fuss lang, 3′ breit und einen Fuss hoch oder tief war, und ein anderes Mal traf ich ein noch viel grösseres, in welchem Biraren vom Aar-Fluss von ihren sommerlichen Fischereigründen am Amur nach ihren Wintersitzen zurückkehrten. Dieses war stark beladen und trug sogar einen Mast und ein Segel, das aus einem Leinwandstück bestand und an seinen unteren Enden statt der Schoten mit der Hand festgehalten wurde. Nach Angabe der Biraren werden diese Böte aus Stämmen des im oberen Laufe des Aar und anderer Zuflüsse des Amur-Stromes und weiter aufwärts auch an diesem selbst häufig wachsenden *Dshagda*-Baumes, d. i. der Kiefer (*Pinus sylvestris* L.), ausgehöhlt. Ebenso haben die Biraren und die Manägirn Birken-

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

rindenböte, die ganz von der Form und Beschaffenheit des Dsaï, aber von doppelt so grosser Länge sind, während die Breite ziemlich dieselbe bleibt. So sah ich bei den letzteren ein derartiges Boot, das 35½ Fuss lang und dabei nur 2 Fuss und 2 Zoll breit war. Ein solches Boot wird, gleich den mehrsitzigen aleutischen Baidaren und übrigens auch gleich den grossen Mango's, wenn diese nicht etwa durch Stangen fortgestossen werden, von zwei oder drei, mit Doppelrudern versehenen und gleichmässig nach der einen und nach der anderen Seite rudernden Menschen fortbewegt und schiesst dann mit grosser Geschwindigkeit vorwärts.

Sehr bemerkenswerth ist es, dass das oben beschriebene, aus Brettern gemachte Boot, das im ganzen unteren Amur-Lande, bei den Golde, Oltscha, Giljaken und Orotschen verbreitet ist, dem oberen Amur-Lande gänzlich fehlt. Wenigstens habe ich dort nie welche gesehen, und Maack traf, den Amur von der Schilka an abwärts fahrend, das erste Boot der Art auch nicht früher als an der Ussuri-Mündung[1]). Und dem entsprechend, scheint im oberen Amur-Lande auch diejenige Form ausgehöhlter Böte, welche diesem Boote nachgebildet ist, die Unjmagda oder Awarpe, ebenfalls zu fehlen. Ich muss somit dieses in eigenthümlicher Art aus Brettern gefertigte Boot als allein und ausschliesslich dem unteren Amur-Lande eigen und für dasselbe charakteristisch bezeichnen. Trotzdem darf man es, glaube ich, nicht für eine von jenen Völkern oder einem derselben ganz und gar ausgegangene Erfindung halten. Während jene ausgehöhlten oder aus Birkenrinde gemachten Böte den Stempel der Ursprünglichkeit an sich tragen, verräth das Amur- oder, wie ich es nach dem Obigen lieber nennen möchte, das goldisch-giljakische Boot durch seine künstlichere Form und Construktion einen gewissen Cultureinfluss, und ich glaube nicht zu irren, wenn ich diesen auf die Mandshu-Chinesen am Sungari zurückführe. Seit Jahrhunderten befahren chinesische Kaufleute und mitunter auch Mandshu-Beamte vom Sungari aus das untere Amur-Land, jene, um Handel mit seinen Völkern zu treiben, diese, um von ihnen den der chinesischen Regierung schuldigen Tribut zu erheben. Die Böte, in denen sie diese Fahrten machen, sind zwar viel grösser und complicirter als die goldisch-giljakischen, allein im Wesentlichen und Allgemeinen von ganz ähnlicher Form und Construktion. So besteht, gleich den letzteren, auch das mandshu-chinesische Boot der Hauptsache nach aus drei langen Brettern, — einem Bodenbrett, das noch um ein gutes Stück über den Bootsschnabel vorragt, und zwei Seiten- oder Bordbrettern, die hinten stumpf, durch ein senkrechtes Spiegelbrett, vorn vermittelst zweier Brettchen von ungleicher Länge zu einem spitzen Bootsschnabel abgeschlossen werden. Die Art und Weise ferner, wie die Bretter mit einander verbunden und aneinander befestigt, wie die Fugen mit Moos ausgestopft und von innen und aussen mit Leisten verdeckt werden u. drgl. m., ist hier wie da ganz und gar dieselbe. Die weit grösseren Dimensionen der mandshu-chinesischen Böte (von 7 bis 9½ Faden Länge des Bodenbretts) gestatten jedoch oder bedingen auch manche Zusätze und Modifikationen den goldisch-giljakischen gegenüber. So wird der Bord an denselben stets noch durch ein zweites Brett jederseits erhöht, das

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1) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 178.

von aussen an das erste befestigt wird, was bei den Golde und Giljaken nur ausnahmsweise, in den Fällen geschieht, wenn ein Boot zu Seefahrten dienen soll. Diese oberen Bordbretter ragen nach hinten etwa um einen Faden über das ihnen zur Stütze dienende Spiegelbrett hinaus und werden an ihrem hinteren Ende durch eine Planke mit einander verbunden, von oben aber mit Brettern der Quere nach bedeckt, so dass am Hinterende des Bootes eine breite Brücke oder Platform entsteht. Auf dieser sind am Hinterrande zwei senkrechte Stäbe angebracht, zwischen welche das Steuerruder gesteckt wird, um von dem auf der Platform stehenden Steuermann regiert zu werden. Die sowohl durch die ansehnliche Breite der unteren, als auch durch die hinzugekommenen oberen Bordbretter bedingte grössere Tiefe des Bootes gestattet ferner im Hintertheile desselben eine aus lose aneinander gereihten Querbrettern zusammengesetzte Diele zu legen, über welcher ein aus mehreren halbkreisförmig gebogenen und einigen horizontal verlaufenden Stäben gebildetes Geflecht errichtet wird, das, mit Schilf- oder Strohmatten bedeckt, eine Art Zelt oder Kajüte abgiebt, in welcher man gegen Regen und Unwetter geschützt sitzen oder auch gebückt stehen kann. Ein ähnliches, jedoch viel kleineres und niedrigeres Verdeck, unter das nöthigenfalls einige Mann unterkriechen können, befindet sich im vordersten Theile des Bootes. Dort wird zu dem Zweck eine lange und starke Ruthe in den Fortsatz des Bodenbretts gesteckt, nach hinten über den Bootsschnabel gebogen und ebenfalls mit einem Geflecht aus halbkreisförmigen und horizontalen Ruthen versehen, über welches Schilf- oder Birkenrindenmatten ausgebreitet werden. Ungleich dem goldisch-giljakischen Boot, hat ferner das mandshu-chinesische feste, auf dem Rande der unteren Bordbretter ruhende Ruderbänke und eine ebensolche Mastbank, durch welche der Mast mit seinem viereckigen Fussende in die darunter auf dem Bodenbrett angebrachten Mastwangen gesteckt wird, um zum Ueberfluss noch vermittelst einer Schnur an das nach hinten zunächstliegende, die unteren Bordbretter mit einander verbindende Querholz befestigt zu werden. Endlich ist auch der Ansatz der Ruder am mandshu-chinesischen Boot ein anderer, indem sie nicht auf Zinken gesteckt und demgemäss auch nicht durchbohrt sind, sondern in entsprechende tiefe Einkerbungen eines an den oberen Bordrand befestigten Brettes gesteckt werden. Sie haben verhältnissmässig nur schmale Schaufeln und am oberen Ende einen Quergriff, der von dem stets nur einerseits Rudernden mit beiden Händen umfasst wird. Einen ebensolchen Quergriff hat auch das lange, mit einer nach unten bauchigen Schaufel versehene Steuerruder. Dieses letztere ist schwer und scheint beim Fahren für gewöhnlich fast unbeweglich zu ruhen, doch genügt eine geringe Drehung desselben nach rechts oder links, um dem Boote die entsprechende Richtung zu geben.

Diese Schilderung genügt, um darzuthun, dass das Boot der Anwohner des unteren Amur-Stromes und dasjenige der Mandshu und Chinesen am Sungari in ihren Grundzügen und ihrem Bau vollkommen mit einander übereinstimmen, und dass das erstere gleichsam nur den aus dem letzteren entnommenen, ich möchte sagen, herausgeschälten und verkleinerten Kern bildet. Es ist nun nicht wohl anzunehmen, dass die am alten Brauch festhaltenden Chinesen ihr Boot nach einem von den tief unter ihnen stehenden Amur-Völkern entlehnten Muster geformt und nur mit den ihren Bedürfnissen entsprechenden Zuthaten und Verbesserungen versehen hätten. Und so

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

bleibt nur der in der That viel wahrscheinlichere Schluss übrig, dass umgekehrt die Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes, zuerst die den Mandshu-Chinesen zunächst wohnenden Golde und dann durch deren Vermittelung auch die weiter stromabwärts sesshaften Oltscha und Giljaken, nachdem sie am Sungari wie am Amur das mandshu-chinesische Boot kennen gelernt, ihre Fahrzeuge nach demselben Princip und in derselben Form zu bauen begannen, und zwar indem sie jenem Boot nur das ihren Bedürfnissen genügende Kern- und Grundstück entnahmen und diesem die ihren Mitteln und Kräften entsprechenden, geringeren Dimensionen gaben. Ja, dieser Vorgang ist um so wahrscheinlicher, als die Sungari-Chinesen, auf die Ausnutzung der Arbeitskraft der Eingeborenen zum eigenen Vortheil bedacht, wohl schon frühzeitig auf den Gedanken kamen, ihre Böte nicht selbst zu bauen, sondern nach gegebenem Muster und gegen eine geringe Bezahlung von den letzteren verfertigen zu lassen, wie es noch heutzutage geschieht. Namentlich geben die unteren Golde und die ihnen zunächst wohnenden Oltscha (wie z. B. diejenigen von Adi), in deren Lande auch das erforderliche Bauholz, hochstämmige Cedern, reichlich zu finden ist, die meisten und geschicktesten Baumeister sowohl für die mandshu-chinesischen, wie für die von ihren Landsleuten und von anderen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes gebrauchten Fahrzeuge ab. So sah Maximowicz ein von den unteren Golde auf Bestellung verfertigtes mandshu-chinesisches Boot, von 8 Faden Gesammtlänge und $1\frac{1}{4}$ Faden Oeffnung an seiner breitesten Stelle, für welches der chinesische Kaufmann einen Krug Branntwein von 2 Fuss Höhe und einem Fuss Breite, 3 Faden Baumwollenzeug und 4 Säcke mit Hirsegrütze bezahlt hatte. Nur in einem Punkte findet, wie man aus dem Obigen ersieht, zwischen dem goldisch-giljakischen und dem mandshu-chinesischen Boote ein erheblicher, wenngleich zum Theil durch die verschiedene Grösse derselben bedingter Unterschied statt. Er betrifft den Ansatzmodus der Ruder, denn jenes hat durchbohrte, auf Zinken steckende, dieses hingegen gewöhnliche, in entsprechenden Bordausschnitten ruhende Ruder. Ich wüsste nicht, dass jener erstere Modus auch bei den Chinesen, oder bei einem der angrenzenden sibirischen Völker vorkomme; hingegen wiederholt er sich allgemein bei den Aino von Sachalin und Jesso[1]) und dürfte daher vielleicht eine aino-giljakische oder überhaupt paläasiatische Erfindung oder Eigenthümlichkeit sein, welche durch die Giljaken auch ihren tungusischen Nachbarn am Amur, den Oltscha und Golde mitgetheilt und ihrer Zweckmässigkeit wegen auch auf das den Mandshu-Chinesen nachgebildete Boot übertragen wurde. Der Antheil eigener Erfindung der unteren Amur-Völker an ihrem Boot ist mithin lange nicht so gross, wie es auf den ersten Blick scheinen dürfte, — vielmehr sehen wir, dass, gleich wie im Bau der Winterhäuser und in so vielen anderen Dingen, auch in Beziehung auf die Beschaffenheit der Flussfahrzeuge chinesischer Einfluss sich vom Sungari aus über das ganze untere Amur-Land ergossen hat.

Wie konnte es jedoch kommen, dass das so praktische und zweckmässige, nach mandshu-chinesischem Muster entstandene und im ganzen unteren Amur-Lande verbreitete Boot dem

1) Siebold, Nippon, VII, Taf. XXIII.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

unter derselben Herrschaft stehenden und von stammverwandten Völkern bewohnten oberen Amur-Lande ganz und gar fremd blieb? Die Erklärung dafür muss ohne Zweifel in der oben mehrfach erwähnten Politik gesucht werden, welche die chinesische Regierung nach dem Abzuge der Russen im XVII. Jahrhundert vom Amur in diesem Lande beobachtete, und die darin bestand, seinen oberen Theil möglichst veröden zu lassen und durch weite, unbewohnte Strecken von dem ihr besonders wichtigen Sungari-Lande zu isoliren [1]). Zu dem Zweck wurde ihrerseits den Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes und, wie es scheint, auch den chinesischen Kaufleuten am Sungari verboten, über die Mündung dieses letzteren hinaus den Amur stromauf zu gehen und behufs Aufrechterhaltung dieses Verbots ein beständiger Wachtposten an der Sungari-Mündung gegründet [2]). So wurde ein Verkehr zwischen den oberen und den unteren Amur-Völkern auf der sie verbindenden Wasserstrasse und damit auch ein Ausgleich in den demselben dienenden Mitteln durch die politischen Maassnahmen der chinesischen Regierung verhindert. Zu einer etwaigen selbständigen Nachbildung des mandshu-chinesischen Bootes seitens der Eingeborenen fehlten aber im oberen Amur-Lande alle Bedingungen. Zwar giebt es auch dort mandshu-chinesische Böte, die von Mandshu-Beamten und daurischen Kaufleuten benutzt werden, ja, vor der Stadt Aigun liegt sogar beständig eine Anzahl grosser Böte der Art, — ich selbst zählte deren, in drei Gruppen vertheilt, 37 — allein diese alten, schwarz und roth angestrichenen und am Spiegel mit grobgeschnitzten und ebenfalls bunt bemalten Drachen verzierten Böte, welche die Kriegsmacht China's repräsentiren und den Amur-Völkern Respekt vor derselben einflössen sollen, sind den letzteren natürlich vollständig unnahbar. Zudem finden diese mehr auf die Nebenflüsse angewiesenen Jagdnomaden, wie schon erwähnt, an ihren primitiven Kähnen vollkommen Genüge, und endlich fehlt es dort auch an einer ähnlichen vermittelnden Thätigkeit gewinnsüchtiger chinesischer Kaufleute, wie sie sich am Sungari und unteren Amur geltend macht.

Wirft man einen Gesammtrückblick auf die den Amur-Völkern zur Bewegung und Ortsveränderung auf dem Lande wie auf dem Wasser dienlichen Mittel, so erscheint der Schluss gerechtfertigt, dass dieselben im oberen und im unteren Amur-Lande sehr wesentliche und charakteristische Verschiedenheiten zeigen und in dem letzteren im Ganzen zu grösserer Entfaltung als im ersteren gelangt sind, — eine Thatsache, die schon darauf hinweist, dass hier auch die Ziele und Zwecke, denen sie dienen, weitergehende sein müssen, und dass namentlich der Handelsverkehr, den die Amur-Völker sowohl unter einander, als auch mit den angrenzenden Culturvölkern unterhalten, hier bei Weitem reger und ausgebreiteter ist als dort, wofür sich uns in der Folge, bei näherer Betrachtung dieser Verhältnisse, in der That zahlreiche Belege und Bestätigungen darbieten werden.

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1) S. oben, p. 157, 173. 2) S. oben, p. 33, 84.

[p. 516]

8. Abschnitt.

Fischfang, insbesondere Stör-, Hausen- und Lachsfang. Fischereigeräth. Seethierfang: Robbenschlag, Weisswalfang.

In den vorhergehenden Kapiteln ist bereits mehrfach hervorgehoben worden, dass der Fischfang bei allen Völkern des Amur-Landes eine mehr oder minder wichtige Rolle spielt, und dass namentlich seine Bedeutung, je weiter stromabwärts, um so mehr zunimmt, bis er zuletzt im Mündungslaufe des Amur-Stromes, bei den Giljaken zur *conditio sine qua non* für ihre gesammte Existenz wird. Das Ineinandergreifen der einzelnen Lebensbedingungen und Erscheinungen nöthigte uns, in den obigen Schilderungen der Wohnung, Kleidung und Ortsveränderung der Amur-Völker auch schon manches direkt auf den Fischfang sich Beziehende oder aus demselben Resultirende zu besprechen. So musste schon des Einflusses gedacht werden, den der Fischfang auf die grössere oder geringere Sesshaftigkeit der einzelnen Völker im Amur-Lande ausübt, indem er ihnen zwar im Allgemeinen im Gegensatz zur Jagd ein sesshafteres Leben verleiht, dabei jedoch meist einen zweimal im Jahre stattfindenden Orts- und Wohnungswechsel und im Sommer häufig sich wiederholende Umzüge längs den Gewässern bedingt. Es musste ferner der mehr oder minder überwiegende Antheil, den der Fischfang an der Beschaffung ihrer Nahrung, Kleidung und anderer Lebenserfordernisse hat, erörtert werden. Hiebei sind auch schon die den Amur-Völkern wichtigsten Fischarten namhaft gemacht und sowohl die Art und Weise ihres Genusses, als auch die Zubereitung von Vorräthen aus denselben zum Gebrauch für Menschen und Hunde ausführlich besprochen worden. Und so bleibt uns denn nach alledem nur noch übrig, die Art und Weise, wie und mit welchen Mitteln der Fang zum wenigsten der wichtigsten Fische von den Amur-Völkern betrieben wird, so wie die Zeiten, wann es geschieht, und manches drum und dran Hängende kennen zu lernen.

Wie stets, beginnen wir wiederum mit den **Giljaken**, und zwar mit den unter ihren Landsleuten in jeder Beziehung obenan stehenden Amur-Giljaken. Zwar wird der Fischfang im Amur auch im Winter betrieben, allein er ist alsdann verhältnissmässig nur wenig ergiebig und hört zum Frühling hin, sobald das Eis sich so stark gelockert hat, dass es nicht mehr ohne Gefahr betreten werden kann, oder sich gar mit Aufwasser bedeckt, vollständig auf, — es tritt die kärglichste und schwerste Zeit für die Anwohner des Stromes ein, da Menschen und Hunde nur noch von den spärlichen Resten der Wintervorräthe zehren. Zudem hört alsdann auch aller Verkehr zwischen den am Amur gelegenen Ortschaften auf. Mit Ungeduld harrt daher der Giljake des Aufgangs des Stromes, da dieser sich von Neuem belebt und Fischfang und Verkehr auf demselben wieder möglich werden. Der Aufgang des Amur-Stromes ist somit stets ein freudiges und wichtiges Ereigniss im Leben der Giljaken und wird von ihnen auch dem entsprechend begrüsst. Von jedem etwas grösseren Dorfe begiebt sich, sobald der Strom ganz eisfrei geworden, ein mit möglichst viel Ruderern bemanntes Boot in denselben hinaus, um ihm in rascher Fahrt und unter lautem Freudengeschrei die üblichen Opferspenden darzubringen, d. h. zerstörkelte Jukola, Beeren, Hirse, Tabak u. drgl. ins Wasser zu werfen. Ich hatte das Glück, am 19./26. Mai 1856, gleich nach Antritt meiner Rückreise von Nikolajefsk stromaufwärts, zwischen den Dörfern Wair und Magho einem solchen, auf der Opferfahrt begriffenen Boote zu begegnen (s. Taf. XXXIX). Es war ein langes, mit einem Steuermann und 13 Ruderern besetztes Boot. Die Letzteren, mit je zwei Rudern versehen, sassen in einer Reihe bis in den Schnabel des Bootes hinein. Ueber ihnen erhoben sich drei leichte, aus je zwei aufrechten, oben durch ein Querholz mit einander verbundenen Stäben bestehende Gerüste. Die Leute ruderten vollkommen im Takt und aus voller Kraft, und der Steuermann kam seinerseits jedem Ruderschlage durch einen gewaltigen Stoss mit dem Steuerruder zu Hülfe. So glitt das Boot unter wildem Geschrei seiner Insassen pfeilschnell an uns vorüber. Es wäre daher nicht unmöglich, dass mir Manches an seiner Ausstattung entgangen ist. So habe ich namentlich nichts von seinen Gerüsten herabhängen sehen, und doch müssen diese den Zweck haben, etwas zu tragen, wenn es bei ihrer sehr dünnen Beschaffenheit auch nur ganz leichte Gegenstände sein könnten. Und so drängt sich mir unwillkürlich die Vermuthung auf, dass sie dazu bestimmt sind, die sogen. *Zach's*, d. h. lange, dünne, gekräuselte Holz- oder Hobelspähne zu tragen, wie sie bei allen mit abergläubischen Vorstellungen verknüpften Vorgängen im Leben der Giljaken, den Bärenfestlichkeiten, Leichenbegängnissen u. drgl. m. üblich sind [1]). Bei der Ausfahrt vermuthlich nur locker über die Gerüste gehängt, können sie auf der raschen und wilden Fahrt nur allzu leicht herabgefallen und vom Winde in den Strom fortgetragen worden sein. Ja, dies Letztere kann sogar direkt in der Absicht der Opferspendenden gelegen haben, denn die ganze Opferfahrt soll dazu dienen, die Gunst des Stromes oder Stromgeistes durch die genannten Spenden zu gewinnen und sich dadurch Glück und Erfolg beim Fischfang und bei allen Stromfahrten im bevorstehen-

1) S. oben, p. 433.

den Sommer und Herbst zu sichern. In dieser Ansicht bezüglich der Zach's bei der Opferfahrt auf dem Amur werde ich auch dadurch bestärkt, dass im Herbst, sobald eine neue Eisdecke auf dem Strome sich gebildet hat, ebenfalls eine Feier mit Opferspenden und Zach's stattfindet. Die Giljaken begeben sich alsdann aufs Eis vor ihrem Dorf: hier ist ein Loch in die Eisdecke geschlagen und an demselben eine mit Zach's geschmückte Stange errichtet. Durch dieses Loch werden nun in den Strom jene obenerwähnten Spenden geworfen, offenbar um seine Gunst für den winterlichen Fischfang und vielleicht auch für den Verkehr auf der Eisdecke zu gewinnen.

Gleich nach dem Aufgang des Amur-Stromes steigen in denselben aus dem Meere die besten und grössten Fische hinein, die er überhaupt aufzuweisen hat, — der Amur-Stör (*Acipenser Schrenckii*, gilj. *tukki-tscho*) und der noch grössere Amur-Hausen (*Ac. orientalis*, gilj. *patch-tscho*). Beide gehen im Amur und in seinen grossen Zuflüssen, im Usauri, Sungari u. a. hoch hinauf, ja, vom letzteren, der *Kalugu* der Russen, berichtete schon Pallas, dass er auch in den Quellflüssen des Amur, in der Schilka und im Argunj vorkomme[1]). Wie sehr die Giljaken den Stör und den Hausen schätzen, ist oben schon erwähnt worden. Aehnlich verhält es sich damit auch bei den anderen Amur-Völkern. Allenthalben wird ihnen daher mit Eifer nachgestellt, und die Fangarten sind im Allgemeinen überall dieselben. Doch geben die einzelnen Völker, je nach ihrem Naturell und den Lokalverhältnissen ihres Stromantheiles, der einen oder der anderen Fangart den Vorzug. Die Giljaken fangen sie hauptsächlich mit Netzen, die grobmaschig und aus sehr festen Schnüren gestrickt sind, um unter dem Widerstande der grossen Thiere nicht zu reissen. Die Form dieser Netze und die Art ihrer Handhabung sind jedoch verschieden, wobei namentlich auch die Jahreszeit ein bestimmendes Moment abgiebt, je nachdem z. B., ob die Fische in grösserer oder geringerer Anzahl vorhanden sind, ob sie sich näher zur Oberfläche, oder in grösseren Tiefen halten, ob der Strom offen, oder beeist ist u. drgl. m.

Ende Mai und im Juni, wenn die aus dem Meere aufsteigenden Störe und Hausen im Mündungstheile des Stromes am häufigsten sind und sich, zumal bei stillem Wetter, in der Nähe der Oberfläche halten, genügt den Giljaken ein einfaches, länglich-viereckiges Netz, an dessen oberem Rande einige hölzerne Schwimmer und am unteren ab und zu kleine Steine befestigt sind. In zwei Böten begeben sich die Giljaken mit diesem Netz ins Fahrwasser des

1) Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. III, p. 207. Desselb. Zoogr. Rosso-asiat., T. III, p. 107. Georgi, der die erste, auch von Pallas benutzte Beschreibung dieses Fisches entwarf, nannte ihn *Ac. dauricus*, wie es auch Brandt (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., T. XIV, p. 172) wieder thut. Von den Quellflüssen der Schilka hat ihn besonders zahlreich der Onon, während die Ingoda, wie schon Georgi (Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772, Bd. I, p. 333) und neuerdings Maack (Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 27) bemerken, ihm zu seicht und steinig ist. Wenn in anderen, älteren und neueren, hauptsächlich russischen Nachrichten über Dauriens bei Gelegenheit der in den Flüssen desselben vorkommenden Fischarten auch vom Hausen (Осетръ) und Stör (осетръ) schlechtweg die Rede ist, wie z. B. bei Hedenström (Отрывки о Сибири, 1830, стр. 146), Parschin (Путешествіе въ Забайкальскій край, Москва 1844, стр. 117), Nagemeister (Статист. обозр. Сибири, С. Петерб. 1834, Т. I, стр. 334), Kaschin (Нѣсколько словъ объ Амурѣ. — Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., кн. VI, Иркутскъ 1863, стр. 163), Middendorff (Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 1367) u. A., so sind darunter ohne Zweifel stets die beiden genannten, aus dem Amur in seine Quellflüsse steigenden *Acipenser*-Arten zu verstehen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Stromes, werfen es quer über dasselbe und lassen sich, die oberen Enden des Netzes haltend, von der Strömung abwärts und den aufsteigenden Fischen entgegen treiben. Bei ruhiger Wasseroberfläche erkennen sie mit scharfem und geübtem Blick das Nahen eines grossen Fisches schon von Weitem, an einer leichten Kräuselung des Wassers u. drgl., und lenken ihre Böte mit dem dazwischen befindlichen Netze ihm entgegen. Hat er das Netz erreicht und sich in demselben verwickelt, so giebt der betreffende hölzerne Schwimmer Kunde davon, und nun begeben sich beide Böte zur Stelle, wo sich der Fisch befindet, das Netz wird gehoben und der in demselben verwickelte Fisch vermittelst eines an eine Stange befestigten eisernen Hakens (gilj. *schabtschamrch*, Taf. XL, Fig. 2) ins Boot gezogen und durch einen Keulenschlag auf den Kopf getödtet. Ist der Fisch sehr gross und das Boot nur klein, so wird er auch wohl vermittelst eines Hakens und einer tüchtigen Leine ins Schlepptau genommen und ans Land gebracht, um erst dort todtgeschlagen zu werden. Die eigens dazu dienliche Keule ist aus einer verästelten Baumwurzel gemacht und mit einem steinernen Endstück versehen, — ein Umstand, der ohne Zweifel auf den altherkömmlichen, noch aus der Steinzeit herrührenden Gebrauch dieser Waffe hinweist [1]).

Bei bewegterem Wasser und wenn die Störe oder Hausen sich in grösserer Tiefe halten, wird das Netz, zumal an seinen unteren Enden, um tiefer hinabzusinken, mit grösseren Steinen beschwert und zugleich die Einrichtung getroffen, dass von den beiden unteren Netzenden je eine Schnur durch mehrere am Seitenrande des Netzes befindliche, aus Weidenbast geflochtene Ringe hindurch zu Händen der Fischer läuft. Da ferner der Eintritt eines grossen Fisches ins Netz bei bewegterem Wasser an den hölzernen Schwimmern weniger leicht wahrnehmbar wird, so sind an die hintere Wand desselben mehrere dünne Schnüre (gilj. sogen. *umysaj*) befestigt, deren Enden sich ebenfalls in den Händen der Fischer befinden, und die durch ihre ruckweise erfolgende Anspannung die Anwesenheit des Fisches im Netz verrathen. Sobald nun diese erkannt ist, wird das Netz durch Anziehen der beiden oben erwähnten Schnüre gehoben und so dem Fisch der Rücktritt aus demselben abgeschnitten, worauf ihm in der bereits beschriebenen Art ein Ende gemacht wird.

Endlich bedienen sich die Giljaken zum Stör- und Hausenfang auch eines Sacknetzes. Dieses ist am unteren Rande seiner Oeffnung ebenfalls mit Steinen, am oberen mit hölzernen Schwimmern versehen. An den Stellen, wo die einen aufhören und die anderen anfangen, befinden sich je ein aus Weidenbast geflochtener Ring und ein paar Schnüre, welche zum Halten, resp. Befestigen des Netzes dienen. Der Fischfang mit diesem Sacknetz geschieht in derselben Weise wie mit dem vorher erwähnten Netz, indem die Fischer in zwei Böten ausfahren, das Netz auswerfen und, es an den Seiten zwischen sich haltend, stromab, den aufsteigenden Fischen entgegen treiben. Sobald die Bewegung eines Schwimmhölzchens oder die ruckweise Anspannung einer der von der Sackwandung ausgehenden Signalschnüre (*umysaj*) den eingetretenen

1) Ich habe sie selbst bei den Giljaken nicht gesehen, wohl aber durch einen meiner Bekannten in Nikolajefsk eine Abbildung von ihr, so wie von einem ähnlichen, zum Einschlagen der Bärenschädel dienlichen Instrument erhalten, welche auf einer späteren Tafel mitgetheilt werden sollen.

Fisch verräth, wird das Netz zusammengezogen, und der Fisch ist gefangen. Dieses Sacknetz wird bisweilen auch stetig im Strome aufgestellt, indem zwei Pfähle möglichst fest in den Flussboden eingerammelt werden, so weit von einander, als der Durchmesser der Sacköffnung beträgt, und das Netz vermittelst der an seinem Rande jederseits befindlichen Ringe und Schnüre an dieselben befestigt wird. Ein im Boot sitzender Giljake fasst Posto an einem der Pfähle und hält die Signalschnüre in der Hand, um, sobald ein Fisch ins Netz gegangen, ihn entweder selbst definitiv einzufangen und zu bergen, oder aber sich die dazu nöthige Hülfe zu schaffen.

Die beiden letzterwähnten Netze werden auch zum Fischfang im Winter gebraucht, nur macht die Eisdecke des Stromes alsdann noch einige andere Vorrichtungen und Manipulationen nothwendig. Zunächst müssen für jedes Netz zwei Löcher in einer der Länge desselben, oder beim Sacknetz dem Durchmesser seiner Oeffnung entsprechenden Entfernung von einander geschlagen werden. Zum Ausschöpfen der abgelösten, im Eisloch schwimmenden Eisstückchen bedienen sich die Giljaken des auf Taf. XI., Fig. 3, abgebildeten Handnetzes (gilj. *chuntulk*) [1]). Ein besonderes Instrument dient dazu, das Netz unter dem Eise aufzustellen: es ist ein langer flacher, zur Spitze hin sanft aufwärts gekrümmter hölzerner Stab, der sog. *Odn*, der am Ende in eine ungefähr dreieckige, mit zwei nach rückwärts gerichteten Spitzen versehene Scheibe ausläuft, auf welcher in primitiver Weise zwei Augen eingeschnitzt sind, und die den Namen *odn-tschongr*, d. h. Odn-Kopf, trägt (s. Taf. XI., Fig. 4). Mit diesem Stabe fährt man in eines der Eislöcher hinein und schiebt ihn dicht unter dem Eise so lange vorwärts, bis er mit der Spitze, dem *Odn-tschongr*, zum anderen Eisloch herauskommt. Hier wird nun die eine der beiden oberen Ecken des Netzes, oder beim Sacknetz die eine der mit dem Ringe und den Schnüren versehenen Partien der Sacköffnung, in die Zinken des Odn-tschongr's eingehakt, während man die andere Ecke des Netzes, resp. die Sacköffnung an der jener ersteren diametral gegenüber gelegenen Stelle, an eine quer über das Eisloch gelegte Stange befestigt und das übrige, an seinem unteren Rande durch Steine beschwerte Netz ins Wasser senkt. Jetzt wird der Odn zurückgezogen und die mit ihm zum anderen Eisloch herausgekommene Netzecke ebenso wie die erstere an einen Stock befestigt. Damit ist das Netz dicht unter dem Eise wandförmig zwischen den beiden Eislöchern aufgestellt. Aus diesen heraus reichen auch die Schnüre, an denen es gehoben werden kann, und nach einem derselben führen endlich auch die Signalschnüre von der Netz- oder Sackwandung, so dass hier auf die Anwesenheit des Fisches im Netz aufgepasst werden muss. Aus dem Vorstehenden ist zu ersehen, dass die durch die Grösse des Netzes und die Entfernung der Eislöcher von einander bedingte Länge des Odn eine sehr ansehnliche ist. Er kann daher auch aus mehreren Stücken zusammengesetzt werden. Die Darstellung eines Gesichts auf dem Odn-tschongr ist aber nach giljakischem Glauben stets erforderlich und von wesentlicher Bedeutung für den Erfolg des Stör- und Hausenfanges. Hiebei sei auch eines unge-

1) Das im Reifen desselben ausgespannte Netz heisst im Giljakischen *asj*, der Querstock im unteren Theile des Reifens — *lytt*, der lange und derbe Griffstock, mit welchem gelegentlich auch das im Eisloch etwa entstandene junge Eis wieder zerbrochen wird. — *Sp.*

ren, speciell auf den Stör- und Hausenfang mit Netzen bezüglichen Aberglaubens der Giljaken gedacht. Dieser besteht darin, dass eine an das Netz befestigte Kuckuksfeder den Fang ergiebig macht, — ein Aberglauben, auf dessen Consequenzen ich später noch zurückkommen werde.

Eine andere, bei den Giljaken jedoch weit weniger übliche Art des Stör- und Hausenfanges ist die durch ausgesetzte Angelhaken. Es ist dieselbe Art des Fischfanges, die in Sibirien unter dem Namen *Saamolowy* (Selbstfänge) bekannt ist und schon von Pallas in den verschiedenen Modifikationen, wie sie am unteren Obj, am Irtysch, Jaik und an der Wolga ausgeübt wird, beschrieben worden ist [1]). Bei den Giljaken geschieht dieser Fang in folgender Weise. Ein aus einer verästelten Baumwurzel oder drei in der Art, wie auf Taf. XLI, Fig. 10, dargestellt, mit einander verbundenen Holzpflöcken und einem zwischen denselben befestigten Steine bestehender Anker (gilj. *tschabch*) wird an einem viele Faden langen, aus Weidenbast geflochtenen Seile (gilj. *tyk*) [2]) ins tiefe Fahrwasser des Stromes versenkt. Von diesem dicken Seile gehen in bestimmten Intervallen dünnere und kürzere Bastschnüre aus, an deren Ende je ein mit einem spitzen und scharf geschliffenen eisernen Haken versehener Holzknüttel (gilj. *kita*, ebenda, Fig. 9) befestigt ist. Vom oberen Ende eines jeden dieser Knüttel läuft eine dünne Schnur bis an die Wasseroberfläche, wo sie einen Holz- oder Borkschwimmer trägt. An das Hauptseil werden in gewissen Zwischenräumen auch noch Steine gebunden, so dass es auf dem Grunde liegen bleibt, während die Angelhakenknüttel in einiger Höhe über demselben im Wasser flottiren und dabei dank den Schwimmhölzern eine mehr oder minder senkrechte oder schiefe Stellung annehmen. Ans äusserste Ende des Hauptseiles endlich, das beim Aufstellen des Apparates zuletzt ins Wasser hinabgelassen wird, ist als Schwimmer ein ganz tüchtiger Holzklotz gebunden, welcher das Ende des Seiles stets leicht aufzufinden gestattet. Die aufsteigenden Fische stossen nun auf die Knüttel, drängen sich an ihnen vorbei, spielen auch wohl mit denselben, verwunden sich dabei, schlagen um sich und bleiben nur immer fester an den Haken hängen, was durch die Bewegungen der entsprechenden Schwimmhölzer verrathen wird. Sobald die Giljaken dies bemerken, kommen sie im Boote herbei, winden vom schwimmenden Holzklotz aus das Seil auf und heben die Fische vermittelst der oben beschriebenen Haken ins Boot.

Ebenfalls seltener als der Netze bedienen sich die Giljaken zum Stör- und Hausenfang der Harpune, schon aus dem Grunde, weil sie sich, wie oben bereits erwähnt, stets vorsichtig und nicht allzu leicht und kühn auf dem Wasser bewegen. Die bei ihnen üblichen Fischharpunen sind von doppelter Art: die eine besteht aus einer einfachen, mit ein paar Widerhaken versehenen eisernen Spitze, die auch zum Robbenschlage gebraucht wird und in der Folge, bei Besprechung dieses letzteren, noch beschrieben werden soll; die andere ist ein mit Widerhaken an jeder Zinke besetzter Dreizack (gilj. *tschak*, Taf. XLI, Fig. 8). Die eine wie die andere wird

1) Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. II, p. 339, 444; Bd. III, p. 88.

2) Vielleicht bedeutet *tyk* auch nur «Seil» überhaupt.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

zum Schleudern auf die Spitze einer hölzernen Stange gesteckt und ist ausserdem noch an das Ende eines langen, in der Hand des Fischers ruhenden Riemens geknüpft, vermittelst dessen der getroffene Fisch heran- und aus dem Wasser herausgezogen wird. Die erstere Waffe ist bei den Giljaken üblicher als die letztere und trägt den Namen *tugugy*.

Endlich kommt es nicht gar selten vor, dass Störe oder Hausen in die für Lachse ausgestellten Fangnetze gerathen und mit den letzteren zusammen gefangen werden, oder aber und zumal im Hochsommer bei fallendem Wasser, wie ich es auch selbst gesehen habe, auf Untiefen stranden und alsdann nur schlechtweg geknüppelt zu werden brauchen.

Bald nach dem Aufgange des Stromes beginnt auch das Aufsteigen der Lachsarten im Amur und seinen Nebenflüssen, das, insgesammt genommen, den ganzen Sommer und Frühherbst über bis in den Oktober hinein dauert, ja, auch nachdem eine neue Eisdecke sich gebildet, nicht sogleich ganz und gar aufhört. Manche Arten gehen nur einzeln oder in kleinen Partien, andere in mächtigen, mit mehrfachen Intervallen sich wiederholenden Zügen stromauf, und namentlich sind es zwei Arten, welche durch die kolossale Menge, in der sie erscheinen, den Giljaken von der grössten Wichtigkeit sind. Es sind dies der Tengi oder Tengi-tscho, *Salmo Proteus*, und noch mehr der Lyghi- oder, auf Sachalin, Laghi-tscho, *S. lagocephalus*. Wie wesentlich und unentbehrlich sie für die Nahrung und den gesammten Haushalt der Giljaken sind, ist oben schon ausführlich dargethan worden. Auf den Fang dieser Fische und namentlich des letzteren werden wir daher etwas näher eingehen müssen. Zuvor jedoch mögen hier einige Bemerkungen über die Zugzeiten derselben sowohl im Amur, wie auf den nördlich und südlich angrenzenden Meeresküsten Raum finden.

Salmo Proteus, die *Gorbuscha* der Russen [1]), ist an der Südküste des Ochotskischen Meeres nordwestlich vom Amur-Liman und an den Küsten des Nordjapanischen Meeres, südlich von demselben, nicht bloss eine der am zahlreichsten, sondern auch eine der am frühesten in die Flüsse eintretenden Lachsarten. Sie geht hier stets um einige Wochen dem *Salmo lagocephalus* (russisch *Keta*) voraus. Nach Mizul erscheint sie an der Westküste Sachalin's im Juni und geht ohne Wahl und in grosser Menge in alle Flüsse und Flüsschen derselben hinein [2]); die Keta dagegen tritt in demselben etwas später und in geringerer Zahl auf [3]). Aehnlich scheint es sich an der gegenüberliegenden Festlandsküste zu verhalten [4]), mit dem Unterschiede jedoch, dass dort, zum wenigsten an der Ausmündung grösserer Flüsse, auch die Keta in grosser Menge sich einfindet. Von einem Punkte dieser Küste, dem an der Mündung des Flusses Hadshi gelegenen Kaiserhafen, hat man eingehendere Nachrichten über die Zeit des Erscheinens daselbst der beiden genannten, auch dort die Hauptrolle spielenden Lachsarten. Margaritof, der zum

1) D. h. so viel wie Buckelfisch oder -Lachs. Bekanntlich so genannt wegen des am hinterhalben Fisch sich ausbildenden Rückenhöckers.

2) Мизулъ, Очеркъ осгр. Сахалина въ ихтіологическомъ отношеніи, С. Петерб. 1873, стр. 46.

3) Mizul, l. c., p. 49.

4) Im Seufun soll nach Barabasch (Сборн. Деп. Морск. Сбор., 1874, № 1, стр. 167) hauptsächlich die Gorbuscha gefangen und von den chinesischen Fischern nach den im Innern des Landes gelegenen Goldwäschereien, zum Theil sogar nach Ninguta abgesetzt werden.

Zweck ethnographischer Forschung unter den Orotschen einen ganzen Sommer im Kaiserhafen zubrachte, berichtet, dass dort die Gorbuscha (bei den Orotschen *okó*) sowohl, als die Keta (bei den Orotschen *dauvi*) je drei Zugzeiten haben, während welcher sie in grösseren Mengen in die Bai und in die zu derselben mündenden Flüsse eintreten, und die in Intervallen von je einem halben Monat mit einander alterniren, indem die Gorbuscha dort während der ersten, die Keta aber während der zweiten Hälfte der drei Sommermonate zieht. Bezüglich der Keta giebt er noch näher an, dass ihr erster Zug um die Mitte des Juni beginnt und bis in die ersten Tage des Juli anhält, worauf eine Pause von etwa 10 Tagen eintritt, nach deren Verlauf, ungefähr um den 20. Juli (die Angaben sind nach altem Stil), sie sich von Neuem einfindet und bis zum Anfang des August zu ziehen fortfährt; alsdann tritt wiederum eine Unterbrechung von ein paar Wochen ein, nach welcher, gegen Ende des August, die dritte Zugzeit beginnt, die bis weit in den September hinein reicht. Die erste dieser Zugzeiten verdient jedoch, für die eine wie für die andere Art, kaum den Namen einer solchen: die Fische erscheinen nur in geringer Anzahl und steigen nicht die Flüsse aufwärts, sondern finden sich nur an ihren Mündungen ein und so weit die Fluth und Ebbe in denselben reicht. Während der zweiten Zugzeit drängen sie sich bereits schaarenweise flussaufwärts, und in der dritten endlich erreichen sie das Maximum ihrer Zahl, wobei sie jedoch in Folge von Erschöpfung und dem in ihrem Organismus vor sich gehenden, bekanntlich auch durch manche Veränderungen im Aeusseren sich manifestirenden Prozesse in demselben Verhältniss an Güte abnehmen, so dass die während der dritten Zugzeit gemachten Jukolavorräthe zwar am leichtesten beschafft, aber zugleich auch von der geringsten Qualität sind. Uebrigens sollen die Orotschen, trotz der grösseren Schmackhaftigkeit der Keta, bei Bereitung ihrer Jukolavorräthe häufig der Gorbuscha den Vorzug geben, sowohl ihrer übergrossen Menge wegen, als auch weil sie sich, in Folge ihrer geringeren Körpergrösse, leichter trocknen oder räuchern lässt und sich daher auch besser conservirt[1]). Dass die obigen, auf Erkundigungen an Ort und Stelle und den Erfahrungen eines Sommers beruhenden Daten nur einen annähernden Werth haben können, und dass in einzelnen Jahren mehr oder minder ansehnliche Verschiebungen in den Zugzeiten der einen wie der anderen Art vorkommen dürften, versteht sich von selbst. So habe ich im Jahre 1854 am 25.—28. Juli (a. St.) die Oro-

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1) В. П. Маргаритовъ, Объ Орочахъ Нижнег. округа, С. Петерб. 1888, стр. 15—21. Bei dieser Gelegenheit kann ich nicht umhin zu bemerken, dass die angeführte Schrift Margaritof's manche schätzenswerthe Mittheilung über die Orotschen des Kaiserhafens, insbesondere über ihren Fisch- und Thierfang enthält, wogegen seine Auslassungen über ihr Verhältniss zu den Oltscha total verfehlt sind und Zeugniss davon ablegen, dass er das von mir in der ersten Lieferung dieses Werkes darüber Gesagte, trotzdem dies auch in russischer Sprache erschienen ist, ganz und gar missverstanden hat. So weiss er nicht einmal, wo die Oltscha zu suchen sind, wozu es doch nur eines Blickes auf die dem Werke beigegebene ethnographische Karte bedurft hätte, und leugnet sogar gänzlich die Existenz der Oltscha als eines besonderen Zweiges der Amur-Tungusen, und zwar bloss aus dem Grunde, weil ein Orotscho auf die an ihn gerichtete Frage, ob er ein Oltscha sei, wie natürlich nicht anders zu erwarten stand, verneinend antwortete. Zudem, endlich entstellt er auch den Namen dieses Volkes, indem er ihn beständig «Ölitschi» lesen lässt, und das angeblich mir auf. lge (»Schrenck's Olitschi, l. c., p. 3), während bei mir eine solche Entstellung nirgends zu finden ist.

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tschen im Kaiserhafen mit Zubereitung von Wintervorräthen aus dem noch zahlreich vorhandenen *S. Proteus* beschäftigt gefunden, *S. lagocephalus* aber liess sich noch nicht sehen.

In gleicher Menge erscheinen diese Lachsarten und namentlich *S. Proteus* auch in der Bai de Castries. Als La Pérouse diese im Jahre 1787 entdeckte und 5 Tage (vom 28. Juli bis zum 2. August — 17. bis 22. Juli) in derselben verweilte, fand er die in ihrem Grunde gelegene Bucht so angefüllt von Lachsen, dass er sie Lachsbucht (*Baie des saumons*) nannte. Die Fische gingen in die Mündungen der kleinen Flüsschen hinein oder schnellten sich massenhaft aus den durch die Ebbe entblössten Seetangen des Meeresgrundes empor, und es hielt nicht schwer, an einem Tage über zwei tausend derselben zu fangen. Auch wurden sie von den Eingeborenen in grossen Mengen geräuchert und getrocknet zum Wintervorrath[1]). La Pérouse nennt die Art, welcher diese Lachse angehörten, nicht, doch lässt sich aus ihrer geringen Grösse und ihrem unbedeutenden Gewicht (von je 3 oder 4 Pfund) mit ziemlicher Sicherheit entnehmen, dass es *S. Proteus* war. Daneben erwähnt er aber auch einer grösseren Art (von je 30 und 40 Pfund Gewicht), welche die von den Eingeborenen zur Anfertigung von Kleidungsstücken gebrauchten Häute liefert, und fügt hinzu, dass diese nicht im Sommer gefischt wird[2]). Wir wissen[3]), dass die bei allen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes zu dem obigen Zweck dienende Lachsart der *S. lagocephalus* ist, und müssen daher aus der erwähnten Angabe La Pérouse's schliessen, dass dieser letztere in der Bai de Castries erst im Herbst, also wohl frühestens zu Ende des August und im September in grösserer Menge auftritt.

Weiter nördlich, im Amur-Liman, erfuhr ich von den Tschomi-Giljaken, leider ohne Zeitangabe, dass bei ihnen zwar beide Arten, der Tengi- wie der Lyghi-tschö, sich einfinden, der letztere jedoch in einer ihren Bedürfnissen nicht genügenden Anzahl, so dass sie sich, wie schon erwähnt[4]), gleich den Giljaken von Tangi, Arkai und anderen an der Westküste Sachalin's gelegenen Orten, zur Zugzeit dieses Fisches an den Tymy-Fluss auf Sachalin zu begeben pflegen, um sich dort mit grösseren Wintervorräthen zu versorgen.

Für die nordwestlich vom Amur-Liman gelegene Südküste des Ochotskischen Meeres finden sich bei Middendorff einige Daten. In dem von ihm zusammengestellten Verzeichnisse der Zugzeiten verschiedener Fische und insbesondere der Lachsarten an den Flussmündungen Sibirien's und Nordwestamerika's ist als Ankunftszeit von *S. Proteus* an der Udj-Mündung der 22. Juni und als diejenige von *S. lagocephalus* an derselben Küste der 9. Juli angegeben[5]). Von

1) La Pérouse, Voyage autour du monde, T. III, p. 61—63.

2) La Pérouse, l. c., p. 62.

3) S. oben, p. 388, 407 u. a.

4) S. oben, p. 127.

5) Middendorff, Reise, Bd. IV, p. 1226 u. 1227. Die in demselben Werke (p. 1192, Anm. 2) enthaltene, in das oben erwähnte Verzeichniss jedoch nicht aufgenommene und mit den Daten desselben im Widerspruch stehende Angabe, dass *S. lagocephalus* an der Ala-, wie an der Uda- (soll heissen Udj-) Mündung ziemlich regelmässig um den 10. Juni und 7—10 Tage später auch an der Tugur-Mündung ankomme, scheint mir nicht glaubwürdig zu sein und wird übrigens a. a. O. auch nur mit der Reserve wie es hiesse angeführt. Zu bedauern ist, wie ich hier gelegentlich bemerken muss, dass die Erklärung der Abkürzungen, welche zur Bezeichnung der für das oben erwähnte Verzeichniss der Zugzeiten der Fische benutzten Quellen gebraucht worden (l. c., p. 1228), sich nur auf einen Theil derselben beschränkt und viele ganz unverständlich geblieben sind.

Interesse für unseren Zweck ist ferner auch die Angabe, dass in den Gewässern der Grossen Schantar-Insel *S. lagocephalus* nicht vorzukommen scheint, während *S. Proteus* dort gefangen wird[1]).

Was endlich die Mündung des Amur-Stromes betrifft, so tritt *S. Proteus* in dieselbe schon im Mai, also sehr bald nach dem Eisgange ein. Doch erscheint er dann nur in geringer Zahl, gewissermassen nur als Vorhut eines zweiten, starken Zuges, der im Juni stattfindet. In diesem letzteren Monat wird er von den Giljaken eifrig gefangen, um zur Bereitung von Jukolavorräthen verwandt zu werden, und steigt auch den ersten grösseren Amur-Zufluss, den Amgunj aufwärts, wo er mit *S. lagocephalus* zusammen eine Hauptgrundlage zum Haushalt der Negda abgiebt[2]). Im Juli endlich erscheinen noch einige Nachzügler im Mündungslaufe des Amur-Stromes, doch sind diese kaum der Rede werth. Es wäre daher forcirt, wenn man von drei Zugzeiten von *S. Proteus* im Amur reden wollte: richtiger ist es einen ersten, schwachen Zug im Mai und einen zweiten, starken oder Hauptzug im Juni anzunehmen. *Salmo lagocephalus* erscheint in der Amur-Mündung erst im August, und zwar beginnt, von einigen Vorläufern abgesehen, das eigentliche, starke, schaarenweise Aufsteigen desselben im Strome um die Mitte des August, erreicht zu Ende dieses Monats und im Anfang des September seinen Höhepunkt und dauert dann mit abnehmender Energie noch diesen ganzen Monat hindurch und bis zur Bildung der Eisdecke im Oktober fort. Middendorff schien diese ihm durch Przewalski's Schrift[3]), — der jedoch selbst an der Amur-Mündung nicht gewesen ist — bekannt gewordene Zugzeit von *S. lagocephalus* im Amur (Ende August) zu derjenigen derselben Art an der Südküste des Ochotskischen Meeres nicht zu stimmen[4]). Doch hatte er dabei nur jene von mir angezweifelte und, man kann fast mit Bestimmtheit sagen, irrthümliche Angabe über die Zugzeit von *S. lagocephalus* an der Udj-Mündung im Auge, von welcher oben (p. 524, Anm. 5) die Rede gewesen ist. Aus dem viel später, als Middendorff vermuthete[5]), erfolgenden Eintritt von *S. lagocephalus* in den Amur erklärt sich vielmehr ganz einfach und ungezwungen die von ihm[6]) mitgetheilte Thatsache, dass die den Tugur aufwärts steigenden Keta-Lachse viel früher als die den Amur und Amgunj aufwärts ziehenden zu der Stelle gelangen, wo das Tugur- und das Amur-System, in Folge einer Biegung der Flussbetten des Tugur und Nemilen, sich nahe berühren, so dass die Tungusen volle Zeit haben, ihren Fischfang an der Tugur-Biegung (bei Burukan) abzuhalten, und dann auf den ganz nahe gelegenen Nemilen übergehen, um dort den Keta-Lachs von Neuem zu fischen.

Die hier angegebenen Zugzeiten von *S. Proteus* und *S. lagocephalus* an der Amur-Mündung stimmen sehr gut zu den oben von verschiedenen Punkten des Nordjapanischen Meeres angeführten Daten, zumal wenn man, wie nach den vorhandenen Thatsachen erforderlich, das mehrfache, in Intervallen mehr oder minder stark erfolgende Ziehen oder Aufsteigen einer und

1) Middendorff, l. c., p. 1261.
2) Middendorff, l. c., p. 1324.
3) Путешеств. въ Уссурійск. краѣ, стр. 97.
4) Middendorff, l. c., p. 1261.
5) L. c., p. 1220, wo es heisst, dass der Keta-Lachs in den Amur wenigstens gleichzeitig, wahrscheinlich sogar früher einsteigt als in den Tugur (17.—20. Juni).
6) L. c., p. 1220 u. 1403.

derselben Art im Auge behält. Nimmt man zugleich auch die grössere oder geringere Menge, in welcher sie an den oben erwähnten Punkten erscheinen, in Betracht, so gelangt man zu dem Schluss, dass *S. Proteus* und *S. lagocephalus* aus dem Nordjapanischen Meere, nordwärts ziehend, in den Amur-Liman und zur Mündung des Amur-Stromes gelangen, wobei der erstere, zumal gegen Ende seiner Zugzeit, in grosser Zahl in alle Baien und Buchten und selbst in die kleinsten Flüsse beider Küsten eintritt, während der letztere nur die grösseren und ansehnlicheren unter ihnen besucht, die kleineren aber meidet und in seiner Hauptmasse, der aus dem Liman kommenden, stark mit süssem Wasser versetzten Strömung entgegenziehend, dem mächtigen Amur-Strome zustrebt, um in dem weit ausgebreiteten Flussnetze desselben und insbesondere in den grossen Zuflüssen seines unteren Laufes hoch hinauf zu steigen. Wir werden ihm auf dieser seiner Wanderung in der Folge, bei Besprechung des Fischfangs auch der anderen, von den Giljaken stromaufwärts wohnenden Völker des Amur-Landes, noch mehrfach begegnen. Zunächst bleiben wir jedoch noch einen Augenblick beim Erscheinen von *S. Proteus* und *S. lagocephalus* im giljakischen Gebiete stehen.

Die Ankunft und der Massenzug dieser beiden, für den Haushalt der Giljaken besonders wichtigen Fische sind für sie natürlich Erscheinungen von so hervorragender Bedeutung, dass sie von ihnen auch zur Bezeichnung der Jahresabschnitte, der Monate, in welchen sie stattfinden, benutzt werden. So heisst bei ihnen der Mai, als der Monat, in welchem der Tengi-tscho (*S. Proteus*) zuerst aufsteigt, *walten-tengi-long*, und der Juni, in welchem sein Massenzug stattfindet, *tengi-wota-long*[1]). Der August, in welchem der Lyghi-tscho (*S. lagocephalus*) in kolossalen Mengen im Amur-Strom aufsteigt und die Thätigkeit der gesammten Bevölkerung zur Bereitung von Wintervorräthen in Anspruch nimmt, heisst bei den Giljaken *lyghi-wota-long* oder *pilja-tschrur-*[2]), oder auch schlechtweg *pilja-long*, d. h. der «grosse Fischmonat», oder auch «grosse Monat» schlechtweg. Diese letztere Bezeichnung giebt ein besonders beredtes Zeugniss von der grossen Bedeutung ab, welche *S. lagocephalus* für den gesammten Haushalt der Giljaken hat. Im Vergleich mit dem Juni und besonders mit dem August ist der Juli nur fischarm. Unter den ihm eigenen Fischarten ist *S. Lycaodon* (gilj. *well*, die *Nerka* der Russen) noch die hervorragendste. Indessen spielt diese Lachsart nur weiter aufwärts, bei den Oltscha und Golde eine gewisse Rolle, von der am betreffenden Ort die Rede sein wird, für die Giljaken aber ist sie insofern von keinem besonderen Werth, als sie lange nicht in der Menge wie *S. Proteus* oder gar *S. lagocephalus* erscheint und auch keine so gute und haltbare Jukola wie diese abgiebt; ja, angesichts der bald und sicher zu erwartenden Lyghi-tscho-Mengen, halten die Giljaken es überhaupt für unnütz und der Mühe nicht lohnend, auch aus dem *Well* Jukola-

1) *Long* heisst im Giljakischen «Monat»; eine nähere Erklärung der Ausdrücke *«walten»* und *«wota»* vermag ich nicht zu geben, doch scheint mir aus diesen wie aus den folgenden Monatsbezeichnungen hervorzugehen, dass der erstere Ausdruck auf das erste, noch spärsame, der letztere auf das Haupt- oder massenhafte Erscheinen der betreffenden Fische Bezug hat.

2) Das Wort «tschrur» hängt ohne Zweifel mit «tschu», Fisch, zusammen.

Vorräthe zu bereiten. Im Gegensatz zum August, dem «grossen Fischmonat», heisst daher der Juli bei den Giljaken *matschn-tschrar-long*, — «der kleine Fischmonat»[1]).

Etwas anders als im Nordjapanischen Meere, im Liman und an der Amur-Mündung scheint es sich mit der Zugrichtung und der Zugzeit von *S. Proteus* und *S. lagocephalus* an der Ostküste Sachalin's zu verhalten. Nach Mizul zieht der erstere längs dieser Küste von Süd nach Nord, erreicht den Golf der Geduld etwa um die Mitte des Juni und steigt im Juli und bis weit in den August hinein den Plyi oder Poro-nai und seine Nebenflüsse aufwärts. In der ersten Hälfte des August erscheint er ferner auch an der nördlich vom Golf der Geduld gelegenen Küste der Insel, steigt in den Tymy-Fluss hinein und ist bereits um die Mitte dieses Monats und bis zum Spätherbst im oberen Laufe und in den Nebenflüssen desselben zu finden. *S. lagocephalus* tritt etwas später als *S. Proteus* auf, dabei, wie Mizul ausdrücklich bemerkt, zuerst im nördlichen und dann erst im südlichen Theile Südsachalin's, so dass sein Zug hier, demjenigen von *S. Proteus* entgegengesetzt, von Nord nach Süd zu gehen scheint; auch kommt er dort in geringerer Menge und nicht in allen, sondern nur in bestimmten Flüssen, in diesen aber alljährlich, wenn auch in verschiedener Anzahl vor[2]). Hauptsächlich scheint er daher auch an der Ostküste Sachalin's den grösseren Flüssen, also dem Poro-nai und insbesondere dem Tymy zuzustreben. An der Mündung dieses letzteren, im Nyi-Busen, war Poljakof im J. 1881 Zeuge des massenhaften Erscheinens und Einsteigens von *S. lagocephalus* in den Fluss, das die ganze zweite Hälfte des August fortdauerte und erst am 30. nachliess[3]). Für die am Tymy-Fluss und besonders an seinem oberen Laufe in grösserer Dichtigkeit wohnenden Giljaken ist daher hauptsächlich der September derjenige Monat, der ihnen die grössten Mengen des in ihrem Haushalte so unentbehrlichen Laghi-tscho zuführt, und in welchem sie, dem aufsteigenden Fisch entgegenfahrend, sich ganz und gar dem Fischfang und der Bereitung von Fischvorräthen für den Winter widmen. Daraus erklärt sich denn die mir von den Tymy-Giljaken wiederholt mitgetheilte Thatsache, dass bei ihnen nicht der August, sondern der September den Namen *pilja-long*, «grosser Monat», trägt, während der im Vergleich mit ihm minder fischreiche August nur als *matschki-long*, «kleiner Monat», bezeichnet wird. Somit findet dort, in Folge etwas anders liegender Naturverhältnisse, eine Verschiebung der bei den Amur-Giljaken üblichen Monatsbezeichnungen statt[4]). Ob dieselbe sich auch auf die Tro-Giljaken erstreckt, für welche die am Amur üblichen Namen eigentlich passender wären, vermag ich nicht zu sagen, da ich mit ihnen zu wenig verkehrt habe. Unmöglich wäre es jedoch nicht, da die Tymy-Giljaken denselben Sprachdialekt wie jene reden und zu ihnen überhaupt in einer

1) Von den aus anderen Motiven als die Zugzeiten der Fische abgeleiteten Bezeichnungen, welche die Monate Mai—August sonst noch bei den Giljaken tragen, so wie von den für die übrigen Monate bei ihnen üblichen Namen wird in der Folge, am betreffenden Ort die Rede sein.

2) Mizul. c. p. 48—49.

3) Поляковъ, Путеш. на о. Сахалинъ въ 1881—1882 гг. (Прилож. къ XIX т. Изв. И. Р. Геогр. Общ., стр. 97).

4) Die auch hinsichtlich der übrigen Monatsnamen bei den Tymy-Giljaken ihren Landsleuten am Amur gegenüber stattfindenden Verschiebungen oder sonstigen Differenzen werden in der Folge, wo gehörig, zur Sprache kommen.

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ähnlichen, nahen und zum Theil maassgebenden Beziehung wie die Amur-Giljaken zu denjenigen des Limans, der Westküste Sachalin's und der Südküste des Ochotskischen Meeres stehen.

Die grosse Menge, in welcher die Lachse und insbesondere die beiden mehrfach genannten Arten den Amur und seine Nebenflüsse aufwärts steigen, machen den Giljaken den Fang derselben in den grössten Quantitäten nicht schwer. In den kleinen Zuflüssen, wie Litsch, Kamr u. a., drängen und schieben sich die Fische fast selbst ans Ufer und können aus dem seichten Wasser einfach mit Händen gegriffen, aus dem tieferen mit Netzhamen geschöpft oder mit Haken herausgezogen und ins Boot geworfen werden. Weiber und Kinder betheiligen sich an dieser Arbeit, und in kurzer Zeit kehrt ein Boot nach dem anderen mit Fischen angefüllt heim, wo die oben bereits beschriebene, mühsamere Arbeit des Abhäutens, Zergliederns und Aufhängens der Fische auf die Trockengerüste vorgenommen wird. Während die Weiber dies besorgen, schaffen die Männer immer neues Material heran. In den kleineren Flüssen wird oft auch ein Netz quer über die ganze Breite des Flusses gezogen und damit die gesammte zur Zeit aufsteigende Fischschaar, so weit es nur das Netz ohne zu reissen gestattet, abgefangen. Im grossen Strom, wo der Fischfang ausschliesslich den Männern anheimfällt, sind die Schaaren der aufsteigenden Fische ebenfalls so dicht gedrängt, dass die einfachsten Netze genügen, um in kurzer Zeit kolossale Mengen zu fangen. Die Fischer treiben in zwei Böten, ein Netz zwischen sich haltend, den aufsteigenden Fischen stromabwärts entgegen und ziehen das gefüllte Netz bald in das eine, bald in das andere Boot hinein, bis beide vollauf haben. Oder aber es fahren ein paar Mann, das eine Ende eines Netzes haltend, in einiger Entfernung vom Ufer den Fischen entgegen stromab, während ein dritter, mit dem anderen Netzende in der Hand, in derselben Richtung dem Ufer entlang geht. Merken sie, dass das Netz sich hinlänglich angefüllt hat, so wenden die im Boot sitzenden Fischer ihr Fahrzeug und rudern rasch dem am Ufer gehenden zu, um in der Nähe desselben aus dem Boot zu springen und vereint das Netz ans Land zu ziehen. Die zum Lachsfang dienlichen Netze werden von den Giljaken zum Theil nach kleinen Differenzen der Form und der Art ihres Gebrauches mit verschiedenen Namen belegt und ausserdem noch je nach der Lachsart, für welche sie nach der Grösse ihrer Maschen bestimmt sind, unterschieden. So heisst das oben erwähnte einfach viereckige Netz *tscheszk* und ist je nach der Grösse seiner Maschen ein *lyghi-* oder *tengi-tscheszk*; ein anderes wurde mir *kyrn-kä* genannt und gleichfalls als *lyghi-* und *tengi-kyrn-kä* [1]) unterschieden, u. s. w.

Um ferner ohne viel Mühe grössere Quantitäten der aufsteigenden Fische zu fangen, werden Fischwehren vom Ufer aus in den Strom hinein errichtet, die den Zweck haben, die Fische von ihrer Zugrichtung abzulenken und in ein daneben aufgestelltes Sacknetz eintreten zu lassen. Dazu werden an höheren Ufern, in der Nähe vorspringender Landzungen gelegene Stellen gewählt, wo es eine stärkere Strömung giebt und die Fische erfahrungsmässig in grosser Menge

1) *Kä* heisst im Giljakischen »Netze überhaupt.«

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

aufzusteigen pflegen. Die Beschaffenheit einer solchen, bei den Giljaken *myr* genannten Lachswehr ist folgende. Vom Ufer aus wird eine Reihe von Pfählen in der Entfernung von je einem Faden von einander quer in den Fluss hinein und vom Ende derselben eine zweite, kürzere unter rechtem Winkel eine Strecke stromabwärts in den Flussboden eingeschlagen. Die Zwischenräume zwischen den Pfählen werden darauf von der Oberfläche des Wassers an bis möglichst tief hinab mit Weidenruthen so dicht durchflochten, dass die Fische keinen Durchgang finden können. Zwischen dem unteren Ende der stromabwärts gerichteten Pfahlreihe und einem in einiger Entfernung von demselben näher zum Ufer hin einzeln stehenden Pfahle wird das Sacknetz, *myrch-kā* der Giljaken, befestigt. Dieses hat die Form eines langen, nach unten sehr allmählich sich verengenden Trichters: ein aus dem Dorfe Tschcharbach stammendes Exemplar, das ich vermaass, hatte, auf dem Erdboden ausgebreitet, eine Länge von $6^1/_2$ Metern und eine Breite am oberen Ende von 3, am unteren von $1^1/_2$ Metern. Von dem oberen, mit zwei parallelen Weidenbastschnüren versehenen Rande dieses trichterförmigen Netzes läuft an einer Seite ein etwa 12 Decim. langer Schlitz ins Netz herab, und an den beiden am Trichterrande dadurch entstehenden Zipfeln sind je zwei Schnüre angebracht, welche, gleich wie auch eine ähnliche, ihnen diametral gegenüber befindliche Schnur, zur Befestigung des Netzes an die dazu bestimmten Pfähle dienen. Von einem der erwähnten Zipfel geht ferner auch die Signalschnur (gilj. *umyssy*) aus, eine dünne, anfangs einfache Schnur, die sich aber sehr bald in drei Schnüre theilt, welche sich mit ihren Enden etwa in der halben Länge des Netzes an die gegenüberliegende Wand desselben ansetzen. Soll nun das Netz aufgestellt werden, so wird es an seinem unteren Ende durch einen Riemen zu einem Sack zugeschnürt, oben, am unteren Rande der Sacköffnung mit Steinen beschwert und vermittelst der an ihr befindlichen Schnüre an die erwähnten Myr-Pfähle befestigt, wobei die in ihrem oberen Theile mit dem Schlitz versehene

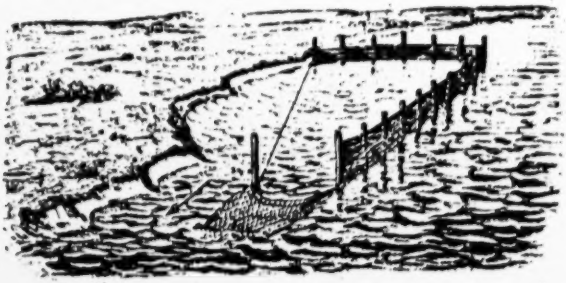

Eine Lachswehr (gilj. *myr*) im Amur-Strome.

Seite des Netzes der Strommitte, die gegenüberliegende aber dem Ufer zugekehrt wird. Um dem Netz noch mehr Halt zu geben, so wie um es später herauszuziehen, wird endlich von der Sacköffnung noch eine dicke und lange Schnur ans Ufer gezogen und dort an einen Pfahl befestigt.

Ist das Netz aufgestellt, so setzt sich ein Giljake im Boot an seiner äusseren, am Ende der zweiten Pfahlreihe befindlichen Befestigungsstelle auf und hält die Signalschnur, deren einzelne Theile er zwischen je zwei Finger geschoben, in der Hand. Die längs dem Ufer aufsteigenden Lachse stossen nun auf das ihnen quer vorgebaute Ruthengeflecht, finden keinen Durchgang und drängen sich, um es zu umgehen, längs dem stromabwärts gerichteten Geflechte hin, wobei sie in das Netz gerathen. Dies Letztere thut sich dem wachthabenden Giljaken durch ein Rupfen und Zerren an den Signalschnüren kund, und sobald er aus der wiederholten und starken Anspannung derselben entnehmen darf, dass das Netz sich mit Fischen gefüllt hat, lässt er die Signalschnur fallen und schnürt die Oeffnung des Sackes zusammen, worauf dieser mit der Beute ans Land gezogen wird. In diese Sacknetze gerathen natürlich ausser den jeweilig aufsteigenden Lachsen auch manche andere Fische, mitunter sogar Störe und Hausen. Da die Herstellung eines Myr's mit einiger Arbeit und Mühe verbunden ist, so pflegen die Giljaken, dieselben nur zum Fange ihrer wichtigsten und zugleich in der allergrössten Menge aufsteigenden Lachsart, des Lyghi-tscho, zu errichten. Von diesem Fisch können sie nicht genug haben, und zur Zeit seines Aufsteigens sind daher die Myr's im gesammten giljakischen Gebiet des Amur-Stromes nicht selten zu sehen.

In derselben Art und mit nicht geringerem Eifer gehen die Giljaken dem Lachsfang im Tymy-Fluss auf Sachalin nach. Doch ist dieser seiner geringeren Grösse und theilweisen Seichtigkeit wegen zur Errichtung von Myr's weniger geeignet. In seinem unteren Laufe und nahe seiner Ausmündung zum Nyi-Busen sind gleichwohl auch diese im Gebrauch. Hier ist es, wo sich zur Zugzeit des *S. lagocephalus* neben den Giljaken auch die Oroken eifrig mit dem Fischfang und der Zubereitung von Fischvorräthen beschäftigen. Ja, seit den letzten Decennien pflegen auch die Japaner, nachdem sie zuvor mit Hülfe der Aino der Häringsfischerei an den Küsten Südsachalin's und dem Fange von *S. Proteus* an der Poronai-Mündung obgelegen, zur Zugzeit des *S. lagocephalus* sich noch an der Tymy-Mündung einzufinden und den Fang desselben mit grosser Energie und Rücksichtslosigkeit zu betreiben. Poljakof, der sie dort im August 1881 bei dieser Beschäftigung antraf, berichtet unter Anderem[1]), dass sie anfangs eine quer über den ganzen Fluss reichende Fischwehr, in der Art der oben beschriebenen, errichtet hatten und erst in Folge seiner drohenden Forderung $^{1}/_{10}$ der Flussbreite freigaben, darauf aber sogleich oberhalb der ersten eine zweite, nicht weniger als $^{9}/_{10}$ des Flusses sperrende Fischwehr errichteten. Dass sie unter solchen Umständen alljährlich kolossale Mengen dieser Lachsart aus dem Tymy-Fluss ausführen, ist begreiflich; nicht minder begreiflich ist aber auch die Schädigung, welche sie dadurch den Oroken sowohl, wie insbesondere auch den auf den Fischreichthum ihres Flusses angewiesenen Giljaken des gesammten Tymy-Thales zufügen.

Ueber den Fang der ständig im Amur lebenden Fische, wie Karpfen, Quappe, Wels, Hecht u. a., ist nichts Besonderes zu sagen, da er mit gewöhnlichen Netzen betrieben wird, in den

1) l. c., p. 78—79 u. p. 99.

Zeiten, da es keinen wichtigeren Fischfang giebt, insbesondere daher auch im Winter, unter dem Eise, in derselben Art, wie alsdann auch die Störe gefangen werden. In den stillen, mit schlammigem Boden versehenen, seeenartigen Erweiterungen, deren es viele an den Ufern des Amur-Stromes giebt, und die mit demselben stets durch einen mehr oder minder versumpften Flussarm oder ein kleines Gerinsel in Verbindung stehen, habe ich die Giljaken sackförmige Netze an Stangen aufstellen sehen, zum Fange von Karauschen und ähnlichen Fischen, an denen diese kleinen Bassins reich sind.

Eines Fischfangs muss noch besonders gedacht werden, sowohl wegen der grossen Bedeutung, die er für einen Theil der Giljaken hat, als auch wegen der charakteristisch ursprünglichen Art, in welcher er betrieben wird. Es ist der Kangi-Fischfang an der West- und Ostküste Sachalin's. Von der Wichtigkeit des Kangi-Fisches (*Gadus Wachnja* Pall.) für die Giljaken und der Art und Weise seiner Verwendung ist oben (S. 430) schon die Rede gewesen. Die kolossale Menge, in welcher er sich dicht unter dem Meereseise einfindet, gestattet es den Giljaken, sich des einfachsten Mittels zum erfolgreichen Fange desselben zu bedienen. Es genügt ihnen dazu ein spannenlanger eiserner Haken (gilj. *kätsch-kossj*, Taf. XL, Fig. 1), der an eine etwa drei Fuss lange Schnur gehängt wird, welche vermittelst eines hölzernen Handgriffs auf und ab bewegt werden kann. Mit dieser kurzen, eines jeglichen Köders ermangelnden Angel wirft der am Eisloch sitzende Giljake, indem er sie ins Wasser hinablässt und sogleich wieder zurückzieht, einen Fisch nach dem anderen aufs Eis heraus. In den wenigen Minuten, die ich — es war am 27. Febr. (10. März) 1856 bei Arkai an der Westküste Sachalin's — dabeistand, zog mein Giljake ein paar Dutzend Fische heraus, welche der Haken bald am Kiemendeckel, bald am Unterkiefer oder am Maul gefasst hatte. Einige Tannenzweige, die hinter ihm, an einen seitwärts umgekehrten Schlitten gelehnt, in den Schnee gesteckt waren, dienten als Windschutz. So sah man in einiger Entfernung von einander noch mehrere Fischer auf dem Eise sitzen. Sobald eine ansehnliche Menge von Fischen gefangen war, wurden sie auf dem Schlitten fortgebracht. Es muss auffallen, dass die Giljaken keine zweckmässigeren Mittel zum Fange dieses Fisches anwenden: schon ein einfacher Hamen würde ohne Zweifel weit erfolgreicher wirken. Es scheint aber, dass der vielfache an den Kangi-Fisch sich knüpfende Aberglaube, von dem oben die Rede gewesen, darunter z. B. auch derjenige, dass man ihn nicht in einen Sack stecken darf, sie bestimmt, bei der althergebrachten und traditionellen Fangart desselben zu verharren.

Zum Schluss bleibt mir noch übrig, einige Worte über die Anfertigung der Fischernetze bei den Giljaken zu sagen. Das Material zu denselben liefert die um ihre Wohnstätten, auf einem durch Abfall aller Art gedüngten Boden in Gesellschaft mannshoher Artemisien und anderer Schuttpflanzen in grösster Ueppigkeit wuchernde Nessel, *Urtica dioica* L. (gilj. *chisk*, oltsch. und gold. *pikta*). Die Stengel derselben werden im Herbst geschnitten und im Wasser geweicht; im Winter trocknet und bindet man sie in Bündel, und zeitig im Frühjahr beginnt die Bereitung von Zwirn und Schnüren, so wie das Flechten und Ausbessern von Netzen, daran es im Sommer einen grossen Bedarf giebt. Der erste Theil dieser Arbeiten, die vorläufige Zurichtung der Nesselstengel und die Zwirnbereitung, fällt den Weibern anheim, das Drehen der

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Schnüre hingegen und das Stricken der Netze werden in der Regel von den Männern besorgt. Am 18./30. April 1855 bin ich im Dorfe Kuïk Zeuge der Zwirnbereitung gewesen. Die trockenen Stengel werden vermittelst eines glatten, am Ende zugespitzten hölzernen Falzmessers, gilj. *chukka* genannt, platt gedrückt, der Länge nach gespalten und an einer Stelle gebrochen, worauf die Epidermis abgestreift und so lange gestrichen wird, bis sie ganz zerfasert und alle Holztheile beseitigt sind. Aus den so gewonnenen Fasern wird mit Hülfe von Handspindeln ein feiner Zwirn gesponnen, davon ein Theil den Weibern selbst für ihre Näharbeiten zufällt, der andere und grössere aber zur Bereitung von Schnur von verschiedener Dicke (gilj. *puksy*) für die Netze dient. Hr. Maximowicz hat Gelegenheit gehabt, diese Arbeit anzusehen, und beschreibt sie folgendermaassen [1]). «Der zur Schnur bestimmte Faden wird auf so viel Spindeln gewickelt, als die Schnur Stränge haben soll; die Spindeln werden auf der Jurtenbank festgestellt, ein Stück Faden wird von jeder derselben durch eine an einem Deckenbalken befestigte Oese beinahe bis zur Erde hinabgeleitet und der übrige Faden vor dem Sichabwickeln geschützt. Die durch die Oese geleiteten Fäden werden an eine schwebende Spindel gebunden, die so lange in kreiselförmiger Bewegung erhalten wird, bis die Schnur genügend fest zusammengedreht und in Folge dessen die kreiselnde Spindel fast bis zur Decke hinaufgerückt ist. Das sehr zusammengedrehte Stück Schnur wird nun auf die schwebende Spindel gewickelt und vor dem Sichabwickeln geschützt. Darauf wird neuer Faden von den feststehenden Spindeln abgelassen, der übrige befestigt und die Arbeit in derselben Weise fortgesetzt». So werden Schnüre gewonnen, die an Festigkeit und Gleichmässigkeit guten Sorten unserer Hanfschnüre um nichts nachstehen.

Bei der ansehnlichen Grössenverschiedenheit auch nur der Hauptfische, denen die Giljaken nachstellen, etwa von den kleineren Cyprinoiden oder dem Tengi-tscho, *Salmo Proteus*, ab bis zu den kolossalen Hausen hinauf, sind auch die zum Fange derselben dienenden Netze von sehr verschiedener Grösse der Maschen und aus Schnur von verschiedener Dicke bereitet. Und dem entsprechend, sind auch die den Giljaken zum Stricken der Netze dienlichen Instrumente bei gleicher Form von sehr verschiedener Grösse. Dennoch lassen sich unter ihnen, wie wir sogleich sehen werden, nach den Hauptfischarten einige wenige, etwa vier, als die wichtigsten und gangbarsten Grössenformen unterscheiden. Bevor wir jedoch auf diese näher eingehen, muss eines Instruments gedacht werden, das von den Giljaken beim Stricken aller Netze, gleichviel wie fein oder grob sie sein mögen, behufs eines ungestörteren und gleichmässigeren Fortganges der Arbeit gebraucht wird. Es ist dies das sogen. *Pork* (Taf. XLI, Fig. 7), — eine oben und unten zweiarmige, um ihre Achse drehbare hölzerne Haspel, auf welche die fürs Netz bestimmte Schnur gewickelt, und die mit ihrem unteren Griffende an einen Deckenbalken der

1) Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., T. XV, p. 230, Anm. 8; Mél. biolog., T. II, p. 501, Anm. 5. Die Beobachtung wurde von Hrn. Maximowicz auf einer Reise im unteren Amur-Lande zwischen dem Nikolajefschen und Martinskischen Posten gemacht; es ist zwar nicht gesagt, ob bei den Giljaken, oder bei den Oltscha, indess ist mit Sicherheit anzunehmen, dass die erwähnte Arbeit bei diesen beiden Völkern ganz in derselben Weise geschieht.

Jurte oder sonst wo aufgehängt wird, damit der zum Fortschritt der Arbeit erforderliche Faden dem Strickenden stets leicht und ungehindert zulaufe.

Die beiden wichtigsten den Giljaken zum Netzstricken dienlichen Werkzeuge sind eine eigenthümliche Filetnadel, gilj. *kilks*[1]) (Tab. XLI, Fig. 1—4), und ein länglich viereckiges Brettchen, *kiwu* genannt[2]), (ebenda, Fig. 5 u. 6). Die erstere besteht aus einem langen, schmalen und dünnen Holzplättchen, dessen unteres Ende in Folge eines Ausschnittes zweizinkig ist, während in der oberen Hälfte zwei lange, den Rändern parallel laufende und kurz vor der Spitze zusammenfliessende Ausschnitte eine lange, fast bis zur Spitze reichende Zinke zwischen sich lassen, welche ich zum Unterschiede von den beiden am unteren Ende befindlichen die obere Zinke nennen will. Um diese drei Zinken wird die zum Anfertigen des Netzes dienende, von der oben erwähnten Haspel ablaufende Schnur geschlungen, und zwar in der Weise, dass sie abwechselnd um die eine und die andere der beiden unteren Zinken und dazwischen stets um die obere Zinke geschlagen wird. So umsponnen, wandert das *Kilks*, gleich einem Webeschiffchen, von einer Seite zur anderen und wieder zurück, das Material zum Netz liefernd und zugleich die Maschen desselben knüpfend. Um aber diese letzteren aufzuschlagen und ihnen zugleich eine bestimmte, unveränderliche Grösse zu geben, dient das *Kiwu*, ein länglich viereckiges, oben und unten geradlinig und horizontal, an den Seiten ausgeschweift begrenztes Brettchen mit zwei ungefähr dreieckigen Ausschnitten, welche jedoch nur den Zweck zu haben scheinen, die Brettchen auf eine Schnur aufreihen und so, wie einen Schlüsselbund, bequemer aufbewahren zu können.

Je grossmaschiger nun das Netz werden soll, desto grösser müssen auch die zur Anfertigung desselben benutzten Instrumente, Kilks wie Kiwu, sein. Die grössten Maschen hat das zum Fange von Hausen (*patch-tscho*), gelegentlich auch von Seehunden, dienende Netz — gilj. *patch-kā*, das dem entsprechend auch aus der dicksten Schnur bereitet wird. Zu seiner Anfertigung dienen daher die grössten Instrumente: die Filetnadel Fig. 4, gilj. *patch-kā-kilks* (auch *tolles-kilks* und *kerwagn-kā-kilks*) genannt, und das ihm entsprechende Maschenbrettchen *patch-kā-kiwu*, Fig. 6 der angeführten Tafel. Nächstdem folgen der Grösse nach die zum Stricken des Störnetzes, gilj. *tukki-kā*, dienenden Geräthe: *tukki-kā-kilks* (auch *jaghsin-kā-kilks*), Fig. 3, und *tukki-kā-kiwu*, Fig. 5 der genannten Tafel. Die nächstkleinere, dritte Filetnadel, Fig. 2, *anga-kā-kilks* oder auch *nokn-kā-kilks* genannt, dient zum Anfertigen solcher Netze, mit denen Fische wie *Pilengat* (*Cyprinus Carpio*), *Mink* (*Hypophthalmichthys Dybowskii*), *Kych* u. a. gefangen werden. Eine vierte, noch kleinere Filetnadel, Fig. 1, wurde mir von den Giljaken als *myrch-kā-kilks*, d. h. als diejenige Nadel bezeichnet, welche zur Bereitung des in den oben beschriebenen Lachswehren gebräuchlichen Sacknetzes (*myrch-kā*) dient. Dabei fügten sie jedoch hinzu, dass die mit dieser Nadel gestrickten Netze auch zum Fange des Tengi, *S. Protcus*, gebraucht würden.

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1) Bei den Oltscha heisst sie *soorpol* und bei den Golde *soorfo*.

2) Das *w* ist in diesem Wort wie das englische *w* ausgesprochen. Bei den Oltscha heisst das *Kiwu* *kerar* oder *kerul*.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Daraus darf man schliessen, dass die Sacknetze der hauptsächlich, ja, so viel ich gesehen, ausschliesslich zum Fange von *S. lagocephalus* dienenden Lachswehren verhältnissmässig feinmaschig sind, indem auch weit kleinere Fische als *S. lagocephalus*, wie namentlich *S. Proteus*, keines feineren Netzes bedürfen. Und das ist wohl erfahrungsmässig dadurch motivirt, dass bei grösseren Maschen des Sacknetzes die in denselben zahlreich eintretenden und sich stark drängenden Fische leicht durchschlüpfen könnten, was den durch die Errichtung von Myr's beabsichtigten Massenfang des wichtigsten aller Fische ansehnlich schmälern oder gar vereiteln würde. Zudem braucht dieses Sacknetz auch nicht aus einer sehr dicken Schnur gemacht zu sein, da es, wenn angefüllt, sogleich an das nur wenig entfernte Ufer gezogen wird. Die zu den beiden letzteren Filetnadeln gehörigen Maschenbrettchen, die im Vergleich mit den früher besprochenen natürlich ebenfalls von entsprechend geringerer Grösse sind, habe ich nicht zu Gesicht bekommen. Da die Giljaken übrigens auch feinere Netze als das Myrch-kä haben, wie z. B. die in kleineren Flussarmen und Seen zum Fange von Karauschen und ähnlichen Fischen gebräuchlichen Sacknetze, so dürften sie sicherlich auch noch kleinere Filetnadeln und Maschenbrettchen als die zuletzt erwähnten, wenn auch stets von derselben Form, haben; doch treten diese an Bedeutung so sehr hinter jenen zurück, dass sie mir dieselben, bei Gelegenheit meiner auf diesen Gegenstand bezüglichen Erkundigungen, weder zu zeigen, noch mit besonderen Namen zu bezeichnen vermochten.

Soll nun das Stricken eines Netzes mit den beschriebenen Instrumenten vor sich gehen, so wird an die Jurtenbank, an den Bordrand des Bootes, oder wo sonst die Arbeit vorgenommen wird, eine eigens zu dem Zweck bestimmte hölzerne Gabel befestigt, deren eine Zinke dazu dient, das Netz, an welchem gestrickt wird, zu halten, während über die andere die bereits fertiggestellten Stücke gehängt werden[1]). Ist die Strickerei vollendet, so wird das Netz ringsum mit einer aus Weidenbast gedrehten Schnur besäumt und an seinem oberen und unteren Ende nach aussen hin noch mit einer zweiten derartigen Schnur versehen, die in naher Entfernung von jener verläuft und nur an einzelnen Punkten mit ihr in Verbindung steht. Zwischen diese beiden Schnüre werden beim Fischen je nach Bedürfniss kleine Steine, oder aber die oben erwähnten, aus Holz oder Bork gemachten Schwimmer befestigt. Stets werden die Netze von den Giljaken mit grosser Sorgfalt und Schonung behandelt, beim geringsten Schaden ausgebessert und nach jedem Fischzuge an der Sonne getrocknet. Dazu werden sie über eigens vorhandene mehr als mannshohe Gerüste ausgebreitet, und der Aberglauben verlangt es, dass wenn die trocknenden Netze Einem im Wege stehen, man nicht unter ihnen durch, sondern stets um dieselben herumgehe. Nicht eher endlich, als bis die Netze ganz trocken geworden, dürfen sie von Neuem benutzt werden. So behandelt, hält ein Netz bei den Giljaken mehrere Jahre vor und lohnt vielfältig die auf die Anfertigung desselben verwendete Mühe und Arbeit.

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1) Die giljakische Bezeichnung für diese Gabel ist mir unbekannt geblieben, die Golde nennen sie, nach Mazek (l. c., p. 139), chalang.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Das vorstehend über den Fischfang der Giljaken Gesagte lässt sich im Allgemeinen auch auf die ihnen mehr oder minder benachbarten tungusischen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes ausdehnen, allerdings mit einigen Einschränkungen und Modifikationen, die theils durch die Lebensweise und den Charakter dieser Völker und theils durch die Verbreitung der hauptsächlich dem Fange unterliegenden Fischarten bedingt werden. Zunächst ist hervorzuheben, dass sämmtliche tungusische Völker des unteren Amur-Landes sich von den Giljaken bezüglich des Fischfanges nicht sowohl durch etwaige neue, den letzteren nicht bekannte Arten ihn zu betreiben, als vielmehr durch den wesentlichen, allgemein maassgebenden Umstand unterscheiden, dass keines von ihnen in dem Grade ichthyophag und überhaupt mit seinem ganzen Haushalt auf den Fischfang angewiesen ist wie die Giljaken, und dass somit auch keines von ihnen den Fischfang in dem Umfange und mit der Stetigkeit, Sorgfalt und Energie wie diese letzteren betreibt. Bei allen diesen Völkern, auch die den Giljaken nach ihrer gesammten äusseren Haltung und Lebensweise am nächsten stehenden Oltscha nicht ausgenommen, spielt die Jagd, als Mittel zur direkten und unmittelbaren Befriedigung der unabweislichsten Bedürfnisse der Nahrung und Kleidung, eine weit wichtigere Rolle als bei den Giljaken, und zwar ist dies je weiter stromauf und in die Nebenthäler des Amur-Stromes hinein, desto mehr und allgemeiner der Fall. Dem entsprechend, muss sie aber auch mehr Zeit und Mühe in Anspruch nehmen, resp. dem Fischfange entziehen. Namentlich macht sie dem Winterfischfang einen starken Abbruch. In keiner Jahreszeit tritt der grundverschiedene Charakter zwischen den Giljaken und den tungusischen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes deutlicher zu Tage als im Winter, indem jene auch dann noch, trotz mancherlei eifrigen und betriebsamen Thierfanges, doch dieselben sesshaften Fischer bleiben, während in diesen mit dem Eintritt des Winters eine durch das Fischerleben nicht ganz unterdrückte Leidenschaft zu erwachen scheint, welche sie zeitweise gewissermaassen in Jagdnomaden verwandelt. Dennoch darf man nicht meinen, dass unter den Amur-Völkern die Giljaken allein sich auch im Winter mit dem Fischfange beschäftigen[1]). Die Oltscha betreiben ihn ebenfalls in ganz ansehnlichem Maasse, und der inmitten ihres Gebietes gelegene Mariinskische Posten wurde von ihnen in den Wintern 1855 und 56 reichlich mit frischen Fischen versorgt. Auch die Amur-Golde geben sich noch mit demselben ab, doch nimmt er bei ihnen stromaufwärts mehr und mehr ab: wie ich es selbst erfahren, wird dem im Winter in dieser Richtung Reisenden immer häufiger statt frischen Fisches, Reh-, Elenns- und Wildschweinfleisch oder Fett angeboten. Von den Ussuri-Anwohnern vollends erzählt Przewalski[2]), dass bei ihnen der Fischfang im Winter so gut wie ganz aufhört, indem alle rüstigen Männer alsdann zur Jagd fortziehen und nur die zurückgebliebenen Greise und Weiber sich mit dem Angeln von Fischen abgeben. Stundenlang am Eisloch sitzend, bewegen sie unaufhörlich die statt des Köders nur mit einem rothen Zeugläppchen oder einem Fellstückchen

1) Wie z. B. Arth. Nordmann (Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken. — Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, T. XXXIV, 2-e Partie, 1861, p. 230) angiebt.

2) Путеш. въ Уссур. краѣ, стр. 98.

versehene Angel auf und nieder, und trotz dieses einfachen Verfahrens soll es ihnen an glücklichen Tagen gelingen, bis zwei und drei Pud Fische, hauptsächlich Karpfen (*Cyprinus carpio*) und Lachsforellen (*Salmo fluviatilis* Pall.) zu erbeuten. Die Samagirn am Gorin fand ich im Winter, in den allerdings nur wenigen Tagen, die ich unter ihnen zubrachte, ebenfalls nur mit der Jagd und gar nicht mit Fischfang beschäftigt.

Gleichwie den Giljaken, so stehen auch den Oltscha und den Golde obenan unter allen Fischen der Stör und der Hausen, *Acip. Schrenckii* und *Ac. orientalis*, von denen jener bei ihnen *kundo*, resp. *kongdo* unterhalb des Geong-Gebirges, *ssura* oberhalb desselben und *kilfu* oder *kirfu* am Ussuri und oberhalb der Ussuri-Mündung, dieser aber bis zur Ussuri-Mündung *adi*, oberhalb derselben und am Ussuri *adsi* genannt wird. Beide sind im gesammten Golde-Gebiet verbreitet, indem sie aus dem Amur auch in die beiden grossen südlichen Zuflüsse desselben, den Ussuri und Sungari, und manche ihrer Nebenflüsse hineinsteigen. Im Ussuri und in dem durch den Ssungatschi-Fluss mit ihm in Verbindung stehenden Kengka-(oder Chanka-) See kommen sie nach Przewalski[1]) zwar das ganze Jahr über vor, finden sich jedoch besonders zahlreich gleich nach vollendetem Eisgange ein. Bei niedrigem Wasser, im Herbst sollen sie wieder flussabwärts, dem Amur zuziehen und sich dabei stets an dieselben Flussarme halten, durch welche sie gekommen, — ein Umstand, der von den in der Regel bei niedrigem Wasser dem Fischfang nachgehenden Golde im Auge behalten wird[2]). Aehnlich wie im Ussuri mag es sich mit dem Vorkommen dieser Fische im Sungari verhalten. Dass es im Churcha oder Mutwan-ho (nach russ. Lesart Mudan-dsan), dem letzten grossen rechten Sungari-Zuflusse, zahlreiche Störe oder, nach der chinesischen Bezeichnung *zin-jui* zu urtheilen[3]), Hausen giebt, die im Winter in Eislöchern mit eisernen Fischhaken gestochen werden, berichtete schon der Chinese U-tschen in seinem 1722 verfassten Memoire über Ninguta[4]). Am fischreichsten unter allen Sungari-Zuflüssen soll jedoch der Nonni sein[5]). Vom Sungari oder Ussuri dürfte auch der grosse Stör oder Hausen hergerührt haben, mit welchem der Pater Paranin im Winter 1721 den russischen Gesandten Ismailof und sein Gefolge in Peking bewirthete, und der angeblich vom Amur, gefroren und in Schnee verpackt, gebracht worden war[6]).

Die Methoden, Störe und Hausen zu fangen, sind, von etwaigen kleinen Detaildifferenzen abgesehen, bei den Oltscha und Golde ganz dieselben wie bei den Giljaken, doch bringt es der auch ihnen, wie allen tungusischen Stämmen, innewohnende Hang zur Jagd mit sich, dass sie gewissen, bei den Giljaken minder üblichen Fangarten den Vorzug geben. So ist die oben

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1) l. c., p. 62, 95 u. 204.

2) Воинковъ, Обозр. р. Уссури (Вѣстн. Геогр. Общ., ч. 23, 1859, Отд. Изслѣд. и Метеор., стр. 231). Его же Путѣш. по окр. Русск. Азіи, С.-Петерб., 1868, стр. 82. Маакъ, Путеш. въ долинѣ р. Уссури, стр. 200—203.

3) Nach Maack (l. c., p. 201) heisst *Acip. orientalis* bei den Chinesen *zing-hoen*.

4) Вагмановъ, Зап. о Нингутѣ (Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Кн. XII, 1857, стр. 88).

5) Барабашъ, Сунгар. Эссиѣ. (Воен. Сборн., 1874, № 1, стр. 149; № 2, стр. 346).

6) Bell d'Antermony, Voyage depuis St.-Pétersb. en Russie dans diverses contrées de l'Asie, Paris 1746, trad. de l'Anglais par M***, p. 366. Nach Maack (l. c., p. 201) bringen chinesische Kaufleute vom Ussuri alljährlich Hausen und andere Fische nach Peking zum Verkauf.

erwähnte, bei den Giljaken nur wenig gebräuchliche Fangart vermittelst an Holzknüttel befestigter Angelhaken bei den Oltscha und noch mehr bei den Golde sowohl am Amur, wie insbesondere auch am Ussuri sehr beliebt, und, nach den auffallend übereinstimmenden Bezeichnungen der einzelnen Stücke dieses Fangapparates bei diesen wie bei jenen zu urtheilen [1]), möchte ich fast glauben, dass die Giljaken, trotzdem man sie in den meisten auf den Fischfang bezüglichen Dingen als Lehrmeister ihrer tungusischen Nachbarn betrachten darf, diese Fangart von den letzteren entlehnt haben. Grösser noch und den Giljaken gegenüber charakteristischer ist die Vorliebe der Oltscha und besonders der Golde für das Erbeuten von Stören und Hausen vermittelst der oben besprochenen und abgebildeten (Taf. XLI, Fig. 8) dreizackigen Schleuderharpune, und auch hier scheint mir der Umstand, dass die giljakische Bezeichnung dieser Waffe (*tschak*) der oltscha-goldischen (*dshogbo*) sehr nahe kommt, für eine Entlehnung derselben seitens der Giljaken von ihren tungusischen Nachbarn zu sprechen, wogegen die viel einfachere einzinkige Harpune, das *Tugngy*, ihnen selbst eigenthümlich sein dürfte. In der Vorliebe der Oltscha und Golde für diese Art des Fischfanges, welche der Jagd am nächsten steht, ja in der That mehr Fischjagd als Fischfang ist, tritt ihre tungusische Jägernatur deutlich zum Vorschein. Sie hängt auch aufs Innigste mit der Kühnheit, Leichtigkeit und Gewandtheit zusammen, mit welcher sie selbst bei hohem Wellengange im kleinen Birkenrindenkahne über das Wasser hingleiten. Sobald der so Dahinfahrende einen grossen Fisch erblickt, legt er sein Doppelruder zur Seite und greift zu den kurzen Ruderschaufeln, um sich mit Hülfe derselben lautlos dem Thiere so weit zu nähern, dass er die stets bereit liegende und nie fehlende Harpune nach ihm schleudern kann. Ist diese tief genug ins Fleisch gedrungen, so wird der Fisch an dem von ihr auslaufenden Riemen herangezogen und je nach seiner Grösse entweder ins Boot gehoben, oder ins Schlepptau genommen und so ans Land gebracht. Erwägt man, dass mancher Amur-Hausen ein Gewicht von 30—40 Pud und eine Länge von über zwei Faden erreicht [2]), so darf man sich den Kampf, den der einzelne Jäger oder Fischer im leichten Rindenkahn mit einem solchen Koloss zu bestehen hat, nicht allzu leicht denken. Der Lohn, den der Stör- und Hausenfang den Oltscha und Golde bietet, liegt übrigens nicht bloss in dem zur Nahrung dienenden Fleisch und Fett der Thiere, sowie in dem aus der Hausenblase gewonnenen Fischleim, sondern in sehr beträchtlichem Grade auch in den Knorpeln und dem Rückenstrange (*Chorda dorsalis*) des Thieres, die von den Chinesen hoch geschätzt und darum von den Eingebornen, sorgfältig gereinigt und in Bündel gebunden, im Handel mit denselben verwerthet werden.

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1) So heisst der zu diesem Apparat gehörige Anker bei den Giljaken *tschabch*, bei den Oltscha und Golde *tschaghbe*, das durch denselben an den Boden geknüpfte Hauptseil bei jenen *tyk*, bei diesen *dyku*, der mit dem Angelhaken versehene Knüttel bei jenen *kita*, bei diesen *kwital* und *kwitsale*.

2) Przewalski (l. c., p. 63) erzählt von einem an der Mündung des Ussuri gefangenen Exemplar, das 47 Pud wog, so dass die Angabe der dortigen Chinesen, dass es selbst 80 Pud schwere Thiere gebe, nicht übertrieben erscheint.

So gern die Oltscha und Golde dem Stör- und Hausenfang nachgehen, so bleibt ihr Haushalt im Wesentlichen doch, gleich demjenigen der Giljaken, auf dem Fange der in Massen aufsteigenden Lachse begründet. Denn auch sie bedürfen für sich sowohl wie für ihre Hunde der winterlichen, aus gedörrtem oder geräuchertem Lachs (*makore* und *dalong*, s. oben p. 426) bestehenden Fischvorräthe. Da sie jedoch den Winter zum grossen Theil auf der Jagd zubringen, die ihnen einen ansehnlichen Beitrag an unmittelbaren Nahrungsmitteln liefert, und in Folge minder regen und ausgebreiteten Handelsverkehrs mit einer geringeren Anzahl von Hunden als die Giljaken fürlieb nehmen, so ist auch ihr Bedarf an winterlichen Fischvorräthen minder gross als bei den letzteren. Und das lässt sie natürlich auch einen geringeren Fleiss und Eifer an die Beschaffung und Bereitung derselben wenden. Zu diesen gewissermaassen nur quantitativen Differenzen im Lachsfang der Oltscha und Golde, demjenigen der Giljaken gegenüber, gesellen sich insofern auch qualitative, als die einzelnen Lachsarten in verschiedener Ausdehnung und Häufigkeit den Amur und seine Nebenflüsse hinaufsteigen und darum für die resp. Anwohner derselben zum Theil von verschiedener Bedeutung sind. So verliert der bei den Orotschen, den Giljaken an der Meeresküste und am Amur und den Negda am Amgunj seiner massenhaften Züge wegen hochangesehene *Salmo Proteus* weiter stromauf sehr bald an Bedeutung. Zwar kommt er noch im gesammten Oltscha-Gebiete vor und soll z. B. den beim Dorfe Kada mündenden kleinen Fluss bis zu dem in seinem oberen Laufe gelegenen See hinauf steigen, ja ein bei ihnen wie bei den unteren Golde zum Fangen kleinerer Fische gebräuchliches feinmaschiges Netz trägt nach ihm die Bezeichnung *oko-magda*, allein unter den Gorin-Fischen wurde er mir von den Samagirn in Ngagha nicht genannt, und eben so wenig wird er von Maack, Przewalski u. A. vom Ussuri erwähnt. Dagegen findet eine andere, den Giljaken minder wichtige Lachsart, *S. Lycaodon*, bei den Oltscha und Golde grössere Beachtung. Während sie im Mündungstheil des Amur-Stromes den grossen Massen von *S. Proteus* und *S. lagocephalus* gegenüber, zwischen deren Zügen sie in ungleich geringerer Zahl erscheint, nur eine sehr untergeordnete Rolle spielt, fällt ihr Erscheinen weiter stromauf, indem der erstere mehr und mehr zurückbleibt und der letztere später eintrifft, in eine verhältnissmässig fischarme Zeit und kommt somit einem fühlbaren Bedürfniss der Stromanwohner entgegen. Am 3./15. Juli 1855 sah ich die Oltscha von Adi und in den folgenden Tagen auch die Golde von Kourmi und der stromaufwärts nächstgelegenen Dörfer mit dem Fange der *Chelke* oder *Sselke*, wie sie *S. Lycaodon* nennen, beschäftigt: nicht nur labten sie sich am Genuss der frischgefangenen Fische, sondern sie benutzten die reichliche Menge, in welcher dieselben zogen, auch zur Bereitung von Vorräthen, was die Giljaken mit dieser Lachsart (ihrem *Weil*) in der Regel zu thun verschmähen. Trotzdem jedoch die genannten Oltscha- und Golde-Dörfer, wo ich *S. Lycaodon* zahlreich gesehen habe, ganz nahe von der Gorin-Mündung liegen, scheint er in diesen letzteren Fluss nicht hineinzugehen, denn unter den von den Samagirn mir aufgezählten Fischen desselben fehlte die Chelke. Im Amur aber kommt er auch weiter stromauf vor und wird von den Golde oberhalb des Geong-Gebirges mit dem Namen *uru* bezeichnet. Den Ussuri scheint er gleichwohl nicht zu erreichen; zum wenigsten habe ich dort keinerlei Kunde von ihm erhalten,

und in den späteren Mittheilungen Maack's und Przewalski's über die Fischfauna dieses Flusses wird er auch nicht erwähnt.

Bei Weitem die wichtigste aller Lachsarten ist jedoch für alle tungusischen Stämme des unteren Amur-Landes, gleich wie auch für die Giljaken, *S. lagocephalus*, bei allen *daua* oder *dawa*[1]) genannt. Dieser Lachs geht aus dem unteren Amur in alle Nebenflüsse desselben, den Amgunj, Gorin, Chongar, Ussuri hinein und steigt bis zu ihren obersten Zuflüssen hinauf. Im Gebiete des letzteren vermeidet er merkwürdigerweise nur den sonst so fischreichen Kengka-See und zwar, wie Przewalski[2]) vermuthet, wegen des allzu trüben Wassers desselben. Sein Zug den Ussuri aufwärts soll etwa 14 Tage, von der Mitte des Septembers an, dauern. Als ich im Spätsommer 1855 den Amur von der Ussuri-Mündung abwärts fuhr, begegnete ich den ersten Exemplaren des aufsteigenden *S. lagocephalus* am 25. und 26. Aug. (6. und 7. Sept.) bei Ssoja und Emmero am Ausgange des Geong-Gebirges. Drei Tage später traf ich ihn bei Chongar und Onmoi schon in massenhaftem Zuge und die Golde ganz und gar vom Fange desselben in Anspruch genommen. Ein bejahrter und sehr verständiger Mann im letztgenannten Dorfe, wo ich ein paar Tage rastete, theilte mir mit, dass der Massenzug der Daua daselbst etwa 10 Tage lang währe, worauf sie zwar spärlicher werde, aber doch noch etwa 20 weitere Tage zu ziehen fortfahre. Weiter stromabwärts drehte sich Alles ausschliesslich um den Fang und die Bereitung von Wintervorräthen aus diesem Fisch, Alles schwelgte im Genusse desselben, die um die Jurten stehenden Trockengerüste waren mit dichten Reihen zerstückelter Fische, gleich breiten rothen Bändern, behängt, und der die Luft verpestende Abfall bot Hunden, Krähen und Schmeissfliegen reichliche Nahrung. In Mongole, nahe der Nordgrenze der Oltscha, meinten die Leute am 13./25. Sept., der Massenzug der Daua sei schon zu Ende, und es stiegen nur noch die Nachzügler stromauf. Dennoch fand ich die Giljaken bis nach Nikolajefsk noch allenthalben eifrig mit dem Fange des Lyghi-tscho, sei es an den Lachswehren, sei es mit Hülfe gewöhnlicher Netze beschäftigt. Der Fang des *S. lagocephalus* geschieht übrigens bei den Oltscha und Golde genau in derselben Weise wie bei den Giljaken, theils mit gewöhnlichen Netzen, die, von bestimmter Maschengrösse, nach diesem Hauptfisch den Namen *daua-magda* tragen, theils mit Hülfe der oben beschriebenen, von ihnen *mynga* genannten Lachswehren. Das sackförmige Netz an diesen letzteren (*adule*) ist auch genau wie das *myrch-kä* der Giljaken beschaffen, ebenfalls mit Signalschnüren (gilj. *umyssj*, oltsch. und gold. *ssiracha*) versehen und wird auch ebenso gehandhabt. Doch sind die Lachswehren bei den Oltscha und Golde, den obigen allgemeinen Bemerkungen über ihren Fischfang im Vergleich mit demjenigen der Giljaken entsprechend, in der Regel kleiner, minder sorgfältig gemacht und auch minder zahlreich als bei den letzteren.

Dem mit dem Erscheinen von *S. lagocephalus* sich einstellenden Ueberflusse an Fisch geht eine längere verhältnissmässig fischarme Zeit voraus, in welcher die Oltscha und Golde auf

1) Das *w* ist hier wie das englische *w* auszusprechen. | 2) L. c., p. 97, Anmerk.

die ständig im Amur lebenden Fische angewiesen sind. Unter diesen spielen bei ihnen, von den bereits besprochenen *Acipenser*-Arten abgesehen, einige Cyprinoiden, wie *Cyprinus Carpio* (oltsch. *uja*, gold. *kyzzi*), *Carassius vulgaris* (oltsch. und gold. *changu*), *Pseudaspius leptocephalus* (oltsch. und gold. *ssowa* und *ssua*), *Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii* (oltsch. und gold. *takko* und *tawa*), *Culter erythropterus* (oltsch. und gold. *dsads'chi*) u. a., sowie *Salmo fluviatilis* (bei den Oltscha und Golde *dshäl*, bei den Samagirn am Gorin *dsháli*), der Wels, *Silurus asotus* (oltsch. und gold. *lacha*), und der Hecht (oltsch. *koro*, gold. *gazza*, samagir. *gutscha*) die Hauptrolle. Aus den beiden letzteren habe ich sie sogar Jukola bereiten sehen, wenn auch nur in geringer Quantität und bloss für die nächste Zukunft. Gewiss dürfte ein so fischreicher Strom wie der Amur seinen Anwohnern auch in der Zeit, da er nicht von aufsteigenden Lachsarten angefüllt ist, einen reichen Ertrag an Fischen liefern, wofern sie nur mit Fleiss und Energie den Fang derselben betreiben wollten, aber in dieser Beziehung stehen die Oltscha und Golde den Giljaken weit nach. Ich habe die Golde bisweilen mitten im Sommer arg darben sehen; statt aber energisch an den Fischfang zu gehen, der ihre Mühe, wenn auch nicht in dem Maasse wie zur Zeit der aufsteigenden Lachse, doch sicher mit Erfolg gekrönt hätte, begnügten sie sich damit, in der Nähe des Ufers in fauler und bequemer Weise kleine Fischchen zu angeln, die der augenblicklichen Noth abhelfen sollten. Es fehlt ihnen eben, um die natürliche Indolenz zu besiegen, an der den Giljaken eigenen Liebe zum Fischfang, wenn dieser nicht, wie beim Stör- und Hausenfang, vermittelst der Harpune betrieben, den Charakter der Jagd trägt.

Bezüglich der Fischernetze der Oltscha und Golde ist zu bemerken, dass dieselben, bei gleicher Beschaffenheit mit den giljakischen, doch hinsichtlich der Anfertigungsmaterialien eine gewisse Verschiedenheit darbieten: denn sie werden nicht bloss aus der Nessel, sondern, und zwar je höher stromauf um so häufiger, auch aus den Stengeln der Hanfpflanze (*Cannabis sativa* L., oltsch. und gold. *onochto*) verfertigt, die mit Nesseln und Artemisien in grosser Menge um ihre Jurten wuchert. An Stelle der Steine ferner, mit denen die Giljaken unter Umständen ihre Netze beschweren, gebrauchen sie eigens zu dem Zweck bestimmte Lehmstücke (*ilbicha*) von länglich-parallelipipedischer Form, die genau zwischen die beiden das Netz umrahmenden Weidenbastschnüre (oltsch. und gold. *bartoche*) passen und mit entsprechenden Riemen zur Befestigung an dieselben versehen sind. Zur Anfertigung dieser Netzbeschwerer dient eine aus zwei einzelnen Hälften bestehende hölzerne Form: diese wird zuvor mit Fischthran ausgeschmiert, darauf der Lehm hineingestampft, und alles über die Form Hinausragende mit dem Messer abgeschnitten. Gebrannt aber werden diese Lehmstücke, nachdem sie aus der Form herausgenommen worden, nicht, sondern nur auf den warmen Sitzbänken oder vor dem Herdfeuer der Jurte getrocknet und leicht gehärtet. Anstatt der bei den Giljaken üblichen, aus Holz oder Borke bestehenden Schwimmer gebrauchen endlich die Oltscha und Golde an ihren Netzen parallelipipedisch zurechtgeschnittene Korkstücke (oltsch. und gold. *kokto* und *kochto*) von der dem Amur-Lande eigenen Baumart *Phellodendron amurense* Rupr., und zwar findet man sie bei den ersteren schon unterhalb Kidsi im Gebrauch, obgleich der betreffende Baum erst viel weiter stromaufwärts, etwa von der Chongar-Mündung und Onmoi an auftritt. Solche Korkstücke an

den Fischernetzen der Eingeborenen waren es durch, die uns zuerst auf das Vorkommen eines korkbildenden Baumes im Amur-Lande aufmerksam machten.

Bleibt bei den tungusischen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes, trotz der ihnen innewohnenden Neigung zur Jagd, der Fischfang doch als Hauptbeschäftigung bestehen, welche ihnen sowohl wie ihrem einzigen Hausthier, dem zum Anspann in grosser Anzahl gehaltenen Hunde, die Existenz sichert, so kehrt sich dies Verhältniss bei ihren Stammgenossen im oberen Amur-Lande vollständig um. Während jene, an den fischreichen Riesenstrom und seine grossen Zuflüsse gelangt, ihr Jägerleben aufgaben und zu mehr oder minder sesshaften Fischern wurden, die je weiter stromabwärts, um so mehr die Lebensweise ihrer Lehrmeister im Fischfang, der altangesessenen Giljaken annahmen, sind die tungusischen Völker des oberen Amur-Landes bis auf den heutigen Tag Jagdnomaden geblieben, die nur zeitweise, im Sommer, aus ihren Jagdgründen an den Amur herabziehen, um sich den Fischreichthum desselben zu Nutzen zu machen, und zwar nur behufs ihrer eigenen Nahrung, da ihre Haus- oder richtiger Wanderthiere, Renn und Pferd, von herbivorer Natur sind. Der Fischfang spielt bei ihnen daher, der Jagd gegenüber, nur eine ganz untergeordnete Rolle, indem er nur einen Zuschuss zu ihrer Nahrung liefert und eine gewisse Abwechselung in dieselbe bringt.

Mit dieser Erscheinung im Leben und in der Geschichte der Amur-Völker steht auch die Thatsache in causalem Zusammenhange, dass der Amur-Strom in seinem oberen Laufe lange nicht den Fischreichthum wie im unteren hat. Diejenigen Fische namentlich, die durch ihr regelmässiges und massenhaftes Aufsteigen aus dem Meere in den unteren Amur-Strom und seine Zuflüsse den Anwohnern derselben eine sichere und ergiebige Existenzquelle bieten, die verschiedenen, oben besprochenen Lachsarten und unter ihnen insbesondere der im gesammten unteren Amur-Lande an erster Stelle stehende *Salmo lagocephalus*, gehen dem oberen Amur-Laufe mehr oder minder ab. Middendorff wurde, vermuthlich von den ihn begleitenden Tungusen, angegeben, dass der Keta-Lachs die Bureja nicht mehr erreiche; der Uamû, ein Fluss, den ich jedoch mit keinem der mir bekannten zu identificiren weiss, sei der höchste Zufluss des Amur, bis zu dem er hinaufsteige[1]). Maack giebt an, dass er bis zur Mündung des Komar und dann diesen Fluss hinaufsteige, im Amur aber oberhalb dieser Mündung nur sehr selten vorkomme[2]). Das Erstere erscheint mir noch sehr fraglich, das Letztere hingegen ganz glaubwürdig. In den Quellflüssen des Amur-Stromes, Schilka und Argunj, fehlt er jedenfalls gänzlich, und die von dort gekommenen Ansiedler am oberen Amur mochten ihn daher, nach Schmidt's[3]) Bemerkung, als einen

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1) Middendorff, Reise, Bd. IV, p. 1361. Auf der von ihm nach chinesischen Quellen zusammengestellten, aber nicht erschienenen allhydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges findet sich dieser Fluss nicht.

2) Maack, Hyrom., crp. 74.

3) Histor. Bericht etc., p. 20.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

ihnen unbekannten Fisch, gar nicht essen. So darf *Salmo lagocephalus*, dank seiner auf das untere Amur-Land beschränkten Verbreitung und der grossen Bedeutung, die er für dessen gesammte Bevölkerung hat, vom ethnologischen Gesichtspunkte als eine prägnante Charakterform des unteren Amur-Landes im Gegensatz zum oberen bezeichnet werden.

Wird durch die oben erwähnte Verbreitung der Lachse und insbesondere des *S. lagocephalus* ein wesentlicher und charakteristischer Unterschied zwischen dem oberen und dem unteren Amur-Lande in Betreff des Fischfanges bedingt, so geben hingegen die dem gesammten Amur-Strom bis in seine daurischen Quellflüsse hinein eigenen *Acipenser*-Arten einen gemeinsamen, beide Theile unmittelbar mit einander verknüpfenden Zug ab. Wie ihre Stammgenossen im unteren Amur-Lande, so gehen auch die **Biraren**, **Manägirn** und **Orotschonen** mit besonderer Vorliebe dem Fange dieser grössten Fische des Amur-Stromes, namentlich des riesigen Amur-Hausens nach und betreiben denselben zumeist, nicht etwa wie die **Giljaken** mit Fischernetzen, sondern, wie es Jägervölkern nahe liegt und geziemt, mit der vom leichten Rindenkahn aus zu schleudernden Harpune[1]). Jede einzelne Beute der Art liefert den Jägern, gleich ihren grösseren Waldthieren, wie Elenn, Hirsch und drgl., ein beträchtliches Quantum an Fleisch zur Nahrung und ausserdem noch eine Menge des im Handel mit den Chinesen sehr vortheilhaft zu verwerthenden Knorpels. Als ich auf meiner Reise den Amur aufwärts durchs Manägir-Gebiet ging und mich am 17./29. August an der Stelle befand, wo das alte Albasin gestanden hatte, und wo jetzt zwei Manägir-Zelte sich befanden, war ich Zeuge davon, wie ein eben erlegter grosser Hausen im Schlepptau eines Rindenkahnes ans Land gebracht wurde, um zerlegt und zwischen allen Zeltinsassen vertheilt zu werden. Zuerst wurde der Kopf vom Rumpfe abgetrennt und, wie es hiess, zum Schutz vor Fäulniss und vor den sich ansammelnden Fliegen, wahrscheinlicherweise jedoch einem auch bei den Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes hinsichtlich mancher Jagdthiere herrschenden Aberglauben zufolge, auf den ich später noch zurückkommen werde, ins Wasser unfern vom Ufer versenkt. Alsdann wurden die Schilderreihen entfernt, das Thier ausgeweidet und der Magen und Darm desselben weggeworfen, die übrigen Weichtheile aber, wie Herz und Leber und alles Fleisch, so zergliedert und zerstückelt, dass ein Jeder einen ungefähr gleichen Antheil vom Fisch erhielt, mit dem er nach Belieben walten konnte. Leider fiel meine Reise durch das Gebiet der Manägirn und Orotschonen in eine Jahreszeit, da die meisten derselben den Amur bereits verlassen hatten und ihren herbst- und winterlichen Jagdgründen zugezogen waren. In Folge dessen bin ich nicht im Stande, aus eigener Erfahrung Näheres über die Art und Weise ihres Fischfanges mitzutheilen. Die an den verlassenen Zeltstellen hie und da stehen gebliebenen, zum Trocknen von Fischen dienlichen Holzgerüste gaben aber Zeugniss davon, dass der Fischfang im Amur ihnen nicht bloss zur zeitweiligen Nahrung, während des Aufenthalts am Strome, sondern auch zur Bereitung von man-

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1) Auch die Bezeichnungen dieser Fische lauten bei den oberen Amur-Völkern sehr ähnlich wie bei den oberen Golde: so heisst, nach Maack (l. c., p. 58 u. 60), bei den Orotschonen *Ac. orientalis — ndsin*, *Ac. Schrenckii — Idemna*.

chen Vorräthen für die Zukunft dient. Doch können diese schon der mangelhaften, den Nomaden zu Gebote stehenden Transportmittel wegen nur gering sein, nicht grösser, als sie auch beim Wechsel ihrer einzelnen Jagdgründe sein dürfen. Fassen wir es zum Schluss kurz zusammen, so ist der Fischfang bei diesen Völkern nicht, wie bei denjenigen des unteren Amur-Landes, eine stetige, für die gesammte Haushaltung unbedingt nothwendige Existenzquelle, die sie zu einer mehr oder minder festen Sesshaftigkeit zwingt, sondern nur eine zeitweise geübte, in ihr sonstiges Nomadenleben als Jäger sich einfügende Nebenbeschäftigung. In dieser verschiedenen Bedeutung des Fischfangs und der Jagd für die Völker des oberen und des unteren Amur-Landes liegt der wesentlichste, Ausschlag gebende Unterschied ihres gesammten Seins und Lebens.

Bevor ich zur speciellen Besprechung der Jagd bei den Amur-Völkern übergehe, muss ich noch zweier Arten von Thierfang erwähnen, welche, auf Grund der bestehenden Naturverhältnisse, nur im unteren Amur-Lande betrieben werden und daher neben den oben besprochenen Verhältnissen des Fischfanges wesentlich verschiedene Züge im Lebensbilde der unteren und der oberen Amur-Völker abgeben. Ich meine den Seehundsfang und den Delphin- oder Weisswalfang.

Gleichwie im Fischfange, so stehen auch in diesen beiden Betriebszweigen unter allen Völkern des Amur-Landes obenan die Giljaken. Wie gross und vielfältig bei ihnen die unmittelbare Verwendung der Seehunde zur Nahrung und Kleidung, zur Erhaltung der Hunde, Bereitung der Lokomotionsmittel und anderer Bedürfnisse des täglichen Lebens sind, kann man aus den vorhergehenden Schilderungen zur Genüge ersehen. Nächst dem Fischfang ist daher der Seehundsfang ihre Hauptbeschäftigung, der sie dank der geographischen Lage ihres Wohngebietes allenthalben nachgehen können: an den Küsten des Ochotskischen Meeres, auf dem Festlande wie auf der Insel Sachalin, am Amur-Liman und Amur-Strom, in welchem die Seehunde, wie schon erwähnt, bis in das Oltscha-Gebiet hinein aufsteigen. Ja, bei den Küsten-Giljaken, am Ochotskischen Meer und im Liman, geht der Seehundsfang vielfach sogar dem Fischfange vor. Diesen Giljaken sieht man es auch schon an ihrer in höherem Maasse, ja oft ganz aus Seehundsfellen bestehenden Kleidung an, dass der Seehundsfang bei ihnen eine noch weit wichtigere Rolle als bei den Amur-Giljaken spielt. Hiebei sei bemerkt, dass es im Amur-Liman auch zwei Ortschaften giebt, die den Namen «Langr-wo» oder abgekürzt «Langr» und «Langri», d. h. Seehundsdorf, tragen, sei es nun, weil sie für den Seehundsfang besonders günstig gelegen sind, oder weil ihre Bewohner denselben mit besonderem, traditionell gewordenem Geschick und Erfolg betreiben. Ueber den einen dieser Orte, das an der Westküste Sachalin's gelegene Langri, welches nach Glehn[1]) nur das Sommerdorf der Giljaken von Tulkej

1) S. oben, p. 325.

ist, vermag ich nichts weiter zu sagen. Der andere aber, das am Eingange aus dem Ochotskischen Meer in den Amur-Liman auf einer kleinen Insel gelegene Langr, das ich selbst besucht habe, scheint seinen Namen und die an denselben geknüpften Vermuthungen vollständig zu rechtfertigen. Es ist eines der grössten Dörfer des Amur-Limanes, und seine Bewohner stehen in lebhaftem Handelsverkehr mit den Amur-Giljaken, wobei ihnen namentlich die Ergebnisse ihres Robbenschlages, Seehundsfelle und -Häute und Seehundsthran, als Tauschartikel den letzteren gegenüber dienen. Dieselbe Rolle, die Langr im nördlichen, spielt Tschomi im südlichen Theile des Amur-Limanes. Dort giebt namentlich die kleine Gruppe der Hagimif-Inseln eine von allen zunächst wohnenden Festlands-Giljaken des Seehundsfanges wegen vielfach besuchte Lokalität ab. Die rührigen Tschomi-Giljaken begeben sich jedoch, um den Seehundsfang zu betreiben, auch südlich vom Amur-Liman, in die Mamia-Rinsô-Strasse und an das Nordende des Nordjapanischen Meeres, sowie nach der gegenüberliegenden Küste Sachalin's, wo ich sie z. B. in Poghobi zu dem Zweck habe weilen sehen. In kaum geringerem Umfange wie im übrigen Amur-Liman wird der Seehundsfang auch an der unmittelbaren Mündung des Amur-Stromes, in Tschcharbach, Ngale-wo, Pronge betrieben, wo namentlich die kleine Insel Uïsut einen besonders günstigen Punkt für denselben darbietet.

Nach Angabe der Giljaken gehen alle Seehundsarten des Amur-Limanes auch in den Amur-Strom hinein, mit alleiniger Ausnahme des «*Alch*», *Phoca equestris* Pall., doch sollen die alten Thiere sich nur wenig von der Mündung entfernen, während die jüngeren höher hinaufsteigen. Am weitesten stromaufwärts geht jedenfalls die *Ph. nummularis* Schleg., die im erwachsenen Zustande von den Giljaken *pyghi-langr*, von den Oltscha *gjäuchssa* genannt wird. Dies ist daher die wichtigste Seehundsart für die Amur-Giljaken. Ihrem mehr oder minder stark gefleckten Fell begegnet man bei ihnen allenthalben und in der mannigfachsten Verwendung, an Kleidungsstücken, wie sie oben genauer besprochen worden, Schneeschuhen, Handsäcken und Täschchen u. dgl. m. Kaum minder wichtig ist ihnen aber auch der im Strome seltnere *Kighitsch*, die *Ph. barbata* Müll., deren dickere, ihres Haares entkleidete Haut zur Anfertigung der Fussstücke und Sohlen an den Stiefeln, des Hundeanspannes und der überall nothwendigen Riemen dient. In den beiden grössten Flüssen Sachalin's, dem Tymy und Plyi oder Poron-ai, sollen die Seehunde etwa 60 Werst aufwärts steigen[1]), doch ist über das Verhalten der einzelnen Arten dabei bisher noch nichts bekannt.

An der Meeresküste und im Amur-Liman findet der Seehundsfang zu allen Jahreszeiten statt. Im Winter und überhaupt so lange die Eisdecke besteht, lauern die Giljaken den Seehunden an den Stellen auf, wo sie zum Athmen an die Eisoberfläche kommen, um sie mit der gewöhnlichen, auch zum Stechen von Stören und Hausen dienlichen Harpune, dem *Tugngy*[2]) (Taf. XLII, Fig. 2), zu erlegen oder auch, wenn sie auf das Eis selbst herausgekrochen sind, vom Wasser

1) Мацуда, Очеркъ остр. Сахал., С.-Петерб. 1873, стр. 48.

2) Diese Bezeichnung gilt zunächst der beifolgend abgebildeten eisernen Spitze, wird aber auch für die ganze, mit einer Stange zum Schleudern versehene Harpune gebraucht.

abzuschneiden und einfach zu knüppeln. Letzteres kann namentlich zum Frühling hin häufiger und in grösserem Umfange ausgeführt werden, weil die Seehunde sich alsdann gern zum Sonnen auf die Eisoberfläche begeben sollen. Sowohl die Tschomi-Giljaken, die ich in Poghobi traf, als auch die Bewohner von Tägl an der Festlandsküste des Ochotskischen Meeres nannten mir daher übereinstimmend den April, *arkail-long*, als denjenigen Monat, mit welchem der ergiebigere Seehundsfang an der Meeresküste und im Liman beginnt. Im Amur hingegen wird der Seehundsfang nur in der Zeit betrieben, da der Strom unbeeist ist, und zwar hauptsächlich im August, dem *pilja-tschrar-long*, weil die Seehunde sich alsdann in grösster Anzahl in den Strom begeben, um sich von den in demselben massenhaft aufsteigenden Keta-Lachsen (*S. lagocephalus*) zu nähren. Aehnliches findet auch an der Tymy-Mündung auf Sachalin statt, wo sich alsdann nicht bloss die anwohnenden Giljaken und Oroken, sondern auch die zum Zweck des Fischfanges vom oberen Tymy-Lauf gekommenen Giljaken neben dem Fisch- auch mit dem Seehundsfange abgeben. Zum letzteren bedienen sich die Giljaken bei offenem Wasser allenthalben, in der See sowohl, wie im Amur-Liman und Amur-Strom, theils der gewöhnlichen Harpune (*tugngy*, Taf. XLII, Fig. 2), die vom Boot aus geschleudert wird, theils und zumeist einer anderen, eigens zum Seehundsfange bestimmten Waffe, die bei ihnen *lych* heisst. Diese besteht aus einem etwa einen Fuss langen Brettchen, das nach vorn hin ein wenig aufsteigt und in eine horizontal gerichtete Zinke ausläuft (ebenda, Fig. 1), auf welche die gewöhnliche, mit einem langen Riemen versehene Harpunenspitze (*tugngy*) aufgesetzt wird. Mit seinem hinteren Ende dagegen, wo sich eine tief eingeschnittene Rinne befindet, wird das Brettchen an eine 10—13 Faden lange, aus mehreren Stücken zusammengesetzte Stange (gilj. *tla*) befestigt [1]. Dank einer solchen Länge des Griffstockes kann der Angriff auf die scheuen und vorsichtigen Thiere mit dieser Waffe aus ansehnlicher Entfernung geschehen. Die ganze Waffe wird zu dem Zweck aufs Wasser herabgelassen und von dem im Boot oder am Ufer möglichst versteckt liegenden Jäger mit ihrer Spitze voran so lange langsam und vorsichtig gegen den auf einem Stein ruhenden oder sonst wie zum Vorschein gekommenen Seehund vorgeschoben, bis sie sich demselben so weit genähert hat, dass ein plötzlicher kräftiger Stoss genügt, sie in den Leib des Thieres zu treiben, worauf dieses vermittelst des langen, an die Harpune befestigten Riemens ans Boot oder Ufer herangezogen und geknüppelt wird. Die Amur-Giljaken pflegen wohl auch an gelegenen, von Seehunden oft besuchten Lokalitäten hie und da, in entsprechender Entfernung vom Ufer einen oder ein paar schwimmende Balken an einen in den Grund getriebenen Pflock zu befestigen, um die Seehunde zum Herauskommen aus dem Wasser zu veranlassen und sie alsdann aus dem Versteck mit dem bereitgehaltenen Lych zu erlegen [2].

1) Auf der Insel Ulsui, von welcher aus viel Seehundsfang betrieben wird, sah ich eine solche Stange liegen, die 40 Schritte lang war.

2) Die Zeichnungen sowohl zu dem umstehenden Holzschnitt, als auch zu denjenigen, die auf S. 485, 492, 502, 509 und 529 mitgetheilt worden, sind vom Custos unseres Anthropologisch-ethnographischen Museums, Hrn. Fr. Russow, theils nach den von meinem Reisebegleiter, Hrn. Pollwanof, an Ort und Stelle gemachten oder in meinem Reisetagebuch enthaltenen Originalskizzen, theils nach den betreffenden Gegenständen unseres Museums angefertigt worden. Ich nehme daher Gelegenheit, ihm meinen verbindlichsten Dank dafür auszusprechen.

Selbstverständlich knüpft sich bei den Giljaken auch an den Seehundsfang mancher Aberglauben. So trägt stets, gleich dem oben besprochenen Odn-tschongr[1]), auch das Lych auf seiner

Gebrauch des *Lych's* zum Seehundsfang bei den Giljaken.

oberen Seite, nahe der Spitze, ein roh eingeschnitztes Gesicht, dessen Vorhandensein zum erfolgreichen Gebrauch der Waffe für wesentlich gehalten wird. Ferner verlangt es der Aberglauben, dass dem erlegten Seehunde zuallererst, und bevor noch an seine Verwendung gegangen wird, die Augen mit einem Messer ausgestochen werden, wobei man die mit der Hohlhand aufgefangene Augenflüssigkeit ins Wasser wirft, und dass ferner die Schnauzenspitze, oder aber, um Beides zugleich zu erreichen, auch der ganze Kopf abgehauen und ins Wasser versenkt wird. Der leitende Gedanke dabei ist, das erschlagene Thier in Unkenntniss über seinen Mörder zu lassen und somit einer etwaigen, künftighin Misserfolge in der Seehundsjagd bewirkenden Rache seiner Manen zu entgehen. Offenbar dürfte dieselbe Vorstellung auch dem oben erwähnten, ähnlichen Verfahren der Manägirn mit den erschlagenen Hausen und Stören zu Grunde liegen. Die Giljaken jedoch schätzen diese Fische zu sehr, um allemal ihre Köpfe zu opfern, und mögen sich daher in einer anderen und billigeren Weise mit dem Aberglauben abfinden. Vielleicht begnügen sie sich damit, ihnen die Augen auszustechen, doch habe ich auch dieses selbst nicht gesehen. Ihr oben angeführtes Verfahren mit den Seehunden war mir übrigens insofern sehr ungelegen, als es mir in Folge desselben nicht gelang, ganz vollständige und intakte Bälge von den Seehunden des Amur-Landes zu erhalten.

Wie bei den Giljaken, so spielt der Seehundsfang auch bei den an beiden Küsten Sachalin's wohnenden Aino eine wichtige Rolle und wird von diesen auch in ganz ähnlicher Weise betrieben. So ist, den Mittheilungen Mizul's zufolge[2]), auch bei ihnen die oben beschriebene langstielige Harpune, das giljakische Lych, im Gebrauch, und Mamia Rinsô erwähnt bereits

1) S. oben, p. 520. 2) L. c., p. 130.

dass sie kleine Holaflösse im Wasser treiben lassen, auf welche die Seehunde heraufzukriechen pflegen, und diese alsdann mit Wurfspiessen erlegen [1]).

Unter den tungusischen Völkern des Amur-Landes sind nur einige wenige durch die Lage ihres Wohngebietes unter anderen Existenzquellen auch auf den Seehundsfang angewiesen, oder aber denselben überhaupt nur zu betreiben ermöglicht. Das Erstere ist namentlich bei den **Orotschen** der Meeresküste der Fall, die den Seehundsfang nicht bloss zur Befriedigung ihres eigenen Bedarfes an Seehundsfellen, -Häuten und -Thran betreiben, sondern demselben auch wichtige Tauschartikel zum Handel mit ihren westlichen Nachbarn, den Golde, entnehmen. Dennoch tritt auch bei den Orotschen der Seehundsfang weit hinter die mit Vorliebe betriebene Jagd auf die Thiere des Waldes zurück. Auch die **Oltscha** ferner haben, wenn auch in geringerem Grade, Gelegenheit, sich in den eigenen Grenzen mit dem Seehundsfange abzugeben, dank einerseits ihren Wohnsitzen an der Bai de Castries und andererseits dem Aufsteigen der Seehunde im Amur-Strome bis weit in ihr Gebiet hinein. Dass sie denselben ganz nach Art der Giljaken betreiben, an denen sie auch darin ihre Lehrmeister haben, kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen. Die **Negda** endlich, obgleich entfernt vom Meere wohnend, begeben sich doch alljährlich in einiger Anzahl vom Amgunj und insbesondere von ihren nordöstlichsten Wohnsitzen an den Seen Orell und Tschlja übers Gebirge ans Ochotskische Meer, um sich dort eine Zeit lang mit dem Seehundsfange zu beschäftigen [2]). Von den übrigen tungusischen Völkern des Amur-Landes kann bezüglich des Seehundsfanges keine Rede sein.

In engeren Grenzen noch als der Seehundsfang kommt für das Amur-Land der Weisswalfang in Betracht. Die Verbreitung des Weisswals (*Delphinapterus Leucas* Pall. gilj. *pomi-tscho*, oltsch. *malta*) im Amur-Lande fällt ziemlich mit dem Wohngebiet der **Giljaken** zusammen; nur an der Ostküste Sachalin's und im Amur-Strome geht sie etwas über dasselbe nach Süden hinaus, während sie an der Westküste der Insel hinter demselben nordwärts zurückbleibt. Ein Bewohner hochnordischer Meere, zu denen auch das Ochotskische seinem Gesammtcharakter nach gehört, steigt der Weisswal an der Ostküste Sachalin's bis zu ihrem Südende hinab und kommt namentlich noch in grosser Zahl im Golfe der Geduld und an der Poronai-Mündung vor [3]). Dem wärmeren Nordjapanischen Meere bleibt er hingegen fern. Wie im ersten

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1) Mamis Rinsô, Tô-itsi kiho (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 183).

2) Nach Boschnjak u. Schmidt, s. oben, p. 15 u. 30.

3) Поляковъ, Путеш. на остр. Сахалинъ (Прилож. къ XIX т. Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., стр. 107, 111). Его же, Отчетъ объ изслѣд. на остр. Сахалинъ, въ Юмо-Уссурійск. край и въ Японіи (Прилож. къ XLVIII т. Зап. Имп. Акад. Наукъ, № 6, стр. 5—7). An dem letzteren Orte berichtet Poljakof, dass der Weisswal sich vor der Mündung des Poro-nai in grossen Schaaren einfindet,

Bande dieses Werkes[1]) bereits ausführlich dargethan, geht er aus dem Ochotskischen Meere in den Amur-Liman und Amur-Strom hinein und steigt im letzteren bis zu einer ansehnlichen Entfernung von der Mündung aufwärts, durch das ganze Wohngebiet der Giljaken hindurch und bis in dasjenige ihrer südlichen Nachbarn, der Oltscha, hinein, wobei er sich stets an das tiefste Fahrwasser des Stromes hält und daher meist längs dem hohen rechten Ufer desselben zieht. Besonders zahlreich sieht man ihn namentlich im untersten, giljakischen Theile des Amur-Stromes, und zwar im August und September, wenn er den in Menge aufsteigenden Lachsen (*S. lagocephalus*) entgegen dem Meere zuzieht. Dort lenkten die beständig im Strome auf- und untertauchenden kolossalen, blendend weissen Thiere auch schon die Aufmerksamkeit des japanischen Reisenden Mamia Rinsô auf sich[2]).

Bei solcher Verbreitung des Weisswales im Amur-Lande sind die Giljaken ziemlich das einzige seiner Völker, das sich mit dem Fange desselben beschäftigt. Die Aino an der Ostküste Sachalin's hätten zwar auch Gelegenheit dazu, allein bei keinem der Reisenden, die sie kennen gelernt, ist von einer solchen Beschäftigung derselben die Rede. Wenig geneigt zu kühneren Jagdunternehmungen, begnügen sie sich vermuthlich auch den Weisswalen gegenüber nur damit, die an der Küste gestrandeten Individuen auszubeuten, gleich wie sie es mit den grösseren, eigentlichen Walfischen thun. Mit den letzteren machen es auch die Giljaken nicht anders, den Weisswalen dagegen stellen sie mit bewaffneter Hand nach, und zwar dient ihnen dazu ein eigens zu dem Zweck bestimmte Harpune, das bei ihnen sogen. *Parr* (Taf. XLII, Fig. 3 u.). Dieses besteht aus einer kurzen und dicken knöchernen Röhre, in welche eine dolchförmige zweischneidige und spitze, hinten jederseits mit einem Widerhaken versehene eiserne Lanelle eingefügt ist. Dieses Stück wird auf einen zum Schleudern dienenden hölzernen Schaft (gilj. *werl*) aufgesetzt und ist ausserdem noch mit einem langen und kräftigen Riemen versehen, an welchem das verwundete Thier, je nachdem wo der Jäger sich befindet, entweder ans Boot, oder auch direkt ans Land herangezogen wird, um vollends todtgeschlagen zu werden. Auch hier, wie bei der Seehundsjagd, verlangt es der Aberglauben, und vermuthlich auch in Folge einer ähnlichen Vorstellung, dass dem erlegten Thiere zuallererst der Kopf abgetrennt werde; doch wird derselbe nicht ins Wasser versenkt, sondern an einen am Ufer stehenden Baum gehängt, nachdem alles Muskelfleisch und drgl. von ihm zuvor entfernt worden ist. Mir sind an verschiedenen Stellen des rechten Amur-Ufers derartige mit zahlreichen Weisswalschädeln behängte Bäume begegnet, die zugleich von ergiebigen Jagden der Giljaken

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noch bevor der Floss seine Eisdecke abgeworfen hat, und zur Ebbezeit unter derselben flussaufwärts steigt, wobei ihm die zwischen ihr und der alsdann niedrigeren Flussoberfläche enthaltene Luftschicht das Athmen ermöglicht. Tritt aber die Fluth ein, so kehren alle Individuen, oft mit ihren Jungen auf dem Rücken, wieder ins Meer zurück. Dieses Verschwinden und Wiedererscheinen der Weisswale vor der Poronai-Mündung wiederholte sich mit der Regelmässigkeit der Fluth- und Ebbeerscheinung, und von den Bewegungen der Thiere unter der Eisdecke gaben die auf derselben aufgeregt schnäufelnden und heulenden Hunde Zeugniss.

1) Säugethiere des Amur-Landes, p. 191.

2) *Shira-kuziro*, weisse Walfische, nennt sie der Reisende (Tôsô-ki ko in Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177).

auf den Weisswal Zeugniss gaben. Ob die Oltscha, in deren Gebiet der Weisswal viel seltner ist, die Jagd auf denselben ebenfalls betreiben, vermag ich nicht zu sagen, doch können sie, im Falle es sein sollte, darin nur die Giljaken zu ihren Lehrmeistern haben. So giebt die Jagd auf den Weisswal einen charakteristischen Zug im Lebensbilde der Giljaken den anderen Amur-Völkern gegenüber ab und nähert sie zugleich, bei der hochnordischen Natur dieses Thieres, den Polarvölkern. Und merkwürdig genug, herrscht auch bei manchen von diesen die Sitte, die Schädel der erlegten Weisswale auf einen Baum oder in Ermangelung eines solchen auf senkrecht in den Erdboden eingetriebene Pfähle zu stecken, wie es z. B. Pallas [1]) von den Samojeden und Ostjaken am Obj-Strom erzählt.

1) Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. III, p. 88; Zoographia rosso-asiat., T. I, p. 278.

[P.550]

9. Abschnitt.

Jagd auf die Thiere des Waldes. Jagdgeräth. Eiserne Jagd- und andere Waffen und deren Anfertigung. Schutz und Ehrenbewaffnung.

Wenden wir uns nunmehr der zweiten Hauptexistenzquelle der Amur-Völker, der Jagd auf die Thiere des Waldes zu, so muss ich zuvor, die oben mehrfach gethanen Aeusserungen kurz und allgemein recapitulirend, hervorheben, dass dieselbe, dem Fischfang direkt entgegen, je weiter von der Amur-Mündung stromauf und in die Nebenflüsse hinein, desto mehr an unmittelbarer Wichtigkeit und Bedeutung zunimmt und im oberen Amur-Lande endlich, gleichwie der Fischfang im unteren, zur ersten und wesentlichsten Existenzbedingung seiner Völker wird.

Die **Giljaken**, mit denen wir wiederum unsere Betrachtung beginnen, sind demgemäss, als das sesshafteste, ichthyophagste und überhaupt ausgesprochenste Fischervolk des Amur-Landes, am wenigsten unter allen seinen Völkern der Jagd auf die Thiere des Waldes zugethan. Während ihnen der Fisch-, Seehunds- und Weisswalfang zur unmittelbaren Befriedigung ihrer Bedürfnisse an Kleidung und an Nahrung für sich selbst und ihre Hunde dient, kommt bei ihnen die Jagd diesen Zwecken im Grossen und Ganzen nur in mittelbarer Weise nach, insofern sie ihnen nämlich diejenigen Artikel liefert, mit deren Hülfe sie sich im Handel mit den angrenzenden Culturvölkern die ihnen zum Bedürfniss gewordenen fremdländischen Kleidungs-, Nahrungs- und Genussmittel verschaffen können. Die Jagd richtet sich daher bei ihnen hauptsächlich gegen diejenigen Thiere, deren Felle bei ihren Haupthandelsherren, den Chinesen, einen sicheren und guten Absatz finden, und da sie, schon aus dem Grunde, um die Felle möglichst unverletzt zu erhalten, meist vermittelst verschiedenartiger Fallen, Schlingen, Giftpillen u. drgl. betrieben wird, so kann man sie ihrem weitaus vorherrschenden Zweck und Charakter nach als Pelzthierfang bezeichnen.

Selbstverständlich betreiben die Giljaken die Jagd nur im Winter, da sie alsdann, vom Fischfang nur wenig in Anspruch genommen, hinlänglich Zeit dazu haben und andererseits die Thiere in ihrem vollen, kostbaren Winterhaar stehen. Zudem erleichtert alsdann auch der tiefe, das Unterholzdickicht im Walde deckende Schnee in hohem Grade die Bewegung durch denselben, so dass es auch für die Giljaken erfahrungsgemäss keinem Zweifel unterliegt, dass je schneereicher der Winter ist, desto ergiebiger und erfolgreicher auch die Jagd ausfällt. Dennoch geben sich die Giljaken der Jagd auch im Winter lange nicht in dem Maasse wie ihre tungusischen Nachbarn hin. Während die letzteren, wie wir sehen werden, alsdann nicht selten aus dem eigenen Wohngebiet fort in weit entlegene Wald- und Gebirgswildnisse ziehen, um dort wochenlang ganz und gar der Jagd zu leben, begnügen sich die Giljaken damit, dieselbe nur im eigenen Gebiet, in einem gewissen, je nach der Lokalität grösseren oder geringeren Umkreise um ihre Winterwohnungen zu betreiben. Diese werden aber zu dem Zweck oft getrennt und mitunter sogar weit entfernt von den Sommerwohnungen an solchen Orten errichtet, welche eine für die Jagd besonders günstige Lage haben.

Die wichtigsten, weil im Handel allgemein hochgeschätzten und im Amur-Lande noch zahlreich vorhandenen Pelzthiere sind für die Giljaken der Zobel (gilj. *lumr*, bei den Tymy- und Tro-Giljaken *oghrob* und *myghr-nga*, d. h. braunes Thier), die Flussotter (gilj. *ngg*, bei den Tymy- und Tro-Giljaken *pchyik*) und der Fuchs (gilj. *kākch*, bei den Tymy- und Tro-Giljaken *paghlant* und *paghlantsch*, d. h. der Rothe) in seinen verschiedenen Farbenvarietäten [1].

Dem an Wichtigkeit unstreitig obenan stehenden Zobel stellen die Giljaken zumeist mit Fallen nach. Die gebräuchlichste derselben ist das bei ihnen sogen. *Ha*, eine Quetschfalle, die in folgender Weise errichtet wird. In den Stamm eines Baumes wird in der Höhe von etwa 3—4 Fuss über dem Erdboden eine Höhlung gemacht und in diese das Ende eines Balkens von entsprechender Dicke hineingesteckt und durch ein Stäbchen gestützt, das auf einem anderen Holzstäbchen oder Plättchen ruht, welches von einem im Grunde der Höhlung befindlichen Köder ausgeht. Sobald nun das vom Köder, einem Stückchen Fisch (Jukola) oder Seehundsspeck, angelockte Thier an demselben zupft, so gleitet das Stützstäbchen von seiner Grundlage ab und lässt den Balken niederfallen. Damit aber dieser letztere das Thier sicherer und fester quetsche, ist der unter ihm liegende Rand der Höhlung mit einem Querstückchen eingefasst. Das *Ha* wird natürlich an solchen Stellen angebracht, welche der Zobel gern besucht, namentlich in Thalgründen, am Ufer kleiner Flüsschen, wobei der Quetschbalken wohl auch über den Bach gelegt wird, da der Zobel mit Vorliebe umgestürzte Baumstämme als Brücken benutzt, um von einem Thalabhange zum anderen zu wechseln [2]. So bin ich in

1) Ueber die Bezeichnungen dieser Farbenvarietäten des Fuchses bei den Giljaken und den übrigen Amur-Völkern, sowie über die Beschaffenheit und geographische Verbreitung sowohl der genannten, als auch der in der Folge noch zu erwähnenden Säugethiere ist meine betreffende Abhandlung im ersten Bande dieses Werkes einzusehen.

2) Przewalski (l. c., p. 101) behauptet sogar und will es vielfach an den Spuren des Thieres beobachtet haben,

den kleinen Nebenthälern des oberen Tymy-Flusses auf Sachalin wiederholentlich bald auf noch aufgestellte Zobelfallen der Art, bald auf die an den Bäumen hinterbliebenen Spuren derselben gestossen. Zum Aerger der Giljaken verfangen sich aber im Ha nicht selten statt des Zobels andere kleine, mehr oder minder werthlose Thiere, Eichhörnchen (gilj. *lakr* und *lakrs*, im Innern und an der Ostküste Sachalin's *lafkor*), Hermeline (gilj. *tymr* und *tymrsch*, im Innern und an der Ostküste Sachalin's *tchymr*) und auf dem Festlande ganz besonders oft die mit dem Zobel in ihrer Lebensweise so sehr übereinstimmende, auf Sachalin fehlende *Mustela sibirica* (gilj. *zongrsk*), ja, im Dorfe Warki am Liman brachten mir die Giljaken sogar einen Eichelhäher (*Garrulus glandarius*), der im Ha gefunden worden war und am Halse die Spuren der Quetschung trug. Originell ist übrigens diese Zobelfälle der Giljaken keineswegs, da sie sich, von den Amur-Tungusen abgesehen, in derselben oder einer ganz ähnlichen Construction bei manchen sibirischen Völkern, so z. B. bei den sessbaften Korjaken am Penshinsker Meerbusen, im Norden Kamtschatka's [1]), bei den russischen Tungusen im Stanowoi-Gebirge [2]) u. a. wiederholt und im Allgemeinen auf demselben Princip beruht, das den im ganzen polaren Norden Sibirien's zum Fangen von Eisfüchsen, Hasen und drgl. dienlichen Fallen zu Grunde liegt [3]).

Dasselbe gilt auch von einer zweiten bei den Giljaken zum Zobelfange üblichen Vorrichtung, einer mit Hülfe des Bogens construirten Klemmfalle. Diese durch ganz Sibirien verbreitete Falle ist von den Reisenden bereits mehrfach beschrieben und auch abgebildet worden [4]), wesshalb ich kurz darüber hinweggehen könnte, wenn es mir nicht von Interesse erschiene, neben ihrem zum Theil eigenartigen Gebrauche bei den Giljaken, auch auf die für ihre einzelnen Bestandtheile im Vergleich mit denjenigen eines anderen, gleich nachher zu besprechenden Apparates bei ihnen üblichen, zum Theil gleichlautenden Bezeichnungen hinzuweisen, was sich mit Hülfe von Abbildungen weit kürzer und anschaulicher machen lässt. Die in Rede stehende, auf Taf. XLIII, Fig. 4, abgebildete Klemmfalle trägt bei den Giljaken den Namen *klai* und hat folgende Beschaffenheit: ein einfacher hölzerner Bogen (gilj. *puntsch*, *a* der Abbildung) ist in entsprechende seitliche Einschnitte zweier gabelförmig zusammengestellten, oben mit einander verbundenen Stäbe (gilj. *assj*, *b* der Abb.) gesetzt. Diese sind oberhalb des in einiger Entfernung von ihren unteren, zugespitzten Enden sie verbindenden Querbrettchens (*d*, gilj. *lymu*) mit länglichen Ausschnitten versehen, in welchen der untere, aus einem ebensolchen Querbrettchen bestehende Theil des oben mit der Bogensehne in Verbindung stehenden Holzstückes *c* steckt und sich je nach der Spannung des Bogens auf und ab bewegen lässt. Dieses Holzstück *c* wird von den Giljaken merkwürdigerweise nur *ku*, d. h. «Pfeil», genannt, — eine auffallende, bei ihnen

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dass der Zobel niemals einen umgefallenen Baumstamm umgeht, sondern stets der Länge nach über denselben wegläuft.

1) Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 198.

2) Slovers, Briefe aus Sibirien (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr., Bd. VII, p. 212).

3) Eine ausführliche Beschreibung und Abbildung dieser letzteren Falle ist u. A. bei Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Bd. IV, p. 1387) zu finden.

4) So unlängst noch von Bush (Reindeer, dogs and Snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 216) u. von Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Bd. IV, p. 1388).

sonst nicht leicht vorkommende Verallgemeinerung, und dem entsprechend heisst ein oberes, die beiden Seitenstäbe mit einander verbindendes und mit einem Ausschnitt für die Bewegung des *Ku* versehenes Querholz (*e*) *kursch(gr)tsch*[1]). Ein kleines, an die Seitenstäbe, wie an die Bogensehne befestigtes Stöckchen (*f*, gilj. *tschymrch*) dient dazu den Bogen zu spannen und ein anderes (*h*, gilj. *ksull*), das mit jenem durch ein Schnürchen (*g*, *ksull-puks*) verbunden ist, ihn in gespanntem Zustande zu erhalten, was jedoch nur so lange möglich ist, als es sich selbst mit seinem unteren Ende an ein dünnes, in die Ausschnitte der Seitenstäbchen zwischen *ku* und *lyms* gesterktes Stöckchen (*i*, gilj. *taghr-tschissj*) stützt. Der geringste Druck auf dieses letztere genügt das Stöckchen *h* abspringen zu lassen, worauf die gespannte Bogensehne losschnellt und das *Ku* zum *Lyms* hinabschiesst, alles Zwischenbefindliche festklemmend. Um das *Klai* aufzustellen, machen die Giljaken zuvor in einen Baumstamm unmittelbar über dem Schnee eine Höhlung, in welche sie etwas Jukola oder Seehundsspeck als Köder legen, und stecken darauf die genannte Falle so vor derselben in den Schnee, dass das Thier nicht anders als über das Tritthölzchen *i* zum Köder gelangen kann und somit unfehlbar geklemmt werden muss. Auch im Klai verfangen sich ausser dem Zobel nur allzu oft die oben genannten werthlosen kleinen Thiere. Nach Angabe der Giljaken gebrauchen sie aber diese Falle mitunter auch in ihren Wohnungen, um die in denselben so zahlreichen und lästigen Ratten (*Mus decumanus*, gilj. *ujagrsch*) wegzufangen, die übrigens keinerlei Verwendung bei ihnen finden.

Die oben erwähnte Liebhaberei des Zobels, längs den quer über einen Bach gefallenen Baumstämmen hinzulaufen, benutzend, pflegen die Giljaken auf denselben auch Schlingen zum Fange des Thierchens aufzustellen. Zu dem Zweck wird etwa in der Mitte des Stammes eine Querreihe aufrechter, durch Baumzweige mehr oder minder verdeckter Stäbe errichtet, zwischen denen nur eine einzige, zum Durchschlüpfen des Zobels gerade hinreichende Oeffnung bleibt. Unfern davon wird in den Grund des Baches ein gerader, elastischer Baumast gesteckt und die Spitze desselben vermittelst einer in eine Schlinge auslaufenden Schnur bis an den horizontal liegenden Baumstamm niedergebeugt und in der zwischen den Querstäben für den Zobel hinterlassenen Oeffnung, in welcher sich auch die Schlinge befindet, mit Hülfe eines kleinen Häkchens befestigt. Dieses muss, da die Oeffnung nur klein ist, beim Eintreten des Zobels in dieselbe unvermeidlich abspringen, worauf der niedergebeugte Baumast emporschnellt, die Schlinge um das Thierchen zuschnürt und es selbst vom Balken abhebt, so dass es in der Luft über dem Bache hängen und in dieser Lage vor Raubthieren bewahrt bleibt. Der Jäger geht daher auch bei eventuell verspäteter Besichtigung der von ihm aufgestellten Fallen seiner Beute nicht verlustig. So üblich diese auch bei anderen Amur- und sibirischen Völkern gebräuchliche Art des Zobelfanges bei den Giljaken sein mag, so bin ich ihr doch zufälliger Weise selbst nicht begegnet und vermag auch ihre Bezeichnung für dieselbe nicht anzugeben.

Ferner stellen die Giljaken sowohl den vorhin genannten, besonders werthvollen, als auch einigen anderen Thieren durch einen Apparat nach, welcher mit der oben beschriebenen

1) Die eingeklammerten Buchstaben werden nur kaum, einem leichten Schnarren gleich ausgesprochen.

Klemmfalle viel Gemeinsames hat und, obwohl ebenfalls durch ganz Sibirien bekannt, aus dem bereits angeführten Grunde hier näher besprochen werden muss. Es ist der sogen. Selbstschuss (russ. *ssamostrel*)[1], ein Bogen, der beim geringsten Anstoss von selbst einen Pfeil entsendet. Bei den Giljaken heisst er *ngarchotsch* (:) und hat folgende Beschaffenheit. Ein einfacher hölzerner Bogen, wie bei der Klemmfalle, ist in seiner Mitte an ein Querholz (Taf. XLIII, Fig. 1, *c*, gilj. *ksull*[2]) befestigt, auf welchem der abzusendende Pfeil (*d*) zu liegen kommt. Vermittelst einer im oberen Theile desselben angebrachten Ringschnur und eines ebenfalls an denselben befestigten, rechtwinklig gebogenen (aus einem Aststück geschnittenen) Stöckchens *f* (gilj. *tschymrch* (i)) wird der Bogen gespannt und durch das letztere zugleich das obere Ende des vor der gespannten Sehne liegenden Pfeiles so stark gegen seine Unterlage angedrückt, dass er auch bei geneigter Stellung des ganzen Apparates nicht von derselben abgleiten kann. Endlich wird, wenn der Bogen gespannt ist, am oberen Ende des Spannstöckchens zwischen dasselbe und die Ringschnur ein kleines, mit einer langen und möglichst feinen Schnur versehenes Hölzchen (gilj. *wett(a)k*, *g* und Fig. 2, ebenda, in natürlicher Grösse)[3] mit seinem oberen, flach zugespitzten und geglätteten Ende eingeschoben. Es genügt nun ein kleiner Ruck an der Schnur dieses Hölzchens (*h*, gilj. *tschoch*), um es abspringen zu lassen, worauf auch die Ringschnur vom Spannstöckchen abgleitet und in Folge dessen der Pfeil abgeschossen wird. Der Bogenselbstschuss wird auf einem Baumstamm oder einem eigens zu dem Zweck in den Schnee gesteckten Pfahl (gilj. *kips*) in einer mehr oder minder geneigten Lage aufgestellt und die oben erwähnte dünne Schnur in gespanntem Zustande quer über die Stelle, wo sich eine Thierfährte befindet oder wo man erwarten darf, dass ein Thier des Weges gegangen kommen wird, gezogen. Die Hauptsache ist dabei, ihm die richtige Neigung zu geben, damit der Pfeil nicht über das Thier weg oder vor oder unter demselben in den Boden schiesse. Die Neigung ist natürlich verschieden, je nach dem, von welcher Art das erwartete Thier ist, und je nach der Entfernung, in welcher der Selbstschuss von seinem muthmaasslichen Wege aufgestellt wird. Für eine jede Thierart muss daher beim Aufstellen des Selbstschusses und Richten des Pfeiles besonders gezielt werden, und dazu dient den Giljaken ein durch die Erfahrung als richtig erkannter Zielstock, das von ihnen sogen. *Tschraff* (ebenda, Fig. 3). Dieses wird beim Aufstellen des Selbstschusses auf den Punkt gestellt, wo das Thier erlegt werden soll, und der Pfeil je nach der erwarteten Thierart gegen einen der auf demselben markirten Querstreifen gerichtet. Mir ist nur der für die drei wichtigsten Pelzthiere, Zobel, Flussotter und Fuchs, sowie für den Hasen (gilj. *chuī* und *chuīk*, an der Ostküste und im Innern Sachalin's *ossjk* und *kanak*, d. i. der Weisse) dienliche Zielstock zu

1) Sehr bezeichnend für das gemeinsame Princip dieser beiden Apparate ist der Umstand, dass die Klemmfalle, die russisch allgemein *techerkan* heisst, im Orenburger Gouvernement nach Tscherkassof (Записки оренбургск. Восточной Сибири, С.-Петерб. 1867, стр. 336) auch *ssamostrel* genannt wird.

2) Die Identificirung dieses Stückes in der Benennung mit dem kleinen Hölzchen h im Klai ist höchst auffallend: wir würden eher eine solche mit den Gabelstäben (*asq*) des Klai erwarten.

3) In dieser Figur ist es in umgekehrter Lage, die obere Seite nach unten gewandt, dargestellt.

Gesicht gekommen. Auf diesem sind drei zwischen je zwei Querstrichen enthaltene Streifen oder Bänder verzeichnet: wird ein Fuchs erwartet, so richtet man den Pfeil gegen den obersten Streifen, Punkt *a* der Abbildung; wird der Schuss für einen Hasen bereitet, so zielt man nach dem zweiten Streifen, Punkt *b*; für den Zobel richtet man den Pfeil gegen den dritten Streifen, Punkt *c*, und für die Flussotter endlich gegen die Basis des Zielstocks, Punkt *d*. Die Höhe dieser Querstriche und Streifen über der Basis des Zielstocks ist folgende:

Höhe des Querstrichs *ef* über der Basis (*rs*)	Zielhöhen für den Fuchs	245 Millim.
» » » *gh* » » »		240 »
Mittlere Zielhöhe für den Fuchs, Punkt *a*		242½
Höhe des Querstrichs *ik* über der Basis	Zielhöhen für den Hasen	188 »
» » » *lm* » » »		180 »
Mittlere Zielhöhe für den Hasen, Punkt *b*		184 »
Höhe des Querstrichs *no* über der Basis	Zielhöhen für den Zobel	118 »
» » » *pq* » » »		112 »
Mittlere Zielhöhe für den Zobel, Punkt *c*		115 »
Die Länge oder Höhe des ganzen Zielstocks beträgt		260 »

Der beim Selbstschuss für die genannten Thiere gebräuchliche Pfeil (gilj. *kor*) hat eine im Vergleich mit gewöhnlichen Pfeilen ganz eigenartige, aus zwei an ihrer Innenseite mit je einem Widerhaken versehenen Zinken bestehende eiserne Spitze[1]). Damit das durch den Pfeil möglicherweise nicht tödtlich getroffene, sondern nur verwundete Thier nicht entfliehe, wird der Pfeil durch eine locker herabhängende Schnur (gilj. *toghr-puks*) an den Pfahl, auf welchem der Selbstschuss ruht, befestigt.

Der hohe Werth des Zobel-, Fuchs- und Otterpelzwerks macht den Gebrauch des Selbstschusses in der erwähnten Form bei den Giljaken sehr allgemein, und in den um ihre Wohnungen gelegenen Wäldern kann man leicht auf aufgestellte Apparate der Art stossen, was zu einiger Vorsicht beim Umherstreifen in denselben nöthigt. Auffallend ist es, dass auf dem oben beschriebenen Zielstock neben den drei geschätztesten Pelzthieren auch der werthlose Hase Beachtung gefunden hat. Es dürfte sich vielleicht dadurch erklären, dass er im gesammten unteren Amur-Lande und auf Sachalin sehr häufig ist und sich darum oft, in Ermangelung anderer Thierfährten, als Beute für den Selbstschuss darbietet, wobei dem Jäger immerhin ein gutes Stück Fleisch und ein zum eigenen Bedarf dienliches Fell zufallen.

1) Es ist bemerkenswerth, dass während am Kiai das hinuntorschiessende, in seiner Form keineswegs pfeilähnliche Holzstück in generalisirender Weise nur als ka, «Pfeil», bezeichnet wird, dieser richtige, nur durch die Form seiner Spitze ausgezeichnete Pfeil bei den Giljaken eine besondere Bezeichnung hat.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Hingegen habe ich nicht gehört, dass die Giljaken sich des Selbstschusses zur Erlegung mancher anderen, mehr oder minder werthvollen, aber grösseren Thiere, wie Luchs, Wolf, Alpenwolf, Moschus-, Renn- und Elenthier, bedienen sollten. Es dürfte dies auf verschiedenen Gründen beruhen. Im Allgemeinen sind die Giljaken zu wenig Jäger, und liegt es ihnen auch zu wenig an der Erbeutung anderer Thiere als solcher mit geschätztem Fell, um grosse und mühsame Jagden auf einem weiten Terrain anzustrengen, etwa Verhacke anzulegen und in den Durchgängen derselben Selbstschüsse mit horizontal gerichteten Pfeilen aufzustellen, wie es z. B. bei den tungusischen Völkern üblich und u. A. von Middendorff ausführlich besprochen worden ist[1]). Grössere Thiere werden daher von ihnen meist nur zufällig mit den später zu beschreibenden Waffen erlegt. Einige der obengenannten Thiere, wie namentlich der Luchs, der Wolf und der Alpenwolf, bieten aber conventionell so hochgeschätzte Felle, dass man eine regelmässigere Verfolgung derselben seitens der Giljaken erwarten dürfte, und doch stellen diese, so viel ich weiss, keine Selbstschüsse für dieselben auf. Dem liegen ohne Zweifel zum Theil auch abergläubische Vorstellungen zu Grunde. Bezüglich des Luchses (gilj. *tschlyghi*) ist oben schon erwähnt worden[2]), dass die Giljaken in demselben gewissermaassen ein Abbild vom Tiger erblicken, vor welchem sie eine so panische Furcht haben, dass sie ihn kaum zu nennen oder mit lauter Stimme von ihm zu sprechen wagen[3]). Diese Scheu dürfte ihnen schon verbieten, ihm in vorbedachter Weise und mit denselben Apparaten wie anderen Thieren nachzustellen, und es nur gestatten, ihm bei gelegentlicher Begegnung und gleichsam aus Nothwehr an den mit kostbarem Fell geschmückten Leib zu gehen. Aehnlich verhält es sich mit dem Alpenwolf (*Canis alpinus*, gilj. *tschoramlatsch*, auf Sachalin *tschodamlatsch*), dem die Giljaken aus abergläubischer Furcht gar nicht nachstellen, und der sich zudem nur in entlegeneren Gebirgswildnissen aufhält, wohin sie bei ihrer geringen Neigung zur Jagd nur selten kommen mögen. Was endlich den gemeinen Wolf (gilj. *ligs*, an der Ostküste und im Innern Sachalin's *attk*) betrifft, so wird derselbe von den Giljaken allerdings in regelmässigerer Weise verfolgt, jedoch nicht mit dem Selbstschuss, sondern vermittelst einer Vorrichtung, auf die ich sogleich zu sprechen kommen werde. Somit hat der Selbstschuss, der in Sibirien in mehr oder minder verschiedener Form sowohl von den eingeborenen Stämmen, Tungusen, Jakuten, Ostjaken, Samojeden, als auch von den Russen zur Erlegung aller möglichen Thiere, von den grössten, wie Bär und Elenn, bis zum Zobel und Eichhörnchen hinab, gebraucht wird, bei den Giljaken eine sehr viel geringere, nur auf die wichtigsten Pelzthiere beschränkte Verwendung, — ein Umstand, der ebenfalls von ihrer geringen Neigung zur Jagd und dem dabei vorwiegenden und maassgebenden Handelsinteresse Zeugniss abgiebt.

Der grosse Nutzen, den die Giljaken vom Fuchsfell sowohl im Handel, als auch zum eigenen Gebrauch ziehen, veranlasst sie, diesem Thier nicht bloss mit dem Selbstschuss, sondern auch in anderer Weise nachzustellen. So bedienen sie sich zum Fange desselben ebenfalls einer Klemmfalle, welche, ganz ebenso und nur in etwas grösserem Maassstabe construirt, auch ge-

1) Sibir. Reise, Bd. IV, p. 1382 ff., nebst Holzschnitt.
2) S. oben, p. 392.
3) S. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 94.

gen Wölfe gebraucht wird. Es ist das bei ihnen sogen. *Kasma*[1]). Dieses besteht aus einem in den Erdboden gesteckten, nach oben in eine zweizinkige Gabel auslaufenden Pflock. Die beiden, von ihrer gemeinsamen Basis nur ganz allmählich auseinanderlaufenden Zinken sind von ungleicher Länge. Die kürzere (gilj. *wa* genannt) ist an ihrer Innenseite zugeschärft, die längere abgerundet. An dieser letzteren befindet sich unfern von ihrer Spitze ein Querstäbchen (gilj. *tabs-tigrsch*)[2]), auf welches der Köder, ein Stück Jukola oder Fleisch, eine todte Krähe oder drgl., angebracht wird. Der Fuchs oder Wolf springt gegen den Pflock, um die Lockspeise mit der Pfote zu erhaschen, wobei der Fuss vom Querstäbchen abgleitet und zwischen den beiden Zinken eingeklemmt bleibt. Die Höhe des Kasma's ist für den Fuchs und den Wolf verschieden: für den ersteren muss es etwa 3½, für den letzteren 4½ Fuss über den Schnee emporragen.

Endlich setzen die Giljaken zum Fange von Füchsen und Wölfen auch Giftpillen aus, und zwar scheint das Gift Strychnin zu sein, das sie zu dem Zweck um einen hohen Preis von den Chinesen kaufen und dem Gebrauche, den sie davon machen, entsprechend *käkch-ocht*, d. h. Fuchsgift, nennen[3]).

Feuergewehre waren bei den Giljaken zu meiner Zeit noch gar nicht im Gebrauch, obwohl sie mit denselben bekannt waren, und zwar von zwei Seiten her: einmal durch ihre nördlichen und westlichen Nachbarn, die russischen Tungusen, Negda und Samagirn, bei denen sich dank der Vermittelung jakutischer Händler ab und zu eine der bekannten, kleinkalibrigen, russisch-sibirischen Büchsen (ein sogen. Erbsrohr) findet[4]), und andererseits durch ihre südlichen Nachbarn, die Oltscha und Golde, zu denen hin und wieder, wenn auch ebenfalls nur selten, eine jener oft beschriebenen langen und plumpen chinesischen Luntenflinten vordringt[5]). Die Giljaken haben auch für das Feuergewehr, seine einzelnen Bestandtheile und den verschiedenen Schiessbedarf ihre eigenen, zum Theil sehr charakteristisch gebildeten Bezeichnungen. So heisst bei ihnen ein Feuergewehr, gleichviel von welcher Art, *mäotscha*, der Lauf desselben — *kolm*[6]), das Pulver — *mäotscha-ocht*, d. h. «Flintenstoff» oder, nach der obigen Anmerkung, in Betracht seiner tödtlichen Wirkung, vielleicht auch «Flintengift», die Kugel — *mäotscha-ku*, d. h. «Flintenpfeil», Schrot — *matschi-ku* (abgekürzt für *matschi-mäotscha-ku*), d. h. «kleine Pfeile», und das Piston — *pachlan-tur*, d. h. «Kupferfeuer»[7]). Auffallend war es, wie wenig

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1) Das *s* ist hier weich, wie das französische *z* auszusprechen.

2) Das *s* wiederum weich auszusprechen. *Tigrsch* heisst «Holz» überhaupt.

3) *Ocht* bedeutet bei den Giljaken soviel wie «Stoff» im Allgemeinen, — eine Bedeutung, der wir in der Folge noch mehrmals begegnen werden, dann aber auch «Arznei» und im betreffenden Falle wohl «Gift», — eine naiv-instinktive Identificirung von Heil- und Tödtungsmitteln, Arznei und Gift!

4) Dem entsprechend, hatte bei den Samagirn am Gorin auch das Pulver eine aus dem Russischen (пóрох) entlehnte Bezeichnung: *pórokr*.

5) Diese sind nach Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbrit. Gesandtsch. in d. J. 1793 u. 1794, aus dem Englischen von Hüttner, Wien 1805, Bd. I, p. 302; Bd. II, p. 58) genaue Copien der alten, nach Makao eingeführten portugisischen Luntengewehre und also keineswegs von sehr hohem Alter.

6) Demzufolge wird eine einläufige Flinte als *mjakr-kolm-mäotscha*, eine doppelläufige als *mjakr-kolm-mäotscha* bezeichnet.

7) Die bei der russisch-jakutischen Büchse an den Lauf beweglich befestigte, zum Stützen des Gewehrs beim

Gefallen die Giljaken an einer Flinte zeigten, während der Tunguse beim Anblick eines sauberen Gewehrs in ein lautes Entzücken und Frohlocken geräth, — offenbar fehlte es ihnen nicht bloss an praktischer Bekanntschaft mit dem Dinge, sondern auch am richtigen Jägerherzen. Dabei verriethen sie jedoch auch keine besondere Scheu oder Angst vor der Flinte, während eine Pistole ihnen eine grosse, fast abergläubische Furcht einflösste. So oft ich mich genöthigt sah, ihnen verschiedener Widersetzlichkeiten wegen mit der Pistole zu drohen, baten sie mich flehentlich, ja keinen Gebrauch von derselben zu machen, da dies Unheil über das ganze Haus, auch über die Weiber und Kinder in demselben bringen würde. Sollte diese Furcht nur auf der noch grösseren praktischen Unbekanntschaft mit diesem Gewehr, auf der Einsicht, dass es in nächster Nähe plötzlich und unvermerkt in Action gebracht werden könne, oder aber, wie ich fast glauben möchte, auch noch auf irgend einer anderweitigen, abergläubischen Vorstellung oder Ideenverbindung beruhen?[1]).

Die einzige Schusswaffe der Giljaken waren zu meiner Zeit Bogen und Pfeil, deren sie sich gelegentlich gegen grosse, wie gegen kleine Thiere bedienten. Der Bogen (gilj. *puntsch*, auf Sachalin *punt*) ist von derselben Beschaffenheit wie bei den Tungusen und anderen sibirischen Völkern. Er wird aus dem Holz junger Eschen oder in Ermangelung derselben auch aus gutem Birkenholz gemacht. Im Tymy-Thal auf Sachalin bezeichneten mir die Giljaken die von ihnen *per* genannte Holzart, d. i. nach Schmidt und Glehn *Evonymus macropterus* Rupr.,

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Schiessen dienende Gabel nennen die Giljaken schlechtweg *nogtschch* (d. h. Fuss oder Füsse), und für das Pulverhorn brauchen sie den Ausdruck *notrossj*, dessen Etymologie mir nicht bekannt ist.

1) Ich kann nicht umhin, bei dieser Gelegenheit noch einer anderen, ähnlichen abergläubischen Furcht der Giljaken zu erwähnen, die mir anfangs ganz räthselhaft erschien und zu deren Erklärung ich später ganz zufälligerweise den Schlüssel erhielt. Der Fall ist auch aus dem Grunde bemerkenswerth, weil er einen Beleg dafür abgiebt, wie tief manche, durch ungewöhnliche Erlebnisse erhaltene Eindrücke im Gemüth und in der Erinnerung eines Naturvolkes haften, und wie leicht sie sich, von Mund zu Mund wandernd, im gesammten Bereich desselben verbreiten. Ich besass nämlich einen jener Spazierstöcke, aus denen sich eine lange Angelruthe herausstülpen lässt, und wollte ihn gelegentlich einem im Nikolajefschen Posten bei mir anwesenden Giljaken zeigen, in der Meinung ihn damit zu erfreuen, zumal der Apparat zum Fischefangen diente. Kaum hatte ich jedoch die Spitze herausgezogen, als der Mann sich entsetzt abwandte und mich beschwor, das Ding wegzustellen und kein Unheil anzurichten. Genau dasselbe wiederholte sich später noch mehrmals mit anderen Giljaken aus den verschiedensten Dörfern des Amur-Stromes und Limanes, so dass es mir kein Mal gelang, meinen Stock vor ihnen zu produciren, und ich fernerhin ganz davon abstand, vergeblich nach einem Grunde dieses ihres sonderbaren, im höchsten Grade aufgeregt angstvollen Benehmens einem so harmlosen Gegenstande wie eine Angelruthe gegenüber nachsinnend. Wie gross war daher meine Ueberraschung, als ich nach meiner Rückkehr, bereits in St. Petersburg, Hrn. v. Middendorff, der zehn Jahre vor mir die Giljaken und zwar in ihren entlegensten Wohnsitzen, am Ulban-Busen des Ochotskischen Meeres besucht hatte, einmal gelegentlich erzählen hörte, er habe sich ihnen gegenüber folgenden Spass erlaubt. Als er in ihrer Gesellschaft vor einem Seeadler stand, der angekettet auf einem der Fischtrockengerüste sass, — eine in ihren Dörfern sehr gewöhnliche Erscheinung, von welcher in der Folge noch die Rede sein wird, — schnitt er vor ihren Augen eine dünne Weidenruthe ab, steckte ihre Spitze unvermerkt in ein Fläschchen mit Blausäure, das er bei sich führte, und hielt sie dem Adler vor die Nase. Das Thier brach augenblicklich todt zusammen, der Giljaken aber bemächtigten sich Schrecken und Furcht, und unser Reisende galt bei ihnen hinfort für einen gewaltigen Zauberer. Mir blieb jetzt kein Zweifel: offenbar hatte sich die Kunde von diesem Ereigniss vom Ulban-Busen bis zum Amur-Strom und Liman verbreitet und die Giljaken befürchten lassen, dass ich im Besitz einer ähnlichen Zauberruthe sei.

als ihr «*punt-tschchar*» (Bogenholz)[1], gleichwie es auch bei den Aino der Fall ist[2]. Um das Holz vor Feuchtigkeit zu schützen und ihm seine Elasticität zu erhalten, wird der Bogen mit feiner Birkenborke beklebt oder, wie ich es an besonders schönen Stücken der Art, so z. B. an dem auf Taf. XLIV, Fig. 4 und 5, abgebildeten Bogen aus Tebach gesehen habe, von innen, d. h. auf der beim Schiessen vom Schützen abgewendeten Seite, mit feiner Elennhaut, auf der äusseren, dem Schützen zugewendeten Seite aber mit Fischbein (gilj. *asm*)[3] bekleidet, das auf dem abgebildeten Exemplar noch feine Silberverzierungen trägt. Bisweilen werden zu dem Zweck auch dünne Platten von chinesischem Büffelhorn verwendet, welches die Giljaken aus dem Grunde *puntsch-ngynif*, d. h. Bogenknochen, nennen, oder auch von den Nasenaufsätzen des *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, die vermuthlich durch Tungusen und Jakuten nach dem Amur-Lande gelangen. Die Bogensehne (gilj. *kich*) wird aus feinen Haut- oder Darmstreifen des Weisswals zusammengedreht. Zum Schutz des Bogens, zumal auf Fahrten, dient ein aus Fell oder Fischhäuten gemachtes Futteral (gilj. *puntsch-chal*). Die Pfeile (*ku*) haben hölzerne, im unteren Theil von zwei, einander gegenüberliegenden Seiten mit Fahnen der Schwanzfedern des Fischadlers (*Haliaëtos albicilla*) besetzte Schäfte (Taf. XLV, Fig. 4)[4] und Spitzen von verschiedener Form, je nachdem, für welche Thiere sie bestimmt sind. Zu meiner Zeit waren bei den Giljaken fast nur eiserne Pfeilspitzen (gilj. *luch*) im Gebrauch, doch gab es auch noch knöcherne (gilj. *krangch*), die besonders aus den Beinknochen des Moschusthieres gemacht werden sollen. Ein paar solcher eisernen, für grössere Thiere, Elenn, Rennthier und drgl. bestimmten, jederseits mit einem mehr oder minder grossen und meist auch noch mit einer Reihe kleinerer Widerhaken oder Einkerbungen versehenen Pfeilspitzen sind auf Taf. XLV, Fig. 1—3, abgebildet. Der zur Erlegung kleinerer Thiere, Zobel, Otter, Fuchs u. a., sowohl an Bogen-, wie an Selbstschusspfeilen gebräuchlichen zweizinkigen Spitze (*kor*) ist oben schon gedacht worden. Ein ganz besonders geformter, von den Giljaken *yghli* oder *orkai* genannter Pfeil (Taf. XLVI, Fig. 1) dient zum Erlegen von Federwild, Enten, Gänsen und drgl. Dieser besteht fast nur aus Holz, indem der Schaft nach oben in einen mit einer Spitze gekrönten Kolben ausläuft, in welchem sich drei eiserne, nach verschiedenen Richtungen gekehrte, jedoch nur stumpfe Spitzen befinden[5]. Von einer Vergiftung der Pfeile, wie sie bei den Aino von

1) Oder, wie sie in der Regel sagten, «*punt-lytynt-tschchar*», d. h. Bogenanfertigungsholz.

2) Schmidt, Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Ins. Sachalin, Botan. Theil. (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. VIIe Série, T. XII, № 2, p. 99, 213, 215).

3) Das *s* ist hier weich, gleich dem französischen *z*.

4) Schon durch diese Beschaffenheit unterscheiden sie sich wesentlich von den einfachen Schäften der zum Selbstschuss gebräuchlichen Pfeile und haben demgemäss auch eine besondere Bezeichnung, indem sie *uch*, die letzteren aber *winngyr* heissen. Die Adlerfedern am Pfeilschaft werden giljakisch *lyla-ngar*, der zum Aufsetzen des Pfeiles auf die Bogensehne dienliche Einschnitt am unteren Schaftende wird *korm* genannt.

5) Von ähnlichen, kolbenförmigen Pfeilen bei verschiedenen Völkern Sibiriens ist zum Theil schon in den ältesten Nachrichten über dasselbe die Rede. So sagt Georg Adam Schleissing in seinem Werk «Neuentdecktes Siberia, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden» etc. (Danzig 1692, p. 49), dass die Leute dort nicht mit spitzigen Pfeilen schiessen, sondern, «damit das rare Fell nicht zerlastert werde, hat der Pfeil anstatt der Spitze eine eiserne dicke Kolbe, damit schiessen sie den Zobel vom Baum herab, dass er betaumelt, alsdann laufen sie hinzu und schlagen ihn vollends todt». Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. I, p. 323) erwähnt der hölzernen Pfeile

Sachalin und Jesso statt hat[1]) und nach Steller[2]) und Krascheninnikof[3]) auch bei den Kurilen, Itälmenen, Korjaken und Tschuktschen üblich gewesen sein soll und vielleicht zum Theil noch ist, habe ich bei den Giljaken niemals etwas gehört. Middendorff[4]) sagt zwar, dass derselbe Gebrauch auch auf die Tungusen der Mandshurei übergegangen sein soll, giebt aber keine Quelle zur Stütze dieser seiner Aeusserung an. Allerdings führt Maack[5]) von den Manägirn an, dass sie ihre Pfeile mit einem als Gift wirkenden faulen Fett bestreichen, von den tungusischen Stämmen des unteren Amur-Landes ist mir aber nichts Derartiges bekannt.

Der zum Aufbewahren der Pfeile dienliche Köcher (gilj. *pi*) ist bei den Giljaken in der Regel von Holz, mit eingeschnitzten Arabesken und sonstigen Figuren verziert und oben zum Schutz der Pfeilspitzen mit einem Fellbesatz oder auch mit einer Fellklappe versehen (Taf. XLV, Fig. 6 und 7). Charakteristisch an ihm ist, dass er verhältnissmässig plump und schwer und dadurch wenig geeignet ist, vom Jäger auf dem Rücken getragen zu werden, was wohl auch nur selten und in sehr beschränktem Maasse geschehen mag. Hält man dagegen den überaus leichten und portativen, nur aus Thierfellen gemachten Köcher der Orotschen aus dem Kaiserhafen (ebenda, Fig. 8)[6], so erkennt man schon aus diesem Umstande, dass bei den Giljaken die Jagd, im Vergleich mit ihren tungusischen Nachbarn, stark zurücktritt.

Ich zweifle sehr, dass die Giljaken gute Bogenschützen sind, doch fehlt es mir an Erfahrung, um Bestimmteres darüber sagen zu können. Das einzige Mal, dass ich sie habe schiessen sehen, geschah dies unter Umständen, die noch keinen Schluss über ihre Geschicklichkeit zu ziehen gestatteten. Es war auf dem Bärenfest in Tebach, als die drei an der Kette gehaltenen und umhergeführten Bären schliesslich erschossen wurden. Der jeweilige Schütze trat dem aufrecht stehenden Thiere von der rechten Seite etwa auf fünf Schritt nahe. Die beiden ersten Bären stürzten nach dem ersten Schuss, in die rechte Lunge getroffen, mit lautem Aufbrüllen nieder; in den einen war der Pfeil bis zur Mitte des Schaftes eingedrungen. Der dritte Schütze hatte sein Opfer zu niedrig, in die Bauchhöhle getroffen und musste noch einen zweiten Pfeil nachschicken, der das Thier niederstreckte und langsam verenden liess.

Weit beliebter zur Jagd auf die grossen Thiere des Waldes als der Bogen sind bei den Giljaken die Stosswaffen, Bärenspiesse, Speere und Lanzen, und diese handhaben sie jedenfalls

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mit kolbiger Spitze, deren sich die Kalmükken zum Erlegen von Vögeln und kleinen Thieren bedienen. Sujef (bei Pallas, l. c., Bd. III, p. 49) berichtet von den bei den Ostjaken am Obj zum Schiessen kleiner Thiere gebräuchlichen Pfeilen mit einem stumpfen knöchernen Kolben, und in Middendorff's Reisewerk (Bd. IV, p. 1376, Holzschnitt *e* und *d*) findet sich eine Abbildung von einer solchen kolbenförmigen ostjakischen Pfeilspitze.

1) Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelicht. etc., p. 95, 96, 112, nach den Nachrichten von Hieron. de Angelis, Joan Sarle und Vries; desgl. Nippon, VII, p. 185 und 201, nach Mamia Rinsô; desgl. Fauna Japon., Mammalia, p. 29. Langsdorf, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Bd. I, p. 287. v. Brandt (Verhandl. der Ges. für Anthrop., Ethnol. u. Vorgesch., Jahrg. 1872, p. 28). Доборгаорсгій, Англо-русск. словарь, Предисл. (Прилож. къ Учен. Зап. Имп. Казанск. Университе. 1875 г., стр. 43) u. A.

2) Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 27, 95, 256.

3) Опис. Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путеш. по Россіи, Т. I, стр. 334).

4) Reise, Bd. IV, p. 1377.

5) Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 75.

6) Er ist aus Rennthier- und Elennsbeinfellstücken gemacht, das Querband in der Mitte besteht aus Otterfell.

auch viel geschickter als die Schusswaffe. Der durchgängig bei ihnen gebräuchliche Bärenspiess (gilj. *lachtsch*[2], Tab. XLVI, Fig. 2) ist von derselben Beschaffenheit wie bei den tungusischen und anderen sibirischen Völkern, — eine grosse, breite, einschneidige, spitz zulaufende Messerklinge, die an einen derben, 5—6 Fuss langen hölzernen Stiel befestigt ist. Die Lanzen (gilj. *kach*)[1] sind von noch grösserer Länge. Ihr Stiel ist gleichmässig dick und beginnt erst etwa zwei Fuss vor der Spitze sich nach dieser hin zu verjüngen. Die auf diesem Stiel sitzenden Speere sind zweischneidig, lang, schmal und haben längs ihrer Mittellinie einen hervorragenden, abgerundeten, zur Spitze hin allmählich sich verflachenden Kiel. Die im Alltagsleben gebräuchlichen Speere sind von grober, schmuckloser Arbeit; es giebt aber auch elegante, sehr sauber und fein gearbeitete Stücke, auf denen allerhand Thierfiguren, Arabesken und drgl. in Silber, Kupfer und Messing eingelegt sind, wie z. B. die auf Taf. XLVI, Fig. 4 und 5, abgebildeten Exemplare, die ich in Tebach zu sehen bekam, resp. acquirirte[2]). Solche Stücke kommen jedoch in der Regel nicht in den Gebrauch, sondern werden, sorgfältig in Birkenborke eingewickelt, von ihrem Besitzer als Zeichen grossen Reichthums aufbewahrt.

Bärenspiesse und Lanzen sind die allergebräuchlichsten Waffen der Giljaken gegen Elennthiere, Rennthiere, Bären und drgl. In der ersten Zeit meines Aufenthalts im Nikolajefschen Posten, als derselbe nur aus ein paar am Rande des noch völlig ungelichteten Waldes errichteten Blockhäusern bestand, ereignete es sich fast vor meinen Augen, dass ein Elennthier aus dem Walde auf den Strom herausgelaufen kam und, da es dort auf eine Gruppe lagernder Giljaken stiess, durch Schwimmen weiter zu kommen suchte; die Giljaken setzten ihm jedoch sogleich im Boot nach und erstachen es im Wasser mit ihren Lanzen, worauf ich das Fell des Thieres erhielt. Im Winter, wenn der allzu tiefe Schnee dem Elenn wie dem Rennthier die Bewegung stark erschwert, verfolgen die Giljaken sie auf Schneeschuhen, um sie schliesslich mit ihren Spiessen und Lanzen zu erlegen. Dem Rennthier, das auf den waldlosen Flächen Nordsachalin's besonders häufig ist und sich in kleinen Rudeln auf das Limaneis begiebt, kommen sie noch in anderer Weise bei. Wenn sich nämlich im Beginn des Frühjahrs, unter dem Einfluss der Mittagssonne und der Nachtfröste, über dem Schnee eine dünne Eiskruste gebildet hat, welche zwar stark genug ist, um Hunde zu tragen, unter dem Rennthier aber zerbricht, setzen sie ihm auf einem leichten, mit Hunden bespannten Schlitten nach, bis sie es mit ihren Spiessen und Lanzen angreifen können.

Am häufigsten jedoch bringen sie diese Waffen dem Bären gegenüber in Anwendung. Ist er doch, von dem seiner grossen Seltenheit wegen fast nur mythischen Tiger und dem nicht

1) So hörte ich die Giljaken bald die ganze Lanze und bald nur die eiserne Lanzenspitze nennen, gleichwie es im Deutschen mit dem Worte «Speer» geschieht. Dennoch dürften sie sicherlich verschiedene Bezeichnungen dafür haben, gleich wie wir es oben für die Harpune und deren Spitzen gesehen haben.

2) Die Abbildungen wurden von Hrn. Maximowicz an Ort und Stelle gemacht. Auf dem einen dieser Speere (Fig. 4) finden sich unter den beiderseits ganz gleichen Figuren auch vorzügliche Darstellungen vom Zobel, wie er in einen Fisch beisst, u. drgl. m.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

minder unbekannten Irbis, welche die Giljaken aus abergläubischer Furcht kaum bei ihrem Namen zu nennen wagen[1]), abgesehen, das grösste und mächtigste Raubthier ihres Landes und zugleich dasjenige Thier, das ihren Gaumen am meisten reizt, und das, dank den an seine Verspeisung sich knüpfenden Festlichkeiten, auch in ihrem socialen Leben eine besonders wichtige Rolle spielt. Vor Allem bestrebt, das Thier lebendig in ihre Hände zu bekommen, spüren sie nach ausgefallenem Schnee eifrig nach, wo ein Bär sein Winterlager genommen haben könnte. Ist ein solches aufgefunden, so thut sich eine Anzahl muthiger und kräftiger Männer zusammen, um, mit dem nöthigen Zubehör an Stricken, Ketten, Spiessen und drgl. versehen, den Schläfer in seinem Lager zu überraschen, aus der Ruhe aufzustören, zu fesseln und in die Gefangenschaft abzuführen. Ohne Kampf geht es dabei selbstverständlich nicht ab, und so geschickt die darin meist schon geübten Bärenfänger sein mögen, setzt es doch nicht selten auch mehr oder minder ernste Verwundungen ab, die jedoch von den Giljaken leichter als andere hingenommen werden, da sie für besonders ehrenvoll gelten und dem Betroffenen den Nimbus männlichen Muthes verleihen. Dass aber der Kampf gleichwohl meist oder oft erfolgreich abläuft, dafür spricht die Häufigkeit in der Gefangenschaft gehaltener Bären bei den Giljaken: kaum dürfte sich ein etwas grösseres Dorf finden, in welchem man auf einer Reise durchs Land nicht ein oder ein paar solcher Thiere zu sehen bekommt. Liegt die Stelle, wo der Bär aus seinem Lager gehoben und gefesselt worden, nicht weit von dem Ort, dem seine Bezwinger angehören, so wird er in seinen Fesseln an Stricken schlechtweg nach diesem geführt und in den bereit gehaltenen Kerker gesteckt. Bei grösseren Entfernungen aber dienen die Schlitten, in denen die Jäger gekommen, auch dazu, ihre Beute heimzuführen. Der gefesselte Bär wird auf einen oder, wenn der Weg es gestattet, auch auf zwei neben einander gestellte und zusammengebundene Schlitten gesetzt und im Triumphzuge unter lauten Jubelrufen der Schlittenlenker und dem Gebell der zahlreichen, leidenschaftlich aufgeregten Hunde nach seiner neuen Wohnung gebracht. Von der Beschaffenheit des Bärenkerkers und der Behandlung des gefangenen Thieres wird später, bei Besprechung der Bärenfestlichkeiten der Giljaken die Rede sein, jetzt handelt es sich zunächst nur um seine Erbeutung. Nicht immer endigt der Kampf mit dem aus seinem Lager aufgestörten Bären mit einer Fesselung desselben. Oft setzt er sich so anhaltend und kräftig zur Wehr und wird seinen Gegnern so gefährlich, dass diese sich genöthigt sehen, ihm mit ihren Spiessen und Lanzen ein Ende zu bereiten. Ja, Letzteres geschieht sogar in der Regel, wenn eine alte Bärin mit ihren ein- oder zweijährigen Jungen im Lager gefunden wird. In diesem Falle wird der allzugefährliche Kampf zur Gefangennahme des alten Thieres meist gar nicht unternommen, vielmehr begnügt man sich damit, dieses sogleich zu erstechen und nur die Jungen zu fesseln und in die Gefangenschaft abzuführen. Die auf solche oder irgend welche andere Weise in der Wildniss erlegten Bären werden von den Giljaken zwar ebenfalls

1) Hierüber habe ich mich bereits im ersten Bande dieses Werkes (p. 90—96), bei Besprechung des Vorkommens und der Verbreitung dieser Thiere im Amur-Lande, eingehend ausgelassen. Auf die ebenda berührten Tiger- und Irbisgötzen komme ich in der Folge noch zurück.

verzehrt, allein, so viel ich weiss, ohne besondere Festlichkeiten, und dies nicht bloss aus dem Grunde, weil die dabei so sehr wesentlichen Umzüge, die mit den gefangen gehaltenen Bären vorgenommen werden, selbstverständlich unterbleiben müssten, sondern vielleicht auch weil die erlegten Bären für einen giljakischen Gaumen lange nicht den Wohlgeschmack und auch nicht die dicke Specklage der längere Zeit hindurch gefangen gehaltenen und mit Fischnahrung gemästeten Thiere haben dürften. An der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres erfuhr Middendorff[1]) von einer anderen Art der Giljaken, den Bären lebendig zu erbeuten, welche jedoch im Amur-Lande und auf Sachalin, bei anderer Naturbeschaffenheit, kaum vorkommen dürfte. Diese besteht darin, dass man an solchen Stellen, wo tief eingetretene Wildstege von der Höhe der Steilküste zum Meere hinab und zwischen zwei nahe von einander stehenden Bäumen hindurchführen, an diesen letzteren grosse Riemenschlingen anbringt, in welchen sich der Bär, da er weder rechts, noch links einen anderen Weg findet, nothwendig verfangen muss. Im Amur-Lande sind mir keine derartigen Lokalitäten bekannt, und dem entsprechend habe ich dort auch nie von einer solchen Art, den Bären zu fangen, gehört.

Sicherlich knüpfen sich bei den Giljaken an die Jagd auf den Bären auch manche abergläubische Vorstellungen und Gebräuche, deren Beachtung für nothwendig gehalten wird, um die Gefahren des Kampfes mit ihm glücklich bestehen und sich des gewaltigen Thieres unbeschadet bemächtigen, im Falle seines Todes aber der Rache seiner Manen entgehen zu können. Dennoch kann ich der Angabe Nordmann's, dass dem in seinem Lager aufgespürten Bären zuerst von einigen Schamanen «liebliche Lieder» vorgetragen werden, die ihn zum Herauskommen aus seinem Versteck bewegen sollen[2]), keineswegs beistimmen. Denn die Schamanen haben bei den Giljaken, ganz abgesehen von dem ihren Gesängen hier zugeschriebenen, in Wirklichkeit ihnen nie und nimmermehr zukommenden Charakter, mit der Jagd, sei es auf Bären oder auf andere Thiere, ganz und gar nichts zu thun. Sie greifen überhaupt bei diesem zwar abergläubischen, aber thatkräftigen und erwerbslustigen Volke in die Beschäftigungen des praktischen Lebens, Fischfang, Jagd, Handel, niemals ein, sondern üben ihre Künste, wie wir in der Folge sehen werden, bei ganz anderen Veranlassungen und Gelegenheiten aus. Uebrigens halten die Giljaken die Gefangennahme eines Bären noch nicht für eine an demselben verübte Frevelthat, da er durch dieselbe einem Leben mit reichlicher Nahrung, guter Wohnung und mancherlei Ehrenbezeugungen entgegengeführt wird. Erst durch seine Tödtung und Verspeisung könnten die Rachegeister wachgerufen werden, und darum sind die zu diesem Ausgange führenden Bärenfestlichkeiten mit einer Menge vom Aberglauben eingegebener Verhaltungsregeln umstellt, deren Beobachtung das Unheil abwenden soll. Die anderen Thiere kommen weniger in Betracht, doch dürfen auch bezüglich ihrer manche Regeln nicht missachtet werden, ohne dass in Zukunft Misserfolge in der betreffenden Jagd und somit, je nach der Thierart, um die es sich handelt, auch mehr oder minder empfindliche Schädigungen im Erwerbe verursacht

1) Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 1381.

2) Arth. Nordmann, Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, T. XXXIV, Sec. Part., p. 291).

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werden. So liess mich der Zufall auf folgenden Aberglauben bezüglich des Zobelfanges stossen. Als ich am unteren Tymy auf Sachalin in die Jurte von Miwwach trat, sah ich am Wandgebälk einen noch ganz intakten, offenbar eben aus der Falle gebrachten Zobel hängen. Während ich ihn betrachtete, trat die Frau des abwesenden Hauswirths ein: sichtlich bestürzt darüber, dass ich das Thier gesehen, griff sie nach einer Pelzmütze und hing sie über dasselbe, worauf es nach einiger Zeit von der Wand abgehoben, in Birkenborke eingewickelt und unter die übrigen Habseligkeiten des Hauses gethan wurde. Meine Bemühungen, es zu kaufen, scheiterten, ungeachtet des hohen Preises, den ich bot, vollständig: kategorisch wurde mir erklärt, es sei schon «*uitsch*» (unheilbringend) gewesen, dass ich, ein Fremder, das Thier unabgehalgt gesehen hätte, noch schlimmere Folgen aber für den künftigen Zobelfang würde es geben, wenn sie es mir in dem intakten Zustande verkaufen wollte[1]). Ebenso verhalten sich die Giljaken wahrscheinlich auch den übrigen schätzbaren Pelzthieren gegenüber, wobei sie offenbar von derselben abergläubischen Vorstellung beherrscht werden, deren ich oben (S. 546) bei Besprechung des Seehundsfanges bereits gedacht habe. Der utilitarische Gesichtspunkt bei diesem Aberglauben tritt auch darin zu Tage, dass derselbe sich auf werthlose Thiere, an deren Fange den Giljaken nichts liegt, nicht erstreckt, denn frische, eben aus der Falle gebrachte Exemplare vom Eichhörnchen und von *Mustela sibirica* wurden mir von den Giljaken ohne Weiteres abgetreten. Wenn übrigens dem Reisenden von dem auf die Jagd und die einzelnen Jagdthiere bezüglichen Aberglauben der Giljaken, im Ganzen genommen, weit weniger entgegen tritt, als es beim Fisch- oder Seehundsfang der Fall ist, so findet dies seine natürliche Erklärung in dem eingangs schon hervorgehobenen Umstande, dass die Jagd bei ihnen lange nicht in dem Maasse wie der Fisch- und Seehundsfang im Vordergrunde des Lebens steht.

Bei Besprechung der verschiedenartigen, bei den Giljaken gebräuchlichen Pfeilarten ist oben im Vorübergehen auch der Jagd auf Federwild gedacht worden. Es mögen nun noch einige dahin gehörige Bemerkungen folgen. Die bei Weitem grösste Menge von Enten, Gänsen und anderen Wasservögeln erliegt nicht jenen kolbenförmigen Pfeilen, die im Ganzen nur wenig gebraucht werden, sondern wird zur Zeit der Mauser von den Giljaken mit Netzen gefangen und einfach geknüppelt. Nur zufälligerweise, aber nicht selten erbeuten sie dabei auch solche Vögel, die tauchend ihrer Beute im Wasser nachstellen und sich in den Netzen verfangen. Unter diesen schenken sie eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit den Tauchern, *Colymbus septentrionalis* L. und *C. arcticus* L. (gilj. *ugn*), was jedoch nicht aus praktisch-utilitarischen, sondern aus Gründen des Aberglaubens geschieht, auf die ich später, gelegentlich der Betrachtung ihrer Arten der Leichenbestattung, zu sprechen kommen werde. Haselhühner (gilj. *hong*) und Schneehühner (gilj. *parrä*, am Tymy auf Sachalin *tschleola-nga*), mit denen die Giljaken den Nikolajef-

1) Dieser Aberglauben, auf den ich auch bei den Golde stiess, herrscht nicht minder unter den sibirischen Tungusen und ist von ihnen auch auf russische Jäger in Sibirien übergegangen. So erzählt Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien, Gottingen 1752, Bd. II, p. 278) von den in Gesellschaft auf den Zobelfang ausziehenden russischen Jägern von Kirenskoi Ostrog: «sobald ein Zobel gefangen wird, muss er gehöriger Massen verwahrt werden, ohne dass ihn Jemand ansieht; denn sie meinen, dass wenn man von dem gefangenen Zobel gut oder schlecht spricht, der übrige Fang verdorben sein.

schen Posten in den Wintern 1855—57 reichlich versorgten, werden von ihnen in Schlingen (gilj. *kusi*) gefangen. In Betreff des Schneehuhns, das man bei den Giljaken auch auf Amuletten, wenn auch in ganz unkenntlicher, nur symbolischer Weise dargestellt findet, bemerkte ich bei ihnen ebenfalls jenen oben erwähnten, auf den Kopf des Thieres bezüglichen Aberglauben, indem sie beim Verkauf dieses Vogels sehr gern den Kopf zuvor zu beseitigen suchten.

Am wichtigsten unter allen Vögeln sind für die Giljaken die Fischadler: *Haliaëtus pelagicus* Pall. (gilj. *tscharngai-tscham*) und *H. albicilla* Briss. (gilj. *myghr-tscham*, im Innern Sachalin's *ach-tscham*). Der erstere kommt jedoch in ihrem Gebiet nur selten und vornehmlich an der Meeresküste, der letztere hingegen häufig und im ganzen Lande vor, und dieser ist daher stets gemeint, wenn vom *Tscham* (Adler) schlechtweg die Rede ist. Der Nutzen, den die Giljaken von ihnen ziehen, besteht darin, dass ihre Steuerfedern einen wichtigen Artikel im Handel mit den Japanern abgeben, bei denen sie, wie mir jene erzählten, dazu dienen, die Fenster in den Wohnungen vornehmer Personen auszuschmücken und sie dadurch vor denjenigen gemeiner Leute kenntlich zu machen. Ausserdem gebrauchen die Giljaken Adlerfedern zum Beschwingen ihrer Pfeile und zum Herstellen einiger Gegenstände von symbolischer Bedeutung für ihre Leichenhäuschen. Um sich in den Besitz von möglichst unbeschädigten Steuerfedern der Adler zu setzen, heben die Giljaken die jungen Vögel aus dem Neste aus, wobei sie hohe und schwer erkletterbare Bäume, in deren Gipfel sich ein Nest befindet, bevor die Jungen flügge geworden, fällen. Die gefangenen jungen Adler werden auf den Fischtrockengerüsten angekettet gehalten und mit Fischabfällen gefüttert, bis sie ihr volles Gefieder erlangt haben, worauf sie getödtet, ihre Schwanzfedern aber sorgfältig zwischen Birkenborkplatten ausgebreitet und so für den Handel aufbewahrt werden. Die Zahl der von den Giljaken alljährlich erbeuteten und aufgezogenen Adler muss ganz beträchtlich sein, denn kaum dürfte man ein giljakisches Dorf treffen, in welchen auf den Fischtrockengerüsten nicht mehrere derselben zu sehen wären. Insbesondere gilt jedoch die Südküste des Ochotskischen Meeres für das eigentliche Adlerland, da dort ausser dem *Myghr-* auch der *Tscharngai-tscham* erbeutet wird, dessen Schwanzfedern von den Japanern besonders hoch geschätzt werden. Es geschieht daher nicht gar selten, dass Amur- und Liman-Giljaken sich zu mehrjährigem Aufenthalt nach der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres begeben, um dort dem Gewinn von Adlerschwänzen nachzugehen. Gleich den Giljaken befassen sich auch ihre näheren und ferneren Nachbarn am Amur, die Oltscha und Golde, mit dem Aufziehen junger Fischadler von derselben Art (*Hal. albicilla*, oltsch. *gussi*, gold. *käktscha*), und zwar nicht etwa, wie Maack[1]) meint, um ihnen eine religiöse Verehrung zu erweisen, oder andere Vögel von den auf den Trockengerüsten hängenden Fischen fernzuhalten sondern ebenfalls nur um ihre Schwänze an die Japaner zu verkaufen, was entweder direkt, oder durch Vermittelung der Giljaken geschieht. Dasselbe thun endlich auch die Aino von Jesso und den Kurilen, wie es schon Vries[2]), Steller[3]), Broughton[4])

1) Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 143, 170, 206.
2) Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.
3) Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 194.
4) Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

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u. A. berichteten. Einer besonderen Beliebtheit zum Beschwingen von Pfeilen erfreuen sich aber die Adlerfedern auch noch bei den Eskimo von Nordwestamerika, am Kwichpak, Norton-Sunde u. s. w.[1]).

Im Vorstehenden ist an verschiedenen Orten von eisernen Utensilien und eisernen Waffen der Giljaken die Rede gewesen, wobei uns, zumal unter den letzteren, auch Stücke von recht kunstvoller Arbeit begegnet sind. Es ist hier daher am Ort, nach dem Ursprung und eventuell nach der Art der Anfertigung dieser Gegenstände zu fragen. Der Umstand, dass die Giljaken beim äusseren oder inneren Ausbau ihrer Häuser kein Eisen gebrauchen und ebenso bei der Anfertigung von Böten, Schlitten und drgl. zur Verbindung der einzelnen Stücke mit einander sich stets statt eiserner Nägel nur hölzerner Stifte bedienen, lässt nicht erwarten, dass sie Meister im Schmiedehandwerk seien, und ruft auf den ersten Blick die Vermuthung hervor, dass die zahlreichen und zum Theil sauber und kunstvoll gearbeiteten eisernen Utensilien und Waffen, die man bei ihnen findet, von fremdem Ursprunge sein dürften. Letzteres ist jedoch keineswegs der Fall. Bereits in einer der ältesten Nachrichten werden sie als geschickte Waffenschmiede bezeichnet. Strahlenberg wurde nämlich während seiner Gefangenschaft in Sibirien, im Anfange des vorigen Jahrhunderts erzählt, dass ein an der Mündung des Amur-Stromes wohnendes Volk, die Kilani, welches die Russen «Kilaki» nennen, «ein vortrefflich schön Gewehr, darunter auch die besten Bögen mache und in Eisen arbeite»[2]), — eine Nachricht, die hauptsächlich wohl wegen der allerdings sehr abenteuerlichen Combination, welche er durch Zusammenstellung der Kilani mit der persischen Provinz Gilan und den Awaren an dieselbe knüpfte, bei dem späteren Reisenden Gmelin so wenig Glauben fand, dass er die Existenz eines solchen Volkes überhaupt in Zweifel ziehen zu müssen glaubte[3]). Gäbe es dort ein Volk, meinte Gmelin, das sich durch Gewehrmachen besonders auszeichnete, so müsste ganz Sibirien davon voll sein und würde man auch längst, wenn nicht von ihm selbst, doch durch die Chinesen dergleichen Gewehr bekommen haben[4]). Dennoch bestätigt sich jetzt die vor mehr als 1½ Jahrhunderten zu Strahlenberg's Ohr gedrungene Nachricht. Denn sowohl die oben erwähnten, mit Büffelhorn ausgekleideten und mit Silber verzierten Bögen, als auch die schönen, mit eingelegten Figuren aus Kupfer, Messing und Silber versehenen Lanzen, Speere und Messer, die ihresgleichen bei keinem der sibirischen Völker haben, sind von giljakischer Arbeit. Wenn aber diese schönen Waffenstücke zu Gmelin's Zeiten in Sibirien unbekannt waren und auch heutzutage kaum über das Amur-Land hinaus dringen, so liegt dies einerseits in der geringen Menge des den Giljaken zur Verfügung stehenden Metallmaterials und andererseits, und noch mehr, in dem hohen Werthe, den sie selbst den besonders schön gearbeiteten Stücken zuschreiben, und der sie veranlasst, solche Stücke weder zu gebrauchen, noch zu veräussern, sondern gewisser-

1) Загоскинъ, Путешеств. отъ чаетъ русск. влад. въ Америкѣ, ч. I, стр. 61.

2) Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia, Stockholm 1736, p. 386.

3) S. oben, p. 98.

4) J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen 1752, Bd. II, Vorrede.

maassen als ein Kapital sorgfältig aufzubewahren und zu vererben, oder aber höchstens zum Kaufe eines Weibes zu verwenden, wodurch sie zwar ihren Besitzer wechseln, aber doch im Bereich der Giljaken bleiben. Zudem mag bei der Unzulänglichkeit ihrer Hülfsmittel auf die Herstellung jedes einzelnen Stückes der Art viel Zeit hingehen und, wie stets und allenthalben, eine grössere Kunstfertigkeit auch nicht Jedem zu eigen sein. Zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes im Amur-Lande galt namentlich das gleich oberhalb von Patt am Amur gelegene Dorf Chylk [1]) für den Ort, wo die schönsten Speere, Lanzen und Messer verfertigt wurden, und dort sollen auch die auf Taf. XXXI, Fig. 2, und Taf. XLVI, Fig. 4 und 5, abgebildeten Stücke gemacht worden sein, die dem reichen Giljaken Judin in Tebach und dessen Söhnen gehörten, und die ich gegen verschiedene Waaren zu einem hohen Preise von ihnen acquirirte. Leider bin ich an diesem dem Anschein nach unansehnlichen, nur aus zwei Häusern bestehenden Orte zu einer Zeit vorübergekommen, als ich von dessen industrieller Bedeutung für die Giljaken noch nichts wusste. Im Sommer 1855 wurde unmittelbar daneben, ja fast an derselben Stelle die russische Ansiedelung Michailofskoje begründet [2]), was die Giljaken später vermuthlich zum Verlassen dieser ihrer Wohnstätte bewogen haben wird.

Hingegen habe ich im Dorfe Tyk auf Sachalin Gelegenheit gehabt, die Giljaken beim Schmieden des Eisens zu beobachten. Die Schmiede war im hintersten, dem Eingange gegenüber gelegenen Raume der Erdjurte aufgeschlagen. Dazu waren dort einige Bretter der Schlafbank fortgeräumt, so dass der unter derselben befindliche Erdboden entblösst war. Hier lagen zwei aus Seehundsfell gemachte, längliche Blasebälge (gilj. *chigr*), deren lange Röhren sich gegen ihr Ende zu einem gemeinsamen Rohr vereinigten. Vor der Mündung dieses letzteren war ein halbkreisförmiger, aus hartem, trockenem Lehm gefertigter Klotz (gilj. *chugn*) aufgestellt, der auf seiner unteren Seite mit einem Ausschnitt versehen war, dessen Grösse genau der Mündung des Blasebalgrohrs entsprach, und unmittelbar davor befand sich das Feuer, in welches die zu schmiedenden Eisenstücke gesteckt wurden. Um das Blasebalgrohr unbeweglich an seinem Ort zu erhalten, waren die beiden Arme desselben durch einige über einander gestellte längliche und schmale Kasten, wie sie bei den Giljaken im Gebrauche sind, beschwert. Ein Junge bewegte die beiden Blasebälge, indem er abwechselnd den einen hob und den anderen senkte, und ein anderer, erwachsener Giljake nahm mit einer Zange (gilj. *watsch*)[3]) die zu schmiedenden Eisenstücke aus dem Feuer heraus, um sie auf einem daneben stehenden kleinen, dreieckigen, eisernen Ambos (gilj. *mik*) zu hämmern. Diese Zangen sind von verschiedener Grösse, je nach der Grösse der zu bearbeitenden Eisenstücke. In meiner Gegenwart wurde die Klinge zu einem gewöhnlichen, zum Schneiden von Holz und drgl. dienlichen Messer, einem sogen. *Yi-dshakko* [4]), und ein zweites, feineres Stück verfertigt, ein sogen. *Kessj-kessj*, d. h. eine jener mitunter recht complicirten Ketten,

1) Auf der diesem Bande beigegebenen ethnographischen Karte des Amur-Landes ist die Lage dieses Dorfes zwar angegeben, sein Name aber nicht eingetragen.

2) Diese findet sich auch auf der dem ersten Bande Schrenck's Amur-Reise, Band III, dieses Werkes beigegebenen Karte des Amur-Landes.

3) Das w ist hier wie das englische w auszusprechen.

4) S. oben, p. 398 und Taf. XXXI, Fig. 4.

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welche, mit verschiedenen kleinen Anhängseln, einem eisernen Purrer, einem Feuerstahl und drgl. versehen, von den Giljaken am Gürtel getragen werden[1]).

Ausser dem Eisen (gilj. *wytsch*) kommen bei diesen Arbeiten der Giljaken, wie erwähnt, auch andere Metalle, namentlich Kupfer (gilj. *paghla*, d. h. roth), Messing (gilj. *tusy*) und Silber (gilj. *totta*)[2]) zur Verwendung. Je mehr von diesem letzteren in einen Speer oder ein Messer eingelegt ist, um so höher wird das Stück geschätzt. Da sie es nur zu diesem Zweck oder zur Anfertigung von Schmucksachen, wie Ringe, Ohrgehänge, Spangen und drgl., gebrauchen, so ziehen sie das weichste, weil reine, und darum zu ihren Zwecken am leichtesten verwendbare chinesische Silber allem anderen vor[3]).

Der hohe Grad von Kunstfertigkeit, der sich in den oben besprochenen giljakischen Speeren, Messern und drgl. ausspricht, zeugt dafür, dass das Schmieden von Eisen und anderen Metallen eine von den Giljaken seit langer Zeit geübte Kunst ist, und die oben erwähnte Nachricht von Strahlenberg steht im Einklange damit. Ohne Zweifel werden sie aber diese Kunst von einem der beiden ihnen benachbarten Culturvölker Ostasien's entlehnt haben. Es fragt sich nur, ob von den Chinesen, oder von den Japanern. Der Umstand, dass ihre Beziehungen zu den letzteren in eine ältere Zeit als diejenigen zu den ersteren zurückreichen dürften, indem sie, wie ich aus anderen Gründen nachzuweisen versucht habe[4]), bevor sie in das Mündungsland des Amur-Stromes kamen, schon auf Sachalin eine Heimstätte hatten, wo sie unmittelbar mit den Aino und daher mittelbar auch mit den Japanern in Berührung standen, — dieser Umstand weist auf die letzteren als Urheber der Bekanntschaft der Giljaken mit dem Eisen und anderen Metallen und als ihre, wenn auch nur indirekten Lehrmeister in der Schmiedekunst hin. Und eine Reihe von Thatsachen bestärkt mich in dieser Ansicht.

Wären der Gebrauch und die Bearbeitung des Eisens den Giljaken von den Chinesen, also durch Vermittelung der Mandshu und Golde den Sungari und Amur abwärts zugekommen, so dürfte man, in umgekehrter Richtung, stromaufwärts von den Giljaken gegangen, eine Steigerung in der Kunstfertigkeit des Eisenschmiedens erwarten. In Wirklichkeit findet jedoch in der erwähnten Richtung nicht nur keine Steigerung, sondern im Gegentheil eine Abnahme in der Feinheit und Sauberkeit der Metallarbeiten statt. Denn die Oltscha dürften zwar kaum minder geschickte Eisen- und speciell Waffenschmiede als ihre Lehrmeister, die Giljaken, sein, die Golde aber stehen den Oltscha darin weit nach[5]), obwohl sie in manchen anderen Dingen, wie z. B. im Bauen von Böten, in Näh-, Stick- und Flechtarbeiten, eine ausserordentliche Geschicklichkeit besitzen. Dabei haben sie ein anderes Benehmen beim Schmieden als die Giljaken, indem sie sich nur eines Blasebalges bedienen, und auch ein nicht unwesentlich ver-

1) S. oben, p. 396 und Tab. XXVIII, Fig. 1.

2) Das Quecksilber, das sie bei mir sahen, war ihnen ganz neu und erregte bei ihnen eine grosse Verwunderung; sie gaben ihm aber sogleich die charakteristische Bezeichnung *totta-tschocho*, d. h. Silberwasser.

3) Ueber den den Giljaken zu meiner Zeit noch fast unbekannten Gebrauch von Silber- und Goldmünzen im Handel werden im nächsten Kapitel am betreffenden Ort einige Worte gesagt werden.

4) S. oben, p. 314.

5) So lautet auch Maack's Urtheil (s. dessen Ilyrem. u. Ayyra, erp. 178 u 207).

schiedenes Zubehör, so z. B. einen ganz anders geformten Ambos und drgl.[1]). Endlich ist nicht zu übersehen, dass auch die goldischen Bezeichnungen für diese Dinge nichts Gemeinsames mit den giljakischen haben. Nach alledem liegt der Gedanke nahe, dass die Golde ihre Schmiedekunst von einer anderen Seite als die Giljaken und durch diese die Oltscha, nämlich von den ihnen zunächst angrenzenden Mandshu-Chinesen bezogen haben.

Dass hingegen die Giljaken ihre Kenntniss des Eisens und seiner Behandlung den Japanern verdanken, dafür sprechen ferner folgende Thatsachen. Ganz dieselbe Art und Weise, das Eisen zu schmieden, wie bei den Giljaken, findet sich auch bei den Aino auf Sachalin. Mamia-Rinsô widmet diesem Gegenstande einen besonderen Abschnitt in der Beschreibung seiner Reise durch Krafto (Sachalin) und einen Theil des unteren Amur-Landes[2]). Zu seiner Zeit (1808) wurde allerdings das Eisenschmieden von den Aino auf Sachalin nur sehr wenig, ja nur noch hie und da von einigen alten Leuten ausgeübt, weil die aus Japan eingeführten Eisengeräthe, die natürlich von viel besserer Arbeit waren, bereits eine allgemeine Verbreitung unter ihnen gefunden hatten. Vordem jedoch waren sie beflissen, sich ihren Bedarf an eisernen Waffen und Utensilien selbst herzustellen, und zwar aus Eisen, das sie von den Japanern in Ssiranussi eintauschten. Mamia-Rinsô beschreibt nun ihr Verfahren beim Schmieden des Eisens, und dieses stimmt mit dem oben geschilderten der Giljaken vollständig überein: er erwähnt der beiden, auf dem Boden neben einander liegenden, aus Seehundsfellen oder Fischhäuten gemachten Blasebälge, der bis auf die gemeinsame Mündung mit Erde bedeckten oder beschwerten Blasebalgröhren, der gleichzeitigen Betheiligung zweier Männer an der Arbeit u. s. w. In der Folge[3]), bei Besprechung der Smerenkur (Giljaken) von Sachalin, hebt er auch ausdrücklich hervor, dass diese dieselbe Art des Eisenschmiedens wie die Aino haben. Allerdings zieht Mamia-Rinsô, trotzdem er ferner bemerkt, dass die Aino die Schneide an ihren Waffen auf japanische Weise machen, und dass überhaupt ihre Art des Schmiedens «ungefähr dieselbe wie in Japan» ist, doch nicht den naheliegenden Schluss, dass die Aino ihre Kenntniss des Eisens und anderer Metalle und deren Bearbeitung den Japanern zu verdanken hätten, ja, er spricht sich vielmehr dahin aus, dass sie ihre Art und Weise, das Eisen zu schmieden, von keinem anderen Volke erlernt, sondern selbst ersonnen zu haben scheinen. Dies darf uns jedoch keineswegs befremden, da der vorsichtige Reisende in seinem knapp und nüchtern gehaltenen Bericht nur von ihm selbst Gesehenes und Erlebtes mittheilt und sich von allen Combinationen und Schlüssen fern hält. Es stellt daher nur noch mehr ausser Zweifel, dass die Verbreitung des Eisens und der Kunst seiner Bearbeitung aus Japan zu den Aino von Jesso und Sachalin und durch diese zu den Giljaken in einer sehr alten Zeit stattgefunden hat, einer Zeit, die zu weit zurücklag, als dass sich unter den Aino zu Rinsô's Zeit noch irgend welche auf jenes Ereigniss bezügliche Erzählungen und Traditionen hätten erhalten können.

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1) Vrgl. Maach, l. c. p. 207, nebst Taf. II, Fig. 11, 12, 13 u. 24.

2) Siebold, Nippon, VII p. 18*.

3) Ebenda, p. 191.

Auch die Thatsache endlich, dass die giljakischen eisernen Utensilien und Waffen, Messer, Speere und drgl., meist von derselben Form wie diejenigen der Aino sind, und dass die auf den eleganteren Waffenstücken eingravirten oder aus anderen Metallen eingelegten Figuren vielfach an japanische Muster erinnern, gleich wie es oben [1]) auch von den Verzierungen auf ihren Kleidungsstücken und auf mancherlei hölzernen und knöchernen Geräthschaften bemerkt werden musste, — auch diese Thatsache steht im Einklange oder wenigstens nicht im Widerspruch mit dem japanischen Ursprunge der Bekanntschaft der Giljaken mit dem Eisen und seiner Bearbeitung. Eines nur könnte dabei auf den ersten Blick befremdend erscheinen, es ist der Umstand, dass die grösste Kunstfertigkeit der Giljaken im Eisenschmieden nicht auf Sachalin, sondern am Amur und also in demjenigen Theile ihres Wohngebietes zu finden ist, der von Japan mit am weitesten entlegen und dagegen dem mandshu-chinesischen Einflusse am meisten geöffnet ist. Dieser Umstand lässt sich aber aus politischen Verhältnissen erklären. Nach Mamia-Rinsô's Zeugniss büssten die Aino auf Sachalin ihre Fertigkeit im Schmieden des Eisens allmählich mehr und mehr ein und gaben es endlich so gut wie gänzlich auf, wie er meint, in Folge von Ueberfluthung durch japanisches Eisenwerk. Wir müssen hinzufügen, dass dieser Rückschritt der Aino sicherlich noch einen anderen, tiefer liegenden Grund hatte, den der japanische Reisende wohl nicht nennen mochte oder durfte, — es war die drückende Knechtschaft, in welcher sie sich den Japanern gegenüber befanden, verbunden mit einer rücksichtslosen Ausbeutung seitens der letzteren, unter der sie mehr und mehr in Armuth, Elend und Indolenz verfallen mussten. Die Giljaken von Sachalin hingegen waren schon durch die grössere Entfernung ihrer Wohnsitze von den Japanern in einer günstigeren Lage. Dank diesem Umstande und zugleich ihrer grösseren Energie und Klugheit vermochten sie sich unabhängig von denselben zu erhalten. Ja, die Furcht vor den Japanern und dem traurigen Schicksal, das ihre Nachbarn, die Aino, betroffen, mag sie vielleicht hauptsächlich dazu gedrängt haben, sich auf Sachalin mehr und mehr nordwärts zurückzuziehen und schliesslich sogar zum grossen Theil nach dem gegenüberliegenden Festlande aus- oder, in Erwägung einer noch weiter zurückliegenden Zeit vielleicht richtiger gesagt, zurückzuwandern [2]). Jedenfalls musste die politische Unabhängigkeit, in der sie sich auf Sachalin den Japanern und im Amur-Lande den Mandshu-Chinesen gegenüber zu behaupten verstanden, einen mächtigen Hebel zur Erhaltung und Mehrung ihres Wohlstandes, sowie zur Weiterentfaltung einmal gewonnener Fertigkeiten und darunter auch der Kunst des Metallschmiedens abgeben, und zwar um so mehr, je reichlicher ihnen die Existenzquellen flossen, wie dies am grossen und fischreichen Amur-Strome insbesondere der Fall war.

Wie die Aino und Giljaken, so verdankt ferner auch das dritte Volk Sachalin's, die Oroken, die Bekanntschaft mit dem Eisen und seiner Bearbeitung den Japanern, wenn sie ihm auch nicht direkt von diesen, sondern vermittelst jener beiden Völker zukam, zwischen welche es sich auf der Insel vorgeschoben hat. Gewiss ist schon die Thatsache bemerkenswerth, dass

1) S. p. 460.

2) Ueber diese Aus- oder Rückwanderung der Giljaken von Sachalin nach dem Festlande s. oben, p. 314 u. 347.

ein armes und wenig zahlreiches Nomadenvolk, wie die Oroken, seinen geringen Bedarf an eisernen Utensilien nicht von den sesshaften Nachbarvölkern bezieht, sondern selbst anfertigt. Noch merkwürdiger aber ist es, dass die Oroken diese Gegenstände in so grosser Menge anfertigen, dass sie ihnen sogar als Tauschartikel im Handel mit den Giljaken dienen, die doch selbst des Schmiedehandwerks kundig, ja kundiger als die Oroken sind, und von denen die letzteren, nicht minder wie ihre Stammgenossen auf dem Festlande, die Amur-Oltscha, es vermuthlich einst selbst gelernt haben. In Ytkyrn im Tymy-Thale sah ich eine Anzahl von Messerklingen verschiedener Art (vom Gürtel-, Fischmesser u. a.), welche die Giljaken von den Oroken am Poro-nai gegen Tabak (für je ein paar Blättchen das Stück) erhandelt hatten. Sie waren nur roh gearbeitet und sämmtlich ohne Griff, gewissermaassen nur das grundlegende grobe Material, das noch der Ueberarbeitung im Einzelnen, der Glättung, Politur, Fassung und Verzierung durch die Giljaken bedurfte, um zu seiner endgültigen Bestimmung zu gelangen. So spielen die Oroken bei der Anfertigung eiserner Werkzeuge den Giljaken gegenüber gewissermaassen die Rolle von Rohlieferanten, — ein Verhältniss, das einerseits auf dem grossen Bedarf der Giljaken an solchen Werkzeugen, bei einem verhältnissmässig nur geringen Quantum an Rohmaterial, und andererseits auf der den Oroken gebotenen Möglichkeit beruht, sich dieses Material in grösserer Menge von den nicht allzu entfernten Japanern, sei es direkt, sei es durch Vermittelung der Aino zu verschaffen. Nehmen die Oroken in diesem ganzen Verhältniss den Giljaken gegenüber auch nur eine untergeordnete Stellung ein, so bekunden sie doch andererseits eine unzweifelhafte Ueberlegenheit im Vergleich mit den höchstens nur als Zwischenträger des Rohmaterials fungirenden Aino, und dem entspricht auch ihre weit grössere politische Unabhängigkeit den Japanern gegenüber.

Ausser den Aino und Giljaken giebt es noch ein paläasiatisches Volk, das seine erste Kenntniss vom Eisen aus Japan erhalten hat. Es sind die Itälmenen oder Kamtschadalen, und zwar ist das Eisen, gleichwie den Giljaken, auch ihnen durch die Aino zugetragen worden. Steller[1]) und Krascheninnikof[2]) berichten ausdrücklich, dass das erste Eisengeräth der Kamtschadalen, das sie schon vor Ankunft der Russen in ihrem Lande kannten und gebrauchten, grosse japanische eiserne Nadeln waren, und auf diesen Ursprung der letzteren weist auch ihr kamtschadalischer Name hin, da «*sähse*» (nach Steller) oder «*schisch*» (nach Krascheninnikof), wie ich oben[3]) dargethan habe, nach der den Kamtschadalen durch die Aino der kurilischen Inseln überlieferten Bezeichnung für die Japaner nur so viel wie «japanisch» heisst. An diesen Nadeln verstanden die Kamtschadalen, wie Steller weiter berichtet, auch etwas Schmiedearbeit zu verrichten, welche sie vermuthlich von denselben Aino, die ihnen die Nadeln zutrugen, abgelernt hatten. Brach nämlich beim Gebrauch das Oehr an der Nadel ab, so machten sie diese glühend, gaben ihr durch Hämmern mit einem Stein eine der

1) Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 249, Anm. a u. p. 250.

2) Опис. земли Камчатки (Полн. собр. учен. путеш. по Россіи, Т. II, стр. 49).

3) Vrgl. p. 192—194.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

früheren ähnliche Form und bohrten vermittelst einer anderen Nadel ein neues Loch hinein. Durch die kurilischen Aino erhielten sie ferner bisweilen, ebenfalls noch vor Ankunft der Russen, auch Stücke von japanischem Eisenerz. Diesen wussten sie jedoch keine andere Verwendung zu geben, als dass sie dieselben, wenn sie, wie Steller erzählt, etwa 2—3 Zoll lang waren und ungefähr die Form eines Messers hatten, an die Spitze einer Stange befestigten und so vor ihrem Hause als Zeichen hohen Ansehens und Reichthums aufpflanzten. Sicherlich beruhte diese Hochachtung der Kamtschadalen vor einem so unscheinbaren und an sich ihnen ganz nutzlosen Dinge auf der Mittheilung der Aino, dass dies das Material sei, aus welchem die in ihren Augen verständlicherweise mit dem Nimbus grossen Reichthums und Ansehens umgebenen Ssisan (Japaner) jene Messer, Schwerter und drgl. machten, welche sie selbst (die Aino) so hochschätzten und im Handel mit ihnen so theuer bezahlten. Wie sehr aber Letzteres der Fall war, lässt sich aus Steller's Mittheilung ersehen, dass die kurilischen Aino für einen alten japanischen Säbel gern 20 Seebiber gaben und dabei einen sehr guten Tausch gemacht zu haben glaubten, solche Säbel aber nur an Feiertagen oder bei festlichen Aufzügen trugen und «beim Willkommen die wunderlichsten Figuren» mit denselben machten.

Ob die vorhin erwähnten eisernen Nadeln, die als erstes Eisengeräth aus Japan zu den Kamtschadalen drangen, sich von diesen auch zu ihren Nachbarn, den Korjaken und Tschuktschen, verbreiteten, noch bevor das Eisen diesen Völkern durch die Russen gebracht wurde, muss zunächst dahingestellt bleiben. Jedenfalls aber haben drei paläasiatische Völker, die Aino, die Giljaken und die Kamtschadalen, das Eisen aus Japan erhalten, und das war eine natürliche Folge der geographischen Lage dieses letzteren in der Nähe jener Völker, denn an Nippon, die Hauptinsel Japan's, schliesst sich im Norden Jesso, das Hauptland der Aino, an [1]), das wiederum einerseits nach dem halbgiljakischen Sachalin und andererseits über die Kette der Kurilen nach Kamtschatka hinüberführt. Man darf daher auch den weiteren Schluss ziehen, dass diese Völker in der Zeit, da sie, wie sich aus verschiedenen Gründen vermuthen lässt, weiter nach dem Innern des Continents zu wohnten [2]), noch keine Kenntniss vom Eisen hatten und diese erst erhielten, nachdem sie zu Randvölkern geworden, d. h. nachdem sie bis zur äussersten Ostküste des Festlandes und auf die derselben vorgelagerten Inseln und Halbinseln verdrängt worden und so in die Nähe von Japan gelangt waren [3]).

Kehren wir nach dieser Abschweifung zu den Giljaken zurück, so ist hier der Ort, im Anschluss an die oben abgehandelten, zur Jagd auf dem Wasser wie auf dem Lande dienlichen Waffen derselben noch einige andere zu ihrer Bewaffnung gehörige Stücke zu besprechen. Zunächst sind hier zwei nach Form, Material und Ursprung ganz verschiedene Panzer (gilj. *petsch*)

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1) Die hauptsächlich durch Ph. Siebold aufgebrachte Ansicht, dass die Aino ehemals auch den Norden von Nippon bewohnten (vrgl. oben, p. 123), ist neuerdings von Braun (Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs, im Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., 48. u. 49. Jahrg., 1883—84 u. 1884—85, Wissenschaftl. Thl., p. 5 ff.) bekämpft worden.

2) S. oben, p. 247.

3) Die Frage über den Ursprung und die Entwickelung des Eisenhandwerks in Japan liegt selbstverständlich ausserhalb des Rahmens dieser Schrift.

zu erwähnen, die zwar gegenwärtig nicht mehr im Gebrauch, allein von nicht geringem historisch-ethnographischen Interesse sind.

Der eine derselben ist ein Eisenpanzer (gilj. *wytsch-petsch*). Dieser besteht aus dünnen, länglichen eisernen Plättchen, die mit Löchern versehen sind, vermittelst welcher sie durch Riemen dicht neben einander an eine Thier- oder Fischhaut geheftet werden. Das Kopfstück dieses Panzers (Taf. XLIV, Fig. 2) hat die Form eines Helmes. Die oberen, abgerundeten Enden seiner Eisenplättchen sind etwas zurückgebogen und mit einem Riemen umbunden; vom unteren Rande desselben hängt ein zum Schutz für den Hals bestimmtes Stück herab. Das Brust- oder Rumpfstück (ebenda, Fig. 3), von dem ich nur einzelne Stücke (im Dorfe Tebach) gesehen habe, besteht aus mehreren Reihen von oben nach unten über einander greifender Eisenplättchen, die breiter und länger als diejenigen des Kopfstückes sind. Mamia-Rinsô[1]) erwähnt bei Besprechung der Smerenkur (Giljaken) von Sachalin dieses eisernen Panzers und sagt, er sei unter dem Namen «*beltsi*» bekannt, worin sich unschwer die oben angeführte, nach japanischer Weise entstellte giljakische Bezeichnung «*petsch*» wiedererkennen lässt. Er sagt von ihm, dass er, obgleich wenig gebraucht, doch sehr hochgeschätzt wird und im Kriege den Hauptschmuck desjenigen bildet, der zum Anführer gewählt worden ist. Bei der letzteren Behauptung mag die Phantasie des Reisenden mitgeredet haben, die erstere ist aber vollständig richtig: zu meiner Zeit waren diese Panzer vollkommen ausser Gebrauch, wurden aber, obgleich meist nur in defektem Zustande, ja oft bloss in einzelnen Bruchstücken vorhanden, für so werthvolle Objekte gehalten, dass sie dem Besitzer einen Nimbus von ausserordentlichem Reichthum und Ansehen verliehen, und dass ein paar von ihnen zum Kauf eines Weibes genügten. Es sind also heutzutage nur noch seltene Antiquitäten von imaginärem hohen Werthe. Diesen verdanken sie aber ihrem fremdländischen Ursprung, denn nach einstimmiger Angabe der Giljaken stammen sie von den Mandshu her und werden, wie übrigens auch Mamia-Rinsô anführt, von diesen selbst hochgeschätzt.

Dass bereits die alten Mandshu (Njutschi) Panzer und Helme besassen, die gleich den oben beschriebenen aus schuppenförmig über einander gelegten und durch Stifte mit einander verbundenen oder auch auf eine lederne Unterlage befestigten eisernen Plättchen bestanden, ist aus den ältesten europäischen Nachrichten über dieselben bekannt[2]). Nach der Eroberung China's durch die Mandshu wurden solche Panzer und Helme auch von den chinesischen Soldaten, Officieren und vom Kaiser selbst getragen[3]). Interessant für unseren Zweck ist auch die Angabe Iakinf's, des bekannten Mitgliedes der russischen Mission in Peking in den Jahren 1807—20, nach welcher unter den vom Gesetz vorgeschriebenen Geschenken, die der chinesische Kaiser

1) L. c., p. 194.

2) Vrgl. Nieuhof, Die Gesantschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Chan u. neumehr auch Sinisch. Keiser, Amsterdam 1666, p. 204. Desgl. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, Tweede Druk, Amsterdam 1705, p. 2, 6, 13.

3) Gerbillon bei D'u Halde, Descript. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris 1735, T. IV, p. 372.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

bei seiner Verlobung und Heirath dem Vater seiner Braut, resp. jungen Frau zu schicken hatte, auch eine bestimmte Anzahl von Panzern und Helmen sich befand[1]). Unter solchen Umständen ist es ganz verständlich, dass diese Gegenstände auch in den Augen der unter der Herrschaft oder wenigstens dem Einflusse der Mandshu-Chinesen stehenden Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, bis zu den Giljaken hinab, als ein höchst werth- und ehrenvoller Besitz erscheinen müssen und von den letzteren demgemäss auch bei ihrer wichtigsten socialen Transaktion, dem Kaufe eines Weibes, verwendet werden.

Von den Mandshu-Chinesen ging die Kunst der Anfertigung von Eisenpanzern auch auf die ihnen im Sungari- und unteren Amur-Lande zunächst benachbarten Golde über, und Mamia-Rinsô führt direkt diese letzteren, ihren Volksnamen in japanischer Weise als «Kordekke» entstellend[2]), als Anfertiger jener Eisenpanzer an. Selbstverständlich werden das nicht die ersten und einzigen Gegenstände sein, welche die Golde von ihren südlichen Nachbarn zu bereiten gelernt haben. Hier sehen wir also die Kunst, das Eisen zu schmieden, auch auf einem anderen Wege, von den Mandshu-Chinesen den Sungari und Amur abwärts zu den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes dringen, doch scheint sie auf diesem Wege nicht über die Golde hinaus gelangt zu sein, während die weiter unterhalb am Amur und auf Sachalin wohnenden Völker, die Aino, Giljaken und Oltscha, sie, wie oben dargethan, schon früher von den Japanern erhalten hatten. In den letzten Decennien endlich haben die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes Gelegenheit gehabt, auch mit der russischen Art, das Eisen zu schmieden, Bekanntschaft zu machen.

Von ganz anderer Beschaffenheit als jener eiserne ist der Netzpanzer (gilj. *kö-petsch*). Er besteht aus einem ärmellosen Kamisol oder kurzen Hemde (Taf. XLIV, Fig. 1), das aus vielfach zusammengenommenen Nesselgarnschnüren, wie sie auch zum Stricken von Fischernetzen dienen, und einzeln hie und da hinzugethanen Fischbeinstreifen geflochten ist. Der Halsausschnitt ist mit langhaarigem Hundsfell verbrämt und mit einem Knopf und einer Oehse zum Zuknöpfen versehen; im Uebrigen blieb der über den gewöhnlichen Hundsfellpelz angezogene Panzer vorn offen. In Folge des groben, massenhaftes Material enthaltenden Geflechts ist der Netzpanzer sehr schwer; das beifolgend abgebildete Stück, das ich von dem Giljaken Mradamn in Ssabach kaufte, ist 2′ 4″ lang, 1′ 10″ breit und wiegt 28½ Pfund (russ.). Während die eisernen Panzer von mandshu-chinesischem Ursprunge sind, ist der Netzpanzer genuin giljakisch. Nach Angabe der Giljaken wurden die Netzpanzer von ihnen ehemals bei grösseren Fehden gebraucht, wenn in Folge eines Mordes, Weiberraubes oder drgl. ein Dorf gegen ein anderes zu Felde zog. Zu meiner Zeit waren sie jedoch bereits ganz ausser Gebrauch gekommen und sollten nur noch in wenigen Exemplaren zu finden sein. Das von mir acquirirte Stück trägt in der That die Spuren hohen Alters an sich, und sein hochbejahrter ehemaliger Besitzer meinte, dass weder sein Vater, noch sein Grossvater den Ursprung desselben gesehen habe. Trotzdem legen die Giljaken diesen Panzern, da sie aus werthlosem Material und von ihnen

1) Іакинфъ, Китай, его нравы, нравы, обычаи, просвѣщ., С.-Петерб. 1840, стр. 164.

2) S. oben, p. 148.

selbst gemacht sind, nur einen geringen Werth bei, ganz unvergleichlich mit jenen ersteren, oft zerstückelten und verrosteten mandshurischen Panzern[1]).

Zum Schluss der Bemerkungen über die Bewaffnung der Giljaken muss ich noch eines Stückes derselben gedenken, das zwar nur von harmloser Natur, darum aber nicht minder interessant und charakteristisch ist. Es ist das von ihnen sogen. *Mungtsche* (Taf. XLVI, Fig. 3), ein gegen fünf Fuss langer, rundlicher oder schwachkantiger Stock aus hartem Holz, der von oben bis unten jene charakteristische, kaum vertiefte Spiralzeichnung trägt, die man an allen ihren Lanzen-, Spiess- und Harpunenschäften findet, und die bei aller Glätte der letzteren der angedrückten Handfläche gegenüber doch einen gewissen Widerstand leistet. Das obere Ende des Mungtsche ist knopf- oder richtiger ejchelförmig abgerundet; im unteren Drittel ist es entweder nur gleichmässig verjüngt, oder etwas säbelförmig abgeflacht und auf der Rückseite stets mit einer tiefen Rinne versehen. Von den Giljaken ist diese sonderbare Waffe auch zu den Negda am Amgunj gedrungen, bei denen sie, offenbar durch Entstellung ihrer giljakischen Bezeichnung, *muketschi* heisst und allgemein verbreitet ist. Bei diesen lernte sie Middendorff kennen. Er giebt in seinem Reisewerk eine Abbildung von derselben und nennt sie dabei Holzsäbel[2]) und «Ehrenprügel». Seiner Meinung nach dient sie nur zum Austragen von Ehrensachen durch Fechten, wobei sie mit beiden Händen gefasst wird, und die Hiebe durch Hin- und Herbewegung der Waffe parirt werden. So zeigte ihm sein Gastgeber am Nemilen (einem Zufluss des Amgunj), der alte Negda Oltungab, den Gebrauch dieser Waffe. Und damit stimmt im Wesentlichen überein, was ich über dieselbe von den Giljaken erfahren habe. In der ersten Zeit meines Aufenthalts im Amur-Lande stellte sich der Patchä-Giljake Jutschin, ein sehr intelligenter Mensch, dem ich die erste Grundlage meines giljakischen Vokabulariums verdanke, nur mit dem Mungtsche bewaffnet, im Nikolajefschen Posten ein. Er machte mir auf meine bezüglichen Fragen auch jene Fechtbewegungen mit seiner hölzernen Waffe vor. Doch war aus seiner gesammten Handhabung derselben unzweifelhaft zu entnehmen, dass sie mehr als einen einfachen Rappierstock oder «Prügel» vorstellen sollte. Denn wie er sie mit ausgestrecktem rechten Arm, einer Hellebarde gleich auf den Boden gestützt, vor sich hin hielt, trug er eine gemachte Würde zur Schau, als sei er der Vornehmsten Einer. Auch mochte er sich selbst beim Sitzen nicht von ihr trennen. Die Achtung und Rücksicht, die er seinem Mungtsche zollte, sprachen sich endlich auch darin aus, dass dieses an mehreren Stellen, wo es Schaden genommen,

1) Zum Theil aus demselben oder einem ähnlichen Material wie das giljakische *Kä-petsch* sind auch die Panzer zweier anderen, im Süden und im Norden von den Giljaken wohnenden Randvölker Ostasien's gemacht. In den blutigen Fehden, welche die Nordamerikaner im J. 1871 mit den Koreanern hatten, sahen sie diese mit Panzern bekleidet, die aus einem starken Baumwollenzeuge von 40-facher Dicke bestanden und für Säbel und Bajonnet fast undurchdringlich waren (Nordische Presse, 1871, № 214, nach einer der «Times» von ihrem Berichterstatter aus Schanghai zugekommenen Nachricht). Andererseits erzählt Dittmar (Ueber die Korikes und Tschuktschen. — Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., T. XIII, p. 131; Mél. russes, T. III, p. 11), dass die Tschuktschen sich aus Fischbein und dicken Thierhäuten gefertigter Panzer bedienen.

2) Bd. IV, p. 1333. Das von ihm mitgebrachte, gegenwärtig in unserem Museum befindliche Exemplar ist in der That im letzten Drittel, wie oben erwähnt, etwas säbelförmig abgeflacht.

sorgfältig mit Birkenrinde überklebt war und dadurch in den Augen seines Besitzers nicht nur nicht gelitten, sondern an Werth noch gewonnen hatte. Alles in Allem machte das Mungtsche auf mich den Eindruck einer conventionellen Ehrenwaffe, die in alter Zeit, vielleicht in Nachahmung japanischer Lanzen entstanden ist und sich mit dieser ihr traditionell verbliebenen Bedeutung fortgeerbt hat. Auf ein solches Urbild weist auch die Middendorff unerklärlich gebliebene, auf der Rückseite des Mungtsche stets vorhandene tiefe Rinne hin, die offenbar eine Blutrinne darstellen soll.

Dem oben geschilderten Jagdbetriebe der Giljaken gegenüber bietet derjenige der anderen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes manche sowohl im Einzelnen, wie hinsichtlich seines Umfanges und seiner Bedeutung für das Gesammtleben derselben charakteristische Differenzen dar.

Dass zwischen den beiden auf Sachalin unmittelbar mit einander benachbarten paläasiatischen Völkern, den Giljaken und den Aino, die grösste Uebereinstimmung im Jagdbetriebe herrscht, versteht sich beinahe von selbst. Auch findet man bereits in Mamia-Rinsô's Reisebeschreibung [1]) für die «Kraftöer» oder Aino von Sachalin fast alle jene Thierfangmethoden kurz erwähnt, die wir beim Jagdbetriebe der Giljaken ausführlich kennen gelernt haben: so z. B. jene auf einem brückenartig über einen Bach gelegten Balken zum Fange von Zobeln und Flussottern aufgestellten Schlingen, die für Füchse und Wölfe bestimmten Klemmgabeln (gilj. *kasma*), die beim Anstoss an einen gespannten Faden von selbst einen Pfeil entsendenden Bogen u. s. w. Von diesen letzteren berichtet der japanische Reisende, dass sie den Aino auch zum Erlegen von Seeottern dienen, mit einem Fisch als Köder, — eine Angabe, die an sich etwas zweifelhaft ist und heutzutage jedenfalls nur von historischem Interesse sein kann, da die Seeotter (*Enhydris marina* Schreb., ainisch *rakko*) nach den von mir und späteren Reisenden gesammelten Nachrichten [2]) an den Küsten Sachalin's jetzt kaum mehr vorkommen und den Bewohnern derselben nur noch dem Namen nach bekannt sein dürfte. Glaubwürdiger und von grösserem Interesse hinsichtlich des Jagdbetriebes der Aino ist die Angabe desselben Reisenden, dass sie ähnliche Schlingen wie für die Flussotter und den Zobel auch für das Moschusthier (ain. *likun-kamoi*), und zwar, dem Wohnort desselben entsprechend, in den Gebirgsschluchten aufstellen. Darnach möchte ich vermuthen, dass dieses Thier auch von den Giljaken in ähnlicher Weise gefangen wird, obgleich ich bei ihnen nichts davon gehört habe. Die Art der Aino, gegen grössere Thiere, wie Rennthier und Bär, vorzugehen, ist ebenfalls dieselbe wie bei den Giljaken, nur bedienen sie sich auch vergifteter Pfeile, welche bei den letzteren, wie oben

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1) Tô-tats kiko (Siebold, Nippon VII, p. 185).

2) S. d. I. Bd. dieses Werkes, p. 44. Degl. Инозаевъ, Острова Сахалинъ и его остяки (Прилож. къ LX-му тому Зап. Имп. Акад. Наукъ, № 6, стр. 147).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

erwähnt, nicht vorkommen. Die zur Jagd erforderlichen Bärenspiesse, Speere und Lanzen werden ihnen aber seit dem völligen Niedergange ihrer eigenen Schmiedekunst von den Giljaken im Tauschhandel geliefert, wobei jene eleganten, mit eingelegten silbernen, kupfernen und messingnen Figuren versehenen Lanzen für mandshurische gelten, — eine Anschauung, die von den Giljaken aus Eigennutz erhalten und genährt werden mag. Alles in Allem sind jedoch die Aino noch weniger Jäger als die Giljaken, und zwar nicht bloss weil sie gleich diesen hauptsächlich vom Fisch- und Seehundsfang leben, die ihre Existenz nothdürftig sicher stellen, sondern auch weil sie zu träge und in Folge des auf ihnen lastenden japanischen Joches zu apathisch sind, um sich durch einen regeren, im Handel mit den Giljaken leicht zu verwerthenden Betrieb der Pelzthierjagd die Mittel zu einer reichlicheren und besseren Existenz zu verschaffen.

Anders verhält es sich mit den anderen Nachbarn der Giljaken auf Sachalin, den **Oroken**. Bei ihnen tritt uns die allen tungusischen Stämmen eigene Neigung zur Jagd in sehr augenfälliger und charakteristischer Weise entgegen. Denn obgleich nur in geringer Zahl zwischen zwei mächtigeren, sesshaften Fischervölkern eingeschoben, sind sie, wie oben ausführlich dargethan, ihrem Hauptwesen und Charakter nach doch Jagdnomaden geblieben. Die Jagd ist ihnen zum Lebensunterhalt auch ganz unumgänglich nothwendig, denn obgleich sie sich eine Zeit lang im Jahr auch selbst mit Fisch- und Seehundsfang an der Meeresküste und den Flussmündungen beschäftigen, so genügen diese doch lange nicht zu ihrer Existenz, und erst die in den Gebirgswildnissen, wie in den ausgedehnten nördlichen Niederungen der Insel eifrig betriebene Jagd sichert ihnen dieselbe, indem sie ihnen theils unmittelbar manche Nahrungsmittel und Kleidungsstoffe, insbesondere Rennthierfleisch und Felle zuführt und theils die Mittel zum Tauschhandel mit den Giljaken und damit auch zur Befriedigung ihrer Lebensbedürfnisse liefert. Auf diesen Handel werde ich noch zurückkommen, hier aber sei nur im Allgemeinen bemerkt, dass die Oroken sich die Hauptmittel zu demselben, die schätzbaren Zobel-, Fuchs- und Otterfelle mit vielem Erfolg zu verschaffen verstehen, und nicht minder werden sie von den Giljaken als geschickte Rennthier- und muthige Bärenjäger gerühmt.

In grösserem Maasse und in weiteren und mannigfaltigeren Zügen als auf dem beschränkten Raume Sachalin's tritt uns die überwiegende Neigung und Begabung zur Jagd bei den **Tungusischen** Nachbarstämmen der Giljaken auf dem Festlande entgegen. Oben ist schon hervorgehoben worden, dass im Allgemeinen, je weiter von der Mündung des Amur stromauf und in die linken Zuflüsse desselben gegangen, um so mehr die Jagd dem Fischfange gegenüber an Umfang und Bedeutung im Leben der anwohnenden Völker zunimmt. So weit Naturverhältnisse maassgebend für die Lebensgestaltung der Völker sind, beruht dies auf dem Umstande, dass in der angegebenen Richtung einerseits der Fischreichthum des Amur-Stromes abnimmt und andererseits die Zahl und Häufigkeit der jagdbaren Thierarten sich rasch steigern. So nimmt namentlich das grösste Säugethier des Amur-Landes, das der Insel Sachalin völlig abgehende Elenn, auf dem Festlande in der bezeichneten Richtung rasch an Häufigkeit zu, um in den ausgedehnten Waldungen am Amgunj und Gorin und am Amur noch über die Mündung des letz-

teren hinaus das Maximum derselben zu erreichen. Mit der Amgunj-Mündung stellt sich ferner, den Amur stromaufwärts gegangen, das Reh, mit der Chaselach-Mündung, an der Südgrenze des Giljaken-Gebietes, das Wildschwein und mit der Chelasso- und Gorin-Mündung der Edelhirsch ein, — drei Thierarten, die weiter aufwärts, nach Maassgabe als die Waldungen und die gesammte Vegetation ein südlicheres Gepräge gewinnen, immer häufiger werden. An dieser durch die orographischen und klimatischen Verhältnisse des unteren Amur-Landes bedingten raschen Bereicherung seiner Säugethierfauna von der Amur-Mündung stromauf- und landeinwärts haben besonders die Gebiete der Negda, Samagirn, Oltscha und Golde Theil. Zur Meeresküste hin findet zwar, in Folge der grossen winterlichen Schneemengen, welche für die Nahrung und Bewegung der genannten Thiere ungünstig sind, eine Depression ihrer Polargrenzen nach Süden statt[1]), doch ist auch das Gebiet der Orotschen hinsichtlich seiner Jagdthiere demjenigen der Giljaken gegenüber noch ansehnlich im Vortheil. Daneben stehen die Wohngebiete sämmtlicher genannten tungusischen Stämme des unteren Amur-Landes in Betreff der im Handel besonders hochgeschätzten Pelzthiere dem giljakischen keineswegs nach, — ja, das wichtigste dieser Thiere, der Zobel, besitzt dort zum Theil sogar eine grössere Güte und Schönheit des Felles als hier. Ist er auf Sachalin, vermuthlich in Folge des Fehlens der auf gleiche Nahrung mit ihm angewiesenen *Mustela sibirica*, auch häufiger als auf dem Festlande, so trägt er dort doch nur ein hellfarbigeres und darum minder schätzbares Fell. Auf dem Festlande aber nimmt dieses von der Meeresküste landeinwärts noch an Güte zu, so dass die Zobel der rechten Amur-Zuflüsse im Allgemeinen denjenigen der linken nachstehen, und unter den letzteren namentlich die Amgunj- und Gorin-Zobel ihrer Dichthaarigkeit und dunklen Farbe wegen für die besten gelten[2]). Bei so viel günstigeren Naturbedingungen und der allen Tungusen tief innewohnenden Leidenschaft zur Jagd ist es ganz begreiflich, dass diese bei allen tungusischen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes einen weit grösseren Umfang gewinnen und für ihr gesammtes Leben von wesentlicherer Bedeutung werden musste, als es bei den Giljaken der Fall ist.

In erster Reihe steht auch bei den tungusischen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes, gleich wie bei den Giljaken, der Fang schätzbarer Pelzthiere, insbesondere des Zobels, der Flussotter und des Fuchses, schon aus dem Grunde, weil sie durch denselben im Handel nicht bloss manche Kleidungsstoffe und Nahrungsmittel, sondern auch die allgemein beliebten Genussmittel und namentlich den ihnen unentbehrlich gewordenen Tabak erhalten. Er wird auch in derselben Weise und mit denselben Mitteln, nur auf grösserem Raume und mit mehr Gewandtheit und Geschick und daher auch mit mehr Erfolg betrieben.

Während aber die Jagd bei den Giljaken sich fast nur auf den Pelzthierfang beschränkt und somit ganz im Dienste des Handels steht, erstreckt sie sich bei den tungusischen Amur-

1) Eine ausführlichere und zum Theil auch graphische Darstellung dieser Verhältnisse ist im ersten Bande dieses Werkes sowohl bei Besprechung der einzelnen Thierarten, als auch in den allgemeinen Schlussfolgerungen über den Charakter der Säugethierfauna des Amur-Landes (p. 193 u. ff.) und auf der beigefügten Karte gegeben worden.

2) S. dieses Werkes Bd. 1, p. 30 und 31.

Völkern nicht minder auch auf die oben erwähnten Arten von Roth-, Hoch- und Schwarzwild, und zwar werden diese nicht etwa bloss gelegentlich erlegt und ausgenutzt, wie es bei den Giljaken geschieht, sondern regelmässig und eifrig verfolgt, weil sie unmittelbar und ganz wesentlich zu ihrer Kleidung und Nahrung dienen. Darauf ist oben, bei Besprechung dieser beiden Punkte auch schon hingewiesen worden. Hinsichtlich der Nahrung muss aber der Jagd bei den tungusischen Amur-Völkern eine um so grössere Bedeutung zugeschrieben werden, als sie auch viel mehr Zeit als bei den Giljaken in Anspruch nimmt und je weiter stromauf- und landeinwärts, desto mehr und ausschliesslicher den ganzen Winter und einen Theil des Herbstes und Frühjahrs ausfüllt.

Mit der grösseren Zeitdauer der Jagd bei den tungusischen Amur-Völkern geht ferner auch ihre Ausbreitung über einen weit grösseren Raum Hand in Hand. Während der Giljake sich mit einem verhältnissmässig geringen Umkreise für seine Jagd begnügt, dort, in den ihm aus Erfahrung als günstig bekannten Lokalitäten und an den durch die Thierfährten im Schnee indicirten Stellen seine Fallen und Selbstschüsse errichtet, dieselben von Zeit zu Zeit besichtigt und zur Nacht immer wieder nach seiner ständigen Winterwohnung am Strome oder an der Meeresküste zurückkehrt, unternehmen die Amur-Tungusen nicht selten weite, viele Tage, ja Wochen lang dauernde Jagdausflüge. Hierin spricht sich ihre überwiegende Jägernatur den Giljaken gegenüber am prägnantesten aus. Trotzdem sie im Ganzen ebenfalls sesshafte Fischer geworden sind, hat ihr ursprünglicher Hang zum Jagdnomadenleben sich doch nicht ganz unterdrücken lassen und bricht von Zeit zu Zeit immer wieder siegreich und unabweislich durch. In kleinen Partien, zu zwei bis fünf Mann, begeben sie sich auf Schneeschuhen, das nöthige Jagdgeräth, einige der nothwendigsten Utensilien, wie kleine Kochkessel und drgl., und etwas Mundvorrath für die erste Zeit auf leichten, mit wenigen Hunden bespannten Schlitten mit sich führend, in das von ihnen erwählte Jagdterrain. Dort angelangt, errichten sie sich an einer passenden Stelle im Walde ein Jagdzelt von der Art, wie oben beschrieben worden, ein sogen. Alko, das ihnen zur gemeinsamen Wohnung dient, und von welchem aus sie ihre ferneren Jagdstreifzüge nach verschiedenen Seiten im näheren und weiteren Umkreise ausführen. Tags über geht ein Jeder der Jagd und Besichtigung der von ihm aufgestellten Fallen und Selbstschüsse nach, und gegen Abend findet sich die kleine Gesellschaft wieder im Zelt am lodernden Feuer ein, um das aus dem Fleisch der erbeuteten Thiere bereitete Mahl einzunehmen. Wird aber ein Jäger durch die Verfolgung einer Thierfährte zu weit abgelenkt oder auch durch ein besonderes Jagdereigniss oder Abenteuer zu lange aufgehalten, um rechtzeitig zurückkehren zu können, so bereitet er sich je nach dem Wetter aus Tannenzweigen entweder ein kleines gewölbartiges Zelt, eine sogen. Homorá, wie ich sie oben ebenfalls besprochen habe, oder auch ein einfaches Lager im Schnee, um darauf an einem kleinen Feuer sein Mahl und seine Nachtruhe zu halten. Erscheint es im Interesse der Jagd geboten, so wird das Standquartier gewechselt und die Jagd somit auf ein anderes, minder begangenes und ergiebigeres Terrain übertragen, und hat sich endlich genug der Beute angehäuft und die Jagdlust hinlänglich abgekühlt, so wird der Rückweg zu den in den Winterwohnungen hinterbliebenen Angehörigen, zu Weib und Kind angetreten, wobei die

Jäger theils auf Schneeschuhen den mit der Jagdbeute beladenen Schlitten vorangehen und ihnen einen Weg durch den tiefen Schnee bahnen und theils gemeinsam mit den Hunden an denselben ziehen. Zu Hause angelangt, pflegen die Jäger vor Allem der Ruhe und des Nichtsthuns, ergeben sich an der veränderten Kost und suchen sich durch Veräusserung ihrer Jagdausbeute an chinesische oder andere Händler in den Besitz der für sie und die Ihrigen nöthigen Kleidungs-, Nahrungs- und Genussmittel, insbesondere auch des geschmälerten oder ganz eingeschmolzenen Tabaksvorrathes zu setzen. Nicht selten wird jedoch nach einer gewissen, längeren oder kürzeren Erholungsfrist ein neuer Jagdausflug unternommen und so fort, so lange die Jahreszeit es gestattet.

Die Wahl des Jagdterrains scheint bei den tungusischen Stämmen des unteren Amur-Landes ziemlich frei und ohne Berücksichtigung etwaiger Völkergrenzen stattzufinden, so dass sie der Jagd wegen nicht selten Gegenden besuchen, die, streng genommen, nicht mehr in ihrem eigenen Wohngebiete, sondern in demjenigen eines Nachbarstammes liegen, was jedoch bei ihren communistischen Anschauungen und weil es stets unbewohnte Wildnisse sind, keinerlei Streitigkeiten oder Fehden zwischen ihnen veranlasst. Namentlich streifen die tungusischen Nachbarstämme der Giljaken gern in das Gebiet der letzteren hinein, weil diese selbst keine ausgedehnteren Jagden ausführen. So gehen im Norden russische Rennthier-Tungusen vom Tugur und Negda vom Amgunj der Jagd in dem zwischen dem Amur und dem Ochotskischen Meere, also ganz im giljakischen Gebiete sich hinziehenden Mäwatschan-Gebirge nach, und ebenso machen es die Oltscha im Süden. Als ich im Februar 1855 vom Amur-Liman längs dem kleinen Tymi-Flusse dem Gebirge zufuhr, um über dieses hinweg durch das Chaselach-Thal an den Amur-Strom zu gelangen, vernahm ich plötzlich in der Wildniss Hundegebell und stiess, diesem folgend, auf ein etwas abseits von unserem Wege, mitten im hohen Walde gelegenes Zelt, das fünf Jägern zum zeitweiligen Standquartier diente. Vier von ihnen waren Oltscha, darunter einer aus dem Dorfe Koim am Amur, der fünfte ein Samagir aus Pulj. Sie jagten hier auf dem östlichen, dem Amur-Liman zugekehrten Abhange des Gebirges und also auf einem ganz unstreitig im giljakischen Gebiet gelegenen Terrain und zeigten mir manche Thier- und namentlich Zobelfelle, die sie erbeutet hatten. Dennoch fand mein Führer, ein Tschomi-Giljake, der mir den Oltscha gegenüber auch als Dolmetscher diente, es ganz in der Ordnung und sah darin keineswegs einen Eingriff in die Rechte seiner Landsleute. Jetzt schickten sich der Samagir und einer der Oltscha bereits zur Heimkehr an, die jener zu Fuss auf Schneeschuhen, dieser im Schlitten mit Hülfe seiner Hunde auszuführen gedachte, und da ich desselben Weges fuhr, so schlossen sie sich mir an, um den von meinen breitsohligen russischen Narten im tiefen Schnee gebahnten Weg zu benutzen. Ebenso führen die oberhalb Kidsi am Amur wohnenden Oltscha häufig Jagdstreifzüge und Ausflüge in das Orotschen-Gebiet, an den oberen Tumdshi und seine Zuflüsse aus, und ähnlich machen es den Orotschen gegenüber auch die Golde, um so mehr als ihre Wohnsitze sich auch an den von rechts in den Amur fallenden Flüssen mehr oder minder weit hinaufziehen und dort an diejenigen der Orotschen grenzen.

Am meisten aber tritt Einem die Freiheit in der Wahl des Jagdterrains am unteren Gorin entgegen. Hier breitet sich ein weites, durchaus internationales Jagdgebiet aus, auf welchem man fast allen tungusischen Stämmen des unteren Amur-Landes begegnen kann. Während im oberen Laufe des Gorin und an seinen nördlichen, dem Amgunj-System genäherten Zuflüssen desselben Samagirn- und Negda-Jäger sich begegnen, werden die ausgedehnten Wald- und Gebirgswildnisse an seinem unteren Laufe ausser den Samagirn auch von Oltscha und Golde durchstreift. Die letzteren namentlich kommen sehr oft und zahlreich und zum Theil von weit entlegenen Orten des Amur-Stromes hin. So habe ich dort selbst welche aus Onmoi, Chongar und sogar aus Zollazi getroffen, das etwa 150 Werst von der Gorin-Mündung entfernt liegt. Dieser Fluss bietet im Winter den Golde vom Amur aus eine ebenso bequeme Strasse in das erwähnte Jagdterrain, wie den an seinem Oberlaufe wohnenden Samagirn. An seinen Ufern liegen daher auch die meisten und grössten zeitweiligen Standquartiere der Jäger der einen wie der anderen Nationalität, und zwar befinden sich diejenigen der Golde mehr im unteren Laufe des Flusses und diejenigen der Samagirn höher hinauf und näher nach Ngagha zu, ihrem ersten beständigen Wohnsitze an demselben. Solche Alko's werden nach dem Abzuge der Jäger auch nicht niedergerissen, sondern bleiben stehen, um neuen Ankömmlingen desselben oder auch eines anderen Stammes zum Aufenthalt zu dienen. So wechseln sie im Laufe der Jagdsaison vielfach ihre Bewohner. Gelegentlich steigen in denselben auch durchziehende Jäger oder chinesische Händler ab, gleichwie ich auch selbst in den Alko's von Poionge und von Wai Mittagsrast gehalten oder Nachtlager genommen habe. Trifft man die derzeitigen Bewohner des Jagdzeltes auch nicht daheim, so findet man es doch offen und sieht sogleich seinem Aeusseren wie seinem Inneren an, dass es bewohnt wird. Darauf weisen die vor dem Zelt an den Baumstämmen oder auf Stangen zum Trocknen aushängenden Thierfelle, so wie die an dasselbe gelehnten Schlitten, Schneeschuhe, Stöcke, Lanzen, Bogen, Selbstschüsse und sonstigen Jagdgeräthe hin. Im Innern des Zeltes aber geben die hie und da umherliegenden oder herabhängenden Jagdabfälle und Jagdtrophäen, wie Fellstücke, Geweihe, Schädel und Knochen verschiedener Thiere, so wie die an der Herdstelle stehenden Kessel und Schalen und das in der Asche vielleicht noch glimmende Feuer von der nur momentanen Abwesenheit seiner Bewohner Zeugniss. Die Benutzung des Zeltes und seines wirthschaftlichen Zubehörs steht Jedermann frei, die Unantastbarkeit aber der in und an demselben niedergelegten Jagdausbeuten und Jagdutensilien wird als selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt, — ein Vertrauen, das niemals missbraucht werden soll und somit ganz berechtigt erscheint.

Ausser diesen mehr oder minder geräumigen und gewissermaassen ständigen Jagdzelten oder Alko's stösst man in den Gorin-Waldungen sehr oft auch auf jene aus Weidenruthen und Tannenzweigen gewölbartig errichteten Nachtlagerzelte einzelner Jäger, sogenannte Homoca's, oder auch auf kleine Alko's, die in ihrer Form und ihrem Bau den grossen nachgebildet, aber so klein sind, dass sie offenbar bloss für einen Jäger bestimmt sind, und zwei nur zur Noth in denselben Platz finden können. Sie sind entweder von einzeln umherstreifenden Jägern errichtet, oder dienen dazu, bei Ausnutzung eines weiten Umkreises durch eine kleine Jägergesell-

schaft die Besichtigung der entfernteren Fallen und Selbstschüsse durch ihre einzelnen Mitglieder leichter und bequemer zu machen. In einem solchen Alko, aus welchem jedoch der Schnee zuvor ausgeschaufelt werden musste, habe ich auf meiner Gorin-Fahrt ebenfalls eine Nacht zugebracht. Mein goldischer Führer nannte es ein «*Saifa-, Mudu-, Soolo-ware-alko*», d. h. ein Zobel-, Otter- und Fuchs-Jagdzelt, — eine Bezeichnung, welche ebenfalls direkt auf den oben hervorgehobenen Zweck desselben, der leichteren Besichtigung der zum Fange dieser Thiere aufgestellten Apparate zu dienen, hinwies.

Ohne Zweifel steht auch hier die Jagd auf die genannten, im Handel allgemein hochgeschätzten Pelzthiere obenan. Und wie sehr sie mit Erfolg betrieben wird, beweist schon der Umstand, dass manche der am Amur zeitweilig ansässigen chinesischen Kaufleute die Mühen der Fahrt hieher und bis zu den Samagirn-Sitzen am oberen Gorin nicht scheuen, um die kostbare Waare an Ort und Stelle und gelegentlich wohl auch mit Ausnutzung einer etwaigen Nothlage der Jäger zu möglichst niedrigem Preise zu erhandeln. Wiederholentlich begegneten mir ihre mit verschiedenen Waaren beladenen Schlitten, die von ihnen selbst ganz nach Art der Eingeborenen gelenkt wurden. Im Alko von Wai aber kam ich zweien von ihnen zuvor, und da ich mit meinen Leuten, einem Kosaken und einem Führer, das Zelt eingenommen hatte, so schlugen sie ihr Nachtlager, ebenfalls ganz in der Weise, wie es die Eingeborenen thun, neben demselben auf. Es waren ein chinesischer Kaufmann aus Köurmi am Amur mit einem bis an die Fersen herabhängenden Zopfe und sein Handlungsdiener oder Führer, und während der erstere sich ostentativ als Herr benahm und in sehr lauter Weise seine Befehle ertheilte, machte der letztere dienstbeflissen das Feuer an, bereitete das Essen u. s. w.

Nicht minder als der Pelzthierfang wird in den Gorin-Wildnissen auch die Jagd auf Hochwild betrieben. Darunter steht das grösste der Säugethiere des Amur-Landes, das Elenn, unstreitig obenan. Seine Häufigkeit und die allgemeine und wichtige Verwendung, die es bei den Samagirn wie bei den anderen tungusischen Stämmen des unteren Amur-Landes zur Nahrung und Kleidung findet, erheben es hier zum Jagdthier insonderheit und machen es ganz begreiflich, dass es von ihnen ausser seinem specifischen Namen (*to* und *toke*) auch noch mit dem anderen: «*ahujin*», d. h. Thier schlechtweg, bezeichnet wird. Nicht bloss vor den Jagdzelten sieht man Felle desselben zum Trocknen aushängen, sondern auch mitten im Walde oder im Gebüsch der Gorin-Inseln stösst man bisweilen auf ein solches, das von einem Jäger deponirt worden, um gelegentlich abgeholt zu werden. Immer wieder kreuzten wir die Spuren des Thieres im Schnee, und mehrmals kamen wir auch an solchen Stellen vorüber, wo, wie mein Führer aus dem stark zerstampften Schnee schloss, ein Thier erlegt worden war. Von besonderem Interesse aber war mir eine Stelle im Walde, wo der Schädel und die Gebeine des Thieres, auf eine Reihe von Stangen gesteckt, über den Schnee emporragten, — ein Anblick, der mich an die mit Schädeln von Weisswalen behängten Bäume bei den Giljaken, so wie an ein paar grosse Bärenschädelstätten erinnerte, die ich vor Kurzem in der nächsten Umgebung von Ngagha gesehen hatte, und auf die ich an einem anderen Ort noch zurückkommen werde. So schliesst sich hier das Elenn denjenigen Thieren an, die bei ihrer hervorragenden Bedeutung im Leben eines Vol-

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

kes auch eine besondere, durch den Aberglauben diktirte Behandlung nach ihrem Tode erheischen. Für die erfolgreichen Elennsjagden im Gorin-Gebiet sprachen ferner die zahlreichen, mit Elennsfleisch und Fellen beladenen Schlitten zurückkehrender Jäger, die uns auf der Fahrt begegneten. Von besonderem Werth für alle tungusischen Stämme sind namentlich auch die Beinfellstücke des Elenns, da sie zum Bekleiden der ihnen so unumgänglichen Schneeschuhe dienen. Diese Stücke setzen die Amur-Golde sogar bei ihren Landsleuten am Ussuri ab, da das Elennthier dort nur selten vorkommt und noch etwas südlicher, am Ssuifun, seine Aequatorialgrenze erreicht [1]).

Nächst dem Elennthier giebt der Edelhirsch das grösste und von den Jägern am meisten gesuchte Hochwild in den Gorin-Wildnissen ab, und zwar um so mehr, als er neben seiner Verwendung zur Nahrung und Kleidung in seinem frisch aufgesetzten und noch nicht erhärteten Geweih einen von den Chinesen seiner angeblich confortativen Wirkung wegen hoch geschätzten und theuer bezahlten Artikel liefert. Doch bleibt er im Gorin-Gebiet, nahe seiner Polargrenze, an Häufigkeit weit hinter dem Elenn zurück und gelangt, gleich dem Reh und dem Wildschwein, erst weiter süd- und westwärts zu seiner vollen Geltung.

Dass auch das Moschusthier von den Jägern am unteren Gorin häufig erbeutet wird, bewiesen mir die Felle, Schädel und Knochen dieses Thieres, die in oder vor den Jagdzelten zu sehen waren. Es bildet auch eine dem Jäger stets erwünschte Beute, da sein Fell bei den Samagirn und Golde zu kleineren Kleidungsstücken und Teppichen dient, das Fleisch von ihnen gern gegessen wird, aus den Beinknochen Pfeilspitzen geschnitzt werden, und der Moschusbeutel des Männchens endlich einen von den Chinesen gut bezahlten Handesartikel abgiebt.

Den weiter hinauf, oberhalb des Geong-Gebirges am Amur wohnenden Golde liegt das Gorin-Gebiet zu fern, um regelmässig von ihnen besucht zu werden. Dagegen haben sie sowohl wie ihre Landsleute am Ussuri ergiebige Jagdgründe an den vom Küstengebirge nach diesen Strömen herabkommenden Zuflüssen, die letzteren namentlich und besonders am oberen Biki, Ima und Waku. Auch nimmt die Beschäftigung mit der Jagd bei den Golde in der angegebenen Richtung, den Amur und Ussuri aufwärts nur immer zu. Am letzteren zieht, sobald der herbstliche Fischfang sein Ende erreicht und eine Schneedecke sich eingestellt hat, die gesammte rüstige männliche Bevölkerung zur Jagd fort, um sich den ganzen Winter über mit derselben zu beschäftigen, ja Manche beeilen sich der Beeisung der Nebenflüsse zuvorzukommen und ihre Wanderung nach den Jagdgründen noch zu Boot auszuführen [2]). Die Meisten jedoch begeben sich dahin schon auf Schneeschuhen, wobei sie das nöthige Jagd- und Hausgeräth auf einem mit einigen Hunden bespannten Schlitten hinter sich her ziehen. Und zwar thun sie dies um so lieber, als ihnen die Hunde vielfach auch zur Jagd dienen. So lange nämlich der Schnee nur von geringer Tiefe ist, stellen sie dem Zobel nicht bloss mit Fallen und Selbstschüssen, sondern auch vermittelst der Hunde nach. Diese folgen dem von Baum zu Baum flüchtenden Zobel

1) Пржевальскій, Путеш. въ Уссурійскомъ краѣ, стр. 202.

2) Przewalski, l. c., p. 99.

auf dem Erdboden nach, ohne ihn aus dem Auge zu verlieren, bis sie ihn unter lautem Gebell gestellt haben, worauf er vom Jäger geschossen wird. Gelingt es ihm in einen hohlen Baum zu schlüpfen, so wird dieser gefällt, verkriecht er sich aber unter eine Baumwurzel, einen Stein oder dergl., so wird er ausgeräuchert und vermittelst eines davor aufgestellten Sacknetzes gefangen. Nicht minder werden die Hunde auch zur Jagd auf den im Ussuri-Lande häufigen, von den Golde, Oltscha und Samagirn *Jandako* genannten *Canis procyonoides* Gray benutzt, dessen Fleisch und Fett von ihnen gegessen, das Fell aber an die Chinesen abgesetzt wird. Da dies Thier eine nächtliche Lebensweise hat, so gehen die Jäger, nach Nadarof's Mittheilung [1]), Nachts mit je einem oder ein paar Hunden auf dessen Erbeutung aus, wobei sie denselben kleine Schellen um den Hals binden, um durch deren stärkeres Geklingel sogleich davon avertirt zu werden, wann und wo eine Beute von ihnen erfasst worden ist. Da der Jandako im Herbst sehr feist und in Folge dessen träge und nur schwer beweglich ist, so ereilen ihn die Hunde, nachdem sie auf seine Spur gekommen, sehr bald und beissen ihn nach kurzem Kampfe todt. Noch andere im nördlichen unteren Amur-Lande fehlende oder nur ganz ausnahmsweise vorkommende Thierarten, wie *Ursus thibetanus* Cuv., *Mustela flavigula* Bodd., *Antilope crispa* Temm., *Cervus Axis* Erxl. [2]), bieten sich den Jägern im Ussuri-Gebiet als mehr oder minder willkommene Beute dar. Das Hauptaugenmerk derselben bleibt jedoch auch hier auf die bereits vielfach genannten, allgemein verbreiteten und geschätzten Pelzthiere, Zobel, Flussotter und Fuchs gerichtet, wobei ihnen die Häufigkeit dieser Thiere in den erwähnten Wald- und Gebirgswildnissen einen Ersatz für ihre zum Theil geringere Qualität bietet. Denn der Zobel hat im oberen Ussuri-Gebiet, wo er sich seiner Aequatorialgrenze nähert, ein weit minder schönes, kurzhaarigeres und helleres Fell als am Amur [3]), und der Fuchs kommt dort auch meist nur in seinen helleren Färbungen und nur äusserst selten als Kreuz- oder schwarzer Fuchs vor [4]). Ferner sind es hier auch dieselben Fleischthiere wie am Amur ober- und unterhalb der Ussuri-Mündung, Edelhirsch, Reh und Wildschwein, welche die Hauptaufmerksamkeit der Jäger in Anspruch nehmen und ihnen durch ihre Menge einen reichlichen Lohn abwerfen. Die Jagd auf dieselben wird von den Golde je nach der Jahreszeit in verschiedener Weise betrieben, indem sie bald in Fanggruben gefangen, bald durch Selbstschüsse erlegt, bald aus dem Versteck geschossen und bald mit Hunden verfolgt werden, welche das Thier dem Jäger zum Schuss oder zum Angriff mit der Lanze stellen. Dieser letztere Jagdmodus wird namentlich mit dem grössten Erfolge dem Edelhirsch gegenüber im ersten Frühjahr angewendet, sobald über dem Schnee eine dünne Eisschicht sich gebildet hat, da diese den Lauf des stets durchbrechenden schweren Thieres hemmt und der auf Schneeschuhen hingleitende Jäger es leicht einholen kann, — eine

1) Н. Надаровъ, Сверно-уссурійскій край (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., по общ. геогр., Т. XVII, № 1, стр. 110).

2) Vergl. Radde, Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien in den J. 1855—1859, Bd. I, Die Säugethierfauna, St. Petersb. 1862, p. 12, 31, 262, 286. Przewalski, l. c., p. 248, 247, 283.

3) Przewalski, l. c., p. 249.

4) Przewalski, l. c., p. 253.

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Jagdart, die auch weiter abwärts, am Amur und Gorin von Golde und Samagirn geübt wird und an die ähnlichen Verfolgungen des Elenn- und Rennthiers bei den Giljaken erinnert. Bemerkenswerther noch ist die Analogie, die sich in der ergiebigsten Art der Ussuri-Golde, das Reh zu jagen, darbietet. Mit den regelmässigen Wanderungen, welche die Rehe, zu grossen Heerden geschaart, zweimal alljährlich zwischen den rechten Ussuri- und Sungari-Zuflüssen ausführen, genau bekannt, lauern sie denselben an den Stellen auf, wo sie über den Ussuri zu setzen pflegen. Hat eine Heerde sich daran gemacht und etwa die Mitte des Stromes erreicht, so schiessen von allerwärts aus dem Versteck leichte, mit je einem Mann besetzte Rindenkähne heran. Im Nu sind die Thiere von dem einen wie vom anderen Ufer abgeschnitten, und nun beginnt unter lautem Jubelgeschrei ein Gemetzel derselben, wobei sie nur je einen Lanzenstich durch den Hals erhalten, um langsam zu verbluten und von den mittlerweile in grösseren Boten heranrudernden Weibern und Kindern aus dem Wasser gehoben zu werden[1]). Wer denkt dabei nicht an die ganz ähnlichen, in den Polargegenden Sibirien's statthabenden Niedermetzelungen der Rennthiere, wenn diese auf ihren Wanderungen zwischen der Eismeertundra und der Waldregion über die ihnen im Wege liegenden Flüsse setzen?[2])

In weit geringerer Zahl als der Edelhirsch oder das Reh fällt den Golde das Wildschwein zur Beute, von dem sie in der Regel nur die weiblichen und jungen Thiere direkt jagen, die erwachsenen Eber hingegen fast ebenso wenig anzugreifen oder zu verfolgen wagen, wie den Tiger. Dieser letztere wird von ihnen nur gelegentlich oder aus Nothwehr erlegt, wenn er, um Hunde oder Schweine zu rauben, bis zu ihren Behausungen vordringt oder gar ihnen selbst begegnet und den Angriff unvermeidlich macht. Die Furcht vor solchen Besuchen und Begegnungen beherrscht sie beständig und veranlasst sie, zur Abwendung derselben jene Holzfiguren, Götzen und Amulete von ihm anzufertigen, welche ich an einem anderen Orte[3]) bereits besprochen habe, und auf die ich in der Folge gelegentlich noch zurückkommen werde. Dasselbe gilt auch vom «*Jergu*» (Irbis), der zwar weit seltener ist, darum aber in den abergläubischen Gemüthern eine nur um so grössere Furcht erzeugt. Gelingt es ihnen übrigens einmal einen Tiger zu erlegen, so ist ihr Gewinn von demselben nicht gering, indem nicht bloss das bei den Chinesen in hohem Ansehen stehende Fell des Thieres[4]) von den Kaufleuten gut bezahlt wird, sondern auch seine übrigen Theile, wie Krallen, Knochen, Muskeln, Sehnen, ja sogar die Galle, in China wie in der Mandshurei ihrer officinellen Verwendung wegen einen guten Absatz bei ihnen finden[5]).

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1) Vrgl. Przewalski, l. c., p. 267.

2) Vrgl. u. B. Pallas (Zoogr., Vol. I, p. 212; desgl. Nord. Beyträge, Bd. I, p. 244), Wrangell (Путеш. по сѣв. бер. Сиб. и по Ледов. морю, Ч. II, стр. 87), Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Bd. IV, p. 1147) u. A.

3) S. dieses Werkes Bd. I, p. 92 u. folg.

4) Darüber s. oben, p. 391, Anm. 2.

5) Angaben über den Gebrauch der einzelnen Körpertheile des Tigers als Heilmittel bei den Chinesen, Mandshu und Golde, sowie über deren vermeintliche Wirkung findet man bereits bei Gerbillon (in Du Halde's Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise, T. IV, p. 248 u. 301) und später bei Przewalski (l. c., p. 233), Palladij (Труды Миссіи. — Извѣст. Геогр. Общ., Т. VII, 1871, Отд. II, стр. 377), Darchasch (Сумрак. Дальн. — Вѣстникъ Европы., 1874, № 2, стр. 317) u. A. So soll z. B. der Genuss von Tigerfleisch oder gepulverten Tigerknochen Muth und Verwegenheit erzeugen u. dergl. m.

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Viel wesentlicher und maassgebender noch fürs gesammte Leben als bei den Golde ist die Jagd bei ihren östlichen Nachbarn, den Orotschen. Darf man jene, trotz ihrer grossen Vorliebe für die Jagd, welche den männlichen Theil der Bevölkerung sogar die meiste Zeit des Jahres beschäftigt, ihrem Grundwesen nach immer noch als ein Fischervolk bezeichnen, da sie feste Wohnsitze an den Flüssen, dem Amur, dem Ussuri und ihren rechten Zuflüssen haben, und der Fischfang in denselben immerhin die Basis ihrer Existenz bildet, so lässt sich dies mit den Orotschen nicht mehr thun. Sie sind vielmehr ihrem gesammten Leben und Wesen nach in überwiegendem Maasse Jäger. Der Fischfang sinkt bei ihnen im Vergleich zur Jagd ganz und gar zu einer Nebenbeschäftigung herab, denn nur während einer kurzen Zeit des Jahres halten sie sich in ihren Zeltwohnungen an der Meeresküste und den Flussmündungen auf, um theils einige Fischvorräthe einzusammeln und theils auch dem Seehundsfange obzuliegen. Die ganze übrige, weitaus grösste Zeit des Jahres, vom ersten Schneefall bis zum Sommer, führt der Orotsche ein ausschliessliches Jägerleben, streift in den Flussthälern und Waldungen des Küstengebirges umher und schlägt, bald einzeln, bald von Weib und Kind begleitet, sein Jagdzelt je nach Umständen hier oder dort auf. Meist hat ein Jeder sein Jagdrevier, indem er die in einem nicht allzufernen Umkreise gelegenen, seit je von ihm begangenen und als wildreich ihm bekannten Flussthäler und sonstigen Lokalitäten alljährlich wieder aufsucht; doch bleibt dabei, in Folge der dünnen Bevölkerung und der weit ausgedehnten Wildnisse, dem Einzelnen immer noch ein weiter Spielraum vorbehalten. Entfernte, im Bereich der Nachbarstämme gelegene Jagdgebiete besuchen die Orotschen nicht, sowohl weil es ihnen, bei der durch das Küstengebirge abgeschiedenen Lage ihrer Heimath, an einer so leichten und bequemen Verkehrsstrasse wie die Eisdecke des Amur-Stromes und seiner grossen Zuflüsse fehlt, als auch weil sie immer nur wenige, hauptsächlich zu Jagdzwecken benutzte Hunde halten. Dass die Jagd auch hier vornehmlich den beliebten Pelzthieren, Zobel, Flussotter, Fuchs, so wie denselben zur Nahrung und Kleidung dienlichen Fleischthieren gilt und auch in derselben Weise, vermittelst Fallen, Selbstschüssen, Bogen und Pfeilen, Spiessen und Lanzen betrieben wird, bedarf kaum der Erwähnung. Nur eines Thieres sei bei dieser Gelegenheit noch besonders gedacht, weil es von den Orotschen, entsprechend der Gebirgsnatur ihres Landes, eifriger verfolgt und in grösserer Anzahl erlegt zu werden scheint als von ihren Nachbarn, — ich meine das Moschusthier, das sie in ähnlicher Weise wie die Aino meist vermittelst aufgestellter Schlingen fangen [1]), und von welchem sie namentlich den Inhalt der Moschusbeutel im Handel mit den Chinesen verwerthen. In Beziehung auf die Verwerthung ihrer Jagdausbeute überhaupt befinden sich jedoch die Orotschen in Folge der grossen Abgeschiedenheit ihrer Heimath allen übrigen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes gegenüber sehr im Nachtheil. Im südlichen Theile ihres Gebietes, wo sie, als sogen. Ta-dse, mit Chinesen untermischt leben, finden sie zwar bei diesen letzteren einen leichten Absatz für ihre gesammte Jagdausbeute, doch werden sie von ihnen dabei in der Regel stark

1) Маргаритовъ, Объ Орочахъ Императорской гавани. С.-Петерб. 1888, стр. 13, Табл. II, фиг. 2.

ausgenutzt und durch vorgestreckte Zahlungen nicht selten zu ihren lebenslänglichen Schuldnern gemacht. Weiter im Norden aber, wo das chinesische Element fehlt, sind die fast ausschliesslich der Jagd lebenden Orotschen zur Verwerthung ihrer Ausbeute auf die Vermittelung ihrer Nachbarn, der Golde und Oltscha, angewiesen.

Zum Schluss der obigen Betrachtungen über den Jagdbetrieb bei den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes und seine grössere oder geringere Bedeutung für die Gesammtgestaltung ihres Lebens kann ich nicht umhin, einer Bemerkung Raum zu geben, die sich dem Reisenden, der ethnographische Zwecke im Auge hat, ganz unwillkürlich aufdrängt. Ist für ethnographische Forschungen unter den Giljaken bei Weitem die günstigste Jahreszeit der Winter, die ungünstigste der Sommer, so kehrt sich das, den Amur und seine rechten Zuflüsse aufwärts, zu den Golde und Orotschen gegangen, mehr und mehr in das direkte Gegentheil um. Im Sommer nehmen Fischfang und Bereitung von Fischvorräthen für den Winter die Giljaken ganz und gar in Anspruch und tragen sogar etwas Nomadisches in ihr Leben hinein, insofern Viele alsdann, um für den Fischfang günstigere Lokalitäten aufzusuchen, ihren Wohnort zeitweise wechseln und vielfach, auf den Strominseln und an den Nebenflüssen zerstreut, auch nur in Zelten campiren. Mit dem Eintritt des Winters hingegen sammelt sich Alles wieder in den gemächlicheren und geräumigeren Winterwohnungen, und es beginnt eine lange Zeit ruhigeren und stetigeren Lebens, das in seinem regelmässigen Verlaufe, mit der nur in der Nähe betriebenen Jagd, dem Störfang auf dem Eise, dem Handel und Verkehr, den mannigfachen Haus- und Handarbeiten, den eigenartigen, langandauernden Bärenfestlichkeiten und drgl. m., dem Ethnographen ein reiches Feld der Beobachtung und des Studiums bietet. Fast ebenso verhält es sich mit den Oltscha. Doch nimmt bei ihnen und in noch höherem Grade bei den Golde das Leben im Sommer, in Folge der alsdann allein üblichen, leicht transportablen Zeltwohnungen, einen noch nomadischeren Charakter an, und je weiter stromaufwärts, desto mehr entvölkern sich die Winterwohnungen, weil ein Theil der Männer zur Jagd auf mehr oder minder entlegenen Gebieten fortzieht. Bei den Ussuri-Golde sind in denselben, wie wir sahen, im Winter nur noch Weiber, Kinder und Greise zu finden, da alle rüstigen Männer zur Jagd fortziehen, und die Orotschen endlich nehmen nicht selten auch Weib und Kind auf ihre den ganzen Winter ausfüllenden Jagden in die Wildniss mit. Hinsichtlich dieser giebt daher der Sommer, indem er sie aus den Wäldern zurückruft und zum Fisch- und Seehundsfang in den, wenn auch ebenfalls nur zeltförmigen, doch an bestimmten Punkten der Meeresküste und der Flussmündungen gelegenen Sommerwohnungen versammelt, dem Reisenden die beste, ja fast einzig mögliche Zeit für ethnographische Forschungen ab. So sehr verändern und verschieben sich bei den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes alle Lebensverhältnisse, je nach dem, ob und in wie weit bei ihnen der Fischfang oder die Jagd die Hauptrolle spielt.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Auf den Jagdbetrieb der Völker des oberen Amur-Landes, der Biraren, Manägirn und Orotschonen, kann ich nicht näher eingehen, weil ich mit ihnen nur in ganz flüchtige Berührung gekommen bin, und zwar zu einer Zeit, da sie, fern von ihren Jagdgründen, zum Theil noch mit dem Fischfang im Amur-Strome beschäftigt waren. Es bleibt mir daher bezüglich derselben nur übrig, auf die Schilderungen von Maack[1]), Gerstfeldt[2]), Ussolzef[3]) u. A. zu verweisen. Das Bild, das sie von dem Jagdbetriebe dieser Völker entwerfen, zeigt übrigens die grösste Uebereinstimmung mit demjenigen, welches ihre Nachbarn im Norden und Westen, die auch geographisch keineswegs streng von ihnen abgegrenzten russisch-sibirischen Tungusen bieten. Wie ganz anders hingegen die oberen Amur-Völker nach dieser Seite, als Jäger und Jagdnomaden, den mehr oder minder sesshaften Fischervölkern des unteren Amur-Landes gegenüberstehen, ist im Zusammenhange der Erscheinungen oben, bei Besprechung ihrer Wohnung, Kleidung, Nahrung, Lokomotion und besonders auch ihres Fischfanges, bereits mehrfach hervorgehoben worden.

Gewissermaassen als Ergänzung dazu möge hier, zum Schluss unserer Betrachtungen über die Jagd der Amur-Völker noch auf den Gegensatz hingewiesen werden, der sich zwischen den Insassen des oberen und des unteren Amur-Landes auch in Beziehung auf die den Hauptgegenstand ihrer Jagd bildenden Thierarten wahrnehmen lässt. Während im unteren Amur-Lande und besonders bei dem typischsten und ichthyophagsten seiner Völker, den Giljaken, die Jagd sich in erster Reihe und ganz vornehmlich gegen die schätzbaren Pelzthiere richtet, so dass man sie ihrem Hauptzweck und Charakter gemäss als Pelzthier- oder nach dem zahlreichsten und allgemein beliebtesten dieser Thiere auch schlechtweg als Zobelfang bezeichnen kann, stehen bei den mit ihrer Nahrung und grösstentheils auch ihrer Kleidung fast ganz auf die Jagd angewiesenen Völkern des oberen Amur-Landes die Fleischthiere, Elenn, Edelhirsch, Reh, Wildschwein, als Jagdobjekt obenan. Dazu trägt auch der Umstand bei, dass die beiden erstgenannten, grossen Thiere auch zur Tributzahlung an die Mandshu-Beamten verwendet werden[4]) und die jungen und noch frischen Hirschgeweihe einen wichtigen Handelsartikel bilden. Die hochgeschätzten Pelzthiere und insbesondere der Zobel werden zwar auch von den oberen Amur-Völkern als höchst begehrenswerthe Beute angesehen und dem entsprechend eifrig verfolgt, allein ihre Zahl hat im Laufe der Zeit sowohl durch die stetigen und angestrengten Jagden, als auch in Folge der häufigen und ausgedehnten, theils durch Nachlässigkeit und theils auch absichtlich hervorgebrachte [illegible]lbrände so sehr abgenommen, dass neben ihnen andere, früher für werthlos gehaltene [illegible]nbeachtet gelassene Thiere Geltung gewonnen haben. Namentlich sind nach Maassgabe des Verschwindens des Zobels die ihm hauptsächlich zur Nahrung dienenden Eichhörnchen so sehr viel häufiger und zahlreicher geworden, dass sie am oberen Amur und seinen

1) Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 49, 75 и. 76.

2) О прибрежн. мест. Амура (Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Ч. 20, 1857 г., Отд. Изслѣд. и мат., стр. 307).

3) Путеш. по долинѣ р. Нерчи (тамъ же, стр. 77 и слѣд.).

4) Ich erinnere hier nochmals daran, dass meine Schilderungen die 50-er Jahre und also eine Zeit im Auge haben, in der fast das ganze Amur-Land noch unter chinesischer Herrschaft stand.

beiderseitigen Zuflüssen bereits das Hauptaugenmerk der Jäger bilden und, wenn auch einzeln nur von geringem Werth, durch ihre grosse Zahl die Mühen und Kosten derselben lohnen. Die Schilka- und Argunj-Kosaken, die alljährlich im Herbst, in kleine Gesellschaften (Artell's) organisirt, weite, Wochen und Monate lang dauernde Jagdzüge in das Orotschonen- und Manägirn-Gebiet ausführen, nennen daher diese ihre Jagden nach ihrem Hauptzweck schlechtweg *belkowjos*[1]), d. h. Eichhörnchenbetrieb. In dem Zobelfange einer- und dem Eichhörnchenbetriebe andererseits bietet sich somit wiederum ein charakteristischer Gegensatz zwischen den Jagdverhältnissen des unteren und des oberen Amur-Landes dar.

Zur Wandlung des ersteren in den letzteren im oberen Amur-Lande hat aber ausser den oben angeführten Ursachen sehr wesentlich auch die von Sibirien ausgegangene und im Laufe der Zeit mehr und mehr gewachsene Einfuhr und Einbürgerung handlicher Schiessgewehre, der kleinkalibrigen russisch-sibirischen Büchsen beigetragen. Während es im unteren Amur-Lande zur Zeit meines Aufenthalts daselbst, mit einigen wenigen Ausnahmen[2]), noch gar keine Schiessgewehre gab, waren bei den Orotschonen, dank ihrer unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft und ihrem langjährigen Verkehr mit den Russen, jene Büchsen schon in allgemeinem Gebrauch, und bei den Manägirn verdrängten sie auch bereits mehr und mehr die zur Jagd wenig brauchbaren langen und plumpen chinesischen Luntengewehre. Seit der Besitznahme und Kolonisirung des ganzen Amur-Landes durch die Russen hat die Verbreitung guter oder wenigstens brauchbarer Feuergewehre auch in seinem unteren Theile rasche Fortschritte gemacht, was im Verein mit der wachsenden Zahl von Jägern in Zukunft einen starken Niedergang in seinem Zobel- und sonstigen Thierreichthum bewirken muss. Von wie verhängnissvollen Folgen aber dies für die von diesem Reichthum zehrende indigene Bevölkerung des Landes sein wird, ist leicht begreiflich und wird sich im Einzelnen noch mehr aus der nächstfolgenden Betrachtung ermessen lassen.

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1) Darnach auch das Verbum *belkowujo*, d. h. Eichhörnchenjagd betreiben.

2) S. oben, p. 587.

[p. 590]

10. Abschnitt.

Handel. Werthschätzung der vornehmsten im Handel, Haushalt und sonstigen Leben vorkommenden Gegenstände. Handelsverkehr der Amur-Völker unter einander und mit den Mandshu-Chinesen, Japanern und Russen. Ein Blick in die jüngstvergangene Geschichte des Handels und der Herrschaft der Mandshu-Chinesen im unteren Amur-Lande.

So wesentlich der Fischfang und die Jagd zur Existenz der Amur-Völker sind, so vermögen sie doch nicht alle ihre Bedürfnisse unmittelbar zu befriedigen: manche Erfordernisse der Nahrung und Kleidung, so wie die ihnen nicht minder zum Bedürfniss gewordenen Genussmittel können sie sich nicht anders als durch Veräusserung eines Theiles ihrer Jagd- und Fischfangergebnisse an die benachbarten Culturvölker, also vermittelst des Handels verschaffen. In diesem letzteren eröffnet sich ihnen daher eine dritte Existenzquelle, durch welche jene beiden wesentlich ergänzt und erst zu ihrer vollen Bedeutung gebracht werden.

Mehr noch als bei den früheren Abschnitten ist es indicirt, die Betrachtungen über den Handel der Amur-Völker mit den **Giljaken** zu beginnen. Keines der indigenen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes hat so viel Sinn und Begabung für den Handel und so ausgebreitete Handelsbeziehungen wie die Giljaken. Es ist charakteristisch für dieselben, dass sie bereits in der ersten Kunde, welche die Russen von ihnen erhielten, — ich meine jene oben erwähnte Erzählung, die der Kosakenanführer Perfiljef in den Jahren 1639 und 1640 von den Witim-Tungusen vernahm [1], — als ein an der Amur (Schilka)-Mündung wohnendes, mit den Chinesen in Handelsverbindungen stehendes Volk bezeichnet werden. In der That treiben sie mehr Handel mit den Chinesen und den Japanern als alle anderen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, obgleich sie am

1) S. oben, p. 99.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

weitesten entfernt von denselben wohnen, und vermitteln vielfach auch den Handel sowohl dieser letzteren mit jenen, als auch denjenigen der beiden genannten Culturvölker unter einander. So stehen sie gewissermaassen im Mittelpunkte aller internationalen Handelsbeziehungen im unteren Amur-Lande. Dies gilt namentlich von den Amur-Giljaken, während diejenigen Sachalin's und der Südküste des Ochotskischen Meeres in dieser Beziehung eine kaum minder peripherische Stellung als die übrigen Völker des Landes einnehmen. Jene sind aber auch durch ihre geographische Lage vor den beiden letzteren begünstigt, indem sie ausser dem Seewege durch den Liman und längs der Westküste Sachalin's zu den Japanern noch eine zweite Wasserstrasse an dem Amur-Strom besitzen, welche sie zu den an diesem selbst wie am Sungari wohnenden Chinesen geleitet. Auch im Handel mit den Russen endlich nehmen die Giljaken, und zwar wiederum diejenigen des Amur-Stromes, den benachbarten Völkern gegenüber gewissermaassen eine centrale und vermittelnde Stellung ein, schon in Folge dessen, dass die Besitznahme des Amur-Landes in den 50-er Jahren durch die Russen von der Amur-Mündung ausging und im giljakischen Gebiet die ersten Ansiedelungen gegründet wurden, darunter namentlich der Nikolajefsche Posten, der längere Zeit hindurch der Hauptsitz der russischen Verwaltung blieb, und von welchem aus die fernere Erschliessung des unteren Amur-Landes und Sachalin's erfolgte.

Gedenkt man des starken und blutigen Widerstandes, den die Giljaken im XVII. Jahrhundert den russischen Freibeutern entgegensetzten [1]), und erwägt man, dass sie von Natur keineswegs gutmüthig, gefügig und indolent wie die Tungusen, sondern im Gegentheil weit eher bösartig, tückisch und hinterlistig, dabei energisch und, wenn Kränkung oder Habsucht ins Spiel kommen, sogar leicht zu blutiger That entschlossen sind [2]), so darf man sich wundern, dass die russischerseits anfangs nur mit ganz geringen Mitteln ins Werk gesetzte Occupation ihres Landes in so friedlicher Weise, ohne jeglichen Blutverlust verlief. Dazu hat ohne Zweifel der den Giljaken in hohem Grade innewohnende Handelssinn sehr wesentlich beigetragen. Die Möglichkeit, eine Menge von Produkten, die sie im Ueberfluss besassen, und für welche sie sonst keinen Absatz fanden, wie Fische, Wild, Beeren und drgl., in den russischen Niederlassungen gegen mancherlei für sie hochbegehrliche Gegenstände, insbesondere Kleidungsstoffe und Tabak vertauschen zu können, musste sie friedfertig gegen dieselben stimmen, und der grosse Vortheil, den sie bei ihrer Rührigkeit, Klugheit und Gewandtheit aus diesem Handel zu ziehen wussten, drängte den Argwohn und die Furcht, welche die neuen Ankömmlinge und ihre rasch wachsende Zahl und Macht bei ihnen erregten, immer wieder zurück. Der Nikolajefsche Posten wurde bald zum wichtigsten Handelspunkt der Amur-Giljaken, und dank dem regen Verkehr,

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1) S. oben, p. 106—110.

2) Einen Beleg dafür giebt u. A. die oben (p. 388, Anmerk. 1) besprochene Ermordung de la Bruntère's durch die Giljaken ab. Kurz vor meiner Ankunft im Amur-Lande wurde auch die Mannschaft eines in der Nähe der Nordwestspitze Sachalin's gestrandeten Wallfischfahrers von den besonders übelberüchtigten Giljaken von Tymmi-wo ermordet und das Schiff ausgeplündert. Einen vermuthlich von daher rührenden, mit einer Nummer und einer englischen Inschrift versehenen Eimer sah ich 1855 bei den Giljaken von Pogobi.

den diese mit ihren Stammgenossen am Ochotskischen Meer und auf Sachalin, sowie mit den Aino und den tungusischen Amur-Völkern unterhalten, fanden manche russische Waaren in Kurzem eine weite Verbreitung im Lande. Gleichwohl herrschte zu meiner Zeit unter den Giljaken von Sachalin, wo es, von dem bereits wieder aufgehobenen Murawjofschen Posten in der Aniwa-Bai abgesehen, noch keine russischen Niederlassungen gab, eine den Russen gegenüber argwöhnische und feindliche Stimmung, welche den Reisenden stets vor thätlichen Angriffen auf seiner Hut zu sein nöthigte. Wiederholt hörte ich sie, wenn sie Abends um das in der Jurte lodernde Feuer sassen, über die in ihr Land gekommenen Russen raisoniren und in der Ueberzeugung, dass ich sie nicht verstände, den Argwohn äussern, dass dieselben jetzt vorerst das Land auskundschafteten, wie ich es auch thäte, um es nachmals in Besitz zu nehmen und alle Giljaken aus demselben zu verdrängen und zu vernichten. An manchen Orten, wie in Tyk, Dul und den obersten Tymy-Dörfern, traten sie mir mitunter sogar direkt widersetzlich und feindlich entgegen, indem sie es nicht dulden wollten, dass ich in ihren Jurten Wohnung nähme oder auf ihrem Herde ein Feuer zur Bereitung meines Essens anmachte, und sich weigerten, mir aus ihren Vorräthen das für meine Hunde erforderliche Futter zu verkaufen. Diese letztere Weigerung war schlimmer noch als die beiden ersteren, denn sie konnte nicht wie jene durch Drohung mit der Pistole in der Hand bezwungen werden. Dank jedoch ihrer Handelsleidenschaft gelang es mir, sie allemal zu beseitigen: den scheinbar ohne Absicht zum Vorschein gebrachten Tauschobjekten, die ich mit mir führte, vermochte sicherlich Einer oder der Andere von ihnen nicht zu widerstehen, und gab erst Einer der Versuchung nach und schloss einen kleinen Handel ab, so war das Eis gebrochen, und nun regnete es Anerbietungen von allen Seiten, so dass ich bald mehr als genug des Gewünschten hatte. Mit der Eröffnung des Handels trat aber stets auch ein Einvernehmen in allen anderen Dingen ein. Beim Handel verrathen die Giljaken viel praktischen Sinn, Klugheit, Zähigkeit und Gewandtheit. Nur Gegenstände von bekanntem praktischen Nutzen reizen ihre Kauflust, alles Neue oder Ungewohnte dagegen, wenn es auch noch so sehr in die Augen fällt, wird zwar angestaunt und bewundert (mit dem oft wiederholten, von einem Schlage mit der flachen Hand auf den Kopf begleiteten Ausrufe *ałsa-łsa-dъ*), auch wohl als Geschenk angenommen, aber nie gekauft. Immer bieten sie von ihrer Waare zuerst die minder guten Stücke an und steigen zu den besseren auf, wobei sie dieselbe rühmen und bei der einmal gestellten Forderung beharren. Kurz, Alles weist auf ein im Handel wohlgeübtes und routinirtes Volk hin, und wie sehr sie das in der That sind, wird man aus den nachstehenden Darstellungen des Näheren ersehen können.

Trotzdem aller Handel im Amur-Lande und somit auch derjenige der Giljaken nur Tauschhandel ist und keinerlei Geld unter ihnen im Umlauf ist, so hat sich bei ihnen doch eine nicht bloss relative, sondern absolute, numerisch bestimmbare Werthschätzung aller im Handel oder auch sonst in ihrem Leben und Haushalt eine gewisse Rolle spielenden Gegenstände ausgebildet. Das setzt aber nothwendig auch die Existenz bei ihnen einer allgemein angenommenen, absoluten Wertheinheit voraus, durch deren Vervielfältigung die Schätzung der Gegenstände ausgeführt oder ihr Preis normirt wird. Was ist oder worin besteht nun diese Werth-

einheit? Das zu ermitteln, fiel mir, wie man aus den nachstehenden Gründen ersehen wird, nicht leicht. Da die Giljaken nur Tauschhandel kennen, so pflegen sie auf die Frage nach dem Preise eines Gegenstandes in der Regel nur die Menge der dagegen gewünschten Waare (wie z. B. 3 Bündel Tabak, 2 Faden Zeug und drgl.) anzugeben. Die Frage nach der auch dem Tauschhandel zu Grunde liegenden absoluten Werthschätzung der vornehmsten Waaren und Gegenstände, ihrem Preise an sich, findet selten und nur bei den Intelligenteren Verständniss, und auch dann besteht die Antwort nur in einem dem Zeitwort «kosten, werth sein» (gilj. *tschalhatsch*) vorgesetzten Zahlwort, ohne Angabe irgend welcher Wertheinheit. Stets wird aber dabei diejenige Form der Zahlwörter gebraucht, deren man sich beim Zählen belebter Gegenstände bedient. Aus welchem Grunde, weiss ich nicht zu sagen. Auf die im obigen Sinne richtig verstandene Frage, wie viel ein Gegenstand koste, giebt daher der Giljake zur Antwort: «*injunj, mor, tschor*[1]) etc. *tschalhatsch* oder — mit Hinzufügung des so viel wie «ist» bedeutenden Suffixes *ra* — *tschalhara*»[2]), d. h. er kostet ein, zwei, drei etc., und nichts mehr. Die dabei gedachte Wertheinheit bleibt stets unausgesprochen, gleichsam als von selbst verständlich, als bedürfe sie keiner besonderen Bezeichnung. Ich konnte mir daher ein numerisches Werthverzeichniss oder einen Preiscourant aller im Handel oder im Leben und Haushalt der Giljaken eine mehr oder minder wichtige Rolle spielenden Gegenstände anfertigen, lange bevor ich die Einheit, auf welche die Zahlen Bezug haben, kannte. Erst unter den Oltscha und dank dem Umstande, dass ich dort einen Führer fand, der neben seiner Muttersprache auch des Giljakischen mächtig war, gelangte ich auf die richtige Fährte, und der Aufenthalt unter den Golde verhalf mir vollends zur Gewissheit in Bezug auf die fragliche, auch bei den Giljaken allgemein gültige Wertheinheit. Chossiambo, so hiess mein Führer[3]), bezeichnete nämlich die Werthe verschiedener Gegenstände ganz in derselben Weise wie die Giljaken, indem er nur das betreffende Zahlwort vor dem Verbum «*ssalé*» (kosten, gilj. *tschalhatsch*) nannte; mitunter jedoch sagte er statt «*omu* (ein) *ssalé*» auch «*omu jan ssalé*» u. s. w. Nach Entfernung des offenbar nur aus lautlichen Gründen eingeschobenen *n* erwies sich also, dass die der Werthschätzung der Objekte bei den Oltscha und Giljaken zu Grunde liegende Einheit das «*Ja*» ist, — wie zu vermuthen war, eine Werthgrösse von chinesischem Ursprung. Die weiteren, bestätigenden und erläuternden Auskünfte bezüglich derselben liessen sich ohne Mühe bei den Golde erhalten. Ihnen ist die Bezeichnung «*ja*» für die Wertheinheit bei der Schätzung von Handels- und sonstigen Gegenständen ganz geläufig; auch wussten sie zu sagen, dass die Chinesen das *Ja* in 10 Theile theilen, bei ihnen (den Golde) *dicha* genannt, auf welche je 100 chinesische Messingmünzen (goldisch *zirikta dicha*) kommen, so dass 1000 Stück dieser letzteren gleich einem Ja sind. Dieses ist also eine chinesische Silbermünze (Lieng oder Tael), nahe gleich 2 russ. Rubeln in

1) Nicht «*injar, mjahr, tschahr*» etc., wie die gewöhnliche, zum Zählen leblloser Dinge dienliche Form der Zahlwörter lautet.

2) Analog dem, wie *kauk* «nicht», *kaukra* «ist nicht», oder *ngulskotsch* «schlecht», *ngulskora* «ist schlecht» bedeutet.

3) Derselbe stammte aus dem Oltscha-Dorfe Ude und verdankte seine Kenntniss des Giljakischen hauptsächlich dem Umstande, dass er eine Giljakin aus Teberk zur Frau hatte.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Silber. Die Thatsache, dass die Wertheinheit der Chinesen auch den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes zur allgemeinen Grundlage bei der Abschätzung ihrer Handelsprodukte und sonstigen Habseligkeiten dient, kennzeichnet besser als alles Andere die dominirende, ja fast allein maassgebende Stellung, welche jene im Handel ihnen gegenüber einnehmen. Bei den Golde, die den Sungari-Chinesen am nächsten wohnen und mit ihnen in beständigem Kleinhandelsverkehr stehen, kommen natürlich auch die Zehntel, ja vielleicht sogar die Hundertstel des Ja oder der Silberunze in Betracht, wesshalb sie genöthigt sind, bei ihren Preisangaben stets auch die betreffende Wertheinheit (Ja oder Dicha) zu nennen. Für die entfernter wohnenden Oltscha und Giljaken hingegen, welche, wie wir sehen werden, ihren Bedarf an chinesischen Waaren meist in grösseren Quantitäten in Ssan-ssin am Sungari beziehen, sind die Zehntel und Hundertstel des Ja von keiner praktischen Bedeutung mehr, — für sie handelt es sich stets nur um die eine, ganze Wertheinheit und ihre Vervielfältigungen, und darum bedarf es bei ihnen auch keiner ausdrücklichen Nennung derselben bei den Werthschätzungen, sondern es genügt, nur die betreffende Zahl anzugeben. Hätte ich somit meine Nachforschungen in dieser Frage, statt von den Giljaken zu den Golde, in umgekehrter Richtung, von diesen zu jenen vorschreitend, angestellt, so wäre mir die ihren Schätzungen zu Grunde liegende Wertheinheit ohne alle Mühe, gleichsam von selbst entgegengetreten. Uebrigens bleibt die den Chinesen entnommene Wertheinheit, da sie bei diesen nicht auch durch eine Münze repräsentirt wird, für die Amur-Völker immer nur eine imaginäre Grösse, von welcher sie sich nur eine annähernde Vorstellung nach der Zahl oder Menge der ihr entsprechenden W[illegible]gegenstücke oder sonstigen Gegenstände machen können. Bekanntlich sind in China nur die [illegible]ndstel der Silberunze in geprägter Form in Umlauf, — jene messingenen, runden, mit einem viereckigen Loch in der Mitte versehenen Münzen (gilj. *tschcha*), welche man zu 10 und 1000 auf einen Faden zu reihen pflegt. Diese werden aber von den Giljaken, ihrem geringen Werthe gemäss, gar nicht geachtet und gleich verschieden geformten Messingplättchen nur zur Verzierung von Weiberröcken oder ab und zu auch als Hemd- oder Gürtelknöpfe benutzt. Russische Münzen, von den Giljaken ebenfalls *tschcha* (d. h. wohl «Münze» überhaupt) genannt, wurden zu meiner Zeit weder von ihnen, noch von anderen Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes angenommen, sowohl aus völliger Unbekanntschaft mit ihrem Werthe, als auch weil die chinesischen Kaufleute sie ebenfalls nicht entgegennahmen [1]). Indessen lernten die Giljaken durch Verkehr mit den Russen sehr bald auch den Gebrauch ihrer Münzen kennen [2]).

1) Die einzigen Münzen, welche zu meiner Zeit im Amur-Lande den chinesischen Kaufleuten gegenüber eine Verwendung finden konnten, waren spanische (mexikanische) Piaster, sogen. Colonnados, und auch diese wurden von ihnen immer erst nach Sorgfältigste vermittelst einer Handwage auf ihr Gewicht geprüft.

2) Ja, gegenwärtig sollen sie sogar russische Creditbillete als Zahlung entgegennehmen. Als Beleg für ihre grosse Findigkeit in Geld- und Handelssachen mag hier auch folgender, noch zu meiner Zeit stattgehabter Fall Erwähnung finden. Der mehrfach genannte Giljake Poswein aus Kulj, der den Russen seit ihrem ersten Erscheinen im Lande nahe gestanden, machte nur zu dem Zweck eine Fahrt von Nikolajefsk nach Sachalin, um von seinen dortigen Landsleuten allerhand Werthsachen und besonders Gold- und Silbermünzen, welche sie von einem gestrandeten amerikanischen Walfischfahrer nach Ermordung eines Theiles der Mannschaft gerauht hatten, gegen verschiedene Kleinigkeiten einzutauschen und ähnlich den Russen gegenüber mit Vortheil zu verwerthen.

Durch die allen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes gemeinsame, von den Chinesen entlehnte Wertheinheit gewinnt der Tauschhandel, den sie unter einander und mit den letzteren betreiben, im Grossen und Ganzen eine feste Norm, indem die in demselben vorkommenden, zum Theil sehr heterogenen Waaren nur in dem Verhältniss an Menge, Grösse, Güte und drgl., als sie eine gleiche Anzahl von Wertheinheiten enthalten oder repräsentiren, als gleichwerthig erscheinen und ohne Schaden für den Käufer oder Verkäufer gegen einander vertauscht werden können. Maassgebend für den Preis oder die Werthschätzung der Handelswaaren ist dabei einerseits die grössere oder geringere Nachfrage, deren sie sich bei den Chinesen erfreuen, und andererseits das mehr oder minder starke Bedürfniss, das sich nach denselben bei den Giljaken, Oltscha und Golde findet, und das selbst wieder zum grossen Theil durch ihre Verwendbarkeit in dem von diesen unter einander und mit den Japanern betriebenen Zwischenhandel bestimmt wird. Grosse Veränderungen in den Preisen mancher Waaren mussten entstehen, als die Giljaken und nach ihnen auch die anderen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes neben den Chinesen und Japanern, mit denen sie in alten Handelsverbindungen stehen, auch mit den Russen in Berührung traten und die Waaren derselben den chinesischen und japanischen zum Theil sehr erfolgreich Concurrenz zu machen begannen. Mehr noch wie sonst muss daher in Beziehung auf die Handelsverhältnisse der Amur-Völker im Auge behalten werden, dass meine Schilderungen der Zeit gelten, da diese Berührung eben erst eingetreten war und noch nicht die Folgen wie heutzutage nach sich gezogen hatte. Was endlich die Werthschätzung der ausserhalb des Handels stehenden, auf ihren Haushalt und ihr sonstiges Leben und Treiben Bezug habenden Gegenstände bei den Giljaken betrifft, so sind die maassgebenden Momente in ihren Sitten, Vorstellungen und Anschauungen zu suchen, wofür nachstehend manche Belege gegeben werden sollen.

Durch vielfache und wiederholte Erkundigungen bei den Giljaken und durch eigenen Handels- und sonstigen Verkehr mit denselben habe ich ihre in der folgenden Tabelle wiedergegebene Werthschätzung sowohl der wichtigsten in ihrem Handel mit den Chinesen, Japanern und zum Theil auch mit den Russen zur Geltung kommenden Waaren, als auch der vornehmsten, in den obigen Schilderungen besprochenen und zum Theil abgebildeten, zu ihrem Leben und Haushalt gehörigen Gegenstände in Erfahrung bringen können. So gilt bei ihnen:

Ein Zobelfell, je nach seiner Güte, ...	gleich	1—3	Ja	
» Fell vom rothen Fuchs (*pas'ⁿga*).	»	2	»	
» » » schwarzgrauen Fuchs (*pladf*).	»	3	»	
» » » schwarzen Fuchs (*kadf*), je nach seiner Güte, . .	»	10	»	und darüber
» Luchsfell mit dem Kopf, den Beinstücken u. dem Schwanz	»	8—10	»	
» » ohne Kopf, Beinstücke und Schwanz.	»	5	»	

1) Das *s* weich, wie das französische *s* ausgesprochen.

Ein Flussotterfell wird nach seiner Grösse geschätzt, indem jede Fingerspanne desselben gleich ist . . . . . 1 Ja
» Seehundsfell, gleichviel ob *Phoca nummularis (pughi)* oder *Ph. barbata (kighitsch)*, wenn es nur sehr gut ist, gilt gleich . . . . . 1 »
Vier Faden [1]) gewöhnlichen Baumwollenzeugs (*poaj*) kosten . . . . . 1 »
Zwei » Halbsammet (*poilräz-poaj*) (*tsch*) . . . . . » . . . . . 1 »
Anderthalb Faden Tuch (*dshangta*) . . . . . » . . . . . 1 »
Vier Faden mandshurischen [2]) (sehr bunten) Seidenzeugs (*tscharp*) sind gleich . . . . . 5 »

Nach der Güte und dem Preise der Stoffe richtet sich auch der Werth, den die Giljaken ihren einzelnen Kleidungsstücken zuschreiben; so kostet:

Ein langer, breitärmeliger Rock aus mandshurischem Seidenzeuge (*scht*) . . . . . 5 Ja [3])
Eine Weibermütze aus demselben Zeuge (*tscharp-hak*) . . . . . 3 »
» » aus dem Kopffell des Luchses (*tschlyghi-hak*) . . . . . 2 »
» gute Boa aus Eichhörnchenschwänzen (*tolp*) . . . . . 1 »
Ein Weiberrock aus Fischhäuten (*tschurk*), mit viel Stickerei darauf . . . . . 1 »
» Pelz aus Luchsfellen (auf den etwa 6 Felle gehen) . . . . . 30 »
Ein Pelz aus Hundsfellen wird vornehmlich nach der Farbe und demnächst nach der Güte derselben geschätzt, ob diese nämlich von erwachsenen Thieren, oder von Welpen stammen; so kostet:
Ein graubräunlich-gelber Hundsfellpelz (*tschahr-okch*) . . . . . 1 »
» scheckiger oder braun und weiss gemischter Hundsfellpelz (*alchalch-okch*) . . . . . 1 »
» weisser . . . . . » (*tschang-okch*) . . . . . 2 »
» schwarzer oder sehr dunkel brauner . . . . » (*yghr-okch*):
aus Fellen erwachsener Thiere . . . . . 3 »
» » von Welpen . . . . . 2 »

Die übrigen Kleidungsstücke der Giljaken, wie Hemde aus gewöhnlichem Baumwollenzeuge, kurze Halbröcke aus Tuch oder Halbsammet, Beinkleider, Schurzröcke aus Seehundsfell, gewöhnliche Wintermützen, Sommerhüte aus Birkenrinde, Aermelbinden, Ohrenwärmer, Handschuhe und drgl., erreichen, trotzdem die drei letzteren in der Regel mit Stickereien versehen sind, nicht den Werth eines Ja. Ferner schätzen die Giljaken:

Einen Sack Mehl gleich . . . . . 2 Ja
Vier mandshurische Säcke (welche recht hoch, aber schmal sind) mit Hirse gleich 4 Zobeln, also etwa 6 oder . . . . . 4—8 »

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1) D. h. Armspannen, da die Giljaken kein anderes Maass als Arm- und Fingerspannen haben.

2) Richtiger gesagt, chinesischen. Vier Faden davon bilden ein Stück.

3) Vielleicht etwas zu niedrig gegriffen.

Ein Brettkasten (*kylmr-wakke*) mit Branntwein gilt gleich	10	Ja
Zehn Bündel Tabaksblättter und in Zeiten des Mangels daran auch nur 5 kosten	1	»
Ein sehr grosser Stör (*tukki-tscho*) gilt gleich	2	»
» » » Hausen (*patch-tscho*) gilt gleich	4—5	»
» lebendiger, noch junger und kleiner Bär gilt gleich	25	»
» » erwachsener Bär gilt, je nach seiner Grösse, gleich	30—40	»
» Hund von gewöhnlicher Grösse und Güte gilt »	1	»
» Schlitten von gewöhnlicher Art » »	1	»
» Paar tungusische Schneeschuhe, mit Elennsfellbekleidung (gilj. *Rdky-enj*, d. h. Samagirn-Schneeschuhe), gilt gleich	1	»
Die eigenen, mit Seehundsfell ausgekleideten Schneeschuhe dagegen erreichen nicht den Werth eines Ja.		
Ein kleines bis mittelgrosses Boot gilt, je nach seiner Grösse, gleich	3—7	»
» grosses, neues Boot gilt »	13	»
» Segel aus Fischhäuten » »	1	»
Am Fischnetz kommen je 10 Faden gleich	1	»
Ein mit einer Fischbeinplatte belegter Bogen gilt gleich	1	»
» » » Büffel- oder Nashornplatte belegter und mit silbernen Klammern versehener Bogen (*ngynif-puntsch*) gilt, je nach der Anzahl dieser letzteren, gleich	8—10	»
Eine Flinte mit einem Lauf schätzen die Giljaken gleich	2	»
» russisch-sibirische Büchse » » » »	4	»
Einen Doppellauf » » » »	6	»
Ein Speer von etwa Ellenlänge ohne eingelegte silberne Figuren gilt gleich	1	»
» ebensolcher Speer mit eingelegten Figuren aus Silber » »	3	»
Eine etwa armlange Lanzenspitze ohne silberne Verzierungen » »	3	»
» ebenso grosse Lanzenspitze mit silbernen und anderen Verzierungen wird, je nach der Menge dieser letzteren, geschätzt als gleich	8—10	»
Ein mandshurisches Beil gilt gleich	1	»
Einen alten mandshurischen Eisenpanzer (*wytsch-petsch*) schätzen die Gilj. gleich	30	»
» » Netzpanzer von eigener Arbeit (*kd-petsch*) hingegen schätzen sie nur »	3—4	»
Der Werth der in den Herden eingemauerten und der Handkessel richtet sich zum Theil nach der Grösse, zum Theil und hauptsächlich aber nach ihrem Ursprung, indem die mandshurischen (chinesischen) Kessel von weit geringerer Güte als die japanischen sind: jene platzen leicht über dem Feuer, wenn sie kein Wasser enthalten, diese aber nicht; demnach kostet:		
Ein grosser mandshurischer Herdkessel (*ormos-wunj*) (tuch)	4	»

Ein kleinerer mandshurischer Herdkessel	3	Ja
» mandshurischer Handkessel (*matsch-wunj*) mit Henkeln, je nach der Grösse,	3—7	»
» kleiner japanischer Kessel (gilj. *Kughi-wunj*, d. h. Aino-Kessel)	7—8	»
» grosser Kessel von derselben Art	20	»
» » japanischer Kessel mit drei Henkeln	30	»

Sehr eigenthümlich ist die bei den Giljaken angenommene Werthschätzung ihrer Behausungen, denn es kostet:

Eine Winterjurte (*tschadryf*) mit zwei Herden nur	1	Ja
» Sommerjurte (*käryf*) nur	2—4	»
Ein Vorrathshaus (*nju*) hingegen, je nach der Anzahl seiner Abtheilungen,	10	» und darüber.

Aus dieser Tabelle lassen sich sowohl manche Schlussfolgerungen über den Handel der Giljaken, als auch sprechende numerische Belege für manche Sitten und Anschauungen derselben entnehmen, die theils in den vorigen Abschnitten schon besprochen worden sind, theils in der Folge noch zur Sprache kommen sollen. Es genüge zunächst nur auf folgende Punkte aufmerksam zu machen:

1) Das wichtigste Tauschobjekt der Giljaken im Handel mit den Chinesen, das Pelzwerk, hat einen verhältnissmässig geringen Preis, was sich ohne Zweifel aus seiner grossen Menge, aus dem bis dahin noch ungeschwächten Thierreichthum des unteren Amur-Landes erklären lässt. Nur zwei Pelzwerke ragen mit ihrem hohen Preise ganz erheblich über alle anderen hervor: der schwarze Fuchs und der Luchs. Jener verdankt seinen hohen Preis, neben der unbedingten, auch von den Chinesen anerkannten und hochgeschätzten Schönheit seines Felles, sicherlich auch seiner weit grösseren Seltenheit. Das Luchsfell hingegen hat, wie oben ausführlich dargethan, in den Augen der Giljaken selbst einen zu hohen, imaginären Werth, um in grösserer Menge in den Handel gebracht zu werden.

2) Gleich dem Luchspelz zeichnen sich in der obigen Tabelle noch mehrere andere Gegenstände durch ihren sehr hohen, ihrem reellen Werthe keineswegs entsprechenden Preis aus. Dahin gehören namentlich die oben eingehend besprochenen alten mandshurischen Eisenpanzer und Helme und die mir leider nicht zu Gesicht gekommenen, mit drei Henkeln versehenen japanischen Kessel, denn schwerlich dürften diese die von ebendaher stammenden zweihenkligen oder sonst in der Form von ihnen etwas verschiedenen Kessel so sehr an Güte übertreffen, um den grossen Preisunterschied zwischen denselben zu rechtfertigen. In diesen Dingen spricht sich das auch bei den sonst praktischen Giljaken vorhandene Bedürfniss nach besonderen Abzeichen von Reichthum und Ansehen aus.

3) Aus demselben Motiv, der Eitelkeit, erklärt sich auch die hohe Werthschätzung eines lebendigen Bären bei den Giljaken. Denn dieser bringt seinem Besitzer nicht nur keinen ma-

teriellen Vortheil, sondern sogar Schaden, da seine Tödtung und Verspeisung nur in festlicher, mit Unkosten für den Besitzer und Gastgeber verbundenen Weise stattfinden kann; dafür trägt er ihm aber den schmeichelhaften Ruf eines reichen und angesehenen Mannes ein.

4) Unter den verschiedenen Kleidungsstoffen, welche das Haupttauschobjekt der Chinesen den Giljaken gegenüber bilden, schätzen diese am höchsten die bunten, mit Drachen und anderen chinesischen Mustern, so wie oft auch mit Gold und Silber durchwirkten Seidenzeuge, jedoch nicht etwa weil sie selbst ein besonderes Gefallen an denselben fänden und mit ihnen Luxus trieben, — man sieht sie bei ihnen vielmehr fast nur in kleinen Stücken zu eleganten Weibermützen verwendet — sondern weil sie dieselben zum Handel mit den Japanern gebrauchen, — eine Thatsache, auf die ich in der Folge zurückkommen werde, und die den besten Beweis für ihre eminente Handelsbegabung abgiebt.

5) Aehnliches liegt auch ihrer sehr hohen Werthschätzung des Branntweins (*araki*) im Tauschhandel mit den Chinesen zu Grunde. Man würde sehr irren, wollte man aus dieser ihrer Werthschätzung des Branntweins den Schluss ziehen, dass sie dem Genuss desselben in hohem Grade ergeben seien und sich daher vermittelst desselben leicht ausplündern liessen. Zwar sind sie dem Branntwein nicht abgeneigt, allein sie gebrauchten ihn, wie oben schon hervorgehoben worden[1]), zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes unter ihnen nur in mässiger Weise. Dagegen konnte ihrem beständig auf Vortheil und Gewinn ausschauenden Blick der Werth einer so allgemein beliebten Waare im Handelsverkehr sowohl mit ihren von den Bezugsquellen derselben entfernter wohnenden Landsleuten, als insbesondere auch mit ihren minder energischen tungusischen Nachbarn nicht entgehen. Ihr Handelsgeist bewährt sich somit auch dem Branntwein gegenüber und, wie bereits erwähnt, verstanden sie vermittelst des letzteren sogar den russischen Kosaken und Matrosen manchen Vortheil im Tauschhandel abzugewinnen.

6) Die von ihnen selbst verfertigten, zu ihrem Haushalt und sonstigen Leben und Treiben gehörigen Gegenstände, wie Utensilien aller Art, Kleidungsstücke u. s. w., mögen sie noch so sauber gemacht und mit Verzierungen ausgeschmückt sein, werden von den Giljaken nur gering geschätzt, es sei denn, dass sie ein kostbares, von den Chinesen erworbenes Material enthalten, wie z. B. die mit Büffelhorn ausgekleideten Bogen, oder die mit eingelegten Figuren aus Silber versehenen Lanzen und drgl. Nicht die Feinheit und Schönheit der Arbeit oder die auf dieselbe verwendete Zeit und Mühe, sondern das Bisschen Silber oder Horn ist es also, was diesen Gegenständen in den Augen der Giljaken einen hohen Werth verleiht.

7) Sehr irrationell erscheint auf den ersten Blick die in der Tabelle angegebene Werthschätzung ihrer verschiedenen Behausungen seitens der Giljaken; denn dass ein so grosser und verhältnissmässig complicirter Bau wie ihre nach chinesischem Muster errichteten, mit zwei Herden, vier breiten, durch eine Röhrenleitung erwärmten Schlafbänken und grossen Fenstern versehenen Winterwohnungen nur etwa halb so viel werth sein sollte als ein aller

1) S. oben, p. 365.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

dieser Beigaben entbehrendes Vorrathshaus, möchte man in der That kaum glauben. Dennoch muss ich die obigen, mir von den Giljaken wiederholt bestätigten Zahlen aufrecht erhalten und hoffe denselben in der Folge, bei Besprechung der socialen Verhältnisse der Giljaken und ihres u. A. auch beim Bau und bei der Benutzung der Behausungen zu Tage tretenden socialkommunistischen Sinnes eine hinreichende Erklärung geben zu können, wie ich sie von ihnen selbst erhalten habe.

8) Vergleiche ich endlich die Preistabelle der Giljaken mit derjenigen, welche Maximowicz[1]) in ganz ähnlicher Weise unter den Golde entworfen hat, so finde ich in den meisten Dingen eine fast völlige Uebereinstimmung, offenbar weil für beide die bei den Sungari-Chinesen herrschenden Preise maassgebend sind. Dennoch lassen sich in denselben auch manche für Land und Volk charakteristische Differenzen erkennen. So scheint alles Pelzwerk bei den Golde einen höheren Preis als bei den Giljaken zu haben (ein guter Zobel z. B. wird von ihnen auf 4—5, ein rother Fuchs auf 3, ein schwarzer sogar auf 30—60 Ja geschätzt), ohne Zweifel weil die betreffenden Thiere in ihrem Gebiet minder häufig als im waldreichen Norden sind, und vielleicht auch weil die Giljaken durch ihren eifrigen Zwischenhandel mit den Nachbarvölkern eine grössere Menge derselben zusammenbringen. Dabei finden bei den Golde auch die kleineren Thiere, wie Eichhörnchen, Hermelin, *Mustela sibirica* und drgl., Beachtung (10 Stück vom ersteren z. B. kosten $^1/_2$ Ja, ein ganzer Pelz aus Eichhörnchenfellen 7 Ja), während die Giljaken bei ihrem grösseren Reichthum an kostbarem Pelzwerk diesem werthlosen Kleinzeug keine Beachtung schenken. Im Gegensatz ferner zu den fast nur auf Pelzthierfang und Pelzwerkhandel sich beschränkenden Giljaken, bringen die Golde auch Felle und Häute der eifrig von ihnen gejagten hirschartigen Thiere in den Handel mit den Chinesen (ein Rehfell z. B. kostet bei ihnen $^1/_2$ Ja, ein Edelhirsch- oder Elennsfell ungegerbt 1, gegerbt 2 Ja). Gleichwie das Pelzwerk, haben auch die Hauptprodukte des Fischfangs bei den Golde einen höheren Preis als bei den Giljaken (ein grosser Stör z. B. kostet bei den ersteren 10 Ja), einestheils weil der Fischreichthum im Amur-Strome aufwärts abnimmt, und anderentheils weil sie in dieser Beziehung lange nicht so viel produciren wie die dem Fischfange ganz und gar ergebenen Giljaken. Hingegen scheinen ihnen die Cerealien und Gemüse (Bohnen von verschiedener Art) billiger als den letzteren zu stehen zu kommen, sowohl wegen ihrer grösseren Nähe zu den ackerbauenden Chinesen, als auch weil sie selbst bereits etwas Gemüsebau betreiben. Dasselbe ist endlich ganz entschieden auch mit dem Tabak der Fall, indem eine «Schnur» davon, gleich 300 Bündeln, von ihnen auf 20 Ja geschätzt wird[2]). Der Werth des chinesischen (mandshurischen) Tabaks sank übrigens in den Augen der Giljaken sogleich nach Ankunft der Russen stark herab, da der weit stärkere russische (tscherkasskische) Tabak viel mehr nach ihrem Geschmack ist.

Da die Hauptwaare der Amur-Völker im Handel mit den Chinesen in Thier- und namentlich Zobel-, Fuchs- und Otterfellen besteht, und die Giljaken, wie wir oben gesehen, im Ganzen nur

1) In seinen, mir zur Benutzung anheimgestellten handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen.

2) Von den Giljaken, nach der obigen Tabelle, auf 30 Ja.

schwerfällige und wenig betriebsame Jäger sind, so müssen sie, um diesen Handel in grösserem Maasse betreiben zu können, vor Allem darauf bedacht sein, sich diese Waare ausser durch die Jagd auch auf anderem, ihrer Natur mehr zusagendem Wege in möglichst grosser Menge zu verschaffen. Zu dem Ende treiben sie Handel mit ihren in der Jagd beweglicheren und geschickteren tungusischen Nachbarn, und die Amur-Giljaken, welche mit den Chinesen am meisten verkehren, ausserdem auch mit ihren entfernter, an der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres und auf Sachalin wohnenden Landsleuten, und kaufen von ihnen das erwünschte Pelzwerk auf. Die Seele dieses ganzen Handelsverkehrs, durch welchen chinesische Waaren im gesammten Gebiet der Giljaken und der ihnen unmittelbar benachbarten Stämme, der Negda, Rennthier-Tungusen, Oroken, ja sogar der Aino, in Umlauf gebracht werden, bilden die Amur- und zum Theil auch die Tschomi-Giljaken, und sie sind es auch, die den grössten Vortheil von denselben ziehen. In diesem ganzen Gebiet giebt es keinen einzigen chinesischen Kaufmann. Der nördlichste und östlichste Punkt im unteren Amur-Lande, wo sich ein solcher zeitweise aufhält, ist das noch im Oltscha-Gebiet am Amur, nahe der giljakischen Grenze gelegene Dorf Pulj, das im Winter auf der mehrfach erwähnten, vom Liman herüberführenden Tymi-Chaselach-Strasse auch von Tschomi aus leicht erreicht werden kann [1]). Von Pulj soll sich bisweilen ein chinesischer Händler längs dem menschenleeren linken Amur-Ufer zu den Negda am Amgunj durchschleichen, das von den Giljaken bewohnte rechte Ufer hingegen sorgfältig meiden, da diese, wie sie mir selbst erzählten, in ihrem Gebiet keinen chinesischen Kaufmann dulden und vor etwa 25 Jahren sogar einen, der sich dennoch zu ihnen gewagt habe, ermordet hätten. Ob sie diese feindliche Haltung den chinesischen Kaufleuten gegenüber aus dem Grunde eingenommen, um sich gegen die Herrschaft der Mandshu-Chinesen zu wehren, oder um dieselbe abzuschütteln, mag zunächst dahingestellt bleiben, jedenfalls gereicht sie ihnen in commerzieller Beziehung sehr zum Vortheil. Denn die Rolle, welche die weiter oberhalb, unter den Oltscha, Golde, Samagirn u. a. Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes sich aufhaltenden oder dieselben besuchenden chinesischen Kaufleute spielen, indem sie den Handel zwischen ihnen und den mandshu-chinesischen Grosshändlern am Sungari vermitteln, fällt in jenem giljakisch-tungusischen Gebiete, wohin sie nicht kommen dürfen, den Amur-Giljaken selbst anheim. Und diese führen ihre Handelsvermittlerrolle mit grossem Geschick und Erfolg für sich selbst durch. Die Rührigkeit, Beweglichkeit und Unternehmungslust, welche ihnen als Jäger im Vergleich mit den tungusischen Stämmen abgehen, kommen ihnen als Händler in hohem Maasse zu. Nicht zufrieden damit, dass manche Negda, Tungusen, Giljaken vom Ochotskischen Meere, vom Liman und von Sachalin zu ihnen kommen, um von ihren Vorräthen an chinesischen und neuerdings auch russischen Waaren, Tabak, Branntwein, Cerealien, Kleidungsstoffen und drgl., im Tausch gegen Pelzwerk zu profitiren, unternehmen sie auch selbst, mit jenen fremdländischen Artikeln und auch mit manchem eigenen Produkt, wie Stör- oder Hausen-

1) S. oben, p. 71 u. 580.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

fleisch und drgl., versehen, Handelsfahrten nach den genannten Orten. Das geschieht namentlich im Winter, da es nur wenig Fischfang giebt, und dazu dienen ihnen die zahlreichen Hunde, welche sie dank dem Fischreichthum des Amur-Stromes zu halten im Stande sind. Mit Hülfe derselben sind sie den ganzen Winter über fast in beständiger Bewegung, um ihren Handelsinteressen nachzukommen. Sind es auch immer nur geringe Waarenmengen, welche ihnen die erwähnte Art der Lokomotion jedesmal mitzunehmen gestattet, so bringt die Häufigkeit und Allgemeinüblichkeit solcher Handelsfahrten unter ihnen im Ganzen doch einen beträchtlichen Waarenumsatz zu Wege, und da der Hauptzweck dieser Fahrten immer derselbe, die Erwerbung des zum Handel mit den Chinesen erforderlichen Pelzwerks ist, so bieten sie ihren Unternehmern in Summa einen reichlichen Ersatz für die statt der Jagd auf dieselben verwendete Zeit und Mühe. Denn auch hier bewährt sich die Erfahrung, dass der Producent einer Waare stets einen geringeren Vortheil als der sie gewandt benutzende Handelsvermittler hat.

Die dem erwähnten Zweck dienlichen Handelsfahrten der Amur-Giljaken gehen hauptsächlich nach drei Richtungen hin: westwärts, zu den Negda am Amgunj (gilj. *Hynk*) und den Samagirn am Udyl-See, nordwärts, zu ihren eigenen Landsleuten am Ochotskischen Meer und ostwärts, nach Sachalin. Der Verkehr der Giljaken mit den Negda ist ein sehr alter, wie man schon aus dem Umstande schliessen darf, dass diese unter allen tungusischen Stämmen des Amur-Landes nächst den Oltscha in ihrem gesammten Sein und Leben am meisten mit den Giljaken sich assimilirt haben oder, so zu sagen, giljakisirt worden sind. Allein eben desshalb sind sie, gleich den Oltscha, auch mehr als andere tungusische Stämme auf Bereicherung durch Handel bedacht, und bei der geographischen Lage ihrer Wohnsitze fehlt es ihnen dazu nicht an Gelegenheit. Denn erstens bietet ihnen der Amgunj eine direkte und bequeme Strasse zu den chinesischen Kaufleuten am Amur, zweitens trennt sie im Winter nur eine geringe Strecke von den Samagirn am Gorin, die ebenfalls von chinesischen Kaufleuten besucht werden, und drittens endlich liegt hart an der nördlichen Grenze ihres Wohngebiets, nur durch eine niedrige Wasserscheide vom Nemilen, dem nördlichen Hauptzuflusse des Amgunj, getrennt, der Handelsplatz Burukan, wo sich alljährlich im December russische und jakutische Kaufleute speciell zu dem Zweck einfinden, um mit den umwohnenden tungusischen Stämmen und darunter besonders auch mit den Negda Handel zu treiben[1]). Unter solchen Umständen sind die Chancen der giljakischen Zwischenhändler auf Erfolg bei den Negda nicht sehr gross, mit Ausnahme etwa derjenigen Orte, wo die letzteren, von jenen Handelsgelegenheiten fern, in nächster Nähe der Giljaken wohnen, nämlich an den Seen Orell und Tschlja, wo es auch ein giljakisches Dorf giebt, und die zudem an der Strasse vom Amur nach der Südküste des Ochotskischen Meeres liegen. Wie die Negda, so haben auch die Samagirn ausser ihrem Hauptgebiet, am Gorin (gilj. *Kyr*), noch andere, von jenem entfernte und den Giljaken genäherte Wohnsitze, — es sind ihre Niederlassungen am Udyl-See, und gleich jenen Negda-Seen werden auch

1) S. oben, p. 82. Vrgl. auch Fr. Schmidt, Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 134 und 150).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

diese von den Amur-Giljaken des Handels wegen besucht, und zwar im Winter wie im Sommer. So traf ich am 18. (30.) Mai 1856 den Giljaken Mesgun in Patt in dem Augenblick, als er im Begriff stand, in einem mit verschiedenen chinesischen Waaren beladenen Boot zu den am Udyl-See wohnenden «Rdby» (Samagirn) zu reisen. Doch liegt dieser letztere im Ganzen sowohl räumlich, als auch nach der sprachlichen Verwandtschaft seiner Anwohner den Oltscha näher als den Giljaken.

Ein weit günstigeres Feld für ihre Zwischenhandelsoperationen als bei den Negda und Samagirn finden die Amur-Giljaken bei ihren eigenen Landsleuten an der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres, welche sie, sei es von Pall-wo über die erwähnten Seen nach Kulj, oder von Wair nach Hisska, oder auch durch den Amur-Liman in kurzer Zeit erreichen, und wo sie die einzigen Zuträger chinesischer und, seit dem der Petrofskische Posten eingegangen, auch russischer Waaren sind. Im Tausch gegen dieselben fliessen ihnen die Thierfelle zu, welche die dortigen Giljaken theils selbst im Küstengebiet und auf den Schantarischen Inseln erbeuten, theils von den am Tugur und im Mäwatschan-Gebirge der Jagd nachgehenden Tungusen gegen die Ausbeute ihres Fisch- und Seethierfanges und manche zuvor von den Amur-Giljaken bezogene Gegenstände erhandeln. Ferner kaufen sie ihren Landsleuten Adlerschwänze ab, um sie im Handel mit den Japanern zu verwerthen, und endlich versorgen sie sich dort in billiger Weise mit Seehundsthran und Fellen sowohl zum eigenen Gebrauch, als auch zum Handel mit ihren südlichen Nachbarn am Amur, den Oltscha und Golde.

Die grösste Ausbeute an Thierfellen zum Handel mit den Chinesen machen aber die Amur- und zum Theil auch die Tschomi-Giljaken auf Sachalin, und zwar jene hauptsächlich im nördlichen Theile der Insel, an der Liman-, wie an der Tro-Küste, und diese an der Westküste südlich von Poghobi und im oberen Laufe des Tymy-Flusses, ohne dass jedoch eine strenge Abgrenzung dieser Handelsgebiete zwischen ihnen stattfände. Es ist eigenthümlich, dass die Sachalin-Giljaken, ungleich ihren oben genannten Landsleuten, wenig beweglich sind und selbst fast nie auf den Continent kommen, geschweige denn weitere Handelsfahrten unternehmen, sondern sich damit begnügen, ihre nächsten Nachbarn auf der Insel, die Oroken und Aino auszubeuten und sich dagegen mit den auch ihnen begehrlichen chinesischen Waaren, Tabak, Branntwein, Zeuge und drgl., durch die zu ihnen herüberkommenden Continental-Giljaken versorgen lassen. Die Oroken wandern ebenfalls nur selten über den Liman, um sich längs der Tymi-Chaselach-Strasse den chinesischen Händlern in Polj zu nähern, und den Aino endlich bleibt das Festland ganz fern. So ruht der Handel mit chinesischen Waaren auf Sachalin fast ausschliesslich in den Händen der Continental-Giljaken. Und diese wissen aus demselben zu ihren Zwecken grossen Vortheil zu ziehen. Denn die Insel ist, wie wir schon sahen, überaus reich an den von ihnen besonders gesuchten Pelzthieren, welche von allen drei Stämmen derselben mit Erfolg gejagt werden, hauptsächlich aber in den Händen der Sachalin-Giljaken sich anhäufen. Die grösste Menge von Pelzthieren wird ohne Zweifel von den den ganzen Winter hindurch wandernden und jagenden Oroken erbeutet, welche jedoch, durch ihr Wanderleben, wie durch ihre im Ganzen sorglose und leichtlebige tungusische Natur ge-

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trieben oder genöthigt, den grössten Theil derselben an die sesshaften und betriebsamen Tymy- und andere Sachalin-Giljaken übergehen lassen. Die letzteren verstehen es nämlich die bei jenen ihren unsteten Nachbarn nicht selten sich einstellende Noth an Nahrungs- und Genussmitteln für sich oder an Futter für ihre Hunde auszunutzen, indem sie mit Hülfe ihrer von den Amur-Giljaken eingetauschten, oder auch von ihnen selbst angelegten Vorräthe einen äusserst vortheilhaften Handel mit ihnen betreiben, ja dieselben durch Vorschüsse bisweilen sogar mit grossem Gewinn zu ihren Schuldnern machen. Aehnlichen Nutzen ziehen sie auch von den Aino, welche sich mit ihrer Jagdausbeute, wo sie es können, schon aus dem Grunde lieber an sie als an die Japaner wenden, weil sie von diesen stets unter Gebühr, nur mit etwas Reis und Ssaki, ja nicht selten auch gar nicht bezahlt werden. So verläugnen auch die Sachalin-Giljaken, obgleich ihnen der Unternehmungsgeist ihrer Landsleute vom Continent abgeht, keineswegs die ihrem Stamme eigene Handels- und Gewinnsucht. Indem sie aber die von ihnen selbst erbeuteten oder von ihren Nachbarn erhandelten Thierfelle jenen verkaufen, liefern sie ihnen die Mittel, den auch ihnen zu Gute kommenden Handel mit den Chinesen in grösserem Maasse zu betreiben. Uebrigens machen die Continental-Giljaken ihre Einkäufe auf der Insel nicht allein bei ihren Landsleuten oder durch Vermittelung derselben, sondern schliessen, namentlich im Norden und Süden der Insel, ausserhalb des Tymy-Gebietes, manchen Handel gelegentlich auch direkt mit den Oroken und Aino ab. Ja, einen grossen Theil der begehrten Thierfelle erhalten sie auch von den Japanern. Doch von diesem ihrem Handel wird später besonders die Rede sein, nachdem wir uns zuvor mit demjenigen bekannt gemacht haben werden, den sie mit den Chinesen betreiben, und der ihnen die Mittel zu jenem liefert.

Wie oben[1]) ausführlich dargethan, giebt es am unteren Amur, im Oltscha- und Golde-Gebiet eine Reihe von Punkten, an denen chinesische Kaufleute zeitweilig oder auch mehr oder minder beständig sich aufhalten, und die von ihnen sehr klug gewählt sind, um mit den angrenzenden indigenen Stämmen Handel zu treiben und ihnen namentlich das geschätzte Pelzwerk abzunehmen. Es sind schlaue und geriebene Händler, die keine Mühen und Entbehrungen und auch keine Mittel scheuen, um in ihrem oder ihres Prinzipals Interesse den grösstmöglichen Gewinn von ihrem Geschäft zu erzielen. Aeusserlich treten sie den Eingeborenen gegenüber, um ihre Gunst zu gewinnen, sehr leutselig und zuvorkommend auf: als ich mich im oben erwähnten Dorfe Pulj in der Jurte befand, in welcher einer der drei beständig an dem Ort sich aufhaltenden Chinesen sein Domicil hatte, und die Oltscha und Giljaken, in deren Gesellschaft ich vom Liman gekommen, in dieselbe eintraten, war der Chinese sogleich bemüht, ihnen beim Abschütteln des Schnees von ihren Pelzen behülflich zu sein, und überreichte dann einem Jeden von ihnen ein Tabaksblatt. Nachdem er darauf seinen früheren Sitz auf der Pritsche wieder eingenommen, forderte er die Neueingetretenen auf, ebenfalls Platz zu nehmen, rauchte seine Pfeife an dem neben ihm stehenden, mit glimmenden Kohlen gefüllten Becken an und liess sie von

1) S. p. 70 u. 71.

Hand zu Hand gehen. Das Gespräch war bald im Fluss, und es dauerte nicht lange, so hob der Chinese ein mit Branntwein gefülltes Kännchen vom Kohlenbecken ab, setzte mehrere kleine Porzellanschälchen auf das neben ihm stehende niedrige Tischchen, füllte sie an und reichte sie den Gästen. In der Unterredung führte der Chinese das grosse Wort und bemühte sich seinen Zuhörern und auch mir darzuthun, dass seine Landsleute, die Nekan, die besten Freunde der Oltscha, Golde, Giljaken u. A. seien, indem sie für ihre Bedürfnisse sorgten und ihnen für jedes Stück Pelzwerk, je nach ihrem Wunsch, mit Kleidungsstoffen, Hirse, Tabak, Branntwein oder dergleichen zahlten und stets freundlich mit ihnen umgingen, während die Mandshu ihre gemeinsamen Feinde seien und sie nur ausplünderten und misshandelten. Aehnliche, bisweilen von sehr freigiebigen Traktamenten mit Branntwein unterstützte Betheuerungen der chinesischen Kaufleute den Eingeborenen gegenüber habe ich im unteren Amur-Lande oft gehört, und sie verfehlen ihren Zweck nicht, zumal bei den Golde, welche, in nächster Nähe und völliger Abhängigkeit von den Mandshu lebend, deren Härte und Habsucht oft persönlich erfahren haben und ihnen selbst den Spottnamen *assingaro*, Ratten, geben, um damit zu bezeichnen, dass dieselben sie gleich diesen um ihre Vorräthe und Habseligkeiten bringen. Auf die Giljaken aber, zu welchen die Tribut erhebenden und Erpressungen aller Art ausführenden Mandshu-Beamten nicht kommen, macht das schmeichlerisch-verführerische Benehmen der chinesischen Kaufleute wenig Eindruck. Dagegen leuchtet ihrem kaufmännischen Sinne der grosse Profit ein, den diese sich dadurch machen, dass sie die am Sungari en gros billig eingekauften Waaren den Amur-Völkern en détail für einen sehr hohen Preis verkaufen, und, wenig geneigt, demselben auf ihre Kosten Vorschub zu leisten, suchen sie es ihnen nachzumachen und den Gewinn selbst zu erhalten. Daher ihr oben erwähnter Widerstand, den chinesischen Kaufleuten Einlass in ihr Gebiet zu gewähren, und der geringe Zuspruch, den diese überhaupt bei ihnen finden. Der chinesische Handelspunkt an ihrer Grenze, in Pulj, wird, von den Oltscha, Samagitn, Oroken abgesehen, ihrerseits fast nur von den Tschomi-Giljaken besucht, welche, vom Amur-Strom abgelegen, dort die Mittel für ihren Handel mit ihren Landsleuten auf Sachalin und besonders am Tymy-Fluss finden. Die Amur-Giljaken hingegen suchen, die ihnen von der Natur gebotene Strasse zu benutzen und, mit Umgehung der an derselben gelagerten gewinnsüchtigen Zwischenhändler, sich den zum eigenen Gebrauch sowohl, wie zum weiteren Handel erforderlichen Bedarf an chinesischen Waaren selbst vom Sungari zu holen.

Eine Handelsreise nach dem Sungari oder, wie die Giljaken sich auszudrücken pflegen, »zu den Mandshu« unternehmen zu können, ist das Ziel ihrer sehnlichsten Wünsche und unausgesetzten praktischen Bestrebungen. Zu dem Zweck hauptsächlich wird die Jagd auf Zobel, Ottern und Füchse betrieben und werden die zum Ankauf von kostbarem Pelzwerk dienlichen Fahrten zu den Nachbarstämmen ausgeführt. Denn ohne einen beträchtlichen Vorrath an dieser bei den Chinesen am Sungari so gut wie allein in Betracht kommenden Tauschwaare wäre die weite Reise nicht nur nicht lohnend und somit zwecklos, sondern bei den unvermeidlichen Tributs- oder Bestechungszahlungen an die Mandshu-Beamten auch kaum ausführbar. Da aber ein solcher Vorrath anfänglich nur schwer zu beschaffen ist, so thun sich meist Mehrere unter An-

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

führung eines schon bereisten und erfahrenen Mannes zu einer solchen Reise zusammen. Oder aber sie geht auch von einem schon bewanderten Manne aus, der andere und jüngere gegen eine entsprechende Theilnahme am Gewinn oder einen bestimmten Lohn zur Betheiligung an derselben heranzieht. Immer ist zu ihrer Ausführung das Zusammentreten mehrerer Personen erforderlich. Denn eine Sungari-Reise kann nicht, wie jene kleineren Händelsfahrten, im Winter auf mit Hunden bespannten Schlitten, wobei ein Jeder sein eigener Herr bleibt, ausgeführt werden. Das verbietet sich den Giljaken schon durch die Länge der Reise, so wie durch den Umstand, dass dieselbe durch das Gebiet nicht bloss ihrer Nachbarn, der Oltscha, sondern auch der entfernter wohnenden Golde führt, bei denen sie nicht immer auf gastliche Aufnahme für sich und ihre Hunde rechnen dürfen, und vom Ussuri bis zum Sungari sogar ein wenig bevölkertes Gebiet durchschneidet, wo sie ihre Hunde leicht ganz verlieren und dadurch in die grösste Verlegenheit gerathen könnten. Ausserdem liesse sich auf diese Weise im besten Falle nur ein so geringes Quantum von Waaren transportiren, dass die Reise sich doch nur wenig oder gar nicht bezahlt machen würde. Die einzige Art, dieselbe sicher und zweckentsprechend auszuführen, ist zu Boot, den Amur- und Sungari aufwärts. Dazu ist aber eine Anzahl von Menschen nöthig, um das durch Pelzwerk und etwas Mundvorrath, wenn auch nicht stark belastete Fahrzeug je nach Umständen bald durch Rudern und bald durch Ziehen an der Leine gegen die mitunter sehr reissende Strömung fortzubewegen. Somit gehört sich zur Ausführung der Reise immer eine, wenn auch nur kleine, aber doch gut organisirte Gesellschaft, mit einem bestimmenden und befehlenden Haupte an der Spitze.

Das Ziel der Sungari-Reisen der Giljaken ist stets die an der Mündung des Churcha- oder Mutuan-ho in den Sungari gelegene Stadt Ssan-ssin oder Itscha-choton, wie ihre bei allen Amur-Völkern gebräuchliche Bezeichnung lautet. Weiter hinauf zu gehen, wird ihnen von der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung nicht gestattet, gleichwie es ihnen und allen übrigen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes auch verboten ist, in den Amur oberhalb der Sungari-Mündung, den sogen. Sachali-Strom einzutreten, — ein Verbot, über dessen Beachtung die in Dshang-dshu am Zusammenfluss beider Ströme stationirten Mandshu-Beamten streng zu wachen haben[1]). Hier liegt daher auch die äusserste West- und Südgrenze des den Giljaken durch Autopsie bekannten Theiles vom Amur- und Sungari-Lande. Was sie von den oberhalb Itscha-choton's am Sungari, resp. an seinem oben genannten Zuflusse, den sie «*Ula*» nennen (was aber im Mandshu und Tungusischen bekanntlich nur so viel wie «Fluss» heisst), gelegenen Städten «Kirchk-choton» und «Nungdy-choton» (Ninguta?), so wie von der «grossen» Stadt «Aicho» (Aigun) am Sachali-Strome zu erzählen wissen, beruht nur auf Hörensagen, auf Erzählungen, die sie theils von den Chinesen am Sungari und Amur und theils vielleicht durch daurisch-jakutische Ueberlieferungen in Burukan gehört haben mögen. Dass die mandshu-chinesische Regierung den Giljaken den Eintritt in den Sungari gestattet, der doch allen Fremdlingen untersagt ist, beweist,

1) Vrgl. oben, p. 35 und 318.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

dass sie dieselben als ihr unterthan ansieht, obgleich sie in deren Lande nichts zur Bethätigung ihrer Herrschaft über sie thut und weder militärische, noch Tribut sammelnde Beamte zu ihnen sendet, in Folge dessen die Giljaken selbst sich für unabhängig von derselben halten. Vielleicht begeht sie diese Unterlassung aus Klugheitsgründen, um sich nicht einem Widerstande auszusetzen, dessen Beseitigung ihr mehr Kosten verursachen als Nutzen bringen würde. Dagegen sucht sie dieselbe dadurch nachzuholen, dass sie von den zum Handel in Ssan-ssin sich einfindenden Giljaken für die zuvor von ihr einzuholende Erlaubniss dazu einen möglichst hoch bemessenen Tribut erhebt. Den Giljaken aber bleibt nichts übrig, als sich jeglicher Forderung zu fügen, wenn sie nicht des gehofften Handelsgewinnes verlustig gehen und die ganze, lange Reise umsonst gemacht haben wollen. Dabei müssen sie es sich auch gefallen lassen, ganz ebenso wie die Golde und andere den Mandshu-Chinesen direkt unterworfene Völker behandelt zu werden. Und um ihren Handelszweck zu erreichen, benehmen sie sich, wie sie mir selbst erzählten, ihnen gegenüber auch ihrerseits ganz wie die letzteren, indem sie zum Gruss oder bei Bittgesuchen das Knie vor ihnen beugen, was doch sonst bei ihnen keineswegs gebräuchlich ist. So heucheln die Giljaken in Ssan-ssin der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung gegenüber eine völlige Unterwürfigkeit, und diese begnügt sich damit, so wie mit den in Form von Tribut von ihnen erhobenen und wahrscheinlich in die Taschen der Lokalbeamten wandernden Geschenken und lässt sie im Uebrigen in Frieden.

Die Behandlung der alljährlich am Sungari zum Handeln sich einfindenden Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes seitens der dortigen Mandshu-Beamten und chinesischen Kaufleute ist äusserst hart, rücksichtslos und demüthigend, und insbesondere haben die ihnen zunächst wohnenden und unmittelbar unterworfenen sanften und schüchternen Golde unter derselben zu leiden. Nach den Schilderungen von Chilkofskij[1]) und Barabasch[2]), welche in den Jahren 1866 und 1872 den Sungari bis nach Pe-tuhe (Bo-dune) aufwärts befuhren, müssen sie sich zuerst Erlaubnissscheine zur Fahrt nach Ssan-ssin und zum Handel daselbst einlösen, was in dem etwas unterhalb von diesem gelegenen Dorfe Ssussu durch Zahlung eines beträchtlichen Quantums von Stör- und Hausenknorpeln und -Leim an den dort stationirten Mandshu-Beamten geschieht. In Ssan-ssin angelangt, haben sie Allem zuvor den der chinesischen Krone schuldigen Tribut (*alban*) zu entrichten, der aus je einem und zwar dem besten Zobel pro Mann besteht. Um aber diesen herauszufinden, durchwühlen und durchmustern die damit betrauten Beamten den ganzen Zobelvorrath eines Jeden der Ankömmlinge, — eine Prozedur, während welcher der betreffende Eigenthümer stets in Ehrfurcht niederknieen muss, und Mancher bleibt eine Stunde und länger auf den Knieen liegen, ehe der beste Zobel aus seinem Vorrath herausgefunden wird. Dass es dabei in der Regel nicht bei dem Einen bleibt, versteht sich von selbst, und doch hilft hier kein Sichweigern und Widerstreben, denn für das geringste Vergehen der

1) Чилкофскій (Извѣст. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Т. II, 1866, Отд. II, стр. 237. Im Auszuge in Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., 1866, p. 348).

2) Я. Барабашъ, Сунгарійскій Заповѣдникъ 1872 г. (Зап. Сибир., 1874, № 3, стр. 141).

Art wird der Betreffende noch unbarmherzig mit Bambusstreichen abgestraft. Haben die Beamten sich gesättigt, so kommt die Reihe des Plünderns an die Kaufleute, und diesen steht u. A. ein so gewaltiges Mittel wie der Branntwein zu Gebote, dem kein Tunguse so leicht zu widerstehen vermag. Nicht selten sollen die chinesischen Händler auch mit erfundenen oder gefälschten Schuldforderungen an die Golde herantreten und von einem oder dem anderen von ihnen die Rückerstattung von so und so vielen angeblich vom Vater oder Grossvater desselben schuldig gebliebenen Zobelfellen verlangen, — Forderungen, welchen die Golde aus Angst vor den angedrohten Strafen und besonders vor Entziehung der Handelserlaubniss durch die mit den Händlern im Einvernehmen stehenden Beamten meist nachzukommen pflegen.

Gegen Pelzwerk, namentlich Zobel-, Otter- und Fuchsfelle, und Stör- und Hausen-Knorpel, -Rückensaiten und -Leim, die einzigen Produkte ihres Landes, welche die Giljaken nach Ssan-ssin bringen, tauschen sie von den Chinesen verschiedene, ihnen theils zum eigenen Leben, theils zum Handel mit den Nachbarvölkern erforderliche Waaren ein. Dahin gehören die oben erwähnten, zumal bei den Bärenfesten in grosser Menge zur Verwendung kommenden Cerealien und Gemüse, wie Hirse, Gerste, Weizenmehl, weisse und gelbe Bohnen, ferner Branntwein und Tabak, nebst den zum Genuss derselben üblichen Utensilien, den kleinen Porzellanschälchen und den allerwärts verbreiteten, mit messingnen, Glas- oder Stein- (Achat- und Chalcedon-) Mundstücken versehenen chinesischen Pfeifen. Von äusserster Wichtigkeit für die Giljaken sind ferner die Kleidungsstoffe, welche sie von den Chinesen beziehen: die unentbehrlichen, von Mann und Weib getragenen, blauen und grauen Baumwollenzeuge, schwarze Wollen- und Sammetstoffe, Seidenzeuge, buntfarbiges Seidengarn, Nähnadeln, Knöpfe und eine Menge chinesischer Schmucksachen: silberne Ohrgehänge, Ringe und Armspangen, Glaskorallen, Messingblechfiguren zum Verzieren der Weiberröcke und drgl. m., sowie endlich auch manche zum Haushalt gehörige Gegenstände, wie grosse und kleine Kessel u. s. w. Ist die Menge der in Ssan-ssin eingetauschten, zum Theil schweren und voluminösen Waaren zu gross, um in den kleinen Böten, in denen die Giljaken die mühsame Bergfahrt nach und auf dem Sungari zu machen pflegen, unbeschadet transportirt werden zu können, so wird ein von den dortigen Golde gezimmertes, sogen. Mandshu-Boot gekauft, in welchem die Rückreise stromabwärts leicht und rasch vollbracht werden kann. Und da man sich hiebei, um eine stärkere Flüssströmung für sich zu haben, meist weit von den Ufern hält, so entgeht man zugleich der Gefahr, nachträglich noch von den hie und da stationirten, resp. zeitweise oder beständig sich aufhaltenden Mandshu-Beamten und chinesischen Händlern gerupft zu werden. Das Boot aber kann nach vollbrachter Heimreise noch bei einer zweiten Art von Handelsreisen zur Verwendung kommen, — den Reisen zu den Ssisam (Japanern), zu deren Betrachtung wir nunmehr übergehen müssen.

Unter den oben genannten Waaren, welche die Giljaken in Ssan-ssin eintauschen, spielt ein Artikel eine besonders wichtige Rolle. Es sind dies die buntfarbigen, mit Drachen und anderen Figuren gezeichneten und oft mit Gold und Silber durchwirkten chinesischen Seidenzeuge, welche theils in ganzen Stücken, theils zu langen und breitärmeligen Schlafröcken verarbeitet,

in den Handel gebracht werden. Denn während die anderen Waaren den Giljaken ausschliesslich zum eigenen Gebrauch oder zum Handel mit ihren Nachbarn dienen, finden diese ihre vornehmlichsten und besten Abnehmer ausserhalb des Amur-Landes, an den Japanern und geben ihnen daher die Hauptveranlassung zum direkten Handel mit diesen letzteren. Von diesem Handel, der jedoch nicht in Japan, sondern in den japanischen Ansiedelungen auf Sachalin stattfindet, ist schon in den ältesten Nachrichten, welche uns von japanischer Seite über diese Insel zugekommen sind, die Rede. Der japanische Dolmetscher Kannemon, der vor 1652 Jesso besuchte, spricht bereits von besonderen Zeugen, welche die Bewohner dieser Insel von «Krato» oder «Kraft» (Sachalin) beziehen, und die er daher «Kraft-ori» nennt[1]). Bestimmter noch lautet die Angabe in Rinsifée's im J. 1785 oder 86 zu Jedo erschienenen Werke «San kokf tsou ran to sets», wo es heisst, dass die Bewohner von Jesso (Matsmai) ihre Produkte zu Karafuto den «Mantsiu» gegen blaue Glaskorallen, Adlerflügel, Tabakspfeifen, seidene Zeuge mit gestickten Drachen, bunte Lein- und Baumwollenzeuge vertauschen[2]). Ganz ohne Zweifel ist hier der Handel gemeint, den die Mandshu-Chinesen, Giljaken und Oltscha mit den angeführten, zumeist chinesischen Waaren, zum Theil aber auch indigenen Produkten des Amur-Landes (wie die Adlerschwänze) auf Sachalin mit den Japanern und Aino dieser Insel und durch deren Vermittelung auch mit den Bewohnern von Jesso betrieben und die letztgenannten indigenen Völker des unteren Amur-Landes, sowie manche Golde noch betreiben. Zwar werden sie dabei nicht genannt, allein das ist bei der damaligen Unkenntniss der Völker des unteren Amur-Landes seitens der Japaner auch nicht zu erwarten und vielmehr anzunehmen, dass diese unter «Mantsiu» in collectivem Sinne alle jenen Handel mit mandshu-chinesischen Waaren betreibenden Völker desselben verstanden. Werden doch die zum Handel mit den Japanern nach Sachalin kommenden Giljaken und Oltscha sogar von manchen neueren, russischen Berichterstattern schlechtweg als «Mandshu» bezeichnet[3]), obgleich gegenwärtig weder diese, noch die russischerseits in der Regel unter diesem Namen verstandenen chinesischen Kaufleute Sachalin besuchen. Fast ebenso alt wie die letzterwähnte japanische Nachricht ist auch die erste russischerseits über den in Rede stehenden Handel erhaltene Kunde. Im J. 1792 hörte nämlich Adam Laxmann die Japaner auf Jesso von «Sandan-aino» reden, welche Perlen und Zeuge nach «Karap» (Krafto, Sachalin) bringen und gegen Thierfelle, Zobel, Füchse u. drgl., vertauschen[4]). Er glaubte zwar, unter diesen «Sandan-Leuten» Koreaner verstehen zu müssen, allein da «Santan», wie oben ausführlich dargethan[5]), die Bezeichnung der Japaner und Aino

1) Jesoki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso, traduit du japonais, par feu M. Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, publ. par Malte-Brun, T. XXIV, Paris 1814, p. 162, 164). Vrgl. auch oben, p. 125, Anmerk. 3.

2) Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes, Paris 1832, p. 190. Vrgl. auch Ritter, Asien, Bd. III, p. 487.

3) So z. B. von Rudanofskij (vrgl. Н. Тихменевъ, Истор. обозр. образованія Россійско-американ. Компаніи и дѣйств. ея до настоящ. врем., Ч. II, С.-Петерб. 1863, стр. 127), Busse (Острова Сахалинъ и Японія. 1863 г., С.-Петерб. 1872, стр. 62, 72, 83) u. A.

4) Vrgl. Лаксманъ, Кураматъ (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., по отд. Этногр., Т. IV, стр. 402, 541). Dergl. s. oben, p. 118.

5) S. p. 118 u. 119, nebst Anmerk.

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für das untere Amur-Land ist, so unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass darunter die nach Sachalin handelnden Giljaken, Oltscha und Golde gemeint waren.

Der Hauptort, wo der Handel der Giljaken mit den Japanern stattfindet, ist Ssiranussi, die vornehmste, nahe der Südwestspitze der Insel gelegene Niederlassung der letzteren[1]). Dies ist also auch das äusserste Ziel der «Ssisam-Reisen der Giljaken, auf welchen übrigens nicht bloss mit den Japanern, sondern auch mit den Aino Handel getrieben wird. Die Reisen werden im Sommer und im Winter, zu Boot und in Schlitten gemacht. Zur Seereise dahin bedienen sich die Giljaken bald der oben erwähnten, vom Sungari gebrachten Mandshu-Böte, bald und zumeist ihrer oben beschriebenen gewöhnlichen Flussböte, an denen sie nur zum Schutz gegen die höheren Seewellen die Bordseiten durch ein jederseits angebrachtes Brett erhöhen. Diesen ihren kiellosen Fahrzeugen Rechnung tragend, vermeiden sie auf der Fahrt sorgfältig die hohe See und halten sich, nachdem sie die Mamia Rinsô-Strasse an ihrer schmalsten Stelle, vom Cap Lasaref (gilj. *Piljan-kthy*[2]), d. h. Grosses Cap, oltsch. *Wasfun*) nach Poghobi, wo sie etwa 4 Seemeilen breit ist, bei stillem Wetter gekreuzt und so die Westküste Sachalin's erreicht haben, stets in möglichster Nähe von derselben. Doch bietet auch die Seefahrt der Küste entlang, die stellenweise und namentlich südlich von Duï bis Pilja-wo steilfelsig ist, manche Gefahren, denen die Giljaken dadurch zu entgehen suchen, dass sie nur bei stillem Wetter oder schwachem Winde in See gehen. Dadurch sowohl, wie durch den Umstand, dass sie, um ihre Böte nicht zu sehr zu belasten, nur wenig Mundvorräthe mitnehmen und sich in Betreff ihres Lebensunterhaltes fast ganz auf ihre Fischnetze verlassen[3]), zieht sich die Seefahrt bisweilen längere Zeit hin. Unter günstigen Umständen sollen sie jedoch die schlimmste Strecke, von Duï bis Kussunai, oft in 4—5 Tagen zurücklegen. Den Winterreisen zu den Ssisam, die in hundebespannten Schlitten gemacht werden, setzt die oben erwähnte steilfelsige Küstenstrecke grössere Hindernisse in den Weg. Denn nicht immer friert das Meer an derselben zu, und wenn sich auch ein Eissaum gebildet hat, so wird er bei stärkerem Winde durch den hohen Wellengang der See oft und zuweilen ganz plötzlich und unerwartet wieder zerbrochen und fortgeschwemmt. Die Reisenden sehen sich daher genöthigt, diese Strecke über Land zu umfahren, und das kann der dahinter liegenden Gebirge halber nur auf einem weiten Umwege geschehen: sie verlassen nämlich bei Arkai, kurz vor Duï die Meeresküste, wenden sich landeinwärts über niedrige Pässe den Tymy-Quellen zu, gehen von diesen an den Plyi- oder Poronai-Fluss hinüber und folgen dem Laufe desselben bis zu seiner im Golf der Geduld befindlichen Mündung, an welcher es Ansiedelungen aller drei auf Sachalin vertretenen Völkerschaften, der Giljaken, Oroken und Aino giebt. Von dort fahren sie längs der Ostküste der Insel bis nach Manuë und dann einem niedrigen und bequemen, auf der schmalsten Stelle Sachalin's gelege-

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1) Ueber die Zeit der Begründung und den Charakter der japanischen Niederlassungen auf Sachalin s. oben, p. 72—77.

2) Das fh ist wie im Englischen ausgesprochen.

3) Fr. Schmidt, Histor. Ber. etc., l. c., p. 84.

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nen Passe entlang wieder zur Westküste hinüber, welche sie bei Kussunai erreichen, und der sie nun bis nach Ssiranussi folgen [1]).

Wie schon erwähnt, liegt es im Zweck der Ssisam-Reisen der Giljaken auch mit den Aino zu handeln und von ihnen gegen Baumwollenzeuge, Tabak, Pfeifen, Glaskorallen u. a. mandshu-chinesische Artikel Pelzwerk einzutauschen. Das geschieht allenthalben, wo sie mit ihnen zusammentreffen, an der Ost- wie an der Westküste Sachalin's. Ein Hauptpunkt für diesen Handel ist aber das unweit von Kussunai gelegene Dorf Najoro, wohin die Aino zu diesem Zweck selbst aus ansehnlicher Ferne, aus der Bai Aniwa u. a. O. kommen [2]). Die Japaner sehen diesen Handel aus egoistischen Gründen nur sehr ungern und suchen ihn nach Möglichkeit zu hintertreiben, weil sie sich gern selbst in den Besitz des von den Aino erbeuteten Pelzwerks setzen. Da sie dies aber in einer die letzteren stark schädigenden Weise thun, indem sie ihnen ihre Waare zum Theil unter Strafandrohungen und anderen Zwangsmaassregeln nur sehr unter ihrem Preise, ja mitunter auch umsonst, als Zahlung für angebliche Schulden abzunehmen pflegen [3]), so entziehen sich die Aino, wo sie nur können, dem Handel mit ihnen und suchen ihre vor jenen geheim gehaltenen Pelzwaaren den Sachalin- oder noch lieber den angereisten Amur-Giljaken und Oltscha zu verkaufen. Diese sollen ihnen für ein Zobelfell, je nach seiner Güte, 2—3 Faden (Armspannen) chinesischen Baumwollenzeugs zahlen, und eben so viel für eine jede Viertelarschin (Fingerspanne) vom Flussotterfell, so dass letzteres bei einer Länge von $^5/_6$ Arschin, die in Folge unvermeidlichen Reckens des Felles beim Abbalgen leicht erreicht wird, etwa auf 10 Faden des genannten Zeuges zu stehen kommt [4]), — Preise, welche mit dem oben angeführten Werthe dieser Gegenstände bei den Giljaken ziemlich übereinstimmen.

In Ssiranussi angelangt, müssen sich die Ssisam-Fahrer, bevor sie den Handel mit den Japanern beginnen dürfen, einer von diesen eingeführten Ceremonie unterziehen, die darin besteht, dass ein Jeder von ihnen, zum Zeichen seiner Unterwürfigkeit, vom obersten japanischen Beamten zwei oder drei Schläge mit einem Stock über den Rücken erhält. Nachdem dies geschehen, werden ihnen die Waaren abgenommen und in ein amtliches Haus der Japaner, das ausser diesen von Niemand betreten werden darf, gebracht, um einer eingehenden Durchsicht unterworfen zu werden [5]). Dass von hier aus manche und gewiss nicht die schlechtesten Stücke den Rückweg zu ihren rechtmässigen Eigenthümern nicht mehr finden, darf wohl kaum bezweifelt werden. Indessen erlauben sich die Japaner nicht, die angereisten Giljaken und Oltscha in derselben rücksichtslosen und räuberischen Weise wie die Aino zu behandeln, schon aus dem Grunde, weil sie sie sonst leicht ganz vom Handel mit ihnen zurückschrecken und dadurch selbst der begehrenswerthen Waaren, die sie ihnen zuführen, verlustig gehen könnten. Zudem

1) Fr. Schmidt, Histor. Ber. etc., l. c., p. 110.
2) Busse, l. c., p. 81. Schmidt, l. c., p. 92.
3) Busse, l. c., p. 71.
4) Busse, l. c., p. 84.
5) Nach Rudanofski, in Tichmenef's Историч. обозр. образов. Россійско-японск. Колоніи, Ч. II, стр. 137. In dieser Schrift wird übrigens der Haupthandelsort der Japaner auf Sachalin stets fälschlich «Siirakussi», statt Soirakussi genannt.

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ist ihnen dieser Handel um so vortheilhafter, als sie dabei hauptsächlich Zobel-, Fuchs- und Flussotterfelle verwerthen, Artikel, die sie sich dank ihrem an den Aino auf Sachalin wie auf Jesso geübten Erpressungssystem in grosser Menge und fast ohne Unkosten verschaffen, und für welche sie in Japan bei der bekannten Abneigung seiner Bewohner gegen Pelzwerk keinen Absatz finden. Einen grossen Gewinn verdanken sie ferner der Beliebtheit ihrer eisernen, mit Henkeln versehenen Kessel bei den Giljaken. Endlich geben ihnen auch Reis, Tabak, Ssaki, porzellanene und lakirte hölzerne Schalen und drgl. ganghare Tauschartikel in diesem Handel ab, wogegen die Hauptgegenstände, welche sie von den Giljaken und Oltscha einzutauschen trachten, jene buntfarbigen, rothen und blauen chinesischen Seidenstoffe und die ebenfalls mehrfach erwähnten Adlerschwänze sind. Wie beliebt die einen wie die anderen bei ihnen sind, kann man aus den hohen Preisen ersehen, welche sie für dieselben zahlen. Nach Angabe des Giljaken Poswein aus Kulj geben die Japaner für ein Stück Seidenstoff von 7 Faden Länge und einer Arschin Breite 5 Flussotter-, 5 Fuchs- und 5 Zobelfelle und für einen Adlerschwanz von *Haliaëtus pelagicus* 12 Otterfelle und vom weit weniger geschätzten *Hal. albicilla* eine beliebige Menge von Reis. Die gesammte Anzahl der von den Saisam-Fahrern alljährlich in Ssiranussi von den Japanern erhandelten Thierfelle aber taxirt Kruhjelm, der damalige Chef der Faktoreien der russisch-amerikanischen Handelscompagnie in Ajan, Nikolajefsk und dem Murawjofschen Posten, auf etwa 2400 Otter-, 1300 Zobel- und 640 Fuchsfelle[1]). Diese reiche Ausbeute an Pelzwerk, das die Giljaken und Oltscha von ihren Saisam-Reisen heimbringen, wird von ihnen im Handel mit den Chinesen am Amur sowohl, wie insbesondere am Sungari in der oben angegebenen Weise verwerthet und trägt somit wesentlich zur Erhaltung, Belebung und Vermehrung ihrer gesammten Handelsoperationen bei.

Der Aufenthalt der Saisam-Fahrer auf Sachalin zum Zweck des Handels mit den Aino und Japanern dehnt sich indess oft über eine ansehnlich lange Zeit aus. Namentlich die im Sommer Angereisten warten entweder den Winter ab, um mit Hunden auf dem oben erwähnten Wege über Kussunai, Manuï, den Poro-nai und die Tymy-Quellen zurückzukehren, oder bleiben sogar den ganzen Winter im Süden der Insel und treten erst im nächsten Frühling oder Sommer die Rückreise zu Boot längs der Westküste Sachalin's an. Auf dieser Fahrt treiben sie noch, so weit es geht, Handel mit den Aino und sind, wie Fr. Schmidt berichtet[2]), besonders beflissen junge Bären einzufangen, um sie in der Heimath grosszuziehen.

Ueber Ssiranussi hinaus zu gehen und etwa auch die japanische Niederlassung Kussunkotan in der Aniwa-Bai zu besuchen, ist den Saisam-Fahrern von den Japanern untersagt. Hier liegt daher, gleichwie in Ssan-ssin, die äusserste Südgrenze der den Giljaken durch Autopsie bekannten Welt, und über Japan, die Heimath der Saisam, wissen sie nur zu sagen, dass es ein über Sachalin (*Lär-mif*) hinaus liegendes und durch ein kleines Meer (*matsch-kerchk*) von

1) Тихменевъ, Истор. обозр. образов. Россійско-американ. Компаніи, Ч. II, стр. 129.

2) Histor. Bor. etc., l. c., p. 34.

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ihm getrenntes Land sei. In den auf die Besitznahme des Amur-Landes durch die Russen unmittelbar folgenden Jahren suchten aber die Japaner die von dort kommenden Händler auch von Sairanussi und Endungomo, ihrer zweitgrössten Ansiedelung an der Westküste Sachalin's, fernzuhalten und zugleich ihre Kolonisation der Insel möglichst nach Norden auszudehnen, um einer etwaigen Ausbreitung der russischen Macht über dieselbe und besonders einem Abspenstigmachen der ihnen unterworfenen und von ihnen ausgebeuteten Aino entgegen zu wirken[1]). So wurden im J. 1859 die nach Sachalin zum Handel herübergekommenen Giljaken von den Japanern nicht mehr nach Sairanussi, sondern nur bis Endungomo vorgelassen, und im Jahre darauf wurde den Oltscha-Händlern auch das Betreten dieses Orts untersagt, so dass sie theils in Kussunai blieben und theils nach Taraika, an die Ostküste gingen[2]). Ja selbst den Giljaken Judin aus Tebach traf dieses Verbot, obgleich er in früheren Jahren oft in Sairanussi gewesen und dort gut bekannt, ja, dank seiner Kenntniss der Aino-Sprache, die ihm von seiner aus diesem Volke stammenden Mutter her geläufig war, nicht selten sogar als Dolmetscher benutzt worden war. Doch diese wie alle späteren, in Folge der Besitznahme des Amur-Landes durch die Russen in den Handelsverhältnissen desselben eingetretenen Veränderungen und Umwälzungen gehören nicht mehr in den Rahmen unserer Betrachtungen.

Ueberblickt man die gesammte, oben geschilderte Handelsthätigkeit der Giljaken, so wird man nicht anstehen, sie für ein von der Natur zum Handel ausserordentlich beanlagtes und demselben von Grund aus ergebenes Volk anzuerkennen. Zu schwerfällig, um sich die Mittel zu einem ihren Neigungen entsprechenden grösseren Handel mit den benachbarten Culturvölkern durch die Jagd zu verschaffen, verstehen sie, dieselben ihren jagdgeübteren Nachbarstämmen durch einen von kleinen Anfängen an unermüdlich fortgeführten Handel abzugewinnen. Also bereichert, unternehmen sie, trotz ihrer primitiven Lokomotionsmittel, weite Handelsreisen nach dem Sungari und nach Südsachalin, zu den «Mandshu» und zu den «Saisam», und indem sie die Waaren und Produkte der Einen gegen diejenigen der Anderen eintauschen, dienen sie als Handelsvermittler zwischen den beiden grössten Culturvölkern Ostasien's, den Chinesen und Japanern. Diese letztere Thätigkeit der Giljaken gestattet, sie mit einem anderen paläasiatischen Volke in Parallele zu stellen, nämlich mit den Tschuktschen, die, ebenfalls nur schlechte Jäger, aber von gewaltigem Handelsgeist beseelt, die nordische Tundra durchwandern und die Berings-Strasse überschreiten, um das von den Eskimo im Jukon-Gebiet erbeutete Pelzwerk gegen die Waaren russisch-sibirischer Kaufleute und am Anjui umgekehrt diese gegen jenes einzutauschen und so im polaren Norden den Handel zwischen Europa-Asien und Amerika zu vermitteln[3]). Keines der sibirischen Völker kann sich in Beziehung auf seine Handelsthätigkeit

1) Ueber diese Vorgänge s. oben, p. 75—77.

2) Брылкинъ, Письма съ Сахалина (Зап. Сиб. Отд. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., Кн. VII, стр. 22, 26). Desgl. Schmidt, Hist. Ber. etc., l. c., p. 107 u. 108.

3) Ueber diesen Handel der Tschuktschen s. die eingehenden und ausführlichen Mittheilungen von Mojuschkin (in Wrangell's Reisebeschreibung, russ. Ausgabe, Bd. I, p. 331 ff.), Dittmar (Bull. de la cl. hist.-philol. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Petersb., T. XIII, 1856, p. 129 ff.; Mél. russes, T. III, p. 39 ff.) u. A.

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mit diesen beiden paläasiatischen Völkern vergleichen, es seien denn die Oltscha, deren stark ausgebildeter Handelsgeist jedoch, wie wir sogleich sehen werden, auf den Einfluss der Giljaken zurückgeführt werden muss.

Nächst den Giljaken treiben die Oltscha den ausgebreitetsten Handel im unteren Amur-Lande, und zwar in ganz ähnlicher Weise wie jene und zum Theil sogar in denselben Bahnen. Obgleich eifrigere und geschicktere Jäger als die Giljaken, begnügen sie sich doch auch nicht damit, nur die Ergebnisse der eigenen Jagd den chinesischen Kaufleuten am Amur und Sungari gegenüber in Handel zu bringen, sondern suchen ebenfalls, sich zu dem Zweck durch zwischenhändlerische Thätigkeit auch von den Jagdausbeuten ihrer Nachbarn in Besitz zu setzen. Das Gebiet ihres Zwischenhandels ist jedoch von demjenigen der Amur-Giljaken scharf geschieden. Denn mit Ausnahme der Samagir-Sitze am Udyl-See, die von beiden des Handels wegen besucht werden, üben die Amur-Giljaken ihre zwischenhändlerische Thätigkeit, wie oben dargethan, unter den Negda und hauptsächlich nord- und ostwärts, unter ihren eigenen Landsleuten an der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres und auf Sachalin, so wie unter den Oroken und Aino aus, während das Gebiet des Zwischenhandels der Oltscha südwärts, bei den Orotschen der Meeresküste und der dahin mündenden Flüsse liegt. Bemerkenswerth ist hiebei, dass die Oroken nicht in die Handelssphäre ihrer nächsten Stammgenossen auf dem Festlande, der Oltscha, sondern, in Folge der geographischen Lage ihrer Wohnsitze im Nordosten Sachalin's, in diejenige der ihnen dem Stamme wie der Sprache nach fremden Giljaken gehören, deren Einflusse sie auch in anderen Dingen ausser dem Handel unterliegen.

Dem Verkehr der Oltscha mit den Orotschen liegen ebenfalls natürliche, durch die geographische Lage ihrer Wohnsitze bedingte Strassen zu Grunde. Von der Bai de Castries, ihrem einzigen Sitz am Meere, fahren die Oltscha, Handel treibend, längs der von Orotschen bewohnten Festlandsküste südwärts bis zu den an derselben gelegenen Niederlassungen der Chinesen hin. Als Ditmar im Mai 1855 diese Bai besuchte, sah er viele von ihnen in ihren leichten Böten, die ganz wie die giljakischen gebaut sind, von einer solchen Handelsreise zurückkehren [1]). Nördlich von de Castries, an der kleinen Bai Taba mündet die natürliche und kürzeste Strasse, welche sich den Oltscha im Mittelpunkt ihres Verbreitungsgebiets vom Amur-Strom zur Meeresküste darbietet. Sie wird durch den vom Amur-Strom weithin nach Osten sich abzweigenden Kidsi-See und das von Nordost in denselben fallende Taba-Flüsschen gebildet, das nur durch eine schmale und zum Theil sumpfige Landstrecke von der Meeresbai Taba getrennt ist. Hier ist bereits in alter Zeit und vermuthlich von den Oltscha selbst eine Querreihe von

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1) E. v. Ditmar, Reisen u. Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka in den J. 1851—1855, I. Theil (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, 2. Folge, Bd. VII, p. 318).

Balken auf den Erdboden gelegt worden, über welche die Böte aus dem Taba-Flüsschen ins Meer hinübergezogen werden. Auf diesem Wege waren auch jene «Bitschi» (Golde von Bitschu) vom Amur nach der Bai de Castries gekommen, aus deren Erzählungen La Pérouse den falschen Schluss zog, dass die Insel Sachalin am Nordende der Meerenge der Tartarei durch Sandbänke, welche von der Ebbe trocken gelegt würden, mit dem Festlande in Verbindung stehe[1]). Dieselbe Strasse benutzte auch Mamia Rinsô, als er im J. 1800 von Krafto (Sachalin) nach dem Santan- oder unteren Amur-Lande reiste[2]). Im Winter giebt der ansehnliche Tumdshi-Fluss den Oltscha die Hauptstrasse zum Handelsverkehr mit den Orotschen ab, indem sie vom Amur aus, bald in Schlitten fahrend, bald auf Schneeschuhen gehend und die mit Hunden bespannten Schlitten hinter sich herziehend, die am Pâ, Jal, Miäta und Chelasso gelegenen Gebirgspässe zum Tumdshi hin überschreiten und alsdann diesem Flusse bis zu seiner in der Nähe des Kaiserhafens gelegenen Mündung folgen.

Ist das Gebiet, auf welchem die Oltscha einen Zwischenhandel mit ihren Nachbarn betreiben, nach den obigen Schilderungen auch recht gross, so steht es doch demjenigen der Giljaken an Umfang wie an Ergiebigkeit erheblich nach. Die letztere wird namentlich durch den Umstand stark geschmälert, dass die Orotschen ausser den Oltscha auch von den Golde zu Handelszwecken besucht und ausgebeutet werden. Ja, diese sind dazu durch die geographischen Verhältnisse insofern noch mehr vor jenen begünstigt, als sie am Chongar, Naiche, Munamu und allen rechten Ussuri-Zuflüssen unmittelbare Nachbarn der Orotschen sind und mehr oder minder bequeme Strassen zur Meeresküste haben, wogegen ihnen aber allerdings der oben erwähnte Seeweg zu denselben ferner liegt.

Das durch die eigene Jagd und durch den Handel mit den Nachbarstämmen gewonnene Pelzwerk verwerthen die Oltscha gleich den Giljaken im Handel mit den Chinesen. Doch ist der Gewinn, den sie aus diesem Handel ziehen, im Vergleich mit demjenigen der Giljaken auch nur geringer, und zwar aus dem Grunde, weil sie sich dabei vielfach, statt der langen und beschwerlichen Sungari-Reisen, an die in ihrem Lande an vielen Punkten, so in Pulj, Mongole, Kidsi, Adi u. a. Orten, mehr oder minder beständig sich aufhaltenden chinesischen Kaufleute wenden, welche, selbst nur Zwischenhändler, ihren Vortheil stets meisterhaft zu wahren wissen. Diesen sie ausbeutenden Zwischenhändlern ihr Land zu verschliessen, wie es die Giljaken gethan, hat es den Oltscha an Muth und Energie gefehlt. Dennoch stehen sie keineswegs, wie etwa manche Golde oder auch die Orotschen (Ta-dse) im südlichen Theile ihres Wohngebiets, ganz in den Händen derselben, sondern suchen vielmehr ebenfalls, sie nach Möglichkeit zu umgehen und ihren Handel direkt mit den Sungari-Chinesen zu betreiben.

Bezüglich der Sungari-Reisen der Oltscha muss ich auf das oben Mitgetheilte verweisen, da sie mit denjenigen der Giljaken vollkommen übereinstimmen, sowohl ihrer Ausführung, wie ihrem Zweck nach, der im Ankauf chinesischer Seidenstoffe behufs des Handels

1) S. dieses Werkes Bd. II, p. 733 u. Bd. III, p. 130. | 2) Tô-tate ki ho (Siebold, Nippon VII, p. 171).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

mit den Japanern auf Sachalin gipfelt. Zur Reise nach diesem benutzen die Oltscha die oben erwähnte Kidsi-Taba-Strasse, und ihre Handelsthätigkeit auf der Insel ist ganz dieselbe wie diejenige der Giljaken auf ihren Sxisam-Reisen, so dass sie oben bei Gelegenheit der letzteren bereits besprochen werden konnte.

Bleiben somit die Oltscha in ihrer gesammten Handelsthätigkeit auch erheblich hinter den Giljaken zurück, so ist diese Thätigkeit ihrer Ausdehnung, Complication und mehr noch ihres zwischen zwei Culturvölkern, den Chinesen und Japanern, vermittelnden Charakters wegen immerhin als eine sehr hervorragende zu bezeichnen. Und ganz besonders ist die Thatsache auffallend, dass eine solche Handelsthätigkeit von einem Volke von rein tungusischem Stamme ausgeübt wird, einem Stamme, der sich allenthalben, wo man ihm auch begegnet, durch seinen leichten, um die Zukunft unbekümmerten Sinn und seinen leidenschaftlichen Hang zu einem umherstreifenden Jägerleben auszeichnet und nirgends eine auch nur mässige specielle Neigung und Befähigung zum Handel zeigt. Erwägt man aber dieser Thatsache gegenüber, dass die Oltscha sich durch langjähriges Nebeneinanderleben und vielfache Vermischung mit den Giljaken in ihrer Lebensweise, ihren Sitten und Gebräuchen, kurz in ihrem gesammten Wesen sehr stark mit diesen ihren Nachbarn assimilirt haben, so wird man gewiss nicht anstehen können, auch ihren hochentwickelten Handelssinn und ihre rege Handelsthätigkeit für eine Folge des von den Giljaken auf sie ausgeübten Einflusses zu halten.

Durch die Oltscha ist dieser Einfluss, wenn auch in abgeschwächtem Grade, auch auf ihre nächsten Nachbarn stromaufwärts, die Golde übertragen worden. Im Obigen ist bereits der Handelsverbindungen Erwähnung geschehen, welche diese mit den Orotschen der Meeresküste, mit den Chinesen am Sungari und, wenn auch in weit geringerem Maasse als die Oltscha und Giljaken, sogar mit den Japanern auf Sachalin unterhalten. Was die Handelsthätigkeit der Golde ganz besonders lähmt, ist die auf ihnen lastende mandshu-chinesische Herrschaft, der beständige Druck und die rücksichtslose Ausbeutung, denen sie von Seiten der Mandshu-Beamten und der chinesischen Kaufleute ausgesetzt sind. Die Unsicherheit des Besitzes und die häufige Schmälerung des Eigenthums rauben ihnen die Freude und den Eifer an der Mehrung desselben, und die, wie allen tungusischen Stämmen, so auch ihnen nur in sehr geringem Grade eigene Widerstandskraft und Energie machen mehr und mehr der Niedergeschlagenheit und Indolenz Raum. Dies wird um so augenscheinlicher, je mehr man sich dem Sungari, als dem Sitz und Ausgangspunkte der mandshu-chinesischen Herrschaft über das untere Amur-Land nähert. Trotzdem also, dass am Sungari der Haupthandelsmarkt für die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes liegt, nimmt ihre Handelsthätigkeit nach Maassgabe der Entfernung von demselben, in Folge ihrer gleichzeitig wachsenden Unabhängigkeit von den Mandshu-Chinesen, zu, um schliesslich unter den am freisten und selbständigsten gebliebenen Giljaken ihren Höhepunkt zu erreichen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

So viel über die Handelsverhältnisse im unteren Amur-Lande zur Zeit meines Aufenthalts daselbst. Ein Vergleich mit früheren Nachrichten über dieselben lehrt jedoch, dass sie nur kurze Zeit, nicht mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert zuvor sehr wesentlich anders lagen. Diesen Vergleich anzustellen, ist um so mehr von Interesse, als sich dabei auch ein Stück der jüngstvergangenen Geschichte des unteren Amur-Landes und seiner Völker vor unseren Augen aufthun wird. Das Material dazu liefern Mamia Rinsô's Nachrichten über das untere Amur-Land aus den Jahren 1808 und 1809. Wie schon erwähnt [1]), geschah seine Reise dahin im Auftrage der japanischen Regierung, die in der Befürchtung, dass die 1807 russischerseits verübte Zerstörung der japanischen Ansiedelungen in der Aniwa-Bai sich wiederholen dürfte, Sachalin und das Amur-Land mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Haltung der Russen daselbst genauer auszukundschaften wünschte. Bereits auf der Insel erfuhr er, dass es auf dem gegenüber gelegenen Festlande nahe von der Küste einen vielbesuchten Handelsort Namens Deren gebe [2]). Dieses machte er nun zum Zielpunkt seiner Reise, und nachdem er von Kidsi, das er auf der oben bezeichneten Strasse über den gleichnamigen See erreicht hatte, drei Tage den Amur-Strom aufwärts gegangen war, langte er am 10. August in Deren an und nahm dort, anfangs als Fremder vom Volk belästigt, später aber von den Mandshu-Beamten und nach deren Vorgange auch von allen Uebrigen mit Achtung behandelt, einen Aufenthalt von nicht weniger als sieben Tagen. Aus seiner ausführlichen Beschreibung dieses Orts und des Lebens und Treibens in demselben [3]) seien hier einige Hauptzüge angeführt. Ihr zufolge lag Deren am rechten Ufer des Amur-Stromes auf einer in der Ferne in dichtes Gebüsch sich verlierenden Ebene. Der Handelsplatz war ein grosses, von einer Doppelreihe von Pallisaden umgebenes Viereck, in welchem zu beiden Seiten und im Grunde zum Handel dienliche Hütten errichtet waren. In der Mitte aber befand sich ein ebenso umgrenzter und nur mit einem einzigen Thor versehener Raum, in welchem das Wachthaus stand und von Seiten der Fremden sowohl wie der Mandshu-Beamten die Handelsartikel und gegenseitigen Geschenke aufbewahrt wurden. Diese Beamten hielten sich nicht beständig in Deren auf, sondern kamen dahin nur im Sommer für die Zeit der Handelsdauer aus «Itsjô-fotto», einem Ort, von dem Mamia Rinsô meinte, dass er nur einige «Ri» oberhalb Deren's liege, in welchem man aber unschwer Itscha-choton, d. i. Ssan-assin, erkennt [4]). Mamia Rinsô unterschied drei Klassen von Beamten: zur ersten, vornehmsten gehörten nur drei Personen, die in Damast und Atlas gekleidet waren und aus «Rotting» (Stroh) geflochtene, mit einem messingenen Knopf und einem herabhängenden seidenen Quast versehene Hüte trugen; zur zweiten Klasse gehörten 50—60 Mann, deren Kleidung aus Kattun bestand, und die dritte endlich umfasste so viele Leute, dass er ihre Zahl nicht genau anzugeben weiss, zumal sie ganz ebenso wie die «Santaner» (Oltscha und Gilaken) und «Kordekke» (Golde) gekleidet waren. Von diesen niederen «Beamten», die offenbar nur Polizeidiener, Wächter und drgl. waren, blie-

1) S. oben, p. 73 u. 74.

2) Mamia Rinsô, Tô-tats hi ko (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

3) L. c., p. 173—176.

4) Dahin, «nach Sensei» soll er auch einen der Mandshu von Deren verrathen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

ben einige auch zur Nacht im Wachthause, die oberen dagegen kamen nur des Morgens hin und kehrten nach dem Schluss der Geschäfte, zur Nacht in ihre Wohnungen zurück, die sich auf ihren ans Ufer gezogenen Böten befanden, welche zu dem Zweck auf ihrem Hintertheile entweder ein Verdeck aus Baumrinde, oder eine kleine bretterne Hütte trugen. Die zahlreichen, in Handelszwecken gekommenen Fremden (Eingeborenen) wohnten, wie es auch Mamia Rinsô that, in Rindenzelten, die ebenfalls am Ufer des Stromes vor dem Handelsplatze errichtet waren. Der vorschriftsmässige Brauch forderte es, dass jeder neuangelangte Handelsmann zweimal im Wachthause vor den Mandshu-Beamten erscheine: das erste Mal gleich nach seiner Ankunft, um sie zu begrüssen, wobei er sich entblössten Hauptes dreimal vor ihnen verbeugen (d. h. wohl niederknieen) musste und ihm zur Bewillkommnung Branntwein[1]), Reis und Hirse gereicht wurden; das zweite Mal, um ihnen seine «Geschenke» zu überreichen, die meistens aus Zobelfellen bestanden, und von ihnen ein Gegengeschenk zu empfangen, das in der Regel aus Seidenstoffen und für gemeine Schiffsleute aus Kattun u. drgl. bestand. Auch diesmal musste er sich, den Hut in der Hand, dreimal vor den drei oberen Mandshu-Beamten verbeugen und alsdann auf dem Erdboden vor ihnen Platz nehmen, während sie auf Stühlen (oder vermuthlich erhöhten Bänken) sassen. Diese Maassregeln erstreckten sich jedoch bloss auf die fremden Handelsleute, nicht auch auf die Chinesen[2]), welche frei und eigenmächtig, ohne Anmeldung bei den oberen Beamten handeln durften. Ohne Zweifel waren also jene nur von den Fremdlingen (Eingeborenen) geforderten «Geschenke» nichts weiter als der Tribut, den sie zu leisten hatten, um die Erlaubniss zum Handeln zu erhalten. War diesen Forderungen genügt, so konnten sie im Uebrigen ungenirt ihrem Handel nachgehen, und bei der grossen Menge von Käufern und Verkäufern, die sich täglich versammelten, ging es, wie der Reisende bemerkt, «oft toll genug her: Zwist und Diebstahl sind bei den durcheinander gemengten Fremden an der Tagesordnung; zwar schlägt man von Zeit zu Zeit an eine Glocke (wohl einen Gong), um Ruhe und Ordnung zu gebieten, doch hilft dies in der That nur wenig, und das Gewühl und Gedränge dauert bis tief in die Nacht hinein fort». Bei alledem wurde jedoch, wenn es sich um die Beobachtung alter, von der Regierung vorgeschriebener Gesetze und Gebräuche handelte, unbedingter Gehorsam verlangt und allgemein geleistet. Mamia Rinsô sah einen der obersten Beamten einen Fremden, der sich den Gebräuchen nicht fügen wollte, tüchtig mit dem Stock schlagen; nachdem aber die Züchtigung erfolgt und gefruchtet, durfte derselbe seinem Handelsgeschäft wie zuvor nachgehen. Meistens brachten die nach Deren kommenden Fremdlinge Thierfelle zum Verkauf, die sie zusammengepackt unter den Armen trugen und ausboten, und tauschten dagegen Branntwein, Tabak, Kleidungsstoffe, Eisenwaaren und drgl. m. ein.

Man ersieht aus dieser Schilderung, dass es zu jener Zeit am unteren Amur nur etwa drei Tagereisen oberhalb Kidsi's einen Ort gab, wo sich alljährlich im Sommer chinesische Kaufleute und zahlreiche Eingeborene des unteren Amur-Landes versammelten und unter der Aufsicht und

1) Der Japaner nennt das Getränk nach seiner Weise sake.

2) Bei Mamia Rinsô heissen diese ebenfalls Mandshu, wie die Beamten.

Administration von Ssan-asin abgeordneter Mandshu-Beamten einen lebhaften Handel betrieben, wobei es ungefähr ebenso herging wie heutzutage in Ssan-ssin, und auch dieselbe demüthigende Behandlung, dieselben Tributserhebungen, Erpressungen u. dergl. von den Mandshu den Eingeborenen gegenüber geübt wurden.

Der Ort, wo Deren lag, lässt sich mit Sicherheit bestimmen, obwohl von dem Wachthause, dessen Mamia Rinsô erwähnt, keine Spur hinterblieben ist: es ist die etwas erhobene Bucht am rechten Amur-Ufer, auf welcher sich heutzutage das aus zwei etwa eine Werst auseinander gelegenen Jurten bestehende Dorf Dyra befindet. Ich habe sie beide zu wiederholten Malen, im Sommer wie im Winter besucht. Die eine derselben liegt im Grunde einer flachen Bucht, die andere etwas oberhalb auf einem höher ansteigenden Ufer, in der Nähe eines kleinen Caps. Obgleich der Ort noch im Oltscha-Gebiet liegt, waren die Inhaber beider Jurten Golde, und die Einen wie die Anderen bezeichneten sowohl ihre, als auch die nahe benachbarte Behausung mit dem Namen Dyra, so dass dieser offenbar der ganzen Lokalität zukommt[1]), — der gesammten Uferstrecke und anstossenden Ebene, auf welcher der ehemalige Handelsort Deren lag. Zum Beweise dafür, dass dieser sich in der That dort befand, dient übrigens, ausser dem noch jetzt nahe gleichlautenden Namen der bezeichneten Lokalität und ihrer den Angaben Mamia Rinsô's entsprechenden Beschaffenheit und Entfernung von Kidsi, auch der Umstand, dass alle vom Reisenden bis dahin passirten Ortschaften sich auch heutzutage genau wiedererkennen lassen; denn unter «Sjai, Horupé, Kuwore, Urugé», wie er sie nennt, sind ohne Zweifel die in derselben Reihenfolge gelegenen Oltscha-Dörfer Dshaï, Borbi[2]), Kuwty und Yrri gemeint.

Wo es aber noch vor einem halben Jahrhundert ein reges Handelsleben, «ein Gewühl und Gedränge durcheinander gemengter» Mandshu, Chinesen und verschiedener Eingeborenen des Landes gab, die von Zeit zu Zeit, wenn es gar zu toll herging, von den befehligenden Mandshu-Beamten durch die lauten Klänge des Gong zur Ruhe und Ordnung gerufen wurden, breitet sich jetzt eine bis auf ein paar ärmliche Hütten vollkommen öde und todte Grasebene aus. Fügt man hinzu, dass es gegenwärtig — ich meine die Zeit meines Aufenthalts im Amur-Lande — auch weiterhin am unteren Amur, von einzelnen handeltreibenden Chinesen und Mandshu abgesehen, keinen officiellen, von der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung inaugurirten oder administrirten Handelsort giebt, und der nächste und einzige Ort der Art für die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes das am Sungari gelegene Ssan-asin ist, so unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass im letzten halben Jahrhundert, zwischen Mamia Rinsô's und meinem Besuch des Amur-Landes ein Rückgang des officiellen mandshu-chinesischen Handels, eine Zurückziehung desselben vom unteren Amur und Concentrirung am Sungari stattgefunden hat.

Gleichzeitig und Hand in Hand mit dem Handel hat aber auch ein Rückzug der gesamm-

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1) Mein Führer, ebenfalls ein Golde, hatte jedoch für die oberhalb gelegene Jurte zum Unterschiede von der unteren auch einen zweiten Namen — Mengbomé.

2) Die Lokalität an diesem Ort ist im Reisebericht des Japaner's (l. c., p. 172) auch ganz richtig als eine felsige bezeichnet.

ten mandshu-chinesischen Herrschaft aus einem grossen Theil des unteren Amur-Landes stattgefunden. Die Belege dafür lassen sich ebenfalls aus Mamia Rinsô's Reisebericht entnehmen [1]). Zur Zeit seines Aufenthalts auf Sachalin (1808) waren die Völker desselben, die Aino wie die Giljaken, den Mandshu tributspflichtig, indem die von den letzteren unter dem Namen *Harata* und *Kasinta* ernannten Oberhäupter oder Aeltesten derselben alljährlich einen aus Pelzwerk bestehenden Tribut («Geschenke», wie der Reisende ihn nennt) den Mandshu-Beamten in Deren überbringen mussten, gleichwie es auch die zum Handeln dorthin kommenden Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes thaten. Einige dieser Aeltesten lernte Mamia Rinsô während seines Aufenthalts in Deren auch selbst kennen; so z. B. diejenigen von «Damurawo» und «Pohokanu», Ortschaften, in denen man unschwer das giljakische Dorf Tammla-wo und das aino-giljakische Poro-kotan [2]) oder P'ïa-wo wiedererkennt. Auf seine Fragen, wie es zu dieser ihrer Zinspflichtigkeit gekommen sei, erhielt er von einigen Einwohnern der Insel folgende Auskunft. «In früheren Zeiten, sagten sie, als sie noch nicht zinspflichtig gewesen, kamen alljährlich einige Mandshu-Fahrzeuge zu ihnen, um Pelzwerk einzukaufen. Das Schiffsvolk betrug sich aber den Einwohnern der Insel gegenüber unfreundlich und ausschweifend, so dass es häufig zu Zwistigkeiten und Schlägereien zwischen ihnen kam, worauf eines Tages eine Menge Mandshu landete, die Insel überall besichtigte und sie in Besitz nahm. Die meisten Einwohner flüchteten sich aus Furcht in die Gebirge, von den an der Küste zurückgebliebenen aber beriefen die Mandshu einige zu sich, unterredeten sich mit ihnen und ernannten einen von ihnen zum *Harata*, d. h. Oberhaupt oder Aeltesten. Dieses Ereigniss hatte auf der Westküste der Insel bei Itoi (Itoikotan, Itoje) statt. Desgleichen bekleideten sie zwei Männer der nördlichen Ostküste mit dieser Würde [3]), und in derselben Weise stellten sie auch *Kasinta's* oder Nächstälteste an. Als jährliches Geschenk (Tribut), das die Aeltesten den Mandshu zu überbringen hatten, wurde dabei ein schwarzes Seeotterfell bestimmt, wogegen die Mandshu ihnen als Gegengeschenk ein Stück mit Gold durchwirkten Seidenstoffes gaben und alle übrigen Handelsartikel zu sehr billigem Preise liefern zu wollen versprachen». Jenes «Itoi, Itoikotan oder Itoje», das zufolge der von Siebold nach den Originalaufzeichnungen von Mogami Tok'nai und Mamia Rinsô entworfenen Karte [4]) beim Cap Otsisi (Südspitze der Bai de la Jonquière) liegt, ist ohne Zweifel das giljakische Dorf Dui, und somit hat der ganze oben erzählte Vorgang auf die Unterwerfung oder das Zinspflichtigmachen der Sachalin-Giljaken durch die Mandshu Bezug.

Eine ganz ähnliche Erzählung hörte Rinsô auch in Bezug auf die Sachalin-Aino, denn bei den ferneren Erkundigungen, die er über diesen Gegenstand bei «würdigen und mit der Sache gut bekannten Männern», vier Greisen von 70—75 Jahren (deren Namen er nennt) anstellte, erfuhr er Folgendes. «In ihrer Jugend, so erzählten sie, war zu Najoro ein Oberhaupt

1) L. c., p. 179—181.

2) Dem vermuthlich aus «Poro-kotan» entstellten Namen Pohokanu ist in Mamia Rinsô's Bericht ein Fragezeichen beigefügt. Dass «Damurawo» nur Tammla-wo sein kann, unterliegt keinem Zweifel, da die Japaner das *l* nicht kennen und es stets durch *r* ersetzen.

3) Mamia Rinsô weiss auch die Namen dieser drei ernannten Harata's zu nennen.

4) Atlas zu Siebold's Nippon, Tab. XXV.

Namens Jajebirakan, ein sehr hitziger und böser Mann, der die zu den Mandshu gehörenden Smerenkur und Santaner (Giljaken und Oltscha), als sie zu handeln kamen, ermorden liess und sich ihrer mitgebrachten Handelsgüter bemächtigte. Doch einige derselben waren ihm glücklich entkommen und brachten ihre Klage zu den Mandshu nach Deren. Im darauffolgenden Jahre kamen drei mit Santanern und Smerenkurn bemannte Mandshu-Fahrzeuge und nahmen diejenigen, welche an der erwähnten Greuelthat Theil genommen hatten, gefangen, so wie auch einige Oberhäupter der umliegenden Ortschaften, weil sie den unglücklichen Smerenkurn und Santanern nicht zu Hülfe gekommen waren. Die Gefangenen erboten sich, all' ihr Vermögen als Busse hinzugeben, und die Mandshu nahmen dies endlich auch an; doch war des Jajebirakan Missethat zu gross, als dass er mit einer solchen Strafe hätte davonkommen sollen; sie nahmen daher seine beiden Söhne als Geisseln mit sich und stellten die Bedingung fest, die Kraftoër (Sachalin-Aino) sollten sich den Mandshu unterworfen erklären und in Zukunft einen jährlichen Tribut, in Pelzwerk bestehend, ihnen in Deren abliefern, wohingegen sie auch ein Geschenk und die anderen Handelsartikel zu billigen Preisen erhalten würden und Schutz gegen alle Misshandlungen bei ihrer Ankunft zu Deren zugesichert bekämen. Von dieser Zeit an, wo die beiden Söhne des Oberhauptes als Geisseln nach der Mandshu-Tatarei geführt wurden, ist es herkömmlich, dass die Mandshu die Söhne oder Geschwister derjenigen, welche ihre Schuld nicht entrichten können, mit sich fortführen. Da nun die Kraftoër ihren Tribut pünktlich alle Jahre entrichteten, so wurden die Geisseln wieder zurückgegeben und als Harata's und Kasinta's von den Mandshu angestellt und mit schriftlichen Weisungen versehen». Diese Schriftstücke sah Rinsô noch beim Oberhaupt von Najoro, Jajenkur, aufbewahrt, konnte sie aber, da sie in der Mandshu-Sprache geschrieben waren, nicht verstehen. «Die Nachfolger jener ersten Harata's und Kasinta's, fährt Rinsô in seinem Bericht fort, brachten von nun an jährlich, von anderen Einwohnern begleitet, die bestimmten Geschenke nach Deren an die dortigen Beamten. Gegenwärtig noch werden als Harata's und Kasinta's die verständigsten und tauglichsten von den Einwohnern der Insel durch die Mandshu angestellt. Ihre Zahl beschränkt sich jetzt auf 8: einen Harata, in Najoro, und 7 Kasinta's, davon 3 auf der West- und 4 auf der Ostküste (folgen die Namen derselben und ihrer Aufenthaltsorte, die sämmtlich im Aino-Gebiet liegen). Weil vor einigen Jahren das Pelzwerk auf Krafto seltner wurde, brachten die Vorsteher nur alle drei Jahre ihre Geschenke nach Deren, und bei noch grösserer Abnahme desselben nur alle 4—5 Jahre. Da aber liessen die Mandshu durch Santaner die festgesetzten Geschenke abfordern, und in Folge dessen brachten in diesem Jahre die Kasinta's von Usijoro, Najoro und Raitsiska in Person die Geschenke nach Deren». Diese Leute traf Rinsô auf ihrer Reise dorthin und fragte sie über die Art und Weise, wie die Geschenke dargebracht werden, aus. Sie bestätigten ihm, dass das Geschenk in einem schwarzen Seeotterfelle bestände, und eröffneten ihm zugleich, die Mandshu-Beamten hätten es übel aufgenommen, dass sie einige Jahre die Entrichtung der Geschenke versäumt, und ihnen bedeutet, in Zukunft die Gunst, die sie bisher von den Mandshu empfangen, besser zu schätzen und sorgfältiger auf die Darbringung der festgesetzten Geschenke bedacht zu sein.

Diesen Mittheilungen zufolge dehnten die Mandshu, die zuvor nur des Handels wegen nach Sachalin kamen, das Verhältniss der Tributspflichtigkeit, in welchem die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes und darunter auch die Oltscha und Giljaken zu ihnen standen, etwa um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts auch auf die Sachalin-Giljaken und -Aino aus, indem sie auch dort an verschiedenen Orten Oberhäupter oder Aelteste ernannten und diesen die Verpflichtung auferlegten, ihnen alljährlich einen aus Pelzwerk bestehenden Tribut nach Deren zu überbringen, — eine Verpflichtung, die zwar nicht immer pünktlich eingehalten wurde, allein noch zu Mamia Rinsô's Zeit in voller Kraft bestand. Zur Bestätigung dieser an sich ganz glaubwürdigen Mittheilungen des, wie oben bereits mehrfach bemerkt, ausserordentlich genauen und zuverlässigen japanischen Reisenden lassen sich auch einige von europäischen Reisenden aufgezeichnete Thatsachen anführen. So berichtete Krusenstern[1]), dass bei seiner Begegnung mit den Giljaken («Tataren») in der Bai Nadeshda, in der Nähe der Nordspitze Sachalin's (1805) — es wird, wie oben (p. 331) dargethan, wohl im Dorf Ngywr-wo gewesen sein — Einer unter ihnen durch seine Kleidung, die in einem rothseidenen, mit goldenen Blumen durchwirkten Rock von chinesischem Zuschnitt bestand, vor den Uebrigen sich auszeichnete und «ohne Zweifel» ihr Oberhaupt war, — offenbar also einer von jenen durch die Mandshu ernannten Harata's oder Kasinta's, von denen bei Mamia Rinsô die Rede ist. Von weit grösserem Belange noch ist eine zweite, sehr bestimmt lautende Nachricht, die wir Fr. Schmidt[2]) verdanken. Er lernte im J. 1860 in Najoro einen der angesehensten Aino, den Greis Ssetakurero kennen, der auch von den Japanern als Aino-Aeltester mit einem Säbel beliehen worden ist. Dieser verwahrte noch bei sich ein in der Mandshu-Sprache abgefasstes Schreiben, das sein Vater ehemals auf einer Tributsreise nach Ssan-ssin am Sungari von der Mandshu-Obrigkeit erhalten hatte, und wodurch er zu einem Aeltesten der Aino bestellt war. Durch diese Nachricht wird die Richtigkeit jener Angaben Mamia Rinsô's über die damalige Tributspflichtigkeit der Aino den Mandshu gegenüber und die Art und Weise, wie sie derselben nachzukommen hatten, ausser allen Zweifel gestellt. Nur kann ich nicht umhin, die Vermuthung auszusprechen, dass hinsichtlich des Orts, wohin Ssetakurero's Vater seine Tributsreise ausführte, bei der obigen Nachricht seitens des Erzählers oder des Hörers ein Missverständniss stattgefunden habe, indem diese Reise nicht nach Ssan-ssin am Sungari, sondern, wie man der Zeitangabe entsprechend annehmen muss, nach Deren am Amur gemacht wurde. Ein solches Missverständniss konnte um so leichter entstehen, als Ssetakurero, seinen eigenen Worten zufolge, selbst nie im Mandshu-Lande gewesen ist.

Halten wir nun den von Mamia Rinsô geschilderten Zuständen die Stellung entgegen, welche die Mandshu-Chinesen ein halbes Jahrhundert später, zur Zeit meiner Reisen den indigenen Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes gegenüber einnahmen. Sie ist im Vorhergehenden schon bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten besprochen worden, und ich fasse daher jetzt des leich-

1) Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 178. 2) Histor. Bericht etc., p. 94.

teren Vergleiches halber nur die Hauptzüge derselben kurz zusammen. Handelsreisen nach Sachalin machten die Mandshu oder Chinesen zu meiner Zeit gar nicht mehr [1]. Eine Tributspflichtigkeit der Sachalin-Aino und -Giljaken den Mandshu gegenüber bestand ebenfalls nicht, und damit gab es unter ihnen auch keine von jenen ernannte Oberhäupter oder Aelteste. Fast ganz ebenso verhielt es sich auch mit den Amur-Giljaken und Oltscha: die ersteren wurden weder von Mandshu, noch von chinesischen Kaufleuten besucht, unter den letzteren hielten sich zwar hie und da chinesische Händler auf, diese betrieben aber ihr Geschäft ganz und gar auf eigene Hand, und ein Tribut, oder richtiger eine bestimmte Abgabe in Pelzwerk, wurde von den Einen wie von den Anderen nur in Ssan-ssin für die Gewährung der Handelserlaubniss erhoben. Tributspflichtig der mandshu-chinesischen Obrigkeit gegenüber waren dagegen die Golde, und in ihrem Gebiet gab es, in Mylki nahe der Gorin-Mündung, auch einen beständigen Sitz von Mandshu-Beamten, die mit dem Empfangen des Tributs betraut waren. Aus diesem Vergleich ist man genöthigt den Schluss zu ziehen, dass in der Zeit zwischen Mamia Rinsô's Reisen im Amur-Lande und den meinigen ein Rückzug der mandshu-chinesischen Herrschaft von Sachalin und dem untersten Theile des Amur-Laufes, aus den Gebieten der Aino, Giljaken und Oltscha stattgefunden hat.

Es fragt sich nun, wie und wodurch derselbe sich vollzogen haben kann. Dass er in gewaltsamer Weise, in Folge kriegerischer Angriffe der mandshu-chinesischen Herrschaft seitens der indigenen Stämme des Amur-Landes oder der Japaner oder Russen hervorgebracht worden sei, ist aus vollkommenem Mangel an dafür sprechenden Beweisen oder Indicien entschieden zu verneinen. Er kann nur in ganz friedlicher Weise, auf eigenen Wunsch und Beschluss der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung erfolgt sein. Die Veranlassung dazu kann aber wohl in der Furcht vor einem kriegerischen Angriff oder einer Invasion seitens der Nachbarvölker, namentlich der Russen gelegen haben. Bereits gegen Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts waren europäische Schiffe, diejenigen von La Pérouse und Broughton, in der Meerenge der Tartarei erschienen und hatten mit den Eingeborenen der Westküste von Sachalin und der Bai de Castries verkehrt; 1805 stand Krusenstern mit der «Nadeshda» an der Nordspitze der Insel und vor dem nördlichen Eingange in den Amur-Liman, und in den folgenden Jahren (1806 und 1807) zerstörten Chwostof und Dawydof die japanischen Ansiedelungen in der Aniwa-Bai auf Sachalin. Von diesem letzteren Ereigniss musste die mandshu-chinesische Regierung, wenn es ihr nicht schon früher bekannt geworden, jedenfalls durch Mamia Rinsô Kenntniss erhalten, da es seine Reise nach Sachalin und dem Amur-Lande veranlasst hatte und er mit den Mandshu-Beamten in Deren viel verkehrte. Zudem endlich liessen sich, wie wir durch ihn erfahren, zuweilen russische Fahrzeuge, vom Amgunj («Hongo») kommend, im Amur sehen und gelangten auch bis nach Deren. Nach alledem ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass die chinesische Regierung,

1) Auch der oben erwähnte, von Hrn. Schmidt befragte Sestakurero erinnerte sich nicht Mandshu bei sich (in Nejero) gesehen zu haben: es waren immer nur «Sesunte» (Oltscha) oder «Sesumerie» (Giljaken), die in Handelsangelegenheiten hinkamen (Schmidt, l. c., p. 90).

hinsichtlich des Amur-Landes von besonderem Misstrauen gegen die Russen beseelt, ihre Herrschaft auf Sachalin und am unteren Amur von dieser Seite stark gefährdet glaubte und, um einem Conflikt und einer etwaigen feindlichen Invasion von dort aus, die sich leicht bis ins Herz des Landes erstrecken könnte, vorzubeugen, zu derselben Politik griff, welche sie schon einmal, im XVII. Jahrhundert am oberen Amur den Russen gegenüber geübt hatte, — einer Politik, die darin bestand, sich aus dem unmittelbar gefährdeten Bereich zurückzuziehen und zwischen sich und dem Feinde ein möglichst verwüstetes und ödes Land zu hinterlassen. Diesmal bedurfte es jedoch, da es sich nur erst um eine Befürchtung handelte, nicht eines so radikalen Eingreifens wie damals, als die Dauren und Djutscheren vom Amur an den Nonni und Churcha versetzt und die weiten, von ihnen ehemals bewohnten und bebauten Strecken am Amur der Verödung preisgegeben wurden [1]). Es dürfte für genügend erachtet worden sein, die officiellen Beziehungen zu Sachalin und dem untersten Theile des Amur-Landes abzubrechen, die Absendung von Beamten dahin zur Ueberwachung des Handels und Entgegennahme des Tributs von den Aino, Giljaken und Oltscha einzustellen, — wofür man sich vielleicht durch Tributserhebung und Erpressungen an den zum Handel nach Ssan-ssin kommenden Eingeborenen schadlos halten wollte, — und die Strecke Landes endlich, auf welcher ein Angriff zunächst und am meisten zu befürchten war, zu entvölkern und verwüsten zu lassen. Diese Strecke lag an dem direkten und kürzesten Wege zwischen Deren und Sachalin, den auch die Mandshu ehemals benutzt hatten, und der den Amur abwärts bis Kidsi und dann über den Kidsi-See und das Taba-Flüsschen ans Meer führte. Dass die beiden ersteren Maassregeln von der chinesischen Regierung in der That ausgeführt wurden, ist oben bereits dargethan worden, und es bleibt mir daher nur übrig, auch die gleichzeitig erfolgte Verwüstung des Landes auf der oben erwähnten Strecke nachzuweisen.

Zu dem Zweck muss ich wieder auf Mamia Rinsô zurückgreifen, dessen Reise gerade durch den oben bezeichneten Landestheil vor sich ging. Halte ich nun seinen, allerdings nur spärlichen Angaben über den letzteren den Zustand gegenüber, in welchem ich ihn 50 Jahre später fand, so drängt sich mir der Gedanke an eine seitdem erfolgte Verödung desselben unwillkürlich entgegen. Auf den Umstand, dass Rinsô an dem zu meiner Zeit völlig öden Kidsi-See einen Ort, Namens Nukkurankata, nennt, will ich kein Gewicht legen, da er nicht angiebt, ob dies ein Dorf, oder etwa nur ein beliebter Ankerplatz war. Wichtiger ist, was er über das Dorf Kidsi sagt. Für diesen Ort giebt er im Vergleich mit dem, was ich gesehen habe, die doppelte Anzahl von Häusern an (etwa 20) [2]). Dort wohnten Mandshu-Beamten, von denen einer den Titel Harata und zwei den von Kasinta's führten, dort liessen sich, auch während Rinsô's Aufenthalt, chinesische Kaufleute sehen und wurden, wie es zum Schluss bei ihm heisst, «verschiedene Lustbarkeiten und Trinkgelage mit Musik von Leier und Trommel veranstaltet», kurz, es war ein ansehnlicher und belebter Ort. Dahingegen war ich erstaunt, unmittelbar vor

1) S. oben, p. 172.

2) Dabei unterschied er sehr wohl die Wohnhäuser von den Vorraths- oder Packhäusern.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

diesem Dorf, auf einer zu demselben sanft ansteigenden Abdachung ein mit zahlreichen menschlichen Schädeln und Gebeinen besätetes Feld zu sehen, dergleichen mir sonst nirgends im Amur-Lande begegnet war. Woher dieselben rührten, konnte ich nicht erfahren. Sollten sie aus zerstörten Grabstätten des Orts (kleinen Häuschen, in denen die Leichen beigesetzt werden) entnommen worden sein, so ist die Zahl dieser letzteren jedenfalls sehr ansehnlich gewesen. Doch waren keinerlei Reste weder von diesen, noch von der Kleidung der Leichen oder anderweitigen Gegenständen, die man ihnen beizugeben pflegt, auf der Knochenstätte zu sehen, und gegen die etwaige Vermuthung, die Zerstörung der Grabstätten könne durch die Mannschaft des unlängst in der Nähe errichteten Mariinskischen Postens vollbracht worden sein, sprach der Umstand, dass die Leichenhäuschen der beiden dicht neben dem letzteren gelegenen Jurten von Choto vollkommen unberührt da standen [1]). Auch machte der Zustand, in welchem diese Gebeine sich befanden, auf mich den Eindruck, als hätten sie schon längere Zeit an dem Ort ungeschützt vor dem Einfluss der Atmosphärilien gelegen. Vielleicht steht aber dies Beinfeld mit einer anderen Thatsache im Zusammenhange, auf die ich sogleich zu sprechen komme.

Von grösstem Belange scheint mir Rinsô's Angabe zu sein, dass es in oder bei Kidsi «besonders viel Porzellanfabriken» gab. Oben [2]) habe ich schon ausführlich berichtet, dass es zu meiner Zeit weder dort, noch irgend wo sonst im unteren Amur-Lande eine Thongeräthfabrikation gab, und dass die Oltscha und Giljaken in ihrem Haushalt überhaupt weder eigengemachtes, noch chinesisches oder japanisches, vom Sungari oder aus Südsachalin importirtes Thongeschirr gebrauchen, mit alleiniger Ausnahme der, übrigens auch nur seltenen, zum Branntweintrinken gebräuchlichen kleinen chinesischen Porzellanschälchen. Der Untergang der Porzellanindustrie im unteren Amur-Lande fällt also der Zeit nach mit jenen oben besprochenen Vorgängen seitens der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung, der Aufhebung ihrer Handelsverwaltung und ihrer übrigen administrativ-politischen Thätigkeit in demselben zusammen, und es liegt nahe, darin nicht einen blossen Zufall, sondern einen causalen Zusammenhang zu erblicken. Diesen muss man sich nun, in Ermangelung positiver Thatsachen, in folgender Weise denken. Ohne Zweifel ist die uralt-chinesische, im Sungari-Lande allgemein verbreitete [3]) Porzellanindustrie nach dem Amur-Lande von den Chinesen importirt und dort entweder von ihnen selbst, oder doch unter ihrer thätigen Betheiligung und Leitung betrieben worden. Als daher jener von der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung zur Vermeidung eines befürchteten Conflikts mit den Russen beschlossene Rückzug ihrer Verwaltung aus dem untersten Amur-Lande stattfand, haben vermuthlich auch die an der Porzellanindustrie betheiligten Chinesen einen Befehl zum Abbruch ihrer Thätigkeit und zum Abzuge nach dem Sungari erhalten. Möge nun diesem Befehle allgemein Folge geleistet worden sein, wie mir aus dem gänzlichen Untergange der erwähnten Industrie im Amur-Lande wahrscheinlicher dünkt, oder mögen Einzelne wider den-

1) Aus einem derselben entnahm ich selbst den oben (p. 394, Fig. 6 der Taf. V—IX) beschriebenen und abgebildeten Schädel.

2) S. p. 447 u. 448.

3) S. oben, p. 449.

selben und alsdann ohne Schutz von Seiten der Regierung im Lande verblieben sein, immer kann die Sache, da an ihr auch die eingeborene Bevölkerung betheiligt war, nicht ohne mancherlei Zerstörungen, Verwüstungen und selbst blutige Conflikte vor sich gegangen sein, und darum ist vielleicht gerade an dem Ort, wo sich ehemals «besonders viel Porzellanfabriken» befanden, gegenwärtig ein mit zahlreichen Menschengebeinen besäetes Feld zu finden.

Selbstverständlich mussten derartige gewaltsame Vorgänge, so wie die durch Aufhebung des einzigen Orts mit geordnetem Handelsverkehr bewirkte Lahmlegung von Handel und Wandel im Lande zur Verarmung, Entvölkerung und Verödung desselben führen. Und in der That ist das am Kidsi-See und oberhalb desselben gelegene, ehemals durch Handel und Verkehr belebte Land gegenwärtig der ödeste Theil des Oltscha-Gebietes und des untersten Amur-Landes überhaupt. Während nördlich von Kidsi zahlreiche und meist grosse Oltscha-Dörfer am Amur liegen, und sogar mitten im Giljaken-Gebiet noch welche eingesprengt zu finden sind [1]), giebt es südwärts von demselben, auf der ganzen Strecke zwischen Kidsi und Adi, dem letzten Oltscha-Dorfe, nur kleine, meist aus 2—3 Häusern, ja oft nur aus einem Hause bestehende Orte, und unter diesen sind manche nicht einmal von Oltscha, sondern von Golde bewohnt [2]). Offenbar haben jene Vorgänge viele Oltscha aus dem südlichen Theile ihres Gebietes nordwärts fortgedrängt, und dagegen sind manche Golde, um dem Druck der Mandshu zu entgehen, in den verödeten Landestheil eingezogen, — eine Bewegung, die auch zu meiner Zeit noch fortdauerte [3]). Kein Wunder daher, dass die Einwohner von Dyra, ebensolche später eingewanderte Golde, auf meine Nachfragen über den Handelsort Deren, der einst daselbst bestanden, keinerlei Auskunft zu geben wussten.

Bezüglich des Handels im oberen Amur-Lande, das ich nur auf einer dem Hauptstrom entlang ausgeführten Durchreise kennen gelernt habe, muss ich mich darauf beschränken, nur einige allgemeine, dem unteren Amur-Lande gegenüber besonders charakteristische Züge hervorzuheben. Fassen wir zunächst die den indigenen Stämmen des letzteren analogen Völker des ersteren, die **Birarcn, Manägirn** und **Orotschonen** ins Auge, so sind sowohl die Artikel, welche sie in den Handel bringen, als auch diejenigen, welche sie im Tausch entgegennehmen, bei den Einen ziemlich dieselben wie bei den Anderen. Denn die ersteren, welche hier wie dort allein durch die Jagd gewonnen werden, weisen nur die oben, bei Besprechung dieser letzteren her-

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1) Wie Tschylwi und Tyr, s. oben, p. 18.

2) So die Orte Dyra, Chywwunda, Sesmohagda u. a., s. oben, p. 27. Gelegentlich berichtige ich hier die a. a. O. enthaltene Angabe dahin, dass zu meiner Zeit beide zum Dorf Dyra gehörige Häuser und nicht blos einer derselben von Golde bewohnt waren, und dass der Ort Sesmohagda nicht etwas ober-, sondern etwas unterhalb von Chywwunda liegt.

3) Darüber s. ebenfalls oben, p. 27.

vorgehobenen kleinen, fast ausschliesslich quantitativen Differenzen und Modifikationen auf, und was die letzteren betrifft, so sind es im Allgemeinen auch dieselben, in den obigen Betrachtungen oft genannten, den einen wie den anderen Naturvölkern unentbehrlich gewordenen Kleidungs-, Nahrungs- und Genussmittel. Eine wesentliche und charakteristische Differenz zwischen den oberen und den unteren Amur-Völkern bezüglich des Handels ist hingegen in ihren durch die Lage und die sonstigen geographischen und politischen Verhältnisse des Landes bedingten, verschiedenen Beziehungen zu den benachbarten Culturvölkern zu finden. Wie oben dargethan, haben die Völker des unteren Amur-Landes bis zur Besitznahme desselben durch die Russen mit diesen, von der nur geringen Berührung am Tugur abgesehen, so gut wie gar keinen Handelsverkehr gehabt. Ein solcher fand vielmehr nur mit den Japanern und den Chinesen statt, und der letztere hatte seinen Gravitationspunkt am Sungari, von wo die chinesischen Waaren durch Vermittelung sowohl der chinesischen Kaufleute, als auch der Golde, Oltscha und Giljaken den Amur abwärts bis zur Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres und der Insel Sachalin entlang bis zu den Japanern sich verbreiteten. In Beziehung auf den Handel war also das untere Amur-Land ein nach Westen geschlossenes, ganz vom Sungari beherrschtes Land, gewissermaassen eine bis ans Meer reichende und dort auch die vorgelagerte Insel Sachalin umfassende Fortsetzung des Sungari-Landes.

Anders verhält es sich mit dem oberen Amur-Lande. Dem Verkehr mit den Japanern ist es durch seine continentale Lage und grosse Entfernung vom Meere entrückt, und vom unteren Amur und Sungari wird seine Bevölkerung durch politische Maassregeln der chinesischen Regierung ferngehalten. Consequent an der im XVII. Jahrhundert zur Abwehr der russischen Invasion eingeschlagenen Politik der Absperrung des Sungari vom oberen Amur festhaltend, gestattet sie keine direkte Handels- und Schifffahrtsverbindung zwischen denselben und wehrt auch den Anwohnern des oberen und des unteren Amur den gegenseitigen freien Verkehr auf dem sie verbindenden Strome. In Folge dieser geographischen und politischen Verhältnisse wendet sich der Handel der oberen Amur-Völker, der Biraren, Manägirn und Orotschonen, nach Westen und Norden, d. i. zunächst dem Quelllande des Amur-Stromes oder sogen. russischen Daurien und dem Lena-Gebiet zu und concentrirt sich im Süden, dem obersten Amur, der Dseja und der Bureja abwärts folgend, an dem zwischen den Mündungen dieser beiden letzteren Flüsse gelegenen, von Mandshu, Chinesen und Dauren besetzten Culturstück des Amur-Stromes, in welchem Aigun, das Ssan-ssin des oberen oder richtiger mittleren Amur, liegt, das selbst wieder nach Tsitsikar, dem administrativen Mittelpunkte des das obere Amur-Land umfassenden chinesischen Gouvernements Helong-kiang gravitirt. Nicht die Sungari-Mündung, sondern das am Nonni gelegene Tsitsikar giebt also das Verbindungsglied im Handel zwischen dem oberen Amur- und dem Sungari-Lande ab.

Wie zahlreich und vielfach verschlungen die Handelsfäden sind, welche die Orotschonen, Manägirn und Biraren mit den Russen und Jakuten der angrenzenden Theile Sibirien's verbinden, ist bereits oben, bei Erörterung der unbestimmten, in einander greifenden, schwankenden und wechselnden Grenzen angedeutet worden, welche diese Völker sowohl von einander, wie

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

von den nordwärts benachbarten russischen Rennthier-Tungusen scheiden. Bei der faktischen Nichtexistenz einer bestimmten Grenze zwischen den nach China oder nach Russland hingehörigen oder tributspflichtigen Tungusen-Stämmen im Stanowoi-Gebirge und der Unmöglichkeit, eine solche Grenze inmitten einer stets der Jagd nach umherstreifenden Nomadenbevölkerung durch politische Traktate ohne entsprechende Machtmittel festzustellen und aufrecht zu erhalten, fliesst die Ausbeute der Jäger ganz natürlich zumeist nach derjenigen Seite ab, auf welcher sie mehr dem Handel entgegenkommende Elemente und somit leichtere und bequemere Bahnen findet. Ohne diese im Detail gegen einander abwägen zu wollen, kann ich nicht umhin, hier in wenigen Worten auf die wichtigsten der dem Handel der genannten Völker beiderseits entgegenkommenden Elemente hinzuweisen.

Die Lage des grössten Theils des Wohngebietes der Orotschonen in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft und direkter Stromverbindung mit einem der bevölkertsten Theile von Ostsibirien, dem russischen Daurien, macht ihren Anschluss an dasselbe auch in Beziehung auf den Handel, den Abfluss ihrer Jagdausbeuten dahin zum Umsatz gegen russische Produkte ganz verständlich. Dem kommt auch die im Pelzhandel durch ganz Sibirien bewährte und hier, am Eingangsthor zum Amur-Lande, das seit den Freibeuterzügen des XVII. Jahrhunderts für ein unerschöpfliches Pelzwerks-Eldorado galt, besonders rege Thätigkeit und Rührigkeit der Russen zu Hülfe. Zu den obigen [1]), auf diesen Punkt bezüglichen Mittheilungen über das stetige Vordringen russischer Pelzhändler, Jäger, Kosaken und anderer Leute den Amur abwärts in das Orotschonen-Gebiet und durch dieses hindurch auch zu den Manägirn ist hinzuzufügen, dass es im ersteren, ausser manchen unregelmässig, je nach Umständen hie und da entstehenden und nach kurzer Zeit wieder verschwindenden Handelspunkten, an der Mündung des Flüsschens Ajan in den Oldoi auch einen Ort giebt, wo sich alljährlich im December russische Kosaken und Handelsleute versammeln, um den Orotschonen ihre Pelzwaaren abzunehmen [2]). In solchen Handelsverbindungen mit den Russen stehen jedoch nur die am Amur und nordwärts von demselben wohnenden Orotschonen. Diejenigen des grossen Chingan-Gebirges hingegen, das mit seiner Ostabdachung dem Nonni zugekehrt ist, setzen ihre Pelzwaaren bei den dortigen Chinesen und Daurên ab, welche letzteren sie oft sogar auf ihren Jagdzügen begleiten, um sich der eventuellen Ausbeuten sogleich zu bemächtigen.

Viel weniger und seltener als die Orotschonen besuchen unternehmende russische Pelzhändler oder Jäger die von ihnen entfernter wohnenden Manägirn und Biraren [3]). Dafür tritt aber an diese von Norden, aus dem Lena- Gebiet oder auch vom Udj her ein anderes Element, die Jakuten, heran, — gewandte, im Umgange mit den Tungusen erfahrene und geriebene Händler, die sich bald an einem Ort unter ihnen niederlassen, bald in ihrem Gefolge umherstreifen und vermittelst ihrer Waaren das von jenen erbeutete Pelzwerk an sich bringen. Zahlreiche, durch Middendorff aus dem Dseja-, wie aus dem Bureja-Gebiet erkundete Vorgänge

1) S. oben, p. 80.
2) Маакъ, Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 318.
3) Ueber derartige Besuche s. oben, p. 81.

der Art sind bereits oben angeführt worden[1]). Mit den Bedürfnissen, wie mit den Schwächen der Jagdnomaden genau bekannt, verstehen sie dieselben mit allem Nöthigen und Begehrlichen zu versorgen, zugleich aber auch sie auszubeuten und nicht selten durch gelegentlich gemachte Vorschüsse zu ihren bleibenden, beständig zum Zahlen sich verpflichtet fühlenden Schuldnern zu machen[2]). Von ihnen erhalten die Manägirn und Biraren unter anderen russisch-sibirischen Waaren auch jene hochgeschätzten kleinkalibrigen Büchsen, die ihren Weg auch zu den Samagirn im unteren Amur-Lande, wenn auch erst in wenigen Exemplaren, gefunden haben, und mit denen die langen und schweren chinesischen Luntengewehre nicht concurriren können.

Fliesst auch ein Theil des von den Manägirn und Biraren im Dseja- und Bureja-Gebiet erbeuteten Pelzwerks dank den Jakuten nach Norden, ins Lena-Gebiet ab, so bleibt doch ihr Haupthandel naturgemäss südwärts, dem Amur-Strom zugewandt, wohin ein grosser Theil derselben im Sommer auch schon des Fischfangs wegen sich begiebt, und wo sie Gelegenheit finden, in den Feld-, Gemüse-, Tabaksbau u. drgl. betreibenden Dörfern der Mandshu, Chinesen und Dauren, so wie besonders in der Stadt Aigun alle ihnen erforderlichen Kleidungs-, Nahrungs- und Genussmittel mehr oder weniger aus erster Hand und zu weit billigeren Preisen als von den sie in ihren Wohnsitzen besuchenden Kaufleuten zu erhandeln. Dass andererseits auch die mandshu-chinesische Regierung bedacht ist, von den in Aigun zum Handel Sicheinfindenden einen ähnlichen Tribut an Pelzwerk zu erheben, wie es den Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes gegenüber in Ssan-ssin geschieht und ehemals auch zu Deren geschah, dürfte keinem Zweifel unterliegen. Und dasselbe findet auch in Tsitsikar den «Butchani», d. h. tributspflichtigen Solonen, Dauren, Orotschonen u. a. Eingeborenen des Landes gegenüber statt. Dem Berichte Palladij's zufolge wird dort alljährlich im Juni—Juli der «Tschulchanj» oder grosse Jahrmarkt abgehalten, zu welchem viel Volk aus den genannten Stämmen sich versammelt und in Zelten rings um die Stadt lagert; allein erst nachdem Alle den schuldigen Tribut in Zobelfellen abgetragen und dagegen einige Geschenke an Cerealien, Geld und anderen Sachen erhalten haben, wird der Jahrmarkt eröffnet und beginnt der Handel mit Pelzwerk, Vieh und drgl., wobei die chinesischen Kaufleute die Hauptrolle spielen[3]).

Im oberen Amur-Lande jedoch fällt die Hauptrolle im Handel mit den indigenen Stämmen keineswegs den Chinesen, sondern den Dauren zu. Sie haben den Handel mit den Manägirn am Komar-Fluss und den Orotschonen im Grossen Chingan-Gebirge in ihrer Hand, und sie sind es, die theils mit eigenen, theils mit chinesischen Produkten längs der Dseja und Bureja und ihren Nebenflüssen bis zu den Abdachungen und in die Thäler des Stanowoi-Gebirges hinauf ziehen, um mit den Manägirn, Biraren und sonstigen Tungusen-Stämmen Handel zu treiben, wobei sie erfolgreich mit den von Norden dorthin kommenden Jakuten concurriren[4]).

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1) S. oben, p. 26; desgl. Schmidt, Hister. Ber. etc. (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. XXV, p. 26).

2) Schmidt, l. c., p. 132.

3) Архимандритъ Иоаннанъ, Дневник. замѣтки за путь отъ Пекина до Кяхты, черезъ Манчжурію (Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., по общ. Геогр., Т. IV, 1871, стр. 429). Die Gesammtzahl der bei dieser Gelegenheit als Tribut eingezahlten Zobelfälle giebt Palladij auf 2000 Stück an.

4) S. oben, p. 26 u. 32.

Ja, wie oben[1]) erwähnt, gelangen sie zuweilen von den Quellen der Bureja oder des Seilimdshi über das Jam-alin-Gebirge sogar nach dem am Tugur gelegenen, von Negda und Giljaken besuchten Handelsplatz Burukan. An den Dauren hätte man also ausnahmsweise ein Volk von tungusischem Stamme, das eine besondere Vorliebe und Befähigung zum Handel besitzt. Indessen ist nicht zu vergessen, dass sie in Folge ihrer Versetzung vom oberen Amur an den Nonni eine starke Vermischung mit Mongolen und Chinesen erfahren und durch das Zusammenleben mit den letzteren Vieles von dem Wesen und den Eigenschaften derselben und darunter wohl auch ihre Betriebsamkeit und Gewandtheit im Handel sich angeeignet haben. Zudem trägt zu ihren Handelserfolgen im oberen Amur-Lande auch die ihnen, wie es scheint, in höherem Maasse als den Chinesen zugewandte Gunst der dortigen Mandshu-Beamten bei, indem ihnen von letzteren das Recht des Tributeinsammelns unter den Manägirn und Biraren ertheilt wird, wenn auch vermuthlich nur gegen eine entsprechende Caution und hohe Zahlung, für welche sie sich jedoch durch den Handel hinreichend schadlos zu halten wissen. Fasst man ihre gesammte, oben kurz angedeutete Handelsthätigkeit ins Auge, so lassen sie sich einerseits mit den im unteren Amur-Lande handeltreibenden Chinesen, andererseits und in noch zutreffenderer Weise mit den Giljaken in Parallele stellen. Denn gleich diesen tragen sie eigene und noch mehr chinesische Waaren und Produkte weithin zu den angrenzenden Stämmen und nutzen durch Handel die Jagdausbeuten derselben zu ihrem eigenen Vortheil aus. Jedenfalls sind diese beiden Völker, die Dauren und die Giljaken, bezüglich des Handels die hervorragendsten und prägnantesten Charaktergestalten des Amur-Landes, — jene des oberen und diese des unteren Theiles desselben. Bemerkenswerth ist aber, dass diese beiden Völker, mit Ausnahme jenes einen, ausserhalb des Amur-Landes gelegenen Punktes am Tugur, nirgends in direkte Berührung mit einander kommen, — eine Folge der oben besprochenen, durch geographische und politische Verhältnisse bedingten gegenseitigen Abgeschiedenheit, in welcher das obere und das untere Amur-Land in Beziehung auf den Handelsverkehr ihrer Völker sich befinden, und die wesentlich zur Gestaltung und Erhaltung eigenartiger ethnographischer Verhältnisse in demselben beigetragen hat.

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1) S. 174.

[P. 630, A]

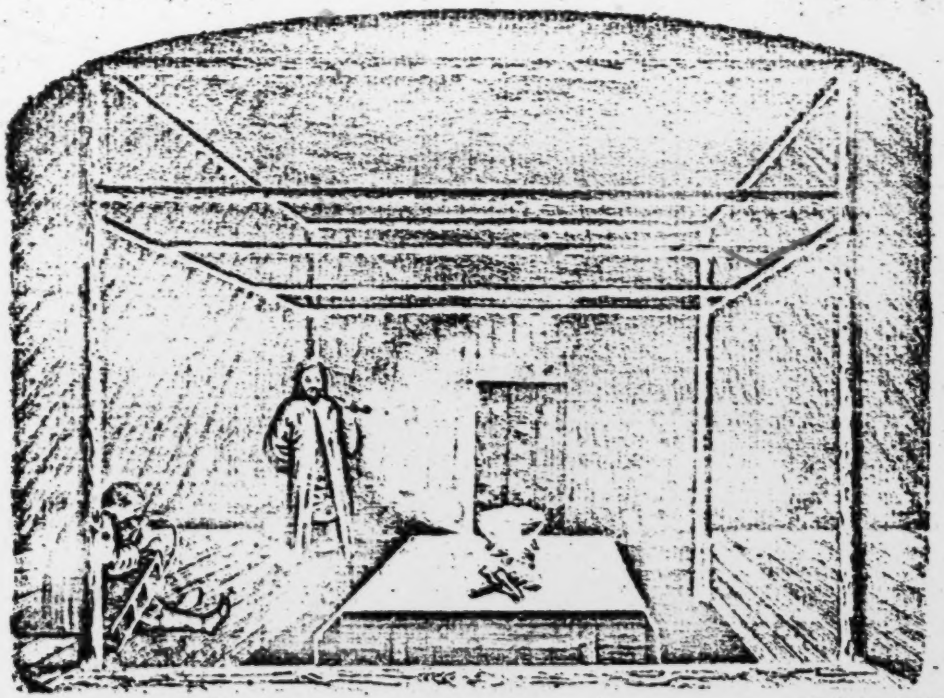

Das Innere einer giljakischen Winterjurte auf Sachalin

2: Schrenck
RX2 Gilyak

2: Schrenck

[P. 630, B]

RX2 Gilyak

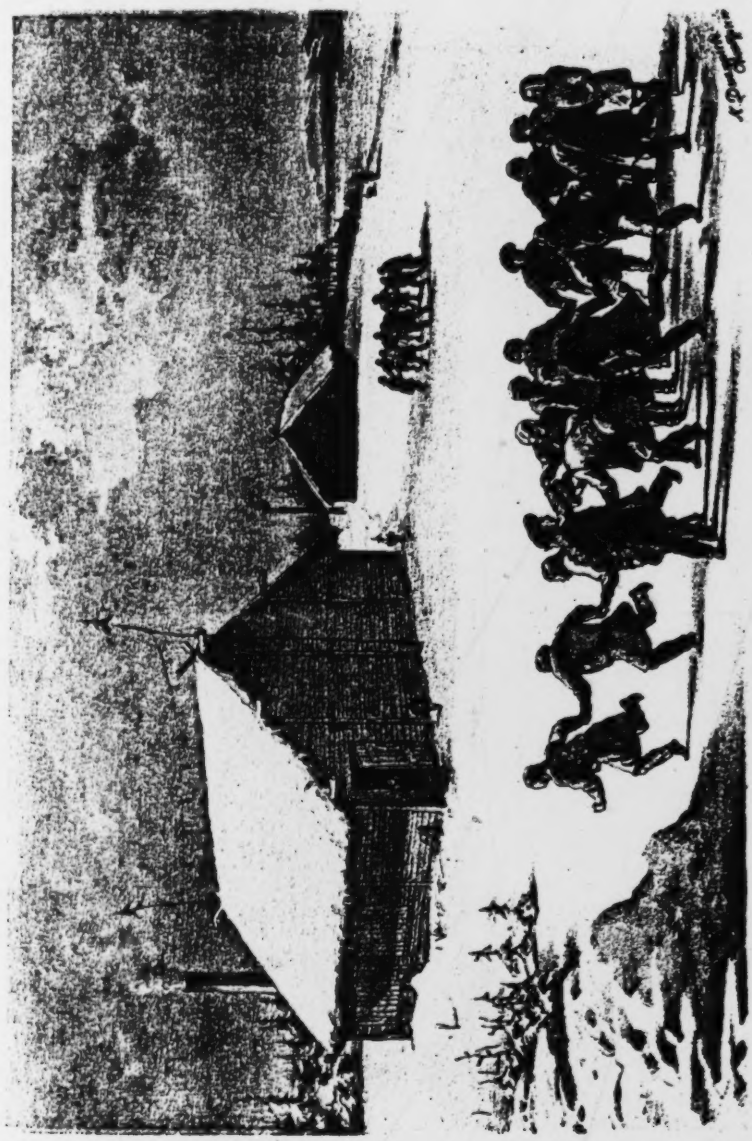

Gilyakische Mädchen, zum Beispiel verschiedener Bekleidungen vor dieselben.

2: Schrenck

[P. 630, C]

RX2 Gilyak

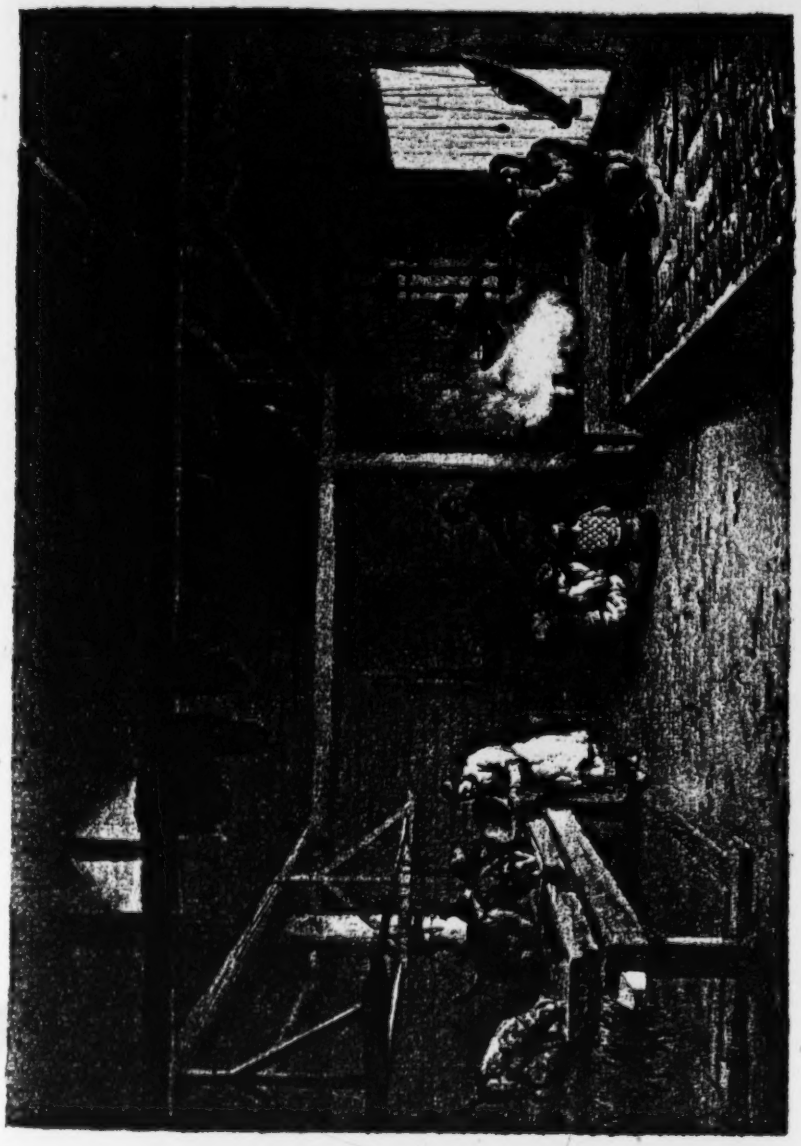

Das Innere eines gilyakischen Wohnhauses. Stellung der Hunde in denselben.

2: Schrenck

[P. 630, D]

RX2 Gilyak

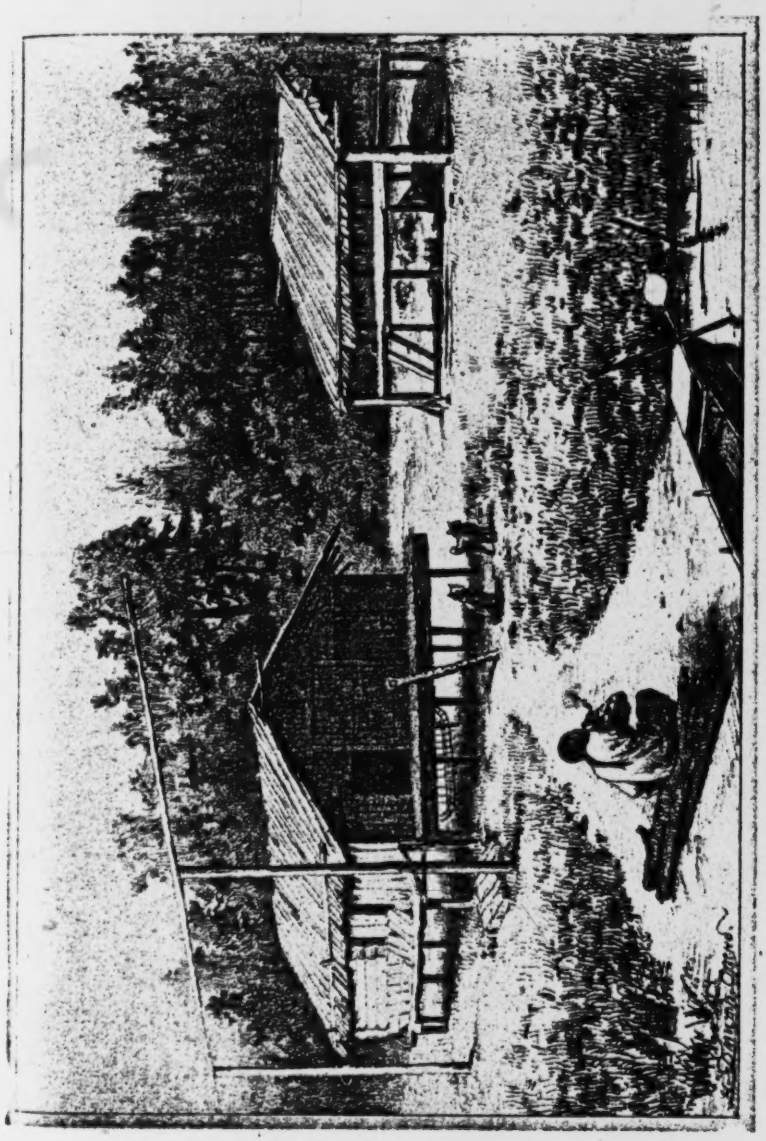

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, E]
RX2 Gilyak

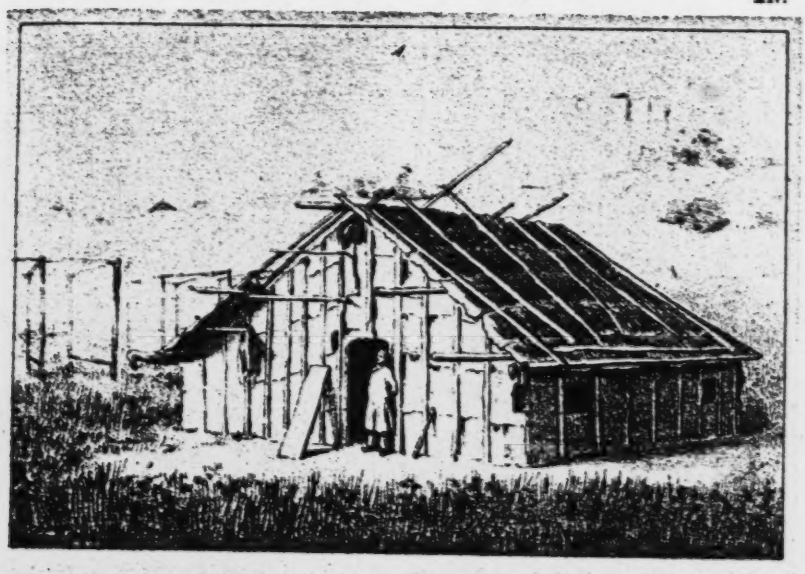

1. Oltscha-Sommerjurte; 2. Golde-Sommerzelt.

2: Schrenck
[p. 630, F]

RX2 Gilyak

II.

1. Menschen-Hütte, 2. Sommerhütte der Sangaui-Golde.

2: Schrenck

[P 630, G]

RX2 Gilyak

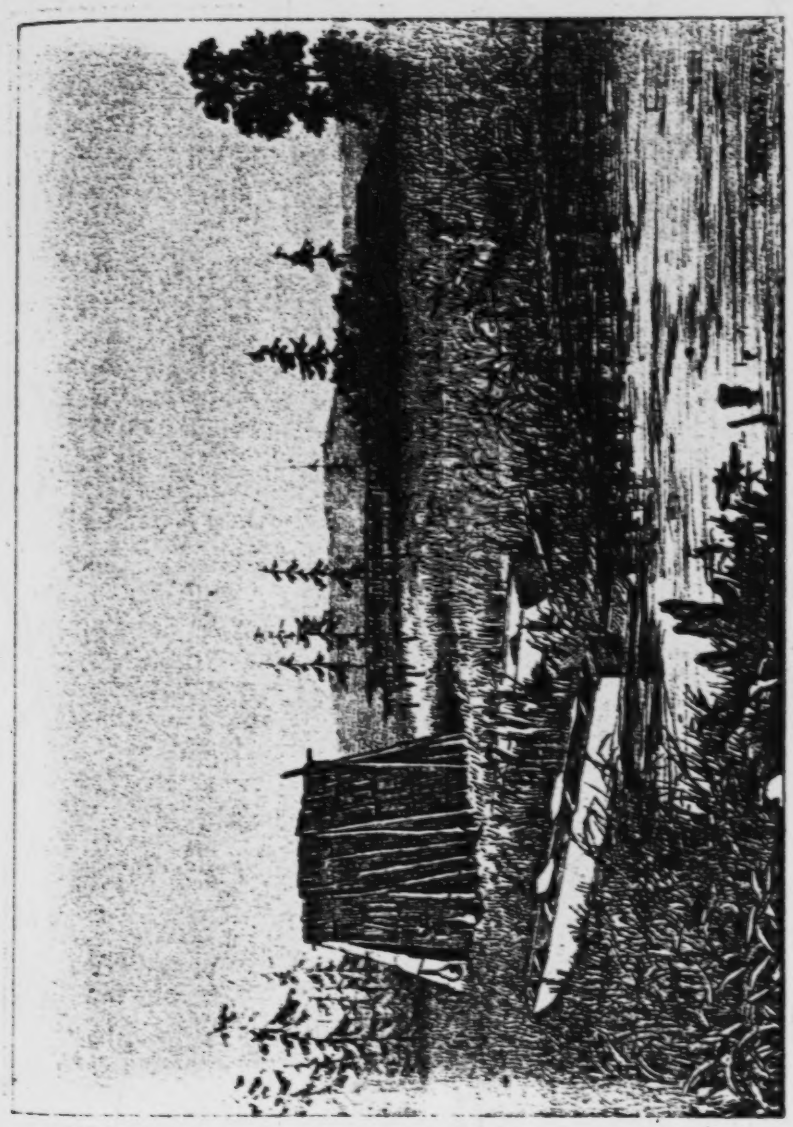

Sommerzelt der Orokchen am Kaumbyfluß.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak
[P.630, H]

Gilyaken in Sommerkleidung.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak
[P. 630, I]

XVIII.

Gilyaken in Winterkleidung

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak
[P.630, J]

III.

Gilyaken in Winterkleidung

2: Schrenck

[p. 630, K]

RX2 Gilyak

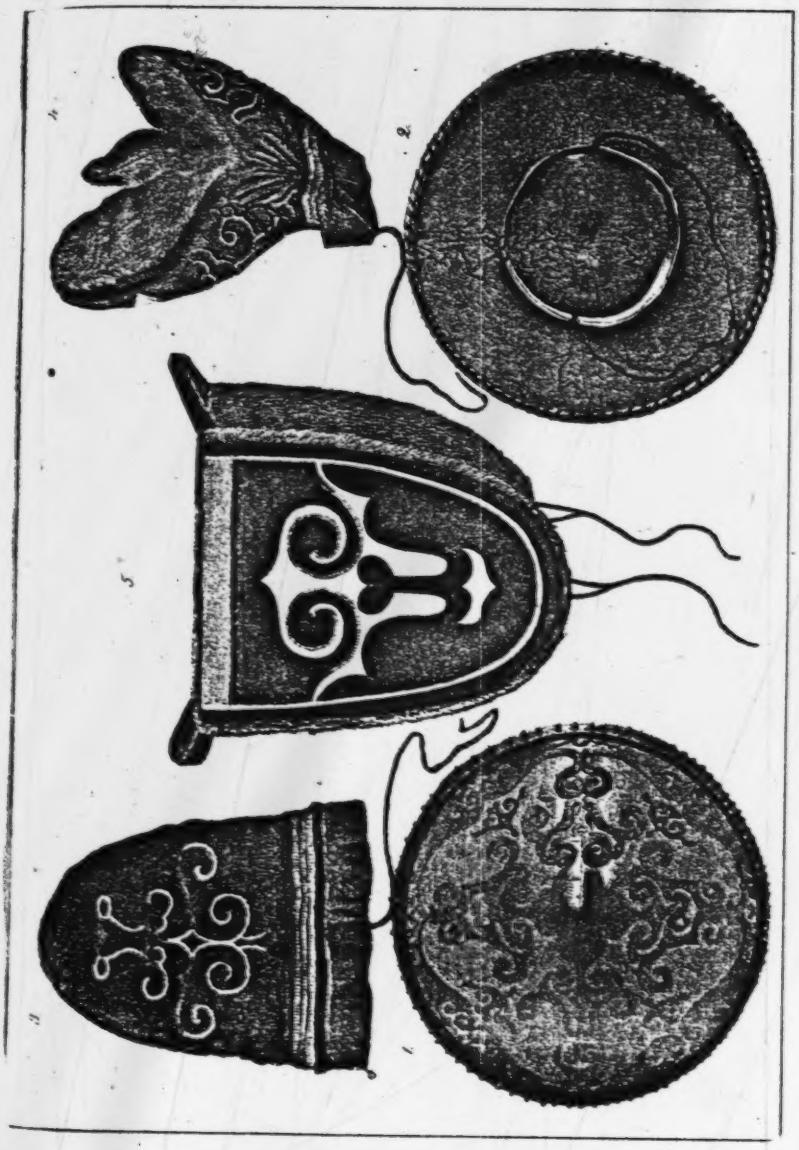

Gilyakische Kleidungsstücke: 1, 2. Sommerhut aus Birkenrinde; 3, 4. Fischhautschuhe; 5. Chinesinnen.

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, L.]

Gilyakische Weibermützen 1. Wintermütze, 2. gewöhnliche Weibermütze, 3. elegante Weibermütze aus chinesischem Seidenzeug, 4. desgl. aus Lachsfell mit Zobelverbrämung.

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, M]

RX2 Gilyak

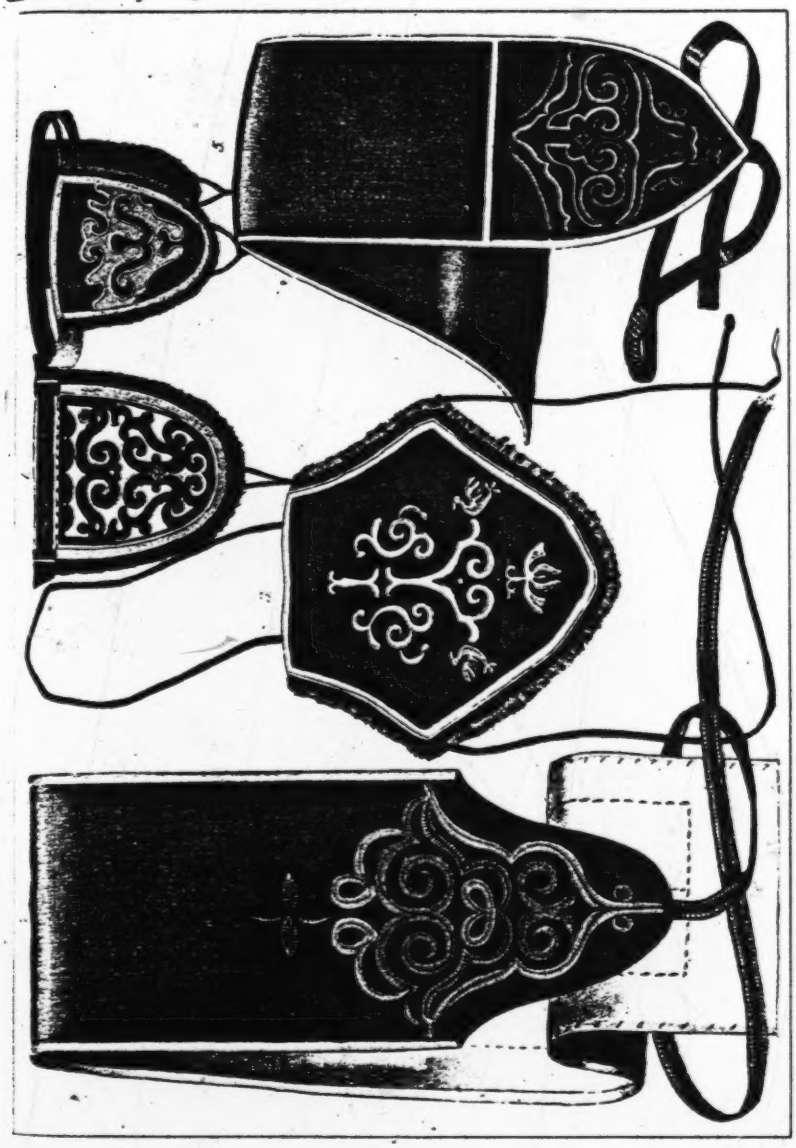

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, N]

RX2 Gilyak

XXIII

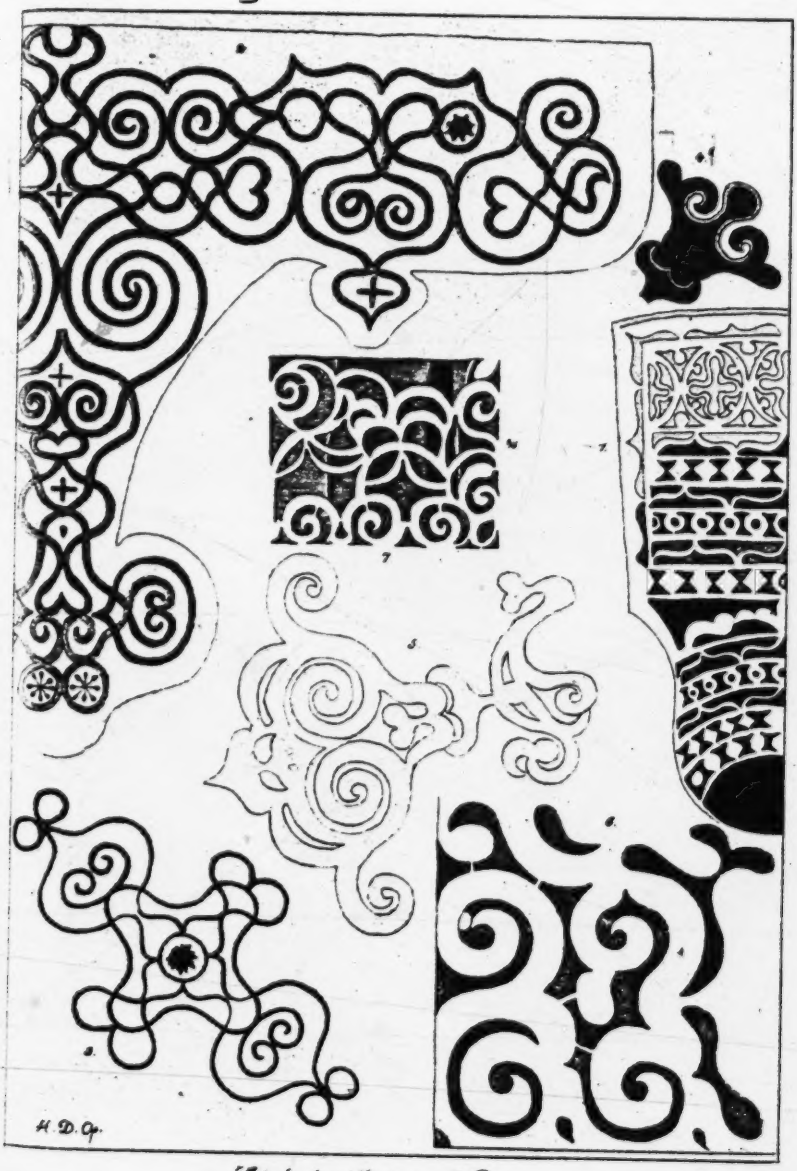

Tschakische Muster zu Stickereien.

[P. 630, O]

XXIV.

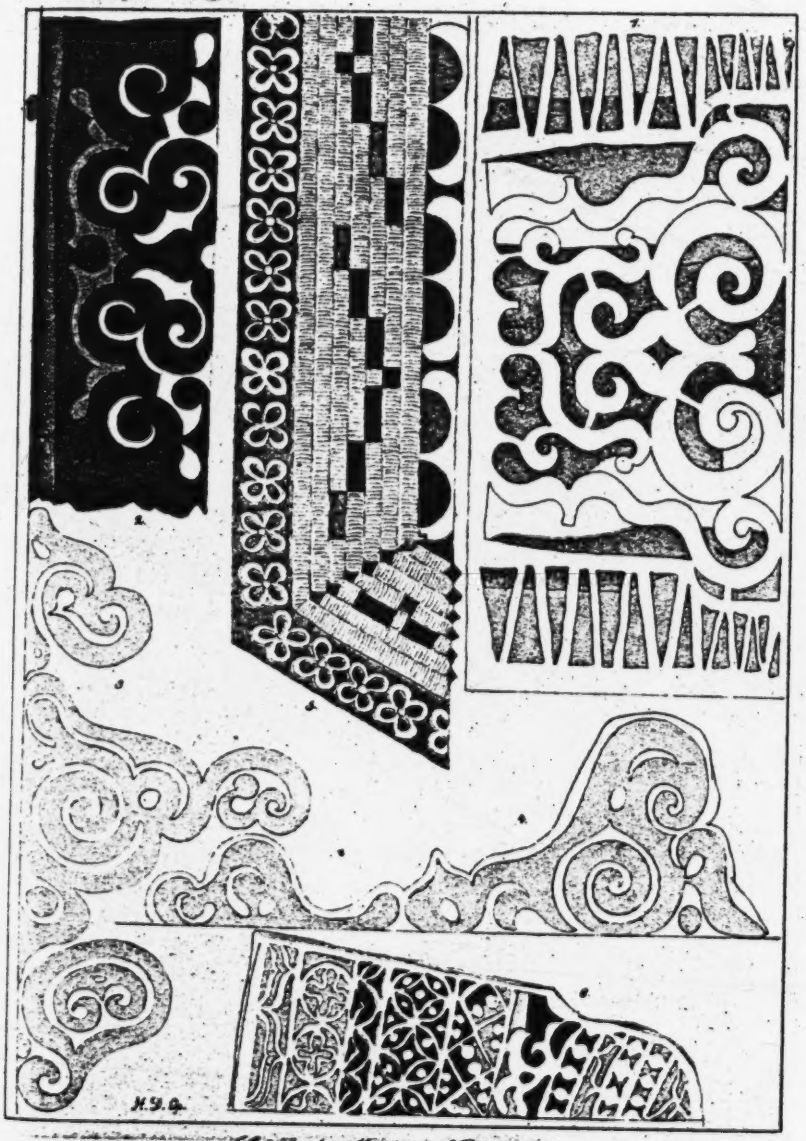

Gilyakische Muster zur Reformen

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak
[P 630, P]

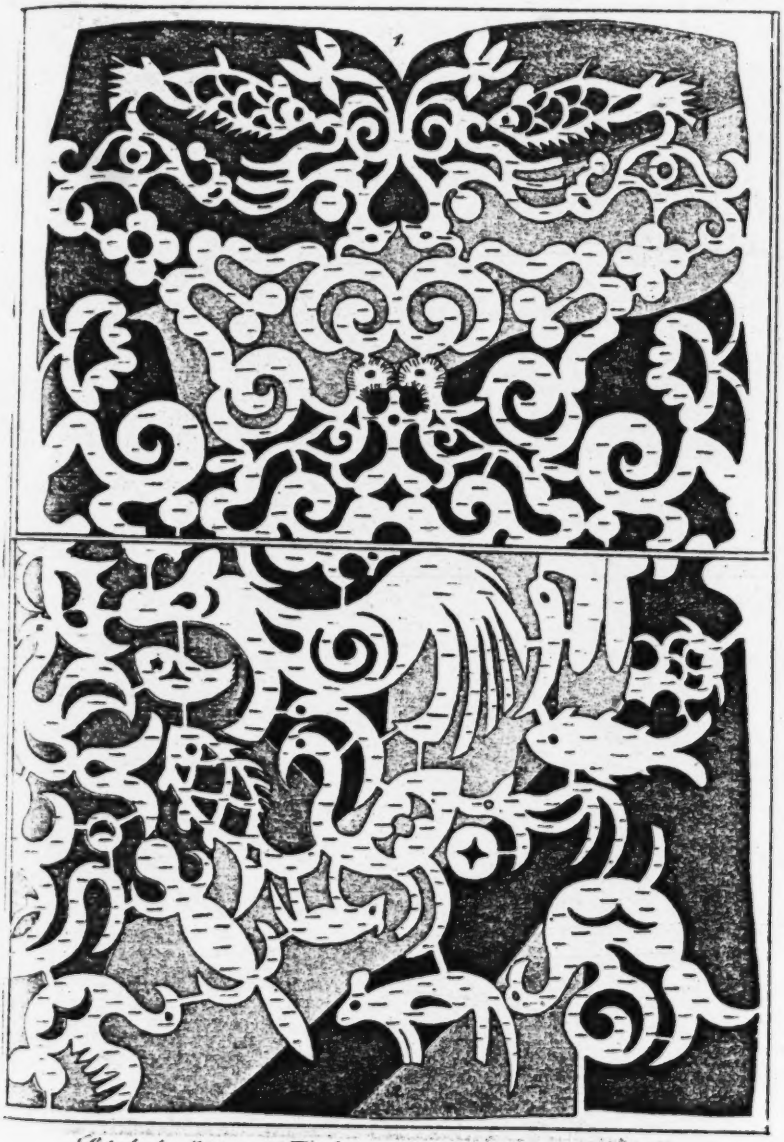

Gilyakische Muster mit Thierfiguren und Arabesken aus Birkenrinde.

2: Schrenck

[P. 630, Q]

RX2 Gilyak

XXVI.

Gilyakisches Muster mit Thierfiguren u. Arabesken aus Birkenrinde

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

[P.630, R]

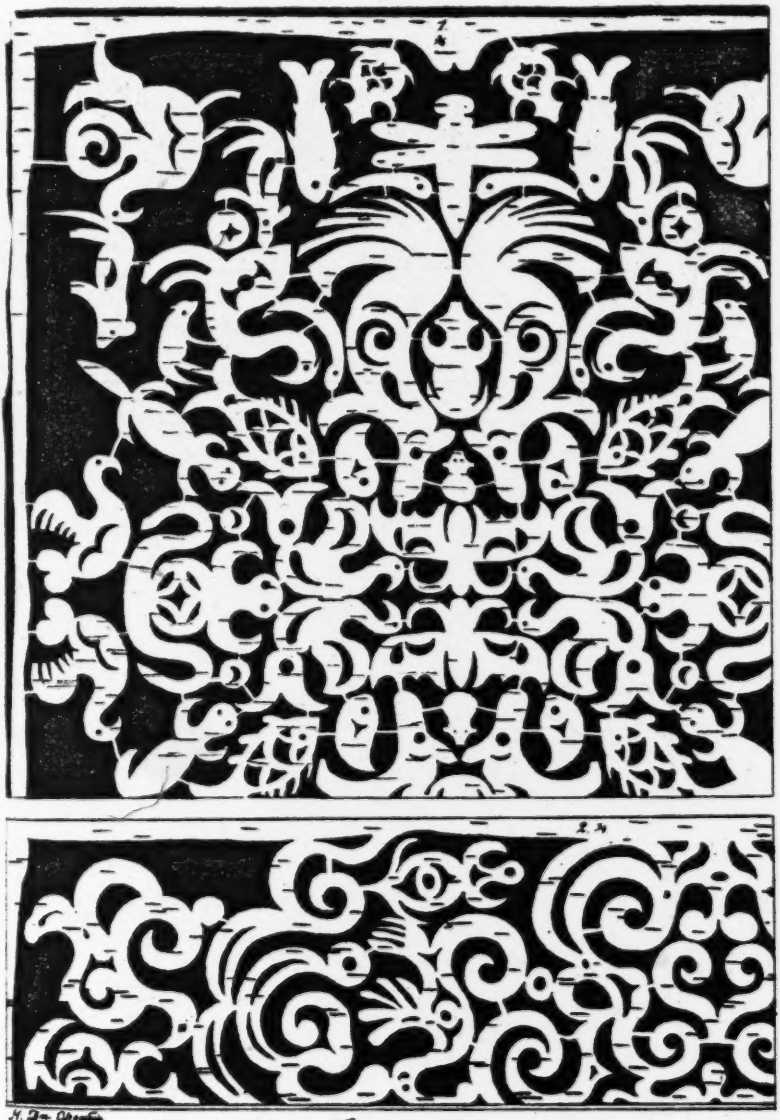

M. Dr. Opitz

Gilyakische Muster mit Thierfiguren u. Arabesken aus Birkenrinde

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, 5]

RX2 Gilyak

Gilyakische Utensilien. 1. 2. Pfeifenpurrer aus Eisen, 3. dgl. aus Knochen, 4. Schwammdose aus Störhaut, 5. dgl. aus Seehundsleder, 6. Tabaksselläschchen.

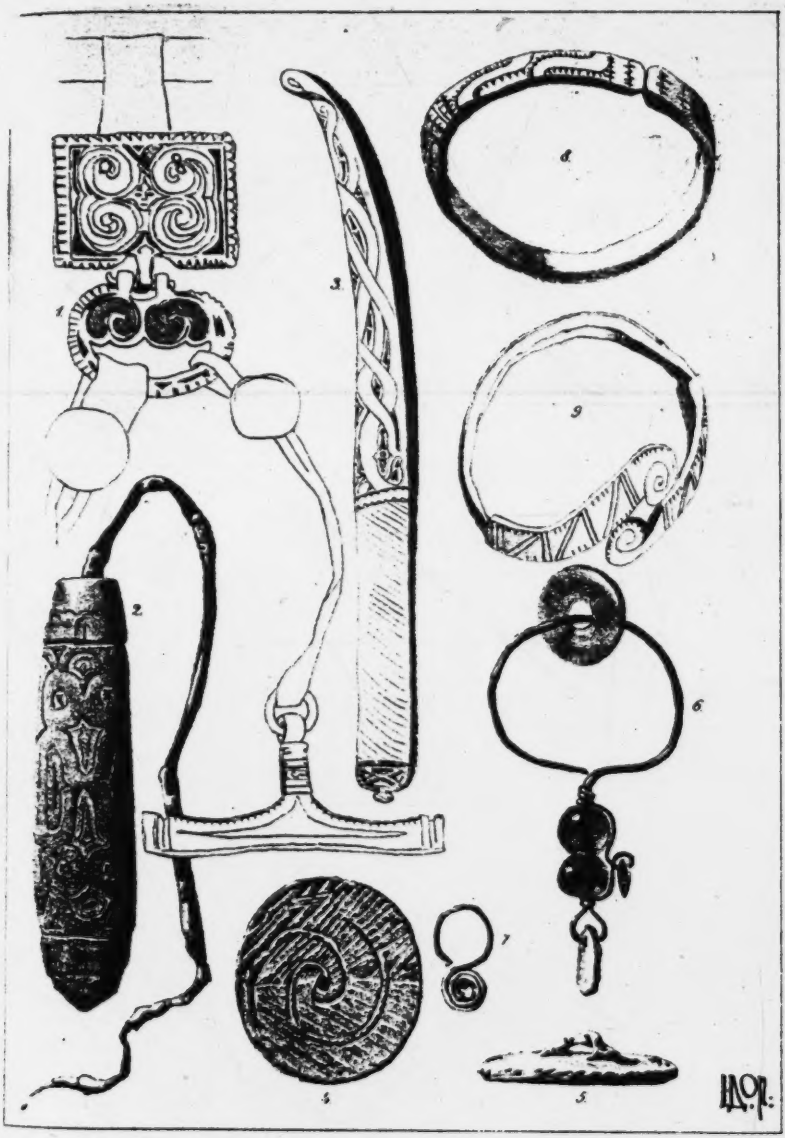

Gilyakische Utensilien: 1. Feuerstahl, 2. Nadeldose, 3. Hölzchen zum Glätten von Zeug, 4.5. Hemdsknopf, 6. Grosser Ohrring, 7. Kleiner Ohrring, 8.9. Armspangen

2: Schrenck
[P 630, U]

RX2 Gilyak

III.

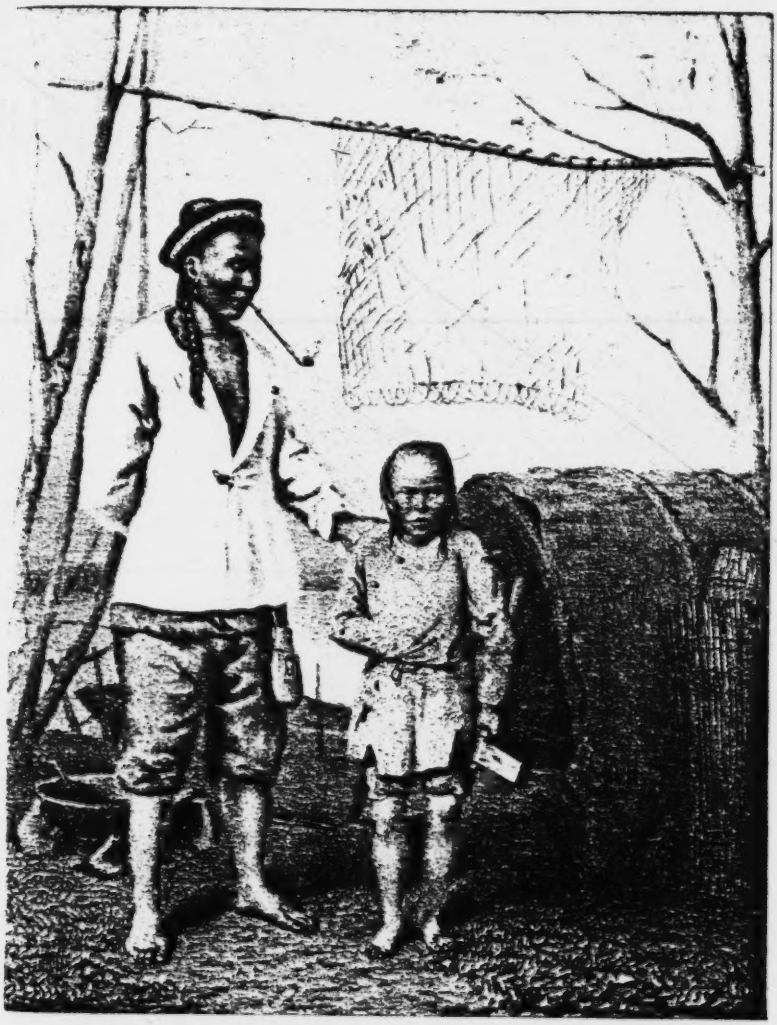

Gilak in Sommerkleidung vor einem Birkenrindenzelt (hemeni).

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, V]

RX2 Gilyak

Gilakische Messer. 1 gewöhnliches grosses Gürtelmesser (ngarta dshakko), 2 Gürtelmesser von verlegter Arbeit, 3 Scheide zu demselben, 4 Messer zum Schneiden von Holz etc (yu dsh), 5 Scheide zu demselben, 6 Messer zum Zerschneiden von Fisch (bcho mauna).

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, W]

RX2 Gilyak

IXXII

Gilyakische Utensilien: 1. Fischmesser. 2. Messer. Fun dshakter. 3. Messer zum feinen Holzschneiden. 4. Messer: Ausstechlein. 5. Natelschneidemesser. 6. Grosser Pfeiler. 7. Dazu gehörig Eisenstäbchen. 8. Kl. Pfeiler.

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, X]

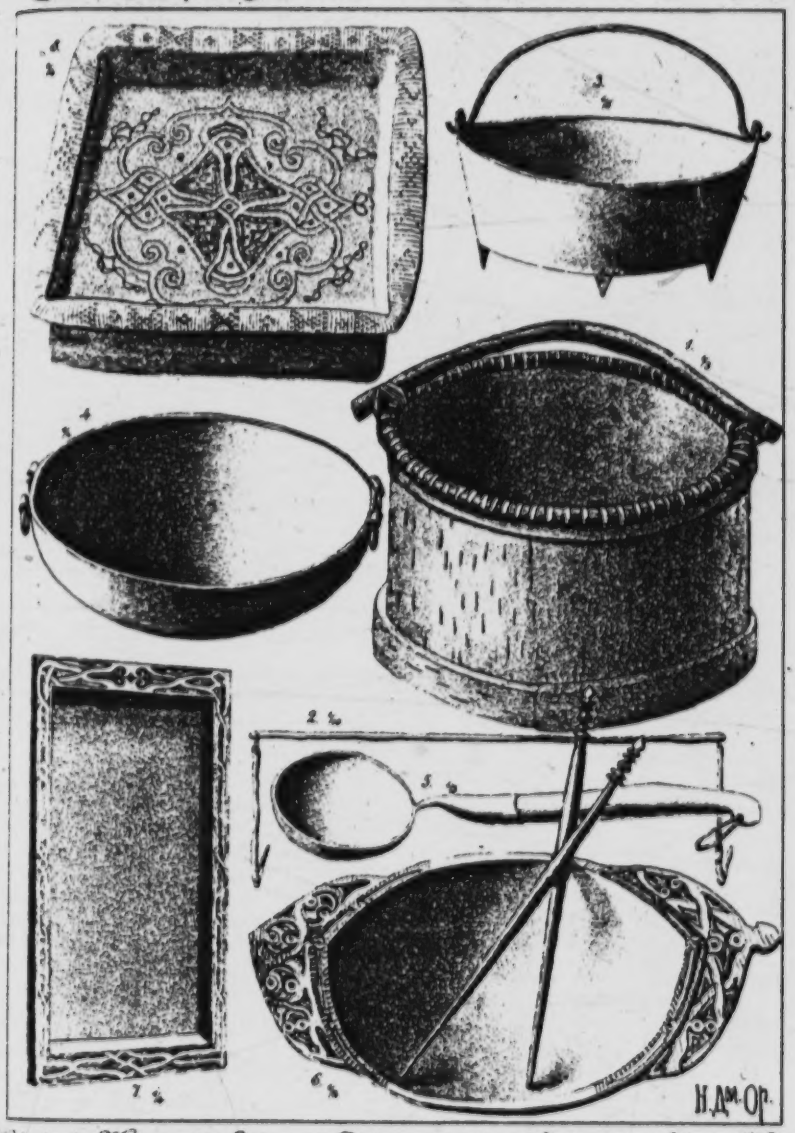

Gilyakisches Hausgeräth. 1. Eimer aus Birkenrinde, nebst 2. Schultertjoch. 3. Eisernes Kessel japanischer Arbeit. 4. dito mandsch. Arb. 5. Eiserner Rühr- u. Schöpflöffel. 6. 7. Hölzerne Speiseschalen, nebst Gabelstäbchen. 8. Schale aus Birkenrinde zum Vorgeben von Speisen

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, Y]
RX2 Gilyak

XXXIV.

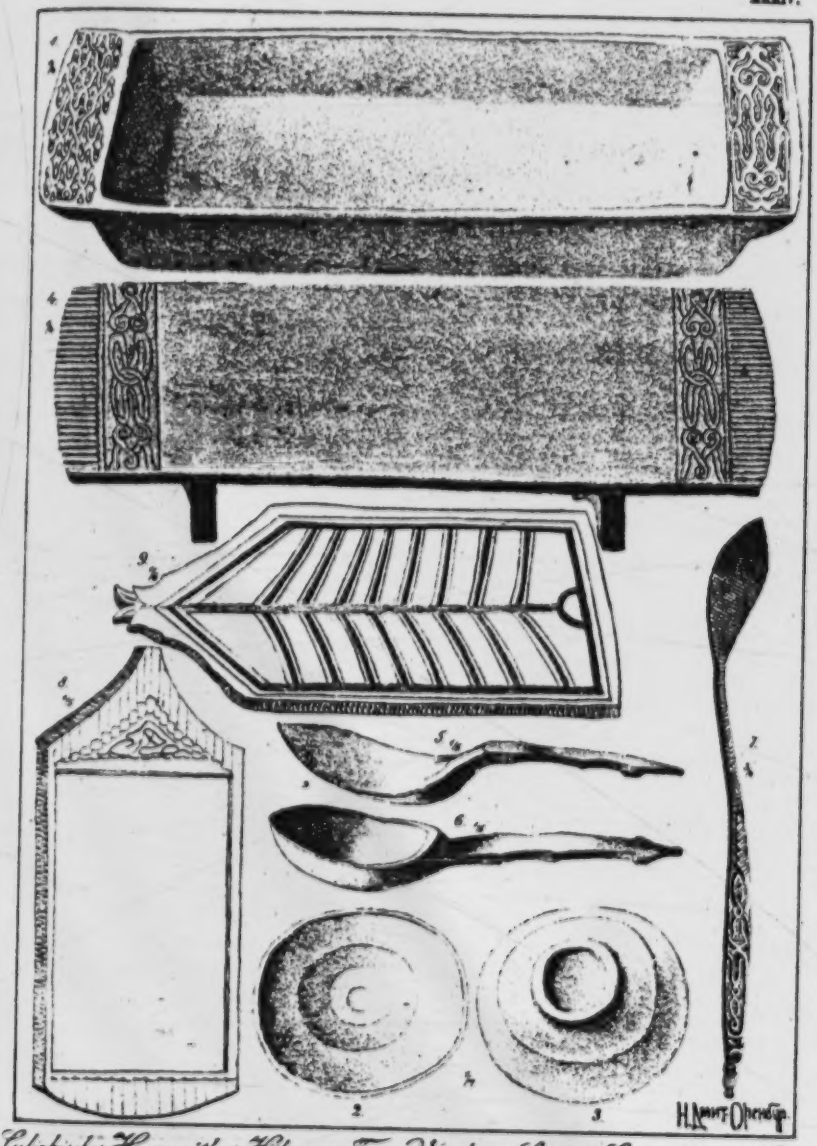

Gilyakisches Hausgeräth. 1. Hölzerner Trog 2 Vorgelege v. Speisen, 2. Grosse hölzerne Schale, 3. Diselbe v. unten, 4. Handtischchen, 5-6. Hölzerne Röhr- u. Schöpflöffel, 7. Gewöhnlicher Eßlöffel, 8. Brett zum Tabackschneiden, 9. Brett unter die Wege der Kinder zu legen.

2: Schrenck
[p. 630, 2]
RX2 Gilyak

IIII.

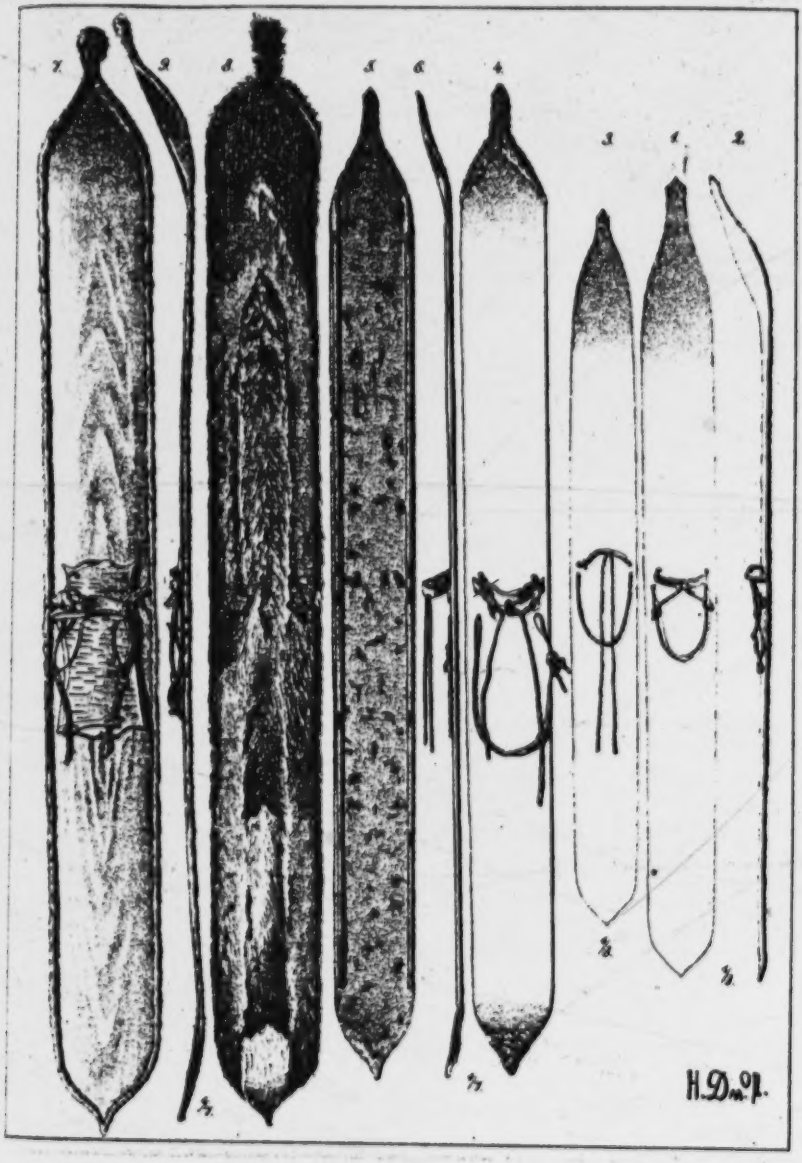

Schneeschuhe 1-3. Gilyakische, kleine, 4-6. Gilyakische, grosse; 7-9. Goldische grosse

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

[P. 630, AA]

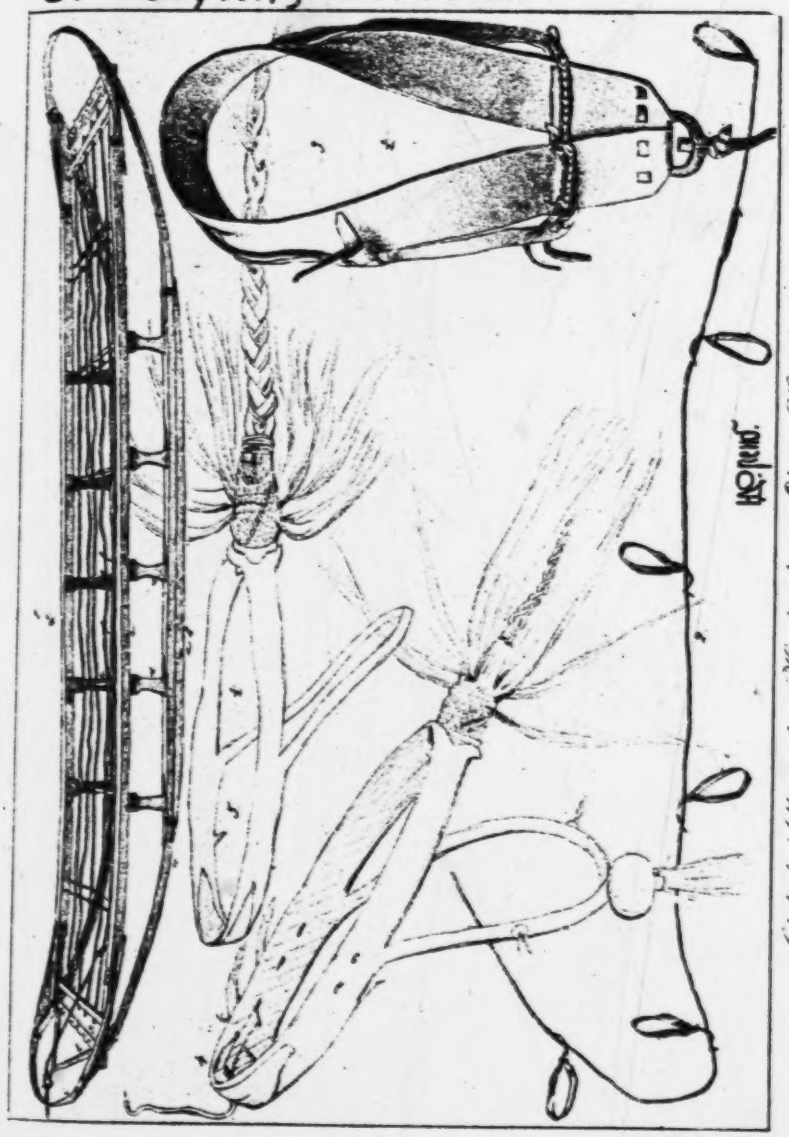

1 Infundibulum, Hilum n. obl. 2,3. Nierenpyramiden, 4,5 Eingang. Nierenbecken.

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

[P.630, BB]

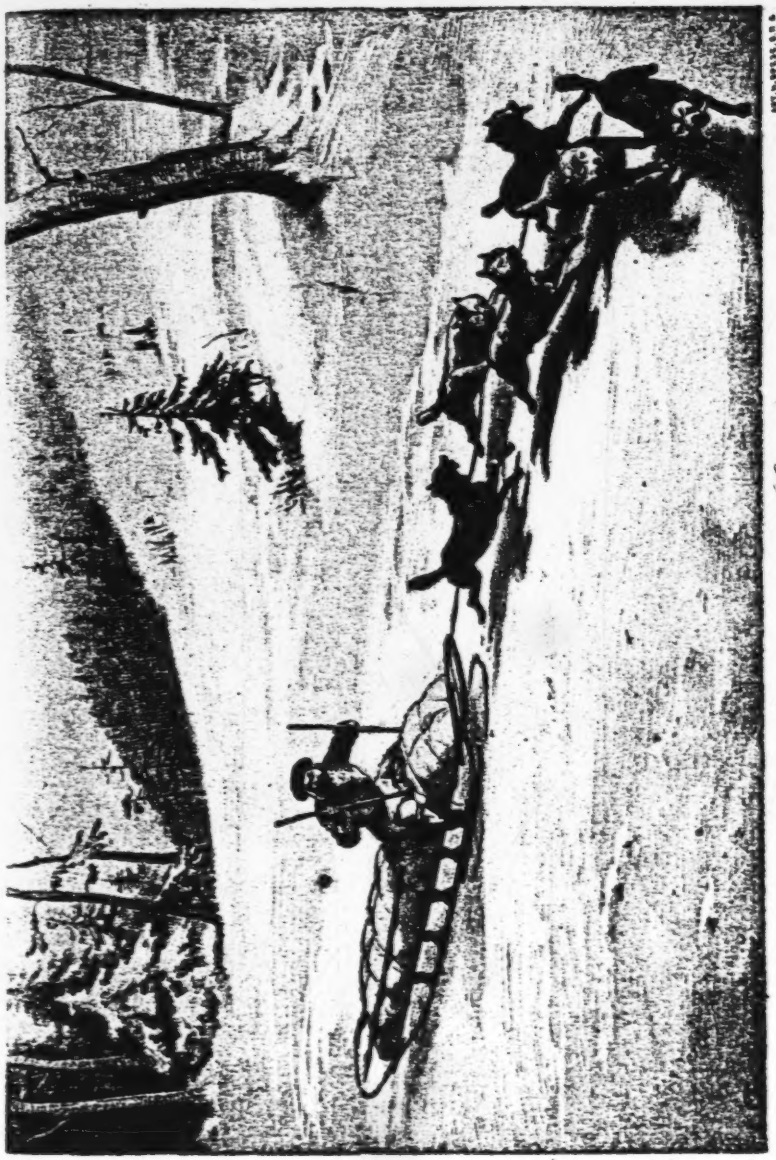

Schlittenfahrt der Gilyaken.

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

[P. 630, CC]

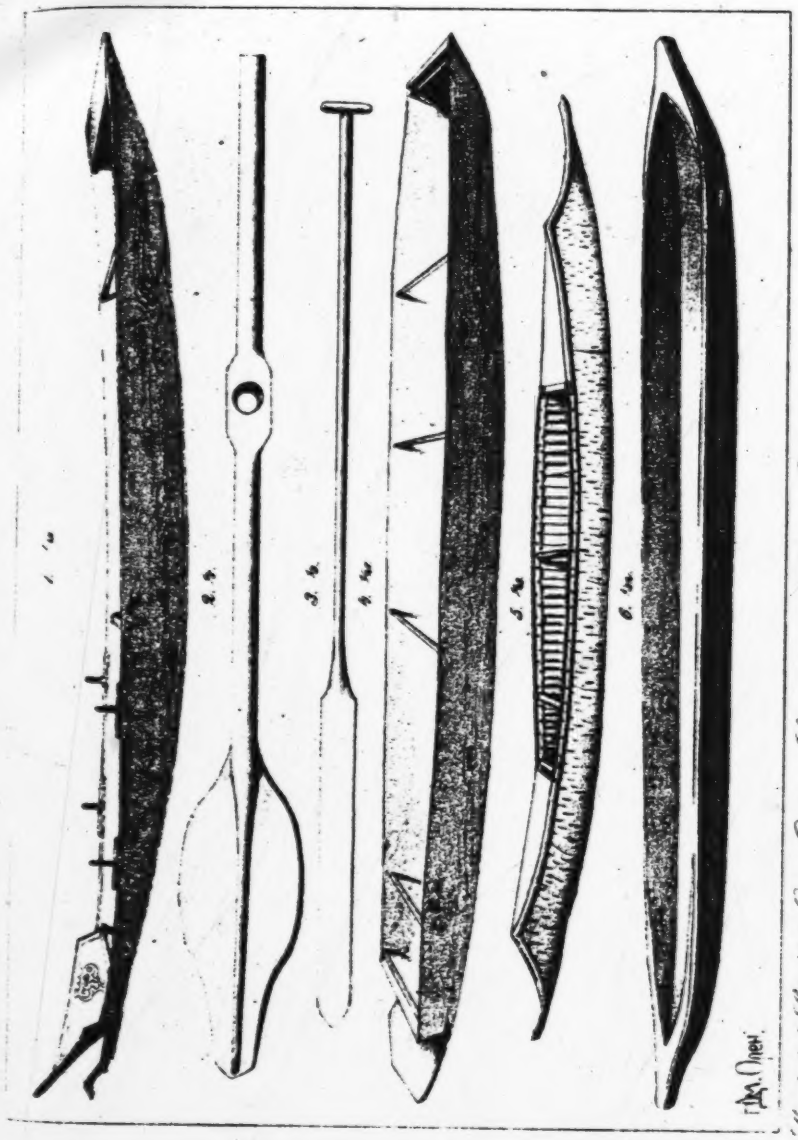

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

[P.630, DD]

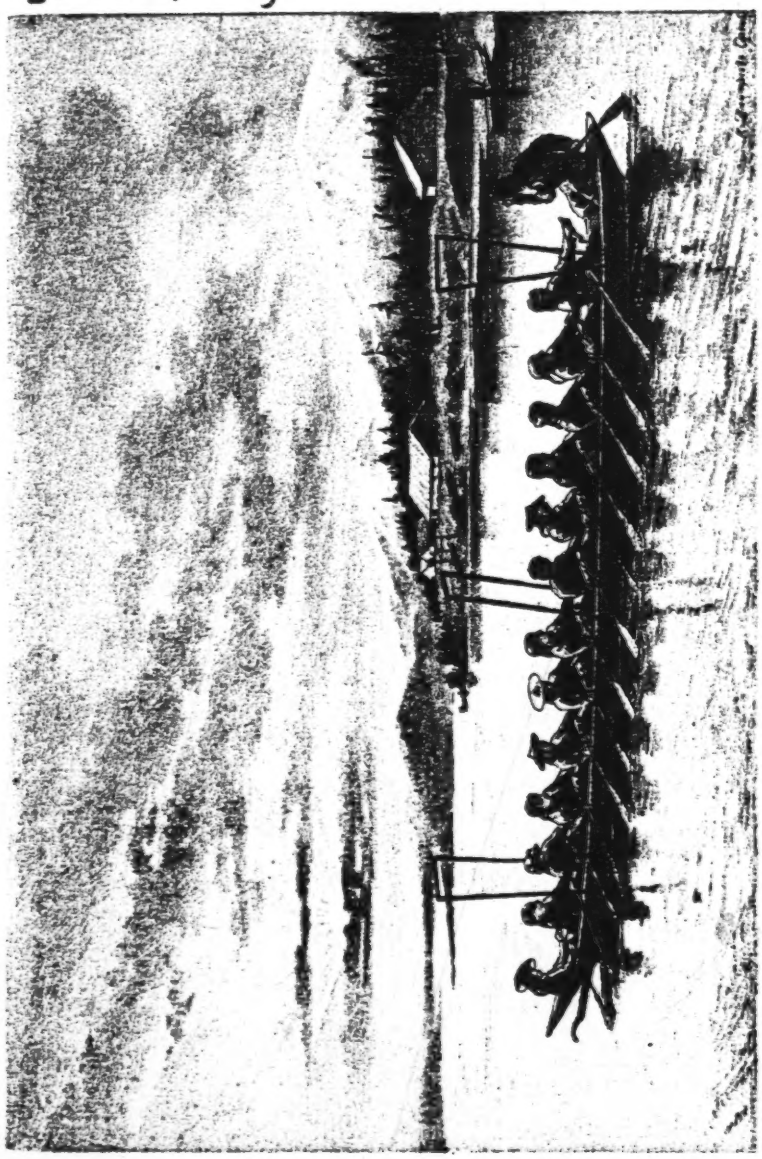

Opferfest der Gilyaken beim Begräbniß des Bären.

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, EE]

II.

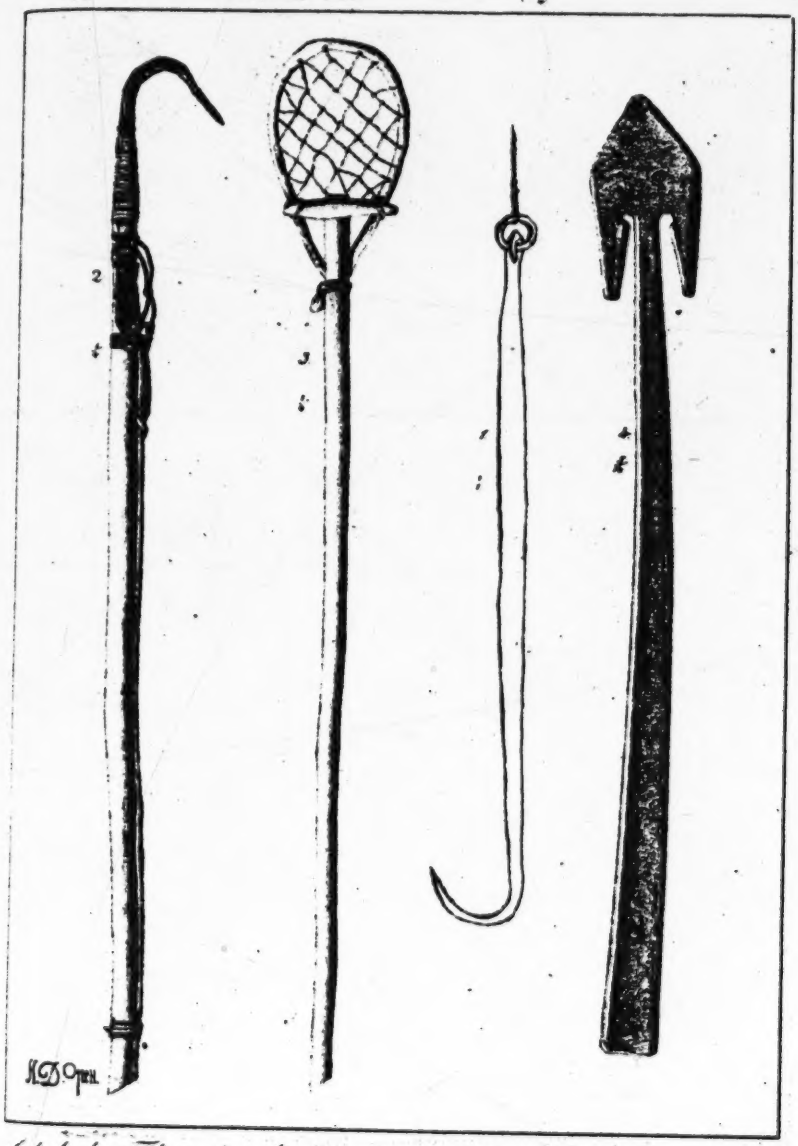

Gilyakisches Fischergeräth 1. Angelhaken für Stechen (Wurfangel) 2. Haken zum Herausziehen von Fischen. 3. Netz zum Reinigen des Eisloches, 4. Ein Speer zum Fischen

[P. 630, FF]

III.

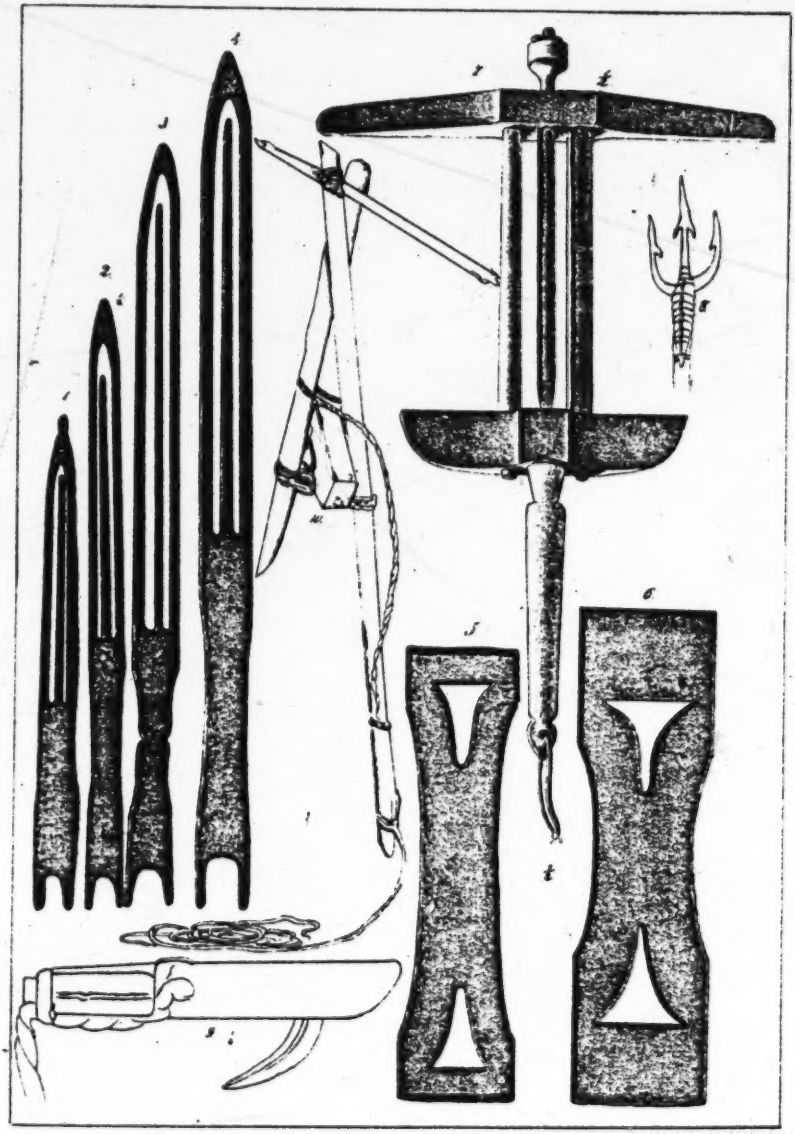

Fischergeräth der Gilyaken. 1 Stecher in Futteral. 1b. Nadeln zum Netzflechten. 2 Fischspeer. 3 Fischspeer in Futteral. 4 Angelhaken für Störe. 5 Netz aufgerollt. 6 Netz ausgebreitet. 7 Netzbrett.

[P630, GG]

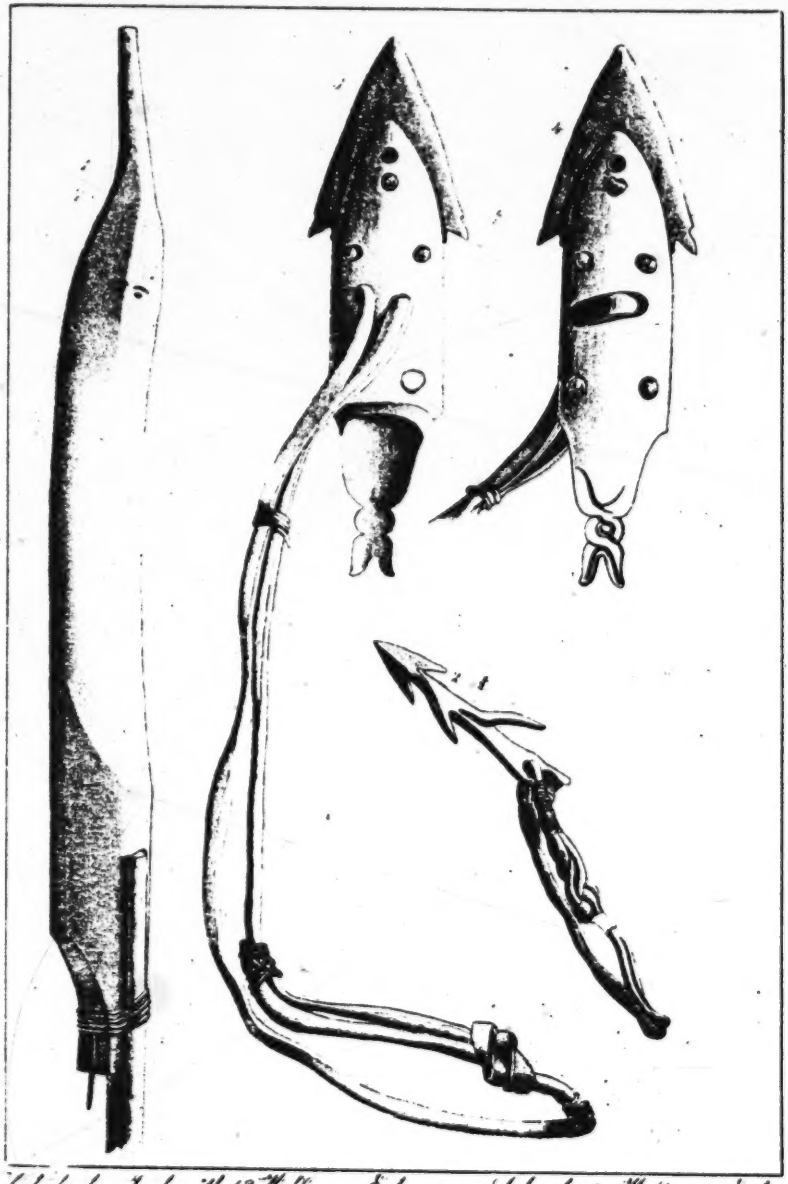

Gilpakisches Angelgeräth 1.2. Waffe zum Erlegen von Schwänen. 3.4. Waffe zum Erlegen von Wasserratten

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

[P. 630, HH]

XLIII.

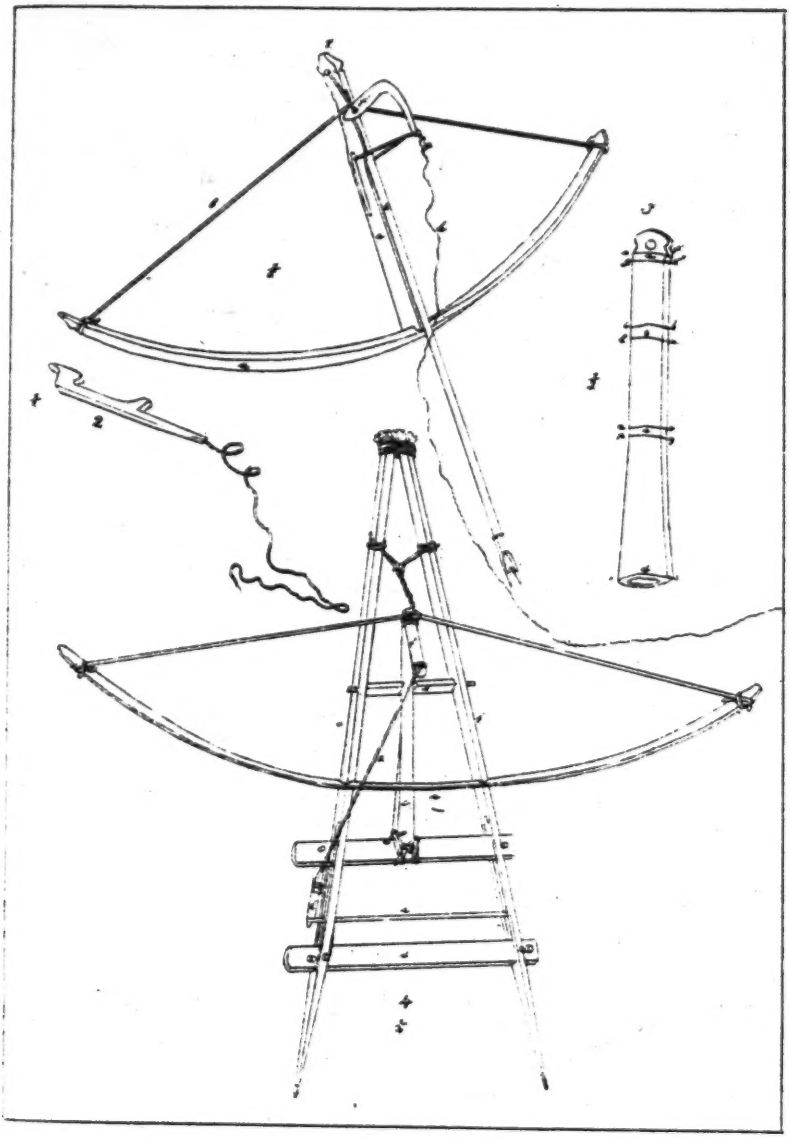

Gilyakisches Kinderspielzeug: Bogen und Pfeil, Holzhammer zum Eintreiben der Pfähle und Pfahl zum Thun

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

[P.630, II]

XLIV.

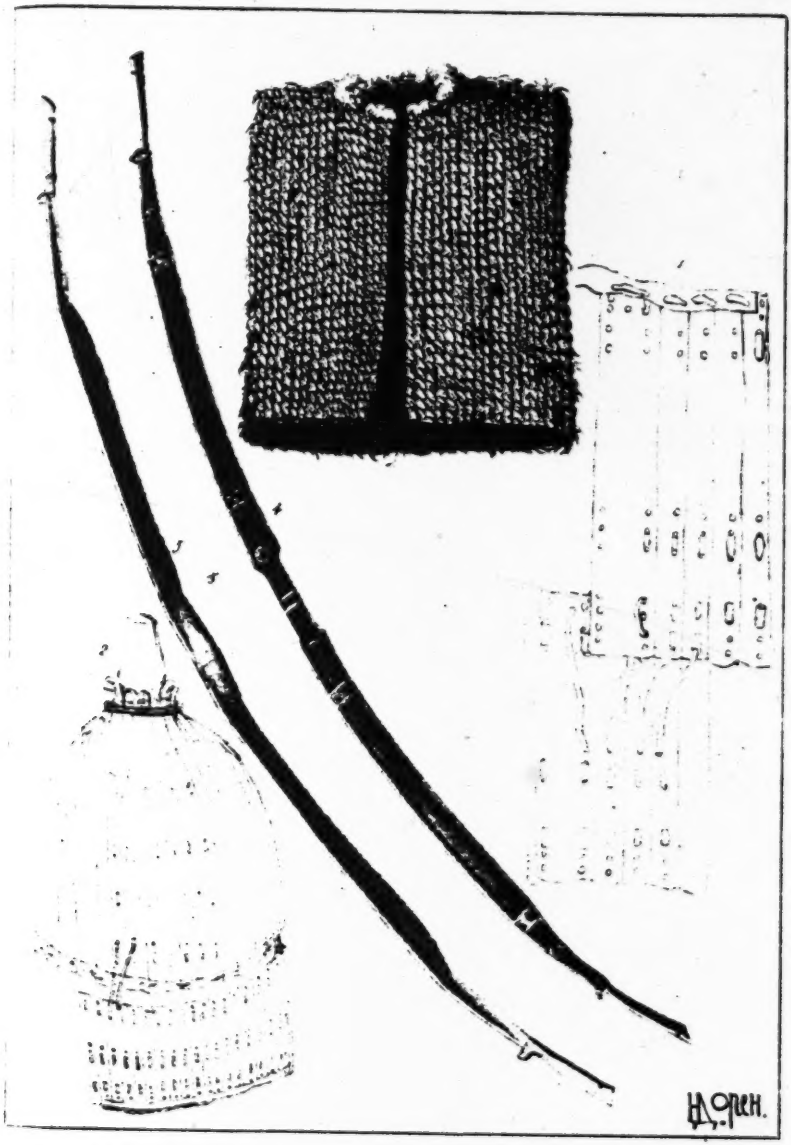

Alter gilyakischer Kinderschurz. 2 Alter mandschurischer Helm. 3. Stück eines alten mandschurischen Gürtelbeschlages. 4 Gilyakischer Bogen. 5. Pfeil von einem

2: Schrenck
[P. 630, JJ]

RX2 Gilyak

XLV.

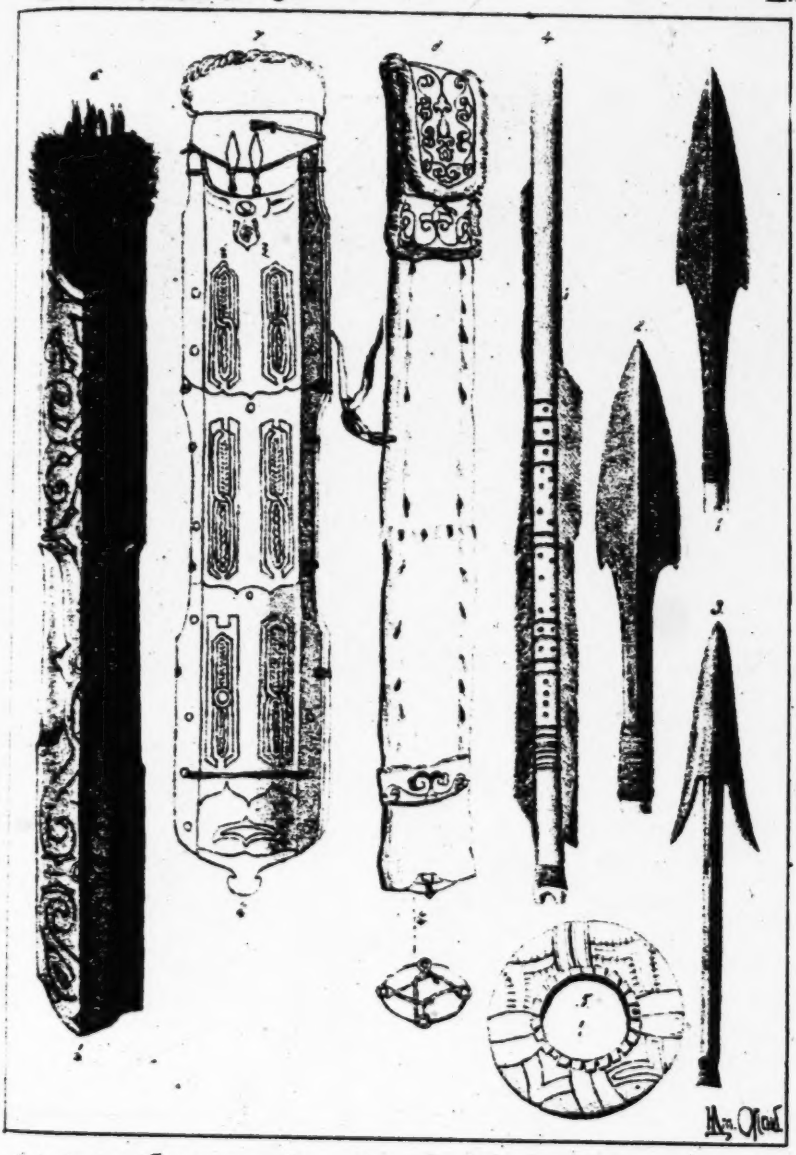

Gilyakisches Angelgeräth 1, 3. Eiserne Pfeilspitzen. 4. Unteres Stück eines Pfeilschaftes. 5. Vorrichtung zum Spannen des Bogens. 6. Köcher. 7. Grönländischer Köcher

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

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XLVI

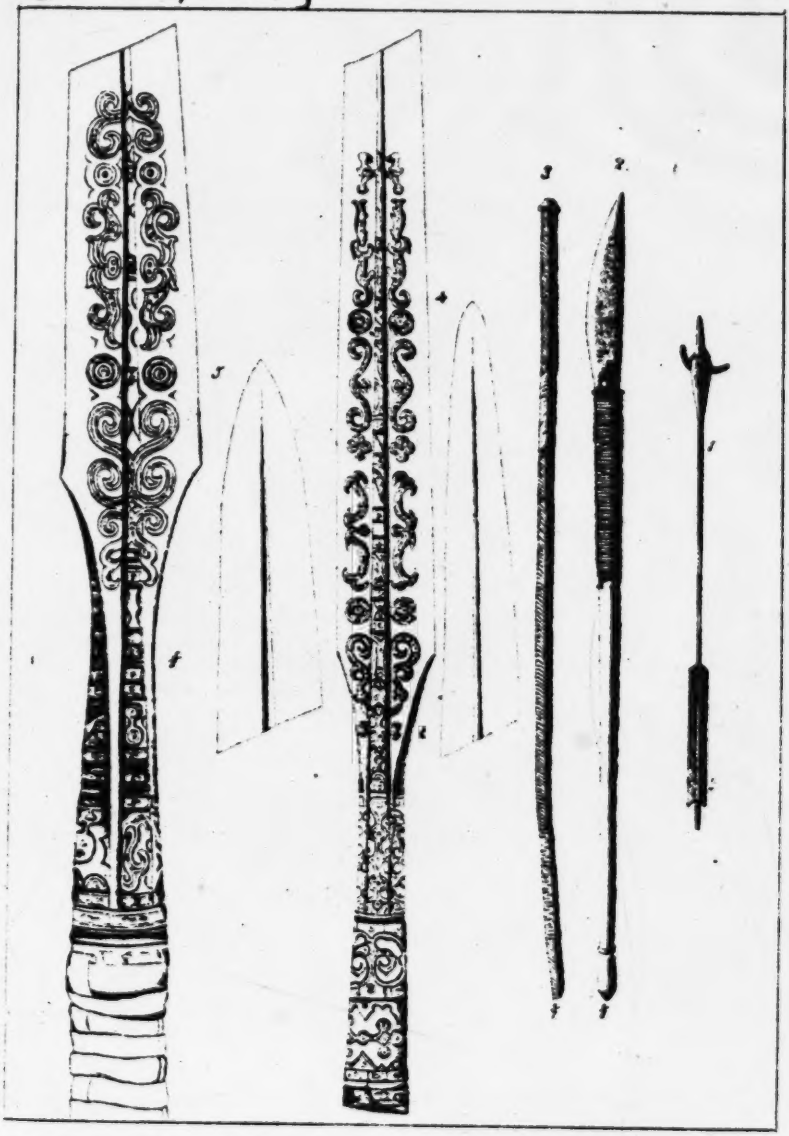

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[P.630,MM]

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INHALT.

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VERZEICHNISS DER TAFELN.

(Diejenigen Gegenstände, bei denen ein Hinweis auf den Text fehlt, sind von dem Verfasser nicht ausdrücklich erwähnt oder besprochen worden).

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Giljakische Götzen, aus Menschen- und Thiergestalten combinirt: 1 — Mensch und Tiger (Anh. 21). 2 — Mensch mit gekröntem Tigerkopf (Anh. 20. — Bartels Fig. 95).

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*) In Bezug auf die medicinale Bedeutung der hier und auf den folgenden Tafeln abgebildeten Götzen und Amulete, sowie der Schamanen, vergl.: Dr. Max Bartels, Die Medicin der Naturvölker, Leipzig 1893, mit Illustrationen, auf welche bei analogen Darstellungen hier noch besonders hingewiesen ist.

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3 — Mensch mit Bärenkopf (Anh. 21). 4 — Mensch mit Bärenkopf. 5 — Mensch mit Eulenkopf (Anh. 21). 6 — menschliches Kreuzgelenk mit Bärenkopf und -Fuss (Bartels Fig. 127). 7, 8 — Giljakische Amulete mit Menschen- und Bärenköpfen (Anh. 19). 9 — dagl. Bogen mit menschlichem Kopf (Anh. 2).

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III. ETHNOGRAPHISCHER THEIL.

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11. Abschnitt.

Familienverhältnisse: Ehe. Weiberkauf und Weiberraub. Sittlichkeit. Häusliche Arbeiten und Beschäftigungen von Mann und Weib. Kinder-Geburt, -Ernährung, -Behandlung und -Erziehung. Stellung der Sklaven und Sklavinnen im Hause. Familienerbrecht. Blutrache.

War ich schon bei Besprechung der Grundbedingungen und Bestandtheile des äusseren Lebens der Amur-Völker genöthigt, mich in mehr oder weniger eingehender Weise nur bei den Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes aufzuhalten, bezüglich derjenigen des oberen Stromlaufes aber nur in allgemein gehaltenen Zügen auf die, jenen gegenüber, besonders typischen und charakteristischen Differenzen hinzuweisen, so ist dies bei den nachstehenden, mehr und mehr dem inneren Leben sich zuwendenden Betrachtungen in noch höherem Grade der Fall. Ja, hier muss ich mich sogar fast ganz und gar auf die Giljaken und die von giljakischem Wesen durchdrungenen, bis auf die Sprache und manche zum Theil vielleicht in Stammeseigenthümlichkeiten wurzelnde Anschauungen und Gebräuche fast ganz giljakisirten Oltscha beschränken und selbst die ihnen zunächst benachbarten Völker des unteren Amur-Landes nur vergleichsweise streifen. Denn nur mit jenen habe ich einigermassen lange genug verkehrt, um in Beziehung auf die hier zur Sprache kommenden Fragen einige, wenn auch immer nur oberflächliche Einblicke gewinnen zu können. Die bis dahin möglichst vergleichend gehaltene Betrachtung der Amur-Völker wird daher in diesem ihrem letzten Theile einen mehr monographischen Charakter annehmen und sich fast ausschliesslich auf dasjenige Volk concentriren, das auch bei allen unseren früheren Auseinandersetzungen den Mittel- und Ausgangspunkt bildete.

Die Giljaken sind durch Sitte und Religion an keine bestimmte Form der Ehe gebunden. Thatsächlich jedoch leben bei Weitem die meisten von ihnen in Monogamie. Ja, diese herrscht

unter ihnen so sehr vor, dass man sie als allgemeine Regel, die Polygamie hingegen nur als unter gewissen Bedingungen vorkommende, im Ganzen seltene Ausnahme bezeichen darf. Namentlich soll die letztere, nach Angabe der Giljaken, auf Sachalin, am Liman und an der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres so gut wie gar nicht zu finden sein, während sie unter den Amur-Giljaken häufiger vorkommt. Eine Erklärung dafür wird sich aus dem in der Folge Mitzutheilenden ergeben. Meist beschränkt sich bei polygamischer Ehe die Zahl der Weiber auf zwei. Solcher Ehen habe ich unter den Amur-Giljaken selbst mehrere kennen gelernt[1]). Ehen mit drei bis fünf Weibern sind sehr selten, und solche mit noch mehr als fünf Weibern soll es nach Angabe der Giljaken unter ihnen gar nicht geben. Ausser der freiwilligen giebt es aber bei den Giljaken auch eine durch das Erbrecht oder richtiger durch Erbverpflichtung verursachte Polygamie, von der später die Rede sein wird.

Das Hauptmotiv, das die Giljaken zur Monogamie treibt, ist die auch bei ihnen, gleichwie bei den meisten Naturvölkern und namentlich bei allen indigenen Völkern Sibiriens, herrschende Sitte, ihre Eheweiber zu kaufen[2]). «*Umgu genytsch*», ein Weib kaufen, ist der giljakische Ausdruck für «heirathen». Will ein Giljake in friedlicher, rechtmässiger Weise heirathen, so muss er dem Vater oder, wenn dieser nicht mehr am Leben, den Brüdern des von ihm zur Ehe begehrten Mädchens eine bestimmte, durch beiderseitige Uebereinkunft festgestellte Zahlung leisten. Diese besteht je nach Umständen sowohl aus verschiedenen zum Leben und Haushalt nöthigen Gegenständen, wie Kleidungsstoffe, Kochkessel, Bote, Schlitten, Hunde etc., als auch aus manchen Luxusgegenständen von imaginärem Werth, wie sauber gearbeitete, mit eingelegten Silberplättchen versehene Speere, alte mandshurische Eisenpanzer und dergl. m. Um einen Begriff von der Höhe des Brautpreises bei den Giljaken zu geben, füge ich hier die Zahlungen bei, die ein paar mir nahe bekannte Giljaken für ihre respectiven Weiber zu leisten hatten. So hatte der Giljake Ssogin in Kulk (Mäo) für sein zweites Weib, Malguk aus Langr, folgenden Preis zu zahlen:

6 grosse Speere mit eingelegtem Silber,	zu je	10	Ja	das Stück[3]),	zusammen	60	Ja
2 grosse chinesische Herdkessel	» »	4	»	»	»	8	»
3 japanische Kessel (*Kughi-wunj*)	» »	9	»	»	»	27	»
4 grosse Bote	» »	10	»	»	»	40	»
20 Hunde	» »	1	»	»	»	20	»
					Summa	155	Ja = etwa 310 Rub.

1) So hatte z. B. der Giljake Ssogin in Kulk (Mäo) zwei Frauen: Kotguk und Malguk; desgleichen der Giljake Tschjogun zwei: Chumsisk und Tylsuk u. s. w.

2) So bei den Tungusen, Ostjaken, Samojeden, Tataren, Tscheremissen, Tschuwaschen, Wotjaken u. s. (s. Anmerk. 1 auf der folgenden Seite). Auch bei den Chinesen herrscht derselbe Brauch (Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Paris 1787, T. II, p. 261. Bazin, Chine moderne, 2e Part., Paris 1843, p. 492). Ja auch bei den alten Deutschen war die Ehe ursprünglich ein Kauf, sowie in Island, Norwegen und bei den Angelsachsen (Peschel, Völkerkunde, Leipzig 1874, p. 237).

3) Die im Folgenden angeführten Preise können zugleich als theilweise Bestätigung und Ergänzung der oben (p. 596 — 598) unabhängig von denselben zusammengestellten Preistabelle der Giljaken dienen.

Mein Führer Chossiambo, der zwar selbst ein Oltscha war, aber eine Giljakin, eine Tochter des mehrfach erwähnten Judin in Tebach, geheirathet hatte, musste nach seinem und seiner Frau Zeugniss für dieselbe folgenden Preis zahlen:

5 Stück chinesischer Seide zu je 4 Ja, zusammen	20 Ja
1 grossen chinesischen Herdkessel	3 »
1 japanischen Kessel mit drei Henkeln	30 »
1 mandshurischen Eisenpanzer	30 »
1 grossen Bären	30 »
5 besonders gute Hunde (*kyla-kan*), zu je 4 Ja .	20 »
Summa	133 Ja = etwa 266 Rub.

Der Brautpreis ist also bei den Giljaken recht hoch, was auf einen verhältnissmässigen Wohlstand des Volkes deutet[1]). Dabei erheischt es der Brauch, dass er mit einem Mal und nicht ratenweise bezahlt werde. Bei dem schon in meinen früheren Schilderungen hervorgehobenen umsichtig sparsamen, auf stetige Mehrung der Güter bedachten Wesen dieses Volkes wird daher selbst ein bemittelter Mann nicht so leicht daran gehen, zu dem einen Weibe sich noch ein zweites oder gar drittes zu kaufen. Nur ein besonders reges Verlangen, seinen Reichthum von seinen Landsleuten auch anerkannt zu sehen und dadurch zu besonderem Ansehen unter ihnen zu gelangen, vermag ihn dazu zu bewegen. Daher ist die Polygamie auch häufiger unter den im Allgemeinen reicheren und dichter zusammen wohnenden Amur-Giljaken als bei ihren Landsleuten am Liman, auf Sachalin und an der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres.

Aus dem Vorstehenden ist zum Theil schon zu ersehen, dass die Sitte des Weiberkaufes im Ganzen von wohlthätigem Einfluss auf ein Naturvolk ist. Mag sie auch eine für unser Gefühl verletzende Nichtachtung der menschlichen Würde und der persönlichen Rechte des Wei-

1) Des Vergleichs halber führe ich hier den Brautpreis einiger sibirischen Völker in älterer und neuerer Zeit an. Bei den Tungusen an der Werchnaja Tunguska betrug er zu Adam Brand's Zeiten (Neuverm. Beschr. seiner grossen Chinesisch. Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. Lübeck 1734, p. 99) 10—13 Rennthiere. Ein reiches Ostjaken-Mädchen am Obj wurde zu Pallas' Zeiten nicht leicht unter 100 Rennthieren und einer Menge allerlei Pelzwerks verheirathet (Bujof, in Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, St. Petersb. Bd. III, 1776, p. 83). Bei den Ostjaken am Irtysch beträgt der gangbare Preis einer gewöhnlichen Ehefrau nach Castrén (Reisebr. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845—1849, St. Petersb. 1856, p. 58) 200—300 Rub. an Geld, ein Pferd, eine Kuh und einen Ochsen, 7—16 verschiedene Kleidungsstücke, ein Pud Mehl, einen Eimer Branntwein und etwas Hopfen zum Anrichten der Hochzeitsfeier. Die hohen Brautpreise, die Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord. und Ost. Sibirien's, Bd. IV, p. 1439) für die Assja-Samojedinnen anführt, werden zum Theil durch die Mitgift verringert, welche die Braut mitbringt, so dass es unter Umständen fast nur auf einen Tausch herauskommt, was bei den Giljaken nie der Fall ist. Sehr gering war dagegen der Brautpreis bei den Wotjaken, Tscheremissen und Tschuwaschen: bei den ersteren, die am ärmsten waren, betrug er nur 5—15 Rub., bei den beiden letzteren 10—30 Rub., und bei den Kungurschen Tscheremissen, die am reichsten waren, 100 Rub. und mehr (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. Bd. III, p. 369).

bes in sich schliessen, indem sie es dem Manne gegenüber schlechtweg als 'Naare hinstellt, so übt sie dagegen doch einen gewissen moralischen Zwang auf die Männer aus. Denn vor Allem nöthigt sie diese, durch Thätigkeit und Arbeit die Mittel zu erwerben, um ein Weib kaufen und einen eigenen Hausstand gründen zu können, und setzt damit auch allzufrühen Eheschliessungen einen wirksamen Damm entgegen. Ferner thut sie, wie wir schon sahen, durch die materiellen Hindernisse, die sie der Vielweiberei in den Weg legt, der Monogamie Vorschub. Und endlich bietet sie dem Weibe sowohl eine Garantie guter Behandlung seitens der Eltern, indem ein wohlgenährtes und gut gehaltenes Mädchen leichter und theurer verheirathet werden kann, als besonders auch einen gewissen Schutz gegen rohe Misshandlungen seitens des Mannes, denn das mühsam und theuer Erkaufte pflegt, zumal beim Naturmenschen, in der Regel auch höher geschätzt und besser gehütet zu werden als das nur mühelos und billig Erlangte oder gar Geschenkte. So bildet der Brautpreis bei den Naturvölkern gewissermaassen ein Correctiv für die ihnen noch abgehende geistige Schätzung und Hochachtung des Weibes, und je höher er ist, desto grössere Wirkung lässt sich von ihm erwarten und ein desto besseres Prognostikon stellt er den ehelichen und Familienverhältnissen des betreffenden Volkes aus. Dass und in wie weit dies bei den Giljaken zutrifft, werden wir, ausser dem schon erwähnten Vorherrschen der Monogamie bei ihnen, in den nachstehenden Betrachtungen noch mehrfach kennen zu lernen Gelegenheit haben.

Andererseits ist nicht zu leugnen, dass je höher der Brautpreis, desto grösser für unbemittelte, aber unternehmende junge Männer auch die Versuchung ist, sich der Zahlung desselben zu entziehen und durch List oder Gewalt in den Besitz eines Weibes zu setzen. In der That kommt Weiberraub bei den Giljaken keineswegs selten vor. Ihren eigenen Angaben zufolge findet er fast immer nach vorausgegangener Uebereinkunft zwischen beiden Theilen, dem Entführer und der zu Entführenden, statt. Um ihn auszuführen, stellt sich der Mann wie von ungefähr im Hause der Eltern des begehrten Mädchens ein, macht dort unbefangen vom üblichen Gastrecht Gebrauch und nimmt dabei einen gelegenen Zeitpunkt wahr, da die Wirthe sehr beschäftigt sind oder sich entfernt haben, um mit dem Mädchen auf dem bereit gehaltenen Schlitten oder Boot zu entfliehen. Ebenso macht er es, um eine ihrem Manne untreu werdende Frau zu entführen. Sobald der geschädigte Vater oder Ehemann den Raub bemerkt, setzt er mit einigen Verwandten oder Dorfgenossen den Flüchtlingen nach. Gelingt es, sie einzuholen, so kann die Geraubte wieder zurück gebracht werden, jedoch nicht ohne blutigen Kampf mit dem Räuber und seinen Helfern, falls er für welche gesorgt, da beiderseits mit Messern und Spiessen vorgegangen wird. Meist weiss jedoch der Räuber es so schlau einzurichten, dass er mit seiner dienstfertigen Beute entkommt. Dann bleibt die Fehde bestehen und kann sich Jahre lang hinziehen, da in Folge der, wie später besprochen werden soll, bei den Giljaken üblichen Blutrache sowohl die durch den Raub direkt Geschädigten, als auch die gelegentlich im Kampf Verwundeten auf Rache bedacht bleiben und nach einer Gelegenheit zu ihrer Ausübung suchen. Ganze Dörfer können dadurch in Mitleidenschaft gezogen werden, so dass die Bewohner derselben, um der Gefahr eines unerwarteten Angriffs zu entgehen, einander sorgfältig meiden und

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

der Verkehr zwischen den Dörfern ganz aufhört[1]). Angesichts solcher Verwickelungen und Gefahren begehen die Giljaken selten einen Weiberraub in einem benachbarten Dorfe, sondern suchen sich dazu in der Regel einen entfernteren Schauplatz aus. Am häufigsten geschieht es namentlich, dass Giljaken vom Ochotskischen Meer und von der Liman-Küste Sachalin's ihren Landsleuten am Amur Töchter oder Frauen entführen, sei es weil sie bei ihren entlegenen Wohnsitzen die Rache derselben weniger zu fürchten brauchen, oder weil sie in Folge ihres geringeren Wohlstandes den hohen Brautpreis der Amur-Giljaken nicht zahlen mögen oder können. Und ganz besonders übelberüchtigt und gefürchtet ihrer räuberischen Gesinnung wegen sind bei den letzteren die Tamula-wo-Giljaken.

So übel jedoch der Weiberraub vielen Giljaken mitspielt und so blutige Folgen er bei ihrem leidenschaftlichen und jähzornigen Temperament in der Regel nach sich zieht, so tritt uns in den ihn veranlassenden Motiven doch auch eine lichtere und edlere Seite entgegen. Da er nämlich, wie schon gesagt, fast immer unter Zustimmung des weiblichen Theiles stattfindet, so dürften dabei nicht selten auch andere Beweggründe als rohe männliche Raubsucht, namentlich eine Auflehnung des weiblichen Stolzes gegen die Behandlung des Weibes als blosses Kaufobject, ja mitunter sogar tiefere, allen Hindernissen und Gefahren Trotz bietende Herzensneigungen in entscheidender Weise mitwirken. Daher wohnt dem Weiberraube auch ein romantisch-poetisches Moment inne, welches der Eheschliessung durch Kauf abgeht, und gewiss ist es kein blosser Zufall, dass unter den wenigen giljakischen Liedern, die ich erhielt und die mir leider bis auf einzelne Worte unverständlich sind, zwei solche sich befinden, die angeblich von giljakischen Männern (Orkin und Largun) ihren durch Raub erlangten Frauen (Rschywguk und Nymguk) gesungen worden sind.

Noch ein auf den Weiberraub bezüglicher Punkt muss hier berührt werden. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, der als Arzt ein Jahr (1871/72) im giljakischen Theile Sachalin's zugebracht hat, giebt an, dass die Giljaken, um zu heirathen, durchaus verpflichtet seien, das erwählte Mädchen zu stehlen, was fast immer mit ihrer und der Eltern Einwilligung geschehe: die Entführung der Braut bilde bei ihnen das ganze Ceremonial der Eheschliessung; später bringe der Mann seinen Schwiegereltern ein Geschenk dar, das meist aus einer zum Fischfange oder zur Jagd dienlichen Waffe bestehe[2]). Sofern sich diese Angabe auf wirklichen obligatorischen Weiberraub beziehen sollte, bedarf sie nach dem oben Gesagten keiner nochmaligen, besonderen Widerlegung. Dass aber die Giljaken bei ihren Eheschliessungen stets einen scheinbaren Braut- oder Mädchenraub ausführen müssen, der sich als Ueberrest eines ehemals bei ihnen bestandenen obligatorischen Weiberraubes betrachten liesse, muss ich nach Allem, was ich von ihnen darüber gehört, ebenfalls in Abrede stellen. Der Weiberraub ist bei ihnen nie und nimmer eine

1) In solcher Fehde mit einander lagen z. B. zu meiner Zeit die Dörfer Tamula-wo und Telwantigr-wo, an der Liman-Küste Sachalin's, so dass die Bewohner des letzteren, als das viel kleinere, sich sehr vor denen des ersteren zu hüten hatten.

2) Ѳ. Аугустиновичъ, Нѣсколь. Замѣчанія о инородцахъ на остр. Сахалинѣ, С.-Петерб. 1874, стр. 38.

Spielerei, sondern, wie schon erwähnt, als eine Schädigung des Eigenthums, stets eine Sache von blutigem Ernst.

Kehren wir jedoch zur rechtmässigen Eheschliessung bei den Giljaken zurück. Blutsverwandtschaft giebt nur in sehr beschränktem Maasse ein Ehehinderniss ab, indem nur Geschwister und Brüderkinder einander nicht heirathen dürfen. Diese werden auch in der Sprache nicht unterschieden von einander, indem «*ykyn*» und «*atschek*» sowohl älterer und jüngerer Bruder, als auch älterer und jüngerer Vetter väterlicherseits und «*ranah*» ebenso Schwester, wie Cousine väterlicherseits bedeutet, und dem entsprechend auch der Bruder und die Schwester des Vaters mit demselben Wort wie Vater und Mutter, nämlich «*ytyk*» und «*ymyk*» bezeichnet werden. Darüber hinaus aber bildet die Zugehörigkeit beider Theile zum selben väterlichen Geschlecht, die in anderen Beziehungen, wie wir später sehen werden, auch von den Giljaken beachtet wird, bei ihnen kein Hinderniss für die Ehe, wie bei manchen sibirischen Völkern[1]), und andererseits bei den Chinesen[2]) und durch deren Vermittelung in wesentlich entstellter Art auch bei den Golde[3]). Auch die Verschiedenheit der Nationalität ist bei den Eheschliessungen der Giljaken lange nicht so maassgebend, wie man nach der Grundverschiedenheit ihrer Sprache von derjenigen aller ihrer Nachbarn erwarten sollte. Auf dem Continent finden namentlich häufige Eheverbindungen zwischen den Giljaken und ihren nächsten Nachbarn am Amur, den Oltscha, statt, und vornehmlich diesem Umstande ist wohl auch die schon mehrfach hervorgehobene Ausgleichung der Sitten und Gebräuche beider Völker oder, mit anderen Worten, die Giljakisirung der Oltscha zuzuschreiben. In geringerem Grade findet dasselbe auch den Negda gegenüber statt. Zuweilen bringt sich ein Amur-Giljake von seinen Handelsreisen zu den Japanern auch eine Ehefrau aus dem Aino-Volk heim[4]). Dass hingegen umgekehrt eine Amur-Giljakin einen Aino heirathete, dürfte kaum vorkommen, weil diese ihre Insel nicht zu verlassen pflegen und, wenn dies ausnahmsweise geschehen sollte, auch den hohen Brautpreis der Giljaken zu zahlen nicht im Stande sein dürften. Wo aber, wie auf Sachalin, beide Völker unmittelbar neben einander wohnen und auch der Brautpreis geringer ist, da finden, wie schon Mamia Rinsô berichtete[5]), häufige Ehen zwischen ihnen statt und ist auch die Assimilirung zwischen beiden Stämmen ganz ansehnlich.

Sobald der Brautpreis bezahlt worden ist, gilt die Ehe für geschlossen und kann der Mann seine Frau in Empfang nehmen und heimführen. Dies geschieht auch oft ohne Weiteres. Bemitteltere Leute pflegen jedoch zur Feier der Hochzeit ihrer Tochter oder Schwester ein Festmahl auszurichten, an welchem ausser den Angehörigen auch Dorfgenossen und Freunde

1) So z. B. bei den Ostjaken, Samojeden, Lappen (Tylor, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis., aus dem Engl. v. H. Müller, p. 359).

2) Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris 1735, T. III, p. 133. Pauthier, Chine mod. ou descr. de ce vaste Emp. d'après des docum. chinois, I. part., p. 23, 273; 2. part. p. 238. Isnumo, Nurah, C.-Herzeg. 1840, crp. 198.

3) Darüber wird in der Folge nähere Aufklärung gegeben werden.

4) So war, wie schon oben (p. 224) angegeben, die Mutter des reichen Giljaken Judin in Yebetsk ein Aino-Weib.

5) Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 196.

theilnehmen. Desgleichen wird dem abziehenden Ehepaar ein Vorrath an verschiedenen Lebensmitteln, Fisch, Mossj, Beeren, Hirse und drgl. mitgegeben, damit die junge Frau, im Domicil ihres Mannes angelangt, auch dort den Angehörigen, sowie den Haus- und Dorfgenossen ein Festmahl anrichten könne.

In der Regel zieht das junge Ehepaar nach dem Ort, wo der Mann zu Hause ist, d. h. wo seine Eltern oder Brüder leben, und lässt sich je nach Umständen auch bei den einen oder anderen nieder, da die Wohnungen der Giljaken, wie oben geschildert worden, der Art sind, dass sie mehreren Familien Raum bieten. Doch wird das Haus keineswegs immer nur von Verwandten bewohnt, sondern oft auch von manchen anderen Angehörigen des Orts, die etwa an seinem Bau betheiligt gewesen sind, oder in irgend welchen sonstigen Beziehungen zu seinem Besitzer stehen. Die Hausgenossen bleiben zusammen bis durch Anwuchs der Familien der Raum zu eng wird und die Mittel einem Theil derselben gestatten, sich ein anderes Haus, sei es am selben Ort, sei es wo anders zu errichten. Ausser dem allen Hausgenossen gemeinsamen Mittelraum, mit dem Herde in der Erdjurte oder dem Hundetisch in dem nach chinesischem Muster gebauten Winterhause, hat jede Familie ihren besonderen Antheil an den ringsum laufenden Schlafbänken und auch jeder Einzelnstehende seinen bestimmten Platz auf denselben. Doch sind diese Einzeltheile niemals in irgend welcher Weise durch Schirme, Vorhänge oder dergleichen von einander abgegrenzt, und das ganze Innere des Hauses macht stets den Eindruck eines von Allen gemeinsam bewohnten Raumes.

So wenig ein solches Zusammenwohnen aller Hausgenossen in einem Raume der Sittlichkeit im Allgemeinen förderlich sein kann, so muss ich den Giljaken in Beziehung auf letztere doch ein gutes Zeugniss geben. Ja, ich stehe nicht an, sie ihren Nachbarn, den Golde, Orotschen, Aino und noch mehr den übrigen paläasiatischen Völkern gegenüber als ein sittenstrenges Volk zu bezeichnen. Gewiss hängt die grössere Sittenstrenge der Giljaken mit Charaktereigenschaften zusammen, die sie vor jenen Völkern voraus haben, namentlich ihrer grösseren Energie, Selbstbeherrschung und Mässigung, welche sie, wie oben erwähnt[1]), auch beim Branntweingenuss an den Tag legen. Andererseits aber standen die Giljaken im Vergleich mit den anderen Amur-Völkern in sittlicher Beziehung insofern auch stets unter günstigeren Verhältnissen, als ihre Wohnsitze am entferntesten von den beiden ostasiatischen Culturvölkern, den Japanern und Chinesen liegen und diese auch keine Niederlassungen im giljakischen Gebiet haben. Wie demoralisirend diese auf die Eingeborenen wirken, kann man daraus ersehen, dass die Japaner und Chinesen stets ohne ihre Weiber, jene nach Sachalin und diese in das Ussuri- und untere Amur-Land kommen und, mit Branntwein und anderen verführerischen Waaren versehen, unter den Frauen und Töchtern der Aino resp. der Orotschen, Golde und Oltscha sich Concubinen anzuwerben pflegen. Es ist daher nicht bloss in Betreff des Handels, sondern auch in sittlicher Beziehung von wohlthätigen Folgen für die Giljaken gewesen, dass sie den chinesischen Händlern den Eintritt in ihr Land verweigerten, wie es auch ein Zeugniss von ihrer weit-

1) S. oben, p. 488.

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sichtigen Klugheit und Energie war [1]). Mit der Besitznahme des Amur-Landes durch die Russen in den 50-er Jahren änderten sich die Verhältnisse sehr zu Ungunsten der Giljaken, indem diese Besitznahme gerade mit ihrem Gebiet begann und sie zuerst und zumeist in die nächste Berührung mit dem neuen, von Norden an sie herangetretenen Culturvolke gezogen wurden, eine Berührung, die, wie es einem Naturvolk in dergleichen Fällen stets zu ergehen pflegt, in sittlicher Beziehung für sie nur von nachtheiligem Einfluss sein konnte, wie es die späteren Nachrichten von dort auch genugsam bezeugen. Doch ich kehre zu den Verhältnissen und Zuständen zurück, deren ich selbst Zeuge war.

Die Sittenstrenge der Giljaken tritt auch in dem durchweg decenten Betragen der beiden Geschlechter gegen einander, so wie in der Schamhaftigkeit ihrer Weiber und Mädchen zu Tage. Niemals treten einem im Zusammenleben mit ihnen in ihren Häusern unanständige Körperentblössungen, wie sie unter den Aino häufig vorkommen [2]), oder sonstige anstössige Scenen entgegen. Vergehen gegen die Keuschheit, namentlich unter unverheiratheten Leuten, sind natürlich nicht ausgeschlossen, werden aber von den Eltern des Mädchens, das zu Fall gebracht worden ist und einem Kinde das Leben gegeben hat, auf's strengste gerügt. Nach Angabe der Giljaken pflegt die Mutter des Mädchens ihre Tochter in einem solchen Falle körperlich zu züchtigen, während der Vater das Aergerniss dadurch zu beseitigen sucht, dass er das neugeborne Kind tödtet und heimlicherweise bei Seite schafft. Letzteres geschieht namentlich stets, wenn das Kind ein Mädchen ist, ein Knabe hingegen findet noch unter Umständen Erbarmen, und die Chancen des Mädchens, darnach noch an den Mann zu kommen, leiden in diesem Falle auch nur in geringerem Grade.

Obgleich und, wie schon aus dem Vorhingesagten ersichtlich, zum Theil auch weil käuflich geschlossen, nehmen die Ehen der Giljaken meist einen glücklichen oder doch befriedigenden Verlauf. Die eheliche Treue wird streng gehalten. Der Mann wacht eifersüchtig über die Treue seiner Frau, zumal so lange sie jung ist, und diese hütet sich wohl, ihrem Manne Veranlassung zu Argwohn und Verdacht zu geben und seinen Zorn zu wecken. Von sehr heilsamem, die Leidenschaften auf beiden Seiten zügelndem und hemmendem Einfluss ist auch der Umstand, dass der Mann, wenn er seine Frau aus irgend welchen Gründen verstösst und ihren Eltern zurückgiebt, damit keineswegs ein Recht auf Zurückerstattung der für sie gezahlten Gegenstände erlangt, und dass er hingegen eine solche Zurückerstattung wohl beanspruchen darf, wenn die Frau ihn aus eigenem Antriebe verlässt. Diese darf somit in einem solchen Falle keineswegs auf eine freundliche Aufnahme bei ihren Eltern rechnen. Schon aus materiellen Gründen, die bei den Giljaken stets in hohem Grade maassgebend sind, hütet sich daher jeder der beiden Theile die Initiative zur Lösung der Ehe zu ergreifen.

Aehnliche utilitarische Gesichtspunkte liegen zum grossen Theil auch dem friedlichen Zusammenleben von Mann und Weib und der guten Behandlung, welche dieses von jenem erfährt,

1) S. oben, p. 71 und 635.
2) H. Бутенъ, Остр. Сахалинъ и Японія. 1853—54 гг. С.-Петерб. 1872, стр. 55, 56, 70.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

zu Grunde. Der Giljake ist zu praktisch angelegt und zu sehr auf Erhaltung und Mehrung seines Hab und Guts bedacht, um nicht den grossen Nutzen, den ihm die Frau dabei leistet, zu erkennen, und ihre durch emsigen Fleiss, Geschick, Geduld und Erfahrung bedingte kolossale Arbeitsleistung zu schätzen. Fällt ihr doch bei der Theilung der Arbeit zwischen Mann und Frau für das gemeinsame Hauswesen bei Weitem der grösste Theil zu. Der Mann hat im Allgemeinen nur für die Beschaffung der wichtigsten Existenzmittel zu sorgen. Die Jagd, der Stör- und Hausenfang, der Seehunds- und Delphinen-Schlag, sowie der Handel, und namentlich die dazu erforderlichen vielfachen Fahrten und Reisen bilden das Feld seiner ausschliesslichen Thätigkeit. Zwar giebt er sich auch mit dem übrigen Fischfang ab, und zur Zeit des Massenzuges der verschiedenen Lachsarten geschieht dies sogar in einer sehr energischen Weise, allein hiebei kommen ihm schon die Weiber sehr wesentlich zu Hülfe, und die mühsame Arbeit, die kolossale Menge der ans Land gebrachten Fische zu reinigen, zu zergliedern und zum Dörren in der Sonne auf die Gerüste zu hängen, fällt ganz und gar ihnen anheim. Sie bringen, zum Theil mit Hülfe der Kinder, auch alle Wintervorräthe an vegetabilischen Nahrungsmitteln, so weit diese der einheimischen Flora angehören, die verschiedenen essbaren Beeren, Wurzeln, Kräuter, Moose und dergl. zusammen. Das Weib hat ferner den ganzen Haushalt mit Allem, was drum und dran hängt, zu besorgen. Das Einzige, was der Mann unmittelbar dazu thut, ist dass er das erforderliche Brennholz im nächstgelegenen Walde zurecht haut, spaltet und bis vors Haus bringt. Es nach Bedarf ins Haus zu tragen, bleibt aber wiederum den Weibern überlassen, gleichwie sie auch das zum Trinken und Kochen nöthige Wasser herbeitragen müssen, — eine Arbeit, die im Winter und bei schlechtem Wetter in den Dörfern, die in ansehnlicher Höhe über dem Strome liegen, mit vieler Mühe und Anstrengung verbunden ist. Dies sind in der Regel auch die ersten Arbeiten des Tages, da man des Morgens die in der Nacht abgekühlte Behausung wieder erwärmen, die Fischbrühe für die Hunde kochen und diese füttern muss, um sie zu etwaigen Ausfahrten der Männer bereit zu halten. Die Aufbewahrung sämmtlicher Nahrungsvorräthe und die Bereitung der Speisen für die Hausbewohner fällt natürlich ebenfalls ganz den Weibern anheim. Doch nehmen die Giljaken am Morgen und während des Tages meist nur kalte Nahrung zu sich. Die Hauptmahlzeit, zu der es auch warme Speisen zu bereiten giebt, findet erst gegen Abend statt, denn alsdann kehren die Männer von ihren auswärtigen Beschäftigungen zurück und langen bisweilen auch durchreisende Leute an, die mit einem der Hausbewohner in gastfreundlichen Beziehungen stehen und Nachtherberge beanspruchen. Zudem wird durch die Vorbereitungen zu dieser Mahlzeit die Jurte auch in den Wärmezustand versetzt, den der Giljake zur Nacht gern haben mag.

Mehr noch als die Bestellung der Nahrung für Menschen und Hunde nimmt die Bereitung der Kleidung für die ganze Familie die Weiber in Anspruch. Zunächst gilt es, die dazu dienlichen Materialien in den erforderlichen Zustand zu versetzen oder zu beschaffen: die Thierfelle und Häute zu gerben, die ausser zur Kleidung auch zum Ersatz des Fensterglases üblichen Fischhäute zu reinigen, zu stampfen und zu trocknen, das zum Nähen dienliche Garn aus Nesselfasern oder aus Thier- und Fischhäuten zu bereiten u. s. w. Dann folgt das Zuschneiden,

Nähen und Steppen der mannigfaltigen Kleidungsstücke, die nach giljakischem Geschmack, wie wir sahen, stets mit allerhand bunt verschlungenen Stickereien und sonstigem Schmuck und Zierrath versehen werden. Dazu kommen noch manche andere häusliche Arbeiten, wie Bereitung von Hausgeschirr, Schalen, Körben, Eimern aus Birkenrinde, Nähen von Decken und von grossen und kleinen Taschen und Beuteln aus Zeug oder Thierfellen und Häuten zu verschiedenem Gebrauch und dergl. m.

So sieht man die giljakischen Weiber buchstäblich keinen Augenblick ohne Arbeit, während der Mann, von der Jagd oder dem Fischfang zurückgekehrt, viel Zeit in Ruhe und Nichtsthun verbringt und zu Hause überhaupt keine andere Arbeit, als die Anfertigung des zu seinen eigenen Beschäftigungen erforderlichen Geräthes kennt. Da nun dieses auch recht zahlreich und complicirt ist, indem dazu unter Anderem auch all die mannigfaltigen und zum Theil kunstvoll aus Eisen gearbeiteten Lanzen, Messer, Harpunen und dergl. gehören, so sollte man denken, dass es auch dem Manne an häuslicher Arbeit niemals fehlen könne. Allein diese Gegenstände werden keineswegs überall und von jedermann, sondern nur an einigen Orten von sachkundigen Giljaken gemacht und in den Handel gebracht [1]), so dass man nur einen hölzernen Griff oder Schaft zu machen und das Eisen daran zu befestigen braucht, um die Waffe ganz herzustellen. Aehnlich verhält es sich mit den Bogen, Booten und anderem speciell oder zumeist von den Männern gebrauchten Geräth. Die häuslichen Beschäftigungen des Mannes sind daher bei den Giljaken nicht sehr zahlreich und beschränken sich zumeist auf einige Handarbeiten mit dem Messer oder Bohrer zur Herstellung von Schlitten, Schneeschuhen, Thierfallen und anderem Geräth aus Holz oder Knochen, wobei ihm immer noch viel Zeit zum Nichtsthun, Rauchen und Schlafen übrig bleibt.

Die häuslichen Arbeiten und Verrichtungen des Weibes sind aber mit dem, was angeführt worden ist, noch lange nicht erschöpft, denn zu alledem kommen noch die Mutterpflichten, die Pflege und Beschickung der Kinder hinzu. Die Giljaken, Mann wie Weib, finden grosses Wohlgefallen an Kindern und geben ihm nicht selten Ausdruck, obgleich sie im Allgemeinen sehr zurückhaltend in der Aeusserung ihrer Gefühle sind. Niemals habe ich einen Giljaken seiner Frau einen Kuss geben sehen, selbst nicht, wenn er im Begriff stand eine Reise anzutreten, oder von einer solchen zurückkehrte. Hingegen habe ich öfters giljakische Männer, von den Weibern garnicht zu reden, kleine Kinder zärtlich streicheln und küssen sehen. Jeder verheirathete Giljake wünscht sich auch eine möglichst grosse Kinderschaar, und wer sie hat rühmt sich ihrer. In Xyi that Einer mir gegenüber sehr gross mit seinen zahlreichen Kindern, obgleich er auf meine Frage, wie viele ihrer denn seien, nicht mehr zu antworten wusste als: *tammlò*, *tammlò*, d. h. viele, viele. In diese Freude mischt sich jedoch auch ein egoistisch utilitarischer Gesichtspunkt ein, denn an den heranwachsenden Söhnen hat er bald Gehülfen in seinem lukrativen Jagd-, Fischfangs- und Handelsbetriebe, und die Töchter verheissen, von der

1) Ein grosser Theil davon wird auch, wie oben (p. 571) schon erwähnt, in roher Form von den Orokon gekauft und von den Giljaken nur überarbeitet.

Hülfe, die sie im Haushalt leisten, ganz abgesehen, einst einen schönen Brautpreis. Ein unfruchtbares Weib ist daher leicht der Gefahr ausgesetzt, dass der Mann sie verstösst, oder auch neben ihr eine zweite Frau nimmt, die, wenn mit Kindern gesegnet, sie bald ganz in den Hintergrund drängt. Selbstverständlich theilt auch die Frau den Wunsch des Mannes und verschmäht daher kein Mittel, das zu seiner Erfüllung dienen könnte, und der herrschende Aberglaube giebt ihr manche Mittel der Art an die Hand. So habe ich z. B. manche Weiber einen Hündinnenzahn um den Hals tragen sehen, in dem Glauben, dass dies ihnen Fruchtbarkeit verleihen dürfte. Vermuthlich werden auch andere, eigens zu dem Zweck geschnitzte Amulette von den Weibern getragen, doch wüsste ich kein Stück der Art näher zu bezeichnen.

Nach alledem ist es um so auffallender, dass bei den Giljaken in Beziehung auf die Geburt von Kindern eine unmenschlich grausame Sitte besteht, die Sitte nämlich, dass das Weib niemals im Hause niederkommen darf, sondern es dazu, ungeachtet des Wetters und der Tages- und Jahreszeit, stets verlassen muss. Ich habe daran nicht glauben wollen, bin aber selbst Zeuge davon gewesen. Als ich am 24. April (6. Mai) 1855 das Dorf Kuik besuchte und in eines seiner Häuser trat, sah ich ein Weib sich äusserst schwer und mühsam hinausbewegen und auf ein in der Nähe bereitetes Strohlager hinsinken, wo es sogleich von Geburtswehen ergriffen wurde. Der Mann stand vor der Thür, sah eine Weile gelassen hin und ging dann in's Haus zurück, worauf auch ich mich entfernte. Einige Stunden später hörte ich durch einen Giljaken desselben Dorfes, dass die Geburt glücklich erfolgt, das Kind aber bald darnach gestorben sei. Die Mutter blieb am Leben. Die mittlere Temperatur dieses Tages betrug im nahebei gelegenen Nikolajefsk 2°,8 R., das Thermometer zeigte um 7 Uhr Morgens nur 1°,1, stieg um 2 Uhr Nachmittags auf 6°,3 und fiel um 9 Uhr Abends wieder auf 2,0 hinab. Der Strom hatte seine morsche Eisdecke noch nicht abgeworfen, und bei meist leicht bewölktem Himmel wehte ein mässiger Ostwind vom Liman herauf[1]). In den kälteren Jahreszeiten, im Spätherbst und Winter findet die Niederkunft nicht ganz im Freien, sondern in einem zu dem Zweck in der Nähe des Hauses aus Birkenrinde errichteten Zelte statt, wo auch ein kleines Feuer unterhalten werden kann. Bei den niedrigen Wintertemperaturen und argen Schneestürmen im Giljaken-Lande bleibt es aber immerhin eine starke Zumuthung für Mutter und Kind, und ich zweifle nicht, dass die grosse Sterblichkeit unter den giljakischen Kindern und überhaupt die geringe Kopfzahl der Giljaken zum grossen Theil in dieser Unsitte ihren Grund haben. Aus was für Vorstellungen sie entstanden sein könnte, weiss ich nicht zu sagen. Dass sie auf dem Aberglauben beruhe, dem Weibe wohne bei der Niederkunft etwas Unreines inne, ist nicht wahrscheinlich, da es, wie auch Dr. Seeland[2]) und Deniker[3]) bemerken, nach derselben keiner besonderen Reinigung unterworfen wird, sondern nach etwa 8—12 Tagen ohne Weiteres wieder in das Haus zurückziehen darf. Der Erstgenannte meint hingegen, jene

1) Vrgl. dieses Werkes Bd. IV, p. 30.

2) Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze (Russische Revue, herausgegeben von Carl Röttger, XXI Bd. St. Petersburg 1883, p. 129.

3) Vrgl. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde, 3. Aufl. bearb. und herausg. von Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig 1891, Bd. II, p. 43.

Sitte könne mit der Vorstellung der Giljaken zusammenhängen, dass dem Hause, in welchem ein Todesfall sich ereignet, Unglück gebracht werde und es daher abgebrochen werden müsse, wesshalb sie auch Sterbende aus dem Hause hinaustrügen und dort liegen lassen, bis sie todt sind[1]. Möglich, dass sie eine solche Vorstellung haben, es bleibt jedoch noch zu constatiren, dass sie in der That ein Haus, in dem Jemand gestorben ist, abbrechen oder wenigstens verlassen, was namentlich hinsichtlich der grossen und complicirten chinesischen Winterhäuser (Tschadryfs), die durch gemeinsame Arbeit der Dorfgenossen errichtet und meist von mehreren Familien bewohnt werden, noch sehr fraglich erscheint. Ich kann es aus eigener Erfahrung nicht behaupten: während meines Aufenthalts im Nikolajef'schen Posten ereigneten sich zwar im nahebei gelegenen Dorfe Kuik mehrere Todesfälle, ohne dass eines der Häuser verlassen, geschweige denn abgebrochen worden wäre, allein die Betreffenden können auch ausserhalb derselben gestorben sein. Andererseits habe ich einmal auch eine Leiche im Hause liegen sehen, von welcher später gelegentlich des Bestattungsmodus der Giljaken noch die Rede sein wird, allein diese kann auch erst nach dem ausserhalb des Hauses erfolgten Tode wieder hereingebracht worden sein. Findet der von Dr. Seeland vermuthete Zusammenhang der Vorstellungen bei den Giljaken statt, so gäbe dies den Beweis, dass sie bei jeder Geburt zunächst an den wahrscheinlichen Tod, sei es der Mutter oder des Kindes denken, wozu sie ihre eigne barbarische Behandlung der Wöchnerin allerdings auch vollkommen berechtigt. Daneben greifen sie jedoch zu allerhand anderen abergläubischen Handlungen, um eine leichte und glückliche Geburt zu bewerkstelligen. So wird bei Zeiten eine auf den Geburtsakt bezügliche Figur aus Holz geschnitzt (s. Taf. LIV. Fig. 6) und mit kleinen Opfergaben an Nahrungsmitteln, Tabak und dergl. bedacht, um die bösen Geister, die auf die Geburt Einfluss haben könnten, ihr günstig zu stimmen und zu besänftigen.

Der Zutritt zum Zelt, wo die Wöchnerin sich befindet, ist Niemandem gestattet, mit Ausnahme der Wehmutter und sonstiger Hülfe leistender Weiber. Die Durchschneidung der Nabelschnur wird mit einem eigens dazu bestimmten Messer ausgeführt (gil. *kysmrk-* oder *kysskdshakko*, Taf. XXXII, Fig. 5), dessen Stiel mit Schnitzereien besonders reich versehen ist, und das zu nichts Anderem gebraucht werden darf[2]). Offenbar erkennen die Giljaken dieser Handlung eine besonders wichtige Bedeutung zu. An der Stelle, wo das Kind geboren worden, wird es von den Weibern gewaschen und besorgt und bleibt dort überhaupt so lange, bis es, wenn es nicht inzwischen gestorben ist, mit der Mutter ins Haus zieht, wo es ihrer alleinigen Pflege anheimfällt.

Gleich oder wenigstens sehr bald nach seiner Geburt erhält das Kind einen Namen: gewöhnlich schon gegen Abend desselben oder am Morgen des folgenden Tages, je nachdem, ob es am Tage oder in der Nacht geboren worden ist. Das geschieht ohne irgend welche Feierlichkeit, indem der Vater schlechtweg den von ihm oder der Mutter gewünschten Namen nennt, oder

1) Dr. Seeland, l. c. p. 223.

2) Das abgebildete, unserem Museum einverleibte Exemplar erhielt ich aus demselben Dorf Kuik.

auch ein zufällig anwesender Giljake einen Namen vorschlägt und der Vater ihn gutheisst und für sein Kind annimmt. Ausdrücklich muss noch hervorgehoben werden, dass weder bei der Geburt, noch bei der Namengebung irgend welche Schamanenkünste producirt werden. In den meisten Fällen wird die Geburt eines Kindes auch nicht besonders gefeiert. Bemittelte Leute geben jedoch mitunter ihrer Freude über den Zuwachs der Familie auch durch ein Festmahl Ausdruck, das sie mit einigen Dorfgenossen und Freunden theilen.

Ist das Kind etwas grösser geworden, so wird es in eine Wiege (gilj. *tschjakk*) gethan. Diese ist von ganz eigenthümlicher Beschaffenheit: sie besteht nämlich aus einem kahn- oder rinnenförmig ausgehöhlten Holzstück von der Länge und Breite, dass es den Oberkörper des Kindes bis zum Kopf hinan bequem in sich fassen kann. Während sein oberes meist zugespitztes Ende offen bleibt, ist das untere durch ein Querbrettchen geschlossen, das mit mehreren in ein centrales Loch ausmündenden Rinnen versehen ist. Auf dieses Brettchen wird das bis auf das nackte Gesäss in Decken gehüllte Kind gesetzt, so dass der Oberkörper in der Höhlung zu ruhen kommt, worauf ein paar Riemen von einem Rande derselben zum anderen gezogen werden, um es am Herausfallen zu verhindern. Unter der Oeffnung im Sitzbrettchen wird ein zur Hälfte mit Moos oder feinen Hobelspähnen gefülltes Körbchen angebracht und darauf die Wiege an einen Querbalken des Hauses über der Schlafbank aufgehängt (s. Taf. XII). Um aber auch diese vor Beschmutzung durch den aus dem Körbchen etwa durchsickernden Unrath zu bewahren, wird auf dieselbe unter die Wiege ein längliches, mit erhöhten Rändern und mehrfachen, mit Längs- und Querrinnen versehenes Brett (gilj. *mu*, Taf. XXXIV, Fig. 9) gelegt. Die langen Riemen, an denen die Wiege hängt, sind so geschickt gezogen und geschlungen, dass diese nach Belieben in eine höhere oder niedrigere, senkrechte, schräge oder horizontale Lage gebracht werden kann. Zur Beruhigung oder Belustigung des Kindes wird an die Rückseite der Wiege ein Bündel verschiedener kleiner Gegenstände (Blech- und Holzstücke) gehängt, die beim Schaukeln an einander und an die Wiege schlagen und dadurch Lärm und Geklirr verursachen. Zum Theil demselben Zweck dient auch ein zweites Bündel ähnlicher Sächelchen, das so vor die Wiege gehängt wird, dass das Kind darnach greifen kann. Darunter sah ich, im Dorfe Wassj, auch ein Bündel feiner Hobelspähne, ein sogen. *Zach* hängen, das offenbar noch eine besondere Bestimmung hatte, diejenige nämlich, das Kind vor dem Einflusse böser Geister zu bewahren. Endlich wird an einer dem Kinde in der Wiege sichtbaren Stelle ein bei seiner Geburt geschnitztes *Tschaltscha-tschngai* oder genauer *matscherlagu* (Kinder)-*tschaltscha-tschngai*, d. h. eine Holzfigur mit durchweg beweglichen Gelenken (Taf. LV. Fig. 1) aufgehängt, damit das Kind durch Ansehen desselben an allen Gelenken gesund und beweglich bleibe.

Die grosse Beweglichkeit der Wiege macht es der Mutter möglich, das Kind an die Brust zu nehmen, ohne es aus der Wiege zu heben. Die giljakischen Mütter säugen ihre Kinder sehr lange, bis zum 4-ten, 5-ten Jahr und länger, und brechen damit auch nicht auf einmal ab, sondern gestatten es den Kindern, nachdem sie sich bereits an eine andere Kost gewöhnt haben, von Zeit zu Zeit, so oft es ihnen einfällt, wieder an die Mutterbrust zu kommen. So sah ich in Nyi einen Knaben, der angeblich 5 Jahre alt war, nach seinem Wuchs und Benehmen zu ur-

theilen aber auch bereits gegen 7 Jahre zählen mochte, und sowohl Hosen, wie den bei den Giljaken männlichen Geschlechts darunter üblichen Beutel trug, plötzlich seine Beschäftigungen abbrechen und zur Mutter eilen. Diese sass auf der Schlafbank und nähte, der Range blieb auf dem Erdboden vor ihr stehen und erreichte durch sein stürmisches Verlangen, dass sie ihm die Brust reichte. Es erinnerte mich daran, was La Pérouse bei den Orotschen in der Bai de Castries erlebte: er sah dort einen Knaben einen Bogen spannen, einen Pfeil recht gut abschiessen, einen Hund mit dem Stock schlagen und darauf sich auf die Brust der Mutter werfen und wie ein 5—6-monatliches Kind sich benehmen[1]). Daher kommt es bei den Giljaken nicht selten vor, dass ausser dem richtigen Säugling noch ein paar ältere Kinder an der Mutter zehren[2]). Das übermässig lange Stillen der Kinder ist ohne Zweifel auch der Hauptgrund, wesshalb die giljakischen Weiber so frühe altern und verfallen. Ich habe unter ihnen welche gesehen, denen man ihrem runzligen und verfallenen Aussehen nach reichliche 50—60 Jahre geben konnte, und die doch noch ihre Kinder stillten und demnach vermuthlich nur einige 30—40 Jahre alt waren. Und darin liegt sicherlich auch ein Grund der geringen Kopfzahl und des langsamen Anwuchses der giljakischen Bevölkerung.

Wie in der Wiege, so werden die Kinder auch im späteren Alter nur unsauber gehalten, ja sind sie der Wiege entwachsen und laufen sie erst frei umher, so hört auch das Wenige an Säuberung und hygieinische Pflege, das ihnen bis dahin zu gut kam, in der Regel ganz auf. Nur äusserst selten sieht man eine Mutter ihr etwas grösseres Kind waschen, und zwar in der Weise, wie ich es oben[3]) als Augenzeuge an einem Jungen geschildert habe; die Widerspenstigkeit aber, die dieser dabei an den Tag legte und das Geheul, das er von sich gab, bewiesen nur zu deutlich, wie ungewohnt und lästig ihm die ganze Procedur war.

Trotz der ungewaschenen Gesichter und oft auch ungekämmten Haare gehen die giljakischen Kinder doch meist gut und im Winter auch sehr vollständig gekleidet. An der für sie oft bis ins kleinste Detail und mit allem Schmuck und Zierrath in verkleinertem Maassstab ausgeführten Copie der Kleidungsstücke der Erwachsenen sieht man, dass die Mütter es in dieser Beziehung an Mühe und Arbeit für ihre Kinder nicht fehlen lassen und dabei wohl auch der mütterlichen Eitelkeit nicht baar sind. Der Umstand aber, dass man an manchen kleinen Knaben den Pelz und Schurzrock von einem Gürtel zusammengehalten sieht, an dem all' die zahlreichen Utensilien, die der Erwachsene bei sich trägt, *Ngawla*- und *Yi-dshakko*, Feuerstahl, Schwammdose, Pfeifenpurrer u. s. w., nur sämmtlich en miniature aus Holz geschnitzt, hängen, beweist, dass auch die Väter es nicht verschmähen, sich in den Mussestunden mit ihren Kindern abzugeben und unwillkürlich auch ihren Nachahmungstrieb zu wecken. Sonst kann von einer Erziehung

1) La Pérouse, Voyage sur. du monde, T. III, p. 68. Auch die sibirischen Völker säugen ihre Kinder bis ins 4-te und 5-te Jahr; so z. B. die Ostjaken (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Bd. III, p. 53), die Kalmücken (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch., St. Petersb. 1776, Bd. I, p. 167), die Tungusen (Middendorff, Reise etc., Bd. IV, p. 1496) u. a.

2) Bei den Tungusen kommt es nach Middendorff (l. c.) sogar vor, dass sein zehnjähriger Bengel ganz unbefangen der Mutter dem Milchrest des jüngsten Bruders absaugte.

3) S. oben, p. 222.

der Kinder, von einem Anhalten derselben zum Gehorsam, zur Ehrfurcht gegen die Eltern und drgl. m. nicht wohl die Rede sein; sie wachsen eben, ohne dass man sich um sie bekümmerte, nach den Mustern, die sie an den Eltern, Geschwistern und Anderen vor Augen haben, auf.

Wie alle Kinder, so ahmen und äffen auch die giljakischen in ihren Spielen gern die Beschäftigungen, Arbeiten und Unterhaltungen der Eltern und Erwachsenen nach. Zu den frühesten, allgemeinsten und beliebtesten Spielen der giljakischen Kinder gehört das Hin- und Herschieben hölzerner Figuren, die Hunde vorstellen sollen. Bemerkenswerth dabei ist, dass diese Figuren, die nicht im Entferntesten an einen Hund erinnern, allenthalben bei den Giljaken ganz sterotyp dieselben (s. Taf. IX, Fig. 6) und nur hie und da von verschiedener Grösse sind. Ob sie nun von den Eltern oder von älteren Brüdern der Kleinen gemacht werden, eine Nachbildung der Hundegestalt wird bei ihrer Anfertigung offenbar garnicht beabsichtigt. Die Beine des Thieres z. B. sind auch nicht im Geringsten angedeutet — es ist vielmehr nur die conventionell angenommene Darstellung des Hundes als Kinderspielzeug. Oder sollte sie vielleicht, wie man bei ihrer allgemeinen Ueblichkeit unter den Giljaken fast vermuthen möchte, ein Stück alter conventioneller Bildersprache unter ihnen sein? Andere angeblich ebenfalls zur Freude und Kurzweil der Kinder geschnitzte Thierfiguren, wie z. B. diejenige vom Karpfen (gilj. *pilengat*, Taf. IX, Fig. 5.) tragen einen ganz anderen Charakter, indem sie das Bestreben verrathen, ein wirklich ähnliches Bild von dem Thier zu geben. Sobald die Knaben sich frei umhertummeln können, so vergnügen sie sich mit kleinen Bogen und Pfeilen ins Ziel oder auf vermeintliche Thiere zu schiessen, mit den Hundewelpen auf kleinen Schlitten zu fahren, oder alle Manipulationen, welche sie die Erwachsenen an Bären ausführen sehen, getreulich nachzumachen, wobei ein Knabe den Bären vorstellt und sich wie dieser benimmt, die anderen aber ihn genau in der Weise, wie es auf den Bärenfesten bei den Umzügen mit dem Thier geschieht, zu zerren, zu bändigen und wegzuführen suchen, u. s. w. Sehr bald werden sie auch vom Vater oder älteren Bruder zum Aufstellen oder Besichtigen der Thierfallen im Walde, zum Fischfang und drgl. mitgenommen und lernen ihnen die betreffenden Kunstgriffe und was überhaupt dabei zu thun oder zu vermeiden ist ab. Nicht minder machens die Mädchen in ihren Spielen und Beschäftigungen den Müttern und ältern Schwestern nach und sind bald im Stande, ihnen bei den Handarbeiten und allen Verrichtungen im Haushalt hülfreich an die Hand zu gehen.

Bei polygamischer Ehe wohnen alle Frauen in demselben Hause mit ihrem Manne, und eine jede von ihnen hat für sich und für ihre Kinder einen bestimmten Theil der Schlafbänke inne. Die Frauen stehen sich rechtlich ganz gleich und haben auch gemeinsam den Haushalt zu besorgen. Indessen fällt die Arbeitstheilung zwischen ihnen in der Regel doch nicht ganz gleich aus, denn fast immer wird die eine oder die andere der Frauen vom Manne bevorzugt, und dieser fallen dann nur leichtere Arbeiten zu, während alle schwereren von den anderen verrichtet werden müssen. Dabei ist jedoch keineswegs die letztgekaufte oder jüngste Frau allemal die bevorzugte, denn zuweilen soll, wie Jutschin und andre Giljaken mir erzählten, der Mann auch nur deshalb eine zweite oder dritte Frau nehmen, um der ersten, respect. einer von den beiden Frauen, die er schon hatte, das Leben dadurch zu erleichtern, dass er ihr eine

neue, tüchtige Arbeitskraft an die Seite stellt. Ob er seinen Zweck erreicht, hängt dann freilich noch davon ab, ob und wie sich auch die Frauen in die neue Ordnung zu finden und unter einander zu vertragen verstehen. Denn mögen sie noch so wenig eifersüchtig sein, immerhin ist ein friedliches Walten mehrerer Frauen um einen Mann in demselben Raum und im gemeinsamen Haushalt für die Dauer kaum denkbar. Sehr reiche Giljaken, die von der Eitelkeit, mit ihrem Reichthum zu prunken, getrieben, sich den Luxus der Vielweiberei erlauben, greifen daher nicht selten noch zu einem anderen Mittel, ihren Weibern die Arbeit zu erleichtern und ohne den Frieden zu stören die eine oder andere von ihnen bevorzugen zu dürfen. Dieses Mittel besteht darin, zum Zweck der Verrichtung der schwersten Arbeiten im Hause, sich Sklaven, meist weiblichen, mitunter aber auch männlichen Geschlechts zu halten. Darunter sind jedoch keineswegs einzeln stehende Giljaken oder Giljakinnen zu verstehen, die sich einer Familie anschliessen und gegen freie Wohnung und Kost die Verpflichtung übernehmen, die schwersten Arbeiten für's Haus, wie Wassertragen, Brennholzfällen und -spalten und drgl. m. zu verrichten. Solche gewissermaassen in Miethlohn befindliche dienstbare Personen giebt es bei den Giljaken ebenfalls, allein das Verhältniss, in dem sie stehen, ist von ihnen freiwillig geschlossen, kann nach Belieben wieder gelöst werden und raubt ihnen keineswegs die Achtung ihrer Landsleute, noch thut es ihrer gleichberechtigten socialen Stellung unter denselben Abbruch.

Ganz anders verhält es sich mit den Sklaven. Für diese haben die Giljaken eine eigene Bezeichnung: *kryghryss* oder, mit Angabe des Geschlechts, *kryghryss-umgu* — Sklavinnen und *kr.-utgu* — Sklaven männlichen Geschlechts. Zunächst ist hervorzuheben, dass es nie und nimmermehr Giljaken, sondern stets aus den benachbarten Stämmen, Aino und Golde, von ihnen gekaufte Individuen sind. Die meisten Sklaven und besonders Sklavinnen liefern den Giljaken namentlich die Aino (Kughi), in geringerer Zahl die Golde und zwar die «Jant» sowohl wie die «Tscholdok», also die unteren wie die oberen Golde. Noch andere ihnen Sklaven liefernde Stämme wussten mir die Giljaken nicht zu nennen. Bezeichnend genug wird also der schmähliche Verkauf von Mädchen und Knaben ihres Stammes in die Sklaverei nur von den beiden Völkern des Amur-Landes betrieben, die den beiden Culturvölkern Ostasiens, den Japanern und Chinesen unmittelbar benachbart sind und am meisten von ihnen beherrscht und gedrückt werden. Gewiss ist es auch kein blosser Zufall, dass dasjenige Volk, welches selbst das härteste Joch zu erdulden hat, die Aino, dem Sklavenhandel am meisten zugethan ist. Dafür, dass diese Unsitte der Aino und Golde in der sittlichen Verkommenheit wurzelt, in die sie durch das auf ihnen lastende Joch der Japaner und Chinesen gebracht worden sind, spricht endlich auch die Thatsache, dass diese mitunter auch selbst den Verkauf von Aino- und Goldeweibern als Sklavinnen an die Giljaken vermitteln, wozu ihnen die Handelsreisen der letzteren zu ihnen Gelegenheit bieten. Die Giljaken hingegen, die ihre Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit diesen Völkern gegenüber am meisten zu bewahren gewusst haben, kaufen zwar Sklaven von den Aino und Golde und verkaufen sie unter Umständen auch weiter, allein Leute aus ihrem Volk als Sklaven bei sich zu halten oder gar Anderen als solche zu verkaufen verabscheuen sie auf das Entschiedenste. Ja, sie meinten, dass wenn Jemand von ihnen es thun wollte, er damit einen

solchen Unwillen unter seinen Landsleuten erregen würde, dass er keinen Augenblick seines Lebens sicher sein könnte.

Im Ganzen ist die Zahl der Sklaven sowohl, als auch der immer noch häufigeren Sklavinnen unter den Giljaken nur gering. Die Ursache davon liegt in dem hohen Preise, den sie sowohl bei direktem Handel mit den Aino oder Golde, als besonders auch bei ihrem Weiterverkauf durch die Giljaken, kosten. Eine Sklavin zu erhandeln ist viel kostspieliger als eine Frau zu kaufen. So hatte der Giljake Ssogin in Kulk für seine Sklavin, ein Aino-Weib Namens Kot, weit mehr als für seine zweite Frau, Malguk aus Langr, gezahlt: diese hatte er, wie oben angeführt, für 155 Ja = etwa 310 R. gekauft, jene aber kostete ihn, von anderen Dingen abgesehen, 40 Stück chinesischen Seidenzeuges, also an diesem allein 200 Ja oder etwa 400 R. Dabei stand sie an Aeusserem seinen beiden Ehefrauen weit nach. Doch darauf kommt es bei der socialen Stellung der Sklavinnen unter den Giljaken, wie man aus dem Folgenden sehen wird, keineswegs an. Bei so hohem Preise der Sklavinnen können nur sehr reiche Giljaken sich erlauben, welche zu halten, und wer eine hat, der pflegt sehr gross damit zu thun, wie es auch Ssogin that. So beneidenswerth erscheint ihnen ein solcher Besitz, dass mancher Giljake, um ihn zu erlangen, keinen Anstoss darin findet, seinem Landsmann gegen eine Sklavin seine Tochter als Eheweib zu verkaufen und das am Kaufpreise Fehlende in anderer Form zuzuzahlen. Sklaven männlichen Geschlechts sind billiger, aber auch minder begehrt, hauptsächlich wohl aus dem Grunde, weil sie minder anstellig und träger und darum auch weniger nützlich fürs Haus als die Sklavinnen sind, und daneben vielleicht auch weil sie, trotz der ihnen beschiedenen inferioren Stellung, doch Veranlassung zur Eifersucht des Hausherrn geben könnten.

Die Sklaven und Sklavinnen stehen bei den Giljaken ihren Herrn gegenüber in dem Verhältniss einer vollkommen rechtlosen Leibeigenschaft: sie sind nichts mehr als Hausthiere in menschlicher Gestalt, die man nur aus dem Grunde menschlich behandelt, um sie leistungsfähig zu erhalten und seinen Besitz nicht zu schmälern, nach Belieben aber auch veräussert. Natürlich fallen ihnen alle schweren Arbeiten im Hause zu, wie Holzfällen und -spalten, Wassertragen, Hundefüttern und was ihnen sonst anbefohlen wird, denn sie haben überhaupt nur zu gehorchen und zu dienen. Wo daher eine Sklavin im Hause ist, wird die Haushaltung fast ausschliesslich von ihr besorgt, die Frauen des Hausherrn hingegen geben sich nach Belieben nur mit Handarbeiten, Pflege der Kinder oder sonstigen Beschäftigungen ab. Nicht die viele und schwere Arbeit ist es jedoch, was das Loos der Sklaven und besonders der Sklavinnen unter den Giljaken so schwer macht, sondern ihre völlige Rechtslosigkeit, sowie die Verachtung, der sie allenthalben begegnen und die sich u. A. auch darin ausspricht, dass sie grundsätzlich und consequent von jeder Gemeinschaft mit ihrer Umgebung ausgeschlossen bleiben. Kein Giljake darf eine Sklavin heirathen, ja er darf auch einem anderen Giljaken keine Sklavin verkaufen, wenn dieser die Absicht äussert sie zu heirathen. Nicht minder ist auch die Benutzung einer Sklavin als Concubine bei den Giljaken streng verpönt: wollte Einer sich so etwas erlauben, so würde er nicht bloss das ganze Ansehen, das ihm der Besitz einer Sklavin,

als Zeichen grossen Reichthums, einträgt, vollkommen einbüssen, sondern auch einen allgemeinen Sturm der Entrüstung unter seinen Landsleuten hervorrufen. Gewiss spricht dies auch für die Sittenstrenge der Giljaken. Andrerseits macht es die Sklavinnen dem Hause erst recht nützlich, denn bei solcher Stellung können sie die Eifersucht der Frau oder der Frauen ihres Besitzers nicht erregen und somit ihrerseits auch keinen Unfrieden in's Haus tragen, wie er bei der Polygamie nur allzuhäufig vorkommt. Vielleicht ist das auch mit ein Grund, wesshalb ihr Besitz den Giljaken so beneidenswerth erscheint und ihr Kaufpreis bei ihnen so hoch steht. Uebrigens wird ein Giljake auf die Frage, wie viel Weiber (*umgu*) er habe, nicht ermangeln seine Sklavin mitzuzählen, um so mehr als er für diese mehr als für die Frau oder eine seiner Frauen gezahlt hat und sie auch mehr zu seinem Ansehen beiträgt. Das kann leicht zu falschen Vorstellungen über den Umfang der Polygamie bei ihnen führen, und es bedarf daher stets der weiteren Fragen: wie viele der Weiber seine *wanch* (Ehefrauen) oder *dshangi-mutsch-umgu* (herrenmässige Weiber oder Frauen) und wie viele nur *kryghryss-umgu* (Sklavinnen) seien, um zu einem richtigen Verständniss seines Ehestandes zu gelangen.

So streng auch die Sitte der Giljaken den geschlechtlichen Umgang mit einer Sklavin verurtheilt, so wird sie, namentlich von jüngeren und unverheiratheten Leuten, doch nicht immer beobachtet. Nie und nimmermehr wird jedoch ein Giljake, wenn eine Sklavin einem Kinde das Leben giebt, sich als Vater desselben zu erkennen geben, und den Worten der Sklavin wird natürlich kein Glauben geschenkt. So gilt das Kind als dem Stamme der Mutter angehörig und fällt, ebenfalls als *kryghryss*, ihrem Besitzer anheim, der es neben der Mutter aufwachsen lässt und, wenn es erwachsen, als *kryghryss* verkauft. Ereignet sich hingegen der viel seltenere Fall, dass ein giljakisches Mädchen mit einem Sklaven Umgang pflegt und ein Kind zur Welt bringt, so wird der Vater ignorirt, die Mutter aber gezüchtigt und das Kind als unehelich umgebracht und beseitigt. Dagegen gestattet der Giljake nicht ungern eine Ehe zwischen seinen männlichen und weiblichen *kryghryss*, ja wenn er eine Sklavin besitzt, so kauft er wohl auch selbst einen Sklaven hinzu und lässt sie eine Ehe eingehen, weil die etwaigen Kinder aus derselben ihm als *kryghryss* zufallen und als solche verwerthet werden können. So hat der Giljake zwar nichts gegen eine Assimilirung mit den Nachbarvölkern durch Mischehen, sein Nationalstolz weigert sich aber entschieden gegen eine Vermischung mit den aus diesen Völkern hervorgegangenen Sklaven und die Entstehung von solchen aus seiner eigenen Mitte, und gefällt sich hingegen, von der Gewohnheit kräftig unterstützt, im Besitz und in der Ausnutzung von Sklaven aus den benachbarten Stämmen.

Hier muss bemerkt werden, dass der japanische Reisende Mamia Rinsô die eben geschilderten Verhältnisse und namentlich die Stellung der Sklaven unter den Giljaken entweder nicht durchschaut, oder absichtlich in einem anderen Lichte dargestellt und dadurch Veranlassung zu ganz falschen Vorstellungen über ihren Haus- und Ehestand gegeben hat. Gelegentlich seines Aufenthalts unter den Smerenkur (Giljaken) am Cap Noteito an der Westküste

Sachalin's[1]) sagt er nämlich «es sei dort zu Lande Gebrauch, dass die Frauen über die Männer befehlen, diese gleichsam wie ihre Diener behandeln und durch sie alle Arbeiten verrichten lassen. Er selbst, heisst es weiter, habe sich auch unter das Joch der Hausfrau beugen müssen und sich von ihr gleich den übrigen sein Tagewerk auflegen lassen; doch da die Hausfrau sich gegen ihn besonders wohlgeneigt zeigte, so wurden ihre übrigen Männer eifersüchtig, und er, der dies sehr gut merkte, hütete sich wohl, sich in Dinge einzulassen, die er hätte geheim halten müssen, sondern beschäftigte sich bloss mit häuslichen Arbeiten unter den Augen der andern Männer, und gewann sich durch diese Bescheidenheit das Vertrauen und die Achtung jener, die ihn mit Fleisch und Fischen beschenkten»[2]).

Wie Siebold[3]) auf Grund dieser Angaben Rinsô's die Vermuthung aussprechen konnte, dass die durch Steller und Krascheninnikof bekannten Kojektschutsch oder Kojachtschitsch der Kamtschadalen, d. i. an Stelle von Weibern sich gebrauchen lassende Männer[4]), auch unter den Giljaken zu finden seien, ist nicht zu verstehen. Es genüge daher die Bemerkung, dass weder mir, noch, so viel ich weiss, einem andern Reisenden im Amur-Lande irgend welche Anzeichen von der Existenz dieser Unsitte unter den Giljaken begegnet sind, und dass Siebold's Vermuthung somit vollkommen hinfällig ist. Berechtigter erscheint auf den ersten Blick seine aus derselben Angabe Rinsô's gezogene Schlussfolgerung, dass bei den Smerenkur auf Krafto (Giljaken Sachalin's) Polyandrie bestehe. «Die Nordwestküste von Krafto, fügt er hinzu, wäre demnach das einzige Land der Erde, in welchem Polyandrie nach Gesetz oder Sitte dermalen in Uebung wäre». Dennoch trifft, wie man aus den obigen Schilderungen ersehen kann, auch diese Schlussfolgerung keineswegs zu: nirgends, weder auf Sachalin, noch auf dem Festlande, herrscht unter den Giljaken Polyandrie. Wie lässt sich aber dann die oben angeführte Nachricht des japanischen Reisenden, die von den «übrigen» und den «andern Männern» der giljakischen «Hausfrau» zu Noteito spricht, erklären? Die auch in diesen Blättern mehrfach hervorgehobene Glaubwürdigkeit Mamia Rinsô's gestattet nicht, die in Rede stehende Nachricht schlechtweg als Erfindung abzuweisen. Giebt er doch auch bei Besprechung des uns im Augenblick beschäftigenden Hausstandes der Giljaken einen neuen Beleg von seiner Glaubwürdigkeit, indem er die bei ihnen übliche eigenartige Kinderwiege genau so beschreibt[5]), wie es auch hier geschehen[6]). Unabweislich drängt sich mir aber die Annahme entgegen, dass in dem Falle, um den es sich jetzt handelt, persönliche Motive von Seiten des Reisenden im Spiele waren und die unklare, verschiedener Deutung fähige Fassung der Nachricht veranlasst haben. Genöthigt unter den Smerenkur (Giljaken) am Cap Noteito auf eine günstige Gelegenheit zu warten, um die beabsichtigte, im Jahre vorher misslungene Reise nach Tôtats (dem gegenüber-

1) Das Cap Noteito ist auf der von Siebold (l. c. Taf. XXV) wiedergegebenen Karte Mamia Rinsô's gemeint, auf derjenigen Mogami-Tok'nai's aber etwa schräg gegenüber der Taba-Bucht oder dem Eingange in die Taba-Kidoi-Strasse (s. oben, p. 614) angegeben.

2) Mamia Rinsô, Tô-tsitsikio, in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 169.

3) L. c. p. 198.

4) Steller, L. c. p. 281, Anm. Krascheninnikof, l. c. p. 40. S. auch oben, p. 234, Anm. 2.

5) L. c. p. 191.

6) S. oben, p. 642.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

liegenden Festlande) auszuführen, und aller Lebensmittel baar, sah Mamia Rinsô sich gezwungen, um sein Leben zu fristen, in dem Hause, wo er Unterkunft fand, allerhand Arbeiten, wie Holzhauen und drgl. zu verrichten. Er trat also zeitweise in die Reihe der gegen Wohnung und Beköstigung dem Hause zu Dienstleistungen verpflichteten Personen ein und musste sich bequemen, gleich den «andern» und «übrigen» in ähnlicher Stellung befindlichen Männern, darunter auch den Sklaven, nach den Befehlen der im Hause schaltenden Frau zu handeln und von ihr «wie ein Diener» behandelt zu werden. Hiebei ist weder an Polyandrie, noch an eine befehlende Stellung der Frau ihrem Manne gegenüber zu denken. Stolz und Eitelkeit und vielleicht auch Furcht vor seiner Regierung verhinderten aber wohl den Reisenden, die unwürdige und demüthigende Stellung und Behandlung, die er sich unter den Smerenkur hatte gefallen lassen, in seinem Bericht voll und unumwunden einzugestehen und bewogen ihn, die Sache in einem durch die angebliche Sitte des Volks gemilderten Lichte darzustellen. Schildert er doch auch die Frauen der Smerenkur in einem idealeren Licht, indem er sagt, dass ihr Angesicht und ihre Haut durch tägliches Waschen ausnehmend zart und schön seien, während in Wirklichkeit die giljakischen Weiber auf Sachalin in Folge ihres Aufenthalts in den engeren, dunkleren und russigeren Erdhütten eher noch schmutziger als auf dem Festlande aussehen.

Wenn aber Mamia Rinsô es auch vermeidet, gelegentlich seiner dienstbaren Stellung unter den Smerenkur von Sklaven zu reden, so weiss er doch recht gut von der Existenz solcher bei ihnen. Denn von den Bewohnern des südlichen Krafto (Aino) erzählt er[1]) dass sie im Handel mit den Santanern, also Giljaken, Oltscha und Golde, «häufig sogar Menschen verkaufen, und zwar Wittwen und Wittwer, ledige Leute, Waisen und Bedürftige; für einen Kopf werden 3—4, oft 6—7 Stück Goldstoff gezahlt, junge und dumme Leute aber, die man zu keinem Dienst gebrauchen kann, werden für grobe Güter eingetauscht». Auch die Aino von Jesso und der Insel Risiri kommen ihm zufolge nach Sachalin herüber, um dort Menschen der erwähnten Stände zu verkaufen. «Daher kommt es, fügt er hinzu, dass man im Lande der Smerenkur tätowirte Frauen antrifft» — ein ganz richtiger Schluss, denn bei den Giljaken ist, wie schon dargethan[2]), die Tätowirung keineswegs üblich. Diese Mittheilungen Rinsô's über den Sklavenhandel der Aino stimmen mit unseren obigen vollkommen überein und ergänzen sie wesentlich, seine letztere Bemerkung aber macht es unzweifelhaft, dass nicht bloss die Giljaken des Festlandes, sondern auch diejenigen Sachalin's Sklaven oder doch Sklavinnen bei sich halten, welche die letzteren wohl ausschliesslich von den Aino beziehen. Ausser durch Kauf setzen sich jedoch die Santaner, wie Rinsô erzählt, auch auf andere, gewaltsamere Weise in den Besitz von Sklaven, indem sie die Brüder, Schwestern und Kinder solcher Aino, die ihnen im Handel die Zahlung schuldig geblieben sind und diese Schuld auch im folgenden Jahre, wenn sie wiederkommen, nicht entrichten können, als Unterpfand in ihr Land wegführen. Dass sie dort zu Sklaven werden, ist selbstverständlich. Die japanische Regierung, welche die unbeschränkte Herrschaft über das südliche Sachalin und seinen Haupthandelsort Sairanussi hatte, sah sich

1) L. c. p. 186 und 187. 2) S. oben, p. 419 ff.

nicht verpflichtet, diesem Unwesen Einhalt zu thun, das erst mit dem Uebergange der Insel in russischen Besitz aufgehört hat.

Bevor ich in der Schilderung der Familienverhältnisse der Giljaken weiter gehe, sei es mir gestattet, zur Vergleichung einige Data über die Sklaverei bei anderen paläasiatischen Völkern einzuschalten. So schmachvoll der von den Aino geübte Verkauf von Stammgenossen als Sklaven an die Giljaken und Oltscha ist, so verlautet doch nichts darüber, weder durch Rinsô, noch durch andere Reisende, dass sie auch selbst Leute aus ihrem Stamm als Sklaven bei sich hielten. Was sie daran verhinderte, ob eigene Gutmüthigkeit und Schwachheit, oder ein Verbot der als Alleinherrscher sich benehmenden Japaner, mag dahingestellt bleiben. Schlimmer stand und steht es, wie es scheint, noch jetzt in dieser Beziehung bei den Koreanern. Witsen[1]) theilte nach den Erzählungen der gefangenen Holländer mit, dass sie viele Sklaven und Sklavinnen halten, manche Herren einige Hundert, die sämmtlich aus ihrem eigenen Volke stammen. Nach Dallet[2]) hat sich ihre Zahl in der Folgezeit mehr und mehr vermindert, aber die Unsitte besteht noch, indem arme Leute sich selbst oder ihre Kinder als Sklaven verkaufen, ferner die von einer Sklavin geborenen, sowie die ausgesetzten Kinder dem Sklavenstande verfallen, und es endlich auch dem Staate gehörige Sklaven giebt. Man wird hierin den Einfluss des unmittelbar benachbarten China's nicht verkennen, wo es bekanntlich ganz ebenso hergeht[3]). Bei den nördlicheren paläasiatischen Völkern ist die Sklaverei in der Regel dadurch entstanden, dass Kriegsgefangene und also Individuen fremden Stammes zu Sklaven gemacht und besonders Weiber und Mädchen dem Feinde geraubt wurden, um als Frauen und Concubinen zu dienen. So war es bei den Itälmonen, Korjaken[4]) und Aleuten, bevor sie von den Russen unterworfen wurden. Die Aleuten zeichneten sich dabei besonders durch Unmenschlichkeit gegen ihre Sklaven aus, indem sie bei festlichen Gelegenheiten zuweilen eine Menge von ihnen hinschlachteten[5]). Von den Tschuktschen, die ihre Unabhängigkeit und Eigenart am längsten bewahrt haben, berichtete noch Wrangell[6]), dass es bei ihnen, und zwar den wandernden sowohl wie bei den an der Meeresküste sesshaften, eine Art Leibeigenschaft oder Sklaverei giebt, indem die Wohlhabenderen von Alters her ganze Knechtsfamilien besitzen, die sich von ihnen nicht entfernen dürfen, kein Eigenthum haben, und ganz von der Willkür ihrer Gebieter abhängen, welche sie zu den schwersten Dienstleistungen und Arbeiten gebrauchen und dafür ernähren und kleiden. Ueber den Ursprung dieser Sklaven konnte Wrangell zwar nichts Positives erfahren, hält es aber für wahrscheinlich, dass sie Abkömmlinge ehemaliger Kriegsgefangenen und also fremden Stammes sind. Aus dem Umstande aber, dass sie von Alters her und in ganzen Familien be-

1) Noord en Oost Tartarye, Amsterdam 1785, p. 38.

2) Histoire de l'église de Corée précédée d'une introd. sur l'hist., les institut., la langue, les mœurs et cost. coréennes, Paris 1874. Angezeigt in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1875, p. 113.

3) Vrgl. z. B. Nieuhof, Die Gesantsch. der Ost-Indien, Geschich. in den verein. Niederlanden an dem Tartar. Cham etc. Amsterdam 1668, p. 293. Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Paris 1735, T. III, p. 128. Іакинфъ, Китай, С.-Петерб. 1840, стр. 337, 338. u. A.

4) Steller, l. c. p. 235.

5) Лисянскій, Зап. объ остр. Уналаска. Отд. ч. II, стр. 82—98.

6) Врангель, по сѣв. бер. Сиб. и ледов., ч. II, стр. 339, 340

stehen, darf man folgern, dass die Tschuktschen sich auch von der Vermischung mit ihnen fern halten und weder Ehen, noch Concubinate mit ihren Sklavinnen eingehen. Bei den Tschuktschen scheint somit ein ähnliches Verhalten den Sklaven gegenüber wie bei den Giljaken zu bestehen, und es bietet sich daher in diesem Verhalten wie in den Motiven dazu, dem lebhafteren Nationalbewusstsein und Freiheitssinn, eine ähnliche Parallele zwischen diesen beiden Völkern dar, wie in ihrem oben (p. 613) besprochenen unternehmenden Handelsgeist und ihrer ausgebreiteten Handelsthätigkeit.

Einen ferneren Einblick in die Familienverhältnisse der Giljaken gewährt uns das bei ihnen bestehende Erbrecht. Dass es nur die männlichen Familienglieder bedenkt, die weiblichen aber nicht blos leer ausgehen lässt, sondern sogar als Erbschaftsobjekt behandelt, versteht sich nach dem, was oben über die Ehe gesagt worden, fast von selbst. Die nächsten und, wenn sie vorhanden, einzigen Erben eines Giljaken sind seine Söhne, und zwar fällt ihnen das Gut des Vaters ohne Rücksicht auf ihre Altersfolge in ganz gleichen Theilen zu, — eine Gepflogenheit, die insofern besonders bemerkenswerth ist, als die giljakische Sprache für den ältesten der Brüder eine besondere Bezeichnung (*ykkyn*) im Gegensatz zu den jüngeren (*atschck*) hat. Die Frau und die Töchter, ob verheirathet oder unverheirathet, haben keinen Antheil am Erbe. Die erstere fällt, wenn sie durch ihr Alter der Eventualität einer nochmaligen Heirath entrückt ist, der Fürsorge ihrer Söhne anheim; die verheiratheten Töchter sind in den Verband anderer Familien getreten, nachdem sie durch den ihrem Vater für sie gezahlten Kaufpreis das nunmehr ihren Brüdern zufallende Erbe vermehrt haben, und die unverheiratheten Töchter werden fortan Eigenthum ihrer Brüder und müssen, wenn ein Freier sich findet, von ihnen gekauft und der Kaufpreis zwischen diesen wiederum gleich getheilt werden. Stirbt einer der Brüder unverheirathet, so beerben ihn die übrig gebliebenen ebenfalls zu gleichen Antheilen. Dasselbe geschieht auch, wenn unter mehreren selbständig gewordenen Söhnen eines Giljaken einer noch zu Lebzeiten des Vaters unverheirathet stirbt; dem letzteren kommt nichts zu gut, denn unter keinen Umständen darf ein Vater seinen Sohn beerben.

Anders lautet das Erbrecht, wenn von mehreren Brüdern einer stirbt, der verheirathet gewesen ist und ein Weib oder auch Weib und Kind, und zwar noch unerwachsene Töchter und Söhne hinterlässt. Ist nur eine Wittwe hinterblieben, so fällt sie mit Allem, was ihr Mann und sie hatten, dem nächstfolgenden Bruder ihres verstorbenen Mannes und zwar als Frau anheim, gleichviel ob dieser noch unverheirathet ist, oder auch schon eine oder mehrere Frauen hat. Dies beweist am besten, dass die Giljaken der Polygamie principiell keineswegs abgeneigt sind und nur aus praktisch-ökonomischen Gründen meist in monogamischer Ehe leben. Dasselbe geschieht auch, wenn eine Wittwe mit unerwachsenen Töchtern oder auch diese allein hinterbleiben: letztere werden gewissermaassen als auch zum Vermögen ihrer Eltern gehörig angesehen, sie fallen somit auch dem nunmehrigen zweiten Manne ihrer Mutter als Erbe zu und können, wenn sie mannbar geworden und Freier sich einstellen, nur gegen Zahlung an ihn gekauft werden. Sind hingegen mit der Wittwe auch unerwachsene Söhne hinterblieben, so erbt ihr Schwager zwar sie und die Töchter, das Vermögen ihres verstorbenen Mannes aber fällt

ihm nur zeitweilig, zur Nutzniessung anheim und muss ihren Söhnen, sobald sie erwachsen sind, als ihr Eigenthum überliefert werden.

Die Ehe der Wittwe mit ihrem Schwager ist übrigens nicht durchaus obligatorisch: findet sich ein Mann, der sie heirathen möchte, so kann er sie unter Einwilligung ihres Schwagers und gegen Entrichtung einer von diesem bestimmten Zahlung bekommen und, wie es in der Regel bei den Giljaken geschieht, auch ihre Kinder mitnehmen. Doch darf er diese, wenn sie erwachsen sind und von ihren väterlichen Verwandten zurückverlangt werden, nicht zurückhalten, sondern ist verpflichtet, sie ohne irgend welche Entschädigung oder Beeinträchtigung ziehen zu lassen.

War jedoch der Verstorbene der jüngste von den Brüdern, so erben seine älteren Brüder zwar sein Vermögen, die Wittwe aber fällt keinem von ihnen anheim, sondern darf nach ihrem Belieben jeden etwaigen Bewerber heirathen, ohne dass dieser ihren Schwägern für sie etwas zu zahlen hätte. In Beziehung auf ihre Kinder aus erster Ehe gelten aber die oben erwähnten Bestimmungen.

In den letzterwähnten Fällen, wo Weib und Kind wenigstens zum Theil das Erbschaftsobjekt bilden und daher das Princip der Gleichtheilung zwischen allen Brüdern nicht wohl eingehalten werden kann, giebt somit das giljakische Erbrecht nicht dem älteren, sondern dem jüngeren Bruder den Vorzug. Trotzdem also der älteste Bruder durch eine besondere Bezeichnung von den jüngeren unterschieden wird, sind diese beim Erbrecht thatsächlich doch die Bevorzugten.

Wenn endlich ein Giljake stirbt und weder Söhne, noch Brüder da sind, welche die Erbschaft antreten könnten, so geht diese auf die nächsten männlichen Verwandten des Verstorbenen, also Bruders- und Vaterbruderssöhne, oder Neffen und Vettern ersten und zweiten Grades, jedoch immer nur väterlicherseits, über. Die Giljaken sagen, das Erbe käme in diesem Falle dem *kall* des Verstorbenen zu. Zur Erklärung dafür muss ich anführen, dass sie einen wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen den Verwandten von väterlicher und denen von mütterlicher Seite machen: jene heissen *ngafk* und werden allein für blutsverwandt gehalten, diese dagegen werden nur *ámal* oder *ármal* genannt, was auch so viel wie «Freunde» bedeutet. Daher ist der Vokativ *amalá*, Freund, die gewöhnliche Anrede, deren sich die Giljaken sowohl unter einander, als auch Fremden gegenüber bedienen und die man auch ihnen gegenüber gebraucht, während das viel mehr sagende *naifká* nur selten zu hören ist, und auch nur wenn sie mit einander sprechen. Die Gesammtheit der *ngáfk's*, der väterlicherseits Verwandten eines Giljaken, bildet seinen *kall*. Dieses Wort bedeutet jedoch nicht bloss Stamm, Geschlecht, Sippe, sondern auch Name. Ein *kall* ist somit genau dasselbe wie bei uns ein denselben väterlichen oder Familiennamen tragendes Geschlecht. Es ist das goldische *hala*, das ursprünglich auch nur ein Familienverhältniss bezeichnete, später aber, durch die Mandshu-Regierung zu administrativen Zwecken benutzt, eine weit über die Familie hinaus gehende Bedeutung erhielt, die im nächsten Abschnitt ausführlicher auseinandergesetzt werden soll. Die Giljaken jedoch, die der Mandshu-Herrschaft stets ferner standen, sind davon nur kaum betroffen wor-

den und halten an ihrem ursprünglichen auf die Familie in der oben bezeichneten Weise beschränkten Begriffe des *kall* fest.

Demnach liesse sich erwarten, dass sie auch besondere Namen für ihre verschiedenen Geschlechter besitzen, und ich zweifle in der That nicht, dass sie welche haben. Dennoch habe ich sie nie einen solchen brauchen hören. Das liegt aber vielleicht daran, dass in der Regel nur die nächsten Glieder eines *kall* in persönlichen Beziehungen zu einander stehen, und diese sind sich ihrer Zugehörigkeit zum selben Geschlecht auch ohne den gemeinsamen Geschlechtsnamen bewusst. Zudem wird die praktische Bedeutung dieser Zugehörigkeit für die Giljaken noch dadurch erheblich geschmälert, dass sie bei einer der wichtigsten Familienangelegenheiten, der Eheschliessung, gar keine Rolle spielt, indem bei ihnen, wie schon erwähnt[1]), anders als bei manchen anderen Völkern, auch Glieder eines und desselben *kall* einander heirathen dürfen. Aus den angeführten Bestimmungen des Erbrechts der Giljaken geht zur Evidenz hervor, wie sehr bei ihnen das männliche Geschlecht über das weibliche gesetzt und vor diesem bevorzugt wird. Hat doch das Weib nach diesen Bestimmungen nicht bloss kein Recht auf ein Erbe, sondern wird selbst noch vererbt, zuerst als Mädchen vom Vater auf die Brüder und dann als Wittwe auf den nächstfolgenden Bruder ihres verstorbenen Mannes, so dass sie somit niemals selbst über ihre Hand verfügen kann. Es bleibt ihr daher nur übrig, sich als Frau und Mutter durch die ihr von der Natur verliehenen Mittel und Gaben eine einflussreiche und geachtete Stellung im Hause zu erobern, und das gelingt ihr auch unter den Giljaken in nicht unbeträchtlichem Masse.

Ein sehr ähnliches Erbrecht wie bei den Giljaken findet sich auch bei einem anderen paläasiatischen Volke, den wandernden Korjaken, deren Hauptbesitz in ihren Rennthierheerden besteht. Nach Ditmar[2]) erben auch bei ihnen nur die Söhne, und zwar in gleichen Theilen, das Vermögen des Vaters, den Töchtern aber werden nur die Rennthiere ausgeliefert, die von den bei ihrer Geburt ihnen geschenkten Thieren abstammen. Auch bei ihnen theilen sich ferner beim Tode eines unverheiratheten Bruders die übrig gebliebenen zu gleichen Theilen in seinen Nachlass. War aber der Verstorbene verheirathet und hinterlässt er eine Wittwe, so fällt sie seinem jüngsten Bruder als Frau zu, wenn er unverheirathet oder Wittwer ist, und wenn dies nicht der Fall ist, dem zweitjüngsten, dem drittjüngsten, und s. f., immer unter derselben Bedingung. Niemals hingegen darf sie das Weib eines älteren oder bereits verheiratheten Bruders ihres verstorbenen Mannes werden. Findet sich daher unter ihren Schwägern keiner, der diesen beiden Bedingungen entspricht, so wird sie frei und darf einen beliebigen Fremden heirathen[3]).

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1) S. oben, p. 638.

2) Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., T. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull. T. III, p. 33.

3) Die Sitte, dass die Wittwe des älteren Bruders dem jüngeren zufällt, derjenige des jüngeren aber frei wird, findet sich auch bei den Samojeden des Turuchanskischen Gebiets (Крашенинниковъ, Енисейск. окр. Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. 1863, I, Изд. 2 Мат. стр. 178. Трогаскинъ, Тунгузск. прав. Зап. Русск. Геогр. Общ. По отд. Геогр. Т. I, 1868, стр. 463); bei den Jakuten (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 190) u. a. Völkern Sibiriens.

Principiell stimmt also das giljakische Erbrecht mit dem korjakischen sehr überein, ist aber bei alledem doch noch um einige Grade ungünstiger für das weibliche Geschlecht.

Sahen wir vorhin die väterlicherseits Verwandten bei den Giljaken Rechte geniessen, die den mütterlicherseits Verwandten nicht zukommen, so liegen ihnen andererseits auch Pflichten ob, welche die letzteren nicht haben, und sie erst recht als blutsverwandt kennzeichnen. Diese Verpflichtung tritt bei Ausübung der unter den Giljaken herrschenden Blutrache ein. Wie alle Naturvölker halten auch die Giljaken an dem Grundsatze fest, dass eine jede Blutthat, die an einem Menschen verübt worden, eine Vergeltung in ebenfalls blutiger Weise, sei es von ihm selbst oder von seinen Angehörigen erfordert. Und nicht minder sind sie des festen Glaubens, dass, wenn dieser Forderung nicht entsprochen wird, der oder diejenigen, die sich der Unterlassung schuldig gemacht haben, zur Strafe dafür mit Unglück, Ungemach aller Art, ja gar mit dem Tode zu büssen haben werden. Diese allgemein unter ihnen verbreitete Vorstellung übt bei Verübung von Blutthaten auf das Verhalten beider Theile, des aktiven wie des passiven, einen mächtigen, maassgebenden und nachhaltigen Einfluss aus. Im Interesse des Angreifenden liegt es daher, seine That aus dem Hinterhalte, in möglichst unerwarteter und überraschender Weise auszuführen und darauf in schleuniger Flucht ein sicheres, Schutz bietendes Versteck zu erreichen, um auf diese Weise nicht bloss der sofortigen Rache zu entgehen, sondern dem Gegner die Ausführung derselben auch in Zukunft zu erschweren oder gar unmöglich zu machen und ihn dadurch den unvermeidlichen, bösen Folgen einer unterlassenen Blutrache preiszugeben. Meistens führt daher der Giljake eine im Herzen beschlossene Blutthat in der hinterlistigsten Weise mit dem ngawla-dshakko, dem grossen Messer aus, das beständig am Gürtel getragen, den wenigsten Verdacht erregt und das er am leichtesten dem Gegner, während er in scheinbarem Frieden neben ihm sitzt und eine Mahlzeit verzehrt oder auch eine Pfeife raucht, unvermerkt in die Seite stossen kann. In sein Heimathsdorf geflüchtet, vermeidet er hinfort, den Ort, wo er die Blutthat verübt, wieder zu betreten und geht seinen Insassen auch andrer Orten sorgsam aus dem Wege. Der Geschädigte aber, wenn er mit dem Leben davongekommen, denkt fortan nur daran, wie er sich ohne Verzug an seinem Feinde rächen könnte, denn je mehr Zeit darüber vergeht, desto schlimmere Folgen hat er für die Versäumniss zu erwarten und desto gefahrdrohender gestaltet sich vor seinen Augen die Zukunft. Welch' eine Macht diese beständig genährte abergläubische Furcht über das Gemüth und das gesammte Sein eines Naturmenschen gewinnen kann, ist mir in einem Fall anschaulich entgegengetreten. Der Giljake Nonjdan, ein in seinem Dorfe (Allof) angesehener Mann, der mich bisweilen in Nikolajefsk besuchte und dem ich manche interessante Mittheilung über sein Volk verdankte, war eines Tages, als er sich nach längerer Pause wieder einmal bei mir einfand, in auffallend niedergeschlagener und gedrückter Stimmung: die sonst gerade und ganz stattliche Gestalt, wie ich sie bei den Giljaken nur selten gefunden, erschien etwas gebeugt, das Auge blickte starr und trübselig vor sich hin, und die Sprache wollte auch nicht recht heraus. Da ich nicht abliess verschiedene Fragen an ihn zu richten, brach er endlich in die Worte aus: ich muss bald sterben, und als ich nun fragte, ob er denn krank sei und was ihm fehle, lautete die Ant-

wort: »krank nicht, und dennoch muss ich bald sterben«. Dieser Gedanke schien ihn ganz und gar zu beherrschen, und nun erzählte er mir Folgendes. Auf einer Reise zu den Mandshu sei er während des Handels mit ihnen mit einem Giljaken aus Kahi in Streit gerathen. Die Sache sei jedoch zuletzt friedlich verlaufen, und er habe sie für abgethan gehalten und soweit vergessen, dass er nach ihrer Rückkehr in die Heimath einmal aus Allof nach Kahi gefahren und in einem der dortigen Häuser abgestiegen sei. Die ihm bekannten Hauswirthe seien ihm auch ganz freundlich begegnet; des Abends jedoch, als er die ihm gereichte Mahlzeit verzehrte, habe ein auf der Schlafbank neben ihm liegender Mann, eben jener, mit dem er den Streit gehabt, ihm plötzlich sein Messer in die Seite gebohrt. Nach Allof zurückgekehrt, sei er von der Verwundung bald wieder genesen, sein Blutfeind aber habe sich in der Nacht darauf in Begleitung eines Verwandten nach Langr aufgemacht und lasse sich nicht wieder sehen. Zwei Jahre seien seit dem vergangen, während welcher er sich vergeblich die grösste Mühe gegeben, ihm irgend wo auf die Spur zu kommen, nach Langr selbst aber dürfe er nicht gehen, da er dort fremd sei, sein Blutfeind dagegen im sicheren Schutz seiner Angehörigen stehe. So habe er auch in Zukunft keinerlei Aussicht und Hoffnung von der auf ihm lastenden Schuld der Blutrache loszukommen »und muss daher ich, so schloss er, bald sterben«. Wie es ihm später ergangen, weiss ich nicht, da ich ihn nachher nicht wiedergesehen, noch von ihm was gehört habe. Ohne Zweifel aber kann der psychische Zustand, in den eine solche abergläubische Todesfurcht den Naturmenschen versetzt, schon durch Einfluss auf sein physisches Befinden und sein Benehmen in den mannigfachen Gefahren, zwischen denen sein Leben sich bewegt, von verderblicher Wirkung sein. Und dadurch, so wie in Folge der überall üblichen Logik des posthoc, ergo propter hoc, gewinnt der an die Blutrache geknüpfte Aberglaube immer neue Nahrung und Verbreitung.

Die Ausführung der Blutrache wird dem Einzelnen theils erleichtert und theils erschwert durch den Umstand, dass sie nicht auf die an der Blutthat unmittelbar Betheiligten beschränkt bleibt, sondern auch deren Angehörige mehr oder minder in Mitleidenschaft zieht und ihnen gewisse Verpflichtungen auferlegt. Diese Verpflichtungen erstrecken sich jedoch bei den Giljaken nicht auf alle Angehörigen, sondern nur auf die Ngafk's, die väterlicherseits Verwandten. Ganz unbedingt und mit allen Consequenzen tritt an sie die Forderung blutiger Rache in dem Fall, wenn der durch die Blutthat Betroffene, sei es sofort, oder in Folge der erhaltenen Verletzungen, sein Leben eingebüsst hat und also selbst die Rache nicht mehr ausüben kann: je nach dem Verwandtschaftsgrade hat sie dann der Sohn, der Bruder, der Brudersohn, der Enkel u. s. w. auszuführen. Kein Ngafk des Gefallenen darf, wenn die Reihe an ihn kommt, sich dieser Verpflichtung entziehen. Kommt hingegen der bei der Blutthat Verwundete mit dem Leben davon, so bleibt die Ausführung der Blutrache zwar ihm selbst vorbehalten, seine Ngafks haben aber die Verpflichtung, ihm dabei behülflich zu sein, indem sie den Aufenthaltsort seines Feindes auskundschaften, ein Zusammentreffen mit ihm zu bewirken suchen und ihrem Parten bei Ausübung der Rache nach Möglichkeit beistehen, ja nöthigenfalls sogar für ihn eintreten. Ganz ähnliche Verpflichtungen liegen andrerseits auch den Ngafks des Urhebers der Blutthat

ob. Sie haben Alles zu thun, um die Anschläge ihrer Gegner zu durchkreuzen und ihren Verwandten vor der ihm drohenden Blutrache zu schützen. So giebt die Blutrache mit den aus ihr erwachsenden Forderungen und Verpflichtungen ein starkes Familienband ab, das in allen Gliedern desselben väterlichen Geschlechts das Bewusstsein der Zusammengehörigkeit und Solidarität wachruft und erhält. Je zahlreicher daher ein Geschlecht und je lebendiger in ihm dies Bewusstsein ist, desto mehr Schutz und Hülfe kann es jedem Einzelnen seiner Glieder bieten. Darum ist es verständlich, dass die Angehörigen eines väterlichen Geschlechts gern an einem Ort oder in leicht erreichbarer Nähe von einander wohnen bleiben und auch solche ihrer Glieder, die in der Kindheit, in Folge einer zweiten Heirath ihrer verwittweten Mutter, mit dem Stiefvater davongegangen sind, sich nicht entfremden lassen mögen[1]).

Die Solidarität aller Ngafks unter einander in Beziehung auf die Blutrache bietet ferner jedem Einzelnen und besonders den Angehörigen grösserer Geschlechter auch eine gewisse Garantie gegen allzu leichtfertige blutige Angriffe. Und das ist bei dem leicht verletzbaren, rachsüchtigen, hinterlistig zurückhaltenden, im günstigen Moment aber rasch zu blutiger That entschlossenen Sinn der Giljaken von nicht geringer Bedeutung. Die meisten ihrer Blutfehden werden allerdings durch ernste Motive veranlasst, ganz besonders durch den bei ihnen so häufig vorkommenden Weiberraub und die dadurch hervorgerufenen Collisionen. Oft sind es aber auch nur kleinliche Motive, eine vermeintliche Ehrenkränkung oder eine unbedeutende Schädigung des Eigenthums oder Gewinns, wie z. B. auch in dem oben erzählten Falle Neujdau's, die zur Blutthat treiben, und da dürfte der Selbsterhaltungstrieb doch Manchen davon zurückhalten, in das Wespennest eines starken und zahlreichen Geschlechts zu stossen. Andrerseits können freilich streit- und raublustige Glieder eines solchen Geschlechts durch das Vertrauen auf die hinter ihnen stehende Schutzmacht noch mehr in ihrem Uebermuth angestachelt werden und sich zu Handlungen hinreissen lassen, die zu Blutfehden führen oder auch unmittelbar die Blutrache herausfordern, wie es z. B. den Tammla-wo-Giljaken auf Sachalin von ihren Landsleuten am Amur in der That nachgesagt wird. Im Ganzen jedoch hebt dieser Missbrauch die wohlthätigen Wirkungen nicht auf, welche die Blutrache mit ihren Satzungen auch unter den Giljaken dadurch ausübt, dass sie bei noch ungeregelten Rechtsverhältnissen dem Einzelnen einen gewissen Schutz gewährt, und zwar indem sie die Grundlage jeder socialen Ordnung und Entwickelung, die Familie, festigt.

In Betreff der Familienverhältnisse der den Giljaken zunächst wohnenden Amur-Völker, von denen, wie Eingangs dieses Abschnitts bereits gesagt worden, hier allein die Rede sein kann, muss ich mich auf einige an die obigen Auslassungen über die Giljaken geknüpfte Bemerkungen beschränken.

1) S. oben, p. [illegible].

In den vorigen Capiteln ist die nach allen Seiten des äusseren Lebens in hohem Grade erfolgte Ausgleichung zwischen den Oltscha und den Giljaken dargethan worden, — eine Ausgleichung, die man als eine Assimilirung jener durch diese aufzufassen hat. Eine solche Ausgleichung hat auch in Beziehung auf die Familienverhältnisse beider Völker stattgefunden, ja damit war erst die Basis gewonnen, von welcher aus die Assimilirung sich am eindringlichsten und nachhaltigsten nach aussen und innen hat bethätigen können. Und das Mittel, das zu dieser Ausgleichung gedient hat und noch immer dient, liegt offen zu Tage: es sind die häufigen Mischehen, die zwischen diesen beiden Völkern von da an stattfanden, als die Oltscha an den Amur heranwanderten und sich dort, nach Verlust ihrer Rennthiere, als Fischer in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft der Giljaken niederliessen, Ehen, die auch jetzt noch fort und fort zwischen ihnen geschlossen werden. Dadurch wurde und wird die giljakische Familien-Sitte und Ordnung beständig auch zu den Oltscha getragen und hat sich im Laufe der Zeit so ziemlich in derselben Form auch bei ihnen eingewurzelt und verbreitet. Einige Modifikationen in ihrem allgemeinen Charakter musste sie aber dabei doch erleiden, indem sie auf dem Boden eines seinen Naturanlagen nach sehr anders gearteten Volks verpflanzt wurde. Die Oltscha, ein Zweig des grossen, über ganz Sibirien und das Amur-Land ausgebreiteten tungusischen Stammes, sind von Natur viel gutmüthiger, weicher, biegsamer, sorgloser und leichtlebiger als die Giljaken. Es fehlen ihnen die Beharrlichkeit und Energie der letzteren, aber es liegen ihnen andererseits auch deren Habsucht, Hinterlist und Rachsucht fern. Diese ursprünglichen Charakterzüge der Oltscha unterliegen zwar, in Folge der Assimilirung dieses Volks durch die Giljaken, ebenfalls der Veränderung, — und diese ist zum Theil auch schon erfolgt, — machen sich aber dennoch immer wieder und so u. A. auch in ihren Familienverhältnissen geltend.

So kommt zwar bei den Oltscha neben dem allgemein üblichen Weiberkauf auch Weiberraub vor, allein lange nicht so häufig und meist, wie bei den Giljaken, vornehmlich wohl aus dem Grunde, weil sie unter einander und mit ihren Nachbarn von tungusischem Stamme, bei mässigeren Forderungen, leichter im Handel übereinkommen, alsdann auch weil zum Rauben ein rasches und entschlossenes Handeln erforderlich ist, das nicht in ihrer Natur liegt, und endlich wohl auch aus natürlicher Friedensliebe und Scheu vor den bösen und blutigen Folgen, die der Weiberraub nach sich zu ziehen pflegt. Merkwürdigerweise jedoch führen sie ihn noch am öftesten gerade nach der Seite aus, von wo sie am meisten einer nachhaltigen Rache gewärtig sein können, nämlich unter den Giljaken, sei es nun, weil sie mit diesen ihren Nachbarn im allerregsten Verkehr stehen, oder weil die giljakischen Weiber für sie eine besondere Attraction haben und dagegen die hohen Forderungen der Giljaken für ihre Töchter, zumal wenn sie ausser Landes gehen sollen, ein friedliches Uebereinkommen oft unmöglich machen. In solchen Fällen, von denen mir die Giljaken mehrfach erzählten, sind denn auch blutige Conflikte unvermeidlich, doch erreichen sie lange nicht den Umfang, den die durch Weiberraub und die ihn begleitenden Unthaten zwischen den Giljaken selbst hervorgerufenen Blutfehden nicht selten annehmen. Und das ist wiederum der friedliebenderen tungusischen Naturanlage der Oltscha zuzuschreiben.

Ueberhaupt sind jegliche und besonders in unerwarteter, hinterlistiger Weise verübte Blutthaten unter ihnen weit seltener als unter den Giljaken und damit auch die Veranlassungen zur Blutrache sehr viel geringer. Bezeichnender für sie ist es aber noch, dass in Fällen, wo eine solche Veranlassung vorliegt, die Sache zuweilen doch einen friedlichen Ausgang nehmen kann, indem sie sich durch eine Zahlung bewegen lassen von der Blutrache abzustehen, was bei den Giljaken kaum oder nur in den seltensten Fällen vorkommen dürfte. So liessen sich z. B. die Oltscha von Pulsa von dem Giljaken Judin in Tebach für eine Blutthat, die sein Bruder unter ihnen begangen hatte, durch Zahlung abfinden, während er selbst unablässig darnach trachtete, an einem Oltscha von Uchtr für die Entführung seiner Tochter Rache zu nehmen.

Werden, wie man aus dem Angeführten sieht, manche Härten der giljakischen Familienverhältnisse bei den Oltscha durch ihr sanftmüthigeres Naturell gemildert, so erfährt bei ihnen andererseits auch die unter den Giljaken herrschende Sittenstrenge eine erhebliche Abschwächung. Und daran ist zum grossen Theil auch der Umstand schuld, dass sie nicht die Energie der Giljaken gehabt haben, den chinesischen Kaufleuten und Händlern den Zutritt in ihr Land, geschweige denn einen mehr oder weniger ständigen Aufenthalt in demselben zu verweigern. Wie schon erwähnt[1]), giebt es im Gebiet der Oltscha viele Punkte, wo sich chinesische Händler zeitweise oder auch fast beständig unter ihnen aufhalten, und diese wirken um so depravirender auf sie ein, als sie keine eignen Wohnungen haben, sondern mit ihren aus den Eingeborenen selbst entnommenen Concubinen, in ihren Häusern und mitten unter ihnen ihr Domicil aufschlagen. Zugleich trägt der diesen Händlern stets zur Verfügung stehende Branntwein nicht wenig zur Sittenverderbniss bei. Dem entsprechend ist auch die sittliche Stellung der Oltscha zu ihren Sklaven und Sklavinnen, die sie sich, ebenso wie die Giljaken, wenn auch seltener und in geringerer Zahl, auf ihren Handelsreisen nach Sachalin durch Kauf aus dem Aino-Volk verschaffen, weniger streng und rigoristisch. Dabei halten sie jedoch an dem Grundsatze der Giljaken fest, keine Individuen aus dem eigenen Volk als Sklaven zu halten, geschweige denn anderen Völkern zu verkaufen.

Endlich muss ich bemerken, dass es auch im äusseren Zubehör ihres Familienlebens, trotz der grossen Uebereinstimmung mit den Giljaken, einzelne kleine Züge giebt, in denen sich ihre ursprürglich verschiedene tungusische Eigenart bekundet. So hat die oben beschriebene, so charakteristische giljakische Kinderwiege bei ihnen keinen Eingang gefunden. Anstatt ihrer bedienen sich die Oltscha eines aus feinen Holzruthen geflochtenen länglichen, am Kopfende etwas höheren Korbes, der an einen Querbalken der Jurte gehängt wird und vermittelst eines an ihn befestigten langen Bandes auch aus einiger Entfernung hin und her geschaukelt werden kann. Diese einfachere und leichtere Kinderwiege mag sich bei ihnen, in Folge des besonders conservativen Sinnes des weiblichen Geschlechtes, noch aus der Zeit ihres Nomadenlebens erhalten haben.

Anders verhält es sich mit den **Golds**. Hier ist von einer Assimilirung durch die Giljaken

1) S. oben, p. 71, 604.

gar keine Rede, obgleich durch den direkten Verkehr beider Völker mit einander, und hauptsächlich durch Vermittelung der zwischen ihnen wohnenden, dem Golde stammverwandten Oltscha Manches vom giljakischen Wesen auch auf sie übertragen worden ist. Hingegen stehen sie unter sehr starkem chinesischen Einflusse, der, den unteren Amur stromaufwärts gegangen, mehr und mehr wächst und am Ussuri und Sungari sein Maximum erreicht. Sind sie doch auch faktisch und nicht bloss nominell, wie ihre nördlichen Nachbarn am Amur, der chinesischen Herrschaft unterworfen, indem es in ihrem Lande mehrere beständige Sitze mandshu-chinesischer, Tribut erhebender und Gewalt ausübender Regierungsbeamten giebt[1]), und haben sie sich doch u. A. auch der von der Mandshu-Dynastie allen Unterthanen des himmlischen Reichs vorgeschriebenen Haartracht anbequemen müssen, während die ferner wohnenden Oltscha und Giljaken sich dem entziehen durften[2]). Vom Ussuri und besondes vom Sungari kommen auch beständig und in weit grösserer Zahl als zu den Oltscha chinesische Händler in das unterhalb gelegene Gebiet der Golde hinab und nisten sich unter ihnen ein, um sich nach Möglichkeit an ihnen zu bereichern. Der verderbliche Einfluss, den diese Eindringlinge, wie oben erwähnt, auf die Familienverhältnisse und die Sittlichkeit der Oltscha ausüben, macht sich daher in noch weit höherem Maasse unter den Golde geltend. Ja bei diesen haben sie ein um so leichteres Spiel, als sie noch gutmüthiger als die Oltscha sind und ihnen auch die Widerstandskraft abgeht, welche den letzteren, dank der im Laufe der Zeit erfolgten Beimischung giljakischen Blutes, innewohnt. Hand in Hand mit der Lockerung der Familienverhältnisse und mit der Sittenverderbniss geht auch die materielle Ausbeutung der Golde durch die Chinesen. Durch Branntwein und andere Mittel um ihren Besitz gebracht und in Schulden gestürzt, verlieren sie die Lust am Erwerbe, sowie die dazu erforderliche Energie und verfallen mehr und mehr in Trägheit und Indolenz, die unvermeidlich zu völliger Verarmung und Verkommenheit führt. Noch sind sie natürlich lange nicht alle und nicht allenthalben so weit, aber wo sie auch am günstigsten gestellt sind, wie im untersten Theil ihres Wohngebietes, am Amur, zwischen der Gorin-Mündung und dem Geong-Gebirge, lässt sich an ihnen der verderbliche Einfluss der mandshu-chinesischen Herrschaft und Ausbeutung in der angegebenen Richtung doch nicht verkennen. Es fehlt ihnen die freie und selbstbewusste Haltung der Giljaken und zum Theil auch der Oltscha, sowie deren Trieb nach Erwerb und Gewinn, der sich dem Fremden gegenüber nicht selten sogar in zudringlicher Weise äussert, und dagegen haben sie stets etwas Gedrücktes, Zurückhaltendes, Aengstliches und sogar Scheues in ihrem Wesen. Wie tief ihr Nationalbewusstsein bereits niedergedrückt worden ist, kann man aus dem Umstande ersehen, dass sie zwar mit der verachteten Stellung der Sklaven und Sklavinnen bei den Giljaken bekannt sind und gleich ihnen bisweilen auch selbst eine aus Sachalin mitgebrachte Aino-Sklavinn im Hause halten, und es dennoch nicht verschmähen, Individuen aus ihrem eigenen Volke den Giljaken in die Sklaverei zu verkaufen, was bei diesen nie vorkommt und als ruchlos gebrandmarkt werden

1) Nochmals erinnere ich daran, dass hier nur von den Zuständen die Rede ist, die ich selbst im Amur-Lande in den Jahren 1854—58 vorfand.

2) S. oben, p. 412—414.

würde. Am allerzerstörendsten natürlich wirken die Mandshu-Beamten und chinesischen Händler auf die Familienverhältnisse der Golde dadurch ein, dass sie sie durch Bedrohung, Einschüchterung und Erkaufung dazu bewegen, ihnen die Benutzung ihrer Weiber und Töchter als Concubinen zu gestatten. Damit ist die Lockerung und Lösung aller Familienbande eigentlich schon besiegelt und muss sich auch ohne anderweitiges Hinzuthun der Chinesen allmählich vollziehen. So musste dadurch das bei den Giljaken so feste Band, das alle Glieder eines und desselben väterlichen Geschlechts, des giljakischen Kall oder Hala, wie es bei den Golde heisst, mit einander verknüpft, stark gelockert werden, so dass es der chinesischen Regierung nicht schwer fallen konnte, ihm statt des verwandtschaftlichen ein lokal-bezirkliches Substrat zu geben, um es so zu ihren administrativen Zwecken zu benutzen, wie es in der Folge noch näher angegeben werden soll. In Folge dessen konnte aber auch die Satzung, welche die Ehe zwischen Angehörigen eines und desselben väterlichen Geschlechts (hala) verbietet, wenn sie bei den Golde ursprünglich bestand[1]), ihren Zweck, Heirathen zwischen allzu nahen Blutsverwandten zu verhindern, nicht mehr erreichen. Ein anderes bei den Giljaken ebenfalls sehr kräftiges Familienband, das aus den Satzungen der Blutrache entspringt, besteht bei den Ussuri-Golde auch nicht mehr, da die letztere aus ihren Sitten bereits geschwunden sein soll[2]). Endlich scheint auch die feste Familienordnung, die bei den Giljaken, Korjaken und sibirischen Völkern das Verhältniss der Brüder eines Verstorbenen zu ihrer verwittweten Schwägerin in bestimmter Weise regelt[3]), bei den Golde durchbrochen zu sein. Wenjukof[4]) erzählt nämlich von einem Ussuri-Golde, einem Familienvater von etwa 30 Jahren, der drei Frauen hatte, von denen ihm zwei nach dem Tode seiner jüngeren Brüder zugefallen waren. Wie wir schon sahen (p.), ist bei den Giljaken, Korjaken und anderen sibirischen Völkern Solches nicht gestattet, sondern immer nur das Umgekehrte üblich, dass nämlich die Wittwe einem der jüngeren Brüder ihres verstorbenen Mannes und zwar in bestimmter Reihenfolge derselben, zufällt. Da nun das Letztere sicherlich auch bei den Golde nicht ausgeschlossen ist, so bleibt nur der Schluss übrig, dass bei ihnen sowohl die älteren, wie die jüngeren Brüder eines Verstorbenen ein Recht auf seine hinterbliebene Wittwe haben, ein Uebelstand, der vermuthlich nur aus Missachtung der ursprünglichen bestimmten Familienordnung entsprungen ist und nur zu leicht Zwist und Streit zwischen den Brüdern veranlassen kann.

Den höchsten Grad von verderblicher Wirkung auf die Familienverhältnisse der Amur-Völker erreicht der chinesische Einfluss bei den Orotschen oder Ta-dse der obersten Ussuri-Zuflüsse und der anstossenden Meeresküste. Dort ist das bereits erreicht, was wir den Golde in der obigen Schilderung erst in Aussicht stellen mussten: Vernichtung aller Familienbande und die grösste materielle und moralische Verkommenheit. Dort sind aber auch die Chinesen in grösster, den Orotschen gegenüber überwiegender Anzahl vorhanden, theils als beständig der

1) S. oben, p.

2) Венюковъ, Обозр. р. Уссури и вообще къ сост. отъ оз. до моря (Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. Ч. XXV, 1859, Отд. II, стр. 239).

3) S. oben, p.

4) L. c. p. 200, desgl. Путеш. по окраин. Русск. Азіи и сам. о нихъ, С.-Петерб. 1868, стр. 27.

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indigenen Bevölkerung untermischte Händler, kleine Feld- und Gartenbauer, Ginseng-Sucher und drgl., theils als alljährlich, zum Seetangfischen, Goldwaschen und zu anderen Gewerben in Menge zusammen strömendes Gesindel aller Art, wie es oben bereits geschildert worden ist[1]).

Geht man daher von der Amur-Mündung fast beständig in Meridianrichtung den Amur und Ussuri aufwärts und von den Quellflüssen des letzteren an die benachbarte Meeresküste, durch das Gebiet der Giljaken, Oltscha, Golde und Orotschen, so kann man einen stetigen und raschen Niedergang in der Familiensitte und Ordnung der indigenen Bevölkerung beobachten, bis man endlich statt der wenn auch rohen aber doch fest geordneten und in ihrer Art gesitteten Familienverhältnisse der Giljaken, am anderen Endpunkte, bei den Orotschen, das Bild ihrer vollständigen Auflösung und Zerstörung vor sich hat. Und diese Wandlung vollzieht sich unter dem Einflusse eines (allerdings asiatischen) Kulturvolkes, das selbst, in seiner Heimath, dem Ahnencultus ergeben ist.

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1) S. oben, p. 66.

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12. Abschnitt.

Sociale Verhältnisse: Politische und rechtliche Stellung. Sociale Gliederung auf Grund des Wohlstandes. Nationaler Communismus. Unantastbarkeit des Eigenthums. Gastfreiheit. Vorsicht und Unentschlossenheit auf Reisen: Wind- und Wetterprüfung. Abergläubische Sturmbeschwichtigungen. Gruss und Danksagung. Sitte einander Geschenke und Gegengeschenke zu machen. Zuverlässigkeit in Geschäftsangelegenheiten. Zeitrechnung. Kalender. Kosmische Vorstellungen. Belustigungen: Gesang, Musik, Tanz, Spiele.

Im Zusammenhange mit der Familie, der Grundlage aller socialen Ordnung, sind im vorigen Abschnitt auch schon die wesentlichsten und wichtigsten Grundzüge dieser letzteren bei den Giljaken und den ihnen benachbarten Völkern des unteren Amur-Landes besprochen worden: die Sittlichkeit, die Sklaverei, die Blutrache. Es bleibt uns nunmehr noch übrig, auch die in minder direkter und unmittelbarer Beziehung zur Familie stehenden Momente ihres socialen Lebens in Betrachtung zu ziehen.

Zur Zeit meines Aufenthalts im Amur-Lande waren die Giljaken weder China noch Russland unterthan oder tributpflichtig. Im Anfang des Jahrhunderts hatte die chinesische Regierung noch eine gewisse Herrschaft über sie am Amur wie auf Sachalin ausgeübt und an mehreren Orten aus ihrer Mitte Aelteste ernannt, die einen gewissen Tribut in ihrem Bezirk einzusammeln und nach Deren abzuführen hatten. In den zwanziger Jahren jedoch hob sie, wie oben ausführlich dargethan worden[1]), diese Herrschaft auf und beschränkte sie auf die weiter stromaufwärts zum Sungari hin gelegenen Theile des unteren Amur-Landes, so dass die Giljaken und Oltscha ihr nur noch nominell unterworfen blieben, und da es fortan keinen Tribut mehr einzusammeln und an die mandshu-chinesische Regierung abzuführen gab, so gingen unter ihnen auch die von ihr creirten Stellungen von Dorf- oder Bezirksältesten von selbst ein. Den ihrer Freiheit bewussteren Giljaken zumal waren sie zu meiner Zeit schon so weit aus dem

1) S. oben, p. 619 ff.

Gedächtniss entschwunden, dass ich sie nie von denselben habe reden hören und auch keine giljakische Bezeichnung dafür kennen gelernt habe. Russischerseits aber hatte man zu meiner Zeit, Anfang der fünfziger Jahre, zwar festen Fuss an einzelnen Punkten des untersten Amur-Landes, so in Petrowskoje, Nikolajefsk, Mariinsk, gefasst[1]), kümmerte sich aber um die Eingeborenen noch garnicht und überliess sie ganz und gar ihren eigenen Einrichtungen und Gepflogenheiten, wofern sie nur die Ordnung in den russischen Ansiedelungen nicht störten[2]). So waren zu meiner Zeit die von mandshu-chinesischer Seite zur Administration der Giljaken getroffenen Einrichtungen bereits verschwunden, von russischer Seite aber noch keine eingeführt worden: das Volk war sich selbst überlassen und konnte in den angeführten Grenzen thun und lassen, was es wollte. Und diesen zum Studium seiner Eigenart gewiss sehr günstigen Zeitpunkt haben auch die nachstehenden Bemerkungen allein im Auge.

Die Giljaken haben über die Familie und die väterlichen Geschlechter hinaus keinerlei der Selbstverwaltung dienende rechtlich-administrative Gliederung oder Organisation: es giebt unter ihnen keine etwa zur Aufrechterhaltung der Ordnung, zur Schlichtung von Streitigkeiten und drgl. von ihnen selbst mit einer autoritativen Gewalt versehenen Individuen. Und es scheint bei ihnen auch kein Bedürfniss darnach zu bestehen. Da sie keine Kriege mit ihren Nachbarn oder unter einander führen, keine irgend gemeinsame Raubzügen in fremde Gebiete unternehmen, keinerlei Tribut zu sammeln und irgendwo abzuliefern haben u. s. w., so brauchen sie auch keine Anführer, Häuptlinge, Aelteste oder drgl. Die Ordnung wird durch Beachtung des altherkömmlichen Brauches und der angestammten Sitte aufrecht erhalten, und bei Zwist und Streitigkeiten tritt Selbsthülfe ein, unterstützt von den Satzungen der Blutrache. So haben die Giljaken keinerlei Vorgesetzte oder Herren unter sich, sondern sind rechtlich alle unter einander gleich, mit Ausnahme natürlich der Sklaven, die aber, wie schon gesagt, keine Giljaken, sondern in Leibeigenschaft bei ihnen befindliche Fremdlinge sind. Für den Begriff «Herr», den sie zuerst durch die Mandshu-Chinesen kennen gelernt haben, brauchen sie daher, sowohl diesen wie den Russen gegenüber, auch den chinesischen Ausdruck *dshangin*[3]). Nur einmal hörte ich einen Giljaken sich auch als solchen bezeichnen: es war in der auf Sachalin am Ausgang des Tymy-Thales einsam gelegenen und von einem Ehepaar bewohnten Jurte von Miwwach, deren Wirth sich mir als «*dshangin* von Miwwach» vorstellte, wodurch er sich aber offenbar nur als alleiniger Besitzer der Jurte zu erkennen geben wollte.

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1) S. oben, p. 88—88.

2) Erst nach Abschluss des Traktats von Aigun (1858) und der definitiven Besitznahme des Amur-Landes durch die Russen wurden auch ihrerseits unter den Giljaken und den s. Eingeborenen aus deren Mitte Dorfälteste (russ. Starosta) ernannt und dem im nächsten Posten residirenden Kreischef (russ. Isprawnik) unterstellt. Dr. Seeland, der in den Jahren 1878—80 bereits solche Dorfälteste unter den Giljaken antraf, (Russische Revue, Bd. XXI, p. 233) verkennt den ganz und gar russischen Ursprung dieser Einrichtung, wie denn überhaupt die mangelhafte Unterscheidung dessen, was den Giljaken ursprünglich eigen war und was sie von den Russen angenommen haben — und das hatte zu jener Zeit schon sehr weit und tief um sich gegriffen — seiner Schilderung derselben fast allen Werth benimmt.

3) Gerbillon (bei Dukalde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, T. IV, p. 385) führt die Bezeichnung «tschangchin» für einen hohen, das besondere Vertrauen des Kaisers genissenden Beamten an.

Giebt es unter den Giljaken keine Ueber- und Unterordnung der Individuen in rechtlicher Beziehung, so macht sich bei ihnen dagegen eine durch Unterschiede im Wohlstande bedingte sociale Gliederung sehr merklich geltend. Bei einem Volke, das so allgemein und in so hohem Grade dem Handel ergeben ist, wie die Giljaken, kann es nicht anders sein, als dass der Reichthum eine grosse Rolle im socialen Leben spielt und maassgebend für Ansehen, moralische Macht und Einfluss der einzelnen Individuen wird. Der reiche Mann unter ihnen, der sich auf Handelsreisen zu den Mandshu und den Ssisam mit einem Vorrath an Allem versorgt, was seinen Landsleuten nöthig ist oder begehrenswerth erscheint, ist für die Minderbemittelten, die keine solche Reisen machen können, eine wichtige und unentbehrliche Person: bei ihm können sie jederzeit die kostbaren Thierfelle, die sie selbst erbeutet haben, gegen die ihnen erforderlichen Kleidungs-, Lebens- oder Genussmittel absetzen, und im Falle der Noth auch auf eine Aushülfe rechnen und Manches vielleicht auf Schuld, Anderes und das Nothwendigste aber auch umsonst bekommen. Dank seinen Handelsreisen und seinem ausgebreiteten Verkehr ist ferner der reiche Giljake seinen unbemittelten Landsleuten in der Regel auch an Umblick, Erfahrung, Einsicht und Urtheil überlegen und gewinnt daher leicht neben dem materiellen auch einen moralischen Einfluss auf dieselben. Endlich gestatten ihm seine Mittel, sich ab und zu auch direkt in den Mittelpunkt des ganzen socialen Lebens und Treibens zu stellen und sein Haus zum Schauplatz geselliger Freuden, namentlich der grossen Bärenfeste und der sie begleitenden reichlichen Festmahlzeiten zu machen, an denen auch seine unbemittelten Dorfgenossen und Geschäftsfreunde theilnehmen können. Unter diesen Umständen findet bei den Giljaken eine ganz spontane Ueber- oder Unterordnung der einzelnen Individuen in socialer Beziehung auf Grund ihres grösseren oder geringeren Wohlstandes statt. Befragt man sie daher, wie ich es oft gethan, nach dieser oder jener Persönlichkeit unter ihnen, so werden sie es nie unterlassen, sich an erster Stelle über die Vermögensverhältnisse des Betreffenden zu äussern, indem sie kurz angeben, ob es ein *tscholla nibach*, d. h. ein unbemittelter Mann, oder aber ein *kolla*- reicher oder *mykstschr-kolla nibach*, d. i. sehr reicher Mann sei, womit zugleich seine sociale Stellung und das Ansehen, dass er unter ihnen geniesst, im Allgemeinen angedeutet sind.

Für reich *kolla* und darum angesehen gilt bei den Giljaken der Mann, der häufige Reisen zu den Mandshu und Ssisam macht, einen ausgebreiteten Handelsverkehr mit seinen Landsleuten und den Nachbarstämmen unterhält und überhaupt in sichtbarem Wohlstande lebt. Zur höheren Stufe gehörig, als *mykstschr-kolla nibach*, sehr reicher und hochangesehener Mann, wird er aber erst dann betrachtet, wenn er ausserdem auch den folgenden Bedingungen entspricht: 1) wenn er viele der oben erwähnten[1]), in den Augen der Giljaken besonders werthvollen Gegenstände, wie einen Luchsfellpelz, alte mandshurische Eisenpanzer, mit Büffel- oder Nashornplatten belegte Bogen, dreihenklige japanische Kochkessel und drgl. m. besitzt, denn dass er diese an sich nutzlosen und doch sehr kostbaren Gegenstände nicht verkauft und

1) S. oben, p. 503—508.

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somit praktisch verwerthet, sondern nur als todtes Kapital und Erbgut für seine Söhne bei sich aufbewahrt, beweist eben seinen grossen Reichthum; oder 2) wenn er von Zeit zu Zeit grosse Bärenfeste mit opulenten Festmahlzeiten und unter Hinzuziehung zahlreicher Gäste veranstaltet; oder endlich 3) wenn er einen besonders grossen Hausstand entfaltet und 3—5 Frauen nebst mehreren Sklaven oder Sklavinnen hat. Doch ist es nicht durchaus erforderlich, dass alle drei Bedingungen bei einer Person zutreffen, — es reicht hin, dass der einen, oder der anderen von ihnen Genüge geleistet wird, wenn es nur in einem besonders hohen Grade geschieht. So besass z. B. Ssogin in Kuik-Mäo manche Luxusgegenstände und hatte auch zwei Frauen und eine Sklavin, galt aber dennoch nur für einen *kolla nibach*. Als *mykstschr-kolla* hingegen wurden mir Numkwin in Wair[1]), Ansin in Kaki, Ssondon und sein Sohn Libgun in Tschylin, Jondom in Kalm, Pysgun und Mesgun[2]) in Patt und ganz besonders Judin in Tebach bezeichnet. Der letztere war ausser Anderem namentlich auch durch seine reichen und vielbesuchten Bärenfeste, an deren einem ich auch theilgenommen, sehr angesehen und populär unter seinen Landsleuten. Sein Ansehen, erzählten sie, ginge so weit, dass die Chinesen in Ssan-sin und die Japaner auf Sachalin ihn sogar als Giljaken-Dshangin bezeichneten und demgemäss auch behandelten, was Einige von ihnen veranlasst habe, ihn zuweilen auch so zu nennen, und dennoch, meinten sie, sei er kein *dshangin*, deren es unter ihnen überhaupt keine gebe, sondern nur ein *mykstschr-kolla nibach*. So sehr halten sie, selbst bei grosser Differenz der Mittel und demgemäss auch der socialen Stellung, an ihrer völligen Gleichheit unter einander in rechtlicher Beziehung fest.

Wenn ich vorhin sagte, dass die unbemittelten Giljaken im Falle der Noth auf die Hülfe ihrer reicheren Landsleute rechnen und von ihnen Manches vielleicht auf Schuld, Andres aber auch umsonst zu erhalten hoffen dürfen, so bedarf dies einer Erläuterung. Man könnte nämlich darnach meinen, dass diese es mit jenen ungefähr ebenso wie die chinesischen Händler machen, welche den Golde, Orotschen und anderen Eingeborenen des Landes, unter denen sie sich aufhalten, im Nothfalle das Erforderliche, zu sehr hohem Preise gerechnet, in Schuld vorausgeben, um sie nachmals durch wiederholte, uncontrolirte Schuldverschreibungen zeitlebens nicht mehr aus ihren Schulden herauskommen, ja diese sich sogar auf ihre Kinder vererben zu lassen. Dergleichen findet jedoch unter den Giljaken keineswegs statt. So viel ich auch mit Reichen und Armen unter ihnen verkehrt habe, so ist mir doch nie etwas zu Gehör gekommen, was überhaupt auf das Vorhandensein von irgend erheblichen Schuldverhältnissen zwischen den Einen und den Anderen zu schliessen erlaubte. Beide sind wohl auch zu umsichtig und praktisch angelegt, zu fein und klug berechnend, um sich in solche, Beiden nachtheilige, die Einen an ihrem Ansehen und ihrer Popularität, die Anderen an ihrer Existenz schädigende Verhältnisse einzulassen. Nicht dass sie überhaupt keine Schulden unter einander machten, — es dürften aber immer nur kleine, im Bereich ihrer Mittel liegende Vorschüsse an den Einen oder Anderen sein, deren gelegentliche Wiedererstattung für selbstverständlich gilt, oft aber, und bei ungleicheren Mitteln

1) Derselbe, von dem oben (p. 388, Anm. 1.) als einem der Mörder de la Bruniòre's gerodet worden ist.

2) Das s ist in allen hier erwähnten Giljaken-Namen weich, gleich dem französischen *s*.

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wohl zumeist, garnicht beansprucht wird, so dass davon auch nicht viel Rede gemacht wird. Damit mag es vielleicht zusammenhängen, dass sowohl Glehn, wie mir, trotz unseres sonst ziemlich reichlichen Wörterverzeichnisses, der giljakische Ausdruck für «schuldig sein» oder «Schulden haben» entgangen ist, — einen Begriff, der den Giljaken gleichwohl nach den bei ihren Nachbarn, den Golde und Aino, herrschenden Zuständen in vollem Maasse geläufig sein muss.

Uebrigens wie dem auch sei, jedenfalls besteht die Aushülfe, die den unbemittelten Giljaken in der Noth durch ihre reicheren Dorfgenossen, Geschäftsfreunde oder sonstigen Bekannten zu Theil wird, nicht darin, dass sie Dies oder Jenes auf Schuld erhalten, sondern, dass ihnen das zur Fristung des Lebens Nothwendigste umsonst (gilj. *pai*) verabfolgt wird. Und zwar geschieht dies in Folge des national-communistischen Geistes, der, allen Naturvolkern mehr oder weniger eigen, auch den Giljaken in immerhin nicht geringem Grade innewohnt. Mehr jedoch als bei manchen anderen Völkern, z. B. den tungusischen Stämmen, ist der Communismus der Giljaken streng national, d. h. auf eine Bethätigung nur innerhalb der Stammesgrenzen bedacht, was durch ihre scharfe sprachliche Absonderung von allen ihren Nachbarstämmen und ihr reges Nationalbewusstsein bedingt und genährt wird. Ferner weist ihn der so sehr auf Handel, Gewinn und Mehrung der Güter gerichtete Sinn der Giljaken gewisse Schranken an, indem er ihm keineswegs alle Güter ohne Unterschied dienstbar macht, sondern nur solche, die ihnen die Natur selbst in ausreichender Menge und in einem zum Gebrauch so gut wie fertigen Zustande bietet, und welche sie daher gewissermaassen selbst zum Gemeingut stempelt. Als solches betrachten die Giljaken vornehmlich die Produkte, die ihnen das Meer und die Flüsse in Menge liefern, Fisch, Seehund und drgl., sowie nächst dem die ausschliesslich von diesen Produkten sich nährenden, durch ihr Fell auch dem Aermsten unentbehrlichen Hunde, endlich auch was ihnen der einheimische Wald an nährenden oder erquickenden Wurzeln, Beeren und sonstigen Vegetabilien liefert. Es gilt ihnen daher als selbstverständlich, dass in Nothfällen der reiche Giljake seinen unbemittelten Dorf- und anderen Stammgenossen, die ihn um Hülfe angehen, von seinem Vorrathe an den erwähnten Produkten (Fisch, Seehund etc. und Hundefellen) so viel zukommen lässt, als zur Befriedigung ihrer nothwendigsten Bedürfnisse an Nahrung und Kleidung erforderlich ist. Und so lange seine Vorräthe daran nicht erschöpft sind, wird gewiss Niemand von ihnen an Hunger oder Frost umkommen. Ganz anders aber steht es um solche Güter, die die Natur dem Menschen nur spärlich bietet und die ihr mit Mühe und Anstrengung gewissermaassen nur abgerungen werden müssen, wie z. B. Zobel- und andere kostbare Thierfelle, so wie um Alles, was hauptsächlich vermittelst der letzteren von den Chinesen, Japanern oder Russen erhandelt wird. Keinem Giljaken, sei er reich oder arm, fällt es ein, sie ebenfalls als Gemeingut zu betrachten und sie demgemäss in Nothfällen dem Gemeinwohl zu opfern, resp. zu beanspruchen, dass dies geschähe. Zudem sind diese Güter für den Giljaken, im Vergleich mit jenen ersteren sämmtlich, auch die Cerealien, den Tabak und die einfachsten chinesischen oder russischen Kleidungsstoffe nicht ausgenommen, doch nur Luxusgüter, ohne die er im Nothfall sein Leben immer noch sehr wohl fristen kann. So bilden der ausserordentlich rege Handels- und Erwerbstrieb der Giljaken, ihr Streben nach Erhaltung

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und Mehrung des Besitzes ein wirksames Gegengewicht dem Communismus gegenüber, und verhindern, dass der Faule und darum Arme auf Kosten des Arbeitsamen und Reichen lebt, ohne ihm jedoch in der Noth das zur Lebensfristung durchaus Erforderliche zu versagen.

Ferner tragen die Giljaken dem communistischen Princip auch in Betreff des Obdachs oder der Wohnung Rechnung, die in einem Lande mit langem und strengem Winter, wie ihre Heimath, zur Erhaltung des Lebens von nicht geringerer Bedeutung als Nahrung und Kleidung sind. Wie und in welchem Maasse das geschieht, kann man aus dem Nachstehenden entnehmen. Oben wurde schon erwähnt, dass die Giljaken in scheinbar ganz irrationeller Weise einen so grossen und zum Theil complicirten Bau, wie ihr nach chinesischem Muster errichtetes Winterhaus nicht halb so hoch an Werth wie ein einfaches, immer viel kleineres Vorrathshaus schätzen [1]. Das erklärt sich jedoch dadurch, dass das erstere trotz seiner Grösse viel geringere direkte Einnahmen bringt als das letztere, und dies wiederum beruht darauf, dass das Wohnhaus zum Theil communistischen Ursprungs ist und daher auch in seiner Benutzung bis zu einem gewissen Grade dem communistischen Princip unterworfen bleibt, was beim Vorrathshaus ganz und gar nicht der Fall ist. Jenes kann nämlich eben seiner Grösse und complicirten Beschaffenheit wegen nicht wie dieses von einem Einzelnen errichtet werden: es bedarf vielmehr zu seiner Entstehung der gemeinsamen Arbeit vieler Personen, die der Unternehmer, falls er sie nicht unter seinen Angehörigen findet, gegen ein geringes Entgelt aus der Zahl seiner Dorfgenossen oder Nachbarn heranzieht. Wenn es nun später auch dem- oder denjenigen gehört, die den Bau unternommen und sich die Anderen zur Mitarbeit willig zu machen gewusst haben, so bleibt es doch immer unvergessen, dass es seine Entstehung gemeinsamer Arbeit verdankt und dem entsprechend wird es auch stets gewissermaassen als Gemeingut betrachtet: es darf keinem Dorf- oder sonstigem Stammgenossen Schutz und Obdach verwehren, und es widerspräche durchaus den Anschauungen und dem Usus eines giljakischen Hausbesitzers, wenn er von einem beständig bei ihm domicilirenden Individuum einen hohen Miethlohn, und zwar in einer anderen Form als durch Verpflichtung zu Hülfsleistungen für das Hauswesen, erheben wollte. Daher ist der direkte Ertrag eines Winter- und nicht minder auch eines Sommerhauses nur sehr gering.

Anders verhält es sich mit einem Vorrathshause, das vom Besitzer selbst erbaut ist. Dieses steht ihm ausschliesslich zu eigen, und nur die bemittelteren Giljaken haben in sofern ein Interesse daran, als sie Vorräthe und andere Dinge besitzen und dafür keine Unterkunft finden. Doch ist es so praktisch eingerichtet, dass zu deren Niederlage auch nur eine Wand und, wenn es an dieser nicht genügt, eine zweite und eine dritte vermiethet werden kann, bis die Mittel zur Herstellung eines ganzen Vorrathshauses langen [2]. Da sich nun vom bemittelten Giljaken auch mehr fordern lässt, so beträgt ein Wandstück, auch nur zu einem Ja gerechnet, immer noch gegen 10 Ja an unmittelbaren Einnahmen.

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1) S. oben, p. 598—601.

2) Vrgl. die Einrichtung eines Vorrathshauses (p. 358) mit seinen 11 Wandstücken (f—q) und 2 Mittelräumen (e und d).

Endlich huldigen sie auch darin dem communistischen Princip, dass sie mit Ausnahme der Stellen am Strom, wo ihre Lachswehren sich befinden, und der Punkte im Walde, wo ihre Fallen und Selbstschüsse aufgestellt sind, keinerlei Einschränkungen und Beengungen im Betriebe des Fisch- und Thierfanges kennen. So dulden sie ganz unbeschränkt, dass die Liman-Giljaken zum Fischfang an den Amur-Strom, so wie dass die Tschomi-Giljaken sich zum Lachsfang weit abwärts an den Tymy-Fluss begeben und diese wiederum zum Kangi-Fang an die Meeresküste ziehen. Allerdings sind die Tschomi- und die Tymy- Giljaken durch Gastfreundschaft mit einander verbunden. Auch im weithin ausgebreiteten Walde lassen die Giljaken selbst Oltscha und Samagirn in ihr Gebiet eindringen, ohne einander zu behelligen.

Gleich wie der Communismus so beruht ferner auch die Unantastbarkeit des Eigenthums auf dem nationalen Princip. Ich habe selbst alte und ehrwürdige Giljaken gesehen, die sich eines kleinen Diebstahls, so z. B. von einem Stück Butter oder dergleichen, nicht erwehren konnten, von jüngeren Leuten natürlich, ganz abgesehen, die sich das Aufschneiden und Ausplündern von Reisesäcken u. drgl. erlaubten, wie es mir z. B. im Dorfe My im Amur-Liman selbst begegnet ist. Auch vor den Bewohnern des am Eingange in den letzteren gelegenen Dorfes Langr bin ich von den Amur-Giljaken wiederholt gewarnt worden. Der entgegengesetzte Fall, dass Russen von den Giljaken stehlen, kommt aber allerdings viel häufiger vor, und die Versuchung, eine lose vorgeschobene Thür oder ein vorgehängtes Fischernetz zu beseitigen, um in ein Vorrathshaus zu dringen und es auszurauben, ist in der That viel grösse[illegible] selbst die kleinen Leichenhäuschen waren ihres Inhalts nicht sicher, obgleich sie nichts [illegible]es als ein paar Gegenstände von symbolischer Bedeutung enthielten. So kam es, dass ich die hauptsächlichste internationale Beziehung zwischen beiden Völkern aus der giljakisirten russischen Bezeichnung für »stehlen« (*ukradntsch*, russ. ukrastj) kennen lernte, und das giljakische Wort (*ennyarsitsch*) mir erst viel später bekannt wurde. Hingegen dürfte es kaum vorkommen, dass ein Giljake einem Anderen etwas entwendet. Ja, mir sind auch Persönlichkeiten vorgekommen, wie z. B. ein Judin in Tebach, ein Mradamn in Ssabach u. A., denen ich auch vom internationalen Standpunkte vollkommenes Vertrauen schenken durfte. Der erstere brachte mir z. B. eine Cigarren-Dose, die ich in seiner Jurte hatte liegen lassen, nach Verlauf von einigen Tagen zurück, ohne dass in derselben auch nur eine Cigarre gefehlt hätte. Dem letzteren schenkte ich ein noch grösseres Vertrauen. Da ich die Gefahr vor Augen haben musste, die mir eine in der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft von meinem Hause errichtete mechanische Werkstatt bereitete, indem sie aus ihrem Schornstein fast beständig Funken über mein nur mit Baumrinde gedecktes Haus trug, so dass dieses leicht in Flammen aufgehen konnte, so beschloss ich meine Manuskripte und Sammlungen zum Sommer, da ich eine Reise vorhatte, nach dem Dorfe Ssabach zu bringen und sie dem Giljaken Mradamn anzuvertrauen. Die Kisten wurden mit einem Deckel versehen, vermittelst eines Strickes in's Kreuz zugebunden und in der Sommerwohnung des Giljaken abgestellt. Mein Vertrauen aber hat sich vollständig bewährt.

Auch die Gastfreiheit endlich wird vom nationalen Princip getragen. Anfangs schien es, dass die Giljaken mich ungastlich empfangen wollten. Sie sind zu misstrauisch, zu habgierig,

zu sehr auf ihren Vortheil bedacht, um sich umbefangen gehen zu lassen. Auf Sachalin wollten sie mir, bei meinem ersten Besuch der Insel, den Gebrauch des Feuers in ihrer Jurte entziehen, und drohten mir sogar mit dem Messer, so dass ich zu ernster Drohung mit der Pistole meine Zuflucht nehmen musste, um meinen Willen durchzusetzen. Dabei muss ich jedoch bemerken, dass vor meiner ersten Reise nach Sachalin unter den Giljaken das Gerücht sich verbreitet hatte, die Russen wollten die Insel für sich haben und darum alle Giljaken ermorden. Mittlerweile aber, als ich einen Winter im Amur-Lande verbracht und zahlreiche Verbindungen angeknüpft hatte, aus denen sie ersehen konnten, dass ich es gut mit ihnen meinte und ihnen stets freundlich entgegen kam, traten sie auch selbst freundlich und gastfrei mir entgegen, so dass sich zwischen uns ein sehr gutes Verhältniss entspann, und ich mich sogar eines gewissen Vertrauens ihrerseits erfreute. Dennoch gab es allemal einen grossen Unterschied, ob es nur einen Russen (*lotscha*) oder einen *nibach* (Giljaken) zu beherbergen gab: sobald der Ruf «*nibach pritsch*» erscholl, prasselte die von Weibern geschürte Flamme lebhafter auf, dem Eintretenden wurde der Schnee mit einem säbelförmigen Holzstücke (gil. *warwars*) abgeschabt und geklopft, eine Schale mit Fischthran und *ma* zum Willkomm dargereicht, und so spät es auch war noch ein Mahlzeit bereitet. Darauf liessen sich der Wirth und sein Gast an der lodernden Flamme nieder, es wurden die Erlebnisse des Tages besprochen, woran auch die Weiber theilnahmen, und bis spät in die Nacht hinein wurde eine kleine Pfeife nach der anderen geraucht, indem sie stets in derselben ruhig bedächtigen Weise von Hand zu Hand wanderte. Sodann verlangt es auch die Gastfreiheit, dass die Hunde, bevor sie Tags darauf an die Weiterreise gehen, noch gefüttert werden.

Der Giljake reist daher immer nur in kleinen Tagereisen, von Dorf zu Dorf. Wird er bei grösserer Entfernung der Dörfer von einander oder wenn ihn ein Unwetter überrascht, einmal genöthigt, die Nacht im Freien zuzubringen und erreicht er das nächste Dorf nachdem die regelmässig vor sich gehende Hundefütterung dort bereits stattgefunden hat, so wird das Feuer unter den Kesseln ohne Weiteres von Neuem angemacht und für die Hunde des neu angekommenen Gastes eine besondere Mahlzeit bereitet. Selbstverständlich bleibt er dann auch über Nacht im Ort und setzt seine Reise erst am nächsten Morgen nach wiederum vollzogener Hundefütterung fort.

Jedenfalls aber werden die Wetterzeichen auch dann erst sorgfältig geprüft, zumal an den längs der Meeresküste gelegenen Orten, wo starke Winde und Schneegestöber sich besonders oft ereignen und dem Reisenden manche Gefahr bringen. Während der mehrtägigen Unwetter, die mich im Februar der Jahre 1855 und 56 im Dorfe Tyk an der Westküste Sachalin's festhielten, bin ich oft Zeuge der Unentschlossenheit gewesen, die sich der Giljaken bemächtigt, wenn das Wetter noch etwas zweifelhaft ist und es sich um die Frage handelt, ob die Weiterreise unter solchen Umständen zu riskiren sei. Meist liefen allerdings die Verhandlungen dahin aus, dass noch ein Tag der Ruhe zuzugeben sei, denn Eile liegt den Giljaken durchaus fern und eine fast übergrosse Umsicht leitet sie stets auf Land-, wie auf Seereisen. Mehrmals hatte ich aber auch Gelegenheit, die Einsicht, die sie in die klimatischen Verhältnisse ihres Landes

und die Erfahrungen, die sie darüber hatten, zu bewundern, denn einmal hatte ich mich bereits zur Weiterreise aufgemacht und sah mich doch genöthigt, nach dem mir verhassten Dorf, wo ich so ungastlich aufgenommen worden war, wieder zurückzukehren. Ein anderes Mal erreichte ich zwar die 5—7 Werst vom Dorf entfernte Meeresküste und setzte meine Reise längs derselben fort, hatte aber auch ein arges Unwetter mit Schneegestöber zu bestehen. Besonders fürchteten die Giljaken, von einem über das Ochotskische Meer streichenden und fast immer mit Schneegestöber verbundenen *Ady* (Nord- und Nordwest)- oder *Tcklangi* (Ost- und Nordost)-Sturme überrascht zu werden, während der *Ladwilantsch* (Südostwind), der *Tungyrsch* und *Ngalnwa*[1]) (West- und Südwestwind) und der *Kongrsch* (Südwind) sie weniger besorgt machen[2]). Hingegen sind die letzteren besonders gefährlich, wenn es gilt eine Fahrt von Dui nach den an derselben Küste südwärts gelegenen Dörfern zu machen, da das Meereseis alsdann bisweilen unmittelbar vor den Schlitten der Reisenden zerbricht. Im Dorf selbst wurden verschiedene Mittel zur Besänftigung der entfesselten Sturmgeister angewandt. An der Spitze einer langen, in den Schnee gesteckten Stange war ein viereckiges Stück Seehundsfell angebracht, das offenbar die Bestimmung hatte, dem Unwetter als Opfergabe zu dienen. Denselben Zweck, aber in viel hübscherer Form erfüllte auch ein zweites Mittel. Es wurde ein an der Spitze zweizinkiger, am Schaft mit zwei Quirlen angeschnitzter Löckchen versehener Pfeil von gewöhnlicher Grösse bereitet, zwischen die beiden, ebenfalls kleine Holzlöckchen tragende Zinken der starke Mittelnerv eines Tabaksblattes und ein Stückchen glimmenden Zunders gesteckt und der Pfeil dem stürmischen *Ady*-Winde entgegengeschossen. Ein drittes Mittel endlich besteht darin, dass dem

Zauberpfeil zur Beschwörung des Sturmes.

Unwetter eine Anzahl Hundewelpen geopfert werden. Im Dorfe Tyk belief sich deren Zahl auf drei und ihnen sollten, wenn der Sturm am nächsten Tage nicht aufhörte, noch drei andere folgen[3]). Dieses Mittel war jedenfalls zweckmässiger, indem es die Nahrungsmittel der Menschen vermehrte und, bei dem zur Zeit sich bereits fühlbar machenden Mangel, dem Hundefutter zu Gute kam.

Niemals habe ich gehört oder gesehen, dass die Giljaken beim Betreten eines Hauses den Wirth, die Wirthin oder sonstige Bekannte mit einem Wort oder einer Geberde begrüssten, und eben so wenig geschieht es beim Verlassen desselben. Wie ich aus Middendorff's handschriftlichen, mir zur Benutzung überlassenen Aufzeichnungen ersehe, erregte dieses Kommen und Gehen ohne jeglichen Gruss auch schon sein Erstaunen. Bei mir gingen sie ebenfalls beständig ohne Gruss oder in letzter Zeit höchstens mit einem den Russen abgelernten «*sdrástwui*» und «*proschtschái*» ein und aus. Nur den Mandshu und Chinesen gegenüber machen sie es den

1) Weich, wie das französische z auszusprechen.

2) Am Amur werden die Winde in der Regel minder genau, und nur nach den vier Hauptrichtungen: *Ady*, *Tcklangi*, *Kongrsch* und *Tungyrsch* (N, O, S und W), unterschieden.

3) Darüber s. oben, p. 131.

tungusischen Amur-Völkern nach, indem sie sich vor ihnen auf ein Knie niederlassen und mit dem Kopf verbeugen, und das geschieht auch nur, um deren Wohlwollen zu gewinnen und sich einer Bestrafung von ihrer Seite zu entziehen, da die Mandshu-Beamten in Ssan-ssin und auch anderer Orten auf eine derartige Ehrenerweisung streng halten.

Was mich aber noch weit mehr wundert, ist die Thatsache, dass das Wort «danken» in ihrem Lexikon gänzlich zu fehlen scheint: weder unter einander, noch mir gegenüber habe ich es jemals von ihnen brauchen hören. Nicht anders ist es auch Middendorff und Glehn ergangen. Ich möchte es der Lückenhaftigkeit unseres Wörterverzeichnisses zuschreiben, das an Ausdrücken für abstrakte Begriffe und Gemüthsbewegungen überhaupt nur arm ist. Andrerseits ist kaum anzunehmen, dass wenn das Danken ihnen wirklich im Herzen läge, sie kein Wort dafür haben sollten und dass uns dieses nur allemal entgangen sei. Haben wir sie doch in den verschiedensten Lagen empfangener Dienst- und Hülfsleistungen und fast bis zum Uebermass dargebotener Gastfreundschaft gesehen. Sollte es in der That möglich sein, dass Gäste, die man bei notorisch kärglichen Mitteln, in Folge eingetretener Unwetter, Tage lang bei sich aufnimmt und mit sammt ihren Hunden ernährt, wie die Giljaken es unter einander thun, abreisen, ohne ein Wort des Dankes gesagt zu haben? Beruht Alles nur auf nationalem Communismus oder auf der sicheren Voraussetzung einer in ähnlichen Fällen selbstverständlich entsprechenden Gegenleistung? Mir gegenüber fiel jedenfalls das Eine wie das Andere fort, und dennoch habe auch ich niemals einen Dank von den Giljaken erhalten. Ich habe dabei nicht etwa die Gaben im Auge, die infolge des Bettelns gereicht werden, das in den giljakischen Behausungen dem Reisenden sehr lästig werden kann und zu welchem hauptsächlich Kinder vorgeschoben werden. Diese mögen das Danken nicht gelernt oder in neugieriger Anstaunung des Reisenden vergessen haben. Aber ich habe den Giljaken oft genug auch grössere Dienste erwiesen. So fanden sie in meinem Hause stets eine gastliche Aufnahme, wobei für die Sicherheit ihres Hab' und Guts, ihrer Hunde und des ganzen übrigen Gefährts Sorge getragen war, so dass sie ruhig ihren Handelsgeschäften im Ort nachgehen konnten. Unter Anderem veranlasste ich einmal, dank dem strengen Gerechtigkeitssinn des damaligen Gouverneurs, Contre-Admirals Sawoiko, auch eine Untersuchung über die Entwendung eines ganzen mit verschiedenen Waaren beladenen Gefährtes, die dem Giljaken Judin zugestossen war, wobei der Schuldige überwiesen und Judin zur Entschädigung eine namhafte Summe ausgezahlt wurde. Dennoch blieb der Dank, obwohl ich es mit einem der besten und angesehensten Giljaken zu thun hatte, auch in diesem Falle aus.

Hingegen ist es bei den Giljaken üblich, sich zum Zeichen, dass man in nähere, vielleicht gar geschäftliche Beziehungen zu einander treten möchte, gegenseitig kleine Geschenke zu machen. Als ich zum ersten Mal ein solches erhielt, erkundigte ich mich nach dem Preise desselben, bekam aber zur Antwort, dass das Wörtchen *pai*, d. h. umsonst oder unentgeltlich, hinzugefügt worden sei und dass ich es also als Geschenk zu betrachten habe, wobei der mir bereits bekannte Giljake Jutschin mich zugleich darüber belehrte, dass ich ihrer Sitte gemäss nunmehr ein Gegengeschenk zu machen hätte, unter Wiederholung desselben Wörtchens

pai. Unterblieb das Letztere, so wurden auch die dagegen dargebotenen Gegenstände zurückgewiesen und das Wörtchen *pai* nochmals betont. Zuweilen wurde mir dann auch bedeutet, in welcher Form man das Gegengeschenk zu haben wünsche, ob es z. B. aus einigen Tabaksblättchen, etwas Brod, einigen Knöpfen oder drgl. zu bestehen habe. Doch verlangt es die Sitte, dass man beim Empfange des Gegengeschenkes die Zahl der Gegenstände nicht näher prüfe, und ich muss zur Ehre der Giljaken bekennen, dass von dieser Sitte nie abgewichen wurde und dass sie, wie das Gegengeschenk auch ausgefallen, stets damit zufrieden waren. Das hinderte sie jedoch keineswegs ihrem habsüchtigen Naturell gemäss später beim Handel ihre Preisforderungen unter Umständen recht hoch zu stellen. Vielleicht ist diese Sitte in Folge des langen Handelsverkehrs der Giljaken mit den Mandshu-Chinesen und Japanern entstanden, die in Ssan-ssin, wie in Ssiranussi ihre Beamten und Handelsagenten haben, welche im eigenen Interesse und zum Nachtheil des Fiskus, resp. der betreffenden Handelshäuser, eine solche captatio benevolentiae beanspruchen.

Ausserdem pflegen aber die Giljaken auch keinen Handel abzuschliessen, ohne den Wunsch oder die Bitte zu äussern, noch etwas über den abgemachten Preis hinaus, als unentgeltliche Gabe *pai* zu erhalten. Und genau so machte es auch Judin, als er sich in der Handlung der russisch-amerikanischen Companie für die ansehnliche Entschädigungssumme, die er erhalten, verschiedene kostspielige Zeuge und andere Luxusartikel verabfolgen liess.

Uebrigens muss ich den Giljaken nachrühmen, dass man sich bei geschäftlichen Abmachungen mit ihnen, z. B. der Zustellung vorausbezahlter Waaren oder sonstiger Gegenstände, auf ihr Wort und ihre Ehrlichkeit in der Regel verlassen kann. Auch als Führer sind sie meist zuverlässig, ja Manche von ihnen identificirten sich so weit mit meinen Interessen, dass sie mich mitunter sogar vor den diebischen Gelüsten der Bewohner dieses oder jenes in ihren Augen übel berüchtigten Dorfes warnten. Meist hält es sehr schwer, besonders in entlegeneren Gegenden, Führer zur Reise zu bekommen, da die Giljaken in der Regel zu ängstlich und misstrauisch sind, um sich ihrer Freiheit zu begeben und ihr Schicksal an dasjenige des Reisenden zu binden. Mehr als einmal ist es auch mir vollkommen misslungen, erhielt ich aber welche, so hatte ich meist Grund, mit ihrer Bestimmtheit, genauen Lokalkenntniss und Abends, beim lodernden Feuer, auch mit ihrer Mittheilsamkeit und Klugheit zufrieden zu sein. Hat es doch unter den vielen Führern, die ich auf meinen Reisen gehabt, nur zwei gegeben, die mich im Stich gelassen haben. Und das geschah unter Umständen, die ihre Treulosigkeit zum Theil erklärlich machten. Das eine Mal, als ich längs der Küste des Ochotskischen Meeres fuhr, überraschte mich ein arger Schneesturm. Der breitsohlige russische Schlitten haftete hartnäckig am nassen Schnee, und die Hunde waren bereits so müde, dass sie beständig zusammenfielen und durch keine Schläge mehr in Bewegung gesetzt werden konnten: es blieb uns nichts übrig, als Hunde und Schlitten die mässige Uferanhöhe hinanzuziehen, die, mit kleinen Krüppellärchen bestanden, nicht einmal Aussicht auf ein lustiges Lagerfeuer eröffnete. Was Wunder, wenn unter solchen Umständen mein Führer, der sich infolge der vorausgegangenen Schneegestöber nur auf Schneeschuhen von Tägl aus aufgemacht hatte, seinen Weg ganz ohne uns zu be-

achten fortsetzte, in der Hoffnung, sein nahes Heimathsdorf Kullj noch vor Einbruch der Nacht zu erreichen. Er fand sich auch am nächsten Tage nicht wieder ein und verzichtete somit auf den ihm gebührenden Lohn. Der andere Führer, ein aus Lub-wo gebürtiger Tro-Giljake, Namens Eospin, der mich durch einen Theil des Tymy-Thales geleitete, machte es schlimmer: genothigt in Taliz-wo, in einer kleinen Zeltjurte zu übernachten, wo es nach dem Erlöschen des Feuers bis zum Gefrieren des Quecksilbers kam, schlich er sich aus derselben hinaus, durchschnitt die Riemen an einem meiner Packschlitten, durchwühlte die Sachen und machte sich mit ein paar Kleidungsstücken meiner Leute davon.

Nur in einer Beziehung darf man sich auf die Giljaken garnicht verlassen: wenn es sich nämlich um die Feststellung eines Zeitpunktes handelt, wann etwas geschehen, wann sich z. B. ein Führer oder sonst Jemand von ihnen bei Einem einfinden soll und drgl. m. Das liegt ohne Zweifel daran, dass sie überhaupt keinen rechten Begriff von der Zeit und eine nur sehr ungenaue Zeitbestimmung und Zeitrechnung haben. Von allgemeinen Bezeichnungen, wie Tag (*mnw*) und Nacht (*urk*), Morgen (*tyt*) und Abend (*padf*), abgesehen, werden die Tageszeiten nur darnach bestimmt, ob die Sonne (*keng*) im Auf- oder Untergange begriffen ist (*k. myrtsch* oder *padntsch*, wird geboren, resp. *k. jugtsch* oder *mutsch*, stirbt), ob sie steigt (*k. tytyrach bokirtsch*) oder sinkt (*k. kotretsch*), und ob sie ihren ungefähren höchsten Stand, ihre Mittagshöhe erreicht hat (*k. mnwutytsch*). In Beziehung auf die Aufeinanderfolge der Tage haben sie auch nur für die beiden dem Heute (*nych*) zunächst liegenden Tage besondere Bezeichnungen, wie gestern (*nymr* und morgen (*pyt* oder *pot*), vorgestern (*nymrynk*) und übermorgen (*possjch*). Die Wochentage haben natürlich keine Benennungen, und die Monatstage werden auch nicht gezählt. Um einen über die beiden nächsten Tage zurück- oder hinausliegenden Tag zu fixiren, begnügen sich daher die Giljaken damit, die Anzahl der inzwischen gehaltenen oder noch zu haltenden Nachtruhen anzugeben. Auf Reisen kommen ihnen noch die aus Erfahrung wohlbekannten räumlichen Entfernungen zu Hülfe, indem sie genau wissen, welche Strecke sie unter normalen Verhältnissen zu Boot oder Schlitten, ohne sich oder ihre Hunde allzusehr zu ermüden, tagsüber bewältigen können und wo sie ihr Nachtlager aufzuschlagen haben. Solche Lokalitäten tragen bei ihnen denn auch in der Regel, auch ohne bewohnt zu sein, besondere Benennungen. Die Bestimmung der räumlichen Entfernungen nach Tagesreisen oder nach der Anzahl der Nachtruhen pflegt daher, unter normalen Witterungsverhältnissen, recht zuverlässig zu sein. Dieses Modus der Raumbestimmung, durch die auf Zurücklegung der Strecke erforderliche Zeit, bedienten sich die Giljaken natürlich auch in der ersten Zeit ihres Verkehrs mit den Russen, wenn sie um Auskunft über die Entfernungen in ihrem Lande befragt wurden. Auch hier begegnete es mir daher, noch ehe ich den giljakischen Ausdruck für «schlafen» (*k(ch)otsch* oder *k(ch)ontsch* kennen gelernt hatte, auf das aus dem Russischen entnommene und nur entsprechend giljakisirte Wort *esspanytsch* (vom russ. *sspatj*) mit den abgeleiteten Verbalformen *esspara*, *essparor* u. s. w. zu stossen. Unter ungünstigen Verhältnissen, bei stürmischem Wetter, starken Schneeverwehungen und drgl., ist aber auch die Bestimmung nach Tagesreisen sehr schwankend und unsicher, denn sie hängt dann nur davon ab, wie viel Einer sich oder seinen Hunden an

Leistungsfähigkeit zutraut, und das ist immer nur sehr wenig, weil die Giljaken sich alsdann überhaupt nicht vom Fleck rühren mögen.

Am schwersten hält es bei den Giljaken, einen etwas weiter hinausliegenden Tag, an dem etwas geschehen soll, zu fixiren, wenn sie an Ort und Stelle ungestört ihren Beschäftigungen nachgehen, denn diese verlaufen meist in so gleichmässiger Weise, dass ein Versehen in der Zahl der inzwischen vergangenen Nachtruhen nur allzu leicht möglich und immer wahrscheinlicher als das Gegentheil ist. Allerdings beachten die Giljaken auch die verschiedenen Mondphasen und zwar in recht eingehender Weise, indem sie besondere Bezeichnungen für den Voll- und Neumond (*long tscharntsch*.— ist voll und *l. mutsch* — ist gestorben), den zu- und abnehmenden Mond (*padynu-l.* und *muiw-l.*), den Halbmond und das Mondviertel (*l. putytsch* und *l. per(ch)kotsch*) und das Zu- oder Abnehmen dieser Mondphasen (*padynu-l. putytsch* und *muiw-l. putytsch*, resp. *padynu-l. per(ch)kotsch* und *muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch*) haben, — allein für den obigen Zweck, die Vorausfixirung eines bestimmten Tages, giebt dies doch nur ein annäherndes Mittel ab und bei längere Zeit hindurch bewölktem Himmel, wie er im Amur-Lande keineswegs selten ist, versagt es vollends seine Dienste.

Das Jahr theilen die Giljaken in 12 Monate ein[1]). Diese aber haben nicht bloss an einem und demselben Ort mehrere, sondern auch in verschiedenen Theilen des giljakischen Gebietes verschiedene Bezeichnungen. Namentlich sind die einen bei den Giljaken des Amur-Stroms und Amur-Limans, der Westküste Sachalin's und der Südküste des Ochotskischen Meeres und die anderen hingegen im Innern und an der Ostküste der Insel, bei den Tymy- und Tro-Giljaken im Gebrauch. Ich gebe sie hier zunächst so wieder, wie ich sie selbst nach mehrfacher Erkundigung notirt habe, um später einige Bemerkungen daran zu knüpfen:

Verzeichniss der Monatsnamen der Giljaken:

	auf dem Festlande und der Westküste von Sachalin	im Innern und auf der Ostküste von Sachalin.
Januar	*Tscham-long*	*Klu-long.*
Februar	*Karr-long*	*Tscham-long.*
März	*Tschrad-long*	*Karr-long.*
April	*Arkail-long*	*Tschrad-long.*
Mai	*Walten tengi-long*, auch *Kopengwa-l.* und *Kittägtsch-l.*[2])	*Pittun-long.*

1) Bei den Eskimo hat es 13 Monate, und die Zeit von einem Neumond zum anderen wird, wie der Mond selbst *tokfuk* genannt. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos, Wien, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 208.

2) Die beiden letzteren Bezeichnungen sind in dem von Dr. Gruber zusammengestellten giljakischen Wörterverzeichniss irrthümlicherweise statt auf den Mai auf den April bezogen worden, s. Anhang zum III Bde dieses Werks p. 44, 58, 59 und 120, und ebenso fälschlich ist der *tschrad-long* (März) mit dem Juli identificirt worden l. c. p. 108.

Juni . . .	*Tengi-wota-long* auch *Pota-long*	*Arkail-long.*
Juli . . .	*Matscan-tschrar-long*	*Tscho-taghr-long.*
August . . .	*Lygi-wota-l.* auch *Pilja-tschrar-l.* u. schlechtweg *Pilja-l.*	*Matschki-long.*
September . .	*Ngarwi-long*, auch *Tschitsch-ngar-long*	*Pilja-long.*
October. . .	*Oni-lami-long*, auch *Pottschawo-long*	*Ngadgho-long.*
November . .	*Tlo-long*	*Kawekö-long.*
December . .	*Anj-long*	*Tlo-long.*

Glehn giebt leider nicht an, in welchem der beiden oben genannten Gebietstheile der Giljaken er ihre Monatsnamen erkundet hat. Nach ihm lauten sie folgendermassen:

Januar, Februar, März	ebenso wie nach mir.
April . .	*Pitul-long.*
Mai . .	*Arschkai-long.*
Juni . .	*Tingi-long* und *Tingivata-long.*
Juli, August, September	sind nicht angegeben.
October	*Iging-long.* und *Mugiti-long.*
November . . .	*Kin-long* und *Anj-long* (im Norden).
December . . .	*Tschlo-long.*

Aus dem Umstande, dass die drei ersten Monate bei Glehn genau dieselben Namen tragen, wie ich sie nach Angabe der Giljaken des Festlandes und der Westküste Sachalin's notirt habe, möchte ich schliessen, dass er sie ebenfalls dort erfragt hat. Dasselbe gilt auch vom Juni, dessen Name sich auf den Massenzug des *Tengi-tscho* (*Salmo-Proteus*) bezieht, der nach ihm *Tingi-tscho* heisst. Die übrigen Monatsnamen, die sich bei Glehn finden, scheinen mir hingegen eher bei den Tro-Giljaken erkundet zu sein.

Meine Kenntniss des Giljakischen reicht lange nicht hin, um alle vorhin angeführten Monatsnamen erklären zu können. Nur über einige von ihnen darf ich mir ein paar erläuternde Worte erlauben. Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, dass sie auf besonders augenfällige, den betreffenden Monat kennzeichnende Naturerscheinungen und Verhältnisse begründet sind, die jedoch der Zeit nach hie und da im Wohngebiet der Giljaken nicht unbeträchtlich auseinanderfallen können. Das findet namentlich beim massenhaften Aufsteigen des *Salmo lagocephalus* im Amur und im Tymy-Fluss auf Sachalin statt und ruft bei den Anwohnern des letzteren eine entsprechende Verschiebung der Monatsbezeichnungen den Amur-Giljaken gegenüber hervor, wie ich sie oben[1]) bei anderer Gelegenheit bereits ausführlich besprochen habe. In ähnlicher Weise

1) S. 526—528.

verschieben die Tymy-Giljaken auch die am Amur gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen des Januar, Februar und März um je einen Monat, — eine Verschiebung, für die ich jedoch keine Erklärung finde. Dem Wortlaut nach bedeutet *tscham-long* (Januar, resp. Februar) Adler-, *karrlong* (Februar resp. März) Krähen-Monat, indem jener nach dem Seeadler (*Haliaëtos Albicilla*), dieser nach der Rabenkrähe (*Corvus Corone*) benannt zu sein scheint. Allerdings spielen beide Vögel in den abergläubischen Vorstellungen der Giljaken und der erstere ausserdem auch in ihrem Handel mit den Japanern eine nicht unwichtige Rolle [1]), dennoch ist mir unerfindlich, warum gerade diese Monate nach ihnen benannt sind. Den festländischen und nördlichsten Theil des giljakischen Gebietes pflegt der Seeadler im Winter, aus Mangel an der ihm besonders zukommenden Fischnahrung, sogar zu verlassen, und nur an den Küsten des Nordjapanischen Meeres, wo das Eis oft durch Stürme zerbrochen wird, und im Innern Sachalin's, an dem auch im Winter nicht gefrierenden oberen Tymy-Flusse, harrt er auch zu dieser Jahreszeit aus [2]). Dort bildet er daher inmitten der Schneelandschaft, und bei einer unter den Gefrierpunkt des Quecksilbers sinkenden Temperatur, in der That eine prägnante Erscheinung. Doch bleiben sich Januar und Februar in dieser Beziehung gleich, und somit ist die Verschiebung der am Amur gebräuchlichen Bezeichnung des ersteren Monats bei den Tymy-Giljaken auf den letzteren dadurch noch keineswegs erklärt. Sollte der Name «Adlermonat» nicht überhaupt fremdländischen, vielleicht chinesischen Ursprungs sein? [3]) Im Tymy-Thale hörte ich den Januar *klu-long* nennen, — eine Bezeichnung, die jedoch Glehn, offenbar irrthümlicher Weise, gleich wie auch diejenige für den December (*anj-long*), dem November zuschreibt. Nach meinen Erkundigungen wird hingegen der auf dem Continent und an der Westküste Sachalin's für den letzteren Monat übliche Name *tlo-long* bei den Tymy- und Tro-Giljaken auf den December verlegt, womit auch Glehn, der ihn *tschlo-long* nennt, übereinzustimmen scheint, und was den vorhin erwähnten Namensverschiebungen ganz analog wäre. Der Name *anj-long* aber, d. h. «Jahres-» oder vielleicht «Jahresschluss-Monat», den ich die Amur-Giljaken für den December gebrauchen hörte, liesse sich leicht aus der vermuthlich auch ihnen nicht entgangenen Beobachtung erklären, dass in diesem Monat die Sonne ihren niedrigsten Stand über dem Horizont erreicht und von nun ab wieder zu steigen beginnt. Am schwankendsten und unsichersten endlich ist der mir unverständlich gebliebene Name *arkail*, der nach meinen Erkundigungen auf dem Festlande und an der Westküste Sachalin's den April, im Innern und an der Ostküste der Insel den Juni, nach Glehn's Ermittelung aber den Mai bezeichnen soll. Die beiden letzteren Angaben beruhen jedoch offenbar auf einem Irrthum, denn sie stehen im Widerspruch mit den Naturereignissen, welche mir die Giljaken selbst als charakteristisch für einzelne Monate anführten. So hiess es

1) S. oben, p. 437, 438 und 563.

2) S. Bd. I, dieses Werkes, p. 226 und 227.

3) Bei den Tschulymschen Tataren und den Barabha-Bewohnern heisst der März «Adlermonat» (*kutschugen-ai*, resp. *kutschigar-ai*, (Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. III, St. Petersb. 1786, p. 857 und 539), gleichwie auch bei den Samojeden der Grosstundra (*Sombi-jirij*, s. A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands, Dorpat 1848, Bd. I, p. 537), wo der Adler als frühester Zugvogel ankommt, bei den Ostjaken der Januar (Falk, l. c. p. 466).

bei ihnen, der *arkail-long* (April) sei der Monat, da das Eis auf dem Amur bricht, der Mai, derjenige, — da der Strom eisfrei wird, der September, — da die Gänse *kalchalch* (*Anser grandis*) ziehen, und der November, — da sich auf dem Amur wiederum eine Eisdecke bildet und viel Schnee fällt. Die Ungewissheit, in der die Giljaken im Allgemeinen in Betreff des laufenden Monats leben, macht natürlich die Feststellung eines weiter hinausliegenden Zeitpunktes bei ihnen noch besonders schwer.

Die zwölf Monate des Jahres werden von den Giljaken in sehr ungleichmässiger Weise auf die einzelnen Jahreszeiten vertheilt. Eigentlich unterscheiden sie nur zwei Jahreszeiten: Winter (*tulf* oder *tulv-anj*) und Sommer (*tolf* oder *tolv-anj*) wobei ihnen hauptsächlich wohl der Umstand massgebend ist, ob sie in ihren Winter- oder Sommerbehausungen wohnen. Auf jenen kommen demnach 7 Monate (October bis April), auf diesen 5 (Mai bis September). Der Herbst (*tylf* oder *tylv-anj*) und der Frühling (*chouf* oder *chouv-anj*) kommen eigentlich garnicht in Betracht, und nur sehr selten hört man ihrer erwähnen. Geschieht aber diese Unterscheidung, so fällt auf jede dieser Jahreszeiten nur je ein Monat, — es sind die Monate des gewöhnlichen Umzuges aus den Sommer- in die Winterwohnungen und umgekehrt: dort der October und hier der April. In diesem Falle kommen also bei den Giljaken:

auf den Winter 5 Monate — November bis März.
» » Frühling 1 Monat — April.
» » Sommer 5 Monate — Mai bis September.
» » Herbst 1 Monat — October.

Bei Gelegenheit der Zeitrechnung mögen auch einige Worte über die kosmischen Vorstellungen der Giljaken eingeschaltet werden. In Folge des sichtbaren Auf- und Unterganges der Sonne stellen sich die Giljaken natürlich vor, dass die Erde (*nuif*) fest steht und die Sonne (*kenq*) sich um sie bewegt. Auf Grundlage des kreisförmigen Horizonts denken sie sich ferner die Erde in Gestalt einer kreisförmigen Scheibe. Darüber, wo die Sonne bleibt, wenn sie untergegangen und es Nacht geworden ist, geben sie sich in der Regel keine Rechenschaft, und auf meine darauf bezügliche Frage antworteten sie unter Lächeln mit der Gegenfrage, ob ich sie denn alsdann gesehen hätte. Den Weiterdenkenden unter ihnen, wie Iutschin, Ruigun u. A., drängte sich übrigens aus der steten Aufeinanderfolge von Tag und Nacht auch der Gedanke einer continuirlichen Bewegung der Sonne um die Erde und damit eines Alternirens von Tag und Nacht auf der ihr gerade zu- oder von ihr abgewandten Seite der Erde auf, — ein Gedanke, der sich sogleich in der Frage, ob es auf jener Seite der Erde auch Thiere und Menschen gäbe, Luft machte. Leichter, als ich mir gedacht hatte, fand bei ihnen übrigens die Vorstellung, dass die Erde keine scheiben-, sondern eine kugelförmige Gestalt habe, Eingang. Gleich wie die Sonne, so bewegen sich ihrer Ansicht nach auch die Sterne um die Erde. Von diesen haben sie jedoch eine kosmisch insofern fortgeschrittene Vorstellung, als sie sie für ähnliche Weltkörper wie die Erde halten, die ihnen nur in Folge der grossen Entfernung so klein erschienen. Das ging

unzweifelhaft schon aus den unterschiedslos von ihnen gebrauchten Bezeichnungen *unghyr* «Stern» und *unghyr-mif* «Stern-Erde» hervor. Manche Sternbilder tragen bei ihnen auch besondere Namen. So heissen die drei Sterne im Schwanze des Grossen Bären *tscharesu-kritsch*, die vier im Rumpfe desselben *ujagrnjo*[1]), d. h. Rattenvorrathshaus; ein Sternbild mit zahlreichen Sternen in der Nähe des Grossen Bären, vielleicht die Plejaden?, trägt am Amur den Namen *lunir* (Zobel) und auf Sachalin *taghr-ujo*, d. h. Vorrathshaus von *Tamias striatus* oder auch *tammi-unghyr*, (viele Sterne); das Schwert des Orion heisst *tscheeburik*, die Milchstrasse *taighonantif*, das ist wohl soviel wie «unbekannte Strasse», u. s. w. Eine ihrer ersten und häufigsten Fragen war dabei, ob es auf den Sternen auch Menschen gäbe. Auf meine Antwort, dass solche Gegenstände zu klein seien, um bei der grossen Entfernung der Sterne selbst durch das Fernrohr gesehen zu werden, entgegneten sie mit grosser Bestimmtheit, ihre Schamanen hätten sie aber dennoch gesehen und ihren Erzählungen zufolge glaubten sie fest, dass es auf den Sternen hohe Bäume und ausgedehnte Waldungen, mannigfache Thiere, wie Zobel, Ottern, Füchse, Bären, Hunde etc. und endlich auch Menschen gäbe. Diese Menschen, die sie wiederum unterschiedslos bald als *unghyr-nibäch* (Sternmenschen) und bald als *unghyr-mif-nibäch* (Stern-Erdenmenschen) bezeichneten, seien von besonders riesigem Wuchs, die Augenbrauen buschig behaart, die Nase lang und stark u. s. w. Bisweilen fände auch ein Zusammentreffen eines Erden- mit einem Sternmenschen statt, und dann wüssten die Schamanen, wie man sich dem gegenüber zu benehmen habe. Es folgte darauf die Erzählung von einem solchen Zusammentreffen, der ich aber in ihrem phantastischen und verworrenen Detail leider nicht mehr zu folgen vermochte.

Sehen wir jedoch von den Schamanen, ihren Künsten, Geisterbeschwörungen, Tänzen und Gesängen, denen ein späterer Abschnitt dieses Werks gewidmet werden soll, zunächst ab, und verweilen wir noch bei den Erscheinungen des socialen Alltagslebens der Giljaken, so bleiben mir noch einige Bemerkungen über deren Belustigungen, Gesang, Musik, Tanz und Spiele übrig.

Die Giljaken sind von zu nüchterner, ernster, praktischen Zwecken, wie Erwerb, Handel und Gewinn, zugewandter Sinnesart, um sich viel und oft mit Gesang abzugeben. Namentlich habe ich sie auf den Bärenfesten und bei anderen gelegentlichen Versammlungen niemals zu dem Zweck singen hören, um sich und Andere damit zu belustigen oder zu erfreuen. Nur wenn der Giljake sich allein und unbeobachtet weiss und in der Stille der ihn umgebenden Natur eine wehmüthige Stimmung ihn überkommt, wenn er z. B. am verglimmendem Feuer im lautlosen Wahle sitzt oder bei Windstille im leichten Boot ohne Ruderschlag den Strom abwärts treibt, — nur in solchen und ähnlichen Fällen habe ich ihn auch am Tage singen hören, und so einförmig und melancholisch klingen dann die langgetragenen Gurgeltöne seines Gesanges zu Einem herüber. Sehr oft singt er hingegen in der Nacht, um sich die langsam hinschleichenden schlaflosen Stunden abzukürzen. Auf der Schlafbank unter seinem Hundepelz ausgestreckt, hebt er dann, unbekümmert um die Ruhe seiner Nachbarn und der übrigen Schläfer, mit lauter Stimme einen Gesang an. Ist eine der Strophen zu Ende, so pflegt von hier

1) Nach dem Tymy-Dialekt, ujo = ujö auf dem Continent.

oder da ein gurgelndes *ga* zu ertönen, zum Zeichen, dass er einen Leidensgenossen gefunden habe und sein Lied nur immer fortsetzen möge. Auf diese Ermuthigung hin erfolgt eine zweite, eine dritte Strophe u. s. w. Bald ist es ein Mann, bald ein Weib, von dem der nächtliche Gesang oder das aufmunternde *ga* ertönt. Zuweilen, wenn er mir allzulange dauerte, habe ich ihm selbst, ofter noch haben meine Leute ihm Einhalt gethan. Die Giljaken aber sind an diese Störung der Nachtruhe vollkommen gewöhnt, und niemals habe ich sie selbst Einsprache dagegen erheben hören. Ganz ebenso geht es auch bei den anderen Eingeborenen des unteren Amur-Landes, Oltscha, Samagirs, Golde her[1], nur wird bei ihnen der zur Fortsetzung des Gesanges anstachelnde Zuruf *ga* durch das näselnde *kä*, *kä* ersetzt[2]. Ueberhaupt ist es auffallend, wie oft und leicht der Giljake, Oltscha etc. seine Nachtruhe unterbricht; auch abgesehen vom nächtlichen Gesange, verlässt er, so bald der Schlaf seine Augenlider meidet, das Lager, kauert vor dem Herde, schürt das Feuer darin oder darauf, raucht eine Pfeife nach der anderen u. s. w. Niemals habe ich ihn aber, sei es Nachts oder am Tage, in der Jurte auf und nieder gehen sehen, und allemal wenn ich es that, wie es in stürmischen Tagen, die keine Bewegung im Freien gestatteten, nicht selten geschah, rief dieses für sie unbegreifliche Hin- und Hergehen ein allgemeines Staunen und Lächeln unter den Anwesenden, ja, bisweilen sogar eine direkte Frage nach dem Zwecke desselben hervor.

Je seltener ich aus den oben angeführten Gründen die Giljaken am Tage habe singen hören, desto interessanter ist mir eine Angabe Middendorff's darüber, die ich unter seinen mir zur Verwerthung überlassenen handschriftlichen Notizen gefunden habe. Mein Vorgänger im nördlichen Amur-Lande[3] lernte die Giljaken am Tugur- und Ulbanj-Busen, also an ihrer äussersten nordwestlichen Grenze kennen, wohin er in Gesellschaft einiger Jakuten und Tungusen gekommen war. Durch diese darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass es unter den Bewohnern des Orts einige Meister im Gesange gebe, forderte er sie auf, ihre Künste zu produciren. Anfangs weigerten sie sich, dann sang Einer ein Weilchen, brach aber bald, vielleicht verlegen geworden, in Lachen aus, worin ihm alle Anderen folgten. Jetzt mussten sie einzeln der Reihe nach vortreten. Im Allgemeinen sangen sie mit weit mehr Melodie als die Jakuten, doch spielten Gurgel- und

1. Die sibirischen Tungusen hingegen, die Erman auf seiner Reise von Jakutsk nach Ochotsk begleiteten, sangen zwar gern am Tage, erklärten aber, als er sie einmal aufforderte, ihre Gesänge Abends beim Feuer zu wiederholen, einstimmig und mit einer Art heiliger Scheu: in der Nacht sei es Sünde zu singen. (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Histor. Bericht, Bd. II, p. 354.). Sollte ihnen dies nicht schon von den Russen beigebracht worden sein, um nicht in der Nachtruhe gestört zu werden.

2. Brylkin (Насмъ съ Сахал.-Іон. — Сибирск. Отд. Геогр. Общ. Кн. VII, Иркутскъ 1861, стр. 29) erzählt, dass ein Aino im Dorf Tschikapergunsi, nachdem er Saki getrunken hatte, ein Lied zu singen anfing, eine Improvisation über seine Fahrt. Sobald er inne hielt, riefen alle Aino einstimmig, um ihn zum Weitersingen zu bestimmen, die Worte *kä, kä*, d. h. weiter, weiter, und so ging es endlos fort. Desgleichen berichtet Hooper (Ten months among the Tents of the Tuski, London 1853, p. 137), dass die Tschuktschen, als Zuschauer bei Vorstellungen, wie Tanzen, Nachahmungen der Eskimo und drgl., die bei ihnen stattfinden, ihren Beifall durch die Worte *kak! kak!* zu erkennen geben, was so viel wie darape bedeute.

3. Bekanntlich durchkreuzte Middendorff das nördliche Flusssystem des Amur von der Tugur-Mündung über den Amgunj, die Bureja und Dsaja bis nach Ustj-Strelka, am Zusammenfluss von Schilka und Argunj zum Amur (s. Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Bd. IX, 2. Abth., p. 615—625).

Nasentriller auch stets eine Hauptrolle dabei. In prägnanter, drastischer Sprache, unter Angabe der betreffenden Notenstücke, charakterisirt nun Middendorff die Gesangsweise der einzelnen Sänger. »Zuerst trat der Giljake Lamran vor. Er hatte eine angenehme Stimme und wirklich viel Fertigkeit. Man hörte beim Gesang bloss ein paar Worte ausser *aŋgà* — *yŋgà*, und es scheint, als hätten diese Worte, die bei jedem Liede als Einleitung und Refrain gebraucht werden, weiter keine Bedeutung, sondern gehörten einmal zum Singen. Hier die Noten:

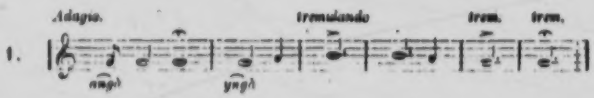

Der einleitende Ton wurde so lange, als der Athem zuliess, ausgehalten und bildete (ohne Worte) die Introduzione. Der Triller ist ein Gurgeltriller und wird ebenfalls lange ausgehalten. Da Lamran den Ton sehr rein hielt und auch einen passablen Vibrirgurgeltriller schlug, so machte sich diese langsame Weise recht angenehm, aber auch nicht wenig melancholisch.

Der zweite Sänger war der Giljake-Dsheien und sein Gesang folgender:

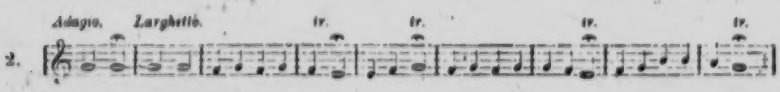

Dsheien's Gesangsweise war weit rascher als die des Lamran, der Gesammteindruck aber doch etwas traurig. Obgleich das Aushalten der Gurgeltriller auch bei ihm die Hauptsache ausmachte, so kam hier noch eine eigene Virtuosität hinzu: beim Aushalten des Tones nämlich machte er plötzlich, als versagte ihm der Athem und als quetschte ihm Jemand die Kehle zu, so dass Einem ganz angst und bange wurde, er werde ersticken, worauf jedoch das angefangene Wort ganz rein heraus kam. Ferner trat dazwischen eine Art Rülpsen und Schluchzen ein, wobei das Wort wie bei einem Stotternden, z. B. *an̄ - - - aŋgà*, bloss im Beginne ausgesprochen wurde, nun folgte der versagende Athem, das Schluchzende und Rülpsende, dann kam das *aŋgà* rein heraus. Dieses leitete auch nicht bloss das Ganze und die verschiedenen Strophen ein, sondern wurde häufig sogar zwischen den einzelnen Worten eingeflickt.

Als dritter endlich trat der Giljake Njaungur vor. Er sang, wie folgt:

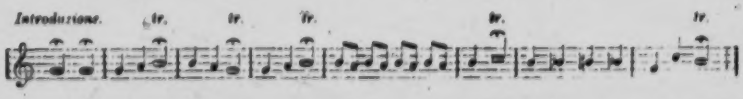

Njaungur entwickelte eine besondere Virtuosität im Singen: schon die Melodie zeigte sich viel variirter als die früheren; dazu producirte er aber noch das Stottern, Versagen der Stimme, Zuschnüren der Kehle und Zustopfen der Gurgel nebst darauf folgendem Herausrülpsen

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

der Worte wie sein Vorgänger, nur mit grösserer Fertigkeit, und überdies schlug er ausser dem Gutturalbockstriller noch einen Nasenfisteltriller. Bei ihm erinnerten die Triller und insbesondere der letztere lebhaft an das Vibriren der Maultrommel. Diese Triller erfordern viel Uebung, und für uns ist es unmöglich, sie so lange auszuhalten und so rein herauszubringen. Physiologisch interessant ist auch, dass bei Hervorbringung dieser Triller das Gaumensegel eine Hauptrolle spielt.»

«Aus allen diesen Gesängen, fährt Middendorff fort, leuchtete schon die Verschiedenheit je nach der Individualität des Sängers hervor: während Lamran, bei guter Stimme und reinem Triller, in seiner Art eine melancholisch angenehme, ernst stimmende Gesangsweise hatte, glichen die beiden anderen Sänger unseren Kunstvirtuosen, die auf dem Cello Violinvariationen spielen. Zu dem Gesange muss man sich hinzudenken, dass die giljakische Sprache und schon das *anapi* so klingt, als hätte die Nase einen Hühnergabelknochen als Klemme aufgesetzt; dazu das kindermässige Aussprechen des *r*, das so klingt, als stände es in der Mitte zwischen *r*, *g*, *l* und das noch mit *d*, *g* und *k* verbunden wird, ferner das französische *ñg*, das englische *th* und *w*, das mit *d* combinirte *g* u. s. w.»

Von den beiden letzteren Gesängen hat Middendorff auch die Worte aufgezeichnet, allein von diesen muss ich hier leider absehen, weil sie auch nicht annähernd zu enträthseln sind. Und das darf Einen auch nicht weiter Wunder nehmen, denn bei dem nur sehr kurzen Verweilen des Reisenden unter den Giljaken mussten die vielen und so sehr eigenartigen Laute ihrer Sprache höchst fremdartig und verwirrend an sein Ohr klingen, das ihrer noch ganz ungewohnt war. Und dazu tritt noch der das Verständniss in so hohem Grade erschwerende Umstand hinzu, dass der Sänger die vollste Freiheit hat, die Worte nach seinem Belieben, wie es eben zu seinem Rhythmus und seiner Melodie passt, zu verändern und zu moduliren, — eine Freiheit, von der er in der Regel auch beim Wiederholen der Worte nicht abläßt, weil sie sich seinem Gedächtniss beim Singen einmal so eingeprägt haben. Darum ist es auch mehr als zweifelhaft, dass ein Dolmetscher, deren es damals unter den Russen nur welche von der niedersten Sorte gab, den Inhalt eines giljakischen Gesanges wirklich verstanden haben sollte: er gab ihn vielmehr, wie es auch Middendorff nicht entging, nur ganz *praeter propter* wieder. Die vorhin erwähnte Sängerlicenz ist ferner auch der Grund, weshalb ich die mir gegen Ende meines zweijährigen Aufenthalts unter den Giljaken von Jutschin, Tenghan und Anderen unter die Feder diktirten giljakischen Lieder so wenig verstehe, dass ich nur einzelne Worte derselben, so wie die darin vorkommenden Orts- und Eigennamen erkennen kann. Nicht anders ist es auch Dr. Grube ergangen, obgleich ihm ausser meinem giljakischen Vokabular auch das von Glehn gesammelte lexikalische Material zu Gebote stand. Nur das mir von Jutschin unter dem Namen *Walghytsch* mitgetheilte Lied[1]) hat für mich ein grösseres Interesse, und das auch nur wegen der Erläuterungen, die er mir in Beziehung auf den darin erwähnten oder

1) N. III. in Dr. Grube's giljakischem Worterverzeichniss, s. Anhang zum III. Bde dieses Werks, p. 41.

besungenen Ort Mygh-wo gab, einen Ort, wohin nach dem Glauben der Giljaken die Seelen der eines natürlichen Todes Verstorbenen wandern sollen. Doch darüber später.

Dürftiger noch, aber lange nicht so eigenartig wie der Gesang sind die musikalischen Leistungen der Giljaken. Abgesehen von der Schamanentrommel, die anderen Zwecken dient, kennen die Giljaken nur zwei musikalische Instrumente, — beide von sehr primitiver Art. Das eine derselben ist eine Maultrommel oder ein Brummeisen (gilj. *kanga* oder *watschranga*, oltsch. *mugheng*), ein Instrument, das sie angeblich von den «Mandshu» beziehen und demgemäss recht hoch schätzen, das aber von so einfacher Beschaffenheit ist, dass sie es sehr wohl auch selbst herstellen könnten. Es ist in dreierlei Formen unter ihnen verbreitet: aus Messing, aus Holz und aus Eisen. (S. unten die Holzschnitte a. b. c.). Die erstere (a) besteht aus einem ein paar Zoll langen, schmalen Plättchen aus Messingblech, in das der Länge nach eine zungenförmige, an einem Ende mit der Umrahmung im Zusammenhang gebliebene Lamelle geschnitten ist. Beide Enden der Umrahmung sind durchbohrt und mit einem Zwirnfaden versehen, um das Instrument vor dem Munde zu halten und durch Ausstossung der Luft die zungenförmige Lamelle in Schwingungen zu versetzen. Die zweite (b), aus einem dünnen Holzplättchen gemachte Form wird ebenso gehandhabt, nur ist sie überhaupt breiter, und die anfangs ebenfalls breite Zungenlamelle verjüngt sich erst plötzlich von der halben Länge an und ist dort mit einem kleinen Loch und einem genau hineinpassenden Stiftchen versehen, um der Vibration nachhelfen und sie beliebig moduliren zu können. Die dritte Form (c) endlich besteht aus einem schmalen und ziemlich massiven eisernen Bügel, zwischen dessen Schenkeln eine dünne, am freien Ende aufwärts gebogene Lamelle aus demselben Metall sich befindet. Um auf dieser Maultrommel zu spielen, wird sie gewöhnlich mit dem eisernen Blatt eines Beiles an die Lippen gedrückt, was die Töne reiner hervortreten lässt und ihnen zugleich als Resonanz dient.

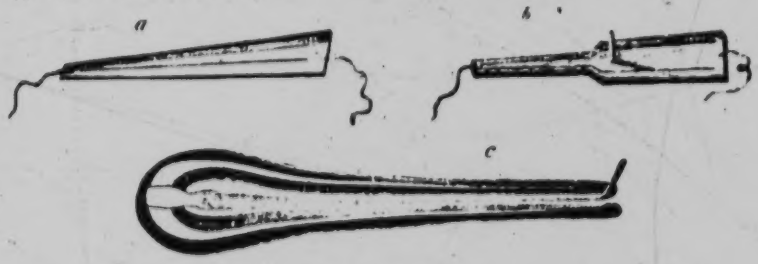

Giljakische Maultrommeln.

Der Giljake liebt es sehr, in seinen Mussestunden, auf der Schlafbank ausgestreckt, zur Maultrommel zu greifen und ihr die auch beim Gesange seinem Ohr so wohlgefälligen Triller und sonstige, immer etwas melancholisch klingende Melodien zu entlocken. Und die Kunstfertigkeit, die er dabei an den Tag legt, ist in der That ganz ausserordentlich.

Z: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Das andere musikalische Instrument, das den Giljaken zwar ebenfalls bekannt ist, aber lange keine solche Verbreitung unter ihnen hat, ist ein Streichinstrument, ein Monochord oder eine ganz primitive Geige (gilj. *tyngrsch*, oltsch. *tankara*). Sie besteht aus einem kleinen Cylindermantel von Birkenrinde (gilj. *tyngr-tschobrai*), der oben durch eine stramm ausgespannte Fischhaut (gil. *tschobrai-tywrch*) geschlossen ist. Quer durch denselben ist ein Stöckchen gesteckt, das mit einem Ende nur wenig, mit dem anderen aber recht weit aus dem Cylindermantel hervorragt. An das kurze Ende wird die Darmsaite befestigt, die von dort über einen auf der Fischhaut errichteten Steg (gilj. *twua*, wie beim Bogen) zum anderen Ende des Stöckchens verlauft, wo sich die zum Spannen der Saite dienliche Vorrichtung befindet. Der Fiedelbogen (gilj. *tyngr-puutsch*) ist stark gekrümmt und mit Rosshaar (gilj. *kich*) bespannt. Natürlich wird die Saite zwischen dem Stege und dem langen Ende des durch den Cylindermantel gesteckten Stockchens gestrichen. Das Instrument scheint mir, auch seiner Bezeichnung nach zu urtheilen, von oltschaischem, goldischem oder überhaupt tungusischem Ursprung zu sein. Ich habe es nur in Kidsi spielen sehen und hören, und die einförmig melancholische Melodie war den giljakischen sehr ähnlich.

Sehr charakteristisch für die ernste, nüchterne und praktische Sinnesart der Giljaken ist es, dass ich sie im Laufe von zwei Jahren niemals, weder auf ihrem Bärenfest, noch bei anderen Gelegenheiten, habe tanzen sehen: offenbar sagt ihnen diese Art geselliger Belustigung keineswegs zu. Middendorff ist es allerdings begegnet, aber das fand unter ganz aussergewöhnlichen Umständen statt: es war in Burukan, einem Ort, den die Giljaken nur in Handelsgeschäften besuchen; die vermuthlich durch Branntwein erhitzten Tungusen führten einen dämonisch wilden Tanz auf, zu dem die anfangs nur zuschauenden Giljaken sich endlich auch hinreissen liessen[1]. Sonst, meinten sie, thäten sie das nicht, wie es auch Middendorff in seinen handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen bemerkt. Und das verrieth auch ihr ganzes Benehmen dabei. Während die Tungusen in ihren kurzen, knappanliegenden Fellröcken sich leicht und geschickt bewegten, waren die Bewegungen der Giljaken, die ihre langen, bis zur halben Wade hinabreichenden Hundsfellpelze dabei anbehielten, in hohem Grade bärenartig plump und ungelenkig. Auch schloss der Tanz allemal, wenn sie es jenen recht nachmachen wollten, mit baldiger Ermüdung und einem lauten Ausplatzen in Lachen. So kindisch lächerlich kamen sie sich selbst bei diesem ihnen durchaus ungewohnten und fremden Gebahren vor.

Nicht minder verwunderlich war es mir, bei den Giljaken nichts Derartiges zu finden, was auf die Aufführung von Mummenspielen, oder theatralischen Vorstellungen hindeuten könnte, keine phantastischen Kostüme, keine Masken und drgl., während doch andere paläasiatische Völker, wie z. B. die Aleuten und nordwestamerikanischen Eskimo, so überreich daran sind und so grosse Freude an derlei Belustigungen finden, dass in den meist zu dem Zweck errichteten Kashims complicirte Vorrichtungen zum Aufstellen der Bühne, Auftreten

1. Middendorff, Reise etc. Bd. IV, p. 1486.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

der Schauspieler und drgl. vorhanden sind[1]. Die Giljaken scheinen somit von so nüchterner Sinnesart zu sein, dass sie auch keiner Illusion fähig sind.

Ihre geselligen Belustigungen sind hauptsächlich derart, dass sie den Männern Gelegenheit bieten, im gegenseitigen Wetteifer Proben grosser Geschicklichkeit, Unerschrockenheit, Kühnheit und Kraft an den Tag zu legen und sich hinterdrein an einem opulenten kräftigen Mahl zu laben, während die Weiber, ausser der sehr activen Betheiligung an der Herrichtung des letzteren, fast nur eine passive Rolle bei denselben spielen und kaum zum Genuss ihrer eignen Mühen gelangen. Im nächsten, ausschliesslich dem Bärenfest der Giljaken und der nächst angrenzenden Völker gewidmeten Abschnitt werde ich auch die in das Programm derselben gehörigen Belustigungen in der Reihenfolge, wie ich sie selbst kennen lernte, besprechen.

Hier mag aber noch eines nicht dahin gehörigen Spieles der Giljaken Erwähnung geschehen, das sie den Chinesen verdanken, ich meine das Kartenspiel. Es sind die bekannten kleinen chinesischen Spielkarten, die von chinesischen Händlern vom Sungari und oberen Ussuri den Amur abwärts durch das Gebiet der Golde und Oltscha getragen werden[2] und bis in die Hände der Giljaken gelangen. Diese haben für's Kartenspiel nur den Ausdruck *pai*, d. h. umsonst oder unentgeltlich, ein Beweis von der harmlosen Weise, in der es bisher betrieben wurde. In der That spielten die Giljaken zu meiner Zeit nur um Tabak, was im Hinblick auf den in der Regel gemeinsamen Genuss einer jeden Pfeife Tabaks sich noch mehr als ein ganz unschuldiges Vergnügen abhebt. Dennoch wussten sie, dass die «Mandshu» (Chinesen) einen ganz anderen Gebrauch davon machten und um weit höhere Einsätze spielten. Przewalski schildert die grosse Verbreitung, die das Kartenspiel unter den Chinesen im oberen Ussuri- und im angrenzenden Küstengebiet, besonders am Zymu-che und Ssutschan, hat, wo ein im Winter arbeitsloses Gesindel ganze Tage und Nächte hindurch im Kartenspiel verbringt und den Ruin manches ehemals reichen Hausbesitzers verursacht[3]. Unter diesen Umständen darf man sich wundern, dass es sich nicht rascher den Amur abwärts verbreitet hat, und dass es namentlich unter den hab- und gewinnsüchtigen Giljaken keinen günstigen Boden gefunden hat. Es liegt das ohne Zweifel auch an der Energie, mit welcher sich diese die Chinesen vom Leibe zu halten gewusst haben. Mittlerweile mag es ihnen übrigens auch von russischer Seite zugetragen worden sein.

Bevor ich an die Schilderung des Bärenfestes der Giljaken gehe, muss ich in Betreff ihrer oben berührten socialen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse noch einen kurzen vergleichenden Blick auf die ihnen zunächst benachbarten Völker, die Oltscha und Golde, werfen.

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1) Ueber die theatralischen Aufführungen der Aleuten s. insbesondere: Veniaminov. Зап. объ остр. Уналаск. отд., С. Петерб. 1840, ч. II, стр. 85, 93. Hinsichtlich der Eskimo vrgl. oben p. 343, 344.

2) Maack (Путеш. на Амуръ, стр. 198) sah z. B. diese chinesischen Spielkarten, das Spiel aus 120 Karten zusammengesetzt, bei den Golde von Tkka im Gebrauch.

3) Пржевальскій, Путеш. въ Уссур. крав. С. Петерб. 1870, стр. 90.

Wie die Giljaken, so waren auch die **Oltscha** zu meiner Zeit, nachdem der officielle mandshu-chinesische Handelsort Deren etwa in den 20-er Jahren aufgehoben worden war, weder China, noch Russland tributpflichtig. Nur wenn die Einen oder die Anderen sich des Handels wegen nach dem Sungari begaben, mussten sie, wie oben[1]) schon erwähnt, um die Erlaubniss dazu zu erhalten, den Beamten in Ssan-ssin einen gewissen Tribut entrichten. Dennoch war in der Stellung dieser beiden Völker zu der unlängst und gewissermassen nur zwangsweise von den Mandshu-Chinesen aufgegebenen Herrschaft über dieselben ein sehr merklicher Unterschied vorhanden. Die energischeren Giljaken beachteten fortan die ihnen wohl auch vordem unliebsamen, von der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung behufs Tributserhebung eingesetzten Bezirksältesten nicht mehr und gestatteten weder einem Mandshu-Beamten, noch einem chinesischen Kaufmann ihr Land zu betreten. Die sanftmüthigeren und ängstlicheren Oltscha hingegen fanden keinen Muth zu solchem Entschluss: sie standen noch unter der Furcht vor einer Wiederkehr der mandshu-chinesischen Herrschaft und der Ereignisse, die nach der Aufhebung des in ihrem Gebiet gelegenen Handelsortes Deren erfolgt zu sein scheinen[2]). Diese Furcht lässt sich zum Theil dadurch erklären, dass die ihnen unmittelbar benachbarten unteren Golde, sowie die Samagirn am Gorin auch fernerhin noch unter mandshu-chinesischer Botmässigkeit verblieben und die Oltscha von dorther manche Flüchtlinge und Zuzügler erhielten. Zum Theil wurde sie auch dadurch genährt, dass die unter den Oltscha hie und da weilenden chinesischen Kaufleute, jeglicher Kontrole, wie sie ehemals durch die Mandshu-Beamten in Deren geübt worden, enthoben, nunmehr den Oltscha gegenüber mit noch grösserer Breitspurigkeit und Dreistigkeit auftraten, zumal da sie bei ihnen die altgewohnte, devote Unterwürfigkeit fanden.

Die Furcht vor einer Wiederkehr der mandshu-chinesischen Herrschaft und die damit verbundene Unsicherheit des Besitzes, sowie andererseits auch die in der tungusischen Natur der Oltscha liegende, den Giljaken gegenüber weit geringere Betriebsamkeit und Gewinnsucht machen es ferner erklärlich, dass der grössere oder geringere Wohlstand bei ihnen lange keine so ansehnliche Rolle wie bei jenen spielt und dass ihnen somit auch die sociale Gliederung, die sich auf Grundlage desselben entwickelt hat, mehr oder weniger abgeht. Nicht, dass es auch unter ihnen manche reiche Individuen gäbe, wie z. B. Todo in Tschiloi, der zu den wenigen Oltscha gehörte, die sogar einen Luchspelz besassen[3]). Allein der Reichthum kommt bei ihnen überhaupt nicht in dem Grade wie bei den Giljaken in Betracht, und die damit Gesegneten geniessen daher auch lange nicht das Ansehen, den moralischen Einfluss und die Popularität, die sie bei den letzteren haben. Dies hat aber seinen Grund zum grossen Theil auch wieder in der grösseren Betriebsamkeit und Gewinnsucht der Giljaken. Wenn Einer von diesen zu einem gewissen Reichthum gelangt, so bleibt er unablässig bemüht, ihn durch Ankauf neuer Pelzwaaren im Umkreise und auf Handelsreisen zu vergrössern, wodurch sein Name und Ansehen

1) Vrgl. p. 407.
2) S. oben, p. 624—628.
3) S. oben p. 390.

weit und breit im Lande bekannt werden. Die Oltscha hingegen sind in dieser Beziehung von entschieden trägerem und genügsamerem Naturell.

Ein anderer socialer Zug, der die Oltscha von den Giljaken unterscheidet, besteht darin, dass ihr Communismus sich weit weniger als bei den letzteren nur in den Grenzen der Stammesangehörigkeit bewegt. Und das ist aus dem Grunde erklärlich, weil sie zwar einerseits mit den Giljaken nach ihrer Lebensweise, ihren Sitten und Gebräuchen am meisten übereinstimmen, andererseits aber ringsum von nahe verwandten tungusischen Stämmen umgeben sind, mit denen sie mancherlei gemeinsame Charakterzüge haben und deren Mundarten ihnen leicht verständlich sind. Dank diesem um Vieles abgeschwächten Nationalbewusstsein findet bei ihnen zwar der einzelne Mann in Fällen der Noth keinen solchen Halt an seinen begüterteren Landsleuten wie bei den Giljaken, dafür aber herrscht in der Gesammtheit ein entschieden milderer und humanerer Geist als bei den letzteren.

Einen sprechenden Beleg dafür, dass die Oltscha und ebenso die Golde, Samagirn u. s. w. ihren Communismus nicht auf so enge Stammesgrenzen wie die Giljaken beschränken, geben die oben[1]) bereits besprochenen Jagdgepflogenheiten ab. Am Gorin z. B. haben Oltscha, Golde und Samagirn ihre Jagdzelte, diese stehen aber mit ihrem Haus- und Jagdgeräth allen Jägern offen, gleichviel von welcher Nationalität sie seien, unter der stillschweigenden Voraussetzung, dass keine Entwendung der Jagdausbeuten oder Utensilien stattfindet. Damit wird also auch eine über die Stammesgrenzen hinausgehende Ehrlichkeit vorausgesetzt. Und dass eine solche in der That statt hat, habe ich selbst Gelegenheit gehabt zu erfahren. In einem Jagdzelt sah ich z. B. ein ganzes noch nicht abgebalgtes Moschusthier liegen, das ich gern kaufen wollte. Der Eigenthümer, ein Oltscha, war jedoch abwesend, und das Zelt hatte, als ich hinkam, leer gestanden. Mein Führer, ein Golde, meinte indess, der Handel sei dennoch leicht abzuschliessen, und das Thier nicht mehr wie ein Bündel Tabaksblätter werth. Ich erhöhte nun den Preis auf 2 Bündel, worauf er an die Stelle des entnommenen Thieres ein Holzstäbchen mit Einkerbungen setzte, davon die eine, obere Einkerbung besagte, dass ein Thier erstanden sei, und die auf einer anderen Seite unten angebrachten Einkerbungen die Zahl der dafür gezahlten Gegenstände angaben, die in natura vorlagen. Als ich später durch Zufall denselben Oltscha am Amur traf, bestätigte er mir den erwähnten Preis für das Moschusthier erhalten zu haben und mit dem Handel ganz zufrieden zu sein. Eine ebensolche Achtung haben die Oltscha, Golde, Samagirn auch vor dem Eigenthum des Reisenden; ich habe in ihren Dörfern nie einen Diebstahl, geschweige denn eine gewaltsame Entwendung an meinen Effekten bemerkt, wie sie bei den Giljaken wohl vorkommen. Freilich geschieht das aber nicht immer aus Ehrlichkeit, sondern zum Theil verhindern sie daran ihre grössere Genügsamkeit und ein geringeres Bestreben ihren Besitz zu mehren, so wie zum Theil auch ihr ängstlicheres und furchtsameres Naturell.

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1) S. 581.

Auch die Gastfreiheit endlich ist bei den Oltscha und anderen tungusischen Stämmen weit weniger national gefärbt als bei den Giljaken. Sie ist überhaupt mit mehr entgegenkommender Dienstfertigkeit und Gefälligkeit verbunden und wird in civileren und freundlicheren Formen zum Ausdruck gebracht. Zuweilen empfängt Einen der Wirth des Hauses schon an der Thür, beugt zum Gruss den Kopf oder sagt auch ein freundliches *ssoro-de*, guten Tag, und ladet Einen mit einer Handbewegung zum Eintreten ein. Mitunter wird vor dem Reisenden auch ein Knie gebeugt, wie es die Samagirn und die Golde in der Regel thun und zwar die letzteren in einer um so devoteren Form, je weiter man stromaufwärts, d. h, je näher man zu den Mandshu und Chinesen kommt, ja die oberen Golde legen beim Kniebeugen wohl auch die Handflächen gleichsam bittend an einander. Im Hause breitet der Wirth für den Reisenden einen kleinen Teppich auf der Schlafbank aus und stellt ein Schemeltischchen und ein Becken mit glimmenden Kohlen (*Tachalacco*) daneben, ja er zündet wohl auch seine Pfeife an den Kohlen an und reicht sie dem Gast, in der Erwartung, dass dieser ein Gleiches thue, — lauter von den Mandshu und Chinesen abgelernte Sitten. Inzwischen haben die Weiber die Effekten des Reisenden vom Schlitten gehoben und ebenfalls in's Haus gebracht.

Sehr wohlthuend berührt Einen in den Häusern der Oltscha, Golde und Samagirn auch die leichtere, von den Fesseln des Aberglaubens so sehr viel freiere Bewegung. Ich habe trotz vielfachen Verkehrs in denselben keinen oltschaischen oder goldischen Ausdruck für das giljakische *Ütsch* gehört, und niemals äussert es sich in wiederholten, von allen Seiten der Jurte als Zeichen des allgemeinen Unwillens erschallenden Zurufen, wie es mir bei den Giljaken so oft begegnet ist[1]). Dazu sind sie schon zu bescheiden und zurückhaltend. Endlich muss ich bei den Oltscha und Golde noch eines Zeichens humanerer Gesinnung oder wenigstens civilerer Form gedenken: das Danken, das den Giljaken so ganz und gar fern zu liegen scheint, glaube ich bei jenen wiederholt in dem Ausdruck *fudomonero* vernommen zu haben.

Anders als mit den Giljaken und Oltscha verhielt es sich zu meiner Zeit in politisch-administrativer Beziehung mit den Golde. Diese waren, gleichwie die Samagirn und Orotschen, auch nach der Aufhebung des Handelsorts Deren der mandshu-chinesischen Regierung tributpflichtig verblieben, ein Verhältniss, das erst 1858 nach dem Abschluss des Aiguner Traktats zwischen Russland und China und der in Folge dessen erfolgten definitiven Besitznahme vom unteren Amur-Lande durch die Russen sein Ende erreichte. Um die Erhebung des Tributs (gold. *álba*) zu organisiren, benutzte die mandshu-chinesische Regierung die bei den Amur-Völkern seit Alters vorhandene Gliederung nach väterlichen Geschlechtern oder Stämmen (*hala*) und setzte einem jeden derselben einen Stammältesten (*halada*) vor, der den Tribut zu empfangen und darüber, sowie über die in seinem Stamme vorgekommenen Sterbefälle und

1) Auf Grund des vielfachen *Ütsch* in den giljakischen Jurten machte ich für die in meinem Hause im Nikolajefschen Posten verkehrenden Giljaken ebenfalls die Beobachtung von dreierlei *Ütsch* obligatorisch. Sie durften nämlich: 1) sich nicht auf mein Bett setzen, 2) nicht mitten auf die Diele spucken, und 3) nicht ihren, sondern nur meinen Tabak rauchen, — ein *Ütsch*, das sie besonders gern einhielten.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Neugeburten buchzuführen und dem Mandshu-Beamten, der von Zeit zu Zeit das Land bereisen musste, Rechenschaft darüber abzugeben und den eingesammelten Tribut einzuhändigen hatte. Ursprünglich soll die Würde des Halada in jedem Stamme erblich gewesen sein. Da sich jedoch die einzelnen Stämme über verschiedene Dörfer aus- und durcheinander verbreiteten, so wandelte sich allmählich die Eintheilung nach Stämmen in eine solche nach Bezirken um, zu denen mehrere Dörfer gehörten, in deren einem der meist von Mandshu-Beamten ernannte Halada seinen Sitz hatte. Diese Verwaltung des unteren Amur-Landes durch die mandshu-chinesische Regierung lernte auch Mamia-Rinsö in demselben kennen, anfangs auf Sachalin, bis wohin sie sich damals erstreckte und später in Deren und am Amur-Strome. Im Munde des Japaners aber, der die Buchstaben *l* und *d* durch *r* und *t* ersetzt, nahm die Bezeichnung des Stammältesten *halada* die Form *harata* an [1]). Obgleich nun für die Bezirke die Namen der Stämme beibehalten wurden, so musste doch mit dieser zu administrativen Zwecken geeigneteren Volks- oder Landeseintheilung das Bewusstsein der Stammeszugehörigkeit im Volke mehr und mehr schwinden. Der Golde Dshinga z. B., auf dessen Erzählung die obigen und noch folgenden, handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen von Maximowicz beruhen, musste sich auf den Namen seines eigenen Stammes lange besinnen, während er die einem Halada unterstellten Dörfer ohne Weiteres herzuzählen wusste. Dieses Vorwiegen eines administrativen Gesichtspunktes bei den Golde, wie er ihnen durch die mandshu-chinesische Regierung beigebracht worden, im Gegensatz zu dem ganz und gar durch Familienverhältnisse, die Satzungen des Erbrechts und der Blutrache, bedingten Begriff des Kall bei den Giljaken [2]), bildet einen sehr charakteristischen Unterschied zwischen diesen Völkern. Die Halada's, von denen Dshinga zu erzählen wusste, waren: ein giljakischer in Tschomi, oltschaische in Uchtr, Kasm und Ganwue, obgleich es bei den Giljaken und Oltscha längst keine mehr gab, und eine Anzahl goldischer; so in Kourmi, ein Halada, dem auch die Samagir-Dörfer am Gorin unterstellt waren, in Zollazi, Dsongmi, Odshal, Boolan, Emero, Katar und Kewurda, für den unterhalb des Ussuri von links einmündenden Kewur-Fluss, u. s. w. Auch die Namen einiger Stämme und der Dörfer, über die sie sich ausgebreitet hatten, waren ihm bekannt; so die Tummala-hala mit den Dörfern Belho, Chome etc., die Ssioiger-hala mit 13 Dörfern, darunter Odshob, die Bjekde-hala, die Dorfer Daisso, Dole, Dshare, Kjaure, Ssoja, Chula und andere umfassend; die Possar-hala mit den Dörfern Mare, Tolho, Adseko, Dondon, Da, Gassieng; die Geikar- oder Onni-hala mit den Dörfern Naiche, Dyrerga, Boaza; die Dsjads'chor-hala, zum Theil ebenfalls in Tolho und Da; die Kilengko-hala, zum Theil in Gassieng wohnhaft, die Achtar-hala in Ssündaka, die Udi-hala in Kewurda u. s. w.

Der Halada hat, ausser seinen oben erwähnten Verpflichtungen auch für die Instandhaltung des in seinem Bezirk gelegenen, zum zeitweisen Aufenthalt eines angereisten Mandshu-Beamten dienlichen Tributhäuschens (*giassa*), für Versorgung desselben mit Fischvorräthen, für Bootreparaturen und drgl. mehr einzustehen. Diese Tributhäuschen, deren eines z. B. dem Orte

1) S. oben, p. 620. Die Etymologie der von demselben Reisenden für den Nachstbesten des Stammes gebrauchten Bezeichnung *kasinta* ist mir unbekannt.

2) S. oben, p. 692 u. ff.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Mylki gegenüber am rechten Amur-Ufer in einer durch eine Insel geschlossenen Flussbucht liegt, haben das Aussehen eines pallisadirten goldischen Dauro's. Zur Zeit, wann der Mandshu-Beamte seinen Aufenthalt in der Giassa hat, muss der Halada für eine möglichst weite und allgemeine Verbreitung der Kunde davon sorgen, damit diejenigen, die ihren Tribut noch nicht entrichtet haben, sich in derselben einfinden können.

Der Tribut besteht in einem Zobelfell per männliche Seele, und tributpflichtig ist Jeder, der das 15-te Jahr zurückgelegt hat. Jeder Tributzahlende erhält ein Gegengeschenk, das je nach Umständen aus mehreren Stücken, aber verschiedener chinesischer Baumwollenzeuge besteht, die bei den Golde unter den Namen *ssamssa*, *ssangnja*, *chodo-* und *amba-bosso* bekannt sind, von weisser, blauer, auch rother Farbe, die beiden ersteren zu je 4, die *chodo-bosso* zu 8 und die *amba-bosso* zu 10 Faden Länge das Stück. Die Anzahl der Zeugstücke, mit denen der Tributzobel vergütet wird, richtet sich nach der grösseren oder geringeren Menge, in welcher das Zeug in Itscha-choton vorhanden ist. Im Jahre 1855 z. B. vergüteten die Mandshu in Itscha-choton den Tribut nur mit je 4 Stück *ssamssa* und 2 Stück *chodo-bosso*, während sie in früheren Jahren 4 Stück *ssamssa*, 8 Stück *ssangnja* und 1 Stück *amba-bosso* für jeden Tributzobel gaben. Ausserdem vergüten die Mandshu den Tributzobel höher, wenn man selbst nach Itscha-choton reist, als wenn man ihn dem Beamten an Ort und Stelle einliefert.

Der Halada unterscheidet sich von den Uebrigen dadurch, dass er zwei Tributzobel jährlich zahlt und dafür ausser jenen Baumwollenzeugen noch ein Stück Seidenzeug erhält. Wird aber ein neuer Halada eingesetzt, so muss er zuvor eine Inaugurationsfahrt nach Itscha-choton machen, was ihm eine Menge Zobel kostet. Dafür erhält er das Recht einen chinesischen Beamtenhut mit einem kleinen dunkelblauen Glasknopf zu tragen.

Da die Halada's in der Regel gar keine Vorstellung von der Zahl der in ihrem Gebiet angesessenen Eingeborenen haben und die dem Mandshu-Beamten zur Verpflichtung gemachte Buchführung sowohl über die Tributzahlenden, wie über die in der Zwischenzeit Verstorbenen oder Neugeborenen ebenfalls höchst mangelhaft ist, und da ferner ein Jeder sich der Tributzahlung nach Möglichkeit zu entziehen sucht und, wenn es ihm nicht gelingt, zur Strafe das Doppelte und Dreifache zahlen muss, so wird das Tributeinsammeln zu einem vollständigen Willkürakt und giebt zu Gewaltthätigkeiten und Erpressungen aller Art Anlass. Kaum dürfte sich in der That ein Mandshu-Beamter finden, der eine solche Gelegenheit, sich auf Kosten der Eingeborenen zu bereichern, unbenützt verstreichen liesse, und allgemein werden sie daher von den Golde gefürchtet und verabscheut, und wenn auch äusserlich devot behandelt, doch hinterrücks mit dem Spottnamen *ssingare*, Ratten, bezeichnet, weil sie wie diese ihren Hauptreichthum, die Zobelfelle, verzehren.

Die beständige Aussicht, von den Mandshu-Beamten gewaltsam ausgeplündert zu werden, und das Gefühl der Ohnmacht den chinesischen Händlern gegenüber, die sie durch Vorschüsse von allerhand Waaren, insbesondere von Branntwein, Tabak, Kleidungsstoffen und drgl. zu ihren ständigen Schuldnern machen, benehmen den Golde alle Lust und Freudigkeit am Besitz und seiner Vermehrung. Dazu kommt die durch die letzteren verursachte Zerrüttung ihrer

Familienverhältnisse, sowie die mehr oder minder allen Naturvölkern, insbesondere aber den leichtlebigen Tungusen eigene Sorglosigkeit und Trägheit, an die Arbeit anders als von äusserster Noth gedrängt zu gehen. In diesen Lebensverhältnissen und Charaktereigenschaften der Golde liegt der Grund, wesshalb sie trotz des grossen Wild- und Fischreichthums ihrer Heimath doch lange nicht in dem Wohlstande wie die Oltscha und die Giljaken leben und der letztere auch kein so massgebendes Moment in ihren socialen Verhältnissen abgiebt.

Aus denselben Gründen erklärt sich auch ihr in der Regel etwas gedrücktes und ängstliches Wesen, das mit dem Selbstgefühl und Freimuth der Giljaken in starkem Contrast steht. Die Unterwürfigkeit den Mandshu-Chinesen gegenüber geht soweit, dass sie ihnen auch stets nach dem Sinn zu reden suchen und nichts zu äussern wagen, was diesen irgend wie unlieb sein könnte, daher sie auch, wenn sie dies merken oder befürchten, sogleich bereit sind, das Gegentheil von dem soeben Gesagten zu behaupten. Dieses ihnen zur Natur gewordene Benehmen ihren tyrannischen Herrschern gegenüber glaubten sie, als Führer und Ruderer auf unseren Booten, auch gegen uns beobachten zu müssen. Lautete z. B. die Antwort auf unsere Frage, ob es noch weit bis zum nächsten Dorfe sei, «ja, weit», und wurde unsererseits nur ein leiser, unliebsamer Zweifel daran ausgesprochen, so hiess es sogleich, «nein, es ist nahe». Gern sondiren sie daher zuvor, was man wohl selbst meine, und geben die Antwort in demselben Sinne ab, oder sie lautet auch nur schlechtweg *nossa* «weiss nicht», oder aber in naiverer Weise: *bichaissa, ssissare*, «wie soll ich wissen, Du weisst es», — eine Antwort, die uns oft, zumal in Dingen, die ihnen wohlbekannt sein mussten, in Entrüstung versetzte. Immer aber söhnten uns die überaus grosse Gutmüthigkeit, Friedfertigkeit, Ehrlichkeit und Leichtlebigkeit dieses Volkes mit seinen durch die Mandshu-Chinesen ihm beigebrachten Untugenden wieder aus. Unausgesetzt die Schritte der Russen im Amur-Lande verfolgend, hatte die mandshu-chinesische Regierung den Golde untersagt, uns als Führer oder als Ruderer auf unseren Booten zu dienen. Dieses Verbot wurde von ihnen allerdings nicht eingehalten, da sie nicht die Kraft hatten, den guten Preisen, die wir ihnen boten, zu widerstehen und wohl auch nichts Uebles darin sahen, den ihnen verhassten Mandshu, so lange es ihnen keine Gefahr brachte, nicht zu gehorchen. Aengstlich vermieden sie aber jeden Ort, wo sich ein Regierungsbeamter aufhielt, und als ihnen dies einmal nicht gelang und sie ihn doch zu Gesicht bekamen, war ihre Angst so gross, dass sie ihre Verpflichtung uns gegenüber sogleich auflösen und, ohne ihren Lohn erhalten zu haben, davonziehen wollten, was nur durch Androhung von Gewaltmassregeln unsrerseits verhindert werden konnte. Das störte jedoch unser gutes Verhältniss keineswegs, denn nachdem die Angst sich gelegt hatte, waren sie froh, des Lohnes nicht verlustig gegangen zu sein, und bald trat auch die frühere Willigkeit und Freundlichkeit, ja selbst Heiterkeit wieder ein. Wenn des Tags zur Mahlzeit gelandet, oder nach mehrtägiger Fahrt gar ein Rasttag gehalten wurde, gab es zum Zeitvertreib immer bald Gesang, bald irgend ein, sei es ganz naturwüchsiges, sei es auch den Mandshu-Chinesen abgelerntes Spiel, deren wir auf diese Weise bei den Golde mehrere kennen lernten. Bald wurde z. B. ein Seil, dasselbe, das sonst zum Stromaufwärtsziehen des Bootes diente, von zwei Mann hin- und hergeschwungen, während

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

ein Dritter verschiedene Evolutionen über demselben machte, so jedoch, dass das Seil stets unbehindert durchschwingen konnte, — ein Spiel, das *tabbaterè* heisst: zuerst warf sich der Betreffende dabei auf alle Viere und liess das Seil, abwechselnd auf die Arme oder auf die Beine gestützt, durchschwingen: dann legte er sich auf den Rücken, warf die Beine in die Höhe und übersprang das Seil mit den Armen u. s. w. Nach etwa 3 bis 4 Evolutionen verschiedenen Charakters, sobald das Seil stockte, trat ein anderer Mann ein[1]). Bald gab es ein Wettringen (gold. *nguatsche*), bald ein Wettspringen, sei es auf einem Bein (*toomendi*), sei es auf beiden, aber mit geschlossenen Beinen und ohne Anlauf (*derindi*), wobei es darauf ankam, sich durch eine gewaltsame Armbewegung einen Schwung nach vorn zu geben: wer den Anderen zu Boden geworfen, resp. den weitesten Sprung gethan, blieb Sieger. Ein anderes Mal zeichneten unsre Golde ein Schachbrett auf den feuchten Ufersand und führten mit Holzstäbchen von zweierlei Art verschiedene schach- oder richtiger dammartige Spiele darauf aus. Eines derselben, dem ich beiwohnte und das sie nach seinem Ursprunge «Mandshu» oder nach der Anzahl der beiderseitigen Holzstäbchen *tonga-* (Fünfer-) *anaka* nannten, bestand in Folgendem. Das quadratische Schachbrett wurde in 4×4 kleinere Quadrate oder Felder getheilt; die Spielenden erhielten je 5 mit einem Abzeichen versehene Stäbchen, die sie zunächst auf 2 einander gegenüber gelegenen Seiten desselben in die Kreuzungspunkte der die Felder begrenzenden Linien setzten. Abwechselnd durfte nun Jeder einen Schritt vor-, seit- oder auch rückwärts längs diesen Linien, nicht aber in der Diagonale der Felder thun. Sobald zwei Stäbchen des Einen hinter einander auf derselben horizontalen oder vertikalen Linie standen und unmittelbar davor ein Stäbchen des Gegners sich befand, wurde dieses weggenommen, und so fort bis alle Stäbchen des Einen oder des Anderen beseitigt waren. Wie schon die besondere Bezeichnung dieses Spieles (*tonga-anaka*) andeutete, haben die Golde gewiss noch mancherlei andere von derselben Art, die sie theils den Mandshu oder Chinesen abgelernt, theils auch selbst combinirt haben mögen.

Zuweilen vertrieben sie sich die Zeit auch dadurch, dass Einer oder der Andere ein Gesangsstück vortrug. Besonders zeichnete sich in dieser Beziehung ein junger Golde Namens Hykkerlakè aus, den ich auf meiner Rückreise den Amur stromabwärts oberhalb der Ussuri-Mündung als Führer annahm. Immer heiter und mittheilsam hatte er einen unerschöpflichen Vorrath nicht bloss goldischer, sondern angeblich auch mandshurischer und chinesischer Lieder, die er mir auch unterwegs in der Weise vortrug, dass er in seinem Rindenkahn hart an mein Boot heranruderte, mit seinem Bein sich daran hakte und sich so von diesem in's Schlepptau nehmen liess. Die goldischen Lieder haben zwar meistens auch etwas Melancholisches und Getragenes und werden in der Regel mit langgezogener Stimme vorgetragen, jedoch ohne die Gurgeltöne, die ein wesentliches Attribut des giljakischen Gesanges bilden, und es wohnt ihnen

1) Nach Castren (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845—1849, p. 223) kommt dieses Spiel auch bei den Tungusen am Jenissei vor, die dabei eine ausserordentliche Gewandtheit an den Tag legen, indem sie während des Springens über das geschwungene Seil noch einen Bogen und Pfeile vom Boden aufheben, den Bogen spannen und die Pfeile abschiessen, — ja besonders kühne Leute unter ihnen sollen sogar auf dieselbe Weise ihre Beine der Schneide einer Barenaxt aussetzen, die eine auf dem Boden ausgestreckte Person mit äusserster Kraft herumschwingt.

weit mehr Melodie und Wohlklang der Sprache inne. Die chinesischen dagegen schienen mir im Munde der Golde sehr gekünstelt, um nicht zu sagen entstellt zu sein.

Da vorhin, bei Besprechung der socialen Verhältnisse der Giljaken, auch ihrer Zeitrechnung gedacht worden ist, so mögen hier einige Bemerkungen über denselben Punkt bei ihren Nachbarn auf dem Festlande, den Oltscha und Golde, folgen. Trotz der bereits weit vorgeschrittenen Assimilirung der Oltscha nach ihrer Lebensweise und ihren Sitten mit den Giljaken stimmt ihre Zeitrechnung doch nicht mit der giljakischen, sondern mit derjenigen ihrer südlichen, tungusischen Nachbarn, der Golde und, wie es scheint, auch der Mandshu überein. In den handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen von Maximowicz, der sich unter den beiden Völkern länger aufgehalten hat, finde ich darüber folgende Notizen. «Fragt man, heisst es da, einen Oltscha oder Golde nach ihrer Zeiteintheilung, so lautet die Antwort in der Regel: «wie sollen wir das wissen, frage die Mandshu oder Chinesen, die werden es Dir sagen». Zwar weiss ein Jeder einen oder den anderen Monat zu nennen und auch die Jahreszeit, in die er fällt: *obtua* (Winter), *niengnia* (Frühling), *dshoa* (Sommer) oder *bolo* (Herbst), aber darüber geht es meist nicht hinaus. In Mylki traf ich endlich einen Golde der mir 12 Monate nannte, doch weiss ich nicht, ob alle Namen goldischen, oder einige vielleicht mandshurischen, oder gar chinesischen Ursprungs sind. Diese 12 Monate (*bie*) des Jahres (*aingunie*) hiessen nach ihm folgendermassen: *Nguiren* (in welchem das Eis auf dem Strom sich einzustellen pflegt), *Itschia* (in welchem der Strom sich mit einer festen Eisdecke belegt), *Gusse*, *Agdsema*, *Naidsema*, *Chu*, *Chicla* (in welchem das Eis bricht), *Niüngun-bie* (der 6-te Mond), *Nadan-bie* (der 7-te Mond), *Dshakfun-bie* (der 8-te Mond), *Chiijun-bie* (der 9-te Mond) und *Dshoan-bie* (der 10-te Mond). Nun nannte er aber trotz seiner Behauptung, dass das Jahr nur 12 Monde (*bie*) habe noch einen dreizehnten *Potkianko*, in welchem die Lachsart *daua* (*Salmo lagocephalus*) gefangen und viel Jukola aus derselben bereitet wird». In Odshal lernte Maximowicz ferner einen Golde kennen, der ihm die obigen Angaben zum Theil bestätigte und zum Theil noch durch folgende, die einzelnen Monate kennzeichnende Naturverhältnisse oder Beschäftigungen der Golde und Oltscha ergänzte. «Im *Nguiren*, meinte er, da der Fluss friert, zieht man in die Berge und Wälder, auf den Zobelfang und kommt erst, nachdem man im *Itschia*, *Gusse*, *Agdsema* und *Naidsema* der Jagd obgelegen, im *Chu-bie* nach Hause. Während die Golde auf der Jagd sind, machen die Oltscha ihre Handelsfahrten zu den Orotschen (was sie übrigens zum Theil auch im Sommer thun). Im *Chicla* geht der Fluss auf; man fängt dann *adi* (*Acipenser orientalis*) und *uja* (*Cyprinus carpio*) in Menge und trocknet davon, was man nicht aufisst. Der *Nadan-bie* ist fischarm. Im *Dshakfun-bie* wird *uru*, unterhalb Kidsi auch *sselke* (*Salmo Lycaodon*), sowie *uja*, *kundu* (*Acip. Schrenckii*) und einzeln und selten auch *adi* gefangen. Im *Dshoan-bie* und im *Potkianko* findet der Fang der *daua* und die Bereitung von Jukola aus derselben statt. Mit dem *Potkianko* beginnt man das Zählen der Monate im Jahr und zählt, (wie übrigens auch bei den Giljaken) nicht nach Tagen, sondern nach Nächten».

Selbstverständlich können sich die 13 Monate der Golde mit unseren 12 nicht genau decken. Die in denselben statthabenden Naturereignisse und Beschäftigungen der Eingeborenen

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lassen jedoch die Monate, auf welche sich die goldischen Namen beziehen, deutlich genug erkennen. In einem Punkt übrigens stimmen die beiden Maximowicz'schen Gewährsmänner nicht mit einander überein: während der Mylki-Golde den *Potkianko* nur schlechtweg als einen 13-ten Monat nannte, bezeichnete ihn der Odshal-Golde direkt als denjenigen, mit welchem das Zählen der Monate, also das neue Jahr beginnt. Zählt man, namentlich nach Angabe des Mylki-Golde, von den nur durch Zahlen bezeichneten Monaten rückwärts, so kommt man auf den *Gusse-bie* als ersten im Jahr. Dies ist in wörtlicher Uebersetzung der *Tscham-long* oder Adlermonat, also Januar der Giljaken. Doch weiss ich nicht, ob die letzteren thatsächlich mit ihm die Zählung der Monate im Jahr beginnen, oder ob dies sowohl wie der resp. Name des Monats bei Giljaken und Golde auf mandshu-chinesischen Einfluss zurückzuführen ist. Bezüglich der Golde erfahren wir aber jedenfalls, dass ihr Neujahr mit dem *Potkianko* beginnt, dem Monate, da der Massenzug des *Salmo lagocephalus* den Amur stromaufwärts stattfindet. Dieses für alle Anwohner des Amur-Stromes, wie seiner Nebenflüsse hochwichtige Ereigniss tritt an seiner Mündung um die Mitte oder gegen Ende des August ein und dauert weiter aufwärts, im Gebiet der Oltscha und Golde, den ganzen September, ja im Ussuri mit abnehmender Energie auch noch im October, bis zur Bildung der Eisdecke fort[1]). Gleich wie daher bei den Giljaken auf dem Festlande der August, auf Sachalin aber, in Folge späteren Eintreffens jener Massenzüge von *Salmo lagocephalus*, der September als *pilja-tschrar-* oder schlechtweg *pilja-long*, d. i. »grosser Fisch« oder schlechtweg »Grosser Monat«, bezeichnet wird, so scheint es den Oltscha und Golde mit ihrem *Potkianko* zu gehen, der, bei jenen früher, bei diesen später, in den September bis October fällt und den Eintritt eines neuen Jahres und neuen Cyklus von Beschäftigungen inaugurirt[2]). Darin spricht sich jedenfalls ein nationaler Zug im Kalender der Golde und Oltscha aus. Auf den *Potkianko* folgen nun: *Nguiren*-November, *Itschin*-December, *Gusse*-Januar, *Agdsema*-Februar, *Naudsema*-März und *Chu-bie*-April, — lauter Monate, die die Golde zumeist und die Oltscha wenigstens zum grössten Theil auf der Jagd in den Wald- und Bergwildnissen zubringen. Erwägt man, von welch ausserordentlicher Bedeutung für sie diese Beschäftigung ist und wie gern sie ihr nachgehen, so erscheint es als charakteristisch, dass sie für diese Monate ebenfalls eigene, nicht bloss durch Zahlen bezeichnete Namen haben. Ihnen gesellt sich auch noch der *Chiela-bie*, Mai, hinzu, der für sie insofern von grösster Bedeutung ist, als sich ihnen alsdann mit dem Aufgange des Stromes und dem Beginn des Fischfanges und besonders der mit Harpunen betriebenen Jagd auf die grössten Fische des Stromes, die Hausen und Störe, eine neue Nahrungsquelle eröffnet. Für die nun folgenden Sommermonate Juni bis August haben sie hingegen, entsprechend dem weit geringeren Eifer, mit dem sie den übrigen Fischfang betreiben, nur Bezeichnungen durch Zahlen, die im Gebrauch manche Ungewissheiten nach sich ziehen mögen, im Gegensatz zu den mehr ichthyophagen Giljaken, die sich gerade für

1) S. oben, p. 825.

2) Sollte nicht auch die andere Bezeichnung *Potschaiwo-long*, die ich bei den Amur-Giljaken neben der gebräuchlicheren *Oni-lami-long* für den October hörte, auf den *Potkianko* zurückzuführen und also oltscha-goldischen Ursprungs sein?

diese Jahreszeit, vom Mai bis August, durchaus nationaler, auf den Fischfang bezüglicher Monatsnamen bedienen.

Ueber die kosmischen Vorstellungen der Golde haben weder Maximowicz, noch ich etwas Bestimmteres erfahren können. Maack[1]) theilt jedoch nach der Erzählung eines goldischen Gewährsmannes mit, dass sie die Erde um den Polarstern sich drehen lassen, den sie für den einzig unbeweglichen Stern am Himmel halten und daher *chadá-ossikta*, »unbeweglicher Stern«, nennen. Derselbe Mann wusste ihm auch die Namen einiger anderen Gestirne zu nennen. So soll der Jupiter bei ihnen *choraktá*, der Adler *ilan-ossikta* (Dreigestirn), α *lyrac-dsára*, α *aurigac-ssuen dsara*, der grosse Bär *faulja* heissen. Dem letzteren wird in China eine besondere Verehrung gezollt, denn nach Pauthier[2]) muss es in der Hauptstadt einer jeden der achtzehn Provinzen dieses Reiches unter anderen Tempeln auch einen dem Gestirn des Grossen Bären (*wen-tschang-li-kiun*) gewidmeten Tempel geben. Kein Wunder daher, dass diesem Gestirn, vielleicht unter mandshu-chinesischem Einfluss, auch im Amur-Lande von Golde und Giljaken eine besondere Beachtung geschenkt wird. Die Milchstrasse nennen die Golde *ba-mamgu*, was Maack mit der Bezeichnung Mamgu für den Amur in Beziehung bringt, obgleich diese richtiger Mangu lautet[3]). Sollte es übrigens eine derartige Beziehung geben, so könnte sie nur darin bestehen, dass die Golde in der Milchstrasse eine Abspiegelung des Amur-Stromes zu sehen glauben. Meinte doch auch der Mandshu Kächuing, mit dem wir an der Ussuri-Mündung zusammentrafen, indem er auf die zusammenfliessenden Arme der Milchstrasse hinwies: »*yi Sachali, yi Sungari*«, was an die Auffassung der Australier erinnerte, die in der Milchstrasse eine Abspiegelung des Darling-Stromes sehen, an dessen Ufer ihre verklärten Abgeschiedenen den Fischfang betreiben[4]).

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1) Путеш. на Амуръ, С. Петерб. 1859, стр. 184, 189.
2) Chine moderne ou descr. hist. géogr. et littér. de ce vaste emp. 2. Partie, p. 263. (L'Univers).
3) S. oben, p. 114—116.
4) Peschel, Volkerkunde, p. 352.

[P. 696]

13. Abschnitt[1].

(Die Bärenfeste. Deren cultueller Character und sociale Bedeutung. — Die Bärenfeste bei den Amur-Giljaken. Feierlichkeiten und Belustigungen vor und bei der Tödtung der Bären, sowie bei deren Verspeisung. Beisetzung der Gebeine und Schädel der Bären. Modificationen bei den Oltscha, sowie bei den Giljaken auf Sachalin und den Ainos.)

Im Leben aller Völker des Amur-Landes und Sibiriens bis nach Kamtschatka spielt der Bär eine hervorragende Rolle. Bei keinem von ihnen dürfte es aber in dem Maasse der Fall sein, wie bei den **Giljaken**. Die kolossale Grösse, die er im Amur-Lande erreicht[2], sein bösartiges Naturell, das ihn, vielleicht in Folge davon, dass er dort lange nicht die Fülle von Nahrung, wie in Kamtschatka findet, selbst vor einem Angriff auf den Menschen nicht zurückschrecken lässt, und sein immerhin häufiges Vorkommen machen ihn zum gefürchtetsten Raubthier des Landes. Kein Wunder daher, wenn sich die Phantasie der Giljaken viel mit ihm beschäftigt und ihn im Leben wie nach dem Tode mit furchtsam-abergläubischen Vorstellungen umgiebt. So herrscht unter ihnen z. B. der Glaube, dass die Seele eines im Kampf mit dem Bären gefallenen Giljaken in den Leib dieses Raubthiers wandere, wozu vielleicht hauptsächlich der Umstand Veranlassung gegeben hat, dass der Bär in seiner Lebensweise und seinen Geberden manche Aehnlichkeit mit ihnen verräth, indem er wie sie zum grossen Theil von den massenhaft in die Flüsse aufsteigenden Lachsen, von Beeren, Pflanzenknollen und drgl. sich nährt, wie sie zum Winter in Erdhöhlungen unter verschneitem Baumgezweig sich ein Lager bereitet, gleich ihnen sich zum Kampf aufrichtet u. s. w. Trotz alledem mag aber der Giljake auf den Hochgenuss, den Bärenfleisch und Speck seinem Gaumen bereiten, nicht verzichten, und ganz vornehmlich leckert es ihn darnach, wenn der Bär zuvor einige Zeit in der Gefangenschaft gelebt hat und mit Fisch gefüttert worden ist, denn diese Nahrung verleiht seinem Fleisch und Speck einen den Giljaken besonders angenehmen Fischbeigeschmack. Zudem darf man

1) Die Inhaltsangabe zu diesem Abschnitt fehlt im Manuscript.

2) Darüber s. meine Messungen an Bärenschädeln im I. Bd. dieses Werks, p. 8 ff.

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sich alsdann dem Genuss dieser Leckerbissen auch ganz gefahrlos und ungestraft hingeben, denn, um Letzteres zu erreichen, bedarf es nach giljakischer Vorstellung einer langen Reihe vorläufiger Handlungen, die sämmtlich dahin abzielen, den Bären bei seinen Lebzeiten durch Ehrenbezeugungen zu überlisten und über Alles, was mit ihm vorgenommen wird, gleichsam hinwegzutäuschen, nach seinem Tode aber durch Huldigungen, die noch den Manen des Erlegten erwiesen werden, die erzürnten Rachegeister des mächtigen Raubthiers zu besänftigen.

Die Ehrenbezeugungen beginnen gleich bei der Abführung des Bären in die Gefangenschaft. Ist der Bär in seinem Lager aufgefunden und nach erfolgreichem Kampf glücklich gefesselt worden, so wird er, wie schon erwähnt[1] im Triumphzuge auf zwei neben einander gestellten und zusammengebundenen Schlitten nach dem Ort, von welchem die Jäger ausgingen, gebracht und hier mit lautem Jubelrufen von Alt und Jung empfangen. Dasselbe geschieht auch, wenn ein Giljake von der nach Sachalin unternommenen Handelsreise heimkehrt und im Mittelraum seines Bootes einen oder ein paar auf der Insel gekaufte junge Bären mitbringt[2]. An Behausungen zur Aufnahme des Bären pflegt es in den giljakischen Dörfern niemals zu fehlen, nöthigenfalls wird ihm aber auch eine neue errichtet. Diese besteht aus einem viereckigen, mit einer kleinen, stark verrammelten Thür und einer noch kleineren, stets offenen Fensteröffnung versehenen, von oben unbedeckten Balkenkasten. Der Bär wird zum Hineinsteigen in denselben genöthigt und, nachdem er entfesselt worden, durch eine Lage darüber gebreiteter, vermittelst Stangen befestigter und mit Steinen beschwerter Bretter am Entweichen aus seinem Kerker verhindert. Von nun an gehört er gewissermaassen der ganzen Dorfgenossenschaft an, denn alle Glieder derselben haben für seine Pflege und Ernährung Sorgen und sind demgemäss auch berechtigt, an dem in Aussicht genommenen, zu seinen Ehren stattfindenden und allendlichen mit seiner Tödtung und Verspeisung schliessenden Feste Theil zu nehmen. Das Bärenfest ist somit in ganz eminentem Sinne ein communistisches Fest, das alle einzelnen Glieder einer Dorfgenossenschaft mit einander verbindet und darum begreiflicherweise auch den Höhepunkt des socialen und geselligen Lebens der Giljaken bildet. Dem ursprünglichen Eigenthümer des Bären, der ihn gekauft hat oder auf dessen Veranstaltung er gefangen worden ist, steht nur das Recht zu, über die Zeit, wann das Fest stattfinden soll, zu bestimmen und dieses, natürlich stets in den Grenzen altherkömmlichen Brauches, zu leiten. Desgleichen bleibt es ihm als Gastgeber anheimgestellt, das Festmahl durch Hinzufügung noch anderer kulinarischer Genüsse, als der Bär sie bietet, zu einem mehr oder weniger opulenten zu gestalten und demgemäss auch ausserhalb seines Dorfes wohnende Verwandte, Freunde und Bekannte, selbst von fremder Zunge, dazu einzuladen. Ihm fällt endlich nach vollbrachter Festlichkeit das Fell des Bären zu.

Die Fütterung des eingekerkerten Bären durch alle Bewohner des Dorfes geschieht nach einer vorläufig festgestellten Ordnung. Die durch die kleine Fensterluke im Kerker ihm gereichte Nahrung besteht ausschliesslich aus Fisch, in rohem oder gedörrtem Zustande Jukola, Mossj, d. i. einem aus zerriebenen Fischhäuten oder zerkleinerter Jukola, Fisch- oder Seehunds-

1) S. oben, p. 562. 2) S. oben, p. 612.

thran und Preissel- oder Rauschbeeren zusammengesetzten Brei[1]), und Wasser, das ihm im Sommer in flüssiger Gestalt, im Winter aber nur als Eis oder Schnee gereicht werden darf. Zur Darreichung der Nahrung, namentlich des Mossj's und Wassers, dient der auf Taf. LI, Fig 2, abgebildete lange Löffel (gilj. *nichge*). Von Zeit zu Zeit, jedoch nur selten und hauptsächlich wohl um den Kerker zu reinigen, wird der Bär aus demselben herausgebracht. Zu dieser Procedur, der ich im Dorfe Tschomi am Amur-Liman beigewohnt habe, muss er aber zum Theil wieder gefesselt werden. Das geschieht, indem man ein paar Bretter der Kerkerdecke vorsichtig auseinander schiebt, dem Bären noch im Kerker eine Schlinge um den Hals wirft und die Hinterbeine fesselt. Darauf werden auch die übrigen Bretter der Kerkerdecke beseitigt und der Bär von einer Anzahl Menschen in die Jurte gezerrt, wo der in ihrer Mitte befindliche Hundetisch inzwischen weggeräumt worden ist. Da man sich auf die dem Thier, wenn es vollerwachsen ist, um den Hals geworfene Riemenschlinge allein nicht verlassen darf, so springt jetzt ein Giljake mit gespreizten Beinen vor den Bären, fasst ihn an den Ohrwurzeln und drückt ihm den Kopf gegen den Erdboden. Dasselbe thun gleichzeitig zwei andere mit Holzstangen bewaffnete Giljaken mit seinen Vordertatzen, und nun springt noch Einer dem Thier auf den Rücken, setzt sich rittlings auf dasselbe und legt ihm ein Halsband an, von welchem mittels eines drehbaren Ringes nach zwei Richtungen hin lange eiserne Ketten und Riemen auslaufen. Mit diesen wird nun der Bär, nachdem ihm die Hinterbeine wieder entfesselt worden und er sich, laut brüllend, aufgerichtet hat, zwischen den beiden Mittelpfeilern der Jurte so angebunden, dass er sich bequem niederlegen und auch wieder aufrichten kann. Gleichsam zum Lohne oder als Liebkosung werden ihm dann einige Scheiben Jukola oder Seehundsspeck gereicht, worauf er noch mehrmals im Innern des Hauses umher und dann nach seinem Zwinger zurückgeführt wird.

Ohne Zweifel hat diese Sitte der Giljaken, Bären in der Gefangenschaft zu halten, sie zuweilen in ihre Häuser zu bringen und in der angegebenen Weise zu behandeln, zu der in Sibirien weit verbreiteten Sage Veranlassung gegeben, dass sie Bären zähmen und als Hausthiere zum Reiten und Fahren gebrauchen. In einer aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert stammenden, von Spasskij[2]) abgedruckten russischen Urkunde über den Amur («Сказаніе о великой рѣкѣ Амурѣ) heisst es nämlich: «auf einer der Strommündung gegenüberliegenden grossen Insel (Sachalin) wohnen giljakische Völker, die in ihren Dörfern zu 500—1000 Hunde halten, alles mögliche Gethier essen und Bären zu friedlicher Arbeit auffüttern»[3]). Spasskij wollte dieser letzteren Angabe anfangs keinen Glauben schenken, sowohl wegen ihrer Seltsamkeit, als auch aus Mangel an anderweitigen Bestätigungen. In der 1849 von ihm herausgegebenen «Abschrift eines Entwurfs vom Sibirischen Lande» (Списокъ съ чертежа Сибирскія земли), heisst es aber ausdrücklich: «die Giljakischen Leute säen kein Brod, essen Fisch und fahren oder reiten auf

1) Ueber die Bereitung desselben s. oben, p. 439.

2) In seinem Artikel «Сказаніе Русск. о рѣкѣ Амурѣ въ XVII. столѣ», im Вѣстн. Имп. Русск. Географ. Общ., ч. VII, 1853 г., Отд. II, Иностр.), p. 20.

3) Der letztere Passus lautet im Original: «и мелкаѣ зоримъ въ упусѣхъ для работы вирсо».

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Bären» (Гиляцкіе люди хлѣба не сѣютъ, питаются рыбою, а ѣздятъ[1]) на медвѣдяхъ). Dieselbe Sage, dass an der Mündung des Amur-Stromes «ein wüstes Volk, Gilaki genannt, wohne, das viele Bären und Hunde halte, um von ihnen Dienst zu haben», war auch Witsen zugegangen[2]). Und sie findet sich endlich auch bei Strahlenberg[3]), denn da heisst es: «an der Mündung des Amur-Stromes wohnt ein Volk, dass die Russen Kilaki nennen; von diesen Leuten haben mir einige «Jakuttische Tatern» erzählt, dass sie die Bären zähmen und so gebrauchen, wie wir die Pferde»[4]).

Je nach dem Alter der Bären wird die Dauer ihrer Gefangenschaft bemessen: alte Thiere werden nur einige Monate, junge mehrere Jahre, bis sie ganz erwachsen sind, in der Gefangenschaft gehalten. Haben sie in Folge reichlicher Nahrung und mangelhafter Bewegung eine dicke Speckdage angesetzt, so naht die Zeit, sie in festlichem Gepränge ihrem Ende entgegen zu führen. Die einzige Jahreszeit, in der bei den Giljaken Bärenfeste stattfinden, ist der Winter, denn alsdann halten sie sich, wenigstens auf dem Festlande, in den nach chinesischem Muster erbauten geräumigen Wohnungen auf und haben viel Zeit zu geselligen Zusammenkünften, Festlichkeiten und Schmausereien, ja der Ueberfluss an Zeit ist wohl auch der Hauptgrund, weshalb sie diese so gern möglichst lange ausdehnen. Namentlich ist der December oder Auj-long der Continental-Giljaken derjenige Monat, in welchen die meisten Bärenfeste fallen. Doch ist das keineswegs obligatorisch; sie können ebensowohl auch im Januar und Februar stattfinden, ja, ich habe bei den Oltscha selbst einem Feste beigewohnt, das erst am 22. März (3. April) begangen wurde. Dies ist aber ziemlich auch der späteste Zeitpunkt dafür, denn dann giebt es schon ernste Vorbereitungen für den Sommer zu treffen, und bald darauf, im April und zu Anfang des Mai, wird auch schon der Umzug in die Sommerbehausungen vorgenommen. Zuweilen wird die Fixirung des Zeitpunktes, wann ein Bärenfest stattfinden soll, dem Schaman übertragen, meist jedoch bleibt dies, wie schon erwähnt, dem Eigenthümer des oder der Bären, der selbst auch Gastgeber ist, überlassen, und dieser macht es von seinen eignen Geschäften abhängig und kann, wenn die letzteren es verlangen, auch eine mehr oder weniger lange Pause zwischen den einzelnen Festakten eintreten lassen. In Folge dessen, so wie dank der grossen Anzahl der von den Giljaken und den Oltscha in der Gefangenschaft gehaltenen Bären und der langen Dauer des ganzen Festes kann es daher leicht geschehen, dass der Reisende im Lande hier oder da auf einen Einzelakt des Festes stösst, meist suchen jedoch bei solcher Gelegenheit die von Misstrauen und Argwohn beseelten Giljaken derartige Fremde unter allerhand Vorwänden vom Betreten ihrer Wohnungen fern zu halten, wie ich es auf Sachalin auch selbst erfahren habe.

Nach diesen vorläufigen und allgemeineren Bemerkungen über das Bärenfest der Giljaken gehe ich zur speciellen Schilderung desselben über. Zu Anfang des Jahres 1856 besuchte mich

1) Das russische Verbum ѣздить heisst sowohl «fahren», als auch «reiten».

2) Witsen, Noord-en Oost-Tartarye, 1705, p. 881.

3) Das Nord- und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia. Stockholm, 1730, p. 386, 387.

4) Dieselbe Fabel wurde Witsen (l. c., p. 886) auch von den Jukagiren im Lande «Ssabatsso (собачья земля = Hundeland) in Sibirien berichtet, doch bezeichnet er selbst den Bericht als zweifelhaft.

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im Nikolajef'schen Posten der mehrfach erwähnte, als Veranstalter grosser Bärenfeste unter seinen Landsleuten renommirte Giljake Judin aus Tebach. Da er mir sehr gewogen und sogar zu Dank verpflichtet war, so bat ich ihn mir Gelegenheit zu geben, einem dieser Feste von seinem Beginne an beizuwohnen, worauf ich zur Antwort erhielt, dass in den nächsten Tagen ein solches Fest bei ihm selbst stattfinden werde und er eben aus dem Grunde nach Tschorbach, wie der russische Posten bei den Giljaken heiss, gekommen sei, um noch einige Einkäufe zum bevorstehenden Feste zu machen. Mit meinem Freunde und nachmaligen Collegen an der Akademie, Herrn C. Maximowicz, der ein geübter Zeichner war und eben zum Besuch bei mir weilte, machten wir uns daher am 9. (21.) Januar zur Fahrt nach Tebach auf. Nachdem wir in Allof genächtigt, trafen wir um Mittag des folgenden Tages in Wair ein, wo wir bereits Spuren stattgehabter Bärenfestlichkeiten sahen: eines seiner Häuser war nämlich dadurch ausgezeichnet, dass vor seinen Querwänden jederseits ein hohes, schlankes Tannenbäumchen stand, das zumeist geschält und auch aller Zweige beraubt war, bis auf den Wipfel, wo eine magere Krone über den Giebel des Hauses emporragte. Eine Schnur lief in geringer Höhe über der Dachfirste von einem Bäumchen zum anderen, und von ihr hingen Bündel gekräuselter Hobelspäne, giljakisch sogen. Zach's, zum Dach hinab. Ein in der Nähe der Hausthür in den Schnee gesteckter Stab trug an seiner Spitze ebenfalls ein Tannenreis und ein Bündel Holzlocken. Es war voller, heller Mondschein, als wir vor Judin's Haus in Tebach vorfuhren, das ganz ebenso wie dasjenige in Wair geschmückt war. Schon als wir die lange, zum Strome steil abfallende Ufer-Höhe, auf deren Rücken das Dorf Tebach liegt, hinanfuhren, hörten wir lautes Jubelgeschrei und jetzt sahen wir auch eine Menge vor dem Hause sich tummelnder Giljaken. Es waren junge Männer aus dem Dorf und sonstige, zum Fest eingeladene Gäste, die sich in munterer Laune mit verschiedenen Spielen abgaben, wie sie ein Bärenfest stets mit sich bringt. Die Spiele sahen manchen unserer Française-Touren sehr ähnlich: die Spielenden fassten sich, einen Kreis bildend, an die Hand; der Kreis bewegte sich lebhaft in die Runde, bis er irgendwo riss und aus dem Kreise eine einfache Reihe entstand. Sobald dies geschah, lief ein Vordermann unter den aufgehobenen Armen der beiden äussersten Glieder am anderen Ende der Reihe durch, die ganze Reihe hinter sich herziehend, und nöthigte so den letzten Mann, sich um sich selbst umzudrehen. War ihm dies gelungen und wurde er dadurch selbst zum Vordermann, so machte er es jenem ersteren nach, und so wechselte es fort und fort ab, bis durch Ungeschicklichkeit eines der Vordermänner, oder durch Ausgleiten und Fallen eines Gliedes in der Kette die ganze Reihe zerrissen wurde, was bei dem vor dem Hause uneben eingetretenen glatten Schnee nicht selten geschah und stets von schallendem Gelächter aller Umstehenden begleitet wurde. Nebenan tummelte sich ein anderer aus Knaben zusammengesetzter Kreis, die den Erwachsenen Alles genau nachmachten (s. Tab. XI). Um beide Kreise aber hatten sich zahlreiche Weiber, Mädchen und kleine Kinder des Dorfes angesammelt, die bei jeder Gelegenheit ihren Beifall durch übereinstimmendes wildes Schreien, und durch Trampeln und lautes Klopfen auf ihre Pelze und Röcke zu erkennen gaben.

Nachdem das Spiel zu Ende war, trat Judin auf uns zu und nöthigte uns ins Haus zu

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

treten, wohin uns der ganze Schwarm von draussen folgte. Hier war der Hundetisch weggeräumt, und an dessen Stelle befanden sich drei Bären, die an die beiden Mittelpfeiler der Jurte und an die beiderseitigen Stützpfeiler der entfernten Hundetischplatte gebunden waren, denn die letzteren allein boten keinen genügenden Widerstand. Der Bär trägt dabei ein dickes Lederband um den Hals und ein zweites auf dem Rücken, mit jenem zusammenhängendes um den Leib gleich hinter den Vorderbeinen, das dazu dient, das Halsband am Abgleiten über den Kopf des Thieres zu verhindern. Da der sonst vom Hundetisch eingenommene Raum für drei Bären verhältnissmässig klein ist, zumal die Thiere nicht allzunahe von einander aufgestellt werden dürfen, so müssen die vom Halsband auslaufenden Ketten, die sich jederseits in einen langen Strick fortsetzen, recht stramm angezogen werden, immer jedoch nur so, dass die Thiere noch sich niederlegen, wieder aufrichten und auch etwas zur Seite bewegen können. Dadurch wird der freie Verkehr in der Jurte recht sehr behindert, denn nunmehr muss man sich bei jedem Schritt dicht an den Rand der Schlafbank halten, um nicht unversehens von einer Bärentatze gepackt zu werden.

Nur zwei der Bären, ein sehr grosses Thier weiblichen Geschlechts und ein ansehnlich kleinerer, jedoch vollerwachsener, 7 Jahre alter männlicher Bär, gehörten Judin, der sie in den ganz, resp. zur Hälfte von Oltscha bewohnten Dörfern Tschilwi und Aure gekauft hatte; der dritte, ebenfalls männliche Bär von mittlerer Grösse stammte aus Kalm und war Eigenthum eines anderen Tebach-Giljaken. Wie in der Grösse so waren die Thiere auch in der Färbung verschieden: der kleine Bär war lichtbraun, der grosse dunkelbraun, der mittelgrosse fast schwarz. Ausserdem unterschied sich der grosse Bär von den beiden anderen noch dadurch, dass er unten am Halse ein weisslichgraues Band hatte, was aber noch nicht hinreichte, um ihn bei den Giljaken den Namen Kragenbär (gilj. *molk*) zuzuziehen, da dies erst dann geschieht, wenn das Weiss ganz rein ist und sich über einen grossen Theil der Kehle erstreckt. Dass endlich die drei Bären auch verschieden in ihrem Benehmen waren, namentlich in der Art, sich gegen Angriffe zur Wehr zu setzen, sollten wir sogleich sehen.

Gleich nachdem wir, von der Menge gefolgt, im Hause auf einer der Schlafbänke Platz genommen, wurde hier ungeachtet des beschränkten Raumes ein anderes Spiel vorgenommen, das ich oben bei Besprechung der Golde-Spiele bereits beschrieben habe, und das im Springen über eine von zwei Menschen geschwungene Schnur besteht. Die Giljaken nannten es *tyk-tyk* [1]) und die Beschäftigung damit *tykyrtsch*. Es dauerte jedoch nicht lange und wurde bei Weitem auch nicht mit der Gewandtheit wie von den Golde exekutirt. Es gehörte jedoch auch in das Programm der Belustigungen während des Bärenfestes und fand, nach dem Lärm, Geschrei und Gelächter des Publikums zu urtheilen, grossen Beifall. Ich habe es sonst von den Giljaken nicht aufführen sehen, und der Umstand, dass es im engen Raume des Hauses und nicht draussen stattfand, wo in der mondhellen Nacht sowohl die bepelzten Mitspieler, als auch die Zuschauer es weit besser und bequemer gehabt hätten, so wie auch die kurze Dauer des Spieles

1) Tyk bedeutet Schnur.

lassen beinahe darauf schliessen, dass es nur den anwesenden Bären zu Ehren geschah. Auch wurden diese gleich darauf mit Mossj traktirt, das sie aus langen Niehyr's zu lecken bekamen.

Jetzt ging man an die Hauptbelustigung des Festes, das Umziehen mit den Bären von Haus zu Haus. Dabei, wie bei allen folgenden Vorgängen, wurde stets dieselbe Reihenfolge mit den Thieren eingehalten, indem zuerst der kleine, dann der grosse und zuletzt der mittelgrosse Bär kam, — eine Reihenfolge, die wohl durch den ungleichen Antheil ihrer Eigenthümer am Feste bedingt war, da Judin zwei von ihnen gehörten und er zugleich der Hauptgastgeber des ganzen Festes war. Der Reigen begann also mit dem kleinen Bären. Die Stricke, mit denen er an die Pfeiler gebunden war, wurden gelöst, und an jeden von ihnen stellte sich eine lange Reihe von Giljaken in alternirender Ordnung auf. Die beiden dem Bären jederseits zunächst stehenden Männer hatten ihre Pelze verkehrt, die Rückenseite nach vorn, angezogen und den Schurzrock aus Seehundsfell (*kossjkha*) möglichst stramm und glatt um den Leib gebunden, damit die Bärenkralle, wenn sie sie streifte, nirgends anhake, sondern an dem glatten Fell abglitte. Jeder von ihnen hielt auch einen kurzen Stock in der Hand um den Bären damit zu zerren. Mit weitgespreizten Beinen und stark vorgestreckter Brust springt nun der Vordermann, der in der Richtung steht, wohin der Zug sich bewegen soll, vor den Bären und zerrt ihn mit seinem Stock. Das Thier brüllt laut auf, wirft sich nach vorn, erhebt sich zum Theil und fährt mit der Tatze auf seinen Gegner los. Dieser aber springt im Moment einen Schritt zurück und alle am selben Strick Stehenden machen ebenfalls einen Schritt vorwärts, zur Hausthür hin, den Bären nach sich ziehend. Dasselbe wiederholt sich ein zweites, ein drittes Mal; vergeblich sucht der Bär den Gegner zu packen, immer gleiten die Tatzen an seinem Schurzrock ab. Inzwischen bemühen sich auch Andere mit Stöcken und Stangen den Bären nach der Richtung zu drängen, wohin er hin soll. Dringt er jedoch zu sehr auf den Vordermann ein, hat er ihn mit der Tatze nicht bloss gestreift, sondern sich auch in seinen Pelz eingekrallt, und wird dessen Lage gefährlich, so zerrt der in der Reihe hinter dem Bären stehende Vordermann das Thier von hinten und nöthigt es, sich zu wenden und seine Angriffe gegen ihn zu richten, während die am hinteren Strick Stehenden das Thier gleichzeitig rückwärts ziehen.

So schwankt der Zug unter lautem Wuthgebrüll des hin und her gezerrten Bären, in das auch die beiden anderen Thiere einstimmen, und unter wildem, wechselndem Jubelgeschrei der Bärenführer wie der Umstehenden bald nach vor-, bald nach rückwärts, immer jedoch mehr und mehr der Hausthür sich nähernd. Die wenigen Thranlampen vermögen den weiten Raum der Jurte mit ihrem dunklen, schwarzberussten Balkengerüste nicht so weit zu erhellen, dass alle um den Bären Beschäftigten seine Bewegungen deutlich wahrnehmen können, und doch ist dies zum rechtzeitigen Einspringen des einen wie des anderen Vordermanns durchaus erforderlich. Eine Anzahl Knaben springt daher auf die Schlafbänke und beleuchtet von dort aus, dem Zuge hin und her folgend, mit improvisirten Fackeln, die aus zusammengerollter Birkenrinde bestehen und bald hell aufleuchten, bald nur dunklen Rauch verbreiten, den wildbewegten Vorgang. Fürwahr ein eigenartiges Bild (s. Taf. XLVII).

In derselben Weise wie der kleine Bär wurden nun auch die beiden anderen Bären aus

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

dem Hause hinausgeführt. Jener war jedoch entschieden der wüthendste und widersetzlichste von allen, was die Giljaken dem Umstande zuschrieben, dass er bei seiner Gefangennahme ein Bein gebrochen hatte und in Folge dessen noch lahmte. Bemerkenswerth war auch, wie verschieden die drei Bären ihre Wuth äusserten und sich zur Wehr setzten: während der kleine und der grosse Bär sich dabei aufrichteten und den Zerrenden mit der Tatze zu packen suchten, benahm sich der dritte Bär ganz anders; er machte gar keine Anstalten sich zu erheben, sondern suchte die Stiche mit dem Stock dadurch abzuwehren, dass er die Tatze vor den Kopf hielt und selbst nach den Füssen des ihn Zerrenden griff, oder er legte sich auch auf den Rücken und wehrte sich mit den Tatzen. Er war auch der einzige unter den dreien, der in seiner Wuth den festeingetretenen Erdboden in der Jurte aufzuscharren suchte, was ihm jedoch von den Giljaken allemal wieder gelegt wurde.

Der Zweck des Hinausführens der Bären war, sie durch alle Häuser des Dorfes, deren es in Tebach sieben gab, zu führen: in jedes von ihnen kehrte der Zug mit den drei Bären ein, und allenthalben wurden sie in derselben Ordnung, der grosse Bär in der Mitte, die beiden anderen zu den Seiten, aufgestellt und mit Mossj aus Nichyrlöffeln traktirt, zum Zeichen, dass sie in jedem Hause in Ehren gehaltene und willkommene Gäste seien. Der Umzug dauerte daher recht lange, und in Judin's Haus kehrten die Bären zur Nacht nicht mehr zurück, sondern blieben in einem der anderen Häuser stehen. Erst am Morgen des folgenden Tages (11. Jan.) wurden die beiden Thiere, die unserem Wirthe gehörten, der kleine und der grosse Bär nach dessen Haus zurückgebracht und dort wie üblich aufgestellt.

Mittlerweile war es auch Zeit, die stets in den Morgenstunden statthabende Fütterung der Hunde vorzunehmen, deren es hier der zahlreich angereisten Gäste wegen sehr viele gab. Da der Hundetisch weggeräumt war, so musste eine andere Vorrichtung getroffen werden, um die Hunde dennoch im Hause füttern zu können. Dazu wurde eine lange Stange durch eine Oeffnung in einem der Mittelpfeiler, zwischen denen der grosse Bär stand, quer durchgesteckt und an ihren Enden an die beiderseitigen Stützpfeiler der Hundetischplatte befestigt. An diese Stange wurden nun die durch die Anwesenheit der Bären im Hause sehr aufgeregten Hunde geknüpft, vor ihnen aber lag ein Brett, auf welches die Tröge mit der dampfenden Fischbrühe zu stehen kamen. Diesmal schien die Fütterung der Hunde mit besonderer Sorgfalt zu geschehen, da am folgenden Tage ein Hunderennen stattfinden sollte. Judin war sehr geschäftig und bemüht, seinen Gästen dabei Alles recht zu machen.

Nachdem die zur Hundefütterung dienliche Vorrichtung entfernt worden war begann wieder das Aus- und Einführen der Bären, ohne dass ich jedoch einen ersichtlichen Zweck davon wahrnehmen konnte: der kleine Bär wurde in eine andere Jurte gebracht, der grosse aber viermal zur Thür des Hauses hinaus und gleich wieder zurückgeführt, mit nur minutenlangen Zwischenpausen. Mag sich durch die häufige Wiederholung dieses Experiments das Halsband an diesem Bären etwas gelockert haben oder sonst schadhaft geworden sein, kurz es erschien den Giljaken nothwendig, es mit einigen Hülfsschnüren zu versehen, — ein Unternehmen, das mir im höchsten Grade interessant war, da es mir die grosse Unerschrockenheit

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der Giljaken den Bären gegenüber und ihre kolossale Gewandtheit und Geschicklichkeit im Umgange mit ihnen zeigte. Diese Aufgabe war noch schwieriger als das oben geschilderte erste Anlegen des Hals- und Leibbandes, denn letzteres geschah, nachdem die Hinterbeine des Thieres schon im Kerker gefesselt worden waren, hier aber konnte der Bär einen völlig freien Gebrauch von allen vier Extremitäten und dem Gebiss machen. Während nun der Zug ausserhalb des Hauses hielt, wurden alle zur Ausführung des Stückes erforderlichen Schnüre und Riemen fertig gelegt. Den Moment wahrnehmend, da das mächtige Thier sich ganz aufgerichtet hatte, warf sich ein Giljake ihm von vorn um den Hals und umklammerte es, so fest er konnte. Im selben Moment fesselte ihm ein Zweiter die Schnauze. Gleichzeitig griffen mehrere Andere das Thier von hinten an, zogen ihm mittelst Schlingen die Hinterbeine vorweg und hielten sie an den Boden gedrückt zurück. Der Bär fiel auf die Vordertatzen nieder, aber hier war ebenfalls sogleich Einer bereit, ihm diese mit einer Stange gegen den Boden zu drücken und in Fesseln zu schlagen. So war das Thier durch rasches und einmüthiges Einschreiten in einem Augenblick vollständig entwaffnet und gefesselt, und jetzt konnten die an seinem Halsbande erforderlichen Hülfsschnüre in aller Ruhe und ohne Gefahr angelegt werden. Sobald dies geschehen, sprangen sämmtliche Giljaken vom Bären ab, auf einen Ruck lösten sich alle mit besonderem Kunstgriff ihm um Schnauze und Tatzen geknüpften Knoten und Schlingen auf, und der Bär stand wieder bis auf das Hals- und Leibband ganz frei und ungefesselt an seiner Kette da, laut brüllend und sich wiederholentlich schüttelnd. Er wurde nun, gleichwie auch der kleine Bär, wieder in's Haus geführt und dort mit fein zerstückeltem Eise und Strickbeeren regalirt, worauf nach kurzer Pause dieselbe Procedur, dass der kleine Bär sogleich, der grosse aber erst nach vier und dazwischen auch nur nach zweimaligem Aus- und Einführen aus Judin's Hause nach einem anderen gebracht wurde, sich noch mehrmals wiederholte.

Gleich nachdem die Bären entfernt worden waren, begann die männliche Jugend des Dorfes grössere und kleinere Stöcke von Ellern und Ebereschen in's Haus zu tragen und an der Stelle, wo die Bären gestanden hatten, niederzulegen, bis sich ein grosser Haufen davon erhob. Alles, was ein Messer hatte, die Weiber und Mädchen allein ausgenommen, machte sich nun daran, diese Stöcke an dem einen Ende anzuschneiden, oder richtiger anzuhobeln, d. h. gilyakisch sogen. *nauws*[1]) aus ihnen zu bereiten. Viele derselben waren nur an einer Seite, die meisten aber an zwei einander gegenüber gelegenen Seiten und manche auch rundum mit dem Messer angehobelt, ja von einigen fielen sehr feine und zierlich gekräuselte Holzlocken (die mehrfach erwähnten gilj. sogen. Zach's) vom oberen Ende des Stockes zum unteren hinab. Dieses Symbol, das bei den Giljaken alle religiösen, auf Furcht vor dem Einfluss böser Geister begründeten Handlungen, wie die Opferspendungen auf dem Strom[2]), die Sturmbeschwörungen[3]) und drgl. m. begleitet, darf natürlich auch beim Bärenfest nicht fehlen. So sehen wir es schon über dem Dache des Hauses prangen, in welchem ein Bärenfest gefeiert wird und zugleich ein Stück Bärenkultus sich abspielt. In reichlicherem Maasse noch sollte es uns im weiteren Ver-

1) Das *n* ist hier weich, wie das französische *z* auszusprechen.

2) S. oben, p. 517, 518.

3) S. oben p. 671.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

lauf des Bärenfestes entgegentreten. Zunächst wurde jedoch der ganze Haufen angehobelter Stöcke wieder hinaus getragen, um erst Tags darauf zur Verwendung zu kommen. Während die Männer, Jünglinge und Knaben an den Stöcken schnitzten, bereiteten die Weiber einen frischen Vorrath von Mossj, in das sie diesmal auch zerkleinerte Tannennadeln (von *Picea ajanensis* Fisch., gilj. *twisk*) hineinrührten, — eine Beschäftigung, die bis zum Abend dauerte.

Mittlerweile ging das Ein- und Ausführen der Bären in den anderen Häusern des Dorfes ununterbrochen vor sich. An dieser Belustigung können die Giljaken nie genug haben, und alle dabei vorkommenden Einzelbegebenheiten nehmen sie so lebhaft in Anspruch wie bei anderen Völkern etwa ein Kampf-, ein Festspiel oder ein Tanz bei lustiger Musik, die hier das Gebrüll der Bären abgiebt. Jedermann hat dabei Gelegenheit, seine Kühnheit, Unerschrockenheit, Gewandtheit und Geistesgegenwart als Vordermann in der einen oder der anderen Reihe der Bärenführer zu producíren: je näher er das wüthende Thier an sich herankommen lässt, je grösser die Gefahr, der er sich aussetzt, desto lauter der ihm zu Theil werdende Beifall und desto grösser sein Ruhm und Ansehen unter den Leuten. Alle Einzelheiten werden aufmerksam verfolgt und nachher in lebhafter Diskussion besprochen, kurz man erkennt die sonst ernsten, gesetzten, vorsichtigen und etwas wortkargen Giljaken bei solcher Gelegenheit kaum wieder. Spät Abends stattete noch der Zug mit dem mittelgrossen Bären dem Hause Judin's einen kurzen Besuch ab. Zur Nacht aber kehrten in dasselbe nur die beiden ihm gehörigen Bären zurück. Menschen und Thiere hatten sich müde gezerrt und schienen einiger Ruhe zu bedürfen. Die Nacht verlief auch ruhiger, als bei der Einquartierung zweier Bären zu erwarten stand.

Gegen Morgen, d. 12. Januar, erwachte ich jedoch von einem lauten Bärengebrüll: das Hin- und Herführen der Thiere, zum Hause hinaus und wieder zurück, hatte von Neuem begonnen: erst wurden unsre beiden Schlafkameraden hinaus und dann alle drei Bären wieder herein gebracht, in der Ordnung wie zu Anfang des Festes aufgestellt und aus drei Nichyr's mit dem gestern bereiteten Mossj, davon auch die Menschen assen, gefüttert, worauf der fremde Bär wieder entfernt wurde, während die beiden anderen im Hause blieben. Jetzt ging man an die Bereitung der Stätte, wo die Bären am folgenden Tage ihren Todesstreich erleiden und dann abgebalgt und zerkleinert werden sollten. Dazu wurde unweit vom Hause ein längliches Viereck mit den am Tage zuvor geschnitzten Stöcken (*nauws*) umsteckt, auf dessen Längsdurchmesser an vier etwa um einen Faden von einander entfernten Stellen je zwei starke kopfförmig zugespitzte Pfähle neben einander in den Erdboden eingerammt standen. Diese Pfähle waren alt und mögen schon mehrmals zu demselben Zweck gedient haben. Sie wurden ebenfalls mit angeschnittenen Stöcken umgeben. An dem einen Ende, in der Linie der Pfahlreihe, war ein Eingang zu dem von den Nauws umsteckten Platze (der gilj. sogen. *kadhra* freigelassen, am anderen, entgegengesetzten Ende stand auf vier in die Erde getriebenen Pfosten in einiger Höhe über dem Erdboden ein kleiner, aus Brettern errichteter Bau (bei den Giljaken *läsng*[1]) genannt), der nach hinten geschlossen, nach vorn, zur Pfahlreihe hin, aber ganz

1) Das *s* ist weich, wie das französische *z* auszusprechen.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

offen war und hier ausser einer dem Dach genäherten Querstange noch eine zweite, untere Querstange hatte, durch die jene Oeffnung in zwei ungefähr gleiche Hälften getheilt war. Auch der Weg, der von Judin's Hause zu dieser Todesstätte der Bären führte, war mit einigen angeschnitzten Stöcken bezeichnet.

Inzwischen ging im Hause die Hundefütterung in derselben Weise wie gestern vor sich, mit der Einschränkung jedoch, dass diejenigen Thiere, die an dem in einer Stunde bevorstehenden Hunderennen theilnehmen sollten, zunächst noch nichts bekamen: sie wurden zwar auch in's Haus gebracht, durften aber nur zusehen, wie die übrigen Thiere frassen, ihre Fütterung hingegen wurde bis nach dem Rennen aufgeschoben, um sie dadurch noch mehr zum raschen Laufen anzuspornen. Man begab sich nun nach dem einen Endpunkt der Rennbahn, die auf der Eisdecke des Flusses lag und aus einem etwa zwei Faden breiten Streifen bestand, auf welchem in einer Länge von etwa $1\frac{1}{2}$—2 Werst der Schnee nach beiden Seiten hin weggeschaufelt und das Eis einigermaassen geebnet worden war. Hier standen zwei Schlitten, der eine mit 14, der andere mit 10 Hunden bespannt, von denen die drei vordersten am ersten Schlitten mit eleganten mandshurischen Halsbändern, den oben erwähnten Rüssk's[1]) geschmückt waren. Vor den Schlitten wurden zwei andere Hunde an langen Riemen gehalten. Auf dem erhöhten Wall zu beiden Seiten der Rennbahn hatten sich zahlreiche Zuschauer aufgestellt. Zuerst wurden nun die beiden nicht vorgespannten Hunde losgelassen, die am Ende ihres langen Riemens nur einen Fuchs-, resp. einen schwarzen Hundeschwanz hinter sich herzogen. Mit dieser leichten Last entschwanden sie im Nu auf der Rennbahn und den Berg zum Hause hinan, wo sie von den Weibern und Kindern aufgefangen wurden. Es waren besonders schnellfüssige Thiere, der eine von ihnen ein bei den Giljaken sogen. *kylá* oder *kylá-kan*, auf dessen Besitz Judin sehr stolz war, indem er meinte, dass es im ganzen Amur-Lande nur etwa 2 oder 3 Thiere von gleicher Güte gäbe, deren Besitzer er auch zu nennen wusste. Worin jedoch ausser der Schnellfüssigkeit noch die Eigenthümlichkeiten eines kylá-kan liegen, ist mir nicht klar geworden. Nicht so leichten Kaufes kamen die vor die Schlitten gespannten Thiere davon, denn ob auch die Last, die sie zu schleppen hatten, kaum grösser war — auf jedem der im Uebrigen ganz leeren Schlitten lagen nur zwei in's Flechtwerk desselben gesteckte Hemmstöcke — so wurden ihnen doch Hindernisse anderer Art in den Weg gelegt. Sobald nämlich die Hunde im schnellsten Lauf dahinrasten, warf sich irgend ein auf dem Wall an der Rennbahn stehender Giljake auf den Schlitten und suchte durch Ergreifen der Hemmstöcke Meister der Hunde und ihres Gefährtes zu werden, was ihm natürlich nicht sogleich gelang. Schlug es dem Einen fehl, so that es ein Zweiter, ein Dritter: auf den Schlitten stürzend, klammerte er sich an denselben fest, zwei, drei Mal überschlug sich der Schlitten, aber der Mann hielt an ihm fest und liess sich im schnellsten Lauf fortschleifen, bis es ihm gelang, sich rittlings aufzusetzen und mit den beiden Hemmstöcken in der Hand den Berg im Triumph hinanzufahren. Während des ganzen Hunderennens trommeln die Weiber mit Knütteln und Stöcken auf einem vor dem Hause von

1) S. oben p. 485 nebst Holzschnitt und Taf. XXXVI, Fig. 4 und 5.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

einem Gerüst herabhängenden Balken. Das geschieht auch mit einer gewissen Regelmässigkeit und erfordert einige Sachkenntniss, indem es verschiedene, der Gelegenheit angepasste Arten und Weisen des Trommelns giebt. Jedes der Weiber erhält nämlich zwei Knüttel oder einen Knüttel und einen Stock und schlägt damit bald gleichzeitig, bald abwechselnd zwei, dreimal nach einander auf den Balken, dann Knüttel an Knüttel oder Knüttel an Stock, dann wieder auf den Balken u. s. w. in verschiedenem Rhythmus und Tempo, wie es die jedesmalige Weise eben erfordert. (S. Taf. XLVIII). Sobald alle am Rennen betheiligten Hunde wieder zurück sind, wird ihnen von den Weibern das ersehnte Mahl im Hause vorgesetzt. Die Männer aber ergehen sich in lebhafter Erörterung aller beim Hunderennen vorgekommener Einzelheiten, indem es den einen Hund zu rühmen, an dem anderen was auszusetzen, mehr aber noch über die Ungeschicklichkeit des Einen ihrer Landsleute zu lachen und die Kühnheit und Gewandtheit eines Zweiten und Dritten zu bewundern giebt. Denn, wie aus dieser Schilderung zu ersehen ist, hat das Hunderennen bei den Giljaken nicht sowohl den Zweck, die Hunde auf ihre Güte zu prüfen, als vielmehr, gleichwie auch bei anderen zum Bärenfest gehörigen Belustigungen, den Menschen Gelegenheit zu bieten, ihre oben erwähnten physischen und moralischen Vorzüge zu produciren.

Nach diesem Intermezzo nahm man das am Morgen unterbrochene Bärenführen wieder auf, wobei Alles genau wie an den vorigen Tagen wiederholt wurde so, dass z. B. der grosse Bär nicht anders Judin's Haus betrat oder verliess, als nachdem er viermal durch die Thür hin und her geführt worden war. Wieder mussten die Bären durch alle Häuser des Dorfes geführt und überall mit Mossj oder zerstückeltem Eise bewirthet werden. Zwei Mal kehrten sie dabei auch in Judin's Haus ein und wurden ebenso behandelt. Die Giljaken sehen es besonders gern, wenn auch ihre Knaben, mögen sie noch so klein sein, an der Bärenfütterung sich betheiligen: tapfer treten diese an das Thier heran und reichen ihm den mit Mossj gefüllten Löffel dar, der zuweilen von mehreren kleinen Händen gehalten und unterstützt wird; manchem Däumling aber, der noch kaum auf seinen Füssen stehen, geschweige denn einen Nichyr halten kann, muss der Vater oder ältere Bruder durch Emporheben des Kleinen dabei zu Hülfe kommen. Vielleicht geschieht dies aus pädagogischen, wahrscheinlicher jedoch aus abergläubischen Gründen, in der Vorstellung nämlich, dass den Kindern dadurch, auch wenn sie einmal erwachsen sind, die Gunst des mächtigen Thieres erhalten bleibe. Sobald aber die Bären wieder aus dem Hause weggebracht sind, benutzen die Kinder den frei gewordenen Raum um sich darauf zu tummeln und ein genaues Conterfei von Allem, was sie beim Führen der Bären, beim Wechseln der Bänder an denselben u. s. w. gesehen, unter getreuester Nachahmung aller Bewegungen, Posen und Allüren der Erwachsenen aufzuführen, wie es oben (p. 702 und ff.) geschildert worden ist. So lernen sie mit dem Bären umgehen, lange bevor sie noch selbst mit Hand anlegen können.

Am Abend, bei hellem Mondschein, wurden die Bären noch über das Dorf hinaus auf dem Flusseise den langen Weg um das Cap Tebach herum geführt. Es war ein langer Zug, der sich zum Strom hinab in Bewegung setzte, denn ausser den drei Bären, die in derselben Reihenfolge wie

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

immer geführt wurden, folgte ihnen noch eine grosse Anzahl dabei unbeschäftigter Knaben. Da das Ufer hoch ist und recht steil zum Strom abfällt, so war es interessant anzusehen, wie sich der Zug, ohne auch nur einen Moment in Verwirrung zu gerathen, den glatten Berg abwärts bewegte: während die am vorderen Strick Stehenden spornstreichs hinunter liefen, mussten die am hinteren Strick Beschäftigten sich aus Leibeskräften zurückstemmen, um zu verhindern, dass der Bär nicht ebenso schnell hinunterlaufe und dort Schaden anrichte: mit vereinter Kraft gelang es ihnen jedoch, alle drei Bären nur langsam und gleichmässig den Berg hinabrutschen zu lassen. Zurück ging es viel leichter, indem die Hinterleute sich von den Bären in's Schlepptau nehmen und bergaufziehen liessen. Während dieses ganzen Zuges trommelten die Weiber wieder unablässig auf ihrem Balken. Es folgte nun eine kleine Pause, in welcher einige Spiele vor dem Hause vorgenommen wurden, wie die oben erwähnten Ringeltouren, ferner ein Springen um die Wette, bald auf einem Fusse, bald auf beiden, wie ich es auch schon bei den Golde gesehen hatte, und dann ging es wieder an das beliebte, die Giljaken nie ermüdende Bärenführen, das bis spät in die Nacht hinein fortgesetzt wurde. Denn in dieser dem Tödten der Bären unmittelbar vorausgehenden Nacht darf bei den Giljaken überhaupt nicht geschlafen werden: die Männer verbringen sie abwechselnd mit Bärenführen und -füttern, die Weiber aber mit Bereiten von Speisen zu dem am folgenden Tage bevorstehenden Festmahle. Wenden wir uns daher jetzt einen Augenblick diesen letzteren zu.

In einem der vorigen Abschnitte[1]) ist schon hervorgehoben worden, dass die beim Bärenfest vornehmlich zur Verwendung kommenden Nahrungsmittel von vegetabilischer Natur sind und namentlich aus den eben da genannten Cerealien und Leguminosen von mandshuchinesischem, japanischem und russischem Ursprunge bestehen. Das gilt namentlich von der grossen kurz vor der Tödtung des Bären veranstalteten Festmahlzeit und, wie wir in der Folge sehen werden, auch von derjenigen, bei welcher, zuweilen erst eine geraume Zeit später, der Bär selbst zur Verspeisung gelangt. Ausserhalb dieser beiden, ich möchte sagen, officiellen Festmahlzeiten, die aber in mehr oder weniger opulenter Weise in allen oder doch den meisten Häusern desjenigen Dorfes, das ein Bärenfest begeht, veranstaltet und zum Theil noch längere Zeit hindurch wiederholt werden, geniessen die Giljaken auch während des Bärenfestes die für gewöhnlich übliche Fischnahrung, die jedoch nur in unregelmässiger Weise, in den Pausen zwischen den einzelnen Festaufzügen und überhaupt je nach Bedürfniss der Einzelnen eingenommen wird. Bei der grossen Zahl der zum Fest geladenen oder überhaupt an demselben theilnehmenden Personen ist jedoch auch der Consum an Fisch bei solcher Gelegenheit immerhin sehr ansehnlich, und ich war in der That verwundert über die Menge kolossaler Hausen und Störe, die neben der gewöhnlichen Jukola-Nahrung der Giljaken allein in Judin's Hause zur Verwendung kamen. Es ist daher ganz begreiflich, dass die giljakischen Weiber während des ganzen Bärenfestes, besonders aber in der Nacht, die der Hauptfestmahlzeit vorausgeht, vollauf mit der, wie auch schon erwähnt[2]), zuweilen recht complicirten Be-

1) S. oben, p. 442 ff. 2) S. oben, p. 443.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

reitung der dazu erforderlichen Speisen beschäftigt sind. Diese letzteren werden stets an dem Herde bereitet, der an der Querwand des Hauses, in einer Linie mit den in seinem Mittelraume aufgestellten Bären liegt und somit ihren Blicken besonders ausgesetzt ist. Ich will ihn daher den Bärenherd nennen. In ihm, und zwar nur in ihm, werden von den Weibern sowohl in dieser letzten Nacht, als auch überhaupt, während der ganzen Dauer des Bärenfestes von Zeit zu Zeit ganz ansehnliche Mengen von frischen Tannenreisern (von der Picea ajanensis, gilj. *twissk*) verbrannt, was vielleicht auch zu den Ehrenbezeugungen gehört, die man den Bären erweist, oder den Opferspendungen, die man ihnen darbringt. So kündigt sich das Bärenfest auch schon durch den in den Häusern und zum Theil auch draussen herrschenden Duft nach verbrannten Tannennadeln an.

Gegen 6 Uhr Morgens, des 13. Jan., hörte endlich das Bärenführen auf: die Thiere wurden, nachdem sie ihren letzten Rundgang durch das Dorf gemacht hatten, auf die für sie bereitete Todesstätte, die gilj. sogen. *kadhra*, geführt, und dort zwischen den in ihrer Mitte in einer Reihe stehenden Pfahlen aufgestellt und sorgfältig befestigt. Die Reihenfolge der Bären war dabei wiederum dieselbe, so dass der kleine Bär am nächsten von dem im Grunde der *Kadhra* gelegenen Bau, dem *Lasgn*, der grosse in der Mitte und der mittelgrosse zunächst dem Eingange zu stehen kam. Alsdann begab sich Alles in Judin's Haus, wo die Weiber inzwischen die zum Festmahl bereiteten Speisen in holzernen Trögen, runden Holzschalen und viereckigen Birkenborkschalen, auf dem Fussboden im Mittelraume des Hauses, wo vordem die Bären gestanden, aufgestellt hatten. Die zum Mahle geladenen Gäste nahmen auf der an der Querwand dem Bärenherde gegenüber gelegenen Bank Platz, die bei solcher Gelegenheit als Ehrenbank gilt, obgleich sie an Wärme und oft auch an Licht der neben dem anderen Herde befindlichen Längsbank, wo sich der Hauswirth sowohl als auch etwaige sonstige Gäste aufhalten, in der Regel nachstehen dürfte. Sie gilt aber als Ehrenbank in diesem Falle, weil sie in grösserer Nähe von den Bären und ganz angesichts derselben liegt. Auf ihr giebt es daher, wie uns Judin mittheilte, auch noch mehr Uitsch's als sonst wo im Hause zu beobachten, und als wir dort z. B. einige Notizen über das Bärenfest in's Tagebuch eintragen und Skizzen davon entwerfen wollten, bat er uns in aller Höflichkeit, uns dazu auf jener Längsbank niederzulassen, da es hier von den Bären leicht gesehen und übel aufgenommen werden könnte. Die Gäste setzten sich mit kreuzweise unterschlagenen Beinen in zwei Reihen auf der Bank nieder: die Aelteren und Angesehenen unmittelbar längs der Wand, die Jüngeren am Rande der Bank. Zwischen den beiden Reihen blieb ein hinlänglich breiter Raum übrig, um als Weg zu dienen, auf welchem die Schüsseln von einem Ende der Bank zum anderen wanderten, indem sie am linken Ende derselben vom Fussboden auf die Bank gesetzt wurden und am rechten wieder zurückkamen. War die eine Schüssel ein Stück vorwärts gerückt auf dem Wege, so folgte ihr eine zweite, eine dritte u. s. f. Die Zahl der verschiedenen Speisen war aber geringer als die der Schüsseln, denn manche Speise wiederholte sich nach ein paar Gängen von Neuem. Seltsamerweise nimmt der Wirth selbst an diesem Mahle nicht theil, und desgleichen sind alle väterlicherseits mit ihm Verwandten, also die sogen. Ngafk's, von demselben ausgeschlossen, während die mütterlicher-

seits Verwandten (Amal's oder Armal's), gleich den Freunden und Bekannten zu den Theilnehmern am Mahle gehören dürfen. Es war nach der Menge der hin- und zurückwandernden Schüsseln und Speisen zu urtheilen ein sehr reiches Mahl, das Judin seinen Gästen vorsetzte. Nichts desto weniger begaben sich die meisten seiner Gäste nach aufgehobener Mahlzeit noch in ein anderes Haus, um auch dort zu speisen und so ging es von Haus zu Haus durchs ganze Dorf, so dass auch die jeweiligen Ngafk's eines Hauswirths dabei nicht zu kurz kommen dürften.

Diejenigen Giljaken aber, die in Judin's Hause blieben, meist jüngere Leute, die die Nacht mit Bärenführen verbracht hatten und daher wohl ermüdet waren, benutzten die nach dem Festmahl entstandene Pause, um sich durch ein paar Stunden Schlafs wieder zu kräftigen. Die Ruhe währte indess nur sehr kurze Zeit, denn bald begannen die Weiber ihre tägliche Morgenbeschäftigung, die Hunde zu füttern, und dann wiederholte sich unter Getrommel der Weiber ein Theil des gestrigen Hunderennens, indem man die besten Renner, mit je einem Fuchs- oder schwarzen Hundsschwanz versehen, unten auf dem Strome losliess und oben am Hause wieder auffing. Ein kurzes, formloses Frühstück von den Ueberbleibseln des Festmahls beschloss dies Intermezzo, und dann schritt man an die wichtige bevorstehende Tagesordnung.

Aus allen Häusern des Dorfes versammelten sich die Leute um die Stätte, wo die Bären, an ihre Pfahle befestigt, standen. Drei Giljaken trugen Insignien von eigenthümlicher Art in der Hand. Diese bestanden aus einem jungen, geraden Tannenbäumchen (*Picea ajanensis*), an dem alle Aeste entfernt waren, bis auf den Wipfel und die obersten ihm zunächst stehenden Zweige, die aufwärts um den Wipfel gedrückt mit einem Faden zusammengebunden waren. Um diesen Wipfel des Bäumchens war eine aus Eichhornschwänzen gefertigte Boa (gilj. *tolp*), wie sie die Giljaken um Kopf und Hals tragen, oder auch ein Fuchsschwanz schlangenförmig mit zwei Umgängen geschlungen und dann ebenfalls befestigt. Zwei dieser eigenthümlichen Fahnen waren von der ersteren, die dritte von der letzteren Art. Zu diesen drei Fahnenträgern gesellte sich noch ein vierter, der zwar, soviel ich sehen konnte, nur einen einfachen langen Stock in der Hand hatte, diesen aber ebenso aufrecht wie Jene ihre Fahnen trug. Während nun Alles um die Bärenstätte versammelt stand, schritten die 3 Männer mit ihren Insignien in die Umzäunung derselben hinein, gingen mehrmals unmittelbar um die Bären herum, allemal bis zum Wege, der zu ihr führte zurückkommend und hier wieder umkehrend, und pflanzten endlich ihre Insignien jede einem der Bären gegenüber auf. Damit war gewissermaassen das Signal zum Aufbruch gegeben: die Bären wurden von ihren Pfählen abgelöst und aus der Kadhra hinausgeführt.

Ehe man weiter ging, mussten jedoch die Hals- und Leibbänder an den Bären noch einmal auf ihre Haltbarkeit untersucht werden. Am grossen Bären war es schon Tags zuvor geschehen und das Thier mit neuen Hülfsbändern versehen worden. Auch am mittelgrossen Bären erwies sich Alles in Ordnung. Der besonders böse und widerspenstige kleine Bär schien aber entschieden einer Aufbesserung seiner Fesseln zu bedürfen, und das ist immer ein sehr gefahrvolles Experiment, zu dessen Ausführung in diesem Falle Chusisin, Judin's einziger Sohn, ein junger und kräftiger Mensch, der am tagelangen Bärengezerre offenbar noch immer nicht genug hatte, sich erbot. Er hatte schon Tags zuvor am grossen Bären ein Stück ausgeführt, das

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

seinen kühnen und rasch entschlossenen Muth glänzend darthat. Als dieser Bär nämlich aus dem Hause geführt wurde, packte er den ihn zerrenden vordersten Giljaken so fest mit den Krallen, dass dieser nicht mehr loskommen konnte und vom wüthenden Thiere dicht an sich herangezogen wurde. In diesem Augenblick sprang Chusisin, der unmittelbar hinter dem Bären stand, dem Thier über den Rücken weg und kam dicht vor seinem Maul zu stehen: der überraschte und von Neuem in Wuth versetzte Bär liess seine erste Beute fahren und biss nach der zweiten, glücklicherweise aber ohne Erfolg. Jetzt, für den kleinen Bären, traf Chusisin die Vorrichtung, dass er seinen Hundepelz umgekehrt, mit dem Fell nach innen, anzog und darüber noch einen Rennthierpelz mit dem Fell nach aussen und dem Rückentheil nach vorn gekehrt anthat, zugleich band er den Gürtel so um sich, dass der Pelz ihm vorn buckelförmig vorragte und weit vom Körper abstand. So gerüstet wärtete er einen Moment ab, da der mit Stöcken gezerrte Bär brüllend die Zähne fletschte; jetzt trat er mit vorgestreckter Brust auf ihn zu und liess ihn sich in den über derselben aufgebauschten Pelz einbeissen. Dann warf er sich dem Thier um den Hals, packte seinen Kopf an den Ohren und drückte ihn nieder. Die Umstehenden aber waren im selben Moment bereit, ihm die Schnauze zuzubinden, die Tatzen herabzudrücken u. s. w., wie ich es oben schon geschildert habe.

Nachdem dies abgemacht war, traten die Bären ihren letzten Gang an: in derselben Ordnung wie immer bewegte sich der Zug, von starkem Getrommel der Weiber begleitet, vom hohen Ufer hinab zum Strome. Dort angelangt, umkreiste er in der Entfernung von einigen Schritten das Eisloch, aus welchem die Weiber Wasser schöpfen, (s. Taf. XLVIII.) und kehrte bergan wieder zurück. Dabei kamen die Bären an Judin's Hause und demjenigen, wo der Eigenthümer des dritten Thieres wohnte, dicht vorüber: die Thüren standen offen, und der Zug stockte unwillkürlich, denn die Bären machten die grösste Anstrengung, um wieder hineinzugelangen. Das wurde ihnen aber nicht mehr gestattet. Am Eingange zur Kadhra hielt der Zug. Von allerseits kamen die Knaben herbei gelaufen, um ihre kleinen, aber nicht immer harmlosen Pfeile auf die Thiere loszuschiessen, was ihnen unter sichtlichem Ergötzen der Führer erlaubt wurde. Die Wahl des Schützen aber, der dem Bären den Todespfeil senden soll, hängt vom Eigenthümer desselben ab und gilt als ehrenvolles Zeichen seiner Gunst. Judin hatte für die beiden ihm gehörigen Thiere zwei junge Leute gewählt, darunter einen Oltscha aus Tschilwi, von dessen ihm befreundeten Vater er den einen Bären gekauft hatte. Beide Thiere fielen, aus der Entfernung von etwa 5 Schritt in die rechte Lunge getroffen, gleich nach dem ersten Schuss todt nieder; das dritte verendete nur langsam, nachdem es zwei Pfeile erhalten hatte. Das Blut aber, das sie beim Tödten verloren hatten, wurde sogleich mit Schnee beworfen, da sonst Jemand hineintreten könnte, was entschieden ultsch wäre.

Sobald die Bären todt waren, wurden sie an der Kette und einem um die Schnauze gebundenen Hülfsriemen in die Kadhra geschleift und an den Stellen, wo sie im Leben gestanden, auf ein aus angeschälten Stöcken für sie bereitetes Lager nieder gelegt. Hier lagen alle drei Cadaver in derselben Ordnung und in gleicher Lage: die Schnauze und die Vorderbeine nach vorn, zum Eingang in die Kadhra, die Hinterbeine nach hinten, zum Lässg gerichtet. Die Hals-

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

und Leibbänder wurden ihnen abgenommen und mit Stöcken der Schnee vom Fell abgeklopft. Alsdann schritt man an das Abbalgen und Zerstückeln der Cadaver. Dazu wurde zunächst ein

Tödtungsstätte der Bären.

Riemen um den Hals des Thieres geschlungen und an den davorstehenden Pfosten geknüpft. Ueber diesen Riemen hinüber zu steigen ist wiederum uttsch, — man darf nur um ihn herumgehen sei es vorn oder hinten. Der Bär wurde nun auf die Rückenseite umgewälzt und erhielt einen Schnitt längs der Mitte der ganzen Bauchseite, von der Kehle an, und von diesem Mittelschnitt vier andere jedem Beine entlang. Dann wurde das Fell abgebalgt und an den Füssen rundherum durchschnitten, jedoch so, dass oberhalb der Krallen je ein Ring von Fell nachblieb. Nachdem die Bauchseite abgebalgt war, wälzte man das Thier um und streifte ihm auch auf der Rückenseite das Fell bis zum Kopf ab. Darauf schwang der am Schwanzende stehende Mann das Fell nochmals über dem Cadaver auf und nieder und warf es über den Kopf des Bären weg seinem Gefährten am Kopfende zu, der es Jenem wieder zurück schleuderte. Dieses Experiment wurde mehrmals wiederholt, worauf man den Cadaver wieder auf die Rückenseite umlegte und an seine Zergliederung ging. Vor Allem musste die etwa zwei Zoll dicke Speckschicht abgetragen werden. Dazu wurde zuerst ein schmaler Speckstreifen längs der Mitte der ganzen Bauchseite ausgeschnitten, an einem Ende mit einem oesenförmigen Einschnitt versehen und damit auf einen der umstehenden angeschälten Stöcke gehängt. Ein ähnlicher, vom Kopf bis zum Schwanz reichender Speckstreifen wurde auch der Rückenseite des wieder umgewälzten

Cadavers entnommen und ebenso behandelt. Dann wurden zwischen diesen beiden Längsstreifen jederseits noch zwei schmale Querstreifen ausgeschnitten, davon der eine gleich hinter den Vorderbeinen und der andere unmittelbar vor den Hinterbeinen lag und mit denen man ebenso verfuhr. Offenbar war damit eine Opferspendung gemeint, die vielleicht zur Besänftigung der Rachegeister des getödteten Bären dienen sollte. Durch die in den Speck geschnittenen Längs- und Querrinnen war die ganze Specklage in 6 Felder getheilt, welche nun einzeln abgelöst und sogleich zwischen je zwei frische Tannenzweige gelegt und in die Vorrathskammer getragen wurden. Während dieser Arbeit konnten sich die Giljaken nicht enthalten, ab und zu vom Speck zu naschen. Nun folgte die Zergliederung des übrigen Körpers: zuerst wurden die Beine amputirt, dann das Brust- und Bauchstück ausgeschnitten, die Eingeweide herausgenommen und ausgedrückt, endlich der übrige Rumpf vom Kopf abgelöst und an einer Seite längs der Wirbelsäule in zwei Hälften zerschnitten. So war die Zergliederung vollendet und nur der Kopf im Fell zurück geblieben. Alle drei Bären wurden dabei genau in derselben Weise behandelt. Nachdem die Fleisch- und Knochenstücke der Bären und zuletzt auch die auf die Stöcke gehängten und mittlerweile gefrorenen Speckstreifen in den Vorrathskammern geborgen waren, wurden die drei Bärenköpfe mit dem übrigen Fell nach dem Läsng getragen und dort vermittelst eines gleich hinter dem Kopf um das Fell geschlungenen und an die obere Querstange geknüpften Riemens so aufgestellt, dass die Köpfe auf der unteren Querstange, die Felle aber im Innern des Baues ruhten. Es hatte somit den Anschein, als ob die Bären in diese Behausung hineingetreten seien und von dort zur Fensteröffnung hinaus schauten, in der Mitte der grosse, ihm zur Linken der kleine und zur Rechten der mittelgrosse Bär, also in der Ordnung, wie sie auch im Hause gestanden hatten. Vor diesen Bau aber wurde ein Tannenzweig in den Schnee gesteckt, der mit seinen Spitzen an die Bärenköpfe hinanreichte und sie zum Theil beschattete.

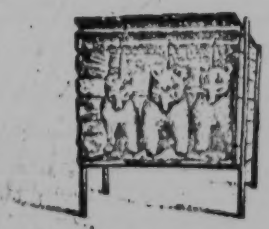

Aufstellung der Köpfe nebst Bälgen im Läsng.

Damit war der erste grosse Akt des Bärenfestes zu Ende: im Läsng werden Kopf und Fell des Bären und in den Vorrathskammern seine zerstückelten Fleisch- und Specktheile so lange aufbewahrt, bis die Wiederaufnahme des Festes beschlossen ist. Judin schien aber dazu keine Eile zu haben, — er gedachte vielmehr zuvor noch eine Handelsfahrt nach Sachalin zu unternehmen. So leid mir dieser Aufschub that, so konnte ich mich doch damit trösten, den ferneren Verlauf des Bärenfestes bereits im vorigen Jahre im Dorfe Uda gesehen zu haben. Allerdings liegt dieses Dorf nicht mehr im Gebiet der Giljaken, sondern in dem der Oltscha, allein da die ganze Sitte der Bärenfeste ohne Zweifel von jenen auf diese übergegangen ist, so liess sich bei dem conservativen Sinn der Naturvölker nicht annehmen, dass zwischen denselben in den Hauptzügen des Festes wesentliche Differenzen stattfinden sollten. In Judin's Hause war jetzt wieder Ruhe eingetreten: die vielen Gäste waren fort, der Hundetisch wurde wieder aufgestellt, und

die Utsch-Befürchtungen hatten einer freieren Bewegung im Hause Raum gegeben. Wir blieben dort noch einen Tag: ich, um die während der jüngst vergangenen Tage gemachten zahlreichen Tagebuchnotizen zu ordnen und zu ergänzen, und Herr Maximowicz, um in die nach dem Leben entworfenen Skizzen auch das landschaftliche Bild von Tebach einzutragen. Diese Skizzen meines jetzt leider verstorbenen Freundes sind auf den Taff. XI, XLVII und XLVIII, sowie im Holzschnitt auf p. 712 u. 713 dieses Werkes wiedergegeben, nachdem die ersteren bereits hier am Ort von Herrn Dimitrijef-Orenburgskij, die letzteren von Herrn Fr. Russow, Custos an unserem Museum, unter strengster Beachtung aller Einzelheiten in eine kunstgerechtere Form gebracht worden sind.

Am 15-ten Januar Abends waren wir wieder in Nikolajefsk, wo ich unverzüglich an die Vorbereitungen zu meiner zweiten Reise nach Sachalin schritt. Der Tag der Abreise stand bereits fest, als Judin sich wieder bei mir einfand. Er hatte die ihn beschäftigende Frage, ob es günstiger sei, das begonnene Bärenfest vor oder nach der von ihm beabsichtigten Handelsreise wieder aufzunehmen, einigen älteren Dorfgenossen, darunter sich auch ein Schamane befand, vorgelegt, und diese waren der Meinung, dass das Fest erst zu Ende gebracht werden müsse. Er sei daher gekommen, um zu dem Zweck wieder einige Einkäufe in Nikolajefsk zu machen. Auf seine wiederholte Einladung ebenfalls hinzukommen, bat ich ihn jedoch, anstatt meiner diesmal einen Freund von mir (*«amal»*, wie die Giljaken sagen), nämlich den Herrn von Ditmar und als dessen Begleiter einen guten Bekannten von uns, Herrn von Brevern, in seinem Hause aufzunehmen. Ersterer versprach mir, ein genaues Tagebuch über den ferneren Verlauf des Bärenfestes in Tebach zu führen und letzterer — Skizzen von demselben aufzunehmen, — ein Versprechen, das beide Herren eingehalten haben, indem sie mir das aus Tebach mitgebrachte höchst dankenswerthe Material zur Verfügung stellten[1]).

Als Ditmar und Brevern am 27. Jan. (7. Febr.) um 8 Uhr Morgens in Tebach anlangten und in Judin's Haus traten, fanden sie den Hundetisch weggeräumt und den Fussboden im ganzen Mittelraum des Hauses mit Tannenzweigen (wiederum von der Picea ajanensis, gilj. *twisk*) dicht belegt. Vor dem zweiten, dem Bärenherde gegenüber in der Nähe der Ehrenbank stehenden Mittelpfeiler des Hauses stand ein grosses, vierkantiges, ebenfalls mit Tannenzweigen, jungen Tannenbäumchen und Holzlocken (Zach's) reich geschmücktes Gerüst aus Erlenstangen, den Stämmen junger Bäumchen, die altherkömmlichem Brauche gemäss stets ungeschält sein müssen und an den Kreuzungsstellen nur mit Bast und dem Garn alter Fischernetze zusammengebunden sein dürfen. Von dem obersten Fach dieses etagerenähnlichen Gerüstes sahen die unabgehäutet gebliebenen Köpfe der beiden Judin gehörigen Bären gleichsam in die Jurte und auf die Menschen in derselben hernieder, das übrige Fell aber bis auf die

1) Herr C. v. Ditmar ist der ruhmlichst bekannte, jetzt seit April 1892 leider verstorbene Reisende in Kamtschatka und Verfasser des Werkes «Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka» (s. Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches 3. Folge, Bd. VII).

Zehen, Krallen und Sohlen hing hinter dem Gerüst bis zur Erde hinab[1]). Auf dem zweiten Fach der Etagère lagen unter jedem Bären das ihm zugehörige Beckenstück und ein paar Fische (Cyprinus carpio, gilj. *pilengat*), die ihnen gleichsam zur Nahrung vorgelegt waren. An den Seiten des Gerüstes, von den es schmückenden Tannenbäumchen und -Zweigen hingen ausser zahlreichen Zach's Fellstücke früher verspeister Bären und allerhand zierlich geschnitzte, hölzerne Löffel und Schalen herab, deren Bestimmung später besprochen werden soll. In einem anderen Hause desselben Dorfes, wo der Eigenthümer des dritten (mittelgrossen) Bären wohnte, gab es eine ganz eben solche Einrichtung und Ausschmückung im Innern, nur war die Etagère kleiner, darum aber um so reichlicher verziert, und es schaute nur ein Bärenkopf von ihr herab. Immer bleibt es dem Eigenthümer überlassen, wenn er zwei oder mehr Bären besitzt, bei ihrer Verspeisung entweder jedem eine besondere, oder eine allen gemeinsame und dann entsprechend breitere Etagère zu errichten.

Ist im Hause Alles wie erforderlich hergerichtet und ausgeschmückt, so findet die Ueberführung der Bärenköpfe aus dem Läsng in das Haus statt. Diese war der Ankunft der Herren Ditmar und Brevern in Tebach bereits vorausgegangen. Wie sie aber nachträglich erfuhren und wie ich es auch selbst von den Giljaken gehört habe, geht es dabei in folgender Weise zu. Die ältesten Giljaken des Dorfes «*scheimar*», d. i. Greise, heben den Bärenkopf nebst Fell aus dem Läsng, tragen ihn auf einem durch den Schnee gebahnten, mit angeschälten Stöcken, Holzlocken und Tannenzweigen hie und da geschmückten Wege dreimal um das Haus herum und bleiben dann vor einem in der Querwand desselben dem Bärenherde gegenüber gelegenen Fenster stehen. Der Rahmen dieses Fensters ist ausgehoben und durch dieselbe Oeffnung, nicht durch die Hausthür, wird der Bär in's Haus und direkt vor den ihm geweihten Herd getragen, um sich dort erst zu erwärmen, bevor er auf die Etagère als Ehrenplatz gehoben wird. An diesem Fenster wird nun, nachdem der Bärenkopf durchgetragen worden, von aussen, auf die das Glas ersetzende dünne Fischhautscheibe eine aus Birkenrinde geschnittene Darstellung der Kröte (gilj. *mipitsch*) geklebt (siehe den Holzschnitt p. 716), im Innern des Hauses aber auf die daran stossende Ehrenbank eine Figur hingesetzt, die einen Bären in giljakischer Kleidung darstellen soll (Taf. LVIII, Fig. 3)[2]). Die Bedeutung dieser symbolischen Handlung scheint mir ungefähr folgende zu sein. Die Kröte, ein Thier, das bei den Giljaken im schlimmsten Rufe steht und oft sowohl einzeln, als in Beziehung zum Bären und dem Bärenfeste[3]) dargestellt wird, gilt als böser Geist und eigentliche Anstifterin all' des Unglücks, das dem Bären durch seine Gefangennahme, Tödtung und schliessliche Verspeisung widerfährt. Sie ist der Sündenbock, auf den die Giljaken alle Schuld und Verantwortung für ihre Handlungen am Bären wälzen, und sie erhält daher auch keinen Einlass in das festlich geschmückte Haus, sondern bleibt

1) S. Taf. XLIX. In Folge der oben erwähnten Hindernisse, die die Giljaken dem Aufnehmen von Skizzen während des Bärenfestes in den Weg legten, ist auf unserer Tafel nur ein Bär dargestellt worden, was dem Verständniss genügt. In Judin's Hause aber gab es deren zwei.

2) Die betreffende Figur ist zu dem Zwecke, um hingesetzt zu werden, in den Hüft- und Kniegelenken beweglich, die Kleidung natürlich nur sehr roh und rudimentar verwirklicht.

3) S. u. A. die im Einzelnen später zu besprechenden Taff. LI, LIX, LX, LXI.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

ausserhalb desselben am Fenster kleben, wo sie Zeuge ihrer Unthaten sein kann. Der Bär hingegen wird als willkommener Gast von den Festgenossen begrüsst und findet als ihresgleichen (darum die Kleidung) auf der Ehrenbank Platz. Weitere Belegefür die Richtigkeit dieser Deutung, die ich immerhin nur vermuthungsweise aussprechen darf, werden sich noch in der Folge ergeben.

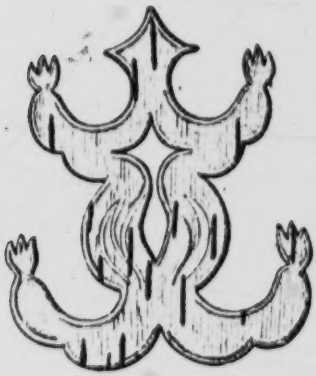

Kröte aus Birkenrinde.

Gleich nach der Hundefütterung, die auch in diesen Tagen, ungeachtet der festlichen Ausschmückung, im Hause stattfindet, begab man sich an die Tagesarbeit — das Kochen des Bärenfleisches im betreffenden Herde. Diese Arbeit fällt nur den ältesten Männern, den Greisen, als hohes Ehrenamt zu: die Weiber und Mädchen, die Knaben und Jünglinge sind davon ausgeschlossen, und sie geht daher nur sehr langsam, bedächtig und gewissermaassen feierlich vor sich. Zuvor wurde der Kessel im Herde mit einem dicken Kranz von Hobelspänen umgeben und ein ebensolcher Halbkranz vor die Ofenthür gebreitet. Dann wurde der Kessel mit Schnee gefüllt, denn Wasser zum Kochen des Bärenfleisches zu gebrauchen ist unrein, und darauf das Feuer unter dem Kessel mit Hobelspänen und Tannenzweigen angemacht, mit welchen letzteren auch von Zeit zu Zeit immer wieder geräuchert wurde. Gleichzeitig wurde ein grosser holzerner Trog an Riemen unmittelbar unter die Bärenschnauzen gehängt, so dass er etwa drei Fuss hoch über dem Erdboden schwebte. Der Trog war mit allerhand Arabesken und Figuren reich verziert und zeigte namentlich auf der einen Seite einen erhaben geschnitzten Bären und auf der anderen eine ebenso gearbeitete Kröte.

So langsam rückte die Arbeit der Greise vor, dass sie erst gegen Abend das Fleisch der Beine und Füsse zu zerlegen begannen. Jedes Bein wurde erst vor die Bären auf das Tannenreisig gelegt, gleichsam um erst ihre Erlaubniss zum Bereiten desselben einzuholen; dann erst wurde es zerlegt und in den Kessel gethan. Die gekochten Stücke wurden mit einem eisernen Haken aus dem Kessel heraus gefischt und in den vor den Bären hängenden Trog gebracht, damit sie zuerst davon geniessen. Ausser den Alten war nur ein Hund im Hause geblieben, und zwar, wie es schien, nur um das beim Kochen und Hinübertragen in den Trog gebrauchte Geschirr durch Ablecken zu rein[illegible]

Am folgenden Tage (28. Jan.) begannen die Greise vom frühen Morgen an ihre Arbeit des Fleischzerlegens und -kochens, die nur durch die gewöhnliche Fütterung der Hunde im Hause und ein ihr vorausgeschicktes Rennen besonders ausgeschmückter und, wie oben bereits erwähnt, nur einen Fuchs- oder Hundeschwanz hinter sich herschleppender Thiere unterbrochen wurde. Darauf brachte man aus den Vorrathshäusern noch eine Menge von Gegenständen herbei, die

sämmtlich am Bärengerüst aufgehängt oder irgendwie sonst in buntem Durcheinander angebracht wurden: Fellstücke und Tatzenhäute früher getödteter Bären, die Kette, an der sie bei Lebzeiten geführt wurden, getrocknete, in Birkenrinde gewickelte Bären-Penes, Messer die an der Ansatzstelle der Klinge mit einem Büschel von Haar aus der Penisgegend des Bären umgeben sind, gilj. sogen. *ting-dshakko*, mit denen es uitsch ist, was anders als Bärenfleisch oder -Speck zu schneiden (s. Taf. LI, Fig. 3), und eine Menge hübsch geschnitzter Löffel und eigenthümlich geformter Schalen. Die letzteren kamen auch sofort zur Verwendung, indem sie mit der aus dem Bärenfleisch gewonnenen Brühe gefüllt wurden, die bald unmittelbar, bald mit Hülfe der Löffel geschlürft wurde. Dieses nur beim Verspeisen des Bären von Giljaken gebrauchte Service ist sehr interessant und bedarf einer ausführlicheren Besprechung.

Die Schalen bei den Giljaken, nach dem Bärenlöffel (*nichyr*) *nichyry-ngir* oder *nichyry-ngith*, d. h. Bärenlöffelschalen genannt, sind immer aus einem einzigen, oft recht langen Holzstück geschnitzt, das etwa in der Mitte oder nahe dem einen oder dem anderen Ende eine bald ganz ansehnliche, bald auch nur untiefe ovale Aushöhlung hat (Taf. L, Fig. 1 u. 2). Jene sind namentlich zum Genuss der Bärenfleischbrühe, diese (eben da, Fig. 3) zu dem des Bärenfleisches oder -Speckes bestimmt. Was aber die Schalen besonders interessant macht, ist, dass bald das eine, bald das andere Ende des Holzstückes, bald auch beide, Schnabel- und Griffende, mit verschiedenen auf den Bären und das Bärenfest bezüglichen Schnitzereien versehen sind. Die letzteren finden sich in ebenso reichem Maasse auch an den Stielen und zuweilen sogar am unteren Ende der Löffel, die von den Giljaken bei Bärenfestmahlzeiten gebraucht werden. Es ist mir gelungen, unsrem Museum eine ganze Anzahl solcher Bärenfest-Schalen und -Löffel beimzubringen, die dem angesehenen Giljaken Ssogin in Kuik angehört hatten und mir nur durch einen glücklichen Zufall in die Hand gespielt wurden: die Giljaken wiesen zu meiner Zeit das Angebot einer noch so hohen Zahlung für irgend ein bei ihren Bärenfesten gebräuchliches Utensil mit der Behauptung zurück, dass ein solcher Handel allzu sehr »uitsch« sein würde. Betrachtet man diese Schnitzereien genauer, so gewahrt man, dass sie den Bären in all' den verschiedenen Lagen und Stellungen wiederzugeben suchen, in die er während des Bärenfestes gebracht wird: auf Taf. L, Fig. 1 z. B. ist er mit dem Hals- und Leibbande dargestellt; auf Taf. L, Fig. 3 und Taf. LII, Fig. 3 und 5 ist die Aufmerksamkeit auf den drehbaren Ring auf der Oberseite seines Leibbandes gerichtet; Taf. LII, Fig. 4 stellt ihn aus dem Bärenlöffel fressend dar; Taf. LI, Fig. 6 zeigt, wie er, an der Kette geführt, sich gegen seine Angreifer zur Wehr setzt, und dieselbe Fig., sowie Fig. 5 auf Taf. LII geben den im Läsng und später von dem Gerüst im Hause herab schauenden Bärenkopf wieder. Am interessantesten ist aber der auf Taf. LI, Fig. 6 abgebildete Löffel und zwar weil er nicht bloss überhaupt als Meisterstück giljakischer Holzschnitzerei gelten kann, sondern auch weil er fast allein schon alle jene Situationen des Bären auf dem ihm geltenden Feste wiedergiebt und ausserdem noch durch die Verkettung des vom Gerüst im Hause herabschauenden Bärenkopfes mit der in der Löffelhöhlung dargestellten Kröte diese als die geistige Urheberin des ganzen Bärenfestes erscheinen lässt. Diese Schalen und Löffel werden immer nur während des Bärenfestes angefertigt, und auch hier in

Tebach sassen zwei Giljaken auf dem Fussboden vor dem Bären, eifrig mit dem Schnitzen solcher Geräthe beschäftigt.

Am Nachmittag desselben Tages wurden neue Quantitäten Bärenfleisches aus den Vorrathskammern gebracht und vor die Bären auf den mit Tannenzweigen bedeckten Fussboden gelegt. Nach wie vor wurde der Kessel mit Schnee nachgefüllt und das Kochen jetzt schon eifriger fortgesetzt, — immer jedoch ganz ohne Salz, dessen Gebrauch nicht bloss beim Bereiten von Bärenfleisch und -Bouillon, sondern auch allen anderen Speisen während des Bärenfestes streng verpönt ist, gleichwie es auch im hohen Grade uitsch wäre, wollte man an dem einen oder dem anderen Herde nicht nur Bären-, sondern überhaupt nur irgend welches Fleisch braten, denn der Bär höre das Zischen des bratenden Fleisches und entsetze sich darüber. Nach Maassgabe als das Bärenfleisch gar gekocht war, wurde die Brühe in die erwähnten Schalen geschöpft und getrunken, das Fleisch aber unter die Etagère auf Tannenzweige gelegt und mit eben solchen bedeckt. Erst am Abend wurde es in den vor den Bärenköpfen hängenden Trog gethan. Ausserdem wurden gegen Abend sechs der grössten Störe und Hausen, deren einer gegen acht Fuss lang war, in's Haus gebracht und vor die Bären gelegt: sie waren ihnen zum Opfer dargebracht und für den bevorstehenden Schmaus bestimmt.

Am Morgen des folgenden Tages (29. Jan.) nahmen die Alten ihre Arbeit vor dem Bärenherde wieder auf. Die jungen Leute waren ebenfalls geschäftig, indem einige von ihnen neues Brennholz herbeischafften, andere in den nahen Gebirgswald fuhren, um aus einer Niederlage von Preisselbeeren, welche die Weiber im Herbst dort errichtet hatten, den zum Fest erforderlichen Vorrath zu bringen. Inzwischen wurden die Hunde gefüttert, mit Ausnahme derjenigen vierzehn Thiere, die Judin zu einer Bravour-Fahrt auf dem Flusse ausgesucht hatte. Diese wurden mit den oben erwähnten rothbequasteten Halsbändern ausgeschmückt und vor einen kleinen, hübsch verzierten Schlitten gespannt, den ihr Eigenthümer selbst lenkte. Die Fahrt ging unter lautem Getrommel der Weiber im schnellsten Tempo erst das steile Ufer hinab zum Strome und dann auf einer geebneten Bahn längs dem letzteren vor sich und endete ohne Unfall, von stürmischem Beifall der versammelten Menge begleitet. Dann erst erhielten auch diese Hunde ihr Mahl im Hause, während die Menschen sich an der Bärenfleischbrühe delektirten.

Am Nachmittag begannen die Alten den Bärenspeck in lange Striemen zu schneiden, welche sie, mit Hobelspänen (Zach's) und Tannenzweigen verziert, ebenfalls vor die Bärenköpfe hängten und erst kurz vor dem Eintreten völliger Dunkelheit wieder entfernten, indem sie sie in einen kleinen, in derselben Art geschmückten Trog thaten und auf den Fussboden vor die Bären stellten. Mittlerweile war in diese Vorbereitungen zum Festmahl auch mehr Leben und Bewegung eingetreten: einige junge Männer begannen die sechs vor den Bären liegenden Störe zu zerlegen, und etwas abseits auf einem quasi unwürdigen Platze, wo sie von den Bären nicht gesehen sein sollten, gingen die Weiber daran, verschiedene Speisen, wie Mossj, mehrere Grützarten, Bohnen mit Fisch- oder Seehundsthran und drgl. m. zu bereiten, — eine Arbeit, die, in gewohnter, ganz anderer Weise vorgenommen, rasch und kräftig von statten ging.

Der Morgen des folgenden Tages (30. Jan.) begann damit, dass die beiden Beckenstücke der Bären, ferner drei Karpfen (Cypr. carpio, gilj. *pilongat*) und endlich ein Theil aller gestern bereiteten Speisen in verschiedenen Birkenborkschalen auf das Bärengerüst gethan wurden, worauf ein alter Mann sich vor die Bären setzte und aus zwei Bärenschalen zugleich von dem frisch bereiteten Mossj genoss.

Es folgte die gewöhnliche Hundefütterung im Hause und, wie in den vorigen Tagen, ein Rennen ausgeschmückter Hunde nebst Getrommel der Weiber. Darauf wurden wieder Bärenspeckstriemen an die Etagère gehängt und dann unter starkem Räuchern mit Tannenzweigen die inneren Organe der Bären zerlegt und in kleine Bärenschalen gethan. Diese Theile scheinen somit nicht gekocht, sondern gleich dem Speck roh genossen zu werden.

Gleichzeitig setzten sich die Weiber in einer Ecke des Hauses um ein altes Mütterchen herum und begannen aus bunten Lappen eine etwa 10 Zoll lange und 3 Zoll breite Binde zusammenzunähen — den sogen. *tschudbas* der Giljaken. Diese Binde wird dem Bären bei Sonnenuntergang unmittelbar unterhalb der Augen um die Schnauze gebunden, um die aus ihnen quellenden Thränen zu trocknen. In ihrer Mitte auf dem Schnauzenrücken ist aber eine aus Birkenrinde geschnittene Darstellung der Kröte angeheftet[1]). Ich kann mir diese symbolische Handlung im Zusammenhang mit dem, was oben gesagt worden, nicht anders als etwa folgendermaassen deuten. Mit der Zerlegung seiner inneren Organe, Herz, Leber und dergl., sieht der Bär sein allendliches Schicksal besiegelt und vergiesst nun Thränen über den bösen Geist, die Kröte, die ihn dahin geführt und das Ganze verschuldet hat. Er selbst erkennt also die Kröte als schuldig an. Die Giljaken hingegen haben ihm nur Gutes erwiesen: sie haben ihn als Gast in ihrem Hause aufgenommen, ihn auf den Ehrenplatz gesetzt, ihm von allen Speisen gereicht, überhaupt Alles nur mit seinem Wissen und seiner Erlaubniss gethan, und ihre Weiber erweisen ihm noch den letzten Liebesdienst, in dem sie ihm tröstend die Thränen in den Augen trocknen. Ihnen fällt also keinerlei Schuld an seinem Schicksal und keine Verantwortung dafür zu. Zugleich wird an den Bären noch eine zweite symbolische Handlung vorgenommen, deren Erklärung, wie mir scheint, etwas weiter gesucht werden muss. Ausser dem Tschudbas wird ihnen nämlich noch eine zweite Kopfbinde angelegt: ein kreuzweis gebundener Riemen, an dem sich eine oder ein paar etwa $1\frac{1}{2}$ Zoll grosse Achatkugeln befinden, die ihnen auf der Stirn und zum Theil auch etwas abseits zu liegen kommen[2]). Der kleine Bär namentlich erhielt eine Binde mit einer Achatkugel, die ihm über den Augen mitten auf der Stirn lag; der grosse bekam zwei Kugeln der Art: ausser jener nämlich noch eine zweite, die über dem rechten Scheitelbein ruhte, und dem in einem anderen Hause (bei seinem Eigenthümer) aufgestellten mittelgrossen Bären endlich wurde eine Binde mit zwei in der Mitte der Stirn unmittelbar über einander gelegenen Achatkugeln aufgesetzt. Es scheint somit in diesem Punkte, wenn mehr Kugeln als Bären vorhanden sind, der Willkür einiger Spielraum gegeben und nur die eine in der Mittellinie der Stirn gelegene Kugel obligatorisch zu sein. Diese Achatkugeln sind von chinesischer (»mandshu-

1) Gleich derjenigen, die an das Fenster geklebt wird, s. p. 716.

2) S. d. Holzscha. p. 720.

rischen) Arbeit und werden von den Giljaken sehr hoch geschätzt und nie veräussert. Ihr exotischer Ursprung scheint mir aber auch eine Erklärung des ganzen Vorganges nahe zu legen.

Bärenkopfbinden mit Krotenfigur und Achatkugeln.

Bei dem langjährigen und häufigen Verkehre der Giljaken mit den Chinesen am Sungari dürfte es ihnen nämlich gewiss nicht entgangen sein, dass die buddhistischen Gottheiten derselben in der Regel eine Beule oder Anschwellung auf der Stirn über den Augen haben, ja es ist möglich und wahrscheinlich, dass sie darin sogar ein Abzeichen besonderer Heiligkeit der betreffenden Gottheiten in den Augen der Chinesen sehen. Zieht man nun das Bestreben der Giljaken, chinesischem Wesen nachzuahmen, in Betracht, so ist es wohl denkbar, dass sie diese buddhistische Stirnbeule auch am Kopf des in abergläubischer Furcht von ihnen verehrten und gewissermaassen ebenfalls für heilig gehaltenen Bären nachzubilden suchen und das mit Hülfe jener Achatkugeln thun, die ihnen zu dem Zweck von den Chinesen selbst geliefert werden. Damit wird also der Bär nach giljakischem Begriff gewissermaassen unter die Gottheiten versetzt und also ein förmlicher Bärenkultus betrieben.

Mit dem Anlegen der Schnauzen- und Kopf- oder der Kröten- und der Achatkugelbinde sind dem Bären alle erdenklichen Ehren erwiesen worden, und nun können die Giljaken im Bewusstsein völliger Schuldlosigkeit ruhigen Gewissens sich den Freuden der Tafel hingeben. Sofort wurde auch auf einem Schlitten eine Menge von Holzschalen in das Haus gebracht und auf dem Fussboden um die Bären herum geordnet, während die Festmahlgenossen auf der Ehrenbank, mit kreuzweis untergeschlagenen Beinen sitzend, Platz nahmen. Zuerst wurde ein Schneeschuh, der wohl zum heiligen Geräth gehörte, da er während der ganzen Zeit an die

Etagère gelehnt gestanden hatte, dazu benutzt, um den Gästen Stücke von gefrorenem Stör zu präsentiren. Während sie noch davon assen wurden einfache kreisrunde holzerne Schüsseln oder richtiger grosse Teller (gilj. *aam-ugir*[1]) mit einer Speise gefüllt, die aus gekochten Bohnen, einer Grützart, Fisch- oder Seehundsthran und zerhacktem Lauch bestand und deren Vorlegen mit der grössten Förmlichkeit vor sich ging. An jeder Seite der Etagère war nämlich ein Mann damit beschäftigt, einen Teller nach dem anderen vom Fussboden zu heben und zum Speisenvorleger, der im vorderen Theile der Jurte auf einem Schlitten sass, zu bringen. Dieser schöpfte mit einem grossen halbkugelförmigen eisernen Löffel (Taf. XXXIII, Fig. 5) den vorhin erwähnten Brei aus einem Trog und legte davon auf die Teller, die dann sogleich wieder auf ihren Platz zurück gebracht wurden. Das wiederholte sich mit jedem Teller dreimal, worauf der Vorleger aufstand, zu jedem einzelnen Teller hintrat und zu den ohnehin schon kolossalen Portionen noch etwas Brei und ein Stück gefrorenen Störfleisches hinzufügte. Jetzt traten von jeder Seite zwei Männer an die Reihe der Teller heran, legten in jeden derselben einen zierlich geschnitzten Löffel und reichten sie den Gästen, jedem einen Teller, dar, mit den beiden in der Mitte der Bank sitzenden beginnend und von dort nach den Enden hin fortschreitend. Was von den übermenschlichen Portionen übrig blieb, wurde in einen Trog zurück geschüttet. Die Weiber waren vom Mahle ganz ausgeschlossen, ja, es war während desselben sogar keines von ihnen zugegen. Darauf erhob man sich von den Sitzen, die Teller wurden in das andere Haus, wo der mittelgrosse Bär aufgestellt war, hinübergebracht, und dort fand ein eben solches Mahl statt. Hier wie dort war es jedoch nur ein dem eigentlichen Festessen vorausgeschicktes Mahl, denn noch war kein Bärenfleisch oder -Speck verzehrt worden, was erst am folgenden Tage stattfinden sollte.

Dieser Tag (d. 31. Jan.) wurde ziemlich in derselben Weise, wie die früheren, mit Zerschneiden von Bärenfleisch und -Speck im Angesicht der Bärenköpfe begonnen. Frühzeitig am Vormittag trafen schon zahlreiche Gäste ein. Diese wurden aber ohne Weiteres auf die Ehrenbank hinter dem Bärengerüst gesetzt und auffallender Weise ohne alles Ceremoniel, das am gestrigen Tage so streng eingehalten worden war, bewirthet: jeder Gast erhielt einen Tannenzweig und darauf rohes und gekochtes Bärenfleisch und einige Striemen Bärenspeck so wie ein Häufchen feiner Hobelspäne (*zach*). Es war das erste Bärenfleisch, das verzehrt wurde. Die Portionen waren sehr reichlich zugemessen, und allmählich betheiligten sich alle im Hause Anwesenden oder Neuhinzugekommenen an dem Essen, ja selbst die Weiber und Kinder bekamen ihr Theil davon, indem ein paar junge Leute mit besonders geformten Schalen (Taf. I., Fig. 5 und Taf. LI, Fig. 1 — gilj. *ans-tymyk*[2]) genannt) unter den Speisenden umhergingen und Beiträge zum Vertheilen unter die Weiber und Kinder einsammelten. Die Menge des an diesem Tage verzehrten Bärenfleisches und -Speckes war daher sehr ansehnlich. Was von den Portionen,

1) S. oben, p. 448.

2) Das *s* in diesem Wort wird weich, wie das franzö- (siehe *z*) ausgesprochen. *Ans-tymyk* heisst diese Schale wegen ihrer Aehnlichkeit mit einer Hand (*tymyk*).

Z: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

die die Gäste vorhatten, nachblieb, wickelten sie in die feinen Hobelspäne und Tannenästchen ein und nahmen sie mit nach Hause, — ein Päckchen, das die Giljaken *möps* nennen sollen [1]).

Die benagten Knochen hingegen wurden in den Kessel zurückgelegt, aus welchem das gekochte Fleisch vertheilt worden war. Als das Mahl zu Ende ging, stellte sich ein alter Mann mit einem Tannenzweige in der Hand an der Hausthür auf und trieb jeden Durchgehenden, der vom Bärenfleisch oder -Speck gegessen hatte, mit einem sanften Schlage zum Hause hinaus, — eine Handlung, die gleichsam zur Strafe für die am Bären verübte Unthat dienen sollte. Draussen wurden aber die Hinausgetretenen in einer weniger sanften Weise angefasst; denn dort empfing sie ein Kreuzfeuer von Schneebällen, mit denen die Knaben sie bewarfen, während die Weiber lebhaft auf den hängenden Balken lostrommelten. Eine ganz gleiche Mahlzeit und mit gleichem Ausgang fand auch in dem Hause, wo der Eigenthümer des dritten Bären wohnte, statt. Zur Abreise der Gäste aber waren hier wie dort vor dem Hause zu beiden Seiten des Weges eine Menge einzelner kleiner Speisehäufchen — von Störfleisch, Mossj und drgl. — auf den Schnee bereit gelegt, um von den Vorbeifahrenden mitgenommen zu werden, — nur Bärenfleisch und -Speck fehlten, denn diese hatten sie bereits in ihrem Möps als Wegkost erhalten.

In Folge des Festmahls konnten die Hundefütterung und das Hunderennen erst kurz vor Mittag stattfinden. Am Nachmittage aber traten zum ersten und einzigen Male die Weiber in lebhafter Betheiligung an den Festbelustigungen auf, indem sie zur Trommelmusik, die in einem ganz eigenen, wilden Rhythmus ertönte, einen Tanz aufführten. Zur Zeit war immer nur eine einzige Tänzerin in Bewegung, die entweder Tannenzweige, oder castagnettenartige Holzklappern in den Händen hielt, und der Tanz bestand eigentlich nur in den allertollsten Stellungen und Verrenkungen des Oberkörpers gegen den Unterkörper. Ditmar erinnerte er auffallend an den Bärentanz der Kamtschadalinnen, und auch die Musik war ähnlich, nur dass hier, gleichfalls von Weibern, mit Knütteln und Stöcken auf einen schwebenden Balken getrommelt wurde, während in Kamtschatka die Tanzenden und die Zuschauer gemeinsam singen. Ich muss übrigens bemerken, dass es wohl nur sehr selten zu einem solchen Ausbruch von Lustigkeit unter den giljakischen Weibern kommen mag, da sie im Allgemeinen noch ernster und gesetzter als die Männer und immer auch viel mehr als diese durch allerhand Arbeiten und Beschäftigungen in Anspruch genommen sind. Keineswegs aber könnte es etwa in einer durch Branntweingenuss erhöhten Stimmung erfolgen, denn dieser ist oder war zu meiner Zeit bei den Giljaken während der Bärenfeste durchaus verpönt — eine, wie schon erwähnt [2]), von kühler Berechnung eingegebene und von grosser Energie des Charakters zeugende Maassregel. Viel auffallender und auch schwerer erklärbar ist eine andere Thatsache, dass nämlich in keinem Hause, wo ein Bärenfest begangen wird, schamant werden darf. Der Grund davon liegt vielleicht darin, dass die in den Augen der Giljaken unheimliche Kunst des Schamanens die Feststimmung stören und durch die Macht, die sie über die Geisterwelt wie über das menschliche Gemüth ausübt, Verwirrung und Unheil unter den am Fest Theilnehmenden anrichten könnte. Den Weibern aber, die diese

1) Eine Bezeichnung, die ich selbst nicht gehört habe. | 2) S. oben, p. 468.

Kunst ebenfalls auszuüben im Stande sind, bliebe sie ausserdem auch darum untersagt, weil sie dieselbe schon aus Rache dafür, dass sie von den Festmahlzeiten principiell ausgeschlossen sind, leicht missbrauchen könnten.

Eine bestimmte Zeitdauer haben die Bärenfeste nicht: es wird eben unter beständigem Wechsel der Theilnehmer, Angehörigen, Freunde, Dorfgenossen und sonstigen Gäste, so lange geschmaust, als die Menge des Bärenfleisches und -Speckes vorhält: in Tebach, meinte Judin seinen Gästen, Ditmar und Brevern, gegenüber, würde sie, da dort drei Bären getodtet worden seien, noch für viele Tage ausreichen. Als daher am folgenden Tage (1/13. Febr.) die Festvorgänge sich in der That ganz in derselben Weise zu wiederholen begannen, verliessen sie dies Dorf und kehrten nach Nikolajefsk zurück.

Wie oben erwähnt, hatte ich schon im vorigen Jahr (1855) Gelegenheit, gerade diesen zweiten, mit der Verzehrung des Bären abschliessenden Theil des Bärenfestes bei den **Oltscha** im Dorfe Uda anzusehen. Meine Vermuthung, dass ihre Gebräuche dabei von denjenigen der Giljaken nicht wesentlich verschieden sein dürften, wurde durch Ditmar's Mittheilungen zum grossen Theil bestätigt. Zum Beweise dessen und zugleich als Beleg für die Einbürgerung giljakischer Sitten unter den Oltscha, will ich hier eine kurze Beschreibung dessen, was ich bei dieser Gelegenheit bei ihnen gesehen habe, unter Bezugnahme auf das oben von den Giljaken Mitgetheilte einschalten.

Als ich am 22. März (3. April) um etwa 10 Uhr Vormittags in dem nur 5 Werst unterhalb Kidsi gelegenen Dorfe Uda ankam und in eines seiner 5 Häuser trat, fand ich es im Innern genau ebenso ausgeschmückt, wie es bei einer bevorstehenden Bärenfestmahlzeit auch bei den Giljaken der Fall ist. Nur erhob sich hier der mit dem Bärenkopf und -Fell, so wie mit vielen Tannenzweigen und Hobelspänen (gilj. *zach* = oltsch. *djamssassá*) geschmückten, Etagere gegenüber, am anderen Mittelpfeiler des Hauses ein zweites, jener ganz ähnliches nur etwas kleineres Gerüst, das auf seinen Fächern ebenfalls Fleisch und Speckstücke des zertheilten Bären nebst allerhand anderen Gegenständen enthielt. Ferner war der Gang zwischen dem Bärengerüst und der Ehrenbank durch eine quer hinübergelegte Stange gesperrt und dadurch diese Bank sowohl wie die ganze Jurte in zwei Hälften getheilt. Der Fussboden im ganzen Mittelraume des Hauses zwischen den beiden Etageren war mit Tannenzweigen dicht belegt, auf denen hie und da ebenfalls mit Bärenfleisch und -Speck gefüllte und mit *djamssassa's* verzierte Tröge standen. Zu beiden Seiten desselben lagen in Reih und Glied geordnet, aber zunächst noch mit dem Boden nach oben gekehrt, die für die Speisenden bestimmten Birkenborkschalen und grossen runden Holzteller (gilj. *aam-ngir* = oltsch. *kotá*); die oben ausführlich beschriebenen Bärenschalen (gilj. *nichyr-ngir* = oltsch. *nechará*) aber standen aufrecht auf und unter dem Bärengerüst. Die Zahl dieser verschiedenen Geräthe betrug jederseits sieben, war also für 14 Theilnehmer am Festmahl berechnet. Es waren zunächst nur Ehren halber aus verschiedenen Dörfern eingeladene Gäste, darunter auch ein Giljake aus Tylm; die Dorfgenossen und sonstigen Freunde und Bekannten sollten erst in den folgenden Tagen daran theilnehmen.

Jetzt wurden auch die ausser dem Bärenfleisch und -Speck für das Festmahl bestimmten

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Speisen in grossen hölzernen Trögen und Birkenborkschalen hereingetragen und zwischen dem mit Tannenzweigen belegten Mittelraume der Jurte und dem Bärenherde neben und über einander aufgestellt und manche von ihnen im Laufe der Mahlzeit nach Bedürfniss durch neue ersetzt. Es waren zunächst vier, etwa 3 Fuss lange und einen Fuss breite Tröge mit Hirsebrei (oltsch. wie gilj. *budá*), ein kleinerer, nur etwa zwei Fuss langer Trog mit Gerstenbrei (oltsch. wie gilj. *mudi*), ein ähnlicher Trog und ein zwei Fuss im Quadrat grosser Korb aus Birkenrinde mit gelben Bohnen (oltsch. *tare*), — lauter mandshu-chinesische Produkte; ausserdem ein zwei Fuss langer Trog mit ziemlich zerquetschten Preisselbeeren und eine Birkenborkschale mit Fischthran. Der Vorleger der Speisen setzte sich rittlings auf einen vor dem Bärenherde stehenden Schlitten, und die Gäste nahmen auf der Ehrenbank, längs der Wand Platz, in der Ordnung, dass die beiden angesehensten, darunter auch der Giljake von Tylm, in der Mitte oder zuinnerst der nach jeder Seite hin sieben Mann zählenden Reihe sassen.

Es war 12 Uhr, von draussen ertönte das bereits beschriebene Getrommel der Weiber und das Festmahl begann. Jede Seite der Speisenden, von der Mitte zum äussersten Ende gerechnet, hatte ihren Vorsetzer und ihren Marschall. Jene beiden sind für die Dauer des Mahles dazu ernannte junge Leute, als Marschälle will ich aber die beiden Gäste bezeichnen, die jederseits am äussersten Ende der Speisenden sassen. Die Vorsetzer kehrten zuerst die in einer Reihe auf dem Fussboden stehenden grossen Teller (*kota*) und ebenso die in einer zweiten Reihe dahinter befindlichen Birkenborkschalen mit der Höhlung nach oben um, nahmen dann die Teller vom Fussboden auf, trugen sie zum Vorleger, der in einen jeden von ihnen eine gleiche, durch den grossen eisernen Schöpflöffel bestimmte Portion that, und setzten ihn auf seinen früheren Platz zurück, wobei vom hintersten, dem Bärengerüst zunächst stehenden Teller begonnen und nach vorn vorgeschritten und zuerst die eine und dann die andere Seite der Geräthe besorgt wurde. Die erste Speise bestand aus trocknem Hirsebrei. Als die Teller mit ihren Portionen versehen waren, erhoben sich die beiden Marschälle von ihren Sitzen und stellten sich an der vom Bärengerüst zur Ehrenbank quer hinüber gelegten Stange Rücken an Rücken auf, die Vorsetzer reichten ihnen die vollen Teller, und sie stellten sie auf die Mitte der Bank vor die Gäste hin, stets in derselben Reihenfolge, von den beiden Mittelsten beginnend und nach den Enden hin fortschreitend, so dass sie die für sie selbst bestimmten Teller ganz zuletzt hinsetzten. Darauf nahmen sie die Löffel vom Bärengerüst und versahen jeden Teller damit. Nun traten die Vorsetzer wieder vor und schmeckten von jedem derselben, immer in derselben Ordnung. Jetzt erst rückten die Gäste ihre Teller näher heran, nahmen einen Bissen, legten aber dann den Löffel zurück und schoben den Teller von sich, worauf die beiden Marschälle, die es ebenso gemacht hatten, wieder aufstanden, erst die Löffel einsammelten und an ihren Platz zurücklegten und dann die Teller den Vorsetzern zurückgaben, die diese auf den Fussboden stellten. Alles geschah immer in derselben Reihenfolge der Gäste. Nun schütteten die Vorsetzer den Inhalt der Teller in eine Birkenborkschale, die Kinder aber waren gleich zur Hand, um zur grossen Heiterkeit der Gäste die Teller wieder rein zu lecken. Als sie damit fertig waren, wurde die zweite Speise unter Beobachtung ganz derselben Förmlichkeiten vorgelegt und auf-

getragen. Sie bestand ebenfalls aus Hirsebrei, doch hatte der Vorleger mit einem Stöckchen in jede Portion eine Vertiefung gemacht und einen Löffel voll Fischthran hineingethan. Diese Speise wurde von den Gästen nicht blos geschmeckt und dann zurückgeschoben, sondern gegessen, ja sie riefen auch die Kinder herbei, die sich vor ihnen platt auf den Bauch hinstreckten und von ihnen gefüttert wurden, und selbst ältere Knaben und Jünglinge traten, dazu aufgefordert, heran und assen vom Teller. Nach abermaliger, in derselben Weise erfolgter Reinigung des Geschirrs kam, wiederum unter denselben Förmlichkeiten, die dritte Speise, die aus gekochten Bohnen bestand und ein gleiches Schicksal mit der ersten erfuhr. Darauf rückten die Gäste bis an den Rand der Bank vor, so dass sie mit herabgelassenen Füssen auf ihr zu sitzen kamen, die Vorsetzer reichten ihnen den gewöhnlich zum Wassertrinken gebräuchlichen, an einen Stiel mit umgebogenem Ende[1]) befestigten Rindenbecher voll Wasser, und Jeder trank davon. Als sie jetzt aufstanden, gab es Unruhe und Lärm im Hause: die jungen Leute und Knaben eilten, mit Tannenzweigen bewaffnet zur Thür und stellten sich dort auf, die Gäste aber kamen in der Ordnung, wie sie gesessen hatten, vom mittelsten bis zum äussersten, erst der einen und dann der anderen Seite, zur Thür gegangen und erhielten mit den Tannenzweigen Schläge auf den Rücken. Besonders viel davon bekamen die Jüngeren unter ihnen ab, und da sie sich dem durch Eile und Gewandtheit zu entziehen suchten, so gab es grosse Heiterkeit unter Jung und Alt. Draussen wurden sie von den Jünglingen und Knaben ebenso, von den Weibern und Mädchen aber mit Getrommel auf den schwebenden Balken empfangen. Damit war der erste Abschnitt des Festmahls zu Ende.

Nach einer kleinen Pause, als die Gäste wieder hereingetreten waren und in derselben Reihenfolge Platz genommen hatten, begann der zweite Abschnitt, der in allen Einzelheiten des Ceremoniels dem ersten ganz gleich war und auch denselben Ausgang nahm. Das Bestreben, Alles ebenso einzuhalten, ging so weit, dass stets auch derselbe Löffel auf denselben Teller gelegt werden musste, — was sicherlich nicht aus etwaigem Ekel geschah, — und als der eine Marschall sich einmal darin versah, wurde er von einem der Gäste darauf aufmerksam gemacht und wechselte sogleich die Löffel um. Nur die Speisen waren zum Theil verschieden. Den ersten Gang in diesem Abschnitt bildeten Bohnen mit je einem Löffel voll Fischthran in jeder Portion (der erste Abschnitt hatte mit derselben Speise ohne Thran geschlossen). Diese Speise und nicht minder die dritte, die aus ziemlich zerquetschten Preisselbeeren mit je einem Löffel voll Fischthran bestand, wurden genossen und auch mit manchen herbeigewinkten jüngeren und kleinen Hospitanten getheilt, während die aus trocknem Hirsebrei bestehende zweite Speise zurückgewiesen und in eine bereitstehende Birkenborkschale geschüttet wurde. Nach diesem in derselben Weise abgeschlossenen zweiten Abschnitt des Festmahls trat eine etwas längere Pause ein, welche von Manchem der Gäste zu einem Schläfchen benutzt wurde.

Als alle Gäste sich wieder versammelt und ihre früheren Plätze eingenommen hatten, begann der dritte Abschnitt des Mahles, von dessen drei Gängen jedoch, die aus trocknem Hirse-

1) Zum Aufhängen am Rande des in jedem Hause in der Nähe der Hausthür befindlichen grossen Wasserbehälters.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

brei, Bohnen mit Fischthran und trocknem Gerstenbrei bestanden, nur der zweite gegessen wurde und auch bei der naschenden Jugend Beifall fand, die beiden andren hingegen in üblicher Weise wieder weggeräumt wurden. Dieser Abschnitt zeichnete sich von den beiden vorhergehenden dadurch aus, dass in der etwas längeren Pause zwischen dem zweiten und dritten Gange einer der Marschälle, ein bejahrter, wohlgekleideter Mann, der einen Gürtel aus Hobelspänen um seinen Pelz trug, wie ihn auch manche Andere unter den Gästen hatten, einige Lieder theils recitirte, theils sang und dadurch sehr zur Erheiterung der Gesellschaft beitrug. Ferner bot er auch darin eine Abwechselung, dass sich am Schlusse desselben einige junge Männer zu dem vor dem Hause hängenden Balken begaben und auf ihm, statt der sonst dort thätigen Weiber und Mädchen, mehrere Weisen mit wechselndem Rhythmus ausführten.

Der vierte Abschnitt begann mit denselben Förmlichkeiten wie die früheren und brachte als erste Speise wieder Hirsebrei mit Fischthran. Als dieser aber verzehrt war, wurden die grossen Holzteller ganz weggeräumt und statt ihrer die Bärenschalen (*nechara*) zum Speisenvorleger gebracht. Dieser goss in jede Schale einen Löffel voll flüssigen (jedoch kalten) Bärenfettes (oltsch. *chimssa*, d. h. Thran) und that dann einige Striemen festen Bärenspecks (oltsch. *ugmu*), der in etwa spannenlange und einen halben Zoll breite Striemen geschnitten und auf dünne Stöckchen gereiht war, darauf. Desgleichen versah er jede Schale mit einem schaufelförmigen Stöckchen und einer Handvoll feiner Hobelspäne (*gjamssassa*), die zwar als ein Symbol der Heiligkeit gelten, in diesem Falle aber zum Abwischen von Mund und Fingern dienten. Als alle Schalen gefüllt auf dem Fussboden standen, wurden sie vom Vorsetzer und Marschall in derselben ceremoniellen Weise vor die Gäste gestellt. Bevor aber diese sie heranrückten, musste noch von jeder derselben geschmeckt werden, was die Vorsetzer an drei bis vier Portiönen thaten und sich dann von anderen jungen Leuten, um auch ihnen etwas vom leckeren Bissen zu gönnen, ablösen liessen. Die Portionen waren so reichlich bemessen, dass sie von den Gästen allein nicht wohl bewältigt werden konnten, und es wurde daher von den Haus- und anderen Dorfbewohnern, die sich zum bevorstehenden fünften Abschnitt allmählich schon eingefunden hatten, fleissig bei den Gästen hospitirt. Nach dem wie immer vom Vorsetzer gereichten Trunk Wassers erfolgte der Aufbruch und wurde die zum Schluss jedes Abschnitts an der Thür und ausserhalb des Hauses übliche Scene aufgeführt.

Der fünfte Abschnitt des Mahls bedurfte einiger Vorbereitung und die Pause zwischen ihm und dem 4-ten war daher länger als sonst: die in einer Reihe auf dem Fussboden aufgestellten Bärenschalen wurden gereinigt, indem die in einigen von ihnen nachgebliebenen Reste in eine derselben gesammelt und weggebracht, die übrigen aber von den Kindern reingeleckt wurden. Desgleichen wurden auch die Birkenborkschalen mit den Speisen, von denen bloss geschmeckt worden war, bei Seite gestellt. Ihr Inhalt war für den nächsten Tag bestimmt und konnte für eine fast ebenso grosse Gesellschaft langen, da in den drei ersten Abschnitten stets eine zurückgeschobene mit einer genossenen Speise abgewechselt hatte und jene stets trocken, diese mit einem Löffel voll Fischthran in jeder Portion gereicht wurde. Endlich mussten auch die Bärenschalen sowie die kleinen schaufelförmigen Stäbchen und die *Gjamssassa's* an ihren Platz,

jene unter und um das Bärengerüst, diese beiden auf die Fächer desselben gebracht werden. Inzwischen füllte sich das Haus mehr und mehr mit Menschen an, denn an dem jetzt bevorstehenden letzten Theile des Festmahls durften nicht bloss die geladenen Gäste, sondern auch andere erwachsene Dorfbewohner männlichen Geschlechts theilnehmen, und diese hatten sich in der That zahlreich eingefunden und auf den übrigen Bänken des Hauses im Anschluss an die Reihe der Gäste Platz genommen. In dem Gange zwischen den Bänken und dem Mittelraume des Hauses tummelten sich Knaben und im vorderen Theile desselben sah man auch Weiber und Mädchen stehen. Bei so grosser Zahl der Speisenden schien man das bisher auf's Strengste befolgte Ceremoniel, mit je einem Vorsetzer und einem Marschall auf jeder Seite des Hauses, für nicht mehr durchführbar oder wenigstens für nicht erforderlich zu halten. Dagegen wurde dem Speisevorleger ein Gehülfe zugetheilt, um die Zertheilung des Bärenfleisches in einzelne Portionen zu beschleunigen. Die beiden ersten Portionen gab der Kopf des Bären ab, indem der Schädel mit dem Oberkiefer die eine und der Unterkiefer die andere Portion bildete. Jede derselben wurde auf ein rundes, mit dem Haar nach oben gekehrtes Kopffellstück des Bären mit einer unmittelbaren Unterlage von Tannenzweigen gelegt. Die übrigen Schüsseln oder Teller bestanden ebenfalls aus solchen, etwa einen Fuss im Durchmesser grossen Stücken von Kopf- oder Bein- und Fussfellen früher getödteter Bären, und manche von ihnen waren aus mehreren Flicken zusammengenäht. Gleich den Bärenschalen oder Holztellern und drgl. gehören sie schon einmal zum Hausgeräth der Jurte oder richtiger wohl des Dorfes, da sie als Gemeinbesitz je nach Bedürfniss bald dem einen, bald dem anderen seiner Häuser zu dienen haben. Niemals wird aber das Bärenfleisch unmittelbar auf diese Fellschüsseln, sondern stets auf darüber gebreitete Tannenzweige gelegt, was jedoch auch nicht gerade sehr sauber ist, da sie nicht einmal der obenerwähnten Reinigungsmethode unterliegen dürften. Die beiden ersten Portionen wurden vor die beiden angesehensten, in der Mitte sitzenden Gäste, deren einer der Giljake aus Tylm war, gesetzt. Die Uebrigen erhielten ihre Portionen ebenfalls sogleich, nachdem diese abgetheilt waren, jedoch stets ohne alle Ceremonie durch einen der Vorleger. Die Portionen waren entsetzlich gross, indem sie ausser dem Fleisch noch 7—8 mächtige Striemen oder Scheiben von Bärenspeck enthielten. Noch rührte aber Niemand an der ihm zugetheilten Portion. Es wurden zuvor die Thranlampen im Hause angezündet: vier in der Nähe der vier Ecken desselben, wo sie gewöhnlich brennen, eine fünfte an einer seiner Längswände und noch eine sechste endlich, die speciell dem Bärenfeste galt. Hinter dem Bärengerüst nämlich, in dem Gange zwischen diesem und der Ehrenbank, vor den beiden mitten auf derselben sitzenden Gästen, wurde ein Stock in den Fussboden getrieben, der am oberen Ende in drei auseinander klaffende Arme auslief. Auf diese wurde eine mit Fisch- oder Seehundsthran gefüllte und mit einem Docht versehene Pectenschale (von *Pecten jessoensis* Jay) gesetzt. Die kleine Flamme dieser Lampe warf ihr Licht insonderheit auf das mit Tannenzweigen, zahlreichen Holzlocken (*gjamssassa*) und von oben herab mit dem Bärenfell geschmückte Gerüst im Mittelraum der Jurte, während die übrigen Lampen die lange Reihe der längs ihren Wänden sitzenden und mit untergeschlagenen Beinen des Mahles harrenden, sämmtlich bepelzten Tischgenossen düster beleuchteten. Es lag

etwas Geordnetes und doch Wildes und Ungeschlachtes in diesem eigenartigen Bilde. Jetzt trat einer der Vorleger zu den Gästen, die die beiden Kopfstücke des Bären erhalten hatten, schnitt von diesen, wie von den Portionen der ihnen zunächst Sitzenden je ein kleines Stück Fleisch in seine Bärenschale ab und entfernte sich damit. Nun erst zogen die beiden mittelsten Gäste ihre Portionen heran und gingen an's Essen, und ihrem Beispiel folgten alsbald alle Uebrigen. Sogleich fanden sich hie und da auch kleinere und grössere Hospitanten ein, ein paar jüngere Leute aber gingen die ganze Reihe der Speisenden entlang und sammelten von ihnen Beiträge in besondere Bärenschalen, für die am Mahle Nichttheilnehmenden, und davon bekamen denn auch die Weiber und Mädchen einige Bissen.

Mittlerweile war es halb acht Uhr Abends geworden, das Festmahl hatte also 7½ Stunden gedauert und war, nach der Grösse der noch unverzehrten Portionen zu urtheilen, noch lange nicht zu Ende. Leider war ich aber genöthigt abzureisen, da ich des vielen Aufwassers wegen, das sich zu dieser Jahreszeit bereits über der Eisdecke des Stromes gebildet hatte, die Nächte zum Weiterkommen benutzen musste.

Halten wir nun diesen zweiten Akt des Bärenfestes, wie er einerseits bei den Giljaken, andererseits bei den Oltscha vor sich geht, gegeneinander. Trotz grosser Uebereinstimmung in den Haupt-, wie in den Nebenzügen dieses Festaktes, tritt uns aus seinem Vorgange bei den Giljaken und bei den Oltscha ein sehr verschiedener Geist entgegen. Bei jenen trägt das Fest durchaus den Charakter des Ursprünglichen, bei diesen den des Ueberkommenen. Ist der Zweck des Ganzen auch hier wie dort ganz derselbe, rein utilitarische — die allendliche Verspeisung des Bären, so sucht man ihn doch bei den Einen und bei den Anderen in sehr verschiedener Weise zu erreichen. Bei den Giljaken geht das Bärenfest von der Idee des Bärencultus aus oder knüpft sich wenigstens an diese an: es wird theils von Verehrung für das mächtige Raubthier, theils von abergläubischer Furcht vor ihm und seinen Rachegeistern getragen, man weist ihm den Ehrenplatz im Hause an, man giebt sich den Anschein, nur mit seiner Erlaubniss, gleichsam widerwillig und nothgedrungen zu handeln und wälzt schliesslich alle Schuld und Verantwortung von sich ab. Bei den Oltscha hingegen ist davon kaum etwas zu merken: die einzigen auf den Bären und das Bärenfest bezüglichen abergläubischen Vorstellungen, die ich bei ihnen fand, bestanden darin, dass sie mir kein Bärenfleisch verkaufen wollten und dass sie für *ūtsch* hielten (ein Begriff, den sie ebenfalls von den Giljaken erhalten haben), während des Bärenfestes mit einem dem Herde entnommenen Feuer hinauszutreten, was zu jeder anderen Zeit keineswegs verboten sei. Der ängstlich abergläubischen, gewissermassen religiös gefärbten Auffassung der Giljaken gegenüber, ist der zweite und wichtigste Theil des Bärenfestes bei den Oltscha in ein blosses Ceremoniel, eine Reihe pedantisch beobachteter Förmlichkeiten ausgeartet, wie man sie wohl bei den Jahrtausende alten Chinesen, nicht aber bei einem Naturvolke erwarten dürfte. Vielleicht ist diese Ausartung einer den Oltscha ursprünglich fremden Sitte, die ihre Wurzeln nicht im Volke selbst hat, in der That unter mandshu-chinesischem Einfluss zu Stande gekommen. Sind doch bei ihnen auch alle Speisen, die beim Fest gereicht werden, mit fast alleiniger Ausnahme von Bärenfleisch und -Speck, von mandshu-chinesischer

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Provenienz, während bei den Giljaken altherkömmlichem Brauche gemäss noch Stör- und Hausenfleisch und das aus Lachsarten bereitete Mossj eine hervorragende Rolle beim Feste spielen. Dass das Geniessen fremder, mandshu-chinesischer Speisen immer mit mehr Förmlichkeiten geschieht, lässt sich übrigens auch bei den Giljaken beobachten und findet darin seine Erklärung, dass es den Naturmenschen unwillkürlich über das Alltagsleben hinaus in eine feierlich gehobene Stimmung versetzt. Die grössere Menge mandshu-chinesischer Speisen beim Bärenfest der Oltscha, im Vergleich zu den Giljaken, rührt aber unzweifelhaft von der grösseren Nähe und Anzahl ihrer Bezugsquellen für derartige Waaren her, in Folge sowohl des ständigen Aufenthalts chinesischer Kaufleute im Wohngebiet der Oltscha und Golde, als auch des häufigeren und regeren Verkehrs dieser Völker mit den Chinesen am Sungari.

Nehmen wir nach dieser auf das Bärenfest der Oltscha bezüglichen Einschaltung, die mir zum Vergleich mit demselben Festakt der Giljaken nothwendig schien, den Faden unsrer Schilderung des Bärenfestes der Giljaken wieder auf. Noch fehlt uns die Kenntniss seines Schlussakts: was geschieht, nachdem Speck, Fleisch und innere Organe des Bären verzehrt worden, mit dem Schädel und den Knochen des Thieres? Leider bin ich hier nicht selbst Augenzeuge gewesen und kann daher nur das berichten, was ich theils von den Giljaken gehört habe, theils aus anderen Thatsachen folgern muss. Ditmar verliess Tebach noch vor diesem Schlussakt. Er schliesst seine dortigen Notizen mit der Bemerkung, dass seine längere Anwesenheit dort bei Judin und anderen Giljaken Anstoss zu erregen schien und dass die wiederholten Betheuerungen des Ersteren, er werde den Schluss des Festes nicht abwarten können, weil dieses sich noch lange hinziehen werde, nur allzudeutlich den Wunsch erkennen liessen, dass er seine Abreise beschleunigen möge. Am Tage zuvor, als das erste Bärenfleisch verzehrt wurde, waren die Bärenköpfe noch unberührt und trugen ihre Schnauzen- und Kopfbinden. Als ich bei den Oltscha in Uda eintraf, sah ich diese Binden nicht: sie waren, falls sie bei den Oltscha überhaupt im Gebrauch sind, bereits entfernt, der Schädel und der Unterkiefer waren aus dem Fell herausgenommen und wurden, wie gesagt, den Gästen zum Verspeisen der Fleischtheile vorgesetzt. Der erstere war nicht gespalten, und von den Gehirntheilen habe ich nichts gesehen. Schwerlich dürften sie sich aber diesen besonders schmackhaften Bissen entgehen lassen. Um jedoch seiner ganz habhaft zu werden müssen sie den Schädel spalten. Daraus darf man gewiss den Schluss ziehen, dass auch die Lehrmeister der Oltscha, die Giljaken, es ebenso machen und, nachdem die übrigen Theile des Bären verzehrt worden, schliesslich auch den Kopf abfellen und den Schädel spalten. Es mag aber dieser letzte gegen den Bären geführte Schlag, das Zerspalten seines Schädels, zu denjenigen Vorgängen gehören, die gern im Geheimen, wenigstens nicht in Gegenwart von Fremden, vorgenommen werden, und darum die Abreise Ditmar's aus Tebach besonders herbeigewünscht worden sein. Wie nun das Herausnehmen des Bärenkopfs aus dem Fell, so geschieht höchst wahrscheinlich auch das Zerspalten des Schädels im Hause, wo gleich oder bald darauf die Verspeisung seiner Fleisch- und Gehirntheile stattfindet. Dafür spricht schon der Umstand, dass das Instrument, mit welchem der Schädel des Bären zerspalten wird, gleich zu Anfang des zweiten Festakts in's Haus gebracht

wird. Es ist eine Spitzaxt (gilj. *mytsching*), die auf Taf. LI, Fig. 5, nach einem Exemplar abgebildet worden ist, das während der Festzeit in Judin's Haus am Bärengerüst gelegen hatte. Diese Spitzaxt ist nach ihrer ganzen Form, besonders aber nach ihrem Stiel und der Art der Befestigung des Schlägels an denselben zu urtheilen, unverkennbar ein Stück aus uralter Zeit und hat gewiss ehemals einen steinernen Schlägel gehabt, der später durch einen eisernen ersetzt worden ist[1]). Wenn endlich auch das Gehirn des Bären verzehrt ist, werden die Schädel- und die übrigen abgenagten und zusammengesammelten Knochen des Bären mit dem Fell zum Hause hinaus nach einer unweit von demselben im Walde gelegenen Stelle getragen, — ein Akt, der nach Angabe der Giljaken ebenfalls mit einer gewissen Feierlichkeit von den ältesten Leuten im Dorfe besorgt wird. Dort werden alle Knochen mit Ausnahme des Schädels in die Erde versenkt oder schlechtweg verscharrt. Mit dem Schädel des Bären wird aber anders, und zwar in einer Weise verfahren, von der ich erst nach einigen bei den benachbarten Völkern gemachten Erfahrungen genaue Kenntniss gewann. Die obenerwähnte, offenbar noch aus der Steinzeit herrührende Spitzaxt wird nämlich, nach den Spuren des Schlages zu urtheilen, auch von den Golde zu einem ähnlichen Zwecke gebraucht. Diese spalten jedoch den Bärenschädel nicht, sondern begnügen sich damit, auf den Genuss des Bärengehirns verzichtend, ihm ein Loch durchs Gewölbe zu schlagen und ihn an einem der Jochbögen auf einen eigens dazu gewählten Baum zu hängen. Bei Buri nahe der Ussuri-Mündung sah ich einen solchen mit zahlreichen Bärenschädeln behängten Baum stehen. Als ich ihn erkletterte, um mir die besterhaltenen Exemplare herabzuholen[2]), fand ich, dass jeder von ihnen ein grosses, bald das rechte, bald das linke Scheitelbein perforirendes Loch trug. Im Wohngebiet der Giljaken habe ich zwar mit Delphinschädeln behängte Bäume gesehen, niemals sind mir aber welche mit Bärenschädeln begegnet, obgleich die Zahl der alljährlich erlegten oder gefangengenommenen und verspeisten Bären dort sehr viel grösser als bei den Golde sein dürfte. Das weist entschieden darauf hin, dass die Giljaken, ungleich den Golde, ausser dem Einschlagen oder Zerspalten des Bärenschädels noch eine andere Manipulation mit ihm vornehmen, die ihn kaum weniger als das Verscharren der Knochen, den Blicken der Menschen zu entziehen geeignet ist. In der That bin ich an verschiedenen Orten im Walde in der Nähe giljakischer Wohnungen auf Stellen gestossen, die sich bei aufmerksamer Betrachtung als Bärenschädelstätten erwiesen: Stämme junger Bäumchen waren in der Höhe von einigen Zollen über dem Erdboden abgehauen, das stehengebliebene Stück des Stammes war in zwei Zinken gespalten und der bis auf seine Basis gespaltene Bärenschädel so in den Baumspalt eingekeilt, dass die beiden Zinken aus seinen Jochbögen hervorragten und ihn dicht am Erdboden zwischen sich eingeklemmt hielten; ausserdem war jederseits noch ein kurzer Holzkeil von oben durch den Jochbogen in die Erde getrie-

1) Die ebenda, Fig. 4, abgebildete, zum Tödten von Stören und Hausen dienende Keule hat noch jetzt ein steinernes Endstück (s. oben p. 519). Die Unterschrift auf der Tafel LI ist demgemäss zu berichtigen.

2) Darunter befand sich auch jener grösste aller bisher bekannten Schädel von Ursus arctos (von 430 mm. Länge), der im ersten Bande dieses Werkes (p. 8—16) ausführlich besprochen worden ist.

ben. Verwächst die Stelle mit Gras, so wird dem flüchtigen Auge Alles unkenntlich. Diese Art, den Bärenschädel zu behandeln, ist von den Giljaken auch auf die Oltscha und von diesen auf die ihnen nahe verwandten und am Udyl-See u. a. O. auch unmittelbar benachbarten Samagirn übergegangen. Beim Dorfe Ngagha am Gorin fand ich in der nächsten Umgegend nach zwei Richtungen hin solche Bärenschädelstätten und zählte auf der einen, die in einem lichten Birkenwäldchen lag, in einem Umkreise von 30 Schritt nicht weniger als neun genau in der Weise wie bei den Giljaken behandelter Bärenschädel. Da an diesen selben Stellen vermuthlich auch die übrigen Bärenknochen verscharrt liegen, so sind es nicht bloss Bärenschädelstätten, sondern überhaupt Bärenbeinäcker.

Die Golde hingegen, die ihre Bärenschädel auf Bäume hängen, thun Aehnliches auch mit anderen dazu geeigneten Bärenknochen. So sah ich bei Bitschu an der Gorin-Mündung einen zerfallenen oder gespaltenen Bärenschädel einige Fuss hoch auf dem Stubben eines gebrochenen Baumes liegen, unten aber hingen im Gesträuch verschiedene Knochen des Thieres, darunter ein Schulterblatt und eine Anzahl von Rückenwirbeln, die mittelst der *Foramina vertebralia* auf die Zweige des Strauches gereiht waren, und daneben hingen goldische Birkenborkschalen und -Körbchen, wie man sie auch an den Grabstätten verstorbener Menschen findet, und die offenbar den Manen des getödteten Thieres zum Opfer dargebracht waren.

Es ist nicht anzunehmen, dass die Giljaken von Sachalin in ihren Grundanschauungen über den Bären und das ihm geweihte Fest sich wesentlich von ihren Stammgenossen auf dem Festlande unterscheiden sollten, zumal wir uns die Verbreitung der Giljaken in der Weise zu denken haben, dass sie, von der Amur-Mündung nach Sachalin gekommen, dort längere Zeit hindurch eine Heimstätte gefunden haben und alsdann erst, durch die Aino gedrängt, zum grossen Theil auf das Festland zurückgewandert sind[1]). In den einzelnen Festvorgängen hingegen finden zwischen ihnen ganz beträchtliche Verschiedenheiten statt, die hauptsächlich durch die verschiedene Bauart und Geräumigkeit der Behausungen der Continental- und der Sachalin-Giljaken bedingt sind.

So unscheinbar das Aeussere einer Erdjurte der letzteren ist — ein flachkegelförmiger, verschneiter, an der Spitze durch den ausströmenden Rauch etwas geschwärzter Hügel — so dürftig ist auch ihre äussere Ausschmückung zum Bärenfeste. In der Regel sind am Eingange zur Jurte nur ein oder ein paar ihrer unteren Zweige beraubte junge Tannenbäumchen in den Schnee gesteckt, von deren Wipfel gleich wie auch von Aesten des umstehenden Gesträuchs einige lockenförmig gekräuselte Hobelspäne herabhängen (*zächs*). Nur wenn in derselben Behausung vor einigen Wochen, einem Monat, ja selbst in Jahresfrist, schon ein Bär verzehrt worden ist, pflegt auch das Fell dieses letzteren zur äusseren Ausschmückung der Jurte verwandt zu werden, indem es über eine lange und kräftige, schräg in den Schnee gesteckte und zuweilen auch durch ein kleines Geländer gestützte Ruthe gebreitet und davor ein Bündel von Holzlocken (*zächs*) angebracht wird[2]). So habe ich es in Tyk, Duï, Jwlk, Pud-wo und a. O. an der

1) Siehe S. 244, 247, 568 und 570 dieses Werks. | 2) S. Holzschn. p. 732.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Westküste und im Tymy-Thale auf Sachalin gesehen. Waren das Kopf- und die Beinstücke des Fells bereits abgeschnitten, um als Schüsseln bei den Bärenfestmahlzeiten zu dienen, so werden sie bei solcher Gelegenheit wieder an das Rumpfstück angenäht, um das Fell ganz erscheinen zu lassen.

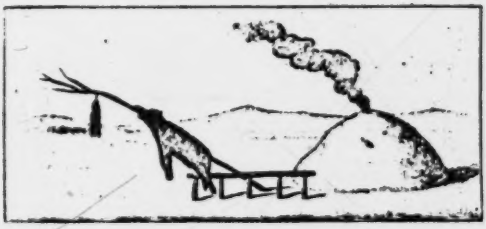

Bei der Jurte aufgehängtes Bärenfell.

Der enge, niedrige und dunkle Gang, der zur Erdjurte führt, und der kleine, statt einer Thür oft nur durch ein in horizontaler Richtung verschiebbares Brett geschlossene Eingang in dieselbe machen das Ein- und Ausführen von Bären hier unmöglich, und im Innern der vom Herde und von den drei Schlafbänken fast ganz eingenommenen Jurte fände sich auch kein Raum, um auch nur einen Bären, geschweige denn deren zwei oder drei, zeitweise aufstellen zu können[1]). Auf dieses Hauptvergnügen der Amur-Giljaken während des Bärenfestes müssen daher ihre Stammgenossen auf Sachalin, soweit es dort nur Erdjurten giebt, verzichten. Die Möglichkeit dazu wurde den Giljaken erst geboten, als die anfangs auch auf dem Festlande bei ihnen üblichen Erdjurten (*toryf*) durch Häuser von chinesischer Bauart (*tschadryf*) ersetzt wurden, was zu meiner Zeit auf dem Festlande, bis auf eine Erdjurte in Pättach, schon durchweg und auf der Limanküste Sachalin's zum grossen Theil geschehen war[2]). Mag sich der conservative Geist, der jedes Naturvolk beseelt, im Anfange auch gegen jede Aenderung der altherkömmlichen Sitte gesträubt haben, allmählich musste sich eine grössere Ausnutzung der Vortheile, die ihnen die neue Behausung, durch ihre Lage zu ebner Erde und ihre grössere Geräumigkeit auch für die Feier des Bärenfestes bot, doch Bahn brechen, und das kann bei einem Volk von so praktischer Begabung, wie die Giljaken, nicht einmal lange gedauert haben. Wenn man die Amur-Giljaken ihre zeitweise im Hause aufgestellten Bären scheinbar ganz ohne Zweck viele Male zur Thür hinaus- und gleich wieder hereinführen und in der Art mit ihnen von Haus zu Haus durchs ganze Dorf umherziehen sieht, so macht es den Eindruck, als ob sie, gewissermaassen in traditioneller Erinnerung an die Beschränkung, die ihnen in dieser Beziehung ehemals auferlegt war und in der ihre Stammgenossen auf Sachalin sich noch gegenwärtig befinden, immer noch in dem Genuss schwelgen, den ihnen ihre jetzigen, für das Bärenfest ge-

1) S. den Plan und die Einrichtung der giljakischen Erdjurte, p. 322 dieses Werks.

2) S. oben p. 322.

eigneteren Wohnungen bieten. In der That scheint jene Sitte nur die allmählich zum Gebrauch gewordene Aeusserung von Freude und Befriedigung seitens der Continental-Giljaken über die im Laufe der Zeit stattgehabte Veränderung in der Bauart ihrer Behausungen zu sein.

Ein anderer durch die verschiedene Bauart der Behausungen bei den Continental- und den Sachalin-Giljaken bedingter Unterschied in den Bärenfestgebräuchen betrifft die Ueberführung des Bärenkopfs aus dem Läsng in die Jurte. Diese geschieht bei den ersteren nicht durch die Thür, sondern immer durch eines der Fenster des Hauses. Die Erdjurte hat aber keine Fenster und erhält das Tageslicht nur durch den Rauchfang, der auch überhaupt ausser der Thür die einzige nach aussen führende Oeffnung in ihr abgiebt. Ich vermuthe daher, dass jene Ueberführung auch bei den Sachalin-Giljaken nicht durch die Thür, sondern durch den Rauchfang stattfindet, was in den giljakischen Häusern von chinesischer Bauart nicht wohl möglich wäre, weshalb die Continental-Giljaken an Stelle des Rauchfangs eine der Fensteröffnungen zu benutzen genöthigt sind, was auch viel bequemer ist. Eine Bestätigung dieser meiner Vermuthung hinsichtlich der Sachalin-Giljaken glaube ich darin zu finden, dass über der Jurte, in der ein Bär verzehrt worden ist, gleich nach Beendigung der Mahlzeit das Fell des verspeisten Thieres über eine in schräger Richtung zum Rauchfange hinausragende Stange gebreitet wird, von deren Spitze ein Bündel gekräuselter Hobelspäne herabhängt, wie ich es im Dorfe Tyk gesehen habe. Hier, am Rauchfange, bleibt wohl auch die aus Birkenrinde geschnittene Kröte liegen, während der Bärenkopf nebst dem Fell durch den Rauchfang direkt auf die Platform des Herdes hinabgelassen wird.

Dort, im Innern der Jurte, ist inzwischen das zur Aufnahme des Bärenkopfs ganz ebenso wie auf dem Festlande aus ungeschälten Ellernstangen errichtete und mit Tannenzweigen reich geschmückte Gerüst fertig hergestellt. Es steht dicht am hinteren Ende der Herdesplatform, in dem zwischen ihr und der hinteren oder Ehrenbank befindlichen Gange, also an einer Stelle, die genau derjenigen entspricht, welche es auch in den giljakischen Häusern von chinesischer Bauart einnimmt. Da die Herdesplatform in einer grösseren Erdjurte recht geräumig ist, so lassen sich auf ihr, den beiden Herden im Tschadryf entsprechend, auch zwei gesonderte Feuer anmachen, über denen vom Jurtengebälk die zum Kochen des Bärenfleisches, wie zum Bereiten der übrigen Speisen dienenden Kessel herabhängen. Das dem Bärengerüst nähergelegene dieser Feuer ist das *kotr* — oder *tschchyf*[1]) — *tur*, das Bärenfeuer, in dem während des Bereitens des Bärenfleisches und auch sonst zur Bärenfestzeit des beliebten Duftes wegen frische Zweige von Tannen, und besonders von den im nördlichen Sachalin so häufigen Cedergesträuch, verbrannt werden.

Einen wesentlichen Schmuck im Innern der Erdjurte geben die als Symbol der Heiligkeit, Reinheit und Unantastbarkeit geltenden Holzlocken (*sach's*) ab: hängen sie schon immer in je einem langen Büschel von der Mitte der vier das kegelförmige Dach stützenden Querbalken herab, so wird ihre Zahl zur Zeit des Bärenfestes noch um vier neue vermehrt, die in den vier

1) Wie der Bär auf Sachalin in der Regel heisst.

Winkeln der Jurte angebracht sind. In den giljakischen Häusern auf dem Festlande sieht man deren meist nur zwei, und auch diese nicht immer, von den beiden Grundpfeilern des Hauses herabhängen, nach Maassgabe aber der Annäherung zu den Aino, bei denen sie unter dem Namen *inau* im Gebrauch sind, scheint deren Zahl zuzunehmen.

Ich wohnte dem Bärenfest in Tyk bei, als schon das Fleisch des Thieres verzehrt wurde, also gegen Ende des zweiten Aktes. Auf dem Bärengerüst lagen noch Theile des zergliederten Thieres, darunter auch der vom Muskelfleisch bereits gereinigte Schädel, den ich dem Eigenthümer des Thieres begreiflicherweise vergeblich abzukaufen versuchte. Auf den Bänken sassen noch einige mit dem Verzehren ihrer Portionen beschäftigte Giljaken, andere drängten sich theils um sie herum, theils in den Gängen zwischen dem Herde und den Bänken, ein Jeder bemüht, sich mit seinem Messer hier oder dort ein Stück Fleisch zu erobern. In einen kleinen Trog sammelte einer der Hausgenossen Beiträge von den Speisenden ein, um sie auch den Weibern und Kindern zukommen zu lassen, und ähnliche Tröge mit Bärenfleischstücken wurden auch nach den anderen Jurten des Dorfes getragen. Pflegt auch bei den Amur-Giljaken, wenn es zu diesem Moment der Festmahlzeit kommt, die Förmlichkeit aufzuhören, so war hier vollends nichts mehr davon zu verspüren, — Alles bewegte sich in dem engen Raum formlos durcheinander. Eine Mahlzeit aus mandshu-chinesischen Produkten, Cerealien und Leguminosen, die in den Amur-Dörfern den Gästen in so reichlichem Maasse vorgesetzt zu werden pflegen, schien hier dem Fleischgenuss nicht vorausgegangen zu sein, da der Hauswirth und Eigenthümer des Bären offenbar nicht zu den Bemittelten gehörte und nach Sachalin überhaupt nur wenig von diesen Produkten und auch das nur durch Vermittelung der Amur-Giljaken und -Oltscha gelangt. Unter solchen Umständen war es verständlich, dass in Duï, wo bald darauf und unter grösserem Conflux von Theilnehmern ein Bärenfest begangen wurde, zur Befriedigung der letzteren gleich darnach noch eine Nachfeier stattfand, bei der, wie oben[1]) gelegentlich der Besprechung der Kynophagie bei den Giljaken schon erwähnt worden, in Ermangelung anderer Nahrungsmittel, Hunde verzehrt wurden.

Auffallend war es mir, dass von den Nebenbelustigungen, die bei den Amur-Giljaken das Bärenfest zu begleiten pflegen, wie Hunderennen, allerhand Spiele von Alt und Jung und drgl., auf Sachalin nichts zu sehen war. Fasst man Alles zusammen, so darf man den Schluss ziehen, dass bei den Sachalin-Giljaken, namentlich im Bereich der ausschliesslichen Erdjurten, also am Nordjapanischen, Ochotskischen Meer und im Tymy-Thale, in Folge sowohl ihrer grösseren Abgeschiedenheit und geringeren Wohlhabenheit, als besonders auch ihrer kleineren und ungeeigneteren Wohnungen, das Bärenfest weit hinter der Entfaltung zurückgeblieben ist, die es bei ihren Stammgenossen am Amur erlangt hat, wo bei solcher Gelegenheit Bewohner verschiedener, zum Theil sogar entlegener Ortschaften zusammen strömen und ein reges Leben und Treiben unter ihnen herrscht, und dass es daher bei jenen auch lange nicht von der grossen socialen Bedeutung wie bei diesen ist.

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1) S. 424 und 433.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

Werfen wir nun des Vergleichs halber noch einen Blick auf das Bärenfest der **Aino** von Sachalin und von Jesso. Einzelne Nachrichten darüber reichen bis in das XVII Jahrhundert und in der japanischen Literatur wohl noch viel weiter zurück. Ausführlichere Beschreibungen vom ganzen Fest haben aber Dr. B. Scheube in Bezug auf die Aino von Jesso[1]) und die Herren Rudanofskij[2]) und Busse[3]) in Betreff derjenigen von Sachalin entworfen. Jener wohnte dem Feste in dem an der Vulkan-Bai gelegenen Dörfchen Kunnui bei und diese beobachteten es im Dorfe Ssussuja, das an dem gleichnamigen in die Aniwa-Bai mündenden Flusse liegt.

Obgleich die Aino dem Bären den Beinamen «Gott» beilegen, indem sie ihn *Kimui-Kamui* oder nach Siebold *Hokjok-Kamui* nennen[4]), und obgleich sie ihn, nach Dobrotworskij, für einen Sohn des Berg- und Wald- oder Wildnissgottes (ain. *nuburi-kamui* halten[5]) und mit abergläubischer Furcht und Verehrung behandeln, so hindert es sie doch keineswegs, ihn zu tödten und zu verspeisen, — nur müssen dabei gewisse altherkömmliche Bräuche und Formalitäten beobachtet werden, um die Schuld von ihnen abzuwälzen und sie der Rache seiner Manen zu entziehen. Dr. Scheube meint zwar, das Motiv sowohl des Bärenfestes (*Jomante*) der Aino[6]), wie der ihm vorausgegangenen Auffütterung des jungen Bären sei Sühne, die dem ganzen Bärengeschlecht für die ihrerseits an ihm verübte Unbill dargebracht wird, allein dieser Ansicht kann ich keineswegs beistimmen. Bei dem auch den Aino in allen Dingen eigenen utilitarischen Standpunkte glaube ich vielmehr, dass sie, von Furcht und Aberglauben beherrscht, darin nur Mittel zu ruhiger und straflosser Ausnutzung des Bären sehen. Die dem Bärenfest zu Grunde liegende Anschauung scheint mir demnach bei den Aino ganz dieselbe wie bei den Giljaken zu sein, und in den Grundzügen stimmen auch die dabei üblichen Gebräuche beider Völker mit einander überein.

Der Japaner Kannemon erzählt schon in seinem *Jeso-ki*, dass wenn die Aino ein Bärenjunges finden, sie es nach Hause tragen, wo es von der Frau des Finders gesäugt wird[7]), — eine Erzählung, die sehr unwahrscheinlich klingt, obgleich Scheube auf dem Bärenfest in Kunnui eine solche Bärenamme sah, die traurig bei Seite sass und bisweilen sogar in Thränen ausbrach. Zwar schien ihm ihre Trauer nicht gemacht und nur etwa von den Regeln des Festes vorgeschrieben, sondern in der That durch das Schicksal ihres Pfleglings hervorgerufen zu sein, allein da sie sich später an den beim Fest üblichen Tänzen lebhaft betheiligte, ja ihnen zum

1) Dr. B. Scheube, Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Aino (Das Ausland, Jahrg. 1881, Nr. 16, p. 303—308; nach den Mittheil. der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, Heft 22).

2) Siehe Н. Тугановъ, Отчет. объяз. обрах. Русскаго-амурск. Компаніи, С. Петерб. 1863, ч. II, стр. 123—127.

3) Н. Буссе, Очер. Сахалина и Японск. 1853—55 гг., С. Петерб. 1872, стр. 54—57.

4) Scheube, l. c. Siebold, Aardr.- en volkenk. toeleht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries, p. 110.

5) М. Добротворскій, Амуро-русскій словарь, Прилож. къ Зап. Имп. Геогр. Общества. 1875 г., стр. 51.

6) Nach Mamia Rinsô heisst das Bärenfest bei den Aino von Jesso omsia, C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189, 193.

7) Titsingh, Jeso-ki ou description de l'île d'Jesso, composée par Kannemon en 1632 (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, T. XXIV, Paris 1814, p. 134). Vgl. Klaproth, Son koki tsou ran to seta, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes. Paris 1832, p. 238.

Theil sogar selbst vortanzte, und da das Beklagen und Beweinen des Bären überhaupt zu den nothwendigen Erfordernissen eines Bärenfestes gehören, um sich dadurch von aller Schuld am Tode des Bären und einer etwaigen Verantwortung dafür zu entlasten, so dürfte man gewiss nicht fehl gehen, wenn man jene vermeintliche Trauer nur auf Rechnung dieser den Aino mit den Giljaken und anderen Völkern gemeinsamen Vorstellung schreibt. Unter den Giljaken habe ich jedenfalls nie etwas gehört, was jene Erzählung Kannemon's von den Aino bestätigen könnte. Bei ihnen dürfte vielmehr ein flüssig bereitetes Mossj dem Bärenjungen als erste Nahrung dienen. Anfangs frei oder in einem kleinen Käfig in einem Winkel der Hütte gehalten, wird der Bär, wenn er grösser geworden, in einen solideren, ausserhalb des Hauses befindlichen und ganz ebenso wie bei den Giljaken construirten Kerker gebracht und mit Fisch gefüttert [1]). Der einzige Unterschied eines ainischen Bärenkerkers von einem giljakischen besteht darin, dass ihm die an den Ecken des Baues aufgepflanzten mehr oder weniger langen Stangen mit herabhängenden feinen Holzspiralen, wie sie Coen, Steuermann eines der von Vries geführten Schiffe schon bei Entdeckung der Bai Aniwa im Jahre 1643 sah [2]), nicht leicht fehlen dürften [3]).

Diese Stangen oder Stöcke mit herabwallenden Holzspiralen, bei den Aino von Sachalin *inau* oder *inao*, bei denen von Jesso *inabo* genannt, und den mit Papierstreifen geschmückten Hei- oder Gohei-Stäben [illegible] Symbole der Gottheit und Heiligkeit im altjapanischen Kami-Dienste (*Sintô* gebräuch[illegible] [illegible]sind [illegible]), nachgebildet, spielen beim Bärenfest der Aino überhaupt eine sehr wichtige Rolle. Nicht bloss der Bärenkäfig, auch das Innere der Hütte ist damit ausgeschmückt, und um diese herum, so wie vor derselben auf einem an deren Ostseite gelegenen Platz, wo der Bär nachmals getödtet wird, sind sie in grosser Anzahl aufgestellt. Mit ihnen zugleich und zum Theil an sie befestigt werden auch Bambusblätter zur Ausschmückung während des Bärenfestes benutzt, wie Scheube meint, um durch ihren immergrünen und unverwüstlichen Zustand den Wunsch auszudrücken, der todte Bär möge wieder lebendig werden. Im Norden Sachalin's und im Amur-Lande, wo die Bambusstaude fehlt, sahen wir die Giljaken zu demselben Zweck der Ausschmückung sich der ebenfalls immergrünen Cedern- und Tannenzweige bedienen und diese auch in das dem Bären geweihte Feuer werfen, um durch den beim Verbrennen derselben erzeugten Rauch und Duft sein Wohlgefallen zu erregen und ihm oder seinen Manen, wenn auch nicht den Wunsch eines Wiedererwachens zum Leben, doch jedenfalls ihre Ehrerbietung und Verehrung aus drücken.

Nach Mamia Rinsô [5]) geht bei den Aino von Sachalin dem eigentlichen Bärenfeste ein anderes Fest voraus, bei welchem dem Bären, wenn er 2 bis 3 Jahre alt geworden, damit er durch sein Gebiss Niemanden verwunden könne, die Eckzähne abgestumpft werden. Dazu

1) In der Rumjanzof-Bai auf Jesso, wie in der Aniwa-Bai auf Sachalin sahen Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Bd. II, p. 79) und Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Bd. I, p. 285) fast in jeder Aino-Hütte einen jungen Bären.

2) Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. etc. p. 110.

3) S. auch Scheube, l. c.

4) Scheube, l. c. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

5) Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 199.

werden ihm, nachdem er mittels einer Schlinge aus dem Käfig gehoben worden, die Füsse an Stangen gebunden, damit er nicht aufspringen könne, und die Eckzähne mit einem von ihnen selbst verfertigten sägeartigen Instrument ihrer Spitze beraubt. Die muthigeren, kühneren und im Umgange mit dem Bären geübteren und wohl auch geschickteren Giljaken verschmähen dies zu thun und halten hingegen die durch einen Bären ihnen beigebrachten Verwundungen, deren es bei ihnen nicht selten welche giebt, für höchst ehrenvoll.

Bevor die Aino auf dem eigentlichen, mit der Tödtung und Verspeisung des Bären abschliessenden Feste Hand an ihn anlegen, bringen sie, zuerst die Männer und dann die Bärenamme und einige ältere Frauen, im Hause dem Gott des Feuers vor dem mit einem Inau geschmückten Herde und dann dem Hausgott in der ihm geheiligten Ecke ein Trankopfer dar. Dies geschieht in der Weise, dass sie mit der linken Hand ein mit Saki gefülltes Trinkgefäss zur Stirn empor heben und mit der rechten ein flaches, vorn zugespitztes Stäbchen, das vorher quer über der Schale lag, in die Flüssigkeit tunken und einige Tropfen davon zu Boden, oder vor dem Gott des Feuers in dieses selbst fallen lassen und darauf das Stäbchen einige Male horizontal hin- und herbewegen und einige Worte, die von Scheube nicht verstanden wurden, vor sich hermurmeln. Dasselbe wiederholt sich vor dem Bärenkerker, worauf die Weiber und Mädchen einen Tanz vor demselben aufführen und dabei sich dem Bären mit liebkosenden Blicken und Bewegungen zuwenden.

Z: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

[P 938]

ANHANG.

Auszüge aus des Verfassers hinterlassenen Reise- Notiz- und Tagebüchern.

[P. 739]

I. Religiöse Vorstellungen der Amur-Völker. — Götzen, Amulete. — Schamanen.

Religiöse Vorstellungen.

1. **Giljaken.** Ueber die Religion der Giljaken ist es schwer Auskunft zu erhalten. Von Jutschin und Labgun*) erfuhr ich Folgendes. Sie nennen Gott *ýzigy***) und bezeichnen ihn als den guten, *kíngulätsch*, ein Attribut, das soviel wie gut *(sonst)* heisst. Sie verstanden nicht meine Frage, ob Gott im Himmel wohne, oder wo sonst? und meinten bloss, dass sie in den Jurten keinen Gott (Götzen) hätten. Diese mir von den Giljaken wiederholentlich gegebene Betheurung, dass sie keine Götzen hätten, zog ich um so mehr in Zweifel, da ich selbst Thier- und Menschengestalten in Holz geschnitten aus dem Dorfe *Kuik****) habe. Doch blieben sie dabei und erzählten ferner, dass der Gott der Mandshu *Mdä* heisse und dass die Mandshu in Holz geschnittene Götzen hätten. Menschengestalten in verschiedener Stellung, mit der Pfeife im Munde, die Arme in die Seiten gestemmt und dergl. Die Mandshu beugten sich vor diesen Götzen, die Giljaken aber thäten das nicht, wenn sie zu den Mandshu kämen.

Ich fragte weiter, ob und wie die Giljaken beten? erhielt darauf aber stets zur Antwort, dass sie nicht beten. Meine weitere Frage war daher, ob sie neben und ausser dem guten Gotte (oder Geiste) auch einen bösen Gott hätten? eine Frage, welche sie sichtlich verwunderte, wobei ich sah, dass ihnen die Zusammenstellung meiner Worte «Gott» und «böses» unsinnig und widersprechend vorkam. Sie verneinten daher die Frage. Da die Giljaken aber dabei den-

*) Aus den Dörfern Patchä und Wassj an der Amur-Mündung.

**) Durch *y* und *ja* ist das vom Verf. gebrauchte *u* und *a* des russ. Alphabets ersetzt worden.

***) Am l. Ufer d. Amur, unterhalb Nikolajewsk, auch: Kuegda, Kuegra, Kuegri-wa, s. p. 320, 302.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

noch voll Aberglauben sind, so kann ich mir den Widerspruch zwischen ihrer hier erwähnten Vorstellung von Gott und den mir zugekommenen Beweisen für verschiedenartige Götzen und ihr Schamanenthum nicht anders als folgendermaassen erklären:

Es besteht unter den Giljaken eine dunkle, schwache Vorstellung von Gott, von einem höchsten Wesen, dem das Attribut des «Guten» in vollem Maasse und ohne alle Beimischung von Bösem zukommt, und das von Menschen angebetet wird. Aber diese Vorstellung ist eine ganz abstrakte, völlig leere, und greift dabei garnicht in das Leben, in die Gebräuche und Sitten der Giljaken ein; es ist das für sie nichts Concretes und sie kennen daher nur das Wort «beten», nicht den Act selbst. Auch wissen sie, bei dieser völligen Leere des Begriffs, von Gott nichts mehr, als dass er «*k'ingulutsch*, der Gute», ist. Im wirklichen, concreten Leben erfahren aber die Giljaken viel Uebles und Böses, und da giebt es viele Kräfte der Natur, die ihnen zunächst bei der Jagd und beim Fischfang oft hinderlich, gefahrdrohend und selbst verderblich sind, wie die oft ungefesselte Kraft der Elemente selbst, die oft verderbliche Kraft der Raubthiere, das bisweilige, aus ihnen unerklärlichen Gründen vorkommende Ausbleiben von Fischen und dergl. m., — Kräfte, denen gegenüber der Mensch immer, und um so mehr ein Naturvolk, das völlig von der Natur abhängt, seine Ohnmacht fühlen muss. Er kann solchen Kräften der Natur nicht immer entgehen und sie bringen ihm Schaden: sie sind ihm daher so viele böse Geschehnisse, die er (von dem allgemeinen, egoistisch teleologischen, ursprünglichen Gesichtspunkte des Menschen aus) als immer nur gegen sich gerichtete und seiner Kraft überlegene Mächte ansieht und in concreter, aber roher Vorstellung, mehr oder weniger personificirt. Diese gefühlte eigene Ohnmacht gegenüber den ihm feindlichen Kräften, und dabei dennoch immer der unveräusserliche Wunsch, ihren schädlichen Eingriffen in sein Leben zu entgehen, — diese Ursachen, verbunden mit der nothwendigen, unwillkührlichen und unbewussten Ansicht, dass in dem Wirken dieser Mächte, ebenso wie in seinen eigenen Handlungen, ein Zusammenhang von Ursache und Wirkung, Grund und Folge, besteht, führen ihn zu einer Reihe von Folgerungen, durch die seine eigenen Handlungen und das Wirken der ihm feindlichen Mächte in einen Causalnexus gebracht werden. Und so entsteht sein vielgestaltiger Aberglaube, der zu Gebräuchen und besonderen Verrichtungen, die bestimmt sind die bösen Mächte zu beschwichtigen oder fern zu halten, so wie zur personificirenden Vorstellung der bösen Mächte auf diese oder jene rohe, annähernde Weise, durch Ausschneiden von Thier- und Menschengestalten in Holz, und zum Schamanenthum Anlass giebt. Diese Entstehung und Bedeutung mögen die vielen Holzfiguren von Bären, Eidechsen, Kröten, Schlangen und auch von Menschen haben, die sich bei den Giljaken finden. Der Giljake hält sie nicht für Götter und betet sie auch nicht an. Sie sind nur Darstellungen oder Andeutungen feindlicher Mächte in der Natur, denen er zu entgehen trachtet. Dass sich aber darunter auch Menschengestalten finden, darf nicht so gedeutet werden, als ob sie personificirte Vorstellungen von göttlichen Wesen seien, wie sie der Anthropomorphismus in geistigerer Weise auch an anderen Orten erschaffen hat. Der Mensch steht nach der Ansicht eines Naturvolkes, und auch der Giljaken, ganz und gar und nur in der Natur, er steht nach ihrem Aberglauben mit den Vorgängen der Natur (oder der bösen Mächte)

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in einem viel näheren, unmittelbaren Causalverbande, und deshalb schon mag die Darstellung des Menschen zur Verrichtung manches Schamanenactes nothwendig sein. Die Vorstellung von Gott, dem Guten, ist bei den Giljaken dagegen eine viel zu leere und zu inhaltslose, als dass von einem Zusammenhange mit demselben und so auch von anthropomorphistischen Ideen und Darstellungen die Rede sein könnte. Wenn aber die Giljaken diesen Aberglauben und das Schamanenthum u. s. w. nicht für Gottesdienst und Gebet halten, sondern nur für ein praktisches Handeln in ihrem Leben, um allem Schaden zu entgehen, so sind wir doch genöthigt, dieses ihr religiöses Bewusstsein zu nennen. Und so finden wir einen merkwürdigen ungeheuren Widerspruch in den religiösen Vorstellungen der Giljaken. Einerseits die Vorstellung von einem einzigen höchsten und guten Wesen, wenn auch so völlig leer, dass sie die Anbetung desselben ausschliesst und andererseits die Personificirung unzähliger böser Mächte, nebst einem rohen Cultus zur Abwehr und Fernhaltung derselben; zahlreiche Darstellungen von Thieren und Menschengestalten in den Jurten, und doch sagen die Giljaken, dass sie keine Darstellungen von Gott besitzen; unzählige Acte von Aberglauben und Schamanenthum u. drgl., und dennoch leugnen sie, dass sie beten. Und andererseits sprechen sie von einem höchsten, völlig guten Wesen und haben das Wort »beten« *(mjágratsch)* und beten diesen Gott doch nicht an. Wie ist das zu erklären? Mir scheint, es liegt hier kein Dualismus der Vorstellungen vor, sondern es handelt sich überhaupt um zwei von einander völlig abgetrennte, mit einander in keiner Verbindung stehende und auch historisch verschiedene Vorstellungen. — Die erstere ist ein völlig abgeschwächter, dunkler, nur noch traditioneller Deismus, der unter den Giljaken nicht mehr als nur in einigen überkommenen Worten besteht — Gott, das Gute, beten, und keinen anderen Einfluss auf ihre anderweitigen sogenannten religiösen Vorstellungen und Handlungen (Aberglauben, Götzen, Schamanen) ausübt, als dass jene Worte auf diese Vorstellungen und Handlungen nicht übertragen werden. Die zweite religiöse Vorstellung ist mit derjenigen vieler roher sibirischer Völker wahrscheinlich im Wesentlichen übereinstimmend und geht auf Fernhaltung der bösen Geister und Mächte vom Menschen durch verschiedene abergläubische Beobachtungen und Verrichtungen aus. Die erstere deistische Vorstellung ist wahrscheinlich der Nachklang einer uralten, vielleicht noch an die Wiege der Giljaken erinnernden Vorstellung. In der That findet sich in dem Attribut Gottes *kingulatsch* und in dem abstracten, nihilistischen Character der Vorstellung ein Anklang an central-asiatische Religions-Systeme, die zweite Vorstellung mag dagegen in viel späterer Zeit, nachdem der Giljaken-Stamm sich stromabwärts in die östlichen Waldwildnisse des asiatischen Continents begeben hat (?), seine Entstehung genommen haben, und darum mit den religiösen Vorstellungen nachbarlicher sibirischer Völker, und auch der *Aino*, so viele Berührungspunkte und Aehnlichkeiten bieten. Die erstere Vorstellung ging bis auf einige Worte völlig verloren, und eine andere, rohere und concretere bildete sich aus, ohne aber, wegen des Bestehens der Tradition, bei den Giljaken selbst Ansprüche auf eine religiöse zu gewinnen oder jenen leeren Gottesbegriff völlig zu verdrängen und zu ersetzen.

Dass die Holzgötzen der Giljaken in der That keine sehr grosse Achtung oder Anbetung bei ihnen geniessen, ersah ich daran, dass die Giljaken von Kulk, aus deren verlassener Jurte

ich mir im Sommer 1854 eine Collection von ihren Götzen zugeeignet, bei ihrer Ankunft im Dorfe den Verlust nicht zu bemerken schienen oder wenigstens nicht für der Rede werth hielten. Auch sah ich einmal im selben Dorfe einen kleinen Knaben mit einer hölzernen Bärenfigur spielend aus dem Hause treten, ein Zeichen, dass ihm diese Sachen nicht so unzugänglich waren, wie sie es gewiss wären, wenn sie eine besondere Verehrung genössen. (Bm. I. p. 22—27).

Götzen und Amulete in menschlicher Gestalt.

2. Giljaken. Die verschiedenartigen in Holz geschnittenen Götzen, bald menschliche, bald Thiergestalten, die zur Abwendung von Gefahr, Unglück, Krankheit und drgl. dienen, wurden mir von den Giljaken mit dem allgemeinen Namen *kögn* und *tschngai* [1]) bezeichnet. Ausserdem aber sind mir für einzelne Gestalten auch noch besondere Namen genannt worden. Eine rohe Darstellung der ganzen menschlichen Gestalt (Taf. LIII, Fig. 1.) oder zum wenigsten ein solches Brustbild befindet sich in der Regel in der Jurte des Giljaken auf den Querbalken des Dachstuhls, über den Schlafbänken der schmalen, von dem Eingange entfernten Seite der Jurte (über der Stelle also, wo auch bei den Oltscha und Golde die ähnlich gestalteten *Säwa's* stehen). Doch tragen die Giljaken bisweilen ähnliche kleine Götzen an der Brust, denen sie den Namen *pangch* geben (Taf. LIII, Fig 5.). Ist ein Giljake schwer krank, so schnitzt ihm der Schaman einen solchen Götzen, oder giebt ihm die Anweisung einen zu schnitzen und diesen anzulegen, damit er gesund werde. Allgemeine Sitte, Götzen um den Hals zu tragen, ist es aber nicht. Oft ist es auch nicht gerade ein Götze, sondern irgend ein Amulet anderer Art, zusammengeknäuelte Riemen und drgl., die auf den Rath eines Schamanen dem Kranken um den Hals gelegt und nach der Genesung auch noch fort getragen werden. Ein solches Amulet heisst *ugif* und *kissj*. Von Judin in Tebach erhielt ich ein Amulet in Form eines geschnitzten Bogens mit einem menschlichen Gesicht (s. Taf. LVII, Fig. 9). (Bm. I. pag. 57, 58.).

3. Giljaken. Dorf Poghobi an der West-Küste von Sachalin. In einer Jurte sah ich den Wirth an einem Stocke lange Holzlocken schneiden. Als diese recht umfangreich geworden, schnitt er das ganze Büschel oben von Stocke ab und band sie an dieser Stelle zusammen. Es war dieses *Zach* für ein krankes Weib in der Jurte bestimmt, welches Brustschmerzen hatte und stöhnend und klagend da sass. Das *Zach* wurde ihr um den Hals gebunden und die Enden steckte sie sorgfältig in den Busen, an den Körper sie andrückend. Es sollte dieses ein Heilmittel sein. In der That hörte das Weib, nachdem es diese Medicin erhalten hatte, auf zu stöhnen und verhielt sich die übrige Zeit sehr still und ruhig. So mag hier, wie oft, ein Aberglaube heilende Wirkung ausüben. Das *Zach* wird also auf Sachalin noch als Amulet gegen

1) Auch das Wort *pafß* scheint sich allgemein auf Götzen zu beziehen.

Krankheiten gebraucht und scheint daher die verschiedenen Götzengestalten und ähnliche Figuren, die am Amur und Liman zu ähnlichen Zwecken dienen, zu ersetzen. (2 W. R. I. p. 6).

4. Giljaken. Der auf Tafel LIII, Fig. 4 abgebildete Götze in menschlicher Gestalt wurde mir von den Giljaken *myikr* genannt. Er ist in der Gestalt dadurch ausgezeichnet, dass er nur einen Arm besitzt, der andere ist absichtlich weggelassen. Welche Bewandtniss es aber mit dieser Darstellung hat, konnte ich nicht erfahren. Auch dieser Götze wird von einem Schamanen oder auf den Rath desselben, zur Abwendung von Krankheiten geschnitzt. Ich erhielt ihn aus dem Dorfe Kuïk. Im selben Dorfe fand ich unter den während des Sommers in einer Vorrathskammer zusammengestellten Habseligkeiten der Giljaken geschnitzte Götzen anderer Art, aber ebenfalls von menschlicher Gestalt. Es waren cylindrische Holzstücke, an deren einen Seite ein roh dargestelltes menschliches Gesicht sich befindet. Das obere Ende des Holzstückes ist konisch zugespitzt und trägt eine Art Mütze von schmalen Rindensträhnen, welche vorn bis zur Stirn, hinten über das ganze Holzstück hinunterhangen und das Haar vorzustellen scheinen. Unter dem Gesichte ist das Haar durch ähnliche Rindenbändchen an das Holzstück befestigt. Taf. LIII, Fig. 2 stellt einen solchen Götzen dar. Mehrere solcher Götzen standen in einem kleinen aus Brettern gemachten, mit lockerem Grase gedeckten Häuschen, welches auf Taf. LIII, Fig. 3 dargestellt ist. Diese Götzen wurden mir von Allof-Giljaken *tybys* genannt. Der Giljake Surgin aber kannte diesen Namen nicht, sondern bediente sich des Ausdrucks *tyf-ýżigy* d. i. Hausgott. Es war zum ersten Mal, dass ich das Wort *ýżigy* in Verbindung mit den Götzen von den Giljaken gebraucht hörte und ich glaube, dass dieses nur geschah, um mir verständlich zu sein. Ob ferner dabei unter *tyf*, d. i. Haus, die Jurte der Giljaken oder das kleine Götzenhäuschen gemeint war, konnte ich ebenfalls nicht erfahren. Da jedoch diese letztere den Namen *kánigs* trägt, so muss ich es auf die Jurte der Giljaken beziehen und es schienen diese Götzen daher hauptsächlich die Stelle von Laren oder Hausbeschützern zu spielen. (Bm. I. p. 58, 59).

5. Giljaken. Im Giljaken-Dorfe Patt (am r. Amur-Ufer) sah ich draussen an einer Vorrathskammer drei Götzen stehen, aus Holzblöcken gehauene menschliche Figuren, sehr ähnlich denjenigen der Oltscha, wenn auch nicht mit dem specifischen Ausdruck, welcher allen Götzen der letzteren eigenthümlich zu sein scheint. Auf meine Nachfrage theilten mir die Giljaken mit, dass sie diese *Kägn* göttlich verehren. In Patt, meinten sie, werden dieselben auch in den Jurten gehalten, bei anderen Giljaken aber nicht. Ich liess mir nun die Götzen in der Jurte zeigen: drei grosse hölzerne menschliche Figuren, mit alten rauchigen *Zachs* am Halse, wie das auch bei den Oltscha Sitte ist, standen hier auf dem Balkengerüste der Jurte über der hinteren Schlafbank.— Auch im Dorfe Kuïk sah ich in den Jurten Götzen am selben Platze stehen, wie in Patt. Es ist das eine sehr dunkle, dem Auge verborgene Stelle der Jurte, und wer es nicht weiss, dass die Giljaken dort ihre Götzen halten, wird diese schwerlich finden. Daher mag manche Jurte Götzen enthalten haben, die mir ohne dieselben zu sein schien. Manche enthält aber wirklich keine, wie ich das in Wait angetroffen habe. — Mir scheint, dass die Götzen,

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je weiter stromabwärts am Amur, desto weniger geachtet oder wenigstens offenkundig verehrt werden (1. W. R. II, p. 119, 137. Anm. 5.).

6. Giljaken. Durch C. v. Dittmar erhielt ich, in Folge seines Besuches in Tebach zum Bärenfest, eine Reihe giljakischer Götzen, die theils auf das Fest selbst, wie Fig. 3, Taf. LVIII, theils auf andere Dinge sich beziehen. Spätere Nachfragen über die Bedeutung derselben haben mir einen neuen Blick in die religiösen Anschauungen der Giljaken zu thun gestattet. Diese Götzen und Darstellungen verschiedener Art sind Amulete, dazu bestimmt, die verschiedenen Krankheiten von dem Menschen fern zu halten, oder wenn sie ihn befallen, wieder zu entfernen. Die meisten derselben sind gelenkig dargestellt und sollen eben die Ungelenkigkeit oder Krankheit bestimmter Glieder heben*). So ist namentlich die Figur 2, Taf. LV, mit gelenkigem Rumpfe, dazu bestimmt, Krankheiten des Rückens und Rumpfes zu heben, diejenige mit gelenkigen Beinen (Knieen), Fig. 4 ebenda, Krankheiten dieser Extremitäten zu heilen. Die grosse Figur mit gelenkigem Kopf, Rücken und Beinen, Fig. 1 auf derselben Tafel, der *Tschaltscha-tschngai*, wird, wie oben erwähnt**), bei der Geburt der Kinder gemacht und ihnen vorgehalten, damit sie durch Ansehen derselben von Krankheiten, sei es des Halses, Rumpfes oder der Extremitäten bewahrt bleiben. Der kleine Götze mit einem Ausschnitt in der Brust und mit gelenkigen Armen und Rücken, Taf. LV, Fig. 3, ist dazu bestimmt, Krankheiten der Brust, Husten und drgl. nebst Krankheiten der betreffenden Gelenke zu heben.

Alle diese Götzen oder Amulete, den *Tschaltscha-tschngai* nicht ausgenommen, werden zur Begütigung ihrer Macht oder zur Gewinnung ihrer Gunst, mit Beeren und anderen Dingen gefüttert, davon die Holzstücke Spuren tragen. Um den Hals werden diese Darstellungen jedoch nicht getragen, sondern in der Jurte an die Wand gehängt.

An diese Götzen schliessen sich zwei Amulete an, deren Bestimmung ähnlicher Art ist: es ist der *Lalz* und *Kissj* (Taf. LX, Fig. 1, 2). — Ersterer ist ein eiserner, an einer Stelle nicht geschlossener Reif, der um den Kopf gegen Kopfschmerzen getragen wird. Die beiden gegeneinander gekehrten Enden laufen jederseits in zwei Spitzen aus, deren eine eine Eidechse, die andere eine Schlange darstellt, wobei die gleichartigen Gestalten beider Enden alternirend gegeneinander gestellt sind. Leider ist das vorliegende Stück von vielfachem Gebrauche etwas mitgenommen und fehlt die Eidechse an dem einen Ende.

Das andere Amulet ist ein eiserner Halbring, woran Figuren von verschiedener Bedeutung, aus demselben Metall hängen, nämlich: an dem einem Ende eine rohe menschliche Gestalt und ein ungefähr dreieckiges Stück, das nach Aussage einiger Giljaken ein Schneehuhn darstellen soll, am andern Ende ein ebensolches vermeintliches Schneehuhn und ein Herz; in der Mitte endlich eine ungefähre menschliche Gestalt mit zwei Köpfen, welche den *Kins*, die böse, zerstörende Macht, also den Teufel, darstellen soll. Nach Berichten der Giljaken selbst halten sie dafür, dass die Krankheit eben nichts weiter sei, als dass der *Kins* am Menschen nage und ihn endlich zu Tode fresse. Das sei das Ende aller, die an Krankheiten

*) S. Taf. LIV u. LV.

**) S. pag. 643.

sterben. Kein Wunder, dass die Giljaken bei solchem Glauben den Seelen der an Krankheiten Verstorbenen das Himmelreich nicht vindiciren, sondern sie in die Erde wandern lassen, während die Seelen aller Ermordeten und sogar der Selbstmörder gen Himmel fliegen. Die Erde ist nach giljakischem Glauben der Sitz unzähliger *Kins* oder Teufel, die sowohl in den Wäldern und Bergen, wie im Wasser und aller Orten stecken. Die *Kins* werden von den Giljaken mit zwei und drei Köpfen dargestellt, vielleicht um mit diesem Plus den Menschen gegenüber ihre Uebermacht über denselben zu bezeichnen[1]).

Die Bedeutung der vermeintlichen Schneehühner, wenn es welche sind, kenne ich nicht. Das Herz aber hat auf die Bestimmung des ganzen Halbringes Bezug. Diese ist nämlich die, gegen Krankheiten der Brust, Husten und drgl. um den Hals getragen zu werden. Der Name *kissj*, der mir dafür angegeben wurde, scheint jedoch von allgemeiner Bedeutung zu sein und auf jedes Amulet überhaupt sich zu beziehen (Bm. II, p. 30—32).

7. Götzen in menschlicher Gestalt bei anderen Amurvölkern. Die hölzernen Götzen, *Säwa's*, der **Samagirn** sind ganz ebenso gestaltet wie die der **Oltscha** und **Golde** (Taf. LIII. Fig. 6—8) und stehen auch an demselben Platze, an der von der Thür entfernten Querwand der Jurte, auf der Schlafbank in aufrechter Stellung gegen die Wand gelehnt. (1. W. R. II. p. 77.)

8. Golde. Dieselbe Sitte wie bei den Giljaken, Götzen am Halse zu tragen, besteht wahrscheinlich bei allen Amurvölkern. Fig. 1 auf Taf. LIV stellt einen solchen kleinen in Blei gearbeiteten Götzen dar, den ich von einem Golde am Ussuri erhielt. (Bm. I, p. 58.)

9. Samagirn. In einer unbesetzten Jägerhütte der Samagirn am Gorin fand ich einen kleinen Götzen aufgehängt, welcher die menschliche Gestalt genau in derselben Weise und mit denselben Zügen wiedergab, wie die grossen *Säwa's*, die man in den Jurten der Samagirn, Golde und Oltscha sieht. Die einzige Abweichung bestand darin, dass er auf dem Kopfe eine Holzöse trug, durch welche ein Riemen gesteckt war, zu dem Zwecke um den Hals getragen zu werden (Taf. LIV, Fig. 2). Wenn dieses geschieht, meinte mein Führer, werde der *Säwa* zugleich von dem, der ihn trägt, auch gespeist, indem der Eigenthümer ihm von allem, was er selbst isst, auch etwas um den Mund schmiere. Als ich nun fragte, was der *Säwa* eigentlich sei, meinte er, er sei Alles, das Wohl Jedermanns, so auch sein, des Führers körperliches Wohl, z. B. das Gesundwerden seines von einem meiner Hunde gebissenen Beines. Mehr konnte ich nicht erfragen[2]). Es verbindet sich offenbar mit dem *Säwa* der Begriff von Wohlstand und Wohlsein des Menschen unter dem Einfluss einer ausser ihm befindlichen, ihm überlegenen Macht. Diese Vorstellung mag von derjenigen der Giljaken nicht sehr verschieden sein. Ein

1) Nach Aussagen der Giljaken ist an diesen zwei- und dreiköpfigen Gestalten einer der Köpfe ein Menschenkopf. Es ist also damit dargestellt, dass der *Kins* den Menschen ergriffen hat.

2) Das auf p. 687 erwähnte, für ein am Gorin einem Jagdzelte entnommenes Moschusthier hinterlegte Stäbchen nannte der Führer des Verf. auch *Säwa* (1. W. R. II. p. 84, 85.)

Umstand aber, der sehr zu Gunsten der religiösen Vorstellungen der tungusischen Amurvölker, welche sie auch seien, im Vergleich mit den Giljaken spricht, ist der, dass jene bei weitem nicht so ängstlich abergläubisch wie diese sind (I. W. R. II, p. 85, 86).

Thiergötzen.

10. Giljaken. Unter den Thieren, welche als Götzen von den Giljaken in Holz dargestellt werden, spielt die erste Rolle der Bär. Die Veranlassung dazu liegt in der Gefahr, der sie im Kampfe mit diesem Raubthier unterworfen sind, denn dem Bären wird (wie gelegentlich der Bärenfeste erwähnt worden) besonders gern nachgestellt. Den dabei zu gewärtigenden Verletzungen und Todesfällen vorzubeugen, dazu dienen die Bären-*kägu's* oder *Tschngai's*. Auch habe ich oben erwähnt, welche abergläubische Ansichten an den Tod eines durch einen Bären gefallenen Menschen bei den Giljaken sich knüpfen [1]). Selten wird man daher ein Dorf antreffen, in dessen Umgebung bei genauerer Untersuchung sich nicht einige Bärengötzen finden sollten. Es ist dieses den Giljaken und tungusischen Amur-Völkern gemeinschaftlich.

Die Bärengötzen sind meist sehr roh gearbeitet. Das Thier ist gewöhnlich sitzend, bisweilen stehend dargestellt. Der auf Tafel LVIII, Fig. 1, 2 abgebildete Götze, aus dem Dorfe Kuïk herrührend, ist einer der besten, die ich gesehen habe. Er ist noch dadurch ausgezeichnet, dass um den Leib desselben ein erhabenes Band läuft, auf welchem andere den Giljaken heilige, oder richtiger unheimliche und verhängnissvolle Thiere dargestellt sind, (und es sind dieses die meisten Reptilien, welche das Land der Giljaken producirt): die Kröte — *mipitsch* [2]) auf der vorderen Seite des Bären-Götzen, die Eidechse *mä(r)ngai* auf der hinteren Seite desselben, und die Schlange *kglanga*, deren Bild jederseits zwischen den beiden ersteren sich befindet. Ich bin oft Zeuge davon gewesen, welche Scheu und Furcht die Giljaken vor den Reptilien haben [*]).

Nächst dem Bären findet man bei den Giljaken Götzen vom *Att* oder *Märeder*, an den sich bei ihnen geradezu abergläubische Furcht knüpft. Doch da in ihrer nordischen Heimath der Tiger und Irbis, welche beide unter demselben Namen *Att* oder *Märeder* vereinigt werden, nur selten sich sehen lassen und Unglücksfälle durch sie selten sind, so findet man den Götzen des *Att* weniger häufig als den des Bären. Die geringe Bekanntschaft der Giljaken mit diesen Raubthieren lässt sie auch die Götzen derselben nur schlecht und obenhin darstellen [3]), s. Taf. LVIII. Fig. 4, 5, 6. Fig. 4 stellt einen *Att*-Götzen dar, den ich im Dorfe Kuïk fand. Er trägt keine der Zeichnungen, welche Tiger und Irbis characterisiren und auf den Darstellungen dieser Thiere bei den Golde vorhanden sind. Nur die allgemeine Gestalt ist jenen Figuren ähnlich.

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1) S. pag. 696.

2) Ausser dieser Darstellung erhielt ich noch zwei einzelne, in Holz geschnittene Kröten-Götzen der Giljaken, welche auf Taf. LIX, Fig. 7, 8 abgebildet sind.

3) S. d. Werkes Band I. p. 92—94.

*) S. Anhang 20. Abs. 2.

Dass aber diese Figur in der That einen *Atl* darstellen soll, ist gewiss, da ich den Götzen von einem darin erfahrenen Giljaken selbst habe. (Bm. I. p. 59. 61).

11. Giljaken. Weniger als Götze oder Amulet, denn als Schnitzwerk, als Darstellung, *Tschngai* überhaupt, scheint ein aus Holz geschnitzter Fisch zu dienen, der aus dem Giljaken-Dorfe Tebach herrührt. Er soll den Fisch *ngy-tscho* darstellen, der mir unbekannt ist. Schon früher erhielt ich aus Tebach die Figur eines anderen kleinen Fisches, des *Pilengat*, Cyprinus carpio, der ebenfalls keine andere Bedeutung als die von *pai* hatte (s. S. 672). Beide sind auf Tafel LX. Fig. 4, 5 abgebildet. Später bekam ich noch einen geschnitzten Fisch aus Tebach, der den *Pak(ch?)-tscho* d. i. einen grossen *Pilengat-tscho* darstellen sollte. (Bm. II. p. 32).

12. Oltscha. Im Dorfe Adi (am Amur) war meine erste Beschäftigung, nach einem hölzernen Götzen zu forschen, der einen Tiger darstellen sollte und den Maximowicz auf seiner ersten Reise stromaufwärts hier gesehen hatte. Er befand sich damals im anliegenden Gehölze unter einem alten Eschenbaume. Jetzt aber fanden wir ihn dort nicht mehr. Wir erkundigten uns deshalb bei den Eingeborenen und verlangten den Götzen zu sehen, allein die Leute wollten uns durchaus nicht verstehen, und meinten endlich, dass ihnen solches Krankheiten des Leibes zuziehen würde. Erst durch Versprechen von Tabak gelang es uns, sie willig zu machen, den Götzen zu zeigen. Zunächst führten sie uns zu einem zerschlagenen Götzen des Thieres. An diesem war wenig zu sehen: er stellte das Thier in liegender Stellung dar, den Schwanz über den Rücken gelegt, und der breite kurze Kopf verrieth deutlich eine Katzenart. Alsdann geleitete ein Oltscha mich in's Gehölz und zeigte mir hier einen zweiten Götzen des Thieres, den er sorgfältig in einem kleinen Verschlage von Holzstücken hielt. Dieser Götze liess den Tiger unzweifelhaft erkennen: er war etwa zwei Fuss lang und stellte das Thier ebenfalls in der Stellung dar, wie es auf der Lauer zu liegen pflegt, nur dass der Schwanz auf dem Rücken ruhte. Der Kopf war kurz und breit, das Kinn ebenfalls kurz. Ueber den Rücken des Thieres war ein schwarzer Streifen gezogen, von welchem aus quer über die Seiten abwechselnd schwarze und rothe (der eine Oltscha sagte «gelbe») Streifen liefen. Diese Darstellung machte es unzweifelhaft, dass der Götze den Tiger und nicht Felis irbis darstellte, was zudem noch durch die genaue mündliche Beschreibung bestätigt wurde, die sie von dem Thiere zu geben im Stande waren. Der Götze war aber nicht von ihnen selbst, sondern vom Schamanen gemacht worden. Die Leute nannten des Thier *máre* und *máre-mafá*. Letztere Bezeichnung, mit dem Beiworte «Alter», verräth schon eine Analogie mit der Betrachtungsweise hinsichtlich des Bären, dem dieses Beiwort insonderheit und auch schlechthin zukommt. Denn der Bär heisst bei ihnen einfach *mafá* oder *biju-mafá* das alte Thier, obgleich *biju* auch so viel wie Elenthier heisst. Wie dem Bären so mag nun auch dem Tiger die Furcht, die er den Eingebornen einflösst, den Beinamen «Alter» zugezogen haben. Aus diesem Grunde mag sich denn an ihn auch ein ähnlicher Aberglaube wie an den Bären knüpfen und diese Furcht veranlasst die Verfertigung von Götzen, — Bären wie Tigern. Wie vom Bären so mochten sie auch vom Tiger nicht gern sprechen, vermieden ihn zu nennen und zögerten den Götzen zu zeigen, aus Furcht dadurch zu Schaden und

Krankheiten zu kommen. Dieses war die erste und unzweifelhafte Spur, welche ich vom Tiger im Amurlande fand.

Im Gehölze, wo der Tiger-Götze sich befand, lagen auch noch andere hölzerne Götzen, — Bären und andere Thiere, wie auch Menschen darstellend, meist unter grösseren Bäumen, an den Stamm gelehnt, oder auch im Gebüsch versteckt. Viele waren bereits umgefallen oder an eine andere Stelle gerückt und lagen hier vernachlässigt unter den Füssen der Vorübergehenden. Es beweist diese Nichtachtung der Götzen durchaus, dass die Darstellung und Aufbewahrung derselben bloss durch eine abergläubische Furcht veranlasst wird und dass es nur Mittel sind, bösen Mächten zu entgehen, nicht Mittel, sich die guten Geister näher zu bringen und zu befreunden, in welchem letzteren Falle die Götzen werth gehalten werden müssten. (1 S. R. II. p. 2—4).

13. Oltscha. Im *Oltscha*-Dorfe Dshai erhielt ich einen gegen Krankheiten dienenden Götzen, der ein Phantasie-Thier mit einem grossen Herzen im Munde darstellt (Taf. LIX, Fig. 5.) — (2 S. R. I. p. 35).

14. Golde. In dem Dorfe Naichi sah ich wiederum zwei Tigergötzen, genau von derselben Beschaffenheit wie die in Adi, nur nicht liegend sondern aufrecht dargestellt. Ueber den Rücken lief ebenso ein schwarzer Streifen, von welchem abwechselnd schwarze und rothe Streifen quer über die Seiten gezogen waren. Der Schwanz war lang und schwarz und roth geringelt. Die Golde nannten die Götzen ebenfalls *máre-mafá*. Da der Beiname *mafá* aber gemeinhin dem Bären zukommt, so wird letzterer zum Unterschiede auch *Sahár-mafá*, der schwarze Alte, genannt. (1 S. R. II. p. 44).

15. Golde. Beim Dorfe Agdrai am Ussuri stand unter einer Eiche, von Holzscheiten verdeckt, die hölzerne Figur einer grossen Katzenart aus der Gruppe der Leoparden. Ich rief sogleich mehrere ältere Männer des Dorfes herbei, um Auskunft über das Thier, das es darstellte, zu erhalten. So roh die Darstellung war, so war das Katzengeschlecht darin nicht zu verkennen. Auch erinnerte die Gestalt des Thieres ganz an die Götzen der Tiger in Adi und Naichi. Die nur rudimentär angegebenen niedrigen Füsse deuteten auf die lauernde Stellung, die den Katzen eigenthümlich ist. Die Zeichnung des Götzen war aber von derjenigen der Tiger völlig verschieden: denn statt der Querstreifen bedeckten den Körper zahlreiche ringförmige Rosetten und zwar alternirend schwarze mit einem rothen Fleck und rothe mit einem schwarzen Fleck in der Mitte; diese Zeichnung erstreckte sich auch auf den Schwanz. Ueber den Rücken verlief ein schwarzer Streifen bis zur Schwanzspitze; von der Schnauze liefen schwarze und rothe Querstreifen schräg gegen den Hals herab. Die Leute meinten, dass die Darstellung des Thieres (Irbis?), das sie *jérga* nannten, sehr naturgetreu sei.

Ich wünschte den Götzen zu zeichnen und fragte, da die Mücken im Walde sehr lästig waren, ob sie den Götzen nicht in die Jurte bringen könnten. Aber darauf gingen die Golde durchaus nicht ein, ebensowenig wie auf meine Anfrage, ob sie mir den Götzen nicht verkaufen wollten. Dagegen erbot sich ein Golde, mir einen ganz ähnlichen und naturgetreuen

Götzen des *Jérga* aus Holz zu schneiden und zu bemalen, was er auch ausführte (Taf. LIX. Fig. 3) (1. S. R. III. p. 29. 30).

16. Golde. In Dschuada am Ussuri erhandelte ich zwei kleine Holzgötzen vom Tiger und Ussuri-Leoparden. Ersterer ist etwas grösser als der andere, was auf die verschiedene Grösse der Thiere Bezug haben mag. Beide sind völlig derselben Gestalt wie die grossen Götzen, nur en miniature. Die Zeichnung des Irbis unterscheidet sich von dem aus Agdrai darin, dass die ringförmigen Rosetten nicht *einen* sondern mehrere Flecke einschliessen (Taf. LIX Fig. 1, 2). (Bm. I. p. 61).

17. Golde. Ich hatte bereits in Chaizo zwei noch kleinere Götzen des Tigers und Leoparden bei einem Golde gesehen, der sie an den Aermel seines Rockes angeheftet trug, wohl als eine Art Amulet gegen einen Anfall von diesen Thieren, ähnlich wie sie auch hölzerne Menschen-Götzen um den Hals tragen. (1. S. R. III. p. 49).

18. Manägirn. Bei den Manägirn habe ich nicht selten kleine aus Holz geschnitzte Götzen bemerkt, die oft die Gestalt von phantastischen Vögeln und Drachen hatten, und die wohl zu demselben Zwecke der Fernhaltung von bösen Geistern und Krankheiten und drgl., wie bei den Völkerschaften am untern Amur, angefertigt werden. (2. S. R. III, p. 11).

Aus Menschen- und Thiergestalten und anderweitig combinirte Götzen und Amulete.

19. Giljaken. Der Glaube an eine Seelenwanderung bezüglich des Bären mag mehreren bildlichen Darstellungen unter den Giljaken zu Grunde liegen. — Amuleten oder kleineren Götzenbildern, die bei Krankheiten um den Hals getragen werden. Man trifft nämlich unter ihnen Doppelgestalten von Mensch und Bär. Es ist gewöhnlich ein kleines Holzstück, das an einem Ende in zwei Theile ausläuft, wovon der eine einen menschlichen, der andere einen Bärenkopf darstellt. Ich habe solche Stücke aus Kalm und Allof erhalten. Das erstere hat ausser den beiden erwähnten Darstellungen auch an dem einfachen Ende ein menschliches Gesicht (Taf. LVII, Fig. 8), das letztere läuft hier ohne Schnitzwerk aus. An beiden aber setzt sich die Theilung der mit Menschen- und Bärenkopf bezeichneten Spitzen noch eine Strecke weit durch eine Furche fort, welche allmählig gegen das einfache Ende sich verliert. Die Giljaken erklärten mir, dass diese Furche auch noch weiter die menschliche Hälfte von der Bärenhälfte trenne, bis sie in einander verschmölzen. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

20. Giljaken. Im Walde bei dem Dorfe Chiare unweit des Bestattungsortes der Leichen waren unter den Bäumen einige Götzen der Giljaken in derselben Weise wie immer aufgestellt d. h. hart am Fusse eines Baumes aufrecht stehend und mit Stöcken und anderen Holzstücken verdeckt (s. Taf. LXV links). Es war da z. B. eine Doppelgestalt vom Tiger (Att) und

Menschen, an welchem letzteren die Nase durch einen Bären dargestellt war (Taf. LXVI, Fig. 2). Ein anderer Götze trug auf einem menschlichen, mit beweglichen Armen und Beinen versehenen Rumpf einen Att-Kopf mit einem vierzinkigen Kamme darauf (Taf. LVII, Fig. 2).

Endlich fand ich hier die Darstellung eines Thieres, welches an ein Krokodil oder einen Alligator erinnerte. Es war offenbar eine Amphibie und der weite Rachen dicht mit Zähnen besetzt. Die Eingebornen nannten ihn *Chaż*, oder als Götzen *Chaż-kägn*, wussten aber nichts von dem Thier, welches die Figur darstellt, indem sie weder im Wasser noch auf dem Lande ein solches Thier gesehen oder traditionell von demselben sprechen gehört hatten. Sie meinten nur, dass man diese Figur bei Bürkenschmerzen mache, um von dem Uebel befreit zu werden (Taf. LIX, Fig. 9.) (2. S. R. I, p. 15.)

21. **Giljaken.** Im Dorfe Kalm erhielt ich recht viele Götzen gekauft, alle verschieden und darunter einige sehr interessante. So z. B. einen Götzen von menschlicher Gestalt mit einem Bärenkopfe (Taf. LVII, Fig. 3). Er wurde mir *Ogink* genannt, eine Bezeichnung, die auch andere Götzen in rein menschlicher Gestalt hatten. Ein anderer hatte einen Eulen (*ki*)-Kopf auf menschlichem Körper (Taf. LVII, Fig. 5); bei einem dritten sass die Eule dem Menschen auf dem Kopfe (Taf. LVI, Fig. 4); mehrere menschliche Gestalten hatten Höhlungen im Rumpfe zum Einlegen von Speise bestimmt.

Ein Götze bestand aus einem Klotz mit menschlichem Gesicht und einer Reihe von Zacken auf dem Scheitel, deren jede mit einem menschlichen Gesichte versehen war.

Hier erhielt ich auch die Schale gekauft, in welcher die Götzen Speise vorgelegt bekommen und welche *toll-ngir* oder *kägn-ngir* heisst.

Dann gab es hier Götzen vom Weisswal (*pómi-tscho*) mit einem Menschen darauf (Taf. LVI, Fig. 5), so wie vom Wolf; Amulete mit zwei Köpfen vom Bären und Raben und drgl. mehr.

Im Dorfe Tschelmok standen auf einem Wandbrette in der Ecke einer Jurte viele Götzen mit *Zach's* umwunden und einige mit Bärenfell bekleidet. Ich erhielt einen kleinen Tigergötzen mit einer menschlichen Gestalt über demselben (Taf. LVII, Fig. 1), ferner ein Amulet mit drei Idolen, deren eines einen Menschen, das zweite einen Wolf und das dritte ein anderes Thier darstellte, das man mir nicht zu bezeichnen wusste. Neben den Götzen lag eine Menge von Götzenschalen, alle ungefähr von derselben Form mit Darstellungen verschiedener Art, bald mit einem menschlichen Gesichte, bald mit einer Kröte, einer Eidechse und drgl. darauf. Es waren alles *toll-ngir's*. Nur eine Götzenschale war ganz verschieden und bestand aus zwei in Form einer 8 neben einander gestellten, aus einem Stücke Birkenrinde bestehenden Bechern, (Taf. LXI, Fig. 1). Dieses Gefäss hiess *tschobrä* und hatte dieselbe Bestimmung. Kein Zureden half aber die Eigenthümerin dazu zu bringen, eine oder die andere dieser Götzenschalen zu verkaufen. Sie meinte, es sei *vitsch* und werde ihren Tod nach sich ziehen.

Auch im Dorfe Patt wurden mir mehrere hübsch geschnittene und interessante Götzen verkauft. An dem einen hatte der Kopf hinten die Gestalt eines Herzens, an einem andern standen zwei menschliche Gestalten auf einem Block, der zwei Herzen darstellte (Taf. LV, Fig. 5).

Das Herz (*ngif*) kommt überhaupt bei solcherlei Schnitzwerk der Giljaken sehr viel in Anwendung (s. oben 13).

Unter den Götzen gab es hier noch einen mit dem Kopf eines *Tung* oder Seebären. Auch der Seehund wird dargestellt in Götzenform, doch erhielt ich keinen solchen (2 S. R. I p. 6—9).

22. Giljaken. Eine in Holz geschnitzte Figur, welche unweit Tschchyrkrach an der Amur-Mündung gefunden worden war, stellt ungefähr einen fliegenden Fisch-Menschen dar. Der Kopf ist nämlich einem Fischkopfe ähnlich, mit eisernen Zähnen im Ober- und Unterkiefer. Die Augen sind durch blaue Glasperlen dargestellt. Bald hinter dem Halse setzen die vorderen und hinteren Extremitäten an. Die ersteren sind offenbar Arme mit Händen daran, die letzteren Beine mit Füssen, ähnlich denjenigen des Menschen. Die ersteren sind nach vorn, die letzteren nach hinten ausgestreckt, ungefähr in einer Horizontalebene mit dem Kopfe, so dass die Gestalt wie im Fluge dargestellt erscheint (Taf. LXVI, Fig. 1.). C. v. Ditmar (durch dessen Vermittelung zum Theil die Figur an mich gelangte) erzählte mir, dass bei den Giljaken von Patchä eine Sage existire, welche er nicht abgeneigt war, damit in Zusammenhang zu bringen, zumal dieses Dorf und das erwähnte Cap nicht weit aus einander liegen.

«Einst kehrten die Giljaken von Patchä», so erzählt die Sage, «vom Fischfang auf zwei mit Fischen beladenen Böten heim. Sie waren zu ermüdet, um die Fische sogleich auszuladen und schoben die Arbeit für den nächsten Morgen auf. Die Böte wurden nur herausgezogen und die Fische mit Birkenrinde oder drgl. bedeckt. Am nächsten Morgen, als sie an die Arbeit gehen wollten, fanden sie die Böte leer. Rundherum aber lagen zahlreiche Abfälle von Fischen, welche deutlich bewiesen, dass sich jemand dieselben hatte wohlschmecken lassen. Sie fuhren daher von Neuem auf Fischfang und kehrten wiederum mit voller Ladung zurück. Doch schoben sie das Ausladen wiederum auf und es ging ihnen wie am Tage zuvor. Zum dritten Male gingen sie auf Fischfang und brachten nochmals zwei volle Böte zurück. Nun beschlossen sie aber, in der Nacht Wache zu halten, um dem Vernichter ihrer Beute auf die Spur zu kommen. Dieses gelang und der Uebelthäter wurde gefangen. Es war eine seltsame Gestalt mit Fischkopf und menschlichen Armen und Beinen. Das Ungeheuer wurde in einen ähnlichen Bau gesetzt, wie man ihn für die Bären errichtet, und mit Fisch gefüttert. Ein Jahr lang lebte es in dieser Gefangenschaft, alsdann bat es die Giljaken es frei zu lassen. Diese brachten es auf ein Cap am Amur-Strome, zwischen dem Dorfe Patchä und dem Cap Tschchyrkrach und banden es dort an einen Brunnen. Allein das Ungeheuer biss die Schnur entzwei und entkam, so dass die Giljaken, als sie wiederkehrten, es nicht mehr vorfanden».

Ich forschte nun bei den Giljaken nach, was die Figur vorstelle und wozu sie diene. Einstimmig wurde die Figur *Wagn* genannt, und man erklärte mir, dass damit die Stelle bezeichnet werde, auf welcher der Leichnam eines ermordeten Giljaken verbrannt war. (Bm. I. p. 50, 51).

23. Giljaken. In der Nähe des Dorfes Patt (am rechten Amurufer) stand im Gebüsch ein *Wagn*, welcher einem von einem Amgunj-Nägda ermordeten Giljaken galt. Der *Wagn* war alt, die Augen waren ihm ausgefallen, die Extremitäten aber alle vorhanden, nur viel minder sorgfältig

gearbeitet als an dem von mir in Tschchyrkrach erworbenen Exemplar. Der *Wagn* reichte vom Boden mir bis an den Gürtel und war mit dem Kopf dahin gerichtet, wo der Mörder wohnte, d. h. in der Richtung nach dem Amgunj-Fluss. Ich will jedoch nicht behaupten, dass eine solche Aufstellung Regel unter den Giljaken sei. (2 S. R. I, p. 8.)

24. Oltscha. Die Oltscha schreiben den ruhig Sterbenden wie den durch Menschenhand Umgekommenen gleiches Schicksal zu, und errichten letzteren keine *Wagn's* wie die Giljaken. Nach der Mittheilung des Oltscha Chossiambo liegt der Darstellung des *Wagn* der Vogel *Kóro* zu Grunde, dessen Erscheinung in irgend einem Dorfe unheilvoll für dessen gesammte Bevölkerung sei. Denn wer ihn sieht, muss sterben. Ein solcher Fall hatte sich vor vielen Jahren im Dorfe Chala, gegenüber Kisi (Kidsi?) ereignet. Der *Kóro* war hingekommen und hatte sich auf dis Spitze einer Lärche (oltsch. *sissa*, gilj. *koi*) niedergesetzt, wo ihn die Bewohner von Chala erblickten und alle, die ihn sahen, starben und nur einige wenige entgingen dem Unheil. Seitdem zählt das ehemals grosse Dorf Chala auch nur wenige Bewohner. (2. S. R. I, p. 39.)

25. Oltscha. Bei den Oltscha sah ich einen Götzen-Gürtel, einen *Säwuchsa*, mit verschiedenen *Säwa's* oder Götzendarstellungen versehen, um als Amulet gegen Krankheiten um den Leib getragen zu werden (Taf. LX, Fig. 3). Auf den Gürtel von Leder waren jederseits, der Länge nach, zwei Schlangen (*dshalda*), auch von Leder, aufgenäht, zwischen denen in derselben Richtung je ein Fuchs, in Holz geschnitzt, befestigt war. Vorn, in der Mitte befand sich eine Kröte von Leder und darauf eine menschliche Gestalt in Holz. Das Interessanteste am Gürtel aber war die unterhalb der Kröte und Menschengestalt angehängte Darstellung vom *Khasj* (*Chat* der Giljaken) in Holz, dieses Phantasie-Thieres, dessen Bekanntschaft ich bei den Giljaken in Chiaro machte und das bei den Oltscha ebenso als ein Schutzmittel gegen Krankheit geschnitzt wird. Ueberhaupt ist die grosse Uebereinstimmung der giljakischen *Kägn* und der *Säwa's* der Oltscha sehr in die Augen fallend und lässt auf eine ähnliche Uebereinstimmung der religösen Begriffe und Vorstellungen dieser Völker schliessen (2. S. R. I p. 32. 33).

Schamanen.

26. Giljaken. Bei den Giljaken ist das Schamanen viel weniger im Gebrauch als bei den tungusischen Amurvölkern, den Oltscha, Golde, Kile, und anderen, und daher sind auch die Schamanengeräthe bei ihnen weit seltener zu finden. Wie im Allgemeinen bei den Amurvölkern so findet sich auch im Einzelnen, bei den Giljaken, das Schamanenthum stromabwärts, nach dem Liman oder nach Sachalin zu immer seltener und seltener. Kaum wird man von Wassj an und am Liman irgendwo einen Schammen und Schamanen-Utensilien antreffen. Ich habe nach vielfachen Erkundigungen danach keine gesehen oder von ihnen gehört. So scheint das Schamanenthum stromabwärts gezogen zu sein und seinen Ursprung tiefer landeinwärts zu haben. (Bm. I, p. 75.)

27. Giljaken. Im ganzen Gebiete der Amur-Giljaken giebt es nur wenige Schamanen, welche einen Ruf unter ihren Landsleuten haben. Man nannte mir als den berühmtesten unter ihnen, seinen grossen Schamanen», Sajan, weit oberhalb Nikolajewsk am Amur-Strom. Ein anderer, minder berühmter, Tschezach, ist im Dorfe Kaki, oberhalb Nikolajewsk zu Hause. Nach den Dörfern, wo es keine Schamanen giebt, werden diese im nöthigen Falle, bei Krankheiten, Sterbefällen und drgl. herbeigeholt[1]). Schamanengeräthe aber, wie Trommeln und dergleichen giebt es auch bei anderen Giljaken, so bei den Brüdern Surgin und Sogin in Kuik, obgleich sie beide keine Schamanen sind. Auch ist die Kunst zu tanzen, die Trommel zu schlagen und drgl., wie es bei dem Schamanen-Akte gebräuchlich ist, vielen anderen Giljaken bekannt und wird auch ohne Weiteres geübt, auf Begehren oder nach Wunsch, ohne dass es als Sünde betrachtet wird oder die Ausübenden gerade Schamanen seien. So soll ein Knabe im Dorfe Wait das Schamanen ebenfalls sehr gut verstehen, ohne selbst ein Schaman zu sein. Dazu gehört bei den Giljaken, wie mir scheint, nicht sowohl eine Kunstfertigkeit im Tanzen, Gesange und drgl., sondern die Fähigkeit gewisse Kunststücke zu machen, wie z. B. sich ein Messer scheinbar durch den Leib zu stossen und drgl. Dinge, welche sie ihren grossen Schamanen besonders nachrühmen. (Bm. I, p. 34, 35.)

28. Giljaken. Schamanenakt. Dass die Schlangen besonders gefürchtet werden, erfuhr ich aus einer mir durch Augenzeugen gemachten Mittheilung über die Geisterbeschwörung eines Schamanen bei den Giljaken von Petrowskoje. Der Schaman wandte sich, nach ausgeführtem Gesang und Geheul der Umstehenden, an den — Himmel, Sonne, Mond und Sterne beherrschenden Gott, (von dem er übrigens nichts mehr zu sagen wusste, als dass er in der Weise von den Aeltesten seines Volkes unterrichtet worden sei), und sprach die Beschwörungen oder Anreden an den Bären und die Schlange aus, als an die beiden, von Giljaken und Russen am meisten gefürchteten Thiere. Bei diesen Beschwörungen schlug er bisweilen mit einem Stäbchen, an dessen einem Ende eine Schlange, am andern ein Bär abgebildet war, auf eine trommelartig in einem Ringe ausgespannte Thierhaut. Die Umstehenden heulten und tanzten, der Schaman richtete alsdann an den Gott die Bitte um guten Fischfang, gutes Wetter, um Abfliessen des Regens in's Meer, um günstige und ungefährliche See für Giljaken und Russen. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

29. Giljaken. Schamanenakte bei Krankheiten[2]). Die (unheilbringende) Kröte, ist doppelter Art, nämlich bald eine einfache, schlechtweg *mipitsch* genannt, bald eine doppelte, *wap-mipitsch* mit doppeltem Rumpf und Extremitäten. Die erstere hat ihren Aufenthalt auf dem Lande, die letztere dagegen im Wasser, jene wird daher auch als *mif-mipitsch*, diese als *toll-mipitsch* bezeichnet[3]). Beide sind gewaltig und nicht geheuer, *magá*, ganz besonders der *Wap-mipitsch*,

1) Dass die Schamanen weniger eine religiöse, als praktische, freilich mit Aberglauben gemischte Bedeutung unter den Giljaken haben, geht auch daraus hervor, dass sie niemals Geistliche, sondern Aerzte und Apotheker, weil sie Krankheiten heilen, als Schamanen bezeichnen, oder als ihren Schamanen entsprechend ansehen. (Bei den Barenfosten darf der Schaman zwar zugegen sein, aber nicht schamanen», s. p. 714, 722; vrgl. auch p. 563).

2) Unwirksam bei Schlangenbiss, wogegen nur die um die Wunde gebundene Haut der Schlange hilft.

3) Diese Nachrichten rühren zumeist von Porkuk und ihrem Sohne Dshaman aus Kuik., Jutschin

welcher nach giljakischem Ausdruck dem Teufel gleich ist (*kins ngarlatsch*), woher wohl auch seine Doppelgestalt rühren mag. Ihre böse Macht äussert sich nun darin, dass sie zum schlafenden Menschen heranschleichen und ihm durch den Mund in's Innere, in Brust und Magen kriechen, worauf der Mensch erkranken und sterben muss, wenn er nicht die gehörigen Mittel ergreift, um sich vom *Mipitsch* zu befreien. Das einzige Mittel aber, das ihm helfen kann, ist ein Schaman. Dieser beschwört einen *Kägn* (einen guten Gott), der aus dem Kranken den *Mipitsch* wieder entfernt. Zugleich wird dem Kranken ein vom Schamanen selbst, oder von jemand anderem auf Anordnung des Schamanen geschnitzter *Mipitsch* um den Hals gehängt, und muss noch fernerhin vom Kranken getragen werden, um ihn für die Zukunft zu schützen. Einem kranken Manne wird ein einfacher, einem Weibe ein doppelter *Mipitsch* umgehängt. Die *Mipitsch* sind immer aus Holz geschnitten, zumal der *Wap-Mipitsch*. Nur auf dem Schnauzenbande des todten Bären (s. p. 716. 720) befindet sich ein einfacher *Mipitsch* aus Birkenrinde. Dieser wird von Weibern, die hölzernen aber werden immer von Männern angefertigt, da Schnitzarbeiten aller Art nur Beschäftigung der Männer sind, während die Weiber sich auf das Ausschneiden von Arabesken und Figuren aus Zeug, und daher auch aus Birkenrinde, verstehen.

Aehnlich wie von Kröte und Schlange ist auch die Anschauung der Giljaken von der Eidechse (*mä(r)ngai*), nur wird ihr eine viel geringere Macht zugeschrieben. Sie kriecht dem schlafenden Menschen angeblich in den Kopf und wird auf ähnliche Weise, wie jene, durch einen Schamanen entfernt, so wie durch das Umlegen eines eisernen Amulet-Reifs (*lalz*)[1]) um den Kopf. Dieser Reif trägt jederseits in der Gegend der Schläfen die Darstellung einer Eidechse; nach vorn, näher zur Stirn hin befindet sich jederseits eine menschliche Gestalt, die an der einen Seite einen Mann, an der andern ein Weib bedeuten soll. Ganz vorn endlich, auf der Stirn trägt der *Lalz* eine Froschgestalt. Letzteres ist auffallend, da der Frosch (*dhal*) für nicht unheilbringend gilt, nicht *magá* ist. (Bm. II, p. 44—46.)

30. Giljaken. Wunderbare übernatürliche Handlungen, welche der giljakische Schaman ausführt, sind hauptsächlich die Mittel, durch die er Bewunderung und Ansehen unter seinen Landsleuten gewinnt. Jemehr diese Handlungen von dem natürlichen Laufe der Dinge abweichen, desto höher steigt der Ruf des Zauberers. Einen solchen geniesst z. B. der Giljake Räppun in Tebach, von dem folgendes Wunder berichtet wird. Es werden ihm die Hände auf dem Rücken durch Riemen festgebunden und die Kurgel ebenfalls durch einen Riemen zugeschnürt. Alsdann setzt er sich auf den Erdboden in der Jurte nieder, wo Licht und Herdfeuer ausgelöscht wird. Sobald es finster wird, stimmt er einen Gesang an, welcher nach Schamanenweise, mit langer Dehnung, häufiger Wiederholung und Umstellung derselben Worte monoton und mit zitternd heulender Stimme ausgeführt wird. Hiernach fällt der Schaman wie todt nieder.

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meinte, dass der *Wap-mipitsch* die Begattung der Kröte darstelle, die zumeist im Wasser stattfinde und welche anzusehen bei den Giljaken für *nitsch* gehalten werde. Auch nach ihm muss der *Wap-mipitsch* von Weibern getragen werden.

1) s. Anhang 6.

Nun stimmen alle in der Jurte Anwesende, Männer, Weiber und Kinder, einen Gesang an, der dazu dient, einen *Kägn* heran zu beschwören.

Während diese Beschwörung noch dauert erscheint ein *Kägn*, für alle unsichtbar, mit Ausnahme des Schamanen, löst ihm die Riemen an Hals und Händen und giebt ihm neues Leben. Sowie der Gesang verhallt ist, steht der Schaman wieder lebendig da.

Minder gewaltig ist der Schaman Chorvin aus Tscheharbach, doch ist dieser auch nur noch ein Knabe, ein *Matscherlagu-tscham*. Dennoch übt er ebenfalls wunderbare Dinge aus. So setzt er sich, erzählen die Giljaken, mit auf dem Rücken festgebundenen Händen in der Jurte nieder, die Feuer sind ausgelöscht und alle Umstehenden stimmen einen Schamanengesang an, worin der *Kägn* angerufen wird, zu kommen und zu tanzen, und in der That komme noch während des Gesanges ein kleiner kaum nagelgrosser *Kägn* und tanze ihm auf den Armen. Sobald der Gesang verstummt ist, steht der Schamanenknabe entfesselt da.

Jeder Schaman hat seine eigenen Gesänge; was sie bedeuten und ob sie auch bei bestimmter Gelegenheit gesungen werden, ist mir unbekannt geblieben. Soviel scheint gewiss, dass jeder Schamanengesang zur Beschwörung eines *Kägn* dient, der sich einfinden und Hülfe leisten soll, sei es zur Heilung von Krankheiten oder zum Enthüllen der Zukunft und drgl. m. Auch scheint es, dass nach der Vorstellung der Giljaken der *Kägn* seine Wirkung stets tanzend ausführt, eine Vorstellung, die mit dem Gebrauche des Tanzens von Seiten des Schamanen selbst im Zusammenhange stehen mag. In den oben erwähnten Schamanengesängen wird der *Kägn* ausdrücklich zum Tanzen (*lärta*) aufgefordert. Nie ist aber das Erscheinen und Tanzen des *Kägn* jemand anderem in der Jurte sichtbar, als bloss dem Schamanen und das ist eben das Zeichen und der Beweis seiner höhern Macht und übernatürlichen Gewalt. (Bm. II, p. 17, 18.)

31. Giljaken. Der Giljake Jutschin aus Patchä schilderte mir in umständlicher Weise den Vorgang einer Geisterbeschwörung, die durch die Kraft eines Schamanen geschehe. Sein Bericht stimmte mit den oben mitgetheilten Schamanenhandlungen in hohem Grade überein. Ich lasse ihn hier folgen.

Es ist Nacht und dunkel in der Jurte. Auf dem Erdboden, mitten in der Jurte, wo der Hundetisch weggeräumt worden ist, liegt ein Schaman, mit auf dem Rücken gebundenen Armen, an der Kehle eine Schlinge von Riemen, deren beide Enden zwei Giljaken weit auseinander und entfernt vom Schamanen sitzend, festhalten. Alles ist lautlos in der Jurte, bis der Schaman das Wort *tfiwyssj* ausruft, worauf ein Lärm in der Jurte entsteht wie von tanzenden Hölzern — er rührt von einem oder mehreren *Kägn's* her, die sich in der Jurte eingefunden haben. Alsbald reden die umsitzenden Giljaken den *Kägn* an, indem sie ihm verschiedene Fragen bezüglich seines Erscheinens vorlegen: ob er nämlich Beeren, oder Elenfett, oder eine Wurzel und drgl. brauche, oder ob er nur so gekommen sei? u. drgl. m. Der *Kägn* giebt auf eine jede Frage eine Antwort in bejahender oder verneinender, oder ausweichender Weise, was er durch verschiedene Arten des Lärmens ausdrückt. Folgt nämlich auf die Frage ein einfaches Hämmern, so ist die Antwort bejahend, folgt ein blosses Schaben, so ist sie verneinend, folgt endlich ein einmaliges Hämmern und darauf ein Schaben, so heisst das so viel wie «ich weiss nicht».

Nun nähern sich die *Kägn* unter stetem Geräusch dem gebunden liegenden Schamanen und tanzen lärmend auf ihm umher. Der Schaman haucht, allen hörbar, seinen Geist aus. Ist er todt, so stimmen alle in der Jurte sitzenden Giljaken den Beschwörungsgesang des *Kägn* an; lebt er aber, so singt nur einer von den Giljaken, zu dessen Wohl der *Kägn* befragt wird. Dieses geschieht, indem man ihn fragt: «Soll dieser (der betreffende Name) singen? soll jener NN. singen?» u. s. w. bis die Antwort bejahend lautet. Der Gesang, den die Giljaken nach dem Tode des Schamanen anstimmen, lautet soviel wie: «Mache bald lebendig, komme bald, warum zögern? komme bald, tanze bald!»

Durch diesen Gesang bewogen tanzen die *Kägn* lärmend wieder von dem Schamanen hinunter. Man hört ihn wiederum tief aufseufzen, — diesmal von Neuem Geist einathmend — und nun steht er von allen Banden entfesselt und wieder lebendig da. Mit den Worten: *käutschek via, käutschek via!**) die er jedem *Kägn* zuruft, bannt der Schaman nun alle *Kägn* wieder von dannen, es wird still in der Jurte, die Schamanenhandlung ist zu Ende und es dürfen die Feuer in den Herden wieder aufgeblasen werden. (Bm. II, p. 55 und 57.)

32. Giljaken. Im Dorfe Tyk auf Sachalin erzählte man mir, dass es bei den Giljaken auf Sachalin ebenfalls Schamanen gäbe; auch sollen sie dieselben Werkzeuge ihrer Kunst, wie die auf dem Continent, Trommel (*kassj*), Schamanengürtel (oltsch. *jangpá*) u. s. w. haben (Taf. LXI, Fig. 2, 4.) (2. W. R. I, p. 10).

Das grosse, aus wenigstens 10 Jurten bestehende Dorf Tschai-wo, an der Ostküste, sollte einen bei den Giljaken berühmten Schamanen besitzen. (2. W. R. II, p. 7.)

33. Samagirn. Im Dorfe Ngágha hörte ich am Abend Trommelschall. Ich erfuhr, dass in der Nachbarjurte die Schamanentrommel gerührt werde und begab mich sogleich dahin. In der Jurte war kein Licht, auch in den beiden Herden waren nur glimmende Kohlen vorhanden, vor welchen Weiber und Kinder kauerten. Aus einem entfernten finstern Winkel des weiten dunklen Raumes erschallten, von einem melancholischen einförmigen Gesang begleitet, die dumpfen Töne der Trommel, welche bisweilen so gewaltig waren, dass die ganze Jurte erdröhnte. Ich setzte mich, von meinem Führer begleitet, auf eine der Schlafbänke nieder und hörte einige Zeit der unheimlichen Musik zu. Als ich fragte, warum kein Feuer in der Jurte sei, erfuhr ich, dass die Schamanentöne einem kranken Weibe in der Jurte galten und dass dabei kein Feuer sein dürfe. In der That, als nach einiger Zeit in den Herden die Flammen angeblasen und die Nachtlampen in der Jurte angezündet wurden, verstummten Trommeltöne und Gesang augenblicklich. Ich näherte mich nun dem Schamanen, der auf einer der Schlafbänke sass. Neben ihm lag das kranke Weib, ein Kohlenbecken (*jachalacco*) mit verglommenen Kohlen zu ihrer Seite. Er wies auf die Kranke und gab mir zu verstehen, dass das Schamanengetöne ihr gegolten habe. Ich besah mir nun die Werkzeuge der grässlichen Musik genauer. Die Trommel (*ingtschu* der Kile u. a. tungus. Amur-Völker) bestand aus einem unregelmässigen, an den Enden spitzeren ovalen Reif von Holz, in welchem eine Membran von Reh-Blase ausgespannt war. Ein Kreuzband an der inneren Fläche der Trommel diente zum

*) Vielleicht *kounděra* = auf! *vird* = lasst uns gehen! n. d. gil. Wörterverzeichniss v. Dr. W. Grube.

Halten derselben, während sie mit einem Hundefusse, oder einem mit dem Felle eines Hundefusses überzogenen Stabe (*gessé*) geschlagen wurde [1]). Leider konnte ich, aus Mangel an Sprachkenntniss, mich auch nicht über den Inhalt des Schamanengesanges unterrichten lassen. (I. W. B. II, p. 77, 78.)

34. Oltscha. Während ich im Dorfe Yrri in einer Jurte am Abend Thee trank sah ich die Leute zwei Schamanentrommeln und anderes Zubehör hervorkramen und wie es schien zum Gebrauche zurechtlegen. Ich äusserte nun den Wunsch den Akt anzusehen und es wurde sogleich an die Vorbereitungen dazu geschritten. Zunächst wurden die Schamanentrommeln vor dem Herde gelinde erwärmt, um ihnen die gehörige Spannung und einen lauten Ton zu geben. Sie waren auch hier von Rehleder [2]) gemacht, doch wird ausser diesem auch das Leder von Elen, Hirsch und Renthier, also von allen Cervus-Arten zu Schamanentrommeln, wenn sie gut sein sollen, benutzt. Während die Trommeln gestimmt wurden, machte sich auch der Schaman in seiner Kleidung bereit. Er zog seinen langen Oberrock aus und band sich die giljakische sogenannte *Kossjkha* [3]) vor. Um den Kopf legte er ein Band von Hobelspänen, an welchem nach hinten ein Bündel von Hobelspänen (Holzlocken) gleich einem Zopfe über den Rücken hing, die sogenannte *Giasadá*. Alsdann band er sich den Schamanengürtel vor, welcher an einem Riemen eine Menge eiserner Blätter, messingener Ringe u. drgl. metallener Stücke hat, die dazu dienen, während des Tanzes des Schamanen ein lautes Geklapper und Gerassel zu geben. Der ganze Gürtel heisst in der Sprache der Oltscha *jangpá* und trägt folgende metallene Anhängsel: einen grossen messingenen Kreis mit einer kleinen Oese und einigem Relief auf der Oberfläche, welcher einen mandshurischen Ursprung verräth. Dieser Kreis ist das sogenannte *Tolé*, das grösste Stück unter den Klappern des Gürtels. Ferner einige eiserne Stücke in Form eines Feuerstahls (*jassó*) der mandshu- und tungusischen Völker, dann zahlreiche eiserne Platten von unregelmässiger Form, die sogen. *Kyiré*, welche den grössten Theil der Klappern ausmachen; dann einige zusammengerollte eiserne Plattén, die sogen. *Kongoró*, und endlich eine Art kleiner Glocken von Messing, aber ohne Zunge, *Kongoktó* (Glocke). Alle diese Stücke hängen in einem Haufen dicht beisammen und kommen, wenn der Gürtel umgeschnallt ist, an diesem nach hinten zu liegen. Der Gürtel hat ein bedeutendes Gewicht *).

Als der Schaman ihn umgebunden, setzte er sich auf die Bank, die Trommel wurde ihm gereicht und auf den Erdboden vor ihm eine eiserne Platte mit glühenden Kohlen gesetzt, über welche das trockene Kraut von Ledum palustre (*olsch. siankurá*) gelegt wurde. Dieses verbreitete sogleich einen stark riechenden und gewiss auch betäubend wirkenden Rauch in der Jurte, worauf der Schaman, inzwischen gegen den aufsteigenden Qualm sich bückend, in leisen und gezogenen Tönen einen melancholischen Gesang gegen den Rand der

1) Vrgl. Taf. LXI, Fig. 4.
2) oder -Blase (?). s. Anhang 33.
3) Schurzrock s. p. 392.
*) Vergl. Taf. LXI, 4, wo die dargestellte Scene als giljakisch bezeichnet ist, obgleich in den Aufzeichnungen keine andere so zutreffende Schilderung sich findet. Es bezieht sich die Zeichnung also wohl auf die Oltscha, wenn sie nicht etwa nur die schematische Wiedergabe eines giljakischen Schamanenakts sein soll.

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

senkrecht aufwärts gehaltenen Trommel anstimmte, den er bisweilen mit bald schwächeren, bald stärkeren Schlägen gegen die Trommel begleitete. Allmählig aber wurden die Töne lauter, die Trommelschläge kräftiger. Der Schaman stand auf und begann seinen Gesang auch noch mit dem Geklapper des *Jangpá* zu begleiten. Dieses geschieht durch Hin- und Herbewegung der Hüften, ebenfalls in einem gewissen Rhythmus mit dem Gesange und dem Trommelgewirbel. Das Kohlenbecken mit der *Siankurá* wurde nun entfernt, der Schaman stand mitten in der Jurte, mit dem Gesichte gegen die Thür, mit dem Rücken gegen die Umsitzenden gewendet. Bisweilen aber drehte er sich, indem er das Geklapper des *Jangpá* steigerte, auch gegen die Umsitzenden um, dabei die Füsse ebenfalls gewissermassen rythmisch, jedoch immer nur langsam bewegend. Es war kein eigentlicher Tanz, sondern nur eine gesteigerte Bewegung der Hüften, mit einer langsamen rythmischen Umwendung des ganzen Körpers verbunden. Dabei hielt er die Trommel hoch empor und richtete sie gegen alle Seiten der Jurte. Die Töne, die er auf der Trommel hervorrief, waren ebenfalls sehr mannigfaltig, bald leise wirbelnd, bald durchdringend laut, so dass die kleine Jurte erdröhnte. Um diese Töne hervorzurufen, musste er mit der Hand sehr verschiedene Bewegungen machen, aber stets lag in denselben auch etwas Rythmisches, wie in den Umdrehungen des Körpers und den Bewegungen der Füsse. Mit dem heftigeren Geklapper des *Jangpá* und dem lauteren Trommelgewirbel wurde der Gesang selbst schwächer und verstummte endlich ganz, nur die Musik und der Tanz dauerten lange Zeit in unheimlich aufregender, zugleich ermüdender Weise fort. Oft wurde die Trommel gewechselt, die herabgespannte inzwischen von einem der Umsitzenden durch langsame Umdrehungen vor dem Feuer wieder von Neuem gestimmt. Auch wurde dem Schamanen dazwischen ein Schluck Wasser und einmal auch ein kleiner Bissen, vermuthlich von Fisch gereicht. Endlich brach er, scheinbar stark erschöpft ab und setzte sich auf die Bank nieder, sogleich sich eine Pfeife bereitend. Allein nach kurzer Rast begannen Musik und Tanz von Neuem. Der Schaman stand auf und schien die frühere Weise fortsetzen zu wollen. Dann gab er ein Zeichen gegen eins der umsitzenden Weiber. Dieses bekam nun sogleich eine Art grossen Kranzes und zugleich eine ziemlich hohe Krone von Stroh auf den Kopf und ein Band von Holz mit lang herabhängenden Zipfeln um den Hals. Es wurde der Fellsack, in dem die Trommeln aufbewahrt werden, auf den Erdboden in der Mitte der Jurte ausgebreitet. Das Weib setzte sich darauf nieder und der Schaman begann um dasselbe einen langsamen Tanz, von Trommel und *Jangpá* begleitet. Alsdann, auf ein Zeichen des Schamanen, wurde die Flamme in den Herden ausgelöscht, ich musste meine Kerze ebenfalls ausblasen und es wurde in der Jurte nun völlig dunkel. Der Schaman stand im Rücken des Weibes und setzte seine Musik einige Zeit fort. Alsdann aber bemerkte ich, dass die Trommel von einem der Umsitzenden geschlagen wurde, ein Umstand, der verbunden mit der Sitte der durchaus erforderlichen Finsterniss, mich vermuthen lässt, dass beim Schamanenacte die Sinnlichkeit stark im Spiele sein müsse. Endlich nahm der Schaman selbst die Trommel wieder in die Hand, die Flammen in den Herden wurden wieder aufgeblasen und auch mein Licht wieder angezündet. Das Weib sass wie zuvor, aber Kranz und Halsschmuck fehlten und einige Stücke davon lagen zerrissen auf dem Erdboden. Der Schaman be-

rührte mehrmals, die Hand rythmisch und wie in Kreisen bewegend, den Kopf des Weibes, worauf dieses aufstand und die Decke entfernt wurde. Nun stimmte der Schaman noch einen langen Gesang an, welcher aus regelmässig langen Strophen zu bestehen schien, deren jede in derselben Weise von Trommel und *Jangpá* begleitet wurde. In bestimmten Zwischenräumen sang er die Töne gegen den Rand der senkrecht gehaltenen und eben erschütterten Trommel, welche lebhaft vibrirend resonirte und dem Gesang einen ganz eigenthümlichen Klang gab, als kämo er in doppelter Weise und von verschiedenen Orten her. Dieser Gesang dauerte noch lange Zeit fort und mehrmals wurde die Trommel gewechselt, bis der Schaman endlich erschöpft abbrach. Gewiss enthielt dieser letzte Gesang den wesentlichen Inhalt des Schamanenactes. Leider konnte ich ihn aber nicht verstehen und auch mein Führer konnte mir nur sagen, dass die ganze Ceremonie mit dem Weibe so viel wie *Sáwa*[1]) sei. (1. W. R. II p. 94—97.).

35. Oltscha. Im Dorfe Mongolé ertönte der Schall einer Schamanentrommel aus einer der Jurten. Ein Schaman sass hier auf der Bank neben einem schlafenden Kranken und diesem galten Getrommel und Gesang. Da ich die Worte nicht verstand, so kam mir beides genau so vor, wie ich es bei den *Samagirn* in Ngágha gesehen und gehört hatte[2]). Bis zum späten Abend war in Intervallen der dumpfe Schall der Schamaneninstrumente im Dorfe zu vernehmen, (T. 1. W. R. II. p. 113 und 114.).

36. Oltscha. In einer Giljaken-Jurte des Dorfes Kalm[3]) gab es ein krankes Kind. Das Oltscha-Weib, das auf dem uns begleitenden Oltscha-Boote sich befand erbot sich für drei Bündel Tabak es durch Schamanen zu kuriren. Alsbald ertönten die Schamanenlaute in der Weise, wie ich sie in Mongolé und Ngágha bei Krankenkuren gehört und beschrieben habe, nur dass sie hier von einen Weibe hervorgerufen wurden. Nach einem einleitenden Gesange unter Begleitung der Trommel nahm die Schamanende einige Hobelspäne (*sáwa*) und ein Läppchen und strich mit denselben über das nackte, im Schoosse der Mutter liegende Kind, in der Art des Magnetisirens, fort, indem sie zugleich gegen den Rand der resonirenden Trommel sang. Als dieses geschehen beschloss sie durch einen Gesang und Trommelschlagen die Kur, worauf das Kind wieder in die Wiege gelegt wurde. (1. S. R. I p. 7.).

37. Oltscha. In das Land *Bun*, das Jenseits der Oltscha, vermögen sich nur die «guten, wirklichen» Schamanen zu begeben, deren es nur wenige giebt, nicht die «kleinen oder schlechten» Schamanen, deren man in jedem Dorfe welche findet[4]). Diese können nur die Schamanengesänge und Tänze ausführen, aber in das Land *Bun* reisen können sie nicht. Sie sind daher auch keine eigentlichen Schamanen, sondern nur *solde nei* d. i. gewöhnliche Menschen. Wirkliche Schamanen, die das Land *Bun* besuchen, zählen die Oltscha gegenwärtig nur fünf: zwei derselben wohnen am See Udyl, einer am Amgunj und zwei am Gorin, — sonderbarer Weise alle an den Nebenzweigen des Amur und keiner am grossen Strome selbst. (2. S. R. I. 37.).

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1) S. Anhang 9.
2) S. Anhang 31.
3) Am r. Ufer d. Amur.
4) S. Anhang 27.

38. Golde. Während wir uns mit Beobachtungen und Sammeln am Cap Auwa*) beschäftigten, ging ein kleines stark bepacktes Golde-Boot an uns vorüber. Zwei Weiber sassen in demselben und ein alter Mann zog es an einer Leine fort. Es hielt in Auwa und wir erfuhren, dass auf demselben eine Leiche sei. Bei seiner Ankunft in Auwa war ein allgemeines Klagegeschrei und Geheul von den Bewohnern des dort belegenen Dauro**) erhoben worden, eine Condolation, in welche auch ein Chinese einstimmte, der von seiner nahen Wohnung, ebenfalls Auwa genannt, herüber gekommen war. Es war die Leiche des Mannes von einem der auf dem Boote befindlichen Weiber. Dieses hatte zur Trauer ihr langes Haar geschoren und den Kopf verbunden. Die Leute schlugen ihr Zelt vor dem Dauro auf, um zu übernachten. Als es Abend wurde, brannte ein Feuer vor ihrem Zelte und die Schamanentrommeln wurden davor gespannt. Das Schamanen wurde von einem Weibe (jedoch nicht der Wittwe des Verstorbenen) in üblicher Weise ausgeführt. Der Mond kam hinter einer dunkeln Wolke hervor. Sein blasses Licht fiel auf die hässliche Geisterbeschwörerin, welche singend vor dem loderndem Feuer ihre grosse Trommel schwang und tanzend den klirrenden Schamanengürtel bewegte. Die Wittwe aber und die Golde aus dem Dauro sassen und standen um's Feuer und hörten dem Gesange und den unheimlichen Tönen der Trommel und des Gürtels schweigend zu. Das Schamanen galt offenbar der Leiche und dauerte bis zum späten Abend, um sich beim Sonnenaufgang zu wiederholen, worauf das Zelt abgebrochen wurde und das Boot mit der Leiche sich zur Weiterreise in Bewegung setzte. Wahrscheinlich hatte der Tod des Mannes eine bestandene Wirthschaft aufgelöst und das Weib suchte sich eine Heimath stromaufwärts (1. S. R. III p. 34).

39. Golde. Der Storch hat keine andere Verwendung bei den Golde, als dass sein Fleisch von den Schamanen gegessen wird. (1. S. R. IV. p. 14).

Anmerkung. Ueber die Schamanen der Manägirn hat der Verf. ausser ihrem Vorhandensein nichts ermitteln können. (2. S. R. III. p. 41).

40. Dauren. Im Dorfe Chormoldin am oberen Amur zeigte man mir die bei den Dauren üblichen Schamanenutensilien. Es war eine aus Pappe gemachte, mit menschlichen Gesichtern auf jeder ihrer Zacken bemalte Krone***) und ein Mantel aus rothem Zeuge, an dem in mehrfachen Reihen grosse Messingplatten und kleinere Metallstücke hingen, was dem Mantel ein ungeheures Gewicht gab. Man musste den Schamanen bedauern, der unter solcher Last seine Tanzbewegungen zu machen hatte. Der Wirth und Eigenthümer des Mantels gab an, selbst Schaman zu sein, und Krankheiten wegzaubern zu können. Nach seiner Angabe sollten auch die Mandshu dergleichen Schamanengebräuche üben. Bei beiden aber findet man daneben die kleinen Tempelchen in den Gemüsegärten, welche buddhistisch zu sein scheinen. (2 S. R. II, p. 57).

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*) Auf der Karte — Aua, am r. Ussuri-Ufer.

**) Sommerzelt der Golde s. p. 372; in den Reisetagebüchern des Verf. findet sich aber auch der Ausdruck »Dauro von (so viel) Zelten«, es ist also darunter auch eine Sommercolonie zu verstehen.

***) Vielleicht der buddhist. Priesterkrone nachgebildet, ebenso wie bei den gekrönten Giljaken-Götzen, s. Anh. 20 und 21. Einige ähnliche Götzen, jedoch mit aufrecht stehenden Thierfiguren auf den Köpfen, besitzt das akad. Museum von den Orokon auf Sachalin.

41. Mandshu. Im Dorfe Torell vernahmen wir die wohlbekannten, lange nicht gehörten Töne einer Schamanentrommel, die uns hier ziemlich unerwartet kamen, da Torell von Mandshu bewohnt ist, die wir für Buddhisten zu halten geneigt waren. Hier lag aber der Beweis vor, dass Schamanenglaube, wenn nicht ausschliesslich, so doch mit dem Buddhismus untermischt bei den Mandshu im Gange ist. (2. S. R. II, p. 59).

II. Vorstellungen der Amur-Völker vom Leben nach dem Tode und dementsprechende Behandlung der Todten.

Schicksal der Seelen nach dem Tode.

42. Giljaken. Die (Amur-) Giljaken sind (nach dem Bericht Surgin's) der Ansicht, dass die Seele jedes Ermordeten, den Selbstmörder nicht ausgenommen, gen Himmel fliege, während die natürlich Verstorbenen in die Erde oder unter die Erde wandern. Dieses Auffliegen gen Himmel wird nun höchst wahrscheinlich durch die fliegende Gestalt des *Wagn* dargestellt, welcher einem fliegenden Menschen mit eigenthümlichem Vogel- oder Fischkopf ähnlich ist. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

43. Giljaken. Der (Amur-) Giljake Jutschin dictirte mir in die Feder ein interessantes Lied, zu dem ich durch weitere Fragen einen theilweise höchst belehrenden Commentar erhielt. Das Lied wurde von dem Giljaken Orkin aus Magho seinem Weibe Rschyvguk aus Wair gesungen, das er sich geraubt hatte*). Orkin war zu meiner Zeit noch am Leben, das Weib aber schon todt.

Der Hauptinhalt des Liedes scheint sich auf ein «Dorf Mlygh-wo» zu beziehen, und ich erkundigte mich daher, was es für ein Dorf sei und wo es liege? Ich erfuhr nun, dass es der Ort im Innern der Erde sei, wohin die Seelen aller an Krankheiten Verstorbenen wandern, während diejenigen der Ermordeten**) gen Himmel fliegen. Bei der Menge der «ruhig» oder an Krankheiten hinsterbenden Menschen, meinte mein Berichterstatter, müsste Mlygh-wo ein grosses Dorf sein; aber mehr als das wusste er darüber auch nicht zu sagen. Zur raschen und glücklichen Wanderung dahin dienen denn auch die verschiedenen über der Asche der Verstorbenen niedergelegten Dinge, wie die Adler-Schwingen, Nahrungsvorräthe u. s. w.***).

Auf meine weitere Frage, was mit der Seele des von einem Bären Getödteten geschehe, lautete die überraschende Antwort: Eine solche Seele nehme selbst die Bärengestalt an und wandere in den Wald und in's Gebirge.

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*) S. d. giljakischen Text im Anhang zum III. Bd. dieses Werkes: «Linguistische Ergebnisse, bearbeitet von Dr. W. Grube» p. 41.

**) Nach anderer Mittheilung auch die Seelen der Selbstmörder (s. Anhang 42).

***) s. Anhang 47, 53.

Es ist das unzweifelhaft bei den Giljaken (ebenso wie bei den Oltscha *) die Vorstellung von einer Seelenwanderung, denn sie legen den Körper des vom Bären Getödteten in ein besonderes Leichenhäuschen (*tschchyf-ngych*) nieder und bringen ihm Beeren, Fischvorräthe und drgl. zu **). Dennoch soll der Getödtete selbst, d. i. also seine Seele, in Bärengestalt, mit Fell und Haaren u. s. w. in den Wald ziehen.

Nur die Schwierigkeit, bei mangelhafter Sprachkenntniss sich mit einem zur Abstraction wenig geneigten Naturvolke über abstracte Begriffe zu verständigen, hat mich bisher den giljakischen Ausdruck für «Seele» nicht kennen lernen lassen. Die erwähnten Anschauungen aber über die Folgen des Todes unter den Giljaken stellen es ausser Zweifel, dass sie den Begriff der Seele, als geistiger, dem Menschen innewohnender Macht kennen. Die erwähnte Vorstellung von der Metempsychose des vom Bären Getödteten erklärt auch wiederum einigermassen, warum seiner Leiche Nahrungsvorräthe zugebracht werden. Seine Seele wandert eben noch auf Erden umher, während die Seele des von Menschen Ermordeten zum Himmel geflogen ist und also keiner irdischen Nahrung mehr bedarf. Diese Vorstellung mag ferner auch theilweise Veranlassung zur Heilighaltung, Verehrung und oft sehr anthropomorphischer Behandlung des Bären von den Giljaken sein. (Bm. II, 57—59.)

44. Giljaken. Die Seele eines im Strome oder im Meere Ertrunkenen kommt (nach Jutschin's Bericht) bei den Giljaken, ebenso wie bei den Oltscha ***) weder in den Himmel noch nach Mlygh-wo, sondern fährt in einen Seehund und zwar in einen *Kighitsch* oder *Pyghi-langr* d. i. eine erwachsene Phoca vitulina oder nautica. Auch an den Fang eines Seehundes schliesst sich daher manches *Uitsch*. So muss man z. B. immer, wenn man einen Seehund gefangen hat, ihm vor allem Gebrauche mit dem Messer einen Schnitt durch jedes Auge machen, so dass die Augenflüssigkeit auslaufen kann. Diese fängt man mit der hohlen Hand auf und wirft sie in den Strom zurück. Alsdann erst kann der Seehund nach Bedarf verwendet werden †).

Wie die Vorstellung der Giljaken von dem Himmel (*tlö*) ist, wohin die Seelen der Ermordeten sich begeben sollen, ist schwer zu sagen. Auf meine Frage, ob diese Seelen auf einen der Sterne, die ja auch Erden seien, sich begeben, erhielt ich zur Antwort, dass sie auch über diese hinaus, *kikr* d. i. «landeinwärts» von den Sternen zögen ††). (Bm. II, p. 62, 63.)

45. Oltscha. Von Chossiambo erfuhr ich über die Ansichten der Oltscha in Bezug auf das Schicksal der Sterbenden und die Metempsychose in Wasserthiere und Bären Folgendes:

Stirbt ein Oltscha «ruhigen» Todes oder gewaltsam durch Ermordung, so ist er nach dem Lande Bun gewandert. Wo dieses Land liege, ob stromauf- oder -abwärts, wusste Chossiambo nicht zu sagen und fand meine Frage eigenthümlich, da er dort nicht gewesen sei. Dass es aber in der Erde liege, negirte er ausdrücklich; es scheint daher diese Vorstellung von dem Mlygh-wo der Giljaken verschieden zu sein. Auch wusste Choss. viel mehr vom Lande Bun als die

*) s. Anhang 45. p. 764.
**) s. Anhang 37. p. 771.
***) s. Anhang 45. p. 764.
†) s. p. 548.
††) also über sie hinaus; s. die Sternenbewohner p. 679.

Giljaken von ihrem Mlygh-wo zu sagen. Es ist, meinte er, völlig ebenso beschaffen, wie dieses Land (die Erde), mit Sonne, Mond und Sternen, einem *Mangu* (Amur-Strom), mit Bergen und mit allen Thieren und Pflanzen, die es hier giebt, mit verschiedenen Völkern und Familien, die ihren Beschäftigungen dort wie hier nachgehen. Alles jedoch mit dem Unterschiede, dass, wenn hier Sommer ist, dort Schnee und Eis liegt und man in dem Bun-Lande mit Hunden fährt, und umgekehrt, und ebenso wenn es hier Tag dort Nacht ist und man alsdann dort schläft. Auch steht das Schicksal der Bun-Bewohner mit der hiesigen Menschheit in Wechselbeziehung: fangen sie dort in einem Jahre viel Fisch und schlagen sie viele Bären todt, so werden zur selben Zeit hier nur wenige Fische gefangen und Bären getödtet, und umgekehrt. Auf der Kenntniss dieser Verhältnisse beruhen nun auch die Prophezeiungen der Schamanen, welche die Macht haben, sich willkürlich nach dem Lande Bun zu begeben und wieder in's Diesseits zurückzukehren, was einem gewöhnlichen Sterblichen nicht gegeben ist, der, einmal nach dem Lande Bun gewandert, als Mensch niemals mehr auf diese Erde wiederkehrt.

Zur Wanderung in's Bun-Land ist eine gewisse Zeit nöthig. Choss. meinte, dass man bei langsamer Wanderung 9 Mal, bei rascher nur 5 Mal zu übernachten habe, in 4 Nachtlagern es aber nicht erreiche. Es ist hier eine Zeitbestimmung um so sonderbarer als die Raumbestimmung für das Bun-Land fehlt, nach der ich vorhin gefragt. Den Mittheilungen der in's Bun-Land sich begebenden Schamanen verdanken denn auch wohl die Oltscha das Meiste ihrer Vorstellungen vom Jenseits, worüber ich noch Folgendes erfuhr:

Wie auf dieser Erde so halten auch im Bun-Lande die Glieder eines Volkes, und ebenso einer Familie zusammen und Jeder tritt nach seinem Tode an den ihm gebührenden Platz in seiner Familie ein. Die Völker im Bun-Lande leben in derselben Weise fort wie hier. Wie die hiesigen Erdenbewohner sind endlich auch die Bewohner des Bun-Lands (*Buntschi-nei*) sterblich und es trifft sie ein theilweise den Erdenbewohnern ähnliches, theilweise besonderes Schicksal:

Stirbt nämlich ein Buntschi-nei ruhig oder gewaltsam, durch Mord, so verwandelt er sich in ein Kraut, ein Gras, oder einen Baum, dieser unserer Erde. Dies ist also die Form, in der ein gewöhnlicher Sterblicher aus dem Bun-Lande auf die Erde zurückkehrt. Die Verwandlung der sterbenden Bun-Bewohner in verschiedene Pflanzen auf der Erde betheuerten Choss. und ein anwesender Dyra-Golde ausdrücklich. Dabei soll auch keine Unterscheidung nach Alter und Geschlecht für die verschiedenen Pflanzenarten stattfinden, so dass ein Kind ebenso gut wie ein Erwachsener, ein Mann so gut wie ein Weib, in einen Baum oder in ein niederes Gras sich verwandeln könne. Wohl aber besteht ein grosser Unterschied nach dem bessern oder schlechtern Charakter der sterbenden Bun-Bewohner. Haben nämlich die Oltscha von einem gefällten Baum ein Stück des Stammes abgehauen und spalten dieses längs der Mitte, und es fallen die beiden Hälften gerade und in gleicher Grösse auseinander, dann sagen sie, es sei ein guter Mensch gewesen, fallen dagegen die Hälften uneben und krumm auseinander, dann heisst es so viel wie: war vordem schon ein krauser Mensch!

Anders ergeht es den ertrunkenen oder von Bären zerrissenen Bun-Bewohnern. Diese erleiden nämlich dasselbe Schicksal dort wie die ähnlichen Todes verstorbenen Erdenbewohner

hier. Denn auch im Bun-Lande giebt es, wie auf der Erde, einen *Amba* (gilj. *kins* = Teufel), der in tausendfältiger Gestalt Wald, Berge und Gewässer bewohnt und die Menschen zu ergreifen und zu fressen sucht. Ertrinkt daher ein Bun-Bewohner, so hat ihn der Wasser-Amba (*toll-kins* der Giljaken) gefressen und er verwandelt sich in einen Seehund, einen Fisch oder ein anderes Wasserthier. Zerreisst ihn ein Bär, so hat ihn der Wald-Amba (*pall-kins* der Giljaken) geholt und er wandert als Bär in den Wald. (2 S. R. I, p. 36—39.)

Leichenbegängniss und Trauer.

46. Giljaken. Einer der Bewohner von Kuïk wurde schwer krank in's Hospital von Nikolajewsk gebracht. Die Giljaken jedoch litten sein Verbleiben daselbst nicht, indem sie es für *uitsch* hielten und brachten ihn wieder in's Dorf, wo er im November 1854 verstarb. Obgleich sie mich noch bei dessen Lebzeiten zu seiner Verbrennung einluden, so geschah diese doch ohne dass sie Meldung davon gaben (drei Tage nach dem Tode), bei starker Purga (Bm. I. p. 18, 19).

47. Giljaken. Dem Todten, der in der Jurte liegt, wird alles Mögliche an Nahrung zur Seite gelegt, ja auch nach Verbrennung der Leiche werden der Asche derselben noch allerhand Esswaren und auch Branntwein während der Dauer eines Jahres zugebracht, in der Meinung, dass der Verstorbene so lange noch Nahrung zu sich nimmt. Die Leiche wird, im Winter auf einem Schlitten liegend, auf den Scheiterhaufen gestellt, mit lockeren Reisern bedeckt und der Scheiterhaufen angezündet. (Bm. I. p. 27).

48. Giljaken. Am 19. Mai 1856 erreichten wir Chjare (mit einer Jurte am r. Amur-Ufer), wo ich zu Mittag halten liess. Ich erkundigte mich nach Fisch, wurde aber sogleich berichtet, dass kein Fisch gefangen worden sei, weil der alte Wirth der Jurte am gestrigen Tage gestorben und noch unbestattet in der Jurte liege. Ich begab mich sogleich dahin und sah hier die Leiche auf einem Schlitten auf dem Erdboden vor dem Hundetische liegen (Taf. LXII.). Es war derselbe Alte, der mich im vorigen Jahre zur Jagd auf dem anliegenden kleinen See gefahren hatte. Die Leiche war noch garnicht entstellt, nur die Farbe des Gesichts war dunkler und zwar kupferbraun geworden, so dass das lange greise Haar von dem Gesichte stark abstach. Der Leichnam war in ein neues blaues Zeug gekleidet, und über den Rumpf mit einer Decke von grauem Zeug bedeckt, auf welcher, über der Brust der Leiche, drei zusammengelegte Stücke bunten Zeuges und zwei Speere, ein grösserer und ein kleinerer, wie sie die Eingebornen gebrauchen, mit rohgearbeiteten kurzen Stielen versehen, lagen. Um den Kopf und zu den Seiten des Gesichts lagen Tannenzweige; über die Augen lief eine Schnur mit aufgereihten länglichen Ellernbast-Stückchen, zu dreien auf jedem Auge; an den Ohren lag jederseits eine grosse rothe Perle und auf dem Halse ein dickes Bündel feiner Holzlocken. Die Beine und Füsse waren mit demselben blauen Zeuge bekleidet, wie der ganze Leichnam, und an den Knöcheln und über

den Zehen mit einer Schnur zugebunden, so dass es die Form von Stiefeln hatte. Hinter dem Kopfe lagen, quer über die Narte gelegt, Jukola *), darauf einige Tabaksblätter in Birkenrinde gewickelt und eine Pfeife. Die Narte war sonst ebenso beschaffen wie gewöhnlich, nur fehlten die Bogen- oder Krummhölzer **) vorn und hinten, statt deren kurze gerade Stangen jederseits vorragten. Der Leichnam war unter der grauen Decke an die Narte gebunden.

Nachdem ich wenige Minuten vor der Leiche gestanden, wurden drei Hunde, an einen langen Riemen gespannt, in die Jurte gebracht und der Riemen an der Narte befestigt. Nun hoben mehrere Männer die Narte mit der Leiche auf, während ein anderer die Hunde führte und so setzte sich der Zug in Bewegung (Taf. LXIII). Es ging aus der Jurte hinaus an den Vorrathskammern vorbei in den Wald hinter das Dorf, wo der schon durch mehrere Raff's ***) bezeichnete Bestattungsort der Todten lag. Der Leiche folgte unmittelbar das Weib des Verstorbenen mit losem Haar, ein Stück Birkenrinde in der Hand und ein monotones Geheul anstimmend, worin sie jedoch bei den übrigen Giljaken, Männern, Weibern und Kindern keine Nachahmung fand. An dem Bestattungsort angelangt wurde die Narte mit der Leiche auf die Erde neben den schon bereitstehenden Scheiterhaufen niedergesetzt. Dieser bestand aus ein paar Reihen abwechselnd längs und quer gelegter Hölzer, von denen erstere die Länge des Körpers hatten. Daneben war ein grosser Haufen Tannenzweige zum Verbrennen der Leiche bereit gelegt [1]).

Nachdem die Narte niedergesetzt war, wurden die Hunde abgespannt und einer derselben in's Dorf zurückgeführt, während die beiden anderen an einen Baum gebunden wurden. Nun trat das Weib des Verstorbenen auf den Leichnam zu und nahm ihm die Zeugstücke und Speere, das graue Leichentuch, die Jukola, den Tabak und die Pfeife ab und legte sie bei Seite auf die Erde. Desgleichen band sie ihm die Augenbinde ab und warf sie fort, wie auch das Bündel Holzlocken vom Halse. Alsdann nahm sie ihm aus einer Hand eine Prise feinen Tabaks, aus der andern eine Wurzel, die zwischen die Finger gelegt worden war, und löste endlich die Schnur, welche den Körper an die Narte band. Ein alter Giljake war inzwischen beschäftigt, Tannenzweige auf den Scheiterhaufen auszubreiten.

Als dieses Lager fertig war wurde die Leiche von der Narte gehoben und auf den Scheiterhaufen gelegt (Taf. LXIV). Auf dem Boden der Narte lag ein Brett und auf diesem ein grosses Stück Birkenrinde, welche die Spuren des Gebrauches zum Aufbewahren von Beeren an sich trug und jetzt dem Todten zur unmittelbaren Unterlage gedient hatte. Brett und Birkenrinde wurden abgeworfen und die Narte bei Seite geführt, wo ein Giljake sie entzweibrach und die Stücke liegen liess. Andere waren inzwischen beschäftigt, die zwei übrig gebliebenen Hunde zu tödten, was in folgender Weise geschah: Einer der Giljaken hielt den Hund an einer Schnur fest, ein anderer warf ihm ein Stück Jukola vor und während der Hund davon frass, schlug ein dritter mit einem Knüppel nach dem Halse des Hundes und drückte ihn damit

*) S. pag. 426 dieses Werkes.
**) S. Taf. XXXVI, Fig. 1. l.
***) S. Anhang 56.

1) Es war Pin. picea, wie alles Uebrige zum Verbrennen der Leiche, wie zur Ausschmückung in der Jurte Gebräuchliche.

zur Erde, worauf ein vierter dem Thiere ein zugespitztes Stöckchen in's Herz bohrte. Beide Hunde wurden auf diese Weise getödtet und bei Seite gelegt*). Noch andere Giljaken beschafften mittlerweile das Feuer zum Verbrennen der Leiche. Dieses darf nach giljakischer Anschauung nicht auf die gewöhnliche Weise durch Feuerstein und Stahl, sondern muss durch Aneinanderreiben von Holzstücken erzeugt werden. Es wurden zu diesem Zwecke aus trocknem Lärchenholze eine Art Spindel geschnitten und zwei längliche Hölzchen mit je einer Höhlung in ihrer Mitte, in welche die Spitze der Spindel genau passte. In diese kleinen Vertiefungen an den Hölzern wurde ein kleines Stöckchen Schwamm gelegt, die Spindel mit ihren Spitzen senkrecht in dieselben hineingestellt, und mit Hilfe eines Riemens gedreht, was nach ein paar Augenblicken den Schwamm zünden liess. Das gewonnene Feuer wurde alsdann durch Schwamm unterhalten. (Taf. LXIV, im Vordergrunde links).

Unterdessen wurden die übrigen Vorbereitungen am Scheiterhaufen getroffen. Nachdem, wie erwähnt, der Leichnam auf die aufgeschichteten Tannenzweige niedergelegt worden, deckte man ihn mit einer dicken Lage von Tannenzweigen, zu jedoch so, dass die Stirn und der Scheitel mit dem grauen Haar noch aus dem Reisig hervorsahen. Nun wurden ringsum lange Holzscheite, vom selben trockenen Lärchenholz wie alles Uebrige, pyramidenförmig zusammengestellt, wobei bloss an der Kopfseite ein kleiner Zwischenraum frei blieb, durch welchen man immer noch den grauen Scheitel durchsah. Dabei wurden zugleich auch nach innen in die Pyramide einige lange Holzscheite auf die Tannenzweige, welche die Leiche deckten, gelegt. Als der Scheiterhaufen somit fertig war, wurde der Platz rings herum etwas gereinigt, indem das trockene Reisig, die kleineren Wurzeln und das Gras um den Holzstoss mit dem Beile fortgeschafft wurde, damit das Feuer nicht um sich greife. Jetzt nahm die Wittwe des Verstorbenen den glimmenden Schwamm, wickelte ihn in trockenes Moos, legte ein breites Band von Birkenrinde herum und setzte es durch Hin- und Herschwenken in Flamme, die sie durch andere Birkenrinde noch stärker anfachte. Als sie aus Mangel an Erfahrung nicht wusste, an welcher Stelle das Feuer zuerst angelegt werden müsse, gab ihr ein greiser Giljake die nöthige Anweisung und sie legte das Feuer nun unter den Kopftheil des Scheiterhaufens. (Taf. LXV). Sobald das geschehen war kamen noch andere Giljaken zu Hülfe, nahmen Feuer von dem Weibe und legten es an entsprechender Stelle der andern Seite der Pyramide, unter der Leiche und dann rings um dieselbe herum an, wobei sie zunächst der Birkenrinde sich bedienten, welche unter dem Leichnam auf der Narte gelegen hatte. Das trockene und leicht entzündliche Brennmaterial fasste rasch Feuer und bei dem mässigen Winde stand bald die ganze mächtige Holzpyramide in lichterloher Flamme. Die von derselben ausströmende Gluth nöthigte die Umstehenden etwas weiter zurückzutreten und da lagerte dann eine Gruppe von Männern, Weibern und Kindern unter einem Baum, der gierigen Flamme zusehend, die ihren Verstorbenen verzehrte.

Nahe davon lag die Verbrennungsstätte eines umlängst verstorbenen alten Weibes aus

*) Auf der Taf. LXIV sind durch ein Versehen alle drei Hunde als bei diesem Acte gegenwärtig dargestellt.

demselben Dorfe, und daneben das dazu gehörige noch ganz frische Raff *). Dieses sollte nun auch dem alten Manne als Raff dienen und es wurde die Thür geöffnet, damit die Seele des Verstorbenen während des Verbrennens seines Leichnams in diese für sie bestimmte Behausung ziehe.

Augenblicklich standen darin nur die üblichen, weiter unten (53—55) besprochenen Raff-Symbole und einige Schaalen und Gefässe aus Birkenrinde und Holz. Ist aber der Leichnam verbrannt und seine Seele in's Raff (zum Weiterwandern nach Mlygh-wo) gezogen, dann werden ihr auch die nöthigen Vorräthe an Beeren, Fisch, Tabak und drgl. in das Raff gebracht. — Als das Feuer etwas gelinder wurde, nahmen die Wittwe und ein paar Männer lange Stangen zur Hand und schoben damit das brennende Holz mehr zusammen; warfen auch neues zu, um die Verbrennung zu beschleunigen. Bald war auch von der Leiche nichts mehr als der verkohlte Magen zu sehen, welcher am langsamsten verbrannte. Die Menge des verbrannten Brennmaterials und die Frische des Waldes verhinderten jedoch, dass irgend ein unangenehmer Geruch während des Verbrennens der Leiche zu verspüren gewesen wäre. Das Feuer wurde lange Zeit hindurch unterhalten, damit der Körper völlig zu Asche verbrenne, die alsdann zusammengescharrt und (an Ort und Stelle) beigesetzt wird. Inzwischen nahmen die Weiber, und unter ihnen die Frau des Verstorbenen, die getödteten Hunde vor **) und begannen sie abzubalgen, um aus den Fellen einen Pelz (für die Verwittwete) zu nähen. Das Fleisch dieser geopferten Thiere aber wird nicht gegessen, sondern bleibt auf dem Opferplatze liegen und wird natürlich die Beute der Krähen und auch der anderen hungrigen Hunde des Dorfes. (2. S. R. I. p. 10—14).

49. Golde. Als ich im Dorf Chongar (am r. Amur-Ufer) zwischen zwei weiter aus einander stehenden Jurten durchging überraschte mich menschliches Geheul, das mitten aus dem übermannshohen Grase kam. Ich forschte nach und sah ein Weib, das dort zusammengekauert sass und in den Himmel starrend das Geheul erhob. Einige Zeit sah ich zu, dann erkundigte ich mich nach dem Grunde ihrer Trauer. Sie gab zur Antwort: *buïke* d. h. todt, stand dann auf und erklärte mir, dass im nächstliegenden Dorfe ihr Mann gestorben sei und sie darüber wehklage. Doch schien die Unterbrechung ihr nicht unangenehm zu sein, und als ich, um sie in ihrem Schmerz nicht zu stören, fortging, ging sie (wohl durch die Unterbrechung beruhigt) ebenfalls, ihre Wehklage aufgebend nach der andern Seite zur Jurte ab ***). (I. S. R. IV. p. 17).

Grabmäler.

50. Giljaken. Hinsichtlich der Bestattung der Leichen bei den Giljaken erfuhr ich von Jutschin Folgendes: Die Leichen werden verbrannt und die Asche in einem Gefäss in die Erde

*) Auf Taf. LXV das Häuschen rechts; zwischen diesem und dem Scheiterhaufen die Verbrennungsstätte.

**) Auf Taf. LXV, ebenso auf Taf. LXIV sind irrthümlich 3 Hunde statt zweier dargestellt.

***) s. Anhang 38. 48. p. 768.

gescharrt, worüber ein Leichenhäuschen (Raff) errichtet wird *). Die kleinen Spitzen auf dem Dache des Raff, wie sie die Abbildung zeigt, (Taf. LXVIII, Fig. 1.) heissen *kargha* (das r schnarrend ausgesprochen). Im Innern des Raff befindet sich ein in der Mitte durchbohrtes und mit einem Pflocke versehenes, ausserdem noch mit Leinwand oder Zeug überzogenes Brettchen, zum Zeichen, dass unter der Erde eine Leiche begraben ist.

Ein ungehobeltes Stäbchen oder ein solcher Stock (*wadżach*), in die Erde gesteckt, soll ebenfalls einen Ort bezeichnen, wo eine Leiche bestattet ist. (Bm. I p. 18).

51. Giljaken. Im September 1854 entdeckten die Giljaken von Kuïk, dass eins ihrer Leichenhäuschen, Raff's, von russischen Soldaten zerstört und der Boden, auf dem jenes gestanden, aufgewühlt worden, und kamen sich darüber beklagen. Ich erfuhr dabei, dass sich in der Erde unter den Häuschen die Asche verbrannter Leichen befinde, und darinnen verschiedene bunte Flicke, seltsame Geräthschaften und drgl. deponirt seien. Bei Kuïk lagen im Birkenwalde am Amur 4—5 solcher Häuschen zusammen und bildeten einen Begräbnissplatz, während man sonst solcher Baue oft einzeln mitten im Walde findet. Die Giljaken erzählten, dass in dem zerstörten Häuschen die Asche von sechs Kinderleichen in einem Gefäss zusammenlag, worüber ebensoviel Zobelfelle gelegt waren. Letzteres sei geschehen, um ein ähnliches rasches Hinsterben der Kinder, wie es in dem Jahre stattfand, zu verhindern. Jetzt, da das Haus zerstört sei, fürchteten sie die Wiederkehr der Seuche. (Bm. I. p. 15, 16).

52. Giljaken. Jeder Ort, wo eine Leiche deponirt ist oder die Asche eines Verstorbenen sich befindet, wird von den Giljaken gewissermaassen für heilig und unantastbar gehalten. Kein Giljake rührt daher in übermüthiger Weise ein Raff an. Auch darf dieses niemals an einen andern Ort versetzt werden. Solches wäre *nitsch*. Ob daher die Giljaken von Kuïk über die Plünderung und Zerstörung ihres Raffs auch klagten und weinten, so entschlossen sie sich doch nicht die Ueberbleibsel nach den Dörfern zu transportiren, wohin sie selbst aus Kuïk fortgezogen waren. (Bm. 1. p. 56).

53. Giljaken. Ueberblickt man das Innere eines Leichenhäuschens, so findet man darin stets ein längliches Brettchen in aufrechter Stellung: *kakk* auch *tars*. Die Mitte desselben ist durchbohrt und das Loch mit einem Pflocke, *kylms*, zugesteckt; um das Brett ist ein Streifen Leinwand gebunden und bisweilen auch das untere Ende in Leinwand gehüllt und mit verschiedenen Läppchen, *kakk-* oder *tars-rawż*, verziert (Taf. LXVIII. Fig. 2). Neben dem Brette, ebenfalls in aufrechter Stellung, hart an demselben steht ein Stäbchen, *pyk-ngir*, auf dessen oberem Ende eine kleine löffelförmige Holzschaale aufgesetzt ist (ibid Fig. 4); ferner ein Stäbchen, das an der Spitze durch die Spuhlen von 1—3 und 4 Adlerfedern gesteckt ist, *tscham-ngar* **) (ibid. Fig. 5), und noch ein drittes, oben hakenförmiges Stäbchen, *tutut* oder *pyk*, von einem Ast geschnitten (ibid. Fig. 3). Ausserdem liegen im Häuschen, meist über einander gekreuzt, ein paar Pfeile ohne Spitzen, verschiedene bunte Läppchen, Körbe von Birkenrinde, Holzplatten mit Schnitzwerk u. drgl. Bisweilen sind mehrere der erwähnten Bretter vorhanden und diese

*) S. die abweichenden Angaben in Anhang 48. p. 787.) **) tcham-Adler.

nehmen alsdann nicht die Mitte des Häuschens ein. Wahrscheinlich richtet sich das nach der Anzahl der Leichen, deren Reste unter dem Häuschen ruhen. (Bm. I. p. 16, 51, 69).

54. Giljaken. Nach der Erklärung Surgin's wird in der Mitte des *Kakk*, wo ein Holzpflock eingeschlagen ist, ein Stückchen vom Schädel und Haupthaar aus den Ueberbleibseln der verbrannten Leiche eingelegt. Die Lappen um das *Kakk* bedeuten Kleidungsstücke, deren der Todte (auf der Wanderung seiner Seele) bedarf. Auch werden dem Verstorbenen, solange die Leiche noch in der Jurte ist, und später, nach der Verbrennung, der Asche im Raff, verschiedene Esswaaren, wie Beeren, Fisch u. drgl. hingelegt, daher man in jedem Raff aller Art Geräthschaften, Körbe und Schaalen aus Birkenrinde und drgl. findet, auf denen die Speisen niedergelegt werden. Das Stöckchen mit der kleinen Schaale an der Spitze soll dem Todten zum rascheren Fortwandern (also als Wanderstab) dienen, die Adlerfedern an dem anderen Stöckchen sollen der Seele gleichsam Schwingen verleihen. (Bm. I. p. 54.)

55. Giljaken. Nach den Mittheilungen Judin's aus Tebach soll das kleine zackige Stöckchen *tutut* oder *pyk* *), welches man im Raff neben dem *Kakk* findet, eine Taube (*tútut*) oder einen Kuckuk (*pyk*) darstellen. Ersteres gilt einem Manne, letzteres einem Weibe. Der Taube oder dem Kuckuk gilt auch das Stöckchen mit der Schaale, in welche Beeren und drgl. zum Essen für den Vogel gelegt werden. Daher auch die Bezeichnung *tutut-ngir* und *tutut-ngit* oder *pyk-ngir* und *pyk-ngit*, der Tauben- oder Kuckuks-Schaale, für diese Stöcke. Die Darstellung ist für beide Vögel dieselbe, da sie nur höchst roh mit ein paar Einschnitten einen Vogelkopf angiebt. Das Wort *pittysaj* bezeichnet dagegen ein anderes Stück im Raff. Es ist ein kleines Gerüste aus Stöckchen **), woran Beeren, Tabak u. s. w. hängen, deren Bestimmung mir unbekannt blieb. Am *Tscham-ngar*, meinte Judin, werden 6 Federn für einen verstorbenen Mann und 8 für eine Frau gesetzt. Da es Mittel zum rascheren Fortwandern der Seele sein sollen, so ist hier vielleicht der verschiedenen physischen, und — nach Ansicht der Giljaken über das Weib — vielleicht auch seelischen Kraft beider Geschlechter Rechnung getragen. Nahezu dieselbe Bestimmung wie das *Tscham-ngar* soll auch *Tutut* oder *Pyk* haben, was nach der von Judin über dieses Stück gegebenen Erklärung recht wahrscheinlich wird. (Bm. I. p. 87).

56. Giljaken. Bei dem Dorfe Tacht, (am r. Ufer d. Amur) stand hart am Ufer ein neu errichtetes Raff und hart daneben ein *Pittysaj* d. i. eine Vorrathskammer des Raff, die auf Sachalin daher auch *raff-njo* heisst. Es ist das ein kleines Dach, das auf zwei Stangen ruht, ähnlich einem kleinen Taubenschlage. Es überragt mit seinem Dache die Höhe des Raff's. Unter das Dach des *Pittysaj* werden Beeren, Fisch und drgl. für den Verstorbenen gehängt.

In Kalm (am r. Amur-Ufer) fand ich ein äusserst elegant gearbeitetes Raff, das der reiche Giljake Kimrkan dem Andenken seiner Frau, einer Tochter Judin's, und seiner Tochter gesetzt hatte. Es war von aussen mit Schnitzwerk und Arabesken verschiedener Art versehen. Das

*) Bei dem Verf. wechselt mitunter *pyk* mit *pyf* ab.

**) Nach der beigefügten ganz flüchtigen Skizze ein an einem Stock befestigtes Dreieck, woran Verschiedenes hängt.

schwarz, roth und weiss angestrichene Schnitzwerk stellte verschiedene Thiere dar, Bären, Pferde, Hasen, Hähne, Enten. (Taf. LXIX).

Inwendig war das Raff sehr reich ausgestattet. Die gewöhnlichen Stücke desselben: *Kakk*, *Pyk-ngir*, *Tchum-ngar* waren so luxuriös gemacht, dass man sie kaum erkennen konnte. Das erstere war von einem buntfarbigen Zeuge ganz und gar bekleidet, welches messingene Zierrathen trug, wie sie die giljakischen Weiber an ihren Röcken haben, entsprechend der Bestimmung des *Kakk's*, nämlich die Bekleidung für den Verstorbenen zu tragen. — Ob die Lappen am *Kakk* nicht von den Kleidungsstücken der Verstorbenen herrühren? sehr wahrscheinlich, zumal diese Lappen *okch*, Pelz, genannt werden. — Als *Pyk-ngir* diente eine kleine mandshurische Schaale. Der Boden des Raff's war mit einer feinen Schilf- oder Strohmatte ausgelegt. Im Raff lagen ausser den genannten Gegenständen noch eine Menge Birkenrindenschüsseln (mit Beeren u. drgl.), ordentlich über einander gelegt, ein Kästchen, in dem ein Tabaksbeutel und eine Pfeife lag, eine andere Pfeife, die der Tochter Kimrkan's galt u. drgl. m., und endlich wurden hier die Zöpfe der beiden Verstorbenen, an ihrer Wurzel abgeschnitten, und in Birkenrinde gewickelt, aufbewahrt*). Kimrkan selbst nahm die Gegenstände heraus und zeigte sie mir, scheinbar jedoch ohne viel an die Verstorbenen zu denken. Auch hatte er zum Ersatz der verstorbenen Frau gegenwärtig ihrer drei. In der Nähe des Raff befand sich die Brandstätte eines Leichnams, daneben stand das dazu gehörige Raff. Es wird nämlich das Raff nicht unmittelbar über der Asche des Verstorbenen errichtet, sondern getrennt von demselben**). Die Verstorbenen Kimrkan's z. B. waren weithin im Walde verbrannt worden und dort war ihre Asche, während das Raff hier beim Dorfe stand. Das Raff ist somit ein dem Verstorbenen gesetztes Denkmal.

Die Verbrennungsstätte war sehr einfach bezeichnet: die Asche zusammengescharrt, durch vier senkrecht gestellte Bretter in einem länglichen Rahmen eingeschlossen und dieser mit Brettern bedeckt; an den Rahmenbrettern aber werden Stöckchen mit Zach's herumgestellt (s. Taf. LXV, im Mittelgrunde rechts).

In Kalm gab es kein *Pittyssj*. Ich erfuhr, dass ein solches nur dann einem Verstorbenen gestellt wird, wenn beim Tode desselben noch kein Schnee gefallen, anderen Falles aber ist es *nitsch* ein *Pittyssj* zu setzen. (2 S. R. I, p. 4—6.)

57. Giljaken. Nach dem Berichte Surgin's erhält nicht jeder Verstorbene ein Raff. Stirbt nämlich ein sehr kleines Kind, so wird die Leiche nicht verbrannt, sondern einfach umwickelt in die Erde vergraben, und ihr kein Raff errichtet, denn die Seele eines solchen Kindes wandert nicht, sondern fährt gen Himmel. Sterben grössere Kinder, so werden die Leichen verbrannt und wird über zweien ein Raff errichtet. Erwachsene bekommen jeder ein Raff, Männer wie Weiber. Die Leiche eines Ertrunkenen wird verbrannt, über der Asche aber kein Raff errichtet, sondern ein Stock in die Erde gesteckt, und daneben ein Boot gelegt. Stirbt ein Giljake

*) S. p. 416, wo statt Rakk — *Raff* zu lesen ist.

**) Die von dem Verf. hierüber an verschiedenen Orten gesammelten Nachrichten weichen zum Theil von einander ab, vrgl. 47, 48, 51.

an einer Verwundung durch einen Bären, so wird die Leiche nicht verbrannt, sondern in einem Bau deponirt, der eigens aus sich an den Enden kreuzenden Balken errichtet wird. Ein solches Leichenhaus heisst *tschchyf**)-*ngych* und liegt gewöhnlich in dem Walde, wo der Verstorbene im Kampfe mit dem Bären gefallen. Die Seele des so Verunglückten fährt nicht gen Himmel. Das Leichenhaus hat eine kleine Oeffnung, durch welche dem Verstorbenen alle möglichen Nahrungsmittel hingelegt werden, wie Beeren, Fische, Graupen u. drgl. m. Indem diese Gegenstände bei der Leiche liegen, erhalten sie eine starke Heilkraft gegen verschiedene Krankheiten und kranke Giljaken pflegen daher zu einem solchen Leichenhause sich zu begeben und von der dort deponirten Nahrung etwas zu geniessen, was dann sogleich gesund macht. Das Deponiren von Nahrung in einem solchen Bau dauert Monate und Jahre hindurch und demzufolge auch das Besuchen desselben als Kur. Die Leiche eines vom Att (Tiger und Irbis)-Getödteten wird in ein ähnliches Leichenhaus gebracht, mit Nahrung versorgt und diese als Heilmittel gebraucht. (Bm. I, pag. 54—56).

58. Giljaken. Zwischen Hokk und Kalm (am r. Amur-Ufer) fuhr ich am Ufer dem Grabmal eines im Strome verunglückten Giljaken vorbei. Hier stand ein kleines niedriges Häuschen, in der Art aller Giljaken-Gräber, rings von Birkenrinden-Körben und -Schaalen verschiedener Grösse umgeben, welche auf das anliegende Gesträuch aufgereiht waren. Es ist dieses eine gewöhnliche allgemeine Sitte der Giljaken, die Grabstätte von Menschen und Thieren (Bären u. a.) zu bezeichnen. Neben dem Grabmal lag ein Boot, wohl dasselbe, auf dem der Unglücksfall sich zugetragen hatte**). (1. S. R. I, p. 7.)

59. Giljaken. Die Bewohner der Dörfer Kuk, Hokk, Tyr und Tschilvi (am r. Amur-Ufer) sollen ihre Leichname beerdigen, die andern dagegen, auch die aus Taur-wo und den Dörfern oberhalb bis Chiare (incl.), dieselben verbrennen und ihnen Raff's errichten. Ich habe selbst in Chiare viele Raff's gesehen. In den genannten Dörfern ist aber die Bevölkerung auch zum Theil tungusisch. (2. S. R. I. p. 8).

60. Giljaken. Nahe bei My (am Amur-Liman) sah ich ein frisches Giljaken-Grab. Das Raff war noch nicht errichtet, die Asche (der verbrannten Leiche) war mit aufrecht und wagerecht gelegten Brettern bedeckt, an deren zwei Enden zu je einem Bündel Holzlocken (Zach) standen. (2. W. R. II, p. 38.)

61. Giljaken. Ist ein Giljake ermordet, so wird seine Leiche ebenso (wie alle anderen) verbrannt, über der Asche aber, im Walde, wird kein Räff errichtet, sondern ein *Waga* gesetzt***). Dieser wird aus einem Baumstamme gemacht, der mit der Wurzel aus der Erde gegraben ist. Die verschiedenen Wurzeläste dienen dazu, Kopf, Arme und Beine des Wagn darzustellen †). Der Stamm wird mehrere Fuss oberhalb der Wurzel abgehauen, (der Stumpf oben)

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*) *tschchyf* — der Bar.

**) Vergl. Taf. LXVII.

***) S. Anhang 22.

†) An dem vom Verfasser dem akad. Museum übergebenen Exemplar ist eine der hinteren Extremitäten durch ein besonders eingesetztes Holzstück ergänzt gewesen und in der Folge herausgefallen. (s. Taf. LXVI. Fig. 1).

zugespitzt und mit dem zugespitzten Ende, an der Stelle wo die Asche des Ermordeten liegt, in die Erde gesenkt, so dass die Wurzel, den Wagn darstellend, darüber hervorragt. Da Morde unter den Giljaken nicht selten sind, so giebt es in vielen Dörfern am Amur Wagn's, so in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgbo, Tebach u. a. O.

Nach der Mittheilung Surgin's wird ein Wagn nur einem solchen Ermordeten gestellt, der von der Hand eines Giljaken aus einem andern Dorfe fiel. Tödtet dagegen ein Giljake einen anderen im selben Dorfe, so erhält der Letztere keinen Wagn. Ebenso wenig wird ein Wagn gesetzt, wenn ein Vater oder die Mutter den Sohn, und umgekehrt, oder ein Bruder, überhaupt ein Verwandter den anderen todtschlägt. In solchen Fällen wird die Leiche einfach verbrannt. Dasselbe geschieht auch mit der Leiche eines Selbstmörders, sie wird verbrannt, ohne einen Wagn zu setzen.

Der Vogelkopf des Wagn soll dem *Ugn* (*Colymbus arcticus*) nachgebildet sein. Dieser Vogel wird von den Giljaken heilig gehalten und in derselben fliegenden Stellung ausgestopft, wie sie der Wagn hat. Solche ausgestopfte Bälge von *Colymb. arct.* und *septentr.* sieht man bisweilen an hohen Gerüsten in giljakischen Dörfern hängen. Dem Kopf des Ugn geben die Giljaken bei der Darstellung des Wagn Zähne von Eisen, welche ihm dazu dienen sollen, Rache an dem Mörder zu nehmen[1]).

Da die Seele des Ermordeten gen Himmel fliegt, so bedarf sie auch keiner solchen Gegenstände, wie sie in's Raff für die wandernde Seele der eines natürlichen Todes Gestorbenen gestellt werden. (Bm. I, p. 52—54).

62. Giljaken. Wie die Giljaken (an der Westküste von Sachalin) mir erzählten, verbrennen sie ihre Leichen und errichten über der Asche der Ermordeten Wagn's. (2. W. R. I, p. 8).

63. Giljaken. Die in Ngachd-wo (am l. Tymy-Ufer auf Sachalin) versammelten Tymy-Giljaken erzählten, dass sie ihre Leichen ebenfalls zu verbrennen pflegen, wie das am Amur, im Liman und an der Westküste von Sachalin bis Arkai (exel.) stattfindet. Ueber der Asche der verbrannten Leiche wird ein Raff errichtet, in welchem ein *Kakk*, *Pyk*, oder *Tutut* und *Pyk-ngil* oder *Tutut-ngil*, wie am Amur vorhanden ist. Das *Pittysaj* ist im Raff vorhanden, und trägt bei den Tymy-Giljaken die Bezeichnung *raff-njo*, d. i. Leichenhaus-Vorrathskammer, was ganz seiner Bedeutung entspricht. Nur das *Tscham-ngar* fehlt *). (2. W. R. I, p. 45).

64. Giljaken. Von Arkai an, längs der Westküste von Sachalin, südlich bis Pilja-wo, dem letzten giljakischen Dorfe, sollen die Giljaken ihre Leichen nicht verbrennen, was für *uitsch* gelte, sondern in hölzernen Särgen, so wie bei den tungusischen Stämmen der Mandshurei und Sachalin's und den Aino's, in kleinen Häuschen beisetzen. (2. W. R. I, p. 8, 45).

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1) Vielleicht soll der Wagn durch sein drohendes Aussehn an die obligatorische Blutrache mahnen, und ebendeshalb kein Wagn gesetzt werden in Fällen, wo die Rache — wie unter Verwandten und Dorfgenossen — als unzulässig erachtet wird, oder — wie beim Selbstmörder — von selbst wegfällt.

*) S. Anhang 53, 58.

Nach einer andern Nachricht werden die Leichen südlich von Arkai beerdigt (2. W. R. II, p. 25.

65. Oltscha. Unweit des russ. Dorfes Bogorodskoje in der Nähe des Oltscha-Dorfes Pullj (auf der Karte Pulu, am r. Amur-Ufer) befanden sich im Walde zwei sehr zierlich gearbeitete, mit verschiedenen Malereien und namentlich Thiergestalten ausgeschmückte Gräber der Oltscha, die bei ihnen den Namen *choldochsa* oder *chywar* tragen *). (2. S. R. I, p. 15.)

66. Oltscha. Die plötzlich ausbrechenden Unwetter auf dem Amur mögen mit die Veranlassung sein, dass man so oft Grabmäler Ertrunkener am Ufer findet. Ein solches sah ich in Dzaï (auf der Karte Dshai) am r. Amur-Ufer (Taf. LXVII). Es war noch ganz frisch und daher mit allem Zubehör versehen, das in solchen Fällen gebräuchlich ist. Das *Uilepo*, ein kleines Häuschen wie gewöhnlich, darin der Sarg stand, lag auf der niedrigen Uferterrasse im Angesicht des Stromes, umgeben von durchbohrten Birkenrindenkörben und -Schüsseln, die jede Grabstätte bezeichnen. Daneben lag ein Boot und etwas im Hintergrunde stand ein kleines, einem Taubenschlage ähnliches Häuschen. Vom Grabmal führten zwei Reihen in die Erde gesteckter Giamssassa's bis zum Strome, eine breite Allee bildend. Im Anfange derselben stand eine Holzstange in der Erde, woran viele Schnüre, Birkenrinde u. A. m. hingen. Von dieser Holzstange lief ein dickes Nesselseil zu einer anderen Stange, welche in der Mitte zwischen beiden Giamssassa-Reihen stand, und von dieser zu einer dritten am Ende der Allee hinüber. Im Flusse selbst waren vor dem Ausgange der Allee einige niedrige Stangen in zwei (3?) Haufen zusammengestellt **). Es deutet diese Ausstattung des Grabmals auf eine sehr umständliche Ceremonie der Beisetzung hin, wozu Aberglaube und die Furcht vor einem ähnlichen Schicksal Veranlassung sein mag. Was mir besonders auffiel war, dass vor dem Grabmal ein kleines frisches Baumreis nur leicht in den Boden gesteckt war, wovon eine Schnur durch ein in die Wand des Leichenhäuschens gebohrtes Loch in den Sarg führte ***). (1. S. R. I, p. 54, 55.)

67. Oltscha. (Ergänzungen zu den Notizen über das im Jahre 1855 besuchte Grabmal eines ertrunkenen Oltscha bei Dshai am Amur, das der Verf. im Sommer 1856 nochmals besuchte und diesmal zeichnen liess, was vielleicht einige kleine Abweichungen in der vorigen Schilderung erklärt). — Das Grabmal war noch recht wohl erhalten; ich untersuchte es noch genauer und liess mir einige Erklärungen dazu geben. Im *Uilepo* oder *Uilep* stand der Sarg mit dem Leichnam eines Mannes. Der Kopf war zum Strome, d. i. nach Westen gerichtet. Die Schnur, die aus dem Innern bis an ein Baumreis vor dem *Uilepo* führte, war noch vorhanden. Sie ist am Kopf des Leichnams befestigt. So weit ich den gegebenen Erklärungen entnehmen konnte, wandert die Seele des Todten auf dieser Schnur (*siri*) aus dem Leichenhäuschen. Aber wozu das, da nach der Erklärung desselben Gewährsmannes die Seele des Ertrunkenen in einen

*) s. Taf. LXX, wo in der Unterschrift wohl Oltscha statt Golde zu lesen ist, da in den Tagebüchern kein Golde-Grabmal und überhaupt kein ähnliches sonst besprochen wird.

**) Wohl die kleinen Gruppen von Holzlocheinstäbchen auf der Abbildung; s. den nächstfolgenden Bericht.

***) Auf der Zeichnung ausgelassen.

Seehund, Fisch oder überhaupt ein Wasserthier wandert? Diese Aussage findet ihre Bestätigung darin, dass ich in einem kleinen, dem giljakischen *Pittyssj* ähnlichen Gerüste, das neben dem *Uilepo* sich befindet, ausser anderen Gegenständen auch zwei Götzen vom Seehunde fand. (Ebenso haben die Oltscha wie die Giljaken den Glauben, dass die Seele eines vom Bären Gefressenen in einen Bären wandert.)

Im Gerüste, wo die Seehundsgötzen lagen, dem *Uilep-aündsha*, d. i. Leichenhaus-Nachtlager, lagen ausserdem auf ausgebreiteten frischen Zweigen von *Pin. picea*, noch folgende Gegenstände: ein kleiner Kessel, ein Trog (*oto*) (Taf. LXVI, Fig. 2) und ein hölzerner Stampfer (*monopo*) zum Bereiten von Mossj (ibid. Fig. 3), daher auch der Trog *mossonso-oto* heisst; und auf einem Stäbchen darüber hing ein Feuerstahl nebst einem Rindenkörbchen mit Feuerzeug.

Das Baumreis (*tura*) vor dem *Uilep*, im vorigen Jahr noch grün, war jetzt verdorrt. Nahe davor befand sich ein Stock (*uilep-tudsha*), woran alle möglichen Sachen hingen: leere Rindenschaalen, Rindenkörbchen mit Beeren, Wurzeln, Sarana-Knollen, Reihen von Sarana u. drgl., mit zahlreichen Holzlocken umgeben. Von diesem Stocke führte eine dicke Weidenbastschnur *) bis zum Fluss, indem sie noch durch mehrere **) Stöcke mit Holzlocken gehalten wurde. Jederseits von der Schnur lief eine Reihe angehobelter Stöcke (mit Holzlocken). Die dicke Weidenbastschnur heisst ebenfalls *siri*, und lässt ihr Verlaufen bis zum Flusse darauf schliessen, dass sie den Zweck hat, die Seele des Ertrunkenen aus dem *Uilep* in's Wasser zu leiten und eine Communication zwischen dem mit allen Utensilien und Vorräthen versehenen *Uilep-tudsha* und dem Flusse zu bilden, wo die in einen Seehund gewanderte Seele weilt. Nahezu dieselbe Bestimmung haben auch die *Bâobu's*; das sind kleine Haufen dicht zusammengesteckter angehobelter Stöcke, welche vor dem Ende der Bastschnur und der zwei Reihen von Holzlockenstöcken am Wasserrande stehen. Zwischen diese Stäbe wird nämlich *Mossj* gelegt, offenbar für die Ertrunkenen, und es sind daher mehrere *Bâobu's* vorhanden, je nach dem höheren oder niedrigeren Wasserstande. Zur Seite der einen Reihe von Holzlockenstöcken lag ein Boot, mit dem Spiegel zum Flusse gerichtet. Ausser dem erwähnten *Uilep-aündsha* war daneben noch ein anderes, ähnliches, nur etwas grösseres vorhanden, in welchem ebenfalls Schaalen u. drgl. sich befanden. — Um das Grabmal waren mehrere Feuerstellen und ein Nachtlager-Gerüst zu sehen, ein Beweis, dass hier Eingeborene genachtlagert hatten. Von ihnen rührten auch offenbar die frischen Tannenzweige im *Uilep-aündsha* und neben dem Uilepo selbst her. Wahrscheinlich ist, dass ein Gedächtniss-Besuch der Angehörigen des Ertrunkenen stattgehabt hat. (2. S. R. I, p. 33—35).

Das Leichenhäuschen (*uilepo*) hat dieselbe Grösse wie die gewöhnliche *Choldochsa*, wenn der Leichnam des Ertrunkenen gefunden und in dem Häuschen beigesetzt wird, während man anderenfalls zu seinem Gedächtniss ein viel kleineres von ganz ähnlicher Bauart errichtet, so z. B. in Aure. (2. S. R. I, p. 26).

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*) im vorherstehenden Bericht: Nossel-Seil. **) oben — drei Stöcke.

68. Orotschen. In der Umgebung eines Orotschen-Dorfes bei de Castries lagen im Walde mehrere Gräber, die mit denen der Oltscha ganz übereinstimmend sind: kleine Häuschen mit je einer Thür an den Querseiten. Sie sind indess bedeutend grösser als die kleinen Grabmäler der Giljaken, da die Leichen bei den tungusischen Amur-Völkern nicht erst verbrannt werden. Im Innern der Häuschen sah ich stets eine oder mehrere lange hölzerne Kisten, wahrscheinlich Särge, liegen und es fehlten jene Bretter und Stöckchen mit Holzschaalen und Adlerfedern u. drgl., wie die Giljaken-Gräber sie haben (s. Taf. LXX). (I. S. R. I, p. 37).

69. Orotschon. Auf der Westseite der Observatoriums-Insel (in der Bai de Castries) neben den Resten früherer Orotschen-Zelte, befinden sich noch alte Gräber dieses Volkes. Eins derselben war geöffnet und ich fand in dessen Mitte einen ebenfalls geoffneten Sarg. Er war einfach aus fünf Brettern zusammengeschlagen, das obere Brett fehlte. Die Bretter waren in der Weise mit einander verbunden, dass am Ende eines jeden Brettes ein Stift (oder Zapfen) stehen gelassen und dieser durch ein Loch im daranstossenden Brette gesteckt war *). Der Sarg hatte eine Länge von 5 und eine Breite von 1 Fuss und 2—3 Zoll. (I. S. R. I, p. 43 u. 44).

70. Orotschen und Oltscha. Unweit des Oltscha-Dorfes Pjedanj **), im Walde, stiess ich auf ein Orotschen-Grabmal. Ein Sarg aus 6 Brettern in eigenthümlicher Weise, durch Zinken, zusammengefügt, stand völlig frei und unbedeckt auf 3 einander im Dreieck gegenüberstehenden Baumstämmen etwa 4—5 Fuss über der Erde. Bei zweien derselben war an jedem je eine dünne aufragende Zinke über dem Stamm stehen gelassen ***), am dritten Stamme waren ihrer zwei vorhanden. Auf diese Zinken waren von den beiden ersteren Stämmen nach dem dritten hin Stangen gelegt, jede an ihren Enden mit einer entsprechenden Oeffnung für die Zinke versehen. Auf diesen Stangen (quer darauf gestellt †)) ruhte der Sarg, oben mit ebensolchen Stangen zugedrückt, so dass er zwischen 2 Paar Querstangen stand, welche von den Baumstämmen getragen wurden. Die im Sarge beigesetzte Leiche war in Birkenrinde gewickelt. Wir erfuhren, dass es das Grabmal eines hier verstorbenen Orotschen-Weibes aus dem Dorfe Tzidzuë (Zidsuë a. d. Karte) an der Meeresküste sei. Es soll dieses die gewöhnliche Weise der Leichenbestattung der Orotschen sein, wenn, wie im vorliegenden Falle, der Tod durch Krankheit erfolgt ist. Ein derartiges Grabmal heisst *ïgda-chöldochsa*. Männer, Weiber und Kinder werden in derselben Weise bestattet.

Uebrigens soll diese Bestattungsweise bei den Orotschen auch in Fällen gewaltsamen Todes gebräuchlich sein, während die Oltscha ein *Chöldochsa* (das Häuschen), wie die Giljaken das Raff, nur den «ruhig» (eines natürlichen Todes) Verstorbenen errichten, die Leichen Ermordeter hingegen in einer *Igda-chöldochsa* bestatten, welche denjenigen der Orotschen ganz ähnlich sein soll, nur dass der Sarg höher über der Erde steht.

Ist ein Oltscha oder Orotsche in Folge von Verwundung durch einen Bären gestorben, so wird ihm ein eigenes Grabmal, ein sogen. *Tséüpo* errichtet. Dieses ist äusserst einfach, indem

*) s. Taf. LXX.
**) Pjedanj = Pjo-Mündung.
***) Es sind somit Baumstümpfe gemeint.
†) nach einer kleinen schematischen Zeichnung im Texte.

der Sarg auf ein Paar Längsstangen, die auf den Boden gelegt werden, gesetzt und an den Seiten befestigt wird, worauf vor einem Ende des Sarges zwei Tannenzweige (von *Pin. picea*) in den Boden gesteckt werden. Ein solches *Tzéüpo* war auch neben den Oltscha-Grabmälern bei Pjedanj, doch fehlten die Tannenzweige, was bei einem vom Bären Zerissenen nicht sein darf.

Verschieden halten es die Bewohner der einzelnen Dorfschaften und Localitäten mit der Lage, die sie dem Leichnam im Sarge in Bezug auf die Himmelsgegenden geben. Das Bestimmende scheint dabei nicht sowohl die Sonne, sondern bei den Küsten-Bewohnern das Meer und bei den Amur-Anwohnern der Strom zu sein. Doch herrschen je nach der Localität verschiedene Sitten. Die Orotschen der Küste von Nangmar bis Idi sollen die Leichen in den *Ygla-choldochsa* mit dem Kopfe zum Meere, d. i. nach Osten legen. An dem Orotschen-Grabmal in Pjedanj war aber der Kopf zum Pje-Fluss, also nach Westen gekehrt. Dieselbe Lage geben auch die Oltscha von Pjedanj, wie diejenigen am Amur-Strome in den Dörfern Kidsi, Dshai u. a. ihren Todten in den *Choldochas's*. In de Castries sind die *Choldochsa's*, die nicht weit vom Dorfe liegen und dort verstorbenen Oltscha's angehören sollen, während die ganze Bevölkerung doch aus Orotschen besteht, mit der Thür nach dem Westen, also zum fernen Amur-Strome hin und nicht zum Meere nach Osten gerichtet. Die Thür an der *Choldochsa* befindet sich aber immer am Kopfende des Leichenhauses. Es hätten sich somit diese Oltscha's, wenn es wirklich solche waren, nach der Sitte ihrer Heimath gerichtet. Doch findet auch am Amur nicht in allen Dörfern dieselbe Sitte statt. So sollen z. B. in Darachta, am linken Ufer des Amur, wo dieser die Richtung nach Norden hat, die Leichen seitlich in den Sarg gelegt werden, so dass sie mit dem Gesicht und der Brust nach Osten gekehrt sind, wobei zugleich der Kopf stromaufwärts nach Süden, die Füsse stromabwärts nach Norden liegen. Bei den Giljaken scheint durchaus der Strom für die Stellung des Raff's massgebend zu sein, indem ihr die Thür des Raff's stets gegen den Strom gekehrt gesehen habe, wie auch dessen Richtung gewesen sei, so in Kulk, Kalgho, Tacht, Kalm und Chjaro, an beiden ersteren Orten also nach Süden, an den letzteren nach Westen. (2. S. R. I, p. 25—27).

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

[P. 777]

Von dem Verfasser verzeichnete Druckfehler in der I. u. II. Lieferung des III. Bandes:

Druckfehler in der I. Lieferung.

Seite	37	Anm.	3				statt	p. 167	lies	p. 166.
»	47	»	2				»	T. III, 1869	»	T. IV, p. 1871.
»	47	»	2				»	433, 434	»	433.
»	50	»	2				»	№ 1	»	I.
»	59	»	1	Zeile	4	v. ob.	statt	№ 1	lies	I.
»	61	»	2	»	3	»	»	№ 1	»	I.
»	69	Text		»	13	»	»	an einen	»	an einem.
»	77	»		»	6	»	»	Sisska	»	Sziska.
»	86	»		»	2	»	»	Capit.-Lieut.	»	Capit. 1-ten Ranges.
»	123	Anm.		»	8	»	»	Millet	»	Millet.
»	126	»	3 Sp. 2	»	15	»	»	ausser der	»	ausser den.
»	144	Text		»	18	»	»	Amur-Landes	»	Amur-Landes.
»	152	»		»	14	»	»	des Amur-Landes	»	des unteren Amur-Landes.
»	154	»		»	13	»	»	Chamykan	»	Chambykan.
»	161	Anm.	1	»	—	»	»	p. 339	»	p. 333, 339.
»	168	»	1	»	19	»	»	p. 383	»	p. 373.
»	170	»	2	»	7	»	»	Ladyschinskij	»	Ladyshinskij.
»	»	»	3	»	6					
»	180	Text		»	31	»	»	könnte	»	konnte.
»	185	Anm.	1	»	2	»	»	nur 37	»	nur 39.
»	220	Text		»	3	»	»	Sälte	»	Seite.
»	222	»		»	20	»	»	struppig	»	schlicht.
»	272	»		»	28	»	»	westeuropäischen	»	europaischen.
»	283	Anm.	1	letzte Zeile			»	p. 1414, 1415	»	p. 1413, 1416.
»	286	»	1	Zeile	1		»	p. 1409	»	p. 1408, 1409.
»	291	Text		»	23	»	»	südöstlichen	»	südwestlichen (?).
»	306	»		»	13	»	»	Südwesten	»	Südosten.

Berichtigungen und Zusätze.

Zu p. 83, Anm. 3. An ein paar von mir übersehenen Stellen des Tô-latskiko (p. 172, 173) übersetzt Ritchold «Karias» schlechtweg durch Baumrindenhütte. Meine Deutung des Wortes a. a. O. («Rindenzelt») ist also ganz richtig. Ob sich aber auch die vermuthliche Entlehnung desselben für den Russischen bestätigen sollte?

Druckfehler in der II. Lieferung.

Seite	349	Anm.	2				statt	373	lies	338.
»	372	»	1				»	1583	»	1533.
»	410	Text		Zeile	5	v. unt.	»	Rakk	»	«Raffe *).
»	414	»	1	»	10	v. ob.	»	499	»	388.
»	490			letzte Zeile			»	Westen	»	Osten.

*) Nachträglich bemerkt.

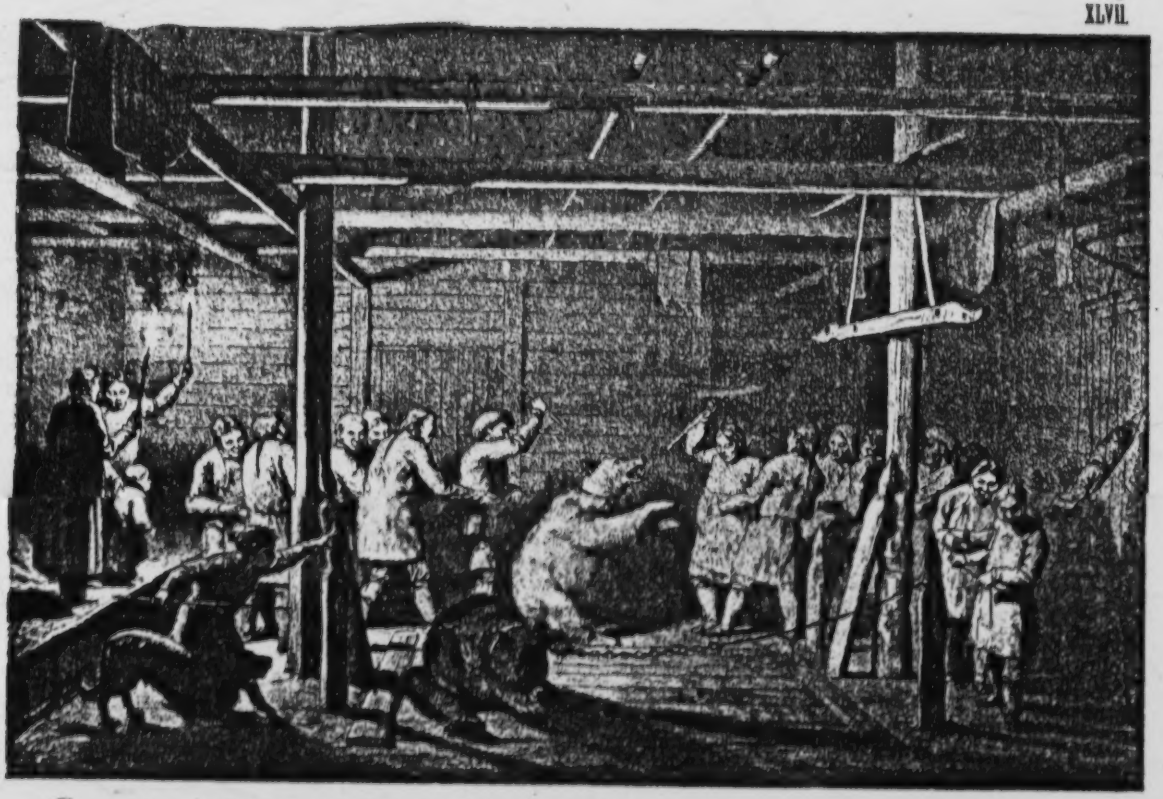

Bärenfest. Aufstellung der Bären im Hause und Umzug mit ihnen von Haus zu Haus. (Gilyak).

2:Schrenck
[P.777,A]
RX2 Gilyak

2:Schrenck
[P 999, B]

RX2 Gilyak

Bärenfest. Letzter Umgang mit den Bären. (Gilyak.)

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

[P. 777, C]

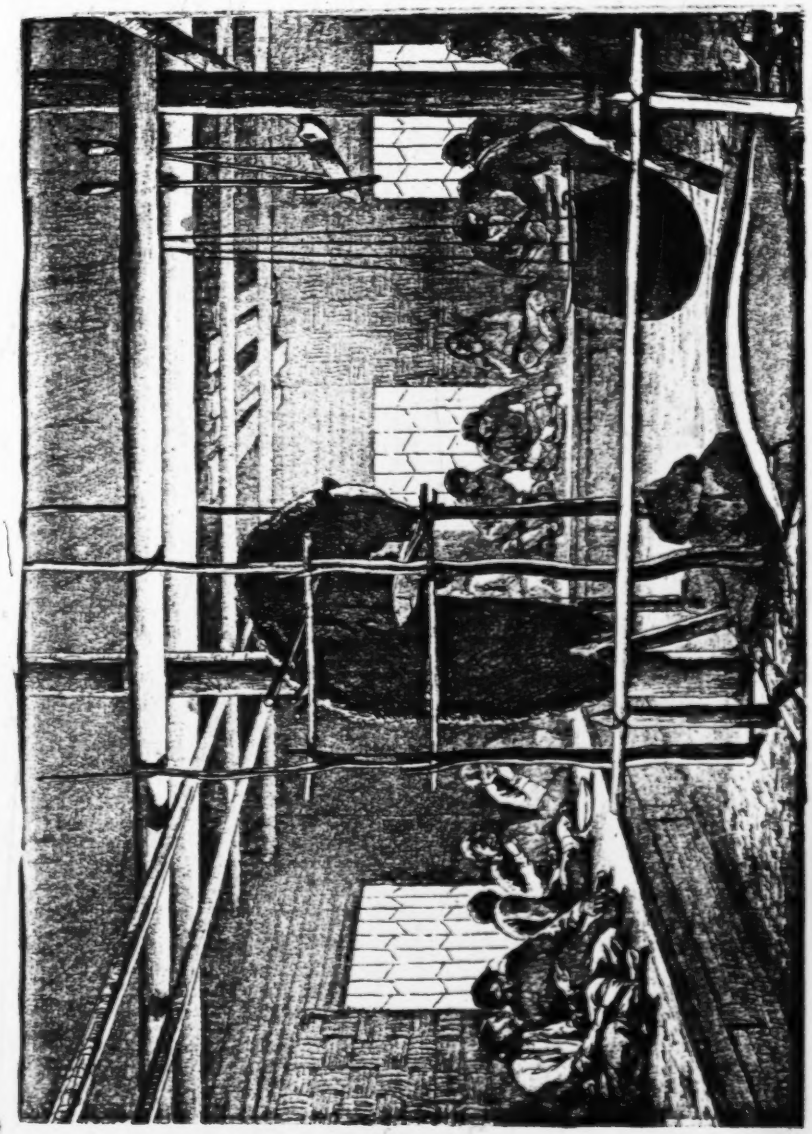

Bärenfest. Aufstellung des Bärenkopfes nebst Opfern im Hause und Feuerheerd. (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck

[P. 777, D]

RX2 Gilyak

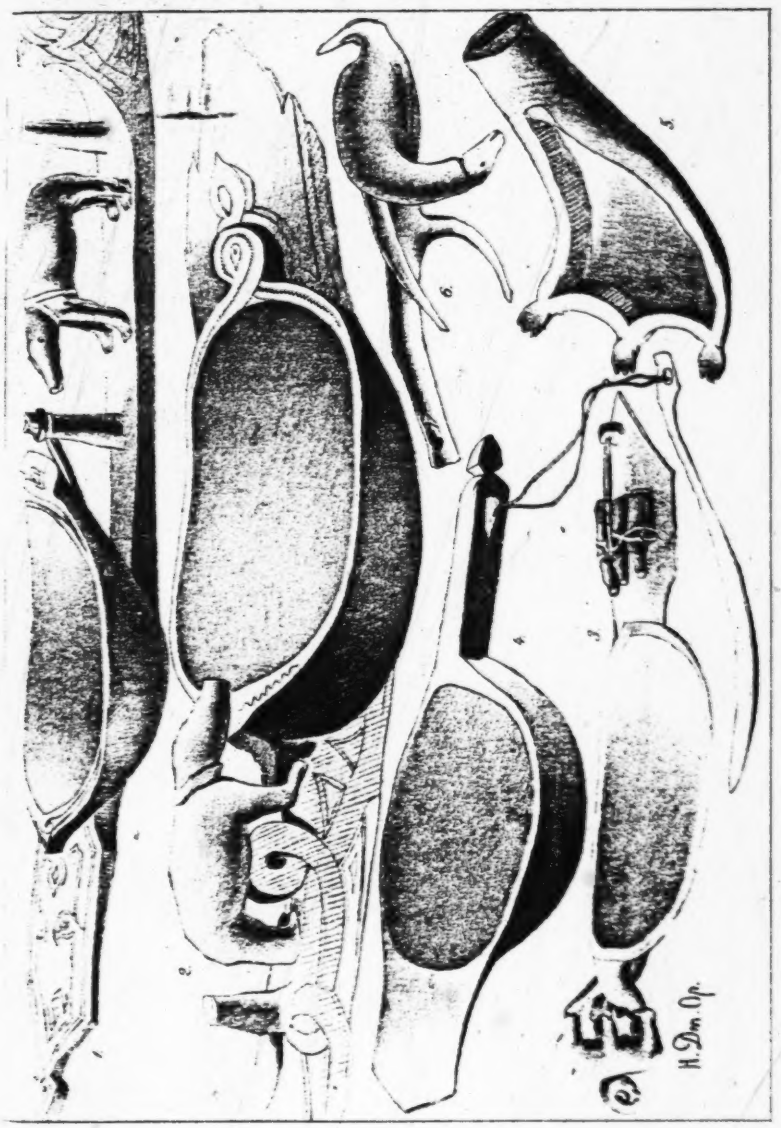

Drum-Bumpfel der Gilyaken gebräuchlich Gewicht 1.5. Schalen vom Essen des Bärenfetts 6. Nadelbehälter vom Abbalten des Kessels vom Feuer

2:Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

[P. 777, E]

2: Schrenck
[P. 777, F]

RX2 Gilyak

Proben Personenbest der Gilyaken gebräuchliche Löffel

[P 000 G]

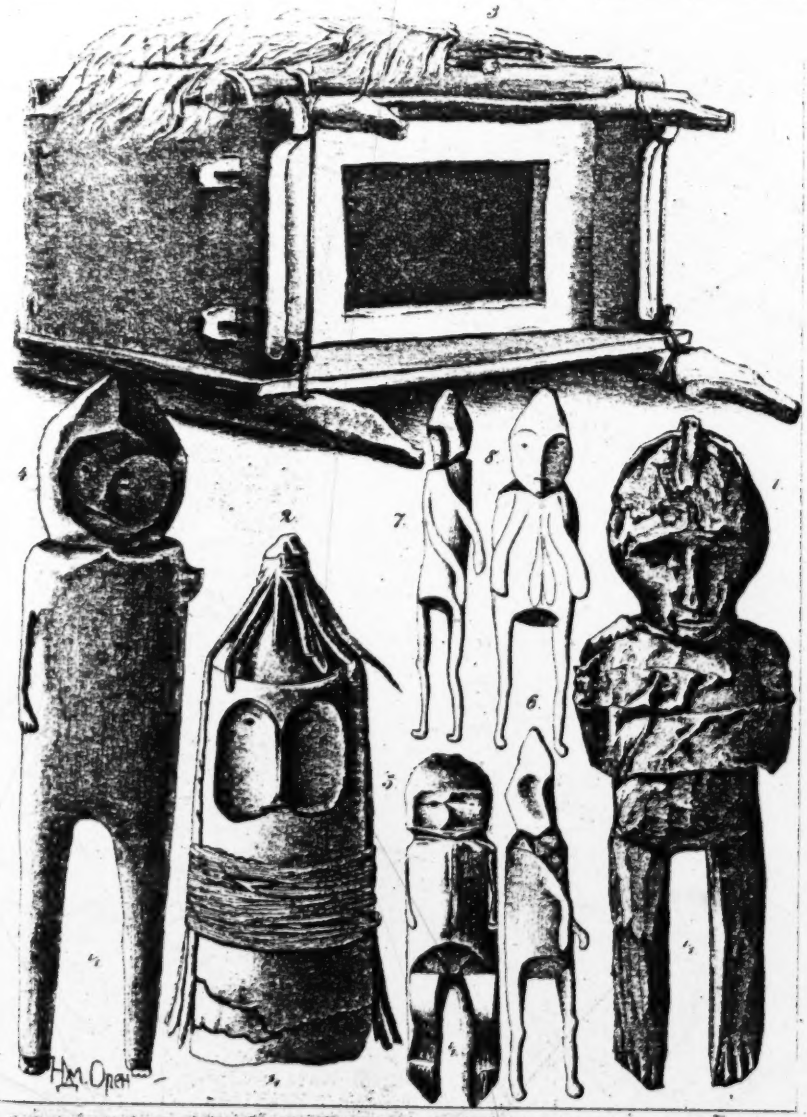

1 Menschenähnliche Gestalt 1, 2 Gilyakische Hausgötzen 3 Behausung der Götzen 4 Gestalt 5 Gilyakischer Götze 5 Gilyakischer Holzgötze 6, 8 Hausgötzen der Golde (Goldenen)

2: Schrenck
[P. 777, H]

RX2 Gilyak

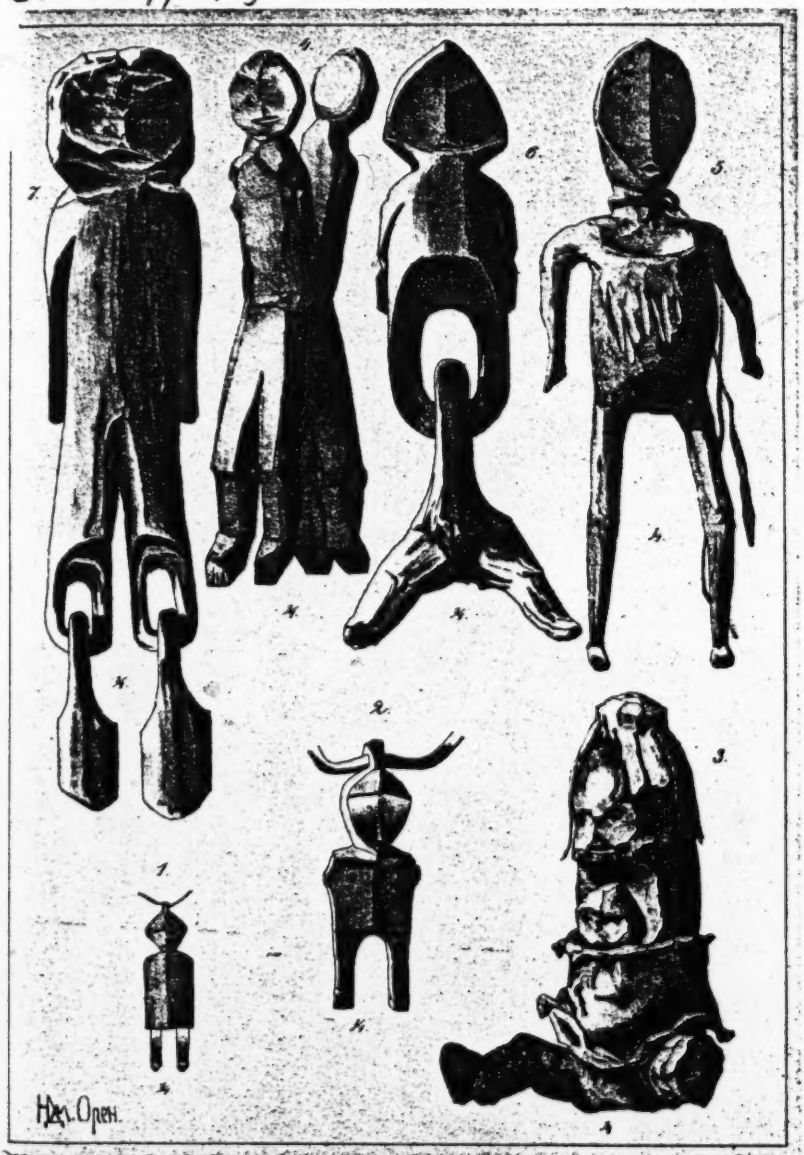

1. Halsgötze der Golde 2. Idol der Tsamagern 3-7. Gilyakische Götzen, auf besondere Zustände oder Krankheiten bezüglich.

2: Schrenck
[P. 777, I]
RX2 Gilyak

LV.

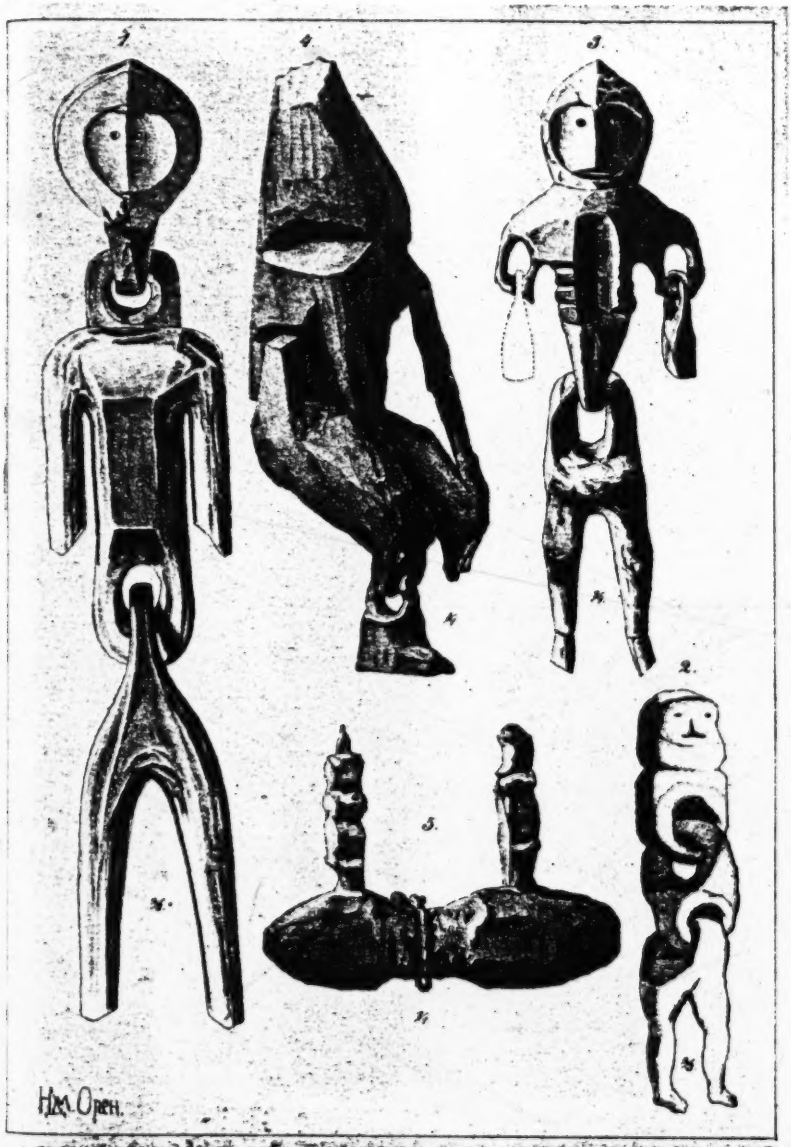

4 Gilyakische Götzen, auf verschiedene Krankheiten bezüglich. 5 Gilyakisches Amulet.

2: Schrenck
[p. 777, J]

RX2 Gilyak

LVI.

Heidnische Idole aus Menschen- u. Thiergestalten combinirt 1. Menschen-Typus 2. M. Typus u. Bär 3. M. u. Bär, 4. M. u. Eule, 5. M. u. Wiesel

2: Schrenck
[P. 777, K]

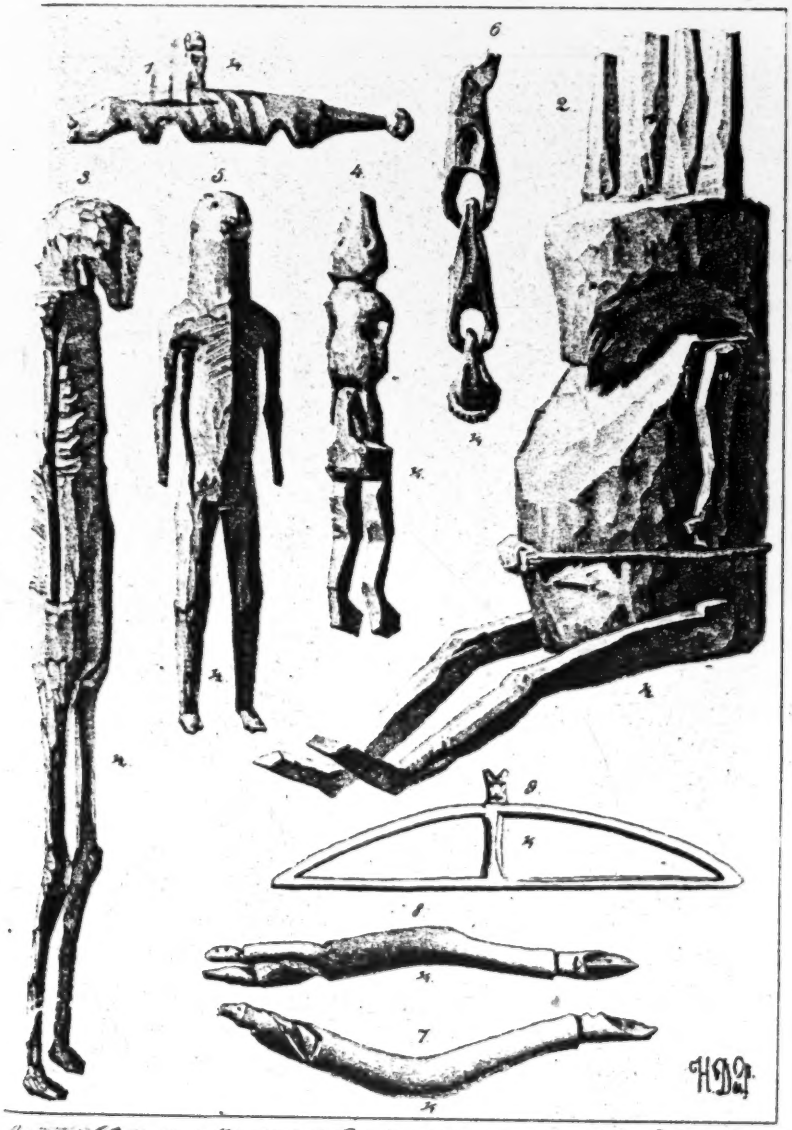

Alphabetische Idolen aus Menschen- u. Thiergestalten combinirt & Menschl. u. Tiger 2. M. mit Tiger-Kopf 3 4. M. mit Bärenkopf 5. M. mit Eulenkopf 6. Menschl. Kreuzgelenk mit Bärenkopf u. Tiger 7 8 Gilyak Amulette mit Menschen- u. Bärenkopfen 9 Gl. Tiger mit menschl. Kopf.

Gilyakische Idole aus Thonpastell: 1. Bärenfellmantel, vorn eine Kröte, 2. hinten vorne Eidechse u. zwei Schlangen, 3. Bärengelenkig in Fischhaut gekleidet, 4. 5. Tiger.

2:Schrenck
[P. 000, M]

RX2 Gilyak

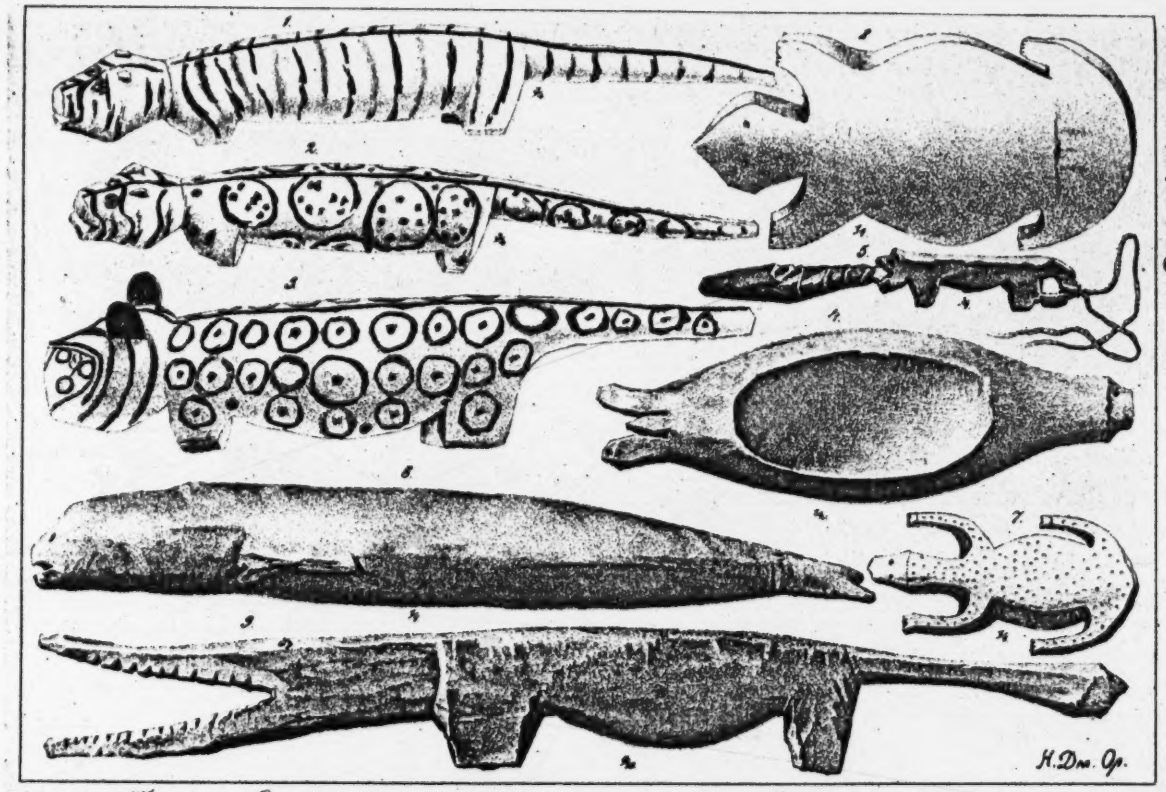

Gitanen im Thiergestalt 1. Tiger (Schlange), 2, 3. Fische (Schlange), 4. Seehund (Mensch), 5. Unbestimmtes Thier, ein menschliches Gesicht im Munde (Menschenmaske), 6. Rheinwal (Schlange), 7. 8. Kröten (Schlange), 9. Echas der Schamanen.

[P. 777, N]

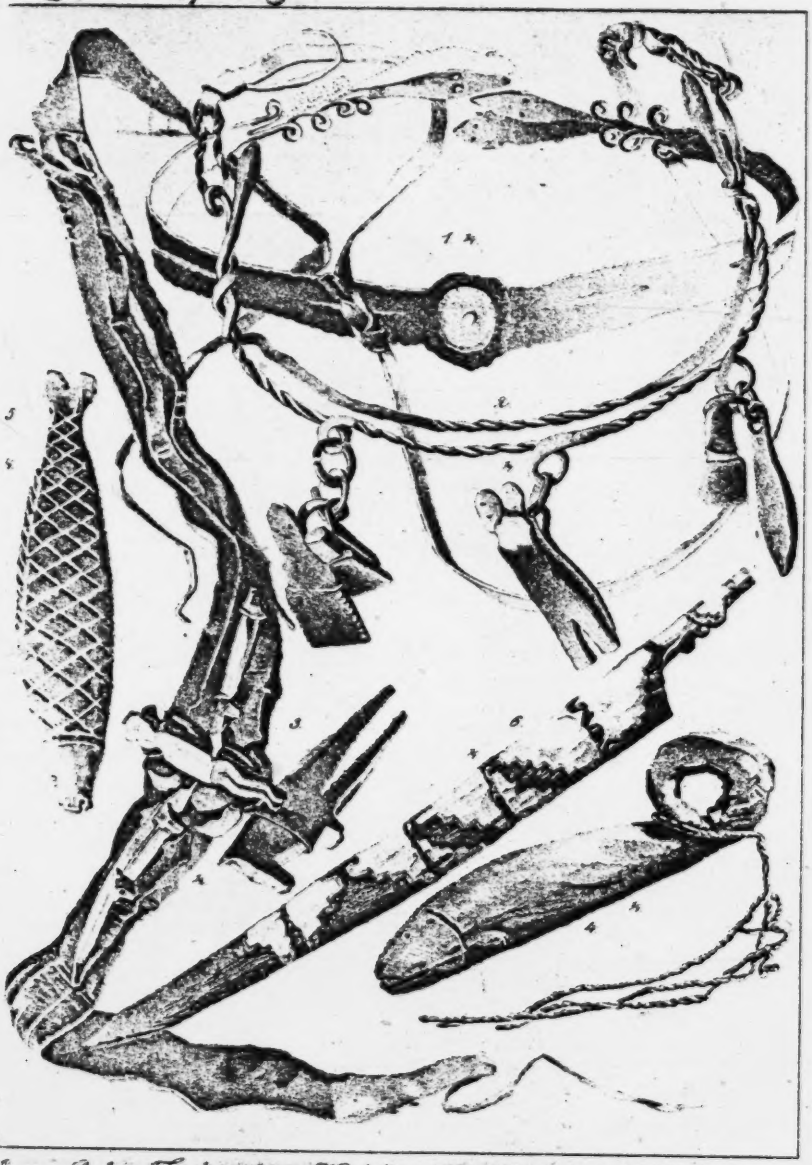

Eiserner Reif mit Thierfiguren gegen Kopfschmerzen getragen (Sifuk) 2. Eis. Halbring mit symbolischen Figuren gegen Krankheiten um den Hals getragen (Sifuk) 3. Amulet (Pistol) mit menschl. u. Thierfiguren (Ulchi) 4, 5. In Holz geschnitzter Fischer (Sifuk) 6. Sifuk. Kinderspielzeug, einen Hund darstellend

2: Schrenck
[P. 777, O]

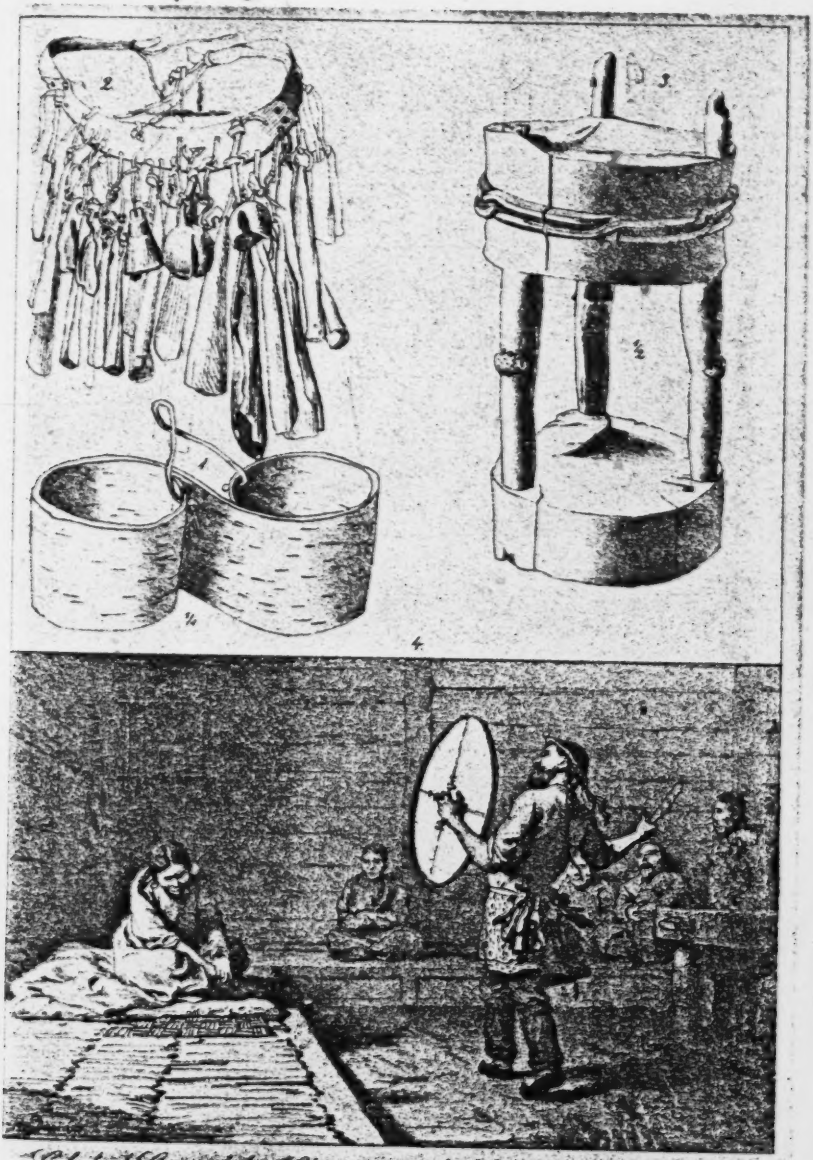

1. Gilyakische Götzenschale, 2. Schamanengürtel (gily), 3. Altar zum Rauchern beim Schamanen (gily), 4. Schamanenakt vor einem Kranken (gily)

2: Schrenck

[P. 777, P]

RX2 Gilyak

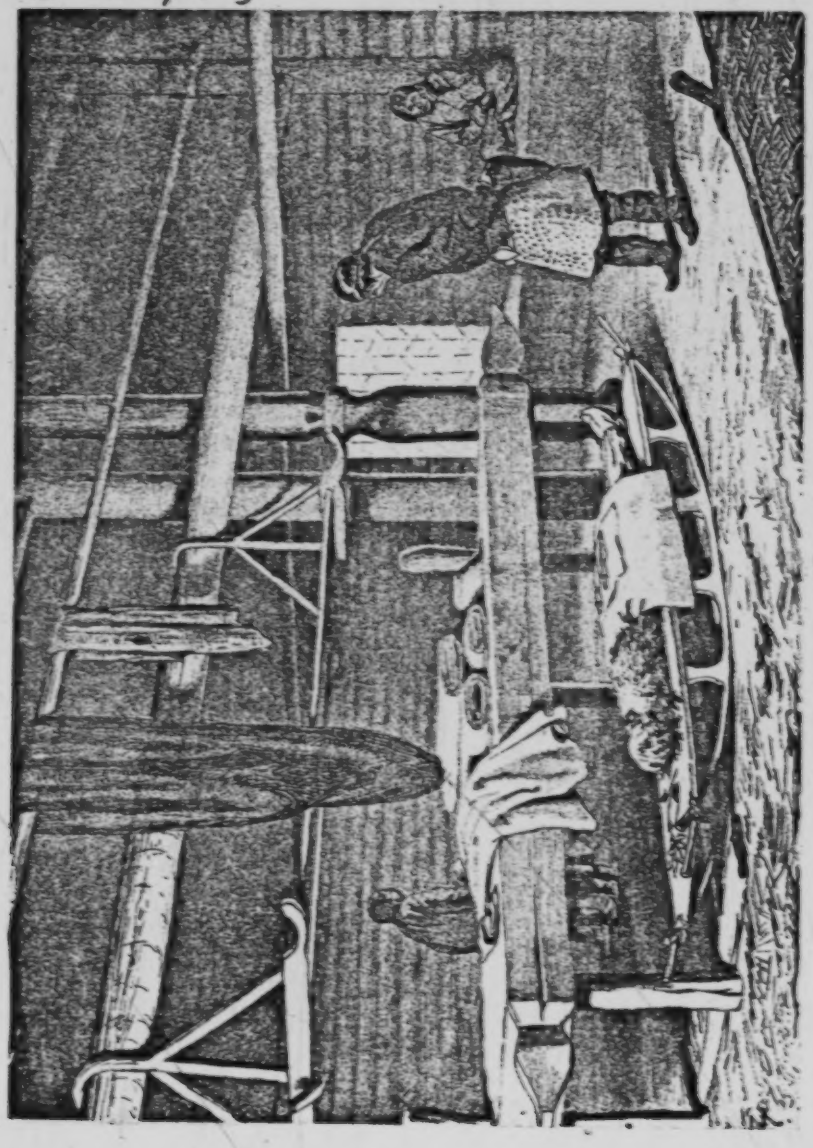

Eine Gilyakische Leiche in der Tundra

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

[P. 777, Q]

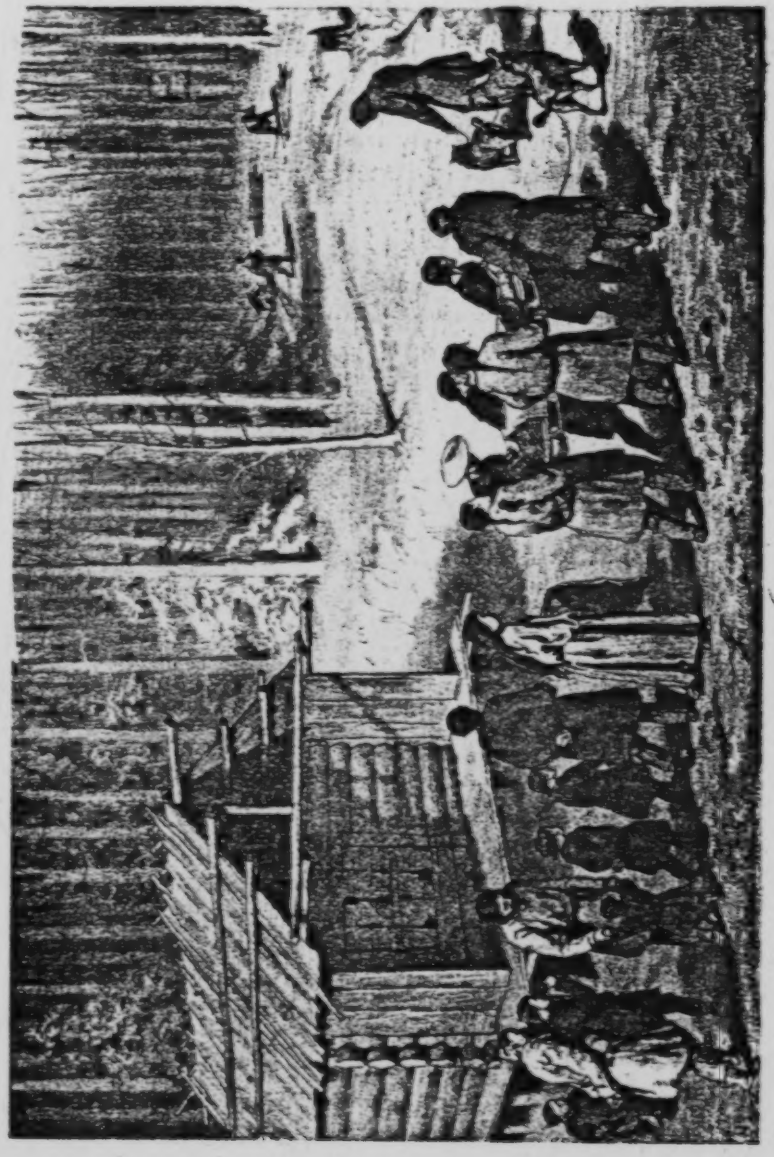

Gilyakische Leichenbestattung

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak
[P. 777, R]

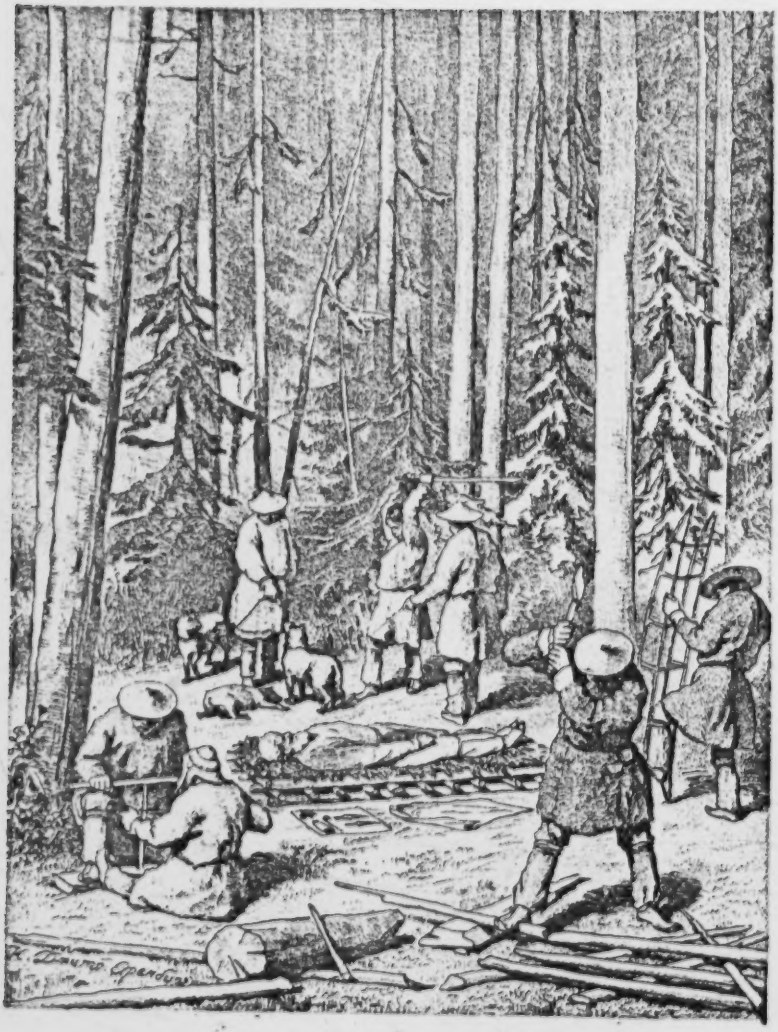

Giljakisches Leichenbegängniss

2: Schrenck [p. 777, S]

RX2 Gilyak.

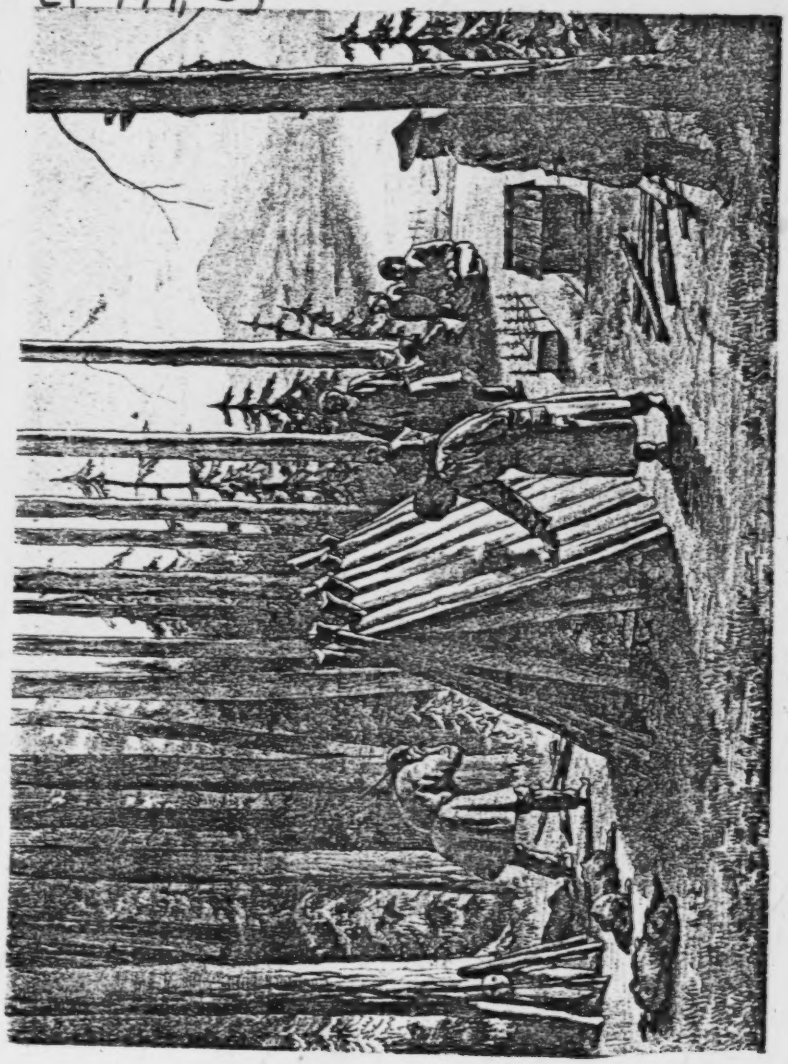

Gilyakisches Leichenbegängniss

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak

[P. 777, T]

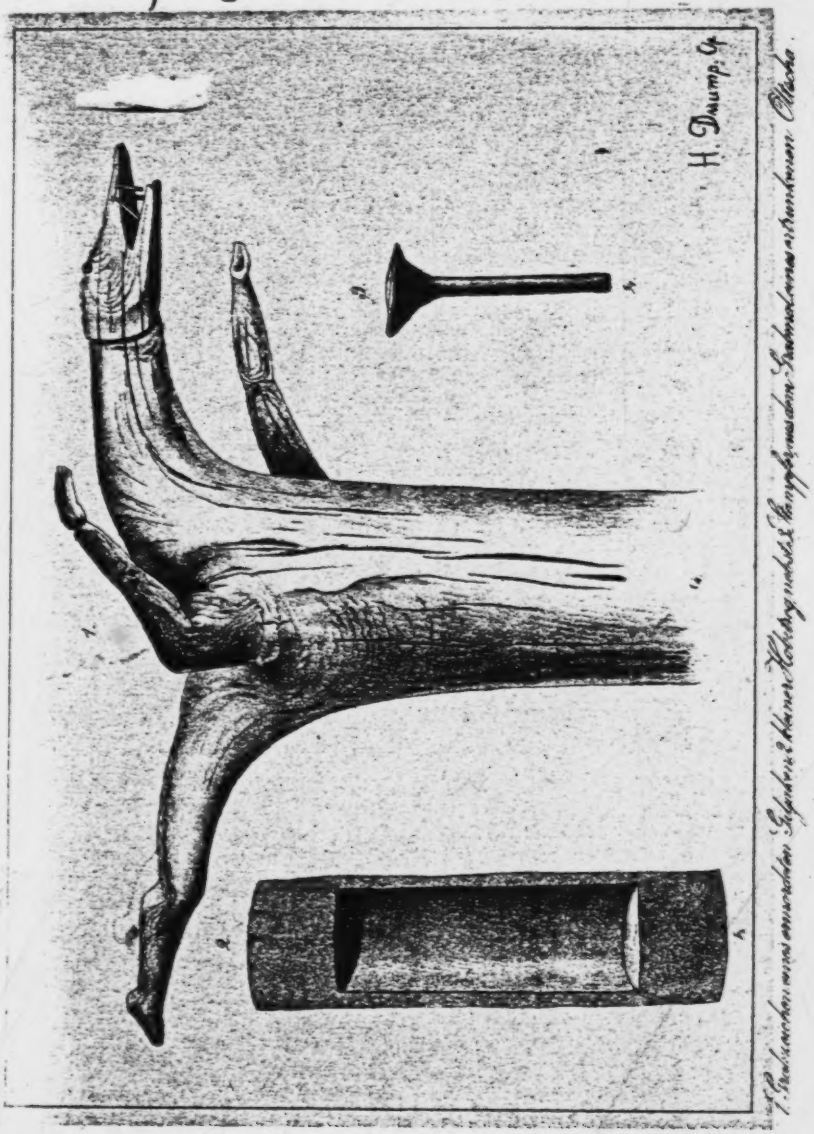

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak

[P. 777, U]

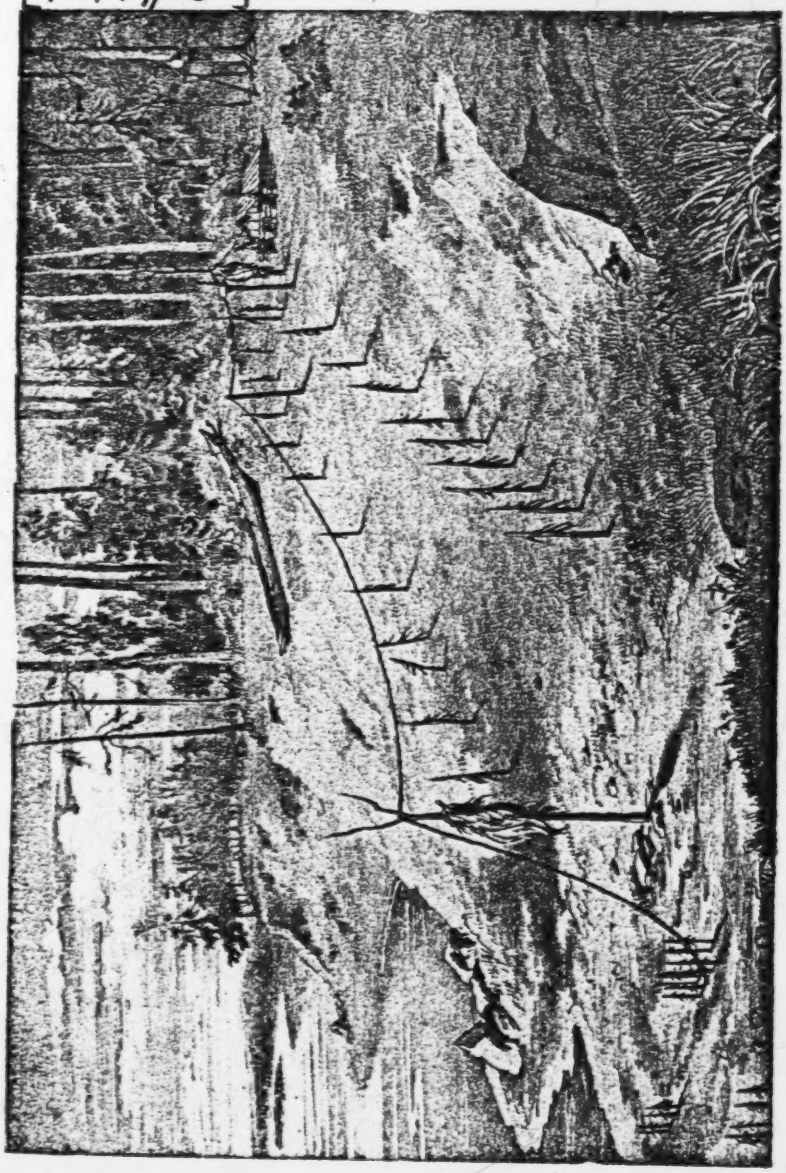

Gal'aina eituinsenen. Mangunen.

2: Schrenck
[P. 777, V]

RX2 Gilyak

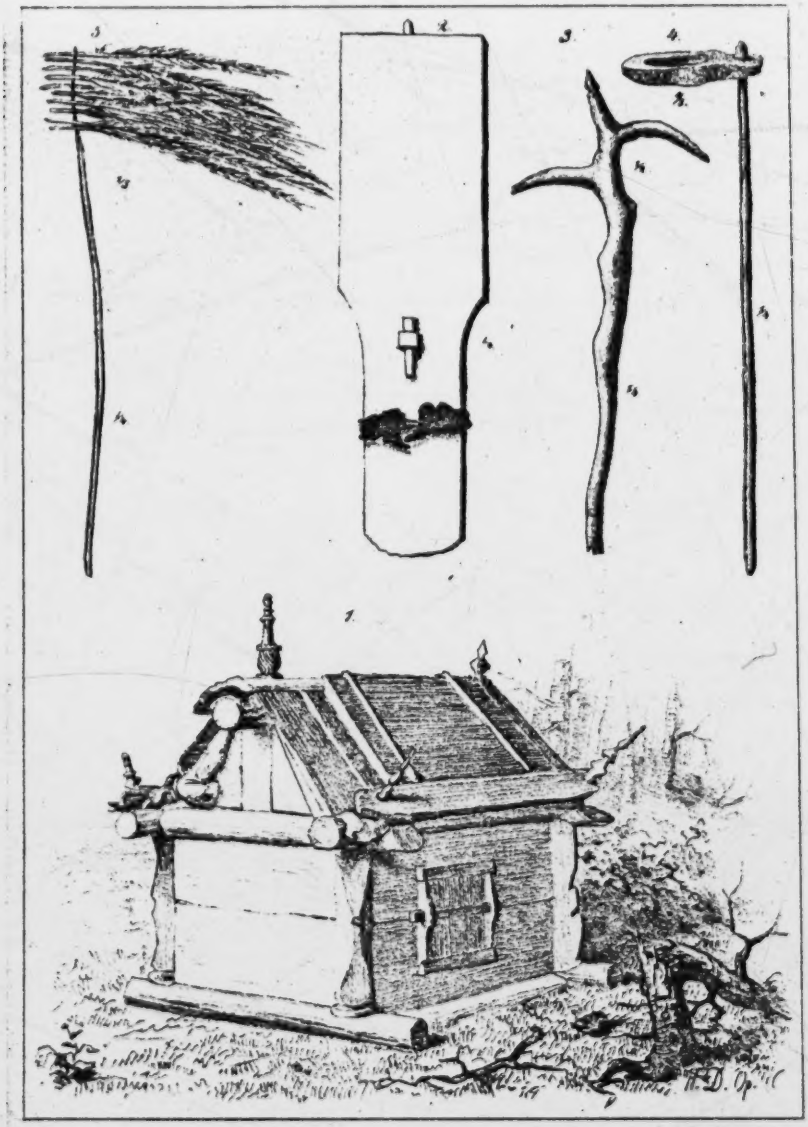

1. Gilyakisches Grabmal. 2–5. Zu Grabmal gehörige Gegenstände von symbolischer Bedeutung.

2: Schrenck

[p. 777, W]

RX2 Gilyak

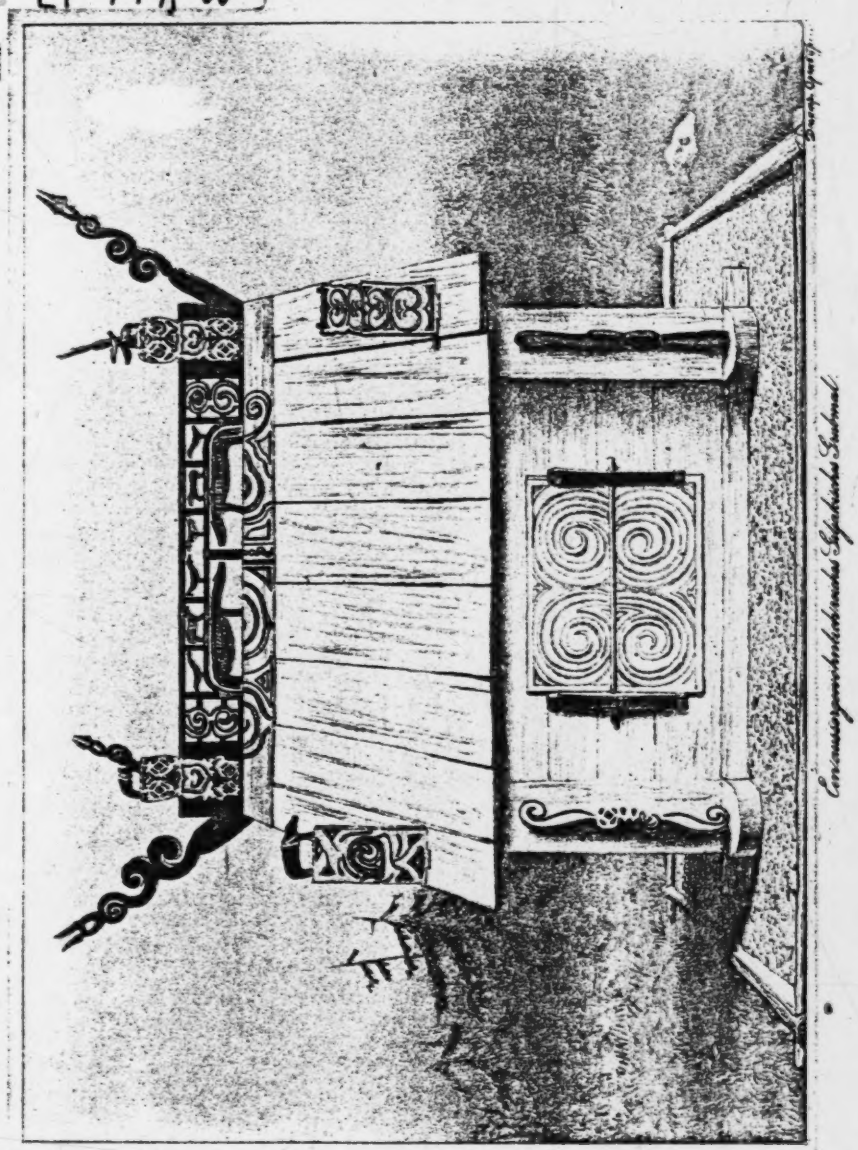

[p. 111, X]

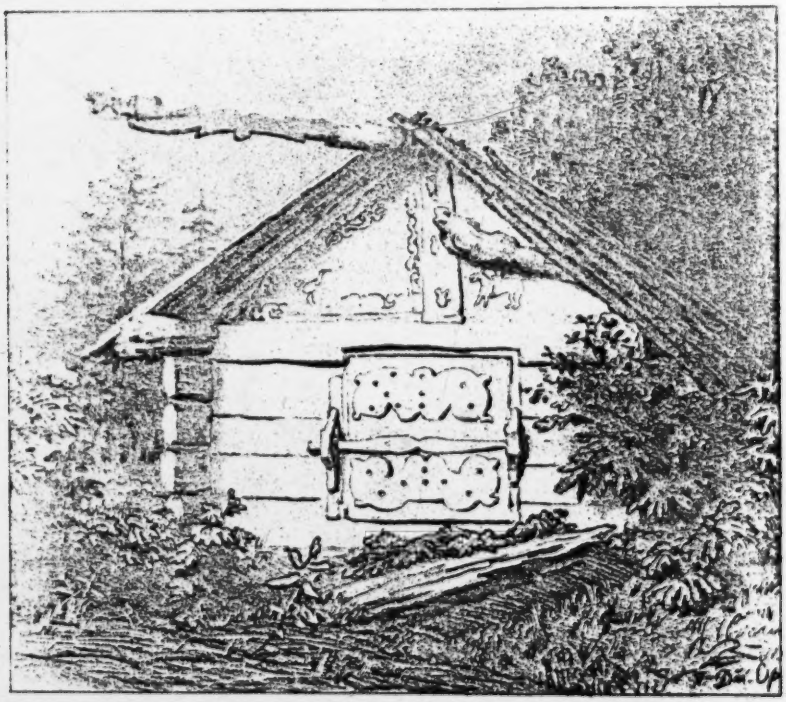

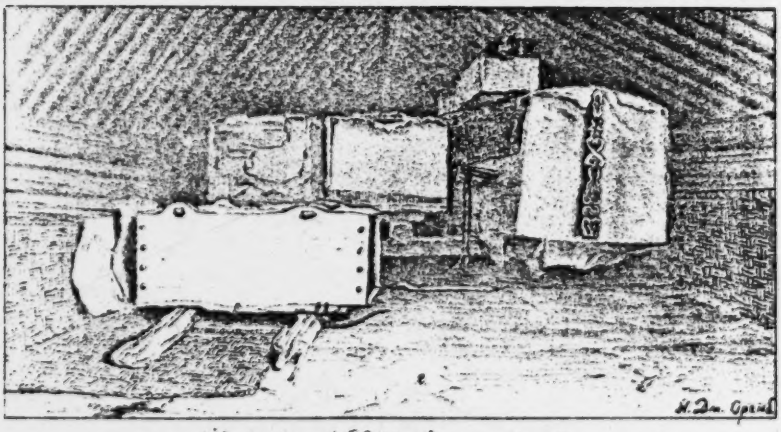

1. Leichenhaus der Golde. 2. Innenes desselben.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Etnografii. 000

THE PEOPLES OF SIBERIA

Edited by

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[Title Page]

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

THE NIVKHI

S. V. IVANOV, M. G. LEVIN and A. V. SMOLYAK

(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

General Information

The Nivkhi live on the lower reaches of the Amur and adjacent areas, as well as on Sakhalin. They are sharply different in language from their neighbors, who speak languages of the Tunguso-Manchurian group, and belong to the so-called paleo-Asiatic peoples. 101

The name of the people derives from their name for themselves, Nivkh, or "man." They were known in Russian pre-Revolutionary literature as "Gilyaks." This word evidently derives from "Gileke" and "Gilyami," as the Nivkhi are called among Tunguso-Manchurian peoples.

The census of 1926-27 set the number of Nivkhi at 4076 persons (1700 on Soviet Sakhalin and 2376 on the continent). In addition, according to data in 1928, 111 Nivkhi lived in the formerly Japanese part of Sakhalin. [162]

Thus, the Nivkhi consist of two groups territorially: the continental, or the Amur, group, and the Sakhalin group. The continental Nivkhi live along the Lower Amur, along the coast of the Amur Estuary, and in the adjoining areas along the Tatar Strait and the Sea of Okhotsk. On the Amur, the Nivkhi villages are interspersed among Russian and Negidal villages. The Nivkhi village farthest up the Amur is Pad; others are situated lower on the Amur and its estuary; in the south they reach as far as Cape Lazarev; the northernmost village in the estuary is Kul' (181 km from Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur). Individual families live among the Ul'chi. In the past, some Nivkhi groups were found as far as the Uda River. In 1884, the well-known Russian traveler Middendorf encountered them on the Chumikan. In Sakhalin, the Nivkhi are living today both on the western and eastern coasts, as well as along the middle reaches of the Tym' River. On the western coast, their main mass is concentrated in the Rybnovskiy Rayon. In the Aleksandrovskiy and Shirokopadskiy Rayons there are only small groups of Nivkhi, who remained there after the resettlement of a large group in the Kirovskiy Rayon. The population of the latter is today almost entirely concentrated on one large collective farm, Chir-Unvd. On the eastern coast, the southernmost point is the village of Nyyvo; farther north, there are large villages, Dagi, Chayvo and Pil'tun, where the former residents of the tiny hamlets scattered along the coast have 101 361 [619]

resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Economy and Everyday Life

226 [433] The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this [433] method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the [406] needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber. 227 [283] They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from [179] the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted

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Sewing together a seine.

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

224 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a 22 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat [184] themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow [178] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The 887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these 462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

177 By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite 433 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

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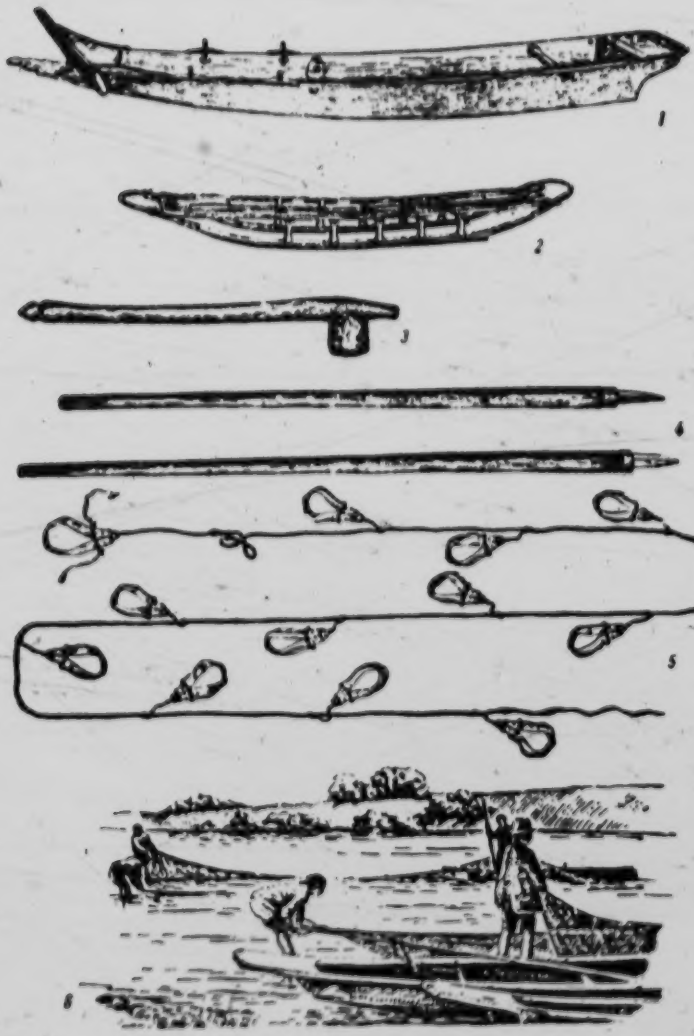

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Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded

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439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
262 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
492 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
493 and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[526] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
[171] so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

177 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
177 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

50 Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
[824] boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
[824] Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[354] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[352] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

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View of a village.

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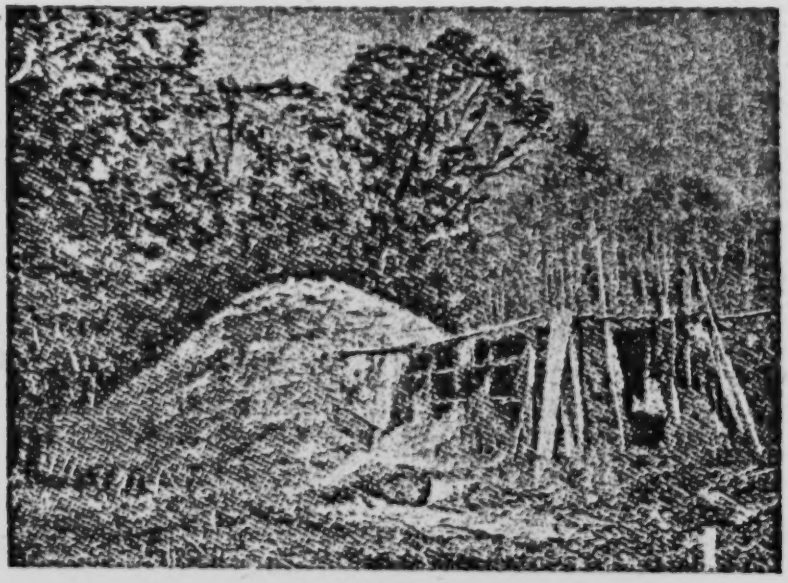

Mud hut.

342 175 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and lay-
[171] out of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually sur-
[171] rounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head
[531] was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

[439] Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

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Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of 294
specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal 237
and elk skin, dog-fur, etc.

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; 302
they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids.

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly 114
interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State").

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there 614
were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs.

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the [60] murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage.

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

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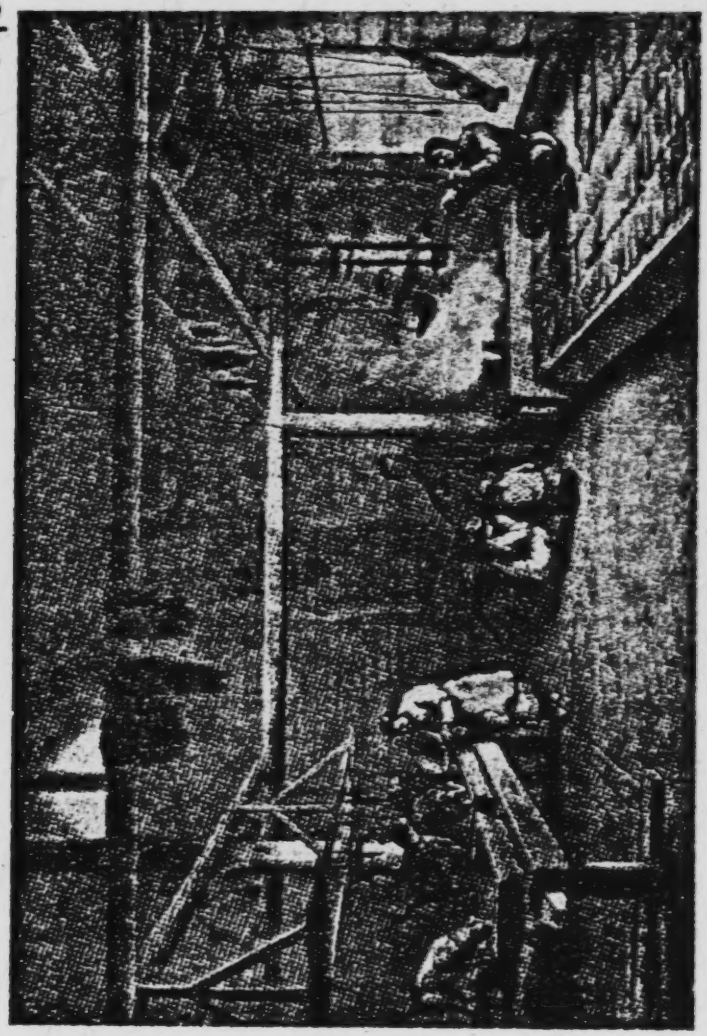

Interior of an old winter dwelling.

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Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could also accept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and gave a piece to the part that split off. 614 [372]

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhusind). In reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy 614 627

parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders, and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

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Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character. 771 776

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le-kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed. 796 614 231 [769] [526]

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically 764

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764 burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurine, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held [775] that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situ- [614] ated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" 372 spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were 784 connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had 756 their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly de- 776 veloped among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any [614] part in the clan cults.

538 Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyl'ugd), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

531 Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of [462] birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unques- [177] tionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

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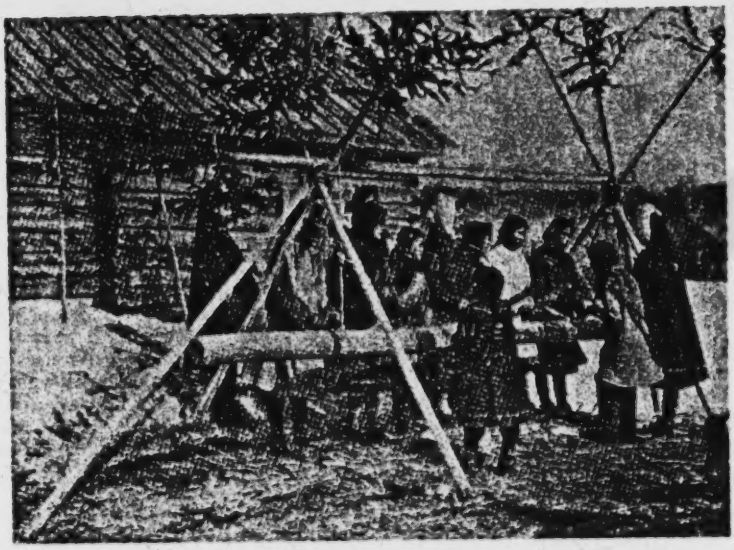

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Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so forth. 532 322 [191]

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks. 534 [196]

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi. 871 [212]

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

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In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

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In the beginning of 1920, the laboring people of Sakhalin overthrew General Kolchak's appointees and reestablished the Soviet regime, which immediately began to organize contacts between the Russian revolutionary workers and peasants and the Nivkhi and other peoples of Sakhalin. However, the Soviets lasted only three months in Sakhalin. In April 1920, the Japanese landed on the island and seized the city of Aleksandrovsk. The poorly armed Red Guard units were compelled to retreat and withdraw to the taiga. They became guerrillas and, joined by men who escaped from the interventionists, they engaged in a stubborn fight against the invaders. The Nivkhi took part in the struggle side by side with the Russians, rendering substantial aid to the guerrillas by transporting their units in dogsleds from district to district. The occupants, afraid of the guerrilla movement, initiated brutal retaliation against the population. Many fighters for the Revolution were executed. The terror and violence went on for 5 years. It was not until January 1925, after the Japanese troops were expelled from the Far East, that Japan signed an agreement ceding the northern part of Sakhalin to Russia. By May 15, the Red guerrillas mopped up the last remnants of the interventionists in northern Sakhalin; since then, the Soviet government has been firmly in control of the area.

In August 1945, the Soviet Army liberated southern Sakhalin from the Japanese invaders, and Soviet people came to the immemorially Russian lands. Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk developed on the site of the former Vladimirovka.

The period of Japanese intervention brought great suffering to the Nivkhi. Their economy was completely disrupted. The Japanese shamelessly took away their fishing areas, fostered drunkenness, sowed dissension among Nivkhi clans. Drunken sailors raped Nivkhi women and beat up their husbands. The Nivkhi endured extreme poverty and entire villages died out from hunger and diseases. The Japanese also made serious inroads into the natural resources of Sakhalin. They carelessly exterminated sable, musk deer, and wild reindeer; they devastated fishing waters, bays and small rivers. They chopped down forests without any plan and did nothing to combat forest enemies. A great deal of forest was destroyed by fires. Coal and oil resources were also plundered.

In 1929, native village soviets and two native Rayon Executive Committees were established, replacing the initial village and rayon committees—revkoms (revolutionary committees). In 1933, 63 Nivkhi were elected to native and Russian village soviets, 30 Nivkhi were elected to the two native Rayon Executive Committees, and 5 to the Sakhalinskaya Oblast Executive Committee. The Nivkhi were equally active in the village soviets on the continent.

Formerly illiterate and extremely backward economically and culturally, the Nivkhi were gradually drawn into the work of various Soviet organizations—becoming a part of a new, hitherto unknown, culture. Their political activity also expanded and developed. The former distrust of Russians, resulting from the arbitrary rule of the tsarist administration and, later, from the conduct of the Whites who worked with the Japanese interventionists on the island and along the Lower Amur, began to disappear. We must not forget the vast initial gulf between the Nivkhi and Soviet cultures. Of all the Amur peoples, the Nivkhi, particularly on Sakhalin, were the most deprived. They were people who depended wholly on the harsh nature surrounding them, who were isolated in the narrow circle of family and clan interests, who fearfully shunned new and unknown people. The socialist reorganization of Nivkhi life on the continent proceeded along the same patterns as that of the other peoples of the Lower Amur region, akin to the Nivkhi in their life and culture such as the Negidals, Ul'chi and Nanays.

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Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a somewhat different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages. 177 648 474

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol. [241] [231]

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resistance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes. [361]

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats (kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen. 177 648 226 474

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals. [22]

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die." 177 648 241 474

[241] In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 [433] to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle [231] and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

177 An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly 648 scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often 474 consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and 361 the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

177 The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log 648 house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a 474 school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings 36 devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a [342] bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

177 The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are 648 today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the conti- 474 nent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered 342 with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the 353 walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They 177 also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and 29 also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the [294] traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, [292] the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater 262 use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been 758 widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical [143] and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

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Ch. Taksami, student at Leningrad University, at a student ball in the Kremlin palace.

Today the Nivkhi are served by an extensive network of diverse medical institutions; in addition, specialist physicians visit the most remote collective-farm villages. One of the initial tasks of the Soviet government was to bring the children into the schools and to liquidate illiteracy among the adults. Schools were opened in Sakhalin during the very first years after the establishment of the Soviet government there. A group of Nivkhi young people were sent to school on the continent, and adults were taught at centers for the liquidation of illiteracy.

A Nivkhi alphabet was created in 1931. In 1932, the first schoolbooks were published. During the 1933-34 school year, some 300 children were already at school in the Sakhalinskaya Oblast, which meant 86% of all Nivkhi children of school age. It was possible to assure daily attendance only after the establishment of dormitories. Today all children attend school. In the village of Kal'ma there is an elementary seven-year school; in Nogliki there is a ten-year school. A part of the Nivkhi youth (boys) attend trade schools in Komosol'sk and factory schools in Komsomol'sk and Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

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177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
[463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

177 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
648 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions; many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive
474 committees.

[641] Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

[545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

[182] The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of
562 her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fr ers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

endangering her own health and that of the child. The force of tradition was so strong that even in 1932 some of the women stubbornly refused to have their babies in hospitals, despite the good care and the free clothing and blankets which were given to the infants. It was only after wide medical-educational work that women began to turn to maternity hospitals. The new understanding of the role and importance of medical institutions has also led many Nivkhi women to go to work in them as attendants and later as nurses, educated at the medical school in Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur. 177 648 562

Today the Nivkhi woman manages her own life and does not enter into forced marriage. Polygamy, the levirate and remnants of the old group marriage have become things of the past.

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Hunting of the Beluga by the Gilyaks of the Village Puir

(Okhota na belukhu u Giliakov derevni Puir)

by

E. A. Kreinovich

Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1935 #2,
Moskva: Akademiia Nauk, SSSR

225 [108] Hunting of the Beluga by the Gilyaks of the Village Puir
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433 As L. Schrenk (1) rightly points out, hunting of the beluga

1. L. Schrenk, Ob Inorodtsakh Amurskovo Kraia, v. II, [Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region)

(white dolphin) does not play an important part in the economy of the Gilyaks which is based on fishing and, to a lesser extent, on seal hunting. Nevertheless, hunting of the beluga, which is now of an accidental rather than systematic nature, contains some features which merit description. These features are:

1) The primitive Communist character of the distribution of the catch. The hunters as well as the other village folk share the beluga. Not so in seal hunting, where the quarry is shared by the hunters only. (2)

2. E. A. Kreĭnovich, Morskoĭ Promysel Gilĭakov Derevnĭ Kul', [Fishing Industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul), Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.

2) The religious ceremony held by the Gilyaks on the occasion of a successful hunt.

124 We did our best to authenticate the facts we are about to
225 report by writing them down in the Gilyak language under the
115 dictation of the informant. Besides writing down texts, we collected maps, plans of summer and winter settlements, plans indicating the location of landed property, drawings, etc.

In the present article we publish drawings by the Gilyak Mytka which depict all the important phases of a hunt of the beluga and two accounts of the hunt; one told by the author of these drawings, the other--by the Gilyak Khor.

115 Mytka lives in the village Puir. He is about 35 years old. He is one of the most outstanding and talented Gilyaks I have met. He has a tremendous thirst for knowledge. When I went to see him for the first time, he was lying on his plank-bed and reading Goroda i Gody [Towns and Years] by K. Fedin, a book that he took out from the library at his place of work. Mytka is very much interested in problems of technology. The model of the airplane that I brought to the anthropological and ethnographical museum was made by him for his son. Mytka likes to draw, but, unfortunately

115 his drawings have not been preserved. He is unable to go to Leningrad to study for he cannot leave his family and his old father.

225 Mytka made the sketches of the beluga hunt at my request.

124 Three of these are rough sketches which [109] I was fortunate enough to find at Mytka's. They are considerably better than the final sketches in which Mytka partly imitates the style of sketches he had seen in Russian books. (1)

1. On publication we were forced for technical reasons to substitute slanting lines for Mytka's shading.

Description of the sketches:

Sketch 1. The Gilyaks, having sighted a beluga, depart on the hunt.

Sketch 2. The Gilyaks have driven the beluga to a shallow. The Gilyak at the prow is about to throw the harpoon.

Sketch 3. A detail relating to the second sketch.

Sketch 4. Flight of the harpoon aimed at the beluga; the harpoon is supposed to hit the beluga at the moment when it emerges from the water.

Sketch 5. The beluga drags the float behind it. When the harpoon hits the beluga, the tip of the harpoon which is tied to a long strap, remains in the body of the beluga. The movements of the beluga are hindered by the float attached to the other end of the strap.

Sketch 6. The Gilyaks have caught the float and are getting ready to thrust the second harpoon at the beluga.

Sketch 7. The Gilyaks haul the beluga to the side of the boat and are about to kill it with a blow of a lance in the area of the respiratory orifice.

Sketch 8. The Gilyaks take the beluga which is fastened to the side of the boat to the village. An old woman sits on the shore and beats on a board using two sticks. This peculiar music stands for a welcome for the killed beluga.

Sketch 9. The hunters have brought the beluga to the village. The inhabitants of the village have come out to meet them and are about to haul the beluga ashore. The old woman continues to play on the board.

Sketch 10. The Gilyaks haul the beluga ashore.

Sketch 11. A Gilyak cuts up the beluga.

Sketch 12. The Gilyaks depart, each with his share of the beluga.

Sketch 13 & 14. The head of the beluga on a birch (From photographs).

225 The sketches do not include all the details of the beluga hunt. Mytka's account, dictated to me on June 29, 1931, in the village Puir, supplements the sketches. We give here a faithful translation of his account.

"During the ebb tide the belugas head inshore. After the tide receded, he gathered his friends (and said): 'Let us go after it (in the sea).' We went in pursuit. When the beluga headed out to the fairway we chased it back to a shallow. When it could not go any further the man at the prow who held a harpoon got ready and waited for it (the beluga) to appear (to come up). When it broke the surface, he lanced it. Then he threw the float. We let the beluga drag the float. When it got tired we approached it and lanced it a second time. Then we came close to it and hauled it to the side of the boat. We hooked the beluga and hauled it (out of the water). Then he hit it with a lance (that is, pierced it) (2)

2. The Gilyaks kill the beluga by lancing it in the area of the respiratory orifice.

When we killed it we tied a rope to it and hauled it ashore.
225 While we were hauling it, the old woman came down to the
533 shore and began striking the board with a stick. (3) When we
824
182 3. Only in Puir do they welcome the caught beluga by such music. I have not observed this custom in any other village.

brought it (to the shore), we came up to the shore prow first. (4) Having untied the beluga, we hauled it to the shore

4. Usually the Gilyaks come up to the shore stern first, but when they bring a beluga, they come prow first.

[112] and pulled it out. We put the board on which the woman was beating under the head of the dolphin. The old men sent the youths to gather dozgon grass and piskar plant. (1) Then we

1. The Amur Gilyaks "feed" the plant piskar to all captured sea-animals such as sea-lions, seals, and belugas. They put this plant in the mouth of the killed animal (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel

225 Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the
533 Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia,
824 1934, no. 5.).
182

225 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the
476 shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their
225 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we
782 cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut
778 some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

225 cut down a young birch, stick it on the elz-s
782 and suspend the head of the beluga in the tree.
778

on a birch-tree. Then they scattered some more rice and berries. (5) Then we sat down around it. We fed the children

5. That is, they spread rice and berries on the head of the beluga.

and went down again. Then we got a young man to take a white stone and put it in the sea-dish. Then we returned and went home. When we came home we put the stone in the fire place." (6)

6. The stone which they put in the fire place is a payment to the master of fire for the successful outcome of the hunt (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel Giliakov Derevnĭ Kul', [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the village Kul]).

182 The methods of beluga hunting as described by the Gilyak
225 Mytka in his account and pictured in his sketches are characteristic of the village Puir and partly of the village Lyangr. The hunt proceeds differently in other places. [114]

The account of the Gilyak Khor (from the village Chomi(?)) telling of a beluga hunt undertaken by him and his friend in 1930 supplies us with enough information to enable us to distinguish between the methods used by the Khor and those described above.(Khor's account was written down by me in the fisheries of Dzhaori in 1931) [For Mytka's account, see category 225, pp. 111-113; for Kor's account, pp. 114-116--Analyst.]

225 We present a translation of the account, striving to com-
103 municate the spirit of the original.

"During a run of herring, the four of us, two adults and two children, went in a boat to the Big Cape (Pila-kr-) to hunt for belugas. When we approached the whirlpool (Polx), we came ashore and took out our things. The animal (that is, a seal, a beluga) was swimming up (1) to the shore. The

1. Literally: "rose up to the shore."

children heated tea, and we took the harpoons and went up.

225 We went to the "Cape Facing the Sea." (Tol-nun-iv-Kn-k)(2)
103

2. It is of interest to note that the Gilyaks sometimes name places according to their economic usage. This cape is named Tol-nun-iv-kn-k because from this place the Gilyaks watch the sea waiting for the sea animals which swim past the cape.

When we arrived at the "Cape Facing the Sea" no animal came up to the shore. We went back. We descended to our
225 place. We had tea. We finished drinking our tea and loaded our things. We went to Otvax. From there we headed out to the open sea. When we were going down by boat to (the place) across Vaspn, the belugas came in behind us. The mother had a young one. (3) So they swam. When they passed by

3. He means the female beluga with a young.

us, I got up and wanted to shoot. As I was about to shoot, my friend (said): "It is too far." He did not want me to shoot. Then I said: "All right, I will fire, we will see." When I got up, the young one broke the surface. I let it emerge and fired. Then I fired (that is, I hit it). The young one plunged beneath the surface. I thought for a long time that it was lost. "Ah! There it swam away, it came up." Then we rowed and followed it. We caught up with it. We hurled the harpoon. Then we got up and lanced it a second time. Then we pulled the strap and hauled the beluga to the side of the boat, we fastened it, pierced it with a lance, and killed it. We took it in tow. Our children were happy. Then we came ashore and hauled the beluga ashore. I went up the hill to gather pisk-r. I came back, shoved the grass in the respiratory opening of the beluga, and fed it. Then we cut off the strap, cut up the meat, dragged it away, ate some of it, and covered up the rest. We went to sleep. We slept. When we got up in the morning, the animal did not come up to the shore. We ate and loaded our things. Then we went by boat to Otvax. When we came to the upper side of Otvax (Otvax k'eqr-ksef hertox), the seals crawled out of the water at the tip of the cape. We went to the tip of the cape and untied the harpoons. At that time the animals swam up to the shore. We let them come up, we aimed and missed. Then the animals fled. Then we came up (the mountain) and went down to our boat. Afterwards, we went by boat and

225 landed at P'arqaiv. We slept. Afterwards, when we got up, the seals were on a stone sticking out of the water, on the other side of P'arquaiv. (4)Then the two of us went by

4. Near the shore of P'arquaiv there are stones on which the seals rest. These stones are called norpax.

boat and fired our (Berdan) rifles. We let them thrash in agony. We went into the water, hit them with a harpoon and dragged them ashore. Striking the heads of the seals with a stick, we killed them. We dragged them to our place, skinned them, cooked and ate them. Then we slept. Then we got up, we ate, and when we turned back to the Big Cape (Pila-kp), the belugas swam up to the shore. We let them swim up to the shore and, taking the harpoons, we went up to the cape "Facing the Sea." We went down to the end of the stone Norpax. There they were, one on each stone. We untied the harpoons. Then we let the belugas approach us. We aimed, but missed. I was picking out a strap when, suddenly, a beluga came near us. My friend aimed, hit and threw a float. Then the beluga swam out to sea. We went up (the hill) to our boat. Following the beluga, we headed out to sea. [115] We went by boat and caught the float. Pulling out the strap we dragged the beluga and flung (the harpoon) a second time. Our beluga towed us between and past steamboats. I took the (Berdan) rifle, aimed at the respiratory opening and killed the beluga. We quickly attached it to the stern. We went down. We rowed and came to (stopped at) our place. Here we could not drag it out (we lacked the strength). We waited for the ebb and got ashore. Then we gathered some pisk-r, came down, shoved it in the respiratory opening and fed the beluga. Then we cut it up. When we finished, we quickly put the straps in the boat. We also put our things in the boat. Then we took off and went to the end of the cape having a sledge [Mys imeyuschi nartu] (T'u ift kr x). There was a storm there, the water came overboard, and we turned back to our places. We arrived. We took out all our things and dried them. We put part of the straps in the boat. We left our two children; the two of us went up in our boat to Hivzu. When we arrived, there were people there. We took out our things and, towing our own boat, we went down in another one. When we came down, we took the meat, our things and our friends. Then we went back. We landed at Hivzu. There we slept. Next

225 morning we returned to our village. We took everything out
and put it on the dock. Then we slept. Next day we got up
225 in the morning and called the people. We took off the head,
252 cut it up, fed the head to the people raw, (1) and cooked the
782

1. The Gilyaks call all raw food talq. The Gilyaks eat certain kinds of fish such as Siberian salmon and certain parts of seals and belugas raw.

parts designed for cooking as well as the jaws. After we cooked it, we took it out. Some ate the meat; others took off the meat from the jaws and ate it. Then we went to gather Hapzas. Then we brought it, cooked it, ground it and made muvi. Then we got some rowan shavings and shoved them (in the nose of the beluga). Then we took the head; we took it to throw it out. Here we cut off a young tree. We cut off a forked aldern tree. We spread muvi over the shavings stuck in the nose of the beluga; we spread muvi on the holy bones. We stuck the tree through the ear-ring holes of the beluga, lifted it and hung it up here. Then we lifted the holy bones (jugular vertebrae) and tied them to the tree. We put down the jaws and pressed them with a stick."

Рис. 1

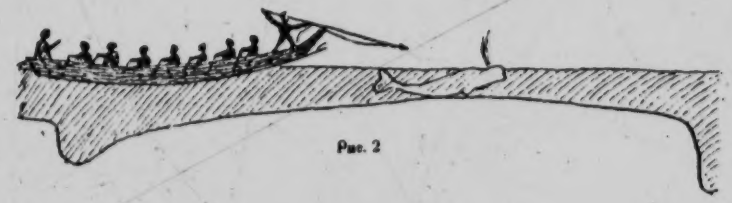

Рис. 2

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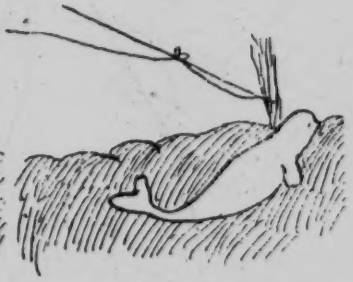

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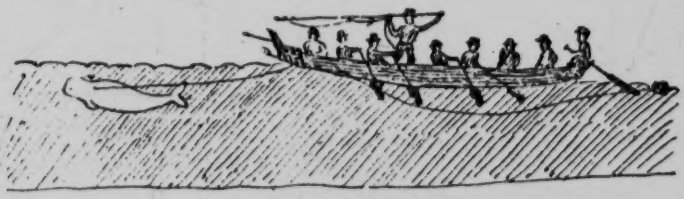

Рис. 6

Рис. 7

Рис. 8

Рис. 9

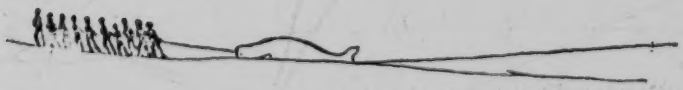

Рис. 10

Рис. 11

Рис. 12

Рис. 13

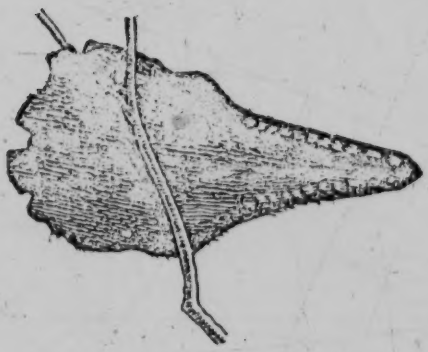

Рис. 14

6: Kreinovich RX2 Gilyak

Академия Наук СССР
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МАТЕРИАЛЫ

108

Е. А. Крейнович

Охота на белуху у гиляков деревни Пуир

Охота на белуху (белого дельфина), как правильно отмечает Л. Шренк,[1] не имеет для хозяйства гиляков большого значения, т. к. основой последнего служат рыболовство и отчасти промысел тюленя.

Все же, несмотря на это, охота на белуху, носящая в настоящее время скорее случайный, чем систематический характер, содержит в себе некоторые черты, заслуживающие описания. Этими чертами являются:

1. Первобытно-коммунистический характер распределения добытой белухи. Белуха распределяется не только между добывшими ее охотниками, как это имеет место при добыче тюленей,[2] но между всеми жителями деревни, к которой принадлежат охотники.

2. Религиозные обряды, совершаемые гиляками по отношению к убитой белухе.

Сообщаемые факты мы по возможности стремились документировать посредством записи их на гиляцком языке, под диктовку сообщавшего лица. Кроме записи текстов, мы собирали географические карты, планы расселения родов в летних и зимних селениях, планы расположения угодий, рисунки и т. д.

В настоящей заметке мы публикуем рисунки гиляка Мытки, изображающие все важнейшие этапы охоты на белуху, и два рассказа об этой охоте: один — автора этих рисунков, другой — гиляка Хора.

Мытка живет в дер. Пуир, ему около 35 лет. Он является одним из наиболее одаренных и талантливых гиляков из числа тех, с которыми мне приходилось встречаться. Жажда знания у него огромная. Он самостоятельно научился русской грамоте. Когда я в первый раз зашел к нему, он лежал на наре и читал „Города и годы" К. Федина, — книгу, которую он взял из библиотеки на промысле. Он очень интересуется вопросами техники. Мною привезена в Музей антропологии и этнографии АН модель аэроплана, изготовленная им для своего сына. Мытка очень любит рисовать, но к сожалению, его рисунки не сохраняются. Поехать учиться в Ленинград Мытка не имеет возможности, так как не может оставить своей семьи и старика отца.

Рисунки охоты на белуху нарисованы Мыткой по моей просьбе. Три из числа помещаемых рисунков представляют черновые зарисовки, которые мне

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[1] Л. Шренк. Об инородцах Амурского края, т. II.

[2] Е. А. Крейнович. Морской промысел гиляков дер. Куль, Советская Этнография, 1934, № 5.

удалось найти у Мытки. Они значительно выше чистовых перерисовок, в которых Мытка отчасти подражает стилю рисунков, виденных им в русских книгах.[1]

Описание рисунков:

Рисунок 1. Гиляки, заметив белуху, выезжают на охоту.

Рисунок 2. Гиляки загнали белуху на мелкое место. Стоящий на носу лодки гиляк приготовился метнуть гарпун.

Рисунок 3. Деталь ко второму рисунку.

Рисунок 4. Полет гарпуна в белуху; гарпун должен попасть в белуху в тот момент, когда она вынырнет.

Рисунок 5. Белуха волочит за собой поплавок. Когда в белуху попадает гарпун, то наконечник, привязанный на длинном ремне, застревает в ее туловище. К другому концу ремня прикреплен поплавок, который затрудняет движение белухи.

Рисунок 6. Гиляки поймали поплавок и готовятся вонзить в белуху второй гарпун.

Рисунок 7. Подтягивают к лодке белуху и собираются убить ее ударом копья в дыхательное отверстие.

Рисунок 8. Везут пришвартованную к борту лодки белуху в деревню. На берегу сидит старуха, ударяющая двумя палочками по доске, встречая этой своеобразной „музыкой" убитую белуху.

Рисунок 9. Охотники привезли белуху в деревню. Выбежавшие навстречу жители деревни собираются вытащить белуху на берег. Старуха продолжает играть на доске.

Рисунок 10. Гиляки вытаскивают белуху на берег.

Рисунок 11. Гиляк разрезает белуху.

Рисунок 12. Гиляки уносят полученные ими доли белухи.

Рисунки 13 и 14. Голова белухи на березке (по фотографиям).

Рисунки не охватывают всех деталей процесса охоты на белуху. Рассказ Мытки, продиктованный мне 29 июня 1931 года в деревне Пуир, дополняет их. Приводим перевод его рассказа, придерживаясь подлинника.

„Во время отлива, белухи подплывают (поднимаются) к берегу. Дав отхлынуть воде, товарищей собрав (говорит): „Преследовать (в море) поедем". Преследуя ехали. Когда белуха к фарватеру поплыла, погнали обратно, к мелкому месту погнали. Когда она дальше итти не могла, на носу находящийся человек встав, острогу неся приготовился, ее (белухи) появления (выныривания) ждал. Когда она вынырнула, острогой колол. Когда в нее уколол, поплавок бросил. Дали ей поплавок волочить. Когда она устала, к ней подъехали, опять, второй раз кололи. К ней подъехали, к борту ее подтащили. Крючком захватили, вытащили (из воды). Копьем делали (т. е. кололи).[2] Когда докололи, веревкой привязали, к берегу потащили. В то время как тащили, старуха к берегу спустившись, деревяшкой по доске ударяла.[3] Когда белуху привезли (к берегу), носом вперед подъехали.[4] Белуху отвязав, тащили

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[1] По техническим причинам при копировке рисунков пришлось заменить штриховку Мытки косыми линиями.

[2] Гиляки убивают белуху ударом копья в дыхательное отверстие.

[3] Подобной „музыкой" встречают добытую белуху только в Пуире. В других деревнях я этого не наблюдал.

[4] Обыкновенно гиляки подъезжают к берегу кормой. Когда же везут добытую белуху, то подъезжают к берегу носом.

Рис. 1

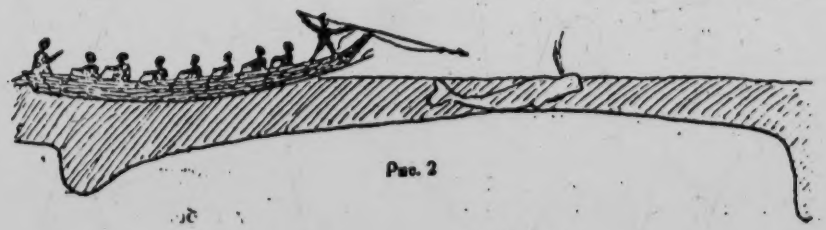

Рис. 2

Рис. 3

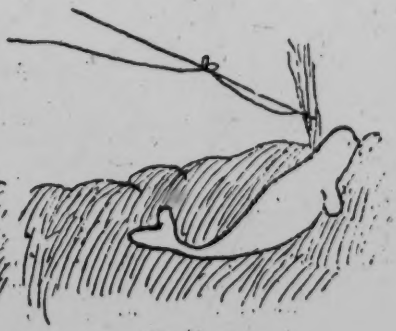

Рис. 4

Рис. 5

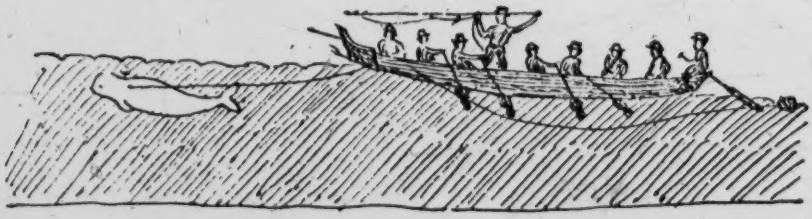

Рис. 6

Рис. 7

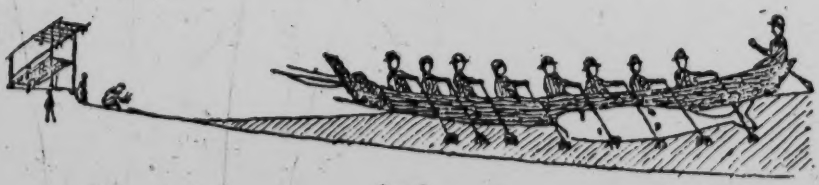

Рис. 8

Рис. 9

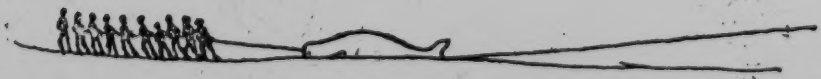

Рис. 10

Рис. 11

Рис. 12

на берег, вытащили. Доску, по которой ударяли, притащив, под дельфинью голову положили. Старики к юношам обратившись, их траву qoŋgon и растение piskər[1] послали нарвать. Потом, притащив, дельфинью голову кормили.[1] Потом старики (на берег) спустившись ревали. Когда разревали, людей

[1] Всех добытых морских зверей, тюленей, сивучей и белух амурские гиляки „кормят" растением piskər. Это растение вкладывается убитому зверю в рот (см. нашу статью „Морской промысел гиляков деревни Куль", Советская Этнография, № 5, 1934).

позвали (заставили придти), им сказали, их каждого свой пай заставили (пустили) взять. Сидевшим людям (т. е. тем, кто не участвовал в охоте) меньше дали.[1] В море ездившим людям больше дали. Когда они свои паи унесли, голову порезали (букв. поломали). Когда голову разрезали, вечером, к юношам обратившись, их березняк рубить послали, рябину рубить заставили. Из рябины стружки настрогали, в дыхательное отверстие всунули. Кашу сварив, в морское блюдо положили. Ягоды приготовив, в морское блюдо положили. Потом, к ребятам обратившись, голову хоронить их послали. Когда они собрались идти, старик один с ними вместе пошел. На месте жертвоприношений морю,[2] голову спустив положили, глаза взяв вынули, берег раскопав положили,

Рис. 13

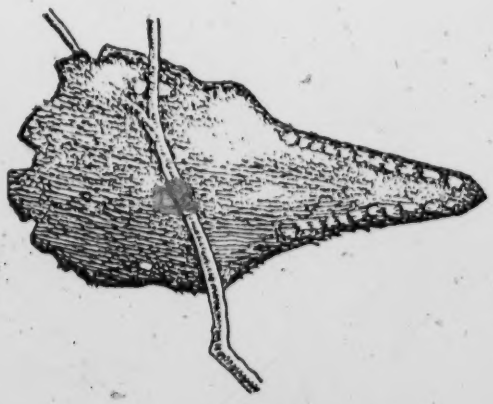

Рис. 14

в середину (ямки) положили.[3] Закопав, ягодами и рисом в море бросили, потом голову взяв, к Еlŋгəз неся,[4] пошли. На березняк голову повесили. Когда повесили, рисом и ягодой бросали.[5] Потом здесь вокруг сели. Ребят кормили. Обратно спустились. Когда обратно спускались, одного юношу белый камень заставили взять, в морское блюдо положить. Потом возвратившись, в свой дом пришли. Когда домой пришли, этот камешек взяв, в огневище положили».[6]

Методы охоты на белуху, изложенные в рассказе гиляка Мытки и показанные в его рисунках, характерны для деревни Пуир и отчасти Лянгр. В других местах эта охота протекает иначе.

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[1] Гиляк Шурман из деревни Лянгр сказал мне, что делят белуху поровну. Лишь в том случае, когда убьют 2—3 белух, охотникам выделяют несколько большие доли.

[2] Вблизи каждой деревни имеется определенное место, с которого приносится жертвоприношение морю.

[3] В дер. Пуир глаза белухи „хоронят" на месте жертвоприношения морю. В других местах их вешают на березку вместе с головой.

[4] Еlŋəз — место, где „хоронят" головы. Каждый род имеет свой еlŋəз. Когда убивают белуху — срубают молодую березку, втыкают ее на еlŋəз и вешают на нее голову белухи.

[5] Т. е. обмазали голову белухи рисом и ягодами.

[6] Камешек, который кладут в огневище, — плата хозяину огня за удачный исход охоты. (см. нашу статью „Морской промысел гиляков дер. Куль".)

Рассказ гиляка Хора (из деревни Чоми (?)) о том, как он и его товарищ в 1930 году охотились на белуху дает достаточный материал, характеризующий методы охоты, отличные от вышеизложенных (записан мною в 1931 г. на промысле Джаори).

Приводим перевод рассказа, стремясь передать характер подлинника.

„Во время хода сельди нас четверо человек, двое взрослых людей и двое ребят, мы вместе на лодке к Большому Мысу (Pila-krə) белуху промышлять поехали. К водовороту (Polx) когда спустились, к берегу пристали, свои вещи вытащили. Зверь [т. е. тюлени, белуха] подплывал[1] к берегу. Ребята чай грели, мы гарпуны взяв, наверх поднялись. Отсюда к „Мысу смотрящему море" (Tol-nun-iv-knok)[2] пошли. Когда к „Мысу смотрящему море" пришли, зверь не подплыл (поднялся). Обратно пошли. К своему месту спустились. Чай пили. Чай попив кончили, свои вещи погрузили. К Otvax поехать собрались. Отсюда на лодке в море поехали. В то время как вниз спускались, к (месту) напротив Vaspn когда спустились, белухи позади нас вынырнув, вниз спускались. Детеныш при матери есть.[3] Так, ныряя, вниз спускались. Когда мимо нас спускались, я встал, стрелять собрался. Когда я встав стрелять собрался, мой товарищ „далеко так" (говорит), не хочет (чтобы я стрелял). Я тогда: „хорошо", так сказал, „выстрелю, посмотрим". Когда я поднявшись встал, детеныш вынырнул. Пустив вынырнуть — выстрелил. Тогда в него выстрелил (т. е. попал). Потом погрузился,. Погрузясь шел. Думал пропал, долго. „Ael Туда, в море проплыв, вынырнул". Тогда гребли, преследовали. Преследуя, догнали. Гарпуном кололи. Потом встав, второй раз кололи. Тогда, за ремень тянув, к борту лодки притащили, пришвартовали, копьем кололи, убили. Поехав, на буксире ее тащили. Наши ребята радовались. Потом пристали, тянули на берег, вытащили. Я на верх (горку) поднялся piskər нарвал, неся спустился, в дыхательное отверстие всунув, кормил. Потом резали, ремень сняли, ее мясо резали, тащили, положили, ели нарубив, прикрыли, здесь спали. Выспались. Когда утром встали, зверь не подплыл. Когда зверь не подплыл, тогда поели, свои вещи погрузили. Потом на лодке к Отвах спустились. К верхней стороне Отвах (Otvax k'eqr-ksef herqtox), когда спустились, тюлени на конец мыса вылезли (поднялись). Тогда гарпуны взяв, на верх поднявшись, спустились. К концу мыса пошли, гарпуны отвязали. В это время звери подплыли. Пустив их подняться, метнули, — промахнулись. Тогда звери убежали. Тогда обратно поднялись (в гору), к своей лодке спустились. Потом вниз поехали, к P'arqaiv пристали. Спали. Выспавшись, потом, когда встали, на камень торчащий из воды, на другой стороне Паркхаив, тюлени вылезли.[4] Тогда мы вместе вдвоем поехали, из берданок вдвоем в них выстрелили [попали]. Пустив их биться в агонии, в воду вошли, пошли, гарпуном кололи, к берегу приволокли. Деревяшкой голову [тюленя] ударив, убили. К своему месту потащили, освежевали, варили, ели. Потом спали. Выспавшись, встали, поели, обратно к Большому мысу (Pila-krə), когда поднялись, белухи к берегу подплыли. Пустив их подплыть, мы, гарпуны взяв, поднявшись, к мысу „смотрящему море" пошли. К концу камня Норпах спустились. По одному на каждом камне находились, гарпуны отвязали. Тогда белух пустили приблизиться. Метнув промахнулись. Я ремень выбирал. Вдруг белуха приблизилась. Мой товарищ метнул, в нее попал, поплавок бросил. Тогда в море поплыла. Обратно (на горку), поднялись к своей лодке, пошли. За ней преследуя (в море) поехали.

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[1] Буквально: „поднимался к берегу".

[2] Интересно, что гиляки иногда называют ряд мест по характеру их экономического использования. Название Tol-nun-iv-khok дано потому, что с этого мыса смотрят на воду в ожидании проплывающих мимо морских зверей.

[3] Имеется в виду белуха-самка с детенышем.

[4] Возле берега Паркхаив имеются камни, на которые тюлени вылезают отдыхать. Такие камни называются пограх.

Ехали, поплавок поймали. Вытаскивая ремень, потащили, приблизив, второй раз (гарпун) всадили. Наша белуха между пароходами нас тащила, мимо пароходов нас протащила. Я берданку взяв, в дыхательное отверстие выстрелив, убил. Быстро к корме прибуксировали. Вниз поехали. Так гребли, к своему месту приехали (стали). Здесь вытащить не можем (не в силах). Отлива подождав, поднялись, piskər нарвали, неся спустились, в дыхательное отверстие всунув, кормили. Потом разрезали. Разрезав, окончили. Быстро ремни в лодку погрузили. Свои вещи тоже в лодку спустив погрузили. Потом толкнули, поехали к концу Мыса имеющему нарту (T'u ift krə əx), когда поехали, здесь шторм (водой залило), возвратились, к своему месту, приехали. Свои вещи все взяв, сушили. Ремней часть в лодку погрузили. Своих ребят двоих оставили; вдвоем только на своей лодке к Hivzu поднялись. Когда поднялись, люди там были. Тогда свои вещи выгрузили, свою лодку таща, подняли, на другой лодке спустились. Спустившись, мясо, свои вещи, своих товарищей взяли. Потом обратно поднялись. К Hivzu пристали. Здесь спали. На другое утро возвращаясь в свою деревню поднялись. Все потащили, на помост подняв положили. Потом спали. На другой день утром, встав, людей позвали. Голову сняв, разрезали, людей сырой головой кормили,[1] места предназначенные для варки (варимые места) варили, челюсть тоже варили. Сварив — сняли. Одни мясо ели, другие, с челюсти мясо снимая, ели. Потом поев, окончили, пошли, Harzas нарвав, притащили, варили, сварив растерли, muvi сделали. Потом прутьями рябины стружки сделав, (в нос) воткнули. Потом голову понесли, для того чтобы выбросить понесли. Здесь молодое деревцо срубили. Ольховую развилку срубили. Воткнутые в нос стружки muvi помазали, священные кости помазали; в „серьговые отверстия" развилку воткнули, подняли, здесь повесили. Еще священные кости [шейные позвонки] подняв, к деревцу привязали. Ее челюсть вниз положили, деревяшкой придавили".

[1] Сырая пища у гиляков имеет общее название talq. В сыром виде гиляки едят определенные породы рыб, в особенности сырые головы веты, определенные части тюленя и белухи.

7: Kreĭnovich E-5 (1931) 1934 RX2 Gilyak RX2

The Fishing Industry of the Gilyáks in the Village of Kul
/Morskoi promysel gilîakov derevni Kul'/

Leningrad: 1934
Sovetskaîa Etnografiîa,
1934, vyp. 4, pp. 78-96

Human Relations Area Files
1953

121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan relations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I put before the reader the material gathered in the course of this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyaks in the village of Kul.

225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting.

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce and of a plant locally known as (t'ǝkr) bogulnik and set out on sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋǝŋ-gan
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks in the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to submerge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks of the tackle kitǝ (2) which go into the implements for hunting

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal through
411 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
531 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker called tor-tas (from tor 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix pertaining to the implement used in the action), is made of a bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving which represents the snout of a seal.

225 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
782 the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
252 boats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping water of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant ays, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fond ('major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.

225 For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
782 mos and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
776 sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
825 (ays). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-tail bones (mamye) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.

782 When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
225 Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keyla-ŋks twig and the other is a qoskŋks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is
782 thrown into the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are
225 the uiŋ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are
766
415

2. Uiŋ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiŋ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
766 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

782 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
262 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
225 ui - r is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
561 young hunters must not taste this mos.

225 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
782 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

225 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
501 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
476 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
422 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
465

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

225 the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
501 unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
476
422 zayezdka.
466 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
614 the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.
466 Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
556 Tf nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi , Potaq from clan Neo afi , t from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez ran and Tesk from clan Tf nu .

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, 1 tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
556 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
476 with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
466 of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big, ' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
502 to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila .

225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi d and t aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

225 During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches
782 of the pilaŋ to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
372 light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose;
476 he has to use the implements of the pilaŋ instead.

4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
225 floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
476 in this respect completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
502 "If the pilaŋ observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible functions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if anything goes wrong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organizers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.

225 [81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning
501 to the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
476 designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋəťivd, the second - ťafpuf, the third - alχ-pid, the fourth - məγerq-pid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth - lele mə-pid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats with six and even seven pairs of oars.

225 Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋəťivd, is oc-
476 cupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
554 next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the
561 oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he rows just like the others. As long as there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits at the bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak pilaŋ Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals. At the same time Gilak ət tended the rudder which the pilaŋ had turned over to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had killed by himself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person shoots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
476 must often get out on the floes for it is not always conven-
554 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
561

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
225 are five oarsmen, one pilar and one other man, then the pilar
476 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
561 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
885 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pl skuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pl skuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pila is younger than the extra man in the boat. In that case the pilar tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pila Norp took along with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting at the seals and t, to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

225 [82] As mentioned above the pila performs mu-zi d
789 and t aj.

774 Mu-zi d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
751 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform zi d on hands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

225 mu-ziγəd on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziγəd on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from
misfortunes.

782 Aside from mu-ziγəd, tŋaj is performed on the boat. Tŋaj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-γəks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the
bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face
turned to the sea. We shall come back to these tŋaj elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and,
starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the
outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks
with the branches so as to elvlaf-pək-əzd --"lose bad places
(evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the
sea and are off.

225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultane-
ous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and
quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the
bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in
the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They
need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a rep-
resentation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines tŋaj. They
will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its
outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the
hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
823 first go to Uiγ-krə "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
766
782

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop con-
taining the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

225 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
823 similar gifts which the pilaŋ throws into the sea together
766 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Uiŋ-krə, then they
782 throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (krə) there lives a -ṭik- an old woman. These old women must also be given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed that tvax-ṭik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.

225 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf (Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kəvr-mif (Shantar Islands) (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end of the summer and then they would return to the village to fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Norp put out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

411 The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
225 tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
283

2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long. Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch. Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the tola-k'e is called ŋəski 'back.' The shore-end of the net is

411 called əmləus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,'
which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tətr-paγ . Large wooden floats (vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk, Loγri, and ət.

614 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.

423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋaγqej,
524 3. ət.

471 Lulvəχ-pər and ŋaγreqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock(β)

> 3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paχ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot ɫerd).

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomivər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə- vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
552
198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-"Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Evropy i severnoĭ Azii"
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Ètnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.
mif, 'Land', they say otχ 'excrements.' If they are far from land, they say tevl otχta, if near - knemla-otχta.
mu 'boat' they say orq.
ke 'sun' they say am.
la urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am sodra.
tə-lu 'fog' they say verq.
umgu 'woman' they say hiuləd.
qan 'dog' they say aim.
to 'fish' they tomr 'leaf.'
loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.
lo r 'trout' they say manm.
nemla 'linek' they say naχ-tomr.
va s 'lake-salmon' they say vətik.
al o 'kunzha' they say doχti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words manm and doχti from Tungus.

198 ti r 'fire wood' they say ops; tuin ops-ket tuχr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'
la r 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' tor vaad 'three seals.'
la r pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say lərŋ.
i d 'to kill' they say ŋazd.
pət 'tomorrow' they say mandəχa.
e r vida 'let us return' they say pəχtkuda.
saru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvəta-mu.
kər-χoqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-χod 'tava hurts.'
krəzd '(I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqn-tangad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tot-χod 'the hand hurts.'

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'
ǝkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'
etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kiʼid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth , 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head , the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even it if were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kes

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
825 of k-s, 'god'; a point on which I did not want to agree with him.
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home? " he told me. "Surely kes must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kes exists."

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-ni-sv, 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
574 following ui nd "taboo," "sin" during a seal hunt: the guest must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time) could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals: Pila-la r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-na 'present-time animal', i. e. a sivuch born in the given year.

2. Tje-na literally: 'last year's animal', i. e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

225 3. Pila-laŋr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
552
825

Pəγi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups: a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qrŋər is the youngest of all pəγi.
2. Mat-ŋəski-kəld is the next to the youngest pəγi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-ŋəski-kəld; mat - 'smal,' ŋəski 'back,' kəld 'long,' little long-back.
3. Tje-ŋəsχəl last year's ŋəsχəl.
4. Qat next in age to tje-ŋəsχəl.
5. Siusui-ŋa next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pəγi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Ta a a - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Ar fk - next in age to taŋarŋa, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alχ.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored al and dalr - grey Alχ.

225 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
237 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (maχt) and two upper ribs.

225 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
782 "feed" it the root of the plant piskər. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orŋoχt."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muzŋi. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave pər 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskər.

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its head and its
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a special scoop
'a- ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i. e. the scoop used in washing the face of the animal.

The heads with pisker stuck in them are taken home.

225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pila performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines traj. (Regardless of the
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties, this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first
sivuch.) The pila cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all
of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as
belonging to the pila. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent
from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a
Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been killed. With-
out drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pila
asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his share of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances.
First - the pila appropriates the first sivuch killed during the
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.

784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.

183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women) are
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe
those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the
tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well
as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only point to the
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the in-
terdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go
hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him
to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue old men only
can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in which the
Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of these taboos
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
183
626 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
262 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
462 parts of the clan.
868 Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Čarvaχ
183 (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and ə̄isk (Agiska) informed
626 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by women in cutting leather and cloth (tans-kəlmr). Also, a child must not play with a woman's cutting knife (tan-dago).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uiṭ ('taboo,' 'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow, or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local Russian - farta). If a woman or a girl were to step inadvertantly over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in play - have anything to do with implements used by women in their tasks and that, conversely, girls mustnot use implements used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legitimize for both men and woman, virtually from the time of birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.

462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs, row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregancy, the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disreputable and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food, make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dignity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food. They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

462 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
562 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots
and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of
the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time
they are born, and when they grow up they are given away,
in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that
takes the woman, i. e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become
dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also,
women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their
life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat.
They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts.
Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the
woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a
man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not
come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, other-
wise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return
home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
462 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather
than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn
the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the
men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely
indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos.
The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to
enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinat-
ing exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by
the example of the t·aj where the pilaj attemptto assert his
title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under
the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pilaj distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes
apparent that the sivuch, which is the pilaj's legal property
and whose blood he used in feeding the t·aj, is included in

225 the division of the quarry. Why this ceremony should have
422 stopped at the pilaŋ appropriating the first sivuch rather
476 than asserting his full title to it on top of his share of the quarry is hard to tell. It seems to us that this can be explained by the essential preservation of the primitive Communist method of distribution of the quarry among the Gilyaks of the village Kul which do not permit a single individual to assert his title to an entire extra sivuch.

225 [89] I gave here a few examples which I have recorded
476 of the distribution of the quarry among the Gilyak hunters on their return home to the village Kul on August 2, 1931. These examples demonstrate clearly the primitive Communist character of the distribution.

The quarry of ŋəlχtun's collective consisted of 18 sivuchs 9 pəγi, 11 qoma and 1 alχ. They sold 3 sivuchs, 5 qoma and the fat of two seals on Cape Litke at the branch of the Rybaksoyuz [A, B Fisherman's Union]. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal shares. (1)

1. Unfortunately I did not write down how they distributed the money.

-1 tun..... received 2 sivuchs 2 pəγi
Jotkun..... received 2 sivuchs 1 pəγi 1 qoma 1 strap (2)

281 2. The hide of a young sivuch nav-ŋa is cut into three pieces and that of an older one - into four. Out of each piece the Gilyaks cut one thin long strap which is immediately spread out to dry.

225 Nərp (a shot)...	received	1	sivuch	1	pəγi	1	qoma	3	straps
476 Rəntik.....	"	2	"	2	"	-	"	1	"
Təvus.....	"	2	"	1	"	1	"	-	"
Zabojko.....	"	2	"	1	"	2	"	1	" alχ
Tuŋs.....	"	2	"	1	"	1	"	1	" strap
		13	sivuchs	9	pəγi	6	qoma	6	straps =
								= 2	sivuchs
								1	alχ
On straps		2							
Sold		5				5			

Total.....18 Sivuchs 9 pəγi 11 qoma 1 alχ

225 The quarry of Nitgin's collective consisted of 19 sivuchs,
476 and 8 qoma and 1 pəγi. They sold 3 sivuchs and 4 qoma on the cape Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal shares.

Nitgin.....	received	2 sivuchs	--		2 straps
Nlamin.....	received	2 "			1 strap
Kizgun.....	"	2 "	1 qoma		1 "
Verun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "
Ozgun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "
I nun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "
Izgun.....	"	2 "	1 pəγi		1 "
		14 sivuchs	4 qoma		and 8 straps
			1 pəγi		2 sivuchs
On straps....		2			
Sold.....		3	4		
Total.....		19 sivuchs	8 qoma		1 pəγi

The quarry of Norp's collective consisted of 26 sivuchs, 1 pəγi and 12 qoma. They sold 8 sivuchs and 4 qoma on cape Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal parts.

Norp.....	received	2 1/2 sivuchs	2 qoma		2 straps
Et.....	"	2 1/2 "	2 "		2 "
Potaq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "		2 "
Otaq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "		2 "
Tesq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "		2 "
Onkan.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "		2 " and 1 pəγi
		15 sivuchs	8 qoma		12 straps
					3 sivuchs
On straps....		3			
Sold.....		8	4		
Total.....		26 Sivuchs	12 qoma		1 pəγi

[90] The fact that Norp received an extra qoma does not prove that he received more than the other hunters. The qoma is not a valuable seal and it is really of no account whether one does or does not get an extra qoma. What is important is the

225 distribution of the sivuchs . The number of sivuchs he re-
476 ceived was the same as that received by the others. If at all
it is Nitgin who received a tiny bit more than the others; he
received one extra strap but did not get a qoma and so he
225 really got no more than the others. My report of my obser-
476 vation in the year 1931 of the primitive Communist method of
461 the distribution of the quarry in the village Kul can be
appropriately concluded with the following passage from L.
IA. Shternberg's work "Sakhalínskiie Gíliakí" (The Sakhaline
Gilyaks), mentioned by F. Engels and published in
"Etnograficheskoie Obozreniie" in 1893, i. e. 40 years ago.
"During the common hunt, for instance, during a seal or
dolphin hunt, when a group of Gilyaks banded together for
this purpose set out in a single boat, the quarry is shared
equally by the participants. The owner of the boat receives
a share equal to that of the young man sitting na grebkakh.
The skill of the maker of spears and arrows is not specially
rewarded. Moreover, during a long expedition, i. e. from
Amur to the South of Sakhalin, it is not the owner of the boat
who receives more than his share of the quarry, but rather
the man who, on the voyage, performs the bothersome duties
connected with the preparation of food and the collection of
firewood." Apparently, it is for this kind of work that old
man Onkan received not only a participant's share but an
extra p= i.

476 I find it necessary to give one more example of the
225 distribution of the quarry in the collective of Xitkun, for in
it we come across an entirely new phenomenon.

The quarry of Xitkun's collective consisted of 14 sivuchs.
They cut the hides of two sivuchs on straps. They cut the
hide of the youngest sivuch nav-ŋa into three straps, and the
hide of the tje-ŋa into four straps. There were seven straps
in all. There remained 12 sivuchs. Of the remaining sivuchs
Xitkun gave one and a half sivuch to each of the seven mem-
bers of the collective. This made a total of ten and a half
sivuchs. The fat of the remaining one and a half sivuch was
divided (unfortunately, I did not find out how) and as for the
hides, the hunters decided to let them dry and then make ki
(vamps and soles for shoes) of them. Including Xitkun there
were six men in the boat and they divided the quarry into
seven parts. It turned out that the seventh share was mu-ar,
the share of the boat (or as the Gilyaks say pay), that is,
what they were supposed to pay to the Gilyak Arban from whom
they rented the boat for the hunt. Xitkun and the other hunters

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
178 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
177
427 1 N. V. Slîunīn, Sovremennoîe polozhenīe nashevo
476 Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
476 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares.
177 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mləṭ) and of the stick over the door of the house (ŋγəmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak ʒargun (?) now living in the village
471 Cγarvaχ (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from the village Ṭəlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

225 for their families.
471 I observed analogous facts on the very same island in
427 1927 and in 1931.

In the village Vaz-vo (cape Vasin) from which the Gilyaks were driven out in 1914 or 1915, the system of exploitation on the basis of ownership of the instruments of labor was, it seems, even more cruel. According to the expert on Gilyak life, the inquisitive Gilyak ə̄risk, an owner of a zayesdok claimed one share for himself, one share for the boat, one share for the plank-bench in the boat (mlət) and one share for the nyəmr-tis - the shelf over the door in the entrance-hall. I failed to find the reason for the claim to an extra share in connection with the nyəmr-tis. I am inclined to think that no such reason exists and that nyəmr-tis is used by the owner of the tools of labor [92] solely as a pretext for getting an extra share for himself.

The Gilyak Miskin, inhabitant of the village Puir, told me of an incident that sounds like an anecdote. The incident took place in that village in 1931. An old Gilyak, called for one reason or another Tetkin, asked the young Gilyaks Pnadainu, Lakhtaku and Kondinu (?) to come with him to hunt (AB: fish?) kaluga. On return Tetkin took for himself four shares: one for himself, one, for some other obscure reasons, for some Russian acquaintance of his in the village Makarevka, one for a daughter in the village Langer and one for a daughter in the village Charbakh. As for his companions, he gave a single share to each. I later talked about this incident the Pnadainu. Pnadainu confirmed Miskin's story and further clarified it. Unfortunately, I wrote down Pnadainu's information on a separate piece of paper and, it seems, lost it.

My lengthy discussion is meant as a very general introduction to this problem. It is meant to show how, among the Gilyaks, the owner of the tools of work, as still found in the village Kul, could under the influence of Russian capitalism turn into a kulak-exploiter. This discussion is also meant to show how he utilized the old forms of the distribution of the quarry into shares for the purposes of exploitation. This interesting process deserves careful study.

281 After the distribution of the quarry the hunters and their
462 wives at once start to work. There is a lot of work to do. The suet has to be separated from the hides. The hides have to be stretched on special frames used in drying seal hides. Some hides have to be cut into straps and those have to be stretched to dry, for one cannot make dry hides into straps

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
462 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ŋɔ́ɣ) into pieces. They put the pieces into
251 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tóm) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (taɣ) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

193 [93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmŋar can be easily

193 explained. In the same dialect there exists a word ja-jmnd
197 'to know' (to this word there corresponds in the Amur dialect the word jəjmd). In the direct object, which according to the rules of the Gilyak language merges with the predicate, the letter j alternates with c h. Thus for instance "I know Mizgun" sounds in Gilyak Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. In this way the verb jajmnd gives rise to the second form of the stem - hajmnd which exists independently of the first as a distinct word (just as the intransitive form of the transitive verb jajmnd 'to know') meaning 'to get old'. Hajmnd means 'to get old'. (In the Gilyak language intransitive verbs are formed out of transitive verbs by alternating the first consonant of the stem of the transitive verb.) In the Gilyak language "to know" and to "get old" derive their origin from the same stem and this is understandable for in the case of primitive man knowledge came with experience and so with age. We have thus explained the origin of hajm in the word hajm ar: hajm is derived from the intransitive form of the stem which, in this form, means 'to get old.' ŋ is the suffix which transforms verbs into nouns. We already know the meaning of ar. Thus the word hajmŋar means 'the knowing male' or 'old male.' The Amur hem is, of course, the same as hajm-ŋ in the Sakhalin dialect which change considerably in the Amur dialect. The disappearance of ŋ in it is understandable for the Amur dialect drops its final ŋ's as against the Sakhalin dialect which does not. For instance, 'horse' is murŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and mur in the Amur dialect, 'dog' is qanŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and qan in the Amur dialect. At present we find it difficult to explain why hajm became hem in the Amur dialect, contrary to the rules which would lead us to expect həjm as the counterpart of hajm; thus, həjmr instead of hemar. At any rate it is incontestable that hemar and hajmŋar have the same meaning and, accordingly, hemanχ means a 'knowing female' or and 'old female.' It is possible that at one time or another the Gilyaks meant by ar not only male but also man. This is quite probable for at present they use two words for man: azmət in the Sakhalin dialect and utku in the Amur dialect.

252 Hemanχ sat in squatting position at the trough containing
237 the heads of the sivuchs. The skin was taken off the heads of the sivuch right down to the level of the eyes. The skin on the snouts was untouched. First the old woman cut out the throat together with the tongue. Then she took out of the heqr kuti (?) the plant piskər placed there by the hunters. Then she pulled out the whiskers and put them in a separate cup. After

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-ŋək and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
412 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-ŋək.

411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skui Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskər around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the kettle.

263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese. In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea, in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the Muzeĭ Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat. In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for dipping pieces of meat in it.

462 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings of qosk-ɣaks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps. He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanɣ. The old woman stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular vertebrae (maɣt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls. The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun took the board with the heads and the mug containing the eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at [95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible. next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzŋisŋar.
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles as
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-uski-d
225 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).
775 There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire?

Of some help in answering this question may be the following opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin in 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmur informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the master of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no better. "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea concludes the seal hunt.

Supplement

115 A seal hunt. (1)
225

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were suffering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate. "Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put everything in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out the boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) make

2. I.e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was at

225 the bow and one was at the stern. Then we went down, pushed the boat off and went. "Row, ice is there. Use more strength, we shall go more quickly." We came to the ice, we pulled the boat out onto the ice. "Throw into the sea." After throwing (the offerings) into the sea, we stalked the seals. Then one comrade, carrying a gun, went towards the seal, stalking the seal. He went stalking the seal, he fired, killed it. "Fellows, go to your comrade, bring the seal." Four went. We dragged a big seal (sivuch). We hauled it to the boat. "Skin the seal. After skinning the seal, we shall cook and eat." We skinned it, then: "Go quickly, a seal is there again. Many seals, go quickly." Three went together, going towards the seal they stalked it, they shot, the shot another one, they killed two. The pilaŋ said: "Those in the boat, go to your comrades." Two more went to their comrades. Only the pilaŋ was in the boat. Then dragging we hauled a seal. Three dragged one, two dragged another. "Haul it to the boat." We hauled it to the boat. The pilaŋ said: "skin it." We skinned it next. "It is already dark. We shall cook meat and eat. We shall cook meat, eat and go to sleep." It got dark. "Let us sleep." [96] We slept and got up in the morning. When we got up in
225 the morning it was dark, a fog. The pilaŋ: "It is dark. How
178 shall we go. We won't go. We shall wait on the ice. We shall
502 dip the companion (1) we shall see if we go soon or not.

1. ḥafq-vax 'companion stone' or 'companionable stone.' In olden times the Gilyaks used to take along to sea a small stone with a string tied around it. Using this stone the Gilyaks measured the depth of the sea, determining in this way the distance from the shore. Sometimes they take a stone of this type along with them even today.

We shall dip the big companion and we shall see." When we dipped our companion: "We won't go soon. We will wait till dawn." When we were staying it was dark. Then it dawned a
225 bit. Then the pilaŋ: "When it dawns we will go." We lighted a fire, put up the kettle and ate. We ate and when we finished the mountain could be seen. "When it is quite light we will go. It dawned, the whole mountain could be seen. "It is far. That is bad. We will go toward the land." We went. While we were travelling it got dark, we kept on going during the night. While we were travelling at night, it began to dawn. When it dawned the land was near. "We shall travel toward the land." We went. We put in to shore, pulled out the boat. "We will eat."

225 We were almost falling asleep; it is bad: we did not sleep one night. The pilaŋ said: "Well, fellows: It is hard. We'll sleep here." Then we slept. Then we got up. We killed few seals."Fellows, shall we go back and hunt seals again." The fellows: "We'll hunt seals again." Again we went to the ice fields. We got there. As we got there, we saw seals. We sneaked up in the boat (literally: using the boat only). One at the bow did the shooting. Another was next to him. Both were shooting and killing. We went and kept on shooting, killing. Then we went again and kept on shooting, killing. The boat was almost full. We already killed fifteen sivuch. The boat was full. "Now we'll go toward shore." While we were travelling it got dark. We travelled during the night. When it dawned we reached the shore. We lighted a fire, ate. "Fellows, we'll eat and return home." We went. After a long trip we got to the mouth of the river. From there we went to the village. All the women got (to the shore). The children came. The women: "Our comrades got seals. Fine. Nice." The men dragged out the seals. We dragged them all ashore. We pulled the boat and lifted it (ashore). We divided the seals. We made six shares. The pilaŋ made the shares. After that: "Take your shares." We dragged them away. Then the woman cooked the heads. Then we ate. The women skinned the seal. Then they put them in the kettle. The men stretched the skins and dried them.

7: Kreinovich RX2 Gilyak

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Морской промысел гиляков деревни Куль

В 1931 г. я был командирован к амурским гилякам с целью изучения их диалекта и собирания материалов для составления букваря. Некоторую долю времени мне удалось выделить и на изучение вопросов из области этнографии: истории гиляцких родов, родовых угодий, междуродовых отношений, морского промысла и др. В настоящем очерке я предлагаю вниманию читателя добытый в результате этой работы материал по морскому промыслу гиляков д. Куль.

1

При первых признаках наступления весны, начиная с месяца qar-loŋ ('мороз'ний месяц'),[1] гиляки д. Куль начинают охоту на тюленя. Они вытаскивают крюки, снимают с них старые бичевки и навязывают на них новые. Потом производят религиозно-магический обряд обдымления их в дыму ели и растения, называемого по-местному (t'əkr) богульник, и отправляются на нартах, запряженных собаками, на огромные ледяные поля Охотского моря. Приехав туда, охотник-гиляк спускает kuti-ŋəŋ-gan ('отверстия ищущую собаку') на поиски отдушин тюленей. В каждую найденную собакой отдушину гиляк спускает свои крюки, привязывая их к палке, положенной через отдушину. Тюлень, желая подышать воздухом, высовывает голову. Находящиеся в отдушине крюки мешают ему, он хочет погрузиться обратно в воду, но в этот момент один или два крюка вонзаются в его тело. Крюки снастей kitə,[2] из которых приготовляются орудия лова тюленей в отдушинах, оттачиваются так остро, что при малейшем сопротивлении вонзаются в тело. На следующий день гиляк снова приезжает к этому месту. Он смотрит, не попал ли на его крюки тюлень. Вытащив сквозь отдушину попавшегося тюленя, гиляк убивает его, сильно ударив по голове особым ударником, специально изготовленным для убивания тюленей. Ударник этот, называемый toŋr-tas (от toŋr 'голова' za-d 'бил', s суффикс орудия действия), изготовляется из сука какого-нибудь крепкого дерева. Сук вырубается вместе с находящимся у его основы куском ствола, которому придается затем округлая форма. На нижнем конце ручки этого своеобразного молотка вырезывается изображение морды тюленя.

2

Через некоторое время, после этой охоты на тюленей у отдушин, когда разломанный лед отходит от берега, гиляки выезжают на лодках и „кормят море" из muurs ('черпака для вычерпывания воды из лодки'), кусочками студня

[1] Соответствует примерно концу февраля — началу марта.

[2] Снасти для лова тюленей в летнее время. Важнейшей частью этих снастей является множество остроотточенных крюков.

mos,[1] каши и высушенным растением aγs, называемого местными русскими пучка. Иногда после этого кормления производят охоту на тюленей, на близлежащих льдинах.

После первого „кормления" устраивается pilgur tol-fənd ('большое кормление моря, буквально 'большое водобросание'). Только после этого „кормления" охотники отправляются на охоту в море на лодках.

Для „большого кормления" женщины готовят два сорта студня — mos и muvi, варят кашу из риса или проса, приготовляют сушеную сарану, горох, ягоды, табак, сушеные стебли пучки (aγs). Кроме того, варят для кормления собак суп. Считается, что если собакам не сварить еды, причем накормить их нужно до рассвета, то они съедят жертвоприношение морю и последнее не дойдет до места назначения. Во избежание этого, гиляки особо кормят еще собак морских духов (по представлениям гиляков духи такие же люди, как и они, и имеют своих собак). Для этого гиляки берут кости рыбьего хвоста (matγe), обвязывают их пучкой и бросают в море перед жертвоприношением духам. Гиляки полагают, что собаки духов, поев рыбьих костей, насытятся и не станут есть предназначенных их хозяевам угощений.

Когда все дары готовы, мужчина-охотник идет с ними к морю. На жертвоприношениях морю женщины не присутствуют. Придя к берегу, гиляк у самой воды втыкает в одно место два прутика, один прут keγla-ŋəks и один прут qosk ŋəks ('рябины'). На небольшом расстоянии от первых двух прутьев он втыкает у края воды еще два таких же прутика. Эти своеобразные ворота называются taγr. Сквозь taγr бросается в море жертвоприношение. Сперва бросают из uiγ-ŋir[2] — корыт, предназначенных для кормления утопленников (mos для этих корыт приготовляют мужчины), потом бросают mos из tol-ŋir ('морских корыт'), для которых оно, как во всех прочих случаях, всегда изготовляется женщинами. После жертвоприношения корыта, стоявшие „глазами" к морю, повертывают — „глазами" к дому.[3] Затем в корыта кладут взятые с берега камешки, которые по приходе домой бросают на огневище.

Оставшимся после жертвоприношений гиляки угощают сородичей, едят сами, причем mos с uiγ-ŋir едят только старики. Женщинам, детям и молодым охотникам есть mos из этих корыт не разрешается.

„Кормление моря" необходимо провести до отъезда охотников. Когда охотники отбыли в море, „кормить море" нельзя. В настоящее время этот обычай мало соблюдается и если кто-нибудь опоздал, то он „кормит море" поздно вечером, когда по приблизительным расчетам находящиеся в море охотники уже пристали где-нибудь к берегу, хотя очень часто они ночуют на льдах.

После этого жертвоприношения гиляки начинают готовиться к отъезду в море на охоту.

3

Основным условием для промысла тюленя в море служит большая вместительная, многовесельная лодка. Не всякий гиляк является обладателем

[1] Студень, изготовляемый из свареных кож кеты, растертых вместе с тюленьим жиром и водой. Когда заканчивается растирание студня, в него густо насыпают ягоды и выносят на дому, чтобы дать ему остыть.

[2] Uiγ-ŋir изготовляется по человеку, утонувшему в море. Первый uiγ-ŋir — скоро „потерять надо", как выражаются гиляки. Потом делают другой, который держат долго. Когда кто-нибудь утонет, гиляки состязаются на лодках, борются, бегают. Между прочим, в д. Чайво, на Охотском берегу Сахалина, где культ утопленников изучен мною весьма подробно, веселиться после того, как кто-нибудь утонет — не разрешается.

[3] Корыта имеют форму животного. На tol-ŋir, которое, повидимому, эту форму утратило, „глаза", как я наблюдал в д. Чайво, делаются на одном его конце капельками mos.

такой лодки, пригодной для далеких путешествий. В д. Куль имеется не больше 10 таких лодок.[1] Во время охоты на тюленя, охотники объединяются в коллектив вокруг лодки точно так же, как во время ловли кеты они объединяются в коллектив вокруг невода или заездка.

Когда наступает время охоты, хозяин такой лодки начинает подбирать для себя спутников. Если у хозяина есть в деревне зять (ore), то он предлагает ему поехать с ним на охоту. Вообще же хозяином лодки подбираются охотники вне зависимости от принадлежности к роду.

Так, напр., с хозяином лодки гиляком Norp из рода Tfənuŋ ехали охотники из следующих родов: Otaq из рода Hutevix, Potaq из рода Neojafiŋ, Ət из рода ḷaγramlaŋ, Onkan из рода Lezŋran и Tesk из рода Tfənuŋ.

Такова же картина и в других коллективах охотников, уехавших на охоту в 1931 г.

Коллектив охотников, объединенный вокруг лодки, иногда называется по имени хозяина лодки. Например: γəlχtun-mu-nim ('Тыльхтюна лодка одна'), Xitkun-mu-nim ('Хиткуна лодка одна').

Хозяин лодки является организатором и руководителем всего объединенного вокруг нее коллектива охотников. Все едущие с ним подчиняются ему. Руководитель такого коллектива охотников называется pilaŋ ('большак')[2] (от pila-d — 'быть большим', большой', ŋ — суффикс, оформляющий отглагольные имена существительные).

4

На pilaŋ лежит много обязанностей. Pilaŋ обязан:

1. Осмотреть лодку, уключины и в случае надобности принять меры для починки; осмотреть и приготовить весла для гребли и рулевое весло.

2. Приготовить и захватить с собой ремни, наконечники острог (t'amrăχ), древка острог (veγl), свои ружья и ружья едущих с ним охотников, котел и чайник (охотники обязаны захватить с собой только кружки), палатку, парус, треногу для чайника и котла, компас.[3] Преобладающее большинство этих предметов принадлежит pilaŋ.

3. Совершить ряд религиозно-магических обрядов перед отправлением на охоту и во время охоты. Так pilaŋ обдымляет лодку, делает mu-ziγəd и tŋaj, о чем мы подробнее скажем ниже. Во время охоты только кресалом или спичками pilaŋ можно разводить костер. Охотники не имеют права разводить костер своим огнем, они обязаны брать его для этого у pilaŋ.

4. Сидеть за рулем, наблюдать за ветром, за льдом. Молодые охотники, неискушенные в поездках по морю, всецело полагаются в этом отношении на pilaŋ. „Если pilaŋ хорошо наблюдает за ветром и льдами, тогда молодые охотники спокойны", сказал мне один гиляк.

5. Произвести раздел добычи между охотниками.

Таким образом, мы видим, что на pilaŋ лежат весьма ответственные руководящие функции. Гиляки мне говорили, что если во время охоты произойдет что-нибудь неладное, то считается виновным в этом pilaŋ.

Кроме организаторов, в коллективе охотников должны быть хорошие гребцы и меткий стрелок.

[1] К сожалению, во время моего краткого пребывания в д. Куль я не догадался учесть количество этих лодок.

[2] Также называется старейший в роде и вообще всякий руководитель на производстве или промысле.

[3] Раньше вместо компаса в море брали naiq-vaχ („товарищ камень" или „товарищеский камень") (см. примечание к приложению „Охота на тюленя").

5

В лодке все от начала и до конца охоты организовано. Каждый охотник занимает в лодке определенное место за веслами. Каждое место имеет свое название.

Место за первой парой весел от кормы называется ŋət'ivd, второе t'alpuf', третье alχ-p'id, четвертое məγerq-p'id ('в сторону носа сидящий'), пятое lele məχ-p'id ('на самом носу находящийся'). Бывают лодки с шестью и даже семью парами весел.

Первое место от кормы ŋət'ivd занимает один из самых старших и самых сильных гребцов в лодке. За следующей парой весел сидит более молодой. Место за веслами на носу занимает самый молодой из едущих охотников.

Когда приезжают к льдам и наступает время охоты, место на носу занимает самый лучший стрелок. До этого он сидит наравне с другими за веслами и гребет. Когда тюленя не видно, он гребет наравне с другими, сидя на носу. Часто pilaŋ, как самый старший из едущих, оказывается по сравнению с молодыми охотниками лучшим стрелком и тогда он передает кому-нибудь руль, а сам садится на нос для стрельбы из ружья в тюленя. Так, напр., pilaŋ, гиляк Norp, во время охоты сидел на носу и стрелял в тюленей. В это же время на руле сидел гиляк Ət, которому он передал руль. Pilaŋ гиляк Tavjun во время охоты находился на носу. По его сообщению он один убил двадцать тюленей, а двух „промазал". Сказанное не значит, что из всего коллектива охотников в тюленей стреляет только один человек. Стреляют двое, трое или четверо охотников, но лучший из них сидит на носу. Охотникам часто приходится вылезать на льдины, так как в лодке не всегда бывает удобно подъехать к тюленям на расстояние выстрела.

Если в лодке едет один лишний человек, напр., 5 гребцов, pilaŋ — рулевой и еще один человек, то pilaŋ, если он самый старший в лодке, сидит в корме и ничего не делает, а следующий за ним по возрасту сидит за рулем. Так, гиляки приводили мне в качестве иллюстрации этого следующий пример: если в лодке среди других охотников поедут Xitkun и Kaun и оба они будут старшими по отношению к другим едущим с ними охотниками, то Xitkun, как самый старший, будет сидеть на корме и ничего не будет делать за исключением дачи указаний, а Kaun, как младший по отношению к Xitkun'у, будет сидеть за рулем. Если же в лодке, в числе других более молодых охотников, поедут Tujun, Xitkun, Pləskuk и Kaun, то последние двое, как наиболее молодые по отношению к двум первым, сядут за весла, Xitkun сядет за руль, Tujun, как самый старший, будет сидеть на корме. Бывает так, что Pilaŋ моложе едущего в лодке лишнего человека, тогда pilaŋ садится за руль, а тот сидит на корме. Такой случай лично мне известен. В лодке pilaŋ'а Norp ехал старик Onkan, который сидел на корме и ничего не делал в то время, как Norp все время сидел за рулем. Когда же Norp был на носу и стрелял в тюленей, а Ət, которому Norp передал рулевое весло, сидел за рулем, старик Onkan продолжал сидеть на корме. О своей работе Onkan шутя мне сказал: „Так сидел, ничего не делал, пай нашел". От других я узнал, что во время охоты он помогал раскладывать костер, готовить пищу и, повидимому, помогал еще кое в чем другом, за что был взят с собой. К сожалению, подробней я ничего об этом случае выяснить не мог. Не было времени. Onkan выполнял, повидимому, ряд посильных для него работ, чем облегчал весьма тяжелый труд других охотников.

Между прочим, вышеизложенные факты достаточно ярко иллюстрируют роль старших у гиляков.

6

Как было указано выше (см. гл. 4), pilaŋ делает на лодке mu-ziγəd и tŋaj. Mu-ziγəd делается на корме лодки. В кормовую доску вбиваются две коротенькие и тоненькие как спички палочки. Расстояние между ними равно, примерно, двум пальцам. Потом эти палочки обвязываются тонкой ниточкой, сделанной из волокон крапивы. Ziγəd обыкновенно делается гиляками на руках детей. Считается, что если обвязать руку ребенка ниточкой, сделанной из собачьей шерсти вместе с волокнами крапивы, то это предохранит его от болезней. Факт делания гиляками mu-ziγəd на лодке дает основание предполагать, что у гиляков некогда, повидимому, существовало воззрение на лодку как на живое существо. Mu-ziγəd на лодке, повидимому, служит оберегом, предохранителем лодки от несчастий.

Кроме mu-ziγəd на лодке делаются tŋaj. Tŋaj значит 'изображение', 'фигура', 'картинка'. Из ветки рябины (qosk-ŋəks) pilaŋ делает две маленькие фигурки с стружками (ŋnau). Одну из этих фигурок помещают на носу лодки, а другую на корму. Один раз я видел такую фигурку на шее изображения птицы ugŋ, помещаемой гиляками на нос лодки. Фигурка, находящаяся на носу, обращена лицом к морю. Об этих tŋaj мы будем еще говорить ниже.

Над лодкой совершают еще один обряд: перед отправлением на охоту лодку обдымляют. По обе стороны лодки зажигают небольшие костры из ели и богульника, причем стараются их расположить, так, чтобы дым шел на лодку. Pilaŋ берет ветку ели и богульника и, начиная с носа лодки по направлению к корме, бьет ветками по внешней и внутренней ее стороне, по уключинам для того, чтобы elvlaf-pəkəzd — „скверные места (или скверное) потерять". Потом охотники сталкивают лодку мимо огня в море и уезжают.

Я видел, как успевший уже вернуться после охоты гиляк Xitkun во второй раз выехал вместе с охотниками в море. За веслами сидело пятеро охотников. От сильных и дружных ударов пяти пар весел, лодка быстро и легко понеслась в море. Xitkun, крепко сжав рулевое весло, направил нос лодки к северу, к едва видневшемуся вдали мысу. Гиляки спокойно и тихо гребли. Им нечего бояться. На корме их лодки сидит опытный, испытанный в поездках pilaŋ, а на носу помещенное изображение морской птицы ugŋ и фигурки tŋaj — зорко будут высматривать и оберегать их путь.

Когда лодка превратилась в маленькую точку и очертания ее начали сливаться с водой, женщины, провожавшие охотников, поднялись с берега и ушли домой.

7

Выехав из деревни, охотники направляются к северу. Прежде всего они едут к Uiγ-kr'ə „священному мысу."[1] Приехав к нему, они вытаскивают на берег лодку. Pilaŋ берет черпак, в котором находятся обычные для таких случаев угощения и бросает их в море. Каждый охотник везет с собой подобные дары, которые pilaŋ вместе с своими дарами бросает в море. Если охотники едут мимо Uiγ-krə, то с первой льдины, к которой они пристают, они бросают в море свои приношения. Гиляки считают, что в каждом мысу (kr'ə) живет ətik — старуха. Этим старухам также следует что-нибудь уделять во время поездки по морю. Считается, что tvax-ətik 'старуха устья', живущая в устье р. Куль, помогает на охоте.

[1] Повидимому, на этом мысу находятся „памятники" по утопленниках.

8

Раньше гиляки во время охоты на тюленя доезжали до T'uurf (Тугурского залива). Иногда они оставались там даже зимовать, занимаясь в течение зимы охотой на лисиц. Гиляки сказали мне, что на kəvr-mif („Шантарские острова") древние гиляки будто бы не ездили.[1] В настоящее время едут не дальше Lo·ri. Прежде гиляки выезжали в море, когда начинал ломаться лед. В море они охотились до конца лета, после чего возвращались в деревню ловить кету. Когда из-за отсутствия льда нельзя было охотиться на тюленя на льдинах, они охотились на них при помощи tola-k'e 'толстого невода'.

В настоящее время уезжают в море не надолго, на один-два месяца. Так, напр., Norp выехал вместе с охотниками в море 8 июля, а вернулся с охоты 2 августа. В 1930 г. две лодки охотников, охотясь на тюленя возле мыса Лидтке, пробыли там два месяца.

Современные гиляки также охотятся при помощи невода tola-k'e.[2] Tola-k'e изготовляется из толстого шнура, по местному матауза. В длину он имеет 45 ручных (маховых) саженей. Каждое очко этого невода настолько велико, что в него входит голова сивуча. Tola-k'e ставится недалеко от берега. Верхняя веревка Tola-k'e называется ŋəski 'спина'. Береговой конец ее называется əmləus, а морской əz-baχ-puks 'хозяйского камня привязь'. На этот конец, опускаемый в море, привязывают əz-baχ 'хозяйский камень' или 'хозяин камень', весящий по словам гиляков два пуда. Камень этот — якорь невода, объяснили мне гиляки. Внизу невода в качестве грузил также привязаны камни, называемые tətr-paχ. К верхней веревке невода привязываются большие деревянные поплавки (vaʋ). Сивуч, попадая головой в невод, начинает барахтаться и иногда настолько сильно, что забрасывает на верхнюю веревку нижний край невода вместе с грузилами, оказываясь таким образом словно в мешке. Иногда в невод попадает дельфин. Тюлень рəγi хитер и в невод редко идет.

Tola-k'e гиляки Куль ставили и ставят на K'ivi-ŋalu, K'e-ŋalu, Vilk, Lonri и Ət.

9

По словам старика Virp'a некоторые роды д. Куль в старое время являлись владельцами промысловых угодий на тюленя.

Так род Qavjuŋ владел: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ḫaγrqej, 3. Ət.

Lulvəχ-pər и ŋaγrqej — названия торчащих из моря камней, на которые вылезают из воды тюлени. Ət — островок, возле которого также есть такие камни.[3]

Род Tnaunuŋ владел: 1. Mat-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γr'ə, 3. Zomi-vər.

Первые два угодия представляют собою части берега, на которые вылезают отдыхать тюлени, а третье — камень.

Род Kezoŋ владел возле Vilk берегом, на который вылезали отдыхать тюлени и Harzə-vər — камнем.

[1] По сообщению Шренка гиляки на Шантарских островах охотились. (Об инородцах Амурского края, т. II, стр. 288.)

[2] Из древних орудий охоты на тюленя в д. Куль совершенно вышла из употребления огромная плавающая на воде острога tla. Эта острога составлялась из нескольких длинных палок, выточенных из ствола лиственницы. Я ознакомился с ее устройством и наблюдал, как охотятся при помощи ее в д. Чайво. Длина этой остроги достигает 18 ручных саженей.

[3] Во время тумана охотники пристают к берегу или к островку Ət. В это время молодые охотники развлекаются, играют. На Ət есть два laqr-paχ камня для игры: „а кто может поднять, а кто не может поднять, — так играют". Недалеко от этих камней есть ровное место, на котором гиляки состязаются в прыганьи на одной ноге (teŋot lerd).

10

Выехав в море, охотники для успешного исхода охоты, прибегают к многим предосторожностям. Так, они в разговорах друг с другом, не называют ряда вещей своими именами, а называют их условно. Этот условный язык — отголосок тех отдаленных времен, когда охотники скрывали с его помощью свои намерения от зверей, полагая, что звери понимают речь человека.[1]

Так, во время охоты охотники вместо

Vo 'деревня' говорят hiulaf.

mif 'земля' говорят otχ 'исправление'. Если земля далеко, говорят tevl otχta, если близко — knemla-otχta.

mu 'лодка' говорят or'q.

k'eŋ 'солнце' говорят am.

la urd 'хорошая погода' — букв. 'ветер хорош' говорят am sodra.

təlu 'туман' говорят ver'q.

umgu 'женщина' говорят hiuləd.

qan 'собака' говорят aim.

t'o 'рыба' говорят tomr 'лист'.

loq 'камбала' говорят pna-domr.

lonr 'форель' говорят manm.

nemla 'линек' говорят naχ-tomr.

vaγs 'сиг' говорят vətik.

alqoŋ 'кунжа' говорят doχti[2].

tiγr 'дрова' говорят ops; tuin ops-ket t'uγr-arguda 'здесь дрова взяв, огонь накормим'.

lanr 'тюлень' говорят vaad; mor-vaad 'два тюленя', tor vaad 'три тюленя'.

lanr pud 'нерпа вынырнула' говорят lorn.

iγd 'убить' говорят nazd.

pət 'завтра' говорят mandqa.

eγr vida 'обратно пойдем' говорят pəχtkuda.

saru-mu 'полная лодка' говорят ulvəta-mu.

kər-qoqod 'голоден', 'есть хочу' говорят tava-qod 'tava болит'.

krəzd 'сыт' говорят mat-toqn-tangad' мизинец торчит (?)' или tot-qod 'рука болит'.

urla-dus 'хорошее мясо' говорят amra-elvla-dus 'amra скверное мясо'.

əkila-dus 'плохое мясо' говорят amra-urla-dus 'amra хорошее мясо'.

и др.

Кроме табу на ряд названий, охотникам во время охоты, необходимо соблюдать еще и другие табу.

Так, напр., нельзя выливать из лодки воду на ту льдину, где были убиты тюлени. Xitkun, который сообщил мне об этом, сказал, что он едва не ослеп из-за того, что вылил воду из лодки на льдину с убитыми тюленями.

Нельзя во время охоты колоть землю ножом.

Нельзя плевать в кровь тюленя и т. д.

[1] Подробней см. об этом в интересной и обильной фактами работе Д. К. Зелениной — „Табу слов у народов Восточной Европы и Северной Азии". Сборник Музея антропологии и этнографии, том VII, 1929.

[2] Гиляки говорят, что слово tanm и doχti заимствованы ими у тунгусов.

11

Кроме охотников должны выполнять ряд табу и оставшиеся дома, в особенности женщины.

Так, оставшиеся никоим образом не должны стирать в доме хозяина лодки. Ничего нельзя передавать друг другу через огонь, ибо в таком случае тюлень, подойдя к неводу, переплывет через него.

Нельзя резать кожу на обувь (kiγid), так как при этом может порваться tola-k'e.

Нельзя варить сердца тюленя, пока не кончилась охота.

Беременной женщине нельзя выходить к берегу моря, так как из-за этого может уплыть в море весь лед, и тогда нельзя будет охотиться на тюленя.

В связи с этим, приведу здесь из своего сахалинского дневника содержание одного разговора с гиляками. Разговор этот происходил 5 июня 1928 г. в д. Хои, на западном берегу Сахалина (в 50 вер. от г. Александровска). Я сидел в юрте у гиляка Ройгина. Кроме меня и Ройгина в юрте были гиляки Кавзьгун, Чулкин, Фурага и ныне уже умерший старик Плетунка, один из друзей и переводчиков Л. Я. Штернберга.

„Вот, сказал мне Ройгин, весной когда на тюленя охотиться поедешь, тогда все, что в доме делается знаешь. Тюлень все покажет. Если хорошее что-нибудь в доме делается, тюлень не покажет, а если плохое, то непременно покажет. Вот, напр., станет женщина в доме голову чесать, тогда и тюлень на льдине голову лапой чешет. Если в доме драться будут, то и тюлени на льдине начинают драться. Если женщина вымоет что-нибудь в доме и повесит, тогда тюлень может находиться хотя бы в пяти шагах от охотника, а охотник пусть хотя и стреляет, все равно не попадет в него. В белье только, говорим мы, попадешь. Это k'эs 'бог', наверное, что-нибудь перед тюленем повесил. Если в деревне произойдет кража, то и это тюлени покажут. Если оставшаяся дома жена вступит во время пребывания мужа на охоте в половую связь с другим мужчиной, то и тюлени на льдинах начинают вступать в половую связь. У нас есть такие гиляки, что если увидят такое дело в море, то возвращаясь домой, избивают свою жену, а потом от соседей по деревне узнают, что это было в действительности. Вот еще если тюленье мясо сваришь, поешь, а потом палочкой ковырять будешь зубы, то тюлень в море покажет, как палочкой зубы ковырял.

Во время весенней охоты на льду, когда гиляки невдалеке от берега прыгают с льдины на льдину и острогой бьют тюленей, оставшиеся в доме ничего не должны поломать, ни блюдца, ни раковины, так как при этом льдина, на которой находится охотник — отец, брат или сын, разломается и он может утонуть. Поэтому дома все должны быть очень осторожны.

В тот день, когда дома что-нибудь неладное делается, охотник в море не добудет тюленя. Тогда, сердитый, он возвращается домой и пытается установить причины, оставившие его и товарищей без добычи".

Весь этот рассказ Ройгин вел со мной для того, чтобы доказать мне существование k'эs 'бога', в чем я не хотел с ним согласиться. „Откуда, говорил он мне, тюлень за двадцать верст узнает, что происходит в доме. Это ему наверное k'эs говорит. Вот поэтому мы говорим k'эs есть".

Между прочим, после беседы с Ройгиным Плетунка сказал мне, что у mrolv-niγэvη 'древних гиляков', был такой uiγэnd „табу" „грех" во время охоты на тюленей. Гость в доме не должен был прикасаться к ручке котла или чайника. Только хозяин (точно так же как и теперь) мог наливать гостю чай или другую жидкую пищу. Если гость хоть нечаянно дотрагивался до ручки котла или чайника, то он должен был оторвать от края рукава лоскуток материи и положить его на (очаг).[1]

[1] В дневнике это слово записано неразборчиво. Насколько я помню, Плетунка говорил об очаге.

12

Во время весенней охоты гиляки д. Куль охотятся на различные породы тюленей. При случае охотятся и на дельфинов. Среди тюленей они различают следующие породы и возрасты:

Pila-laŋr 'Сивуч'

1. Nav-ŋa 'теперешний зверь', т. е. сивуч, родившийся в этом году.
2. Tje-ŋa буквально 'прошлогодний зверь', т. е. двухлетний сивуч или сивуч, родившийся в прошлом году.
3. Pila-laŋr 'сивуч', буквально 'большой тюлень'.

Pəγi

Среди тюленей pəγi различаются следующие возрасты, причем pəγi каждого возраста имеет свое название. Напр.:

1. Qrγər самый молодой из pəγi.
2. Mat-ŋəxəl следующий по возрасту за pəγi. Название его пока условно, может быть этимологизировано таким образом: mat-ŋəki-kəld; mat- 'маленький', ŋəki 'спина', kəld 'длинный', т. е. маленький спинно-длинник.
3. Tje-ŋəxəl прошлогодний ŋəxəl.
4. Qat следующий по возрасту за tje-ŋəxəl.
5. Siusiu-γa следующий по возрасту за qat, т. е. самый старый pəγi.

Qoma

1. Heqr-motk самый молодой qoma.
2. Taŋarŋa следующий по возрасту за heqrmotk.
3. Arəfk следующий по возрасту за taŋarŋa, т. е. самый взрослый qoma.

Alχ

Среди Alχ различаются два вида: olvarak — пестрый и dalr — серый.

13

Самым ценным тюленем из числа перечисленных считается сивуч. Из кожи сивуча изготовляются самые крепкие ремни, собачья сбруя и обувь (головки вместе с подошвой; голенища изготовляются из кожи других пород тюленей).

Если добыча большая, охотники оставляют на льду мясо, предпочитая взять с собой лишние шкуры с салом и головы тюленей. Головы отделяются вместе с двумя шейными позвонками (maχt) и тремя верхними ребрами.

Когда убивают в море тюленя или дельфина, гиляки первым делом „кормят" его корнем растения piskər.[1] Если не выросло это растение, то кормят травой muzŋi. Когда охотники отправляются на охоту, они забирают с собой достаточное количество этих растений. Убив тюленя, они открывают ему рот и сквозь него вталкивают в носовую полость корень этого растения. Стебель растения кладут рядом с тюленем на лед и там оставляют его. На льду оставляют также pər 'желчь' тюленя, возле которой кладут piskər.

После того как убивают сивуча, ему обмывают голову и морду водой. Это обмывание производится из особого черпака ŋa-ŋain-du-muurs буквально 'зверя лицо моющий черпак', т. е. черпак, из которого моют лицо зверя.

Головы вместе с положенным в них piskər отвозятся домой.

14

Когда убивают первого сивуча (до этого можно убить любое количество других пород, что во внимание не принимается), pilaŋ производит кормление фигурок tŋaj. Он разрезает грудь сивуча и кровью, взятой из его сердца,

[1] В более южных деревнях „кормят" корнем растения „orŋəχt".

мажет фигуркам рот. Гиляки говорят, что если помазать все лицо, то они не смогут „смотреть". После этого обряда кормления сивуч считается принадлежащим pilaŋ. При дележе добычи, как это будет видно из нижеприводимых фактов, сивуч этот учитывается наравне с другими сивучами. Правда, один гиляк сообщил мне, что он учитывается в том случае, если добыто мало сивучей. Не делая пока еще окончательного вывода о возможности отчуждения pilaŋ'ом в свою пользу лишнего сивуча сверх получаемой им доли при дележе добычи, так как для этого у нас мало данных, мы хотим в настоящее время подчеркнуть в этом факте два бесспорных для нас обстоятельства. Во-первых, что первый добытый на охоте сивуч целиком присваивается pilaŋ, во-вторых, что это присвоение замаскировано религиозным обрядом.

Последнее обстоятельство объяснило мне сущность ряда существующих у гиляков табу.

Так, напр., у гиляков на мясо медведя имеется целый ряд табу для молодых охотников (также и для женщин), в то время как этих табу не существует для старых охотников. Перечислять эти табуированные части, которые запрещено есть молодым охотникам (также и женщинам), здесь не место. Укажем только на объяснение некоторых из этих запретов гиляками. Так, напр., сердце медведя молодой охотник не должен есть потому, что у него заболит сердце, когда он во время охоты набредет на след медведя. Ну, а охотиться с заболевшим сердцем на медведя, конечно, нельзя. Язык медведя молодой охотник, не должен есть потому, что на охоте при встрече с медведем, медведь его задерет. „Зато язык старый человек только кушать можно". В таком же примерно, роде построены у гиляков все осмысления табу.

Было бы смешно искать во всех этих табу и их объяснениях какой-то особенный смысл. Смысл этих табу и их объяснений один, — они скрывают от молодых охотников и женщин факт присвоения старыми охотниками, играющими руководящую роль в охоте, под видом религиозных запретов самых вкусных частей добычи.

Табу регулирует взаимоотношения не только между старыми и молодыми охотниками, но между мужской и женской половинами рода.

Так в том же 1931 г. в деревне Cχarvaχ (Чарбах) старый гиляк Kozin и ∂γisk (Агиска) сообщили мне любопытные табу на ряд предметов для детей, во время их игр.

Мальчику нельзя играть коромыслами и дощечкой, на которой женщина кроит кожу и материи (tans-kəlmr). Нежелательно также, чтобы мальчик играл женским кроильным ножом (tan-daqo).

„Когда я маленький был, сказал мне Kozin, старики не допускали, чтобы мальчику на плечо положили коромысло. Это Uit ('табу', 'грех'). Если мальчик мальчика ударит коромыслом или кроильной дощечкой по ногам, то когда большой будет и в тайгу на охоту пойдет, то может быть плохо ходить будет". ∂γisk же сказал, что у него удачи в охоте не будет.

∂γisk сказал мне, что девочке не следует играть стрелой, луком, копьем, ибо у этих орудий удачи (по местному русскому выражению — фарта) не будет. Женщина или девочка могут нечаянно перешагнуть через копье или стрелу, и тогда стрела войдет в медведя не глубоко и выпадет обратно. Поэтому-то девочке нельзя играть этими предметами.

Эти табу показывают, что уже с раннего возраста дети приучаются к определенному труду, что мальчикам даже в игре нельзя иметь дело с орудиями женского труда и, наоборот, девочкам — с орудиями мужского труда. Эти табу с самого рождения узаконяют для женщины и для мужчины существующее в гиляцком роде разделение труда.

Женщины, в роде, выполняют самую тяжелую и непочетную с точки зрения мужчин работу, которую в недавнем прошлом у гиляцких богачей выполняли рабы. Женщина должна носить воду, колоть дрова, кормить собак, сидеть за веслами (муж, если она даже в последних месяцах беременности, все равно сидит за рулем; мужчина должен сидеть за рулем, а женщина за веслами; обратное положение постыдно и не допустимо для гиляка-охотника), готовить пищу, шить одежду, обувь и выполнять множество других тяжелых работ, часть которых считается постыдными для достоинства охотника.

Мужская половина гиляцкого рода — охотники, добытчики пищи. Они добывают ее для всего рода. Они добывают рыбу, медведей, тюленей. Они производят раздел добычи. Они играют руководящую роль в экономической, социальной и религиозной жизни рода и никоим образом не допускают, чтобы женщины, хотя бы в одной из этих областей, играли равную с ними роль. В производственной деятельности рода женщины играют подчиненную роль, — они собирательницы растений, кореньев и ягод. В области социальной жизни рода, они не могут играть никакой роли, ибо с самого рождения не принадлежат к нему и когда подрастают, то отдаются, фактически продаются, охотниками в другой род, причем взявший их род, т. е. род зятя (ore) попадает в зависимое положение от рода тестя (apak). В области же религиозной жизни рода они также не играют никакой роли.

Женщинам не разрешается присутствовать на главнейших моментах „медвежьего праздника", ибо охота на медведя есть дело мужчин-охотников, а не женщин. Женщинам ни разу за всю их жизнь не разрешается есть мяса от лучших частей медведя. Им разрешается только есть немного мяса от худших его частей. Женщины не могут присутствовать на жертвоприношениях духам леса и моря, помогающим охотникам на промыслах, ибо охотничий промысел дело мужчин. Беременная женщина, как мы об этом писали выше, не должна даже подходить к морю во время охоты мужчин на тюленя, ибо лед из-за этого может исчезнуть и они вернутся ни с чем домой, и т. д. и т. п.

Указанные табу — религиозно-магическая надстройка над половым разделением труда. Объяснение их надо искать не в религии, а в отношениях между различными группами людей в первобытном обществе.

Узаконяя это разделение труда, табу превращают женскую половину рода в рабов второй половины — охотников-мужчин.

Не останавливаясь больше на этих вопросах, укажем только, что за табу не скрывается ничего мистического, табу часто придается мистическое содержание, для того чтобы одурманить сознание человека, закабалить его и скрыть от него сущность нарождающихся эксплоататорских взаимоотношений между людьми, как это видно в примере с tŋaj, когда попытка отчуждения сивуча проводится не в открытой форме, а в скрытой — под видом религиозно-магического обряда.

Но вернемся к прерванной теме.

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Добыв достаточное количество тюленей, охотники, нагруженные добычей, возвращаются в деревню. По приезде в деревню pilaŋ производит раздел добычи. Здесь-то как раз и видно, что законно принадлежащий pilaŋ'у сивуч, кровью которого он кормил tŋaj, засчитывается при дележе добычи. Почему этот обряд остановился на присвоении первого сивуча pilaŋ и не дошел до полного отчуждения его в пользу последнего сверх получаемой им доли при дележе добычи, сказать трудно. Нам кажется, что это может быть объяснено весьма сильными пережитками первобытно-коммунистического способа распределения добычи у гиляков д. Куль, не допускающего еще отчуждения целого лишнего сивуча в пользу одного лица.

Привожу несколько записанных мною примеров распределения добычи между гиляками-охотниками по их возвращении с промысла домой в д. Куль 2 августа 1931 г., в которых весьма наглядно выражен первобытно-коммунистический характер распределения.

Коллектив γəlχtun'a добыл 18 сивучей, 9 рəγi 11 qoma и 1 alχ. 3 сивучей, 5 qoma и сало с двух тюленей они продали на мысу Лидтке в отделение Рыбаксоюза. Полученные деньги и оставшуюся добычу они разделили поровну.[1]

γəlχtun	получил	2 сивучей	2 рəγi				
Jotkun	„	2	„	1	„	1 qoma	1 ремень[2]
Nərp (стрелок)	„	1	„	1	„	1 „	3 ремня
Rənţik	„	2	„	2	„	— „	1 ремень
Təvus	„	2	„	1	„	1 „	„
Zabojko	„	2	„	1	„	2 „	1 alχ
Tuŋa	„	2	„	1	„	1 „	1 ремень
		13 сивучей	9 рəγi	6 qoma			6 ремней = 2 сивучам 1 alχ
На ремни		+2					
Продали		+3		5			
Итого		18 сивучей	9 рəγi	11 qoma			1 alχ

Коллектив Nitgin'a добыл 19 сивучей, 8 qoma и 1 рəγi. 3 сивучей и 4 qoma они продали на мысу Лидтке. Полученные деньги и оставшуюся добычу разделили поровну.

Nitgin	получил	2 сивучей	—	2 ремня	
Nlamin	„	2 „		1 ремень	
Ḱizgun	„	2 „	1 qoma	1	„
Verun	„	2 „	1 „	1	„
Ozgun	„	2 „	1 „	1	„
Iγŋun	„	2 „	1 „	1	„
Izgun	„	2 „	1 рəγi	1	„
		14 сивучей	4 qoma и 1 рəγi	8 ремней = 2 сивуча	
На ремни		+2			
Продали		+3	4		
Итого		19 сивучей	8 qoma	1 рəγi	

Коллектив Norp'a добыл 26 сивучей, 1 рəγi и 12 qoma, 8 сивучей и 4 qoma они продали на мысу Лидтке, деньги от проданного и остальную добычу они разделили поровну.

Norp	получил	2½ сивуча	2 qoma	2 ремня	
Əţ	„	2½ „	2 „	2	„
Potaq	„	2½ „	1 „	2	„
Otaq	„	2½ „	1 „	2	„
Tesq	„	2½ „	1 „	2	„
Oŋkan	„	2½ „	1 „	2	„ и 1 рəγi
		15 сивучей	8 qoma	12 ремней = 3 сивучам	
На ремни		+3			
Продали		+8	4		
Итого		26 сивучей	12 qoma	1 рəγi	

[1] К сожалению, я не записал, как был произведен раздел денег.

[2] Шкура молодого сивуча nav-ŋa режется на три куска, а более взрослого — на четыре. Из каждого куска вырезывается один тонкий длинный ремень, который после этого сразу же растягивают для сушки.

Получение Norp'ом одного лишнего qoma отнюдь не служит доказательством того, что он получил больше в сравнении с другими охотниками. Qoma не ценный тюлень и получение одного лишнего qoma или недополучение его большой роли не играет. Важно распределение сивучей. Сивучей он получил наравне с другими. И если уже можно говорить о том, что кто-то получил самую маленькую толику лишнего, так это Nitgin: он получил один лишний ремень, но зато не получил qoma и, таким образом, тоже получил наравне с другими. Этот первобытно-коммунистический способ распределения добычи в д. Куль, наблюдавшийся мною в 1931 г., можно вполне заключить словами Л. Я. Штернберга из его отмеченной Ф. Энгельсом работы „Сахалинские гиляки", опубликованной в „Этнографическом обозрении" в 1893 г., т. е. 40 лет назад. „На общей охоте, например, при ловле нерп, дельфинов, когда с этой целью гиляки собираются по нескольку человек на одной лодке, добыча делится поровну между всеми участвующими. Хозяин лодки получает наравне с подростком, сидящим на гребках. Даже искусство метальщика копья или стрелы не составляет особого вознаграждения. И мало того, при далеких экспедициях, например, с Амура на юг Сахалина, сверх равного пая добычи получает не собственник лодки, а тот, который в пути исполняет хлопотливые обязанности по приготовлению пищи и доставлению дров". За эту, повидимому, работу старик Onkan получил не только равную долю с другими охотниками, но и лишнего рэγi' (см. гл. 5).

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Из числа записанных мною примеров считаю нужным привести еще один пример распределения добычи в коллективе Xitkun'a, так как в нем мы замечаем совершенно новое явление.

Коллектив Xitkun'a добыл 14 сивучей. Двух сивучей разрезали на ремни. Самого молодого сивуча nav-ŋa разрезали на три ремня, а tje-ŋa на 4 ремня. Итого на 7 ремней. Осталось 12 сивучей. Хиткун разделил их на 7 частей по $1^1/_2$ сивуча на человека. Итого $10^1/_2$ сивучей. Осталось еще $1^1/_2$ сивуча. Сало поделили (к сожалению, не спросил как), а $1^1/_2$ шкуры сивуча решили высушить и потом поровну разделить на ki (головки для обуви вместе с подошвой). Вместе с Xitkun'ом в лодке было 6 человек, а добычу они разделили на 7. Оказывается, что 7-я доля есть mu-ar — лодочная доля (или как они выражаются пай), т. е. та плата, которую они должны были уплатить гиляку Arban'y за арендованную у него на время охоты лодку. Xitkun и ехавшие с ним охотники вынуждены были взять ее у него, так как никто из них не имел пригодной для поездок по морю лодки.

В первых примерах дележа добычи мы видим, что хозяин лодки, он же и pilaŋ, не берет себе абсолютно ничего лишнего ни за лодку, ни за свой труд по организации и руководству коллективом.

В последнем случае мы видим уже возникшую на основе владения орудиями труда эксплоатацию, проводящуюся под видом своеобразной аренды этих орудий. Хозяин лодки сам не едет на охоту. Он предоставляет ее другим, за что получает равную долю добычи, как если бы он сам принимал участие в охоте.

Двигаясь от Куль, самой северной в настоящее время на материке гиляцкой деревни, по направлению к г. Николаевску, бывшего в недавнем прошлом центром капиталистического влияния на гиляков, мы замечаем любопытное явление. В селениях, расположенных поблизости от г. Николаевска, а, следовательно, испытавших на себе наибольшее влияние его, хозяин лодки во время рыбной ловли совсем еще недавно брал 1 долю улова не только на себя, но и 1 долю за лодку, что представляет собой дальнейшее развитие тех

эксплоататорских отношений, возникновение которых мы замечаем в морском промысле гиляков д. Куль. Мало того, он выделял еще доли на свою жену и детей, не принимавших никакого участия в промысле.

Такое стремление в выделении для себя лишних долей добычи объясняется тем, что рыба, через некоторое время после основания г. Николаевска, приобрела товарное значение. В низовья р. Амура, на одно из богатейших в мире мест по добыче кеты, устремились рыбопромышленники и торговцы, скупавшие у гиляков кету. Гиляки низовьев Амура, ведшие прежде торговлю с китайцами и японцами, начали торговать с русскими кетой, не игравшей в их прежней торговле никакой роли. Владельцы заездков и неводов превратились в предпринимателей, доставлявших рыбу крупным рыботорговцам: Лури, Видерману и др. Они начали увеличивать заездки и нанимать рабочую силу из среды русских, корейцев и, в особенности, гиляков, приезжавших к ним с Сахалина и из деревень, расположенных выше Николаевска. „Имея заездок как доходную статью, сообщает ярый колонизатор и сторонник притеснения «инородцев» Н. В. Слюнин, гиляк превратился в рантьера, ничего не делающего и все лето пьянствующего".[1] Любопытно, что возникшие у гиляков новые отношения эксплоатации на основе владения орудиями труда не создали новых форм распределения. Распределение продолжало производиться в старой форме под видом древнего охотничьего способа распределения добычи на доли. Появились только новые дольщики. В старую форму было влито новое содержание. Владелец орудий труда, стремясь получить большую часть добычи, начал выдвигать в качестве своих дольщиков лиц из своей семьи, не принимавших никакого участия в процессе производства: жен, детей,[2] а также орудия труда: лодку и невод, мало того, скамеечку в лодке (mləṭ) и даже полочку над дверьми в доме (nγəmr-tis).

Приводим иллюстрации сказанного.

По сообщению гиляка γargun'a (?), в настоящее время живущего в д. Cγarvaχ (Чарбах), в 1917 или 1918 г. он вместе с тремя гиляками из д. Кальм и одним гиляком из д. Təlmə спустились в низовья р. Амура, где работали во время хода кеты на о. Лангр у гиляка Armən'a, жителя этого острова, которого я лично видел в 1931 г. Вместе с Armən'ом работал его брат. Итого их работало семь человек. Когда кончился лов кеты, Armən разделил добычу. Он с братом, вдвоем, получили 6 долей, а остальные гиляки 5, по одной доле на человека. Эти 6 долей, полученных Armən'ом, составились следующим образом: Armən взял 1 долю на себя, 1 долю на брата, 1 долю за лодку, 1 долю за невод, 1 долю на жену и 1 долю на старуху-мать, не принимавших участия в лове. Работникам-гилякам выделения долей добычи на семью не производилось.

Аналогичные факты я наблюдал на этом же острове в 1927 г. Они имели там место и в 1931 г.

В д. Vaz-vo (Васин Мыс), с которого гиляки были согнаны в 1914 или 1915 г., система эксплоатации на почве владения орудиями труда была, повидимому, еще более жестокая. По сообщению прекрасного знатока быта гиляков, любознательного гиляка Əγisk в Vaz-vo хозяин заездка брал 1 долю на себя, 1 долю за лодку, 1 долю за дощатую скамеечку в лодке (mləṭ), 1 долю за nγəmr-t'is — полку над дверью в сенях. Выяснить смысл взятия доли за nγəmr-t'is мне не удалось. Да и вряд ли может удастся выяснить что-либо

[1] Н. В. Слюнин. Современное положение нашего Дальнего Востока. Стр. 96. 1908. СПб.

[2] Мне рассказывали случаи, когда на о. Лянгр владелец невода иногда включал в артель своего малолетнего сына, который мог выполнять лишь мелкие поручения, за что отец получал на него одну долю добычи, по местному выражению, пай.

кроме того, что это лишь новый предлог владельца орудий труда для получения им лишней доли добычи в свою пользу.

О совершенно анекдотическом случае, имевшем место в 1930 г. в д. Пуир, рассказал мне житель этой деревни гиляк Мискин. Старый гиляк, почему-то именуемый Теткиным, предложил поехать с ним на добычу калуги молодым гилякам Пнадаину, Лахтаку и Кондину(?). После добычи калуги Теткин выделил для себя 4 доли: 1 на себя, 1 почему-то на знакомого ему русского в д. Макарьевке, 1 на дочь, находящуюся в д. Лянгр и 1 на дочь, находящуюся в д. Чарбах. Своим спутникам он выделил по одной доле. Об этом случае я разговаривал потом с Пнадаиным. Пнадаин подтвердил рассказанное Мискиным и внес какие-то уточнения. К сожалению, я записал сообщение Пнадаина на отдельном листке бумаги и, повидимому, потерял его.

Я остановился здесь на этом для того, чтобы пока в самых общих и предварительных чертах показать, как владелец орудий труда у гиляков, каким мы его застаем еще в д. Куль, мог превратиться под влиянием русского капитализма в кулака эксплоататора, а также, как были использованы им в целях эксплоатации старые формы распределения добычи на доли. Этот интересный процесс заслуживает внимательного изучения.

17

После того как разделена добыча, охотники и их жены сразу же принимаются за работу. Работы много. Надо отделить сало от шкур. Надо натянуть шкуры на специальные рамы для сушки тюленьих шкур. Надо нарезать ремни и растянуть их для сушки, ибо из иссохшейся шкуры ремней нарезать нельзя (натягивание шкур на рамы для сушки и разрезание ремней производит мужчина). Наконец, надо сварить головы и приготовить их для выбрасывания в море.

Я видел, как работали обе жены Xitkun'a по возвращении его с охоты. Одна, более молодая, из его жен занялась отделением сала от шкуры. На помощь ей пришла женщина, жена одного из сородичей Xitkun'a. Работа по отделению сала от шкуры весьма трудная. Женщине почти все время приходится работать в согнутом положении. Я видел, как во время очистки шкуры от сала жена Xitkun'a захватила ртом часть очищенной от сала шкуры и таким образом приподняла ее. В это же время левой рукой она придерживала отделенное сало, а правой продолжала дальше отделять его от шкуры большим, узким и немного согнутым ножом.

Между прочим жидкий тюлений жир гиляки получают следующим образом. Сало (ŋoχ) нарезают кусками. Куски кладут в бочку (раньше клали в большое глубокое корыто ket), которую ставят потом в теплое место. В теплом месте сало начинает разлагаться и таять (более точно объяснить происходящий в нем процесс я не в состоянии). Из сала вытекает жидкий желтый жир (t'om). В зависимости от возраста тюленя и породы жир этот бывает более светлым или темным и мутным. Растаявший жир гиляки сливают в высушенные желудки тюленей. Остатки от растаявшего сала (taχ) отдаются собакам. Желудки тюленей используются гиляками для хранения тюленьего жира. Убив тюленя, гиляки освобождают его желудок от содержимого, надувают и вешают сушить. В таком пузыре жир сохраняется очень долго. Будучи наполнен жиром, он подвешивается гиляками в амбаре.

В то время как одна жена Xitkun'a отделяла сало от кожи, другая его жена, именуемая Hemanχ 'старуха', приготовляла к варке головы. Не случайно, конечно, приготовляла их к варке Hemanχ, старшая жена Xitkun'a. Приготовление голов требует некоторого знания религиозных обрядов, блюстителями которых являются старики.

18

Кстати о расшифровке слова hemanχ 'старуха' и hemar 'старик'. В указанных двух словах есть одно общее звукосочетание hem и разные окончания ar и anχ. Ar значит по-гиляцки самец, а anχ самка. Что же такое hem? В говоре д. Чайво сахалинского диалекта, сохранившем по сравнению с амурским, много более ранних форм, старик называется hajmŋar. Слово hajmŋar очень легко этимологизуется. В этом же диалекте имеется слово jajmnd 'знать' (в амурском диалекте ему соответствует jəjmd). При прямом дополнении, которое по законам гиляцкого языка сливается со сказуемым, j чередуется с h. Так, напр., „я Мизгуна знаю" по-гиляцки будет звучать Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. Таким образом, от глагола jajmnd мы получаем вторую форму основы hajmnd, которая существует независимо от первой, как самостоятельное слово (как непереходящая форма переходящего глагола jajmnd 'знать') с значением 'стареть'. Hajmnd значит 'стареть'. (В гиляцком языке непереходящие глаголы образуются из переходящих посредством чередования начального согласного основы переходящего глагола.) 'Знать' и 'стареть', в гиляцком языке, в генезисе происходят от одной основы и это совершенно понятно, ибо для первобытного человека знание приходило с большим жизненным опытом — старостью. Таким образом, происхождение hajm в слове hajmŋar мы выяснили: hajm происходит от непереходящей формы основы 'знать', значащей в этой форме 'стареть'. ŋ есть суффикс, оформляющий глаголы в имена существительные. Значение ar мы знаем. Таким образом, слово hajmŋar значит 'знающий самец' или 'старый самец'. Амурское hem есть, конечно, не что иное, как сахалинское hajm-ŋ, претерпевшее в амурском диалекте сильное изменение. Утрата ŋ в hem понятна, так как амурский диалект в сравнении с сахалинским опускает конечное ŋ. Напр. murŋ (сахал. диал.) mur (амурск. диал.) 'лошадь'; qanŋ (сахал. диал.) qan (амурск. диал.) 'собака'. Почему hajm изменилось в амурском диалекте в hem, когда в нем следовало ожидать закономерного соответствия həjm, т. е. həjmar вместо hemar, в настоящее время нам объяснить трудно. Во всяком случае бесспорно, что hemar имеет то же значение, что hajmŋar, а hemanχ соответственно этому значит 'знающая самка' или 'старая самка'. Возможно, что некогда у гиляков слово ar значило не только самец, но и мужчина, тем более что в настоящее время у них имеется два слова для обозначения мужчины: azmət — в сахалинском диалекте и utku — в амурском.

19

Hemanχ сидела на корточках над корытом, в котором лежали головы сивучей. Кожа на головах сивучей была срезана почти до самых глаз. Кожа на морде была нетронута. Старуха взяла голову и вырезала сперва из нее горло вместе с языком. Потом она вынула из heqr kuti (?) всунутое туда охотниками растение piskər. После этого старуха вырвала у сивуча усы и положила их в отдельную чашку. Разрезав пополам кожу на морде сивуча, она срезала ее. Кожа с морды вешается над дверью, где висит до тех пор, пока, по выражению гиляков, не „потеряется". Вынув глаза, старуха разрезала их и вылила содержимое в чашку, где лежали усы. Затем она вывернула глаз и вырезала хрусталик, а потом зрачок. После этого она срезала noz-ŋək и положила его в отдельную чашку, так как его едят сырым.

Потом она разрезала мясо над черепной коробкой. Если череп был разбит ударником, она вынимала раздробленные косточки, тщательно обсасывала их и клала в отдельную посудину для того, чтобы потом вместе с головой выбросить их в море.

Если же череп не был разбит, старуха камнем проламывала его. Я спросил старуху, почему она проламывает череп камнем, а не топором, на что она ответила мне, что проламывать топором грех, так же как грех варить мозг, его надо есть только сырым. Кроме мозга, в сыром виде едят спину, сердце, кишки, почки, дыхательное горло и noz-ŋək.

Глядя на то, как старуха проламывает камнем головы сивучей, а потом запускает в окровавленный мозг пальцы и с всхлипом втягивает его в рот, я испытал ощущение будто машина времени на одно мгновение перенесла меня в каменный век. И верно. Отбросим ружье, недавно полученное гиляками, и готовое железо, которое они также недавно научились перерабатывать из японских котлов на ножи, наконечники копий, стрел, гарпунов и мы получим каменный наконечник на древке гарпуна и стрелы, каменный топор, о котором сохранил еще воспоминание их язык,[1] мы не найдем у них японского железного котла и нам станет понятно, почему старуха проламывает камнем голову, чтобы добыть из нее мозг, почему едят сырым не только мозг, но и мясо спины, сердце, кишки, почки, дыхательное горло и др., и совсем в ином виде начнет представляться весь гиляцкий быт.

Вынув мозг и положив его в отдельное корыто, старуха отделила нижнюю челюсть, обвязала ее посредине растением piskər и положила варить в котел. После этого она вдавила в отверстие глаз и носа сивуча по одному клубню сухой сараны и положила голову в котел.

Когда сварились головы, Xitkun с сыном и другие охотники принялись за еду. Мясо было подано им на плоских деревянных блюдах. Вместе с мясом им была подана бутылочка с солью и чашечка с мелко нарезанной черемшой. Есть вареное мясо с солью можно, но варить мясо или рыбу с солью нельзя. Раньше у гиляков соли не было. С солью они познакомились от китайцев. В 1926 г. в д. Чайво мне рассказали, что древние гиляки употребляли вместо соли раствор из золы. Об этом же в 1931 г. мне рассказали в д. Куль. По сообщениям древние гиляки сжигали выбрасываемые морем стволы и сучья деревьев. Золу от этих пропитанных морскими солями деревьев они разводили в воде, взятой из колодца или реки. Когда зола осаждалась на дно, оставалась по выражению гиляков Чайво „чистая как спирт вода". Вот эту воду они употребляли вместо соли. Я привез из д. Куль в Музей антропологии и этнографии проданную мне стариком Tujun'ом почерневшую от времени деревянную тарелку древних гиляков, специально изготовленную для тюленьего мяса. По бокам этой „тарелки" вырезаны две чашечки, в которые, как мне сообщил Tujun, наливали соленую воду для обмакивания в ней кусочков мяса.

20

На другой день, когда головы были очищены от мяса, их стали приготовлять к выбрасыванию в море. Головы выбрасывают в море не мужчины-охотники, а женщины, они же, как мы увидим, приносят плату огню. Хиткун из qosk-ŋəks 'рябины' выстружил маленькие, тонкие, белые стружки. Эти стружки называются iugrusps. Настрогав, он передал их своей жене Nemanχ. Старуха воткнула эти стружки в носовые отверстия обоих голов сивучей и обмазала их соком брусники. После этого она привязала при помощи стебля лопуха — pəs нижние челюсти к головам сивучей. Рядом с черепом лежали шейные позвонки (maχt) и кусочки костей проломанных черепов. Головы были сложены на доску. Другая жена Хиткуна взяла доску с головами и кружку, в которой лежали глаза, и пошла к морю. Я последовал за ней. По-

[1] См. нашу работу — „Гиляцкие числительные". Издание научно-исследовательской ассоциации Института народов Севера ЦИК СССР, стр. 10, 1932.

ойдя к самой воде, она бросила подальше от берега в море головы сивучей. Потом она выплеснула подальше в море содержимое из кружки и бросила в море обломки черепа. За всем этим она бросила в воду траву muzŋisŋər. Морская вода спокойно сомкнулась над брошенными в нее остатками сивуча.

Нагнувшись, жена Хиткуна взяла по счету голов сивуча камешки. Придя домой, она бросила их в огневище. Эти камешки называются uskis плата, (j-uski-d 'платить', s — суффикс орудия действия).

Возникает вопрос — почему этот камешек называется „платой' и почему платят за охоту хозяину огня?

Немного помочь в выяснении этого вопроса может следующее воззрение гиляков, сообщенное мне гиляком Мурмур из д. Чайво на о. Сахалине в 1927 г. Мурмур сообщил мне, что в то время, когда охотник еще спит, хозяин огня охотится за него на тюленей. Если хозяин огня не убил для него ни одного тюленя, то и охотник ничего не добудет. „Наш спи огонь вперед тюлень убей. Огонь тюлень убей нету, наш тогда тоже убей нету".

Обрядом выбрасывания голов в море заканчивается охота на тюленя.

Приложение

Охота на тюленя[1].

Мы весною в летнюю деревню приехали, голодали, рыбу только промышляли, крючком бычка-рыбу промышляя, только ели. Потом морской лед тронулся. Pilaŋ сказал: „Давайте уже тюленя промышлять. Сколько человек пойдет?" Тогда шесть человек поехать собралось. „Давайте, женщины, в воду бросание (т. е. угощение для жертвоприношения (делайте, mos делайте, muvi делайте". Потом спали. Утром встали, ели. „Свои вещи приготовьте, наконечники острог, древка острог, весла, скамеечки, все к лодке тащите". Потом свои вещи снесли в лодку, положили. Все в лодку спустились (вошли). Потом от берега оттолкнулись. Пятеро гребли. Потом гребя в море вышли. В море, когда вышли, к берегу пристали. Когда к берегу пристали, лодку вытащили, огонь зажгли. Ребята сказали: „Большой человек[2] tŋaj сделай". Большой человек tŋaj сделал. Два tŋaj сделал, один на носу находился, один на корме находился. Потом уже спустились, лодку оттолкнули, поехали. „Гребите. Лед вон там находится. Сильнее, сильнее, быстрей пойдем". К льду подъехали, на лед лодку подняли. „В море бросайте". В море (жертвоприношения) бросив, к тюленю подкрадывались. Потом товарищ один, ружье неся, пошел к тюленю, подкрадываясь шел. Подкрадываясь шел, потом выстрелил, убил. „Ребята, к своему товарищу идите, за тюленем идите". Четверо человек пошло. Большого тюленя (сивуча) приволокли. К лодке притащили. „Тюленя освежевайте. Тюленя освежевав, сварив поедим". Его освежевали, потом: „Быстрее идите, там тюлень опять есть. Тюленей много, быстро идите". Потом три человека вместе пошли, идя к тюленю, подкрадывались, стреляли, еще другого стреляли, двух убили. Pilaŋ сказал: „В лодке находящиеся к своим товарищам идите". Еще два человека к своим товарищам пошли. Pilaŋ один только в лодке находился. Потом тюленя волоча притащили. Три человека одного волочили, два человека еще одного волочили. „К лодке притащите". К лодке притащили. Pilaŋ сказал: „Освежевайте". Освежевали потом. „Уже темно. Мясо сварив, поедим. Мясо сварив, поев, потом уснем. На этой льдине спать будем". Стемнело. „Уснем".

[1] Перевод с гиляцкого. Текст записан в д. Hiski, расположенной в 40 вер. от д. Куль, 10 июля 1931 г. со слов старика гиляка Jajpan'a.

[2] Т. е. pilaŋ.

Поспав потом утром встали. Когда утром встали, темно, туман. Pilaŋ: „Темно. Мы как поедем. Не поедем. На льду находясь, подождем. „Товарища[1] погрузив, посмотрим, скоро поедем ли, не поедем ли. Большого товарища погрузив, посмотрим". Когда своего товарища погрузили. „Скоро не пойдем. Рассвета подождем". В то время как пребывали, темно. Потом чуть рассвело. Тогда pilaŋ: „Когда рассветает, поедем". Огонь зажгли, котел поставили, ели. Ели, потом когда кончили, гора едва виднеться стала. „Когда хорошо рассветает, поедем". Уже рассвело, вся гора виднеться стала. „Далеко. Беда. К земле поедем". Поехали. В то время как ехали, темно стало, ночью ехали. В то время как ночью ехали, рассвело. Когда рассвело, земля близко. „К земле поедем". Ехали. К берегу подъехали, лодку вытащили. „Поедим". Едва не засыпаем; беда: ночь одну не спали. Pilaŋ сказал: „Давайте, ребята. Тяжело. Здесь уснем". Потом спали. Выспавшись встали. Мы тюленя добыли мало. „Ребята, вернемся ли, опять тюленя промышлять будем ли". Ребята: „Опять тюленя промышлять будем". Опять к льдам поехали. В то время как ехали, к льду приехали. К льду когда приехали, тюленя увидели. На лодке только (букв. лодкою только) подкрадывались. Один, на носу находясь, стрелял, один возле него находился, вместе стреляли, стреляя убили, опять ехавши стреляли, опять убили, опять ехавши стреляя убили. Уже лодка почти полная. Уже пятнадцать сивучей убили. Лодка полная. „Уже к берегу поедем". В то время как ехали, темно стало. Ночью ехали. В то время как ехали, когда едва рассвело, к берегу приехали. Огонь зажгли, ели. „Ребята, поев, домой возвратимся". Поехали. В то время как долго ехали, к устью приехали. Из устья к деревне поехали. Женщины все спустились (к берегу). Дети спустились. Женщины: „Наши товарищи тюленя добыли. Хорошо. Вкусно". Мужчины тюленей вытащили. Все на берег вытащили. Лодку тянув подняли (на берег). Тюленей разделили. На шесть человек доли делали. Pilaŋ доли делил. Разделил потом: „Свои доли возьмите". Потащили. Когда потащили, женщины головы варили. Головы сварив, ели. Женщины тюленя освежевали. Освежевав потом в котел положили. Мужчины, шкуры натянув, сушили.

[1] Ḫafq-vax 'товарищ камень' или 'товарищеский камень'. В старину гиляки брали с собой в море небольшой камень, обвязанный бичевой. При помощи этого камня гиляки измеряли глубину дна, определяя таким образом расстояние до берега. Иногда такой камень берут с собой и в настоящее время.

9: Hawes--vii T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 121

PREFACE

"Many books on Siberia have appeared during the last two decades, most of which fall into one of two categories; the earlier, into what we may label 'exile literature,' and the later, 'Siberian railway sketches.'

The present work belongs in part to both of these classes, but deals chiefly with a portion of Siberia far beyond the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway—the little-known island of Sakhalin. Such a terra incognita has Sakhalin been in the history of exploration, that until the year 1849 it was believed to be a peninsula even by the Russians; and six years later, in 1855, an English naval commander was outwitted owing to the prevailing ignorance of its insularity. (1)

1. See post, p. 100.

It is therefore not surprising that, even as late as this twentieth century, I should have been the first English traveller to explore the northern interior."

9: Hawes--vii-viii T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 121, 177

"The sources of our knowledge of Sakhalin, even in Russian, are few, and in English, if little has been heard of the convicts there, nothing has been written about the Gilyak and Orochon natives. With the expansion of the penal settlements, and the future, though not impending, development of the resources of the island, must follow the decay of the [viii] native in the presence of the white man. Already the former is modifying or abandoning his religious rites and ceremonies. It therefore behoved me to place these on record before they became lost to the investigator or buried in tradition.

If in the course of the narrative faunal and floral species have been noted, this is only what every traveller owes to the scientist and the ever-increasing body of students. At the same time no one regrets more than I do, that I was so inadequately equipped for my task among almost unknown peoples and amid strange physical conditions."

9: Hawes--viii T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 563

"Of the faulty state of the penal administration, and the unfortunate condition of the 'exile-settlers' described in these pages, it is devoutly to be hoped that in any future investigations no trace may be found. At the same time a word of warning is due, lest the reader should found a generalization for Siberia upon this particular settlement. Sakhalin is the colony to which all Russia's worst criminals are despatched, and the very name of the island is banned in St. Petersburg. Moreover, it is a far cry to the capital—the sign-post in front of the post-office at Alexandrovsk says 10,172 versts (6752 miles)—and the threads of control cannot be pulled tight. Since the publication of Mr. George Kennan's two volumes, (1) great improvements have been made in the con-

1. 'Siberia and the Exile System.'

ditions of prisoners, throughout Siberia, not excepting Sakhalin; but that island still lags, as ever, many years behind the average penal settlement on the mainland."

9: Hawes--viii-ix T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 121

"In Chapter VI. will be found a brief résumé of the [ix] history and general features of Sakhalin. The rest of the book, including the notes on Korea and Manchuria, consists mainly of a personal narrative. It makes no claim to an exhaustive account of Sakhalin or the neighbouring regions, for the author's object has been to place before the reader pictures. Incidents, trivial in themselves, illustrate and bring home to the mind the everyday life of native and white man in this far eastern world, more effectively than any detailed statement of habits and customs."

9: Hawes--ix-x T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 115

"My thanks are due first of all to Mr. X., my interpreter on the island of Sakhalin, a man of rank and education and a convict, without whom these investigations could never have been made. A few days before these words were penned, I received a letter telling of his escape to Japan—after many exciting experiences—'packed up in a cupboard.'

To Mr. Ellinsky, I am also deeply indebted, not only for the meteorological records of Alexandrovsk, but for many notes, which he had made on the subject of the natives.

In confirming my own observations of the fauna and flora of the island, I have derived assistance from the [x] work ot two St. Petersburg professors, A. M. Nikolsky and Fr. Schmidt."

9: Hawes--x T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 126

"In the matter of illustrations, I have a like pleasant duty to fulfil. Those appearing in the text have been sketched from articles in my possession, but the plates are in all cases from photographs. For those not taken by myself I am indebted to Mr. A. von Friken, Inspector of Agriculture on the island of Sakhalin, to Mr. Kuznetsov and to Mr. Ellinsky. For seven out of the eight (the first was by the author) forming the remarkable and unique series of the bear fête, I can only here record my thanks to one whom I met on the island, but who wishes to remain anonymous."

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9: Hawes--53 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
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"A fog settled down upon us soon after leaving Marinsk, and compelled us to anchor for the night, for the land on the left bank was low and flooded for miles, and the shifting of currents rendered navigation difficult.

The fourth day our course was north-westerly for twenty miles or so, until we came to a sudden bend of the river at the native village of Tir, whence the river flows due east. At Tir, on some rocks on the hilltop, are strange inscriptions, which have been variously interpreted. Some have asserted that they are Chinese characters, and witness to the ancient limits of that great Empire; others, and this seems more probable, hold that they are a Niüchen [LSS: Erratum. Should read Nü-chen] or Mongolian inscription of the famous Buddhist invocation, 'Om mani padmi hom' (Oh, the jewel in the lotus).

At Tir, a great tributary, the Amgun river, on which there are gold workings, joins the parent stream."

9: Hawes--55 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 132

"The river [LSS: the Amur] naturally freezes earlier at its upper waters than at the mouth. Towards the end of October (1) floating blocks of ice are met with, and almost

1. The dates given throughout are according to the English style, unless otherwise stated. The difference is thirteen days, e.g. October 8, Russian old style (O. S.) = October 21, English or new style (N.S.).

suddenly, with little other warning, the steamer finds itself ice-bouud. [sic] Six weeks or two months must elapse before the surface throughout its length, in the lower reaches as well as the upper, can be declared safe for troiki (three-horse teams, attached in winter to sledges). Heavy snowfalls are experienced at Nikolaevsk and in the coastal region, mainly in December, the white pall lying from three to nine feet deep."

9: Hawes--57-58 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 563

"The town of Nikolaevsk, in which I now found myself stranded for an unknown period, was founded on August 6, 1850, by Captain Nevelskoy, acting without instructions from headquarters, for it was not until 1858 that the Treaty of Aigun gave this, the left bank of the Amur, to Russia. I have already referred to the severe blow it received when, in 1872, the naval base was transferred to Vladivostok, and again when the administration of the province was removed to Khabarovsk.

The town, which is perched on the rugged slope of the northern bank of the Amur, consists mainly of one broad street or road with one offshoot down to the pristan, and a few parallel green tracks. The main street contains half [58] a dozen well-built wooden structures, including the church, the Russo-Chinese Bank, and some merchants' stores. There are a few shops and residences of officials, the rest are log-houses straggling away into the scrub and forest, out of which the site of Nikolaevsk has been carved. At the foot is the collection of wooden wharves, which in the autumn present quite a busy scene. An Amur steamboat is in, three or four steamers bringing provisions, tea, flour, etc., for the winter are lying in mid-stream, huge lighters, which I am told were made in England, are being tugged ashore, while a small fleet of schooners rides at anchor higher up stream waiting for their annual load of fish for Japan.

Yet Nikolaevsk wears a triste look. The two prison buildings, with their dingy, forbidding-looking stockades, frown upon you, and the deserted old rambling wooden houses

of the admiral and military officials tell of its fallen fortunes. As I wandered about the place, I could not resist the feeling of oppression in the air. It was, as if the inhabitants were allowed their liberty—a very modified form of it—by the officials, only on sufferance. What a contrast to merry, happy Japan, and the gay village scenes there, and the Japanese pride in their police and military! Of course, it should be remembered that besides officials there were scarcely fifty Russians who were not ex-convicts."

9: Hawes--61-63 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 563

"At the mouth of the Amur, the owners of the vessel [LSS: A small Russian steamer traveling the Amur River] (the chief partner was the son of a convict) were making the first attempt at salmon-canning in Siberia. The chief occupation of the poor is fishing, and in the month of August, at spawning-time, salmon (Salmo lagocephalus) and shad swarm. Some idea of their abundance may be gathered from the fact that the prices fixed by the municipality at Nikolaevsk for a moderate-sized salmon, [62] say eighteen pounds, was six kopyeks (1 1/2d.). Salted, it forms the staple food of the natives and poor Russians. To lack of variety, the absence of vegetables, which will not grow in Nikolaevsk, and the unhealthy conditions of living, must be attributed the leprosy among the Russians on the Amur. A few years back there was no accommodation for these lepers, and many suffered from want of food, or lay untended, but now there is a properly constructed leper-house two or three miles from Nikolaevsk. So plentiful are the fish that I have seen Russians spearing the salmon from the banks; but on the journey from Khabarovsk down the Amur, the usual method appeared to be to build a wattle-weir projecting into the stream, and just visible above the surface of the water. At the mid-stream end was fixed a 'set' net, into which the fish crowded as they hurried round the corner. A boatman sat waiting until the net was heavy with its living freight, when he hauled it up, and emptied the catch into his boat. At Pronge, seine-nets were being used, a good average haul of the net yielding 3000. The native village of Pronge is really in the Straits of Tartary, just round the southern foreland at the mouth of the Amur, but

the temporary Russian fishing settlement is situated on the right or southern bank of the river just before one reaches the headland. Our little vessel threaded its way very gingerly between the sandbanks and shoals, past the batteries, and then by miles of forest-clad slopes, the home of the bear and reindeer, to the little settlement where the great river broadens out until it is eight miles wide from head to head.

A few log-huts, and a native shelter or two of pine-branches, and a wooden jetty in embryo, told of our arrival at the curing-station. Until then, I had thought our crew were a rough lot, but they were quiet and respectable compared with the ex-convicts on shore. Several boarded our vessel, and three of them burst into my cabin, but satisfied [63] themselves with staring long at me as though I were a strange new animal, and departed.

On shore we found them busily cutting up and cleaning the salmon before plunging them into the pickling vats. Most of this salted salmon goes to supply Eastern Siberia, the emigrant population, and the convicts, and some is exported to Japan in casks."

9: Hawes--75 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 133

"At early morning we began to thread our way through the narrow winding channels of the Amur to the liman, or delta-like embouchure of the river, where it broadens out from the one and a half to three miles at Nikolaevsk to eight at the heads. Very awkward and difficult is this passage of the Amur and the northern half of the Straits of Tartary; and in one place the narrow channel, which gives passage through the treacherous shoals and sandbanks, becomes so shallow that at neap tides only thirteen feet of water is to be found, and hence only vessels of moderate draught can ascend, even with more favourable tides. Similar devious passages, through shoals slightly less shallow, extend to the north and to the south of the mouth of the river, even as far as the 52nd parallel."

9: Hawes--76 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 361

"A bold coast it is, with hills of about 1000 feet, rising at De Castries to 1540, and covered with dense forests. A few native inhabitants, Gilyaks, are found just to the south of the river mouth at Pronge and Mi, but otherwise it is uninhabited save by bears, foxes, etc."

9: Hawes--76 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 563

"At De Castries, a beautiful natural harbour opens out to the view with a couple of islets, Observatory Island and Basalt Island, reposing in the smooth water. This haven was discovered and named by La Pérouse in 1787. There is a small Russian post here, consisting of the dwellings of a telegraph chief, his assistants, and a few soldiers, for the cable to Sakhalin crosses from this point. (1)

1. This cable, which was broken in June, 1901, has now been abandoned, and a fresh one laid between Capes Lazarev and Pogobi. The post is to be maintained at De Castries, because it has communication by telegraph with Vladivostok, and is the only safe haven for ships passing through the Straits of Tartary."

9: Hawes--76-77 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 133

"The dim outline of the Sakhalin mountain range had been faintly discernible soon after we left the Amur, and at the narrow neck of the Straits of Tartary, where they are but five miles wide, the low sandy shore running out from the foot of the mountains was plainly visible.

Our course was now steered east-south-east for the [77] 'isle of the banished,' where we arrived, and anchored within two miles of Alexandrovsk, at about 6 o'clock in the evening.

Unfortunately for its development, the island of Sakhalin has no safe anchorage. On the west coast, where the coalfields occur, the sea has a pebbly bottom, and the emerging funnel of a sunken steamer near the beach at Alexandrovsk warns the navigator of the danger of standing in with a shoreward breeze."

9: Hawes--80 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 115

"My interrogator, Mr. X., turned out to be himself a convict, the son of a very high official in St. Petersburg, and the husband of the Countess of ——. A highly educated man, speaking English, French and German, besides his native tongue, he was surprisingly au courant with English literature."

9: Hawes--84-85 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 563

"The town of Alexandrovsk, or rather Post Alexandrovskiy, as it is called, for it has no municipal authority, and comprises a population of only 6000, lies mainly in a hollow at the foot of the mountains, worn by the two streams, the Great and the Little Alexandrovka rivers, which here break the line of sea-cliff for about half a mile. Marshy land stretches between the town and the sea. Two principal streets cross at right angles in the centre of the town, one containing the church, the chief officials' houses and the post-office and leading to the bazar or market, and the other, beginning on the hill slopes, continues past the prison down to the jetty.

Though the former street is wide and planted in part with young trees, the log buildings give it a dingy and sombre look. These two streets boast plank 'street walks,' which the foot passenger does well to avoid at night, owing to the occasional absence of a plank. Outside of these two streets the rest are tracks, wide and grassy, as in all Russian villages, with ditches on either side. The laying out of the place resembles that of a poor far-west American township. Each hut, with its small windows, [85] looking as if it feared either robbers or the cold hand of Jack Frost, had a tiny yard fenced in with a shed forming two sides of the square. In late autumn this little court would be scantily roofed with pine-branches to catch the snow and form a warm covering.

The 6000 inhabitants of Alexandrovsk consist of convicts and ex-convicts, their wives and children, and officials and their families. Besides these there are probably not a dozen free-born individuals, whose business here is that of merchants' agents, etc.

9: Hawes--84-85 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 563

I will not stop here to tell of the place, for I was to experience much more of it on my return from an expedition to the north-east coast; suffice it to say, that the Russian population of the island consists of convicts and officials. Out of a total of the former actually engaged in hard labour—7080 (January 1, 1898)—the murderers numbered 2836, of whom 634 were women. The number of convicts and ex-convicts at the same date was 22,167, so that a moderate estimate would give 8000 of these as murderers."

9: Hawes--87 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 361

"I and my interpreter began to make preparations for an expedition to the Gilyaks on the river Tim, and the north-east coast of the island.

Meanwhile, an opportunity presented itself of visiting a village of this tribe, of the west coast division of the people, who were somewhat Russianized, at Arkovo, ten miles north of Alexandrovsk, along the coast."

9: Hawes--88-89 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 563, 361

"Arrived at the Gilyak village of Arkovo, to my disappointment the natives had departed for the salmon-fishing, ascending a river higher up the coast to take advantage of the spawning season. We therefore pushed on inland, past the strange native huts built on piles, to the Russian settlement called Arkovo the First.

A stranger from Europe, suddenly dropped down here would certainly ask, 'Is this Sakhalin, the dreary isle of punishment, the Hades of Russia?' Outwardly, this village wore a look of contentment, with its cosy log cottages and gardens, in which flourished potatoes and cabbages. Sunflowers I saw also, and was told that wild roses (rosa rugosa) perfumed the air in early summer; while away in the distance, forest-clad heights and grand [89] purple mountains reminded me of some of the finer scenery of Japan."

9: Hawes--93-96 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-4
116, 174

"Before narrating my experiences on the journey to the north-east coast, I propose to give the reader some idea of the general conditions of the island, a brief résumé of its history, and a slight sketch of its inhabitants and physical features. Unless ancient Chinese annals, yet untranslated, contain some reference to Sakhalin, the earliest record in existence concerning it, is the report of an expedition made by a few Japanese in the year 1613. On their return they drew a map of the southern portion, the only part they had seen, and called it Karafto, (1) by which we may conclude that they imagined

1. Kara in many languages of the East, Mongol, Urdu, and Manchu, etc., means black, and it is tempting to see in this name the same signification as Sahalien, a Manchu word also meaning black, but the probabilities are in favour of the interpretation adopted in the text.

it to be a portion of the mainland of China (Eastern Tartary), Kara being the old Japanese name for that country. [94]

Thirty years later, a Dutch captain, Martin Vries, sent by the famous Governor-general of the East Indies, Antonio van Diemen, to discover the 'Gout en Silverycke eylant,' i. e. a legendary island rich in gold and silver, sailing north-west from the coast of Yezo anchored in Aniva Bay, the southernmost bay of the island, being the first European to land on this terra incognita. Rounding Cape Aniva he reached the 49th

parallel, and named a prominent headland on the east coast, Cape Patience, which name it bears to-day.

Nothing had been known by the Russians, before this date, of the north-eastern extermities of Asia for Yermak, the pioneer of Russia in Siberia, had only crossed the border in 1581. Yet within less than seventy years the vast continent had been crossed, and Vasili Poyarkov, in 1645, having descended the Amur, reported confused rumours from the natives of an island lying at the mouth of the river. On other reference to it about this time was made in an old Russian record of the seventeenth century, which says that, 'On a great island lying over against the mouth of the river dwell a people, the Gilyaks; who keep in their villages 500 to 1000 dogs; all possible animals they eat, and bring up bears to do peaceful work.'

It is therefore strange that after a lapse of 200 years, notwithstanding all reports to the contrary, the island should still be thought a peninsula as late as the middle of the nineteenth century.

The first authentic information on the subject came from the Jesuit Fathers at the court of the great Chinese Emperor K'angshi. This indefatigable ruler, who prosecuted so seriously his study of mathematics, astronomy, etc., with the reverend fathers, proposed that they should make a map of the district in which the nearer portion of the Great Wall lay. This region he knew well from his frequent hunting expeditions, and he was so well pleased with the work of his tutors that he deputed them to [95] go out in

couples and map out the whole of his vast empire.

It was in the year 1709 that the three PP. Regis, Jartoux and Fredelli set out to traverse Manchuria, or as it was then called, Eastern Tartary; and, though they never reached Sakhalin, they managed to get as far as the village of Tondon (to-day called Dundun), which is on the right bank, about 400 miles from the mouth of the Amur, and had something to say of the island.

I will let them tell their story in their own words.

'We felt it very sharp at the beginning of September; and the eighth of that Month, on which we were at Tondon, the first Village of the Ke tching ta se Tartars, (1) we were

1. Fish-skin Tartars, from their dressing in fish-skins.

oblig'd to get us Habits lin'd with Lamb-skins, which we wore all the Winter. They also began to fear that the Saghalien oula (Amur), though so large and deep a River, would be froze over, and that the Ice would stop our Boats; accordingly it was froze every Morning to a certain distance from its Banks, and the Inhabitants assured us that in a few Days the Navigation would become dangerous by reason of the Quarries of Ice which fell down the River: The Cold is also very much prolong'd by the great Forests in this Country, which are more numerous and thicker of Wood the nearer you advance to the Eastern Ocean: We were nine Days in passing through one of them, and obliged to have

several Trees cut down, by the Mantcheou Soldiers, to make room for our Observations of the Sun's Meridian.' (2)

2. Du Halde's 'History of China,' translated by R. Brooks, 1736.

The good father runs on in his interesting way, telling of strange peoples with curious dress and food, but closely resembling the Gilyaks, the Golds, and the Orotchons, who still inhabit the banks of the lower Amur to-day. And, though they never reached Sakhalin, he has something to relate of it which he learnt from the Ke tcheng ta se, whose country, he says, 'extends along the Saghalien oula, from [96] Tondon to the Ocean. . . . They were the first that inform'd us, of what we did not know before, that opposite to the Mouth of Saghalien oula was a great Island inhabited by People like themselves; the Emperor afterwards sent some Mantcheoux thither, who passed over in Barks of these Ke tcheng ta se, who live by the Sea-side, and trade with the Inhabitants of the Western Parts of the Island."

9: Hawes--96-98 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 103

"It was owing incidentally to the reverend fathers, [LSS: Three Jesuit fathers at the court of the Chinese Emperor K'angshi who travelled up the Amur in 1709.] and the great geographer d'Anville, that the island received its [97] present name, for it has had many, as the following list will show: —Tarakai, Repun (Ainu), Khuye (Chinese), Karafto, Kita-sima (Japanese), Tun (Manchu), and Tchoka (native, Orochon). The name by which it was known among the Manchus was Tun, or Toung, which means, 'a hole dug in the ground, to which retreat certain wild men,' possibly a reference to the pre-Ainu race, which is believed to have inhabited Sakhalin, or even to the present northern tribes, who used to live in mounds, and still do so in winter. This name, however, does not appear to be mentioned by the Jesuit explorers, perhaps because they regarded it as equally fabulous with the statements of the Chinese geographers, who wrote of the 'northern crab barbarians' as inhabiting a region evidently intended for Sakhalin; and of their neighbours on Yezo as having 'Bodies covered with Hair, Whiskers that hung down to their Breasts, and their Swords tied by the Point behind their Heads.' Their information was, indeed, out of date, for we may perhaps see in these so-called fabulous tales, reference to the prehistoric pit-dwellers of Yezo (the Goro-pok-guru), and the warlike Ainus of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The reverend fathers appear, on the other hand, to have been impressed by the mention of Saghalien oula anga hata, or the rocks at the mouth of the black river; and on the copy of the map of the Chinese Empire, sent home to the King of France, only a

very few of the Chinese, Manchu, and Khalka names of places, mountains, and rivers, were transliterated into Latin characters, the island remaining unnamed; but at the mouth of the Amur appeared this legend, 'Saghalien oula anga hata.' The copyists employed by d'Anville in 1934 found this too long, and simply wrote Saghalien, (1) thinking

1. Sakhalin, is the official Russian name of the island, and, according to the Manchu scholar, Mr. M. F. A. Fraser, 'gets very near to the Manchu pronunciation' of the characters, which he transliterates Sa-kha-li-yen. 'The stress,' he adds, 'is diffused as in Japanese or French.'

it was meant [98] to apply to the island, to which it has ever since stuck. "

9: Hawes--98-100 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-3
116, 174

"In 1787, the famous explorer La Pérouse, following the coast of Tartary, with d'Anville's map before him, determined to steer eastwards to reconnoitre the Kurile islands. He was then in latitude 48°, and, to his surprise, soon encountered land, though the map marked nothing nearer than the southern end of Sakhalin at 49½°. Neither to the south-east nor to the north-east could he find a channel, and he came to the conclusion that this was the island called Saghalien by the geographers, and that it stretched much further to the south than they had imagined.

Proceeding in a northerly direction along the coast, he landed in three bays; and has left us an interesting account of his meetings with the natives, who from his description are recognizable as Ainus.

Beyond latitude 51,° the Straits becoming shallower, he made over to the coast of Tartary, and found and named the De Castries Bay. In answer to his inquiries here, whether there was a passage between the isle and the [99] mainland, the natives indicated that there were sandbanks, that marine flora grew thereupon, and that they had to drag their canoes over the shoals. He therefore turned south, and navigated the strait which divides Yezo from Sakhalin, to which he gave his name.

Nine years later an English captain, W. Broughton, attempted to pass, but failed, although his brig drew only ten feet. Krusenstern met with no greater success during his three years' expedition in East Siberian waters, from 1803 to 1806; but a Japanese surveyor, Mamia Rinzo, two years later, succeeded where all others had failed.

He was despatched by the Japanese Government, whose suspicions had been aroused by the arrival of a Russian embassy at the Mikado's Court in 1805, and in 1808 an expedition was fitted out to survey the coasts of Eastern Tartary. Mamia Rinzo navigated the Straits (hitherto called the Gulf) of Tartary, and returned with carefully drawn up plans and charts. These were pigeon-holed in the archives at Yeddo, and only discovered many years later by P. von Siebold.

The insularity of Sakhalin therefore still remained a secret. As late as 1846 Lieutenant Gevrilov, [LSS: Erratum; It should read 'Gavrilov'; 'Nevelsky' should read 'Nevelskoy'] who was despatched on a Government expedition, and was wrecked, wrote, 'Sakhalin is a peninsula.' It was left to Captain Nevelsky to establish once and for all the insularity of Sakhalin.

The great Count Muraviev, whose brilliant administration I have already referred to, in conjunction with Captain Nevelsky at sea, had been searching for a suitable naval base on the Eastern Siberian coast, with a view to strengthening the Russian position and hold on the Amur. They had parted in Europe in the year 1848, both bound for the East. No news of the latter had been received for months, and fears were entertained of the loss of his vessel, when on September 3, 1849, she appeared on the horizon off Ayan (Sea of Okhotsk). It is said that [100] Muraviev, impatient to hear the news, set out to meet him in a row-boat, and was hailed through a speaking-trumpet by Nevelsky in the following words: —'God has assisted us. . . . the main question is happily

solved. . . Saghalien is an island, and sea-going ships can penetrate into the estuary of the Amur both from the north and the south. An ancient error is completely dissipated; I now report to you that the truth has been discovered.' (1)

1. Vladimir. 'Russia on the Pacific.'

This discovery, however, did not become public property at once, for, in 1855, during the Anglo-French war with Russia, an English commander, with a small squadron, coming upon six Russian vessels in De Castries Bay, retired to the south to block their exit and await reinforcements, thinking that an isthmus to the north had rendered the Russian position a cul de sac. Meanwhile, the Russian squadron slipped out of the bay, and, steering north, navigated the narrow strait between Capes Lazarev and Pogobi, and reached the mouth of the Amur."

9: Hawes--100-102 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 132, 773, 823

"It is interesting to note, in regard to the reported connexion of the island and mainland in historical times, that the Gilyak natives have a legend telling of the destruction of the isthmus which is said to have united them. It is one of the deluge stories that are so curiously prevalent.

The story tells how, 'In the good old times no boat was needed to go to and from the Amur land (mainland at the mouth of Amur), for then dry land united it with Sakhalin, but once there came water from the sea—much, much water—then only were seen the tops of the mountains. During that flood many Gilyak hunters perished, but one found himself, by chance, on the top of a mountain, sharing it with a bear. The beast did him no harm, and even allowed him to sit upon its back while he swam to the tops of other mountains, where more refugees from the flood were congregated. When the waters receded and [101] life went on as usual, the Gilyaks wanted to return whence they had come, to sell the furs they had saved; but on arrival at the familiar spot, lo! the isthmus was gone, swept away by the flood, and in its place was the narrow strait, which remains to this day. At the time of this catastrophe,' they added, 'the river Amur overflowed, and large numbers of our brethren on its banks perished.'

I asked them where this mountain was, and they indicated a peak about forty miles south of Alexandrovsk, called Ktaüsi pal (pal-peak or mountain), and named by La Pérouse, 'Pic la Martinière,' after the botanist of his expedition. . . [LSS: A footnote in French from La Pérouse's account has not been reproduced.] When the natives see

this peak, my Gilyak informant said, they always make an offering to the god of the mountain.

I have wondered whether the following had anything to do with the Gilyak story, or was only a coincidence. I happened to be passing down the Straits of Tartary on a small Russian cargo steamer, and talking to the captain about the weather encountered there, when he said, 'There are frequent fogs here, and you know how difficult navigation is, but there is always one guide. In the thickest of fogs can always be seen the top, just the summit, of a mountain in Sakhalin.' Is this the mountain, towering above the heavenly floods, the clouds and fog, on which the Gilyak and bear found themselves?

Another legend bearing on the point is told by their old men, who say that 'their fathers or grandfathers [102] remembered the time when on the island there were no Russians, and it was very hot. The Russians came, and brought with them the cold and snowstorms. Before this, grapes ripened on the island, and now only in the south, and even there they are very sour, and not really ripe. In the north there is only the plant, and it bears no fruit.' "

9: Hawes--102 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyák
116, 132

"Such is not an uncommon tale of primitive folk, who, like their more civilized neighbours, look back upon 'the good old times,' and unconsciously gild earlier days with 'memory's sunset ray.' But taking these two legends together, and translating the time to which they relate to a period not later than three or four centuries ago, there seems some probability, or at least possibility, of a basis of fact. The strange intermixture, observable in the fauna and flora, arctic, temperate, and sub-tropical, and even more noticeable in the Primorsk, the coast region of the mainland opposite, suggests a chapter in the history of these regions when their climate approximated to that of Central Japan to-day."

9: Hawes--102-103 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 136

"The tiger, larger and with longer fur than his Bengal brother, is found where the elk wanders; and though I do not credit the Gilyak's reports to Dr. Schrenck, of traces of it found on Sakhalin, it is met with every winter between Khabarovsk and Nikolaevsk, and crosses the Amur on the ice, when wild boars are scarce, and the horses of the Russians or the Soluns are to be had. I have seen the little striped ground-squirrel which is so common among the mosques of India, in the bushes of the interior of Sakhalin, and not far off the reindeer nibbling the lichen growing on the tundra, which in winter is a solitary frozen waste.

It has been calculated that 15 per cent. of the species of birds observed on the island are from the polar regions, and 12 per cent. sub-tropical. The long-tailed rosefinch from the south (Uragus sanguinolentus) and the osprey (Pandion haliaetus) of the arctic regions are both found on [103] Sakhalin."

9: Hawes--103 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 137

"The flora exhibits as great a diversity. [LSS: as the fauna] Bamboos (Arundinaria kurilensis) and Swiss pines (Pinus cembra pumila), hydrangeas, the cork-(Phellodendron amureuse) [LSS: Erratum; should read amurense] and spindle-trees (Euonymus macropterus) are here, with the Betula ermani, and the gnarled larch (Larix daurica), and birch, and the berry-laden bushes of the Siberian tundra."

9: Hawes--103 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 132

"If we suppose that a neck of land once united Sakhalin with the mainland, the cold current from the Okhotsk Sea—which runs strong through the Straits of Tartary, forcing back a weaker branch of the Kuro Siwo or Gulf Stream of the East—must then have found its way blocked. The warm current flowing north from the Japan Sea would have pursued its course up the Gulf of Tartary without the active opposition of the colder one, and washing first the shores of the mainland, or Primorsk, would, on reaching the isthmus, have swept round in a southerly trend, laving the west coast of Sakhalin. This might account for the partial survival of sub-tropical vegetation."

9: Hawes--103-104 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 133

"The present configuration of the shoals and sandbanks immediately to the north of the 'funnel' of the Straits of Tartary seemed to me, when travelling through them and studying the charts, also to support the theory of the existence at some time, not remote, of an isthmus joining Capes Lazarev and Pogobi. The great accumulation in the form of sandbanks, and one in particular in mid-channel, but three-quarters of a fathom deep and immediately to the north of the 'narrows,' could be much more easily accounted for by the previous existence of a neck of land, and the consequent check and deposition of alluvium in a quiet bend, than by the present conditions of a strong current from the north at four knots an hour.

Nor is it difficult to conceive how the catastrophe, pictured by the Gilyaks, [LSS: The Gilyaks have a legend that such a neck of land once existed. See category 132, pp. 100-102.] might have taken place. Peter Dobell, writing in the year 1813, has described for us the circumstances which brought about the insulation of the [104] town of Okhotsk. He pictures the then site as a long narrow island sandbank, and adds, 'a few years ago the river became choaked (sic) at the mouth by a more than ordinary quantity of ice. The strength of the stream not being sufficient to force it out by the usual channel, it sank to the bottom, and at length completely obstructed the egress of the waters. Thus repelled, they swelled to an enormous height, covering all the country round, and forced themselves at length through the sandy beach, by what is called the new channel, insulating the town on the spot I have already described.' "

9: Hawes--104 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 131

"The island of Sakhalin is 590 miles long, or the distance from Land's End to Cape Wrath, and from 17 to 100 miles broad, with an area of 29,336 miles, or a trifle less than that of Scotland; while its population on Januray 1, 1898, was about 36,000 or scarcely one-eighth of the population of the city of Edinburgh. It is separated from the most northerly of the large islands of Japan, Yezo, by La Pérouse Strait, which presents to the mariner a difficult and dangerous crossing, though only twenty-eight miles in width."

9: Hawes--104-105 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 133

"It [LSS: Sakhalin Island] is a mountainous country, a long backbone or ridge running from north to south, and keeping near to the western coast; and three spurs stretching to the east coast. The longest ends in Cape Patience, with Mount Tiara, 2000 feet in height, rising about midway; and the other two in the extreme south, one at Cape Aniva, and the latter a few miles to the north-west of Korsakovsk. The ridge maintains an average altitude of about 2500 feet, culminating in Ichara pal or Pic Lamanon, 4860 feet in height, about fifty miles to the north of the narrowest part of the island. Two main rivers, each with a course of about 300 miles, have their watershed about the centre of the island; one, the Poronai (Ainu, poro=great; and nai=river), flowing south into the Bay of Patience, and the other the Tim (in the Gilyak [105] tongue, tim means cranberry, which is abundant on the banks), which I descended, finding outlet in the Bay of Ni, on the north-east coast. Short torrential streams there are in great numbers, especially on the west and south-east coasts."

9: Hawes--105 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 137, 487

"The land [LSS: of Sakhalin Island] if for the greater part covered with primeval forest. So dense is this, that the natives depend for highway upon the rivers, which they traverse in summer in canoes dug out of tree-trunks, and in winter in dog-or reindeer sledges over the frozen surfaces."

9: Hawes--105-106 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 137

"The commonest trees in the forests [LSS: of Sakhalin Island] in the northern half are larch (Larix daurica) and birch (Betula alba), and in the south spruce (Picaea ajanensis), and fir (Abies sachalinensis). In addition to these are the less common aspen, willow, elm, maple, nut, Swiss pine, mountain ash, etc.

The forests naturally change their personnel with their situation. On the mountain-side, and down in swampy places, where cold winds prevail, the flora is limited, and the sparse vegetation, the hoary moss-hung trees, and the almost snow-white lichen-sprinkled ground, the home of the reindeer, hint of approaching arctic conditions.

In sheltered valleys, on the other hand, I have found lofty larch trees measuring, as nearly as I could tell by pacing a fallen giant, 145 feet, and in the south, as already mentioned, are found the spindle- and cork-trees, the bamboo, hydrangea, and the heracleum.

The thick undergrowth was chiefly composed of wild rose, spiraea (betulaefolia?) and berried bushes, including the cloudberry (Rubus chamaemorus), cranberry (Oxycoccus palustris), crowberry (Empetrum nigrum), and the red whortleberry or cowberry (Vaccinium vitis idaea).

On the whole it is the tariga, the Siberian 'jungle' or belt of trackless forests of birch, larch, and spruce that prevails on Sakhalin; and the tundra, with its meres and swamps, covered with dank grass, gnarled and stunted larch and birch, low clusters of

9: Hawes--105-106 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 137

berry-laden brushwood, [106] shrouded in a drear sunlit mist in summer, or a frozen waste in winter, is only met with in parts, more especially in the north on the west coast."

9: Hawes--106 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 136, 361

"If the huma population of Sakhalin is small in number, the four-footed inhabitants are many. It as probably as a happy hunting-ground that the island appealed to the Gilyak pioneer from the Amur, whose descendants are settled to-day on the east and west coasts an the banks of the river Tim.

The most st king of all the animals on Sakhalin is, without doubt, the big brown bear (Ursus arctos) which is found in great numbers. Wolves also haunt the forests, but chiefly in the euth, and even there not in any great numbers to-day. Foxes are, however, prolific, and the skins of these, the reindeer, the sable, and the otter, go to make up the bulk of te fur trade to the mainland."

9: Hawes--106-108 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-3
116, 132

"Though situated in the temperate zone, Sakhalin, certainly in its northern half, has a climate similar to that of Lapland and southern Greenland. Alexandrovsk, the chief place on the island, lying about sixty miles north of the centre on the west coast, has exactly the same latitude, even to the second, as Brighton; yet its mean annual temperature is just below freezing-point (31.64° Fahr.).

The summer heat is considerable, and hence a great range is experienced. The figures for 1900, which were not then (1901) published, but kindly given me by the student-convict and meteorological observer, showed a maximum of 81° Fahr. in July, and—38° Fahr. in January, or a range of 119° Fahr. In the interior, at Rikovsk, this has been increased to 149° Fahr., the thermometer rising to 94° (1897) above and falling to 55° below zero Fahr. (1890).

This falls considerably short of the low temperatures experienced in the extreme north of Siberia, notably at the reputed pole of cold, Verkhoyansk, on the river Yana, where it is said that—81° Fahr. have been registered. [107]

A more instructive comparison, however, may be made from monthly averages. In the following table are recorded the averages of mean readings for the coldest and warmest months of the year, and the ranges between.

9: Hawes--106-108 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 132

Lat. N. ° ′ ″		Jan. F.	July. F.	Range. F.
50 49 50	Alexandrovsk (Sakhalin, W. coast)	−3°	62°	65°
50 43 (circa)	Rikovsk (" interior)	8	63	71
46 39	Korsakovsk (" S. coast)	13	64	51
67 20	Verkhoyansk (Siberian mainland, E. Siberia).	−56	58	114
51 1	Chita (Siberian mainland, Trans-Baikalia)	−15	66	18
48 28	Khabarovsk (Siberian mainland, Primorsk)	− 7	70	77
43 6	Vladivostok (Siberian mainland, Primorsk)	5	69	64
59 57	St. Petersburg	15	66	51
51 29	London.	37	64	27

It will be seen that, whereas Sakhalin experiences nearly the same temperature during July as do other places in Siberia, and even St. Petersburg and London, during January the cold is less intense than in the interior, on the mainland, but much more so than in the two European towns.

Korsakovsk in the south, though suffering as does the rest of the island from keen north winds, shows a striking contrast to other Sakhalin places in its winter records.

Winter lasts long, and the figures for 1900 recorded 208 days on which frost occurred, and on 141 of these no thaw took place. Late in September, or early in October, the snow begins to fall. At first it lies only on the tops of the mountains. Soon, however, it creeps down the sides, and the old men of Alexandrovsk told me that from October 13 (October 26, N. S.) it should come to stay. Thence onwards for nearly six months the land is covered with a white pall, on an average for 170 days, but in 1895 it remained for no less than 203 days. Its depth [108] varies from one to three feet (at Rikovsk 34½ inches were recorded in 1896), being deeper in the tundra valleys of the rivers and shallower on the mountains, but almost anywhere one may come unexpectedly upon drifts of seven feet, from which it is not easy to extricate one's self.

With the opening of winter comes the closing of the Straits of Tartary to navigation. From the middle of November until May no ships are seen, and communication is absolutely cut off, save for the cable, excepting during two months in midwinter. Even this slender and uncertain means of communication was denied the inhabitants, for in June, 1901, the cable was broken, thus rendering their isolation complete during the following winter."

9: Hawes--108-109 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 493

"Towards the end of December, or the beginning of January, the sea is sufficiently frozen for natives to undertake the arduous task of sledging to Nikolaevsk with the mails. At Alexandrovsk, and generally to the south of the 'funnel' of the Straits, only the coastal fringe of the sea is frozen, but to the north of that all is covered save for occasional holes. It is no easy journey along the ice-bound fringe of the coast, northwards to Cape Pogobi, and thence across the snow-covered frozen sea to the mainland.

To the narta, as the sledge is called, are harnessed thirteen dogs of the Arctic type. No. 1 is the leader, a valuable animal, the cleverest and most experienced. He has shoulder-straps, and one also passing between his legs is attached to the sledge. To this strap the others are joined by thongs on either side, and should any shirk their work, they are pounced upon by the leader or their fellows, and severely bitten. No reins, nothing but the strap connects the team with the sledge and its driver. The narta is a lightly constructed framework of wood, about fourteen inches high and fourteen feet long. Higgledy-piggledy lie the dogs outside the post-office at Alexandrovsk, their master in furs, mocassins and long skin hood, from out which peeps his pigtail. But already the [109] mails are out and on the narta, and the Gilyak, seizing the dogs, casts them to right and left. Throwing himself quickly astride of the sledge, feet on rails, clasping his two short iron-shod sticks, and calling, Ti ti, i.e. 'Forward,' to the dogs, the mail is away. A dash down the hill, and less than a mile's run brings them to the sea; but which is sea and which is land? All is covered with snow. For 100 miles they pursue their

course over the frozen fringe of the sea.

Should they meet a traveller, the driver digs his sticks (caur) [LSS: Erratum; it should read kaur.] into the snow, and calls, 'Pore!' (Stop!) or 'Kau! Kau!' (Right! Right!) The dogs swerve, the left leg of the Gilyak is seen oddly in the air, but the sticks maintain his balance, and the equipage is quickly turned aside. Should the owner, however, fail to see the traveller, the dogs may fly at the stranger and do him grievous injury, for in order to keep them running they are only half fed until the end of the journey."

9: Hawes--109 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 132

"From Cape Pogobi the crossing of the Straits is made in a north-westerly direction, threading the Khazeliv Islands to a Gilyak village Mi on the opposite shore, nearly fifty miles distant. This part of the journey must be compassed in daylight, and an early start (5 a.m.) is made. At first the dogs speed along over the smooth snow-covered surface at about seven miles an hour, with halts of five or ten minutes at every ten versts (6 miles) to give them breath. As the middle is neared rougher going is met with, for hummocky ice has been piled up by the wind in open water, and detours have to be made to avoid dangerous holes. So strong is the wind that the narrow strait between Capes Lazarev and Pogobi, though barely five miles across, is always kept open, the ice being swept onwards as quickly as it forms, to cling to the fringe further south, therefore it is that the crossing lengthens out to nearly fifty miles."

9: Hawes--111-112 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 132

"Although it is common knowledge that the farther east of Paris one goes, the more extreme is the climate, a fact which Napoleon did not seem to have realized in 1812, yet we should scarcely expect such extremes of climate as a range of 149° Fahr. on an island in the same latitude. There appear to be two main causes. The first is the prevalence of northerly and north-westerly winds in winter, and of southerly and south-easterly in summer; the second is the presence of a cold current from the Okhotsk Sea flowing down both sides of the island. The ice, led by the current and driven by the wind from this great reservoir of frost, fills up all the northern portion of the Straits of Tartary, and makes of it a continuation of the sub-arctic region of frost.

The winter's cold is, however, fine and dry, and though it has been said that Sakhalin does not know the calm days that prevail throughout the winter in Eastern Siberia, yet during the latter half of January and the month of February, beautiful bright windless days succeed one another on the island, and the dog-sledges and reindeer are brought out, and the natives make their journeys for the barter of skins.

The climate has been much maligned, and the notion of a land of fog and snow still holds the popular imagination. For such ideas we are largely indebted to navigators. The truth is that there is a great deal of fog at sea, but the mariners were not aware that it generally remains—like themselves, at sea--leaving a margin of about four miles from the land clear. The thawing of the river Amur, the floating down the Straits of great ice-blocks, and the mingling of cold and warm currents, or a keen northerly

blast on the summer sea, are the causes which contribute to this state of things.

Mr. H. de Windt, after a flying visit to the island, has [112] written, 'There are fogs throughout the year, except in the interior.' Dr. James Y. Simpson, in his admirable book on Siberia, gives us a chapter on Sakhalin, compiled from statistics, and in it he remarks, 'In the Alexandrovsky district there were only five days free from rain, cloud, or fog in 1895, and in no year has there ever been more than nine or ten. The island is therefore almost unsuitable for ordinary settlers, and forms only a penal colony.' I have before me the meteorological reports for several years, and reference to them shows the number of clear days (and the sky has to undergo a very strict examination before the meteorological authorities will pass it as clear) in the year 1895 was no less than forty. There is less annual cloudiness, in other words, more sunshine recorded on the island than in England, and the rainfall also averages less, being but 22⅓ inches.

My own experience, as well as the meteorological records, runs counter to the above mentioned authors' remarks.

At the time when the break-up of the weather is expected, i. e. in September and early October, I enjoyed brilliantly sunny days on Sakhalin, such as one seldom gets in England. During the whole of the fifty days I spent on the island I never saw a fog, but on several occasions the coast-line of the mainland, sixty miles distant, was visible.

The southern portion of the island, having a more temperate, or rather, less extreme climate, experiences, in parts, more fog and humidity than the northern half."

9: Hawes--112-113 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 133

"If I had almost omitted in this brief résumé of the history and physical conditions of Sakhalin to say anything of its geological formation, it would have been because so little is known. The island is attributed to the Tertiary period, although the Secondary is represented in the south by green sandstone, containing cretaceous sea-urchins; and I have observed on the coast, at Alexandrovsk, [113] just to the north of Jonquière Point, huge ammonites in the ferruginous marl.

Attempts have been made to find traces of geologically recent volcanic action, but so far they have not met with success. Posting one day along the sands south of the headland just mentioned, I descended to examine something that caught my attention, and found what I thought to be a piece of lava. On inquiry, however, I learned that an adjoining coal-mine had been set on fire, accidentally or wilfully, by convicts, and had been smouldering for thirty years; hence my discovery! It seems much more probable that, while the line of volcanic action runs down from Kamchatka through the Kurile Islands and Japan, Sakhalin represents the remaining outcrop of the line of weakness. In general exposures—the cliffs to the north of Alexandrovsk and the banks of the river Tim—showed conglomerate resting on a hard argillaceous sandstone, and occasionally calcareous schist. Marine fossils have been found at eight feet elevation above low-water mark, and the natural conclusion is that the island is undergoing a period of emergence. The presence of nearly completed lagoons on the north-east and south-west coasts are also evidence of this emergence."

9: Hawes--113 14 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 174

"The story the earliest occupation of Sakhalin carries us back to prehistoric times. To-day, in addition to the latest comers—the Russians—five different peoples are found on the island. They are the Ainus, Gilyaks, Orochons, Tungus and Yakuts. Of the last, a Turki tribe whose habitat is Eastern Siberia with the town of Yakutsk as a centre, there are only ten men and three women on Sakhalin.

Which of these five peoples, it will be asked, were the aborigines? The Tungus, whose home is also in Eastern Siberia, and who roam from the borders of Korea to the Arctic Ocean, and from the Yenisei river to the Okhotsk Sea, are certainly not, for they have [114] arrived since the Russians. The Gilyak hunters probably came over from the mainland before the Orochon, and whether we are right in conjecturing their first settlement to have been made not earlier than two and a half centuries ago, it is certain that their traditions testify to their meeting the Ainus already in occupation of the island."

9: Hawes--115-116 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 174, 197

"A study of the Orochons suggest that they are a tribe which has mostly Tungus blood in its veins, mingled by intermarriage with various neighbours, such as the Gilyaks, Golds, etc. [116]

The Gilyaks are even more difficult to classify racially. Separated in speech, manners and customs from their neighbours, they yet have some affinities in feature. This only adds to the puzzle; for while many have scarcely any hair on their faces, others, whose ancestors, perhaps, have intermarried with Ainus, have bushy beards and copious heads of hair. The most plausible suggestion is that they are of a semi-Tungus, semi-Mongol race. Philologists of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, and of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, hold that their language knits them in origin to the dwellers on the Pacific coast of Northern Asia, and America, and the Aleutian isles."

9: Hawes--116 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 161

"The total number of natives on the island [LSS: Sakhalin] is between 4000 and 5000, of whom about 1300 are Ainus, more than 2000 Gilyaks, at least 750 Orotchons [LSS: Erratum; it should read Orochon] and perhaps 200 Tungus.

The island is therefore very sparsely populated; and how sparsely may be judged from the fact that during more than three days' journeying on the river Tim, the native highway to the east coast, I saw not a solitary person or dwelling."

9: Hawes--116-117 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 563, 631

"The Russian occupation [LSS: of Sakhalin] is practically confined to the district enclosed in a radius of thirty miles from Alexandrovsk on the west coast, and another smaller one around Korsakovsk in the south.

The island is divided into three administrative districts—the Alexandrovsk, Timovsk, and Korsakovsk okrugi. Each of these is presided over by a chief of the district, or okruzhni nachalnik, over whom is the military Governor of the island. The latter has great authority, but in his turn is subject to the Governor-general of the Pri-Amursky oblast.

The biggest prison centre is at Alexandrovsk. The next is at Korsakovsk, and the Timovsk dostroct has two, one at Derbensk and the other at Rikovsk, thirty-five and forty-four miles, respectively, by road inland from Alexandrovsk. [117]

Immediately around these centres clearings have been made, and beyond are a few villages dotted about in the forest, with a population varying from 200 to none at all."

9: Hawes--117 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177

"The Russian connection with the island dates from 1852, when Lieutenant Boshniak was sent to explore Sakhalin, the possession of which had become necessary in order to guard the entrance to the Amur, at which a year before the Russian flag had been planted. During the following year Ilinsky Post (Kusunai), on the west coast, and Muravievsk Post, in the Bay of Aniva, were formed. In 1858, forty convicts were at work in the coal-mines at Dui, on the west coast, and in 1869, 800 were forwarded from Trans-Baikalia.

The Japanese, who had been alarmed at the landing of the Russians in Aniva Bay at the beginning of the century, were now considerably disturbed by the activity of the Russians.

For decades back, Japanese fishers and traders in skins, etc., had haunted the coasts of Sakhalin. Now Russia wanted to claim the whole island. For the time an amicable arrangement was come to, with a joint ownership and freedom to occupy unoccupied territory. This, of course, could not last, and finally, in 1875, negotiations were completed by which Japan gave up her claim to the southern half of the island. In lieu thereof she received the cession of the Kurile islands, and an annual payment for a fixed number of years. A Japanese consul has his residence at Korsakovsk to receive this, and to pay a pro rata tax levied on the Japanese fishermen who still ply their trade in Sakhalin waters."

"Turning inland at the Gilyak village, we passed through the Russian Arkovo, the first, for there are three hamlets of that name, where we had experienced the hospitality of the convict-farmer three days since. Our journey now took us beyond, by a road winding through a beautiful valley. If the little gardens, with their cabbages and potatoes, had astonished me before with their look of contentment, so did now the reverse side of the picture, [122] the miserably poor cereal crops standing in the little strips of clearings which fringed the road—crops that could not have yielded more than a two or threefold return on the sowings. Referring to the official records for the year 1898, I find that wheat and oats, which were the chief cereals sown in this village, yielded 3.7 and 4.4-fold harvests, against a 15-fold average in England. Potatoes showed better results with 6.7-fold crop. In the village of Slavo, which we reached the following day, the record was terrible, the wheat yield for the same year being eleven grains for every ten sown! And, as if to make more obvious the settlers' inability or culpable failure to grow enough corn to satisfy their needs, we overtook several telyegi (primitive springless carts), drawn by oxen and Siberian ponies, laden with sacks of American flour from Portland, Oregon. A political exile, writing in the official Sakhalin Kalendar of 1896, lays most of the blame for the unsatisfactory state of the outlying settlements at the officials' doors. He claims that the system, under which the 'exile-settlers' (1) are sent to found new

1. One whose sentence has expired, but who must remain on the island for six

more years without legal rights.

villages in the forests, is not given a fair trial, and adds that it is the worst men who are shipped off to these parts, because they are as sores in the eyes of the officials. Furthermore, the 'exile-settlers' are often despatched to places that no sane man would have chosen, thus making, what was at best a hard life, an impossible one. Colonel Garnak, in the eighties, sent out to scientifically explore the island, is said to have come to the conclusion that colonization was in a very bad state owing to the 'faulty administration.'

On the other hand, the ex-convicts do not make the best of their circumstances. Small love have they for the island which is their prison-land, and, even if reconciled to it the industry and perseverance needed in a struggle with [123] nature are not forthcoming from those who have sought in their days of freedom to live by avoiding honest work.

Some weeks later I met a Caucasian Kazak, who was a striking exception to the ordinary run of Sakhalin criminals. Whatever his crime may have been, probably insurrection, he was very energetic, and most successful. Living at the village of Uskovo, in the interior, in the midst of forest which involved no little labour in clearing, and harboured many a destructive enemy of his cattle, he owned, he told us, no less than fifty cows, and sowed his 150 puds of corn. He claimed to get a twelve-fold crop, which, even if we make some allowance for exaggeration, was really no less extraordinary for

Sakhalin than his unwonted energy. In speaking of agriculture on the island, he attributed the small crops usually obtained to the laziness of the 'peasants' (1) and their

1. A peasant is an ex-convict who has completed his six years of 'exile-settlership,' and now has the return of certain elementary civil rights, including those of the right to move from place to place.

carelessness in sowing the seed, 'scattering here,' as he said, 'in excess, and there insufficiently.' "

9: Hawes--126 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 487

"Our road [LSS: Near Arkovo on Sakhalin Island] continued to rise until it reached a level of about 700 feet. The backbone of the island is crossed by practically only three passes, of which this is the chief. Another, used by the natives, leads from the river Tim to the west coast, north of Arkovo, and the third lies 200 miles to the south, between Kusunai and Manue. Rumour told of one in the extreme north, used by the native Gilyaks; but I believe no white man has ever trodden it. Arriving at the top of the pass, our route led us across an undulating plateau for several miles, until finally it descended to the bed of the upper reaches of the river Tim."

9: Hawes--132-133 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 136

"[LSS: In Northern Sakhalin Island] The birds appeared few in number, and could scarcely have been reduced by migrations southwards yet. The commonest were the white (Motacilla lugens) and the yellow wagtails (M. taivana). Occasionally a jay (Garrulus brandtii) flitted before us from tree to tree, a kingfisher (Alcedo bengalensis) busied himself by the stream, or a gravelly cliff was passed, riddled with the homes of sand-martins (Cotyle riparia). Overhead a hawk soared, or a crow cawed on [133] his lonely way; underfoot, or under wheel rather, the track became a swamp. For a quarter of a mile or so our way was a floating layer of pine-logs, over which we rattled and bumped and thumped."

9: Hawes--133 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 137

"[LSS: On northern Sakhalin Island] The forest was continuous and dense. The most conspicuous trees were birch, larch, elm, and nut (Panax ricinifolia), while below was a thick undergrowth of spiraea (Betulae folia?), which refuses to grow beneath the needle-trees, but keeps company with the larch, wild raspberry, elder, the red whortleberry (Vaccinium vitisidaea), wild rose, and great horse-tails (Equisetum sylvaticum)."

9: Hawes--135 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 142

"Coming upon an encampment of Gilyak natives for the first time, I was struck with their resemblance to the North-American Indians; their swarthy figures, high cheek-bones, raven hair and mocassined legs, the impression being heightened by their paddling a dug-out canoe. From the huts emerged one or two of their women-folk, short and stunted, and some black-haired, gipsy-looking children, who stared shyly at us."

9: Hawes--137-138 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 361, 563, 624

"We were nearing Ado Tim, the last Russian penal settlement of all in the northern interior. The native village of that name was situated on the banks lower down, but the settlement lay half a verst from the river.

We had no wish to arrest our progress here, the settlement had a very bad reputation, and we would rather camp in the open, or among the natives, from what we had heard; but the natives refused to take us further except at a prohibitive price, and we went ashore, hoping that time would settle our difference.....[138] On either side of the broad grass track of the settlement was a row of higgledy-piggledy, miserably poor, out-of-repair log-huts, with tiny windows, some roofed with boards, others with loose pieces of bark. Pigs, a foal or two, and a few children, miserably clad were indiscriminately scattered on the 'road.' Kita (1) hung curing in the smoke of

1. The East Siberian name for Salmo lagocephalus.

a fire kindled beneath, and bunches of withering green leaves by the hutside in the sun betokened tobacco drying. Women wandered about barefooted, and they and the men were in the scantiest of clothing, the latter in a cotton shirt and trousers, and the former simply in a frock and an extra bodice. It was always a matter of wonder to me how in autumn mornings and late afternoons they could stand the cold so miserably clothed.

Each village has its overseer, who is a soldier. In rank he may be compared to a

9: Hawes--137-138 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 361, 563, 624

sergeant, but his duties are as varied as those of a prefect in France, or even a deputy-commissioner in India. Police, military, the census, agriculture, and 'roads,' all these and more come within his cares; and for this he is paid the magnificent sum of thirty rubles (three guineas) a month. Tracking escaped convicts was not the least important of his functions at Ado Tim, and he was away down the river on this errand when we arrived."

"The law provides that any female criminal under forty, whose sentence is not less than two years, may be sent from Russia to Sakhalin. On arrival at Alexandrovsk they are placed altogether in the kamera at the south-east corner of the prison buildings. I have often seen them-those of them that had been retained by the officials, nominally for cleaning and sewing purposes, I say nominally, because the real purpose was openly known; the others, chosen by 'exile-settlers,' who are allowed thus to take a helpmate, are released from confinement within barracks, and live with their 'men' though they are still obliged to do their hard-labour task.

There is no marriage ceremony. The choice being made with the sanction of the nachalnik of the okrug, their names are written in a book, and henceforth the couple dwell together. A policy such as this, which violates our notions of the sacredness of the marriage tie, and directly encourages a criminal breed, must be regarded in the light of an attempt on the part of the Government to settle and colonize Sakhalin. A previous scheme had been tried, and failed. In 1862, and again in 1869, a few free colonists had been sent to the island, but they all ultimately left for a less lonely and arduous life.

By settling the exiles down with partners in life and families, the Government also hoped to avoid the letting loose [142] of large numbers of ex-convicts of Sakhalin on the mainland. . . . . .Brodyagi-passportless vagabonds—had been despatched wholesale across the border into Siberia, and the country was over-run with escaping

members of this fraternity. On this subject, A. Leroy-Beaulieu, quoting official figures, says, '...on January 1, 1876, over 51,000 persons were entered on the registers of the government of Tobolsk as penal colonists, and only 34,000 could be produced by the local administration. ... These figures, together with the carelessness of the local authorities, bear witness to the inefficiency of the system. ... In the 'governments' of Tomsk and Yeniseisk, in 1883, there were, out of 20,000 exiles (all classes exiled, not merely 'exile-settlers') registered in different communes, only 2600 actually residing in the places assigned them; over 17,000 were fugitives.' That this state of things has improved with the advancing settlement of the country is true, though let not the reader think for a moment that the brodyaga fraternity fails to number its thousands today. Irkutsk which competes with Tomsk for the title of premier city of Siberia, like London, attracts large numbers of that profession generally dubbed the 'light-fingered.' This is a misnomer for the Siberian members. Hard life in the taiga does not conduce to delicate fingering, and the murder of their victim is a sine quâ non in the pursuit of the profession. It is said that two murders in the nucleus of the city, and fourteen in the outskirts, is the weekly average of Irkutsk. And daylight or publicity are not shunned either, for just previous to my visit two had taken place in the high street in the daytime. [143] Security of life and property spell for the Exchequer greater potential receipts, and this was another reason why the importunities of the Siberians should be listened to. Hence it was that in 1888, Mr. Galkin Vrassky, afterwards head of the general prison

administration, recommended that all brodyagi should be sent, not to the Siberian mainland, but to the island of Sakhalin, where, escaping from control, they could do little harm at large in the taiga, while the sea and ice would be effective prison walls. This was tantamount to a declaration that in future Siberia was to be first and foremost a colony, while the convicts must be more and more confined to restricted areas. This policy has culminated in the ukaz of 1900, which nominally abolished deportation from January 1, 1902 (O.S.).

The attempt to settle free colonists on Sakhalin having failed, what has been the result of the second method of 'civil marriage'? On the whole, even the officials, I think, would admit it to be a failure.

That the couples remain is true, but it is because they cannot get away, and are practically forced exiles; the majority, regarding the land as their prison-island, strive no more than is necessary to gain a bare existence. How those few bright exceptions to this crushed, energyless majority long to put an end to their exile, was brought home to me when, returning from Arkovo, where we had supped with the farmer who was 'passing rich' as the owner of three cows, I remarked to my companion, 'I suppose an exile-settler, such as he, who has been here fifteen years, has a wife and children, and is doing well, very well as Sakhalin standards are, is quite content to live here?'

'Why!' he replied, 'he only asked me just now, 'Did I think there was any hope of his

getting away back home to Russia?' ' With the second generation, it is possible, this may not be so. [144]

There are other results that have to be taken into account, and which ought to give the Government pause. In the first place, the moral effect on the woman who is chosen as a mate, is, in the majority of cases, terrible; and in the second place, the offspring of such a union is convict by heredity and demoralized by environment.

On this subject, Mr. Zhook, quoting Mr. P. A. Salomon, who was Director-in-Chief of Russian Prisons from 1896, says, 'The so-called concubines, i.e. the exiled women who are given to the settlers to help them, and for the mutual management of their households, consider themselves as having the right freely to dispose of themselves; and they leave their partners if the latter try to prevent them admitting outside visitors. Usually, however, this is not the case, as the co-habitants share all their earnings.' Mr. Zhook adds, 'Deprived of all civil rights, she loses by law the right to have a family; but it is impossible to deprive her of the right to feel disgust towards the forced co-habitation; and once she forsakes her 'master' there is no other way open to her but to settle down with another one. This, indeed, is that 'hard labour' to which criminal women are subjected.' At the same time, it should be pointed out, that the women being in the minority, (1) the power to leave their 'men' has a restraining effect, and in the

1. The numbers of men and women on the island who had been sent out as

convicts were, on January 1, 1898, respectively 19,770, and 2397, or in round numbers in the proportion of 8 to 1. The ratio is reduced by the presence of 1308 women who followed their condemned husbands to the island. Only six men did this in the case of their wives being despatched to Sakhalin as criminals.

event of their doing so they have a choice, miserable as that may be.

There is even a sadder aspect of this matter. It is the effect upon the free population, the wives of convicts who have joined them, but more especially the free-born children. All around them are openly vicious practices [145] and scenes of unblushing prostitution. The very 'game' of concubinage is in vogue in the mixed schools. To say that fathers traded with their daughters is to say little. I had great difficulty, I am not sure that I succeeded, in convincing a highly educated prisoner of rank, familiar with English literature, that fathers did not stand in the streets of London offering their daughters for sale. His experience on Sakhalin only confirmed some garbled reports of London life retailed by Russian papers. It would be impossible—and probably incredible to the reader—for me to mention the many terrible things I heard, but I feel it only due to the children of Sakhalin, if any reform is to be brought about, to quote a statement which I should not have dared to make myself, but which comes from one of unquestioned authority.

9: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-6
116, 563

What more awful charge against the officials and the criminal population can be made than in these words, 'There is not a girl over nine years of age on the island who is a virgin.' "

9: Hawes--154 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177

"A Gilyak village was therefore sought, [LSS: By the Russian authorities to help track down an excaped Russian convict.] and natives and their dogs brought to track down the unfortunate ex-captain. The soldiers' version of the sequel was that, coming up with him, one of their number fell upon him and tried to make him captive, but the brodyaga, attempting to wrest the soldier's gun from him, was shot in self-defence by his would-be captor. 'Then,' they added, 'the Gilyak tracker fired the fatal shot.' "

9: Hawes--155 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 133

"The banks of the river [LSS: The river Tim near Ado Tim] were low for the most part, broken by the rise of an occasional limestone cliff of about thirty feet in height. Bending over from the tops of these, toppling headlong, halfway down or already lying prone in the water, were larches and birches; while the stretches of low bank were thickly dotted with poplars and nut-trees; and overhanging the river's edge were willows and alders, giving hiding-place to a bevy of ducks here and there."

9: Hawes--155-156 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 361, 563

"Though we had left behind the last Russian settlement at Ado Tim, three or four rude shelters were passed in the course of the morning, which were occupied during the spawning season by a few Russian 'exile-settlers' for the catching and salting down of salmon against the winter's needs. At a bend of the river we came upon one of these shelters, and five men dragging a seine-net, about two hundred feet long, which contained one hundred or so of plunging and splashing kita. At another of these rude huts, which housed a solitary Russian and some barrels of salt and dried grass, we stopped to discuss our midday meal—a duck we had shot during the morning. Our men behaved very well, and though the keen edge of our distrust was wearing off, we did not look forward to spending a night with them or to the prospect of night watches.

Occasionally we came upon a Gilyak village, consisting of half a dozen huts or so, and at each one hailed any visible member of the community, inquiring if there were not men who would take us; but they all with one accord made excuses. Either the able-bodied were away fishing, [156] or the only person available was ill or had no safe canoe."

9: Hawes--156 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 115

"Our new acquaintance's name was Vanka, (1) and he must go down stream to the next

1. This is really Russian nomenclature, Vanka being a diminutive of Ivan, as Bertie of Herbert.

village of Irr Kirr to fetch a companion, his cousin—how many times removed I am not in a position to state. The cousin's name was Armunka, that is as near to it as we could get in Russian."

9: Hawes--157-158 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 142, 302

"The Gilyak is short of stature, about 5 feet 3 inches in height, spare of limb, and, though often wiry, scarcely robust. His women-folk scarcely exceed 4 feet 6 inches. His complexion is tawny, gipsy-like, but not yellow, and his hair, which he wears in a pigtail, is raven black. Altogether his features betoken a mixed race. Though he has the brachycephalic (round) head, the broad face, and high cheek-bones of the Mongol, [158] yet the slight brow ridges, big mouth, prominent lips, and flattened nasal bridge of the latter are considerably modified in his case. The majority of Gilyaks possess the hairless faces of the Mongol, and perhaps the exceptions who have bushy beards are descendants of Ainu and Gilyak ancestors."

9: Hawes--158 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 291

"In summer they used to dress in fish-skins, (1) and in winter in seal-or dog-skins.

1. Salmon (Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which are known in Eastern Siberia as kita and gorbusha respectively).

Gradually Chinese cotton (ta-pu) has filtered in through Manchuria, and largely taken the place of fish-skins, though this material is still used for parts of the dress, especially of the Gilyak woman; and when visiting a Gilyak headman I found a mat of salmon-skins, stitched together, spread in my honour. In winter the men wear coats of dog-skins, but the women favour seal-skin, the short bristly hair being less in the way in their domestic occupations. The men add to their coat in winter a short petticoat of seal-skin. In summer they go bare-footed, except on journeys when, as in winter, they use mocassins of seal-skin, the hair on the outside of the leg portion only.

For underclothing, a ta-pu shirt, 'shorts,' and long gaiters, or spatter-dashes, like the Chinese, are worn by the men; and by the women long gaiters only, and a shirt or two of cotton or fish-skin. The outer tunic of the Gilyak woman, or rather frock, for it possesses sleeves, has Chinese cash coins strung round the border, which reaches just below the knees."

9: Hawes--158 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 181, 241, 433

"The Gilyaks are veritable children of the forest, finding their home, food, and gods therein. Cultivation of the soil is unknown to them, and they live mainly on fish and the flesh of beasts that fall to their snares. By bartering the skins of such animals they obtain tobacco, brick-tea, etc."

9: Hawes--159-160 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 396, 412, 501

"Our craft was about twenty-five feet long and two and a half broad, light, keel-less; and though easily capsized a racing craft in speed. More than once I came across one of these 'dug-outs' in course of making. A suitable tree near the river edge is chosen, and cut down. This, and all the other work on it, is done by means of an axe, which the natives obtain either by bartering skins with the Russians, or, as at Pogobi, in part payment for boat made over to a gang of brodyagi. On [160] the stump of the tree left is placed a tzakh—that is, a twig with whittled shavings adhering to the top such as the Ainus call an Inao. This, like the cross (†) stuck in the ground beside a house in course of building by the Russians, is to keep away the evil spirits, the daimones, which here haunt the forest, and especially the swampy regions. The bark is chipped off, and very little hewing and trimming suffices on the outside, as will be seen from the illustration opposite p. 252. The hollowing process follows, and about one-third or one-fourth of the circumference of the log is cut into, the remaining two-thirds or three-quarters forming the outer surface of the boat. When duly hollowed to a thickness at the gunwale of about an inch, a cross-section will thus give about three-quarters of the circumference of a circle. The sides or lips of the boat leaning to each other are then stretched outwards, by means of sticks placed crosswise inside, so that the sides may become vertical, and the final form of a cross-section of the boat be that of the letter U.

All the work is performed with a couple of hatchets, though I once saw among the Orotchon tribe a primitive plane. A thin rim is affixed to the gunwale, and at the bow

and stern, which are often exactly similar, are short flat projections used in punting. When dried and stretched, two or three rungs keep the sides rigid. The whole process takes, under favourable circumstances, one month, but in winter two.

In the management of them, their makers were as skilful as in their manufacture. They would stand at bow and stern of our frail craft, punting up stream, and not disturb its equilibrium one iota."

9: Hawes--161 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 342, 361

"The yelping of sledge-dogs, and the smell from strings of fish drying in the sun, and just visible at the bend of the river, aroused us to the contemplation of another Gilyak village, if I may so dignify a collection of half a dozen huts with that name. Two unfinished canoes lay in their beds of fragrant chips; and beyond, on the 'floor' of the village, were women cleaning fish preparatory to stringing it.

Huts of larch or pine planks, rectangular in shape, with obliquely sloping bark roofs, and doors about three feet high, a few similarly shaped but quite small erections on piles, for storing the winter provisions of dried fish, and three bear cages made up the village of Ukavo."

9: Hawes--161-162 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 556

"Ukavo was at the time of my visit a rich, or at least a potentially rich, village. The basis of its affluence present, or to come, was even more assured than that of the new township in Australia which, possessing 400 inhabitants, a town hall, a telephone union, and a collection of galvanized-iron roofed cabins of unvarying [162] pattern, promised soon to throw Ballarat into the shade! No mines, gold or otherwise, entered into the Gilyaks' calculation, but they possessed a far more important asset in the shape of seven bears."

9: Hawes--162 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 231, 527, 783, 796

"The object of the capture and feeding of the bear is the holding of a great yearly semi-religious festival, in which the slaughter of the beast plays the chief part. It is more probable, that in the older times a full-grown bear was captured just previous to the fête, and that to-day the letter rather than the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by seizing cubs and rearing them for three or four years. The feeding is a matter of no difficulty, as will be seen when we come to the preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores. [LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner or capturer of the bear, the feast turns out a very profitable investment, for visitors from neighbouring villages flock in, and while necessaries are provided by the owner, luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, adorned with a pine-branch at each corner. Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph one of the occupants, I desired the villagers to bring one out, or at least unroof him. There were, however, too few men-folk at home, and the adult bears were very fierce, as indeed we gathered from their movements and remarks within; so two of the five little cubs were partially unroofed. The poor little orphans snarled, and shrank frightened into a corner, tumbling over one another, and trying in their terror to hide each beneath the other. Ere the month of January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before, their spirits will have been released to carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

"Resuming our journey again, we were still casting about for a low, level, sandy bed, and the twilight was fast gathering, when my attention was called from the terrestrial to the supernatural. From out of the now dark and gloomy forest came a half moan, half cry.

It was uncanny beyond words. A cry from the unknown, a moan from the depths of undisturbed regions. Our Gilyaks ceased paddling, and we asked, 'What is it? It must be some animal. Perhaps it is in the claws of a bear.'

'Kaukray! kaukray! (1) No! no! It is no animal. It is the shade of a dead man wandering in the forest.'

1. A Gilyak word, meaning "no" or "nothing."

For the Gilyaks not only believe in a future world, but their conceptions really connote immortality. The members of their race on the mainland, who live on the banks of the Amur, hold that the spirit of the departed one reaches after several days' journey a great village in the centre of the earth called Mligh-vo, where life is much the same as on earth, with this difference, that there the hunting and fishing are unstinted. In fact, it is the familiar [164] 'happy hunting ground' of the Indian. A distinction is made between those who die a natural and a violent death, for the spirits of the murdered and suicides fly to heaven (tlo) tirect, thus avoiding the long journey, and therefore not requiring food

9: Hawes--163-164 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 762, 775

to be placed at their grave. How and in what Mligh-vo differs from tlo they cannot explain, but the differentiation marks their conception of the sacredness of the soul of the murdered or suicide."

9: Hawes--164 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 101, 178, 182

"The Gilyaks of Sakhalin, being descendants of pioneers who long ago left the 'Old country,' are more free-thinking than those of the elder clans on the Amur. Probably a closer intercourse and possibly intermarriages with the Ainus have also helped to modify their views. At any rate, one finds considerable divergence in practice from the old traditions, and many differences of custom and thought, not only between them and their Amur brethren, but between the Tim and Tro (1) Gilyaks and their brethren on the

1. The Tim Gilyaks are those living on the river Tim, while the Tro Gilyaks are settled at the mouth in the Bays of Ni, Nabil, and Chai.

west coast of the island."

9: Hawes--164 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 775

"Vanka declared that the spirit of a good man went to the Great Spirit (to the East, where the sun rises), but that of a bad man into grass. Whether or not he was giving us the general conception of his tribe we could not make out. Some days later, in conversation with their Cham, or 'medicine man,' and some of the elders of the Tro Gilyaks, we were informed that 'a good man's spirit goes into the ground into the middle of the earth (evidently to Mligh-vo); but a bad man's is disturbed, and drifts about like air round the huts of the village.' "

9: Hawes--164-165 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 775, 787

"The spirits of the deceased occasionally hold communication with their earthly relations; for, endowed with super-natural capacities, they can in moments of dulness pay visits to their kindred, give them useful counsel and warn them against unknown troubles. If they desire to show [165] themselves to any one they can; but it is only given to man to see them in a state approaching death, i.e. in a dream. Talking on this subject to an old Gilyak, he said, 'Spirits of the departed knock at the door sometimes. They come to warn us of some misfortune.'

'But,' I asked, 'how are you to know that it is the spirit of the deceased that knocks?'

'Why, of course, you call, and if there is no answer you know that it is a departed spirit, and then you must throw out some food.'

'Have you ever seen such?'

'No.'"

9: Hawes--166 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 484

"Beaching our canoe at a pleasant, clean, sandy shoal, dry from the recent fall of the river, Vanka leapt out to take the omens, in other words, to note if there were signs of brodyagi in the near neighbourhood.

Satisfied that there was nothing more than the footprints of Master Petz, [LSS: Russian reference to a bear] who had been down to drink and fish during the previous night, we landed. The shoal was of considerable length, but narrowed to about twenty feet in depth by the willows, which formed here the van of the forest. Our natives ran into the taiga to cut down willow branches for our bed, and stakes for the tent and fire. The tent, which consisted of supports with a piece of canvas thrown over, was quickly erected and the fire lighted with marvellous despatch, we meanwhile unloading the canoe and spreading the rugs."

9: Hawes--166-167 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 136

"The brown bear (Ursus arctos), in whose habitat we found ourselves, attains to a great size in Sakhalin, in fact he gets bigger the further east one goes from European [167] Russia. In colour he varies from black to brown, but the latter is the more common form. Writers have differed as to the attitude he adopts towards man. Dr. Schrenck, writing of the Amur and Sakhalin bears, speaks of their 'bös artiges Naturell.' "

9: Hawes--168 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 825

"Among the Gilyaks the Ch'uff, as they call the bear on Sakhalin, plays the greatest rôle in the animal world. He is regarded with peculiar sentiments, and the beliefs and ceremonies which cluster around his sacrifice are unique and interesting. The natives are fully aware of the Ch'uff's cunning, and regard him almost as a Gilyak, certainly as a competitor, and love to tell stories of his knowing ways. They describe how he will go a-fishing, by preference at night, but if by day, he will stand with his right paw held close to his breast lest the sun should cast a shadow on the water and frighten the fish; how he will get up on his hind-legs to fight, and parry a spear-thrust, or shield his heart from a shot, with his paw."

9: Hawes--168 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 563

"Bruin is very human in many of his ways, and the brotherly feeling of the Russian peasant towards him is expressed in the pet names they give him—Mishka and Master Petz. On the mainland one not infrequently comes across the cubs kept as pets. I have seen them housed in a kennel in a yard, and even tied up to the side of a shanty by the wayside, where the bystander might be seen trying to give a friendly pat before receiving a less amicable return. The Caucasian farmer of Uskovo once caught three cubs and put them in a big box in his yard."

9: Hawes--171 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 103

"Beside the tiny creeks a few tributaries were passed, but none of any importance. They bore names among the Gilyaks recording their value to the native hunter, e.g. Kuvi, (1) many sables river; Kuni, many fish and bears river; Pilviskuri and

1. i in the Gilyak tongue means river, as vo village.

Kondzhbung-gangi, etc."

9: Hawes--171-172 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 226, 411

"Vanka, . . . got out his long fish-spear (marikh), and, balancing himself on the prow of the boat, skilfully lunged at passing salmon. His weapon, which is one of a kind used by many of the tribes of North-Eastern Siberia, was of a peculiar character. To the shaft, which was about fourteen feet long, a large iron hook was loosely fastened by a thong. Close to the end was also another thong, bound round three or four times, but just loosely enough to allow of the hook being temporarily slid into it, the 'business' end free and pointing with the shaft. Ready now for action, the weapon was like a magnified letter h. On sighting the gleam in the limpid depths beneath, the skilful harpooner gives a rapid thrust, and the belly of the salmon is pierced. The action of piercing looses the hook from the threefold thong, and the struggles of the fish now only serve the hook, which is dangling from the first thong, to gain a firmer grip.

The first lunge by Vanka proved unsuccessful, as a cry of 'Kaukray' announced; again a silvery gleam, and [172] a second attempt had happier results, for a kita of fifteen to twenty pounds was hauled in, splashing and somersaulting. A blow on its head, and the fish lay dead; whereupon our Gilyaks whipped out their knives, and, like the Red Queen in 'Alice in Wonderland,' 'offed with its head,' and with teeth and knife devoured their tasty morsel raw, leaving nothing but the jaws. The natives regard the head of a salmon as a great delicacy, especially the cartilaginous parts, and in this they can claim kinship with the bear, for during the spawning-season Master Petz will come down to the river's edge, and in one night spoil a score of kita, devouring the heads, and throwing away the bodies."

9: Hawes--172 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 231, 492

"Another village, Auk-vun-wauk by name, hove in sight, and, paddling in, we stepped gingerly from our unstable craft. Vanka insisted on accompanying me because of the crowd of yelping dogs, although the most savage were tied up to a pole underneath a hut built on piles. These animals are fierce towards strangers, and especially white men, although I believe it is on the whole true the world over, that, if you show no sign of fear, dogs may yelp and growl, but will stop short of actual attack. My present position reminded me of an incident in Southern China—a sahib obliged to appeal to a piccaninny for protection from a buffalo, whose discrimination between the white man and the yellow is well known.

These dogs are used by natives in hunting bears and in tracking brodyagi. In winter, harnessed to the sledges, they are not fed until the end of the journey, and are then much more dangerous to encounter."

9: Hawes--173-174 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 251, 343, 412

"We came upon an old Gilyak and his wife, who sat slicing and cleaning kita. With a long rakish knife, which is the men's hunting and 'general-purposes' knife (dzhakho), the fish was split open, a nd with a short-bladed and curved edition of the former—the woman's fish and domestic knife (ungu dzhakho)—the kita was cleaned. Two slices were cut from each side, leaving for remainder the head and tail and backbone, with some flesh adhering. All these were then hung up to dry in the sun, this drying-ground being the 'village green,' or 'market-place,' of the Gilyaks. The slices were for human consumption, and woe betide the Gilyaks if August (O.S.) [LSS: The old style calendar is 13 days earlier than the Gregorian calendar.] which is the chief season of fish-drying, prove a rainy month, for then only a small quantity of their staple food will be prepared against the winter, and stores will give out early, and many will die of starvation. Fortunately, sunny weather [174] had this year attended their efforts, and goodly quantities of sun-dried fish were hanging in rows upon rows, to be eventually consigned to those strange-looking coffin erections, consisting of a short log hollowed out and perched on forked stakes. These stakes were, in 'well-regulated establishments,' encircled with pieces of bark, umbrella-shaped, to prevent the ravages of rats and other vermin."

9: Hawes--174 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 252, 262, 527

"The roe [LSS: of the salmon] is regarded as a great delicacy, and was being scraped into interesting looking wooden vessels resembling a butcher's tray, which also serve to receive the blood from the slain bear at the great festival. On feast-days, such as at the beginning of the sable and seal hunts, which inaugurate a New Year (the Gilyaks having two years to our one), the roe is mixed and pounded with whortleberries, etc., and made into a much appreciated mess. The tail and head-pieces of the kita are intended for the dogs and the bear, and the former came in for a few bits of fresh fish as perquisites while the operations were going on before us, though for the most part they feed themselves in summer."

9: Hawes--175 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 251

"I found Vanka and Armunka had the slices of the salmon already grilling in front of a fire. Running into the forest, they had deftly cut and prepared two willow twigs, stripping off the leaves, and slitting them lengthwise. In each of these was inserted a slice of fish, extended by two cross-pieces, the slit-ends at the same time being bound up with the green rind."

9: Hawes--175-176 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 136

"In the course of the afternoon we came to yet another Gilyak settlement, the last in fact before we reached the mouth of the river, [LSS: The Tim] some hundred miles distant. Here we were hailed in the Gilyak tongue.

'Have the Lo-cha (Russians) any 'brick tea'?'

'Yes. Have you any seal-skins?'

Stepping ashore, haggling began and finally a seal-skin was obtained for a brick of tea, (1) some shot, and caps. These seal-skins were not from the fur seals (Callorhinus ursinus), but from the common hair seal (Phoca vitulina), and in some cases the banded seal (Histriophoca fusciata). The fur seal has a thick, downy under-fur, which is what we are familiar with in caps and jackets after the longer and sparser hairs have been pulled out, a treatment more commonly known in connection with beaver skins. The hair seal has a bristly, silverish, straw-coloured skin, with dark-grey or black spots, and is commonly used on the [176] Continent for children's satchels. The fur seal is now very rare on Sakhalin, though in earlier years large numbers used to be caught off Robben Island, now known by its Russian name of Ostrova Tyuleniy, or Seal Island, and lying a little to the south of Cape Patience. The latter [LSS: Erratum; this should read 'hair

1. Weighing one kilogramme, and costing us at Alexandrovsk half a ruble, or, say, 5d. per lb.

seal'; Ostrova should read Ostrov.] are quite common, and we met several ascending the river after the salmon. The great hunting-season is, however, the spring, and this begins the new or summer year among the Gilyaks."

9: Hawes--176 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 539, 766, 775, 825

"Wild swans occasionally flew across high overhead, and a woodpecker could be heard tap-tapping the trees. Our natives eagerly asked us to shoot the eagles which soared aloft or settled on the top of a high tree, only to fly away as we approached within gun-shot. These were the white-tailed eagles (Haliëtus albicillus), prized by the natives for their tail-feathers, for which they declared the Chinese gave them three dollars (about 6s.). The Japanese (in Yezo) are said to use them to indicate the residence of a person of importance by placing them over his door; in any case, the Gilyaks themselves value the feathers, which they use for arrow-heads. The wings are also prized by them, being placed at the grave of a Gilyak who has been murdered or has committed suicide, to aid his soul in its flight to heaven."

9: Hawes--178 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 502

"Our method of propulsion was altered this morning. We had got beyond the region of rapids, and were now on a full flowing river. A pair of native sculls, with a hole bored in the flat bulging part below the haft, were brought to light from the bottom of the boat. A minute or two sufficed to make rowlocks, from forked branches cut and trimmed and bound to the gunwale with seal thongs. Vanka used these sculls at the bow, rowing (not sculling) with them one after the other, while Armunka steered with a paddle in the stern."

9: Hawes--179-180 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 776, 782, 825

"Gazing carelessly at the bank, I espied a head peeping out of the long grass, and called to my interpreter and the natives in a low voice, 'Malenkiy medvyet! ' (A little bear!). Seeing nothing, they smiled; but on my reiterating and pointing, Vanka caught sight of it, and called to me, 'Nyet stryelyay! Gilyakskiy sabaka' (Don't shoot; it is a Gilyak dog). Now, occasionally we had seen a native dog sitting alone at a distance from a village, fishing or waiting for his master, and we therefore hesitated; but before we had realized the mistake the animal had got up and trotted off, disappearing into the tall rushes and grass, giving us, however, one clear view of a beautiful coal-black fox with a white tip to his great brush. Even as he disappeared, Vanka was calling to us, 'Nyet stryelyay! Nyet stryelyay! Pal ni vookh budet serditiy' (Don't shoot! Don't shoot! The god of the mountains will be angry), and much more as to the fate the lord of this region would have in store for us should we cross his will. I [180] went ashore, but it was hopeless to expect to come up with the animal.

According to Vanka, if we had killed it, its brethren would have been informed, and when we set out for the winter's hunt they would have banded together to kill us. If Vanka was really sincere, I think it far more likely that he feared lest his winter's hunt should suffer, because, by killing thus in a haphazard fashion, it had not been inaugurated with the usual ceremonies. To seize of the provision of the great Pal ni vookh (he is lord of the forest and all therein) before acknowledging in due form his sovereignty and bounty, was to risk bringing down his wrath upon our heads."

9: Hawes--180 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 115

"I have strong doubts as to Vanka's sincerity. He was very faithful to us, yet the possibility of getting 200 rubles in the next few months was a consideration which few Gilyaks or Russians would have hesitated to risk by truth-telling."

9: Hawes--186-187 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 133

"We were slipping down the last league of our river journey. At the mouth is a delta, but our oarsmen knew the river'as their five fingers,' and piloted us unerringly by the deep channel to the Bay of Ni, into which the river Tim empties. This bay and the whole coast-line for many miles are of such curious formation that a word or two of description will be necessary to render clear my further journeyings.

Reference was casually made in Chapter VI., [LSS: See category 133, pp. 112-113.] in dwelling [187] on the geological aspect of the island, to its gradual emergence in current geological time. This is the central fact which explains the formation of the lagoon-studded coast in the north-east and south-west of the island.

On our left, as we entered the bay travelling northward, was a low-lying swampy shore—tundra, as it is called in Siberia; and on our right stretched a sand dune, varying in width from a few yards to a verst or more, and keeping parallel with the coast-line. This formation extended northwards for 100 miles or more, for no white man had penetrated beyond about 80 miles, and the natives could only retail hearsay concerning the 'beyond.' From the mouth of the Tim, the Bay of Ni extended for about 20 miles northward, then narrowed to a passage-way, which opened out into the Bay of Chai, beyond which no names had been given to the yet unexplored bays. This wall of protecting sand-dune was pierced by three narrow straits, giving access to the sea, in the course of the 80 miles.

The coast-line on our left represented the prehistoric shore, and the terrace above

9: Hawes--186-187 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 133

it the original sea-level. The sand-dunes, due to deposition by the alluvium-laden waters of the Tim flowing north, checked by the Okhotsk cold current flowing south, had found their way above the surface of the water in the course of the gradual emergence of the island already referred to. From that time seeds carried by wind or bird had been deposited, and the growth of coarse grass, Swiss pine (Pinus cembra pumila), and even wild rose (Rosa rugosa) had helped to bind the sand and establish these long sandy islets."

9: Hawes--187-188 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 361, 563

"From the delta of the Tim we made across the bay in a north-easterly direction to a cluster of huts on the inner side of the dune. The wind was already making itself felt; our light craft rocked, and the morning air struck cold on our damp clothes. The villages of Nivo [188] (the first, for there are two) and Kamavo, with their bear-cages adorned with pine branches, stood out prominently on the sandy level, and a crowd of dogs, barking and splashing, stopped their fishing to show resentment at the appearance of strangers. A verst or two beyond Kamavo our boat was beached, where stood a tent, and as we waded ashore we were accosted by two or three Kazaks, who led us into the presence of a Russian police officer.

It was a strange, out-of-the-way place to be stationed at, and only exceptional circumstances accounted for his practical banishment to this far-away spot."

9: Hawes--188 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177

"Japanese schooners, of the adventuring junk class, from the island of Yezo, had been wont to come up here to the mouth of the Tim to barter rice, kettles and cauldrons, rifles, earrings, etc., for furs, and to fish and salt salmon during the spawning season. This had been going on here certainly since 1868, when a scramble was made by Japanese and Russians for unoccupied spots, and probably from long before that."

9: Hawes--190-191 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 182, 342

"The Gilyaks boast of two kinds of huts, destined the one for summer and called tolf tuf, and the other for winter residence named torif. The extremes of climate, and contact with their neighbours have led to the adoption of dual dwellings, but until recent times, probably as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century on the mainland, and later on the island, the winter hut was the only style of dwelling.

Protection against the wind and cold being the chief requisites of a winter abode, a site is chosen in the forest, [191] which has the added advantage of being handy for the winter's hunting. A quadrangular pit is dug to the depth of about three feet. At the corners of a smaller quadrangle within this pit are erected four stout poles, which are united at the tops by four other poles. This forms the main framework of the hut. From the level ground, i.e. three feet above the floor of the hut, smaller poles, generally of larch, are rested against the framework all round, thus forming a tent-shaped erection with its conical top cut off. The whole of the structure is covered up with the earth dug out of the pit, saving only a hole in the top for chimney. A covered entrance or tunnel, likewise composed of timber supports covered in with earth, forms the approach to the dwelling. This is on the level ground, and the stranger having penetrated it, finds the end blocked, but slipping aside a sliding door, or, more accurately, a panel, a little earthen stairway is revealed, by which he descends to the floor of the hut."

9: Hawes--191-192 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 174, 342

"The winter huts, when covered with snow and lit up by a blazing fire inside, are very cosy. Dr. Schrenck and Mr. Sternberg have surmised from this pattern of hut, and from the survival of a custom in the bear festival indicating that their entrance and exit was originally only by the chimney, that the Gilyaks' ancestors came from the North. The words used for entering and leaving the hut, kusind and jigind, implying to sink and to emerge, also witness to the use of the chimney as entrance and exit. Such authorities are not lightly to be differed from, but it should be remembered that pit-dwellings of this kind have been used over wide areas by differing peoples, whose northern origin has not been attested, e.g. in Yezo, the Primorsk, and Manchuria, to mention only the surrounding regions; and what is also important in this connexion, the early inhabitants of Manchuria, the Yih-len, are described in the Chinese annals of the After Han dynasty (A. D. 25-219) as [192] 'Troglodytes living in caves, their rank marked by the depth of their dwellings, the most honourable having a descent of nine steps,' and (later chronicles) the 'entrance being at the summit.'

Whatever may have been the origin of the winter hut, it is fairly certain that the Gilyak summer dwelling is traceable to Northern China through Manchuria. It is easy to see how it would have appealed to the Gilyak. The melting snow in spring renders his winter hut damp and wet, and the increasing heat of the sun makes it stuffy and hot."

9: Hawes--192 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 182, 342

"The possession of two houses for the different seasons is also found to be an advantage from the point of view of their occupations. In winter it is convenient to be in the forest to pursue the hunting of the bear, fox, etc., while in the summer fishing points to the river bank or sea-coast as the most handy. In shape the summer hut resembles a rudely constructed Swiss châlet. Some were built on piles, but these were few, and this was apparently a doomed fashion."

9: Hawes--192-193 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 342, 352

"The one [LSS: A Gilyak summer hut] which we now entered, in Kamavo, was not large—about 16 feet long and 13 feet wide; the side timbers rose to a height of about 4 feet 6 inches, and from these sprang the obliquely sloping roof of poles for rafters, and slips of bark for tiles. Stooping low, we advanced to the 3 feet doorway, cautiously assuming a half-erect position, and unsuccessfully attempting to avoid knocking our heads. Accustoming our eyes to the darkness, for there was but a hole in the roof for window and chimney, we made out in the centre a large earth and ash box, 4 feet long and 2½ feet broad, on the smouldering logs of which was a kettle, and from a rafter above depended a cauldron. Around the two sides and further end of the hut ran a rude bench or dais (nakh), 15 inches from the ground and about 4 feet in width, leaving a narrow gangway between it and the fire (tur). On the nakh were seated several Gilyaks, a mother with a baby, a girl smoking, and three or four men. Above hung a mêlée of articles, from [193] a baby's cradle to a rude axe for hewing out canoes. The cradle, of wood, shaped like a scoop without the handle, was strung to a cross-pole by thongs of seal-hide. On the bench and hanging above were fishing-nets, birch-bark bowls for water or seal-oil (p. 203), dried fish-skins, dog-skins, winter clothes, seal-oil in seal's stomachs, etc."

9: Hawes--193 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 531, 751, 778

"I turned my attention to two or three 'works of art.' Two small flat pieces of wood cut into the forms of a disc and a crescent hung from a beam. These represented the sun and the moon, and were used as charms. There were also two sticks, with shavings on, similar to the one I have described as protecting the canoe during its construction from evil spirits; but these particular ones, I learnt, were for placing over a sick child, and would ensure its recovery.

But no signs of worship were there, no graven images, for the great 'Kiskh' is invisible to mortal eyes. Charms there are, though with the decline of the cham's influence and the contact with Russians these are losing their value in the eyes of the Gilyaks, and they laugh when questioned about them by the foreigner, yet not without a lurking sense of fear at the bottom of their hearts."

9: Hawes--193 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 751, 756, 778

"The cham, or medicine-man, exorcises spirits which take up a temporary abode in charms made in the shape of a human being. Otherwise even this anthropoid kind was used as an amulet. A pair of these, carved from wood, which I have (p. 194), are intended to be worn on the limb or part of the body affected; for a sore throat, for instance, the little figures would be tied round the neck."

9: Hawes--193-194 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 776, 782

"Only on one occasion did I hear of anything approaching what is vaguely termed 'idol-worship.'

It was told me by the ex-overseer at Derbensk, whose duties in the previous years had taken him down the [194] river Tim. On one of his journeyings a severe snowstorm drove him to seek refuge at a Gilyak village where he was a stranger. As he was sitting down in the headman's hut, and about to make a meal, the Gilyaks said, 'Give something to the god (lord).' The overseer therefore placed some little cakes in the birch basket hanging in a corner before a wooden figure, such as I have described, which had its hands crossed on its breast and wore a belt. On the morrow the Russian observed that the basket was empty, the cakes had vanished. In the evening, therefore, he made offering of more, and lay down pretending to sleep. Keeping careful but unsuspected watch, he saw a Gilyak come forward and take the cakes and eat them; so he called out, 'What are you doing? Let the god eat them!' Whereupon the Gilyak, as may be imagined, was highly offended."

9: Hawes--194 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 578, 776, 782

"As a rule, offerings were made in the open air, always on deserting our camp-fires, and left for the consumption of the deity. Not only were they the god's due, but the fulfilment of the rite brought good luck, and the omission ill-luck. All misfortunes are attributed to the anger of the god. If the Gilyak is unconscious of guilt, then it must have been some of his kindred who provoked the god to righteous anger; perhaps it was his wife, who had failed to guard the honour due to the hearth by allowing somebody to spit upon it, or to leave the hut with his pipe lighted from the sacred fire."

9: Hawes--194-195 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 532

"Dr. Laufer, a member of the recent Jesup Expedition, despatched from Washington, U.S.A., and the greatest [195] authority on the art of the Amur tribes, has declared of the Gilyaks and Golds that their art is lacking in realistic representations. Their purely decorative work—and he excludes from this all wooden objects, animals, etc., carved as charms or toys—he alleges, is confined to copies of Chinese representations of animals which these natives have never seen, such, for instance, as the cook, the tortoise, and the mythical phoenix. It is interesting in this connexion to note that in this particular hut in the village of Kamavo, I found several carvings on the timbers of the wall of the hut of bears, as well as other crude mural decorations of a chess-board pattern. Perhaps these may be regarded as the exception which proves the rule."

9: Hawes--195-196 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 231, 527, 796

"Emerging from the hut into a crowd of yelping dogs, we were attracted by the bear-cage. In front hung a birch-bark basket, as seen in the illustration (opposite p. 196), [LSS: See Visual File] containing fresh water for Bruin. His owner fetched a piece of dried fish, and holding it before a hole in the cage, the bear, who was of full size, thrust his great paw out to grasp the fish, the while I snapped him with my camera. This animal, having already attained his majority, was due to play the chief rôle at a festival in the following January.

The bear fête, which probably originated as a purely religious festival, has become a 'Bank Holiday' in the Gilyak calendar, the great break in the monotony of the long winter. The proceedings are unique and interesting. [196] The animal having been captured young, and fed up until he attains the age of four, a fête is decided upon for the following January. Invitations are then sent round to neighbouring villages, whose inhabitants, however, need no such announcement, for they are already well aware of the coming event. On the morning before the fête the village presents a busy scene as the guests arrive in great numbers, their sledges, drawn by teams of dogs, dashing up from all parts of the snow-mantled forest. [LSS: See category 527, pp. 196ff. for a full description of the bear fête.]"

9: Hawes--196 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 262, 527

"[LSS: Before the bear fête] Great preparations of food have been made for days past. The huts are crowded, and hospitality is freely dispensed. At the same time the owner of the bear and his nei ghbours will be gainers by the feast, for luxuries such as tobacco, rice, vodka, etc., are on sale, and will bring in a goodly profit. The staple article of feast is of course yukola, or dried fish, but a variety of dishes is concocted by the Gilyak housewife, with this as a base. Dried and frozen hard, it is grated to fine powder and mixed with seal-oil and whortleberries; and when you add to these three ingredients rice, salmon-roe, and roots, the possible combination of messes are many, and the results to the Gilyak highly palatable. The roots in most common use are pu-chi and pis (species of wild rhubarb, I believe). [LSS: Erratum; this should read Heracleum barbatum and Laminaria esculenta] These are in demand for flavouring their stew of bear's, deer's or seal's flesh; while a lily, which they name kashk, is eaten generally with fish-roe. At special feasts and near Russian settlements, the guests may be regaled with potatoes, in which case they are doled out sparingly, and not a particle of them or their skins must be wasted."

9: Hawes--196-197 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 231, 527

"The day before the feast a rehearsal is held. Several men of the village go with the owner to the cage and proceed to lift off one or two of the roofing logs. Inserting a thong in the form of a loop at the end of a stick, they skilfully slip this over the head of the bear, and then over a paw and shoulder to prevent strangling him when the strap is tightened. To this loop are attached other thongs, [197] and the men can now proceed to unroof further and haul him out. In the case of the bigger bears the hauling is generally unnecessary, for he emerges too readily with a snarl and a growl; and the one thing desirable now is to pull all the thongs taut, to prevent him attacking one or other of his captors. Methods differ slightly in different parts of the island; but in this case the reader will see by the illustration [LSS: See Visual File] that native-made ropes of grass were looped over his paws; and to prevent his doing harm these ropes were carried under a pole placed between his fore-and hing-legs, and projecting on each side of him, on which several men stood. Held thus it was impossible for him to move his paws, and now the Gilyaks could proceed to muzzle him. Taking a piece of stick with a rope attached they teased him until he took it in his mouth, whereupon his muzzle was quickly and tightly bound to this 'bit.' To complete his toilet, in place of the leather band round his neck and shoulder, a seal-skin collar with two short lengths of chain was slipped over his neck. To the ends of the chains were attached thongs, which served for him to be led about by.

The animal was then taken for a short walk to test his new 'dress,' and afterwards

tied up and eventually put back again in the cage. Thus ended the rehearsal. It is quickly described, but the actual process takes a long time, the getting of the animal ready for evacuating the cage occupying half an hour."

9: Hawes--197-198 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 535

"The following day [LSS: The day after the rehearsal for the bear fete; see category 527, pp. 196-197.] the same performance was gone through, and the animal led to the hut of his owner and around it three times. Each time that he passed the door the master poked him with a tzakh, or twig adorned with shavings, and broke it with the force of the thrust. This circumambulation was done to the strains of a unique band. Three or four young women, keeping time, beat with sticks on a log supported on short uprights. This highly varied 'musical' performance was accompanied by [198] dancing. Although the 'artiste' in this case was the oldest woman of the village, the display was far more interesting than the ritualistic dancing which the traveller in the East meets with generally, such for instance as that of young girls in the sacred temple of Nara in Japan.

First of all the old lady, dressed in seal-skins, stamped down the deep snow, and formed a little level square plat. Then taking two pieces of evergreens she threw herself into queer postures, using the branches as fans. Her movements were not rapid, but occasionally, and all unwittingly, she overstepped the limit of the plat and fell floundering in the deep snow, to the amusement of band and spectators too; but this in no way disconcerted her, for she came up laughing to renew the performance."

9: Hawes--198 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 825

"[LSS: During the bear fête] The bear was then paraded down an avenue of tzakhs stuck in the ground, to the place of execution. On the mainland there is much more merciless teasing of the animal than on Sakhalin. On the banks of the Amur the poor brute is dragged round for three days, and visits each hut in turn, where he is tied up and poked and teased, not always without danger to his tormentors. The smallness of the Sakhalin dwellings prevent such exhibitions on the part of the bear. While the poor animal was left tied up to ruminate over his position, the natives went off to feast; but first they took of their luxuries, rice, whortleberries, etc., and fed their victim until he could eat no more. This is a characteristic trait of their attitude towards Bruin. They were about to kill him, yet they fêted him. It was an attitude of apology. They realized that their conduct must appear ambiguous to him, and therefore, though he had to die at their hands, yet they would do all that they could to retain his good-will. Therefore they feast him loyally with all manner of dainties before he meets his fate at their hands."

9: Hawes--198-199 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 178, 527, 782

"[LSS: During the bear fête] When the feasting, drinking, smoking, and talking were at an end, a start was made for the execution-ground. On [199] their way the company halted at the beginning of the avenue to allow a few of their number to shoot blunt, wooden-ended arrows towards the bear. There seemed no attempt on their part to hit the animal, or else they ignominiously failed, for the shots were lamentably short of or beyond the mark. This appears to be only another example of the weakening of traditional custom, for the shooting with blunted arrows at the poor bear was one of the greatest pieces of 'fun' in olden times. Arrived at the ground the crowd grouped itself in front of the animal in a semicircle."

9: Hawes--199 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 178, 184, 527, 756

"Customs differ from coast to coast, and from village to village, and here is a point of divergence. In many cases I believe the cham, or medicine-man, is not called in to officiate [LSS: At the sacrifice of the bear during the bear fête] possibly because the influence of his office is on the wane, and as the Tro Gilyaks told me 'we have no great cham now.' "

9: Hawes--199 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 527, 539, 756, 782

"The following, however, is the part played by this functionary at this juncture, [LSS: i. e. the medicine man immediately preceding the sacrifice of the bear at the bear fête] as given me by an observer on the island.

The cham, with a pine-twig in his hand, amid the deep silence of the spectators, goes close to the bear and whispers in its ear—

'You have eaten many berries,
'You have caught many fish,
'You have frightened many people;
'Your ancestors and your comrades have 'broken' many Gilyaks:
'Therefore you must die for it.
'But your "host" has fed you three whole years, not stinting the delicious yukola (dried fish),
'He has given you the best water,
'He has taken you for walks,
'He has bathed you thrice a day (1) in the "summer year,"

1. I am afraid this is imposing on the bear's memory. It is such a difficult business getting him out of his cage; and those I saw were not taken out more frequently, it was then autumn, than once a fortnight for a constitutional.

9: Hawes--199 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 527, 539, 756, 782

'And three "winter years" you have lived in a nice warm lodging;
'He, your host, will not kill you:
'Therefore you must not complain about him to the great lord of the mountains.' "

9: Hawes--200 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 756, 782

"At the end of this adjuration the cham moves a little to one side, still holding the pine-twig over the bear's head. At this point the accounts agree. An archer now came forward, and at a couple of yards or so from the bear fitted his iron-tipped arrow to the bow. The animal, however, would not expose his heart, and had to be teased until he turned round, when the archer let fly. Strangely enough poor Bruin emitted no sound, but simply tried to rub the arrow out with his paw, and failing to do so, sat looking round as if nothing had happened. The arrow had missed the heart, but pierced the lung, and the animal, still making no sign of pain, only coughed. Another arrow was shot, but this time merely hit the collar. The first was then pulled out, and the blood now finding vent, the poor beast sank down and died. When quite dead, the women came forward with sticks and lifted up the paws, and the carcase was dragged round the execution-ground three times.

When the cham is present, he first cuts out the heart of the bear, and dividing it, gives the pieces to the most honoured members present. To these partakers of the heart of the sacrificed beast will be assured successful hunts during the whole of the season.

The skin having been quickly stripped in this case, the carcase was cut up and the cauldrons were soon steaming with bear stew. All the delicacies of dried fish, rice, roots, roe, seal-oil, etc., were brought forth, and the feasting again began. The men sat in groups, the women waited upon them and then took part in the feast."

9: Hawes--200 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 526, 527

"[LSS: During the bear fete] The youths competed in archery, wrestling, and running, while primitive musical instruments were brought forth and songs were sung, telling of the exploits of heroes of the hunt. A favourite game with them is a game of ball. The aim is to keep it bounding in the air without its touching the ground. Only the hands may be used. The ball is made from the fungus of a tree."

9: Hawes--201-202 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 527, 776, 782, 825

"The original signification of the whole ceremony of the feast [LSS: The bear fête] is largely lost, but the religious motive in the minds of the Gilyaks of to-day seems to be the sending of a messenger to the great lord of the mountains, Pal ni vookh, to witness to their punctilious observances of the rites of offerings; and, in order that their messenger may not miss his destination, it was usual, and is, I believe, still so among some villages to assist the spirit of the bear in finding his way to Pal ni vookh. Two aids were given him, one the planting of a stick on the execution-ground, pointing to the east where the great lord lived, and the other, the killing of two dogs, whose spirits were to hunt Bruin's spirit to Pal ni vookh. For it was explained that the bear, though he was a Gilyak was not a pious Gilyak. He would eat of the provisions made for him and all dwellers in the taiga by Pal ni vookh and Tol ni vookh, the lords of the forest and water, but in nothing would he give thanks; whereas a true Gilyak always made offerings after every meal, therefore it could not be expected that he should know where to find Pal ni vookh, or if knowing should be inclined to go to him. Even Vanka was always most punctilious in placing some fish or tobacco on the ashes of our camp-fire as offerings to Pal ni vookh, and on one occasion we owed, so he assured us, our preservation from a watery grave to this timely act of his.

Probably the fact of the bear being the most difficult and dangerous animal to capture adds to the value of the offering, of which the bear's spirit would be a witness. There

9: Hawes--201-202 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 527, 776, 782, 825

is another consideration which lurks, however unconsciously, behind this ceremony. Not only is the bear the most dangerous animal to capture, although now the custom has deteriorated to the seizure of cubs and the rearing of them; but he is also the strongest rival of the Gilyaks. He lives, as they do, on the fish of the river, the berries of the forest; and even robs the Gilyaks' snares of the small animals caught therein. Therefore on every [202] count he must die."

9: Hawes--202 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 183, 527, 782, 825

"It is useless to ask the Gilyaks of to-day the raison d'être of the custom, [LSS: The bear fête] for they do not know; and, in any case, they would not reveal to a stranger the hidden meaning of their rites. The following is how a Russian fared when he tried to find out the signification of the ceremony, and I met with no more success.
Gilyak. It means the offering to Pal ni vookh.
Russian. Why do you not recite about it during the killing of the bear?
Gilyak. I don't know.
Russian. Do the Gilyaks punish the bear for his crimes?
Gilyak. No.
Russian. Why does the cham recite these charges in the bear's ear?
Gilyak. The Gilyaks have done this from ancient times. Ask the old men, perhaps they know something about it.

The old men, however, on being asked, knew no more."

9: Hawes--202-203 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 764, 775, 782, 825

"There is one incident in the ceremonial [LSS: The bear fête] which I have not mentioned, but which possesses some special significance. This is the saving of the bear's head, which is never on any account eaten. A skin offered to me, and the fells of the dogs which I bartered for were all minus the heads.

It is noticeable that while the bear's head is not eaten, the heart is. The latter will bring success and courage to the hunters, but I gathered that the Gilyak believes the eating of the brain would render the consumer bear-like, and an enemy to his fellows. The skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak cemetery, and there, with skulls of dolphins, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habit common among the Ainus, who, however, place theirs near their huts and make offerings of sake (spirit), etc., to pacificate them and gain their protection; whereas the Gilyaks' cemeteries are in the secret recesses of the woods, and are not frequented by them. What the idea that lies at the [203] root of these golgothas, is, I do not know; but it seems probable that they think the remains of the animals whose spirits have gone back to the great Pal ni vookh should rest near those of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of these animals will come back to these spots and either guard the remains of the Gilyak or at least refrain from haunting the living."

9: Hawes--204 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 115

"Our crew consisted of a Gilyak elder and two youths. The old man's name was Yungkin, but we called him Captain, or Charon, indiscriminately, for I could not look at him without his calling to mind the famous ferryman of the river Styx.

We made good progress, for our new crew were good oarsmen; Yungkin was reputed to know every inch of the coast, and, indeed, he had need to."

9: Hawes--207 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 171, 251, 262

"However unpleasant to the stranger ... smoke-curing of fish by the Orochons while it lasts may be, it is one of the few advantages that they can claim over the Gilyaks. The latter is entirely dependent on a sunny season for the drying of his catch, and if it should be rainy, then he will be in danger of starvation before winter is over, from an insufficient accumulation of stores; for dried fish is bread and meat to these tribes during the long winter. The Orochon, on the other hand, after hanging his fish to drain, ... slices and cuts them up and cures them in the shelter of his hut over his fire."

9: Hawes--208 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 171, 492

"This is the main distinction between the habits of the Orochons and Gilyaks. The former use reindeer for sledge-drawing, and the latter dogs. The last are kept by the former for hunting only. The Gilyak name on Sakhalin for the Orochon is Or'nish, and the latter calls himself Orumada."

9: Hawes--209 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 614, 627

"The Gilyaks are, as we have seen, divided into tribes, viz. the Tim, Tro, and west coast people, besides the mainland or Amur Gilyaks. These tribes are sub-divided into khala, or clans. Each khal consists of a family circle. The limits are vague, but include grandfathers, uncles, etc. The eldest representative of the khal is the chief, and the members are to be found scattered in many villages. Each village has its council of elders, to whom the injured apply. In cases of mortal offence, both parties, the criminal and the eldest male of the injured man's family, march out against one another with bows and arrows ready strung, but the council sitting around urge them to end the matter peacefully, and ordinarily they succeed, the rivals embrace, talk peace, and the criminal pays a heavy fine.

The Russian authorities wisely refrain from interference, and look to the richest man in each village, whom they term the starosta, to keep order, etc."

9: Hawes--211 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 527, 805

"Among the Gilyaks the hunt is preceded by an interesting ceremony. The sable (Mustela zibellina) and seal hunts commence each a new year in the Gilyak kalendar, and thus he has two years to our one. If only the Gilyak child kept 'birthdays,' he would be the envy of his western compeers. These two years which begin in October and April respectively, are called the winter year (tulf-an) and summer year (tolf-an), and are opened by holiday festivals. The sable holiday goes by the name of Pal ni vookh chi-sonch, or 'the prayer to the lord of the forest.' "

9: Hawes--211-212 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 224, 776, 782

"It is a wintry scene. The snares are set on logs and branches spanning the narrow streams and forest creeks. The first snows have fallen, covering all the forest with a thin mantle of white. The cold north wind hurries across the land. The trees stand silent in the sombre depths, hanging their hoary, lichen-covered branches, and amidst the hush a shadow steals quietly across the scene. [212] It is a sable. He goes by accustomed paths. He does not care to swim the cold water, but seeks a fallen tree or log whereon to pass. All unsuspectingly he creeps along a trunk, only to find his way blocked by a tiny barrier of sticks, arranged in the shape of a fan; nevertheless a way, one way, is left, and that through a loop in the centre. Rising on his hind-legs and pushing through, he struggles, and in so doing releases a peg hitched with a ratchet, and a bent twig at one end of the cord flies back, tightening the noose. Many trackers are out, but each brings his first catch to one place, where due honour is then paid to the great giver of them, the lord of the forest. It would savour of greediness, of meat without grace, to start off on the important hunt of the sables--creatures whose skins are so valuable that anything, even in later times 'fire-drink,' may be purchased with them--without due acknowledgment to the giver. A feast is made; for what function can dispense with feasting? and pieces of roasted flesh, tobacco, etc., are dug into the ground as an offering to the god, just as in the seal festival, we shall see, bones are cast into the sea. At this point it is necessary, lest he be not observing or engaged elsewhere, to call the attention of Pal ni vookh to their offering, so they whisper,

9: Hawes--211-212 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 224, 776, 782

'Chookh, Chookh,' i.e. 'God, Thou God.' They do this in an undertone, lest the pal-rush (daimones) should hear; for these evil spirits dwell in the swamps and the depths of the forest, and might make off with the offerings. For this reason, and because Pal ni vookh generally walks among the mountains, the Gilyaks take the precaution of making their offering on high ground."

9: Hawes--212-213 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 782

"When the hunting season is advanced, another method for the capture of the sable is adopted. The native sets out with his dogs, who quickly find the tracks of the little animal, and drive it up a tree. The hunter then lets fly a blunted arrow, and, if skilful, stuns his prey. With fair success he may thus catch seven or eight sables [213] in a day. He is careful so to kill them as not to injure the skin, and in skinning he strips it off like a sock. Half of the flesh he gives to the dogs, and the other half he offers to Pal ni vookh."

9: Hawes--220-221 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 412, 422, 435

"How important a part sewing must have played in the domestic economy can be imagined, when clothing consisted of salmon-skins, a material which could not be ordered over the counter by the yard, but had to be diligently stiched together to form an adequate covering. In early times bone needles were used, but when, by accident or by barter, a big ship's canvas-needle came into their hands, it was a priceless treasure. How eagerly [221] such was sought after and seldom obtained. The happy possessor handed it down as a family heirloom. In those days they tell us a needle was of such value that a wife could be bought with it; whereas to-day a helpmeet may cost as much as a narta (sledge) and team of thirteen dogs. To keep the needle safe, bone cases (nookh-tses), curiously carved, were made; and it is interesting to note that the principle on which they work is exactly the same as that of the little silk ones made to-day in Korea.

The following shows the value they used to put upon the needle. A Russian came upon a Gilyak family crying and howling.

'Why are you crying?' he asked. 'Is somebody dead?'

'No! What is death? It would have been better had somebody died. The needle is lost!' "

9: Hawes--221 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 361

"On the opposite shores of Chaivo Bay, on the sandbanks, were Vurkovo and Chaivo, both Gilyak settlements, and New Val, an Orotchon [LSS: Erratum; it should read Orochon] village. North of these there were none known, save only a solitary hut or two occupied occasionally merely for the fishing."

9: Hawes--221-224 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-3
116, 135

"Our present objective was the hut of a prospector four miles inland from the coast. A couple of hours' rowing [LSS: From Chaivo Bay] brought us within sight of another river, known as the Boatassin. As we approached it two figures on the left bank were moving about and disappearing rather suspiciously, but as we neared land they showed themselves quite openly, and we saw that one of them was a soldier, though his uniform was [222] old, shabby, and much the worse for wear. Having landed our baggage with some difficulty, for the tide was still on the ebb, we found it impossible to carry all of it the six versts (four miles) to the hut, and therefore stowed all the heavier articles in a cave close by..... Our way lay through what had been dense forest a short while since, but was now denuded of its undergrowth. At first I blamed this wanton destruction, but, when I had made the acquaintance of the surviving mosquitoes, I sympathized with those who had fired their way through the forest. We passed over hill slopes, almost snow-clad in appearance, covered with the lichen which the reindeer loves, and among hoary-looking trees hung with a capillary lichen which he also favours. The slopes gave way at length to swamps temporarily bridged with larch-poles, along which it was necessary to walk Blondin-like. We were met and heartily welcomed by the prospector's son, and, strange as it may seem, by an English youth who by a series of curious chances found himself in this wild out-of-the-world spot. They had preceded us by about two months.

Petroleum, known for a long time to the natives, and reported on by the Government

expert, Mr. Bazevich, in 1894, had been discovered to the prospector, who had extended his search until he had found, not only exusions of it on this spot, but lakes of it a few miles north near the Nutovo river. One of these, which had a diameter of about eighteen feet, was in a state of bubbling upheaval. [223] The others had a surface of bituminous mud, owing to the evaporation of the oil, which was soft, but at the same time offered sufficient resistance to allow of walking upon it. In boring at a spot four miles north of the Boatassin river, eternally frozen ground had been found at a depth of ten and a half metres. This is very low, and accounts for the tundra hereabouts being less pronounced than on the north-west shores. On the west coast Dr. Poliakov reported it in mid-summer, on July 1, at half a metre's depth, in the valley of the Duika (Great Alexandrovka) river.

A year after I reached this spot, a Russian petroleum expert, Mr. R. S. Platonov, despatched by the Baku Manufacturers Trust, visited and inspected the neighbourhood On the same trip he had already paid a visit to the Texas and Pennsylvanian oil-fields. According to the Russian newspaper, the Kavkaz (Caucasus) of June, 1903, he takes a very optimistic view of the wealth and extent of the Sakhalin fields. He is reported as saying that all he had seen in America was as nothing compared to that which he had found in Sakhalin. He is even made to assert that the fields situated on the banks of the river Nutovo exceed those of Baku in all respects. The oil is said to contain no benzine, and therefore to be capable of immediate use as fuel. Such a discovery may prove of

use both to the Russian Fleet, the Manchurian and Ussuri railways; and by refining to the vast hordes of consumers of lamp-oil in China, Korea, and Japan.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Platonov's hopeful report may not be belied, and that the supplies may prove to be deep-lying; for should they be actively worked, they will prove incidentally a god-send to the 'exile settlers,' who, from the absence of employment, drift in large numbers of cases into their old ways.

In 1898, a discovery of gold was made, and a company was formed, which soon however gave up. It was rumoured that eternally frozen earth was struck, and proceedings [224] stopped. Frozen soil presents no insuperable difficulties, but probably the gravels were situated at a considerable depth (in the Vitim district (1) they are said to be frozen

1. North-east of Lake Baikal.

to a depth of 150 feet), and therefore were quite unprofitable to work."

9: Hawes--226 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 132, 805

"It is a curious fact that in places the upper waters of the Tim, with a temperature of 40° to 50° below zero, do not freeze, and here comes the whiteheaded eagle (Haliëtus albicillus) to fish. In fact the Gilyaks call the month of February Cham-long, [LSS: Erratum; it should read Kham-long] or eagle month, as they name March Karr-long, or crow month."

9: Hawes--229 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 161, 177, 621 Russia
636.62

"The Gilyak on Sakhalin.....will surely die out with the further inroad of the European. The chief causes of the dying out of the natives is [LSS: sic] disease, the narrowing limits of their hunting-ground, the decay of the spirit of the race, and their inability to adapt themselves to another mode of living which is gradually but surely being forced upon them. The Government's attitude towards them is a 'correct' one. It recognizes them as Russian subjects, interferes as little as possible with their scant organization, and prohibits the sale of intoxicants to them. What is really required now, but hardly to be expected from officials whose function is the safeguarding of criminals, is a patriarchal government which shall interest itself in the race and its changing conditions."

9: Hawes--229-230 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 241, 433

"If there were more friends of the Gilyaks like Mr. Pilsudski, who was a political exile on the island, they indeed might yet be saved from extinction. He recognized that their means of livelihood, hunting and fishing, were beginning to fail them, and therefore endeavoured to induce those who dwelt near the Russian settlements to cultivate potatoes and to salt fish. To the natives utterly unused to it, the work was extraordinarily exhausting; and one gave it up after two hours because 'his back ached,' while others eagerly sought permission to eat the seed potatoes! I fear, unaided and not followed up, [230] his efforts have failed, though after a great amount of persuasion he got several puds sown."

9: Hawes--231 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 231, 361

"Leaving the Orochon village of New Val, we rowed over in a south-easterly direction to the Gilyak settlement of Chaivo, situated on the northern side of the strait which here gives entrance to the sea. This was a village of some size, for there were about thirty canoes drawn up on the beach, and the population was said to number about a hundred. Landing here, we were taken to see the bear in its cage, two captive foxes, which were being bred for their skins, and three large white-tailed eagles tethered to corners of a log structure. Magnificent birds they were, whose great powerful wings and formidable beaks looked as if they should have won them freedom ere this. They had been captured when young, and were the contents of a nest robbed after the mother bird had been shot. The natives were rearing them with a view to selling their tails to the Japanese."

9: Hawes--231-232 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 124, 756

"From the first meeting with the Gilyaks I had made inquiries as to where I could find a cham, or 'medicine-man' of the tribe. I was anxious to do so, because I hoped to learn from him more than I could from the Gilyak 'man-in-the-street,' or rather, 'man-in-the-canoe.' All the replies had indicated the village of Chaivo as the residence of their cham. On reaching New Val, which was close by, I thought it prudent to make inquiries if [232] the great man were at home. The answer was in the affirmative. Arrived at Chaivo, however, I was informed he had gone to New Val. This would not do. I suspected evasion, and therefore put my foot down and insisted on our crew going to fetch him. This had the desired effect, and, shortly after, a man of about thirty or thirty-five, of less wild appearance than the others—in fact, a rather mild-looking individual—came hesitatingly towards us. I offered him a few tobacco-leaves, and to disarm his suspicions, for the natives are shy of talking about their religion, explained through the interpreters that I was a friend of the Gilyaks, and that I had come a great way from over the sea and would like to know about them and their forefathers."

9: Hawes--233 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 173

"After preliminary politenesses, I began by asking the cham—

'Has your father, or your father's father, ever told you anything about the place whence the earliest Gilyaks came?'

'No. They came from over there,' pointing to the west, to the mainland, which we know by tradition to have been their home. But before he would answer my question, he had asked me—

'How is it the Russians have come here, and why do they live in big villages and not in the forest?' "

9: Hawes--234 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 756

"The Gilyaks themselves declared, 'We have no great cham now. We had one. He died last winter. He was great indeed! If a man wanted to fish, and there was no wind to drive in the fish, he went to the cham and fell on his knees, and immediately his prayer was granted, and the wind began to blow.' His successor, indeed, claimed the power of being able to locate a bear. 'When the Gilyak wants to find one,' he told us, 'I hear a voice of the spirit, saying, 'There is a bear in the forest,' and I go into the forest, and there I discover a bear.' "

9: Hawes--234-235 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 682, 692, 756

"The cham of the Gilyaks resembles, in many respects, the shaman of the Oroktis, the Golds, and the Tungus on the mainland. Both are addicted to superstitious practices; but the primary function of the cham would appear to be the judicial executive, and for that purpose he is elected. He it is who pronounces sentence in the criminal 'court' of elders, and afterwards carries it out. Legally these were the limits of his function; but [235] actually his moral influence does not stop there, and the criminal's fate largely depends upon him. Probably he was chosen because the death of a murderer, though necessary in olden times, was much against the grain of the kindly, jolly Gilyaks; and the cham, with his powers of exorcism, could clear himself of any sin which they involuntarily felt must attach to the killing of a human being. The penalty of death now no longer obtains, but is commuted in practice to a fine."

9: Hawes--236 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 756, 776, 782

"Being anxious to know what claims the cham had to healing power, I asked him whether he could cure illnesses. To which he replied, 'If a child or person is ill, I, the cham, pray and make offerings of tobacco to the lord of fire and cast some rice or tea out of the door to the spirits (of the forest and water). There is one god—Nature,' he added, 'and we offer to fire at one time and to water and the forest at others.' "

9: Hawes--236 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 755, 776

"If a Gilyak is so ill that all domestic resources fail, then the cham is sent for. He arrives, followed by one of the elder representatives of the hut, who has been told off to show honour and courtesy to the healer. An inspection of the patient is generally sufficient for him to determine whether the sufferer will recover or no; but before he decides upon his measures, the cham tries to find out from the relatives what the patient has been doing prior to his illness. Then he tells them that the evil spirit is angry with the sick man, and has sent this illness as a punishment; but he will speak to the spirit about it, and ask him how his anger may be appeased. Nothing, however, can be done before the evening, for the element in which the spirit lives is the night."

9: Hawes--236-237 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 755, 776, 778

"[LSS: In the cure of illness by the medicine man] When the sun has set, the cham appears, and drives out of the hut all unnecessary persons, and proceeds to place upon his head a band of birch bark, with three little rustling rosettes of papery bark lining. These, it is said, are to aid him in the expulsion of the evil spirit from the sick one; but are more probably to inhance the mystery [237] and authority of the exorcist. He then places in the corner of the hearth three little bowls, containing respectively fish, tobacco, and roots; and close to these, two wooden images, ch'khnai, bound together back to back; one having the face of a laughing man, and the other that of a weeping woman. The ch'khnai are there to provide something for the evil spirit to enter, when he leaves the body of the sick man. Note here how clever the cham is. He so places the ch'khnai that the image of the weeping woman faces the cups containing the food; and the evil spirit, summoned from the body of the patient by exorcism and attracted by delicacies, naturally enters into the image so placed; and, having taken this form, will be himself kind-hearted and weak as a weeping woman. The good spirit is then exorcised, and takes refuge in the other image; where he becomes jolly and strong as a laughing man, especially when the cham draws nearer to him one of the bowls of food.

The evil and good spirits finding themselves in close proximity, begin to fight; but there is never any doubt of the result, for victory must be to the stronger—the good spirit. Then commence negotiations between the cham and the evil spirit as to how much or what offering he will accept to keep away from the sick man."

9: Hawes--237-238 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 755, 786

"During all these exorcisms and negotiations [LSS: by the medicine man while curing illness] the hut has been the scene of an awe-inspiring spectacle. While the sick man lay on the nakh, or bench, the cham has been whirling round the hut, beating the koscha, a fish-skin tambourine, uttering all manner of strange sounds, and quickening his wild gyrations in order to prevent the escape of the evil spirit from his reach. By the time of the combat of the good and evil spirits, the wild dance has reached its climax; and when negotiations commence, the cham is in an ecstatic state. His exorcisms are begun in almost a whisper, and to the slow-measured strokes of the tambourine. He improvises his prayers, conforming [238] them to the circumstances; and by degrees working himself into an ecstasy, he babbles with hoarse voice, howls, and even shrieks. From the great strain his voice sometimes cracks; but he draws off attention, and with amazing dexterity whirls around in the semi-darkness, his feet appearing to leave the ground as his wild circlings in the air increase and the flames leap in answering flickerings to his wild springings. Black shadows fitfully race over the walls of the hut, and quicker and quicker grow the wild howls and the thuds of the tambourine. The hearts of the spectators sink with fright, and even the most sceptical of the Gilyaks is involuntarily bewitched."

9: Hawes--238 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 535, 578, 755, 776, 782

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] The eyes of the cham are like flames; he foams at the mouth, and sings the orders of the evil spirit—

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick man well.'

The first syllable in each line is articulated quickly, and the last vowels in the line slowly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is made to end in a—aa.

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or has any spite against him or his relatives, he may ruin the whole family by his interpretation of the spirit's demands, forcing them to bring all their dogs and everything that they value most. It is even said that in olden times human offerings were demanded."

9: Hawes--238-239 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 755, 776, 782

"On the following day, the head of the hut takes the offerings, and goes as quickly as possible to the village appointed where the bear is, even if it be a hundred miles away. There he kills the dogs near the cage of the bear, takes out the heart and liver and casts them in the forest to the east, and sings, 'Make so that the sick man may [239] be quite well.' The offering is made near the bear because the evil spirit is a great friend of the bear, and therefore is to be found near at hand.

The cham having been liberally rewarded for his pains, the matter is ended.

One old Gilyak in reply to my question as to what happened if the patient died, said, with stoical submissiveness, 'We make offerings, and if the child recovers, it is well; but if the spirit does not restore it, it is well also.' "

9: Hawes--239 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 753, 776, 782

"The Gilyaks explain the visitation of disease in this way. The sick man must have offended the good spirit kiskh, who thereupon deserts him and leaves him in the power of the evil spirit. The offering made to the latter is a bribe, whereby the sufferer coaxes the evil spirit to quit him.

The Gilyak makes no offering to kiskh, the creator, the great spirit, the god of the moral world, for he does not know where he is; in fact, so vague is his notion of him that it can only be said to exist in his mind as a nebulous conception. With regard to the position of the cham, the evil spirit cannot but be angry at the trick he has been played, and the want of respect paid to him; but we need not be anxious for the healer, since he is secure in his knowledge of many exorcisms."

9: Hawes--239-240 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 578, 692, 756

"His [LSS: The cham or medicine man] moral influence among his tribe is certainly losing ground, as the Gilyaks come more into contact with the Russians. One of them said to a Russian, 'A cham tells very many lies.'

'Then why do you call him in?'

'He is needed. If he got angry it would be bad for us,' was the answer.

It is true that it may result badly for the Gilyak, not because the cham can cause the divine anger to fall upon his head; but when the Gilyak has a misunderstanding, or is accused of crime, the cham may remember his [240] omission or insult, and as he has the last word, he can make the punishment very severe."

9: Hawes--240 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 173, 183, 212, 539

"The Gilyaks have no written language, but they have a legend to account for the want of it. I learnt it from one of their number, Imdin by name, the only Sakhalin Gilyak known to have been brought up and educated by the Russians. He is an intelligent youth, and had been sent to a school at Vladivostok, where I met him in the charge of a political exile, to whom he owed nearly everything.

'The legend current among my tribe,' he said, with a smile, 'tells how a Gilyak and a Chinaman were talking together one day on the shore. The former was showing his books and letters (characters) to the latter, when most unfortunately a great wind arose, and blew away all the letters save five; and to complete this great catastrophe, when the Gilyak's back was turned the Chinaman meanly made off with the small remnant.'

The Ainus have a not dissimilar legend, in which, according to one version, their letters and records were stolen by their guest from Japan, while they were yet recovering from after-dinner effects."

9: Hawes--241-242 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 775

"Our talk then drifted on to the passing of mortals into the next world, and the elder made a rather remarkable statement; but I was not sure then, nor am I now, as to how much of the form of it was due to the interpreter, who in this case was unfortunately not Mr. X., on whose accuracy and appreciation of the points raised, I could always depend.

He said, 'When a man dies, he does not change. He has ears, eyes, nose, hands, and heart just as before, and only his spirit is missing. If this were to come back the man would be alive. Therefore, I believe the spirit lives, [242] if not here then elsewhere. I expect to see my father, but where I cannot say.' Our 'captain' Yungkin declared that when his father died his grandfather came in the fire and took him, and Yungkin waited in expectation of his father coming for him in the same way."

9: Hawes--242 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 593, 775, 764, 784

"In talking of their departed, they never called them by their name. That would be uich, i. e. unlucky, ill-omened. Filial piety as among the Chinese is a cardinal virtue, and the elder before us was no exception to the rule. He had killed no less than ten dogs at his father's funeral pyre, his father being a well-to-do man, and therefore it was necessary for his spirit to travel with an honourable cortège in the next world."

9: Hawes--242 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 182, 764

"If a Gilyak dies in the winter, it is usual to wrap the body in bark and keep it, which is an easy matter in this frost-bound world, until the breaking up of winter, when the ceremonies may more easily be carried out.

Let me describe, first, the rites observed on the death of a woman, premising that with this, as with many other of the more curious customs I describe, there is a difference in detail among tribes (of Gilyaks), and even between one khal (clan) and another. Where the khal has been much influenced by Russian contact there is considerable modification. With some of the latter, such is the influence of example that the natives are giving up cremation for burial."

9: Hawes--242-243 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 556, 764, 775

"Four garments—short-skirted frocks—are placed upon the corpse of the woman. Only the best may be selected, and in case of a 'wealthy' Gilyak the rare Chinese brocade, I have mentioned, will be used. Over all the corpse is robed in a shuba. The reason of the four garments is this. The spirit of the dead woman must appear before each of the gods or lords in turn, Tol ni vookh, the [243] lord of the water (sea and rivers); Pal ni vookh, the lord of the forest; Tur ni vookh, the lord of fire; and Kiskh, the judge of good and evil; and as her duty on earth was to keep the hearth, i. e. look after the fire, so Tur ni vookh is her most intimate deity. Since she must appear before each one, and the road is long and difficult, four dresses are necessary, as one only suffices for a journey, and she must not appear before the god in torn garments. Of course, if the family of the deceased is poor, the god will overlook that little want of delicacy; but woe to the light-minded members of a rich family, if they omit to place four garments on their dead. She and her kindred will indeed have a bad time; her life in the next world will be poverty-stricken even as she has shown herself in miserable condition, and her kindred will suffer many misfortunes from the hands of those gods whose majesty has been insulted."

9: Hawes--243 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 764, 774, 775

"For four days the corpse of the dead woman lies on the nakh of the hut, and during this time her soul pays visits to the four gods, renders an account of her earthly life, and receives instructions for the life after death. All her kindred must come together and not leave the hut during this period, and with all their powers they strive to call to mind and loudly recite all the virtues of their deceased kinswoman. This is done in order to prompt her spirit, lest her etherealized self should omit some of them in its vivâ voce. The lord of fire, as the junior god, serves in this case as messenger, and is therefore strictly kept going in all his force."

9: Hawes--243-244 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 562, 764, 775

"Crying and loud taking fill the hut. The mourners loose their hair from the pigtails, and all vie with each other in showing their abandonment of pleasure. Luxuries are eschewed, pipes are broken in pieces, and the tobacco is allowed to fall out.

If the deceased be a man, similar ceremonies are gone through, but as he is not the maintainer of the hearth, he [244] has to give an account of his doings to three gods only; and therefore his body requires only three garments, and lies in the hut but three days. As with the woman, over the other garments is worn a shuba; for their spirits have not yet gained that supernatural capacity which defies the elements, and warm raiment is necessary on their long journeys.

At the end of the lying-in-state, i.e. on the fifth day for the woman and on the fourth for the man, the corpse is taken out of the hut and laid on a narta, a sledge drawn by a team of dogs. The shuba is taken off, for although the soul has not yet its divine faculties, the journeys have been made, and it is no longer needed. These are now to be gained by purification."

9: Hawes--244-245 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 764, 775

"At this juncture some of the followers leave the crowd and run quickly to the cemetery, which every village possesses in the secluded depths of the forest, in a spot quite impossible for a stranger to find. There on a site chosen by the family, a funeral pyre is built of cleanly stripped sticks of the height of a man. It is of diamond shape, with the ends of the sticks projecting, and eight layers in height. On the top are more dried sticks, moss, twigs, and larch chips. At a few feet from the pyre these friends of the family hastily construct with planks of wood a little hut-like building called a raff, about two and a half feet long, broad and high, with a sloping roof. This little structure has a hole in the side, or a little door, which looks towards the pyre. Great haste has to be made, for they are anxious to finish their work before the procession arrives, and therefore they use material which has been prepared by the friends of the dead beforehand.

To erect the raff for the reception of the soul of the deceased before the divine sanction has been given would be an insult to the gods; therefore the followers wait until the cortège is about to start. The journeys to the gods [245] have been duly made, and the soul is now ready, and only awaits the purification by fire, which shall assure to it divine capacities.

The cortège is followed by a crowd of kindred and acquaintances, with dishevelled hair, loudly crying and weeping tears of sincerity or convention. They vie with each other in enumerating the virtues of their dead comrade, hoping thereby to gain his protection."

9: Hawes--245 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 372, 764

"The corpse is placed on the pyre ready for cremation, and all is now ready save the fire, which must be procured in a special manner. In memory of the earliest traditional methods of obtaining it, flint and steel may not be used, nor of course the Russian, or rather Japanese, matches. A pointed stick is inserted in a hole made in a piece of plank placed on the ground. Four men take each an end of a thong attached to and twisted round the stick, and pull it. This rotates, generates friction, and ignites the dried tinder placed in close proximity. The top of the stick is steadied by pressing on it a flat piece of wood, or if need be a Gilyak applies his chest. Torches are lighted, and fire is ap- plies his chest. Torches are lighted, and fire is applied to the pyre, first by the widow, if the deceased leave one."

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

"As the flames lick up the pyre, the soul takes refuge in the raff [LSS: a funeral hut] through the hole or opened door, thence to emerge later and begin its long journey to that other world village of Mligh-vo, which the Amur Gilyaks say is in the centre of the earth, but the Sakhalin Tro and Tim Gilyaks say is 'There'—pointing to the east—'where the sun rises.'

Since it is necessary that the spirit of the deceased shall travel as he was accustomed on earth, the spirits of the dogs, the sledge, etc., must all be released. The dogs, in number according to the wealth of the departed, are all killed, being strangled or beaten to death. The sledge is broken, and so are also his spear (kakh), his bow (punch), and his arrows (ku), and quiver (kh'm), or if the deceased [246] be a woman, then her ear-rings (mestch) [LSS: Erratum; it should read meskh] rings (koi-ba), and her fish-knife (ungu-dzhakho). All these articles will be needed by the deceased in the future life; but they must be broken in order to finish their earthly existence, and to give release to their spirits. Every object has its soul, which resembles it. This is set free in the case of inanimate objects only on being broken, and is then used by the soul of the deceased. To burn them is not to be thought of, because they cannot have that honour done them.

Camping out on the banks of the river Tim in the forest, we were casting around one night for fuel, when Mr. X. came upon a bit of shaped board which he was about to throw on the fire, when Vanka stopped him, crying out, 'No, no'. Uich, uich'. It is a piece

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -2
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

of a Gilyak canoe.' Purification by fire is reserved only for the human being. The dogs are not shot, nor are their throats cut, for if any of them had his skin broken he would appear in the next world with this grave personal defect."

9: Hawes--246-247 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 764, 775

"The ashes of the cremated corpse are gathered together and put into a coffin-like box (paff), and buried on the site of the fire. Sometimes, as on the mainland, the ashes are buried beneath a hole in the floor of the raff. A stick with pieces of the garments of the deceased is stuck into the ground by the raff, and serves apparently as memorial to the kindred, and perhaps as a landmark for the return of the soul of the departed.

In front of the hole or door of the raff are raised two poles and a cross-piece, an erection resembling a miniature goal-post, and on the cross-bar are hung all manner of provisions, tobacco, etc., for the use of the soul of the deceased on its long journey. I have two wooden boxes—one cylindrical and the other rectangular in shape, interestingly carved with scroll pattern, albeit very smelly—which originally hung at such a grave, [247] containing rice, fish, etc., and a pair of wooden chop-sticks. All these provisions are covered with pieces of bark to protect them from the ravages of birds and wild animals."

9: Hawes--248 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 776, 821

"Mention has been made of four gods—the lords of the forest, sea, and fire, and the creator, or judge of right and wrong; but these do not exhaust the whole polytheistic conception of the Gilyak. They are his nearest protectors, the most intimate among a crowd who are too numerous to maintain communications with. The sun, moon, and stars each has its ni vookh, but the Gilyak has no intercourse with them."

9: Hawes--248-249 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 183, 776

"All the four gods are Gilyaks, have wives, wear Gilyak garments, and have much in common with men; in fact, they are the Greek gods in Gilyak dress. How strong is the belief of the Gilyak in the existence of his gods the following talk will show. It is also an illustration of the subtlety needed in questioning a native about his religion, the mysteries of which he is, as a rule, so reluctant to disclose. A Russian asked—

'How do the Gilyaks catch fish? and why at one time do they catch more, at another time less, and at another none at all?'

Gilyak. Well, at one time the fish come into the net and at another time not. [249]

Russian. That is not the reason. How can a fish go by itself into the net? It would never enter of its own accord into the net. You Gilyaks know that it is God who sends it there, the God who has created everything and lives in the sky.

Gilyak. No, it is you Russians who don't know. How can a god who lives in the sky send into the net the fish which live in the water? No, not in the sky lives the god, but in the water. He, the god in the water, has created nothing, and only commands the fish, and where he wishes, there he sends them.

Russian. What sort of a god can there be in the water? If he is a Gilyak, he will drown. There of course he is not, and the Gilyaks only think so in their stupidity!

Gilyak. It is untrue. All is untrue what you are saying. The Gilyak knows very well. Myself knows. There are such (striking) things have happened. A Gilyak was drowned in his clothes; but afterwards he was found on the bank without clothes. How do you

think that came about?

Russian. I don't know. Perhaps somebody robbed him.

Gilyak. Hey! Kaukray! Nobody had robbed him. You yourself don't know. It was done by Tol ni vookh, kiskh!

Russian. Then why has he done it?

Gilyak. Because the Gilyak offended him in something, therefore the god has drowned him, and his garments he has taken for himself, and the naked corpse he has cast on the shore so that all should know that this Gilyak had offended the god. May all be frightened to offend the powerful Tol ni vookh."

9: Hawes--250-251 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 732, 828

"Yungkin announced Gilyaks. A party were returning to Chaivo, and seeing our fire had stopped for a warm, a pipe, and some tea. They joined us around the cheerful blaze, talking volubly, and taking some pleasure in pointing out to us one of their number, who, they said, had a devil in him. He was an idiot, one glance at his face was sufficient to determine that, and without showing any violence continued to make the strangest contortions. His presence completed the weirdness of the scene, this group of uncouth figures of a primitive people crouched round a fire on a desolate island on a wild night. The madman, who was known as 'Oto,' lived in one of two huts which are on the opposite side of the Strait of Chaivo. He was not [251] allowed to work, but his comrades supplied all his wants, for they regarded him as a kind of sacred person singled out or set apart by the unseen powers. He was not, however, permitted to have a wife."

9: Hawes--251 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 136

"The sandy flats and curving shores of the Bay of Ni were alive with hundreds of sea-birds. The commonest, and most frightened at our appraoch, were the gulls (Larus canus niveus), which winter in Japan. Much bolder were the sandpipers, of which the common (Totanus hypoleucus), the green (T. ochropus), the wood (T. glareola), and the terek species (T. terekia) have been shot in the bay, as well as the redshank (T. calidris). Related to these, but earlier in migration, for it is said that they winter in Australia, are the stint (Tringa subminuta) and his red-throated brother (T. ruficollis), the dunlin (T. cinclus) and the eastern knot (T. crassirostris). These had made their departure, but what drew my particular attention was the handsome orange-footed oyster-catcher (Haematopus osculans) and the turnstone (Strepsilas interpres). In our forage for food we had shot one or two common snipe (Scolopax gallinago), which was much more in evidence than the pintail variety (S. stenura). The terns (Sterna Kamchatica and Aleutia) had not yet departed, and though the goosander (Mergus merganser) and the smew (Mergellus albellus) were not observable, I saw specimens of these which had been taken at the mouth of the Tim."

9: Hawes--251-252 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 411, 501, 574

"I was just in time [252] to take a snapshot of a family leaving in their canoe to make an afternoon call, in other words, to borrow some seal-oil and take a cup of (brick) tea. [LSS: See Visual File category 501] On the gunwale of the canoe will be noticed what appears to be an outrigger, but is really a Y-piece for resting the seal harpoon in. This cham-gash, which is the name the Gilyaks give the harpoon, is used on the ice or manipulated from a canoe."

9: Hawes--252 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 132, 177

"The sea on the east coast here is frozen in winter for two to four versts out, and when this breaks up the great sealhunt commences. The great field of operations is, however, in the Straits of Tartary, opposite the mouth of the Amur, and a busy scene it is.

Winter has long reigned over the land. The snow-covered taiga, the frozen rivers, and ice-bound sea, have been for six or seven months the only outlook. At length with spring comes the wind from the mountains driving the ice-floes out to sea. Then the Gilyak awaits with patience the change in the wind, for he knows that this time the ice-floes will be driven shorewards, not empty, but laden with many a passenger. In a good yeat in the Straits of Tartary a thousand seals (Phoca vitulina, Gilyak, langerr) will lie upon the ice sunning themselves, unconscious of any danger."

9: Hawes--252-253 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 225, 411, 527

"On shore preparations are being made for the Chak vi hŭnch, or Tol vi hŭnch, i.e. the water or sea holiday; for this is the inauguration of the tolf-an, or summer year.

Wild men, with raven pigtails and high cheek-bones, are bustling about at the mouths of the rivers preparing to receive the unsuspecting guests. [LSS: i.e. seals] Last year's provisions are all consumed, and the Gilyaks await with suppressed excitement the approach of their fat lazy visitors. The wind from the sea increases in vehemence, ice-floes seen on the horizon are being driven closer and closer to the shore. Now they are quite near, forming great glistening fields. The whole Gilyak village is alive, the inhabitants running about on the swaying white floor quickly taking up [253] positions, concealing themselves behind the bergs. Each one has in his hand a harpoon similar to the fish-spear already described on a larger scale. The pole consists of five lengths jointed, each 7 metres long, and is therefore at full length about 135 feet. The end, to which the harpoon is attached by a thong, is ski-shaped, with its end bent upwards, the better to thrust into the side of the seal. The thong itself is also 135 feet long, to allow the seal sufficient play. This great length of weapon enables the Gilyak to harpoon his unsuspecting prey at a considerable distance. He stealthily approaches his victim, taking cover behind the bergs, and placing the harpoon on the ice slowly unwinds the thong. By a quick thrust the animal is speared, and flings himself frightened into the water. In so doing he frees the head of the harpoon from the shaft, to which, however, he is

9: Hawes--252-253 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 225, 411, 527

now held by the thong. His efforts to get away only serve to give the harpoon a firmer grip, and the poor animal is hauled in and killed by a blow on the head."

9: Hawes--253-254 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 183, 225, 527, 782

"The first catch is collected and left on the shore. To take it to their huts to be devoured there would be a graceless, greedy thing to do, for there is as yet no divine sanction to the domestic use of them. Such a proceeding might result in a failure of the seal season, owing to the god's anger. No; the feasting must be done openly, and, though at some inconvenience, in full view of the god's province.

On the bank, therefore, fires are kindled; and the flesh of the seals is cooked, and with it is hashed up anything left over from the winter's stores. When all is prepared the feasting commences, and lasts all day. Eating and drinking go on, not only on the banks, but in the huts; at the same time it is strictly observed that the pieces of the newly caught seals shall not be brought within the hut, nor left scattered about, nor even the blood spilled. If the god has allowed seals to be caught, he has [254] permitted them to be consumed only on his premises, i. e. the banks. By this courtesy and little attention on the part of the Gilyaks, Tol ni vookh will be content, and in future will send them abundance of seals and all manner of inhabitants of the sea."

9: Hawes--254 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 225, 731, 776, 782

"It often happens that by the time of the arrival of the seals, the winter stores are quite exhausted, and hunger reigns in the village; nevertheless, the fête [LSS: The seal fête held in honor of the first catch; see category 116, pp. 252-254.] must be celebrated with all due ceremony. On the following day the whole village turns out, and the family groups begin to gather up the 'fragments,' including the bones, which, in deep silence and reverence, are cast into the sea. The flesh and fat, boiled or roasted, for the god has plenty of raw, are offerings to Tol ni vookh, with the request that he will give them permission to use the products of his domain, the sea; and the bones are the thank-offering in acknowledgment of the god's goodwill in sending the seals and allowing the Gilyaks to open the New Year's fête with the due and proper ceremonies. With these bones the great Tol ni vookh will make many more seals. It would be a sin to scatter the bones to the four winds, thus making it more difficult to create for want of material. Tol ni vookh would in that case have to recreate entirely, whereas, given the bones, he has only to reclothe them with flesh, and lo, the seals are complete, alive!

The offering is cast into the sea in complete silence, because there are many Uichkha rush, or water daimones, who, if they should overhear the Gilyak praying, would spoil the whole affair, by seizing what was intended for the god.

After the day of the offering, the Gilyak is free to follow up the hunt, and so successful is he with his harpoon that a canoe of five will sometimes take as many as fifty

young seals, which will be equally divided among them. This continues until a south-west wind drives away the ice-floes and their passengers."

9: Hawes--255 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 136, 225, 825

"In autumn a few seals ascend the river, and these are shot by the natives. They follow in the wake of the Salmo lagocephalus, or are driven before the attack of the dreaded grampus, or black killer (Orca atra). This terrible enemy, the largest of the dolphin family, is armed with a formidable dorsal fin, which in the case of the rectipinnia species attains to the enormous length of six feet. Not content with smaller fry, these terrible wolves of the ocean will even attack a large whale, gathering round it and gashing its throat and lips, and finally hauling it to the bottom of the sea to rise thence with great pieces of its flesh in their maws. Even the fierce walrus will crawl upon the rocks with its young to be out of the way of these voracious creatures; and when larger prey, such as the smaller dolphins or seals are not to be had, salmon and smaller fish furnish a meal for this hungry animal.

Hence, before it are driven ashore and up the rivers the seals, salmon, smelt, trout, etc., upon which the Gilyak lives. It is, therefore, not unnatural that he should look upon the 'sword dolphin,' as the Germans call it, as a friend to whom he owes many a successful catch. The grampus never meets with a hostile reception from the natives, and if his lifeless carcase be cast up on shore, rightful honours are paid it.

It is otherwise with the white fish or white whale Delphinapterus leucas) which haunts the mouths of rivers; for his flesh provides a feast for the Gilyaks. From the skin, [L SS: of the white whale.] I believe, and certainly from that of the rarer seal

(Arctocephalus monteriensis), thongs of several hundred feet are obtained by cutting it spirally. These are again cut into lengths of about 130 feet, and much prized for harpoons, dog harness, and straps generally."

9: Hawes--255-256 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 225

"In the autumn comes also another inhabitant of the ocean, the sea-lion (Eumetopias Stelleri). Gazing far out to sea, the Gilyak has seen a black point disappearing and [256] re-appearing, and then a second and a third. This is enough. He hastens to bring out his apparatus, his nets with their floats of burnt wood shaped like the heads of sea-lions. These he sets far away from shore, near great rocks, while he lurks in his canoe behind them, patiently awaiting results. A little wave breaks lazily on the shore, and ripples on the pebbles. The black floats are gently rocked, at one moment they appear on the crest, at the next in the trough of the wave. Who could doubt this to be a herd of sea-lions swimming near the pebbles? The midday sun has heated the surface of the water, and beckons the herd outside to a sun-bath on shore. Sighting these 'comrades,' who have preceded them in this intention, they swim towards them all unsuspectingly. But ere before the first has discovered the deception, he is entangled in the net, a canoe shoots rapidly from behind the rocks, and a skilful thrust quiets his fluttering for ever."

9: Hawes--256 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 226

"There are many other [LSS: other than the list in category 225, pp. 255-256.] inhabitants of the sea and rivers which have interest for the Gilyak, especially the smaller kinds; and though to the cold current issuing from the Okhotsk Sea is due his severe winter, yet he owes to it the large schools of fish which arrive off the coast of Sakhalin. They come in such rapid sequence that the Russian fishermen say they come in 'posts.' "

9: Hawes--256-257 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 226, 251, 262, 731

"Fish being the staple article of food, the 'bread' of the Gilyaks, the summer supply is necessarily of great importance to them. The winter stores of sun-dried kita are generally consumed by December, and then comes the hard time for them. Until the arrival of the seals in April there is only one other visitant. This is the haddock (Gadus aeglefinus, or Vachnya), or in the Gilyak tongue, kan-hi. If one is sledging along the shore and gazes seaward, he will see black specks among the gleaming ice. They are the figures of men wrapped from head to foot in skins, and they are hooking haddock. In their [257] hands are sticks with big hooks attached, and the hungry and stupid fish coming to the hole made in the ice, and grabbing at the hook, is caught. By this means a man has been known to catch as many as 300 in a day."

9: Hawes--257 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 136, 226

"After the seals arrive the herrings (Clupea harengus), and then the halibut (Pleuronectes hippoglossus), in Gilyak pilencho, which is caught from a boat with a large hook baited. The natives allow this powerful fish, which sometimes weighs over 100 lbs., to drag the boat until, its strength exhausted, they haul it in and spear it.

Trout (Salmo fario) appear now in the rivers, but not in large numbers, and the next big catch is of the ide (1) (Idus melanotus). A weir is formed in the river pointing up

1. The common ide (Leuciscus idus) is a species of roach (Leuciscus rutilus).

stream. Two lines of wattle are constructed so as to form an acute angle, and at the point of meeting is a large, long basket. The fish coming up stream find their way in, and a Gilyak sitting near the entrance all night beats with a mallet or oar, frightening them in and preventing them from returning. In the morning he fastens up the basket, and takes his catch ashore. The smelt (Osmerus eperlanus) appears in such quantities that it is caught with a hand-net, and simply ladled out of the water. The spearing of the gorbusha (Salmo proteus) and kita (S. lagocephalus), the most important fish of all to the natives, has already been described."

9: Hawes--257-258 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 186, 609

"Moonlight was silvering the broadening Bay of Ni, and all was still and quiet, save for the passage of a solitary canoe of natives returning to their village. Later there passed another containing two men of a fresh tribe, the Tungus, whose language none of us understood. We mutually grunted salutations, though I never saw the Gilyaks greet each other, this being quite contrary to the [258] habits of their neighbours to the south, the Ainus, with whom the ceremony is both long and complicated.

The Tungus are the most nomadic race on Sakhalin, at the same time they are the best hunters, and probably the cleverest in carving, needlework, and metalwork. Their home is the taiga, and with their reindeer and fine hunting dogs are sometimes seen following the river course or the forest paths made by wild animals. Some of their dogs, I was told, would catch three sables in a day, which their masters would exchange at Derbensk for a pud of gunpowder and a pud of shot.

Between them and the Gilyaks there are occasional misunderstandings, and even the Orochons complain that the latter sometimes steal their reindeer, which in view of the dispersal of their herds in the forest is quite possible. ....

'The Tungus,' said our Vanka, 'are wild people living in the forest. They are not hospitable, and do not give the Gilyaks food and drink when they call;' "

9: Hawes--258-259 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 574, 577, 888

"The Gilyak expects and finds a welcome almost everywhere, since he has relations, members of his khal, at every other village. Hospitality is not a virtue, but an obligation, and few there are who take unfair advantage of it. The guest of to-day may be the host of to-morrow. Those who are too aged to hunt are supported by the exertions of the younger generation, and even they can slice and [259] clean fish in the season. There was one notable exception to these old people, who did travel, and who having no relations nearer than the mainland went about begging. Of him the Gilyaks were very much ashamed, and I feel almost guilty of a breach of confidence in making public this skeleton in their cupboard. His proper name was Poeikan, but he can no longer be called by that, for he has disgraced it, and so he goes by the title Pillanütsich, or the 'Grand Old Beggar.' "

9: Hawes--259 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 186

"That hospitality is not offered to the Gilyaks by the Tungus is not surprising, for their relations are considerably strained. The former accuse the latter of robbing their snares, and of setting them on the Gilyaks' hunting-grounds. They even declare that while it is dangerous to meet a brodyaga man to man, to meet a Tungus is certain death. Of course this is only true if there be cause of hostility."

9: Hawes--259 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 261

"The Tungus told Mr. Sternberg that they despised the Gilyaks and Orochons; and with true Pharisaical scorn added, 'We are subjects of the Empire, and are baptized and christened, but the Gilyaks and Orochons eat dogs.' It is true that the Gilyaks and Orochons eat their dogs, and even sables, when driven to it in winter by starvation."

9: Hawes--259-260 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 342, 361, 622

"We drew up in front of the 'great city' of Nivo, consisting of less than two dozen huts, dwellings which would be reckoned miserable by the occupants of Irish [260] hovels. At the usual signal, twelve pair of stalwart hands were ready to haul up our canoe, and we strode up the sands to meet the headman of the village, or, as my interpreter called him, the 'Lord Mayor of the city of Nivo.'

The 'Mansion House' of the 'Lord Mayor of Nivo,' which I now entered in the usual humble fashion, was rather larger than those we had seen hitherto, but in other respects exactly similar. Outside, on either side of the three-foot doorway, were two broad shelves sheltered by an extension of the roof, and containing winter sledges and all manner of tackle not required until later in the year. Inside was a goodly gathering, some score, of Gilyaks, who were to be our sleeping companions that night. These comprised the starosta, his two wives, his children and relatives, the latter including our Armunka, who was a distant cousin."

9: Hawes--260 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 372, 776, 823

"The honoured place at the end of the hut, [LSS: of the headman at Nivo] opposite the door (the east end it happened to be in this case), was reserved for me and my interpreter. Honourable as it was, we took the precaution of sprinkling it freely with insecticide, a proceeding in no way resented, and probably not understood; but when I came to shake a cloth over the fire, I was politely requested to refrain from an act derogatory to Tur ni vookh, the lord of that element."

9: Hawes--260-261 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 372

"The importance that fire plays in the life of peoples living in sub-arctic or arctic climes cannot be exaggerated. It is small wonder, therefore, that the element which protects them in winter, and saves them from a diet of raw and frozen food, should be elevated to the rank of a deity.

This protector is also a purifier, and to him they give the bodies of their dead. Their loved ones vanish—depart invisibly—and so they believe they may also return invisibly. Hence an added sacredness to the hearth. In bygone times it was a sin to put out the fire. The hostess on going to bed raked a small hole in the ashes, and placed there the burning fuel, covering it up with [261] more ashes. Thus the fire was conserved, and its continuity maintained. Even to-day I have seen this done, though custom is less strict than it was. It is still a sin to take even a spark from the fire outside of the hut, or to go out of the hut with a pipe which has been lighted inside."

9: Hawes--261 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 422, 556

"The headman of Nivo was counted rich among the Gilyaks, his hut being littered with the weapons and produce of the chase. There were nets and snares, automatic bows and arrows, bear-spears, strangely shaped knives, seal-skins, dog-skins, as well as bark baskets, though of a ruder make than those of the Orochons. Two other objects attracted my special attention, one, a miniature of the Tsar Alexander III, and the other, an old double-barrelled fowling-piece mounted on a wooden biped, a cumbersome affair, but used by these natives and the Tungus in the winter hunts."

9: Hawes--261 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 161, 178, 595

"A greater witness to the wealth of this 'Lord Mayor' was the possession of two wives. Very few Gilyaks on Sakhalin, perhaps two or three others, were wealthy enough to have bought more than one wife. Polygamy is no longer as common as it was, and this probably for two reasons—the decline in the number of women, and the growing poverty of the people. There are no adequate statistics to which I can appeal in support of the first, but evidence of the latter is met with at every turn. The only censuses (informal) ever taken were the inquiries of Mr. Sternberg in 1891 and 1895, among certain villages on the west coast of Sakhalin; where he found that the population had increased from 1041 to 1049 in 3 1/3 years, of which the increase of females was two and of males six."

9: Hawes--262 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 165, 562, 595, 855

"The Gilyaks treat their children remarkably well, and though a girl is potential wealth, and will 'fetch a wedding price,' the boy as an early bread-winner, or rather fish-winner, is naturally of more account. The death-rate among young children is, of course, very high. In the villages on the west coast, north of Arkovo, Mr. Sternberg gives the births in 3 1/3 years as 130, out of which there were 34 deaths (in addition to 88 deaths among the older persons), i.e. an average of more than 26 per cent. The chief reason, however, of the decline in polygamy is more probably growing poverty. A wife has to be bought, and she is a moderately expensive article. Not that she is an unremunerative investment, but few Gilyaks are in a position to make the capital expenditure."

9: Hawes--262 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 435, 583

"Dr. Schrenck, speaking of the Amur Gilyaks whom he visited fifty years ago, says their word 'to marry' (umgu genich) means 'to buy a wife,' and the value of the articles given, such as bear-spears, kettles, boats, and dogs amounts to large sums; in one case to as much as 310 rubles (31 guineas). The Sakhalin Gilyaks are much poorer, and give a sledge with a team of dogs, or a spear and two pieces of foreign stuffs. Sometimes an additional arrangement obtains, where the husband, who, unable to pay a handsome price, and in consideration of the value of his wife as fish-cleaner and preparer, gives his services to his father-in-law as hunter or fisherman for one or two days in the season."

9: Hawes--262 [3] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 567, 595

"In olden times the Amur Gilyak bought slaves, who were mostly Ainu women, but in both these practices of polygamy and slavery the desire was not so much to possess a harem as to have sufficient domestic help. In one case it was to give the loved wife of his old age a young and strong assistant."

9: Hawes--262-263 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 835, 837

"The Gilyaks are not an incontinent race, and compare very favourably with the Russian population of Sakhalin. Of course there are individual exceptions, especially now [263] that the pressing poverty prevents larger numbers of adult males having their own establishments. Yungkin, our 'captain,' had told us the very evening of our arrival at Nivo that he was going ashore to steal a wife for the night. We asked him if the husband would not object. 'Oh, perhaps. Yes; he may slap her, but I shall give him some tobacco.' It is said that in earlier times cousins (ru-er) had the juridic right of collective use of cousins, and even of the sisters of cousins, and possibly some faint remembrance of this, sanctions the more indiscriminate connexion of later days."

9: Hawes--263 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 562, 586

"It is true that the wife works very hard, and, as with all semi-wild and wild peoples, ages quickly; yet among the Gilyaks she by custom retains a certain independence; and if objecting to her treatment, is free to divorce herself and run away to her father, who cannot even be called upon to refund the price originally paid him by her husband."

9: Hawes--263-264 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 586

"Mr. Pilsudsky, whom I found to be a great and true friend of the Gilyaks, tells how an intelligent member of this tribe, whom he knew—one of those appointed as overseer by the Russian Government to track brodyagi—came to him in difficulty one day about his wife. He had migrated to a far-off village on the river Nabil (1) and married. On the

1. Which discharges on the east coast at a spot a few miles south of the mouth of the Tim.

day that he arrived at Mr. P.'s hut, his father-in-law accompanied him, and together they told the story of the newly married wife's desertion and elopement with another Gilyak to the Bay of Okhotsk. This was hundreds of miles away, and Mr. P. was powerless to do anything, and advised the young husband to acquiesce in his fate, and let the wife live with the man she loved; but nothing would satisfy him save a paper with writing upon it. He had seen such effect mighty things; buy (ruble notes) untold wealth, and bring about the arrest of a criminal, and so he would have this magic. [264] His importunity was such that at last Mr. P. gave him a paper, on which he wrote, 'It is not good to take away the wife of another man.' The Gilyak took the paper, in an envelope, and went away; and afterwards on the strength of this paper, the writing of which nobody in taiga could read, he got his wife back again."

9: Hawes--264-265 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 533, 584, 762

"Among the eighty-eight adults who died between 1891 and 1895 on the west coast, [LS S: of Sakhalin] one was a young Gilyak woman who hanged herself, because she had been given in marriage to a man she disliked. Under this strange wild exterior, this dirt-encased, skin-clad, unkempt, ill-favoured form, we are startled by the 'one touch of nature;' and yet the old, old songs of this people tell mostly of such events—of the death of the disappointed lovers, or of the impassioned appeal to the loved one.

Perhaps one day we may hope to have some of these Gilyak lyrics from the pen of Mr. P.; [LSS: Pilsudski] meanwhile, his kindness enables me to give one here, and to tell the story of another.

The usual motif of these lyrics is the betrothal of the girl when young, and her subsequent violent and secret attachment to another and youthful lover. If the mutual passion is strong, then rather than become the wife of one chosen by her parents for her, she and her lover will commit suicide. This they do in the same manner, i. e. by plunging a knife to the heart, or by strangling, since those who thus kill themselves in the same way will be together in heaven. There is one song, well known among the Gilyaks, which tells how a young man loved a fair maiden already betrothed in her childhood to another, and how they agreed to commit suicide. This man, however, proved faithless, and not only did not fulfil his word, but had never intended so to do. Until this day, it is said the maiden's spirit has never ceased to upbraid him, calling always, 'Ah, you said you would kill yourself, and you have not. You deceived me! Men are liars!' [265]

9: Hawes--264-265 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -2
116, 533, 584, 762

And to-day the reproachful tones of the cruelly deceived maiden may be heard in the 'swish of the sledge and the howl of the dogs as the narta starts off'—

'You said you would kill yourself,
And you did not.
You are a deceiver!
Men are liars!' "

9: Hawes--265 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 533, 558, 562, 593

"All Gilyaks, it is said, know the old, old songs, the epics of their race, but with the lyrics it is otherwise, for they are very numerous, and always being added to. These are composed by the maidens of the tribe, who tell them to their girl friends, and they again to the Gilyak world. It may not be known who the authoress is, for that would be considered a want of modesty. Sometimes one may be heard to say, 'There goes an old woman who made songs in her youth;' but it is not 'good form.' Woman's mission is the ménage. The Gilyak's notions of modesty are very strict. After they have passed the age of childhood brothers and sisters are not allowed to speak to one another. If the former attempted it, the latter would turn away in injured modesty."

9: Hawes--265-268 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-4
116, 539

"The song that follows, which I give in the original, with an English translation, reveals the Gilyak maiden in quite another attitude. [LSS: See category 533, pp. 264-265 for the song of a Gilyak girl rejected by her lover] This is no impassioned appeal, but a summary and cruel rejection of her lover. She holds him up to ridicule in her song, picturing him as an owl. She will have none of his addresses, and finishes with the words—

'Do not thou say of me
That thou art sorry for me.'

i. e. admit that thou art unworthy of me, and cease to say thou lovest me. [266]

GILYAK MAIDEN'S SONG.

[LSS: The Gilyak text of this song has not been reproduced for the Files.] [267]

(TRANSLATION.)

The owl bird
Sat on top of a barkless tree
Hooting and trembling
And bending down.

The owl bird raises his head and cries,
For various things he asks;

9: Hawes--265-268 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 539

On the End of Cape Siata he sat
Wrinkled up
And featherless,
From his forehead mud runs down.

Oh unhappy I! I look round myself,
I am sorry for myself,
The owlet
Sat on my knees, (1)

1. She is distressed because, in her mind's eye, she sees him come and sit beside her or on her knees.

Hooting and trembling;
He lifts up
His head (all) white.

In a boat I saw thee,
On a level with the edge,
But the boat was without prow;

A long whip (lay)
Across the bow,
I raised the whip
And cried,
'Owl bird,
Thy face is against the sun, and therefore
Wrinkled
Is thy high forehead.'

I am sorry for myself,
But do not thou say of me
That thou art sorry for me. [268]

The meaning is not everywhere clear, and the temptation to read more into it than was intended is one that has to be resisted. There is no doubt of her withering scorn.

Her disappointed lover is described as featherless (bald), and with mud running down his forehead; and, again, as peevish in his cries for 'various things.'

In the third verse (the divisions are mine) she breaks into her plaint, apparently because his attentions make her miserable, and he persists in sitting down beside her, whereupon she strikes a note of contempt in her epithet of 'owlet,' or fledgeling.

Another picture rises without warning before us in the fourth verse. It is like a child's

story made up on the spur of the moment. She is in a boat, a canoe apparently (without prow), and a whip, a long dog's whip the words imply, lies on the prow. Then she cries, 'Thy face is against the sun, and therefore wrinkled is thy high forehead,' and one is tempted to see in them a warning to the suitor that he looks too high—he, a denizen of the night, aspiring to the sunlight of her countenance. But I think it is more probable that the maiden authoress, having kept up her metaphor so long, has a t length slid off into narrative, and drawn a picture from memory's portfolio."

9: Hawes--268 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 558, 591

"A young man on marrying may make his home with his father; but if he be still in the single state and desire a hut of his own, he must marry, for it is more than infra dig. for him to do domestic work. For a Gilyak to take in his hand the woman's fish-knife (ungu-dzhakho) is considered a disgrace."

9: Hawes--268-269 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 422, 435, 583, 591

"On Sakhalin, when the would-be husband—not the old man who buys a second wife thirteen years old to assist his ageing spouse—but the youth who aspires to set up housekeeping, is in possession of wealth enough to pay the price demanded, he is still confronted by a difficulty if he wishes to have a separate establishment. He may be content to live on in the paternal home, or, if [269] not, he will probably be able to get his friends and comrades to help him build a hut; but this is not enough, a cauldron is required, and this is a very expensive item. He may have to pay in skins the value of forty-five rubles (4 1/2 guineas). I have even heard of them costing sixty rubles. This was the difficulty with our Vanka, who was a capable young man of fifteen, according to his own estimate, but according to our notions about twenty-six or twenty-eight. He was desirous of marrying, and offered to take me and my interpreter during the following summer to the 'end of the world,' with the aid of three of his companions, for the moderate charge of forty rubles apiece. With this sum he would be able to buy a cauldron, and he had already saved sufficient for the purchase of a wife."

9: Hawes--269-270 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 266, 821, 823

"There were legends which seemed to indicate that Cape Maria (or Cape Elizabeth), in the extreme north of the island, was regarded as the 'end of the world.' We heard of 'black men who were cannibals,' (1) but beyond them and their country, Vanka assured

1. What the origin of this report about black men was I do not know, but in the old legends the Gilyak hero is often represented as slaying his opponent and eating him.

us lay our goal. The Gilyak canoe seemed a poor sea-going craft, and the ignorance of the stars shown by the natives stamped them as a land race. On the other hand, they were noted for their [270] excellent orientation in the dark. From Vanka we could get no information about the moon, and so I asked if he knew anything about the man in it. No, his father had told him something about him once, but he had forgotten, and, though he knew he was there, he really couldn't tell if he were a bad man, condemned to live there, or a good man."

9: Hawes--270 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 415, 422, 585

"The cauldron plays an important part, not only in the everyday domestic economy, but at the very threshold of the new joint life—at the marriage ceremony itself. At least, this is so among some of the clans on Sakhalin. No religious function, as we understand it, graces the occasion; only a simple custom, which appears as a traditional sanction to this important departure in the Gilyak's family life.

The payment hav ing been made without formality to the bride's father, a feast is prepared in his hut, to which the bridegroom comes with his friends, bringing a new Japanese cauldron. The marriage feast is then cooked in this new vessel, and eaten with rejoicing, for the eating together is part of the necessary function. This ended, the two cauldrons, the new one and that pertaining to the hut, are both cleaned and placed by the bridegroom's kindred in front of the bride, who, with her partner, is standing with her back turned to the fire, and face to the door of the hut. She then places her left foot in the new vessel and her right in the paternal, or rather maternal, cauldron, the two being placed one step apart. The bridegroom then moves them one by one, a step at a time, until the bride reaches the door. Here the couple take up their own and go to their new hut, amid the acclamations of their kindred."

9: Hawes--270-271 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 372, 462, 562

"We have already seen how sacred the hearth is to the Gilyak, and in the rites adopted at the lying-in-state of a deceased woman, her intimate relation and duty towards Tur ni vookh, the god of fire. [LSS: See category 116, pp. 242ff.] Even as the fire is her rightful domain, so is the cauldron her special care, and [271] hers alone; not even her daughters may interfere in this her private and sacred sphere. She alone has the right of putting on the cauldron; this is her right as hostess. Whatever the putting of the feet into the cauldrons may symbolize, the fact that the bride does it to both the maternal and the new one evidently witnesses for the first time to her equality with her mother, her rightful position as a hausfrau and head of her own domestic establishment. Henceforth her status is also guaranteed among her husband's kindred."

9: Hawes--271 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 291

"The shubi, or fur coats of the men and women, are often alike and taken in mistake by either, but the women prefer seal-skin and the men dog-skin. Probably this is because the former seldom go far from their huts, and it is hot and inconvenient to have a great furry coat on (the hair is worn outside) during domestic duties rather than a light and smooth seal-skin. The woman's hat (hakh-pisakh) is not unlike a sun-bonnet in shape, but has three lappets, two for the ears and one for the coiffure, which is done up prettily with rings in two pigtails. This shape of hat has the advantage of protecting the ears from the cold, and yet being easily removed without catching the earrings and tearing the ears."

9: Hawes--271-272 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 301, 422, 435, 556

"Earrings (meskh) are in general use, and mostly of Japanese and Chinese make. They are large simple rings of silver, of one and a half or more inches in [272] diameter, with an agate or two. These, with the rare silk brocade, sable-skin hats, shubi, and shoes are regarded as family heirlooms. They are bought one after the other with the surplus 'wealth' of the Gilyak family, and represent the capital of the hut. A bundle of paper-money or a heap of silver pieces have little attraction for the native, whereas a sable-skin shuba or a piece of sky-blue silk is a 'thing of beauty and a joy for ever.' Moreover, they are just as useful in the business of exchange; and the native, long used to dealing in the concrete, knows exactly their value, whereas money is unfamiliar; and when he comes in his travels to a Russian store, he has no standard by which to measure the value of his ruble notes."

9: Hawes--272-273 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 534

"The younger wife of our host [LSS: The chief of Nivo] was considered the belle of all the Gilyaks, but I will let the reader judge of her claims to beauty from the accompanying illustration, [LSS: See Visual File] in which she is represented playing a musical instrument. Vanka, who claimed to be a cousin of hers, had brought this forth from the recesses of the hut, and both he and she played upon it. It is now in my possession; but I must confess the music appealed more to the imagination than the ear, for when played with the tongue or even the hand it was with difficulty we could hear it. It consists of one string of fish-gut, strung along a stick and over a cylindrical piece of birch bark; and it goes by the scarcely euphonious name of tin-kirn. Other musical instruments are a little wooden jew's harp called a kos-cha [LSS: Erratum; it should read kanga]; a small bag of fish-skin stretched tightly on to a circular piece of wood like a [273] drumhead, containing bones which are rattled; and the fish-skin tambourine already mentioned."

9: Hawes--273 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 183, 461

"At this village of Nivo, which with Chaivo is the best known on the east coast, we heard much of the 'good old times,' and the latter-day degeneration of the Gilyaks, both in physique and in numbers. Yungkin told how they used to be 'big and strong as giants, but now were small, short, and dry.'

In explanation of this the Russians accuse them of being lazy, and according to our notions there is a good deal in the accusation. A Gilyak may be found sitting by a river teeming with fish; he has made a catch and wants no more, yet before winter is over his stores will have given out. For this state of things habit and tradition are responsible. It would savour of greediness, and perhaps even of distrust of Tol ni vookh, to exceed the usual custom. 'The Great Spirit does not wish us to catch so many' is the reply to the stranger's inquiry. And probably in the olden time such dependence on Providence was not misplaced, when their hunting-grounds and the wild denizens thereof were practically limitless. It is said that twenty years ago a Gilyak would spear, during spawning-time, 300 kita in a day, whereas now he secures but eighty."

9: Hawes--273-274 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 433, 461

"After all, regrettable as it is, the decline of the race must be attributed to contact with the white man. The immediate result of the latter's presence has been the curtailment of the native hunting preserves; and though it is true that the Russians have, outside of their main settlements, made little impression on the taiga, yet the best fishing-grounds, e.g. the river Tim and the west coast, have naturally attracted the white man, and in so far limited the possibilities of the Gilyak fishery. Then the clearings, and especially the fires—in some cases carelessly left to spread destruction—have naturally driven off or destroyed the wild game and restricted it to smaller compass.

[274] Some of their elders told us that 'before the Russians came there were plenty of bears, sables, and reindeer, but since they arrived and burnt the woods the rich had become poor. In those days the poor man could go into the taiga as the rich man to-day' (i.e. with as large a following of helpers and as many snares to collect from)."

9: Hawes--274 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 166, 177, 231, 433

"An example of the way in which the proximity of the Russians incidentally renders the conditions of life harder is seen in the feeding of the Gilyak dogs. These cannot always be allowed their liberty, and the fiercer ones are tied up, lest they should attack the cattle of Russian neighbours—a certain casus belli. Accustomed to feed themselves the dogs have now to be fed, and their master's winter stores naturally give out sooner. To avoid this the natives migrate further afield to less favourable fishing-grounds. (1)

1. Dr. Pogaevsky, in a report on the food of the Gilyak, in the local and official Sakhalin Kalendar, 1899."

"The older Gilyaks say that during their time, and their fathers' before them, but one famine had occurred before the Russians came, about eighty years ago, but since then there have been many repetitions. In the winter and early spring of 1896, and again of 1897, there were successive bad times, and around Rikovsk special assistance had to be given to the natives by the authorities. In 1898, a wet autumn prevented the accumulation of the usual stores of dried fish, and was followed by another very bad winter. The worthy ex-overseer at Derbensk, in whose hut we had stayed, was on duty down the Tim during that year. So terrible was the state of things that he found 'one or more dying in every hut,' and in the hope of stemming the tide of disease following on the ravages of famine, he took upon himself the responsibility of giving away the Crown stores; but in most cases it was already too late, and large numbers died of the grippe. The filthy [275] condition of the huts, and the accumulations of winter, aggravated the effects of the ravages of disease and the exposure to the severities of the climate.

Such a state of things presses hardly on the children, and accounts for the high rate of mortality among them. There being no statistics of the early years of Russian occupation, we can only gather from tradition and the shrinking of villages and from isolated statistics of recent years, the gradual diminution of the Gilyak race on Sakhalin.

The figures already quoted show, for the population of the Gilyak villages lying between Arkovo and Cape Maria on the west coast, the miserable increase of $\frac{10}{43}$ per

cent., or scarcely 1/4 per cent., per annum.

Lung and throat diseases and scurvy accounted for most of the deaths among the older people, but four died from accident, of whom one was frozen, another drowned, one already mentioned hanged herself, and another was beaten to death by her husband."

9: Hawes--275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 164, 278, 757

"Coughs, colds, and pulmonary complanints are very prevalent, and the methods of healing scarcely adequate. For a sore throat, a concoction of moshun-tomash (field camo mile) is swallowed, and for inflammation of the lungs, a diluted exusion from the gungi of trees is drunk in place of tea.

Whether these herbal remedies are dictated by experience and the Gilyak knowledge of medicinal herbs, which is said to be considerable, or is anything more than Shamanistic lore and a series of charms, I cannot say. The treatment adopted for other ailments, such as toothache, swellings, earache, and ulcer, is certainly of the latter kind. For the first they apply some of the down of a hazel-grouse (Tetrao bonasia) to the cheek; for the second and third, the squirrel's tail (olf-rega) and a piece of its ear (tul-noss) are respectively tied to the parts affected; and for the last, gazhu, i. e. a piece of a wasp's nest, is placed on the ulcer."

9: Hawes--276 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 273 Russia
636.27

"Many of the peoples of these northern climes make intoxicating beverages, as for instance the Yakuts, who manufacture a spirit from toadstools. The Gilyaks may be considered an exception. There is, however, a decoction, but little heard of, made by them from the 'burrs' of birch-trees. These exude a black juice so strong that a piece of the wood, of the size of a lump of sugar, is sufficient to make a big cauldron of the beverage. The decoction is sweet to the taste, and has a welcome softening effect on the organs of respiration.

To-day Russian vodka, though prohibited by the Government, is eagerly sought after and frequently obtained."

9: Hawes--277-278 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 461, 556

"From Nivo a start was made with our river crew, Vanka and Armunka, to ascend the Tim. Both had been ostentatiously pleased to welcome us back, but when we came to pack I found Armunka averse from helping. I remonstrated with him for leaving to Vanka all the work, save what little I and my interpreter were doing, but to no effect; so going up to him I took him by the shoulders and shook him. I was really angry, and only refrained from boxing his ears at the request of Vanka, and from doubt of the attitude of the dozen Gilyaks who were looking on. Vanka good naturedly apologized for his companion, explaining that he had been making merry and the effect had not yet worn off. There was, however, more than this in it; and we were considerably amused to learn later that Armunka was, as we should say, of independent means, came of an aristocratic family; and therefore his pride of ancestry at times asserted itself, and he refused to do menial service! It was several days later that we arrived at his home in the village of Irr Kirr, but in vain I looked around for the paternal acres, the vast estates of this Gilyak peer. The hut was [278] comparatively small and rather bare. I must do him justice, however, for there was no doubt of his being a great hunter. During the previous year he had killed three bears and captured two, which had brought him honour, and would gain him wealth."

9: Hawes--278 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 435

"Scarcely had we disembarked when a boat, impelled by four pairs of sculls and a paddle astern, hove in sight. It was a party of Gilyaks from Nivo going up to Derbensk to buy a bear. The purchase-money was not in their purses, indeed had they possessed them it would have been somewhat difficult to get it in, for the price proposed was one dog, a piece of Chinese silk, and some tobacco."

"The autumn migration of birds takes place rather later on Sakhalin than it does on the mainland. Travellers, like Prjevalsky, and observers, such as Mr. Seebohm and Mr. Harvie-Brown, have left us records of the passage of birds in spring and autumn to and from Siberia over the Mongolian sandy wastes. The feathered inhabitants who spend their summer on Sakhalin have no vast waterless plains to traverse, and no long detours in order to keep track, where possible, of river valleys. Their journey is short because they winter for the most part in Japan or China; and simple because the long backbone of Sakhalin is an unfailing guide, and provides them with mountain torrents by the way.

But by this time–the end of September–the bulk of the avifaunal inhabitants had already departed for southern climes. The ducks, the mallard (Anas boschas), the harlequin duck (Clangula histrionica), and the golden eye (C. glaucion); the teals, the garganey teal (Anas querquedula), the Baikal teal (A. querq. formosa), and the crested teal (A. falcota), which are to be shot in Ni Bay and up the Tim, had been almost the last to go, and we sighted a few and shot a mallard three or four days' journey up the river. Gone was the hooper swan (Cygnus musicus), whose cries had sometimes disturbed our rest at night. Among the Gilyaks this feathered friend goes by the [288] onomatopoetic name of kikkik. The bean goose (Anser segetum, Middendorfii), of which we had seen several flocks on our outward journey, had also departed, for he, like the ducks, winters in Japan or China.

Perhaps the earliest departing guest had been the cuckoo (Cuculus canorus), called

by the Gilyaks rik. Having a long journey before him to the Southern hemisphere, we never saw him, and indeed he is rather a rare visitor to Sakhalin. If the cuckoo was the earliest the snow bunting (Plectrophanes nivalis) is about the latest to leave. Between the two limits a variety of smaller birds take their flight southwards, most of which had already set out. The sand martins (Cotile riparia) had gone ere we commenced our journey, the wagtails (Motacilla lugens and taivana) had flown since, and we saw neither the white-rumped swift (Cypselus pacificus) nor the needle-tailed variety (Chaetura caudacuta), which are certainly uncommon on the Tim. The brambling (Fringilla montifringilla), the bullfinch (Pyrrhula rosacea), and many other of the smaller birds had left, including the Japanese lark (Alauda japonica), the Siberian ruby-throated robin (Erithacus calliope), and the whistling robin (E. sibilans). We missed also, on our return, the eastern turtle dove (Turtur orientalis), which the Gilyaks call the tu tut.

A few stragglers such as the Japanese wren (Troglodytes fumigatus), the long-tailed titmouse (Acr edula caudata), the red-throated and the eastern tree pipits (Anthus cervinus and maculatus), and the dusky ouzel (Merula fuscata) linger behind the main bodies.

Comparatively speaking, the forests seemed birdless, and only a very occasional white-tailed eagle (Haliëtus albicillus), staying behind to fish in the upper reaches of the Tim, a solitary owl (Syrnium uralense), or a passing crow (Corvus corone), was seen or heard.

9: Hawes--287-289 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-3
116, 136

Deep in the forest, if one ventured to follow up the tracks of some wild animal, those nomads, rather than [289] migrants, as Mr. Charles Dixon would call them, the grouse family, were still to be found at home. We saw the hazel grouse (Tetrao bonasia), the capercailzie (T. urogallus), but not the willow grouse (Lagopus albus) though it is also found there."

9: Hawes--289-290 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 262

"We scarcely expected to find in seal flesh a great delicacy. The Gilyaks prefer the 'bacon,' but in this case scarcely any of it remained uneaten. We, my interpreter and I, decided that the brain would be the least objectionable part, and hoped to deceive ourselves into imagining that we were eating calves' sweet-breads; but we little knew how near we came to committing a mortal sin. For it was a matter of common knowledge among the Gilyaks that to eat the brain of a seal was indeed a deadly sin. [290]

In addition to any other terrors that the next world might hold for us, to have put salt on a seal's brain, roasted and eaten it, would have resulted in our never killing a seal again."

9: Hawes--291 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 435

"We came to the first Gilyak village since leaving the bay. [LSS: The Bay of Ni] All the men-folk were absent, for it was the end of the Gilyak financial year; and although I did not hear of any accountants being called in or auditors appointed, a strict account of debts and payments was doubtless kept in the Gilyak memory. The current coin was dried fish, and the accumulation of this after spawning-time was now being applied by the men, who had gone up the river, to the payment of debts for rice and seal -oil borrowed, and in exceptional cases for potatoes advanced by the Russians."

9: Hawes--291-292 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 262

"Our natives were very merry, notwithstanding that the seal had been incontinently disposed of, and dried fish and seal-oil was the one course on their menu. To this, for breakfast on the following morning, were added the seeds of the Swiss pine (Pinus cembra pumila). A Gilyak youth of the party disappeared into the taiga, and quickly re-appeared with a lapful of the cones, from which they picked the seeds like monkeys, with teeth and [292] fingers."

9: Hawes--293-294 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 782

"Vanka gave way to his joy of triumph, and declared that our salvation from a watery grave [LSS: They had entered a dangerous inlet to avoid escaped convicts on the river] and our success in the race was due to Tol ni vookh and to the efficacy of his offering; for at our last halt he had sprinkled a little tobacco on the ashes of our fire, whereas the other crew had not. The Gilyak, like a child, trusts blindly in a beneficent result from his offering, and surely his prayer—his only prayer, Kiskh ni much, God give (made sitting on his heels facing his offering)—is not unanswered. He begins to be more hopeful, jolly and patient, and what more than this is needed in hunting? Try to cause a Gilyak to disbelieve in the [294] efficacy of his offering, and he will recite to you scores of names of those who were lazy and omitted to perform the usual rites in hunting, and were unsuccessful. To quote the words of one of them, 'Once I ran away from a bear. That happened because I forgot to give an offering to the god. The god sent fear into my heart—and the skin of a bear is worth ten or fifteen rubles. I was too frightened to turn back and spear the beast as I had done many a time before. I was afraid because I knew that the god had sent him on purpose to remind me of my insult to him. Oh how frightful it was. No, the offering is very good. You are light-hearted and have no fear!' "

9: Hawes--296-297 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 224

"The autumn is not, of course, the season for bear-hunting, since Bruin has only his poor summer-coat on, which is of small value as fur. Early spring is the best time, though hunger or venturous hunters may rouse him from his torpor in mid-winter. When he comes forth from his cave, half awake, and driven by the smoke of a fire kindled in front, or by the sticks and stones of the hunters, one of the surrounding circle of Gilyaks lets fly an arrow at him, or the whole party attempt to drive him down a favourite track, where is placed a yu-ru (an automatic bow and arrow). As his foot touches the cord the iron-pointed arrow is released and pierces his side. With a snarl of pain he turns on his pursuers, who scatter in all directions, some climbing trees. One, however, is too late, and the bear is upon him, and has him already in his deadly embrace. The unfortunate victim's companions approach and try to attract the beast's attention. They worry him with sticks and stones, and when he drops the unfortunate man, one of them stands unflinchingly waiting the onslaught of the infuriated animal. It seems madness to stand thus, for he makes no attempt to thrust at Bruin with his spear; but it would be useless to do so, for he knows too well that the bear is a master at the art of parrying. He holds his spear apparently quite harmlessly, for the shaft rests on the ground behind him, and the point on a level with his chest is hidden beneath his tunic. It is a terribly anxious moment. How can the man escape? The raging beast is now flinging himself [297] upon him. All hope is gone. But no. What has happened? The bear is wounded and the man is safe, for as the animal hurled himself at the hunter,

the latter, in the twinkling of an eye, stepped back a pace without moving the spear, and the great beast impaled himself upon it. The animal is still very dangerous; but his movements are impeded by the spear. On the shaft is a crescent-shaped piece of iron, for such is Bruin's cunning that he is said sometimes to push the spear further through his body so that it may not hinder him in his angry pursuit of the hunters. His efforts now grow weaker from loss of blood, and finally he sinks down dead.

The real bear-hunting season is rather later. As soon as the snow begins to thaw, and the tiny streams are let loose in the high valleys, the chief inhabitant of the forest emerges from his winter's sleep and seeks food, going backwards and forwards among the mountains. This is the opportunity of the native hunters. The Gilyaks discover his favourite routes, and set their yu-ru. An unsuspecting beast trips over the cord, which lets fly the arrow automatically, and wounds, but does not kill him. Nevertheless, he leaves his bloody tracks, and the hunters, following these up, worry him until, exhausted, he falls a prey to an archer or the owner of an old shot-gun. The carcass is then drawn on a sledge to their village, and after two or three days a feast is held. During the winter such a lucky find is a welcome addition to their menu, to say nothing of the prospective value of the skin."

9: Hawes--298 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224

"About the same time of the year is set the kas-ma, or fox-trap, and this is particularly interesting from its extraordinary simplicity. The Gilyak takes a stick with a fork in it, and cuts it very carefully to the required length. In the fork of this piece he ties a piece of flesh, wrapped in a rag to prevent the birds eating it. Master Reynard, coming along, suddenly feels the pangs of hunger especially poignant as his eyes fall on the meat. How good it smells! Cautiously approaching, and raising himself hesitatingly on his hind-legs, he sniffs, and tries in vain to reach the bait with his mouth. It is too high. He then tries with his paw, but the meat is firmly tied. Fairly roused now, he tries again and again until, with a great effort, he 'o'er reaches himself,' and lands his paw in the fork of the stick and cannot withdraw it. There he stands, helpless, with his paw up, until the Gilyak comes to examine his traps."

9: Hawes--298-299 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 224

"All these traps and snares of the Gilyaks are of use in calm weather, especially at the beginning and end of winter, when the snow-covering is yet thin, but with the arrival of storms, snares and tracks are covered up. The native has [299] learnt to know Nature in all her moods, and, recognizing the approach of a gale, gathers up his traps before they shall be lost, vowing in his heart that even the storms shall yield their prey.

The sky is already wrapped in swaddling clothes of snow. The north wind blows, and sweeps through the forest with howls; blast after blast succeeds, and clouds of driven snow whirl by. The buran is upon him, and he knows it will endure for a long time with its bitter cold. A group of reindeer is huddled together on the borders of the forest. They are standing with their heads to the ground, for even they are cold to the bone. Blinded by the snow, their keen sight and power of smell having failed them in this weather, they have forgotten all caution, yet stand shivering and trembling in fear of bear or man. But what is happening? There is a slight stir. They have seen some dark objects, and in a momentary lull of the storm have fled helter-skelter into the forest. Their hoofs sink deep into the snow, and, distracted by fear, their antlers do not clear the trees with the unerring dexterity of calmer moments. Dark figures, in shaggy skins, glide like lightning after them. For long have they tracked this herd on skis, and waited just this opportunity of the buran to catch them. Each hunter has a knife in his hand. To shoot in this weather, and while running, is impossible, but a good knife will not betray him.

9: Hawes--298-299 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 224

Suddenly a whitish-grey great buck is caught. Absalomwise, in a tree, and struggles in vain to free himself. Like a bird the wild man is up with it, and, catching it by the antlers, stabs it under the shoulder. With a gasp the animal falls, and the hunter, quickly stripping off the skin, sits quietly down and begins to feast. He was born, and has his home, in the buran."

9: Hawes--300-301 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 423, 578, 627, 721

"Of the possession of land in our sense of the word the Gilyaks have no conception. The nearest approach to it was a prescriptive right, sanctioned by immemorial custom, to place snares along certain creeks. The right of all to roam over the land in hunting was freely recognized; but they would have resented the placing of snares in chosen creeks and backwaters by the Tungus and Orochons, although, rather than provoke hostilities, they would have simply gone elsewhere. As among themselves, the division of the creeks and tracks for snaring had been made in olden [301] times; and the customary boundaries sanctioned by time are seldom transgressed. The abundance of game, coupled with the prowess of the pioneers, yielded little cause for quarrel, and spots were simply annexed according to the number of snares which the owner of the hut possessed. Here and there a dispute arose, and was settled by reference to the klenu, the elders in council, or by duels. In the latter case the disputants fought with a weapon like a hedge-bill, with a straight blade; but as they were always surrounded by a goodly concourse, the combatants were parted when either became exhausted, and the duel was not allowed to have a fatal ending."

9: Hawes--302 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 201, 576

"We halted at Vanka's native village, Kherivo, where his mother came down to greet him. There was apparently no outward sign of affection between them, but the race is undemonstrative, and as I have already said, does not salute."

9: Hawes--306 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 483, 527

"He [LSS: Vanka, the author's Gilyak boatman] was in high spirits, for two or three days since there had been a bear-hunt by his friends of Ado Tim, in which a dam and two cubs had fallen to their prowess. One old Gilyak described to me how the hunt had gone. Starting out with the dogs, they had come up with the ch'uff and cubs in the forest, and the dogs immediately began to worry the cubs, biting at their hind-legs until the mother bear called to them to 'take care,' and run up a tree. This they did, but, meanwhile, the dam was shot. An experienced hunter then proceeded to follow the cubs with a seal-hide noose in his hand. With this he lassoed them, and, descending, forced them to climb down by degrees. The carcase of the dead animal was then placed upon a sledge drawn by the dogs, and the orphaned cubs were led, pushed, and dragged to the village. Hence on the morrow there was to be a great holiday fête, and Gilyaks from all around were coming in to celebrate it."

9: Hawes--309-310 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 563

"[LSS: Traveling from Ado Tim to Slavo] Once or twice we passed a clearing, or rather a poor attempt at a clearing, where stood a settlement of a few log-huts and some rough meadow-land, almost in a virgin state. One of them contained only six inhabitants, all men. The huts were about twelve by eighteen feet in size, the log walls letting in the cold through the crevices; and the miserable roofs of loose pieces of bark, with a hole for chimney, offering poor protection against the rain. Inside one would find a table, some boxes for a bed, and a home-made stove; the whole faintly lighted by a small paper-mended window. It was a mystery how these poor people managed to live, and indeed it was from such places that the gangs of brodyagi were recruited. A few grew potatoes, and in the larger settlements a 'wealthy' settler will own some cows or two or three ponies. Potatoes had to be bartered for flour, tea, and rice; and for fish to be salted against the winter. Some, even by much scraping, were unable to compass this, and, having borrowed in the first place seed-potatoes or corn, etc., from the Crown, sank, in company with the lazy or hopeless, deeper and deeper into debt. In the villages that are large enough to have a store, the shopkeeper is generally the rich man and the [310] money-lender. There is then nobody to prevent him refusing to supply goods, if he has some petty spite to avenge, or compelling the 'peasant' to give twice the usual quantity of potatoes in exchange for flour, rice, or salt.

The poor 'exile-settler' is also at the mercy of any official who may choose to

9: Hawes--309-310 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 563

tyrannize over him, and unfortunately for those in the Alexandrovsk okrug, the smotritel poselenie, or Chief of the exile department, was a man of very bad repute."

9: Hawes--314 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 631 Russia
636.63

"Rikovsk, our destination, is the cnetre of administration of the Timovsk okrug, one of the three districts into which the island is divided. The most prominent buildings are the fine wooden church, built by the convicts, a large prison, and the house of the chief. This official ranks as the third or fourth man on the island, being responsible, like his brother officers of the Alexandrovsk and Korsakovsk okrugi, to the Governor only."

9: Hawes--335-336 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 563

"In picturing Alexandrovsk, the reader must not think of it as a town with busy shops and factories. The chief feature, around which the whole place centres, is the prison. If there are three or four merchants' stores, and an iron foundry, these are for the prisoners; if there are well-to-do-looking wooden houses, the residences of the officials, they exist because of the prisoners, and last, if there is a museum containing a small ethnological and natural history collection, that is a sign of the presence of political exiles. The Siberian traveller cannot be long ignorant of the debt science owes to these banished ones. On the mainland at Minusinsk and at Chita every one knows how much has been due to Mr. Kuznetsov, and what worthy memorials he has raised in these two excellent collections. To one of this class, who, thanks to the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences is now no longer exiled from Europe, is practically due the museum at Alexandrovsk; . . . . . [336]. . . . . .

In addition to the buildings mentioned, there is the church in the main street, and overlooking the market-place, or bazar, where an ill-assorted collection of huts is huddled together, are the Muhammadan mosque and the little Lutheran church. Beyond the bridge the road to the jetty is bordered by long store-houses, guarded by patrols, and close to the pristan, facing the sea, are quarantine and bonded sheds, and the lazaret, where the maimed and the halt, who can still work, do a little to earn their rations. Outside of these, the chief buildings, is the great body of small cottages or huts where the ex-convicts, and in some cases married convicts, live."

"There is another class of prisoners besides the soldier-gang and the overseer-gang, the so-called 'free-commands,' or ticket-of-leave men, many of whom—men and women—may be seen going to the prison to get their quota of work every morning. On my way to the post [LSS: At Alexandrovsk] I often passed groups of these, the women in short skirts and great top felt boots, long frieze khalati (overcoats), with the diamond-shaped tell-tale patch of yellow cloth let in the back. These were convicts who had become the 'wives' of 'exile-settlers;' the others, retained by the officials nominally for cleaning the prison, were kept in the building, where they could be seen through the bars of the window to the right of the main entrance to the prison offices.

The law provides that any criminal with a sentence of not less than two years and eight months; any woman, not exceeding forty years of age, with a sentence of two years or over; and any political exile, at the discretion of the Government, may be deported to Sakhalin. The ukaz of 1900, in reference to exiles, has generally been thought to have put an immediate stop to their deportation; [338] but exiles with a sentence of hard labour are not contemplated in the proclamation, therefore it is that criminal and political exiles continue to arrive on Sakhalin. The ukaz may be considered rather to register the desire of the penal authorities; to indicate the line they wish to take, while reserving to themselves the right of dealing with special cases in their own way, and realizing their scheme in their own time.

Criminals on their arrival are classified according to their sentence. Those with a

sentence of twelve years and upwards are put into the worst gaol, the 'testing' prison. These are mostly murderers, and, if they have proved themselves recalcitrant, their chains are not struck off after the journey, but they are confined to that portion of it called the kandalnaya turma (chained prison).

The 'reformatory' prison contains those with a term of four to twelve years, while those with less than four years are treated, after a short sojourn, as 'free-commands.' This latter division includes brodyagi from Russia, who are sentenced to one and a half years, and the same class from Siberia, who get four years' hard labour.

Promotion is from the 'testing' to the 'reformatory' gaol, and from there to the 'free-command' division, the length of time spent in each depending upon the behaviour of the prisoner. Under the most favourable conditions a man may pass only four years in the 'testing' prison, whereas another may be confined for eight, or even more. As a whole, one may say, that a third of the term is spent in each section.

Strictly speaking, 'free-command,' according to Russian terminology, includes all in the 'reformatory' gaol, as well as those outside, but I have adopted this distinction as clearer.

The arrival of the free-born wife of a convict will gain even a murderer release from prison, and he may [339] forthwith live as a 'free-command;' but, of course, having his full term of hard labour to fulfil. On the part of the female criminal a similar alleviation comes from marriage—or, rather, her choice by an exile. This will free her from the

prison walls, and she may live, as we have seen, with her 'man' on condition that her hard labour duty is done.

On the other hand, many incur additional sentences by escape, theft, and deeds of violence. A prisoner who escapes and is recaptured, not only receives a flogging with the plet, but may get an addition of anything from a quarter to the whole of his original sentence. In the year 1900 the prisoners on Sakhalin sentenced to hard labour for life numbered 510, of whom 70 were women; but there were those who, Irish as it may seem, had more than a life sentence. These were already well advanced in life, and had yet to undergo a term of between 40 and 50 years. There were 13 such, while 51, of whom one was a woman, had sentences between 30 and 40 years, and 240 had between 20 and 30 years to their credit.

The expiration of a sentence does not bring with it the long-hoped-for farewell to Sakhalin, for the ex-convict regains his rights only by degrees. For six years more he must remain on the island as an 'exile-settler;' and then, if he is in a position—which so few are—to get away, he may go as a 'peasant' to the mainland of Siberia for another six years. Then only is he at liberty to return to Russia."

9: Hawes--341-342 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 563

"Compared with the criminal population the number of political exiles on Sakhalin is insignificant. According to the census of January 1, 1898, out of a total of seven thousand and eighty engaged in hard labour they numbered seventy-six. Their fate is bad enough, though not so terrible as that of their friends in such a place as Sredni Kolimsk, within the Arctic Circle. The greatest hardship [342] that awaits them on Sakhalin is the exile from their homeland, and the banishment from anything like educated society."

9: Hawes--401 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 133, 563

"The morning after my departure saw the Tsitsikar standing in for De Castries Bay. It is a well-sheltered harbour, with a depth at entrance of fifty feet, diminishing to thirty feet off Observatory Island, a bold islet so named by La Pérouse, because his officers set up their instruments on it, after a long interval, to determine their exact position. To the south of this is a small islet called Oyster Island, and to the north-east is Basalt Island. Near the southern head stands up on the promontory of Kloster Kamp a fine lighthouse, then about to be deserted by the pilots with the cessation of navigation. On the north-western shore of the bay, at the mouth of the river Somon, is Alexandrovsk post, consisting of a telegraph-office, with the houses of the Chief and his assistants, and a tiny church and barracks for the small company of soldiers stationed there. To the north and south stretch forests, uninhabited save by a few roaming Oroktis. Around the bay the hills rise to a height of 1100 and even to 1540 feet, thickly clothed with trees, save where the tell-tale brown slopes witnessed to fires carelessly lighted by the Russians. It is a lonely spot at any time, and especially in winter. Cut off by ice from all navigation, it is only accessible to the post by dog-sledges from the river Amur, which is itself served by relays of horse-sledges from distant parts. Only in one respect was it at that time better off than Alexandrovsk; the telegraph-wire connecting it with Vladivostok was intact. In this secluded spot the Chinese Eastern Railway and Steam Shipping Company had just stationed an agent."

10: Coxwell--41-42 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 774, 782, 825

"Among the Gilyaks, all natural objects have a life of their own; and sacrifice must be made to the 'owners', if violence has been done. Animals are, in reality, human beings, and the bear is superior to man in both mind and body. Sacrifices are offered to the 'owners' of the forest, the mountains, the sea, and fire. (6) The Gilyak carries

6. Czaplicka, quoting Sternberg, p. 271.

with him certain leaves and roots [42] intended for a sacrifice, and, moved by a similar purpose, he makes the dog a victim. Periodical offerings are made to the bear and to the spirits of clansmen who have been killed by bears. (1)

1. Idem., p. 272."

10: Coxwell--119 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 105

"GILYAK POINT is on the coast of Asia, opposite the island of Sakhalien. The Gilyaks, a hybrid folk of chiefly Mongolian characteristics, inhabit the delta of the Amur and the northern part of Sakhalien. These primitive people, who live by hunting and fishing, number about five thousand persons. Their summer clothing is made of cleverly prepared salmon-skins, and they exist almost entirely on fish. Some include them with the Chukchis and the 'Palaeo-Asiatics,' but Sternberg places them as a people apart. He states that among the Western Gilyaks, a man terms as his wives all his brothers' wives, but he may not marry his sister. (1)

1. The Turano-Ganowaian System and the Natives of N. E. Asia, p. 324 and 328.

The Gilyak is far more savage than the Tungus, and is described as false, thievish and vindictive. The betrothed is purchased by her father-in-law in her fourth or fifth year and brought up with her future husband. A dead man's soul takes refuge in his favourite dog, and the latter is sacrificed near the master's body, which is burnt or suspended in a coffin on a tree or placed on a platform. Fire is held in the greatest respect by the Gilyak. (2)

2. Reclus, VI, p. 439."

10: Coxwell--119-120 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 776

"The Gilyaks believe that each element: earth, mountain, forest, water—whether sea or river—sky and fire, has its own special inhabitants, who are called according to their place of habitation; thus, the Gilyak speaks of an 'Under Earth-man,' a 'Forest-man,' a 'Mountain-man,' a 'Sea-man,' a 'Sky-man.' These beings resemble Gilyaks in manner of life and outward appearance, but possess special powers; for instance, they can assume the shape of any wild beast, or of a tree, or stone. Wild beasts, such as the bears which belong to the mountain-man, serve him as domestic animals. Many of these creatures have a care for the well-being of the Gilyak; thus, they will send him fish or wild animals, or rescue him from misfortunes. But a few, such as the Sky-men, on account of their life at a distance, are indifferent to the Gilyak's fate. Besides these benevolent or indifferent creatures, there is, in every element, a race of beings (of Gilyak form) which strive [120] to harm the Gilyak. They are called 'Melk,' a term which for want of a better word, may be rendered, 'devil.' Thus, there are mountain devils, sea devils, etc. These creatures frequently waylay the Gilyak and seek to injure his health or to destroy his life."

10: Coxwell--120 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 761, 776

"Death is always the result of the machinations of a devil, which, taking up its abode in the Gilyak's body, slowly devours him. But sometimes devils seize people and, holding them forcibly, enter into disagreeable relations with them, or force them to work for the devil's advantage."

10: Coxwell--120 [2] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 158, 787, 828

"Among the Gilyak's, many persons are liable to convulsive attacks, which are followed by a fainting period, during which the sick person reveals to those around him particulars of devils, heavenly beings or sea creatures. The patient believes firmly in all he has seen.(1)

1. L. Y. Sternberg, Tale I, Note. 29."

10: Coxwell--120 [3] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539

"Gilyak stories not included here, are: 'The Woman who Married a Fox,' 'The Woman who Married a Seal,' 'The Gilyak who Married a Mountain-Woman', 'The Mountain-Man who Married a Gilyak Woman.' Clearly, the Gilyaks are in the early stage when men look on animals as little below themselves, and on Nature as animated."

10: Coxwell--120-121 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539

"THE GILYAK WHO MATED WITH A TIGRESS(2)

2. From the Russian of L. Y. Sternberg, Materials for Study of the Gilyak Language and Folk-lore, No. 23.

Two brothers had a sister. The younger brother killed a bear and brought it home and partook of its flesh, and gave to other people; he then went in his boat across the water to a neighbouring promontory, and there deposited the rest of the carcase. Later, bringing nothing, he returned home alone. Afterwards his sister sang, like a woman possessed of a devil, these words, 'She is beloved by my younger brother; he intends to take a tigress as his wife! Next summer, having set out for the coast of Saghalien, he will collect various dogs and kill them; he will take all sorts of fish-skins and make a sacrificial dish; he will visit his bride, and we shall smoke tobacco together!' Then the sister lost consciousness, but revived.[121]

The following summer the party went to the coast of Saghalien; they took all sorts of dogs and many fish-skins; they killed all sorts of dogs, and made a sacrificial dish. Then the younger brother went to the mountain and took his wife, and they lived. It is told."

10: Coxwell--121 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539

"THE GILYAK WHO OFFENDED THE FIRE LORD(1)

1. L. Y. Sternberg, No. 38.

Five men went into the forest to set snares. They erected tents, prepared food, made sacrificial offerings and arranged snares. But the chief hunter of sables was unfortunate, for the animals often got the better of him. He grew angry and collected all his snares. In the evening, he prepared food and, seizing an axe, placed it beside him; he fed the fire with a single cup and said, 'If the lord is present, let him eat!' Next, lifting his axe, he broke up the hearth, and all the party lay down to sleep.

In the night, the head of the party dreamed that a man said to him, 'Remain here and set snares!' So when his companions departed to their homes, this hunter stayed alone in his tent. A strange man appeared and said, 'Come with me to my house; I am commanded to make you a present.' They went away together and entered a house in which were many sables. A man with a bandaged wound upon his face was sitting there and he gave the visitor twenty sables and said, 'If you come upon a Gilyak who has broken up the hearth at the beginning of a sable-hunt, say to him, "Provide yourself, next year, with a bow and with arrows and a spear, and walk about; if I am stronger, I will kill you; if you are stronger, you will kill me," when you meet such a man, tell him that!' In the summer this Gilyak perished during a hunting expedition."

10: Coxwell--121-124 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak--1-4
116, 539

"THE BRAVE GILYAK AND THE GRATEFUL TIGER (2)

2. L. Y. Sternberg, p. 201.

A father and his two sons went together on a sable hunt. They reached their tent, cut firewood, sacrificed to the Sea and the Mountain, obtained water, entered the tent and made an [122] offering to the Fire. When they had eaten, a great tiger came and filled up the entrance. They were terrified, but, after awhile, the father fell asleep and dreamed that he approached the tiger, and said, 'Have you come because you have no tinder? Speak! Have you come because you have no flint? Speak! Perhaps you require various valuable things? I may not have them, but, if I go to my village, I will get them for you. Maybe, you require dogs of another breed?' The tiger answered, 'I do not require anything of you, but your son has been boasting. If he is the stronger, let him kill me; if I am the stronger, I will kill him. Tell him of my command! and go home with your younger son.'

Afterwards, the old man got up and said, 'Son, here is my order. Are you listening? Do not boast! I told you before, but you did not obey.' Then he turned to his younger son and said, 'My boy, we will both go back; roll up your bedding.' The elder son said, 'Father, why are you going without me? Oh, wait for me. Will you not forgive me?' The

father and the younger son tied up their beds, and the father, turning to the tiger, said, 'Step away and let us pass.' Thereupon the tiger moved aside and the two Gilyaks went away.

The tiger returned and occupied the entrance. Then the Gilyak, attired only in his shirt and with his sleeves turned up, holding a little Chinese axe, approached his enemy. After the Gilyak had struck with his axe, the tiger gave way. Then the lad, with a mighty effort, jumped into a larch tree. The tiger sprang after him, bit the heel of the lad's boot, tore it away and fell down into a fork of the tree, where he was likely to die. The Gilyak let himself down, seized the tiger by the back of the neck, and, with much effort, drew him away, so that the animal could depart.

The lad descended, took his spear, fetched water, cut wood and cooked some food. He finished eating, and the tiger came and looked. The Gilyak raised his bow and got ready to discharge an arrow; then the tiger retreated, but appeared again. The lad finished eating and threw himself on the tiger's back; when they had gone some distance, they came to a clear place. There on a height stood a large hut, before which hung several tiger skins. The tiger approached and crouched down. The Gilyak stood up; as for the tiger, he shook himself, threw off his skin and, in a second, became a man. Having lifted his [123] tiger-skin and hung it on a pole, he said, 'Friend, let us enter the hut!

In the middle of the floor sat a very old man and woman and, before them, a young girl. The man said, 'Dear father and mother, out of gratitude to my friend, I have brought him in order to give him my sister; that is why he is here.' The old man replied to his son, 'Send for your younger brother and explain to him.' They ate fish and otter's flesh and bear's meat. When the sun set, people appeared behind the hut and chattered and laughed. It seemed to the Gilyak that eight people entered the hut. The man who had been a tiger turned to them and said, 'Younger Brother, I have brought my friend, out of gratitude, in order to give him our sister.' The younger man replied, 'If you wish to give her, I am willing.' Then our Gilyak said, 'To-morrow, I will return to my village.'

The next day six men, heavily laden, bore furs to the village. The following summer, the Gilyaks went to Manchuria, loaded three boats with the furs, and visited the Manchurian Governor. The wife of the Manchurian Governor said, 'Gilyak, did you marry the tigress woman?' 'Yes,' was the reply. 'I send this pipe and this kerchief to your wife.' The Gilyak received the gifts and returned to his village.

In the autumn, when the elder son was about to go hunting, the younger wished to accompany him. But the elder scolded him and forced him to remain. The younger allowed the elder to depart, and then followed in his footsteps. After going a long way

and reaching a tent, he, the younger son, went into the forest, hewed wood, obtained water, then entered the tent and kindled a fire. Just at sunset the noise of a tiger's movements was heard. The elder brother said to the younger, 'These are my father-in-law's people, I am taking a wife from them. Do not fear them.' The tiger man's friends appeared behind the tent and talked; whereupon our Gilyak went out to them and said, 'Friends, will you not smoke tobacco?' The visitors laughed and talked, and entered and, taking places, sat down. Afterwards, one of them noticed the foot of the younger brother, who sat in a far corner so as not to frighten them; they were alarmed. Our Gilyak said, 'There is no reason to be alarmed; this is my younger brother.' The tiger-man's party ate and slept soundly, rose the next day and departed, and the Gilyak went with them. After they had gone far, they reached the tiger's hut. They entered and found [124] the wife was there. 'Friends,' the Gilyak said, 'I shall go home to-morrow.' The following day, taking his wife, he returned to his village and they lived."

10: Coxwell--124-125 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak--1-3
116, 539

" A TALE OF A BEAR (1)

1. L. Y. Sternberg, No. 24.

Two women were dwelling together in a storehouse. Whenever they caught fish or seals, they were well off; they lived comfortably. One day they would sit at home and the next day do something; they had abundance. Once they set out together for berries. After collecting a quantity, they returned to their storehouse and went upstairs. But, entering a passage, they heard a noise within. The younger said, 'What was that noise I heard, sister?' The elder replied, ' I do not know! I do not understand it. ' The young sister remarked, ' I am afraid, and will not enter on any account, ' but the other replied, 'Never mind, let us go in! The younger agreed. 'Yes, let us go in!' They entered together and looked at the middle seat; all the meat had been cooked, and put on the dish and set on the seat. They sat, each in her own place. 'Sister, ' said the younger, 'what is this? I do not understand. ' The other answered, ' I do not know; but I shall eat it. ' Helping herself, the elder sister ate, and said to the other, 'Eat!' The younger replied, ' I do not wish to eat; I am afraid. ' The elder remarked, 'Now that I have eaten I shall sleep. ' They both slept.

In the night the elder sister began to converse with someone, and the younger sister rose and looked. There was a light round about! The younger sister was frightened, and could not sleep, but the other conversed continually. The younger sister, at last, fell asleep, and heard nothing more; then she awoke and rose; it was already dawn, and had become light. She looked for her sister, who was not to be seen! Becoming anxious, she jumped up and dressed herself; then, running down, she went out and sought the mooring rope and the boat. One of the boats had gone, the other remained. Reaching it and pushing off, she began to row; when she landed she found the footprints of her elder sister, and looked; there were foot-[125]prints of a bear alone, of her sister alone, and next of a bear and her sister near one another. The bear and the elder sister had climbed a mountain together.

The younger sister ascended the mountain in their tracks; she ran uphill, and crept along after them. A hut stood alone, and the girl entered. Her elder sister's head lay in the middle of the plank bed. The younger sister said, 'So, you have been lovemaking? Not bad!' The elder sister's head answered, 'I thought it would be well.' The reply came, 'I told you, I told you how I feared those food delicacies! Why did you not obey me? You took and ate. Why did you not obey me?' The elder sister's head wept. The younger woman took her sister's head and beat it on all sides. A bear issued from a corner and opened its jaws.

Our woman ran off and, shutting the door, spat and pasted up the whole of it. The bear approached and attacked the door with its teeth; but the door was of iron, and he broke all his teeth. Our woman rushed back, and, arriving at the village, entered her hut; then she passed into the passage. Her elder sister was inside asleep. The younger sister cried, 'When did you arrive?' The elder sister replied, ' A bear took me, and carried me away; he ate all my body; only my head remained. You took my head and beat it on every side. I arose from the dead; somehow I came back and have here awaited you.' The younger sister said, 'The bear will no longer come to us now; you will die.' "

10: Coxwell--125-126 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak--1-2
116, 539

"SON-OF-THE-MOTHER-OF-WATER (1)

1. L. Y. Sternberg, No. 39.

A certain Gilyak, who lived alone, took as his wife a fish from the sea. She was called Mother-of-Water. A boy was born to them, who, when he grew up, used to carry with him a sable, by aid of which, in the spring time, he frequently killed bears; he cleft their skulls.

Once the old Gilyak set out upon the river's surface to get frozen fish. A man, who sat and ate frozen fish, said to him, 'Come with me to my village.' They departed together. When they entered the hut a big man was lying on the boards, [126] with his head toward the entrance, and half of his head bound up. This man said, 'Tell Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water that I send him this message: in the spring of next year, during the movement of the herrings, I will come down from the mountains; let him arm himself with a spear and await my coming!' The old man went and delivered the message to Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water, and, in consequence, Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water frequently sharpened his sable's claws.

Next year, in the spring, the man with the bandaged head came down to the sea, at a time when a whale was lying on the seashore. The man with the bandaged head became an enormous bear. Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water arrived and jumped back as the bear

hurled itself upon him, but when the young man sought to defend himself with the sable, it proved useless as a weapon. The bear and the man fought; the bear rose above the man, but died; Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water went down in the water and perished."

10: Coxwell--126-127 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak --1-3
116, 539

"THE MOUNTAIN-DEVIL IN THE FORM OF A TIGER (1)

1. L. Y. Sternberg, No. 35.

A party of three, consisting of a father, his son and sister's son, went to set snares. Having pitched their tent on a mountain, they sacrificed to Fire, to the Mountain and to the Sea; then they cut some wood, got water, and entered the tent. But a tiger approached and took up his position before the tent's entrance. The father said to himself, in his sleep, 'Has someone come because he possesses no steel? or because he has no flint? or because he has no tinder? Has he come because he needs dogs? or because he wishes for valuables?' The answer sounded, 'I have come for your sister's son!' The old man said, 'Please, do not touch him!' After a time, the old man's son woke, but did not see the tiger, and the sister's son woke but did not see the tiger; they both went out, and the tiger bit one of them so that his blood flowed. The other ran back and cried, 'Father, a tiger has killed our boy; get up!' The father got up. 'My son,' said he, 'go home; your mother and younger brother may lose their lives.' The son replied, 'No, father, it is for you to go; if I tell the news, they [127] will not believe me!' 'My son, go!' 'Father, let us go together!'

Each took a spear; the son had a gun and the father had his bow and arrows and they

started. They saw the tiger eating the youth. The tiger sprang upon the father, but the son ran up and gave a thrust with his spear, and the father thrust with his spear; together they killed the tiger. Father and son approached the boy's body and removed his plait of hair, his buttons and his shirt. They stripped off the tiger's skin and placed his body and that of his prey upon a scaffold, for preservation from wild beasts, and returned to the tent. They cut down wood and lit a fire, then got water and hung up the kettle and boiled some water. Suddenly the dogs barked twice. 'Father, pour water on the fire and let us run away!' They went out, and the son said, 'Father, jump into the water! There is a devil!' 'Where did the noise come from?' replied the old man. 'I heard twice some barking, but it was an illusion, there is nobody about.' 'Father, let us descend to the shore!' They entered the tent, broke up firewood, placed it on the hearth, kindled a fire and went away. After a noise of stamping and trampling, a tiger came up, but father and son aimed their spears at him and he disappeared.

The pair went home and the father called out, 'Old woman, collect the neighbours, a tiger has killed the boy! We are going in a dog-sleigh to fetch the body.' However, it was late and father and son went to sleep. Next day they returned to the mountain and, approaching the tiger, raised him up, and set him on the sleigh and carried him almost to their home. 'Old woman, prepare a sacrificial dish for the people; and son, go off

10: Coxwell--126-127 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak-3
116, 539

with the dogs!' The son went in the dog-sleigh and brought home the boy's body. They took it from the shore, where the village was standing, and bore it some distance up a mountain; there they killed dogs, and sacrificed to the mountain; then they buried the body and returned home and lived, but remained incensed against the mountain-devil."

10: Coxwell--128 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 224, 539, 688

"THE GILYAK WHO MATED WITH A TIGRESS

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 120-121.]

Sternberg says that after every successful bear hunt, a religious ceremony must be performed; part of the meat being eaten and part carried to the relatives on the mother's side. In our story, the hero carries away meat to the forest; such an act being a great crime punishable by the gods. The Gilyak was induced to behave thus by something extraordinary, namely his love for the tigress, a creature more powerful than any bear; and he married her. The largeness of the sacrifice in the story corresponds to the importance of the tigress."

10: Coxwell--128 [2] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 372, 539, 776

"THE GILYAK WHO OFFENDED THE FIRE LORD

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, p. 121.]

The Lord of Fire is considered by the Gilyaks to be an intermediary between man and all the deities; and the hunter who sacrifices to fire considers that he thereby propitiates the Lord of the Forest, and secures success in the chase. In the Gilyak story, 'The Mountain-devil in the form of a Tiger,' a party of hunters sacrifices to fire. In the Yakut tale, 'Al-Iot: the Spirit of Fire,' a spoonful of all food is thrown to the Fire. Among the Yukaghirs, a definite form of words is employed before a fire when a new net is dedicated."

10: Coxwell--128[3] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 776, 825

"THE BRAVE GILYAK AND THE GRATEFUL TIGER

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 121-124.]

The story of Androcles and the Lion will occur to the reader. It is observable that in the East transmutation is into the larger animal forms, thus here is a tiger-man and, in a Kalmuck tale, a demon appears as a buffalo, as opposed to the transmutation into a wolf of a Russian tale and into a yellow dog of a Mordvin tale. But the man has not been transformed into a tiger by a curse, as in Western werewolf stories; on the contrary, the general Gilyak belief that there are special beings in the mountains and forest who, having the appearance of Gilyaks, can assume the shape of wild beasts, seems here shadowed forth. The absence of ceremony is noticeable when the Gilyak marries the tiger-man's sister."

10: Coxwell--128-129 / B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 839

" A TALE OF A BEAR

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp.124-125.]

This story of mating with a bear is one of several stories mentioned in the Note to the Kalmuck story, 'The Birdcage [129] Husband.' But in the present tale we have no mere allusion to the subject; on the contrary, as in 'The Gilyak who Mated with a Tigress,' the tale actually deals with a wooing, and the life of the characters concerned.

The majority of stories of men or women mating with animals were probably, even in the first place, amusing fiction and did not arise from abnormality and depravity of savages or barbarous races. Similarly, considerations of totem ancestry, while interesting from the standpoint of man's early evolution, seem too remote to have played an important part in origination of the mass of folk-tales, even of the most ancient, such as the Egyptian, Indian or Kalmuck. This is not to deny the possibility of such causes, but to lay stress on the greater influence of a story-telling faculty which has used striking ideas and situations in order to divert childish persons or to arrest the attention of dull minds. To the primeval hunter it doubtless appeared that the hunted are not very different from himself, for they lived in the same environment, and were influenced by similar considerations. He developed, but an inherited tendency to look on animals as his fellows persisted after notions of totem ancestry had vanished."

10: Coxwell--130 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 825

"SON-OF-THE-MOTHER-OF-WATER

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 125-126]

Sternberg remarks that the son of the Gilyak and of the Woman-Fish grew up and defeated many bears. The Lord of the Bears, being much offended because Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water fought with the aid of a sable, instead of with the traditional spear, challenged him to a duel, and both perished. As an instrument of the chase, a sable would be useless except for self-defence. Only a man of unusual physical strength would, thus armed, risk a contest with a bear. But the hero of a certain legend so fights and, at the last moment of the contest, stifles the bear in his embraces."

10: Coxwell--130 [2] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 224, 539, 782

"THE MOUNTAIN-DEVIL IN THE FORM OF A TIGER

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 126-127]

It is noticeable that the hunting party, on setting out, sacrificed not only to the fire, but to the mountain and the sea. Later, the sacrifice of dogs to the mountain shows a real relief in the power of the mountain spirit. In the Ostyak tale, 'Aspen-leaf,' the hero, in the middle of a perilous adventure, bends his neck in worship of spirits. The Yukaghirs sacrifice a reindeer at marriage; also deer to a river. The Tcheremisses sacrifice a foal, an ox or a cow to their gods, Keremet and Sheert.

The Eskimo have a tale of a mountain spirit that dug up the body of a man, who had pretended to be dead in order to see what the mountain spirit would do. The mountain spirit carried the man to its home and the man soon opened his eyes and killed his captor, also the latter's children. The dead mountain spirit's wife pursued the man, but he escaped by telling hills to rise up and a stream to flow between himself and his pursuer. (3)

3. Rasmussen and Worster, p. 84."

13: Seeland E-5 (no date) 1882 RX2 Gilyak RX2

The Gilyaks: an Ethnographic Sketch
/Die Ghiliaken: eine ethnographische Skizze/

by Nicolas Seeland

St. Petersburg: 1882
Russische Revue, Band 21
pp. 97-130, 222-254

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115 [97] Since little has been published about the Gilyak up to the
121 present time, I took advantage of my visit of several years duration in the Amur country to study this small tribe somewhat more in detail. All races are of interest, not only in themselves, but because they furnish material for advanced scholarship. If the professional ethnologist should find something in this sketch which can be used for the purpose of such comparative study, it would give me great pleasure.

The material I present here is based largely on my own experiences and investigations, but in part it is based on notes which I gathered from those Russians who had frequently come in contact with the Gilyak. I was always careful to question several people about each subject, for the sake of greater accuracy. The statements, moreover, usually coincided. (1)

1. For my reports about the Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin, with whom I had little personal contact, I am largely indebted to a physician who lived there: Dr. A. Lebedev.

101 I. Geographical Distribution and Population.
131 The tribe of Gilyaks (2) which belongs to the Mongolian
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2. The word is usually written "Giliak" but because the "g" is hard in pronunciation, I added the "h". [RCH: The author througout spells the word Ghiliakin.]

race lives partly on the island of Sakhalin, partly on the continent, in the coastal region of East Siberia, that is, on the lower Amur and on the sea coast around the mouth of this river, as well as on the De Kastri bay and the Kaiser bay. On the latter, the Gilyak are found only sparsely and more temporarily. On the island of Sakhalin they occupy the northern half, especially the Tym river valley, and the east and west coasts. In the summer they occupy one or another place, according to where fishing [98] is best; but in winter they always go back to their villages.

On the lower Amur the true Gilyak are to be found only as far as the village of Bogorodskoye, 150 versts up-stream from the city of Nikolayevsk. From Bogorodskoye up to the Amur tributary of Gorin, that is, from about 51 degrees north latitude, there lives a people that may be considered a cross between the Gilyak and the Goldi They call

101 themselves "Mangun" (1), sometimes also "Chedé". The
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1. "Uni" means "river" in the language of the Goldi. The name "Amur" seems to have derived from the Goldian designation for water: mu.

former means "river people"; the latter, "the lower ones" The Russians regard them simply as Gilyak and know no other name. Beyond the Gorin, the Goldi begin to appear, but they are also found scattered among the Mangun-Gilyak. The latter differ from the Goldi in certain external characteristics and customs, and from the true Gilyak in their burial ceremonies and in their language which is nothing more than the somewhat modified language of the Goldi. Among these Mangun are to be found, here and there, some nomadic Orochon and Tungus or Sofiysk-Gilyak , as they are usually called in those parts (from the town of Sofiyskoye on the Amur).

On the river Amgun which flows into the Amur from the left side at the so-called Tyr, about 80 versts above Nikolayevsk live the so-called Negidal who are considered a mixed race of Gilyak and Tungus. They speak Tungus, and in their way of living rather resemble the Gilayk who do not, however, recognize them as kin.

The following is the picture: 1) The full-blooded Gilyak live on the island of Sakhalin (northern half), on the continental coast, and on the Amur as far as Bogorodskoye; but they fall into two sub-groups of which the island Gilyak differ from the continental ones only slightly in language and in the way in which they build their dwellings. 2) The second group are the Mangun who are probably a mixture between Gilyak and Goldi and who have little more than their language in common with the Goldi. 3) The third group of Negidal is no longer very closely related to the Gilyak and will therefore not be considered in this essay.

174 We do not know how long the Gilyak have occupied their present habitations [99], but we surmise that they came to the mainland from Sakhalin.

The Goldi consider themselves the original inhabitants of the Amur country, but among the Gilyak it is frequently assumed that they formerly all lived on the island of Sakhalin. And, as a matter of fact, if the opposite were the case, the Sakhalin-Gilyak would probably have brought along with them the more complete type of dwelling which is common on the

174 mainland among Goldi as well as Manchurians. It is more likely that the first Gilyak who emigrated to the mainland from Sakhalin, took over the building methods as well as the language from the Goldi, and that the later ones who remained in closer contact with their native country, adopted the building methods of the Goldi and Manchurians but kept their own language.

The Russians became acquainted with the Gilyak as early as the middle of the 17th century when the first bold Russian pioneers traveled along the Amur. At that time there were also supposed to have been occasional bloody animosities. The Gilyak themselves, however, no longer know anything about this, unless perhaps there are accounts in rare legends which may be known by only a few. The majority know nothing of their own history and I was not even able to ascertain whether there was not someone still living among them who might tell me something of their antiquity.

161 The population of the Gilyak can be only approximately de-
177 termined, because, up to the present time, these people do not even pay yasak, and thus there can be no official methods set up to observe the shifts in their population. According to the estimates of the ispravniks (officials) the number of Gilyak of the Nikolayevsk district (1) and the

1. From the coast up-stream to Mariinskoye (270 versts from Nikolayevsk).

De Kastri and Kaiser bays amounts to about 4000, that of the Sofiyskoye district (2), 1000. As for Sakhalin, it has no

2. From Mariinskoye up to the Gorin.

ispravniks, but instead I asked the traveling fur dealers whose business, when all is said and done, would give them a greater interest in this question than the ispravniks would have. According to their opinion, there may be about 3000
161 Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin. The entire race of Gilyak
621 (exclusive of the Negidal) may thus comprise some 8000 souls. I believe the figure is not too large for, although the Gilyak villages are small and present a diminutive appearance, they are [100] relatively densely populated. One may assume that one house shelters no less than 12-15 persons. From a rough calculation which I made in the year 1880, there were about 900 persons in nine villages extending from the coast to the village of Vaida (30 versts above

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.
161 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
177 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p. 249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

133 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
312 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) sea-going vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

133 they do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream
312 is torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not have an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

133 The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from
361 both sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low islands. The general character of the land is that of a majestic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear partly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland they are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are generally not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region is covered with vast dark green forests. Only here and there the stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by the sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, isolated spots along the shore there are Russian villages surrounded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, at the foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak villages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. Occasionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark
136 or Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless heron is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish splashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges only to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the large animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the traveler as he might have expected and as is the case in other regions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the Ussuri.

136 The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir
137 and larch; occasionally the pungent odor of <u>ledum palustre</u> is wafted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

136 the rustling of leaves, the cracking of branches, the murmur
137 of brooks, or the sound of falling rocks. Only [102] now and then are to be heard the twittering of a song-bird, the croaking of a raven or the hooting of an owl; in the early part of the summer that cosmopolite, the cuckoo, makes its call resound far and near. It is not often that one has an opportunity to hear the branches lying on the ground snap under the heavy step of the bear. Now and then the graceful burunduk (tammias striatus) slips out of the thicket and pauses inquisitively to gaze at man. The taiga (primeval forest) is beautiful and majestic, but at the same time wild and desolate. It is not easy to blaze a trail through such a forest. Quite apart from the tortures one suffers in damp places during the warm season from countless swarms of mosquitoes, the forest floor and the untouched vegetation present an almost insurmountable chaos. One minute one must squeeze through trees and shrubbery, the next, one must work one's way through a thicket of enormous wild roses, ferns or umbel-bearing plants, or make one's way around the roots of a fallen tree, that are almost as high as a house; or one sinks into swampy ground, or stumbles over the many stones that have been brought down by the spring freshets. The world of grasses, flowers, and berries of the forest offers a welcome change, for in spots one also encounters oases of lush grass or comes upon a pink, red or yellow carpet of flowers, such as the fire weed (epilobium), valerian, red and yellow lilies, chrysanthemums [chrysanthemum vulgare], among others, or thick patches of raspberries, cranberries, blueberries, etc.

132 It is especially the six-month-long winter, full of frost and snow, which gives the country its rugged character. In the first half of November (1) the mighty river ceases its roaring

1. According to the new style.

and wraps itself in a cloak of ice.

By means of the almost sudden and tumultuous adhesion of ice floes, the ice surface is studded with huge needles, planks, and mounds. This is the so-called toros; where it is large one is obliged to level the road for the winter season with the help of axes and crowbars. However, this toros remains bare within a certain distance of the sea, that is, where there is already less snow; between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyeskoye (300 versts) it causes difficulty only when there are no large snow storms [103]. Usually, however, as soon as the first

132 purga (snow-storm) blows up everything is so completely buried that only those trees can be seen which, at the beginning of winter when the post roads are being laid, are pounded into the ice at regular intervals. Then everything is buried under an enormously thick covering of snow which lies immovable for half a year. During this time the forests are accessible to man only with the help of snow-shoes and dog sleds. Through the stillness of this white solitude the unlovely but energetic voice of the raven is heard; or the stillness is broken by the rapid ringing of a Russian post bell or by the "takh", "takh" which is the Gilyak's signal to his dogs. The raging purgas which last for several days are followed by weeks of cloudless skies when during the day everything lies in a dazzling white glow, and at night the icy heavens are resplendent with bright stars.

The sea coast of the Gilyak country is very picturesque, but hardly charming. From the foam of the breakers up to the peaks of the mountains everything is covered with dark forests, and even the picture of the summer landscape is often clouded with rain and fog which are almost continuous throughout the warmer season. (1) And during the other half

1. The cold arctic current travels past this coast and condenses with the moisture-laden southeast winds.

of the year everything is rigid with snow and ice, so that in winter one can travel with dogs from the mainland to Sakhalin.

This is the general picture of the native land of the Gilyak. There remains for us to add a few details, insofar as these have been ascertained.

135 With respect to geology, it may be said that argillite
312 seems to occur more extensively, but many igneous minerals also appear. Thus the shores of the De Kastri bay consist of trachyte and basalt. Limestone occurs only seldom, which accounts for the softness of the water. The mountains are rich in metals -at least in various localities gold, iron, and lead were found, and it is well known that on the island of Sakhalin there are large coal beds.

137 The flora is varied and abundant. The conifers are represented by the fir and the larch, but the pine is absent. Of deciduous trees [104] there are oaks, maple, alder, birch, aspen, elm, among others. There are many berries, especially cranberries, raspberries, and rubus chamae morus.

137 Among medicinal plants are to be noted especially the cheremsha (Allium victoriale) which has an anti-scorbutic effect; valeriana officinalis; several varieties of artemesia (except absinthium); menyonthes trifoliata; Achillea millefolium; cannabis sativa; sedum palustre; taraxacum officinale; tilia cordeta; querus mongolica, etc.

136 The animal kingdom is varied and numerous. Fish, especially the salmon species, that is, salmo longocephalus (kita) and salmo gibbosus (gorbusha) are important for the Gilyak's existence. Besides, there are sturgeon, carp, pike, etc. Along the coasts are to be found codfish, flounder, white fish, etc. Of water animals the dolphin (1) as well as

1. It goes 150 versts up the Amur.

the seal are important There are many whales (2) in the

2. In the book entitled Sibirien und das Amurland by Albert Kohn and K. Andree (1876) we read that the whale even swims around in the lower Amur. This is definitely not true.

Sea of Okhotsk, but they are not hunted by the Gilyak; only occasionally if one of these monsters is cast ashore, it is used

Of land mammals we must mention especially: sable, squirrel, red fox, reindeer, elk, and bear. The wolf is seldom seen, hardly oftener than the Bengal tiger. The latter does not actually live above the 50th parallel, but sometimes it extends its excursions farther northward, that is, into the Gilyak country. Thus it was supposed to have been seen on the De Kastri Bay and even at the Tyr, but it definitely occurs at De Kastri Bay.

Among birds, the partridge and the hazel grouse the wild goose and wild duck are of importance to the Gilyak.

132 The climate. With the proximity of the ocean, we should expect to find a mild sea climate, but actually this is not the case, as may have been gathered from our general description. Winter is more severe than in continental Europe between corresponding degrees of latitude (51-54) and the contrast between the seasons is very abrupt. The thermometer does not always fall to -40 degrees Reaumur, but temperatures of -20 to -25 occur very often. The summers are not hot. The distribution of atmospheric humidity is very

132 peculiar. [105] In Europe and in continental Siberia the relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter, but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga, it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases again so considerably that the winter air may in general be said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and tobacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs, but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer, however, there are many rainy days.

162 The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the
164 army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connection.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

141 In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men who are more often tall. The women are considerably shorter and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of 12 men whom I actually measured was 162. 2 centimeters, and that of eight women was 150. 4 centimeters. These people had, of course, been picked at random.

142 The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively
516 broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands
732 and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs) as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

142 posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not
516 to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and de-
732 formities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

ward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

142 Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is
302 serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

142 Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies,
304 also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

526 As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall
516 below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

526 they masters. It is very strange that among these people
516 who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

151 I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

142 The characteristics here described apply also to the
171 Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

281 In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a
291 linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

291 In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket consists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons. The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various necessary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc. Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are fastened with a little band at the wrist.

294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.

291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets [109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows. In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

251 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
262 stroganina.

food of the dogs.

231 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
252 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
262 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. When ever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus, old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.

262 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course, corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animals is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.

They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
262 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
272 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
515 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

> 1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened!

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
342
354

> 2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

333 windows have fish skin stretched over them instead of glass
342 panes. The simple, low door has leather straps instead of
354 hinges. There is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross bars on which lie or from which hang various implements, among other things a kettle which reaches to the front opening of the hearth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, consists of pressed clay; the larger houses have two of them. The smoke passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping boards, leads out through the side wall and ends in a high wooden chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and Manchurians have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom cleaned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the benches from below is a very practical arrangement. Even so, it is often very cold in the houses, especially when it is below freezing and there is a wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper opening of the stove and besides that, as we have said, a smaller kettle or cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests just in front of the front opening of the stove, right next to the floor. The logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit properly and burn outside the opening of the stove, which frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.
231 The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the
352 hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish, cloths, etc.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows, and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special
354 occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primi-
373 tive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp, or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.
513 In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

513 heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse military cloth.

182 The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged.
342 They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a box-like open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

314 A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder
342 parts of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go
484 off on longer excursions move into the airy storage hut. This
592 consists of boards, and stands on poles in order to protect it from rats. [115] On their expeditions the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped, and softened in hot steam. They also make baskets, small dishes, etc. of this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one family; usually several of them live together, sometimes as many as eight or nine.

501 VII. Transportation Methods, Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regular one is usually made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, about six to seven meters and has no keel. The steering end is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Lengthwise it consists of three planks, one of which is the floor, the others, the two sides. The floor board projects out at the prow, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small cross-boards; the projecting floor board softens the impact in landing and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss which on the inside is covered with thin wooden strips and fastened down. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a small bar fastened to the edge of the boat for each oar, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on low,narrow cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised and a sail is set. The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth. These boats go very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe made of birch bark; inside, the frame is supported by a double row of lashing of the same material, which runs criss-cross. Usually only one person sits in this canoe and rows with a double oar, both right and left.

502 In general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has taught them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a storm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, they are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes them to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel overturns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed in straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since most of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes it happens not infrequently that someone perishes.

231 During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occa-
492 sionally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. Winter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of medium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short stump of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in general resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to six years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. It cannot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in driving they often become so and try to attack everything that comes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak usually turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they will not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that wander around the Russian villages have particularly good reasons to be afraid of these hunters.

493 The dog equipage usually has the following appearance:the
516 sled (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1. In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as narta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

narrow, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a knob to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak straddles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; he braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the sticks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the right direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap and two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are slung around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a loop at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog harnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are more like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, and a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have also modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

493 of long strips like the Gilyak's, but of boards and is enclosed
516 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the rider can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on to a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other. [117]

231 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are also
492 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur (driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if they are to turn right or left the point of the corresponding stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "takh", "takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy", slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals and their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of a dog sled is very difficult work.

484 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, or
492 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of fish and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which has a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on the journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to a sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled against each other, until the raging storm subsides. However, at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of escape is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. Such cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and on the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal of the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this seemed utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best lead-dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with the

484 sled is 70-80 rubles.

492 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is the fact that he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely-packed snow as the horse, and in general is much more agile, so that a dog-sled finds its way without a road where horses sink in up to their chests and cannot move from the spot. Moreover, one can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus visit uninhabited regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and about 30 pood of baggage. However, this applies more to Russian teams, for the Russians feed their animals better (1) and their dogs pull

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In drying the salmon, they divide it into three parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.

481 As is well known, snow shoes are used for walking on the loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very far. The Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch wood about two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered with seal-skin, the hair of which is turned in such a way as to prevent the shoes from slipping back.

226 VII. Trades and Occupations

286 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indispensable tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, etc.

Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting, etc., are caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thread or hemp fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the frost for a time,

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. The spindle is like that used by the Russians. The long, lower end of the shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set into motion and at the same time one end of two long strands is tossed over the head of the spinner, while the other end is pressed against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up. The net is braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are the duties of the women, but sometimes the men also condescend to do them.

226 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught with a fishing rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along the coast haddock is also plentiful that there is a special kind of hook used for it. The end of the line is studded with a number of hooks which face in all directions; in winter such a line

226 without any kind of bait on it is lowered into a crack or a hole drilled into the ice and is as a rule immediately pulled up with one or more fish attached to it. [119]

Sturgeon are caught with hooks. Large iron hooks are fastened to pieces of either wood or cork by means of a rope which in turn is held in place by heavy stones deep in the water, that is, not much above the bottom. The sturgeon which goes down deep is, curiously enough, attracted by the moving pieces of wood, he "plays" with them, as the natives say, and thus gets caught by one or another hook. In winter this fish is also caught in strong nets, for at this time it is supposed to be weaker.

The greatest activity occurs at the time of the salmon run. The results of it influences the lives of these people for the rest of the year, therefore whole swarms of Gilyak are to be found on the Amur. The fish are caught by means of enclosures (1): near the shore a row of posts are driven into the

1. Called sayesdka by the Russian fishermen.

river bed; in general the enclosure has this shape ⊓, the open side of it is turned toward the mouth of the river from which the fish comes. The fish bumps against the wall, turns sideways, and is caught in the bag which is lowered from the boat on the inner sides of the enclosure. At the height of the salmon run there are such masses of fish that the bags are filled almost as soon as they are lowered. The fish weighs 8 to 12 or even 20 pounds and costs three to five Kopeck.

226 The women also take part in this catch. There is no partic-
423 ular organization in the matter of assigning the fishing places but care is taken that every head of a family fishes where his father and grandfather did before him; this place in the river is then practically his property.

225 Dolphins are harpooned, but this is considered a difficult
411 hunt. The animal is cautious and does not let the hunter come very near; and should this happen, the wounded animal can easily upset the boat. The harpoon consists of a long hook which has points and barbs at one end and at the other, a rope about 15 fathoms long with a blown-up bladder fastened to it. As is the case in whale fishing, the bladder must show the place where the wounded dolphin went under. When the animal reappears, he is given the finishing blow with harpoons or lances. [120]

225 The seal (1) is caught in several ways. On the island of
411

1. On the Amur it is found only way down at the mouth.

Sakhalin a lance about two to two and one-half fathoms long which is thicker at its lower end is laid into a wooden trough; on the thick end of the lance a 20-30 fathom long strap is fastened. In spring when the ice breaks up, the seal climbs onto land and the Gilyak pursues it, often at the risk of his life, on a boat or over floating ice fields. As soon as he is near enough to it he places the trough which somewhat represents the barrel of a gun, with the lance inside it on the ground, aims and throws the lance while holding the end of the strap with his left hand, so that the animal cannot get too far away.

225 Another method which is practiced, for instance, in the village of Charbakh, below Nikolayevsk-na-Amure is done in the following way: near a place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom of the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunter conceals himself. The seal, all unsuspecting, climbs on a stone in order to sun himself and is hit by the lance which is attached to the boat by a long strap.

Finally the seal, when he is sunning himself on a rock, is sometimes killed by means of an endlessly long lance, the lower end of which lies on the shore.

The sea lion frequently is found on the coast of Sakhalin and it is the simplest thing in the world to kill it. The animal is stupid and at the same time inquisitive and lets the hunter come so near that he can beat it to death with a club.

224 The otter is frequently seen on the rivers of the country
225 and its pelt is very much prized. It is shot, sometimes even killed with sticks. Cross-bows are also sometimes set up for it, as for the sable.

224 Of land mammals the bear, the elk, the reindeer, the fox,
554 the musk deer and particularly the sable are hunted.

The bravest men conduct a hand-to-hand fight with the bear and thrust their lance into his breast when he stands up on his hind legs. The scars which a man carries away from such a battle bring him great honor and songs of praise. Most of the men do not attempt this single combat and go after the animal in pairs, and [121] armed with rifles; sometimes the bow and arrow are also used; in any case, it is a dangerous hunt.

224 For the bear festival (see below) live young animals are
527 sought and are raised in a special enclosure. If they cannot be caught in any other way (1), they are sought out together

1. Sometimes young bears roam about so far from their mamas that they can be easily caught.

with the mother bears. The Gilyak wait for winter and then seek out a bear cave. On the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set out for the cave with lances, hatchets, straps, and several empty dog sleds. They begin to irritate the bear by thrusting long sticks into the cave. Whereupon bruin begins to roar tremendously and starts to leave his cave. At this instant the bravest and strongest of the Gilyak takes his stand close to the entrance with his pelt coat on backwards, and as soon as the bear appears he hurls himself with his chest against the bear's head. The others hurl themselves on their leader and thus the alarmed bear is felled by the combined impact and is soon bound. If he is strong and raging so that he cannot be handled, he is immediately killed. Sometimes a noose is also put around his neck as soon as he appears. If the prisoner was a female with cubs, they are all taken home in sleds.

136 The elk is not found in the lower Amur region, that is, in
224 the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, but is seen somewhat farther up at the Amgun river. It is usually hunted in winter because, like the horse, it can travel only with difficulty in the deep snow, and the Gilyak on his snow shoes can easily overtake it and kill it with his lance. In summer time the animal is killed with rifles. Its meat is very popular and its skin is used for shoes, straps, etc.

The reindeer is also hunted chiefly in winter in the same manner. Occasionally the lance is also thrust at some distance from the target.

The wild boar does not occur on Sakhalin and the lower Amur; however, it appears 40-50 versts above Nikolayevsk. It is hunted with lances and with rifles. Its meat is very popular, its skin, among other things, is used for the shaman drums.[122]

224 The fox is preferably poisoned with the vomic nut which
278 the Gilyak buy from the Chinese. But this poison is not very
439 strong; much faster, in fact almost instantaneous, is the effect of its alkoloid, i.e., strychnine, which Russian fox hunters use but which the Gilyak seldom get hold of. But

224 even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of
278 all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution;
439 furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

224 Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or a snare is set up in a certain calculated manner. For, the sable, when it wants to cross a small stream never fails to use a log that has fallen across it, if he can find one. Now, such logs are purposely prepared for him, and snares as well.

With the first snow fall he is pursued by dogs and killed with buck shot; the pelt is thus little damaged, for two or three grains of shot suffice to kill the animal.

A method commonly used and one that can be applied all winter long, consists of setting up cross-bows, the mechanism of which is cunningly devised. The shaft stands on a stake; behind the arrow there is a sort of cock made of a knee-shaped piece of wood; on the latter is a trigger from which a long thread leads diagonally forward and down and is fastened somewhere on the ground. As soon as the sable in passing touches the thread, the shot is fired.

136 The tiger is known to the Gilyak and they have a word for
224 it in their language, but it is not hunted, because it occurs
825 only rarely in the Gilyak country, and not at all on Sakhalin, and because they regard it as something more than a wild animal. This fear has probably [123] been passed on to them by the Manchurians and the Goldi. The tiger of the Amur-Ussuri country is of the mightiest and most powerful of its kind, as well as extremely cunning; but for humans, especially for Europeans, it is not nearly as dangerous as it is in India, because it finds more food. (1) Only when man

1. During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

136 remember only two instances when
224 Europeans were assaulted by it
825 without having been the attackers.
The one case occurred in the year 1878 in broad daylight on the ice near a post station. A post servant was gored by the tiger. The skull of this animal which was itself killed the next day now belongs to me. It measures seven and one-half vershok (33 centimeters), the upper canines are as long as a finger.

himself takes the offensive, does the monster lose his instinctive fear of him, and then suddenly shows all its terrible natural qualities, to which belong an amazing toughness. Even with five or six rifle balls inside it, it still takes enormous leaps, and even in its death throes it can still overcome a man. The bullets bounce off its skull, and one is supposed to aim at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart finishes it off. Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dangerous that bear hunting may be considered child's play in comparison, and the peasants and Cossacks decide on it in dire necessity when the tiger breaks into their stables and cannot be got in any other way. In that case 15-20 men with bayonets on their rifles and in closed ranks descend on the place where the animal was scented. But the regular method of capture is poisoning with strychnin or the setting up of rifles which go off when the tiger approaches the bait. The corpse of an animal that was killed by the tiger himself usually serves as bait, for the tiger has the laudable habit of returning the day after his assault.

The wolf exists on the lower Amur, but rarely shows itself and does no harm. It is seldom shot.

223 Birds, especially ducks and geese, partridges and hazel grouse are now usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set for partridges on flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel grouse are lured in spring with whistles, in winter they are openly hunted in spruce thickets. The Gilyak who live in the surrounding country are the chief purveyors of wild game for Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

462 We mentioned above the other occupations and embryonic handicraft and trades. Specialization [124] consists in not much more than a division of labor between men and women. The man hunts, does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

462 takes trips on various business matters,and so forth; he
also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets
and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.
286 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
326 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
463 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive
manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man
and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their
existence, although not in the same degree. For instance,
with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a
knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few,
finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp
(to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as
for example lances with silver decorations.

372 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making.
The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing
flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder,
flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they
should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive
peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which
is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of
wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a
string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands
and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is
produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

411 The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except
his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife con-
sists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and
half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn
on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and
arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have
obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale
bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like
best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i. e.,
the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125]
small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched
bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use
it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The
string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires
some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The
arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is
somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

411 instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped
piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
325 shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
411 arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
439 hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
531 small board and is usually decorated on the outside with
various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the
belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

178 Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples
411 are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are
422 very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely
439 fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China
and at present have no practical value because no one thinks
of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

58 Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried, and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides, there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons, dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300 rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the bridegroom last a rather long time, -a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening sex
582 impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20 years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men; partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity,
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually settles with the husband for the payment of kalym. It happens now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of kalym, which is

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slantwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

855 and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished
524 with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

674 [222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

152 First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs. etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

592 The quiet way in which several families live in one house,
578 or more accurately, in one room, already points to
888 peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

758 Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than
763 it is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly
735 become poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are paid for relatives. Likewise people who have become incapable of work because of illness are assured support by relatives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly nursed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person is subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the house into the open and is left there at any time of the year, until he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a dead person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a person dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, the sick person who is subjected to these measures is usually already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-bearing women are removed from the house for similar reasons.

752 In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak
766 to say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two
609 exceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak on the point of drowning could not count on help from his people, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with fatalistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is needed above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks take care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of a bear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who is killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried together with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at the same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and scraps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I questioned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] that they always helped them as much as they could and they showed me several people who had been rescued because help had been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case of a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his fate, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom of two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes mutual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, but nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism does not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where superstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also strangers in time of distress as much as they can. They repeatedly saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were often wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

577 As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among them-
426 selves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating
609 usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money from
186 a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in assuming from this that the Gilyak have two different moral standards, which would contradict our previous statements. The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take his money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take the liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that for this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently they are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would be the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants often played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on his shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's
577 ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that,
609 having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak
177 nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasants of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in general more honest than our sort, especially those who live in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest; on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

577 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
609 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
177 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had be-
fore that behaved properly. The causes for that may be
found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated
individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain
extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. How-
ever, this fact has in recent times been badly misused
and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have
pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to
put themselves in the place of strangers as well as
fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one
must remember that, where strangers are concerned,
moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of
pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever
make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that
tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed,
vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is
177 face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
682 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
627 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le
Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by
way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was
robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But
this case was and has remained an exception. The
village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants;
at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or
eight men took part in the crime, of which none is
living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are
caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives
of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge;
now, however, they usually file complaints with the
Russian administration. [226]

548 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
837 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
684 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself
be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself
is not too much offended, provided only that there
are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity
have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not
taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself
completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

623 usually concern abductions of women or major transgres-
681 sions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of the idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

578 Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
411 conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the kaur, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the iron point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the stick. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry- which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

563 A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
177 fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called broydagi (i.e., loafers) are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief deportation center for non-political criminals, these brodyagi also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their native villages and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest to entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they hold up to themselves is-not to be recognized in case of arrest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor, but only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

563 hopes, merely from an ungovernable yen for liberty and
177 diversion, although they know they will be only too easily recognized and will only earn a more severe punishment.
563 The hardships and dangers which these unfortunate ones
609 must sometimes endure, especially in winter, are hair-
177 raising and some of the stories which they tell as though they were nothing unusual, sound like epics. A large number of them perish. One of the dangers which they must guard against in the Amur country and the Transbaykal is persecution at the hands of the natives, in which activity particularly those kinsmen of the Huns, the wild Buryats on Lake Baykal, distinguish themselves. To them, a brodyaga is as good as wild game, they aim at him wherever they meet him, and take whatever they find on the dead man. They do this with all assurance for they know that the deed will not be investigated. In recent times this bestial custom has also crept in among the Goldi and the Gilyak. The brodyagi themselves gave the impetus to these animosities. Most of them are perfectly docile, peaceable human beings who are glad if [229] they are left alone, and are therefore little feared by the Russians themselves; they are given a night's lodging, a hunk of bread, and no one thinks of notifying an official. Now among these "unfortunate ones" (1)

1. This is what they are called by the Siberians, some of whom are themselves descendants of exiles and have had experiences of their own which corroborate the words of Staël "tout savoir c'est tout pardonner".

there are sometimes real villains who cannot conceal their wolf-like nature. Furthermore, among deportees there are not infrequently to be found people who are simply pathological, suffering from homicidal mania, who belong anywhere but in a penal colony. Such ugly customers make trouble when they escape. There have been cases where entire Gilyak families were murdered even by those who were hospitably received by the natives. As a result, it is easy to imagine that the Gilyak also began playing a different tune. After such precedents, greed and rapacity may now and then also have arisen in the soul of the savage, even though such a refugee would not have been carrying much. Thus the brodyagi now avoid the native villages, and if they are forced to pass near-by, they go in bands and take

563 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
609 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
177 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

181 XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

671 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

556 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
595 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

735 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
438 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
556 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
261 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the
563 part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is
512 only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board.
464 Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-
426 na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to
567 earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.
428 The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's
587 property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help
428 she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father
583 whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

428 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
583 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are married off. If after the death of the parents only one daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry, the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by going against the wishes of his wife.

428 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general one can draw the following conclusions from what has been said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives; b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, provided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit and have their own property, but in general they are not left as much; however, they have the right to be supported; e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they become joint owners of the estate along with their children.

565 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
551 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
177 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also have family names (which are handed down by the males); many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not, are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one, and by this name they are known even among their fellow-tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually intelligent lads and understand Russian.

567 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
554 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
576 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment. Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit, both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

151 XIV Amusements and Festivities. Burial Ceremonies.

Among such peoples physical pleasures, naturally, take a most important place, and foremost among the e are the joys of eating and smoking. They are not very sensitive to odors, for fish, smoke, and seal blubber to them have an indifferent, or even an agreeable odor. But they abhor the odor of decay, and conversely, they like a nice fragrance. Whenever I experimentally held a bottle of eau-de-cologne up to their noses, they always made a pretty face.

822 Among colors, the Gilyak prefer red and blue, but they definitely do not belong to those peoples who go in for bright colors. For instance, many of them could acquire a red shirt or caftan instead of the dirty-blue ones, but it would never occur to them to do this. The colored borders and curlicues on the caps and petticoats of the women suffice; otherwise clothes, houses, weapons, and tools are dark-colored. A black dog pelt as a coat is, as I have said, regarded as particularly beautiful.

534 The Gilyak love music. If neighboring Russian peasants strum their balalaikas or play the accordian, the natives who are present like to listen. Their own music is very primitive. It consists of a sort of jew's harp which looks somewhat like a longish horseshoe. The broad end of the instrument is grasped with one hand, the narrow end is placed on the lips, the tongue of the player is placed forward somewhat, while one finger of the other hand alternately pulls and releases the little hook connected with the tongue of the instrument. The tongue vibrates and a low buzzing tone results, which can be modified by the tongue of the player. Not everybody knows how to play on this "harmonica".

Other quite embryonic music, or rather, clinking noise, is produced as follows: a thin dry tree trunk is suspended parallel to the ground by ropes, and on this they beat rhythmically with a stick. During the bear festival the audience is edified with this sort of "music": some woman who has a talent for this, calls together a troupe of children and, as though under the baton of a conductor, lets them hit
533 the limb with sticks. In winter time on a journey, the Gilyak often sings a monotonous song which actually consists only of all kinds of unrelated sentences about anything that happens to occur to him [235] or that he sees. Actual songs that are handed down from father to son the Gilyak do not possess, and in general they are stingy with their singing. I never heard them sing in the village, their houses, or on their

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.
535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.
527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.
527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.
527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a prac-
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where various things are bartered.
527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cranberries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means worship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun, some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is not given such expressions of veneration.
527 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo themselves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty, with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237] roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as entertainment has been described. Special music is produced
527 in the village ~~of Kete. This~~ village is the northern outpost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -two old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

764 dead one is brought or carried into the woods, accompanied by relatives and friends He is placed on a pyre where he is burned in three or four hours. The skull and the extremities usually burn faster than the spinal column. The mourning relatives stand around the fire. In token of their sorrow the women let their hair hang loose, the men sometimes cut theirs short. The ashes are gathered in a vessel and placed in the "death house". The latter is an ordinary yurt in design, but very small, somewhat like a large doll house. Beneath it the clothes, the pipe, and the weapons of the deceased are buried. Sometimes, however, the clothes are also burned. The favorite dog is killed but not burned; it is consumed by the mourners. On Sakhalin, if the deceased was a wealthy man, all the dogs which brought his sled to the funeral pyre are killed; poor people content themselves with burning the sled.

There is no special place for the death houses; they stand by themselves all over the woods, not too far from the village. On certain days the relatives assemble here for a funeral rite. Millet, a stuffed pipe, and such things are placed in the little house through the window, and all who are present break into loud lamentation.

764 The above-described burial ceremony is customary only
182 among the true Gilyak, that is, on the island of Sakhalin and on the mainland along the Amur up to Bogorodskoye. The Sofiyskian Gilyak lower the bodies without a coffin into a crypt. The deceased is given his best clothes for the journey besides a bowl of millet, a stuffed pipe and some spirits. At the head-and foot-end [239] stakes are driven, on which hang his weapons and other objects. For these graves there is
766 also no particular place. Sometimes, instead of being bur-
182 ied the corpses are put in open cradles made of wicker and suspended from trees. This is supposed to be done when there are epidemics, and thus the very thing that should not be done is done. However, since these death cradles are isolated and hung up at a great distance from the villages, the miasmas resulting from decomposition are probably not harmful.

XV Weltanschauung and Religion.

771 The Gilyak do not generally like to speak of transcendental matters. One is advised by some of them to ask a shaman for information, since he knows better. Others, on the contrary, answer the given questions like disinterested persons, that is, they say the shaman maintains this or that, but a certain scepticism is apparent. The Gilyak are

771 predominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of rumination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs and their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imagination so boldly that their assertions contradict those of other shamans or of everyday experience. From conversations, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the Gilyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits, both good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not emerged from fetishism.

776 God (kush or kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and
782 never appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing is said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I heard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In this we may already see something like priestly self-glorification. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother much about him, only now and then something is sacrificed to him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him or for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak crosses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a bowl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the sacrifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is sacrificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a stake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it millet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240] are tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme being. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

825 The bear usually appears as the executor of divine
783 ordinances, and he punishes the bad people during their lifetime. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstitious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be regarded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as a god or demigod.

825 The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they
789 seldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-
278 gard him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded as having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a certain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored one". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874. (Published in Russian).

people. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and kills the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay. Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.

776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

778 These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite
782 Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace",
177 the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of G nghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 257] [242]

775 Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be
171 gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

771 However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only, if someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
534 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also seek to consolidate their authority by means of various magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly, disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle. After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these "Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine. From this we may see how much they really understand of their new religion. We have said before that they regard

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

153 etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may
821 converse with the more intelligent of them for a short time.
177 As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. "Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but that your head is standing still. And yet your head, meantime, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little father.

147 XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

838 In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the taiga, or to stand for hours up to their chests in the coldest water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, etc. are seldom found among them Hermaphroditism was the only deformity that was known to me.

164 Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military posts. In any case this disease does not have the significance among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened toward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

164 The Gilyaks are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the
563 Russians suffer from it more than in Europe. I have
342 spoken in another connection (1) of the fact that I believe
362

1. St. Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3. 1882.

this illness can be traced to earth miasmas, and particularly to external ones rising up from the extensive marshes and bogs, as well as house miasmas. The fact that the natives are immune [248] may be attributed partly to habit, (for Europeans suffer most from it when they first arrive) and especially to the functional construction of the houses. Russian barracks and private houses stand on frame work which soon rots. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood and damp earth which does not freeze even in winter. The houses are badly ventilated and frequently have a definite odor of mould. The Gilyak house has a solid floor of pressed clay which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate; it is well ventilated and is often filled with smoke whose disinfectant qualities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems to be only a limited factor in this question.

164 Another endemic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, occurs among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom and soon disappears. It is usually accompanied by unbearable colic. This catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.

In spite of the constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers from tape worm. Among Russians, too, it seems to come mainly from pork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.

Bronchial catarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia seems the most frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the Gilyak. The children of the Gilyak villages also suffered from a whooping cough epidemic that was prevalent during my time in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

Eye diseases occur more seldom than one would expect, for in general, tribes that live in smoky houses frequently suffer from them and present many one-eyed and blind cases. The Gilyak houses are not always full of smoke, to be sure, but so frequently that the relative absence of these diseases must be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the eye nerves. Actually, everyone who has been inside a Gilyak house will be convinced that the natives can remain calmly seated in smoke clouds that would immediately drive
164 a European out. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely
293 unpunished. One finds among them people with chronic

164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in February and March because at that time, in the mid-day sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair, which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infectious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infectious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say, but one may assume that they were less frequent and permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease in the native population.

164 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
158 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy. I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However, diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking should become prevalent.

752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains, breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude that the primitive methods of healing combined with the power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

164 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the softness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary. They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans, since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very few in number and are carefully guarded.

752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks, splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs, especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatics bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the indifferent thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment. They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the native ones.

231 Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal, the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be related to the fact that among natives as well as among many Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is, for draft purposes.

194 XVIII. Language.

128 In putting the Gilyak language into writing it is easiest to use Russian letters, for several sounds are pronounced exactly as they are in Russian and in the Slavic languages in general. The Russian letters Я, Ю, Ы exist in the Gilyak language, especially the latter sound which can be represented neither by the West-European "Y" nor by "ui", and which is pronounced exactly as in the Russian word b'il. The letter "i" is pronounced peculiarly full as in Slavic languages before a, u, o, and ui (1) and at the end of some

1. I use these two letters for the Russian Ы although they do not accurately reproduce it.

words; and for this there is no corresponding sound in the Germanic and Romance languages. The letters g, k, and h or really ch [German pronunciation] occur frequently in Gilyak words and are sharply accented by pressing the tongue against the soft palate, so that this language (like th Semitic tongues) has a peculiarly guttural sound. There ar so many consonants that it probably deserves to be called a hard and not a beautiful language. The language of the Goldi is softer. The t and tch, the k and ch [kh] often coincide and the y is sometimes pronounced almost like the sh and the French g.

197 The language of the Amur-Gilyak from the sea up to the village of Bogorodskoye resembles the Sakhalin language sufficiently so that the people can at least make themselves understood after a fashion. But it, too, already shows som deviations which even occur in neighboring villages. Thus the word "cough" is yeret in Kaka; in Vaida which lies on the shore about one and one-half German miles from it, the word is yaat. In Mikhil which is about 100 versts (about 14 German miles) up-stream, the deviations are more numerous. For instance, the word "friend" is there called napkhe; the word "heaven"; tle. In Vaida and Kaka these words are amgan and tly. In Mikhil the expression "good day" is designated by the Goldi word sarodé. Even in one and the same place many words are differently [252] pronounced; for example, ytyk ("father") is also pronounced styka. Other words change so much according to the way they are used that they are no longer recognizable. For instance "rufrokh" means "with the brother": ytyktokh,

197 "with the father", while ygryr means "with him", and nygryr: "with me". [F.S. Examples omitted]

193 Often the preposition is entirely omitted (see below). There are almost no grammatical forms. There are no declensions. The verbs sometimes change so much that they are hard to recognize, but these metamorphoses are not so constant that fixed rules could be derived from them. There are some conjugational forms, but they exist within such broad limits that there is room for arbitrariness, that is, one can use one or another form. [F. S.: Examples omitted]

[253] From these examples it may be seen 1) that the verbs are to a large extent modified, but 2) that it is difficult in these modifications to find a constant applying to a particular time, person, and number. It seems certain that up to the present time nothing of the kind exists. At least my Gilyak professors did not object when I used a certain verb in an indefinite form for all moods except the imperative, and for all persons and numbers. Only the imperative always seemed to end in "ya", with the accent on the last syllable. But many verbs are strongly abbreviated or changed; for instance "to sing" is lunyt; "sing" [imperative] is luya. [F. S: Other examples omitted]. The indefinite mood, with few exceptions, ends in "ty".

[254] There are no genders; "he" and "she" are the same. Singular and plural are also the same, only the pronouns are an exception.

The prepositions are usually placed after the word to which they refer; for example: "through the forest", pal (forest) shmy (through).

The adjectives have no comparative and superlative, instead the word lele (very) precedes them. For some things which can be large or small there are related expressions, of which the one referring to the larger object is a repetition of the one referring to the smaller object; for instance: a "small river" is la, "river" is pilala.

13: Seeland RX2 Gilyak

RUSSISCHE REVUE

MONATSSCHRIFT

FÜR DIE KUNDE RUSSLANDS

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13: Seeland RX2 Gilyak

Die Ghiliaken.

Eine ethnographische Skizze.

Von
Dr. N. Seeland.

Da über die Ghiliaken bis jetzt Weniges veröffentlicht worden ist, so benutzte ich meinen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt im Amurlande, um dieses Völkchen näher zu studiren. Ein jedes Volk ist sowohl an sich, als auch im Sinne eines Materials für die höhere Wissenschaft des Menschen von Interesse. Wenn der Ethnologe von Fach auch in dieser Skizze Einiges finden sollte, was zu solchen vergleichenden Studien zu verwerthen wäre, so würde mir dies zur vollkommenen Genugthuung gereichen.

Was dem Leser hier vorgeführt wird, beruht hauptsächlich auf meinen eigenen Erfahrungen und Untersuchungen, theilweise auch auf Notizen, die ich bei solchen Russen, welche mit den Ghiliaken in häufige Berührung kamen, sammelte. Dabei sorgte ich dafür, immer Mehrere zugleich über ein und dasselbe zu befragen, um meiner Sache sicherer zu sein. Gewöhnlich waren übrigens die Aussagen übereinstimmend[1].

I. Geographische Verbreitung und Kopfzahl.

Der zur mongolischen Race gehörende Volksstamm der Ghiliaken[2] lebt theils auf der Insel Sachalin, theils auf dem Kontinent des Küstengebiets Ostsibiriens, d. h. am unteren Amur und an der, der Mündung dieses Flusses zunächst liegenden Meeresküste, ferner in der Dekastrie- und Kaiserbai. In letzterer kommen die Ghiliaken übrigens schon spärlich und mehr temporär vor. Auf Sachalin bewohnen sie die nördliche Hälfte, besonders das Thal des Flusses Timm, die westliche und östliche Küste. Je nachdem, wo der Fisch-

[1] Was ich hier über die Ghiliaken der Insel Sachalin mittheile, mit denen ich persönlich wenig in Berührung gekommen bin, verdanke ich zum grossen Theile einem dortigen Arzte, Hrn. Dr. A. Lebedew.

[2] Gewöhnlich wird das Wort *Giliaken* geschrieben, da jedoch, das g hart ausgesprochen werden muss, so setzte ich ein h dazu.

[p. 97]

fang gerade ergiebiger ist, halten sie sich im Sommer bald hier, bald da auf, kehren aber zum Winter immer in ihre Dörfer zurück.

Am unteren Amur leben die eigentlichen Ghiliaken nur bis zum Dorfe Bogorodskoje, 150 Werst stromaufwärts von der Stadt Nikolajewsk. Von Bogorodskoje bis zum Nebenfluss des Amurs Gorin, also ungefähr bis zum 51° NB. lebt ein Volk, welches gewissermaassen als Mittelding zwischen Ghiliaken und Golden gelten kann. Sie selbst nennen sich *Manguni*[1], bisweilen auch *Chedé*. Ersteres bedeutend *Flussmenschen*, letzteres *die Unteren*. Die Russen halten sie übrigens schlechtweg für Ghiliaken und kennen keinen anderen Namen. Jenseits des Gorin beginnen die *Golden*, die übrigens auch schon zerstreut unter den Mangunen-Ghiliaken vorkommen. Die letzteren unterscheiden sich von den Golden durch einige äussere Züge und Gebräuche, von den eigentlichen Ghiliaken aber durch die Art der Leichenbestattung und die Sprache, welche Nichts, als die einigermaassen modifizirte Sprache der Golden ist. Unter diesen Mangunen oder — wie sie im Lande gewöhnlich heissen — *Ssofiiskischen Ghiliaken* (von dem Städtchen Ssofiisk am Amur) halten sich hier und da auch nomadisirende Orotschonen und Tungusen auf.

An dem Flusse *Amgun*, welcher sich am sogen. *Tir*, etwa 80 W. oberhalb Nikolajewsk, von der linken Seite in den Amur ergiesst, leben die sogenannten *Nigidaier*, welche für ein Mischvolk von Ghiliaken und Tungusen gehalten werden und die Tungusensprache sprechen. In ihrer Lebensart gleichen sie eher den Ghiliaken, welche dieselben aber nicht für die ihrigen anerkennen.

Schliesslich verhält es sich so: 1) Die Vollblutghiliaken leben auf Sachalin (nördliche Hälfte), an der Küste des Kontinents und am Amur bis Bogorodskoje; doch zerfallen sie in 2 Untergruppen, von denen die der Inselghiliaken sich von der kontinentalen durch nicht sehr bedeutende Unterschiede in der Sprache und durch die Art des Häuserbauens unterscheidet. 2) Die 2. Gruppe sind die Mangunen, welche wahrscheinlich ein Mischvolk von Ghiliaken und Golden sind, mit den Letzteren aber wenig mehr als die Sprache gemein haben. 3) Die 3. Gruppe der Nigidaier ist den Ghiliaken schon nicht so nahe verwandt, wesshalb ihrer in dieser Arbeit überhaupt nicht mehr gedacht werden wird.

Seit wann die Ghiliaken ihre jetzigen Wohnsitze behaupten, ist

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[1] *Uni* bedeutet in der Sprache der Golden — Fluss. Der Name *Amur* scheint aus der ebenfalls goldischen Benennung des Wassers — *Mu* gemacht zu sein.

unbekannt, doch lässt sich vermuthen, dass sie von Sachalin aus nach dem Festlande kamen.

Die Golden halten sich für ursprüngliche Bewohner des Amurlandes, unter den Ghiliaken aber hört man bisweilen die Voraussetzung, dass sie früher sämmtlich auf Sachalin gewesen wären. In der That, wäre das Umgekehrte der Fall, so hätten die sachalinschen Ghiliaken wahrscheinlich den vollständigeren Typus des Wohnhauses, der auf dem Festlande sowohl bei Golden als Mandschuren üblich ist, mitgenommen. Wahrscheinlicher ist es, dass die ersten Ghiliaken, die nach dem Festlande auswanderten, von den Golden sowohl die Art des Bauens, als die Sprache annahmen, die Späteren aber, die zu dem Mutterlande in näherer Beziehung blieben, zwar auch die Bauart der Golden und Mandschuren adoptirten, aber ihre Sprache beibehielten.

Die Russen lernten die Ghiliaken schon um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts kennen, als die ersten kühnen russischen Pioniere den Amur entlang zogen. Es soll damals mitunter auch zu blutigen Feindseligkeiten gekommen sein. Die Ghiliaken selbst wissen übrigens davon Nichts mehr, es sei denn, dass sich darüber Etwas in spärlichen, nur von Wenigen gekannten Legenden vorfände. Die Mehrzahl weiss Nichts von der eigenen Geschichte und es gelang mir nicht einmal zu erfragen, ob nicht irgendwo unter ihnen Jemand lebe, der von der Vorzeit Etwas zu erzählen wüsste.

Die *Kopfzahl* der Ghiliaken kann nur annähernd bestimmt werden, da dies Volk bis jetzt nicht einmal Jassak zahlt, und daher keine amtliche Beobachtungen über die Bevölkerungsbewegung angestellt werden. Nach den Taxationen der Isprawniks (Amtmänner) beläuft sich die Zahl der Ghiliaken des Nikolajew'schen Kreises,[1] die von Kastrie- und Kaiserbai zusammen auf circa 4000, die des Ssofiiskischen Kreises[2] auf 1 000. Was Sachalin betrifft, so gibt es dort keine Isprawniks, doch habe ich statt ihrer die fahrenden Pelzhändler befragt, denen ihr Geschäft am Ende eher, als das der Isprawniks ein Interesse für diese Frage einflösst. Ihrer Ansicht zufolge mögen auf Sachalin gegen 3 000 Ghiliaken sein. Das ganze Ghiliakenvolk (die Nigidaier ausgeschlossen), wird sich demnach auf 8000 Seelen belaufen. Ich glaube, dass die Zahl nicht zu gross ist, denn obgleich die Ghiliakendörfer klein und von winzigem Ansehen sind, so sind

[1] Von der Küste stromaufwärts bis Mariinsk (270 Werst von Nikolajewsk).
[2] Von Mariinsk bis zum Garin.

sie verhältnissmässig stark bevölkert. Im Durchschnitt kann man annehmen, dass ein Haus nicht unter 12—15 Menschen birgt. Nach einer annähernden Berechnung, die ich im Jahre 1880 machte, kamen schon auf 9 Dörfer, die sich von der Küste bis zum Dorfe *Waida* (30 Werst oberhalb Nikolajewsk) hinziehen, gegen 900 Menschen.

Von den beiden Geschlechtern ist das weibliche schwächer vertreten, so viel man nach einigen Beispielen urtheilen kann. So waren unter 90 pünktlich gezählten Ghiliaken[1] 50 männlichen und 40 weiblichen Geschlechts. Auch bei anderen primitiven Völkerschaften Russlands ist bekanntlich ein Aehnliches konstatirt worden. Was die Vertheilung der Altersklassen betrifft, so scheint das Kindesalter zwar nicht stark, aber auch nicht gerade sehr schwach vertreten zu sein. Kinderreiche Familien, wie sie sich häufig bei den hier angesiedelten Russen finden, trifft man bei den Ghiliaken gar nicht. Immerhin muss die Geburtenziffer nicht so schwach sein, dass man in ihr eine Ursache der Abnahme dieses Volk's suchen könnte. Unter 240, verschiedenen Dörfern angehörigen Ghiliaken beiderlei Geschlechts fand ich z. B. 1/3 Kinder von 0—10 Jahren, was also ungefähr den Verhältnissen von Westeuropa gleichkommt.

Obgleich nun für eine regelrechte Statistik des Ghiliakenvolks eigentlich noch Nichts gethan ist, so herrscht dennoch kein Zweifel darüber, dass es seit der russischen Okkupation des Landes bedeutend abgenommen hat. Manche Dörfer sind jetzt halb so gross, als früher. Hier wiederholt sich also dieselbe traurige Erscheinung, die man auch in andern Ländern beobachtet, wo Kultur und Naturzustand aneinander stossen. Der näheren Ursachen dieser Abnahme werde ich später gedenken.

II. Das Land der Ghiliaken.

Das untere Amurthal und Sachalin sind Gebirgsländer. Die Bergketten des Festlandes gehören zu dem sogenannten Tatarengebirge *Sichoté-Alin*, welches die Strecke zwischen dem untern Amurabschnitt, dem Ussuri und dem Meere anfüllt. Der Amur, dessen unteres Drittel nordöstlich fliesst, wird hier noch riesiger, als oben. Er ist 1 1/2 Werst breit, die Tiefe ist verschieden, doch können hier auch bei niederem Wasserstand grosse Flussdampfer ungehindert auf und ab gehen. Bei Nikolajewsk (60 Werst vom Meere) liegen Seeschiffe, die nicht über 12—14 Fuss Tiefgang haben, vor Anker, es

[1] Diese Zählung bezog sich auf die Bevölkerung der Häuser, bei denen man auf dem Winterwege nach Sachalin anhält, nämlich in den Dörfern vom *Wassin Miss* bis *Tschmi*.

könnten aber auch die allergrössten einlaufen, wenn sie nicht durch eine kurze, seichte Strecke (Barre) aufgehalten würden. Bei stürmischem Wetter hat der Amur so hohe Wellen, dass sich dann die Flussdampfer am Ufer bergen müssen, und man kann seekrank werden, wie auf hoher See. Die Strömung in der Mitte des Flusses ist reissend. Das Wasser ist hier im Allgemeinen rein und frei von mechanisch beigemengten Theilchen[1], dabei sehr weich[2].

Der Amur nimmt von beiden Seiten eine Menge Flüsse und Flüsschen auf, an vielen Orten bildet er weite Flussarme und seichte Inseln. Der allgemeine Charakter des Landes ist der einer majestätischen Wildniss. Die Berge treten an den Ufern bald als nackte graue Felsen, bald als grüne Hügel hervor; weiter in's Land hinein ziehen sie terrassen- oder kettenförmig hin, wobei die Gipfel meist nicht über 1 000—1 500 Fuss erreichen. Das Ganze ist von unübersehbaren, dunkelgrünen Waldungen bedeckt. Nur hier und da wird die Stille und Einsamkeit der Wildniss durch Bilder und Töne des Menschen- und Thierlebens belebt. An vereinzelten, hochgelegenen Uferstellen liegen russische, von Saatfeldern und Küchengärten umgürtete Dörfer. An niedern Stellen, am Fusse eines Berges schmiegen sich unscheinbare Ghiliakendörfchen, umgeben von Schwärmen kläffender Hunde. Bisweilen eilt ein lärmender Dampfer oder gleitet eine russische Barke oder ein ghiliakisches Ruderboot vorbei. Hier und da erscheint ein unbeweglicher Reiher am Ufer, oder schwimmt ein Adler in der Höhe, im Wasser plätschert ein Fisch auf, oder es taucht der schneeweisse Leib des Delphins aus den Wellen, um sogleich wieder zu verschwinden. Im Ganzen jedoch verräth sich die reiche Thierwelt dem Wanderer hier nicht so häufig, wie er dies erwartet hätte und wie dies an gewissen Orten (z. B. längs der Sungatscha, einem Nebenfluss des Ussuri) der Fall ist.

Im Innern der Wälder herrscht der balsamische Duft der Tanne und Lärche, stellenweise zieht einem der scharfe Geruch des Sumpfforstes (Ledum palustre) entgegen. Die Stille des Waldes wird vom Rauschen des Laubes, vom Knarren der Aeste, vom Murmeln der Bäche, vom Rollen der hinabgleitenden Steine unterbrochen. Nur

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[1] Der mittlere Amurabschnitt dagegen führt, besonders bei der Mündung des Sungari, viel erdige Bestandtheile, welche sich nur allmälig zu Boden senken.

[2] Nach meinen Analysen (Sitzungsberichte der Aerztlichen Gesellschaft Ostsibiriens für 1879) enthält das Wasser aus der Mitte des Flusses gegenüber Nikolajewsk nur 0,050 bis 0,053 gelöste Bestandtheile auf 1 Lit., davon 0,032 unorganische. Die Härte ist bloss 2° nach der franz. Scala.

hier und da lässt sich das Zwitschern eines Singvogels, das Krächzen eines Raben oder der Schrei einer Eule hören; in der ersten Hälfte des Sommers lässt übrigens auch hier der Weltbürger Kukuk seinen Ruf weit und breit erschallen. Selten hat man Gelegenheit, die Aeste am Boden unter dem schweren Tritt des Bären knacken zu hören. Bisweilen schlüpft der graziöse *Burunduk* (Tammias striatus) aus dem Dickicht und bleibt neugierig stehen, um den Menschen zu beschauen. Die *Taigá* (Urwald) ist schön und majestätisch, aber zugleich wild und öde. Es ist nichts Leichtes, sich durch solch einen Wald den Weg zu bahnen. Abgesehen von den Qualen, die Einem an feuchteren Stellen, während der warmen Jahreszeit, von zahllosen Mückenschwärmen bereitet werden, auch der Boden und die jungfräuliche Vegetation an sich sind ein schwer zu überwindendes Chaos. Bald muss man sich zwischen Baum- und Strauchwerk durchdrängen, bald durch ein Dickicht von riesigen wilden Rosen, Farrenkräutern oder Doldengewächsen durcharbeiten, bald die fast haushohen Wurzeln eines umgestürzten Baumes umgehen, bald sinkt der Fuss in den sumpfigen Boden, bald stolpert er über die reichlich zerstreuten Steine, die von den Frühjahrswässern herabgeführt wurden. Eine angenehme Abwechselung bietet die Gras-, Blumen- und Beerenwelt des Waldes, denn stellenweise stösst man auch auf Oasen von saftigem Grase, oder auf einen rosigen, rothen oder gelben Teppich von Blumen — als da sind das Weidenröslein (Epilobium), Baldrian, gelbe und rothe Lilien, Reinfarrn u. A., oder auf dichtbewachsene Reviere von Himbeeren, Preisselbeeren, Blaubeeren u. s. w.

Es ist besonders der sechsmonatliche, frost- und schneereiche Winter, welcher dem Lande einen rauhen Charakter verleiht. In der ersten Hälfte des Novembers[1] hört der gewaltige Fluss auf zu rauschen und birgt sich unter einer Eishülle. Durch das fast plötzliche und tumultuarische Zusammenwachsen der Eisschollen starrt die Eisdecke stellenweise von riesigen Nadeln, Planken und Hügeln. Dies ist der sogenannte *Toros*; wo er gross ist, ist man genöthigt den Weg für die Wintersaison mit Hülfe von Aexten und Brechstangen zu ebnen. Uebrigens bleibt dieser Toros nur in einer gewissen Entfernung vom Meere, d. h. wo es schon weniger Schnee giebt, nackt stehen; zwischen Nikolajewsk und Ssofiisk (300 W.) hat man mit ihm nur dann zu schaffen, wenn grosse Schneegestöber

[1] Nach neuem Styl.

ausbleiben. Gewöhnlich jedoch wird hier, sobald die erste *Purga* (Schneegestöber) heranbraust, Alles so gründlich verschüttet, dass nur die Bäume noch zu sehen sind, die man zu Anfang des Winters, beim Legen des Postweges, in gewissen Entfernungen von einander in's Eis haut. Alles liegt dann unter einer riesig dicken Schneehülle, die nun ein halbes Jahr lang unbeweglich liegen bleibt. Die Wälder sind dem Menschen um diese Zeit nur mit Hülfe von Schneeschuhen und Hundeschlitten zugänglich. Durch die Stille der weissen Einöde lässt sich hier und da die unschöne aber kräftige Stimme des Raben hören, oder sie wird vom raschen Geklingel einer russischen Postschelle oder von dem «Tach» «Tach» d. h. Hundekommando des Ghiliaken, unterbrochen. Auf mehrtägige wüthende Purgas kommen Wochen unbewölkten Himmels, wo am Tage Alles in blendend weissem Glanze liegt und Nachts der eisige Himmel von hellblinkenden Sternen strahlt.

Die Meeresküste des Ghiliakenlandes bietet zwar manches Malerische, aber wenig Anmuthiges. Vom Schaumkamm der Brandung an bis an die Gipfel der Berge ist Alles von dunkeln Waldungen überzogen, aber gerade das Bild der Sommerlandschaft wird gar häufig durch Regen und Nebel getrübt, die hier fast die ganze wärmere Jahreszeit durch hausen [1]. Und während der anderen Jahreshälfte starrt Alles von Schnee und Eis, so dass es im Winter möglich wird, vom Festlande nach Sachalin mit Hunden zu reisen.

So sieht im Allgemeinen das Vaterland des Ghiliaken aus. Es mögen nun noch einige Details hinzugefügt werden, insoweit diese erforscht sind.

In geologischer Hinsicht kann man sagen, dass Thonschiefer am Meisten verbreitet zu sein scheint, doch kommt auch schon viel plutonisches Gestein zum Vorschein; so bestehen z. B. die Ufer der Kastriebai aus Tractit und Basalt. Kalkgesteine kommen selten vor, wodurch sich die Weichheit der Gewässer erklärt. Die Gebirge enthalten grossen Metallreichthum, wenigstens wurde an verschiedenen Orten Gold, Eisen, auch Blei gefunden, und auf Sachalin gibt es bekanntlich grosse Steinkohlenlager.

Die *Flora* ist reich und üppig. Die Nadelbäume sind durch Tanne und Lärche vertreten, die Kiefer aber fehlt. Von Laubbäumen gibt

[1] Es sieht nämlich an dieser Küste der kalte Polarstrom vorüber, welcher die mit dem Süd-Ost Winde kommenden Dämpfe verdichtet.

es Eiche, Ahorn, Erle, Birke, Espe, Ulme u. A. Beerentragende Gewächse gibt es reichlich, besonders Preisselbeeren, Himbeeren und Schellbeeren. Von medizinischen Pflanzen sind besonders zu erwähnen die Tscheremscha, (Allium victoriale) durch antiscorbutische Wirkung ausgezeichnet, Valeriana officinalis, mehrere Arten Artemisia (nur nicht Absinthium), Menyonthes trifoliata, Achillea Millefolium, Cannabis sativa, Sedum palustre, Taraxacum officinale, Tilia cordeta, Querus mongolica etc.

Die *Thierwelt* ist reich und mannigfaltig. Für die Existenz der Ghiliaken sind besonders die Fische und zwar hauptsächlich die Lachsarten, d. h. Salmo longocephalus (Kita) und S. gibbosus (Garbuscha) von Wichtigkeit. Ausserdem gibt es Störe, Karpfen, Hechte u. s. w. An der Küste trifft man Kabliau, Butten, Weissfische u. s. w. Von den Wasserthieren sind auch der Delphin[1], besonders aber der Seehund von Wichtigkeit. Walfische[2] gibt es viel im Ochotskischen Meere, aber sie werden von den Ghiliaken nicht gejagt; nur gelegentlich, wenn eins dieser Ungethüme strandet, wird es ausgebeutet.

Von Landsäugethieren sind hauptsächlich zu erwähnen: Zobel, Eichhorn, Rothfuchs, Rennthier, Elen und Bär. Der Wolf zeigt sich selten, fast nicht öfterer, als der Königstiger. Letzterer lebt eigentlich nicht höher, als 50° NB., aber bisweilen dehnt er seine Excursionen auch weiter nach Norden, d. h. in das Ghiliakenland aus. So soll er in der Kastriebai und sogar beim Tir gesehen worden sein, in der Kaiserbai aber kommt er entschieden vor.

Unter den Vögeln sind es hauptsächlich Rebhuhn und Haselhuhn, wilde Ente und Gans, die für die Ghiliaken eine Bedeutung haben.

Das *Klima*. Bei der Nähe des Meeres sollte man ein gemildertes Seeklima vermuthen, thatsächlich aber ist Nichts davon vorhanden, wie auch schon aus der allgemeinen Beschreibung zu ersehen war. Der Winter ist strenger als im kontinentalen Europa, zwischen entsprechenden Breitegraden (51°—54°) und der Gegensatz zwischen den Jahreszeiten sehr schroff. Auf —40° R. fällt das Thermometer nur hin und wieder, —20—25° aber kommen im Winter sehr häufig vor. Der Sommer ist nicht heiss. Merkwürdig ist die Vertheilung

[1] Er steigt den Amur 150 Werst hinauf.

[2] In dem Buche «Sibirien und das Amurland» von Alb. Kohn und K. Andree 1876, heisst es, dass der Walfisch sogar im untern Amur herumschwimme. Dies ist entschieden unwahr.

der athmosphärischen Feuchtigkeit. In Europa und dem kontinentalen Sibirien ist die relative Feuchtigkeit im Sommer geringer als im Herbst und Winter, hier verhält sich dies umgekehrt. Ferner ist die Differenz zwischen Maximum und Minimum der Luftdämpfe viel bedeutender als dort. Während einer Purga im Winter steigt zwar gewöhnlich der Dampfgehalt, fällt aber dann wieder so bedeutend, dass die Winterluft überhaupt sehr trocken zu nennen ist. In den Stuben platzen die Möbel und der Taback zerfällt zu Staub. Von den Sommernebeln war schon oben die Rede, doch muss hinzugefügt werden, dass sie in diesen Breiten selten weiter als einige deutsche Meilen in's Land hinein dringen[1], so dass man sich im eigentlichen Amurlande darüber nicht zu beklagen hat. Regentage übrigens kommen häufig im Sommer vor.

Das Klima ist im Allgemeinen ein gesundes. So hat z. B. das Militär des Küstengebiets durchschnittlich weniger Kranke und Todte aufzuweisen als die Armee des europäischen Russlands, obgleich Beköstigung, Lebensweise u. s. w. um Nichts besser ist. Bei den russischen Bauern zwischen Nikolajewsk und Ssofiisk überwiegen die Geburten die Todesfälle um ein Bedeutendes mehr als im europäischen Russland. Einige Krankheiten kommen übrigens im Küstengebiet häufiger vor. Hierher gehören *Nerven- und Geisteskrankheiten*[2], der chronische *Magen- und Darmkatarrh* und der *Scorbut*. Die beiden letzteren scheinen hauptsächlich miasmatischen Ursprungs zu sein, wofür ich an einem anderen Orte Belege anführe.

III. Körperliche Beschaffenheit und Gesichtszüge.

Im Allgemeinen sind die Ghiliaken unter dem mittleren Wuchse, doch kommen sehr kleine Leute, besonders unter Männern, sehr selten vor, häufiger trifft man grosse. Die Frauen sind bedeutend kleiner und dabei kommen unter ihnen hochgewachsene gar nicht vor. Die mittlere Grösse von 12 Männern, welche ich regelrecht maass, war 162,2 Ctm, die von 8 Frauen 150,4 C. Die Leute waren selbstverständlich nicht gewählt worden.

Gebaut sind die Ghiliaken proportional, sie haben verhältnissmässig breite Schultern, eine stark entwickelte Brust, kleine Hände und Füsse. Die Beine haben gewöhnlich eine leichte Krümmung nach Aussen (Reiterbeine), in Folge des reitenden Sitzens auf dem Schlitten und der gekrümmten Lage beim Rudern. Fettbäuche,

[1] Im Süden des Küstengebiets gehen sie weiter landeinwärts.

[2] Dies scheint sich übrigens auf die Eingeborenen nicht zu beziehen.

Bucklige etc. findet man gar keine und überhaupt kommen unter diesen Wilden körperliche Abnormitäten und Missbildungen viel seltener vor als bei Kulturvölkern. Die Gesichtszüge sind unschön, obgleich die Ghiliaken noch lange nicht der hässlichste Menschenschlag sind. Der Kopf ist breit und von entschieden brachyocephalischem Typus. Das dichte schwarze Haar ist hinten in einen auf den Rücken herabfallenden Zopf zusammengeflochten; in der Mitte des Kopfes ist das Haar gescheitelt. Die Brauen sind schwarz, dicht und nicht selten gegen die Nasenwurzel vortretend. Die Augen sind klein, jedoch nicht in so auffallendem Maasse, wie bei einigen anderen Völkerschaften[1]. Ihre Richtung ist gerade oder etwas schief nach Aussen und oben. Die Farbe der Augen ist ausnahmslos dunkel. Die Backenknochen sind mässig vorstehend, die Nase kurz und meist eingedrückt. Die Nasenscheidewand ist bei den Weibern nich durchlöchert, wie bei den Weibern der Golden, welche Nasenringe tragen. Der Mund ist nicht gross, die Lippen sind dick und roth; häufig wird der Mund offen gehalten, wobei sich zwei dichte Reihen weisser, fester Zähne zeigen. Bei näherer Besichtigung des Mundes erweisen sich bei Manchen die Schneidezähne durch die Pfeife mehr oder weniger abgenutzt. Bart und Schnurrbart sind schwarz, aber dünn. Die Ohrenlappen der Frauen und mancher Männer sind durchlöchert, der Ohrringe wegen.

Die Gesichts- und Hautfarbe überhaupt ist bräunlich. Der Ausdruck des Gesichts ist ernst; freundliche Gesichter trifft man bei ihnen seltener als bei den Golden. Die Frauen übrigens haben eine weichere Miene, doch haben sie im Typus überhaupt viel Aehnlichkeit mit den Männern. Sie tragen zwei Haarzöpfe, welche unten häufig zusammengebunden sind.

Tättowirungen sind bei den Ghiliaken nicht üblich. Auch ist der Körper nicht abnorm behaart. Die Haut, wenn sie nicht gerade einen Ausschlag trägt, ist sehr glatt, doch gewöhnlich schmutzig. Das Haar wird reichlich geschmiert und ist meist nicht frei von Läusen. Der Geruch, der dem Ghiliaken eigen ist, ist ein Gemisch von Rauch- und Fischgeruch, mit Praevalenz des ersteren.

Was die Muskelkraft betrifft, so scheint sie geringer als die des Europäers zu sein; doch sind die Ghiliaken physisch ausdauernder; die Frauen sind übrigens verhältnissmässig stark. Man kann nicht sagen, dass sich die Ghiliaken durch Schnelligkeit

[1] So sind, meiner Ansicht nach, die Augen der Burjaten eher als die der Ghiliaken einer Ritze ähnlich.

und Gewandtheit in Körperbewegungen auszeichneten. Nur im Rudern und im Bergsteigen sind sie Meister. Sehr merkwürdig ist es, dass bei diesem Volke, welches an und auf dem Wasser lebt, wenig gute Schwimmer vorkommen, und ein bedeutender Theil, zu dem besonders die Frauen gehören, gar nicht zu schwimmen versteht. Ueberhaupt ist der Ghiliake etwas träg und schwerfällig, wesshalb denn auch der energische, behende Tunguse auf ihn mit einer gewissen Geringschätzung herabsieht.

Ueber Gesicht und Gehör habe ich keine spezielle Experimente gemacht, doch kann man im Allgemeinen sagen, dass sie sehr scharf sind. Die Farben werden gut unterschieden. Dass der Gefühlssinn stumpfer als beim Europäer ist, kann man aus mehreren Umständen folgern. Versuchshalber zupfte ich sie beim Messen der Köpfe bald hier, bald da beim Haare, so stark, dass es nach unseren Begriffen schmerzen musste; die Ghiliaken aber machten sich nichts daraus.

Die hier beschriebenen Eigenschaften sind auch für die Ssofiiskischen Ghiliaken (Mangunen) giltig, denn sie gleichen den Ghiliaken reinen Blutes mehr, als den Golden. Sie haben ein breiteres Gesicht, gröbere Züge und plattere Nase als die Golden, auch rasiren sie das Haupthaar nie, während sich die Golden über der Stirne einen schmalen Streif abrasiren. Ferner tragen, wie gesagt, die Frauen der Golden Nasenringe. Auch ist die Kleidung des letzteren Volkes weniger primitiv und schon mehr der der Mandschuren ähnlich.

IV. Die Bekleidung.

Im Sommer besteht die Bekleidung des Ghiliaken gewöhnlich aus einem leinenen oder baumwollenen Hemde, Hosen aus demselben Zeuge und einem breiten pyramidalen Hut aus Birkenrinde, der mit einem Schnürchen unter dem Kinn befestigt werden kann. Dieser Hut wird aus einem einzigen Stück Rinde verfertigt. Auf seinen weissen Grund sind gewöhnlich dunklere Schnörkel aufgeklebt oder aufgenäht. Die Füsse sind nackt oder stecken in Schuhen oder Halbstiefeln aus Fisch- oder Seehundshaut. Es werden dazu die Häute verschiedener Fische gebraucht, vorzüglich aber die der Lachsart Kita. Die Haut wird zu diesem Zweck mit einem hölzernen Klöppel gestampft, um sie geschmeidiger zu machen. Es gibt auch Hemde oder Röcke aus Fischhaut, die aber jetzt schon selten getragen werden. Die Fussbekleidung aus Seehundshaut ist dicker und dauerhafter. Das Fell wird dazu mittelst eiserner, scharfer Instrumente bearbeitet, welche das Haar abschaben, der obere Theil des Stiefels besteht

übrigens oft aus ungeschabtem Fell. Auch Elenshaut wird dazu verarbeitet, doch ist diese mehr bei den Golden üblich.

Im Winter besteht die Fussbekleidung (die Torbasá) in längeren Stiefeln aus ungeschabtem Seehundsfell; zwischen dem Stiefel und dem obern Theil des Schenkels stecken die Beine in zwei röhrenartigen Hosen (Gári) aus Seehundsfell; die oben nicht wie gewöhnliche Hosen zusammenhängen, sondern nur mittelst einiger Riemen an einem Gürtelriemen befestigt werden. Im Frühjahr und Herbst tragen Manche solche Gari aus wattirtem, chinesischen Baumwollenzeuge. Unter den Gari liegt ein Paar wirklicher leinener Hosen, die bis zum Knie reichen. Statt der Strümpfe wird Heu in die Torbasa gelegt. Das Heu ist ein sehr schlechter Wärmeleiter, dasselbe gilt von der Seehundshaut; auch lassen solche Stiefel, wenn sie gut genäht sind, kein Wasser durch. Körper und Arme bedeckt ein kurzer Ueberrock aus einfachem Hundefell, dass Haar nach Aussen. Dieser Rock ist wie ein Hemd genäht und hat seitwärts auf dem Bruststück einen Schlitz, der zugeknöpft werden kann. Einen Kragen hatdieses Hemd nicht, Hals und Nacken werden von der Mütze bedeckt. Die Farbe des Rocks ist, wie die der Hunde verschieden, die ganz schwarzen aber sind die am Meisten gesuchten Gallaröcke. Manchmal besteht der Ueberrock aus grobem grauen russischen Tuche, oder nur die obere Hälfte ist von Tuch, die untere aus ungeschabtem Seehundsfell; solche Röcke werden mehr in den Uebergangsjahreszeiten getragen. Der Ueberrock wird mit einem Gürtel zusammengehalten, an welchem verschiedene nothwendige Dinge hängen, Messer, Feuerzeug, Nadelbüchse u. s. w. Unter dem Ueberrock liegt ein anderer, nicht hemdartig geschnittener und aus blauem chinesischen Baumwollenstoffe genähter Rock, der mittelst knollenförmiger, chinesischer Knöpfe zusammen geknöpft wird. Unter diesem tragen noch Viele ein grobleinenes Hemd. Kopf, Hals und Nacken werden mit einer haubenartigen Mütze aus Hundefell bedeckt. Bei starker Kälte werden noch Fellhandschuhe, das Haar nach Innen angezogen, deren äussere Seite mit Fischhaut benäht ist; sie werden mit Gürtelchen über der Handwurzel befestigt.

Die Kleider werden jetzt mit gewöhnlichen Nadeln und grobem Zwirn genäht; Beides wird bei Russen oder Chinesen gekauft. Früher wurden selbstverfertigte Nähwerkzeuge gebraucht.

Der Anzug der Frauen hat viel Aehnlichkeit mit dem der Männer. Die Ghiliakinnen tragen auch Fellgari, welche über den Hüften mittelst Riemen befestigt werden. Hemd, Rock und Ueberrock

sind gewöhnlich länger, als bei den Männern. Der Saum des Rocks ist häufig mit geschlungenen Figuren aus Messingblech benäht. Die Figuren werden eigenhändig, mit Hülfe einer Feile verfertigt. Modedamen tragen auch noch messingene Armbänder, die über dem gewöhnlichen, mit einem Blasebalg geschürtem Heerdfeuer, zusammengelöthet werden. Die Frauen lieben überhaupt eine gewisse Zierlichkeit in ihrem Anzuge. Sie haben Gallaschürzen, die auch mit obengenannten Messingfiguren besäumt sind. Ihre Mütze, Fischstiefel und Torbasa sind manchmal mit farbigen Tuchfiguren benäht, besonders aber werden die Handschuhe so geschmückt. In den Ohren hängen riesige, gegen 5 Cmt. breite Ohrringe von Zinn, die meist mit Perlen von farbigem Glase geschmückt sind; Zinn und Perlen werden von Chinesen gekauft, der Ohrring selbst aber von Ghiliaken selbst verfertigt. Am Halse tragen die Weiber Schnüre von Glasperlen, manchmal aber hängen an ihm kleine hölzerne Amulete von Menschenfigur.

Die *Pfeife* und der *Tabaksbeutel* gehören dermaassen zu der Persönlichkeit des Ghiliaken, dass ich mich versucht fühle, auch ihnen hier einen Platz anzuweisen. Die Pfeife ist chinesischen Ursprungs und von derselben einförmigen Art, wie sie in der ganzen Mandschurei üblich ist. Das Rohr ist etwa ellenlang, aus sckwarzem Horne gedrechselt, mit einem Mundstück aus Nephrit. Die tassenförmige Pfeife aus Messing ist nicht grösser als eine Haselnuss. Zum Reinigen der Pfeife hängt eine knöcherne mit Schnörkeln verzierte Spitze am Gürtel. Der Tabaksbeutel hängt meist mit seinen Schnüren an einer ebenfalls mit Schnörkeln verzierten Scheibe von Wallrosshauer, welche über den oberen Knopf des Rockes geschlungen wird. Pfeife und Tabaksbeutel werden, sobald ausgeraucht ist, in den Rockschlitz gesteckt.

V. Nahrungsmittel und Speisen.

Wenn der Ghiliak wenig Provision hat, so isst er nur 2 Mal täglich. Den Hunger erträgt er verhältnissmässig leicht: 2 Tage kann er ganz ohne Speise jagen oder sonstigen Geschäften nachgehen, am dritten erst fühlt er Schwäche und Unlust. Sobald dafür die Stunde des Ueberflusses schlägt, so isst er gewiss 5 Mal täglich.

Wieviel ungefähr der Ghiliak durchschnittlich an Nahrung verzehrt, wäre schwer zu sagen, doch haben sie im Allgemeinen einen gesegneten Appetit. Von einem Augenzeugen hörte ich, dass einst zwei Ghiliaken auf einer Winterreise an einem Tage ein Pud (etwa 16 Kilo) gefrorenen Störs verzehrten.

Die Basis der Ernährung bilden Fische — Störe, Karpfenarten, Weissfische, besonders aber Lachs und zwar hauptsächlich die Kitá (Salmo longocephalus) und Gorbuschen (S. Gibbosus). Ein frischgefangener Fisch wird roh gegessen, der grösste Theil des Lachsfangs aber wird für die kalte Jahreszeit gedörrt. Zu diesem Behuf werden die der Länge nach gespaltenen Fische in einer Höhe von etwa 6 Fuss aufgehängt und verwandeln sich durch den Luftzug in eine trockene, nicht faulende Masse. Dies ist die sogenannte Sukola. Diesen Wintervorrath liefert hauptsächlich die Kita, deren Erscheinen mit dem Ende des Sommers zusammenfällt. Im Winter gefangene Fische werden gefroren aufbewahrt und in demselben Zustande gegessen [1]. Die Sukola ist auch die Hauptnahrung für die Hunde.

Fleisch isst der Ghiliak verhältnissmässig selten. Ausser Haselhühner und Enten, kommt Elen-, Rennthier-, Hunde- und Bärenfleisch vor. Das Vogelfleisch wird meist gekocht, das übrige theils gekocht, theils auch roh genossen. Das Braten ist fast gar nicht üblich. Als besonderer Leckerbissen gilt Bärenfleisch, welches entweder roh oder sehr wenig angebraten eingenommen wird. Hunde werden verspeist, sobald sich immer eine Gelegenheit dazu bietet. So müssen alte, zum Ziehen nicht mehr brauchbare Hunde schliesslich dem Herrn noch ihr Fleisch und ihr Fell überlassen [2]. Sehr lecker sind die Ghiliaken nach fetten Stubenhunden, die sie bisweilen von den Russen ausbitten.

Fett wird sehr gern genossen, besonders Seehundsthran, allein oder mit Preisselbeeren, ist Jedem eine Leibspeise. Dabei muss berücksichtigt werden, dass dieser Thran einen so penetrant widrigen Geruch hat, dass einer civilisirten Nase sogar von Weitem der Geruch der Stiefel, welche die Russen aus dem Volke hier mit Seehundsthran schmieren, unausstehlich ist. Dem Geruch entspricht natürlich auch der Geschmack. Das Fett der Fische und anderer Thiere wird häufig auch ohne jegliche Zugabe gegessen. Der Thran des Delphins gilt auch für einen Leckerbissen, dessen man aber nicht oft habhaft wird.

Eier sind sehr beliebt, daher werden Vogelnester aufgesucht und beraubt. An eine Hühner- oder Entenzucht wird nicht gedacht. Die

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[1] Auch die Russen Sibiriens essen gefrorenen, in feine Spähne zerschnittenen Fisch: das ist die sog. Stroganina.

[2] Die Anhänglichkeit der Ghiliakenhunde an ihre Herren passt wenig zu dem «wilden und ungeberdigen Benehmen», welches Hunde gegen Hundeesser haben sollen (Philosophie d. Unbewussten 1878, S. 85).

Milch war den Ghiliaken vor der Okkupation des Landes durch die Russen[1] ganz unbekannt (ausser der Muttermilch). Zufällig damit traktirt, geben sie ihr Wohlgefallen kund. Würmer, Insekten und dgl. werden nicht gegessen, nur die — Laus macht eine Ausnahme. Eine Laus gelegentlich mit dem Finger aus den Haaren holen, sie auf die Zähne legen und dann verschlucken — ist etwas ganz Gewöhnliches.

Von mehligen Nahrungsmitteln wird fast nur die Buda (Hirse) genossen. Sie wird von fahrenden, russischen oder chinesischen Kaufleuten gekauft und als Brei oder mit der Suppe gegessen. Kartoffeln und Brod lieben die Ghiliaken sehr, aber Beides ist theurer als Hirse, daher sie denn selten zu ersteren kommen.

Cedernüsse und Beeren sind beliebte Näschereien. Preisselbeeren, Himbeeren und Faulbeeren werden auch für den Winter eingesammelt. In Hungerjahren, d. h. wenn der Lachsfang schlecht ausfiel, werden Beeren und besonders Cedernüsse als Surrogat mehr substantieller Nahrungsmittel, in grosser Menge gesammelt und gegessen.

Den Thee lieben die Ghiliaken fast wie den Branntwein. Sie gebrauchen natürlich die gemeinste Sorte d. h. den Ziegelthee, der in Form von kompakt gepressten Ziegeln, aber ohne sonstige Beimengung in den Verkauf kommt. Sie geniessen ihn übrigens nicht regelmässig, denn dazu fehlt oft Gelegenheit und Geld. Wenn es noch Zucker zum Thee gibt, dann sind die Leute vollkommen selig.

Von Zuthaten und Würzen wird fast nur das Lauch der Tscherenescha genossen. Auf Sachalin wird, nach Schrenk, auch die Senecia Pseudoarnica in die Suppe gelegt. Das Salz wird jetzt regelmässig gebraucht. Vor der Ankunft der Russen kannten sie es wohl aber brauchten es selten. Einige Ghiliaken versichern, dass sie, seit sie Salz geniessen, keinen so scharfen Geruch mehr haben, da sie doch sonst die Thiere, die durch das Dickicht gegangen waren, am Geruch unterscheiden konnten (?).

Branntwein lieben sie, wie alle Wilden, ganz besonders; auch ist er die beste Lockspeise, mit deren Hülfe sie von allerlei fahrenden Krämern berückt werden. Der Branntwein, der aus China als Contrebande eingeschmuggelt wird (Suli oder Chanschina), ist überreich an Fuselöl, und der durch ihn erzeugte trunkene Zustand hat

[1] Die Chinesen und Koräer melken keines ihrer Hausthiere. Die Koräer brauchen ihre Kühe zum Reiten.

manchmal etwas an Wahnsinn grenzendes. Andere berauschende Getränke kennen die Ghiliaken nicht.

Der Tabak ist der beliebteste Genuss von Jung und Alt beider Geschlechter. Er kommt aus der benachbarten Mandschurei und ist nicht sehr stark. Kinder von 6—8 Jahren rauchen schon, obgleich übrigens nicht alle Aeltern dies erlauben.

Opium wird nicht geraucht, wahrscheinlich hauptsächlich des hohen Preises wegen.

Nach dieser allgemeinen Herzählung der Nahrungs- und Berauschungsmittel, ist noch einiges über die Bereitungsweise der Speisen hinzuzufügen.

Am Tage wird meist Kaltes genossen, das Kochen geht erst gegen Abend an. Das Kalte ist meist auch roh zugleich. Das Braten ist fast gar nicht bekannt, die Zahl der gekochten Speisen ist sehr klein. Sie bestehen so ziemlich aus Hirsebrei und Suppe. Eine Art Suppe st ihrer originellen Bereitungsweise halber näher zu beschreiben. Alle Anwesenden nehmen gedörrten Fisch in den Mund und kauen. Das Gekaute lässt jeder in ein Körbchen aus Birkenrinde fallen, aus allen Körbchen wird es sodann in den Kessel gesammelt, dazu noch frischer ungesalzener Fisch, Beeren, Cedernüsse, Mehl und Seehundsthran gethan und nun gekocht. Die Suppe wird nicht mit Löffeln gegessen, sondern aus hölzernen Näpfen getrunken; aus denselben wird auch die Grütze eingenommen. Man isst mit den Fingern; Teller und Schüsseln für trockene Speisen werden durch kleine, mit Füssen versehene Brettchen ersetzt. Beide Geschlechter essen zugleich, indem sie mit untergeschlagenen Beinen auf den Pritschen sitzen, auf welchen auch die Näpfe und Brettchen herumstehen.

VI. Die Wohnung.

Die Ghiliakendörfer liegen an Flussufern und zwar an niederen Stellen, welche übrigens vom Hochwasser gewöhnlich nicht erreicht werden. Die Häuser stehen in einer Reihe; ihre Zahl ist meist 3—6, selten 12 und mehr. Die Fronte des Dorfes ist mehr oder weniger durch die hohen Gerüste zum Dörren der Fische verdeckt. Die einzigen Nebengebäude sind kleine Vorrathshäuschen. Weder Ställe, noch Götzenbehälter, weder Küchengärten, noch bebaute Felder sieht man um so ein Dorf[1]. Die erwähnten Gerüste bestehen aus hohen wagerechten Stangen mit Querstangen. Unter und neben

[1] Als Ausnahme mag erwähnt werden, dass ein Ghiliak in den letzten Jahren einige Kartoffelbeete bearbeitete.

ihnen halten sich gewöhnlich die Hunde auf. In manchen Ghiliakendörfern gibt es noch ein besonderes — *Bärenhaus*, ein kleines Balkenviereck, wo ein Bär aufgefüttert wird. Dieser Eigenthümlichkeit wird noch später unten gedacht werden.

Das Haus [1] hat einige Achnlichkeit mit einem gewöhnlichen Bauernhause, sieht aber im Allgemeinen ärmlicher und finsterer aus, es ist breiter und zugleich niedriger, hat keine Glasscheiben in den Fenstern und keinen Rauchfang auf dem Dache. Es besteht nur aus einer Stube. Die Wände sind aus dünnen Tannenbalken zusammengefügt. Die Zwischenräume werden mit Moos zugestopft und mit Lehm verschmiert. Die Diele besteht aus gestampftem Lehm, das Dach aus Birkenrinde oder groben getrockneten Grashalmen (Calamagrostis purpurea) auf die noch Erde geschüttet wird; auch wird das Dach noch mitunter mit Steinen beschwert, um dem Winde Widerstand zu leisten. Die wenigen Fenster haben anstatt der Glasscheiben ausgespannte Fischhäute. Die niedere, einfache Thür hat lederne Riemen anstatt der Angeln. Eine Decke gibt es nicht, ihre Stelle nehmen einige Querstangen ein, auf welche verschiedene Geräthe u. s. w. gelegt und gehängt werden; unter Anderen hängt so ein Kessel, der bis zur vorderen Oeffnung des Heerdes reicht. Der Heerd oder der Ofen, wie man es will, besteht aus gestampftem Lehm; die grösseren Häuser haben ihrer zwei. Der Rauch tritt in eine horizontale, aus Steinen zusammengefügte und mit Lehm beworfene Röhre, welche unter den Schlafpritschen rund um die Stube herum geht, durch die Seitenwand nach Aussen führt und in einem apart stehenden hohen hölzernen Rauchfang endigt. Dieselbe Einrichtung besteht bei den Mandschuren und Golden. Dies Rauchrohr wird selten gereinigt; Feuer bricht indess selten aus. Die dünnen Wände des Ghiliakenhauses halten wenig Wärme, der Ofen ist klein und niedrig, daher ist die Erwärmung der Pritschen von unten eine sehr praktische Einrichtung, und dennoch ist es häufig recht kalt in solch einem Hause, besonders bei Frostwetter mit Wind. In die obere Oeffnung des Heerdes ist ein grosser Wasserkessel eingelassen, ausserdem hängt, wie gesagt, ein anderer, kleinerer Kessel oder Kochtopf an einer Kette von oben herab und kommt gerade vor die vordere Heerdöffnung, die sich hart am Boden befindet, zu stehen. Die Holzscheite sind gewöhnlich so lang, dass

[1] Im Gespräche mit Russen nennen auch die Ghiliaken ihr Haus gewöhnlich *Jurta*, doch ist dies kein ghiliakisches Wort.

sie nicht vollständig Platz finden und zum Theil vor der Oeffnung verbrennen, wesshalb die Stube häufig von Rauchwolken durchzogen wird.

Das Innere der Stube, das Mobiliar u. s. w. ist höchst einfach. Nicht weit von der Thür befindet sich der Heerd, oder — wenn es zwei gibt — der eine rechts, der andere links vom Eingange. Rund herum, an den Wänden sind die Pritschen, oder besser gesagt eine einzige ununterbrochene Pritsche angebracht. Sie ist niedrig und so breit, dass ein langer Mann quer darauf liegen kann. Sie sind mit geflochtenen Matten (aus Arundo) bedeckt. In der Mitte der Stube steht der lange und niedrige *Hundetisch:* die Hunde werden nämlich vor der Fütterung herein gerufen und auf dem Tisch angebunden, sodann einzeln heruntergelassen, gefüttert und wieder hinausgejagt. Ferner sieht man hängende Wiegen, hier und da ein primitiv gearbeitetes Schränkchen, einen Kasten u. dgl. Auf den Pritschen stehen einige Sitzbänkchen, für die Fälle, wo man bei der Arbeit einen erhöhten Sitz braucht. An den Querstangen unter dem Dach hängen allerlei Felle, Fische, Lappen u. s. w., über ihnen in der Quere liegen Ruder, Lanzen, Bogen u. dgl. Götzenbilder sind nicht zu sehen; dieselben liegen gewöhnlich im Vorrathshause verwahrt und werden nur bei besonderen Gelegenheiten hervorgeholt. Abends wird die Stube auf die primitivste Art beleuchtet: ein Lappen und ein Näpfchen mit Fischthran ist die Lampe, oder es brennt auch, wenn gerade kein Thran vorhanden, ein Kienspan.

Das Bett besteht im Sommer aus Matten, im Winter aus Bären- oder anderen Fellen. Als Kopfkissen dienen lange, cylinderförmige, mit Heu gefüllte Tuchsäcke, deren einer mehreren Köpfen zugleich dient. Die Decke besteht aus Fell, bisweilen auch aus grobem Soldatentuch.

Die Häuser der sachalinschen Ghiliaken sind anders eingerichtet Dort gibt es weder Oefen noch Rauchröhren, noch Fenster. Die Diele ist etwas unter der Oberfläche der Erde, in ihrer Mitte ist ein kastenartiger offener Heerd aus gestampftem Lehm angebracht, und über ihm ist eine Oeffnung im Dach. Bei windigem Wetter sind diese Häuser meist voll Rauch.

Das Ghiliakenhaus dient seinen Bewohnern nur während der kalten und kälteren Jahreszeit zum Aufenthalt, im Sommer hingegen siedeln diejenigen, welche sich nicht an fernen Exkursionen betheiligen, in die luftige Vorrathskammer über. Letztere besteht aus Brettern und steht auf Pfählen, um die Vorräthe gegen Ratten zu sichern.

Auf ihren Exkursionen machen sich die Ghiliaken häufig Hütten aus Birkenrinde, von der sie lange und breite Stücke mit sich führen. Die Rinde wird bei ihrer Zubereitung geschabt und in heissem Dampf erweicht. Auch Körbe, Näpfe u. dgl. werden aus ihr verfertigt.

Das Ghiliakenhaus dient nur selten bloss einer Familie; gewöhnlich wohnen deren mehrere, sogar 8—9 zusammen.

VII. Kommunikationsmittel, Böte und Hundeschlitten.

Böte gibt es zweierlei. Das eigentliche Boot wird meist aus Cedern- oder Tannenholz gebaut. Es ist ziemlich schmal, aber sehr lang, gegen 6—7 Meter und ohne Kiel. Das Steuerende ist stumpf, das entgegengesetzte spitz. Es besteht im Längendurchmesser bloss aus 3 Planken, deren eine dem Boden, die anderen den Seiten entsprechen. Das Bodenbrett steht an dem Vorderende frei vor, denn die Seitenbretter sind kürzer als dasselbe und sind vermittels 2 Querbrettchen vereinigt; das frei vorstehende mässigt den Stoss beim Landen und dient zum Anbinden des Fahrzeuges. Die Bretter sind mittelst hölzerner Nägel zusammengefügt, die Ritzen mit Moos verstopft, dieses aber wird von innen mit dünnen Brettchen bedeckt und befestigt. Ein Steuer gibt es nicht, statt dessen dient ein kurzes Steuerruder, mit welchem bald links, bald rechts gearbeitet wird. Die eigentlichen Ruder sind schaufelförmig; das breite Ende ist dabei leyerförmig ausgeschnitten. Für jedes Ruder ist am Rande des Boots ein Stäbchen zum Anstemmen angebracht. Die Ruderer sitzen auf schmalen, niedrigen Querbrettern. Manchmal wird ein Mast gestellt und ein Segel aufgespannt. Letzteres besteht aus Fischhaut oder aus Segeltuch. Diese Böte gehen schnell, werden aber leicht umgestürzt.

Die *Omorotschka* ist ein kleiner schmaler Kahn aus Birkenrinde; von Innen ist das Gerüste durch eine doppelte Reihe kreuzweis liegender Riemen aus demselben Stoffe befestigt. In diesem Kahn sitzt gewöhnlich nur ein Mensch, der mit einem Doppelruder bald rechts, bald links rudert.

Im Allgemeinen sind die Ghiliaken gewandte Bootfahrer. Die Noth lehrte sie gewisse Zeichen kennen, durch die man einen Sturm voraussehen kann und sobald sie davon Etwas merken, scheuen sie sich auszufahren, besonders wenn sie an der Meeresküste zu thun haben. Wenn es sich ereignet, dass das Boot im Kampf mit Wind und Wogen überschlägt, so gelingt es den Menschen meist, sich wieder an dasselbe reitend anzuklammern und sich nach Hülfe umzuschauen.

Da aber die Meisten schlecht schwimmen, zumal in Kleidern, so kommt dabei auch nicht selten Jemand um.

Die Hunde sind während der warmen Jahreszeit wenig beschäftigt; höchstens werden sie bisweilen dazu gebraucht, ein Boot stromaufwärts an der Leine zu ziehen. Ihre eigentliche Berufssaison ist der Winter. Der Ghiliakenhund ist von mittlerem Wuchse, stark gebaut, hat spitze Ohren und einen kurzabgehauenen Schwanz, grobhaariges, doch nicht zottiges Fell und gleicht überhaupt einem russischen Dorfhunde. Er lebt 5—6 Jahre und endigt seine Laufbahn im Magen seines Herrn. Man kann nicht sagen, dass die Ghiliakenhunde boshaft wären, aber beim Ziehen werden sie es bisweilen und suchen Alles, was ihnen begegnet, anzupacken. Wenn ein Pferdeschlitten sichtbar wird, so biegt der Ghiliak gewöhnlich seitab und hält seine Meute fest, dass sie sich nicht auf die Pferde stürzt und ihnen Wunden beibringt. Besonders Schweine, die sich in der Nähe russischer Dörfer herumtreiben, haben sich vor diesen Jägern zu fürchten.

Im Allgemeinen sieht die Hundeequipage folgendermassen aus: Der Schlitten[1] ist etwa 2—2½ Meter lang, sehr schmal, an beiden Enden gleichartig abgerundet und mit einem Griff zum Befestigen der Leine versehen und hat keinen Hohlraum. Der Ghiliak sitzt reitends, in jeder Hand einen mit einer eisernen Spitze versehenen Stock haltend, dabei stemmt er sich mit den Füssen und gelegentlich auch mit den Stöcken, um den Schlitten in Gleichgewicht und in der nöthigen Richtung zu erhalten. Das Geschirr besteht aus einem langen Mittelriemen, und zwei Reihen kleinerer an ihn befestigten Riemen oder Schlingen, welche den Hunden um den Hals geworfen werden. Der Mittelriemen selbst hat an seinem vorderen Ende eine solche Schlinge für den Vorder- oder Leithund. Das von den Russen gebrauchte Hundegeschirr ist besser, denn die Schlinge ist eher einem Kummet ähnlich, so dass der Hund mehr mit der Brusst zieht, und auch unter dem Bauch geht ein Querriemen durch. Auch der Schlitten ist von den Russen modifizirt worden. Dessen Boden besteht nicht, wie bei den der Ghiliaken, aus Längsstäben, sondern aus Brettern und ist von hinten und von den Seiten mit einem Geländer umgeben, an welches sich der Reisende stützt. Der Kutscher sitzt an dem Vorderende seitwärts und hält sich mit der einen Hand an einem daselbst angebrachten Krummholz, in der andern hält er den Stock.

[1] In der Ghiliakensprache heisst Schlitten Tu, die Russen aber nennen ihn gewöhnlich Narta, welches Wort, glaube ich, aus Kamtschatka stammt.

Eine vollständige Meute besteht aus 13—15 Hunden, man braucht aber auch weniger. Zügel gibt es keine, bloss Stock und Kommandowort regieren die Hunde. Bei allzuschnellem Lauf stemmt sich der Kajur (Kutscher) mit Füssen gegen den Schnee, wenn rechts oder links eingebogen werden soll, so wird die Spitze des entsprechenden Stocks in den Schnee gestossen. Das Hauptkommandowort ist «tach tach» (vorwärts), «kai» heist «umgekehrt», «tschui» «langsam».

Bei der Beweglichkeit des Geschirrs, der Menge von Thieren, ihrer Lebhaftigkeit und der Leichtigkeit des Schlittens, ist das Regieren eines Hundeschlittens eine recht mühevolle Arbeit.

Im Hintertheil des Schlittens liegt Gepäck oder Waare oder sitzt ein Reisender[1]. Ein Theil des Gepäcks besteht aus gedörrtem Fisch für die Hunde, deren Nahrung auf der Reise überhaupt nur aus Fisch und Schnee besteht. Im Laufe entleeren sie fortwährend stinkende Gase. Ihre Ausdauer ist grossartig, ihr einziger Schutz gegen Kälte ist ihr eigenes Fell. Wenn der Ghiliak unterwegs von solchem Schneewetter überfallen wird, dass er nicht vor noch rückwärts kann, so sucht er einen recht dichten Platz im Walde zu erreichen, wohin Wind und Schnee weniger eindringen; da bleibt die Gesellschaft, die Hunde aneinander gedrängt, bis die Wuth des Wetters sich legt. Bisweilen allerdings, d. h. wenn die Nahrung ausgeht, bevor ein Ausweg gefunden wurde, werden Menschen und Thiere ein Opfer der Kälte. Solche Fälle kommen am leichtesten beim Passiren der Meerenge und auf Sachalin vor, wo der Kajur den Fischvorrath für die ganze Reise gewöhnlich mit sich führen muss.

Der Vorderhund ist das vorsichtigste und gescheidteste Thier von der ganzen Meute. Auf einen guten Vorderhund ist in gefährlichsten Situationen am Meisten zu bauen, er findet den Weg unter Umständen, wo es ganz unmöglich schien. Die besten Vorderhunde werden mit 80—100 Rubeln bezahlt; der gewöhnliche Preis aber für eine mittelmässige Meute nebst Schlitten ist 70—80 Rubel.

Der Hauptwerth des Hundes als Zugvieh besteht darin, dass er im tiefen, lockeren Schnee verhältnissmässig nicht so tief einsinkt, wie das Pferd, und überhaupt viel behender ist, so dass ein Hundeschlitten ohne Weg seinen Weg findet, wo Pferde bis an die Brust einsinken und nicht vom Fleck kommen. Ferner kann man das

[1] In Nikolajewsk und Ssofiisk gibt es russische Kajure, welche Waaren und Reisende auf solchen Winterwegen befördern, wo das Fahren mit Pferden unmöglich ist, z. B. nach Sachalin und Dekastrie.

Futter für die Hunde mit sich haben, folglich solche Gegenden besuchen, wo es keine Ansiedelungen gibt. 13—15 Hunde schleppen einen Menschen und gegen 30 Pud Gepäck. Dies gilt übrigens eher für russische Hundeequipagen, denn die Russen füttern besser[1] und ihre Hunde ziehen mehr mit der Brust.

Die Schneeschuhe werden bekanntlich zum Gehen über lockeren Schnee gebraucht, da der Fuss dabei nicht tief einsinkt. Der ghiliakische Schneeschuh besteht aus einem etwa 2 Arschin langen Brette von Lärchenholz. An der unteren Fläche ist er mit Seehundsfell überzogen, dessen Haare in solche Richtung gekehrt sind, dass sie das Zurückgleiten des Schuhes nicht zulassen.

VIII. Beschäftigungen und Gewerbe.

Sie bestehen in Jagd, Fischfang und den nothwendigsten Arbeiten für den Haushalt, die Kleidung etc.

Der *Fischfang*. Kleinere Fische, Karpfen, Weissfische u. dgl werden mit Netzen gefangen. Das Netz wird aus Nessel- oder Hanffaser[2] verfertigt. Die getrocknete Pflanze wird auf eine gewisse Zeit dem Frost ausgesetzt, darauf zerfasert und die Faser gesponnen. Die Spindel gleicht einer russischen. Ihr unteres langes Ende wird beim Spinnen zwischen die Beine genommen, die Scheibe wird in Schwung gesetzt und zugleich werden zwei lange Fasern, deren hinteres Ende über den Kopf des Arbeitenden geworfen wird, mit den Vorderenden gegen die Spindel gedrückt, gedreht und aufgewunden. Das Netz wird mittelst hölzerner Nadeln geflochten. Beide Arbeiten liegen den Frauen ob, bisweilen aber bequemen sich auch die Männer dazu.

Karpfen, Hechte und Weissfische werden mitunter auch mit der Angel gefangen. Als Köder wird dabei Fischrogen gebraucht. An der Küste kommt stellenweise der Schellfisch in solcher Menge vor, dass es für ihn eine besondere Angel gibt. Das Ende der Angelschnur ist mit einer Anzahl von Haken, die nach allen Seiten hinsehen, gespickt; solch eine Schnur wird im Winter ohne jeglichen Köder in eine Spalte oder ein künstliches Loch im Eise hinabgesenkt und in der Regel sogleich mit einem oder mehreren gefangenen Fischen heraufbefördert.

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[1] Für das beste Futter wird das Rückentheil des Lachses gehalten. Ueberhaupt wird er beim Dörren in 3 Theile gespalten, einen hinteren und zwei seitliche.

[2] Nur wilder Hanf wird gebraucht.

Störe werden mit Haken gefangen. Grosse eiserne Haken werden abwechselnd mit Holz- oder Korkstücken an einen Strick befestigt, welcher seinerseits durch schwere Steine in der Tiefe des Wassers d. h. nicht viel über dem Grunde festgehalten wird. Der Stör, der tief geht, wird sonderbarer Weise durch die sich hin und her bewegenden Holzstücke angelockt, er »spielt» mit ihnen, wie die Eingeborenen sagen, und wird dabei von diesem oder jenem Haken gespiesst. Im Winter wird er auch mit starken Netzen gefangen, denn um diese Zeit soll er schwächer sein.

Die grösste Thätigkeit wird zur Zeit des Lachsganges entfaltet. Von seiner Ergiebigkeit wird das Leben während des ganzen Jahres beeinflusst, daher treiben sich ganze Schwärme von Ghiliaken auf dem Amur herum. Der Fang des Fisches wird mittelst Verzäunungen[1] bewerkstelligt: in der Nähe des Ufers stösst man eine Reihe von Pfählen in das Flussbett, im Durchschnitt hat diese Verzäunung die Figur [ ], wobei die offene Seite der Mündung des Flusses, von wo der Fisch heraufsteigt, zugewandt ist. Der Fisch stösst gegen die Wand, kehrt seitwärts ab und geräth in den Sack, welcher vom Boote, an den inneren Schenkel des Zaunes herabgelassen wird. Auf dem Höhepunkt des Lachsganges kommen solche Massen von Fischen, dass die Säcke kaum herabgelassen auch schon gleich vol sind. Der Fisch wiegt 8—12, ja 20 Pfund und kostet 3—5 Kopeken.

Bei diesem Fange sind auch die Weiber beschäftigt. Eine besondere Organisation im Vertheilen der Plätze zum Fischen gibt es nicht, nur wird beobachtet, dass jeder Familienvater da fischt, wo es sein Vater und Grossvater thaten; die Stelle des Flusses ist auf diese Zeit so gut, wie sein Eigenthum.

Der Delphin wird mit der Harpune erlegt, doch gilt dies für eine schwere Jagd. Das Thier ist vorsichtig und lässt den Jäger nicht leicht nahe kommen, und geschieht dies, so kann das verwundete Thier das Boot leicht umstürzen. Die Harpune besteht aus einem langen Haken, der an einem Ende Spitze und Widerhaken, am anderen ein etwa 15 Faden langes Seil mit darauf sitzender aufgeblasenen Blase hat. Die Blase muss, wie dies bekanntlich beim Wallfischfang der Fall ist, den Ort anzeigen, wo der verwundete Delphin untertauchte. Wenn das Thier wieder hervorkommt, wird ihm mit Harpunen oder Lanzen der Garaus gemacht.

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[1] *Sajstdka* der russischen Fischer.

Der Seehund[1] wird auf mehrerlei Art gejagt. Auf Sachalin wird eine etwa 2—2½ Faden lange Lanze, die mit einem dicken Hinterende versehen ist, in eine hölzerne Rinne gelegt; am dicken Ende ist ein 20—30 Faden langer Riemen befestigt. Im Frühjahr, wenn das Eis aufbricht, steigt der Seehund an's Land, da folgt ihm der Ghiliak, oft mit Lebensgefahr, im Boote oder über schwimmende Eisschollen. Sobald er ihm nahe genug ist, legt er die Rinne, welche gewissermaassen den Lauf vorstellt, mit der eingelegten Lanze auf den Boden, zielt und wirft die Lanze, indem er mit der Linken das hintere Ende des Riemens hält, damit das verwundete Thier sich nicht zu weit entferne.

Eine andere Art, die z. B. in dem Dorfe Tscharbach, unterhalb Nikolajewsk praktizirt wird, besteht in Folgendem: wo grosse Steine am Ufer liegen, werden nicht weit von demselben zwei Pfähle in den Grund des Flusses getrieben und zwischen ihnen eine Art Segel ausgespannt, hinter welches sich der Jäger versteckt. Der Seehund, der ihn nicht ahnt, besteigt einen Stein, um sich zu sonnen und wird dabei von der Lanze, die durch einen langen Riemen am Boot befestigt ist, getroffen.

Endlich wird der Seehund bisweilen beim Sonnen auf einem Steine mittelst einer unendlich langen Lanze, deren hinteres Ende am Ufer liegt, getödtet.

Der Seelöwe kommt an der Küste Sachalins häufig vor, und seine Jagd ist die einfachste von der Welt. Das Thier ist einfältig und neugierig zugleich und lässt den Jäger so nahe heran, dass er es mit einem Knüttel erschlägt.

Die Fischotter zeigt sich häufig an den Flüssen des Landes, und ihr Fell wird sehr geschätzt. Sie wird geschossen, manchmal sogar mit Stöcken erschlagen. Auch Armbrüste, wie für den Zobel, werden für sie bisweilen aufgestellt.

Von den Landsäugethieren werden der Bär, das Elen, das Rennthier, der Fuchs, das Moschusthier und besonders der Zobel gejagt.

Mit dem Bären nehmen die Tapfersten es im Einzelkampf auf und stossen ihm, indem er sich auf die Hintertatzen stellt, die Lanze in die Brust. Die Narben die einer im Einzelkampfe mit dem Bären davontrug, bringen ihm grosse Ehre und Lobsprüche. Die Meisten wagen den Einzelkampf nicht und gehen dem Thiere paarweise und mit

[1] Am Amur zeigt er sich nur ganz unten an der Mündung.

Büchsen bewaffnet zu Leibe; bisweilen werden dazu auch noch Pfeil und Bogen angewandt, was immerhin eine gefährliche Jagd ist.

Für das Bärenfest (s. unten) sucht man lebendige Junge zu fangen und erzieht sie in einem besonderen Verhau. Wenn es nicht gelingt ihrer anders habhaft[1] zu werden, so werden sie zusammen mit der Mutter aufgesucht. Man wartet den Winter ab und späht eine Bärenhöhle auf. Am verabredeten Tage begeben sich 10—12 Ghiliaken mit Lanzen, Beilen, Riemen und einigen leeren Hundeschlitten zur Höhle. Sofort beginnt man den Bären mittelst langer Stecken, die in die Höhle gestossen werden, zu reizen. Alsobald brüllt Petz gewaltig auf und schickt sich an, die Höhle zu verlassen. In diesem Augenblick stellt sich der tapferste und stärkste der Ghiliaken, seinen Fellrock mit dem Rückenstück nach vorn angezogen, dicht am Eingange hin und sobald der Bär sich zeigt, stürzt er sich ihm mit der Brust auf den Kopf, die Anderen stürzen sich auf den Vordermann, und so wird der bestürzte Bär durch die gesammte Wucht niedergedrückt und schnell gebunden. Ist er so stark und wüthend, dass ihm auf diese Weise nicht beizukommen ist, so wird er sofort getödtet. Bisweilen wird ihm auch beim Erscheinen eine Schlinge um den Hals geworfen. Wenn der Gefangene ein Weibchen mit Jungen war, so wird die ganze Gesellschaft zu Schlitten nach Hause transportirt.

Das Elenthier kommt im untersten Amurgebiet, d. h. der Nähe von Nikolajewsk nicht vor, etwas höher hinauf aber, am Amgunfluss, zeigt es sich schon. Es wird meist im Winter gejagt, weil dies Thier, wie das Pferd, im tiefen Schnee sich nur mit Mühe fortbewegt, der Ghiliak ihm aber mit seinen Schneeschuhen leicht nahe kommt und es mit der Lanze tödtet. Zur Sommerzeit wird das Thier mit Büchsen geschossen. Sein Fleisch ist beliebt, seine Haut wird zu Schuhwerk, Riemen u. dgl. verarbeitet.

Das Rennthier wird ebenfalls hauptsächlich im Winter, und auf ähnliche Art gejagt. Mitunter wird die Lanze auch aus einiger Entfernung geschleudert.

Das Wildschwein kommt auf Sachalin und am untersten Amur nicht vor, 40—50 Werst oberhalb Nikolajewsk aber erscheint es schon. Man jagt es mit Lanze und Büchse. Sein Fleisch ist sehr beliebt, die Haut wird unter Anderm für die Trommeln der Schamanen gebraucht.

[1] Manchmal treiben sich junge Bären in so weiter Entfernung von der Frau Mutter herum, dass man sie leicht einfangen kann.

Der Fuchs wird am liebsten mittelst Krähenaugen, welche die Ghiliaken bei den Chinesen kaufen, vergiftet. Doch wirkt dies Gift nicht sonderlich stark, viel stärker, fast blitzschnell wirkt das Alkaloid desselben, d. h. das Strichnin, wesshalb sich auch russische Fuchsjäger dessen bedienen; die Ghiliaken aber kommen selten dazu. Aber auch diese Jagd ist nicht so bequem, wie man glauben sollte. Erstens erfordert die Zubereitung des Köders grosse Vorsicht, ferner muss man das Revier, wo die Portionen des Köders zerstreut liegen, häufig mit Schneeschuhen befahren, denn die zahlreichen Krähen sind gewöhnlich auf der Lauer, und sowie der Fuchs hinfällt, stürzen sie auf ihn hinab, so dass das Fell sehr bald zerfressen werden kann.

Bisweilen werden dem Fuchs auch gespannte Armbrüste gestellt, was für dies Thier übrigens viel weniger, als für den Zobel passt.

Der Zobel ist für den Ghiliaken bis jetzt eine der wichtigsten Erwerbsquellen, obgleich der Amurzobel dem von Ochotsk und Kamtschatka an Werth nachsteht. Die Zobeljagd wird im Herbst und im Winter betrieben. Im Herbst legt man zahlreiche Schlingen aus: Pferdehaar zwischen Weidengebüsch an Flüssen. Oder man legt die Schlinge auf eine bestimmter berechnete Art zurecht. Der Zobel nämlich, wenn er ein Flüsschen passiren will, verfehlt nie einen über dasselben gestürzte Baumstamm zu benutzen, falls er solchen findet. Solche Stämme werden ihm nun absichtlich zubereitet und Schlingen dazu.

Beim ersten Schneefall verfolgt man ihn mit Hunden und schiesst ihn mit Schrot; das Fell nimmt dabei wenig Schaden, denn schon 2—3 Schrotkörner genügen, um das Thier zu tödten.

Eine sehr gebräuchliche Methode, welche den ganzen Winter über angewandt wird, besteht im Aufstellen von Armbrüsten, deren Mechanismus sehr schlau ersonnen ist. Der Schaft steht auf einem Pfahl, hinter dem Pfeil ist eine Art Hahn aus einem knieförmigen Stück Holz angebracht; auf letzterem sitzt ein Drücker, von welchem ein langer Faden schräg nach vorn und unten geht und irgendwo am Boden befestigt ist. So wie der Zobel beim Vorbeilaufen den Faden berührt, so geht der Schuss los.

Der Tiger ist den Ghiliaken zwar wohlbekannt, und sie haben ein besonderes Wort für ihn, doch wird er nicht gejagt, da er im eigentlichen Ghiliakenlande nur ausnahmsweise vorkommt, auf Sachalin gar nicht und da sie ihn ausserdem für etwas mehr, als für ein wildes Thier halten, welche Scheu ihnen wahrscheinlich von

den Mandschuren und Golden überliefert worden ist. Das Tigerthier des Amur-Ussurilandes ist von der allergrössten und stärksten Art, dabei überaus schlau, jedoch ist es für den Menschen, besonders für den Europäer, bei Weitem nicht so gefährlich, wie in Indien, weil es mehr Nahrung findet[1]. Nur wenn der Mensch selbst die Offensive ergreift, verliert das Ungethüm seine instinktive Scheu vor ihm und kehrt plötzlich alle seine furchtbaren natürlichen Vorzüge hervor, zu welchen auch eine erstaunliche Zähigkeit gehört. Mit 5—6 Büchsenkugeln im Leibe macht es noch ungeheure Sprünge, selbst in der Agonie kann es noch einen Menschen zu Grunde richten. An seinem Schädel gleiten die Kugeln ab, man zielt immer nach der Brust, denn nur eine Kugel in's Herz macht ihm den Garaus. Daher ist eine offene Jagd auf ihn so gefährlich, dass die Bärenjagd dagegen ein Kinderspiel genannt werden kann, und die Bauern und Kosaken entschliessen sich dazu nur im äussersten Falle, wenn der Tiger in die Ställe einbricht und ihm auf andere Weise nicht beizukommen ist. Dann rücken 15—20 Mann mit Bajonetten an den Büchsen, in enggeschlossener Kolonne auf den Ort los, wo das Thier aufgespürt ist. Die gewöhnliche Art des Fanges aber ist Vergiftung mit Strichnin oder das Aufstellen geladener Büchsen, die beim Herantreten des Tigers an den Köder losgehn. Als Köder dient gewöhnlich der Leichnam des von ihm selbst getödteten Thieres, da er die löbliche Eigenschaft hat, den Tag nach dem Ueberfall wiederzukehren.

Der Wolf existirt zwar am unteren Amur, zeigt sich aber sehr selten und schadet nicht. Er wird selten geschossen.

Vögel, namentlich wilde Enten und Gänse, Reb- und Haselhühner werden jetzt meist mit Büchsen geschossen. Den Rebhühnern legt man auch Schlingen auf flachen Inseln, im Weidengebüsch. Haselhühner werden im Frühjahr mit einer Pfeife angelockt, im Winter im Tannendickicht direkt aufgesucht. Die Hauptlieferanten des Wildes in Nikolajewsk sind die umwohnenden Ghiliaken.

Von den übrigen Beschäftigungen und von embryonalem Handwerk und Gewerbe war schon oben die Rede. Die Spezialisirung

[1] Während meiner alljährigen Reisen durch das Küstengebiet bin ich auch durch sehr tigerreiche Gegenden gekommen und habe eine Menge Tigergeschichten gehört, erinnere mich aber nur zweier Fälle, wo Europäer von ihm überfallen wurden, ohne die Angreifer gewesen zu sein. Der eine Fall trug sich im Januar 1878 zu und zwar am hellen Tage und auf dem Eise, in der Nähe einer Poststation. Es wurde hier ein Postknecht vom Tiger geschlachtet. Der Schädel dieses Thieres, welches den Tag darauf selbst getödtet wurde, gehört jetzt mir. Er misst über 7½ Werschok (33 Ctm.), die oberen Eckzähne sind fingerlang.

der Arbeit ist nicht viel mehr, als Vertheilung zwischen Mann und Frau. Der Mann jagt, zimmert, macht Waffen, Schlitten etc., macht Fahrten in verschiedenen Geschäften u. s. w., auch den Fischfang besorgt er hauptsächlich. Die Frau spinnt, macht Netze und Kleider, kocht, besorgt die Kinder und die Hunde. Das Weben ist den Ghiliaken ganz unbekannt, künstliche Zeuge, so wie Zwirn und Nadeln, werden gekauft, Letzteres wurde übrigens früher in primitiver Weise von ihnen selbst verfertigt. Man kann im Allgemeinen sagen, dass jeder Ghiliak und jede Ghiliakin die für ihre Existenz nothwendigen Arbeiten versteht, obzwar nicht Alles in gleichem Maasse. Letzteres bezieht sich besonders auf Metallarbeiten: ein Messer versteht jeder zu machen, ein Beil nicht jeder, nur Wenige endlich befassen sich mit den später zu beschreibenden Brummeisen und den feineren Waffen, z. B. Lanzen mit Silberschmuck.

Hier ist der Ort, noch über das Feuermachen Einiges zu erwähnen. Am Gürtel trägt der Ghiliak gewöhnlich einen Beutel mit Feuerstein, Stahl und Zunder. Als Zunder dient der Schwamm der Birke, Feuersteine gibt es genug an den Ufern des Amurs. Wenn einmal das Feuerzeug fehlt, so wird das Feuer, wie bei anderen Naturvölkern, durch Reiben erzeugt. Ein trockenes Stäbchen, an dessen beiden Enden ein Stück Schwamm gebunden ist, wird mit dem einen Ende in die Vertiefung eines Holzklotzes gesteckt; ein Mann hält das Stäbchen beim oberen Ende aufrecht, ein Anderer wickelt eine Schnur um dasselbe, nimmt die Enden der Schnur in die Hände und sägt hin und her. Gewöhnlich zeigt sich etwa nach einer halben Stunde Feuer.

IX. Die Waffen.

Ausser dem Messer, welches übrigens selten zur Vertheidigung gebraucht wird, trägt der Ghiliak gewöhnlich keine Waffen mit sich. Das Messer besteht aus einer zugespitzten Klinge und einem hölzernen Griff. Klinge und die Hälfte des Griffes werden in einer am Gürtel hängenden ledernen Scheide gehalten. Zu den eigentlichen Waffen gehören Lanze, Pfeil und Bogen und gegenwärtig auch die Flinte, die sich schon Viele angeschafft haben.

Der Bogen ist aus Holz, aber mit einer Unterlage aus Fischbein, die an das Holz mittelst Fischleim geklebt ist. Das Holz wird am liebsten von der Esche genommen (Frax. mandschurica). An der inneren d. h. der Fischbeinseite sind nicht weit von denEnden zwei

kleine Leisten mit einer Rinne für die Sehne angebracht. Der Bogen biegt sich im ruhenden Zustande gewöhnlich so, dass das Fischbein an der äusseren Seite zu liegen kommt, beim Gebrauch aber wird er nichtsdestoweniger umgebogen, sonst kann das Fischbein beschädigt werden. Die Sehne besteht aus wirklichen zusammengedrehten Sehnen oder aus einem Strick. Es kostet einige Mühe diesen Bogen zu spannen und der Schuss ist kräftig. Der Pfeil hat an dem Hinterende drei schmale Federn, das verdickte Vorderende trägt eine mit Widerhaken versehene eiserne Spitze, manche Pfeile haben aber statt ihrer ein mondförmig ausgeschnittenes, geschärftes Stück Eisen; die letztere Art wird für die Entenjagd gebraucht (wenn kein Pulver zu haben ist). Auf der Jagd werden die Pfeile gewöhnlich im Köcher gehalten, der übrigens meist nicht über 3 fasst. Er besteht aus einem flachen und einem ausgehöhlten Brettchen und trägt gewöhnlich an der Aussenseite verschiedene Schnörkel oder Figuren von Thieren. Er wird am Gürtel befestigt.

Die Lanze besteht aus einem etwa 1 3/4 Meter langen Stabe und einer platten Eisenspitze. Es gibt Lanzen von ghiliakischer Arbeit, die kunstvoll mit Silber- und Goldfiguren verziert sind. Uebrigens werden alle Waffen ausser dem Feuergewehr von den Ghiliaken selbst verfertigt. Das Schmieden wird ganz einfach am Hausheerde betrieben, nur wird das Feuer mit einem Blasebalg angeschürt. Das Eisen kauft man bei den Chinesen oder Russen. Bisweilen werden Scherben von eisernen chinesischen Töpfen zu Messern und dgl. umgearbeitet.

Schliesslich muss ich noch der Panzer, deren ein Paar Stück noch bei den Ghiliaken existiren, erwähnen. Sie sind sehr schwer, wohl an 35—40 Pfund, sehr grob gearbeitet und bestehen aus eisernen Ringen. Sie stammen aus China und haben gegenwärtig gar keinen praktischen Werth, da Niemand daran denkt, sie zu tragen. Nichtsdestoweniger gelten sie für etwas sehr Kostbares und werden auf 200 Rubel taxirt. Es ist vorgekommen, dass der Eigenthümer eines solchen Panzers ihn einem russischen Kaufmann als Pfand weggab, ihn aber, sobald er zu Gelde kam, sogleich loskaufte.

X. Ehe und Kindererziehung.

Unverheirathete Männer, welche schon ein mittleres Alter erreicht haben, sind selten, noch seltner kommen Ehemänner vor, die sich 4—5 Frauen halten, denn dazu gehört ein gewisses Vermögen, ferner sind der Frauen überhaupt zu wenig. Als Anfang der

Ehe gilt die Zahlung des Lösegeldes (Kalim). Dies besteht nicht aus Geld, sondern aus verschiedenen nothwendigen Dingen — Waffen, Hundeschlitten u. s. w. Der mittlere Werth des Kalim beträgt 200 bis 300 Rubel. Besondere Hochzeitszeremonien gibt es nicht, die Hochzeitsgastereien aber, welche auch vom Bräutigam bestritten werden müssen, dauern ziemlich lange, eine Woche und mehr. Ausser Hirse, Fisch und Thee, wird dabei dem Branntwein tüchtig zugegesprochen.

Ein eigenthümlicher, wenn auch nicht ganz vereinzelter Gebrauch sind Heirathen von 4—5jährigen Kindern. Sobald die Eltern darin übereinkommen, heissen Knabe und Mädchen Mann und Frau. Der Vater des Knaben zahlt den Kalim und nimmt das Mädchen zu sich, um sie mit dem «Manne» zu erziehen; bisweilen übrigens bleibt sie auch noch einige Jahre im elterlichen Hause. Um welche Zeit solche Eheleute dies faktisch zu sein beginnen, ist schwer zu sagen, wahrscheinlich aber gibt das erste Erwachen des Geschlechtstriebs das Signal. Die Ghiliaken meinen, dass ein 30jähriger Mann — was so viel wie 15jährig bedeutet, da das Ghiliakenjahr unserem halben gleich kommt — heirathen könne. Uebrigens ist auch dies annähernd zu verstehen, denn sie zählen überhaupt ihre Jahre gar nicht. Ein Kaufmann, der sich schon seit langer Zeit unter den Ghiliaken herumtrieb, ein gutes Gedächtniss und Beobachtungsgabe besass, sagte mir, er wisse von zwei Ehepaaren, deren Männer und Frauen er schon von klein auf kenne: in einem dieser Fälle hatte die Frau im 15-ten Jahre schon ein Kind, im andern war die Frau 20 Jahre alt und beklagte sich, dass ihr 14-jähriger Mann noch nicht Mann sein könne. Auch mir zeigte man anscheinend 15-jährige Burschen mit noch halbkindischen Gesichtszügen und engen Schultern und sagte, sie könnten heirathen, wenn sich eine Braut fände. Schliesslich kann man folgern, dass die Ehe schon in der Pubertätszeit zugelassen wird, doch ist dies thatsächlich lange nicht immer der Fall. Wenigstens unter den Männern sind volljährige Subjekte (etwa 23—25 Jahr), die noch unverheirathet blieben, keine Seltenheit. Die Fälle, wo die Frau älter ist, sind selten, das Umgekehrte aber kommt häufig vor, ja manche erwachsene Männer nehmen sich 4—5jährige Frauen und erziehen sie bis zur Mannbarkeit.

Was die Heirathen unter nahen Verwandten betrifft, so weiss man, dass man zwar Vetter oder Cousinen heirathen könne, dass aber die Alten dies nicht recht gern erlauben, folglich muss auch dies Volk schon eine Erfahrung hinsichtlich der Schädlichkeit solcher Ehen haben. Ein Onkel kann auch wohl seine Nichte heirathen.

Die Frauen werden von den Männern im Allgemeinen gut behandelt, theils weil überhaupt die Sitten der Ghiliaken den Stempel einer instinktiven Humanität tragen, theils weil die Ehescheidung sehr leicht ist. Einem despotischen Manne wird seine Frau alsobald von einem Anbeter entführt, der sich mit ihm gewöhnlich durch Auszahlung des Kalim's abfindet. Mitunter kommt es vor, dass ein wohlhabender Mann sich mehrere Frauen hält, aber sich nur der Lieblingsfrau nähert und die andern als Arbeiterinnen exploitirt. Da gibt es meist bald Zänkereien und die Zurückgesetzten suchen sich aus dieser Lage zu befreien. In allen andern Hinsichten werden übrigens auch solche Arbeitsfrauen gut behandelt, zumal man ihrer Arbeit sehr bedarf. So lange eine Frau arbeiten kann, besonders wenn sie im Nähen geschickt ist, kann sie immer einen Mann finden.

Im Allgemeinen kann man folgern, dass die Frau bei den Ghiliaken theoretisch gewissermaassen weniger als der Mann zu gelten scheint, dass dies aber thatsächlich keine Folgen hat, ja dass sich das Verhältniss manchmal umkehrt. Das Geringersein der Frau spiegelt sich in dem Kalimzahlen, was eigentlich eine Art von Abkaufen ist. Ferner wird die Wittwe gewissermaassen von dem Bruder oder sonstigen nächsten Verwandten des Abgelebten geerbt. Jedoch ist diese Erbschaft nur Gewohnheitssache; will die Wittwe einen andern heirathen, so kann sie es, nur muss dieser den Kalim zurückzahlen. Auch nimmt die Frau an den grösseren Berathungen keinen Theil. Andererseits widerum kann sie eine unabhängige und geachtete Stellung einnehmen, sie kann z. B. Schamanine sein. Sie kann ihr eigenes Vermögen haben und kann erben, obzwar meist weniger, als ihre Brüder. Will eine Wittwe gar nicht mehr heirathen, so ist ihr das nicht nur erlaubt, sondern sie gewinnt dabei an Achtung.

Bei der Verheirathung eines Mädchens aus dem elterlichen Hause gibt der Wille der Eltern gewöhnlich den Ausschlag, und zwar wird in der Regel der Wohlhabende bevorzugt. Aber, obgleich der Geschmack des Mädchens dabei nicht sonderlich berücksichtigt wird, so hat das aus dem obenerwähnten Grunde meist keine schlechten Folgen, indem sich die Frau, wenn es ihr schlecht geht, von einem Anbeter entführen lässt. Im gewöhnlichen Leben zeigt die Frau dem Manne gegenüber keinerlei Unterwürfigkeit, im Kreise ihres Waltens ist sie ganz unabhängig und im Familienrath gilt ihre Meinung nicht weniger, als die des Mannes.

Die Begrüssungen und Zärtlichkeitsbeweisungen unter Mann und

Frau sind höchst primitiv und sparsam, wie sie es überhaupt bei den Ghiliaken sind. Kuss und Händedruck werden nur bei besonderen Gelegenheiten praktisirt, wovon noch später die Rede sein wird. Mann und Frau küssen sich sehr selten; sogar wenn der Mann Abschied nimmt oder von einer Reise heimkehrt, kommen weder Küsse noch Umarmungen oder Händedruck vor, nur Glückwünsche werden gewechselt, und auch die sind ziemlich trocken. Dafür gibt es andrer Art Liebkosungen, welche schwerlich Beifall finden werden. Nämlich die Frau sucht in zärtlichen Stunden in des Mannes Haaren nach Läusen und knackt das erjagte Wild auf ihren Zähnen. Bisweilen thut dies auch umgekehrt der Mann seiner Dame. Eine andere Zärtlichkeitsbezeugung besteht darin, dass man sich gegenseitig das Gesicht mit Speichel abwäscht.

Das Entführen der Frauen geschieht immer mit ihrer eigenen Einwilligung. Während der Abwesenheit des Mannes erscheint plötzlich der Anbeter mit einigen Gefährten, die Dame wird auf den Schlitten oder in's Boot gesetzt und die Gesellschaft verschwindet. Manche Männer ergeben sich aber nicht so leicht in ihr Schicksal, sie verfolgen die Entführte und suchen ihrer durch List oder gar durch Gewalt wieder habhaft zu werden. Manche rächen sich und es kommt zu Kampf und Todtschlag, doch sind dies seltene Fälle. Die Streitigkeiten der Ghiliaken entstehen fast immer aus solcher Art Ursachen. Wenn es dem entlaufenen Paare gelingt, sich irgendwo in der Taiga ein ganzes Jahr lang zu verbergen, so wird gewöhnlich schon zu dessen Gunsten entschieden und der erste Mann muss seine Ansprüche bei Seite setzen. In den letzten Jahren haben sich Manche einer besonderen List bedient, um sich ihre Frauen zu sichern. Solche Kerle, die wahrscheinlich nicht zu den Besten gehörten und daher Aussicht hatten, dereinst von den Frauen verlassen zu werden, liessen sich vom russischen Priester taufen, weil sie wissen, dass die Ehe nach der griechischen Religion permanent bleiben muss, dass sie folglich im Fall eines Entlaufens das Recht haben, den Schutz des Isprawniks in Anspruch zu nehmen. Es ist übrigens zweifelhaft, ob ihnen dieses Manöver auf die Dauer helfen wird, denn solche Getaufte, die es sich überhaupt nicht einfallen lassen, ihr Christenthum später aufzufrischen, werden in den amtlichen Kreisen bald vergessen. Niemand, weiss wo und wer sie eigentlich sind, die Wildniss ist gross und das Nachsuchen ist mehr als beschwerlich.

Hatte die von einem Anderen entführte Frau Kinder aus der ersten Ehe, so bleiben diese gewöhnlich beim Vater.

Die *Kindererziehung*. Wenn sich die Schwangerschaft ihrem Ende naht, so wird die Frau auf 10 Tage[1] aus dem Hause in eine Hütte aus Birkenrinde gebracht, in welcher ein kleines Feuer brennt. Dieser Gebrauch, welcher bekanntlich auch bei einigen andern wilden Völkern, z. B. bei den Ostjaken, existirt, wird bei den Ghiliaken bis jetzt mit aller Strenge beobachtet und zwar auch im Winter, während der stärksten Kälte, in Folge dessen das Neugeborene bisweilen erfriert. Begreiflicherweise muss ein Kind, welches solch eine Probe durchgemacht hat, kräftig sein. Auch die Mutter beweist dabei, was für Strapazen diese Menschen auszuhalten vermögen. Während der ganzen Zeit ihres Aufenthalts in der Hütte werden nur Frauen zu ihr gelassen, öfters muss sie auch selbst ihre eigene Hebamme sein. Niemand konnte mir sagen, was eigentlich der Sinn dieses Gebrauches sei; am Wahrscheinlichsten aber wird er nicht durch eine «Unreinlichkeit» der Gebärenden zu erklären sein, sondern ist einem andern Aberglauben verwandt, von dem noch später die Rede sein wird, der übrigens ursprünglich vielleicht eine hygieinische Maassregel war. Dass keine mystische «Unreinlichkeit» dabei vorausgesetzt wird, sieht man schon daraus, dass die Wöchnerin bei ihrer Rückkehr in das Haus keinerlei «reinigenden» Formalitäten unterworfen wird.

Das Abwaschen des Neugeborenen wird gleichfalls in jenem improvisirten Gebärlokal vorgenommen, wo es auch sonst die ersten Bäder bekommt. Brustkinder werden 2 Mal täglich gebadet, dafür aber werden grössere Kinder selten gewaschen. Erwachsene Ghiliaken halten das Waschen für Luxus, manche thun es nie und überlassen es dem Zufall, welcher sie unter Regen bringt oder in's Wasser fallen lässt, manche aber waschen sich zuweilen sogar mit Seife (die bei den Russen gekauft wird). Der Kopf wird mit einem hölzernen (chinesischen) Kamme gekämmt, wobei die Haare mit Fett geschmiert und auf Läuse Jagd gemacht wird. Das Kämmen geschieht auch lange nicht alle Tage.

Die Kinder bleiben gegen zwei Jahre an der Brust. Ganz kleine werden in einer auf der Diele stehenden Wiege gehalten, sobald sie aber 3—4 Monat alt sind, werden sie schon in ein besonderes, trogartiges Bettchen gelegt. Das Tröglein ist an dem einen Ende offen und etwas zugespitzt, am andern hat der Boden ein Loch. Das

[1] Die Dauer dieses Exil's ist nicht bei Allen dieselbe. Von einigen hörte ich, das 8 Tage genügten, auf Sachalin hingegen werden 12 angegeben.

Kind wird mit dem Rücken gegen den Boden, den Kopf gegen das offene Ende gerichtet, angeschnürt und dann das Ganze in schräger Richtung aufgehängt. Das besagte Loch dient dabei als Abzugskanal Wenn die Mutter auf längere Zeit von Hause geht, so bindet sie sich diese Wiege auf den Rücken.

Wenn der Ghiliakenknabe nicht mehr der Obhut der Mutter bedarf, so fängt er an, den Vater auf seinen Fahrten zu begleiten und lernt dabei allmälig, was er für das Leben braucht. Viele Kinder rauchen schon, wenngleich nicht alle Väter ihnen dies erlauben[1].

Die Eltern gehen mit den Kindern zärtlich und nachsichtig um. Von der Mutter bekommen sie sogar Küsse, Speichelschmier und Läusesuchen. Püffe und Ruthen werden, wie es scheint, nie angewandt. Auch kann man nicht sagen, dass die Knaben einen Vorrang in der Liebe der Eltern besässen. Die Beschäftigungen und Spiele der Kinder bestehen im Baden (im Sommer), im Balgen und Kullern im Sande oder im Schnee, im Nachahmen dessen, was sie bei den Erwachsenen sehen, besonders im Bogenschiessen. Mitunter näht ihnen die Mutter einen ledernen Ball, den sie mit einem Stecken auf ebener Erde oder auf dem Eise vor sich hintreiben. Auch Weidenpfeifen verfertigen sich die Kinder.

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[1] Die Jünger einer einseitigen Krankheitsätiologie könnten vielleicht die Ghiliaken zum lebendigen Beweise der Unschädlichkeit des Tabaks anführen: dies Volk ist durchschnittlich gesünder, als der Kulturmensch, auch die Zähne sind weiss und stark, und dennoch rauchen beide Geschlechter von Kindheit auf. Nichtsdestoweniger wäre dies ein Fehlschluss: eine einzelne gegebene Ursache wirkt immer verschieden, je nachdem die übrige Lebensweise ist. So ist z. B. die Wirkung einer starken Cigarre ganz verschieden, wenn man sie draussen bei kaltem Wetter, oder aber im warmen Zimmer bei Kopfarbeit raucht, sie wird im letzteren Falle ziemlich bald nervöses Herzklopfen erzeugen. Ferner muss das angeborene organische Kapital, über welches der Mensch disponirt, in Rechnung genommen werden. Der Kulturmensch müsste zuvor bei seiner Geburt solche Proben durchmachen, wie der Ghiliak, um mit ihm verglichen zu werden.

(Schluss folgt.)

Arbeiten sind flüchtige Bemerkungen, die Uslar nicht einmal zu lithographiren sich entschloss; doch sind sie demohnerachtet sehr kostbar; besondere Bedeutung haben die Bemerkungen über die Sprache der Ubychen, eines Volkes, das völlig vom Kaukasus verschwunden ist.

(Schluss folgt).

Die Ghiliaken.

Eine ethnographische Skizze.

Von

Dr. N. Seeland.

(Schluss).

XI. Sittlichkeit und Verbrechen.

Die *Verbrechen* sind selten und weder manigfaltig noch raffinirt. Diese negative Seite der Sittlichkeit ist bei diesem Naturvolk viel weniger entwickelt, als die positive, d. h. die sittlichen Charaktereigenschaften. Manche derselben wurden schon in früheren Kapiteln berührt, jetzt wollen wir näher auf dieselben eingehen.

Erstens sind die Ghiliaken ein *muthiges* Volk. Nicht jeder zwar entschliesst sich, dem Bären einzeln mit der Lanze zu Leibe zu gehen, aber paarweise und mit Büchsen bewaffnet auf die Bärenjagd ziehen — ist etwas sehr gewöhnliches. Die Seehundsjagd auf Sachalin ist wegen des treibenden Eises mitunter mit grosser Gefahr verbunden. Selbst das Befahren der Küste und des Amurs in solchen Fahrzeugen, wie es die Ghiliakenböte sind, ist bei windigem Wetter durchaus nicht gefahrlos, besonders wenn man bedenkt, wie schlechte Schwimmer die Ghiliaken sind.

Man kann zwar nicht sagen, dass die Resignation und Geduld im Ertragen körperlicher Schmerzen gänzlich in das Gebiet der Sittlichkeit fiele, denn zum Theil wird sie auch durch eine gewisse Stumpfheit des Nervensystems bedingt; immerhin ist eine gewisse Selbstverläugnung dabei nicht zu verkennen. Die Ghiliaken aber sind grosse Dulder. Nicht bloss Hunger und physische Schmerzen, sondern auch die mit letzteren verbundenen physischen Leiden ertragen sie standhaft. Die Beraubung des Augenlichts, die Lähmung der Glieder u. dgl. entlockt ihnen kein Jammern und Klagen.

Schon das ruhige Zusammenleben mehrerer Familien in einem Hause, richtiger in einer Stube, weist auf *Friedfertigkeit* und *Nachsicht* hin. Zu wiederholten Malen hörte ich benachbarte Bauern die Ghiliaken ob dieser Eigenschaft loben; dabei wundern sie sich am meisten, dass «die Weiber sich vertragen». Das Haus gehört meist einem Eigenthümer, aber die Einwohner zahlen ihm Nichts, sie helfen ihm blos beim Repariren, beim Holzfällen u. s. w. Die zu den Hausbewohnern gehörenden Greise beiderlei Geschlechts werden mitunter die «Herren des Hauses» genannt. Alte Leute werden überhaupt sehr geachtet. Man lässt sie nicht arbeiten, reicht ihnen alles Nothwendige und befolgt ihren Rath.

Hülfe in der Noth ist bei den Ghiliaken entschieden mehr, als bei uns Kulturmenschen, an der Ordnung. Ist Jemand unverschuldet verarmt, so wird ihm sofort geholfen, für Verwandte werden auch Schulden bezahlt. Ebenso sind Leute, die in Folge von Krankheit arbeitsunfahig wurden, eines Unterhalts von Seiten ihrer Verwandten und Nachbaren gewiss. Für Kranke wird überhaupt eifrig gesorgt, nur wenn die Agonie begann, so wird der Sterbende einer harten Prozedur unterworfen, d. h. er wird aus dem Hause in die freie Luft getragen und zwar zu jeder Jahreszeit und bleibt da, bis er todt ist. Dieser Brauch wurzelt in dem Glauben, dass ein Todter dem Hause Unglück bringe und dieses, falls ein Mensch darin stirbt, abgebrochen werden müsse. Uebrigens ist der Kranke, welcher jener Maassregel unterworfen wird, gewöhnlich schon in einem Zustande der Bewustlosigkeit. Wie es scheint, werden auch die Gebärenden aus derselben Ursache entfernt.

In Gefahr und Noth helfen die Ghiliaken auch Nicht - Ghiliaken gern, geschweige ihren Stammgenossen. Zweierlei Ausnahmen muss ich hierbei erwähnen. Von Russen hörte ich zu wiederholten Malen, dass ein Ghiliak, der dem Ertrinken nahe sei, auf keine Hülfe von Seiten der Seinigen rechnen dürfe, dass man ihn vielmehr mit fatalistischer Ruhe untergehen sehe und sich damit tröste, dass er «oben nöthig wäre». Ausserdem heisst es, dass die sachalinschen Ghiliaken sich in Acht nähmen, einem Menschen, der in die Umarmungen eines Bären gerieth, zu helfen, denn hierin sehe man eine Strafe Gottes. Ein solcher Todter wird nicht verbrannt, sondern zusammen mit der Leiche des Bären, falls man diesen tödtet, verscharrt; dabei werden Stücke des Bärenfleisches und Fetzen von der Kleidung des Gemordeten nach verschiedenen Seiten auseinander geworfen. Die Ghiliaken, welche ich wegen des Ertrinkenden befragte, bezeugten

einstimmig, dass man ihnen stets nach Kräften helfe und zeigten mir Einige, die eben dadurch gerettet worden waren, dass man ihnen vom Ufer zu Hülfe kam. Ferner muss in Betracht gezogen werden, dass, wenn man jeden vom Bären Ueberfallenen ohne Weiteres seinem Schicksale überliesse, es ja keinen Sinn hätte, paarweise, oder zu drei auf die Bärenjagd zu gehen, da Letzteres gegenseitige Hülfe voraussetzt. Schliesslich verdient diese Frage zwar noch weiter untersucht zu werden, immerhin glaube ich, dass jener Fatalismus durchaus nicht in allen, sondern nur in gewissen Fällen zum Vorschein kommt, in solchen nämlich, wo der Aberglaube aus irgend einer speziellen Ursache erregt wurde.

Aber nicht nur ihren Stammesgenossen, auch fremden Menschen helfen die Ghiliaken nach Kräften aus der Noth. Zu wiederholten Malen retteten sie entlaufenen Sträflingen das Leben, wofür sie bisweilen obendrein noch schlechten Dank ernteten. Davon noch später.

Gastfreundschaft wird entschieden gepflegt.

Was *Betrug* betrifft, so ist er unter den Ghiliaken selbst höchst selten, hinsichtlich der Russen aber kommt er vor. Die Prellerei besteht gewöhnlich darin, dass ein Ghiliak sich bei einem Russen zum voraus Geld ausbittet, ihm dafür verspricht Fische, Zobel u. dgl. zu bringen und dann nicht wieder kommt. Keineswegs ist man aber berechtigt, hieraus zu schliessen, dass dies Volk zweierlei Sittenregeln habe, was ja schon dem Obigen widerspräche; der Unterschied erklärt sich viel einfacher. Einem Russen Etwas zu theuer zu verkaufen, oder Geld zu nehmen und nicht Wort zu halten —, so was erlaubt sich Mancher, weil die Russen überhaupt für reicher und mächtiger gehalten werden, und er glaubt, einem armen Ghiliaken könne er es schon nachsehen. Doch ungleich häufiger war der Beweggrund der, dass der Kulturmensch selbst dem Ghiliaken in der Prellerei voranging. Von russischen und chinesischen Krämern wurde ihnen oft arg mitgespielt, ja es ist vorgekommen, dass sich ein ausser Geduld und Fassung gebrachter Ghiliak mit der Lanze auf seinen unverschämten Gläubiger stürzte, um so dessen immer wachsenden Forderungen ein Ende zu machen. Es ist eigentlich ein Wunder, dass dennoch die Mehrzahl der Ghiliaken, nachdem sie von solchen Lehrmeistern unterrichtet worden, sich des Betrügens enthält, was ihnen denn auch von anständigen Russen hoch angerechnet wird. Mehrmals hörte ich Bauern aus benachbarten Dörfern sagen: «die Ghiliaken sind im Allgemeinen ehrlicher, als unsereins, besonders aber diejenigen, welche in entlegenen Dörfern

leben, denn diese erlauben sich auch nicht einmal gegen Fremde einen Betrug»[1]. Man muss übrigens nicht glauben, dass die Bauern selbst durchschnittlich Betrüger wären, im Gegentheil sind sie ein ganz gutes Volk, was also dem Vergleich einen noch höhern Werth gibt. Leider sind Fälle vorgekommen, wo den Ghiliaken auch von anständigen Leuten, z. B. von Soldaten, die sich bis dahin gut aufgeführt hatten, Kränkungen zugefügt wurden. Meist hat man darin nichts anderes zu suchen, als die eigenthümliche Art, wie der ungebildete Mensch fremde Völker beurtheilt. Er ist gewissermaassen geneigt, Fremde sich gegenüber für rechtlos zu halten. Doch ist diese Thatsache in neuerer Zeit von einigen Philosophen arg missbraucht und verdreht worden. Schon oben sahen wir, dass die Ghiliaken selbst im Grunde sowohl in Stammesgenossen, als in Fremden Menschen zu sehen und mit ihnen Mitleid zu fühlen verstehen. Nur muss man festhalten, dass, wenn es sich um einen Fremden handelt, die sittlichen Regungen, das Mitleid, die Mitfreude, das Gerechtigkeitsgefühl u. s. w., eher als sonst den egoistischen Platz machen. Alles, was das Mitgefühl niederzuhalten vermag — Habsucht, Rachsucht u. s. w. — platzt leichter hervor, wenn man Fremden gegenüber steht. Die Ghiliaken haben sich leider der civilisirten Welt gleich bei der ersten Bekanntschaft schlecht empfohlen. Der französische Missionär La Brunière, der im Jahre 1848 aus China, über Ussuri und Amur bis zu den Ghiliaken kam, wurde von ihnen aus ganz gemeiner Raublust geplündert und ermordet. Doch war und blieb dieser Fall eine Ausnahme. Das Dorf Waida (32 Werst von der jetzigen Stadt Nikolajewsk) hat jetzt noch gegen 200 Einwohner, damals war es um ein Drittel grösser, an dem Verbrechen aber betheiligten sich 7—8 Menschen (von denen jetzt keiner mehr lebt).

Ueberhaupt kommen *Mord* und *Todtschlag* sehr selten vor. In den meisten Fällen sind Streitigkeiten des schönen Geschlechts wegen die Ursache. Die Verwandten des Getödteten nahmen sonst regelmässig zur Blutrache ihre Zuflucht, jetzt aber reichen sie meist Klagen bei der russischen Administration ein.

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[1] Mir selbst kam folgender Fall vor. Ich kaufte einer Ghiliakin ihre Ohrringe ab und gab ihr ein Rubelpapier, da ich nichts Kleineres mit hatte. Die Frau nahm das Geld mit Vergnügen und mit einem gewissen Erstaunen. Eine Weile später aber, als der kleine Dampfer, mit dem ich gekommen war, den Anker lichtete, kam plötzlich die Ghiliakin wieder auf einem Boote angefahren und rief mir zu, dass die Ohrringe «nicht silberne, ganz einfache» wären. Offenbar wollte sie nicht für eine Betrügerin gelten.

Die *Prostitution* im eigentlichen Sinne existirt nicht, vorübergehende Liebeshändel aber sind eben nicht allzu sehr verpönt. Eine Ghiliakin, deren Mann abwesend, lässt sich wohl von einem Durchreisenden überreden, und der Mann selbst nimmt es ihr nicht allzu übel, wenn nur Nichts hinterher folgt. Ueberhaupt haben Jungfräulichkeit und Keuschheit zwar einen gewissen Werth, aber mit kleinen Versündigungen nimmt man es nicht streng. Ergibt sich jedoch eine Frau ganz einem Fremden, so wird sie verfolgt. Auf Sachalin kam ein Fall vor, wo die Ghiliaken eine solche Helena, die mit einem russischen Soldaten lebte und ihm ein Kind geboren hatte, tödten wollten.

Sodomie, *Onanismus* und ähnliche Unnatürlichkeiten scheinen den Ghiliaken ganz unbekannt zu sein. Diejenigen von ihnen, welche ich darüber befragte, sahen mich verwundert an und konnten nicht begreifen, um was es sich handle.

Was die *Schamhaftigkeit* betrifft, so ist sie verschieden, je nach der Art. In sexueller Hinsicht ist sie nicht sehr geschärft, wie wir schon aus Obigem sahen. Theilweise lässt schon das enge Beisammenwohnen keine besondere Subtilität aufkommen; vor Fremden übrigens suchen die Ghiliaken ihre Umarmungen zu verbergen. Ihre natürlichen Bedürfnisse machen sie zwar nicht gerade in Aller Gegenwart ab, doch schämt man sich vor dem andern Geschlecht nicht allzu sehr. Beim Urinlassen setzen sich Männer wie Frauen auf die Fersen. Den Körper vor fremden Männern zu entblössen, davor hüten sich die Frauen, wenigstens die jüngeren. Bei den Körpermessungen kostete es mir einige Mühe, die Ghiliakinnen dazu zu bewegen.

Die höhere Schamhaftigkeit kann zwar in allen ihren Erscheinungen hier nicht verfolgt werden, doch schämen sich die Ghiliaken, wie es scheint, am meisten, für Diebe oder Feiglinge gehalten zu werden. Ihr ganzer Charakter und ihr Gewohnheitscyklus ist der Art, dass ihnen Schmeichelei und Selbsterniedrigung fremd sind. Mit Kniebeugungen aber nehmen sie es nicht so genau, gebrauchen sie jedoch meist nur, wenn sie dazu gezwungen werden. So müssen diejenigen Ghiliaken, welche sich entschliessen, mit Fellwaaren den Sungari hinauf zu den Chinesen zu fahren, regelmässig den chinesischen Beamten Kniebeugungen abstatten. Wahrscheinlich sind es auch die Chinesen, die sie mit solchen erniedrigenden Ehrfurchtsbezeugungen bekannt gemacht haben.

Die *Bettelei* existirt so gut wie garnicht bei den Ghiliaken. Das einzige Exemplar, welches man betteln sehen kann, ist der sogenannte Wanjka-Ghiliak, ein verkommener, halbidiotischer Bursche, der sich auf den Strassen von Nikolajewsk herumtreibt und schon langst seine Landsleute verlassen hat. Auch ist er der Einzige, den man in trunkenem Zustande taumelnd und lärmend schwärmen sehen kann. Im Allgemeinen ist die *Trunksucht* noch nicht so eingerissen, dass es professionelle Säufer gebe, was wohl theilweise daher kommt, dass die Ghiliaken den Branntwein nicht zu jeder Zeit haben können, denn dazu bedarf es einer Fahrt zu den Russen. Doch lieben sie ihn sehr, und leider ist wohl vorauszusehen, dass diese Gewohnheit mehr um sich greifen wird.

XII. Berathungen, Gerichtsbarkeit, Zweikämpfe, Verfolgung der Verbrecher.

Versammlungen und Berathungen kommen selten vor. Geschieht es, so sind gewöhnlich Frauenentführungen oder grössere Vergehen und Verbrechen der Gegenstand derselben. Die Frauen betheiligen sich nicht daran. Die Meinungen der bejahrten Leute geben gewöhnlich den Ausschlag. In Fällen von besonderer Wichtigkeit werden die Ghiliaken aus den umliegenden Dörfern hinzugezogen. Die Strafen für Verbrechen bestehen in Geldvergütigungen für die Klagenden, in Ausweisung des Schuldigen aus dem Dorfe, oder in einer Art Bann, demzufolge man jeglichen Verkehr mit ihm aufhebt. Zuweilen, aber doch selten, wird auch Todesstrafe ausgesprochen, was natürlich der russischen Administration verheimlicht wird. Was aber Körperstrafe betrifft, so sind die Ghiliaken keine Verfechter derselben. Sie wird zwar manchmal angewandt, doch spricht Einiges dafür, dass dies früher garnicht vorkam.

Bei Streitigkeiten zwischen zwei Männern kommt es manchmal zum *Zweikampf*. Er wird in Gegenwart von Zuschauern vollführt. Die Waffe besteht im Kaur, welcher aber in diesem Falle umgekehrt gehandhabt wird, d. h. geprügelt wird mit dem Ende, wo keine Eisenspitze ist. Der Herausforderer führt den ersten Schlag, die Schläge werden nach Kräften mit dem Stocke parirt. Die Prügelei dauert gewöhnlich bis sich Blut zeigt oder einer der Kämpfenden betäubt taumelt. Mit Todtschlag endet dieser Kampf selten. Mitunter, wenn sich zwei Ghiliaken gar zu sehr ereifern — was übrigens selten vorkommt — greifen sie zu den Messern und stechen dann ohne jegliche Regeln auf einander los.

Eine traurige Erscheinung ist die bisweilen auch von den Ghiliaken praktisirte Menschenjagd, d. h. die Verfolgung flüchtiger russischer Verbrecher. Solche Flüchtlinge oder sog. *Brodiagen*, d. h. Herumtreiber, sind in Sibirien eine gewöhnliche Erscheinung auf allen grossen Strassen, und die Strömung, in welcher sich dieses Element bewegt, ist immer dieselbe, d. h. von Osten nach Westen. Die allermeisten von ihnen sind der Zwangsarbeit entlaufene Sträflinge. Seitdem die Insel Sachalin zu einem Hauptdeportationspunkt für nichtpolitische Verbrecher erkoren wurde, wird auch das Amurland von Brodiagen durchzogen. Die wenigsten von ihnen fliehen, um die Heimath, d. h. das europäische Russland, zu erreichen. Obgleich der Gedanke an die Heimath, an das Geburtsdorf und die Familie notorisch selbst in den verstocktesten Verbrechern warme, zarte Regungen zu erwecken vermag, so kennen doch die Flüchtlinge die Wahrscheinlichkeit eines Arrestes zu gut, um sich viel Hoffnungen zu machen. Das gewöhnlichste praktische Ziel, welches sie sich vorstecken, ist — im Fall einer Einfangung nicht erkannt und infolge dessen in die Bruttoklasse der «Brodiagen» eingereiht zu werden, wo sie zwar auch zu Zwangsarbeit verurtheilt werden, aber nur auf einige Jahre, nach denen sie sibirische Ansiedler werden können. Manche endlich fliehen ohne sonstige Hoffnungen, blos aus einem unbezwinglichen Hang nach Zerstreuung und Freiheit, obgleich sie wissen, dass sie schon allzugut bekannt sind und sich nur eine Verschärfung der Strafe zuziehen können.

Die Entbehrungen und Gefahren, welche diese Unglücklichen mitunter, besonders im Winter, auszustehen haben, sind haarsträubend, und Manches, was sie davon wie etwas ganz gewöhnliches erzählen, klingt wie ein Heldengedicht. Ein bedeutender Theil kommt auf der Flucht ganz um. Eine der Gefahren, vor der sie sich im Amurlande und in Transbaikalien zu wahren haben , ist die Verfolgung von Seiten der Eingeborenen, worin sich besonders die Stammesgenossen der Hunnen , die wilden Buriaten am Baikalsee hervorthun. Ein Brodiaga ist ihnen so gut wie ein Stück Wild, sie schiessen auf ihn, wo sie ihn treffen, und nehmen, was sie an dem Getödteten finden. Sie thun dies in aller Sicherheit, da sie wissen, dass keine Erkundigungen darüber eingezogen werden. In der letzten Zeit hat sich dieser bestialische Brauch auch bei den Golden und Ghiliaken eingeschlichen. Den ersten Anstoss zu diesen Feindseligkeiten haben die Brodiagen selbst gegeben. Die Mehrzahl derselben besteht aus ganz zahmen, friedlichen Menschen, die froh sind, wenn

13: Seeland RX2 Gilyak

man sie selbst in Ruhe lässt, desshalb werden sie von der russischen Bevölkerung überhaupt wenig gefürchtet; man gibt ihnen Nachtquartier, ein Stück Brod und Niemand denkt daran, dem Amtmann Etwas anzuzeigen. Doch sind leider unter diesen «Unglücklichen»[1] bisweilen auch wirkliche Bösewichter, die ihre Wolfsnatur nicht verbergen können. Ferner kommen unter den Deportirten nicht allzu selten Menschen vor, die Nichts anders, als an Mania homicida leidende Gemüthskranke sind, deren Platz am wenigsten in einer Strafkolonie wäre. Solche Kunden nun geben auf der Flucht Unfug an. Es sind Fälle bekannt, wo ganze Ghilakenfamilien gemordet wurden, sogar von solchen, die von den Eingeborenen gastlich aufgenommen worden waren. Demnach kann man sich denken, dass auch die Ghiliaken später andre Saiten aufzogen. Hin und wieder mögen nach solchen Antecedentien auch Hab- und Raubsucht in der Seele des Wilden auftauchen, obwohl bei einem solchen Flüchtling nicht viel zu haben ist. Daher meiden die Brodiagen jetzt am liebsten die Dörfer der Eingeborenen, und müssen sie einmal in der Nähe passiren, so thun sie dies truppweise und nehmen überhaupt Vorsichtsmaassregeln. Und dennoch kommt es vor, dass hier und da einer von diesen Armen im Walde von Ghiliaken niedergeschossen wird, wenn auch die Mehrzahl der Letzteren bis jetzt nicht daran denkt, sich mit einer so schmählichen Jagd zu befassen.

XIII. Oekonomische und soziale Zustände.

Von organisirten, geschweige geschriebenen Gesetzen ist bei den Ghiliaken keine Rede. Nichtsdestoweniger ist das Gewohnheitsrecht, welches für stabile Gesetze funktionirt, billig und gerecht. Der Schatten eines Vorrechts lässt sich nur da bemerken, wo dasselbe wirkliche Vorzüge begleitet. Aber selbst das Uebergewicht der natürlichen Anlagen ist meist sehr bescheiden, das Volk besteht aus Individuen, unter denen sowohl die Fähigkeiten, als die Güter, die ihnen aus der Natur zufliessen, so ziemlich gleichmässig vertheilt sind.

Es gibt «reiche» und «arme» Ghiliaken, doch sind diese Benennungen hier sehr bedingt zu verstehen. Ein Wohlhabender, der im Stande ist, 3—4 Frauen zu ernähren, ist eine seltene Ausnahme. Ausser einer grösseren Anzahl von Frauen hält sich der «Reiche» Dinge, welche einen gewissen Werth haben, als da sind «schöne»

[1] So nennt sie das sibirische Volk, welches zum Theil selbst von Verschickten abstammt und an sich selbst Erfahrungen machen konnte, welche das Wort der Stael «tout savoir c'est tout pardonner» bestätigen.

Kleider, gute und zahlreiche Hunde u. s. w., aber mitunter auch ganz unnöthige Gegenstände, die bloss einen Scheineffekt machen, z. B. lange Stücke Goldstoffes (welche in griechischen Kirchen zu verschiedenen Verzierungen gebraucht werden). Auch die obengenannten unbeholfenen Panzer gehören zu solchen Luxusartikeln. Mancher Reiche hat ein Paar hundert Silberrubel im Kasten vorräthig liegen.

Umgekehrt gibt es sehr wenig solcher Ghiliaken, die nicht einmal im Stande sind, eine einzige Frau, oder gar sich selbst zu ernähren. Solche Individuen sind entweder Kranke oder Gewohnheitssäufer, äussere Ursachen der Armuth aber gibt es hier eigentlich nicht: Fisch, Wild, Holz, Beeren u. s. w. sind überall zu finden, nur muss man sich eigenhändig darum bemühen. Ein Fischmangel ist bei den Amurghiliaken eine seltene Ausnahme. Er kommt in solchen Jahren vor, wo sich die Kitá spärlicher zeigt (was meist mit sehr hohem Wasser zusammenfällt). Die Sachalinschen Ghiliaken haben öfter darüber zu klagen, weil dort die Lachsarten auch in gewöhnlichen Jahren nicht in so grosser Menge die Flüsse hinaufsteigen. Dafür gibt es dort mehr Bären, wesshalb die Inselghiliaken im Stande sind, von ihren festländischen Stammesgenossen für junge Bären gedörrten Fisch einzuhandeln.

Wenn es an Fischen gebricht, so isst der Ghiliak Cedernüsse, Beeren, Wild u. s. w. Alles dies ist freilich nur ein schwacher Ersatz, jedenfalls aber kann man hier nicht von «Hungersnoth» im buchstäblichen Sinne reden.

Unter gewöhnlichen Verhältnissen bedarf es geringer Mühe, um sich und seine Familie zu ernähren. Nur während des Lachsganges ist der Ghiliak angestrengt thätig, während der übrigen Zeit sind eigentlich nur die Frauen emsig. Die Männer schlafen zu Hause auch am Tage öfters und stehen nach Sonnenaufgang auf. Am Abend sitzen sie übrigens mitunter recht lange auf und plaudern. Wohlhabende festländische Ghiliaken halten sich bisweilen sogar russische Arbeiter. Die in den Goldsuchereien beschäftigten Leute nämlich werden im Herbst verabschiedet und könnten für ihren Lohn recht gut den Winter über existiren, aber Sparsamkeit fällt ihnen nie ein, in einigen Wochen ist Alles verprasst, und nun wissen sie nicht, wo sie hin sollen. Solche hungrige Burschen verlieren sich denn auch bis in die Ghiliakendörfer und verpflichten sich, für Beköstigung Holz zu hauen und dergleichen zu besorgen. Eine einförmige Arbeit ist den Ghiliaken verhasst. In der Umgegend von Nikolajewsk machen

sie sich noch manchmal an's Heumähen, um sich damit etwas zu verdienen; was aber Graben, Holzfällen, Sägen und ähnliche Arbeiten betrifft, so lassen sie sich dazu auch für gute Belohnung nicht verlocken. Dies weist übrigens wiederum darauf hin, dass auch ihre Noth nicht so gross zu sein pflegt. Handel, im Sinne eines Zwischenverkaufs, treiben die Ghiliaken fast nie.

Unter sich sind sie sehr pünktliche Zahler. Wenn ein Schuldner stirbt oder zum Arbeiten unfähig wird, so suchen die Verwandten seine Schuld abzutragen. Für Schuld in Knechtschaft oder Sklaverei zu gehen — das ist bei ihnen etwas ganz Unbekanntes.

Das *Erbschaftsrecht* ist sehr einfach. Die Habe des Vaters geht auf die Kinder über, wenn dieselben keine Mutter mehr haben. Sind die Kinder noch unmündig, so wird der Onkel oder sonst ein naher Verwandter ihr Vormund und gibt ihnen später ihre Habe zurück, falls dieselbe nicht gänzlich aufgezehrt oder verbraucht wurde. Ist eine Wittwe mit Kindern da, so bleibt das Vermögen ungetheilt in der Familie, und die Mutter heisst die «Aelteste» im Besitz. Ist die Wittwe kinderlos, so behält sie einen kleinen Theil, ungefähr ein Achtel des Vermögens, das Uebrige gehört den Verwandten des Verstorbenen. Will sie eine neue Ehe eingehen, so wird, wie gesagt meist der Bruder oder sonst ein naher Verwandter des Mannes ihr zweiter Gemahl, hat sie aber schon Kinder, so behalten letztere das Vermögen des Vaters. Will sie nicht wieder heirathen und ist sie arm, so muss ihr geholfen werden, was sie übrigens nach Kräften an Arbeit abträgt. Wenn ein Vater, dessen Frau schon früher starb, einen Sohn und eine Tochter hinterlässt, so wird das Vermögen gewöhnlich bei der Verheirathung der Tochter getheilt. Dabei wird darauf gesehen, welcher Art der Bräutigam ist: wird er von den Verwandten der Braut für tadellos gehalten, so bekommt die Braut die Hälfte, ist er aber nicht von der besten Art, so bekommt sie weniger, wahrscheinlich, damit er das Vermögen nicht durchbringe. Auf Sachalin hingegen sind nur die Söhne Erben der Eltern, und die Tochter werden statt dessen verheirathet. Wenn nach dem Tode der Eltern nur eine Tochter zurückbleibt, so bekommt sie gewöhnlich bei der Verheirathung einen Theil des Vermögens, das Uebrige behalten die Verwandten, die für sie sorgten. Wenn überhaupt eine Braut eine Mitgift hat, so hat der Mann kein Recht darauf, nur durch Missbrauch des Willens seiner Frau kann er sich desselben bemächtigen.

Zwar wird in dieser Erbfolge nicht überall und nicht immer auf

die nämliche Weise verfahren, im Allgemeinen aber kann man aus dem Gesagten Folgendes schliessen: a) die Kinder haben das Vorrecht vor den andern Verwandten; b) die Brüder haben dasselbe vor den Schwestern, vorausgesetzt, dass letztere heirathen, also das Vermögen ihres Mannes theilen; c) die gemeinschaftliche Nutzniessung des Hinterlassenen von Seiten der nächsten Verwandten ist etwas sehr Gewöhnliches; d) Frauen können erben und ihr Eigenes haben, doch werden sie durchschnittlich geringer bedacht, haben dafür aber das Recht des Unterhalts; e) Wittwen können Ansprüche auf eigenen Antheil machen, gewöhnlich aber sind sie in Gemeinschaft mit ihren Kindern Besitzer des hinterlassenen Vermögens.

Dem *Stande* nach sind alle Ghiliaken gleich. Privilegirte Stände oder Familien gibt es nicht. Hier und da leben Familien, die wegen Wohlhabenheit, Tapferkeit, oder weil ihr Ahnherr Gründer des Dorfes war, mehr angesehen sind, doch haben sie keinerlei wirkliche Vorrechte. Solche Familien haben auch Familiennamen (die im männlichen Geschlecht übertragen werden); viele Ghiliaken aber haben nur einen einzigen Namen, neben welchem der Name des Dorfes genannt wird, wenn sie von Auswärtigen unterschieden werden sollen. Manche, ob sie getauft oder ungetauft sind, bekommen ausser ihrem ghiliakischen diesen oder jenen russischen Namen, unter dem sie sogar ihren Stammesgenossen bekannt werden. Diese «Petka's», «Mikita's» u. s. w. sind gewöhnlich verständige Burschen und sprechen russisch.

In gleichem Maasse gibt und hat es bei diesem Volk nie *Sklaven* gegeben. Nur persönliche Vorzüge, sei es Tapferkeit, Reichthum, Alter oder Verstand, geben dem Menschen eine gewisse Bedeutung. Wohlhabenheit hat hier um so eher ein Recht auf Achtung, als dieselbe meist durch wirkliche Vorzüge erworben wird — durch Muth, Arbeitsamkeit oder Ueberlegungskraft. Gegenüber solchen Geldaristokraten wird hier und da auch wohl ein gewisses äusseres Ceremoniell gebraucht. Wenn ein solcher zum Besuch kommt, so macht sowohl er, als der Hausherr eine Art Knixchen, darauf gibt er dem letzteren die Wange zum Kusse, selbst aber küsst er ihn nicht. Besondere Regeln oder obligatorische Ehrfurchtsbezeugungen gibt es übrigens keineswegs. Ueberhaupt werden Kuss, Beugungen und Händedruck von den Ghiliaken, wie schon oben angedeutet, sehr selten praktizirt.

Ausser den Greisen, den Reichen und den Tapfern, sind die Schamanen besonders angesehen, worin sich wiederum die Achtung

spiegelt, welche man einem überlegenen Verstande zollt. Die Schamanen bilden keinen geschlossenen Stand, sondern leben auf dieselbe Weise, wie die übrigen, sie ziehen aber dazu noch Einkünfte aus ihrem Handwerk. Häufig kommt es vor, dass der Schamane auch Sohn eines Schamanen ist und so gewissermaassen seine «Wissenschaft» geerbt hat. Manche aber gehen für ein bedeutendes Lehrgeld bei einem Schamanen in die Lehre, andere endlich werden es aus dem Steggreif, wenn sich die «Kraft» auf sie herablässt. Auch Frauen können, wie erwähnt, Schamanen sein. Sie sind durchschnittlich so vertheilt, dass grosse Dörfer je einen Schamanen haben, von den kleineren aber gehören mehrere zum Wirkungskreise eines Schamanen.

Die Thätigkeit dieser Priester wurzelt theilweise wohl in einem Selbstbetrug, jedenfalls aber mit einer gehörigen Zugabe von absichtlichem Betrug.

Zum Glück sind sie selbst, wenn auch klüger, als die übrigen, doch noch nicht von Weitem her und haben desshalb dem Volke Nichts besonderes Schädliches beibringen und sich selbst keine allzu privilegirte Stellung schaffen können. Der Rath des Schamanen wird in solchen Fällen eingeholt, wo die alltägliche Erfahrung nicht ausreicht, aber der Rathgeber selbst wird meist nicht mit grosser Ehrfurcht behandelt. Die meisten Schamanen werden ohne jegliche Grüsse empfangen, nur den Berühmtheiten kommt man mit Knixen entgegen, hinter Ssofiisk war sogar einer, vor dem sich das ganze Haus auf die Knie stellte, wenn er in der Thür erschien, um seine Zaubereien vorzunehmen. Die Schamanen geniessen im Allgemeinen nicht nur eine gewisse Achtung, sondern man fürchtet sie auch; nichtsdestoweniger kommen Fälle vor, wo man ihnen für falsche Prophezeihungen oder ungeschickte Hülfe das Honorar vorenthält, ja dann und wann kriegen sie sogar Prügel. Die Zaubereien selbst werden später beschrieben werden.

Endlich gibt es sogenannte «Starosten[1]» d. h. Aeltesten, welche von den Amtmännern bestimmt werden. Sie sind aber eigentlich keine Schulzen, sie haben Nichts zu sagen und stellen fast nichts, als Vermittler vor, durch welche der Amtmann der Gemeinde seine Befehle übergibt, denn solche Starosten sprechen gut russisch und sind überhaupt verständige Leute.

[1] Dieses ist ein russisches Wort.

XIV. Vergnügungen und Feste. Leichenbestattung.

Leibliche Freuden nehmen bei solch einem Volke natürlich den wichtigsten Platz ein, und unter ihnen hauptsächlich die Freuden des Mahles und des Rauchens. Was Gerüche betrifft, so sind sie nicht sehr empfindlich, da Fische, Rauch und Seehundsfett für sie indifferent oder gar angenehm riechen. Fäulnissgeruch aber ist ihnen zuwider, und umgekehrt gefallen ihnen auch feine Gerüche: wenn ich ihnen versuchshalber ein Fläschchen Eau-de-Cologne vor die Nase hielt, so machten sie immer eine süsse Miene.

Unter den *Farben* ziehen die Ghiliaken roth und blau vor, doch gehören sie entschieden nicht zu den Völkern, welche gerade grellen Farben nachjagen. Viele von ihnen könnten sich z. B. statt des schmutzig-blauen ein rothes Hemd oder Kaftan anschaffen, aber sie denken nicht daran. Die farbigen Säume und Schnörkel an den Mützen und Unterröcken der Frauen sind Alles, sonst haben Kleider, Häuser, Waffen und Utensilien ein vorherrschend dunkles Colorit. Ein schwarzes Hundefell zum Ueberrock gilt, wie gesagt, für besonders schön.

Musik lieben die Ghiliaken. Wenn benachbarte russische Bauern auf ihrer Balalaika klimpern oder die Harmonika rühren, so hören anwesende Eingeborene gerne zu. Ihre eigene Musik ist sehr primitiv. Es ist eine Art Brummeisen, einem langezogenen Hufeisen ähnelnd. Das Instrument wird mit dem dicken Ende in eine Hand genommen, mit dem schmalen an den Mund gelegt, sodann die Zunge des Spielenden etwas vorgestreckt, indessen ein Finger der anderen Hande das Zünglein bald bei seinem Hakchen anzieht, bald loslässt. Das Zünglein vibrirt dabei, und es entsteht ein brummender Ton, den die Zunge des Spielenden verschiedenartig modifizirt. Nicht Alle verstehen auf dieser «Harmonika» zu spielen.

Ferner wird eine andere, durchaus embryonale Musik, oder besser ein klingender Lärm, folgendermaassen produzirt: ein trockene dünner Baumstamm wird dem Boden parallel an Stricken aufgehängt und nun mit Stöcken taktmässig darauf geschlagen. Während des Bärenfestes werden die Anwesenden auch mit dieser «Musik» delektirt: irgend ein Weib, das sich schon darauf versteht, ruft sich einen Schwarm Kinder zusammen und lässt sie, wie unter dem Kommando eines Kapellmeisters, den Stab mit Stöcken bearbeiten.

Auf der Reise, zur Winterzeit, singt der Ghiliak bisweilen ein einförmiges Lied, welches eigentlich blos aus allerlei unzusammenhängenden Sätzen besteht, über das, was ihm gerade in den Sinn kommt

oder in die Augen fällt. Wirkliche Lieder aber, die von Vater au den Sohn gehen, haben die Ghiliaken nicht und überhaupt sind sie geizig mit dem Singen. In einem Ghiliakendorf, im Hause oder auf Boten habe ich sie nie singen gehört. Es gibt übrigens hier und da unter ihnen Leute, die für Sänger gehalten werden, eine Art Improvisatoren, welche ihre Lieder den Andern zum Besten geben.

Der *Tanz* existirt garnicht bei den Ghiliaken, es sei denn, dass man die extemporirten Sprünge, womit sich bisweilen ein Angetrunkener seinen Muth kühlt, dahin rechne. Nicht umsonst hat schon das Gesicht des Ghiliaken den obenerwähnten Ausdruck. Es ist weder böse, noch traurig, aber eben so wenig fröhlich oder gemütlich; es ist ernst oder auch indifferent. Doch beeile ich mich hinzuzufügen, dass diese Unbeweglichkeit und Indifferenz nur bis zu einem gewissen Grade reicht. Seine Einbildungskraft und sein Humor sind nur nicht gleich bei der ersten Gelegenheit da, im Grunde aber besitzt er Beide. Einem Mährchenerzähler zuhören — gehört zu den beliebtesten Beschäftigungen an den Winterabenden, und die Stimme des Erzählers wird bald durch Ausrufungen, bald durch Gelächter unterbrochen.

Feier- und Festtage. Besondere Ruhetage, welche z. B. dem Sontage entsprächen, gibt es nicht. Das Bärenfest ist das Einzige, das diesen Namen verdient. Es wird ein Mal im Jahre, in unserem Januar gefeiert, dauert an zwei Wochen und wird von verschiedenen Belustigungen begleitet. Junge Bären, welche, wie erwähnt, zu diesem Feste aufgezogen werden, holt man sich direkt aus der Höhle oder kauft sie von den sachalinischen Stammesgenossen. Für einen einjährigen werden mitunter 100 Rubel und mehr gezahlt. Der junge Petz wird in einem ausgehölten Baumstamme, an dem er mit einer Kette befestigt ist, gehalten und so per Schlitten transportirt. Die Jurten, wo dieser Reisende anhält, werden für besonders glücklich gehalten. Es kam dann und wann vor, dass der Bär, aus Unvorsichtigkeit seiner Begleiter, ein Kind todt drückte, aber ein solcher Unglücksfall wird von den Eltern nicht betrauert, — er gilt für ein gutes Zeichen.

Der Bär wird in seiner neuen Heimath in einem besonderen Verhau gehalten. Seine Versorgung mit Futter und Wasser wird einer älteren Frau aufgetragen. Das Wasser wird ihm in einem langen holzernen Löffel gereicht, den man durch ein Fensterchen hineinschiebt. Seine Hauptspeise ist gedörrter Fisch, bisweilen bekommt er auch Hirse und verschiedene Abfälle.

Bären gibt es nicht in jedem Dorfe, daher kommen gewöhnlich zu dem Feste Menschen aus mehreren Dörfern zusammen, auch aus solchen, wo das Fest schon früher zu Ende ging und der eigene Bär verspeist wurde. Oefters begeben sich sachalinsche Ghiliaken auf's Festland um diese Zeit, obgleich sie selbst besser mit Bären versorgt sind.

Ausser Schmausereien kommen bei dem Feste verschiedene Belustigungen vor. Zu letzteren gehören hauptsächlich das Hunderennen. Die Bahn auf dem Eise wird gereinigt und abgesteckt, und die schon dazu abgerichteten Hunde rennen um die Wette; manchmal laufen sie auch, einen Schlitten hinter sich herziehend.

Ausser dem Vergnügen hat dieses Hunderennen auch eine praktische Bedeutung, denn die guten Renner finden gleich Käufer. Und überhaupt ist das Bärenfest auch zugleich eine Art Jahrmarkt, wo man verschiedene Dinge tauscht.

Die Hauptperson des Festes, nämlich der Bär, wird die ganze Zeit über tüchtig gefüttert und zu wiederholten Malen durch das Dorf geführt, wobei er jedem Hause seinen Besuch abstattet, und zwar so, dass er den Weg aus einem Hause nach dem anderen immer in einem Winkel über das benachbarte Stück des Flusses machen muss. Durch diese symbolische Handlung wird dem Hause «ein Ueberfluss an Fischen gesichert». Geführt wird er immer von mehreren Männern, die eine entsprechende Zahl von Ketten oder Stricken nach verschiedenen Seiten stark ausspannen. In den Häusern wird er mit Fisch, Hirse und Preiselbeeren traktirt, mitunter aber auch geneckt. Manche Ghiliaken werfen sich dabei auch vor ihm nieder. Dies ist aber keineswegs eine Anbetung, wie Manche geglaubt haben. Einige thun es ganz einfach aus Spass, andere thun es im Ernst, indem sie dabei den Geist des Bären beschwören, sich an ihnen nach dessen Tode nicht zu rächen. Manches Mal bekommt der Bär keine derartige Ehrfurchtsbezeugungen.

Wenn die Zeit seines Opfertodes herannaht, so wird er an einen, in das Eis gehauenen Pfahl angebunden und nun mit Pfeilen beschossen, wobei sich die Schützen hervorzuthun suchen. Zuletzt wird dem unglücklichen Petz der Gnadenstoss mit der Lanze gegeben. Er verscheidet meist mit Ruhe und Majestät, die Vordertatzen über die verwundete Brust legend. Dabei hört man die Wärterin bisweilen laut weinen. Endlich werden Scheiterhaufen angezündet und die Ghiliaken setzen sich um sie herum. Stücke des Bärenfleisches werden herumgegeben und vor dem Verschlingen leicht

angebraten. Ueberhaupt sind Essen und Theetrinken die Hauptsache beim Bärenfeste. Die Stockmusik, welche hier zum Besten gegeben wird, wurde schon erwähnt. Eine ganz besondere Musik wird in dem Dorfe Kola produzirt. Dieses Dorf ist die äusserste nördliche Ghiliakenansiedlung, am Gestade des Ochotzkischen Meeres, etwa 200 Werst von Nikolajewsk[1]. Hier gibt es — was erst seit Kurzem bekannt wurde — zwei alte Kirchenglocken mit slavischen Inschriften. Was ihr Herkommen betrifft, so sollen sie in dem Fort Albasin, als dieses von den Chinesen zerstört wurde, genommen worden und seither den Eingeborenen des Amurlandes gehört haben. Ein alter Golde, auf den sie schliesslich gekommen waren, gab sie seiner, an einen Ghiliaken aus Kola verheiratheten Tochter mit, welche sie wahrscheinlich der Gemeinde verehrte, denn jetzt gehören sie persönlich Niemand, stehen aber im Rufe der Heiligkeit. Während des Bärenfestes läuten sie unaufhörlich und auch bei sonstigen ausserordentlichen Fällen bedienen sich ihrer die Schamanen auf verschiedene Weise.

Endlich sieht man manche der Besucher des Bärenfestes auch Karten und Dame spielen. Beides haben die Ghiliaken von den Russen oder Chinesen angenommen, die Passion dazu aber, durch welche sich die Letzteren auszeichnen, haben sie glücklicher Weise nicht mitgenommen. Sie spielen nicht um Geld und überhaupt ohne Leidenschaft. Karten werden sowohl russische als chinesische gebraucht[2].

Schliesslich muss hinzugefügt werden, dass dem Glauben der Ghiliaken nach dasjenige Dorf, in welchem am meisten Bären gefeiert und verspeist wurden, die meisten Aussichten auf Ueberfluss hat. Das Fell und der Schädel des getödteten Bären werden aufbewahrt und stellen eine Art Talismane vor.

Bisweilen machen sich die Ghiliaken auch ein *Schweinefest*, d. h. die Verzehrung eines Schweines, wenn sie desselben habhaft werden, wird von einigen Ceremonien begleitet. Das Schwein wird nicht durch die Thüre, sondern durch's Fenster in's Haus gebracht; auf der Diele werden ausser dem Schweine verschiedene Leckerbissen, wie Hirsegrütze, Beeren u. s. w., ferner alle vorräthigen Götzenbilder

[1] Diese Distanz ist übrigens nach dem Uferbogen berechnet; direkt würde sie bedeutend kürzer sein.

[2] Die chinesischen Spielkarten sind gegen 7 Ctm. lang aber nur 2 Ctm. breit und mit verschiedenen Figuren bemalt. Das Spiel hat ihrer gegen 120.

aufgestellt. Darauf wird den letzteren eine Verbeugung gemacht und der Schmaus geht los.

Auf Sachalin existirt noch ein Fest *Tscheung*, welches ungefähr in die Osterzeit fällt. Es besteht blos in einem Schmause, wobei vor dem Beginn Stücke von jeder Speise nach verschiedenen Seiten auseinander geworfen werden, wahrscheinlich um dadurch die Götter um Ueberfluss zu bitten.

Was die *Todtenbestattung* betrifft, so ist sie die nämliche, welche bei den alten Slaven existirte,[1] d. h. die Leichen werden verbrannt. Der Todte wird in Begleitung der Verwandten und Freunde in den Wald geführt oder getragen und auf einen Scheiterhaufen gelegt, wo er in 3—4 Stunden verbrennt. Der Schädel und die Extremitäten verbrennen in der Regel schneller als die Wirbelsäule. Um das Feuer herum stehen die wehklagenden Verwandten. Die Frauen lassen dabei zum Zeichen der Trauer ihre Haare fliegen, die Männer scheeren bisweilen die ihrigen kurz ab. Die Asche wird in ein Gefäss gesammelt und in das «Todtenhaus» gestellt. Letzteres ist dem Schnitt nach eine gewöhnliche Jurte, nur ganz klein, etwa wie ein grösseres Puppenhaus Unter demselben werden die Kleider, die Pfeife und Waffen des Verstorbenen vergraben. Manches Mal werden die Kleider aber auch verbrannt. Der Lieblingshund wird getödtet, aber nicht verbrannt, sondern von dem Trauergefolge verspeist. Auf Sachalin werden, wenn der Verstorbene ein wohlhabender Mann war, alle Hunde, die seinen Schlitten zum Scheiterhaufen führten, getödtet; arme Leute begnügen sich mit dem Verbrennen des Schlittens.

Es gibt keinen besonderen Ort für die Todtenhäuser, sie stehen einzeln und zerstreut im Walde, nicht allzuweit vom Dorfe. An gewissen Tagen kommen hier die Verwandten zu einer Todtenfeier zusammen. Durch's Fenster des Häuschens wird Hirse, eine gestopfte Pfeife u. dergl. für den Verschiedenen hineingelegt und alle Umstehenden stimmen ein lautes Klagelied an.

Die beschriebene Leichenbestattung ist aber nur bei den echten Ghiliaken üblich, d. h. auf Sachalin und auf dem Festlande den Amur hinauf bis zu Bogorodskoje. Die Sofiiskischen Ghiliaken versenken die Leichen ohne Sarg in eine Gruft. Der Verschiedene bekommt seine besten Kleider auf den Weg, ferner eine Schale mit Hirse, eine gestopfte Pfeife und etwas Branntwein. Am Kopf- und Fussende

[1] Der Araber Ibn-Foslan, welcher in den Jahren 921 und 922 das heutige Russland bereiste, sah die Leichenverbrennung bei den Stämmen, welche an den Ufern der Wolga — bei ihm Itil — lebten. (Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.)

werden Pfähle eingerammt, auf welchen seine Waffen und andere Dinge hangen. Auch für diese Gräber gibt es keine bestimmten Orte. Bisweilen werden die Leichen, anstatt vergraben zu werden, in offenen Wiegen aus Geflecht an den Bäumen aufgehängt. Dies soll bei epidemischen Krankheiten gethan werden, also es geschieht gerade das, was nicht geschehen sollte. Da diese Todtenwiegen übrigens einzeln und in weiten Entfernungen von den Dörfern angebracht werden, so bringen die Verwesungsmiasmen wahrscheinlich keinen Schaden.

XV. Weltanschauung und Religion.

Die Ghiliaken sprechen im Allgemeinen nicht gern über transcendente Dinge. Mancher gibt Einem den Rath, den Schamanen um Auskunft zu bitten, da dieser es besser wisse. Mancher im Gegentheil beantwortet die ihm vorgelegten Fragen als wie ein Unbetheiligter, d. h. er sagt, der Schamane behaupte Dies oder Jenes, wobei er aber einen gewissen Zweifel durchscheinen lässt. Die Ghiliaken sind von überwiegend praktischem Gepräge und lieben das Grübeln nicht, ferner haben sie noch wenig feste Glaubenssätze, und ihre Propheten, d. h. die Schamanen, missbrauchen ihre Einbildungskraft mitunter so dreist, dass ihre Versicherungen in offenen Widerspruch mit denen ihrer Genossen oder mit der täglichen Erfahrung gerathen. Aus Gesprächen, aus Gebräuchen und Handlungen lässt wenigstens so viel folgern, dass sie an ein höchstes Wesen, an viele untergeordnete gute und böse Geister und an eine Unsterblichkeit glauben, dabei aber noch aus dem Fetischismus nicht heraus sind.

Gott (Kusch oder Kur) hat Alles gemacht, er lebt im Himmel und zeigt sich nie. Er wird zwar für gut gehalten, doch wird sonst nichts von seinen Eigenschaften erzählt. In einem Dorfe hörte ich übrigens, Gott ärgere sich sehr, wenn man einen Schamanen tödte; darin spiegelt sich schon so etwas wie priesterliche Selbstverherrlichung ab. Kusch wird nicht angebetet, man kümmert sich um ihn sehr wenig, nur hier und da wird ihm etwas geopfert, wobei übrigens auch noch die Frage bleibt, ob dies ihm oder seinen Untergeistern gilt. Wenn ein Ghiliak z. B. auf der Reise gefährliche Stellen passirt, so giesst er eine Schale Branntwein auf die Erde oder in's Wasser: dies ist das Opfer für Gott. Bisweilen wird ihm einer der besten Hunde geopfert, der darauf schliesslich verspeist wird. In der Nähe des Dorfes wird mitunter ein Pfahl in die Erde gerammt und unter ihm Hirse oder Fisch vergraben, auch an seine Spitze Tabak u. dgl.

gebunden, — Alles dies soll für das höchste Wesen gethan werden. Solch ein Pfahl bleibt stehen, bis er verfault.

Als Vollzieher der göttlichen Beschlüsse erscheint meist der *Bär*, welcher schlechte Menschen noch bei Lebzeiten bestraft. Ueberhaupt sind mit dem Bären einige abergläubische Ideen verknüpft, daher kann er als «heiliges» Thier gelten, für einen Gott oder Halbgott aber hält ihn Niemand.

Was den *Tiger* betrifft, so bekümmern sich die Ghiliaken nicht viel um ihn; da sie selten mit ihm zu thun haben. Die Golden aber und die Mandschuren halten ihn für viel mehr, als für ein wildes Thier. Es wird ihm eine geheimnissvolle Gewalt beigelegt, man spricht von ihm mit Vorsicht und nennt ihn «den ehrbaren Bunten» [1]. Dabei wird auch ihm nachgesagt, dass er nur böse Menschen überfalle. Wenn es übrigens hier oder da der Tiger zu arg treibt und den Mandschuren ihr Vieh mordet, so werden ihm Fallen gestellt, und fällt er hinein, so wird er getödtet. Doch auch danach wird er mit Ehrfurcht behandelt, d. h. seine Leiche vor das Götzenhaus gelegt und dort gehalten, bis sich Fäulniss zeigt. Ausser dem Felle werden auch Knochen und Galle sofort verkauft, denn erstere gelten den Chinesen als ein Mittel, den Menschen tapfer zu machen, und aus letzterer werden verschiedene Arzneien verfertigt.

Von den zahlreichen Geistern, von denen die Ghiliaken wissen wollen, sind einige gut und beschützen den Menschen, die Mehrzahl aber, mehr oder weniger boshaft, müssen daher durch Spenden gnädig gestimmt werden. Der Hauptmann der Bösen heisst Kins (auf Sachalin Kinsch) und ist gewissermaassen das, was andere Völker unter Teufel, Ahriman u. s. w. verstehen. Dasselbe Wort Kins bedeuted «Tod», letzterer ist also das Werk des Teufels. «Geist» und «Götze» werden beide mit dem Worte Kegn bezeichnet, denn die Götzenbilder sind nicht nur die Symbole, sondern zeitweise auch die Wohnung der Geister oder Kobolde. Gewöhnlich werden sie im Vorrathshaus gehalten und nur bei besonderen Gelegenheiten hervorgekramt. Wenn ein Götze «schwer» wird, so heisst das, dass sein Hausherr, der Kobold, zu Hause ist, wird er aber «leichter» als sonst, so treibt sich der Geist irgendwo herum. Die Opfer bestehen auch hier in Hirse, Tabak u. s. w., besonders häufig wird dem Götzen das Gesicht mit Preiselbeerensaft beschmiert, was kräftig zu wirken scheint. Auch Holzspähne werden ihm um den Hals gehangen. Die Götzen haben verschiedene Gestalten. Ein Schutzgeist z. B.

[1] Barabasch, Reise am Sungari 1874. (In russischer Sprache veröffentlicht.)

wohnt in einem hölzernen Kegel, der irgendwo in der Nähe der Jurte bei Bauen derselben aufgestellt wird. Wenn die Jurte abgebrochen werden muss, so bleibt der Götze, und es wird am neuen Wohnort ein neuer verfertigt. Manche Götzen sind grobe Nachahmungen von Menschen, andere haben die Form eines Bären und sind in sein Fell genäht, wieder andere die eines Vogels u. s. w. Manche menschliche Götzen stellen Kinder vor, andere — Greise. Einige haben Hände und Füsse, andere nur einen Kopf, welcher auf einem, mit einem Nabel versehenen Körper sitzt. Kleine Götzenbilder werden bisweilen als Talismane um den Hals getragen. Meist haben auch diese menschliche Formen, manche sehen aber auch ganz anders aus; so ist z. B. der Talisman gegen schwere Geburt eine aus Holz geschnitzte Figur, die einer doppelten Eichel gleicht.

Ausser den Götzenbildern haben einige, nicht von den Ghiliaken selbst produzirte, aber mehr oder weniger sonderbare Gegenstände eine geheimnissvolle Bedeutung für sie. Ein solcher Gegenstand steht auf dem sog. Tyr[1], etwa 80 Werst von Nikolajewsk. Auf einem hohen, abschüssigen Felsenufer stand hier ehemals ein buddhistischer Tempel, von dem jetzt nur noch einige steinerne Säulen mit chinesischen und mongolischen Inschriften nachblieben, welche von Klaproth und dem Archimandriten Avvakum entziffert wurden. Die eine bedeutet «Tempel des ewigen Friedens», die andere ist eine tibetanische Uebersetzung der sanskritischen heiligen Formel «Om mani padme hum», d. h. «O Edelstein im Lotos! Amen!» Der Tempel soll zu Tchingis-Chan's Zeiten existirt haben. Zu diesen Säulen nun kommen oft die benachbarten Ghiliaken und opfern vor ihnen, d. h. behängen sie mit Holzspänen, schütten Hirse oder Branntwein auf den Boden u. s. w. Besonders versprechen sie sich danach einen ergiebigen Fischfang.

In der Nähe des Dorfes Waida sieht man hoch über dem Wasser einen dünnen dürren Baumstamm mit kreisförmig auseinandergehenden Aesten, parallel dem Wasserniveau, aus einer steilen Felswand starren. Dieser Stamm hat bei den waidaschen Ghiliaken den Ruf eines Geheiligten. Auch er wird häufig mit Holzspänen behangen und über seinen Wurzeln, am Rande des Felsenufers, wird das Bärenfest abgehalten. Zu den geheiligten Gegenständen gehören auch die früher erwähnten Kirchenglocken.

[1] Von dem Ghiliakendorf Tyr.

An ein *künftiges Leben* glauben fast alle Ghiliaken, was man schon aus den verschiedenen, die Leichenbestattung begleitenden Gebräuchen schliessen kann. Das Leben in jener Welt stellt man sich ganz wie das diesseitige vor, mit dem Unterschied, dass es dort weder Tod noch Alter gibt. Ein verstorbener Greis wird dort wieder jung, ein Ehepaar vereinigt sich dort auf's Neue. Es gibt weder Paradies, noch Hölle [1]. Das Schicksal schlechter Menschen unterscheidet sich von dem der guten nur darin, dass die Seelen der ersteren nicht sofort in jene Welt gerathen, sondern sich noch eine Zeitlang auf Erden herumtreiben müssen, wobei sie sich aber in der Regel in ein Thier, besonders in einen Hund verwandeln müssen. Dies ist das ghiliakische Purgatorium, welches wahrlich nicht das absurdeste zu nennen ist. «Jene Welt» wird nicht nach unten, sondern nach oben, irgendwo im Himmel, versetzt.

Jedoch kommen schon unter diesen Wilden Skeptiker, oder besser gesagt, Ungläubige vor. So sagte ein sachalinscher Ghiliak einem durchreisenden russischen Priester, der ihn auf religiöse Themata sondirte, nach längerem Schweigen: «was haben wir mit Gott zu schaffen! gibt es genug Zobel und Fische, so leben wir, — wenn nicht, so müssen wir hungern». Ein anderer Ghiliak aus der Umgegend Sofiisk's negirte russischen Bauern gegenüber entschieden die Unsterblichkeit und sagte, auf einen Fisch weisend: «wie dieser Fisch, wenn ich ihn todtmache, verschwindet, so auch der Mensch».

Ungleich häufiger trifft man auf solche, die zwar ein höchstes Wesen und eine Unsterblichkeit anerkennen, aber sich wenig darum bekümmern. Manche glauben dabei nicht einmal an die Götzen, worin sich vielleicht schon die Meinungen Andersdenkender spiegeln. So hat das kleine Dorf Kukla in der Nähe von Nikolajewsk schon seit längerer Zeit weder Schamanen, noch Götzen. Zwei von da gebürtige Brüder, die mich besuchten, Beide aufgeweckte und gutmüthige Burschen, gestanden mir, dass sie an Gott glauben, die Götzen aber für Unsinn halten.

Die *Schamanen* sind die Vermittler zwischen der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Welt; sie sind den Uebrigen immer an Erfahrung und Scharfsinn überlegen, wodurch sie manches, z. B nahen Witterungswechsel, vorauszusehen verstehen und dadurch ihren Einfluss behaupten. Ihre Hauptaufgabe besteht in der Austreibung der Krankheiten, welche meist das Werk böser Geister sind. Nebenbei werden

[1] Ein ähnlicher Glaube soll bei den Eingeborenen Kamtscha'ka's herrschen.

sie auch bei anderen Gelegenheiten konsultirt. Es zeigen sich z. B. hier oder da zu wenig Fische; der Schamane wird befragt und befiehlt, einen Hund von solcher oder solcher Farbe zu tödten und ihn dem Flusse an dem bezeichneten Orte zu opfern. Die Opferspenden werden überhaupt nach den Vorschriften der Schamanen gemacht. Ein tuchtiger Schamane versteht «den Regen zu verjagen», indem er den Wolken droht und sie laut anschreit. Ebenso versteht er natürlich auch Gewitter und Regen zu machen: «sobald er sein Zauberlied anstimmt, zeigen sich auch sofort Regenwolken», sagte mir ein gläubiger Ghiliak. Auch Schaden bringen können seine Zaubereien: er kann z. B. machen, dass ein Mensch weit weg, in einem anderen Dorfe, an einem Fische oder Trunke stirbt, die andern nicht schaden, er kann das Dorf überschwemmen u. s. w. Vor den Zaubereien fürchtet man sich gelegentlich, der Zauberer selbst aber wird nicht verfolgt. Uebrigens sind die Schamanen, wenn Jemand sie reizt, meist so gnädig, es nur bei den Drohungen zu belassen, und obendrein glauben ihnen nicht mal Alle.

Wenn ein Schamane zu einem Kranken geladen wird, so erscheint er in seinem offiziellen Kostüm. Er trägt einen Gürtel, an dem eine Menge klappernder Blechstücke hängen. In den Händen hält er Trommel und Stab. Die Trommel ist etwa $^2/_3$ Meter lang und besteht aus einem hölzernen Ringe, über welchen Hirsch- oder Schweinshaut gespannt ist und an dem eine Menge Schellen hängen. Bald rührt er die Trommel, bald singt er leise oder flüstert Zauberformeln, geht dabei wie ein Uhrwerk hin und her, bis tief in die Nacht. Mitunter springt er über einen brennenden Holzhaufen, oder lässt den Kranken springen, falls dieser es kann. Manche Schamanen imponiren dem Publikum durch grössere Kunststücke; sie kommen mit Ketten beschwert heran, drehen sich rasend im Kreise herum, stürzen sich wohl auch im Zustande der Verzückung in's Feuer, und lassen die Anderen glauben, dass es ihnen nicht schade. Narkotische Getränke werden dabei nicht eingenommen, der Kranke bekommt bisweilen gewisse Kräuteraufgüsse, von denen die Schamanen heilsame Wirkungen erwarten. Die Zaubereien werden durch verschiedene Vorschriften, die Geister betreffend, bekräftigt. Neben dem Kranken wird z. B. ein menschlicher Götze aufgestellt und ihm das Gesicht mit Preiselbeeren gefärbt, dem Kranken selbst Holzspäne um den Hals gehangen und dgl. Oder der Schamane befiehlt die Kleider des Kranken im Walde aufzuhängen, ihm aber andere

anzuziehen: dies geschieht, um den Kobold, welcher ihn sonst in den alten Kleidern sah, zu überlisten.

Diese ärztlichen Zaubereien werden in der Regel am Abend, im Halbdunkel begonnen, wenn sowohl die Einbildungskraft reger wird, als auch ein Betrug sich leichter verbergen lässt. Die Schamanen suchen ihre Autorität auch durch verschiedene Kunststücke, die sonst keine praktische Bedeutung haben, zu befestigen. Sie schlucken z. B. Nadeln und Messer. Bei Sofiisk lebte unlängst ein gefeierter Zauberer, der sich die Augen ausnahm und sich Messer in den Bauch stiess, welche später mit den Exkrementen abgingen. Bei dieser Taschenspielerei wurde er von einem durchreisenden russischen Kaufmanne entlarvt. Es erwies sich, dass die Messerklinge, anstatt in den Bauch einzudringen, in den Hosen verschwand und dann in das untergehaltene Gefäss glitt. Danach verlor der Zauberer jeglichen Kredit.

Schliesslich muss hier noch einiger abergläubischer Gebräuche erwähnt werden. Wenn ein Ghiliak auf Reisen geht, so muss er kurz vor der Abfahrt in der Jurte etwas Wasser trinken; dasselbe thut er, sobald er von der Reise angekommen ist. Das Feuer des Heerdes ist auch den Ghiliaken gewissermaassen geheiligt, man trägt es nicht heraus und liebt es nicht, wenn ein Durchreisender seine Cigarre daran anzündet und dann das Haus verlässt.

Zu diesem Kapitel gehören auch noch einige Worte über die getauften Ghiliaken. Es sind ihrer nicht viele, wie viel aber eigentlich, darüber weiss man Nichts, schon deshalb nicht, weil sich mancher dieser »Christen« mehrere Male taufen lässt, z. B. in der Stadt und bei einem Dorfgeistlichen. Schon daraus sieht man wie viel sie von ihrer neuen Religion verstehen. Es wurde schon erwähnt, dass sie in der Taufe ein Mittel gegen die Entführung der Frauen zu sehen glauben. Die Getauften leben überhaupt ganz wie die Ungetauften, ihre Kinder werden meist nicht getauft, ihre Leichen werden verbrannt. Ihre Stammesgenossen verfolgen sie durchaus nicht: — ein getaufter Ghiliak wird von den Uebrigen etwa so betrachtet, wie Einer, dem eine besondere Bekanntschaft zu Theil ward.

XVI. Intellektuelle Entwickelung, Zeitrechnung, Legenden.

Die Ghiliaken *zählen* ziemlich hoch, zwei, fünftausend und mehr, doch brauchen sie natürlich solche grosse Zahlen fast nie. Das ghiliakische Jahr beträgt die Hälfte des wirklichen: der Winter, welcher wohl ein halbes Jahr dauert, wird für ein Jahr gerechnet, die

übrige Zeit des Jahres auch für eins. Für jede der vier Jahreszeiten, gibt es übrigens besondere Namen.

Den Weg verstehen die Ghiliaken nach den Sternen zu finden, wo der grosse Bär und der Polarstern des kleinen als Kennzeichen gelten. Ueber die Eigenschaften der Himmelskörper scheinen keine besondere Voraussetzungen zu existiren, von Einigen hörte ich übrigens, dass die Sonne und der Mond von Menschen bewohnt seien. Ob nicht eben dort «jene Welt» sei, darüber konnte ich nichts Positives erfahren. Nur Eins kann man sagen, dass sie, wie erwähnt nach oben verlegt wird, nicht unter die Erde, wie bei den alten Griechen.

Ihre Jahre zählen die Ghiliaken nicht, nur über ganz junge Leute kann man annähernde Aussagen hören, ältere können sich nicht mehr auf ihr Alter besinnen und antworten sofort: «der Ghiliak zählt seine Jahre nicht». Danach versteht es sich von selbst, dass von Chronologie und Geschichte bei ihnen keine Rede sein kann.

Die Mehrzahl weiss Nichts über die Vergangenheit. Doch hörte ich von einigen intelligenten Ghiliaken, dass «vor langer Zeit» einmal ein Krieg zwischen den Amurghiliaken und denen von Sachalin stattgefunden habe, dass Letztere mit einer grossen Menge Böten angekommen seien, aber eine Niederlage erlitten hätten. Auf Sachalin gibt es ebenfalls eine Tradition, derzufolge vor 3—4 Generatinen ein sehr langer Krieg gewüthet habe, dessen Ursache die Entführung einer Frau gewesen sei. Ob dieser Krieg derselbe, von dem die Amurghiliaken erzählen, ist schwer zu sagen. Jedenfalls können die langen Intervalle zwischen solchen Kriegen für die Friedfertigkeit dieses Volkes zeugen. Von Gefechten mit den ersten russischen Ankömmlingen wissen die Ghiliaken Nichts.

Auf die Frage, ob sie immer die jetzigen Wohnorte inne gehabt hätten, antworten die Meisten kurz: «ich weiss es nicht», von Einem hörte ich jedoch, die Alten hätten ihm erzählt, dass ein Theil der Ghiliaken über das Meer gekommen sei, der andere von oben, d. h. ungefähr von da, wo die Stadt Blagoweschtschensk a. A. liegt. Sollte darunter nicht die Uebersiedelung aus Sachalin und die Vermischung der ersten Einwanderer mit den schon am Amur vorgefundenen Golden zu verstehen sein?

Frägt man, wie gross die Intelligenz der Ghiliaken ist, so kann man sagen, dass sie für Wilde recht intelligent sind. In den *Künsten* sind sie allerdings sehr zurück. Sie verstehen verschiedene Thiere zu zeichnen oder zu schnitzen; die Figuren sind grob, aber doch er-

kennbar. Musik und Poesie sind durchaus embryonal, aber wenigstens wird erstere gern gehört. Das *Gedächtniss* für Orte und Personen ist erstaunlich. Wenn ein Ghiliak irgendwo mit einem Fremden zusammentrifft, so erkennt er ihn nach vielen Jahren augenblicklich und besinnt sich dabei aller Nebenumstände, welche jene Begebenheit begleiteten. Auch für Sprachen ist ihr Gedächtniss nicht schlecht, wenigstens sprechen viele von ihnen russisch, was umgekehrt nicht der Fall ist. Ob das Gedächtniss der Ghiliaken auch für einen systematischen Unterricht tauglich sei, das ist allerdings noch eine Frage. Beim Unterricht kann man die verschiedenen Thatsachen nicht unmittelbar aufnehmen, sondern muss sie sich nach den Worten eines Anderen herrichten, braucht dazu also eine gewisse Einbildungskraft und Beurtheilung. In dem Dorfe Michailowskoje gab es eine Zeitlang eine Schule, wo Ghiliakenkinder im Lesen und Schreiben unterrichtet wurden. Dies lernten sie gut, Nichts anderes wurde ihnen aber dort beigebracht. Eine eigene Schrift haben die Ghiliaken natürlich nicht.

Neugier und *Wissbegierde* sind mittelmässig. Erstere beurtheile ich hier im Vergleich mit andern unkultivirten Völkern, welche ich zu beobachten Gelegenheit hatte, besonders mit den Baschkiren. Diese sind so zudringlich in ihrer Neugier, dass sie einem Durchreisenden keine Ruhe lassen. Natürlich sammeln sich auch die Ghiliaken um einen Fremden, der in einer ihrer Jurten anhält, aber sie thun dies nicht massenweise, sie halten sich in einer gewissen Entfernung und zerstreuen sich auch bald. Wenn sie zu einem Russen in's Haus kommen, so sehen sie sich wohl neugierig um, aber greifen nicht gleich nach Allem, was ihnen auffällt, und bitten sich keine Geschenke aus; hier wie in manchen andern Stücken, sind sie anständige Leute.

Wenn man sie in dieser Hinsicht loben muss, so ist andrerseits auch ihre Wissbegierde nicht so weit gereift, dass sie sich für die Triebfedern des Kulturlebens interessiren sollten. Einen Russen über eine Maschine, über Wirthschaftsfragen, Natur, Institutionen, Religion u. s. w. zu befragen fällt ihnen selten ein. Werden sie selbst auf solche Themata gebracht, so kann man sich allerdings mit den Klügeren einige Zeit unterhalten. Als Beispiel eines philosophischen Gesprächs mit einem Ghiliaken sei hier eine Unterredung jenes sachalinschen Ghiliaken, der von Gottes Walten Nichts bemerken wollte, mit dem russischen Priester[1] eingeschaltet. Nach Beendi-

[1] Dem jetzt verstorbenen V. Kasansky.

gung der religiösen Debatten fragte plötzlich der Ghiliak: «und warum sagen die Russen, dass sich die Erde um die Sonne drehe, da wir doch gerade das Umgekehrte sehen?» «Hast du Läuse auf dem Kopf?» war die Gegenfrage des Priesters. Der Ghiliak wurde etwas empfindlich, gestand aber, sie zuweilen zu haben. «Gut», fuhr der witzige Pope fort, «wenn nun so eine Laus in deinen Haaren sitzt und ausser ihnen Nichts sieht, und dann zu spazieren anfängt, so glaubt sie, dass sie alleine geht, der Kopf aber stille steht; und doch schwimmt dein Kopf derweile vielleicht mit dir im Boot. So sind auch wir Läuse auf der Erde: sie kann sich bewegen, aber wir merken Nichts davon». Der Ghiliak schmunzelte, aber erwiederte nichts auf den improvisirten astronomischen Beweis des Väterchens.

XVII. Die Krankheiten und deren Behandlung.

Die Ghiliaken sind überhaupt gesünder, als die Kulturvölker. Ihre Ausdauer beim Ertragen von Hunger und Kälte ist grossartig. Ein Paar Tage Nichts zu essen und dabei noch die Jagd in der Taigá fortzusetzen, oder stundenlang bis an die Brust im kältesten Wasser zu stehen — Alles dies ist ihnen Nichts. Dazu passt auch, dass schwächlicher Körperbau, Geburtsfehler, Fettbäuche, schlechte Zähne u. s. w. sehr selten bei ihnen vorkommen. Hermaphroditismus ist die einzige Missbildung, die mir bekannt wurde.

Die *konstitutionellen Krankheiten* und die Neubildungen haben nicht viele Vertreter. Krebs, Tuberkulosis und Scrophulosis sind mir nicht vorgekommen. Zwei Fälle von Lepra an Vater und Sohn sah ich in einem Dorfe; der andere Sohn war gesund. Syphilis kommt vor, aber selten, in vereinzelten Fällen, in der Nähe der Städte oder Militärposten. Jedenfalls hat diese Krankheit für die Ghiliaken durchaus nicht die Bedeutung, welche sie unter den Eingeborenen Kamtschatka's gewann. An Rheumatismus leiden die Ghiliaken trotz ihrer Abhärtung ziemlich häufig. Zahnschmerz ist selten.

Den Skorbut kennen die Ghiliaken nicht, obgleich die Russen an ihm mehr, als in Europa leiden. Dass diese Krankheit hauptsächlich auf Bodenmiasmen zurückzuführen ist, und zwar sowohl auf ein äusseres aus dem reichlich vertretenen Bruch- und Moorboden stammendes, als auch auf Hausmiasmen, darüber habe ich mich an einem anderen Orte ausgesprochen[1]. Dass nun die Eingeborenen immun

[1] St. Petersburg. Med. Wochenschrift Nr. 2—3, 1882.

bleiben, ist theilweise der Gewohnheit zuzuschreiben, da auch Europäer die erste Zeit am Meisten davon zu leiden haben, ferner aber der zweckmässigeren Bauart der Häuser. Russische Kasernen und Privathäuser stehen auf Gebälk, welches bald in Fäulniss übergeht, unter der Bretterdiele liegt verwesendes Holz und feuchter Boden, der auch im Winter nicht friert, die Häuser sind schlecht ventilirt, und haben häufig einen ausgesprochenen Schimmelgeruch. Das Ghiliakenhaus hat eine feste Diele von gestampftem Lehm, der das Bodenmiasma nicht durchlässt, es hat starke Ventilation und wird häufig von Rauch durchzogen, dessen desinfizirende Eigenschaften dabei vielleicht in Betracht kommen. Die Diät scheint nur in sehr bedingter Weise bei dieser Frage betheiligt.

Eine andere endemische Krankheit, der chronische Magen- und Darmkatarrh, kommt bei den Ghiliaken auch vor, aber relativ selten und vergeht bald. Er wird gewöhnlich von unausstehlich starken Koliken begleitet. Dieser Katarrh ist ebenfalls miasmatischen Ursprungs.

Trotz der fortwährenden Fischdiät leiden die Ghiliaken selten an Bandwurm; auch bei den Russen scheint er hier fasst ausschliesslich aus dem Schweinefleisch zu stammen, die Ghiliaken aber kommen selten zu diesem Fleische.

Bronchialkatarrh kommt häufig vor, und Lungenentzündung scheint die häufigste der schweren akuten Krankheiten der Ghiliaken zu sein. Während einer Keuchhustenepidemie, welche zu meiner Zeit in Nikolajewsk herrschte, litten auch die Kinder der Ghiliakendörfer daran.

Augenkrankheiten kommen seltener vor, als man es erwarten sollte, denn sonst leiden Völker, die in rauchigen Häusern wohnen, sehr häufig daran und haben viele Einäugige und Blinde aufzuweisen. Zwar sind die Ghiliakenhäuser nicht immer voll Rauch, immerhin aber sind sie so rauchig, dass man das relativ seltene Vorkommen dieser Krankheiten theilweise einer grösseren Stumpfheit der Augennerven zuschreiben muss. In der That kann sich jeder, der in einem Ghiliakenhause war, davon überzeugen, dass die Eingeborenen bei solchen Rauchwolken, die einen Europäer sofort hinausjagen, noch ganz ruhig sitzen bleiben. Allerdings kommen auch die Ghiliaken nicht ganz ungestraft davon. Man findet unter ihnen Menschen mit chronischer Bindehautentzündung, Hornhautverdunkelung und Staar. Manche können kein starkes Licht ertragen, was sich besonders im Februar und März zeigt, weil da der, in der Mittagssonne an der Ober-

fläche schon theilweise schmelzende Schnee unerträglich blendet. Solche Leute setzen sich, wenn sie bei Tage ausfahren, Brillen aus geflochtenem Pferdehaar vor die Augen; die Brillen flechten sie selbst. Unter den Ghiliakinnen, die sich viel mit feiner Näharbeit beschäftigen, kommen Kurzsichtige vor.

Theils scheint die Seltenheit der Augenkranheiten hier mit der geringen Verbreitung der miasmatischen und Infektionskrankheiten zusammenzuhängen [1]. Auch die Soldaten leiden hier wenig an den Augen, trotz dem blendenden Schneelicht. Bei der bedeutenden Verbreitung der Sümpfe erklärt sich die Sparsamkeit der miasmatischen und Infektionskrankheiten durch die häufigen Sommerregen, den langen und strengen Winter, endlich durch die schwache Bevölkerung.

Was aber die *fieberhaften Hautkrankheiten* betrifft, welche bei den Russen ebenfalls etwas seltener, als in Europa vorkommen, so sind sie eine wahre Geissel für die Eingeborenen. Ob sie schon vor der Ankunft der Russen bekannt waren, ist schwer zu sagen, man kann aber wenigstens voraussetzen, dass sie seltener vorkamen und die Bevölkerung wieder aufkommen liessen. Hingegen jetzt leiden sie mehr.

Nach mehreren mörderischen Epidemien von Blattern und Masern blieben Lücken, die sich nicht sobald füllen können. Dies eben scheint die Hauptursache der Abnahme der eingeborenen Bevölkerung zu sein.

Die *Nerven-* und *Geisteskrankheiten*, welche bei der europäischen Bevölkerung, hauptsächlich aus Ursachen sozialer Art (Nostolgie, Alkoholismus etc.), häufiger, als in Europa vorkommen, sind bei den Ghiliaken wenig verbreitet. Von Epilepsie hörte ich, über Neuralgien, Paralysen und Idiotismus aber erfuhr ich Nichts. Ein Fall chronischer intermittirender Manie ist mir bekannt. Allerdings wird diese Krankheitsrubrik wachsen, wenn das Branntweintrinken überhand nehmen sollte.

Aeussere Krankheiten, als da sind: Verbrennungen, Erfrierungen, Verrenkungen, Brüche u. s. w., kommen natürlich vor, aber ich sah keinen Fall, wo danach dauernde Beschädigungen zurückgeblieben wären, woraus man schliessen kann, dass die primitiven Heilmittel, im Bündniss mit der energischen Naturkraft, solcher Uebel meist Herr werden.

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[1] Nur verkapptes Wechselfieber und Skorbut machen eine gewisse Ausnahme.

Chronische Hautkrankheiten kommen ziemlich häufig vor. Die Hauptursache davon ist natürlich die Unreinlichkeit, doch scheint mir, dass auch die fast ausschliessliche Fischdiät daran partizipirt; wenigstens habe ich Menschen gekannt, die nach Fischspeise ein Hautjucken bekamen, was gewissermaassen für deren ätiologische Bedeutung spricht. In Folge von Hautübeln trifft man hier und da auf kahlköpfige Ghiliaken.

Steinkrankheit kommt sowohl bei den Ghiliaken, als bei den Russen des Amurlandes nicht vor, was sich theilweise durch die Weichheit der Gewässer erklärt.

Auch *Kropf* ist unbekannt. Der einzige Fall, den ich dort sah, bezog sich auf eine Dame, welche ihn aus Irkutsk gebracht hatte.

Die *Behandlung der Krankheiten* ist natürlich ganz embrynonal. Am Meisten hofft man von den Kunststücken der Schamanen, da gewöhnlich der Schwarze mit im Spiel ist. Die natürlichen Heilmittel, welche den Schamanen zu Gebote stehen, sind sehr gering an Zahl und werden sorgsam verheimlicht.

Verrenkungen werden durch Ausreckung eingerichtet. Bei Knochenbrüchen werden Schienen gebraucht. Wunden werden häufig ganz offen gelassen und nur mit Wasser gewaschen. Bei Eiterung werden bisweilen auch Stücke vom Lärchenpilzen in die Wunde gelegt. Erfrorene Glieder werden mit geölter oder reiner Baumwolle umwickelt. Bei chronischem Magen- und Darmkatarrh braucht man bittere Kräuter, besonders Wehrmuth als Getränk. Bei starken Kolikanfällen, wie sie bei dieser Krankheit vorkommen, stellen sich die Ghiliaken bisweilen Moxen aus brennendem Schwamm. Rheumatiker baden sich in den, bei dem Dorfe Michil sprudelnden warmen Quellen, welche sich in der That sehr nützlich dagegen bewähren [1]. Bei grossen Epidemien von Masern etc. zerstreuen sich die Ghiliaken bisweilen familienweise in der Taigá.

Ueberhaupt unterwerfen sich die Eingeborenen ungern einer Behandlung. Sie dulden lange und rufen den Schamanen nur im äussersten Falle. An russische Aerzte wenden sie sich sehr selten, halten sie aber auch für Schamanen und zwar für klügere, als die einheimischen.

Von Krankheiten ihres einzigen *Hausthieres*, des Hundes, kann ich nur auf *epidemischen Schnupfen* hinweisen, der bisweilen Verheerungen anrichtet. Was die *Hundswuth* betrifft, so ist bis jetzt kein

[1] Sie haben eine Temperatur von 24° bis 36° R, und gehören zu den indifferenten Thermen.

einziger Fall im Küstengebiet vorgekommen, was vielleicht damit zusammenhängt, dass die Hunde nicht blos bei den Eingeborenen, sondern auch bei vielen Russen systematisch zur Arbeit, d. h. zum Ziehen angehalten werden.

XVIII. Die Sprache.

Eine schriftliche Aufzeichnung der Ghiliakensprache lässt sich am bequemsten in russischen Lettern machen, denn einige Laute werden gerade so, wie bei den Russen, und den Slaven überhaupt ausgesprochen. Die russischen Buchstaben я, ю, ы existiren in der Ghiliakensprache, besonders der Letztere, welcher von dem Westeuropäer weder durch y, noch durch ui ersetzt werden kann, kommt bei den Ghiliaken ziemlich häufig vor und wird gerade so, wie z. B. im russischen Worte былъ ausgesprochen. Der Buchstabe l wird auch, wie bei den Slaven, vor a, u, o und ui[1] und am Ende mancher Worte eigenthümlich voll ausgesprochen, wofür sich in germanischen und romanischen Sprachen kein direkt korrespondirender Laut findet. Die Buchstaben g, k und h oder eigentlich ch kommen in ghiliakischen Wörtern häufig vor und werden unter Andrücken der Zunge mehr an den hintern Gaumen, scharf betont, so dass diese Sprache (wie auch die semitischen) einen eigenthümlich gurgelnden Klang erhalt. Die Konsonanten sind in ihr so stark vertreten, dass sie wohl den Namen einer harten und nicht wohlklingenden verdient. Die Sprache der Golden ist weicher. Das t und tsch, das k und ch gehen oft in einander über, und das ч wird manchmal fast wie sch und wie das französische g ausgesprochen.

Die Sprache der Amurghiliaken vom Meere bis zum Dorfe Bogorodskoje gleicht der der sachalinschen um soviel, dass sich die Leute wenigstens leidlich verständigen können. Aber auch schon sie selbst zeigt einige Abweichungen, welche sogar in benachbarten Dörfern vorkommen. So heisst das Wort «husten» in Kaka: jerert, in Waida aber, welches etwa 1½ d. Meilen von da, auf dem anderen Ufer liegt, — jaat. In dem etwa 100 Werst (gegen 14 d. M.) stromaufwärts liegenden Michil sind die Abweichungen schon zahlreicher. Dort heisst z. B. «Freund» — Napche, «Himmel» — Tle, in Waida und Kaka aber Amgan und tlui; «Guten Tag» wird in Michil schon mit dem goldischen Worte Sarodé bezeichnet. Sogar an einem und demselben Orte werden viele Worte auf verschiedene Weise ausge-

[1] Ich lasse diese zwei Buchstaben für das russische ы gelten, obgleich sie es schlecht wiedergeben.

sprochen; z. B. jtuik (Vater) wird auch wie stuika gebraucht. Andere wieder verändern sich, je nach der Form, in der sie gebraucht werden, so sehr, dass sie nicht zu erkennen sind. Z. B. rufroch heisst «mit dem Bruder», ituikroch «mit dem Vater», hingegen bedeutet igruir «mit ihm» und nigruir «mit mir». Oder:

				(zu mir) (komm)
«komm zu	mir»	heisst		nerch viá
« —	dir»	—		tscherch viá
« —	ihm»	—		hodjroch viá
« —	euch»	—		tschingdoch viá
« —	uns»	—		nindoch viá
« —	ihnen»	—		tschengroch viá.

Oft wird die Präposition ganz ausgelassen (s. unten). Grammatikalische Formen existiren fast keine. Deklinationen gibt es nicht. Die Verba metamorphosiren sich bisweilen so, dass sie schwer zu erkennen sind, doch sind diese Metamorphosen nicht so beständig, dass man daraus feste Regeln ziehen könnte. Es gibt zwar einige Formen für Konjugationen, aber sie bewegen sich in so weiten Grenzen, dass der Willkühr dabei noch Platz bleibt, d. h. man kann so und so sagen. Als Beispiel sei folgendes angeführt:

	Geben imuitj [1].
ich gebe	ni imnachtá
du gibst	ti nimuignitj
er (oder sie) gibt	hotj nimuignitj
wir geben	ni oder ning timnachtá
ihr gebet	ti oder ting imnuidljá
sie geben	hotj nimuinuidschá [2]
ich gab	ni imuitj
du gabst	ti imuitj
er gab	hotj imuitj
wir gaben	ni oder ning imuitj
ihr gabt	ti oder ting imuitj
sie gaben	hotj oder hotjgu imuitj
ich werde geben	ni imnachtá
du wirst geben	ti imujá
er wird geben	hotj (oder hotjgu) imuinuitj
wir werden geben	ning imuinuichtá } oder auch
ihr werdet geben	ting imuinuitj } imujá

[1] Das t am Ende der Verba wird weich ausgesprochen, desswegen setze ich das j danach.

[2] Die letzte Silbe wird weich, wie das italienische gia ausgesprochen.

	gib nimujá.
	Leben gumnitj
ich lebe	ni gumnitj
du lebst	ti gumnuitj
er lebt	hotj gumuitj
wir leben	ning gumuitj
ihr lebt	ting gumnuidljá
sie leben	hotj gumnuidschá oder gumnuitji
ich lebte	ni gumurá oder gumnuitj
du lebtest	ti gumnuitj
er lebte	hotj gumnutj
u. s. w.	
ich werde leben	ni umnuigdá
wir werden leben	ning umnuigdá
lebe	gumuja.
	Sein nivinuitj
du warst	ti nivinuitj
er wird sein	hotj nivinuitj
ist	ivrá.
	Essen iftj
wir assen	ning initrjá
ihr asset	ting initrjá
sie assen	hotj initrjá
wir werden essen	ning inuidschá
ihr werdet essen	ting inuidschá
esse	niá.

Aus diesen Beispielen ersieht man, dass 1) die Verba zwar vielfach modifizirt werden, dass es aber 2) schwer ist, in diesen Modifikationen etwas Beständiges für eine bestimmte Zeit, Person und Zahl aufzufinden. Sicherer scheint es, dass es bis jetzt Nichts desgleichen gibt. Wenigstens erhoben meine ghiliakischen Professoren Nichts dagegen, wenn ich ein gewisses Verbum im unbestimmten Modus für alle Modi ausser dem Imperativ, für alle Personen und Zahlen brauchte. Nur der Imperativ scheint immer mit ja, die Betonung auf der letzten Silbe, zu endigen. Dabei werden viele Verba stark abgekürzt oder verändert; z. B, «singen» heisst lunuitj, «singe» lujá; «kommen» prnuidsha[1], «komme» priá; «trinken» ranuitj oder schanuitj, «trinke» jachtajá; «gehen» vinuitj, «gehe» vijá. Der unbestimmte Modus endigt mit wenigen Ausnahmen, mit tj.

[1] Das sch wird hier weich ausgesprochen.

Geschlechter existiren nicht, er und sie ist einerlei. Auch Singular und Plural sind einerlei, nur die Fürwörter machen eine Ausnahme.

Die Präpositionen stehen gewöhnlich nach dem Worte, auf welches sie sich beziehen: z. B. «durch den Wald» pal (Wald) schmui (durch).

Die Adjektiva haben kein Komparativ und Superlativ, statt dessen wird das Wort lele d. h. «sehr» vorgesetzt. Für manche Gegenstände, welche von grösserer oder kleinerer Art sein können, existiren verwandte Benennungen, von denen die des grösseren Gegenstandes die Wiederholung der des kleineren ist: z. B. ein Flüsschen heisst la, ein Fluss pilala.

Ueber die Hausindustrie im Gouvernement Wologda.[1]

Der nachstehende Aufsatz über die Hausindustrie im Gouvernement Wologda schliesst sich ergänzend einer Reihe von Artikeln und Mittheilungen der «Russischen Revue» über die Hausindustrie in Russland an[2]. Die Daten entstammen einer kürzlich von der Gouvernements-Semstwo von Wologda veröffentlichten Broschüre, welche auf Grund von neuerdings gesammelten Nachrichten ein anschauliches Bild der örtlichen Hausindustrie entwirft, indem sie über 18 verschiedene Zweige derselben ziemlich genaue und vollständige Auskunft ertheilt. Wenn wir auch die Richtigkeit der einzelnen Daten nicht verbürgen können, so liegt doch kein Grund vor dieselben anzuzweifeln, da sie mit den bisherigen Forschungen auf diesem Gebiete im Wesentlichen übereinstimmen.

Zur Orientirung im Gebiete der russischen Hausindustrie im Allgemeinen verweisen wir auf die Einleitung des unten angeführten Aufsatzes von C. Gruenwaldt, S. 374—387. Daselbst findet sich in

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[1] Правит. Вѣстн., 1883 годъ, Nr. 176, 178.

[2] C. Gruenwaldt: die Hausindustrie in Russland, «Russ. Rev.» Bd. IX, S. 377—400 und 473—490. A. Thun: Ueber die Hausindustrie im Gouvernement Moskau, Bd. XII, S. 497—536. Notizen über ökonomische Verhältnisse im Gouvernement Wjatka, Bd. VII, S. 449—451, und sonst noch passim, namentlich in den «kleinen Mittheilungen».

15: Pilsudski E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Pregnancy, Delivery and Miscarriage among the Inhabitants of the Island of Sakhalin (Gilyak and Ainu) /Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei den Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin (Giljaken und Ainu)/

by Bronislaw Pilsudski

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844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
343 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
562 women. The location of these bushes is always
841 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

844 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
183 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

844 When the woman in labor goes to the place made
291 ready for her, she is clad in old soiled clothes. If the weather is cool she takes more clothes along. The only distinction in clothing worn during labor is that the woman in labor takes off the trousers, a garment that Gilyak women wear in summer and winter.

844 Usually an older woman who herself has gone
835 through several childbirths helps the woman in labor. If [757] such a midwife, called lanaven szauk, is not at hand the husband of the woman in labor can take her place; but under no circumstances may another male member of the family take this place, not even the younger brother of the husband, although, according to the customs of the Gilyak he has a right to the wife of his older brother and considers himself in a way her husband and certainly the second father of the child.

844 The Birth.

753 During the delivery the woman in labor sits and does not stretch her legs. The seat is erected at the same height as the bed in the yurt, that is about half a yard above the floor. During the whole period of delivery the woman in labor is supposed to keep quiet, not to strike out in pain, not to try to get up, not to lean over to one side or the other. If, during a hard delivery, the woman is not able to stay in the prescribed attitude by herself and starts writhing in pain, it is the duty of the midwife or husband to hold her up at her shoulders in order to prevent her from making the forbidden movements. The Gilyak believe that women who try to get up during the delivery contract a disease which causes a deformation of the spine. Once I was even shown a young woman who had become a cripple because she had not stayed quiet while in labor. Her spine was really deformed or, as the Gilyak say, broken (naski ts' onkrynd). She was not able to walk and died a few years later.

845 If the labor pains last too long and the woman suffers too badly, a piece of clothing is moved back and forth in front of her face and somebody blows down from above on the part in her hair.

844 The mother delivers the child herself, and only if the mother is entirely too weak does the midwife help at the delivery.

The Gilyak do not know how to give obstetric help to a woman in labor. If a woman is not able to deliver the child she dies, and, in this case, the child will perish too. But that happens very rarely. During a more than ten years' stay in the region of the river Tym I heard only once that a woman died during the delivery.

Among the Gilyak the first childbirth is considered to be the hardest. It is especially hard and painful for very young women who are not fully developed physically.

845 Girls are strictly forbidden to laugh when people
784 talk of delivery or confinement, and they are supposed to stay serious during the act of birth. If they fail to do so, in the future they will go through very hard deliveries and suffer exceedingly great labor pains.

844 In order to speed up the discharge of the placenta chiplings of a certain wood (sambucus racemosa) are put into the mouth of the woman in labor. The bitter disgusting taste of the wood causes vomiting which, according to the belief of the Gilyak, should accelerate the discharge of the placenta (ehlaud cuind, that is: the child's food). But, if the placenta nevertheless is not discharged after a while the woman dies. This [758] happens rarely but does occur once in a while among the Gilyak. The placenta is wrapped in a towel and hung up on a tree in the wood not far from the house.

845 If a child is born with a caul which, however,
777 happens very rarely, the caul is not thrown away but is carefully dried and kept with other household articles. For the Gilyak believe that this caul which in the language of their tribe, is called ehlan ok (the suit of the child) brings luck to the whole family.

844 The newly born child is not simply called a boy or
553 a girl. If a girl was born it is, for the time being, called mukin ehlan, that is: tailless child (mukind usually is the name for a dog with a very short tail). But if a boy was born his relatives say: moi ivend panend, that is: one who has a penis was born.

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

843 Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

843 medical profession. It is possible that the Gilyak belong to a race which is constitutionally inclined to miscarriages. I believe, however, that in this respect it is of great importance that the woman is worn out from perpetual heavy work and that there is a complete lack of consideration for the pregnant woman. Among the Gilyak the immense burden of domestic work is at no time alleviated for the woman during her pregnancy. No man deems it necessary to protect his wife while she is carrying the baby to be born. The eventual miscarriage he attributes without compunction to insignificant causes. The Gilyak believe, for instance, that a miscarriage takes place if a child hits his pregnant mother's face with a strap or a long wooden object, such as a spoon, an arrow, a toy, a wooden knife or a fishing hook. Hitting a pregnant woman with a twig or a little stick recently cut off a tree or bush is considered harmless. A violent blow or a fall can cause a miscarriage too.

844 Behavior of the husband.

The Gilyak has a strange way of expressing his worries about his wife during her labor pains: he unties everything that can possibly be untied. First on himself: he undoes the braids in which his hair is plaited and he unties his shoelaces and top sleeves. Next, he unties or loosens whatever might, at that time, be tied up in the house or in its neighborhood. In the yard, he takes the axe out of the block; he loosens the boat if it is tied to a tree; he takes the cartridges out of the gun and the arrows out of the cross-bow. An image of pity without a belt, he creeps from one corner to another or he lies around pondering what else he might untie or loosen somewhere, for he is convinced that the labor pains and their duration depend upon whether he has overlooked and missed loosening something.

846 Only after the navel of the child is healed is the man allowed to start working or to go hunting, to leave the house on business and visit his relatives or friends. Neither at this period nor later on is the birth of the child celebrated by a festivity in the house or by a meal.

General remarks.

Throughout this period of time the woman who has

846 given birth to a child does not leave her place, the
hut; only during the most severe spells of frosty
weather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in
case she herself is the housewife. If she is not the
housewife she cannot expect to be taken into the house
846 by another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women
776 in confinement who were left to themselves in the hut
are attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these
spirits out of the "house of birth", in which one of the
most important and mysterious natural events takes
place, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the
hut designed to banish the evil spirits. But this
convenient and easy way of protection is not always
sufficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming
hurriedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who
was compelled to do all the work in the narrow and
disgusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood,
had, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's head.
On another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a
Gilyak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire
when she had started a fire in order to warm her
chilled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur
as frequently as one should expect is due to the
admirable strength of character and fortitude of the
Gilyak woman who, even worn out and sick, never
loses her presence of mind and her ability to work.
It is the might of her motherly love which, in such
moments, increases her will power and her fortitude
to a degree unknown and incomprehensible to men.
847 Unmarried Gilyak women, fearing the disgrace
163 which they would have to suffer, sometimes effect
artificial miscarriages; they use the same means
which are said to cause natural miscarriages. But
their skill in committing abortion is not great, for
there are many cases of infanticide.

Once in a while it happens that a Gilyak woman
gives birth to a dead child; but that happens so
infrequently that I could not be shown a single woman
to whom that had happened.

834 The Gilyak very much dislike talking about sexual
864 matters and about facts connected with them. That
is probably the reason why the appearance of a new
member of the family is explained to children in such

834 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded.
864 If the baby was born in the summer, the children are told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to have found it in the snow.
845 Twin births.
163 No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why there are no legends about such an event either.

Not infrequently twin births take place among the natives. They contend that in each one of these cases both children are of the same sex. I personally came to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were between forty and forty-five years old. In regions rather well known to me there occurred three twin births in a population of more than 300 persons within a decade, but all these twins died immediately after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of
845 mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote
539 down are twins of different sex mentioned. The
776 brother is in love with his sister and, in this song, asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he will die.

The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-rookh, should be given back to his father right away. But, not being certain which of the children is not an offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them both equally.

845 It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to
766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak: one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

845 who are descendents of the Ainu bury
766 their bodies in the earth.

be cremated after their death. If that were done all those present at the ceremony would be punished with the loss of their eyesight. Even the parents of twins have to be buried in the earth, because they too have become relatives of the god of the mountains. The children of twins, however, are considered to be ordinary members of the tribe, and at their funeral there is no deviation from the custom.

845 If twins stay alive and grow up they remain, for the
551 rest of their lives, the object of awe for all their
769 neighbors and friends although there may be enough proof that they lack every kind of supernatural power. At every meeting, either in friendship or in hostility, the others remind them of their unusual progenity and everybody attributes to them that mysterious innate power. Each of the twins bears the name he gave himself as a child. The custom of giving the child the name of a dead ancestor is not followed in the case of twins. The names of the twins are neither given to another child in the same family nor to another child in the tribe. Here too we see a deviation from the general custom of giving children the names of dead ancestors.

845 The greatest awe is felt for those twins who die in
766 childhood. The offspring of the spirits of the
782 mountains who, while living among ordinary human
775 beings for a short time, who did not get used to them and did not feel he was one of them, has especially the power to do harm to people; that is why they try hard to win his favor. The family who had harbored the unwelcome offspring of the mountains constructs a little model of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a little board inside the house or outside in the open. A little figure carved in wood which represents the dead child is put into that little hut. The members of the family consider it necessary to give some of the food they eat themselves to that little figure every day. This rule is strictly followed not only by the parents of the twins but also by the two following generations. Only the great-grandchildren, observing ceremonial rites, carry the little figure with its

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground; they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tribe is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child, tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.

753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone, squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is considered to be a consequence of the mountain spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says "tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is tormenting".

784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions, they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow household articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the new one.

842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the transference of physical peculiarities from one man to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an explanation for the superstitious remedies they use for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who cannot bear children must ask another very fertile woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be transferred from one person to another like a contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel which had been used by the sick person.

15: Pilsudski RX2 Gilyak

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Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei den Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin (Giljaken und Ainu).

Von BRONISLAW PILSUDSKI, Lemberg.

I. Die Giljaken.

Das Geburtshaus. — Bei den Giljaken wird der Geburtsakt als unrein angesehen und darf in keinem Falle in der Jurte, am häuslichen Herde, stattfinden. Demzufolge wird nicht nur im Sommer, sondern auch im Winter, während der ärgsten Fröste und Schneegestöber, die Gebärende in eine eigens für sie in der Nähe des Wohnhauses hergerichtete Baude geführt. Schon der Ort, welcher zu diesem Zwecke gewählt wird, weist darauf hin, daß die Giljaken keine Achtung vor dem Geburtsakte haben. Die oben erwähnte Baude wird nämlich inmitten des Gesträuches errichtet, welches den Frauen als Abtritt dient. Die Lage dieses Gestrüppes ist immer ganz genau bestimmt, und kein Mann lenkt seine Schritte je nach dieser Richtung. Man verbietet sogar den Knaben in dieser Richtung herumzulaufen und dort herumzuspähen und warnt sie, daß, falls sie auf die Spur von Weiberblut träten, sie sich eine Krankheit zuziehen würden, welche *taremynd* genannt wird. Sie beginnt mit der Lähmung von Händen und Füßen, der Kranke verliert die Fähigkeit sich zu bewegen, magert ab und stirbt endlich, denn das Übel ist unheilbar.

In die *lan-raf* oder das „Geburtshaus" bringt man die Frau, sobald sich die ersten Wehen einstellen. Dieses „Geburtshaus" wird auch erst im letzten Augenblick, in der Eile hergerichtet. Aus Brettern zusammengeschlagen, mit alter Tannenrinde bedeckt, erinnert es eher an eine Hundehütte als an den Raum, der zum Empfange eines neuen, von den Eltern heiß ersehnten Weltbewohners bestimmt ist. In den Augen der Giljaken besteht kein Mißverhältnis zwischen den zärtlichen Gefühlen und der Liebe der Eltern zum Neugeborenen und dem strengen, fast grausamen Empfange, welcher ihm zuteil wird. Wartet doch des Kindes eine mehr als spartanische, harte Erziehung und dann ein schweres, sorgenvolles Leben inmitten einer zwar mannigfaltigen, aber keineswegs üppigen und sanften Natur. Darum fällt es keinem Giljaken ein, daß vielleicht der erste Eintritt des kleinen Gastes in die Welt demselben zuträglicher wäre, wenn er in Gegenwart von Leuten, inmitten anderer, besserer Bedingungen vonstatten ginge.

Die Gebärende begibt sich in alter beschmutzter Kleidung an den für sie bestimmten Aufenthaltsort. Wenn das Wetter kühl ist, nimmt sie noch mehr Kleidungsstücke mit sich. Der einzige Unterschied in der Kleidung besteht darin, daß die Gebärende die Hosen abstreift, ein Kleidungsstück, welches von den giljakischen Frauen Sommer und Winter getragen wird.

Gewöhnlich ist es der Fall, daß der Gebärenden eine ältere Frau, welche selbst schon mehrmals geboren hatte, hilfreich zur Seite steht. Wenn eine

solche Geburtshelferin, genannt *lanaven szauk*, nicht zur Hand ist, dann kann der Mann der Gebärenden deren Stelle einnehmen; unter keiner Bedingung jedoch darf dies ein anderes männliches Familienmitglied, nicht einmal der jüngere Bruder des Gatten, welcher doch, nach der Sitte der Giljaken, ein Recht auf die Gattin seines älteren Bruders hat und sich einigermaßen als Gatten, jedenfalls aber als den zweiten Vater ihrer Kinder betrachtet.

Die Geburt. — Während des Geburtsaktes sitzt die Gebärende und streckt die Füße nicht von sich. Der Sitz wird in derselben Höhe wie das Bett in der Jurte eingerichtet, also etwa eine halbe Elle über dem Fußboden. Die Gebärende soll sich während der ganzen Zeit ruhig verhalten, nicht um sich schlagen oder gar versuchen aufzustehen, sich auch nicht auf eine oder die andere Seite neigen. Wenn die Frau während einer schweren Entbindung sich nicht selbst in der vorgeschriebenen Stellung erhalten kann und sich vor Schmerz etwa windet, dann ist es Pflicht der Geburtshelferin oder des anwesenden Gatten, die Kranke an den Schultern zu fassen, um auf diese Art unerlaubte Bewegungen zu verhüten. Weiber, welche während der Entbindung aufzustehen versuchen, erkranken nach der Meinung der Giljaken an einem Übel, welches eine Krümmung des Rückgrates zur Folge hat. Man zeigte mir sogar einmal eine junge Frau, welche infolge ihres unruhigen Verhaltens während der Entbindung zum Krüppel geworden war. Ihr Rückgrat war wirklich gekrümmt oder, wie die Giljaken sagen, gebrochen *(naski ts'onkrynd)*. Sie war nicht imstande zu gehen und starb einige Jahre darauf.

Wenn die Geburtswehen gar zu lange dauern und die Kranke zu arg von ihnen gequält wird, bewegt man, um die Entbindung zu beschleunigen, ein Stück eines Kleidungsstückes vor ihrem Gesichte hin und her oder man bläst von oben herab auf ihren Scheitel.

Das Kind wird von der Mutter selbst und nur im Falle übergroßer Schwäche derselben von der Geburtshelferin in Empfang genommen.

Die Giljaken wissen einer Gebärenden nicht künstlich zu helfen; wenn eine Frau nicht gebären kann, stirbt sie, und auch das Kind geht in diesem Falle zugrunde. Solche Fälle kommen jedoch überaus selten vor. Im Laufe von mehr als zehn Jahren habe ich in der Gegend des Flusses Tymi nur einmal gehört, daß eine Frau während der Entbindung starb.

Bei den Giljaken gilt die erste Entbindung als die schwerste. Sie ist aber besonders schwer und schmerzhaft bei sehr jungen, physisch noch nicht genügend entwickelten Frauen.

Mädchen ist es streng verboten, zu lachen, wenn von Entbindung oder Wochenbett die Rede ist, und man verlangt von ihnen, daß sie angesichts des Geburtsaktes all ihren Ernst bewahren. Entgegengesetzten Falles warten ihrer in der Zukunft besonders schwere Entbindungen und qualvolle Geburtswehen.

Um den Mutterkuchen so schnell als möglich zu entfernen, legt man der Wöchnerin Späne einer Holzart (*Sambucus racemosa*) in den Mund. Der bittere, widerliche Geschmack des Holzes verursacht Erbrechen, was, nach der Meinung der Giljaken, den Abgang des Mutterkuchens (*ehlaud cuind*, d. h. die Speise des Kindes) beschleunigen soll. Wenn aber der Mutterkuchen dennoch längere Zeit nicht zum Vorschein kommt, dann stirbt die Frau, was zwar

selten, aber doch mitunter einmal bei den Giljaken vorkommt. Der Mutterkuchen wird in ein Tuch eingewickelt und an einem Baume im Walde unweit des Hauses aufgehängt.

Wenn ein Kind „in der Haube geboren" wird, was jedoch sehr selten der Fall ist, wird dieselbe nicht weggeworfen, sondern behutsam getrocknet und unter anderem Hausgeräte sorgfältig aufbewahrt. Die Giljaken glauben nämlich, daß diese „Haube", welche in der Sprache des Stammes *ehlan ok* (der Anzug des Kindes) heißt, für die ganze Familie glückbringend sei.

Das Neugeborene wird nicht mit der gewöhnlichen Bezeichnung als Knabe oder als Mädchen angesprochen. Wenn ein Mädchen geboren wurde, nennt man es vorläufig *mukin ehlan,* d. h. schwanzloses Kind *(mukind* heißt gewöhnlich ein Hund mit einem sehr kurzen Schwanze); erblickte aber ein Knabe das Licht der Welt, dann sagen die Angehörigen: *moi iwend panend,* d. h. einer, der einen Penis hat, wurde geboren.

Die Mundhöhle des Neugeborenen wird mittels eines Fingers vom Schleime gereinigt, worauf das Kind gleich an die Mutterbrust gelegt wird. Am darauffolgenden Tage wäscht es die Mutter mit kaltem Wasser, wobei jedoch dieses nicht direkt aus einem Gefäße auf den Körper des Kleinen geschüttet, sondern vorerst in den Mund genommen und erst nachher auf das Kind gebracht wird, was natürlich die Temperatur des „Bades" etwas erhöht. Auf diese Art wird das Kind zwei Jahre lang zweimal täglich gewaschen.

Wenn das Neugeborene ein fehlerhaftes Glied besitzt, trachtet niemand den Mangel auszubessern, ebensowenig besteht die Sitte, den weichen Schädel des Säuglings zu formen.

Nach der Niederkunft wird jungen Frauen empfohlen, viel herumzugehen, wohingegen für ältere das Sitzen angezeigt ist. Vor der Entbindung wird einer jeden Frau, ohne Hinblick auf ihr Alter, so viel als möglich Bewegung geraten.

Frauen ist das Trinken von kaltem Wasser vor wie nach der Entbindung während eines Zeitabschnittes von 10 Tagen strengstens untersagt. Wenn kein Tee zur Hand ist, wird der Kranken, falls sie Durst hat, etwas abgekühltes, gekochtes Wasser gereicht. Während dieser Zeit darf die Wöchnerin auch keinen Fisch mit rotem Fleisch (Lachs, Salm) essen, und der Genuß von gesalzenen Speisen, sowie einer schwarzen, in der Tundra wachsenden Beere *(Empetrum nigrum)* ist ihr gleichfalls verboten. Vor der Entbindung wird der Branntweingenuß für schädlich gehalten, nachher gilt er jedoch als heilsam. Branntwein wird aber überhaupt selten gebraucht, da die Giljaken auf Sachalin im Vergleiche mit anderen Bewohnern dieser Insel sehr wenig Alkohol verbrauchen.

Fehlgeburten. — Natürliche Fehlgeburten kommen sehr oft bei den Giljaken vor *(ryrnnd)*, sie werden für ganz ungefährlich gehalten, und nicht einmal als Krankheit angesehen. Man sagte mir, daß es kaum eine Frau gäbe, welche nicht in ihrem Leben eine oder zwei Fehlgeburten durchgemacht hätte. Keiner jedoch von den Einwohnern, mit welchen ich darüber sprach, wußte von einer Frau, die immer abortierte und überhaupt nicht fähig wäre, den Fötus die ganze notwendige Zeit hindurch, bis zu Ende der Schwangerschaft in ihrem Leibe zu tragen. Ich habe nicht die Absicht, die Ursachen der häufigen Fehlgeburten bei den Giljaken festzustellen, da ich nicht die genügenden

Anhaltspunkte dazu besitze. Ich werde daher die Lösung dieser Frage den Ärzten überlassen. Es ist möglich, daß die Giljaken einer Rasse angehören, die von Natur aus zu Fehlgeburten neigt. Ich glaube jedoch, daß in dieser Hinsicht die Müdigkeit der durch fortwährende schwere Arbeit abgeplagten Frau, und der gänzliche Mangel an Schonung der Schwangeren eine große Rolle spielen. Die ungeheuere Bürde der häuslichen Arbeit wird dem giljakischen Weibe während der Zeit seiner Schwangerschaft nie verringert. Kein Mann hält es für nötig, seine Gattin, welche das zukünftige Kind in ihrem Leibe trägt, zu schützen. Dafür schreibt er die etwa eingetretene Fehlgeburt ganz ruhig nichtigen Ursachen zu. So glauben die Giljaken zum Beispiel, daß Fehlgeburt eintritt, wenn ein Kind seine schwangere Mutter mit einem Riemen, oder einem langen, hölzernen Gegenstande, z. B. einem Löffel, Pfeile, Spielzeug, hölzernem Messer oder auch mit einer Angel ins Gesicht schlägt. Ein Schlag mit einem Zweige, oder mit einem unlängst von einem Baume oder Strauche geschnittenen Stäbchen, wird für unschädlich gehalten. Ein heftiger Schlag oder Fall kann gleichfalls Fehlgeburt herbeiführen.

Verhalten des Mannes. — Seine Sorge um die Gattin drückt der Giljake während der Geburtswehen auf eine sonderbare Weise aus. Er bindet nämlich alles auf, was sich irgend aufbinden läßt. Zunächst an sich selbst: er löst also die zu Zöpfen geflochtenen Haare, die Schuhriemen und die Überärmel. Darauf bindet er alles auf, was zu dieser Zeit im Hause oder in dessen Nachbarschaft zu- oder angeknüpft sein könnte. Im Hofe entfernt der Giljake die Axt, welche im Klotze steckt, er knüpft den Kahn ab, falls dieser an einen Baum gebunden ist, zieht die Patronen aus seinem Gewehre und löst die Pfeile in seiner Armbrust. Ohne Gürtel, ein Bild des Jammers, schleicht er aus einer Ecke in die andere, oder liegt müßig und denkt darüber nach, was er noch irgendwo auflösen oder aufknüpfen könnte, da seiner Meinung nach die Wehen seiner Gattin und ihre Dauer davon abhängen, ob er vielleicht nicht noch etwas unbeachtet gelassen und aufzulösen versäumt hat.

Erst wenn der Nabel des Kindes geheilt ist, darf der Mann eine Arbeit beginnen oder auf die Jagd gehen, überhaupt das Haus in Geschäftsangelegenheiten verlassen und seine Verwandten oder Freunde besuchen. Weder in dieser Zeit, noch später, wird die Geburt des Kindes durch ein häusliches Fest oder Mahl gefeiert.

Allgemeines. — Die Wöchnerin verläßt die ganze Zeit über nie ihren Aufenthaltsort, die Hütte, und darf sich nur während der bittersten Fröste in das Wohnhaus begeben, falls sie selbst die Hausfrau ist. Entgegengesetzten Falles kann sie nicht erwarten, von einer anderen Frau aufgenommen zu werden. Unglücksfälle, welche zuweilen schwachen Wöchnerinnen, die in der Hütte sich selbst überlassen sind, widerfahren, werden bösen Geistern zur Schuld gelegt. Um dieselben fern vom „Geburtshaus" zu halten, in welchem eine der wichtigsten und geheimnisvollsten Naturerscheinungen sich abspielt, wird am Eingange desselben eine große Axt niedergelegt, welche den Zweck hat, die bösen Geister zu verscheuchen. Dieses bequeme und leicht zugängliche Mittel ist aber nicht immer hinreichend. Ich erinnere mich an einen Giljaken namens Kan, welcher mich in aller Eile aufsuchte, um meine Hilfe zu be-

anspruchen, da seine kranke Gattin, welche gezwungen war, in der engen und ekelhaften Höhle alle Arbeit zu verrichten, also auch zu nähen und Holz zu hacken, seinen neugeborenen Sohn unversehens am Kopfe verletzt hatte. Ein anderes Mal entzündete sich die Hütte, in welcher die Frau eines mir bekannten Giljaken im Wochenbette lag, an dem Feuer, welches sie angefacht hatte, um ihre erstarrten Glieder zu wärmen. Wenn solche Unglücksfälle nicht ganz so oft vorkommen, als man vermuten könnte, so ist dies nur dem bewunderungswürdigen Charakter und der Standhaftigkeit der giljakischen Frau zuzuschreiben, die selbst abgemattet und krank nie ihre Geistesgegenwart und Arbeitsfähigkeit verliert. Die Mutterliebe, welche in solch einem Augenblicke aufs neue und mit größerer Gewalt im Weibe erwacht, steigert seine Kräfte und seinen Willen bis zu einem, Männern völlig unbekannten und unverständlichen Grade.

Unverheiratete Giljakinnen führen manchmal, unter dem Eindrucke der sie erwartenden Schande, künstliche Fehlgeburten herbei; sie bedienen sich dabei derselben Mittel, welche auch die zufälligen Fehlgeburten herbeiführen sollen. Die Geschicklichkeit beim Abtreiben des Fötus muß jedoch bei ihnen nicht sehr groß sein, da Kindesmorde oft vorkommen.

Es kommt auch bisweilen vor, daß eine Giljakin ein totes Kind zur Welt bringt; dies geschieht jedoch so selten, daß man mir nicht eine einzige Frau zeigen konnte, der solches widerfahren wäre.

Die Giljaken sprechen sehr ungern über sexuelle Angelegenheiten, und über Erscheinungen, die damit zusammenhängen. Dies ist wahrscheinlich der Grund, daß man Kindern das Erscheinen eines neuen Familienmitgliedes auf eine Weise erklärt, die jedes Gespräch hierüber ausschließt. Wenn das Kind im Sommer geboren wurde, sagt man, es sei unter den Wurzeln eines Baumes oder Baumstammes hervorgeholt worden; von einem im Winter geborenen Kinde gibt man vor, man habe es im Schnee gefunden.

Zwillingsgeburten. — Davon, daß eine Frau auf einmal drei Kinder zur Welt gebracht hätte, verlautet bei keinem sachalinischen Stamme etwas, und demzufoge gibt es auch keine Sagen darüber.

Nicht gar so selten findet man in dem Leben der Eingebornen Zwillinge. Es wird behauptet, daß in einem solchen Falle immer beide Kinder desselben Geschlechtes sind. Persönlich kannte ich zwei lebende Zwillinge vom Stamme der Giljaken, welche 40—45 Jahre alt waren. Während eines Jahrzehntes wurden in mir näher bekannten Gegenden unter einer Bevölkerung von über 300 Personen bei drei Familien Zwillinge geboren, welche jedoch sogleich starben. Als ich im Jahre 1905 abreiste, ließ ich in der Familie eines mir bekannten Giljaken ein fünf Monate altes Zwillingspaar zurück. Nur in einem einzigen, alten, von mir aufgezeichneten, giljakischen Liede ist die Rede von Zwillingen verschiedenen Geschlechtes. Der Bruder ist in seine Schwester verliebt, und bittet sie in dem Liede, sein Herz in ihre Hände zu nehmen, da er sonst sterben werde.

Die Giljaken sind überzeugt, daß der eine der Zwillinge ein Sohn des Berg- und Waldgottes, *pal-niwuch* (Bergmensch), sei, welcher eine mächtige, für den armen, schwachen Giljaken bald huldvolle, bald böse Gottheit dar-

15: Pilsudski RX2 Gilyak

stellt[1]. Darum sollte das Kind des *pal-niwuch* seinem Vater alsbald zurückerstattet werden. Da man jedoch nicht sicher ist, welches von den Kleinen nicht menschlicher Abkunft ist, zieht man es vor, sie beide auf gleiche Art zu behandeln.

Zwillinge dürfen nach dem Tode nicht verbrannt werden, wie dies bei der Mehrheit der Giljaken hinsichtlich anderer Leichen[2] der Brauch ist. Dies würde nämlich an allen Teilnehmern der Zeremonie durch Verlust des Augenlichtes gerächt werden. Selbst die Eltern der Zwillinge werden pflichtgemäß in der Erde begraben, da die Verwandtschaft mit dem Berggeiste auch auf sie übergegangen ist. Die Kinder der Zwillinge jedoch werden für ganz gewöhnliche Menschen ihres Stammes gehalten und bei ihrem Begräbnis wird nicht von der angenommenen Sitte abgewichen.

Wenn die Zwillinge am Leben bleiben und groß werden, bleiben sie ihr Leben lang der Gegenstand des Schreckens aller ihrer Nachbarn und Bekannten, wenn auch genügende Beweise dafür vorhanden sind, daß sie keinerlei übernatürliche Kraft besitzen. Bei jedem näheren Zusammenkommen, sei es in Freundschaft oder in Streitigkeiten, werden sie von den anderen an ihre außergewöhnliche Herkunft erinnert, und alle rechnen die geheimnisvolle Macht, welche ihrer Meinung nach in den Zwillingen verborgen ist. Ein jedes der Zwillinge bekommt den Namen, welchen es sich als Kind zurechtgelegt hat. Die Sitte also, dem Kinde den Namen eines verstorbenen Vorfahren zu geben, wird in diesem Falle nicht befolgt. Der Name der Zwillinge wird weder in derselben Familie noch im Stamme einem zweiten Kinde beigelegt. Es wird also auch hier von der allgemeinen Sitte abgewichen, nämlich die Kinder mit den Namen der verstorbenen Vorfahren zu benennen.

Am meisten jedoch werden diejenigen Zwillinge gefürchtet, welche als Kinder sterben. Der Sprößling der Berggeister, welcher zwar kurze Zeit unter den Menschen weilte, sich aber noch nicht an sie gewöhnt hatte und sich nicht als ihresgleichen fühlt, hat besonders die Macht, den Leuten zu schaden, welche daher eifrigst um seine Huld bestrebt sind. Die Familie, die den ungebetenen Herkömmling der Berge beherbergt hatte, verfertigt ein kleines Modell einer giljakischen Yurte und stellt es entweder auf einem Brettchen in der Wohnung auf oder auch außerhalb derselben, unter freiem Himmel. In dieser kleinen Yurte wird eine aus Holz geschnitzte Figur untergebracht, welche das verstorbene Kind vorstellen soll. Die Familienmitglieder erachten es als nötig, dieser Figur täglich ein wenig von den Lebensmitteln zu verabreichen, die sie selbst genießen. Dies wird auch gewissenhaft nicht nur von den Eltern des Zwillings, sondern auch von den darauffolgenden zwei Geschlechtern vollzogen. Erst die Urenkel tragen die Figur samt ihrer Wohnung unter großer Zeremonie auf einen nahen Berg hinaus, wo ihr noch zum letztenmal ausgesuchte Speisen zum Opfer gebracht werden. Neben die Opfergegenstände wird ein kraus geschnittener, 1 bis 2 Meter hoher, *nau* genannter Stab eingegraben. Von diesem Augenblicke an gewinnt der ganze Stamm die Sicherheit,

[1] Ich hörte jedoch aus dem Munde eines Giljaken auch eine andere Erklärung: darnach soll eines der Zwillinge den Bergen, das andere dem Meere entstammen.

[2] Gewöhnlich bestatten nur diejenigen Giljakenstämme ihre Leichen in der Erde, welche ainischer Abstammung sind.

daß das tote Kind, *tonhr ehlian*, sie auch ohne weitere Bitten und Opfer nicht heimsuchen werde.

Das Nichtbefolgen dieses Gesetzes, das die schrecklichen Berggeister zu erweichen und huldvoll zu stimmen bezweckt, zieht auf die nachläßigen Hinterbliebenen ihren Zorn herab. Als Zeichen ihrer Rache *(tonhr ehlian)* gelten verschiedene Krankheiten, von denen die Eltern und Verwandten des Zwillingspaares befallen werden. Es sind dies gewöhnlich ganz bestimmte Krankheiten, z. B. Verkrümmung der Kiefer, schielende Augen, Halsstarre oder überhaupt Krämpfe. Das Auftreten solcher Krankheiten wird als Folge der Unzufriedenheit des Berggeistes erklärt, und man sagt in solchen Fällen: *„Tonhr ehlian singrund"*, d. h. „das Zwillingskind quält".

Die Furcht davor ist besonders bei den Giljaken so stark, daß man jungen Weibern und Mädchen streng verbietet, Erzählungen solcher Vorfälle mit anzuhören, in der Meinung, durch diese Vorsichtsmaßregel die Geburt von Zwillingen verhüten zu können. Frauen sollen sich auch keinerlei Hausgerät von Bekannten ausleihen, die Zwillinge zur Welt gebracht hatten, auch keine Geschenke von ihnen annehmen. Am gefährlichsten sind in diesem Falle alte, weiche Gegenstände. Hartes hingegen, besonders aus Metall verfertigtes Gerät besitzt nicht die Eigenschaft, das Unglück seines früheren Besitzers auf den neuen zu übertragen.

Der Glaube an die Möglichkeit einer Übertragung der physischen Eigenschaften eines Menschen auf einen anderen mit Hilfe des Gerätes des ersteren ist überhaupt für diesen nördlichen Stamm sehr charakteristisch. Er erklärt auch die abergläubischen Mittel, welche zur Beseitigung der Unfruchtbarkeit einer Frau dienen sollen. Das Weib, welches keine Kinder zur Welt zu bringen vermag, muß eine andere, sehr fruchtbare Frau um deren Hosenband bitten, welches bis zum erwünschten Erfolg getragen werden soll. Ein Giljake erklärte mir, daß die Fruchtbarkeit geradeso von einem Menschen auf den anderen übertragen werden kann, wie eine ansteckende Krankheit, z. B. mittels eines Gefäßes, welches vom Kranken gebraucht wurde.

II. Die Ainu.

Allgemeine Behandlung der Frau. — Unter ganz anderen Bedingungen findet der Geburtsakt bei den übrigen Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin, den behaarten Ainu, welche dem Äusseren nach nicht wenig den russischen Bauern gleichen, statt. Das Fehlen von verschiedenen, die Wöchnerin belästigenden Unbequemlichkeiten, wovon weiter unten die Rede sein wird, kann man nicht dem längeren und näheren Zusammenleben der Ainu mit den Japanern, die ein Kulturvolk sind, zuschreiben. Hat doch das Verhältnis mit ihnen keineswegs andere grobe Sitten, die bei den Ainu und Giljaken in gleichem Maße erhalten blieben, geändert. Die Ursache der größeren Sorgfalt, welche der Wöchnerin hier zuteil wird, liegt vielmehr in einer bedeutend besseren gesellschaftlichen Stellung der ainischen Frau. Dieselbe wird hier niemals verkauft. Nach der Hochzeit wird sie nicht Mitglied eines fremden Stammes. Die Verwandtschaft mütterlicherseits wird als näher betrachtet als die väterlicherseits. In der ainischen Familie kann man überhaupt deutliche Spuren eines früheren

Matriarchats wahrnehmen, welches zwar schon ziemlich verkümmert ist, jedenfalls aber noch immer stark genug zum Ausdruck kommt, um das Los der ainischen Frauen in vielen Fällen bei weitem besser zu gestalten als dasjenige anderen Stämmen angehörender Frauen.

Da das ainische Mädchen nach der Hochzeit es mit dem Übersiedeln in das Haus des Gatten nicht so eilig hat und oft noch einige Jahre in ihrem Elternhause verweilt, macht sie in der Regel ihr erstes Wochenbett inmitten ihr nahestehender Personen ab. Ich kannte eine Frau in den mittleren Jahren, welche in ihre Heimat gereist war, um im väterlichen Hause ihre Niederkunft zu erwarten.

Schon daraus kann man schließen, daß die Ainu der Wöchnerin mehr Bequemlichkeiten gewähren, als die Giljaken und Oroken[1]. In der Tat läßt sich auch im Verhältnis der Umgebung zu der Kranken ein Mitgefühl und eine gewisse Ehrfurcht für die Frau wahrnehmen, welche in kurzem Mutter werden soll. Sogar während ihrer Schwangerschaft erfreut sich die Frau einer gewissen Sorgfalt und Aufmerksamkeit. Ich konnte bemerken, daß man gegen die Schwangere Nachsicht übte, ihr in der Arbeit an die Hand ging und ruhig ihre Trägheit oder ihren längeren Schlaf litt.

Was die Ratschläge für Schwangere betrifft, muß man vor allem die allgemeine Regel anführen, welche den schwangeren Frauen viel Bewegung empfiehlt. Der Fötus soll dann klein sein, und die Entbindung erfolgt schnell, ohne besondere Wehen. Je näher die Zeit der Entbindung heranrückt, desto mehr Bewegung soll die Frau genießen. Wenn sie während ihrer Schwangerschaft viel sitzt, wird der Fötus zu groß, und die Gebärende leidet einige Tage, bis die Entbindung erfolgt.

Die schwangere Frau darf kein Hummernfleisch genießen, da in diesem Falle das Kind eine Hasenscharte bekommt. Sie darf auch kein Vogelfleisch zu sich nehmen, da das Kind dann mit schielenden Augen, die sich wie bei einem Vogel bewegen, zur Welt kommen könnte. So erklärte man mir einen Fall von Hasenscharte bei einer Frau im Dorfe Najero und die schielenden Augen zweier Brüder im Dorfe Takoe.

Zwei Monate vor der Entbindung darf die schwangere Frau weder spinnen noch Seile drehen (aus Nesselfasern), weil dann die Eingeweide des Kindes wie Fäden untereinander geraten könnten. Dasselbe kann auch geschehen, wenn die schwangere Frau Wolle wickeln wollte.

Die Geburt. — Während des Geburtsaktes verläßt die Frau das Haus nicht, sondern sie bleibt an ihrem gewöhnlichen Platze am Feuer. Dagegen werden alle Kinder, jungen Leute und zuweilen auch erwachsene Männer aus der Yurte vertrieben. Es herrscht nämlich der Glaube, daß eine größere Anzahl von Zuschauern die Wehen der Gebärenden vergrößere; auch hält man große Ruhe für wünschenswert. Um das Beschmutzen des Fußbodens zu verhüten, wird die Stelle, wo die Kranke liegen soll, mit Tannen- und Fichtenzweigen belegt; auch bekommt die Gebärende als Unterlage eine aus Gras geflochtene Matte und alte Kleidungsstücke. Die Frau legt sich auf die rechte oder linke

[1] Der dritte auf Sachalin lebende Stamm. Seine Sitten sind mehr ähnlich diesen von den Giljaken, als den Ainu.

15: Pilsudski RX2 Gilyak

Seite, leicht mit einem Gürtel umschlungen, der aus irgend einem Stoff verfertigt, jedoch nicht aus Nesselfasern gewebt sein darf, weil diese zu hart sind. Wenn das Wetter kalt ist, behält die Frau ihre Stiefel an, im entgegengesetzten Falle ist dies nicht nötig.

Sobald das Kind aus der Scheide tritt, spreizt die Gebärende die Beine. Falls sie zu schwach sein sollte, sich allein zu bewegen, schiebt man ihr zwischen die Knie einen großen, aus alten Kleidungsstücken zusammengewickelten Ballen.

An der Seite der Gebärenden steht immer eine erfahrene Frau, welche sie vom Augenblicke der ersten Wehen an nicht verläßt. Es ist gewöhnlich ihre eigene Mutter oder Tante, aber auch eine andere liebende Verwandte kann deren Stelle einnehmen. Einigemal sah ich, daß zu der Schwangeren, die im Hause ihres Mannes ihre Niederkunft erwartete, eine Verwandte als Pflegerin kam, obgleich es in dem betreffenden Hause nicht an erfahrenen Weibern fehlte. Diese wurden jedoch wahrscheinlich für fernerstehend oder für weniger liebevoll gehalten.

Um die Geburt zu beschleunigen und die Wehen zu verringern, wird die Kranke massiert. Die Geburtshelferin befeuchtet ein Stückchen einer Meerpflanze, welche Meerkraut *(laminaria)* genannt wird, erwärmt es, damit der Schleim hervortrete, und reibt mit dieser schleimigen Masse zuerst stark den Rücken, darauf schwächer Brust und Bauch. Häufig wird auch bei diesem Anlaß das folgende Geheimmittel gebraucht: eine getrocknete Fledermaus wird in Holzspäne gewickelt, mit welchen dann der Bauch der Kranken eingerieben wird. Wenn der Geburtsakt trotzdem schwer vor sich geht, werden einer Hündin einige Haare aus der Bauchgegend ausgerupft, diese mit Weidenspänen umwickelt und von neuem massiert.

Die Frau, welche die Stelle der Geburtshelferin vertritt, wendet sich mit der Bitte an die Geister der verstorbenen Vorfahren, welche allgemein als alleinige Beschützer der Frauen gelten, der Kranken zu helfen. Diese Bitte lautet gewöhnlich wie folgt: „Wo immer ihr auch seid, meine Großmütterchen, helft heute einer leidenden Frau!"

Geburtshelferin kann nur eine vernünftige, mutige Frau sein, die ihre Gefühle zu beherrschen weiß, die bei dem Stöhnen und Winseln der Gebärenden nicht den Kopf verliert und nicht von Mitgefühl für sie erzittert. Sie muß nicht nur die physischen Leiden der Kranken lindern können, sondern auch die Macht haben, dieselbe zu beruhigen. Wenn es das erste Wochenbett der Gebärenden ist, ermahnt die Geburtshelferin die Leidende, geduldig die Wehen zu ertragen, wie es andere Frauen taten, die jetzt schon Kinder haben, welche ihnen schon bei der Arbeit aushelfen und deshalb der Gegenstand des Neides kinderloser Frauen sind.

Die Geburtswehen setzen bei den Ainu-Frauen lange vor der eigentlichen Entbindung ein und sind sehr hartnäckig. Als schwer gilt erst eine Entbindung, wenn die Niederkunft am fünften Tage nach den ersten Wehen eintritt.

Die Geburtshelferin spricht, indem sie das Kind in Empfang nimmt, die folgenden Worte: *„Asiri ciacia inankarachty,"* d. h. „Neuer Greis, sei gesund"! Wenn ein Mädchen zur Welt gekommen war, sagt sie aber: *pachko* anstatt

ciacia, d. h. kleine Greisin. Die Ainu glauben, daß ihnen die Kinder aus dem Jenseits von verstorbenen Verwandten geschickt werden, die dort in denselben Verhältnissen wie die Erdbewohner leben. Darum nimmt auch, sobald dem Kinde der Nabelstrang mittels eines Messers abgeschnitten worden ist, die Mutter es so schnell als möglich in die Arme, und spricht: *„A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!* Schaut Leute, wie sie sich beunruhigen!" d. h.: diejenigen, welche das Kind auf die Welt geschickt haben, erinnern sich jetzt daran und sind bekümmert, ob es auch die Reise gut überstanden habe.

Vor den Kindern verheimlichen die Ainu nichts, und die Kinder wissen ganz genau wie die Entbindung von statten geht; darum ist es auch überflüßig, ihnen später hinsichtlich der Ankunft eines neuen Brüderchens oder Schwesterchens etwas vorzulügen.

Verhalten des Mannes. — Der Gatte der Gebärenden muß die Stelle der Geburtshelferin vertreten, sobald sich diese nicht zur Zeit einstellt, oder falls sich die Entbindung zu sehr in die Länge zieht.

Der Gatte der Gebärenden ist ihr in vielen Fällen selbst behilflich, wie übrigens auch die anderen Männer des Hauses. Wenn die Frau stöhnt, wird in einer Ecke des Herdes ein kraus geschnittenes Stäbchen aufgestellt. Dieses Stäbchen wird von den Ainu *inau* genannt, und bedeutet ein Opfer für die Götter, in diesem Falle die Göttin des Feuers. Diese unterhält nämlich unter allen Göttern die besten Verhältnisse mit den Menschen und kann ihnen, wenn sie will, immer behilflich sein. Die Männer umgürten auch die Leidende unterhalb der Brust mit einer Schnur, welche aus langen Weidenspänen gedreht ist, und welche *cinoje inau*, d. h. gedrehtes *inau*, heißt und oft als Heilmittel in allen starken Schmerzen verwendet wird. Wenn trotz alldem die Entbindung noch immer nicht erfolgt, wird der Feuergöttin von den Älteren des Hauses ein neues Opfer gebracht. Ein kleines *inau* wird inmitten des Herdes zwischen die lodernden Klötze gestellt, und da es langsam verbrennt, flüstert ein vor dem Feuer auf einer kleinen Matte sitzender Greis ein leises, für diesen Fall eigens improvisiertes Gebet. Wenn dabei das glimmende Stäbchen in der Richtung nach dem Betenden umfällt, wird dies als Weisung betrachtet, daß das Gebet erhört wurde, und daß die Gebärende bald von ihren Wehen befreit werden würde.

Am Tage der Entbindung arbeitet der Gatte gewöhnlich nicht, aber nicht etwa einer abergläubischen Vorschrift zuliebe, sondern aus Mitgefühl und Sorge. Es interessiert ihn auch sehr, ob ihm von seinen Vorfahren ein Sohn oder eine Tochter beschert worden ist. Er erkundigt sich danach bei der Geburtshelferin, welche lakonisch mit *ochkajko* (Mann) oder *machneku* (Frau) antwortet. Ich muß jedoch darauf hinweisen, daß die Ainu keineswegs durchaus auf einen Nachkommen eines gewissen Geschlechtes erpicht sind. Ich habe zwar öfters gehört, daß der Vater sich einen Knaben wünschte; niemals jedoch habe ich vernommen, daß sich eines von den Eltern oder Verwandten mit Unwillen oder Ärger über die Geburt eines Mädchens ausgedrückt hätte. Wenn der Gatte der Wöchnerin irgend ein dringendes Geschäft hat, das sich durchaus nicht aufschieben läßt, kann er schon am folgenden Tage nach der Entbindung seine Gattin und das Neugeborene verlassen, falls natürlich die Gesundheit beider zufriedenstellend und weiter keine Gefahr im Anzuge ist.

Am ersten Freudentage der Eltern jedoch nimmt er an dem aus Anlaß der Geburt veranstalteten Feste teil. Vor allem wird wilder Knoblauch *(Alium victoriale)* ins Feuer geworfen. Diese Pflanze gilt als Lieblingsspeise der Götter, und die Ainu glauben, daß man, indem man sie ins Feuer wirft, die Götter zwingen kann, an dem Feste teilzunehmen. Auch Reis wird mit diesem Knoblauch gekocht, was eine sehr seltene und schmackhafte Speise gibt. Alle Nachbarn werden zu dem Essen mit eingeladen. Sie kommen vorsichtig und sind darauf bedacht, die der Kranken so nötige Ruhe nicht zu stören; sie verzehren die vorbereiteten Speisen, indem sie an der Freude der Hausleute teilnehmen.

Die Frau nach der Entbindung. — Der Kranken wird auch möglichst gutes und verdauliches Essen gereicht. Man gibt ihr Reis, getrockneten und gebratenen Fisch mit Robbenfett, aber keine saftigen Beeren und überhaupt keine schwer verdaulichen Speisen. So war ich einmal Zeuge, wie eine Wöchnerin sich weigerte, Schwarzbrot zu sich zu nehmen, das sie doch gewöhnlich sehr gern aß. Es ist der Wöchnerin auch untersagt, sehr kalte Speisen zu genießen, und alles wird ihr nur in lauem Zustande verabreicht.

Während fünf Tagen darf sie weder nähen, noch kochen, noch überhaupt eine Arbeit verrichten. Wenn sie aber schwach ist, dauert die Rekonvaleszenz auch noch länger. In normalen Verhältnissen erhebt sich die Wöchnerin am sechsten oder siebenten Tage und begibt sich nach und nach an ihre gewöhnliche Arbeit.

Die Ainu wenden dem Wochenbette eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu. So z. B. wird die Massage auch nach der Entbindung noch fortgesetzt. Um die Schmerzen zu lindern, soll es ratsam sein, in die Späne, womit die Einreibungen vorgenommen werden, ein Stück getrocknete Gebärmutter einer Bärin oder einen Zahn einer eisernen Säge einwickeln. Auch mit angefeuchtetem Seekraut wird wiederholt eingerieben. Die Ainu-Frauen leiden überhaupt nach der Entbindung an Schmerzen in der Kreuzgegend, zu deren Beseitigung verschiedene Mittel angewandt werden. Man macht unter anderem der Kranken auch Umschläge aus heißem, am Feuer erwärmten Sand, welcher in ein schmales Säckchen eingefüllt wird. Es werden ihr auch zwischen die Füße erwärmte Späne des Hollunders *(Sambucus)* gelegt oder man setzt ihr warme Steine, die in Späne eingehüllt sind, auf den Bauch. Anstatt der Späne wird zuweilen auch Gras verwendet.

Wenn die Abgänge der Kranken zu stark und mit Schmerzen verbunden sind, wird ein Aufguß von wildem Grase *(arakoikina)* verfertigt, welchen die Frau zu sich nimmt. Man kocht auch ein gewisses Gras *simosineka (Lamium)* und eine gewisse hoch wachsende Pflanze, welche *hopenukina* genannt wird, und wäscht mit dem warmen Tee den Leib der Wöchnerin. Zuweilen gibt man ihr auch den Aufguß einer gewissen, *okina* genannten Pflanze zu trinken. Als sehr gutes Mittel wird der Wöchnerin während der ersten vier bis fünf Tage das Tragen von schweren Korallen, von der Größe eines Taubeneies, empfohlen, welche als Schatz in jeder Familie aufbewahrt werden.

Um den Abgang des Mutterkuchens zu beschleunigen, wird der Bauch der Kranken mit einem schmalen Streifen Seidenstoff umwunden, und die

Wöchnerin selbst schiebt sich den Finger tief in den Rachen, um dadurch Erbrechen zu verursachen. Sobald sich Brechreiz einstellt, geht auch gewöhnlich der Mutterkuchen ab.

Derselbe wird zusammen mit allen anderen Abgängen in eine Matte gewickelt und nach Sonnenuntergang irgendwo draußen, abseits der Behausung, niedergelegt. Wenn die Entbindung in der Nacht erfolgt war, dürfen diese Reste erst mit Anbruch des Morgens beseitigt werden.

Von einem Reißen der Scheide während der Entbindung haben die Ainu nie gehört, und es ist wahrscheinlich, daß dieses bei ihnen niemals vorkommt. Es gibt aber seltene Fälle, wo die Frau nicht gebären kann. Ich kannte einen Witwer, dessen Frau aus diesem Grunde gestorben war; die Ainu wissen nämlich während einer schweren Entbindung nicht mit künstlichen Mitteln einzuschreiten.

Die Sorge um die Gesundheit der Wöchnerin hört nicht gleich nach der Niederkunft auf. Vor Ablauf von etwa zehn Tagen darf die Frau das Haus nicht verlassen, selbst wenn die Entbindung bei fremden Leuten stattgefunden hat, und die Kranke so schnell als möglich heimzukehren wünscht. Bei ihrer Abfahrt bereitet der Besitzer des Hauses, in welchem sie verweilte, weiche Hobelspäne vor, worauf die Frau im Schlitten oder im Boote gebettet wird.

Meine Beobachtungen der Verhältnisse bei den Ainu und Giljaken vergleichend, muß ich zu dem Schlusse kommen, daß die Ainu-Frauen schwerer und unter größeren Wehen gebären, als die Giljakinnen, trotzdem die Lage der letzteren nicht nur während des Wochenbettes, sondern überhaupt im Familienleben bei weitem schlimmer ist. Ein bekannter russischer Forschungsreisender, KRASCHENINNIKOV, welcher zu Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts ein Werk, benannt: „Die Beschreibung von Kamtschatka" verfaßt hat, erwähnt in diesem Werke, daß bei den, auf den Kurilen lebenden Ainu die Entbindung schwerer vonstatten geht, als bei den Völkern Kamtschatkas, da die Rekonvaleszenz der kurilischen Ainu-Frauen nach der Entbindung ihren eigenen Aussagen zufolge manchmal bis drei Monate dauert. Im Jahre 1903, während meines Aufenthaltes unter den Ainu, starb einige Tage nach der Entbindung eine 32 Jahre alte Ainu-Frau, die vor der Niederkunft heftige Wehen gelitten hatte und während des Geburtsaktes das Bewußtsein verlor. Das Kind kam lebend zur Welt, starb jedoch einige Tage darauf.

Um der geschwächten Frau die Gesundheit so schnell als möglich wiederzugeben, gelten auch die Zweige der *Taxus baccata,* welche, stark erwärmt, auf den Körper der Kranken gelegt werden, als vorzügliches Mittel.

Behandlung des Neugeborenen. — Der Nabelstrang wird mit einem Messer durchschnitten und die Wunde mit einem Pulver, welches aus der Zerreibung von Flußmuscheln gewonnen wird, bestreut und mit einem Stück Zeug verbunden. Der Nabel heilt immer normal, und der Nabelbruch ist den Ainu völlig unbekannt. Der Kopf des Kindes wird hier einigemal tagsüber mit den Händen geformt, da die Ainu behaupten, derselbe könne entgegengesetztenfalls verunstaltet sein. Der Kopf soll vorn und hinten sowie auch von oben abgerundet sein. Danach trachten auch die Ainu, indem sie das weiche Köpfchen des Kindes formen. Während derselben Zeit wird der Kopf des

Kindes, insbesondere dort, wo er weich ist, mit weichen, warmen Holzspänen umhüllt.

Das Neugeborene wird gleich am ersten Tage seines Lebens mit warmem, reinem Wasser, ohne jedweden Zusatz, gewaschen. Der Knabe bekommt ein kälteres Bad als das Mädchen. Das Wasser wird in kleinen Mengen aus einem aus Birkenrinde verfertigten Gefäße auf den Körper des Kindes gegossen, welches man mit der linken Hand über dem Fußboden hält, während man es mit der rechten Hand einreibt. Es ist verboten, zu dem Bade Wasser zu verwenden, welches man zuvor in den Mund genommen hat, wie dies bei den Giljaken geschieht; die Ainu glauben nämlich, daß das Kind in diesem Falle augenkrank werden könne.

Sobald das Kind in Windeln eingehüllt ist, gibt man ihm Nahrung. Während des ersten Tages wird das Neugeborene gewöhnlich von einer anderen Frau, die noch genug Nahrung hat, gesäugt. Wenn aber keine geeignete Frau in der Nähe ist, reicht auch wohl die Mutter gleich selbst ihrem Kinde die Brust. Wenn die Mutter jedoch längere Zeit keine Nahrung für das Kind hat, werden die Brüste mittels einer eigenen, aus weichem Stoffe verfertigten Binde festgehalten, wodurch das Hin- und Herrutschen und Sich-senken der Brüste verhindert wird. Die Brüste werden auch mit dem weißen Safte einer *to pe kara kina*, d. h. „Milch gebendes Gras", genannten Pflanze bestrichen. Frauen, die ungenügend Nahrung besitzen, kommen bei den Ainu, ihren eigenen Aussagen zufolge, sehr selten vor. Gewöhnlich haben die Ainu-Frauen mehr Milch als das Kind benötigt und ich habe zu wiederholtenmalen gesehen, daß Frauen einen Teil ihrer Nahrung beseitigten oder auch zwei Kinder nährten.

Fehlgeburt. — Was die Fehlgeburt anbelangt, so kommt dieselbe, wie ich von verschiedenen Ainu-Männern und -Frauen gehört habe, höchst selten vor.

Zwei Jahre hindurch (1903—1904) verfolgte ich selbst sehr genau alle Veränderungen in der Bevölkerung des östlichen Ufers von Sachalin und verzeichnete im Jahre 1903 zwei Fälle von Fehlgeburt (eine bei einer 29jährigen Frau im 8. Monate der Schwangerschaft und eine bei einer 24jährigen Frau im 6. oder 7. Monate der Schwangerschaft; beide gebaren nach 1 und 1½ Jahren ganz regelrecht lebende Kinder) und im Jahre 1904 einen Fall (bei einer Frau im 9. Monate der Schwangerschaft). In diesen Dörfern gab es in den Jahren 1903—1904 25 Entbindungen, 147—155 entbindungsfähige Frauen, wobei ich zu den letzteren alle über 15 und unter 51 Jahre alten Frauen zähle.

Die Ainu wissen nicht, daß, falls eines von den Gatten von Syphilis angesteckt ist, Fehlgeburt erfolgt. Eine von den oben angeführten Fehlgeburten kann man eben diesem Grunde zuschreiben (der Vater war syphilitisch).

Von den Verhältnissen am westlichen Ufer Sachalins besitze ich keine genaue Kenntnis; es ist aber möglich, daß dort Fehlgeburten öfter vorkommen, da die Bevölkerung dieser Gegenden in den letzten Zeiten oft durch Vermittlung japanischer Arbeiter, welche zum Fischfange nach Sachalin kommen, der syphilitischen Ansteckung unterliegt.

Die Ainu selbst erklären die Ursachen der Fehlgeburt folgendermaßen:

1. Wenn der Gatte an seinem Penis ein Geschwür hat, welches nicht heilen will, wird dies nicht als eine Krankheit angesehen; verheimlicht der

Mann seinen Fehler nicht und verständigt er davon seine Frau und ihre Verwandten, dann findet keine Fehlgeburt statt.

2. Wenn die Frau während der Schwangerschaft fällt und eine starke Erschütterung erfährt, erfolgt Fehlgeburt.

Nach sieben Mondesmonaten der Schwangerschaft soll die Frau den öfteren Beischlaf mit ihrem Gatten meiden, da während desselben der männliche Samen in die Augen und den Mund des Fötus geraten könnte, und das Kind dann schlecht sehen würde. Es wird erzählt, daß es vorkommt, daß das Neugeborene so viel weißen Schleim im Munde hat (der geradeso wie der männliche Samen *owembo* genannt wird), daß man ihn nicht schnell genug aus dem Munde entfernen kann, und das Kind stirbt, da es davon erstickt wird.

Nach der Entbindung ist der Beischlaf während 30 bis 40 Tagen verboten.

Charakteristisch ist die Ansicht der Ainu, daß die Befruchtung nicht durch ein- oder zweimaligen Beischlaf erfolgen kann. Das Kind ist die Frucht wiederholter Begattung, darum gilt es bei den Ainu-Frauen für ungefährlich, sich einem Manne ein- oder zweimal hinzugeben; sie fürchten jedoch die Folgen eines längeren Liebesverhältnisses.

Künstlich wird die Fehlgeburt bei den Ainu oft, viel öfter als bei den Giljaken, herbeigeführt. Das Leben der letzteren gestaltet sich viel normaler im Rahmen der hergebrachten Sitten, wohingegen die Ainu auf Sachalin schon fast zwei Jahrhunderte lang unter dem Einflusse eines starken äußeren Faktors, des Einschreitens der Japaner, stehen. Diese greifen in großem Maße in das Leben der Ainu ein, verändern es, und importieren nicht gerade kulturfördernde Elemente. Die Frauen besonders stehen unter dem Einfluße ausländischer Männer, die auf Befriedigung ihres Geschlechtstriebes sehen. Daher stammt die große Anzahl von geheimen Verhältnissen, welche von Ainu-Frauen mit Ausländern unterhalten werden, und es bildet sich häufig der Typus von Frauen, die sich der nur schwach verhüllten Prostitution widmen. In beiden Fällen vermeiden sie ganz zielbewußt die Schwangerschaft und wenden alle Mittel an, um dieselbe zu beseitigen, wenn sie zufällig eintritt.

Das meist gebrauchte Mittel hierzu, welches den Ainu-Frauen seit langem bekannt ist, ist das Pressen des Bauches mit den Händen oder irgend einem schweren Gegenstande. Diese Operation jedoch, obgleich sie während einer ganzen Reihe von Generationen praktiziert worden ist, bleibt immer für die Frau sehr gefährlich und verläuft selten ungestraft. Alte Leute erzählten mir, in der Jugend öfters Zeuge gewesen zu sein, daß diese Methode die Fehlgeburt hervorzurufen nur zu oft mit dem Tode der Frau geendet hat. Ich sah auch selbst ein sehr herabgekommenes, fast immer krankes Weib, das sich niemals vollkommen aufzurichten vermochte und auch kurze Zeit darauf in meiner Gegenwart starb. Man erzählte mir von ihr, daß sie vor einigen Jahren mittels der genannten Methode eine künstliche Fehlgeburt veranlaßt und dadurch ihre Gesundheit untergraben hatte. Manche Greise versicherten mich, daß es Frauen gebe, die so meisterhaft zu Werke gehen, daß sie imstande seien, auf diese Art einige Male im Leben den Fötus in ihrem Leibe zu töten.

Ein zweites Mittel, die Schwangerschaft zu unterbrechen, ist ein starkes Schnüren des Bauches oberhalb der Taille während der ersten Monate. Der

Fötus geht vor dem eigentlichen Ende der Schwangerschaft ab, aber in den folgenden Monaten bleibt ein hartnäckiger Schmerz in den Seiten. Dieses Mittel gilt als sehr unbequem, da es der eingeschnürten Frau schwer fällt zu arbeiten, viel weniger noch kann sie an den vielen vorübergehenden Liebeleien teilnehmen, denen zuliebe sie zu diesen Hilfsmitteln Zuflucht nimmt.

Um sich des Fötus zu entledigen springt die Frau manchmal aus erheblicher Höhe herab, z. B. von der Treppe, die zu dem, auf Pfeilern gebauten Speicher führt.

Zu den sympathischen kann man ein anderes Mittel zählen, welches dem Glauben der Ainu-Frauen zufolge die Fehlgeburt herbeiführen soll. Es besteht darin, daß die schwangere Frau ihre untere Bekleidung, etwa das Hemd, welches gewöhnlich dieselbe Länge hat wie das Oberkleid, bis zum Gürtel entzwei schneidet und sie so bis zum erfolgten Abortus trägt. Dieses Mittel ist jedoch wenig verbreitet und muß ganz neu sein, da es mir nur von einer Frau angegeben wurde. Die anderen, die es hörten, wunderten sich nur, bestätigten aber nicht ihre Angaben. Ein altes, und wahrscheinlich oft gebrauchtes Mittel ist der Rost, da ich von seinem Gebrauche im Norden sowie im Süden des östlichen Ufers hörte. Im Norden wird noch ein gewisses Gras dazugetan; die Männer, die mir davon erzählten, wußten jedoch nicht seinen Namen. Mit den Frauen dieser Gegenden war ich nicht so bekannt, als daß sie offen diesen heiklen Gegenstand mit mir besprochen hätten.

Künstliche Fehlgeburten waren, den Erzählungen alter Ainu zufolge, schon in ferner Vergangenheit bekannt, da die Mädchen sich einer absoluten Freiheit im geschlechtlichen Verkehr erfreuten, sich aber schämten oder weigerten, vor der Hochzeit Kinder zu gebären. Es ist möglich, daß damals auch noch andere Mittel gebraucht wurden, um den Fötus abzutreiben.

Jetzt benützen die Frauen hauptsächlich japanische Mittel, welche von den Arbeitern und Beamten der Fischereiunternehmungen, welche auf dem ganzen südlichen Ufer Sachalins zerstreut sind, eingeführt werden. Ich konnte jedoch von den Fischern, die ich hierüber befragte, nichts über diese Mittel erfahren. Vielleicht stieß ich auf Leute, die wirklich davon keinen Begriff hatten oder vermieden sie vielleicht absichtlich, offen mit mir über diese Sache zu reden, da sie wußten, daß das neue japanische Strafgesetz sehr strenge alle Manipulationen verfolgt, die die Verringerung der Geburtszahl bezwecken. Ich erfuhr jedoch von einem intelligenteren Japaner, daß der Safran, welcher wild in großen Mengen auf der Insel Hokkaido wächst, als sehr sicheres Mittel gilt. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß es in Japan, angesichts des dort so verbreiteten Brauches, die Schwangerschaft zu verhüten und zu unterbrechen, viele Mittel gibt, die zu diesem Zwecke dienen. Auch die Ainu-Frauen glauben an diese *sislam kusuri* (japanische Heilmittel); sie verraten jedoch nur selten ihr Geheimnis, das sie unter der Bedingung der Verschwiegenheit erhalten.

Zwillingsgeburten. — Bei den Ainu ist die Geburt von Zwillingen von demselben Aberglauben begleitet wie bei den Giljaken. Eines von den beiden ist durchaus teuflischer Abstammung, da der Mensch ihrer Meinung nach das Weib nur mit einem Kinde befruchten kann. Ein derartiges Verhältnis zu zwei gleichzeitig geborenen Wesen läßt leicht vermuten, daß die Ainu wahrscheinlich

trachteten, sich der für sie widerwärtigen teuflischen Brut zu entledigen. Jedoch konnte ich keinen Anhaltspunkt für die Vermutung finden, daß bei ihnen die Sitte besteht, eines der Zwillinge zu töten. In dem Buche eines russischen Reisenden vom Anfang des 19. Jahrh., KRASCHENINNIKOV, wird jedoch eine solche Sitte erwähnt, freilich als bei den Ainu der kurilischen Inseln herrschend. Ich habe aber die folgenden Gründe, zu behaupten, daß bis heute noch die Ainu ihre Zwillinge zu töten pflegen:

1. Ihre Überzeugung, daß von Zwillingen immer nur eines am Leben bleibt, nämlich dasjenige, welches menschlicher Abstammung ist. Das verstorbene ist teuflischer Herkunft.

2. Die Furcht der Ainu-Familie, das vom Bösen abstammende Kind zu erziehen, die fortwährende Schande der Mutter angesichts ihrer Bekannten. Dieses Gefühl der Schande ist so stark, daß es mir ungemein schwer fiel, irgendwelche Informationen über Mütter zu erhalten, welche Zwillinge geboren hatten. Nur solche Leute erlaubten sich sie mir zu bezeichnen, die in keinem verwandtschaftlichen Verhältnis zu deren Familien standen oder sogar feindlich gegen sie gesinnt waren.

3. Der Umstand endlich, daß während meines Aufenthaltes unter den Ainu kein einziges lebendes Zwillingspaar aufzufinden war, obzwar es mir gelang Informationen über zwei erwachsene Frauen zu erhalten, von denen beide, als einzig überlebende, zwei verschiedenen Zwillingspaaren angehörten. Im Jahre 1902 genas in einem mir bekannten Dorfe eine Frau von zwei Zwillingen, welche jedoch gleich starben.

Diese Gründe zur Annahme, daß bis heute noch bei den Ainu eines von den geborenen Zwillingen getötet wird, könnten höchstens durch eine einzige diesbezügliche Sage abgeschwächt werden. Es wurde mir nämlich erzählt, daß Zwillingsbrüder, die am Leben blieben und deren Eltern es gelänge sie zu erziehen, Glückskinder wären und besonders im Waidwerk ihren Mann stellten. Es ist jedoch möglich, daß diese Sage japanischer, und zwar späterer Herkunft ist, da sie vielen unbekannt war. Andere behaupteten z. B., daß bei den Ainu, wie bei den Japanern, nur der jüngere der Brüder tapfer, stark und glücklich sei. Der ältere soll sich durch nichts von jedem Durchschnittsmenschen seines Stammes unterscheiden.

Die Ainu wie die Giljaken trachten in gleichem Maße sich vor einem wiederholten derartigen Unglück durch Opfer und Gebete zu schützen. Im Süden Sachalins z. B. hängt man über dem Bette der Mutter, welche Zwillinge zur Welt gebracht hatte, den gewöhnlichen Opfergegenstand, den kraus geschnittenen Stab *(inau)* zu Ehren der Götter und Geister auf. In den nördlichen Dörfern werden außer dem *inau* zwei kleine Puppen, oder besser gesagt Holzstäbchen, an der Wand befestigt, welche die Zwillinge darstellen sollen. Dieses *inau* wird jedesmal, so oft die alte Asche aus der Jurte entfernt wird, aufgefrischt, worauf fast allen Göttern Opfer dargebracht werden. Ich habe bei einem Ainu, dem Bewohner des am nördlichsten gelegenen Dorfes Tarajka, Talismane gesehen, welche den Zweck hatten, das wiederholte Zurweltkommen von Zwillingen zu verhüten.

15: Pilsudski RX2 Gilyak

Die Ainu vermeiden Frauen, welche Zwillinge geboren hatten, in gleichem Grade, wie sie vor den letzteren zurückscheuen. Sie fürchten nämlich, die verhängnisvolle Eigenschaft könne von ihnen auf andere übergehen. In dieser Hinsicht jedoch sind ihre Ansichten von denen der Giljaken ganz verschieden. Sie erachten nämlich weiche Gegenstände, Hausgeräte aus Meergras, Kleidungsstücke u. dergl. als nicht so schädlich wie Gegenstände aus Metall, oder überhaupt harte Sachen.

Unfruchtbarkeit. — Die Ainu glauben auch, daß ein erwachsener Mensch seine Eigenschaften auf einen anderen übertragen kann. So kauft z. B. ein unfruchtbares Weib verschiedenes, von einer kinderreichen Frau verfertigtes Gerät und bedient sich dessen ständig, trägt wohl auch kleinere Gegenstände auf sich. Als gutes Mittel wird dem unfruchtbaren Weibe auch ein Trank verabreicht, welcher nichts anderes ist als Wasser, in dem vorher das lederne Gürtelende einer kinderreichen Frau gekocht wurde. Es herrscht auch der Glaube, daß eine unfruchtbare Frau geheilt werden kann, wenn sie sich mit nacktem Gesäß auf den soeben abgegangenen Mutterkuchen einer Frau setzt, die gerade ein Kind zur Welt gebracht hat. Von einigen Männern wurde mir von noch einem Mittel berichtet. Der Gatte der kinderlosen Frau nämlich steckt ohne deren Wissen unter ihr Kopfkissen ein hölzernes Messer, welches einem wirklichen aufs Haar gleichen muß. Wenn nach Jahresfrist die gewünschte Wirkung nicht eingetreten ist, nimmt sich der Mann eine andere, jüngere Frau, um von ihr die ersehnte Nachkommenschaft zu erhalten.

Selten jedoch schreiben die Ainu die Schuld der Kinderlosigkeit einer Familie ausschließlich dem Weibe zu. Es herrscht vielmehr die allgemeine Ansicht, daß dies von den beiden Gatten abhänge oder eigentlich von ihrem Blute, welches hart oder weich sein kann. Besitzen beide Gatten weiches Blut, wird ihnen schon im ersten oder zweiten Jahre ihres Zusammenlebens ein Kind geboren. Ist aber das Blut eines der Gatten hart, dann können erst nach mehreren Jahren Kinder zur Welt kommen. Wenn jedoch beide Gatten hartes Blut haben, dann sind sie zur Kinderlosigkeit verurteilt und nichts kann ihnen helfen, nicht einmal die oben angeführten Mittel. Es ist bezeichnend, daß es nicht erlaubt ist, sich in diesem Falle an die Schamanen um Hilfe zu wenden. Diese würden es entschieden ablehnen, die Götter mit derartigen unreinen Angelegenheiten *(ciachkire oruspe)* zu belästigen.

Unfruchtbarkeit ist jedoch nicht etwas, was mit Verachtung gestraft werden müßte. Die kinderlose Familie adoptiert gewöhnlich ein Kind von Verwandten. In den ainischen Märchen und Sagen kommt es oft vor, daß tapfere Helden, denen es im Leben immer gut geht, und die sich unter großen Gefahren und großem Kraftaufwand eine schöne Gattin errungen hatten, kinderlos bleiben, eben weil sie so mächtig gewesen *(we-nupuru)*. Denn Kinder werden gewöhnlich schwächeren *(we cian)* Helden des ainischen Folklores geboren.

Als anerkannt unfruchtbar gelten Frauen, welche keine Menstruation haben, die sogenannten „reinen", welche von den Ainu als *kiejsach machneku* (d. h. blutlos) bezeichnet werden. Solchen Mädchen ist der geschlechtliche Verkehr mit Männern strengstens untersagt, da sie dabei augenblicklich den Tod finden könnten. Nicht lange nach meiner Ankunft bei den Ainu starb

15: Pilsudski RX2 Gilyak

eine Frau, welche bis in ihre späten Lebensjahre ihre Unschuld bewahrt hatte. Sie hatte auch schamanische Anlagen und war längere Zeit Schamanin, woraus man folgern kann, daß sie ein zarteres und empfänglicheres Nervensystem besessen als die anderen Mädchen. Man findet bei den Ainu Frauen, bei welchen die Menstruation schon in der Jugend aufhört. Solche Frauen sind auch zur völligen geschlechtlichen Abstinenz verurteilt. Man wies mir eine Frau, welche, obgleich sie gemeinsam mit einem alten Manne lebte und als seine Frau galt, aus dem oben angeführten Grunde doch abgesondert von ihm schlief, was schon lange Jahre dauerte.

Menstruation. — Die Ainu wissen, daß nach dem Aufhören der Menstruation für die Frau der Lebensabschnitt anfängt, wo sie nicht mehr der Befruchtung zugänglich ist. Man konnte mir jedoch nicht das durchschnittliche Alter angeben, wo dies eintritt. Der russische Arzt N. Kirilov berechnet dieses Alter auf 40 Jahre. Ich glaube jedoch, daß diese Zahl ganz willkürlich genannt und nur auf den Angaben weniger Personen begründet ist. Meine ainischen Freunde zeigten mir eine Frau, welche 56 bis 60 Jahre alt sein mußte, da ihr Sohn schon 34 Jahre zählte. Sie hatte ihre Menstruation kaum 3 Jahre vorher verloren und war, den Aussagen meiner Bekannten zufolge, gar nicht als Ausnahme anzusehen. Aus den von mir am östlichen Ufer Sachalins unter der Bevölkerung gesammelten statistischen Daten geht hervor, daß 12 Personen von über 40 Jahre zählenden Frauen geboren wurden. Fünf davon gebaren in ihrem 41. bis 45. Lebensjahre, sieben im Alter von 46 bis 53 Jahren. Es ergibt dies 20 Prozent der Gesamtzahl der über 40 Jahre zählenden Frauen am östlichen Ufer der Insel. Man muß jedoch beachten, daß ich nur die Fälle aufgezeichnet hatte, wo die Kinder am Leben geblieben waren, d. h. die Zahl der Geburten überhaupt noch viel größer ist. Man darf daher mit Recht annehmen, daß es unter den Ainu viele Frauen gibt, bei denen die Menstruation noch über das Alter von 40 Jahren dauert und bei denen das Klimakterium nicht vor 50 Jahren eintritt.

Die Menstruation geht bei den Ainu-Frauen nicht immer ganz regelrecht vor sich. So z. B. kannte ich eine junge Frau, welche später in meiner Anwesenheit im Alter von 25 Jahren an Influenza starb und welche, den Aussagen ihres Gatten zufolge, so wenig Blut verlor, daß dieser sie scherzend einen Mann zu nennen pflegte. Diesen Umstand gerade hielt der junge Ainu für die Ursache ihrer Unfruchtbarkeit und gestand mir sorgenvoll, daß er, um Nachkommen zu erlangen, sich noch eine Frau werde suchen müssen. Sie klagte öfters über Schmerzen und sagte, sie habe das Gefühl, als ob in ihren Eingeweiden sich etwas bewegte, was diese Schmerzen verursache. Sie fühlte auch manchmal Atembeschwerden dabei.

Es kommt manchmal, obzwar ziemlich selten, vor, daß die Ainu-Frauen ihre Menstruation nicht jeden Monat, sondern jede sechste Woche bekommen, was als *kiem o-utur tuima,* d. h. große Unterbrechungen des Blutes, bezeichnet wird.

Gewöhnlich dauert die Menstruation zwei bis drei, bei manchen Frauen jedoch auch vier Tage und ist dann immer schmerzhaft.

Nach der Entbindung haben die Ainu-Frauen gewöhnlich lange keine Monatsregeln, da sie längere Zeit ihre Kinder selbst stillen. Wenn jedoch die

Frau in ihren Geschlechtsverhältnissen nicht mäßig ist, dann bekommt sie schon nach fünf Monaten ihre Regeln, wenn sie auch selbst ihr Kind stillt.

Während der Menstruation tragen die Ainu gewebte Schürzen, welche sie entweder von den Japanern oder von den Russen kaufen. In früheren Jahren wurden zu diesem Zwecke Schürzen aus weicher Robbenhaut verwendet. Diese Schürzen werden um den nackten Leib gebunden, und zwar nicht vorne, sondern hinten. In sitzender Stellung tropft das Blut auf die Schürze und schützt so die Kleidung vor Flecken. Es trifft sich manchmal, daß das Blut auf den Fußboden der Jurte, oder auf die Erde im Hofe tropft, wenn die Frau herumgeht, da ja die Ainufrauen keine Beinkleider tragen. Ich habe selbst zu wiederholten Malen solche Flecken gesehen, obgleich die Frauen diese Möglichkeit, welche sie für eine Unanständigkeit halten, so gut als es nur geht, zu vermeiden suchen.

Hier sieht man wieder den großen Unterschied im Verhältnisse der Familie zu den Frauen der Ainu und der Giljaken, worauf ich schon früher, bei der Beschreibung des Geburtsaktes bei diesen Stämmen, hingewiesen habe. Die Ainu betrachten es als unschädlich, das Blut eines Weibes anzusehen, oder selbst mit dem Fuße auf einen Blutflecken zu treten. Ja, das Blut der Menstruation gilt sogar als guter Talisman. Wenn jemand einen Blutstropfen am Boden sieht, soll er ihn mit dem Finger abwischen, und seine Brust damit bestreichen. Es ist dies ein ausgezeichnetes Mittel, welches jedermann zum Wohlstande helfen kann, da es bei verschiedenen Geldangelegenheiten eine günstige Wirkung ausübt. Das Blut des Weibes auf der Brust des Mannes wird zum Talismann, welcher bewirkt, daß alle, welche mit ihm in Geldangelegenheiten zu tun haben, ihm nachgeben, was zu seinem großen Vorteile gereicht. Wer eine während der Menstruation gebrauchte Schürze zu sehen bekommen würde, was indessen sehr selten geschehen kann, da die Frauen diese Schürzen sorgfältig vor den Augen aller, besonders aber der Männer, verbergen, soll die Besitzerin bitten, ihm ein kleines Stückchen davon zu schenken. Dies soll er immer bei sich tragen, da es als machtvoller Talisman im Kampfe ums Dasein wirkt.

Männer, die weite Jagdausflüge unternehmen, haben fast immer ein Stückchen solch einer Schürze mit sich, welches auch als Mittel gegen Schmerzen dient. Es wird in diesem Falle befeuchtet, und die kranke Stelle damit eingerieben.

Alles das weist darauf hin, daß unter den Ainu noch starke Spuren der Zeit zurückgeblieben sind, wo die Frau die Hauptrolle im Leben der Familie und des Mannes spielte.

19: Genest U-2 (1884-1885) 1887 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Captain Jakobsen's Trip in the Gilyak Region and on the Island of Sakhalin
/Kapitän Jakobsen's Reisen im Gebiete der Giljaken und auf der Insel Sachalin/

by Otto Genest

Braunschweig: 1887
Globus, Band 52, pp. 378-382.

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[378] Captain Jakobsen's Travels in the Region of the Gilyak and on Sakhalin Island.
Otto Genest (Gymnasium Teacher)

121 Jakobsen's first sojourn in the land of the Goldi (compare number 10 of the current volume of the periodical, p. 153 [see Goldi Source 18: Genest--Analyst] was followed by a trip into the territory of the Gilyak through which he had to pass in order to reach Nikolayevsk. He touched the same territory for a second time when on his return from Sakhalin Island, he started his journey up the Amur River towards the Ussuri and North Korea at the end of January 1885. Both times he had only a little time at his disposal: in September of 1884 he had to rush to get to Nikolayevsk as soon as possible in order to take advantage of an opportunity to cross over to Sakhalin; January 1885 he was pressing with all his power to conclude his activities since by force of circumstances he had lost so much time on Sakhalin that he was afraid of having to extend his travels too much if he should stop for a detailed study of the Gilyak. It is therefore understandable that his collections made in the territory of the Gilyak are far inferior to those made in the land of the Goldi as regards copiousness and variety. Also the information he was able to gather from his own observation or through his inquiries understandably gives only a hazy picture of the life and activities of this people. Unfortunately he only had little opportunity to become acquainted with the representatives of the Gilyak people living on Sakhalin Island and thus to fill the gaps of his account of this people. Nevertheless the entries in his diary present several things of interest, but expecially valuable is the fact that he was permitted to observe a bear festival in the Gilyak village Vaida above Nikolayevsk, the procedure of which he has described in great detail.

101 The Gilyak have been designated as Hyperboreans or
142 Arctics by Rittich (1), as Northern Asiatics of uncertain

1. Die Ethnographie Russlands, supplementary issue 54 to Petermann's Mittheilungen, p. 19.

position within the system by Peschel (2). They are

2. Peschel-Kirchoff, Völkerkunde (5th

101 edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's
142 observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thick-
101 ness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

361 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settle-
563 ments were particularly numerous along the shallow shore
166 of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these
226 had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along
231 this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live
133 there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their in-
voluntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house
to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried
fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have
been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from
the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that
they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the
front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are
attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these
chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and
others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand com-
pletely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on
whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it
wants to attack its leaders.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also
fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside
this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had
a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, how-
ever, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the
track by their owners and placed next to each other, they
were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all
arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the
way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do
not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race
since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs
in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught
231 dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact that
437 only one sled races along the track at time; the test is,
rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading
dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, which
show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in
understanding and following exactly the calls of the leaders,
are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
541 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by the
522 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak
succeeded very well in this attempt; others, on the other hand,
were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and
sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, however
with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of
their luckier companions.

796 At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followed
by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Then
the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests
from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the
bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the vil-
lage. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts
described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting
796 to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the bear
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During
this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parties
would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his
companions, and those that came after him would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, how-
796 ever, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they
stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. Here a beam about
three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of the
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
533 eight girls and women who were provided with club-like sticks

796 with which they hit the beam rhythmically, two slow hits
533 followed by one fast one; this activity was not accompanied
by any songs. They led the bear slowly past these women and
796 then placed it so that its head was turned towards the house,
as though he should take another good look at the place where
he had received its last nourishment from the inhabitants of
the village. After a very brief halt they then dragged it further
along to the river bank and then forced it to go on the ice to
about the middle of the river. Thereupon the whole crowd
returned to the village and moved to the house inhabited by the
former owner of the bear. Here the bear was awaited by a
very similar reception as that described above, except that in
this place they forced the bear to stick its head inside the house
and thus, in a way, to take leave from its master and nourisher.
Then he was again led to the enclosure, and there they tied
him up as before.

Only now had the moment come in which the bear was to lose its life. Amid general silence which was also commanded with solemn mien to our traveller, an old Gilyak--whether he was the owner of the animal or not is not indicated in Jakobsen's account--stepped forth from the crowd and grasped bow and arrows which were lying there ready for him. Then he slowly took off his under-jacket, wrapped some leather belts around his left hand in order not to injure it with the bow string, and picked out an arrow with much solemnity and circumstance which made a rather comical impression, and finally he placed the arrow on the bow. At first it seemed as though he was going to shoot in the air because he raised his bow while he stretched it. Then he lowered it again very slowly till the arrow was directed exactly at the bear's heart, and then he shot it off. The bear fell down on the spot, as far its bonds permitted it to do so, it rolled to and fro a few times, and then died after a few convulsive movements, thus proving what a steady hand the archer had preserved in spite of his old age. During this whole procedure, which lasted rather long, there reigned a breathless silence among the Gilyak standing around the fence, and this created an even more solemn impression since it was in such sharp contrast to the foregoing deafening tumult.

After the bear's death its former owner came and embraced the animal tenderly like a dear friend of whom he wanted to take leave. Then they pulled a number of the sticks of the fence out of the ground and laid them down to serve the dead bear as a resting place. Later they drag the animal into its owner's house, as the traveller was told, since he did not have the time to await the end of the festival. In the house they lay the bear

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants
in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three
days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its
pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender
attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment.
For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as
the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also,
the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was
not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the
fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He
would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather
barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance
that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobsen
was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even
though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest
the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the
river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what
a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat
him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the
river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just
as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further-
more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its
nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered
up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a
sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be
made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are
well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to
bring them destruction? In the former case one would think
that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after
the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning
October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The
second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum-
stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful
one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description
of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the
solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

796 in this the proof of seriousness or mourning; rather, it is entirely enough to assume that in this way they want to avoid making the archer unsteady by noisy behavior, and thus to bring him into the danger of missing his mark. Or is the torture that they impose on the poor animal before its death meant to be a symbol of the serious nature of this festival? Even this conception seems untenable to me, for why should one torment an expiatory sacrifice that already has to suffer enough by its innocent death, as happens in this case; and, besides, does not the cruel treatment of the bear before its death give the impression of proceeding entirely from the overbubbling festive joy of the celebrators? Unfortunately, the traveller was unable to give any hints as to the significance of the ceremonies described, since the Gilyak were themselves unable to explain them. They celebrated [382] the festival the way their fathers and forefathers had celebrated it, without worrying any further about the meaning of the various actions. Jakobsen's friends in Nikolayevsk were equally unable to give him adequate explanations on this subject. Probably, therefore, we need more frequent and more detailed observation than is available today before we can see into the matter clearly.

115 Finally, a saga current among the Gilyak which Jakobsen
173 heard from a Russian station master who had lived in their
539 territory for a long time. It goes as follows: A long, long time ago there appeared on the Amur coming from the east a small vessel full of enormously strong people of a dark complexion. These went ashore, attacked the villages, burned them down, and, without distinguishing age or sex, killed and ate all the inhabitants that they could lay hands on. Sailing up the river, they acted in the same fashion in the land of the Goldi till finally the invaded tribes recovered from their terror, banded together and moved in large hordes against the barbaric enemy, whom they then defeated in a bitter battle. All the cannibals were killed and their ship was destroyed. From this time on, the Gilyak always add, no more foreign people came to the Amur River from the east up to the time when the Russians appeared at the mouth of the river and took possession of the land.

19: Genest RX2 Gilyak

Globus.

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mit

besonderer Berücksichtigung der Anthropologie und Ethnologie.

Begründet von Karl Andree.

In Verbindung mit Fachmännern

herausgegeben von

Dr. Richard Kiepert.

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1887.

Wenn man den Baldrian begießt, muß man sagen:

A agua que vem da serra,	Das Wasser, das vom Berge
Vem de regar os craveiros;	Es tränkt die Nagelein, [komm!
Tambem te venho aguar,	So will ich dich begießen,
Minha nobre cavalheira.	Du edle Dame mein.

Man muß sie mit goldenem Faden pflanzen und darf sie nur durch Kauf oder Diebstahl erwerben (wie wohl auch bei uns „gestohlene" Senker besser fortkommen). Leute, die auswandern, nehmen Baldrianblätter mit sich. Der gelungenste Glaube aber ist der, daß die Pflanze alle sieben Jahre in der Johannisnacht eine Blüthe treibt, genau von der Gestalt einer Gänsefeder (zum Schreiben). Um sie zu pflücken, muß man um Mitternacht ausgehen, mit verbundenen Augen; beim Abschneiden stößt dann die Blume einen Schrei aus. Schon mancher Schriftsteller soll einer solchen Feder sein Glück verdanken.

Wenn die Blume welkt, trotzdem daß sie mit den drei Genossen zusammensteht, dann gefällt ihr der Ort nicht, denn sie ist wählerisch, als eine verzauberte Königin.

Buhldirnen treten über die Pflanze, drehen sich im Kreise und singen besondere Weisen; aber singen müssen sie, sonst wird sie traurig.

So wird in der That der Baldrian eine Art Nationalblume. Den Vergleich mit anderen Versionen der Sagen an anderen Orten mögen Kenner ziehen! Hier genügt es wohl, darauf hinzuweisen, wie sich ein alter Schatz von Legenden und Aberglauben in dieses ferne Refugium zurückgezogen und dort erhalten hat. Gewiß ließe noch ein größerer sich heben. — — —

Am Schlusse meines Azorenberichtes angelangt, habe ich des Lesers Geduld, die mir etwa bis hierher gefolgt sein sollte, in mehr als einer Hinsicht um Nachsicht zu bitten; nur zu oft mußte ich, leider, mit einem „relata refero" aufwarten, und wo eigene Ansicht hervortrat, konnte schwerlich in achtwöchentlichem Aufenthalte ein wissenschaftlich gesichertes Urtheil heraufspringen, weder wenn gelegentlich einer Tagestour der einsamen Kratersee Bewohner flüchtig erhascht wurden, noch wenn des Bodens Beschaffenheit und Reichthum in ungünstigem Lichte erschienen, bei trockenster Jahreszeit, noch wenn daraus ein Schluß auf die volkswirthschaftlichen Verhältnisse zu folgen schien. Die vorstehenden Aufsätze sind und wollen nichts anderes sein als — Reiseeindrücke, noch dazu eines Erstlingsreisenden.

Kapitän Jakobsen's Reisen im Gebiete der Giljaken und auf der Insel Sachalin.

Von Gymnasiallehrer Otto Genest.

I.

An Jakobsen's ersten Aufenthalt im Lande der Golden (vergl. Nr. 10 des laufenden Bandes dieser Ztschr. S. 153) schloß sich eine Reise in das Gebiet der Giljaken an, welches er passiren mußte, um Nikolajewsk zu erreichen. Zum zweiten Male berührte er dann dasselbe Gebiet, als er, von Sachalin zurückgekehrt, Ende Januar 1885 seine Reise den Amur aufwärts nach dem Ussuri und nach Nordorea begann. Beide Male hatte er nur wenig Zeit zur Verfügung, denn im September 1884 mußte er eilen, um baldmöglichst Nikolajewsk zu erreichen und eine Ueberfahrtsgelegenheit nach Sachalin anzutreffen, im Januar 1885 aber strebte er mit aller Kraft dem Abschlusse seiner Thätigkeit zu, weil er in Sachalin, durch die Verhältnisse gezwungen, sehr viel Zeit verloren hatte und deshalb fürchtete, die Reise zu lange ausdehnen zu müssen, wenn er sich mit dem eingehenden Studium der Giljaken noch aufhielte. Es ist daher erklärlich, daß die von ihm im Giljakengebiete veranstalteten Sammlungen den im Goldenlande gemachten an Reichhaltigkeit weit nachstehen, und daß auch die Nachrichten, welche er aus eigener Anschauung oder durch Erkundigung über die Giljaken sammeln konnte, nur ein wenig deutliches Bild von dem Leben und Treiben dieses Volkes liefern. Leider hatte er auch nur wenig Gelegenheit, die auf Sachalin wohnhaften Vertreter des Giljakenvolkes kennen zu lernen und dadurch die Lücken seines Berichtes auszufüllen. Trotzdem bieten die Aufzeichnungen seines Tagebuches auch über dieses merkwürdige Volk manches Interessante dar, namentlich aber ist es von Werth, daß es ihm vergönnt war, in dem Giljakendorfe Waide oberhalb Nikolajewsk einem Bärenfeste beizuwohnen, dessen Verlauf er genau beschrieben hat.

Die Giljaken, von Rittich [1]) als Hyperboräer oder Arktiker, von Peschel [2]) als Nordasiaten von unbestimmter systematischer Stellung bezeichnet, unterscheiden sich in Beziehung auf die Sprache sicher von den ihnen benachbarten Golden, während sie im Körperbau nur wenig von ihnen abweichen. Nach Photographien, welche der Reisende an Ort und Stelle erworben und mitgebracht hat, scheint der Bartwuchs der Giljaken etwas kräftiger entwickelt zu sein als bei den Golden, ohne doch die Stärke zu erreichen, welche er bei den Ainos auf Sachalin zeigt. Ursprünglich haben sie vielleicht die Ufer des Amur bis zum Gorin aufwärts innegehabt, während jetzt die Südgrenze ihrer Verbreitung etwa in einer Entfernung von 100 Werst oberhalb Nikolajewsk liegt und ihr früheres Gebiet von dem in Nr. 10 dieses Bandes mehrfach erwähnten Uebergangsvolke bewohnt wird. Von der Insel Sachalin haben sie den nördlichen Theil inne, doch begegnet man ihnen auch mitten unter den Ainos im südlicheren Theile des Landes, wohin sie wahrscheinlich als Arbeiter der Fischfang treibenden Japaner [3]) oder zum Zwecke der Zobeljagd gelangt sind. Früher waren ihre Niederlassungen an dem rechten Ufer der Insel gegenüber der Amurmündung besonders zahlreich vertreten, doch waren

[1]) Die Ethnographie Rußlands. Ergänzungsheft 54 zu Petermann's Mittheilungen S. 19.

[2]) Peschel-Kirchhoff, Völkerkunde (5. Aufl.) S. 300 und Anm. 7. Die Beobachtung Benjulow's, daß die Sprache der Giljaken sich von derjenigen der Tungusen wesentlich unterscheidet, bestätigt Jakobsen durchaus; daher die Fassung des Textes.

[3]) Ueber die auf Sachalin Fischfang treibenden Japaner wird noch unten zu reden sein. Giljaken traf Jakobsen sogar am Aniwa-Busen.

dieselben zu der Zeit, als Jakobsen diese Küstenstrecke passirte, verschwunden, weil die ehemals dort wohnenden Giljaken vor den Mißhandlungen der nach Sachalin überführten Sträflinge die Flucht ergriffen hatten. Jedenfalls aber hatten sie in der Nähe ihrer früheren Wohnsitze neue Ansiedlungen errichtet, denn der Reisende begegnete einer großen Anzahl von Booten, deren giljakische Insassen im Sunde dem Fischfange oblagen [1]). Ueber die Zahl der Giljaken läßt sich ebenso wenig eine bestimmte Angabe machen wie über die der Golden; Rittich schätzt sie auf 3000 Köpfe. Am Amur fand Jakobsen eine ziemlich große Menge von Dörfern; auf Sachalin hingegen waren sie weit seltener.

Die Giljaken sind wie ihre Nachbaren **Fischer und Jäger**; nur hier und da treiben sie auch Handelsgeschäfte, indem sie unter anderem den Bewohnern von Sachalin für den Fall, daß unter ihnen Mangel an Lebensmitteln herrscht — und dieser Fall tritt ziemlich häufig ein — Fische und Mehl vom Festlande zuführen. Ihren Hauptbeschäftigungen gemäß bringen sie den Sommer an den Flußufern zu, während sie im Winter ins Gebirge wandern und die Wälder durchstreifen. Ob sie auch ähnlich wie die Golden besondere Sommer- und Winterwohnungen haben, vermag ich nicht mit Sicherheit anzugeben, glaube es aber nach den Andeutungen Jakobsen's annehmen zu dürfen, welcher im Januar 1885 bei seiner Rückkehr aus Sachalin in der Nähe der Amurmündung Giljakendörfer fand, welche aus ganz ähnlichen Häusern bestanden, wie ich sie als Winterwohnungen der Golden beschrieben habe. Die für diese charakteristischen mächtigen Oefen aus Lehmsteinen und die durch Röhren erwärmten Bänke an den Wänden waren auch hier vorhanden. Andererseits fand allerdings der Reisende oberhalb Nikolajewsk im September 1884 auch eine ganze Reihe von giljakischen Dörfern, welche eine beträchtliche Strecke vom Flußufer entfernt lagen, während die goldischen Sommerniederlassungen in ihrer Eigenschaft als Fischerdörfer hart am Strome zu liegen pflegten. Man könnte daraus vielleicht den Schluß ziehen, daß diese Giljakendörfer eben nicht bloß den Charakter von Fischerdörfern für den Sommer trugen, sondern während des ganzen Jahres als Aufenthaltsort dienten, wenn man nicht annehmen will, daß die Giljaken durch das theilweise verlumpte und daher ungesunde Ufer zum Zurückweichen aus der nächsten Nähe des Stromes im Sommer gezwungen worden sind. In Sachalin übrigens war von größeren Wohnungen der Giljaken wie den oben erwähnten keine Spur vorhanden, vielmehr waren die Hütten nur klein und halb unterirdisch, so daß sie eine gewisse Aehnlichkeit mit den Behausungen der Eskimos in Labrador und Alaska hatten. Sie bieten für europäische Reisende einen wenig beneidenswerthen Aufenthalt dar, denn bei der Enge des Raumes in denselben kann man einer Annäherung an die Bewohner und der damit verbundenen Gefahr, in Kurzem von einer Menge von Ungeziefer gequält zu werden, kaum entgehen, andererseits aber ist der Dunst, der in diesen Hütten in Folge des Beisammenseins vieler Menschen, des Aufenthalts der Hunde, der mannigfachen zum Trocknen oder Räuchern aufgehängten Vorräthe, des Rauches, der nur schwer einen Ausweg findet, entsteht, kaum erträglich. Besser sind die großen Häuser auf dem Festlande gestellt, doch haben auch sie große Mängel; namentlich giebt es in ihnen eine staunenswerthe Menge von Mäusen, welche fast die Größe von Ratten erreichen und so frech sind, daß sie die Kleider anfressen, welche die Bewohner auf dem Leibe tragen, und sogar die Finger der kleinen Kinder anzunagen pflegen, wie Jakobsen erzählt wurde.

Die **Kleidung** der Giljaken männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechtes gleicht im Allgemeinen der bei den Golden gebräuchlichen, auch werden dieselben Stoffe, nämlich Fischhaut, Felle und chinesische oder russische Zeuge, zu ihrer Herstellung verwendet. Das bei den goldischen Frauen gebräuchliche Gehänge (s. oben Nr. XI, S. 173) findet sich bei den Giljakinnen nicht, überhaupt scheinen die letzteren weniger auf Zierlichkeit als auf Dauerhaftigkeit bei ihrer Kleidung zu sehen. Der eigenthümliche Gürtel, welchen nicht nur die Golden, sondern auch das früher mehrfach erwähnte Uebergangsvolk tragen, ist auch bei den Giljaken im Gebrauche, und zwar mit denselben Anhängseln wie dort; erwähnt aber mag gleich an dieser Stelle werden, daß neben Stein und Stahl zum Anzünden des Feuers hier auch schon Zündhölzer in theils selbstgefertigten, theils von den Russen überkommenen Dosen im Gebrauche sind. Auch die **Bewaffnung** der Giljaken ist dieselbe wie die der Golden. Bogen und Pfeile, Messer und Lanzen findet man bei ihnen überall noch im Gebrauche, und die letztgenannte Waffe erscheint nicht selten in schön gearbeiteten Exemplaren mit eingelegten Figuren von Silber oder Kupfer. Zum Fischfange bedienen sie sich selbstgefertigter Netze, Angelhaken und harpunenartiger Instrumente, welche bisweilen drei bis vier Zinken besitzen. Zur Fortbewegung auf dem Wasser dienen entweder größere Kähne oder kleinere Nachen aus Birkenrinde, welche den Namen Amerotscha führen; zu Lande aber reisen sie im Winter mit schmalen Schlitten, vor welche 8 bis 10 Hunde gespannt werden. Daher findet man ebenso wie in den Dörfern der Golden auch in den Niederlassungen der Giljaken eine Menge von Hunden, welche höchst bissig und für den Fremden unter Umständen geradezu gefährlich sind.

Bei dem kurzen Aufenthalte, welchen Jakobsen bei den Giljaken genommen hat, war es ihm natürlich nicht möglich, sich ein Urtheil über ihren Charakter zu bilden; immerhin aber reichen seine Erfahrungen doch aus zur Aufstellung der Behauptung, daß die **Giljaken nicht weniger abergläubisch sind als ihre Nachbaren**. Die Amulete [1]) gegen Krankheiten, welchen man bei den Golden so häufig begegnet, sind auch hier durchaus im Gebrauche und stimmen im Großen und Ganzen durchaus mit den früher besprochenen (Nr. XIII, S. 207) überein. Ebenso zeigten sich Giljaken auf Sachalin, in deren Hause Jakobsen einkehrte, im höchsten Grade entrüstet, wenn er mit brennender Pfeife das Haus verließ oder wenn seine Begleiter das in der Hütte angezündete Feuer durch Aufgießen von Wasser löschten, denn nach ihrer Meinung waren derartige Dinge geeignet, nicht nur über die Bewohner der einen Hütte, sondern über den ganzen Stamm das Verderben heraufzubeschwören. Denselben Erfolg sagten auch die Bewohner eines Hauses in dem Dorfe Warki unterhalb Nikolajewsk voraus, als Jakobsen Anstalten machte, behufs der Theebereitung ein Feuer anzuzünden, und zwangen ihn zu warten, bis die Hausfrau dieses Geschäft besorgte, der es nach ihrer Meinung allein zustand. Offenbar hat diese Handlungsweise in der Heilighaltung des Feuers ihren Grund, die

[1]) In allen diesen Booten befanden sich auch mehrere Hunde, welche, wenn neben der starken nordsüdlichen Strömung, welche im Tatarensunde herrscht, auch der Wind den Fischern entgegen ist, an das Land gesetzt werden, um das Boot vorwärts zu ziehen.

[1]) Bemerkt sei bei dieser Gelegenheit, daß die giljakischen Jungfrauen Nephritringe als Amulete auf der Brust tragen und durch kein noch so hohes Angebot zu bewegen sind, dieselben zu veräußern. Trotzdem hat der Reisende einen solchen von einem alten Giljaken erworben, der ihn jedenfalls gestohlen hatte, aber nicht wagte, ihn Jakobsen im Dorfe selbst anzubieten, sondern diesen auf dem Flusse aufsuchte, um das Geschäft abzuschließen. Der Reisende glaubte in diesem Falle sein Gewissen zum Schweigen bringen und auf den Handel eingehen zu dürfen.

zwar bei den Golden und Giljaken nicht mehr bis zur Personifikation desselben in einen Feuergott fortschreitet, aber bei ihnen gewiß ebenso gut einst vorhanden gewesen ist, wie sie bei den Burjäten noch heute existirt.

Die Götterwelt der Giljaken giebt derjenigen der Golden an Mannigfaltigkeit nichts oder nur wenig nach, Menschen- und Thiergestalten dienen im bunten Wechsel zur Darstellung übersinnlicher Wesen. Auch hier ist eine weitgehende Aehnlichkeit mit den religiösen Vorstellungen der Golden vorhanden; der bedeutendste Unterschied scheint mir der schon früher (XIV, S. 223) namhaft gemachte zu sein, daß die Golden dem Tiger, die Giljaken aber dem Bären eine eifrige Verehrung zollen. Allerdings wird diese Verehrung den Bären verhängnißvoll, da es gilt, stets eine Anzahl dieser Thiere in den in jedem Dorfe vorhandenen Käfigen gefangen zu halten, um sie, nachdem man sie längere Zeit vermittels eigens zu diesem Zwecke gefertigter und mit kunstvoller Schnitzerei verzierter großer hölzerner Löffel reichlich gefüttert hat, endlich bei einem Bärenfeste zu tödten. Diese Bärenfeste pflegen im Spätherbst und Winter abgehalten zu werden und sind eine Angelegenheit von allerhöchster Wichtigkeit für die Feiernden. Die Beschreibung des Festes, welchem Jakobsen beizuwohnen Gelegenheit hatte, lasse ich hier folgen.

Am 7. Februar 1885 traf der Reisende am frühen Morgen in dem etwa 30 Werst oberhalb Nikolajewsk gelegenen Giljakendorfe Waide ein, wo, wie man ihn benachrichtigt hatte, an diesem Tage ein Fest stattfinden sollte. Von mehreren anderen Dörfern, welche zum Theil ziemlich weit entfernt lagen, waren schon Gäste in Menge eingetroffen, und der ganze Ort war in vollster Bewegung im Hinblick auf die bevorstehende Feier. Die Ansetzung eines Bärenfestes liegt in der Hand des Dorfältesten, welchem auch die Bestimmung darüber zusteht, wie viele und welche Bären unter Zustimmung ihrer Eigenthümer getödtet werden sollen, denn nicht das Dorf als solches, sondern einzelne Einwohner desselben sind Besitzer der gefangenen Thiere. Nachdem die Einigung über diesen Punkt erzielt ist, werden die zur Schlachtung in Aussicht genommenen Thiere mehrere Wochen vor dem festgesetzten Termine von Haus zu Haus geführt und müssen in jedem der letzteren eine Nacht zubringen, um ihm und seinen Bewohnern durch ihren Aufenthalt Glück zu bringen. Während dieser Zeit erhalten die Thiere nur wenig Futter, am Ende derselben jedoch werden sie für ihr unfreiwilliges Fasten dadurch entschädigt, daß man sie eine Nacht hindurch von Haus zu Haus führt und mit den besten Leckerbissen bewirthet, nämlich mit frischen und getrockneten Fischen, Beeren und einer aus Hirse bereiteten dicken Grütze.

Während dieses Rundganges durch das Dorf werden die Bären, welche man entweder als Junge im Walde fängt oder in schon erwachsenem Zustande von den auch im Giljakengebiete ziemlich zahlreich vorhandenen Chinesen und Mandschuren kauft, durch Stiche gereizt und durch eine mit Lärmen auf sie eröffnete Scheinjagd zur Wuth gebracht. Natürlich ist man vorsichtig genug, die Thiere so zu fesseln, daß sie ihren Peinigern nicht leicht beikommen können. Es wird ihnen nämlich dicht hinter den Vorderbeinen ein Gurt um den Leib gelegt, an welchem Ringe angebracht sind, durch die eiserne Ketten laufen. An diesen Ketten wiederum sind dicke Riemen aus Seehundsleder von ziemlicher Länge so befestigt, daß die einen nach vorn, die anderen nach hinten gehen. Indem nun eine Anzahl von Giljaken diese Riemen fassen, sind sie im Stande, den Bären, je nachdem er vorwärts oder rückwärts gewendet auf seine Führer eindringen will, durch wechselseitiges festes Anziehen völlig zum Stillstehen zu zwingen.

Außerhalb des Dorfes befindet sich eine Art von Gehege, welches aus starken Weidenstäben hergestellt ist, und in das eine Allee, die mit ähnlichen Weidenstäben zu beiden Seiten eingefaßt ist, hineinführt. Innerhalb dieses Geheges wird der Bär, nachdem er seinen Rundgang durch das Dorf beendigt hat, zwischen zwei Baumstämmen festgebunden und einige Zeit hindurch sich selbst überlassen, während die Bewohnerschaft des Dorfes sich an einem Hundewettrennen belustigt, das bei diesen Festen fast nie zu fehlen pflegt. Auch in dem von Jakobsen besuchten Dorfe gab es in der Nähe des Stromes eine eigens zu diesem Zwecke eingerichtete Bahn, welche jedoch nicht sehr lang war. Nachdem die Hunde von ihren Eigenthümern an der Leine in die Bahn geführt und neben einander aufgestellt worden waren, wurden sie in Zwischenräumen von einigen Sekunden losgelassen, trafen aber fast alle gleichzeitig am Ziele ein. Uebrigens handelt es sich bei diesem Wettrennen nicht um die Gewinnung von Prämien, welche überhaupt nicht existiren, sondern man könnte dasselbe als ein Verkaufsrennen bezeichnen, denn es dient dazu, die guten Eigenschaften der Hunde in das rechte Licht zu setzen und die Kauflust zu erregen. Denselben Zweck hat das Schlittenrennen, welches bei dieser Gelegenheit ebenfalls abgehalten zu werden pflegt. Es kommt bei diesem nicht sowohl darauf an, daß die Zughunde eine hervorragende Schnelligkeit beweisen, wie sich daraus ergiebt, daß zur Zeit nur immer ein Schlitten die Bahn durcheilt, sondern vielmehr handelt es sich um die Sicherheit, mit welcher das Gespann, und besonders der Leithund desselben, den vorgeschriebenen Weg verfolgt. Solche Leithunde, welche sich als besonders zuverlässig erweisen, und dazu gehört vor allem, daß sie die Zurufe des Lenkers genau verstehen und befolgen, sind bei den Giljaken sehr geschätzt und werden mit 30 bis 60 Rubeln bezahlt. Interessant war es mit anzusehen, wie sich einige der Giljaken, welche die Bahn umstanden, auf die an ihnen mit einer Geschwindigkeit, welche fast derjenigen eines Schnellzuges gleicht, vorbeifahrenden Schlitten warfen, um die Fahrt mitzumachen. Einigen gelang der Versuch recht gut, andere hingegen wurden von dem dahinsausenden Schlitten eine Strecke fortgeschleudert und erlitten zum Theil heftige Verletzungen, die sie jedoch trotz ihrer Schmerzen und des Spottes ihrer glücklicheren Genossen mit dem besten Humor ertrugen.

Nach Beendigung des Rennens begab sich der ganze Menschenhaufen, dem sich natürlich der Reisende stets eng anschloß, in das oben genannte Gehege zurück und machte den Bären aus seinem Gefängniß los. Dann führte die gesammte männliche Bevölkerung von Waide, zusammen mit den fremden Gästen im Ganzen mehr als 100 Personen, den Bären den Hügel hinab, auf welchem sich das Gehege befand, nach dem Dorfe zu. Auf diesem Wege zog die eine Hälfte den Bären an den erwähnten Riemen vorwärts, da er Miene machte, nicht mehr gutwillig seinen Peinigern zu folgen, während die Uebrigen an den nach hinten gehenden Riemen gewissermaßen steuerten. Dabei vollführte die Gesellschaft einen fürchterlichen Lärm. Bald riefen sich die beiden Parteien Verhaltungsmaßregeln zu, bald stürzte unter dem Gelächter seiner Genossen der eine oder andere in den tiefen Schnee und wurde von den Nachfolgenden in unbarmherzigster Weise getreten und gestoßen, ohne daß er sich doch dadurch die Laune hätte verderben lassen, bald wieder machte der Bär den Versuch, einen seiner Peiniger mit den Zähnen und Tatzen zu packen, und mußte immer ein schallendes Hohngelächter über sich ergehen lassen, wenn ihm sein Plan nicht gelang; kurz es war eine im höchsten Grade bewegte Scene, die sich hier vor den Augen des Reisenden abspielte. Als man in das Dorf gelangt war,

wurde zunächst vor dem Hause Halt gemacht, in welchem der Bär die letzte Mahlzeit am Abend vorher genossen hatte. Hier war an einem Gestell vor der Thür ein etwa 3 m langer Balken so befestigt, daß er vertikal bis zu einer Höhe von etwa 1 m über dem Erdboden herab hing. Neben ihm standen 6 bis 8 Mädchen und Frauen, welche mit keulenartigen Stöcken versehen waren und im Takte gegen den Balken schlugen, indem sie auf zwei langsame immer einen schnellen Schlag folgen ließen, ohne jedoch diese Thätigkeit mit Gesang zu begleiten. An diesen Frauen wurde der Bär langsam vorübergeführt, und dann so aufgestellt, daß sein Kopf nach dem Hause hingewendet war, als ob er die Stelle noch einmal recht deutlich ins Auge fassen sollte, wo er von den Bewohnern des Dorfes die letzte Nahrung erhalten hatte. Nach ganz kurzem Aufenthalte zog man ihn dann weiter an das Ufer des Flusses herunter, und zwang ihn, auf dem Eise bis ungefähr in die Mitte des Stromes zu gehen. Darauf kehrte die ganze Schaar in das Dorf zurück und wandte sich zu dem Hause, welches der bisherige Besitzer des Bären bewohnte. Hier wartete des Thieres ein ganz ähnlicher Empfang, wie der oben beschriebene, doch zwang man an dieser Stelle den Bären, seinen Kopf durch die Thür in das Innere des Hauses hineinzustecken, und so gewissermaßen von seinem Herrn und Ernährer Abschied zu nehmen. Dann wurde er von Neuem in das Gehege geführt und dort wie vorher gefesselt.

Jetzt erst war der Augenblick gekommen, in welchem der Bär sein Leben lassen mußte. Unter allgemeinem Stillschweigen, welches zu halten auch dem Reisenden mit feierlicher Miene geboten wurde, trat ein alter Giljake — ob der Eigenthümer des Thieres oder nicht, giebt Jakobsen's Bericht nicht an — aus der Menge hervor und ergriff Pfeile und Bogen, welche schon für ihn bereit lagen. Dann zog er langsam seine Unterjacke aus, umwickelte das linke Handgelenk mit Lederriemen, um es durch das Anschlagen der Bogensehne nicht zu verletzen, und wählte mit vieler Feierlichkeit und Umständlichkeit, die einen etwas komischen Eindruck machte, einen Pfeil aus, den er auf den Bogen legte. Zunächst schien es, als ob er in die Luft schießen wollte, denn er hob den Bogen, während er ihn spannte, in die Höhe; dann aber senkte er ihn wieder ganz langsam, bis der Pfeil gerade auf das Herz des Bären gerichtet war, und schoß ihn dann ab. Der Bär stürzte auf der Stelle zu Boden, wälzte sich, soweit seine Fesseln das zuließen, einige Male hin und her, und verschied nach einigen kurzen Zuckungen, indem er damit bewies, eine wie sichere Hand sich der Schütze trotz seines Alters noch bewahrt hatte. Während dieses ganzen, ziemlich lange dauernden Vorganges herrschte bei allen Giljaken, welche das Gehege umstanden, eine athemlose Stille, welche einen um so feierlicheren Eindruck machte, als sie in so schroffem Gegensatze gegen den vorher herrschenden geradezu ohrenzerreißenden Lärm stand.

Nachdem der Tod des Bären eingetreten war, kam sein früherer Eigenthümer herbei und umarmte das Thier zärtlich wie einen lieben Freund, von dem er Abschied nehmen wollte. Dann wurde eine Anzahl der Stäbe, welche das Gehege bildeten, aus der Erde gezogen und auf den Boden gelegt, um dem todten Bären als Lagerstätte zu dienen. Später wird dann, wie dem Reisenden erzählt wurde — denn den Ausgang des Festes abzuwarten, gebrach es ihm an Zeit — das Thier in das Haus des Eigenthümers geschleppt, dort auf ein Lager von Tannenzweigen wie auf ein Paradebett niedergelegt und von den Theilnehmern des Festes zum letzten Male besucht. Nach zwei oder drei Tagen wird ihm dann die Haut abgezogen und das Fleisch unter die Gäste vertheilt, welche es sich wohl schmecken ließen. Es liegt ein seltsamer Widerspruch in diesen Bärenfesten. Auf der einen Seite verehrt man den Bären als überirdisches Wesen, wie nicht nur seine Bilder, die als Götzen und Amulete dienen, sondern auch die zarten Aufmerksamkeiten, welche man ihm während der Dauer seiner Gefangenschaft darbringt, beweisen. Ebenso spricht dafür die feierliche Art seiner Tödtung sowie das ceremoniöse Verfahren, welches man bei der Behandlung der Leiche anwendet, und ebenso der oben noch nicht erwähnte Umstand, daß man dem Reisenden nicht gestattete, einen der Weidenstäbe, welche das Gehege zusammensetzten und später dem todten Bären als Lager dienten, mitzunehmen, was er um so lieber gethan haben würde, weil sich dieselben auch durch geschmackvolle Schnitzarbeit auszeichneten. Auf der anderen Seite aber scheut man sich wiederum nicht, diesem als überirdisches Wesen verehrten Thiere den Tod zu geben, und noch dazu einen Tod, der nur der endliche Abschluß einer ziemlich barbarischen Quälerei ist. Eigenthümlich ist ferner auch der Umstand, daß in dem ganzen Verlaufe des Festes, soweit Jakobsen zu beobachten Gelegenheit hatte, der Schamane, welcher doch sonst bei allen religiösen Verrichtungen der Amurvölker eine so hervorragende Rolle zu spielen pflegt, gar nicht sichtbar wurde. Welche Bewandtniß hat es weiterhin mit der Hinausführung des Bären auf das Eis des Stromes? Sollte sich aus derselben etwa der Gedanke ergeben, daß das Thier dem als Gott verehrten Strome als Opfer angeboten werden soll? Und wenn wirklich, welch' seltsame Idee, einen Gott dem anderen als Opfer darzubringen und ihn dann noch zuletzt zu verzehren. Und warum tödtet man denn den Bären nicht am Ufer des Stromes und läßt wenigstens sein Blut in denselben hinablaufen, wie ja auch die Fischgötter seinen Fluthen anvertraut werden? Was soll weiterhin dieses Opfer bewirken; welchen Charakter trägt es? Haben wir uns unter ihm ein Dankopfer vorzustellen, das dem Segen und Nahrung spendenden Strome dargebracht wird, oder ein Sühnopfer, mit welchem derselbe freundlich gegen die Anwohner gestimmt werden soll, weil die letzteren sich ihrer Abhängigkeit von ihm und seiner Macht, ihnen Schaden zu bringen, wohl bewußt sind? Im ersteren Falle sollte man voraussetzen, daß die Feier möglichst dicht auf den Zeitpunkt folgte, in welchem der Fischfang sein Ende erreicht, d. h. etwa in den September oder Anfang des Oktober, während diese Feste vielmehr erst in eine spätere Zeit fallen. Zu der zweiten Annahme wiederum will der Umstand nicht recht passen, daß der Charakter des Festes ein durchaus freudiger ist, wie die oben gegebene Beschreibung nach meiner Meinung wenigstens beweist. Dem widerspricht auch nicht die feierliche Stille, welche während des tödtlichen Schusses und der Vorbereitungen zu demselben herrscht, denn man braucht darin keineswegs den Beweis von Ernst oder gar Trauer zu sehen, sondern es genügt vollständig die Annahme, daß man es vermeiden will, den Schützen durch geräuschvolles Benehmen unsicher zu machen, und ihn so in die Gefahr zu bringen, daß er sein Ziel verfehlt. Oder sollte etwa die Qual, welche man dem armen Thiere vor seinem Tode noch auferlegt, ein Sinnbild des ernsten Charakters dieses Festes sein? Auch diese Vorstellung scheint mir unvollziehbar, denn warum sollte man ein Sühnopfer, das doch in seinem unschuldigen Tode schon genügend zu leiden hat, noch obendrein martern, wie das hier geschieht; und macht denn nicht außerdem das ganze grausame Verfahren gegen den Bären vor seinem Tode den Eindruck, als ob es nur hervorginge aus der überschäumenden Festesfreude der Feiernden? Leider hat der Reisende über die Bedeutung der beschriebenen Ceremonien keine Andeutungen geben können, weil sie ihm die Giljaken selbst nicht zu erklären im Stande waren. Sie feierten

das Fest, wie ihre Väter und Vorväter es gefeiert hatten, ohne sich um den Sinn der einzelnen Handlungen weiter den Kopf zu zerbrechen. Ebenso wenig aber waren auch die Freunde Jakobsen's in Nikolajevsk in der Lage, ihm über diesen Gegenstand ausreichende Aufklärung zu geben; es wird also wohl noch häufigerer und eingehenderer Beobachtung bedürfen, als sie bisher vorliegen, ehe man hier klar wird sehen können.

Zum Schlusse noch eine unter den Giljaken verbreitete Sage, welche Jakobsen von einem russischen Stationsvorsteher hörte, der schon lange im Gebiete jener gelebt hatte. Dieselbe lautet: Vor langer, langer Zeit erschien von Osten her auf dem Amur ein kleines Schiff mit riesenstarken Menschen von dunkler Hautfarbe. Dieselben stiegen an das Land, überfielen die Dörfer, brannten dieselben nieder, tödteten die Einwohner, deren sie habhaft werden konnten, ohne Unterschied des Alters und Geschlechtes und fraßen sie auf. Ebenso verfuhren sie, den Strom aufwärts segelnd, auch im Lande der Golden, bis sich endlich die Ueberfallenen von ihrem Schrecken erholten, sich zusammenthaten und in großen Schaaren gegen den grausamen Feind zu Felde zogen, der denn auch nach hartem Kampfe besiegt wurde. Alle Kannibalen wurden getödtet und ihr Schiff zerstört. Seit dieser Zeit, pflegen die Giljaken hinzuzusetzen, sind keine fremde Menschen mehr von Osten her an den Amur gekommen bis zu dem Punkte, wo die Russen an der Mündung des Stromes erschienen, um das Land in Besitz zu nehmen.

Kürzere Mittheilungen.

Löß bei Samarkand.

Von Staatsrath Dr. O. Heyfelder.

Nach der Reise durch die Sandwüste Karakul, durch das immerhin nicht üppige, wenn auch fruchtbare Bochara und endlich über ein trockenes, öbes Hügelland zwischen Kotty-Kurgan und Samarkand ist der Reisende aufs Freudigste überrascht durch die üppige Vegetation und große Fruchtbarkeit, welche Samarkand und dessen nächste Umgebung auszeichnet. Schattige Doppelalleen umgeben alle Straßen in und bei der Stadt, Reis, Tabak, Baumwolle neben Weizen, Mais, Kartoffeln und Dschupura, gefolgt im Verlauf der mehrfachen Ernten, gefolgt noch im Spätherbst von Gerste, Rüben, gelben Rüben, Melonen und Wassermelonen, der prächtige Baumschlag, die Mannigfaltigkeit der Arten von Strauch und Baum, deren schnelles Wachsthum und Produktivität lassen an und für sich schon auf einen nicht gewöhnlich fruchtbaren Boden schließen. Dabei ist in einem Lande, welches von April bis November eigentlich keinen Regen kennt, der Wasserreichthum der Flüsse und die gesetzmäßige Bewässerung von ganz entscheidendem Einfluß.

Durch den Genie-Hauptmann Kritschewsky mit der Bodenbeschaffenheit näher bekannt gemacht, hatte ich Gelegenheit zu folgender interessanten Beobachtung.

Die Chaussee von Samarkand nach Taschkent führt aus der neuen russischen Stadt durch die ältere sartische und über die öde Stätte, wo die alte macedonische Stadt gestanden. Wo sie sich zu einem Flußarm oder Arik, Namens Jsfeap herabsenkt, durchschneidet sie ein Hügelland, welches sich ebenfalls gegen das Jsfeapthal zu verflacht. Der breite Einschnitt der Chaussee legt hohe massive Wände bloß, welche aus gleichmäßig gefügtem, gelbbraunem Material bestehen, dessen feiner Thon sich mit dem Fingernagel ritzen und zwischen den Fingern wie Mehl zerreiben läßt. Von Fels, Stein oder Kies keine Spur, aber auch keine Konglomerate (Löß München). Auf den Durchschnittsflächen sind 2 Faden und 6 Faden unterhalb der Oberfläche gleichmäßig geformte Gräber zu Tage getreten. Deren Durchschnitt bildet eine Ellipse von $1^1/_2$ Arschin Höhe, 1 Arschin Breite, mit lockerem Erdreich und Gebeinen gefüllt. Die Wände des Grabes bildet der regelrecht ausgeschnittene Löß, keine Mauer, keine Spur von einem Holzsarg. Die Form entspricht den länglichen, gemölbten Grabhügeln, wie sie noch heute bei den Bucharen Sitte sind, und erinnert andererseits an die Gräber, welche im Kuratthal bei Tiflis eröffnet wurden gelegentlich eines Chausseebaues. Einige hundert Schritt von dem Chausseeeinschnitt und der monumentalen Steinbrücke über den Jsfeap-Arik befinden sich über einer Quelle und unterhalb des Grabes des langen Heiligen einige charakteristische Höhlen im Löß, die zum Theil künstlich erweitert scheinen und von mohammedanischen Einsiedlern bewohnt werden. Den allerdings absolut trockenen Boden bedecken Matten, in den Wänden befinden sich kleine Nischen mit arabisch-gothischen Spitzbogen zur Aufbewahrung der Oellampe und anderer Geräthe.

Noch frappanter aber erweist sich derselbe Charakter eines an seiner Oberfläche öden Hügellandes, durch welches die neue Eisenbahn zwischen der ersten russischen Stadt Kotty-Kurgan und der alten Hauptstadt Tamerlan's mitten hindurch schneidet und zwar auf einer Strecke von mehreren Stunden. Etwa 7 Stunden hinter Kotty-Kurgan dringt die Eisenbahn mit einer Trancher in die Vorhügel der Lößschicht ein. Hierauf in weitem Bogen die Hauptstadt umgehend, windet sie sich an die Vorhügel hinein und bildet anfangs oberflächliche, dann aber tiefe, mächtige Einschnitte. An den fast senkrechten Wänden, an den ausgesparten Richtungspfeilern, an dem herausgeschafften Material tritt überall der hartweiche, gleichmäßige Charakter des Löß hervor, ununterbrochen von jeglicher anderen Bodenart und auch an der Oberfläche weder von Sand noch Humus bedeckt. Wie aus Meerschaum oder Seife schneiden die Werkzeuge der Arbeiter Stufen, Wände, Pyramiden aus dem Löß heraus. Hunderte von Eseln tragen in Tragsäcken das zu entfernende Erdreich aus den Tranchen herauf, zu welchem Behufe sich zahlreiche, schmale Steige an den Wänden hinabziehen. Das Material wird mehr als Schollen, denn als lose Erde zu Tage gefördert und behält auch, nachdem es ausgeschüttet worden, das Aussehen von frischen Ackerschollen. Die Oberfläche dieses Hügellandes ist von derselben Farbe wie die Durchschnittswände, nur heller, stark stäubend, mit seltenen Kieselsteinchen bestreut und bietet beinahe keine Vegetation. Auf den trockenen Flächen wachsen nur derbe, härtliche Steppenkräuter, an etwas feuchten Senkungen auch Verbascum tupsus und eine Steinaster, die am 14./28. Oktober zum zweiten Male blühten. Zahlreiche Cisternen geben im ganzen Verlauf durch den Löß hinreichendes gutes, etwas trübes Trinkwasser. Das Wasser befindet sich durchschnittlich 10 bis $12^1/_2$ Faden unter der Erdoberfläche. Wie sich dieser Löß, wenn auch nur wenig befeuchtet, sehr gut zu Bauten überhaupt verwerthen läßt, so sind auch die Cisternen mit Schutz-

20: Bush--76-77 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 142

[LSS: Upon arrival at Tederovsk on Lake Kidzi]"By this time all of us were perfectly wet and tired out, so much so that even the hovel was a welcome sight, and we had just resolved to take informal possession, when a small, box-like boat, containing two men, was seen approaching from the distance, while two other beings approached along the water's edge. These last were evidently natives of the country, and, from their appearance, were objects of a good deal of interest and curiousity to us, though by no means preposessing in their looks, or calculated to inspire one with admiration. How to classify them we did not know, except as under the general head of tartars. [77]

From small patches of skin that were in a few places visible through the dirt in which they were clothed, we judged their complexion to be midway between those of the Chinese and the American Indians. There features were decidedly Mongolian--almond-shaped eyes, flattish noses, and coarse black hair; but most prominent of all were their cheek-bones, which were exceedingly large, so much so as to completely obscure the rest of the face in profile view."

20: Bush--77 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak

116, 276, 291, 302, 515

"They [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] were a filthy-looking pair, clad in dirty, greasy skin garments, with naked feet and legs, and their long, coarse, uncombed hair, that had once been braided, hung down their backs in queues. That of the man (for both sexes were represented) was arranged much like the 'tail' of a Chinaman, in a single braid, with the exception that no part of his head was shaven. The woman wore two braids, or what had once been such, since her hair, as well as that of her husband, was a perfect mass of tangle, and becoming more so every moment through the energetic clawing and digging of several long, unwashed fingers.

We would have experienced some little difficulty in deciding which was the man and which the woman had it not been for a long-stemmed pipe, with amber mouth-piece and miniature brass bowl, which the former smoked, while his fair partner carried a number of fine, large, freshly-caught fish."

20: Bush--77 [2] T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 161,174

"The pair [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] were members of a tribe numbering about 8000 souls, called Gilaks, a branch of the Tungusians--so stated, though,as we afterward found, a very different people from the Tungusians whome we encountered in our journeys. The Gilaks were the original inhabitants of the country of the Lower Amoor at the time of the first visit of whites to that section, and for an unknown period previously."

20: Bush--77-78 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 352

"Having turned our horses over to the soldiers, who fastened them beneath a small straw-thatched shelter close by, followed by the Gilaks and several chickens, we found our [78] way into a smoke-blackened apartment, lighted by a piece of fish-skin set in a small aperture in the log-walls. A large brick 'peachka' covered three fourths of the dirt floor of the room, upon the top of which was stored away a good supply of dried fish and wood drying for fuel. In two of the corners were narrow bunks covered with rags, very repulsive in appearance, and in another corner was a small rude table and a couple of stools."

20: Bush--78 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 515

"As soon as she entered the apartment, the Gilak woman, out of deference to us, though in a very immodest manner, posted herself upon one of the beds, and began to attire herself a little more decently, neglecting, however, either to wash herself or comb her hair; but, poor thing, even what slight alterations she made in her appearance was a very difficult proceeding, since either one hand or the other was constantly employed answering the summons of innumerable creatures, which, though invisible, were, to all appearances, by no means unfelt."

20: Bush--86 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 778, 823

"During this portion of our journey on the lake, [LSS: Lake Kidzi] which is about twenty-five miles in length, we passed a small rocky island called Boshniak, which is held sacred by the Gilaks. To this place the 'shamans' or 'medicine-men' of the tribe periodically resort for the purpose of carrying on their pagan rites, which in many respects resemble the ceremonies of our American Indians."

20: Bush--89-90 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 226, 251, 262

"The river [LSS: the Amur] at this point is nearly a mile in width, and flows through extensive plains of meadow-land burdened with a rank growth of tall grass, beyond which on either hand, in the distance, faint blue hills limit the vision. Patches of woodland dot the plains, and, in many places, extend to the river-bank, where, beneath the thick clusters of foliage, the tasty though filthy Gilaks erect their picturesque habitations near the sandy beach. One of these we came upon shortly after leaving Marinsk. In front of each house, upon the beach, were drawn up their odd-shaped canoes, with elevated, fancifully-carved prows, and all along the shores we could see the bare-legged natives toiling at their long seines, and strewing the banks with hundreds of fine salmon, that glittered in the sunlight like heaps of silver. These fish are afterward split, and suspended on light poles under bark or straw-covered shelters to dry, where they remain until required for use, they being here, as in Kamtchatka, intended for the sustenance of both men and dogs during the long winter months. Fish and berries, with the bark and roots of various trees, constitute almost the only food of the inhabitants, and, though many of the more hardy vegetables could be had at the expense of a little toil, they content themselves with the food that nature showers upon them.

The river at certain seasons of the year is literally alive with salmon, and so little effort is required to capture them [90] that they are considered almost valueless. Fish that would adorn banquets in many places are here thrown to the dogs by hundreds."

20: Bush--90 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 462, 501

"Now and then we encountered 'lotkas,' or canoes, gliding from shore to shore, almost invariably propelled by the women, who handled the short carved paddles with a skill and grace really to be admired. They use the paddles much as we do oars, but make the strokes alternately, allowing one to trail along the side of the craft while the stroke is being made with the other. The men display equally as great skill in the management of the boat, though their duty is comparatively light, being simply to sit in the stern of the craft and guide it with a light paddle, in the mean while smoking their long-stemmed pipes with small brass bowls and enormous amber mouth-pieces."

20: Bush--99 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 531

[LSS: Traveling on the Amur] "The scenery was much the same as that of the day before--the banks dotted with small Russian and Gilak settlements. I could not help admiring the taste displayed by many of these Gilaks whom we passed in the manufacture of their hats. They are made of birch-bark, shaped like a low, broad cone, the outside covered with beautiful scroll-work figures cut from stained bark."

20: Bush--101-102 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 554, 778, 797

"The Gilaks are a very superstitious, pagan people, worshiping idols of wood and stone as of old, though many of them have been baptized into the Greek Church, and wear small [102] metal crosses suspended about their necks. They have their priests, or 'shamans,' who conduct all their ceremonies and are the advisers of the communities. These shamans are supposed by them to be gifted with supernatural powers, and are held in great awe and reverence."

20: Bush--102 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 764, 775, 825

"Their funeral rites are sometimes quite impressive. The remains are first burned, and afterward a small wooden house or tomb is erected over the ashes. At death the soul is supposed to take up its abode in the favorite dog of the deceased, where it remains until released from its confinement by the death of the animal. To facilitate its escape, it has become customary to sacrifice the dog at the tomb of its master, the creature being first fattened for the occasion."

20: Bush--102 [2] T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 372

"Among other superstitious notions, the Gilaks will not allow a particle of fire to be taken from their habitations, not even in a pipe. A violation of this custom they firmly believe will be the occasion of some great disaster--either a complete failure in fishing or in the chase, or the death or serious accident to some near relative or dear friend."

20: Bush--102 [3] T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 844

"During parturition, whether in winter or summer, the unfortunate mother is ejected from her habitation--thrust out of doors, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, there to provide for herself as best she may, solitary and ignored, until a certain period shall have elapsed. During this time every possible assistance is denied her, it being considered almost criminal to lend her the slightest attention, and, as a natural consequence, death often ensues. Their dogs are much more tenderly cared for, they, at least, being allowed shelter."

20: Bush--102 [4] T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 627, 682

"Murder is not an uncommon occurrence among these people, being often committed upon the slightest provocation. They are governed by no established laws except those dictated by superstition, which differ in different localities. A murderer is usually punished by the friends of the deceased, who are bound in some manner to avenge his death, generally by counter-murder. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is their notion of justice."

20: Bush--102-103 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 177, 342, 411

"Formerly bows and spears were their only weapons, but of late these, the bow especially, have been discarded for [103] small-bored flint-lock guns, which they procure in trade from the Russians. Their habitations differ somewhat in their construction. Many of them are erected on posts several feet above the ground, and are surrounded by a platform, upon which they stow away their sleds, nets, weapons, etc. These platforms are reached by rude steps cut in a log."

20: Bush--103 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 251, 354

"Many of their houses are heated by a fire in the centre of the room, the bunks for sleeping ranged around the sides, and a square hole in the roof for the smoke to escape through, while others have the fire in a kind of oven in one corner, the smoke and heat being conducted entirely around the room, under the bunks, before escaping from the chimney. This is in order to heat their beds during the winter. Suspended to the rafters overhead they frequently have hundreds of salmon curing in the dense smoke. This is called 'ukale' by the Russians, and, when carefully prepared--'and you know the woman as made 'em,' as Sam Weller said of veal pies--are quite palatable."

20: Bush--103 [2] T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 789

"Our attention was attracted by a curious noise from some settlement far up the river, sounding like the beating of a bass-drum. This, upon inquiry, we learned to be a party of Gilaks invoking the spirits to attend them and crown their efforts in fishing with success."

20: Bush--104-105 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 291, 516

"At 6 o'clock we went ashore near a Gilak settlement to make tea, and were soon surrounded by a group similar to the one of the night before. They wandered barefooted over the jagged stones on the beach as though their feet were soled with iron, while the cold seemed to have no effect on them whatever. Some of them presented a very amusing tableau as we pushed from shore. Near our fire was an old [105] stump of driftwood about six feet long, on which six of them sat, with their feet drawn up under their bodies, their heads resting on their hands, and their elbows on their knees. In the group was an old gray-headed man, the patriarch of the village; and from him down, in both sexes, to a little boy hardly old enough to walk, who, however, imitated the attitude of the others with the greatest precision. I would not have believed it possible to roost so many humans on a log of that size, had I not seen it done."

20: Bush--122-123 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 252, 272, 342

"Our tent, being new and of very thin material, leaked badly--so much so that we could keep nearly as dry, and certainly much warmer, walking outside. We tried a small fire within, but in a few moments the smoke became unbearable, and for want of better refuge Swartz and myself fled to our Gilak neighbors. Their only shelter consisted of birch-bark, sewed together in long narrow strips about two feet in length, and spread over a frame of light poles sloping to the ground and forming a shed-like covering, open in front and at each end. This was erected upon the beach, facing the high wooded bank, which served as a protection from the wind.

As we came up, one of the women was in the act of preparing the noonday meal over a small fire in front of the camp. A small pot contained several fine trout, near which was hanging a good-sized copper tea-kettle (a rare article among the Gilaks, who are, as a general thing, unable to indulge in tea). On this occasion we furnished them, in exchange for fish. [123]

Beneath the shed several deer-skins were spread over a thick layer of green boughs, upon which half a dozen humans and about as many dogs lay twisted and coiled into almost every conceivable shape. The group presented a curious, if not interesting tableau, which I will endeavor to portray in a few words, as it conveyed to us a very complete idea of the internal workings of a Gilak domicil, as well as some of their occupations."

20: Bush--123 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 854

"At or near one end of the shed was a babe, tightly bandaged in a wooden box or cradle, something like those used by our American Indians, but with its little legs from the knees downward unfettered. This cradle was suspended from the ridge-pole, in an upright position, by four leather thongs, which were just long enough to enable the little one to reach the ground with its feet, by which it swung itself back and forth without assistance."

20: Bush--123-124 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 231, 515

"Near by, sitting cross-legged, Turkish-fashion, upon the skins, two frowsy-headed, haggard-looking women were sewing very industriously upon filthy skin garments, only pausing now and then to give some directions to the cook, and to launch something--what I don't know, but it sounded very harsh--upon the heads of a couple of naked little urchins, [124] who were disputing the possession of a deer-skin bed with an old, half-famished, toothless dog. The latter appeared to be conscious of his rights, however, and obstinately refused to budge beneath the feeble blows of his tormentors. Other dogs were in abundance, but the crowning feature of all was an old hag (no other word will express it), wrinkled, withered, and toothless, and clothed in the dirtiest of dirty skins, with long, scant locks of hair dangling wildly about her face. She would have been a pitiable object had it not been for her occupation--that of catching vermin from the head of a dirty-faced girl, and disposing of them in a manner not very conducive to one's appetite."

20: Bush--124 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 778, 782

"Upon leaving the Gilak encampment, we climbed the bank just in front of it, to the woods above, when we found ourselves upon a spot held sacred by the Gilaks. Upon all sides, scattered through the woods, were skulls of bears, poised upon the stumps of small trees from four to six feet above the ground. These were intended as some kind of offering to the native gods, and, when newly placed in position (we afterward learned), were sprinkled with tobacco, berries, roots, and other articles. None of these offerings appeared to be of more recent date than two years, while some were so old as to crumble beneath the touch, and others were buried in such a profusion of moss as to be hardly recognizable. After being once placed, it is deemed very sacrilegious ever to disturb them again. Time and the elements, according to Gilak notions, can alone tamper with them with impunity."

20: Bush--125 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 142, 221, 461

"These people might with propriety be called an aquatic tribe. During the summer months they almost live upon the water, paddling here and there in their lotkas continually. For their food, likewise, both during summer and winter, they rely upon this source nearly exclusively. What traveling they do in winter is accomplished with dogs; but this is very little, their preference being decidedly to lie and vegetate in their dingy, smoky habitations during the cold weather, waiting for the advent of spring before renewing their out-of-door exercises.

These exercises, rowing and fishing principally, are only partial, benefiting merely the muscles of the upper portion of the body. Owing to this fact, it is not uncommon to see men among them powerful and robust about the chest and arms, while their lower limbs are comparatively so small and puny as to convey the impression of deformity."

21: Golder--253-255 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-1-4
116, 174

"The survey of the coast of Sakhalin and East Tartary was delayed until the middle of the nineteenth century. Although Russia deserves the chief credit for carrying this work to a successful termination, she is by no means entitled to all the credit. China, Japan, France, and England also made certain contributions towards its accomplishment. The investigation of this topic is, therefore, somewhat involved and necessitates a study of the navigations and the cartography of this region from the time the Europeans first came into these waters until the insularity of Sakhalin was definitely ascertained. (469)

469. Sakhalin had various names. Witsen called it Amoerse, Laperouse named it Tchoka, Krusenstern spoke of it as Karafouto, Klaproth claimed that Tarakai was its proper name, the Russian Senate referred to it in 1732, as Bolshoi [large].

It is quite evident, judging from the physical similarities of the inhabitants, that there has always been communication between the island and the Chinese mainland; there is, strange as it may seem, little to indicate that Sakhalin was generally known in China. The Jesuits, who occupied themselves with the geographical questions of that country, did not hear of the island before they went on their astronomical expedition in the

eighteenth century. (470) [254]

470. Du Halde, J. B. Description . . . de L'Empire de la Chine, vol. iv, 12.

The Japanese knew a little more about Sakhalin than the Chinese. At least they made several efforts to learn about it. Japanese historians (471) of the early eighteenth century

471. Klaproth, J. Apercu des Trois Royaumes, 192-193.

tell that in the time of the Shogun Fido-tada (1605-1622) the prince of Matsmai, Kin-firo, sent two parties in two successive years (472) to draw a map of Sakhalin. They reached

472. Siebold, Ph. Fr. von Nippon, vol. i, 259, gives the years as 1613, 1614.

the southern portion of the island and turned back without completing the task. (473) In

473. During the remainder of the seventeenth and the greater part of the eighteenth century, Japan was too busily occupied with political problems

to give much attention to geographical questions.

1785, Mogami Tokunai, a well known Japanese geographer, sailed from the northern coast of Jeso along the western side of Sakhalin as far as forty-six degrees, fifty minutes. On his way back he doubled the southern point of the island and followed the eastern shore to Cape Aniwa. (474) He made two other attempts, the second in 1786, the date of the

474. Siebold, Ph. Fr. von Nippon, vol. i, 260-261.

third is not definitely known, and was fortunate in reaching the western coast near the fifty-second parallel (475) and the eastern near the forty-ninth (Cape Patience). He

475. —Ibid.

made also excursions into the interior. The maps which he drew came into the hands of Siebold, who reproduced them in his atlas of Nippon. (476)

476. —Ibid., 'Atlas.'

Mamia Rinso accomplished even greater deeds than Mogami Tokunai. Departing from

northern Jeso in 1808, and sailing in the Tartary Strait close to the Sakhalin shore, Rinso succeeded in entering the mouth of the Amur that same summer. Siebold obtained Rinso's chart and journal and later used them in the publication of his Nippon. But as this work did not appear [255] until 1852, Europeans derived little benefit from the painstaking and praiseworthy efforts of these courageous Japanese navigators and geographers.

With no intention of discovering Sakhalin, whose existence was unknown to them, but to explore the mysterious land of Jeso, the Dutch East India Company sent Captain Vries from Japan in 1643. The chart and journal of the expedition are in existence (477) and

477. Siebold, Discoveries of Maerten Gerrits Vries.

by comparing them with what is known of the North Pacific Ocean it is quite evident that Vries touched on the southern part of the east coast of Sakhalin. But neither he nor those who made use of his chart had any clear conception as to where he had been. His discoveries were identified with the Terra de Jeso of the Jesuits, and the whole subject remained for a long time obscure."

21: Golder--255 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-1-2
116, 103, 174

"Our earliest knowledge of Sakhalin comes to us neither from the Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, nor Jesuits, but from the Russian hunters of Siberia, who in their efforts to explore the Amur regions came in contact with Sakhalin. In 1641 Maxim Perofilyef presented himself at Jakutsk and announced the existence of Shilka River, along the banks of which grain and metal were to be found. (478) To investigate the truth of this report

478. Found in instructions to Poyarkof. See Chtenia V Imperatorskom Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostei Rossiskich (Moscow, 1861), no. I, I-14.

the woewod sent in 1643 Wasili Poyarkof and a number of other men. They struck the headwaters of the Amur (479) and sailed down that stream to its mouth.

479. There has been some discussion as to the origin of the word 'Amur' and as to the date when it was first used by Europeans. It is not of Russian but of Mongolian origin. In the instructions issued to Poyarkof in 1643 the name Amur is not mentioned, which indicates that it was then unknown to the Russians. On his return in 1646, Poyarkof makes use of the word, and this is the first time that it appears in the Russian documents. He says, 'From the Shilka to the Amur in six days. . . The Amur falls into the Shungal . . . and from there the Amur continues to the sea' [Dopolnenia K Aktam

Istoricheskim, vol. iii, 50-55]. In addition to the term Amur the river had other names. According to Muller the Manchoux called it Sachalin Ula, the Chinese Helung Kiang, also Chelundsiam, the Tungas Schilkar, Schilk or Silkar, and the ancient Mongols Karamuram. Siebold gives the Japanese name as Manke. Witsen says that Ngam-Cumkiam is the Chinese name."

"From there they went out to sea in a northerly direction as far as the Ulja River. At this point they left their boats and proceeded overland to Jakutsk, arriving early in 1646. In his report Poyarkof makes the statement that the Giliaks live 'on the islands of the ocean' (480) referring no doubt to Sakhalin. A reliable Russian writer says (without

480. Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim, vol. iii, 50-55.

giving authority) that Poyarkof was wrecked on a large island soon after leaving the Amur. (481) There is no need, however, of direct evidence to prove that the Russians

481. Sadovnikof, D., Nashi Zampleprochodtsi, 78.

were aware of Sakhalin, for sailing, as they did, in the Tartary Strait they could not help but see it. Although trade relations were established with the natives of the upper waters of the Amur, the Russians rarely went down to the mouth of the river. (482) By

482. In addition to Poyarkof's voyage only two or three other Russian parties came to the mouth of the river [Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim, no. 100, 354].

21: Golder--256 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-2
116, 174

the treaty of Nertchinsk, in 1689, the Amur River and Sakhalin were removed from Russia's sphere of influence, and the citizens of that country were forbidden to go near these places."

21: Golder--256-258 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-1-5
116, 131, 174

"The charts which Poyarkof and some other Siberians drew of the regions which they traversed have disappeared. There have, however, come down two maps of Siberia, both drawn at the request of the czar, one in 1667 or 1668 by Peter Godunof, and the other by Semen Remezof some years later. (483) On these two maps [257] the Amur River is

483. Godunof's map and memoir accompanying it may be found in Titof, Siberia in the Seventeenth Century. A Swedish ambassador, C. J. Prutz, who was at Moscow in 1669, made a copy of the map and brought it home with him. This copy has been preserved and reproduced by Nordenskjold in Ymer of 1887.

Remezof's map and notes have been published in 1882 and is known as 'Tscerteznaya Kniga Sibir.' Remezof says that the bases of his map are his own explorations and the maps he found in Siberia. Several sheets of his maps were completed as early as 1673, and the remaining somewhere between that date and 1701.

represented, but Sakhalin is not, due probably to the fact that they were asked to describe Siberia (484) and not the islands. That it was well known in Siberia that there was a large

484. Titof, A. Sibir V XVII Weke, 25.

island at the mouth of the Amur may be proved from Witsen, who quotes a Russian manuscript of 1666 to that effect. (485) Other documents of the latter part of the seventeenth

485. Witsen, N. Noord en Oost Tartaren, vol. ii, 825.

century make mention of a large island at the mouth of the Amur, and one gives a description of the inhabitants. (486)

486. Titof, A. Sibir V XVII Weke, 84, 110, 111.

Godunof's and Remezof's maps are valuable because they give the Siberian's idea of Siberia, and because they fell into the hands of Witsen who used them in 1687 to construct his great map of northern Asia. (487) He acknowledges that he used Godunof's map,

487. Witsen was one of the greatest geographers of his time. He was painstaking and had the historian's eagerness to get at the sources. His position as burgomaster of Amsterdam gave him an opportunity of meeting and becoming the teacher and friend of Peter the Great and of securing through him, when Witsen visited Russia, very valuable material for his literary undertakings.

(488) and a critical comparison of Witsen's and Remezof's maps shows that the former

488. Schrenck, L. Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-Lande, vol. iii, 95-98.

owes a great deal to the latter. (489) On Witsen's map the 'Amur'River is traced to its

489. Middendorf, A. Th. von. Sibirische Reise, vol. iv, 36-38.

mouth, situated between the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth [258] parallels. Opposite to it is a large 'Amoerse Eylandt,' and a little to the north is another island, 'Stolpka Memcoy,'(490)

490. The word 'Memcoy' is meaningless. In two of the seventeenth century manuscripts found in Titof's Siberia [pp. 54, 110], reference is made to a Stolp Kamennoi [stone column], opposite the mouth of the Kamchatka. Witsen often made mistakes in translating from the Russian, and he may have done so in this case.

probably intended for one of the Shantars. (491) Here then is the earliest published map

491. At Jakutsk the existence of the Shantars was known about 1644, but they were not explored until many years later.

distinctly tracing and naming the Amur River and indicating the island which bears the name of Sakhalin.

Witsen's map was copied by other cartographers. Edward Wells in 1698 or 1699 and Herman Moll in 1701 reproduced the Amur River and the Amoerse Eylandt and located them where Witsen did. Guillaume Delisle is indebted to Witsen for the good points of his map of Tartary which he published in 1708. Delisle, however, makes some changes, the reasons for which are not apparent. In his hands Witsen's Fluvius Amur becomes Riviere d'Amour, emptying itself into the ocean about six degrees farther south. Amoerse Eylandt is transformed into the 'Isle d'Amour' but retains the position given it by Witsen. A small number of map makers were temporarily influenced by Delisle, the majority still followed Witsen; and even Delisle himself, in a later map, located the mouth of the river between the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth parallels. (492)

492. L'Asie (Amsterdam, after 1721). This time he calls the river Ghammas, a term which he borrowed from Sanson. Delisle's

21: Golder--256-258 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-5
116, 131, 174

principal contribution to the cartography of this part of the world is the word 'Amour,' which certain map makers still prefer to 'Amur.' "

"Until the early thirties of the eighteenth century Witsen was the generally accepted authority for this part of the world. By that time new and scientific data had become accessible. Three Jesuits, Regis, Jartoux, and [259] Fidelli went down the Amur in 1709 (493) and came near enough to the mouth of the river to learn from the natives that

493. Du Halde, J. B. Description. . . de l'Empire de la Chine, vol. i, p. xxx.

there was a large island close by. (494) About ten years later a map of these regions

494. —Ibid, vol. iv, 12. 'Ils nous apprirent les premiers, ce que nous ne scavions pas, qu'il y avoit vis-a-vis l'embouchure du Saghalien oula une grande Isle habité par des gens semblables a eux. Dans la suite l'empereur y a envoyé des Mantcheoux, qui y ont passe sur les Barques de ces Ketchengtase lesquels demeurent au bord de la Mer, et ont commercé avec les Habitans de la partie occidentale de l'Isle.'

was completed in China and a copy sent to France. This copy fell into the hands of D'Anville who was constructing a map to go with Du Halde's China. On the Jesuit map the mouth of the Amur, or Saghalien oula, is situated near the fifty-second parallel,

and the island facing it is much larger than the Amoerse Eylandt of Witsen. On the copy which D'Anville possessed no name was given to the island, but close by these words were written: Saghalien Anga Hata, meaning, 'Rocks at the mouth of the Black River.' (495) In his ignorance of the Chinese language, D'Anville translated the words as 'Island

495. Klaproth, J. Apercu des Trois Royaumes, 188.

of the Black River.' (496) In the course of time the words 'Anga Hata' were dropped,

496.—Ibid.

leaving Saghalien for the name of the island. (497) D'Anville's map, being superior to

497. The name is also written: Saghalin, Sagalien, Sachalien, etc.

Witsen's superseded it, and the term Saghalien superseded Amoerse and all other names given to it later. (498)

498. D'Anville's map was published in 1735."

"With the exception of Poyarkof and one other party of Russians in the seventeenth century (499) and the efforts of Bering's lieutenants in the eighteenth century there [260]

499. See footnote 482. [LSS: in category 174, p. 256]

is no record that other Europeans sailed in Tartary Strait until the coming of Laperouse in 1787. This famous Frenchman set about clearing up the cartographical confusion of this region. After touching at Jeso Island, he sailed into Tartary Strait until he was stopped by the shallow water in the neighborhood of the fifty-second parallel. In his report and chart he announced that there was no navigable channel. (500)

500. Laperouse, J. B. Voyage de Laperouse autour du Monde, vol. iii, 53. 'Cette stagnation des eaux paraissait etre une preuve qu'il n'y avait point de chenal.'

Ten years later Broughton, following the course of Laperouse, succeeded in reaching farther north by fifteen miles, (501) but without finding a passage. Krusenstern, in 1805,

501. Broughton, W. R. Voyage of Discovery in the North Pacific Ocean, vol. vii, 302. Broughton was 'fully convinced that there was no opening

to the sea in this direction, the whole being closed by lowland, which we could plainly distinguish at intervals.'

undertook to solve the problem in another way. Instead of following the western shore of Sakhalin he sailed along the eastern, and in so doing determined the northern extent of the island. He doubled and named the northern capes and then steered a southerly course through Tartary Strait, hoping that in this manner he would join his efforts with those of Laperouse. But when within two hundred miles of his desired goal, and before sighting the Amur River, he was brought to a standstill by the sand banks, and turned back, believing Sakhalin to be a peninsula. (502)

502. Krustenstern, A. J. de. Voyage Autour du Monde, vol. ii, 247. 'Il est par consequent demontré que Sakhalin est uni a la Tartarie par une isthme très-bas, et ainsi n'est qu'une presq'ile. Toutefois il est possible et meme tres vraisemblable qu-anciennement, et peut-être meme a une epoque peu eloignée, Sakhalin etait isolé du continent comme les cartes chinoises le representent.'

It is probably unique in the annals of modern geography that three scientists, among the greatest naviga-[261]tors of their day, studying the subject on the spot should come

to such erroneous conclusions. It is not surprising that stay-at-home cartographers adopted their views. Some made Sakhalin a peninsula of Tartary, connecting it with the mainland just at the spot left unexplored by Krusenstern and Broughton. (503)

503. Heinrich Keller, Weimar, 1814. Probably a copy of the map in Langsdorff's Reise um die Welt.

Others, although not distinctly uniting the two bodies, yet indicated that they are joined by sandbanks and called Sakhalin a peninsula. (504) There are a few, however, who

504. Vandermalen, P. H. Asie (Bruxelles, 1827).

still picture Sakhalin as an island, (505) but it is not probable that they mean that it is

505. Malte-Brun, Traite Elementaire de Geographie: 'A peu de distance des cotes de la Mantchourie s'etend la longue ile de Saghalien...'

circumnavigable. (506)

506. Laperouse seems to be the first to have given the name Manche de

Tartarie to the waters separating the island from the mainland. Broughton was the first to apply the term Gulf of Tartary. There are other names such as Mamia Rinso Strait, Tartary Strait, etc.

The following extract from Findlay's work entitled A Directory for the Navigation of the Pacific Ocean (507) gives the generally accepted English view regarding Sakhalin:

507. London, 1851, part i, 618.

> It is not absolutely determined whether Sakhalin be an island or peninsula, but as all evidence tends toward the latter opinion, that appellation has been retained . . . it must therefore be considered that Sakhalin is joined to the continent by a flat sandy neck of land over which, it is possible, the sea may wash when the strong southerly gales which occur here drive the waters to a higher level, and that the isthmus may be of comparatively recent date, and still on the increase from the deposits of the Amour, so that the older Chinese charts may be correct.

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-5
116, 133, 174

On the map accompanying this work Sakhalin is represented as a peninsula. (508)

508. For a somewhat similar view see M'Cullouch's Universal Gazetteer (New York, 1849), vol. ii."

"Krusenstern's view as to the shape of Sakhalin was accepted in Russia. (509) There

509. Captain Golownin in his Japan and the Japanese speaks of 'Sagalin Penninsula.'

were at this time other expeditions to Sakhalin: Davidof and Chwostof in 1806 and 1807, (510) and Podushkine in 1809-1811, (511) but these touched merely on the southern point

510. Asiatic Society of Japan. Transactions, vol. i.

511. De Sabir, C. Le Fleuve Amour (Paris, 1861), p. 47.

which was already known. There is no record of any others between that date and 1845. (512) Towards the middle of the nineteenth century Russia, for various reasons not

512. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 268. Among the documents there presented is one dating 1850 which has this interesting statement: 'He [American whaler] sent three boats to the Sakhalin shore and had dealings with the Giliaks. Neither our Okhotsk boats nor those of the Russian American Company ever allowed

themselves this privilege and never went near Sakhalin except when specially ordered to do so.'

necessary to enter on here, decided to examine a little more closely the regions along the Amur. Not having any government boats in the Okhotsk Sea, it asked the Russian American Company to send an expedition. In 1846 the brig Grand Duke Constantin, in command of Gavrilof, was put in commission. His instructions were to pass himself off as a non-Russian (513) and in every possible way to leave the impression with the

513. He was ordered not to take Russian but Virginia tobacco.

natives, particularly the Chinese, that the Russian government had nothing to do with his movements. Gavrilof entered on his duties that very same spring and remained at work all summer. He died soon after his return and the extent of his efforts are somewhat uncertain (514) and of little importance, since it had no influence on the events that

514. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i. 171. Muravyof says that Gavrilof entered the gulf of the Amur from the north, but did not find a passage to the mouth of the river. De Sabir

21: Golder--262 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-3
116, 174

[op. cit., 52] claims that Gabrilof did enter the mouth of the Amur.

followed."

21: Golder--263-264 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-1-3
116, 133, 174 Russia
636.17

"Russia's success on the Amur is due in large part to one of her great statesmen, Nicolai Nicolaewitz Muravyof-Amurski. Appointed governor-general of Siberia in 1847, Muravyof set about extending Russia's power on the Pacific. Before leaving St. Petersburg he selected Nevelski, a sea captain in the service of the Russian American Company, to help him carry out his plans. Through his efforts Nevelski was commissioned by the Russian Government to undertake a secret expedition with the following objects in view: to explore the northern part of Sakhalin, the strait between Sakhalin and the mainland, and the gulf and mouth of the Amur. (515) Early in the spring of 1849, Nevelski arrived

515. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. ii, 37.

in Kamchatka, and, as soon as he discharged his cargo, he sailed for Sakhalin. He carefully surveyed and charted the northern point of Sakhalin and the Amur Gulf. When no longer able to find a channel for his ship Baikal he went into a small boat and continued his southward course to the mouth of the Amur which he entered. Not yet content with his achievement, he pushed on still farther south to the most northerly point attained by Broughton, thus proving most convincingly that Sakhalin is an island and not a peninsula. (516)

516. —Ibid., vol. i, 198, 222-224. Muravyof was anxiously waiting for

him at Ayan [Okhotsk Sea]; and when on the morning of September 3, 1715, the Baikal hove in sight, Muravyof went out in a small boat to meet her. When near enough to be heard the governor called for news, and Nevelski shouted back: 'God helped us...we have accomplished our important task... Sakhalin is an island. It is possible to enter the gulf and the river Amur by seagoing vessels either from the north or the south.'

From 1849 to 1855 Nevelski and other Russian officers were exploring and charting the waters and harbors of the Amur and Sakhalin. A channel was found, and the Baikal sailed into the Amur from the north in [264] 1850. (517) Three years later (518) the gun-

517. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 274.

518. De Sabir, C. Le Fleuve Amour, 63.

boat Wostok, coming from Japan, entered the river from the south.

These important discoveries were known to very few people. The greatest secrecy was maintained for fear of exciting China and arousing the hostility of other countries,

21: Golder--263-264 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-3
116, 133, 174 Russia
636.17

particularly England. (519)

519. Muravyof suspected and dreaded England above all other nations. He accused her of desiring to become the leading power in the North Pacific and to deprive Russia of all influence and power. He believed that England had designs on the Amur and that her ships had been there. In 1853 he predicted that the United States would secure Russia's American possessions, and suggested that an alliance should be formed between the United States and Russia against England [Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 323; vol. ii, 38, 46, 55]."

000 frequent intervals with the evergreen pine, rivalled the October hues of our New England landscape. Hills and low mountains rose on both banks of the river and made a beautiful picture. The hills, covered with forest from base to summit, sloped gently to the water's edge or retreated here and there behind bits of green meadow. In the distance was a background of blue mountains glowing in sunshine or dark in shadow, and varying in outline as we moved slowly along. The river was ruffled only by the ripples of the current or the motion of our boat through the water. Just a year earlier I descended the Saint Lawrence from Lake Ontario to Quebec. I saw nothing on the great Canadian river that equaled the scenery of my first day's voyage on the Amoor.

246 Soon after leaving Nicolayevsk we met several loads of hay floating with the current to a market at the town. On the meadows along the river the grass is luxuriant, and hay requires only the labor of cutting and curing. During the day we passed several points where haymaking was in progress. Cutting was performed with an instrument resembling the short scythe used in America for cutting bushes. After it was dried, the hay was brought to the river bank on dray-like carts. An American hay wagon would have accomplished twice as much with equal labor.

The hay is like New England hay from natural meadows, and is delivered at Nicolayevsk for six or eight dollars a ton. Cattle and horses thrive upon it, if I may judge by the condition of the stock I saw. For its transportation two flat-bottomed boats are employed, and held about twelve feet apart by timbers. A floor on these timbers and over the boats serves to keep the hay dry. Men are stationed at both ends of the boats, and when once in the stream there is little to do beside floating with the current. A mile distant one of these barges appears like a haystack which an accident has set adrift.

361 We saw many Gilyak boats descending the river with the
101 current or struggling to ascend it. The Gilyaks form the
161 native population in this region and occupy thirty-nine vil-

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

161 lages with about two thousand inhabitants. The villages are
361 on both banks from the mouth of the river to Mariensk, and out of the reach of all inundations. Distance lends enchantment to the view of their houses, which will not bear close inspection.

592 Some of the houses might contain a half dozen families of
361 ordinary size, and were well adapted to the climate. While we took wood at a Gilyak village I embraced the opportunity
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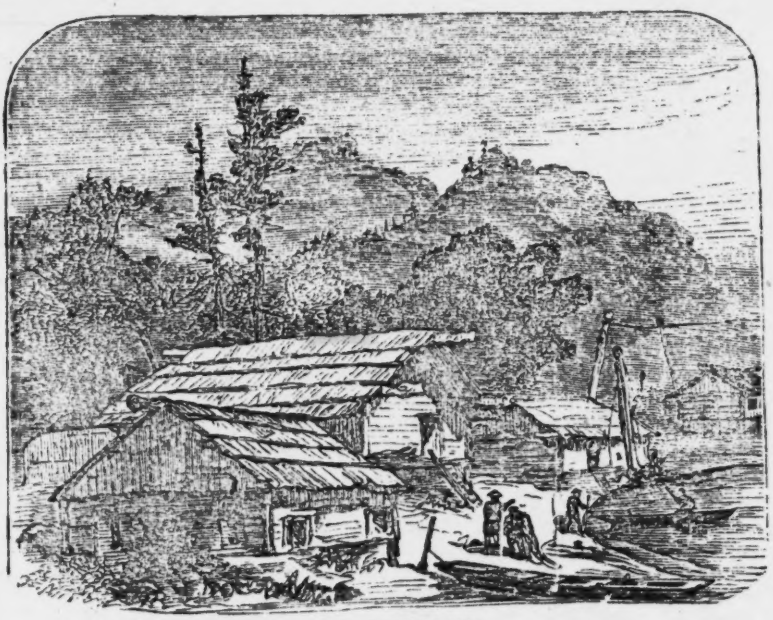

A GILYAK VILLAGE.

to visit the aboriginals. The village contained a dozen dwellings and several fish-houses. The buildings were of logs or poles, split in halves or used whole, and were roofed with poles covered with a thatch of long grass to exclude rain and cold. Some of the dwelling houses had the solid earth for floors, while others had floorings of hewn planks.

343 The store houses were elevated on posts like those of an American 'corn barn,' and were wider and lower than the dwellings. Each storehouse had a platform in front where canoes, fishing nets, and other portable property were stowed.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

343 These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild ani-
685 mals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

342 The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping
415 goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles,
777 knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

251 It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

226 Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

231 There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

231 like a Pawnee concert. There were big dogs and little dogs, white, black, grey, brown, and yellow dogs, and not one friendly. They did not appear courageous, but I was not altogether certain of their dispositions. Their owners sought to quiet them, but they refused comfort.

These dogs had some peculiarities of those in Kamchatka, but their blood was evidently much debased; they appeared to be a mixture of Kamchadale, greyhound, bull dog, and cur, the latter predominating. They are used for hunting at all seasons, and for towing boats in summer and dragging sledges in winter. I was told that since the Russian settlement of the Amoor the Gilyak dogs have degenerated, in consequence of too much familiarity with Muscovite canines. Nicolayevsk appeared quite cosmopolitan in the matter of dogs, and it was impossible to say what breed was most numerous. One day I saw nineteen in a single group and no two alike.

ABOUT FULL.

609 Near the entrance of the village an old man was repairing his nets, which were stretched along a fence. He did not regard us as we scrutinized his jacket of blue cotton, and he made no response to a question which Borasdine asked. Further along were two women putting fish upon poles for drying, and a third was engaged in skinning a large salmon. The women did not look up from their work, and were not 142 inclined to amiability. They had Mongol features, complex-
302 ion, eyes, and hair, the latter thick and black. Some of the

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

302 men wear it plaited into queues, and others let it grow pretty much at will. Each woman I saw had it braided in two queues, which hung over her shoulders. In their ears they wore long pendants, and their dresses were generally arranged with taste.

000 When recalled by the steam whistle we left the village and took a short route down a steep bank to the boat. In descending, my feet passed from under me, and I had the pleasure of sliding about ten yards before stopping. Had it not been for a Cossack who happened in my way I should have entered the Amoor after the manner of an otter, and afforded much amusement to the spectators, though comparatively little to myself. The sliding attracted no special attention as it was supposed to be the American custom, and I did not deem it prudent to make an explanation lest the story might bring discredit to my nationality.

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231

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

CHAPTER XII.

211 I HAD a curiosity to examine the ancient monuments at Tyr, opposite the mouth of the Amgoon river, but we passed them in the night without stopping. There are several traditions concerning their origin. The most authentic story gives them an age of six or seven hundred years. They are ascribed to an emperor of the Yuen dynasty who visited the mouth of the Amoor and commemorated his journey by building the 'Monastery of Eternal Repose.' The ruined walls of this monastery are visible, and the shape of the building can be easily traced. In some places the walls are eight or ten feet high.

211 137 Mr. Collins visited the spot in 1857 and made sketches of the monuments. He describes them situated on a cliff a hundred and fifty feet high, from which there is a magnificent view east and west of the Amoor and the mountains around it. Toward the south there are dark forests and mountain ridges, some of them rough and broken. To the north is the mouth of the Amgoon, with a delta of numerous islands covered with forest, while in the northwest the valley of the river is visible for a long distance. Back from the cliff is a table-land several miles in width.

This table-land is covered with oak, aspen, and fir trees, and has a rich undergrowth of grass and flowers. On a point of the cliff there are two monuments. A third is about four hundred yards away. One is a marble shaft on a granite pedestal; a second is entirely granite, and the third partly granite and partly porphyry. The first and third bear inscriptions in Chinese, Mongol, and Thibetan. One inscription

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

211 announces that the emperor Yuen founded the Monastery of Eternal Repose, and the others record a prayer of the Thibetans. Archimandrate Avvakum, a learned Russian, who deciphered the inscriptions, says the Thibetan prayer *Om-mani-badme-khum* is given in three languages.*

The lowest of the monuments is five and the tallest eight feet in height. Near them are several flat stones with grooves in their surface, which lead to the supposition of their employment for sacrificial purposes. Mr. Chase told me at Nicolayevsk that he thought one of the monuments was used as an altar when the monastery flourished. There are no historical data regarding the ruins beyond those found on the stones.

Many of the Russians and Chinese believe the site was selected by Genghis Khan, and the monastery commemorated one of his triumphs. The natives look upon the spot with veneration, and frequently go there to practice their mysterious rites.

Before leaving Nicolayevsk I asked the captain of the Ingodah how fast his boat could steam. "Oh!" said he, "ten or twelve versts an hour." Accustomed to our habit of ex-

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* Abbe Huc in his 'Recollections of a journey through Thibet and Tartary,' says:—

"The Thibetans are eminently religious. There exists at Lassa a touching custom which we are in some sort jealous of finding among infidels. In the evening as soon as the light declines, the Thibetans, men, women, and children, cease from all business and assemble in the principal parts of the city and in the public squares. When the groups are formed, every one sits down on the ground and begins slowly to chant his prayers in an undertone, and this religious concert produces an immense and solemn harmony throughout the city. The first time we heard it we could not help making a sorrowful comparison between this pagan town, where all prayed in common, with the cities of the civilized world, where people would blush to make the sign of the cross in public.

The prayer chanted in these evening meetings varies according to the season of the year; that which they recite to the rosary is always the same, and is only composed of six syllables, *om-mani-badme-khum*. This formula, called briefly the *mani*, is not only heard from every mouth, but is everywhere written in the streets, in the interior of the houses, on every flag and streamer floating over the buildings, printed in the Landzee, Tartar, and Thibetan characters. The Lamas assert that the doctrine contained in these words is immense, and that the whole life of man is not sufficient to measure its depth and extent."

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

000 Amoor line is closed up, the telegraph circuit around the globe will be complete.

206 The telegraph is operated on the Morse system with instruments of Prussian manufacture. Compared to our American instruments the Prussian ones are quite clumsy, though they did not appear so in the hands of the operators. The signal key was at least four times as large as ours, and could endure any amount of rough handling. The other machinery was on a corresponding scale.

574 A merchant who knew Mr. Borasdine invited us to his house, where he brought a lunch of bread, cheese, butter, and milk for our entertainment. Salted cucumbers were added, and the repast ended with tea. In the principal room there was a Connecticut clock in one corner and the windows were filled with flowers, among which were the morning glory, aster, and verbena. Several engravings adorned the walls, most of them printed at Berlin. We purchased a loaf of sugar, and were shown a bear-skin seven feet long without ears and tail. The original and first legitimate owner of the skin was killed within a mile of town.

346 In addition to his commerce and farming, this merchant was superintendent of a school where several Gilyak boys were educated. It was then vacation, and the boys were engaged in catching their winter supply of fish. At the merchant's invitation we visited the school buildings.

The study room was much like a backwoods schoolroom in America, having rude benches and desks, but with everything clean and well made. The copy-books exhibited fair specimens of penmanship. On a desk lay a well worn reading book containing a dozen of Æsop's fables translated into Russian and profusely illustrated. It corresponded to an American 'Second Reader.'

There was a dormitory containing eight beds, and there was a wash-room, a dining-room, and a kitchen, the latter separate from the main building. Close at hand was a forge where the boys learned to work in iron, and a carpenter shop with a full set of tools and a turning lathe. The superinten-

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

346 dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, including wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyhelm' in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

The school is in operation ten months of each year. The superintendent said the children of the Russian peasants could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The teacher was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The expense .871 of the establishment was paid by Government, with the design of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

771 The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the attempts to Christianize them have not been very successful 825 thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols and 964 animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to the 966 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among animals they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was known of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a tiger are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other per-

BEAR IN PROCESSION.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. The bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve him from being killed.

825 In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him alive; once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage in the

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

825 middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On fete-
796 days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day arrives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones, and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, especially where there are small children.

231 Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the
825 high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy. Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with
439 great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Manjours kept the market good.

756 The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia,
753 are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the double function of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a particular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his cos-

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

756 tume. Both doctor and patient are generally decked with wood-shavings while the work is going on.

Sometimes an effigy of the sick person is prepared, and the spirit is charmed from the man of flesh to the one of straw. The shaman induces him to take up lodgings in this effigy, and the success of his persuasion is apparent when the in-

PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

valid recovers. If the patient dies the shaman declares that the spirit was one over which he had no control, but he does not hesitate to take pay for his services.

A Russian traveler who witnessed one of these exorcisms said that the shaman howled so fearfully that two Chinese merchants who were present out of curiosity fled in very terror. The gentleman managed to endure it to the end, but did not sleep well for a week afterward.

776 The Gilyaks believe in both good and evil spirits, but as the former do only good it is not thought necessary to pay them any attention. All the efforts are to induce the evil spirits not to act. They are supposed to have power over hunting, fishing, household affairs, and the health and well-being of animals and men.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

156 The shamans possess great power over their superstitious subjects, and their commands are rarely refused. I heard of an instance wherein a native caught a fine sable and preserved the skin as a trophy. Very soon a man in the village fell ill. The shaman after practicing his art announced that the spirit commanded the sable skin to be worn by the doctor himself. The valuable fur was given up without hesitation. A Russian traveler stopping one night in a Gilyak house discovered in the morning that his sledge was missing, and was gravely told that the spirit had taken it.

156 In 1814 the small pox raged in one of the tribes living on the Kolyma river, and the deaths from it were numerous.
164 The shamans practiced all their mysteries and invoked the spirits, but they could not stop the disease. Finally, after new invocations, they declared the evil spirits could not be appeased without the death of Kotschen, a chief of the tribe. This chief was so generally loved and respected that the people refused to obey the shamans. But as the malady made new progress, Kotschen magnanimously came forward and was stabbed by his own son.

156 In general the shamans are held in check by the belief that should they abuse their power they will be long and severely punished after death. This punishment is supposed to occur in a locality specially devoted to bad shamans. A good shaman who has performed wonderful cures receives after death a magnificent tomb to his memory.

797 The Russians think that with educated Gilyaks they can
563 succeed in winning the natives to Christianity, especially when the missionaries are skilled in the useful arts of civilized life. Hence the school in Mihalofski, and it has so far succeeded well in the instruction of the boys. Russian and Gilyak children were working in the gardens in perfect harmony, and there was every indication of good feeling between natives and settlers.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

000 evidently on a trading expedition. He had a boat about twenty-five feet long by eight wide, with a single mast carrying a square sail. His boat was full of boxes and bales and had a crew of four men. A small skiff was towed astern and another alongside. These Manjour merchants are quite enterprising, and engage in traffic for small profits and large risks when better terms are not attainable. Before the Russian occupation all the trade of the lower Amoor was in Manjour hands. Boats annually descended from San-Sin and Igoon bringing supplies for native use. Sometimes a merchant would spend five or six months making his round journey.

437 The merchants visited the villages on the route and bar-
543 gained their goods for furs. There was an annual fair at the Gilyak village of Pul, below Mariensk, and this was made the center of commerce. The fair lasted ten days, and during that time Pul was a miniature Nijne Novgorod. Manjour and Chinese merchants met Japanese from the island of Sakhalin, Tunguse from the coast of the Ohotsk Sea, and others from the head waters of the Zeya and Amgoon. There were Gilyaks from the lower Amoor and various tribes of natives from the coast of Manjouria.

A dozen languages were spoken, and traffic was conducted in a patois of all the dialects. Cloth, powder, lead, knives, and brandy were exchanged for skins and furs. A gentleman who attended one of these fairs told me that the scene was full of interest and abounded in amusing incidents. Of late years the navigation of the Amoor has discontinued the fair of Pul. The Manjour traders still descend the river, but they are not as numerous as of yore.

226 With a good glass from the deck of the steamer I watched the native process of catching salmon. The fishing stations are generally, though not always, near the villages. The natives use gill nets and seines in some localities, and scoop nets in others. Sometimes they build a fence at right angles to the shore, and extend it twenty or thirty yards into the

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

226 stream. This fence is fish-proof, except in a few places where holes are purposely left.

The natives lie in wait with skiffs and hand-nets and catch the salmon as they attempt to pass these holes. I watched a Gilyak taking fish in this way, and think he dipped them up at the rate of two a minute; when the fish are running well a skiff can be filled in a short time. Sometimes pens of wicker work are fixed to enclose the fish after they pass the holes in the fence. The salmon in this case has a practical illustration of life in general: easy to get into trouble but difficult to get out of it.

GILYAK MAN.

For catching sturgeon they use a circular net five feet across at the opening, and shaped like a shallow bag. One side of the mouth is fitted with corks and the other with weights of lead or iron. Two canoes in mid stream hold this net between them at right angles to the current. The sturgeon descending the river enters the trap, and the net proceeds of the enterprise are divided between the fishermen.

251 It requires vision or a guide to find a fishing station, but the sense of smell is quite sufficient to discover where salmon are dressed and cured. The offal from the fish creates an unpleasant stench and no effort is made to clear it away. The natives and their dogs do not consider the scent disagree-

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

251 able and have no occasion to consult the tastes or smell of others. The first time I visited one of their fish-curing places I thought of the western city that had, after a freshet, 'forty-five distinct and different odors beside several wards to hear from.'

133 Above Mariensk the Amoor valley is often ten or twenty miles mide, enclosing whole labyrinths of islands, some of great extent. These islands are generally well out of water and not liable to overflow. Very few have the temporary appearance of the islands of the lower Mississippi. Here and there were small islands of slight elevation and covered with cottonwoods, precisely like those growing between Memphis and Cairo.

GILYAK WOMAN.

The banks of this part of the Amoor do not wash like the alluvial lands along the Mississippi and Missouri, but are more like the shores of the Ohio. They are generally covered with grass or bushes down to the edge of the water. There are no shifting sand-bars to perplex the pilot, but the channel remains with little change from year to year. I saw very little drift wood and heard no mention of snags. The general features of the scenery were much like those below Mihalofski.

The numerous islands and the labyrinth of channels often permit boats to pass each other without their captains knowing it. One day we saw a faint line of smoke across an island three or four miles wide; watching it closely I found it

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

133 was in motion and evidently came from a descending steamboat. On another occasion we missed in these channels a boat our captain was desirous of hailing. Once while General Monravieff was ascending the river he was passed by a courier who was bringing him important despatches.

502 The pilot steers with a chart of the river before him, and relies partly upon his experience and partly upon the delineated route. Sometimes channels used at high water are not navigable when the river is low, and some are favorable for descent but not for ascent. In general the pilotage is far more facile than on the Mississippi, and accidents are not frequent.

609 The peasants always came to the bank where we stopped, no matter what the hour. At one place where we took wood
291 at night there was a picturesque group of twenty-five or thirty gathered around a fire; men and women talking, laughing, smoking, and watching the crew at work. The light of the fire poured full upon a few figures and brought them into strong relief, while others were half hidden in shadow. Of the men some wore coats of sheepskin, others Cossack coats of grey cloth; some had caps of faded cloth, and others Tartar caps of black sheepskin. Red beards, white beards, black beards, and smooth faces were played upon by the dancing flames. The women were in hoopless dresses, and held shawls over their heads in place of bonnets.

133 A hundred versts above Sofyesk the scenery changed. The mountains on the south bank receded from the river and were more broken and destitute of trees. Wide strips of lowland covered with forest intervened between the mountains and the shore. On the north the general character of the country remained. I observed a mountain, wooded to the top and sloping regularly, that had a curious formation at its summit. It was a perpendicular shaft resembling Bunker Hill Monument, and rising from the highest point of the mountain; it appeared of perfect symmetry, and seemed more like a work of art than of nature. On the same mountain, half way down its side, was a mass of rock with towers and buttresses

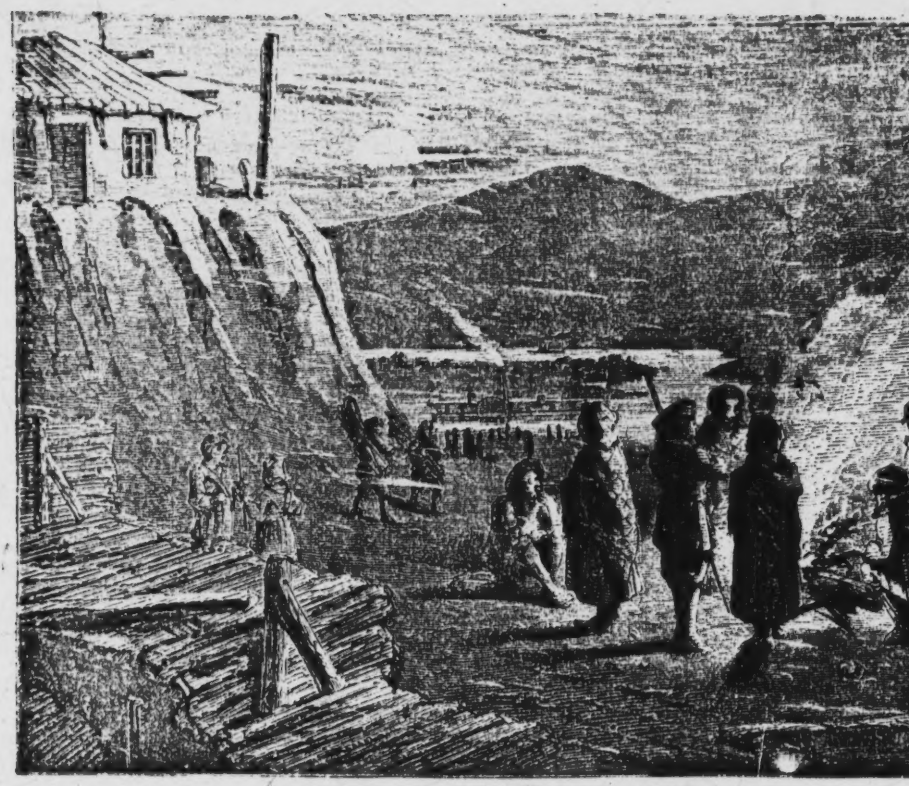

NIGHT SCENE—GROUP OF PEASANTS.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

opp. 154

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22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

133 that likened it to a cathedral. These formations were specially curious, as there were no more of the kind in the vicinity. Borasdine observed the rocks soon after I discovered them, and at first thought they were ancient monuments.

136 There were many birds along the shore. Very often we dispersed flocks of ducks and sent them flying over islands and forests to places of safety. Snipe were numerous, and so were several kinds of wading and swimming birds. Very often we saw high in air the wild geese of Siberia flying to the southward in those triangular squadrons that they form everywhere over the world. These birds winter in the south of China, Siam, and India, while they pass the summer north of the range of the Yablonoi mountains.

The birds of the Amoor belong generally to the species found in the same latitudes of Europe and America, but there are some birds of passage that are natives of Southern Asia, Japan, the Philippine Islands, and even South Africa and Australia. Seven-tenths of the birds of the Amoor are found in Europe, two-tenths in Siberia, and one-tenth in regions further south. Some birds belong more properly to America, such as the Canada woodcock and the water ouzel; and there are several birds common to the east and west coasts of the Pacific. The naturalists who came here at the Russian occupation found two Australian birds on the Amoor, two from tropical and sub-tropical Africa, and one from Southern Asia.

The number of stationary birds is not great, in consequence of the excessive cold in winter. Mr. Maack enumerates thirty-nine species that dwell here the entire year. They include eagles, hawks, jays, magpies, crows, grouse, owls, woodpeckers, and some others. The birds of passage generally arrive at the end of April or during May, and leave in September or October.

It is a curious fact that they come later to Nicolayevsk than to the town of Yakutsk, nine degrees further north. This is due to differences of climate and the configuration of the country. The lower Amoor is remarkable for its large quantities of snow, and at Nicolayevsk it remains on the ground

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

136 till the end of May. South of the lower Amoor are the Shanalin mountains, which arrest the progress of birds. On the upper Amoor and in Trans-Baikal very little snow falls, and there are no mountains of great height.

171 The day after leaving Sofyesk I observed a native propelling a boat by pulling both oars together. On my expressing surprise my companion said:

"We have passed the country of the Gilyaks who pull their oars alternately, and entered that of the Mangoons and Goldees. The manner of rowing distinguishes the Gilyaks from all others."

The Mangoons, Goldees, and Gilyaks differ in much the same way that the tribes of American Indians are different. They are all of Tungusian or Mongolian stock, and have many traits and words in common. Their features have the same general characteristics and their languages are as much alike as those of a Cheyenne and Comanche. Each people has its peculiar customs, such as the style of dress, the mode of constructing a house, or rowing a boat. All are pagans and indulge in Shamanism, but each tribe has forms of its own. All are fishers and hunters, their principal support being derived from the river.

The Goldee boat was so much like a Gilyak one that I could see no difference. There was no opportunity to examine it closely, as we passed at a distance of two or three hundred feet.

600 Besides their boats of wood the Goldees make canoes of birch bark, quite broad in the middle and coming to a point at both ends. In general appearance these canoes resemble those of the Penobscot and Canadian Indians. The native sits in the middle of his canoe and propels himself with a double-bladed oar, which he dips into the water with regular alternations from one side to the other. The canoes are flat bottomed and very easy to overturn. A canoe is designed to carry but one man, though two can be taken in an emergency. When a native sitting in one of them spears a fish he moves only his arm and keeps his body motionless.

/xii cont./

*114 terminology of that time). Shternberg met his first "native" at the Aleksandrovsk post, i.e., at the point of his initial deportation, three months after his arrival on Sakhalin. About the impression
● [117] that this meeting made on Shternberg, there is a characteristic entry in his diary for the twelfth of August, 1889: "I saw on the street an old Gilyak shaman in rags, with tousled gray hair and a foolish, good-natured-cunning smile on his face. Small boys surrounded him and shouted: 'Look at the old shaman, he will do some divining for you.' I approached. The old man, small in stature, with dignified gray hair, a high, powerful forehead, and a good-natured expression, stood helpless among them and looked at me. I departed from that sight with sadness..." Shternberg ends his entry in the diary with the significant sentence: "Some day I shall make a study of them" (1).

[113]

1. "L. IA. Shternberg as a field ethnographer," in the periodical, Priroda i liudi, Nos. 17/18 and 19, p. 33, Leningrad, 1931.

Very soon, six months after this meeting with the Gilyak shaman, the Sakhalin administration "took the trouble" to give Shternberg the opportunity to study the Gilyak. Actually, due to his systematic attempts to defend his comrade -- political exiles, to whom corporal punishment and similar measures were beginning to be applied, he was sent in February, 1890, to the isolated cordon of Viakhtu, located 100 kilometers to the north of Aleksandrovsk in a half-deserted place on the shore of Tatar Strait. Here, in a walled-off corner of the hut-prison which he shared with his guards, Shternberg set up a "study" and began his ethnographic work. Not far (two kilometers) from the cordon there was a little Gilyak settlement which Shternberg started to visit often and to observe attentively the life of its inhabitants. Very soon, after thoughtful and extensive research, he succeeded in uncovering the peculiar family-clan structure of the Gilyak. Within the cordon itself, which was located near a thoroughfare, he first met even some Tungus who happened to be passing through.

593 /284 cont./
586 From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the
832 settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda,
177 stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin.
797 The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe,
[762] ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended
[682] with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return
586 the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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117 Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

[539] A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

[162] Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people;
[103] one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/285 cont./

117 614 103 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (narni) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

[167] [563] Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymi-fing.

117 103 173 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli -- rom Dzhongli, near the Perm ones: Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvl-fing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

/286 cont./

117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
173 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure Ornyr (Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

117 Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
103 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
173 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a chumashka with kaluga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was then that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they broke the fire and bought a bear.

117 Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
103 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago (1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language, and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hóincha) came here
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
173 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Çhukchajl on the Amgun)
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

/286 cont./

117 103 173 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:, Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/ notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing [173] /see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

117 103 361 Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhajl. 3) Khal N'askhajl.

Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from [162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

117 582 A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chédzigr (see below) and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

117 103 173 Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en- [539] campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

117 /287 cont./
103 they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one
173 was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept,
539 six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in different directions, Four generations have lived here. The Tyr branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

117 Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma.
103 Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the
361 ground (1896).

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

117 Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1)
614 The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury
[103] their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /288/ (from chozmudz: -- to
[361] peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing

1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:nā? - which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

117 Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near
103 northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern
614 Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

/288 cont./

117 Settlement of Pilavo-khez' (five kilometers from Chil'mi).
103 In this settlement exclusively the Pilavyng clan (1910).

Settlement of Khez'. Exclusively the Pilavyng clan.

117 Settlement of Tebakh (Tevkh in Gilyak). Three yurts in
103 all, about 30 persons. The Arkhong clan -- Aimu; came from
162 Kosunaya on the Pronga and set takh -- a sharpened stick; from behind came a man, and the stick fell in the direction of Iski. The Arkhong clan is to be found most of all in Tebakh, further in Akhcha, Chil'mi (one house), and in Iski (1910). The Ignan together with the Arkhong who live in Akhcha constitute one clan: in Akhcha -- the Goldi half, -- the other half in Tebakh, (1896).

117 Settlement of Machala, opposite Khez'; two yurts of
103 Negidal (1910). In 1896 the Khez'-ping and the Negidal (Ry) lived here.

117 Settlement of Pachi (Bachi). Twenty-two families, about
103 100 souls. Nine Russian houses and two Uigryf. In it, the
162 clans: 1) Tva-bing (Tva was the settlement beyond Mkhyl' near
614 Pat). 2) Aimkan live in Plakh (Pilavo), below Mariinsk. They used to live on the Amgun, but the brothers fought and several brothers left for Plakh, taking a piece of the fire -- tuur rodzz -- "to make a fire." There they became Ornyr, and then, a long time ago, in the times of the Japanese, they migrated from Korsakov to Tevkh and Kal'vo. There are two old lezing here, and also one in each of the following places: Kaki, Mago, Vasin Cape, and Tamlavo. 3) Pyri-fing clan (two yurts), an old village opposite Kal'vo. In the past, a long time ago, Amgun lived here. The green pine forest -- Tuuz; in Ukhta -- the Olcha (1910).

117 Settlement of Nykikh Khez'bin (one from Pilavo), on the
103 channel Nyy Machalá. About 20 Gilyak here, and also Amgun
162 N'askhagil; who in Gilyak are called N'as'khon. Two from Pilavo settled here in the last ten years (1910).

1: Sternberg--418 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1988 RX2 Gilyak RX2 -- Amur

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117 Settlement of Kal'ga (the Gilyak K:alvo). Two clans:
103 1) Four yurts Lezing-ran-tva-bing (from lezing + tan, -- master).
614 The Lezing-ran are a Tva-bing generation (hyn'izlykh hyz'i). They caught many bears and had a large lezing. They quarreled while still in Tva and left long ago for Tamlvo. Now they are in Eg:li (Yali) and in Mago. 2) Pyrifing; three Lezing and three Uigryf (1910). One woman, Ry -- umgu -- female Negidal. 3) Lezgrang from the Sakhalin Tamlvo. 4) The Pyrifing Ornyr came from above; the oldest clan is here. 5) Narmlang from above, near Khabarovsk; the Goldi (1896).

Settlement of Mokraya (Mokhrvo). Clans: 1) Narmlang (Ornyr:) -- Pyrifing (Ygdymsyl from Kizf, where there are many). Here, three houses of them; they have lived here for four gen-
[162] erations. 2) Lezgrang -- one house, 17 persons. All of the Gilyak seem to have come from the Amgun (hynk) and settled down on the Amur. One Uigryf (1910).

Settlement of Mago. Clans: 1) Mot'-tan (Ornyr:); 2) Lezgrang (one house); 3) Naromlang; one house, three families (1910).

Clans: 1) Lezgrang, 2) Pyrifing, 3) Tyvlafing, 4) Hutyvikh, from the Tym' River, 5) Narmlang, 6) Pnarnung (1896).

Yoom-bal' -- a mountain six and a half kilometers above Vaydy; in former times Gilyak from the settlement of Yoom lived here. On the left bank of the Amur, beyond Yoom, there is a small bay, and beyond it a high bank with bare white k:aned'zh dzif (limestone) (1910).

Settlement of Vayr (Vaydy); in 1896 there were three clans: 1) Keg:n, 2) Hirlung (Hirlung and Shafping), 3) Lumr-ping. Now only 12 Ornyr, 10 Gilyak, 17 Hirlung (see also below), 13 Shafping, and 7 Lumr-ping are left. The Keg:n -- Olcha are from the settlement of Aur; four generations are in Vayr. There were three brothers; the eldest brother took a Hirlung wife; he was followed

/289 cont./

117 by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Re-
103 cently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12
614 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbi-fing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

[361] Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chilng-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

117 Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before
103 the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three
731 Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2)
173 Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest
[361] died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910). 3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

117 Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).
103

1: Shternberg--420 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/290 cont./

119 103 614 Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896).

Vas'. Cape Vasin. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to Nilevo; 2) Derkhr-vun (1896).

Kuklya and Meo. The first master of the village before the [162] Russians was the Keg:n clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogorodskoye (1896).

Settlement of Kol'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest khal -- this Chvunung khal (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvrmif); then the khal separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun, [133] Ylevut). It takes women from the khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one khal. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor ping. A man sailed on a hovykh (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the [582] Perkhvung. 3. Kedz:ung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkhvung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhaj-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyr beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- chinirokh). There is here in Kol' one khal from Khovnung. It takes women from the Langr. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the or -- chain and stone on the little girl of one of the brothers, and then killed her. [582] They have an Aimu dagger with a silver handle. Take women from the Snarnung. 7. The Snarnung take women from the Perkhrvung. 8. The Tyvliing -- from Ukhtr, near Sofisk (Ornyr). Takes women from the Perkhvung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age): his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his khal is Snarnung. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chlya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- N'as'khajl. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyv River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).

/xi/

L. IA. Shternberg as an Investigator of the Peoples of the Far East

IA. P. Al'kor (Koshkin)

*114 L. IA. Shternberg devoted a significant part of his life to the study of the peoples of the Far East. His scientific work began with the study of the Gilyak on Sakhalin (in 1890); it so prematurely ended with a paper on the "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (in 1927), upon his return from the Third Pacific Congress in Tokyo.

In his youth Shternberg did not think of scientific work. While still on the schoolbench, he dreamed of giving his whole life "for the good of the people." As a student in the Physics-Mathematics Department of St. Petersburg University and later in the Department of Law of the Novorossisk University, Shternberg took part in revolutionary activity, to which he gave his best young years. He was arrested in 1886 for active participation in the "The People's Will" party, and in the spring of 1889, after a three-year "stretch" in the Odessa central prison, he was deported for ten years to Sakhalin Island, where his ethnographic work began. Thus, the Tsarist prison and exile pushed Shternberg quite unexpectedly onto the path of a scientist.

*114 ●121 127 It is true that even before his arrest and exile, Shternberg was interested in questions of primitive history and sociology, but he received the decisive push in that direction in the Odessa prison, where, due to a happy accident, he became acquainted with F. E Engels' book, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, in German. This book, as we shall see later, greatly facilitated the beginning of Shternberg's investigations on the history of family-clan relations and had a highly significant influence on his first works.

*114 Setting out in exile, Shternberg nourished the hope that even in distant banishment he would in one way or another be able to be useful to the community, but he did not even think about ethnographic work among the local /xii/ "natives" (in the

/xii cont./

*114 Shternberg commenced a broader and a more systematic study of the Gilyak in the first part of February, 1891, when the administration, having learned of his work with the Gilyak, commissioned him to make a family census of the northwestern Gilyak of Sakhalin from the village of Arkyvo to Cape Marii.

/xiii/ During this trip Shternberg discovered group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship among the Gilyak. Parallel to this, he carefully studied the clan rules and religious views of the
*114 Gilyak. It might be mentioned here that prior to his scientific re-
127 search he had not even had the opportunity to become familiar with the basic works of that time on the ethnography of the Far East. This is what he writes in the preface to his "Materialy /Materials/": "Due to the conditions of my stay on Sakhalin, even Schrenck's work on the history and material culture of the Amur peoples remained inaccessible to me for a long time... (1). From a careful

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1. Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, p. viii, St. Petersburg, 1908, publication of the Academy of Sciences.

analysis of Shternberg's literary heritage and of his first printed works, it is clear that at the time of his first trip to the Gilyak he had not had the opportunity to acquaint himself with either Schrenck's book, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskogo kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, or even Morgan's Ancient Society (Drevnee obshchestvo), Tylor's Pervobytnaia kul'tura /Primitive Culture/, or the other works on the history of primitive society.
*114 On the other hand, his prison acquaintance with Engels' classic
● 121 work was not wasted on him. There is no doubt but that it was
127 thanks to this study that he was able in such an astonishingly short period to discover among the Gilyak group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship and, basically, to realize clearly
[212] the full significance of this discovery. Thus, in a letter of the nineteenth of May to his good friend and companion-in-arms in

/xiii cont./

*114 revolutionary activity, M. A. Krol', Shternberg writes (2):

●121
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> 2. I am indebted to the kindness of the widow of the deceased, S. A. Ratner-Shternberg, for acquainting me with the contents of this letter.

"I have discovered among them (the Gilyak) a kinship terminology and family-clan rights identical with those of the Iroquois and the famous punalua family (on the Sandwich Islands), in a word, the remains of that form of marriage on which Morgan based his theory and which served as a point of departure for Marx' and Engels' works on Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates, u.s.w. /the origin of the family, of the state, etc./. The interesting clan organization of the Gilyak, however, rests on this kinship system. At first I was afraid to trust my own discovery, but, having let not a single family or a single yurt go by during the census without detailed questioning as to what different members of the clan and family call one another and who has what rights, I finally became convinced (3). /xiv/ Al-

[161]

> 3. Earlier in the same letter Shternberg mentioned that he had covered 1,040 Gilyak in his census.

though there are voluminous studies on the Gilyak, no one in the literature known to me has studied this aspect of the question."

*114 After his investigation of the Gilyak of the northwest coast, there followed a series of other trips which resulted in a full ethno-
[125] graphic study of all Sakhalin. Thus, in June, 1891, he took the census of the Gilyak and the Orochi on the river Tym' and on the east coast of Sakhalin, and a partial one of the Tungus. In the winter of 1891 he encountered the Olcha who visited Sakhalin late in the fall for trading purposes. He spent the summer of 1892
[125] traveling on the river Poronai and around the entire southern part of Sakhalin as far as the settlement of Kosunaya, where, along with the Ainu and the Orok, he also studied and took a census of the Gilyak.

G 101 144 /1 cont./

As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

T A G 131 197

T 131 197

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

T A G 121 184

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

S T A G 121

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

S 121 433

/130 cont./

58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[591] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emi-
grations, and before all the world is considered the personal
wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
[551] husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
[553] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn
("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" --
[684] teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even
bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous
marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the
Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life,
and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the
inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with
regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and
wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/
relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between
spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other
sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
● 121 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
125 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
[59] own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me,
and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study
of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship
nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully
accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first
census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern
Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory
system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

1: Shternberg--197 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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/131 cont./

presented by the author to the Moskovskoe obshchestvo liubitele estestvoznaniia /Moscow Society of Friends of Natural Science/ and appeared under the title "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" in 1893 in the organ of this society, Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie (1893, Book 2). In the foreign press there was a review of this article by Friedrich Engels in Die Neue Zeit, 1892-93, XI Jahrgang, B.I.

Subsequent censuses in other districts of the Gilyak territory (1891-94) gave me a full and comprehensive picture of their kinship nomenclature and sexual relations, with all their variants, in the different clans and dialects. In particular, during these years I succeeded in becoming acquainted with the unique family structure among the Sakhalin Ainu, sharply differentiated by the typical peculiarities of their maternality /materniteta/. In 1895 and 1896 I investigated in the same respect the Tungus tribes of the Priamur krai /the Amur region/, where I discovered a fully developed classificatory system of kinship resembling that of the Gilyak, but differing significantly from the latter. Thus I gathered sufficient material for a comprehensive comparison of both the kinship terminology and the clan-family mode of life of all the representatives of the Priamur krai.

*601 121 In view of the extreme importance of the kinship terminology for an understanding of the whole structure of the family and clan of the Gilyak, and in view of the extensive disputes that have recently arisen in scientific circles over the classificatory system of kinship and its significance, I consider it necessary to survey it in all its details.

1: Shternberg--198 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6

/132/

II.

Terms and Forms of Kinship

G *601 177 Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur krai, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, for in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and norms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerably different from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

G ● 121 *601 171

G *601 171 A 601 171 We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a priori the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only term which has a complete phonetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus languages, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "nana" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "achk" signifies mother-in-law /wife's mother/, aunt, grandmother; "nanakh" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

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III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of Sexual Intercourse and Marriage

83 Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kin-
[121] ship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyak, at least at the present time, we cannot speak of any kind of general prohibitions against extramarital sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is a completely nonchalant and natural act, like any other natural act, satisfying a certain natural need of man. Prohibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound by agnate or cognate kinship. Outside of these circles there is no regulation or censure of sexual behavior, either on the part of public opinion or on the part of religion. Outside of the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party concerned. Young men of a given clan, having rights to the women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggrieved at an alien usurper and soundly teach the stranger not to sneak into a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very rarely. It is a much more serious affair if a married woman is
684 involved. A stranger caught in flagrante delicto with a
[178] married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of penal repression has begun to restrain some from impulsive slayings, which are beginning to be replaced by duels and
684 ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They beat her
562 thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her:
[581] in the first place, because, as we shall see further on, a woman is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the second place, because she is an article of value, having cost her husband dearly, and furthermore she is a necessary worker.
684 In any case, the matter is not settled without repression, bloody

/156 cont./

835 and of designating the wife of the younger tuvn by the prohibitory term jokh; and, correspondingly, sexual relations between a man and the wife of his younger brother are not permitted. Notwithstanding the dominance of this norm at the present time, originally both the terminology and the norms of intercourse were apparently identical with respect to all the wives of brothers without distinction. Evidence of this is not only the fact that in certain places, as we have seen, this arrangement still prevails, but also certain features of the terminology which have been retained even in those places where the new order is dominant. Thus, for example, children everywhere without distinction call the wives of all the brothers of their father ymk, i.e., by the same term that they apply to their own mother, and (in many places) all the brothers of the father ytk (father), from which we must conclude that formerly the sexual rights of men extended to the wives of all brothers without distinction.

The norms of lawful sexual intercourse. From the kinship nomenclature we know that whole groups of men call whole groups of women their wives, and vice versa, i.e., the latter call them their husbands. This strange nomenclature fully corresponds to actuality; in the language of our own European nomenclature, such groups of men and women are joined in marriage.

121 581 But before entering into a detailed examination of these relationships, strange from a contemporary point of view, it is necessary, in order to avoid misunderstanding, to analyze precisely the meaning of the term "marriage."

In the institution of marriage there are three main features: 1) sexual intercourse, 2) begetting offspring, and 3) common /157/ domestic activity. It is completely clear that the intrinsically indispensable element in marriage is only the first, namely, sexual intercourse; the other two features, although they, too, play an enormous role in the marital union, may be completely absent. There are marriages which, on account of natural or artificial causes, are

/157 cont./

121 581 childless. Furthermore, there are marriages which do not pursue domestic aims. By itself alone, however, sexual intercourse between certain individuals of different sex, even though it may be regular, still does not constitute a sign of marriage. In order that sexual intercourse be transformed into a marriage, it is necessary that this be sanctioned in one form or another by a given social environment, that it not provoke a social or religious reaction, in a word, that it be lawful.

121 171 581 The lawfulness of sexual intercourse, then, constitutes the essential sign of marriage. On this point, the concept of marriage is similar among the most diverse peoples in the most diverse stages of development. If there are variations, it is only in the forms in which sexual intercourse is realized in marriage. It is just these variations, often so contradictory to the notions of contemporary society, which most of all obscure the idea of marriage when one chances to encounter the forms of sexual intercourse among primitive peoples.

A true understanding of the institution of marriage among primitive peoples is obscured most of all by our habitual notion that marriage invariably presupposes joint cohabitation of the spouses and, consequently, the manifest and regular realization of conjugal rights.

Among many peoples, however, and not only primitive peoples, but even historical ones, this is not required at all. Among the Spartans, for example, the women lived apart from the men, and meetings between husband and wife took place under compulsory secrecy.

This is the case, even as a general rule, among many contemporary primitive peoples, among whom are found the so-called "unions of men." These latter, including also the married ones, spend all their time in a common house where women are not allowed, and the wives and children live in special little houses. On the Fiji Islands, married couples can spend the night together only in secret. We find similar phenomena even among peoples where male unions are unknown.

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For example, among the Ainu, when women get married, they often remain in their father's house, and the husband, who lives in another settlement, sometimes at a great distance from the settlement of his father-in-law, /158/ visits his wife only at a certain time of the year. Among the Kirgiz, until the final payment of the bride price, the husband, sometimes for years, visits his wife only at night, and then in secret from her parents. We do not find regularity even among polygamists of the Mussulman type. The Turk may have in his harem women with whom he does not have sexual intercourse for years, but they nevertheless are considered wives, joined with him in marriage. The condition of joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse is still less possible among peoples where, according to the socially established order, a whole group of men considers a whole group of women their wives, and, conversely, a man exercises his right only as far as possible.

Within the Australian Dieri tribe every "kumi" (a term corresponding to the Gilyak pu -- husband) finds his "kroki" (wife) throughout the whole extent of his territory, in whatever settlement he visits. A kumi may live out his whole life without seeing one or another of his innumerable kroki, but she is nevertheless his wife, for, if he visits her settlement, he can exercise his right without subjecting himself to social censure, punishment of the gods, or a reaction on the part of the individual husband of his kroki, as would a non-kumi who did this (1). The potentiality of lawful sexual intercourse

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, 1880, pp. 340 f.

takes various forms among different peoples, but the legal essence of the relations remains the same. In one place, persons bound by such a form of marriage are invested not only with rights, but also with obligations, in other words,

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581 121 171

one or another party has no right to refuse sexual relations with a person who is entitled to them. For example, among the Chukchee a woman may not refuse a man joined with her husband in the relationship of a "variable marriage."

Among others, full scope is given to individual sympathies, as, for example, among the aforementioned kumi and kroki, among the Tungus peoples, among the Gilyak, where the agreement of both parties is demanded for sexual intercourse, but once this agreement obtains, intercourse becomes lawful. In essence, what we have here is the same phenomenon as in pure polygamy. A husband may prefer one wife to another, even completely avoid a certain wife, but the marriage is present nevertheless. It is the same also in group marriage: in spite of the separation of the living places of the group spouses and the clear potentiality of conjugal rights, lawfulness of sexual intercourse within the group, and consequently also marriage, is present.

/159/ Of course, joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse are the most normal for marriage. We observe the tendency towards this, although in varying degrees, among the most diverse peoples. This tendency, however, must not be confused with the tendency toward individual possession. The instinct for sexual selection and individual sympathies indeed pushes even primitive man toward establishing more or less durable conjugal bonds. But pairing up presupposes neither obligatory individual possession nor, what is more, obligatory joint cohabitation. We have already offered the example of the Ainu, whose wife often remains living in her parents' home, sometimes several days' journey from her husband. Among the Ainu, however, marriage is purely individual. All the more natural is the absence of the aforementioned conditions among those peoples where group forms of marriage exist, for persons to whom the right of sexual relations is extended are many, and for this very reason joint cohabitation and, consequently, the regular exercise of the right of sexual intercourse between all the persons involved in the group marriage rarely take place.

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58| 12| 19| In reality, joint cohabitation and regular intercourse are connected, not with the sexual feature of the marital union, but with the economic aspect. Wherever economic conditions demand the joint collaboration of a whole group of persons and allow living together, group marriage there can turn into a regular, communal marriage. But such conditions are rarely found in primitive society. They are possible -- but even then not often -- in a narrow circle of brothers; in this case group marriage is really accompanied by the elements of joint cohabitation and the regular exercise of marital rights familiar to us. We meet examples of such a clan among the Gilyak, among several Tungus tribes, in Tibet, in India, and in other places. But types of this kind of cohabitation are also rare.

433 12| 19| In spite of the old opinion, which was accustomed to depicting the life of primitive people in communistic colors, in reality the economy of primitive man, at least the methods of obtaining the means of subsistence, is at the present time mainly individual, and the forms of general collaboration that crop up only at certain times disappear as quickly as they arose with the passing of the necessity for them. We may see a typical specimen of individual economy among the wandering Tungus reindeer-breeders, who /160/ assemble once or twice a year for only a short time and then in small related groups. In normal times they live apart, widely separated from one another, each one selecting for himself his own territory for pasture and hunting.

58| 12| [433] Among peoples who are not herdsmen, who live closer together, the forms of economy are all more or less individual. Under such circumstances it is quite natural that every man, conducting his own particular economy, should strive to have with him a woman who, in conformity with the natural division of labor between the sexes, might perform with him his economic duties. Thus, joint and regular cohabitation between a man and one or several women arises by itself. In societies where group norms of sexual intercourse exist, such individual alliances change nothing. An

/160 cont./

581 individual wife always lives in one house with her husband,
121 works with him, raises children with him, and is obliged to follow him wherever he wishes, but at the same time she has the right to share her caresses with impunity also with a whole group of individuals to whom this is allowed by established rights. Life has sanctioned such individual alliances, the more so as economic interests here coincide with the other mighty motive of sexual selection, the individual inclination of representatives of the different sexes. For this very reason, along with irregular marital relations, individual unions appear, also sanctioned by society. An arrangement appears whereby a separate member of society may at the same time be joined in an individual marriage and in a group marriage. Persons who are joined in an individual marriage are bound not only by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation, but also by a common economy and common offspring. At the same time, however, to each of them is given the lawful opportunity to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place irregularly, often demands conditions of secrecy, and usually presupposes the consent of both parties to each act of intercourse, nevertheless it is just because this is socially recognized, lawful, that it does not provoke any reaction, either social or religious, and because it manifests itself legally -- for marriage is a term of law -- we ought to define such relations as marital relations. This is not only theoretically true; it coincides also with the juridical views of those peoples among whom these institutions exist. /161/ First of all,
[601] the very kinship nomenclature itself, according to which individual and group spouses are not distinguished by appellation, is evidence of this. Further, these relations usually impose on the participants in a group marriage the same ob-
[587] ligations as are imposed on individual husbands. Thus, for example, when an individual husband dies, one of the members of the group marriage must replace the husband of the widow, even though she may no longer be capable of sexual

581 /161 cont./
587 intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually
•127 are also considered the children of all the members of the group.

835 Now the Gilyak marriage classes "pu" and "an'g:ej" become understandable to us, and we shall proceed to a detailed examination of them.

The classes "pu" and "ang:ej." We have already said that for the Gilyak, at least at the present time, it is not prohibited either by religion or by the opinion of society to have sexual relations with or to marry any woman of his own tribe or a neighboring one, except for those women who are bound to him by one or another prohibitive term of kinship. But in relation to such alien women he has no rights whatever; illicit sexual intercourse is accompanied by the risk of bloody reaction on the part of a certain group of males, and individual marriage is a simple civil agreement accompanied by strict conditions of payment for the bride. The Gilyak most naturally therefore seeks sexual intercourse or a legal wife among the women with whom he has the right to do so. These are, namely, those women whom by the kinship
[601] nomenclature, either from birth or from another specifically defined moment, he calls an'g:ej (wife), and he calls all
[602] their agnates akhmalk'i (fathers-in-law). We already know who these women are. They are, first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all aki, i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking, without distinctions of age (in certain places).

[601] Each woman, in turn, as we know, gives the name of husband, in addition to her own official husband, to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands; 3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband (if she is married to one of them), and among some -- all the brothers of her husband.

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*614 615 602 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

Cousin Marriage

582 *174 ●121 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

582 *174 121 114 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

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582 Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers,
*174 Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their
●12 predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian mar-
114 riage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler,
171 and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad distribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1),

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1. This picture entitled Crawley to say that "cousin marriage generally is the favorite form of marriage among primitive peoples" ("Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first experience of conscious restriction of marriages between brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages be-
582 tween cousins of the first degree. One cardinal question in
*174 this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is
114 the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands mar-
121 riage between the children of brother and sister, but at the same time prohibits marriage between the children of two brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact. "Cousin marriage," he says, "is, according to all appearances, a survival. It is quite difficult to find a straightforward psychological basis explaining why marriage between the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so strictly prohibited" (1).

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1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins in India," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1907, p. 623.

/215 cont./

582 Others have attempted to give an explanation for this
* 174 fact, but these explanations are purely mechanical. Kohler,
114 for example, sees an explanation of this fact in the dual
● 121 organization of society (2) -- an explanation which is at

2. Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe, 121.

least strange, for the dual organization itself is a consequence of the institution of cousin marriage. Crawley holds the same point of view as Kohler and therefore falls into the same error. He considers this form of cousin marriage to be "an automatic result of the fact that the name of the family is inherited. The children of brother and sister may marry because by their names they belong to opposite phratries" (3).

3. Crawley, op. cit., 57.

Frazer expresses himself in the same way. According to him, the reason that it is forbidden for these cousins of the first degree, i.e., children of two brothers or two sisters, to marry rests on the fact that they belong to one and the same exogamous class and are therefore restrained by the basic law which forbids a man to marry a woman from his own exogamous class.

The basic mistake of all these writers consists in their having taken the result for the cause, namely, that the so-called cross-cousin marriage, i.e., marriage between the children of brother and sister, was a result of the division of society into two exogamous classes, but they do not raise the question of just what it was that gave rise, in turn, to this dual division. In reality, the dual division into two exogamous classes was a result of the new institution of marriage between children of brother and sister, replacing the earlier endogamous blood marriage.

582 Before that, the group -- the descendants of one an-
* 174 cestress -- was /216/ indivisible; marriages took place
121 within the group, usually between brother and sister. And

/216 cont./

582 it was only when these marriages were recognized to be
*174 harmful and marriage between the children of brother and
●12 sister was established that the original, single society was divided into two exogamous halves: in one of these halves were the brothers with their wives and their descendants, and in the other were the sisters with their husbands and their descendants. Consequently, the dual division was a result of cross-cousin marriage, and one must therefore not seek the cause of the aforementioned regulation of this form of marriage in the dual division, but in something else. This cause must be sought in that situation under which the change from blood marriages to exogamous marriage in the form of cousin marriage took place. The study of the Australian classes first of all confirms the long disputed opinion of Morgan that exogamy is the result of realizing the harm of blood marriages, marriages between brothers and sisters. It shows also that the transfer to the exogamous forms took place with extreme gradualness and slowness, a fact that is easily explained by the usual conservatism of primitive man in general, and in particular with respect to such an institution as marriage, which is so closely bound up with religious ideas. This very psychology of conservatism, which at every change of the old institution tries to preserve at least the old form, in which it clothes the new institution, has resulted in the apparently paradoxical fact that the institution which, in the consciousness of the harmful effects of blood marriage, established marriages between cousins of the first degree allowed such marriages exclusively between the children of brothers and sisters and at the same time forbade such marriages between the children of two brothers and two sisters, although the latter are hardly distinguished in any way from the former in the blood sense.

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●121

How did this come about? The fact is that the cross-cousin marriage undoubtedly appeared to replace that stage where the preferred orthodox form of marriage was marriage between brother and sister. Under this form of marriage, not only were the spouses brothers and sisters, but also their parents. Thus, the formula of this marriage was expressed in the fact that marriages were effected between the children of brother and sister, and these latter were spouses in their turn.

This is why, when necessity forced the abandonment of this form of marriage and the replacing of it by cousin marriage, the conservative mind of primitive man chose that form which bore the closest outward resemblance to the old form sanctified by time /217/ and religion, namely, that one in which the only orthodox marriages were marriages between the children of brother and sister (although now these latter were no longer spouses), and not between the children of two brothers or two sisters. Thus the form, which always plays a paramount role in the eyes of the primitive man, was saved. In saving the form, primitive man naïvely imagined that the existence of a new change was thus concealed from the deity -- the usual manner of pious "deceit" of the gods.

In just this way brothers -- own and collateral -- and their descendants, on the one hand, and sisters and their descendants, on the other hand, formed the two exogamous halves of the former single society.

Another very important, although less cardinal question to which the investigators of cousin marriage give no answer is the following. If cousin marriage is explained as the first stage of exogamy, as the first measure thereof, then from where does its obligatory, its almost necessary character come? It would seem, on the contrary, that once the good of exogamy was recognized it would be most logical to encourage marriage between the least closely related persons, even between individuals who were entirely alien to each

/217 cont./

582 other, while marriages between cousins should have been
*174 allowed for the first time only as a necessary evil, malum
●121 necessarium, in order that it might pass completely out of use as an antisocial institution.

582 The evolution of marriage among the Australian peoples
171 can serve as the best example of this strange fact. Among
*174 these peoples, judging from the organization of classes and
121 from their personal declarations, the consciousness of the harm of marriage within close degrees of kinship is quite well developed, and they have manifested great resourcefulness in order to block the possibility of close marriages, excelling other peoples in this respect. Such a complicated system as the eight-class system of the Arunta tribe has been specially devised for the abolishment of marriages between cousins of the first degree. It would seem after this that marriages between the most remote degrees of relationship ought to be encouraged, while marriages between cousins of the second degree ought to be regarded as merely allowable. Among them, however, even "cousins of the third degree are thought too remote, and marriages beyond this degree are prohibited" (1). Thus, marriage with cousins even of

1. Crawley, op. cit., 61.

an impossibly close degree is not only allowed, but obligatory.

Further, if cousin marriage is only the first stage of exogamy, /218/ then why, in spite of the enormous period of time which has passed since its inception, does it continue to survive so stubbornly up to the present time among a large number of tribes, including such numerous ones as the Dravidians, in its original, unaltered form. And even there, as among the tribes of Australia, it underwent limitation in the sense of the exclusion of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but still the principle, as we just saw, is preserved inviolate, and marriages beyond cousins of the third degree are not permitted. This stubborn invoking of

/218 cont./

582 174 121 191

the principle, this persistent striving to perpetuate it by means of obligation, must rest on a serious basis. It seems to us that the strength of the cousin marriage rests on two important motives. The first motive is the natural striving of every kinship group, in particular of each mother, to provide her progeny with wives.

At the primitive stage of human development the element of struggle in sexual relations undoubtedly played just as tremendous a role as in the zoological kingdom in general. And one of the most important problems of human communities was to limit this struggle as far as possible, by one or another regulation.

The institution of marriage, obligatory between persons of a certain group, was that form of sexual regulation which was called upon to satisfy the above-mentioned fundamental dictate of the community. Prior to the establishment of exogamy, this dictate could be satisfied by the intrablood marriages obligatory between brothers and sisters. With the establishment of the principle of exogamy, cross-cousin marriage most satisfactorily solved this problem. From birth, the sons of a woman are the husbands of the daughters of her brother, and the sons of this latter are the husbands of her daughter. This combination satisfies to an equal degree the father of the family as well, because his children marry the children of his sister.

The other motive of cousin marriage is religious: with such marriages people not alien by blood, but rather of a common origin through the father and mother, come together at the domestic hearth, with its gods-ancestors. And both spouses may to an equal extent count on the favor of the common gods-ancestors. This is a feature of primary importance in the eyes of primitive man, for whom the blessing of the gods and the observance of religious rituals is an extremely important matter in life, one of the major means in the struggle for existence. That is why this form of marriage became not /219/ only favored, but religiously obligatory.

/219 cont./

582 That is why up to the present time among a large number of
*124 Dravidian tribes marriage is mandatory when a brother has a
171 daughter and his sister a son. That is why, as we saw among
●121 the Australian tribes, with all the striving toward limiting cousin marriage, marriages more remote than cousins of the third degree are prohibited; consequently, marriages between cousins of the second degree are obligatory. That is why among the Mongols, whose favored marriages are the marriages between persons alien to each other, marriages between the children of a brother and sister are called "white sin," i.e., considered acceptable, while marriages even between the most remote members of one clan are "black sin," i.e., completely unallowable. In order not to increase
582 the examples, we shall end with the Gilyak, among whom,
*124 in spite of all the peripeteia of this small tribe, only the
121 marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is considered "pure marriage."

After these preliminary observations, we may proceed to an examination of the question as to what place the Gilyak norm of marriage occupies in the history of the evolution of marriage in general.

Cousin marriage, as we saw, owes its origin to the realization of the harm of marriage between close blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the striving for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship marriage the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed consistently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

/219 cont./

582 When adapted to individual families, this arrangement is
*174 expressed in the fact that the son of a brother marries the
●121 daughter of his sister, and, conversely, the son of a sister marries the daughter of her brother. The spouses are cousins of the first degree, while the wife of each man is, on the one hand, the daughter of the sister of his father, and, on the other hand, the daughter of the brother of his mother, because the fathers of the spouses married each other's sister.

Such was the first stage of the limitation on marriages between persons close by blood. Further limitation occurred
[191] /220/ differently in different places. In Australia this limitation proceeded very early on the broadest course: from marriages between cousins of the first degree, they proceeded to marriages between cousins of the second degree, and the previous marriages between cousins of the first degree were prohibited.

Nothing in the social structure changed with this arrangement. Society remained divided as before into two halves which exchanged women, with the difference that a man married, not the daughter of the sister of his father, but the daughter of his cousin of the first degree, so that the progeny of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses became further removed from one another by one generation, both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. The principle of the exchange of women, which constituted the essence of cross-cousin marriage, was preserved inviolate, while the principle that marriage was obligatory between the children of a brother and sister was basically violated. It turned out to be impossible to preserve both principles in complete purity.

On analogous premises, the evolution proceeded differently among those peoples for whom marriage was built on the Gilyak principle. In the name of conservatism they considered it more important to preserve the second principle, sacrificing the first.

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582 The peoples of this group, for which the Gilyak serve as the
*174 most striking representative, began to limit marriages between
●12 cousins of the first degree, considering it necessary to establish a more remote degree of kinship between spouses, but they did not wish to sacrifice that principle which seemed to them most important, namely, the one according to which each mother receives for her son the daughter of her brother. They actually preserved this principle, but, in order to satisfy the necessity of lessening the closeness of kinship between spouses, they sacrificed the other principle of cross-cousin marriage.

As we know, the son of a woman receives the daughter of her brother, but the reverse, i.e., the marriage of the son of a brother and the daughter of his sister, is not allowed. As a result the limitation on the closeness of kinship obtains -- spouses are cousins of the first degree only on one side -- the side of the mother of the husband, but not on the side of the mother of the wife, while previously, with cross-cousin marriage, they were cousins of the first degree both on the side of the mothers and on the side of the fathers of both spouses. But at the same time there is preserved here the old basic principle -- marriage to the daughter of the brother of the mother, and the spouses remained cousins of the first degree -- true, on one side only.

/221/ This departure from the peoples of the Australian type in the form of the limitation on marriage between cousins of the first degree brought about a fundamental change in the organization of society. It brought about the transition from a bipartite division of society with its classes to the organization of a pure clan, and in particular to the four-clan phratry that we saw among the Gilyak.

[171] With the Australian system of limitations on marriages within close degrees of kinship, no matter how far these limitations went (at the present time they do not go further than cousins of the second degree), society remains irrevocably divided from the standpoint of marriage into two exogamous

/221 cont./

582 groups, joined in the constant mutual exchange of women.
* 174 In fact, each division is a real clan, because marriages are
● 121 prohibited within the division. True, along with these two
171 divisions a complex system of marriage classes is established, but these latter change nothing, for no matter what class a man belongs to, he continues to remain in his division, while the classes do not change the position of the person in the clan, but are only mnemonic titles personally limiting a man (but not his offspring) in the choice of women of a particular degree of relationship: in the four-class system -- only cousins of the first degree; in the eight-class system, cousins of the second degree. In reality, classes are not even obligatory appurtenances for the Australian dual division. Among the Dieri tribe, for example, there exists the same prohibition with respect to marriages between cousins of the first degree as among the Arunta, but, while among the latter eight classes have been established as a mnemonic device, among the former this limitation has not been reflected in an extensive class division.

Thus it is clear that in the Australian system, by virtue of its having preserved the principle of the exchange of women, cross-cousin marriage demands only a division into two clans. The society is a two-clan phratry.

582 The Gilyak system was unable to remain in this two-
* 174 clan phratry. From the moment when cross-cousin mar-
121 riages, i.e., exchange marriages between the children of brother and sister, were prohibited, the two-clan phratry was insufficient: one clan took women from a second clan, but the latter was obliged to seek women for itself elsewhere, while, on the other hand, marriages outside of a given ethnic group were not allowed (as we see now in Australia). It remained to transform the two-clan phratry into a multiclan phratry.

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114 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister"
171 (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms
*174 is met if "I" am a woman.
601 All this is without question evidence that the Turanian
*835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although the examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes of central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of this system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change to the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

●121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a con-
*174 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the
601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to
*835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children of
615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's sister's
[171] son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my
[114] "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins of the first clans A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of group marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children for both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we shall see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian
*174 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera-
*835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of
615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

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Let us further suppose for simplicity's sake that each phratry consists of one generation -- groups of brothers and sisters, own and collateral, of different degrees of kinship.

We shall designate groups of male cousins of one division with capital letters, $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$, and their sisters with the corresponding small letters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4$. In the other phratry the corresponding designation for the brothers will be $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$, and for their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4$, where identical letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin kinship among different groups (adjacent groups will be cousins of the first degree, while the degree of kinship between other groups will be expressed by variations in their indices). Like indices of groups having different letters show that persons of these groups are cousins of the first degree both on their father's side and on their mother's side; A^1, and a^1 are cousins of the first degree to V^1, v^1; A^2, a^2 are also cousins of the first degree to V^2, v^2, etc. But in groups having different letters and different indices, the difference in the indices plus one will show the corresponding degree of cousin kinship: A^1, a^1 are cousins of the second degree to V^2, v^2; A^2, a^2 are cousins of the second degree to V^3, v^3, etc.

Since groups with different letters and identical indices are cousins of the first degree, and these groups are mutually obliged to marry each other, A^1 marries v^1 (the sister of V^1), while the latter marries a^1, the sister of A^1; likewise A^2 marries v^2, V^2 marries a^2, etc.

A general picture of marriage can thus be presented in the form of the following table:

Division I $(A^1 + v^1) + (A^2 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^3) + (A^4 + v^4)$ etc.
Division II $(V^1 + a^1) + (V^2 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^3) + (V^4 + a^4)$ etc.

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The general composition of the phratry may be represented in the following table (see p. 230 /of the original text/).

/230/

I	II
Group of male cousins	Groups of male cousins
$A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 + A^5 + A^6 \ldots$	$V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 + V^5 + V^6 \ldots$
Their sisters:	
$a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 + a^5 + a^6 \ldots$	$v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 + v^5 + v^6 \ldots$

Since the groups $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4$ etc. and their sisters are related to one another in the same way as the members of the second group V^1, V^2, V^3, V^4 and their sisters, according to the norms of cross-cousin marriage, A^1 is married to v^1 (a sister of V^1), A^2 is married to v^2, A^3 to v^3, A^4 to v^4, etc., and, conversely, V^1 is married to a^1, V^2 to a^2, V^3 to a^3, V^4 to a^4, etc., in each generation.

Now let us imagine the moment when society first became aware of the harm of cross marriage between cousins of the first [171] degree. From the details of Australian marriage, we know that the first step in this direction was the prohibition of cross marriage between cousins of the first degree and the establishing of cross marriage between cousins of the second degree. As a consequence of this, A^1 no longer marries v^1, but rather his cousin of the second degree, v^2, just as V^1 must now marry a^2, etc.

Marriages under this new arrangement present the following appearance: Division I $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^2 + v^1) + (A^3 + v^4) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^5 + a^6) + (V^6 + a^5)$ etc. /sic; see errata for original p. 230, line 18, on p. 739 of the foreign text/. Division II $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^2 + a^1) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^5 + a^6) + (V^6 + a^5)$ etc.

It is easy to see that under this arrangement each half of the society is in turn separated into two halves, into two matrimonially isolated groups, namely, the odd members of each division make up only one group, while the even members make up another, and in both divisions together four groups are formed.

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This four-group division is expressed in the following form:

121 *174 615 *835 Group I $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6)$ and other odd members.

Group II $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5)$ and other even members.

Group III $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^6)$ and other odd members.

Group IV $(V^2 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^6 + a^5)$ and other even members.

121 171 *174 615 *835 The first group is nebrakopravomochna (inmarriageable /given in English/) with IV, because in some cases, if the families become joined in wedlock in /231/ consecutive order, for example $(A^1 + v^2)$ with $(V^2 + a^1)$, then the children of these families will be bilateral cousins, for their fathers are mutually married to each other's sisters; in other cases, for example in families $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^4 + a^3)$, the children will be not cousins of the second degree, but cousins of the third or fourth degree, which is avoided by the Australian system. For the same reason groups II and III are unmarriageable, while groups I and III and groups II and IV are entirely marriageable in the consecutive order of the families. Thus, for example, in the families $(A^1 + v^2)$ from group I and $(V^1 + a^2)$ from III, as is seen from the indices, the father of the first family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the second family, and, conversely, the father of the second family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the first family; consequently, their children are second degree cousins on the side of both their fathers and their mothers, which is just what is necessary in Australian marriage.

But these groups in the Australian system could not develop into the present clan units, because each pair of marriageable groups remained marriageable for only one generation; consequently, the following generation, as the offspring of brother and sister, could not marry, being

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121 615 *835 *174 [171]

cross cousins of the first degree, and for this reason these groups could not become fixed into hereditary unions and therefore formed only class generations, the whole practical significance of which was in the mnemonic fixation of the marriage norms.

The role of the four-group division developed quite differently with the Gilyak type of marriage. Here, too, the initial motive was the realization of the harm of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but while in the Australian system the question was resolved by means of a transition to marriages between cousins of the second degree and the absolute prohibition on marriages between cousins of the first degree, with the preservation, however, of the exchange marriage, in the Gilyak marriage the change of norms was limited merely to a prohibition on marriages between bilateral cousins of the first degree, i.e., marriages where the spouses are cousins of the first degree both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. Here marriage remained obligatory between cousins of the first degree, but only if they were unilateral, i.e., either on the side of the father or on the side of the mother; through this, mutual marriages between two families became absolutely forbidden: under no condition could two men marry each others' sisters; consequently, marriage even between bilateral cousins of the second degree became impossible.

Now let us see how this regulation led to the Gilyak type of phratry.

121 *174 *835 615

/232/ Let us recall again the phratry with two divisions, with marriage between cousins of the first degree. In order to facilitate orientation, we repeat the previously introduced diagram of the composition of each generation of spouses according to degrees of kinship, with cross marriage between cousins of the first degree.

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Division I: men $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$
their sisters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 \ldots$

Division II: men $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$
their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 \ldots$

The same letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin relationship. Persons of different letter-groups with identical indices, for example, A^1, a^1 and V^1, and v^1, or A^2, a^2 and V^2, v^2, are bilateral cousins of the first degree, and they usually join in cross-marriage, i.e., A^1 marries v^1 and V^1 marries a^1. Persons of different letter-groups with different indices are cousins of more remote degrees according to the larger index.

And now let us imagine the moment when the transition from bilateral cousin marriage to unilateral marriage began, and when the exchange of sisters, that is, cross-cousin marriage, became prohibited.

This transition could not be completed all at once. Among individuals of both divisions there were no unilateral cousins at all, because these were all products of cross-cousin marriage. But since marriages between cousins of the first degree became absolutely prohibited, it would doubtless have become necessary for the first time to arrange marriages between cousins of the next closest degrees. The most [171] rational must be, as we have seen among the Australians, marriage between cousins of the second degree, but, in contrast to the Australian regime, where this form could be strictly put into practice in both divisions (1), here, as a

1. See the above table on p. 338.

consequence of the prohibition of the exchange of women, this form could be employed only in <u>one</u> division of society.

/232 cont./

●121 *174 65 *835 In fact, if A^1 married his cousin of the second degree, v^2, then the brother of the latter, V^2, could not marry either a^1 or a^2, because in such a case two men would be married to each others' sisters. Therefore, V^2 was obliged to take a cousin of the third degree, a^3. The other cases are handled in exactly the same way.

/233/ Converting this rule into our schematic rows, we obtain the following table of marriage:

Division I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^2 + v^1) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^5 + v^6) + A^6 + v^5) + (A^7 + v^8) + (A^8 + v^7)$.

Division II: $(V^1 + a^3) + (V^2 + a^4) + V^3 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^8 + a^6)$ /see errata for original page 233, lines 5-6, on page 739 of the foreign text/.

In the following generation it already appears possible to fulfill the new principle of unilateral cousin marriage without an exchange of women, where each mother may marry her son to the daughter of her brother.

Analyzing the table we see that among the odd members of the first division, women have the same indices, respectively, as men have among the even members of the second division, i.e., in these two groups and in each pair of families of the same order, for example, $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^2 + a^4)$, the woman of the first family is a sister to the man of the second, but the woman of the second family is not his sister, but his first cousin, the men of the first family are descendants of these families, and consequently they are unilateral cousins of the first degree. Thus, consistent with the Gilyak principle, according to which the son of the sister receives the daughter of her brother, the sons of the first family marry the children of the second. The reverse is not allowed.

/233 cont./

●121 *174 615 *835 On the other hand, by comparing the odd members of the first division with the odd members of the second division, we see that the men of the odd families of the first row and the women of the even families of the second row, for instance, the members ($A^1 + v^2$) and ($V^2 + a^4$), have identical indices, i.e., they are brothers and sisters, and consequently the sons of the second row marry the daughters of the first row. One can easily see that the same relationship will obtain between the even members of the first division and the other two rows of the second division.

[171] Thus, as in Australian marriage, the society, matrimonially, is naturally broken up into four groups:

Division I: Group I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6) + (A^7 + v^8)$ and other odd members.

Group II: $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5) + (A^8 + v^7)$ and other odd members.

Division II: Group III: $(V^1 + a^3) + (V^3 + a^1) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^7 + a^5)$ and other even members.

Group IV: $(V^2 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^6 + a^5) + (V^8 + a^6)$ and other even members.

The families of the first group take for their sons wives /234/ from the corresponding families of group IV, where the mothers of the first are the sisters of the fathers of the second, but the daughters of the first group enter the third group -- into families where their fathers' own sisters are. In exactly the same way the second group takes women from group IV and gives its women to group III. In a word, we have literally everything that we saw in the Gilyak marriage. Since exchange marriage between the two groups does not exist, and consequently in each following generation the descendants of the espoused clans will be unilateral cousins, marriages will without exception take place between the same groups and in the same order of families, so that, in contrast to the Australian groups, in this case these exogamous groups are converted into real clans. Thus we obtain the Gilyak four-clan phratry. In this phratry each clan is joined

/234 cont./

●121 in marital relations with two other clans, but the fourth is
*174 absolutely forbidden to it, for it and this fourth one are a
615 subgroup of its own primitive exogamous division (groups I
*835 and II are prohibited to each other, and III and IV are likewise prohibited to each other). This prohibited clan is that Gilyak tujma akhmalk k:khal, the clan of the second degree, the prohibition of which is so incomprehensible. Now the reason is clear: the tujma akhmalk clans are prohibited because they primordially entered into one common exogamous division.

That this prohibited clan fully corresponds to the Gilyak may be easily ascertained from our table.

The first clan gives women to the third, and consequently it is its akhmalk of the first degree, but the third clan, in turn, gives women to the second, i.e., to the latter as well it is an akhmalk of the first degree. Thus, the first clan is tujma akhmalk of the second clan, i.e., of the clan which is in the same exogamous division with it.

Thus, I hope that we have succeeded in proving the close genetic tie between the Gilyak system and the Australian one from which it separated at that stage when the change toward the elimination of marriage between bilateral cousins of the first degree began.

One system solved the question by means of a shift to marriages between male cousins of the second degree and the final prohibition of marriages between the children of brother and sister in the first generation -- a prohibition fixed in the institution of classes, as among the Arunta. The other system prohibited exchange marriages, preserving obligatory unilateral marriages between the offspring of brother and sister, and fixed its norms in the institution of the four-clan phratry.

A still third variant is possible. Let us once again imagine the moment when it was decided to shift /235/ from the bilateral marriage of cousins of the first degree to the unilateral one, when it will be impossible to exchange women. Until that moment society was divided into two halves in the following manner:

/235 cont./

● 121
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I. $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^2 + v^2)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^5 + v^5)+(A^6 + v^6)$.

II. $(V^1 + a^1)+(V^2 + a^2)+(V^3 + a^3)+(V^4 + a^4)+(V^5 + a^5)+(V^6 + a^6)$.

Now it is necessary to shift to the unilateral marriage, for exchanging sisters is impossible, but now there are no unilateral cousins of the first degree, and only for the first time is it possible to observe the prohibition on the exchange of sisters; consequently, the son of A^1 may marry the daughter of V^1, but the son of V^1 may not marry the daughter of A^1; he may marry the daughter of A^2, his female cousin of the nearest degree, etc. Then the picture of marriage is the following:

I. $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^2 + v^2)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^5 + v^5)+(A^6 + v^6)$

1. $(V^1 + a^2)+(V^2 + a^1)+(V^3 + a^4)+(V^4 + a^3)+(V^5 + a^6)+(V^6 + a^5)$

I. 1) $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^5 + v^5)$: 1st clan takes women from clan 3, that of the mother's brother.

2) $(A^2 + v^2)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^6 + v^6)$: 2nd clan takes women from clan 4.

II. 3) $(V^1 + a^2)+(V^3 + a^4)+(V^5 + a^6)$: 3rd clan takes women from clan 2.

4) $(V^2 + a^1)+(V^4 + a^3)+(V^6 + a^5)$: 4th clan takes women from clan 1.

/383 cont./

683 and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
[411] with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
[868] proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
[859] childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
648 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
177 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
[178] present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

121 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the num-
128 ber of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
[121] merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

103 (a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settle-
361 ments between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyyvo, Yamy, Manginay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyyde (1), Noksy,

[167] 1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigrvo (2), Marnlvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,

[491] 2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

Vaskhonkhvo, Kitnidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkryvo, Viskvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygrvo,

[491] 1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In
162 the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 245 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

[592] [128] 2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

G /8 cont./
123 absolutely negative. In their naïve way they, of course, did not suspect that I might have understood their conversation.

G SS 121 The above-mentioned circumstances that I was unable to come into equally close contact with all the Amur peoples naturally was fundamentally decisive for the nature of the treatment of the subject in the following pages. If detailed or even approximately complete information about all the Amur peoples were available to us, a monographic discussion of them would perhaps be most suitable; for with such a comprehensive picture of the physical and spiritual life of each individual people, its entire individuality would be seen more precisely. But we do not have such rich material at our disposal. Moreover, with such a treatment a drawback, I mean frequent repetitions, would be unavoidable. For primitive peoples, or at the least peoples who are still half-wild, who live as neighbors under the same stretch of sky, are thrown upon the same nature, the same food resources and means of existence, and stand under the same, though equally slight cultural influences, always have many correspondences with one another in their way of life, their practices and customs, their views, etc., however much they differ with respect to descent and language. For these reasons I preferred not to take up the various peoples of the Amur region coming under consideration here singly, one after the other, but rather in a comparative fashion, beside one another, always starting with the Gilyak, who heretofore were known almost solely by name, whereas they are the very ones whom I know best. Although such a treatment does not give a full, well-rounded, and self-contained picture of any of the peoples concerned, but rather only fragmentary descriptions, from which the reader has to put together the total picture himself, nevertheless, it might also have an advantage over the monographic treatment, beyond the avoidance of repetition already stressed, in that it offers more opportunities for general comparisons and conclusions concerning separate phenomena in the life of primitive peoples and therefore also permits much deeper insight into the natural and cultural history of mankind.

G SS 121 128

G SS 121 128

/8 cont./

Finally, by constantly keeping the entire region before our eyes, it may also lead to a more complete ethnographic picture of it.

G SS 126 128

The accompanying plates are also arranged in accordance with this treatment of the subject. I still have a few words to say about them beforehand. Since the Academy sent a draftsman with me, my aim was to give as clear and detailed a picture as possible of the life of the Amur peoples and everything connected with it, their dwelling, clothing, their household, hunting and fishing apparatus, their tombs, idols, and the like, by means of drawings, too. Concerning certain things in particular, such as, for example, the degree of skill shown by these peoples in making their utensils, the taste expressed in the decoration of their implements as well as their clothing, the possible influence on this from foreign, Chinese, /9/ and Japanese patterns, no judgment can be formed without the illustrations. A clear, concrete idea of the total being and doings of a people, however, can certainly be obtained only with a certain completeness of pictorial representations. It therefore did not seem proper to me to be too frugal with the number of these illustrations or to omit them wherever in earlier travel accounts, on the occasion of discussing other and especially Siberian peoples, similar, though at times rather crude representations are found. For the same reason I have only in rare cases taken note of the illustrations, neat as they are, which are found in the rather inaccessible atlas of Mr. Maack's /Maak/ trip in the Amur region, and all the more since the work concerned (1) contains no ethnographic text, but only

G SS [127]

G SS [113]

1. Puteshestvie na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazheniiu Sibirsk. Otdiela Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g. R. Maakom" /A Journey to the Amur, completed by R. Maak under the auspices of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society in 1855/, St. Petersburg, 1859.

S.S. /94 cont./
175 peoples could and must have frequently resulted during this time,
167 but they are most difficult to perceive from the historical reports
131 available, for, on the one hand, the territorial boundaries of roaming hunting and seminomadic fishing peoples are never very /95/ definite and even at the present time are inadequately known among the Amur peoples, and, on the other hand, the historical reports concerned, since we are indebted for them to the notes and reports of simple, uneducated people pursuing practical interests, suffer as a rule from too much vagueness and sometimes obscurity for our purposes, and, what is worse, they not infrequently present the Amur peoples under names that are completely foreign to us today and therefore require an interpretation beforehand. Now, whether the interpretations and explanations that will be found in the following pages are always the correct ones must remain undecided to begin with --for my part I hope, since they are not without reason, that they will be verified in most cases at least and may provide a key for a better understanding of some of the historical reports concerning the Amur region and the ethnographic facts contained in them.

G
175 Let us begin again with the peoples of the lower Amur region and from among them with the most extreme, the Gilyak.
[121] The first printed mention of the Gilyak is found on the map pub-
[113] lished by Nicolaus Witsen in 1687 in Amsterdam and dedicated to Peter the Great, "Nieuwe Land-Karte van het Noorder- en Ooster-Deel van Asia en Europa /New Map of the North-
S.S. eastern Part of Asia and Europe/" (1), and in
G
175
114
[113]

1. Müller (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 203 ff., and Vol. VI, pp. 29 ff.) gave a detailed description and evaluation of this map. In addition to the rare, original edition of this map, I have before me another copy of the Witsen map provided by Allard on a smaller scale and with some corrections, which was not mentioned either by Müller in his

/105 cont./

175 the late season obliged him to winter over. At what place
131 among the Gilyak this first wintering of the Russians occurred
648 cannot be ascertained with certainty -- perhaps on the left bank of the Amur at Cape Tschnyrrach, or Tschchyrkrach, as the Gilyak themselves call it, for there in the ground overgrown with dense forest and strikingly luxuriant underbrush I saw unevennesses which could very well have been the remains of
175 former earth huts. In the summer of 1645, Pojarkof went from there to the sea and along the coast up to the Ulja /Ulya/ River, which he /106/ reached after twelve weeks and on which he again wintered, not to return to Yakutsk until the following year (1). No details, however, are known concerning this sea

[113]

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, 1736, pp. 302, 303. The same, "Nachrichten von dem Amur-Flusse," in Büsching's Magazin für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 505. Cf. also Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, 1768, pp. 788, 789. For Pojarkof's original report, see Dopolneniia k" aktam" istoricheskim", sobr. i izdann. arkheograf. Kommissieiu /Supplements to the Historical Documents Collected and Published by the Archeographic Commission/, St. Petersburg, 1848, Vol. III, p. 55 (the pertinent place in the report).

[121] voyage. I shall also give here the reports of Pojarkof's successors insofar as they pertain to the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, in order to compare the statements and add a few remarks concerning them.

In 1651, Jerofei Chabarof /Khabarov/, going down the Amur by boat, entered its lower course. There were still Djutscheren living at a distance of a seven-days' journey from the Sungari, and then at a large village located on a mountain on the right bank the Atschanen (Achany) people began, in whose territory, several days' journey farther down, Chabarof

/516/

Section 8

000 Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon. Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed [171] that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the [433] peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descriptions of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequences [361] of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing [221] exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kinds of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail. [121] And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn the way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most important fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the times when it is done and some of the details connected with it.

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, and, to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amur is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profitable and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

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III. Ethnographic Part

Second Half: Basic Features of Family Life, Social Life, and the Inner Life

Section 11

Family relations: marriage, wife purchase, and wife capture. Morality. Domestic tasks and occupations of husband and wife. Childbirth, the feeding, treatment, and rearing of children. Position of the male and female slaves in the household. The family law of inheritance. Blood revenge.

•121 If in the discussion of the basic conditions and elements of the external life of the Amur peoples I deemed it necessary to dwell more or less exhaustively only on the peoples of the lower Amur region, but, with regard to those on the upper course of the river, to point out only in a general way the particularly typical and characteristic differences in contrast to them, this will be the case to an even greater extent in the following considerations turning more and more to the inner life. In fact, I must here limit myself almost exclusively to the Gilyak and to the Olcha, who, except in language and some ideas and customs which are in part perhaps rooted in tribal peculiarities, have been permeated by the Gilyak spirit and almost completely Gilyakized, and even the adjacent tribes on the lower Amur will only be touched upon for comparison, for it was only with the former that I had intercourse long enough to obtain some, albeit superficial, insight into the problems to be discussed here. Hence the discussion of the Amur peoples, which up to now has been kept comparative as much as possible, will in this last part take on more of the character of a monograph and will center almost exclusively on the people that has been the focus and point of departure for all of our previous discussions.

595 The Gilyak are not bound by custom or religion to any definite form of marriage. Actually, however, by far the majority of them live in monogamy. In fact, it prevails /632/ among them to such an extent that one may designate it as the general rule, but polygamy, on the other hand, occurring only under

/633 cont./

583 121 182 [562] It is to be seen in part from the preceding that the custom of wife purchase has, on the whole, a beneficial influence upon a primitive people. Even though, to our minds, it involves an insulting disregard for human dignity and the personal rights of the woman, /634/ in that, in relation to the man, it makes her simply a commodity, nevertheless it exerts some moral pressure upon the men. For, above all, it forces them, through activity and industry, to acquire the means to buy a wife and to found a household of their own, and thus it puts an effective curb on premature marriages. Moreover, as we have seen, through the material obstacles that it puts in the way of polygamy, it promotes monogamy. And, finally, it provides the wife with both a guarantee of good treatment on the part of her parents, for a well-fed and well-supported girl can be married off more easily and at a higher price, and, in particular, some protection against rough mistreatment on the part of the husband, for what is bought with difficulty and at some expense is as a rule, among primitive people in particular, more highly prized and better cared for than that which is attained without effort and for a low price or even as a gift. [562] Thus, among primitive peoples, the bride price to a certain extent constitutes a corrective for their lack of esteem and spiritual appreciation of the wife, and the higher it is, the greater its effect is bound to be, and the more favorable the prognosis for the marital and family relations of the people concerned. To what extent this may be true among the Gilyak, beyond the above-mentioned prevalence of monogamy among them, we shall have occasion to learn from the following observations.

583 On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the higher the bride price, the greater the temptation for poor but enterprising young men to avoid paying it and to gain possession of a wife by a ruse or force. Indeed, among the Gilyak the abduction of women is by no means rare. According to their own statements, it almost always takes place by prearrangement between the two parties, the abductor and the one to be abducted. In order to carry it out, the man appears, as if by chance, in the house

121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan relations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I put before the reader the material gathered in the course of this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyaks in the village of Kul.

225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting.

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce and of a plant locally known as (t'ɘkr) bogulnik and set out on sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋəŋ-gan
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks in the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to submerge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks of the tackle kitə (2) which go into the implements for hunting

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal through
411 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
531 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker called tor-tas (from tor 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix pertaining to the implement used in the action), is made of a bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving which represents the snout of a seal.

PREFACE

"Many books on Siberia have appeared during the last two decades, most of which fall into one of two categories; the earlier, into what we may label 'exile literature,' and the later, 'Siberian railway sketches.'

The present work belongs in part to both of these classes, but deals chiefly with a portion of Siberia far beyond the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway—the little-known island of Sakhalin. Such a terra incognita has Sakhalin been in the history of exploration, that until the year 1849 it was believed to be a peninsula even by the Russians; and six years later, in 1855, an English naval commander was outwitted owing to the prevailing ignorance of its insularity. (1)

1. See post, p. 100.

It is therefore not surprising that, even as late as this twentieth century, I should have been the first English traveller to explore the northern interior."

9: Hawes--vii-viii, T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 121, 177

"The sources of our knowledge of Sakhalin, even in Russian, are few, and in English, if little has been heard of the convicts there, nothing has been written about the Gilyak and Orochon natives. With the expansion of the penal settlements, and the future, though not impending, development of the resources of the island, must follow the decay of the [viii] native in the presence of the white man. Already the former is modifying or abandoning his religious rites and ceremonies. It therefore behoved me to place these on record before they became lost to the investigator or buried in tradition.

If in the course of the narrative faunal and floral species have been noted, this is only what every traveller owes to the scientist and the ever-increasing body of students. At the same time no one regrets more than I do, that I was so inadequately equipped for my task among almost unknown peoples and amid strange physical conditions."

9: Hawes--viii-ix T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 121

"In Chapter VI. will be found a brief résumé of the [ix] history and general features of Sakhalin. The rest of the book, including the notes on Korea and Manchuria, consists mainly of a personal narrative. It makes no claim to an exhaustive account of Sakhalin or the neighbouring regions, for the author's object has been to place before the reader pictures. Incidents, trivial in themselves, illustrate and bring home to the mind the everyday life of native and white man in this far eastern world, more effectively than any detailed statement of habits and customs."

115 [97] Since little has been published about the Gilyak up to the
121 present time, I took advantage of my visit of several years duration in the Amur country to study this small tribe somewhat more in detail. All races are of interest, not only in themselves, but because they furnish material for advanced scholarship. If the professional ethnologist should find something in this sketch which can be used for the purpose of such comparative study, it would give me great pleasure.

The material I present here is based largely on my own experiences and investigations, but in part it is based on notes which I gathered from those Russians who had frequently come in contact with the Gilyak. I was always careful to question several people about each subject, for the sake of greater accuracy. The statements, moreover, usually coincided. (1)

1. For my reports about the Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin, with whom I had little personal contact, I am largely indebted to a physician who lived there: Dr. A. Lebedev.

101 I. Geographical Distribution and Population.
131 The tribe of Gilyaks (2) which belongs to the Mongolian
182

2. The word is usually written "Giliak" but because the "g" is hard in pronunciation, I added the "h". [RCH: The author througout spells the word Ghiliakin.]

race lives partly on the island of Sakhalin, partly on the continent, in the coastal region of East Siberia, that is, on the lower Amur and on the sea coast around the mouth of this river, as well as on the De Kastri bay and the Kaiser bay. On the latter, the Gilyak are found only sparsely and more temporarily. On the island of Sakhalin they occupy the northern half, especially the Tym river valley, and the east and west coasts. In the summer they occupy one or another place, according to where fishing [98] is best; but in winter they always go back to their villages.

On the lower Amur the true Gilyak are to be found only as far as the village of Bogorodskoye, 150 versts up-stream from the city of Nikolayevsk. From Bogorodskoye up to the Amur tributary of Gorin, that is, from about 51 degrees north latitude, there lives a people that may be considered a cross between the Gilyak and the Goldi They call

[378] Captain Jakobsen's Travels in the Region of the Gilyak and on Sakhalin Island.
Otto Genest (Gymnasium Teacher)

121 Jakobsen's first sojourn in the land of the Goldi (compare number 10 of the current volume of the periodical, p. 153 [see Goldi Source 18: Genest--Analyst] was followed by a trip into the territory of the Gilyak through which he had to pass in order to reach Nikolayevsk. He touched the same territory for a second time when on his return from Sakhalin Island, he started his journey up the Amur River towards the Ussuri and North Korea at the end of January 1885. Both times he had only a little time at his disposal: in September of 1884 he had to rush to get to Nikolayevsk as soon as possible in order to take advantage of an opportunity to cross over to Sakhalin; January 1885 he was pressing with all his power to conclude his activities since by force of circumstances he had lost so much time on Sakhalin that he was afraid of having to extend his travels too much if he should stop for a detailed study of the Gilyak. It is therefore understandable that his collections made in the territory of the Gilyak are far inferior to those made in the land of the Goldi as regards copiousness and variety. Also the information he was able to gather from his own observation or through his inquiries understandably gives only a hazy picture of the life and activities of this people. Unfortunately he only had little opportunity to become acquainted with the representatives of the Gilyak people living on Sakhalin Island and thus to fill the gaps of his account of this people. Nevertheless the entries in his diary present several things of interest, but expecially valuable is the fact that he was permitted to observe a bear festival in the Gilyak village Vaida above Nikolayevsk, the procedure of which he has described in great detail.

101 The Gilyak have been designated as Hyperboreans or
142 Arctics by Rittich (1), as Northern Asiatics of uncertain

1. Die Ethnographie Russlands, supplementary issue 54 to Petermann's Mittheilungen, p. 19.

position within the system by Peschel (2). They are

2. Peschel-Kirchoff, Völkerkunde (5th

/xv cont./

*114 Having finished his investigation of the Orochi, in August of the same year Shternberg proceeded from Imperial Harbor to the lower reaches of the Amur, where along with the study of the Gilyak he became acquainted with the Olcha. During this trip he covered the lower reaches of the Amur as far as Sofisk and also the sea coast north from the Amur estuary up to the river Kol' and south to the settlement of Chom.

Shternberg spent the winter of 1896-1897 once again on Sakhalin and continued studying the language, folklore, and customs of the Gilyak and also rechecked his earlier observations.

In May, 1897, Shternberg, included under the amnesty following the manifesto of 1895, left Sakhalin before the expiration of his term and returned to his homeland, where he received, in addition, three years under police surveillance (1).

1. According to the manifesto, the term of exile was to be reduced by one-third, i.e., by three years, three months, and ten days, but, thanks to the "efforts" of the local administration, the reduction amounted to one year, five months.

Thus, during his eight-year stay in exile, Shternberg had investigated in detail the social structure, religious views, and common law of the Sakhalin and Amur Gilyak and, in addition, had thoroughly studied the Gilyak language and folklore. He studied the Orochi, Orok, Sakhalin Tungus, Ainu, and the Olcha in the same way, and partially the Negidal from chance encounters with them in the lower reaches of the Amur.

After the trip in 1896 there was a break of 13 full years in the expeditionary activity of Shternberg. Only in 1910, on commission from the Russian Committee on the Study of East and Central Asia, was Shternberg able to return once again to the Amur and Sakhalin, this time as a recognized scientist.

[122]

G /xxviii cont./

*114 data whatsoever on the social structure and sexual norms among the Amur peoples. Morgan did not have these data, and he only guessed about the existence of a classificatory system among the Amur peoples as an intermediate link between the peoples of India and of North America.

Up to the present day there is no mention of these discoveries by Shternberg from the supporters of the clerical, historico-cultural school (ardent opponents of Marxism and the theory of Morgan), because they irrevocably, with a living example, prove the existence of group marriage, so unpleasant to the Catholic Fathers who maintain the existence of individual marriage, private property, and monotheism from the beginning.

G [122] As has already been indicated above, while compiling "Sakhalinskie giliaki" Shternberg did not have the opportunity to acquaint himself with the basic literature on the peoples of the Far East, and some unfortunate inaccuracies crept into his work; thus, in complete error he writes, evidently following an oral tale of the Russian population, "that the Gilyak of the lower Amur speak the same language as the Tungus." Actually it is not the Gilyak who are under discussion here, but the Ulcha (Olcha), who have a language close to the Tungus. Furthermore, we must consider that he called the Sakhalin Orok Orochon, agreeing with the local Russian name.

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T [101]

The monograph "Giliaki" and "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov," the broadened and deepened edition of the third chapter of "Giliak," were written by Shternberg after his return from exile. While compiling these works Shternberg had all the basic literature at hand, and the questions investigated by him are worked out very thoroughly. In these works there are uncovered a number of new aspects of the social structure of the Gilyak, which Shternberg successfully compares with the Australian materials and partially aids in their elucidation. But both these works, unlike "Sakhalinskie giliaki" and "Orochi," like all the other works of Shternberg after his exile, bear a more distinctly expressed idealistic character.

/33 cont./

835 171 who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of the tribe. With regard to this group, she is piruari and vice versa. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the Hawaiian Islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of Gilyak marriage.

835 684 The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly expressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever, causing only some irritation, and in rare cases the moving of the seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

835 More than once I observed even cases of the regular cohabitation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed [554] between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a [122] Gilyak from the village of Tangivo, Gibel'ka, the richest and most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations between the latter and the wife of his elder brother were no secret to anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical tenderness and enjoyed equal tenderness from the latter, and, when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part [593] of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melancholy would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never saw even a trace of bad relations between the brothers.

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset
of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to
women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is
not content with the women to whom they have rights in their
own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to
whom they have rights by law. The only category of women
before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but
find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most
eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-
law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey
even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering
me their assistance without compensation for many weeks,
and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic
adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
674 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival.
Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed
to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his
news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity,
and has already managed to let his glance fall on some
woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his
amatory experience and art.

/330 cont./

775 The deceased travels to Mlyvo on a dog sled. If he does not have holes in his ears for earrings, an old woman inspects him on the road and makes a hole, but if the deceased does not wish this, his soul is taken away. Earrings are worn, not for decoration, but for the sake of holes in the ears. The old woman who makes the holes is called chivkhyty fi-mam, i.e., "the woman in the middle of the road."

Before the funeral the soul either stays or leaves for Mlyvo and then returns again, but after the cremation it remains in Mlyvo. The dead convey the regards of the earth kinsmen to the other world, about which they ask during lamentation. If a woman marries a second time, she will not be with her first husband in Mlyvo; the husband also takes a wife in the other world. A good woman (widowed) does not marry.

763 Indyn's (1) mother, who was sick for a long time before her

[122]

1. The younger brother of Churka, Shternberg's guide.

death, lay on the ground in her small yurt; around the hearth sat her daughters, a married one and a little one, and (her sons), Indyn and Churka. The mother, with half-closed eyes, said: "When I die, the small children will be lost -- you will go and have fun this way and that way and will not think of them." Churka looked sidewise and said gloomily: "How can that be, am I not their brother?" And he left. Then (she turned) to Indyn: "Yes, I shall die, who will look after you, who will repair your clothing, who will feed you? You may freeze, drown. The Gilyak will abuse you, and who will say a word for you? I shall die, my lips will not defend you." Then her speech /331/ began to be confused. She looked through the opening of the roof; the stars had already come out. She said: "I must go, or else it will be too late." The sister: "Where will you go? Don't you see that you are dying?" -- "I know I shall not die -- I have to go." And with these words she died. And Churka at this time was fishing.

/338 cont./

753 159 The Gilyak Churka (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw

[122] 1. L. Ia. Shternberg's guide around Sakhalin.

a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt ill under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately -- he had to hurry -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from kkhmas"ind.

V.

The Rescue of a Drowning Man

752 Having heard the cry of a drowning man, they come to his aid, press down on his stomach so that the water will come out, clean his mouth with shavings, and place a stick in his mouth. Then they wrap him in fur coats and tightly bandage his face (if he looks at fire, he will die). When he becomes warm, his face [782] is uncovered. He gives chukh-chugynd to Tol and then carries out a procedure called shavynd.

752 789 A Gilyak was drowning under the broken ice. He was rescued and brought to a yurt where the rescuer-host and the one rescued sat down opposite each other; a bowl with sarana and puchka was placed before each of them on both sides, and a white dog near each of them. They hooked together with hooks which they held in their hands (an imitation of the rescue) and pulled against each other, saying: "You will live to an old age, and so will I." Then, at the departure, the rescued man stepped in the bowl of his host and in his own, and they exchanged bowls. After the exchange, the rescued man said: "Nikhkhakhrá --

/6 cont./

122 Little as I understood Gilyak, it was nevertheless always more than any other newcomer in the Amur region, because it was more important for me to learn the language than for anyone else.
[123] Also, I can offer the testimony given by the Gilyak themselves to the effect that I did not speak their language like the other Russians (or foreigners), but in the way they themselves spoke (2),

> 2. I heard them say to one another about me, he speaks "mer ngarlatsch," i.e., "like us."

which undoubtedly referred to my use of some of their /7/ verb forms and suffixes, which were still wholly unknown to my contemporaries in the Amur region, and in any case did not mean much in view of their extremely slight knowledge of Gilyak. It was similar for Maximowicz with the Olcha and Goldi as for me with the Gilyak. Therefore none of the information given below about these peoples was obtained through the mediation of
122 interpreters. This circumstance perhaps makes our reports much
128 less complete than they would have been otherwise, since at the beginning, before learning the language, we had to limit ourselves to observation with the eyes and renounce the much more important instruction through the ears. On the other hand, however, the information, especially concerning abstract things, religious conceptions, and the like, could only gain in trustworthiness and inner value if it was obtained directly and immediately and not rendered in the light in which it was reflected in the mind of an uneducated interpreter.

123 Another and scarcely less significant difficulty in ethnographic research lies in the easily understandable suspicion with which the traveler is only too apt to be met among a half-wild foreign people and which makes the people either taciturn and reserved or even prompts deliberately false and untrue statements. I tried to overcome this, on the one hand, by friendly advances, small presents, hospitality, and kindnesses of all sorts, and, on the other hand, by caution in accepting all

342 35 /323 cont./
and crosswise diameters corresponding to the hearth or crosswise to it.

The smaller earth-yurts of the Gilyak are quite similar in nature, except that in these all the dimensions are more or less considerably smaller. In some cases, for instance, the hole dug in the ground for building the yurt is so shallow that there is nothing to be seen of any wall behind the plank beds, but rather the timber of the roof begins immediately. In order to gain space in such small yurts, the two rear corners are also equipped with plank beds, so that, with the exception of the front wall and the two front corners, one continuous sitting or sleeping bench extends all around. If the dimensions of the yurt are reduced even more, it finally becomes quite shallow, and hearth and plank beds, framed by narrow, upright boards, just rise above the ground, the latter only as much as the thickness of the layer of branches serving as a bed; the smoke vent is not very high above the hearth; the passage-way leading to the door has disappeared or shrunk to a few sheltering projections -- in short, the yurt has become a tent made of thin wooden beams.
342 Such was the small yurt of Tafiz-wo in the Tymy Valley on
[122] Sakhalin where I spent the night of February 18 (March 1), 1856, and found the mercury in the thermometer frozen the next morning. I am unable to say whether this was only a temporary structure, at any rate, it was occupied by a Gilyak family with children, and their summer yurt stood next to it. This winter yurt of Tafiz-wo was distinguished only by its stronger material and its larger dimensions from the emergency tent that the Gilyak usually erect when during their winter journeys they are taken by surprise
[122] by a violent snowstorm. On my /324/ winter journey in 1855 I was forced to spend the night of Feb. 6/18 in the forest on the high seashore somewhat south of Cape Wangi (1) on the west

[192]

1. The Gilyak call this cape "Pilja-Wangi," i.e., Large Wangi, and a smaller, more southerly promontory, where we were, "Matsch-Wangi" -- Little Wangi.

/324 cont./

342 coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village
[122] of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy
[237] snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top of the tent was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could
[237] be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
[513] ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
342 hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
354 a solid base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over the snow, it would soon sink deeply into it and could no longer warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another as possible, framed on all four sides by others, thicker and set on edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs. In this manner a longish-rectangular cavity was obtained for the hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high embankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
412 filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
177 must mention that the axes customarily used for housebuilding and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/329 cont./

342 some time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The
[352] draft and cold along the floor are all the more noticeable here
since the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm.
[516] The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually
sit on the plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I be-
342 came convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
122 these can become, when in January, 1856, I attended the bear
136 festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numer-
[114] ous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank beds rose so much that some stearin candles on hand in my leather suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heatable sleeping benches, incidentally also have the great disadvantage that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of vermin. Under them, in inaccessible, hidden spots, along the pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their nests and emerge at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see them come out from their hiding places and go about their business not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the interior beams of the house; when I once, in order to escape other vermin, had a hammock put up there, the Gilyak warned me that the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection is even more annoying: the warm benches are alive with fleas, which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, on the surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /330/ the principal reason why the Gilyak leave their winter houses when spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings lies in this swarm of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

/355 cont./

342 184 as far as the humidity of the air is concerned, it is even greater there due to the nearness of the sea and the exceedingly frequent fogs and rain. Thus, if the Gilyak on Sakhalin build their summer houses on level ground in places, they must know that they are safe there against the first menace and in addition have other important reasons for building such dwellings. I think that one of these reasons is that these dwellings, less exposed to the wind, are warmer than those resting on piles and therefore can be moved into earlier in the year and can be occupied longer in the autumn. The first circumstance, /356/ however, is of importance in particular for the southern part of the Gilyak area of Sakhalin, where the Gilyak are driven from their earth yurts earlier in the year by the melting snow. It was in this southern part that I encountered the summer house built on level ground. In Tangi I found it occupied as early as February 8/20, and in Arkai on February 28 (March 11), when it was still fully winter. In Duĭ, however, it was still uninhabited on [122] February 27 (March 10), although I stayed in it because the two winter-yurts of the village were overcrowded as a result of a great confluence of Gilyak. This latter summer house, in contrast to several others built close to the shore, was farther from the sea, beside the winter yurts, and its owner planned to use it even in late autumn and not leave it until winter set in /Illustration appears here./

342 On Plate XIII[2]a summer dwelling of the Amur Gilyak is shown, and, to be sure, a yurt in Mão, the summer residence of the Gilyak living in Kuĭk in the winter. It is a structure resting on piles, about three fathoms wide and four to five fathoms long, and looks rather clumsy. The walls are made of thin beams which, as in the case of the winter houses, are not joined at the ends, but are somewhat pointed and are stuck into the grooves of the upright piles. The rather flat roof consists of crudely hewn boards, which are held together by poles fastened crosswise. On a notched [417] beam slanting against the front of the house one climbs onto a level narrow sill which runs along the whole front of the house, is partly covered by the somewhat projecting roof, and which

[2]a [See category 116, P. 993--Analyst]

/434/

*262 231 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained [237] inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak [123] [439] palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

[114] [122] 1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. [113] As early as Strabo one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

/669 cont./

685 cigar missing. I had even greater confidence in the latter.
123 Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop
[122] erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in that it almost constantly threw sparks from its chimney over my house, which was covered only with tree bark and hence might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had planned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the village of Ssabach for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak Mradamn. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied crosswise by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

574 Finally, hospitality, too, is based on the national princi-
648 ple. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me.
123 They are too suspicious, too avaricious, /670/ too concerned
[159] about their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on the occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to prevent me from using the fire in their yurt and even threatened me with a knife, so that I had to resort to grave threats with my pistol in order to have my way. I must say, however, that prior to my first journey to Sakhalin the rumor had spread among the Gilyak that the Russians wanted the island for themselves and therefore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a winter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous connections, from which they could see that I meant well and was always friendly toward them, they became friendly and hospitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, and I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there
574 was always a great difference according to whether it was a
[648] Russian (lotscha) or a nibach (Gilyak) who was to be given lodgings: as soon as the cry "nibach pritsch" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak warwars) was used to scrape and beat the snow from the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and ma was offered as a welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

/676 cont./

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June . . Tingi-long and Tingivata-long.

July
August
September
are not given.

October . . Iging-long and Mugiti-long.

November . Klu-long and Anj-long (in the north).

December . Tschlo-long.

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From the fact that the first three months in Glehn bear exactly the same names as I noted down according to statements of the Gilyak of the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin, I venture to conclude that he, too, inquired about them there. The same is true for June, whose name refers to the mass migration of the tengi-tscho (Salmo proteus), which, according to him, is called tingi-tscho. The other names of the months found in Glehn, however, seem to me to have been learned among the Tro Gilyak.

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[122]

My knowledge of the Gilyak language does not extend far enough to explain all the names of the months given above. For only a few of them shall I venture a word or two of explanation. It could readily be assumed that they are based upon especially striking natural phenomena and conditions characteristic of the month concerned, which, however, with regard to time, might now and then differ considerably in the habitation area of the Gilyak. This happens particularly in the case of the mass migration upstream of Salmo lagocephalus in the Amur and in the Tymy River on Sakhalin and calls forth among the dwellers along the latter a corresponding shift in the names of the months as compared to the Amur Gilyak, as I have already mentioned in detail on another occasion (1). In a similar manner, /677/ the

1. Pages 819-823.

/761 cont./

000 775 heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it.

[764] The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

775 766 The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

[171] /762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

[122] [196] Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me

[774] from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

/55 cont./

776 782 Other gods distant from him, the sun and the moon, for example, just like the tly-nivukh'i, interest him little, for these gods are not closely related to his life and needs. On the other hand, the Gilyak is in constant communication with such gods as the master of the taiga, the sea, and the fire, turning to them sometimes with sacrifices, sometimes with prayers. Usually both acts are joined together. For an ordinary sacrifice neither solemnity nor any special objects are necessary. The principle /56/ of sacrifice is exchange, and therefore one cannot give the god of the sea fish, nor the god of the taiga the meat of animals.

782 [484] If the Gilyak sails on the sea and is afraid of a storm, he respectfully lowers a leaf of tobacco or a handful of rice over the side and says: "Please make the sea calm, so that I may arrive home alive and healthy." Whenever the Gilyak sets out, he takes along in a special sack his favorite objects for sacrifice, sweet herbs, sarana, and so forth -- since the gods are not demanding.

●123 776 Some kind of candy delivered to the deity may sometime stand one in very good stead. I experienced this once myself. It was in August, 1894. With great difficulties, almost without provisions or supplies, and with one piece of brick tea and some biscuits, I reached the Head of the earth. When I unexpectedly informed my companions that I had decided to betake myself up to the top of the "Head" in order to collect plants and remove some stones, my companions were overcome with panic. They adjured me to renounce my "insane" intention, which had to lead to our common destruction, offering as proof the example of two Russian seamen who had attempted to go up to the top of the small god, Lazarev Cape, perished, and were buried there. The captain of my boat, Gibel'ka, an intelligent and loyal Gilyak from the settlement Tangi, who had become quite attached to me, was especially agitated.

/56 cont./

123 "What are you afraid of?" I said to him, "You will stay,
776 be alive, go back home, everything will be fine and do not worry about me.""No, friend," replied Gibel' with animation, "that is a bad law; we have traveled together, worked together, written together, searched together for the stone ax, looked at people together, passed judgment together, and now I will go back home and are going to die here? Is such the law? And what will the most great chief say? 'Why,' he will say, did you not see to it that the "tyan'gi" (gentleman) traveled well?' He will say that I killed you. That will be a great sin. No, you had better not touch the god of the earth; he is terribly big, strong, and he can get terribly angry."

123 Seeing that I was adamant, Gibel'ka, after some thought,
776 said: "You have nothing to give the Head of the earth, such
782 an important 'tyan'ga' and yet to have nothing to give. If we give him a present and say a good word, perhaps he will not become angry." Then I remembered that a few pieces of candy that I use for slaking my thirst when climbing a mountain were left in my pocket and, showing them to my elated companions, said that I /57/ would take them to the angry god and say a good word. My companions calmed down somewhat, and I set out on my way. In the evening when I came back loaded with a collection of herbs and minerals, my companions surrounded me with joy and began to inquire about what word I said to the Head of the earth. I was forced to recite for them impromptu prayers in their national style. "Lord of the Earth, you are very big and strong and can become terribly angry. All people know you. I came from a distant land, from a most distant land I came in order to look at you; please make it so that I and my companions are healthy and return home, and do not die of hunger on the way. Please feed me well!" When, exhausted and starving, we returned that very day to the settlement of Nyur very close by, and Gibel'ka, while the tea was being boiled, told the amazed listeners about my sacrifice and about the eloquent prayer, something extraordinary happened. All the people looked with tender emotion, while

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[796] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
766 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

756/76 cont./ Once I myself became the object of a legend about the
●123 omnipotence of a shaman. In the settlement Nyyvo, at the mouth of the Tym', I once ventured to offer medical help to a female patient of a famous shaman. Learning of my interference, the shaman not only prohibited taking my medicine, but decided to punish me severely for my insolence. Immediately after my departure he went fully dressed into the waters of the bay and began to adjure the god of the water to fall on me with all sorts of punishments. A day later I had to spend the night in an abandoned Orok shed on the lower shore of Nabil' Bay. At night there arose a strong wind accompanied by a most terrible downpour; the water began to spread beyond the shores of the bay and to flood the low area. We awoke at dawn, literally swimming on our bedding. It was necessary to build a platform and shiver with cold on it for many hours until the water receded. For all the Gilyak on the coast there was no doubt that I had borne the punishment sent down by the shaman, who, moreover, could have been much sterner, but this time spared the Russian "tyan'gi" (gentleman). It is remarkable that the death of my female patient, even though she had refused to take the medicine I had left, was charged, not to the shaman, but to her sacrilegious appeal to me for help.

177 The Gilyak, however, willingly and with full faith, are treated by the Russians, not, of course, because they believe in the power of science, but for completely peculiar reasons. "The Russian god," they reason, "is stronger than the Gilyak one; this means that the Russian shaman is stronger than the Gilyak one." /77/ And if you inquire why the Russian god is stronger than the Gilyak one, you might hear such an answer: "Behold how many centuries the Gilyak has been living here, and he still travels on paths, but the Russian arrived and immediately built wide roads, such roads as the Gilyak has never seen." It is curious that neither steamboats nor automobiles, nothing impresses the Gilyak and convinces him of the superiority of the Russian god over the Gilyak one as much as just these roads.

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
17 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
177 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
574 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the cere-
mony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of
kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey
the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to
the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their
decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the
husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and
otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[691] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his
own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me
to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
177 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before
a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in
order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly
taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly
fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate,
which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding
her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led
to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

/6 cont./

122 Little as I understood Gilyak, it was nevertheless always more than any other newcomer in the Amur region, because it was more important for me to learn the language than for anyone else.

[123] Also, I can offer the testimony given by the Gilyak themselves to the effect that I did not speak their language like the other Russians (or foreigners), but in the way they themselves spoke (2),

> 2. I heard them say to one another about me, he speaks "mer ngarlatsch," i.e., "like us."

which undoubtedly referred to my use of some of their /7/ verb forms and suffixes, which were still wholly unknown to my contemporaries in the Amur region, and in any case did not mean much in view of their extremely slight knowledge of Gilyak. It was similar for Maximowicz with the Olcha and Goldi as for me with the Gilyak. Therefore none of the information given below about these peoples was obtained through the mediation of
122 interpreters. This circumstance perhaps makes our reports much
128 less complete than they would have been otherwise, since at the beginning, before learning the language, we had to limit ourselves to observation with the eyes and renounce the much more important instruction through the ears. On the other hand, however, the information, especially concerning abstract things, religious conceptions, and the like, could only gain in trustworthiness and inner value if it was obtained directly and immediately and not rendered in the light in which it was reflected in the mind of an uneducated interpreter.

123 Another and scarcely less significant difficulty in ethnographic research lies in the easily understandable suspicion with which the traveler is only too apt to be met among a half-wild foreign people and which makes the people either taciturn and reserved or even prompts deliberately false and untrue statements. I tried to overcome this, on the one hand, by friendly advances, small presents, hospitality, and kindnesses of all sorts, and, on the other hand, by caution in accepting all

/7 cont./

•123 information, by frequently examining and testing it by means of repeated inquiries on the same subject, and, finally, by learning their language. I believe that I reached my goal completely in the case of the Amur Gilyak, who more frequently came to the Nikolayev Post, for I gradually won trust and popularity among them, such as later perhaps would not appear again. In winter, when Gilyak came to the Nikolayev Post, they drove directly up to my house, unharnessed their dogs, pulled their light sleds into the antechamber, and settled down confidently in my presence, certain of receiving from me both food for their dogs and, for themselves, food and tobacco for smoking à discretion, indeed even perhaps a few trifles, a few needles, buttons, and the like as gifts. This gave me the assurance of finding on my eventual trips a hospitable reception likewise from each of them. They turned to me when in their dealings and trade with the Russians an injustice had been committed against them in their opinion; they complained to me about their distress when, say, a dog was stolen from them, a storeroom was plundered, a monument destroyed; indeed, they sometimes voiced in my presence their fear about what was to become of them in view of the growing number of Russians and their settlements. When, in the winter of 1855/56, I was sick in bed with gastric fever for several weeks, the news of it spread quickly among the Gilyak, and when, in the spring of 1856, I was finally about to leave for good, I received many demonstrations of their regret upon learning that hereafter I would no longer be at the Nikolayev Post. Farther away from the Amur, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin, however, I have also found that the Gilyak suddenly stopped in the midst of a long, calm communication and asked one another the question, /8/, for what would I probably use the information concerned? And after they had agreed that a possible colonization among them by the Russians might depend on my recital concerning the condition of the country, the communication either stopped or it took on an entirely different character, painted as black as possible or

G /8 cont./
●123 absolutely negative. In their naïve way they, of course, did not suspect that I might have understood their conversation.

G SS 121 The above-mentioned circumstances that I was unable to come into equally close contact with all the Amur peoples naturally was fundamentally decisive for the nature of the treatment of the subject in the following pages. If detailed or even approximately complete information about all the Amur peoples were available to us, a monographic discussion of them would perhaps be most suitable; for with such a comprehensive picture of the physical and spiritual life of each individual people, its entire individuality would be seen more precisely. But we do not have such rich material at our disposal. Moreover, with such a treatment a drawback, I mean frequent repetitions, would be unavoidable. For primitive peoples, or at the least peoples who are still half-wild, who live as neighbors under the same stretch of sky, are thrown upon the same nature, the same food resources and means of existence, and stand under the same, though equally slight cultural influences, always have many correspondences with one another in their way of life, their practices and customs, their views, etc., however much they differ with respect to descent and language. For these reasons I preferred not to take up the various peoples of the Amur region coming under consideration here singly, one after the other, but rather in a comparative fashion, beside one another, always starting with the Gilyak, who heretofore were known almost solely by name, whereas they are the very ones whom I know best. Although such a treatment does not give a full, well-rounded, and self-contained picture of any of the peoples concerned, but rather only fragmentary descriptions, from which the reader has to put together the total picture himself, nevertheless, it might also have an advantage over the monographic treatment, beyond the avoidance of repetition already stressed, in that it offers more opportunities for general comparisons and conclusions concerning separate phenomena in the life of primitive peoples and therefore also permits much deeper insight into the natural and cultural history of mankind.

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8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

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Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uitsch, uitsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

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302 [171] 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however, [753] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the [761] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and 302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and pre- 765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

302 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are 515 just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them 136 hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the [751] presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about 515 his health and took him back again. In connection with this, 825 the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi- [123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy, I was given the answer that they were paying back the little animals for what the latter were doing to them.

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*262 231 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained [237] inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak [123] [439] palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

[114] [122]

1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo [113] one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

23 /434 cont./
*262 from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become use-
[123] less on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however,
[439] without an urgent reason. Such a reason can appear readily
enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered
useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly,
a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise
[114] to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village
[782] of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe
[789] snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of
a few traveling Tschomi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm
the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in
vain, three young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was
to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and
[252] the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part be-
ing added to the jukola soup for the dogs, and -- characteristically
enough -- I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite
off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and hand
another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to en-
252 joy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Duĭ, I
*262 was a witness to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak
23 with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent
[114] to a bear festival held there a short time before, traces of which
were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the
yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by
me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disemboweled, the
meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one
animal wrapped in its pelt. /435/ Inside the yurt, the place be-
tween the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold
with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two staffs, between which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

263 /445 cont./
439 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
[482] hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2,[1] Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
415 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
177 ormotsch(z)-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of

[1] [See category 116, P. 1013--Analyst]

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1. (cont.)
durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

231 The dogs
171 of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure,
439 but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

493 The Gilyak sled (tu) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian narte, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions
[123] and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11
[192] times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles /runners/ (Gilyak tusskrj, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect
[192] them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside.

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411 same time, however, they did not show any particular timidity
177 or fear in front of the gun, whereas a pistol imbued them with a
152 great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had
[123] to threaten them with the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they beseeched me not to make use of it, because this would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Could this fear simply be based upon the still great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unperceived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

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1. At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning another and similar superstitious fear on the part of the Gilyak, which at first seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely by accident that I later obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how profoundly certain impressions gained through unusual experiences persist in the mind and memory of a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout their entire area. I owned one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Nikolayev post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was used for fishing. I had scarcely pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me to put the thing away and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

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1. (cont.)
the same thing was repeated several times later with other Gilyak from the various villages along the Amur and Liman, so that I never once succeeded in producing my stick in front of them, and from then on gave it up completely, trying in vain to think of a reason for this strange, highly excited, and fearful behavior toward an object as harmless as a fishing rod. How great, therefore, was my surprise when, already in St. Petersburg after my return, I once happened to hear Mr. v. Middendorff, who had visited the Gilyak ten years before I had, and, to be sure, in their most remote dwelling sites along Ulban Bay in the Sea of Okhotsk, relate how he had once played the following joke on them. As he stood in their company [231] in front of a white-tailed eagle which, chained, was perched on one of the fish-drying racks -- a very common sight in their villages, which will be discussed further in the following -- in front of their eyes he cut off a thin willow switch, stuck its point, unnoticed, into a little bottle of prussic acid which he carried with him, and held it in front of the beak of the eagle. The animal immediately collapsed and died, but the Gilyak were seized with horror and fear and from then on regarded our traveler as a powerful sorcerer. To me there now remained no doubt: obviously the news

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•123 152 203

1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

41 171 [192] [824] [192]

In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[713]

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

41 230 531

In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

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3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

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it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts
224 on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do
825 not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect.
[796] The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward
[797] off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the
224 profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the fol-
825 lowing superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I
•123 entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I
797 saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

/564 cont./

224 825 123 797 animal, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, after a while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch bark, and put it with the other possessions of the house. My efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered; I was told categorically that it was already "uïtsch" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unskinned, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if she were to sell it to me in an intact 224 825 state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

[171] [113]

1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 851) in speaking about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

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2. (cont.)
whaler that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tammlawo and the boat was plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak of Poghobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

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that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning took place in such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very essentially contributed to this. The possibility of being able to exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no market, such as fish, game, berries, etc., for various articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev post soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /592/ that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Murawjof post in Aniwa Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening, when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

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123 country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them,
184 express the suspicion that they were now only exploring the
648 country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it later and to push out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, as in Tyk, Duĭ, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even directly opposed me insubordinately and hostilely in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal, and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. This latter refusal was even worse than the two first ones, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in
439 hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however,
123 I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the trade articles which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if just one yielded to temptation and made a small trade, the ice was broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had more than enough of what was needed. With the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all
439 other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, clever-
157 ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of known practical utility excites their inclination to buy: on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "tsa-tsa-ä," accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better ones, in the course of which they praise them and insist on the first demand. In short, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how very much this in fact fits them can be seen from the following more detailed statements.

439 Despite the fact that all trade in the Amur region, and
435 hence also that of the Gilyak, is only barter and no money is used among them, nevertheless a not merely relative but absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

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423 224 226 619 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting, except for the places on the river where they have their salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the seacoast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the [648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

685 [421] [123] Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-Liman. [186] I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to the latter. 685 648 The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted [192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch, Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met 685 123 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc., whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

/669 cont./

685 cigar missing. I had even greater confidence in the latter.
123 Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop
[122] erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in that it almost constantly threw sparks from its chimney over my house, which was covered only with tree bark and hence might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had planned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the village of Ssabach for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak Mradamn. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied crosswise by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

574 Finally, hospitality, too, is based on the national princi-
648 ple. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me.
123 They are too suspicious, too avaricious, /670/ too concerned
[159] about their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on the occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to prevent me from using the fire in their yurt and even threatened me with a knife, so that I had to resort to grave threats with my pistol in order to have my way. I must say, however, that prior to my first journey to Sakhalin the rumor had spread among the Gilyak that the Russians wanted the island for themselves and therefore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a winter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous connections, from which they could see that I meant well and was always friendly toward them, they became friendly and hospitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, and I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there
574 was always a great difference according to whether it was a
[648] Russian (lotscha) or a nibach (Gilyak) who was to be given lodgings: as soon as the cry "nibach pritsch" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak warwars) was used to scrape and beat the snow from the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and ma was offered as a welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

/670 cont./

574 took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

484 574 The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather takes him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for the dogs of the newly arrived guest. Needless to say, he then stays there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

484 821 In any case, however, the weather is first carefully checked, especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler [114] in danger. During the several days of bad weather which detained me in the village of Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which overcomes the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the con- [157] sultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides them on land as well as on sea journeys. On several occasions, [114] however, I also had an opportunity to marvel at their knowledge [123] of the climatic conditions of their country /671/ and the experiences that they had with them, for I had once made ready to continue my journey and found myself forced to return to the hated village where I had been received so inhospitably. On another occasion I reached the seacoast, which was 5-7 versts from the village, and continued my journey along it, but had 821 to endure very bad weather and snowstorms. The Gilyak especially feared being surprised by an ady (north and northwest) or

/671 cont./

others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pur-

3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

poseful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too. With me they likewise constantly came and went without a salutation, or at most, later, with a "sdrástwui" and "proschtschái" learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Ssan-ssin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

But what surprised me even more is the fact that the word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

576 /672 cont. / with regard to me,
123 however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I,
too, never received any thanks from the Gilyak. I am not think-
[935] ing now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are urged forward. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiko, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to
431 exchange small gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer,
123 perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /673/ pai. If the latter were not done, the objects offered in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, sev-
431 eral buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not
[439] by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy natures, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

431 /673 cont./ This
439 custom may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations
177 of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Ssan-
648 ssin, as well as in Ssiranussi, have their officials and trade agents who demand such captatio benevolentiae in their own interest and to the detriment of the government or the trading houses concerned.

437 Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, pai. And this is precisely what Judin did when, in the transaction with the Russian-American Company for the sizable sum that he received for compensation, he wanted to be given various costly fabrics and other luxury items.

437 I must say for the Gilyak, however, that as a rule one can
123 trust their word and their honesty in business dealings with them,
157 for example, the delivery of wares or other articles paid for in advance. As guides, too, they are generally trustworthy; in fact, some of them so identified themselves with my interests that they occasionally even warned me against the thievish instincts of the population of this or that village which in their eyes was notoriously bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very diffi-
114 cult to get guides for a trip, for as a rule the Gilyak are too suspi-
157 cious and fearful to give up their freedom and cast their lot in with
123 that of the traveler. More than once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their exact knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening beside the blazing fire, with their communicativeness and cleverness. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deserted me. And that happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad snowstorm. The broad-soled Russian sled stubbornly stuck to the wet snow, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but to drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf larch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. No wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

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114 157 123 snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kullj before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

484 805 Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

484 804 805

533 /680 cont. /Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I
513 myself, or more often my men, put a stop to it. The Gilyak,
[123] however, are perfectly accustomed to this disturbance of the
533 night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. It
513 is the same among the other natives of the lower Amur region,
171 Olcha, Samagir, Goldi (1), only among them the call of ga urging

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1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but when he once asked them to repeat their songs in the evening by the fire, they explained unanimously and with a sort of religious awe that it was sinful to sing at night (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Histor. Bericht /Journey around the World, Historical Report/, Vol. II, p. 354). Perhaps the Russians taught them this so as not to be disturbed during their night's rest.

the continuation of the song is replaced by a nasal kä, kä (2).

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2. Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/," Zap., Sibirsk. Otd. Georg. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 29) relates that an Ainu in the village of Tschikapergunai, after drinking sake, had begun to sing a song, an improvisation about his voyage. As soon as he stopped, all the Ainu called out in unison the words kä, kä, i.e., more, more, in order to make him keep on singing, and so it went on endlessly. Hooper (Ten months among the Tents of the Tuski, London, 1853, p. 137) similarly reports that the Chukchee, as spectators at such performances as dancing, imitations of the Eskimo, etc., which take place among them, express their approval with the words kah! kah!, which means the same as da capo.

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513 On the whole, it is surprising how often and readily the Gilyak,
171 or Olcha, etc., interrupts his night's sleep even apart from the nocturnal singing, he abandons his bed as soon as sleep leaves his eyelids, gets up, squats in front of the hearth, stirs up the fire in it or on it, smokes one pipe after another, etc. But I never
•[123] saw him, day or night, pace back and forth in the yurt, and whenever I did it, which was not infrequent on stormy days which permitted no activity in the open, this walking back and forth, inexplicable to them, evoked general amazement and smiles among those present, indeed, sometimes a direct question as to the purpose of it.

533 Since I rarely heard the Gilyak sing in the daytime, for the reasons given above, a statement by Middendorff about this, which I found among his handwritten notes left for me to use, is all the more interesting to me. My predecessor in the northern Amur region (3) became acquainted with the Gilyak at the Tugur

3. It is well known that Middendorff crossed the northern river system of the Amur from the mouth of the Tugur and via the Amgunj /Amgun/, the Bureja /Bureya/, and Dseja /Zeya/ to Ustj-Strelka, at the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and Argunj /Argun/ to the Amur (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615-625).

and Ulbanj Bays, that is to say, at their extreme northwestern boundary, to which he had come in the company of some Yakut and Tungus. Through the latter his attention was called to the fact that there were some accomplished singers among the inhabitants of the place, and he requested them to exhibit their art. At first they refused; then one sang for a while, but soon, perhaps becoming embarrassed, he broke into laughter, whereupon all the others followed him. Now each one had to step forward in turn. In general they sang with far more melody than the Yakut, but gutteral and /681/ nasal trills also always played an important

Gi /688 cont./
574 the traveler and puts a low table and a basin with glowing embers
576 (jachalacco) beside it; indeed, he may even light his pipe at the
177 embers and offer it to the guest in the hope that the latter will do likewise -- clearly customs borrowed from the Manchu and Chinese. In the meantime, the women have taken the baggage of the traveler from the sled and have brought it into the house.

Gi In the houses of the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir one is very
574 pleasantly impressed by the lighter atmosphere so much freer of
576 superstitious restraints. Despite many contacts with them, I
171 never heard any Olcha or Goldi expression for the Gilyak uïtsch,
[123] and none expressed in reiterated shouts from all sides of the yurt as a sign of general displeasure, such as happened to me so often
000 among the Gilyak (1). They are much too modest and reserved

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1. On the basis of the many uïtsch in the Gilyak yurts I likewise made the observance of three uïtsch mandatory for the Gilyak who frequented my house in the Nikolayev post. Namely, they could not: 1) sit on my bed, 2) spit in the middle of the floor, and 3) smoke their own tobacco, but only mine -- an uïtsch that they accepted gladly.

Gi they are much too modest and reserved
574 for that. Finally, I must note a sign of more humane feeling
576 or at least more civil formality among the Olcha and Goldi:
171 the expression of gratitude, which appears so utterly alien to the Gilyak, I think I heard repeatedly among the former in the expression fodomonero.

Gi In my time, the situation among the Goldi in politico-
648 administrative respects was different than among the Gilyak and
175 Olcha. Even after the abandonment of the trading center of Deren, the Goldi, like the Samagir and the Orochi, remained tributary to the Manchu-Chinese government, a situation which did not come to an end until 1858, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun between Russia and China and the subsequent

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4.(cont.)
this fable by the Yukagir in the country of "Ssabatsia" (sobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

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The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the
[756] summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival. As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears
[609] kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration
[123] of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

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*796 After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the
●[123] Nikolayev post by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Judin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, precisely in order to make a few purchases for the forthcoming festi-
[114] val. With my friend and later colleague at the Academy, C. Maximowicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allof, we entered Wair about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place: one of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little fir tree which stood in front of its transverse walls on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to
[778] the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak, hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon when we drove up before Judin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wair. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd
*796 of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young
526 men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who,
[574] in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

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*796 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit.
574 In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On it, therefore,
[123] as Judin told us, there are even more uftsch to be observed than elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw some sketches of it from there, he asked us with great politeness to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented
516 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones immediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path on which the bowls traveled from one end of the bench to the other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc. The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in
[614] this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him, while the maternal/710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the friends and acquaintances, may participate in the meal, Judging by the quantity of foods and bowls that traveled back and forth, it was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Nevertheless, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another house in order to eat there, and this went on from house to house throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep.
*796 The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women
541 began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

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*796 114 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The [126] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the [127] further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

[113] 1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 824 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf *796 of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

• [123] [126] 1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249 /. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

/715 cont. /

*796
[123]
[126]

1. (cont.)
put in the way of making sketches during the bear festival, only one bear is pictured on our plate, which is sufficient for comprehension. But there were two of them in Judin's house.

the second shelf of the étagère, under each bear, lay the pelvis belonging to it and a few fish (Cyprinus carpio, Gilyak pilengat), which were put before them for food, as it were. At the sides of the rack, from the little fir trees and branches decorating it, hung pieces of fur from previously consumed bears and all kinds of gracefully carved wooden spoons and bowls, the purpose of which [184] will be discussed later, as well as numerous zach. In another house in the same village, where the owner of the third (medium-sized) bear lived, there was the same arrangement and decoration in the interior, but the étagère was smaller, though all the more elaborately decorated, and only one bear's head looked down. It is always left to the owner, if he has two or more bears, to erect either a special étagère for each one or one common one for all and therefore correspondingly wider.

When everything is prepared and decorated in the house as required, the transfer of the bears' heads from the läsng into the house takes place. This had already preceded the arrival of Messrs. Ditmar and Brevern in Tebach. But as they later learned, and as I myself had heard from the Gilyak, it is done in the following way. The oldest Gilyak of the village, "cheimar," i.e., graybeards, lift the bear's head and skin out of the läsng, carry it around the house three times on a path made through the snow and decorated here and there with peeled sticks, curled wood-shavings, and fir branches, and then stop in front of a window in the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth. The frame of this window has been removed, and through this opening, not through the house door, the bear is carried into the house and directly in front of the hearth dedicated to it, in order to warm itself first before it is lifted to the étagère as the place of honor. At this window,

/19 cont./

174 124 829 In 1893 during my stay in the settlement of Langr on a small island lying opposite the continental coast, I talked to an old Gilyak, a contemporary of Nevelskoi and Orlov, who were the first men active in the lower reaches of the Amur. I was not a little astonished when during our conversation, while reminiscing about the workers of the Russian-American Company, to whom my interlocutor had in his time been of service, he suddenly said: "I think, however, that the Gilyak and the Aleut are of the same race. It turned out that the well-known seaman, Orlov, who served in the Russian-American Company, /20/ was accompanied by an Aleut, with whom my Gilyak informant had a chance to talk at great length, and as a result, after an exchange of stories about the customs and the way of life of their fellow tribesmen, by the way, about the bear festival, they both came to the conclusion that the Gilyak and the Aleut are kal'nyakhr (one people). Taken by themselves, such primitive conclusions, cannot, of course, have any great significance for the solution of the question, but in connection with other considerations about the arctic origin of the Gilyak, this naïve testimony of a Gilyak is, at any rate, characteristic.

144 [174] Thus, the language, the archaeological data, the remnants of peculiarities of their way of life, and the legends make it possible for us to lift somewhat the veil of the distant past of the Gilyak tribe. On the other hand, purely anthropological data can play no role in the question that interests us. Anthropologically, the Gilyak least of all represent anything original. There is no such thing as a specific Gilyak type. The average type of Gilyak is at the present time a complex of ordinary, though somewhat softened Mongoloid features with a deviation on the one hand to the Tungus, and on the other to the Ainu type. In the Ainu type, as Schrenck has already noted, the face is more or less oval, the forehead straight, the cheek bones moderately pronounced, the squint of the eye very insignificant or completely absent, the nose more or less long, the spine of the nose with a curve, and the growth of hair on the face abundant. In the Tungus type, on the other hand, the Mongoloid features are expressed in full sharpness. In the feminine type the Tungus features predominate. This is everything that

[The Western Coast]

162 /385 cont./
592
128

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "households" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 The total population is 1,041, of whom
595 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents)
[167] number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[589]

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

[128]
[184]

163 The number of children who
165 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[124]

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

/385 cont./

124 163 165 many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163 165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives. 162 592 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

103 162 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons each), Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Tengi (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

224 225 433 000 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411 422 581 231 000 /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

A /737 cont./

796 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube
782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage,
[535] whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

000 /739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 776 124 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ýżigy (**) and designate

G [361] * From the villages of Patchä and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

G [104] ** Wherever the author used ы and я from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kíngulātsch, an attribute that means the
G [778] same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to
[532] whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuīk (***). But they

G [361] *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo, see pp. 448, 535.

776 /739 cont./ But they
124 insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
778 called Mäü and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human
171 figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

124 I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
782 but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
771 question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
776 side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god" and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction between their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for various idols and their shamanism that I found:

771 Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
776 of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-
[782] stract,commpletely empty one and does not at all fit into the life, into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing concrete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word "pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about "God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except that he is "kíngulātsch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,
771 however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them, such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him, therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/755 cont./

756 [124] 31. Gilyak. The Gilyak Jutschin from Patchä gave me a minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. His report corresponded to the shamanistic performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

756 787 789 It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word tfwyssj, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt -- it emanates from one or several kägn who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kägn, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs berries, or elk fat or a root, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kägn answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative; finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/756/ Now the kägn, during constant noise, approach the shaman lying bound and noisily dance on him. The shaman breathes his last, audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the [533] Gilyak sitting in the yurt begin the conjuration song of the kägn; but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kägn is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (the name in question) sing? Should that one (so-and-so) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The [533] song which the Gilyak begin to sing after the death of the shaman runs: "Restore to life soon, come soon, why hesitate? Come soon, dance soon!"

This song moves the kägn to dance noisily again down from the shaman. Once more one hears him heave a deep sigh -- this time breathing in life anew -- and now he stands there freed

/761 cont./

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II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

775 42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven [532] is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wagn, which [778] resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

775 533 43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung [124] by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rschyvguk, from Wair, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place [766] in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 above.)

225 [108] Hunting of the Beluga by the Gilyaks of the Village Puir
476
433 As L. Schrenk (1) rightly points out, hunting of the beluga

1. L. Schrenk, Ob Inorodtsakh Amurskovo Kraia, v. II, [Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region)

(white dolphin) does not play an important part in the economy of the Gilyaks which is based on fishing and, to a lesser extent, on seal hunting. Nevertheless, hunting of the beluga, which is now of an accidental rather than systematic nature, contains some features which merit description. These features are:

1) The primitive Communist character of the distribution of the catch. The hunters as well as the other village folk share the beluga. Not so in seal hunting, where the quarry is shared by the hunters only. (2)

2. E. A. Kreĭnovich, Morskoĭ Promysel Gilyakov Derevni Kul', [Fishing Industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul), Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.

2) The religious ceremony held by the Gilyaks on the occasion of a successful hunt.

124 We did our best to authenticate the facts we are about to
225 report by writing them down in the Gilyak language under the
115 dictation of the informant. Besides writing down texts, we collected maps, plans of summer and winter settlements, plans indicating the location of landed property, drawings, etc.

In the present article we publish drawings by the Gilyak Mytka which depict all the important phases of a hunt of the beluga and two accounts of the hunt; one told by the author of these drawings, the other--by the Gilyak Khor.

115 Mytka lives in the village Puir. He is about 35 years old. He is one of the most outstanding and talented Gilyaks I have met. He has a tremendous thirst for knowledge. When I went to see him for the first time, he was lying on his plank-bed and reading Goroda i Gody [Towns and Years] by K. Fedin, a book that he took out from the library at his place of work. Mytka is very much interested in problems of technology. The model of the airplane that I brought to the anthropological and ethnographical museum was made by him for his son. Mytka likes to draw, but, unfortunately

115 his drawings have not been preserved. He is unable to go to Leningrad to study for he cannot leave his family and his old father.

225 Mytka made the sketches of the beluga hunt at my request.
124 Three of these are rough sketches which [109] I was fortunate enough to find at Mytka's. They are considerably better than the final sketches in which Mytka partly imitates the style of sketches he had seen in Russian books. (1)

1. On publication we were forced for technical reasons to substitute slanting lines for Mytka's shading.

Description of the sketches:

Sketch 1. The Gilyaks, having sighted a beluga, depart on the hunt.

Sketch 2. The Gilyaks have driven the beluga to a shallow. The Gilyak at the prow is about to throw the harpoon.

Sketch 3. A detail relating to the second sketch.

Sketch 4. Flight of the harpoon aimed at the beluga; the harpoon is supposed to hit the beluga at the moment when it emerges from the water.

Sketch 5. The beluga drags the float behind it. When the harpoon hits the beluga, the tip of the harpoon which is tied to a long strap, remains in the body of the beluga. The movements of the beluga are hindered by the float attached to the other end of the strap.

Sketch 6. The Gilyaks have caught the float and are getting ready to thrust the second harpoon at the beluga.

Sketch 7. The Gilyaks haul the beluga to the side of the boat and are about to kill it with a blow of a lance in the area of the respiratory orifice.

Sketch 8. The Gilyaks take the beluga which is fastened to the side of the boat to the village. An old woman sits on the shore and beats on a board using two sticks. This peculiar music stands for a welcome for the killed beluga.

Sketch 9. The hunters have brought the beluga to the village. The inhabitants of the village have come out to meet them and are about to haul the beluga ashore. The old woman continues to play on the board.

Sketch 10. The Gilyaks haul the beluga ashore.

Sketch 11. A Gilyak cuts up the beluga.

Sketch 12. The Gilyaks depart, each with his share of the beluga.

Sketch 13 & 14. The head of the beluga on a birch (From photographs).

9: Hawes--231-232 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 124, 756

"From the first meeting with the Gilyaks I had made inquiries as to where I could find a cham, or 'medicine-man' of the tribe. I was anxious to do so, because I hoped to learn from him more than I could from the Gilyak 'man-in-the-street,' or rather, 'man-in-the-canoe.' All the replies had indicated the village of Chaivo as the residence of their cham. On reaching New Val, which was close by, I thought it prudent to make inquiries if [232] the great man were at home. The answer was in the affirmative. Arrived at Chaivo, however, I was informed he had gone to New Val. This would not do. I suspected evasion, and therefore put my foot down and insisted on our crew going to fetch him. This had the desired effect, and, shortly after, a man of about thirty or thirty-five, of less wild appearance than the others—in fact, a rather mild-looking individual—came hesitatingly towards us. I offered him a few tobacco-leaves, and to disarm his suspicions, for the natives are shy of talking about their religion, explained through the interpreters that I was a friend of the Gilyaks, and that I had come a great way from over the sea and would like to know about them and their forefathers."

/xiii cont./

*114 121 127 [212] revolutionary activity, M. A. Krol', Shternberg writes (2):

> 2. I am indebted to the kindness of the widow of the deceased, S. A. Ratner-Shternberg, for acquainting me with the contents of this letter.

"I have discovered among them (the Gilyak) a kinship terminology and family-clan rights identical with those of the Iroquois and the famous punalua family (on the Sandwich Islands), in a word, the remains of that form of marriage on which Morgan based his theory and which served as a point of departure for Marx' and Engels' works on Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates, u.s.w. /the origin of the family, of the state, etc./. The interesting clan organization of the Gilyak, however, rests on this kinship system. At first I was afraid to trust my own discovery, but, having let not a single family or a single yurt go by during the census without detailed questioning as to what different members of the clan and family call one another and who has what rights, I finally became convinced (3). /xiv/ Al-

[161]

> 3. Earlier in the same letter Shternberg mentioned that he had covered 1,040 Gilyak in his census.

though there are voluminous studies on the Gilyak, no one in the literature known to me has studied this aspect of the question."

*114 After his investigation of the Gilyak of the northwest coast, there followed a series of other trips which resulted in a full ethno-
● [125] graphic study of all Sakhalin. Thus, in June, 1891, he took the census of the Gilyak and the Orochi on the river Tym' and on the east coast of Sakhalin, and a partial one of the Tungus. In the winter of 1891 he encountered the Olcha who visited Sakhalin late in the fall for trading purposes. He spent the summer of 1892
[125] traveling on the river Poronai and around the entire southern part of Sakhalin as far as the settlement of Kosunaya, where, along with the Ainu and the Orok, he also studied and took a census of the Gilyak.

/37 cont./

582 601 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was indubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is 582 584 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engagement of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is educated until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual, 582 614 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how- ● [125] [601] ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the census that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of the mother") from ancient times.

582 178 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way, then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs, sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

/130 cont./

58 [591] agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and 59 [85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child, husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former [551] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn [553] ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives [684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights. [614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 121 •125 [59] In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a type of individual family which is generally accepted as being patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With [114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

1: Shternberg--197 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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/131 cont./

presented by the author to the Moskovskoe obshchestvo liubitele estestvoznaniia /Moscow Society of Friends of Natural Science/ and appeared under the title "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" in 1893 in the organ of this society, Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie (1893, Book 2). In the foreign press there was a review of this article by Friedrich Engels in Die Neue Zeit, 1892-93, XI Jahrgang, B.I.

Subsequent censuses in other districts of the Gilyak territory (1891-94) gave me a full and comprehensive picture of their kinship nomenclature and sexual relations, with all their variants, in the different clans and dialects. In particular, during these years I succeeded in becoming acquainted with the unique family structure among the Sakhalin Ainu, sharply differentiated by the typical peculiarities of their maternality /materniteta/. In 1895 and 1896 I investigated in the same respect the Tungus tribes of the Priamur krai /the Amur region/, where I discovered a fully developed classificatory system of kinship resembling that of the Gilyak, but differing significantly from the latter. Thus I gathered sufficient material for a comprehensive comparison of both the kinship terminology and the clan-family mode of life of all the representatives of the Priamur krai.

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In view of the extreme importance of the kinship terminology for an understanding of the whole structure of the family and clan of the Gilyak, and in view of the extensive disputes that have recently arisen in scientific circles over the classificatory system of kinship and its significance, I consider it necessary to survey it in all its details.

/20 cont./

144 observations of the physical peculiarities of the Gilyak give us. At the same time, other facts and considerations provide us with a full basis for thinking that the ancient Gilyak type has completely perished, drowned in the stronger wombs of the neighboring tribes. This took place, however, not in an ordinary way, not through a gradual interbreeding with the neighboring tribes by means of intertribal marriages, which would be not at all so surprising, but in quite peculiar, extremely instructive way.

174 In conducting the census of the Gilyak, I carefully collected
167 information and legends about the origin of each particular clan.
614 The study of these data brought me to the strange conclusion that
144 the founders of the great majority of the clans now in existence
[126] were not the Gilyak, but representatives of the neighboring tribes. How could this have happened? It is a common phenomenon even at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry (usually a widow), and, in this way, are adopted into this or that clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that has harbored them. The descendants of such newcomers normally form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these clans of newcomers, or the branches of the clans founded by them, in time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in the course of several generations died out. The most vital, growing, and numerous clans are the descendants of precisely these newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic and vital individuals, or this is the result of interbreeding, the fact is not subject to doubt; I found it not only among the Gilyak.

174 As a result of the census of the Gilyak, I asked myself in
144 perplexity, if in the course of a great number of centuries there has been a constant inflow of fresh elements from other tribes, an inflow that was strengthened by the purchase of wives and female slaves from the Ainu and the Goldi, and if these new elements flourished and multiplied while the indigenes degenerated and died

/98 cont./

775 766 give the appearance of a bird. Sometimes this bird is represented with iron teeth and appendages in the likeness of human feet (2), as in some representations of the swastika.

● [126]

2. An example of such a memorial, brought from the lower regions of the Amur by the late acad. L. Schrenck, is preserved in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad.

775 628 *614 This frightful and at the same time unhappy bird, seeking consolation and return to the kingdom of its departed clansmen, wails of revenge at night and, of course, is quite capable of terribly avenging itself upon its clansmen who have forgotten their obligations.

Even where the affair ends with the payment of ransom, the bird remains unreconciled. Still another peace offering is necessary in the form of a dog, whose heart is given to the bird; otherwise it will take a cruel vengeance on both sides.

Since the soul of the slain man, like every other human soul, cannot exist longer than three generations, the obligations of revenge cease with the third generation. But until that time the pitiful fate of the soul of the slain man continues to torment the conscience of his clansmen and frighten them with the horrors of unfulfilled vengeance, giving them no rest. These same motives are predominant over the immediate instinct for repayment. That is why the wrath of the avengers never reaches to the destruction of the whole clan of the slayer, limiting itself to one, or two or three, of his clansmen; they carefully avoid the slaying of women and absolutely abstain from encroachment on property.

Nevertheless the imperative of vengeance is extremely intensive.

/274 cont./

584 583 At this stage the viscosity of the negotiations reaches its apogee, and "tayoray" /spelled with Russian letters; see below/ begins to play a quite exceptional role. I happened to be present when in the settlement of Pil'vo on Sakhalin a Gilyak whom I knew, a certain Isayka, betrothed his little boy to the 15-year-old daughter of an old widow. The old woman had no kin in the settlement, neither any of her own nor any on the side of her deceased husband. At her request, therefore, all the honorable persons of the settlement assembled. On the bridegroom's side there appeared, besides his father, his clansman, Sofronka. At first, it seemed that the business would quickly end, for the old woman was very needy and had pushed forward her own proposal herself. But when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sofronka argued with her the whole day. In vain did he employ all his eloquence and ask those present to help him convince the old woman of the acceptability of the conditions. She invariably reiterated one thing: "tajoraj /spelled with Latin letters/!" Finally, after a whole day of tormenting negotiations, when the old woman found that she had sufficiently maintained her character and completely fulfilled all the demands of etiquette, she offered the conditions with which the other side had been in agreement from the very beginning, namely, that the bride price should be paid at once in its entirety.

[126] To indicate the character of the ceremony of negotiations, I shall cite the introductory dialogue of a matchmaker with the father of the bride that I wrote down /275/ on the Amur. The matchmaker, the father of the groom, Pevn by name, is asking for the daughter of Lakkan. Both are well-to-do men, old acquaintances.

584 583 539 [203] [576] After the customary exchange of news, after drinking some vodka, Pevn says (I translate literally): We both have been for a long time as an elder brother with a younger (like brothers), great friends have we been. Now I have come through need, it was necessary to come to thee, It is a matter, a big matter, when the need came, do thou come to my aid.

/275 cont./

174 "to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ jus'kind -- "to
192 pay" is derived from the word us'kind, which in the middle voice
583 is a synonym of ukhskind -- to fight, to war (jus'kind is merely
628 the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- us'kind was originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom -- peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered father, they ask him on his return: Pytk us'kind joylo? -- "Did you fulfill us'kind for your father (literally us'kind -- 'fulfill'), did you take vengeance?" He answers: "sik khukhra!" -- "I killed them all." Here the term us'kind is used in the sense of the act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used in the sense of ransom. "Yvn nafkh us'kim -- "For their (slain companion), they paid damages, ransom."

583 From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original
174 sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although
431 obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was
583 just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-
431 wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing continue in various values for several years, and they were very often no less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

• [126]

1. Here is an illustration of the institution of the bride price as an institution of mutual gift-giving, one of many examples which I wrote down. An elder in the settlement of Pomr, a man who was not well-to-do, gave as bride price for his daughter /sic/ two Chinese kettles, one Japanese /kettle/, and five dogs. In exchange, the father-in-law sent his son-in-law two Chinese robes and for two or three

/291 cont./

II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

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1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1910. Pilavo is four settlements: two on Sakhalin, one Khez'-Pilavo, and Yky, the Goldi settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still burn their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

539 On the north of Sakhalin a father had many children. During the sharing they quarreled over a stone with a hole, or:, which, on a silver chain, is put on the breast of a bride. One brother said: "You have divided everything, now give the stone to me." He put it on the neck of his daughter, and through the night it was not possible to take it off. The others said: "Daughters are not of our clan, they leave to marry, how can one leave them such an expensive article?" The eldest brother: "We consider only sons, daughters are not ours. You can make as many children as you wish, but you cannot find such stones." After this the eldest brother always wanted to kill the little girl, while the younger brother guarded. The younger brother became angry and ran away from the south of Pilavo to the north. There was a famine. During the most severe famine they killed a seal, they killed a small seal. They boiled it, they divided it up into pieces, they ate it, and the bones remained. The children began to chew, to fight. One of the brothers came up and began to beat the son of another brother on the "mug" with the same bone: "You, dog, take it, gorge!" and he was beating the youth. The youth began to cry. His father was not at home. The mother stepped in for her son, and the mother got it. In a little while the father arrived. The mother complained to her husband, and a fight took place.

[the Western Coast]

/385 cont./

124 163 165 many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163 165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives. 162 592 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

103 162 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons each), Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Tengi (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

224 225 433 000 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

• [126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411 422 501 231 000 /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

1: Shternberg--548 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
422 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
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● [126]

2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons).
361 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo
20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
[484] difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
484 across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
492 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

G SS 121 128 /8 cont./

Finally, by constantly keeping the entire region before our eyes, it may also lead to a more complete ethnographic picture of it.

G SS 126 128 The accompanying plates are also arranged in accordance with this treatment of the subject. I still have a few words to say about them beforehand. Since the Academy sent a draftsman with me, my aim was to give as clear and detailed a picture as possible of the life of the Amur peoples and everything connected with it, their dwelling, clothing, their household, hunting and fishing apparatus, their tombs, idols, and the like, by means of drawings, too. Concerning certain things in particular, such as, for example, the degree of skill shown by these peoples in making their utensils, the taste expressed in the decoration of their implements as well as their clothing, the possible influence on this from foreign, Chinese, /9/ and Japanese patterns, no judgment can be formed without the illustrations. A clear, concrete idea of the total being and doings of a people, however, can certainly be obtained only with a certain completeness of pictorial representations. It therefore did not seem proper to me to be too frugal with the number of these illustrations or to omit them wherever in earlier travel accounts, on the occasion of discussing other and especially Siberian peoples, similar, though at times rather crude representations are found. For the same reason I have only in rare cases taken note of the illustrations, neat as they are, which are found in the rather inaccessible atlas of Mr. Maack's /Maak/ trip in the Amur region, and all the more since the work concerned (1) contains no ethnographic text, but only

G SS [127]

G SS [113]

1. Puteshestvie na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazheniiu Sibirsk. Otdiela Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g. R. Maakom" /A Journey to the Amur, completed by R. Maak under the auspices of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society in 1855/, St. Petersburg, 1859.

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a meager list of the illustrations, most of which even lack any information as to which of the Amur peoples they refer to. In any case the objects pictured there do not belong to the Gilyak, since Maack's trip did not touch their territory. Some of our illustrations could have been omitted by references to several woodcuts that are found in the last issue of Middendorff's travel report -- to illustrate the household implements of the Nigidal /Negidal/ -- but this issue had not appeared at the time when the following plates had all been prepared.

As stated above, since it is the peoples of the lower Amur region who are to be discussed here in greater detail, most of our illustrations refer to them, and especially to the Gilyak. Indeed, whenever identical or very similar objects from various Amur peoples were available to me, I always gave preference to the Gilyak one for the illustration, in order thus to provide as complete a picture as possible of at least one of these proples, and unquestionably the most unique and interesting one.

By far the most of the illustrations added here are by the draftsman of my expedition, Mr. W. Poliwanof, during our stay in the Nikolayev Post; a few were also drawn or at least sketched during the trips. I owe a not insignificant portion of the illustrations, especially the sketches of many scenes from Gilyak life, to Mr. Maximowicz, with whom I made many a trip in the Amur region. Still others were first made here from ethnographic objects brought back from the trip, for example, most of the idols by Mr. A Baumer, the drawings of Gilyak patterns by Mr. Nezwetajef. Finally, I had access to a collection which was made in the sixties, in part by W. Lanin in Nikolayevsk, in part by other photographers, namely, many photographs of the Gilyak, Goldi, and Ainu. All the material was handed over to the skilled artist, Dmitrijef-Orenburgskij, in order in part to work on it and to perfect it, and in part to make lithographs corresponding to the format of this work. Since Mr. Dmitrijef himself /10/ was never in the Amur region, it was all the more incumbent on me to examine all his work closely with regard to its faithfulness to detail, and I must

/10 cont./

G SS 126 128

testify that in all his drawings he faithfully copies reality as a whole as well as in all its details. In order to illustrate the craniological proportions of the Amur peoples, the photographer of the Academy of Sciences, Mr. W. Clasen, made with his customary skill a number of phototypic plates, the details of which will be discussed in the appropriate place. The same will be done with regard to the ethnographic map of the Amur region preceding all the illustrations, which was made by the topographic section of the general staff here under the direction of Major General O. von Stubendorff.

It is a pleasant duty for me to express publicly here my warmest thanks to all the gentlemen named who have worked on the artistic design and adornment of this book, especially my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, through whose industrious devotion most of the drawings were made. If this work succeeds in giving a true and clear picture of the Amur peoples and their life and practices, certainly not the least part of this is on account of his illustrations.

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I. Geographical-Historical Part

Section 1

General survey of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region. Present boundaries of their respective areas of distribution. Spatial position of the civilized peoples of East Asia, Chinese and Japanese, in the Amur region. Spatial position of the Russians in relation to the Amur peoples. Ethnographic map of the Amur region.

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A certain uniformity of the phenomena in nature and the life of the people, extending over broad areas, is generally a part of the character of northern Asia, but it stands out in the Amur region much less than in Siberia. The Amur region, provided with diverse natural conditions, alternating mountain

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292 is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The
237 inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration
[554] was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

[126] 1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

171 A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed
291 animal as headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation
237 of the whole animal may occur among many primitive peoples.
825 I cannot refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is the most dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear caps of wolf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an erect position (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

[113] 2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

also takes place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern America. The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northernmost Maleig-müt down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made out of the head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the tail of a wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this latter animal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo

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3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

286 I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu,
174 knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the
171 nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced
[126] whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I
[714] acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas
[177] the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

2: Schrenck--791 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orok

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The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is done among all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilyak, Orok,

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Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of the Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the Admiralty Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is illustrated in the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which Mr. Poljakov acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, and which is made in the following manner. At the upper end of a forked branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron blade, ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong, and by means of its upper part, which is all that remains of it, while the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the adze. This

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225 184 [192] prong (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (tugngy), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, on the other hand, where a deep groove is carved, the board is joined to a pole (Gilyak tla) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Uĭsut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is lowered to the water and pushed along, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal resting on a stone or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the bank, until it is close enough so that a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more floating beams to a post driven into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the shore in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the lych held in readiness (2).

[128] [126]

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 751, 763, 780, 791, and 825 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Fr. Russow, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, or contained in my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

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411 Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapons bear pikes, spears, and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting the large animals of the forest, and they handle them /561/ much more skillfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike uni-
[192] [191] versally used among them (Gilyak lachtch (2) Pl XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 2) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long.
[192] The lances (Gilyak kach) (1) are of even greater length. The

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /spear/." And yet they certainly must have different designations for them, as we have seen above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off toward the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting on this shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their middle line have a projecting, rounded keel gradually flattening out toward the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workmanship
[53] and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly and finely
[126] worked pieces, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabesques, and the like are inlaid in silver, copper, and brass, such as the specimens illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5, which I saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, however,

2. The illustrations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

/566 cont./

326 especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to
411 use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them
556 away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may
361 have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region,
326 the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above
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1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak.
361 In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje
648 was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

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2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

G1 /574 cont./
325 to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem
171 to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

G The net armor (Gilyak kä-petsch) is entirely different in
714 nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole
[192] or short shirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 1), which is plaited
[239] with multiple strands of nettle-yarn cord, such as is also used for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone
G added here and there. The neck opening is trimmed with long-
[239] haired dog fur and has a button and a loop for buttoning it; otherwise the armor, pulled on over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on account
G of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material;
[126] the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak Mradamn in Ssabach, is 2' 4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 28 1/2 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese
G origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the
[628] Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major feuds when, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like, a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found
G in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me
714 shows the signs of great age, and its aged former owner was of the
126 opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it new.
556 Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragmentary and rusted Manchurian armor (1).

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714
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1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

/635 cont./

583 or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And
628 among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious
684 and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in
[533] abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the
[126] conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

583 Another point with regard to the abduction of women must
114 be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year (1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent: among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage; later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

[113] 2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

/642 cont./

114 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the
844 villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot
768 affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kuĭk, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in child-
844 birth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other
532 superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth.
782 Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254 /) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

844 No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in
413 confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife
[531] (Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, the

•[126]

2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuĭk.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes care of it.

/682 cont./

633 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among
114 the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song; instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also
[126] the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under the title of Walghytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only

1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list; see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p. 41 /this appendix is not included in the book translated here/.

on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection with the /683/ place Mlygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two
[439] musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, accordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood, and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining attached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

/713 cont./

*796 läsng, and the cut-up pieces of meat and fat are kept in the storage chambers until it has been decided to resume the festival. But Judin did not seem to be in any hurry about that -- he was thinking instead of first going on a trading trip to Sakhalin. I *796 114 regretted this delay, but I had the consolation of having seen the further course of the bear festival the previous year in the village of Uda. This village, to be sure, is no longer in the territory of [171] the Gilyak, but in that of the Olcha, but since the entire custom of the bear festival was undoubtedly transmitted from the former to the latter, it is not likely, in view of the conservative nature of primitive peoples, that there are any essential differences between them in the main features of the festival. In Judin's house quiet had been restored: the many guests had departed, the dogs' table was set up again, and /714/ uïtsch-fears had given way to a greater freedom of movement inside the house. We stayed there *796 114 for another day: I in order to organize and complete the many notes in my journal made during the past days, and Mr. Maximowicz ● 126 in order to add the landscape background of Tebach to the sketches drawn from life. These sketches of my friend, now unfortunately deceased, are reproduced on Plates XI /p. 991/, XLVII /p.1247/, and XLVIII /p. 1248/, as well as in the woodcuts on pages 1150 and 1151 of this work, after having been technically improved, with the strictest regard for all details, the former here on the spot by Mr. Dimitrijef-Orenburgskij, the latter by Mr. Fr. Russow, custodian of our museum.

On the evening of January 15 we were again in Nikolayevsk, *796 where I immediately began the preparations for my second trip to 114 Sakhalin. The day for my departure had already been set when Judin again appeared at my place. He had put the question bothering him, whether it would be more favorable to resume the previously begun bear festival before or after his planned trading trip, before some of the older members of the village, among whom there was also a shaman, and they were of the opinion that the festival should first be brought to a conclusion. He had therefore come to Nikolayevsk again in order to make a few purchases. In reply to his repeated invitation to come also, I

/714 cont./

*796 114 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The [126] [127] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

[113]

1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 824 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only *796 with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

[123] [126]

1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249/. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

/715 cont. /

*796
[123]
[126]

1. (cont.)
put in the way of making sketches during the bear festival, only one bear is pictured on our plate, which is sufficient for comprehension. But there were two of them in Judin's house.

the second shelf of the étagère, under each bear, lay the pelvis belonging to it and a few fish (Cyprinus carpio, Gilyak pilengat), which were put before them for food, as it were. At the sides of the rack, from the little fir trees and branches decorating it, hung pieces of fur from previously consumed bears and all kinds of gracefully carved wooden spoons and bowls, the purpose of which [184] will be discussed later, as well as numerous zach. In another house in the same village, where the owner of the third (medium-sized) bear lived, there was the same arrangement and decoration in the interior, but the étagère was smaller, though all the more elaborately decorated, and only one bear's head looked down. It is always left to the owner, if he has two or more bears, to erect either a special étagère for each one or one common one for all and therefore correspondingly wider.

When everything is prepared and decorated in the house as required, the transfer of the bears' heads from the läsng into the house takes place. This had already preceded the arrival of Messrs. Ditmar and Brevern in Tebach. But as they later learned, and as I myself had heard from the Gilyak, it is done in the following way. The oldest Gilyak of the village, "cheimar," i.e., graybeards, lift the bear's head and skin out of the läsng, carry it around the house three times on a path made through the snow and decorated here and there with peeled sticks, curled wood-shavings, and fir branches, and then stop in front of a window in the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth. The frame of this window has been removed, and through this opening, not through the house door, the bear is carried into the house and directly in front of the hearth dedicated to it, in order to warm itself first before it is lifted to the étagère as the place of honor. At this window,

322 /717 cont./
*796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
[126] came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly uïtsch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p.1250 /, Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252 /, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band; Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

*796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
263 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

771 /741 cont. /
174 tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely
812 driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[126] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. 1, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kägn and tschngai (1).

[192] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped sāwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises
532 him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

/742 cont./

778 it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often
789 it is not exactly an idol, but some other kind of amulet, straps
755 knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the sick man's
532 neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery.
Such an amulet is called ngif and kissj. From Judin in Tebach I
[126] obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face
(see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. 1, pp. 57, 58.)

778 3. Gilyak. The village of Poghobi on the west coast of
755 Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shavings
184 on a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whole bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in her chest and sat there groaning and complaining. The zach was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after she had received this medicine, the woman stopped groaning and behaved very calmly and quietly the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman. (2 W.R. I, p. 6.)

778 4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate
755 LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 4, was named for me by the Gilyak as myikr.
532 It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off
[126] sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kuik. In the same vil-
778 lage among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away
532 for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

/744 cont./

778 755 532 [126] 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p.1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

[782] All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not excepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

778 532 751 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar purpose: they are the lalż and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

778 /746 cont. /A /746/ fact which speaks very much in
771 favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples,
171 whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

778 10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the
532 animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The
825 reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kāgn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few
[171] bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kuĭk, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

• [126]

2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

/749 cont./

Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

778 532 825 755 [775]

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idol-images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Allof. [126] The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the points marked with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

778 532 825

20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (att) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic; see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an att head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

778 825 532 755

Finally I found here the representation of an animal reminiscent of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide snout was densely studded with teeth. The natives called it chaż, or, as an idol, chaż-kägn, but knew nothing about the animal which the figure represented, in that they had neither seen such an animal in the water or on land nor heard it mentioned in their traditions. They simply said that this

[778] /750 cont./
[532] figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of
[825] the ailment (Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)
[755] 21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy
[126] many idols, all different and some of them very interesting, for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 4); several human figures had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

[126] I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the idols is put and which is called toll-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pómi-tscho) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 5), as well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound around them and several clothed in bearskin stood on a shelf in
[126] the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could
[778] not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many
[415] idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of
[532] various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toll-ngir. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p. 1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel
[126] was called tschobrä and was used for the same purpose. No amount
[784] of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that it was uitsch and would cause her death.

/750 cont./

778 532 [126] Several neatly carved and interesting idols were also sold to me in the village of Patt. On one the back of the head had the shape of a heart; on another two human figures stood on a block which represented two hearts (Plate LV /p. 1255 /, Fig. 5). /751/ The heart (ngif), by the way, is very often used on such carvings (see 13 /p. 1202/ above).

[825] Among the idols here there was one with the head of a tung or sea bear /fur seal/. The sea dog /harbor seal/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (2 S.R. I, pp. 6-9).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tschchyrkrach at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a flying fish-man. The head is similar to the head of a fish, with iron teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass-beads. The front and rear extremities are attached near the back of the neck. The former are evidently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out toward the front, the latter toward the rear, approximately on a horizontal plane with the head, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 1). C. v. Ditmar (who was in part instrumental in my obtaining the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patchä there is a legend which he was not disinclined to connect with it, since this village and the cape mentioned were not far apart.

778 532 539 "Once upon a time," the story goes, "the Gilyak of Patchä returned from fishing on two boats laden with fish. They were too tired to unload the fish at once and postponed the work until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark or the like. The next morning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly proved that someone had made a hearty meal of them. They therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

G /751 cont./
778 third time and again brought back two full boats. But this time
532 they decided to keep watch during the night in order to detect
539 the destroyer of their catch. They succeeded and the culprit was caught. It was a strange shape with the head of a fish and human arms and legs. The monster was placed in a structure similar to the one erected for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived in this captivity for a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free it. They took it to a cape on the Amur River between the village of Patchä and Cape Tschchyrkrach and tied it there to a well. But the monster bit the rope in two and disappeared, so that when the Gilyak returned it was no longer there."

G
778 I now asked among the Gilyak what the figure represented
764 and what its purpose was. They replied unanimously that the figure was called wagn, and they explained to me that this designated the place where the corpse of a slain Gilyak was burned (Bm. I, pp. 50, 51.)

23. Gilyak. Standing in the brush near the village of Patt (on the right bank of the Amur) there was a wagn which was for a Gilyak who had been killed by an Amgunj /Amgun/ Nägda
G /Negda/. The wagn was old and the eyes had fallen out, but the
[126] extremities were all there, only much less carefully /752/ worked than on the specimen acquired by me in Tschchyrkrach. The wagn reached from the ground up to my belt and was pointing with the head to where the murderer lived, that is, in the direction of the Amgunj. I do not wish to say, however, that such an arrangement was the rule among the Gilyak. (2 S. R. I, p. 8.)

Gi
778 24. Olcha. The Olcha assign an identical fate to those
825 who die peacefully and those killed by human hand and erect no
[764] wagn for the latter, as do the Gilyak. According to the information of the Olcha Chossiambo the representation of the wagn is
[763] based on the bird kóro whose appearance in any village is disastrous
Gi for its entire population. For whoever sees it must die. Such a
778 case had happened many years before in the village of Chala,
825 opposite Kisi (Kidsi?). The kóro had come and perched on the tip
173 of a larch tree (Olcha sissa, Gilyak koi), where the inhabitants of Chala saw it, and all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

9: Hawes--x T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 126

"In the matter of illustrations, I have a like pleasant duty to fulfil. Those appearing in the text have been sketched from articles in my possession, but the plates are in all cases from photographs. For those not taken by myself I am indebted to Mr. A. von Friken, Inspector of Agriculture on the island of Sakhalin, to Mr. Kuznetsov and to Mr. Ellinsky. For seven out of the eight (the first was by the author) forming the remarkable and unique series of the bear fête, I can only here record my thanks to one whom I met on the island, but who wishes to remain anonymous."

/xi/

L. IA. Shternberg as an Investigator of the Peoples of the Far East

IA. P. Al'kor (Koshkin)

*114 L. IA. Shternberg devoted a significant part of his life to the study of the peoples of the Far East. His scientific work began with the study of the Gilyak on Sakhalin (in 1890); it so prematurely ended with a paper on the "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (in 1927), upon his return from the Third Pacific Congress in Tokyo.

In his youth Shternberg did not think of scientific work. While still on the schoolbench, he dreamed of giving his whole life "for the good of the people." As a student in the Physics-Mathematics Department of St. Petersburg University and later in the Department of Law of the Novorossisk University, Shternberg took part in revolutionary activity, to which he gave his best young years. He was arrested in 1886 for active participation in the "The People's Will" party, and in the spring of 1889, after a three-year "stretch" in the Odessa central prison, he was deported for ten years to Sakhalin Island, where his ethnographic work began. Thus, the Tsarist prison and exile pushed Shternberg quite unexpectedly onto the path of a scientist.

*114 121 ● 127 It is true that even before his arrest and exile, Shternberg was interested in questions of primitive history and sociology, but he received the decisive push in that direction in the Odessa prison, where, due to a happy accident, he became acquainted with F. E Engels' book, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, in German. This book, as we shall see later, greatly facilitated the beginning of Shternberg's investigations on the history of family-clan relations and had a highly significant influence on his first works.

*114 Setting out in exile, Shternberg nourished the hope that even in distant banishment he would in one way or another be able to be useful to the community, but he did not even think about ethnographic work among the local /xii/ "natives" (in the

/xii cont./

*114 Shternberg commenced a broader and a more systematic study of the Gilyak in the first part of February, 1891, when the administration, having learned of his work with the Gilyak, commissioned him to make a family census of the northwestern Gilyak of Sakhalin from the village of Arkyvo to Cape Marii.

/xiii/ During this trip Shternberg discovered group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship among the Gilyak. Parallel to this, he carefully studied the clan rules and religious views of the
*114 Gilyak. It might be mentioned here that prior to his scientific re-
● 127 search he had not even had the opportunity to become familiar with the basic works of that time on the ethnography of the Far East. This is what he writes in the preface to his "Materialy /Materials/": "Due to the conditions of my stay on Sakhalin, even Schrenck's work on the history and material culture of the Amur peoples remained inaccessible to me for a long time... (1). From a careful

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1. Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, p. viii, St. Petersburg, 1908, publication of the Academy of Sciences.

analysis of Shternberg's literary heritage and of his first printed works, it is clear that at the time of his first trip to the Gilyak he had not had the opportunity to acquaint himself with either Schrenck's book, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskogo kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, or even Morgan's Ancient Society (Drevnee obshchestvo), Tylor's Pervobytnaia kul'tura /Primitive Culture/, or the other works on the history of primitive society.
*114 On the other hand, his prison acquaintance with Engels' classic
121 work was not wasted on him. There is no doubt but that it was
127 thanks to this study that he was able in such an astonishingly short period to discover among the Gilyak group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship and, basically, to realize clearly
[212] the full significance of this discovery. Thus, in a letter of the nineteenth of May to his good friend and companion-in-arms in

/xiii cont./

*114 revolutionary activity, M. A. Krol', Shternberg writes (2):

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2. I am indebted to the kindness of the widow of the deceased, S. A. Ratner-Shternberg, for acquainting me with the contents of this letter.

"I have discovered among them (the Gilyak) a kinship terminology and family-clan rights identical with those of the Iroquois and the famous punalua family (on the Sandwich Islands), in a word, the remains of that form of marriage on which Morgan based his theory and which served as a point of departure for Marx' and Engels' works on Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates, u.s.w. /the origin of the family, of the state, etc./. The interesting clan organization of the Gilyak, however, rests on this kinship system. At first I was afraid to trust my own discovery, but, having let not a single family or a single yurt go by during the census without detailed questioning as to what different members of the clan and family call one another and who has what rights, I finally became convinced (3). /xiv/ Al-

[161]

3. Earlier in the same letter Shternberg mentioned that he had covered 1,040 Gilyak in his census.

though there are voluminous studies on the Gilyak, no one in the literature known to me has studied this aspect of the question."

*114 After his investigation of the Gilyak of the northwest coast, there followed a series of other trips which resulted in a full ethno-
[125] graphic study of all Sakhalin. Thus, in June, 1891, he took the census of the Gilyak and the Orochi on the river Tym' and on the east coast of Sakhalin, and a partial one of the Tungus. In the winter of 1891 he encountered the Olcha who visited Sakhalin late in the fall for trading purposes. He spent the summer of 1892
[125] traveling on the river Poronai and around the entire southern part of Sakhalin as far as the settlement of Kosunaya, where, along with the Ainu and the Orok, he also studied and took a census of the Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--497 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/347 cont./

101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 829 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "ytk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "ytk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material below. 197 The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the Lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 127 174 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the continent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of [614] Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo, one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language, [184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

2: Schrenck--10 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

SS 114 [113]

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1. (cont.)
chim. tirés du Bulletin, Vol. II, pp. 346-355, 446-456, 492-497; Vol. III, pp. 8-17; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 49-65, 297-306, 344-363.

southern tip, by the way, I had already touched in the summer of 1854, along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of Japan, to the Gorin and the Ussuri, and, finally, on the return trip, up the entire Amur and a part of the Argunj /Argun/ River. During the winter travels in particular, I lived with and among the natives entirely. Therefore, it was principally the peoples of the lower Amur region, especially the Gilyak, but also the Olcha (Mangun) and Goldi, with whom I had an opportunity to become more closely acquainted, whereas I came in contact with the others only more or less fleetingly. For certain information concerning the Gilyak I am also indebted to Middendorff /Middendorf/, who /6/ became acquainted with this people as early as 1844, and, to be sure, on the extreme northwestern border of their area of distribution. He did not publish in his travel account the notes written down by him at that time, but kindly passed them on to me for use in this place, and they are in fact of great value to me, since I myself did not visit this part of the Gilyak area. Therefore, in the following where I refer to Middendorff without citing his writings, my information comes from the handwritten notes mentioned. A great deal was also contributed for a more detailed knowledge of the peoples of the lower Amur by the circumstance that during the time I had my headquarters in the midst of the Gilyak area, my friend and present colleague, C. J. Maximowicz, had his in Olcha territory, and, to be sure, in the Mariinski Post established shortly before. His information concerning the Olcha and Goldi collected at that time and on a later trip in 1859 and 60 and passed along to me forms an essential part of the following information on these peoples. This was a fortunate arrangement for ethnographic research because it is precisely the peoples of

G 114 127
Gi SS 114 127
SS 114

2: Schrenck--15 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

G SS 121 128

/8 cont./

Finally, by constantly keeping the entire region before our eyes, it may also lead to a more complete ethnographic picture of it.

G SS 126 128

The accompanying plates are also arranged in accordance with this treatment of the subject. I still have a few words to say about them beforehand. Since the Academy sent a draftsman with me, my aim was to give as clear and detailed a picture as possible of the life of the Amur peoples and everything connected with it, their dwelling, clothing, their household, hunting and fishing apparatus, their tombs, idols, and the like, by means of drawings, too. Concerning certain things in particular, such as, for example, the degree of skill shown by these peoples in making their utensils, the taste expressed in the decoration of their implements as well as their clothing, the possible influence on this from foreign, Chinese, /9/ and Japanese patterns, no judgment can be formed without the illustrations. A clear, concrete idea of the total being and doings of a people, however, can certainly be obtained only with a certain completeness of pictorial representations. It therefore did not seem proper to me to be too frugal with the number of these illustrations or to omit them wherever in earlier travel accounts, on the occasion of discussing other and especially Siberian peoples, similar, though at times rather crude representations are found. For the same reason I have only in rare cases taken note of the illustrations, neat as they are, which are found in the rather inaccessible atlas of Mr. Maack's /Maak/ trip in the Amur region, and all the more since the work concerned (1) contains no ethnographic text, but only

G SS [127]

G SS [113]

1. Puteshestvie na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazheniiu Sibirsk. Otdiela Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g. R. Maakom" /A Journey to the Amur, completed by R. Maak under the auspices of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society in 1855/, St. Petersburg, 1859.

2: Schrenck--16 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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a meager list of the illustrations, most of which even lack any information as to which of the Amur peoples they refer to. In any case the objects pictured there do not belong to the Gilyak, since Maack's trip did not touch their territory. Some of our illustrations could have been omitted by references to several woodcuts that are found in the last issue of Middendorff's travel report -- to illustrate the household implements of the Nigidal /Negidal/ -- but this issue had not appeared at the time when the following plates had all been prepared.

As stated above, since it is the peoples of the lower Amur region who are to be discussed here in greater detail, most of our illustrations refer to them, and especially to the Gilyak. Indeed, whenever identical or very similar objects from various Amur peoples were available to me, I always gave preference to the Gilyak one for the illustration, in order thus to provide as complete a picture as possible of at least one of these proples, and unquestionably the most unique and interesting one.

By far the most of the illustrations added here are by the draftsman of my expedition, Mr. W. Poliwanof, during our stay in the Nikolayev Post; a few were also drawn or at least sketched during the trips. I owe a not insignificant portion of the illustrations, especially the sketches of many scenes from Gilyak life, to Mr. Maximowicz, with whom I made many a trip in the Amur region. Still others were first made here from ethnographic objects brought back from the trip, for example, most of the idols by Mr. A Baumer, the drawings of Gilyak patterns by Mr. Nezwetajef. Finally, I had access to a collection which was made in the sixties, in part by W. Lanin in Nikolayevsk, in part by other photographers, namely, many photographs of the Gilyak, Goldi, and Ainu. All the material was handed over to the skilled artist, Dmitrijef-Orenburgskij, in order in part to work on it and to perfect it, and in part to make lithographs corresponding to the format of this work. Since Mr. Dmitrijef himself /10/ was never in the Amur region, it was all the more incumbent on me to examine all his work closely with regard to its faithfulness to detail, and I must

/361 cont./

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1. (cont.)
which projects farthest to the north, and the mouth of the Amur (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersburg, 1855, p. 618).

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For the sake of clarity and because many of the individual villages of the Gilyak will be mentioned repeatedly in the course of this work, I give the following tabular list of all the Gilyak villages, in part from me, and mostly from personal experience, and in part from Glehn's statements, and the number of their winter dwellings.

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/The following chart, which runs across pp. 362-363 in the original text, is given on four pages in the translation, the first page bearing the four columns pertaining to the mainland, the second page bearing the four columns pertaining to Sakhalin, and the next two pages containing the final column of notes./

/671 cont./

821 others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pur-
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3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

poseful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

576 I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a
[574] house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with
[127] a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too.
576 With me they likewise constantly came and went without a
177 salutation, or at most, later, with a "sdrástwui" and "proschtschâi"
648 learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu
[123] and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Ssan-ssin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

576 But what surprised me even more is the fact that the
574 word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the
000 certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

/714 cont./

*796 114 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The [126] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the [127] further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

[113]

1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 824 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only *796 with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

[123] [126]

1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249 /. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

/ xxxvi cont. /

*114 Our entire country is straining every effort consistent with the Lenin national policy to help the culturally backward peoples of the USSR to overcome their backwardness, which has been centuries in forming, to help them to catch up with the most cultured peoples of the Union, to contribute to the direct transition of their disintegrating clan society to a socialist society, passing over the capitalistic stage. And the works of Shternberg printed here, with a certain critical approach to their methodology, indubitably offer, we repeat, very valuable material for our workers in this field.

/xxxvii/

● 128 The present collection of works by Shternberg, with the exception of the monograph "Giliaki" and the sketches "Sakhalinskie gilyaki," "Orochi," "Ainskaia problema," "Kul't inau," and "Programmy po sobraniiu etnograficheskikh svedenii /Programs on the Collection of Ethnographic Information/," appears in print for the first time.

It is necessary to give some special explanation with regard to these works. The end of the article, "Klassifikatsiia korennogo naseleniia Amurskogo kraia /The Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region/," specifically, that part dealing with the nomenclature of these peoples, was reconstructed by V. I. Tsintsius (1) from rough drafts by Shternberg found in his archives.

1. Docent of the Leningrad Historico-Linguistic Institute and a scientific co-worker of the Institute of the Peoples of the North (of the INS).

The end of the sketch "Gol'dy," offering an account of the expedition of 1910, was likewise not found in the archives, and that gap is compensated for, to a certain degree, by "Otdel'nye materialy po etnografii gol'dov /Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Gol'di/," dug up from the archives by V. Tsintsius.

/xxxvii cont./

128 V. I. Tsintsius has also extracted from the archives systematized, separate materials, ethnographic, linguistic, and in part grammatical, on the Goldi, Orochi, and Negidal, and in the selection of the Negidal materials, another one of Shternberg's students took part, K. M. Myl'nikova (2). "Otdel'nye materialy po

2. Researcher on the Negidal and Lamut.

giliakam /Separate Materials on the Gilyak/" were selected by S. A. Ratner-Shternberg (3) from the notebooks of the author and

3. Ethnographer of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

other travel notes by him from the nineties of the last century and 1910 and were systematized by her; the style of the notes, the transcription of the non-native words, and, where it was possible to determine them, the dates cited are observed as far as possible.

The transcription of the Gilyak words and texts were checked by one of Shternberg's students in Gilyak studies, IU. A. Kreinovich (4).

4. Researcher on the Gilyak, scientific co-worker of the INS.

The anthropological materials were worked over by G. I. Petrov (5).

5. Former scientific co-worker of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, now head scientific co-worker of the Acad. of Mater. Culture in Leningrad.

128 With regard to "Otdel'nye materialy," for both the Tungus and the Gilyak, we must state that there might be data in them which were hastily thrown in during Shternberg's field work and, upon future examination by him, might have been deleted or corrected, but to clarify such instances, if they occur at all, is unfortunately, impossible.

104 As for the transcription of the Gilyak and Tungus-Manchu words, in agreement with the above-named co-workers -- linguists, we have adopted a Latinized transcription, preserving, however, some Russian letters, namely, ж, з, х, ч, ш /transliterated in the translation as zh, dz, kh, ch, and sh, respectively/, and departing somewhat from the signs generally accepted in modern linguistics for the expression of the length of vowels, softening of sounds, and so forth, in view of the technical obstacles in the typography of publishing. For the same reason it was necessary in the transcription of the Gilyak words, to omit a number of signs for the expression of certain phonetic nuances accepted by Shternberg in his "Obraztsakh po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Samples for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/." An explanation of the accepted transcription can be found below.

In the monograph "Giliaki" and the sketch "Sakhalinskie giliaki" published during the author's lifetime, the former transcription for Gilyak words is preserved. /HRAF ed.: The spelling of native terms in the original text is confusing, because letters from both the Russian and Latin alphabets have been used and they are not always distinguishable. In doubtful cases the letters have been transliterated as Russian, for which the transliteration system of the Board of Geographic Names (BGN) is used. Furthermore, the spelling of native terms varies from section to section in the original text, in part because of the use of the different alphabets, but sometimes inexplicably. In the following table, which has been slightly modified to avoid the use of the five Russian letters mentioned above, the Russian letter to which a given consonant corresponds is shown in the transliterated (BGN) form. The Library of Congress transliteration system is used for bibliographic references, and tribal names are spelled as they appear in the Outline of World Cultures./

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native 574 517 [484] [157] places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 157 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social framework of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

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III.

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Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of [611] [614] [595] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/383 cont./

683 and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
[411] with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
[868] proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
[859] childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
648 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
177 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
[178] present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

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128 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
[121] merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

103 (a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settle-
361 ments between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyyvo, Yamy, Manginay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyyde (1), Noksy,

[167] 1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigrvo (2), Marnlvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,

[491] 2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

Vaskhonkhvo, Kitnidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkryvo, Viskvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygrvo,

[491] 1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In
162 the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 245 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

[592] [128] 2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

[The western coast]

162 /385 cont./
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128

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "households" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 The total population is 1,041, of whom
595 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents)
[161] number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[589]

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

[128]
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163 The number of children who
165 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[124]

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

T /388 cont./

361 The inhabitants of the village of Kekhrvo say that in the
[103] extreme north -- above Cape Levenshtern -- there is a small
E[162] settlement of Orochon on the coast -- Trond (two yurts with six
G [103] men and three women). It has communications with the western
T coast by way of the settlement of Pomr (a 24 hour trip on reindeer,
[484] although from Kekhrvo it takes 10-15 days in the summer). The
[492] remaining Sakhalin settlements of Orochon, as well as the settle-
G ments of the Tungus, were also described in detail during the
T [128] census. We shall not, however, include the details about these
peoples in the present article, which deals only with the Gilyak.

/6 cont./

122 Little as I understood Gilyak, it was nevertheless always more than any other newcomer in the Amur region, because it was more important for me to learn the language than for anyone else.
[123] Also, I can offer the testimony given by the Gilyak themselves to the effect that I did not speak their language like the other Russians (or foreigners), but in the way they themselves spoke (2),

> 2. I heard them say to one another about me, he speaks "mer ngarlatsch," i.e., "like us."

which undoubtedly referred to my use of some of their /7/ verb forms and suffixes, which were still wholly unknown to my contemporaries in the Amur region, and in any case did not mean much in view of their extremely slight knowledge of Gilyak. It was similar for Maximowicz with the Olcha and Goldi as for me with the Gilyak. Therefore none of the information given below about these peoples was obtained through the mediation of
122 interpreters. This circumstance perhaps makes our reports much
128 less complete than they would have been otherwise, since at the beginning, before learning the language, we had to limit ourselves to observation with the eyes and renounce the much more important instruction through the ears. On the other hand, however, the information, especially concerning abstract things, religious conceptions, and the like, could only gain in trustworthiness and inner value if it was obtained directly and immediately and not rendered in the light in which it was reflected in the mind of an uneducated interpreter.

123 Another and scarcely less significant difficulty in ethnographic research lies in the easily understandable suspicion with which the traveler is only too apt to be met among a half-wild foreign people and which makes the people either taciturn and reserved or even prompts deliberately false and untrue statements. I tried to overcome this, on the one hand, by friendly advances, small presents, hospitality, and kindnesses of all sorts, and, on the other hand, by caution in accepting all

G /8 cont./
123 absolutely negative. In their naïve way they, of course, did not suspect that I might have understood their conversation.

G SS 121 The above-mentioned circumstances that I was unable to come into equally close contact with all the Amur peoples naturally was fundamentally decisive for the nature of the treatment of the subject in the following pages. If detailed or even approximately complete information about all the Amur peoples were available to us, a monographic discussion of them would perhaps be most suitable; for with such a comprehensive picture of the physical and spiritual life of each individual people, its entire individuality would be seen more precisely. But we do not have such rich material at our disposal. Moreover, with such a treatment a drawback, I mean frequent repetitions, would be unavoidable. For primitive peoples, or at the least peoples who are still half-wild, who live as neighbors under the same stretch of sky, are thrown upon the same nature, the same food resources and means of existence, and stand under the same, though equally slight cultural influences, always have many correspondences with one another in their way of life, their practices and customs, their views, etc., however much they differ with respect to descent and language. For these reasons I preferred not to take up the G SS 121 various peoples of the Amur region coming under consideration here singly, one after the other, but rather in a comparative 128 fashion, beside one another, always starting with the Gilyak, who heretofore were known almost solely by name, whereas they are the very ones whom I know best. Although such a treatment does not give a full, well-rounded, and self-contained picture of any of the peoples concerned, but rather only fragmentary descriptions, from which the reader has to put together the total picture himself, nevertheless, it might also have an advantage over the monographic treatment, beyond the avoidance of repetition already stressed, in that it offers more opportunities for general comparisons and conclusions concerning separate phenomena in the life of primitive peoples and therefore also permits much deeper insight into the natural and cultural history of mankind.

G SS 121 128 /8 cont./

Finally, by constantly keeping the entire region before our eyes, it may also lead to a more complete ethnographic picture of it.

G SS 126 128 The accompanying plates are also arranged in accordance with this treatment of the subject. I still have a few words to say about them beforehand. Since the Academy sent a draftsman with me, my aim was to give as clear and detailed a picture as possible of the life of the Amur peoples and everything connected with it, their dwelling, clothing, their household, hunting and fishing apparatus, their tombs, idols, and the like, by means of drawings, too. Concerning certain things in particular, such as, for example, the degree of skill shown by these peoples in making their utensils, the taste expressed in the decoration of their implements as well as their clothing, the possible influence on this from foreign, Chinese, /9/ and Japanese patterns, no judgment can be formed without the illustrations. A clear, concrete idea of the total being and doings of a people, however, can certainly be obtained only with a certain completeness of pictorial representations. It therefore did not seem proper to me to be too frugal with the number of these illustrations or to omit them wherever in earlier travel accounts, on the occasion of discussing other and especially Siberian peoples, similar, though at times rather crude representations are found. For the same reason I have only in rare cases taken note of the illustrations, neat as they are, which are found in the rather inaccessible atlas of Mr. Maack's /Maak/ trip in the Amur region, and all the more since the work concerned (1) contains no ethnographic text, but only

G SS [127]

G SS [113]

1. Puteshestvie na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazheniiu Sibirsk. Otdiela Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g. R. Maakom" /A Journey to the Amur, completed by R. Maak under the auspices of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society in 1855/, St. Petersburg, 1859.

2: Schrenck--16 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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a meager list of the illustrations, most of which even lack any information as to which of the Amur peoples they refer to. In any case the objects pictured there do not belong to the Gilyak, since Maack's trip did not touch their territory. Some of our illustrations could have been omitted by references to several woodcuts that are found in the last issue of Middendorff's travel report -- to illustrate the household implements of the Nigidal /Negidal/ -- but this issue had not appeared at the time when the following plates had all been prepared.

As stated above, since it is the peoples of the lower Amur region who are to be discussed here in greater detail, most of our illustrations refer to them, and especially to the Gilyak. Indeed, whenever identical or very similar objects from various Amur peoples were available to me, I always gave preference to the Gilyak one for the illustration, in order thus to provide as complete a picture as possible of at least one of these proples, and unquestionably the most unique and interesting one.

By far the most of the illustrations added here are by the draftsman of my expedition, Mr. W. Poliwanof, during our stay in the Nikolayev Post; a few were also drawn or at least sketched during the trips. I owe a not insignificant portion of the illustrations, especially the sketches of many scenes from Gilyak life, to Mr. Maximowicz, with whom I made many a trip in the Amur region. Still others were first made here from ethnographic objects brought back from the trip, for example, most of the idols by Mr. A Baumer, the drawings of Gilyak patterns by Mr. Nezwetajef. Finally, I had access to a collection which was made in the sixties, in part by W. Lanin in Nikolayevsk, in part by other photographers, namely, many photographs of the Gilyak, Goldi, and Ainu. All the material was handed over to the skilled artist, Dmitrijef-Orenburgskij, in order in part to work on it and to perfect it, and in part to make lithographs corresponding to the format of this work. Since Mr. Dmitrijef himself /10/ was never in the Amur region, it was all the more incumbent on me to examine all his work closely with regard to its faithfulness to detail, and I must

2: Schrenck--17 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

/10 cont./

G SS 126 128

testify that in all his drawings he faithfully copies reality as a whole as well as in all its details. In order to illustrate the craniological proportions of the Amur peoples, the photographer of the Academy of Sciences, Mr. W. Clasen, made with his customary skill a number of phototypic plates, the details of which will be discussed in the appropriate place. The same will be done with regard to the ethnographic map of the Amur region preceding all the illustrations, which was made by the topographic section of the general staff here under the direction of Major General O. von Stubendorff.

It is a pleasant duty for me to express publicly here my warmest thanks to all the gentlemen named who have worked on the artistic design and adornment of this book, especially my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, through whose industrious devotion most of the drawings were made. If this work succeeds in giving a true and clear picture of the Amur peoples and their life and practices, certainly not the least part of this is on account of his illustrations.

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I. Geographical-Historical Part

Section 1

General survey of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region. Present boundaries of their respective areas of distribution. Spatial position of the civilized peoples of East Asia, Chinese and Japanese, in the Amur region. Spatial position of the Russians in relation to the Amur peoples. Ethnographic map of the Amur region.

SS 13

A certain uniformity of the phenomena in nature and the life of the people, extending over broad areas, is generally a part of the character of northern Asia, but it stands out in the Amur region much less than in Siberia. The Amur region, provided with diverse natural conditions, alternating mountain

S.S. /88 cont./
175 Amur on my return trip to Europe, on the whole stretch from the
131 last-named place to Ustj-Strelka I found only five small tem-
36 porary guardposts at the places where depots of food supplies had
712 been set up for the troops returning to Transbaikalia from the
[114] lower Amur. At the first of these guardposts (Sungarijskij Piket),
lying opposite the mouth of the Sungari, going upstream, /89/
these food supplies had not yet arrived at the time when I reached
it on July 15/27. The second was immediately above where the
Amur River enters the Bureja Mountains (Chinganskij Piket) and,
like all the others, on its left bank; the third and largest was
near the mouth of the Dseja (Ustjseiskij Piket), on the site of the
present town of Blagoveshchensk; the fourth was opposite the
S.S. mouth of the Komar (Kamarskij P.), and, finally, the fifth was
175 on the small Kotomanga River (Kotomandskij P.) (1) Thus,
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1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. XIX-XXI, of the present work.

during the time of my stay in the Amur region only the first steps
S.S toward the occupation and colonization of a part of it had been
[648] made by the Russians. Not until after the end of the Crimean
War, when the Amur region was again accessible to the Russians
from the sea, and especially after the conclusion of the Treaty
of Aigun (1858), by means of which the present boundaries be-
tween Russia and China were established and the major part of
the Amur region came into Russian possession de jure, did there
begin that energetic, almost feverish colonization mentioned at
the beginning and which inevitably had the greatest influence
upon the ethnographic conditions in this region. But these events
are already outside the scope of our description.

G In concluding this survey I am taking the liberty of present-
S.S. ing a few remarks, in part historical and critical and in part
114 general and summarizing, concerning the appended map
128 figuratively illustrating the geographic distribution of the Amur
peoples discussed above.[1] It is the first ethnographic map

[1] [This map appears on pages 418-423 of this translated source; facing P. 310 in foreign text.-Author]

/89 cont./

G S.S. 114 128 referring specifically to the Amur region. On the map accompanying the first volume of this work I have noted the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries, as well as on Sakhalin, without, however, defining their respective areas. Later, in G S.S. 101 114 1873, there appeared an ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia by Wenjukof /Veniukov/ on which the Russian part of the Amur region is included (2). Because of the relatively small scale of

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2. "Etnograficheskaia karta Aziiatskoi Rossii. Massht. v" angl. diuimie 250 verst" ili 1/10,500,000 /Ethnographic Map of Asiatic Russia. Scale: one English inch to 250 versts or 1/10,500,000/." It accompanies the work by the same author, Opyt" voennago obozrieniia Russkikh" granits" v" Asii /An Attempt at a Military Survey of the Russian Frontiers in Asia/, St. Petersburg, 1873, but it also may be obtained separately.

the whole map, however, only a few square inches could be devoted to the Amur region. Correspondingly, the information is for the most part only summary, in that the individual Tungusic tribes, which occupy almost the whole of the Amur region, are not distinguished at all or at most by a few inscriptions which for the most part are not in the proper place, and there is no mention of any delimitation of their respective areas. In connection with this, these condensed Tungusic tribes of the Amur region are usually erroneously delimited from the other two peoples distinguished on the map, the Gilyak and Ainu. This map therefore actually gives only an approximate total picture of the Tungusic population, by far the predominant one in the Amur /90/ region, into which at that time Russian colonists had already poured along the Amur, the Ussuri, Lake Kengka, and down the Ssuifun to Peter the Great Bay (1). Our map virtually ignores this

S.S. [167]

1. The following special remarks may serve as verification for my opinion of

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S.S.
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1. (cont.)
ethnographic map of the Russian Empire recently drawn up by Petermann (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, Plate 1), which, for Asiatic Russia, is based entirely upon the information of the former. Despite the much smaller scale, it faithfully copies the boundaries of the Gilyak territory that were shown above as erroneous. The names of the individual Tungusic Amur-peoples, however, are entirely omitted on it, so that the Amur region, with the exception of a short stretch along the lower course of its principal river, like the adjacent part of Eastern Siberia, seems to be inhabited only by "Tungusen."

G
S.S.
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Our map virtually ignores this last factor completely, since it shows the ethnographic situation of the Amur region at a time when the Russians, after a pause of two hundred years, were just beginning to penetrate into the Amur region again, and were not to abandon it from then on. Since the colonization especially followed the principal rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri, it changed the ethnographic conditions chiefly where the indigenous population was most densely settled. It may therefore be that since then many communities of the latter have been displaced, shifted, or reduced, have even disappeared altogether, and their very names as well. And the future will even more take a rapid and relentless course in this direction. Now, since our map /91/ establishes the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region before they were affected by these changes, it can in the future provide a yardstick for the latter. And that can only heighten its scientific interest. How valuable, for example, an accurate ethnographic map of the Amur region at the time of the first Russian invasion would be for us now! How much could be drawn from it for the questions to be dealt with in the next section!

[i.e., The mass immigration of the Russian colonists into the Amur River region--Analyst]

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G
SS. /91 cont./
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Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

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Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

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If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

G 361 /363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschilwi with six yurts.

G 361 162 4) This Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidsi which among its six houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

G 361 5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pättach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Middendorff among the Gilyak on Ulban Bay and made available to me.

G [114] 7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with his statements on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be excused if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some decrease in the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data ascertained by me personally are considered in this list.

G [161] [128]

G [162] [128] 8) Since this village and Pilja-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Ainu, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

G [114] 10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

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As may be seen from this list, very many Gilyak villages consist of only a single winter dwelling, be it a Chinese yurt or an earth yurt. Most Gilyak villages contain only two or three winter yurts. As one can see for himself from the above list, this is the average number of yurts in the Gilyak villages, and, to be sure, on the continent, along the Amur River and Liman, the average is three each, and on the island of Sakhalin, on the west coast and in the Tymy valley, two yurts to a village. For [128] this reason, in determining the total number of the winter yurts on the east coast of Sakhalin for the six villages whose number of yurts remained unknown to both Glehn and me, I reckoned two earth yurts for each village. Villages with four or five yurts belong among the large ones and are few in number in all the individual areas of the region occupied by the Gilyak; but in each of these areas there are individual places with a larger number of yurts, from six to ten and more, and they can be designated as the principal and central points of the individual areas, indeed, the largest among them as the principal and central points of the whole Gilyak region. The largest Gilyak village on the mainland is Wair, or Wait, as the Russians customarily call it. Located in the estuary part of the Amur River, nearly equidistant from the area extending above its last bend and the Amur-Liman, from North Sakhalin and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Wair lies at the center, as it were, of the entire habitation area of the Gilyak, continental as well as insular. With its 16 winter houses lying somewhat inland from the river in two rows, the many summer yurts rising close to the bank in front of them, the numerous large and small storehouses scattered alongside and in between, open or roofed drying racks, and the like give an impression of a large, heavily populated village, a metropolis of Gilyak life. Only a little above Wair there is another large Gilyak village, Magho with eleven yurts, and diagonally across from it Tebach with seven yurts, which, located at the last bend of the river toward the east, belongs to both the estuary part of it and to the adjacent part upstream. In the latter part of the Gilyak habitation area the villages are closest together, though they are almost purely small villages with two or three yurts, and only the two Principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number.

293 /395 cont./
412 and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2).
[531] The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata)
[237] adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX)[1] (5). Usually a second knife is also worn at

[128] 5. On Pl. XVIII[2] the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dshakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4),[3] quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring
[237] at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made of sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dshakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the
415 /396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as
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1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container
[531] for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small
[237] bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak tschondak, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5),[4] usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[1,2,3,4] [See category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respectively --Analyst]

263 /445 cont./
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few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for
[482] dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other household needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2,[z] Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
415 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
177 ormotsch-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of

[z] [See category 116, p. 1013--Analyst]

226 192 805 /527 cont./
tschrar-long -- "the little fish-month" (1).

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1. At the appropriate place in the following there will be a discussion of the other designations which the months May-August bear among the Gilyak and which are derived from factors other than the periods of the migrations of fish, as well as the names customary among them for the other months.

226 The direction and the time of migration of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus along the east coast of Sakhalin seem to be somewhat different than in the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in the Liman, and at the mouth of the Amur. According to Mizul, the former goes along this coast from south to north, reaches the Bay of Patience about the middle of June, and in July and until late August goes up the Plyi or Poro-nai and its tributaries. During the first half of August it also appears along the island's coast located to the north of the Bay of Patience, goes up into the Tymy River, and by the middle of this month and until late in the fall is found in its upper course and its tributaries. S. lagocephalus appears somewhat later than S. proteus, and, as Mizul expressly remarks, first in the northern part of southern Sakhalin and not until later in the southern part, so that its migration here, in contrast to that of S. proteus, seems to go from north to south; moreover, it appears there in smaller quantities and not in all, but only in certain rivers, in these, however, every year, though in variable numbers (2). It therefore seems principally to strive

2. Mizul, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

for the larger rivers on the east coast of Sakhalin also, that is, the Poro-nai and especially the Tymy. At the mouth of the latter, in Nyi Bay, Poljakof in 1881 witnessed the mass appearance and ascent of S. lagocephalus into the river, which continued

/545 cont./

225 184 [192] prong (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (tugngy), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, on the other hand, where a deep groove is carved, the board is joined to a pole (Gilyak tla) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Uïsut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is lowered to the water and pushed along, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal resting on a stone or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the bank, until it is close enough so that a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more floating beams to a post driven into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the shore in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the lÿch held in readiness (2).

• [128] [126]

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 751, 763, 780, 791, and 825 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Fr. Russow, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, or contained in my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

/566 cont./

326 especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to
411 use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them
556 away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may
361 have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region,
326 the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above
411
126
[128]

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak.
361 In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje
648 was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

[128]

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

G
Gi
T
224

/588 cont./

basis of the most numerous and generally most popular of these animals, simply as sable hunting, among the peoples of the upper Amur region, who rely on hunting almost entirely for their food and in large part for their clothing, the meat animals, elk, red deer, roe deer, and wild pig, stand in first place as the objects hunted. Also contributing to this is the fact that the two large animals named first are also used for tributary payments to the Manchu officials (4), and the young and still soft deer antlers are

G
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[648]
[439]
G
Gi
T
[128]

4. I again draw attention to the fact that my descriptions apply to the 50's, that is, a time when almost the entire Amur region was still under Chinese rule.

T
224

an important trade item. To be sure, the precious fur-bearing animals, and especially the sable, are regarded as most desirable booty, and, accordingly, zealously hunted, by the upper Amur peoples, too, but their number has so greatly declined in the course of time, both because of the constant and strenuous hunting and because of the frequent and extensive forest fires, in part caused by negligence and in part intentional, that, in addition to them, other animals formerly regarded as worthless and ignored have acquired value. In particular, as the sable gradually disappeared, the squirrels serving as food for it became so much more common and numerous that along the upper Amur and its /589/ tributaries on both sides they have already become the principal objects of attention for the hunters, and, though of little value individually, they repay their labor and expense because of their great numbers. The Schilka and Argunj Cossacks, who annually in the fall and organized in small companies (artels) undertake long hunting expeditions lasting for weeks and months in the Orochon and Manegir territories, therefore simply call this hunting of theirs, in accordance with its chief purpose, "belkowjo" (1), i.e., squirrel pursuit. Thus, another

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224

1. Accordingly, the verb "belkowatj," i.e., to pursue squirrel-hunting.

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no
116, 133, 174

Tartarie to the waters separating
was the first to apply the term Gul
such as Mamia Rinso Strait, Tarta

The following extract from Findlay's wo
the Pacific Ocean (507) gives the generall

507. London, 1851, part i, 618.

It is not absolutely determined
or peninsula, but as all evider
ion, that appellation has been
be considered that Sakhalin is
sandy neck of land over which
when the strong southerly gale
ters to a higher level, and that
tively recent date, and still on
of the Amour, so that the olde

the island from the mainland. Broughton
lf of Tartary. There are other names
ary Strait, etc.

ork entitled A Directory for the Navigation of
y accepted English view regarding Sakhalin:

l whether Sakhalin be an island
nce tends toward the latter opin-
retained . . . it must therefore
joined to the continent by a flat
, it is possible, the sea may wash
es which occur here drive the wa-
the isthmus may be of compara-
n the increase from the deposits
r Chinese charts may be correct.

21: Golder--259-261 H-3
116, 133, 174

On the map accompanying this w

508. For a somewhat simi
(New York, 1849), vol. ii."

(no date) 1914 Gil

ork Sakhalin is represented as a peninsula. (50

lar view see M'Cullouch's Universal Gazetteer

21: Golder--259-261 H-3
116, 133, 174

to the sea in this direction, t
we could plainly distinguish

undertook to solve the problem in an
of Sakhalin he sailed along the easte
of the island. He doubled and named
course through Tartary Strait, hopin
those of Laperouse. But when withi
sighting the Amur River, he was bro
back, believing Sakhalin to be a peni

502. Krustenstern, A. J. de
'Il est par consequent demont
une isthme très-bas, et ainsi
possible et meme tres vraise
meme a une epoque peu eloig
les cartes chinoises le repre

It is probably unique in the annals
the greatest naviga-[261]tors of their

he whole being closed by lowland, which
at intervals.'

other way. Instead of following the western shore
rn, and in so doing determined the northern extent
l the northern capes and then steered a southerly
ng that in this manner he would join his efforts with
n two hundred miles of his desired goal, and before
ought to a standstill by the sand banks, and turned
nsula. (502)

:. Voyage Autour du Monde, vol. ii, 247.
tré que Sakhalin est uni a la Tartarie par
i n'est qu'une presq'ile. Toutefois il est
emblable qu-anciennement, et peut-être
née, Sakhalin etait isolé du continent comme
sentent.'

of modern geography that three scientists, among
day, studying the subject on the spot should come

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

9: Hawes--186-187
116, 133

it the original sea-leve
of the Tim flowing nort
their way above the su
island already referre
posited, and the growth
wild rose (Rosa rugosa

: Golder--263-264 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak
6, 133, 174 Russ
36, 17

him at Ayan [Okhotsk Sea]; and when on the morning of September 3, 1715, the Baikal hove in sight, Muravyof went out in a small boat to meet her. When near enough to be heard the governor called for news, and Nevelski shouted back: 'God helped us...we have accomplished our important task... Sakhalin is an island. It is possible to enter the gulf and the river Amur by seagoing vessels either from the north or the south.'

From 1849 to 1855 Nevelski and other Russian officers were exploring and charting e waters and harbors of the Amur and Sakhalin. A channel was found, and the Bai iled into the Amur from the north in [264] 1850. (517) Three years later (518) the g

517. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 274.

518. De Sabir, C. Le Fleuve Amour, 63.

at Wostok, coming from Japan, entered the river from the south.
These important discoveries were known to very few people. The greatest secrec s maintained for fear of exciting China and arousing the hostility of other countries

1. The sand-dunes, due to deposition by the alluvium-laden waters
h, checked by the Okhotsk cold current flowing south, had found
face of the water in the course of the gradual emergence of the
to. From that time seeds carried by wind or bird had been de-
of coarse grass, Swiss pine (Pinus cembra pumila), and even
) had helped to bind the sand and establish these long sandy islets."

kal
un-

y
,

21: Golder--263-264
116, 133, 174
636.17

particularly England. (519)

519. Muravyof susp
He accused her of de
Pacific and to depriv
that England had des
In 1853 he predicted
ican possessions, an
the United States and
N. Muraveef-Amurs

9: Hawes--401 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 133, 563

"The morning after my departure saw the
It is a well-sheltered harbour, with a depth
thirty feet off Observatory Island, a bold isl
officers set up their instruments on it, afte
position. To the south of this is a small isle
east is Basalt Island. Near the southern hea
Kamp a fine lighthouse, then about to be des
navigation. On the north-western shore of th
Alexandrovsk post, consisting of a telegraph
assistants, and a tiny church and barracks f
there. To the north and south stretch forest
Oroktis. Around the bay the hills rise to a h
clothed with trees, save where the tell-tale
lighted by the Russians. It is a lonely spot a
by ice from all navigation, it is only access
river Amur, which is itself served by relay
in one respect was it at that time better off
cecting it with Vladivostok was intact. In thi
and Steam Shipping Company had just statior

Tsitsikar standing in for De Castries Bay.
at entrance of fifty feet, diminishing to
et so named by La Pérouse, because his
r a long interval, to determine their exact
t called Oyster Island, and to the north-
d stands up on the promontory of Kloster
erted by the pilots with the cessation of
e bay, at the mouth of the river Somon, is
-office, with the houses of the Chief and his
or the small company of soldiers stationed
s, uninhabited save by a few roaming
eight of 1100 and even to 1540 feet, thickly
brown slopes witnessed to fires carelessly
t any time, and especially in winter. Cut off
ible to the post by dog-sledges from the
s of horse-sledges from distant parts. Only
than Alexandrovsk; the telegraph-wire con-
s secluded spot the Chinese Eastern Railway
ed an agent."

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no da
116, 133, 174

to such erroneous conclusions. It is not sur
adopted their views. Some made Sakhalin a
the mainland just at the spot left unexplored

503. Heinrich Keller, Weimar, 1814
Langsdorff's Reise um die Welt.

Others, although not distinctly uniting the tw
by sandbanks and called Sakhalin a peninsula

504. Vandermalen, P. H. Asie (Brux

still picture Sakhalin as an island, (505) but

505. Malte-Brun, Traite Elementai
des cotes de la Mantchourie s'etend

circumnavigable. (506)

506. Laperouse seems to be the firs

prising that stay-at-home cartographers
peninsula of Tartary, connecting it with
by Krusenstern and Broughton. (503)

. Probably a copy of the map in

o bodies, yet indicated that they are joined
. (504) There are a few, however, who

kelles, 1827).

it is not probable that they mean that it is

re de Geographie: 'A peu de distance
a longue ile de Saghalien...'

st to have given the name Manche de

21: Golder--263-264 H-3
116, 133, 174
636.17

"Russia's success on the Amur is
Nicolai Nicolaewitz Muravyof-Amurs
Muravyof set about extending Russia
burg he selected Nevelski, a sea cap
to help him carry out his plans. Th
Russian Government to undertake a s
to explore the northern part of Sakha
and the gulf and mouth of the Amur.

515. Barsukof, I. Count Nik

in Kamchatka, and, as soon as he di
carefully surveyed and charted the n
no longer able to find a channel for h
his southward course to the mouth of
his achievement, he pushed on still f
Broughton, thus proving most convin

516. —Ibid., vol. i, 198, 222-

due in large part to one of her great statesmen,
ski. Appointed governor-general of Siberia in 1847,
's power on the Pacific. Before leaving St. Peters-
tain in the service of the Russian American Company,
rough his efforts Nevelski was commissioned by the
secret expedition with the following objects in view:
lin, the strait between Sakhalin and the mainland,
(515) Early in the spring of 1849, Nevelski arrived

olai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. ii, 37.

scharged his cargo, he sailed for Sakhalin. He
orthern point of Sakhalin and the Amur Gulf. When
is ship Baikal he went into a small boat and continued
the Amur which he entered. Not yet content with
arther south to the most northerly point attained by
cingly that Sakhalin is an island and not a peninsula. (516)

-224. Muravyof was anxiously waiting for

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.
161 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
177 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p. 249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

133 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
312 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) seagoing vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

133 they do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream
312 is torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not have an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

133 The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from
361 both sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low islands. The general character of the land is that of a majestic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear partly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland they are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are generally not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region is covered with vast dark green forests. Only here and there the stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by the sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, isolated spots along the shore there are Russian villages surrounded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, at the foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak villages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. Occasionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark
136 or Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless heron is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish splashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges only to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the large animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the traveler as he might have expected and as is the case in other regions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the Ussuri.
136 The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir
137 and larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is wafted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thickness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settlements were particularly numerous along the shallow shore of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-1-5
116, 133, 174

"With the exception of Poyarkof and one other party of Russians in the seventeenth century (499) and the efforts of Bering's lieutenants in the eighteenth century there [260]

499. See footnote 482. [LSS: in category 174, p. 256]

is no record that other Europeans sailed in Tartary Strait until the coming of Laperouse in 1787. This famous Frenchman set about clearing up the cartographical confusion of this region. After touching at Jeso Island, he sailed into Tartary Strait until he was stopped by the shallow water in the neighborhood of the fifty-second parallel. In his report and chart he announced that there was no navigable channel. (500)

500. Laperouse, J. B. Voyage de Laperouse autour du Monde, vol. iii, 53. 'Cette stagnation des eaux paraissait etre une preuve qu'il n'y avait point de chenal.'

Ten years later Broughton, following the course of Laperouse, succeeded in reaching farther north by fifteen miles, (501) but without finding a passage. Krusenstern, in 1805,

501. Broughton, W. R. Voyage of Discovery in the North Pacific Ocean, vol. vii, 302. Broughton was 'fully convinced that there was no opening

Golder--263-264 H-3
133, 174
.17

ticularly England. (519)

519. Muravyof suspected and dreade
He accused her of desiring to becom
Pacific and to deprive Russia of all i
that England had designs on the Amu
In 1853 he predicted that the United St
ican possessions, and suggested that
the United States and Russia against
N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 323;

(no date) 1914

Gilyak-3
Russia

d England above all other nations.
e the leading power in the North
nfluence and power. He believed
r and that her ships had been there.
tates would secure Russia's Amer-
an alliance should be formed between
England [Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai
vol. ii, 38, 46, 55]."

9: Hawes--221-224 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 135

use both to the Russian Fleet, the Manchurian and Ussu
the vast hordes of consumers of lamp-oil in China, Kore

It is to be hoped that Mr. Platonov's hopeful report ma
supplies may prove to be deep-lying; for should they be a
incidentally a god-send to the 'exile settlers,' who, from
drift in large numbers of cases into their old ways.

In 1898, a discovery of gold was made, and a company
ever gave up. It was rumoured that eternally frozen eart
[224] stopped. Frozen soil presents no insuperable diffic
were situated at a considerable depth (in the Vitim distri

1. North-east of Lake Baikal.

to a depth of 150 feet), and therefore were quite unprofita

-i railways; and by refining to
a, and Japan.
y not be belied, and that the
ctively worked, they will prove
the absence of employment,

was formed, which soon how-
h was struck, and proceedings
ulties, but probably the gravels
ct (1) they are said to be frozen

ble to work."

[The western Coast]

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look

135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The

137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along

132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous

[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the

[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the

135 491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak

103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta

361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

[824]

1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

114 361 103

2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the author did not include in the number of

Our present objective was the hut of a prospector four miles inland from the coast. A ouple of hours' rowing [LSS: From Chaivo Bay] brought us within sight of another river, nown as the Boatassin. As we approached it two figures on the left bank were moving bout and disappearing rather suspiciously, but as we neared land they showed themelves quite openly, and we saw that one of them was a soldier, though his uniform was 22] old, shabby, and much the worse for wear. Having landed our baggage with some fficulty, for the tide was still on the ebb, we found it impossible to carry all of it the x versts (four miles) to the hut, and therefore stowed all the heavier articles in a cave ose by..... Our way lay through what had been dense forest a hort while since, but was now denuded of its undergrowth. At first I blamed this wanton estruction, but, when I had made the acquaintance of the surviving mosquitoes, I ympathized with those who had fired their way through the forest. We passed over hill lopes, almost snow-clad in appearance, covered with the lichen which the reindeer ves, and among hoary-looking trees hung with a capillary lichen which he also favours. he slopes gave way at length to swamps temporarily bridged with larch-poles, along hich it was necessary to walk Blondin-like. We were met and heartily welcomed by e prospector's son, and, strange as it may seem, by an English youth who by a series f curious chances found himself in this wild out-of-the-world spot. They had preceded s by about two months.

Petroleum, known for a long time to the natives, and reported on by the Government

expert, Mr. Bazevich, in 1894, had
his search until he had found, not on
miles north near the Nutovo river. C
feet, was in a state of bubbling uphea
mud, owing to the evaporation of the
sufficient resistance to allow of walk
the Boatassin river, eternally frozen
metres. This is very low, and accou
than on the north-west shores. On th
summer, on July 1, at half a metre's
Alexandrovka) river.

A year after I reached this spot, a
despatched by the Baku Manufacture
On the same trip he had already paid
According to the Russian newspaper,
very optimistic view of the wealth an
saying that all he had seen in Americ
found in Sakhalin. He is even made t
river Nutovo exceed those of Baku in
and therefore to be capable of immed

been discovered to the prospector, who had extended
ly exusions of it on this spot, but lakes of it a few
One of these, which had a diameter of about eighteen
val. [223] The others had a surface of bituminous
oil, which was soft, but at the same time offered
ing upon it. In boring at a spot four miles north of
ground had been found at a depth of ten and a half
nts for the tundra hereabouts being less pronounced
e west coast Dr. Poliakov reported it in mid-
s depth, in the valley of the Duika (Great

Russian petroleum expert, Mr. R. S. Platonov,
rs Trust, visited and inspected the neighbourhood
a visit to the Texas and Pennsylvanian oil-fields.
the Kavkaz (Caucasus) of June, 1903, he takes a
d extent of the Sakhalin fields. He is reported as
ca was as nothing compared to that which he had
o assert that the fields situated on the banks of the
all respects. The oil is said to contain no benzine,
diate use as fuel. Such a discovery may prove of

132 purga (snow-storm) blows up everything is so completely buried that only those trees can be seen which, at the beginning of winter when the post roads are being laid, are pounded into the ice at regular intervals. Then everything is buried under an enormously thick covering of snow which lies immovable for half a year. During this time the forests are accessible to man only with the help of snow-shoes and dog sleds. Through the stillness of this white solitude the unlovely but energetic voice of the raven is heard; or the stillness is broken by the rapid ringing of a Russian post bell or by the "takh", "takh" which is the Gilyak's signal to his dogs. The raging purgas which last for several days are followed by weeks of cloudless skies when during the day everything lies in a dazzling white glow, and at night the icy heavens are resplendent with bright stars.

The sea coast of the Gilyak country is very picturesque, but hardly charming. From the foam of the breakers up to the peaks of the mountains everything is covered with dark forests, and even the picture of the summer landscape is often clouded with rain and fog which are almost continuous throughout the warmer season. (1) And during the other half

1. The cold arctic current travels past this coast and condenses with the moisture-laden southeast winds.

of the year everything is rigid with snow and ice, so that in winter one can travel with dogs from the mainland to Sakhalin.

This is the general picture of the native land of the Gilyak. There remains for us to add a few details,insofar as these have been ascertained.

135 With respect to geology, it may be said that argillite
312 seems to occur more extensively, but many igneous minerals also appear. Thus the shores of the De Kastri bay consist of trachyte and basalt. Limestone occurs only seldom, which accounts for the softness of the water. The mountains are rich in metals -at least in various localities gold, iron, and lead were found, and it is well known that on the island of Sakhalin there are large coal beds.

137 The flora is varied and abundant. The conifers are represented by the fir and the larch, but the pine is absent. Of deciduous trees [104] there are oaks, maple, alder, birch, aspen, elm, among others. There are many berries, especially cranberries, raspberries, and rubus chamae morus.

136

136 FAUNA--principal native species, especially mammals, reptiles, birds, fish and shellfish, insects, and disease-bearing micro-organisms; historical changes (e.g., introduced species); etc. See also:
Hunting, fowling, and fishing . . . . . 22 Ethnozoology 825
Animal husbandry 23

/23 cont./

13 elevated areas, where their natural inhabitants -- the bears -- wander; strong winds which create hellish snowstorms and destructive hurricanes; the sea, always stormy and teeming with giants and sea monsters; fogs, and the sky always covered with leaden-colored clouds -- such are the surrounding conditions which with powerful strokes have inscribed their features on the psychics and world view of the Gilyak, conditions which have inscribed the qualities of vitality and courage, along with the quality of sternness, in the spiritual make-up of the inhabitant of this rugged island.

●136 Of the animals surrounding the Gilyak, the bear, the strongest and most terrible inhabitant of his taiga, plays the most important role. In the chapter on religion, I shall discuss in detail the influence of this animal on the whole religious psychics of the Gilyak. Now I wish only to indicate the role of this animal in the natives' struggle for survival. If this animal were as aggressive as, say, the Bengal tiger, it would have been almost impossible, in the face of its extreme abundance, for primitive man to live in these areas. The northern bear, however, is distinguished for its gentleness, which seems almost unbelievable. During the first years of my stay on Sakhalin the flocks of the settlers grazed side by side with the bears, and while picking berries the women of the settlers more than once bumped sides with their clumsy competitors; and if the bear in such cases sometimes did not behave exactly like a gentleman, this expressed itself only in his pushing the woman if the latter accidentally brushed against him with her pot or bucket. During my travels I more than once had to put up for the night in areas abounding in bears, and more than once, while lying inside my tent, I could hear the heavy footsteps of Mikhail Potapych, curious to inspect our camp...

144 I have already said something about the physical type of the Gilyak. An average Gilyak type does not exist. He fluctuates between the sharp Mongoloid features of the Tungus type and the comely /24/ gentle features of the Ainu type. That is why among the Gilyak one so frequently encounters subjects whom it is difficult to distinguish from true Tungus, and, at the same time, others who impress one by their almost European features. The

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion. Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves -- the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak, made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel' has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

• 136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a [133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence [226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This [172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

Sakhalin

/348 cont./

174 166 167 221 224 • [136] With one's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the form of the migration. Even at the present time the Amur Gilyak are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Agnevo, others to Mauko, still others farther to the south. The sable in their homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he is so rare and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-verst sea voyage, striving toward those tempting areas where the population is sparse and sables may be killed by the hundreds. In early spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Dué and the Tym' River, and at that time the Vaaz River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable hunting expeditions set out even farther [648] to the north. There must have been some reason which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center of their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /349/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural dams used by the sable for crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

Amur

/349 cont./

174 167 Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettli (it is interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin procee In the first place, these were the places closest to the contin half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. M over, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakh • [136] the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living con tions completely identical with those on the continent: the abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kaluga /Huso dauricus/, sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of [175] irreplaceable Amur. They cannot bring themselves to do it. [648] now, crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by t Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free official transportation along the Amur. There were, of cour still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to m to Sakhalin, for instance, density of population, conflicts be tween clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have b 175 the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sabl 167 per person (we must remember that in the past sable was thre 648 or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur [435] sable is still very expensive; one variety, for example, the Amgun, costs 25-30 rubles). The legends of the Gilyak ther [173] selves about their former relations with the Manchu are of interest: "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, " the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sabl per person every year." Moreover, every time a Gilyak wer to the Chinese town of Sungari (Saising), he was forced to pa one sable and the /350/ starosti of the settlements three sabl [171] each. The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually t

able and have no occasion to consult the tastes or smell of others. The first time I visited one of their fish-curing places I thought of the western city that had, after a freshet, 'forty-five distinct and different odors beside several wards to hear from.'

Above Mariensk the Amoor valley is often ten or twenty miles wide, enclosing whole labyrinths of islands, some of great extent. These islands are generally well out of water and not liable to overflow. Very few have the temporary appearance of the islands of the lower Mississippi. Here and there were small islands of slight elevation and covered with cottonwoods, precisely like those growing between Memphis and Cairo.

GILYAK WOMAN.

The banks of this part of the Amoor do not wash like the alluvial lands along the Mississippi and Missouri, but are more like the shores of the Ohio. They are generally covered with grass or bushes down to the edge of the water. There are no shifting sand-bars to perplex the pilot, but the channel remains with little change from year to year. I saw very little drift wood and heard no mention of snags. The general features of the scenery were much like those below Mihalofski.

The numerous islands and the labyrinth of channels often permit boats to pass each other without their captains knowing it. One day we saw a faint line of smoke across an island three or four miles wide; watching it closely I found it

was in motion and evidently came from a descending steamboat. On another occasion we missed in these channels a boat our captain was desirous of hailing. Once while General Monravieff was ascending the river he was passed by a courier who was bringing him important despatches.

The pilot steers with a chart of the river before him, and relies partly upon his experience and partly upon the delineated route. Sometimes channels used at high water are not navigable when the river is low, and some are favorable for descent but not for ascent. In general the pilotage is far more facile than on the Mississippi, and accidents are not frequent.

The peasants always came to the bank where we stopped, no matter what the hour. At one place where we took wood at night there was a picturesque group of twenty-five or thirty gathered around a fire; men and women talking, laughing, smoking, and watching the crew at work. The light of the fire poured full upon a few figures and brought them into strong relief, while others were half hidden in shadow. Of the men some wore coats of sheepskin, others Cossack coats of grey cloth; some had caps of faded cloth, and others Tartar caps of black sheepskin. Red beards, white beards, black beards, and smooth faces were played upon by the dancing flames. The women were in hoopless dresses, and held shawls over their heads in place of bonnets.

A hundred versts above Sofyesk the scenery changed. The mountains on the south bank receded from the river and were more broken and destitute of trees. Wide strips of lowland covered with forest intervened between the mountains and the shore. On the north the general character of the country remained. I observed a mountain, wooded to the top and sloping regularly, that had a curious formation at its summit. It was a perpendicular shaft resembling Bunker Hill Monument, and rising from the highest point of the mountain; it appeared of perfect symmetry, and seemed more like a work of art than of nature. On the same mountain, half way down its side, was a mass of rock with towers and buttresses

22: Knox 1-2 (1865) 1870 Gilyak

133 that likened it to a cathedral. These formations were specially curious, as there were no more of the kind in the vicinity. Borasdine observed the rocks soon after I discovered them, and at first thought they were ancient monuments.

136 There were many birds along the shore. Very often we dispersed flocks of ducks and sent them flying over islands and forests to places of safety. Snipe were numerous, and so were several kinds of wading and swimming birds. Very often we saw high in air the wild geese of Siberia flying to the southward in those triangular squadrons that they form everywhere over the world. These birds winter in the south of China, Siam, and India, while they pass the summer north of the range of the Yablonoi mountains.

The birds of the Amoor belong generally to the species found in the same latitudes of Europe and America, but there are some birds of passage that are natives of Southern Asia, Japan, the Philippine Islands, and even South Africa and Australia. Seven-tenths of the birds of the Amoor are found in Europe, two-tenths in Siberia, and one-tenth in regions further south. Some birds belong more properly to America, such as the Canada woodcock and the water ouzel; and there are several birds common to the east and west coasts of the Pacific. The naturalists who came here at the Russian occupation found two Australian birds on the Amoor, two from tropical and sub-tropical Africa, and one from Southern Asia.

The number of stationary birds is not great, in consequence of the excessive cold in winter. Mr. Maack enumerates thirty-nine species that dwell here the entire year. They include eagles, hawks, jays, magpies, crows, grouse, owls, woodpeckers, and some others. The birds of passage generally arrive at the end of April or during May, and leave in September or October.

It is a curious fact that they come later to Nicolayevsk than to the town of Yakutsk, nine degrees further north. This is due to differences of climate and the configuration of the country. The lower Amoor is remarkable for its large quantities of snow, and at Nicolayevsk it remains on the ground

135

135 MINERAL RESOURCES--availability or significant lack of mineral deposits (e.g., metals, stone, coal, petroleum, clay, salt); quantity, quality, and distribution of minerals; etc. See also:

Exploitation of mineral resources 31
Salt manufacture 258
Metallurgy 325
Petroleum and coal products industries . . 382

/187 cont./

(5) 3. (cont.)
others. we know that it is a characteristic
(5) feature of the Gilyak language. Thus the Sea
(6) of Okhotsk. See the present work, Vol. II.
(7) p. 78b, and my "Anthropomythologica on
(8) Orchonischen und Japanischen Meere (Contents
(9) in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan."
(Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. Sci. St. Pétersb. Sér. VII. Tom.
(10) Pétersb. Sér. VII. Vol. XXI. No. 3).
(11) p. 1b.

(5) during which they lost their entire supply of food and amunition and only after much hardship barely escaped with their lives. They continued on for the space, living on the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seaking, nuts, and whatever else the ocean washed up (5). Then they built a new vessel. with which

(6) 3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 8b) also men-
(7) tions walruses, as being very common
(8) but it will lessen that there are none
(9) in the Sea of Okhotsk; this may be
(10) a reference to whales. which abound in
(11) this sea.

(12) in 14 days. by rowing they reached the Uschalski River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until
(13) December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland
(14) and after 14 days, or, according to other information. after
(15) four weeks. came to the Tugur River, on which they found a
(16) large Tungus population with abundant food. The following
(17) spring. 1855. Nagibk went down the Tugur to its mouth and
(18) from there, with five men, made his way through the Tatarski
(19) along the sea and then across the mountains. while he went
(20) back the other men under Iwan Dwoil in order to build among
(21) the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jasaschnoje Simowje." that is.
(22) a winter hut for collecting tribute (1).

/225 cont./

(1) some time in order to let not excessive moans or smoke. The
(2) [illegible] Gilyak would stong the dear alive all the time. Not only
(3) [illegible] the Jakuts beds, on the contrary, we often quite warm.
(4) The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, just like generally
(5) the Jakuts on plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I be-
(6) came convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
(7) [illegible] Tunus can become, when in January, 1854, I attended the hol-
(8) [illegible] festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the nomer-
(9) [illegible] people, a strong fire -are maintained uninterruptedly in both
(10) [illegible] huts, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank
(11) beds rose so much that I could hardly stand it. I was rather
(12) [illegible] without which I kept sent to me melted completely. The hast-
(13) [illegible] Gilyak benches, however, which have the great disadvanta-
(14) [illegible] that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of
(15) [illegible] insects. Under them, in inaccessible places, lurking the cockroach,
(16) [illegible] and other vermin (also decomposed) make their seen and
(17) [illegible] of night in search of the remains of the scanty food that
(18) [illegible] had and I was still with writing in my journals, I would see
(19) [illegible] dear on them their hiding places and go about their business
(20) [illegible] for their sins. They also infest the Gilyak huts, or at the
(21) [illegible] house of the house, when I once, in order to escape other
(22) [illegible] vermin, had a hammock put up, the dear Gilyak wanted me that
(23) [illegible] the cats could grow through the leather straps and the mat would
(24) [illegible] fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection
(25) [illegible] it even more annoying. the worm benches are alive with fleas,
(26) which find refuge in the cretices of the coarse mats. Wonder. In-
(27) [illegible] sectors, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is
(28) [illegible] literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that
(29) [illegible] it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, or the
(30) [illegible] swarmed with fleas and gnats. Undoubtedly /225/ the
(31) [illegible] Gilyak know why the Gilyak prefer to live in a winter house when
(32) [illegible] spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings
(33) [illegible] but in this instance the Gilyak have a reason of their, as well
(34) [illegible] as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

/283 cont./

(1) (cont.)
(2) characters on it — no matter whether
(3) written or printed — I hoped that perhaps
(4) through him I would be able to obtain a
(5) possible diaries or other written notes of
(6) the Ainu. Unfortunately, however, the
(7) monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak
(8) for them, and, in case of need, even
(9) if superstition did not demand strict observance of the tradi-
(10) tional pattern, and delivered them to me, no matter by
(11) chance, as informous for all the inhabitants of the house.
(12) Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the
(13) Amur Ainu, gradually spreading northward, and, beginning on
(14) earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of
(15) Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. Perhaps, along the
(16) Pierstof and Naghin, who spent the winter among the Gilyak
(17) at the mouth of the Amur and along the coast of Liman in 1854-
(18) 45 and 1856 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

(19) 3. See pp. 216, 218 ff. above.

(20) permit conclusion about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that
(21) time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kam-
(22) chadals, we see the original winter-house, which appeared
(23) before an imported, foreign type of house construction within
(24) the short space of not even 30 years. At the time of Krasheninnikof
(25) and Steller (in the further of the previous century), all the
(26) Kamchadali still lived in earth yurts of the type described above.
(27) Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the last voy-
(28) age, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the
(29) peninsula, between Petro-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolcheretsk (3).

(30) 4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach
(31) der Südküste in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter
(32) Capitän Cook, Clerke, und King, nach
(33) zwei Engl. Ausg. hg. R. Forster, Berlin,
(34) 1781, p. 203.

/319 cont./

(1) 1. I later saw something similar among the Dsur
(2) in the village of Tschumikan. The hair was
(3) shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left
(4) standing on the crown. Some more conservative-
(5) ly, either on the crown or on one side, which
(6) depended on the wishes of the parents. The
(7) Chinese presumably also do this.

(8) Gilyak bear bowl or beast hair cut. indeed, among the
(9) Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had
(10) his beard cut and his hair shave, it would bring him sickness and
(11) misfortune. The same applies to the bear, which is far more complicated
(12) and in many respects more unique. A Gilyak in his complete
(13) winter clothing and with his weapons. knows he is about to set out on
(14) a journey. The principal garment of the Gilyak in winter, which
(15) they make of soft, dressed, wrapped in fish skins, and impregnating over
(16) night on the heated sleeping benches of the yurt, underwent
(17) a special ceremony. The skin of the deceased, in the so-called /319/ which
(18) reaching down to the knees and made of a double layer of
(19) dog fur, the outer layer with the hair on the outside, the inner
(20) layer with the hair on the inside, was fastened and tassel-
(21) ed, the individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality
(22) is obtained, depending on the wealth of the owner or, at times, per-
(23) formed. On the others intended for everyday use or for protection
(24) against rain, the skins of the bear, wolverine, and dog are combined
(25) with fur coats of mixed colors, and one sees such coats on chil-
(26) dren as a rule /320/. Nowadays, however, people have gone to the
(27) trouble to make their children fur coats with back parts made in
(28) the shape of a bear's head and with the skins of bears, dogs or
(29) fox. /320/ The fine and pliable fur of young animals is used
(30) preferably, particularly for the inner side of the fur coat.

(31) It can be stated as a general rule that the Gilyak only wear
(32) fur coats made of dog skins. Only on the Liman, where they
(33) are chiefly engaged in fishing, the Gilyak is distinguished
(34) who, also, in exceptions, wear coats of seahlion instead of dog fur,
(35) and the same applies to the Amur-Liman, where the coats of the Ainu
(36) of Okhotsk. The reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong
(37) [illegible] Capitäns Cook, Clerke, und King
(38) [illegible] Engl. Ausg. hg. R. Forster, Berlin,
(39) [illegible]

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(1) The footgear of the Gilyak women is the same as among
(2) the men, except that they do not wear the tassel. The hair wo-
(3) men, the men only occasionally, have leg- likewise of fish
(4) skins, and, in winter, also of dog fur. The Gilyak make inconvenient-
(5) leggings, also from fawns protect Gilyak usual-shoes,
(6) which undoubtedly are adopted from the Tungus and which are
(7) very inconvenient and unsuitable for them in view of the considerable
(8) activity that the performance of their domestic duties requires.
(9) The Gilyak women do not have a head covering instead solely
(10) for the summer, corresponding to the hitch-back hat of the men.
(11) The winter cap and the hat of the men are, in the main, more complicated
(12) and in many respects more unique. A Gilyak in his complete
(13) winter clothing and with his weapons. knows he is about to set out on
(14) a journey. The principal garment of the Gilyak in winter, which
(15) they make of soft, dressed, wrapped in fish skins, and impregnating over
(16) night on the heated sleeping benches of the yurt, underwent
(17) a special ceremony. The skin of the deceased, in the so-called /319/ which
(18) reaching down to the knees and made of a double layer of
(19) dog fur, the outer layer with the hair on the outside, the inner
(20) layer with the hair on the inside, was fastened and tassel-
(21) ed, the individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality
(22) is obtained, depending on the wealth of the owner or, at times, per-
(23) formed. On the others intended for everyday use or for protection
(24) against rain, the skins of the bear, wolverine, and dog are combined
(25) with fur coats of mixed colors, and one sees such coats on chil-
(26) dren as a rule /320/. Nowadays, however, people have gone to the
(27) trouble to make their children fur coats with back parts made in
(28) the shape of a bear's head and with the skins of bears, dogs or
(29) fox. /320/ The fine and pliable fur of young animals is used
(30) preferably, particularly for the inner side of the fur coat.

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(32) fur coats made of dog skins. Only on the Liman, where they
(33) are chiefly engaged in fishing, the Gilyak is distinguished
(34) who, also, in exceptions, wear coats of seahlion instead of dog fur,
(35) and the same applies to the Amur-Liman, where the coats of the Ainu
(36) of Okhotsk. The reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong
(37) [illegible] Capitäns Cook, Clerke, und King
(38) [illegible] Engl. Ausg. hg. R. Forster, Berlin,
(39) [illegible]

/321 cont./

(1) [illegible] Gilyak, likewise occurs throughout the habitation area of the
(2) Gilyak and goes up the Amur River just as far as the seal (3). I
(3) [illegible]

(4) 3. See Vol. I. p. 191. of the present work.

(5) [illegible] learned this much about it, that though, like the latter, it. too, is
(6) used by the Gilyak for the purpose of the bear festival, it is not
(7) [illegible]

(8) 4. According to Steller (Beschr. von dem
(9) Lande Kamtschatka, p. 108), the fat of the
(10) [illegible] Kamchadal is not of any use at all and
(11) the meat, too, has quite a good taste.

(12) it comes after the seal, because hunting it, which will be dis-
(13) cussed later, is much more difficult and dangerous and can be
(14) done for only one Gilyak at a time. Hence, only a few Gilyak in the
(15) river is open, and furthermore because it is not nearly as useful
(16) as the seal, which provides the Gilyak with valuable clothing
(17) materials. Nevertheless, the numerous white-whale shells which
(18) one sees hanging on men's and women's clothing in the places along the
(19) banks of the Amur River indicate that /323/ the white whale is
(20) actually hunted and killed. Of the other animals hunted with
(21) its significance, is treated in traditional, superstitious ways.

(22) 1. The Gilyak hunting the white whale, the Amur-Liman
(23) the so-called long (Balaenoptera longimana Rud.), which is oc-
(24) casionally stranded within the range of their dwelling site on the
(25) Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of
(26) Japan. To be sure, they acquire these animals in order to feed
(27) their dogs with the fat and meat, but they themselves do not eat
(28) any of it. In fact, their physical and moral abhorrence of it
(29) is such that long fat or meat is not brought into the yurt, but may
(30) be kept only in the storerooms. I could not learn from them what
(31) the reasons for this very high degree of abhorrence are, however,
(32) since among the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples whale meat and
(33) the same can be eaten without any trouble. The Ainu, for instance,
(34) do not leave a stranded whale until all the meat and fat on it have

/327 cont./

(1) [illegible] generally known by tradition, may have given rise to the fear
(2) and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence.
(3) [illegible] of whale meat among the Gilyak. Perhaps, the Gilyak
(4) do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (8), /327/
(5) [illegible]

(6) 8. Winen, Noord en Oost Tartarye (North
(7) and Eastern Tartary), 1705, p. 47.

(8) for example, and the Kolyuchen (Kolosh) (1), with the sole

(9) 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise
(10) um die Welt in den Jahren 1803-1807 (Reise um die
(11) World), Vol. II, p. 115. Wenzelmissionar,
(12) Ethnol. Mitt. aus Ost-Asien, p. 57.

(13) exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat and
(14) no whale blubber or oil.

(15) Dog skins the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only pursue
(16) for-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts.
(17) The land mammals provide only a small part of their food in com-
(18) parison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasionally
(19) falls into their hands, one, not excepting the beasts of prey, is a
(20) [illegible] the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., is it eaten. Only one animal is
(21) [illegible] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken class at
(22) [illegible] the so-called long (Balaenoptera longimana Rud.), which is oc-
(23) casionally stranded within the range of their dwelling site on the
(24) [illegible] Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of
(25) Japan. To be sure, they acquire these animals in order to feed
(26) their dogs with the fat and meat, but they themselves do not eat
(27) any of it. In fact, their physical and moral abhorrence of it
(28) is such that long fat or meat is not brought into the yurt, but may
(29) be kept only in the storerooms. I could not learn from them what
(30) the reasons for this very high degree of abhorrence are, however,
(31) since among the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples whale meat and
(32) the same can be eaten without any trouble. The Ainu, for instance,
(33) do not leave a stranded whale until all the meat and fat on it have

/328 cont./

(1) 3. (cont.)
(2) II. p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee
(3) of Kolyuchin Bay (Nordenskiöld) (1) refuse
(4) to eating a seal that had been shot.

(5) [illegible] Gilyak [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(6) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(7) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(8) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(9) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(10) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(11) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(12) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(13) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(14) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(15) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(16) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(17) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(18) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(19) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(20) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(21) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(22) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(23) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(24) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(25) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(26) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(27) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(28) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(29) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(30) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(31) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(32) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(33) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(34) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(35) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(36) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(37) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(38) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan
(39) [illegible] Sea of Okhotsk [illegible] Sea of Japan

/419/

The dogs of the Gilyak are of the same breed as the draft dogs distributed throughout Siberia and over to North America — with the Eskimos, wolf-like, long-haired, with thick, erect ears, and of all possible colors, black, white, brown, fox-red, mottled, and especially often of a striking wolf-like yellowish-gray color. The Gilyak dogs are small in comparison with the dogs of the polar regions of eastern Siberia, of the Jana /Yana/ and Indigirka regions, or even with those of Kamchatka as they were formerly and still occur in isolated specimens (1). Nothing is done among the Gilyak to improve the breed; they neither convert especially large and strong individuals into breeding animals nor sort out and care for the whelps afterwards. A circumstance greatly contributing to the deterioration of their breed of dog is the bad treatment that they give the bitches. They do not use them for harnessing, and so they shortsightedly do not give them the same amount of food as the male dogs. Whereas the latter, insofar as they remain strong, must be fed with great regularity, daily in winter, every other day in summer, the former are excluded from these meals and in winter receive only a little food from time to time, just enough so they still not starve, but in summer no one concerns himself about them and they are left to find all of their food themselves. One therefore sees them, wretched and emaciated, slinking around the yurt and in them and greedily snapping at any scrap.

1. In the summer of 1854, in Peter-Paul Harbor, I saw two extremely large dogs which had been brought to the governor from the interior of the peninsula. I measured a still young, not quite fully grown animal likewise belonging to the large, old-Kamchatka stock, which was 11 decimeters long from the point of the snout to the root of the tail, four of which was the head and neck to the back, and at the latter seven and a half to eight centimeters high.

2. See p. 666.

/479 cont./

The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters, consists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provided in particular by the same fish appearing on the coasts and in the rivers in those at certain seasons on which the diet of the Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of salmon, especially light-necks and sockeye and tender-fleshed salmon, the Salmo pontegrin, and in winter along the seacoast the hanyi fish (Gadus macrocephalus), which, however, as account of its mediocre, stands far behind the former. The part of these fish especially and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentioned (2).

1. As was discussed in the first volume of this work (p. 1-3), the Gilyak are being whatever bone pieces come from a kind of whale which the Gilyak call kalm and which presumably is balaena australis (Gray), but it is only the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw or the ribs of Balaenoptera Sibaldi (Gilyak hanga), the one most frequently stranded along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even when, as was sometimes in Siberia bone or whalebone mountings are often used on the sleds, especially the travel over ice which is covered with salt crystals that have separated out (Yukagir: Punesh, pl. xxxv, ser. Sib. I. po Lavod, mesto /journey along the Northern Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/, Vol. II, p. 238). According to the information given by A. Schrenck in the Leipziger Tageblatt, bone sled-mountings (sled-runners, or sleds) as well as bone shakes, were formerly used in many regions of Germany, for instance, in the province of Brandenburg, in several Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut, Tyrolia, Switzerland, and in the Alps, and in a number of other places, and are still in use in some places. Bone sleds are also used in Lapland, Finland, and Scandinavia, and in Kamchatka, Siberia, and Alaska. In Siberia, the Yukagir, Tungus, Yakut, Samoyed, Ostyak, Lamut, Yenisei, Kamchatka, Chukchi, Eskimo, Aleut, and Kolyuzh use bone sleds, and in Kamchatka, Siberia, and Alaska, the Kolyuzh, Aleut, Eskimo, Chukchi, Kamchatka, Yakut, Yukagir, Lamut, Tungus, Ostyak, Samoyed, Yenisei

116, 136, 225, 825

"In autumn a few seals ascend the river, a
low in the wake of the Salmo lagocephalus, c
grampus, or black killer (Orca atra). This t
family, is armed with a formidable dorsal fi
species attains to the enormous length of six
terrible wolves of the ocean will even attack
ing its throat and lips, and finally hauling it
great pieces of its flesh in their maws. Ever
with its young to be out of the way of these v
such as the smaller dolphins or seals are no
a meal for this hungry animal.

Hence, before it are driven ashore and up
etc., upon which the Gilyak lives. It is, ther
upon the 'sword dolphin,' as the Germans ca
successful catch. The grampus never meets
and if his lifeless carcase be cast up on shor

It is otherwise with the white fish or white
the mouths of rivers; for his flesh provides
SS: of the white whale.] I believe, and certa

and these are shot by the natives. They fol-
or are driven before the attack of the dreaded
terrible enemy, the largest of the dolphin
n, which in the case of the rectipinnia
feet. Not content with smaller fry, these
a large whale, gathering round it and gash-
to the bottom of the sea to rise thence with
the fierce walrus will crawl upon the rocks
oracious creatures; and when larger prey,
ot to be had, salmon and smaller fish furnish

the rivers the seals, salmon, smelt, trout,
refore, not unnatural that he should look
ll it, as a friend to whom he owes many a
with a hostile reception from the natives,
re, rightful honours are paid it.
whale Delphinapterus leucas) which haunts
a feast for the Gilyaks. From the skin, [L
inly from that of the rarer seal

116, 136, 226

"After the seals arrive the he
(Pleuronectes hippoglossus), in
large hook baited. The natives a
100 lbs., to drag the boat until,
Trout (Salmo fario) appear no
big catch is of the ide (1) (Idus n

1. The common ide (Leucisc

stream. Two lines of wattle are
point of meeting is a large, lon
and a Gilyak sitting near the ent
them in and preventing them fron
takes his catch ashore. The sm
it is caught with a hand-net, and
gorbusha (Salmo proteus) and k
the natives, has already been de

rrings (Clupea harengus), and then the halibut
Gilyak pilencho, which is caught from a boat with a
llow this powerful fish, which sometimes weighs ove
its strength exhausted, they haul it in and spear it.
w in the rivers, but not in large numbers, and the ne
nelanotus). A weir is formed in the river pointing up

us idus) is a species of roach (Leuciscus rutilus).

constructed so as to form an acute angle, and at the
g basket. The fish coming up stream find their way in
rance all night beats with a mallet or oar, frightening
n returning. In the morning he fastens up the basket, a
elt (Osmerus eperlanus) appears in such quantities th
d simply ladled out of the water. The spearing of the
ita (S. lagocephalus), the most important fish of all t
escribed."

'The tiger, larger and with longer fur tha
nders; and though I do not credit the Gily
nd on Sakhalin, it is met with every wint
osses the Amur on the ice, when wild boa
the Soluns are to be had. I have seen the
nmon among the mosques of India, in the
off the reindeer nibbling the lichen grow
y frozen waste.
t has been calculated that 15 per cent. of
e from the polar regions, and 12 per cent
m the south (Uragus sanguinolentus) and
gions are both found on [103] Sakhalin."

an his Bengal brother, is found where the elk
vak's reports to Dr. Schrenck, of traces of it
er between Khabarovsk and Nikolaevsk, and
ars are scarce, and the horses of the Russians
little striped ground-squirrel which is so
bushes of the interior of Sakhalin, and not
ving on the tundra, which in winter is a soli-

the species of birds observed on the island
. sub-tropical. The long-tailed rosefinch
the osprey (Pandion haliaetus) of the arctic

"The brown bear (Ursus arctos), i
great size in Sakhalin, in fact he gets
[167] Russia. In colour he varies fron
mon form. Writers have differed as t
writing of the Amur and Sakhalin bea

whose habitat we found ourselves, attains to a
bigger the further east one goes from European
black to brown, but the latter is the more com-
o the attitude he adopts towards man. Dr. Schre
s, speaks of their 'bös artiges Naturell.' "

"In the course of the afternoon we
fact before we reached the mouth of
distant. Here we were hailed in the
'Have the Lo-cha (Russians) any 'b
'Yes. Have you any seal-skins?'
Stepping ashore, haggling began a
tea, (1) some shot, and caps. These

1. Weighing one kilogramme, an
ruble, or, say, 5d. per lb.

ursinus), but from the common hair
seal (Histriophoca fusciata). The fur
we are familiar with in caps and jack
pulled out, a treatment more commo
seal has a bristly, silverish, straw-
commonly used on the [176] Continen
rare on Sakhalin, though in earlier y
Island, now known by its Russian na
little to the south of Cape Patience.

came to yet another Gilyak settlement, the last in
the river, [LSS: The Tim] some hundred miles
Gilyak tongue.
rick tea'?'

d finally a seal-skin was obtained for a brick of
seal-skins were not from the fur seals (Callorhinus

l costing us at Alexandrovsk half a

seal (Phoca vitulina), and in some cases the banded
seal has a thick, downy under-fur, which is what
kets after the longer and sparser hairs have been
nly known in connection with beaver skins. The hair
coloured skin, with dark-grey or black spots, and is
for children's satchels. The fur seal is now very
ears large numbers used to be caught off Robben
ne of Ostrova Tyuleniy, or Seal Island, and lying a
The latter [LSS: Erratum; this should read 'hair

"The sandy flats and curving shores of the
sea-birds. The commonest, and most frighte
(Larus canus niveus); which winter in Japan.
which the common (Totanus hypoleucus), the
and the terek species (T. terekia) have been
(T. calidris). Related to these, but earlier i
in Australia, are the stint (Tringa subminuta
ruficollis), the dunlin (T. cinclus) and the ea
made their departure, but what drew my par
footed oyster-catcher (Haematopus osculans)
In our forage for food we had shot one or two
was much more in evidence than the pintail w
Kamchatica and Aleutia) had not yet departed
ganser) and the smew (Mergellus albellus) w
these which had been taken at the mouth of th

Bay of Ni were alive with hundreds of
ened at our appraoch, were the gulls
. Much bolder were the sandpipers, of
green (T. ochropus), the wood (T. glareola),
shot in the bay, as well as the redshank
n migration, for it is said that they winter
.) and his red-throated brother (T.
stern knot (T. crassirostris). These had
ticular attention was the handsome orange-
and the turnstone (Strepsilas interpres).
common snipe (Scolopax gallinago), which
variety (S. stenura). The terns (Sterna
l, and though the goosander (Mergus mer-
ere not observable, I saw specimens of
ne Tim."

"If the human population of Sakhalin is small
are many. It was probably as a happy hunting-
Gilyak pioneers from the Amur, whose descend
west coasts and the banks of the river Tim.

The most striking of all the animals on Sakha
(Ursus arctos), which is found in great number
chiefly in the south, and even there not in any g
ever, prolific, and the skins of these, the reind
up the bulk of the fur trade to the mainland."

in number, the four-footed inhabitants
ground that the island appealed to the
ants are settled to-day on the east and

lin is, without doubt, the big brown bear
s. Wolves also haunt the forests, but
reat numbers to-day. Foxes are, how-
deer, the sable, and the otter, go to make

"[LSS: In Northern Sakhalin Island] The birds
scarcely have been reduced by migrations southv
white (Motacilla lugens) and the yellow wagtails (
(Garrulus brandtii) flitted before us from tree to
busied himself by the stream, or a gravelly cliff
of sand-martins (Cotyle riparia). Overhead a hav
his lonely way; underfoot, or under wheel rather
quarter of a mile or so our way was a floating la
and bumped and thumped."

appeared few in number, and could
vards yet. The commonest were the
M. taivana). Occasionally a jay
tree, a kingfisher (Alcedo bengalensis)
was passed, riddled with the homes
wk soared, or a crow cawed on [133]
, the track became a swamp. For a
yer of pine-logs, over which we rattled

(Arctocephalus monteriensis), thongs o
spirally. These are again cut into lengt
poons, dog harness, and straps general

f several hundred feet are obtained by cutting
ns of about 130 feet, and much prized for har-
ly."

: Hawes--287-289 T-3 (1901) 190
16, 136

y the Gilyaks rik. Having a long journey b
ever saw him, and indeed he is rather a r
ne earliest the snow bunting (Plectrophane
ween the two limits a variety of smaller bi
which had already set out. The sand martin
ur journey, the wagtails (Motacilla lugens
either the white-rumped swift (Cypselus p
Chaetura caudacuta), which are certainly u
illa montifringilla), the bullfinch (Pyrrhul
irds had left, including the Japanese lark
obin (Erithacus calliope), and the whistlin
ur return, the eastern turtle dove (Turtur
A few stragglers such as the Japanese w
itmouse (Acr edula caudata), the red-throa
ervinus and maculatus), and the dusky ouz
odies.

Comparatively speaking, the forests see
hite-tailed eagle (Haliëtus albicillus), sta
he Tim, a solitary owl (Syrnium uralense)
een or heard.

efore him to the Southern hemisphere, we
are visitor to Sakhalin. If the cuckoo was
s nivalis) is about the latest to leave. Be-
rds take their flight southwards, most of
s (Cotile riparia) had gone ere we commenced
and taivana) had flown since, and we saw
acificus) nor the needle-tailed variety
ncommon on the Tim. The brambling (Frin-
a rosacea), and many other of the smaller
(Alauda japonica), the Siberian ruby-throated
g robin (E. sibilans). We missed also, on
orientalis), which the Gilyaks call the tu tut.
en (Troglodytes fumigatus), the long-tailed
ted and the eastern tree pipits (Anthus
el (Merula fuscata) linger behind the main

ned birdless, and only a very occasional
ving behind to fish in the upper reaches of
or a passing crow (Corvus corone), was

: Hawes--287-289 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 136

Deep in the forest, if one ventured to follow
omads, rather than [289] migrants, as Mr. C
amily, were still to be found at home. We sa
apercailzie (T. urogallus), but not the willow
ound there."

up the tracks of some wild animal, those
Charles Dixon would call them, the grouse
w the hazel grouse (Tetrao bonasia), the
grouse (Lagopus albus) though it is also

9: Hawes--287-289 T-3 (1901)
116, 136

"The autumn migration of birds takes
mainland. Travellers, like Prjevalsky,
Harvie-Brown, have left us records of
from Siberia over the Mongolian sandy
their summer on Sakhalin have no vast
in order to keep track, where possible,
they winter for the most part in Japan o
of Sakhalin is an unfailing guide, and pr

But by this time—the end of Septembe
ready departed for southern climes. Th
quin duck (Clangula histrionica), and th
teal (Anas querquedula), the Baikal teal
falcota), which are to be shot in Ni Bay
and we sighted a few and shot a mallard
was the hooper swan (Cygnus musicus),
at night. Among the Gilyaks this feathe
of kikkik. The bean goose (Anser seget
flocks on our outward journey, had also
Japan or China.

Perhaps the earliest departing guest

place rather later on Sakhalin than it does on the
and observers, such as Mr. Seebohm and Mr.
the passage of birds in spring and autumn to and
wastes. The feathered inhabitants who spend
waterless plains to traverse, and no long detours
of river valleys. Their journey is short because
r China; and simple because the long backbone
ovides them with mountain torrents by the way.
r–the bulk of the avifaunal inhabitants had al-
e ducks, the mallard (Anas boschas), the harle-
e golden eye (C. glaucion); the teals, the garganey
(A. querq. formosa), and the crested teal (A.
and up the Tim, had been almost the last to go,
three or four days' journey up the river. Gone
whose cries had sometimes disturbed our rest
red friend goes by the [288] onomatopoetic name
um, Middendorfii), of which we had seen several
departed, for he, like the ducks, winters in

had been the cuckoo (Cuculus canorus), called

even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution; furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or a snare is set up in a certain calculated manner. For, the sable, when it wants to cross a small stream never fails to use a log that has fallen across it, if he can find one. Now, such logs are purposely prepared for him, and snares as well.

With the first snow fall he is pursued by dogs and killed with buck shot; the pelt is thus little damaged, for two or three grains of shot suffice to kill the animal.

A method commonly used and one that can be applied all winter long, consists of setting up cross-bows, the mechanism of which is cunningly devised. The shaft stands on a stake; behind the arrow there is a sort of cock made of a knee-shaped piece of wood; on the latter is a trigger from which a long thread leads diagonally forward and down and is fastened somewhere on the ground. As soon as the sable in passing touches the thread, the shot is fired.

The tiger is known to the Gilyak and they have a word for it in their language, but it is not hunted, because it occurs only rarely in the Gilyak country, and not at all on Sakhalin, and because they regard it as something more than a wild animal. This fear has probably [123] been passed on to them by the Manchurians and the Goldi. The tiger of the Amur-Ussuri country is of the mightiest and most powerful of its kind, as well as extremely cunning; but for humans, especially for Europeans, it is not nearly as dangerous as it is in India, because it finds more food. (1) Only when man

1. During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

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himself takes t
instinctive fear
terrible natural
ness. Even wi
enormous leaps
overcome a ma
supposed to ain
finishes it off.
gerous that bea
comparison, an
dire necessity
and cannot be g
with bayonets o
the place where
method of captu
up of rifles whi
The corpse of a
usually serves
returning the da

The wolf exis
and does no har

223 Birds, espe
grouse are now
for partridges
grouse are lure
openly hunted i
surrounding cou
Nikolayevsk-na

462 We mentione
handicraft and t
much more than
The man hunts,

-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

emember only two instances when
uropeans were assaulted by it
ithout having been the attackers.
he one case occurred in the year
78 in broad daylight on the ice near
post station. A post servant was
red by the tiger. The skull of this
imal which was itself killed the
xt day now belongs to me. It meas-
es seven and one-half vershok (33
ntimeters), the upper canines are
long as a finger.

he offensive, does the monster lose his
of him, and then suddenly shows all its
qualities, to which belong an amazing tough-
h five or six rifle balls inside it, it still takes
, and even in its death throes it can still
n. The bullets bounce off its skull, and one is
at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart
Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dan-
r hunting may be considered child's play in
d the peasants and Cossacks decide on it in
when the tiger breaks into their stables
ot in any other way. In that case 15-20 men
n their rifles and in closed ranks descend on
the animal was scented. But the regular
re is poisoning with strychnin or the setting
ch go off when the tiger approaches the bait.
n animal that was killed by the tiger himself
as bait, for the tiger has the laudable habit of
y after his assault.
ts on the lower Amur, but rarely shows itself
m. It is seldom shot.
cially ducks and geese, partridges and hazel
usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set
n flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel
d in spring with whistles, in winter they are
spruce thickets. The Gilyak who live in the
ntry are the chief purveyors of wild game for
-Amure.
above the other occupations and embryonic
rades. Specialization [124] consists in not
a division of labor between men and women.
does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

133 that likened it to a cathedral. These formations were specially curious, as there were no more of the kind in the vicinity. Borasdine observed the rocks soon after I discovered them, and at first thought they were ancient monuments.

136 There were many birds along the shore. Very often we dispersed flocks of ducks and sent them flying over islands and forests to places of safety. Snipe were numerous, and so were several kinds of wading and swimming birds. Very often we saw high in air the wild geese of Siberia flying to the southward in those triangular squadrons that they form everywhere over the world. These birds winter in the south of China, Siam, and India, while they pass the summer north of the range of the Yablonoi mountains.

The birds of the Amoor belong generally to the species found in the same latitudes of Europe and America, but there are some birds of passage that are natives of Southern Asia, Japan, the Philippine Islands, and even South Africa and Australia. Seven-tenths of the birds of the Amoor are found in Europe, two-tenths in Siberia, and one-tenth in regions further south. Some birds belong more properly to America, such as the Canada woodcock and the water ouzel; and there are several birds common to the east and west coasts of the Pacific. The naturalists who came here at the Russian occupation found two Australian birds on the Amoor, two from tropical and sub-tropical Africa, and one from Southern Asia.

The number of stationary birds is not great, in consequence of the excessive cold in winter. Mr. Maack enumerates thirty-nine species that dwell here the entire year. They include eagles, hawks, jays, magpies, crows, grouse, owls, woodpeckers, and some others. The birds of passage generally arrive at the end of April or during May, and leave in September or October.

It is a curious fact that they come later to Nicolayevsk than to the town of Yakutsk, nine degrees further north. This is due to differences of climate and the configuration of the country. The lower Amoor is remarkable for its large quantities of snow, and at Nicolayevsk it remains on the ground

136 till the end of May. South of the lower Amoor are the Shanalin mountains, which arrest the progress of birds. On the upper Amoor and in Trans-Baikal very little snow falls, and there are no mountains of great height.

171 The day after leaving Sofyesk I observed a native propelling a boat by pulling both oars together. On my expressing surprise my companion said:

"We have passed the country of the Gilyaks who pull their oars alternately, and entered that of the Mangoons and Goldees. The manner of rowing distinguishes the Gilyaks from all others."

The Mangoons, Goldees, and Gilyaks differ in much the same way that the tribes of American Indians are different. They are all of Tungusian or Mongolian stock, and have many traits and words in common. Their features have the same general characteristics and their languages are as much alike as those of a Cheyenne and Comanche. Each people has its peculiar customs, such as the style of dress, the mode of constructing a house, or rowing a boat. All are pagans and indulge in Shamanism, but each tribe has forms of its own. All are fishers and hunters, their principal support being derived from the river.

The Goldee boat was so much like a Gilyak one that I could see no difference. There was no opportunity to examine it closely, as we passed at a distance of two or three hundred feet.

690 Besides their boats of wood the Goldees make canoes of birch bark, quite broad in the middle and coming to a point at both ends. In general appearance these canoes resemble those of the Penobscot and Canadian Indians. The native sits in the middle of his canoe and propels himself with a double-bladed oar, which he dips into the water with regular alternations from one side to the other. The canoes are flat bottomed and very easy to overturn. A canoe is designed to carry but one man, though two can be taken in an emergency. When a native sitting in one of them spears a fish he moves only his arm and keeps his body motionless.

137

137 FLORA--general type of flora (e.g., jungle, equatorial forest, tropical scrub, savanna, desert, steppe, prairie, deciduous forest, coniferous forest, tundra); types of wood; important species of land and marine flora; historical changes (e.g., introduced species); etc. See also:

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/22 cont./

132 northern shores of Sakhalin and on the eastern coast even in July. In the mountains the snow begins to melt in June and in some places does not succeed in melting away all summer. Perpetual ice is encountered not infrequently at sea level. In 1893 on a small island opposite the settlement of Visk-vo, I discovered by sheer accident under a thin layer of sand exactly at sea level a gigantic strip of perpetual ice, which in structure and size resembled a gigantic glacier which could have been brought here by the cold current.

In winter northwestern hurricanes periodically rage for days on end, producing terrible snowstorms. In summer there is fog and rain ... A somber country! In the low areas, which are open to the wind and the icy breath of the cold currents, the subarctic or even more southerly flora of the elevated areas is replaced by real arctic flora. The climate of this country owes its severity to a cold current and to the devastating northwest winds, which, with the force of a hurricane, blow with periodic regularity, 132 killing and freezing everything in their path. This is why the 137 places which are protected from these winds and from the severe sea fogs offer such a striking contrast in richness of flora and mildness of scenery to the low and open areas. In the valleys which lie in the interior of the island or which are otherwise protected, one encounters mild scenery with poplars, elms, oaks, and even yew trees, walnuts, a very rich carpet of flowers, gigantic spiraea, umbrella-like plants, and on some slopes even grapes.

137 In the neighborhood of Vitis uvae Thunbergii one will find Cembra pumila and a carpet of alpine arctic flora.

133 /23/ In relief Sakhalin Island is an almost completely mountainous country with meridional chains which diverge into countless spurs in all directions, forming a continuous mass of peaks, cones, cliffs, and capes. Not rising, on the average, more [132] than 3,000-4,000 feet above sea level, these mountains, in many places covered with snow until late summer, have a tremendous 13 cooling effect on the climate of the country. The fantastic contours of the mountains, rugged and mighty, the capes and cliffs, which are kissed by the breakers and fanned by the hurricanes; the slumbering taiga of spruce and larch which cover all the

[The western Coast]

166 164 /386 cont./ To make some money,

115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make 183 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and 433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is [244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the [162] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among 177 them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise [244] potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev- 224 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point 433 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming 178 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the 648 vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be- 342 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement 178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises 354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and [237] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially [184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by [171] the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from [177] whom it may have been borrowed.

133 As to the character of the region, the maritime sections [137] of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta- [491] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

[The western Coast]

/386 cont./

33 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look 35 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The 37 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along 32 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous [33] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the 504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be 35 entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the 391 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak 103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta 361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

324]

1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

61 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

14 61 03

2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the author did not include in the number of

/438 cont./

*262 Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is far behind. In the first rank here, because they are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local, wild, natural products, many kinds of berries, small tree-fruits, tubers, herbs, algae, and seatang. All of these vegetable foods [252] are eaten only as accompaniments to animal food or mixed with it and made into various kinds of dishes. The bilberry, Vaccini [137] vitis idaea L. (Gilyak myghr-als (7), or also /439/ simply calle

[104] 7. The s is soft in pronunciation in this word, like the French z.

als, i.e., "berry") (1), in particular stands first among them wi

[192] 1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry itkt or paghla(n)-als, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold uses and the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the 222 fall great stores of this berry are put up for the winter. For this [221] purpose whole families, but in particular the women and children, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying into the Amur or Liman. At a convenient place there a tent or merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erecte in front of which a fire blazes, and the whole time is devoted to the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kamr and Litsch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, [251] birch-bark bags and baskets and brought by boat to the house, where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around Nikolayevsk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs throughout the winter, they also supplied the Russians there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil 252 and stirred, represent the whole of the customary accompanime *262 for the fish, especially jukola, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, t

hey do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream s torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not ave an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from oth sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low slands. The general character of the land is that of a majestic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear partly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland hey are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are generally not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region s covered with vast dark green forests. Only here and there he stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by he sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, isolated spots along the shore there are Russian villages surrounded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, at the foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak villages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. Occasionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark or Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless heron is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish splashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges only to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the large animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the traveler as he might have expected and as is the case in other regions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the Ussuri.

The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir and larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is wafted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

136 the rustling of leaves, the cracking of branches, the murmur
137 of brooks, or the sound of falling rocks. Only [102] now and then are to be heard the twittering of a song-bird, the croaking of a raven or the hooting of an owl; in the early part of the summer that cosmopolite, the cuckoo, makes its call resound far and near. It is not often that one has an opportunity to hear the branches lying on the ground snap under the heavy step of the bear. Now and then the graceful burunduk (tammias striatus) slips out of the thicket and pauses inquisitively to gaze at man. The taiga (primeval forest) is beautiful and majestic, but at the same time wild and desolate. It is not easy to blaze a trail through such a forest. Quite apart from the tortures one suffers in damp places during the warm season from countless swarms of mosquitoes, the forest floor and the untouched vegetation present an almost insurmountable chaos. One minute one must squeeze through trees and shrubbery, the next, one must work one's way through a thicket of enormous wild roses, ferns or umbel-bearing plants, or make one's way around the roots of a fallen tree, that are almost as high as a house; or one sinks into swampy ground, or stumbles over the many stones that have been brought down by the spring freshets. The world of grasses, flowers, and berries of the forest offers a welcome change, for in spots one also encounters oases of lush grass or comes upon a pink, red or yellow carpet of flowers, such as the fire weed (epilobium), valerian, red and yellow lilies, chrysanthemums [chrysanthemum vulgare], among others, or thick patches of raspberries, cranberries, blueberries, etc.

132 It is especially the six-month-long winter, full of frost and snow, which gives the country its rugged character. In the first half of November (1) the mighty river ceases its roaring

1. According to the new style.

and wraps itself in a cloak of ice.

By means of the almost sudden and tumultuous adhesion of ice floes, the ice surface is studded with huge needles, planks, and mounds. This is the so-called toros; where it is large one is obliged to level the road for the winter season with the help of axes and crowbars. However, this toros remains bare within a certain distance of the sea, that is, where there is already less snow; between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyeskoye (300 versts) it causes difficulty only when there are no large snow storms [103]. Usually, however, as soon as the first

137 Among medicinal plants are to be noted especially the cheremsha (Allium victoriale) which has an anti-scorbutic effect; valeriana officinalis; several varieties of artemesia (except absinthium); menyonthes trifoliata; Achillea millefolium; cannabis sativa; sedum palustre; taraxacum-officinale; tilia cordeta; querus mongolica, etc.

136 The animal kingdom is varied and numerous. Fish, especially the salmon species, that is, salmo longocephalus (kita) and salmo gibbosus (gorbusha) are important for the Gilyak's existence. Besides, there are sturgeon, carp, pike, etc. Along the coasts are to be found codfish, flounder, white fish, etc. Of water animals the dolphin (1) as well as

1. It goes 150 versts up the Amur.

the seal are important There are many whales (2) in the

2. In the book entitled Sibirien und das Amurland by Albert Kohn and K. Andree (1876) we read that the whale even swims around in the lower Amur. This is definitely not true.

Sea of Okhotsk, but they are not hunted by the Gilyak; only occasionally if one of these monsters is cast ashore, it is used Of land mammals we must mention especially: sable, squirrel, red fox, reindeer, elk, and bear. The wolf is seldom seen, hardly oftener than the Bengal tiger. The latter does not actually live above the 50th parallel, but sometimes it extends its excursions farther northward, that is, into the Gilyak country. Thus it was supposed to have been seen on the De Kastri Bay and even at the Tyr, but it definitely occurs at De Kastri Bay.

Among birds, the partridge and the hazel grouse the wild goose and wild duck are of importance to the Gilyak.

132 The climate. With the proximity of the ocean, we should expect to find a mild sea climate, but actually this is not the case, as may have been gathered from our general description. Winter is more severe than in continental Europe between corresponding degrees of latitude (51-54) and the contrast between the seasons is very abrupt. The thermometer does not always fall to -40 degrees Reaumur, but temperatures of -20 to -25 occur very often. The summers are not hot. The distribution of atmospheric humidity is very

224 For the bear festival (see below) live young animals are
527 sought and are raised in a special enclosure. If they cannot be caught in any other way (1), they are sought out together

1. Sometimes young bears roam about so far from their mamas that they can be easily caught.

with the mother bears. The Gilyak wait for winter and then seek out a bear cave. On the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set out for the cave with lances, hatchets, straps, and several empty dog sleds. They begin to irritate the bear by thrusting long sticks into the cave. Whereupon bruin begins to roar tremendously and starts to leave his cave. At this instant the bravest and strongest of the Gilyak takes his stand close to the entrance with his pelt coat on backwards, and as soon as the bear appears he hurls himself with his chest against the bear's head. The others hurl themselves on their leader and thus the alarmed bear is felled by the combined impact and is soon bound. If he is strong and raging so that he cannot be handled, he is immediately killed. Sometimes a noose is also put around his neck as soon as he appears. If the prisoner was a female with cubs, they are all taken home in sleds.

136 The elk is not found in the lower Amur region, that is, in
224 the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, but is seen somewhat farther up at the Amgun river. It is usually hunted in winter because, like the horse, it can travel only with difficulty in the deep snow, and the Gilyak on his snow shoes can easily overtake it and kill it with his lance. In summer time the animal is killed with rifles. Its meat is very popular and its skin is used for shoes, straps, etc.

The reindeer is also hunted chiefly in winter in the same manner. Occasionally the lance is also thrust at some distance from the target.

The wild boar does not occur on Sakhalin and the lower Amur; however, it appears 40-50 versts above Nikolayevsk. It is hunted with lances and with rifles. Its meat is very popular, its skin, among other things, is used for the shaman drums.[122]

224 The fox is preferably poisoned with the vomic nut which
278 the Gilyak buy from the Chinese. But this poison is not very
439 strong; much faster, in fact almost instantaneous, is the effect of its alkoloid, i.e., strychnine, which Russian fox hunters use but which the Gilyak seldom get hold of. But

/439 cont./

are a popular ingredient in many dishes of the Gilyak, for example, among others, one of the most important of these, the so-called mossj. This is a mixture of ground fish-skins, or, lacking them, of chopped jukola, with fish oil and berries. For the preparation of mossj, the fish skins, from lyghi-tscho or tengi-tscho, are cut up in small pieces, well cooked, ground, and stirred with fish oil to a mush of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance, like thick cream (sour

2. A quite similar dish, made out of cooked and ground fish-skins with an admixture of pounded cedar-nuts, was used by the Kuriles on the southern tip of Kamchatka, according to Steller (op. cit., p. 325).

cream). I saw mossj prepared for the bear festival in Tebach, for it is an essential part of it and is both eaten by the participants and given to the bear. At other times, however, I saw it made out of finely cut jukola that was cooked and mixed with fish oil and bilberries. If the substance is cooled sufficiently or freezes a little, it can be cut into slices with a knife. Depending on the kind of fish used, the Gilyak distinguish between lyghi-mossj and tengi-mossj, giving preference to the former. They like to take a small supply of it along on winter journeys. For the midday meal around the blazing fire I have seen them perfectly satisfied with a few strips of jukola warmed or slightly roasted at the flames, several slices of mossj, and a drink of snow-water. Next to the bilberry, Empetrum nigrum L. (Gilyak yghych) is the most commonly used and favorite berry among the Gilyak. Just like the former, indeed often in place of it, it is used both as an accompaniment and as an ingredient for mossj and other dishes, /440/ and is likewise collected and stored in great quantities. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin it is even more common and more frequently used than the bilberry. Elsewhere, for instance, near Tymi on the Liman, the cranberry, Vaccinium oxycoccus L.

/440 cont./

*262 (Gilyak tym-als), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but
[137] does not replace the former two in the mossj. Other berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak edeni-als), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called
[192] tityrsch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin pilj-als, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113] 1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn called pilja-latsch by the Gilyak there; see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/" (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 213, 215).

[251] Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I
[252] repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to a mush which is eaten with spoons.

*262 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the
252 Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits
264 of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrs),
[142] a primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by
[137]

[192] 2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tassj (Prunus padus) and chim (Pinus cembra, pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the
252 kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is like-
*262 wise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this
[192] connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

/440 cont./

252 which among the Gilyak on the mainland is called kyp, on
262 Sakhalin kap. The kernels and shells of the cembra nuts are
[92] kneaded into a dough-like mass of a reddish-brown color, obtained from the ground bark of the black alder with the addition of seal oil, which is given the form of cakes or small loaves of bread about one span long and equally wide and decorated on the upper side with some figures.

The number of roots which the Gilyak use as food is not inconsiderable. Unfortunately, I am not in a position with regard to many of them to give the taxonomic names of the plants
[137] to which they belong (3). Most of the roots, especially those

[113]

3. The names given in the following are based on the findings that were made by Maximowicz in working up his "Primitiae florae amurensis," St. Petersburg, 1859 (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. par divers savants, Vol. IX), and Fr. Schmidt for the botanical part of his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin," 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 212), on the basis of the material collected by him and Glehn.

of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria kamtschatkensis Gawl. (Gilyak kark) and of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak nork), which one sees strung on cords and hanging in their storage chambers; likewise the roots of Corydalis ambigua Cham. (Gilyak tschjurk), Heracleum dissectum Led. (Gilyak ryghr), and many other roots with which I am not familiar, such as tuksj, udalak, /441/ mryu, plim, a(r)sj, etc. Some bulbs, such as those
263 called ngyfki by the Gilyak, which presumably belong to a species
252 of Allium, are cut up in the fresh state and added to dishes as
137 seasonings, and likewise the chopped and dried leaves of some

/441 cont./

263 species of leeks (Gilyak hagi), for the most part from Allium
252 schoenoprasum L. on the mainland and from Allium victoriale L.
137 on Sakhalin, are put in the broths to make them tastier, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

[103]

1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the small islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Hagi-mif (mif means land in general) by the Gilyak, a designation which the Russians have extended to the entire archipelago embracing eight small islands.

*262 The young leaves and peeled leaf stalks and stems of a
252 number of other plants are used for food by boiling them with fish or seal oil into a soup, for example, Cacalia hastata L. (Gilyak pytk), Epilobium angustifolium L. (Gilyak tschola), and, according to Glehn, also Polygonum weyrichii Schm. (Gilyak haps Heracleum barbatum Led. (Gilyak nukr), Senecio pseudo-arnica Less. (Gilyak kengs), and Petasites japonicus S. et Z. (Gilyak löllu and tol-achs) (2). The first plant in particular seems to be

2. Glehn, op. cit., pp. 212-214.

used a great deal. I have seen it eaten by the Gilyak in the village of Tyk even in winter, after a very protracted and complicated preparation. First, the leaves were plucked off the dried plant, gathered in the summer to be stored, and cooked in water in a kettle. Then the contents were poured into a wooden trough and cooled, whereupon the water was wrung out of the leaves as out of a piece of laundry. The longish bundles of leaves thus
[264] produced were then cut into very small pieces with the large fish-
stirred with lyghi-tscho roe, and the whole again cooked in water to a thick soup, which was in part eaten with a spoon and in part drunk out of wooden bowls. A few days later I saw the same dish

/441 cont./

252 prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe,
*262 finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The
•[137] Gilyak also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially
[192] reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chitwyrk) (3), and

3. Among the Olcha: chity.

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwalch, and, to be sure, distinguished as kana (white) and piula (blue) tschwalch), for food by making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

[137] Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vegetable food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak putsch).

4. Glehn, op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants, in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, whereupon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white
[172] color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in
[171] small stocks for the winter, which they may have learned from
[251] the Ainu, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Ainu busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artificially rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

*262 While the natural vegetable products discussed above are
439 of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are avail-
177 able to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation,

*262 /442 cont./ As soon as The Russians settled in The
439 lower Amur region, in Petrofskoje Simowjo, Nikolayevsk, and
177 Mariinsk, the Gilyak began to obtain small quantities of various cereals from them. Buckwheat groats in particular found the greatest approval among them, and I saw it served in great quantities during the above-mentioned bear festival of 1856. They also greatly liked the inexpensive Russian rye flour (Gilyak (b) owa), since they /443/ could obtain from the Chinese only small quantities of wheat flour (Gilyak rhak) at a high price. All the above-mentioned
*262 cereals are cooked by the Gilyak to a thick dry mush and eaten
252 with fish oil, which, like melted butter among us, is poured with
439 a spoon or a small stick into a depression made in the groats. Flour
177 has a variety of uses among them. The principal one is in the preparation of a kind of cake or small loaf of bread. For this purpose, it has fish oil poured over it and is kneaded into a dough -- a work which the women accomplish by taking a mouthful of water and, while kneading the dough, let as much of it as is needed run into it. From this dough, flat, longish, or round small loaves are formed, cooked in water in the large kettle at the hearth, and, finally, broken into pieces and sprinkled with fish oil. They obtain
•[137] another dish which is very pleasing to the Gilyak palate by mixing the flour with fish oil and partly crushed bilberries or cranberries (Empetrum nigrum /crowberry/) and stirring this to a mush. Only one garden vegetable is used among them, and this almost solely on festive occasions. It is the common white or yellowish beans
[137] (Phaseolus vulgaris L., Gilyak tursch), which they obtain from the Chinese living farther up along the Amur and Sungari. They are first cooked and then mixed with fish oil, chopped kyp (see above) and finely chopped dried leeks (hagi), and sometimes also berries from Empetrum nigrum -- a truly peculiar culinary achievement owing to its curious composition.

*262 Thus, not merely the various native vegetable foods, which serve more as supplements, but also the few really nutritious exotic ones which the Gilyak use as food are not eaten by them other than with a more or less strong addition of fish oil. The ichthyophagous nature of the Gilyak remains true even here. And, thus, in spite of the not inconsiderable vegetable foods listed above,

9: Hawes--105-106 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 137

"The commonest trees in the forests [LSS
larch (Larix daurica) and birch (Betula alba
and fir (Abies sachalinensis). In addition to
elm, maple, nut, Swiss pine, mountain ash,

The forests naturally change their person
side, and down in swampy places, where co
the sparse vegetation, the hoary moss-hung
sprinkled ground, the home of the reindeer,

In sheltered valleys, on the other hand, I
nearly as I could tell by pacing a fallen gian
mentioned, are found the spindle- and cork-
heracleum.

The thick undergrowth was chiefly compo
berried bushes, including the cloudberry (R
palustris), crowberry (Empetrum nigrum),
(Vaccinium vitis idaea).

On the whole it is the tariga, the Siberian
larch, and spruce that prevails on Sakhalin;
covered with dank grass, gnarled and stunte

: of Sakhalin Island] in the northern half ar
), and in the south spruce (Picaea ajanensis
these are the less common aspen, willow,
, etc.
nel with their situation. On the mountain-
ld winds prevail, the flora is limited, and
trees, and the almost snow-white lichen-
hint of approaching arctic conditions.
have found lofty larch trees measuring, as
t, 145 feet, and in the south, as already
-trees, the bamboo, hydrangea, and the

sed of wild rose, spiraea (betulaefolia?) and
ubus chamaemorus), cranberry (Oxycoccus
and the red whortleberry or cowberry

'jungle' or belt of trackless forests of birc
and the tundra, with its meres and swamp
ed larch and birch, low clusters of

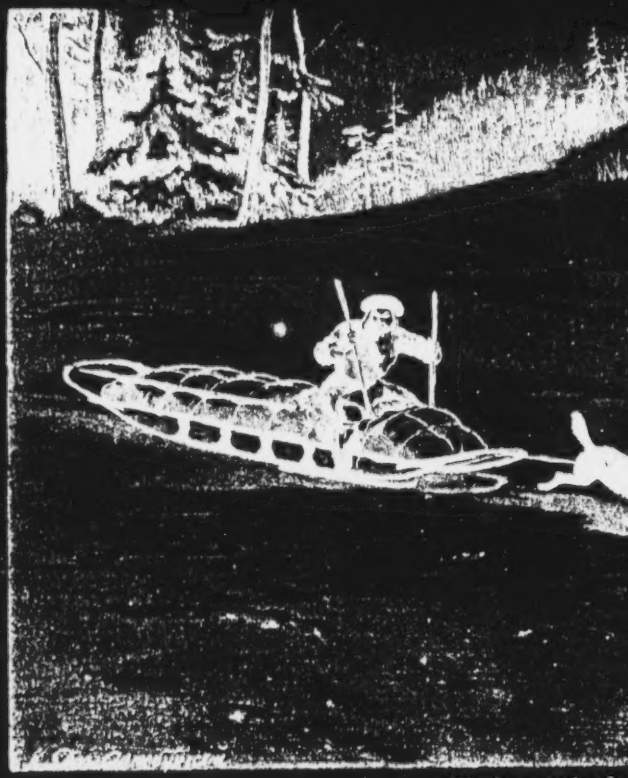

Sled travel of t

2: Schrenck--1017 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak Rx2

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XXXVII

he Gilyak.

Ci.yak winter houses, decora

2: Schrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XI.

ted for the bear festival. Entertainment in front of them.

Gilyak funeral.

2: Schrenck--1265 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

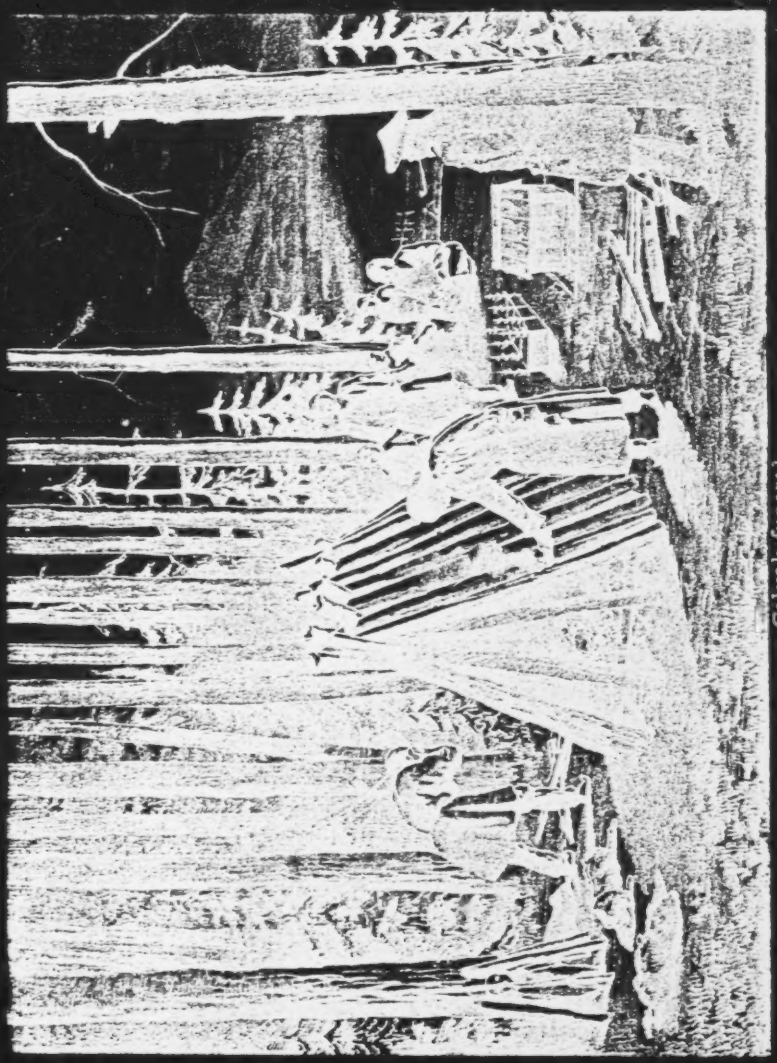

Gilyak funeral.

LXV 4 J 7

"The land [LSS: of Sakhalin Islan
forest. So dense is this, that the na
traverse in summer in canoes dug o
sledges over the frozen surfaces."

d] if for the greater part covered with primeval
tives depend for highway upon the rivers, which th
out of tree-trunks, and in winter in dog-or reindee

"The flora exhibits as great a diver
kurilensis) and Swiss pines (Pinus c
amureuse) [LSS: Erratum; should r
macropterus) are here, with the Be
and birch, and the berry-laden bush

sity. [LSS: as the fauna] Bamboos (Arundinaria
:embra pumila), hydrangeas, the cork-(Phellodendr
read amurense] and spindle-trees (Euonymus
tula ermani, and the gnarled larch (Larix daurica),
es of the Siberian tundra."

HM.

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1, 2, -- Gilya

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III.

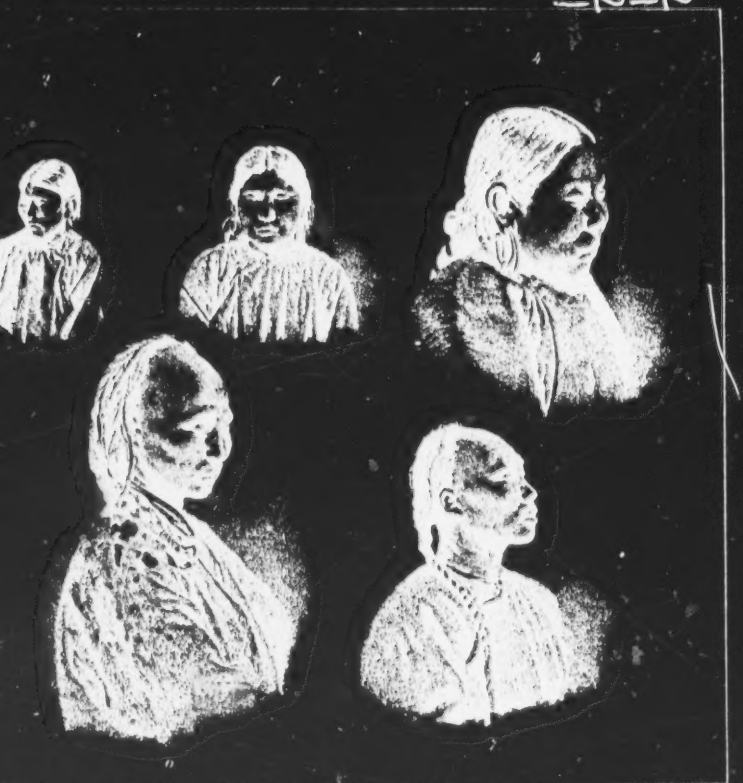

k Women; 2, 4 -- Gilyak Girls; 5, 6, 7 --
Gilyak Men

[LSS: On northern Sakhalin Island] The fore
spicuous trees were birch, larch, elm, and
ick undergrowth of spiraea (Betulae folia?),
dle-trees, but keeps company with the larch
ry (Vaccinium vitisidaea), wild rose, and gr

st was continuous and dense. The most
nut (Panax ricinifolia), while below was
which refuses to grow beneath the
, wild raspberry, elder, the red whortle-
eat horse-tails (Equisetum sylvaticum)."

Amur
Sakhalin

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Photo. 22. Amur Gilyak.

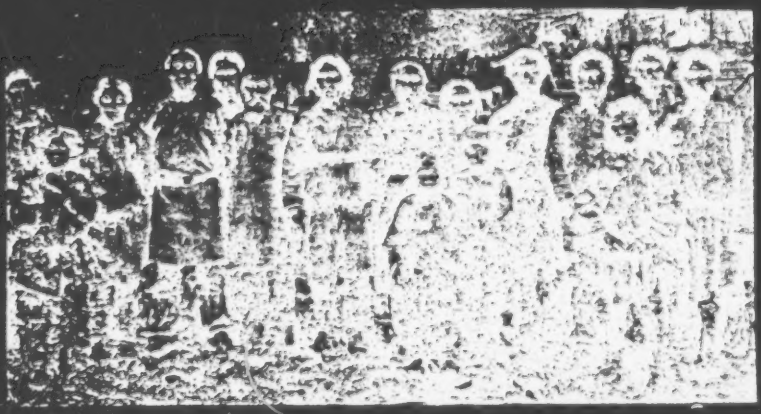

Photo. 23. Sakhalin Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--553 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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Photo. 24. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 25. Sakhalin Gilyak.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

CHAPTER XII.

I HAD a curiosity to examine the ancient monuments at Tyr, opposite the mouth of the Amgoon river, but we passed them in the night without stopping. There are several traditions concerning their origin. The most authentic story gives them an age of six or seven hundred years. They are ascribed to an emperor of the Yuen dynasty who visited the mouth of the Amoor and commemorated his journey by building the 'Monastery of Eternal Repose.' The ruined walls of this monastery are visible, and the shape of the building can be easily traced. In some places the walls are eight or ten feet high.

Mr. Collins visited the spot in 1857 and made sketches of the monuments. He describes them situated on a cliff a hundred and fifty feet high, from which there is a magnificent view east and west of the Amoor and the mountains around it. Toward the south there are dark forests and mountain ridges, some of them rough and broken. To the north is the mouth of the Amgoon, with a delta of numerous islands covered with forest, while in the northwest the valley of the river is visible for a long distance. Back from the cliff is a table-land several miles in width.

This table-land is covered with oak, aspen, and fir trees, and has a rich undergrowth of grass and flowers. On a point of the cliff there are two monuments. A third is about four hundred yards away. One is a marble shaft on a granite pedestal; a second is entirely granite, and the third partly granite and partly porphyry. The first and third bear inscriptions in Chinese, Mongol, and Thibetan. One inscription

141

141 ANTHROPOMETRY--mean, range, and sex distribution of physical measu
ments (e.g., stature, weight, span, length of limbs); indices (e.g., ceph
nasal); etc. See also:

Postures . . . . . 516 Conception of ideal bodily proportions . . . 826

132 peculiar. [105] In Europe and in continental Siberia the relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter, but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga, it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases again so considerably that the winter air may in general be said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and tobacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs, but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer, however, there are many rainy days.

132 The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the
164 army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connection.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

141 In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men who are more often tall. The women are considerably shorter and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of 12 men whom I actually measured was 162.2 centimeters, and that of eight women was 150.4 centimeters. These people had, of course, been picked at random.

142 The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively
516 broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands
732 and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs) as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

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142 DESCRIPTIVE S
and distribution
somatotype data

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SOMATOLOGY--color of skin, hair, and eyes; form, length, of hair; musculature; secondary sexual characteristics; , etc.

Tungus R45
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

TAG 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

AG 101 142 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

they do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream is torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not have an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from both sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low islands. The general character of the land is that of a majestic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear partly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland they are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are generally not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region is covered with vast dark green forests. Only here and there the stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by the sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, isolated spots along the shore there are Russian villages surrounded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, at the foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak villages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. Occasionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark or Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless heron is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish splashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges only to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the large animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the traveler as he might have expected and as is the case in other regions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the Ussuri.

The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir and larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is wafted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

136 the rustling of leaves, the cracking of branches, the murmur
137 of brooks, or the sound of falling rocks. Only [102] now and then are to be heard the twittering of a song-bird, the croaking of a raven or the hooting of an owl; in the early part of the summer that cosmopolite, the cuckoo, makes its call resound far and near. It is not often that one has an opportunity to hear the branches lying on the ground snap under the heavy step of the bear. Now and then the graceful burunduk (tammias striatus) slips out of the thicket and pauses inquisitively to gaze at man. The taiga (primeval forest) is beautiful and majestic, but at the same time wild and desolate. It is not easy to blaze a trail through such a forest. Quite apart from the tortures one suffers in damp places during the warm season from countless swarms of mosquitoes, the forest floor and the untouched vegetation present an almost insurmountable chaos. One minute one must squeeze through trees and shrubbery, the next, one must work one's way through a thicket of enormous wild roses, ferns or umbel-bearing plants, or make one's way around the roots of a fallen tree, that are almost as high as a house; or one sinks into swampy ground, or stumbles over the many stones that have been brought down by the spring freshets. The world of grasses, flowers, and berries of the forest offers a welcome change, for in spots one also encounters oases of lush grass or comes upon a pink, red or yellow carpet of flowers, such as the fire weed (epilobium), valerian, red and yellow lilies, chrysanthemums [chrysanthemum vulgare], among others, or thick patches of raspberries, cranberries, blueberries, etc.

132 It is especially the six-month-long winter, full of frost and snow, which gives the country its rugged character. In the first half of November (1) the mighty river ceases its roaring

1. According to the new style.

and wraps itself in a cloak of ice.

By means of the almost sudden and tumultuous adhesion of ice floes, the ice surface is studded with huge needles, planks, and mounds. This is the so-called toros; where it is large one is obliged to level the road for the winter season with the help of axes and crowbars. However, this toros remains bare within a certain distance of the sea, that is, where there is already less snow; between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyeskoye (300 versts) it causes difficulty only when there are no large snow storms [103]. Usually, however, as soon as the first

132 purga (snow-storm) blows up everything is so completely buried that only those trees can be seen which, at the beginning of winter when the post roads are being laid, are pounded into the ice at regular intervals. Then everything is buried under an enormously thick covering of snow which lies immovable for half a year. During this time the forests are accessible to man only with the help of snow-shoes and dog sleds. Through the stillness of this white solitude the unlovely but energetic voice of the raven is heard; or the stillness is broken by the rapid ringing of a Russian post bell or by the "takh", "takh" which is the Gilyak's signal to his dogs. The raging purgas which last for several days are followed by weeks of cloudless skies when during the day everything lies in a dazzling white glow, and at night the icy heavens are resplendent with bright stars.

The sea coast of the Gilyak country is very picturesque, but hardly charming. From the foam of the breakers up to the peaks of the mountains everything is covered with dark forests, and even the picture of the summer landscape is often clouded with rain and fog which are almost continuous throughout the warmer season. (1) And during the other half

1. The cold arctic current travels past this coast and condenses with the moisture-laden southeast winds.

of the year everything is rigid with snow and ice, so that in winter one can travel with dogs from the mainland to Sakhalin.

This is the general picture of the native land of the Gilyak. There remains for us to add a few details, insofar as these have been ascertained.

135 With respect to geology, it may be said that argillite
812 seems to occur more extensively, but many igneous minerals also appear. Thus the shores of the De Kastri bay consist of trachyte and basalt. Limestone occurs only seldom, which accounts for the softness of the water. The mountains are rich in metals -at least in various localities gold, iron, and lead were found, and it is well known that on the island of Sakhalin there are large coal beds.

137 The flora is varied and abundant. The conifers are represented by the fir and the larch, but the pine is absent. Of deciduous trees [104] there are oaks, maple, alder, birch, aspen, elm, among others. There are many berries, especially cranberries, raspberries, and rubus chamae morus.

137 Among medicinal plants are to be noted especially the cheremsha (Allium victoriale) which has an anti-scorbutic effect; valeriana officinalis; several varieties of artemesia (except absinthium); menyonthes trifoliata; Achillea millefolium; cannabis sativa; sedum palustre; taraxacum-officinale; tilia cordeta; querus mongolica, etc.

136 The animal kingdom is varied and numerous. Fish, especially the salmon species, that is, salmo longocephalus (kita) and salmo gibbosus (gorbusha) are important for the Gilyak's existence. Besides, there are sturgeon, carp, pike, etc. Along the coasts are to be found codfish, flounder, white fish, etc. Of water animals the dolphin (1) as well as

1. It goes 150 versts up the Amur.

the seal are important There are many whales (2) in the

2. In the book entitled Sibirien und das Amurland by Albert Kohn and K. Andree (1876) we read that the whale even swims around in the lower Amur. This is definitely not true.

Sea of Okhotsk, but they are not hunted by the Gilyak; only occasionally if one of these monsters is cast ashore, it is used Of land mammals we must mention especially: sable, squirrel, red fox, reindeer, elk, and bear. The wolf is seldom seen, hardly oftener than the Bengal tiger. The latter does not actually live above the 50th parallel, but sometimes it extends its excursions farther northward, that is, into the Gilyak country. Thus it was supposed to have been seen on the De Kastri Bay and even at the Tyr, but it definitely occurs at De Kastri Bay.

Among birds, the partridge and the hazel grouse the wild goose and wild duck are of importance to the Gilyak.

132 The climate. With the proximity of the ocean, we should expect to find a mild sea climate, but actually this is not the case, as may have been gathered from our general description. Winter is more severe than in continental Europe between corresponding degrees of latitude (51-54) and the contrast between the seasons is very abrupt. The thermometer does not always fall to -40 degrees Reaumur, but temperatures of -20 to -25 occur very often. The summers are not hot. The distribution of atmospheric humidity is very

/24 cont./

144 latter, however, are encountered considerably less often. Only in women and children are the Mongoloid features expressed with particular distinctness.

142 The Gilyak are generally of medium stature (much taller than the Tungus), although one finds subjects who are above medium height, they are stocky and solidly built, but one never meets fat ones among them. The head is proportionately large; its platy-brachycephalic skull is overgrown with black hair, which descends down the backs of the men in one braid, of the women in two. The color of the face is dark and muddy. In youth the red of the cheeks is of a pink-brick shade. Their lips are thick; their teeth are a dark-yellowish color (from smoking). The extremities of their arms and legs are strikingly small.

157 The Gilyak have always been depicted as morose, gloomy, and unsociable and are always contrasted with the gentle expression of the face of the Ainu. I find this opinion unjust. If there are features of moroseness in the Gilyak, these are purely of external origin and caused by the justified distrust of foreigners, who have caused them no little harm. I personally have had many contacts with this tribe and have carried away the conviction that the moroseness of the Gilyak is a purely external trait. Under this morose exterior there hides a gentle nature capable of deep attachments, expansiveness, and trust. Due to his expansiveness, the Gilyak is capable of swift changes of mood. The morose expression of his face, moved from concentration by the slightest stimulus from without, in one second beams with an expression of the most naïve good-nature, or becomes inflamed with a terrible fire of anger. The Gilyak is usually slow in his movements and restrained at home when he plays the role of host, but he is agitated and active in periods of gaiety and excitement, when his speech flows in a stormy current from his overfull breast.

The woman is gloomier in appearance than the man. With her eyes constantly lowered and slow in her movements, she immediately gives the impression of a frightened creature. In reality she is not. It is sufficient for her to begin to speak with you, and, in her artificially-muil'irovannyy accent, in the ingratiating, flattering intonation and timbre of her voice, in her smile and roguish, laughing look, you will recognize a true daughter of Eve,

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1:Shternberg--551 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur
Sakhalin
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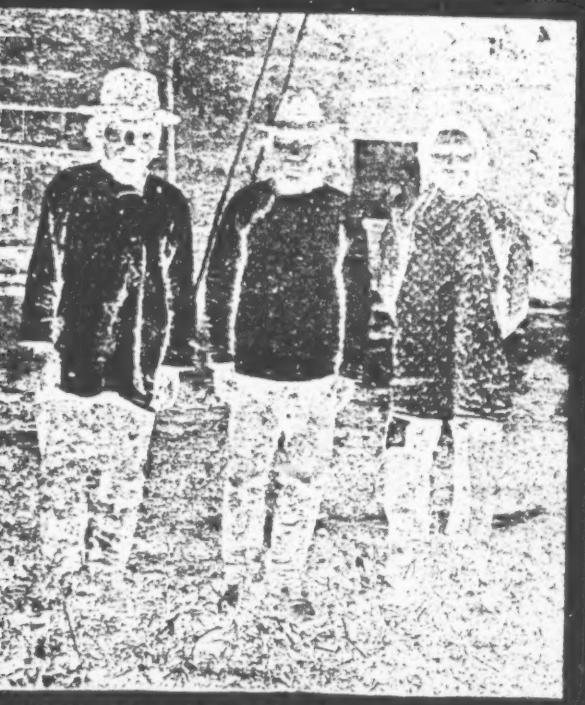

Photo. 16. Amur Gilyak.

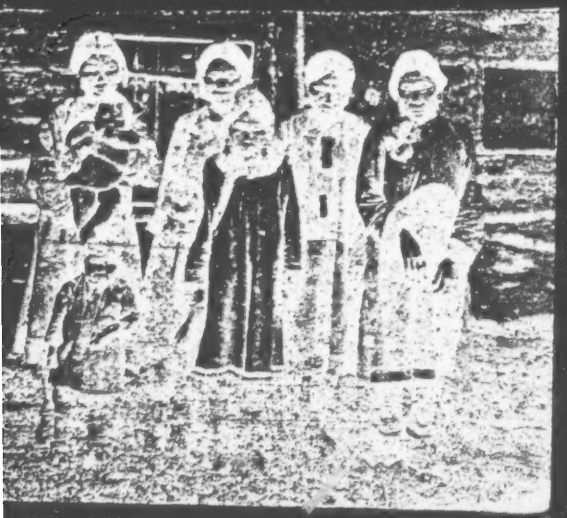

Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 18. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 19. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

[516]

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

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Photo. 26. Sakhalin Gil

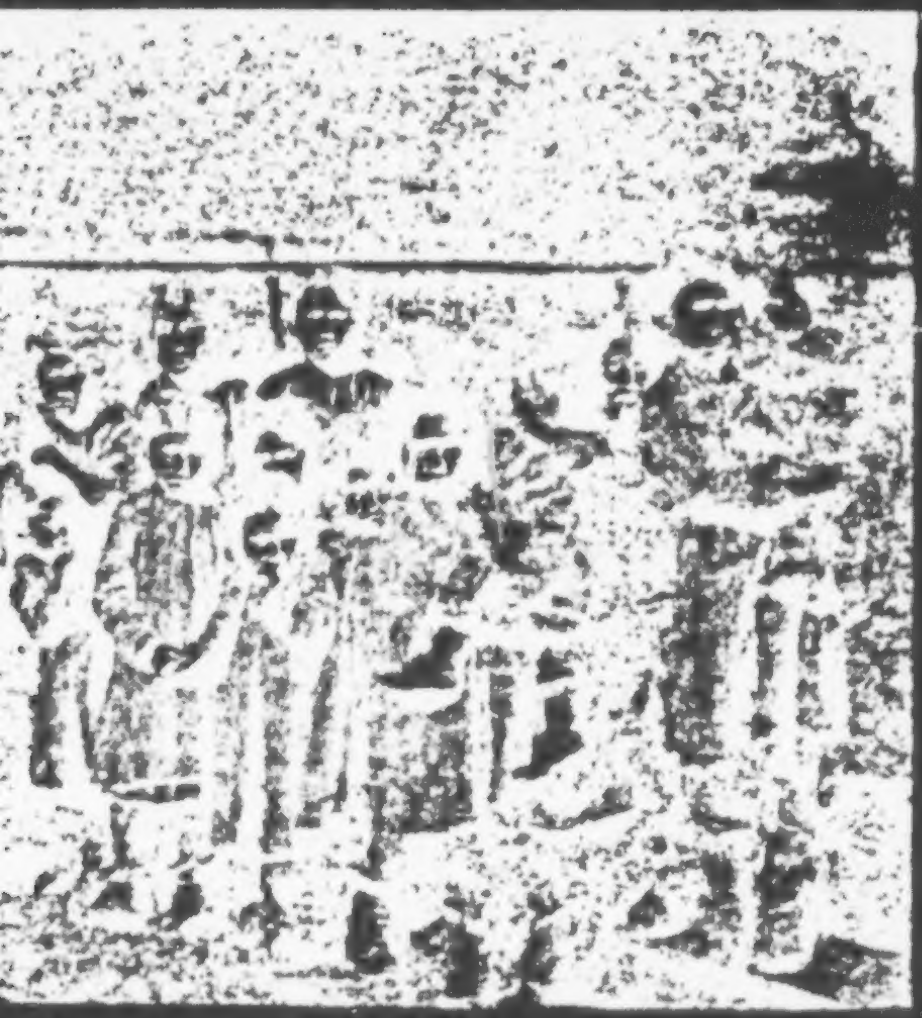

yak. Group of children.

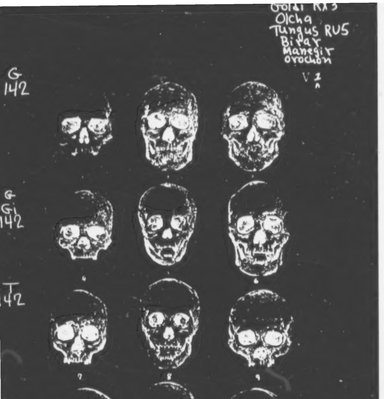

2/3 [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. -- Analyst]

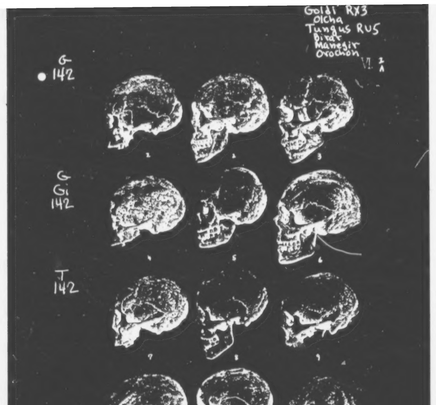

2/3 [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. -- Analyst]

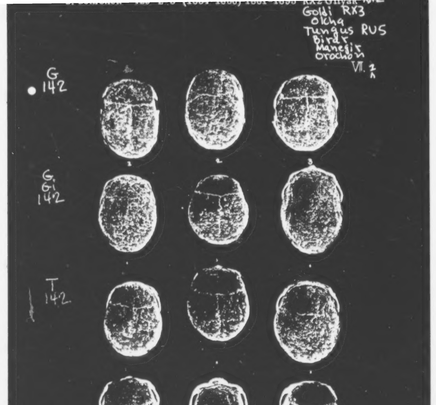

2/3 [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. -- Analyst]

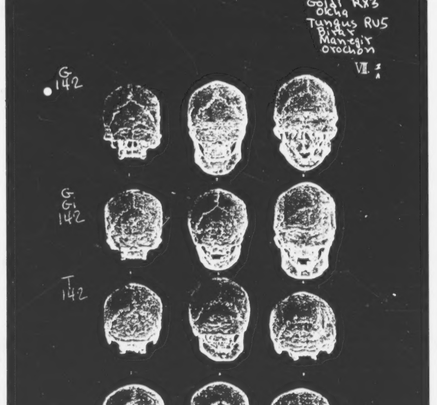

2/3 [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. -- Analyst]

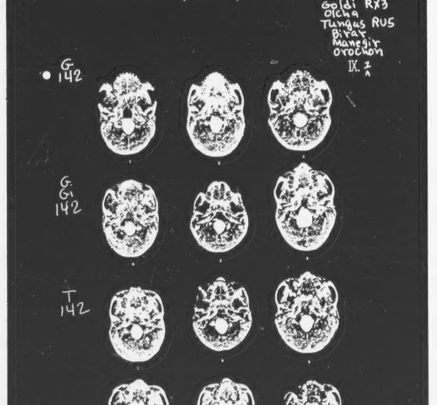

2/3 [Captions for plates V-IX appear in Category 116, pp. XV-XVi. -- Analyst]

/387 cont./

291 and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the thinner and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal, with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and, after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under
• [142] it with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unnecessary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against
[324] [531] rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chib-bak, i.e., in literal translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark, sewed on the hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII, 2/3 and Pl. XX, Figs. 1 and 2/3 (2).

[386] 2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

291 The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer
301 shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ pro-
177 vided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made either of similar material or of fish skins. Shirt and robe usually have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which is put as decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of
2/3 [See Category 116, P. 997 -- Analyst]
2/3 [See Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Southwest Siberia RX1

SS
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/409 cont./

As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

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SS
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This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

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The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting

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in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

/440 cont./

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[139]

(Gilyak tym-als), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but does not replace the former two in the mossj. Other berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak edeni-als), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

[192]

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called itityrsch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin pilj-ali, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113]

1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn called pilja-latsch by the Gilyak there, see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/" (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 213, 215).

[251]
[252]

Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to a mush which is eaten with spoons.

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The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrs), a primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by

[192]

2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tassj (Prunus padus) and chim (Pinus cembra, pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is likewise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this

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connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

IVII.

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Gilyak in summer clothing.

IVIII.

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

III.

•142
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302
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Gilyak in winter clothing.

142

Ch. Takasami, student at Leningrad University, at a student ball in the Kremlin palace.

Today the Nivkhi are served by an extensive network of diverse medical institutions; in addition, specialist physicians visit the most remote collective-farm villages. One of the initial tasks of the Soviet government was to bring the children into the schools and to liquidate illiteracy among the adults. Schools were opened in Sakhalin during the very first years after the establishment of the Soviet government there. A group of Nivkhi young people were sent to school on the continent, and adults were taught at centers for the liquidation of illiteracy.

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(801)

A Nivkhi alphabet was created in 1931. In 1932, the first schoolbooks were published. During the 1933-34 school year, some 300 children were already at school in the Sakhalinskaya Oblast, which meant 86% of all Nivkhi children of school age. It was possible to assure daily attendance only after the establishment of dormitories. Today all children attend school. In the village of Kal'ma there is an elementary seven-year school; in Nogliki there is a ten-year school. A part of the Nivkhi youth (boys) attend trade schools in Komosol'sk and factory schools in Komsomol'sk and Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

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132 peculiar. [105] In Europe and in continental Siberia the relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter, but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga, it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases again so considerably that the winter air may in general be said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and tobacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs, but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer, however, there are many rainy days.

132 The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the
164 army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connection.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

141 In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men who are more often tall. The women are considerably shorter and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of 12 men whom I actually measured was 162.2 centimeters, and that of eight women was 150.4 centimeters. These people had, of course, been picked at random.

142 The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively
516 broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands
732 and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs) as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not
und, and in general bodily abnormalities and de-
es are much less often found among these savages
ong civilized peoples. Their features are not beau-
though the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race
Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephal-
eir thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down
ck in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and
istly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are
but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some
ces. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

l. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the
Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak
are like slits.

d outward. Their color is without exception dark.
ek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short
ally flat. In women the column of the nose is not
as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings.
not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red.
equently hold their mouths open, showing two complete
strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths
one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn
om their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are
ut thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are
for earrings.
complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is
friendly faces are less often found among them than
he Goldi. However, the women have a gentler ex-
, although their type is very similar to that of the
hey wear two braids which are often tied together at
m.
ing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies,
e not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not
o be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but
dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usu-
free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak
ture of smoke and fish, with the former predominat-

as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall
at of Europeans, but they have more physical endur-
e women, moreover, are relatively strong. One
ay that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of
ovement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

116, 142, 302

"The Gilyak is short of stature, about 5 feet 3
though often wiry, scarcely robust. His wome
His complexion is tawny, gipsy-like, but not y
pigtail, is raven black. Altogether his feature
the brachycephalic (round) head, the broad fac
[158] yet the slight brow ridges, big mouth, p
of the latter are considerably modified in his
hairless faces of the Mongol, and perhaps the
descendants of Ainu and Gilyak ancestors."

inches in height, spare of limb, and,
n-folk scarcely exceed 4 feet 6 inches.
ellow, and his hair, which he wears in a
s betoken a mixed race. Though he has
e, and high cheek-bones of the Mongol,
rominent lips, and flattened nasal bridge
case. The majority of Gilyaks possess the
exceptions who have bushy beards are

"Coming upon an encampment of Gily
eir resemblance to the North-Americ
nes, raven hair and mocassined legs,
ddling a dug-out canoe. From the hut
ort and stunted, and some black-hair
."

ak natives for the first time, I was struck with
an Indians; their swarthy figures, high cheek-
the impression being heightened by their
s emerged one or two of their women-folk,
ed, gipsy-looking children, who stared shyly at

20: Bush--125 T-2 (1865) 1871
116, 142, 221, 461

"These people might with propriety be called an aquatic tribe
months they almost live upon the water, paddling here and there
continually. For their food, likewise, both during summer and
this source nearly exclusively. What traveling they do in winter
dogs; but this is very little, their preference being decidedly to
dingy, smoky habitations during the cold weather, waiting for th
before renewing their out-of-door exercises.

These exercises, rowing and fishing principally, are only pa
the muscles of the upper portion of the body. Owing to this fact,
see men among them powerful and robust about the chest and arm
limbs are comparatively so small and puny as to convey the imp

. During the summer
in their lotkas
winter, they rely upon
is accomplished with
lie and vegetate in their
e advent of spring

rtial, benefiting merely
, it is not uncommon to
ms, while their lower
ression of deformity."

20: Bush--76-77 T-2 (18

116, 142

[LSS: Upon arrival at Tederovsk on L
wet and tired out, so much so that even t
resolved to take informal possession, wh
was seen approaching from the distance,
water's edge. These last were evidently
appearance, were objects of a good deal
means preposessing in their looks, or c al
to classify them we did not know, except

From small patches of skin that were
they were clothed, we judged their compl
and the American Indians. There feature
eyes, flattish noses, and coarse black ha
cheek-bones, which were exceedingly lar
rest of the face in profile view."

ake Kidzi]"By this time all of us were perfectly
ne hovel was a welcome sight, and we had just
en a small, box-like boat, containing two men,
while two other beings approa ched along the
natives of the country, and, from their
of interest and curiousity to us, though by no
culated to inspire one with admiration. How
as under the general head of tartars. [77]
in a few places visible through the dirt in which
exion to be midway between those of the Chinese
s were decidedly Mongolian--almond-shaped
ir; but most prominent of all were their
ge, so much so as to completely obscure the

Knox 1-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

31 like a Pawnee concert. There were big dogs and little dogs, white, black, grey, brown, and yellow dogs, and not one friendly. They did not appear courageous, but I was not altogether certain of their dispositions. Their owners sought to quiet them, but they refused comfort.

These dogs had some peculiarities of those in Kamchatka, but their blood was evidently much debased; they appeared to be a mixture of Kamchadale, greyhound, bull dog, and cur, the latter predominating. They are used for hunting at all seasons, and for towing boats in summer and dragging sledges in winter. I was told that since the Russian settlement of the Amoor the Gilyak dogs have degenerated, in consequence of too much familiarity with Muscovite canines. Nicolayevsk appeared quite cosmopolitan in the matter of dogs, and it was impossible to say what breed was most numerous. One day I saw nineteen in a single group and no two alike.

ABOUT FULL.

609 Near the entrance of the village an old man was repairing his nets, which were stretched along a fence. He did not regard us as we scrutinized his jacket of blue cotton, and he made no response to a question which Borasdine asked. Further along were two women putting fish upon poles for drying, and a third was engaged in skinning a large salmon. The women did not look up from their work, and were not 42 inclined to amiability. They had Mongol features, complexion, eyes, and hair, the latter thick and black. Some of the

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143 GENETICS--blood groupings; incidence of sex-linked characteristics (e.g., color blindness, hemophilia); other data of specific genetic significance (e.g., unusual response potentialities or limitations); etc. See also:

Notions about heredity 827

/255 cont./
832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
597 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for [158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

• 143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij -- in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and [588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/256 cont./
• 143 In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual
826 intercourse and marriages of hermaphrodites are often confused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyak known to me. On Sakhalin I know of two cases. In the settlement of Yama, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak, Chubuk, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum virile was underdeveloped) and wore woman's clothing. Later the membrum virile attained the proper development, and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married.
143 I learned of another instance in the settlement of Myy Gyrk
826 on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. Here I once
588 met two young people sitting on the shore, a man and a woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed that the latter very much resembled a man in the face. My companions explained that only a year ago she had been wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing together. They had to spend the night together, and then the hermaphrodite revealed her secret to her friend. From that time on they began to live together and ended up by getting married, although people strongly urged the young man against [538] /257/ taking this step. Similar cases may easily have given [534] rise to the legends about transformed persons (about werewolves).

On the Amur the Gilyak Putuk told me the curious details concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that he was developing a membrum virile, which would sometimes grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes disappear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the course of several years a beard grew and the male organ was definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

/257 cont./
• 143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.
881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who [302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos con-
881 nected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,
585 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
833 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

/319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year) [782] they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: [776] "Pkhys'kyr ururungja! -- do good for us with your risk!"
731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
758 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.
731 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
753 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
766 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.
538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is
562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.
158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
• [143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

144

* 144 RACIAL AFFINITIES--indicated affiliation with established races and sub-races; supporting evidence; extent of race mixture; etc. See also:

Distribution of ethnic groups . . . . . 162 Ideas about race 829
Ethnic stratification and status of racial hybrids 563

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

T 8 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

A 8 101 102 182 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

G 101 144

/1 cont./

As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

T 131 197

T 8 101 102 182 184

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

S 8 121

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

S 121 433

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

/13 cont./

175 131

Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half centuries.

131 102 162

The greatest density of population is found in the areas of the most abundant fishing, such as the banks of the Amur and its estuary [villages: Kol' (196 persons), Langr (205), Vayda (184), Mago (154), and others]; on the western shore of Sakhalin, the points Tamlevo, Lyrkyvo (144 persons), Viskivo (116), Nyur (103), Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

101

The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. /14/ It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Priamur krai to become convinced that the minuscule Gilyak tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. Even in the very heart of the Gilyak area of settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

144 [194]

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus neighbors. The physical resemblance seems to confirm this idea to a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives a categorical indication in the negative. For neither in its lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout the Asiatic continent we find no other language which could lay claim to close relationship with the Gilyak language.

/19 cont./

174 124 829

In 1893 during my stay in the settlement of Langr on a small island lying opposite the continental coast, I talked to an old Gilyak, a contemporary of Nevelskoi and Orlov, who were the first men active in the lower reaches of the Amur. I was not a little astonished when during our conversation, while reminiscing about the workers of the Russian-American Company, to whom my interlocutor had in his time been of service, he suddenly said: "I think, however, that the Gilyak and the Aleut are of the same race. It turned out that the well-known seaman, Orlov, who served in the Russian-American Company, /20/ was accompanied by an Aleut, with whom my Gilyak informant had a chance to talk at great length, and as a result, after an exchange of stories about the customs and the way of life of their fellow tribesmen, by the way, about the bear festival, they both came to the conclusion that the Gilyak and the Aleut are kal'nyakhr (one people). Taken by themselves, such primitive conclusions, cannot, of course, have any great significance for the solution of the question, but in connection with other considerations about the arctic origin of the Gilyak, this naïve testimony of a Gilyak is, at any rate, characteristic.

144 [194]

Thus, the language, the archaeological data, the remnants of peculiarities of their way of life, and the legends make it possible for us to lift somewhat the veil of the distant past of the Gilyak tribe. On the other hand, purely anthropological data can play no role in the question that interests us. Anthropologically, the Gilyak least of all represent anything original. There is no such thing as a specific Gilyak type. The average type of Gilyak is at the present time a complex of ordinary, though somewhat softened Mongoloid features with a deviation on the one hand to the Tungus, and on the other to the Ainu type. In the Ainu type, as Schrenck has already noted, the face is more or less oval, the forehead straight, the cheek bones moderately pronounced, the squint of the eye very insignificant or completely absent, the nose more or less long, the spine of the nose with a curve, and the growth of hair on the face abundant. In the Tungus type, on the other hand, the Mongoloid features are expressed in full sharpness. In the feminine type the Tungus features predominate. This is everything that

/20 cont./

144

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/21 cont./

174 144 197

out, what remained of the indigenous type of the original Gilyak tribe? Yes, that original type irretrievably disappeared. The body of the Gilyak tribe died forever, but its spirit is alive, alive in its language, a language which, as we have said, stands completely alone in the assemblage of languages of the Asiatic continent, and in its peculiar customs and institutions which, together with the language, have survived all the vicissitudes of its physical transformation. The persistent preservation of the language is striking. It has not only protected itself against distortion by roots and forms from other tribes, but, in spite of the small membership of the tribe has preserved two large dialects and no fewer than five or six subdialects, which testify to the fact that there was a time when the Gilyak language was spoken by many tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of individuals scattered over a vast territory, who left us numerous idioms as proof of their existence.

174

But not only the language of the Gilyak tribe continues to testify to its isolated position among the surrounding nationalities: its social institutions, clan organization, religion, and especially /22/ the institution of marriage, amazingly peculiar norms of sexual intercourse, and equally amazing kinship nomenclature clearly testify to this. Before we proceed to this aspect of their life, however, we shall first touch upon, within the briefest limits, the external conditions of their life, the nature which surrounds them, and the outward appearance of the Gilyak.

II.

132

Environment. Type. External Life.

[31]

The nature amidst which these people live at the present time is full of the greatest contrasts. In spite of the southerly latitude (between 46° and 54 1/2° north latitude), the average yearly temperature falls in some places to -1.2°. The freezing of mercury in the middle of the island is a common phenomenon. Even in July there are minimums of 7.7°. Ice floats off the

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526 they masters. It is very strange that among these people
516 who live on and along the water there are few good swim-
mers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, can-
not swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent
and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble
Tungus regards him with some disdain.

151 I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the
sight and hearing of these people, but in general these
senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors
well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of
the European could be deducted from a number of experi-
ments. When I was taking their head measurements, I
occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our
conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not
mind it.

142 The characteristics here described apply also to the
171 Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related
to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They
have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than
the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the
Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Fur-
thermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings.
Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like
that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

281 In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a
291 linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide,
pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be
fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made
of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or
pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear
shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they
use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of
of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden
clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have
shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn
much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more
durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to
scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot
often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used,
but more often by the Goldi.

291 In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of
longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots
and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

Otto Genest (Gymnasium Teacher)

Jakobsen's first sojourn in the land of the Goldi (compare umber 10 of the current volume of the periodical, p. 153 see Goldi Source 18: Genest--Analyst] was followed by a rip into the territory of the Gilyak through which he had o pass in order to reach Nikolayevsk. He touched the same erritory for a second time when on his return from Sakhalin sland, he started his journey up the Amur River towards he Ussuri and North Korea at the end of January 1885. Both imes he had only a little time at his disposal: in September f 1884 he had to rush to get to Nikolayevsk as soon as pos-ible in order to take advantage of an opportunity to cross ver to Sakhalin; January 1885 he was pressing with all his ower to conclude his activities since by force of circum-tances he had lost so much time on Sakhalin that he was fraid of having to extend his travels too much if he should top for a detailed study of the Gilyak. It is therefore nderstandable that his collections made in the territory of he Gilyak are far inferior to those made in the land of the Goldi as regards copiousness and variety. Also the infor-nation he was able to gather from his own observation or hrough his inquiries understandably gives only a hazy icture of the life and activities of this people. Unfortunately e only had little opportunity to become acquainted with the epresentatives of the Gilyak people living on Sakhalin sland and thus to fill the gaps of his account of this people. Nevertheless the entries in his diary present several things f interest, but expecially valuable is the fact that he was ermitted to observe a bear festival in the Gilyak village aida above Nikolayevsk, the procedure of which he has escribed in great detail.

The Gilyak have been designated as Hyperboreans or Arctics by Rittich (1), as Northern Asiatics of uncertain

1. Die Ethnographie Russlands, supplementary issue 54 to Petermann's Mittheilungen, p. 19.

osition within the system by Peschel (2). They are

2. Peschel-Kirchoff, Völkerkunde (5th

Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thick-
101 ness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

361 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settle-
563 ments were particularly numerous along the shallow shore
166 of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these
226 had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along
231 this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live
133 there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

/23 cont./

levated areas, where their natural inhabitants -- the bears -- vander; strong winds which create hellish snowstorms and destruc-ive hurricanes; the sea, always stormy and teeming with giants nd sea monsters; fogs, and the sky always covered with leaden-olored clouds -- such are the surrounding conditions which with owerful strokes have inscribed their features on the psychics and orld view of the Gilyak, conditions which have inscribed the ualities of vitality and courage, along with the quality of stern-ess, in the spiritual make-up of the inhabitant of this rugged sland.

Of the animals surrounding the Gilyak, the bear, the trongest and most terrible inhabitant of his taiga, plays the most mportant role. In the chapter on religion, I shall discuss in de-ail the influence of this animal on the whole religious psychics f the Gilyak. Now I wish only to indicate the role of this animal n the natives' struggle for survival. If this animal were as aggres-ive as, say, the Bengal tiger, it would have been almost im-ossible, in the face of its extreme abundance, for primitive man o live in these areas. The northern bear, however, is distinguished or its gentleness, which seems almost unbelievable. During the irst years of my stay on Sakhalin the flocks of the settlers grazed ide by side with the bears, and while picking berries the women f the settlers more than once bumped sides with their clumsy ompetitors; and if the bear in such cases sometimes did not be-ave exactly like a gentleman, this expressed itself only in his ushing the woman if the latter accidentally brushed against him ith her pot or bucket. During my travels I more than once had o put up for the night in areas abounding in bears, and more han once, while lying inside my tent, I could hear the heavy otsteps of Mikhail Potapych, curious to inspect our camp...

I have already said something about the physical type of the ilyak. An average Gilyak type does not exist. He fluctuates etween the sharp Mongoloid features of the Tungus type and the omely /24/ gentle features of the Ainu type. That is why among e Gilyak one so frequently encounters subjects whom it is diffi-ult to distinguish from true Tungus, and, at the same time, hers who impress one by their almost European features. The

/24 cont./

144 latter, however, are encountered considerably less often. Only in women and children are the Mongoloid features expressed with particular distinctness.

142 The Gilyak are generally of medium stature (much taller than the Tungus), although one finds subjects who are above medium height, they are stocky and solidly built, but one never meets fat ones among them. The head is proportionately large; its platy-brachycephalic skull is overgrown with black hair, which descends down the backs of the men in one braid, of the women in two. The color of the face is dark and muddy. In youth the red of the cheeks is of a pink-brick shade. Their lips are thick; their teeth are a dark-yellowish color (from smoking). The extremities of their arms and legs are strikingly small.

157 The Gilyak have always been depicted as morose, gloomy, and unsociable and are always contrasted with the gentle expression of the face of the Ainu. I find this opinion unjust. If there are features of moroseness in the Gilyak, these are purely of external origin and caused by the justified distrust of foreigners, who have caused them no little harm. I personally have had many contacts with this tribe and have carried away the conviction that the moroseness of the Gilyak is a purely external trait. Under this morose exterior there hides a gentle nature capable of deep attachments, expansiveness, and trust. Due to his expansiveness, the Gilyak is capable of swift changes of mood. The morose expression of his face, moved from concentration by the slightest stimulus from without, in one second beams with an expression of the most naïve good-nature, or becomes inflamed with a terrible fire of anger. The Gilyak is usually slow in his movements and restrained at home when he plays the role of host, but he is agitated and active in periods of gaiety and excitement, when his speech flows in a stormy current from his overfull breast.

The woman is gloomier in appearance than the man. With her eyes constantly lowered and slow in her movements, she immediately gives the impression of a frightened creature. In reality she is not. It is sufficient for her to begin to speak with you, and, in her artificially-muil'irovannyy accent, in the ingratiating, flattering intonation and timbre of her voice, in her smile and roguish, laughing look, you will recognize a true daughter of Eve,

145

145 ONTOGENETIC DATA--evidence as to physical growth and mental development during infancy and childhood; eruption of teeth; age at puberty for each sex; age at menopause and onset of senile impotence; characteristics of menstruation and menopause; physical senescence; etc. See also:
Adolescence, adulthood, and old age. . . . 88 Development and maturation during infancy and childhood 856

/644 cont./

855 862 113 1. (cont.)
Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 53), the Kalmuck (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersb., 1776, Vol. I, p. 167), the Tungus (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1496), and others.

855 862 145 Among the Gilyak it not infrequently happens that, in addition to the actual suckling, several older children drink from the mother (2). The excessively long nursing of the children is un-

2. Among the Tungus, according to Middendorff (op. cit.), it even happened that "a ten-year-old urchin quite calmly sucked from the mother the remains of the milk left by his youngest brother."

doubtedly the main reason that the Gilyak women age and decline so early. I have seen some among them who, judging by their wrinkled and ruined appearance, one would say were at least 50 to 60 years old, and yet who still nursed their children and therefore presumably were only about 30 to 40 years old. And undoubtedly this is one of the reasons for the small number of people and the slow increase of the Gilyak population.

855 Children at a later age, just as in the cradle, are not kept very clean; in fact, when they have outgrown the cradle and run about freely, the little cleanliness and hygienic care that came their way up to that time usually cease altogether. It is extremely rare to see a mother wash a somewhat older child, and, to be sure, in the manner I witnessed and described above (3) in the

3. See above, p. 222 /untranslated/.

1

146 NUTRITION--ev
the diet of subgr
native foods; et
. Morbidity . . . . .
Customary diets . .

46

idences of malnutrition and dietary deficiencies; adequacy of
oups and of the population as a whole; chemical analyses of
c. See also:

. . . . .	164	Research in nutrition.	742
. . . . .	262	Infant feeding	863

/25 cont./

000 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
● 146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

147

147 PHYSIOLOGICAL DATA--evidence bearing upon physiological systems and their functions (e.g., cardio-vascular, respiratory, gastro-intestinal, genito-urinary, nervous, endocrine); metabolism; salt and water balance; indications of physiological stamina (e.g., strength and endurance); characteristic body odor; etc. See also:

Sexual behavior	83	Incidence of disease.	164
Occurrence of genetic traits.	143	Physical deformities.	732
Sensation and perception	151	Native ideas about physiology.	827
Drives and emotions	152		

13: Seeland--32 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slantwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
● 147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco: this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

tc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may onverse with the more intelligent of them for a short time. s an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

ith a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed othing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion e Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that e earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly e opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the riest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat nbarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes alking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but at your head is standing still. And yet your head, meanme, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not ply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little ther.

XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. eir endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go thout food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the ga, or to standfor hours up to their chests in the coldest ter - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in dy structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, c. are seldom found among them Hermaphroditism was only deformity that was known to me. Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have ny representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis d scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military sts. In any case this disease does not have the significance ong the Gilyak that it has gained among the native mchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened tord wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from eumatism. Toothache is rare.

151

151 SENSATION AND PERCEPTION--acuity of vision, hearing, taste, smell, and touch (e.g., uncontrolled observations, reports of tests); evidence on sensory discrimination and perception (e.g., form configurations, color perception, optical illusions, tone discrimination); data on the cultural patterning of perception; etc. See also:

Food preferences 262
Use of perfumes 302
Notions about heat and cold perception . . . 374
Optical instruments 416
Appreciation of form and perspective in art . 532
Musical appreciation 533
Rhythm in dancing 535
Defectives 732
Ideas about form, color, and sound 822
Standards of sensory pleasantness and unpleasantness 828

526 they masters. It is very strange that among these people
516 who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

151 I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

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IV. Clothing

281 In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a
291 linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

291 In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

151 XIV Amusements and Festivities. Burial Ceremonies.

Among such peoples physical pleasures, naturally, take a most important place, and foremost among the e are the joys of eating and smoking. They are not very sensitive to odors, for fish, smoke, and seal blubber to them have an indifferent, or even an agreeable odor. But they abhor the odor of decay, and conversely, they like a nice fragrance. Whenever I experimentally held a bottle of eau-de-cologne up to their noses, they always made a pretty face.

822 Among colors, the Gilyak prefer red and blue, but they definitely do not belong to those peoples who go in for bright colors. For instance, many of them could acquire a red shirt or caftan instead of the dirty-blue ones, but it would never occur to them to do this. The colored borders and curlicues on the caps and petticoats of the women suffice; otherwise clothes, houses, weapons, and tools are dark-colored. A black dog pelt as a coat is, as I have said, regarded as particularly beautiful.

534 The Gilyak love music. If neighboring Russian peasants strum their balalaikas or play the accordian, the natives who are present like to listen. Their own music is very primitive. It consists of a sort of jew's harp which looks somewhat like a longish horseshoe. The broad end of the instrument is grasped with one hand, the narrow end is placed on the lips, the tongue of the player is placed forward somewhat, while one finger of the other hand alternately pulls and releases the little hook connected with the tongue of the instrument. The tongue vibrates and a low buzzing tone results, which can be modified by the tongue of the player. Not everybody knows how to play on this "harmonica".

Other quite embryonic music, or rather, clinking noise, is produced as follows: a thin dry tree trunk is suspended parallel to the ground by ropes, and on this they beat rhythmically with a stick. During the bear festival the audience is edified with this sort of "music": some woman who has a talent for this, calls together a troupe of children and, as though under the baton of a conductor, lets them hit
533 the limb with sticks. In winter time on a journey, the Gilyak often sings a monotonous song which actually consists only of all kinds of unrelated sentences about anything that happens to occur to him [235] or that he sees. Actual songs that are handed down from father to son the Gilyak do not possess, and in general they are stingy with their singing. I never heard them sing in the village, their houses, or on their

152

152 DRIVES AND EMOTIONS--evidence bearing upon the nature and intensity of basic impulses or drives (e.g., hunger, thirst, need for oxygen, sex, urination, defecation, pain, heat and cold discomfort, fatigue); information pertaining to the incidence and quality of derived drives and emotions (e.g., aggression, anger, hate, jealousy, fear, anxiety, depression, grief, disgust, homesickness, love, sympathy, elation, excitement, mirth, curiosity, greed, ambition, vanity, inferiority); expression and control of emotions (e.g., stoicism); etc. See also:

Thirst and narcotic cravings	27	Patterned expressions of emotions	201
Ornament and mutilation	30	Hunger	261
Sleep and elimination	51	Labor and leisure	461
Recreation	52	Leisure time activities	517
Legal offenses	68	Ingroup antagonisms	578
Socialization of impulses	86	Motives for waging war	721
Recurrent personality traits	157	Emotional reactions in religion	781
Profanity	196	Sexuality	831

/34 cont./

835 829 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to them, and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you, among the Russians, it is no so? You mean one could not live with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well, that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at one another.

835 ●152 Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother will insist that his rival move to another house or to another village.

83 Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a general light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman not violating his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not expecially value chastity, and only considerations of an external nature force parents to look askance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters. [848] [847] Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become involved with a man who is unsuitable with regard to his property status, and, besides, that the child born to her will be outside the given clan and so will have to be killed.

83 577 Apart from these considerations, however, there is no moral prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness prevails and sexual morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a given society, the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual morality, for, with regard to persons who are outside of the group sexual relationship, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing. The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have intercourse with a clansman of her husband if he is not of the category of her pu, even though the seducer is younger than her husband and she likes him.

I: Shternberg--266 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/178 cont./

*835 828 829 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often and so persistently about these relations; they considered them so commonplace that they should not, according to their way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you? Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The ●152 *835 578 684 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns /179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirtations of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between [182] brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical. [602] [584] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for the purchase of wives.

*835 182 578 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another advantage is gained: having married off their younger brothers, the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak, with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

/180 cont./

35 male virtues. Nevertheless, his older tuvn in no way reacted to
38 even this breach of etiquette. Only at the instigation of his associates did he resolve to challenge him to a duel, but Lokhmatka absolutely rejected this flattering proposal. Then his rival hit him with a cudgel, but Lokhmatka did not react even to that, and since, according to Gilyak custom, it is prohibited to beat a man who does not defend himself, his rival had to let the matter rest, while Lokhmatka continued his public relationship with the man's wife just as before.
35 Never once among the Gilyak did I chance to observe how
38 an individual husband reacted upon finding his wife in flagrante
91 delicto with one of his brothers. But one may get an idea from a scene which I observed among the Orochi where the same rule operates with respect to the wives of brothers. Once I happened to be spending the night in the tent of the richest and most respected Orochi, Ivan Kuznets. In the tent, besides Ivan and his wife, there chanced to be spending the night a very distant kinsman of Ivan's, the youth Timoshka, who was a very poor and thriftless lad, but a great lover of women, preferring to go visiting and lovemaking to any economic cares. In the evening our host left to look for elks, and Timoshka, without any ceremony, got under the covers of his young hostess. They did not expect the old man until morning. But meanwhile an unfavorable wind had interfered with the hunting, and Ivan returned earlier than might have been expected. Entering the balagan, Ivan lit a splinter and caught sight of Timoshka, taking his place in the conjugal bed. From
[2] the proud and hot-tempered Ivan one might have expected -- especially against poor Timoshka -- the most furious outburst of jealousy, the more so because his wife was considered a prize beauty, and he was already at an age when jealousy shows itself particularly strongly. Nevertheless, Ivan limited himself to swearing a strong Russian curse-word, after which Timoshka, smiling embarrassedly, moved over to his own place, while Ivan, groaning, lay down beside his frivolous wife.

/246 cont./

595 Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described
171 in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

served among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

• 152 The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with
224 such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves
831 a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual
433 sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor.
[226] The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake
[221] distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
• 152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
694 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/327 cont./

764 facing west, is placed upon the stacked firewood -- hap, the arms folded with the palms toward the breast, and the legs bent with the knees up (the favorite position on a plank bed. Then they pre-
[372] pare the wooden device for obtaining fire -- chkhach: tugur, namely, a vertical stick, lung (drill); the tinder is placed in the middle of a small stick, the fire is obtained by rubbing the lung against this latter, and the master of the house sets fire to the shavings.

Before (lighting the fire) they get up on the firewood and cry over the deceased. The crying is begun by women. It is a
[152] sin for a man to cry over the deceased, except for his wife. The wife of an elder brother, but not of a younger one, goes to cry on the hap of a deceased bachelor.

The lamentations over the body of a husband: "My husband, oh woe, the gay devil (crying), the gay ones killed, above me now they go; another man now; (those who are) poorer than I will grow rich, (be) richer than I from now on. I shall now eat only my tears."

[152] When the fire is well under way and the flames begin to approach the upper part of the body, they take firewood from a prepared stack and throw it in the fire; even a small child throws some kind of little stick; others poke the body with long
[763] sticks; this is an expression of love. If under the influence of the fire the hands of the deceased stretch out, this is an evil omen of the imminent death of some close kinsman, and the hands are restored to their original position with sticks.

At the completion of the ceremony of cremation, a dog is sacrificed, and upon killing it, its head is bent downward and toward the appropriate deity: to Pal toward the east, to Tol -- toward the sea. Some throw away (put into a pit) the dog's skin /328/ together with the meat; others boil the meat, for which a special fire is laid by the side of the hap, and the meat is partly eaten, partly scattered around. After this they set out for the yurt of the deceased, eat a spoonful of food each, smoke a little, and disperse.

/383 cont./

422 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
673 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
762 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
177 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
526 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
152 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

/557 cont./

411 5. (cont.)
177 Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, trans-
439 lated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna,
113 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 The Gilyak also have their
192 own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is calle mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," sho matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small a
000 and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It w

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 It was
surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a
177 whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at
152 sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At th

/558 cont./

ame time, however, they did not show any particular timidity or fear in front of the gun, whereas a pistol imbued them with a great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had to threaten them with the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they beseeched me not to make use of it, because this would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Could this fear simply be based upon the still great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unperceived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

1. At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning another and similar superstitious fear on the part of the Gilyak, which at first seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely by accident that I later obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how profoundly certain impressions gained through unusual experiences persist in the mind and memory of a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout their entire area. I owned one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Nikolayev post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was used for fishing. I had scarcely pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me to put the thing away and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

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1. (cont.)
the same thing
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various villages
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in producing my
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trying in vain to
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ful behavior tow
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St. Petersburg a
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chained, was p
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front of their ey
willow switch,
noticed, into a
acid which he o
held it in front
eagle. The an
lapsed and died
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remained no do

was repeated several
other Gilyak from the
along the Amur and
never once succeeded
stick in front of them,
n gave it up completely,
think of a reason for
ghly excited, and fear-
ard an object as harm-
rod. How great, there-
rprise when, already in
fter my return, I once
ar Mr. v. Middendorff,
the Gilyak ten years
nd, to be sure, in their
elling sites along Ulban
of Okhotsk, relate how
yed the following joke
stood in their company
ite-tailed eagle which,
erched on one of the fish-
a very common sight
, which will be dis-
the following -- in
es he cut off a thin
stuck its point, un-
little bottle of prussic
arried with him, and
of the beak of the
mal immediately col-
, but the Gilyak were
or and fear and from
d our traveler as a
er. To me there now
ubt obviously the news

/558 cont./

123
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203

1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

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171
[192]
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In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113]

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

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531

In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

[104]

3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

[222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs. etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

The quiet way in which several families live in one house, or more accurately, in one room, already points to peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

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153 MODIFICATION OF BEHAVIOR--specific evide
of conditioning and habit formation (e.g., condi
configurations, response hierarchy, random be
reinforcement, generalization, discrimination,
problem solution (e.g., trial and error, insight
evidence as to special mechanisms in verbal or
aptitude and intelligence-tests; data bearing up
(e.g., memory, judgment, reasoning, conation
etc. See also:

Culture change	17	Ethnopsych
Attitudes	208	Technique
Logic	811	Educationa

3

ce concerning the mechanisms
ioned and unconditioned stimuli,
avior, positive and negative
anticipation); data on types of
or intelligence, imitation);
symbolic learning; results of
on-conscious mental processes
reactions in emergencie);

logy 828
of inculcation 861
methods 876

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may converse with the more intelligent them for a short time.
[2] As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. "Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but that your head is standing still. And yet your head, meantime, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little father.

XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

[3] In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the taiga, or to stand for hours up to their chests in the coldest water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was the only deformity that was known to me.

Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military posts. In any case this disease does not have the significance among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened toward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

/362 cont./

614 182 Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his clansmen, the tombs of his clan.

No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become [109] completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a boat and a net: he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, tastes and intellectual development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of [155] entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed in him a communal, loquacious, serious character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 351 521 Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent in the north, enter one of these amthills on a winter's evening, and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

155 PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT--evidences and inferences concerning the influence of constitutional factors, of physiological strains, and of social pressures and physical environment on the development of personality; psychological and psychoanalytic interpretations of personality formation under particular sociocultural conditions; evidence as to levels of personality development (e.g., anal, oral), etc. See also:

Ids	85	Social control	150
Infancy and childhood	95	Legal sanctions	163
Socialization	99	Adolescent problems	192
Family relationships	155		

156 SOCIAL PERSONALITY--conception of the self in relation to others; enhancement and defense of the self; social participation and isolation; individual roles in relation to culturally defined statuses; interpretations of personality as reflecting social norms; conformity; etc. See also:

Social status and mobility	26	Kinship system	102
Social stratification	31	Social control	150
Occupational specialization	102	Cultural definition of the self	158
Social relationships and groups	171		

/114 cont./

614 183 Let us look more closely at these conditions, and first of all at the economic ones.

The predominant form of labor is individual labor or the simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishing. The sea and rivers are so rich in this product that with the most meager equipment under normal conditions everyone can secure his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animals, it is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but the whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; everyone performs that he wishes in /115/ most qualified. Moreover, the artel is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never occurs to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than according to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those who have not participated in the hunting, but the clan gods give only to some and not all the members of the clan? .The same is true of hunting for forest beasts, if carried on by a group, but ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along perfectly well in his pursuits without any help of others. And, in fact, during the fishing season the Gilyak population disperses in all directions; each master departs to his favorite site. During the hunting season everyone sets off for his hunting balagan and from there keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a stranger for weeks.

156 555 Thus, the predominant form of labor is individual. Everyone must be able to do everything, master all the knowledge of his tribe, be an individual equal with all, comprehensively developed and prepared for life.

555 556 556 Ill. And since the gifts of nature are plentiful, free, and accessible to the efforts of all, the well-being of a man depends exclusively, as a consequence, on his abilities and diligence. Inequality, which under more complex conditions is a source of dissension and social differences, does not show its thorns here. A wealthy man owes everything exclusively to his own personal talents and virtues. His accumulations cannot enslave or humiliate anyone. Moreover, the personal accomplishments of a man are a gift of the gods,

/115 cont./

555 556 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on his advantages (1).

156 ●

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibi' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance: that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

[789]

614 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the 156 fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard 555 one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be 556 [183] equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to "inlay his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Thus, the relations between the individual and his personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual likewise in order the person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio- 777 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

/116 cont./

156 one but on all. Any attempt to monopolize the gifts of the gods 777 must inevitably incur just punishment by the common benefactors of the clan.

Everything that religion and clan wisdom prescribe for gain- 614 777 ing the beneficence of the gods is a blessing for each, and to 182 carry out their dictates means only to take care of one's self. It 156 is the same with all the prescriptions of clan regulations, be they 556 sexual norms, rules of revenge, or religious rites; any infraction 183 of them on the part of one is a common "sin" and is destructive to all.

All more or less important acts of social life, even including sacrificing one's self in a battle of vengeance for one's clansman, are categorical imperatives of a religious world-outlook which neither allow hesitation nor require compulsion. All of the instincts for self-preservation are in complete harmony with the religious ideas. By an act of revenge, a man protects his own security, but he thereby also fulfills a religious duty by appeasing the spirit of the dead man, which is able to inflict punishment if it remains unavenged. And so it is in everything...

156 A healthy, integrated, comprehensively developed per- 614 sonality with an integrated religio-social world-outlook, creating 182 a perfect harmony of the personal and social interests and the driving force of life -- such is the hidden, but mighty mainspring of the clan mechanism.

Observe how, without any regulation or organs of compulsion, but with only the desire of an individual, the complicated mechanism of clan relations functions.

Suppose a clansman with a family dies. It is necessary to 614 provide for his family, to preserve his property until the heirs 156 reach maturity, and it is necessary, in order to avoid disputes, 182 to decide to whom the widow of the deceased shall pass. There are no judges, there are no authorities, but, a short while after the deceased has been buried, the nearest clansmen assemble, have a short discussion, listen to the claimants, and the one they decide upon will be the husband of the widow and the father of the orphaned children.

/710 cont./

[776] amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the
[824] day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated
[776] around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Their
[824] Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolg) made of
[829] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks
[823] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice. In separate fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as strict as the others their banners. While everything now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there running around again, and, finally, planted each of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadlas.

[776] After a short rest, during which time the bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear
[824] this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order
[829] on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and
[823] stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experiment. Chuzian, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of gouging the

[154]

*796 bears, volunteered to do this. The day before he had already per-
231 formed a feat on the large bear that /711/ brilliantly proved his
• 156 bold and resolute courage. When this bear was led out of the
house, it seized to firmly with its claws the front Gilyak goading
it that the latter could not free himself any more and was pulled
close to the furious animal. At this moment, Chusisin, who
stood immediately behind the bear, jumped over the animal's
back and landed directly in front of its snout; the startled bear,
infuriated anew, dropped its first prey and bit at the second, but
fortunately without success. Now, for the small bear, Chusisin
took the precaution of wearing his dog's coat reversed, with the
fur on the inside, and over it he put on a reindeer-fur coat with the
fur on the outside and the back part turned to the front, at the
same time tying his belt around himself in such a manner that the
fur coat projected out in front of him hump-like and stuck out far
from his body. So equipped, he waited for the moment when the
bear, goaded with sticks, showed its teeth in a rear, now he
stepped up to it with chest thrust forward and let it bite into the
puffed-out fur-coat over it. Then he threw himself around the
animal's neck, seized its head at the ears, and bent it down.
The men standing around were ready at this moment to muzzle
it, to press its paws down, etc., as I have already described above.
After this was taken care of, the bear set out on their
*796 last walk; in the same order as before, the procession, accom-
231 panied by the loud drumming of the women, went down the high
bank to the river. Having reached there, it circled at a distance
of several steps the hole in the ice where the women scoop water
(see Plate XLVIII /p.1248 /), and returned up the hill. The bears
passed close to Judin's house and the one where the owner of the
third animal lived: the doors were open, and the procession in-
voluntarily came to a halt because the bears made the greatest
effort to get back in. But they were no longer permitted to do
[859] this. The procession halted at the entrance to the kudhra. Boys
came running from all sides in order to shoot their small, but
not always harmless arrows at the animal, which the leaders
WERE BY OMASKA PROVIDED THEM TO DO.

157

157 PERSONALITY TRAITS--occurrence of idiosyncratic habits (e.g., biting of lips or nails; twiddling of thumbs, wringing of hands); prevalence of cooperativeness and competitiveness; incidence and distribution of recurrent personality traits (e.g., leadership; submissiveness, aggressiveness); incidence and distribution of recognized types of personality (e.g., introvert, extrovert, obsessional, manic, paranoid, hypochondriac); generalized results of personality tests; indications of cultural selectivity with reference to personality traits and types, evidence bearing upon the existence of a model or basic personality; etc. See also:

Mutual aid and competition	47	Humor	522
Social mobility	50	Statues adapted to particular	
Derived drives and aversions	180	personality types	664
National character and ethos	181	Burial immortal stick	875
Patterned expression of emotion	211	Types of religious experience	921
Attitudes	228	Ethnopsychology	928
Postures	316		

144 latter, however, are encountered considerably less often. Only
in women and children are the Mongoloid features expressed with
particular distinctness.

142 The Gilyak are generally of medium stature (much taller
than the Tungus), although one finds subjects who are above
medium height, they are stocky and solidly built, but one never
meets fat ones among them. The head is proportionately large;
its platy-brachycephalic skull is overgrown with black hair, which
descends down the backs of the men in one braid, of the women in
two. The color of the face is dark and muddy. In youth the red
of the cheeks is of a pink-brick shade. Their lips are thick; their
teeth are a dark-yellowish color (from smoking). The extremities
of their arms and legs are striking small.

• 157 The Gilyak have always been depicted as morose, gloomy,
and unsociable and are always contrasted with the gentle expres-
sion of the face of the Ainu. I find this opinion unjust. If there are
features of moroseness in the Gilyak, these are purely of external
origin and caused by the justified distrust of foreigners, who have
caused them no little harm. I personally have had many contacts
with this tribe and have carried away the conviction that the
moroseness of the Gilyak is a purely external trait. Under this
morose exterior there hides a gentle nature capable of deep
attachments, expansiveness, and trust. Due to his expansiveness,
the Gilyak is capable of swift changes of mood. The morose ex-
pression of his face, moved from concentration by the slightest
stimulus from without, in one second beams with an expression of
the most naïve good-nature, or becomes inflamed with a terrible
fire of anger. The Gilyak is usually slow in his movements and
restrained at home when he plays the role of host, but he is agitated
and active in period of gaiety and excitement, when his speech
flows in a stormy current from his overfull breast.

The woman is gloomier in appearance than the man. With
her eyes constantly lowered and slow in her movements, she im-
mediately gives the impression of a frightened creature. In reality
she is not. It is sufficient for her to begin to speak with you, and,
in her artifically-mui'tonanny accent, in the ingratiating,
flattering intonation and timbre of her voice, in her smile and
roguish, laughing look, you will recognize a true daughter of Eve,

• 157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature
that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and
women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and
fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion.
Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the
belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect
the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in
the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black
coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background
the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in
gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat
of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves --
the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling
[198] completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak,
made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In
recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel'
has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more
imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported
materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along
the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which
sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely
disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly
stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of
the figure of the women, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the
Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a
[133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold
northern current, this unknown condition has made the Ainu are the
[226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons
and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other
fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and
streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount
by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I
myself resorted during my journeys in my travels. This
[192] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the
strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made elo-
quently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive
MAN WAS POSSIBLE AT A VERY REMOTE TIME.

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym')
the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hun-
dred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only
to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
314 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange
[464] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of
• [157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in
society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in
157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness,
which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave
the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its in-
ternal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly
to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence
171 on the Family-Clan Structure.
114

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so
characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nation-
alities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that
regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the
Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu,
and from the Tungus, who surround them. The Ainu are the
only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group
marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the
Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison
of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak
leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

*614 BUT THESE TIES PROVE OF
615 particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when
621 a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to
628 "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the
same selfishness as they show toward their own clansmen.
Only in the payment of tshusind may the pandf'y not partici-
pate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties
in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when
the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently
happens, and we have already expressed in the section on re-
venge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself,
in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence
of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the
matrimonial clans.

*614 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans,
615 relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed
609 clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign
clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of
benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social
good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits
and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan
ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and
finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the
members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding
generations give to each other, has finally become the cus-
tomary appellation with which any member of another clan or
stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than
the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward
members of other clans.

609 Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues
594 which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without dis-
• [159] crimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not
only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the
Orok, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers,
the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have
done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts
slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

832 complaint against a local woman,
*835 who the evening before had seized
834 him by the leg, on the grounds
834 of which he was demanding
607 "ransom." They summoned the
114 culprit. She confessed and by the
decision of the assembly she was
obliged to hand over publicly to
her accuser an adjudged ransom,
namely, a puppy and a birch-
bark dish. Why the fine was limited
to such insignificant objects (if
they were not merely symbols of
especially female labor) I explain
only by the fact that the guilty
woman was entirely alone and did
not possess anything more valuable.

834 /171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak
*835 are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous
[104] opportunities for lovemaking, even with alien women, slip
• [159] by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom
as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien wo
was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarde
is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this
meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen
punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and in-
evitable banishment. Such a relationship between even quest
of a casual passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as
the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the
persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons
of forbidden categories has become converted into that same
respect which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or
own sister. All the more reprehensible is the idea of illegal
intercourse between the categories of pu and an'ge; realized.
In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in th

/463 cont./

preservation and augmentation of their property, which is peculiar to the Gilyak to a high degree; for with the large number of participants at such festivals the host's expensive supply of arak(a) would be gone in no time, apart from other dangers. Furthermore, thanks to this characteristic of the Gilyak and the rare energy of their character, there appeared at the very beginning of their relations with the Russians a phenomenon which may hardly be doubted in the history of the relations between primitive and civilized peoples: instead of being exploited by the Russians through liquor and long everything, they, on the contrary, knew how to win many an advantage from the Russian sailors and Cossacks with their small supplies of Chinese liquor. Their moderation and power of resistance were also greatly aided by the fact that during the first years of the Russian occupation of the Amur region only very little liquor was imported, while the number of the Russian consumers of it grew rapidly (1). Later, however, after

1. For instance, in 1855 the crews of several war vessels from Kapchatka and several detachments of Cossacks from Transbaikalia were added to the previous garrison of the lower Amur region.

the end of the Crimean War, when the importation of liquor into Nikolayevsk, handled by many and in particular North American and Hamburg trading ships, /466/ greatly increased, and, simultaneously, the ancient, original ways of life and views of the Gilyak were more and more undermined and began to disappear under the impact of Russian immigration and colonization, it was also the end of their moderation and power of resistance to alcohol, and as early as the sixties one could read in the local newspapers, as well as in the reports of returning travelers and other eyewitnesses, of the ever increasing drunkenness and gluttony among the Gilyak, especially during their bear festivals and other celebrations (1).

1. Cf., for instance, Arth. Nordmann,

2; Schrenck--721 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southwest Siberia RX/
Historical Manchuria AG2

/466 cont./

G 157 / 204 / 648 / 439 / 648 / 113

1. (cont.)
"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/" (Bulletin de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 284); also Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59 and elsewhere.

SS 204 / 19

Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the Amur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and even the children are given the opportunity to become accustomed to it at an early age. It seems obvious to me where these peoples first learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As is well-known, Manchuria is the country from which China, at least the northern part, obtained the tobacco plant and the custom of smoking tobacco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about two and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dynasty ascended the throne (1644), upon whose orders the introduction of tobacco into China took place (2) and under whose protection the

HM 204 / 19

2. Huc, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Poussielgue. Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 66. Wamtief ("Opisanie Man'chzhurii." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, pp. 52, 53) says: if one may give credence to a Chinese drama, the Chinese were not familiar with the smoking of tobacco up to the the Manchu Dynasty.

cultivation of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (3).

HM [113]

3. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

2; Schrenck--785 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/503 cont./

501 and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is cautiously avoided. I also observed that the Gilyak, and likewise the Olcha and Goldi, who accompanied me as guides or oarsmen in my boat always became mentally afraid when sailing in a brisk wind; in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

114 / 157

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate mast bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and implored me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. There is no doubt, to be sure, that a boat without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and even capsize with high waves and an unskilled steersman. In order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to the side wall. The Gilyak equip their boats with such sharp-edges (Gilyak ardach) in particular when they undertake sea voyages, for instance, along the coast of Sakhalin to the Japanese, etc.

G 157 / 204 / 648 / 439 / 648 / 113

Of great usefulness on the Gilyak boat is the continuation of the bottom board extending under the prow, because it not only protects the latter from the immediate impact of the waves and possibly also from a severe impact on steep rocks along the shore, with another boat, etc., but it also permits the boat to glide over the waves more easily. Since the oars sit on fixed prongs, very little effort is required to propel a Gilyak boat if it is not moving against a strong current or high waves. It is not very well adapted to battle against them, however, and demands skilled and powerful handling of the rudder. More than once it has happened to me in traveling around rocks and capes protruding into the Amur River that the boat, seized by the strong countercurrent, suddenly turned around and was irresistibly driven back. Undoubtedly the

2; Schrenck--926 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/591 cont./

439 / 123 / 123 / 439 / 123 / 439 / 439 / 439

/656 conj./
grandson, etc., depending on the degree of kinship. No nach of the person slain will be ready to accept this substitute if it is too. On the other hand, if the person slain was wounded by the act of bloodshed comes away with his life, the carrying out of the blood revenge remains reserved for him, but he may then ask the injured party to help him by finding out the whereabouts of his enemy, trying to arrange a meeting with him, and helping him in such a way as possible in carrying out the revenge, indeed, if need be, even stepping in for him. Quite similar obligations exist, on the other hand, for the nach of the injured party in the act of bloodshed. /657/ They must do everything to thwart the designs of their opponent and to protect their relative from the revenge coming upon him. Thus blood revenge with the demands and obligations growing out of it creates a strong family tie which arouses and preserves the consciousness of solidarity and mutual assistance in all members of the same paternal kin-group. The larger a kin group is, and the stronger this consciousness is in it, the more protection and help it can offer each one of its members. It is therefore understandable that the members of a paternal kin-group like to live in one place or within easily reachable distances, and that also those members who, as children and as a result of a second marriage of their widowed mother, have moved away with their stepfather do not like to become estranged (1).

1. See p. 1062 above.

The solidarity of all the nach among one another with respect to blood revenge further offers each individual and especially the members of larger kin-groups a certain guarantee against wanton bloody attacks. And this is of no little significance in view of the easily wounded, vindictive temper of the Gilyak, treacherously reserved, but quickly resolved on an act of bloodshed at a favorable moment. Most of their blood feuds, however, arise from urgent motives, especially from the abduction of women so common among them and the conflicts brought about by this. Often, however, only petty motives, as imagined insult or antipathism damage to property or profit, or, for

/655 conj./
and that after their return home he once traveled from Aliof to Kaki and stopped at one of the houses there. His hort and hostess, well known to him, were quite friendly toward him; in the evening, however, after he had eaten their meal offered him, a nlag lying next to him on the sleeping bench, the very one with whom he had had the quarrel, suddenly drew a knife out of his side. Returning to Aliof, he soon recovered from his wound, but his blood enemy had set out for Lange the following night, accompanied by a relative, and had not been seen again. Meanwhile two years had passed, during which he himself had in vain gone to the place to find out what had happened to him, and he could not go to Lange itself, because he is a stranger there, whereas his blood enemy could count on the protection of his relatives. Thus, even in the future he had no prospect or hope of getting rid of the obligation for blood revenge weighing upon him. /658/ And he said, sadly shaking his head, "I must do it. I do not know what happened to him later, for I did not see him again, and I have never heard about him. Undoubtedly, however, the psychic condition in which such a superstitious fear of death pers primitive man can have a fatal effect simply through its influence on the mind of the man who is the hunted in the manifold dangers through which his life moves. And in this way, as well as in consequence of the universally prevalent logic of post hoc, ergo propter hoc, the superstition connected with blood revenge it constantly nourished and spread.

/659 conj./
Not only that, however, but the fear of death pure made other people and a part more difficult for the individual because it is not restricted to those who directly participated in the act of bloodshed, but also more or less involves their relatives and imposes certain obligations on them. Among the Gilyak, however, these obligations do not extend to all the relatives, but only to the nach, the paternal relatives. Without any qualification and with all the consequences, they are bound with the obligation of blood revenge if the person concerned lost his life through the act of bloodshed, either immediately or after a period of wounds received, and is therefore no longer able to carry out the revenge himself. It must then be carried out by the son, brother, brother's son,

/654 conj./
in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only the bear-head and the bear-paws are left in the house and remain there in their nlaga as provisions for the trip.

/655/ Bear-festivals are also given during of the dogs and the dog races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon, however, for the first and only time the women actively participate, in the inspire entertainments, in that they executed a dance to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At my request, they danced in their ceremonial dress, hairy in her hands either fir branches or cantaser-like wooden clappers, and the dance actually consisted of only the occasion postures and contortions of the body and the rhythmic beat of the drum. It is vividly reminiscent Dittmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of enertirment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because the women, living in the tents in complete seclusion, are not social and are always much better than the latter at all sorts of work and entertainment. But it could not have been that such outbursts of high spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals, a measure, as they say, introduced by Cz, amongst by coal running

2: See p. 719 above.

and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely, that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that in the eyes of the Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festival and, through the power that it exerts over the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

/653 conj./
nowhere had set out from Tkyl merely on ski, continued on his way without further delay, and in the 10th day of reaching his nearby native village of Kuli? before nightfall. Not did he spend the night there, but he set out for the village of Tyrmy-Lake. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lake-wo, named Enpit, who had guided the through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he forgot to stop at the night in Tulk-wo in a small inter-year, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the content, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for their word and their sense of time are not to be trusted, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Time is only roughly determined as day (mas) and night (nik), morning (ut) and evening (nek), the time of day is determined only roughly and very inaccurately bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very difficult to determine the time of day. Thus I once had to wait for two days and fearful to give up their freedom and cut their lot in with that of the traveler. More than once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their exact knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening hours, their ability to find their way unmistakenly and circumvent. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deceived me. And this happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad weather. The broad-soled Russian sled stubbornly stuck to the wet snow, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but to drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf birch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. He vonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

/652 conj./
theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks etc. Not other Tribes statistic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great skill in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /653/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected for the purpose, and, in the Northwest, even with a roof.

2. Concerning the theatrical performances of the Aleuts see in particular Veniaminov's "Zap. obl. oper. Unalash. ord. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/". St. Petersburg, 1840. Part II, pp. 68. 80. With regard to the Eskimo, see above, pp. 1056 ff.

of mind that they are not in a state of illusion.

Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade their great skill. Feasting with drinking is a very rare and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for this very rare occasion, are prevented from participating. I play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section, devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors. I shall also discuss the entertainments on the bear festival and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak game which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese: I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small, Chinese playing-cards, which Russian traders bring from the Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory of the Goldi and Olcha (2). And this into the bands of the Gilyak.

2. Maack (Petrah na Amur, p. 198) also for example, these Chinese playing

/651 conj./
Gilyak family customs and organization are constantly being changed by the Orthodox and by the Russian laws which were sent and spread in much the same form among them. Of course, they were bound to undergo certain modifications in their general character, in that they were transplanted in the soil of a very different people with respect to their natural disposition. The Orthodox, a branch of the large Tungus tribe spread over all of Siberia and the Amur region, are by nature much more kind-hearted, gentler, more pliable, more carefree, and more easy going than the Gilyak. They do not have the perseverance and energy of the latter, but, on the other hand, they are free from having their avariciousness, treachroousness, and vindictiveness. These original character traits of the Olcha, however, are likewise undergoing change in consequence of the mixture of the people by the Gilyak -- and this has in part already taken place -- but they appear time and time again, and, among other things, also in their family relations.

Among the Olcha, for instance, in addition to the generally customary purchase of wives, there is also the abduction of women, though by far not as frequent and usually, as among the Gilyak, primarily for the sexual satisfaction, with more moderate demands, they more readily come to terms in dealing with one another and with their neighbors of the Tungus tribe, and that for absolutely quick and decisive action in case of need, which is not in their nature, and, finally, probably also out of a natural love of peace and fear of the evil and bloody consequences that usually follow the abduction of a woman. Strangely enough, however, they most often carry it out exactly in the direction from Gilyak to Olcha, and, in the Gilyak, they have a strong revenge, namely, among the Gilyak, either because they have the most active intercourse with these neighbors of theirs or because the Gilyak women have a special attraction for them, and, on the other hand, the high demands of the Gilyak for their daughter, especially if they are to go out of the country, often make a peaceful settlement impossible. In such cases, which the Gilyak often told me about, bloody conflicts are unavoidable. Although, when

/650 conj./
cigar running. I had even greater confidence in the latter. Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical weaving shop erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in that I must constantly draw upon them in emergency over my house, which was covered only with tree bark and hence might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had planned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the village of Sabakh for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak headman. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied crosswise by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

/651/ Finally, hospitality, too, is based on the national principle. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me. They are too suspicious, too avaricious, /652/ too cunning, too shoot their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on the occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to prevent me from using the fire in the yurt and to have me spend the night in the open. Later, on the other hand, I had to resort to grave threats with my pistol in order to have my way. Later, I was treated very polite to my first journey to Sakhalin the runner had spread among the Gilyak that a Russian wanted to stand for themselves and therefore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a winter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous connections, from which I could be too friendly, I was treated and was always friendly toward them, they became friendly and hospitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, and I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there was always a great difference according to whether it was a Tungus (tenchu) or a other Gilyaks who was to be given lodging: as soon as the cry "nilach pilnak" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak wirwin) was used to scrape and heat the stove from the person entering, a bowl of fish and ma was offered as a welcome, and, the meal being late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

/649 conj./
took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, sometimes also tea drunk. Very early in the morning, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that one should be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather taken him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after dark, unnecessarily be waken of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

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/648 conj./
advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who has attracted his attention, and, finally, he had married for a long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companionship, but this was because the companion was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall of the house, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "Let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night creeps over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a very significant look, a gesture, a slapping on the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is regarded as given. Even the symbolism of amnesty proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a strong intimation of the rite of conferring /649/amnesty/. The matching of the leg or the breast, although it does not figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ko, who enjoyed great fame among the Gilyak because of his reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the golden time, he spoke boastfully on a par with the young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

/647 conj./
customs may have taken in consequence of the long trade relations of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Santa-Kai, on a certain place, carried on a brisk trade in the same manner, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that one should be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

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2. Maack (Petrah na Amur, p. 198) also for example, these Chinese playing

/644 conj./
Gilyak Charta (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw

1. L. L. Stiernberg's guide around Sakhalin.

a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt so ashamed because the Gilyak ate the dog bit one in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog and gave it to me. Now I eat -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from Ichm'ad'ad.

/643 conj./
instance of such amusing heroism in the village of Nyaiwo. The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time he believed was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was amnesd and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the father of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, dripping with water, he sat down in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his last wife had time to wait for him four fin-for costs and four fur coats out of table tails).

The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers (1) in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here the tribal community. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves or hide in one of two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond. Often one, when no one is looking, hides the lovers. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, among the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is the duty preserve for poverty /644/ his crying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago. Two Gilyak maidens became enamored of a Gilyak man, a brother. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a long trip to Sakhalin. The girl, meanwhile, became ill and began to show signs of pregnancy, it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he hurried on her grave all

/642 conj./
and the Gilyak, appeared somewhat stooped, his eyes looked straight ahead, staring and sad, and wash would not come. Since I would not desist from demanding various questions to him, he finally broke out with the words, "I must die soon," and when I then asked whether he was sick and what ailed him, his answer was, /643/ "Your sake, bad yet I must die soon." This though seemed to dominate him completely, and then he told me the following. Ko-ni-ya-ko-ni-ya-ko-ni-ya-

/77 cont./

756 the furies and all the frenzied shrieks of the shamans. When the paroxysm was over, the face of the poor boy was terribly exhausted /78/ and seemed like the face of an old man. In a dream two kekhn appeared to him, one a man, the other a woman; they were the kekhn of his deceased father. They said to him: "We used to play with your father, now let us play with you." Another Gilyak boy, Indyn, also present there, observed the phenomenon of the paroxysm with profound amazement. "Well, now Koynyt will not be a man," he said "The kekhn want to force him to conform to their law."

In this remark is clearly expressed the Gilyak view of the shaman as a special being, as one chosen by the gods. But, as we see, even among the Gilyak selection is not easily attained.

756 Thus, the shaman is a chosen one, a person who believes
• 158 in his power and selection. This conviction could not correspond more to his entire physical make-up, for real shamans are almost always people who suffer from various kinds of hysteria, acquired or inherited. And, as is well known, hysteria is that fertile soil which produces the gift of clairvoyance, hallucination, delirium, and obsessions. They are the individuals who most easily yield to hypnosis and autohypnosis. From childhood, the future shaman is hypnotized by the idea of the protection of the kekhn, and during seances of kamlaniye he uses any means necessary for autosuggestion. The study of the psychics of shamanism, in my opinion, amounts to the study of autohypnosis due to hysteria, and, of course, against a gen-
756 eral background of an animistic world-view. Apart from the
774 gift of being chosen, the shaman has another enviable advantage over the common mortal. An ordinary mortal has only one soul, a rich man has two, while a shaman may have twice as many as they. Thus, the Ady-Tymovskiy shaman, Chamkh, the father of the boy-shaman, Koynyt, about whom I spoke earlier, had all of four souls. One of these souls was given to him by the mountain, another by the sea, a third by the sky, a fourth by the underground kingdom. During my stay on the

50 cont./

Such instances must not be regarded as a general enomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened uality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors also acting. Among the married women, such factors maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both rried and unmarried women, such feelings as love and shfulness. In general, however, sexual dissoluteness plays small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an eco-mic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or, they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp proaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for ziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And thermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages dissoluteness. But the saddest of all is the influence of ssoluteness on the psychics. A whole series of nervous sorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myarechenie among th men and women, and diseases connected with the full ss of psychic composure (self-control /given in English/) e the result of dissoluteness, which furthermore, among omen, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the pearance of hysteria.

Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom escribed above, the feeling of love still plays a great role the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term r love, es'-mund, denotes both sexual love and love in eneral, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term r reciprocal love -- os'mund; for marriage for love, 'mur:kir, vavynd. There are also some other terms for ve, for example, hyvnd and others, but there are no special rms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although 251/ one can say es'mula nig:yvyn, i.e., "man whom they ve," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate ch other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melo
597 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appeara
867

A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talen
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridi
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the n of the undesired one is compared to open patches of wate a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his d his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, ap parently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As f
● [158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, a then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to thes
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and e the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the v of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude towa
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij - in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they appa see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them an
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriage hermaphrodites are a common event.

Amur

XI.

Miscellanea

The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year) they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyr ururungja'! -- do good for us with your risk!"

During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring firewood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field: the wind blows and it is out.

Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
774 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
776 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
84 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
754 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
[562] feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
[578] away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[833] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
[158] She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings.. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/343 cont./

773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

778 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj
789 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

• 158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
[774] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that
774 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand), or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

/367 cont./

000 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
771 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
[754] that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754] In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
• [158] dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782] ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, piongukhia!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, abo
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
577 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
573 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776] and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and doe not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this extremely altruistic belief is really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or mere hypocrisy.

/176 cont./

000 such situations also in the richest and most respected families.
● 159 My good friend and first teacher of the Gilyak language, the
* 835 aforementioned resident of the settlement Tangi, the richest Gilyak on Sakhalin, lived in just this way with his younger brother, Pleun. The latter was himself a no less capable person than his older brother, enjoyed the name of an excellent hunter, and had been able to accumulate a huge quantity of "valuables," so that he could easily have taken for himself not one but several wives; nevertheless, he preferred to enjoy the wife of his older brother. It had evidently come about in this way: as a youth, he had enjoyed the wife of Gibel'ka with the rights of any younger brother, but gradually a stronger attraction had arisen between them, and he preferred, instead of an individual marriage, to live constantly with the wife of his older brother, whom in fact, he loved. It is characteristic here that everyone, including Gibel'ka himself, regarded this as an entirely normal phenomenon. When I approached Gibel'ka himself with a question about this, a slight shadow slipped across his handsome, intelligent face; he well knew how the Russians regarded such relations, but in general my question did not produce any particular impression on him.

[593] He spoke enthusiastically about his own wife, loved his children tenderly, although he could not have any confidence whatsoever that they were his, and his son, a boy of 14, felt a greater affection for the younger brother of his father than for him himself. It goes without saying that nothing prevented
[595] Gibel' from removing his younger brother from his house, or
[583] him together with his wife, and buying himself another, and not one but several, of the most beautiful and distinguished wives. With his extreme ambition, with his excessive love of popularity, he would not have failed to undertake the most drastic steps for the /177/ restoration of his marital reputation, if he had felt anything shocking in the regular and well-known cohabiting of this brother with his wife. As luck would have it, Gibel' outlived his younger brother, who perished tragically in solitude in his hunting balagan

/177 cont./

● 159 body was laid on the funeral platform amidst a huge and
764 solemn crowd of Gilyak who had assembled from all directions,
* 835 a few minutes before the cremation the wife of the older brother, with her hair undone as a sign of mourning, climbed up on it, seated herself beside the deceased, and in everyone's hearing began to mourn for her "younger husband" and "beloved" in the same pathetic and tender terms as if she had been his individual wife.

* 835 This public act is better evidence than any description as to how the Gilyak understand relations between men and the wives of their brothers.

The custom of the common, continual cohabitation of brothers with a common wife is not always easy to notice. In the first place, sexual relations are carefully guarded from publicity; furthermore, the Gilyak usually live in large yurts, with several brothers with families together, and for a stranger it is very difficult to figure out their secret relations, the more so because they are very unwilling to speak about such things; finally, any young Gilyak rarely has the desire to attach himself to the wife of an own brother; he prefers irregular relations with the wives of many of his tuvn.

595 Besides the group-marriage relations between brothers and
* 835 their wives, however, other purely communal forms are also encountered among the Gilyak -- true, not often -- namely, when two or several brothers are quite openly and admittedly married to one woman. I encountered such cases in 1910 even on the Amur, where the Gilyak distinguish themselves by a particular individualism. Two or three brothers formally seek in marriage a common wife from the akhmalk clan or buy an alien woman and then continue to live with her in a communal marriage. Of course, at the same time both the husbands and their wives are joined in group-marriage relations with a large number of their class pu and an'g-ej.

[538] In olden times such cases were evidently common phenomena. The so-called n'astund (heroic tales) and fairy

/247 cont./

000 amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
834 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
832 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility, concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/.

[585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lilloet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
837 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
● 159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who enjoyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

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836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
● 159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women go for several days to places very distant from the villages after berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, however, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gynd --
[196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also applied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings: "to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the local youth, and the women already have their local admirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them. Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous

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831 The importance of the role of love in the life of the
533 Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

831 An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
584 be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
513 love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the
762 solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a
831 woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides
58 frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary
513 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save
762 herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself.
[847] There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
831 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action.
58 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
● 159 the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the
[582] husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

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831 instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo.
58 The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at
• 159 this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

835 The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers
762 in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solu-
831 tion. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily
533 in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave, where no one shall hinder their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity /254/ his

835 dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has
762 become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago.
831 A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of
533 her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a
538 long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave all

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753 The Gilyak Churka (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw
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1. L. Ia. Shternberg's guide around Sakhalin.

a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt ill under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately -- he had to hurry -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from kkhmäs"ind.

V.

The Rescue of a Drowning Man

752 Having heard the cry of a drowning man, they come to his aid, press down on his stomach so that the water will come out, clean his mouth with shavings, and place a stick in his mouth. Then they wrap him in fur coats and tightly bandage his face (if he looks at fire, he will die). When he becomes warm, his face
[182] is uncovered. He gives chukh-chugynd to Tol and then carries out a procedure called shavynd.

952 A Gilyak was drowning under the broken ice. He was
789 rescued and brought to a yurt where the rescuer-host and the one rescued sat down opposite each other; a bowl with sarana and puchka was placed before each of them on both sides, and a white dog near each of them. They hooked together with hooks which they held in their hands (an imitation of the rescue) and pulled against each other, saying: "You will live to an old age, and so will I." Then, at the departure, the rescued man stepped in the bowl of his host and in his own, and they exchanged bowls. After the exchange, the rescued man said: "Nikhkhakhrä --

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614 and then in swift flight to reach a safe hiding place offering pro-
602 tection, in order not merely to escape immediate revenge in
628 this way, but also to make it more difficult or even impossible for the opponent to carry it out in the future and thus expose him to the unavoidable evil consequences of neglected blood-revenge. The Gilyak therefore usually executes an act of bloodshed resolved upon in his heart in the most treacherous manner with the ngawla-dshakko, the large knife which, always worn at the belt, arouses the least suspicion and which he can most easily and inconspicuously plunge into his opponent's side while he is sitting beside him in apparent peace and eating a meal or smoking a pipe. Having fled to his native village, he will henceforth avoid setting foot in the village where he committed the act of bloodshed and will also carefully avoid its inhabitants elsewhere. The victim, however, if he has escaped with his life, henceforth thinks only of how he can take revenge on his enemy without delay, for the more time is wasted, the worse he can expect the consequences of his neglect to be and the more fraught with danger the future
• 159 looms before him. The power which this constantly nourished
628 superstitious fear can exercise over the mind and the entire being of a primitive man was vividly brought to my attention in one case. The Gilyak Nenjdan, a respected man in his village (Allof), who visited me occasionally in Nikolayevsk and to whom I owe many an interesting bit of information concerning his people, was one day, when he appeared before me again after a long interval, in a strikingly downcast and depressed mood: his otherwise erect and quite stately figure, such as I seldom found among the Gilyak, appeared somewhat stooped, his eyes looked straight ahead, staring and sad, and words would not come. Since I would not desist from directing various questions to him, he finally broke out with the words, "I must die soon," and when I then asked whether he was sick and what ailed him, his answer was, /656/ "Not sick, and yet I must die soon." This thought seemed to dominate him completely, and then he told me the following. On a trip to the Manchu, while trading with them, he quarreled with a Gilyak from Kaki. The matter finally ended peacefully, however, and he regarded it as closed and forgot it to such an

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• 159 extent that after their return home he once traveled from Allof
628 to Kaki and stopped at one of the houses there. His host and hostess, well known to him, were quite friendly toward him; in the evening, however, after he had eaten the meal offered him, a man lying next to him on the sleeping bench, the very one with whom he had had the quarrel, suddenly thrust his knife into his side. Returning to Allof, he soon recovered from his wound, but his blood enemy had set out for Langr the following night, accompanied by a relative, and had not been seen again. Meanwhile two years had passed, during which he himself had in vain gone to the greatest trouble to find any trace of him, but he could not go to Langr itself, because he is a stranger there, whereas his blood enemy would have the secure protection of his relatives. Thus, even in the future he had no prospect or hope of getting rid of the obligation for blood revenge weighing upon him, "and therefore," he concluded, "I must die soon." I do not know what happened to him later, for I did not see him again, nor did I hear anything about him. Undoubtedly, however, the psychic condition in which such a superstitious fear of death puts primitive man can have a fatal effect simply through its influence on his physical condition and his behavior in the manifold dangers through which his life moves. And in this way, as well as in consequence of the universally practiced logic of post hoc, ergo propter hoc, the superstition connected with blood revenge is constantly nourished and spread.

614 Carrying out blood revenge is in part made easier and in
602 part more difficult for the individual because it is not restricted
628 to those who directly participated in the act of bloodshed, but also more or less involves their relatives and imposes certain obligations on them. Among the Gilyak, however, these obligations do not extend to all the relatives, but only to the ngafk, the paternal relatives. Without any qualifications and with all the consequences, they are faced with the obligation for blood revenge if the person concerned lost his life through the act of bloodshed, either immediately or as a result of wounds received, and is therefore no longer able to carry out the revenge himself. It must then be carried out by the son, brother, brother's son,

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16 DEMOGRAPHY--general statements covering several distinct ty
tion on population, including vital statistics.

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settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye. In connection with this settlement of Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

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with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

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From this one can draw the following conclusions: here there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

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1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

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161 POPULATION--enumerations and estimates (with dates); density (e.g., metical, for arable land); population trends; etc. See also:

Population policy . . . . . 168 Census taking . . . . . .

164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in February and March because at that time, in the mid-day sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair, which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infectious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infectious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say, but one may assume that they were less frequent and permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease in the native population.

64 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
58 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy. I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However, diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking should become prevalent.

752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains, breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude that the primitive methods of healing combined with the power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

64 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

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159 LIFE HISTORY MATERIALS--observations and interpretations of individual behavior, character, and personality; clinical analyses; case records; biographical materials; collections and interpretations of individual dreams; results of tests designed to measure acquired behavior or personality (e.g., tests of motor or verbal skills, projective tests); etc. Generalizations or conclusions relating to groups or classes of individuals will be filed elsewhere under appropriate headings. For specific professional or occupational biographies, see also under appropriate headings. See also:

Offenses and sanctions 68
Sex 83
Socialization 86
Data on informants 115
Unclassified field data 117
Description of tests and schedules 125
Avenues of individual achievement 554
Dependency 736
Types of religious experience 781
Interpretations of dreams 787

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*114 121 127 [212] revolutionary activity, M. A. Krol', Shternberg writes (2):

> 2. I am indebted to the kindness of the widow of the deceased, S. A. Ratner-Shternberg, for acquainting me with the contents of this letter.

"I have discovered among them (the Gilyak) a kinship terminolo and family-clan rights identical with those of the Iroquois and th famous punalua family (on the Sandwich Islands), in a word, the remains of that form of marriage on which Morgan based his theo and which served as a point of departure for Marx' and Engels' w on Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates, u.s.w. /the origin of family, of the state, etc./. The interesting clan organization o the Gilyak, however, rests on this kinship system. At first I was afraid to trust my own discovery, but, having let not a single fa or a single yurt go by during the census without detailed question as to what different members of the clan and family call one an and who has what rights, I finally became convinced (3). /xiv/

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> 3. Earlier in the same letter Shternberg mentioned that he had covered 1,040 Gilyak in his census.

though there are voluminous studies on the Gilyak, no one in the literature known to me has studied this aspect of the question."

*114 After his investigation of the Gilyak of the northwest coa there followed a series of other trips which resulted in a full ethn [125] graphic study of all Sakhalin. Thus, in June, 1891, he took the census of the Gilyak and the Orochi on the river Tym' and on the east coast of Sakhalin, and a partial one of the Tungus. In the winter of 1891 he encountered the Olcha who visited Sakhalin la in the fall for trading purposes. He spent the summer of 1892 [125] traveling on the river Poronai and around the entire southern part of Sakhalin as far as the settlement of Kosunaya, where, along w the Ainu and the Orok, he also studied and took a census of the Gilyak.

/11/

The Gilyak

The Gilyak. -- The Social Organization of the Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak. -- The Sakhalin Gilyak. /Page 12 is blank./

/13/

The Gilyak

I.

Territory. Linguistic Isolation. Origin.

The small tribe of Gilyak, whose number at the present time does not exceed four and a half thousand persons, is scattered over the vast territory of the entire northern half of Sakhalin Island and the neighboring continental shore, being distributed almost equally between the two regions.

On Sakhalin they occupy the entire shore-line of the western coast from Cape Sakhkotan to the northern extremity of Cape Marii, then on the eastern shore -- from Cape Levenshtern to Cape Delil'-de-lya-Kroyer, and finally, in the interior the island, they occupy the upper and middle reaches of the Tym' River, which is the only significant river of northern Sakhalin.

In southern Sakhalin in the lower reaches of the Poronai River and on the shore of Terpeniye Gulf a few dozen representatives of the Gilyak tribe, who migrated to this alien territory due to fortuitous circumstances only very recently (in the last 30 years), have become lost among the alien Ainu and Orok.

On the continent the Gilyak occupy both banks of the lower reaches of the Amur River to the settlement of Geri, and then the banks of the Amur estuary and the seashore: to the north, from the mouth of the Amur to the Kol' River, and to the south to the Choma River. The northernmost boundary of the spread of the Gilyak may be regarded as the mouth of the Tugur River, to which, by the way, the Gilyak only very rarely go on business, not having a permanent place of residence there.

/155 cont./

835 614 women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-law, because in each of these clans there is a whole new class of wives -- an'g:ej. Nevertheless, the extension of [198] prohibitions to clans of akhmalk'i of the most remote degree [161] has naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely understandable constraints, leading to some limitations of the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the present time do not go back further than the clans of akhmalk of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the second generation, and, if an acquired woman dies childless, then even in the second generation the limitations fall away.

835 The class of jokh. Finally, one more class prohibited to men, called jokh, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we know that a man gives this name to two completely different classes of women, namely, on the one hand, to the class of wives of his og:la (descending line), and, on the other hand, to the class of wives /156/ of his as'kh, i.e., of his younger brothers (tuvn), and sisters of these wives. As concerns the first class, we have already noted its prohibited character in examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending generations and the wives of those of descending ones. The prohibited character of the second category is not so absolute. From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the wife of the elder tuvn various forms of designation are practiced [184] in various places. In several places on the Amur, on the coast of the mainland, and on the northwestern coast of Sakhalin (if "I" am a male) one and the same appellation (an'g:ej -- wife) is used for wives of the younger as well as of the older brother, and in such places sexual intercourse is permitted with all wives of brothers. But this arrangement is not the dominant one; the dominant arrangement must be considered that of designating the wife of the elder tuvn as an'g:ej, i.e., the same name that one gives to one's own wife,

/201 cont./

161 199 614 231 * 174 Still-more destructive is the process of depopulation. We are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families, but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an immediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples, together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable number of its members.

161 614 72 * 194 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and various other causes. Although according to the interclan rules the women are spared and the number of men who are killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

* 194 199 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representatives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they gradually begin to draw after them many others. The [582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had contact with various other peoples.

[The Western Coast]

162 592 128 /385 cont./

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "households" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 595 [161] The total population is 1,041, of whom 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolesce number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individu who have only one wife each (3). The number of children wh

[587]

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

[128] [184]

163 165 The number of chil survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[124]

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

SS /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
Gi The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated

SS by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
162 and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
A northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
648 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
160 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
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1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased considerably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other

SS hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
162 that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
G Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
131 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
161 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
648
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ooo

2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

SS /317 cont./ A more numerous Gilyak
162 population on the island in former times is indicated, among
G other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two
174 villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village,
161 the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of
361 the Sea of Japan, and both are highly insignificant today (3).

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SS
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3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 233), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, which has three of them, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out devastatingly in the fifties, this has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the winter of 1857/58, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

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[114]
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162 Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the
[132] continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harsher climate is understandably much more deserted.

SS /318/ I must content myself with these general remarks con-
161 cerning the more or less large population of the various parts of
114 the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find state-

SS ments concerning the total number of individuals for particular
[175] Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

SS /318 cont./
161 Gilyak . . . . . in 39 villages (26 on the
175 right bank and 13 on the left) 1400 souls
114 Manguntsen
G (Olcha) . . . . . in 40 villages (36 on the
Gi right bank and 4 on the left) 1300 souls (3)
161 Goldi . . . . . in 114 villages (77 on the
361 right bank and 37 on the left) 3200 souls
Nomadic and dispersed tribes . . . . . 2000 souls

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[113]

3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, with the same number of villages, gave the number of Gilyak as 1680, that of the Olcha ("Manguntsen") as 1320 persons.

Gi
161 In 1862, Schmidt estimated the total number of the Negda,
on the Amgunj as well as on Lake Orell /Orel/ and Lake Tschlja
ooo /Chlya/, at not quite 1,000 souls (4). On the basis of notes taken

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4. "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der Physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. in d. J. 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Division of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society during the Years 1859-1862/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

A on the basis of notes taken
161 in 1854 and completed in 1857, Rudanofskij reckoned the total population of the Ainu on Sakhalin at 2,479 souls (5). In 1861,

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[113]

5. Rudanovskii "Obzor" miestnosti o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin/" (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 99).

ooo Brylkin gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (6). These statements

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6. Brylkin, "Statist. u. topogr. Nachr. über

SS /319 cont./
161 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging
114 the number of the population, because the villages are extremely
361 variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

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3. Although all the later statements concerning the number of persons of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of the Russian occupation and colonization of it, must have undergone great changes, lie outside the scope of this work, I should like to mention one of these statements here in passing, because it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my considerations. I am referring to the estimate of their number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr. N. Seeland in his article, "Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed. by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs) for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin questioned traveling fur traders, he came to the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this total number, given according to the individual districts, explain its exceedingly large size, but at the same time make it absolutely untenable. For the number of the Gilyak of the Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000, the Gilyak in the Sofisk District (from Mariinsk to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. According to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

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/319 cont./

3. (cont.)
not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaiserhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an approximate estimate of their strength might be found is the number of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with certainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satisfaction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle along the largest bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the seacoast, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/330 cont./

3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and Tanskin from the village of Nganj-wo on the Liman.

A few years later
(1861) Glehn traveled through a section of this coast and made a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they

4. Op. cit., pp. 232 ff.

essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's. This depopulation which took place after my time is fully explained by the above-mentioned severe smallpox epidemic which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely, and in the case of many small settlements which numbered no more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /331/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could report only on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the preceding and following observations I always view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself collected.

/363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschilwi with six yurts.

4) This Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidsi which among its six houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pättach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Middendorff among the Gilyak on Ulban Bay and made available to me.

7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with his statements on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be excused if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some decrease in the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data ascertained by me personally are considered in this list.

8) Since this village and Pilja-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Ainu, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

/364 cont./

principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number. Along the Liman, Langr in the north and Tschomi in the south are in dominant positions, the former as the chief exchange point between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin, the latter in constant communication with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, and, on the other hand, with the villages on the Amur beyond the mountains. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Kulj or Kolj is the principal village, about whose existence Middendorff received information even at Tugur Bay (1), and, according to the

1. In Middendorff's handwritten notes on his visit among the Gilyak the place is called "Kwol," and in Baer's report on his journey (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 620) "Kwel."

descriptions of the Gilyak, seems to play a role there similar to Wair's on the Amur River. /365/ Along the Liman coast of Sakhalin the same significance belongs to the above-mentioned Tamla-wo, of bad repute because of the predatory tendencies of its, as the name indicates, large population. The part of the west coast of Sakhalin that is washed by the northern part of the Sea of Japan has only small villages almost entirely, in that the village of Tyk with its six earth yurts is the only larger place and the principal point of the entire coast. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin, which has a great number of small villages in its upper part in particular, Pud-wo and Udmk-wo are the principal points, and, finally, on the east coast of Sakhalin Tschai-wo and Nyi are the principal places.

Now, if one wants to draw any conclusions about the size of the Gilyak population in its individual areas, as well as in general, from the number of winter dwellings, it must first be determined how many permanent residents on the average may be reckoned for a Chinese or an earth yurt. Just as the

342 /365 cont./ Just as the
161 Gilyak houses are not erected by individuals, but rather are erected
592 more or less with the help and participation of all the fellow-
[476] members or people belonging to a place, so also as a rule, in accordance with the communistic spirit which characterizes primitive peoples, are they not inhabited by a single family, but by several together. As may be seen from the above description, a winter yurt of the Gilyak, built following the Chinese pattern with its four long sleeping benches, provides adequate and comfortable space for four families. If one reckons the average family at four persons, husband, wife, and two children, this already gives 16 occupants for each Chinese winter-yurt. Some yurts, to be sure, are occupied by only one or two families, as I myself have repeatedly seen, and occasionally one even comes across a yurt apparently standing empty throughout the entire winter. On the other hand, over and above the family members mentioned, single persons of both sexes, be it out of considerations of kinship or in return for certain services, find fixed and permanent lodgings in the yurt. Also, the average figure of only two children per family assumed above is undoubtedly not any too large. Hence I think that it is not estimating too high if I reckon an average of 16 persons for a Chinese winter-yurt, and for an earth yurt, since it contains only three sleeping benches, and much shorter ones at that, and in general provides considerably less space, only half as many, that is, only eight persons on the average. On this basis, approximate counts of the population for the individual parts of the Gilyak area mentioned above can be ascertained without difficulty. The available data are inadequate for this for only one part, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, for the number of the winter dwellings of the Gilyak along this coast, with the exception of the small stretch between the Amur-Liman and the village of Kulj, is still unknown to us. Hence
161 estimates must be made here in another way. The part of this coast which is unfamiliar to us, from Kulj to Tugur Bay, is about six to seven times the size of the stretch between Kulj and the Liman, and one therefore only needs to multiply by six or seven the population figure ascertained for the latter according to the

G /365 cont./
161 number of their yurts to obtain the approximate size of the population of the entire /366/ coast up to Tugur Bay. Since, however, it is not unlikely that the size of the Gilyak population along this coast increases as one approaches the mouth of the Amur, the Amur-Liman, and Sakhalin, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there is no second Kulj farther westward along it, I believe that it would be more correct and again not reckoning too high if I take, not six or seven, but only five times the number ascertained for the stretch between Kulj and the Amur-Liman for determining the total Gilyak population along this coast.

Accordingly, the following minimum population figures are given for the individual parts of the area and for the whole area of the Gilyak:

Mainland		Sakhalin Island	
Amur River	1904	West Coast	1016
Amur-Liman	568	Tymy River	256
Coast of Sea of Okhotsk	1040	East Coast	432
Total	3512	Total	1704

Thus the total number of Gilyak on the continent and on the island of Sakhalin amounts to at least 5,216, or, in round figures, some five thousand souls.

Gi 342
[361] In going from the Gilyak to the Tungusic Amur-peoples, a glance must first be cast at the Orok roaming in Gilyak territory. As reindeer nomads they do not have permanent dwellings, but pitch tents, which are of very simple construction, when they stay at a place temporarily or even for a longer period. Long wooden poles arranged in conical fashion, form the framework of the tent, over which a covering stitched together out of fish skins is spread in such a way that only at the top, where the poles come together, does an opening remain to let the smoke escape when a
Gi [361] fire is made inside the tent. Since the migrations of the Orok

"The total number of natives on the island [LSS: Sakhalin] is between 4000 and 5000, of whom about 1300 are Ainus, more than 2000 Gilyaks, at least 750 Orotchons [LSS: Erratum; it should read Orochon] and perhaps 200 Tungus.

The island is therefore very sparsely populated; and how sparsely may be judged from the fact that during more than three days' journeying on the river Tim, the native highway to the east coast, I saw not a solitary person or dwelling."

9: Hawes--261 [2] T-3 (1901) 19
116, 161, 178, 595

"A greater witness to the wealth of this
Very few Gilyaks on Sakhalin, perhaps two
have bought more than one wife. Polygamy
probably for two reasons—the decline in th
of the people. There are no adequate stati
first, but evidence of the latter is met wit
ever taken were the inquiries of Mr. Stern
on the west coast of Sakhalin; where he fou
1041 to 1049 in 3 1/3 years, of which the in

'Lord Mayor' was the possession of two wives.
or three others, were wealthy enough to
is no longer as common as it was, and this
e number of women, and the growing poverty
stics to which I can appeal in support of the
at every turn. The only censuses (informal)
berg in 1891 and 1895, among certain villages
und that the population had increased from
crease of females was two and of males six."

9: Hawes--229 T

116, 161, 177, 621,
636.62

"The Gilyak on Sakhalin. . .
European. The chief causes
narrowing limits of their hu
inability to adapt themselve
being forced upon them. Th
recognizes them as Russian
organization, and prohibits
but hardly to be expected fr
is a patriarchal government
conditions."

-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
Russia

. . . . . will surely die out with the further inroad of the
of the dying out of the natives is [LSS: sic] disease, the
nting-ground, the decay of the spirit of the race, and thei
s to another mode of living which is gradually but surely
e Government's attitude towards them is a 'correct' one.
subjects, interferes as little as possible with their scant
the sale of intoxicants to them. What is really required no
om officials whose function is the safeguarding of criminal
which shall interest itself in the race and its changing

174 mainland among Goldi as well as Manchurians. It is more likely that the first Gilyak who emigrated to the mainland from Sakhalin, took over the building methods as well as th language from the Goldi, and that the later ones who remained in closer contact with their native country, adopted the building methods of the Goldi and Manchurians but kept their own language.

The Russians became acquainted with the Gilyak as early as the middle of the 17th century when the first bold Russian pioneers traveled along the Amur. At that time there were also supposed to have been occasional bloody animosities. The Gilyak themselves, however, no longer know anything about this, unless perhaps there are accounts in rare legen which may be known by only a few. The majority know nothing of their own history and I was not even able to ascer tain whether there was not someone still living among them who might tell me something of their antiquity.

161 The population of the Gilyak can be only approximately de
177 termined, because, up to the present time, these people do not even pay yassak, and thus there can be no official methods set up to observe the shifts in their population. According to the estimates of the ispravniks (officials) the number of Gilyak of the Nikolayevsk district (1) and the

1. From the coast up-stream to Mariinskoye (270 versts from Nikolayevsk].

De Kastri and Kaiser bays amounts to about 4000, that of the Sofiyskoye district (2), 1000. As for Sakhalin, it has no

2. From Mariinskoye up to the Gorin.

ispravniks, but instead I asked the traveling fur dealers whose business, when all is said and done, would give them a greater interest in this question than the ispravniks would have. According to their opinion, there may be about 3000
61 Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin. The entire race of Gilyak
621 (exclusive of the Negidal) may thus comprise some 8000 souls. I believe the figure is not too large for, although the Gilyak villages are small and present a diminutive appearan they are [100] relatively densely populated. One may assum that one house shelters no less than 12-15 persons. From a rough calculation which I made in the year 1880, there were about 900 persons in nine villages extending from the coast to the village of Vaida (30 versts above

frequent intervals with the evergreen pine, rivalled the October hues of our New England hardwoods. Hills and low mountains rose on both banks of the river and made a beautiful picture. The hills, covered with forest from base to summit, shelved gently to the water's edge or retreated and there lobbed bits of green meadow. In the distance was a background of blue mountains glowing in sunshine or dark in shadow, and varying in outline as we moved slowly down. The river was ruffled only by the ripples of the current or the motion of our boat through the water. Just a year earlier I descended the Saint Lawrence rapids from Lake Ontario to Quebec. I saw nothing on the great Canadian river that equaled the scenery of my first day's voyage on the Amour.

Soon after leaving Nikolayevk we met several loads of hay floating with the current to a market at the town. On the meadows along the river the grass is luxuriant, and I hay requires only the labor of cutting and curing. During the day we passed several points where haymaking was in progress. Cutting was performed with an instrument resembling the short scythe used in America for cutting bushes. After it was dried, the hay was brought to the river bank on dray-like carts. An American hay wagon would have accomplished twice as much with equal labor.

The hay is like New England hay from natural meadows, and is delicious food for six or eight dollars a ton, delivered. Cattle and horses thrive upon it, if I may judge by the condition of the stock I saw. For its transportation two flat-bottomed boats are employed, and hold about twelve tons apiece. A floor on these timbers and over the hatchways is made to keep the hay dry. Men are stationed at both ends of the boats, and when once in the stream they have only to do beside floating with the current. A mile distant one of these boats appears like a haystack which an accident has set adrift.

We saw many Gilyak boats descending the river with the current or struggling to ascend it. The Gilyaks form the native population in this region and occupy thirty-one villages at intervals with about two thousand inhabitants. The villages are on both banks from the mouth of the river to Mariensk, and contain in the aggregate about one hundred huts exclusive of the view of their houses, which will not bear close inspection.

Some of the houses might contain a half dozen families of ordinary size, and were well adapted to the climate. While we took wood at a Gilyak village I embraced the opportunity to visit the aboriginals. The village contained a dozen dwellings and several fish-houses. The buildings were of logs or poles, split in halves or used whole, and were roofed with poles covered with a thatch of long grass to exclude rain and cold. Because of the cold, building houses had the solid earth for floors, while others had floorings of hewn planks.

The store houses were elevated on posts like those of an American "corn barn," and were wider and lower than the dwellings. Each storehouse had a platform in front where canoes, fishing nets, and other portable property were stowed.

A GILYAK VILLAGE.

The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language almost without any accent.[29] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi. They number about 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Sakhalin, Kamchatka, and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying between the mouth of the Amur. There are two large towns Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots, and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established fish-fry, fish-meal, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited only by Nivkhi.

The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that, together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. According to the Soviet administration, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on the north of Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fled out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin Godless.[30]

In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the 'Western National District' and the 'Eastern National District', and the 'Northern National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

162 COMPOSITION OF POPULATION—distribution of population by age, sex, locality, marital status, mode of life (e.g. rural and urban, nomadic and sedentary), and by social groupings (e.g., occupation, religion, class, ethnic group), size of families, etc. See text.

Locality	101	Sex distribution	105
Urban	102	Age at marriage	106
Urban as a percentage of rural	103	Incidence of plural marriages	107
Urban and rural differentiation	104	Number of wives	108
Urban and rural differentiation	105	Age-sex statistics	109

Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half centuries.

The greatest density of population is found in the areas of the most abundant fishing, such as the banks of the Amur and its estuary (villages Kal' (168 persons), Lange (705), Vayda (184), Mago (154), and others) on the western shore of Sakhalin, the points Tamlevo, Lyrkeyve (144 persons), Vlakvo (116), Nyun (103), Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. [184] It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Russian Far East to understand that the Gilyak ethnic stock or tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. And even very lonely Gilyak live in the settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus neighbors. The Ainu resemble the Gilyak in their mode of life and in a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives a clear and unmistakable indication in the opposite direction. For neither in its lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout vast spaces, the static continent we find no other language which could lay claim to close relationship with the Gilyak language.

/13 cont./

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/284 cont./

from an Amur Gilyak named Tyr', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mdyjr, another Gilyak, from the Amur region, made the wife and went with her to the missionary Monvvtin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor pressured his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife and fiddles soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

/285/

Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak

(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an elder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Dse (Kugi Amur) -- 35 people. Some find them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came there, they found one house of an Olcha khal'y. Mongol -- Tyr -- Djabkoj came down from the Goldi village of Chol'cha (1896).

/284 cont./

Settlement of Pilavo-khan' (five kilometers from Chil'ni). In this settlement exclusively the Pilavyng clan (1910).

Settlement of Khan'. Exclusively the Pilavyng clan.

Settlement of Tebakh (Tevsh in Gilyak). Three yurts in all, about 30 persons. The Arabong clan -- Alim; came from Komsuya on the Pronga and set up tents -- a shaman stands from behind came a man, and the stick fell in the direction of bisi. The Arabong clan is to be found most of all in Tebakh, further in Aldach, Chal'ni (one house), and in Iski (1910). The Igim together with the Arkhong who live in Aldcha constitute one clan; in Aldcha -- the Goldi half, -- the other half in Tebakh, (1896).

Settlement of Madkhal. Dse (Kugi Madkhal). Negdal (1910). In 1896 the Khen'-ping and the Negdal (Ky) lived here.

Settlement of Pachi (Bachi). Twenty-two families, about 100 souls. Nine Russian houses and two Ulgyf. In it, the Ulam (1) Tva-ning (Tva was the surname from Ulam, Ning' near Fat). 2) Alimkan live in Plakh (Pilavo), below Marinsk. They used to live on the Amgun, but the brothers fought and several brothers left for Plakh, taking a piece of the land -- "ting rodda" -- "to make a fire." There they became Onyr, and then, a long time ago, in the times of the Japanese, they migrated from Kopakov to Tevsh and Kal'vo. There, the Sol (of Sulting here, and also one in each of the following places: Kakl, Mago, Vanin Cape, and Tamlavo. 3) Fyn-ling-clan (two yurts, an old village opposite Kal'vo. In the past, a long time ago, Angun lived here. The green pine forest -- Tusu; in Uhita -- the Olcha (1916).

Settlement of Nykikh Khes'bin (one from Pilavo), on the channel Iky Mackalf. About 20 Gilyak here, and also Angun (Mackalf), who in Gilyak are called Mrkhlam. Two from Pilavo settled here in the last ten years (1910).

/289/

117 Settlement of Kalpa (the Gilyak Kalwo). Two clans:
119 1) Four yurts Lezing-yau-tva-hug (from lezing = tan, -- master).
614 The Lezing-tau are a Tva-bing generation (hyulalyvh nyzi).
They caught many bears and had a large lezing. They quarrelled while still in Tva and left long ago for Tamlivo. Now they are in Egila (Yaii) and in Mago. 2) Pyrfing, three Lezing and three Ugiryf (1910). One woman, Sy -- umgu -- female Negidal. 3) Lezgzang from the Sashalin Tamivo. 4) The Pyrfing Omyr came from above; the oldest clan is here. 5) Nartmang from above, near Khabarovsk; the Goldi (1896).

Settlement of Moskaya (Mokhrvo). Clans: 1) Nartmang (Omyr); -- Pyrfling (Ygdymyi from Kuf, where there are many). There, three houses of them; they have lived here for four generations. 2) Lezgzang -- one house, 17 persons. All of the Gilyak seem to have come from the Amgun (hymh) and settled down on the Amur. One Ugiryf (1910).

Settlement of Mago. Clans: 1) Mof-tan (Omyr); 2) Lezgzang (one house); 3) Naromlang; one house, three families (1910).

Clans: 1) Lezgzang, 2) Pyrfing, 3) Tyvlafing, 4) Hutyvish, from the Tym' River, 5) Nartmang, 6) Hurling (1896).

Yoom-ba' -- a mountain tax and a half kilometers above Vaydy; in former times Gilyak from the settlement of Yoom lived here. On the left bank of the Amur, beyond Yoom, there is a small bay; and beyond it a high bank with bare white kamen'sh daif (limestone) (1910).

Settlement of Vayr (Vaydy); in 1896 there were three clans:
1) Kegin, 2) Hirlung (Hurlung and Shafpung), 3) Lumr-ping. Now only 12 Omyr, 10 Gilyak, 17 Hirlung (see also below), 15 Shafping, and 7 Lumr-ping are left. The Kegin -- Olcha are from the settlement of Aur; four generations are in Vayr. There were three brothers; the eldest brother took a Hirlung wife; he was followed

/290 cont./

Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896). Vas', Cape Vastu. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to Bilkovo; 2) Derbir-vun (1896).

Kuktya and Meo. The first master of the village before the
● [162] Russians was the Kegin clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogorodskoye (1896).

Settlement of Vas'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest khal -- this Chvunung khal (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvmit); the Ali is a river that separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun, 123 Elevut). It takes women from the khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one khal. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor pingg. A man sailed on a horykh (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the
582 Pyshdvung. 3. Kedzung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkivung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhaj-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyr beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- chinivokh). There is here in Kol' one khal from Khovnung. It takes women from the Lang. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the or -- chain and stone on the little girl of one of the brothers, and then killed her. They have an Aimu dagger with a silver handle. Take women
582 from the Shantung. 7. The Snarning take women from the Perkhrvung. 8. The Tyvlling -- from Ukhtr, near Sofisk (Omyr). Takes women from the Perkhrung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age); his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his khal is Snarnung. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chlya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- Nashdaji. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyr River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).

/299 cont./

calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
601 replies quietly: "Pilavon kshkal purark hokhagim on" krygyr" (1).
683
614

1. Krygyr -- an Aimu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
[195] slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygyr bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygyr, impure. Every krygyr was considered a kshkal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygyr is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the
[192] incoihe and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beating.

A krygyr woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygyr.
682 A free one is kistyjgyr n'ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
614 is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a human, we have an elder beast (gal). Kill him -- big mountain bear, mer edr; -- tiger), fight with him; it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage
● [162] in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the krygyrs are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of
[582] former slaves still stood in Takhta.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Aimu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/353 cont./

This form of family-kin relationship serves as the basis for the social organization of the Gilyak and is the basis of their clan organization ("khal" -- clan, also clansmen).

From what has been said of the primitive family of the Gilyak, it is obvious who constituted their clan. All of the brothers (of all degrees of kinship) of the father of some Gilyak NN are his fathers (ytk), their fathers are his grandfathers (ate), their children are his brothers ("nvun"), their grandchildren are his children ("ulu", and mutually. It is this huge family of grandfathers, fathers, children, brothers and sisters that constitutes the clan of the Gilyak. It is understandable that a clan so constituted
● [162] may be composed of a great number of people. In one clan in northern Sakhalin, I counted 150 people, and this is only a branch of a clan which lives on the mainland.

But the clan of the Gilyak is organized on the male basis. Even though the children of a sister of NN's wife are his children (ola) and they are considered brothers of his own children, if these sisters of the wife are married to Gilyak of a different khal; then they, i.e., the children of these sisters, will be alien to the clan of NN. Similarly, only the wives of clansmen and their unmarried daughters belong to the clan, and, conversely, when married, a woman passes over to the clan of her husband, while the dissolution of the marriage brings her back into her father's clan. Here are the principles which regulate the life of a clan:

1. The clan has only four degrees of kinship: grandfather and grandmother (atk and ytk), fathers and mothers (ytk and ymk), brothers and sisters (nvun), and children (ola). Clansmen call one another "khal" in contrast to aliens. To distinguish own brothers from own clansmen of the first degree of kinship, the word khal' is added, so that clan brothers are /354/ khal'-nvun, clan fathers -- khal'-ytk, etc. The elder of the clan, whose role will be described below, is called "khal'-geymar." Clansmen are thinking and acting social units bear the name of "khal'-nivush."

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
121 merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1897 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Matii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

1. The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak settlements between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Matii. They are located in the following order: Arkyvvo, Tamy, Mangiuay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Vlakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyvde (1), Noksy,

[167]

1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigyro (2), Marulvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,

[491]

2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

Vaskhonkivo, Kimidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkyvvo, Vivkvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygyvo,
[491]

1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

● 162 which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 345 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

128
121

2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

● 162 /385 cont./
586 or adolescent, living apart from their
128 parents or not, and therefore "house-
128 holds" are counted separately, and,
secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

The total population is 1,041, of whom
162 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents)
[167] number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[491]

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have a correct comparison figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

The number of children who
162 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth
is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 30% (4); the

[124]

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

/385 cont./

179 many of his children had died between
162 the beginning of his marriage and the
165 date of the census. In this way, we ob-
tained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

/ actual one,
163 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one,
162 for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives. There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although
● 162 592 there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of
163 these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkyvvo (144 persons each),
162 Vivkvo (116). Nyur (103), Arkyvvo (87), Tal'votigyro and Tengi
(64 each), Kimidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the
smallest settlements are Tamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9).
In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.
Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season,
[182] 1,026; rabbits killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk
[183] post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[182]

5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kimidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . .

/386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
[182] to every five persons), and 2,106 dogs. To make some money,
[183]

/386 cont./

To make some mo
166 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, m
163 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals an
[182] dolphins are Tamlyvo, Vivkvo, Pomr, and Tengi; the
[244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by
[182] Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
[244] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement amon
[244] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could sow
[244] potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for s
[648] eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this pol
[244] the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwh
[244] competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the
vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their rein
Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very
[244] careful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second plac
[244] glazing at this settlement one notices a progressive improve
[244] in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout
[244] little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin,
[244] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instea
[244] of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a
Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one en
enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly
plex heating system which resembles our steam heating. T
horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stre
along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat the
latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a
high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk espe
[244] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is use
the Amur Gilyak and in the fanzs /houses/ of the Manchu,
[244] whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sect
[137] of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with grass vege
[137] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the
[244] taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the
settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and,
ginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.
61 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
77 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p. 249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

33 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
12 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) sea-going vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

116, 161, 174

"The pair [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] were m
8000 souls, called Gilaks, a branch of the Tungusians
found, a very different people from the Tungusians wh
journeys. The Gilaks were the original inhabitants of
at the time of the first visit of whites to that section,
previously."

Gilyak

embers of a tribe numbering about
s--so stated, though,as we afterward
nome we encountered in our
f the country of the Lower Amoor
and for an unknown period

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
In connection with this settlement of
361 Mos'bvo, the author makes the follow-
821 ing comment: "It is inhabited only in
autumn and winter. In spring and sum-
mer the inhabitants pass on to the west-
ern coast, mainly to the village of
Arkyvo, where in the early spring they
hunt seals and during the summer catch
fish which are not to be found in the
Tym' at this time of the year. At the
beginning of August, before the Siberian
salmon run, the population returns to
their winter dwellings." Editor of the
journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416
are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133
households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polyga-
mists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
882 died. Gunn -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
361 During the last season 888 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
433 43 otters, and 63 bears.

From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
162 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average
597 family has /388/ four to five members: there are 11 married
males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589]

1. The word bachelor is applied only
to older, so to speak, inveterate
bachelors.

/388 cont./

• 162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is
such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there
are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 35.7%.
031 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
917 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
417 guns, on the whole.

G1 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (?),
101 882
[126]

2. The property of each person has been
registered to this or that clan, the figures
on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-goy in the testi-
ment of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons),
Nymyri in Nyvvo (94 persons), Uilandzh in Chayvo (65 persons).
The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Rekhtvo (90 persons), Nyvvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym'
and the neighboring Khomvro and Pivvo (106 persons, not counting
the immigrant population from the western coast, Mos'bvo
(Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
difficult, aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult
because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long
stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is
communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of
Pomr and the western shore.

North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
133 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible
484 along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the
mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer
makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear
how difficult and slow such a journey is.

G /16 cont./
101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the
coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on
the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a
considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons
that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
G1 separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
101 Orok, there is reported, and in part to an even greater degree,
G1 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
101 mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
162 boundary. For example, it was said, at the Gilyak in Arkai nad
361 me, that of the villagers south of Dul', Adngi was still purely
Gilyak, Khbiu contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj
again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too,
met the first Ainu in Khbiu, which, more-
over, at that time consisted of only two
miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj
an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Bet.," etc.,
op. cit., pp. 65, 68). Again, however, I
cannot agree, with the version of the Ainu
for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi,"
"Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's
map.

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
361 the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
A "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
114 [113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vortochnoe Pomor'e
/Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls
Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first
Gilyak village as one approaches from the

G1 /136 cont./ A Gilyak from YEKYTUN in the
101 Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography
G of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading
[131] voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu
[162] and Olcha language, mentioned to me, among other peoples on
the continent already known to me, the "K'kkal," who were
said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /De-
G Kastri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times
[134] Kalbovo a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at
G present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which,
[162] according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of
"K'kkr-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

G [192]

10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If,
however, we first continue to discuss the names K'kkal or K'kh(a)r,
we would see that the Gilyak name for the Olcha, whose living
Gilyak is sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with
G1 minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first
101 borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the
177 entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Usuri, the
Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all
kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have
repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the
Gilyak and the Goldi, on the other hand, there is a large
[139] stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two
[184] peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the
interests of trade often come down along the west coast of
G1 Sakhalin as far as Sirarumi, the deserted mainland coast, only
101 very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown
361 to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and
A not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact be-
[133] tween the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them --
[162] and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging
by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first
become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

SS /316 cont./
114 of their possessions, of the danger of losing them at any time --
101 an awareness that had a paralyzing effect upon the joy of acquisi-
698 tion and could only increase the innate laziness and indolence.
If one adds to the impoverishment and dejection the many wrongs
to their family life committed by the foreigners, the many kinds
of sickness and vice brought by them, then one must grant that
these evils, working like a slow poison continually over a long
period of time, must have considerably reduced the numerical
growth of these peoples. The more the latter were exposed, or still
are, to Manchu-Chinese influence, the less one can expect to
find among them a relatively numerous, dense, prosperous, and
vigorous population. Suffering under this the most, of course,
must have been those peoples whose territories lie closest to
the main seats of the Manchu and Chinese, to the Sungari, to
the upper Usuri region, and to their culture area along the upper
Amur, that is, all the peoples of the upper Amur region, such as the
Goldi and the Ta-ches, or southern Orochi, whereas those living
farther away were better off, such as the Olcha and Negda, whose
territory remained untouched by the Manchu, and even more
the Gilyak, who denied entry into their territory not only to the
Manchu officials, but also to the Chinese merchants.
Thus, the two facts discussed above, the acute conflict
G1 of the Amur peoples with the Russians in the seventeenth century
101 and the chronic one, in part still going on, with the Manchu and
Chinese, explain the phenomenon, surprising at first glance, that
the lowermost part of the Amur region, in spite of its harsher and
more unfavorable climate, nevertheless has most of the indigenous
population, but upstream and to the south, where the climate is
milder, the vegetation more varied and richer, and the wealth
of fish smaller, to be sure, but the wealth of game is in part even
larger, the population is nevertheless sparser and the country more
G1 and more desolate. The Gilyak seem to me to be relatively the
101 most numerous and the densest, though still sparse, /317/ espe-
162 cially along the Amur River, while along the Liman and the Sea
of Okhotsk they are more greatly scattered. Next come the Olcha,

SS /317 cont./ NEXT COME THE OLCHA,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most densely between the mouths of the
Usuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River,
between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/
Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without
people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only
temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for
the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, im-
mediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.
In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
• 162 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
137 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this
phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
698 and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
137 northward more and found a homeland on Sakhalin, where
[139] where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
[184] life; unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe/
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
[131] Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
G Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
[162] coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak

2. See p. 214 above /untransliated/.

SS /318 cont./
114 recorded in the older Chinese population-tables, which in any
101 case consist of view of the ignorance about the individual peoples at
195 that time, could only be very general and vague, are of little
value is obvious (1). Possible statements by European travelers

T 1. Iakinf, following the Chinese population-
• [162] tables of 1812, gives the number of Tungus of
the lower Amur region, east and northeast from
the Usuri down to the mouth of the Amur, and
therefore the Gilyak among them, as 1,000 families
(Iakinf", Kitai /China/, St. Petersburg,
1840, p. 19; the same, Statist. Opis. Kitaisk.
Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese
Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1842, Part II, p. 30),

who visited the country at the time of its occupation by the Rus-
sians or shortly afterwards, before the conditions of the native
population were sharply shifted or changed by the Russian colonis-
ation, might be more valuable. There are a few statements of
this kind. Thus, Collins, who in 1857 navigated the entire Amur
downstream, estimated the number of natives of the valley
G [113] population in the immediate vicinity of the river bank as fol-
low (2):

2. Peterman's Geogr. Mittheil., 1859, p. 25.
From the report which Perry McD. Collins sent
to the government of the United States (35th Con-
gress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 98. Explor. of
Amoor River. Letter from the Secret. of State,
in answer to a resolution of the House, calling
for inform. relat. to the explorat. of Amoor
River, April 7, 1858).

• [162]

SS /319 cont./
161 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging
114 the number of the population, because the villages are extremely
36 variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only
one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

G 3. Although all the later statements concerning
101 the number of persons of the indigenous peoples
114 of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of
the Russian occupation and colonization of it,
must have undergone great changes, lie outside
the scope of this work, I should like to mention
one of these statements here in passing, because
it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to
the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my consid-
erations. I am referring to the estimate of their
number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr.
G [113] N. Seeland in his article, "Die Gilyaken, eine
ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed.
by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg,
1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax
figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs)
for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin
questioned traveling fur traders, he came to
the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people
amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this to-
• [162] tal number, given according to the individual
districts, explain its exceedingly large size,
but at the same time make it absolutely unten-
able. For the number of the Gilyak of the
Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the
Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and
Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000,
the Gilyak in the Sofiisk District (from Mariinsk
to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the
number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. Ac-
• [101] cording to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

2: Schrenck--137 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

/363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschibei with six yurts.

4) The Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidzi-Much among its houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pattach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Nikolaievskiy among the Gilyak on Tchen Bay and made available to me.

7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Limun and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with him, especially on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be desired if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some great changes in the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the 1861 point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data contained by me personally are considered in this list.

8) Sawar-ski village and Fija-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Aino, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

/371 cont./

vases, and consequently also the wish to it for a cure. The corpse of a person killed by an aff (tiger and leopard) is taken to a similar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a remedy. (Rm. 1, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokh and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), T'pmod on the bank the north of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by bench-bark mortet and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (beats, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (L. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.127 /.

59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kak, Hokh, and Tschilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their corpses, but the other, including those of Tau-ako and the village up to Chiara (incl.), cremate them and erect aff for them. I personally saw many aff in Chiara. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R.I, p. 9.)

60. Gilyak. Near Ny (on the Amur-Limun) I saw a fresh Gilyak grave. Here an aff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with bast vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there wat wood shavings (ceri). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise (this village) cremated, but no aff is erected over the ashes (in the text: instead, a wagon is set up (**)). It is made out of a

** See Appendix 22 /p. 1306/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various rear-watches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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THE NIVKHI

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(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

General information

The Nivkhi live on the lower reaches of the Amur and adjacent areas, as well as on Sakhalin Island. They are sharply different in language from their neighbors, who speak languages of the Tungusic-Manchurian group, and belong to the Mongoloid physical type (Nikolskiy 1928).

The name of the people derives from their name for themselves, Nivkh, or "man." The name known to Russian pre-Revolutionary literature as "Gilyaks," This word evidently derives from "Giolee" and "Giliyami," as the Nivkh are called among Tungusic-Manchurian peoples.

The census of 1926-27 set the number of Nivkhi at 4076 persons (1700 on Sakhalin Island and 2376 on the continent). In addition, according to data in 1928, 111 Nivkhi lived in the formerly Japanese part of Sakhalin.

The Nivkhi consist of two groups territorially: the continental, or the Amur, group, and the Sakhalin group. The continental Nivkhi live along the lower stream and along the coast of the Amur Estuary, and in the adjacent areas along the Tatar Strait and the lies of Okhotsk. On the Amur, the Nivkhi villages are interspersed among Russian and Nagiba villages. The Nivkhi village farthest up the Amur is Pad; others are situated lower on the Amur and on the Amur Estuary. In the estuary, the Nivkhi live in the villages of Tchnyr, Kenal, and Kenyr; in the estuary is Kul (18), Iu (now Khabarovsk-on-the-Amur). Individual families live along the Ulchi. In the past, some Nivkhi groups were found as far as the Sea of Okhotsk. In 1850, the well-known Russian traveler Middendorf encountered them on the Chumikan. In Sakhalin, the Nivkhi are living along the western and eastern coasts, as well as along the middle reaches of the Tym' River. On the western coast, their main mass is concentrated in the Rybnovskiy Region, in the Aleksandrovsky and Shirokopadsky Rayons there are only small groups (Ivanov 1954). The Sakhalin Nivkhi live in villages from Cape Lopatin to the Kirovskiy Rayon. The population of the latter is almost ground entirely concentrated on one large collective farm, Chir-Unal. On the eastern coast, the southernmost point is the village of Nyvro-Sartar; north, there are large villages, Dagi, Chayvo and Pil'tun, where the former residence of the tiny Samarkin aboriginal along the coast have

1: Shternberg--543 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX3 Gilyak RX3
[The Western Coast]

/385 cont./

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "housefuals" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters). In the second sample, the total population is 1,084, of whom 541 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents) number 678: there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 92 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each). For each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each. Thus, there are 92 polygamists who have 184 wives.

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the fecundity and sterility, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interpretively, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Chibonk Island a single polygamist during the last season, than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

The number of children who survived birth is 518, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 32% (4). The

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the question: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down by one) and how many were absent, (2) how

many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the survey. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives. There is an average of 1.5 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Ivan-ako accounted dated 42 persons of the same clan.

6. On the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Likteyvo (144 persons each), Vinkvo (116), Nyur (103), Arkyvo (87), Tal'vontgro and Tengi (64-each), Kimidvo and Potro (59 each), Nyamivo (58); the smallest settlements are Tymy (4 persons), Vase (8), Nobey (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo. Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 2,036; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (8). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual one. The reason is the village of Kimidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to Shternberg, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

/386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat for every five persons), and 2,109 dogs. To make some money,

1: Shternberg--544 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX3 Gilyak RX3
[The Western Coast]

/385 cont./

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt in trade along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Gilimi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution concerned, there seems to be a great many children, but also not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of the tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example, one third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the number existing in Western Europe.

Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering Yegular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are confronted. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [Kill on category 1.6, p.249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the Sikhote-Alin' Range, which extends from Sakhalin, from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual one. The reason is the village of Kimidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to Shternberg, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

1: Pilsudski--7 E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 Gilyak

846 given birth to a child does not leave her place, the only during the most severe spells of frosty weather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in the edge of the forest, if the weather is fine. In case she herself in the housewife, if she cannot expect to be taken into the house 846 by another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women 776 in confinement who were left to themselves in the hut are attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these spirits out of the "house of birth", in which she of the most important and mysterious natural events takes place, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the hut, but designed to banish the evil spirits. But this convenient and easy way of protection is not always sufficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming hurriedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who was complied to do all the work in the narrow and disgusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood, had, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's hand. On another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a Gilyak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire when she had started a fire in order to warm her chilled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur as frequently as one should expect is due to the admirable strength of character and fortitude of the Gilyak women who, even worn out and sick, never loses her presence of mind and her ability to work. Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 2,036; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (8). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

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1: Pilsudski--7 E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 Gilyak

834 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded.
864 If the baby was born in the summer, the children are told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to have found it in the snow.
845 Twin birth.
863 No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why there are no legends about such an event either.
Not infrequently twin births take place among the natives. They contend that in each one of these cases both children are of the same sex. I personally cannot know of any living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were between forty and forty-five years old. In regions where I well known to me, there occurred three twin births in a population of more than 300 persons within a decade, but all three twins died immediately after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month old twins living in the family of a Gilyak named
845 Mimo. Only one of the single-born old Gilyak song which I wrote
539 down are twins of different sex mentioned. The
863 brother is in love with his sister and, in the song, asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he will die.
The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pelmen (Tamin mang), a mighty deity now benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child the pel-mi-

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak; one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

roots, should be given back to his father right away. But in my opinion which of the twins is sent to offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them both equally.
845 It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to
766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

9: Hawes--274-275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

"The older Gilyaks say that during their time, and their fathers' before them, but one famine had occurred before the Russians came, about eighty years ago, but since then there have been many repetitions. In the winter and early spring of 1896, and again of 1897, there were successive bad times, and around Rikovsk special assistance had to be given to the natives by the authorities. In 1898, a wet autumn prevented the accumulation of the usual stores of dried fish, and was followed by another very bad winter. The worthy ex-overseer at Derbensk, in whose hut we had stayed, was on duty down the Tim during that year. So terrible was the state of things that he found 'one or more dying in every hut,' and in the hope of stemming the tide of disease following on the ravages of famine, he took upon himself the responsibility of giving away the Crown stores; but in most cases it was already too late, and large numbers died of the grippe. The filthy [275] condition of the huts, and the accumulations of winter, aggravated the effects of the ravages of disease and the exposure to the severities of the climate.

Such a state of things presses hardly on the children, and accounts for the high rate of mortality among them. There being no statistics of the early years of Russian occupation, we can only gather from tradition and the shrinking of villages and from isolated statistics of recent years, the gradual diminution of the Gilyak race on Sakhalin.

The figures already quoted show, for the population of the Gilyak villages lying between Arkovo and Cape Maria on the west coast, the miserable increase of $\frac{10}{43}$ per

9: Hawes--274-275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

cent., or scarcely 1/4 per cent., per annum.

Lung and throat diseases and scurvy accounted for most of the deaths among the older people, but four died from accident, of whom one was frozen, another drowned, one already mentioned hanged herself, and another was beaten to death by her husband."

2: Schrenck--659 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/432 cont./
*262 preserved in memory by tradition, may have given rise to the fear
171 and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence,
[165] of whale meat and blubber in their yurts. Moreover, the Gilyak do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (9), /433/

[113] 9. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye /North and East Tartary/, 1705, p. 47.

for example, and the Koljuschen /Kolosh/ (1), with the sole

[113] 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Trip around the World/, Vol. II, p. 112. Weniaminof, op. cit., Pt. III, pp. 60, 99.

exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat and no whale blubber or oil.

224 Since the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only pursue
*262 fur-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts, the land mammals provide only a small part of their food in comparison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasionally falls into their hands, not excepting even beasts of prey, such as
*262 the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., it is eaten. Only one animal is
[136] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken close at hand and without much trouble: it is the rat (Mus decumanus Pall., Gilyak njagrsch), which is present in such extraordinary numbers in their yurts. This is all the more surprising because, without doubt,
[171] the rat in the Amur region is a gift from China (2) and, as is well

2. See Vol. I, p. 128, of this work.

known, is not at all scorned as food by the Chinese, who otherwise are so authoritative for the Amur peoples (3). Could it be that the

[113] 3. Davis, La Chine, etc., translated from

2: Schrenck--1044 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/641 cont./
844 erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
[343] also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter tempera-
[132] tures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[165] a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition
[846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn
[763] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

9: Hawes--274-275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

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2 peculiar. [105] In Europe and in continental Siberia the
relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter,
but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference
between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity
is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga,
it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases
again so considerably that the winter air may in general be
said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and to-
bacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs,
but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate
more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer,
however, there are many rainy days.

The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the
2 army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses
and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food
and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate
among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and
Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more
than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur
more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia
and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic
origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connec-
tion.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

1 In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people
of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men
who are more often tall. The women are considerably short-
er and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of
12 men whom I actually measured was 162.2 centimeters, and
that of eight women was 150.4 centimeters. These people
had, of course, been picked at random.

2 The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively
6 broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands
2 and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs)
as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

153 etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may
821 converse with the more intelligent of them for a short time.
177 As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak,
I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed
nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion
the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that
the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly
the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the
priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat
embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them.
"Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits
in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes
walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but
that your head is standing still. And yet your head, mean-
time, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even
so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and
we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not
reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little
father.

147 838 XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people.
Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go
without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the
taiga, or to stand for hours up to their chests in the coldest
water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in
body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth,
etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was
the only deformity that was known to me.

● 164 Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have
many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis
and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son
in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs,
but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military
posts. In any case this disease does not have the significance
among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native
Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened to-
ward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from
rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

● 164 The Gilyaks are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the
563 Russians suffer from it more than in Europe. I have
342 spoken in another connection (1) of the fact that I believe
362

1. St. Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3. 1882.

this illness can be traced to earth miasmas, and particular-
ly to external causes. Rising up from the extensive marshes
and bogs, as well as house miasmas. The fact that the
natives are immune [248] may be attributed partly to habit,
(for Europeans suffer most from it when they first arrive)
and especially to the functional construction of the houses.
Russian barracks and private houses stand on frame work
which soon rots. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood
and damp earth which does not freeze even in winter. The
houses are badly ventilated and frequently have a definite
odor of mould. The Gilyak house has a solid floor of
pressed clay which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate;
it is well ventilated and is often filled with smoke whose
disinfectant qualities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems
to be only a limited factor in this question.

164 Another endemic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal
catarrh, occurs among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom
and soon disappears. It is usually accompanied by unbear-
able colic. This catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.

In spite of the constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers
from tape worm. Among Russians, too, it seems to come
mainly from pork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.

Bronchial catarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia
seems the most frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the
Gilyak. The children of the Gilyak villages also suffered
from a whooping cough epidemic that was prevalent during
my time in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

Eye diseases occur more seldom than one would expect,
for in general, tribes that live in smoky houses frequently
suffer from them and present many one-eyed and blind
cases. The Gilyak houses are not always full of smoke, to
be sure, but so frequently that the relative absence of these
diseases must be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the
eye nerves. Actually, everyone who has been inside a
Gilyak house will be convinced that the natives can remain
calmly seated in smoke clouds that would immediately drive
164 a European out. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely
293 unpunished. One finds among them people with chronic

● 164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in
February and March because at that time, in the mid-day
sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the
surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must
go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair,
which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do
a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly
connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infec-
tious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer
rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse
population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infec-
tious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the
Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a
veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were
known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say,
but one may assume that they were less frequent and
permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they
suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and
measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily
filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease
in the native population.

164 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
158 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism
etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of
epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy.
I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However,
diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking
should become prevalent.

752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains,
breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which
resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude
that the primitive methods of healing combined with the
power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

164 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief
cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

● 164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a
contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a
skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points
to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians
of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the soft-
ness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was
that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary.
They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans,
since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural
healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very
few in number and are carefully guarded.

752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks,
splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and
washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of
agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases
of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs,
especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of
violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the
Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatic
bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and
these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the in-different thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate
into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment.
They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme
cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but
they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the
native ones.

231 Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal,
the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes
wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has
occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be
related to the fact that among natives as well as among many
Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is,
for draft purposes.

756 The shamans possess great power over their superstitious
subjects, and their commands are rarely refused. I heard of
an instance wherein a native caught a fine sable and preserved
the skin as a trophy. Very soon a man in the village fell ill.
The shaman after practicing his art announced that the spirit
commanded the sable skin to be worn by the doctor himself.
The valuable fur was given up without hesitation. A Russian
traveler stopping one night in a Gilyak house discovered in
the morning that his sledge was missing, and was gravely
told that the spirit had taken it.

756 In 1814 the small pox raged in one of the tribes living on
● 164 the Kolyma river, and the deaths from it were numerous.
The shamans practiced all their mysteries and invoked the
spirits, but they could not stop the disease. Finally, after
new invocations, they declared the evil spirits could not be
appeased without the death of Kotschen, a chief of the tribe.
This chief was so generally loved and respected that the peo-
ple refused to obey the shamans. But as the malady made
new progress, Kotschen magnanimously came forward and
was stabbed by his own son.

756 In general the shamans are held in check by the belief that
should they abuse their power they will be long and severely
punished after death. This punishment is supposed to occur
in a locality specially devoted to bad shamans. A good sha-
man who has performed wonderful cures receives after death
a magnificent tomb to his memory.

757 The Russians think that with educated Gilyaks they can
563 succeed in winning the natives to Christianity, especially when
the missionaries are skilled in the useful arts of civilized life.
Hence the school in Mihalofski, and it has so far succeeded
well in the instruction of the boys. Russian and Gilyak
children were working in the gardens in perfect harmony,
and there was every indication of good feeling between na-
tives and settlers.

165

165 MORTALITY--death rates (crude and corrected); infant and maternal mortality; distribution of deaths (e.g., by cause, season, age, occupation, locality); life expectancy; authentic cases of extreme longevity; prevalent causes of death (e.g., illness, accident, old age), etc. See also:

Homicide . . . . . 682 Suicide 762
Mortality in warfare . . . . . 727 Infanticide and abortion 847

/88 cont./

614 1175 sought by the deities, were prematurely torn from life in more natural ways, /89/ for example, those who died from longing for the mountain, sea, and such people who were enamored of them.

The beloved and chosen ones of the "master" of one or another element, upon whose bounty depends the entire welfare of the Gilyak, pass immediately after death into the clan of the corresponding "master" for a fairly long time (in the case of the mountain people, for example, up to their second death, i.e., for two generations, and during all this time, of course, they especially shower benefits upon their kinsmen, sending them forest beasts (the mountain man), or fish and sea animals (the water or sea man). And when the Gilyak speaks of some "mountain" man or some such man who feeds him, he has in mind his kinsman, who, within his recollection or at the most that of his father or grandfather, found himself, in the ways indicated above, among the host of the "masters." The time span of such

[165] a chosen one is not long (two generations at most) and frequently one clansman has barely joined the gods when he is followed by a second, third, etc.; cases of death from an attack by a wild beast or on the water are not rare. Thus, the bond between the living generation of clansmen and their divine clansmen-benefactors is profoundly alive and real. Many of them were known to everyone, either personally or through the vivid recollections of their contemporaries; special monuments (1) erected by their grateful

[166] 1. The monument of a man slain by a bear is the frame of a bear hunter, in which the remains of the slain man are kept in accordance with a special ritual (see below, subsection 6 /p.551 ff./). As for those who drowned, a boat with all the appurtenances of sea and river pursuits is put on the site of their

/313 cont./

796 782 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-nĭvukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-nĭvukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

731 787 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,

[165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzĭgr. This old man remembers four big takh.

796 782 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz˝ (the master of the mountains), but they are not made to Pila-yz˝ (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz˝. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a

392 354 white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur. If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

798 782 224 225 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtĭs˝, is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz: only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos˝ and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, agĭa (akhydz˝) -- a bunch, yukola -- pyz˝ and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

/385 cont./

162 582 576 128 or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "households" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 582 576 [167] The total population is 1,041, of whom 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents) number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[398] 3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the

[128] [184] married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

The number of children who

163 165 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[124] 4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

/385 cont./

124 163 165 many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163 165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wive

162 582 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

103 162 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons ea Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Ten (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9 In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamly

224 225 433 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last seaso 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksand post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411 467 467 231 /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money

164

IDITY--incidence, nature, and distribution of various diseases and acci-
(e.g., by location, season, sex, age, occupation); occurrence of epi-
s; evidence of immunity or susceptibility to disease; dental ailments; etc.

so:

bidity, as a social problem . . . . . .
ory and treatment of disease . . . . . .
of infants and children . . . . . .
73 Malnutrition and dietary deficiencies . . . 146
75 Incidence of neuroses and psychoses 158
85 Public health 744

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond, [262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the [574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and [196] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February, [538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the [261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance [164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

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/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while
[782] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[775] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
[787] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
224 The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
164 (Slyavo).
782 Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

165 /432 cont./
* 262 they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For
171

[825] 6. And, to be sure, by first watching to
[113] see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

[225] 7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) wit-
[411] nessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

[164] 8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

9: Hawes--275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 164, 278, 757

"Coughs, colds, and pulmonary complanints are very prevalent, and the methods of healing scarcely adequate. For a sore throat, a concoction of moshun-tomash (field camo mile) is swallowed, and for inflammation of the lungs, a diluted exusion from the gungi of trees is drunk in place of tea.

Whether these herbal remedies are dictated by experience and the Gilyak knowledge of medicinal herbs, which is said to be considerable, or is anything more than Shamanistic lore and a series of charms, I cannot say. The treatment adopted for other ailments, such as toothache, swellings, earache, and ulcer, is certainly of the latter kind. For the first they apply some of the down of a hazel-grouse (Tetrao bonasia) to the cheek; for the second and third, the squirrel's tail (olf-rega) and a piece of its ear (tul-noss) are respectively tied to the parts affected; and for the last, gazhu, i. e. a piece of a wasp's nest, is placed on the ulcer."

9: Hawes--274-275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

cent., or scarcely 1/4 per cent., per annum.

Lung and throat diseases and scurvy accounted for most of the deaths among the older people, but four died from accident, of whom one was frozen, another drowned, one already mentioned hanged herself, and another was beaten to death by her husband."

9: Hawes--274-275 I-3 (1901)
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

"The older Gilyaks say that during the
famine had occurred before the Russian
there have been many repetitions. In the
1897, there were successive bad times,
be given to the natives by the authorities
tion of the usual stores of dried fish, an
worthy ex-overseer at Derbensk, in who
during that year. So terrible was the sta
every hut,' and in the hope of stemming
famine, he took upon himself the respon
most cases it was already too late, and
[275] condition of the huts, and the accu
the ravages of disease and the exposure

Such a state of things presses hardly
of mortality among them. There being n
tion, we can only gather from tradition
statistics of recent years, the gradual d

The figures already quoted show, for
tween Arkovo and Cape Maria on the we

eir time, and their fathers' before them, but one
s came, about eighty years ago, but since then
e winter and early spring of 1896, and again of
and around Rikovsk special assistance had to
s. In 1898, a wet autumn prevented the accumula-
d was followed by another very bad winter. The
ose hut we had stayed, was on duty down the Tim
ate of things that he found 'one or more dying in
the tide of disease following on the ravages of
sibility of giving away the Crown stores; but in
large numbers died of the grippe. The filthy
mulations of winter, aggravated the effects of
to the severities of the climate.
on the children, and accounts for the high rate
o statistics of the early years of Russian occupa-
and the shrinking of villages and from isolated
liminution of the Gilyak race on Sakhalin.
the population of the Gilyak villages lying be-
st coast, the miserable increase of $\frac{10}{43}$ per

1: Shternberg--548 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%. Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak, three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially guns, on the whole.

The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),

2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons). The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 persons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

2: Schrenck--437 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Historical Manchuria A
Goldi RX3

G.
H.M. /314 cont./
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2. (cont.)

(Goldi) on the Ussuri. Smallpox is said to cause heavy devastation there at times, even attacking old people 70-80 years of age and recurring among some persons four and five times (De la Brunière, "Excurs. en Mandchourie, en 1845." -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XVI, 1848 [Vol. IV], p. 113).

SS.
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course in the opposite direction, from the Sungari down the Amur, but found extremely fertile soil in the lower river area and on Sakhalin, where the natives in many instances had already emerged from their natural condition as a result of the Russian colonization. Toward the end of December 1856, the epidemic, proceeding down the Sungari, was at its mouth (3). In June,

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3. Just at the time when the merchant Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/, traveling up the Amur, passed this place.

1857, following the lower Amur, it reached Kidsi, in July Uchtr, in September Nikolayevsk, and during the winter months of 1857/58 it raged at the Amur mouth, along the Liman, on the Sea of Okhotsk to beyond Kulj, and on Sakhalin. According to the description, which I owe to Dr. Pfeiffer, an eyewitness of these events, the disease throughout bore the character of a devastating epidemic appearing on new ground. Whereas individual Gilyak villages, such as Tebach and Allof, remained completely untouched in a curious fashion, others, such as Kulj and Langr, lost half of their inhabitants, and many yurts died out completely. The number of victims was all the larger, because the sick, still completely unfamiliar with their uncanny visitor, often sought cooling, half-naked, in the snow and wind, in order to escape the heat of the fever. Dr. Pfeiffer thinks, on the basis of the statistics collected by him, that this epidemic killed about 20 per cent of the Gilyak population. A few years later, in the

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*262 171 /432 cont./
been consumed (1). Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3) describe

[113] 1. According to a written communication from Rudanofskij. Cf. also Dobrotworskij /Dobrotvorskii/, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37.

2. Op. cit., pp. 98-105.

[113] 3. "Opis. Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. 1, pp. 420 ff.).

in detail the tremendous importance that the whale has in the diet and the entire economy of the Kuriles, Kamchadal, sedentary Koryak, and Chukchee. It is the same among the Aleut (4) and

[113] 4. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashkinsk. otdiela /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Pt. I, pp. 81, 82.

among the Eskimo in different parts of their broad area of distribu-
•[165] tion (5). Experience has taught these peoples to distinguish between

[113] 5. For instance, at the two ends of their territory, on Kadjak /Kodiak/ in the east (Davydov", Dvukratnoe putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitserov" Khvostova i Dav. /The Repeated Journey to America of the Two Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1812, Pt. II, p. 72) and on Greenland in the west (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland, Vol. I, p. 189).

the species of whale suitable for food and the harmful or "poisonous" ones and not to use dead animals cast up by the ocean until

•165 *262 171 /432 cont./
they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For

[825] [113] 6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animal is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the peo ple concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole vil lages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

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Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

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9. Hawes--202 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 165, 562, 595, 855

"The Gilyaks treat their children remarkably well
wealth, and will 'fetch a wedding price,' the boy as a
fish-winner, is naturally of more account. The death
course, very high. In the villages on the west coast,
gives the births in 3 1/3 years as 130, out of which th
88 deaths among the older persons), i.e. an average
chief reason, however, of the decline in polygamy is
A wife has to be bought, and she is a moderately exp
unremunerative investment, but few Gilyaks are in a
expenditure."

, and though a girl is potential
an early bread-winner, or rather
n-rate among young children is, of
north of Arkovo, Mr. Sternberg
here were 34 deaths (in addition to
of more than 26 per cent. The
more probably growing poverty.
pensive article. Not that she is an
position to make the capital

/200 cont./

614 178 166 174 clan to change residence and to withdraw more and more from their kinsmen. Before my eyes, in the course of a few years, whole clans -- family after family -- in search of more advantageous hunting and fishing sites, moved to the most remote regions, from the Tym' to Taraika (in the territory of the Ainu), to the Amur, etc. Discord between clansmen and wars play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we saw what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the Pilavo clan that we introduced; from /201/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyak territory, bordering on the Ainu, they migrated first to the northernmost part of the western shore, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they became completely Goldified. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any ties among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old phratral marital relations has been completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place even now. This is precisely the reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyak must travel hundreds of versts to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and willy-nilly there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is [597] obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and to marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old phratry.

If it is not just unmarried individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-nilly begin to enter into marital unions with the nearer clans.

Sakhalin

/348 cont./

174 166 167 22 224 [136] With one's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the form of the migration. Even at the present time the Amur Gilyak are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Agnevo, others to Mauko, still others farther to the south. The sable in their homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he is so rare and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-verst sea voyage, striving toward those tempting areas where the population is sparse and sables may be killed by the hundreds. In early spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Dué and the Tym' River, and at that time the Vaaz River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even farther to the north. There must have been some reason which com- [648] pelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center of their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /349/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural dams used by the sable for crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

/377/

423 Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well as the streams, and their banks, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. Use is the absolute element of property. While they recognize [185] [648] their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the mainland to hunt the sable and reindeer some tens of versts from their settlements, although it could be easily foreseen that this would lead to the complete disappearance of the sable from those Gilyak territories. But on the other hand they are extremely strict in their rights to those streams along which they set snares 423 428 and traps. All the streams of the territory of the settlement are divided in perpetuity among the families of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among the sons on the same strict principles as any real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worthy of note that although the streams thus divided among the brothers and clansmen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-alloted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in 423 the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay or of eating and not giving to others. 166 423 Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or journey at given seasons for fishing or sealing, and the indigenous inhabitants of the settlements do not even dream of considering this a violation of any of their rights. Without asking anyone's

/377 cont./

166 423 permission, the emigrant builds a yurt, fishes, kills seals, fowl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the of snares for sable.

342 592 423 /378/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak li alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives wi brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of n Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 frequently all clansmen. The economic advantage of such munal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which co a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the un factory construction of the stoves, is not so costly for each ual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarante curity from abduction for the women. The summer yurts smaller and ordinarily house from one to three families. yurts are built through the joint efforts of several brothers clansmen, the summer ones -- frequently by one person. those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabi clansmen or members of other clans who had no part in bu it, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the bu and it is doubtful whether the latter enjoy any special priv in obtaining firewood. If the yurt becomes congested, the will always be found a pair of persons who on their own ini will undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which builders themselves move and gladly welcome co-dwellers the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common prop several families who participated in its construction, but a same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clans [174] and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vesti the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts o clan and was an object of collective property.

422 The views of the Gilyak concerning movable prope are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary arti movable property among them are boats, nets, kettles, ar dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happens t boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or th

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/109 cont./

And this is just what is striking in the Gilyak system of life. Despite all the complexity of the social fabric, embracing all aspects of life, all those external-formal signs of organization which the European involuntarily seeks everywhere are either completely absent or assume forms which are too fluctuating.

/110/ Let us begin with territory. It is completely natural that the members of one clan should prefer to live together in immediate unity and community with each other. There are actually some settlements, such as Tangi, Nyanivo, Viskivo, and others, where the whole population belongs to one clan. In the large winter yurts of such settlements one can sometimes count 20 or 30 clansmen and not a single alien. Even where several clans live in one settlement, as in Kol', the yurts of each clan are arranged in a row, as if in accord with a strictly observed tradition. Each clan has its own clan streams for hunting, divided among the different families, among whom they pass by inheritance from father to son, although the right to property is limited by actual use, upon the suspension of which the stream becomes res nullius and can be utilized by anyone, even an alien.

Nevertheless, despite the natural tendency of clansmen to remain near each other, the principle of territoriality does not in fact exist. In the great majority of Gilyak villages the composition of the population is mixed. In the above-mentioned settlement of Kol' I counted representatives of eight clans, in smaller villages, from two to three clans, and but very few villages in which there were absolutely no members of other clans. There are clans whose branches are to be met in the most different and remote points of Gilyak territory. This dispersion, of course, is a fact that seems to be at variance with the principles of clan, but it is inevitable under the given economic and social conditions. A settlement located in a particularly favorable place from the fisherman's point of view will naturally attract newcomers from other clans, and, conversely, if the clan has grown so large

/110 cont./

in its original site that the indigenous village ca
everybody, emigrants by degrees depart from it
selecting the nearest possible sites in order that
clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to
involves an actual division of the "fire" and bra
clan. A no less important cause of the mixture
custom, in some instances, of sons-in-law /zya
clans of their fathers-in-law, about which we sh
in its place. Territory is in any case an indefin

The Gilyak do not even possess a conscious
property, not only with respect to themselves, b
to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus app
50 years ago and began to hunt in the primordia
Gilyak, it did not occur to anyone to protest aga
the Tungus came in small groups and could hard
the numerous aborigines with force.

Clan names are just as indefinite a sign. I
primitive, so-called "totemistic" tribes, the cla
of the very sharpest external signs of the unity o
name is a real object of nature, animal or plant
resented on the body, clothing, buildings, etc.

Among the Gilyak there is nothing of this so
clans there are totemistic legends. Thus, for ex
living in the settlement of Tangakh considers its
the bear on the grounds that a woman of that cla
birth to a monstrosity with features resembling th
Similar legends exist in other clans. Neverthele
typical totemistic, but even ordinary clan name
sense are absent. There are only territorial nam
wants to name the people of such and such a cla
dwellers of such and such a settlement," which s
sponds with the actual place of habitation of the
frequently only indicates the village which was o
abode of one or another clan.

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n, he says "the
ometimes corre-
clan, but most
once the primordial

*835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
578 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
182 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southern-
[361] most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by
such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there
only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak
companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was in-
vulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well
*835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an ob-
servance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when
an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds
of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her
sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and com-
pletely disregards her obligations to her individual husband.
In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to
move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles
a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
*835 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
578 gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences.
Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a
great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy.
I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I
happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski,
but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A
certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to
me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual
success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too
openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[554] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all.
Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in
debt to everybody, lightheaded, and undistinguished by any

/200 cont./

347 124 171 murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-known among the Toda tribes, in spite of the fact that the number of males is greater there than the number of females.

583 174 10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of bride price is impossible under normal conditions. Payment for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of marriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen among the Gilyak today: no matter how avid the Gilyak may be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother.

582 174 In order that such an essentially exogamous system might be preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating themselves the various families of the phratry should be able to maintain themselves on the common territory, and, on the other hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the families, and that there should be no cases of extinction of entire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore, some degree of isolation of the tribe from alien influences is necessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory marriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor. Finally, it is necessary that there be preserved economic conditions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the members of the phratry would remain more or less the usual phenomenon, and, on the other hand -- that under the influence of new economic conditions there should not be engendered one or another temptation to make woman the object of purchase and sale.

74 14 78 66 582 The preservation of all these conditions among primitive peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a whole series of obstacles. And so it has been among the Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial abode of their forefathers, economic conditions force individ-

1: Shternberg--545 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[The western Coast]

/386 cont./ To make some money,
115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

9: Hawes--274 T
116, 166, 177, 231, 433

"An example of the way in
the conditions of life harder
ways be allowed their libert
the cattle of Russian neighb
the dogs have now to be fed,
To avoid this the natives mi

1. Dr. Pogaevsky, in a
official Sakhalin Kalend

which the proximity of the Russians incidentally renders
is seen in the feeding of the Gilyak dogs. These cannot al-
y, and the fiercer ones are tied up, lest they should attack
ours—a certain casus belli. Accustomed to feed themselves
and their master's winter stores naturally give out sooner.
grate further afield to less favourable fishing-grounds. (1)

report on the food of the Gilyak, in the local and
ar, 1899."

/13/

The Gilyak

The Gilyak. -- The Social Organization of the Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak. -- The Sakhalin Gilyak.
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/13/ The Gilyak

I.

Territory. Linguistic Isolation. Origin.

The small tribe of Gilyak, whose number at the present time does not exceed four and a half thousand persons, is scattered over the vast territory of the entire northern half of Sakhalin Island and the neighboring continental shore, being distributed almost equally between the two regions.

On Sakhalin they occupy the entire shore-line of the western coast from Cape Sakhotoan to the northern extremity of Cape Marii. On the eastern shore -- from Cape Levenshtern to Cape Belil'-de-lya-Vrokyer, and finally, in the interior the island, they occupy the upper and middle reaches of the Tym' River, which is the only significant river of northern Sakhalin.

In southern Sakhalin in the lower reaches of the Poronai River and on the shore of Terpenije Gulf a few dozen representatives of the Gilyak tribe, who migrated to this alien territory due to fortuitous circumstances only very recently (in the last 30 years), have become inert among the Ainu and Oro.

On the continent the Gilyak occupy both banks of the lower reaches of the Amur River to the settlement of Gerl, and then the bank of the Amur and the seashore to the mouth of the Amur to the Kol' River, and to the south to the Chona River. The northernmost boundary of the spread of the Gilyak may be regarded as the mouth of the Tugur River, from which, by the way, the Gilyak only very rarely go on business, not having a permanent place of residence there.

167 IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION--extent and sources of immigration, extent and destination of emigration; reasons of migration; trends; restrictive legislation, colonization, etc. See also:
Population ..... 176 Colonization 436
Population, Russian ..... 436 Resettlement 437
Ethnic distribution ..... 315 Transplantation of conquered populations 128
Race tests 867

/20 cont./

observations of the physical peculiarities of the Gilyak give us, at the same time, other facts and conclusions provide us with a full basis for thinking that the ancient Gilyak type has completely perished, drowned in the stronger wombs of the neighboring tribes. This took place, however, not in an ordinary way, not through a gradual interbreeding with the neighboring tribes by means of interbreeding marriages, which would be not at all so surprising, but in quite peculiar, extremely instructive way.

In conducting the census of the Gilyak, I carefully collected all information and legends about the origin of each particular clan. The study of these data brought me to the strange conclusion that all the founders of the great majority of the clan now in existence were not the Gilyak, but representatives of the neighboring tribes.

How could this have happened? It is a common phenomenon even at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry (usually a widow), and, in this way, are adopted into the clan of that clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that has bestowed on them the protection of such unknown normally form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these clans, in spite of their small number, have flourished by them, in time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in the course of several generations died out. The most vital, growing, and numerous clans are the descendants of precisely these newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic and vital individuals, or this is the result of interbreeding, the fact is not other than it was and is not only among the Gilyak.

As a result of the census of the Gilyak, I asked myself in perplexity. If in the course of a great number of centuries there has been a constant inflow of fresh elements from other tribes, an inflow that was strengthened by the purchase of wives and female slaves from the Ainu and the Golds, and if these new elements flourished and grew, why, then, the Gilyak should have died

/110 cont./

in its original size that the indigenous village can no longer feed the inhabitants, and they gradually degree depart from it to other places, selecting the nearest possible sites in order that the ties between the clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to very distant points involves an actual division of the "fire" and breaking up of the clan. A no less important cause of the mixture of population is the custom, in some instances, of son-in-law /yaa'ya/ moving to the clan of his father-in-law, about which we shall speak in detail in its place. Territory is in any case an indefinite sign of the clan.

The Gilyak do not even possess a consciousness of the right to property, not only with respect to others, but even with respect to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus appeared on Sakhalin Island, they, as they relate, had no representatives of the neighboring tribes. How could this have happened? It is a common phenomenon even at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry (usually a widow), and, in this way, are adopted into the clan of that clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that has bestowed on them the protection of such unknown normally form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these clans, in spite of their small number, have flourished by them, in time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in the course of several generations died out. The most vital, growing, and numerous clans are the descendants of precisely these newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic and vital individuals, or this is the result of interbreeding, the fact is not other than it was and is not only among the Gilyak.

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/111 cont./

Tym in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bear the designations, Tyvii-ling (inhabitants of the settlement of Tyvlin); M'yekire-ling (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yekhir), N'yenkayling (inhabitants of the settlement of N'yenkayu), etc., although the representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in the above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their ties with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only clans

(1) 1. Similar territorial designations among the Australians were the reason that Kunow came to the completely unfounded conclusion that among these tribes there is no clan organization.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants from the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans as the Tkhamaring, the Chorli, etc. And it is noteworthy that in just these clans we observe a clear transition to totemism. In the Nogda tribe, for example, there exist -- the clans that have origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear, etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely encountered.

/112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the most important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. However strange, as we have seen, clan life is, the clan does not know any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after them the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institution of elders, and so that not clan but settlement elders, that is I had no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty epidem, but that was the Gilyak accepted it by way of the Russian authorities were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthiest inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and there not frequently only indicates the village which was once the primordial abode of one or another clan.

/285 cont./

Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be bomb" 2) The Belyy clan are from Tymovskoye. Gold was came down from Ulya. 3) The Polmik clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Oronugbu -- from the same village where the wan were. Dzaq from the village of Ekhaty.

Settlement of Ulya. Are four generations /kolenu/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nam); clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyts on the upper reaches of the Ulya. By a raft on a hillock near the very village (Lang) they placed a cannon (the hole remained to this day). Nearby there is an immense boulder stone in the bay of Puir (Pakhzyr boulder stone). The hole on the hill is almost overgrown; formerly it was four meters deep and surrounded with stones. The cannon ball made the hole burn for eight nights; a lane was created. The cannon ball was found in Kol' -- four people cannot lift it.

According to a legend, 28 skulls were seen by the lake, appointed starostas. Dua-Tvatnfing (Pan) Ajumka from Tymi-ling.

/286/ Settlement of Pul. Samagil -- two generations from the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli -- from Dzhongli, near the Perm oven: Gold.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvi-ling -- inhabitants of Tyvi' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khalu). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvi-ling. But now they are called Ulcha (Ulcha khalu). Tymi-ling -- "six fathers since we came back." i.e., six generations ago.

2) Dea -- born their dead; ancestors of the nam, went down to Kol' and stayed there. Gilyak left by sea for Sakhalin and settled in the settlement of Udyli.

/295 cont./

III.

Legends about the Past

1933

In connection with the excavations (1), the old man Toyon

1: Shternberg carried on.

said: "These are Korean. Long, long ago there was a war. Formerly Koreans lived here; then the Chinese came and drove them out.

"Long, long ago the Chinese lived in Puir on the Amur. The Chinese burned them and shot at them with a cannon. Nearby there is a hillock near the very village (Lang) they placed a cannon (the hole remained to this day). Nearby there is an immense boulder stone in the bay of Puir (Pakhzyr boulder stone). The hole on the hill is almost overgrown; formerly it was four meters deep and surrounded with stones. The cannon ball made the hole burn for eight nights; a lane was created. The cannon ball was found in Kol' -- four people cannot lift it.

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2) Dea -- born their dead; ancestors of the nam, went down to Kol' and stayed there. Gilyak left by sea for Sakhalin and settled in the settlement of Udyli.

/349 cont./

Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling it or interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin. Gilyak, which is adjacent to the mainland or as whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded. In the first place, there were the places closest to the mainland half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of tables in northern Sakhalin, the Gilyak have the continental coast from which fishing conditions completely identical with those on the continent; the same abundance and rich variety of fish (liberian salmon, kalugs /Hano-Salmo/, etc. /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the basin of their hearths. These people have lived for many centuries in the seven now, crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by the ancestors of the present-day native hunters did not even have official transportation along the Amur. There were, of course, still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move to Sakhalin, for example, density of population. Contrast between clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sable skin, which forced people to transfer the center of hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /349/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their camps wherever they pleased, on the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable per person every hunting year." Moreover, every time they came to the Chinese town of Sungari (Sataing), he was forced to pay one sable and the /350/ starosti of the settlements three sables for the other. In the end, the Amur Gilyak, Chinese and Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

/350 cont./
Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His fine cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent, have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows. They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of millet). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

1:Shternberg--507 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is bound with this steel. When a child is born, the part of it emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar) breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing classmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting of the seal. On this occasion, too, the elders of the clan and relatives are bone by the /356/ clan. With the approach of evening, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest whale blubber carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kur mongo khal!" ("Gods, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its members from encroachment on him by the individuals of another khal'. The means is clan vengeance.

The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Even murder, intentionally premeditated, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (gun ne yozmedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

1: Shternberg--514 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/361 cont./
present frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint work with him (more detail about this below).

The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed on all sides, over the place where the remains of the deceased's bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away, they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an arshin square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of the deceased, a tobacco pipe, a wooden pot (ordinarily for a woman), and other trifles. Thus there arises a whole row of yurt-tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements, they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the summer, they preserve the corpse in a local yurt until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

1:Shternberg--513 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/360 cont./
among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His successor was the khal'-geymar next to him in age. The interveration of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leading them in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment. The elders are often dispersed in places very distant from one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance in the village. But wherever the Gilyak may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the summer, they preserve the corpse in a local yurt until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

2: Schrenck--442 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1885 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Gold1 RX3
Gilyak RX2
Amur RX6
Ainu RX6
Orok RX3

/317 cont./ Next comes the Orok, who, although only a small number, occupy an Amur region. The Gold, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dispersed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely represented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Amur and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different from that on the island of Hokkaido. Nowhere, except perhaps by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern, Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically much more favorable than the northern part, which, extending far on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances rather than in geographical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago, and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin, where up to the beginning of the 19th century they led an independent life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased considerably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak

2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

2: Schrenck--893 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu RX6
Orok RX3
Gold RX3

/370 cont./ According to Maack's testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin only lead a nomadic life, hunting more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork. We must add that this step forward by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery, and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia

THE ABORIGINES OF THE SOVIET FAR EAST

The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated h which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlemen This brought them within the range of medical attention and education facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almo without any accent.'[4] The next step in the development of the Ude Soviet they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the la of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkh They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three sma islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevon, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1956, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed o Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment t island became known to the Soviet authorities and, finally, even to and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonis the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry establishe a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on the Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabit exclusively by Nivkhi.

The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one gro people. Accordingly, under the pressure of persecution by the Soviet au ities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled t their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religio fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'native of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable tens among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[5]

In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, th 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhali National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been complet fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-call Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thickness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settlements were particularly numerous along the shallow shore of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

/467 cont./

Moreover, one may safely assume that, like the Daur and Manchu in the Sungari region, the tribal relatives of the Manchu who were formerly distributed from the Sungari along the southern Amur River to far below the mouth of the Ussuri, approximately to the present Goldi village of Dondon, the Djutscheren, who lived in large farming and livestock-raising villages (4), also cultivated

4. See pp. 316 ff. above.

tobacco among other things. Finally, it must have also spread from the Sungari and from Korea to the upper Ussuri and down this river to the Amur. There can be no doubt but that even before the Russian military expeditions in the seventeenth century the Goldi had become acquainted with tobacco and its cultivation from the Manchu (Djutscheren) neighboring them, indeed, in part even living mixed in with them. Even today, tobacco is cultivated not only by individual Chinese living in the area, but also by them themselves, on the Ussuri as well as on the Amur, and on the latter, strangely enough, exactly as far as the dwelling sites of the Djutscheren formerly extended. For, going upstream, we found the first Goldi cultivation of tobacco in the village of Da, which lies on the right bank of the Amur, opposite the above-mentioned Dondon located on an island. Like the Goldi, the Orochi living on the sources and tributaries of the Ussuri also obtained tobacco in this way. Furthermore, the other peoples of the lower Amur region, the Olcha, Samagir, Negda, and Gilyak, in contact with the Goldi as well as with the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur and Sungari, must have also become acquainted with tobacco as early as the seventeenth century even though tobacco could not be cultivated among them because of climatic and other reasons. Finally, through the Gilyak and Olcha of the mainland tobacco also reached their countrymen, the Gilyak and Orok of Sakhalin, whereas the third people of the island, the Ainu, probably received it from /468/ another source, directly from the Japanese (1). Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had

1. The designation for tobacco, as among

/468 cont./

1. (cont.)
the Manchu (dambagu) and Mongols (tamachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too; thus, among the Goldi and Olcha damche, tamche, and tamache, among the Gilyak tam(a)ch, among the Ainu tambaku, etc.

Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had already spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable necessity for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the west and north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders with the Orochon, Manegir, and other tribes of the upper Amur region, and through the Yakut merchants who in part followed these nomads and in part visited certain trading points at which they established relations with them as well as with other peoples of the lower Amur region (2). Nevertheless, up

2. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the fifties, Manchurian tobacco was definitely predominant among all the peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian (Circassian) tobacco began to replace it very rapidly, first and especially of course, among those peoples who did not cultivate tobacco themselves, hence among the Gilyak, Olcha, etc. What made it especially popular among them is its much greater strength or acridness in comparison with the Manchurian tobacco, as well as its being far cheaper. The great popularity of Russian tobacco and the general and heavy demand for it among the peoples named soon made it the most important and most necessary article of trade in dealing with them.

Like tobacco, the Gilyak and the other peoples of the Amur region also adopted from the Manchu the form of the pipe (Gilyak tai), which is also widespread throughout China and consists of two metal pieces connected by a thin, black-colored,

/569 cont./

be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Ssiranussi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak; he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

A 114 325 17 /569 cont./
cutting edges of their weapons in Japanese fashion and that in general their method of forging is "approximately the same as in Japan," still Mamia-Rinsô does not draw the obvious conclusion that the Ainu have to thank the Japanese for their knowledge of iron and other metals and the working of them, and, indeed, he maintains instead that they did not learn their manner of forging iron from any other people, but rather seem to have invented it themselves. This should not surprise us, however, because the careful traveler gives in his short and sober report only what was seen and experienced by him and stays away from all categorization and conclusions. It therefore even more establishes beyond doubt that the spread of iron and the art of working it took place from Japan to the Ainu of Jesso and Sakhalin and through them to the Gilyak in a very ancient period, a period which is too far back for any accounts or traditions concerning that event to have been preserved among the Ainu at Rinsô's time.

A 325 17

G 325 17 /570/ Finally, the fact, too, that the Gilyak iron utensils and weapons, knives, spears, and the like are for the most part of the same form as those of the Ainu and that the figures engraved or inlaid in other metals on the more elegant weapons are often reminiscent of Japanese patterns -- as was noted above (1)

1. See p. 597.

with reference to the decorations on their clothing and on various wooden and bone implements -- this fact stands in agreement, or at least not in contradiction, with the Japanese origin of the familiarity of the Gilyak with iron and the working of it. There is only one thing that might appear strange at first glance, namely, the fact that the greatest skill of the Gilyak in forging iron is not found on Sakhalin, but on the Amur and therefore in that section of their habitation area which is the farthest from Japan and, on the other hand, is most open to Manchu-Chinese influence. This can be explained, however, on the basis of political conditions. According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony,

K 823 A 439 823 186 /572 cont./
their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be

A 439 435 seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the

G A K 439 17 325 above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

A [131] [114] [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G A K 174 325

171

171 DISTRIBUTIONAL EVIDENCE--occurrence of similar culture traits in oth societies; inferences from trait distributions; etc. See also:
Distribution of biological traits . . . . . 14 Linguistic relationships . . . . . .
Affiliation with particular culture areas or subareas 101

17

ND CULTURE CHANGE--general statements dealing with several
es of information on history and culture change. Since separate
-prepared on each major historical period for societies with an
known time depth, the categories below are designed to include
ormation bearing upon the society's prehistory and (b) historical
specific time period which do not readily fall into particular cate-
where in the Outline.

1: Shternberg--299 E-3 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*174 /203 cont./ The custom of brothers' living together with one wife became ever rarer. In the works of the epos, such passages as "so many brothers were supporting one wife" are almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described such facts as being ordinary phenomena, while nowadays they are more and more rarely encountered.

174 595 [538]

• 17 [615] Such are the conditions which stood in the way of the inviolable existence of the phratry. But however powerful these conditions appeared, the force of the primordial norms, having become religious imperatives, naturally preserved their power, and the new influences broke a trail for themselves, adapting themselves to the old norms by means of a whole series of correctives and fictions... How this occurred we shall see immediately.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

178 *614 615 Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive to the phratry (emigration, depopulation, wars, destruction of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of clans, and besides, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How must this factor have operated on the surviving clans? Let us recall the third table of our four-clan phratry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What then is to be done by the orphaned clans C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for some solution within the phratry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

/449 cont./

323 utensils produced there, some of them of very good quality, which
171 were shipped far away, and, according to Barabash (3), there is

13]

3. Barabash", "Sungar. ekspeditsiia 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

one or several of them in every Sungari town. The pottery that Maack saw in Ssilbi on the Amur probably also came from the Sungari. The fact that it does not go farther down the Amur, however, to the lower Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, in spite of their annual trade voyages to the Sungari, attests all too clearly to the aversion that they entertain against such utensils.

323 If, from the statements by Mamia Rinsô given above, one
17 must draw the conclusion that the Gilyak and Olcha, though they do not use pottery in their households today, nevertheless formerly and up to the beginning of this century had it and even manufactured it themselves, it may also be gathered from them that it was by no means an art practiced since ancient times, but rather that they learned it through the Chinese and Japanese in relatively recent times. He found the pieces seen by him on Sakhalin, as was said, similar to those of the Chinese and Japanese, and it is highly probable that the many porcelain factories near Kidsi which he mentions arose under Chinese influence and with Chinese co-operation. And, since it was recent and foreign, this art could so easily again disappear altogether among the Gilyak and Olcha amidst the subsequent unfavorable conditions, without leaving any trace other than the aversion against its products. My view that the making of pottery was originally foreign to the Gilyak and was temporarily picked up by them from the Chinese only in recent times is also supported by the fact that this art, as among the Gilyak, is missing, or was missing up to a short time ago, among all the other Paleo-
000 Asiatic peoples, with one single exception. Mamia Rinsô (4),

4. Op. cit., p. 184.

000 /451 cont./

2. (cont.)
by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 299).

G without
323 intending to specify more precisely the date and the manner of
171 the origin of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, I feel able to
E draw the conclusion, on the basis of the above considerations
323 concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their
174 Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

To return to the Amur region, I repeat that the potter's art
G of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Ainu of which Mamia Rinsô spoke was
323 or is only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after
648 a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent
● 17 measures of the Manchu-Chinese to be discussed later. If, however, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even
G further back, it in any case has nothing to do with the potsherds
323 which have recently been found in the earth, together with stone
172 tools, at various points in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, especially along the Patchä River and in Taraika (3). These potsherds,

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Patchä River, about 10 versts from Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tschchyrkrach or Tschnyrrach (as the Russians call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, various stone tools (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, July 1, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk, most of these articles were sent to the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

/xxvii cont./

*114 595 "Furthermore, the whole matter is interesting in that it once again shows how similar or even identical the institutions of such primitive peoples at almost the same level of development are in their basic features. A large part of what is related in this account on Sakhalin is fully applicable to the Dravidian tribes of India, the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and, at the time of their discovery, the redskins."

*114 In conclusion Engels gives in full the translation of the newspaper account of Shternberg's article. Regarding the material uncovered from the newspaper account, F. Engels wrote L. IA. Shternberg a letter, as the latter told me in a private conversation. Unfortunately, the search for this letter, undertaken in the archives [113] of Shternberg, has as yet yielded no results. "Sakhalinskie giliaki" appeared in print in full in the journal Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie for 1893. In this work by Shternberg the strong influence of Engels' book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti, i gosudarstva, is felt. Engels' influence neutralized to a significant degree the psychological approach of Shternberg, and "Sakhalinskie giliaki" is undoubtedly the most materialistic work to come from his pen.

*114 601 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship, which, furthermore, preserved certain terms lost in less primitive systems, strikingly confirmed the views of Engels, who looked on group marriage as an explicit, universal step in the history of marriage, and on the classificatory system as a true indicator of the sexual norms that formerly existed. The classificatory system of kinship among the • [171] Gilyak described by Shternberg turned out to be similar to the Turano-Ganowanian in type. Furthermore, "it is the best example of the Turanian system," says Shternberg himself, "besides being *114 the best preserved and giving the best correlation (1). With this

1. "The Turano-Ganowanian System," p. 323.

/xxviii/ discovery Shternberg filled in the gap in the scientific literature on primitive social relations, for which there were no

/17 cont./

174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in 174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant • 171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug-342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

342 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak 796 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the 178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu [178] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a [192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

342 /18 cont./
796 178 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of 178 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the • 171 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that 174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee, 492 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

173 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about 174 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a 133 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-[614] called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo. [614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native 574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without 517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange 484 celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of [157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in 157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 • 171 174 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of [611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely [614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the [595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/31 cont./

601 • 171 174 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in [595] the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient [835] to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not 581 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or [583] rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of [851] his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and [611] succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he [551] is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father [684] of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses [614] itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber [582] of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live 601 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and [592] not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In [352] large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently [765] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/32 cont./

601 regular marriage, but preserve the rights to sexual intercourse
835 even when the individuals of these categories are joined in an individual marriage. Being joined in a legitimate, as it were, individual marriage, the wife at the same time enjoys the right privately, i.e., in the absence of her husband, to have intercourse with persons of the group of men whom she calls pu, ivn (husband). Most often, of course, this right is exercised by the brothers of her husband, his own or of further degrees of kinship, living with him in the same village, but even men who have newly arrived, often complete strangers passing through the settlement by chance, if they regard themselves, even by the most distant kinship, as "pu" of the given woman, freely /33/ exercise this right, with, of course, the consent of the woman. During my travels over Sakhalin, my companions from the western shore, appearing with me in a distant settlement on the eastern shore of the island, in which neither they nor their fathers had ever been, but in which, according to their genealogical information, there lived a woman of the an'gej category, freely exercised their rights, when the husband was not in the yurt, of course.
●171 This phenomenon is completely identical with what is said about the Australian kroki and kumiti, who will find a marital bed everywhere, even at the farthest points of their territory, on the condition that the husbands are kumi and the beautiful strangers are kroki.

171 In character, these norms of sexual intercourse most closely
835 resemble the same such norms in the Australian Dieri tribe, among whom the two kinds of sexual intercourse mentioned are clearly registered by the terms noa and piruari (1). Among them each

[113] 1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 f.

woman is joined in individual, legitimate marriage to a single man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage with a whole category of men,

/33 cont./

835 who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of
●171 the tribe. With regard to this group, she is piruari and vice versa. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the Hawaiian Islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of Gilyak marriage.

835 The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly ex-
684 pressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever, causing only some irritation, and in rare cases the moving of the seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

835 More than once I observed even cases of the regular cohabi-
tation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed
554 between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a
[722] Gilyak from the village of Tangivo, Gibel'ka, the richest and most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations between the latter and the wife of his elder brother were no secret to anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical tenderness and enjoyed equal tendemess from the latter, and, when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part
[593] of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melancholy would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never saw even a trace of bad relations between the brothers.

/44 cont./

614 mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to
615 extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kin-
178 ship, and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclusive marriage within three clans became impossible, because in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S is the akhmal'k of the first degree for V and of the second degree for A; consequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri, Dar'ya), let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would now be Dmitri's (clan D) sister, while the latter would have as his wife a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times, the prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant degrees, the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever greater number of clans. At the present time, when, due to the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary in the selection of wives to resort to completely alien clans, the phratry has naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have with regard to this complicated, confused system, in order to correctly decide, in each given case, on the right to marry of some member of a clan. And, actually, this constitutes a whole science, to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

●171 Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage

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I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples [ooo] in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

/45 cont./ But the details that I

171 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the develop-
582 ment of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think,
601 of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

●171 1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
171 completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for ex-
582 ample, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is
601 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datang; or
614 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpūras in central India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and, conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak), while Kohler, presenting this fact, and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms, even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Köhler, "Das Recht der Hottentots," in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 341-342, and L'Année Sociologique, 11th year, p. 306.

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● 171 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further the
582 strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia, where a
[835] great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly declares which men and women of the tribe have the right to group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and difficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonial questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive man have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear that there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the decisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the individual person and became the function of a competent institution of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why among many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a single totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women coming
[614] in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a single totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutandis, every kumi and kroki among the Australians finds his wife throughout the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he finds her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives and in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his wife.

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, where ascending and descending generations belong to different classes, and only in the third, among some -- in the fourth, or even in the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of the fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in details from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this strange phenomenon.

615 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity call
614 clan A -- Andreev, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepanov.
582 Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepanovs (of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not Andreeva

/46 cont./

615 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's
614 turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of cl
582 would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last,
Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife
one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the thie
eration, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her gr
grandmother.

582 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerab
[601] tent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinsh
nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many
gories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sig
appear completely independent, are in fact identical, suc
for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sis
of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons, j
like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the
in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It se
to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light
certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage,
have seen that from the simple, single rule that men mus
marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitabl
arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as gro
marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage pro
tions.

171 2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on
583 genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in pa
614 lar, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an insti
615 which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the A
●171 tralians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strang
forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple re
of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recal
our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A n
take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S.
shall remember that in the primitive stages of developme
such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation o

/75 cont./

755 It is evident from the following how realistic the
796 Gilyak's attitude toward the kekhn is. A large piece of new calico (pox) is spread out on the floor of the yurt, inside before the threshold, and the kekhn will rest on it during the seance. A bowl with sarana, sugar, the prized dish "mas," potatoes, and other dainties to which the spirit-healer will be treated in the intermissions of the kamlaniye are placed in a corner on a shelf. Over the bed of the sick man, a thong is hung in a circle, and a kettle with a nail in it is placed near the bed. The kekhn binds the sick man's soul which found its way into the mlyvo (the settlement of the dead)and, clasping it under its arm, brings it back into the yurt, then throws it into the kettle, and fastens it with the nail. It must not be placed on the floor or on a plank bed, because it can run back through the floor.

755 /76/ The third method of curing is at a distance.
When a man suddenly falls sick at a place where there is no shaman or on the road, he goes outside at night when the shamans sleep, throws a sacrifice to the gods, and shouts with all his might: "Chamnay, nikhovlatyngra n'onyuya," i.e., "Shaman! I am sick, help me!" The shaman is then supposed to begin the kamlaniye quickly and sends his kekhn, and the sick man not only hears the sounds of the tambourine, but in the gloom of night even sees the form of the spirit which has been sent. Upon returning to his village, the cured man will tell the shaman, with tender feelings and gratitude, the details of the wonderful night.

756 Although the shamans do not play as big a role among
(171) the Gilyak as among the natives of the banks of the Amur River, the faith in their supernatural powers is boundless even here. I was often shown places from which shamans were lifted into the air like birds by the power of a spirit and flew up to attend to their affairs in the region of the sky dwellers. I was no less frequently told of cases where a shaman resurrected the dead, killed at a distance, created trout, etc.
000 Once I myself became the object of a legend about the

/81 cont./

*614 First of all, the very term that the Gilyak use to express
[192] the concept "clan" is of interest. It is khal', which literally means: scabbard, sheath -- a felicitous symbol for a single womb, for unity of origin. As concerns the features of their clan union, the Gilyak formulate them with surprising terseness, vividly /82/ illustrating their fully conscious attitude toward the basic institution of their social life (1).

● [171] 1. It is extremely interesting that the
[601] similar term khala /see the translitera-
[197] tion system for Tungus-Manchu peoples, p. 36/ also exists among the neighboring Tungus tribes -- the Orok, Orochi, Goldi, Negda, with whom the Gilyak have certain common kinship designations, as, for example, aki (elder brother) = aga (among the Tungus tribes), in spite of the complete dissimilarity of the languages of these peoples lexically and grammatically.

[601] If you ask any Gilyak why he considers some persons
(NN) his kinsmen, you will invariably get one answer: "Of course, we have akhmal'k (father-in-law) -- one (i.e., in common), ymgi /see ymri, p. 82/ (son-in-law /syat'/) -- one, fire -- one, mountain man, sea man, heavenly man, earth man, etc. -- one, bear -- one, devil -- one, khkusind (blood money) -- one, sin -- one."

An analysis of this formula will also lead us to an elucidation of the content of the clan union.

1. Akhmal'k -- one, ymgi -- one; a common father-in-law, a common son-in-law (syat'). The father-in-law of one clansman is father-in-law to the whole clan. Each clan in principle takes its women from one certain clan and in turn gives its women strictly to another certain clan. A common

/86 cont./

*614 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is
599 everywhere.
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Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is homogeneous. Cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kinship union.

*614 2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of
397 clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan
796 deity for the Gilyak. In each hearth there vie, according to one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but also by those who, having gone to the other world, have become the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea, etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an intermediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

● [171] 1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also
plays the role of intermediary be-
tween human beings and the gods;
he intercedes for human beings,
he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/87 cont./

*614 On all the important occasions of life, in case of sick-
397 ness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey,
796 etc. -- the clansman throws an offering (1) as his modest sacri-
782 fices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack -- and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request. And she shows all the means necessary to insure that a petition to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

*614 In order to understand the real basis of the "clan"
397 attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it
796 is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased
782 are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the fire, who can receive his favorite victims in his clan, so that these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire; 2) in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

● [171] 2. It is curious that a similar view
exists among the Buryat: a man
who perishes from lightning becomes
a powerful and favorite spirit to
whom sacrifices are made and prayers
are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman" (mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire (its ability to spread widely), its many tongues (tongues of flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-veda) understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" special advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions; finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance, i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

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*614 what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);
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[126]

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles. -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement...

[576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and

● [171] separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the
[189] last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 When an agreement has been reached, the religious
628 feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure
532 of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/111 cont./

*614 Thus in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bear the
[167] designations, Tyvli-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Tyvlin); M'yekhre-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yekhri), N'yenkhay-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Nyenkhay), etc., although the representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in the above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their ties with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only clans

● [171] 1. Similar territorial designations
among the Australians were the reason
that Kunow came to the completely
unfounded conclusion that among
these tribes there is no clan organiza-
tion.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants from the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans as the Tsharnung, the Choril, etc. And it is noteworthy that in just these clans,we observe a clear transition to totemism. In the Negda tribe, for example, almost every clan traces its origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear, etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely encountered.

*614 /112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the most
[167] important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. However
[168] complex, as we have seen, clan life is, the clan does not know
[202] any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after them the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institution of elders, and at that clan but settlement elders, but it had no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty episode, but that was all. The elders designated by the Russian authorities were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthiest inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and these not only did not enjoy any authority, but rather scorn, and in some

*614 instances even hatred. The primordial structure of the clan
knew nothing of the kind. The patriarchal authority which, according to the Biblical examples, is ordinarily associated with the

/118 cont./

*614 But who are these authoritative individuals who appear on
556 one in special cases and either personally or together with
554 "village community" of their clansmen display, as those hav
the power, their initiative and energy? What role do they pl
in ordinary life?

They are the so-called ?? -- the "masters" (1), or other

1. Up to the present, little attention
has been focused on the role of such
persons in the structure of primitive
societies. Their role is obscured by
their being classified only as representa-
tives of wealth. Here is one of the
most recent examples of such a relation.
Separate classes of "nobles" and "com-
moners" do not exist in northwestern
California, but in almost all affairs
of life the rich man plays the most
important role ("Types of Indian Cul-
ture in California," by A.L. Kroeber,
University of California Publications,
June, 1904, Vol. II). One should be
grateful, however, that such facts
have been noted at all.

● [171] [113]

the urdlya-nivukh -- the good, i.e., the rich, outstanding men (good and rich are synonomous among all primitive peoples). These are individuals who enjoy outstanding prosperity, thanks to their exceptional individual talents -- bravery, dexterity, strength, enterprise, and intelligence, which place them in an advantageous position in the business of obtaining the means of subsistence. Such an individual is a valuable man for all around him. For the narrow circle of his own family he is the natural head of the communal economy, which, thanks to his initiative and talents, is run more profitably than if it were conducted haphazardly. /113/ The huge family grouped around him is better provided with

Tungus RX5
Ainu ABG
Gilyak RX3

II.

Terms and Forms of Kinship

Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur krai, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, or in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and terms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerably different from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a strict the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only term which has a complete phonetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus language, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "nana" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "achk" signifies mother-in-law /wife's mother/, aunt, grandmother; "nanaih" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

/132 cont./ One could assume that there would be a much greater similarity with Ural-Altaic, especially Tungus idioms, since in both the reckoning of kinship and other peculiarities of their forms, Gilyak marriage is very close to them, and moreover, the intercourse between these peoples has from distant times been more intimate than with the Ainu. Nevertheless, here, too, the isolated Gilyak language to a significant degree remains true to itself. Only a few terms are so close that they give a basis for assuming reciprocal borrowing. First of all, one's attention is drawn to the term designating the class of elder brothers; Gilyak -- "akand, aka, aki," general Tungus -- /133/ "AQA, aki," Olcha -- "aiba, aki," general Turkic -- "aga, akym, akbum." Among the Tungus peoples, in contrast to the Gilyak, this term, in addition to the elder brother, also designates the younger brother of the father, while in Turkic it denotes the brother of the father in general, which in Gilyak has two completely independent names -- "yuk" (father) and "piland", the latter term, incidentally, means the same as "Aqa" in Tungus, i.e., elder.

Furthermore, one may consider as common to all the root "ap, app"; in Gilyak -- "app, appyk," among the Tungus peoples (Olcha, Orochi, Orok) -- "apanga, ypanga," used by both for designating the father-in-law /wife's father/ (by the Gilyak -- also for the brother of the mother), and by the Tungus tribes in many other meanings which do not correspond to the Gilyak terms. Among the Mongols, Turks, and Yakuts this root is also encountered in the forms "abaKya, apaKya" -- elder brother of the father, "ana" (among other Turks) -- elder sister. About this term "app, appyk" among the Gilyak, one can say with great confidence that in their language it is a direct borrowing, since right alongside of it, other, purely Gilyak terms -- "atk, akhmak" -- are used, and even more frequently than "appyk," and it is noteworthy that it is on the Amur, where the Gilyak territory borders directly on Tungus territory, that the term "app" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

/133 cont./
meaning: Gilyak aNih -- younger brother, and Goldi achiha -- younger brother of the father (Birar); Goldi edi -- husband, and Gilyak edi -- wife's father, father-in-law; Gilyak yij -- father, atk -- wife's father, achk -- wife's mother, and northern Tungus atki -- father and older brother of the wife, and atki -- mother and sister of the wife (1), and some others that are more doubtful,

1. Iokhel'son /Jocheison/, Materialy /Materialy/, 240.

such as, for instance, Mongol omok, otok -- clan, and the rare Gilyak form ota -- father, oma -- mother. There is no doubt that the Gilyak term ivy -- brother's wife, has been borrowed from the Tungus, corresponding to yvy among the Olcha, since among the Gilyak this term is found only in the territory bordering on the Olcha; in other places, the indigenous Gilyak word arKej is used exclusively. In the Turkic languages, besides the above-mentioned aga, akym, and akbym, we find similar sounding forms in ay --man, husband, hero (Mongol ere), "er" -- an adult person (Gilyak er -- father); ata, aba, ana -- (Gilyak ata, ata) achchi (old Turkic) -- elder brother, uncle on the father's side (Gilyak yehkh -- old man, husband), and, finally, oglan -- young man, youth, boy, and oil -- son, child. Then /134/ perhaps something of interest is offered by the Gilyak term, phonetically close to Gilyak, achiche, ichhel, ap (Gilyak achik, itch, ap).

Such are the slight similarities reflected in the Gilyak language with those of their close and distant neighbors on the Asiatic mainland.

It is difficult to say with absolute certainty what the origins of these similarities were. As the comparative study of kinship terms among the most widely separated groups of Tungus territory, that the term "ap" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

/134 cont./
In particular, it is not without interest to point out that the most undoubtedly identical term among the Gilyak and the Tungus-Turkic peoples, "aki, aKa" -- older brother, might very well be easily linked with the ancient Hebrew "abh" -- brother, just like the Gilyak "oma" -- mother and the ancient Hebrew "em," but conclusions from such comparisons would, of course, be extremely hazardous. On the other hand, there would be nothing strange if single terms, even such important ones as "aki," turned out to be borrowed. Linguists given us not a little evidence of this. For example, in the Oman language such cardinal terms as father and mother turned out to be borrowed: the designation for father -- "peder" -- was borrowed from the Persian, and the designation for mother -- "valide" -- was taken from Arabic. In another Turkish dialect, namely that of the Taranchi, only one term turns out to have been borrowed from the Persian, "ahvar" -- sister.

Another example is still more interesting. In a tundra clan of the Yukagir (the one most mixed with the Lamut), four of the most cardinal terms of relationship are borrowed: "ama, ana, aka, aka" -- father, mother, older brother, older sister; all the others (the majority) have remained purely Yukagir. Iokhel'son (1), reporting these facts, quite correctly explains

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy, 240.

this strange fact of partial borrowing by noting that the borrowed terms coincide in meaning with the Yukagir terms, but everything else the Yukagir kinship system differs sharply from that of the Tungus.

Be that as it may, whatever may have been the origin of the indicated affinities between the Gilyak and Tungus-Turkic kinship terms, be they the result of chance /135/ coincidence or the result of ethnic interactions, they are so insignificant that the extensive kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak remains completely independent, not only in its content, but also with regard to its lexicon, and, taking into account the incessant

process of mixing between the Gilyak and their neighbors, one can only be surprised that these kinship terminologies turn out to have so little in common.

The peculiarities of the Gilyak kinship terms themselves testify to this uniqueness of the Gilyak terminology with great palpability; the greater part of them can be traced all the way back to their original roots, which points to their firm stability over a long period of time (1).

1. This cannot be said with regard to borrowed terms. For example, for example, as the famous Turkish specialist, V.V.Radlov /W. Radloff/, has reported to me, among the Turks, judging by Orkhon and Uigur monuments, the kinship terminology, starting from the tenth century and with the exception of one or two terms, has changed completely, even in such forms as father and mother, and so forth.

We shall adduce a few examples. Thus, the group "yuk" -- father, "ark" -- grandfather, uncle on the mother's side, "yuk" -- grandmother, "yehkh" -- old man, husband, "achkh" -- aunt, sister of the father, "ul-ch" -- man, (western dialect) have a common root "ul, yl" -- body; the group "ymic" -- mother, "ymgsi" -- son-in-law, son of the sister, "um-ge" -- woman (western dialect) have the common root "um." Further, "ashgyr" -- wife, from "ashk" -- female; "ashmych" -- beloved, husband, man (western dialect), from "ay" -- male and the verb "mych" -- to be, to become. The group "shank, shankh, ranih" -- woman and "ranih" -- sister, etc. is of interest.

Dialectal differences in kinship designations remain to be discussed. These differences are of a minor nature. In the fundamental terms there are either no differences whatever,

which are used the same term for "yuk" (gyuk and syuqyum), not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" /140/ (female tuvn) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the centuo in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the class all the "sisters" of persons of the ashmalk class (concerning this, see below).

The class of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in use for wife in both dialects is arNih, arKej. Within the clan the Gilyak given this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvn), to the wives of all his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the class of younger "brothers" (arKih) the Gilyak gives the name of jokhn, jokh /see yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or mother-in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law /nevertsk, "daughter-in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother yvy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvn class, no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvn), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

story says to his wife: "Wife, I am going to look for my fathers and my mothers." When he found them, it was this way: his father was sitting on the left-side plank-bed, his father was sitting behind his mother, his uncle (i.e., father's brother) was sitting on the right plank-bed, and a young woman was also sitting there (probably the "sister" of his mother).

It is curious that on the ancient Turkic monuments, namely, in the inscriptions of Koshko-Zaidam, V.V.Radlov likewise found a trace of a similar plural terminology, although in a very indefinite form. Concerning kinship, except for the term "older brother," have disappeared there entirely. On account of this, when he met in the text the expressions "my mother," "sultana," and "of the mother," he translated the last as stepmother. Having familiarized himself with the classificatory system among the Gilyak, he was inclined to interpret the expression "of the mother" as "of the mothers," a class as distinct from one mother.

On the other hand, the plural sometimes denotes the collective noun for the kinsmen of the related classes, for example: "cher-kyn" (literally, "thy father") is used in the meaning of father and mother, father and clansmen; "ufeorankhhun" (literally, "my wives") -- in the sense of the beloved and her girl-friends; "ymgsi kun" (literally, "sons-in-law /zyat'ya/") -- the son-in-law together with his wives. It is curious that in Yakutia we evidently meet the same phenomenon. I judge this by one case introduced by Iokhel'son, where a man says "my fathers" instead of "my father": although Iokhel'son admits that the plural could be used out of respect for one's father, nevertheless, as it is evident from the context -- "a friend to my fathers will wander" -- the father is being talked about here in his absence, and consequently there is no need for rendering any particular respect.

children. Furthermore, there are marriages which do not pursue domestic aims. By itself alone, however, sexual intercourse between certain individuals of different sex, even though it may be regular, still does not constitute a sign of marriage. In order that sexual intercourse be transformed into a marriage, it is necessary that this be sanctioned in a form or another by a given social environment, that it not provoke a social or religious reaction, in a word, that it be lawful.

The lawfulness of sexual intercourse, then, constitutes the essential sign of marriage. On this point, the concept of marriage is similar among the most diverse peoples in the most diverse stages of development. If there are variations it is only in the forms in which sexual intercourse is realized in marriage. It is just these variations, often so contradictory to the notions of contemporary society, which most of all obscure the idea of marriage when one chances to encounter the forms of sexual intercourse among primitive peoples.

A true understanding of the institution of marriage among primitive peoples is obscured most of all by our habitual notion that marriage invariably presupposes joint cohabitation of the spouses and, consequently, the manifest and regular realization of conjugal rights.

Among many peoples, however, and not only primitive peoples, but even historical ones, this is not required at all. Among the Spartans, for example, the women lived apart from the men, and the men lived in barracks. Only an insignificant number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

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which brings the punishment of the gods. Now let us suppose that clan V, from which A takes wives, has died out, or that there are too few women in it, which is quite in the order of things. Clan A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there each clan saves its women for the clan of the father's sister; the alien clan, even if it had extra women, cannot decide to deviate from this imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punishment of the gods, of the gods-ancestors, for whom marriages with those of other blood constitute the greatest of insults. And a similar vengeance threatens the clan who would make use of women of other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however. Two alternatives then remain: either to abduct a woman by force, risking bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods, /48/ to say nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the one stolen, or to circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the real intentions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreement is reached with the parents of the bride and with her herself, whereby these latter appear to resist the abduction with all their strength, while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious manner, does everything required to give to the marriage act the look of real coercion.

Only with such an explanation of abduction can we understand why, for example, the Australian kurnai, having allowed their daughter to run away with her loved one, set out in pursuit after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg with a spear and beat her half to death. The Australians themselves explain this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many tribes the bridegroom himself considers it his duty to beat his loved one no less cruelly than her parents: by this he desires to show the gods, and the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture of the girl was in no way caused by a desire on his part to marry her.

Finally, only with this illumination on the hypothesis of the religious origin of the custom can we explain such a universal occurrence of the institution, which, in the form of mock abduction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony of even civilized peoples.

/58 cont./

a bear's love for her, etc. -- all such persons do not travel to the ordinary kingdom of the shades, but go over into the clan of the gods-masters who took a liking to them, of the mountain, water, fire, etc., and then become the smallest "masters" and protect their clansmen. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i -- forest people, tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people, etc. took form. It is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices. These are not mythical gods, not the fictional heroes of the Greek clans, but actual persons, authoritatively living in the imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of primitive religions -- totemism, the worship of a certain class of animals honored as the clansmen and even the ancestors of their worshipers. In fact, as I said earlier, the master of each element and his clansmen, although they lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak, always appear in the presence of man in the form of this or that animal, the bear (forest people), the beluga or kosatka (sea people), so that the Gilyak as well, having entered after his death the clan of this or that master, also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore, that class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kindred to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem. Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or predecessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers or at sea, a system of separate totems for every clan could not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot consider this vast question in more detail here; I shall say only that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows that it is not totemism, i.e., not the belief in descent from this or that /59/ kind of animal, that created the clan gods, as is commonly thought, but, on the contrary, it is the clan gods who created totemism. As we shall see below, we cannot explain the prohibitions of the totemists against using the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.

The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself
●171 here, for the time being, to what has been said, all the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
796 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but
614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak. In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The
[574] clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
●[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[974] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/71 cont./

796 or the female line; the only kinsmen allowed to kill are the
614 "zyat'ya" /sons-in-law, brothers-in-law/, i.e., persons
married to women from this clan, persons whose blood was
796 never mixed with the celebrating clan. In the second place,
614 the entire carcass of the bear, with the exception of the meat
262 of the head, is given to a different clan, the clan of "narkh'i"
and, on the other hand, forbidden to the clan to whom the
bear belongs. Once perhaps even the head was also prohibited
for the celebrating clan. Are these prohibitions not caused by
the totemistic caution against killing and eating the body of
a clansman? After all, could not the slain bear accidently
turn out to be a clansman of the mountain-man clan and
therefore a clansman of those who are celebrating the holiday?
In such a case killing him and eating his meat would be
criminal and fatal for the given clan.

But for a different clan, i.e., the clan of the "narkh'i"
this is permitted, because /72/ another "master" sends bears
to it, its own clansman, so that it is completely safe for them
to eat the meat of the bear of an alien clan.

614 The coexistence of such norms as, on one hand, the
262 permission to kill a bear, though not personally, and to eat
171 its head and, on the other hand, the prohibition against the
rest of the meat may seem a strange and irresolvable contra-
diction. Among totemistic tribes, however, we often meet
such contradictions. The Samoans, for example, on solemn
occasions kill owls and honor them as their deified ancestors,
while at the same time they do not dare to touch the meat.
In the works by Spencer and Gillen we read that among the
tribes of central Australia, among whom it is normally pro-
hibited, for example, to kill kangeroos and to use them for
food, on a certain solemn day two or three of the forbidden
animals are killed, and pieces of the meat are distributed
among the clansmen. There are many such examples.

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G 796 171 262 G1 796 171 262 773

An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened, however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, consequently, a clansman of the Orochi.

G 776

Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have mentioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'k'i" and "kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are individual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

G 776 761 753

Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'i); others ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

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581 For example, among the Ainu, when women get married,
121 they often remain in their father's house, and the husband,
171 who lives in another settlement, sometimes at a great distance from the settlement of his father-in-law, /158/ visits his wife only at a certain time of the year. Among the Kirgiz, until the final payment of the bride price, the husband, sometimes for years, visits his wife only at night, and then in secret from her parents. We do not find regularity even among polygamists of the Mussulman type. The Turk may have in his harem women with whom he does not have sexual intercourse for years, but they nevertheless are considered wives, joined with him in marriage. The condition of joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse is still less possible among peoples where, according to the socially established order, a whole group of men considers a whole group of women their wives, and, conversely, a man exercises his right only as far as possible.

Within the Australian Dieri tribe every "kumi" (a term corresponding to the Gilyak pu -- husband) finds his "kroki" (wife) throughout the whole extent of his territory, in whatever settlement he visits. A kumi may live out his whole life without seeing one or another of his innumerable kroki, but she is nevertheless his wife, for, if he visits her settlement, he can exercise his right without subjecting himself to social censure, punishment of the gods, or a reaction on the part of the individual husband of his kroki, as would a non-kumi who did this (1). The potentiality of lawful sexual intercourse

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, 1880, pp. 340 f.

takes various forms among different peoples, but the legal essence of the relations remains the same. In one place, persons bound by such a form of marriage are invested not only with rights, but also with obligations, in other words,

/158 cont./

581 one or another party has no right to refuse sexual relations
121 with a person who is entitled to them. For example, among
171 the Chukchee a woman may not refuse a man joined with her husband in the relationship of a "variable marriage."

Among others, full scope is given to individual sympathies, as, for example, among the aforementioned kumi and kroki, among the Tungus peoples, among the Gilyak, where the agreement of both parties is demanded for sexual intercourse, but once this agreement obtains, intercourse becomes lawful. In essence, what we have here is the same phenomenon as in pure polygamy. A husband may prefer one wife to another, even completely avoid a certain wife, but the marriage is present nevertheless. It is the same also in group marriage: in spite of the separation of the living places of the group spouses and the clear potentiality of conjugal rights, lawfulness of sexual intercourse within the group, and consequently also marriage, is present.

/159/ Of course, joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse are the most normal for marriage. We observe the tendency towards this, although in varying degrees, among the most diverse peoples. This tendency, however, must not be confused with the tendency toward individual possession. The instinct for sexual selection and individual sympathies indeed pushes even primitive man toward establishing more or less durable conjugal bonds. But pairing up presupposes neither obligatory individual possession nor, what is more, obligatory joint cohabitation. We have already offered the example of the Ainu, whose wife often remains living in her parents' home, sometimes several days' journey from her husband. Among the Ainu, however, marriage is purely individual. All the more natural is the absence of the aforementioned conditions among those peoples where group forms of marriage exist, for persons to whom the right of sexual relations is extended are many, and for this very reason joint cohabitation and, consequently, the regular exercise of the right of sexual intercourse between all the persons involved in the group marriage rarely take place.

/159 cont./

581 In reality, joint cohabitation and regular intercourse
121 are connected, not with the sexual feature of the marital
171 union, but with the economic aspect. Wherever economic conditions demand the joint collaboration of a whole group of persons and allow living together, group marriage there can turn into a regular, communal marriage. But such conditions are rarely found in primitive society. They are possible -- but even then not often -- in a narrow circle of brothers; in this case group marriage is really accompanied by the elements of joint cohabitation and the regular exercise of marital rights familiar to us. We meet examples of such a clan among the Gilyak, among several Tungus tribes, in Tibet, in India, and in other places. But types of this kind of cohabitation are also rare.

433 In spite of the old opinion, which was accustomed to
121 depicting the life of primitive people in communistic colors,
171 in reality the economy of primitive man, at least the methods of obtaining the means of subsistence, is at the present time mainly individual, and the forms of general collaboration that crop up only at certain times disappear as quickly as they arose with the passing of the necessity for them. We may see a typical specimen of individual economy among the wandering Tungus reindeer-breeders, who /160/ assemble once or twice a year for only a short time and then in small related groups. In normal times they live apart, widely separated from one another, each one selecting for himself his own territory for pasture and hunting.

581 Among peoples who are not herdsmen, who live closer
121 together, the forms of economy are all more or less individ-
[433] ual. Under such circumstances it is quite natural that every man, conducting his own particular economy, should strive to have with him a woman who, in conformity with the natural division of labor between the sexes, might perform with him his economic duties. Thus, joint and regular cohabitation between a man and one or several women arises by itself. In societies where group norms of sexual intercourse exist, such individual alliances change nothing. An

/164 cont./

582 marriage is that with the daughter of the mother's brother.
614 "Pfandfukh an'g:ej gen urdra" -- "from the clan of your pandf (see above), from the clan from which you originated (were born), i.e., from the clan from which your mother came, yo
[533] should take a wife," runs the Gilyak maxim. "I miss the house of my mother's brother" -- such is the motif of the contemporary Gilyak song. And statistics prove the degree to which these principles play a role in reality. From the very first days of my statistical census, when I was not yet conversant with all the subtleties of the kinship nomenclature, I was astounded that in each clan there were so many kinsmen wives who were taken from one and the same clan, who called each other, according to the generation of the husband, sisters and aunts, and who actually seemed to be such. It was necessary to record many Gilyak who were married several times, and most often their wives turned out to be from one and the same clan, specifically, from the clan of the husband's mother. One of my companions on my journeys, Isayka, had been married three times, and always to wives from the very same clan. And in the majority of cases, it turned out that the husbands and wives were not only cognate cousins, but were corresponding children of own sisters and brothers.

582 The preference shown for this form of marriage even today
171 is always the result of the religious imperative; we have seen above that only such a marriage is considered "pure." As to the role of this form of marriage among the Gilyak, one may express it in the same words that have been used to describe the same phenomenon among the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpûras in central India. In these tribes, "marriage between cousins is almost /165/ compulsory when a brother has a daughter and his sister a son" (1).

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 154.

/168 cont./

83 or wife that she share her bed with a guest who is her pu, as happens among peoples who practice hospitable hetaerism. Likewise a public display of sexual intimacy is not allowed. No one permits himself to lie down under one covering with his group an'g:ej in the common yurt, even with a preliminary agreement. Moreover, even between individual spouses /169/

833 openness of sexual relations is not allowed (1). Intercourse

*835

● [171]

1. The avoidance of public caresses between individual spouses is not an exclusive peculiarity of the Gilyak. According to the testimony of Radlov /Radloff/, the Altaian in public does not allow himself even a joke with his wife in the presence of strangers, while at the same time the broadest freedom in relations between the sexes prevails among these peoples. -- Radloff, Aus Sibirien /From Siberia/, I, 314.

may not take place publicly or before the eyes of the individual spouse concerned (2). If the act takes place at night in

[171]

2. Compare the similar phenomenon among the Tibetans. -- Westermarck, The Origin of Marriage, p. 141.

the yurt where there are also strangers sleeping, then each one lies down separately, and only when all have gone to sleep does the man or woman (both sides alike take the initiative, but women more rarely) move over to the bed of his group spouse, who may accept or reject the attentions if there has not been any preliminary agreement. In summer the affair most frequently takes place in the open air: in the

/180 cont./

*835 male virtues. Nevertheless, his older tuvn in no way reacted to

578 even this breach of etiquette. Only at the instigation of his associates did he resolve to challenge him to a duel, but Lokhmatka absolutely rejected this flattering proposal. Then his rival hit him with a cudgel, but Lokhmatka did not react even to that, and since, according to Gilyak custom, it is prohibited to beat a man who does not defend himself, his rival had to let the matter rest, while Lokhmatka continued his public relationship with the man's wife just as before.

*835 Never once among the Gilyak did I chance to observe how

578 an individual husband reacted upon finding his wife in flagrante

●171 delicto with one of his brothers. But one may get an idea from a scene which I observed among the Orochi where the same rule operates with respect to the wives of brothers. Once I happened to be spending the night in the tent of the richest and most respected Orochi, Ivan Kuznets. In the tent, besides Ivan and his wife, there chanced to be spending the night a very distant kinsman of Ivan's, the youth Timoshka, who was a very poor and thriftless lad, but a great lover of women, preferring to go visiting and lovemaking to any economic cares. In the evening our host left to look for elks, and Timoshka, without any ceremony, got under the covers of his young hostess. They did not expect the old man until morning. But meanwhile an unfavorable wind had interfered with the hunting, and Ivan returned earlier than might have been expected. Entering the balagan, Ivan lit a splinter and caught sight of Timoshka, taking his place in the conjugal bed. From

[152] the proud and hot-tempered Ivan one might have expected -- especially against poor Timoshka -- the most furious outburst of jealousy, the more so because his wife was considered a prize beauty, and he was already at an age when jealousy shows itself particularly strongly. Nevertheless, Ivan limited himself to swearing a strong Russian curse-word, after which Timoshka, smiling embarrassedly, moved over to his own place, while Ivan, groaning, lay down beside his frivolous wife.

/181/

*835 Such are the relations between the categories of group pu and an'g:ej. Within his own clan, the Gilyak has at his disposal the dozens of wives of his "brothers." In the clan of his akhmalk (and there may be many of these) dozens of daughters of the "brothers" of his mother are at his disposal, and finally, outside of these clans the sisters of the wives of his most distant tuvn, and the wives of the sons of his "mother's" sisters, belong to him. And since, in addition, due to the contemporary conditions of life, his own clansmen and the members of the clans of his akhmalk are scattered throughout the most remote settlements, there is hardly a place where a visiting Gilyak could not find his lawful an'g:ej. One may say the same thing about the Gilyak that is said, mutatis mutandis, about "kumi" and "kroki," who throughout the whole extent of their territory find everywhere a lawful wife for themselves.

*835 Thus, every Gilyak usually is joined in a dual marriage:

595 1) in the customary individual marriage with one or more

58 women either from the class of his an'g:ej (in this case mainly with the daughters of his mother's brother) or with women of alien groups; this form of marriage among brothers sometimes takes on the form of purely communal polyandry; 2) in a group marriage with all the women of the class an'g:ej, where sexual intercourse with some of them is accompanied by joint cohabitation, a common economy with their individual husbands, and takes place more or less regularly (most often within a common economy of brothers); or else this right of sexual intercourse is potential and is exercised only insofar as is possible and not regularly.

*835 Thus, we have to do here with the typical group marriage,

●171 examples of which are known to all among the most diverse peoples of the earth. An extremely curious, typical analogue in the life of other peoples is the marriage system of the Australian Dieri tribe (1), among whom both aspects of sexual

1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology

/181 cont./ Contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 passim.

intercourse are legalized, in contrast to the Gilyak marriage system, with the differentiated terms noa and piruari. According to this system, every woman is joined in individual marriage to one man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage to a whole category of men, who mutually call each other piruari, with the characteristic distinction that persons of this category are solemnly affirmed by the high council of the tribe.

/182/ The object which these measures pursue is evidently the following: 1) to strengthen in the social consciousness the lawfulness of sexual relations for a certain group of persons; 2) to make commonly known the names of the persons of this group of spouses. Among the Gilyak the matter has not gone so far -- the tribe is too small, and every person from childhood knows very well from the words of his parents the names of his group pu and an'g:ej, and, consequently, all the rights connected with these names. Under other conditions the Gilyak would probably have developed the procedure practiced among the Dieri. The following characteristic analogies between the marriages of the Gilyak and the Dieri are also curious: 1) "a woman becomes the noa of a man, having been married to him when she was still a child" (1).

1. Howitt, op. cit., p. 811, Table IV.

2) Judging by the kinship terminology, piruari (i.e., group husbands and wives) are not arbitrarily designated by the great council, but from a definite circle of kinsmen, specifically, for the women the brothers of her husband are piruari, while for a man -- the sisters of his wife. So, by one and the same term, apiri waka, the piruari designate

/182 cont./ their mother and their father's brother; in exactly the same way, by one and the same term, andri waka, the piruari designate their father, their mother's sister, and their father's brother's wife (ibid., Table IV). All the children of each noa are one another's brothers and sisters and they are all considered children of the piruari group to which this noa belongs (ibid., 19).

IV.

Moral and Psychic Consequences of the Sexual Norms

The peculiar norms of sexual relations described by us, broadly permissive on the one hand, strictly prohibitive on the other, are reflected in the morals and psychics of the Gilyak in two diametrically opposed trends.

The permissive norms, which give both men and women such an extensive legitimate freedom in sexual relations, naturally must have given rise to general sexual laxity. In fact, the virtues of chastity, sexual moderation, and conjugal fidelity are unknown to the Gilyak. Among married women, and then as a rare exception, one still finds individuals who are more or less faithful to their husbands; among men, by the admission of the Gilyak themselves, even such exceptions are not encountered. In the society of the most respected individuals, tales of the most piquant romantic /183/ adventures are recounted with relish. An extensive amorous experience does not stain the reputation of a gentleman (urdla n'ŋgyvyŋ) at all. In my presence, and that of a gathering of the most honored elders, a young Gilyak, Iarak, to the accompaniment of general noisy approval and merry laughter, related his numerous romantic exploits, about how, by the way, in one settlement he had engendered no less than 20 children... Such an attitude of respected people toward the sexual laxity of youngsters is only possible in a society where

/186 cont./ Psychic prohibitions. But side by side with training and, I would say, the hypnotic influence of the kinship terminology, a still mightier force acts on the development of the abovementioned instincts -- prohibitions of a special kind, prohibitions on psychic intercourse: prohibitions on speech, glances, and familiar address (joking). Corresponding to the two different instincts necessary for the realization of the sexual norms, these prohibitions are of a dual character. Some are created for persons between whom it is necessary to weaken the instinct of jealousy to the last degree, others -- for those who must avoid having sexual relations with each other. Both factors, both the prohibitions of sexual intercourse and the prohibitions of psychic intercourse, act not only as factors of hypnosis and habit, but also as very strict taboos of religion. To violate one or another of these norms, in the eyes of primitive man, is as dangerous as the most dangerous blasphemy. The strength of the taboo on psychic intercourse in particular and what instincts they can develop in the soul of primitive man can be seen even from Iokhel'son's /Iochelson/ tale about a Yukagir who by mistake allowed himself familiarities with respect to his own brother, but when he realized his error, he passed away on the spot out of horror.

This is the way Iokhel'son tells this amazing story, entirely in keeping with Gilyak psychics.

"There were two brothers, and then they lived the husband of an older sister, with whom it is permitted to talk. Therefore, both brothers frequently joked with him and played pranks... The brothers, as usual, had a non-speaking relationship. One time the older brother, upon returning from hunting, found the young people in the settlement playing games and dancing. His younger brother, who happened to be dressed in the fur clothing of his brother-in-law /ŋ'gyr/, was in the chain of dancers with his back to the new arrival. The latter took his younger brother to be his brother-in-law, and, wishing to scare him as a joke, he ran up behind him, put his hand between his legs, and touched his sexual organ.

/186 cont./ The younger brother quickly turned around. The older brother realized his error and fell dead then and there "from shame." As usual, they performed his autopsy in the /187/ learn the cause of his death, and his heart, according to the legend, was found to be broken in two" (1).

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, XIII.

Let us proceed now to the prohibitions themselves. The prohibitions of the first kind, i.e., prohibitions established between individuals of the same sex in order to weaken the instinct of jealousy, naturally cover persons who are joined in one class by group marriage: among the men, the pu classes, i.e., the classes of persons who have the right to sexual relations with a certain class of women; and, among women, the an'g:ej classes, i.e., women having common husbands. All these individuals, all these group husbands or group wives, among whom outbursts of jealousy might so easily flare up every day and every hour, are fenced off from one another by the impassable wall of the strictest prohibition on psychic intercourse, a prohibition beginning at the threshold of life and ending only with the grave, and creating an instinct of restraint which does not yield first place to the strongest instincts of nature.

The prohibitions of the second category, as we have said, have as their aim the hindrance of sexual relations between persons of different sexes of the forbidden categories. For this reason prohibitions between persons who are mutually in the classes of "husbands" and "wives" (pu and an'g:ej), even if not in a state of individual marriage, are superfluous; any man freely converses not only with his individual wives, but with his group wives, for example, with the wives of his brothers without distinction (in some clans) or only with the wives of his older "brothers" (in others), in a word, with those women whom he calls an'g:ej and with whom he has the right

/189 cont./ The prohibitions on speech have had another curious result. The Gilyak have no salutation for greeting or saying farewell. It may seem strange that the Gilyak, returning to his home after a long absence or leaving his family for the long months of hunting and of danger, utters no salutation. Yet the Gilyak are very ceremonious and /190/ always greet and escort their departing guests with solemn forms of address and expressions of good wishes. The neighbors of the Gilyak, the Olcha and Goldi, as well as the Ainu, have salutations for meeting and parting. Their absence among the Gilyak arises precisely from the fact that in the home and settlement of every Gilyak there is a mass of persons with whom speech is a sin, and therefore the customary greetings could easily lead to frequent involuntary violations of the psychic taboos. Prohibitions on conversation, as is well-known, are practiced among many peoples. We shall recall, for the sake of an example, one of the American peoples, the Arapaho, among whom conversations between brothers are forbidden. The prohibitions among the Yukagir are of special interest to us. Of the prohibitions which they have in common with the Gilyak, we find among the Yukagir prohibitions between "brothers" and "sisters," between the husband's father and mother and their daughter-in-law, between older brothers and the wives of younger brothers; and, as among the Gilyak, in cases of necessity, they address each other either in the third person, or in the impersonal form, or in the plural (1).

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, 240.

The Buryat present examples of an interesting analogy with the Gilyak prohibitions. Among them at the present time marriage is exclusively individual, and "brothers" have no sexual rights whatever to each other's wives. Nevertheless, prohibitions with regard to the so-called khadym clearly reveal an earlier stage of group marriage. As a result of this

/190 cont./ As a result of this institution, the prohibitions between a woman and the older brothers of her husband are very strict, and, on the other hand, with respect to the younger brothers of her husband prohibitions are absent. The content of the prohibition (forbidding the man to sit on the bed of his khadym, to see her naked, etc.) is evidence that this prohibition had the exclusive aim of preventing sexual intercourse.

V.

The Genesis of the Gilyak Marriage Norms and the Kinship Terminology

We have examined the norms of sexual intercourse and have seen that they completely correspond to the kinship terminology. Now it is necessary for us to proceed to a consideration of how this complicated system of kinship and marriage was formed, what sort of psychic substratum gave rise to the system. Obviously, such a complicated system could not arise artificially. It must have developed, without a doubt, out of one simple principle, a clear /191/ categorical imperative for the primitive man, out of which there must have grown, as from a seed, that complicated organism of Gilyak institutions which, for example, we examined by us in such great detail. Along with the genesis of this system, however, it is necessary for us to explain also the long evolution of this system, without an understanding of which a whole series of peculiarities of the kinship nomenclature will seem completely inexplicable and, as it were, out of keeping with the general system.

/194 cont./

Thus there was created that type of individual-group marriage which we now find among the Gilyak, and among all other peoples where marriage is founded on this principle of marriage relations which they have in common with the Gilyak. This system of individual group marriage was developed under the influence of the various combinations in the distribution of the /195/ sexes among the descendants of brother and sister. In order to be convinced of this fact, it is enough to consider several such combinations.

1. The simplest one is that of one brother and one sister. Moreover, the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons. Then of course, individual distribution is entirely possible, if, however, men and women simultaneously reached the marriageable age. But à la longue /in the long run/ such a combination is almost completely impossible, because the descendants of the sister and the descendants of the brother expand into several families, and in such an environment only as an exception can there be cases when the number of men of marriageable age in one group of descendants at any given moment will be equal to the number of women in another group of descendants.

2. Let us take the same instance: one brother and one sister, but at the given moment the brother has only one daughter, while the sister has several sons. Then communal marriage, as it is described among many peoples and appears so typically in the descriptions of the Iroquois, becomes inevitable. This is the situation described in the Gilyak epos in such expressions as this, "two (or more) brothers supported one wife," a situation which, as we have indicated, is often encountered in reality even today. The most customary mode of using wives is the same as in group marriage -- each brother enjoys the communal wife in the absence of the other: "in Tibet, where the brothers very often have only one common wife, it is rare for more than one brother to be in the house at one time" (1). Among the

1. Westermarck, op. cit., p. 116.

/195 cont./
Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession;
the wife first sleeps with one brother (the oldest), then moves
over to another. As for the children, either they are not dis-
tinguished at all according to fathers, or, as in the case of
the Toda tribe, the first child is regarded as the offspring of
the oldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

3. The same situation in a new variant: the first
brother has reached marriageable age before the second.
The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his
father /xic/ as his individual wife, but then the younger
brother comes of marriageable age. The elder brother re-
mains the individual spouse, but the second brother enjoys
conjugal rights, by the rights of a group spouse. Then
another daughter of the brother grows up to be of marriageable
age. She naturally becomes the individual spouse of the
second brother, but the elder brother obtains the same group
rights to the wife /196/ of the younger brother as the latter
once enjoyed with respect to the wife of the elder brother.

4. At a given moment a brother has several adult
daughters, while the sister as yet has only one adult son.
The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of the
sister of the brother /xic/. Thus it is at the present time
among the majority of American Indian tribes, where a man
who has married the oldest daughter is for that reason obliged
to take as wives all of her sisters. But now another brother
grows up. One of the wives is yielded up to him as his indi-
vidual wife, the rest remaining with the elder brother as the
most well-to-do, who is better able to support several wives
than the brother who is just beginning to earn his livelihood.
The latter, naturally, is rightfully the group husband of all
the wives of the elder brother; the converse right of the elder
brother is not so indisputable.

An analogous development takes place if the elder broth-
polygamist has several brothers who gradually grow up: then
each one of them will obtain his own individual wife, but
at the same time each of the younger brothers will have

/198 cont./
home of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained
together; their husbands, taken into the clan, were all of the
same clan -- the male cousins of their wives, the sons of the
sisters of their fathers. In the agnatic clan the imported
women were all kin to each other, either sisters or aunts and
nieces (and blood kinswomen -- female cousins of their
husbands), the daughters of the brothers of their mothers.
This common blood kinship of the representatives of both
sexes of both the native and the imported elements of the
clan is a still more important cement of the clan union, a
religious cement binding together all the elements with the
highest ties of the common cult of the ancestors. The
terminology has perpetuated this arrangement by the fact that
the wives in each generation call each other sister and their
husbands' mothers -- aunts, and a man calls the daughter of
his mother's brother wife, while a woman calls the son of her
father's sister husband.

8. Since marriage is obligatory into the group of the
sisters of the father exclusively, once the daughters of a man
belong from birth /199/ to the sons of his sister, and this rule,
naturally, became a religious imperative, then under no
circumstances can either the men or the women marry out-
side of the indicated groups. Hence a twofold levirate, so
often encountered, by the way, among the American Indians.
If the individual husband of a woman should die, she cannot
under any circumstances leave the group of her husband.
Whether young or old, she passes to one of the class of
"brothers" of her deceased husband. Conversely, if a man's
wife dies, he cannot look for a wife anywhere except in the
class of her sisters.

9. Under this arrangement, as long as it maintains its
complete purity, within the marriage groups there can be
no question either of abductions or of bride price.

/199 cont./
There is no need for a man to abduct that which belongs
to him through a religious imperative, so powerfully active
in primitive society. Abduction can only arise under special
circumstances, when there are no women in the marriage
group, while other groups are obligated in turn to give their
women to definite groups. Individual cases of abduction
have led to the institution of mock abduction. For the side
which is giving its women in marriage is violation of the
prohibition, this is a means of deceiving the gods, the gods-
ancestors, to whom marriages with persons of alien blood
are the gravest insult. By this alone can we explain the
wide distribution of this otherwise inexplicable institution
among primitive peoples. Only by this pious deception of the
gods can we explain those frightful cruelties which are
practiced in connection with mock abduction, although both
parties are joined in wedlock with the willing consent of the
kinsmen of the bride and groom. It is sufficient to take the
example of the Kurnai tribe, among whom there exists the
institution of obligatory marriage, analogous to that of the
Gilyak. In this tribe, the kinsmen of the bride, having of
their own free will allowed the bride to run away with her
groom, later start out in pursuit of her, and, when they have
caught her, they pierce her leg with a spear and beat her
half to death. And in many tribes even the abductor con-
siders it his obligation to beat his beloved no less cruelly
than her parents, desiring to show the gods-ancestors that
it was not at all love, the intention to marry, which
prompted him to abduct her.

An insufficiency of males or females can lead also to
another institution; likewise not uncommon among primitive
peoples, namely, the killing of newborn children. Let us
say that clan A, from which clan B takes its women, has
died out; then, in order to avoid the wrath of the gods for
future marriages to aliens, they resort to killing the male
children. /200/ On the other hand, if the clan to which they
customarily give women has died out, then cases of

/200 cont./
murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-
known among the Toda tribes, in spite of the fact that the
number of males is greater there than the number of females.

10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of
bride price is impossible under normal conditions. Payment
for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of
marriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen
among the Gilyak today: no matter how avid the Gilyak may
be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to
the daughter of the mother's brother.

In order that such an essentially exogamous system might
be preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of
favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole
complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary condi-
tions is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating
themselves the various families of the phratry should be able
to maintain themselves on the common territory, and, on
other hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the
families, and that there should be no cases of extinction of
entire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore,
some degree of isolation of the tribe from alien influences is
necessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory
marriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor.
Finally, it is necessary that there be preserved economic con-
ditions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the
members of the phratry would remain, contrary to the usual
phenomenon, and, on the other hand -- that under the in-
fluence of new economic conditions there should not be
engendered one or another temptation to make woman the
object of purchase and sale.

The preservation of all these conditions among primitive
peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a
whole series of obstacles. And so it has been among the
Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial
abode of their forefathers, economic conditions force individ-
ual persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

/214 cont./
Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers,
Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their
predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian mar-
riage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler,
and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad dis-
tribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1).

[113]

1. This picture entitled Crawley
to say that "cousin marriage gen-
erally is the favorite form of mar-
riage among primitive peoples"
("Exogamy and the Mating of
Cousins." Anthropological Essays,
Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they
proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first
experience of conscious restriction of marriages between
brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage
represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages be-
tween cousins of the first degree. One cardinal question in
this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is
the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands mar-
riage between the children of brother and sister, but at the
same time prohibits marriage between the children of two
brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers
directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact.
"Cousin marriage," he says; "is, according to all appear-
ances, a surprising one. It is quite difficult to find a straight-
forward psychological basis explaining why marriage between
the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while mar-
riage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so
strictly prohibited" (1).

[113]

1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins
in India." The Journal of the
Royal Asiatic Society, July,
1907, p. 623.

/217 cont./
other, while marriages between cousins should have been
allowed for the first time only as a necessary evil, malum
necessarium, in order that it might pass completely out of
use as an antisocial institution.

The evolution of marriage among the Australian peoples
can serve as the best example of this strange fact. Among
these peoples, judging from the organization of classes and
from their personal declarations, the consciousness of the
harm of marriage within close degrees of kinship is quite
well developed, and they have manifested great resourceful-
ness in order to block the possibility of close marriages,
excelling other peoples in this respect. Such a complicated
system as the eight-class system of the Arunta tribe has been
specially devised for the abolishment of marriages between
cousins of the first degree. It would seem after this that
marriages between the most remote degrees of relationship
ought to be encouraged, while marriages between cousins
of the second degree ought to be regarded as merely allowable.
Among them, however, even "cousins of the third degree
are thought too remote, and marriages beyond this degree
are prohibited" (1). Thus, marriage with cousins even of

1. Crawley, op. cit., 61.

an impossibly close degree is not only allowed, but obligatory.

Further, if cousin marriage is only the first stage of
exogamy, /218/ then why, in spite of the enormous period of
time which has passed since its inception, does it continue
to survive so stubbornly up to the present time among a
large number of tribes, including such numerous ones as the
Dravidians, in its original, unaltered form. And even there,
as among the tribes of Australia, it underwent limitation in
the sense of the exclusion of marriages between cousins of
the first degree, but still the principle, as we just saw, is
preserved inviolate, and marriages beyond cousins of the
third degree are not permitted. This stubborn invoking of

/218 cont./
the principle, this persistent striving to perpetuate it by m
of obligation, must rest on a serious basis. It seems to us
hat the strength of the cousin marriage rests on two impo
notives. The first motive is the natural striving of every
kinship group, in particular of each mother, to provide he
progeny with wives.

At the primitive stage of human development the ele
ment of struggle in sexual relations undoubtedly played ju
as tremendous a role as in the zoological kingdom in gene
And one of the most important problems of human comm
ties was to limit this struggle as far as possible, by one or
another regulation.

The intention of marriage, obligatory between pers
of a certain group, was that form of sexual regulation whi
was called upon to satisfy the above-mentioned fundamen
dictate of the community. Prior to the establishment of
exogamy, this dictate could be satisfied by the intrabloo
marriages obligatory between brothers and sisters. With t
establishment of the principle of exogamy, cross-cousin
marriage most satisfactorily solved this problem. From
birth, the sons of a woman are the husbands of the daught
of her brother, and the sons of this latter are the husbands
of her daughter. This combination satisfies to an equal
degree the father of the family as well, because his child
marry the children of his sister.

The other motive of cousin marriage is religious: wit
such marriages people not alien by blood, but rather of a
common origin through the father and mother, come tog
at the domestic hearth, with its gods-ancestors. And bot
spouses may to an equal extent count on the favor of the
common gods-ancestors. This is a feature of primary im
portance in the eyes of primitive man, for whom the bles
of the gods and the observance of religious rituals is as es
tremely important matter in life, one of the major mean
in the struggle for existence. That is why this form of m
became not /219/ only favored, but religiously obligator

/222 cont./

582 Kohler's correspondent reports on it from Africa among the
* 194 Hottentot. From Indonesia, such an authoritative investigator
● 171 as Wilken reports on it, writing: "Among the Batak, the Redjang (Rejangs) and the natives of Amboina, it is permissible for the son of a sister to marry the daughter of a brother, but the son of a brother may not marry the daughter of a sister" (2).

[113] 2. Wilken, Bijdranjen /Contributions/, Serie V, V. I, p. 148.

The kinship terminology corresponds to this arrangement; among the Batak on Sumatra, for example, a wife or female sweetheart is called ibibere-re-datang, i.e., daughter of the mother's brother.

This institution was already recorded in still more definite form in the 1870's among the Dravidian tribes of India. Thus, for example, in the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpūras in central India, marriage between cousins is compulsory when /223/ the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. Many data may be found in the most recent literature by Rivers (1).

[113] 1. "Marriage of cousins in India, Jour. Royal Asiat. Society, July, 1907, p. 626 pass.

/226 cont./

* 835 who were not kin to each other, with this difference, that the
* 194 collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans,
614 would be broken up into several groups, as in the punalua
908 family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining
* 835 in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since
601 the Gilyak family is the most ideal form of the punalua
* 174 family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the most complete form of the Turanian system. Actually, we find in it classificatory groups that must have existed in the Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the
[119] system of marriage. For example, in that Turanian form which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely, the Tamil, the two extremely important classificatory terms -- "husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

* 835 The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed
601 under conditions where brothers had common wives, and
* 194 sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the
● 171 Tamil system a man calls by the name father, not only his own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also existed a general term "wife," by which a man would designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband," by which each woman would designate both her own husband and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

114 In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the
601 Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil,
171 a man calls his wife en mainavi, the wife of his brother enanni, en maittuni, the sister of his wife en korlunti, en maittuni; there is the same lack of correspondence with the term "husband" (1).

1. See the table in Morgan.

/226 cont./

601 Among the Gilyak the terms "husband" and "wife" --
* 835 pu and anŋ:ej -- embrace all persons united by group mar-
114 riage, which thus still more confirms the truth of Morgan's interpretation of the kinship terms.

114 /227/ Elucidation of several terms of the Turano-Ganowanian
601 system which appeared inexplicable to Morgan. In the light
● 171 of cousin marriage, several terms of kinship in the Turano-Ganowanian system become understandable to us. For example, Morgan was very confused by, and even regarded as inexplicable, why, among the Tamil, i. e man, call the children of my male cousins (considering as such the children of the sister of my father and of the brother of my mother without distinction) nephews and nieces, but I call the children of my female cousins sons and daughters. At the same time, among the Seneca-Iroquois exactly the reverse of this rule prevails. In his Consanguinity and Affinity he considers this fact inexplicable: "The discrimination of degrees of the cousin relationship," he says "is a remarkable fact in the Tamilian system. It is now found only in some systems of the Turanian family. From the structure and principles of the Turanian system, as I have already shown earlier with regard to the Ganowanian system, it follows inevitably that in its further development this relationship would be applied and restricted to the children of a brother and sister. It was probably unknown in the primitive system... It is the only particular in which it differs materially from the form of the family among the Seneca-Iroquois. In this respect, this last logically agrees more with the principles of the Turanian system than the Tamilian system. It is difficult to find any explanation for this difference" (1).

[113] 1. Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, 1871 p. 391.

/227 cont./

114 Subsequently, in Ancient Society, Morgan found an ex-
601 planation for this fact.
● 171 "This shows," he says, "that among the Tamil, at the time when the Turanian system was introduced, all my female cousins were my wives, while at the same time this did not apply to the wives of my male cousins" (2).

[113] 2. Morgan, Ancient Society, 1877, p. 444 (Russ. trans., Pervobytnoe obshchestvo, p. 427).

114 It did not even occur to Morgan that the whole Turanian
601 system was based on this principle. This peculiarity, how-
* 194 ever, is precisely the result of the primitive system of cross-
171 cousin marriage, from which the Turanian system also de-
* 835 veloped. Under cross-cousin marriage, marriage between the children of brother and sister is the only form of marriage, and such male and female cousins accordingly call themselves "husband" and "wife." That the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage is evident also from other terms, which /228/ must have been inexplicable to Morgan and which he does not even bring up, not having found an explanation for them. For example, among the Tamil, if "I" am a man, then the wife of my sister's son is my "daughter" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the husband of my sister's daughter is my "son" (as in the Australian cousin marriage). the husband of my father's sister's daughter is my "brother" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the father of my wife is my "father-in-law" and "uncle" (father-in-law and brother of the mother among the Gilyak, father-in-law and brother of the father or mother among the Australians); the mother of my wife is my "mother-in-law" and "aunt" (aunt and father's sister among the Gilyak, mother-in-law and father's sister or mother's sister among the Australians); my brother's wife is my "female cousin" (i.e., a daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister); and, finally, the "wife" of a son of my father's sister, and

/228 cont./

114 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister"
● 171 (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms
* 194 is met if "I" am a woman.
601 All this is without question evidence that the Turanian
* 835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although the examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes of central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of this system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change to the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a con-
* 174 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the
601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to
* 835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children of
615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's sister's
[191] son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my
[114] "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins of the first clans A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of group marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children for both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we shall see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian
* 194 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera-
* 835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of
615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

/228 cont./

121 The general composition of the phratry may be represented
* 174 in the following table (see p. 230 /of the original text/).
615 /230/
* 835

I	II
Group of male cousins	Groups of male cousins
$A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 + A^5 + A^6 \ldots$	$V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 + V^5 + V^6 \ldots$
Their sisters:	
$a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 + a^5 + a^6 \ldots$	$v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 + v^5 + v^6 \ldots$

Since the groups $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4$ etc. and their sisters are related to one another in the same way as the members of the second group V^1, V^2, V^3, V^4 and their sisters, according to the norms of cross-cousin marriage, A^1 is married to v^1 (a sister of V^1), A^2 is married to v^2, A^3 to v^3, A^4 to v^4, etc., and, conversely, V^1 is married to a^1, V^2 to a^2, V^3 to a^3, V^4 to a^4, etc., in each generation.

Now let us imagine the moment when society first became aware of the harm of cross marriage between cousins of the first
● [171] degree. From the details of Australian marriage, we know that the first step in this direction was the prohibition of cross marriage between cousins of the first degree and the establishing of cross marriage between cousins of the second degree. As a consequence of this, A^1 no longer marries v^1, but rather his cousin of the second degree, v^2, just as V^1 must now marry a^2, etc.

Marriages under this new arrangement present the following appearance: Division I $(A^1 + V^2) + (A^2 + V^1) + (A^3 + V^4) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^6) + (V^6 + a^5)$ etc. /sic; see errata for original p. 230, line 18, on p. 739 of the foreign text/. Division II $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^2 + a^1) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^5 + a^6) + (V^6 + a^5)$ etc.

It is easy to see that under this arrangement each half of the society is in turn separated into two halves, into two matrimonially isolated groups, namely, the odd members of each division make up only one group, while the even members make up another, and in both divisions together four groups are formed.

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This four-group division is expressed in the following form:

Group I $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6)$ and other odd members.

Group II $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5)$ and other even members.

Group III $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^6)$ and other odd members.

Group IV $(V^2 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^6 + a^5)$ and other even members.

The first group is nebrakopravomochna (inmarriageable /given in English/) with IV, because in some cases, if families become joined in wedlock in /231/ consecutive order, for example $(A^1 + v^2)$ with $(V^2 + a^1)$, then the children of these families will be bilateral cousins, for their fathers are mutually married to each other's sisters; in other cases, for example in families $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^4 + a^3)$, the children will be not cousins of the second degree, but cousins of the third or fourth degree, which is avoided by the Australian system. For the same reason groups II and III are unmarriageable, while groups I and III and groups II and IV are entirely marriageable in the consecutive order of the families. Thus, for example, in the families $(A^1 + v^2)$ from group I and $(V^1 + a^2)$ from III, as is seen from the indices, the father of the first family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the second family, and, conversely, the father of the second family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the first family; consequently, their children are second degree cousins on the side of both their fathers and their mothers, which is just what is necessary in Australian marriage.

But these groups in the Australian system could not develop into the present clan units, because each pair of marriageable groups remained marriageable for only one generation; consequently, the following generation, as the offspring of brother and sister, could not marry, being

/231 cont./

cross cousins of the first degree, and for this reason these groups could not become fixed into hereditary unions and therefore formed only class generations, the whole practical significance of which was in the mnemonic fixation of the marriage norms.

The role of the four-group division developed quite differently with the Gilyak type of marriage. Here, too, the initial motive was the realization of the harm of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but while in the Australian system the question was resolved by means of a transition to marriages between cousins of the second degree and the absolute prohibition on marriages between cousins of the first degree, with the preservation, however, of the exchange marriage, in the Gilyak marriage the change of norms was limited merely to a prohibition on marriages between bilateral cousins of the first degree, i.e., marriages where the spouses are cousins of the first degree both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. Here marriage remained obligatory between cousins of the first degree, but only if they were unilateral, i.e., either on the side of the father or on the side of the mother; through this, mutual marriages between two families became absolutely forbidden: under no condition could two men marry each others' sisters; consequently, marriage even between bilateral cousins of the second degree became impossible.

Now let us see how this regulation led to the Gilyak type of phratry.

/232/ Let us recall again the phratry with two divisions, with marriage between cousins of the first degree. In order to facilitate orientation, we repeat the previously introduced diagram of the composition of each generation of spouses according to degrees of kinship, with cross marriage between cousins of the first degree.

/232 cont./

Division I: men $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$
their sisters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 \ldots$

Division II: men $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$
their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 \ldots$

The same letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin relationship. Persons of different letter-groups with identical indices, for example, A^1, a^1 and V^1, and v^1, or A^2, a^2 and V^2, v^2, are bilateral cousins of the first degree, and they usually join in cross-marriage, i.e., A^1 marries v^1 and V^1 marries a^1. Persons of different letter-groups with different indices are cousins of more remote degrees according to the larger index.

And now let us imagine the moment when the transition from bilateral cousin marriage to unilateral marriage began, and when the exchange of sisters, that is, cross-cousin marriage, became prohibited.

This transition could not be completed all at once. Among individuals of both divisions there were no unilateral cousins at all, because these were all products of cross-cousin marriage. But since marriages between cousins of the first degree became absolutely prohibited, it would doubtless have become necessary for the first time to arrange marriages between cousins of the next closest degrees. The most rational must be, as we have seen among the Australians, marriage between cousins of the second degree, but, in contrast to the Australian regime, where this form could be strictly put into practice in both divisions (1), here, as a

1. See the above table on p. 338.

consequence of the prohibition of the exchange of women, this form could be employed only in one division of society.

/233 cont./

On the other hand, by comparing the odd members of the first division with the odd members of the second division, we see that the men of the odd families of the first row and the women of the even families of the second row, for instance, the members $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^2 + a^4)$, have identical indices, i.e., they are brothers and sisters, and consequently the sons of the second row marry the daughters of the first row. One can easily see that the same relationship will obtain between the even members of the first division and the other two rows of the second division.

Thus, as in Australian marriage, the society, matrimonially, is naturally broken up into four groups:

Division I: Group I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6) + (A^7 + v^8)$ and other odd members.

Group II: $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5) + (A^8 + v^7)$ and other odd members.

Division II: Group III: $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^7 + a^3)$ and other even members.

Group IV: $(V^2 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^6 + a^5) + (V^8 + a^6)$ and other even members.

The families of the first group take for their sons wives /234/ from the corresponding families of group IV, where the mothers of the first are the sisters of the fathers of the second, but the daughters of the first group enter the third group -- into families where their fathers' own sisters are. In exactly the same way the second group takes women from group IV and gives its women to group III. In a word, we have literally everything that we saw in the Gilyak marriage. Since exchange marriage between the two groups does not exist, and consequently in each following generation the descendants of the espoused clans will be unilateral cousins, marriages will without exception take place between the same groups and in the same order of families, so that, in contrast to the Australian groups, in this case these exogamous groups are converted into real clans. Thus we obtain the Gilyak four-clan phratry. In this phratry each clan is joined

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I shall proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are predominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to the shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities have been studied by me principally among the most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochi, and I had an opportunity to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples of the Amur region.

In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationalities differ considerably from the Gilyak, settled fishermen and dog-breeders, nevertheless we find a great deal essentially similar in their classificatory system and norms of marriage. As among the Gilyak, the clan is based on paternity /paterniteta/. In each generation of a given clan, the men and women are elder and younger brothers and sisters. The children of these classes are common sons and daughters and brothers and sisters to one another. The clansmen-"brothers," own and collateral, live in a group marriage with their wives, just as among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect, i.e., the younger with the wives of the elder. Here, as among the Gilyak, they prefer to take wives from a single clan, from which one may conclude that again, as among the Gilyak, that marriage from a single clan was once obligatory.

Group marriage also exists with the wife's sisters who are married to members of another clan, but, by analogy with the brothers' wives, among some tribes this marriage includes only the younger sisters of the wife. In two respects group marriage among the Tungus tribes is much broader than among the Gilyak. First of all, each man has a right not only to the wives of his elder brothers, but also to the wives of the younger brothers of his father, whom he therefore calls by the same class term as his elder brothers, namely, aki, a'ga. On the other hand, marriage to the daughters of the younger sisters is allowed and thus that category of nieces is drawn into the circle of the class of group wives. It is

/219 cont./

582 That is why up to the present time among a large number of
174 Dravidian tribes marriage is mandatory when a brother has a
171 daughter and his sister a son. That is why, as we saw among
121 the Australian tribes, with all the striving toward limiting cousin marriage, marriages more remote than cousins of the third degree are prohibited; consequently, marriages between cousins of the second degree are obligatory. That is why among the Mongols, whose favored marriages are the marriages between persons alien to each other, marriages between the children of a brother and sister are called "white sin," i.e., considered acceptable, while marriages even between the most remote members of one clan are "black
582 sin," i.e., completely unallowable. In order not to increase
174 the examples, we shall end with the Gilyak, among whom,
121 in spite of all the peripeteia of this small tribe, only the marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is considered "pure marriage."

After these preliminary observations, we may proceed to an examination of the question as to what place the Gilyak norm of marriage occupies in the history of the evolution of marriage in general.

Cousin marriage, as we saw, owes its origin to the realization of the harm of marriage between close blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the striving for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship marriage the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed consistently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

/219 cont./

582 When adapted to individual families, this arrangement is
* 174 expressed in the fact that the son of a brother marries the
121 daughter of his sister, and, conversely, the son of a sister marries the daughter of her brother. The spouses are cousins of the first degree, while the wife of each man is, on the one hand, the daughter of the sister of his father, and, on the other hand, the daughter of the brother of his mother, because the fathers of the spouses married each other's sister.

Such was the first stage of the limitation on marriages between persons close by blood. Further limitation occurred
• [171] /220/ differently in different places. In Australia this limitation proceeded very early on the broadest course: from marriages between cousins of the first degree, they proceeded to marriages between cousins of the second degree, and the previous marriages between cousins of the first degree were prohibited.

Nothing in the social structure changed with this arrangement. Society remained divided as before into two halves which exchanged women, with the difference that a man married, not the daughter of the sister of his father, but the daughter of his cousin of the first degree, so that the progeny of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses became further removed from one another by one generation, both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. The principle of the exchange of women, which constituted the essence of cross-cousin marriage, was preserved inviolate, while the principle that marriage was obligatory between the children of a brother and sister was basically violated. It turned out to be impossible to preserve both principles in complete purity.

On analogous premises, the evolution proceeded differently among those peoples for whom marriage was built on the Gilyak principle. In the name of conservatism they considered it more important to preserve the second principle, sacrificing the first.

/220 cont./

582 The peoples of this group, for which the Gilyak serve
* 174 most striking representative, began to limit marriages betw
121 cousins of the first degree, considering it necessary to esta lish a more remote degree of kinship between spouses, but they did not wish to sacrifice that principle which seemed them most important, namely, the one according to whic each mother receives for her son the daughter of her broth They actually preserved this principle, but, in order to satisfy the necessity of lessening the closeness of kinship between spouses, they sacrificed the other principle of cro cousin marriage.

As we know, the son of a woman receives the daughte of her brother, but the reverse, i.e., the marriage of the son of a brother and the daughter of his sister, is not allow As a result the limitation on the closeness of kinship obtai spouses are cousins of the first degree only on one side -- the side of the mother of the husband, but not on the side of the mother of the wife, while previously, with cross-cousin marriage, they were cousins of the first degree both on the side of the mothers and on the side of the fathers of both spouses. But at the same time there is preserved here the old basic principle -- marriage to the daughter of the brother of the mother, and the spouses remained cousins of the first degree -- true, on one side only.

/221/ This departure from the peoples of the Australia type in the form of the limitation on marriage between cousins of the first degree brought about a fundamental cha in the organization of society. It brought about the transit from a bipartite division of society with its classes to the organization of a pure clan, and in particular to the four-c phratry that we saw among the Gilyak.

• [171] With the Australian system of limitations on marriages within close degrees of kinship, no matter how far these limitations went (at the present time they do not go further than cousins of the second degree), society remains irrevoc divided from the standpoint of marriage into two exogamou

/221 cont./

582 groups, joined in the constant mutual exchange of women.
* 174 In fact, each division is a real clan, because marriages are
121 prohibited within the division. True, along with these two
● 171 divisions a complex system of marriage classes is established, but these latter change nothing, for no matter what class a man belongs to, he continues to remain in his division, while the classes do not change the position of the person in the clan, but are only mnemonic titles personally limiting a man (but not his offspring) in the choice of women of a particular degree of relationship: in the four-class system -- only cousins of the first degree; in the eight-class system, cousins of the second degree. In reality, classes are not even obligatory appurtenances for the Australian dual division. Among the Dieri tribe, for example, there exists the same prohibition with respect to marriages between cousins of the first degree as among the Arunta, but, while among the latter eight classes have been established as a mnemonic device, among the former this limitation has not been reflected in an extensive class division.

Thus it is clear that in the Australian system, by virtue of its having preserved the principle of the exchange of women, cross-cousin marriage demands only a division into two clans. The society is a two-clan phratry.

582 The Gilyak system was unable to remain in this two-
* 174 clan phratry. From the moment when cross-cousin mar-
121 riages, i.e., exchange marriages between the children of brother and sister, were prohibited, the two-clan phratry was insufficient: one clan took women from a second clan, but the latter was obliged to seek women for itself elsewhere, while, on the other hand, marriages outside of a given ethnic group were not allowed (as we see now in Australia). It remained to transform the two-clan phratry into a multiclan phratry.

/222/

582 This type of one-sided cousin marriage, so simply ex-
* 174 plained in the light of the evolution of more ancient forms
114 of cross-cousin marriage, has attracted no attention at all from the investigators. Many scientists have even regarded this institution with disbelief, considering it implausible. Thus, almost at the same time as my publication on this
● [171] institution among the Gilyak (in 1901), the noted scientist Kohler in his article, "Das Recht der Hottentots /The Law of the Hottentot/" (1), ascertaining, in the words of his

[113]

1. In Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, B. XVI, pp. 341-342.

correspondent, the existence of just such an institution among that tribe, regards this report with distrust. The cause of this distrust is quite simple. Not knowing the genesis of this institution and the place occupied by it in the evolution of cousin marriage, and having no other examples of this institution besides its remnants in the marriage prohibitions, it was difficult to comprehend the cause of the one-sided prohibition by which the son of a sister can marry the daughter of a brother, but the daughter of a sister may not marry the son of her brother, although the degree of closeness of blood kinship in both cases is identical; and therefore the one-sidedness of the prohibition was viewed rather as an anomaly than as a normal sign of a living institution.

582 Due to such disbelief on the part of investigators, this
* 174 institution is completely disregarded in treatises on human
171 marriage and has remained completely misunderstood, while
[114] ethnographic literature gives quite a bit of information on its broad distribution among the most diverse peoples. Especially numerous traces of it are found in Indonesia and among the Dravidian peoples of India, among whom Morgan found the most clearly expressed form of the Turanian system, in which group marriage was preserved. As we just saw,

Aleut NAG

A 595 835 114 171 [113]

Erman (3) relates the same, but he does

/244 cont./

3. A. Erman, "Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen /Ethnographic Observations/," Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Vol. III, 1871, pp. 162-163, Berlin.

not indicate either the kinship relations between the common husbands or their relationship in the case of the marriage of the second participant. But this in no way allows us to conclude that marriage among the Aleut is confined to the details related above. As we have already stated earlier, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described Gilyak marriage in the same terms as Veniaminov used to describe that of the Aleut, whereas we have seen that the Gilyak have the typical group marriage. The description of group marriage as given by Veniaminov and Rinso is quite natural for non-specialist observers, for with group marriage one is most easily struck by that case in which the second husband is not individually married himself, as it is described in Gilyak fairy tales: "two brothers maintained one wife." A non-specialist, however, generally leaves unnoticed group marriages which include several married men. One can therefore say with a great degree of assurance -- especially if one takes into consideration data about the preferred marriage to cousins -- that the polyandry of the Aleut that Veniaminov tells us about was in reality a form of group marriage. In confirmation of my hypothesis I shall permit myself to cite the following example from the life of the Toda, a tribe that lives in the Nilgiri Hills.

G [835] [595] [171]

The old writer Marshall describes marriage among the Toda in the following way (4):

4. W. E. Marshall, A phrenologist among the Todas, London, 1873, p. 213.

"If a husband has brothers or very close kinsmen who all live together, each one of them may, with the consent

1: Shternberg--360 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Aleut NAG

A 595 171

/245 cont./

The peculiarities of the Aleut marriage norms did not remain isolated on the Aleutian Islands. On the northwestern shore of the American continent, right up to the Columbia River itself, which was regarded by Morgan as the point of departure of the Ganowanian system, observers note them in terms almost analogous to those used by Veniaminov. We find them among the Eskimo tribe of the Koniag, the inhabitants of Kodiak Island, about whom Davydov writes: "Some women have two husbands each: the first is the actual husband, who selects the other one with the consent of the wife. This one at the same time becomes a servant, i.e., he carries firewood and does a number of other chores. He can sleep with the wife only in the absence of her actual husband, and upon his return he is deprived of this right. /246/ The Russians call such husbands partners" (1). This

A [113]

1. Davydov, Dvukratnoe puteshestvie v Ameriku ofitserov Khvostova i Davydova /Two Voyages to America by the Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, Part II, pp. 50-51.

A G 595 171

This description, which almost seems to have been copied from Mamio Rinso and Veniaminov and travelers to Tibet, fails like the others to note the kinship relations between the spouses, but, on the other hand, there is the valuable report of the right of the second husband to exercise his marital rights only in the absence of the first husband, as among the Gilyak, and the obvious subservient position of this second husband. This subservient position is justly noted and strikes the eye also among the Gilyak, but it obtains, not by virtue of a marital agreement, but by virtue of the fact that the elder brother always plays the role of the head of the house and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another, the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master and worker.

A G [592] [593]

/246 cont./

Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

served among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor. The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

/247 cont./

amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true, conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility, concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/. The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who enjoyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

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therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man take woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buy wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in b cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually ticed at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javi which in this form is only a marriage term for designati woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original ing, however, is not difficult to make out from forms are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the closest to it, the reflexive verb p'àvind = pi + avind, s fying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a ch teristic example: n'ig:yvyn' n'enyn' pyr:k pavrà -- "a himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic se If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the me ing of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves c jointly, to have a common economy. From this comes adverb p'avind -- together. Further, we have the deri form of the active voice àjvund -- to support someone one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, t to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifie nourish oneself, to graze (jaivun ekhan -- a grazing co Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respec a man and at the present time signifying to get married must originally have meant literally "to take a man at own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the of maternality /materniteta/ prevailed, as it does at t present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where t husband as a common rule moved into the house of his just as the masculine term g:end -- "to take for onese bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

/383 cont./

[191] ^yenesitnta/, with the wife moving into the house of her husband. At the present time the original meaning has disappeared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree that often when the expression "to get married" was asked to the verb ^ayind the verb vind, ^avin vind, which would mean literally, "to take a man and support him," but this is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving into the husband's house and, /384/ consequently, being supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from ^ayind. The reflexive verb ^vayind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ^ri^ ^ayind^ ^ayind^ ^ayind, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ^ayind is used in the sense of to be married, to have a wife, for example, ^ayind^ ^yan ^ayind ^ayind^ ^ayind^ -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several remnants of the former matriarchy. Elopement testimony of this is found in the contemporary formula of common marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -^ymgin ^ayind^ ^ayind^ ^ayind^ -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although, according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Aino of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obliged to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

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This formula has preserved its vital significance even today. One is supposed to send regularly to the son-in-law gifts of game and a share of every catch. Moreover, the young men of the category ^ymgi during the course of several months out of the year are unfailing guests in the settlement of their father-in-law and are indispensable participants in the more important hunting expeditions.

In particular, this relation is clearly attested to at the time of distant sea excursions for the hunting of sea animals. The master of the boat -- he is the head of the expedition -- at such cases especially summons his ^ymgi to take part in the hunt (1).

(1) 1. We find an analogous phenomenon among the Haida Indians, a purely maternal tribe. Here, so reports Swanton (Haida, p. 68), when a man undertakes a military campaign, he calls together his tribesmen who are his potential or final son-in-law.

All this time the ^ymgi are not only fed for nothing, but when they carry away with them a small share of the catch and various /385/ gifts besides. One's relations with the young men are often much more tender than with one's own children. And this is entirely understandable, for a man's ^ymgi are the sons of his sisters or daughters, his tribesman, who under a maternal system must live with him, while his own sons and grandsons will move to the settlement of their wives and will be completely estranged from him.

Taking into the "nourishment" of the tribesman through the female line, however, is a customary intention in matriarchy. Among several peoples, as, for example, among the Polynesians, the right of tribesmen to the fruits of their uncle on the mother's side has taken on completely improbable forms, where a tribesman has the right to switch with impunity the possessions of his uncle. This right is

/385 cont./

preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who by now have shifted to patemity, for example, the peoples of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if he refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair. An element to the marriage deposit is also, and the bride price is handed over to him.

Now for other matriarchal relative traces which may be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say that a man is married, that he has a wife at home, he says ^n^-umgavo ^vrp^, literally "I have a wife's village" (^n^ -- I, umgar -- wife's, ^vo -- village, ^vra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and when husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement with his wife and children.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression ^pandov^, literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her brothers and sisters. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /386/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the reverence and

/386 cont./

To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the matriarchal psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who, judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants, and they exerted their influence on it in many respects, as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship terms or their norms of marriage.

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XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

We have already had occasion to introduce in another place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women of the clan of the mother, from the ^ad^ga^ the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak ^Ytlng^ from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, leaves his home-land and says to the people who are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter; do not fail to carry out my will for any reason." The epic poem at a clearly portrays for us the form of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom simply take to each other on their personal and on the maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

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origin from a common mother). The favored and most frequent form of such an orthodox marriage is a marriage between the son of a brother and the daughter of a sister /ibi/. The bride and the groom, who have no "negotiations" take place /389/ between the mothers soon after the birth of the children, and from the agreement a public ceremony is organized, in which, besides the father, the grandfathers of the children who are being married take part. The father of the groom brings a male dog, and the mother gives two threads out the fur of this dog and a nettle, with which the bind the hand of the little girl, while with the other the father of the groom ties the son's little hand (1). All this is

(1) 1. It is curious that among the Gilyak there is no ceremony of binding the marriage of infants, which among them is expressed by the giving of a blanket instead of a belt. Has been the technical designation, "nakladyanie peneyvaldo" (Eng). "putting the string on". Nevertheless, the ceremony, among the Gilyak, was formerly carried out by means of a binding up with string or thread, just as there is in such cases up to the present day among the Tamil in India.

performed in the presence of the elder members of the clan, and the marriage is considered inviolable.

The idea of the orthodox marriage up to the present is thought of not merely as being desirable, but as a right of the Gilyak. Marriages of this type are still quite widely arranged on Sakhalin (although that clan may have only recently attained such a position by virtue of the fact that some surrounds took his wife from that clan), negotiations are usually begun with words like this: "You are my ^ikhmali^, let

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The bride is customarily represented by the father and mother, but for the final decision the attendance of representatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those of the bride and of the groom, have no special negotiations, but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mother, the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternality, in the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief. In the epos there is a which wrote down, a father, when he in his terms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, replies: "Do thou but think upon it only after healing the wounds of your younger brothers!" In Gilyak law also, that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women marriage is not participate in community affairs, is so smaller in matriarchal affairs than that of the father. This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who sits identity in her accustomed place among the trusts with a whole number of the people, in contrast to the bride. Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she does not have a lover to whom she is betrothed, and if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she ordinarily comes off the laconic phrase: "Since you with this, it is for me to contradict" But it may happen that the maiden, upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom, immediately runs away and does not return until the departure of the matchmakers, and then the matter (marriage) ends in naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

(1) 1. It is interesting to note that among the Negiks, whose customs, as a result of extreme matriarchal ties, are so rule similar to those of the Gilyak, considerable differences were noticed by me.

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The bride is not present during the betrothal, the mother has the wishes of the groom, interest, and the kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage accompanied by bride price, where the parents have no motives of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather a remnant of matriarchal relations, where from her very childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite person or limited group of persons, and there could be no question of her freedom of choice, all the more because the marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.

The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal among the Gilyaks we find features which are repeated with remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. The procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded by a whole number of ceremonies and formalities. In some cases the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at first conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at a house, they say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodka from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily accept the tea and, when they have drunk their fill of vodka, the matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals. The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist them with everything at his disposal. And here they take him at his word and come to the point: "Your daughter is no longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that the matter may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

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him curtly: "That is not your business. We will take care of that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional approval of the bride is all the more clear, for that he will know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

(1) 1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak explain the motives for the harsh, depreciatory opinions of his daughter. I think, therefore, that Kohler's was wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 73b).

/391/ But it may happen that the father will not give any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the matchmakers towards the inadequacies of his daughter. When all the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires the phrase which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wishes to cut short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothing," he says through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And after a short pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what she wants, it is not my business." Then they begin to regale the mother of the bride, who, after long ceremony, in turn finishes with the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let the men decide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the business basis of the bride price and dowry. In this connection the customs are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the Amur, where the people are more mercantile, the bride's side usually enumerates down to the slightest detail the objects of the bride price.

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first they name only two or three objects, the most valuable and rare of the expected bride price, and after that they only haggle over secondary valuables. But in both places the procedure of the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atmosphere.

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years regularly rent him tiles, tobacco, and tea, and divided with him that which he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he had given a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

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/392 cont./

(1) 1. Incidentally, among the Tamil people and the Nahind Indian, the proper marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyaks.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be a systematic error very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /393/ this is the fact that it is prohibited and not allowed to buy women for wives.

It remains for us to answer the question, why it came to bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in that law are marriages are concluded between persons not bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between clan clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

/719 cont./ **Ainu with the distribution of the bride**

within the family, the relationship of a (singularly exceptional character are preserved, clearly testifying to the old orthodox form of marriage. Namely, part of the bride price is given to the "old animals," i.e., to the shamans with whom a given family has concluded orthodox matrimonial unions. Thus, for example, if in the course of several generations family A has taken wives from family B, i.e., the sons of sisters in each generation have married the daughters of their own brothers, then every time the family gives in marriage any one of its women, who, at we see, are forbidden to the men of family B by virtue of the unilaterality of the custom marriage, and receives bride price, then a part of it is given to the eldest one in family B, usually to the header of the mother of the woman who has been given in marriage, rarely to the father of the latter, if he is alive. It is custom that the family of the groom presents this gift to the old shaman as part of the bride price. This custom is practiced in a still more striking form. They give their infant sister to the brother of their mother, or their daughter to the brother of their wife, in order that these persons may afterwards receive the bride price for them, but participation in the distribution of the latter may not be demanded. "It is better to propose one's daughter or sister to the old shaman, mother," the Gilyak usually add when they are talking about this custom, "than to wait for a request about the matter." And this is not all. If a medical man, a brother and a nephew has several sisters, then one /of the sisters/ is supposed to be given to each /of the brothers/. What is the explanation of this strange custom? We have a completely analogous case among the Tamil, where the mother's brother also receives a part of the bride price when the woman is given /739/ in marriage. But among the Tamil cousin marriage is bilateral, so that if a man's sister does not give her daughter in marriage to the son of her brother, she thereby breaks the law; but among the Gilyak cousin marriage is unilateral, and the son of the brother of the mother-in-law daughter of this last is forbidden. But why then does the mother's brother have such preference? Here a double explanation is possible:

/720 cont./ **Ainu with the distribution of the bride**

It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the bottle" takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Gilyak", who since olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family, and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the bottle," only this time, instead of bottles, a stick (*kyr*) -- about an arshin in length with a human chibbalugin.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little amenities in the language of the Gilyak-Tungus tribe are: Marriage, Kinship, Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached sexual maturity makes two breasts. Women pierce both ears in order to put in earrings (*pur-kyr*); formerly men also pierced their ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she begins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the *tagurman* (the matrons of the tribe) takes offense.

Among the Gilyak (Orok) a man who has two wives accommodates a guest under one blanket.

A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it begins to break up; in order not to slow up the coming of the river. They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- *langsy-mam*). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in a nail; it is also permissible to repair anything for an alien. During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their trifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilical break, she

/804 cont./

for your master?" And thus /805/ they go around the entire village, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to confess, and the master forgives. A shout goes up: it happens that the thief dies from it.

As oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the court, in a hearing where the plaintiff-side sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

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1. Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when *ahbi* was ripe, she married him.

If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

/806/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even in jest. Chubb-chugmd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the *langsy* (a hut for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yet yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set his nets. The woman lives in the *langsy*. Broth must be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when the return from the *langsy*, the cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the ceremony of washing of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the corner. Women have particular cooking utensils, which they feed the fire, *chubbchugin-tugu*, and have a fire for them. After the child is born, unclean -- *akilaf pachchyr* -- and becomes *sik urland pomyng* -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood or her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- *kyr vahkind* -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shoot during childbirth; otherwise she will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, proclaiming a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

1. Among the Orok a woman is in the balagan only during childbirth; then for ten days they cook for her on a separate fire; she does not eat (with her), fearing to lose their strength.

/807 cont./

2. Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when *ahbi* was ripe, she married him.

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/809 cont./ baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of legal marriage in such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates which give the right and opportunity to secure Government assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I have, moreover, met a great number of Russian Gilyaks from the mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless, the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented missionary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized Goldi and the Amur Orok are now quite indifferent in their attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

/810 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak, from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either. In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of a given individual, and her children are the children of that individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

/731 cont./

II.

Family-Clan Relations

When one observes the family among the Gilyak, one at first does not notice anything special about it. As among many of our other natives, the Gilyak buys one or two, formerly three, wives, who are hierarchically recognized wives, as are his children who work with him, are supported by him, and to whom his property passes after his death. The marital fidelity of a wife is guarded with an armed hand, as we shall see below. In a word, the form of marriage is, by all appearances, completely individual /individual marriage as opposed to group marriage/. But on closer acquaintance with the family relations of the Gilyak /732/ one encounters a whole series of phenomena which are at variance with this form of marriage. First of all, it becomes apparent that the wives are not all on the same footing; one wife is the actually recognized (own) father, but also all the brothers of his father, not only own, i.e., of the first degree of kinship, but also of all the remaining degrees, and the brothers of the brothers of his father he calls mothers (*yma*), like his own mother. In the same way, a Gilyak calls all the sisters of his mother by the name of mother (*yma*), and their husbands father (*yik*). The children of brother, as well as the children of sisters, of all degrees of kinship call one another "*nevi*" (= brother and also correspondes to the German word "*Geschwister*" = brother and sister). And, what is still more remarkable, just as the husbands of sisters and the wives of brothers in the Punalua family called one another *punalua* (companion, one's half, comrade, friend) -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "*nayth*" (the word signifying literally what *punalua* means among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands). Such, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

/731 cont./ but among them it has long since ceased to correspond to reality; among the Gilyak, however, although the terminology does not fully correspond to reality, it does so all but fully. Even now, every Gilyak has married three wives, who considered a sin to the wives of his brothers of all degrees of kinship and to all the sisters of his wife. Only the elder brother is deprived of this right with regard to the wives of his younger brothers. This limitation is of recent origin, and its very existence seems to emphasize the legality of the collective marital rights of the younger brothers to the wives of their elder brothers and to all the sisters of their wives. Even at the present time these rights are not always exercised by the Gilyak, and in many cases it is not without displeasure and even forcible protests that the interested parties look upon the realization of these rights, as we shall eventually see; but legally, so to speak, they exist, the realization of these rights is not contemplated, and, if it does occur, it is only when it even carried on openly with the consent of the brothers and of the husbands of the wife's sisters. Thus, the contemporary individual form of marriage is a new phenomenon among the Gilyak, and the powerful remnants of the old /733/ order of clan marriage preserved up to the present make it similar to the famous so-called Punalua family," which still existed in the first half of the century on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) where, as among the Gilyak, such mutual rights to the wives of brothers and to the wives of sisters were observed without jealousy. And, what is still more remarkable, just as the husbands of sisters and the wives of brothers in the Punalua family called one another *punalua* (companion, one's half, comrade, friend) -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "*nayth*" (the word signifying literally what *punalua* means among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands). Such, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

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8. (cont.
Section 3 "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

352 354 517 171 513 [197]

Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uftsch, uftsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

[123] [984] [997]

G 359 354 517 516 ●171 [136] G [984] [998]

/353 cont./
running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than for the head. There is another justification for this custom in the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats, which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which always run along the walls, would be constantly running over the face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their kang, if superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

G 342 171

Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of

G [195]

Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K 342 197 195

permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheninnikof and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

K [113]

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

343 [251]

/358 cont./ For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer, there are special storehouses, which, however, since consumption takes place in winter, are always located beside the winter dwellings, and the supplies are carried to them as they accumulate.

The storehouses of the Gilyak (njö, in the Tro and Tymy dialect njo) /illustration appears here/ appear at first glance to be very similar to the summer dwellings in that, like them, they rest on piles (on which the above-mentioned pieces of birch bark may not be absent) (2) and have the same kind of walls and roofs, indeed,

[113] ●[171]

2. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 482) mentions that the Cheremis along the Kama and Wjatka, like most of the Kasan Tatars, put their sheaves of stored grain in round, pointed heaps above four piles connected by beams and covered

Plan of a Gilyak Storehouse (njö, njo).

a -- Balcony-like sill on the front side of the house. b -- Entrance opening. c -- Front section, d -- rear section. e -- Door between them. f to q -- The eleven wall surfaces.

with bark, which makes them inaccessible to mice.

even the same balcony-like sill on the front side, to which one climbs on a thin, notched beam, which can easily be taken away; but even the largest of them are always smaller than the latter, and the entrance is likewise lower and narrower, indeed, sometimes

G 343

/358 cont./
merely an approximately square hole which is just big enough so that a person can go through it in a stooped position, and whose cover is a board that fits it exactly, before which a crosspiece of wood is advanced instead of a bolt (3). The interior of the store-

3. An illustration of the front side of such a storehouse, among other things, will be found below on a plate showing a funeral procession of the Gilyak.

house is usually divided by a partition into two sections, which are connected by a door, so that in it, as the accompanying plan indicates, there are eleven separate, larger or smaller wall surfaces, along which the supplies of fish are stacked.

G 342 343 ●171 K [175] [342] ooo

/359/ Like the earth yurt, all the pile buildings mentioned above, the summer yurt, the storehouse, etc., are original, peculiarly Gilyak structures which the neighbors of the Gilyak, the Tungusic Amur-peoples, lack, but which recur among many other Paleo-Asiatic tribes. For example, according to Krascheninnikof's and Steller's descriptions and an illustration given by the latter, the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal are pyramidal huts built on high piles, which are called balagan by the Russians (1). The Eskimo of the American Northwest along

K [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 215. Steller also gives the dampness of the air and the ground as the compelling reason for the construction of such "airy dwellings" on Kamchatka. This explains why these peculiar dwellings continued to be retained after the earth yurts, as mentioned above, had already been forced out by Russian-type dwellings.

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K [178] [197]

G 343 ●171 E 343

/359 cont./ The Eskimo of the American Northwest along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, and the Arctic Ocean erect their storehouses on high piles above the ground in order to safeguard the supplies of fish, skins, furs, and the like stored in them during the summer both against the humidity and against attacks by mice, foxes, wolves, and especially the dogs, which are always hungry during the summer (2).

E [192]

2. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie, St. Petersburg, 1847, Pt. I, p. 56. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 27. Jacobsen, Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, Leipzig, 1884, p. 173. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, Hannover, 1858, p. 62. In Dall (op. cit., pp. 13 and 65) there are also illustrations of such "dovecote-like" buildings, as Seemann aptly calls them. The designation barabora for them (Sagoskin, op. cit.), which Dall also uses for the summer and winter dwellings of the Eskimo (op. cit., pp. 39, 65), arose according to Steller (op. cit., p. 218; for him, "barabara"), through the corruption on the part of the Russian Cossacks in Kamchatka of the word "pasapar," by which, however, the Kamchadal refer to a hut made out of long grass for an overnight stay.

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Thus, the Gilyak, where they have kept their original dwellings and constructions, and many another Paleo-Asiatic people can to a certain extent be called cave-dwellers or troglodytes in winter and pilework-dwellers in summer. In this respect they stand at a point which on European soil belongs to a far distant, prehistoric period. From this point of view, too, the designation of Paleo-Asiatic peoples, which I have proposed for these remnants of an ancient population formerly more widespread on Asiatic soil, is in a certain sense justified.

Tungus RU5
Mamegix
Orochon
Goldi RX3

/383 cont./
essential for food, clothing, or housing; on the other hand, everything in the way of provisions, clothing, and the like not needed at the moment is deposited and stored for future use at certain points which they always touch on their migrations. For this purpose the most primitive storage-places (dêlkan) are erected. Boards or plaited switches are put in a horizontal position at a height of 5-7 feet on a few piles driven into the ground. All the property to be stored is put on this stand, covered with a birch-bark mat, and weighted from above with poles and stones (2).

2. Maack, op. cit., p. 71. Gerstfeldt, op. cit., p. 302.

It thus remains protected against both dampness from above and below and animal attacks. Plunder by human hands is not to be feared, however, not merely because of the solitude devoid of human beings, but also because the idea of the inviolability of such deposits, and perhaps a superstitious fear of touching them, is widespread generally and to a wide extent even among the neighboring peoples on the same childlike cultural level.

In casting a general glance at the dwellings of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, that is, excluding the Chinese and the Manchu, Daur, Solon, etc., who are becoming more and more assimilated by them, one reaches the conclusion that they most have the character of permanent, stable, solid, and at the same time characteristic housing among the Gilyak, while among the Tungusic peoples living all around they ordinarily seem to be merely tent-like, easily set up and transportable, and suitable for an unsettled, more or less nomadic or roving life. On Sakhalin, for instance, besides the Gilyak staying in stable, permanent dwellings in summer as well as in winter, one also sees, even within part of their territory, the traveling tents of the Orok roaming with their reindeer. On the continent the difference is all the greater the farther one goes upstream from the mouth of the Amur and from the seacoast into the interior. This becomes especially evident from the summer

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

/383 cont./
dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

/389 cont./ the reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong preference for dog fur for their own use may, in part, be the same ones that, according to Steller (1), made the ancient

1. Steller, Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 137.

Italmen on Kamchatka prefer to use dog fur for their clothing, even preferring it to fox and sable. Of course, in view of the conservate tendencies of every primitive people, the usage once customary, the custom handed down for generations, may also play an important role. Besides this, however, the advantages of this fur, learned from experience, come into consideration, its "warmth," durability, and the firmness of its hair, even if it has been exposed to wetness -- characteristics which must make it especially prized by the common man almost always exposed to bad weather. And finally, in addition to all that, there is still another circumstance -- and in this may lie the chief reason /390/ for the universal use of dog fur among the Gilyak -- it is the ease and cheapness of obtaining it, since the Gilyak keep dogs in great numbers as indispensable draft animals, and the fur cannot be used profitably in trade with either the Chinese, Japanese, or Russians.

Nevertheless fur coats made out of the fur of other animals are found among some Gilyak. They do not serve for use, however, but are carefully stored as valued and rare objects. A lynx coat (Gilyak tschlyghi-okch) in particular plays such a role among them. A person who owns a lynx coat is regarded among the Gilyak as a rich and distinguished man, and at the time of my stay in the Amur region they could name for me only three of their countrymen and one Olcha who enjoyed such a possession. The Gilyak were: Nenjdan in the village of Allof on the Amur, Mesgun in Patt, each having one coat of this type, and Pawgun in Tamla-wo on Sakhalin, who had two of them; and the Olcha Todo in Tschilwi, who likewise had one such fur coat in his possession.

/390 cont./
possession. I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all the more a coat made of six skins of this kind, has so high a conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese conceptions. In any case the lynx skin also has considerable real worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not used by the Gilyak like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not impart to their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions of another kind must therefore come into play here. In view of the active, centuries old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the mightiest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne: for example, the seats of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the chair cushions carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar China /A Three-year Trip to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

/390 cont./
covered with tiger skins on the outside (3); long tiger and panther

3. Marco Polo (Reisen, German by Aug. Bürck, with annotations and emendations by Fr. Neumann, Leipzig, 1845, pp. 318-319) relates that the pavilion borne by four elephants in which the Chinese emperor (Kublai Khan) stayed when hunting in the province of Liao-tong, as well as the hunting tents erected for him there, were covered on the outside with tiger, or, as he says, "lion," skins.

tails hang down from the halberds and lances of the officers forming the bodyguard of the emperor and /391/ walking in his retinue during public processions (1), etc. (2). Under Chinese

1. Ysbrants Ides, op. cit., p. 90. Gerbillon, in Du Halde, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 235.

2. Many more examples of the high esteem for the tiger and its skin in China could be given. I shall content myself, however, with referring here only to some of the older testimony of this kind. On account of its predatory nature, evoking fear and terror, its likeness is put on the garments of officers and and other persons in military service in China, as Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey Through China in the Suite of the Embassy of Great Britain in the Years 1793 and 1794, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. II, p. 31), Staunton (Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China in den J.

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2. (cont.)
1792-1794, nebst Nachr. über China und einen kleinen Theil der chines. Tartarey /Ambassadorial Voyage of the Earl of Macartney to China in the Years 1792-1794, with Reports on China and a Small Part of Chinese Tartary/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. I, p. 341), and others have reported. Ellis (Journal of the Proceed. of the late Embassy to China, etc., second edit., London, 1818, Vol. I, p. 130) also saw several companies of soldiers who were wrapped from head to foot in long, yellow and black striped garments which were supposed to make them look like tigers to terrify the enemy. On the other hand, the tiger also seems to be the object of religious veneration in China. For example, Van-Braam (Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 270) reports that four stuffed tigers in a sitting position were set before the altar in the pagoda Huinon-tsu in Peking. In a similar manner, the Chinese (Man-dse) in the Ussuri region erect chapels for the tiger, in which they offer sacrifices to it and hang pictures of it (Arkhim. Palladii, "Usur. Man'tszy /The Ussuri Man-dse/," Izviest. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 376). I shall come back on another occasion to the value that the Chinese in their superstitious beliefs attach to the meat, gall, tendons, bones, and claws, besides the skin of the tiger.

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/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

556 538 171

675 432 437 427 426

Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans, etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have the character of barter.

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak

426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the nonfulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract. No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known

[184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but

[177] even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The

[164] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-

[692] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

1: Sternberg--343 E-3 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[The western Coast]

166 /386 cont./ To make some money,

164 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make

183 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and

433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is

[244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the

Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the

[162] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among

177 them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise

[244] potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev-

224 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point

433 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming

198 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the

648 vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-

342 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement

178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises

354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and

[237] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially

[184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by

171 the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from

177 whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections

133 of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-

[137] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the

[491] taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

2: Schenck--440 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1890 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/327 cont./

000 reduced as much as possible. The house is provided with windows

342 (d) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two

354 longitudinal walls and the rear transverse wall each have two, the front transverse wall one. Even in the most spacious Gilyak houses I never saw more than these seven windows (1); very often,

[171] 1. I did encounter this among other Amur peoples, but I shall speak about that later.

however, the window in the front transverse wall is absent, as, for example, in the Tebach house standing in the foreground on Plate XI, and not infrequently the other transverse wall and the rear longitudinal wall have only one window each, which is then always placed unsymmetrically closer to one or the other corner of the house; in fact, in the smaller houses even the window in the rear longitudinal wall is absent, so that the number of windows in them is reduced to three. Nevertheless, even these, because of their considerable size, light the interior of the house sufficiently. The windows are sometimes square, three to four feet in size,

342 sometimes somewhat wider than high, or vice versa. They have no

357 crossbars, but instead only a number of vertical little sticks equi-

232 distant from one another, and fish skins take the place of glass

[281] between them. In particular these are skins from Salmo iagocephalus (Gilyak: lyghi-tscho, or, on Sakhalin, laghi-tscho) (2),

[192] 2. Known by the Russians throughout Siberia under the name ketá.

the most common kind of salmon in the Amur River, made as thin and transparent as possible by scraping and pounding, and then sewed together in such a way that the seams form many longitudinal lines and a few transverse lines running in a zigzag.

342 The windows do not open, but are only lifted out with the whole

354 frame. The floor inside the house consists of stamped clayey earth. To the right and left of the entrance are the two hearths (e, Gilyak: tschenk) made of clay. They are fed through square

/332 cont./

342 there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays

184 of Tugur and Ulban, where Middendorff became acquainted with

[361] the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his handwritten notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

[113] 1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn.

[354] des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 619), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak there.

Liman and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kulj and Ulban Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitness accounts. The Gilyak, too, though I often asked them about it, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to me other than the above-mentioned one of Pättach.

342 In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as

184 far as their distribution extends, the Chinese yurt at present repre-

174 sents the only form of winter dwelling; on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, along the Liman, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with earth yurts, while in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only this latter form is found. From this distribution of the two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /333/ has been preserved only among the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of

[171] this view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from its above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

A 175 345 /351 cont./
in more ancient times (1).

1. Weniaminof, op. cit., p. 201.

G 342 171 After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth G 342 yurt, the toryf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the 171 Gilyak, the tschadryf, erected on level ground and equipped [354] with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have there- G [114] fore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

G [113] 2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mizul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

G [113] 3. "Histor. Ber.," etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ocherk" o. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (5), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

/351 cont./
000 342 171 [174] winter houses from the Chinese. That it reached the Gilyak from the south, down the Amur, is shown, as was mentioned above, by the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts in their area, in particular by the fact that on Sakhalin the latter are found only along the west coast of the island facing the mouth of the Amur. Actually, this type of construction of the winter house can be followed continuously among all the peoples of the lower Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, up to the Chinese along the Ussuri and Sungari. There it is prevalent everywhere among the 342 Manchu, Chinese and Daur (6). For example, the Chinese 352 354 171

6. The latter will be dealt with separately below.

U-tschen, in the description of his birthplace, Ninguta, written by him in 1722, mentions that the houses there have three kang, i.e., sitting and sleeping benches or plank beds running along the walls and heated by pipes running under them (7).

7. According to U-tschen, the kang, about six feet wide and two fathoms, five to six feet long, were put along the north, west, and south walls of the houses; along the east wall, separated by a partition from the rest of the room, was the women's room, which had two kang, along the north and along the south wall. The kang are covered with reed or straw mats, over which a red felt carpet is frequently spread. Cf. U-tschen's writing in the translation by Wassiljef: "Zapiski o Ningutie" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. XII, 1857, p. 98).

2: Schrenck--517 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/351 cont./
352 171 113 The French missionary Venault (8) and the Korean Kimaï-

8. "Excursion dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., Vol. XXX, 1852, Vol. II, p. 208).

Kim (9) likewise mention the kang in the houses of Ninguta,

9. "Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évêque de Belline, 1844" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., 1847, Vol. I, p. 71).

Girin, Ssan-Ssin, and other places which they touched on their travels through Manchuria, /352/ and later travelers, such as Williamson (1), Barabasch (2), and others found it in general

1. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 229.

2. "Sungariiskaia eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., Vol. XVII, 1874, No. 2, p. 332).

use along the Sungari, Nonni, Churcha or Mutuan-ho, etc. (3).

3. In the middle of the house, where among the Gilyak the dogs' table stands, there is an elevation made of clay or bricks with a cavity the size of an ordinary tub. Wood and charcoal are kept burning in it, so that it is always full of hot ashes; kettles with hot water stand there for replenishing the tea cups, brandy and beer are warmed there in tin containers, etc. Williamson, op. cit.

/352 cont./
342 354 171 352 Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of pipes going out from the hearth, running under the sleeping benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house, is by no means of an indigenous Manchurian origin, but rather of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from the motherland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies. For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in North China (4) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, are

113 4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part older, in part more detailed discussions or descriptions of it: for example, in Du Halde (Descript. géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et litér. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 346), Davis (La Chine ou descript. génér. des moeurs et des coutumes etc. de l'empire Chinois, transl. from Eng. by Richard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 331), Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 380), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 192-194 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 24), and Girard (France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

2: Schrenck--519 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

342 352 354 171 /352 cont./
more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),

5. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733-1743, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. I, [113] p. 448), Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Maimatschin opposite Kiachta. In Huc (Souv. d'un Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 13), there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, esp

[113] 6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of modifi tions and complications in the heating of the houses, just as the rest of the construction; for example, the number of kan varies according to the number of rooms (7), the heating pip

[113] 7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing hoei-tien." Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1843, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor and in the walls separating the rooms (8), etc

[113] 8. Van Braam, op. cit. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte "Novara" um die Erde in den J. 1857-1859 unter den Befehlen des Kommod. B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair /Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the World under the Command of Commodore B. von Wüllerstorf-Urbair/, Anthropol. Part,

/393 cont./

291 flapp through which the hand may be stuck outside of its covering if necessary (1).

● [191] 1. On the hand coverings of the Tungus and of the Russians in Siberia the slit for sticking the hand out has no protective flap; on the other hand, it is present on the dog-fur coverings of the Orochi of Hadshi Bay.

[191] The Gilyak never have a hood hanging down the back between the shoulders on their fur coats for protection for the head, as is customary among all the more or less far northern peoples, Kamchadal, Koryak, Chukchee, Eskimo, even Tungus, and others. Instead, the neck and head have special articles of
[239] clothing. For protection of the former a boa made of the tail-fur of squirrels (Gilyak tolp; Pl. XIX) is used and is sometimes worn around the head, in mild weather instead of the cap, in cold weather over it, to protect the forehead (Pl. XVIII). About 30-40 squirrel tails go into a tolp of inferior quality, 50 and more into a handsomely bushy and good one. The Gilyak do not use any other fur for this purpose.

First of all, on their heads, on long journeys, in severe cold, or in biting winds, the Gilyak wear ear muffs (Gilyak tapais), which consist of two flaps connected in front and back by a strap or band. These are either made singly out of sealskin
[239] or are lined with fox or otter fur and provided on the outside with a piece of material on which differently colored arabesques are stitched (Pl. XX, Figs. 5, and Pl. XXII, Figs. 1 and 2). Over them there is a large fur cap enveloping the entire head (Gilyak ton-hak) (2). It is of simple cut, straight at the bottom,

[104] 2. The ŋ is soft in pronunciation here.

and at the front corners has either two bands (as in the pertinent illustration, Pl. XXI, Fig. 1) for tying it under the chin, or only a single band connecting the inner sides of the two corners,
2 2 2 2 2 [See category 116, p. 999, 998, 1000, 1002 and 1001 respectively -- Analyst]

/393 cont./

291 and in this latter, more common case, to put the cap on, the band mentioned is first brought under the chin, and then the cap
291 is pushed over the head. The cap is always lined with fox fur,
239 which, standing out in front and on the outside, also forms the edging. The outside consists of either the same kind of sealskin throughout or various pieces of fur not infrequently put together artistically and tastefully. /394/ For example, the ton-hak of a Tschomi Gilyak who visited me in Nikolayevsk, which is illustrated on Pl. XXI, Fig. 1, was of this type. The upper middle piece of this cap, brown in color, was of reindeer skin; the white arabesques on it are of short-haired dog-skin; the edging, separated from the middle piece by a blue band, is made up of pieces of dappled sealskin; the front edge, as always, consists of the fox fur emerging from the inside, but at the bottom the cap is trimmed all around with long-haired, white dog-fur. This trimming, by the way, is not lacking on the less elegant, indeed even on the simplest fur-caps of the Gilyak and gives them all a special, peculiar stamp. The longer the white or gray hair
● 191 of the cap reaching down toward the neck, the more beautiful it appears in the eyes of the Gilyak, just as among the ancient Italians on Kamtchatka trimming the fur coats, which might have been reindeer or fox skin, all around with long dog-hair, was always regarded, as Steller puts it (1), as the "greatest

1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 138.

ornament" on them. This trimming on the caps, by the way, may offer some protection for the neck against wind and snow.

291 On long trips and in severe cold the Gilyak wear several undergarments under the fur coat. In particular, immediately
191 next to it, for example, there is a short, quilted robe or jacket of cotton material or of cloth, the so-called sukky in Gilyak, a garment undeniably of Chinese cut, which they wear in mild weather or on walks without a fur coat, with only the tolp around

/394 cont./

291 the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which
191 they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur coat, inside the yurt. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the area of the pit of the stomach especially warm, a flap lined with fur, the so-called koch-passj, is worn there under the shirt, on the naked body, hung round the neck with a small band and at the bottom knotted around the body by two others. The example of
191 the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 3 which I saw in the possession of the Gilyak Judin in Tebach, was of Goldi workmanship. It was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with fox fur, and trimmed all around with otter fur, but provided on the outside with multicolored and part artistic embroidery on black cotton material, which I shall come back to below. Here there must still be mentioned a peculiar undergarment that I noticed in particular among the Tro Gilyak in Nyi, both among adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a pouch tied around the loins and of use to the male sex only. For the Gilyak sitting astride their sleds it is especially important to protect the knees against wind and weather, and a knee sheath (Gilyak panj) made of sealskin and tied around the leg below or above the knee serves for this purpose.

291 /395/ The footgear has already been mentioned above. In
191 winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put some dry grass in their boots,
192 as more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). Accord-
824

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland, for example (Rob. Brown, "Das Innere von Grönland /The Interior of Greenland/," in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 384).

ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a description of the town of Ninguta in 1722, it is also customary among the Manchu there, and for this they use a soft, fine, longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

/395 cont./

291 824 191 [113] ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with

2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

[113] 3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

291 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or
824 any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

292 412 291 Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt, in particular as a holder for some of the implements always accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive
531 weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

[104] 4. The caption concerned, "ngawla-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.
2 [See category 116, p. 101 -- Analyst]

/396 cont./

291 which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long
237 tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

291 /397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar
191 and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees
531 them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tuly-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 3). It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter consists of single Chinese material, usually black or dark-blue cloth.
[239] On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the
292 edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl.
191 XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is
531 more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are
[239] represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

● [191] [113] 1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des vers l'Empr. de la Chine

2 [See category 116, p. 1001 -- Analyst]

/397 cont./

292 1. (cont.)
194 en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St.
53 Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's
191 note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et
[113] privée des Chinois anc. et modernes /Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

292 fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the
53 cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The
191 tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the
239 Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the
[301] ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women
292 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use
237 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

/398 cont./

292 is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The
237 inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration
[394] was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

[126] 1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

● 191 A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed
292 animal as headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation
237 of the whole animal may occur among many primitive peoples.
292 I cannot refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind
825 among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on Penshinster /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is the most dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear caps of wolf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an erect position (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

[113] 2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

also takes place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern America. The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northernmost Maleig-mlit down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made out of the head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the tail of a wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this latter animal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo

/398 cont./

let a wolf or wolverine tail hang down at the neck from their elegant reindeer-fur caps, trimmed with otter or wolverine skin, to their backs (9). One would not err, I believe, if he assumed

3. Lagoskin", Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vladieniì v" Amerikie /Description of a Journey on Foot through Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847 and 1848, Pt. II, pp. 21, 22.

that such articles of clothing based on the imitation of animals are of ancient national origins among those people for whom they are customary and in whose lives the animals in question are of special importance, bringing harm or advantages. It certainly seemed obvious to primitive man to pursue and carry out in detail the similarity with a given animal that he acquired by clothing himself in its fur. Here and there superstitious beliefs of the kind, say, that by imitating an animal in one's clothing, he might gain its good will or render it harmless, might also have given rise to garments copying animals. It is, therefore, not surprising that the idea of special elegance and high distinction becomes attached to such ancient national garments. This also explains why the tschlyghi-hak of the Gilyak /399/ women, though made out of purely native materials, is regarded as more elegant than the tschrap-hak made out of expensive Chinese silk with dragon designs.

I cannot leave this subject without permitting myself yet another pertinent and general remark. Since the customary practice among all primitive peoples clothing themselves in animal skins is to wear the skin with the hair on the outside, might not the thought of using the skin for protection against the inclemencies of the climate in the same way as it is given to the animal as natural clothing have arisen out of the imitation of animals, until experience taught that this is in fact the way of using animal skins for clothing that gives the most protection? Without any other covering as nearly air- and water-tight as possible, which primitive people were not familiar with, animal

/399 cont./

skin undoubtedly afforded better protection against cold, wind, and rain when the hair is on the outside than when it is turned to the inside, and if others first tested in this practical way, it would be natural to add another layer of it or of another skin in the opposite position, with the hair on the inside, and thus, avoiding a foreign covering, to obtain that double fur undoubtedly giving the best protection, as one finds among all the northern and polar peoples.

The above-described or illustrated garments are sufficient to show that the Gilyak like to provide their clothing with all kinds of variously shaped, gay-colored embroidery and other ornamentation. I have sometimes seen among them whole collections of embroidery designs, and I brought back some of them. These consist of fabric or fish-skin patches on which the designs are embroidered or on which various figures cut out of thin birch-bark and symmetrically arranged are pasted (Pl. XXIII and XXIV). Among them, however, are also found larger pieces of fabric sometimes made up of several imitation patches and not used for embroidery, but on which arabesques and animal figures of the most varied kinds are colorfully, but always symmetrically arranged beside or intertwined with one another (Pl. XXV-XXVIII). If for the moment, we disregard the latter, to which I shall come back later, particularly in connection with the animal figures, and if we consider only the design to be embroidered on the articles of clothing previously discussed, we find in them a peculiar character and taste which fundamentally distinguishes them from those of the Siberian peoples. Whereas among the Siberian Tungus, for instance, who likewise adorn their clothing with embroidery, the simplest patterns and motifs recur with great uniformity and often, for example, only rows of the same simple figures, small triangles, squares, circles, crude curlicues, and the like, running over or beside one another, are to be found (as the Tungusic specimen illustrated on Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIV, Figs. 5 and 6 show), in the Gilyak designs and ornamentation beautiful, curved and interlaced lines, diverse arabesques artistically overlapping.

[See Category 116, pp. 1003-1004 -- Analysis]
[See Category 116, p. 1005-1007 -- Analysis]

/400 cont./

artistic interlacing of bands, tapering ornamental borders with multiple points, and the like, can also be recognized on ancient Chinese articles, costly garments and porcelain and ivory objects inside, as our museum has. Furthermore, quite similar ornamentation is found on some old Japanese objects, for example, on the brass mountings of half decayed wooden scabbards in our possession, which we obtained through Mr. Poljakof from ancient Aino graves on southern Sakhalin and which undoubtedly are of Japanese origin. I therefore feel justified in concluding that the Gilyak ornamentation has developed largely under the influence of ancient Chinese and, in part, ancient Japanese models, since in view of the ancently established and constant trade relations of the Gilyak on the mainland up the Amur and Sungari with the Chinese and on Sakhalin with the Japanese, and the Aino completely subject to their influence, it could scarcely be otherwise (2).

2. The role that the Gilyak play as middlemen in trade between the Chinese and the Japanese will be discussed below.

/401/ Thus, as in other things, so also with regard to ornamentation, Chinese cultural influence spread along the natural route of trade, down the Sungari and Amur to the Gilyak. If, in addition to what has been presented above, more direct proof were needed, it is provided by the fact that the same type of ornamentation on clothing and other objects is found among all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, from the Gilyak upstream along the main river, as well as along its tributaries up to the Sungari. Though these peoples are from Tungusic tribes, they nevertheless have nothing in common with the Russian-Siberian Tungus with regard to the ornamentation customary among them, but rather are linked to the Chinese and Gilyak. In this connection, however, we are met by the strange phenomenon that the feeling for ornamentation and the development of the latter in the Amur region do not decrease but increase with greater distance from the civilized people concerned,

/401 cont./

the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned, but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep themselves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXXX, Fig. 2), worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stopper-knots is run and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved upwards or down. If one lifts the

[See Category 116, p. 1009 -- Analysis]

/401 cont./

on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be removed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by success -- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

The thread with which garments are sewed varies according to the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for example, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, fine thread out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call mydisk and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as gilyak-mydisk, mimk-myd., kyc-h-myd., etc. (8), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat h Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.: I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

(Gil. kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fishing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 302), and also the Aleuts, the Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread likewise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (chasa) for them: instead they only use a knife. For smoothing the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (nam), which is

/402 cont./

beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak, who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing. In other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Aino on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsi, "Tô-tsati ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur- und Sagalande auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Sosunofsky, "Tushnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izvieztia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obbch., Vol. I, 1870, Text and p. 37). Poznanski, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

[See Category 116, p. 1009 -- Analysis]

/403 cont./

1. (cont.)
Geogr. Obbch., po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV 1871, pp. 379, 390, 392, 500). N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin /The Island of Sakhalin/ and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 70. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /A sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1[illegible], pp. 31, 132. Recently Dr. Suprunenko has given our museum several articles of clothing woven out of elm bast by the Aino of Sakhalin.

likewise with the utilization of nettle fibers, among many Siberian peoples, such as the Ostyak, Kirgis, Bashkir, Votyak on the Ural, and others, as an anciently familiar one (2).

2. Wiesen, Noord en Oost-Tartarye, second printing, 1705, pp. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, Leben und Geschichten der Ostjaken /Life and Customs of the Ostyak/, Berlin, 1720, p. 30. Castren, Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845-49 /Travel Account and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 55. Beliaevskii, Poiezdka k" Ledovit. mori /Journey to the Arctic Ocean/, Moscow, 1857, pp. 73, 75. Abramov", Opis. Berezovsk. U. /Description of the Berezov Kraj/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obbch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 406). Archimandrite Platon, "Sur les Vogoules" (Journ. asiatique, Magasin Asiat., Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 251).

Moreover, in China, from where so much cultural influence reached the Gilyak and other Amur peoples, one type of nettle (Urtica nivea) is even cultivated in fields for use in weaving

3. Barrow, Reise durch China im Gefolge

cont./

ence similar use of the tiger skin as a mark of honor has be- established in Korea (3). The trading trips of the Gilyak

3. Thus, Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Travels in the Ussuri Region in 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 116) reports that during his visit to the Korean border town of Kygenpu on the Tumen-ula the governor appeared, carried on a chair over which a tiger skin was spread. After he had descended, it was spread on the ground and the traveler was invited to sit on it.

Trading Trips of the Gilyak

n-ssin on the Sungari gave them an opportunity to witness xtraordinary fear which the Chinese there (Man-dse), as as the Goldi, have of the tiger and, prompted by this fear, spect that they show for it everywhere, in that the former small chapels or temples for it and put up in them pictures 4), which the latter call it "ambanj," i.e., "master," and

4. Arkhimandr. Palladii, "Usuriiskie Man'tszy" (op. cit., p. 377). Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 347).

bow to the ground before its remains (5). The impressions

5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur, completed between 1856 and 1857/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 171). Palladij, loc. cit.

/391 cont./

825 439 171 about the tiger that the Gilyak bring home from these trips, especially the stories that they hear from the Chinese and Goldi about the many human lives annually falling victim to it (6), undoubtedly

6. Przewalski reports (op. cit., p. 233) that in 1867 no fewer than 21 Man-dse were killed and six wounded by tigers along the Zymuche, a tributary of the upper Ussuri.

contribute no little to the panicky fear and superstitious ideas that govern them with respect to the tiger. I have already discussed this above (7) and intend to add more occasionally below.

7. See my Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 90-97, where, in speaking of the distribution of the tiger and leopard in the Amur region, the beliefs of the Gilyak and other Amur peoples concerning them are given.

825 Since /392/, however, the tiger appears in the area of the Gilyak only as a most infrequent guest on its rovings from the south and is scarcely ever killed by them (1), it, and to an even greater

1. The Gilyak did not know of any instance of this kind to relate to me.

degree the leopard, belongs more in the category of mythical animals occupying only their imagination. On the other hand, [439] they meet in their forests, and not so very infrequently, another animal, which through its decidedly predatory nature and its total appearance, the cat-like habitus, the spotted and in part striped marking of its fur, the black tip of its tail, etc., resembles the tiger as well as the panther (2), and whose fur is highly

[171] 2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 242) reports

92 cont./

2. (cont.)
that the natives of the Ussuri region (Goldi and Orochi or Ta-dse) always answered his questions about the character and way of life of the lynx: "igajan Lau-masa," which means, "like the tiger."

ized and dearly paid for by the Chinese (3). I am referring

3. Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost. Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Journeys in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in the Years 1855-1859/, Vol. I, "Die Säugethier-Fauna /The Mammalian Fauna/," St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 93) was unable to buy a lynx skin among the Manchu and Daur, even for silver coins, and heard the latter say that it, like a tiger skin, could be acquired only by high Chinese officials. Gerbillon (in Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 295) reported that the animal schulon (French "choulon"), a specimen of which Emperor Kang-hi killed during a hunt in 1692 and which he regarded as a lynx ("loup cervier"), which seems in fact to be wholly correct according to the description, provided one of the most highly prized pelts, which cost 15-20 ducats each in Peking. Elsewhere in Du Halde (op. cit., p. 29) this animal is called "chelason."

he lynx. Therefore, the Gilyak transfer to it some of their ceptions about the tiger as a particularly noble, princely, or yal beast.

/392 cont./

825 291 554 royal beast. Hence it is no wonder that, in accordance with the proverb, "Clothes make the man," which is especially apt among primitive peoples, the Gilyak who can occasionally parade around in a whole coat of lynx skins, and who can thus scorn the profit that would accrue to him from the sale of these skins, is surrounded with an aura of extraordinary distinction and wealth in the eyes of his countrymen.

291 But let us return to the ordinary winter-clothing of the Gilyak. Like the shirt, the fur coat, too, is always buttoned by [177] the Gilyak from left to right over the chest, sometimes with several metal buttons of Chinese or Russian origin, sometimes with a large wooden button of Gilyak workmanship (Pl. XXIX, Figs. 4, 5),[1] and the skirts of the coats likewise overlap. To hold them together, however, the complete winter outfit includes, besides the belt, which will be discussed later, a special piece of clothing, the so-called kossjkha, that is, a short apron-skirt of sealskin extending around the body, which, for a better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII[2] and XIX).[3] [171] The kossjkha seems to be an article of clothing that is genuinely Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, Negda, etc. For /393/ the Gilyak always traveling astride his low dog-sled, the kossjkha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak as we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a swathing fashion and tied at the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of of fabric or leather (Gilyak torknbas; see Pl. XXII,[4] Figs. 4, 5). The hand coverings (Gilyak wom(a)ch) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX,[5] Figs. 3, 4) and distinguished in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a

1 2 3 4 5 [See Category 116, pp. 1009, 998, 999, 1002 and 1000 respectively--Analyst]

All the other peoples of the lower Amur region in general have the same clothing as the Gilyak. Nevertheless, to the extent that the natural conditions of the regions, the means of subsistence, and the principal occupations of the people differ, mo or less conspicuous differences and peculiarities show up among them, in that other clothing materials gradually gain the upper hand, many an article of clothing no longer corresponding to the changed requirements will be modified or disappear, and, on the other hand, many a new one appear, etc.

The greatest, and in fact virtually complete, corresponde with the Gilyak in their clothing is shown by their nearest neigh bors on the Amur River, the Olcha, who live under the same phy conditions and in the same manner as they do, chiefly by fishing and, in de Castries Bay, also by seal hunting, and, like the Gilyak, keep many dogs, as their sole domestic animal, for winter trade and intercourse with the neighboring peoples. During the long period of living beside and in part among the Gilya the Olcha adopted, among other things, the clothing of the latter completely, and every one of the garments described abo not excepting even the lynx cap so peculiarly Gilyak, as well as the implements customarily used for making them, is found identically among the Olcha and has an Olcha-Tungusic designa tion. Nevertheless, among the Olcha, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution, closer to the Samagir and Goldi borders, one sometimes comes across an article of clothin that came from the last-named peoples and is foreign to the Gil such as a deer-leather or elk-leather robe, a boa made of musk deer skins instead of squirrel tails, etc.

The situation is the same with regard to the clothing of th Negda on the Amgunj /Amgun/. When Middendorff, coming from the Tugur Tungus, visited them, everything gave him the impression, despite their language, differing only dialectally from the Siberian Tungus, "that he had come upon a new peop the shape and cut of the individual articles of clothing, the

der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

286 I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu,
194 knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the
191 nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced
[126] whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I
[714] acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas
[177] the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving

/404 cont./
patterns and figures embroidered on them, the pendent metallic ornaments, the implements customarily used in making the clothing and other small hand-tools, everything revealed itself "as an emanation from another center of fashion" (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1526 ff.

Middendorff realized quite correctly that this center was to be sought among the Gilyak on the Amur and had developed under Chinese influence spreading down this river. In fact, /405/ the illustrations of Negda or "Nigidaler" clothing and utensils shown in his travel account look as though they were made by copying Gilyak articles, as I have already mentioned above in connection with individual ones. Like the clothing of the Olcha, that of the Negda shows the greater distance of their habitation area from the seacoast as compared to the Gilyak, because, instead of the sealskin robes customary among the latter, they wear robes of elkskin (1).

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1531.

A situation quite different from that among the Amur Olcha, who have been completely assimilated with the Gilyak in their way of life, behavior, and clothing, prevails among the Olcha who migrated to Sakhalin -- the Orok. They remained reindeer nomads and therefore preserved an essential difference in their clothing, in that the reindeer also furnish them their chief clothing material. The Orok whom I met on their winter migration through the Tymy Valley and near Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin were dressed completely in reindeer skins, in that fur coats, caps, and boots were made out of it. The former were of the same cut as the dog-fur coat of the Gilyak, without the hood in the back, but the boots did not have the above-mentioned form of the Gilyak boots, reminiscent of the Chinese, but rather appeared more uniformly wide and clumsier, and the caps differed from those of the Gilyak in that they always were

/407 cont./
is required. The full fur cap becomes a fur hood tightly fitting the head. The legs must not be impeded in their movements, and as good a service as the stiff apron-skirt of sealskin, the Gilyak kossjkha, performs for the Gilyak and Olcha usually skimming along on their dog-drawn sleds, it would be useless, in fact, an impediment, to the hunter on his own graceful advance through the forest thickets. Thus, whereas the Gilyak and Olcha are almost never seen in winter without this apron-skirt, I never once encountered it among the Samagir on the Gorin, which is not to say that they do not use it on long trips to the Goldi, Olcha, or Chinese traders on the Amur.

As strikingly different as the clothing of the Samagir on the Gorin is from that of the Olcha, as the result of a different way of life, the difference in the clothing going from the Olcha up the Amur to the Goldi is not very marked. Apart from their hair style, to be discussed later, one would imagine himself to be among the same people. In particular, among the Goldi, perhaps even more than among the Olcha, the fish-skin clothing is generally in use among the women and children. The Goldi women are especially skilled at preparing the fish skins nicely and neatly and providing the robes with multicolored and diverse embroidery of exactly the nature of the forms and figures discussed above. One sees the children, however, and especially the boys, go around in summer as a rule in quite simple short, fish-skin robes, torn or patched here and there (Pl. XXX);* Fish skins (always from Salmo lagocephalus) have this importance as the principal clothing material throughout the Goldi territory on the Amur as well as on the Ussuri, and not until one goes beyond the mouth of the Sungari, where the Birar, living by hunting, appear along the spurs of the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, do they disappear and give way to the leather of game animals. Thus, /408/ the Goldi were the first people clad in fish-skins whom the Chinese, advancing northward and eastward from the Sungari region, met on the Amur and on the Ussuri, and undoubtedly they are meant first and foremost among the people whom the Chinese designated with the name "Jupi-tatse," i.e., Fish-skin Barbarians,

* [See category 116, p. 1010 -- Analyst]

/408 cont./
and whom the Jesuit missionaries sent to the lower Amur region in the previous century by the Peking government mention by this name (1). Only with greater distance up the Amur from the

1. Cf. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chiné et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Vol. IV, pp. 10 ff. Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Vol. I, pp. 142 ff.

Olcha does one notice more and more the difference in the total appearance and character of the clothing of the Goldi in comparison with the Olcha. The great, ever-increasing distance from the sea upstream more and more eliminates sealskin from use (2): the Gilyak kossjkha, still quite general among the Olcha

2. The extreme limit to which seals go up the Amur still lies within Olcha territory (at Yrri; see my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, p. 180), still a good stretch to the north of the Goldi boundary.

disappears among the Goldi, and the fewer dogs in their economy make the dog-skin coat likewise less general. On the other hand, however, one more and more sees different furs appear among them, such as red deer, roe deer, musk deer, Canis procyonoides, etc., which they obtain in abundance and inexpensively in part through their own hunting and in part through trade with their hunting neighbors along the tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri, the Samagir, the Kile along the Kur, and the Orochi. At the same time, the farther one goes upstream, the more the direct influence of the Chinese appears in the clothing of the natives, in that plainly Chinese garments come into use. Among the Goldi, for instance, I occasionally found black, Chinese sheepskins with a cotton covering; in the Geong Mountains, among the upper Goldi, the use of the above-described birch-bark hats ceases, and, on the other hand, broad-brimmed, Chinese straw-hats and, even more, black or gray felt hats likewise coming

/409 cont./
As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

/410 cont./

1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however, never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and preserved by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about his health and took him back again. In connection with this, the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primitive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy, I was given the answer that they were paying back the little

/411 cont./
animals for what the latter were doing to them.

Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Olcha, and their fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamia Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

It may be presumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/ shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

T /415 cont./
302 southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of
171 the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni,
177 along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuli, etc., where they live in com-
[131] plete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

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[113] 1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chtenilia, Izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

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Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

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G /416 cont./
SS and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such
T fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand
302 and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the
171 degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-
177 Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard
648 to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

G
301 Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external
171 appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7), or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the
Gi cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from
[301] the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or
Gi facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and
301 the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this
[See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

Gi /417 cont./
301 1. (cont.)
ornament on a male individual, a Goldi from Mylki. I did not come across such a case.

whom, however, it is never absent, so that by it one can immediately distinguish the women of these nationalities from
Gi those of the Olcha and Gilyak. This is a nose ring shaped exactly
[304] like the small earring described above, but still smaller, which
[515] hangs down from the pierced septum to the upper lip -- a most peculiar, ugly ornament and one which in addition impedes cleanliness, in which all these peoples are so deficient anyway.
Gi Finally, among the Orochi the same situation is found with re-
171 gard to the kinds of ornaments discussed as with regard to the hair
[184] style: the northern Orochi, such as those on Kaiserhafen Hadshi Bay), correspond in this with the Olcha and Gilyak, but the southern ones, or Ta-dse, along the seacoast at least from Olga Bay downward (2) and along the right Ussuri tributaries, corre-

2. Olympiada Wassiljewa, op. cit., p. 67.

spond with the Goldi and Samagir, that is, the former wear only earrings, and the latter, those of the female sex, also nose rings. Moreover, one sees among the Orochi women or girls, and sometimes also among those of the Goldi along the Ussuri and on the Amur near the mouth of the Ussuri, just such a small ring in the
ooo right or the left nostril (3). From what has been said, it is readily

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[114] 3. According to Przewalski (op. cit., p. 105) in the right nostril; according to Nadarof (op. cit., p. 78) and Maack (op. cit., p. 179) in the one or the other nostril.

G From what has been said, it is readily
SS seen that the custom of wearing nose rings, strangely enough, has
301 spread among the peoples of the lower Amur region only as far as
302 the Manchu-Chinese hair style has been accepted by them; where
171 this has not been taken up by them, there are likewise no nose
177 rings in either the nostrils or the nasal septum. I would not know,

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SS /417 cont./
302 however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hair
301 style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the
171 lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not
177 wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, the
T Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and
302 even far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes there
301 wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Manegir, nor the Orochon.
171 Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus tribes of the Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

G A more common customary ornament among all the peoples
301 of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver
171 or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyisj) made out of the same material or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. On
G Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak work-
[531] manship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilyak, who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XLV, Fig. 5 /in the original work; the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop securely soldered and overlapping on the outside. This
Gi ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite
[301] practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi
[462] (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves them as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work,
Gi however, is not done by the men, but by the women.
[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.
[See Category 116, P. 1025--Analyst]

/418 cont./
ooo however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
301 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other
171 Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring
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[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely. Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[177] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[574] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasiona

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

301 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this
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/418 cont./

is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubtedly

5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch.-Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

In concluding this section I must still raise the question as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, painting or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

G 302 304 191 /419 cont./

First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Arai Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied

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A 304 A [113]

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A [105] [184] to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more or less discussed by the European or North American travelers who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

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2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

G K 304 191 /421 cont./

In the whole series of Paleo-Asiatic peoples from Jesso to Greenland we find only two small tribes who lack the custom of tattooing -- the Italmen on Kamchatka and the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin. Under these circumstances one might think that the custom of tattooing was formerly indigenous among these two peoples, too, but had disappeared in the course of time. Such an assumption, however, is not permissible. Steller's and Krascheninnikof's reports on the Italmen come from a time when the latter had by no means lost their national characteristics to such an extent that such a prominent and, if it existed among them, ancient custom as tattooing could have already completely disappeared without any remnants or traces and even without having left behind any accounts in the traditions. And, as was pointed out at the very beginning of this work, I became fully acquainted with the Gilyak at a time when they were still in full possession of their individuality. The complete lack of tattooing among the former as well as among the latter must therefore be regarded as part of their individuality in contrast to the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

G 304 191 At first glance it might seem that this individuality of the Gilyak in the Amur region was also shared by other peoples, in particular those living adjacent to the Gilyak, for the Olcha, the Orok on Sakhalin, the Negda, and Samagir do not have the custom of tattooing. But the situation is essentially different among them. I think I can say with certainty that tattooing is not at all customary at present among the Olcha, /422/ for I became acquainted with them on several voyages throughout their habitation area. I became acquainted with the Samagir on the Gorin only in Ngagha, the largest of their villages, to be sure, and concerning the Orok on Sakhalin and the Negda, I met only isolated individuals, but other travelers, too, who had more contact with them, did not observe any kind of tattooing among them, for example, neither Middendorff and Schmidt among the Negda nor Poljakof, after a stay of several weeks on the east coast of Sakhalin, among the Orok there. This is very noteworthy

/426 cont./

* 262 252 825 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both qualitatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma, always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, * 262 is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

[113]

3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak 574 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches, 264 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4) with * 262 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as 412 a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

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1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

* [See category 116, P. 1014--Analyst]

/427 cont./

264 191 113

1. (cont.)

unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, p. 232), the Buryat (Radde, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 140; Raev", "Buriaty /The Buryat/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 24, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 10), the Ostyak (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 46), the Samoyed (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands /Travels to the Northeastern Part of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 311; Islavin", Samoiédy /The Samoyed/, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 35; Abramov", "Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 354; Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, 1453), and others. The Tungusic tribes of the Amur region do the same thing. The Nertscha /Nercha/ Tungus call it "to eat from the knife" and maintain that meat so eaten is much tastier than if it is first cut in pieces (Usol-tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/," Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, I, p. 76).

* 262 484 584 When a Gilyak undertakes a long trip, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his country men, he nevertheless takes along a bundle of jukola just in case bad weather should force him to spend the night under the open sky, in which case the ma, warmed or slightly roasted over the campfire, will serve him very well.

/431 cont./

*262 [113] 1. (cont.) topograf. Sbom., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 13).

[114] [231] the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like *262 the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, 252 whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, a superstition I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "uftsch, uftsch" (unlucky) could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to [251] finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

• [191] 2. Steller (op. cit., p. 323) also points out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak that they do not like frying, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

*262 136 Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important and precious foodstuff to almost the same extent. It is the white whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak pomi-tscho), which, with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

/431 cont./

*262 [136] Sea of Japan, likewise occurs throughout the habitation area of the Gilyak and goes up the Amur River just as far as the seal (3). I

*262 225 [231] 3. See Vol. I, p. 191, of the present work.

learned this much about it, that though, like the latter, it, too, is used by the Gilyak as food for people and dogs (4), nevertheless

[113] 4. According to Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 106), the fat of the white whale is not at all like train oil and the meat, too, has quite a good taste.

it comes after the seal, because hunting it, which will be discussed later, is much more difficult and dangerous and can be done for only a shorter period in the year, only as long as the river is open, and furthermore because it is not nearly as useful as the seal, which, besides food, also yields valuable clothing materials. Nevertheless, the numerous white-whale skulls which one sees hanging on trees and branches at many places along the banks of the Amur River indicate that /432/ the white whale is not infrequently captured by the Gilyak and, in conformity with its significance, is treated in traditional, superstitious ways.

*262 • 191 [136] The Gilyak behave quite differently toward another cetacean, the so-called keng (Balaenoptera longimana Rud.), which is occasionally stranded within the range of their dwelling sites on the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of [231] Japan. To be sure, they acquire these animals in order to feed their dogs with the fat and meat, but they themselves do not eat any of it. In fact, their physical and moral abhorrence of it is such that keng fat or meat is not brought into the yurt, but may be kept only in the storerooms. I could not learn from them what this abhorrence was based on. It is all the more striking, however, since among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples whale meat and blubber are among the most popular foods. The Ainu, for instance, do not leave a stranded whale until all the meat and fat on it have

*262 • 191 /432 cont./ been consumed (1). Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3) describe

[113] 1. According to a written communication from Rudanofskij. Cf. also Dobrotworskij /Dobrotvorskii/, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37.

2. Op. cit., pp. 98-105.

[113] 3. "Opis. Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. 1, pp. 420 ff.).

in detail the tremendous importance that the whale has in the diet and the entire economy of the Kuriles, Kamchadal, sedentary Koryak, and Chukchee. It is the same among the Aleut (4) and

[113] 4. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashkinsk. otdiela /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Pt. I, pp. 81, 82.

among the Eskimo in different parts of their broad area of distribution (5). Experience has taught these peoples to distinguish between [165]

[113] 5. For instance, at the two ends of their territory, on Kadjak /Kodiak/ in the east (Davydov", Dvukratnoe putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitserov" Khvostova i Dav. /The Repeated Journey to America of the Two Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1812, Pt. II, p. 72) and on Greenland in the west (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland, Vol. I, p. 189).

the species of whale suitable for food and the harmful or "poisonous" ones and not to use dead animals cast up by the ocean until

165 /432 cont./ *262 • 191 they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For

[825] [113] 6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

[225] [411] 7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) witnessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

[164] 8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

/432 cont./

*262 • 191 [165] preserved in memory by tradition, may have given rise to the and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence, of whale meat and blubber in their yurts. Moreover, the Gilya do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (9), /433

[113] 9. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye /North and East Tartary/, 1705, p. 47.

for example, and the Koljuschen /Kolosh/ (1), with the sole

[113] 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Trip around the World/, Vol. II, p. 112. Weniaminof, op. cit., Pt. III, pp. 60, 99.

exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat a no whale blubber or oil.

224 *262 Since the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only purs fur-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts the land mammals provide only a small part of their food in co parison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasion falls into their hands, not excepting even beasts of prey, such a

*262 the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., it is eaten. Only one animal i [136] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken close hand and without much trouble: it is the rat (Mus decumanus P Gilyak niagrsch), which is present in such extraordinary number their yurts. This is all the more surprising because, without do [191] the rat in the Amur region is a gift from China (2) and, as is we

2. See Vol. I, p. 128, of this work.

known, is not at all scorned as food by the Chinese, who otherw are so authoritative for the Amur peoples (3). Could it be that

[113] 3. Davis, La Chine, etc., translated from

/433 cont./

3. (cont.)
the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 312. John Bowring, "Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche /The Chinese, Their Usages and Customs/" (Petermann's, Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32. Others, like the English missionary Milne (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) and Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 272), deny the use of rats for food among the Chinese.

Gilyak were taught better by experience, perhaps as a result of painful or even fatal cases of trichinosis? Among all the land mammals there are only two that are of special significance as food for the Gilyak, and, to be sure, both on account of their general and frequent use and the great importance that they place upon them. These are the bear and the dog.

Bear meat and bear fat are the greatest delicacies that there are for a Gilyak. For the purpose of eating it, the bear is taken from its lair and kept in captivity for a long time and fed. But, according to Gilyak custom, it may not be eaten except at certain times and with the observance of a number of ceremonies and practices that are undertaken in large ad hoc festive gatherings. I have had an opportunity, as an eyewitness, to become acquainted with these bear festivals, which play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, in all their individual acts from beginning to end, and therefore I am obliged to discuss them in a special, later section of this work. Besides that, however, they gave me considerable insight into the food and cooking of the Gilyak in general, for to entertain the large festive company assembled many dishes must be prepared in a way to suit the palates of the Gilyak. And so most of what is presented below concerning their culinary achievments was observed by me on such occasions.

/435 cont./

231 shavings, the so-called zach, whose significance will be discussed
252 in the following. The bundles containing the meat and bones of
262 the dogs were now brought into the yurt and arranged on the rear sleeping bench, whereupon the women went to kindle the fire under the kettles on the hearth in order to cook the meat and to make a broth out of the bones. These preparations, however, took so much time that the meal could not take place until late in the evening. Meanwhile the flames leaping on the hearth, the steam and smoke rising from the kettles, and the crowd of people, who not only occupied all the sleeping benches, but had also settled down on the floor of the small earth-yurt, soon made any further stay in it so unbearable that I found it necessary to leave before the actual meal and to seek another shelter for the night.

114 If one wished as a conjecture to grant for the northern peo-
171 ples the discovery made in the south among various Negro tribes,
231 namely, that the enjoyment of dog meat is generally the first step
262 toward anthropophagy and accompanies it (2), he would look quite

2. Schweinfurth, "Das Volk der Monbuttu in Central-Afrika /The Monbutto People in Central Africa/" (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, Vol. V, 1873, p. 10). Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 168.

in vain for evidence of it among them. I have never come across anything among the so generally and markedly cynophagous Gilyak that would even distantly support such a conjecture. On
171 the other hand, I believe it can be said as a general rule for these
231 peoples with respect to the custom of eating dogs that it is com-
262 mon only in the case of those among them who keep the dog as the only domestic and draft animal, for only in this case can it be considered quantitatively as a food and morally nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the draft dog does not at all stand in the close, individual, and to a certain degree personal

/435 cont./

ship to his master as does the hunting or house dog, who, through loyalty, personal attachment, and other characteristics lacking in the draft dog, makes himself the constant companion and friend of man. Accordingly, just as among the Gilyak, one also finds cynophagy among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for example, among the Aino of Sakhalin (3) and of

3. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37). Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 204.

mio /Yesoof, the latter of which supposedly even fatten dogs for eating them later (4). The Eskimo, too, eat dogs (5), but at

4. According to Adam Laxmann; see Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kurilies/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 501).

5. Alois v. Becker, "Asir. Reise der engl. Yacht 'Pandora' im J. 1874, unter dem Commando des Capit. Sir Allen Young /Arctic Voyage of the English Yacht 'Pandora' in 1874, under the Command of Captain Sir. Allen Young/" (Ausland, 1875, p. 453).

/436 cont./

ent in most /436/ places, especially in the north and east of ir area of distribution, they may be scarcely better off than in Sakhalin, where, according to Rob. Brown (1), the highly prized

1. "Die Säugethiere Grönlands und der Grönländer. Meere /The Mammals of Greenland and the Greenland Seas/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1869, p. 464).

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dog must be still a rare delicacy because of its naturally very high price. The ancient Itelmen on Kamchatka seem to be a striking and completely unique exception to the rule, for though they had dogs in plenty and the dog had no other domestic animal besides them, nevertheless among all the animals of their country "only dogs, mice, and lizards were excluded from their menu" (2),

2. Steller, op. cit., p. 323. Krasheninikov does not mention this.

as Steller expressly states. Or had they perhaps already given up eating dogs in Steller's time, as a result of their well-known, exceedingly eager imitation of the Russians (3), for whom it was a

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 285 and elsewhere.

particular abomination? And all the more since it could not have been difficult for them in material respects in view of Kamchatka's great wealth of fish (4). On the other hand, those peo-

4. According to the observations made by the Vega Expedition, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen refused to eat the meat of a stain dog (Nordenskiöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas /A Voyage around Asia and Europe/, Vol. II, p. 98). Whether this is general among the Chukchee has not yet been ascertained.

ples -- as I should like to formulate the above rule further -- who keep the dog only for hunting or to guard house and grounds, but use another domestic animal, the reindeer or the horse, for traveling, riding, or burden-carrying, such as the Orok, the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, Orochon, Manegir, etc., not only eat no dog meat, but even have a more or less marked aversion to it. From this point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha, who at

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Gilyak and in other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Aino, and must be regarded as a custom peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the circumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the Amur region (after subject, towards the Urusi and Sogoni, it makes it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as is well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand,

1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by the poorer people out of lack of any other food, but generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Ind. Gesellschaft, in den verein. Niederland. an den Tart. Chan /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 275. Tobias Eder, Dritzjarr, Reise durch China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by Mme. Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtschr. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 178. Ganzin, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 286. Jaksch, Kiaï-l pr. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 262, 369, 377. Itier, Journ.

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d un Voyage en Chine /Journal of a Voyage to China/, Paris, 1848, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une ambass. Franç. en Chine /The French Ambassador in China/, Paris, 1854, p. 197. Bowring, "Die Chinesen" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Mantcho Tartary, London, 1863, p. 240. Girard, France et Chine, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 22.

the popular enjoyment of dog meat in Korea (2) may perhaps be

2. Wimen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p.57. "Gaesen, "Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern /Captain Jacobsen's Visit among the Koreans/" (Globus, Vol. III, p. 63).

traced back to Chinese influence.

Birds furnish the Gilyak much less food than do mammals, merely be the reason that they are much very much smaller in account of their little use otherwise and, as a rule, they are much more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however, is consumed indiscriminately, and some birds which are periodically more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At several places, for instance, the ptarmigan (Lagopus alba Gm., Gilyak parzl, on Sakhalin tschleola-nga) is caught by them in large numbers by means of simple snares. Along the west coast of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Dal', I saw them commonly with great relish the Phalaris cristatella Pall. (Gilyak nochla-nga), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they slight individually or in small flocks on the ice, and, moreover, in the end, the rest of the meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its nest and raise with fish in order to sell the tail to the Japanese, as

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(1. Cont.)

d'un Voyage en Chine /Journal of a Voyage to China/, Paris, 1848, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une ambass. Franç. en Chine /The French Ambassador in China/, Paris, 1854, p. 197. Bowring, "Die Chinesen" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Mantcho Tartary, London, 1863, p. 240. Girard, France et Chine, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 22.

2. Wimen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p.57. "Gaesen, "Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern /Captain Jacobsen's Visit among the Koreans/" (Globus, Vol. III, p. 63).

Eskimo (from Kotzebue Sound), who regard the carrion crow as the creator of the world (2). At any rate, I saw them sometimes

2. Beth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 30, 72.

carry with them on trips a crow's head on top of the sleds laden with provision and trade articles as a means, as they themselves told me, of bringing good luck. Incidentally, ideas quite similar to those concerning the crow prevail among the above-named peoples, the Chukchee, the Eskimo from Kadjak, the Kenai, and the Koljuschen in connection with the raven, and the latter therefore do not eat it (3). In view of the great similarity between the

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(2. Cont.)

II, p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating a raven that had been killed by them in the vicinity of their villages and hun in order to benefit from the scraps from the catch of fish or the preparation of jukola, and appear at the midday or overnight campsites of travelling Gilyak even before the fire has gone out, in order to eat any possible remains from the meal; in fact, they not infrequently steal a match on them in consuming /438/ a raven vega frozen fast to the sea ice or an animal caught in a trap. Perhaps the Gilyak are also governed in this by some kind of superstitious belief concerning this bird, like, say, the Chukchee (1) and the

1. Kibel', "Chukchi /The Chukchee/" (Sibirsk. Vestn., 1824, Pt. II, Ethnography, p. 119).

Finally, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few other creatures must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not scorn gathering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks tossed up by the sea or left behind by the ebb. Frequently, but not the west coast of Sakhalin they also eat the Tellina vestalosa (Gilyak kîr wub) (1), Macrra sachalinensis (Gilyak

5. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

moghomi-wellach) (6), and a third mussel, which they called

6. Ibid., pp. 575-578. At is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a small shell or mussel shell in general, for the animal of the moghomi-wellach is called pubb, according to Glehn.

joxang-wellach and which remains unknown to me, as the species whose "sweets are sought after" at the same time praised them as being "sweets as sugar."

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ge a popular ingredient in many dishes of the Gilyak, for example, among others, one of the most important of these, the so-called mosmi. This is a mixture of ground fish-skin, or, lacking them, of chopped jukola, with fish oil and berries. For the preparation of mosmi, the fish skin, from lyghi-nscho or tengi-nscho, are cut up in small pieces, well cooked, ground, and stirred with fish oil to a mush of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance, like thick cream (our

2. A quite similar dish, made out of cooked and ground fish-skins with an admixture of pounded cedar-nuts, was used by the Kurilies on the southern tip of Kamchatka, according to Steller (op. cit., p. 325).

cream). I saw mosmi prepared for the bear festival in Tebach, for it is an essential part of it and is both eaten by the participants and given to the bear. At other times, however, I saw it made out of finely cut jukola that was cooked and mixed with little oil and bilberries. If the substance is cooled sufficiently or freezes a little, it can be cut into slices with a knife. Depending on the kind of fish used, the Gilyak distinguish between very many kinds of mosmi, giving preference to the former. They like to take a small supply of it along on winter journeys. For the midday meal around the blazing fire I have seen them perfectly satisfied with a few strips of jukola warmed or slightly roasted at the flames, several slices of mosmi, and a drink of snow-water. Next to the bilberry, Empetrum nigrum L. (Gilyak yghrch) is the most commonly used and favorite berry among the Gilyak just like the former, indeed often in place of it, it is used both as an accompaniment and as an ingredient for mosmi and other dishes, /440/ and is like-wise collected and stored in great quantities. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin it is even more common and more frequently used than the bilberry. Elsewhere, for instance, in Tymi on the Lima, the cranberry, Vaccinium oxycoccus L.

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prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe, finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the berries. The Gilyak also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chlewyth) (8), and

3. Among the Olcha: chity,

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwalch, and, to be sure, distinguished as kana (white) and pluta (blue) tschwalch), for food by making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil. Finally, the sea, like the forest, yields a quite popular edible food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak punch).

4. Glehn, op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants, in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, where upon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in small stacks for the winter, which they then store of Sakhalin (1) the Aino, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

leached it from the Japanese, who keep the Aino busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artifically rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matmai.

While the natural vegetable products discussed above are of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are available to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation,

[113] animal food, and especially fish food, on the whole, continues the basis and mainary of the existence of the Gilyak.

A noteworthy circumstance in connection with the diet of the Gilyak must still be considered here. It is the fact that they do not use any salt at all with their food and, indeed, even have a certain aversion to it. I am taking the liberty of repeating here what I wrote several years ago in a letter to Dr. Gustav Bunge (1),

1. At that time a docent in Dorpat, now a
professor in Basel.

which has also been published by him (2). Despite my long stay

[114] 2. In his article "Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und des Verbrauches der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus (Ethnological Supplement to the Discussion on the Significance of Cooking Salt and the Effect of Potassium Salts on the Human Organism" (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Vol. X, Munich, 1874, p. 116).

among the Gilyak and many an observation of their food and the preparation of dishes, I never saw them add salt to any dish or eat it in any other way. I was never asked for any by them and do not know /444/ that they ever asked for it in Nikolayevsk, where it was sold. The following experience gave me further evidence of

[115] how little it is required by them: since toward the end of my journey in the winter of 1856 my salt was exhausted, I asked for some in every Gilyak village that I passed on the road to the west coast of Sakhalin and along the Amur-Limans, but always in vain, until Fenrge, on the mouth of the Amur, a bachelor-sized lump of salt wrapped in a dirty rag, which its owner had once happened to get and had kept as a worthless curiosity, was finally brought to me. The Gilyak repeatedly expressed their regretance for it when they saw the eat salt. There the numerous similar reports on the use of

[116] non-use of salt by various people Dr. Bunge draws the conclusion,

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use, of salt among them. The Gilyak and Orochi are the only occasions [117] at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements, eat plant food, very, to be sure, rarely and sparingly, in large quantities. It is therefore not surprising that at time the [118] plant distance he ate no food at all (or, more correctly, he ate, the contrary), is especially noticeable, for during a long festival it is regarded as unfitch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet, this does not mean that he is not considerably affected by the [119] tion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the bear festival takes place for only a short time here or there, which does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten at them is considerable, and, finally, the bear is a very polygamous man who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise, and in general, it likely to fall below the amount of animal food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear festivals are an ancient national custom preserved, as we shall see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak, among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn [120] resistance.

[121] similar shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (2). /448/

2. Mamia Rinō, "Tokeiz kiho" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

[122] One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not remove the contradiction with my above statement, because Mamia Rinō goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Hasshū near Kidi (3). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidzi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, the Gilyak, who live on the Amur along the Olcha at least as far as the Umut, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Mamia had the same experience, except that in the Gilyki village of Sulibi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the native (3). This village, however,

[123] 3. Staak", Putesh. za Amur" (A Journey through the Amur Region),

is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinō's report, and, according to my experience, they find merit, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Gilyk, at the beginning of 19th century produced pots and bowls for the Chinese and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were little unfamiliar with this industry — an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion

[124] of the trade relations of the Amur peoples, and especially of the Gilyak, with the neighboring civilized peoples. For the moment, it will suffice to make the general remark that the Gilyak probably was brought about by violent seizure and devastation plotted by the Manchu-Chinese government itself for political reasons and to which Mamia Rinō's voyage may even have given rise. Through the devastating blow that the government, feared by the natives, exercised, among other things, against the pottery and porcelain manufacturing of the Olcha on the Amur, they were forced back, into their neighborhood, upper and downstream, the lower Gilyk and Gilyak, to their traditional woodworking industry and were so strongly and lastingly prejudiced against all pottery and porcelain that from then on even articles of the sort known as Chinese Ware could not find approval and acceptance among them. The [125] manufacture of the pottery industry, flourishing in the lower Amur region, on the other hand, may have prompted the Gold to take up the [126] production of wooden implements, so that these large bowls and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kora, respectively.

Whereas the pots and porcelain bowls were transported along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made equal and unimpeded [127] headway in the opposite direction along the Sungari and Ussuri Rivers. /447/ According to the notes of the Chinese U-tschen in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

1. Vatt'ivu", "Zapiski o Ningtsie (Notes on Ningtsu)" (Zap. Imp. russk. geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also arose there. Into Sai-mu-pichang in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and encoun-

2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

4. Op. cit., p. 184.

[128] Gilyak produced them, some of them of very good quality, which were shipped far away, and according to Barabash (3), there in

3. Barabash, "Sungar. eksperdisia 1872 g." (Zap. Imp. russk. geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII/2" (Ussuri Shore, 1874, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7).

one or several of them in every Sungari town. The pottery that Black saw in Sulibi on the Amur probably also came from the Sungari. The fact that it does not go further down the Amur, however, to the lower Gokds, Olcha, and Gilyak, in spite of their annual trade voyages to the Sungari, seems all too clearly to the [129] conclusion that they entertain a special aversion to such utensils.

If, from the statements by Mamia Rinō given above, one [130] conclusion of the pottery industry, flourishing in the lower Amur region, on the other hand, may have prompted the Gold to take up the [131] production of wooden implements, so can these large bowls and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kora, respectively.

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2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

4. Op. cit., p. 184.

[133] make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the one of about six to seven inches in diameter with one on two [134] sides, tsun-ts, i.e., earthen pots, the other called kamu-tyo, the bowls, which, to be sure, not cannot fail to recognize the very Japanese origin of this art.

Dr. Bunge, who, as we know, has contributed so much to the knowledge of the Gilyak, [135] Orochi and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered bowls made from /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

1. Siebold, Aanh. en volkenkund, toelichtingen, Leiden, 1852, Vol. II, Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vrim', P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Maksimov found, besides skulls and bones, in old graves on Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack Atlasov published by Müller (2), the information that they

2. Noved en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and Krashchenninikov only wooden vessels among them, and Georgi [136] (Dittmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamchatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought [137] to be Gilyak. Dr. Bunge (1) /448/ says:

1. Op. cit., P. 187.

[138] 7. (cont.)
Possessions in America), St. Petersburg, 1867, Part II, p. 34; Idem, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 216.

[139] Dawson and Kotzebue Sounds (8), and, in the Unwegotting, among

8. Nelsh, Cap. Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerika's /Capt. Jacobsen's Travels on the Northwest Coast of America/, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 214, 215, 296.

among the earthenware vessels made by the Eskimo which he saw on the Yukon (Kwichpak), a few of which are illustrated in his book on Alaska, that Dawson mentions, he discovered after a Russian model. This may have been the case, for since the Russian settled in this country some Russian dishes and cooking utensils undoubtedly reached the natives there. Nevertheless, the making of pottery by the American Eskimo in no way came from the Russians. [140] Dawson found it there already, and Dawydof, like Sagoskin, remarks that acquaintance with iron and copper kettles and other [141] utensils, made Eskimo unable to do without them, cannot consider the Eskimo, who, in the formerly general distribution of pottery vessels of the Russian-American Company, with which [142] agrees. Finally, also arguing for the great antiquity of the art of pottery among the Eskimo of northwestern America /450/ is the simple and primitive manner in which it is practiced: the vessels are shaped freehandedly, and therefore are not quite circular or even symmetrical, but are smoothed and decorated by means

1. As can be seen from the illustrations given in Jacobsen's travel account (pp. 214 and 215).

of peculiar and likewise very simple instruments (2). Without

2. These instruments are likewise illustrated by Jacobsen (Op. cit., P. 296).

[143] 2. (cont.)
by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 296).

[144] interesting to specify more precisely the date and the manner of the origin of the pottery industry among the Eskimo, I think it is [145] draw the conclusion, on the basis of the above considerations concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Diomps left their inhabitated without any knowledge of the art of pottery, and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

To return to the Amur region, I repeat that the potter's art of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Ainu of which Mamia Rinō spoke was lost for a time and, in the Gilyak and Olcha, only revived, after a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent measures of the Manchu-Chinese government. It seems, however, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even further back. I mean the pots and porcelain and wooden utensils which have recently been found in the earth, together with stone [146] tools, a few points in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, especially along the Ussuri and Sungari and Yantsze (3). These potsherd

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Pauchi River, in the vicinity of Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tschelyuskin or Tschirynzh (as the Russian call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, were found a bronze vessel (Comptes Rendus, Vol. I, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Prof. Steffle in Nikolayevsk, most of these articles were sent to the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

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2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotvorskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Piyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Susuya and Tuotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ The actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

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salt with their food than do those of the lower Amur. We found a pronounced aversion to it among the Gilyak. The Goldi and the Orochi only use very little of it (1). Of the Manegir, however,

1. Nadarov*, "Siev.-Ussur. kraĭ" (Zap. Imp. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 80).

Maack (2) reports that every well-to-do person among them has

2. Op. cit., p. 79.

salt in his household. They buy it from the Daur and have a designation borrowed from the Daur ("katā") for it: katachan. Presumably therefore, they first became acquainted with it through the Daur, and at a time when the latter, prior to the Russian invasion, lived all along the upper Amur and its source rivers, the Schilka and Argun), engaged in agriculture and livestock-raising, and had barter-trade relations with the hunting tribes in the north (3). Therefore, even at that time the tribes

3. See p. 339 ff above.

of the upper Amur region may already have obtained a number of cereals for food from the Daur.

/463/ There should be added to a consideration of the diet of the Amur peoples a few remarks concerning the luxuries used among them, especially liquor and tobacco.

The Gilyak do not know how to make any beverage for pleasure, either by an infusion of water upon the leaves, stems, barks, or other parts of certain species of plants or from the juice of berries and other fruits of their region, as is understood so well by the Italmen of Kamchatka, according to the testimony of

/463 cont./
Steller (1) and Krashenninikof (2). I came across just as little of

1. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, pp. 76-89.

2. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossi, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.).

I came across just as little of anything of the kind among the Olcha and Goldi (3). Even tea,

3. I am thinking here only of beverages for pleasure, but not medicinal potions. Among the Manegir on the upper Amur I saw a moss that they gather in the forest and call mogo drying in the sun on birch-bark mats. As far as I could learn from them, they take it to the city of Aigun, where they are paid well by the inhabitants, to be drunk in an infusion, like tea. Presumably, however, this infusion is used only as medicine for some ailment.

Even tea which these peoples must have known for a long time through their association with the Chinese (4) and which they were able

4. The Gilyak have the designation pyncht for it.

to buy in Nikolayevsk as well as in Mariinsk since the Russian occupation of the region (in the fifties), had not found acceptance among them at the time of my stay in the Amur region (5).

5. Pel'nikof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin", pp. 38-40) reported that in 1881 the Orok on Sakhalin prized tea highly and, if there was any, drank it regularly toward evening. But this could have appeared only since the

/463 cont./

5. (cont.)
Russian colonization of the island, therefore only quite recently -- was by no means the case at the time of my travels on it, or Schmidt's and Glehn's.

They did not know coffee at all and considered it, when they saw me drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor was, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be sure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other peoples of the mainland, under the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) araki or arki, also customary among the Manchu and among all the Tungusic, Mongolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (6). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Klaproth's Asia polyglotta. There are, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araku, airaki, etc.

Undoubtedly acquaintance with liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the time of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread rapidly since then. Through the trading trips of the Goldi, Olcha, and especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must have soon been introduced to the Gilyak there. The latter, to be sure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from another direction, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained their liquor, the so-called saki, and even learned how to make a weak saki themselves (7); but the stronger and presumably cheaper

7. Mitsui', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, p. 132. Dobrotvorskiĭ, Ainsko-russk. slovar', Preface, p. 38.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinō (8) reported

8. "Tō-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 192).

/464 cont./ This is how the Chinese
merchant on the Amur does it as he deals with his customers and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is how he is imitated by all well-to-do Goldi, Samagir, Olcha, or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is precisely how Mamia Rinō describes the manner in which the Smerenkur on /465/ Sakhalin drink their "arka" brought from the Amur. I also saw the libation preceding the drinking, which consists of first moistening the tips of the thumb and forefinger with liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the left, up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less carefully executed, just as by the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur, also by the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and even Orochi in Hadshi Bay. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these peoples is done in a definite way sanctioned by usage, from peculiar foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this circumstance, besides the others mentioned above, the procurement of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I must testify to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I knew best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the lower Amur, in Nikolayevsk and Mariinsk, a new and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This fact seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as utich (unlucky) -- a conception which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

/469 cont./

1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8), and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper edge, into the pouch of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

(See category 116, p. 1014 - Analyst)

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If the Gilyak run out of tobacco, they seize upon various substitutes for it. The most common of these makeshifts is fine dry wood shavings from any kind of wood, but always from a soft type, presumably willow by preference. Such shavings are even mixed with the tobacco when it is beginning to get low. When it is all gone, the wood shavings mixed with tobacco oil are smoked in place of it. For this purpose the tobacco oil is scraped out of the pipe, poured into a tube and stored in a special small pouch (Gilyak niryghis), which /470/ is made of a few scraps of leather fastened between two pieces of sealskin (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6), upon which the tobacco oil is smeared and, when required, is scraped off, mixed with the wood shavings, and again returned to the pipe (1). Moreover, the Gilyak use some of their native herbs as

1. The very same tobacco substitutes is also used by the Chukchee, who, however, obtain it by putting the wood shavings in the tube, much wider on their pipes, above the pipe bowl, where it is gradually saturated with nicotine from the smoke passing through it (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 429; Dall,

tobacco substitutes, for example, an herb that they named for me in Allof on the Amur as tschomr, in Tyk on Sakhalin as wurpi, and which, judging by the dried fragments that I saw, seemed to be a fern. Among the Goldi in Kōurmi on the Amur I likewise saw hanging bundles of an herb which they called toina and used as a substitute for tobacco. For the present the taxonomic names of these plants must remain unknown.

The taking of snuff and tobacco-chewing are not found at all among the Amur peoples, at least in the lower Amur region (2).

2. Among the Aleut, who became acquainted with tobacco through the Russians, it is mostly chewed, taken as snuff very little, and not

(See category 116, p. 1008 -- Analyst)

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basis of tales told by the Hollanders who had been prisoners in Korea in the middle of the seventeenth century, that in winter there one binds small boards under the feet in order to be able to walk over the snow without sinking into it.

Of the greatest importance for the economy and the whole life of primitive peoples is the manner in which they undertake their greater moves from place to place by land, and in this respect we find in the Amur region very different, and for the individual peoples characteristic, phenomena.

Of all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the ones who use the dog for traveling to the greatest extent and among whom the dog plays more important role in the economy and whole life than among any other of these peoples. For, aside from its principal purpose as dog's animal, it furnishes the Gilyak, as we have seen, with the generally most popular and most used fur for clothing, and even serves them as food, which, aside from the Ainu, does not occur among any other people in the Amur region. Nowhere is the keeping of dogs for winter travel required by natural conditions and by the way of life and needs of the people to such an extent as among the Gilyak. If the dog is to serve as a draft animal, it must, because of its little strength, be kept in large numbers, and for that, in view of its predatory nature, large, never-failing stores of animal food are required, such as, not the roaming hunters, but fishermen settled along a river-rich in fish or along the seacoast are in a position to provide for them. These requisites, as discussed above (D), are best met among the

2. See pp. 645 ff. above.

Gilyak, who occupy the part of the Amur region richest in fish and are the most sedentary of its peoples and the one most devoted to fishing, and who, in addition, are impelled by their lively commercial spirit to undertake winter trips and voyages more than the others.

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long troughs are placed along the edge of the dogs' table or the hearth platform, the door of the yurt is opened, and the dogs lying outside and held by straps or chains are released. As soon as this is done, the dogs, already impatient, dash straight into the yurt, often jumping on and over one another, and stand on the kyll or on the ground in front of the trough. Meanwhile, the women, with the help of large ladles (3), have filled several

2. See p. 683 and the illustration above.

buckets with the soup, bubbling and steaming in the kettle, and now pour it into the troughs. Since the whole pack ravenously and greedily pounces on the food, each animal trying to outdo the other and to snatch everything for himself, fierce struggles and fights usually break out between neighboring dogs, but are stilled by blows on the heads of the animals delivered with sticks by the women and children standing by and holding the dogs by leashes or chains. Plate XII /seq. 992/ illustrates the feeding of the dogs in one of the large, Chinese winter-yurts of the Gilyak. In the earth yurt, where the low sitting and sleeping benches are separated from the hearth platform by only a narrow passage, this takes place so close to one that he finds himself almost surrounded by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold streaming in over the floor through the open door and the steam rising from the hot fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure does not exactly contribute to the comfort of a stay in the earth yurt. Beyond this meal the Gilyak dogs get nothing to eat when they are at home resting. In times of scarcity, however, even this meal is very meager, for instance, in the village of Tyň on Sakhalin, I noticed that the dogs received only a soup made of a little jukola, reindeer moss, and a small amount of seal oil, and if times become even more difficult, the feedings become more infrequent, only every other day. On long journeys, however, the Gilyak, if about noontime they do not reach a village in which the dogs are given their usual meal, throw them some chark or ma twice a day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such times

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feed their dogs only once, only at the overnight campsite and always only dry jukola. The Russian dogs, therefore, are perhaps never more exclusively ichthyophagous than the Gilyak dogs. Lacking jukola, I once had them given elk meat, and they left it untouched. Only severe hunger makes the dogs omnivorous, and in summer along the Amur one cannot adequately protect his belongings /481/ against the starving dogs of the natives, seizing everything that is of animal nature, such as fish-skin and fur covers, boots, etc.

Like the grown animals, the whelps, too, are fed in the yurt. To be sure, on Sakhalin they are often kept inside the house the rest of the time, too, and on the sleeping benches at the very rear where they come up against the roof. The greater care of the whelps on Sakhalin may be the reason why the dogs there, and especially those of the Tymy Gilyak, are said to be the largest and finest in the whole region.

Since the actual master and owner of the dogs, as soon as he has returned from a trip, no longer pays any attention to them and their entire care and feeding has passed into the female occupants of the yurt, with the assistance of the children, they are actually as good as masterless and they do not have the usual characteristics of the dog which is kept more or less singly as the follower and companion of man, such as personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance, or they are not developed in them. The situation is the same, incidentally, with respect to the Russo-Siberian draft-dogs so that one may probably say in general that dogs kept in large numbers for harnessing and treated more or less as a pack, in comparison with hunting or watchdogs, have remained on a lower level of culture, so to speak, or have again sunk to one. But a certain attachment to the place and house where they get their food may be found among them, too, so that, even unleashed, they do not readily leave it, and if, in harness, they get free from their driver as the result of an overturned sled, they go home as a rule, or to the nearest village (1). The dogs

1. According to Sujef (see Pallas, Reise

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1. (cont.)
durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs
/Journey through Various Provinces of
the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44).
On Oroyak on the lower Olekma also keep
their draft-dogs outside, but always
feed them in the yurt.

2. The dogs

of the Tungus on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

The Gilyak sled (sq) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian nartes, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, so too durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. As an example, I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 7 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11 times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles / runners/Gilyak tunkej, a in the illustration/ are horizontal only in the middle section, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve towards the ends, they are provided on the underside

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all along the horizontal middle piece, with mountings, or rather, with blocks of the considerable length of the latter, with a second pair of soles, the protective soles (Gilyak motanj, b in the illustration), which are fastened by means of wooden pegs and, at their sharply reduced ends, also by means of leather straps to the main soles. The sole-mountings are usually likewise of wood and can easily be replaced when worn out. In the spring, however, when the snow melting in the sun sticks to the wooden sole and makes travel very difficult, instead of the wooden mountings, some made of whalebone are fastened to the sled, or the wooden protective soles are covered with a whalebone plate, as I have seen on several occasions, especially on Sakhalin, where this material is more readily available (1). A very characteristic feature of the

1. As was discussed in the first volume of this work (p. 193), the main sole-and whalebone plates come from a kind of whale which the Gilyak call kalm and which presumably is Balaena australis Desmoul, but as a rule the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw or the ribs of Balaenoptera longimana Rud. (Gilyak keng), the one most frequently stranded along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even among the Russians in Siberia bone or whalebone mountings are often used on the sled, especially for travel over sea ice which is covered with salt water, for instance, on Kamchatka (Vrangel', Puteshv. po sev. ber. Sib. i po Levod. moriu /Journey along the Northern Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/, Vol. II, p. 28). According to information given by A. Schrook in the Leipziger Tageblatt, bone sled-mountings (sled-runners), as well as bone skates, were formerly used in many regions of Germany, for instance, in the province of Brandenburg, in several Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut,

/482 cont./

1. (cont.)
etc., and such bones have been found a
number of times in excavations in
Scandinavia, on Iceland, on the Zealand
Islands, in Friesland, Pomerania, in the
March, in Moravia, and even in the pile
dwellings of the Swiss lakes (Sr. Petersb.
Zeit., 1880, No. 58).

Gilyak sled is that when it is equipped with the protective soles and is placed on firm level ground, the latter is touched by only a small part of the sole, equivalent to about one-quarter of the total length of the sled, while the two end rise to a considerable height above it. For example, in the case of the specimen measured by me, their distance from the ground amounted to one foot, ten inches. Between the ends of the thin shallowly arched soles run, as sinews, the two longitudinal side-bars (Gilyak higi, c in the illustration) of the sled, which form the frame of the very shallow sled-basket serving as a seat and for holding effects. They rest on several thin little supports (Gilyak ich, d in the illustration) set into the soles from above, and their ends, moreover, are connected with the soles by means of a perforating wooden crosspiece (Gilyak kerngh, h in the illustration). The ich, of which /483/ Gilyak sled of regular size, like the one illustrated, has five on either side, a smaller one only four, are rather wide and solid at their ends, somewhat reduced toward the middle, and their position and shape, as well as the number and from the ends of the sled likewise seem to be standardized by quite definite proportions. If there are five of them, the middle one is exactly in the center of the entire length of the sled, all the others are at a distance of 1' 10" from one another, that is, at precisely one-eighth of the sled's length, and the distance of the two outermost ones (the front and the back ich) on either side from the sled-ends is double that, therefore 3' 8" or two-quarters of the length of the sled each. The sled touches level and firm ground only with the part of the soles which is found between the two supports standing next to the

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The Gilyak stop and set their sleds with not one but with two simple, iron-tipped sticks (Gilyak kaur, Russo-Siberian pachtoli), which are thrust into the snow on either side of the sled. To put little stress on the use of such a stick, as the Russians do on Kamchatka and in other /486/ parts of Siberia, is not customary among them, and therefore the spur of the training bells is unfamiliar to their dogs, which is why it has been abandoned in the Amur region by the Russians who get their dogs from the Gilyak and other natives. These Russians, however, spur their dogs at the first sign of fatigue in many another way than it is likewise unfamiliar to the Gilyak. For instance, they sometimes hurl the braking stick at one or another of the animals appearing too lazy, which the Gilyak cannot do because, riding astride the sled, he cannot jump off during the journey, as the Russian does, to retrieve the stick and hoist himself back on the sled (1). And he just as little permits the Russian practice of

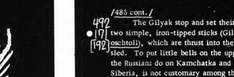

A dog's head adorned with the clank.

the front one, do not run singly, but in pairs, and each animal is fastened by two straps to the long guide-line running between them: by means of the front one the dog pulls the sled, but the front one prevents him from running sideways. With so complicated a harness, confusion arises all too easily as a result of the temper of the dogs: sometimes the two dogs of a pair run toward the same side, sometimes an animal jumps over his harness strap, which then gets caught between his legs, etc. And when two sleds meet, especially a Russian one and a Gilyak one, without stopping in time, the one another and from the ends of the sled one another, forming a cluster of perhaps twenty or more biting dogs, which can be disentangled only by a violent tugging and pulling apart of the fighting animals amid a rain of blows from both sides, and causing great confusion and damage in the harness, especially of the Russian dogs. The Gilyak, as well as the Russians, therefore carefully try to avoid such encounters by turning aside promptly, stopping and setting the sled, and holding fast to the pack, especially the lead dog.

1. The Russian dog-drivers, or "Kajuren," as they are called along the Amur, in Kamchatka, and elsewhere in Siberia, always sit sidewise (on the right) on their sleds and can easily jump off, which they are often obliged to do in order to give the sled a push toward one side or the other to prevent the soles /runners/ from passing over the fresh excrement of the dogs and thereby lose their smoothness. If this is ever neglected, one must stop after a brief time and turn the sled over on one side, in order to scrape off the soles and, if possible, apply a new ice-coating.

spurring on the dogs in extreme exhaustion by throwing small pieces of jukola ahead of them. He cares too much for his dogs to strain them excessively. If the shouts of "kach, tach" are no

G 492 484 /487 cont./ Just as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G 492 171 174 Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak, is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A 492 493 [648] Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly the same role as among the Gilyak, even the construction of the sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113] 1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G [492] [171] A [171]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

NS 492 484 /488 cont./ development, also by the Russians, of the greatest and fullest use of them and for the longest journeys, for instance, to the New Siberian Islands, etc., were found there along the Jana and Indigirka.

K 231 [361] [492] To the north of Kamchatka we find another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Koryak living in permanent sites along Penshinsker /Penzhinskaya/ Gulf and along the Bering Sea, who likewise have only the dog as a domestic and, at the same time, draft animal. I believe that I have already proved above (7) that

K 174 231 361

7. See pp. 481 ff.

formerly the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and the closely related Chukchee (the Onkilon) had permanent habitation sites and, in fact, earth yurts, just as they did, and, correspondingly, as fishermen, seal-hunters, etc., like them, they, too, may have had only the dog as a companion until they became acquainted with the domesticated reindeer, probably through the Tungus pressing in on them from the south and the west, and with it took up their present nomadic life.

G Gi NS K 231 171 /489/ Thus, we must designate the dog, this oldest of all animals domesticated by man, as the only domestic animal and therefore, especially in its position as draft animal, as, so to speak, a characteristic form of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, this oldest formation of peoples in northeastern Asia. Where, subsequently, another domestic animal appears among them, such as the reindeer among the nomadic Koryak and Chukchee in the case mentioned above, it is always a gift brought to them at a later period by a younger family of peoples with whom they came in contact.

E 231 171 174 Without doubt it may be assumed that the Eskimo, like other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, had the dog as their only domestic animal and used it in harness when they were still on their original Asiatic soil. With this domestic animal they crossed over to America, and there, continuing to live in the same way by fishing, seal-hunting, etc., they spread across the entire northern

E 231 171 174 E [492] /490 cont./ Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality. The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/ the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

G Gi A 492 174 171 Gi 171 After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region, the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes, the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all; whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

/506 cont./

501 184 [192] trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow [171] places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/ 396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak musskrj), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

G /507 cont./

396 824 171 longer voyages they use the commonly built Japanese boats (2).

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G. Gi 501 Exactly the same type of boat as among the Gilyak is also in general use among their closest neighbors along the Amur River, the Olcha and Goldi. In appearance it exhibits no differences in shape or construction from those of the former. The Gilyak, however, asserted that their boats curved upward less at the prow end and therefore were better able to travel against the current than those of their neighbors -- an assertion whose accuracy I must leave undecided, though it agrees with some G of my own experiences. They are completely different from Gi one another, however, in the kind of wood from which they are 396 824 made. Whereas the Gilyak make their boats out of the wood of the fir tree (Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissjk, Olcha and Goldi Gi chassjchta), the Olcha and Goldi always use cedar (Pinus cembra, 184 var. excelsa, Pinus mandshurica Rupr., among the Olcha and Gi Goldi koldong). When, during our summer voyage of 1855, we 114 landed near the Olcha village of Adi, the approaching inhabit- 501 ants of the place, who, among other things, occupy themselves principally with boat-building and who therefore closely examined ours, immediately recognized from the wood in them that one of them (mine) was of Gilyak origin, and the other (Maximowicz's) was of Olcha origin, as was in fact the case. Gi But whereas among the Gilyak on the Amur one sees only 501 boats of this one kind, the Olcha and Goldi have some of quite 184 different shape and construction. This is simply the result of the circumstance that, besides the Amur, they also navigate many of its torrential and, in spots, shallow tributaries along

G. /509/ Gi 412 171 [396] [192] The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is done among all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilyak, Orok,

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Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of the Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the Admiralty Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is illustrated in the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which Mr. Poljak acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, and which is Gi made in the following manner. At the upper end of a forked 412 branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron blade, 171 ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong, and by means of its upper part, which is all that remains of it, while the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the adze. This

/512 cont./
like the dsai in form and nature, but twice as long, while the width remains about the same. Thus, among the latter I saw such a boat that was 35 1/2 feet long and only 2 feet and 2 inches wide. Such a boat, like the multiple-seated Aleutian bidar and, incidentally, also like the large mango, if the latter are not propelled, say, by poles, is propelled by two or three persons equipped with double oars and rowing uniformly on one side and then the other, and thus shooting forward with great speed.

It is very noteworthy that the above-described boat made out of boards, which is distributed throughout the lower Amur region, among the Goldi, Olcha, Gilyak, and Orochi, is completely absent in the upper Amur region. At least, I never saw any there, and Maack, traveling down the Amur from the Schilka, did not meet the first boat of this kind until at the mouth of the Ussuri (1). And, correspondingly, the form of

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 178.

the hollowed-out boat that is patterned after this boat, the unjmagda or awarpe, also seems to be absent in the upper Amur region. I must therefore designate this boat made out of boards in a specific fashion as solely and exclusively peculiar to the lower Amur region and characteristic of it. And yet, I believe, one may not regard it altogether as an invention of those peoples or one of them. Whereas the hollowed-out or birch-bark boats bear the stamp of originality, the Amur boat, or, as I would prefer to call it in accordance with the above, the Goldi-Gilyak boat, reveals in its more ingenious form and construction a certain cultural influence, and I believe that I do not err if I trace this back to the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari. For centuries Chinese traders and sometimes also Manchu officials have traveled from the Sungari into the lower Amur region, the former in order to engage in trade with its peoples, the latter in order to collect from them the tribute owed to the Chinese government. The boats in which they made these trips are, to be sure, much larger and more.

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complicated than the Goldi-Gilyak
and in general are the same in form
ample, like the latter, the Manchu
chiefly of three long boards -- a bo
for quite a distance beyond the prow
boards, which are bluntly closed off
stern-board, and in front, in a poin
boards of uneven length. Furtherm
boards are joined and fastened to o
which the seams are stuffed with m
inside and outside, etc. are the sa
larger dimensions of the Manchu-C
board is from 7 to 9 1/2 fathoms lo
demand certain additions or modifi
Goldi-Gilyak boat. For example,
by a second board on either side,
the first one from the outside; this
Gilyak only as an exception, in ca
sea voyage. These upper side-boa
about a fathom beyond the stern bo
and at their rear ends they are join
but on top are covered with boards
the rear end of the boat there is a
this, at the rear edge, are placed
which the rudder is stuck in order
steersman standing on the platform
boat given by the considerable wi
the added upper side-board further
up of crossboards loosely set agai
part, over which a piece of wicke
rods bent into a semicircle and a
which, covered with reed or straw
cabin in which one may sit, or ev
protected against rain and bad we
much smaller and lower covering
crawl in case of an emergency is

lyak boats, but essentially
form and construction. For ex-
nchu-Chinese boat also consists
bottom board which projects
prow, and two side or edge
off in the rear by a vertical
ointed prow, by two small
rmore, the way in which the
one another, the way in
moss and covered with strips
ame in both cases. The far
Chinese boats (the bottom
ong), however, permit or
fications in contrast to the
the sides are always raised
which /513/ is attached to
is done among the Goldi and
se a boat is to be used for a
rds project toward the rear
ard serving as their support,
d to each other by a plank,
placed crosswise so that at
ide bridge or platform. On
o vertical rods, between
be controlled by the
The greater depth of the
of the lower side-board and
rmits laying a floor made
one another in the rear
rk made out of several
horizontal ones is erected,
s, gives a kind of tent or
and in a stooped position,
. A similar, though
r which a few persons may
in the frontmost part of

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the boat. For this purpose a long and strong switch is stuck into the continuation of the bottom board there, bent toward the rear over the prow, and likewise provided with wickerwork made out of semicircular and horizontal switches, over which reed or birch-bark mats are spread. Furthermore, unlike the Goldi-Gilyak boat, the Manchu-Chinese boat has fixed rowing benches resting on the edges of the lower side-boards and a like mast-bench, through which the square lower end of the mast is inserted into the mast bearers put on the bottom board underneath it and, superfluously, tied with a cord to the nearest rear cross-piece connecting the lower side-boards to each other. Finally, on the Manchu-Chinese boat the arrangement of the oars is different, in that they are not stuck on prongs, and, accordingly, are not bored, but are set into correspondingly deep indentations in a board attached to the upper edge. They have only relatively narrow blades and on the upper end a transverse handle which is seized with both hands for rowing, always done at only one side. The rudder, provided with a blade that bulges toward the bottom, likewise has such a transverse handle. It is heavy and, when traveling under ordinary circumstances, seems to rest almost immovably, but a slight turn to the right or to the left is sufficient to give the boat the required direction.

This description will suffice to show that the boat of the dwellers along the lower Amur River and that of the Manchu and Chinese along the Sungari completely correspond in their basic features and their construction, and that the former is, so to speak, only the husked and pared down kernel taken, I might say, from the latter. It can hardly be assumed that the Chinese, clinging to their ancient customs, shaped their boat after a pattern borrowed from the Amur peoples standing far below them and provided improvements and additions only in accordance with their needs. And so /514/ there remains only [177] the conclusion, which in fact is much more probable, that, conversely, the natives of the lower Amur region, first the Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Olcha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

/314 cont./

boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form in that they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their means and power. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage,had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as it does to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, just like the iron, is abundant, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the other people of the lower region. Maximowicz saw a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a jug of liquor two feet tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet grain. Only in this point, as it seem from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the necessities of the Amur, the lack of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars stuck on pegs, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; on the other hand, it recurs generally among the Aino of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Aino-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

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transferred to the boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese. The usually idealized boat in the country the lower Amur peoples on their boat is not nearly as large as it might seem at first glance -- rather, we see that, with respect to the nature of the river vessels, and in the construction of the winter houses and in so many other things, Chinese influence has spread from the Sungari over the whole lower Amur region.

How could it have happened, however, that the so practical and useful boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese pattern and distributed throughout the lower Amur region /315/ nevertheless remained wholly foreign to the upper Amur region which was under its dominance and inhabited by peoples of related tribes? The explanation for this must undoubtedly be sought in the political and other circumstances above, which the Chinese government observed in this region after the departure of the Russians from the Amur in the seventeenth century and which continued of always its upper action as depopulated as possible and of isolating it by vast, uninhabited stretches from the Sungari region which was especially important to them (1). For

1. See above, pp. 325, 369.

this purpose the natives of the lower Amur region and, so it seem, also the Chinese traders on the Sungari, were forbidden by them to go beyond the mouth of the latter up the Amur, and, in order to enforce this prohibition, a permanent guard-station was established at the mouth of the Sungari (2). In this

2. See above, pp. 7, 110.

manner communications between the upper and lower Amur peoples were made difficult by blocking them, and this also a compromise in the means used for it, was perceived by the measures of the Chinese government. But all the circumstances indicate the independent imitation of the Manchu-Chinese boat on the part of the native were lacking in the upper

/315 cont./

Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and their Manchu, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inspire the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as was said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it is perfectly plausible to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development than the whole state in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained by the natives themselves and with the neighboring civilized-peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and counterparts will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

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Section 8

Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon: Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White whale.

In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther you goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermingling of various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above description of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing and to the importance of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the winter repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kind of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described. (1)

1. (cont.)
Ac. dauricus, as Brandt also does in turn (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St-Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 172. Among the source rivers of the Schilka, the Onon has it especially abundantly, whereas the Ingoda, as Georgi noted (Reisch. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in 1772/, Vol. I, p. 353), and recently Maack (Puteshi na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 57), it has shallow and stony for it. Whatever the kind of fish may be, and more recent reports on Dauria, chiefly Russian ones, reference is made simply to banned (Dogs) and sturgeon (Acipenser) in connection with the kinds of fish occurring in rivers, as, for instance, in Middendorff's Sibirische Reise, Reisen und Fragements/, 1820, p. 146), Parshin (Poiezdka v' Zabaikal'skii kraj /Journey to the Transbaikal region/, Moscow, 1844, p. 117), Hagemeister (Statist. obozr. Sibir/Statistical Survey of Sibiria/, St. Petersburg, 1856, p. 263), Yadrintsev (Ib., 1882), Kaschin ("Nieskol'ko slov" ob" Argunii /A Few Words about the Argun/," -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshchestva, Book VI, Irkutsk, 1863, p. 103), Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 136?), and others, undoubtedly the two Amur species, the latter, which grow on the Amur with a size. The fish is very large and the best small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and takes to land to be killed. Hence, the proper club for the fish is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

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1. (cont.)
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above how greatly the Gilyak prize sturgeon and hausen. The situation is the same among the other Amur peoples. There is eager pursuit of them everywhere, and the methods of fishing are

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in general the same everywhere. But the individual peoples vary in the number of such methods of fishing, according to their nature and the local conditions in their part of the river. The Gilyak chiefly catch them with nets, which are stretched across large rivers and very strongly now to set in not to be torn by the resistance of the large animals. The shape of these nets and the way they are handled differ, however, and in this the season of the year in particular is also a definite factor, for it depends, for example, on whether the fish are present in larger or smaller quantities, whether they stay close to the surface or at greater depths, whether the river is open or covered with ice, and so forth.

Toward the end of May and in June, when the sturgeon and hausen coming from the sea are most abundant around the mouth of the river and stay near the surface, especially in calm weather, the Gilyak get single nets, or, rather, a longish quadrangular net, on the upper edge of which are fastened a few wooden floats and on the lower edge occasional small stones. In two boats the Gilyak go out to the place, see /319/ river with the net, cast it across it, and, holding the upper end of the net, let themselves be driven downstream by the current and paddle ashore. Meanwhile, on the surface of the river calm, they recognize with a sharp and practiced eye the approach of a large fish from afar, by a gentle swiling movement of the water, and guide their boats with the net between them toward the fish. When it has reached the net and has become entangled in it, the wooden float affected given notice of it, and the men both boats go to the spot where the fish is, the net is lifted, and the fish entangled in it is pulled into the boat by means of an iron hook attached to a pole (Gilyak nhab-tcharanch, Pl. XI Amr /pole/ hook), and killed by a blow on the head with a club. If the fish is very large and the boat small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and takes to land to be killed. Hence, the proper club for the fish is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

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upper corners of the net, or, in the case of the bag net, one of the corners of the bag opening equipped with the rings and cords, is hooked onto the prongs of the odn-tschengr, while the other corner of the net, or the place on the bag opening diametrically opposite the first one, is fastened to a pole placed across the hole, and the rest of the net, weighted with stones at the lower edge, is let down into the water. Now the odn is withdrawn, and the corner of the net coming out with it at the other hole is fastened, like the first one, to a pole. In this position the net is set up, like a wall directly under the ice, between the two holes. From these also emerge the cords by which it can be raised, and, finally, to one of them run the signal cords of the fishers, who, in all of the net, see the catch of fish in the net must be watched for here. From the foregoing it is to be seen that the length of the odn, determined by the size of the net and the distance between the holes in the ice from each other, is very considerable. It may therefore consist of several pieces. The representation of a face on the odn-tschengr is always indemnity for the sacrifice of a bear, which, however, is essential for success in catching sturgeon or hausen. In this connection another /321/ Gilyak superstition should be noted, one specifically referring to the catching of sturgeon and hausen with nets. It is that a cuckoo feather attached to the net will make the fishing successful -- a superstition to which I did not notice any trace in the other Amur peoples.

Another way of catching sturgeon and hausen among the Gilyak, though far less common, is to set out fishhooks. This is the same method of fishing that is known among the Siberia as: namolowy (automatic fishing) and has been described by Pallas in the various modifications with which it is practiced along the lower Obi, on the Irtysch, Jaik, and along the Volga (1).

1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. II, pp. 339, 446; Vol. III, p. 88.

/320 cont./

fall of fish, he lets the signal cord fall and draws together the ends of the net, and, in the case of a large catch, he calls the boats. Needless to say, besides the salmon going upstream at the time, other fish, sometimes even sturgeon and hausen, are caught in these bag nets. Since some labor and trouble is connected with making a anur, the Gilyak usually erect them only to catch the species of salmon most important to them and at the same time ascending in the greatest multitudes, the hghi-tscho. They cannot have enough of this fish, and therefore at the time of its ascent the anur are not infrequently seen throughout the Gilyak area of the Amur River.

The Gilyak pursue salmon fishing in the Tymy River on Sakhalin in the same manner and with no less zeal. But this is less suitable for the catching of pop on account of its considerable size and, in places, its shallowness. They are nevertheless in use in its lower course and at the point where it empties into Nyi Bay. It is here that at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus, in addition to the Gilyak, the Orok, too, zealously engage in fishing and the preparation of fish supplies. Indeed, during the last decades, the Japanese, too, after they have applied themselves, with the help of the Ainu, to the herring fishing on the coasts of southern Sakhalin and the catching of S. proteus at the mouth of the Poronai, generally appear at the end of the month of the Tymy at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus and engage in catching it with great energy and ruthlessness. Poljakof, who met them there at this occasion in August, 1881, reports, among other things (1), that they had fint erected a weir of the

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-79 and p. 99.

kind described above reaching across the entire river and opened one-twelfth of the width of the river for the passage of the migrating threatening demand, but then immediately above the first erected a second weir blocking no less than nine-tenths of the river. Under these circumstances it is understandable that they annually take large quantities of this species of salmon out of the

/320 cont./

Tymy River; no less understandable, however, is the harm that they do through this to the Orok and especially to the Gilyak of the entire Tymy Valley who rely on the abundance of fish of their river.

Nothing special is to be said about the catching of the fish living permanently in the sea, namely, the sea-bass, sheatfish, pike, etc. for it is carried on with ordinary nets during the /323/ periods when there is no more important fishing, therefore especially in winter, and the methods are the same, way as sturgeon is then caught. In the calm, lake-like wide places with a muddy bottom, of which there are many along the Gilyak area of the Amur River, sea-bass are caught in winter by a more or less swampy branch of the river or a small water-course, I have seen the Gilyak set up bag-shaped nets on poles in order to catch crucians and similar fish, which are abundant in these small basins.

One type of fishing must be given special consideration, both on account of its great importance for some of the Gilyak, and also on account of the characteristic, original way in which it is carried out. This is the hangi fishing along the east and coasts of Sakhalin. The importance of the hangi for the Gilyak watchna Pall.) for the Gilyak and the way it is used have been discussed above (p. 653 ff.). The vast quantities in which they appear directly under the ice at the mouth of the Tymy and they employ the simplest means to catch them in abundance. All they need for this is a span-long iron hook (Gilyak katch-lou), Pl. XI Amr /pole/ /323/, fig. 1), and a long line, which, in fact, is long which can be moved up and down by means of a wooden handle. The Gilyak sitting beside the hole in the ice casts with this short fishing-rod without any bait, so that he jerks down into the water and immediately draws it up again, pulling one fish after another into the ice. In the few minutes that I stood by -- it was on February 27 (March 10), 1881, I saw Gilyak in the west coast of Sakhalin -- my Gilyak pulled out several dozen fish, which the hook had sometimes caught at the gill flaps and sometimes at the lower jaw or the mouth. Some fir branches

/546/ Needles to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lynh, like the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.

/548 cont./

225 In view of this distribution of the white whale in the
[171] Amur region, the Gilyak are practically the only one of its peo-
ples that occupies itself with catching it. To be sure, the Aino
along the east coast of Sakhalin would have the opportunity for
it, but there is no mention of such an occupation by any of the
travelers who became acquainted with them. Little inclined
toward bolder hunting ventures, they presumably are satisfied,
so far as the white whale is concerned, to capture the individuals
stranded on the shore, just as they do in the case of the larger
species of whales. With regard to the latter the Gilyak do no differently,
but they pursue the white whale with weapons, and, to be sure,
for this they use a harpoon intended specifically for this purpose,
their so-called *pur* (Pl. XLII /see p.1022/, Fig. 3 and 4). This
consists of a thick and short bone tube into which a dagger-
shaped, double-edged and pointed iron lamella provided with
a barb on either side in the back is inserted. This piece is
mounted on a wooden shaft (Gilyak *wrij*) for hurling it and, in
addition, a rope made of a long, most strap by which, after the
wounded animal is pulled in, either to the boat or directly on
land, depending on where the hunter may be. In order finally
to kill the animal, there, too, as in seal-hunting, superstition, and presumably as the result of a similar idea, demands
that, first of all, the head of the stain animal be cut off; it is
not thrown away, however, but hung up a tree standing
on the bank, after all the muscle meat and the lake have first
been removed from it. At various places along the right bank
of the Amur I saw such trees with many skulls of white whales
hanging in them, which at the same time showed the necessity
of the Gilyak in hunting /549/ the white whale. I cannot say
whether the Olcha, in white territory the white whale is much
rarer, likewise hunt them, but, if this should be the case, only
the Gilyak would be capable of teaching them. Thus, the hunting
of the white whale is a characteristic feature in the way of life
of the Gilyak in contrast to the other Amur peoples and brings
them closer, in view of the similar nature of fish animal, to the
polar peoples. And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking

Use of the lynh for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence
is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon.
Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any
use is made of a stain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife,
whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown
into the water, and, furthermore, the mous, or, to achieve both
things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put
into the water. The guiding thought in this is to leave the stain
animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any
possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in
the future. The same conception is evidently the basis for the
above-mentioned similar procedure of the Mangrgi with their stain
Kamjakan and Kasuser. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too
much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to
terms with that superstition in another and less costly way. Per-
haps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I
did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

/549 cont./ Ba, Ba-ma-ki ka-ga, the Galdin of Stickin g
the white whale in other waters on a tree or, lacking one of them,
on certain piles driven into the ground prevails among some
of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed and

1. Reise durch verschi. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 82, Zoographie rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 278.

Ostyak along the Obj River.

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Section 9

Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence
[172] of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forests, I must
first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks
in the preceding parts above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing,
increases the more in immediate importance and significance
the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and
into its own territory in a certain area, larger or smaller according to the locality, around their winter dwellings. For this
purpose the latter are often erected separately, and sometimes even
quite far from the summer dwellings, at such places which have
an especially favorable location for hunting.

The most important fur-bearing animals for the Gilyak,
because they are generally highly valued in trade and are present
in great numbers in the Amur region, are the sable (Gilyak
ngrgi, Russian *Tymyj* and *Tro Gilyak* *ngrgi* and *nygkr-ngrgi*,
i.e., [illegible] animal), the otter (Gilyak *tgry*, among the Tymy and
Tro Gilyak *pelchyh*), and the fox (Gilyak *kkech*, among the Tymy

/550 cont./

only indirectly inasmuch as it furnishes them with those articles
[173] by means of which they can acquire through trade with the neighboring civilized peoples the foreign clothing, food, and utensils
lacking which have become necessities for them. Hence, among
them hunting is principally directed toward those animals for
whose furs there is a sure and good market among their principal
trade-lords, the Chinese, and since, merely in order to preserve
the pelts as intact as possible, it is practiced for the most part by
means of various kinds of traps, snares, poison pellets, etc., one
can designate it, in accordance with its greatly predominant
purpose and character, as the catching of fur-bearing animals.

Among the Gilyak engage in hunting only in
[174] the winter, for they are then occupied with fishing only a little,
while in summer for it, and, on the other hand, the animals
are in their full, valuable winter-fur. In addition, the deep
snow then covering the dense underbrush in the forest facilitates
to a great extent movement through it, so that, as experience
has taught, the Gilyak, too, know without any doubt that the
heavier the snow is in winter, the more rewarding and successful
the hunting will be. Nevertheless the Gilyak do not devote
themselves to hunting in winter nearly as much as their Tungusic
neighbors do. Whereas the latter, as we shall see, frequently
move from their winter habitations into distant forest and
mountain wildernesses, in order to live there for weeks entirely
by hunting, the Gilyak content themselves with practicing it
only in the vicinity of their winter dwellings. Hence, they
[175] also hunt only in a certain area, large or small, according to the
locality, around their winter dwellings. For this
purpose the latter are often erected separately, and sometimes even
quite far from the summer dwellings, at such places which have
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Tro Gilyak *pelchyh*), and the fox (Gilyak *kkech*, among the Tymy

/550 cont./

[176] and Tro Gilyak *kkech*, among the Tro Gilyak *kkechgrgi*, i.e.,
fox animal), the ermine (Gilyak *ngrgi*, Russian *Gornostaj*), the
[177] squirrel (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the marten (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the
[178] wolverine (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the
[179] [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the
[180] [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the
[181] [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the
[182] [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the [illegible] (Gilyak *ngrgi*), the

/569 cont./ T wave

ever heard anything among the Gilyak about poisoning their
rows, as it done among the Aino (/ Ainu) Sakhalin and Jeso
Ainu) of the Amur according to Stuler (?) and Kracheninnikof (?).

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelichte. /Geographisch und Ethnographisch Erläuterungen/, etc., pp. 95, 96, 112, on the basis of reports by Hiseron. de Angelis, Joan Sarlis, and Yuiro; the same, Nippon, VII, pp. 183 and 201, according to Mamia Rinsō; the same, Fauna Japon., Mammalia, p. 29.
2. Langsdorf, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 287. v. Brandt (Verhandl. der Ges. für Anthropo. Ethnol. u. Urgeschichte Year 1877, p. 58). Dobrotvorskii, Amkoyunt. Slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Preface supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazanik. Univers., 1875, p. 45), etc.

2. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 27, 95, 236.

3. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. sochin. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, p. 934).

said to have been customary among the Kurilen, Italmen, ryak, and Chukchee, and perhaps in part still in.
Idemkoeff (4), to be sure, says that the same custom is supposed

4. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1377.

have been passed on to the Tungut of Manchuria, but he gives
source to support his statement. Maack (5) states that the

/569 cont./

5. Puteshi. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegii smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region.

The quiver (Gilyak pg) used for throwing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carvings, or covering figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow points (Pl. XLV /See p.102/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is made of heavy wood and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, (see, for instance, Ethnol. Atlas, Gilyak, Tungusic, Vol. I, Year 1877, p. 58). Dobrotvorskii, Amkoyunt. Slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Preface supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazanik. Univers., 1875, p. 45), etc.

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Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapon, bear pikes, spears, and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting the bear, wolf, fox, otter, and they handle them (/ Gilyak) much more skilfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike usually used among them (Gilyak lachich), Pl. XLVI /see p.102/, Fig. 7) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long. The lances (Gilyak kachi) (1) are of even greater length. The

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /Spear/." And in my they certainly must have different designations for the whole, as we have above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off toward the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting on this shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their middle have a protruding rib which gradually flattening out toward the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workmanship and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly and finely worked specimens, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabesques, and the like are inlaid in silver, copper, and brass, such as the specimens illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.102/, Figs. 4 and 5, which I saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, however,

2. The illustration were made by Mr. Matsumoto on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

/564 cont./

animal, he reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, after a while, the took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch bark, and put it with the other possessions of the house. My efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered. I was told categorically that it was already "ulbich" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unskinned, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if the were to sell it to me in an intact state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungut and was confirmed by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Grisebin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Gotha, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kiensksi Ostrog setting out in troop to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 881) in speaking about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica are taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

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that it is known under the name of "bemi," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "bemi" (/ bemi), and they handle them (/ bemi) much more skilfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike usually used among them (Gilyak lachich), Pl. XLVI /see p.102/, Fig. 7) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long. The lances (Gilyak kachi) (1) are of even greater length. The

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emperor himself (3). Also of interest for our purpose is the

3. Gerbillon in Du Halde, Descript. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 273.

statement by Iakinf, the well-known member of the Russian mission to Peking in the years 1807-1820, according to which, among the gifts presented by him to which the Chinese emperor /574/ had to give to the father of his bride and young wife upon his engagement and marriage was to be found a certain number of pieces of armor and helmets (1). Under these circumstances it is

1. Iakinf, Kitai, ego zhiteli, nravy, obychai, pochitanie bogov /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 144.

quite understandable that these objects would also appear as most valuable and honorable possessions in the eyes of the peoples of the Amur Ussuri region standing under the rule or at least under the influence of the Manchu-Chinese, down to the Gilyak, and, accordingly, would be used by them in their most important social transactions, the purchase of a wife.

The art of making iron armor was also passed from the Manchu-Chinese to the Goldi immediately neighboring them in the Sungari and lower Amur region, and Mamia Rinsō specifically mentions the latter, distorting their national name in Japanese fashion as "Kōrdeike" (2), as makers of the iron armor. Needless

2. See p. 315 above.

to say, these were not the first and only object that the Goldi learned how to make from their southern neighbors. Here, therefore, we see the art of forging iron advancing along another route from the Manchu-Chinese, down the Sungari and Amur,

/574 cont./

to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the mouth of the Amur and Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the people of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

The net armor (Gilyak kā-petrch) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole and short skirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.102/, Fig. 1), which is plated (2) with multiple strands of nettle-fiber cord, such as is also used for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone sewed into them. The net opening is trimmed with nettle-fiber cord and has a button and a loop for buttoning it, otherwise the armor, pulled over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is worn on account of the crows plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak magistrate in Sabach, is 2' 4" high, and weighs 28 1/2 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them in place of bear hide cloak, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like, a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me bore the signs of great age, and its aged former owner was of the opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it nor. Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragmentary and ruined Manchurian armor (1).

1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

/575 cont./

1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak kāpetrch or similar armor. During the bloody fights which the North Americans had with the Koreans in 1871, they saw them clad in armor which consisted of forty layers of stout cotton material and was almost impenetrable for saber or bayonet (Neudeische Presse, 1871, No. 314, according to a report sent to the Times by its reporter in Shanghai). On the other hand, Dinter ("Ueber die Korēne und Tungusen /The Koryak and Chukchee/," -- Bull. de la Cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersbourg, Vol. XIX, Bull. suppl., Col. III, p. 41) relates that the Chukchee have a armor made of whalebone and thick animal-skins.

To conclude the remarks concerning the weapon of the Gilyak, I must consider a piece which, to be sure, is harmless in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It is the so-called mangache (Pl. XLVI /see p.102/, Fig. 9). A roundish or slightly angled stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom bears the characteristic, barely indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears, and harpoons, and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the palm of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mangache is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an acorn. In the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a saber and is always provided with a deep groove on the back. Tracing the origin of this curious object has also advanced to the Negda along the Amgunj, among whom it is called mukeschi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally widespread. Middendorff became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

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In contrast to the hunting practised by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows very characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

In almost goes without saying that the greater correspondence in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peoples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinō's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tō-sats'kko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 183).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraiber," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the Gilyak, with the exception of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak hairma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydra marina Schreb., Pallas rasko) according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonochn. zhivotnych /Sakhalin Island and its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

Section 10

Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rent of Life. Trade Relations of the Amur Natives with One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Rule of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they nevertheless cannot directly satisfy all of their needs: they cannot procure some of their requirements in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of substistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

The chief motive which impels the Gilyak toward monogamy is the custom of buying their wives which prevails among them, as among more primitive peoples and in particular among all the indigenous peoples of Siberia (2). The Gilyak expression for "to

/632 cont.)

certain conditions, as, on the whole, a rare exception. According to the statement of the Gilyak, the latter is practically not found at all on Sakhalin, along the Liman, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, where among the Gilyak it occurs more frequently. An explanation for this will appear from the information in the following. In polygamous marriage the number of wives is usually limited to two. Among the Amur Gilyak I discovered several such marriages (1). Marriages with three

1. For example, the Gilyak Sogun in Kuĉh (Mäo) had two wives, Keĉguk and Malguk; similarly, the Gilyak Tschegun had two, Chumuk and Tyinuk, etc.

to five wives are very rare, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there are at all among them with more than five wives. In addition to voluntary polygamy, however, there is among the Gilyak a form of polygamy brought about by the law of inheritance or, more accurately, by hereditary obligations, which will be discussed later.

It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the observations on the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region has as much interest in and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that all the first information which the Russian received about them — I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Perfilief heard from the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus in the year 1639 and 1640 (1) — they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (Schilka) and having trade connections with the Chinese. In fact, they do trade with the Chinese and Japanese than all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /591/ live farthest from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in that of the Tungus, Goldi, Orochi, Negidal, Nivkh, and Ainu with each other.

/633 cont.)

5 pieces of Chinese silk at 4 ja each, together . . . . 20 ja
1 large Chinese heath-kettle . . . . . 30 "
1 Japanese kettle with copper ornaments . . . . . 30 "
1 Manchurian iron-armor . . . . . 30 "
1 large bear . . . . . 30 "
5 especially good dogs (kyla-kan) at 4 ja each . . . . 20 "
Total . . . . 133 ja = about 266 rubles.

583 The bride price is therefore very high among the Gilyak, which indicates the relative prosperity of the people (1). Custom

1. For the sake of comparison I shall cite here the bride price of several Siberian peoples in older and more recent times. At the time of Adam Brand (Neuvermehrte, bestätigte und vermehrte Chinesische Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. /Newly Enlarged Description of His Great Chinese Journey which He in 1692, etc./, Lübeck, 1734, p. 99), it amounted to 10-15 reindeer among the Tungus on the Wechnaja Tunguska. A rich Ostyak girl on the Obj at the time of Pallas was not often given in marriage for less than 100 reindeer and a quantity of all kinds of furs (Sujef, in Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersb., Vol. III, 1776, p. 98). According to Castren (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845-1849 /Travel Report and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 56), the current price for an ordinary girl in marriage among the Ostyak on the Irtysch amounted to 200-300 rubles in

/633 cont.)

1. (cont.)
money, one horse, a cow, and an ox, 7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hops for the preparation of the wedding celebration. The high bride-prices which Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord- und Ost-Sibirien /Travels in the North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1459) gives for the Angara-Yenisei women are somewhat reduced by the dowry which the bride brings, so that under some circumstances it almost only amounts to an exchange, which is never the case among the Gilyak. On the other hand, the bride price was very low among the Votyak, Cheremis, and Chuvash: among the former, who were the poorest, it amounted to only 5-15 rubles, among the latter two 10-30 rubles, and among the Kungur Chuvash, who were the wealthiest, 100 rubles and more (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /A Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, p. 369).

583 requires that it be paid at one time and not in installments. In view of the circumstances and thrifty nature of this people, constantly thinking in terms of augmenting its possessions, as has been pointed out in my previous descriptions, even a well-to-do man will not find it easy to buy a second or a third wife, in addition to the one. Only a particularly intense desire to have his wealth duly appreciated by his countrymen and thus to gain special esteem among them would prompt him to do so. Therefore, polygamy is more frequent among the generally wealthier Amur Gilyak living together more densely than it is among their countrymen along the Liman, on Sakhalin, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/635 cont.)

wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from other sources, I must also deny that the Gilyak ever undertake the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a marriage, which seems to be regarded as a form of a fictitious obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said, is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriage among the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the children of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "ntschek" mean also brother and sister, and "ykyn" also means a brother-in-law, "ntschek" also means sister and "nauh" means sister as well as female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as father and mother, namely, "nyk" and "nyuk." But beyond that, the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin group, which, as we shall see later, is also taken into account in other connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and,

1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak, Samoyed, Lapp (Ahlqvist, Beiträge zur über die Urgeschichte der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Miller, p. 309).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. /Further,

/636 cont.)

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and bring her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier

586 people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends also /587/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, meat, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband has his home, that is, where his parents or relatives live. And take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are not of a type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with the owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and the young people have the means to build a house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides the central room used by all the members of the household, with the hearth in the earth floor and the sleeping benches built in Chinese fashion, each family has in particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each household has its distinguished place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

At little as such living together by all the members of the household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally intense people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, Ainu, and even more than the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

/643 cont.)

when young, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw in the village of Wanaj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, which, if I understand the matter correctly, serves the purpose of keeping the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschinscha-tschagal, or, more precisely, manicurbelge (chinscha=tschinscha-tschagal, that is, a wooden figure with human joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1285/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

The great prevalibity of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop at all even when the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore bedpants and the pouch underneath contrary to the usual sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and, as his imperious demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This reminded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in de Castries bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

/649 cont.)

the statement by Rinsö, could express the conjecture that the bojaktschutschi or bojaktschitschi of the Kamchadal known through Steller and Kraschenninikof (6), that is, men being used

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 301, note.
5. Kraschenninikof, op. cit., p. 40. See also p. 479, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak. Suffice it to state that neither I nor, as far as I know, any other traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Steller's conjecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there seems to be more justification for his conclusion, drawn from the same source, that the custom of transvestism among the Kamtschadal or Kraftu (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast of Kraftu," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means correct: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the "vest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house" in Noteĉto, be explained? The truitworthiness of Mamia Rinsö, often stressed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting a report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the moment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (3), as

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in the

6. See p. 1046 above.

/648 cont.)

Nippon, VII, p. 169.

It is difficult to understand how Siebold (3), on the basis

3. Op. cit., p. 198.

/556 cont./

by the native tribes, Tungus, Yakut, Ostyak, Samoyed, and by the Russians for slaying all the animals possible, from the largest, such as bear and elk, down to the sable and squirrel, is used much less among the Gilyak and is limited to only the most important fur-bearing animals -- a circumstance which is likewise evidence of their slight inclination for hunting and, at the same time, their predominant and decisive interest in trade.

The great benefit that the Gilyak derive from fox fur both in trade and for their own use induces them to hunt this animal, not only with the self-firer, but also in other ways. For example, they likewise use for catching it a clamp-trap, which, constructed in the same way and only somewhat larger, /557/ is also used for wolves. This is their so-called kasma (1). It consists of a peg

1. The s is pronounced softly here, like the French z.

stuck into the ground and running up into a two-pronged fork at the top. The two prongs, only very gradually diverging from each other from their common base, are of unequal lengths. The shorter one (called wa in Gilyak) is sharpened on its inner side, side, the longer one rounded off. On the latter, not far from its tip, there is a cross-stick (Gilyak tabs-tigrsch) (2), on which

2. The s again pronounced softly. Tigrsch means "wood" in general.

the bait, a piece of jukola or meat, a dead crow, or the like, is put. The fox or wolf jumps against the peg in order to reach the bait with its paw, whereby its foot slides off the cross-stick and remains clamped between the two prongs. The height of the kasma is different for the fox and the wolf: for the former it must rise to about three and a half feet above the snow; for the latter, four and a half feet.

8 cont. /

1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as l as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other erian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood ed per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, nymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" v wood) (1); as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

rder to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its ibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I e seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, overed with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side ed away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/559 cont./

yghli or orkai by the Gilyak (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 1), is used to kill wild fowl, ducks, geese, and the like. It consists almost wholly of wood, in that at the top the shaft runs out into a knob crowned with a point and in which are found three iron points, but blunt ones, turned in different directions (5). I have

5. There is mention of similar, knob-shaped arrows among various peoples of Siberia in some of the oldest reports on it. For example, Georg Adam Schleissing in his work, Neuentdecktes Sieweria, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden /Newly Discovered Siberia, Where the Sables Are Caught/, etc. (Danzig, 1692, p. 49), reports that the people there do not shoot pointed arrows but rather "in order that the rare hide not be damaged, the arrow, instead of a point, has a thick iron knob with which they shoot the sable down from the tree, so that it is dizzy and then they run up and beat it to death." Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. I, p. 323) mentions wooden arrows with knob-shaped points which the Kalmyk use to kill birds and small animals. Sujef (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obj for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1276, woodcuts e and d), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

/630 cont./

and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy: 3-4, [illegible] 6-7 [illegible] of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and [illegible] people, however, who cannot be used for any services, are exchanged for crude goods.[illegible] According to him, even the Aino from Jezo (Yezo) and from the island of Hiroto come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situation described. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 63 ff. above.

customary among the Gilyak. Rinck's observation concerning the Ainu trade of the Aino has correspondingly with one above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin kept slaves, at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Aino. Inside purchase, however, the Samovar, as Rinck reports, also get their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country an security the brother, sisters, and children of these Aino who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say, they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Nikonsai, did not /631/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

Before I go further in describing the family relations of the Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As diagnostic for as the Ainu practiced the selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha (s. yet nothing is reported, either by Rinck or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

/631 cont./

peoples slavery obligated, as a rule, when prisoners of war, in other words, individuals from a foreign tribe, were made slaves and, in particular, women and girls were captured by the enemy in raids or as a result of conquest. This was the case among the Ainu, Koryak (4), and Aleuts before they were

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 326.

subjugated by the Russians. The Aleuts in particular were distinguished by their cruelty to their slaves, in that on festive occasions they sometimes slaughtered a great number of them (5).

5. Veniaminov, Zap. off. ost. Unalashk. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1840, Part II, Section I, Pt. II, pp. 83-89.

Wrangel (6) even reported of the Chukcher, who retained their

6. Pitesh. po sev. Ben. Sib. i gr. Ilouseny in the Region of the Northern Coast of Siberia, Pt. II, pp. 320, 324.

independence and individuality the longest, that among them, and, to be sure, the nomadic as well as the sedentary ones on the sea coast, there is a kind of serfdom or slavery, in that once ancient times the well-to-do have owned whole serf families who are not permitted to move away, have no property, and are wholly subject to the whims of their master, who use them for the heaviest services and labor and in return feed and clothe them. Wrangel was unable to find out anything definite about the origin of these slaves, but he thinks it probable that they are the descendants of former prisoners of war, and therefore from foreign tribes. The fact, however, that they have existed since ancient times and in whole families /632/ allows one to conclude that, in contrast with the Gilyak, they kept and bred slaves, given to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

/634 cont./

mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1030, above.

people, members of one and the same kali may marry each other. The description of the Gilyak kin system (2) mentioned above evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the women not only has no rights to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brother, and then, as a woman, from the last brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for herself. The only thing she can do is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the home, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

2. See the information very similar to the one among the Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possession consist of their reindeer herds. According to Dittmar (3), among them, too, only the sons

3. Beitr. zur Ethn. d. Bew. Kamtsch. d. Ethnol. Mus. zu St. Petersburg, Bull. Acad. Imp. Sci., St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 159; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. VI, p. 1.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother, the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the deceased brother was married and leaves a widow, she goes to the next brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second younger, the third younger, and so forth, if she is unmarried, with them and lives. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

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husband, the widow may not marry any of the younger brothers, but must remain a widow. Thus, the marriage of the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free. Therefore, in the language of the Turkhanch region (Kirovskaipka), "Eniesai, ulu /The Yenisei District/", Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Ser. and Stat., p. 75. Turkhanch, "Turukhansk" (Turukhansk), Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Ser. and Stat., p. 75. Turukhansk,

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/Sometimes/ when it lasts too long for me, I, or more often my mate, put a stop to it. The Gilyak, however, are perfectly accustomed to this disturbance of the night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. In this among the other natives of the lower Amur region, (Tscha, Samagir, Goldi (1), only among them the call of an urging

1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but when he once asked them to repeat their songs in the evening by the fire, they explained unanimiously and with a sort of religious awe that it was sinful to sing at night (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Hinor. Berichte /Journey around the World, Historical Report/, Vol. II, p. 354). Perhaps the Russians taught them that so as not to be disturbed during their night's rest.

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The gut string is fastened to the short end and from there runs over a bridge set on the thin Gilyak /tema/, as in the case of the bow) to the other end of the stick, where there is a device for keeping the string taut. The fiddle bow (Gilyak /ymg-panetch/) is sharply curved and strong with horsehair (Gilyak /ymg/). The string, of course, is played between the bridge and the long end of the stick much though the cylinder-casing. The instrument seems to me, judging also by its name, to be of Ochka, Goldi, or at any rate Tungusic origin. I saw it and heard it played only in Kidsi, and the monotonous and melancholy melody was very similar to the purpose of it.

Since I rarely heard the Gilyaks sing in the daytime, for the material of this chapter, a statement by Middendorff about this, which I found among his handwritten notes left for me to use, is all the more interesting to me. My predecessor in the northern Amur region (3) became acquainted with the Gilyak at the Tugur

3. It is well known that Middendorff

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2. (cont.)

cards, the game being played with 120 cards, is in use among the Goldi of Tiling.

The latter have only the expression pej, that is, gratis or free, for card-playing, proof of the harmless fashion in which it has been practiced up to now. In fact, in my time the Gilyak only played for tobacco, which, in view of the common enjoyment of each pipe of tobacco as a rule, seem more lawful to us an entirely harmless pleasure. But they knew that the "Manchu" (Chinese) made a quite different use of it and played for much higher stakes. Przewalski describes how widespread the card game is among the Chinese in the upper Ussuri and the adjacent coastal area, especially along the Zymu-che and Suntuchan, where during the winter unemployed riffraff spend entire days and nights playing cards and cause the ruin of many a formerly rich houseowner (3). Under

3. Prshevalski, Puteshi. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 90.

these circumstances it is surprising that it has not spread more rapidly among the Gilyak. A mat and that it has not become liked and in particular among the greedy and acquisitive Gilyak. It is undoubtedly because of the energy with which the latter have been able to keep the Chinese away. In the meantime it may also have been carried to them by the Russians.

Before I start the description of the bear festival of the Gilyak, I must cast a brief comparative glance at the peoples immediately adjacent to them, the Olcha and Goldi, with regard to the social and co-operative relations touched on above /686/ In my time, after the official Manchu-Chinese trade center of Deren was abandoned sometime in the twenties the Olcha, like the Gilyak, were not tributary to either China or Russia. Only if one or the other went to the Sungari to trade did they have to pay, as has been mentioned above (1), to the

1. Cf. p. 960.

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But wealth does come into consideration to the extent that it does among the Gilyak, and those blessed with it do not enjoy nearly the respect enjoyed by the poorer people, and especially by the latter. But the reason for this, too, in large part is again the greater industriousness and gain-seeking of the Gilyak. If one of them acquires a certain amount of wealth, he continues to increase it by lending out to interest, or by buying new furs in the neighborhood and trade voyages, through which his name and reputation /687/ will become known far and wide in the country. The Olcha, on the other hand, are decidedly of a more indolent and more easily satisfied nature in this respect.

Another social trait that distinguishes the Olcha from the Gilyak is that their communism does not work merely within the boundaries of the village community, where during the winter and the later. And this is explained by the fact that, while, to be sure, they are most like the Gilyak in their way of life, their customs and practices, on the other hand they are surrounded by closely related Tungusic tribes with whom they have many character traits in common and whose dialects are readily intelligible to them. Thanks to this considerably lessened national consciousness, the individual man, to be sure, finds among them, in case of need, no help support by his more prosperous countrymen as among the Gilyak, but, on the other hand, a more peaceful, milder and more humane spirit than among the latter prevails over the whole.

Evidence that the Olcha, and likewise the Goldi, Samagir, etc., do not limit their communism to such narrow tribal boundaries as the Gilyak is given by the hunting customs already discussed above (1). On the Gorin, for instance, the Olcha,

1. See p. 910.

Goldi, and Samagir have their hunting tents, but these stand open, with their household and hunting equipment, to all hunters, regardless of what nationality they are, with the tacit presupposition that no pilfering of the hunting booty or implements

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/701 cont./

traffic within the yurt, for now with every step one has to stay close to the edge of the sleeping benches in order not to be unexpectedly trodden by the paw of a bear.

Only two of the bears, a very large animal of the female sex and a considerably smaller, yet fully grown, seven-year-old male bear, belonged to Dulin, who had bought them in the villages of Tschiwi and Arse, inhabited entirely and half by Olcha, respectively; the third and likewise male bear of medium size came from Kalin and was the property of another Tobach Gilyak. As in size, the animals also differed in coloring: the small bear was light brown, the large one dark brown, and the medium-sized one almost black. Moreover, the large bear differed from the other two in that it had a whitish-gray band on the lower part of its neck, but not enough to be called a collared bear (Gilyak /mik/) by the Gilyak. What happens only if the white is quite pure and extends over a large part of the throat. Finally, the three bears also differed in their behavior, especially in the way they defended themselves, as we shall presently see.

Immediately after we followed by the throng, had taken seats on one of the sleeping benches, another game was begun and XLVII /p. 1347/, as well as in the woodcuts on pages 1150 and 1151 of this work, after having been technically improved, with the strictest regard for all details, the former here on the spot by Mr. Dmitrijef-Orenburgki, the latter by Mr. Fr. Ruauw, custodian of our museum.

On the evening of January 18 we were again in Nikolajevsk, where I immediately began the preparations for my second trip to Sakhalin. The day for my departure had already been set when Julin again appeared at my place. He had put the question bodhaftigkeit, whether it would be more favorable to resume the previously begun bear festival before or after his planned trading trip before some of the older members of the village, among whom there was also a shaman, and they were of the opinion that the festival should first be brought to a conclusion. He had therefore come to Nikolajevsk again in order to make a few purchases. In reply to his repeated invitation to come also, I

/713 cont./

long, and the cut-up pieces of meat and fat are kept in the storage chambers until it has been decided to resume the festival. But Julin did not seem to be in any hurry about that -- he was thinking instead of first going on a trading trip to Sakhalin. I regretted this delay, but I had the consolation of having seen the further course of the bear festival the previous year in the village of Uda. This village, to be sure, is no longer in the territory of the Gilyak. But in that of the Olcha, but since the entire custom of the bear festival was undoubtedly transmitted from the former to the latter, it is not likely, in view of the conservatism nature of primitive peoples, that there are any essential differences between them in the main features of the festival. The bear, which quiet had been restored: the many guests had departed, the dogs' table was set up again, and /714/ ulbach-feasts had given way to a greater freedom of movement inside the house. We stayed there for another day: I in order to organize and complete the many notes in my journal made during the past days, and Mr. Maximowicz in order to add the landscape background of the bear sketches drawn from life. These sketches of my friend, now unfortunately deceased, are reproduced on Plates XI /p. 991/, XLVII /p.1347/, and XLVIII /p. 1348/, as well as in the woodcuts on pages 1150 and 1151 of this work, after having been technically improved, with the strictest regard for all details. the former here on the spot by Mr. Dmitrijef-Orenburgki, the latter by Mr. Fr. Ruauw, custodian of our museum.

On the evening of January 18 we were again in Nikolajevsk, where I immediately began the preparations for my second trip to Sakhalin. The day for my departure had already been set when Julin again appeared at my place. He had put the question bodhaftigkeit, whether it would be more favorable to resume the previously begun bear festival before or after his planned trading trip before some of the older members of the village, among whom there was also a shaman, and they were of the opinion that the festival should first be brought to a conclusion. He had therefore come to Nikolajevsk again in order to make a few purchases. In reply to his repeated invitation to come also, I

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/761 cont./

heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it. The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

/762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224.

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237.

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

/762 cont./

on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to heaven and therefore no longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, this idea may in part also give rise to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. II, 57-59.)

44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (***),

*** See Appendix 45, below.

the soul of a person drowned in the river or in the sea (according to Jutschin's report) does not go to heaven or to Mlygh-wo, but goes into a seal dog, and, to be sure, into a kighitsch or pyghilangr, i.e., the adult Phoca vitulina or nautica. A number of uitsch are therefore connected with the catching of a sea dog. For example, when the sea dog is caught and before any use is made of it, a cut with the knife must always be made through each eye so that the liquid can flow out. This is caught in the hollow of the hand and thrown back into the river. Only then may the sea dog be used as needed (†).

†. See p. 851.

It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (tlö), where the souls of the murdered are said to go. As an answer to my question as to whether these souls go to one of the stars, which are also earths, I was told that they also went beyond these, kikr, i.e., "inland" from the stars (††). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

†† Therefore beyond them; see the star-dwellers, p. 1101.

45. Olcha. From Chossiambo I learned the following about the views of the Olcha with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/772 cont./

1. (cont.)

members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they likewise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tututngit in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tscham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of Bogorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

342

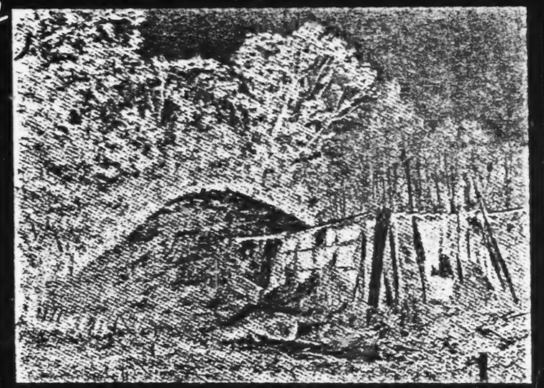

Mud hut.

342 175 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and layout of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually surrounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

[171] [171]

291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

[531] [439]

Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

534 291 342

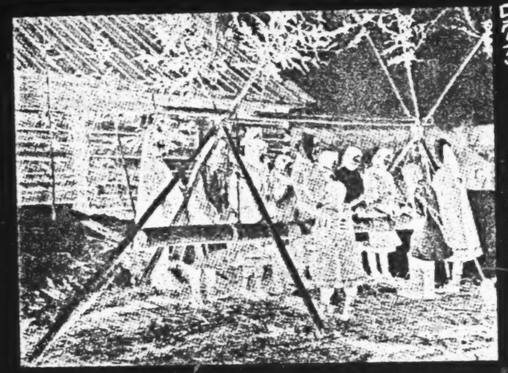

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so forth.

532 322 [171]

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

534 [596]

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

871 [212]

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

175 648

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

9: Hawes--207 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 171, 251, 262

"However unpleasant to the stranger . . . smoke-curing of fish by the Orochons whi it lasts may be, it is one of the few advantages that they can claim over the Gilyaks. The latter is entirely dependent on a sunny season for the drying of his catch, and if should be rainy, then he will be in danger of starvation before winter is over, from insufficient accumulation of stores; for dried fish is bread and meat to these tribes during the long winter. The Orochon, on the other hand, after hanging his fish to dra . . . . . slices and cuts them up and cures them in the shelter of his hut over his fire

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

*796 /722 cont./
504 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the
562 departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only
876 bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this
596 in their mōos as provisions for the trip.

Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog
*796 53 races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon,
562 however, for the first and only time the women actively partici-
171 pated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance
to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild
rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding
in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappers,
and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and
contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It
vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka
women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was
drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels
and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators
796 jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of
562 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because
[157] in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men
and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work and
activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high
[203] spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit
among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals,
a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

2 See p. 719 above.

*796 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is
756 much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely,
that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a
bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that
in the eyes of the Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would
disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over
the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause
bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

G *796 /722 cont./
562 It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/
756 who are likewise able to practice this art, because they might
easily misuse it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the
festive meals as a matter of principle.

G The bear festivals have no definite duration: the feasting
*796 goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives,
504 friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear
114 meat and fat lasts; in Tebach, Judin told his guests, Ditmar and
Brevern, that it would last for many days since three bears had been
killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13)
the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in
exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to
Nikolavevsk.

G As was mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previ-
*796 ous year (1855) to witness this second part of the bear festival, con-
171 cluding with the eating of the bear, among the Olcha in the village
114 of Uda. My conjecture that their customs would not differ essenti-
ally from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Ditmar's
report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the
adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a
brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with
reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

When I arrived in the village of Uda, located only five
Gi verst below Kidsi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in
796 the morning and stepped into one of its five houses, I found it
[114] decorated in the interior in the same manner as is done among the
Gilyak for an imminent bear-festival feast. Here, however,
Gi opposite the étagère decorated with the bear's head and skin and
[198] with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak zach = Olcha
gjamsassá), a second rack quite similar to the first one but some-
what smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its
shelves likewise held meat and pieces of the fat of the dismembered
bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passage-
way between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off
by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the
whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

Gi /727 cont./
796 upon the rack in the central section of the yurt, decorated with
504 fir branches, numerous wood shavings (gjamsassa), and the bear-
[354] skin hanging down from the top, while the other lamps shed a
gloomy light upon the long row of totally befurred fellow-diners
sitting along its walls and, with legs crossed, waiting for the meal.
Gi There was /728/ something orderly and yet savage and uncivilized
796 about this strange picture. Now one of the servers stepped up to the
504 guests who had received the two head-pieces of the bear, cut from
596 these, as well as from the portions of those sitting next to them, a
small piece of meat into his bear-bowl, and went off with it.
Only now did the two guests in the middle draw up their portions
and begin to eat, and all the others followed their example forth-
with. Immediately smaller and larger fellow-guests presented them-
selves here and there, and a few young men passed along the whole
row of diners and collected from them contributions in special bear-
bowls for those who did not participate in the meal, and a few bites
were also given to the women and girls.

Gi By now it was 7:30 in the evening; the feast had therefore
796 lasted seven and a half hours and, judging by the size of the still
unconsumed portions, would not be over for a long time. Unfortu-
Gi nately I was obliged to depart, since the night had to be utilized for
[114] traveling on account of the great amount of surface water that had
already formed over the ice covering of the river at this time of
year.

G Let us now compare this second act of the bear festival as it
796 proceeds, on the one hand, among the Gilyak and, on the other,
171 among the Olcha. In spite of the great similarity in the principal
Gi and secondary features of this festive performance, a very different
796 spirit in the way it is carried out among the Gilyak and among the
171 Olcha is apparent to us. Among the former the character of the
festival is altogether original; among the latter, that of having been
transmitted. While the object of the whole is exactly the same,
purely utilitarian, in both cases -- the ultimate consumption of the
bear -- very different ways are used by the one and by the other to
G try to attain it. Among the Gilyak the bear festival proceeds from
796 the idea of the bear cult, or at least is tied up with it; it is
825
171
G
796
825

G *796 /728 cont./
825 produced in part by veneration for the mighty beast, in part by
171 superstitious fear of it and its spirits of revenge. It is given the
Gi place of honor in the house, the people appear to act only with
796 its permission, reluctantly and out of sheer necessity, as it were,
825 and, finally, all guilt and responsibility are shifted from them.
171 On the other hand, scarcely anything of the sort is noted among
Gi the Olcha: the only superstitious conceptions referring to the bear
[123] and the bear festival which I found among them consisted in the
[392] fact that they did not want to sell me any bear meat and that they
[197] regarded it as uñsch (an idea which they have likewise received
[784] from the Gilyak) to go outside with fire taken from the hearth
during the bear festival, which, they said, was by no means for-
bidden at any other time. In contrast to the fearful, superstitious,
and, as it were, religiously colored conception of the Gilyak, the
second and most important part of the bear festival has degenerated
into mere ceremonial among the Olcha, a series of pedantically
observed formalities, such as one might expect from the millennium-
old Chinese, but not from a primitive people. Perhaps this degenera-
Gi [197] tion of a custom originally foreign to the Olcha, which does not
have its roots in the people, has indeed come about under Manchu-
G Chinese influence. Among them, too, all the foods served at the
*796 festival, with almost the sole exception of bear meat and fat, are
762 of Manchu-Chinese /729/ origin, whereas among the Gilyak, in
197 accordance with ancient tradition, sturgeon and hausen meat and
Gi mossj prepared from species of salmon play a prominent role at the
796 festival. It can be observed, incidentally, that the eating of for-
762 eign, Manchu-Chinese foods is always done with greater formality
197 even among the Gilyak, which can be explained by the fact that it
automatically lifts primitive man out of his everyday routine and
Gi puts him in an elevated festive mood. The greater number of Manchu-
[439] Chinese foods at the bear festival of the Olcha in comparison with
the Gilyak is undoubtedly due to the fact that their sources for these
products are closer and more numerous as a result of both the
permanent residence of Chinese traders in the habitation areas of the
Olcha and Goldi and the more frequent and active intercourse be-
tween these peoples and the Chinese on the Sungari.

G /730 cont./
*796 sometimes the right, sometimes the left parietal bone. In the
766 habitation area of the Gilyak I saw trees hung with dolphin skulls
825 to be sure, but I never came across any with bear skulls, though the
number of bears killed or captured and eaten there annually is
probably much larger than among the Goldi. This definitely indi-
cates that, unlike the Goldi, the Gilyak, aside from breaking
open or splitting the bear skull, do something else to it which is
scarcely less suitable than the covering of the bones for removing
it from the sight of human beings. In fact at various places in the
forest near Gilyak dwellings I have came across spots which, upon
close inspection, proved to be sites of bear skulls: trunks of young
trees were cut off several inches above the ground, the remaining
piece of trunk was split into two prongs, and the bear skull, split
down to its base was wedged into the split in such a way that the
two prongs projected out of the zygomatic arches and held it
clamped between them close to the ground; in addition, on either
side a short wooden peg was driven from above through the zygoma
arches and into the ground. /731/ If grass grows over the spot,
Gi nothing is recognizable to the casual glance. This method of deal-
796 ing with the bear skulls was transmitted from the Gilyak to the
766 Olcha and from them to the Samagir, who are closely related to
825 them and also directly adjacent to them on Lake Udyl and else-
[171] where. In the immediate vicinity of the village of Ngagha on the
G Gorin I found such bear-skull sites in two directions and in one of
[171] them, which lay in an open birch grove, counted within a circle of
30 paces, no less than nine bear skulls treated in exactly the same
way as among the Gilyak. Since the rest of the bear bones pre-
sumably also lie buried in the same places, they are not merely
bear-skull sites, but general bear-bone grounds.

The Goldi, who hang their bear skulls on trees, do some-
thing similar with other bear bones that are suitable for it. Near
Gi Bitschu, at the mouth of the Gorin, for example, I saw a decayed
[782] or split bear-skull lying on the stump of a broken tree a few feet
high, but below it in the underbrush hung various bones of the ani-
mal, among them a shoulder blade and a number of dorsal vertebra

/733 cont./

*796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

*796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

*796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
364 hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

[192] 1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

*796 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of
798 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
333 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
184 from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt.

[177] In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau.

/739 cont./ But they

796 insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
124 called Mäll and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human
798 figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms
171 akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
124 but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
782 question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
771 side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise
771 them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god" and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of

174 superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction be-
771 tween their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for various idols and their shamanism that I found:

Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
771 of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good
776 One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-

[182] stract, completely empty one and does not at all fit into the life, into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing concrete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word "pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about "God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except that he is "kängulätsch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,

799 however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them, such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him, therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/741 cont./

771 and monstrous contradiction in the religious conceptions of the
812 Gilyak; on the hand, the idea of a single supreme and benevolent being, even though so completely empty that it precludes the worship of it, and, on the other hand, the purification of countless evil powers, along with a crude cult to ward them off and keep them away; many representations of animal and human forms in the yurts, and yet the Gilyak say that they have no representations of God; countless superstitious and shamanistic acts, and yet they deny that they pray. And, on the other hand, they speak of a supreme, wholly good being and have the word "pray"

174 (mäkgratsch) and yet do not worship this god. How is this to be ex-
771 plained? It seems to be that there is not a dualism of conceptions here, but rather a matter of two completely separate concepts with

812 connection with each other and also historically distinct. --
The former is a thoroughly attenuated, obscure, and now only traditional deism which among the Gilyak consists of no more than merely a few traditional words -- God, the Good One, pray; and exerts no influence upon the rest of their so-called religious conceptions and acts (superstition, shamanism, idols) other than that those words are not carried over to these conceptions and acts. The second religious conception is probably basically identical with that of many primitive Siberian peoples and aims at keeping evil spirits and powers away from human beings by means of various superstitious observances and performances. The former deistic belief is probably the echo of an ancient conception perhaps

[171] commemorative of the cradle of the Gilyak. In fact, in the attribute of "God," kängulätsch, and in the abstract, nihilistic character of the conception there is accord with the Central Asiatic religious systems, but the second conception may have originated at a much later time, after the Gilyak tribe had moved downstream into the wilderness of the eastern forests of the Asiatic continent (?) and therefore shows many points of contact and similarities with the religious conceptions of the neighboring Siberian peoples, and even of the Ainu. The first conception was completely lost, except for a few words, and another, a cruder and more concrete one developed, without, however, on account of the persistence of

/743 cont./

798 down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in
532 black and seem to represent hair. Below the face the hair is fastened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with loose grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols were named for me by the Allof Gilyak as tybys. The Gilyak Surgin, however, did not know this name and used the expression tyf-ščigy, i.e., house god. This was the first time that I heard the word ščigy used in connection with the idols of the Gilyak, and I believe that this was done only in order to make me understand. I was likewise unable to find out whether by tyf, that is, house, the yurt of the Gilyak or the little idol-house was meant. Since the latter bears the name känigs, I must relate it to the yurt of the Gilyak, and it therefore seems that these idols mainly play the part of lares or guardians of the house. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

798 5. Gilyak. In the Gilyak village of Patt (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) I saw three idols standing outside a storage chamber,
532 human figures hewn out of blocks of wood, very similar to those
171 of the Olcha, though not with the particular expression which seems to be characteristic of all the idols of the latter. When I inquired, the Gilyak informed me that they revere these kägn like gods. In Patt, they said, they are also kept in the yurts, but not among other Gilyak. I then had the idols in the yurt showed to me: three large, wooden human-figures with old, smoky zach around their necks, as is also the custom among the Olcha, stood there on the beams of the yurt above the rear sleeping-bench. --

798 In the village of Kulk, too, I saw idols in the yurts, standing in the
532 same place as in Patt. This is a very dark spot in the yurt, con-
184 cealed from sight, and anyone who does not know that the Gilyak
[353] keep their idols there will not easily find them. Many a yurt may therefore have contained idols, while seeming to me not to have any. But many a one actually does not have any, as I discovered in Wait. -- It seems to me that /744/ the farther downstream one goes on the Amur the less esteemed or at least less obviously revered the idols are. (1 W.R. II, pp. 119, 137, note 5.)

798 /746 cont./ A /746/ fact which speaks very much in
791 favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples,
171 whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

798 10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the
532 animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The
825 reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kägn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few
[171] bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p.1258/, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kulk, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

[126] 2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259/, Figs. 7, 8.

Gi 798 /752 cont./
825 the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chala has had
173 only a few inhabitants. (2 S.R. I, p. 39.)

Gi 25. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw an idol-belt, a säwuchsa
798 provided with various säwa or representations of idols, to be worn
825 around the body as an amulet against sicknesses (Plate LX /p.1260/,
751 Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two snakes (dshalda), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fox carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather and on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khasj (chaž of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the toad and the human figure, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak

G in Chiare and which is also carved by the Olcha as protection
G1 against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak kägn
798 and the säwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the con-
791 clusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious con-
171 cepts and ideas of these peoples. (2 S.R. I, pp. 32-33.)

Shamans

G 756 26. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak the shaman is employed much
184 less than among the Tungusic Amur peoples, the Olcha, Goldi,
[171] Kile, and others, and therefore the shaman's implements are much less frequently found among them. Just as among the Amur peoples in general, so also among the Gilyak in particular, shamanism is found more and more rarely downstream toward the Liman or toward Sakhalin. One scarcely comes across shamans and shaman implements from Wassj on and anywhere along the Liman. After repeated inquiries about them, I did not see any or hear of any. Thus shamanism seems to have moved downstream and to have had its origin farther inland. (Bm. I, p. 75.)

G 756 /753/ 27. Gilyak. In the whole area of the Amur Gilyak there
are only a few shamans who have a reputation among their country-
men. I was told that the most famous of them "a great shaman,"

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, 171, 492

"This is the main distinction between the habits of
mer use reindeer for sledge-drawing, and the lat
mer for hunting only. The Gilyak name on Sakhali
latter calls himself Orumada."

f the Orochons and Gilyaks. The
tter dogs. The last are kept by the
in for the Orochon is Or'nish, and

These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace", the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of Genghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 237] [242]

Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

172

CHEOLOGY--prehistoric culture sequences and chronology (e.g., as determined by geological and paleontological evidence, stratigraphy, typology, -ring dating); archeological supplementation of the historical record; lence from epigraphy; historical inferences from archeological data; cription of archeological sites or artifacts; etc. See also;
rcheology as a discipline. 814

/15 cont./

174 114 types of animals mentioned are actually encountered only very rarely in the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur and, on the other hand, very frequently in the territory of their Tungus neighbors, the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, and Samagir, and therefore there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Tungus names spread among the Gilyak, but even if in Schrenck's time the animals mentioned were encountered there somewhat more frequently, this could be a matter of pure accident. It often happens that extraordinary reasons, such as the appearance of a new and strong enemy, compel this or that animal to save itself by flight from its normal territory to distant places, but such phenomena do not prove that the new territory in which these animals accidentally appeared was their primordial habitat. In general, how convincing Schrenck's conclusion is may be seen from the fact that the tiger is absolutely not encountered on Sakhalin and very rarely enters the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur, but nevertheless both the Sakhalin and the Amur Gilyak have their own name for it, "klund."

● 172 174 192 On the contrary, everything speaks for the fact that on Sakhalin it is the Gilyak who are the newcomers, having replaced or driven out their predecessors -- the Ainu. Let us start with the linguistic /16/ data. The Gilyak still call trees and some sea animals that are absent on the continent by Ainu terms, such as nistan' (maple), tarman' (yew tree), nuguchep (sea pig?), and others. Furthermore, we have even more objective proof that in any case it was not the Gilyak who were the most ancient aborigines of the island. Throughout the entire territory of Gilyak settlement on Sakhalin Island, right up to its northernmost extremities, one encounters the remnants of ancient dugouts, in the form of round and more or less large pits, and, upon excavating them, I found pot fragments and some implements of the Stone Age. The Gilyak call these pits nothing other than kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits), a name which quite clearly indicates that the Gilyak regard the Ainu as 172 the original inhabitants. The Stone Age implements and the pot fragments found in these pits are regarded by the Gilyak as the handiwork of the gods (the pot fragments, for example, are regarded by them as the pots of a heavenly man who dropped them

/16 cont./

● 172 by accident), while it is known that the Stone Age on the extreme northeast of Asia is not so far removed from the present epoch that the Gilyak, unless they were very late arrivals, would not have preserved some independent traditions about this period. It is interesting that even the Ainu, in turn, stubbornly repudiate these ancient pits found in their own territory on southern Sakhalin, ascribing them to another people, the mythical Ton'chi. Like the Gilyak, they regard the pot fragments found in these dugouts as in some way sacred and excellent medicine, for example, for toothache. As a matter of fact, these pits could hardly belong to either the Ainu or the Gilyak, for, if either of them had ever been familiar with pottery, they would never have lost it. If they had ever known this art, it would have been reflected in their legends, which have preserved an even more ancient recollection of a primitive way of boiling water by means of burning-hot stones.

In their shape, their large size, their unusual location, and their suitability for self-defense, these pits resemble the large pits of the Eskimo more than the contemporary pits of the Gilyak and the Ainu. Whatever the case was, the Gilyak, finding the Ainu on Sakhalin, naturally had to suppose that these ancient pits belonged to the Ainu, and the Gilyak term kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits) speaks convincingly enough for the fact that the Gilyak were not the aborigines of Sakhalin.

173 /17/ These objective data on the aboriginal inhabitants of the island are confirmed by numerous legends about the bloody wars of the newcomers with the Ainu, who, in the graphic expression of the Gilyak, at the time of the arrival of the latter on the island, even on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk, were as numerous "as mosquitoes."

Finally, many clans of the Gilyak in the extreme north regard the Ainu as their ancestors, about whom they have preserved the most clear and numerous legends, which have been carefully recorded by me.

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion. Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves -- the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak, made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel' has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a [133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence [226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This ● [172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

Eskimo 1

000 /451 cont./

2. (cont.)
by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 299).

G 323 17 without intending to specify more precisely the date and the manner of the origin of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, I feel able to E 323 194 draw the conclusion, on the basis of the above considerations concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

To return to the Amur region, I repeat that the potter's art G 323 648 17 of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Ainu of which Mamia Rinsô spoke was or is only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent measures of the Manchu-Chinese to be discussed later. If, how- G 323 ever, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even further back, it in any case has nothing to do with the potsherds ● 172 which have recently been found in the earth, together with stone tools, at various points in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, especially along the Patchä River and in Taraika (3). These potsherds

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Patchä River, about 10 versts from Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tschchyrkrach or Tschnyrrach (as the Russians call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, various stone tools (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, July 1, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk, most of these articles were sent to the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

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3. (cont.)
/Imperial Academy of Sciences/ and are in our museum. Three years later, near the village of Taraika on Sakhalin and likewise at the bottom of pits which looked like the remains of earth huts, Lopatin found numerous stone tools and fragments of pottery vessels (Kropotkin, according to information from Lopatin in Izviest. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 307, 308). Subsequently similar finds were made repeatedly at the southern tip of Sakhalin. Finally, in 1881, Poljakof succeeded in obtaining at the site of the Russian outpost near Duĭ on the west coast of Sakhalin a rich collection of stone tools and old potsherds. The latter were not infrequently marked with patterns which were reminiscent of those that he had found in the Olonez District and in the Oka Valley in European Russia (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 19).

[113]

[113]

some of which have been available to me (4) and which were

4. The potsherds, in part from the Patchä River and in part from Naiputschi on southern Sakhalin, that were available to me were made of a coarse, reddish-yellow to blackish clay, which in places contained fine gravel, small pieces of quartz, and sometimes little pea-sized pieces of rubble. They were sometimes provided with fine impressions arranged in rows, sometimes with crisscrossed stripes or

G /451 cont./
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172

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchä River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

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[192]
[114]

2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

G /730 cont./
* 796 mytsching), which is illustrated on Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 5,
412 from a specimen that lay on the bear rack in Judin's house during
G the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially
[172] by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, this pickax is unmistakably a specimen from ancient times and certainly in former times had a stone blade, which was later replaced with an iron one (1). Finally, when the brain of the bear has been eaten,

G
* 796
765
825
[262]

1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and used to kill sturgeon and hausen has a stone end-piece (see above, p. 806). The caption on Plate LI should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest -- an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skull, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull of the bear, however, is treated differently, in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I had had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The above-mentioned pickax, apparently from the Stone Age, is also used for a similar purpose by the Goldi, to judge from traces of blows. They do not, however, split the skull of the bear, but content themselves, forgoing eating the brain, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Buri, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Ussuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed it in order to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

Gi
[412]
Gi
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[262]

G
[136]

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 8-16).

173

173 TRADITIONAL HISTORY--oral historical traditions and evidence as to their reliability; dynastic lists and genealogies; historical inferences from myth and tradition; etc. See also:

Traditions of kin groups 81
Myth texts 859
Kinship genealogies 601
Mythology 773
Historians and genealogists 814

out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.

The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the improvised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

/16 cont./

172 by accident), while it is known that the Stone Age on the extreme northeast of Asia is not so far removed from the present epoch tha the Gilyak, unless they were very late arrivals, would not have pr served some independent traditions about this period. It is interes that even the Ainu, in turn, stubbornly repudiate these ancient pi found in their own territory on southern Sakhalin, ascribing them another people, the mythical Ton'chi. Like the Gilyak, they re the pot fragments found in these dugouts as in some way sacred an excellent medicine, for example, for toothache. As a matter of fact, these pits could hardly belong to either the Ainu or the Gilyak, for, if either of them had ever been familiar with pottery they would never have lost it. If they had ever known this art, it would have been reflected in their legends, which have preserv an even more ancient recollection of a primitive way of boiling water by means of burning-hot stones.

In their shape, their large size, their unusual location, an their suitability for self-defense, these pits resemble the large pit of the Eskimo more than the contemporary pits of the Gilyak and Ainu. Whatever the case was, the Gilyak, finding the Ainu on Sakhalin, naturally had to suppose that these ancient pits belonge to the Ainu, and the Gilyak term kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits) speaks convincingly enough for the fact that the Gilyak were not the aborigines of Sakhalin.

173 /17/ These objective data on the aboriginal inhabitants of the island are confirmed by numerous legends about the bloody wars of the newcomers with the Ainu, who, in the graphic expression of the Gilyak, at the time of the arrival of the latter on the island, even on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk, were as numerou "as mosquitoes."

Finally, many clans of the Gilyak in the extreme north regard the Ainu as their ancestors, about whom they have preserve the most clear and numerous legends, which have been carefully recorded by me.

342 796 178 192 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the mann
entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of th
171 174 492 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact
riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chuk
the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is u
doubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic wa
life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the
and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- c
sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus
The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clear
vealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the G
and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the te
and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details
building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, wit
feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dog
driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chuk
among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gi
way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the p
ent. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamch
as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to
compare a very widespread legend.

173 174 133 [614] Among the numerous legends that I have collected ab
the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered
legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so
called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything t
carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part cloc
earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes o
ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is s
pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, w
it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takr
[614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settleme
of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. Ther
nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not inf
quently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

they masters. It is very strange that among these people who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

The characteristics here described apply also to the Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

till the end of May. South of the lower Amoor are the Shanalin mountains, which arrest the progress of birds. On the upper Amoor and in Trans-Baikal very little snow falls, and there are no mountains of great height.

The day after leaving Sofyesk I observed a native propelling a boat by pulling both oars together. On my expressing surprise my companion said:

"We have passed the country of the Gilyaks who pull their oars alternately, and entered that of the Mangoons and Goldees. The manner of rowing distinguishes the Gilyaks from all others."

The Mangoons, Goldees, and Gilyaks differ in much the same way that the tribes of American Indians are different. They are all of Tungusian or Mongolian stock, and have many traits and words in common. Their features have the same general characteristics and their languages are as much alike as those of a Cheyenne and Comanche. Each people has its peculiar customs, such as the style of dress, the mode of constructing a house, or rowing a boat. All are pagans and indulge in Shamanism, but each tribe has forms of its own. All are fishers and hunters, their principal support being derived from the river.

The Goldee boat was so much like a Gilyak one that I could see no difference. There was no opportunity to examine it closely, as we passed at a distance of two or three hundred feet.

Besides their boats of wood the Goldees make canoes of birch bark, quite broad in the middle and coming to a point at both ends. In general appearance these canoes resemble those of the Penobscot and Canadian Indians. The native sits in the middle of his canoe and propels himself with a double-bladed oar, which he dips into the water with regular alternations from one side to the other. The canoes are flat bottomed and very easy to overturn. A canoe is designed to carry but one man, though two can be taken in an emergency. When a native sitting in one of them spears a fish he moves only his arm and keeps his body motionless.

Gilyak RRR

A 796 [722]

ring, in which the women also took part with renewed weep-
leted the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the
own in Fig. 88, which is copied from
ibe's drawing. The general appear-
e hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.
hort account of the mythology and
f the Ainos given further on, there
bear stories which are of interest in
n with the ceremonies described, in-
ow the Ainos regard the animal in
ns to themselves. As Dr. Scheube
the bear is more to them than a mere
he forest, to be hunted and killed for
raiment.

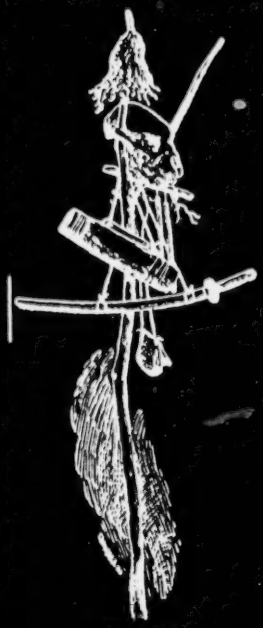

Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

A [778]
A G 171 796

nos are not the only people who wor-
bear in the manner described above.
rthern part of Saghalien there are a
ite distinct in their physiognomy and
from the Ainos known as the Gil-
Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast
e Gilyaken, the description of which,
by Dr. Scheube in a later communi-
substantially as follows. The mother
ot and the young one is caught and
t not suckled in the village. When
l is large enough he is bound with a
und the neck and another on one of
egs, and then led in triumph through
e. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while
er of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear
r a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is en-
l furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot
arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings
ding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon
feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer
o him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the
r do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any
s. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the
in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both
nitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

n has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr.
as given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

en und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an

9: Hawes--240 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 173, 183, 212, 539

"The Gilyaks have no written language, but they hav
of it. I learnt it from one of their number, Imdin by n
known to have been brought up and educated by the Ru
and had been sent to a school at Vladivostok, where I
cal exile, to whom he owed nearly everything.

'The legend current among my tribe,' he said, with
a Chinaman were talking together one day on the shor
books and letters (characters) to the latter, when mo
and blew away all the letters save five; and to comple
the Gilyak's back was turned the Chinaman meanly m

The Ainus have a not dissimilar legend, in which,
letters and records were stolen by their guest from J
ing from after-dinner effects."

ve a legend to account for the want
name, the only Sakhalin Gilyak
ssians. He is an intelligent youth,
met him in the charge of a politi-

h a smile, 'tells how a Gilyak and
re. The former was showing his
st unfortunately a great wind arose,
ete this great catastrophe, when
ade off with the small remnant.'
according to one version, their
Japan, while they were yet recover-

/18 cont./

73 hurricane breaks up the joined ice-floes and carries separate floes
74 together with the hunters caught on them, into the /19/ open sea,
33 often throwing them on the shore far from their place of residence. One can also not infrequently see tremendous pieces of turf, on which dozens of people could be placed, being carried on the waves of the sea, having been torn from the coastal tundra by storms. During the civil wars among the Ainu, when someone urgently needed to escape from persecution, there existed a practice according to which the persecuted one fearlessly transferred his family and his boat to a "hovykh" which happened to be passing by fixed on it the sacred pole with the sharpened wooden tongues, and entrusted his fate to the caprice of the wind and the current.

Now, if we consider that the currents pass from the north along both shores of Sakhalin Island and the continental coast, currents which carry ice floes almost until the month of July, one can allow with more or less probability that the legendary hovykh served as that natural means by which individual seekers of adventure or exiles moved from the north to the south, and furthermore it is not difficult to imagine how, step by step, such migrations reached the extreme southern limits of the present-day Gilyak area of settlement. Almost before our eyes, since the time of Middendorf, the northern boundary of the permanent area of settlement of the Gilyak has descended from the mouth of the Tugur to the mouth of the Kol' River.

74 We should not imagine, however, that the migration of the Gilyak into their present territory is a matter of a historical epoch very close to us. We have positive evidence about the permanence of the boundaries of the Gilyak territory for the last two and a half centuries, and the legends of the Gilyak about the island and the continental coast depict this tribe as fully acclimated to its present homeland, and among primitive peoples such acclimation comes about through a long process of many, many centuries, maybe millennium.

29 At this point, I cannot fail to mention one characteristic fact, which is in a way characteristic of the ways of thinking of the Gilyak themselves, on the question of their kinship with other tribes.

/86 cont./

* 614 597 [173] Adoption has played an enormous role in the life of the Gilyak. I do not know a single clan whose legends do not contain accounts of members of other tribes as the founders of the clan. I have already discussed in the first section how it happened that separate adopted individuals instead of the established element came to be the first and foremost founders of the clan, indicating that the newcomers, as the more energetic element, brought with them a greater endurance in the struggle for existence and a la longue /in the long run/ survived the less staunch, enfeebled aborigines who were gradually dying out. Such, it may be, is the law of a fixed supply of racial energy, which finally runs low under unfavorable conditions. The descendants of the newcomers do not escape this fate, of course; they in turn will be replaced by newcomers, if the clan as a whole is able to preserve its existence that long.

* 614 597 173 Now I will add only the following to what I have said earlier. It may seem strange that a clan formed out of aborigines and the descendants of newcomers should nevertheless categorically consider its founders the former and not the latter /sic/. But here is how the matter is explained. Despite the fusion of the clan with the newcomer, the old feeling of kinship continues in effect. The descendants of both sides, while fulfilling their clan obligations, nevertheless do not incorporate, but continue to maintain themselves as separate groups, each keeping its own account of kinship according to tradition. I observed this more than once in those clans in which there were descendants of aborigines and newcomers. In the settlement of Tangivo, for example, settled by the representatives of a single clan, one half (the most prosperous) traces its origin from an Ainu newcomer, the others consider themselves aborigines. When in the course of time the latter become extinct -- which is already noticeable -- it is natural that the former, who will remain the only representatives of the clan, will

/86 cont./

* 614 597 173 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is everywhere.

Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is homogeneous, cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kinship union.

* 614 378 996 2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan deity for the Gilyak. In each hearth there sits, according to one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but also by those who, having gone to the other world, have become the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea, etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an intermediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

[171]

1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also plays the role of intermediary between human beings and the gods; he intercedes for human beings, he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/266 cont./

177 58 [173] To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the matrimonial psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who, judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the mass of Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants, and they exerted their influence on it in many respects, as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of

[191] [601] religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship terms or their norms of marriage.

/267/ XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

582 538 We have already had occasion to introduce in another place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women from the clan of the mother, from the an'g:ej the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak, dying from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, summons his slayer and says to the people who a are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter; do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old forms of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

58 Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the

[538] maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

/285 cont./

117 614 103 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nami) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese

[167] [563] came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymifing.

117 103 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli -- * 173 from Dzhongli, near the Perm ones: Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvl-fing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

/286 cont./

117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
● 193 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure Ornyr (Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
117 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
103 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
193 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
628 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The
682 Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a chumashka with kaluga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was then that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they broke the fire and bought a bear.

Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
117 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
103 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.
614 Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago (1896).

In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
117 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
103 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language,
191 and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hôinchá) came here
117 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
103 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchaji on the Amgun)
173 came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party
[614]

/286 cont./

117 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:,
103 Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/
● 173 notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing
[173] see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal
117 Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhajl. 3) Khal N'askhajl.
103
361

Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from
[162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the
117 Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chêdzigr (see below)
582 and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally
117 the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They
103 all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en-
173 campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared
[539] before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

/287 cont./

117 they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one
103 was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept,
● 173 six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in different directions. Four generations have lived here. The Tyr branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma.
117 Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the
103 ground (1896).
361

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1)
117 The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury
614 their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /288/ (from chozmudz: -- to
[103] peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish
[361] milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing

1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:nâ? which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near
117 northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern
103 Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came
614 here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

/289 cont./

117 by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Re-
103 cently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12
614 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbi-fing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the
[361] settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chiing-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before
117 the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three
103 Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2)
173 Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest
● [361] died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910). 3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).
117
103

/295 cont./

III.

Legends about the Past

● 173 In connection with the excavations (1), the old man Toyon

1. Which Shternberg carried on.

said: "These are Korean. Long, long ago there was a war. Formerly Koreans lived here; then the Chinese came and drove them out.

"Long, long ago the Chinese lived in Puir on the Amur. The Chinese pursued them and shot at them with a cannon.

"There were at that time few Gilyak. By a cape on a hillock near the very village (Langr) they placed a cannon (the hole remained) and shot at the Russians around the boulder stones in the bay of Puir (Pakhzyr boulder stones). The hole on the hill is almost overgrown; formerly it was four meters deep and surrounded with stones. The cannon ball made the forest burn for eight nights; a lane was created. The cannon ball was found in Kol' -- four people cannot lift it."

According to a legend, 28 skulls were seen by the lake, which "at night cried and went to drink water; now all the water has dried up," "vessel dry up," i.e., is lost.

One old man assures us that within his memory and the memory of his father the Gilyak and their neighbors have occupied the same places since olden times. The Manchu (the Chinese, Manzy) have come here since the Russian War. They did not build large towns; they settled in groups of one or two houses, and only in Tyr, Akhcha, and Mykhyl' did they have guards. Their governor lived in Tyr.

With the appearance of the Manchu, during the war with
[648] the Russians, the Gilyak left by sea for Sakhalin and other
[169] places, but upon the departure of the Manchu, they began to come back.

/295 cont./

According to a different version, when part of the inhabitants ran away and another part was captured, three persons (two men and one woman) saved themselves, /296/ who killed two suns. When they came back, they found mountains where the Amur had been, and they went back (from Shul'gin Khokfing, 80 years old).

The Manchu fought with the Russians who had come down; in the spring during the run of the hump-backed salmon, some Russians hid themselves in the taiga, and they could not be found.

The Russians from the Amur saved themselves on the Amgun; the Manzy pursued them, but unsuccessfully. Then a Chinese general asked the god for snow, and snow fell knee deep, and they found the Russians by their tracks and slaughtered them.

After the war with the Russians, the Chinese set up a post on the upper Amgun (the Burukhan) -- "while the post stands, the Russians are not allowed to pass." Now the post has fallen down.

On the Amgun there is also a mountain, "Namnakhan," 19 kilometers below Guga, with hoof prints. This is where the Manchu spent one night during the war with the Chinese.

There is a stone kettle and a boot on the cliff "Gulyakhan," the storehouse of the Shadrinkskiy mines.

According to a legend a Manchu inscription is preserved on one of the mountains.

The guides of the Chinese on the Amgun were Negidal from the clan Umkan, while on Lake Orel' -- N'as'khajl.

The Russians roasted children on their bayonets and ate their meat; they cut off women's heads (1896).

A legend has been preserved about the way in which the Amur natives fought the Russians. Once the Manchu pursued the Russians, but left a part. The Russians, on their way back, decided to attack Tyr, thinking that they were Manzy. The Gilyak placed stones on wooden boards and fastened them. When the Russians came up to the cliff, they let go of the rope, and all the Russians perished except one who started to swim; he was caught, and the Kern-khal handed him over to the Arn-khal,

/296 cont./

173 648 The following case occurred in Macha (the left bank of the Amur), opposite Kal'ma. The Gilyak set out to hunt and built a balagan; coming back they saw a great number of people. Then they ran away undetected, gathered together people from all the villages, and set up ambuscades in different places behind the rose-willow trees. When the Russians came out, they shot them all.

Sometimes the Gilyak used the following method of fighting: They tied a cut tree trunk in such a way that it leaped out and struck the legs, and the enemies fell; then they completely killed them off (the settlement Kaki).

Recollections have also been preserved about the relationship between the Chinese /297/ officials and the Amur natives. The Goldi even paid for dogs, the Gilyak -- per person; the Chinese officials collected by whim, and their khalki (boats) with people had to be fed. In exchange for this, they gave receipts which gave one the right of entry into the town of Sungari (Ychkh-khotin). Otherwise the natives would be tortured in the town. The storyteller, a Samagil, in his youth went without a receipt; he said that they paid 40 rubles for a fodder /kormovogo/ man and 20 rubles for an ordinary person, and one sable from each person.

IV.

The Union of Clans and the Bear Festival

614 796 Two clans come together -- k:khal m'ek:r: vytch. They come together in a single yurt; outsiders may also be present. They discuss, and, if there are no obstacles (for example, they have not taken wives from one another), the khlaj nivukh declares that the two clans may join into one. The other representative answers: "It is true, we have accomplished great things together; you also helped us, and we also helped you. Once we form one clan, we shall become k:khal." He says: "There are no obstacles. Our sons and daughters will be our brothers,

/302/

595 58 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers m widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wi the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of o sister down to the fourth generation.

614 173 In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirul who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the K in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same lo and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1).

[114] 1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 839 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wif Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the pot Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent t in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and sle Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother a brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, w he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlem Mago).

/349 cont./

194 167 Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling (it is interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded). In the first place, these were the places closest to the continent: half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin, [136] the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent: the same abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kaluga /Huso dauricus/, sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of their irreplaceable Amur. They cannot bring themselves to do it even now, [175] [648] crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by the Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free official transportation along the Amur. There were, of course, still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move to Sakhalin, for instance, density of population, conflicts between clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sable per person (we must remember that in the past sable was three or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur sable is still very expensive; one variety, for example, the Amgun, costs 25-30 rubles). [175] [167] [648] [435] The legends of the Gilyak themselves about their former relations with the Manchu are of interest: "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, "on the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable per person every year." [173] Moreover, every time a Gilyak went to the Chinese town of Sungari (Saising), he was forced to pay one sable and the /350/ starosti of the settlements three sables each. [171] The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

/350 cont./

177 325 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this. As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351 and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel. [372] Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in 177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 241 181 492 252 415 323 174 173 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

"After preliminary politenesses, I beg

'Has your father, or your father's fath
whence the earliest Gilyaks came?'

'No. They came from over there,' poi
know by tradition to have been their hom
had asked me—

'How is it the Russians have come her
in the forest?' "

gan by asking the cham—
ner, ever told you anything about the place

nting to the west, to the mainland, which we
e. But before he would answer my question, he

e, and why do they live in big villages and not

77 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
97 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

02 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
05 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

21 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

05 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
61 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

3 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
1 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
21 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to me
hat they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first
mmigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to b
ound on the Amur?

If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be sa
hat for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts,
owever, they are very backward. They know how to dra
r carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but
evertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are
bsolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music
Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a
Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him
nstantly after many years, and at the same time recalls
inds of minor circumstances accompanying the original
neeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at
east many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not
rue. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memo
would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruct
he different facts cannot be directly understood but must
e interpreted from the words of another, and thus a cert
magination and judgment are needed. For a time there w
school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak
children were taught to read and write. This they learne
very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of
course, do not have their own writing.

Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
orner I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peop
whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the
Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity th
hey give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak
lso gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts,
ot in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and
oon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian,
hey look about them with curiosity but they do not immed
tely reach for everything that strikes them and do not as
or presents. In this, as in many other respects, they ar
ecorous people.

If I must praise them in this connection, I must also s
hat their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
hat they would be interested in the main springs of cultur
t seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machin
bout economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

/xxviii cont./

114 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly
115 widely in Sternberg's works. In this respect, Sternberg enriched the
586 history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed
by him. When Sternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from
group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes
an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To ac-
cept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage
logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded
cousin marriage. The reasoning of Sternberg on the causes for the
transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin
marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Sternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage
of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established
the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably,
the conclusions of Sternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin
marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

Sternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution
116 of ishegaimya (avoidance), according to which people not having
587 mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations,
and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming
the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this
institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage
of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

117 Further, the works of Sternberg give a vivid picture of the
118 clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basis of their common
law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress
the correctness of Sternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite
of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the
Australians.

119 Sternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vushkah
588 and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi
(wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on
the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the
appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the
fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-
called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has
been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Sternberg
was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention
to it.

/14 cont./

120 The Gilyak are not the only ones who find themselves in
121 such an isolated position in northeast Asia. The Aino, the
122 Yukagir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak find themselves in the
same position. An attempt has even been made to combine them
in a common group of Paleo-Asiatics (Schrenck), but the basis
of this classification was purely external in character, namely,
their common position on the edge of the continent, and the con-
sequent probability that in the course of time these once numerous
peoples were in part destroyed and in part driven out by more re-
cent newcomers who came from the interior of the continent to
the edge of Asia. All hope of discovering a genetic relationship
between the Gilyak and the other tribes has not been lost, however.
Hypotheses about a common origin of the variables of the
Pacific coast of Asia and the tribes of North America were ad-
123 vanced long ago. My own investigation of the Gilyak language
convinced me that this hypothesis may finally be fully confirmed.
Besides the similarity in the common structure of the Gilyak lan-
guage and of many American languages, such as the merging of
pronouns with verbs and with nouns, the tendency /15/ toward
polysynthesis, the extreme mobility of phonetic changes, the
types of reduplication, etc., we can point to similarities at par-
ticular points which are extremely characteristic. For example,
one thing is common to all of the a highly peculiar cultus system
of numerals, according to which different categories of objects
can be combined only with the numerals that are peculiar to them,
a system to which, so far as I know, there is nothing similar in any
of the languages of the Asiatic continents. All this, however, is a
problem for the future, perhaps the very near future.

124 Meanwhile, an easier question is still unsolved, the question
of how long the Gilyak have occupied their present positions. On
the basis of three names borrowed by the Gilyak from the Tungus
tribes for animals (the elk, the roe, the badger) found in the lower
reaches of the Amur, but absent on Sakhalin, the late academician
Schrenck, the only authority up to the present on the ethnology of
the natives of Priamur krai, asserted that the original homeland of
the Gilyak was Sakhalin Island and that in any case the Gilyak now
125 living on the continent are descendants of immigrants from Sakhalin.
126 His opinion is based on an obvious misunderstanding. The three

/15 cont./

● 127 types of animals mentioned are actually encountered only very
128 rarely in the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur and, on the other
hand, very frequently in the territory of their Tungus neighbors,
the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, and Samagir, and therefore there is
nothing surprising in the fact that the Tungus names spread among
the Gilyak, but even if in Schrenck's time the animals mentioned
were encountered there somewhat more frequently, this could be
a matter of pure accident. It often happens that extraordinary
events, such as the appearance of a new and strong enemy, compel this or that animal to leave itself by flight from its normal terri-
tory to distant places, but such phenomena do not prove that the
new territory in which these animals appeared was their
their primordial habitat. In general, how convincing Schrenck's
conclusion is may be seen from the fact that the tiger is absolutely
not encountered on Sakhalin and very rarely enters the territory of
the Gilyak on the Amur, the reverse being true of the Sakhalin and
the Amur Gilyak have their own name for it, "klund."

129 On the contrary, everything speaks for the fact that on
130 Sakhalin it is the Gilyak who are the newcomers having replaced
or driven out their predecessors -- the Ainu. Let us start with the
linguistic /16/ data. The Gilyak still call trees and some sea ani-
mals that are absent on the continent by Ainu terms, such as
131 inrit (maple), tarmai (yew tree), nugachep (sea pig?), and
others. Furthermore, we have even more objective proof that in
any case it was not the Gilyak who were the most ancient aborigines
of the island. Throughout the entire territory of Gilyak settlement
on Sakhalin Island, right up to the most northern extremities, one
encounters the remnants of ancient dugouts, in the form of round
and more or less large pits, and, upon excavating them, I found
132 pue fragments and some implements of the Stone Age. The Gilyak
call these pits nothing other than kugi-tul'ich (Aino pits), a name
which quite clearly indicates that the Gilyak regard the Ainu as
133 the original inhabitants. The Stone Age implements and the pot
fragments found in these pits are regarded by the Gilyak as the
handiwork of the gods (the pot fragments, for example, are re-
garded by them as the pots of a heavenly man who dropped them

/17 cont./

● 134 Thus, it is indubitable that the Gilyak are relatively late
arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time
cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the
Gilyak arrived in their present region from more northerly areas
closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of
Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in
135 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant
of ancient winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dugout is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is
no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the
arctic winter, in the Gilyak and the Ainu tribes (the Goldi
and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term
and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of
building the sled, the sides of which are made of birch bark, with the
feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and
136 other things. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee,
among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak
way of carrying on the sled already has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal
as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to
compare a very widespread legend.

137 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
138 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
139 very clear tale about the Gilyak, who once upon a time, in the
140 called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is
carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of
earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of
ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still
pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyvvo Bay, where
it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takvo.
141 It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement
142 of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is
nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infre-
quently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/18 cont./

143 hurricane breaks up the joined ice-floes and carries separate floes
144 together with the hunters caught on them, into the /19/ open sea.
145 often throwing them on the shore far from their place of residence.
One can also not infrequently see tremendous pieces of turf, on
which clumps of people could be placed, being carried on the
waves of the sea, having been torn from the coastal tundra by storms.
During the civil wars among the Ainu, when someone urgently
needed to escape from persecution, there existed a practice accord-
ing to which the persecuted one fearlessly trusted his family and
his boat to a "hovykh" which happened to be passing by fixed on it
the sacred pole with the sharpened wooden tongues, and entrusted
his fate to the caprice of the wind and the current.

Now, if we consider that the conveyance from the north
along both shores of Sakhalin Island and the continental coast,
currents which carry ice floes almost until the month of July, one
can allow with extreme probability that the legendary hovykh
served as that natural means by which individual seekers of ad-
venture or exiles moved from the north to the south, and further-
more it is not difficult to imagine how, step by step, such migra-
way of carrying on the sled already has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal
as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to
compare a very widespread legend.

146 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
147 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
148 very clear tale about the Gilyak, who once upon a time, in the
149 of the boundaries of the Gilyak territory for the last two and a half
centuries, and the legends of the Gilyak about the island and the
continental coast depict this tribe as fully acclimated to its present
150 surroundings, and among primitive peoples such acclimation comes
about through a long process of many, many centuries, maybe
millenniums.

151 At this point, I cannot fail to mention one characteristic
152 fact, which is in a way characteristic of the ways of thinking of the
Gilyak themselves, on the question of their kinship with other tribes.

/19 cont./

● 153 In 1893 during my stay in the settlement of Langr on a
154 small island lying opposite the continental coast, I talked to an
155 old Gilyak, a contemporary of Nevelskoi and Orlov, who were
the first men active in the lower reaches of the Amur. I was not
a little astonished when during our conversation, while reminiscing
about the workers of the Russian-American Company, to whom my
interlocutor had in his time been of service, he suddenly said: "I
think, however, that the Gilyak and the Aleut are of the same
race. It turned out that the well-known seagan, Orlov, who served
in the Russian-American Company, /20/ was accompanied by an
Aleut, with whom my Gilyak interpreter had a chance to talk at
great length, and as a result, after an exchange of stories about
the customs and the way of life of their fellow tribesmen, by the
way, about the hunt for seal, they both came to the conclusion
that the Gilyak and the Aleut are kal'nyakhr (one people). Taken
by themselves, such primitive conclusions, cannot, of course,
have any great significance for the solution of the question, but in
connection with other considerations about the arctic origin of the
Gilyak, this naïve testimony of a Gilyak is, at any rate, characteristic.

156 Thus, the language, the archaeological data, the remnants
157 of peculiarities of their way of life, and the legends make it possible for us to lift somewhat the veil of the distant past of the Gilyak
tribe. On the other hand, purely anthropological data can play no
role in the question that interests us. Anthropologically, the
Gilyak least of all represent anything original. There is no such
thing as a specific Gilyak type. The average type of Gilyak is at
the present time a complex of ordinary, though somewhat softened
Mongoloid features with a deviation on the one hand to the Tungus,
and on the other to the Ainu type. In the Ainu type, as Schrenck
has already noted, the face is more or less oval, the forehead
straight, the cheek bones moderately pronounced, the squint of the
eye very insignificant or completely absent, the nose more or less
long, the spine of the nose with a curve, and the growth of hair
on the face abundant. In the Tungus type, on the other hand, the
Mongoloid features are expressed in full sharpness. In the feminine
type the Tungus features predominate. This is everything that

/20 cont./

● 158 observations of the physical peculiarities of the Gilyak give us.
At the same time, other facts and considerations provide us with a
159 full basis for believing that the ancient Gilyak type has completely
perished, drowned in the stronger wombs of the neighboring tribes.
This took place, however, not in an ordinary way, not through a
160 gradual interbreeding with the neighboring tribes by means of inter-
tribal marriages, which would be not at all surprising, but in
quite peculiar, extremely instructive way.

161 In conducting the census of the Gilyak, I carefully collected
162 information from the elders of each particular clan.
163 The study of these data brought me to the strange conclusion that
164 the founders of the great majority of the clans now in existence
165 were not the Gilyak, but representatives of the neighboring tribes.
How could this have happened? This phenomenon even
at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or
another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution
or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien
tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry
(usually a widow), and, in this way, are adopted into this or that
clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that
has harbored them. The descendants of such newcomers normally
form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that
adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these
clans of newcomers or the branches of the clans founded by them,
in the time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while
the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in
the course of several generations died out. The most vital, gow-
166 ing clans or branches of clans are the descendants of precisely such newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers
and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic
and vital individuals, or this is the result of intertreeding, the fact
is not subject to doubt. I found it not only among the Gilyak.

As a result of the census of the Gilyak, I asked myself in
167 perplexity, if in the course of a great number of centuries there
has been a constant influx of new elements from other tribes, an
inflow that was strengthened by the purchase of wives and female
slaves from the Ainu and the Goldi, and if these new elements
flourished and multiplied while the indigenes degenerated and died

/21 cont./

out, what remained of the indigenous type of the original Gilyak tribe? Yes, that original type irretrievably disappeared. The body of the Gilyak tribe died forever, but its spirit is alive, alive in its language, a language which, as we have said, stands completely alone in the assemblage of languages of the Asiatic continent, and in its peculiar customs and institutions which, together with the language, have survived all the vicissitudes of its physical transformation. The persistent preservation of the language is striking. It has not only protected itself against distortion by roots and forms from other tribes, but, in spite of the small number of speakers of the tribe, has preserved two large dialects and no fewer than five or six subdialects, which testify to the fact that there was a time when the Gilyak language was spoken by many tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of individuals scattered over a vast territory, who left us numerous idioms as proof of their existence.

But not only the language of the Gilyak tribe continues to testify to its isolated position among the surrounding nationalities: its social institutions, clan organization, religion, and especially /32/ the institution of marriage, amazingly peculiar norms of sexual intercourse, and equally amazing kinship nomenclature clearly testify to this. Before we proceed to this aspect of their life, however, we shall first touch upon, within the briefest limits, the external conditions of their life, the nature which surrounds them, and the outward appearance of the Gilyak.

II.

Environment. Type. External Life.

The nature amidst which these people live at the present time is full of the greatest contrasts. In spite of the southerly latitude (between 46° and 54 1/2° north latitude), the average yearly temperature falls in some places to -1.2°. The freezing of mercury in the middle of the island is a common phenomenon. Even in July there are minimums of 7.7°. Ice floats off the

/30 cont./

purchase fish. while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting. only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native places. The Gilyak likes to travel. however, even without various reasons for it. To make visits. receive guests. arrange celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of the Gilyak. Gloomy and stem while alone. he is transformed in society and becomes playful. gay, and garrulous.

In the north. in winter. between 30 and 40 people live in the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness. which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social framework of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure. with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu. and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them. a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage. and. although they could have influenced one another. they basically belong. speaking in the language of geology. to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother. while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives. who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father. he is no longer called by his former name. but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation. and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak. live in their yurts. and observe their family life for a long time. and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families. each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband. wife. and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word. to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu; ivn). and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their brothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk). and these call the former their children.

/35 cont./

The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke. but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters. or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship. i.e., with the whole clan. because. on the other hand. Familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds. among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to. but not to joke with. wives of the younger brothers. because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden. and. conversely. one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers. and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak. the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

So far. I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister. but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance. is it enough that a person from clan A. let us say. takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization. a type which.

/36 cont./

because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak. their migrations. depopulations. immigrations. and other such reasons. naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and lose its former simplicity.

A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kinship nomenclature. which. without doubt. is a living reflection of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded. First of all. it is clear that the kinship nomenclature according to which. in a man. call the sister of my father-in-law mother (ymk). while my father calls them his wives. at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers. both own and jinate. called me another. can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one common clan, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then. in fact. the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and consequently, my mothers. while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system. marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is especially answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature, which I applied my clansmen of my generation. i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives. and conversely. they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came. i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers. is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives. and furthermore. as I have previously said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan. But to exchange women. i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives. is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont./

my clan must. in turn. go to a third clan. whose ancestresses were sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kinship terminology this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the daughter of the sister of my father wife (an'gej). but simply nav'ykh. and she calls me. not husband (pu; ivn). but ytk. akhmal'k. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan. reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not. however. arrive at my conclusions a priori.

In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indicated by me which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular clan. the old principle continue to be observed up to the present day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak. not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detail. I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives there from whence you came. i.e., from the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh is interesting; it is composed of pi (ones own. your). pandf (kinsmen of the mother). and ukh (from). The word pandf is from pandynd -- "to be born."

wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of their mothers, the terminology has preserved an old prohibition on this group of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh. i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus. for example. elder brothers. for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited. call the latter yokh). while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom sexual intercourse is permitted). Indeed. the favorite form of marriage among the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a brother, own (preferably) or agnate. of the mother. but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the latter. On the other hand, marriage with a

/45 cont./

[illegible]

/46 cont./

but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in turn. from birth. as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V) would be called Vasil'ev's wife. the daughter of Vasil'ev, i.e., Varvara's great-granddaughter. would have to be the wife of one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus. in the third generation. she would again bear the clan sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

6) As we have seen. Gilyak marriage to a considerable extent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship among the Gonds (Gondy) of the Gilyak system of marriage among many tribes of India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are. therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus. quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and. conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak). while Kohler. presenting this fact. and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms. even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler. "Das Recht der Hottentots, " in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft. Vol. XVI. No. 3. pp. 341-342. and L'Année Sociologique. 11th year. p. 306.

[illegible]

2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particular. on the strange institution of mock abduction. an institution which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Australians and the Eskimo. and. furthermore. in such strange forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction. as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives. the violation of

entirely enough to assume that in this way they want to avoid making the archer unsteady by noisy behavior, and thus to bring him into the danger of missing his mark. Or is the torture that they impose on the poor animal before its death meant to be a symbol of the serious nature of this festival? Even this conception seems untenable to me, for why should one torment an expiatory sacrifice that already has to suffer enough by its innocent death, as happens in this case; and, besides, does not the cruel treatment of the bear before its death give the impression of proceeding entirely from the overbubbling festive joy of the celebrators? Unfortunately, the traveller was unable to give any hints as to the significance of the ceremonies described, since the Gilyak were themselves unable to explain them. They celebrated [382] the festival the way their fathers and forefathers had celebrated it, without worrying any further about the meaning of the various actions. Jakobsen's friends in Nikolayevsk were equally unable to give *him adequate explanations on this subject. Probably, there-* fore, we need more frequent and more detailed observation than is available today before we can see into the matter clearly.

Finally, a saga current among the Gilyak which Jakobsen heard from a Russian station master who had lived in their territory for a long time. It goes as follows: A long, long time ago there appeared on the Amur coming from the east a small vessel full of enormously strong people of a dark complexion. These went ashore, attacked the villages, burned them down, and, without distinguishing age or sex, killed and ate all the inhabitants that they could lay hands on. Sailing up the river, they acted in the same fashion in the land of the Goldi till finally the invaded tribes recovered from their terror, banded together and moved in large hordes against the barbaric enemy, whom they then defeated in a bitter battle. All the cannibals were killed and their ship was destroyed. From this time on, the Gilyak always add, no more foreign people came to the Amur River from the east up to the time when the Russians appeared at the mouth of the river and took possession of the land.

174

4 HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION--inferences as to origins, migrations, contacts, prehistory and culture history from various types of evidence (e.g., anthropometry and language); etc. See also:

Historical research 814

/Information on the author's reconstruction of the
cousin marriage and kinship terminology, will be foun
and 331-347./

RX2 Gilyak RX2

development of Gilyak marriage norms,
nd in category 116, pp. 282-299, 316-328

clan VI from which it takes wives: has died out,
too few women in it, which is quite in the order
A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there
its women for the clan of the father's sister; the
even if it had extra women, cannot decide to dev
imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punish
the gods, of the gods-ancestors, for whom marria
of other blood constitute the greatest of insults.
vengeance threatens the clan who would make use
other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however.
tives then remain: either to abduct a woman by
bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods, /4
nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the one st
circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the
tions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreeme
with the parents of the bride and with her herself,
these latter appear to resist the abduction with all
while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious
everything required to give to the marriage act th
coercion.

Only with such an explanation of abduction c
stand why, for example, the Australian kurnai, h
their daughter to run away with her loved one, se
after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg
and beat her half to death. The Australians them
this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many trib
groom himself considers it his duty to beat his lov
cruelly than her parents: by this he desires to show
the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture
was in no way caused by a desire on his part to m

Finally, only with this illumination on the h
religious origin of the custom can we explain such
occurrence of the institution, which, in the form
duction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony o
peoples.

/48 cont./

174 583 614 615 606 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also explains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not from the clan of his mother by the term sokh /sic: see yokh on p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

174 583 614 [673] [689] [682] Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price, the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third generation inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin, [192] as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

174 583 In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands, for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/124 cont./

*614 615 608 it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possibility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations between members of matrimonial clans.

*614 615 428 583 The principle of mutual aid between members of matrimonial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which, despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception, namely, with regard to the pandf'y; by a will, as we already know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" (i.e., going for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can obtain the fur "shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it from one pocket and putting it in another, serves, incidentally, as an important indication of the fact that originally among the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of payment for the bride, but rather was a form of religious ransom. But for what?

*614 615 ● 174 583 The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the bride price is in general a strange anomaly. Actually, once marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious obligation, and even preferable between the children of brother and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This [178] change we know: it consisted in the fact that in some instances when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible, it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its own lawful ymgi and therefore could only accede to giving away its women by masking it with some act of pious deception of the gods, which would at the same time be profitable for the [182] father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the ymgi clan, which

/125 cont./

614 615 174 583

violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction: the whole clan of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title of akhmal'k and became, as it were, a lawful clan for marriage unions. As such instances increased, the bride price, whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the general rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

614 615 796 574 182

Another weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matrimonial clans is the participation of the pandf'y in the bear festival.

In the sense of cementing interclan relations it plays almost a greater role than the Olympic games for the tribal unification of the Greeks. The bear festival takes place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, while in populous settlements a rare winter passes without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The sled, which every household possesses, is harnessed, and off they go; the rest is not the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest dishes. And in return for the small annoyance of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: in the first place, the very rite of the festival -- the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the ablest and most respected representatives of the tribe; finally, the competition /126/ in wrestling, races, and dances, the feasts, conversations, jokes, and songs, in a word, an endless series of enjoyments. Against the somber background of his gray existence, the hungry days, the deprivations, dangers, and monotonous impressions, the bear festivals appear as the most joyous moments of existence, as it were, landmarks of everyday life which one recollects and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only ymgi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own ymgi but akhmal'k do not participate at all.

/127 cont./

609 574

reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has

609 829 * 614

wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general

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relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course, among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

● 174 * 614 615

But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We can now resume it.

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● 174 * 614 615

Those manifest social habits and feelings which we observ in the contemporary Gilyak, which he indisputably acquired in the beneficial school of social relations, originally developed among the matrimonial clans and from them were gradually transferred first to every tribesman, later to neighbors of other tribes, and finally to man in general.

But the source of social ties between the matrimonial clan akhmal'k and ymgi, as we have seen, is rooted in that wonde ful organization of the Gilyak clan, to the analysis of which we have devoted this chapter. In this evolution from the egoism of the closed clan through ties with pandf'y of other c close by blood, to sympathy and humanity for all men, both close and distant, is contained, perhaps, the most instructive conclusion of our long analysis. From that moment when the rule that a man should marry the daughter of his uncle on the mother's side was established, there was also laid the firm foundation for the extensive growth of social habits and feelings.

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59 114

The Social Organization of the Gilyak

(Family and Marital-Sexual Norms)

I.
Introduction

Upon superficial acquaintance the structure of the Gilyak family and its sexual norms appear to be so simple, conventional, and similar to ours that they can mislead even the serious observer. The well-known academician Leopold Schr who lived among the Gilyak for more than two years and left us the well-known, multi-volumed monograph on this tribe, was profoundly convinced that he was dealing with the ordinar patriarchal-monandrous family. This appeared so obvious to

/165 cont./

582 583 Concerning the primary obligation of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, supporting evidence is offered by another extremely important peculiarity of this form of marriage, namely, the fact that the bride price, i.e., the payment which is received by the father or the brother of the bride and which in the contemporary marriage plays an enormous role in the question of giving a woman in marriage, is here completely lacking or at least plays an insignificant /166/ role. In cases of marriages between cousins of the first degree, not only is a bride price not demanded, but it is even forbidden to mention it during the betrothal.

582 583 • 174 The absence of the bride price in marriages between pu and an'g:ej is clear evidence that the marriage between these categories was at one time an obligatory marriage, and in the case of obligatoriness it goes without saying that there can be no question of any financial obligations.

There is no doubt that the bride price was a later institution. [538] In the traditional poems of the Gilyak, the so-called n'astund, in which the procedure of betrothal is so often described, there is never any mention of the bride price. On the contrary, the "fathers-in-law" usually fill the boat of the bride with all kinds of valuables.

583 174 Remembering what an enormous role the bride price plays in the economic life of the Gilyak, sometimes representing the only resource for giving the economy of a poor man a start, it must be realized that the neglect of the bride price in marriages of the above-mentioned category cannot be caused by reasons of a sentimental nature; the motives for such an attitude toward the bride price must be of a more compulsory character, that is, religious. We shall have to speak about the nature of these motives in more detail later on.

602 606 As an illustration, we merely point out the surprising relations that, thanks to this religious imperative of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, were characteristically established between persons of the class of "fathers-in-law" and their legal "sons-in-law" /zyat'ya/. These relations are surprising

/170 cont./

832 *835 684 627 114 complaint against a local woman, who the evening before had seized him by the leg, on the grounds of which he was demanding "ransom." They summoned the culprit. She confessed and by the decision of the assembly she was obliged to hand over publicly to her accuser an adjudged ransom, namely, a puppy and a birch-bark dish. Why the fine was limited to such insignificant objects (if they were not merely symbols of especially female labor) I explain only by the fact that the guilty woman was entirely alone and did not possess anything more valuable.

834 *835 • [174] [157] /171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous opportunities for lovemaking, even with alien women, slip by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien women was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarded is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen, punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and inevitable banishment. There can hardly be even any question of a casual passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons of forbidden categories has become converted into that same instinct which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or own sister. All the more powerfully is the right to sexual intercourse between the categories of pu and an'g:ej realized. In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in the

*835

/205 cont./

198 unity of the latter. Life, it is true, has somewhat softened
* 614 the rigor of the prohibition; in some clans at the present
615 time the prohibition covers only those members of clans who are actually married to sisters, but formerly, evidently, the prohibition embraced all the members of both clans; even in its weakened aspect, however, the prohibition leads unavoidably one way or another to some cases of marriage outside the phratry.

The case which we have just discussed is by no means hypothetical; it is repeated in its peculiar form in the daily life of the Gilyak at the present time. As an illustration of this, we may use the legal case which we introduced earlier, with the consequences that follow from the marriage of two persons of different clans to two sisters, where one man is from the akhmalk clan and the other from the ymgiui clan. . It is of interest to repeat here that in this case group marriage among several clans is no longer allowed, but the children of these marriages are considered tuvn and cannot marry each other.

Thus, the depopulation and the thinning out of the people of a clan leads to the following extremely important consequences: 1) allowing free marriage to a woman not from the clan of one's mother begins; 2) members of one and the same clan can be married to women of different clans; 3) a man and his "brother-in-law" /syat/ (navkh, brother of his brother's wife, i.e., brother of his own wife) may not be married to sisters; 4) finally, thanks to free marriages, the old four-clan phratry entirely loses its limits, for, as we shall see further on, to every clan into which even one member of the phratry has become related by marriage are extended those same rights and obligations which pertain to a clan of the phratry, and thus it is as though this new clan were adopted into the old phratry.

198 For a certain time, the "free" marriage was a more or
* 614 less /206/ exceptional phenomenon, called forth by condi-
615 tions likewise of an exceptional character. In its way stood a huge obstacle -- the religious imperative which prohibited

/206 cont./

* 194 giving women to clan members. The procuring of such women
195 presented great difficulties. As a result of this long struggle
614 for the women of alien clans -- a struggle about which it will
[593] be necessary for us to speak in detail later, there appeared the institution of the "bride price," payment for the bride -- an institution which removed all obstacles to free marriage.

But once having appeared, the institution of the bride
194 price became, in turn, a powerful factor for the spreading
585 of the institution of the free marriage.
* 614 The bride price became the most powerful temptation
615 for violating the old norms, even in cases where there was no necessity for their being violated.

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the rich, who came into being with the establishment of trade relations, began to look on the free marriage union as a means of satisfying their ambition and of becoming related to people who were their equals in wealth and distinction.

And nevertheless, notwithstanding all the unfavorable
* 614 circumstances, notwithstanding the intrusion of the new in-
615 stitution of "free" marriage, the old norms continue to live
178 and to preserve their power over minds. In the great ma-
[583] jority of cases the old imperative still is stronger than all
[582] the temptations of bride price and of free marriage. In the eyes of the contemporary Gilyak, marriage from the akhmalk clan, from the mother's clan, is still the only "pure" marriage, and the most favored marriage for each individual man is marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother, in which case bride price is not only not required, but is not even allowed. Free marriages are rather sporadic phenomena, which destroy the customary norm for only a moment and then are spontaneously drawn into the ruts of the old norm. This comes about in different ways. In some cases a man may not marry for one or another reason from his mother's clan, but his offspring nevertheless again begin to take wives from the old clan of the ancestress. In other cases, if for some reason a return is not possible, then the alien clan from which the man takes his wife becomes the lawful marriage clan for his offspring, who in each generation

/263 cont./

195 therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man takes a
196 woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buys his
58 wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javind, which in this form is only a marriage term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not so difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb p'ávind = pi + avind, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: nlg-yyvyl' n-hnyl' pri-k pavá -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb p'ávind, -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active voice ájvund -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (ájvun ekhan -- a grazing cow). Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's
* 194 own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this
591 etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it
[191] follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the system of maternality /materniteta/ prevailed, as it does at the present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where the husband as a common rule moved into the house of his wife, just as the masculine term gend -- "to take for oneself" -- bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

/263 cont./

195 /paterniteta/, with the wife moving into the house of her
196 husband. At the present time the original meaning has disap-
58 peared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree that often for the expression "to get married" there is added to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this
* 194 is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving
591 into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being
[191] supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of
196 marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as
58 far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ytk menash vavin kuil iymd, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ájvund is used in the sense of to marry, to have a wife, for example, menyn nuvn an'g-ej n'enyn' ájvuta -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several
178 remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony
[582] of this is found in the contemporary formula of common
[583] marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymgui
[614] ainikh jag-n'idra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although, according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from his mother-in-law.

Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system
[191] where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

/265 cont./

602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
191 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
584 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not
593 the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the marriage of a sister depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
* 194 be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
196 in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
591 that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says:
[191] n'i-umgarvo ivá, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivá -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and where husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin, namely, ymgui, literally "from old birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once in /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/266 cont./

* 194 reverence with which they approached a settlement where,
614 according to them, one of their female ancestors had once
615 lived.
186

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym'river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

Usually at the present time children are given names
553 according to the clanmen of the father. Such is the general
184 rule, but there are still places, for example, the settlement
614 of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clanmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with
602 the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan,
614 but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the
194 present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak them-
[582] selves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by
[614] the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak form of marriage are not in effect.

/270 cont./

177 in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the
[585] possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
[582] and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward
[584] differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and
[585] become related to only rich people. In the question of the choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and, consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even in the adjective "ry'gunal" -- legend -- there is heard in matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my
178 equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
556 a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek
58 women who were famous for their special qualities, who
614 were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the procedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
192 pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
584 come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the matchmaker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called
* 194 pu -- husband, and the bride -- ankej. The term jokh,
which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

/272 cont./

584 The bride is not present during
184 the betrothal, the mother has the
[171] absolute right of veto, and the
kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home
584 with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not
• 194 at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage
accompanied by bride price, where the parents have motives
of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather
a remnant of the orthodox marriage, where from her very
childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite
person or limited group of persons, and there could be no
question of full freedom of choice, all the more because the
marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.
584 The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal
among the Gilyak we find features which are repeated with
remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. The
procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded by
a whole series of military stratagems. In serious cases, when
the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the
matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at first
conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at the house, they
say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodka
from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily
accept the treat, and, when they are in a good mood, the
matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of
the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they
hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals.
The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist
them with everything at his disposal. And here they take
him at his word and come to the point. /273/ He can no
[605] longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that the
host may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have
taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

/273 cont./

584 Lakkan: Whatever I have, (with it) I am ready to aid thee,
583 although I have nothing.
539 Pevn: If thou hast something, wilt thou not pity me, wilt
thou not wish to help?
Lakkan: To this day I have refused thee nothing, is it not
so?
Pevn: Of course.
Lakkan: If thou shalt have something, thou wilt have
pity on me. Once thou shalt have something, I shall also
have, is it not so?
Pevn: If thus hast thou spoken, it gladdens me. Thus in
truth thou art ready to give me what thou hast?
Lakkan: What I have, if thou shalt ask, I am ready to
give thee.
After this the matchmaker again pours the drinks and,
finally, unexpectedly announces: "Thou hast promised to
give me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I have a
son. Let us become akhmalk'i."
To this Lakkan replies: I have already given my word to
others.
Pevn: What if you did give your word to another man?
You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to
court with you.
583 After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the
[584] business negotiations concerning the bride price.
Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride
price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak call
this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, I be-
lieve, throws light on the very origin of the institution.
• 194 In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by the
583 word az', az'r from azimynd (?) -- to give as a gift, so that
192 literally az', az'r means a present, a gift, which the family
or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan of
the bride. That this term was not formed by chance is shown
[628] from the following. In other ritual cases where compensation
with valuables is obligatory, for example, in the case of
ransom -- damages paid for an abducted woman, for a
murdered man -- the term used is jus'kind, which means

/275 cont./

194 "to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ jus'kind -- "to
192 pay" is derived from the word us'kind, which in the middle voice
583 is a synonym of ukhskind -- to fight, to war (jus'kind is merely
628 the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- us'kind was
originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom --
peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still
be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by
me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered
father, they ask him on his return: Pytk us'kind joylo? -- "Did
you fulfill us'kind for your father (literally us'kind -- 'fulfill'),
did you take vengeance?" He answers: "ulk shukhra" -- "I
killed them all." Here the term us'kind is used in the sense of the
act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used
in the sense of ransom. "Kym nafdh us'kim -- "For their (slain
companion), they paid damages, ransom."
583 From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original
194 sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although
431 obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift
was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was
583 just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-
431 wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing continue in
various values for several years, and they were very often no
less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

[126] 1. Here is an illustration of the in-
stitution of the bride price as an in-
stitution of mutual gift-giving, one
of many examples which I wrote down.
An elder in the settlement of Fomr,
a man who was not well-to-do, gave as
bride price for his daughter /sic/ two
Chinese kettles, one japanese /kettle/,
and five dogs. In exchange, the
father-in-law sent his son-in-law two
Chinese robes and for two or three

/277 cont./

583 of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol
182 of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the con-
clusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which
are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that
the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism
of new relations.
And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price
there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely
religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly
prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according
to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way
-- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this
point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the
ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this
[686] alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the
[682] nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slay-
ing of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this
case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation
in the whole clan.
583 For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the
786 same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood re-
538 venge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken
long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of
the most common subjects in the epic works.
583 The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment.
422 An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular
kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagynd
[439] (E.D.), shygynd (W.D.). These are valuables which are pre-
dominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade.
Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of
material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite,
Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also
big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include
fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In
• [194] ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ at first stone, later

422 /278 cont./
583 iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).
• [194]

[193] 1. The following splendid legend gives
evidence concerning this. In the cen-
tral section of Sakhalin there is a moun-
tain, Kryus' pal, and along side of it
another, somewhat smaller mountain,
the "wife" of the latter, who has run
away from him and hidden her shagynd.
Three riverside rocks represent the dif-
ferent objects of the shagynd. One bears
the designation Wa-ul-ŷif, meaning
"place where the Japanese saber is
buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place
where the kettle is buried," and the
third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium.
422 Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of
556 clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category
735 allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the
554 settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered
my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in
this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with
me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are pre-
served for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for
the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when
one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a
dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner --
to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such ob-
jects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons
of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian
554 objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.
583 Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly
735 by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence
[556] of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

583 /279 cont./ Along with the distribution of the bride
582 price within the family, customs of a completely exceptional
character are preserved, clearly testifying to the old orthodox
form of marriage. Namely, part of the bride price is given
to the "old akhmalk," i.e., to that akhmalk with whom a given
family has concluded orthodox matrimonial unions. Thus, for
example, if in the course of several generations family A has
taken wives from family B, i.e., the sons of sisters in each gen-
eration have married the daughters of their own brothers, then
every time the family gives in marriage any one of its women,
who, as we see, are forbidden to the men of family B by virtue
of the unilaterality of the cousin marriage, and receives bride
price, then a part of it is given to the eldest one in family B,
usually to the brother of the mother of the woman who has been
given in marriage, rarely to the father of the latter, if he is
alive. It is curious that the family of the groom presents this
gift to the old akhmalk as part of the bride price. This custom
is practiced in a still more striking form. They give their infant
sister to the brother of their mother, or their daughter to the
brother of their wife, in order that these persons may afterwards
receive the bride price for them, but participation in the dis-
tribution of the latter may not be demanded. "It is better to
propose one's daughter or sister to the old akhmalk oneself,"
the Gilyak usually add when they are talking about this custom,
"than to wait for a request about the matter." And this is not all
if a mother has several brothers and a nephew has several sisters,
then one /of the sisters/ is supposed to be given to each /of the
[171] brothers/. What is the explanation of this strange custom? We
have a completely analogous case among the Tamil, where the
mother's brother also receives a part of the bride price when the
woman is given /280/ in marriage. But among the Tamil cousin
marriage is bilateral, so that if a man's sister does not give her
daughter in marriage to the son of her brother, she thereby
breaks the law; but among the Gilyak cousin marriage is uni-
lateral, and for the son of the brother of the mother the daughter
• [194] of this last is forbidden. But why then does the mother's brother
have such preference? Here a double explanation is possible:

4 marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the m
bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry
of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we
serving is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marria

33 I turn now to the other principal obligation, the
to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

33 For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh sho
56 fying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the br
woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types o
and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of a
ment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silv
lets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich,
and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artisti
decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her
her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some
one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepar
dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until t
of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get th
ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sac
with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to
the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry
should be proportional to the size of the bride price.
gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, th
3 to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a ma
6 greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or f
7 slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my
Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a
slave (akh), whom they provided with a Japanese sabe
ing the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambiti
people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bri
a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, is put in it t

33 The dowry, although it is compensation for the
22 price, since it frees the husband from great expenditur
wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, h
property /281/ to which the husband has no rights wha

/247 cont./

[101] ...ring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic. The Tungus with indignation and proud contempt [102] ...nomenon deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tungi's people and [103] ...ortified, while the Gilyak and the Orochon are dogs."

The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are [104] "chal-nyakhs" ("chal" — clan, people, tribe; "nyakhs" — one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese [105] ...inded people, saying that a Manchu was "yik-ungi" (father, [106] ...nscous, man), and a Japanese was "yakh-ungi" (uncouteous, [107] ...ungi, an ancestor which with the Gilyak means "man") only [108] ...low. The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the [109] ...language of the Gilyak /249/ living at the mouth of the Amur [110] ...and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus. [111] ...ter the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the continent. The materials of the 1881 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census firm of [112] ...d proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, [113] ...ated in the northernmost settlement on the western shore of Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo, [114] ...ame from the settlement of Nyamlun (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tangu, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement [115] ...of Chorra (on the continent, etc. The census further proved [116] ...that clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan [117] ...living on the continent. Moreover, the Sakhalin language, religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the [118] ...Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the [119] ...continental coast.

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[120] ...ion, it can be seen that the present time the Amur Gilyak are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats [121] ...each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Ayamo, others [122] ...to Mauko, still others further to the south. The sable in their [123] ...homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he [124] ...is to have and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak [125] ...prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and [126] ...to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-versta [127] ...voyage, striving toward those tempting areas where the population [128] ...is sparse and sables are plentiful. In the Amur Gilyak land, in early [129] ...spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant [130] ...hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the [131] ...ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond [132] ...Cape Ei and the Tyrmi River, and at the time of Ekaterina, the [133] ...northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all [134] ...that in former times sable-hunting was carried out even farther [135] ...to the south. There must have been some reason which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from [136] ...their homeland and to spend more and more time in their hunting [137] ...activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite [138] ...rare and where their catch must be paid for by the fur from [139] ...Asia the hunting territories which they now use. /249/ The [140] ...reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin [141] ...by Gilyak from the continent. Gulgulyay, the ancestor [142] ...of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the [143] ...present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of hunters only [144] ...in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps [145] ...on the basis of some stream and placed snares along the natural [146] ...game paths in the mountains on the other side of the river to the [147] ...other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the [148] ...same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island [149] ...with its sable.

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[150] ...Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling [151] ...in a pioneering fashion, not only because of its good land in [152] ...called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded. [153] ...In the first place, these were the places closest to the continent; [154] ...half a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin, [155] ...like Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent: the same [156] ...abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kalugu [157] ...Pleco dogfish), sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of game, and the same climate. In early times, the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the hearth of [158] ...their ancestors for the sake of a pioneering life in a new country, [159] ...were those who had no hunting and fishing reservations by the Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free [160] ...tribal transportation, the Amur Gilyak. These were, of course, [161] ...still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move [162] ...to Sakhalin. Some were driven by enmity of wooden conflicts between clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been [163] ...the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sable [164] ...for every person over twenty years of age. The sable was three [165] ...or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur [166] ...Gilyak is still very expensive, one variety, for example, the Angun, costs 25-30 rubles). The legends of the Gilyak themselves about their former relations with the Manchu are of [167] ...interest. "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, "on the basis of the Amur by the Manchu, as tax men, with the title of 'hetman,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable [168] ...per person every year." Moreover, every time a Gilyak went [169] ...to the Chinese town of Sungari (Sahlinq), he was forced to pay [170] ...a sable /250/ for the privilege of entering the town and then also [171] ...to pay a sable for the privilege of being allowed to trade. The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu [172] officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The [173] Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

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[174] Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There [175] was such a starosta, for example, in Tangdi. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they [176] could not produce themselves.

I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long [177] the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when [178] the first settlers appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they had brought with them [179] (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, [180] the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without boats [181] and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools. [182] No fish-hooks or fish-spears could be made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may [183] be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

[184] The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent, [185] have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows. [186] They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of [187] wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They have given up [188] artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They [189] build yurts in the Manchu style and adorn them with numerous [190] chimneys of stone. They market Japanese sabers and they preserve [191] for person to person some ancient silver idols. They wear robes [192] and skirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics, they drink tea [193] and bell rice and beds (a special variety of grass). They have [194] begun to plow and sow, and they have begun to raise pigs. Perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. [195] What did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

[196] Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron [197] is the most important and the oldest. Because of their isolation [198] from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them [199] in very limited quantities. Iron was so dear that they have to process one, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. These boats and sled do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

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[200] ...permission, the emigrant hunts a yurt, fishes, kills seals, hunts [201] ...sable, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of snares for sable.

[202] /253/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live [203] alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his [204] brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more [205] rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people, [206] frequently all related to a common ancestor. The bonds of communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes [207] a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the present dwelling, is carried out individual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women, who, in comparison with the [208] creation of foodstuff. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a [209] tribal transition, the Gilyak, which, by the way, proves that all those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabitants, [210] clansmen or members of another clan, who have lived in dwellings, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders, [211] and it is known that the latter enjoy any special privileges in obtaining firewood. If the yurt is abandoned, the owner [212] will always be found a pair of persons who can then only intentionally undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the builders themselves move and gradually welcome co-dwellers. Thus, [213] the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of several families who participated in its construction, but at the same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clansmen [214] and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the clan and was an object of collective property.

The views of the Gilyak concerning movable property are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary articles of movable property are: boats, sled, sled dogs, harness, nets, dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happens that a boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or three

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[215] ...Russian settlers, etc.) only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of snares for sable.

[216] /278/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live [217] alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his [218] brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more [219] rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern [220] Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people, [221] frequently all related to a common ancestor. The bonds of communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes [222] a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the present dwelling, is carried out individual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women, who, in comparison with the [223] creation of foodstuff. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a [224] tribal transition, the Gilyak, which, by the way, proves that all those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabitants, [225] clansmen or members of another clan, who have lived in dwellings, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders, [226] and it is known that the latter enjoy any special privileges in obtaining firewood. If the yurt is abandoned, the owner will always be found a pair of persons who can then only intentionally undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the builders themselves move and gradually welcome co-dwellers. Thus, [227] the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of several families who participated in its construction, but at the same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clansmen [228] and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the clan and was an object of collective property.

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[229] ...vague and incorrect all the modern Russian reports concerning the southern border of the Gilyak on the Amur are. Some generally this border is put deep in the Olcha area, even in the Goldi area and in the latter up to the Usuri (1). The chief reason for this

1. See above, p. 51 and p. 183, note 1.

[230] ...lies in the fact that even today the designation "Gilyak" is often used by the Russian as a collective name for all the dwellers living along the Lower Amur River and the adjacent seacoast. For the Russian, the Gilyak are the same as the Tungus are the Goldi. and, as I myself became convinced, even the Orochi of de Castries / De-Kastri/ and Kaiarkhafen simply Gilyak. A traveler, for example, who had his arrangements on what was said by Russian settlers or Cossacks -- and many have done it -- could see nothing but false information about the territorial boundaries of the Gilyak and the other peoples named above. But even a traveler like Boschmak /Bodmak/, who clearly and correctly indicated the boundaries of the Gilyak and the Goldi, falls for him. Mangun on the basis of the radical difference between their dialects of languages, nevertheless, considers the Orochi part of "Kidzi-Gilyakan." though there are no Gilyak in the narrow and true sense in Kidzi at all (1). The use of this designation

2. See above, p. 52, note 2.

[231] as a collective name for many peoples of the lower-Amur region often renders the oldest Russian reports useless for an investigation of a possible shift of the habitation sites of the Gilyak and their neighbors. just as is the case. for the same reason. for all the Russian reports concerning the Amur Tungus.

While, according to the above discussion, there appears to be no doubt but that the Russian name Gilyak for the people around the mouth of the Amur some from the Chinese Kile or Kileng. the question remains as to how the origin of this latter

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[232] ...designation is to be explained. Unfamiliar with any kind of linguistic research. I shall permit myself in this connection. only to express a surmise to which I have been led by special facts. It is readily observed that many names of Tungusic peoples, tribes. or his groups have a final syllable gir. Corresponding the many examples of this kind among the Tungus of Siberia (1). I

3. Many such names may be found among the Tungus tribes from various regions of Siberia enumerated by Georgi (Georgi. "Allgemeine Nachrichten von Russ. Reiche im Jahre 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in the Year 1772/, Vol. I. St. Petersburg. 1775. pp. 244-248).

give /105/ as examples among the Tungus tribes living or roaming in the Amur region the Mangiu. Ulkagir. Bogagiu. Lalgiu. Gorgir. Yengir. Bagir. Bagir. Bagir groups of the Nogiu. Jurki. Ju. Mulkogir. Turbutkhakagir. Nikuskagir. Tschumkagir (1. etc/(2).

1. Middendorff (Reise. etc., Vol. IV. p. 1183) erroneously writes the final syllable Mulkogir. Turbutkhakagir. Nikuskagir. Tschumkagir.

2. When this final syllable occurs in the name of a non-Tungusic people, such as Yengir. we then I suspect that the name is of Tungusic origin.

It is noteworthy that these are all dwellers along the left. northern and western tributaries of the Amur River. I do not know of any Tungus who. on the basis of this fact. gives vocabularies at my disposal (3) give no information concerning it.

3. Klaproth. Asia polyglotta. linguistic atlas. Prtia. 1823. pp. XLII ff. Castren's

/105 cont./

A. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer Tungus. Sprache nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tungus Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/. ed. by A. Schiefner. St. Petersb. 1856.

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[233] ...Tungus and the Tungus. Although the Gilyak in the ...ordinary sense. the Russian designation Kiljaki and Gilyaks. And that there is no doubt. if my surmise is correct. the strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tungusic peoples. tribes. and groups of the Nogiu. ...Tungusic word by the Chinese. is at present limited to the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tungusic.

After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the Gilyak and the other Amur peoples. and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russians learned of the existence of the Gilyak. they became acquainted with the Gilyak of the Amur. Already 25 years had [234] 1665. on their first expedition into the Amur region. under Maxilli Poyarkov /Poyarkov/. they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Usuri -- which Poyarkov. by the way. thought was the upper Amur -- the Russians encountered the Gilyak and Goldi. and the latter. who had discussed later. the Natkos (Natki) followed. and after them the Gilyak. who. as the report states. occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. Poyarkov went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them. until he reached the mouth of the Amur. where

/111 cont./

[235] they visited the large islands within sight from their coast. [236] barely wooded. and still uninhabited. on which they could peacefully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals. [237] sable. etc.. and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed. I am even inclined to believe that [238] whereas their westward expansion along the coast of the main land. as we have seen. was first made by the Tungi and later did not go beyond it. they did visit the Shantar Islands. even the westernmost of them. and bear island (Medvéshiy) located beyond [239] Tyuy Bay. At least the Russian Tungus (Tungi) called the Tungus gave to this island. in its unidoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff. op. cit.. p. 110.

origin. in that "Ngarbach" /111/ in Gilyak means "animal rock"

1. From nga -- animal. and nach -- stone. rock. Middendorff. p. 175. note.

2. Similar Gilyak place names are Tschichachach. Tschurbach. Tchach. etc.

[240] But the Gilyak were surely never very numerous on the Shantar Islands. since the Gilyak population on the adjacent coast of the mainland is very low and since navigation around these islands [241] difficult and dangerous on account of the rapid and changeable currents. the floating masses of ice. the frequent fog. the pounding surf. etc.. It was therefore natural that as soon as the Russians appeared on the Shantars. wintered there. and in fact [242] the beginning of the 19th century. the Gilyak remained away there just as later. in 1820. they withdrew temporarily from the mouth of the Amur River and from the seacoast and up water quarters at the mouth of the Great Ulkon (2). It is very probable

2. Komura. according to the accounts of the priest from Ushkoi Ostrog.

/112 conc./

2. (conc.)
Dzielchowski, who learned it it while travelling through his diocese in the winter 1878/79 (Zap. Ghen Sem., Part VI, p. 38).

that it was because the Gilyak had just seen themselves pushed off the Amoors by the Russians that they appeared so hostile toward them when the latter advanced from there into their territory on the mainland. It is no wonder that they took advantage of their greater number and simply killed off the Russians. Now since, as Maximovich has shown, the trips by the Russians to the Amoor took place during the most intensive time, the Gilyak lost their former hunting territory altogether. It seems, then, that while in the course of time they lost territory on the islands in the northwest of their area of distribution, they advanced on the mainland southward from there to the west.

Much less can be drawn from the oldest human reports from the lower Amoor about possible battle shifts in the south of the Gilyak territory, along the Amur River. In them only the Aljasean neighbors are named, and at most the naming of the required to cross their respective territories is given. Moreover, all these reports are written differently, as has, according to Pojarkof, the further border the Gilyak operators, according to Chabarof the Aincharon, and according to Isepanof the Dyalchonen. The next question is how are these peoples to be identified with those known to us today from the lower Amoor region and how are those apparently contradictory reports to be reconciled.

As Miller (3) and after him Fischer (4) correctly remarked

3. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 326.

4. Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 809.

/113 conc./

2. "Ta-ram ka ki" (Sieboldt, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3 also Nippon 6: p. 102).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'ynta," with which, according to him, the Aina and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Tanta" is the Gilyak name for the Gold. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Aina on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the means of communication between the islands is the trade with the Amur peoples up to Mancha, it is scarcely conceivable that the name could have become acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Gold, through the Gilyak, and that the Japanese would then also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with the Japanese tendency to add the name to the Ohiba, who in their eyes were members of the same people (5).

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1703, which Middendorff found among papers in the Jakutsk Uchlisch (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 10), Gold is called the Gilyak Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankar," one can only recognize in it, by the name for the island and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Aina designation, bearing the modification of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur region which was unknown to them.

/113/ Though the name Samatan or S'ynta is plainly used by the Aina and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Ulcha as well as for the Gold, this is not the case with the name Ulcha, which is the usual report by Siberia Russ. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

/113 conc./

2. Gold, Tungusic or Tschelchi (3), Manchu." Now since the

2. Among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk, Middendorff found the name Tschelchi, however, only plied tung on the Amur (see his travel report in Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1, "Tschelchi," but it, goes village, the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, on the other on the mouth of the Sea of Japan, and both are highly significant today (3).

3. According to Gilyak (Tschelchi, von der Insel Tschalcha /Tschelchi/ Tschelchi, Tschelchi Insel of Sakhalin)," = Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Russ. Reiche, Vol. XXV, p. 1 Tschelchi." Now, the latter village has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, Middendorff, who visited it himself, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Gilyak, which, according to Pojarkof, was a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, the remainder consisted of a few yurts at present time only form of winter dwelling, on the island of Sakhalin, however, yurts are found only on the mainland, along the Amur, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with huts yurts, and all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only the hut form is found. Because of the distribution of the two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the south yurt in the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally completely, from the mainland and in large part which came to relapse back into the historical period in the Amur region and on the island of Sakhalin, where it persisted longer the Gilyak occupy a continuous territory which extends approximately from the lower Amur along the Amur and the Ussuri at most to the sources of the latter, still into the tungusic region. But was not the case in the south—we can hardly assume that the Gilyak, when they first became acquainted with the Gold. When Pojarkof /Pojarkov/ (1646), Chabarof /Khabarov/ (1651), and Isepanof (1653) unanimously that both

/113 conc./

do they have to do with the Amur people at all? In order to explain the "Kordeiker" of Maxim Ismail one need only remember that the Japanese knew of the Amur only at least, which they lack. If one remains the latter and at the same time combines the relationship between the 3 and 4, he arrives at "Kordeiker" and "Codokiza" for that ethnic name. And also everything that has been said above about the Gilyak origin of the Gold-name is report fits the Gilyak.

The correspondence in the designations for the Gold on the part of the Japanese and the Russian points to a common origin of the name. It can only be the Gilyak one. The obvious assumption would be that they call themselves this. In fact, in answer to the question as to what they were or what they called, the latter frequently designated themselves to me as "Gold." Nevertheless, I do not know that they call themselves by this name. This may be only a designation that they use when dealing with the Russians, and perhaps they call themselves by the name when dealing with them, whereas among themselves, Nikjavkh, perhaps the origin of this name should be sought somewhere else entirely. In any case, it is not Gold-ki and it may be that the Gold, but from the Gilyak during his way on Sakhalin. It remained foreign to the Gilyak, and, according to the seventeenth century, to the extent and as a consequence of their contact with the Japanese; they were first acquainted with the Aina through the Gilyak and finally, on Sakhalin and the Kurilen. Since their whole area of distribution /113/ consists of islands which are separated by straits which they cannot cross, the Gilyak, in the initial stage, only spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the Gilyak are thus only concerning the northern one are for apart, and whereas the former are two and a half centuries old, the latter only go back to the middle of the seventeenth. According to Sieboldt (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

1. Ainu-, an mukamuk, tonichi, no Ainu-, an mukamuk, tonichi, no Ainu-, an mukamuk, tonichi, no

/512 cont./

complicated than the Goldi-Gilyak boats, but essentially and in general are the same in form and construction. For example, like the latter, the Manchu-Chinese boat also consists chiefly of three long boards -- a bottom board which projects for quite a distance beyond the prow, and two side or edge boards, which are bluntly closed off in the rear by a vertical stern-board, and in front, in a pointed prow, by two small boards of uneven length. Furthermore, the way in which the boards are joined and fastened to one another, the way in which the seams are stuffed with moss and covered with strips inside and outside, etc. are the same in both cases. The far larger dimensions of the Manchu-Chinese boats (the bottom board is from 7 to 9 1/2 fathoms long), however, permit or demand certain additions or modifications in contrast to the Goldi-Gilyak boat. For example, the sides are always raised by a second board on either side, which /513/ is attached to the first one from the outside; this is done among the Goldi and Gilyak only as an exception, in case a boat is to be used for a sea voyage. These upper side-boards project toward the rear about a fathom beyond the stern board serving as their support, and at their rear ends they are joined to each other by a plank, but on top are covered with boards placed crosswise so that at the rear end of the boat there is a wide bridge or platform. On this, at the rear edge, are placed two vertical rods, between which the rudder is stuck in order to be controlled by the steersman standing on the platform. The greater depth of the boat given by the considerable width of the lower side-board and the added upper side-board further permits laying a floor made up of crossboards loosely set against one another in the rear part, over which a piece of wickerwork made out of several rods bent into a semicircle and a few horizontal ones is erected, which, covered with reed or straw mats, gives a kind of tent or cabin in which one may sit, or even stand in a stooped position, protected against rain and bad weather. A similar, though much smaller and lower covering under which a few persons may crawl in case of an emergency is found in the frontmost part of

/513 cont./

the boat. For this purpose a long and strong switch is stuck into the continuation of the bottom board there, bent toward the rear over the prow, and likewise provided with wickerwork made out of semicircular and horizontal switches, over which reed or birch-bark mats are spread. Furthermore, unlike the Goldi-Gilyak boat, the Manchu-Chinese boat has fixed rowing benches resting on the edges of the lower side-boards and a like mast-bench, through which the square lower end of the mast is inserted into the mast bearers put on the bottom board underneath it and, superfluously, tied with a cord to the nearest rear cross-piece connecting the lower side-boards to each other. Finally, on the Manchu-Chinese boat the arrangement of the oars is different, in that they are not stuck on prongs, and, accordingly, are not bored, but are set into correspondingly deep indentations in a board attached to the upper edge. They have only relatively narrow blades and on the upper end a transverse handle which is seized with both hands for rowing, always done at only one side. The rudder, provided with a blade that bulges toward the bottom, likewise has such a transverse handle. It is heavy and, when traveling under ordinary circumstances, seems to rest almost immovably, but a slight turn to the right or to the left is sufficient to give the boat the required direction.

This description will suffice to show that the boat of the dwellers along the lower Amur River and that of the Manchu and Chinese along the Sungari completely correspond in their basic features and their construction, and that the former is, so to speak, only the husked and pared down kernel taken, I might say, from the latter. It can hardly be assumed that the Chinese, clinging to their ancient customs, shaped their boat after a pattern borrowed from the Amur peoples standing far below them and provided improvements and additions only in accordance with their needs. And so /514/ there remains only the conclusion, which in fact is much more probable, that, conversely, the natives of the lower Amur region, first the Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Olcha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

/514 cont./

boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form in that they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their means and powers. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as is done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the other peoples of the lower Amur region. Maximowicz saw a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a jug of liquor two feet tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet groats. Only in one point, as is seen from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars stuck on prongs, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; on the other hand, it recurs generally among the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Ainu-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

/514 cont./

transferred to the boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese. The amount of local invention by the lower Amur peoples on their boat is not nearly as large as it might seem at first glance -- rather, we see that, with respect to the nature of the river vessels, just as in the construction of the winter houses and in so many other things, Chinese influence has spread from the Sungari over the whole lower Amur region.

How could it have happened, however, that the so practical and useful boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese pattern and distributed throughout the lower Amur region /515/ nevertheless remained wholly foreign to the upper Amur region which was under its dominance and inhabited by peoples of related tribes? The explanation for this must undoubtedly be sought in the political policy, often mentioned above, which the Chinese government observed in this region after the departure of the Russians from the Amur in the seventeenth century and which consisted of leaving its upper section as depopulated as possible and of isolating it by vast, uninhabited stretches from the Sungari region which was especially important to them (1). For

1. See above, pp. 332, 369.

this purpose the natives of the lower Amur region and, so it seems, also the Chinese traders on the Sungari, were forbidden by them to go beyond the mouth of the latter up the Amur, and, in order to enforce this prohibition, a permanent guard-station was established at the mouth of the Sungari (2). In this

2. See above, pp. 72, 119.

manner communications between the upper and lower Amur peoples on the water route connecting them, and thus also a compromise in the means used for it, was prevented by the measures of the Chinese government. But all the conditions for any possible independent imitation of the Manchu-Chinese boat on the part of the native were lacking in the upper

/515 cont./

Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inbue the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as was said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development on the whole than in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

226 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1009/). It was a long boat with one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment-escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

/536 cont./
hunting inherent in them, as in all Tungusic tribes, makes it certain that they will prefer methods of fishing that are less common among the Gilyak. For example, the /537/ above-mentioned method of fishing with a hook attached to a wooden clog, which is little used among the Gilyak, is very popular among the Olcha and even more among the Goldi, both on the Amur and in particular on the Usuri, and, judging by the striking correspondence in the designations for the individual pieces of this fishing apparatus among the former and among the latter (1),

1. For example, the anchor part of this apparatus is called tschabch by the Gilyak, tschabbe by the Olcha and Goldi; the main rope fastened to the bottom by means of it is called tyk by the former, dyka by the latter; the clog equipped with the hook is called kita by the former, kuital and kuitzale by the latter.

I am inclined to believe that the Gilyak, despite the fact that in most things concerning fishing they may be regarded as the teachers of their Tungusic neighbors, have borrowed this method of fishing from the latter. Still greater and more characteristic in comparison with the Gilyak is the preference of the Olcha and in particular the Goldi for catching sturgeon and hausen with the above-mentioned and illustrated (Pl. XII /p.1021/, Fig. 8) too, the fact that the Gilyak term for this weapon (tschak) is very similar to that of the Olcha-Goldi (dzhogbo) seems to me to argue in favor of a borrowing of it on the part of the Gilyak from their Tungusic neighbors, whereas the much simpler one-pronged harpoon, the tugnay, was probably theirs originally. In the preference of the Olcha and Goldi for this method of fishing, which is closest to hunting, indeed, in fact is more fish-hunting than fishing, their Tungusic hunter-nature is clearly to be seen. Moreover, it is intimately bound up with the boldness, ease, and adroitness with which they glide over the water in small

/568 cont./
Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008/, Fig. 1.

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass (Gilyak tutsj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the

2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make ornaments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

/568 cont./
grounds (4), before they came to the mouth region of the Amur,

4. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

they already had a homeland on Sakhalin, where they were directly in contact with the Ainu and thus also indirectly with the Japanese -- this circumstance points to the latter as the source of the Gilyak's knowledge of iron and other metals, and as their teachers, even though only indirectly, in the smith's art. And a series of facts corroborate me in this view.

If the use and the working of iron had come to the Gilyak from the Chinese, that is to say, down the Sungari and Amur through the intermediation of the Manchu and Goldi, one would expect in the opposite direction, going uptream from the Gilyak, an increase in skill in the forging of iron. Actually, however, in the direction mentioned there is not only no increase, but, on the contrary, a decrease in the fineness and neatness of the metalwork. For the Olcha, to be sure, may be scarcely less skilled ironsmiths, and especially armorers, than their teachers, the Gilyak, but the Goldi are far behind the Olcha in this (5),

5. This is Maack's opinion also (see his Puteshestvie na Amur", pp. 175 and 207).

though they are extraordinarily skilled at many other things, such as boat-building, sewing, embroidery, and plaiting. In this connection, they do something different from the Gilyak in forging in that they use only one bellows, and also accessories that are not insignificantly /569/ different, for instance, an anvil shaped quite differently, and the like (1). Finally, it is not to

1. See Maack, op. cit., p. 207 and Plate II, Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 24.

/569 cont./
be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to that, they had devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Sisiranusi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak; he mentions the two bellows made out of seahkin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

/570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinsô's Testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork. We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery, and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

/572 cont./
their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1).

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Braune ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahrerber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr.-u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

/572 cont./
of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1034/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, round ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body pi (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinô (1) mentions this iron armor and says

1. Op. cit., p. 194.

/403 cont./

000 3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

286 194 191 326 714 I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu, knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas

[99] the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

/444 cont./

000 resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they be-
263 came acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that
194 they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a some-
[196] what modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation taftsch for
[192] salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dabssun (Mongolian: dabassu) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

[113] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298; Sprachatlas /Linguistic Atlas/ p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Djutscheren, engaged in agriculture, livestock breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Ussuri, from where they were transplanted to the Churcha in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among the Gilyak -- certainly proof that there was no physiological need for it.

263 Whereas the Gilyak aversion to salt is so pronounced and
438 general, sugar (Gilyak ssäta), on the other hand, finds great approval among them, and to be süre, in the form in which they became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

[192] 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian ("ssachar")?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

/447 cont./

323 similar in shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (2). /448/
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[113] 2. Mamia Rinsô, "Tôtats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

323 One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not
114 originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese
191 pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not
194 remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Mamia Rinso goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Mankô) near Kidsi (1). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidsi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still farther upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Ussuri, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Maack had the same experience, except that in the Goldi village of Ssilbi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the natives (2). This village, however,

[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 143.

is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinsô's reports, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were likewise familiar with this industry -- an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored
323 the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as
194 much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion
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323 /448 cont./
191 of the trade relations of the Amur peoples, and especially of the
194 Gilyak, with the neighboring civilized peoples. For the moment,
648 it will suffice to make the general remark that it most probably was brought about by violent seizure and devastation plotted by the Manchu-Chinese government itself for political reasons and to which Mamia Rinso's voyage may even have given rise. Through the devastating blow that the government, feared by the natives, executed, among other things, against the pottery and porcelain manufacturing of the Olcha on the Amur, they were forced back, like their neighbors upstream and downstream, the lower Goldi and Gilyak, to their traditional woodworking industry and were so strongly and lastingly prejudiced against all pottery and porcelain that from then on even articles of this sort made in China or Japan could not find approval and acceptance among them. This
415 destruction of the pottery manufacturing in the lower Amur region,
194 on the other hand, may have prompted the Goldi to take up the
191 mass production of wooden implements, to turn those large bowls
322 and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kota, respectively.

Whereas the pottery and porcelain industry was destroyed
323 along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made rapid and unimpeded
191 progress in southern Manchuria and along the Sungari and its tribu-
[648] taries. /449/ According to the notes of the Chinese U-tschen in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

[113] 1. Vasil'ev", "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Imp. russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also arose there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

[113] 2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

Ainu ABG

/487 cont./ Just
as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak, is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly the same role as among the Gilyak, even the construction of the sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

Eskimo ND2
Ainu ABG
Goldi RK3

/490 cont./
Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality. The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/ the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region, the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes, the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all; whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

/502 cont./ Two Persons are required to work with this drill, in that, by means of a piece of wood, one person presses it from above, where a little iron peg set into the handle is found, against the place where the hole is to be, and the other one sets it in rotating motion by quickly pulling a strap looped several times around the handle -- a procedure which I also observed in connection with the Gilyak method of making fire by friction to be discussed later and in another connection. For this reason, I am inclined to regard the lung, as well as a second, quite similar and also similarly operated, but somewhat thinner drill, which the Gilyak call pisk, as ancient instruments perhaps invented by them themselves, whereas the small drill for finer work and similar to our tools of this type (ibid., Fig. 8), whose Gilyak designation is still unknown to me and which is wholly of iron, may be later and foreign in origin. (1). This is undoubtedly also the case for another

1. The Olcha-Tungusic designation for this small drill, according to Maximowicz, is sselgefó and sseldschefó.

instrument, the saw. I myself never encountered this among the Gilyak, but in the village of Tylm Maximowicz saw a specimen of it which looked exactly like our ordinary carpenter's saw and was called puf by the Gilyak, pófo by the Olcha -- a correspondence in designation which likewise indicates a common borrowing of the object concerned by both peoples from a foreign source.

But after this digression let us return to the construction of the boat. The rear end of it is closed off with a vertical stern-board, and above it and between /503/ the two side-boards a horizontal board (Gilyak ott(o)mo), projecting somewhat toward the rear, is put in to serve as a seat for the steersman. The boat is closed off in front by two obliquely placed boards (Gilyak alo), the left one always rising a little higher than the right one, which gives the prow a pointed shape. All the seams, and especially the two longer ones, between the bottom and the two side-boards of the boat, are calked, but this must be done

Tungus RU5
Goldi RK3

/512 cont./
like the dsaï in form and nature, but twice as long, while the width remains about the same. Thus, among the latter I saw such a boat that was 35 1/2 feet long and only 2 feet and 2 inches wide. Such a boat, like the multiple-seated Aleutian bidar and, incidentally, also like the large mango, if the latter are not propelled, say, by poles, is propelled by two or three persons equipped with double oars and rowing uniformly on one side and then the other, and thus shooting forward with great speed.

It is very noteworthy that the above-described boat made out of boards, which is distributed throughout the lower Amur region, among the Goldi, Olcha, Gilyak, and Orochi, is completely absent in the upper Amur region. At least, I never saw any there, and Maack, traveling down the Amur from the Schilka, did not meet the first boat of this kind until at the mouth of the Ussuri (1). And, correspondingly, the form of

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 178.

the hollowed-out boat that is patterned after this boat, the unjmagda or awarpe, also seems to be absent in the upper Amur region. I must therefore designate this boat made out of boards in a specific fashion as solely and exclusively peculiar to the lower Amur region and characteristic of it. And yet, I believe, one may not regard it altogether as an invention of those peoples or one of them. Whereas the hollowed-out or birch-bark boats bear the stamp of originality, the Amur boat, or, as I would prefer to call it in accordance with the above, the Goldi-Gilyak boat, reveals in its more ingenious form and construction a certain cultural influence, and I believe that I do not err if I trace this back to the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari. For centuries Chinese traders and sometimes also Manchu officials have traveled from the Sungari into the lower Amur region, the former in order to engage in trade with its peoples, the latter in order to collect from them the tribute owed to the Chinese government. The boats in which they made these trips are, to be sure, much larger and more

/575 cont./

411 114 he gives an illustration of it and calls it a wooden saber (2) and

2. Vol. IV, p. 1535. The specimen brought back by him and now in our museum is in fact flattened somewhat like a saber in the last third, as mentioned above.

"cudgel of honor." In his opinion it is used only to settle matters of honor in combat, during which it is seized with both hands, and the blows are parried by moving the stick to and fro. His host, the old Negda Oltungab, on the Nemilen (a tributary of the Amgunj showed him how this weapon was used. This agrees essentially with what I learned about it from the Gilyak. During 411 [115] the initial period of my stay in the Amur region, the Patchä-Gilyak Jutschin, a very intelligent person to whom I am indebted for the first groundwork of my Gilyak vocabulary, appeared at the Nikolayev post armed solely with the mungtsche. When I questioned him, he demonstrated the fencing movements for me with his wooden weapon. From his total handling of it, however, it could be assumed without any doubt that it was more than a simple fencing stick or "cudgel." For as he held it in front of him with outstretched right arm, like a halberd resting on the ground, he assumed an air of dignity as though he were a most distinguished person. Also, he did not want to be separated from it even when sitting down. Finally, the respect and regard that he rendered to his mungtsche were also expressed in the fact that at several places where it had been damaged /576/ it was carefully covered with birch bark and through that had not only not suffered in the eyes of its owner, but, on the contrary, had gained in value. All in 411 all the mungtsche gave me the impression of a conventional 174 weapon of honor, which originated in ancient times, perhaps in imitation of Japanese lances, and has inherited with the latter its continuing traditional significance. The deep groove always present on the back of the mungtsche, which Middendorff leaves unexplained, but obviously is supposed to represent a channel for the blood, also points to such a prototype.

/591 cont./

175 648 159 2. (cont.)
whaler that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tammlawo and the boat was [114] plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak of Poghobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning took place in such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very 439 essentially contributed to this. The possibility of being able to [174] exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no market, such as fish, game, berries, etc., for various articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev post soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /592/ that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the 184 648 Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Murawjof post in Aniwa Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening, [123] when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

SS /620 cont./

175 648 439 622 questioned them as to how they came to be tributary to Manchu, he received the following information from se inhabitants of the island: "In former times," they said, they were not yet tributary, some Manchu vessels came every year in order to buy furs. The crews, however, in an unfriendly and dissolute manner toward the inhabi the island, so that quarrels and brawls frequently broke tween them, whereupon a great number of Manchu lan day, inspected the island everywhere, and took possessi Most of the inhabitants fled to the mountains out of fea some of those who had remained on the coast were sum by the Manchu, who conferred with them and appointe them harata, that is, chief or elder. This event took p the west coast of the island near Itoi (Itoikotan, Itoje). larly, they invested two men from the northern part of coast with this office (3), and in the same manner they

3. Mamia Rinsô also knows the names of these three harata who were the first to be named.

appointed kasinta, or second elders. A black sea-otter agreed upon as the annual gift (tribute) that the elders bring the Manchu, for which the Manchu gave them as gift a piece of silk fabric interwoven with gold and pro SS G sell them all the other trade commodities at a very che 175 That "Itoi, Itoikotan, or Itoje," which, according to th 174 drawn by Siebold on the basis of the original notes by M 361 Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô (4), is near Cape Otsisi (the s 648

4. Atlas to Siebold's Nippon, Plate XXV.

tip of the Bay de la Jonquière), is undoubtedly the Gily of Duĭ, and thus the whole of the above incident refers subjugation of the Sakhalin Gilyak, or making them tri

/719 cont./

that led him to it and was the cause of it all. It itself thus recognizes the toad as the culprit. The Gilyak, on the other hand, have shown it only kindness: they have received it as a guest in their houses, put it in the seat of honor, offered it some of all the foods, in general did everything only with its knowledge and permission, and their women show it a final act of kindness by consolingly drying the tears in its eyes. Therefore no guilt for its fate or responsibility for it falls on them. At the same time a second symbolic act is carried out on the bears, the explanation for which, it seems to me, must be sought somewhat further afield. In addition to the tschudbas, a second head-band is put on them: a strap tied crosswise, on which are found one or two agate balls about one and a half inches large, which rest on the forehead and a little to one side (2). The small bear was given a band with one agate

2. See the woodcut, p. 1163.

ball which lay above its eyes in the middle of its forehead, the large bear was given two such balls, that is, in addition to that one, a second one which rested over the right parietal bone, and, finally, a band with two agate balls in the middle of the forehead, one directly over the other, was put on the medium-sized bear displayed in another house (that of its owner). On this point it seems that if more balls than bears are available, there is room for choice and only the ball in the middle of the forehead is obligatory. These agate balls are of Chinese ("Manchurian") /720/ workmanship and are highly prized and never sold by the Gilyak. Their exotic origin seems to me to suggest an explanation for the entire procedure. /Illustration appears here./ During the many years of frequent intercourse between the Gilyak and the Chinese on the Sungari, it could certainly not have escaped them that the Buddhist divinities of the latter as a rule had a bump or swelling on the forehead above the eyes, indeed, it is possible and probable that they viewed this as a sign of the special holiness of the divinities concerned in the eyes of the Chinese. If one now considers the striving of the Gilyak to imitate Chinese ways, it is quite

/720 cont./

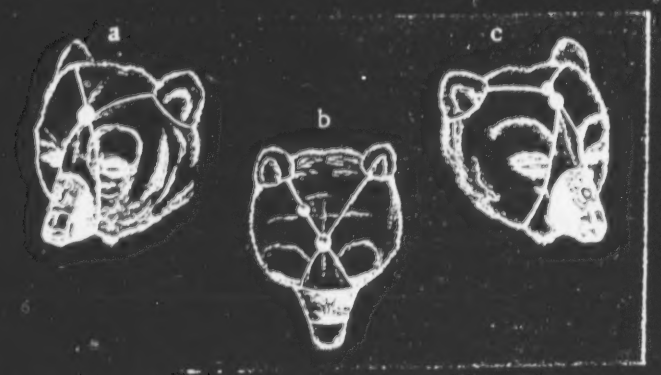

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine, and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, according to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give themselves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it simple circular

Goldi RX3

/731 cont./

which were strung in a row by means of the Foramina vertebralia on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Goldi birch-bark bowls and baskets, such as are found also on the grave sites, of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur, they found a home there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them; determined chiefly by the different method of construction and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low, conical, snow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young fir trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ringlet-shaped, curled wooden-shavings (zach) hanging down from their crowns and from the branches of neighboring shrubs. Only when a bear has been eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it is put a bundle of wooden curls (zach) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk, Duĭ, Jwlk, Pud-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/741 cont./

and monstrous contradiction in the religious conceptions of the Gilyak: on the hand, the idea of a single supreme and benevolent being, even though so completely empty that it precludes the worship of it, and, on the other hand, the purification of countless evil powers, along with a crude cult to ward them off and keep them away; many representations of animal and human forms in the yurts, and yet the Gilyak say that they have no representations of God; countless superstitious and shamanistic acts, and yet they deny that they pray. And, on the other hand, they speak of a supreme, wholly good being and have the word "pray" (mjägratsch) and yet do not worship this god. How is this to be explained? It seems to be that there is not a dualism of conceptions here, but rather a matter of two completely separate concepts with connection with each other and also historically distinct. -- The former is a thoroughly attenuated, obscure, and now only traditional deism which among the Gilyak consists of no more than merely a few traditional words -- God, the Good One, pray; and exerts no influence upon the rest of their so-called religious conceptions and acts (superstition, shamanism, idols) other than that those words are not carried over to these conceptions and acts. The second religious conception is probably basically identical with that of many primitive Siberian peoples and aims at keeping evil spirits and powers away from human beings by means of various superstitious observances and performances. The former deistic belief is probably the echo of an ancient conception perhaps commemorative of the cradle of the Gilyak. In fact, in the attribute of "God," kīngulätsch, and in the abstract, nihilistic character of the conception there is accord with the Central Asiatic religious systems, but the second conception may have originated at a much later time, after the Gilyak tribe had moved downstream into the wilderness of the eastern forests of the Asiatic continent (?) and therefore shows many points of contact and similarities with the religious conceptions of the neighboring Siberian peoples, and even of the Ainu. The first conception was completely lost, except for a few words, and another, a cruder and more concrete one developed, without, however, on account of the persistence of

771 /741 cont./
174 tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the
812 Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[126] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. I, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kägn and tschngai (1).

[192] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped säwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises
532 him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

10 resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of
[361] Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

[194] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-ğan—big dog). The agglutinating
[193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting:
802 in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

174 In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-
[361] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
[342] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
[343] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
[291] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.
[231]
[262]
[439]

116, 174

several Trees cut down, by the Mantcheou Soldiers, to make room for our Observatio
of the Sun's Meridian.' (2)

2. Du Halde's 'History of China,' translated by R. Brooks, 1736.

The good father runs on in his interesting way, telling of strange peoples with curio
dress and food, but closely resembling the Gilyaks, the Golds, and the Orotchons, wh
still inhabit the banks of the lower Amur to-day. And, though they never reached
Sakhalin, he has something to relate of it which he learnt from the Ke tcheng ta se,
whose country, he says, 'extends along the Saghalien oula, from [96] Tondon to the
Ocean. . . . They were the first that inform'd us, of what we did not know before,
that opposite to the Mouth of Saghalien oula was a great Island inhabited by People lik
themselves; the Emperor afterwards sent some Mantcheoux thither, who passed over
Barks of these Ke tcheng ta se, who live by the Sea-side, and trade with the Inhabitan
of the Western Parts of the Island."

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parallel, and named a prominent headland on
name it bears to-day.

Nothing had been known by the Russians, be
termities of Asia for Yermak, the pioneer of
border in 1581. Yet within less than seventy y
and Vasili Poyarkov, in 1645, having descend
from the natives of an island lying at the mou
about this time was made in an old Russian re
says that, 'On a great island lying over again
the Gilyaks; who keep in their villages 500 to
and bring up bears to do peaceful work.'

It is therefore strange that after a lapse of
the contrary, the island should still be though
nineteenth century.

The first authentic information on the subje
court of the great Chinese Emperor K'angshi.
so seriously his study of mathematics, astron
proposed that they should make a map of the
Great Wall lay. This region he knew well fro
was so well pleased with the work of his tuto

the east coast, Cape Patience, which

efore this date, of the north-eastern ex-
Russia in Siberia, had only crossed the
ears the vast continent had been crossed,
ed the Amur, reported confused rumours
th of the river. On other reference to it
ecord of the seventeenth century, which
ast the mouth of the river dwell a people,
1000 dogs; all possible animals they eat,

200 years, notwithstanding all reports to
t a peninsula as late as the middle of the

ct came from the Jesuit Fathers at the
This indefatigable ruler, who prosecuted
nomy, etc., with the reverend fathers,
district in which the nearer portion of the
n his frequent hunting expeditions, and he
rs that he deputed them to [95] go out in

couples and map out the whole of hi

It was in the year 1709 that the th
verse Manchuria, or as it was then
reached Sakhalin, they managed to
Dundun), which is on the right bank
had something to say of the island.

I will let them tell their story in

'We felt it very sharp at the begin
which we were at Tondon, the first

1. Fish-skin Tartars, from thei

oblig'd to get us Habits lin'd with L
began to fear that the Saghalien oula
be froze over, and that the Ice woul
Morning to a certain distance from
few Days the Navigation would beco
fell down the River: The Cold is al
Country, which are more numerous
Eastern Ocean: We were nine Days

s vast empire.

ree PP. Regis, Jartoux and Fredelli set out to tra-
called, Eastern Tartary; and, though they never
get as far as the village of Tondon (to-day called
, about 400 miles from the mouth of the Amur, and

their own words.

nning of September; and the eighth of that Month, on
Village of the Ke tching ta se Tartars, (1) we were

r dressing in fish-skins.

amb-skins, which we wore all the Winter. They als
(Amur), though so large and deep a River, would
d stop our Boats; accordingly it was froze every
its Banks, and the Inhabitants assured us that in a
me dangerous by reason of the Quarries of Ice which
so very much prolong'd by the great Forests in this
and thicker of Wood the nearer you advance to the
in passing through one of them, and obliged to have

"Before narrating my experiences on the journ
to give the reader some idea of the general cond
its history, and a slight sketch of its inhabitants
Chinese annals, yet untranslated, contain some
record in existence concerning it, is the report
in the year 1613. On their return they drew a ma
they had seen, and called it Karafto, (1) by whic

1. Kara in many languages of the East, Mong
means black, and it is tempting to see in thi
as Sahalien, a Manchu word also meaning bl
in favour of the interpretation adopted in the

it to be a portion of the mainland of China (Easte
Japanese name for that country. [94]

Thirty years later, a Dutch captain, Martin V
general of the East Indies, Antonio van Diemen,
eylant,' i. e. a legendary island rich in gold and
coast of Yezo anchored in Aniva Bay, the southe
European to land on this terra incognita. Round

ney to the north-east coast, I propose
itions of the island, a brief résumé of
and physical features. Unless ancient
reference to Sakhalin, the earliest
of an expedition made by a few Japanese
p of the southern portion, the only part
n we may conclude that they imagined

gol, Urdu, and Manchu, etc.,
s name the same signification
ack, but the probabilities are
text.

ern Tartary), Kara being the old

ries, sent by the famous Governor-
to discover the 'Gout en Silverycke
silver, sailing north-west from the
rnmost bay of the island, being the first
ing Cape Aniva he reached the 49th

Gilyak

de, are very
f hut, and from
and exit was
North. The
o sink and to
authorities
lwellings of
hern origin
ention only the
rly inhabitants
er Han dynasty
the depth of
(later

that the Gilyak
easy to see
ers his winter
ot."

101 themselves "Mangun" (1), sometimes also "Chedé". The
131
182

1. "Uni" means "river" in the language of the Goldi. The name "Amur" seems to have derived from the Goldian designation for water: mu.

former means "river people"; the latter, "the lower ones" The Russians regard them simply as Gilyak and know no other name. Beyond the Gorin, the Goldi begin to appear, but they are also found scattered among the Mangun-Gilyak. The latter differ from the Goldi in certain external characteristics and customs, and from the true Gilyak in their burial ceremonies and in their language which is nothing more than the somewhat modified language of the Goldi. Among these Mangun are to be found, here and there, some nomadic Orochon and Tungus or Sofiysk-Gilyak, as they are usually called in those parts (from the town of Sofiyskoye on the Amur).

On the river Amgun which flows into the Amur from the left side at the so-called Tyr, about 80 versts above Nikolayevsk live the so-called Negidal who are considered a mixed race of Gilyak and Tungus. They speak Tungus, and in their way of living rather resemble the Gilayk who do not, however, recognize them as kin.

The following is the picture: 1) The full-blooded Gilyak live on the island of Sakhalin (northern half), on the continental coast, and on the Amur as far as Bogorodskoye; but they fall into two sub-groups of which the island Gilyak differ from the continental ones only slightly in language and in the way in which they build their dwellings. 2) The second group are the Mangun who are probably a mixture between Gilyak and Goldi and who have little more than their language in common with the Goldi. 3) The third group of Negidal is no longer very closely related to the Gilyak and will therefore not be considered in this essay.

174 We do not know how long the Gilyak have occupied their present habitations [99], but we surmise that they came to the mainland from Sakhalin.

The Goldi consider themselves the original inhabitants of the Amur country, but among the Gilyak it is frequently assumed that they formerly all lived on the island of Sakhalin. And, as a matter of fact, if the opposite were the case, the Sakhalin-Gilyak would probably have brought along with them the more complete type of dwelling which is common on the

Seeland--3 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

4 mainland among Goldi as well as Manchurians. It is more likely that the first Gilyak who emigrated to the mainland from Sakhalin, took over the building methods as well as the language from the Goldi, and that the later ones who remained in closer contact with their native country, adopted the building methods of the Goldi and Manchurians but kept their own language.

The Russians became acquainted with the Gilyak as early as the middle of the 17th century when the first bold Russian pioneers traveled along the Amur. At that time there were also supposed to have been occasional bloody animosities. The Gilyak themselves, however, no longer know anything about this, unless perhaps there are accounts in rare legends which may be known by only a few. The majority know nothing of their own history and I was not even able to ascertain whether there was not someone still living among them who might tell me something of their antiquity.

61 The population of the Gilyak can be only approximately de-
77 termined, because, up to the present time, these people do not even pay yassak, and thus there can be no official methods set up to observe the shifts in their population. According to the estimates of the ispravniks (officials) the number of Gilyak of the Nikolayevsk district (1) and the

1. From the coast up-stream to Mariinskoye (270 versts from Nikolayevsk).

De Kastri and Kaiser bays amounts to about 4000, that of the Sofiyskoye district (2), 1000. As for Sakhalin, it has no

2. From Mariinskoye up to the Gorin.

ispravniks, but instead I asked the traveling fur dealers whose business, when all is said and done, would give them a greater interest in this question than the ispravniks would have. According to their opinion, there may be about 3000
161 Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin. The entire race of Gilyak
621 (exclusive of the Negidal) may thus comprise some 8000 souls. I believe the figure is not too large for, although the Gilyak villages are small and present a diminutive appearance, they are [100] relatively densely populated. One may assume that one house shelters no less than 12-15 persons. From a rough calculation which I made in the year 1880, there were about 900 persons in nine villages extending from the coast to the village of Vaida (30 versts above

20: Bush --77 [2] T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 161, 174

"The pair [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] were members of a tribe numbering about 8000 souls, called Gilaks, a branch of the Tungusians--so stated, though, as we afterwar found, a very different people from the Tungusians whome we encountered in our journeys. The Gilaks were the original inhabitants of the country of the Lower Amoor at the time of the first visit of whites to that section, and for an unknown period previously."

9: Hawes--98-100 T-3 (1901) 19
116, 174

solved. . . Saghalien is an island, and sea
of the Amur both from the north and the sout
I now report to you that the truth has been di

1. Vladimir. 'Russia on the Pacific.'

This discovery, however, did not become
the Anglo-French war with Russia, an Engli
ing upon six Russian vessels in De Castries
and await reinforcements, thinking that an is
position a cul de sac. Meanwhile, the Russia
steering north, navigated the narrow strait b
reached the mouth of the Amur."

-going ships can penetrate into the estuary
h. An ancient error is completely dissipated;
scovered.' (1)

public property at once, for, in 1855, during
sh commander, with a small squadron, com-
Bay, retired to the south to block their exit
sthmus to the north had rendered the Russian
an squadron slipped out of the bay, and,
between Capes Lazarev and Pogobi, and

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

9: Hawe
116, 174

"In 17
Anville
lands.
the map
the sout
clusion
much fu
Proce
left us a
tion are
Beyo
Tartary
whether
that the
their ca
divides
Nine
althoug
his thre
surveyo

87, the famous explorer La Pérouse, following the coast of Tartary, with d'
s map before him, determined to steer eastwards to reconnoitre the Kurile is-
le was then in latitude 48°, and, to his surprise, soon encountered land, though
marked nothing nearer than the southern end of Sakhalin at 49¼°. Neither to
h-east nor to the north-east could he find a channel, and he came to the con-
that this was the island called Saghalien by the geographers, and that it stretched
rther to the south than they had imagined.
eding in a northerly direction along the coast, he landed in three bays; and has
n interesting account of his meetings with the natives, who from his descrip-
recognizable as Ainus.
nd latitude 51°, the Straits becoming shallower, he made over to the coast of
, and found and named the De Castries Bay. In answer to his inquiries here,
there was a passage between the isle and the [99] mainland, the natives indicated
re were sandbanks, that marine flora grew thereupon, and that they had to drag
noes over the shoals. He therefore turned south, and navigated the strait which
Yezo from Sakhalin, to which he gave his name.
years later an English captain, W. Broughton, attempted to pass, but failed,
h his brig drew only ten feet. Krusenstern met with no greater success during
e years' expedition in East Siberian waters, from 1803 to 1806, but a Japanese
r, Mamia Rinzo, two years later, succeeded where all others had failed.

9: Hawes--98-100 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 174

He was despatched by the Japanese Governmen
by the arrival of a Russian embassy at the Mikad
pedition was fitted out to survey the coasts of Ea
the Straits (hitherto called the Gulf) of Tartary,
plans and charts. These were pigeon-holed in the
many years later by P. von Siebold.

The insularity of Sakhalin therefore still rema
Gevrilov, [LSS: Erratum; It should read 'Gavril
who was despatched on a Government expedition,
is a peninsula.' It was left to Captain Nevelsky t
of Sakhalin.

The great Count Muraviev, whose brilliant adm
in conjunction with Captain Nevelsky at sea, had
base on the Eastern Siberian coast, with a view
and hold on the Amur. They had parted in Europe
East. No news of the latter had been received fo
of the loss of his vessel, when on September 3,
Ayan (Sea of Okhotsk). It is said that [100] Mur
out to meet him in a row-boat, and was hailed th
in the following words: —'God has assisted us. .

t, whose suspicions had been aroused
lo's Court in 1805, and in 1808 an ex-
stern Tartary. Mamia Rinzo navigated
and returned with carefully drawn up
e archives at Yeddo, and only discovered

ined a secret. As late as 1846 Lieutenant
ov'; 'Nevelsky' should read 'Nevelskoy']
and was wrecked, wrote, 'Sakhalin
o establish once and for all the insularity

ministration I have already referred to,
been searching for a suitable naval
to strengthening the Russian position
e in the year 1848, both bound for the
or months, and fears were entertained
1849, she appeared on the horizon off
aviev, impatient to hear the news, set
rough a speaking-trumpet by Nevelsky
. . the main question is happily

9: Hawes--191-192 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 174, 342

"The winter huts, when covered with snow and
cosy. Dr. Schrenck and Mr. Sternberg have su
the survival of a custom in the bear festival ind
originally only by the chimney, that the Gilyaks
words used for entering and leaving the hut, ku
emerge, also witness to the use of the chimney
are not lightly to be differed from, but it shoul
this kind have been used over wide areas by dif
has not been attested, e.g. in Yezo, the Primo
surrounding regions; and what is also importan
of Manchuria, the Yih-len, are described in the
(A. D. 25-219) as [192] 'Troglodytes living in ca
their dwellings, the most honourable having a d
chronicles) the 'entrance being at the summit.'

Whatever may have been the origin of the win
summer dwelling is traceable to Northern Chin
how it would have appealed to the Gilyak. The n
hut damp and wet, and the increasing heat of th

lit up by a blazing fire inside, are very
rmised from this pattern of hut, and from
icating that their entrance and exit was
' ancestors came from the North. The
sind and jigind, implying to sink and to
as entrance and exit. Such authorities
d be remembered that pit-dwellings of
fering peoples, whose northern origin
rsk, and Manchuria, to mention only the
t in this connexion, the early inhabitants
e Chinese annals of the After Han dynasty
ves, their rank marked by the depth of
escent of nine steps,' and (later

ter hut, it is fairly certain that the Gilyak
a through Manchuria. It is easy to see
nelting snow in spring renders his winter
e sun makes it stuffy and hot."

21: Golder--253-255 H-3 (no da
116, 174

eighteenth century. (470) [254]

470. Du Halde, J. B. Description .
12.

The Japanese knew a little more about Sal
several efforts to learn about it. Japanese

471. Klaproth, J. Aperçu des Trois

tell that in the time of the Shogun Fido-tada
sent two parties in two successive years (47

472. Siebold, Ph. Fr. von Nippon,

the southern portion of the island and turned

473. During the remainder of the se
eighteenth century, Japan was too bu

. . de L'Empire de la Chine, vol. iv,

khalin than the Chinese. At least they made
historians (471) of the early eighteenth century

Royaumes, 192-193.

(1605-1622) the prince of Matsmai, Kin-firo,
2) to draw a map of Sakhalin. They reached

vol. i, 259, gives the years as 1613, 1614.

back without completing the task. (473) In

venteenth and the greater part of the
sily occupied with political problems

9: Hawes--115-116 T-3 (190
116, 174, 197

"A study of the Orochons suggest tha
in its veins, mingled by intermarriage
Golds, etc. [116]

The Gilyaks are even more difficult t
and customs from their neighbours, the
adds to the puzzle; for while many have
ancestors, perhaps, have intermarried
of hair. The most plausible suggestion
race. Philologists of the Smithsonian In
Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg,
the dwellers on the Pacific coast of Nor

t they are a tribe which has mostly Tungus blood
with various neighbours, such as the Gilyaks,

o classify racially. Separated in speech, manners
ey yet have some affinities in feature. This only
e scarcely any hair on their faces, others, whose
with Ainus, have bushy beards and copious heads
is that they are of a semi-Tungus, semi-Mongol
nstitution, Washington, and of the Imperial
hold that their language knits them in origin to
rthern Asia, and America, and the Aleutian isles.'

21: Golder--253-255 H-3
116, 174

"The survey of the coast of Sakhal
the nineteenth century. Although Ru
to a successful termination, she is l
France, and England also made cert
investigation of this topic is, therefo
the navigations and the cartography
into these waters until the insularity

469. Sakhalin had various na
named it Tchoka, Krusenste
that Tarakai was its proper
as Bolshoi [large].

It is quite evident, judging from
has always been communication betw
strange as it may seem, little to ind
The Jesuits, who occupied themselv
did not hear of the island before the

in and East Tartary was delayed until the middle o
ssia deserves the chief credit for carrying this wo
by no means entitled to all the credit. China, Japa
tain contributions towards its accomplishment. Th
re, somewhat involved and necessitates a study of
of this region from the time the Europeans first ca
of Sakhalin was definitely ascertained. (469)

ames. Witsen called it Amoerse, Laperouse
rn spoke of it as Karafouto, Klaproth claimed
name, the Russian Senate referred to it in 1732,

the physical similarities of the inhabitants, that the
veen the island and the Chinese mainland; there is,
licate that Sakhalin was generally known in China.
es with the geographical questions of that country,
went on their astronomical expedition in the

9: Hawes--113-114 1-3
116, 174

"The story of the earliest occupa
To-day, in addition to the latest co
on the island. They are the Ainus,
a Turki tribe whose habitat is East
are only ten men and three women

Which of these five peoples, it w
home is also in Eastern Siberia, a
Ocean, and from the Yenisei river
[114] arrived since the Russians. T
land before the Orochon, and wheth
to have been made not earlier than
traditions testify to their meeting t

tion of Sakhalin carries us back to prehistoric times.
mers—the Russians—five different peoples are found
Gilyaks, Orochons, Tungus and Yakuts. Of the last,
ern Siberia with the town of Yakutsk as a centre, there
on Sakhalin.
ill be asked, were the aborigines? The Tungus, whose
nd who roam from the borders of Korea to the Arctic
to the Okhotsk Sea, are certainly not, for they have
he Gilyak hunters probably came over from the main-
er we are right in conjecturing their first settlement
two and a half centuries ago, it is certain that their
he Ainus already in occupation of the island."

21: Golder--255 H-3
116, 103, 174

Istoricheskim, vol. iii, 50-55
had other names. According
Ula, the Chinese Helung Kian
Schilk or Silkar, and the anci
Japanese name as Manke. Wi
name."

5]. In addition to the term Amur the river
to Muller the Manchoux called it Sachalin
g, also Chelundsiam, the Tungas Schilkar,
ent Mongols Karamuram. Siebold gives the
itsen says that Ngam-Cumkiam is the Chinese

21: Golder--256 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-2
116, 174

the treaty of Nertchinsk, in 1689, the Amur River and Sakhalin were removed from Russia's sphere of influence, and the citizens of that country were forbidden to go near these places."

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no date) 1914 Gilyak-3
116, 133, 174

to such erroneous conclusions. It is not surprising that stay-at-home cartographers adopted their views. Some made Sakhalin a peninsula of Tartary, connecting it with the mainland just at the spot left unexplored by Krusenstern and Broughton. (503)

503. Heinrich Keller, Weimar, 1814. Probably a copy of the map in Langsdorff's Reise um die Welt.

Others, although not distinctly uniting the two bodies, yet indicated that they are joined by sandbanks and called Sakhalin a peninsula. (504) There are a few, however, who

504. Vandermalen, P.H. Asie (Bruxelles, 1827).

still picture Sakhalin as an island, (505) but it is not probable that they mean that it is

505. Malte-Brun, Traite Elementaire de Geographie: 'A peu de distance des cotes de la Mantchourie s'etend la longue ile de Saghalien...'

circumnavigable. (506)

506. Laperouse seems to be the first to have given the name Manche de

21: Golder--253-255 H-3 (r
116, 174

northern Jeso in 1808, and sailing in the
succeeded in entering the mouth of the A
chart and journal and later used them in
did not appear [255] until 1852, Europea
praiseworthy efforts of these courageou
With no intention of discovering Sakha
to explore the mysterious land of Jeso,
from Japan in 1643. The chart and jour

477. Siebold, Discoveries of Ma

by comparing them with what is known of
touched on the southern part of the east
made use of his chart had any clear con
were identified with the Terra de Jeso c
a long time obscure."

Tartary Strait close to the Sakhalin shore, Rinso
Amur that same summer. Siebold obtained Rinso's
the publication of his Nippon. But as this work
ns derived little benefit from the painstaking and
s Japanese navigators and geographers.
alin, whose existence was unknown to them, but
the Dutch East India Company sent Captain Vries
nal of the expedition are in existence (477) and

erten Gerrits Vries.

the North Pacific Ocean it is quite evident that Vries
coast of Sakhalin. But neither he nor those who
ception as to where he had been. His discoveries
of the Jesuits, and the whole subject remained for

21: Golder--255 H-3 (no date)
116, 103, 174

"Our earliest knowledge of Sakhalin comes to
Dutch, nor Jesuits, but from the Russian hunter
plore the Amur regions came in contact with Sak
sented himself at Jakutsk and announced the exis
of which grain and metal were to be found. (478

478. Found in instructions to Poyarkof.
Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostei Rossiskic

the woewod sent in 1643 Wasili Poyarkof and a nu
headwaters of the Amur (479) and sailed down th

479. There has been some discussion as
and as to the date when it was first used
but of Mongolian origin. In the instructio
name Amur is not mentioned, which indic
the Russians. On his return in 1646, Po
this is the first time that it appears in th
'From the Shilka to the Amur in six days
gal . . . and from there the Amur contin

us neither from the Chinese, Japanese,
s of Siberia, who in their efforts to ex-
halin. In 1641 Maxim Perofilyef pre-
tence of Shilka River, along the banks
) To investigate the truth of this report

See Chtenia V Imperatorskom
n (Moscow, 1861), no. I, I-14.

umber of other men. They struck the
at stream to its mouth.

to the origin of the word 'Amur'
by Europeans. It is not of Russian
ons issued to Poyarkof in 1643 the
cates that it was then unknown to
yarkof makes use of the word, and
e Russian documents. He says,
. . . The Amur falls into the Shun-
ues to the sea' [Dopolnenia K Aktam

21: Golder--256 H-3
116, 174

"From there they went out to sea in
this point they left their boats and p
In his report Poyarkof makes the st
ocean' (480) referring no doubt to Sa

480. Dopolnenia K Aktam Is

giving authority) that Poyarkof was
Amur. (481) There is no need, how

481. Sadovnikof, D., Nashi

were aware of Sakhalin, for sailing,
help but see it. Although trade rela
waters of the Amur, the Russians r

482. In addition to Poyarkof
parties came to the mouth of
no. 100, 354].

a northerly direction as far as the Ulja River. At
roceeded overland to Jakutsk, arriving early in 1646.
atement that the Giliaks live 'on the islands of the
khalin. A reliable Russian writer says (without

toricheskim, vol. iii, 50-55.

wrecked on a large island soon after leaving the
ever, of direct evidence to prove that the Russians

Zampleprochodtsi, 78.

as they did, in the Tartary Strait they could not
tions were established with the natives of the upper
arely went down to the mouth of the river. (482) By

's voyage only two or three other Russian
the river [Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim,

21: Golder--256-258 H-3
116, 131, 174

(488) and a critical comparison of

488. Schrenck, L. Reisen u
95-98.

owes a great deal to the latter. (48

489. Middendorf, A. Th. v

mouth, situated between the fifty-fo
large 'Amoerse Eylandt,' and a lit

490. The word 'Memcoy' i
century manuscripts found
is made to a Stolp Kamenno
Kamchatka. Witsen often n
and he may have done so in

Witsen's and Remezof's maps shows that the former

und Forschungen in Amur-Lande, vol. iii,

39) On Witsen's map the 'Amur'River is traced to its

von. Sibirische Reise, vol. iv, 36-38.

ourth and fifty-fifth [258] parallels. Opposite to it is a
tle to the north is another island, 'Stolpka Memcoy, '(490

s meaningless. In two of the seventeenth
in Titof's Siberia [pp. 54, 110], reference
oi [stone column], opposite the mouth of the
nade mistakes in translating from the Russian,
this case.

21: Golder--256-258 H-3
116, 131, 174

probably intended for one of the Sha

491. At Jakutsk the existenc
they were not explored until

distinctly tracing and naming the Ar
name of Sakhalin.

Witsen's map was copied by other
Herman Moll in 1701 reproduced the
them where Witsen did. Guillaume
his map of Tartary which he publish
the reasons for which are not appar
Riviere d'Amour, emptying itself in
Amoerse Eylandt is transformed int
it by Witsen. A small number of m
the majority still followed Witsen; a
mouth of the river between the fifty

492. L'Asie (Amsterdam, a
Ghammas, a term which he

(no date) 1914 Gilyak-

ntars. (491) Here then is the earliest published m

e of the Shantars was known about 1644, but
many years later.

nur River and indicating the island which bears th

cartographers. Edward Wells in 1698 or 1699 an
Amur River and the Amoerse Eylandt and located
Delisle is indebted to Witsen for the good points o
ed in 1708. Delisle, however, makes some chang
ent. In his hands Witsen's Fluvius Amur becomes
nto the ocean about six degrees farther south.
to the 'Isle d'Amour' but retains the position given
ap makers were temporarily influenced by Delisle
nd even Delisle himself, in a later map, located t
-fourth and fifty-fifth parallels. (492)

fter 1721). This time he calls the river
borrowed from Sanson. Delisle's

21: Golder--256-258 H-3 (no date)
116, 131, 174

"The charts which Poyarkof and some other
traversed have disappeared. There have, how
both drawn at the request of the czar, one in 16
by Semen Remezof some years later. (483) C

483. Godunof's map and memoir accom
Titof, Siberia in the Seventeenth Centur
C. J. Prutz, who was at Moscow in 1669
brought it home with him. This copy ha
duced by Nordenskjold in Ymer of 1887.
Remezof's map and notes have been p
'Tscerteznaya Kniga Sibir.' Remezof s
his own explorations and the maps he fo
his maps were completed as early as 16
between that date and 1701.

represented, but Sakhalin is not, due probably
Siberia (484) and not the islands. That it was

484. Titof, A. Sibir V XVII Weke,, 25.

Siberians drew of the regions which they
ever, come down two maps of Siberia,
67 or 1668 by Peter Godunof, and the other
On these two maps [257] the Amur River is

npanying it may be found in
y. A Swedish ambassador,
, made a copy of the map and
as been preserved and repro-

published in 1882 and is known as
ays that the bases of his map are
und in Siberia. Several sheets of
73, and the remaining somewhere

to the fact that they were asked to describe
well known in Siberia that there was a large

116, 174

to give much attention to geographic

1785, Mogami Tokunai, a well known Japane
coast of Jeso along the western side of Sakh
On his way back he doubled the southern poi
to Cape Aniwa. (474) He made two other a

474. Siebold, Ph. Fr. von Nippon,

third is not definitely known, and was fortu
fifty-second parallel (475) and the eastern

475. —Ibid.

made also excursions into the interior. Th
of Siebold, who reproduced them in his atla

476. —Ibid., 'Atlas.'

Mamia Rinso accomplished even greater

al questions.

ese geographer, sailed from the northern
alin as far as forty-six degrees, fifty minutes.
nt of the island and followed the eastern shore
ttempts, the second in 1786, the date of the

vol. i, 260-261.

nate in reaching the western coast near the
near the forty-ninth (Cape Patience). He

e maps which he drew came into the hands
s of Nippon. (476)

deeds than Mogami Tokunai. Departing from

116, 131, 174

island at the mouth of the Amur may be
uscript of 1666 to that effect. (485) Oth

485. Witsen, N. Noord en Oost

century make mention of a large island a
scription of the inhabitants. (486)

486. Titof, A. Sibir V XVII Wek

Godunof's and Remezof's maps are val
Siberia, and because they fell into the ha
his great map of northern Asia. (487) H

487. Witsen was one of the great
painstaking and had the historian'
position as burgomaster of Amst
ing and becoming the teacher and
through him, when Witsen visited
literary undertakings.

proved from Witsen, who quotes a Russian man-
er documents of the latter part of the seventeenth

Tartaren, vol. ii, 825.

t the mouth of the Amur, and one gives a de-

e, 84, 110, 111.

luable because they give the Siberian's idea of
nds of Witsen who used them in 1687 to construct
He acknowledges that he used Godunof's map,

test geographers of his time. He was
's eagerness to get at the sources. His
erdam gave him an opportunity of meet-
friend of Peter the Great and of securing
l Russia, very valuable material for his

21: Golder--259-261 H-3
116, 133, 174

On the map accompanying this wo

508. For a somewhat simil
(New York, 1849), vol. ii."

(no date) 1914 Gilyak-5

ɔrk Sakhalin is represented as a peninsula. (508)

ar view see M'Cullouch's Universal Gazetteer

21: Golder--259-261 H-3
116, 133, 174

"With the exception of Poyarkof and
century (499) and the efforts of Bering

499. See footnote 482. [LSS: i

is no record that other Europeans sai
in 1787. This famous Frenchman set
this region. After touching at Jeso Is
stopped by the shallow water in the ne
report and chart he announced that the

500. Laperouse, J. B. Voyage
53. 'Cette stagnation des eaux
point de chenal.'

Ten years later Broughton, followin
farther north by fifteen miles, (501) b

501. Broughton, W. R. Voyag
vol. vii, 302. Broughton was

one other party of Russians in the seventeenth
's lieutenants in the eighteenth century there [260]

n category 174, p. 256]

ed in Tartary Strait until the coming of Laperouse
about clearing up the cartographical confusion of
land, he sailed into Tartary Strait until he was
ighborhood of the fifty-second parallel. In his
re was no navigable channel. (500)

de Laperouse autour du Monde, vol. iii,
paraissait etre une preuve qu'il n'y avait

g the course of Laperouse, succeeded in reaching
ut without finding a passage. Krusenstern, in 1805,

e of Discovery in the North Pacific Ocean,
'fully convinced that there was no opening

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no date)
116, 133, 174

to the sea in this direction, the whole be
we could plainly distinguish at intervals

undertook to solve the problem in another way.
of Sakhalin he sailed along the eastern, and in s
of the island. He doubled and named the northe
course through Tartary Strait, hoping that in th
those of Laperouse. But when within two hundr
sighting the Amur River, he was brought to a st
back, believing Sakhalin to be a peninsula. (50

502. Krustenstern, A. J. de. Voyage A
'Il est par consequent demontré que Sakl
une isthme très-bas, et ainsi n'est qu'u
possible et meme tres vraisemblable qu
meme a une epoque peu eloignée, Sakhal
les cartes chinoises le representent.'

It is probably unique in the annals of modern
the greatest naviga-[261]tors of their day, study

eing closed by lowland, which
s.'

Instead of following the western shore
so doing determined the northern extent
rn capes and then steered a southerly
is manner he would join his efforts with
ed miles of his desired goal, and before
tandstill by the sand banks, and turned
2)

Autour du Monde, vol. ii, 247.
halin est uni a la Tartarie par
ne presq'ile. Toutefois il est
-anciennement, et peut-être
lin etait isolé du continent comme

geography that three scientists, among
ying the subject on the spot should come

21: Golder--262 H-3
116, 174

"Krusenstern's view as to the s

509. Captain Golownin in
Penninsula.'

were at this time other expedition
(510) and Podushkine in 1809-1811,

510. Asiatic Society of Ja

511. De Sabir, C. Le Fle

which was already known. There
(512) Towards the middle of the n

512. Barsukof, I. Count N
Among the documents ther
this interesting statement:
to the Sakhalin shore and
Okhotsk boats nor those of

hape of Sakhalin was accepted in Russia. (509) There

his Japan and the Japanese speaks of 'Sagalin

s to Sakhalin: Davidof and Chwostof in 1806 and 1807,
(511) but these touched merely on the southern point

pan. Transactions, vol. i.

ıve Amour (Paris, 1861), p. 47.

is no record of any others between that date and 1845.
ineteenth century Russia, for various reasons not

Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 268.
e presented is one dating 1850 which has
'He [American whaler] sent three boats
had dealings with the Giliaks. Neither our
the Russian American Company ever allowed

21: Golder--258-259 H-3
116, 103, 131, 174

"Until the early thirties of the eighteenth c
authority for this part of the world. By that
accessible. Three Jesuits, Regis, Jartoux,
1709 (493) and came near enough to the mouth

493. Du Halde, J. B. Description.
i, p. xxx.

there was a large island close by. (494) Ab

494. —Ibid, vol. iv, 12. 'Ils nous app
ne scavions pas, qu'il y avoit vis-a-v
une grande Isle habité par des gens s
l'empereur y a envoyé des Mantcheou
de ces Ketchengtase lesquels demeur
avec les Habitans de la partie occide

was completed in China and a copy sent to F
D'Anville who was constructing a map to go
map the mouth of the Amur, or Saghalien ou

century Witsen was the generally accepted
time new and scientific data had become
and [259] Fidelli went down the Amur in
h of the river to learn from the natives that

. . de l'Empire de la Chine, vol.

out ten years later a map of these regions

rirent les premiers, ce que nous
is l'embouchure du Saghalien oula
emblables a eux. Dans la suite
x, qui y ont passé sur les Barques
ent au bord de la Mer, et ont commercé
ntale de l'Isle.'

rance. This copy fell into the hands of
with Du Halde's China. On the Jesuit
a, is situated near the fifty-second parallel,

21: Golder--259-261 H-3 (no c
116, 133, 174

Tartarie to the waters separating th
was the first to apply the term Gulf
such as Mamia Rinso Strait, Tartar

The following extract from Findlay's wor
the Pacific Ocean (507) gives the generally

507. London, 1851, part i, 618.

It is not absolutely determined
or peninsula, but as all evidenc
ion, that appellation has been r
be considered that Sakhalin is j
sandy neck of land over which,
when the strong southerly gales
ters to a higher level, and that
tively recent date, and still on
of the Amour, so that the older

date) 1914 Gilyak-

ne island from the mainland. Broughton
of Tartary. There are other names
ry Strait, etc.

rk entitled A Directory for the Navigation of
accepted English view regarding Sakhalin:

whether Sakhalin be an island
ce tends toward the latter opin-
etained . . . it must therefore
oined to the continent by a flat
it is possible, the sea may wash
s which occur here drive the wa-
the isthmus may be of compara-
the increase from the deposits
Chinese charts may be correct.

21: Golder--258-259
116, 103, 131, 174

and the island facing it is much larger
which D'Anville possessed no name wa
were written: Saghalien Anga Hata, me
(495) In his ignorance of the Chinese l

495. Klaproth, J. Apercu des

of the Black River.' (496) In the cours

496.—Ibid.

leaving Saghalien for the name of the i

497. The name is also written

Witsen's superseded it, and the term S
given to it later. (498)

498. D'Anville's map was publ

than the Amoerse Eylandt of Witsen. On the copy
s given to the island, but close by these words
eaning, 'Rocks at the mouth of the Black River.'
anguage, D'Anville translated the words as 'Island

Trois Royaumes, 188.

se of time the words 'Anga Hata' were dropped,

sland.(497) D'Anville's map, being superior to

: Saghalin, Sagalien, Sachalien, etc.

Saghalien superseded Amoerse and all other names

ished in 1735."

older--256-258 H-3 (no date)
131, 174

principal contribution to the cartography
word 'Amour,' which certain map make

of this part of the world is the
rs still prefer to 'Amur.' "

themselves this privilege a
specially ordered to do so.

necessary to enter on here, decid
the Amur. Not having any govern
American Company to send an exp
command of Gavrilof, was put in
off as a non-Russian (513) and in e

513. He was ordered not t

natives, particularly the Chinese,
his movements. Gavrilof entered
work all summer. He died soon a
what uncertain (514) and of little i

514. Barsukof, I. Count N
Muravyof says that Gavril
north, but did not find a pa

and never went near Sakhalin except when
.'

ed to examine a little more closely the regions along
ment boats in the Okhotsk Sea, it asked the Russian
pedition. In 1846 the brig Grand Duke Constantin, in
commission. His instructions were to pass himself
every possible way to leave the impression with the

o take Russian but Virginia tobacco.

that the Russian government had nothing to do with
on his duties that very same spring and remained at
after his return and the extent of his efforts are some
mportance, since it had no influence on the events tha

Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i. 171.
of entered the gulf of the Amur from the
assage to the mouth of the river. De Sabir

21: Golder--263-264 H-3 (no date) 1914
116, 133, 174
636.17

particularly England. (519)

519. Muravyof suspected and dreaded England above al
He accused her of desiring to become the leading power
Pacific and to deprive Russia of all influence and power
that England had designs on the Amur and that her ships
In 1853 he predicted that the United States would secure
ican possessions, and suggested that an alliance should
the United States and Russia against England [Barsukof,
N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. i, 323; vol. ii, 38, 46, 55]

Gilyak-3
Russia

l other nations.
in the North
. He believed
s had been there.
Russia's Amer-
be formed between
I. Count Nikolai
d."

21: Golder--263-264 H-3 (no date)
116, 133, 174
636.17

him at Ayan [Okhotsk Sea]; and when on th
the Baikal hove in sight, Muravyof went o
When near enough to be heard the governo
shouted back: 'God helped us. . . we have a
Sakhalin is an island. It is possible to en
by seagoing vessels either from the north

From 1849 to 1855 Nevelski and other Russian
the waters and harbors of the Amur and Sakhalin.
sailed into the Amur from the north in [264] 1850.

517. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Mura

518. De Sabir, C. Le Fleuve Amour, 63.

boat Wostok, coming from Japan, entered the riv
These important discoveries were known to ve
was maintained for fear of exciting China and aro

e morning of September 3, 1715,
ut in a small boat to meet her.
r called for news, and Nevelski
ccomplished our important task. . .
ter the gulf and the river Amur
or the south.'

officers were exploring and charting
A channel was found, and the Baikal
(517) Three years later (518) the gun-

veef-Amurski, vol. i, 274.

er from the south.
ry few people. The greatest secrecy
using the hostility of other countries,

21: Golder--262 H-3 (
116, 174

[op. cit., 52] claims that Gabril

followed."

no date) 1914 Gilyak-3

of did enter the mouth of the Amur.

175

175 RECORDED HISTORY--written sources (e.g., chronicles, reports of travelers, official records and documents) and their evaluation; evidence and inferences about prehistoric events from such sources; summaries of historical development within the periods distinguished under 101; specific historical information pertinent to an understanding of culture change; etc. See also:

Recent. . . . . 21 Historiography 814
Literary texts 839

1; Shternberg--160 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/13 cont./

●175 Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data
131 that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half centuries.

The greatest density of population is found in the areas of
131 the most abundant fishing, such as the banks of the Amur and its
102 estuary [villages: Kol' (196 persons), Langr (205), Vayda (184),
162 Mago (154), and others]; on the western shore of Sakhalin, the points Tamlevo, Lyrkryvo (144 persons), Viskivo (116), Nyur (103), Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

101 The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. /14/ It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Priamur krai to become convinced that the minuscule Gilyak tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. Even in the very heart of the Gilyak area of settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility
[149] of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus neighbors. The physical resemblance seems to confirm this idea to a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives
[197] a categorical indication in the negative. For neither in its lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout the Asiatic continent we find no other language which could lay claim to close relationship with the Gilyak language.

1; Shternberg--499 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin Amur

/349 cont./

104 Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling
167 (it is interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded). In the first place, these were the places closest to the continent: half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin,
[136] the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent: the same abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kaluga /Huso dauricus/, sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of their irreplaceable Amur. They cannot bring themselves to do it even
●[105] now, crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by the
[648] Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free official transportation along the Amur. There were, of course, still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move to Sakhalin, for instance, density of population, conflicts between clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been
175 the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sable
167 per person (we must remember that in the past sable was three
648 or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur
[435] sable is still very expensive; one variety, for example, the Amgun, costs 25-30 rubles). The legends of the Gilyak themselves about their former relations with the Manchu are of
[173] interest: "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, "on the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable per person every year." Moreover, every time a Gilyak went to the Chinese town of Sungari (Saising), he was forced to pay one sable and the /350/ starosti of the settlements three sables
[171] each. The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

1;Shternberg--500 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

/350 cont./

●175 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There
168 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

104 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

179 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent,
4 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows.
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They
24 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous
202 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve
267 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes
247 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

170 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

2; Schrenck--193 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Southeast Siberia RX1

S.S. /94 cont./
175 peoples could and must have frequently resulted during this time,
169 but they are most difficult to perceive from the historical reports
131 available, for, on the one hand, the territorial boundaries of roaming hunting and seminomadic fishing peoples are never very /95/ definite and even at the present time are inadequately known among the Amur peoples, and, on the other hand, the historical reports concerned, since we are indebted for them to the notes and reports of simple, uneducated people pursuing practical interests, suffer as a rule from too much vagueness and sometimes obscurity for our purposes, and, what is worse, they not infrequently present the Amur peoples under names that are completely foreign to us today and therefore require an interpretation beforehand. Now, whether the interpretations and explanations that will be found in the following pages are always the correct ones must remain undecided to begin with --for my part I hope, since they are not without reason, that they will be verified in most cases at least and may provide a key for a better understanding of some of the historical reports concerning the Amur region and the ethnographic facts contained in them.

G Let us begin again with the peoples of the lower Amur
G ●175 region and from among them with the most extreme, the Gilyak.
[121] The first printed mention of the Gilyak is found on the map pub-
[113] lished by Nicolaus Witsen in 1687 in Amsterdam and dedicated to Peter the Great, "Nieuwe Land-Karte van het Noorder- en Oostzer-Deel van Asia en Europa /New Map of the Northeastern Part of Asia and Europe/" (1), and in

S.S. 1. Müller (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 203 ff., and Vol. VI,
G 175 pp. 29 ff.) gave a detailed description and evaluation of this map. In
114 addition to the rare, original edition
[113] of this map, I have before me another copy of the Witsen map provided by Allard on a smaller scale and with some corrections, which was not mentioned either by Müller in his

cont./ 1. (cont.)
"Nachricht von Land- und See-Carten, die das Rus. Reich und die zunächst angränzenden Länder betreffen /Report on the Land and Sea Maps Which Refer to the Russian Empire and the Immediately Adjacent Countries/" (Samml., etc., Vol. VI) or by Adelung in his article, "Ueber die älteren ausländischen Karten von Russland /Concerning the Older Foreign Maps of Russia/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IV). It bears the title, "Tartaria, sive Magni Chami Imperium ex credendis Amplissimi Viri D-ni Nicolai Witsen, Cos: Amst: Aliorumque probandorum, et hodie vigentium Geographorum Archetypis congestum, auctum, et in lucem editum a Carolo Allard, Amst: Bat: Cum Privilegio Potentissimorum D. D. Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae," without date. The Dutch inscriptions of the original edition are rendered in Latin. The map has almost precisely the same borders, but with the addition of Korea in the east and, on the other hand, the exclusion of the course of the Volga in the west. I call it a copy of Witsen's map, because in fact it reproduces it in all parts, especially in the north and in the east, down to the smallest detail. Also, one finds on it, for example, the same curiosa as in Witsen, that is, misunderstood Russian words and expressions were taken for place names. At the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and the Argun /Argun/, for instance, there stands in large letters the regional name "Otsel Poschel," evidently because in a Russian statement (and, to be

/95 cont./ 1. (cont.)
sure, on a map!) it said: otsel' poshel" Amur (that is, from here, from the confluence of the Schilka and Argun), begins the Amur); in the lower course of the Lena and east of it are likewise found the regions "Otmore" (from ot" morya -- from the sea), "Nasabate" (na zapadie -- in the west), and "Wostok" (vostok" -- east). The mountain range that separates the tributaries of the Lena from those of the upper Amur (Stanovoi) bears in Witsen the inscription "het /the/ gebergte /mountain range/ gori," or in Allard "montes /mountains/ Gori" (Russian: gory -- mountains), etc. With regard to the Amur region in particular, there is also repeated on the Allard map the peculiarity of the Witsen one in having so many rivers designated on it twice because of the direct posting from the various reports; thus, the Ussuri as Schur or Usiur and as Uschuri, the Dseja /Zeya/ as Sia and as Zija, the Urkan as Urka and as Urki, etc. The Allard map, however, gives the course of the Sungari River differently than the Witsen one: on the latter this river goes under the name of Singal to the Amur and at the same time in a further bifurcation as Schingal or Quentung to the sea; the Allard map, however, pulls it apart and has the Singal flow into the Amur, the Quentung -- which, as is well known, is the Chinese name for the Sungari -- into the sea. Incidentally, there should also be noted here a small map that is appended to the third edition of Witsen's work Noord en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/ of 1785 (Vol. I) and on which the Amur is entered twice: once under the name Amur, with its tributaries Schur (Usuri),

/95 cont./ 1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amur), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/ (1). In this connection several, often

1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

/96 cont./ elsewhere that they live at the mouth of the Amur River and along the seacoast to the north and south of it (3), as well as

3. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 33, 36; edition of 1705, pp. 88, 106.

on a very large island lying opposite the mouth of the Amur, called Giliat (4), which evidently is Sakhalin; sometimes

4. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 34; edition of 1705, p. 96.

they are said to extend along the seacoast southward almost to China (5) and northward to the Anadyr River (6), and, finally,

5. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 104; edition of 1705, p. 267.

6. The rivers around whose mouths they live are expressly named, and, to be sure, in two versions (edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 32; edition of 1705, pp. 86 and 105), among which the later, more correct ones run: Lama, Ochota, Towoi (evidently Ta-ui), Tadui, Penchion (Penshina), Kamtschatka, Tschiundon, and Anadir.

sometimes their habitation sites are given on the northern bank of the Amur River near Nerchinsk (7), and therefore quite far

7. Edition of 1705, p. 77.

from the sea. Accordingly, the Gilyak are shown on the map at three places: first, on the seacoast directly north of the Amur

/96 cont./ mouth ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high

8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their undoubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

/96 cont./ 9. (cont.)
Russian sources used by Witsen. The information that it gives is found in Witsen in literal translation, for example, the statements concerning the location of the Gilyak region (Gilianskaia zemlia) on the mouth of the Amur and on the coast to the south and north of it, concerning the rivers that flow to the sea in the Gilyak region: Lama, Ochota, Tawui, Todui, Penthin, Kamtschatka, Tchuldan, Anadyr, etc.

/97/ as aids for the map, as he himself states, both several Siberian wooden panels and especially a map of Siberia which was made by the commander of Tobolsk, Peter Godunof, and his assistants in 1667 upon the orders of Tsar Alexei Michailowits /Alexis I Mikhailovich/ and was put on a woodcut in Moscow with a statement of the distances between the places recorded on it (1). Thanks to Middendorff's elucidation of the oldest map

1. Witsen, op. cit., Preface; also the ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 536, 537; ed. of 1705, p. 859. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 204.

of Siberia (2), we know that this was the first "Siberian Sketch"

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 34-38, 176-177.

(Ssibirskij tschertesh), which, to be sure, has since been lost, bu a revised and completed edition has been preserved in Remesof's

116, 133, 174
636.17

"Russia's success on the Amur is due
Nicolai Nicolaewitz Muravyof-Amurski.
Muravyof set about extending Russia's p
burg he selected Nevelski, a sea captain
to help him carry out his plans. Throug
Russian Government to undertake a secr
to explore the northern part of Sakhalin,
and the gulf and mouth of the Amur. (515

515. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai

in Kamchatka, and, as soon as he discha
carefully surveyed and charted the north
no longer able to find a channel for his s
his southward course to the mouth of the
his achievement, he pushed on still farth
Broughton, thus proving most convincing

516. —Ibid., vol. i, 198, 222-224

in large part to one of her great statesmen,
Appointed governor-general of Siberia in 1847,
ower on the Pacific. Before leaving St. Peters-
in the service of the Russian American Company,
h his efforts Nevelski was commissioned by the
et expedition with the following objects in view:
the strait between Sakhalin and the mainland,
) Early in the spring of 1849, Nevelski arrived

N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. ii, 37.

arged his cargo, he sailed for Sakhalin. He
ern point of Sakhalin and the Amur Gulf. When
hip Baikal he went into a small boat and continued
Amur which he entered. Not yet content with
her south to the most northerly point attained by
gly that Sakhalin is an island and not a peninsula. (516)

. Muravyof was anxiously waiting for

/97 cont./

175
114
[113]

/Remezov/ atlas. This atlas (3), consisting of 24

3. Under the title, "Chertezhnaia k
vsei Sibiri /A Sketchbook . . . of All
Siberia/"; see Middendorff, loc. c

sheets, was also thought to be lost until it was dis
by Wostokof in the Rumjanzof Museum. Althoug
not complete the entire work until 1701, the first
one in the atlas) was drawn as early as 1673; it is
in content -- the first ethnographic map of Siberi
the habitation sites of the many Siberian peoples
strongly contrasting spots of color (4). Middendor

4. According to Middendorff, loc.
I have not seen the Remesof atlas.

the first to put the significance of the Remesof wo
proper light, appended another sheet, perhaps the
portant one, which contains the survey map of Sib
whole, to the Russian edition of his travel account
[131] scale reduced fourfold (5). On this map one find

[113]

5. Putesh. na siev. i vost. Sibiri /A
Journey into Northern and Eastern
Siberia/, Pt. I, p. 37. The map b
the title, "Chertezh" vsiekh" sibirsk
gradov" i zemel' /A Sketch of All
Siberian Towns and Lands/."

tion "Gilyak Region" (Tsarstvo Gilyansko) at the n
the Amur and on the seacoast north of it, just like
Giletskaja" on the Witsen one. If one compares t
the Witsen one, there seems to be no doubt but th
Siberia is concerned, the latter was drawn, not m
help of, but directly based on the above-mentione
sketch" (6). This first "sketch," however, and th

97 cont./

6. Also arguing in favor of this are the curiosa on the Witsen map cited above pp. 193-196, note 1), which arose through the transfer of the Russian inscriptions.

nd completed edition of Remesof's maps were made up for the mur region from the information that the Russian military ex- editions brought home, which, however, in its full extent, as it as set down in the reports of the leaders and participants in those xpeditions, at that time still rested untouched in the Siberian rchives.

According to Müller's explanation (7), the map that /98/

7. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 32.

ccompanies the oldest description of the voyage of Ysbrants Ides, ublished in the Dutch language (1), also comes from Witsen:

1. Driejaarige Reize naar China, te lande gedaan, door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides /Three Years' Travels to China by Land, Performed by the Muscovite Envoy, E. Ysbrants Ides/, etc., Amsterdam, 1704. The map bears the title, "Nova Tabula Imperii Russici, ex omnium accuratissimis, quae hactenus extiterunt, Imprimis viri Ampliss: Nic: Witzen delineationibus conflata, quam ipsa locorum lustratione edoctus, multum emendavit Everardus Ysbrants Ides," with a dedication to Peter the Great.

/98 cont./

175 114 it was drawn by him on the basis of his own only with respect to the information -- and better -- that Ysbrants Ides obtained on his

175 114 13 him. On this map the Gilyak are shown on sure, as on Remesof's map, only on the sea Amur and the Tugur. On the other hand, later map by Strahlenberg (2) that the whol

[101]

2. "Nova Descriptio Geographi Tartariae Magnae tam oriental occidentalis in particularibus e Territoriis una cum Delineatio Imperii Russici imprimis Siberi ostensa." With a dedication t King of Sweden; without date.

northern tributaries of the Amur River, fro the sea, is designated as "terra Giliakorum known work on the northern and eastern pa it is said that the "Kilani," who are called Yakut and "Kilaki" by the Russians, live a

175 114 101 Amur River (3). So incredible did the info

[113]

3. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, I und Ostliche Theil von Europa /The Northern and Eastern Par and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., p. 69) says that the map appea with this work in the year 173

on them sound -- though, as we shall see tirely lacking in truth -- and in any case derivation of them from the Avar, who are moved in the thirteenth century from the to China by the Shah of Persia, Mangu --

1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

map and changed
not always for the
travels and gave to
ly once, and, to be
coast between the
we see on the much
e region along the

ica
lis quam
t generalibus
ne totius
iae accurate
Friedrich I,

n the Dseja /Zeya/ to
, whereas in his well-
t of Europe and Asia,
"Kilett" by the
round the mouth of the
rmation that he gave

Das Nord-
und Asia
t of Europe
p. 386.
Vol. VI,
ared together
.

later, it was not en-
o fantastic was his
said to have been
Caspian and Black Seas
he saw confirmation

2: Schrenck--203 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/98 cont./

175
114
101

for his view in the still extant, like-sounding name Kilan (Gilan) for a Persian province on the Caspian Sea -- that Gmelin cast Strahlenberg's whole account into doubt. At most, he thought, the "Kilani" could be a family of the Tungus, since there were so many in Siberia who gave themselves special names, but not a separate, different people who, as Strahlenberg maintained, distinguished themselves by their skill in so important an art as the forging of weapons -- how could there be such a people, he says, without the whole of Siberia knowing about it (4). Never-

[113]

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, Preface.

theless it was Gmelin's travel companion who, without entering the Amur region, made the greatest contribution to our historical knowledge of its peoples, and among them the Gilyak.

Müller was the first to stress the importance of the rich mine of information concerning the Amur region which had accumulated in the Siberian archives and only fragments of which had been seen by Witsen. Later many more gleanings were obtained in this field. Through this there was brought to light the oldest information that we have up to now concerning the Amur peoples being discussed here. According to it, the Russians /99/ obtained their first information about the Gilyak even before they entered the Amur region. In the years 1639 and 1640, when the leader of the Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, advanced up the Witim /Vitim/ and its left tributary, the Zypir (Zipa /Tsipa/), almost to Lake Baunt, the Tungus there told him of the Daur people, who were supposed to live along the upper Witim and along the Schilka and to trade with the Chinese, as well as a people living where the latter river empties into the sea, that is, at the mouth of the Amur, the "Kilorzy," who were distinguished from all the other peoples by their language and likewise had trading relations with the

/103 cont./

they also have the Kile and Kileng begin in the lower Amur region all the sooner or all the farther upstream the less their knowledge of the region and its population. The most distant of these peoples, the Negda and even more the Gilyak, were therefore most frequently and most generally included under this collective name.

As we saw above, the first information about the Kiler people on the mouth of the Amur came from the Chinese via the Daur and the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus to the Russians, among whom this name, provided with a Russian ending, became "Kilorzy." Only a little later, when they themselves took their expeditions down the Amur, they must have, in the lower course of it, repeatedly heard of the Kile or Kileng living downstream, until they reached the last of these peoples and discovered in them a people actually completely different from the Tunguisic tribes whom they already knew. For them they now retained the traditional name, only, of course, provided with a Russian ending, as Kiljaki, Kiljajzy, Kiljany, etc., out of which developed, according to the spirit of the language, Giljaki, Giljajzy, Giljany, etc. Thus we come to all the versions of this name which Witsen gave from Russian sources and which are explained in part by the aforementioned various versions of the Chinese name for the Kile people and in part by the arbitrary selection of the Russian ending.

/104/ It could not have failed to happen, however, that some of the Russian Cossacks who went down the Amur in boats did not become aware of the tribal difference between the adjacent Tunguisic peoples and the Gilyak. They, therefore, since they used that designation, like the Chinese, more or less as a collective name, had the Gilyak begin much farther up on the Amur than their true boundary lies. During the later, more precise examination of the statements concerned, we shall see, for example, that, according to some, the region of the Gilyak begins with the Cicha area: according to others, even sooner, shortly below the Usuri, and therefore in the midst of the Goldi area. And, significantly enough, this is repeated, like an echo of those times, to this day. It has been stressed above how

/105 cont./

3. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tunguisic Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/. ed. by A. Schiefner. St. Petersb. 1856.

However that may be, gir becomes kil in the Chinese pronunciation, and I have heard the Chinese pronounce the name "Samagir" as "Sama-kil." Likewise the names of the other above-mentioned Tunguisic tribes end in kil in Chinese. Consequently it seems to me not unlikely that they made this common ending into a collective name for all these peoples of the northern and lower Amur region, including as well the, in their eyes, not essentially different Gilyak. From Kil and Kileng, however, alone, as was shown above, the Russian designation Kiljaki and Giljaki. And this there results, if my surmise is correct, the strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tunguisic tribes, which arose from the distortion of a Tunguisic word by the Chinese, is at present limited to the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tunguisic in origin.

After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the habitation sites of the Amur peoples, and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russian learned of the existence of the Gilyak, they became acquainted with them themselves. During the years 1644 and 1645, on their first expedition into the Amur region, under Wassilij Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Usuri -- which Pojarkof, by the way, thought was the upper Amur -- did the Djutschezem (Dyuchere) people come to end, who will be discussed later, the Natken (Natki) followed, and after them the Gilyak, who, as the report states, occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. Pojarkof went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them, until he reached the mouth of the Amur, where

2: Schrenck--'218 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/105 cont./

stopped on September 29 and at a place on the left bank where there was a large village he erected a fort. Auchankoi gorod, for a wintering place. From there one could supposedly by a ten days' journey reach the Gilyak, who lived all the way to the sea and around it (2). Chabarof, however, did not visit them.

2. Müller, Samml. loc. cit., pp. 320 ff; Fischer, op. cit., pp. 808 ff.; Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, pp. 364, 368.

but in the next spring, after successfully enduring the siege of his fortress by the Djutschezen and Atschanen, set out again upstream with his expedition. On the way, however, presumably in the region of the mouth of the Sungari, he missed the Cossack Ivan Nagiba who had been sent to look for him and to inform him of the arrival of a fresh supply of men and ammunition on the upper Amur. Nagiba and his small company of 26 Cossacks and volunteers went down the Amur from Bashulayo gorod (above the Dseja /Zeya/) for four weeks, then they heard from a captured Natken that Chabarof was farther downstream among the Gilyak. They retained this man as a guide, but after another journey of three weeks they found themselves so surrounded in the middle of the river by a crowd of Gilyak boats that they could not move forward or backward. For two and a half weeks they remained in this position, anchored in the river, until finally hunger and despair forced them to try to break through the ranks of the besiegers and make their way to a nearby village, where they confiscated some fish that was hanging out in front to dry. They were able to do this, however, only after a stormy battle in which more than 30 Gilyak died. Three days later they found themselves at the mouth of the Amur (3). Hard pressed by the Gilyak there as

3. Acc., to Müller, op. cit., pp. 328 ff.
Here Müller gives June 26 as the date of Nagiba's arrival at the mouth of the Amur.

2: Schrenck--'220 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/106 cont./

3. (cont.)
and at another place (Büching's Magaz., Part 2, p. 508, July 2 (three days after the Day of Peter and Paul), which however cannot be correct if the trip, as is said previously, started on May 4 and -- putting together the above-mentioned periods of time -- lasted ten weeks. In Fischer (op. cit., p. 817) it is said instead toward the end of July, which, however, would be somewhat too late according to that reckoning. In the detailed and rather drastic account by the Cossack Iwan Dwarof, a participant in the expedition (see Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 354 ff.) almost all these dates are lacking, except the date of departure (May 4) and the statement that Nagiba had been sent to look for them and to inform them of the arrival of a fresh supply of men and ammunition on the upper Amur. Nagiba and his small company of 26 Cossacks and volunteers went down the Amur from Bashulayo gorod (above the Dseja /Zeya/) for four weeks, then they heard from a captured Natken that Chabarof was farther downstream among the Gilyak. They retained this man as a guide, but after another journey of three weeks they found themselves so surrounded in the middle of the river by a crowd of Gilyak boats that they could not move forward or backward. For two and a half weeks they remained in this position, anchored in the river, until finally hunger and despair forced them to try to break through the ranks of the besiegers and make their way to a nearby village, where they confiscated some fish that was hanging out in front to dry. They were able to do this, however, only after a stormy battle in which more than 30 Gilyak died. Three days later they found themselves at the mouth of the Amur (3). Hard pressed by the Gilyak there as well and unable /107/ to make the return trip upstream, they constructed a larger vessel and begun the sea journey along the coast to the north. On the thirteenth day after their departure (1), however, the vessel was crushed by drifting ice (2).

1. According to Dwarof's report (op. cit., p. 355), on the tenth day.

2. Müller (op. cit., p. 330) considers drifting ice in the Sea of Ochotsk as unconceivable at that time of the year. On the other hand, thanks to the experiences of Middendorff, Starizkij, and

/107 cont./

2. (cont.)
others, we know that it is a characteristic feature of that northwestern corner of the Sea of Ochotsk. See the present work, Vol. II, p. 758, and my "Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Ochotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Ser. VII, Vol. XXI, No. 3), p. 10.

during which they lost their entire supply of food and ammunition and only after much hardship barely escaped with their lives. They continued on foot for five days along the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seatang, seals, and whatever else the ocean washed up (3). Then they built a new vessel, with which

3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 818) also mentions walruses, as does Uwarof's account, but it is well known that there are none in the Sea of Ochotsk; this is probably a reference to whales, which abound in this sea.

in 14 days, by rowing they reached the Utschalda River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland and after 14 days, or, according to other information, after four weeks, came to the Tugur River, on which they found a large Tungus population with abundant food. The following spring, 1653, Nagiba went down the Tugur to its mouth and from there, with five men, started the return trip to Yakutsk along the sea and then across the mountains, while he sent back the other men under Dwarof in order to build among the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jassachnoje Simowjo," that is, a winter hut for collecting tribute (1).

/107 cont./

4. Curiously Uwarof says in his account that he sent Nagiba with five men, whose names he gives, to Yakutsk, while elsewhere he constantly refers to Nagiba as the leader of the expedition.

The next and last contact of the Russians with the Gilyak which we know about from this period of the first Russian military expeditions into the Amur region took place under Chabarof's successor, the Cossack Onufrij Stepanof. The latter had already spent the winter of 1653/54 in Djutschezen territory, "in the neighborhood of the Gilyak" (5). In the fall of 1655, with the

5. Müller, Samml., loc. cit., p. 343.
In Stepanof's report to the Yakutsk voivode, Michail Lodyshenskij (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 354), it is said "v" Dyuchenskoi zemlie, ne doply" Gilyatskie zemli, that is, in the country of the Djutschezem, above the Gilyak country.

"Syn bojarskoi" Fedor Pustchtschin who had been sent from Yakutsk in the meantime, he again went into the lower Amur region, and this time beyond the Djutschezem to the Gilyak bordering them(7). Shortly before, the latter had killed a

6. Müller, op. cit., pp. 354, 355;
Fischer, op. cit., p. 849.

company of 30 Yakutsk Cossacks, who had reached them by land from Ochotsk, and were now punished for it by Stepanof, moreover, he built an ostrog /fort/ among them, to which, because of its position on a mountain slope, he gave the name Kossogorskoi (7). He spent the winter in it, took from the Gilyak

7. In Stepanof's report the ostrog is called

/107 cont./

7. (cont.)
"Kossogirskoi"; see Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1851, p. 82.

a handsome /108/ tribute in furs, and in the spring of 1656 again went up the Amur. Two years later part of his company who did not want to submit to the delegate of the new commander, Paschkof, and had fled, returned to the lower Amur, wintered at its mouth (1658/59), and went back upstream again with the rich tribute collected from the Gilyak (1). There are

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 367; Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. IV, p. 176.

no other reports concerning the Gilyak during this visit of the Rus among them.

So much the oldest Russian reports concerning the Gilyak and their closest neighbors. What may be drawn from them with regard to the mutual boundaries of these peoples at that time? Nagiba's expedition acquainted us with the Gilyak along the coast of the Sea of Ochotsk westward at least as far as the Utschalda River, and, to be sure, in the company of the Tungus, who apparently at that time occasionally roamed to the sea to hunt and fish, as is still done today (2). To be sure, the

2. See above, p. 25.

location of the Utschalda River has not yet been ascertained (3).

3. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 178. It is incomprehensible how Stuchenberg (Hydrogr. des Russischen Reiches, Vol. II, St. Petersbg. 1884, p. 749) could identify the Utschalda with the Udj. In doing this he confused the very simple and clear account from the expedition of the shipwrecked, and

/108 cont./

3. (cont.)
was forced to a second and likewise unacceptable assumption, namely, that their "Tugur" referred to the Utschur, a tributary of the Aldan. But then how did they reach the ocean, going down it in boats? And how incorrect this hypothesis is ethnographically: the Gilyak would have lived along the Udj!

but there is scarcely any doubt that it is to be sought in the east and perhaps not far from the great bays -- Uliban and Unalgin -- which cut deep into the land and which probably caused Nagiba and his companions to give up any further travel along the coast, about whose nature they had heard from the Gilyak and the Tungus, and instead to wait for the winter, in order to go inland along the Tugur, probably in the company of and guided by the Tungus. Neither Nagiba nor Uwarof mention the Gilyak along this river, but only numerous Tungus, although, as their reports show, they could perfectly well distinguish these peoples from each other. Hence it seems that at that time the Gilyks had not yet spread to the Tugur River. This is confirmed by the fact that in the account of the first trip of the Russians to the Shantar Islands, on which they spent the whole summer of 1712 and the winter until May of the following year at the mouth of the Tugur, the Gilyak are not mentioned at all (4), whereas

4. Müller, Samml. Rus. Gesch.,
Vol. III, p. 98.

during the later trips by the Russians along the coast farther to the east conflicts with the Gilyak did take place. There is further confirmation in the fact that in 1737, on the basis of reports collected in Yakutsk, Müller wrote that along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk the Tungus did not extend much beyond

/108 cont./

the Tugur River and the Gilyak then followed (5). But even at

5. Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Conditions on Kamchatka/, p. 57 (appendix to Steller's Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774.

But every one that time the Gilyak went as far as Tugur Bay, north of the mouth of the Tugur River, for /109/ on an old Russian handwritten map, whose origin Middendorff puts in the middle of the last century for several reasons, one finds the sketch of a "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka), which led over the narrow, stem-shaped part of the Siegneka Peninsula from Uliban Bay to Tugur Bay (1). By this route the Gilyak may also have

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 116, note 2. The map is in the library of the Akademie der Wissenschaften. Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., 1769, p. 50) also mentions a towpath used by the Gilyak and therefore "called Gilyatskaja perewoloko in Russian since ancient times." This, however, as he says, was used in order to avoid the northern promontory at the mouth of the Amur, since it ran from one brook, which emptied to the south into the bay formed by the mouth of the Amur, to another brook which flows into the sea to the north. Müller adds that the latter brook bears the name "Gole" on Chinese maps and this indicates the towpath, for "Gole" evidently refers to the Gilyak village of Kulj or Kulj

come across Uliban Bay and Siegneka Peninsula to the mouth of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for another reason: they had to go across Uliban Bay to Siegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

There is still no mention of these islands in the reports cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

/109 cont./

1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a book of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hinka Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or g vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Gilyatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Miller refer to the towpath on the Ukskyt -- from the Nemilen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. der Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Miller.

when The Russians under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

/109 cont./

purposes (2). Miller thought that their name was of Gilyak

2. Müller, Samml. Rus. Gesch.,
Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 310.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

4. In Gilyak "island" is pölio-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land": thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Lasan-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pölio. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Luchin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandanskij."

5. (cont.)
p. 98), it was probably Large Shantar Island /Bolshoi/.

they could not understand -- presumably a /110/ Gilyak woman, who, however, disappeared, and there is no information given about her anywhere later (1). It cannot be determined whether in

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 99.

fact this woman had been left behind on the island by her countrymen or whether, as Middendorff thinks (2), was abducted

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 103.

by the Cossacks themselves on the mainland and was brought to the island. Subsequent expeditions to the Shantars confirmed that they had no permanent inhabitants. On the second trip, in 1718, under the Syn bojarskoi Filkejef, who, however, did not go there himself (3), the winter was spent on

3. Müller (Samml. Rus. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 107), who spoke to Filkejef himself in Yakutsk, says expressly that because of differences with his men he had himself put ashore with two Cossacks at the mouth of the Tugur. Accordingly, therefore, the statements by Sokolof ("Opis' Udskago ber. i Shantarsk. ost. poruch. Kozmina /A Description of the Uda Bank and of the Shantar Islands, Commissioned by Kozmin/. Zap. Gidrogr. Departa., Part IV. St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 3, note 4) and by Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 99, note 1), who have Filkejef himself reach the Shantars, are to be corrected.

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Large Shantar Island, which proved to be uninhabited. Through carelessness in making fire, it is said, the forests on the island caught fire and a ship that happened there. On the return trip the following summer the Cossacks wanted to do some fishing along the coast of the mainland between the Tugur and the Amur, but most of them were killed by the Gilyak (4).

4. Presumably there is a connection between this event and the story that Sokolof relates, apparently copied verbatim from a logbook, in Morskoi Sbornik (1855, No. 6, Miscellany, p. 107 -- it is the entry hinted at by Middendorff, op. cit., p. 99, note 2, which he was unable to find again as the result of an incorrect citation). Seaman Petrof, who had participated in Ivan Schestakof's expedition to the Shantars in 1738, related that they had found on Large Shantar Island and had taken aboard three Russian men, who gave the following information about themselves: they had spent about 20 years on the island; when they had come to the land of the Gilyak to fish, the latter had overcome them and killed 17 of them; only three of them escaped the Gilyak and got away to Large Shantar Island where they had lived ever since. One can see that the account is quite similar to the one mentioned above, though, if it is the same event, the twenty-year stay on the island does not fit, since it could only be twelve. But this number is given only roughly and, in view of the style of the narrative, which clearly shows a gap, could just as well refer

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4. (cont.)
the number of Russians originally present on the island, in which case the number of years of the stay would have been omitted, for the Russian original reads: shitya ibk" bylo na tom" ostrovie liet" s" 20, kotorye khodilip v" tu semlyu dlya rybnoi lovli..., etc. This information is also interesting because to a certain extent it is confirmation that in 1730 (not 1729 as is said in Middendorff and others), Schestakof had actually been on the Shantars, about which Middendorff, on the basis of the short and insufficient reports in Müller (op. cit., pp. 130 ff.), expresses doubt. According to him, the islands seen by Schestakof on the trips back and forth between Kamchatka and Udskoi Ostrog were not necessarily the Shantar Islands at all, since he navigated around the southern point of that peninsula and arrived at its east coast. The latter assertion, however, seems to me wholly unfounded, since Schestakof's trips, according to data from his own reports presented by Müller, took place only in the Sea of Okhotsk between the west coast of Kamchatka, Udskoi Ostrog, and Okhotsk. Müller himself never expresses doubt or uncertainty about the fact that Schestakof had visited the Shantar Islands, but only regards being unable to give more detailed information about this trip because of the absence of the logbook.

It is noteworthy that all the accounts concerning the temporary visits of the Gilyak to the Shantar Islands are inadequate and

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1. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. Sobr. uchen. puteshv. po Rossii, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 130).

is said to have received its name because it had no forest at all, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly it had been quite densely wooded and rich in table, but the Gilyak once forgot to extinguish the fire before leaving the island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Krascheninnikof,

2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the name "Chudoi Schantar," which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Krascheninnikof's statements, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted that Small Schantar Island (Malyi Shantar") is meant by it, just as it is also by the name "Snuhoi (dry) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Karte von der Lage von Kamtschatka" /Map of the Location of Kamchatka/ in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Huft Schantar" west of the island of Bjelinchij, just as Krascheninnikof, too, gives it, but this

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Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here informa-

1. J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (Dopoln. k" akt. istor. /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek").

tion about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

Islands lie there all in a
from west to east.

Kraschenninikof
however, must have obtained this info
and stories, since he himself was never
or even near them. Moreover, it is ve
above-mentioned story about the burni
Shantar Island, which does not exactly
credibility. Kosmin's statement in the
Large Shantar Island not far from Lake
dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were
lived (3) seems more important. But w

3. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart
p. 46.

even with respect to this report, in tha
Middendorff discovered in Udskoi Ostro
these yurts to Russian fur trappers (4).

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV,
note 1. Middendorff add
seems much more probab

uncertain reports, I do not doubt but th
the Shantar Islands in former times. F
given to the above-mentioned report to
Tungus, which came with the very firs
islands. Whereas the Tungus along the
primarily hunters and come to the sea
the Gilyak stay there continually and a
seafarers than the former, as Müller ha
mised (5). Hence it seems entirely pla

5. Samml. Russ. Gesch.

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do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Konogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Sustuchu located in the Amur near Kidzi. He found there the remains of a low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Konogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the

1. D. Romanov". "Ocherk" mientnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Vietns. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 136, note 4). Miller (Sammlg. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Konogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Konogorskoi, but Konogorskoi Ostrog (Sopln. k" ist. Amur., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Dzutschuen bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as it still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessor, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

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vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 224, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natkem, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereat, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the reverse.

The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasski and in Witsen, have already been discussed. (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

The text detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to light much more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different quarters, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinō /Rinō Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sahalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visited the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sahalin he went over to the mainland, followed in

1. Sahalin, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinō /"Tō-tan ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

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1. (cont.) Nippon, Pt. 3, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the ŋ sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it. Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

coast southward to Cape Muibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidzi, and thus reached the large village of Kidzi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sahalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sahalin and as frequent visiting traders in Sisanusi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinō even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Notesito (2) among the Sahalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk. There was no village there in my time.

name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyt, who

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buyers of the fur pats captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sahalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Vietns. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from mainland to Sahalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'santa." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinō's predecessor, the Japanese

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sahalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polotskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 486, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sahalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Atsiwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

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3. "Tō-tan ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3; also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyne also gave the name as "S'santa," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Santan" or "Santa" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the other hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sahalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middleman in their trade with the Amur people up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with the Ainu language, and extended this name to Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Ushkui Ostrog (Sopln., etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sahalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'santa is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sahalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamia Rinō. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

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Apart from along the Amur River, we also learn from Mamia Rinō's travels that he visited the Gilyak along the seacoast at that time. In the Amur-Liman he visited the village of Tsjomen, which consisted of large dwellings of the Smerenkur, scattered along a small river of the same name (1).

4. "Tō-tats ki ko," op. cit., p. 178.

Today's Tschomi, the southernmost coastal village of the Gilyak, is arranged in precisely the same way, as I can confirm from experience. And that at that time, too, it was the last is shown by the dotted line that on Rinō's map runs from Hoso on the Amur to the seacoast directly south of Tjsjomen and undoubtedly is intended to designate the southern boundary of the Smerenkur area on the mainland. From there southward to beyond Taba Bay stretched at that time, too, only an uninhabited coast, as one likewise understands from Mamia Rinō's statements on his return trip to Sahalin, he sailed around Cape Waiibundi (Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/, called Wafun by the Olcha) and into the channel which Siebold rightly named after him, but on his outbound voyage he had sailed along part of the coast north of Taba and named on it a series of place names, but with the express remark that the coast was uninhabited and these places were only anchorages (5). Thus, in

5. Op. cit., pp. 170, 178.

/120/ Rinō's time, too, the boundary situation between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors was the same as it was in my time.

In general, then, no shifts at all along the entire southern boundary of the Gilyak on the mainland are observable from the time of our first acquaintance with this people, that is, in about 200 years. The oldest reports are so inadequate, however, that one cannot with certainty deny that there may have been changes; they permit us to know scarcely more

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than that the neighbors adjacent to the Gilyak on the south were the same 200 years ago as they are today. The only thing known with absolute certainty is that the boundary situation which I found there in the fifties was exactly the same as it was half a century earlier.

If we now go back to the island of Sahalin, we are faced there with an even greater scarcity of useful older reports. In the above-mentioned reports from the seventeenth-century tale the Russians conducted to the mouth of the Amur and beyond, no special attention is given to it, though in one of them it is generally noted that the Gilyak also occupy the nearby islands in the ocean (1) which however, could just as well refer to the

1. In Pojarkof's report (see Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 302).

Shantar Islands (2). Not until the above-mentioned "Tale from

2. Fischer, in this connection, actually confused Sahalin with the Shantars (see his Sibir. Gesch., Part II, p. 788, and the map, "Sibirjae veteris," Pl. II).

the Great Amur River," likewise from the seventeenth century, and to a certain extent also in Witsen, it is said more precisely that opposite the mouth of the Amur there is a large island on which numerous "Giliyak peoples" live (3). Elsewhere Witsen

3. Spasskii, "Svied. Russk. o r. Amurie v" XVII stol. /Information from the Russian concerning the Amur River in the seventeenth-century)" (Vietns. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20). Witsen, Noord en Oost

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carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to the southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remained uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the names

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian ang hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known, the present name arose. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian ang chada" mean only "rocks (or island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the bays of the Amur at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks standing from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin, see below.

of the peoples inhabiting the island.

We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first detailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mamia Rinō (1808-1810). In 1618-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Yesso/

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to Kzafto under the governor Kinfiro, in order to draw up a map of this country, but they did not advance very far, and they supplied hardly any information about its peoples; Siebold, at any rate, to whom we are indebted for the information (2),

2. Nippon, I, p. 128.

has nothing to say about it. There were no further expeditions to Sakhalin by the Japanese until Mogami Tok'nai and, soon after him, Mamia Rinsō set foot on the island. To be sure, Sakhalin was geographically explored at about the same time by European seafarers -- La Pérouse (1787), Broughton (1797), and Krusenstern (1805) -- and the Hollander Vries had landed on its east coast about a century and a half earlier, but they came into contact with its population only at odd coastal points, and therefore could give no more than odd bits of ethnographic information, which shall be mentioned later. The Japanese, however, studied not only the two coasts -- the west coast almost to its northern end, and the east coast as far as the bay of Patience -- but even a part of the interior of Sakhalin (3). We

3. Mogami Tok'nai, for instance, went from the Bay of Patience along the Poronai (Ty or Flyi River) across the island to Onisi (in the vicinity of Dui). Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128.

are indebted to them for the first information about the three indigenous peoples living on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok. Since their reports, however, and especially the one by Mamia Rinsō, are not very old, and since, as we have seen, there has been no subsequent border change on the mainland between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors, /122/ we cannot expect any considerable border changes on the island within this short space of time. In fact, Mamia Rinsō states that the area of the Smerenkur territory on the west coast of

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Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitoni region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tō-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or of confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinsō 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

it, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a large portion of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinsō's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

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began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

In maintaining everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether and how much might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nipon, then on Jesso, /Yezo/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from Island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half millennium old, the latter go back only as many centuries. According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

1. Aardr. en volkenkund, toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maerten Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voorthesgn. der Aino-landen

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3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 288, 289; see also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tiou ran to tett (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribe."

Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Ezd Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of the name Ezo Tsikugo, the Pacific Coast Province.

7. Arai Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tiou ran to tett, pp. 191, 193, 195. Following the Chinese Japanese Source,

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6. (cont.)
(2.4) p. 8. Russ. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr. Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399; the same, "Umurinskie Man'tzy /The Usurie Man-dse/" (Izvieztia Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 83, 123).

repeatedly designated for me by the Goldi on the Usuri with the immediately recognizable name "Kikar," but once also only generally and vaguely as "Litimka" (see Appendix). It is noteworthy that the former name is also customary among the Gilyak for the Orochi. During his stay among the Sakhalin Gilyak, Mamia Rinsō learned of a "Kiakkara" people, who were said to live on the mainland opposite (7), and later in

7. "Tō-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

Taba Bay, when he himself visited the mainland, he saw their vessels, which came from afar, he thought from the vicinity of Kōraī (Korea) (8). Among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk,

8. Op. cit., p. 171. Prompted by a fortuitous similarity of sound, Siebold attempts a far-fetched interpretation of this name by saying that "Kiak kara" reminds one of the Mountain Kirgiz, called Kara, that is, the Blacks (op. cit., p. 199).

Middendorff heard of a "Kjächkal" people who were said to live along the Amur and beyond it (9). A Gilyak from Tykyra in the

9. Travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618.

/148 cont./

do they have to do with the Amur peoples at all? In order to explain the "Kordeikke" of Mamia Rinsō one need only remember that the Japanese substitute sh r for the d sound, which they lack; if one restores the latter and at the same time considers the relationship between the k and g, he arrives at "Koldeikke" and "Goldeikke" for that ethnic name. And also everything that has been said above about the Kordeikke on the basis of Mamia Rinsō's report fits the Goldi.

This correspondence in the designations for the Goldi on the part of the Japanese and the Russian points to a common origin for them. But what could this origin be? The obvious assumption would be that they call themselves this. In fact, in answer to the question as to who they were or what they were called, they repeatedly designated themselves to me as "Goldé." Nevertheless, I do not mean to say that they also do this among themselves. This may be only a designation that they use when dealing with the Russians, just as the Gilyak call themselves Gilyak when dealing with them, whereas among themselves, Nihkyvk. Perhaps the origin of this name should be sought somewhere else entirely. In any case, Mamia Rinsō did not hear it from the Goldi, but from the Gilyak during his stay on Sakhalin. It remained foreign to the Russians in the beginning, in the seventeenth century, when they went downstream and visited the Goldi area; it was not until they again occupied the Amur region in the fifties of our century and advanced from the mouth of the Amur by first establishing themselves among the Gilyak of the same Goldi appeared among them for the former Natken and Atchanen. This situation suggests the conjecture that the name Goldi /149/ in the Russian version and Kordeikke in the Japanese version may be of Gilyak origin. Now, to be sure, as has already often been mentioned (1).

1. See above, pp. 245, 303, 304.

the Gilyak designation for the Goldi is "Jam", but if one asks the Gilyak about the peoples living upstream from them along the Amur, they enumerate them in the following order: "Crongsch,

/192 cont./

3. (cont.)
of the Kamchatka Region/"(Poln. sobr. uchen. puteshestvii po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49),

says the same, but more vaguely and evidently repeating Steller; according to him, however, Italmen needles are supposedly called "schischi," and, accordingly, the Japanese, "Schischaman." The following will show that this explanation is wrong and based on a misunderstanding. Names for the Japanese quite similar to those used by the Kamchadal are used by the Amur peoples, at least those on the island of Sakhalin and along the lower course of the Amur. The Gilyak on the mainland and on the island call them "Ssisam" (4), and the Olcha and Goldi, "Ssissa (5)."

4. Therefore, when in a handwritten document from 1744 found by Middendorff in the archives of Udskoi Ostrog there is mention of the "Ssysaizy," who are said to have destroyed a village in the mouth of the Amur (cf. his Reise in den Äus. Nord. etc., Vol. IV, p. 165), it is undoubtedly the Japanese who are being referred to by their Gilyak name transformed by the Russians. Middendorff himself, by the way, had heard the name "Ssissan" among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk, but he thought that it referred to the southern Kurile Islands (cf. Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 619).

5. See above, pp. 29, 219 ff. above.

permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of time. At the time of Krasheninnikov and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the last third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk

/353 cont./

hunting matter it and therefore is better suited for the feet than for the head. There is another justification for this custom of the winter houses of the Ainur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself to the rats, which are excedingly abundant in these houses and which always run along the walls, would be constantly running over the face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refrain from to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their beds. If superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter to whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

/192 cont./

3. (cont.)
of the Kamchatka Region/"(Poln. sobr. uchen. puteshestvii po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49),

says the same, but more vaguely and evidently repeating Steller; according to him, however, Italmen needles are supposedly called "schischi," and, accordingly, the Japanese, "Schischaman." The following will show that this explanation is wrong and based on a misunderstanding. Names for the Japanese quite similar to those used by the Kamchadal are used by the Amur peoples, at least those on the island of Sakhalin and along the lower course of the Amur. The Gilyak on the mainland and on the island call them "Ssisam" (4), and the Olcha and Goldi, "Ssissa (5)."

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5. See above, pp. 29, 219 ff. above.

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3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

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175 131 484 they visited the large islands within sight from their coast, densely wooded, and still uninhabited, on which they could peacefully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals, sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that whereas their westward expansion along the coast of the mainland at first did not reach the Tugur and later did not go beyond it, they did visit the Shantar Islands, even the westernmost of them, and Bear Island (Medwäshij) located beyond [103] Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ngorbak," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (6), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

origin, in that "Ngarbach" /112/ in Gilyak means "animal rock" (1).

1. From nga -- animal, and pach -- stone, rock (see above, p. 175, note 2). Similar Gilyak place names are Tschcharbach, Tschorbach, Tebach, etc.

175 174 648 131 133 But the Gilyak were surely never very numerous on the Shantar Islands, since the Gilyak population on the adjacent coast of the mainland is not large and since navigation around these islands is difficult and dangerous on account of the rapid and changing currents, the floating masses of ice, the frequent fog, the pounding surf, etc. It was therefore natural that as soon as the Russians appeared on the Shantars, wintered there, and in fact took possession of them, the Gilyak remained away from them, just as later, in 1829, they withdrew temporarily from the mouth of the Tugur when a party of Russians took up winter quarters at the mouth of the Great Uikon (2). It is very probably

2. Kosmin, according to the accounts of the priest from Udskoi Ostrog,

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that it was beca
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175 101 from the lower
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Pojarkof, the N
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Gi As Müller
175 109 114

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2. (cont.)
Djatschkovskij, who learned of it while
traveling through his diocese in the winter
of 1829/30 (Zap. Gidr. Dep., Part VI,
p. 36).

ause the Gilyak had just seen themselves pushed
s by the Russians that they appeared so hostile
hen the latter advanced from there into their
mainland. It is no wonder that they took
eir greater number and simply killed off the
since, as Middendorff has shown, the trips by
the Shantars took place almost without interrup-
k lost their former hunting territory altogether.
that while in the course of time they lost terri-
nds in the northwest of their area of distribution,
on the mainland somewhat more to the west.
can be drawn from the oldest Russian reports
Amur about possible border shifts in the south of
ory, along the Amur River. In them only the
ors are named, and at most the number of days
their respective territories is given. Moreover,
ents run differently, in that, according to
tken border the Gilyak upstream, according
Atschanen, and according to Stepanof the
e next question is how are these peoples to
those known to us today from the lower Amur
re those apparently contradictory reports to be

3) and after him Fischer (4) correctly remarked

Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II,
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ibir. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 809.

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175 /114 cont./
101 a language other than the Tungusic one (1). Now, even though

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1536. Though this statement seems to leave no doubt but that "Ngatku" was a Tungusic designation for that Amur people, Middendorff says elsewhere (travel rep. in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618) that he had received information on this people from the Gilyak. But in this case, too, these must have been border Gilyak adjacent to Tugur Bay, who obviously gave the traveler the name customary among their neighbors, the Tungus, for those people, for as much and as frequently as I myself inquired among the Gilyak on the Amur, the Liman, and on Sakhalin about the peoples known to them, I never heard the name Ngatku. In any case they have other designations for the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed later.

Gi
175 the above description by the Tungus of the Natka, their place
101 of habitation, and their way of life agrees with Pojarkof's statements concerning the Natken and Chabarof's concerning the Atschanen, who likewise lived only from fishing and without agriculture and livestock-raising, and even though in this direction it fits the Goldi as well as the Olcha, it is not therefore to be assumed that the Tungus, especially the Negda, were likewise unable to distinguish between these two peoples
Gi
101 not too far away from them. Experience has shown that, on the contrary, primitive peoples are inclined to regard even minor branches of one and the same people, individual families,

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syllable in order to recognize in this designation the name Olcha only slightly changed. And this is the name that this people gives itself. I shall come back to this later. Chabarof also named the fort which he erected for winter quarters Atschanskoi gorod after this people. It cannot be learned from his report where it was located. I believe that one may assume, however, that it was already in Olcha territory since it was the last place he reached along the Amur and since he must have learned the name given for the Olcha people, appearing before us here for the first time, from them themselves. Or else it may have been that Olcha staying in Goldi territory were accidentally involved in the learning of the name, which, however, is less probable. Chabarof must therefore have proceeded quite far below the Ussuri on the Amur. In view of the relatively short duration of his voyage from the mouth of the Sungari (3), however, that would have been possible only if he followed the main stream and not the right bank with its many bays. And this appears to have been the case in fact, for otherwise he would surely not have overlooked the mouth of the Ussuri.

3. The duration of this voyage cannot be determined very precisely; from what can be learned from Chabarof's account, however, he seems to have been at the mouth of the Sungari on about September 15 and to have gone downstream from there for 14 days, for he reached the place where he set up his winter quarters on September 29.

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Although we learn about the present neighbors of the Gilyak on the Amur through Pojarkof and Chabarof, nothing can be learned from their reports about where the boundaries between these peoples were at that time because the statements of the distances in terms of days of travel, without any designation or mention of recognizable localities, are too vague and

/353 cont./

Shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Ssarytschof reported /354/ from his journey through the country that there were no longer any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style houses (log houses, so-called isba) had been built everywhere; only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal, which are likewise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by

1. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

Mamia Rinsô on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that the same thing had happened among the Gilyak on the Amur. Coming from the territory of the S'janta (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Horo (Chjare), he noticed that from there on people, dwellings, implements, and way of life changed and became exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts as on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Krusenstern had found Chinese winter-yurts among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. If, in addition, one considers the fact that Mamia Rinsô was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur region were too different to have produced an equally rapid disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled

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are, on the contrary, of such a type that they abundant food with a nomadic life because of grazing areas and therefore in a way give the tional motive for the nomadic life.

/386/

Section 5

External Appearance: Clothing, Hai Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, eve dwelling, is intimately bound up with their t means of subsistence. For insofar as the mat them for clothing are not obtained through b people, they secure them from the same sou whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raisi mals used for food or for transport, and give to their life and activity, their crafts and oc

As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall cussion, it must first of all be repeated that hunting are their chief occupations, whereas second place among them; furthermore the domestic animal, the dog, but this in large animals; and finally, as the oldest reports t about them said (1), they maintain constant

1. See p. 203 above.

Chinese. Accordingly, their principal mat sides cottons, which since ancient times the the Chinese and at the present time also fro possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skin fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves,

5 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

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rials for clothing, be-
y have obtained from
n the Russians (Gilyak,
of dogs and seals and
ox, otter, sable,
or for smaller articles
etc., but otherwise

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/388 cont./

Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use

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1. During my stay in the Amur region, among such decorations several little brass crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" and a bronze medallion bearing the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wair or one of the nearby villages. In all probability these pieces came from the French missionary, de la Brunière, who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in Wair, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak. His colleague Venault, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], p. 218). To supplement the reports collected by Venault concerning the killing of de la Brunière, it should be noted here in passing that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wair and Ssabach, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wair was named for me as one of the murderers. He evaded or declined to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (uftsch) to destroy a piece of paper with

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1. (cont.)
characters on it -- no matter whether written or painted -- I hoped that perhaps through him I would succeed in obtaining possible diaries or other written notes of de la Brunière. But despite the high monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak for them, only a few scraps of one of D'Orville's maps of China were brought to me by them after the lapse of some time, when I had already again returned to the Amur region.

[192] 2. MAKE THE GILYAK SKIN COATS, THE GILYAK USE the most common species of salmon in the waters of the Amur region, namely the large pink (Gilyak tygk-tscho, on Sakhalin lagki-tscho). For this purpose the skins stripped from them have the scales removed, which is done by pounding the soaked skin in a wooden vessel; then, by scraping, they are cleansed of the adhering muscle and fatty parts, flattened and smoothed, and the individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality is obtained, depending on how carefully these operations are performed. On the robes intended for everyday use or for protection against rain, which are of a yellowish-gray color and usually without any ornaments, the places where the scales were attached to the individual skins can be clearly recognized (Pl. XVIII). [192] The more elegant robes, on the other hand, look as though they were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts especially sharply with the wide black edgings with which the body of the robe in front, above and below, as well as the sleeves at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentioned color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on in the intervening spaces, and the back in particular is distinguished by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with differently colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, fig. 2, 3 and 4. The above-mentioned metallic ornaments, too, are never lacking on them.

[See category IIa, p. 448--Analysis]

/394 cont./

[191] the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur coat, inside the house. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the area of the pit of the stomach especially warm, a flap lined with fur, the so-called koch-pasi, is worn there under the shirt, on the naked body, hung round the neck with a small band and at the bottom knotted around the body by two others. The example of the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 3 which I saw in the possession of the Gilyak Julin in Tebach, was of Goldi workmanship. It was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with fox fur, and trimmed all around with otter fur, but provided on the outside with multicolored and in part artistic embroidery on black chintz material, which I shall come back to below. Here there must still be mentioned a peculiar undergarment that is noticed in particular among the Tao Gilyak in Nyi, both among adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a pouch tied around the loins and as far as the thighs and knees. For the Gilyak sitting astride their sledges it is especially important to protect the knees against wind and weather, and a knee sheath (Gilyak pasi) made of seaskin and tied around the leg below or above the knee serves for this purpose.

[193] The footgear has already been mentioned. In winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put some dry grass in their boots, as more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). Accord-

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland, for example (Rob. Brown, "Das innere von Grönland, The Interior of Greenland,"in Petermann's Geogr. Mitthell., 1871, p. 384).

/395 cont./

[193] ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a description of the town of Ninguta in 1722, it is also customary among the Manchus there, and for this they use a soft, fine, longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

1. Dr. Schrenk, "Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande in den Jahren 1854-1856, 1857-1858, 1859-1860, 1861-1862 RXZ Gilyak RXZ

/387 cont./

[194] (1). Presumably only loosely hung over the racks upon departure, [195] they could only too easily have fallen off during the rapid [196] and wild voyage and could have been carried into the river by the wind. Indeed, the latter may even have been the actual intention of the sacrificers, for the entire sacrificial voyage is supposed to serve to gain the favor of the river or the river spirit through the gifts mentioned, and through that to secure good luck and success in fishing and during all river travel in the coming /518/ summer and fall. My opinion concerning the fact in connection with the sacrificial voyage on the Amur was confirmed by the fact that in the fall, as soon as a new covering of ice has formed on the river, another celebration with sacrifices and zach taken place. The Gilyak then go out on the ice in front of their village: here a hole is cut in the covering of ice, and beside it a pole decorated with zach is erected. Now the above-mentioned gifts are thrown into the river by means of this hole, obviously to obtain its favor for the winter fishing and perhaps also for the traffic on the ice covering.

226 Immediately after the Amur is open, there comes up from the sea the best and largest fish that it has to exhibit: the Amur sturgeon (Acipenser schrenckii, Gilyak nakki-tscho) and the even larger Amur hausen (Ac. orientalis, Gilyak pakt-tscho). Both go far up the Amur and its major tributaries, the Ussuri, Sungari, etc., and, indeed, of the latter, the haluga of the Russians, it was reported as early as Pallas that it also occur in the source rivers of the Amur, in the Schilka (Pallas/ and in the Argun/ Argun/ (1). It has already been pointed out

1. Pallas, Reise durch verschi. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 207; The same, Zoogr. Rosso-asiatica, Part III, p. 107. Georgi, who gave the first description of this fish, which was also used by Pallas, called it

/518 cont./

(1). As dasticoi, as Brandt also does in turn (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 172. Among the source rivers of the Schilka, the Onon has it especially abundantly, whereas the Ingoda, as Georgi noted (Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in 1772/, Vol. I, p. 353), and recently Maack (Reise, as cited, p. 1.) assure us that the Argun in the Amur/, p. 27), is too shallow and tony for it. When in other older as well as more recent reports Dauria, Chinese and Russian ones, reference is made simply to hausen (hielugo) and sturgeon (ostro) in connection with the kinds of fish occurring in its rivers, as, for instance, in Hedenström (Otrywki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, 1830, p. 146), Paroschin (Poiezdka v Zabaikal'skii kraj /Journey to the Transbaikalia Region/, Moscow, 1846, p. 117), Hagemeister (Statist. obozr. Sibiri /Statistical Survey of Siberia/, St. Petersburg, 1854, Vol. I, p. 251), Kaschin ("Nachlese über die Fische des Kalmyk uw to kill birds and small animals. Sopel (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obi for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1576, woodcuts 1 and 2), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

226 above how greatly the Gilyak prize sturgeon and hausen. The [227] situation is the same among the other Amur peoples. There is [228] eager pursuit of them everywhere, and the methods of fishing are

/519 cont./

[411] [412] [413] [414] [415] [416] [417] [418] [419] [420] [421] [422] [423] [424] [425] [426] [427] [428] [429] [430] [431] [432] [433] [434] [435] [436] [437] [438] [439] [440] [441] [442] [443] [444] [445] [446] [447] [448] [449] [450] [451] [452] [453] [454] [455] [456] [457] [458] [459] [460] [461] [462] [463] [464] [465] [466] [467] [468] [469] [470] [471] [472] [473] [474] [475] [476] [477] [478] [479] [480] [481] [482] [483] [484] [485] [486] [487] [488] [489] [490] [491] [492] [493] [494] [495] [496] [497] [498] [499] [500] [501] [502] [503] [504] [505] [506] [507] [508] [509] [510] [511] [512] [513] [514] [515] [516] [517] [518] [519] [520] [521] [522] [523] [524] [525] [526] [527] [528] [529] [530] [531] [532] [533] [534] [535] [536] [537] [538] [539] [540] [541] [542] [543] [544] [545] [546] [547] [548] [549] [550] [551] [552] [553] [554] [555] [556] [557] [558] [559] [560] [561] [562] [563] [564] [565] [566] [567] [568] [569] [570] [571] [572] [573] [574] [575] [576] [577] [578] [579] [580] [581] [582] [583] [584] [585] [586] [587] [588] [589] [590] [591] [592] [593] [594] [595] [596] [597] [598] [599] [600] [601] [602] [603] [604] [605] [606] [607] [608] [609] [610] [611] [612] [613] [614] [615] [616] [617] [618] [619] [620] [621] [622] [623] [624] [625] [626] [627] [628] [629] [630] [631] [632] [633] [634] [635] [636] [637] [638] [639] [640] [641] [642] [643] [644] [645] [646] [647] [648] [649] [650] [651] [652] [653] [654] [655] [656] [657] [658] [659] [660] [661] [662] [663] [664] [665] [666] [667] [668] [669] [670] [671] [672] [673] [674] [675] [676] [677] [678] [679] [680] [681] [682] [683] [684] [685] [686] [687] [688] [689] [690] [691] [692] [693] [694] [695] [696] [697] [698] [699] [700] [701] [702] [703] [704] [705] [706] [707] [708] [709] [710] [711] [712] [713] [714] [715] [716] [717] [718] [719] [720] [721] [722] [723] [724] [725] [726] [727] [728] [729] [730] [731] [732] [733] [734] [735] [736] [737] [738] [739] [740] [741] [742] [743] [744] [745] [746] [747] [748] [749] [750] [751] [752] [753] [754] [755] [756] [757] [758] [759] [760] [761] [762] [763] [764] [765] [766] [767] [768] [769] [770] [771] [772] [773] [774] [775] [776] [777] [778] [779] [780] [781] [782] [783] [784] [785] [786] [787] [788] [789] [790] [791] [792] [793] [794] [795] [796] [797] [798] [799] [800] [801] [802] [803] [804] [805] [806] [807] [808] [809] [810] [811] [812] [813] [814] [815] [816] [817] [818] [819] [820] [821] [822] [823] [824]

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(1). Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (3).

1. Zagoskin", Pešehodnoje opis' chatni russk. vlad. v^ Amerikje /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. It is therefore in the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior of interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sledges, etc., and always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even the earliest reports they are described as old-known. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the bends of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russian call "Kilaki, Tatarzatch," make excellent, fine weapons, and forge their best bows, and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given to little credence

/566 cont./ Dunning was Century in Siberia at the beginning of the previous century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the bends of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russian call "Kilaki, Tatarzatch," make excellent, fine weapons, and forge their best bows, and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given to little credence

2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia/ /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Pentan province of Gilan and the Awans /Avas/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which «an especially distinguished by its weapon-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

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that it is known under the name of "bemu," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct: in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners a great extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare remnants of fabulously high values. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Manzia Rimd also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (1)

2. Cf. Neuhof, Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den verreisten Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Chan u. memnalt nach Chinen. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Netherlands to the Tartarian Khan and Two Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 384. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Nüntschi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellae placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

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empere himself (3). Also of interest for our purpose is the

3. Gerbillon in Du Halde, Descrip. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 273.

statement by Lakof, the well-known member of the Russian mission in Peking in the years 1807-1820, according to which, among the gifts prescribed by law which the Chinese emperor /574/ had to give to the father of his bride and young wife upon his engagement and marriage was to be found a certain number of pieces of armor and helmets (1). Under these circumstances, it

(115)

quite understandable that these objects would also appear as most valuable and honorable possessions in the eyes of the peoples of the lower Amur region standing under the rule or at least under the influence of the Manchu-Chinese, down to the Goldi, and, accordingly, would be used by them in their most important social transaction, the purchase of a wife.

The art of making iron armor was also passed from the Manchu-Chinese to the Goldi immediately neighboring them in the Sungari and lower Amur region, and Mamia Rinsö (2) specifically mentions the latter, distorting their national name in Japanese fashion as "Kordekke" (2), as makers of the iron armor. Needless

2. See p. 315 above.

to say, these were not the first and only objects that the Goldi learned how to make from their southern neighbors. Here, therefore, we see the art of forging iron advancing along another route from the Manchu-Chinese, down the Sungari and Amur,

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Section 10

Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rest of Life. Trade Relations of the Amur Peoples with One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Rule of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they nevertheless cannot directly satisfy all their needs. They cannot procure some of their necessary items in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of subsistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the Japanese sources for the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region has as much interest in and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that in the first information which the Russians received about them -- I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Ivan Ivanof gave to the Russian Prince Vasilii Tsugin in the years 1639 and 1640 (1) -- they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (Schilkha) and having trade connections with the Chinese. In fact, they do move trading with the Chinese and Japanese than all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /592/ live farther from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in the of the two civilized peoples with each other.

/591 cont./
the two civilized peoples with each other. Thus, they stand in the center, so to speak, of all international trade relations in the lower Amur region. This is especially true of the Amur Gilyak, while those on Sakhalin and the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk have hardly less a peripheral position in this respect than the other peoples of the region. The former however, are also favored more than the latter two by their geographical position, in that, besides the sea route to the Japanese by way of the Liman and along the west coast of Sakhalin, they also have a second water artery on the Amur River, which leads them to the Chinese living on it as well as on the Sungari. Finally, in the trade with the Russians, too, the Gilyak, and, to be sure, again those of the Amur River, occupy a central and intermediary position, so to speak, in contrast to the neighboring peoples, merely as a result of the fact that the occupation of the Amur region in the 50's by the Russians started at the mouth of the Amur and the first settlements were founded in Gilyak territory, in particular the Nikolayev post, which for some time remained the headquarters of the Russian administration and from which the further exploration of the lower Amur region and of Sakhalin took place.

If one calls to mind the violent and bloody resistance with which the Gilyak opposed the Russian freebooters in the seventeenth century (1) and considers that by nature they are by no

1. See pp. 218-227 above.

means as good-natured, docile, and indolent as the Tungus, but rather, far to the contrary, are mutinous, spiteful, and deceitful, while at the same time energetic and even ready to shed blood if humiliation of greed are involved (2), it might be surprising

2. The killing of de la Brunière by the Gilyak mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) is evidence of this. Shortly before my arrival in the Amur region, the crew of a

/591 cont./
whalers that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tymovsk and the boat was plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak of Pogbobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

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(Sakhalin), and which he therefore calls "kraft-oti" (1).

1. "Jenoki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jeso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Timing (Annales des Voyages, publ. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 162, 164). Cf. also p. 561, note 3 above.

There is an even more definite statement in Rinsiže's work, San hyō kokf tsou ran se sets, published in Iedo (Tokyo) in 1785 or 1786, where it is said that the inhabitants of Jeso (Sakhalin) exchange their products on Karafuto with the "islands" for blue glass beads, eagle wings, tobacco pipes, silken fabrics embroidered with dragons, and colored linen and cotton materials (2). This undoubtedly refers to the trade which

2. Klaproth, San hokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes (General Survey of the Three Kingdoms), Paris, 1832, p. 180. Cf. also Hirter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 487.

the Manchu-Chinese, Gilyak, and Olcha, with the above-named, mostly Chinese commodities, but in part also indigenous products of the Amur region (such as the eagle tails), conducted on Sakhalin with the Japanese and Ainu of this island and, through their intermediation, also with the inhabitants of Jeso, and which the last-named indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region and some of the Goldi still conduct. To be sure, there are not named there, but this is not to be expected in view of the tact of Klaproth, that the peoples of the lower Amur region at that time on the part of the Japanese, and, rather, it is to be assumed that under "Manmin" in the collective sense they meant all those people there carrying on trade with Manchu-Chinese

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commodities. The Gilyak and Olcha coming to Sakhalin to trade with the Japanese are simply designated as "Manchu" even by many a more recent Russian reporter (3), though at present

3. For instance, by Radonitski (cf. P. Tikhmenev", Ist. obozr. obrazovaniia Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii i deiatel'nosti do nastoiashch. vrem. /Historical Survey of the Founding of the Russian-American Company and of its Activities up to the Present/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 127), Bunge, (Otrov "Sakhalin" i Elepod. 1853 g. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 62, 72, 85), and others.

neither they nor the Chinese merchants referred to as a rule under this name by the Russians visit Sakhalin. The first Russian report concerning the trade in question is almost as old as the latest Japanese accounts. In 1785, Adm. Lassburg heard the Japanese on Jeso speak of the "Sandan-ains" who bring beads and fabrics to "Karap" (Kraft), Sakhalin and barter for animal furs, skins, etc., for them. To be sure, he thought that

4. Cf. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, pp. 493, 541). Similarly see p. 245 above.

these "Sandan People" must be Koreans, but since, as was discussed above at length (3), "Sandan" is the Japanese and Ainu

3. See pp. 245 and 247, as well as the footnote.

/609 cont./
designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the Japanese is Nairanuki, the foremost settlement of the latter and located close to the southeastern tip of the island (1). It is,

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Susam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The voyages are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. Taking allowance for these peculiar vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsö Strait in calm weather, in its narrower part, the so-called Gilyak Pilias-ishy (2) that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Waifun)

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Nairanuki by the Japanese but only as far as Dushungoro, and in the following year the Olcha trader were prevented from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kusunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2).

2. Byliksin", "Pis'ma" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Book VIII, St. Petersburg, 1851). Also Schmidt, "Ist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebaoch, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Nairanuki and can well know them; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, originating from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our present book.

/610 cont./
their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of the Susam, they know only that it is a land of mountains (Mamia Rin-ssö) and separated from it by a "small sea" (Mamia-kaikyō). /611/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the Amur region by the Russians, however, the Gilyak were forbidden to sleep the traders from there away from Nairanuki and Dushungoro, third second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1850, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

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questioned them as to how they came to be tributary to the Manchu, he received the following information from several inhabitants of the island: "In former times," they said, "we did they were not yet tributary, some Manchu vessels came to the every year in order to buy furs. The crew, however, landed in an inferiously and dissolute manner toward the inhabitants the island, so that quarrels and brawls frequently broke out between them, whereupon a great number of Manchu died. Thus, inspected the island everywhere, and took possession of Most of the inhabitants fled to the mountains out of fear, but some of those who had remained on the coast were taken by the Manchu, who conferred with them and appointed one them harata, that is, chief or elder. This event took place the west coast of the island and Tonkiu (Tonkiu), Ainu, lately, they invested two men from the northern part of the coast with this office (3), and in the same manner they also

3. Mamia Rinsö also knows the names of these three harata who were the first to be named.

appointed kaiinta, or second elders. A black sea-otter fur breed upon as the annual gift (tribute) that the elders were bring the Manchu, for which the Manchu gave them as a tokens of gratitude. Since the inhabitants of the island were tributary to the Manchu, they were not yet tributary, some Manchu vessels came to the every year in order to buy furs. The crew, however, landed in an inferiously and dissolute manner toward the inhabitants the island, so that quarrels and brawls frequently broke out between them, whereupon a great number of Manchu died. Thus, inspected the island everywhere, and took possession of Most of the inhabitants fled to the mountains out of fear, but some of those who had remained on the coast were taken by the Manchu, who conferred with them and appointed one them harata, that is, chief or elder. This event took place the west coast of the island and Tonkiu (Tonkiu), Ainu, lately, they invested two men from the northern part of the coast with this office (3), and in the same manner they also

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Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

/621 cont./

Manchu language. Rinso continues his report, "The successors of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives, from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Sautaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

/622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tributary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region, among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves, by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate [114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

Ainu AB6

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and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

2: Schrenck--1055 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RI

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It must be noted here that the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinso, either misunderstood the conditions just described, and especially the position of the slaves among the Gilyak, or else intentionally put them in a different light and thereby gave rise to completely false conceptions concerning their domestic and marital situation. With reference to his stay among the Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Cape Noteito on the west coast /649/ of Sakhalin (1), he says that "there it is the custom of the country

1. Cape Noteito is not given on Mamia Rinsô's map as reproduced by Siebold (op. cit., Pl. XXV), but on Mogami Tok'nai's map it is shown somewhat diagonally across from Taba Bay or the entrance into Taba-Kidsi Straits (see above, p. 964).

that the women give orders to the men, treat them like servants, and have them perform all the work. He himself, it is said furthe had to bend under the yoke of the mistress of the house, and he, like the rest, had his daily work imposed on him by her, but since the mistress of the house was particularly well disposed toward him, her other men became jealous, and he, who was well aware of this, was careful not to become involved in things which he would have had to conceal, but rather occupied himself solely with domestic work under the eyes of the other men, and, as a result of this modesty, he gained the confidence and esteem of the former, who presented him with meat and fish" (2).

2. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tatskiko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 169.

[191] It is difficult to understand how Siebold (3), on the basis

3. Op. cit., p. 198.

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114 171 175 569 592

of this statement by Rinsô, could express the conjecture that the kojektschutsch or kojachtschitsch of the Kamchadal known through Steller and Krascheninnikof (4), that is, men being used

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 351, note. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 40. See also p. 473, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak. Suffice it to state that neither I nor, as far as I know, any other traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Siebold's con-
114 595 175 jecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there seems to be more justification for his conclusion, drawn from the same statement by Rinsô, that polyandry exists among the Smerenkur on Krafto (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast of Krafto," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means accurate: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the "rest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house" in Noteito, be explained? The trustworthiness of Mamia Rinsô, often stressed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting the report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the moment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he so accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (5), as

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in this

6. See p. 1046 above.

/649 cont./

114 175 595

case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the

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Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Cape Noteito for an opportune moment to carry out his planned trip to Tôtats (on the opposite mainland), which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and without any provisions, Mamia Rinsô found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a time,

[357] [567]

then, he entered the ranks of persons obligated to perform domestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyandry nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the undignified and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged

[515]

custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dark, and sooty earth huts.

114 175 569 435

Even though Mamia Rinsô avoids speaking of slaves in referring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he is well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trade with the Santaner, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

/650 cont./

114 175 569 [435] [439]

and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4, often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services, are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations

[304]

named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

[184]

customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Be-
175 567 sides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ainu who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say,

[648]

they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

567 171

Before I go further in describing the family relations of the Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

/663/

Section 12

000 Social relations: political and legal position. Social organization on the basis of wealth. National communism. Inviolability of property. Hospitality. Caution and indecision on journeys: wind and weather tests. Superstitious calming of storms. Greeting and expressions of thanks. The custom of giving gifts and return-gifts to one another. Reliability in business affairs. Time reckoning. Calender. Cosmic conceptions. Amusements: singing, music, dancing, games.

128 In connection with the family, the basis of all social organization, the most essential and important characteristics of the latter among the Gilyak and the neighboring peoples in the lower Amur region were discussed in the preceding section: morality, slavery, blood revenge. It remains for us to consider those aspects of their social life which are less directly and immediately connected with the family.

195 648 At the time of my stay in the Amur region the Gilyak were not subject or tributary to either China or Russia. At the beginning of the century the Chinese government had exercised some authority over them on the Amur as well as on Sakhalin and in several places appointed elders from among them, who were to collect a certain amount of tribute in their districts and deliver it to Deren. In the twenties, however, as was discussed in detail above (1), it relinquished this authority and confined it to

1. See pp. 970 ff. above.

those parts of the lower Amur region located farther upstream around the Sungari, so that the Gilyak and the Olcha remained only nominally subject to it, and since from them on no tribute was collected and delivered to the Manchu-Chinese government, the posts of village or district elders created by it automatically perished, too. For the Gilyak in particular, more conscious of their freedom, they had already in my time /664/ disappeared

/664 cont./

195 648 from memory to such an extent that I never heard them mentioned by them and learned of no Gilyak term for them. On the part of the Russians, however, in my time, at the beginning of the fifties, a firm foothold was held at individual points in the lowermost Amur region, for example, in Petrovskoye, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk (1), but they did not pay any atten-

1. See pp. 174-181 above.

tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions and customs as long as they did not disturb the order within the 000 Russian settlements (2). Thus in my time the arrangements made

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2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (Russ. starosta) appointed by them from among the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the district chief (Russ. ispravnik /ispravnik/) residing in the nearest post. Dr. Seeland, who had already met such village elders among the Gilyak in the years 1878-80 (Russische Revue, Vol. XXI, p. 233), failed to recognize the wholly Russian origin of this arrangement, and generally failed to distinguish adequately between what was originally peculiar to the Gilyak and what they took over from the Russians -- and at that time this had already spread very far and deeply -- deprives his description of them of almost all its value.

195 648 Thus in my time the arrangements made by the Manchu-Chinese for governing the Gilyak had already disappeared, and none had yet been introduced by the Russians; the people were left to themselves and within the limits mentioned, could do as they pleased. The following remarks pertain

/698 cont./

231 hind legs. After this the other boards on top of the cage are removed, and the bear is dragged by a number of people into the yurt, where the dogs' table found in the middle of it has meanwhile been removed. Since one cannot depend on merely the leather noose thrown around the neck of the animal, if it is full-grown, a Gilyak now jumps in front of the bear with legs apart, seizes it by the roots of the ears, and presses its head against the floor. Simultaneously two other Gilyak armed with wooden poles do the same thing with its front paws, and now still another jumps on the back of the animal, straddles it, and puts a collar on it, from which, by means of a revolving ring, long iron chains and leather straps run in two directions. With these the bear, after its hind legs have once more been unfettered and, roaring loudly, it has stood erect, is now tied between the two central posts of the yurt in such a way that it can comfortably lie down and get up again. As a reward, so to speak, or as a token of fondness a few slices of jukola or seal fat are then given to it, whereupon it is led around the inside of the house several times and then back to its cage.

114 231 175 Undoubtedly this Gilyak custom of keeping bears in captivity, occasionally bringing them into their houses, and treating them in the manner described has given rise to the legend, very widespread in Siberia, that they tame bears and use them as domestic animals for riding and driving. In a Russian document about the Amur stemming from the seventeenth century and published by Spasskij (2) ("Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie /Story

[113] 2. In his article, "Sviedieniia Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII. stol. /The Russians' Knowledge about the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geograf. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, Res., p. 20.

about the Great Amur River/"), it is said: "on a large island (Sakhalin) lying opposite the mouth of the river live the Gilyak peoples, who keep 500-1000 dogs in their villages, eat all kinds

/698 cont./

114 231 175 of animals, and feed bears for peaceful work" (3). At the

3. In the original the latter passage reads: "i medvyedei kormyat" v" ulusakh" dlya raboty mirno."

beginning Spasskij did not want to give any credence to the latter statement, both on account of its strangeness and from the lack of any other confirmation. But in the "Copy of a Sketch from the Siberian Country" (Spisok" s" chertezha Sibirskiia zemli) published by him in 1849, it is said explicitly: "The Gilyak people sow no grain, eat fish, and drive or ride on /699/ bears" (Gilyanskie lyudi khlyeba ne syeyut", pitayutsya ryboyu, a yezdyat" (1) na medvyedyakh"). Witsen also found

[192] 1. The Russian verb, yezdit', means both "to drive" and "to ride."

the same legend, that at the mouth of the Amur River "lives a savage people called Gilaki, who keep many bears and dogs in order to utilize their services" (2). Finally, it is also found in

2. Witsen, Noord- en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/, 1705, p. 884.

Strahlenberg (3), for it says there: "at the mouth of the Amur

[113] 3. Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, pp. 386, 387.

River lives a people whom the Russians call Kilaki; some 'Yakut Tatars' have related to me about these people that they tame bears and use them as we do horses:" (4).

4. Witsen (op. cit., p. 886) was also told

/699 cont./

114 231 175

4. (cont.)

this fable by the Yukagir in the country of "Ssabatsia" (sobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

231 *792 The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival. As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

[156] [109] [123]

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

768 Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

101 [361] resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Tarasa, Poronaysky Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

[196] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan-dog; pil'a-gan-big dog). The agglutinating

[193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu-dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives

802 have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects, instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and mantlke spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'-r-n'ekh-one tree; k'u-n'ik-one bullet; ty-el'akk'-one house; tamkh-n'rikh-one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn-one dog; nivkh-n'in-one person; mu-n'im-one boat; t'u-n'irsh-one sled; and n'a-one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

174 In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits--marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware--flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation--the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Sternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lin-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasily Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of lashkina and animal skins; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

[361] [196] [193] 231 231 231 231 231

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
268 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur
clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange
and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly
fish and acid-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs
were used most as draught animals.

492 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
● [175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride
it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in
this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on
either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that
the dog pulled with the neck.

499 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
[546] and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[171] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
so-called Eastern-Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in
yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled,
170 its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
142 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most
143 valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his
directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a
brake-pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer
tow strap.

498 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
171 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former
were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-
hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips
nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
501 boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[824] by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled
[171] with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which
[824] the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was
rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the
left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn-
ing-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
ings of Amurmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi, still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[354] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[352] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

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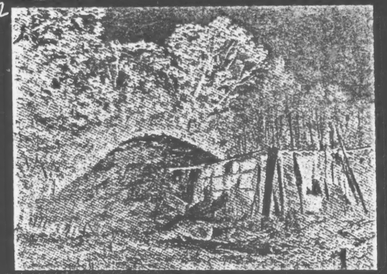

Mud hut.

342 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long
● 175 low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began
to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire
Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and lay-
[171] out of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-
time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some
1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served
as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front
part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually sur-
rounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing
[171] various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling
was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to
that of the Nanaya. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the
knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical
birchbark hat (kh'ibkrakk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or
gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was
longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an
outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe.
During sled trips, the men wore a kind of sealskin above the fur garment, to
[531] save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head
was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing
differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was
[439] made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese
and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
[629] offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was
enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan repre-
sentative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the
ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and
other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to
601 the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them
applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As
Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in
[178] his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[595] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically
forbidden among persons of different generations.

614 All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
56 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
(tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the hus-
bands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4)
children (oba).

● 175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sangari to San-hsing, and
bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal
articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other
neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time
the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[556] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[595] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-
price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity
[560] relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs
and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a sub-
sistence economy.

195 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation
were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the
Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
195 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
648 and gosyanda—village elders.

672 After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi
subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
195 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
198 ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch
432 was divided according to the number of participants, plus the share to the owner.
[567] The implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
776 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about
trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in
their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural
phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master"
of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

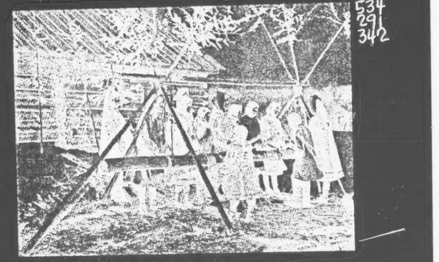

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Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi
and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the
bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers
were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved
with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given
bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they
indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt
or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so
forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played the
primitive one-string instrument (t'ngyrng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga).
During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an
ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolu-
tion. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary,
Pitotod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

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In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Maritsk; two
others were opened in 1898, by 1905 they were closed for lack of funds.
Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

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In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the
Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, be-
came the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized
to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted
several years.

● 175 In the beginning of 1920, the laboring people of Sakhalin overthrew
648 General Kolchak's appointees and reestablished the Soviet regime, which
immediately began to organize contacts between the Russian revolutionary
workers and peasants and the Nivkhi and other peoples of Sakhalin. However,
the Soviets lasted only three months in Sakhalin. In April 1920, the Japanese
landed on the island and seized the city of Aleksandrovsk. The poorly armed
Red Guard units were compelled to retreat and withdraw to the taiga. They
became guerrillas and, joined by men who escaped from the interventionists,
they engaged in a stubborn fight against the invaders. The Nivkhi took part
in the struggle side by side with the Russians, rendering substantial aid to
the guerrillas by transporting their units in dogsleds from district to dis-
trict. The occupants, afraid of the guerrilla movement, initiated brutal
retaliation against the population. Many fighters for the Revolution were
executed. The terror and violence went on for 5 years. It was not until
January 1925, after the Japanese troops were expelled from the Far East,
that Japan signed an agreement ceding the northern part of Sakhalin to
Russia. By May 15, the Red guerrillas mopped up the last remnants of the
interventionists in northern Sakhalin; since then, the Soviet government has
been firmly in control of the area.

In August 1945, the Soviet Army liberated southern Sakhalin from the
Japanese invaders, and Soviet people came to the immemorially Russian
lands, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk developed on the site of the former Vladimirovka.

The period of Japanese intervention brought great suffering to the Nivkhi.
Their economy was completely disrupted. The Japanese shamelessly took
away their fishing areas, fostered drunkenness, sowed dissension among
Nivkhi clans. Drunken sailors raped Nivkhi women and beat up their hus-
bands. The Nivkhi endured extreme poverty and entire villages died out
from hunger and diseases. The Japanese also made serious inroads into the
natural resources of Sakhalin. They carelessly exterminated sable, musk
deer, and wild reindeer; they devastated fishing waters, bays and small
rivers. They chopped down forests without any plan and did nothing to com-
bat forest enemies. A great deal of forest was destroyed by fires. Coal and
oil resources were also plundered.

In 1929, native village soviets and two native Rayon Executive Committ-
tees were established, replacing the initial village and rayon committees—
revkoms (revolutionary committees). In 1933, 63 Nivkhi were elected to
native and Russian village soviets, 30 Nivkhi were elected to the two native
Rayon Executive Committees, and 5 to the Sakhalinskaya Oblast Executive
Committee. The Nivkhi were equally active in the village soviets on the
continent.

Formerly illiterate and extremely backward economically and culturally,
the Nivkhi were gradually drawn into the work of various Soviet organiza-
tions—becoming a part of a new, hitherto unknown, culture. Their politi-
cal activity also expanded and developed. The former distrust of Russians,
resulting from the arbitrary rule of the tsarist administration and, later,
from the conduct of the Whites who worked with the Japanese interven-
tionists on the island and along the Lower Amur, began to disappear. We
must not forget the vast initial gulf between the Nivkhi and Soviet culture.
Of all the Amur peoples, the Nivkhi, particularly on Sakhalin, were the most
deprived. They were people who depended wholly on the harsh nature
surrounding them, who were isolated in the narrow circle of family and clan
interests, who fearfully shunned new and unknown people. The socialist
reorganization of Nivkhi life on the continent proceeded along the same
patterns as that of the other peoples of the Lower Amur region, akin to the
Nivkhi in their life and culture such as the Negidals, Ul'chi and Nanays.

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174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in
174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant
171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug-
342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

342 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak
796 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the
178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu
[177] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a
[192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

/27 cont./

22 In spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/94 cont./

As among all nearly primitive peoples, murder within the clan among the Gilyak goes unpunished (1). The clan

1. In clans that have combined with Ains, who retain maternity, in cases of murder within the clan the brother of the mother of the slain man and the closest agnate of the latter (father, brother) ransom the ransom, which they divide in half.

cannot shed the blood of a kinsman, which is the blood of an ancestor. This is not only a religious principle, but a dictate of self-preservation, a categorical imperative of the existence of the clan itself. The strength of the latter is in its numbers and internal peace, while every incident of vengeance within the clan would inevitably be the cause of /95/ new vengeance by the closest kinsmen of the punished man and would thus lead to endless internal war, which would end in the physical and moral destruction of the clan.

Murder and any serious infraction of rights and laws by a clansman do not go completely unpunished, however; in fact, it involves public punishment, since the criminal is compelled to leave the clan and move to a distant village, thus being deprived not only of all the benefits of the clan union during his lifetime, but of still weightier ones after his death, since the privilege of cremation is extended only to clansmen. In general, however, slayings within the clan are extremely rare; the many speech prohibitions among clansmen discourage the causes for quarrels and irritation, while the extensive communal conjugal rights weaken the fire of jealousy and make superfluous the abduction of women, which is the most frequent cause of bloody disputes and vengeance. Thus, the very practice of a life cannot favor the institution of vengeance within the clan.

/111 cont./

Thus in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bear the designations, Tyvli-ling (inhabitants of the settlement of Tyvlin); M'yeskire-ling (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yeshin), N'yenkhayf-ling (inhabitants of the settlement of N'yenkhay), etc., although the representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in the above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their ties with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only clans

1. Similar territorial designations among the Australians were the reason that Kunow came to the completely unfounded conclusion that among these tribes there is no clan organization.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants from the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans as the Tskharung, the Chonli, etc. And it is noteworthy that in just these clans we observe a clear transition to totemism. In the Negda tribe, for example, almost every clan traces its origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear, etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely encountered.

/112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the most important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. Without complex, as we have seen, clan life, the clan does not know any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after them the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institution of elders, and at that not clan but settlement elders, but it had no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty episode, but that was all. The elders designated by the Russian authorities were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthiest inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and these not only did not enjoy any authority, but rather scorn, and in some instances even hatred. The primordial structure of the clan knew nothing of the kind. The patriarchal authority which, according to the Biblical examples, is ordinarily associated with the

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II.

Terms and Forms of Kinship

Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur land, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, for in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and norms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerable differences from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a priori the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only instance of a complete genetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus languages, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "ama" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "ama" signifies mother-in-law (wife's mother), aunt, grandmother; "nanakh" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

1: Shternberg--209 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/139 cont./ Each Gilyak, man and woman, uses one and the same term for "mother" (yma and synonyms), not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" of the mother (female tuvu) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the census in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan; all the "sisters" of persons of the ahlmalk class (concerning this, see below).

The clan of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in use for wives in both dialects is ayfin. Aifgr, the wife of the clan the Gilyak gives this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvu), to the wives of all his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the clan of younger "brothers" (arkh) the Gilyak gives the name of jokho, jokh /see yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or mother-in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law (literally, "daughter-in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother ivy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvu class, no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvu), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

/145 cont./

Only in one case does pilang, in the form pila n'kryvyn (or pilang, appear as a kinship term -- namely, in the meaning of younger brother of the father; the synonym yik -- father -- is a term that has evidently been made up under the influence of the Tungus term ykt.

Plural kinship terms. Due to the classificatory system there has developed the custom of using the plural for such terms as father, mother, wife in reference to a single individual, for example, "n'i ykuntokh vind" -- "I am going to my father" (i.e., to the village where the clan of the speaker's fathers lives, even though his own father may no longer be alive); "ayfinar lo pymkkhun lo arv" -- "I fed my fathers and mothers."

/146/ Owing to the frequent use of such terms in the plural, a rather curious phenomenon has resulted. In the first place, they have also begun to use the plural a great deal in those cases where by the sense the reference is to only one person, for example: instead of "chur shaktokh vind" -- "where did thy father go?" they often say, "chur'kyn shaktokh vind?" -- "where did thy fathers go?" Another example: "aka, pyukhun kherja!" -- "O, elder brother, notify our fathers (1)!" I shall introduce one more characteristic example

1. L. Shternberg, Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, I, p. 13, line 173. Petersburg, 1908. Published by the Academy of Sciences.

from one of the texts taken down by me (2). The hero of a

2. Ibid., p. 88, lines 108-109; p. 86, lines 120-122.

Durins

/184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstanding of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo, where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his yingi, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka was a considerably Russified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Russified Gilyak, Allykh, from the settlement of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger tuvu, compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding, as was customary, to whom the widow of the deceased should pass, to award her to him, although he, as an aki (elder brother), had no rights whatever to this. But these cases are the exception and evoked an energetic reaction from the community.

In the first two cases the violators had to go into voluntary exile, i.e., settle outside the settlement and lead a lonely existence, with all the deprivations of clan blessings associated with ostracism. But, we repeat, these were quite exceptional cases bound up with psychics changed under the influence of an alien culture (1).

1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when the shaman is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

/201 cont./

Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families, but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an immediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples, together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable number of its members.

War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and various other causes. Although according to the interclan rules the women are spared and the number of men who are killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive manner. As a general rule, the contact of outside peoples intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representatives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they gradually begin to draw after them many others. The Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had contact with various other peoples.

/203 cont./

As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furnished them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak offset went into the Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to their homelands. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peoples or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital relations with them or carried off their women. And although these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not be without influence.

A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Until the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was no similar to the concept of property. The Gilyak were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or successful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. There appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume, but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate. Among the Gilyak appeared rich men, fortunate possessors of valuables, and others who did not have them and wished to possess them. In rich men there was born a consciousness of their wealth and their importance, and together with this the aim began to become related to their possessions. Among the poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The black turn of the obligatory marriage, where the woman was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to circumvent the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the institution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

/203 cont./ **Clans of brothers living together without a wife became ever rarer. In the words of the epos, such passages as "so many brothers were supporting one wife" are almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Mamio Rinzō Mamiya/ described such facts as being ordinary phenomena, while nowadays they are more and more rarely encountered.**

Such are the conditions which stood in the way of the inviolable existence of the phratry. But however powerful these conditions appeared, the force of the primordial norms, having become religious imperatives, naturally preserved their power, and the new influences broke a trail for themselves, adapting themselves to the old norms by means of a whole series of correctives and fictions... How this occurred we shall see immediately.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive to the phratry (emigration, depopulation, wars, destruction of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of clans, and besides, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How must this factor have operated on the surviving clans? Let us recall the thinking of one four-clan phratry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What then is to be done by the orphaned clan C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for some solution within the phratry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

/260 cont./

It is characteristic that in purely Gilyak poems, not having any traces of Gold-Manchurian borrowings and influences, we do not encounter any procedure of betrothal, which at the present time plays such an important role. All is reduced to a laconic dialogue: Groom: "I have come to take my wife." Father: "All right, take her." After this everything is done unusually simply. The marriage is immediately consummated. The only ceremony, about which I shall speak in detail later on, is the confaretatio, the joint smoking of the meal.

The old man, the father of the bride, questions the hero: "Thou art a man from where?" Our Gilyak: "I am a dweller of the village in the middle of the bay. I have come to take thy daughter in marriage." Then the old man said: "My child, this guest has come to take thee, go with him." This woman said: "Very well, I shall go with him." This old man said: "Hey, slaves! Prepare a meal, feed the guest... Our Gilyak ate with his wife. Having eaten, having finished, he set out with his wife" (1). Another example even better

1. Shternberg, op. cit., 47.

depicts this simplicity of ritual. "That old man (the father of the bride) said: 'Eat with your husband.' Then that woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, came in, made the bed, got in under one blanket, lay down, and slept." On the following day the hero departed with his wife and the dowry (2).

2. Ibid., 81.

But along with such lawful marriages there are also described cases of the forcible carrying off of women. And this is quite natural, for such misfortune may overtake the hero that the clans of his lawful fathers-in-law may become extinct, and willy-nilly he must obtain a wife by force.

/260 cont./

To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the matrimonial psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who, judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the lands of Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants, and they exerted their influence on it in many respects, as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship terms or their norms of marriage.

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XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

We have already had occasion to introduce in another place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women from the clan of the mother, from the anguej the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak, dying from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, summons his slayer and says to the people who a are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter, do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old forms of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

/270 cont./

my children and your children also be akhmak'i. If you do not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according to law ('live pure')."

After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmak is not an ancient one.

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied interpretations of the expression: "the other (or she) is not my equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek women who were famous for their special qualities, who were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine traits. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the procedure of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is expressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the matchmaker -- "the man who makes an agreement", bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called pu -- husband, and the bride -- anuej. The term johk, which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage johk is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

/283 cont./

it is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle" takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family, and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless. During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning the bride price in several settlements. They preferred, however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them marriage certificates, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

/284 cont./

from an Amur Gilyak named Tyx', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mibyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vāyda, stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak

(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Amur/) -- 35 people; nine finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'x. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhnut came down from the Goldi village of Choi'chi (1896).

/333 cont./

are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as sable. The remaining beasts are uigund kauk (i.e., there is taboo on them).

When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen is found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them by the Gilyak fucks.

During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir a'rkhund), a woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her wardrobe, even a button, even a thread, if that woman has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it without the hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed bear-goose may not be touched. Any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

/334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs. Catching a wolf. In Ekhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk. The wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot get free -- it is a sin to shoot at wolves.

Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tor' (?), the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together, then they go into the net.

Mon' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon, and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly still a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mon', and in summer catch a great number of bears will be pal (Yukola thousand). In general a great deal of fish, the sake of thousand.

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23 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers.... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

32 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'" 74 (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the 76 fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by 25 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

56/76 cont. Once I myself became the object of a legend about the
23 omnipotence of a shaman. In the settlement Nyyvo, at the mouth of the Tym', I once ventured to offer medical help to a female patient of a famous shaman. Learning of my interference, the shaman not only prohibited taking my medicine, but decided to punish me severely for my insolence. Immediately after my departure he went fully dressed into the waters of the bay and began to adjure the god of the water to fall on me with all sorts of punishments. A day later I had to spend the night in an abandoned Orok shed on the lower shore of Nabil' Bay. At night there arose a strong wind accompanied by a most terrible downpour; the water began to spread beyond the shores of the bay and to flood the low area. We awoke at dawn, literally swimming on our bedding. It was necessary to build a platform and shiver with cold on it for many hours until the water receded. For all the Gilyak on the coast there was no doubt that I had borne the punishment sent down by the shaman, who, moreover, could have been much sterner, but this time spared the Russian "tyan'gi" (gentleman). It is remarkable that the death of my female patient, even though she had refused to take the medicine I had left, was charged, not to the shaman, but to her sacrilegious appeal to me for help.

77 The Gilyak, however, willingly and with full faith, are treated by the Russians, not, of course, because they believe in the power of science, but for completely peculiar reasons. "The Russian god," they reason, "is stronger than the Gilyak one; this means that the Russian shaman is stronger than the Gilyak one." /77/ And if you inquire why the Russian god is stronger than the Gilyak one, you might hear such an answer: "Behold how many centuries the Gilyak has been living here, and he still travels on paths, but the Russian arrived and immediately built wide roads, such roads as the Gilyak has never seen." It is curious that neither steamboats nor automobiles, nothing impresses the Gilyak and convinces him of the superiority of the Russian god over the Gilyak one as much as just these roads.

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1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the l sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

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coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

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2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

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3. (cont.)
Tart., ed. of 1698, Pt. 2, p. 32; ed. of 1705, p. 87. Cf. also Müller, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Pt. 2, 2nd ed., p. 506.

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175 Elsewhere Witsen
13 remarks that this island was called "Giliat" (4). What is said
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4. Op. cit., ed. of 1705, p. 96.

otherwise about the places on this island that are mentioned, even though based on facts and the truth, nevertheless has the character of accounts based upon hearsay, as, for instance, the statement about the high reed thicket that makes its coast
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175 inaccessible, and the like. And as a matter of fact, we do
177 not have any reliable reports on Sakhalin and its people in that period, not even brief ones like those on the Amur region, because this island had no contact with the Russians at all in the seventeenth century. Later on, in the eighteenth century, when the Russians undertook voyages to the Shantars, Sakhalin, as was mentioned above (5), was repeatedly visited by Russian

5. See above, p. 171.

deserters, shipwrecked persons, etc., but no reports about it have come down to us.

M The oldest Chinese reports about Sakhalin provide just as
G slight a foothold. When the Jesuits Regis, Jartoux, and Fridelli
175 drew up the map of the lower Amur River, the natives told them
177 that opposite the mouth of the Amur /121/ there was an island which was inhabited by a people similar to them. Consequently, Emperor Kang-hi soon afterwards sent several Manchu to explore the island, and they crossed over to it in the boats of the natives, but, according to the testimony of the Jesuits, their task was

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VII.

Miscellanea

148 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Gibel'ka's
170 story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu, Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then took two or three sables per package. /342/ He collected debts by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind of okht to women (see above, p. 480, "Women, Childbirth, and Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga recognized the cast-up body and informed the mother. But when she arrived the body was gone; she saw only the tracks of a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear dealt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of the feast. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight; no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill. But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug, the water kept increasing. This was the tears of those people whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without water.

169 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, not to laugh at anybody.

169 Slaves -- krygrys (1894). In Kuklyakh (?) a krygrys was exchanged for a woman. In Vaydakh -- a krygrys, Khyumik, a limping woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about," "she did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for no one wanted to have krygrys children. There were krygrys also in Tengakh, Tevakh, Kutr. The atk (see p. 222,IV) of Gibel'ka had krygrys.

Sakhalin

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175 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There
169 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

194 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

• 177 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent,
41 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows.
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They
291 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous
292 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve
262 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes
244 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

177 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

1: Sternberg--301 E-3 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/350 cont./

• 177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
[572] and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel. Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
174 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

614 /355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is
372 connected with this steel. When a clan is divided and part of it
169 emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geyman) breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

614 Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting
225 of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refresh-
782 ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of even-
[562] ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kur niongu-khlai!" ("God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

614 6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its
682 members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
628 another khal'. The means is çlan vengeance.

• [177] The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (nyn'vo yozynedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

/358 cont./

614 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the
628 condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the
682 murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A
614 murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest
628 kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother
682 (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their
628 fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said
628 of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and
[537] obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulged toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re-
[562] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between
628 clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but
72 the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell
• [177] of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

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614 620 685 among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-
614 622 geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His suc-
[177] cessor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The intervention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

614 11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from
621 one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to
[167] remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tyki, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly
614 arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon
167 his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fish-
621 ing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This
[591] latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as is done at

/362 cont./

614 Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak
182 to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his clansmen, the tombs of his clan. No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become
• [177] completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a boat and a net; he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, customs, and intellectual
[155] development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed a social, communal, loquacious, serious character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent
354 in the north, enter one of these anthills on a winter's evening,
521 and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

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504 Try entering into a conversation with anyone about their
[521] life, customs, and so forth -- the whole yurt gathers about you. The adults listen and reply with serious interest. The children will not tear their gaze from /363/ you. Their eyes glow with the fire of intelligence and fascination. They answer you seriously and conscientiously; only inspire trust in them. You will feel yourself drawn toward these barbarians... And never, so to speak, does life stagnate here, because each day brings some large or small occurrence in the life of the settlement, each day brings, finally, new guests with new subjects for conversation. In each yurt you will find many such guests, who often stay for weeks, and during all this time the hosts feed them and their dogs.

The Gilyak are very hospitable and love to pay visits and entertain guests. Not only do the clansmen and kinsmen of the wife pay visits, but also those outsiders who are simply friends. In the yurt there often live together people of different clans, on whom guests and clansmen from all parts of the Gilyak territory
[203] call. Imagine how much news each winter day brings. Winter is the preferred season for visiting. This noble custom of hospitality has still another good side. In a bad year, when the Gilyak does not have enough food for either himself or his dogs and nothing to buy it with, he does not have to stretch out his hands to a benefactor; he quietly sets off to pay a visit, knowing full well that in time his host will do the same. One encounters many guests in the summer as well. At this time of year, too, the Gilyak rarely lives alone in his yurt; there are always one or two families
• 177 of his brothers or other clansmen with him. Despite their long subjection to the Sinicized Manchu, despite the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region, the Gilyak, morally, preserve many of the virtues of primitive tribes. But the fate of their mode of life is irrevocably settled. One or two more generations, and the Gilyak of the mainland will become completely Russified and, together with the fruits of culture, will master all its vices. One must give his due to the Gilyak: he does not lightly abandon his ancestral traditions, but they involuntarily give way. At first they were indignant and perplexed, meeting

/363 cont./

• 177 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
177 464 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
[439] Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
[454] Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

776 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
392 is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies
[771] at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
[688] or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

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634 his wife half to death. Even his ruvn, in such cases, does not
184 escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak
614 even the ruvn finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante
• [177] delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with
108 a sound thrashing. The modern method of securing a wife grad-
583 ually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand (I know of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman), but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

/371 cont./

583 no one, and this demonstrates how widespread, even universal,
178 it was in quite recent times. The wars of which Gilyak tradition
921 tells were fought principally on account of the abduction of
women, and they developed the practice of reconciliation by
177 way of payment of a ransom. The entrance of the Russians into
583 the Amur region has led to a considerable diminution in the number of abductions. No matter what efforts accompany the abduction of a woman, the display of a paper from a Russian office will incontrovertibly result in the return of the abducted woman. Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russians under the term kalym. The bride price is ordinarily paid in articles, money, and labor. As bride price they give boats, kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs, and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in proportion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her domestic talents. A woman who is an "accomplished woman" in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife is a rather expensive affair. Here is an example of a not very considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitnidvo paid for his wife with two Japanese kettles (one large one, costing 60 rubles), one spear with silver fretwork, a fox-fur coat, ten dogs, and, in addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after
583 which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls /372/ the Biblical story of the service of Jacob for Laban, is that of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged man and has no sons, he takes to himself a son-in-law who agrees, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the economic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the father-in-law. The son-in-law, customarily a complete pauper, fishes and kills seals, and all this constitutes the common

/374 cont./ Yet

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortunate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[264] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[593] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she participates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourning they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[574] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father, and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
[589] brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the desire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradually acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as Arkyyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
• 177 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow themselves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite,
556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined
538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely
171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally
432 exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans,
437 etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have
427 the character of barter.
426

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak
426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the nonfulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract.
[184] No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known
• [177] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The
[614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-
[672] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

/383 cont./

422 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
673 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
762 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
• 177 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
526 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
152 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

/383 cont./

683 and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
411 with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
868 proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
859 childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
48 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
177 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
178 present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

121 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the num-
128 ber of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

[The western Coast]

166 /386 cont./ To make some money,
464 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
183 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
244 also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
162 Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
177 Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
244 them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev-
224 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point
433 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming
178 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the
648 vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
342 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement
178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
239 in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
184 adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
171 the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from
177 whom it may have been borrowed.

133 As to the character of the region, the maritime sections
139 of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-
491 tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

Gold Rus

/15 cont./

G 131 that in itself indicates the role that sea and river play in the lives and the economy of these people. At the same time, with such
G 101 a location and limitation of their area of distribution, the Gilyak
177 have no neighbors to the north and east, and therefore, in a large part, in fact, the greater part, of it, but only some in the west and south. Here, however, they come in direct contact with many of the Amur peoples, for example, with the reindeer Tungus of the Sea of Okhotsk and of the Stanovoi Mountains, with the Negda, Olcha, and Orochi on the mainland, and with the Orok and Ainu on Sakhalin. Taken together, these factors give the Gilyak, on one hand, an isolated position among the Amur peoples and greater independence, but, on the other hand, they make them the natural connecting link between the peoples of the mainland and of Sakhalin Island, not excepting even the civilized peoples of the two areas, namely, the Chinese and the Japanese.

Though the Gilyak are sharply differentiated from all the Amur peoples through their unique language, nevertheless a manifold mutual intermeshing of the respective areas of distribution takes place on the borders with their above-mentioned neigh-
Gi 101 bors. It has already been mentioned above that on the Tugur and
177 Ulban gulfs, along with the Gilyak, the Tungus, too, pursue their
342 livelihood and erect their easily transportable birch tents beside
361 the Gilyak yurts (3). Indeed, they roam far to the east along the Sea

3. Poplonskij, loc. cit., found Tungus also in Konstantinov Harbor in Ulban Bay.

of Okhotsk, even in the area permanently occupied by the Gilyak; in the winter of 1856 I myself saw their conical tent frames east
Gi 221 of Kulj. Some Negda, from the Amgun are said to come annually
225 to the Tugur and Ulban gulfs in order to hunt seals (4). The Negda
000

Gi 113 4. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-Amursk. kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sbornik", 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 332). Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über

Gold Negd

G 101 /15 cont./ 4. (cont.)
177 den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der
Gi 113 Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

Gi The Negda
131 live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chl
G as well as along the river branch connecting them, althou
361 there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. Th
103 formation, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Ju
G in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later tra
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G 103 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu.
Gi 103 On the former lie the villages of Pfyrpi-wo and
361 Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomokr and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, ca

Gi 113 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolaysv Post on the Amur River to Udskii

GM /121 cont./
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carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to th southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remai uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the na

GM
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1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, each according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian anga hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known the present name arose. According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian anga chada" mean only "rocks (not island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the banks of the river at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks emerging from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin, see below.

of the peoples inhabiting the island.

F.J.
G
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We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first de tailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, t same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mami Rinsô (1808-1810). In 1613-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Y

[121] cont./
to Krafto under the governor Kinfiro, in order to draw up a map of this country, but they did not advance very far, and they supplied hardly any information about its peoples. Siebold, at any rate, to whom we are indebted for the information (2),

2. Nippon, I, p. 126.

has nothing to say about it. There were no further expeditions to Sakhalin by the Japanese until Mogami Tok'nai and, soon after him, Mamia Rinsō set foot on the island. To be sure, Sakhalin was geographically explored at about the same time by European seafarers -- La Pérouse (1787), Broughton (1797), and Krusenstern (1805) -- and the Hollander Vries had landed on its east coast about a century and a half earlier, but they came into contact with its population only at the coastal points, and therefore could give no more than odd bits of ethnographic information, which shall be mentioned later. The Japanese, however, studied not only the two coasts -- the west coast almost to its northern end, and the east coast to the Bay of Patience -- but even a part of the interior of Sakhalin (3). We

3. Mogami Tok'nai, for instance, went from the Bay of Patience along the Poronai (Ty or Flyi River) across the island to Oxiai (in the vicinity of Dal'). Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 128.

are indebted to them for the first information about the three indigenous peoples living on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok. Since their reports, however, and especially the one by Mamia Rinsō, are not very old, and since, as we have seen, there has been no subsequent border change on the mainland between the Gilyak and their southern neighbors, /122/ we cannot expect any considerable border changes on the island within this short space of time. In fact, Mamia Rinsō states that the area of the Smerenkur territory on the west coast of

2: Schrenck--294 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 ●
Orochi

/136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ykyrn in the Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Olcha languages, named for me, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "K'kkal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castri (Dze-Kamri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, belonging to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "K'kir-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names K'kkal or K'kis(a)r, I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Ainu it would be just the same as among the Gilyak, with minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the entire line from the Chongor to the sources of the Umuri, the Goldi are the direct neighbors of the Orok, they have all kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a large stretch of uninhabited land, and the contact between these two peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the interests of trade often come down along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Sirarauni, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact between the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them -- and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

2: Schrenck--456 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi, RX3 Orochi

/324 cont./
coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, partly spread it out, running together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top of the tent was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could be folded back served as the door. The location of the pit and the ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create a solid base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over the snow, it would soon sink deeply into it and could no longer warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another as possible, framed on all four sides by others, thicker and set on edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs. In this manner a longish-rectangular cavity was obtained for the hearth, and the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread out a larch-tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high embankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I must mention that the axes customarily used for housebuilding and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

2: Schrenck--457 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/324 cont./
origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight handle and a thick blade almost equally broad at its edge, and as is shown on Plate XXX in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end. Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these emergency tents in building, general plan, and construction speaks for their quite primitive character.

As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it nevertheless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions are somewhat larger. The location of the pit in the ground, the carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no direct entry into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed, and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and ventilates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another, all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adventure, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often participating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened, a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and moves along the floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway [See Category 116, P. 1010 -- Anchor]

2: Schrenck--458 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/325 cont./
in front of the door, but in no way eliminated, and if the door remains open, such a strong draft is produced between it and the smoke vent, filling the whole interior of the yurt, that the latter is deprived of all its warmth in no time and comes close to having the temperature of the air outside. And yet this experiment must often be repeated several times a day precisely during very cold and stormy weather, because then it frequently happens that a mass of cold air sinks down through the smoke vent, or an eddy of wind gets into it, forces back the smoke, and temporarily blows it into the interior. In the shortest time the small room is then filled with suffocating smoke affecting the eyes, throat, and lungs, and there is nothing left but to make a draft by opening the door, clearing the air again. This is why all the beams in the yurt are blackened by smoke and covered with a more or less thick layer of soot near the top. The change of temperature in the earth yurt is even more perceptible at night, for after the fire, beside which one has fallen sleep, goes out, the yurt is soon filled with cold air coming down through the smoke vent. To be sure, it is said that this can be closed, but I have never seen it done, though I spent many a night among the Gilyak. And to be sure this drawback is all the worse the smaller the yurt is and the lower the smoke vent is over the hearth and the sleeping benches. At night in the small tent-yurt of Tafiz-wo, where one could reach the smoke vent with the hand and where no big and lasting fire was therefore possible, /326/ we soon had the temperature of the outside, which, in addition, was accompanied by a noticeable draft. Under these circumstances how greatly to be preferred is a night's rest in the open air with a steadily burning fire, even if it should be very cold, as long as there is no snowstorm!

The winter yurt built after the Gilyak pattern tehadryf of the Gilyak, is completely different in character. It always has the appearance of a house provided with walls and a roof. It is an approximately square structure, though it is somewhat longer than it is wide, about 6-7 fathoms long and about 5-6 fathoms wide, with low walls and a large roof sloping down flatly toward the two longitudinal sides (see Pl. XI) (1). The walls

2: Schrenck--463 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/328 cont./
proportions in this respect and at the same time show other peculiarities discussed details in the construction and interior arrangement of a Gilyak winter-house. In concluding this description I must mention that along the walls (a), immediately to the right and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with other, when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of this smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse wall, which, as we have seen, is the place of honor, is not provided with a straw mat, whereas the bench along the front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a guest, a fur rug is spread, the two longitudinal benches furthermost also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking.

As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is over their earth yurt, insofar as it is much more spacious, lighter, and more comfortable, due to the plank bed, also warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature, nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer sufficient resistance to the heavy frosts and violent snowstorms. There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even stronger along the two sides, because the door opens directly to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the earth yurts. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

2: Schrenck--515 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Aleut NA6

/351 cont./
in more ancient times (1).

1. Weniaminof, op. cit., p. 201.

After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth yurt, the toryf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tchadryf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have therefore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reiches, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mizul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

3. "Iiatxx. Ber..." etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ochrn'" o. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (5), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

2: Schrenck--520 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/352 cont./
8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller (Ethnographie, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller)." Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this it by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur people.

Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-behsu, the Chinese always put the sleeping place in the house

1. Cf. Wassiljef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "ulxch, ulxch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason, why the Chinese always sleep in this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

/353 cont./

Shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Saratychof reported /354/ from his journey through the country that there were no longer any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style houses (log houses, so-called izba) had been built everywhere; only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadals, which are likewise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by

1. Sarychev*, Puteši. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

Mamia Rinō on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that at the same time it happened among the Gilyak on the Amur. Coming from the territory of the S'janta (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Simenmlar (Gilyak) at Horo (Chjate), he noticed that from there on people, dwellings, implements, and even the style changed abruptly, because exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Kruzenstern had found Chinese winter-yurts among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. Hence, he concludes from the fact that Mamia Rinō was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur region are too different to have produced, at an equally rapid disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled

/354 cont./

permanently among the natives, who were greatly decimated by the previous bloody battles, building their houses in their own way and entering into permanent, peaceful relations with the Kamchadal, even mixing with them more and more. It is therefore not surprising that their style of building soon became the customary one throughout the region. Matters were different in the lower Amur region among the Chinese and Manchu: a conquest and colonization of this region by the peoples named have never taken place. As we discussed above in detail (3),

3. See pp. 119, 142-144 above.

it instead was and is visited only from time to time by individual Manchu officials and Chinese merchants, who live a few places where they have their own houses, always take up residence in the houses of the natives, and this only among the Tungusic Amur-peoples, for the Gilyak have even denied the Chinese traders entry into their region. Hence, it undoubtedly must have taken a long time before the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak from the Chinese on the Sungari, spreading down this river and the Amur among these peoples, and the trading expeditions which the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from ancient times to now have conducted annually to the Chinese along the Sungari and on which they have had repeated opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese house, must certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

/355/ In April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak find it necessary to abandon their winter dwellings and to move into their summer dwellings. First the inhabitants of the earth yurts are driven out of their houses, because they are made wet and uninhabitable by the water running in both from the top and the sides as a consequence of the melting snow and the thawing of the ground. The Chinese winter-yurts, set on level grounds, are more serviceable, even in spring and summer, though even in them water sometimes comes through or over

/360 cont./

in general and in the individual areas. Such principal and essential points are of special importance for the ethnographer, because in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange, besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this, as well as their general association with this civilized people next to them, easily explains the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and patterns of embroidery and other decorations.

/361/ The clothing worn next to the body by the Gilyak consists of drawers, which are not taken off even at night, trousers (Gilyak warněh), an under and an outer shirt (Gilyak larkěh) reaching to the knees and buttoned from left to right at the neck and girdled. These articles of clothing are always made out of Chinese, or nowadays also of Russian, blue or grey cotton material, and sometimes also of white, which, however, since the Gilyak never wash their clothing, very soon turn a more or less dirty gray. As a rule, no outer garment is needed during the summer, but if unfavorable weather, not infrequent even in this season, requires it, a winter garment, in particular the dog-fur coat to be described later, is used. High boots of seal leather and fur always serve as footgear. As a rule, the lower part of the boot (Gilyak ki) and the sole are made of the skin of Phoca barbata (Gilyak kighitsch and kighitsch-langj), which, especially in the case of older specimens, is thicker and stronger than that of the other type of seal very common in the waters of the Amur region (Ph. nummularis; Gilyak pyghi and pyghi-langr) (1) and

1. See my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Langr simply means "seal."

for this purpose deprived of its hair. In accordance with the foot structure of the Gilyak, the lower part of the boot is small and graceful, with a high back heel-shaped in the middle, and the pointed end, turned somewhat upward and back, shows unmistakably the influence of the Chinese pattern. The legs of the boots, broad

/386 cont./

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1. See my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Langr simply means "seal."

the sea of Okhotsk do we not have /361/ any data at all, except for the small stretch between Kulj and the Amur Liman likewise visited by me (1).

1. Middendorff was told during his stay on Tugur Bay (in 1844) that there have been large Gilyak villages between Cape Umelongte (Mykelāja), the point of this coast

/387 cont./

and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the thinner skins of the Gilyak, pliable skin of the hair-named species of seal, with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and, after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under the knee with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unnecessary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chih-bah, i.e., in literal translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark, sewed on or fastened on by means of fine cargut (see Pl. XVII[a] and Pl. XX, Figs. 1 and 2)[a].

2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ provided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made of other material than that of the shirt. The shirt and robe usually have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which is put a decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of

[a] [See Category 116, p. 997 -- Analyst]

[a] [See Category 116, p. 1000 -- Analyst]

/388 cont./

Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use

1. During my stay in the Amur region, among such decorations several little brass crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" and a bronze medallion bearing the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wais or one of the nearby villages. In all probability these pieces came from the French missionary, de la Brunière, who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in Wair, was martyred and robbed by the Gilyak. His colleague Venault, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the Gilyak and Goldi settlements on the Amur-cline, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1850 [Vol. III], p. 70). To substantiate the reports collected by Venault concerning the killing of de la Brunière, it should be noted here in passing that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wair and Sabach, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wair, pointed out to me, for example, the place as one of the murderers. He evaded or declined to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (uthwah) to destroy a piece of paper with

/392 cont./

royal beast. Hence it is no wonder that, in accordance with the proverb, "Clothes make the man," which is especially apt among primitive peoples, the Gilyak who can occasionally parade around in a whole coat of lynx skins, and who can show off the profit that would accrue to him from the sale of these skins, is surrounded with an aura of extraordinary distinction and wealth in the eyes of his countrymen.

But let us return to the ordinary winter-clothing of the Gilyak. Like the shirt, the fur coat, too, is always buttoned by the Gilyak from left to right over the chest, sometimes with several metal buttons of Chinese or Russian origin, sometimes with a large wooden button of Gilyak workmanship (Pl. XXIX, Figs. 4, 5, and 6) and sometimes fastened by the Gilyak, His colleague Venault, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the Gilyak and Goldi settlements on the Amur-cline, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1850 [Vol. III], p. 70). To substantiate the reports collected by Venault concerning the killing of de la Brunière, it should be noted here in passing that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wair and Sabach, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wair, pointed out to me, for example, the place as one of the murderers. He evaded or declined to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (uthwah) to destroy a piece of paper with

/393 cont./

and in this latter, more common case, to put the cap on, the bead mentioned is first brought under the chin, and then the cap is pulled over the head. The cap is always lined with fox fur, which, standing out in front and on the outside, also forms the edging. The outside consists of either the same kind of sealskin throughout or various pieces of fur not infrequently put together artistically and tastefully. /394/ For example, the tom-hak of a Tschonsi Gilyak who visited me in Nikolayevsk, which is illustrated on Pl. XXI, Fig. 1, was of this type. The upper middle piece of this cap, brown in color, was of reindeer skin, the white arabesques on it are of short-haired dog-skin; the edging, separated from the middle piece by a blue band, is made up of pieces of dappled sealskin; the front edge, as always, consists of the fox fur emerging from the inside, but at the bottom the cap is trimmed all around with long-haired, white dog-fur. This trimming, by the way, is not lacking on the less elegant, indeed even on the simplest fur-caps, which, for a better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII and XIX). The konjiha seems to be an article of clothing that is genuinely Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, for example. /395/ The Gilyak always traveling astride his low dog-sled, the konjiha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a swathing fashion and tied on the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of fabric or leather (Gilyak tughahar; see Pl. XXII[a], Figs. 4, 5). The hand coverings (Gilyak womjaghi) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX, Fig. 3, 4, and disguised in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a

[a] [See Category 116, p. 1004, 998, 999, 1002 and 1000 respectively -- Analyst]

/394 cont./

291 the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which
[177] they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur coat, inside the yurt. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the area of the pit of the stomach especially warm, a flap lined with fur, the so-called koch-passj, is worn there under the shirt, on the naked body, hung round the neck with a small band and at the bottom knotted around the body by two others. The example of
[177] the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 3 which I saw in the possession of the Gilyak Judin in Tebach, was of Goldi workmanship. It was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with fox fur, and trimmed all around with otter fur, but provided on the outside with multicolored and in part artistic embroidery on black cotton material, which I shall come back to below. Here there must still be mentioned a peculiar undergarment that I noticed in particular among the Tro Gilyak in Nyi, both among adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a pouch tied around the loins and of use to the male sex only. For the Gilyak sitting astride their sleds it is especially important to protect the knees against wind and weather, and a knee sheath (Gilyak panj) made of sealskin and tied around the leg below or above the knee serves for this purpose.

291 /395/ The footgear has already been mentioned above. In
171 winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put some dry grass in their boots,
175 as more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). Accord-
824

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland, for example (Rob. Brown, "Das Innere von Grönland /The Interior of Greenland/," in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 384).

ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a description of the town of Ninguta in 1722, it is also customary among the Manchu there, and for this they use a soft, fine, longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

/396 cont./

291 which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long
237 tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

291 /397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar
177 and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies
531 from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tulv-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2).* It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter consists of single Chinese material, usually black or dark-blue cloth.
[237] On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the
292 edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl.
177 XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is
531 more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are
[237] represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

[171]
[113]

1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des vers l'Emper. de la Chine

* [See category 116, P. 1001--Analyst]

/397 cont./

1. (cont.)
en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

/399 cont./

531 and snail-shaped spiral figures prevail throughout.

/400/ As on their garments, the Gilyak like to decorate all the other implements in their household and their lives with all kinds of designs and ornamentation, as we noted on the above-mentioned implements worn at the belt and as we shall frequently have occasion to see below. The general character of these decorations is always the same, as is described in more detail above, whether the articles are made of wood, tree bark, leather, bone, or iron, and only the execution will be less exact and neat in the case of more brittle material, although with every type of object we shall come across some which testify to the great skill and dexterity on the part of the Gilyak in the use of the simplest tools. The talent of the Gilyak for ornamentation, 531 294 however, appears to us in its boldest and greatest development in the embroideries for the decoration of their clothing, utilizing for this in particular, besides the easier reproduction of diverse lines and figures, also the effects obtained by putting together various colors. And of this the Gilyak, as much as in general they prefer somber colors for their clothing, also popular among the Chinese (1), a more or less dark blue or gray, make liberal,

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59.

but moderate and tasteful use in decorating their clothing, as [439] the above illustrations show. This is made possible by the variously colored silk and cotton thread obtained in trade from the Chinese.

531 I have previously described the general character of Gilyak 177 ornamentation as unique and completely different from that of the Siberian peoples. Also, no trace of Russian national influences, as are quite explicable among the latter as a result of centuries old, manifold, and constant intercourse with the Russians, is found among the Gilyak. On the other hand, much of the Gilyak ornamentation, spiral-shaped coiled lines,

/400 cont./

531 177 artistic interlacing of bands, tapering ornamental borders with multiple points, and the like, can also be recognized on anci Chinese articles, costly garments and porcelain and ivory objects such as our museum has. Furthermore, quite similar orn mentation is found on some old Japanese objects, for example on the brass mountings of half decayed wooden scabbards in ou possession, which we obtained through Mr. Poljakof from anci Ainu graves on southern Sakhalin and which undoubtedly are o Japanese origin. I therefore feel justified in concluding that t [439] Gilyak ornamentation has developed largely under the influenc of ancient Chinese and, in part, ancient Japanese models, sin in view of the anciently established and constant trade relatio of the Gilyak on the mainland up the Amur and Sungari with t Chinese and on Sakhalin with the Japanese, and the Ainu com pletely subject to their influence, it could scarcely be otherwise (2).

2. The role that the Gilyak play as middlemen in trade between the Chinese and the Japanese will be discussed below.

531 /401/ Thus, as in other things, so also with regard to or 177 mentation, Chinese cultural influence spread along the natur 171 route of trade, down the Sungari and Amur to the Gilyak. If, addition to what has been presented above, more direct proof were needed, it is provided by the fact that the same type of ornamentation on clothing and other objects is found among al the other peoples of the lower Amur region, from the Gilyak upstream along the main river, as well as along its tributaries up to the Sungari. Though these peoples are from Tungusic tribes, they nevertheless have nothing in common with the Russian-Siberian Tungus with regard to the ornamentation custo ary among them, but rather are linked to the Chinese and Gily In this connection, however, we are met by the striking phenomenon that the feeling for ornamentation and the develo ment of the latter in the Amur region do not decrease but increase with greater distance from the civilized people concern

531 /401 cont./
177 the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest
171 from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is
531 not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned,
174 but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep them-
648 selves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

[439] Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

294 Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must
412 mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it.
[439] For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the
294 Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles(Gil. nugsis,
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[114] 2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2), worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the
[See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

294 /401 cont./
415 latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in
[412] it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This in-
415 genious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among
171 the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

[177] And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

415 Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration pro-
171 vided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone
531

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

[114] tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite
[789] crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilya and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting ther

415 171 531 789 /402 cont./
on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be removed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by success -- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

294 283 The thread with which garments are sewed varies according to the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for example, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, fine thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call mydisk and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as pilengat-mydisk, mimk-myd., kych-myd., etc. (5), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat is Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

(Gil. kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fishing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

[177] [439] [171]

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread likewise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (chasa) for them; instead they only use a knife. For smoothing the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pans), which is

294 412 [177] [531]

/403 cont./

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3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

286 174 17 [126] [714] I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu, knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

[177]

/409 cont./

As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

/415 cont./

southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuli, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

1. Gerstfel'ld", "O prikrashn. zhitel. Amura" (Vestn. Russk. Geogr. Obbich., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Buse, "Ocherk" ustovii zemled. v" Amurskom" krae /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chtenitia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

/416 cont./

and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the opposite lower end (Small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7), or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced, in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, however, is not limited to the female sex (1), among

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Puteshi. na Amur", p. 224) see this

[See Category 116, p. 1009 - Analyst]

/417 cont./

1. (cont.)
ornament on a male individual, a Goldi from Mylki. I did not come across such a case.

whom, however, it is never absent, so that by it one can immediately distinguish the women of these nationalities from those of the Olcha and Gilyak. This is a nose ring shaped exactly like the small earring described above, but still smaller, which hangs down from the pierced septum to the upper lip -- a most peculiar, ugly ornament and one which in addition impedes cleanliness, in which all these peoples are so deficient anyway. Finally, among the Orochi the same situation is found with regard to the kinds of ornaments discussed as with regard to the hair style: the northern Orochi, such as those on Kaiserhafen Hadshi Bay), correspond in this with the Olcha and Gilyak, but the southern ones, or Ta-che, along the seacoast at least from Gulf Bay downward (2) and along the right Ussuri tributaries, correspond with the Goldi and Samagir, that is, the former wear only earrings, and the latter, those of the female sex, also nose rings. Moreover, one sees among the Orochi women or girls, and sometimes also among those of the Goldi along the Ussuri and on the Amur near the mouth of the Ussuri, just such a small ring in the right or the left nostril (3). From what has been said, it is readily

3. According to Przewalski (op. cit., p. 105) in the right nostril, according to Nadarof (op. cit., p. 78) and Maack (op. cit., p. 179) in the one or the other nostril.

From what has been said, it is readily seen that the custom of wearing nose rings, strangely enough, has spread among the peoples of the lower Amur region only as far as the Manchu-Chinese hair style has been accepted by them; where this has not been taken up by them, there are likewise no nose rings in either the nostrils or the nasal septum. I would not know,

/417 cont./

however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hair style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, the Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and seven far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes there wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Mangeir, nor the Orochon. Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus of the lower Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

A more common customary ornament among all the peoples of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyiij) made out of the same material or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. On Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak workmanship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilyak, who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XX, Fig. 5 /in the original, /418/ which the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop generally soldered and overlapping on the outside. This ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves there as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work, however, is not done by the men, but by the women,

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.

[See Category 116, p. 1025 - Analyst]

/418 cont./

however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I myself have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring

[113]

2. Maak", Puteshi. na Amur", pp. 75, 207.
Gerstfel'ld", "O prikrashn. zhit. Amura" (Vestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obbich., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

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3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely. Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrow, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 38), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples. Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

[115]

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

flat-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this

/424 cont./

custom of tattooing has always been foreign. As a matter of fact, if the customs of the Tungusic tribes who migrated to the lower Amur in the vicinity of the Gilyak, especially the Olcha, have become assimilated with the Gilyak in the course of time through constant intercourse, mixed marriages, etc. so much as extent that externally for the most part they can no longer be distinguished from them, it is not otherwise conceivable but that they must have also lost their original Tungusic custom of tattooing there. In part directly, in part through the mediation of the Olcha, the influence of the Gilyak extent penetrated even the Goldi and spread farther and farther upstream, so that finally a few scant traces of tattooing still survived only in the most remote part of their habitation area. Whether the branch of the Olcha that migrated into Sakhalin, the Orok, had already lost the custom of tattooing on the mainland or not until they were on the island cannot be ascertained, but in any case the absence of it among them indicates a greater influence on them by the Gilyak than by their other neighbors, the Manegir, among, as we pointed out above -with reference to their hair style and clothing, and as we shall have the opportunity to note in a number of other connections.

On the basis of all this one is justified in concluding among the peoples of the Amur region, on the basis of their total external aspect, the Gilyak present the most individual and significant appearance, which could not fail to have a decisive influence upon the Tungusic tribes living around them.

/425/

Section 6

Food. Animal and Vegetable Foodstuffs. Household and Table Utensils. Luxuries: Liquor, Tobacco

Since all the peoples of the Amur region are fishermen or hunters and only a small part of them living in the closest proximity to the Manchu-Chinese and Daur practice any field and garden cultivation, their food is predominantly animal, consisting chiefly of fish or meat. Vegetables play only a subordinate role

/437 cont./

Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Ainu, and must be regarded as a *Ural-Altaic stem peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the circumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the Amur region farther upstream, towards the Ussuri and Sungari, makes it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand

1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by lower people out of lack of any other food, but generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederland. an den Tart. Chan /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 273. Ysbrant Ides, Dreijaar. Reize naar China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by MM. Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 236. Iakinf", Kitai i pr. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 262, 369, 377. Hier, Journ.

/441 cont./

252 prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe,
[197] finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The
[197] Gilyaks also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially the
[192] reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chiwyth) (3), and

3. Among the Olcha: chiry.

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwikh), and, to be sure, distinguished a lama (whitey) and piaia (black tschwikh), for food by making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vegetable food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak punch).

4. Giehn, Op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants, in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, whereupon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in
[192] small stacks for the winter, which they may have learned from
[251] the Ainu, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Ainu buy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artificially rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

While the natural vegetable products discussed above are
[262] of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are avail-
[437] able to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation,

/442 cont./

[262] matters are quite different with respect to those vegetable foods
[437] which they do not produce and which the Gilyak can only
[197] obtain only by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the
Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals
[159] and legumes, are to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole
have less significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent
may even be called luxury items because they are directly available only to those who are better off and not always to them, but rather are eaten only upon certain occasions. In daily life
[262] they are used only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During
[437] the time of my stay in the Amur region, great quantities of millet
[159] turned, and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently
[197] and, in keeping with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, are
attended by numerous participants, the food of this kind, stored
up by an individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are always shared with a greater or lesser number of other and less prosperous Gilyak. On such occasions I have learned in detail the various foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak and the form in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not many of them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese. The most common and the most popular among the Gilyak is
[159] Chinese, or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria
italica (Gilyak hadi), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudi).
Far rarer and less popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak nimu) (2).

[198] 2. The first two have the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called numa by them and by the Goldi.

Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, though it is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very distinguished Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended in the winter of 1856 in the village of Tebech, still had the remnants of a supply that he had acquired years ago from the Japanese (Sisam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set [197] before the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

/442 cont./ lower Amur region, in Petrovskoye Sinnoye, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk, the Gilyak began to obtain small quantities of various cereals from them. Buckwheat grain in particular found the greatest approval among them, and I saw it served in great quantities during the above-mentioned bear festival of 1856. They also greatly liked the inexpensive Russian rye flour (Gilyak [illegible]), since they /443/ could obtain from the Chinese only small quantities of wheat flour (Gilyak ihaly) at a high price. All the above-mentioned cereals are cooked by the Gilyak to a thick dry mush and eaten
[262] with a spoon or a small stick into a depression made in the groats. Flour
[437] has a variety of uses among them. The principal one is in the
[159] preparation of a kind of cake or small kind of bread. For this purpose, it has fish oil poured over it and is kneaded into a dough -- a work which the women accomplish by taking a mouthful of water and, while kneading the dough, let as much of it as is needed run into it. From this dough, flat, longish, or round small loaves are formed, cooked in water in the large kettle at the hearth, and, finally, broken into pieces and sprinkled with fish oil. They obtain another dish which is very pleasing to the Gilyak palate by mixing
[159] the flour with fish oil and partly crushed blueberries or cranberries
(Empetrum nigrum L., Vaccinium vitis idaea, Vaccinium uliginosum, Ledum palustre, Betula fruticosa, Betula nana, and Betula exilis) (Gilyak [illegible]). Flour and fish oil are also used in the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind and in daily use will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above, [197] the Gilyak place the flour into a bucket made of birch bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other bowl-[262] fulls needed is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1 and 2) Gilyak ohanda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly [437] a wooden ladle has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak [illegible]). [197] [illegible] in the winter house is embedded in each of

/445 cont./
[243] few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are

4. Mamia Rinčô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 190) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the sugar that they use to be gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

[123] On the other hand, they are
[243] very afraid of Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very impertinent requests. Sugar, which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
[437] Not infrequently they also begged sugar in Nikolayevsk in order to
[159] add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
[243] and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like.
They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding food, particularly, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind and in daily use will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above, [197] the Gilyak place the flour into a bucket made of birch bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other bowl-[262] fulls needed is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1 and 2) Gilyak ohanda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly [437] a wooden ladle has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak [illegible]). [197] [illegible] in the winter house is embedded in each of

[See category 116, p. 1013—Ainu 157]

/446 cont./
[416] the earth to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
[412] earth yurt and in the summer yurt it placed on the platform of
the hearth on top of three stones. It always stands on the
[197] ground, and, in accordance with the fish broth for the dogs and
some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the
Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, those illustrated
[416] in these circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting
tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part like-
wise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated
on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 5, mauch-wuni (i.e., small kettle)
[416] and kogbi-wuni (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
[412] made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs.
5 and 6) Gilyak mytch and mitsyr are used, and for smaller
kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5, Gilyak kombi).
[197] To prepare and serve meals-both meat and fish-in order to
[416] cut and to serve them to the like, the Gilyak, according to necessity,
use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and oongi), which are quite similar to those out of which the Ainu feed their dogs
[416] and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind
[159] from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved
[412] arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. In other
[416] respects, for dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
[159] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls
made of birch bark, wooden bowls and rims were decorated with
various arabesques; they are the so-called tortanga in Gilyak (Pl.
[323] XXXII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with
their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service,
[416] so also do the vessels intended for the use of individuals as cups
and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
[412] served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is sufficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachinchuch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped in fish oil and consumed. Liquid food, like the above-mentioned

[See category 116, p. 1014—Ainu 157]

/447 cont./
[412] (1-2) and already mentioned, several knives of special shape.
[416] Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of
various sizes, the ongi-wuni of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4), [412] and is used for the same purpose, a knife with a very wide and very narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among [416] the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschawig) (1)

1. Presumably borrowed from the Manchurian tachachu. Among the Olcha: alaho.

[197] are known among them, which they have
copied from the Chinese but mentioned, a specimen of
which, from the village of Wanj, is shown on Plate XXXIII,
[416] Fig. 6. Finally, among the Gilyak there is also the imitative
instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard
to anything Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

As one sees from the above, all the household and table
[416] equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood
[412] or the birch bark. Earthenware is not found among them at all; they
[416] neither make any themselves nor is there used among them, in
spite of their contacts with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain
[416] made by these peoples, at most a single plate or bowl, usually
one or several of the small porcelain bowls used by the Chinese
for drinking beverages, is kept here and there by a well-to-do Gilyak
[197] as a rarity or as an article of value or as an object. The fact that pottery, even
[323] in its beginnings, is completely foreign to the Gilyak, despite
[197] their being exceedingly skilled in other things, for example, in
woodworking and, as we shall see later, at the smith's trade,
certainly merits full consideration, and I am therefore permitting
myself a few remarks about it. In order first to put the fact itself
[197] still further beyond doubt, I must expressly emphasize that despite
my long and various stays among them I never saw a piece of
pottery of any kind in their household and I never heard of any
[197] among them. Hence, some entirely different statements in Mamia
Rinôô's report on his travels on Sakhalin (Krafto) and in the Amur
region were all the more striking to me. He found that the earthen-
[197] ware and porcelain of the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin was

/463 cont./
[197] 5. (cont.)
Russian colonization of the island, therefore
only quite recently -- was by no means the
case at the time of my travels on it, or
Schmidt's and Giehn's.

[197] They did not know how coffee at all and considered it, when they saw
[197] me drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor
[197] was, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be
[197] sure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other peoples of the mainland,
under the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) arakí or arki, also
customary among the Manchu and among all the Tungusic,
[197] Mongolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (8). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Klaproth's Asia polyglotta. There are, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araka, aiaki, etc.

[197] [illegible] undoubtedly
[197] acquaintance with liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the
[197] time of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread
[197] rapidly since then. Through the trading trips of the Goldi, Olcha,
and especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must
[197] have soon been introduced into the Gilyak region. There, to be
sure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from
another direction, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained
[197] their liquor, the so-called sake, and learned from them to make
[197] a weak saki themselves (7); but the stronger and presumably cheaper

[197] 7. Mitsui', Ocherk" ogn.-Sakhalina, p. 102. Dobrotovskiĭ, Ainsko-russk. slovar', Preface, p. 38.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinôô's report of

[197] 8. "Tŭ-tan kiu" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 192).

/464 cont./
[203] made out of willow switches and lined on the
[197] paper, or in square sheets made of six boards
paper stuck on the inside, on which an open
[197] bolt, is found on top on one of the edges (4).

4. Williamson, Op. cit., p. 68. op. cit., p. 113. Maack, Op.

of a Sungari journey by the Gilyak, and
such a chest (Gilyak kylme-wakke) (5) of ara

5. Wakke means box or chest in

is naturally much cheaper at the place of pro
the Chinese retail merchants along the Amur
Along with the liquor the Gilyak and
[197] lower Amur region have also adopted the ma
[197] from the Chinese. Like them, they always d

6. Marco Polo already remarks t
Chinese do not drink the "rak" o
after they have first heated it (8)
Adelung, the German by Bisch, P
284).

of tiny porcelain bowls which they likewise b
for the purpose, just like the metal can in wh
heated beforehand by putting the can into lo
ashes of a basin filled with glowing coals and
[203] purpose as well as for lighting the pipe (7).

7. The Chinese way of drinking
often been described, for instanc
(L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854,
p. 290) and others.

[197] [illegible]
[197] [illegible]
[197] [illegible]

/468 cont./ No. 5. Now the Orochi, who carry on barter with his customers and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is how he is imitated by all well-to-do Goldi, Samagir, Cikiha, or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is precisely how Mamia Kindi describes the manner in which the Hinerchor on /469/ Sakhalin drink their "arka" brought from the Amur. I also saw the libation performed by a Cikiha, which consists of first moistening the tips of the thumb and forefinger with the liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the left, up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less carefully executed, just as by the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur, also by the Gilyak, Cikiha, Goldi, and even Orochi in Hadda Bar. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these people is done in a definite way sanctioned by usage. Even peculiar foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this circumstance, besides the mentioned above, the great movement of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur people in impeding and limiting ways and tra'ted them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. Thus, it is not the Goldi to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak; when I knew best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russian along the lower Amur, in Nikolayevsk and Mariinsk, a new and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless no little drunkenness among them during the first few years. Afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the summer months, when I was in attendance. This last seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the heat festival is regarded by them as a great foolhardiness — a conception which may own its origin to the feeling for the

2: Schrenck—725 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

/468 cont./

1. (cont.).

the Manchu (damhago) and Nongolo (namachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too; thus, among the Goldi and the Gilyak (amgach, namachi, and namachu), among the Gilyak (amgach), among the Aino (amhaku), etc.

Later, after the Manchuian tobacco had already spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable article for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the west and north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian, Chinese, and traders with the Orochon, Mangir, and other tribes of the upper Amur region, and through the Tatsu merchants who in part followed these tribes and in part maintained trading points at which they established relations with them as well as with other peoples of the lower Amur region (2). Nevertheless, up

2. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the fifties, Manchurian tobacco was the predominant tobacco among all the peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian (Circassian) tobacco began to replace it very rapidly, first and especially of course, among those peoples who also made their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kamamai and Mamiur, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Amur by the lower course of Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Cikiha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

2: Schrenck—726 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

/468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped bowl, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or /469/ cylinder, is of metal (brass) only for a chamber, serving as a well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a fine mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsihar and Ninguta.

3. Jarabash', "Sungarsk. elop." (Vostc. Sibir., 1874, No. 2, p. 35).

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called by the Gilyak in the mouth-piece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them tawamsik.

The greatest correspondence prevailing among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the pan making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made; only the Gilyak on both sides have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from the Russians, from the Japanese.

Low pots of the same shape among them are made of a tray made hard, quasi-off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, they also made for themselves their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

2: Schrenck—727 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

/473 cont./

the boat. For this purpose a long and strong switch is stuck into the combination of the stern-board and the bottom board near the rear over the prow, and likewise provided with wickerwork made out of semicircular and horizontal switches, over which reed or birch-bark mats are spread. Furthermore, unlike the Goldi-Gilyak boat, the Manchu-Chinese boat has fixed rowing benches resting on the edges of the lower side-boards and a like mast-bench, through which the square lower end of the mast is inserted into the mast beaters put on the bottom board underneath it and, superfluously, tied with a cord to the mast rear cross-piece connecting the lower side-boards to each other. Finally, on the Manchu-Chinese boat the sternpost, or rudder, is different, in that they are not stuck on prongs, and, accordingly, are not hinged to the boat, but are set into corresponding mortises in a board attached to the upper edge. They have only relatively narrow blades and on the upper end a transverse handle which is seized with both hands for rowing, always done at only one side. The rudder, provided with a blade that bulges toward the bottom, likewise has such a transverse handle. It is being used, when traveling under ordinary circumstances, seems to rest almost immovably, but a slight turn to the right or to the left is sufficient to give the boat the desired direction.

This description will suffice to show that the boat of the dwellers along the lower Amur River and that of the Manchu and Chinese along the Sungari completely correspond in their basic features and their construction, and that the former is, so to speak, only the lightly altered and pared down version, I might say, from the latter. It can hardly be assumed that the Chinese, clinging to their ancient customs, shaped their boat after a pattern borrowed from the Amur peoples standing far below them and provided improvement and additions only in accordance with their needs. And if /474/ there remains only the conclusion, which in fact is much more probable, that, only in Amur by the lower course of the Sungari, the Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Cikiha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

2: Schrenck—728 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2.
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

/473 cont./

2. Barabash', "Sungarsk. elop." (Vostc. Sibir., 1874, No. 2, p. 35).

3. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called by the Gilyak in the mouth-piece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them tawamsik.

The greatest correspondence prevailing among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the pan making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made; only the Gilyak on both sides have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from the Russians, from the Japanese.

Low pots of the same shape among them are made of a tray made hard, quasi-off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, they also made for themselves their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

2: Schrenck—799 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

/474 cont./

boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form as they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts, satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their needs and powers. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the native for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as is done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Cikiha living next to the Manchu-Chinese, those who, whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of the Sungari Chinese boats and are in the habit of having their people and the other peoples of the lower Amur region. Maximovicz tells us that a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a half fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid 1,000 taels, cost fifteen tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet grain. This is the price, as he adds, which, however, is there as important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, that, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars much so prong, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occur among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Tungusian peoples; on the other hand, it occurs generally among the Aino of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Aino-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Cikiha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

2: Schrenck—800 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

/474 cont./

transferred to the boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese. The amount of local invention by the lower Amur peoples on their boat is not nearly as large as it might seem at first glance — rather, we see that, with respect to the nature of the river vessels, just as in the construction of the winter houses and in so many other things, Chinese influence has spread from the Sungari over the whole lower Amur region.

Here could it have happened, however, that the so practical and useful boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese pattern and distributed among the lower Amur peoples by the latter (1) remained wholly foreign to the upper Amur region which was under its dominance and inhabited by peoples of related tribes? We can answer this question undoubtedly in the sense of the political policy, often mentioned above, which the Chinese government observed in this region after the departure of the Russians from the Amur in the seventeenth century and which consisted of leaving its upper section as depopulated as possible and of using it by rare, uninhabited stretches from the Sungari region which was especially important to them (1). For

1. See above, pp. 320, 369.

I am inclined to believe that the Gilyak, despite the fact that in most things concerning fishing they may be regarded as the most skillful people, have not taken over the Chinese method of fishing from the latter. Still greater and more characteristic is the conjecture with the Gilyak in the preference of the dwelling in particular the Goldi for catching mugwon and bauxen with the above-mentioned and illustrated (Pl. XLI fig.1017/1, Fig. 8) too, the fact that the Gilyak term for this weapon (nchi) is very similar to that of the Cikiha Goldi (dhogbo) seems to me to argue in favor of a borrowing of it on the part of the Gilyak from these Tungusic neighbors, whereas the much simpler one-pronged harpoon, the tuggu, was probably their originality. In the Sungari region, the Cikiha and Goldi for this method of fishing which is closest to hunting, indeed, in fact is more fish-hunting than fishing, they have hunter-nature closeby to be seen, Moreover, it is intimately bound up with the holiness, ease, and adornment with which they glide over the water in small

2: Schrenck—837 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX3 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
OK49

/486 cont./

hunting inherent in them, as in all Tungusic tribes, makes it certain that they will never, or very rarely, use it for the common among the Gilyak. For example, the /487/ above-mentioned method of fishing with a hook attached to a wooden sleep, which is little used among the Gilyak, is very popular among the Cikiha and even more among the Goldi, both on the Amur and in particular on the Ussuri, and, judging by the mining correspondence in the designations for the individual pieces of this fishing apparatus among the former and among the latter (1).

1. For example, the anchor part of this apparatus is called nchikch by the Gilyak, nechakhe by the Cikiha and Goldi; the rope connecting the anchor with the means of it is called nyk by the former, dyka by the latter; the line equipped with the hook and bait is called kiha by the former, kuinai and kuinake by the latter.

2: Schrenck—868 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/527 cont./

5. (cont.)

Gmelin (Reisen in 1759 and 1774, translated from the English by Hübner, Vienna, 1803, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Mexico and therefore are by no means very old.

6. The Gilyak also have two words meaning "ammunition" in general — a meaning which we shall see later, when we come to speak in the following, but also "medicine" and in the general sense of "medicine" — a native-instinctive identification of evasive and deadly agents, medicine and poison.

when I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all, though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two directions: on the first place by way of those northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Dogdo, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut trade, one of the well-known, small-bodied, Russian matchlock guns, called in Yakut ilmek (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (porok?).

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Cikiha and Goldi, to whom, though likewise only seldom, one of those often-described, long and clumsy, known matchlock guns of the Chinese

2: Schrenck—869 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/527 cont./

same time, however, they did not show any particular timidity or fear on the part of the Gilyak, whereas a pistol shot made a great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had threatens them -ith the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they bestowed the opprobrium of a liar on me, and I would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Perhaps it may be assumed that this fear is not great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unpercived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

1. At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning another and similar superstitious fear on the part of the Gilyak, whereas a pistol shot is felt seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely out of question that I have obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how superstitious and fantastic impressions gained through unusual experiences, especially when they are experienced by a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout the entire tribe. I have noted one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Shilakpaye post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was unknown and he fishing, I had actually pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me not to do the thing any and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

2: Schrenck—870 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/558 cont./

Gmelin (Reisen in 1759 and 1774, translated from the English by Hübner, Vienna, 1803, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Mexico and therefore are by no means very old.

6. (cont.)

mamchu-ochi, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet — ndamcha-ko, i.e., "gun arrow," shot — ntamchu-ko, and the powder horn — ndamchu-ko, "gun arrow," 000 and the piston — nachlan-tu, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the lock fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply nantchch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression nomoni, whose etymology is unknown to me.

8. According to horns (from short Cuban ox (antelope der geschwänzten Cuban Gazelle) in pen Jahre 1782 und 1783 (Journey through Cuba in the Realm of the years 1782 and

/168 cont./
Gilyak (I).

1. See p. 580 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1089, Fig. 1.

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wimm), other metals, as far as we ascertained, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak ngyalk, i.e., red), lead (Gilyak tonp), and silver (Gilyak ketsi) (2). The more of the

2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was unknown to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "onta-nchash" that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make omamental [illegible] beasts, such as dragons, snakes, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to fix their purposes (3).

3. A few centuries ago, silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is not practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg (Stran in agreement with this. Nevertheless, however, they have borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

/168 cont./
Gilyak (II).

with the latter probably extend back into earlier times than those with the former, in that, as I have tried to show on other grounds (1), before they came to the mouth region of the Amur,

4. See p. 214 above /unannotated/.

they already had a homeland on Sakhalin, where they were directly in contact with the Ainu and thus also indirectly with the Japanese — this circumstance points to the latter as the source of the Gilyak's knowledge of iron and other metals, and as their teachers, even though only indirectly, in the smith's art. And a series of facts corroborate me in this view.

If the one and the working of iron had come to the Gilyak from the Chinese, that is to say, down the Sungari and Amur through the intermediation of the Manchu and Goldi, one would expect in this opposite direction, going upstream from the Gilyak, an increase in skill in the forging of iron. Actually, however, in the direction mentioned there is not only no increase, but, on the contrary, a decrease in the firmness and neatness of the metalwork. For the Orchi, to be sure, may be superior to the Goldi in wooden implements, and especially armours, than their teachers, the Gilyak, but the Goldi are far superior to the Orchi in the art of

5. This is Maack's opinion also /see his Ussuri, p. 174/ and 207).

though they are extraordinarily skilled at many other things, such as bone-building, sewing, embroidery, and plaiting. In this particular, they do something different from the Gilyak in forging in that they use only one bellows, and also accentuate that are not insignificantly (Gilyk) different, for instance, an anvil shaped quite differently, and the like (1). Finally, it is not to

1. See Maack, op. cit., p. 207 and Plate II, Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 24.

/173 cont./
that it is known under the name of "nerm," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "nemch" shortened in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in ear was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the latter can be perfectly correct. In my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, however, they are only rare antiques of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statement by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Manda Ilimd also states, are highly prized by the latter nowadays.

It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2)

2. Cf. Neubof. Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt Niederlanden an den Kaiser von China. Übersetzung aus dem Holländ. Leipzig (The Embassy of the East India Company of the Netherlands to the Tartarian Khan and Son Also to the Chinese Emperor), Amsterdam, 1666, p. 294. Also witness, based on Ostiz Tartaryie, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Kitatchi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the other Tungus, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

/180 cont./
Gilyak.

characteristic of the Gilyak is that they adopted the hunting conditions of the lower end of the upper Amur regions is presented by the subtle hunting of the roe ibex and the squirrel pursuit of the otter.

Contributing very essentially to the change from the former to the latter in the upper Amur region, however, in addition to the causes given above, are the handy firearms, the small-bore Chinese rifles (Gilyak ngyalk) which came from Siberia and whose importation and adoption are growing more and more in the hinterland of time. Whereas in the lower Amur region at the time of my stay in it there were no guns at all, with a few minor exceptions (3), these rifles were already in general use among the

1. See p. 868 above.

Orochon, thanks to their immediate proximity to and long association with the Manchu, and among the Nanaigir, who, they were already gradually pushing out the long and unwieldy Chinese matchlock gun, which were not very serviceable for hunting. Since the occupation and colonization of the entire Amur region by the Russians, the spread of good or at least serviceable firearms has made rapid advances in the lower part, which, in combination with the growing number of hunters must lead to a heavy decline in its wealth of sables and other animals in the future. How disastrous the consequences of this will be for the indigenous population of the region living on this wealth is easily grasped and can be judged in greater detail on the basis of the following discussion.

/184 cont./
relative position which the former occupy in the trade with them. Among the Goldi, who are the greatest or lesser Chinese and Manchu influence, and who thus stand in the middle between the Orchi and the Gilyak in the trade relations with them, a tenth part and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja or the silver ounce cannot give consideration, which makes it necessary for them to giving a price in name also for pentiment unit of value ta or dichin. For the more distant Orcha and Gilyak, however, who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods in larger quantities in State-unit on the Sungari, the tenth and the hundredth part of the ja are of very practical significance -- for they are concerned only with the whole unit of value and its multiples, and therefore they use the tenth part only when it is expressly in making appraisals, but rather it suffices to give only the tenth part. Another concerned, if it should trade any investigations into this question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Goldi, in the opposite direction, starting from the Gilyak to the Orchi, the unit of value upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent to us yesterday and today, and, in actuality, as it were. Incidentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it is not expressed in the silver ounce ja, but, in fact, it always only in an imaginary quantity for the Amur peoples, and they are able to learn only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or quantity of Chinese coins of parity and goods or other articles. As it well known, in China only the thousandth part of a silver ounce is used as a monetary unit, and the round brass coins with a square hole in the center (Gilyak tedulu), which are usually strung one and a thousand on a string. On account of their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention to them, and, like the variously shaped brass lamellas, they are used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also for the chest and back. Now, the Chinese, in Russian coins, likewise called tschin (dim.), probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak, have the peculiarity of not counting the silver ounce in a fixed standard in that the ja part very heterogeneous wares involved in it appear in the value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size, quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

/186 cont./
1. (cont.)
found with respect to the Chinese merchants during my time in the Amur region were Spanish (Mexican) piastres, yen, yuan, yuchuk coins, and even these were always first carefully tested as to their weight with the help of hand scales.

[illegible] ЗАБЛУЖДЕНІЯ ЦЕНЪ ТЫ. ВЫЯСНЯЛ however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the use of their coins (2).

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even Russian coins as payment. As proof of their great discretion in monetary and trade matters the following incident, which occurred during my stay, might be mentioned. Finally, one morning the last of shares not received

[illegible] Gilyak, who had been close to the Russian crew since their first appearance in the region, made a voyage from Nikolayevsk to Sakhalin in the hope of exchanging and vaxes, evidence of which will be given in the following.

In my room of many and varied inquiries among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn, for the first time, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russian, and the foremost articles in their life and household, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Then, among them,

A table pelt, depending on its quality, has a value of equals 1-2 ja.

A pelt from the Ussuri-Gilyak (pfaidi) . . . equals 3 ja.

1. The j is pronounced soft, like the French j.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (pfaidi) . . equals 3 ja

/186 cont./
after the Nivx or seller. The price or the value of the trade commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser demand which they enjoy among the Chinese and, on the other hand, the more or less amount of them which are found among the Gilyak, Orchi, and Goldi, and which in itself determined in turn in large part by their more or less trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities nevertheless have taken place in the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, who came in contact with the Russian, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian, which has begun in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese. Of the commodities, therefore, to be kept in mind in connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that the Amur region -- the Chinese in the upper and the latter in the lower part of it. But it is noteworthy that these two peoples somewhere come in direct contact with each other except in the one place on the Tugur located outside the Amur region -- a consequence of the above-mentioned trade relations determined by geographical and political conditions in which the upper and the lower Amur region are found with regard to the trade of their peoples, by means of many and varied impulses among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn, for the first time, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russian, and the foremost articles in their life and household, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Then, among them,

/188 cont./
Manchu officials there, in that the privilege of collecting tribute from the Tungus and Gilyak is conferred upon them by the latter, though presumably in return for a suitable guarantee and substantial payment, for which, however, they know how to get ample repayment in the trading. If one looks at their entire trading activity locally outlined above, they can be compared, on the one hand, with the Orchi and Goldi, and on the lower Amur region, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, who came in contact with the Russian, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian, which has begun in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese. Of the commodities, therefore, to be kept in mind in connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that the Amur region -- the Chinese in the upper and the latter in the lower part of it. But it is noteworthy that these two peoples somewhere come in direct contact with each other except in the one place on the Tugur located outside the Amur region -- a consequence of the above-mentioned trade relations determined by geographical and political conditions in which the upper and the lower Amur region are found with regard to the trade of their peoples, by means of many and varied impulses among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn, for the first time, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russian, and the foremost articles in their life and household, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Then, among them,

Gilyak household equipment: 1 — bucket of birch bark, and 2 — wooden bucket; 3 — Tiss bottle of Japanese workmanship; 4 — dishes of Manchurian workmanship; 5 — iron ladle out of a scoop; 6, 7 — wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 — bowl of birch bark for serving food.

Gilyak: 1 — Old arrow-shaft of the Gilyak; 2 — old Manchurian arrow; 3 — piece of an old Manchurian arrow-shaft; 4 — Gilyak bow with the bowstring on the inside.

/132 cont. /

no doubt that the greater moral austerity of the Gilyak is tied up with character traits in which they excel beyond these tribes, namely, their greater energy, self-control, and moderation, which, as has been pointed on (1), they also show in their

1. See above, p. 718.

drinking of liquor. On the other hand, however, in comparison with the other Amur peoples, the Gilyak were always in a more favorable situation with regard to mortality insofar as their dwelling sites were the farthest from the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, and insofar that do not have any settlements in Gilyak territory. How demoralizing an effect they have upon the native is evident from the fact that the Japanese and Chinese always come, the former to Sakhalin and the latter into the Lower and Lower Amur region, without their wives and, supplied with liquor and other tempting commodities, try to acquire concubines among the women and daughters of the Ainu, or the Orochi, Goldi, and Oltchi. It was therefore to the advantage of the Gilyak, not merely with regard to taxes, but also in connection with morality, that they remained the Chinese traders entry into their territory, to see that no also evidence of their /132/ intelligence and energy (1).

1. See above, pp. 145 and 948.

With the occupation of the Amur region by the Russian in the fifties, conditions changed, much to the disadvantage of the Gilyak. For the occupation began precisely in their territory and they were the first and the most drawn into close contact with the new civilized peoples approaching them from the south, a contact which, with regard to morality, was not of the detriment to them, as it always is to a primitive people in such instances, and as subsequent reports have abundantly proven. But I shall return to the conditions and situations which I myself witnessed.

/132 cont. /

people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the most most involved in this slave trade. Finally, indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is the fact that the slave dealers sometimes appropriate the sale of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the leading expo of the trade in women is Sakhalin. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have been been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to their peoples, to be note by slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain circumstances they must be considered morally sinful keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do so, he /132/ would come to grief, meaning he would perish, thus he would be in constant danger of his life.

On the whole, the condition of male slaves, as well as that of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak. The principal slaves are the Ainu, and the high price that they can both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in particular in their sales to the Gilyak, is a strong incentive to acquire a slave in trade then to buy a wife. The Gilyak begin to Udi, for instance, a slave for a wife, and the Ainu woman named Kot, then for his second wife, Mingak from Langr. as noted above, he bought the latter for 40 to 50 rubles, but the former can hire 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 or, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind her two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, or at most only one, and they are wealthy about 8, or, for instance, Bogin ua. Such a possession seems at strikin to them and is considered by many a Gilyak does not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the Purchase price in some other form

/132 cont. /

example, in the above-mentioned case of Nimlgun, drive one to bloodshed, and thus the interest of self-preservation may keep many one from plunging into the horror sum of a strong and large kin-group. Overchrome and experience members of such a kin group, however, confident in the protective power standing behind their, may be goaded on all the more in their wantonness and may let themselves be carried away in contact acts that lead to blood feuds or that are a direct challenge for blood revenge, as, for example, a raid of the Tamnia-wi Gilyak on Sakhalin by their countrymen on the Amur. On the whole, however, this alone does not nullify the beneficial effects which blood revenge with its rules has among the Gilyak, in that with the legal relations still unregulated, it gives the individual a certain amount of protection, and, to be sure, it strengthens the basis of every social arrangement and development, the family.

Concerning the family relations of the Amur peoples living adjacent to the Gilyak, I have already, and I shall yet, present out at the beginning of this section, can be spoken of here, I must limit myself to a few statements tied in with the above remarks about the Gilyak.

/132/ In the preceding chapters the high degree of equalization that his tribe has attained with the Gilyak and the Ainu, in an analysis of the external life has been discussed — an equalization which must have been the result of a long-lasting contact between the two tribes. This kind of equalization has also taken place with regard to the family relations of the two peoples, which, in fact, become the basis for the more penetrating and enduring manifestation of this assimilation, both externally and internally. And the medium that served and still serves to bring about this equalization may be clearly discerned, namely, the frequent mixed marriages which have taken place between these two peoples since the Gilyak migrated to the Amur and, after the loss of their remnant, settled among them as a subject tribe. Among the other peoples, blood conflicts are unavoidable, although they are controlled between them continually. In this manner the

/132 cont. /

tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions and customs as long as they did not disturb the order within the tribal settlements (3). Thus in my time the arrangements made

2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (kun, ninnun) appointed by them for every village, the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the direct rule of the Russian authorities (cf. reining in the nearest port. Dr. Seelmad, who had already been in the Amur region among the Gilyak in the years 1878-80 (Sibirische Reise, Vol. XII, p. 188, Bibl Index), p. 38) mentions the term "Schulzeiten" for a high official who enjoyed the special confidence of the emperor.

did I hear a Gilyak designate himself as such. It was in the district just of Ulewkach located at the end of the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin and occupied by a married couple, where I was staying during my stay in the Tymy Valley. Nevertheless, but evidently he merely wanted to show off and I was not offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. So wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

/132 cont. /

The Gilyak are typically Tungusic Paleasian and yet to which so much an extent that I never heard them mentioned by them and learned of no Gilyak term for them. On the part of the Russian, however, in my time, at the beginning of the fifties, a firm foothold was held as individual points in the lowermost Amur region, for example, in Petrovskoye, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk (1), but they did not pay any atten-

1. See pp. 174-185 above.

tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions and customs as long as they did not disturb the order within the tribal settlements (3). Thus in my time the arrangements made

2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (kun, ninnun) appointed by them for every village, the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the direct rule of the Russian authorities (cf. reining in the nearest port. Dr. Seelmad, who had already been in the Amur region among the Gilyak in the years 1878-80 (Sibirische Reise, Vol. XII, p. 188, Bibl Index), p. 38) mentions the term "Schulzeiten" for a high official who enjoyed the special confidence of the emperor.

/132 cont. /

which were to follow (3). This method was, in fact, more in

3. Concerning this, see p. 682 above.

peaceful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from conversations with Gilyak, they would find it very odd, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too. With me they likewise constantly came and went without a greeting, and I, in turn, did the same. "Good morning" and "goodnight" learned from the Russian. Only in the presence of the Manchu Manin, who was accompanying me, I felt obliged to greet people by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in contact with the Manchu and is not only being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Sanchuan-ti, of Gorbatsi, are accustomed to this and show of adoration.

But what surprised me even more is the fact that the Gilyak never, or at most very seldom, thank one for a favor. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Unfortunately, I was not able to make observations, I would like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which it in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always shaded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. It is possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notassignment, by the Gilyak, and who have received a meal and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do, thank one another, but I never observed it in the case of thanks? It everything based only on national communism or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

/132 cont. /

in the rear let themselves be taken in tow by the boats and dragged up the hill. During the whole procession the women agree drummed incessantly on their heads. A short pause followed, during which a few games were played in front of the house, such as the above-mentioned roundelays, the competitive jumping, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two, which I had previously described, and the game of ball, and then the game of bear-baiting, never using the Gilyak began again and continued for into the night. The bear-baiting consisted in the Gilyak, standing with the bear, so to speak, the bear, which, as I mentioned, was tied to a stake, and, in turn, the Gilyak, with a strap tied around the neck, and, in turn, the Gilyak, with a strap tied around the neck, and, in turn, the Gilyak, with a strap tied around the neck

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a sense of what different patterns. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and hunting collectives, and by 1937 the Sakhalin Nivkhi had established a fishing collective farm, the Nivkhi in 1937, fishermen, hunters, and craftsmen had pooled the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and were working in a more or less collectivized way. Nivkhi collectives were formed in 1939. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, other Nivkhi formed their own farms.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi began to develop an attitude toward their traditional beliefs and practices. Some people, particularly the young people, the men of the Pioneer Productive Organization, particularly on the sovetschoum, where villages had a communal meeting place, and the women, who had been under more marital spirit, were in old women. The shamans' duties among the Nivkhi were not so well defined as among the Nanai, and the shamans were not so well organized as among the Nanai. Nevertheless, they had a strong influence over their own religious spirits (kekhes). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take part in the clan cults.

Folk Arts

The traditional poetic material of the Nivkhi was related, from the standpoint of its content, to the Nanai and Ulchi folklore. The epic tales, which were the most ancient of the Nanai, were not known among the Nivkhi

9: Hawes--158 T-3 (1901) 1

116, 177, 291

"In summer they used to dress in fish-s

1. Salmon (Salmo lagocephalus and S.
Eastern Siberia as kita and gorbusha r

Gradually Chinese cotton (ta-pu) has filter
the place of fish-skins, though this materi
cially of the Gilyak woman; and when visit
skins, stitched together, spread in my hor
skins, but the women favour seal-skin, th
their domestic occupations. The men add
seal-skin. In summer they go bare-footed
use mocassins of seal-skin, the hair on th

For underclothing, a ta-pu shirt, 'short
the Chinese, are worn by the men; and by
two of cotton or fish-skin. The outer tunic
possesses sleeves, has Chinese cash coin
below the knees."

skins, (1) and in winter in seal-or dog-skins.

proteus, which are known in
respectively).

red in through Manchuria, and largely taken
ial is still used for parts of the dress, espe-
ting a Gilyak headman I found a mat of salmo
nour. In winter the men wear coats of dog-
e short bristly hair being less in the way in
to their coat in winter a short petticoat of
, except on journeys when, as in winter, the
he outside of the leg portion only.
ts,' and long gaiters, or spatter-dashes, lik
the women long gaiters only, and a shirt or
of the Gilyak woman, or rather frock, for
s strung round the border, which reaches ju

9: Hawes--116-117 T-3 (1
116, 177, 563, 631

"The Russian occupation [LSS: of
closed in a radius of thirty miles fr
smaller one around Korsakovsk in t
The island is divided into three a
and Korsakovsk okrugi. Each of the
okruzhni nachalnik, over whom is t
great authority, but in his turn is s
oblast.
The biggest prison centre is at A
Timovsk dostroct has two, one at D
forty-four miles, respectively, by
Immediately around these centres
villages dotted about in the forest,

Sakhalin] is practically confined to the district en-
om Alexandrovsk on the west coast, and another
he south.
dministrative districts—the Alexandrovsk, Timovsk
se is presided over by a chief of the district, or
he military Governor of the island. The latter has
ubject to the Governor-general of the Pri-Amursky

exandrovsk. The next is at Korsakovsk, and the
erbensk and the other at Rikovsk, thirty-five and
road inland from Alexandrovsk. [117]
clearings have been made, and beyond are a few
with a population varying from 200 to none at all."

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

142

Ch. Taksami, student at Leningrad University, at a student ball in the Kremlin palace.

Today the Nivkhi are served by an extensive network of diverse medical institutions; in addition, specialist physicians visit the most remote collective-farm villages. One of the initial tasks of the Soviet government was to bring the children into the schools and to liquidate illiteracy among the adults. Schools were opened in Sakhalin during the very first years after the establishment of the Soviet government there. A group of Nivkhi young people were sent to school on the continent, and adults were taught at centers for the liquidation of illiteracy.

A Nivkhi alphabet was created in 1931. In 1932, the first schoolbooks were published. During the 1933-34 school year, some 300 children were already at school in the Sakhalinskaya Oblast, which meant 86% of all Nivkhi children of school age. It was possible to assure daily attendance only after the establishment of dormitories. Today all children attend school. In the village of Kal'ma there is an elementary seven-year school; in Nogliki there is a ten-year school. A part of the Nivkhi youth (boys) attend trade schools in Komsomol'sk and factory schools in Komsomol'sk and Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions; many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

endangering her own health and that of the child. The force of tradition was so strong that even in 1932 some of the women stubbornly refused to have their babies in hospitals, despite the good care and the free clothing and blankets which were given to the infants. It was only after wide medical-educational work that women began to turn to maternity hospitals. The new understanding of the role and importance of medical institutions has also led many Nivkhi women to go to work in them as attendants and later as nurses, educated at the medical school in Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

Today the Nivkhi woman manages her own life and does not enter into forced marriage. Polygamy, the levirate and remnants of the old group marriage have become things of the past.

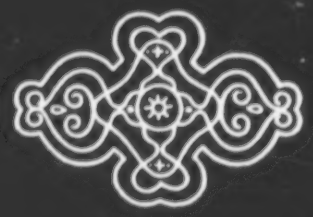

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
552
198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-"Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Ĭevropy ĭ severnoĭ Azĭĭ"
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeĭa Antropologii i Ĕtnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.
mif, 'Land', they say otχ 'excrements.' If they are far from land, they say tevl otχta, if near - knemla-otχta.
mu 'boat' they say orq.
ke 'sun' they say am.
la urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am sodra.
t-lu 'fog' they say verq.
umgu 'woman' they say hiuləd.
qan 'dog' they say aim.
to 'fish' they tomr 'leaf.'
loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.
lo r 'trout' they say manm.
nemla 'linek' they say naχ-tomr.
va s 'lake-salmon' they say vətik.
al o 'kunzha' they say doχti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words manm and doχti from Tungus.

198 ti r 'fire wood' they say ops; tuin ops-ket tuχr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'
la r 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' tor vaad 'three seals.'
la r pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say lərŋ.
i d 'to kill' they say ŋazd.
pət 'tomorrow' they say mandəχa.
e r vida 'let us return' they say pəχtkuda.
saru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvəta-mu.
kər-χoqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-χod 'tava hurts.'
krəzd '(I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqŋ-taŋgad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tot-χod 'the hand hurts.'

9: Hawes—VIII
116, 177, 563

"Of the faulty state of the penal admini
'exile-settlers' described in these pages
investigations no trace may be found. At
the reader should found a generalization
Sakhalin is the colony to which all Russia
very name of the island is banned in St.
capital—the sign-post in front of the pos
(6752 miles)—and the threads of control
Mr. George Kennan's two volumes, (1) g

1. 'Siberia and the Exile System.'

ditions of prisoners, throughout Siberia
lags, as ever, many years behind the av

istration, and the unfortunate condition of the
, it is devoutly to be hoped that in any future
t the same time a word of warning is due, lest
for Siberia upon this particular settlement.
a's worst criminals are despatched, and the
Petersburg. Moreover, it is a far cry to the
st-office at Alexandrovsk says 10,172 versts
cannot be pulled tight. Since the publication of
great improvements have been made in the con-

, not excepting Sakhalin; but that island still
verage penal settlement on the mainland."

116, 177

"The Russian connection with the
was sent to explore Sakhalin, the p
to guard the entrance to the Amur,
planted. During the following year
Muravievsk Post, in the Bay of Ani
work in the coal-mines at Dui, on t
Trans-Baikalia.

The Japanese, who had been alar
the beginning of the century, were
Russians.

For decades back, Japanese fish
of Sakhalin. Now Russia wanted to
arrangement was come to, with a j
territory. This, of course, could n
pleted by which Japan gave up her
of she received the cession of the K
number of years. A Japanese consu
and to pay a pro rata tax levied on
Sakhalin waters."

island dates from 1852, when Lieutenant Boshniak
ossession of which had become necessary in order
at which a year before the Russian flag had been
Ilinsky Post (Kusunai), on the west coast, and
va, were formed. In 1858, forty convicts were at
he west coast, and in 1869, 800 were forwarded from

rmed at the landing of the Russians in Aniva Bay at
now considerably disturbed by the activity of the

ers and traders in skins, etc., had haunted the coasts
claim the whole island. For the time an amicable
oint ownership and freedom to occupy unoccupied
ot last, and finally, in 1875, negotiations were com-
claim to the southern half of the island. In lieu there-
Kurile islands, and an annual payment for a fixed
l has his residence at Korsakovsk to receive this,
the Japanese fishermen who still ply their trade in

"A Gilyak village was therefore so
down an excaped Russian convict.]
unfortunate ex-captain. The soldie
him, one of their number fell upon
attempting to wrest the soldier's g
be captor. 'Then,' they added, 'the

ıght, [LSS: By the Russian authorities to help track
and natives and their dogs brought to track down the
rs' version of the sequel was that, coming up with
him and tried to make him captive, but the brodyaga
un from him, was shot in self-defence by his would-
Gilyak tracker fired the fatal shot.' "

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
178 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
177
427 1 N. V. Sliunin, Sovremennoie polozhenie nashevo
476 Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
476 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares.
177 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mlət) and of the stick over the door of the house (ŋγəmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak ¡argun (?) now living in the village
471 Cγarvaγ (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from the village Ṭəlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-nək and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
412 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-nək.

411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilʃatskiʃe chislitel'nyʃe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuĭ Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskər around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

7: Kreinovich--26 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.
263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.
On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of qosk-ʼeks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanɣ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pes. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (ma t) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

"The sources of our
if little has been hea
and Orochon natives
not impending, deve
[viii] native in the p
abandoning his relig
on record before the
If in the course of
what every travelle
the same time no on
my task among almo

Gilyak

who was a political
on. He recognized
g to fail them, and
settlements to
o it, the work was
cause 'his back ached,'
I fear, unaided and
amount of persuasion

9: Hawes--239-24
116, 177, 578, 692

"His [LSS: The
losing ground, as
said to a Russian,
'Then why do yo
'He is needed.
It is true that it
divine anger to fa
accused of crime,
the last word, he

knowledge of Sakhalin, even in Russian, are few, and in English,
ard of the convicts there, nothing has been written about the Gilyak
. With the expansion of the penal settlements, and the future, though
lopment of the resources of the island, must follow the decay of the
resence of the white man. Already the former is modifying or
ious rites and ceremonies. It therefore behoved me to place these
ey became lost to the investigator or buried in tradition.
the narrative faunal and floral species have been noted, this is only
owes to the scientist and the ever-increasing body of students. At
e regrets more than I do, that I was so inadequately equipped for
ost unknown peoples and amid strange physical conditions."

T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
756

cham or medicine man] moral influence among his tribe is certainly
the Gilyaks come more into contact with the Russians. One of them
'A cham tells very many lies.'
u call him in?'
f he got angry it would be bad for us,' was the answer.
may result badly for the Gilyak, not because the cham can cause the
upon his head; but when the Gilyak has a misunderstanding, or is
the cham may remember his [240] omission or insult, and as he has
an make the punishment very severe."

9: Hawes--242 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 182, 764

"If a Gilyak dies in the winter, it is usual t
is an easy matter in this frost-bound world, u
ceremonies may more easily be carried out.

Let me describe, first, the rites observed
with this, as with many other of the more cur
ference in detail among tribes (of Gilyaks), a
Where the khal has been much influenced by R
fication. With some of the latter, such is the
giving up cremation for burial."

o wrap the body in bark and keep it, which
ıntil the breaking up of winter, when the

on the death of a woman, premising that
ious customs I describe, there is a dif-
nd even between one khal (clan) and anothe
Russian contact there is considerable modi
influence of example that the natives are

9: Hawes--245 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 372, 764

"The corpse is placed on the pyre ready for
fire, which must be procured in a special mar
methods of obtaining it, flint and steel may n
rather Japanese, matches. A pointed stick is
placed on the ground. Four men take each an
the stick, and pull it. This rotates, generates
placed in close proximity. The top of the stic
of wood, or if need be a Gilyak applies his ch
plies his chest. Torches are lighted, and fire
if the deceased leave one."

cremation, and all is now ready save the
nner. In memory of the earliest traditiona
ot be used, nor of course the Russian, or
inserted in a hole made in a piece of plan
end of a thong attached to and twisted rou
friction, and ignites the dried tinder
k is steadied by pressing on it a flat piece
est. Torches are lighted, and fire is ap-
is applied to the pyre, first by the widow

9: Hawes--252 T-3 (190
116, 132, 177

"The sea on the east coast here is frozen i
this breaks up the great sealhunt commenc
in the Straits of Tartary, opposite the mou
Winter has long reigned over the land. T
and ice-bound sea, have been for six or se
spring comes the wind from the mountains
Gilyak awaits with patience the change in th
floes will be driven shorewards, not empty
yeat in the Straits of Tartary a thousand se
lie upon the ice sunning themselves, uncon

n winter for two to four versts out, and whe
es. The great field of operations is, howeve
th of the Amur, and a busy scene it is.
he snow-covered taiga, the frozen rivers,
ven months the only outlook. At length with
driving the ice-floes out to sea. Then the
ne wind, for he knows that this time the ice-
, but laden with many a passenger. In a goo
als (Phoca vitulina, Gilyak, langerr) will
scious of any danger."

9: Hawes--261 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 422, 556

"The headman of Nivo was counted rich an
the weapons and produce of the chase. There
arrows, bear-spears, strangely shaped kniv
baskets, though of a ruder make than those o
my special attention, one, a miniature of the
double-barrelled fowling-piece mounted on a
used by these natives and the Tungus in the

nong the Gilyaks, his hut being littered with
e were nets and snares, automatic bows and
es, seal-skins, dog-skins, as well as bark
of the Orochons. Two other objects attracted
e Tsar Alexander III, and the other, an old
wooden biped, a cumbersome affair, but
winter hunts."

turned my attention to two or three 'works of art.'
to the forms of a disc and a crescent hung from a be
d the moon, and were used as charms. There were
milar to the one I have described as protecting the c
il spirits; but these particular ones, I learnt, were
ould ensure its recovery.

But no signs of worship were there, no graven imag
sible to mortal eyes. Charms there are, though with
ience and the contact with Russians these are losing
lyaks, and they laugh when questioned about them by
rking sense of fear at the bottom of their hearts."

Two small flat pieces of wood cut
am. These represented the sun
also two sticks, with shavings on,
anoe during its construction from
for placing over a sick child, and

es, for the great 'Kiskh' is in-
the decline of the cham's in-
their value in the eyes of the
the foreigner, yet not without a

161, 177, 621
62

: Gilyak on Sakhalin. . . . . will surely d
pean. The chief causes of the dying out of t
owing limits of their hunting-ground, the de
ility to adapt themselves to another mode o
; forced upon them. The Government's attit
gnizes them as Russian subjects, interfere
nization, and prohibits the sale of intoxican
ardly to be expected from officials whose f
patriarchal government which shall interes
itions."

ie out with the further inroad of the
he natives is [**LSS**: sic] disease, the
ecay of the spirit of the race, and their
f living which is gradually but surely
ude towards them is a 'correct' one. It
s as little as possible with their scant
ts to them. What is really required now,
unction is the safeguarding of criminals,
t itself in the race and its changing

, 177, 241, 433

"If there were more friends of the Gily
ile on the island, they indeed might yet
at their means of livelihood, hunting an
erefore endeavoured to induce those wh
ltivate potatoes and to salt fish. To the
traordinarily exhausting; and one gave
ile others eagerly sought permission t
t followed up, [230] his efforts have fai
got several puds sown."

aks like Mr. Pilsudski, who was a political
be saved from extinction. He recognized
d fishing, were beginning to fail them, and
o dwelt near the Russian settlements to
natives utterly unused to it, the work was
it up after two hours because 'his back ached,'
o eat the seed potatoes! I fear, unaided and
led, though after a great amount of persuasion

ese schooners, of the adventuring junk clas
come up here to the mouth of the Tim to b
earrings, etc., for furs, and to fish and s
d been going on here certainly since 1868,
e and Russians for unoccupied spots, and

s, from the island of Yezo, had been
arter rice, kettles and cauldrons,
alt salmon during the spawning season.
when a scramble was made by
probably from long before that."

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--276 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 177, 273
636.27

"Many of the peoples of these northern cl
stance the Yakuts, who manufacture a spiri
sidered an exception. There is, however, a
them from the 'burrs' of birch-trees. Thes
of the wood, of the size of a lump of sugar,
beverage. The decoction is sweet to the tas
the organs of respiration.

To-day Russian vodka, though prohibited
and frequently obtained."

imes make intoxicating beverages, as for in-
t from toadstools. The Gilyaks may be con-
a decoction, but little heard of, made by
e exude a black juice so strong that a piece
is sufficient to make a big cauldron of the
te, and has a welcome softening effect on

by the Government, is eagerly sought after

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

9: Hawes--263-264
116, 177, 586

"Mr. Pilsudsky, whom
an intelligent member of
by the Russian Governme
his wife. He had migrate

1. Which discharges
of the Tim.

day that he arrived at Mr
they told the story of the
Gilyak to the Bay of Okho
less to do anything, and
wife live with the man sh
ing upon it. He had seen
bring about the arrest of
portunity was such that a
good to take away the wif
and went away; and after
body in taiga could read,

I found to be a great and true friend of the Gilyaks, tells how this tribe, whom he knew—one of those appointed as overseer ent to track brodyagi—came to him in difficulty one day about d to a far-off village on the river Nabil (1) and married. On the

on the east coast at a spot a few miles south of the mouth

. P.'s hut, his father-in-law accompanied him, and together newly married wife's desertion and elopement with another otsk. This was hundreds of miles away, and Mr. P. was power- advised the young husband to acquiesce in his fate, and let the e loved; but nothing would satisfy him save a paper with writ- such effect mighty things; buy (ruble notes) untold wealth, and a criminal, and so he would have this magic. [264] His im- t last Mr. P. gave him a paper, on which he wrote, 'It is not e of another man.' The Gilyak took the paper, in an envelope, wards on the strength of this paper, the writing of which no- he got his wife back again."

9: Hawes--273-274 T-3 (1901
116, 177, 433, 461

"After all, regrettable as it is, the d
with the white man. The immediate res
ment of the native hunting preserves; a
side of their main settlements, made l
ing-grounds, e.g. the river Tim and th
man, and in so far limited the possibili
and especially the fires—in some cases
naturally driven off or destroyed the wi

[274] Some of their elders told us tha
of bears, sables, and reindeer, but sin
become poor. In those days the poor m
(i.e. with as large a following of helpe

ecline of the race must be attributed to contact
ult of the latter's presence has been the curtail-
nd though it is true that the Russians have, out-
ittle impression on the taiga, yet the best fish-
e west coast, have naturally attracted the white
ties of the Gilyak fishery. Then the clearings,
carelessly left to spread destruction—have
ld game and restricted it to smaller compass.
t 'before the Russians came there were plenty
ce they arrived and burnt the woods the rich had
an could go into the taiga as the rich man to-day'
rs and as many snares to collect from)."

9: Hawes--273 T-3 (1901) 190

116, 177, 183, 461

"At this village of Nivo, which with Chaiv
heard much of the 'good old times,' and the
in physique and in numbers. Yungkin told ho
but now were small, short, and dry.'

In explanation of this the Russians accuse
notions there is a good deal in the accusatio
teeming with fish; he has made a catch and
his stores will have given out. For this stat
sible. It would savour of greediness, and pe
exceed the usual custom. 'The Great Spirit
reply to the stranger's inquiry. And probabl
vidence was not misplaced, when their hunti
were practically limitless. It is said that tw
spawning-time, 300 kita in a day, whereas n

o is the best known on the east coast, we
latter-day degeneration of the Gilyaks, both
w they used to be 'big and strong as giants,

them of being lazy, and according to our
n. A Gilyak may be found sitting by a river
wants no more, yet before winter is over
e of things habit and tradition are respon-
rhaps even of distrust of Tol ni vookh, to
does not wish us to catch so many' is the
y in the olden time such dependence on Pro-
ng-grounds and the wild denizens thereof
enty years ago a Gilyak would spear, during
now he secures but eighty. "

9: Hawes--274 T-3 (1901)
116, 166, 177, 231, 433

"An example of the way in which the p
the conditions of life harder is seen in t
ways be allowed their liberty, and the f
the cattle of Russian neighbours—a cert
the dogs have now to be fed, and their n
To avoid this the natives migrate furthe

1. Dr. Pogaevsky, in a report on th
official Sakhalin Kalendar, 1899."

proximity of the Russians incidentally renders
the feeding of the Gilyak dogs. These cannot al
iercer ones are tied up, lest they should attac
tain casus belli. Accustomed to feed themselve
master's winter stores naturally give out soone
er afield to less favourable fishing-grounds. (1

he food of the Gilyak, in the local and

174 mainland among Goldi as well as Manchurians. It is more likely that the first Gilyak who emigrated to the mainland from Sakhalin, took over the building methods as well as the language from the Goldi, and that the later ones who remained in closer contact with their native country, adopted the building methods of the Goldi and Manchurians but kept their own language.

The Russians became acquainted with the Gilyak as early as the middle of the 17th century when the first bold Russian pioneers traveled along the Amur. At that time there were also supposed to have been occasional bloody animosities. The Gilyak themselves, however, no longer know anything about this, unless perhaps there are accounts in rare legends which may be known by only a few. The majority know nothing of their own history and I was not even able to ascertain whether there was not someone still living among them who might tell me something of their antiquity.

161 The population of the Gilyak can be only approximately de-
● 177 termined, because, up to the present time, these people do not even pay yassak, and thus there can be no official methods set up to observe the shifts in their population. According to the estimates of the ispravniks (officials) the number of Gilyak of the Nikolayevsk district (1) and the

1. From the coast up-stream to Mariinskoye (270 versts from Nikolayevsk).

De Kastri and Kaiser bays amounts to about 4000, that of the Sofiyskoye district (2), 1000. As for Sakhalin, it has no

2. From Mariinskoye up to the Gorin.

ispravniks, but instead I asked the traveling fur dealers whose business, when all is said and done, would give them a greater interest in this question than the ispravniks would have. According to their opinion, there may be about 3000
161 Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin. The entire race of Gilyak
621 (exclusive of the Negidal) may thus comprise some 8000 souls. I believe the figure is not too large for, although the Gilyak villages are small and present a diminutive appearance, they are [100] relatively densely populated. One may assume that one house shelters no less than 12-15 persons. From a rough calculation which I made in the year 1880, there were about 900 persons in nine villages extending from the coast to the village of Vaida (30 versts above

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.

161 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
● 177 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p. 249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

133 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
312 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) sea-going vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
● 177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket consists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons. The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various necessary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc. Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are fastened with a little band at the wrist.

294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.

291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets [109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows. In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

577 As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among them-
426 selves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating
609 usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money from
186 a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in assuming from this that the Gilyak have two different moral standards, which would contradict our previous statements. The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take his money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take the liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that for this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently they are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would be the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants often played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on his shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's
577 ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that,
609 having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak
177 nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasants of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in general more honest than our sort, especially those who live in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest; on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

77 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
09 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
77 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had before that behaved properly. The causes for that may be found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. However, this fact has in recent times been badly misused and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to put themselves in the place of strangers as well as fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one must remember that, where strangers are concerned, moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed, vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is
77 face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
82 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
27 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But this case was and has remained an exception. The village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants; at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or eight men took part in the crime, of which none is living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge; now, however, they usually file complaints with the Russian administration. [226]

48 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
37 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
44 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself is not too much offended, provided only that there are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

48 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
37 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
84 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
39 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

14 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
34 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

77 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
83 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

623 usually concern abd
681 sions and crimes.
opinions of the older
cases of particular
villages are drawn
fines in money for t
one from the village
sults in a cessation
ally, though rarely,
this is of course ke
tion. As for corpor
herents of the idea.
evidence that forme

578 Quarrels between
411 conducted in the pre
is the kaur, but in
does not have the ir
blow, the blows are
stick. The fight usu
one of the fighters i
ends in death. Som
which, however, se
knives and begin sta
of rules. [228]

563 A sad spectacle a
177 fleeing Russian crim
carry on. Such refu
are a common sight
direction they take i
west. Most of them
forced labor. Since
chief deportation ce
brodyagi also pass t
them escape in orde
European Russia.
native villages and f
tions in even the mo
these refugees know
entertain great hope
hold up to themselve
rest and thus to be p
which they would als
for a few years, afte
citizens. Others, fi

uctions of women or major transgres-
Women do not take part in them. The
generation usually are decisive. In
importance the Gilyaks of surrounding
n. The penalties for crimes consist of
he plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty
, or in a sort of ostracism which re-
of all intercourse with him. Occasion-
the death penalty is pronounced, but
ot a secret from the Russian administra-
al punishment, the Gilyak are no ad-
It is sometimes applied, but there is
rly it was never used.
men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
sence of witnesses. The weapon used
this case they fight with the end which
on point. The challenger deals the first
parried as much as possible with the
ally continues until blood is drawn or
s stunned and reels. This fight seldom
etimes when two Gilyak get very angry-
ldom happens- they reach for their
bbing each other in disregard of any kind

re the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
inals, which the Gilyak also sometimes
gees or so-called brovdagi (i.e., loafers)
on all large highways in Siberia and the
s always the same, that is, from east to
are convicts who have escaped from
the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the
nter for non-political criminals, these
hrough the Amur region. Very few of
r to go back to their homes, i.e.,
ven though the thought of home, of their
amilies may arouse warm, tender emo-
st hardened criminals, nevertheless,
too well the possibility of arrest to
s. The usual practical goal which they
s is-not to be recognized in case of ar-
ut in the general class of brodyagi in
o be condemned to hard labor, but only
r which they could become Siberian
nally, escape without any particular

563 hopes, merely from an ungovernable yen for liberty and
177 diversion, although they know they will be only too easily
recognized and will only earn a more severe punishment.
563 The hardships and dangers which these unfortunate ones
609 must sometimes endure, especially in winter, are hair-
177 raising and some of the stories which they tell as though
they were nothing unusual, sound like epics. A large
number of them perish. One of the dangers which they mu
guard against in the Amur country and the Transbaykal is
persecution at the hands of the natives, in which activity
particularly those kinsmen of the Huns, the wild Buryats
on Lake Baykal, distinguish themselves. To them, a
brodyaga is as good as wild game, they aim at him where
they meet him, and take whatever they find on the dead ma
They do this with all assurance for they know that the dee
will not be investigated. In recent times this bestial custo
has also crept in among the Goldi and the Gilyak. The
brodyagi themselves gave the impetus to these animosities
Most of them are perfectly docile, peaceable human being
who are glad if [229] they are left alone, and are therefore
little feared by the Russians themselves; they are given a
night's lodging, a hunk of bread, and no one thinks of notif
ing an official. Now among these "unfortunate ones" (1)

1. This is what they are called by the Siberians, some of whom are themselves descendants of exiles and have had experiences of their own which corroborate the words of Staël "tout savoir c'est tout pardonner".

there are sometimes real villains who cannot conceal thei
wolf-like nature. Furthermore, among deportees there a
not infrequently to be found people who are simply patholo
cal, suffering from homicidal mania, who belong anywhere
but in a penal colony. Such ugly customers make trouble
when they escape. There have been cases where entire
Gilyak families were murdered even by those who were
hospitably received by the natives. As a result, it is easy
to imagine that the Gilyak also began playing a different
tune. After such precedents, greed and rapacity may now
and then also have arisen in the soul of the savage, even
though such a refugee would not have been carrying much.
Thus the brodyagi now avoid the native villages, and if the
are forced to pass near-by, they go in bands and take

28 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
83 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are
married off. If after the death of the parents only one
daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate
upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who
took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry,
the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by
going against the wishes of his wife.

28 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is
not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general
one can draw the following conclusions from what has been
said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives;
b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro-
vided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their
husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the
nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit
and have their own property, but in general they are not
left as much; however, they have the right to be supported;
e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they be-
come joint owners of the estate along with their children.

65 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
51 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
7 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or
because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they
have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also
have family names (which are handed down by the males);
many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which
is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from
outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not,
are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one,
and by this name they are known even among their fellow-
tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually
intelligent lads and understand Russian.

7 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
4 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
6 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ-
ual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a
certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of
real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment.
Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is
occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit,
both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds
up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans
do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other
people, but they draw an additional income from their craft.
It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a
shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his
"science". Some, however, become students of another
shaman for a considerable sum, still others become
impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on
them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said.
It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman,
whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one
shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in
self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addi-
tion of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to
make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's
advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove
adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with
great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without
any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow;
beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole
house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in or-
der to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only
enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Neverthe-
less, there are cases where people refused to pay a
shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude,
and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic
practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual
mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more
than intermediaries through whom the official gives his
orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian
well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay. Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.

776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

"Formerly bows and spears were their only weapons, but of la
especially, have been discarded for [103] small-bored flint-lock g
in trade from the Russians. Their habitations differ somewhat in
Many of them are erected on posts several feet above the ground,
a platform, upon which they stow away their sleds, nets, weapons
are reached by rude steps cut in a log."

te these, the bow
uns, which they procure
their construction.
and are surrounded by
s, etc. These platforms

17

8

/xxvi cont./

*114 especially great significance to the confirmation of the existence
595 of group marriage in the Gilyak material. In view of the tremen-
[113] dous methodological significance, we present these remarks by Engels in full. "In recent times," he writes, "among certain rationalistic ethnographers, it has once again become fashionable to reject the existence of group marriage. Therefore the following account, which I translate from Russkie vedomosti (Moscow, the fourteenth of October, 1892, Old Style), is of great interest. It not only explicitly confirms the existence of group marriage, i.e., the right to mutual sexual intercourse between a certain group of men and group of women, but it gives an example of a form of it which closely borders upon the punalua marriage of the Hawaiians, i.e., the most developed classical form of group marriage. While the typical punalua family consists of a number of brothers (uterine or more distantly related) who are in marital cohabitation with a certain number of uterine or more distantly related sisters, we see on Sakhalin Island that a man is married to all the wives of his brothers and all the sisters of his wife, and this means, if we examine this phenomenon from the female point of view, that his wife has the right to sexual intercourse with the brothers of her husband and the husbands of her sisters. The distinction from the typical form of the punalua marriage is therefore only that the brothers of the husband and the husbands of the sisters are not necessarily the same people. I must note that this case confirms what I wrote in Proiskhozhdenie sem'i /The Origin of the Family/, 4th ed., pp. 28-29: "This group marriage hardly looks as terrible as the imagination of our Philistines, accustomed to prostitution and brothels, pictures it." "The savages living in group marriage certainly do not lead the dissipated life that these Philistines lead under the cover of secrecy.

/xxvii/ "This form of marriage (at least in the cases still met in practice) differs from a free pair-marriage or polygamy only in that sexual intercourse is permitted by morals in a number of cases which, under different conditions, involve stern punishment.
● [178] The fact that the exercise of these rights is dying out in practice proves only that this form of marriage itself was long ago condemned to die out, as is confirmed by the infrequency of the traces of its existence."

/17 cont./

174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in
174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant
171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug-
342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

342 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak
796 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the
● 178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu
[177] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a
[192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

342 /18 cont./
796 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of
● 178 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.
192

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the
171 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that
174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee,
492 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

173 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
174 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
133 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-
[614] called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo.
[614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion. Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves -- the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak, made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel' has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a [133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence [226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This [172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

/37 cont./

582 601 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was indubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is 582 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches 584 her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engagement of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is educated until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual, 582 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of 614 compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how- [125] ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the census [601] that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of the mother") from ancient times.

582 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even 178 now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way, then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs, sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

/38 cont./

582 178 It is not difficult to understand even the raison d'être of this institution which at first glance is strange and confusing.

582 614 Such a binding regulation of marriage conformed as much as possible to both the basic principles of the clan and the individual feelings of the separate heads of families. The clan, at its base, rests on the principle of blood unity. In an agnatic clan this unity will most ideally be attained if all the wives of the agnates are taken from one clan close in blood and, of course, from the clan of their ancestress. This not only satisfies the formal principle of the unity of blood, but confirms the unity of the cult of the ancestors in both lines, so important in the eyes of primitive man.

If we now turn our attention to the psychology of the individual members of the clan, it /39/ fully coincides with the clan where the sons, in accordance with the general rule, remain within the clan and take their wives from outside. It is natural that every mother prefers to have as a wife for her son a woman very close to her by blood and furthermore to assemble within her family women from that clan from which she herself comes. She cannot, however, marry her son to the daughter of her sister, for her sister is either a wife of her husband or of his brothers, and consequently the daughter of the latter is either an own sister or an agnate of her son; all that remains is to marry him to a daughter of her brother, as has become established in reality. For the entire aggregate of the women of a clan it is of tremendous interest that they are all of a common origin and feel behind them the solid protection of the whole clan from which they come.

Such a marriage (of a son to the daughter of his mother's brother is equally in the interests of the father, who thus marries his son to a kinswoman (praplemyanitsa) of his mother. Since the sister of the husband also desires, in turn, to marry her sons to the daughters of her brother, a mother cannot marry her daughters to the sons of her brother, and, thus, an exchange marriage, i.e., an exchange of women, between two such families was impossible, just like a marriage within a family.

These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace", the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of Genghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 237] [242]

Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
From this we may see how much they really understand of
their new religion. We have said before that they regard

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

302 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
305 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

321 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

305 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

153 etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may
821 converse with the more intelligent of them for a short time.
177 As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. "Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but that your head is standing still. And yet your head, meantime, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little father.

147 XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

838 In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the taiga, or to stand for hours up to their chests in the coldest water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was the only deformity that was known to me.

164 Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military posts. In any case this disease does not have the significance among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened toward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

15
14 Analyzing this table, we see that 1) all the women in c
A have been taken, by generations, from clan V, which me
that Andrei's mother is a sister of Vasilii's father, and conse
quently Andrei and Vasilii are cognate cousins. 2) Similarly
clan V, Vasilii's mother is a sister of Stepan's father from cla
S, and consequently Vasilii and Stepan are cognate cousins,
3) in clan S Stepan's mother is the sister of Andrei's father fr
clan A, and consequently Stepan and Andrei are cognate co

Thus, not only are each pair of spouses, one to the othe
male and female cognate cousins, but the ancestors of each
are, one to the other, cognate cousins. In a word, the foun
of all three clans are close, blood kinsmen married to femal
cognates of the same degree of kinship, and each generation
marries cognates of the same degree of kinship as its fathers
mothers. This is a clear example of how weak the terms ex
ogamous and endogamous are: the exogamy of the Gilyak c
does not exclude marriages between close kinsmen. It turns
that endogamy prevailed within each phratry; each of its
branches was exogamous.

15
14 Such was the original scheme. Time and circumstance
emigration, depopulation, the dispersion of clans, an accid
78 scarcity of women in the mother's clan, and other such caus
naturally led, on the one hand, to a deviation from this syst
and, on the other hand, to corrections, whose aim was to
reconcile the old norms with the new demands of life. All t
superstructures, if I may express myself thus, have quite con
fused the genealogical systems and the marriage norms, and
usually happens, the categorical imperative, weakening in
respect, becomes more widespread in another. Due to exter
conditions, the rule to take one's wife from the clan of one'
mother weakened, but, on the other hand, the prohibition
against giving wives to that clan (albeit completely alien fr
which someone, even a most remote clansman of the given
took his wife has received the most widespread interpretatio
(on the presumption that it is the clan of the mother). From
this the following has become established:

by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves. Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen. If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual

/43 conc./

Since at the present time it is not always possible for all laymen to take their wives from one clan, the clan of the mother, certain members of some clan (M. for example) are obliged to take their wives from other clans. And so, on the strength of the old presumption that the clan of the wife of a clansman is the clan of his mother, all these clans for several generations become prohibited for all the women of clan M. for whom marriage into these clans is not allowed. And this is not all. This prohibition, in essence having lost its former raison d'être, is applied not only /44/ to that clan of which some members have married, but also to a third clan, C. which, in turn, takes wives from M.

In the Gilyak terminology of marriage this prohibition is etymologically expressed thus. Clan A., giving women to clan M. is called the ajmak's (father-in-law) of the latter, while in relation to clan N., which in turn takes wives from clan M. it is — i.e., clan A. is called nyma ajmak's (distant father-in-law); and so the prohibitions lying on clan M are carried over to clan N. i.e., clan A may not take women not only from M. but also from N. The degrees of prohibition, however, do not extend beyond the ajmak's of the second degree.

The entire future evolution of the Gilyak family and clan lies in the history of the origin of the prohibition. In what way could this widespread prohibition arise? We saw that the Gilyaks were not afraid of marriages within distant degrees of kinship. This means that the reason must be some other one. As a matter of fact, in the face of the inevitability of cases where it is impossible to take wives from the clan of the mother, the Gilyak, conforming to the religious imperative, should have, in such cases, considered the most suitable clan that one from which at least the clan of his mother took wives. And, if unable to take them from it, he went to that clan from which this latter took wives. i.e., went by degrees to the ajmak's of distant degrees of kinship, just as within the clan of the mother. In this second case, however, in the family of the mother's own brother, he went to the daughters of the first, second, etc., cousins of the mother. Thus, the distant ajmak's clan were, as it were, reserve clans of the

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mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to extend the prohibitions to the ajmak's of all degrees of kinship; and it was only necessary to extend the ajmak's of the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry ceased to identify itself with the clan of blood — exclusive marriage within three clans became impossible, because in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan A. the ajmak's of the first degree for V and of the second degree for A: consequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan B. It is necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dimitri, Dar'ya). let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry considered in the first degree, in the second degree, would now be Dmitri's clan D. taken, while the latter would have as his wife a sister of Andrei (clan A). These changes, however, the prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the ajmak's of more distant degrees. The phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever greater number of clans. If the Gilyaks were, then, due to the reasons mentioned above. it is necessary in the selection of wives to resort to completely alien clans. the phratry has naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have to make this complicated, confused system. in order to correctly decide. in each given case. on the right to marry an ajmak's clan. And. actually. if anything this constitutes a whole science. to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage

I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. As analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a case of primitive peoples in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

/149 conc./

III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of Marriage

Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kinship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyaks, at least at the present time, we cannot speak of any kind of general prohibitions against exogamistal sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is a completely natural, simple and natural act, like any other natural act, satisfying a certain natural need of man. Prohibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound by agnate or cognate relations. Outside of these circles there is no regulation or centure of sexual behavior, either on the part of public opinion or on the part of religion, or on the part of the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party concerned. Sexual relations with a married woman or women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggrieved at an alien man, and he will pay a certain fine, or the husband may in a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very infrequently, and Hammurabi code and Mosaic laws are not involved. A stranger caught in flagrante delicto with a married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of penal repression has begun to restrain some from impulsive slayings, which are beginning to be replaced by duels and ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They bear her thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her; in the first place, because, as we shall see further on, a woman is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the second place, because she is an article of value, being taken out her husband dearly, and furthermore she is a necessary worker. In any case, the matter is not settled without repression, bloody

/155 conc./

women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-law, because in each of the clans of father-in-law there are clans of wives — ajfgs. Nevertheless, the extension of the prohibitions in the clans of ajmaks's of the second degree is thus naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely understandable contents, leading to some limitations of the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the second degree do not go back further than the clans of ajmaks of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the clans of ajmaks's of the second, and, in acquired women than children, then even in the second generation the limitations fall away. The clan of jaf, for example, takes wives from many clans, called yuk, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we know that a man from jaf takes as his women from different clans of women, namely, on the one hand, to the clan of wives of his ojfa (descending line), and, on the other hand, to the clan of wives /156/ of his afzh, i.e., of his younger brothers (nuns), and sisters of these wives. As concern the clan of wives of his ojfa, there are no prohibitions in examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending generations and the wives of those of descending ones. The prohibited clans are only those of the second degree of ajmaks's. From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the clan of wives of his afzh, he is an ajmak's in relation to the clan of the C. clans. These secondary clans, in distinction from the first, are called nyma (distant), for example, nyma ajmakh -- distant father-in-law, nyma yngl -- distant son-in-law /yzat/.

Finally, in view of the fact that at the present time it is not prohibited for various persons of one clan to take wives from various clans, each such marriage establishes in relation to each new clan a new ajmak's, and, in the ajmak's-yngl terminology, i.e., each clan as a whole can be the ajmakh and yngl of a whole series of clans.

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such circumstances, it would be necessary for a considerably large number of the population who are not well-to-do to remain unmarried. And it is just for this reason that there is the right to marriage with persons of the clan of afzh; about which we spoke above appear as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, next their relatives, cousins, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad clan of persons whom the Gilyak calls ajmakh (father-in-law).

We shall now consider the nature of the relations of these latter with their son-in-law /yzat/yal, and it is clear, therefore, that relations between the Gilyaks and their wives, among the daughters of one's own ajmakh, is surrounded by the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man may take a wife from the clan of his father-in-law. But in view of the generally small number of women in comparison with the number of men, this extreme case, logically consistent system of marriage, like every religious rite, is a fetish of ancient times, and, in the present time, it is a fetish of extended norms. On the other hand, under the influence of the religious imperative of exogamy and has greatly weakened the traditional matrimonial relations, even this prohibition has lost its strength. But there is a point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective to the inherited matrimonial relations. Marriage, absolutely, delimited right to sexual intercourse between classes of ga and afzh. We turn next to this right.

Marriage. Though the prohibition and obligation of individual marriage in the classes ga and afzh, have been considerably shaken by the inevitable influence of both historical conditions and the conditions of life, the religious imperative of marriage, the right to sexual intercourse between persons of these classes, continues to be preserved in full strength. This right, it is true, does not carry with it a definitely compulsory character. A woman cannot be coerced into sexual intercourse either by her kin or by her ga. It is not even allowed that the father, brother, or husband of a woman propose to the daughter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

/220 cont./

cian to change residence and to withdraw more and more from their business. Before they can do so, in the course of a few years, whole clans—family after family —in search of more advantageous hunting and fishing grounds, moved to the most remote regions, from the Tyn'o Tanalia (in the territory of the Aino), to the Amur, etc. Discord between classmates and was play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we shall see what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the three clans that we introduced, from /221/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyah territory, bordering on the Aino, they migrated first to the Amur region, then to the Aino territory, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they become completely Gilyahized. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so-widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any clan name among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old physical mobility has become completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place in other clans. The principal reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyah must travel hundreds of verst to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and wily-willy there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and so marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old pleasry.

If it is not just unmarriageable individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-willy begin to enter into mutual unions with the native clans.

/220 cont./ Cases of mothers-living brother who the wife became even rarer. In the world of the epos, such marriages are "so terrible and unnatural" that they are almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Maxim Kimo Mandal Mangi, who had moved to the Tyn'o Tanalia (in the territory of the Aino), to the Amur, etc. Discord between classmates and was play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we shall see what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the three clans that we introduced, from /221/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyah territory, bordering on the Aino, they migrated first to the Amur region, then to the Aino territory, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they become completely Gilyahized. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so-widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any clan name among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old physical mobility has become completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place in other clans. The principal reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyah must travel hundreds of verst to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and wily-willy there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and so marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old pleasry.

If it is not just unmarriageable individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-willy begin to enter into mutual unions with the native clans.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

/222/ Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive to the pleasry (emigration, population growth, the exploitation of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of the pleasry. Earlier, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How much this factor leaves operative on the surviving clans? Let us recall the third table of our four-clan pleasry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What has to do with the exogamy of the epoch clan C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for new exogamic partners in the pleasry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

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But clan C may not take women from D, because the latter is a forbidden clan. Clan B may not give women to clan C because between two clans is not allowed in any case; on the same basis, clan B cannot give women to clan D. These two remains but one solution, that C take women from B. This solution, in addition, has all the advantages of exogamy for both clans. First of all, these two clans formerly did not stand in a marriage relationship to each other. In addition, C, after the disappearance of clan A, is in the closest on the mother's side (for /225/ clan A took women from this clan and supplied women to clan C), and, finally, clan B is the father-in-law of C, although of the second degree, so that, after A, it is the most closely related to clan C. The otic obstacle to the lawfulness of this compromise is that clan C, due to the fact that it gave its women to B, is in turn, tunna ashkath for clan B and thus does not have a right to take women from B. In a word, it seems that with the pleasry's becoming a three-clan one. The only solution is as follows: the marriage of clan C with B, the one, I, which would give its women to D and take women from C. This new clan for the pleasry may appear, as in North America, where, in the case of /226/ the four clan into two fictitious clan (in this case, C would divide itself into two halves, one of which would be in the role of clan D). We have no data on this either in contemporary practice or in legends. But there is another way out. This pleasry of depopulation strucs all the other pleasrias at the same time. And it was easy to find a single clan, a remnant of a destroyed pleasry, which in turn was seeking to unite with a pleasry. That such a solution was the most practical is seen not only from the practice in contemporary life; it follows from the nature of the case. Clan A, died out, but again and again pleasrias can lose not one, but two or three clans, and then they are inevitably obliged to begin rather the co-optation of separate clans into the pleasry, or the merging of different alien clans among themselves to form a new pleasry.

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In just this way, under exceptional conditions, it is true, the fundamental law of exogamy is violated, but only in this, that once it was breached in this way, it had to spread more and more and more. Under the influence of the depopulation of the pleasry outside of the old pleasry, because, if not lawful, at least a completely acceptable phenomenon.

Now we shall consider the second case, where clan A does not die out completely, but only its pleasry becomes sharply thinned out in people. On account of the shortage of women in clan A, a part of the men of clan C where obliged to take their wives, as in the first case, from the closest lawful clan, namely, from B, but in the case where, as in the first case, clan C, after A, is the closest, B becomes just second to C. The otic obstacle to the lawfulness of this compromise is that clan C, due to the fact that it gave its women to B, is in turn, tunna ashkath for clan B and thus does not have a right to take women from B. In a word, it seems that with the pleasry's becoming a three-clan one. The only solution is as follows: the marriage of clan C with B, the one, I, which would give its women to D and take women from C. This new clan for the pleasry may appear, as in North America, where, in the case of /226/ the four clan into two fictitious clan (in this case, C would divide itself into two halves, one of which would be in the role of clan D). We have no data on this either in contemporary practice or in legends. But there is another way out. This pleasry of depopulation strucs all the other pleasrias at the same time. And it was easy to find a single clan, a remnant of a destroyed pleasry, which in turn was seeking to unite with a pleasry. That such a solution was the most practical is seen not only from the practice in contemporary life; it follows from the nature of the case. Clan A, died out, but again and again pleasrias can lose not one, but two or three clans, and then they are inevitably obliged to begin rather the co-optation of separate clans into the pleasry, or the merging of different alien clans among themselves to form a new pleasry.

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merely of the latter. Life, it is true, has somewhat softened the rigor of the prohibition: in some clans at the present time the prohibition covers only those members of clan who are actually living in the pleasry. Formerly, evidently, the prohibition embraced all the members of both clans; even in its variants mentioned above, the prohibition lands unavoidably one way or another to some cases of marriage outside the pleasry.

The case which we have just discussed is by no means unique. It is quite typical for the pleasry and for the daily life of the Gilyah at the present time. As an illustration of this, we can use the legal case which we have analyzed earlier, with the consequences that follow from the marriage of two clans, one of which came into the pleasry from one tsa is from the ashmakh clan and the other from the yungi clan. It is of interest to repeat here that in this case group marriage among women is also lacking, because, in fact, the children of these marriages are considered tyen and cannot marry each other.

Thus, the depopulation and the thinning out of the people of a clan leads to the following extremely important consequences: 1) allowing free marriage to a woman not from the clan of her husband is a kind of free marriage. In the epos of the contemporary Gilyah, marriage from the ashmakh clan to the yungi clan is called a kind of "free" marriage, and the more favored marriage for each individual is a marriage with a woman from the clan of her husband, in which case bride price is not only not required, but is not even allowed. Free marriages are rather pseudo phenomena, which destroy the customary norm for only a moment and then are spontaneously drawn into the rate of the old norm. This comes about in different ways. In some cases a man may not marry for one or another reason from his mother's clan. In the case of the Gilyah, it is not allowed to take wives from the old clan of his ancestors. In other cases, if for some reason a man is obliged to begin rather the co-optation of separate clan into the pleasry, or the merging of different alien clans among themselves to form a new pleasry.

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rarely, according to the old norm, the daughter of the mother's brother. Finally, in some cases the descendants of the old clan, which gave wives to the clan of the bride, in the new clan of the father-in-law, depending on circumstances, may be considered lawful and not considered lawful. It may happen that not merely two, but many more of these cited cases are accumulated in the course of time in the bride price became, in turn, a powerful factor for the spreading of the institution of the free marriage.

The bride price is a very strong and powerful temptation for violating the old norms, even in cases where there was no necessity for violating the old norms.

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the rich, who could pay the bride price, were interest in one direction, it develops the strength of its age-old inertia with great pressure, and, finally, the bride price, becoming a necessity allowed marriages outside the pleasry, having allowed the possibility for marriage with the children of marriages in the pleasry, it has extended the whole system of regulations based on the principle of the bride price-in-the-clan which even sporadically enter into marriage relations with the clan.

This amalgamation of the old institution with the new institution of free marriage, the amalgamation of the old norms and prohibitions have made not only the kinship terminology, but also the character of the group marriage unusually complicated and confused. Under the old system, when marriages were arranged from one particular clan, the picture of the group marriage appeared entirely clear and simple: in each generation all the "brothers" of one clan participated in a group marriage with all the sisters of the same generation in the other clan. For this reason in views of brothers and sisters, the relations, clan of the husband of sisters called each other brothers, for both groups were such in reality.

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With the appearance of the institution of free marriage, the relationship between the two groups ceased to be so perfect. Great clans, i.e., complete strangers to each other, and, if the clan of wives, the clan of the husband of sisters called each other sisters and become the group wives of their husbands-brothers. In exactly the same way, classwomen-sisters may be married to men from different clans, and nevertheless they continue to call each other sisters, strangers to one another, will have group rights to their wives. Thus, the group marriage, profoundly altered, preserves the kinship terminology, profoundly altered, preserves the kinship terminology, profoundly altered, preserves the kinship terminology

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the parent of his to each other, with this difference, that the collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans, would be broken up into several groups, as in the punalua family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since the Gilyak family is the one that most has survived in the punalua family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the most complete forth of the Turanian system. Actually, we find in it classificatory terms that must have existed in the Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the system of marriage. For example, in the Turanian form which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely, the Tamil, he was extremely important classificatory terms -- "husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed under conditions where brothers lived in polygamous clans, and sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the Tamil system, a man calls by the same father, not only his own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also existed a general term "wife," by which a man would designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband," by which each woman would designate both her own husband and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil, a man calls his wife an mainavi, the wife of his brother, anainu, or mainavi, the sister of his wife or husband, an anainu; there is the same lack of correspondence with the term "husband" (1).

1. See the table in Morgan.

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although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is already a mere question of bride price, though, to be sure, a very insignificant one.

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten", on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for each individual of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, ingend (not get) with the addition of dhanh (woman) or ar-kzd (wife) is used; thus, gend dhanh, gend ar-kzd, literally "to get a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- ayind (not ayin), which means literally "to obtain a husband or wife" -- person, or ny -- husband, or, without the addition, simply ayind (1) (or -- him 4 avind).

(1) Besides the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms gend and ayind?

/382/ In the first case, the fact, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

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/ghentsinin/, with the wife moving into the house of her husband. -- It is interesting that this meaning of the word disappeared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree that often for the expression "to get married" there is added to the verb ayind the verb ttind, xvin ttind, which would mean literally: "to take a bride." Ttind and xvin ttind are used in the same sense, based perhaps on childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

This fact indicates that the meaning of the verb ttind is explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the marriage relations. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female twin cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be endowed by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the counts becoming betrothed are of different ages, the bridegroom, for example, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the bride /383/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak boy acquaintance, Pitem, a lad of twelve, married in this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Imun, aged, who was living with his uncle Ungvaxtan, his father, and began actual cohabitation with her when the repented his first menstruation to him. But it also happens that a child-wife remains in the house of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move, the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister, said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is bride price not, as a rule, paid, but even no ceremony of it. There is timely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not an official ceremony. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

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In another poem, in response to the demand of the bride-groom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter, said: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman -- the wife with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, situated, entered, arranged the house of her young husband, slept with him in the same bed, passed her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

Such a marriage is called /ghentsinin/ and its conditions are explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the marriage relations. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female twin cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be endowed by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the counts becoming betrothed are of different ages, the bridegroom, for example, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the bride /388/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak boy acquaintance, Pitem, a lad of twelve, married in this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Imun, aged, who was living with his uncle Ungvaxtan, his father, and began actual cohabitation with her when the repented his first menstruation to him. But it also happens that a child-wife remains in the house of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move, the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister, said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is bride price not, as a rule, paid, but even no ceremony of it. There is timely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not a

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of my children and your children also be akhmakh'i. If you do not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break off old ties, and I will be angry." Then appeared the long-awaited exchange of gifts, and the marriage was completed.

After such a ceremony, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmakh is not an ancient one.

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied forms of marriage are observed among the Gilyak nationality. In the class of akhmakh'i. One of the causes was the depopulation of the clans from which they took wives, which compelled them to marry women from other clans and tribes, and perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought about by the increase of the number of the people of the tribe. Fact, a contract which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as ornaments, but, perhaps, even food and clothes. Hence, the increase of the number of the people of the tribe. Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and they could, if they willed, have bagfuls of pelts, /390/ /footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Sternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 87, 88, respectively are not indicated in the text./

Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly rooted in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of akhmakh'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure." Even on the Amur, where the old forms have especially lost a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and beating appeared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

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/ghentsinin/ "pure." And thus /365/ they go around the entire village, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to cut the tendon with a knife. A short goes up, it happens that the thief dies from it.

As such is taken also in conventional matters. Before the eyes, in a village where the Nivkh'ski tribe lived, Gilyak is allowed to be bailed; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (xv) -- about an arshin in length with a human chibbisi

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay some ransom. Thus, in the Gilyak language, a particular balagan of the Mika-y-Tvish'i (the settlement of Kzgu, 1896). Children, Gilyak children, who are brought up in such sexual maturity makes two bride. Women piece both ears in order to get in earnings (ner-ki), formerly men also pierced their ears, but now they do not. Women wear a special belt, the girdle to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her clothes inside out and does not sleep with her wife. Women are also polygamous, but not with her sister, or therefore the thgurmah "the sister of the husband" (1).

Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives accommodates a guest under one blanket.

Among the Gilyak, who live on the Amur when it begins to break up, in order not to blow up the opening of the river. Gilyak, who live on the Amur, have a special tradition: "Women in winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in a nail. Women are polygamous, but not with her sister.

During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus healed, the

/370 cont./

in the wife half to death. Even his /371/ wife, in such cases, does not stop the husband, however, although the ceremonies are not fully corresponded to reality, it does so all but fully. Even now, every Gilyak has marital rights (it is not considered a sin to the husband of his wife, and the husband has authority and to all the sisters of his wife. Only the elder brother is deprived of this right with his younger sister. The modern method of securing a wife gradually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women is seen among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a conscious survival of the past, and in part, particularly in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to his bride", wrote, either in jest or seriously, the husband and father of the wife's sister. Thus, the contemporary individual is a pseudo-marriage is a pseudo-marriage, in which the old and the powerful remnants of the old /372/ order of clan marriage persist. Thus, in the Gilyak language, a brother and sister are "Punalua family," which still exists in the first half of our century on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) where, as among the Gilyak, each husband has several wives, sometimes without his wife's sister entered without limitations. And, what is still more remarkable, just as the husband of many and the wives of many brothers in the Punalua family called one another punalua (companion, one's half, comrade, friend) -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "nanih" (the word signifying literally what punalua means among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands). South, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

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no one, and this demonstrates how widespread, even universal, it was in quite recent times. The Gilyak tradition tells were fought principally on account of the abduction of women, and they developed into a kind of blood feud by way of payment of a ransom. The entrance of the Russian into the Amur region has led to a considerable decrease in the number of abductions. No matter what efforts accompany the abduction of a woman, the display of a proper bride price is an effort will inconvenitently result in the return of the abducted woman. Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russian under the term ясак. The bride price is ordinarily paid in article, money, and labor. In the bride price they give boats, kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs, and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in proportion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her domestic talents. A woman who is a "good housekeeper" in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife is a rather expensive affair, and it is usually paid only in considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitzhtro paid for his wife with two Japanese sentes (one large one, coming 60 rubles), one spare silk silver footwear, 10 dogs, 10 kettles, 10 dogs, and, in addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls /275/ the Biblical story of the service of Jacob for Leban, is that of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged man and has no sons, he takes unmarried clanless men as his agnes, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the economic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the father-in-law. The Gilyak, in contrast to a complete pauper, fishes and kills seals, and all this contributes the common

/276 cont./

inheritance. Only with relation to the daughter does the father enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be disposed of as deeply as possible, although in practice this authority is considerably relaxed by the sincere affection of the daughter for her children. The considerable independence of the sons is determined by the fact that they are acquiring the means of existence, by far fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation of only two men is requisite; consequently, on this respect the existence of large family households is not caused by necessity. Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russian under the term ясак. The bride price is ordinarily paid in article, money, and labor. In the bride price they give boats, kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs, and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in proportion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her domestic talents. A woman who is a "good housekeeper" in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife is a rather expensive affair, and it is usually paid only in considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitzhtro paid for his wife with two Japanese sentes (one large one, coming 60 rubles), one spare silk silver footwear, 10 dogs, 10 kettles, 10 dogs, and, in addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls /277/ the Biblical story of the service of Jacob for Leban, is that of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged man and has no sons, he takes unmarried clanless men as his agnes, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the economic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the father-in-law. The Gilyak, in contrast to a complete pauper, fishes and kills seals, and all this contributes the common

/283 cont./

and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even to strength or forty sexes nights. In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /284/ Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally propriation of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. The Gilyak have begun to drink vodka at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to entmoh whole settlements in decent and in beast Gilyaks and whole sets of complicated lawsuits. The court and mediation of the classmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are quite in decay. In the second, prior to the quarrel is between members of different clans, the Gilyak have the common clan of meeting to a mass assembly of [illegible] of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously both the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to its respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to intervene in this case of the court of "ясак" and honorable men by sanctioning the "biliary-strelkin" by election, regulating the time of their meeting, the mode of their conduct, etc. And a first condition is that the "biliary-strelkin" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

/283 cont./

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V

Statistical Data

In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Saikhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/288 cont./

[illegible] 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the Gilyak population, made the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in walk and dogdom are Tamlyan, Tymovsk, and Tymgi; this last is also richer in tables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the entire exercise, even to strength or forty sexes nights. In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /289/ Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally propriation of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. The Gilyak have begun to drink vodka at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to entmoh whole settlements in decent and in beast Gilyaks and whole sets of complicated lawsuits. The court and mediation of the classmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are quite in decay. In the second, prior to the quarrel is between members of different clans, the Gilyak have the common clan of meeting to a mass assembly of [illegible] of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously both the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to its respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to intervene in this case of the court of "ясак" and honorable men by sanctioning the "biliary-strelkin" by election, regulating the time of their meeting, the mode of their conduct, etc. And a first condition is that the "biliary-strelkin" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

/290 cont./

Tymovsk, Tymgi, Tymovsk, Tymgi, Tymovsk, Tymgi,

9: Hawes--261 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 161, 178, 595

"A greater witness to the wealth of this 'Lord Mayor' w
Very few Gilyaks on Sakhalin, perhaps two or three other
have bought more than one wife. Polygamy is no longer a
probably for two reasons—the decline in the number of w
of the people. There are no adequate statistics to which I
first, but evidence of the latter is met with at every turn.
ever taken were the inquiries of Mr. Sternberg in 1891 an
on the west coast of Sakhalin; where he found that the pop
1041 to 1049 in 3 1/3 years, of which the increase of femal

vas the possession of two wives.
s, were wealthy enough to
s common as it was, and this
omen, and the growing poverty
can appeal in support of the
The only censuses (informal)
d 1895, among certain villages
ulation had increased from
es was two and of males six."

116, 101, 178, 182

"The Gilyaks of Sakhalin, being descendants of p
country,[1] are more free-thinking than those of the
a closer intercourse and possibly intermarriages
modify their views. At any rate, one finds conside
old traditions, and many differences of custom an
their Amur brethren, but between the Tim and Tr

1. The Tim Gilyaks are those living on the riv
are settled at the mouth in the Bays of Ni, Nab

west coast of the island."

pioneers who long ago left the 'Old
elder clans on the Amur. Probably
with the Ainus have also helped to
erable divergence in practice from the
d thought, not only between them and
o (1) Gilyaks and their brethren on the

er Tim, while the Tro Gilyaks
oil, and Chai.

116, 178, 527, 782

"[LSS: During the bear fête] When t
at an end, a start was made for the ex
halted at the beginning of the avenue to
wooden-ended arrows towards the bear
the animal, or else they ignominiousl
or beyond the mark. This appears to b
tional custom, for the shooting with bl
greatest pieces of 'fun' in olden times.
in front of the animal in a semicircle.

he feasting, drinking, smoking, and talking were
ecution-ground. On [199] their way the company
allow a few of their number to shoot blunt,
. There seemed no attempt on their part to hit
y failed, for the shots were lamentably short of
e only another example of the weakening of tradi-
unted arrows at the poor bear was one of the
Arrived at the ground the crowd grouped itself
"

"Customs differ from coast to coast, and from
divergence. In many cases I believe the cham,
officiate [LSS: At the sacrifice of the bear dur
influence of his office is on the wane, and as t
cham now.' "

village to village, and here is a point of
or medicine-man, is not called in to
ing the bear fête] possibly because the
he Tro Gilyaks told me 'we have no great

tead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped
ce of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
oting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
ows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
d more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
all board and is usually decorated on the outside with
ious designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the
t.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters
ters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by
yak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures.
reover, all weapons except firearms are made by the
yak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic
rth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought
m the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of
nese pots are made over into knives, etc.

Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples
still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are
y heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely
hioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China
at present have no practical value because no one thinks
carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as some-
g very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has
pened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a
sian merchant, but as soon as he got some money,
ght it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried,
it is even rarer to find married men with four or five
es, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides,
re are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage
uires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not
sist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons,
sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300
les. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the
ding celebrations which must also be paid for by the
legroom last a rather long time, -a week or more. Be-
s millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is con-
ed.

curious, although not altogether unique custom are
rriages between four and five year old children. As soon
he parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pro-
nced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym
takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with
"husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

181

181 ETHOS--general orientation of the culture; predominating interests, values, themes, and motivations; characterizations of the total culture (e.g., as "conservative," "competitive," "militaristic," "spirit-ridden," "Apollonian," "folk," "urban"); allegations and inferences as to national character; etc.

See also:

Cooperation and competition	47	General character of religion	771
Prevalent personality types	167	Social philosophy	829
Ethics	577		

Sakhalin

/350 cont./

177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
572 and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
● 181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
194 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

Tungus ROS
Southeast Siberia RN

G
T
304 /424 cont./
171 custom of tattooing has always been foreign. As a matter of
177 fact, if one considers that the Tungusic tribes who migrated to the lower Amur in the vicinity of the Gilyak, especially the Olcha, have become assimilated with the Gilyak in the course of time through constant intercourse, mixed marriages, etc. to such an extent that externally for the most part they can no longer be distinguished from them, it is not otherwise conceivable but that they must have also lost their original Tungusic custom
Gi of tattooing there. In part directly, in part through the mediation
304 of the Olcha, the influence of the Gilyak system penetrated to
171 the Goldi and spread farther and farther upstream, so that finally
177 a few scant traces of tattooing still survived only in the most remote part of their habitation area. Whether the branch of the Olcha that migrated to Sakhalin, the Orok, had already lost the custom of tattooing on the mainland or not until they were on the island cannot be ascertained, but in any case the absence of it among them indicates a greater influence on them by the Gilyak than by their other neighbors, the tattooing Ainu, as we pointed out above with reference to their hair style and clothing, and as we shall have the opportunity to note in a number of other connections.

G On the basis of all this one is justified in concluding among
● 181 the peoples of the Amur region, on the basis of their total external
177 aspect, the Gilyak present the most individual and significant appearance, which could not fail to have a decisive influence upon the Tungusic tribes living around them.

/425/ Section 6

OOC Food: Animal and Vegetable Foodstuffs. Household and Table Utensils. Luxuries; Liquor, Tobacco

SS Since all the peoples of the Amur region are fishermen or
262 hunters and only a small part of them living in the closest prox-
171 imity to the Manchu-Chinese and Daur practice any field and garden cultivation, their food is predominantly animal, consisting chiefly of fish or meat. Vegetables play only a subordinate role

Tungus
Goldi

SS /500 cont./
492 of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and
184 Reindeer Tungus, the reindeer serves only as a riding and pack
Gi animal, but on the latter, among the Orok, it serves also as a
492 harness animal, and in this its use joins that of the dog.

SS As dwellers on a great river and its tributaries or the sea
501 and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are
184 more or less oriented toward moving and traveling from place to
484 place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The diverse nature of the waters on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sleds, always built after one and the same pattern, the boats used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the actual forms adapted to the character of the waters are repeated with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

G None of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the
501 water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live by fishing and
484 who are inclined by their genius for trading to undertake long
(226) river and sea voyages. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by no means bold and skillful mariners and hunters of marine animals, who in small, easily maneuverable vessels, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarkas, /501/ would be inclined
G or able to battle the high ocean waves. Principally concen-
361 trated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers
● 181 them, in addition to an extraordinary abundance of fish, a natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Manchu-Chinese along the Sungari, and, on the other hand, favored by the nearness of a large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cuts them off from the open sea and, with its long meridional expanse, gives them a bridge, so to speak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their over-all pursuits

/501 cont./

for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators. And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put together have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twissjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

/613 cont./

If one surveys all of the above-described trade activities of the Gilyak, he will not hesitate to acknowledge that they are a people extremely gifted for trade by nature and completely dedicated to it. Too indolent to obtain by hunting the means for trade with the neighboring civilized peoples on a larger scale in keeping with their inclinations, they know how to win them from the tribes neighboring them, who are more skilled at hunting, by means of trade indefatigably pursued from small beginnings. Thus enriched, they undertake, in spite of their primitive means of locomotion, long trade journeys to the Sungari and to southern Sakhalin, to the "Manchu" and to the "Ssisam," and since they exchange the wares and products of the one for those of the other, they serve as middlemen between the two greatest civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the Japanese. This latter activity of the Gilyak permits comparing them with another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Chukchee, who, likewise only poor hunters, but animated by a great genius for trade, roam over the northern tundra and cross the Bering Strait in order to trade for the furs bagged by the Eskimo in the Yukon territory with the commodities of the Russo-Siberian merchants, and, conversely, along the Anjui, the latter for the former, and so in the polar north they act as trade intermediaries between Europe-Asia and America (3). None of the Siberian peoples can be compared, with regard to its trade activities, /614/ to these two Paleo-Asiatic peoples, except perhaps the Olcha, whose strongly developed genius for trade, however, as we shall see in a moment, must be traced back to the influence of the Gilyak.

3. Concerning this trade of the Chukchee, see the detailed and exhaustive account by Matjuschkin /Matiushkin/ (in Wrangell's /Vrangel'/ travel account, Russian edition, Vol. I, pp. 331 ff.), Ditmar (Bull. de la cl. hist.-philol. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, 1856, pp. 129 ff.; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 39 ff.), and others.

None of the Siberian Peoples Can

/646 cont./

people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the ones most involved in the slave trade. Finally, indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have best been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain conditions sell them again, but they most decidedly abhor keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen that he would be in constant danger of his life.

On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in particular in their resale by the Gilyak. It is much more expensive to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Ssogin in Kuik, for instance, paid far more for his slave, an Ainu woman named Kot, than for his second wife, Malguk from Langr: as noted above, he bought the latter for 155 ja = 310 rubles, but the former cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 ja, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful about it, as, for instance, Ssogin was. Such a possession seems so enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the Purchase price in some other form.

/667 cont./

that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in distress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries, and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

/686 cont./

But wealth does come into consideration to the extent that it does among the Gilyak, and those blessed with it do not enjoy nearly as much esteem, moral influence, and popularity as among the latter. But the reason for this, too, in large part is again the greater industriousness and gain-seeking of the Gilyak. If one of them acquires a certain amount of wealth, he continues unceasingly to try to increase it by buying new furs in the neighborhood and on trade voyages, through which his name and reputation /687/ will become known far and wide in the country. The Olcha, on the other hand, are decidedly of a more indolent and more easily satisfied nature in this respect.

Another social trait that distinguishes the Olcha from the Gilyak is that their communism does not work merely within the boundaries of tribal affiliation nearly as much as is the case among the latter. And this is explained by the fact that, while, to be sure, they are most like the Gilyak in their way of life, their customs and practices, on the other hand they are surrounded by closely related Tungusic tribes with whom they have many character traits in common and whose dialects are readily intelligible to them. Thanks to this considerably lessened national consciousness, the individual man, to be sure, finds among them, in case of need, no such support by his more prosperous countrymen as among the Gilyak, but, on the other hand, a decidedly milder and more humane spirit than among the latter prevails over the whole.

Evidence that the Olcha, and likewise the Goldi, Samagir, etc., do not limit their communism to such narrow tribal boundaries as the Gilyak is given by the hunting customs already discussed above (1). On the Gorin, for instance, the Olcha,

1. See p. 910.

Goldi, and Samagir have their hunting tents, but these stand open, with their household and hunting equipment, to all hunters, regardless of what nationality they are, with the tacit presupposition that no pilfering of the hunting booty or implements

"The Gilyaks are veritable chil
therein. Cultivation of the soil is
the flesh of beasts that fall to the
obtain tobacco, brick-tea, etc."

dren of the forest, finding their home, food,
unknown to them, and they live mainly on fi
ir snares. By bartering the skins of such ani

boat off and went. "Row, ice is there. Use more strength
shall go more quickly." We came to the ice, we pulled
boat out onto the ice. "Throw into the sea." After throwin
e offerings) into the sea, we stalked the seals. Then one
mrade, carrying a gun, went towards the seal, stalking the
l. He went stalking the seal, he fired, killed it. "Fellows,
to your comrade, bring the seal." Four went. We dragged
ig seal (sivuch). We hauled it to the boat. "Skin the seal.
er skinning the seal, we shall cook and eat." We skinned
then: "Go quickly, a seal is there again. Many seals, go
ckly." Three went together, going towards the seal they
lked it, they shot, the shot another one, they killed two.
e pilaŋ said: "Those in the boat, go to your comrades."
o more went to their comrades. Only the pilaŋ was in the
at. Then dragging we hauled a seal. Three dragged one,
dragged another. "Haul it to the boat." We hauled it to
boat. The pilaŋ said: "skin it." We skinned it next. "It
already dark. We shall cook meat and eat. We shall cook
at, eat and go to sleep." It got dark. "Let us sleep."
] We slept and got up in the morning. When we got up in
morning it was dark, a fog. The pilaŋ: "It is dark. How
all we go. We won't go. We shall wait on the ice. We shall
the companion (1) we shall see if we go soon or not.

1. ʼafq-vax 'companion stone' or 'companionable stone.' In olden times the Gilyaks used to take along to sea a small stone with a string tied around it. Using this stone the Gilyaks measured the depth of the sea, determining in this way the distance from the shore. Sometimes they take a stone of this type along with them even today.

shall dip the big companion and we shall see." When we
ped our companion: "We won't go soon. We will wait till
wn." When we were staying it was dark. Then it dawned a
. Then the pilaŋ "When it dawns we will go." We lighted a
e, put up the kettle and ate. We ate and when we finished
mountain could be seen. "When it is quite light we will go
dawned, the whole mountain could be seen. "It is far. That
bad. We will go toward the land." We went. While we were
velling it got dark, we kept on going during the night. Whil
were travelling at night, it began to dawn. When it dawned

/80 cont. /

Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and dressed it in it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the inevitable, now fastened to the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /81/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, purchases of rice, bread, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or command. Consciousness of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes to the mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who, of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins — the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inao and covered with complicated ritual carvings; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees; the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

/83 cont. /

/70 cont. /

slain bear; but the head is always respectfully divided among the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman, for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage. A sullen-gully completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts to the following: 1) feeding the bear and /71/ the sentiment security and protection from evil spirits — a very important matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with of local and the origin of sickness and of death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "masters" do good things for man; 4) it — and this is of the utmost importance — is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to this point, it is important to remember what we said about clan gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people," i.e., clansmen who perished in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins — the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inao and covered with complicated ritual carvings; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees; the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

/107 cont. /

Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obligations, the performing and treating as a commandment, then the Gilyak's religion acquires a broad general sense. becomes the expression of the principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general. The significance of this principle is all the greater because of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment; but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of the religious means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence, on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to why the clansmen, constantly contributing human nature, constituting immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsion, but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example, with what strength the sexual instinct is. In general, in matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and women, follow their natural inclinations with complete freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage. Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy. There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless, despite the complete sexual license from our point of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect to persons of the prohibited categories. Adultery is unknown to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exceptional case, almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibitions of parents and the male and female sisters. Left face to face, will go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

/108 cont. /

impersonal form, although by temperament these are far from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the result of upbringing and training in a complicated system, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of such individual infraction on the welfare of the clan.

The religious sanction of prohibitions and obligations and the lively consciousness on the part of one and all that "sin is communal" explains to us the most amazing aspect of the clan structure, the presence of the social organism and the almost complete absence of the element of compulsion, authority. But more about this later.

Such are the basic features of the clan. By them one can judge its all-embracing role in the life of the Gilyak. It embraces a man from birth to death, giving him all its content. It surrounds him with intimate bonds of kinship from both the side of the father and the side of the mother. It unites with a living bond the living generation with the departed ones. It guarantees to man an individual marriage and conjugal rights outside of it, and after his death it provides for his widow and children. The clan ensures his life and the inviolability of his family against encroachments by a member of another clan, ready as one man to rise to the defense of the trampled rights of a clansman and to avenge for his guilt to a member of another clan. It feeds him when he is hungry, it pays the debts of the insolvent, it assists in the payment of the bride price and of blood money.

/109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strongest guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most intimate consolation in the most bitter miseries of life — the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

/116 cont. /

Or: one or another family is temporarily impoverished. There is no special /117/ organ that must take care of them; if necessary, because the family will bring them aid and assistance in any house they choose, even of the most distant clansman, until the hard times change. And this is idle otherwise to anyone, for it is a rare thing for someone not to be hospitality not to offer it to someone else from time to time.

Suppose it is necessary to arrange a troublesome and expensive clan festival. There are neither collections nor contribution, no organization for the reception of guests, and so on. Each person prepares as much as he can according to his conscience, each bears his share of the labor, and only the man who is little richer than the others takes upon himself the trouble of the arrangements. Everyone takes to his house the prepared viands and purchases; they meet at his house to dine in the complete harmony.

During the bear festival, dozens of additional persons assemble from all sides. For several days it is necessary to feed not only the people, but also their many dogs. How much trouble, how much expense! Nevertheless, everything is arranged simply and to the general satisfaction of all. Each guest prefers, of course, to stay with the one who is closest to him in kinship or sympathy, where they take him in, not as a duty, but because they want him; but in any home at all every arriving guest finds a sincere, cordial reception, because during the days of festive enthusiasm everyone wants to display his sympathy and to have broad intercourse with new people.

Hunger has appeared, the specter of terrible misfortune, which can carry off the whole population of a village! All the hungry ones who have not succeeded in dispersing to more fortunate clans gather at the home of the man who still has some supplies, and the laws of hospitality are just as strong on this black day as in days of plenty.

/117 cont. /

But the worst of calamities — a clansman has been slain! Woe is inevitable! ... The whole population takes to arms. There is no regular leader, no elder, and no election. The natural leader has long been known and acknowledged by all; it is the bravest and luckiest of the clansmen; it is the so-called "master," "ez" — all eyes are turned toward him!

And in a moment the equal among equals suddenly becomes a military leader, given orders, distributes weapons, fixes the time of the march, etc.; they obey him as they would a dictator. If this natural leader has died or been killed, everyone knows the one most worthy to replace him.

Suppose a civil dispute has arisen between clansmen or between /118/ representatives of different clans. There are no established persons who are official mediators and conciliators. Very often the accuser is himself judge and executor of the sentence. Once the defendant has refused to carry out his obligation of his own free will, the accuser, not waiting for a judge, unhitches a dog from the team of the debtor or climbs into the storehouse in order to take for himself something equal in value to his claim. And the accused considers this to be the right thing. Of course, such a method is not always possible. But even then the affair works out perfectly well without the powers that be. It is enough for the offended party simply to address himself directly or through a khlaj-nivukh (see above) to one or two authoritative individuals—"masters" from the clansmen of the offender, and the matter is very quickly settled. They go to the house of the offender, who is usually escorted by his closest kinsmen, and sometimes by a khlaj-nivukh. Even outsiders gather. From the hearing of both sides and the opinions of those present, an opinion which is accepted by the majority assumes the strength of a verdict. Usually the offender submits voluntarily; otherwise, the managers of the affair proceed to the offender's storehouse and remove an adjudged amount.

/119 cont./

*G14 615 [182] are constanding ya'i become leaders of the tribe for life, or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do not yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still too insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison with the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and life are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ ya'i not that integrated personality in the higher manifestations of individuality? The influence of the ya'i is therefore purely factual, moral; between him and the power of his clansmen there is no abyss which would be intellectual or aesthetic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

*G14 615 [182] Such is the mechanism of clan life. In real nimbyng is the comprehensive development of the personality, together with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent. Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authority exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at all as constant elements of authority which would justify the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them.

*G14 615 [182] Above all there is the ishnat, the clan, i.e., the whole totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regular assembliat, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once the problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly as it appeared.

/120 cont./

*G14 615 [182] Then there are the hejmay, the elders, all of whose authority consists in the solution of most problems of cult and tradition. They play a certain role at the time of the clan festivals, at which they are generally the principal managers; they are, after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They do not, however, wield any influence or possess any actual significance in the other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

*G14 615 [182] Finally, the third element of authority is the ya'i. Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of these three elements those diverse forms of power which in various combinations prevailed among the tribes, the council of the elders, patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, dukes, vikings, kings, and so forth; we find among many semi-cultured peoples at the present time, and in the history of the history of all nations which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these elements are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

/121/ VIII.

Interclan Relations

The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution, and a man's life and fate are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

[198] Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law, is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the ishmal'k and yngi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond of blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, the bond of common origin through the mother (the male ancestors of all four clans and the representatives of each of their generations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and the same bond of fraternal ties of natural intimacy which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage unions.

/124 cont./

*G14 615 [182] [illegible], very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possibility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations between members of matrimonial clans.

The principle of mutual aid between members of matrimonial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which, despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception, namely, with regard to the pandi'y; by a will, as we already know, the yngi can obtain the son "thagun" (i.e., going for the bride price), while the ishmal'k can obtain the fur "thagun" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it from one clan and giving it to another, must be considered, as an important indication of the fact that originally among the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of payment for a wife, but rather was a form of religious ransom. But for what?

The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the bride price is in general a strange anomaly. According to, once marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious obligation, and even preferable between the children of brother and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This change is obvious: it consisted in the fact that in some instances when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible, it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its own lawful yngi and therefore,could only accede to giving away its women by marriage it with some act of pious deception of the bride, which would at the same time be profitable for the father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only yngi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own yngi but ishmal'k

/125 cont./

*G14 615 [182] violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction: the whole clan of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title of ishmal'k and became, in this case, a lawful clan for marriage unions. As such instance increased, the bride price, whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the general rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

[198] A major weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matrimonial clans is the participation of the pandi'y in the bear festival.

[198] In the sense of cementing interclan relations it plays almost a greater role than the Olympic games for the tribal unification of the Greeks. The bear festival taken place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, while in popular settlements a rare winter passes without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The sled, which every household possesses, is harnessed, and off they go; the rest is not the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest dishes. And in return for the small annoyance of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: [198] in the first place, the very rite of the festival - the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the ablent and most respected representatives of the tribe; finally, the attention /126/ of the women, who are, in the end, compelled only accede to giving away its women by marriage it with some act of pious deception of the bride, which would at the same time be profitable for the father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only yngi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own yngi but ishmal'k

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Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

We already know the general nature of relations of these latter with their son-in-law /yat'ym/, and it is clear, therefore, that obtaining an individual wife among the ankal, among the ankal'ym of one's own ishmal'k is prohibited by the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man stands a sure chance of getting the widow of his brother.

But in view of the generally small number of women in comparison with the men, and considering the fierce competition within each clan of yngi for their ankal and ankal'ym, the conditions of an extreme avidity for the bride price, which has developed under the influence of commercial relations and has greatly weakened the fraternal matrimonial relations, even this privilege can often be a nudum jus. But at this point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective for the individual marriage -- the yngi performs the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man; they strengthen the ties of kinship with the highest sanction and religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live in-law, does not carry on with a definitely the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their yngi or ishmal'k. But these ties prove of

/168 cont./

such circumstances, it would be necessary for a considerably large number of the population who are not well-to-do to remain unmarried. And is it right here that the institution of the right to marriage with persons of the clan of ankal'ym about which we spoke above appears as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, near their collateral sisters, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad clan of persons whom the Gilyak calls ashmalk (fathers-in-law).

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/178 cont./

*G25 [illegible] The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers has proved to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak regard the right to marriage with persons of the clan of ankal as about which we spoke above appears as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, near their collateral sisters, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad clan of persons whom the Gilyak calls ashmalk (fathers-in-law).

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/178 cont./ By one of the fictions, I observed several cases where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakli-Kotan, the southernmost Gilyak settlement on the amur shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only in founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the more exceptional are cases of a man leaving his native brothers on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a husband are bound by the bonds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and completely disregards her obligations as a wife and husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village, and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I never saw a case of a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the relations between two are quite peaceful. If the older brother gets a little angry, it is always without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even at least to see such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Piłudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live openly with the wife of one of his tum. According to the Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the husband is outstanding and rich, possessing many wives. But Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lighthearded, and undistinguished by any

/180 cont./

Such instances must not be regarded as a general phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors are also acting. Among the married women, such factors are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and bashfulness. In general, however, sexual disinclinations play no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in a sexual sense, but also in a psychological sense as well. Offhandly the Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or, if they do, maintain their sweethearts in a separate house in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp reproaches and the revilling of the young by the older people for the work in question, and the contempt of the young. But furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriage to disinclinations. But the sadder of all the consequences of sexual disinclinations are nervous disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myanchelak among both men and women, and illnesses connected with the loss of psychic consciousness (self-control /given in-English/) are the result of disinclinations, which furthermore, among women, is accompanied by the disappearance of the signs of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the appearance of hysteria.

Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role in the life of the Gilyak. The word corresponding to our term for love, of -mund, denotes both sexual love and love in general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term for reciprocal love -- ofmurlk, and for marriage for love -- ofmurlk, vayynd. There are also some other terms for love, for example, hynd and others, but there are no special terms for "beloved" /mata/, "beloved /lemata/, ofmurlk /221/ one can say ofmla ulgyum, i.e., "man whom I love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or

3 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
9 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
7 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think
of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

1 XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

1 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to
say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law
which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and
just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where
it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponder-
ance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of
individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the
assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly
distributed.

6 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
5 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who
is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare
exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater num-
ber of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value,
such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc.
and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely
for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which
in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The
above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury arti-
cles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple
hundred silver rubles in a box.

5 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
8 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
6 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
1 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood,
berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one
must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish
is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in
those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coin-
cides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have
reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various
species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up
the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have
more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to
trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts,
berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor
substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual
"famines" here.

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

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/277 cont./

583 of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol
182 of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this
686 alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the
687 nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slaying of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

583 For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the
686 same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood re-
538 venge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

583 The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment.
472 An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagynd
[439] (E.D.), shygynd (W.D.). These are valuables which are predominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In
[194] ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ at first stone, later

182 /354 cont./
614
796 5. The members of the clan are bound together by common
[574] sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a
[224] clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable.
[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but
[776] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."
[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially
[562] hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
372 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

/362 cont./

614 Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak
182 to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his clansmen, the tombs of his clan. No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to
[177] his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a boat and a net; he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, customs, and intellectual
[155] development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed a social, communal, loquacious, serious character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent
354 in the north, enter one of these anthills on a winter's evening,
521 and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

766 /368 cont./
ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief. Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and solemnly carry the bear and its ill-starred rider to the settlement. They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all
[782] sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small
[769] troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopee is fully completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clansmen of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at
182 the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure
766 is, I think, the following. The bear is killed in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bones must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacri-
[782] fices are made to Pal'-nivukh, in this case to propitiate him so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is burned, it is true, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in
614 which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire
[782] clan a rich sacrifice is made to Toll'-nivukh on the shore. A new yurt is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

797 In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of Christianity among the Gilyak. On the entire western shore I have met only two baptized Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

/633 cont./

583 It is to be seen in part from the preceding that the custom
121 of wife purchase has, on the whole, a beneficial influence upon a
182 primitive people. Even though, to our minds, it involves an in-
[562] sulting disregard for human dignity and the personal rights of the woman, /634/ in that, in relation to the man, it makes her simply a commodity, nevertheless it exerts some moral pressure upon the men. For, above all, it forces them, through activity and industry, to acquire the means to buy a wife and to found a household of their own, and thus it puts an effective curb on premature marriages. Moreover, as we have seen, through the material obstacles that it puts in the way of polygamy, it promotes monogamy. And, finally, it provides the wife with both a guarantee of good treatment on the part of her parents, for a well-fed and well-supported girl can be married off more easily and at a higher price, and, in particular, some protection against rough mistreatment on the part of the husband, for what is bought with difficulty and at some expense is as a rule, among primitive people in particular, more highly prized and better cared for than that which is attained without effort and for a low price or even as a gift. Thus, among primitive peoples, the bride price to
[562] a certain extent constitutes a corrective for their lack of esteem and spiritual appreciation of the wife, and the higher it is, the greater its effect is bound to be, and the more favorable the prognosis for the marital and family relations of the people concerned. To what extent this may be true among the Gilyak, beyond the above-mentioned prevalence of monogamy among them, we shall have occasion to learn from the following observations.

583 On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the higher the bride price, the greater the temptation for poor but enterprising young men to avoid paying it and to gain possession of a wife by a ruse or force. Indeed, among the Gilyak the abduction of women is by no means rare. According to their own statements, it almost always takes place by prearrangement between the two parties, the abductor and the one to be abducted. In order to carry it out, the man appears, as if by chance, in the house

/867 cont./

735 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature
421 furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still
[182] very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

342 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle
421 in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with
423 long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less importance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

23 /697 cont./ From now on
175 it belongs, so to speak, to the whole village, for all its members
[421] have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are entitled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor, ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The
● [182] bear festival, then, in a very eminent sense is a communistic festival which unites all the individual members of one village community and therefore understandably represents the climax of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original owner of the bear, the man who bought it or who arranged for its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course, within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host,
[574] he may make the feast a more or less opulent one by adding culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and, accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances, even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally, after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

231 The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of the village takes place in accordance with a previously established order. The food given to it, through the little window in the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state (jukola), mossj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or cowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form, but in winter only as ice or snow. The long spoon (Gilyak nichyr) illustrated on Plate LI /p.125V/, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the food, in particular the mossj and the water. From time to time, but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however, which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman, it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose round the neck of the bear still in the cage, and shackling its

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
627 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to
601 the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in
[108] his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[595] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
614 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
561 (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
● 182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tungusian, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[556] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[595] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-
[567] price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

175 At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
648 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
622 and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi
175 subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
178 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
433 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
[567] ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
771 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about
[573] rivers, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in "their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrandz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the Institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Lisa Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the
[463] A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

177 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
648 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions;
42 many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive
[64] committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

[545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

● [182] The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the
562 Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and know only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

225 The sketches do not include all the details of the beluga hunt. Mytka's account, dictated to me on June 29, 1931, in the village Puir, supplements the sketches. We give here a faithful translation of his account.

"During the ebb tide the belugas head inshore. After the tide receded, he gathered his friends (and said): 'Let us go after it (in the sea).' We went in pursuit. When the beluga headed out to the fairway we chased it back to a shallow. When it could not go any further the man at the prow who held a harpoon got ready and waited for it (the beluga) to appear (to come up). When it broke the surface, he lanced it. Then he threw the float. We let the beluga drag the float. When it got tired we approached it and lanced it a second time. Then we came close to it and hauled it to the side of the boat. We hooked the beluga and hauled it (out of the water). Then he hit it with a lance (that is, pierced it) (2)

2. The Gilyaks kill the beluga by lancing it in the area of the respiratory orifice.

When we killed it we tied a rope to it and hauled it ashore.
225 While we were hauling it, the old woman came down to the
533 shore and began striking the board with a stick. (3) When we
824
● 182 3. Only in Puir do they welcome the caught beluga by such music. I have not observed this custom in any other village.

brought it (to the shore), we came up to the shore prow first. (4) Having untied the beluga, we hauled it to the shore

4. Usually the Gilyaks come up to the shore stern first, but when they bring a beluga, they come prow first.

[112] and pulled it out. We put the board on which the woman was beating under the head of the dolphin. The old men sent the youths to gather dozgon grass and piskar plant. (1) Then we

1. The Amur Gilyaks "feed" the plant piskar to all captured sea-animals such as sea-lions, seals, and belugas. They put this plant in the mouth of the killed animal (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel

225 Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the
533 Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia,
824 1934, no. 5.).
182

225 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the
476 shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their
225 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we
782 cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut
778 some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

225 cut down a young birch, stick it on the elzəs
782 and suspend the head of the beluga in the tree.
778

on a birch-tree. Then they scattered some more rice and berries. (5) Then we sat down around it. We fed the childre

5. That is, they spread rice and berries on the head of the beluga.

and went down again. Then we got a young man to take a white stone and put it in the sea-dish. Then we returned and went home. When we came home we put the stone in the fire place." (6)

6. The stone which they put in the fire place is a payment to the master of fire for the successful outcome of the hunt (cf. our article "Morskoi Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the village Kul]).

182 The methods of beluga hunting as described by the Gilyak
225 Mytka in his account and pictured in his sketches are characteristic of the village Puir and partly of the village Lyangr. The hunt proceeds differently in other places. [114]

The account of the Gilyak Khor (from the village Chomi(?) telling of a beluga hunt undertaken by him and his friend in 1930 supplies us with enough information to enable us to distinguish between the methods used by the Khor and those described above.(Khor's account was written down by me in the fisheries of Dzhaori in 1931) [For Mytka's account, see category 225, pp. 111-113; for Kor's account, pp. 114-116--Analyst.]

225 We present a translation of the account, striving to com-
103 municate the spirit of the original.

"During a run of herring, the four of us, two adults and two children, went in a boat to the Big Cape (Pila-krə) to hunt for belugas. When we approached the whirlpool (Polx), we came ashore and took out our things. The animal (that is, a seal, a beluga) was swimming up (1) to the shore. The

1. Literally: "rose up to the shore."

children heated tea, and we took the harpoons and went up.

9: Hawes--164 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 101, 178, 182

"The Gilyaks of Sakhalin, being descendants of pioneers who long ago left the 'Old country,' are more free-thinking than those of the elder clans on the Amur. Probably a closer intercourse and possibly intermarriages with the Ainus have also helped to modify their views. At any rate, one finds considerable divergence in practice from t old traditions, and many differences of custom and thought, not only between them anc their Amur brethren, but between the Tim and Tro (1) Gilyaks and their brethren on th

1. The Tim Gilyaks are those living on the river Tim, while the Tro Gilyaks are settled at the mouth in the Bays of Ni, Nabil, and Chai.

west coast of the island."

116, 182, 342

"The Gilyaks boast of two kinds of h
tuf, and the other for winter residen
contact with their neighbours have l
times, probably as late as the begin
later on the island, the winter hut w
Protection against the wind and co
site is chosen in the forest, [191] wh
winter's hunting. A quadrangular pi
corners of a smaller quadrangle wit
united at the tops by four other pole
the level ground, i.e. three feet ab
of larch, are rested against the fra
erection with its conical top cut off.
earth dug out of the pit, saving only
or tunnel, likewise composed of tim
approach to the dwelling. This is on
it, finds the end blocked, but slippi
panel, a little earthen stairway is r
hut."

uts, destined the one for summer and called tolf
ce named torif. The extremes of climate, and
ed to the adoption of dual dwellings, but until recen
ning of the nineteenth century on the mainland, and
as the only style of dwelling.
old being the chief requisites of a winter abode, a
ich has the added advantage of being handy for the
t is dug to the depth of about three feet. At the
hin this pit are erected four stout poles, which are
s. This forms the main framework of the hut. Fron
ove the floor of the hut, smaller poles, generally
nework all round, thus forming a tent-shaped
The whole of the structure is covered up with the
a hole in the top for chimney. A covered entrance
ber supports covered in with earth, forms the
the level ground, and the stranger having penetrat
ng aside a sliding door, or, more accurately, a
evealed, by which he descends to the floor of the

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
[675] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move; the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/276 cont./

583
431

years regularly sent him rice, tobacco, and tea, and divided with him all that he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he had given a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

[626] return a gift of equal value to the bridegroom. A Gilyak who breaks this custom becomes a general laughingstock. Besides the gifts to the groom, it is also the father's obligation to provide his daughter with a dowry equal in value to the bride price, and the dowry is in essence as much a gift to the daughter as it is to her husband, who is freed from the great expense of expenditures on his wife.

Thus, it is clear that, at least among the Gilyak (among other peoples, too, there is much reason to think) (2), bride

[171]

2. Incidentally, among the Turkic peoples and the Shoshoni Indians, where marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyak.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be
583 axiomatic until very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /277/ this is the fact that it is positively not allowed to buy wives from one another.

583
182 It remains for us to answer the question, why is there no bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in this last case marriages are concluded between persons who are bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between alien clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

110, 102, 342

"The possession of two houses fo
tage from the point of view of their
forest to pursue the hunting of the b
to the river bank or sea-coast as th
a rudely constructed Swiss châlet.
was apparently a doomed fashion."

r the different seasons is also found to be an a
occupations. In winter it is convenient to be in
bear, fox, etc., while in the summer fishing po
he most handy. In shape the summer hut resem
Some were built on piles, but these were few,

9: Hawes--202 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 183, 527, 782, 825

"It is useless to ask the Gilyaks of to-day the
bear fête] for they do not know; and, in any c
the hidden meaning of their rites. The follow
to find out the signification of the ceremony,
Gilyak. It means the offering to Pal ni vookh.
Russian. Why do you not recite about it durin
Gilyak. I don't know.
Russian. Do the Gilyaks punish the bear for
Gilyak. No.
Russian. Why does the cham recite these cha
Gilyak. The Gilyaks have done this from anci
know something about it.

The old men, however, on being asked, kn

raison d'être of the custom, [LSS: The
ase, they would not reveal to a stranger
ing is how a Russian fared when he tried
and I met with no more success.

g the killing of the bear?

his crimes?

rges in the bear's ear?
ent times. Ask the old men, perhaps they

ew no more. "

9: Hawes--242 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 177, 182, 764

"If a Gilyak dies in the winter, it is usual to
s an easy matter in this frost-bound world, u
ceremonies may more easily be carried out.

Let me describe, first, the rites observed c
with this, as with many other of the more curi
ference in detail among tribes (of Gilyaks), an
Where the khal has been much influenced by R
fication. With some of the latter, such is the
giving up cremation for burial."

wrap the body in bark and keep it, which
ntil the breaking up of winter, when the

on the death of a woman, premising that
ous customs I describe, there is a dif-
d even between one khal (clan) and another.
ussian contact there is considerable modi-
influence of example that the natives are

/191 cont./

*174 60 Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tuvn, although they may be completely alien to each other, call each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-law, although he may be a complete stranger, my "mother's brother," and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in-law the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, from that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the unmarried ones, become my mothers, and no one from her clan can marry the women from my clan?

[614] Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry into not only that clan from which anyone from my clan takes a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? In what way could the apparently paradoxical fact that a man can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothers, fathers, and mothers) in clans completely alien to him have *174 58 60 come about? This confusion and apparent absurdity can be explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and logically consistent system of marriage, like every religious ● [183] norm, has created around itself by a peculiarity natural to it a fabric of extended norms. On the other hand, under the [178] influence of historical conditions and the conditions of life, it underwent a gradual extension and complication, while at the same time the kinship terminology, as an element which by its own nature, in view of its formality, was distinguished by its extreme stability, remained unchangeable. What was the scheme of primitive marriage like? In certain places in our exposition we have already discussed it. Now we must elucidate this question in all its fullness. The detailed analysis both of the prohibitive and of the permissive norms of marriage that we made in the preceding chapter has shown that these norms completely correspond to the kinship terminology; in other words, the whole intricate Gilyak kinship terminology is nothing more than an automatic registry of the marriage system. [178] This faithful registrar, so stable in the face of all change,

/278 cont./

583 554 735 chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come ● [183] to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with [614] his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do [476] clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of 583 554 452 735 lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A 583 735 554 curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

583 614 [627] As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the ooo shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its hea
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a spe
a- ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face wash
i.e. the scoop used in washing the face of the anima
The heads with pisker stuck in them are taken ho
225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pila per
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines traj. (Regardl
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties,
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the
sivuch.) The pila cuts the breast of the sivuch and
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to
of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see."
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regar
belonging to the pila. However, as far as the distri
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as
different from the other sivuchs. This will become
from the facts given below. True - as I was informe
Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been ki
out drawing final conclusions as to the possibility o
asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his s
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data -
emphasize at this junction two incontestable circum
First - the pila appropriates the first sivuch killed
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under
of a religious ceremony.
784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the es
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.
● 183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as w
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connect
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need
those taboos. This is not the place for the enumera
tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunte
as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only p
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some
terdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter m
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a hea
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one
hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear wi
to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue ol
can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in
Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meani
these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos ser

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
183 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
626
262 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
462 parts of the clan.
868 Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Carvax
183 (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and ə isk (Agiska) informed
626 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by women in cutting leather and cloth (tans-kəlmr). Also, a child must not play with a woman's cutting knife (tan-dago).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,' 'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow, or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local Russian - farta). If a woman or a girl were to step inadvertantly over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in play - have anything to do with implements used by women in their tasks and that, conversely, girls mustnot use implements used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legitimize for both men and woman, virtually from the time of birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.

462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs, row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregancy, the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disreputable and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food, make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dignity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food. They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

462 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
562 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time they are born, and when they grow up they are given away, in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that takes the woman, i.e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also, women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat. They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts. Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, otherwise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
462 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the tuaj where the pila attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pila distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes apparent that the sivuch, which is the pila's legal property and whose blood he used in feeding the tuaj, is included in

115 [97] Since little has been published about the Gilyak up to the
121 present time, I took advantage of my visit of several years duration in the Amur country to study this small tribe somewhat more in detail. All races are of interest, not only in themselves, but because they furnish material for advanced scholarship. If the professional ethnologist should find something in this sketch which can be used for the purpose of such comparative study, it would give me great pleasure.

The material I present here is based largely on my own experiences and investigations, but in part it is based on notes which I gathered from those Russians who had frequently come in contact with the Gilyak. I was always careful to question several people about each subject, for the sake of greater accuracy. The statements, moreover, usually coincided. (1)

1. For my reports about the Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin, with whom I had little personal contact, I am largely indebted to a physician who lived there: Dr. A. Lebedev.

101 I. Geographical Distribution and Population.
131 The tribe of Gilyaks (2) which belongs to the Mongolian
182

2. The word is usually written "Giliak" but because the "g" is hard in pronunciation, I added the "h". [RCH: The author througout spells the word Ghilakin.]

race lives partly on the island of Sakhalin, partly on the continent, in the coastal region of East Siberia, that is, on the lower Amur and on the sea coast around the mouth of this river, as well as on the De Kastri bay and the Kaiser bay. On the latter, the Gilyak are found only sparsely and more temporarily. On the island of Sakhalin they occupy the northern half, especially the Tym river valley, and the east and west coasts. In the summer they occupy one or another place, according to where fishing [98] is best; but in winter they always go back to their villages.

On the lower Amur the true Gilyak are to be found only as far as the village of Bogorodskoye, 150 versts up-stream from the city of Nikolayevsk. From Bogorodskoye up to the Amur tributary of Gorin, that is, from about 51 degrees north latitude, there lives a people that may be considered a cross between the Gilyak and the Goldi. They call

101 themselves "Mangun" (1), sometimes also "Chedé". The
131
182

1. "Uni" means "river" in the language of the Goldi. The name "Amur" seems to have derived from the Goldian designation for water: mu.

former means "river people"; the latter, "the lower ones" The Russians regard them simply as Gilyak and know no other name. Beyond the Gorin, the Goldi begin to appear, but they are also found scattered among the Mangun-Gilyak. The latter differ from the Goldi in certain external characteristics and customs, and from the true Gilyak in their burial ceremonies and in their language which is nothing more than the somewhat modified language of the Goldi. Among these Mangun are to be found, here and there, some nomadic Orochon and Tungus or Sofiysk-Gilyak, as they are usually called in those parts (from the town of Sofiyskoye on the Amur).

On the river Amgun which flows into the Amur from the left side at the so-called Tyr, about 80 versts above Nikolayevsk live the so-called Negidal who are considered a mixed race of Gilyak and Tungus. They speak Tungus, and in their way of living rather resemble the Gilayk who do not, however, recognize them as kin.

The following is the picture: 1) The full-blooded Gilyak live on the island of Sakhalin (northern half), on the continental coast, and on the Amur as far as Bogorodskoye; but they fall into two sub-groups of which the island Gilyak differ from the continental ones only slightly in language and in the way in which they build their dwellings. 2) The second group are the Mangun who are probably a mixture between Gilyak and Goldi and who have little more than their language in common with the Goldi. 3) The third group of Negidal is no longer very closely related to the Gilyak and will therefore not be considered in this essay.

174 We do not know how long the Gilyak have occupied their present habitations [99], but we surmise that they came to the mainland from Sakhalin.

The Goldi consider themselves the original inhabitants of the Amur country, but among the Gilyak it is frequently assumed that they formerly all lived on the island of Sakhalin. And, as a matter of fact, if the opposite were the case, the Sakhalin-Gilyak would probably have brought along with them the more complete type of dwelling which is common on the

513 heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse military cloth.

182 The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged.
342 They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a box-like open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

314 A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder
342 parts of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go
484 off on longer excursions move into the airy storage hut. This
592 consists of boards, and stands on poles in order to protect it from rats. [115] On their expeditions the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped, and softened in hot steam. They also make baskets, small dishes, etc. of this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one family; usually several of them live together, sometimes as many as eight or nine.

531 VII. Transportation Methods,
Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regular one is usually made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, about six to seven meters and has no keel. The steering end is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Lengthwise it consists of three planks, one of which is the floor, the others, the two sides. The floor board projects out at the prow, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small cross-boards; the projecting floor board softens the impact in landing and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss which on the inside is covered with thin wooden strips and fastened down. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a small bar fastened to the edge of the boat for each oar, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on low, narrow cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised and a sail is set. The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth. These boats go very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe made of birch bark; inside, the frame is supported by a double row of lashing of the same material, which runs criss-cross. Usually only one person sits in this canoe and rows with a double oar, both right and left.

764 dead one is brought or carried into the woods, accompanied by relatives and friends. He is placed on a pyre where he is burned in three or four hours. The skull and the extremities usually burn faster than the spinal column. The mourning relatives stand around the fire. In token of their sorrow the women let their hair hang loose, the men sometimes cut theirs short. The ashes are gathered in a vessel and placed in the "death house". The latter is an ordinary yurt in design, but very small, somewhat like a large doll house. Beneath it the clothes, the pipe, and the weapons of the deceased are buried. Sometimes, however, the clothes are also burned. The favorite dog is killed but not burned; it is consumed by the mourners. On Sakhalin, if the deceased was a wealthy man, all the dogs which brought his sled to the funeral pyre are killed; poor people content themselves with burning the sled.

There is no special place for the death houses; they stand by themselves all over the woods, not too far from the village. On certain days the relatives assemble here for a funeral rite. Millet, a stuffed pipe, and such things are placed in the little house through the window, and all who are present break into loud lamentation.

764 The above-described burial ceremony is customary only
182 among the true Gilyak, that is, on the island of Sakhalin and on the mainland along the Amur up to Bogorodskoye. The Sofiyskian Gilyak lower the bodies without a coffin into a crypt. The deceased is given his best clothes for the journey besides a bowl of millet, a stuffed pipe and some spirits. At the head-and foot-end [239] stakes are driven, on which hang his weapons and other objects. For these graves there is
766 also no particular place. Sometimes, instead of being bur-
182 ied the corpses are put in open cradles made of wicker and suspended from trees. This is supposed to be done when there are epidemics, and thus the very thing that should not be done is done. However, since these death cradles are isolated and hung up at a great distance from the villages, the miasmas resulting from decomposition are probably not harmful.

XV Weltanschauung and Religion.

771 The Gilyak do not generally like to speak of transcendental matters. One is advised by some of them to ask a shaman for information, since he knows better. Others, on the contrary, answer the given questions like disinterested persons, that is, they say the shaman maintains this or that, but a certain scepticism is apparent. The Gilyak are

183

183 NORMS--native and scientific definitions of custom (e.g., as ideal patterns, as ranges of variation within limits, as statistical inductions from observed behavior); positive and negative norms (e.g., folkways, taboos); verbalized and covert norms; investment of norms with affect and symbolic value (e.g., mores, idealization); discrepancies between ideals and behavior; configurations of norms (e.g., culture complexes, institutions); etc. See also:

Attitudes	208	Taboos	784
Ethical ideals	577	Transmission of social norms	867
Legal norms	671		

/115 cont./

555 556 156 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on his advantages (1).

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibl' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance: that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

[789]

* 614 156 [454] ● [183] His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

156 771 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

/116 cont./

156 771 one but on all. Any attempt to monopolize the gifts of the gods must inevitably incur just punishment by the common benefactors of the clan.

* 614 771 182 156 ● 183 Everything that religion and clan wisdom prescribe for gaining the beneficence of the gods is a blessing for each, and to carry out their dictates means only to take care of one's self. It is the same with all the prescriptions of clan regulations, be they sexual norms, rules of revenge, or religious rites; any infraction of them on the part of one is a common "sin" and is destructive to all.

All more or less important acts of social life, even including sacrificing one's self in a battle of vengeance for one's clansman, are categorical imperatives of a religious world-outlook which neither allow hesitation nor require compulsion. All of the instincts for self-preservation are in complete harmony with the religious ideas. By an act of revenge, a man protects his own security, but he thereby also fulfills a religious duty by appeasing the spirit of the dead man, which is able to inflict punishment if it remains unavenged. And so it is in everything...

156 * 614 182 A healthy, integrated, comprehensively developed personality with an integrated religio-social world-outlook, creating a perfect harmony of the personal and social interests and the driving forces of life -- such is the hidden, but mighty mainspring of the clan mechanism.

Observe how, without any regulation or organs of compulsion, but with only the desire of an individual, the complicated mechanism of clan life operates.

* 614 768 182 Suppose a clansman with a family dies. It is necessary to provide for his family, to preserve his property until the heirs reach maturity, and it is necessary, in order to avoid disputes, to decide to whom the widow of the deceased shall pass. There are no judges, there are no authorities, but, a short while after the deceased has been buried, the nearest clansmen assemble, have a short discussion, listen to the claimants, and the one they decide upon will be the husband of the widow and the father of the orphaned children.

During

* 835 /184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstanding of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo, where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his ymgii, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka was a considerably Russified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Russified Gilyak, Allykh, from the settlement of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger tuvn, compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding, as was customary, to whom the widow of the deceased should pass, to award her to him, although he, as an aki (elder brother), had no rights whatever to this. But these cases are the exception and evoked an energetic reaction from the community.

[177]

177 * 835 587 768

684 In the first two cases the violators had to go into voluntary exile, i.e., settle outside the settlement and lead a lonely existence, with all the deprivations of clan blessings associated with ostracism. But, we repeat, these were quite exceptional cases bound up with psychics changed under the influence of an alien culture (1).

[177]

* 835 ● 183 587 768 [931]

1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when a husband is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

/184 cont./

* 835 ● 183 587 768 [614] levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is given, according to the decision of the clan council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

684 * 835 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust.

[776] In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

[825] [K2] [533]

* 835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--248-249 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 183, 776

think that came about?

Russian. I don't know. Perhaps somebody ro

Gilyak. Hey! Kaukray! Nobody had robbed h
by Tol ni vookh, kiskh!

Russian. Then why has he done it?

Gilyak. Because the Gilyak offended him in s
him, and his garments he has taken for himsel
the shore so that all should know that this Gily
frightened to offend the powerful Tol ni vookh.

obbed him.
im. You yourself don't know. It was done

something, therefore the god has drowned
f, and the naked corpse he has cast on
ak had offended the god. May all be
"

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

9: Hawes--24
116, 173, 183

"The Gilya
of it. I learn
known to hav
and had been
cal exile, t
'The legen
a Chinaman
books and le
and blew awa
the Gilyak's
The Ainus
letters and r
ing from aft

aks have no written language, but they have a legend to account for the want
it it from one of their number, Imdin by name, the only Sakhalin Gilyak
ve been brought up and educated by the Russians. He is an intelligent youth,
sent to a school at Vladivostok, where I met him in the charge of a politi-
to whom he owed nearly everything.
nd current among my tribe,' he said, with a smile, 'tells how a Gilyak and
were talking together one day on the shore. The former was showing his
tters (characters) to the latter, when most unfortunately a great wind arose,
ay all the letters save five; and to complete this great catastrophe, when
back was turned the Chinaman meanly made off with the small remnant.'
have a not dissimilar legend, in which, according to one version, their
records were stolen by their guest from Japan, while they were yet recover-
er-dinner effects."

9: Hawes--248-249 T-3 (1901
116, 183, 776

"All the four gods are Gilyaks, have w
in common with men; in fact, they are th
the belief of the Gilyak in the existence o
also an illustration of the subtlety needed
mysteries of which he is, as a rule, so r

'How do the Gilyaks catch fish? and wh
time less, and at another none at all?'

Gilyak. Well, at one time the fish com

Russian. That is not the reason. How
never enter of its own accord into the ne
there, the God who has created everythin

Gilyak. No, it is you Russians who don
send into the net the fish which live in th
in the water. He, the god in the water, h
fish, and where he wishes, there he sen

Russian. What sort of a god can there
drown. There of course he is not, and th

Gilyak. It is untrue. All is untrue wha
Myself knows. There are such (striking)
in his clothes; but afterwards he was fou

ives, wear Gilyak garments, and have much
ne Greek gods in Gilyak dress. How strong is
f his gods the following talk will show. It is
d in questioning a native about his religion, the
reluctant to disclose. A Russian asked—
ny at one time do they catch more, at another

e into the net and at another time not. [249]
can a fish go by itself into the net? It would
t. You Gilyaks know that it is God who sends it
ng and lives in the sky.
n't know. How can a god who lives in the sky
e water? No, not in the sky lives the god, but
as created nothing, and only commands the
ds them.
be in the water? If he is a Gilyak, he will
e Gilyaks only think so in their stupidity!
t you are saying. The Gilyak knows very well.
things have happened. A Gilyak was drowned
und on the bank without clothes. How do you

9: Hawes--253-254 T-3 (1901) 19
116, 183, 225, 527, 782

"The first catch is collected and left on
devoured there would be a graceless, gre
sanction to the domestic use of them. Suc
seal season, owing to the god's anger. No
though at some inconvenience, in full view

On the bank, therefore, fires are kindle
with it is hashed up anything left over fro
the feasting commences, and lasts all day
banks, but in the huts; at the same time i
newly caught seals shall not be brought wi
even the blood spilled. If the god has allo
them to be consumed only on his premises
attention on the part of the Gilyaks, Tol n
send them abundance of seals and all man

the shore. To take it to their huts to be
edy thing to do, for there is as yet no divine
h a proceeding might result in a failure of the
; the feasting must be done openly, and,
of the god's province.
ed; and the flesh of the seals is cooked, and
n the winter's stores. When all is prepared
. Eating and drinking go on, not only on the
t is strictly observed that the pieces of the
thin the hut, nor left scattered about, nor
wed seals to be caught, he has [254] permitte
s, i. e. the banks. By this courtesy and little
i vookh will be content, and in future will
ner of inhabitants of the sea."

9: Hawes--273 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 183, 461

"At this village of Nivo, which with Chaivo
heard much of the 'good old times,' and the la
in physique and in numbers. Yungkin told how
but now were small, short, and dry.'

In explanation of this the Russians accuse t
notions there is a good deal in the accusation.
teeming with fish; he has made a catch and w
his stores will have given out. For this state
sible. It would savour of greediness, and per
exceed the usual custom. 'The Great Spirit do
reply to the stranger's inquiry. And probably
vidence was not misplaced, when their huntin
were practically limitless. It is said that twe
spawning-time, 300 kita in a day, whereas no

is the best known on the east coast, we
tter-day degeneration of the Gilyaks, both
they used to be 'big and strong as giants,

hem of being lazy, and according to our
A Gilyak may be found sitting by a river
ants no more, yet before winter is over
of things habit and tradition are respon-
haps even of distrust of Tol ni vookh, to
oes not wish us to catch so many' is the
in the olden time such dependence on Pro-
g-grounds and the wild denizens thereof
nty years ago a Gilyak would spear, during
w he secures but eighty. "

4 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
3 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
3 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
2 women. The location of these bushes is always
1 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
3 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

4 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
3 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

184

184 CULTURAL PARTICIPATION--prevalence of "specialties" and "alternatives"; degree of proliferation of subcultures, intra-cultural differences, and special statuses; extent to which the entire culture is socially shared; etc. See also:

Social stratification	56	Occupational specialization	483
Individual roles within statuses	156	Differences in standard of living	511
Dialectic differentiation	197	Ascribed and achievable statuses	554
Urban and rural differences	369	Ethnic stratification	583
Regional specialization in production	438		

Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin
Southeast Siberia RX1

G 101 144 /1 cont./

As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, T G 131 197 /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the T 131 197 Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, T A 121 anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, ● 184 small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is S T G 121 all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on S 121 433 the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

/135 cont./

*601 197 process of mixing between the Gilyak and their neighbors, one can only be surprised that these kinship terminologies turn out to have so little in common.

The etymologies of the Gilyak kinship terms themselves testify to this uniqueness of the Gilyak terminology with great palpability; the greater part of them can be traced all the way back to their original roots, which points to their firm stability over a long period of time (1).

> 1. This cannot be said with regard to many historic peoples. Thus, for example, as the famous Turkish specialist, V.V.Radlov /W. Radloff/, has reported to me, among the Turks, judging by Orkhon and Uigur monuments, the kinship terminology, starting from the tenth century and with the exception of one or two terms, has changed completely, even in such forms as father and mother, and so forth.

*601 We shall adduce a few examples. Thus, the group "ytk" -- father, "atk" -- grandfather, uncle on the mother's side, "ytik" -- grandmother, "ychkh" -- old man, husband, "achkh" -- aunt, sister of the father, "ut-ku" -- man, (western dialect) have a common root "ut, yt" -- body; the group "ymic" -- mother, "ymg:i" -- son-in-law, son of the sister, "um-gu" -- woman (western dialect) have the common root "um." Further, "an'g:ej" -- wife, from "an'kh" -- female; "az'mych" -- beloved, husband, man (western dialect), from "av" -- male and the verb "mych" -- to be, to become. The group "shank, shankh, rankh" -- woman and "ranzh" -- sister, etc. is of interest.

*601 Dialectal differences in kinship designations remain to be ● 184 discussed. These differences are of a minor nature. In the 197 fundamental terms there are either no differences whatever,

/135 cont./

*601 or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character.
●184 Thus, for example, "ytk, ymk" -- father, mother -- are
197 completely identical in all dialects; "ruvn, tuvn" -- brother (eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "ruf" in the western dialect; "og:la, og:lang" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o:la" in the western dialect. In cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the previously mentioned "app" and "ivy," or to the formation of corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all dialects. Thus, for example, "shankh" -- woman in the eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "an kh" -- female, and "um-gu" -- woman in /136/ the western dialect has the same root as the common word "ym(k)" -- mother; in exactly the same way "ut-ku" -- man in the western dialect has the same root as "ytk" -- (father), and the corresponding az'nych in the eastern dialect is from azh -- male, etc.

[104] In the table of kinship nomenclature and the explanations for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and territories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' -- (T.D.), the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin --(E.D.), and of the western (W.D.). From here on in the text we shall always use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

*601 Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship
614 terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak
104 reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic
[61] family is only a cell of the strictly organized, exogamous, agnatic clan. We also ask the reader to remember that at the mention of this or that term without any special indication of whether it is used by males or females we shall imply that these terms are used identically by both sexes; in other cases the sex of the speaker will be specifically indicated.

/137 cont./

614 the contrary, designate exclusively
615 relationship either through the mother
602 or through the wife, but under no con-
*601 ditions on the father's side. Kinsmen
114 through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

Thus, relationship
614 by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical
602 concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come
614 about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us pro-
*601 ceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.
602 Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

● [184] 2. A term borrowed from the eastern
[197] dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

/139 cont./

*601 The Gilyak who speak the western dialect, i.e., the
●184 Gilyak of the continent and the western shore of Sakhalin,
197 especially beginning from the settlement of Vaaz and to the north of it, use the same terms, "ytk" and so on (1), to

1. A full enumeration of the terms-synonyms is given below in the table.

designate, besides own father, all his male tuvn, i.e., his own and collateral brothers and, in addition, all the husbands of the sisters of his mother, while in certain places, specifically in the settlement of Tamlevo and to the north of it, together with "ytk" and its synonyms still another term is used to designate the brothers of the father -- "pilang," corresponding in meaning to the analogous Tungus a'ga -- elder. Another group speaking the eastern dialect draws a distinction between "brothers" (tuvn) younger than the father, and "brothers" (tuvn) older than the father. It is for the first that it uses without distinction the terms ytk -- father and pilang -- elder, while for the second it uses the term atk, i.e., the same as the designation for grandfather. In colloquial language, and especially in texts, this group also uses without distinction the term "father" (ytk and its synonyms) both for own father and for all his "brothers" (tuvn). This is reflected with special vividness in the customary use of the term "father" in the plural; for example, n'ytkhun -- plural of ytk, father -- literally -- "my fathers," signifies "father" and his "brothers " (tuvn), without distinguishing ages. From this one may conclude that the first form of a single term for the designation of the father and his "brothers" is more ancient and was at one time dominant, but was squeezed out under the influence of changes in the sexual norms.

The class of mothers. While in the terminology of the foregoing class there are differences between the eastern and western Gilyak, both groups are completely in accord with
000 respect to the class of mothers. Every Gilyak, man and woman,

/139 cont./ Every Gilyak, man and woman,
*601 uses one and the same term for "mother" (ymk and synonyms)
● [184] not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" /140/ (female tuvn) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

[197] [563] 1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the census in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan: all the "sisters" of persons of the akhmalk class (concerning this, see below).

[197] The class of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in
[184] use for wife in both dialects is an'kh, an'g:ej. Within the clan
[614] the Gilyak gives this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvn), to the wives of al his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the class of younge "brothers" (as'kh) the Gilyak gives the name of jokho, jokh /s yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or moth in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law /nevestka, "daug in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant
[197] number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother yvy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvn clas no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvn), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.

The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the improvised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
337 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
584 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
339 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
334 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

d) nanakhand, nankh (E.D.).
nynkh (W.D.)

II. Ymk,
Rarely: oma (northern
Sakhalin).

/148/
III. Ytk, yt.
Other forms: er:

*601
602
●184

/147 cont./

d) Elder sister; sister of the father; sister of the tuvn of the father; mother-in-law /husband's mother/; sister of the mother, if she is married to a non-clansman (in certain places, settlement of Viakhtu), in general in such cases she is ymk.

II. Own mother and stepmother; wives of all the tuvn of the father; the sisters of the wives of the brothers (tuvn) of the father; the sisters (tuvn) of the mother; the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn.

III. Father; stepfather; the tuvn of the father (1); husband of the "sister" of the mother; the brother (tuvn) of the husband of the mother's sister; the husbands of the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn; the brothers of the husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law.

1. Among the Gilyak of the continent and the northwestern shore of Sakhalin, especially

a) Ytk or pilang, pila
n'ig:yvyn (more frequently
the latter).

IV. Atk, app, appyk, apo,
edr:, etk.

1: Shternberg--222 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*601
602
184

/148 cont./

(footnote cont'd)
beginning with Tamlevo; to the south, only in the settlement of Yamy. Among the latter, pilang, n'vil-nivukh, corresponding to the Tungus a'ga, are also used for the younger tuvn of the father, in addition to the term ytk.

a) In all cases of III, when the reference is to the younger tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak with predominantly the eastern dialect.

IV. The elder tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect); grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. through the mother and the father; the tuvn of grandfathers, of great-grandfathers, etc. (from the maternal and paternal side); fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. of the husbands of the sister of the mother; fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers (and their tuvn) of the

(cont'd)

V. Achik, acik, achk (E.D.);
asi (Okhotsk shore);
ychik, ytik (W.D.).

VI. Og:lang, og:la, eg:lang,
o:la.

*601
602
184

/148 cont./

husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law /wife's father/; the elder brother of the husband (among the eastern Gilyak).

V. The wives of the brothers of the mother and their tuvn; the wives of fathers, grandfathers, etc. of the brother of the mother; the wives of the sons of the brothers of the mother; mother, grandmother, etc. of the wife; mother, grandmother, etc. of the sister of the wife and her tuvn in general; grandmother, great-grandmother (on the maternal and paternal side).

VI. Son or daughter -- children; the children of all the brothers -- tuvn (if "I" am a man); the children of the sisters (if "I" am a woman); the children of sisters (tuvn) of the wife; the children of the sisters of the wife of the brother; the children of daughters of the brothers of the mother and their tuvn.

VII. An'g:ej, an'kh (to the north of the Amur), an'kh n'um-gu (Amur).
Other designations: shank, shankh, ran'kh.

VIII. Jokh, jokho.

IX. Pu, ivn (E.D.).
Pu, if, o'kono (W.D.).
Other designations: ychikh, a'zmych, utgu.

VII. Wife; sister of the wife; wife of the elder tuvn; wife of the son of the sister (tuvn) of the mother; daughter of the brother of the mother and all her tuvn; in certain places on the Amur they also call the wife of the elder tuvn, ivy.

VIII. Daughter-in-law /nevestka/; wife of the younger brother (tuvn).

IX. If "I" am a woman: husband; son of the sister of the father; tuvn of the son of the sister of the father; husband of the sister; elder tuvn of the husband.

Deviations: 1. On the continent to the north of the Amur, they call all the tuvn of the husband alike, pu, ivn.

2. Likewise on the western shore of Sakhalin in the settlement of Tamlevo and farther north, all tuvn of the husband -- o'kono, also jori; on the Amur -- o'kono, n'orej. Conversely, among the eastern Gilyak they always call the younger brother of the husband, as distinct from the elder, atk, edr:, even er: (see group IV).

/155 cont./

835 614 women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-law, because in each of these clans there is a whole new [178] [161] class of wives -- an'g:ej. Nevertheless, the extension of prohibitions to clans of akhmalk'i of the most remote degree has naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely understandable constraints, leading to some limitations of the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the present time do not go back further than the clans of akhmalk of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the second generation, and, if an acquired woman dies childless, then even in the second generation the limitations fall away.

835 The class of jokh. Finally, one more class prohibited to men, called jokh, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we know that a man gives this name to two completely different classes of women, namely, on the one hand, to the class of wives of his og:la (descending line), and, on the other hand, to the class of wives /156/ of his as'kh, i.e., of his younger brothers (tuvn), and sisters of these wives. As concerns the first class, we have already noted its prohibited character in examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending generations and the wives of those of descending ones. The prohibited character of the second category is not so absolute. From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the wife of the elder tuvn various forms of designation are practiced [184] in various places. In several places on the Amur, on the coast of the mainland, and on the northwestern coast of Sakhalin (if "I" am a male) one and the same appellation (an'g:ej -- wife) is used for wives of the younger as well as of the older brother, and in such places sexual intercourse is permitted with all wives of brothers. But this arrangement is not the dominant one; the dominant arrangement must be considered that of designating the wife of the elder tuvn as an'g:ej, i.e., the same name that one gives to one's own wife,

/140 cont./

601 the other nankh and as'kh -- older "sister," and, conversely, -- younger "sister."

The class of husbands. The class of husbands corresponds to the terminology of the foregoing class -- "wives." Within the 14) clan of her husband the woman gives the name of "husband" (pu, ivn, o'kono, etc.), not only to her official husband, but also to the representatives of the class of his "brothers" (tuvn), with, however, the following variations. The eastern Gilyak 01 and a part of the western Gilyak differentiate between the 84 younger "brothers" (tuvn) of the husband and the elder ones; 97 a woman calls the former pu, ivn, o'kono, i.e., as her own formal husbands, and she calls the latter atk. The Gilyak of northern Sakhalin and the shoreline of the continent do not differentiate between the younger and older brothers of the husband, calling them alike pu, o'kono. Only the Amur Gilyak have a special uniform designation for all the brothers of the husband -- n'orej (= n'i -- my + orej -- husband), a term which sounds like the Goldi kinship term oro.

601 The class of the descending line. The class of the descending 14 line within the clan, the class og:lang, og:la, is completely defined by the foregoing terms of the class of fathers and mothers. Within his clan every man gives the name of og:la, not only to his own children born of his official wives, but also to all the children of his "brothers" (tuvn), just as /141/ a woman gives the name og:la not only to her own children, but to the children of all the "brothers" of her husband without distinction; but the term og:la is applied not only to the first generation of individuals, but also to all the generations in the descending line, not only one's own, but also those of the whole class of tuvn. Thus, the Gilyak gives the one and the same term og:la not only to his own children and agnate nephews, but to all of their descendants, i.e., grandsons, great-grandsons, etc. Here we see the same phenomenon that we find in the terminology of the ascending line, where the one term "atk" defines all the generations above father and mother.

*601 602 /147/ The terms of kinship in a figurative sense. It is curious how the kinship terms are reflected in the terms used between persons who are not married to each other -- sweethearts. It seems that terms are often transferred into this area from the [197] [184] matrimonial terminology. Thus a woman calls her sweetheart o'kono (husband, in the western dialect), az'mych (man, husband, in the eastern dialect), ivn (groom), navkh (from the terminology of the group of father-in-law and son-in-law [837] /zyat'/). It is very interesting that the unrelated wives of "brothers," and, jokingly, men who have an extramarital relationship with the same women, sometimes call each other by this last term, as well as by the term akhmalk, while the terms navkh and akhmalk in practical life have taken on the meaning of "comrade" or "participant in a common affair." Thus, the term "navkh" by its meaning in these cases entirely corresponds with the famous Hawaiian term punalua in the family group which takes its name from this term.

*601 As a result of our survey of the kinship termonology, we find among the Gilyak a typical classificatory system of kinship.

Summing up the terms for agnate and cognate kinship, we get the following scheme. (See following page.)

/172 cont./

2 know, an ymg:i is the closest person to an akhmalk and to his wife. An ymg:i is a preferred hunting companion summer and winter. He is the dearest guest; they serve the most delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a special reason. With their clansmen-brothers the akhmalk'i /173/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the ymg:i is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make merry to their hearts' content. And in such surroundings there 6) are dozens of maidens -- his an'g:ej, with whom he may openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents itself, have sexual intercourse.

Now we shall turn to the relations of the pu with their 35 82 married an'g:ej.

From the kinship terminology we know that a man's 4] married an'g:ej include, first of all, the individual wives of his "brothers" (tuvn), which, among the Gilyak speaking the western dialect, refers to all tuvn, while among the Gilyak speaking the eastern dialect -- only to the elder; further -- all the married "sisters" of his own wife; finally, the married sisters of the wives of his tuvn -- a huge category, including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the 35 territory of Gilyak settlement. Concerning the last two groups -- the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers' wives -- one must make the following reservation: usually, in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak marriage, the sisters marry persons of the class tuvn alone, so that with regard to the sisters of the wife and the sisters of the brothers' wives a general rule concerning the wives of "brothers" operates. But, due to deviations from the traditional norms, it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the sister of one's own wife is married to a completely alien man, or even to someone who is an accidental akhmalk (1).

82] 14] 1. An accidental akhmalk is what I call a man from a clan from which one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

/173 cont./

*835 614 582 by chance taken a wife secretly, rather than from the clan from which all the kinsmen usually take a wife.

601 *835 ●184 614 In these cases the norms of sexual relations, and the terminology as well, are not the same. Among the majority of clans, in both cases sexual intercourse with these women is legitimate, the participants call each other pu and an'g:ej, and their children call each other tuvn and the sisters of their mother and their husbands correspondingly "mothers" and "fathers." But among other clans, mainly among clans who are neighbors of the Ainu, the arrangement is different. If the sister of a man's wife marries his akhmalk, then sexual intercourse with her, as in general with the wife of an akhmalk, is absolutely prohibited, and, instead of an'g:ej, the man calls her achk (mother-in-law). But if she marries a completely alien man, then the relations between them are as between aliens, i.e., sexual intercourse is not considered a *835 sin, but neither is it legitimate. What is remarkable, however, is that the offspring of both families are in all cases, even in such /174/ relations, considered to be tuvn (brothers) (1)

*835 601 1. I shall give an example which depicts very well both the relations of such tuvn (i.e., the children of sisters whose husbands are aliens to each other) among themselves and their mutual relations towards their wives.

Wremgin and Hibl are individuals of two different clans (k:khal), one from the clan Fan'gi, the other from the clan Khoi, but their mothers were tuvn, i.e., sisters from one and the same clan. And

/174 cont./

*835 601 nevertheless, notwithstanding the fact that their fathers and they themselves are persons of alien clans, they call each other tuvn, because their fathers were married to sisters and had the right to sexual intercourse, and, as tuvn, they do not dare to converse or joke with each other (see below, the prohibitions); their wives are considered ymk (mothers) to their children, and Hibl, as the younger, has the right to sexual intercourse with the wife of Wremgin.

*835 down to the third generation, and this shows best of all that the old order dictated that the sisters of a Gilyak's wife be the wives of his brothers.

Thus, the question of the relations between a Gilyak and his married an'g:ej in practice comes, in the main, to the same thing as relations with the wives of his "brothers" (tuvn).

601 ●184 *835 614 As we have said, and as is evident from the kinship terminology, some clans strictly differentiate between the wives of older and of younger tuvn, and others make no distinction at all between these categories; in some -- only the wives of the older tuvn, in others -- all the wives of tuvn without distinction, are considered an'g:ej of each of the tuvn, but in both cases the right of these pu and an'g:ej to sexual intercourse is indisputable.

Among the western Gilyak, who make no distinction between the wives of brothers, they formulated this right for me repeatedly in the following, more than clear expressions: "with the wife of a younger brother (his) older brother is allowed to have sexual intercourse" ("good"); a younger (brother) is allowed to have sexual intercourse with the wife of an older (brother) ("good").

/175 cont./

*835 839 wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights just as broadly as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between pu and an'g:ej is largely determined by the conditions of cohabitation.

*835 832 Under the conditions of living in different villages, the relations between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses know each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a pu or an'g:ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch the breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together," in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of winks alone.

*835 [593] In a place where the individual bachelor pu and their wives, an'g:ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathies and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the woman from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her individual husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official [595] spouse of this woman is considered to be only the oldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual spouse, but, with the tacit consent of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, not only to outsiders, but ●[184] also to the children of the brothers-spouses. One encounters [556] such situations also in the richest and most respected families.

/188 cont./

602 and between the women and the elder tuvn of their husbands
[601] on the other. As is well known from the kinship terminology, the individuals of these groups call each other by the prohibitory terms jokh and atk. These last terms are likewise used by daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law to designate each other.
602 Between them, as between the individuals of the prohibited
• 184 categories, once again psychic intercourse is not permitted, although not with uniform strictness everywhere. Among some, for example, among the Gilyak of the estuary of the Amur, neither conversation nor jokes are allowed. In other places business relations are allowed, but jokes and conversation are forbidden. The prohibition of psychic intercourse does not exist between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law.

602 Now how the prohibitions are realized in life remains to
[192] be explained. The Gilyak themselves classify the psychic forms of intercourse between prohibited categories with the terms: indynd (to look, khërnd (to converse, to talk), lerund (to joke, play, play pranks), and vakrund (to quarrel, dispute, revile). But not all of these four forms are applied equally between all the categories. Thus, we have seen that the father is forbidden only lerund (jokes, playing pranks) with his daughter, but he is permitted to converse with her and all the more to revile her. The prohibitions on "looking in the face" -- indynd -- on the contrary, are in effect only between "brothers and sisters"; lerund applies with equal rigor between all categories. There remains the prohibition khernd. This term embraces two concepts: conversation and discussion, and business relations. The first are absolutely forbidden: /189/ one can get along without conversations, and besides conversations may lead further. It is another matter with business conversations; sometimes it is absolutely impossible to get along without them. Thus, for example, the elder brother frequently takes the place of the father in relation to the younger brothers, and it is impossible to avoid having dealings with him; therefore in extreme cases the younger brothers may address the elder brother. Brief direct

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
[675] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move; the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
• [184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/262 cont./

583 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is
585 already some question of bride price, though, to be sure, a
178 very insignificant one.
• 184

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

195 The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating
196 the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a
58 sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten"; on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individuals of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, khgend (root ge) with the addition of shankh (woman) or an'g:ej (wife) is used; thus, shankh gend, an'g:ej gend. When a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- avind (root av), with the corresponding addition of nigyvyn: -- person, or pu -- husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (je -- him + avind).

[197] 1. I choose the term of the eastern
[184] dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms g:end and javind?

/263/ As concerns the first, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/266 cont./

194 reverence with which they approached a settlement where,
611 according to them, one of their female ancestors had once
614 lived.
186

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 Usually at the present time children are given names
• 184 according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement
614 of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names accord-
611 ing to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with
611 the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan,
194 but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak them-
[582] selves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by
[614] the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

/268 cont./

585 In another poem, in response to the demand of the bride-
538 groom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter, says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, entered, arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see footnote 1 above/.

Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a
538 town with many people, and, when he went into the center
584 yurt, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest,
585 from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take you!" This woman said: "If you wish to take me, go to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into a yurt; an old man, an old woman were there. This old woman said: "You are a man from where?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose: "Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak left, he came to his wife: "Your father said that we both, having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having eaten mos' they left; having had a good sleep, they arose, ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his village). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 57, 58, respectively are not indicated in the text./

582 Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly
[581] seated in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of akhmalk'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure."
• [184] Even on the Amur, where the old norms have especially
[178] undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a wife from the fathers-in-law -- the root of one's birth" (i.e.,

/271 cont./

The bride is customarily represented by the father a mother, but for the final decision the attendance of repre sentatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiati but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mothe the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wi of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternal In the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp rel In one story which I wrote down, a father, when his son i forms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, plies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, no smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father. This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amu the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks wi her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate. Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already be decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if s does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance ordinarily tosses off the laconic phrase: "Since you wish t is it for me to contradict!" But it may happen that the m upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the brideg immediately runs away and does not return until the depa of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene a

[171]

1. It is interesting to note that among the Negda, whose customs, as a result of ancient matrimonial ties, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, considerable differences were noticed by me.

/308 cont./

has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well, live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repast.

After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear, he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "man ikandis." What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast is over.

They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

On the Amur four little fish with roots are placed over the grave.

During nla-dash (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uighyf -- the plot on where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a tolo'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kiqun -- a cup for the drowned man; mon' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kiqun nlch, a Chinese bottle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/311 cont./

Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz-- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Gold tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovol (Gold pdzhin) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then homs -- murk', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys pulk. Ur'mu keldr -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami among the Goldi, lives in the ur' of the shaman. Ur' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be burned, it is only mached with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

/312 cont./

Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr, gather at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buds, a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labax/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Ej, indyl! -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tlyn'lush; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They stay a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt. Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in made fast, and all the dishes are carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where this tlyrokh is never made; in Tevsh only a red dog pazgi shanj. is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- January moon. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'ongarja kinyngoch; hungoja", kholafti, lyygoja", i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new bowl (ban'gar), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Shl, a stick, and a cross-bow (narrdzr) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between comfortable branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (nuurg'k'vsh); the fork is thrown into the fire and chédzigr taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a yurt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/328 cont./

The favorite dog, "pryski" (every man has his own pryski) is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and then it is taken away to the yurt, tied to the place where the dead man slept, and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four years -- if a woman. After this it is sold or given as a gift, but they cannot keep it.

Even where cremation is practiced, insane persons after death are buried directly into the ground.

Ady-Tymr, if they suspect that a person died from magic, two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place of cremation. Birds appear first, then hares and foxes and then the ezmi-mans, rubbed with clay against arrows. He comes to eat the man, and if they do not kill him, then the others will die.

On the day following the cremation, when the fire has died out, firewood and boards are strewn on it, and on top a dog skel deliberately broken; sometimes small pieces of it are kept (as souvenir).

Where the deceased are buried and not burned, they are placed in a coffin. Anyone can make a coffin of boards or from a boat -- two boats. It is carried out through the door and placed on the dog sled, which in both winter and summer is carried on the arms. The required objects are placed in the coffin, some as models. Those who go along do not put on their festive clothes. The pit which they dig must accommodate the coffin up to the lid. There is no crying; kissing the deceased is a sin. It is not required that everyone throw earth into the grave. No sign are set up. Dogs are killed on the grave, but they are not fed beforehand, nor are tmu put on them. The skin is immediately removed from the slain dogs and hung on a stick, while the meat is boiled right there, but it is eaten by few, and others throw it away. Bones and so forth are thrown over his grave. The Gilyak is not afraid of the deceased. When "good food happens," the deceased are fed for about half a year.

/547 cont./

stepe, then he can be killed. The game continues even after the king is taken. If the old man moves back, then a soldier may still him with a cheng; if there are two cheng in a row, then the king can come back (1).

1. I offer a variation of the game, recorded by me from the words of the Amur Gilyak Mladyan, a student in the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad.

The one who begins to play after the chong comes up moves his soldier on the middle line of nests, in accordance with the number of moves which have come up (by the upper surfaces of the cubes), the appropriate number of rests, starting from the right. Then his partner does the same on his side, and when his soldier comes to land on the spot of a soldier of his partner, which is already standing there, he takes it.

After one of the partners has moved to the end of the battle line, he can, on future moves, cross over to the line of the enemy (his partner) and knock out his soldiers, and when he reaches the end of that line, he is considered the winner.

In spite of the fact that the above description differs from the description of the Sakhalin game of cheng in Shternberg, we print it, for it may facilitate an understanding of the above-described variant of the game, although this latter differs considerably from that described by Mladyan. S. Sh.

/370 cont./

his wife half to death. Even his rum, in such cases, does not escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak even the rum finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with a sound thrashing. The modern method of secuting a wife gradually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the mamaliak bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand if there be of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman, but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

/379 cont./

with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined to attribute supernatural origin to the rich man is shown by a widely diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden bowl which descended upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

Since the Gilyak were in the habit of exchanging their wives in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand if there be of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman, but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak consists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the death of a debtor and his creditor, relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

/385 cont./

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "household" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers, and, finally, the children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

The total population is 1,041, of which 541 are male and 500 female; the adults (including adolescents) number 678; there are 363 children; of widowed persons, and 6 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the rest two each). See each separately for the same individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who survived birth in 1915, while the number of those who died at birth in 1917, so the rate of infant mortality is 2.5 percent (5%). See

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were living; (2) what sex and age, child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (3) how

1:Shternberg—545 E-5 (1890-1897, 1901)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[The Western Coast]

/386 cont./

115 individuals, i.e., one-ninth of the adult population, have the right to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and dolphins are Tamlyev, Vakvo, Pemyr, and Tangi; the last is also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by Gilyaks in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the Gilyaks have made a respectable fortune; the settlement among them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise potatoes, and also keep a herd of cattle. Tyki is known for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyaks are coming to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have hunted the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyaks were very careful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the Gilyaks rent for little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and in one yurt even of glass. In the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters storehouses yurts with half a floor, and, finally, one and a fifty-yurts pipe heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and run along the wall under the plank bed serve mainly to heat these latter. The smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high-yurt pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the Tatar Strait (Nivkhi, Mayr), from whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the tundra, and occasionally over the mountains. In the last settlement of Pemyr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Mu'vo, it strikingly

2: Schrenck—466 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/330 cont./

The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese cover-yurts. The east coast of the island and the Tymy Valley had only the earth yurt (1). On the west coast of Sakhalin,

1. Minsi'i /Mimul/ statement (Cohen's* ord. Sakhalin v' ustiv-khan, otnob. /Agricultural Sakhalin/ Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 134).

as far as it borders on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, i.e., from Pilla-vo, the southernmost point of the Gilyaks, to Pogbobi, there were also only earth yurts (2). But from there northward, in the Tymy Valley, in the middle of the island, and in one case even at Pilla-vo, in the middle of the island, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters storehouses yurts with half a floor, and, finally, one and a fifty-yurts pipe heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and run along the wall under the plank bed serve mainly to heat these latter. The smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high-yurt pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the Tatar Strait (Nivkhi, Mayr), from whom it may have been borrowed.

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along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages containing sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of dwellings occurred between one village. Yurts (2) had have not been in this part of Sakhalin, but have collected detailed information on the subject to it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak coming there, who visited me at the Nikolayev post in the company of Tuberbaeck-Gilyaks friends of mine (3). A few years later

2: Schrenck—467 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/331 cont./

collect. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three villages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the north of Pogbobi, the northernmost point, from the east we encountered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the south of Tymovskoye, which contained one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulbej (1),

1. In Gilehi it is called Jordzin-tig-vo,

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin. With the exception of Tymovskoye, which belongs, in my time notorious for its predatory population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

2. Gilehi found only nine. The great number of houses in Tymovskoye is explained by the fact that it is located by its name, for tanzik, tamlanch, or tamlanzch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

Schedoyl villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, in which everything is repeated only that part of the Sea of Okhotsk. Gilehi did not go northward beyond this village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small yurt (Ulbej village, Mulelkov-yo (in Gilehi, Mayr), there follows Pilla-vo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more (schedoyl villages, Tymi-vo (in Gilehi, Ngyr), Ngyrv-vo (in Gilehi, Ngyr), of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (Pogbobi village, which I unfortunately it to me). According to its location on the small bay which Kimarasam called Nadeshda Bay, Ngyr-vo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

2: Schrenck—470 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/332 cont./

there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays of Tagur and Udhan, where Middendorf became acquainted with the Gilyak, they lived in the winter, as I have seen from his hand-written notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Pt. 1, p. 47), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak

Liman and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kuji and Udhan Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitnesses accounts. The Gilyak, then, apparently have no winter houses set on level ground, but otherwise of exactly the same type, outside and in, than those resting on piles (1). The air that the Gilyak have in

1. The large village on Nadeshda Bay at the northern tip of Sakhalin (Ngyr-vo) is called Ngyrv-vo (p. 467 above), which was visited by Shrenck, who, however, mistakenly wrote on piles. See his Reise um Lyn Baikal, Vol. II, p. 182.

/332/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-yurt predominates to a much greater extent than the earth yurt on Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left, which presumably has since disappeared: it was the small earth yurt of Ekhach, Mulelkov-yo (in Gilehi, Mayr), three fallow villages the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856: it was located at some distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and was connected with it by a long, low passage. Its roof was flat and, of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (Pogbobi village, which I unfortunately it to me). According to its location on the small bay which Kimarasam called Nadeshda Bay, Ngyr-vo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

2: Schrenck—525 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/333 cont./

as far as the humidity of the air is concerned, it is even greater than that of the open seas and the accordingly frequent fogs and rain. Thus, if the Gilyak on Sakhalin build their summer houses raised piles, it is because they know that they are safe there against the first menace and in addition have other important reasons for building such dwellings. I think that one of these reasons is their desire, beginning, late especially the wind, are warmer than those resting on piles and therefore can be moved into earlier in the year and can be occupied longer in the autumn. The first circumstance, /336/ however, is of importance in particular for the southern part of the Gilyak area of Sakhalin, where the Gilyak are forced to move into their winter yurts earlier in the year by the melting snow. It was in this southern part that I encountered the Gilyak winter houses at level ground. In Tangi I found it occupied as early as February 8/20, and in Arkai on February 28 (March 11), when it was still winter in Dal'ny Vostok. In Tymi, it was still occupied on February 27 (March 10), although I stayed in it because the two Gilyak women who had accompanied me contracted a mild case of a great confluence of Gilyaks. This latter summer house, in contrast to several others built close to the shore, was farther from the sea, beside the road, and was built on the ground resting on piles. See his Reise um Lyn Baikal, Vol. II, p. 182.

On Plate XIII's summer dwelling of the Amur Gilyak is shown, and, to be sure, a yurt in Iako, the summer residence of the Gilyak on the Amur, which is built on a structure resting on piles, about three fathoms wide and four to five fathoms long, and has rather steep roofs. The walls are made of thin beams which, as in the case of the winter houses, are not joined at the ends, but are somewhat pointed and are stuck into the grooves of the roof beams. The roof is covered with bark and with boards, which are held together by poles fastened crosswise. On a notched log which is placed on the roof there are two small

/272 cont./

84 84 71

The bride is not present during the betrothal, the mother has the absolute right of veto, and the kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home
84 with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not
74 at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage accompanied by bride price, where the parents have motives of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather a remnant of the orthodox marriage, where from her very childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite person or limited group of persons, and there could be no question of full freedom of choice, all the more because the marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.

84 The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal among the Gilyak we find features which are repeated with remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. The procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded by a whole series of military stratagems. In serious cases, when the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at first conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at the house, they say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodka from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily accept the treat, and, when they are in a good mood, the matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals. The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist them with everything at his disposal. And here they take him at his word and come to the point. /273/ He can no
75 longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that the host may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

/273 cont./

584 576

him curtly: "That is not your business. We will
that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This un
approval of the bride is all the host needs; after
know how to set the most advantageous condition
the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

114 71

1. This is exactly the way the Gilya
explain the motives for the father's
deprecatory opinions of his daughter.
I think, therefore, that Iokhel'son w
wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 739).

/274/ But it may happen that the father will
any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the
makers toward the inadequacies of his daughter.
the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires th
which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wants
short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothin
through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And afte
pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what sh
it is not my business." Then they begin to regal
of the bride, who, after long excuses, in turn fin
the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let th
583 cide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the bus
584 of the bride price and dowry. In this connection
184 are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the
where the people are more mercantile, the bride
ashamedly enumerates down to the slightest deta
of the bride price.

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first
only two or three objects, the most valuable ones
expected bride price, and after that they only ha
secondary valuables. But in both places the proc
the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atm

/298 cont./

614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
796 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /zyat'/, k:khal
606 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
629 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent, but they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla lytnydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear
415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
431 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
[231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'rur humyjá! Wingan úrur humyjá--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylng-tvysk and prepare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.

Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

[782] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid
[184] in a wooden frame near the lezing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

567 The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head
[196] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
[683] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone
[614]

/505 cont./

above-mentioned forward continuation of the bottom-board, which, in other situations, is to very useful, contributes no little to the combustion-resistant of the boat, and also against the current. Finally, it also affects the method of landing stationary among the Gilyak, Orcha, Goldi, and generally among all the other Amur peoples with the same type of boat: this is always done with the rear end of the boat, which is not very easy in high waves beating against the shore, because the boat must then first be put with the bow against the waves in order to be lifted by them and carried towards the shore. The Gilyak, /506/ of Olcha, etc., lands in such a way that he merely sits down on land with his boat, as it were.

To conclude these considerations, I give here the measurements of an ordinary, medium-sized Gilyak boat at 1 tooth long from a specimen in the village of Kalgho, from which the above-mentioned illustration was also made:

Length from the tip to the rear edge of the steersman's seat	25'..
Width at the steersman's seat	3'.6"
" from edge to edge in the middle	1'..
" " " " " at the bow, immediately in front of the prow board	2'.2"
Width of the bottom board	1'..
" " steersman's seat	1'..
Depth of the boat in the middle where it is the greatest	1'.6"

The length of a paddle-oar is about 7 feet, that of the steering-oar 1 1/4 feet; the width of the blade on the latter, 4 inches.

I never saw boats other than the type described for the Ulchi either on the Amur and Ussuri or on the west coast of Sakhalin, and Middendorff does not mentioning them on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. In the interior of Sakhalin, however, the material and in place shallow Tymy River, quite a different vessel is used, a boat hollowed out of a single tree-

/506/

trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak nio-mup) (1) in the winter in the village of Tkhyut, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends — the rear end, finally, flattened, horizontally and round-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip of board in the side was attached, so essential to their purpose, to edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the Ulchi boat, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite so old anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any out-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby had the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Ulchi and Goldi do with their similar boats. Middendorff, and as it does also among the Turgusic peoples of the Amur region with their birch-bark boats, uses no nails, screws, etc., /507/ only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the bahanin poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75; Kirschenninikof, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak ermingh), which they specifically designated to me as the best wood for boats. According to Schrenck, the Aru of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes, which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

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not appear in larger numbers in de Castries Bay until fall, that is, toward the end of August or the beginning of the September.

Farther to the north, in the Amur-Liman, I was told by the Tschonti Gilyak, unfortunately without any reference to dates, that herring, the tengi-mup and the kalgi-mup, in winter, were to be found among them, but the latter in numbers insufficient for their needs, so that, as has already been mentioned (4), when the fish migrates, they, like the Gilyak from

4. See p. 647 ff. above.

Tangi, Arkai, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with larger quantities of winter supplies there. Later, there data for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, to the northwest of the Amur-Liman, are found in Middendorff. As the list given by him for the dates of the migration of various fish and especially of the species of salmon at the mouth of the Amur and the Ussuri, Middendorff says, on the other hand, there are no salmon there, as on the Amur, except that Salmo ussuri is also to be found in these waters. These boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Ulchi and Goldi do with their similar boats. Middendorff, and as it does also among the Turgusic peoples of the Amur region with their birch-bark boats, uses no nails, screws, etc., /507/ only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the bahanin poplar

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throughout the second half of August and did not decrease until early the 20th (3). For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and

3. Ibid., p. 1181.

FOR THE GILYAK LIVING ALONG THE TYMY RIVER, AND ESPECIALLY along its upper course in great density, September is therefore chiefly the month that brings them the greatest quantity of fish, which, in addition, is essential to their economy, as it which, traveling to meet the ascending fish, they devote themselves entirely to fishing and the preparation of supplies for the winter. The Gilyak living on the Amur, however, which could not be by the Tymy Gilyak, that among them not August, but September was the month of the fish-catch. Perhaps the beat was not quite so long. For the Gilyak living on the Amur, the fish-catch in fact in comparison with it, is designated only as nymchi-mup, "little month." Thus, as a result of somewhat different natural conditions, a shift in the names for the months customary among the Amur Gilyak taken place there (4). Whether this also holds true for the Tymy Gilyak, for

4. The shifts or other differences in the names of the rest of the months that occur among the Tymy Gilyak in contrast to those among the Amur Gilyak the will be discussed later where appropriate.

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just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches of work the Gilyak stand far among all the others in the north. In particular the small group of the Ingimul Gilyak is one of the localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living along the coast, in fact, in winter, however, the enterprising Tschonti Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Manzia-Hsiai Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Pogholti, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur, at Tschchachach, Kaldo, Kaldo, and Pogholti, where in particular the small island of Uflut is an especially favorable spot for it.

Accordingly, in the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception of the ushi-mup (1). Phoca caspica Pall., that is, the ordinary seal, are said to go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the younger ones go as far as Tschchach. In any case, Ph. sibirica (2) (yangr-mup) and Ph. vitulina (3) (called gigh-mup by the Gilyak, gidachna by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak. One sees its more or less detailed practice in with special seal-hunting skill and success. I cannot say anything further about one of these places, Langr, located on the west coast of Sakhalin, which, according to Glehn (5), is merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

summer village of the Gilyak of Tulbo. /545/ The other one, however, Langr, located on a small island in the entrance to the Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited myself, seems fully to justify its name and the conjectures

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bantering with them. Tschonti plays the same role in the southern Amur-Liman as Ingimul in the north. In winter, in particular the small group of the Ingimul Gilyak is one of the localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living along the coast, in fact, in winter, however, the enterprising Tschonti Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Manzia-Hsiai Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Pogholti, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur, at Tschchachach, Kaldo, Kaldo, and Pogholti, where in particular the small island of Uflut is an especially favorable spot for it.

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/544 cont./

during the seacoast and in the Amur-Liman seal-hunting takes place during every season of the year. In winter and in spring, the Gilyak stand far among all the others in the north in particular the small group of the Ingimul Gilyak is one of the localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living along the coast, in fact, in winter, however, the enterprising Tschonti Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Manzia-Hsiai Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Pogholti, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur, at Tschchachach, Kaldo, Kaldo, and Pogholti, where in particular the small island of Uflut is an especially favorable spot for it.

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/545 cont./

young (Ph. vitulina (3) /1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (nangr), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, the shaft is provided with a small tip, and the point is joined to a pole (Gilyak ilta) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Uflut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is carried on the shoulder and, when the seal, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal coming on a rose or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the shore, is within the range of the dart and a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more dead seals to a post set up even into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the drone in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the birch held in readiness (2).

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 791, 793, 780, 781, and 820 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Fr. Rauscher, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel-companion, Mr. Poliwanof, in continuing of my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

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also a man or one old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is shot from a long distance, and the cubs are fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the winter lairs in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the procedures, so very essential in this connection, are not conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the bear meat is not to be found in the homes of the Gilyak, and, to be sure, again those of the Amur River, occupy a central and intermediary position, so to speak, in contrast to the other Gilyak groups, namely, as a result of the fact that the occupation of the Amur region in the 50's by the Russians started at the Amur and the first settlements were founded in Gilyak territory, in particular the Nikolayevsk post, which for some time remained the headquarters of the Russian administration, from which the first exploration of the lower Amur region and of Sakhalin took place.

If one calls to mind the violent and bloody resistance with which the Gilyak opposed the Russian freebooters in the seventeenth century (1) and considers that by nature they are by no

1. See pp. 218-227 above.

means as good-natured, docile, and indolent as the Tungus, but rather, far to the contrary, are malicious, spiteful, and deceitful while at the same time energetic and even ready to risk their life if humiliation or greed are involved (2), it might be surprising

2. The killing of de la Brunière by the Gilyak mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) is evidence of this. Shortly before the arrival in the Amur region, the crew of a

2. (cont.)

whether that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin or had been blown out to sea by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tymkinsee and the boat was plundered. In 1885, among the Gilyak of Poghabi, I saw a boat from Nogai by number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

that the occupation of the tax territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning of the 1850s was such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of revenge is dormant in the Gilyak to a high degree very emotionally contributed to this. The possibility of being able to exchange the Russian settlements as consumers of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no markets, such as fish, gutta, furs, etc., for various articles greatly covered by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, which was much particular sense, cheaper than, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their indeterminate, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev port soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, which, thanks to the entire trade *Fishi* that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the line of Ohkhonsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Aino and the Tungusic Amur people, many Russian goods, which were widely distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the Gilyak of Sakhalin, the Russian Amur people of the Gilyak Amur Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening, when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

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and, in the conviction that I did not understand them, express the opinion that they were now only exploring the country, yet as I had not yet shot any pheasants or a hare and to path out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, at in Tyk, Dul, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even demanded with threatening gestures and basically in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of tea; and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. The latter had never been seen by me or no fun here, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in hand, a day could. These to their purchase for trade, however, I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the sweet attitude which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if not one tainted to compensate and made a small gift, the ice was so broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had the necessary and also a supplement for the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all other matters. The Gilyak are much practical sense, clever-ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of lower practical utility were not in demand, such as, on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "ai-ai-ai-ai") accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better one, in the course of which they praise them and also do so, on the other hand, in trade, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how great they are the advantages of the Gilyak in trade, I shall bring more detailed statements.

I should also add that all trade in the Amur region, and hence also that of the Gilyak, is only better and no money is used among them, nevertheless, the Gilyak, nevertheless, has absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

Tungusic neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting, and the Amur Gilyak, who have the main dealings with the Tungusic people, are also the most active and enterprising in trying along the lea of Ohkhonsk and on Sakhalin and by from them the desired furs, which they then sell, in turn, to the Tungusic tribes, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which Chinese wares are also brought from Manchuria and basically in the Chinese (a one-liner bale, for example, cam 1/3 to among them, a red dear or silk bale, around 1/3 to among them). Life the fun, the principal products from fishing also have a higher price among the Gotoh than among the Gilyak (a large example, for example, cam 10 in among the former), on the one hand because the Gilyak at the Amur Tungusic people, and, on the other hand because they are towhere near as productive in this respect as the Gotoh, and, on the other hand because they are Cossack and vegetation (hence of various kinds), however, seem to be always and everywhere in the Amur, and, hence, the ice was so thick greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because they also have more extensive and productive fishing, the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all other matters. The Gilyak are much practical sense, clever-ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of lower practical utility were not in demand, such as, on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "ai-ai-ai-ai") accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better one, in the course of which they praise them and also do so, on the other hand, in trade, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how great they are the advantages of the Gilyak in trade, I shall bring more detailed statements.

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russian, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Virginian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

The Gilyak are interested in trade with the Amur people in trading with the Chinese common of animal skins, and in particular sables, the, and, and, in the same way, and, in the same way, and, in the whole, only *Fishi* clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they may, and, in the Gilyak trade, and, in the same way, and, on a large scale, think of pre-ating this commodity in the larger quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way (hence used to their nature. To Gilyak they trade with their

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At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to Schrenck, 1854-1856.

steals through from Puli along the deserted left bank of the Amur to the bigge ne the Gilyak, who live in the Amur region, on the right bank, inhabited by the Gilyak, because they, as they themselves told me, will not pass over the mountain ridge south of Poghabi and 25 years ago killed one who ventured it. Whether they ensured this hostile attitude toward the Chinese in Manchuria in order to defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese or in order to duke it off is still uncertain, but in any case it is greatly to their advantage commercially. For the rule that is Chinese common of animal skins, and in particular sables, the Gilyak, Gotoh, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur region or regular and the Manchu-Chinese wholesale, also trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers also they may, and, in the Gilyak trade, and, in the same likewise only on a large scale, think of pre-ating this commodity in the larger quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way (hence used to their nature. To Gilyak they trade with their

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the mountains remains remote to the Aino. Thus, the trade in Chinese commodities on Sakhalin rests almost exclusively in the hands of the Gilyak and Gotoh, and, in the same way, the Aino grow almost famous for it their own purposes. As we have already seen, the Gilyak interesting trade in the Far-bearing animals particularly sought by them and hunted successfully at home, and, in the Gilyak, and, be chiefly concentrated in the hands of the Sakhalin Gilyak. The greater quantity of fur-bearing animals is undoubtedly captured by the Orok, running in part upon them in the mountains, in part, in winter, impelled to forced by their nomadic life, as well as by their, on the whole, carefree and lighthearted character, *Fishi* and the Gilyak in exchange for the yield from their fishing and hunting of sea animals and are in previous processed from the Gilyak, and, in the same way, they buy eagle tails from their countrymen in order to use them in trade with the Tungusic people, and, thus, they are greatly in their debt. Gilyak, in a yurt in which one of the three mentioned village of *Pelu*, in a yurt in which one of the three mentioned village of *Pelu*, in a yurt in which one of the three mentioned village of *Pelu*, in a yurt in which one of the three

The Amur Gilyak, and in part also the Tchonta Gilyak, are not greatest lovers in animal skins for trade with the Chinese, on the Gilyak, and, in the same way, and, in the forest (healthy in the northern part of the island, along the Limas and the coast, and in the southern part, south of the Poghabi and along the upper course of the Tymy River, without there being any strict division of these trade areas between them. It is strange that the Sakhalin Gilyak, unlike their aforementioned countrymen, do little moving skins and almost never come to the mainland, to say nothing of their undertaking more distant trading trips, but, on the contrary, they prefer to remain near neighbors on the island, the Orok and the Aino, and, in turn, let themselves be supplied with the Chinese commodities, certain by them, too, tobacco, liquor, cloth, and the like, by the central Gilyak, who, in turn, receive the Chinese goods (hence only rare) room beyond the Limas in order to approach the Chinese traders in Puli along the Tymi-Chenlach route, and, finally,

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trade will be discussed separately later, also we have here between the Gilyak and the Aino, and, in the same way, on the Chinese, and which furnishes them the means for the former.

As we pointed out in the preceding paragraph above (1), there is along

1. See pp. 142 and 144.

the lower Amur, in the Ocha and Gobil area, a number of centers at which Chinese merchants may temporarily or even more or less permanently, and which were very obviously chosen by the Gilyak for their trade with the adjacent tatar tribes and especially to acquire from them the precious fur. They are coming in the Gilyak, and, in the same way, and, in the same way, and, in the same way

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3. (cont.)
der Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the Topographical Knowledge of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 559), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jiri); see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

In the Tymy Valley I heard January called ŋiu-ŋaŋ: a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for December (anj-ŋaŋ), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tio-ŋaŋ, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tutio-ŋaŋ, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-ŋaŋ, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which probably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is ŋiu-ŋaŋ, which remains uninterpretable to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that ainail-ŋaŋ (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

/715 cont./

1. (cont.)
put in the way of making sketches during the bear festival, only one bear is pictured on our plate, which is sufficient for comprehension. But there were two of them in Judin's house.

the second shelf of the ŋtagbre, under each bear, lay the pelvis belonging to it and a few fish (Cyprinus carpio, Gilyak pilemgat), which were put before them for food, as it were. At the sides of the rack, from the little fir trees and branches decorating it, hung pieces of fur from previously consumed bears and all kinds of prettefully carved wooden spoons and bowls, the purpose of which will be discussed later, as well as numerous zach. In another house in the same village, where the owner of the third (medium-sized) bear lived, there was the same arrangement and decoration in the interior, but the ŋtagbre was smaller, therefore, the more elaborately decorated, and only one bear's head looked down. It is always left to the owner, if he has two or more bears, to erect either a special ŋtagbre for each one or one common one for all and therefore correspondingly wider.

When everything is prepared and decorated in the house as required, the transfer of the bears' heads from the lŋag into the house takes place. This had already preceded the arrival of Mamen. Dittmar and Brewin in Tebach. But as they later learned, and as I myself had heard from the Gilyak, it is done in the following way. The oldest Gilyak of the village, "cheimar," i.e., graybeards, lift the bear's head and skin out of the lŋag, carry it around the house three times on a path made through the snow and decorated here and there with peeled sticks, curled wood-shavings, and fir branches, and then stop in front of a window in the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth. The frame of this window has been removed, and through this opening, not through the house door, the bear is carried into the house and directly in front of the hearth dedicated to it, in order to warm itself first before it is lifted to the ŋtagbre as the place of honor. At this window,

/721 cont./

on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived participated in the meal. Indeed, even the women and children received their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. I, /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. II /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ani-tymvk (2) in Gilyak)

2. The ŋ in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French r. The bowl is called ani-tymvk because of its similarity to a hand (tymvk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and in fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call mŏpt (1).

1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of punishment for the mistreat committed against the bear. Once outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated, for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigorously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mosj, etc. -- were put out

Gold; RX3

/732 cont./

which were strung in a row by means of the Foramina vertebralia on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Goldi birch-bark bowls and baskets, such as are found also on the grave sites of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur, they found a home there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them, determined chiefly by the different methods of construction and the different ideas of dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low, conical, snow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young fir trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ringlet-shaped, curled wooden-shavings hanging down from them from crowns and from the branches of neighboring shrubs. Only when a bear has been eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it is put a bundle of wooden curls (zach) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk, Dul, Jwlk, Pud-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/732 cont./

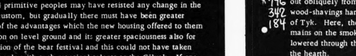

Bearskin hung up near the yurt.

animates all primitive peoples may have resisted any change in the traditional ceremonies, but gradually these must have been greater utilization of the advantages which the new housing offered to them by its position on level ground and its greater spaciousness also for the celebration of the bear festival and this could not have taken long for a people with such practical talents as the Gilyak. If one sees the Amur Gilyak lead their bears, temporarily displayed in the houses, out through the door and immediately back in again many times, apparently without any purpose whatsoever, and stroll around with the bear in the fashion from house to house from the entire village, it gives the impression as though, with their traditional memory, so to speak, of the limitation that was formerly imposed on them in this respect and within which their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin still find themselves today they revel in the enjoyment offered to them by their present /723/ dwellings, which are more suitable for the bear festival. As a matter of fact, this custom seems to be only the manifestation of joy and satisfaction gradually becoming more conscious in Amur Gilyak, which have the change in the construction of their dwellings which has taken place in the course of time.

Another difference in the bear-festival practices determined by the different dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak and the Sakhalin Gilyak pertains to the transfer of the bear's head from the lŋag into the yurt. Among the former this is done, not through the door, but always through one of the windows of the house. In Tymy, Tro, Nivx, Ulx, Tebach, and Kalnaj, dogs were always only through the smoke vent, which, aside from the door, is generally the only opening in it leading to the outside. I therefore suspect that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, this transfer taken place, not through the door, but through the smoke vent, which would scarcely be possible in the Gilyak houses built in the Chinese fashion, and therefore the continental Gilyak are obliged to use the window opening instead of the smoke vent, which is also much easier. I think that consideration of this circumstance of Ainu with regard to the Sakhalin Gilyak is to be found in the fact that over a yurt in which a bear has been eaten the skin of the animal consumed, immediately after the meal is finished, is spread over a pole jutting

/733 cont./

adjacently from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, that, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion. Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious, two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two hearths in the tschadyf, over which the kettles used to cook the bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes have been in the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical roof, and as the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt. In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau-

/734 cont./

I was present at the bear festival in Tyk when the meat of the animal was shared by being eaten, that is, toward noon of the second act. Parts of the dismembered animal were still lying on the bear rack, and among them the skull already cleaned of the muscle meat, which I tried to buy, in vain, of course, from the owner of the animal. Several Gilyak busily eating their portions still sat on the benches, others were either crowding around them or in the passageways between the hearth and the benches, each one trying to snatch a piece of meat or there with his knife. One of the members of the household was collecting contributions from the diners: in a little trough in order to give them to the women and children, and similar troughs with pieces of bear meat were carried to the other yurts of the village. Even among the Amur Gilyak, when this time comes during the bear festival, festivities usually cease, and here not a trace of them remained -- everybody milled around informally in the narrow space. A meal of Manchu-Chinese products, cereals and legumes, such as it customarily served to guests in Tymy, seems to have prevailed in Tyk, and this also to have preceded the eating of the meat, since the host and owner of the bear evidently was not one of the well-to-do and only a little of these products reach Sakhalin, and that only through the Amur Gilyak and Oltcha. Under these circumstances it was understandable that in Dul, where soon thereafter a bear festival was celebrated amid a great conflux of participants, a subsequent celebration took place immediately afterward for the gratification of the latter. In which, besides other food, dogs were eaten, as I already had been mentioned above (1) in connection with the discussion

1. See pp. 661 and 662.

of cynophagy among the Gilyak.

It struck me that on Sakhalin there was nothing to be seen of any of the collateral entertainments, such as dog races, all kinds of games for young and old, etc., which customarily accompany the bear festival among the Amur Gilyak. In summing up, one may conclude that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, especially in the region with earth yurts exclusively, that is, along the

/734 cont./

northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the Tyms Valley, as a result of their greater wealth and poverty circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

/735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/. Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed account of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Mesrt. Rudanofskij (2)

1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Ainu /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Ainthuell der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

2. Sergei Ts. Timofeyev", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossijsko-ametik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-137.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

3. N. Busse, Otr. Sakhalin" i Ekspedi. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.

/742 cont./

it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often they are used as talisman, but seem to represent hair, and, in that case, strings tened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the tick mark's LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery. stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with hoze Such an amulet is called ngif and kini: from Judin in Tebach I grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face were named for me by the Allof Gilyak as tybyx. The Gilyak (see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. I, pp. 57, 58.)

3. Gilyak. The village of Pogbobi on the west coast of Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood -shavings off a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whole bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in her chest and sat there coughing and complaining. The zach was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after the had received this medicine, the woman stopped groaning and behaved very cheerfully during the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman. (2 W.R. II, p. 6.)

4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 4, was named for me by the Gilyak as myiir. It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally; I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kulk. In the same village among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

/743 cont./

down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in back and seem to represent hair. Lower down, in the shape of a stage

/792 cont./

the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chala has had only a few inhabitants. (2 S.R. I, p. 39.)

Among the Chela I saw an idol-belt, a nawuchu, provided with various sawa or representations of idols, to be worn around the body as an amulet against sickness (Plate LX /p.1260 /, Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two makes (mhalda), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fox carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather and on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khai (chai) of the Gilyak in wood hanging below the toad and the human figure, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak in Chiara and which is also carved by the Olcha as protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak kagn and the sawa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (2 S.R. I, pp. 32-33.)

Shamans

/756 cont./

of all his bindings and alive again. With the words, kiunchek via, kiunchek via! (?) which he calls out to each kagn, the shaman now

"Perhaps kaunchu = out! viii = let us go! - according to the Gilyak name for the kagn, the shaman now Grube.

/792 cont./

banishes all kagn from there again, it is quiet in the yurt, the shaman performance is over, and the fires in the hearths may be reinlaid. (2 S.R. I, pp. 58 and 59.)

32. Gilyak. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, there are likewise shamans among the Gilyak on Sakhalin; moreover, they are said to have the same instruments of their art as those on the mainland, drum (kanfi), shaman's belt (Olcha jangsa), etc. (Plate LXI /p. 1261/, Figs. 2, 4). (2 W. R. I, p. 10.)

The large village of Tymovsk on the east coast consisting of at least ten yurts, is said to have a shaman who was famous among the Gilyak. (2 W. R. II, p. 7.)

33. Samagir. One evening I heard the sound of drums in the village of Ngkghu. I was told that in the neighboring yurt the Shaman's drum was beaten, and I went there immediately. There was no light in the yurt, and even in the two hearths there were only glowing embers, in front of which women and children were crouched. The dull tones of the drum, accompanied by a melancholy and monotonous singing, resounded from a remote, dark corner of the large, dim room and occasionally became so powerful that the whole yurt rumbled. Accompanied by my guide, I sat down on one of the sleeping benches and listened for a while to the eerie music. When I inquired as to why there was no fire in the yurt, I was told that the shaman sounds were meant for a sick woman in the yurt and that no fire was permitted in connection with this. And, indeed, when after a time the flames were fanned in the hearths and the night-lamps were lighted in the yurt, the drumming and singing instantly ceased. I now approached the shaman, who was sitting on one of the sleeping benches. Next to him lay the sick woman, a pan of coals (ischalacen) with dying

/789 cont./

rolf next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove (kitut) or a cuckoo (kaunchu). The dove is for a man, the latter for a woman. The dove or the cuckoo is also involved with the small stick with the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as food for the bird: hence the designation tutut-ngir and tutut-ngir or pyk-ngir and pyk-ngir, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these sticks. The representation is the same for both birds, for it only most crudely shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches. The word pitnyui, on the other hand, designates another item in the raff. It is a small framework of little sticks (**), on which hang berries,

** According to the appended, very cursory sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknown to me. On the tuchan-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed for a deceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are supposed to be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the soul, perhaps this takes into account the difference in physical strength and - according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the difference in psychic energy of the two sexes. The tutut or pyk is supposed to have almost the same purpose as the tuchan-ngar, which is very probable on the basis of the explanation given by Judin concerning these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the right bank of the Amur) I already erected raff twice very close to the bank and close to it a pitnyui, i.e., a storage chamber for the raff, which is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consist of a small roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dovecot. It rood is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pitnyui, berries, fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I found an extremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimtkan, had erected in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his daughter. On the outside it was provided with carvings and arabesques of various kinds. The /770/ carvings, painted black, red, and white,

/770 cont./

represented various animals, bears, horses, hares, cocks, and ducks (Plate LXIX /p.1269 /).

On the inside the raff was very opulently equipped. The usual articles in it, kakk, pyk-ngir, tchan-ngar, were so luxuriously made that they could hardly be recognized. The former was completely covered with a multicolored cloth, which bore brass ornaments such as the Gilyak women have on their robes, corresponding to the purpose of the kakk, namely, to carry the clothing for the deceased. -- Do the rags on the kakk perhaps come from the garments of the deceased? Very probably, since these rags are called okch, fur. -- A small Manchurian bowl served as pyk-ngir. The floor of the raff was covered with a fine reed or straw mat. Aside from the articles mentioned, there also lay in the raff a great number of birch-bark bowls (with berries, etc.), neatly stacked up, a small box in which lay a tobacco pouch and a pipe, another pipe which was for Kimtkan's daughter, and the like, and, finally, the braids of the two deceased women, cut off at the roots and wrapped in birch bark were preserved here (*).

* See p. 615, where raff is to be read instead of rakk.

Kimtkan himself took out the articles and showed them to me, evidently, however, without thinking much about the dead. Moreover, he had now replaced his late wife with three of them. Near the raff there was the cremation site of a corpse and next to it stood the raff that were similar. The raff is never erected directly over the ashes of the deceased, but apart from them (**).

** The reports concerning this, collected by the author in various places, differ in part from one another; cf. 47 /p. 1227/, 48 /p. 1227/, 51 /p.1233/.

Kimtkan's deceased, for example, were cremated far in the forest, and their ashes were there, while the raff stood here near

/771 cont./

years, and consequently also the visin to it for a cure. The ashes of a person killed by an ant (tiger and leopard) is taken to a special burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a memorial. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokh and Kalm (on the right bank the Amur), I pasted on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Near the tomb there was a raff, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Ho and Tachilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their dead near the Tachi River, a close of Taur-wa and villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is part Tunguzic. (2 S.R. II, 8.)

60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood and ings (zach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-branches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

/674 cont./

them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspatj), with the derived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months,

/675 cont./

1. (cont.)
and the time from one new moon to another is called taktuk, like the moon itself. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /An Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 208.

these have several different designations, not merely in one and the same place, but also in various parts of the Gilyak area. In particular there are those used by the Gilyak of the Amur River and the Amur-Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and, on the other hand, the others used in the interior and along the east coast of the island, by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak. I shall give them next as I noted them myself after repeated inquiries and shall later add a few remarks.

List of the Gilyak Names of the Months:

	on the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin	in the interior and on the east coast of Sakhalin
January . . .	Tscham-long	Klu-long.
February . .	Karr-long	Tscham-long.
March	Tschrad-long	Karr-long.
April	Arkail-long	Tschrad-long.
May	Walten tengi-long, also Kopengwa-l. and Kittägtsch-l. (2) . . .	Pittun-long.

2. In the Gilyak word-list compiled by Dr. Grube the last two terms have erroneously been applied to April instead of to May: see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, pp. 44, 58, 59, and 120 /the appendix

/675 cont./

2. (cont.)
referred to is not included in the book translated here/. Tschrad-long (March) is likewise erroneously identified with July (op. cit., p. 108).

/676/

June	Tengi-wota-long, . . . also Pota-long	Arkail-long.
July	Matschn-tschrar-long . .	Tscho-taghr-l
August . . .	Lygi-wota-l., also Pilja-tschrar-l., and simply Pilja-l.	Matschki-long
September . .	Ngarwi-long, also Tschitsch-ngar-long	Pilja-long.
October . . .	Oni-lami-long, also Pottschawo-long . . .	Ngadgho-long
November . .	Tlo-long	Kawekö-long.
December . .	Anj-long	Tlo-long.

Unfortunately, Glehn does not indicate in which of the two above-named parts of the Gilyak area he learned their nam for the months. According to him, they run as follows:

January, February, March } just as according to me.

April . . . Pitul-long.

May . . Arschkai-long.

/676 cont./

805 114

June . . Tingi-long and Tingivata-long.

July, August, September are not given.

October . . Iging-long and Mugiti-long.

November . Klu-long and Anj-long (in the north).

December . Tschlo-long.

114 184 805 From the fact that the first three months in Glehn bear exactly the same names as I noted down according to statements of the Gilyak of the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin, I venture to conclude that he, too, inquired about them there. The same is true for June, whose name refers to the mass migration of the tengi-tscho (Salmo proteus), which, according to him, is called tingi-tscho. The other names of the months found in Glehn, however, seem to me to have been learned among the Tro Gilyak.

805 184 [122] My knowledge of the Gilyak language does not extend far enough to explain all the names of the months given above. For only a few of them shall I venture a word or two of explanation. It could readily be assumed that they are based upon especially striking natural phenomena and conditions characteristic of the month concerned, which, however, with regard to time, might now and then differ considerably in the habitation area of the Gilyak. This happens particularly in the case of the mass migration upstream of Salmo lagocephalus in the Amur and in the Tymy River on Sakhalin and calls forth among the dwellers along the latter a corresponding shift in the names of the months as compared to the Amur Gilyak, as I have already mentioned in detail on another occasion (1). In a similar manner, /677/ the

1. Pages 819-823.

/677 cont./

805 184 Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound

805 184 825 of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas

[439] of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese

000 origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long --

805 825 171 113

3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

An extraordinar

2: Schrenck--1269 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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556
184
531

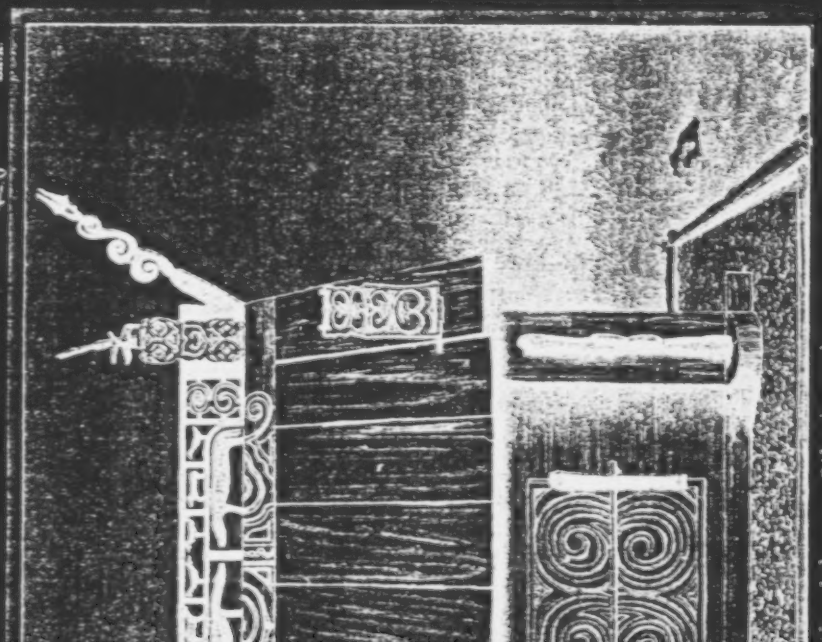

ly elaborate Gilyak tomb.

9: Hawes--259 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 186

"That hospitality is not offered to the Gilyaks by the Tungus
their relations are considerably strained. The former accuse
snares, and of setting them on the Gilyaks' hunting-grounds. T
while it is dangerous to meet a brodyaga man to man, to meet
death. Of course this is only true if there be cause of hostility

is not surprising, for
the latter of robbing their
They even declare that
t a Tungus is certain
."

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

224 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a 22 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat [184] themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow [178] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The 889 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these 462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

177 By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite 433 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the 627 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

601 The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of [198] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were [595] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

614 All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand 561 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of 439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated 614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred 184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with 182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time [556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before [595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. [567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of fur and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own household 567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

175 At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established 648 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders 618 and gasyanda—village elders.

622 After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally 175 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation 178 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch 433 was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used [567] the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox 771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island 772 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master"

9. Hawes--199 1-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 178, 184, 527, 756

"Customs differ from coast to coast, and from village to village, and here is a point of divergence. In many cases I believe the cham, or medicine-man, is not called in to officiate [LSS: At the sacrifice of the bear during the bear fête] possibly because the influence of his office is on the wane, and as the Tro Gilyaks told me 'we have no great cham now.' "

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

185

185 CULTURAL GOALS--social foresight; concept of progress; reform movements and utopian goals; prevention of waste; social planning; conservation policies; etc. See also:

Organization of production and distribution	47	Land reform	423
Individual achievement	55	Economic planning and development	433
Specific government projects	65	Saving and investment	454
Population policy	156	Political doctrines, policies, and programs	668
Dynamics of culture change	178	Social insurance	745
City planning	361	Social philosophy	829

/377/

423 Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well as the streams, and their banks, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. Use is the absolute element of property. While they recognize
[185] [648] their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the mainland to hunt the sable and reindeer some tens of versts from their settlements, although it could be easily foreseen that this would lead to the complete disappearance of the sable from those Gilyak territories. But on the other hand they are extremely strict in their rights to those streams along which they set snares
423 and traps. All the streams of the territory of the settlement are
428 divided in perpetuity among the families of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among the sons on the same strict principles as any real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worthy of note that although the streams thus divided among the brothers and clansmen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-alloted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in
423 the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay or of eating and not giving to others.
166 Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or
423 journey at given seasons for fishing or sealing, and the indigenous inhabitants of the settlements do not even dream of considering this a violation of any of their rights. Without asking anyone's

186

186 ETHNOCENTRISM--exaltation of the ingroup (e.g., consciousness of kind, local pride, patriotism, class consciousness, old school tie); unfavorable judgments of other groups (e.g., race prejudice, religious intolerance, national antipathies); overt manifestations (e.g., snobbishness, discrimination, ethical dualism, nationalism); symbolic representation (e.g., flags, anthems, emblems, national heroes); channeling of hostilities (e.g., sports rivalry, ethnic scapegoats); etc. See also:

Sports and games	82	Citizenship	641
Prejudice and discrimination toward ethnic and other stratified groups	56	International relations	648
Ingroup antagonisms	578	Political parties	665
Behavior toward nonrelatives, strangers, and aliens	609	Nationalistic and nativistic movements	668
Minority rivalries	616	Military morale	703
Development of nationalism	619	Religious persecution	798
		Ideas about race	829

/127 cont./
609 reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the
594 Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has
609 wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with
829 such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance
* 614

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general
• 186 relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course,
609 among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national
829 prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We
174 can now resume it.
* 614
615

/265 cont./
602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
191 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

584 Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
593 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

194 Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
196 be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
591 that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says:
191 n'i-umgarvo ivrâ, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

194 Another example: the term for designating a person's
611 origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth."
614 This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally
• 186 be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/266 cont./
194 reverence with which they approached a settlement where,
611 according to them, one of their female ancestors had once
614 lived.
• 186 In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 Usually at the present time children are given names
184 according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general
614 rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement
611 of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with
611 the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan,
174 but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak them-
[582] selves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by
[614] the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

/667 cont./
426 that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

735 Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in dis-
tress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to
181 maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the
• [186] Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense
421 national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries,
735 and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in
421 case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

/669/
423 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in
224 that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunt-
226 ing, except for the places on the river where they have their
619 salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the
[648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

685 Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also
[421] based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and
[123] dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-
• [186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to
685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from
648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in orde to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainte
[192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradnt Russ. ukrast), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not becom known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met
685 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc.,
123 whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

9: Hawes--257-258 T-3 (
116, 186, 609

"Moonlight was silvering the broad
for the passage of a solitary canoe
passed another containing two men
of us understood. We mutually grun
each other, this being quite contrar
the Ainus, with whom the ceremony

The Tungus are the most nomadi
best hunters, and probably the clev
home is the taiga, and with their re
following the river course or the fo
I was told, would catch three sable
Derbensk for a pud of gunpowder ar

Between them and the Gilyaks the
Orochons complain that the latter s
dispersal of their herds in the fore

'The Tungus,' said our Vanka, 'a
hospitable, and do not give the Gily

ening Bay of Ni, and all was still and quiet, save
of natives returning to their village. Later there
of a fresh tribe, the Tungus, whose language none
ted salutations, though I never saw the Gilyaks gree
y to the [258] habits of their neighbours to the south
is both long and complicated.
c race on Sakhalin, at the same time they are the
erest in carving, needlework, and metalwork. Thei
eindeer and fine hunting dogs are sometimes seen
rest paths made by wild animals. Some of their dog
s in a day, which their masters would exchange at
d a pud of shot.
ere are occasional misunderstandings, and even the
ometimes steal their reindeer, which in view of the
st is quite possible. ....
re wild people living in the forest. They are not
aks food and drink when they call;' "

7 As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among the
6 selves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating
9 usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money fro
6 a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and
then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in ass
ing from this that the Gilyak have two different moral
standards, which would contradict our previous statement
The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To
sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take h
money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take th
liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are
mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that f
this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently t
are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would b
the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants o
played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a
Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on h
shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's
7 ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that,
9 having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak
7 nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly
appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasan
of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in gener
more honest than our sort, especially those who live
in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit
themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest;
on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they likewise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut-ngit in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tscham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of Bogorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very

/15 cont./

174 174 types of animals mentioned are actually encountered only very rarely in the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur and, on the other hand, very frequently in the territory of their Tungus neighbors, the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, and Samagir, and therefore there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Tungus names spread among the Gilyak, but even if in Schrenck's time the animals mentioned were encountered there somewhat more frequently, this could be a matter of pure accident. It often happens that extraordinary reasons, such as the appearance of a new and strong enemy, compel this or that animal to save itself by flight from its normal territory to distant places, but such phenomena do not prove that the new territory in which these animals accidentally appeared was their primordial habitat. In general, how convincing Schrenck's conclusion is may be seen from the fact that the tiger is absolutely not encountered on Sakhalin and very rarely enters the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur, but nevertheless both the Sakhalin and the Amur Gilyak have their own name for it, "klund."

172 174 192 On the contrary, everything speaks for the fact that on Sakhalin it is the Gilyak who are the newcomers, having replaced or driven out their predecessors -- the Ainu. Let us start with the linguistic /16/ data. The Gilyak still call trees and some sea animals that are absent on the continent by Ainu terms, such as nistan' (maple), tarman' (yew tree), nuguchep (sea pig?), and others. Furthermore, we have even more objective proof that in any case it was not the Gilyak who were the most ancient aborigines of the island. Throughout the entire territory of Gilyak settlement on Sakhalin Island, right up to its northernmost extremities, one encounters the remnants of ancient dugouts, in the form of round and more or less large pits, and, upon excavating them, I found pot fragments and some implements of the Stone Age. The Gilyak call these pits nothing other than kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits), a name which quite clearly indicates that the Gilyak regard the Ainu as 172 the original inhabitants. The Stone Age implements and the pot fragments found in these pits are regarded by the Gilyak as the handiwork of the gods (the pot fragments, for example, are regarded by them as the pots of a heavenly man who dropped them

/17 cont./

174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in 174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant 171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug- 342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak 342 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the 178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt: through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited may be in actuality a remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

/18 cont./

342 342 (kusind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of 178 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the 171 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that 174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee, 342 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog -- 582 led -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. 614 The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

174 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about 173 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a 332 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so- 610 called "hoyykh." By "hoyykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hoyykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a miniuscule island opposite the settlement of Takvro. 614 It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hoyykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hoyykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/37 cont./

174 my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ancestresses were 835 sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kinship terminology 582 this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the 614 daughter of the sister of my father-in-law (an'ge), but simply navkh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but ytk, akhmal'k. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan, reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not, however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

In spite of all the favorable conditions indicated by me 582 which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular 614 clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up to the present day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak, not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detail, I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives there from whence you came, i.e., from the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

[192] 1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh is interesting: it is composed of pi (ones own, your), pandf (kinsmen of the mother), and ukh (from). The word pandf is from pandynd -- "to be born."

[835] wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinted an old prohibition on this group of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder brothers, for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'ge (wife, any woman with whom sexual intercourse is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of marriage among the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a brother, own (preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the father. On the other hand, marriage with a

/48 cont./

174 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father- 582 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex- 614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not 582 from the clan of his mother by the certain yokh /see yokh on 614 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price, 174 582 the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin 582 against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atone- 614 ment, by force or by a material fine from the abductor. Among 173 the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen- 684 eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same 582 "blood-money," that same material form of atonement for a sin, 192 as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

174 In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps 583 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of the gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/81 cont./

*614 First of all, the very term that the Gilyak use to express the concept "clan" is of primitive origin. It is khal', which literally 192 means: icabbard, sheath -- a felicitous symbol for a single womb, for unity of origin. As concerns the features of their clan union, 614 gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious 628 procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored, 771 and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall recount later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom, which demanded a preliminary blood sacrifice in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution. 537 The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played 564 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh (1).

*614 192 197

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent, orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak, for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a particular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and inspires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen 532 ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/188 cont./

602 and between the women and the elder tuvn of their husbands
[601] on the other. As is well known from the kinship terminology,
the individuals of these groups call each other by the prohibi-
602 tory terms jokh and atk. These last terms are likewise used by
184 daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law to designate each other.
Between them, as between the individuals of the prohibited
categories, once again psychic intercourse is not permitted,
although not with uniform strictness everywhere. Among
some, for example, among the Gilyak of the estuary of the
Amur, neither conversation nor jokes are allowed. In other
places business relations are allowed, but jokes and conversa-
tion are forbidden. The prohibition of psychic intercourse
does not exist between sona-in-law and mothers-in-law.
602 Now how the prohibitions are realized in life remains to
be explained. The Gilyak themselves classify the psychic
• [192] forms of intercourse between prohibited categories with the
terms: indyad (to look, khernd (to converse, to talk), lerund
(to joke, play, play pranks), and vakrund (to quarrel, dispute,
revile). But not all of these four forms are applied equally
between all the categories. Thus, we have seen that the
father is forbidden only lerund (jokes, playing pranks) with
his daughter, but he is permitted to converse with her and
all the more to revile her. The prohibitions on "looking in
the face" -- indyad -- on the contrary, are in effect only
between "brothers and sisters"; lerund applies with equal rigor
between all categories. There remains the prohibited khernd.
This term embraces two concepts: conversation and dis-
cussion, and business relations. The first are absolutely for-
bidden: /189/ one can get along without conversations, and
besides conversations may lead further. It is another matter
with business conversations; sometimes it is absolutely im-
possible to get along without them. Thus, for example, the
elder brother frequently takes the place of the father in re-
lation to the younger brothers, and it is impossible to avoid
having dealings with him; therefore in extreme cases the
younger brothers may address the elder brother. Brief direct

/250 cont./

831 Such instances must not be regarded as a general
192 phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened
sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors
are also acting. Among the married women, such factors
are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both
married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and
bashfulness. In general, however, sexual dissoluteness plays
no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an econo-
mic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily
the Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or,
if they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both
[826] in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp
reproaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for
laziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And
[842] furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages
831 to dissoluteness. But the saddest of all is the influence of
158 dissoluteness of the psychics. A whole series of nervous
disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myarechenie among
both men and women, and diseases connected with the full
loss of psychic composure (elf-control /given in English/)
are the result of dissoluteness, which furthermore, among
women, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm
of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the
appearance of hysteria.

831 Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom
• 192 described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role
in the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term
for love, ef'-mund, denotes both sexual love and love in
general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term
for reciprocal love -- os'mund: for marriage for love,
[835] of'mur-kir, vayind. There are also some other terms for
[1062] love, for example, ayind and others, but there are no special
terms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although
584 /251/ one can say es'mula-ligayvyn, i.e., "man whom they
593 love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate
each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/251 cont./

831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- a'as'mych,
• [192] ef'ash. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage
of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This
view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down
on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's
nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time,
let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
882 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
593 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considera-
tions, since during the period of passion the young people
neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In
general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the
sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter
or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer,
but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he
may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the
amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural
phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the
confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly
address their mother, sharing with her their amorous suffer-
ings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved.
Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In
such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
593 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an
advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

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XII.

Methods of Obtaining a Wife

584 Data from the epos. It is first of interest to reconstruct the
558 picture of the acquisition of a wife in the old days according
to the data from the popular epos. Judging from these data,
especially from the so-called d'asfund (poems), the acquisi-
tion of a wife in the old days was not at all an easy matter (1).

• [192] 1. That the procuring of a wife was
not a simple matter is shown by the
very expression for this undertaking,
an'gej nanygind, in which the verb
nanygind is a technical term for the
hunting of a beast, usually accom-
panied by difficulties in the search and
all sorts of dangers.

On the contrary, one of the chief exploits of the heroes is
the search for a wife. In order to find his wife, the hero of
a Gilyak poem must undertake the most distant and hazardous
journeys to the end of the world; he must sail over stormy
seas, even ascend to heaven or descend to the kingdom of
the underworld or the bottom of the sea, not to speak of all
sorts of heroic duels with whole clans of the most fearsome
foes -- duels encountered in the course of these peregrinations.
Why is it so, why must the hero, a strong man, of
necessity seek his wife far away, when he has every opportun-
ity to find a wife nearby?
First of all, we shall note that the aforementioned term
an'gej nanygind, "to seek a wife," may lead one to think
that the ordinary mode of securing a wife for the heroes was
force, abduction. True, this, too, was done by them, but
most frequently they obtained their wives in the most
peaceful manner, without even paying anything. This is

/270 cont./

192 in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the
584 possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
585 and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward
differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and
[545] become related to only rich people. In the question of the
choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded
of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and,
consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even
in the ancient "tylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in
matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my
equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
128 a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek
556 women who were famous for their beauty, their skill, who
58 were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents,
614 their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once
marriage came to be practiced between members of alien
clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished.
There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price,
which introduced into the institution of marriage the element
of purchase-sale: besides this, marriage between persons of
alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the pro-
cedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.
The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
• 192 pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
584 come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the match-
maker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride --
"future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms
for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With
orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and
bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called
[194] na -- husband, and the bride -- an'gej. The term jokh,
which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely
inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen,
with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual
intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure
of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of
orthodox marriage.

/270 cont./

584 orthodox marriage. For an arrangement concerning an orthodox
[194] /271/ marriage what a young girl thinks is even the special
584 term ulag'ind (passive clause vyrgyen).
Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom
584 the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the
582 father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister
of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained
separately by the norms of orthodox marriage. According
to this law, the husband on the side of the father is the
father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by
the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the
brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of
the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of
his closest askimak, the brother of his own daughter-in-law.
If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the ordla
584 n'tvuzk (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the
602 marriage is considered the affair of his clan, these frequently
614 participate, in addition to these persons, several honored
clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy per-
[556] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing
[593] with them at once the articles of the bride price, and fre-
quently, if the dalugan plus the rich bride price makes the
proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away
with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.
584 The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all
585 alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re-
584 nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the
[553] maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."
545 Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married
584 man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself
584 goes to the father of the first wife, but often the latter
614 herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are
no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and
betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

/270 cont./

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614 herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are
no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and
betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

/275 cont./

584 Lakkan: Whatever I have, (with it) I am ready to s
583 although I have nothing.
584 Pevn: If thou hast something, wilt thou not pity me
thou not wish to help?
Lakkan: To this day I have refused thee nothing, i
so?
Pevn: Of course.
Lakkan: If thou shalt have something, thou wilt have
pity on me. Once thou shalt have something, I shall als
have, is it not so?
Pevn: If thus hast thou spoken, it gladdens me. Th
truth thou art ready to give me what thou hast?
Lakkan: What I have, if thou shalt ask, I am ready
give the dowry.
After this the matchmaker again pours the drinks an
finally, unexpectedly announces: "Thou hast promised t
give me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I ha
son. Let us become akhmak'i."
To this Lakkan replies: I have already given my wo
others.
Pevn: What if you did give your word to another ma
You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will p
court with you.
583 After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to
[584] business negotiations concerning the bride price.
Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the b
price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak c
this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, l
lave, throws light on the very origin of the institution.
194 In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by th
583 word as', as'r from asimynd (?) -- to give as a gift, so
• 192 literally as', as'r means a present, a gift, which the fam
or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan
the bride. That this term was not formed by chance is
from the following. In other ritual cases where compen
[628] with valuables is obligatory, for example, in the case of
ransom -- damages paid for an abducted woman, for a
murdered man -- the term used is us'kind, which means

1

9

/286 cont./

117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
173 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure G
(Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to th
Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the
wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, fro
which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to
Chil'mi.

117 Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
103 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Kho
173 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The
Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through
chumashka with kaluga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man
opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother kill
him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to
kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was the
that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; t
broke the fire and bought a bear.

117 Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. Th
103 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations
(1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda s
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gily
● 191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language,
and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the m
part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hóinchá) came he
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
173 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchajl on the Amgu
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

192

192 VOCABULARY--paucity or richness of vocabulary; range of vocabulary in ordinary use; receptivity to loan words; elaboration of vocabulary in partic directions; special vocabularies (e.g., sacred words, slang, legal language technical words, occupational jargon); words and phrases with strong emoti connotations; etc. See also:

Place names 103
Glossaries of native words frequently used in descriptive accounts 104
Personal names 551
Kinship terms 601
Numerals 802
Native terms for plants and animals . . 824, 825

The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almost without any accent'.[38] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi. They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin, and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots, and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited exclusively by Nivkhi.

The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that, together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. Accordingly, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[39]

In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhalin National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

[For information pertaining to the Gilyak
Union, category 116; p. 9.]

language, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet

1. Shternberg--401 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1903 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/273 cont./

"to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ uwkland = "to pay" is derived from the word uwkind, which in the middle voice is a synonym for "to fight." Thus uwkland literally means "to fight the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- uwkind was originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom -- peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered father, they ask him on his return: Pytk uwkind pyltd? -- "Did you fulfill uwkind for your father (literally uwkind -- fulfill), did you take vengeance?" He answers: "ain khukhtu!" -- "I killed them all." Here the term uwkind is used in the same context of the act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used in the sense of ransom. "Tyn nafsh uvkim -- "For their (clan composition) the paid damages, ransom."

From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-wedding gift to the groom, and those gifts of clothing common in various values for several years, and they were very often no less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

1. Here is an illustration of the institution of the bride price as an institution of mutual gift-giving, one of many examples which I wrote down. An elder in the settlement of Pronte, a man who was not well-to-do, gave as bride price for his daughter /ууг/ two Chinese kettles, one Japanese /котёл/, and five dogs. In exchange, the father-in-law sent his son-in-law two Chinese robes and for two or three

2. Schrenck--228 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/129 cont./

purposes (2). Miller thought that their name was of Gilyak

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

2. Miller, Samml. Rus. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büching's Magaz. fir die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 515.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russian

4. In Gilyak "island" is pôlo-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, /ланг/ -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of polo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. V, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1667 and based on the works of the two traveyors, Jewseiwof and Ladisin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schantarsky."

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

3. Shternberg--469 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1903 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

/268 cont./

(man) and one none (only for tinder and flint).

8. Hunzh -- a tobacco pouch, ślno of dei'; for both men and women. Tobacco is placed in the pouch and the hunzh.

Sometimes husband and wife, or a wife and her husband, put their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated. Shagund -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning until night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

No bows, or talet, or songs (see recited -- pwrind).

On the following day the men go to cut firewood for the cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and for children -- none-willow; to cut larch or fir for children is a sin. The men select a good tree, otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length: /227/ among some, up to a sagene in length (the clan of Pirunkai), among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows, lengthwise and crosswise. The second row, the second log, the second row feeds the deceased (ma ulgryvn achind), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt is cleaned -- tav mund, the yurt is swept, the fire is purified -- pagr mund; the sacrificial fire is prepared, and tugar amind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a classmang-- mos' is thrown into a fire started with the branches of a fir, but nothing is said.

When all the preparations have been completed, they eat, drink vodka, and then bring in a dog tied. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, tied to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "zryuk" (dog) is tied to the place where its master slept. They walk around the fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a reciprocal three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the side, and the deceased,

2. Schrenck--226 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur, Ab.G.

/129 cont./

To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned name, which, in the Gilyak language, is considered here in passing. I believe that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, in the Tungusic Jesuit missionaries, Father Gerbillon sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian ang hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 282, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated into Russian.

If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu, the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the Amur region by the Tungusic inhabitants, who, from Nyuchi, by the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of the Japanese mention also seems also to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-tonsin, Ainoo). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunashir and Iturup, even in ancient times. The Japanese mention, in Jesso, Ainu women and girls also certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,

3. Shternberg--469 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1903 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

/268 cont./

Funeral ceremonies. After closing the eyes of the deceased with a hat they stretch him out and fold his hands across his stomach; they (wife, mother) let down their hair and that of the deceased. They try to lift the head, putting garments under it, or, in the case of the poor -- straw. Sometimes the wife or the husband cuts off a piece of the head. Tobacco and a pipe are placed on the breast, and the guests come up one by one and smoke from this pipe into his mouth. The wife, or some other near relative, or, finally, /226/ an unrelated old man or old woman places at his head a small sag-fish food, vodka, and cold water; the relatives come up from time to time, eat what has been put there, and again fill up the cup.

The deceased should not be dressed in garments made of leather or fur (skin, for a drop of fat might fall into the fire, and that is a sin. Ornamented things, too, may not be given, for otherwise the deceased will lose his way. The garment for the deceased, the paid damages, ransom, of dei' and silin (see" and provided in a multiple number, the rest in the singular. All the women assemble for the sewing of the garments. The garments are sewed "tightly" or "not strongly is a sin -- "ulgyt." The deceased should not be washed.

The deceased is dressed in the following garments:

1. Ulgyt, bare, but unfailingly without wadding; no belt; no modesty pants.

2. Pwr' -- leggings.

3. Ki -- boots of dei'; of the same shape for men and women; the tops are short; the soles are also of dei'; they are put on the naked foot.

4. Tighy -- a hat also of dei'; the hat looks like a child's hat with the hood backwards.

5. Vlmyuh -- mittens with one finger, of any color; no sleeve coverings.

6. Ochuh hir -- glasses, i.e., eye patches of dei'; three fingers in breadth. Earrings and bracelets are taken off.

7. Vigyr' -- a belt, a piece of simple dei'; white in color, or, for the poor, a piece of sealskin (chekmhar) of dei' (for

4. Schrenck--278 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Orochi

/136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ukiyan in the Tumnin Valley, very well-versed in his native language, gave me the names of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Orochi languages, named the Amur, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kikhal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /Deriuzhin/ Bay. There has already been mentioned some tribes above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kiku-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name in /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we continue to discuss the Gilyak name for Sakhalin, I would show the conclusion from the fact that among the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with slight modification, also among the Udegeh that the Ainu borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Ussuri, the Goldi are in close proximity to the Ainu, and there have all kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have repeatedly met Orochi paning through Goldi territory; between the Ussuri and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a long stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the interest of trade often come down along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Sirannuni, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact between the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them -- the Japanese mention, in Jesso and Ainu as well, as living by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

4. Schrenck--302 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/321 cont./

2. (cont.)

Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 105). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the people in these parts to build in the kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Rus.: izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russian in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the same sense in this work.

house or Chinese winter yurt. The earth yurt, tovrl of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is nothing than a move for less spacious, lasting tent. The tent is sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with thin beams. Around it there is erected a prustvnul /322/ roof slanting upward evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to one another and resting on four crossbeams, which, in turn, are supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration Appear here./ Only at the peaks of the roof is an opening left to serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however, but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passageway (c). Likewise roofed over with beams, it is made of branches and dry grass, in which, at both ends, either a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

/321 cont./

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1. The Gilyak call this cape "Piiu-wangi," i.e., Large Wangi, and a smaller, more southerly promontory, where we were, "Mamch-Wangi" -- Little Wangi.

#467 cont. /

#200 (192) ...ashed in much as possible. The house is provided with windows (1) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two longitudinal walls; the and the rear transverse wall each have two, the front transverse wall one. Even in the most spacious Gilyak houses I never saw more than these seven windows (1); very often,

#201 however, only one in the front transverse wall is absent, as, for example, in the Tebach house standing in the foreground on Plate XI, and not infrequently the other transverse wall and the two longitudinal wall have only one window each, which is then always placed unsymmetrically closer to one or the other corner of the house; in fact, in the smaller houses even the window in the rear longitudinal wall is absent, so that the number of windows in them is reduced to three. Nevertheless, even these, because of their considerable size, light the interior of the house sufficiently. The windows are sometimes square, three to four feet in size; sometimes somewhat wider than high, or vice versa. They have no #202 crossbars, but instead only a number of vertical little sticks equal in distance from one another, and fish bladders take the place of glass between them. In particular these are skins from Salmo Lagocephalus Pallas-hycha, or, on Sakhalin, Salmo-tscho (2).

#192 2. Known by the Russians throughout Siberia under the name ...

the most common kind of kitchen in the Amur River, made as thin and transparent as possible by scraping and pounding, and then sewed together in such a way that the seams form many longitudinal lines and a few transverse lines running in a zigzag. #342 The windows do not open, but are only lifted out with the whole frame. The door inside the house consists of stamped clayey #343 mass. To the right and left of the entrance are the two hearths (c, Gilyak: ...) made of clay. They are fed through square

2. Schenck—467 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

#201 cont. /

#344 ... chimneys. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three village#345 lages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the south of Pogibi. In Dibengi, coming from the north, one encountered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the south of Tatsun-tsego, which consisted of one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulki (1),

#346 in Gisha it is called Jordon-tsig-wo.

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tamlin-wo, in my time notorious for its predatory population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

#347 2. Gilyks found only nine. The great number of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for tamla, tamlatch, or tamlamch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

#348 ...ochadyf villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, in Tymovo or Poro-yo, on the east coast of Sakhalin, and then go northward beyond this village and given only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small #349 ...ngf village, Mumh-wo (in Gilyks, Mutyr), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more nehadyf villages, Tumi-wo and Ngyw-wo (in Gilyks, Ngyd), the latter of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (the Mif-ryh, as the Gilyak designated it to me). According to its location on the small bay which #350 Krusenstern called Nadezhda Bay, Ngyw-wo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

2. Schenck—470 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

#438 cont. /

#439 (a, comb.)

#440 (b, p. 86), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pallekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating of raven that had been shot.

#441 ... Ethnographisches Notizblatt, Jahrg. I, Heft 1, p. 7.

#442 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, especially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy themselves with gutting them by a method which is very ingenious and cut in trade from the head to the tail near the spine on the right side and on the belt side with a knife with a long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1), and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head; then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them is cut into two long strips, each of which has a rib attached to the upper #443 rod, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is #444 the ...hokda (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, ...hokda is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

#445 Finally, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few #446 ...ctebestas must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not #447 ...ment gathering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks #448 ...tossed up by the sea in winter and early spring. For example, #449 ...on the west coast of Sakhalin they designated for me the Tellina #450 ...venustra (Gilyak tak-mih (8), Mactra sachalinensis (Gilyak

3. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

#451 ...mnghanni-wellach (6), and a third mussel, which they called #452 ...

6. Ind., pp. 575-578. As is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a small shell or mussel shell in general, but the animal of the mnghanni-wellach is called ...ngang-wellach, and which remains unknown to me, as the species whose animals they eat and at the same time praised them as being "sweet as sugar."

2. Schenck—474 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

#460 cont. /

#461 (a, comb.)

#462 (b, p. 86), in eaten with relish and in great quantities, but #463 ...does not replace the human food, which is, moreover, better, too, #464 ...such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. #465 ...(Gilyak ...-ntch), etc., are occasionally eaten; but are not #466 ...important.

#467 The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., (Gilyak #468 ...ghyrnyn) and the Lonicera edulis Turczaninow, or also Lonicera #469 ...edulis, i.e., "large berry" (3), provides a tasty dish for the

#470 (1). Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Gilyak (2) called ...ghyrnyn-tsig-wo, which one may see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin," Bd. I, Abtheilung 1, 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St.-Pét., VIIe série, Tome XII, No. 1), p. 212), on the basis of the material collected by him and Glehn.

#471 (2). The fruit has the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called ...ngang by them and by the Orok.

#472 (3). The fruit of the Lonicera edulis is called ...ngang by them and by the Orok.

#473 Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, #474 ...though it is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very #475 ...distinguished Gilyak, the hero of a bear festival which I attended #476 ...in the winter of 1858 in the village of Tebach, still had the #477 ...remnants of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the #478 ...Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. He ate it sometimes with meat #479 ...but seldom the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

2. Schenck—474 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

#461 cont. /

#480 ...prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe, #481 ...finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The #482 ...Gilyak (1) also gathered the leaves for food, a few years ago, #483 ...bilobee roots, Cornus Chinensis L. (Gilyak chiwutch) (2), and

#484 (1). Among the Olcha: chiy.

a tree more, Ulmus (Gilyak nehwatch, and, to be sure, distinguished as kana (white) and gaita (blue) nehwatch), for food by #485 ...making soup out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vege#486 ...table food for the Gilyak, which, however, only very rarely and #487 ...only in the extremity of hunger, they eat. Among the Gilyak, which they #488 ...call tscheilach (8), and the Laminaria saccharina (Gilyak ...ponch).

#489 Gilyak. The Sigo, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I #490 ...repeatedly can be seen in the coastal waters of Sakhalin, put in the #491 ...kettle till frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to #492 ...form a mass which is very tasty and nourishing.

#493 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the #494 ...Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruit #495 ...of the Pinus pumila L. as food, and of the cedar or cedar (Gilyak tchyh) #496 ...primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by

#497 (2). Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tami (Pinus pedos) and chiyf (Pinus cembra) ...

#498 handfuls, like the sufeen berries, without first crushing the #499 ...kernels or the husk, and removing the shells. The latter is like#500 ...wise not done with the cedar nuts, which are made out of them. In this #501 ...connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, #502 ...with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

#503 ...of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, #504 ...for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria tarmschatensis #505 ...Gawl. (Gilyak tachy and of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak ...pot), #506 ...which one sees strung on cords and hanging in their storage #507 ...chambers. Likewise the roots of Corydalis ambigua Cham. #508 ...(Gilyak tschuch), Heracleum dissectum Led. (Gilyak ...ghyr), #509 ...and many other roots with which I am not familiar, such as tulu, #510 ...salaha, #451/ ...nyya, pimu, ...ayzis, etc. Some bulbs, such as those #511 ...of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak ...pot), are cooked in fish oil or seal oil, #512 ...of Allium, ...are cut up in the fresh state and added to dishes as #513 ...seasonings, and likewise the chopped and dried leaves of some

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Aino busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artifically rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

#422 While the natural vegetable products discussed above are #423 of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are available to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater variety and variety of their diet, and in some of them #424 ...even supply the place of fish oil or seal oil, the Gilyak also #425 ...eat many things, which, from the point of view of the European, are not at all edible, and which, moreover, are not enough to satisfy #426 ...the hunger of the Gilyak, and which, moreover, they even prevent starvation,

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/444 Cont.

resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they became acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that they do not have any independent designation for it, but generally adopt modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation for salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dialect Dongolian: dabasun (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

1. Klaproth, *Asia polyglotta*, p. 298: Spachaltan (Lingoistic Atlas) p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Dunchenen, engaged in agriculture, livestock breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the month of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Usuri, from where they were transplanted to the Chancha in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among the Gilyak — certainly present day ones that we are etymological need for it.

Sugar, sugar (Gilyak nakn), on the other hand, finds great approval among them, and so too, in the form in which they became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian/sachar/?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a little money, it is not in any way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

/446 Cont.

bowls, are cates from wooden bowls, Gilyak munk-nagr (2) (?).

2. Nagr means bowl in general.

Nagr means bowl in general.

XXXIII; Fig. 8), and, to be more, more often nobody drank than eats with spoons. The Gilyak spoons are made of wood, fish, meat, blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak ex-nagr (3)

3. The ŋ is left in this word and is to be pronounced like the French ŋ.

/447 Cont.

copied from the Chinese must be mentioned, a specimen of which, from the village of Tebakh, is represented in the table, Fig. 6. These two their origin among the Gilyak more to the imitative instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard to trifling Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

As one may always observe, the bulk of the household and table equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood or birch bark. Earthenware is quite unknown to them, and they prefer make any themselves nor is there used among them, in spite of their contact with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain made by these peoples, for it not a single piece of it, usually one or several of the cups with which they are, in the case, also for eating the above-mentioned kinds of grain, though they are not by any means /447/ implemented used exclusively in connection with their festivals, as might be, since they have from their erotic origin and the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast to these man-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Gilyak, all the other above-mentioned vessels made fundamentally by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decorations put on them, which, moreover, they remain of the artistic carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively at the bear festivals. For the above-mentioned cups, the vessels prescribed above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to

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Kerbler (1) and Krahenninikof (2). I came across just a few

1. Reise durch die vom Lande Kamschatka, pp. 78-89.

2. "Opis. Kamchatki (Description of Kamchatka)" (Mem. sobr. ukaz. Sibirskogo gos. komit. Vol. I, pp. 208 ff.).

Gone across just a little of Kamchatka, and, in the case of the Gilyak (2). Even tea,

3. I am thinking here only of beverages for pleasure, but not medicinal potions. Among the Gilyak, on the other hand, I know more that they gather in the forest and call mogo-drying — in the sun on birch-bark mats. As far as I could learn from them, they take it to the city of Aigun, where they are paid well by the inhabitants, to be dyed in an infusion, like tea. Presumably, however, this infusion is used only as medicine for some ailment.

Even tea, Chinese tea, which, in the case of the Gilyak, is not a beverage for pleasure, but an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from another source, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained their liquor, the so-called sake, and even learned how to make a weak sake themselves (1), but the stronger and presumably cheaper

1. Ainu?, Ochots^ ^ov. Yaskaina, p. 142. Ainovskoi, Zapiski-vost. Sibir^, Perface, p. 58.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Nevertheless, in the year 1869, a "Tri-ŋan kiko" (Kiebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

/463 Cont.

1. (cont.)

Russian colonization of the island, therefore only quite recently, and, in the case of the Gilyak, it is not to be expected that one may travels on it, or

Schrenck's and Gilyak's

They did not come across it and considered it, when they saw the drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor was, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be sure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other people of this mainland. Under the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) arak or arki, also sometimes spelled the Mongolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (6). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Castrén's ethnological works, where, I trust, see, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araki, arnaki, etc.

Undoubtedly liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the time of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread among them, as among the Mongolian peoples, like the Gilyak, and especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must have soon been introduced in the Gilyak, Orok, etc. The latter, to be sure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from another source, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained their liquor, the so-called sake, and even learned how to make a weak sake themselves (1), but the stronger and presumably cheaper

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Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Nevertheless, in the year 1869, a "Tri-ŋan kiko" (Kiebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

/468 Cont.

1. (cont.)

the Manchu (tamyakn) and Mongolo (tamachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too, that, among the Gilyak and Orok, it is called tamyakn, or tamachu, among the Gilyak tamyakh, among the Ainu tamyakn.

Gilyak, Orok, Tungus, Manchurian Tobacco, had spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable necessity for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the south and from the north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders with the Gilyak, Orok, and other tribes of the lower Amur region, and through the Yakut merchants who in part followed these nomads and in part visited certain trading points at which the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders, as well as many other peoples of the lower Amur region (1). Nevertheless, up

1. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the future, tobacco was cultivated in some quantities in the village of peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian Cossacks and other Russians, and then also only a larger, but especially of course, among those peoples who did not cultivate tobacco themselves, hence among the Gilyak, Orok, etc. what made it especially popular among them it to much greater strength or acrimony in comparison with the Manchurian tobacco, as well as on big for cheaper. The great popularity of Russian tobacco and the general and heavy demand for it among the peoples named soon made it the most important and most necessary article of trade in dealing with them.

Tobacco was cultivated among the other peoples of the Amur region also adopted from the Manchu the form of the pipe

Tobacco is an annual plant, which is cultivated throughout China and countries of two metal pieces connected by a thin, black-colored,

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1. (cont.)

Dutch versch: Pyzo, des Ilars, Bricks Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire (Vol. II, p. 46), the Orkyak on the lower Olb also keep tobacco, and, probably, but always feed them in the yurt.

The Ainu

of the Sakhalin on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as I was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

Dogs are kept by the Gilyak for a particular use and nature. In comparison with the Ainu-Sakhalin name, as the sled used for traveling on dog is called by the Russian, the Gilyak sled is larger, lighter, distinguished by a different type of harness, as a result of a flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always well proportionately wider than long, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions of the sled, and, in particular, the runners. I had every opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak people, who had arrived with Udeyevsk on temporary quarters and even had permission to spend their sleds in a corridor of it, after had been the Gilyak people, who, while they stayed in their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, consisted of the runners (Fig. 1, Ind the following /476/ principal dimensions: the length from one end of the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 6", the height in the middle (including the protective sides to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 13 times longer than wide and 12 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, in construction is the following: the narrow and thin sides / runners (Gilyak: tonkn), p. in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle and bent upward at both ends, the latter being much greater than upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily, to protect them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside

/476 Cont.

company middendorff undertook his journey through the northern steppe of the Russian mountains from the Sea of Okhotsk to the Upper Amur, and whom, among all the peoples of Siberia, this general designation best fits. Corresponding, however, to the greater prosperity and polish of the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region in contrast to their Siberian fellow-tribesmen, their ski, too, especially those of the Gold and Samagir, are finer, more artistically and artistically made, so that they probably represent the highest degree of perfection that has yet been achieved for this implement. They are longer and proportionately wider than the sled of the Gilyak ski. The length can be given only in general terms and approximately, for, in fact, they cause the rule is that they must always be the length of the individual the when they are intended — a rule which, of course, is not always observed. In spite of their larger dimensions, the Gilyak ski, which, to be sure, is not simply call them — the Gilyak call them /477/ i.e., Samagir ski — are much lighter than the Gilyak ski because of the extreme thinness of the board. This thinness of the board and the peculiar, slightly wavy shape that is imparted to it during the bending result in the extraordinary flexibility of this ski. As one can see from the illustration

/477 Cont.

1. (cont.)

Gilyk: ŋaŋ; ŋ — upper, shovel-shaped end, ŋ — middle part of the sole, Gilyk: nelkrap; ŋ — tip of lower end, Gily. ŋaŋ.

/477 Cont.

1. (cont.)

Gilyk: ŋaŋ; ŋ — upper, shovel-shaped end, ŋ — middle part of the sole, Gilyk: nelkrap; ŋ — tip of lower end, Gily. ŋaŋ.

/484 cont./

[482] 237 [483] 238 [484] 239 [485] 240 [486] 241 along the horizontal middle piece, with mountings, or rather, of one thinks of the considerable length of the latter, with a second pair of sides, the pieces being fastened together by in the illustration), which are fastened by means of wooden pegs, or (much the happy reverse) of wooden, by means of leather straps to the main sides. The side-mountings are usually likewise of wood and can easily be replaced when need be. In the spring, when, when the snow melting in the ran sticks to the wooden sides and makes travel very difficult, instead of the wooden mountings, some made of of whalebone (Gilyak [illegible]), the sides, wooden protective sides are covered with a whalebone plate, as in the illustration, or, more generally, with a sealskin, where this material is more readily available (1). A very characteristic feature of the

1. As was discussed in the first volume of this work (p. 198), these quite long whalebone plates come from the jaws of whale which the Gilyak call kalto and which presumably is balaena australis (Desm.) Lesson, or at least the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw or the ribs of Balaenoptera longimana Rud.

Gilyak kayak, the one most frequently stranded along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even among the Russians in Siberia bone or whalebone mountings are often used on the sleds, especially for travel over sea ice which is covered with salt crystals that have separated out (Vosnesf., Putesh. po nav., Ser. Ib. 1. pp [illegible]. Bone / Jawbone along the Northern Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/, VI, II, p. 28). According to the information given by A. Schrenk in the Leipziger Tageblatt, bone sled-mountings (sled-runners), as well as bone skates, were formerly used in several regions of Germany, for instance, in the province of Brandenburg, in several Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut, and

/484 cont./

[487] 242 [488] 243 [489] 244 [490] 245 [491] 246 [492] 247 [493] 248 [494] 249 [495] 250 [496] 251 [497] 252 [498] 253 [499] 254 [500] 255 [501] 256 [502] 257 [503] 258 [504] 259 [505] 260 [506] 261

/529 cont./

226 92 thin cord, initially single, but very soon divided into three strings which are attached by their ends, at about half the length of the net, to its opposite wall. When the net is to be set up, its lower end is drawn together into a bag by means of a strap, it is weighted with stones above at the lower edge of the bag opening, and, by means of the cords on it, it is fastened to the above-mentioned myr piles, whereby the side of the net equipped with the slit in its upper part is turned toward the middle of the river, and the opposite one toward the bank. In order to give the net more support and also in order to pull it out later, a long, thick cord runs from the opening of the bag to the bank and is fastened there to a pile. /530/ Once the net is set up, a Gilyak stations himself in a boat at its exterior point of attachment at the end of the second row of piles and holds the signal cord in his hand, putting each part of it between two fingers. The salmon ascending along the bank and now coming upon the willow plaiting built out crosswise to them find no way through it and, in order to get around it, crowd along the plaiting running downstream and thereby get into the net. This is made known to the Gilyak

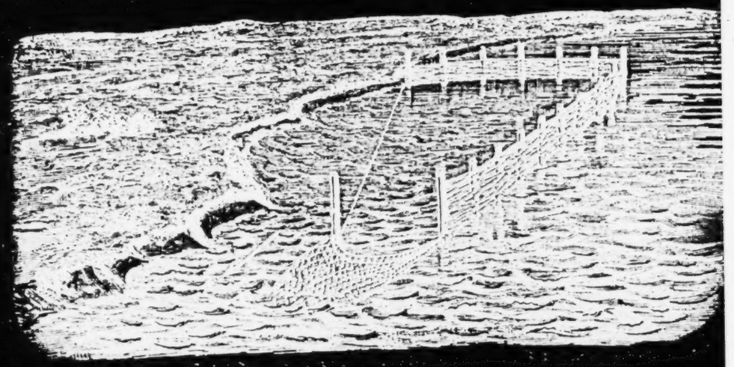

A salmon-weir (Gilyak myr) in the Amur River.

on guard by a pulling and tugging on the signal cords, and, as soon as he can assume from the repeated and strong tension on them that the net is

/530 cont./

226 171 648 Tymy River; no less understandable, however, is the harm that they do through this to the Orok and especially to the Gilyak of the entire Tymy Valley who rely on the abundance of fish of their river.

Nothing special is to be said about the catching of the fish living permanently in the Amur, such as carp, eelpout, sheatfish, pike, etc. for it is carried on with ordinary nets during the /531/ periods when there is no more important fishing, therefore especially in winter, under the ice, in the same way as sturgeon is then caught. In the calm, lake-like wide places with a muddy bottom, of which there are many along the banks of the Amur River, and which are always connected with it by a more or less swampy branch of the river or a small watercourse, I have seen the Gilyak set up bag-shaped nets on poles in order to catch crucians and similar fish, which are abundant in these small basins.

One type of fishing must be given special consideration, both on account of its great importance for some of the Gilyak, and also on account of the characteristic, original way in which it is carried out. This is the kangi fishing along the west and east [136] coasts of Sakhalin. The importance of the kangi fish (Gadus wachnja Pall.) for the Gilyak and the way it is used have been discussed above (p. 653 ff.). The vast quantities in which they appear directly under the ice of the sea permits the Gilyak to employ the simplest means to catch them in abundance. All [192] they need for this is a span-long iron hook (Gilyak kätsch-kossj, Pl. XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 1) hung on a cord about three feet long which can be moved up and down by means of a wooden handle. The Gilyak sitting beside the hole in the ice casts with this short fishing-rod without any bait, in that he lets it down into the water and immediately draws it up again, pulling one fish after another onto the ice. In the few minutes that I stood by -- it was on February 27 (March 10), 1856, near Arkai on the west coast of Sakhalin -- my Gilyak pulled out several dozen fish, which the hook had sometimes caught at the gill flaps and sometimes at the lower jaw or the mouth. Some fir branches

/532 cont./

286 uniform in shape. Nevertheless, as we shall see in a moment, only a few, about four, can be distinguished among them as the most important and most practicable sizes on the basis of the principal types of fish. But before we discuss them in more detail, consideration must be given to one instrument which is used by the Gilyak for knotting all nets, no matter how fine or coarse they may be, for an uninterrupted and an even flow of the work. This is the so-called pork (Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 7) -- a wooden reel revolving around its axis, with two arms at the top and at the bottom, on which the cord for the net is wound and which is hung by its lower handle-end on a ceiling beam of the /533/ yurt or elsewhere, so that the threads required as the work progresses always run smoothly and unchecked to the knotter.

The two most important tools used by the Gilyak for net- [192] knotting are a peculiar netting-needle, Gilyak kilks (1) (Pl.

1. Among the Olcha it is called ssarpol, and among the Goldi ssarfo.

XLI /see p.1021/, Figs. 1-4), and a rectangular wooden board called kiwu (2) (ibid., Figs. 5 and 6). The former consists of

[104]

2. The w in this word is pronounced like the English w. Among the Olcha the kiwu is called keror or kerul.

a long, narrow, and thin wooden plate, the lower end of which is two-pronged as a result of the cutting out of a section, while in the upper half two long cutouts running parallel to the edges and meeting just short of the tip, leaves a long prong in between reaching almost to the tip, which I shall call the upper prong to distinguish it from the two on the lower end. The cord to be used for making the net, unwinding from the above-mentioned reel, is wound around these three prongs, and, indeed, in such a manner that it is alternately slung around the one and the other of the two lower prongs and, in between, always around the upper prong.

/533 cont./

286 Wound in this manner, the kilks, like a shuttle, moves from one
192 side to the other and back again, providing the material for the net and at the same time, knotting its meshes. But in order to make the latter and at the same time give them a certain uniform size, the kiwu is used, a rectangular little board, straight and horizontal at the top and bottom and indented at the sides, with two, approximately triangular cutouts, which, however, seem to be there only for stringing these boards on a cord, like a bunch of keys, and thus making it easier to store them.

286 The larger the meshes of a net are to be, the larger must
192 be the instruments used in making it, the kilks and the kiwu.
226 The net used for catching hausen (patch-tscho) and occasionally
225 also for seals -- Gilyak patch-kä -- has the largest meshes and, correspondingly, is made out of the thickest cord. Therefore to make it the largest instruments are used: the netting needle, Fig. 4, called patch-kä-kilks by the Gilyak (also tolles-kilks and kerwagn-kä-kilks), and the corresponding mesh-board, patch-kä-kiwu, Fig. 6 on the plate cited. Then, according to size, the equipment used for the knotting of the sturgeon net, Gilyak tukki-kä, follows: tukki-kä-kilks (also jaghsin-kä-kilks), Fig. 3, and tukki-kä-kiwu, Fig. 5 of the plate named. The next smaller, third netting-needle, Fig. 2, called anga-kä-kilks or also nokn-kä-kilks, is used for making the nets with which such fish as pilengat (Cyprinus carpio), mimk (Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii), kych, etc. are caught. A fourth, even smaller netting-needle, Fig. 1, was designated for me by the Gilyak as myrch-kä-kilks, that is, as the needle which serves for making the bag net (myrch-kä) used in the above-mentioned salmon weirs. They added,
286 however, that nets knotted with this needle were also used for
226 catching the tengi, S. proteus. /534/ From this one may conclude that the bag nets of the salmon weirs used chiefly, or indeed, as far as I could see, exclusively, for catching S. lagocephalus are relatively fine-meshed, for even fish much smaller than S. lagocephalus, such as S. proteus in particular, do not require finer nets. And that is probably the result of learning by experience that with larger meshes in a bag net the fish entering it in

/534 cont./

226 great multitudes and heavily crowding one another could easily
286 slip through, which would considerably reduce or even bring to naught the mass catch of the most important of all fish aimed at by erecting the myr. Furthermore, this bag net need not be made out of a very thick cord, because, when filled, it is immediately dragged to the not very distant bank. I did not see the mesh-board which go with the latter two netting-needles, and which of course, are likewise of correspondingly smaller size in comparison with those mentioned earlier. Since the Gilyak have even finer nets than the myrch-kä, such as, for example, the bag nets used in the smaller river-branches and lakes for catching crucians and smaller fish, they must certainly have even smaller netting-needles and mesh-boards than the last-named ones, even though always of the same form; but these are of so much less importance that, when I inquired about them, they were neither able to show me any nor give me special names for them.

286 Now when the knotting of a net with the instruments described is being done, a special wooden fork designed for this purpose is fastened to the bench in the yurt, on the edge of the boat, or wherever the work is to be done, and one of its prongs is used to hold the net being knotted, while over the other one are hung the pieces already completed (1). After the knotting

[192] 1. The Gilyak designation for this fork remains unknown to me; according to Maack (op. cit., p. 130), the Goldi call it chalang.

is completed, the net is edged all around with cord twisted out of willow bast and is provided with a second cord of this kind at the upper and lower ends on the outside, running close to the first one and connected with it only at individual points. While
227 fishing, small stones or the above-mentioned wooden or bark
[286] floats are fastened between these two cords as required. The nets of the Gilyak are always handled with great care and

/536 cont./

Gi 226 hunting inherent in them, as in all Tungusic tribes, makes it
184 certain that they will prefer methods of fishing that are less
Gi 226 common among the Gilyak. For example, the /537/ above-mentioned method of fishing with a hook attached to a wooden
Gi 226 clog, which is little used among the Gilyak, is very popular
184 among the Olcha and even more among the Goldi, both on the
Gi 226 Amur and in particular on the Ussuri, and, judging by the striking
184 correspondence in the designations for the individual pieces of
Gi this fishing apparatus among the former and among the latter (1),
Gi
[192] 1. For example, the anchor part of this apparatus is called tschabch by the Gilyak, tschaghbe by the Olcha and Goldi; the main rope fastened to the bottom by means of it is called tyk by the former, dyka by the latter; the clog equipped with the hook is called kita by the former, kuital and kuitzale by the latter.

I am inclined to believe that the Gilyak, despite the fact that in most things concerning fishing they may be regarded as the teachers of their Tungusic neighbors, have borrowed this method of fishing from the latter. Still greater and more characteristic in comparison with the Gilyak is the preference of the Olcha and in particular the Goldi for catching sturgeon and hausen with the above-mentioned and illustrated (Pl. XLI /p.1021/, Fig. 8) too, the fact that the Gilyak term for this weapon (tschak) is very similar to that of the Olcha-Goldi (dshogbo) seems to me to argue in favor of a borrowing of it on the part of the Gilyak from their Tungusic neighbors, whereas the much simpler one-pronged harpoon, the tugngy, was probably theirs originally. In the
Gi 226 preference of the Olcha and Goldi for this method of fishing,
[224] which is closest to hunting, indeed, in fact is more fish-hunting than fishing, their Tungusic hunter-nature is clearly to be seen.
Gi Moreover, it is intimately bound up with the boldness, ease, and
[501] adroitness with which they glide over the water in small

/544 cont./

225 Along the seacoast and in the Amur-Liman seal-hunti
184 takes place during every season of the year. In winter and in
[192] general as long as there is an ice-cover, the Gilyak lie in wai
[221] for the seals at the places where they come to the surface of t ice to breathe, in order to kill them with the ordinary harpoon the tugngy (2) (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 2), also used for spear

2. This designation primarily refers to the iron point illustrated, but it is also used for the entire harpoon equipped with a pole for hurling it.

sturgeon and hausen, or, when they have crawled out on the i itself, to cut them off from the water /545/ and simply club t The latter can be done more often and to a greater extent in t spring, because then the seals are said to enjoy coming out on the surface of the ice to sun themselves. Both the Tschomi
[221] Gilyak whom I met in Poghobi and the inhabitants of Tägl on mainland coast of the Sea of Okhotsk told me that the month April, arkail-long, was the month in which more productive s hunting begins along the seacoast and in the Liman. In the A on the other hand, seal-hunting is practiced only when the riv has no ice, and, to be sure, especially in August, the pilja-tschrar-long, because then the seals go into the river in greate numbers in order to feed on the masses of keta salmon (S. lago cephalus) going up it. There is a similar situation at the mou of the Tymy on Sakhalin, where not only the Gilyak and Orok living there, but also the Gilyak coming from the upper cours of the Tymy to fish, engage in seal-hunting as well as fishing For the former and in open water everywhere, in the sea as wel
[192] as in the Amur-Liman and the Amur River, the Gilyak some-times use the ordinary harpoon (tugngy, Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fi 2), which is hurled from the boat, and sometimes, and most often, another weapon intended especially for seal-hunting, w is called lych among them. It consists of a board about a foo long, which rises a little in front and runs out into a horizonta

/517 cont./

226 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
96 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
226 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
782 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1009/). It was a long boat with
501 one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
192 automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
194 to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

/518 cont./

226 in general the same everywhere. But the individual peoples
[17] prefer one or another method of fishing, according to their nature and the local conditions in their part of the river. The Gilyak chiefly catch them with nets, which are knotted with large meshes and very strong twine so as not to be torn by the resistance of the large animals. The shape of these nets and the way they are handled differ, however, and in this the season of the year in particular is also a definite factor, for it depends, for example, on whether the fish are present in larger or smaller quantities, whether they stay closer to the surface or at greater depths, whether the river is open or covered with ice, and so forth.

Toward the end of May and in June, when the sturgeon and hausen coming from the sea are most abundant around the mouth of the river and stay near the surface, especially in calm weather, the Gilyak get along with a simple, longish-quadrangular net, on the upper edge of which are fastened a few wooden floats and on the lower edge occasional small stones. In two boats the Gilyak go out in the channel of the
/519/ river with this net, cast it across it, and, holding the upper ends of the net, let themselves be driven downstream by the current against the ascending fish. If the surface of the river is calm, they recognize with a sharp and practiced eye the approach of a large fish from afar, by a gentle swirling of the water, etc., and guide their boats with the net between
[192] them toward the fish. When it has reached the net and has become entangled in it, the wooden float affected gives notice of it, and now both boats go to the spot where the fish is, the net is lifted, and the fish entangled in it is pulled into the boat by means of an iron hook attached to a pole (Gilyak schabtschamrch, Pl. XI /see p.1020/, Fig. 2) and killed by a blow on the head with a club. If the fish is very large and the boat small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and
[411] taken to land to be killed there. The proper club for this is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

/519 cont./

226 (umyssj) running from the walls of the bag betray the entrance
/520/ of the fish, the net is drawn together, and the fish is caught. Sometimes this bag net is set permanently in the river, for which two posts are driven as firmly as possible into the river bed as far apart as the diameter of the bag opening, and the net is fastened to them by means of the rings and cords on its edges on either side. A Gilyak sitting in a boat takes up his station at one of the posts and holds the signal strings in his hand so that, as soon as a fish has entered the net, he either catches it definitively and recovers it himself or he procures the help needed to do it.

The two last-mentioned nets are also used for fishing in winter, but the ice cover of the river then makes necessary a few other devices and manipulations. First of all, for each net, two holes must be made at a distance corresponding to its length, or, in the case of the bag net, to the diameter of its
226 opening. To scoop out the detached pieces of ice floating in
192 the holes the Gilyak use the hand net (Gilyak chuntulk) (1)

[227]

1. The net stretched in the hoop is called assj in Gilyak, the crosspiece in the lower part of the hoop -- lott, the long and crude handle-stick, with which the new ice that perhaps arose in the hole is sometimes broken up -- kip.

[227] illustrated on Plate XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 3. A special instru-
[532] ment is used for setting up the net under the ice: it is a long, flat, wooden staff curved slightly upward toward the tip, the so-called odn, which on the end runs out into an approximately triangular plate with two points directed toward the rear and with two eyes carved in it in a primitive manner, which bears the name odn-tschongr, i.e., odn head (see Pl. XL, Fig. 4).
226 One reaches into one of the holes in the ice with this staff and shoves it forward, close under the ice, until the tip, the odn-tschongr, comes out at the other hole. Here one of the two

/521 cont./

226 Among the Gilyak this fishing is done in the following way. An
[192] anchor (Gilyak tschabch) consisting of a branched tree-root, or of three wooden pegs connected with one another in the manner shown on Plate XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 10, and fastened to a stone between them, is lowered into the deep channel of the river by a rope (Gilyak tyk) (2) plaited out of willow bast and

2. Perhaps tyk merely means "rope" in general.

many fathoms long. Extending from this thick rope at certain intervals are thinner and shorter bast cords, and at the end of each one there is fastened a wooden clog (Gilyak kita, ibid., Fig. 9) equipped with a pointed and sharply ground iron hook. From the upper end of each of these clogs a thin string runs to the surface of the water where it bears a wooden or bark float. At certain intervals stones are tied to the main rope so that it will remain lying on the river bed, while the clogs with their iron hooks float some distance above it and, thanks to the floats, assume a more or less vertical or slanting position. Finally, at the very end of the main rope, which is lowered into the water last as the apparatus is being set up, a heavy wooden block is attached as a float, which makes the end of the rope easy to find at any time. The fish going up the river run into the clogs, push past them or even play with them, injure themselves in doing so, thrash about, and only remain ever more firmly hung on the hooks, as is revealed by the movements of the corresponding wooden floats. As soon as the Gilyak notice this, they come along in the boats, wind up the rope from the floating wooden block, and lift the fish into the boat by means of the hooks described above.

226 In fishing for sturgeon and hausen, the Gilyak use the
411 harpoon, though again less frequently than the net, simply because, as was said above, they move on the water with great caution and not too easily and boldly. The fish-harpoons customarily used among them are of two kinds: one consists of a simple iron point equipped with a couple of barbs, which

/525 cont./

226 The dates given here for the migrations of S. proteus and
[114] S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Amur agree very well with the dates given above for various points of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, especially if one keeps in mind, as is required on the basis of the available data, the multiple, intermittent, more or less large migrations or ascents of one and
/526/ the same species. If one also takes into account the greater or smaller numbers in which they appear at the points mentioned above, one comes to the conclusion that S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, moving northward from the northern part of the Sea of Japan reach the Amur-Liman and the mouth of the Amur River, in the course of which the former, especially toward the end of its migration period, enters all the bays and inlets, and even the smallest rivers of both coasts, in great quantities, whereas the latter visits only the larger and major ones among them, but avoids the smaller ones, and in the main, moving against the current coming from the Liman and strongly mixed with fresh water, strives for the mighty Amur in order to go far up into its extensive network and in particular into the large tributaries of its lower course. In the following, while discussing the fishing of the other peoples of the Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, we shall repeatedly encounter it on its migration. First, however, we must remain for a moment with the appearance of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus in the Gilyak area.

226 The arrival and the mass migration of these two fish
192 especially important for the economy of the Gilyak are, of
805 course, phenomena of such extraordinary significance for them that they are used by them to designate the periods of the year, the months, in which they occur. For instance, May is known among them as the month in which the tengi-tscho (S. proteus) first comes upstream, walten-tengi-long, and June, in which its mass migration takes place, tengi-wota-long (1). August

1. Long in Gilyak means "month"; I am unable to offer a detailed explanation of the expressions "walten" and "wota," but

/526 cont./

226 192 805

1. (cont.)
it seems to me that in these as well as in the following designations for the months the first expression refers to the first and still sparse appearance of the fish concerned, and the latter to the main or mass appearance of it.

during which the lyghi-tscho (S. lagocephalus) goes up the Amur River in colossal numbers and the activity of the entire population is required for the preparation of winter supplies, is called among the Gilyak lyghi-wota-long or pilja-tschrar- (2), or simply

2. The word "tschrar" is undoubtedly related to "tscho," fish.

pilja-long, i.e., the "great fish-month," or also simply "great month." This latter designation gives especially convincing evidence of the great importance which S. lagocephalus has for the entire economy of the Gilyak. In comparison with June and especially with August, July is only poor for fish. Among the species of fish peculiar to it S. lycaodon (Gilyak well, the nerka of the Russians) is the most prominent. This species of salmon, however, only plays a certain role farther upstream, among the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed at the appropriate place, but for the Gilyak it is of no special importance, inasmuch as it does not appear by far in such quantities as S. proteus or even S. lagocephalus and does not provide as good and as long-lasting a jukola as these do; indeed, in view of the certain quantities of lyghi-tscho to be expected soon, the Gilyak regard it as useless and not worth the trouble /527/ to prepare jukola supplies from the well. In contrast to August, the "great fish-month," July is therefore called by the Gilyak matschn-

/527 cont./

226 192 805

tschrar-long -- "the little fish-month" (1).

[128]

1. At the appropriate place in the following there will be a discussion of the other designations which the months May-August bear among the Gilyak and which are derived from factors other than the periods of the migrations of fish, as well as the names customary among them for the other months.

226 The direction and the time of migration of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus along the east coast of Sakhalin seem to be somewhat different than in the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in the Liman, and at the mouth of the Amur. According to Mizul, the former goes along this coast from south to north, reaches the Bay of Patience about the middle of June, and in July and until late August goes up the Plyi or Poro-nai and its tributaries. During the first half of August it also appears along the island's coast located to the north of the Bay of Patience, goes up into the Tymy River, and by the middle of this month and until late in the fall is found in its upper course and its tributaries. S. lagocephalus appears somewhat later than S. proteus, and, as Mizul expressly remarks, first in the northern part of southern Sakhalin and not until later in the southern part, so that its migration here, in contrast to that of S. proteus, seems to go from north to south; moreover, it appears there in smaller quantities and not in all, but only in certain rivers, in these, however, every year, though in variable numbers (2). It therefore seems principally to strive

2. Mizul, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

for the larger rivers on the east coast of Sakhalin also, that is, the Poro-nai and especially the Tymy. At the mouth of the latter, in Nyi Bay, Poljakof in 1881 witnessed the mass appearance and ascent of S. lagocephalus into the river, which continued

/528 cont./

226 The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and children participate in this work, and within a short time one boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken. While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen, in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream toward the ascending fish and draw up the filled net first into the one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces, drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight differences in shape and the manner in which they are used and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

[251] [252] [462] [462] 227 [192]

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227 192

quadrangular net is called tschessk and, depending on the size of its meshes, is a lyghi-tschessk or a tengi-tschessk; another one was named for me as kyrn-kä and likewise distinguished as lyghi-kyrn-kä and a tengi-kyrn-kä (1), etc.

1. Kä in Gilyak means "net" in general.

226 In order to catch greater quantities of the ascending fish without much trouble, weirs are erected from the bank into the river for the purpose of deflecting the fish from the direction of their migration and directing them into a bag net set up alongside. For this, places are chosen on higher banks in the vicinity of a projecting tongue of land, where there is a stronger current and, as is known from experience, the fish usually ascend in great multitudes. /529/ The nature of such a salmon weir, called myr among the Gilyak, is the following. From the bank a series of piles one fathom apart is driven out into the river, and from the end of it, at a right angle, a second, shorter stretch running downstream is driven into the river bottom. The spaces between the piles are then so closely interwoven with osier switches from the surface of the water as far down as possible that the fish can find no exit. Between the lower end of the row of piles running downstream and a single post standing some distance from it and closer to the bank, the bag net, the myrch-kä of the Gilyak, is fastened. This has the shape of a long funnel very gradually becoming narrower toward the bottom: a specimen from the village of Tschcharbach that I measured, spread out on the ground, had a length of six and a half meters and a width of three meters at the upper end and one and a half meters at the lower one. From the upper edge of this funnel-shaped net, equipped with two parallel willow-bast cords, a slit in the net about 12 decimeters long runs down along one side, and on each of the two tips thus formed along the edge of the funnel are put two cords, which, like the similar cord found diametrically opposite them, serve for fastening the net to the appropriate piles. Furthermore, from one of the above-mentioned tips there extends the signal cord (Gilyak umyssj), a

[192] [192]

/503 cont./

very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motassj), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the case of larger boats even three, pairs of oar-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misgyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too, with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-boards always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surface, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-boards for protection against rot,

/503 cont./

396 which is done by raising it on a pair of rather high trestles and lighting the brushwood spread under it.

[192] The oars (Gilyak ywnj) are provided with a broad, rounded blade tapering off to a point and with a hole at a thicker place on the handle for setting them on the oar-pins (Pl. XXXVIII

501 /see p.1018/, Fig. 2) (1). The Gilyak boat does not have fixed

[114] 1. This illustration has a fundamental error, so that one should visualize the direction in which the oar handle is bored as shifted by an angle of 90°, that is, not perpendicular to the blade, but in the same plane.

rowing benches resting on the side walls of the boat, /504/ for they would tear the side boards from the bottom board by their pressure. Instead, the Gilyak use small removable stools which rest only on the bottom board, without touching the side boards. For the same reason, in loading a boat, it is carefully seen to that the entire load rests on the bottom board and does not exert any pressure on the side boards. To this end several pieces of wood considerably shorter than the width of the bottom board are first placed across it, and upon these several boards which are to bear the load are spread the length of the boat -- a precaution which also serves to prevent the objects transported from getting wet in the bottom of the boat. From

114 501 personal experience I realized how necessary it is to treat a Gilyak boat with such care and precaution. In the spring of 1855, when I was about to start on my first summer trip up the Amur and Ussuri, I bought from the Gilyak two boats which apparently had been used very little. Still unfamiliar with their construction, I thought it best if I first had them inspected and put in order in the harbor of Nikolayevsk. One of the naval officers saw to it that they were calked like regular sloops by one of the best experts of the harbor and were equipped with rowing benches and a bench for the erection of a mast. But when I wanted to go aboard and the boats were put in the water, both of them

/504 cont./

114 501 proved to be leaking, and all the efforts of the workers to pair them were in vain. I now saw that through the roug incorrect handling the side boards were more or less torn detached from the bottom board along their entire length amount of hammering, plugging, and calking the seams help any longer -- one of the boats had to be given up al and I reached the nearest Gilyak village in the other only great effort and constant, strenuous bailing. There, in S I bought a new, somewhat larger boat, which I treated fr then on in accordance with its construction and entrusted to Gilyak hands for repairs when needed. And it served m very well, for in the same year I not only went up the Ar and Ussuri and back again to Nikolayevsk in it, but, in th following year, also up the entire Amur and a large part Argunj /Argun/ until I was forced by the drifting ice and cold to abandon it near the village of Mulatscha on the A

501 [192] Entirely different from the oars, the Gilyak steering (Gilyak menj) is provided with an elongated narrow blade at the upper end with a short transverse handle (ibid., Fig As a rule, the Gilyak steer the boat by hand. In order to helm more support in high waves or a strong current, how a short loop of cord or an upright semicircular strip throug the steering oar can be stuck is found at the rear edge of board on which the helmsman sits.

[192] The Gilyak boat does not have a mast. Instead of the Gilyak, if they want to sail, which rarely happens, u two poles tied crosswise (Gilyak kyrsh), which are stuck b their lower ends into corresponding /505/ holes in the sid of the boat, while two long lines running from the upper

[192] are slung around the hindmost crosspiece in the boat. Th (Gilyak tulatsch) consists of a square piece sewed togethe of fish skins, which is attached by corners to the upper en the above-mentioned cross-mast, but at each of the lowe ones is provided with a sheet to haul in and to stretch or l the sail as desired. With such inadequate equipment it is standable that the Gilyak are no masters or heroes at sail

/505 cont./

501 and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is cautiously avoided. I also observed that the Gilyak, and likewise the [114] Olcha and Goldi, who accompanied me as guides or oarsmen [157] in my boat always became mortally afraid when sailing in a brisk wind, in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate mast bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and implored me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. There is no doubt, to be sure, that a boat without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and even capsize with high waves and an unskilled steersman. In order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to [192] the side wall. The Gilyak equip their boats with such sham-[484] edges (Gilyak ardsch) in particular when they undertake sea voyages, for instance, along the coast of Sakhalin to the Japanese, etc.

Of great usefulness on the Gilyak boat is the continuation of the bottom board extending under the prow, because it not only protects the latter from the immediate impact of the waves and possibly also from a severe impact on steep rocks along the shore, with another boat, etc., but it also permits the boat to glide over the waves more easily. Since the oars sit on fixed prongs, very little effort is required to propel a Gilyak boat if it is not moving against a strong current or high waves. It is not very well adapted to battle against them, however, and demands skilled and powerful handling of [114] the rudder. More than once it has happened to me in traveling around rocks and capes protruding into the Amur River that the boat, seized by the strong countercurrent, suddenly turned around and was irresistibly driven back. Undoubtedly the

/506 cont./

501 184 [192] trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These [171] boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/ 396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak musskrj), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

/545 cont./

prong (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (tugngy), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, on the other hand, where a deep groove is carved, the board is joined to a pole (Gilyak tla) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Ulsut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is lowered to the water and pushed along, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal resting on a stone or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the bank, until it is close enough so that a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more floating beams to a post driven into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the shore in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the lych held in readiness (2).

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 751, 763, 780, 791, and 825 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Fr. Russow, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, or contained in my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

224 /551 cont./

and Tro Gilyak paghlant and paghlantsch, i.e., the red one) in its different color variations (1).

[104] 1. Concerning the designations for these color variations of the fox among the Gilyak and the other Amur peoples, as well as the kinds and the geographic distribution of both the mammals named and those still to be named in the following, one should read my pertinent discussion of the first volume of this work.

The Gilyak for the most part catch the sable, unquestionably standing first in importance, with traps. The one most commonly used is the so-called ha, a pinch-trap /Quetschfalle/, which is set up in the following manner. In the trunk of a tree, at a height of about three or four feet above the ground, a hollow is made, and in it the end of a beam of corresponding thickness is stuck and supported by a little stick resting upon another little wooden stick or plate, which starts at the bait at the bottom of the hollow. As soon as the animal lured by the bait, a piece of fish (jukola) or seal blubber, nibbles at it, the little supporting stick slides off its base and lets the beam fall. But in order that the latter pinch the animal more firmly and securely, the edge of the hollow lying under it is framed by a small wooden crosspiece. The ha is naturally set up at places which the sable likes to visit, in particular in the bottoms of valleys, on the banks of small rivers, in which case the pinch-beam is laid across the brook, because sables like to use fallen tree trunks as bridges in order to cross over from one slope of a valley to the other (2). Thus,

[192] [191]

2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 101) even maintains, having often observed it, he says, in the tracks of this animal, that the sable never goes around a fallen

/551 cont./

224

2. (cont.)

tree-trunk, but always runs over it lengthways.

/552/ in the small side valleys of the upper Tymy River on Sakhalin I repeatedly came across either sable traps of this kind still set up or traces of them remaining on the trees. To the chagrin of the Gilyak, however, other small and more or less worthless animals often get caught in the ha instead of sables, such as squirrels (Gilyak lakr and lakrs, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin lafkor), ermine (Gilyak tymr and tymrsch, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin tchymr), and on the mainland especially frequently the Mustela sibirica (Gilyak zongrsk), which is so much like the sable in its way of life and is absent on Sakhalin, and, indeed, in the village of Warki on the Liman, the Gilyak even brought me a jay (Garrulus glandarius) which had been found in a ha and bore the marks of the pinching on its neck. This sable trap of the Gilyak, by the way, is not at all original, since, apart from the Amur Tungus, it recurs with the same or quite similar construction among a number of Siberian peoples, for example, among the sedentary Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, in the northern Kamchatka (1), among the Russian Tungus in the Stanovoi

[192] [191] [113]

1. Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 108.

Mountains (2), and others, and in general rests on the same

2. Sievers, "Briefe aus Sibirien /Letters from Siberia/," (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Vol. VII, p. 212).

principle that the traps used for catching polar fox, hares, etc. throughout the polar north of Siberia are based on (3).

[114] 3. A detailed description and an illustration of this last trap is to be found, among

224 [114] /552 cont./

3. (cont.)

others, in Middendorff (Sibir. Reise /Siberian Journey/, Vol. IV, p. 1387).

The same can be said of a second device used among the Gilyak for catching sable, a clamp-trap /Klemmfalle/ constructed with a bow. This trap, distributed throughout Siberia, has already been described and illustrated many times by travelers (4), and I could therefore pass over it quickly if it did not seem

[191]

4. Recently, for instance, by Bush (Reindeer, dogs and Snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 316) and by Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1388).

to me of interest to point out, besides its in part peculiar use among the Gilyak, the designations customary among them for its individual components in comparison with those, in part identical, for another apparatus to be discussed immediately below, which can be done much more briefly and clearly with the help of illustrations. Among the Gilyak the clamp-trap in question, shown on Plate XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 4, bears the name klai and is made as follows: a simple wooden bow (Gilyak puntsch, a of the illustration) is set into appropriate lateral notches in two sticks (Gilyak assj, b of the illustration) put together in the form of a fork and joined at the top. Above the crossboard (d, Gilyak lyms) connecting them at some distance from their lower, pointed ends, they are provided with longitudinal cutouts, into which the lower part, consisting of another such crossboard, of the wooden piece c, connected at the top with the bowstring, is stuck and can move up and down depending on the tautness of the bow. Curiously enough, the wooden piece c is simply called ku, that is "arrow," by the Gilyak -- a striking /553/ generalization such as is not often found among them otherwise, and, correspondingly, an upper crosspiece (e) connecting the two side staffs with each other and provided with a cutout for the movements of the ku is called kurschoögr)tich (1). A small stick (f,

224 [136] 224 192

[104]

1. The letters in parentheses are only

224 192 [104] /553 cont./

1. (cont.)

barely pronounced, like a faint growl.

Gilyak tschymrch), fastened to the side staffs as well as to the bowstring, serves for stretching the bow, and another (h, Gilyak ksull), which is connected with the former by a cord (g, ksullpuks), holds it taut, which is possible only as long as it is itself supported at its lower end on a thin stick (i, Gilyak taghr-tschissj) inserted into the cutouts in the side staffs between ku and lyms. The slightest pressure on it is sufficient to make the little stick h fly off, whereupon the taut bowstring is released and shoots the ku down to the lyms, tightly clamping anything found in between. In order to set up the klai, the Gilyak first make a hollow in a tree trunk directly above the snow, into which they put some jukola or seal blubber as bait, and then stick the trap under discussion in the snow in front of it in such a way that the animal can only reach the bait by way of the wooden step i and thus inevitably must be caught. In the klai, also, aside from sable, the above-mentioned, worthless small animals are all too often caught. According to the Gilyak, they sometimes also use this trap in their dwellings in order to catch in them the very numerous and annoying rats (Mus decumanus, Gilyak njagrsch), which, by the way, are not used in any way among them.

Taking advantage of the above-mentioned fondness of the sable to run the length of tree trunks felled across a brook, the Gilyak set up snares on them to catch the little animal. For this purpose, in about the middle of the trunk, a cross row of upright sticks more or less hidden by the tree branches is set up and only a single opening just large enough for the sable to slip through is left between them. Not far from them an upright flexible tree branch is stuck in the bottom of the stream, and the tip of it is bent down to the horizontal trunk by means of a string ending in a noose and is fastened in the opening left for the sable between the cross-sticks, in which the noose, too, is found, with the help of a little hook. The latter, since the opening is small, must inevitably fly off when the sable enters it, whereupon the bent branch jerks upward and the noose tightens around the

/553 cont./

224 animal and lifts it off the beam so that it hangs in the air above the brook and in this position is kept safe from beasts of prey. The hunter, therefore, even in case of a delayed inspection of the traps set by him, does not lose his catch. As customary as this method of catching sable, which is also used by other Amur and Siberian peoples, may be among the Gilyak, I never happened to come across it and am unable to give their name for it.

[171] [171]

Furthermore the Gilyak pursue both the previously named especially precious animals and some others by means of an apparatus which /554/ has much in common with the above-described clamp-trap and, though likewise known throughout Siberia, must be discussed here in greater detail for the reasons already stated. It is the so-called self-firer /Selbstschuss/ (Russian ssamostrel) (1), a bow which at the slightest touch shoots

[192]

1. It is very indicative of the common principle of these two devices that the clamp-trap, which is generally called tscherkan in Russian, is also called ssamostrel in the Orenburg Gouvernement, according to Tscherkassof (Zapiski okhotnika Vostochnoi Sibiri /Notes of a Hunter in Eastern Siberia/, St. Petersburg, 1867, p. 336).

(2)

224 off an arrow. Among the Gilyak it is called ngarchotsch and has 192 the following nature. A simple wooden bow, as in the case of the clamp-trap, is fastened at its center to a wooden crosspiece (Pl. XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 1, c, Gilyak ksull) (2), on which

2. The identification in the naming of this piece with the small wooden piece h in the klai is most striking; we would rather expect such a one with the fork sticks (assj) of the klai.

/554 cont./

224 the arrow to be shot (d) lies. By means of a looped cord put in
•192 its upper part and a little stick f (Gilyak tschyhrch) bent in a right angle (cut from a branch) and likewise fastened to it, the bow is stretched and through that the upper end of the arrow lying in front of the stretched bowstring is pressed so strongly against its support that it cannot slip off even if the whole apparatus were inclined. Finally, when the bow is stretched, a small piece of wood (Gilyak wett(a)k, g and Fig. 2, ibid., natural size) (3),

3. In this figure, it is shown in a reversed position, the upper side turned downward.

equipped with a long and as fine a cord as possible, is inserted by its upper, flatly pointed, and polished end at the upper end of the tension stick and the looped cord. A slight pull on the cord of this little piece of wood (h, Gilyak tschoch) is sufficient to make it fly off, whereupon the looped cord also slips off the tension stick, and, as a result, the arrow is shot. The self-firing bow is set up on a tree trunk, or on a special pole (Gilyak kips) stuck in the snow for the purpose, in a more or less inclined position, and the above-mentioned thin cord, in a taut state, is drawn across the place where there is an animal trail or where one expects an animal to pass. The main thing is to give it the proper inclination so that the arrow will not shoot beyond the animal or into the ground in front of it or underneath it. The inclination naturally varies in accordance with the kind of animal expected and according to the distance at which the self-firer is set up from its probable path. For each type of animal, special aim must be taken in setting up the self-firer and adjusting the arrow, and for this the Gilyak use a special target-stick, their so-called tschraff (ibid., Fig. 3), which they know to be accurate by experience. In setting up the self-firer, it is put at the point where the animal is to be killed, and the arrow is aimed at one of the transverse stripes marked on it, according to the

/554 cont./

224 kind of animal expected. I have seen only the target-stick used
•192 for the three most important fur-bearing animals, sable, otter, and fox, as well as for hares (Gilyak chuĭ and chuĭk, along the east coast and in the interior of Sakhalin ossjk and kanak, i.e., the white one). /555/ On it three stripes or bands, each between
224 two transverse lines, are marked off: if a fox is expected, the arrow is aimed at the uppermost stripe, point a of the illustration; if the shot is readied for a hare, one aims at the second stripe, point b; for sable one aims the arrow toward the third stripe, point c, and, finally, for the otter, toward the base of the target-stick, point d. The height of these transverse lines and stripes above the base of the target-stick is the following:

Height of transverse line ef above the base (rs)	245	mm.
" " " " gh " " " "	240	"
Average target-height for fox, point a	242 1/2	"
Height of transverse line ik above the base	188	"
" " " " lm " " " "	180	"
Average target-height for hare, point b	184	"
Height of transverse line no above the base	118	"
" " " " pq " " " "	112	"
Average target-height for sable, point c	115	"
The length or height of the whole target-stick amounts to	260	"

target-height for fox; target-height for hare; target-height for sable

[192] The arrow (Gilyak kor) used with the self-firer for the animals mentioned has, in comparison with ordinary arrows, a very peculiar iron point which consists of two prongs equipped on their inner sides with one barb each (1). So that the animal struck by

1. It is noteworthy that whereas the

/555 cont./

224
•192

1. (cont.) downward-shooting wooden piece on the klai, in no way resembling an arrow in its form, is designated in a generalizing fashion only as ku, "arrow," this proper arrow, distinguished only by the form of its point, has a special designation among the Gilyak.

the arrow, but possibly not fatally and only wounded, will not escape, the arrow is fastened by a loosely hanging cord (Gilyak toghr-puks) to the pole on which the self-firer rests.

224 The high value of sable, fox, and otter furs makes the use
[435] of the self-firer in the form described very general among the Gilyak, and in the forests surrounding their dwellings one can easily run into an apparatus of this kind set up, which makes caution necessary when roaming in them. It is surprising that on the above-described target-stick the worthless hare has been given consideration along with the three most highly prized fur-bearing animals. This perhaps may be explained by the fact that it is very common in the entire lower Amur region and on Sakhalin and, in the absence of other animal trails, often provides booty for the self-firers, whereby a good piece of meat and a fur for his own needs always fall to the hunter.

/556/ On the other hand, I have never heard it said that the Gilyak use the self-firer for killing other, more or less valuable, but larger animals, such as the lynx, wolf, alpine wolf, musk deer, reindeer, and elk. There may be various reasons for this.
[191] In general, the Gilyak are not hunters enough and are not enough interested in hunting animals other than those with precious furs to undertake long and strenuous hunting trips over a wide territory, to lay out barricades, and to set up self-firers with arrows aimed horizontally in their passageways, as is customary, for example, among the Tungusic peoples and is discussed at length by

/556 cont./

224 by the native tribes, Tungus, Yakut, Ostyak, Samoyed, and by
[191] the Russians for slaying all the animals possible, from the largest, such as bear and elk, down to the sable and squirrel, is used much less among the Gilyak and is limited to only the most important fur-bearing animals -- a circumstance which is likewise evidence of their slight inclination for hunting and, at the same time, their predominant and decisive interest in trade.

The great benefit that the Gilyak derive from fox fur both in trade and for their own use induces them to hunt this animal, not only with the self-firer, but also in other ways. For example, they likewise use for catching it a clamp-trap, which, constructed in the same way and only somewhat larger, /557/ is also used for
224 wolves. This is their so-called kasma (1). It consists of a peg
•192
[104]

1. The s is pronounced softly here, like the French z.

stuck into the ground and running up into a two-pronged fork at the top. The two prongs, only very gradually diverging from each other from their common base, are of unequal lengths. The shorter one (called wa in Gilyak) is sharpened on its inner side, side, the longer one rounded off. On the latter, not far from its tip, there is a cross-stick (Gilyak tabs-tigrsch) (2), on which

[104] 2. The s again pronounced softly. Tigrsch means "wood" in general.

the bait, a piece of jukola or meat, a dead crow, or the like, is
224 put. The fox or wolf jumps against the peg in order to reach the bait with its paw, whereby its foot slides off the cross-stick and remains clamped between the two prongs. The height of the kasma is different for the fox and the wolf: for the former it must rise to about three and a half feet above the snow; for the latter, four and a half feet.

/557 cont./

224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
208 catch foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
•192 which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
437 and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call kăkch-ochť, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ochť means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

41 When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at a
170 though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from
436 directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (pŏroki"): pŏroke.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Olcha and Golds, to whom, though likewise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

[113] 5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

/557 cont./

411 197 489 113

5. (cont.)
Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 192 The Gilyak also have their own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun, its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is called mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," shot -- matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small arrows," and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 197 152 It was surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a gun, whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at the sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At the

/558 cont./

123 152 203

1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

411 171 [192]

In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees [824] or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley [192] on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113]

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

411 239 53

In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

[104]

3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/559 cont./

411 239 [53] [192] [439] 411 192 239 [283] [415]

which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal) is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku) have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

/559 cont./

411 [192]

vghli or orkai by the Gilyak (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 1), is used to kill wild fowl, ducks, geese, and the like. It consists almost wholly of wood, in that at the top the shaft runs out into a knob crowned with a point and in which are found three iron points, but blunt ones, turned in different directions (5). I have

411 171 175 [113]

5. There is mention of similar, knob-shaped arrows among various peoples of Siberia in some of the oldest reports on it. For example, Georg Adam Schleissing in his work, Neuentdecktes Sieweria, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden /Newly Discovered Siberia, Where the Sables Are Caught/, etc. (Danzig, 1692, p. 49), reports that the people there do not shoot pointed arrows but rather "in order that the rare hide not be damaged, the arrow, instead of a point, has a thick iron knob with which they shoot the sable down from the tree, so that it is dizzy and then they run up and beat it to death." Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. I, p. 323) mentions wooden arrows with knob-shaped points which the Kalmyk use to kill birds and small animals. Sujef (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obj for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1276, woodcuts e and d), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

/560 cont./

411 [192] [171]

Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapons, bear pikes, spears and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting the large animals of the forest, and they handle them /561/ much more skillfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike universally used among them (Gilyak lachtsch,(2) Pl. XLVI /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long. [192] The lances (Gilyak kach) (1) are of even greater length. The

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /spear/." And yet they certainly must have different designations for them, as we have seen above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off toward the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting on this shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their middle line have a projecting, rounded keel gradually flattening out toward the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workmanship [531] and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly and finely [126] worked pieces, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabesques, and the like are inlaid in silver, copper, and brass, such as the specimen illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5, which I saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, however,

2. The illustrations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

/567 cont./

114 325 326 192 On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor underneath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr) made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and immediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube immovably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak, placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows, alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another, adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the

[104] 3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordi-
[243] nary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yidshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj,

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/ which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner, a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

/568 cont./

114 325 326 192 [243] Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1009/, Fig. 1.

325 326 For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass
[531] [435] (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna-
[439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
325 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
197 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
174 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

G 714 174 325 /572 cont./ of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

G 714 If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two
G [192] types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

[192] One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than
G 114 those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak)
714 of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says
192

1. Op. cit., p. 194.

/573 cont./

114 714 [192] that it is known under the name of "bettsi," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of
714 556 the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct; in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare antiques
[177] of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Mamia Rinsô also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2)

171 195 714 [113] 2. Cf. Neuhof, Die Gesantschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tatarian Khan and Now Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 394. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Njutschi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

G 325 171 /574 cont./ to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

G 714 The net armor (Gilyak kä-petsch) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole
[192] [239] or short shirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 1), which is plaited with multiple strands of nettle-yarn cord, such as is also used for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone
G [234] added here and there. The neck opening is trimmed with long-haired dog fur and has a button and a loop for buttoning it; otherwise the armor, pulled on over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on accoun
G [126] of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak Mradamn in Ssabach, is 2' 4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 28 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the
G [623] Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major feuds when, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like, a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found
G 714 126 556 in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me shows the signs of great age, and its aged former owner was of the opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it new. Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragment and rusted Manchurian armor (1).

G 714 171 1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

/175 cont./

1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak [illegible]
perach or a wooden sword, to be used in battle
fights which the North Americans had with
the Chinese in 1857 and which lasted four days
in attack which continued of forty layers of
most coarse material and we almost im-
penetrable for other or bayonet (Nordische
Fauna, 1871, No. 214, according to a re-
port sent to the Times by its reporter in
Shanghai). On the other hand, Dittmar
(Ueber die Gestalten und Ornamente
/The Koryak and Chukchee/ " - Bull. de
la cl. hist. phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc.
de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 131; Mél.
russes, Vol. VIII, p. 51) related that the
Chukchee use armor made of whalebones
and thick animal skins.

To conclude the remarks concerning the weapons of the Gilyak, I must mention, in passing, to be sure, a bribe in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It is their so-called mugamchi (Pl. XXII item 2-10b/, Fig. 20), a roundish or slightly regular stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom has been ornamented. Inside indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears and harpoons and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the pulse of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mugamche is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an arrow. In the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a wedge. The lower end is provided with a deep groove on the back. From the Gilyak this strange weapon also has advanced to the Negak along the Amur River, among whom it is called mukamchi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally called mugamchi. Nikolay became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

/176 cont./

it was even otherwise in their life and household has been developed among them. This necessarily presupposes, however, the existence of an accepted standard of value, which is used by them, through the multiplication of which the operation of the obtaine is made or their price standardized. What is this unit of value or of what does it consist? Gilyak tell us, to be sure, no determine this, as one will see from the following reasons. Since the Gilyak are only familiar with barter, they answer any question about the price of an article, as a rule, by mentioning the quantity of goods desired in exchange, for example, the number of sobacce, two fathoms of cloth, etc.). A question as to the objects in exchange for which they are willing to give up their themselves, the furs of even barter-trade, it rarely understood and only by the more intelligent. As a result, one sees no consum of only a number, preceding the verb "to cost, to be worth." Gilyak are, therefore, in the same position, the unit of value upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent to one without any difficulty, substantially, as it were. Incidentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it is not representative among the Gilyak, is always only an imaginary quantity for the Amur people, and they are able to turn only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or quantity of the corresponding piece of goods or other articles. Gilyak can tell, for example, the approximate price of a silver piece is current in the form of coins — the round brass coins with a square hole in the center (Gilyak nachax, which are usually strung one and a thousand on a string. On account of their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention to them, and, like the variously shaped bean breadlet, they are used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also in skirt and belt buttons. In the Amur region, however, Gilyak called nachax (that is, probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak, were not accepted either by the Negak or the Manchu nature of the lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their value and because the Chinese coins, which otherwise would have accept them (1). Through their association with the Russian,

/177 cont./

1. The only coins for which a use could be

/178 cont./ "The Gilyak expression for "to
many" = "ungu gnaxach," so they a while. If a Gilyak wants to
[illegible] a peculiarly shaped or large fish, he must pay the father, or
if the latter is no longer living, the brothers of the girl he desires
to marry, a certain number of sobacce (Russian dogs). Some
[illegible] and perhaps even a hundredth part of the [illegible] silver
some cases exceedingly insignificant, the Gilyak, in order to
them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value
[illegible] cup or dishes. For the most part, however, he is
who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods
is larger quantities in Ussi-suri on the Sungari, the south and
the hundredth of the ja are no longer of any practical significance
[illegible] the ja, which seemed large with the unit of value and
multiples, and therefore there is no need among them to name it
especially in dealings with Chinese, who always know to give the
the number concerned. If I had made my investigation on this
question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Gedi, in the opposite
direction, going from the latter to the Gilyak, the unit of value
upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent
to me without any difficulty, substantially, as it were. Incidentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it
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lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their
value and because the Chinese coins, which otherwise would have
accept them (1). Through their association with the Russian,

/179 cont./

completely decisive position which the former occupy in the trade
with them. Among the Gedi, who live closest to the Sungari
Amur and by the constant retainers and hangers-on of which
[illegible] and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja at the silver
some cases exceedingly insignificant, the Gilyak, in order to
them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value
[illegible] cup or dishes. For the most part, however, he is
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value and because the Chinese coins, which otherwise would have
accept them (1). Through their association with the Russian,

/180 cont./

Unfortunately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child
is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the
morning of the following day. The name is not given to him
in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any
ceremony. The father, or, if the latter is absent, his wife or
the mother, or [illegible] a Gilyak who happens to be present may
propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his
child. It must be expressly stressed that no divinatory rite are
practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving.
The Gilyak, who are fond of gambling, have not even a special
superstition. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express
their joy at the birth of a child by a feast, at which they also give
with a few villagers and friends.

Among the Gilyak, as among the Ainu, it is placed in a cradle
(Gilyak nichakh). This was a very peculiar nature: it consists of
a rectangular frame, the upper part of which is a bent piece of
fringe and which that the upper body of the child, up to its head,
can be bent so that the upper body can be raised, or, if
pointed, remain open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard
which is provided with a hole, through which the child passes
hole. The child, wrapped in bandages and in its naked buttocks,
is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow,
whereupon the cradle is placed in a vertical or slightly inclined
position, and the child is fastened with a strap or two strips of
the other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half
filled with sand, which is placed between the cradle and
the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is
hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench
(Gilyak [illegible]. Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 [illegible]). Provided with
a hole in the middle, through which the child passes
on it below the cradle. The long strap by which the cradle is
suspended are so skillfully drawn and indeed that the latter can be
set at a slight or steep inclination, as the case may demand
position desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of various
small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

/181 cont./

Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in
that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting
to one's own or to others' property. It is true that they have
salmon weirs and those open in the forest where their traps and
deadfalls are set, but these are not fenced off, wholly without
limitation, when the Linnan Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish,
and the Tymgi Gilyak go to the Amur and Ussi-suri to the Tymgi
for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the south-
coast to catch lungi. It is true, the Tarkunti and the Tymgi
Gilyak have tim of hospitality with each other. Also, the
[illegible] face the Gilyak people even chuka and farnage to permit
[illegible] to hunt and fish without restriction.

Like the communists, the inviolability of property is also
a foreign idea to a considerable degree. I have been even told that
[illegible] Gilyak men who could not raise a small cloth, for ex-
ample, a female kerchief, or a female dress or a shirt. Some people
[illegible] and with that the upper body of the child, up to its head,
[illegible] and wholly or partially closed, the lower end is closed
[illegible] the upper body of the child, up to its head,
[illegible] the lower end is closed with a crossboard

/793 com./

[796] [795] [794] [793] [792] [791] [790] [789] [788] [787] [786] [785] [784] [783] [782] [781] [780] [779] [778] [777] [776] [775] [774] [773] [772] [771] [770] [769] [768] [767] [766] [765] [764] [763] [762] [761] [760] [759] [758] [757] [756] [755] [754]

[795] [794] [793] [792] [791] [790] [789] [788] [787] [786] [785] [784] [783] [782] [781] [780] [779] [778] [777] [776] [775] [774] [773] [772] [771] [770] [769] [768] [767] [766] [765] [764] [763] [762] [761] [760] [759] [758] [757] [756] [755] [754]

[796] [

(the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner. They cut the suet (ŋɔ) into pieces. They put the pieces into a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (ta) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

[93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmŋar can be easily

193 explained. In the same dialect there exists a word ja-jmnd
197 'to know' (to this word there corresponds in the Amur dialect the word jajmd). In the direct object, which according to the rules of the Gilyak language merges with the predicate, the letter j alternates with c h. Thus for instance "I know Mizgun" sounds in Gilyak Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. In this way the verb jajmnd gives rise to the second form of the stem - hajmnd which exists independently of the first as a distinct word (just as the intransitive form of the transitive verb jajmnd 'to know') meaning 'to get old'. Hajmnd means 'to get old'. (In the Gilyak language intransitive verbs are formed out of transitive verbs by alternating the first consonant of the stem of the transitive verb.) In the Gilyak language "to know" and to "get old" derive their origin from the same stem and this is understandable for in the case of primitive man knowledge came with experience and so with age. We have thus explained the origin of hajm in the word hajm ar: hajm is derived from the intransitive form of the stem which, in this form, means 'to get old.' - is the suffix which transforms verbs into nouns. We already know the meaning of ar. Thus the word hajmŋar means 'the knowing male' or 'old male.' The Amur hem is, of course, the same as hajm-ŋ in the Sakhalin dialect which change considerably in the Amur dialect. The disappearance of in it is understandable for the Amur dialect drops its final ŋ's as against the Sakhalin dialect which does not. For instance, 'horse' is murŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and mur in the Amur dialect, 'dog' is qanŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and qan in the Amur dialect. At present we find it difficult to explain why hajm became hem in the Amur dialect, contrary to the rules which would lead us to expect hɔjm as the counterpart of hajm; thus, hɔjmr instead of hemar. At any rate it is incontestable that hemar and hajmŋar have the same meaning and, accordingly, hemanχ means a 'knowing female' or and 'old female.' It is possible that at one time or another the Gilyaks meant by ar not only male but also man. This is quite probable for at present they use two words for man: azmɔt in the Sakhalin dialect and utku in the Amur dialect.

252 Hemanχ sat in squatting position at the trough containing
237 the heads of the sivuchs. The skin was taken off the heads of the sivuch right down to the level of the eyes. The skin on the snouts was untouched. First the old woman cut out the throat together with the tongue. Then she took out of the heqr kuti (?) the plant pisker placed there by the hunters. Then she pulled out the whiskers and put them in a separate cup. After

197 "with the father", while ygryr means "with him", and nygryr: "with me". [F.S. Examples omitted]

193 Often the preposition is entirely omitted (see below). There are almost no grammatical forms. There are no declensions. The verbs sometimes change so much that they are hard to recognize, but these metamorphoses are not so constant that fixed rules could be derived from them. There are some conjugational forms, but they exist within such broad limits that there is room for arbitrariness, that is, one can use one or another form. [F. S.: Examples omitted]

[253] From these examples it may be seen 1) that the verbs are to a large extent modified, but 2) that it is difficult in these modifications to find a constant applying to a particular time, person, and number. It seems certain that up to the present time nothing of the kind exists. At least my Gilyak professors did not object when I used a certain verb in an indefinite form for all moods except the imperative, and for all persons and numbers. Only the imperative always seemed to end in "ya", with the accent on the last syllable. But many verbs are strongly abbreviated or changed; for instance "to sing" is lunyt; "sing" [imperative] is luya. [F. S: Other examples omitted]. The indefinite mood, with few exceptions, ends in "ty".

[254] There are no genders; "he" and "she" are the same. Singular and plural are also the same, only the pronouns are an exception.

The prepositions are usually placed after the word to which they refer; for example: "through the forest", pal (forest) shmy (through).

The adjectives have no comparative and superlative, instead the word lele (very) precedes them. For some things which can be large or small there are related expressions, of which the one referring to the larger object is a repetition of the one referring to the smaller object; for instance: a "small river" is la, "river" is pilala.

194

194 PHONOLOGY--phonetic range; list of phonemes; significant length, stress, pitch, and tone; positional variants; phonologic processes (e.g., contraction, fusion, ellipsis); etc. See also:
Transliteration systems and orthography. . . . 104

/681 cont./

533 Njaungur showed special virtuosity in singing: even the melody was much more varied than the previous ones; in addition, however, he, too, produced the stuttering, the loss of voice, strangulation and the stopping of the gutteral sounds, besides the subsequent belching out /682/ of the words like greater skill, and, moreover, besides the sobbing gutteral trill, he also made a falsetto nasal trill. In his case the trills, and especially the latter, reminded one vividly of the vibrating sound of the jew's-harp. These trills require a great deal of practice, and it is impossible for us to hold them so long and to produce them so clearly. It is also interesting physiologically that in producing these trills the soft palate plays an important role."

Middendorff continues: "From all these songs the differences caused by the individuality of the singers became clear: whereas Lamran, with a good voice and a clear trill, had in his way a melancholy, pleasant, and grave style of singing, the other two singers were like our artistic virtuosos who play violin variations on the cello. Along with the singing it must also be kept in
•[194] mind that the Gilyak language, and thus also the anga, sounds as though the nose had a chicken wishbone clamped on it; in addition there is the childish pronunciation of the r, which sounds as though it were midway between the r, g, and l and which is connected with d, g, and h, and, furthermore, the French ng, the English th and w, the g combined with d, etc."

114 533 Middendorff also noted down the words of the last two songs, but unfortunately I must disregard them here since they cannot be even approximately deciphered. And this should not surprise one, for, in view of the traveler's very short sojourn among the Gilyak, the many and very peculiar sounds of their language must have sounded most strange and bewildering to his ear, which was as yet wholly unaccustomed to them. And there is also the circumstance, making comprehension more difficult to so great a degree, that the singer has the greatest freedom to change and to modulate the words as he pleases to make them fit his rhythm and melody -- a freedom which he does not give up as a rule even in repeating the words, because they were once impressed upon his memory this way during the singing. Hence it is more than doubtful that an interpreter, of

LISTICS--differentiation in styles (e.g., conversational, narrative, ritual); stylistic modifications in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary; n typed according to sex, age, status, and social context; euphemisms metaphorical usages; prudery, etc. See also:

ity, universal, dynamic, and song styles	53	Word whom	184
al stratification	54	Curses and incantations	189
ation	178	Obscenity	191

/170 cont./

835 832 833 582 584 585 [195] an'ĝej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through the same symbolic actions that people go through during the betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat together. To say to a woman of the an'ĝej category, "Let us have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

832 835 684 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said, is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

[114] [629]

1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamlevo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I found a large assembly of the masters of the settlement. My

/189 cont./

602 speech, in the form of orders, business advice, and so forth, is always permitted between brothers, between daughter-in-law and the father and mother of her husband, even between a man and the wife of his younger brother, with the use of the vocative case. But ordinarily they seek to avoid direct address. If there is a person of a permitted category at hand, they transmit their wish to this person, addressing their message in such a manner that it is audible to the prohibited individual, who, in turn, answers in the same manner. If not, the address is in the third person or in the impersonal form. For example; "the daughter-in-law, the brother, etc., could do such a thing," instead of "daughter-in-law, do it!" Or, "thanks to my brother," instead of "thank you, brother" etc. Owing to this custom of getting around the prohibition on speech by the use of the third person, the Gilyak have formed the custom of frequently using the third person in general instead of the second, especially in reference to strangers, out of fear, apparently, that they may turn out to be persons of prohibited categories. Again and again, upon the entrance of an unknown Gilyak, one hears the phrase: "Where has the Gilyak come from?" (instead of "where have you come from?"). Perhaps there is concealed in this custom, brought about by the prohibition on conversation and not peculiar to the Gilyak alone, the reason for the origin of these strange forms of the third person in place of the second that we find in Italian, Polish, Tatar, and other languages. Finally, the plural number, which is commonly used in addressing old people and honored persons or strangers, is most frequently used in addressing persons of forbidden categories. Thus, for example, in addressing the wife of an elder brother they commonly use the singular, chi, while in addressing the wives of the younger brothers, on the other hand, they use the plural, chin.

602 193 [579] [559]

/262 cont./

583 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is already some question of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

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Thus, the term javind, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the system of maternality /materniteta/ prevailed, as it does at the present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where the husband as a common rule moved into the house of his wife, just as the masculine term g:end -- "to take for oneself" -- bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

[194] [591] [171]

/263 cont./

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In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony of this is found in the contemporary formula of common marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- yngai arinkh jagu'ndra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although, according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and prays from the father-in-law.

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Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

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/299 cont./

567 calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore
[683] when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
[614] replies quietly: "Pilavon kshal purarâ hokhagin ox' krygys" (1).

1. Krygys -- an Ainu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
[195] slave"). When people have sneered, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygys, impure. Every krygys was considered a kshal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygys
[692] is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygys woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygys.
[682] A free one is kistylygy n'ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
[614] is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer:

"If you are a brave man, we have an elder bear (pai pila kvor -- big mountain bear, mer ede -- tiger), fight with him: it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the
[162] krygys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Tabiata.

[580] Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/248 cont./

836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not,
it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young
companions, but only because the risk-competition was already
too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as
revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the
use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of
instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women
go for several days to places very distant from the villages after
berries and saxaa, made gemaine upon the defenseless
women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily,
they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, how-
ever, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers
which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made
closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all
romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle
of women, bear the characteristic designation ^anish nan'gynd --
• [196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also ap-
plied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings:
"to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

464 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new
arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the
local youth, and the women already have their local ad-
mirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are
required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed
to meet such fortunate individuals; they are ordinarily good
and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There
are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even
among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them.
Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the
women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements
of his ahkmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous
reception always awaits him.

/262 cont./

583 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is
586 already some question of bride price, though, to be sure, a
178 very insignificant one.
184

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

195 The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating
• 196 the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a
58 sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten"; on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individuals of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, ishgend (root ge) with the addition of shankh (woman) or an'g:ej (wife) is used; thus, shankh gend, an'g:ej gend. When a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- avind (root av), with the corresponding addition of nigvynj -- person, or pu -- husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (ie -- him + avind).

[197] [164] 1. I choose the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms g:end and javind?

/263/ As concerns the first, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/263 cont./

195 therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man takes a
• 196 woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buys his
58 wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javind, which in this form is only a marriage term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb p'avind = pi + avind, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: nig:yvyn' n'ency' pyr:k pavrà -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb p'avind -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active voice àjvund -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (jaivun ekhan -- a grazing cow). Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

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[194] own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this
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/265 cont./

602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
191 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

584 Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
593 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
• 194 in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
591 that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says:
171 n'i-umgarvo ivrà, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/298 cont./

614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
796 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /syat'/, ki
666 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
682 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silen
but they will continue to talk until a bear festival is held by t
offender for reconciliation (urla lymydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bea
415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bow
while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can
prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is
bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bea
is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side
opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he hims
431 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp
[231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the maste
feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'rur humyjd
Wingan ğrur humyjd--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soo
as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while
he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylng-tvysk and
pare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of be
Luk; -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig
[782] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are l
on a wooden frame near the [illegible] where the bones of the bea
[184] placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is
called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

567 The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his h
• 196 is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to
feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
[238] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if an
[219]

28 In putting the Gilyak language into writing it is easiest to use Russian letters, for several sounds are pronounced exactly as they are in Russian and in the Slavic languages in general. The Russian letters Я, Ю, Ц exist in the Gilyak language, especially the latter sound which can be represented neither by the West-European "Y" nor by "ui", and which is pronounced exactly as in the Russian word b'il. The letter "i" is pronounced peculiarly full as in Slavic languages before a, u, o, and ui (1) and at the end of some

1. I use these two letters for the Russian Ы although they do not accurately reproduce it.

words; and for this there is no corresponding sound in the Germanic and Romance languages. The letters g, k, and h or really ch [German pronunciation] occur frequently in Gilyak words and are sharply accented by pressing the tongue against the soft palate, so that this language (like th Semitic tongues) has a peculiarly guttural sound. There ar so many consonants that it probably deserves to be called a hard and not a beautiful language. The language of the Goldi is softer. The t and tch, the k and ch [kh] often coincide and the y is sometimes pronounced almost like the sh and the French g.

7 The language of the Amur-Gilyak from the sea up to the village of Bogorodskoye resembles the Sakhalin language sufficiently so that the people can at least make themselves understood after a fashion. But it, too, already shows som deviations which even occur in neighboring villages. Thus the word "cough" is yeret in Kaka; in Vaida which lies on the shore about one and one-half German miles from it, the word is yaat. In Mikhil which is about 100 versts (about 14 German miles) up-stream, the deviations are more numerous. For instance, the word "friend" is there called napkhe; the word "heaven"; tle. In Vaida and Kaka these words are amgan and tly. In Mikhil the expression "good day" is designated by the Goldi word sarodé. Even in one and the same place many words are differently [252] pronounced; for example, ytyk ("father") is also pronounced styka. Other words change so much according to the way they are used that they are no longer recognizable. For instance "rufrokh" means "with the brother": ytyktokh,

resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-ɣan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

/xxix cont.-

of the fact, however, that the material presented by Sternberg convincingly testified to the rudiments of class differentiation among the Gilyak. he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Popular and Holy Rus as the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation. not of the immanent economic laws of this society. but merely the effect on the Gilyak of thel neighbors -- the Russians.

A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the religion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Sternberg about the masters. first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie gilaki." were unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master' (hin'u) a god, but just as in each clan there are many gods, many persons. wealthy men. of whom one is the richest ('the master.' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak). so are there 'masters' among the spirits. who. according to the beliefs of the Gilyak. also live in clans. With this concept Sternberg ties the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Sternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Sternberg, "... it was not totemism. "The belief in descent from one or another kind of animal. that created the clan gods. which is the accepted way of thinking. but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism. One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists by saying the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing a kind of clansman turned into an animal."

Sternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of animals (e.g.. the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

In 'Gilaki' Sternberg also. for the first time. formed his opinion that the Gilyak is divided into two halves:

"Obrazny materialyed po inochenitu gilaskogo yazyka i fol'klora" and Materialy po inochenitu gilaskogo yazyka i fol'klora contained the ideas (groups of Sternberg's work on the study of the Gilyak: included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart. "Bernskungen

/xxx cont.-

über die Beziehung zwischen der Mophologie der gilijakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen." where he proves a grammatical similarity of Gilyak language with certain languages of the American Indians. The published data on Gilyak folklore and language constitute only a part of the material collected by him. During his lifetry he did not intend to publish Gilyak grammar and dictionary. and supplementary folklore material. but what he did publish on the study of this exceptionally difficult language. along with the discoveries cited above on the study of the clan. and the structure of the Gilyak. is so significant that in the history of ethnology and linguistics Sternberg justifiably considered. he known as a great Gilyak specialist and the first serius researcher and expert on the Gilyak language.

/xxxi/ The next realm of work by Sternberg as a Far Eastern ethnologist was the study of the Tungusic-Manchu peoples. Of the indigenous population of the Amur region. he first of all studied the Orochi of Sitar Strait. although he spared them little more mention. he also succeeded in making a number of important observations and discoveries here. which he published in the article "Orochi Tatarskogo proliva" (Not belief in descent from one or another kind of animal. that created the clan gods. which is the accepted way of thinking. but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism. "Bernskungen über die Beziehung zwischen der Mophologie der gilijakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen." where he proves a grammatical similarity of Gilyak language with certain languages of the American Indians. The published data on Gilyak folklore and language constitute only a part of the material collected by him. During his lifetry he did not intend to publish Gilyak grammar and dictionary. and supplementary folklore material. but what he did publish on the study of this exceptionally difficult language. along with the discoveries cited above on the study of the clan. and the structure of the Gilyak. is so significant that in the history of ethnology and linguistics Sternberg justifiably considered. he known as a great Gilyak specialist and the first serius researcher and expert on the Gilyak language.

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

/1/

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition. the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Primorye Little Hinge. Primorye. and Sakhalin oblasts/ Gilyak falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) The Tungus group of nationalities. spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) The isolated tribe of the Gilyak. whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu. speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the American and language. Only the Ainu has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits. which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them. specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic traits -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and. in particular. the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian stock. and. moreover. have made the rarity of facial growth. furthermore. in their material culture. religion. and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /natemnete/). they differ considerably from the Tungus and Gilyak. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Least of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu. Daur. and Solon. who have little to do with the Russian Primorye. the Tungus group /nomads/ is very far apart from Gilyak territorially. then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy. in other words. they are a group of nomads -- reindeer-herdsmen. such as the Tungus proper. Orochon. Sakhalin Orok; the other

/1 cont./

As for the Gilyak. although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities. yet in their language and culture they stand apart especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors. the Ainu. Thus. the Gilyak. speaking both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Aina occupy strictly delimited. almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the basin of the estuary and mouth of the Amur: the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Bosji). furthermore. the dialectical distinctions of each of the two groups are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another. and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of tribal kinship among all members of the Gilyak and the Tungus group. on the other hand. have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire huge region. and certain dialects have developed dialects considerably different from one another.

Furthermore. they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well. so that. in spite of all their linguistic. anthropological. and historical kinship. they fall into separate. small groups. each with their individuality.

These separate nationalities. separated from one another specially. historically. linguistically. and. finally. in the realm of material culture. in fact have become. each. a separate tribe. a distinct nation. and. moreover. have lost all tribal kinship. Such a classification is all more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

1. See the article. "Ainskaia problema /"The Aina problem.'/ below /tuttamalard/. fd.

/14 cont./

The Gilyak are not the only ones who find themselves in such an isolated position in northeast Asia. The Aina. the Yukagir. the Chukche. and Koryak find themselves in the same position. An attempt has even been made to combine them in a common group of Paleo-Asiatics (Schrenck). but the basis of this classification was purely external in character. namely. their common position on the edge of the continent. and the consequent probability that in the course of time these once numerous peoples were in part destroyed and in part driven out by more recent newcomers. Yet. in spite of the same fate the same fate the continent to the edge of Asia. All hope of discovering a genetic relationship between the Gilyak and the rest of the other tribes has not been. however. Hypotheses about a common origin of the nationalities of the Pacific coast of Asia and the tribes of North America were advanced. but not in the proper manner. Sternberg. however. was convinced one that this hypothesis may finally be fully confirmed. Besides the similarity in the common structure of the Gilyak language and the American languages. Sternberg also pointed out a number of pronouns with verbs and with nouns. the tendency /15/ toward polysynthesism. the extreme nobility of phonetic changes. the tendency to alternate /16/ in the initial sounds. and. in particular. particular points which are extremely characteristic. for example. one that is common to all of them is a highly developed class system of numerals. according to which different categories of objects can be combined only with the numerals that are peculiar to them. A system so complex. so far as I know. does not have any similar in any of the languages of the Asiatic continent. All this. however. is a problem for the future. perhaps the very near future.

Meanwhile. an easier question is still unsolved. the question of how long the Gilyak have occupied their present positions. On the basis of three names borrowed by the Gilyak from Tungus tribes for animals (the elk. the roe. the reindeer) it is known for sure that the bear. but absent on Sakhalin. the late academician Schrenck. the only authority up to the present on the ethnology of the natives of Primor'ikai. asserted that the original homeland of the Gilyak was Sakhalin Island and that in any case the Gilyak now living on the continent are descendants of immigrants from Sakhalin. His opinion is based on an obvious misunderstanding. The three

/81 cont./

Gilyak remained the indigenous type of the original Gilyak tribe? Yes. that original type intentionally disappeared. The body of the Gilyak tribe died forever. but its spirit is alive. alive in its language. A language which. as we have already mentioned. is unique among all the languages of the Asiatic continent. and in its peculiar customs and institutions which. reflected in its language. have survived all the vicissitudes of its physical transformation. The persistent preservation of the language is striking. It has not only protected itself against distortion by roots and forms from other tribes. but. in spite of the small membership of the tribe. has preserved two large dialects and no fewer than five or six subdialects. Nowhere else in the world is there such a phenomenon. The Gilyak language was spoken by many tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of individuals scattered over a vast territory. who left in numerous idioms as proof of their existence.

But not only the language of the Gilyak tribe continues to testify to its isolated position among the surrounding nationalities its social institutions. clan organization. religion. and especially /22/ the institution of marriage. amazingly peculiar norms of sexual intercourse. and equally amazing kinship nomenclature clearly testify to this. Before we proceed to this aspect of their life. however. we shall first touch upon. within the briefest limits. the external conditions of life in the nature which surrounds them. and the outward appearance of the Gilyak.

II.

132 Environment. Type. External Life.

The nature amidst which these people live at the present time is full of the greatest contrasts. In spite of the southerly latitude (between 49° and 54 1/5° north latitude). the average temperature in January is -18° Reaumur. The Amur. the Gilyak of mercury in the middle of the island is a common phenomenon. Even in July there are minimums of 5.2°. Ice floats off the

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even to his own clear advantage. but he has. as we know. an already well-tested expedient. with the help of which he persuades the gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts. as in other cases. to pious deception of the gods. which offers him the possibility of fulfilling his religious duty and yet obtaining material gains from the conflict. Usually. this most important religious procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored. and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples. among the Gilyak. as we shall recount later on. this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom. which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clan. the killing of dogs. and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.

The place where the ceremony of reconciliation is played by the so-called khlaj-nivukh (1).

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man. /104/ eloquent. orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak. In the clan this individual is the representative of the clan. particular deity who constantly inspires him. dwells in him. and inspires in him beautiful. convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on the people. The very quickness of speech. the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time. even about such matters as the content of the speech. is already considered a talent of the highest order. "With tongue turn like the wings of a windmill." Thus. with awe. does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter. in turn. regard themselves as chosen ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod. on the head of which is carved a human face. depicting. apparently. that which gives them and helps them to perform miracles. At pathetic moments they wave these threatningly. swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/135 cont./

of mixing between the Gilyak and their neighbors, one can only be surprised that these kinship terminologies turn out to have so little in common.

The etymologies of the Gilyak kinship term themselves testify to this uniqueness of the Gilyak terminology with great palpability; the greatest part of them can be traced all the way back to their original roots, which point to their firm stability over a long period of time (1).

1. This cannot be said with regard to many kinship peoples. Thus, for example, at the famous Turkish special-ist, V. V. Radloff, has in fact reported to me, among the Turks, judging by Orkhon and Uigur monuments, the kinship terms that were in use from the tenth century and with the exception of one or two terms, has changed completely, even in such form as father and mother, and so forth.

(2) We shall adduce a few examples. Thus, the group "ata" — father, "ata" — grandfather, "ata-ata" — great-grandfather, "ata" — grandmother, "yokhsh" — old man, husband, "achish" — aunt, sister of the father, "ya-ya" — man, (western dialect) have a common root "ya" — body; the group "ana" — mother, "ynagir" — son-in-law, son of the sister, "ana-gir" — woman (western dialect) have the common root "yin." Further, "anKyel" — wife, from "anKh" — female; "anKnych" — beloved, husband, man (western dialect), from "ax" — male and the root "ynych" — be, to become; "ynych" — husband, "ynych, ynnich, yanich" — woman and "yanich" — sister, etc. is of

(3) Dialectical differences in kinship designations remain to be documented. These differences are of a minor nature. In the fundamental terms there are either no difference whatever,

/135 cont./

or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character. Thus, for example, "yrh, yniF" — father, mother — are completely identical in all dialects; "ynen, ynen" — brother (eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "yn" in the western dialect; "ok-ka, ok-ing" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o-ka" in the western dialect. In cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the previously mentioned "ata" and "ana," or to the formation of corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all dialects. Thus, for example, "ghaqir" — woman in the eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "ax-nih" — female, and "ken-gir" — woman in the western dialect has the same root as the common word "ynych" — mother; in exactly the same way "ni-ax" — man in the western dialect has the same root as "ynych" — husband, and the corresponding axFnych in the eastern dialect is from ax — male, etc.

In the table of kinship nomenclature and the relationships for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and territories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' with (T.), and the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin —(E.D.), and of the western (W.D.). In the table of kinship terms we shall always use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic (western) dialect has the common word "ynych" — husband, "anKyel" — wife, from "anKh" — female; "anKnych" — beloved, husband, man (western dialect), from "ax" — male and the root "ynych" — be, to become; "ynych" — husband, "ynych, yanich, yanich" — woman and "yanich" — sister, etc. is of

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the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no condition on the father's side. Kinship through the father bear the same al-ready mentioned by us: kakhal, kakhal-ch'gyyr.

Table of Relationship

by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical in concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come about upon examining the table of relationship. It is precisely to an examination of each category of kinship separately. Cognate kinship, kinship within the clan, has taken the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my father's), without distinguishing between direct and collateral line, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own father; they only distinguish the generation of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood the children of the descendants of the speaker and of the whole clan of his own brothers and sisters (Gilyak clan) and his own line for all the subsequent descending generations of these persons.

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the cl. a of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called clan "nun."

In addition, for each generation of classmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("nun"). For a better understanding of what is set forth below we shall copy the table called /139 cont./

1. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ref-

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The Gilyak who speak the western dialect, i.e., the Gilyak of the continent and the western shore of Sakhalin, especially beginning from the settlement of Vaas and to the north of it, use the same terms, "ata" and so on (1), to

1. A full enumeration of the terms-synonyms is given below in the table.

designate, besides own father, all his male twin, i.e., his own and collateral brothers and, in addition, all the husbands of his own sisters. The term "ata" is used, however, in precisely only in the settlement of Tamlevo and to the north of it, together with "yin" and its synonyms still another term is used to designate the brothers of the father — "ytinag," corresponding in meaning to the analogous Tungus ayin — elder. Another group, the western Gilyak, designate for all the brothers of the father and called by the same term as own father; they only distinguish the generation of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.

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Table of Kinship Terms

1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the census in the settlement of Kot was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father called by the Tungus term yuqi, which is explained by the presence of a Tungus in the settlement of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan: all the "sisters" of his phmnn. Only the Amur Gilyak have a special subject, designation for all the husbands of the husband — nfmnj (= cf. — my + qej — husband), a term also known to the Tymovsk Gilyak (1).

The class of the descending line. The class of the descending line within the clan, the clan ogilang, ogilg, is completely identical with the ascending line, the clan ata, ata. Finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the clan of younger "brothers" (nun) the clan ogilang, ogilg, is also applied, and also to all the children of his "brothers" (nun), just as /141/ a woman gives the same ogilg not only to her own children, but to the children of all the "brothers" of her husband without distinction; but the term ogilg is applied not only to the first generation of children, but also to the second generation of the descending line, not only one's own, but also those of the whole clan of nun. Thus, the Gilyak gives the one and the same term ogilg to the children of the clan or to the children of nephew, but to all of their descendants, i.e., grandson, great-grandson, etc. Here we see the same phenomenon that we find in the terminology of the ascending line, where the one term "ata" defines all the generations above father

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of his other sanish and a'kh — older "sister," and, conversely, — younger "sister."

The class of husbands. The class of husbands corresponds to the terminology of the foregoing class — "wives." Within the class of her husband the woman gives the same of "husband" (ch. 1ch, 2Xmn, etc.), not only to her official husband, but also to the representatives of the class of his "brothers" (nun), with, however, the following exceptions. The eastern Gilyak and a part of the western Gilyak differentiate between the younger "brothers" (nun) of the husband and the older ones; a woman calls the younger ya, ya, ybnn, ybnn, ya, ya — in-law, in formal husbands, and she calls the latter ata. The Gilyak of northern Sakhalin and the western Gilyak generally do not differentiate between the younger and older brothers of the husband, calling them ata, ya, ybnnn. Only the Amur Gilyak have a special subject, designation for all the husbands of the husband — nfmnj (= cf. — my + qej — husband), a term also known to the Tymovsk Gilyak (1).

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/147/ The terms of kinship in a figurative sense. It is curious how the kinship terms are reflected in the terms used between persons who are not married to each other — sweethearts. It seems that they are often transferred to them from the fundamental terminology. Thus a woman calls her sweetheart Xmn (husband, in the eastern dialect), axFnych (man, husband, in the eastern dialect), hn (groom), nanih (from the terminology of the group of father-in-law and son-in-law with, however, the reservation that the unrelated wives of "brothers," and, jokingly, men who have an extramarital relationship with the same women, sometimes call each other by this last term, as well as by the term ashmnih, while the terms nanih and ashmnih in practical life have taken on the meaning of "sweetheart" or "participant in a common attack." Thus, the term "nanih" by its meaning in these cases entirely corresponds with the famous Hawaiian term punalua in the family group which takes in name from this term.

As a result of our survey of the kinship terminology, we arrived at the Gilyak a typical classificatory system of kinship.

Summing up the terms for agnate and cognate kinship, we get the following scheme. (See following page.)

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although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is already some question of little price, though, to be sure, a very insignificant one.

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orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox marriage (1) a young girl there is even the special term tlnkagual (eastern dialect tqqyyal).

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a maternal society.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten". On the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individual of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gond, lhgond (root gy) with the addition of shmnih (woman) or axFqel (wife) is used; thus, shmnih gond, axFqel gond. When a woman is involved, — the verb ynych (root ynych) and ynych yyn, with the corresponding addition of nigyyn — person, or ax — husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (or — him + ynych).

1. I choose the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms gond and ynych?

/322/ At concern the first, the male term gond, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/320 cont./

orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox marriage (1) a young girl there is even the special term tlnkagual (eastern dialect tqqyyal).

1. On the side of the groom the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this law, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his wife, the son of the father of the sister of the father considers it his duty to marry his own daughter-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the ulda n'yivih (honored persons) among his classmen. Since the Gilyak have a special subject, designation for all the husbands of the husband — nfmnj (= cf. — my + qej — husband), a term also known to the Tymovsk Gilyak (1).

The Tymovsk and the Chikonk Gilyak have one law

A legend about three brothers—cliffs in Alaisandrovsk on

Three Heng brothers swam with a bear to kill a cat—

(cat), and the bear and all of them turned into stone. Two boys and daughter — look after them.

A rat must not be killed with an axe; a wick is nec-

Nakhsun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat w-

ay. his son died for the same reason, and now his daugh-

The animals toward incest among dogs. According to the

of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not co-

excrepitate and are not in a relationship. The dog, if it is killed for this, otherwise this heavy sin falls on the man

will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and among dogs frequently have incestuous, but they are not

for this.

Hair may be thrown away in any place.

A person who has been rescued from death by a

Ikos chish—lhugrual — a dog — to Pal-'ngyyn. he

looks at a pillow wounded by a bear; only on old, in the

woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with

In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died,

they treat him like a killed one. When they set off

bear skins (sleigh) for general or important business, the

way take along their favorite yrrgi (non-in-law).

In Mil'nvo one Gilyak had two women. One

daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. So

to gether besties while the men went out to hair seal.

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heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it. The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

/762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

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197 LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION--dominant language or languages; affiliation with other languages; position within a linguistic stock or family; dialectic differentiation; processes of linguistic change (e.g., drift); etc. See also:

Racial affiliations . . . . . 144 Cultural affiliations 171

/347 cont./

101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 829 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "ytk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "ytk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material below. The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the

199 language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the Lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on

129 Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the conti-

174 nent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of

[174] Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo, one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language,

[184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

SS /6 cont./

114 the lower Amur region who undoubtedly are the most interesting, since, due to their greater remoteness from the Manchu, Chinese, and Japanese, as well as the Russians, their way of life has best been shaped and preserved in a peculiar way. In particular,

G [197] however, this is true of the Gilyak, who, linguistically as well, stand wholly isolated among all the Amur peoples (1).

1. It may be noted in passing that even during the preparations for the second Bering Expedition, the instructions drawn up in the bosom of the Academy for the ethnographic investigations strongly urged

SS [113] a visit among the Gilyak. (Baer, "Kurzer Bericht über wissensch. Arbeiten u. Reisen /Short Statement concerning Scientific Work and Travels/," etc., see Beitr. z. Kenntn. d. Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersb., 1855, p. 408, note). This request could not be complied with until over a hundred years later through Middendorff's and my travels.

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114 Nevertheless, here, too, in spite of frequent contacts with

122 the natives, a detailed investigation of their practices, customs, religious views, and the like still faced many obstacles. The greatest of them for a traveler, especially if he is a natural scientist and not a linguist, is his ignorance of the language of a people and the difficulty of learning it in a short time well enough to be able to converse in it. As a rule, one can overcome this difficulty by hiring an interpreter, but when the first contact with a people is made, he does not yet have one. On my first trip up the Amur to the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir, the Cossacks accompanying me understood so little of the languages of these peoples that I myself, noting down immediately every word whose meaning I learned, had to serve them as an interpreter.

/101 cont./

101 as Klaproth insists, Fiaka, is used, due to insufficient knowledge,

114 as a collective term for a number of different peoples of the Amur region or their language, and among them the Gilyak. And the same must be concluded from the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who, as was stated above, spent 17 years -- from his birth on -- in Ninguta, to which his father had been exiled, and later, in 1722, having returned to China, he wrote a description of his birthplace. Downstream from the Cheidsin or Chādshen on the Amur River, he has the region of the Fei-ja-cha come next, the description of which, however, only in part fits the Gilyak, and to a greater extent -- for example, the nose rings, /102/ the birchbark boats, fishing in the sea, etc. -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Orochi (1). Finally, Iakinf expresses

[113] 1. In Wassiljef's /Vasil'ev/ translation: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 90-93). It is also said there

G [197] that the Fiaka, Cheidsin, and Churcha or Chulcha address one another with the word "andā." This, however, is a Tungusic word that also occurs among the Goldi, Olcha, etc. and means "friend"; in Gilyak it is "amalā."

himself quite definitely in this sense in declaring that all the different tribes that live downstream from the Chādshe on both banks of the Amur River and also occupy the northern part of Sakhalin were included under the common name Fjakā (Fyake) (2).

[113] 2. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imperii, Part II, p. 12.

All this permits one to draw the conclusion that the Fiaka of the Manchu-Chinese geographers or reporters are not always the Gilyak by any means; although better informed individuals actually might have referred to the Gilyak by this designation,

/102 cont./

Gi 101 inquired among the Goldi about the name of the Samagir or of

114 the people on the Gorin and those on the Kur, they named the one as well as the /103/ other for me repeatedly as the "Kile," evidently because they bore this collective name among the Chinese and then designated themselves with it when dealing with them. The Gilyak also gave me the name "Kil" for the

G [101] Samagir. Since the Goldi and the Gilyak languages are com-

Gi Gi pletely different, the obvious conclusion is that this can only be

G [197] a foreign name. Finally, I have sometimes heard Chinese mer-

Gi Gi chants traveling along the Amur designate even the northern

101 and more distant Goldi, as a rule the Olcha, and, indeed, even the Gilyak with this or a similar name. One such merchant, for instance, whom I met in Amtscho on the Amur, eagerly asked me whether the "Kilam" or "Kilang" living farther downstream had many sables, and, in order to make himself better understood, he also named this animal in the Kilam language the word sounded like "lombr," and the Gilyak "lumr" can be

G 101 clearly recognized. The Gilyak were quite similarly called "Ki-li-mi" by the Chinese companions of the missionary Venault when he went down the Amur in order to investigate the death of de la Brunière, who had been killed by them (1).

G [113] 1. Venault, "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie /Journey into the Interior Parts of Manchuria/" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX, 1852 /Vol. II/, pp. 216-223.

G Gi 101 114 From all that has been said it is clear that the Chinese include under the collective designation Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam, etc. both the peoples of the left, northern and western tributaries of the lower Amur River, of the Kur, Gorin, and Amgunj, and the dwellers along the lower course of the main river, itself, and, to be sure, especially the Gilyak, whom they know least, but also the Olcha, and sometimes even part of the Goldi; or, in other words, just as in the case of the Fiaka and Chādshen,

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

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101 /117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

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4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

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so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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[361] resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

[194] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating

[193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting:

802 in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

174 In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to

[361] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-
[342] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
[343] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
[291] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
[231] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.
[262]

7: Kreinovich--23 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
462 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ɣ[illegible]) into pieces. They put the pieces into
251 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (ta) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

193 [193] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmnar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmnar can be easily

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SPECIAL LANGUAGES--marginal languages (e.g., pidgin, trade languages); languages confined to a particular sex, occupation, social class, or ethnic group; special adaptations of speech (e.g., yodeling, whistling, ventriloquism); etc. See also:

Sign languages . . . . . 201 Writing 212
Drum languages 202

411 called əmləus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tatr-paχ . Large wooden floats (vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals pəγt are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk, Loŋri, and ət.

614 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.

423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋaγqej,
524 3. ət.

471 Lulvəχ-pər and ŋaγreqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock.(3)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paχ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot ferd).

Clan Tnaunuŋ owned: 1. Mat-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomi-vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə- vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
552
198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-"Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Ievropy i severnoĭ Azii"
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Ėtnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.

mif, 'Land', they say otχ 'excrements.' If they are far from land, they say tevl otχta, if near - knemla-otχta.

mu 'boat' they say orq.

ke 'sun' they say am.

la urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am sodra.

tełu 'fog' they say verq.

umgu 'woman' they say hiuləd.

qan 'dog' they say aim.

to 'fish' they tomr 'leaf.'

loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.

loŋr 'trout' they say manm.

nemla 'linek' they say naχ-tomr.

vaŋs 'lake-salmon' they say vətik.

alŋon 'kunzha' they say doχti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words manm and doχti from Tungus.

198 tiŋr 'fire wood' they say ops; tuin ops-ket tuγr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'

laŋr 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' tor vaad 'three seals.'

laŋr pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say ləŋr.

iŋd 'to kill' they say ŋazd.

pət 'tomorrow' they say mandəŋa.

eŋr vida 'let us return' they say pəχtkuda.

saru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvəta-mu.

kər-ŋoqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-ŋod 'tava hurts.'

krəzd '(I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqn-taŋgad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tot-ŋod 'the hand hurts.'

7: Kreinovich--11 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'
ǝkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'
etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kiriid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even it if were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kas

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20 COMMUNICATION--general statements dealing with several aspects of communication over space. For communication over time, by means of records, see 21.

1: Shternberg--548 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
492 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
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[126] 2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons).
361 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo
• 20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
[484] difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
484 across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
492 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

201

201 GESTURES AND SIGNS--patterned expressions of emotion (e.g., affect aggression, derision, fear, disgust); gestures of affirmation and nega indications of size and shape; directive signs (e.g., beckoning, warni sign languages and their use (e.g., by the deaf, in intertribal communi etc. See also:

Recreation gestures	52	Greetings and obeisances	
Gestures in dancing, drama, and oratory	53	Numerical signs	
Nervous gestures	157	Ideas about facial reactions	
Postures	516	Suggestive gestures	
Humor	522		

193 explained. In the same dialect there exists a word ja-jmnd
197 'to know' (to this word there corresponds in the Amur dialect the word jəjmd). In the direct object, which according to the rules of the Gilyak language merges with the predicate, the letter j alternates with c h. Thus for instance "I know Mizgun" sounds in Gilyak Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. In this way the verb jajmnd gives rise to the second form of the stem - hajmnd which exists independently of the first as a distinct word (just as the intransitive form of the transitive verb jajmnd 'to know') meaning 'to get old'. Hajmnd means 'to get old'. (In the Gilyak language intransitive verbs are formed out of transitive verbs by alternating the first consonant of the stem of the transitive verb.) In the Gilyak language "to know" and to "get old" derive their origin from the same stem and this is understandable for in the case of primitive man knowledge came with experience and so with age. We have thus explained the origin of hajm in the word hajm ar: hajm is derived from the intransitive form of the stem which, in this form, means 'to get old.' is the suffix which transforms verbs into nouns. We already know the meaning of ar. Thus the word hajmŋar means 'the knowing male' or 'old male.' The Amur hem is, of course, the same as hajm-ŋ in the Sakhalin dialect which change considerably in the Amur dialect. The disappearance of in it is understandable for the Amur dialect drops its final ŋ's as against the Sakhalin dialect which does not. For instance, 'horse' is murŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and mur in the Amur dialect, 'dog' is qanŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and qan in the Amur dialect. At present we find it difficult to explain why hajm became hem in the Amur dialect, contrary to the rules which would lead us to expect həjm as the counterpart of hajm; thus, həjmr instead of hemar. At any rate it is incontestable that hemar and hajmŋar have the same meaning and, accordingly, hemanχ means a 'knowing female' or and 'old female.' It is possible that at one time or another the Gilyaks meant by ar not only male but also man. This is quite probable for at present they use two words for man: azmət in the Sakhalin dialect and utku in the Amur dialect.

252 Hemanχ sat in squatting position at the trough containing
237 the heads of the sivuchs. The skin was taken off the heads of the sivuch right down to the level of the eyes. The skin on the snouts was untouched. First the old woman cut out the throat together with the tongue. Then she took out of the heqr kuti (?) the plant piskər placed there by the hunters. Then she pulled out the whiskers and put them in a separate cup. After

"A study of the C
in its veins, mingle
Golds, etc. [116]

The Gilyaks are
and customs from t
adds to the puzzle;
ancestors, perhaps
of hair. The most
race. Philologists
Academy of Science
the dwellers on the

Orochons suggest that they are a tribe which has mostly Tungus blood
ed by intermarriage with various neighbours, such as the Gilyaks,

even more difficult to classify racially. Separated in speech, manners
their neighbours, they yet have some affinities in feature. This only
for while many have scarcely any hair on their faces, others, whose
, have intermarried with Ainus, have bushy beards and copious heads
plausible suggestion is that they are of a semi-Tungus, semi-Mongol
of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, and of the Imperial
es, St. Petersburg, hold that their language knits them in origin to
Pacific coast of Northern Asia, and America, and the Aleutian isles."

194 XVIII. Language.

128 In putting the Gilyak language into writing it is easiest to use Russian letters, for several sounds are pronounced exactly as they are in Russian and in the Slavic languages in general. The Russian letters Л, Ю, И exist in the Gilyak language, especially the latter sound which can be represented neither by the West-European "Y" nor by "ui", and which is pronounced exactly as in the Russian word b'il. The letter "i" is pronounced peculiarly full as in Slavic languages before a, u, o, and ui (1) and at the end of some

1. I use these two letters for the Russian И although they do not accurately reproduce it.

words; and for this there is no corresponding sound in the Germanic and Romance languages. The letters g, k, and h or really ch [German pronunciation] occur frequently in Gilyak words and are sharply accented by pressing the tongue against the soft palate, so that this language (like th Semitic tongues) has a peculiarly guttural sound. There ar so many consonants that it probably deserves to be called a hard and not a beautiful language. The language of the Goldi is softer. The t and tch, the k and ch [kh] often coincide and the y is sometimes pronounced almost like the sh and the French g.

197 The language of the Amur-Gilyak from the sea up to the village of Bogorodskoye resembles the Sakhalin language sufficiently so that the people can at least make themselves understood after a fashion. But it, too, already shows som deviations which even occur in neighboring villages. Thus the word "cough" is yeret in Kaka; in Vaida which lies on the shore about one and one-half German miles from it, the word is yaat. In Mikhil which is about 100 versts (about 14 German miles) up-stream, the deviations are more numerous. For instance, the word "friend" is there called napkhe; the word "heaven"; tle. In Vaida and Kaka these words are amgan and tly. In Mikhil the expression "good day" is designated by the Goldi word sarodé. Even in one and the same place many words are differently [252] pronounced; for example, ytyk ("father") is also pronounced styka. Other words change so much according to the way they are used that they are no longer recognizable. For instance "rufrokh" means "with the brother": ytyktokh,

197 "with the father", while ygryr means "with him", and nygryr: "with me". [F. S. Examples omitted]

193 Often the preposition is entirely omitted (see below). There are almost no grammatical forms. There are no declensions. The verbs sometimes change so much that they are hard to recognize, but these metamorphoses are not so constant that fixed rules could be derived from them. There are some conjugational forms, but they exist within such broad limits that there is room for arbitrariness, that is, one can use one or another form. [F. S.: Examples omitted]

[253] From these examples it may be seen 1) that the verbs are to a large extent modified, but 2) that it is difficult in these modifications to find a constant applying to a particular time, person, and number. It seems certain that up to the present time nothing of the kind exists. At least my Gilyak professors did not object when I used a certain verb in an indefinite form for all moods except the imperative, and for all persons and numbers. Only the imperative always seemed to end in "ya", with the accent on the last syllable. But many verbs are strongly abbreviated or changed; for instance "to sing" is lunyt; "sing" [imperative] is luya. [F. S: Other examples omitted]. The indefinite mood, with few exceptions, ends in "ty".

[254] There are no genders; "he" and "she" are the same. Singular and plural are also the same, only the pronouns are an exception.

The prepositions are usually placed after the word to which they refer; for example: "through the forest", pal (forest) shmy (through).

The adjectives have no comparative and superlative, instead the word lele (very) precedes them. For some things which can be large or small there are related expressions, of which the one referring to the larger object is a repetition of the one referring to the smaller object; for instance: a "small river" is la, "river" is pilala.

/247 cont./

580 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
157 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
234 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
614 were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
578 motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
463 women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
152 sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset
of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to
women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is
not content with the women to whom they have rights in their
own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to
whom they have rights by law. The only category of women
before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but
find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most
eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-
law" --akhmalik't but he is not averse to undertaking a journey
even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering
me their assistance without compensation for many weeks,
and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic
adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
574 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival.
Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
• [203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed
to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his
news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity,
and has already managed to let his glance fall on some
woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his
amatory experience and art.

/273 cont./

584 Even without invitations, however, there are always wit-
575 nesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes
known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of
[186] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to
court, and this results in a large fine.

584 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot con-
576 ceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit
them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement.
• [203] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/274 cont./

584 At this stage the viscosity of the negotiations reaches
583 its apogee, and "tayoray" /spelled with Russian letters; see
below/ begins to play a quite exceptional role. I happened
to be present when in the settlement of Pil'vo on Sakhalin a
Gilyak whom I knew, a certain Isayka, betrothed his little
boy to the 15-year-old daughter of an old widow. The old
woman had no kin in the settlement, neither any of her own
nor any on the side of her deceased husband. At her request,
therefore, all the honorable persons of the settlement assembled. On the bridegroom's side there appeared, besides his
father, his clansman, Sofronka. At first, it seemed that the
business would quickly end, for the old woman was very
needy and had pushed forward her own proposal herself. But
when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sofronka
argued with her the whole day. In vain did he employ all
his eloquence and ask those present to help him convince the
old woman of the acceptability of the conditions. She invariably reiterated one thing: "tajoraj /spelled with Latin
letters/!" Finally, after a whole day of tormenting negotiations, when the old woman found that she had sufficiently
maintained her character and completely fulfilled all the
demands of etiquette, she offered the conditions with which
the other side had been in agreement from the very beginning,
namely, that the bride price should be paid at once in its entirety.

[126] To indicate the character of the ceremony of negotiations,
I shall cite the introductory dialogue of a matchmaker with
the father of the bride that I wrote down /275/ on the Amur.
The matchmaker, the father of the groom, Pevn by name, is
asking for the daughter of Lakkan. Both are well-to-do men,
old acquaintances.

584 After the customary exchange of news, after drinking
583 some vodka, Pevn says (I translate literally): We both
539 have been for a long time as an elder brother with a younger
• [203] (like brothers), great friends have we been. Now I have
[576] come through need. It was necessary to come to thee. It is
a matter, a big matter, when the need came, so thou come
to my aid.

/362 cont./

514 Try entering into a conversation with anyone about their
[520] life, customs, and so forth -- the whole yurt gathers about you.
The adults listen and reply with serious interest. The children
will not tear their gaze from /363/ you. Their eyes glow with
the fire of intelligence and fascination. They answer you seriously
and conscientiously; only inspire trust in them. You will feel
yourself drawn toward these barbarians... And never, so to speak,
does life stagnate here, because each day brings some large or
small occurrence in the life of the settlement, each day brings,
finally, new guests with new subjects for conversation. In each
yurt you will find many such guests, who often stay for weeks,
and during all this time the hosts feed them and their dogs.

The Gilyak are very hospitable and love to pay visits and entertain guests. Not only do the clansmen and kinsmen of the wife pay visits, but also those outsiders who are simply friends. In the yurt there often live together people of different clans, on whom guests and clansmen from all parts of the Gilyak territory
• [203] call. Imagine how much news each winter day brings. Winter is the preferred season for visiting. This noble custom of hospitality has still another good side. In a bad year, when the Gilyak does not have enough food for either himself or his dogs and nothing to buy it with, he does not have to stretch out his hands to a benefactor; he quietly sets off to pay a visit, knowing full well that in time his host will do the same. One encounters many guests in the summer as well. At this time of year, too, the Gilyak rarely lives alone in his yurt; there are always one or two families
177 of his brothers or other clansmen with him. Despite their long subjection to the Siniczed Manchu, despite the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region, the Gilyak, morally, preserve many of the virtues of primitive tribes. But the fate of their mode of life is irrevocably settled. One or two more generations, and the Gilyak of the mainland will become completely Russified and, together with the fruits of culture, will master all its vices. One must give his due to the Gilyak: he does not lightly abandon his ancestral traditions, but they involuntarily give way. At first they were indignant and perplexed, meeting

/558 cont./

411 same time, however, they did not show any particular timidity
107 or fear in front of the gun, whereas a pistol imbued them with a
152 great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had
[123] to threaten them with the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they beseeched me not to make use of it, because this would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Could this fear simply be based upon the still great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unperceived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

123 1. At this point I cannot refrain from men-
152 tioning another and similar superstitious
• 203 fear on the part of the Gilyak, which at first seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely by accident that I later obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how profoundly certain impressions gained through unusual experiences persist in the mind and memory of a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout their entire area. I owned one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Nikolayev post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was used for fishing. I had scarcely pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me to put the thing away and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

/558 cont./

123 1. (cont.)
& 152 the same thing was repeated several
times later with other Gilyak from the
• 203 various villages along the Amur and
Liman, so that I never once succeeded
in producing my stick in front of them,
and from then on gave it up completely,
trying in vain to think of a reason for
this strange, highly excited, and fearful behavior toward an object as harmless as a fishing rod. How great, therefore, was my surprise when, already in St. Petersburg after my return, I once happened to hear Mr. v. Middendorff, who had visited the Gilyak ten years before I had, and, to be sure, in their most remote dwelling sites along Ulban Bay in the Sea of Okhotsk, relate how he had once played the following joke on them. As he stood in their company
[241] in front of a white-tailed eagle which, chained, was perched on one of the fish-drying racks - a very common sight in their villages, which will be discussed further in the following -- in front of their eyes he cut off a thin willow switch, stuck its point, unnoticed, into a little bottle of prussic acid which he carried with him, and held it in front of the beak of the eagle. The animal immediately collapsed and died, but the Gilyak were seized with horror and fear and from then on regarded our traveler as a powerful sorcerer. To me there now remained no doubt obviously the news

/558 cont./

123 152 203 1. (cont.) of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

41 17 [192] In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley [824] [192] on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Aina (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113] 2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

41 230 53 In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3).

[104] 3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

206

206 TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH--technology; use of equipment; facilities and services; organization and personnel; public and private systems; finance (e.g., rates, subsidies); regulation; etc. See also:

Telegraphic codes	302	Description of equipment	403
Municipal telephone and telegraph systems	368	Military signal corps	708
Manufacture of equipment	393	Military communications equipment	718

000 Amoor line is closed up, the telegraph circuit around the globe will be complete.

206 The telegraph is operated on the Morse system with instruments of Prussian manufacture. Compared to our American instruments the Prussian ones are quite clumsy, though they did not appear so in the hands of the operators. The signal key was at least four times as large as ours, and could endure any amount of rough handling. The other machinery was on a corresponding scale.

574 A merchant who knew Mr. Borasdine invited us to his house, where he brought a lunch of bread, cheese, butter, and milk for our entertainment. Salted cucumbers were added, and the repast ended with tea. In the principal room there was a Connecticut clock in one corner and the windows were filled with flowers, among which were the morning glory, aster, and verbena. Several engravings adorned the walls, most of them printed at Berlin. We purchased a loaf of sugar, and were shown a bear-skin seven feet long without ears and tail. The original and first legitimate owner of the skin was killed within a mile of town.

346 In addition to his commerce and farming, this merchant was superintendent of a school where several Gilyak boys were educated. It was then vacation, and the boys were engaged in catching their winter supply of fish. At the merchant's invitation we visited the school buildings.

The study room was much like a backwoods schoolroom in America, having rude benches and desks, but with everything clean and well made. The copy-books exhibited fair specimens of penmanship. On a desk lay a well worn reading book containing a dozen of Æsop's fables translated into Russian and profusely illustrated. It corresponded to an American 'Second Reader.'

There was a dormitory containing eight beds, and there was a wash-room, a dining-room, and a kitchen, the latter separate from the main building. Close at hand was a forge where the boys learned to work in iron, and a carpenter shop with a full set of tools and a turning lathe. The superinten-

211

211 MNEMONIC DEVICES--aids to memory, elaborated devices (e.g., wampum, quipu); uses; interpretation, commemorative monuments (e.g., statues); etc. See also:

Memorial structures	349	Tallies	802
Property marks	432		

G 764 234 294 262 /767 cont./ them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins. The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten, but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the village. (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

G 764 152 49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right bank of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that were some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that came out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I investigated and saw a woman who sat there hunched together and wailing, staring at the sky. I watched her for a while and then inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in reply, bulke, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me that her husband had died in the next village and she was lamenting it. She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left, in order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamentation, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (I S.R. IV, p. 17.)

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

G 764

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following concerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground, /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

G [114] * See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration Plate LXVIII /p. 1268/, Fig. 1) are called largha (the r pronounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a small linen-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the center

G 211 and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under the ground.

CHAPTER XII.

211 I HAD a curiosity to examine the ancient monuments at Tyr, opposite the mouth of the Amgoon river, but we passed them in the night without stopping. There are several traditions concerning their origin. The most authentic story gives them an age of six or seven hundred years. They are ascribed to an emperor of the Yuen dynasty who visited the mouth of the Amoor and commemorated his journey by building the 'Monastery of Eternal Repose.' The ruined walls of this monastery are visible, and the shape of the building can be easily traced. In some places the walls are eight or ten feet high.

211 137 Mr. Collins visited the spot in 1857 and made sketches of the monuments. He describes them situated on a cliff a hundred and fifty feet high, from which there is a magnificent view east and west of the Amoor and the mountains around it. Toward the south there are dark forests and mountain ridges, some of them rough and broken. To the north is the mouth of the Amgoon, with a delta of numerous islands covered with forest, while in the northwest the valley of the river is visible for a long distance. Back from the cliff is a table-land several miles in width.

This table-land is covered with oak, aspen, and fir trees, and has a rich undergrowth of grass and flowers. On a point of the cliff there are two monuments. A third is about four hundred yards away. One is a marble shaft on a granite pedestal; a second is entirely granite, and the third partly granite and partly porphyry. The first and third bear inscriptions in Chinese, Mongol, and Thibetan. One inscription

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

211 announces that the emperor Yuen founded the Monastery of Eternal Repose, and the others record a prayer of the Thibetans. Archimandrate Avvakum, a learned Russian, who deciphered the inscriptions, says the Thibetan prayer *Om-mani-badme-khum* is given in three languages.*

The lowest of the monuments is five and the tallest eight feet in height. Near them are several flat stones with grooves in their surface, which lead to the supposition of their employment for sacrificial purposes. Mr. Chase told me at Nicolayevsk that he thought one of the monuments was used as an altar when the monastery flourished. There are no historical data regarding the ruins beyond those found on the stones.

Many of the Russians and Chinese believe the site was selected by Genghis Khan, and the monastery commemorated one of his triumphs. The natives look upon the spot with veneration, and frequently go there to practice their mysterious rites.

Before leaving Nicolayevsk I asked the captain of the Ingodah how fast his boat could steam. "Oh!" said he, "ten or twelve versts an hour." Accustomed to our habit of ex-

* Abbe Huc in his 'Recollections of a journey through Thibet and Tartary,' says:—

"The Thibetans are eminently religious. There exists at Lassa a touching custom which we are in some sort jealous of finding among infidels. In the evening as soon as the light declines, the Thibetans, men, women, and children, cease from all business and assemble in the principal parts of the city and in the public squares. When the groups are formed, every one sits down on the ground and begins slowly to chant his prayers in an undertone, and this religious concert produces an immense and solemn harmony throughout the city. The first time we heard it we could not help making a sorrowful comparison between this pagan town, where all prayed in common, with the cities of the civilized world, where people would blush to make the sign of the cross in public.

The prayer chanted in these evening meetings varies according to the season of the year; that which they recite to the rosary is always the same, and is only composed of six syllables, *om-mani-badme-khum*. This formula, called briefly the *mani*, is not only heard from every mouth, but is everywhere written in the streets, in the interior of the houses, on every flag and streamer floating over the buildings, printed in the Landzee, Tartar, and Thibetan characters. The Lamas assert that the doctrine contained in these words is immense, and that the whole life of man is not sufficient to measure its depth and extent."

212

212 WRITING--picture writing (e.g., type, technique, use); written symbols (e.g., ideograms, phonograms); systematization (e.g., syllabary, alphabet); reading and spelling; incidence of literacy; writing materials (e.g., parchment, paper, ink); instruments (e.g., pen, brush); methods (e.g., shorthand, chirography); products (e.g., inscriptions, diaries, letters, manuscripts); clerical specialists (e.g., scribes, stenographers); etc. See also:

Communication	20	Representative art	532
Draftsmanship	341	Forms of literature	538
Description of typewriters	405	Signs for numerals	802
Description of writing instruments	413		

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Shternberg commenced a broader and a more systematic of the Gilyak in the first part of February, 1891, when the istration, having learned of his work with the Gilyak, com- ned him to make a family census of the northwestern Gilyak halin from the village of Arkyvo to Cape Marii.

/xiii/ During this trip Shternberg discovered group marriage classificatory system of kinship among the Gilyak. Parallel to e carefully studied the clan rules and religious views of the . It might be mentioned here that prior to his scientific re- he had not even had the opportunity to become familiar with sic works of that time on the ethnography of the Far East. what he writes in the preface to his "Materialy /Materials/": o the conditions of my stay on Sakhalin, even Schrenck's n the history and material culture of the Amur peoples re- d inaccessible to me for a long time... (1). From a careful

1. Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, p. viii, St. Petersburg, 1908, publication of the Academy of Sciences.

s of Shternberg's literary heritage and of his first printed it is clear that at the time of his first trip to the Gilyak he t had the opportunity to acquaint himself with either ck's book, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskogo kraia /Concerning tives of the Amur Region/, or even Morgan's Ancient Society ee obshchestvo), Tylor's Pervobytnaia kul'tura /Primitive e/, or the other works on the history of primitive society. other hand, his prison acquaintance with Engels' classic as not wasted on him. There is no doubt but that it was to this study that he was able in such an astonishingly short to discover among the Gilyak group marriage and a catory system of kinship and, basically, to realize clearly l significance of this discovery. Thus, in a letter of the enth of May to his good friend and companion-in-arms in

/xiii cont. /

*114 121 127 [212] revolutionary activity, M. A. Krol', Shternberg writes (2):

2. I am indebted to the kindness of the widow of the deceased, S. A. Ratner-Shternberg, for acquainting me with the contents of this letter.

"I have discovered among them (the Gilyak) a kinship terminology and family-clan rights identical with those of the Iroquois and the famous punalua family (on the Sandwich Islands), in a word, the remains of that form of marriage on which Morgan based his theory and which served as a point of departure for Marx' and Engels' works on Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates, u.s.w. /the origin of the family, of the state, etc./. The interesting clan organization of the Gilyak, however, rests on this kinship system. At first I was afraid to trust my own discovery, but, having let not a single family or a single yurt go by during the census without detailed questioning as to what different members of the clan and family call one another and who has what rights, I finally became convinced (3). /xiv/ Al-

[161] 3. Earlier in the same letter Shternberg mentioned that he had covered 1,040 Gilyak in his census.

though there are voluminous studies on the Gilyak, no one in the literature known to me has studied this aspect of the question."

*114 After his investigation of the Gilyak of the northwest coast, there followed a series of other trips which resulted in a full ethno- [125] graphic study of all Sakhalin. Thus, in June, 1891, he took the census of the Gilyak and the Orochi on the river Tym' and on the east coast of Sakhalin, and a partial one of the Tungus. In the winter of 1891 he encountered the Olcha who visited Sakhalin late in the fall for trading purposes. He spent the summer of 1892 [125] traveling on the river Poronai and around the entire southern part of Sakhalin as far as the settlement of Kosunaya, where, along with the Ainu and the Orok, he also studied and took a census of the Gilyak.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

33 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.

35 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
01 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
17 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
21 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

27 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
87 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
83 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.

27 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
31 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.

27 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
41 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
37 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

203

203 DISSEMINATION OF NEWS AND INFORMATION--informal verbal transmission (e.g., rumor, grapevine); criers and heralds; bulletins and newsletters; etc.
See also:

Advertising . . . . . 447 Conversation 521

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FROM
PRECEDING
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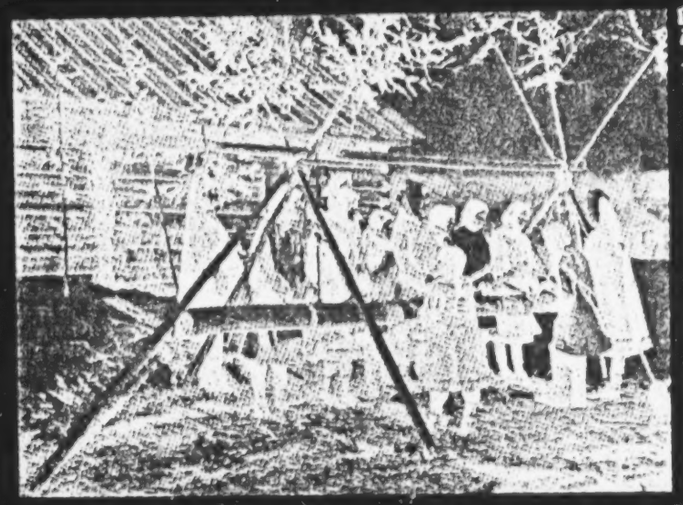

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so forth. 532 322 [191]

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks. 534 [196]

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi. 871 [212]

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

175
648

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

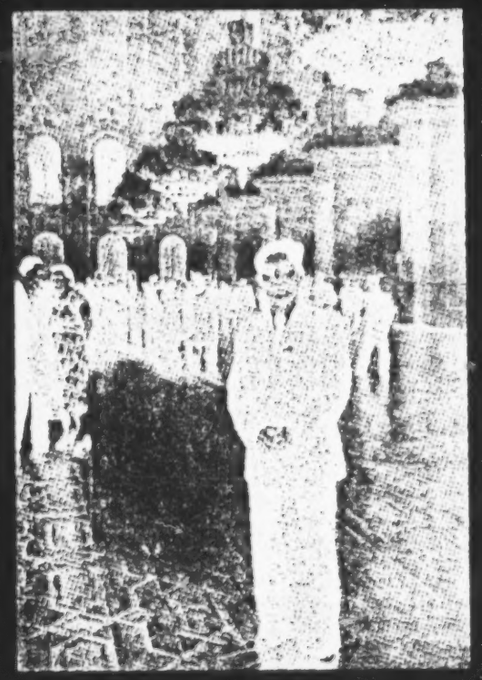

Ch. Taksami, student at Leningrad University, at a student ball in the Kremlin palace.

Today the Nivkhi are served by an extensive network of diverse med institutions; in addition, specialist physicians visit the most ren collective-farm villages. One of the initial tasks of the Soviet governn was to bring the children into the schools and to liquidate illiteracy am the adults. Schools were opened in Sakhalin during the very first years a the establishment of the Soviet government there. A group of Nivkhi yo people were sent to school on the continent, and adults were taught at c ters for the liquidation of illiteracy.

A Nivkhi alphabet was created in 1931. In 1932, the first schoolbo were published. During the 1933-34 school year, some 300 children w already at school in the Sakhalinskaya Oblast, which meant 86% of all Ni children of school age. It was possible to assure daily attendance only a the establishment of dormitories. Today all children attend school. In village of Kal'ma there is an elementary seven-year school; in Nogliki th is a ten-year school. A part of the Nivkhi youth (boys) attend trade scho in Komosol'sk and factory schools in Komsomol'sk and Nikolayevsk-the-Amur.

9: Hawes--240 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 173, 183, 212, 539

"The Gilyaks have no written language, but they have a legend to account for the want of it. I learnt it from one of their number, Imdin by name, the only Sakhalin Gilyak known to have been brought up and educated by the Russians. He is an intelligent youth, and had been sent to a school at Vladivostok, where I met him in the charge of a political exile, to whom he owed nearly everything.

'The legend current among my tribe,' he said, with a smile, 'tells how a Gilyak and a Chinaman were talking together one day on the shore. The former was showing his books and letters (characters) to the latter, when most unfortunately a great wind arose, and blew away all the letters save five; and to complete this great catastrophe, when the Gilyak's back was turned the Chinaman meanly made off with the small remnant.'

The Ainus have a not dissimilar legend, in which, according to one version, their letters and records were stolen by their guest from Japan, while they were yet recovering from after-dinner effects."

22

UEST--general statements dealing with several aspects of food gath-
For food production through animal husbandry and agriculture see 23
For the relative importance of various productive activities see 433.

/27 cont./ In

22 spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/365 cont./

776 that they are killing seals; in such a case the boat is destroyed. But if, in reply, the Gilyak display a hare's tail, the devil goes on his way without further consideration.

776 782 The relationship between the Gilyak and all his gods -- nivukhi -- is quite clear. It is they who provide him with sables, 22 foxes, bears, fish, seals, and so forth. Sables and bears are just as much the property of Pal'-nivukh as fish and seals are the property of Toll'-nivukh, and as sled dogs are the property of the Gilyak. The gods specifically give a portion of their property to man. It is not an accident that the fish appear with such amazing regularity during the appropriate seasons, it is not an accident that sable is dressed in an expensive fur during the hunting season, it is not an accident that swans, geese, and ducks molt in the summer and become an easy catch for the Gilyak. All this is done by the 776 782 gods for man; he lives only by these gifts. It is clear that the Gilyak should not remain in debt to their benefactors. And so they give the gods a portion of everything that they avail themselves of: saranka, roots, tobacco, sugar, and so forth. When I once expressed a desire to take part in the sacrifice to Toll'-nivukh at the beginning of the seal season, they asked me: "But will you give the god bread, potatoes, etc.?" Sacrifices are the exchange of portions with the nivukhi. That is why the sacrifice may never consist of the same objects for which sacrifices are made; for example, among the dishes offered in thanks for the seal, this last does not figure, although it constitutes an indispensable dish of the Gilyak themselves on the evening of the sacrifice. Thus, the bear at the well-known festival is in no way a sacrifice, as some think, /366/ for not a single piece of its meat is apportioned to the god, and the Gilyak does not understand allegory: to sacrifice -- means giving the god something real. And actually, at this festival, the master of the bear, Pal'-nivukh, is given a sacrifice of saranka, "moss," yukola, and other viands. The [225] principle of exchange in sacrifices is not contradicted by the fact [226] that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the head and eyes of seals. The explanation for this is very simple:

G1 T /383 cont./

342 dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need 171 only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

G G1 T In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different be-
361 tween the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the
342 Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later,
22 indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way

G of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are
361 predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal
433 hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyo-
226 phagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in
[231] order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both
[262] for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

G1 T /385 cont./

231 are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more
361 abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an additional motive for the nomadic life.

/386/

Section 5

G 291 External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style, Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized people, they secure them from the same source as their food, whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic animals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

G As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our dis-
22 cussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and seal-
231 hunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only
175 second place among them; furthermore they keep only one
439 domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft animals; and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203 above.

G Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, be-
291 sides cottons, which since ancient times they have obtained from
439 the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skins of dogs and seals and fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, fox, otter, sable, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

/638 cont./

586 material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

462 For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In 462 general, the man only has to attend to providing the most 22 important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it, [251] make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods insofar as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries, 462 roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to [313] cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

324 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a 22 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after [184] the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

324 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow [198] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The 887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these 462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

179 By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite 433 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material 177 culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a some- 648 what different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering 474 enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities [241] and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi [231] began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resist- [361] ance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. 177 The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with 648 seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked 226 scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats 474 (kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing [22] usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin 177 Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was 648 organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. 241 In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its 474 acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die."

221

221 ANNUAL CYCLE--seasonal distribution and succession of food-getting a
other economic activities; seasonal migrations in the gathering or produ
of food (e.g., transhumance, nomadism). See also:
Migrations . . . . . 166 167 Annual ceremonial calendar . . . . . .
Economic productivity. . . . . 433 Calendar . . . . . .

/25 cont./

000 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond,
[262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the
[574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and
[796] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February,
[538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the
[261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance
[164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In
000

/29 cont./

493 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
492 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
[435] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles,
[556] ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a semisedentary person. In summer hs usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native 574 517 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without [484] serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of [157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 157 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame- 128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 171 174

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of [611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely [614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the [595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/169 cont./

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo- * 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at * 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods 221 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times * 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one [521] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants themselves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights [671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have [867] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my [764] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for * 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to 832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the 585 584

/202 cont./

* 174 As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with 177 wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furnished [221] them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by [437] seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of [439] neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into the Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purpos of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to their [563] homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peop or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital relations with them or carried off their women. And altho these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not be without influence.

* 174 A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has 177 been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Ur 556 the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or succ [439] ful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade wi the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. There appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consum but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate possesso of valuables, and others who did not have them and wished to possess them. In rich men there was born a consciousne of their wealth and their importance, and together with thi the ambition to become related to their equals. Among th [583] poor people there arose the temptation to make the marryi of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the woma was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to circum [581] the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the insti- tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers living together with on

them that the old people had told him that one part of the Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

G /534 cont./
227 consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
[286] the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and super-
[184] stition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he
must always go around them, never underneath them. And,
finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used
again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among
the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used
in making it.

G
Gi /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
226 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the
433 lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with
a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in
part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in
part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught.
G
Gi First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
[262] all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from
the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new
methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that
none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are
or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak,
and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and
with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among
G
Gi all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest
Gi to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life,
[224] hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying
the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more im-
portant role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is
more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream
and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently,
it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this
away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish-
G
Gi ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the
221 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that
the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

G /535 cont./
Gi kinds of eager and assiduous hunting of game, whereas the onset
226 of winter seems to awaken in the latter a passion not entirely sup-
221 pressed by the fishermen's life, which temporarily transforms them,
as it were, into hunting nomads. Nevertheless it should not be
thought that among the Amur peoples the Gilyak alone busy
ooo themselves in the winter with fishing (1). The Olcha likewise

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[113]

1. As, for example, Arthur Nordmann ("Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/." -- Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part 2, 1861, p. 230) says.

Gi
226 The Olcha likewise
practice it to a very considerable extent, and the Mariinski post
221 in the middle of their area was abundantly supplied with fresh
184 fish by them in the winters of 1855 and 1856. The Amur Goldi,
439 too, devote themselves to it, but it gradually decreases among
[262] them going upstream: as I myself experienced, the traveler
going in this direction in winter is more and more commonly
offered deer, elk, and wild-pig meat or fat instead of fresh
fish. Przewalski (2) said of the Ussuri dwellers that fishing

2. Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, p. 98.

practically ceases among them in winter because all the able-
bodied men go hunting then and only the old men and the
women left behind engage in angling. Sitting for hours at the
holes in the ice, they continually move their tackle, equipped
with only a small piece of red cloth or a bit of fur instead of
bait, /536/ up and down, and, despite this simple procedure,
it is said that on good days they succeed in catching from two
to three pood of fish, chiefly carp (Cyprinus carpio) and salmon
ooo trout (Salmo fluviatilis Pall.). I found the Samagir along the

/544 cont./
225 Along the seacoast and in the Amur-Liman seal-hunting
184 takes place during every season of the year. In winter and in
general as long as there is an ice-cover, the Gilyak lie in wait
[192] for the seals at the places where they come to the surface of the
[221] ice to breathe, in order to kill them with the ordinary harpoon,
the tugngy (2) (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 2), also used for spearing

2. This designation primarily refers to the iron point illustrated, but it is also used for the entire harpoon equipped with a pole for hurling it.

sturgeon and hausen, or, when they have crawled out on the ice
itself, to cut them off from the water /545/ and simply club them.
The latter can be done more often and to a greater extent in the
spring, because then the seals are said to enjoy coming out on
the surface of the ice to sun themselves. Both the Tschomi
[221] Gilyak whom I met in Poghobi and the inhabitants of Tägl on the
mainland coast of the Sea of Okhotsk told me that the month of
April, arkail-long, was the month in which more productive seal-
hunting begins along the seacoast and in the Liman. In the Amur,
on the other hand, seal-hunting is practiced only when the river
has no ice, and, to be sure, especially in August, the pilja-
tschrar-long, because then the seals go into the river in greater
numbers in order to feed on the masses of keta salmon (S. lago-
cephalus) going up it. There is a similar situation at the mouth
of the Tymy on Sakhalin, where not only the Gilyak and Orok
living there, but also the Gilyak coming from the upper course
of the Tymy to fish, engage in seal-hunting as well as fishing.
For the former and in open water everywhere, in the sea as well
[192] as in the Amur-Liman and the Amur River, the Gilyak some-
times use the ordinary harpoon (tugngy, Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig.
2), which is hurled from the boat, and sometimes, and most
often, another weapon intended especially for seal-hunting, which
is called lych among them. It consists of a board about a foot
long, which rises a little in front and runs out into a horizontal

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Gi /586 cont./
224 the help of snares (1) in a manner similar to that of the Ainu,
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[113]

1. Margaritov", Ob" Orochakh" Imperatorskoi gavani /Concerning the Orochi of Imperial Harbor/, St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 13, Pl. II, Fig. 2.

and from which they use the contents of the musk sacs in particu-
lar in trade with the Chinese. In converting their hunting booty
into profit, however, the Orochi, because of the great isolation
of their homeland, find themselves at a great disadvantage in
comparison with all the other peoples of the lower Amur region.
In the southern part of their territory, where, as so-called Ta-dse,
they live intermingled with the Chinese they do find, to be sure,
a ready market among the latter for all their hunting but, as a
rule, they are greatly exploited by them in connection with this
/587/ and not infrequently, through advance payments, are made
their lifelong debtors. Farther to the north, however, where the
Chinese element is missing, the Orochi, living almost exclusively
by hunting, rely on their neighbors, the Goldi and Olcha, to sell
their booty.

G
224 In concluding the above consideration of the way hunting
361 is practiced among the peoples of the lower Amur region and its
114 greater or lesser importance for the total pattern of their lives,
I cannot but make room for an observation which the traveler
who has ethnographic aims in mind is involuntarily forced to
make. Whereas winter is by far the most favorable season of the
year for ethnographic research among the Gilyak, and summer
the most unfavorable, this reverses itself more and more into the
exact opposite in an upstream direction along the Amur and its
right tributaries toward the Goldi and Orochi. During the summer
the Gilyak are wholly occupied with fishing and the preparation
of supplies of fish for the winter and even bring something nomadic
into their lives, inasmuch as many, in order to seek localities
more favorable for fishing, then change their place of residence
temporarily and often simply camp in tents scattered on the

2: Schrenck--921 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RUS

G /587 cont./
22 islands of the river and along the tributaries. With the onset of
36 winter, however, all of them again assemble in the more com-
114 fortable and spacious winter dwellings, and there begins a long
period of a quieter and more settled life which, in its regular
routine with the hunting carried on only in the vicinity, the
sturgeon fishing on the ice, the trade and communication, the
manifold domestic tasks and handicraft, the peculiar and pro-
longed bear festivals, etc., offers the ethnographer a rich field
for observation and study. It is almost the same among the
Gi Olcha. Among them, however, and to an even greater extent
22 among the Goldi, life in summer assumes an even more nomadic
114 character as a result of the easily transportable tent dwellings
36 solely used then, and the farther upstream one goes, the more
the winter dwellings are deserted, because part of the men have
left to hunt in more or less remote regions. As we saw, among
the Ussuri Goldi only women, children, and aged people are to
be found in them in winter, because all the able-bodied men go
hunting, and, finally, the Orochi not infrequently take their wives
and children along into the wilderness on their hunting, which
takes up the entire winter. With respect to them, therefore,
summer, which calls them back from the forests and for fishing
and seal-hunting assembles them in the summer dwellings, which,
though likewise only tent-shaped, are located at definite points
along the seacoast and at the mouths of the rivers, offers the
traveler the best time, in fact, almost the only possible time,
for ethnographic research. Thus, all the living conditions of the
lower Amur tribes vary and change greatly, depending on whether
and to what extent fishing or hunting plays the principal role
among them.

T /588/ I cannot discuss in detail the hunting practices of the
224 peoples of the upper Amur region, the Birar, Manegir, and
114 Orochon, because I had only fleeting contact with them, and at
a time when, far from their hunting areas, they were still in
part occupied with fishing in the Amur River. With respect to

2: Schrenck--943 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

484 /601 cont./ The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that
437 they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes,
439 is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a
[157] Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the
Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from
their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commodi-
ties, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the like,
in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these for-
eign articles and with some of their own products, such as sturgeon
or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to
[221] the places named. This is done especially in winter when there
[492] is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dogs
which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish in
the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on
the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests.
Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to
take only a small quantity of commodities with them each time,
the frequency and common practice of such trading trips among
them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goods,
and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same,
the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese,
they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute
for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting.
Here again experience proves that the producer of a commodity
always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using it.

439 These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose men-
439 tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Negda
484 on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Gilyak Hynk) and the Samagir on Lake
648 Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhotsk,
[487] and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the
Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact
that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter,
aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the
Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone,
they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic
tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical
location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportunity.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to
30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself
nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the
hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

224 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a
22 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after
[184] the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat
themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or
guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears
with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season.
Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an im-
portant part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn
in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, return-
ing from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable
on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees
which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century
[177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow
[198] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and
foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large
animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of
the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi
had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in
some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian
metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved,
adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so
forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of
massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old
smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The
887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these
462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation
and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the
skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and
ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did
the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite
179 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective
433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact
of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who
lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and
other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income
from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an in-
significant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and
sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fish-
ing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons.
Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during
the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in
22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola
262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

19:Genest--3 0-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 I like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunter
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, i
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something whi
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with thei
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roan
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whethe
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobse
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along th
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other han
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak wer
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there wa
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addit
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

/246 cont./

Among the Tlingit (the Koloshi) the institution is described
595 in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that
197 "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been observed among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

2. Tvorenitsa Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

XI.

Sexual Life

157 The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with
224 such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves
835 a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual
433 sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn,
could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor.
[226] The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake
221 distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

/333 cont./

224 are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow
782 trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigynd kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

825 When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are
177 found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

224 During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhund), a
784 woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If
[626] any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

224 /334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs.

Catching a wolf. In Ilkhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus; a net is placed around a tos' (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

• 221 Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon,
[252] and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh tkhusind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of tkhusind.

/348 cont./

174 With one's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the
166 form of the migration. Even at the present time the Amur Gilyak
167 are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats
• 22 each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Agnevo, others
224 to Mauko, still others farther to the south. The sable in their
[136] homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he is so rare and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-verst sea voyage, striving toward those tempting areas where the population is sparse and sables may be killed by the hundreds. In early spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Duf and the Tym' River, and at that time the Vaaz River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even farther
[648] to the north. There must have been some reason which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center of their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /349/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural dams used by the sable for crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
36 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
In connection with this settlement of
361 Mos'bvo, the author makes the following
221 comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
422 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
837 the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
471 During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
433 43 otters, and 63 bears.

162 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
592 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

342 /357 cont./

342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

The above description also applies, apart from the
342 specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwell-
231 ings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a sort of antehouse is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

25 Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the
• [221] summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter,
[226] one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for
[417] hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite similar to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crossposles under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see
000 Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer,

1. A more detailed description of the treatment of the fish before they are dried, as well as of the use of the individual parts and the like, will be given later at the appropriate place.

/427 cont./

000 campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not
• 262 only eaten au naturel, but is also an important ingredient of many
[252] dishes, whose composition and preparation I shall come back to
[231] later. Finally, in addition to the chark, it is the principal food for
262 the dog. In view of the importance of jukola for the Gilyak, it is
• 221 understandable that, despite the indolence and carelessness more or
226 less characteristic of all primitive peoples, they are very intent on
252 preparing the largest possible supply of it and do not hesitate to make long trips and even temporary changes of residence for this purpose. Thus, for example, when those types of salmon come up into the rivers, some of the Liman Gilyak come to the Amur in order to take advantage of its surplus; others, such as some of the Tschomi Gilyak and the inhabitants of some places on the west coast of Sakhalin, move to the Tymy /Tym'/ River in the interior of the island, which is especially rich in fish, and do not return with the acquired supplies until winter. On the other hand, at the other times, for instance, when the kangi-tscho (Gadus wachnja Pall.) migrates in large numbers along the sea coast, some of the Tymy Gilyak, conversely, betake themselves to their countrymen on the west coast of Sakhalin in order to feast for a while on these fish.
[628] In this respect there seem /428/ to have developed in the course of time certain mutual agreements and relations based on reciprocity between the inhabitants of certain places, for example, between the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak, or between the latter and the Gilyak of Duf, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast of Sakhalin.

226 However plentiful the jukola supplies might be, however,
• 262 they would never suffice to make the life of the Gilyak secure if
36 there were not at every season of the year more or less, depending on the locality, many other kinds of fish, which the Gilyak eat fresh, besides those salmon. In this connection the most favorable locality in the Gilyak region is, of course, the mighty Amur River, and therefore along its banks, as discussed above, one also finds the largest concentration of the population and the richest development of the Gilyak individuality. The dwellers along the banks of the Amur seldom ever lack fresh fish to eat.

/429 cont./

226 Next to the Amur the Tymy River on Sakhalin is the Gilyak
locality richest in fish. It is therefore the vital artery of the en-
32 tire Gilyak northern half of the island, and especially along its
361 upper course, where it does not freeze even in winter, despite the
low air-temperatures dropping to below the freezing point of
mercury, small Gilyak villages lie more tightly packed than al-
most anywhere else in the Amur region. To be sure, the tastiest
224 and largest fish of the Amur River, the above-mentioned sturgeon,
is missing in the Tymy River, but it is especially rich in salmon,
and, to be sure, not only in those above-mentioned species gen-
erally widespread in the Amur region and, as a result of their
great quantity, principally used for the preparation of jukola, which
annually in the fall, as previously mentioned, also attract the
inhabitants of more distant localities to its banks (1), but also in

[13] various other species, such as the nem(a)lja, (Salmo coregonoides Pall.), the longr(sch) (S. callaris Pall.), njalych (probably S. sanguinolentus Pall.), loimang (a species of trout), etc. Indeed, there are even species there that are absent in the Amur River, such as choi-tscho (Salmo orientalis Pall.) and the tschawytscha of the Kamchadal, the largest and most prized salmon species of the shores of the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). The

1. During the past few years even the Japanese have come to the mouth of the Tymy to fish there when the Salmo lagocephalus come up, and, as Mizzul (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, 1873, p. 120) and Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island, 1881-1882/, pp. 70-80) reported in detail, they return home with a rich booty.

2. The Nyi Gilyak, among whom I saw two large specimens of choi-tscho in

/429 cont./

226 2. (cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

● 22/ The
226 mainland Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infre-
*262 quently bring some pieces of choi-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

226 Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habita-
*262 tion sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas
[361] or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greatest importance to them is a fish which is insignificant in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnja Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and even more in Duĭ, Arkai, Tangi, and other
259 places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is
*262 always the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins
[231] is cut out along the back and thrown away, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the laghi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating
[264] of it than with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten
ooo without any accompaniments, placed on the sleeping bench of the yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

184 /430 cont./ Moreover,
252 with regard to these and similar views, there are many local dif-
114 ferences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not object if the kangi fish intended for me was roasted on the spit in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as
[252] uitsch and permissible without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

226 As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the conti-
● 221 nental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kuli, Tägl, Hisska (Petrofski Simowjo), etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, where in the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more closed-off part of the Liman, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

*262 Next to fish, seals represent the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly at all the places in their habitation area, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Liman, where this food source, of course, is supplied most abundantly, various species of seals, as I have set forth at another place (1), also come

1. See Vol. I, pp. 180 ff., of this work.

up the Amur through the entire Gilyak area and far into that of the Olcha. /431/ The Gilyak think the least of the seal meat itself
[114] as a food. Sperk is even of the opinion that they themselves do
[231] not even eat it, but only feed it to their dogs (1). This is indeed

[113] 1. Ed. Shperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Vostochn. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Mediko-

/438 cont./

*262 Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is far behind. In the first rank here, because they are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local, wild, natural products, many kinds of berries, small tree-fruits,
[252] tubers, herbs, algae, and seatang. All of these vegetable foods are eaten only as accompaniments to animal food or mixed with it and made into various kinds of dishes. The bilberry, Vaccinium
[137] vitis idaea L. (Gilyak myghr-als (7), or also /439/ simply called

[104] 7. The s is soft in pronunciation in this word, like the French z.

als, i.e., "berry") (1), in particular stands first among them with

[192] 1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry itkt or paghla(n)-als, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold uses and
222 the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the
● 221 fall great stores of this berry are put up for the winter. For this purpose whole families, but in particular the women and children, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying into the Amur or Liman. At a convenient place there a tent or merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected, in front of which a fire blazes, and the whole time is devoted to the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kamr and Litsch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such
[251] families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, birch-bark bags and baskets and brought by boat to the house, where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around Nikolayevsk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs throughout the winter, they also supplied the
252 Russians there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil
*262 and stirred, represent the whole of the customary accompaniment for the fish, especially jukola, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, they

/516/ Section 8

ooo Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon.- Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed
[171] that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the
[833] peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descriptions of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequences of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing
[361] exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various
● [227] peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kinds of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail.
[121] And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn the way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most important fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the times when it is done and some of the details connected with it.

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, and, to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amur is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profitable and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

Gi /524 cont./
226 not appear in larger numbers in de Castries Bay until fall, that is, toward the end of August at the earliest and during September.
287 Farther to the north, in the Amur-Liman, I was told by
226 the Tschomi Gilyak, unfortunately without any reference to
114 dates, that both species, the tengi-tscho and the lyghi-tscho,
● 221 were to be found among them, but the latter in numbers in-
184 sufficient for their needs, so that, as has already been men-
184 tioned (4), when this fish migrates, they, like the Gilyak from

4. See p. 647 ff. above.

Tangi, Arkai, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with larger quantities of winter supplies there.
G Some data for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
114 to the northwest of the Amur-Liman, are found in Middendorff.
226 In the list given by him for the dates of the migrations of various fish and especially of the species of salmon at the mouths of the rivers of Siberia and northwestern America, June 22 is given as the arrival time of S. proteus at the mouth of the Udj, and July 9 as that for S. lagocephalus along the same coast (5).

5. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1226 and 1227. The statement contained in the same work (p. 1192, note 2), but not in the above-mentioned list and standing in contradiction to the data in it, that S. lagocephalus arrives at the mouths of the Ala and Uda (that is, Udj) fairly regularly about June 10, and 7-10 days later also at the mouth of the Tugur, does not seem trustworthy to me and, incidentally, is given with the reservation, "as is said." It is regrettable, as I must note here in passing, that the explanation of the abbreviations which are used for the sources

These people might with propriety be called an aquatic tribe. During the summer they live almost upon the water, paddling here and there in their lodbas with unusual skill. They live, likewise, both during summer and winter, they rely upon the sea for their food, likewise, both during summer and winter, they rely upon source nearly exclusively. While traveling they do in winter be accomplished with ; but this is very little, their preference being decidedly to lie and vegetate in their ty, smoky habitations during the cold weather, waiting for the advent of spring re renewing their out-of-door exercises.

These exercises, rowing and fishing principally, are only partial, benefiting merely muscles of the upper portion of the body. Owing to this fact, it is not unobservable no more strong physical and robust about the chest and arms, while their lower es are comparatively so small and puny as to convey the impression of deformity.

/134 cont./

The place where a distinction is made between the wives of younger and of older "brothers," this right was formulated for the 10 more honor, the younger brother is one and the same clan everything is permitted (gaed), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." The simplicity and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his sons is intuitively more natural than the Chinese idea of memory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before the eyes of the individual husband of the women and, as far as possible, not publicly. The right of the individual spouse, the right of a woman to complaint against her from his side fulfillment of her marital and economic obligations and that the husband often through /135/ any change of dwelling. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that the bears, but quite often a gilyak, if he has several children, consider it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless tyon of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. He also the substitary right of a wife and her group husbands in the petion of his "brothers" to a particular tyon is not indisputable. It is true, the group spouses must look for a suitable opportunity in order, as a complete or substitute spouse (during his sleep or outside the homes), to enjoy their rights, but there are cases when sometimes through such opportunity, a man passes the greater part of his time away from home: either he is at the river catching fish, or he is away hunting for whole weeks at a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the husband also allows himself, whenever he wishes, days, going into the taiga for berries, roots, and, finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the husband is not the right of group marriage but of group concubinage. The bachelor tyon more of all, only enjoy their rights. Matriarchal remnants of the Amur settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group of the tyon, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/Text cont./

The Gilyak cut down a whole bird-cherry plant for the chanim, but "if blood pied jaiset comes, they said:

/Text/

The Sakhalin Gilyak (1)

1. The present article was published in Kunstkammera (Ethnographic Collection) 1899, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in The New Zeit, Ed.

The Origin of the Gilyak and Features of Their Ethnical Life

Like the Ainu, in whose language the word "ainu" means "man," the Gilyak call themselves "nivkh" (nivkhgu, nivkhvu) which means: man, master, Gilyak (2). Their customary name,

2. The Amur Gilyak call themselves "Gilyak," was, in my opinion, formed from the distortion by mispeech of the word "nivkh," which means "Tungus" in the language of the Amur Gilyak, with whom nivkhvu first had contact. Such a distortion could very easily have occurred because the Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur speak the same language as the Tungus, who, according to their legends, form one "people" with the Gilyak, the Goldi, and the Orochon. It is also quite possible that the word nivkh, Tungus language of the Amur Gilyak and the Tungus, the Manchu, who formerly ruled the Amur region, visited the Gilyak and the Ainu, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/438 cont./

Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is very limited. In the first rank here, because they are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local, wild, annual or perennial, grasses, roots & rhizomes, small new-flower tubers, herbs, algae, and sedges. All of these vegetable foods are used by the Gilyak in the same way as the Chinese, or at least as they are used in and made into various kinds of dishes. The hilbery, Yacrinium uliginosum L. (Gilyak: nuyk-ai-ch (?), or also /439/ nuyk-ai-ch) flowers.

7. The h sch is pronunciation in this word, like the German ich.

Ab. i.e. "bery" (1), in particular stands first among them with

1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the hilbery ibi or paghaiu-ab, i.e., "red bery."

regard to both the quantity and the variety of its manifold uses and the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the fall great stores of this bery are put up for the winter. For this purpose various fastidious, tasty, and nourishing dishes and chilled, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying into the Amur, and there pick the berries and put them into the sinew sacks or merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected, in front of which a small fire is lit, where the sinew is dressed to the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kerbe and Limch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, hollow, sinew sacks. For such trips as the Gilyak do by the boats, where, covered with grass, they are stowed for the winter in a frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around Nikolayevsk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs for the winter, they also supplied the Russian fleet. Hilberies, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil and stored, represent the whole of the customary accompaniment for the fish, especially pelaka, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, they

/439 cont./

/439/ northern primeval forest, inaccessible in summer on account of the dense undergrowth and the swampy fields, half-rotted, and many trees, is accessible under certain conditions to foot-travelers and high dogs, stands to the deep layer of snow leveling out all the unevenness of the terrain. In the Ussuri, in China, it is a refuge of the far-bearing animals in their valuable winter coats. As a result, the Gilyak, hunting bears in the summer, or at most visited only here and there along its edges by women and children gathering berries and roots, become in winter a theater of action for the hunters. Through the impassable forest and mountain undercourtesies and mountain passes paths and trails which temporarily connect otherwise remote villages. Moreover, the ice of the Amur-Ussuri does away with the similar position of Sakhalin for months at a time, and finally and primarily the mouth-course of the Amur River provides for the Gilyak a main arery of communication from the Liman up to the Sungari, and, in the winter, the Gilyak, for this reason, much the Gilyak are for winter locomotion. With all the similarity, and, indeed, in spite of the similarity, between the two sides of other, complex they differ enough deviations and peculiarities. The great amount of snow in the Ussuri-Amur region makes it necessary for the Gilyak to use ski at every step. Even the bear is hunted on skis and chiselled, by means of a few steps off the trodden or traveled path, the bear, which has gone into a deep sleep, and then it runs on the wind and deeper. They are, of course, even more indispensable on longer trips through the forest, where the snow is especially deep and loose, or after snowstorms, when, driven by the wind, it accumulates in places, and especially along mountain slopes, in valleys and gages, in such colossal quantities that coming them without ski is impossible. For such trips as the Gilyak by the boats, make often enough to set up or inspect his animal traps and for other hunting purposes, or on journeys when snowstorm is against him, it is necessary, for easier and faster progress, that the ski not only prevent sinking into the snow as much as possible, but also permit gliding over it. In order to achieve this, the Gilyak apply the wax of the Gilyak ski: small ones -- iskh; and large ones -- ata.

/437 cont./

2. (cont.)

d'un Voyage en Chine (Journal of a Voyage through Chinese Tartary), Paris, 1844, Vol. II, p. 90. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une Ambassade Française en Chine, Relation de l'ambassade en Chine, Paris, 1864, p. 187. Fleming, Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, London, 1853, p. 249. Gérard, France et Chine, Paris, 1860, Vol. II, p. 95.

3. (cont.)

Ethnographic Collection, 1899, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in The New Zeit, Ed.

4. Compare Steenberg, Sieben Jahre in Ostsibirien, 1904, p.57. Gdemann, Capt. Jacobsen's Reisen bei den Kosaken, Ostjaken und Jukagiren in Ostsibirien, Leipzig, 1884, Vol. II, p. 63.

the popular enjoyment of dog meat to Kuea (3) may perhaps be

traced back to Chinese influence.

Dogs are not the only animals which are fed that on mammals, and merely for the reason that they are not hunted very much on account of their domestic nature. Other animals are hunted much more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however, is consumed immediately, and, in the winter, when game is especially more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At several places, for instance, the promtsyes (Lagopus alba Gm., Gilyak: ipsiaiu; Sakhalin dialect: ipsiaiu-ch; Sakhalin: ipsiaiu) in large numbers by means of tangle-nets. Along the west coast of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Ch'ut, I saw, when traveling with great relish the Phalaris canarella Fall. (Gilyak: cochia-ngh), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they alight individually or in small flocks on the ice near open places in the sea and force to it. The meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its nest, is also eaten with relish in order to utilize the hypnosis, or sorcerers by these means its most of death. Gilyak

/Text cont./

in fishing or net-hauling, a natural explanation is found in the circumstance already pointed out in the beginning, that among the Gilyak of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the rest of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers in order to further their esteem and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the feathers of the eagle as amulets or ornaments, the Gilyak hunt for the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they feel (at) most that are hard to climb and have seen in their age before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scrap until they are so full-feathered, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and then dried for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the mysle-tschum is captured, but also the redtailed-eagle, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Ainu and Limch Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closest and more distant neighbors, the Ainu, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the order species Haliaetus albicilla, Olcha: ambi, Goldi: Ilmachin, and, no be sure, are, at Mauch thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

1. Pueeh, an Amur", pp. 143, 170, 208.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to use the feathers for adornment, which a dose either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu and the Koriens, as has been

remember only two instances when Europeans were killed by natives, without having been the attackers.

The one case occurred in the year 1878 in broad daylight on the ice near present Nikolaiev. A port servant was gored by the tiger. The skull of this animal which was itself killed the next day now belongs to me. It measures seventeen and one-half vershoks (14 centimeters), the upper canines are as long as a finger!

himself takes the offensive, does the monster lose his instinctive fear of man, and becomes a dangerous and terrible natural qualities, to which belong an amazing toughness. Even with five or six rifle balls in its body it continues enormous leaps, and even in its death throes it can still overcome a man. The bullets because of the fur coat are supposed to aim at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart finishes it off. Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dangerous that bear hunting may be considered child's play in comparison, and the peasants and Cossacks should be glad in its dire necessity when the tiger breaks into their stables and cannot be got in any other way. In these cases 15-20 men with bayonets on their rifles and in closed ranks descend on the place where the animal was scented. But the regular method of capture is poisoning with strychnin or the setting up of rifles which go off when the tiger approaches the bait. The corpse of an animal that was killed by the tiger himself usually serves as bait, for the tiger returns to the laddabit habit of returning the day after his assault.

The world markets on the other hand, but rarely shows itself and does no harm. It is seldom shot.

223 Birds, especially ducks and geese, partridge and hazel grouse are now usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set for partridges on flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel grouse are lured in spring with whistles, in winter they are gently hazed in a spruce thicket by the girls who live in the surrounding country are the chief purveyors of wild game for the Russian population.

462 We mentioned above the other occupations and embryonic handicraft and trades. Specialization [illegible] is not much more than a division of labor between men and women. The man hunts, does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

224 HUNTING AND TRAPPING—animals sought, hunting methods and techniques (e.g., stalking, collective drive), description and use of traps and snares; use of dogs; weapons (e.g., dogs, spears); social implications (e.g., trapping for the fur trade); hunting trips, economic importance of hunting, organization of labor and division of catch; use and ownership of game, hunting territories and taboos; regulations (e.g., game laws, game wardens, etc.); fur-bearing animals (e.g., fur trade); [illegible] of hunting; [illegible] of animal carcasses etc.; [illegible] weapons.

/95 cont./

224 was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact. These fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve the basis of life for the Gilyak. Not only do people catch them, the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the ten of thousands. /96/ are stored in pile storehouses and. in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish, pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds constitute the second source of food for the Gilyak. Finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination demonic beings which he invokes calling on the aid of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagery of the Gilyak appear to him. to cause his destruction. And the terrible monsters by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins. which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy. seals also have been supplied. at first. serve as a seasoning for the hard /98/ and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the bear on the Gilyak is very strong. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by the cold, starvation, or hard work, or has not yet appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat. drinks it in all forms. with tea. with fish. and. and. and

/385 cont./

the evening of the day of arrival at the hunters' balagan, they make chuih-chugynd (a sacrifice) to Pal-u'ngyym, the master of the mountains, the master of the sea, "Ka'ngur'ldyd, ga'ldu'ldyd, mundyd" -- "there are no more pressents, make it so that I am not afraid, look after us all!" They also make chuih-bodyd (before a particular tree (cuig-chihar -- a taboood and forbidden tree); then they only feed the fire, saying: "Ungur ir'ch, hisian tugur mul, pal'ch pong ngrud" -- eat well, make the mountain people take pity on us!" The fire may not be made by an alien Ishkal. Only the master -- ya'ngr -- may clean the fire, nuyemmyr. /385/ The cleaning is done in the winter quarters in fall and in the summer quarters in spring: the rubbish is put in one place. Mor' for the fire is prepared also only by the Ishkals. In the winter quarters the sacrifice may be offered by anybody. On the first evening they make the sacrifice to Pal-u'ngyym: "Ungur ir'ch, pal'ch pomrgul mile ir'mash mungd" -- eat well, make the mountain take pity on me, make me a happy man!" Old tabaki (trees with tobacco-like leaves) are tied together, and one pipe is made. Near the balagan there is an ala-tashkar on which are bang tabiks, nonets, and so forth. The world cutter is: "Pal pomrgul mile ir'ch'ngyym mungd!" -- "mountain, take pity on me and make me successful in hunting the bear!"

Near the balagan is a pal-u'ngyym-tashkar to which sacrifices are thrown merely with spoons -- no chihlaui are made. They also hang bulmung ad'ch (a birch binding arm's behind) and tymyr'n mash.

Those who have arrived with the game hang it on the com-bun tashkar, where it hangs for several hours until it dries. Anyone from the same clan can take off the skin. The boiled head of a zaibe is decorated with mun, placed on sticks on the front part of the beach, near the nonang (the middle plank-bed), and dice, nushka, saraus, and mun are muffed through the opening in the back of its head and placed on the nonang; these are also eaten by anyone who wishes.

When the head and the bones of the animal have been put together in chumdyd, sacrificial chihlaui are prepared, and the bones are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and blow all the bones into the hollow trunk.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the zaibe. The remaining beasts are signd hask (i.e., there is no taboo on chasing).

When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are put down in the right side by side in the taiga, the possessor of them gives the Gilyak luck.

During the hunting with snares (pochakhir o'ch'dondo), a woman must not see anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. The hunter should not eat the bear's side. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but must not take dogs. If a zaibe is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the master of the balagan is responsible, by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunt: otherwise the hunter's luck will go over to the master. In general any person commit an sigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

/386/ Zaibe, when caught, should not be hit on the dog. Catching a wolf. In Ishkam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and hang a dog on it, after they cut off her braids, the was thrown into a funeral pyre.

Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-u'ngyym or by Tol-u'ngyym, but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/387/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and "as sharp as a knife, when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer and in fall, he stays in the house).

Ishkim'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Tiner -- the man who did the casing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/387 cont./

Sakhalin's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

A representation of twin -- tongch: -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch, while if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chuih-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin die, he goes to his father, Pal-u'ngyym, who gave birth to him, appealing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little tashkar, which is always kept in order to support him.

He is dressed in a white skirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- kasu. The mother of twins is illewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with kasu placed around. According to Pilsudski, the Yaut Gilyak are the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even further to the north, Yaut Gilyak have no reason which would lead them to believe that Gilyak ever ventured to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to settle down there. Instead of hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu hunting territories which they now own. /388/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting, then they set their sources ways down on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural trail used by the sable for movement from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same region for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

/388 cont./

With one's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the form of the original migration. The sable at present time the Amur Gilyak are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats with sails, and then go to hunt for sable, often also going as far south as Mauko, still others farther to the south. The sable in their homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but the skin is not rare and those who hunt him are no many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a boisterous sea voyage, striving toward those tempting seaga where the population is sparse and satisfied with the sable, and where the hunting is easy, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. In the time of Sternberg's parents the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond the Amur, and the Gilyak of the Amur River and the Yaut Gilyak are the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even further to the north, Yaut Gilyak have no reason which would lead them to believe that Gilyak ever ventured to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to settle down there. Instead of hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu hunting territories which they now own. /389/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only in the season for sable hunting, then they set their sources ways down on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural trail used by the sable for movement from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same region for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island rich in sable.

/389 cont./

The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the Tilm, every member of the clan, wherever he may be, participates in this part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the ceremonies connected with the sacrifice and the festival are carried by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well. Among a great number of Gilyak during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is erroneous. Nevertheless, the festival is purely a clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an event considered to have been the greatest, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most successful when it was made by several clans, the bear was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in some way amalgamated the clans and established a festival ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable. The bear is considered to be a relative of the Gilyak, but not, like the dog, to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-uiuish." It also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor. In meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-uiuish" himself will exact punishment for such offenses, outgoing other bears to bite especially hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on the other hand, as the nonparticipant clansmen, women of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which the meat of the bear is roasted is started only by the clan elder. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

/378 cont./

inheritance. Only with relation to the daughter does the father enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be disposed of as he pleases. Although this way, we do possess boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their fathers, and the daughters who live in their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained by the father, or, if the father, supposing the sons to be of full success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the reward for the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time, is no longer the meat goes for general use, but the skins. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but the money is not considered to belong to the family, the money is one of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, rather he sets aside the skins of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations of present times, the father is-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (the son-in-law and his children (144 persons on Viskva (116), Nyx (103), Arkyrex (87), Tal'vutgrra and Temyl (64 each), Ulkhuvo and Ulkhuvo Gilyak. This is the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaax (8), Nokyr (8) in the summer the most densely populated settlement is T'anlyv (1,026; tables included in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk, 258 E. /380/ Sternberg's Gilyak population is:

1. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The natives in the village of Kalinino, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth about the number of sables, martens and otters, would come and take away the booty ...

/384/ There are 113 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some idea

/385 cont./

many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the time of his death, and he, in his will, entained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

fertility rate -- 2.76, although this figure is below the actual one, it is not so low because children who have died, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives (the wives of children who died young). Among the Gilyak there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants. For example, one yurt in the settlement of Ivyalno accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of them is Ulkhuvo (144 persons) and Lakyrex (144 persons on Viskva (116), Nyx (103), Arkyrex (87), Tal'vutgrra and Temyl (64 each), Ulkhuvo and Ulkhuvo Gilyak. This is the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaax (8), Nokyr (8) in the summer the most densely populated settlement is T'anlyv (1,026; tables included in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk, 258 E. /386/ Sternberg's Gilyak population is:

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[The western Coast]

166 /386 cont./ 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
433 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
[294] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
[294] Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
224 Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
[433] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
[648] potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
[348] little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
[348] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead
[348] of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney like those with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
[184] the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /house/ of the Manchu, from
[191] whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally enters the mountains. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Mur'vo, it strikingly

/109 cont./

1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tchchja and from there to Kuli, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hliska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kuli. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljanskja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the portage at the Ulakyt -- from the Nemlien to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because there neither the localities nor the designation "Giljak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stockenberg (Hydrogr. des Run. Reichen, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

175 come across Ulban Bay and Stegneka Peninsula to the mouth
131 of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for
[184] another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Stegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

There is still no mention of these islands in the reports
175 cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted
131 them on their return trip from the Amur. In the reports
[184] concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon
[224] accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus "there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

/109 cont./
purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak

175 2. Müller, Samml. Rus. Gesch.,
131 Vol. III, p. 97.
[224]
175
131
[184]
103

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

[113] 3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

however, it certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

[192] 4. In Gilyak "island" is pólio-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land", e.g., Sa-mif, Ka-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pólio. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Luhin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandanskij." When the Russians
175 under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar
131 Islands in the summer of 1718, they found them uninhabited;
[184] on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

175 /384 cont./
131 most surely and best obtained by trade, permanent residence in a
[224] place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich
[224] in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into
[224] consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them
[224] with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese
[224] and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for
clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes surrounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessity, indeed essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less extensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed, and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the mouth of the Amur and with that slot in tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wilderness along the left tributaries of the Amur and Usuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the fare and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dieja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals, in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,

/432 cont./
*262 preserved in memory by tradition, may have given rise to the fear
[136] and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence,
[165] of snake meat and blubber in their yurts. Moreover, the Gilyak do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (9), /433/

[113] 9. Wimen, Noord en Oost Tartarye /North and East Tartary/, 1705, p. 47.

for example, and the Koljuschen /Kolosh/ (1), with the sole

[113] 1. Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Trip around the World/, Vol. II, p. 112. Wenlaminof, op. cit., Pt. III, pp. 60, 99.

exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat and no whale blubber or oil.

224 Since the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only pursue
*262 fur-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts,
the land mammals provide only a small part of their food in comparison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasionally falls into their hands, not excepting even beasts of prey, such as
*262 the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., it is eaten. Only one animal is
[136] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken close at hand and without much trouble: it is the rat (Mus decumanus Pall.,
Gilyak nizgtsch), which is present in such extraordinary numbers in
[191] their yurts. This is all the more surprising because, without doubt, the rat in the Amur region is a gift from China (2) and, as is well

2. See Vol. I, p. 128, of this work.

known, is not at all scorned as food by the Chinese, who otherwise are so authoritative for the Amur peoples (3). Translated from

[113] 3. Davis, La Chine, etc., translated from

484 /473/ northern primeval forest, inaccessible in summer on account
*262 of its underbrush and the many fallen, half-rotted, and mossy
[286] trees, is accessible under certain conditions to foot-travelers and
[184] light sleds, thanks to the deep layer of snow leveling out all the unevenness of the ground, precisely at the time when it shelters
[224] the Gilyak and reveals their valuable winter coats. As a result,
[222] the forest, empty of human beings in the summer, or at most visited only here and there along its edges by women and children gathering berries and roots, becomes in winter a theater of action for the hunters. Through the impassable forest and mountain wilderness hunters and merchants make paths and trails which temporarily connect otherwise remote villages. Moreover, the use of the snowshoe and sled has made the similar position of Sakhalin for months at a time, and finally and primarily the smooth ice-cover of the Amur River provides for the Gilyak a main artery of communication from the Liman up to the Sungari.

Let us now survey in greater detail the means which the Gilyak use for winter locomotion. With all the similarity, and, indeed, in part even identity, with those of other northern peoples, they offer enough deviations and peculiarities. The great amount of snow in the lower Amur region makes it necessary for the Gilyak to use ski at every step. Even for only a short walk from the house, indeed, for merely a few steps off the trodden or traveled path, ski are required if one does not wish to sink into the snow up to the waist and deeper. They are, of course, even more indispensable on longer trips through the forest, where the snow is especially deep and loose, or after snowstorms, when, driven by the wind, it accumulates in gorges, and, in addition, along mountain slopes, in valleys and gorges, in such colossal quantities that crossing them without ski is unthinkable. For such trips as the Gilyak has to make often enough to set up or inspect his animal traps and for other hunting purposes, or on journeys when snowstorms surprise him, it is necessary, for easier and faster progress, that the ski not only prevent sinking into the snow as much as possible, but also permit gliding over it. In order to satisfy these various needs the Gilyak have two types of ski: small ones -- lakk; and large ones -- [illegible]

/534 cont./
[286] consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
[286] the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
[184] are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superstition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

/535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
[184] fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught. First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
[262] all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for their existence. Among the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest to the Gilyak in all their extensive travels and way of life, hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fishing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
[222] character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

/849 cont./ [illegible] strongly enough; the custom of sticking
[286] the skulls of slain white whales on a tree or, lacking one of them,
[286] on vertical piles driven into the ground prevails among some
[286] of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed and

[113] 1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 85; Zoographia rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 278.

Ontyak along the Obj River.

/550/

Section 9

Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

224 As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence
[191] of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forest, I must
[191] first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks
[191] frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing,
[191] increases the more in immediate importance and significance
[191] the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and
[191] into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region,
[191] just like fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and
[191] most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observations, are accordingly, as the most sedentary, the most
[191] ichthyophagous, and in general the most pronounced fishing
[191] people of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peoples
[191] to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them catching fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate
[191] satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for themselves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these ends

/313 cont./

morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots, and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzigr. This old man remembers four big takh.

Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they are not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur. If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtás', is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/) on which are placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz: only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, ag:a (akhydz') -- a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

Amur

/313 cont./

778 782 224 225 to shout: "Yrk-lu? -- Is it enough?" -- "Yrkrá! -- It is enough!" Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

778 688 The customary takhej of a hunter is the individual uig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund kymlydz: assembles, and they judge him; they demand a bear or 782 a luk -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

796 346 782 When they build a pila uigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a luk: -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a post falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila uigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzigr.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several uigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an uigryf.

/550 cont./

224 439 only indirectly inasmuch as it furnishes them with those article
by means of which they can acquire through trade with the neig
boring civilized peoples the foreign clothing, food, and stimu-
lants which have become necessities for them. Hence, among
them hunting is principally directed toward those animals for
whose furs there is a sure and good market among their principa
trade-lords, the Chinese, and since, merely in order to preserv
the pelts as intact as possible, it is practiced for the most part
means of various kinds of traps, snares, poison pellets, etc., or
can designate it, in accordance with its greatly predominant
purpose and character, as the catching of fur-bearing animals.

224 /551/ Obviously, the Gilyak engage in hunting only in
the winter, for they are then occupied with fishing only a little
have enough time for it, and, on the other hand, the animals
are in their full, valuable winter-fur. In addition, the deep
snow then covering the dense underbrush in the forest facilitate
to a great extent movement through it, so that, as experience
has taught, the Gilyak, too, know without any doubt that the
heavier the snow is in winter, the more rewarding and successfu
[171] the hunting will be. Nevertheless the Gilyak do not devote
themselves to hunting in winter nearly as much as their Tungus
neighbors do. Whereas the latter, as we shall see, frequently
move then from their own habitation area into distant forest an
mountain wildernesses, in order to live there for weeks entirely
by hunting, the Gilyak content themselves with practicing it
only in their own territory in a certain area, larger or smaller
cording to the locality, around their winter dwellings. For this
purpose the latter are often erected separately, and sometimes
quite far from the summer dwellings, at such places which hav
an especially favorable location for hunting.

The most important fur-bearing animals for the Gilyak,
because they are generally highly valued in trade and are prese
in great numbers in the Amur region, are the sable (Gilyak
lunr, among the Tymy and Tro Gilyak oghrob and myghr-nga,
i.e., brown animal), the otter (Gilyak ngy, among the Tymy
Tro Gilyak pchyik), and the fox (Gilyak käkch, among the Ty

d Tro Gilyak paghlant and paghlantsch, i.e., the red one) in different color variations (1).

1. Concerning the designations for these color variations of the fox among the Gilyak and the other Amur peoples, as well as the kinds and the geographic distribution of both the mammals named and those still to be named in the following, one should read my pertinent discussion of the first volume of this work.

The Gilyak for the most part catch the sable, unquestionbly standing first in importance, with traps. The one most ommonly used is the so-called ha, a pinch-trap /Quetschfalle/, hich is set up in the following manner. In the trunk of a tree, a height of about three or four feet above the ground, a hollow made, and in it the end of a beam of corresponding thickness stuck and supported by a little stick resting upon another little ooden stick or plate, which starts at the bait at the bottom of the ollow. As soon as the animal lured by the bait, a piece of fish ukola) or seal blubber, nibbles at it, the little supporting stick ides off its base and lets the beam fall. But in order that the atter pinch the animal more firmly and securely, the edge of the ollow lying under it is framed by a small wooden crosspiece. The a is naturally set up at places which the sable likes to visit, in articular in the bottoms of valleys, on the banks of small rivers, which case the pinch-beam is laid across the brook, because ables like to use fallen tree trunks as bridges in order to cross ver from one slope of a valley to the other (2). Thus,

2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 101) even maintains, having often observed it, he says, in the tracks of this animal, that the sable never goes around a fallen

224

2. (cont.)
tree-trunk, but always runs over it lengthways.

/552/ in the small side valleys of the upper Tymy River on Sakhalin I repeatedly came across either sable traps of this kind still set up or traces of them remaining on the trees. To the chagrin of the Gilyak, however, other small and more or less worthless animals often get caught in the ha instead of sables, such as squirrels (Gilyak lakr and lakrs, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin lafkor), ermine (Gilyak tymr and tymrsch, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin tchymr), and on the mainland especially frequently the Mustela sibirica (Gilyak zongrsk), which is so much like the sable in its way of life and is absent on Sakhalin, and, indeed, in the village of Warki on the Liman, the Gilyak even brought me a jay (Garrulus glandarius) which had been found in a ha and bore the marks of the pinching on its neck. This sable trap of the Gilyak, by the way, is not at all original, since, apart from the Amur Tungus, it recurs with the same or quite similar construction among a number of Siberian peoples, for example, among the sedentary Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, in the northern Kamchatka (1), among the Russian Tungus in the Stanovoi

1. Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 108.

Mountains (2), and others, and in general rests on the same

2. Sievers, "Briefe aus Sibirien /Letters from Siberia/," (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Vol. VII, p. 212).

principle that the traps used for catching polar fox, hares, etc. throughout the polar north of Siberia are based on (3).

3. A detailed description and an illustration of this last trap is to be found, among

224

3. (cont.)
others, in Middendorff (Sibir. Reise /Siberian Journey/, Vol. IV, p. 1387).

The same can be said of a second device used among th Gilyak for catching sable, a clamp-trap /Klemmfalle/ constructed with a bow. This trap, distributed throughout Siberi has already been described and illustrated many times by tra (4), and I could therefore pass over it quickly if it did not se

4. Recently, for instance, by Bush (Reindeer, dogs and Snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 316) and by Middendorff (Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1388).

to me of interest to point out, besides its in part peculiar us among the Gilyak, the designations customary among them its individual components in comparison with those, in part identical, for another apparatus to be discussed immediately below, which can be done much more briefly and clearly wi the help of illustrations. Among the Gilyak the clamp-trap question, shown on Plate XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 4, bears name klai and is made as follows: a simple wooden bow (Gi puntsch, a of the illustration) is set into appropriate lateral n in two sticks (Gilyak assj, b of the illustration) put together form of a fork and joined at the top. Above the crossboard (Gilyak lyms) connecting them at some distance from their lo pointed ends, they are provided with longitudinal cutouts, i which the lower part, consisting of another such crossboard, the wooden piece c, connected at the top with the bowstring is stuck and can move up and down depending on the tautnes the bow. Curiously enough, the wooden piece c is simply c ku, that is "arrow," by the Gilyak -- a striking /553/ gener ization such as is not often found among them otherwise, an correspondingly, an upper crosspiece (e) connecting the two staffs with each other and provided with a cutout for the mov ments of the ku is called kurscho(gr)tsch (1). A small stick

1. The letters in parentheses are only

/553 cont./

224 192 [104]

1. (cont.)

barely pronounced, like a faint growl.

Gilyak tschymrch), fastened to the side staffs as well as to the bowstring, serves for stretching the bow, and another (h, Gilyak ksull), which is connected with the former by a cord (g, ksull-puks), holds it taut, which is possible only as long as it is itself supported at its lower end on a thin stick (i, Gilyak taghr-tschissj) inserted into the cutouts in the side staffs between ku and lyms. The slightest pressure on it is sufficient to make the little stick h fly off, whereupon the taut bowstring is released and shoots the ku down to the lyms, tightly clamping anything found in between. In order to set up the klai, the Gilyak first make a hollow in a tree trunk directly above the snow, into which they put some jukola or seal blubber as bait, and then stick the trap under discussion in the snow in front of it in such a way that the animal can only reach the bait by way of the wooden step i and thus inevitably must be caught. In the klai, also, aside from sable, the above-mentioned, worthless small animals are all too often caught. According to the Gilyak, they sometimes also use this trap in their dwellings in order to catch in them the very numerous and annoying rats (Mus decumanus, Gilyak njagrsch), which, by the way, are not used in any way among them.

224 [136]

Taking advantage of the above-mentioned fondness of the sable to run the length of tree trunks felled across a brook, the Gilyak set up snares on them to catch the little animal. For this purpose, in about the middle of the trunk, a cross row of upright sticks more or less hidden by the tree branches is set up and only a single opening just large enough for the sable to slip through is left between them. Not far from there an upright flexible tree branch is stuck in the bottom of the stream, and the tip of it is bent down to the horizontal trunk by means of a string ending in a noose and is fastened in the opening left for the sable between the cross-sticks, in which the noose, too, is found, with the help of a little hook. The latter, since the opening is small, must inevitably fly off when the sable enters it, whereupon the bent branch jerks upward and the noose tightens around the

/553 cont./

224 animal and lifts it off the beam so that it hangs in the air above the brook and in this position is kept safe from beasts of prey. The hunter, therefore, even in case of a delayed inspection of the traps set by him, does not lose his catch. As customary as this method of catching sable, which is also used by other Amur and Siberian peoples, may be among the Gilyak, I never happened to come across it and am unable to give their name for it.

[171]

Furthermore the Gilyak pursue both the previously named, especially precious animals and some others by means of an apparatus which /554/ has much in common with the above-described clamp-trap and, though likewise known throughout Siberia, must be discussed here in greater detail for the reasons already stated. It is the so-called self-firer /Selbstschuss/ (Russian ssamostrel) (1), a bow which at the slightest touch shoots

[171]

1. It is very indicative of the common principle of these two devices that the clamp-trap, which is generally called tscherkan in Russian, is also called ssamostrel in the Orenburg Gouvernement, according to Tscherkassof (Zapiski okhotnika Vostochnoi Sibiri /Notes of a Hunter in Eastern Siberia/, St. Petersburg, 1867, p. 336).

[192]

(z)

224 192 off an arrow. Among the Gilyak it is called ngarchotsch and has the following nature. A simple wooden bow, as in the case of the clamp-trap, is fastened at its center to a wooden crosspiece (Pl. XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 1, c, Gilyak ksull) (2), on which

2. The identification in the naming of this piece with the small wooden piece h in the klai is most striking; we would rather expect such a one with the fork sticks (assj) of the klai.

/554 cont./

224 the arrow to be shot (d) lies. By means of a looped cord put in
192 its upper part and a little stick f (Gilyak nchimech) bent in a
right angle (cut from a branch) and likewise fastened to it, the
bow is stretched and through that the upper end of the arrow lying
in front of the stretched bowstring is pressed so strongly against
its support that it cannot slip off even if the whole apparatus
were inclined. Finally, when the bow is stretched, a small piece
of wood (Gilyak wettych), g and Fig. 2, ibid., natural size) (3),

3. In this figure, it is shown in a reversed position, the upper side turned downward.

equipped with a long and as fine a cord as possible, is inserted
by its upper, flatly pointed, and polished end at the upper end
of the tension stick and the looped cord. A slight pull on the
cord of this little piece of wood (h, Gilyak tchoch) is sufficient
to make it fly off, whereupon the looped cord also slips off the
tension stick, and, as a result, the arrow is shot. The self-firing
bow is set up on a tree trunk, or on a special pole (Gilyak kizp)
stuck in the snow for the purpose, in a more or less inclined
position, and the above-mentioned thin cord, in a taut state,
is drawn across the place where there is an animal trail or where
one expects an animal to pass. The main thing is to get into
the proper inclination so that the arrow will not shoot beyond the
animal or into the ground in front of it or underneath it. The
inclination naturally varier in accordance with the kind of animal
expected and according to the distance at which the self-firer is
set up from its probable path. For each type of animal, special
aim must be taken in setting up the self-firer and adjusting the
arrow, and for this the Gilyak use a special target-stick, their
so called nchiraff (ibid., Fig. 3), which they know to be accurate
by experience. In setting up the self-firer, it is put at the
point where the animal is to be killed, and the arrow is aimed
at one of the transverse stripes marked on it, according to the

/554 cont./

224 kind of animal expected. I have seen only the target-stick used
192 for the three most important fur-bearing animals, sable, otter,
and fox, as well as for hares (Gilyak chuf and chuft), along the
east coast and in the interior of Sakhalin onyk and kanak, i.e.,
the white one). /555/ On it three stripes or bands, each between
224 two transverse lines, are marked off: if a fox is expected, the
arrow is aimed at the uppermost stripe, point a of the illustration;
if the shot is readied for a hare, one aims at the second stripe,
point b; for sable one aims the arrow at the third stripe,
point c, and, finally, for the otter, toward the base of the
target-stick, point d. The height of these transverse lines and
stripes above the base of the target-stick is the following:

Height of transverse line of above the base (m)	. . 245	mm.
	target height for fox	
" " " ab	. . . 240	"
Average target-height for fox, point a	. . . 242 1/2	"
Height of transverse line ik above the base	. . . 188	"
	target-height for hare	
" " " lm	. . . 180	"
Average target-height for hare, point b	. . . 184	"
Height of transverse line no above the base	. . . 112	"
	target-height for sable	
" " " pq	. . . 112	"
Average target-height for sable, point c	. . . 115	"
The length or height of the whole target-stick amounts to	. . . 260	

224 The arrow (Gilyak kor) used with the self-firer for the ani-
192 mals mentioned has, in comparison with ordinary arrows, a very
peculiar iron point which consists of two prongs equipped on their
inner sides with one barb each (1). So that the animal struck by

1. It is noteworthy that whereas the

/555 cont.

224 1. (cont.)
192 downward-shooting wooden piece on the
khai, in no way resembling an arrow in
its form, is designated in a generalizing
fashion only as ku, "arrow," this proper
arrow, distinguished only by the form of
its point, has a special designation among
the Gilyak.

the arrow, but possibly not fatally and only wounded, will not
escape, the arrow is fastened by a loosely hanging cord (Gilyak
yoghi-pulu) to the pole on which the self-firer rests.

224 The high value of sable, fox, and otter furs makes the use
135 of the self-firer in the form described very general among the
Gilyak, and in the forests surrounding their dwellings one can
easily run into an apparatus of this kind set up, which makes
caution necessary when roaming in them. It is surprising that on
the above-described target-stick the worthless hare has been
given consideration along with the three most highly prized fur-
bearing animals. This perhaps may be explained by the fact that
it is very common in the entire lower Amur region and on Sakhalin
and, in the absence of other animal trails, often provides booty
for the self-firers, whereby a good piece of meat and a fur for
his own needs may fall to the hunter.

/556/ On the other hand, I have never heard it said that the
Gilyak use the self-firer for killing other, more or less valuable,
fur-target animals, such as the lynx, wolf, alpine wolf, musk
deer, reindeer, and elk. There may be various reasons for this.
[191] In general, the Gilyak are not hunters enough and are not enough
interested in hunting animals other than those with precious furs
to undertake long and strenuous hunting trips over a wide territory,
224 to lay out barricades, and to set up self-firers with arrows aimed
horizontally in their passageways, as is customary, for example,
among the Tungusic peoples and is discussed at length by
[191]

/556 cont./

224 Middendorff and others (1). Thus, larger animals are usually
191 killed

1. Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1382 ff., and the woodcut.

only killed by chance with the weapons to be described later.
224 Some of the animals mentioned above, such as the lynx, the
825 wolf, and the alpine wolf, conventionally offer such highly
prized skins that one would expect regular pursuit of them by
the Gilyak, and yet, as far as I know, they do not set up any
self-firers for them. Undoubtedly superstitious beliefs are in
part the reason for this. With regard to the lynx (Gilyak
nchlghi), it has already been pointed out above (2) that the

2. See p. 583 ff. above.

Gilyak see in it an image, as it were, of the tiger, of which
they have such a panicky fear that they hardly dare name it or
talk about it aloud (3). This awe alone may prevent them from

3. See Vol. I, p. 94, of this work.

hurting it in a premeditated fashion and with the same devices
as other animals, and only permits them to go after the carcass
adorned with precious fur in case of an accidental meeting and,
so to speak, in self-defense. The situation is similar with regard
to the alpine wolf (Canis alpinus, Gilyak tcheramatlach, on
Sakhalin tschodamatlach), which the Gilyak do not hunt at all
out of superstitious fear, and which, in addition, only stays in
remote mountain wilderness, into which, with their slight
[191] inclination for hunting, they may come but rarely. Finally, with
224 regard to the ordinary wolf (Gilyak lugr, along the east coast
and in the interior of Sakhalin antk), it is pursued by the Gilyak
[191] [192] [193] [194] [195] [196] [197] [198] [199] [200] [201] [202] [203] [204] [205] [206] [207] [208] [209] [210] [211] [212] [213] [214] [215] [216] [217] [218] [219] [220] [221] [222] [223] [224] [225] [226] [227] [228] [229] [230] [231] [232] [233] [234] [235] [236] [237] [238] [239] [240] [241] [242] [243] [244] [245] [246] [247] [248] [249] [250] [251] [252] [253] [254] [255] [256] [257] [258] [259] [260] [261] [262] [263] [264] [265] [266] [267] [268] [269] [270] [271] [272] [273] [274] [275] [276] [277] [278] [279] [280] [281] [282] [283] [284] [285] [286] [287] [288] [289] [290] [291] [292] [293] [294] [295] [296] [297] [298] [299] [300] [301] [302] [303] [304] [305] [306] [307] [308] [309] [310] [311] [312] [313] [314] [315] [316] [317] [318] [319] [320] [321] [322] [323] [324] [325] [326] [327] [328] [329] [330] [331] [332] [333] [334] [335] [336] [337] [338] [339] [340] [341] [342] [343] [344] [345] [346] [347] [348] [349] [350] [351] [352] [353] [354] [355] [356] [357] [358] [359] [360] [361] [362] [363] [364] [365] [366] [367] [368] [369] [370] [371] [372] [373] [374] [375] [376] [377] [378] [379] [380] [381] [382] [383] [384] [385] [386] [387] [388] [389] [390] [391] [392] [393] [394] [395] [396] [397] [398] [399] [400] [401] [402] [403] [404] [405] [406] [407] [408] [409] [410] [411] [412] [413] [414] [415] [416] [417] [418] [419] [420] [421] [422] [423] [424] [425] [426] [427] [428] [429] [430] [431] [432] [433] [434] [435] [436] [437] [438] [439] [440] [441] [442] [443] [444] [445] [446] [447] [448] [449] [450] [451] [452] [453] [454] [455] [456] [457] [458] [459] [460] [461] [462] [463] [464] [465] [466] [467] [468] [469] [470] [471] [472] [473] [474] [475] [476] [477] [478] [479] [480] [481] [482] [483] [484] [485] [486] [487] [488] [489] [490] [491] [492] [493] [494] [495] [496] [497] [498] [499] [500] [501] [502] [503] [504] [505] [506] [507] [508] [509] [510] [511] [512] [513] [514] [515] [516] [517] [518] [519] [520] [521] [522] [523] [524] [525] [526] [527] [528] [529] [530] [531] [532] [533] [534] [535] [536] [537] [538] [539] [540] [541] [542] [543] [544] [545] [546] [547] [548] [549] [550] [551] [552] [553] [554] [555] [556] [557] [558] [559] [560] [561] [562] [563] [564] [565] [566] [567] [568] [569] [570] [571] [572] [573] [574] [575] [576] [577] [578] [579] [580] [581] [582] [583] [584] [585] [586] [587] [588] [589] [590] [591] [592] [593] [594] [595] [596] [597] [598] [599] [600] [601] [602] [603] [604] [605] [606] [607] [608] [609] [610] [611] [612] [613] [614] [615] [616] [617] [618] [619] [620] [621] [622] [623] [624] [625] [626] [627] [628] [629] [630] [631] [632] [633] [634] [635] [636] [637] [638] [639] [640] [641] [642] [643] [644] [645] [646] [647] [648] [649] [650] [651] [652] [653] [654] [655] [656] [657] [658] [659] [660] [661] [662] [663] [664] [665] [666] [667] [668] [669] [670] [671] [672] [673] [674] [675] [676] [677] [678] [679] [680] [681] [682] [683] [684] [685] [686] [687] [688] [689] [690] [691] [692] [693] [694] [695] [696] [697] [698] [699] [700] [701] [702] [703] [704] [705] [706] [707] [708] [709] [710] [711] [712] [713] [714] [715] [716] [717] [718] [719] [720] [721] [722] [723] [724] [725] [726] [727] [728] [729] [730] [731] [732] [733] [734] [735] [736] [737] [738] [739] [740] [741] [742] [743] [744] [745] [746] [747] [748] [749] [750] [751] [752] [753] [754] [755] [756] [757] [758] [759] [760] [761] [762] [763] [764] [765] [766] [767] [768] [769] [770] [771] [772] [773] [774] [775] [776] [777] [778] [779] [780] [781] [782] [783] [784] [785] [786] [787] [788] [789] [790] [791] [792] [793] [794] [795] [796] [797] [798] [799] [800] [801] [802] [803] [804] [805] [806] [807] [808] [809] [810] [811] [812] [813] [814] [815] [816] [817] [818] [819] [820] [821] [822] [823] [824] [825] [826] [827] [828] [829] [830] [831] [832] [833] [834] [835] [836] [837] [838] [839] [840] [841] [842] [843] [844] [845] [846] [847] [848] [849] [850] [851] [852] [853] [854] [855] [856] [857] [858] [859] [860] [861] [862] [863] [864] [865] [866] [867] [868] [869] [870] [871] [872] [873] [874] [875] [876] [877] [878] [879] [880] [881] [882] [883] [884] [885] [886] [887] [888] [889] [890] [891] [892] [893] [894] [895] [896] [897] [898] [899] [900] [901] [902] [903] [904] [905] [906] [907] [908] [909] [910] [911] [912] [913] [914] [915] [916] [917] [918] [919] [920] [921] [922] [923] [924] [925] [926] [927] [928] [929] [930] [931] [932] [933] [934] [935] [936] [937] [938] [939] [940] [941] [942] [943] [944] [945] [946] [947] [948] [949] [950] [951] [952] [953] [954] [955] [956] [957] [958] [959] [960] [961] [962] [963] [964] [965] [966] [967] [968] [969] [970] [971] [972] [973] [974] [975] [976] [977] [978] [979] [980] [981] [982] [983] [984] [985] [986] [987] [988] [989] [990] [991] [992] [993] [994] [995] [996] [997] [998] [999] [1000]

/556 cont./

224 of the native tribes, Tungus, Yakut, Ostyak, Samoyed, and by
191 the Russians for slaying all the animals possible, from the largest,
such as bear and elk, down to the sable and squirrel, is used
much less among the Gilyak and is limited to only the most im-
portant fur-bearing animals -- a circumstance which is likewise
evidence of their slight inclination for hunting and, at the same
time, their predominant and decitive interest in trade.

The great benefit that the Gilyak derive from fox fur both
in trade and for their own use induces them to hunt this animal,
not only with the self-firer, but also in other ways. For example,
they likewise use for catching it a clamp-trap, which constructed
in the same way and only somewhat larger, /557/ is also used for
224 the wolves. This is their so-called kasma (1). It consists of a peg
192 [1000]

1. The s is pronounced softly, like the French z.

stuck into the ground and running up into a two-pronged fork at
the top. The two prongs, only very gradually diverging from
each other from their common base, are of unequal lengths. The
shorter one (called an ichlak) is sharpened on its inner side,
side, the longer one rounded off. On the latter, not far from
its tip, there is a cross-stick (Gilyak tabs-tignch) (2), on which

2. The s again pronounced softly. Tignch means "wood" in general.

the bait, a piece of nioto or meat, a dead crow, or the like, is
224 put. The fox or wolf jumps against the peg in order to reach the
bait with its paw, whereby its foot slides off the cross-stick and
remains clamped between the two prongs. The height of the
kasma is different for the fox and the wolf; for the former it must
[1000] be no more than one and a half feet above the snow, for the latter,
four and a half feet.

/557 cont./

224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
192 catch fox and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call
kakch-ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following. But also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all,
but they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two
directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western
neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Biegda, and Samagir, among
whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-
caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gotin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (potash), pórokc.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their
southern neighbor, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though like
wise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy
224 Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their
[1013]

5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritanischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 [Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

/561 cont.

411 such specimens, however,
566 are not used as a rule, but rather, carefully wrapped in birch
bark, are stored away by their owner as symbols of great wealth.

Bear pikes and lances are the weapons most commonly
224 used by the Gilyak against elk, reindeer, bears, and the like.
During the first period of my stay at the Nikolayev post, when
it contained only a few log houses erected at the edge of the
still completely uncleared forest, it happened almost in front
of my eyes that an elk came running out of the forest toward
the river, and, when it came upon a group of Gilyak camping
there, tried to keep on going by swimming; but the Gilyak
immediately pursued it in their boat and stabbed it in the water
with their lances, whereupon I received the skin of the animal.
In winter when the all too deep snow greatly impedes movement
for the elk and reindeer, the Gilyak pursue them on ski in order
to kill them eventually with their pikes and lances. They get
at the reindeer, which is especially common on the unforested
plains of northern Sakhalin and sets out in small herds on the
ice of the Liman, in still other ways. When in early spring,
under the influence of the midday sun and the nightly frosts, a
thin crust of ice has formed on the snow and is strong enough
to support the dogs, but breaks under the reindeer, they pursue
it on a light sled harnessed to dogs until they can attack it with
their pikes and lances.

Most frequently, however, they use these weapons against
the bear. Aside from the tiger, almost only mythical because
[829] of its rarity, and the /562/ less unfamiliar Japanese bear,
which, out of superstitious fear, the Gilyak scarcely dare mention
by name (1), the bear is the largest and most powerful beast of

1. I have already discussed this at great length in the first volume of this work (pp. 90-96) in speaking of the occurrence and distribution of these animals in the Amur region. I shall return in the following to the tiger and leopard idols alluded to there.

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224 prey in their region and at the same time the animal that most
pleases their palates and that, because of the festivities con-
nected with eating it, also plays an especially important role
in their social life. Driving, above all, to capture the animal
alive, they eagerly search in the fallen snow for where a bear
might have its winter quarters. When this has been discovered,
a number of courageous and strong men band together, in order,
equipped with the required paraphernalia of ropes, chains, pikes,
etc., to surprise the sleeper in its lair, disturb its rest, fetter it,
and lead it into captivity. Needless to say, this cannot be done
[579] without a fight, and however skilled the usually experienced
bear-catchers may be, more or less serious wounds are infre-
quently result, which, however, are borne more easily than
others by the Gilyak, because they are regarded as especially
honorable and lend the one concerned an aura of manly fortitude.
224 Nevertheless, the frequency of the bears kept in captivity among
223 the Gilyak indicates that the outcome of the battle is usually
or often successful: there is scarcely a village of any size in
which on a trip through the region, one would not see one or
several such animals. If the place where the bear was lifted
from its lair and fettered is not far from the village to which its
captors belong, it is simply taken to it in its fetters by ropes and
put in the prison kept ready for it. For greater distances, how-
ever, the sleds on which the hunters came also serve to take their
booty home. The fettered bear is put on one or, if the route
permits, even on two sleds put side by side and tied together,
and is brought to its new domicile in a triumphal procession amid
the loud cheers of the sled drivers and the barking of the many,
passionately excited dogs. The nature of the bear's prison and
the treatment of the captured animal will be discussed later in
224 speaking of the bear festivals of the Gilyak, but at the moment
it is primarily only a question of its capture. The battle with a
bear disturbed from its rest does not always end in its being fettere
It often defends itself so tenaciously and vigorously and is so
dangerous for its adversaries that they find it necessary to put an
end to it with their pikes and lances. In fact, the latter happens

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are a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the procesisaij, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not in fact have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on a fish diet. Footnote on the Cost of the Sea of Okhotsk Mildendorff (1)

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two even standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-noses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly associated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their observance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement that by Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce

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it to come out from its hiding place (?). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Gilyaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere in the hunting, fishing, practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstition, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of honor. The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I entered the yurt of Miawach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

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animal, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, after a while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch bark, and put it with other pieces of skin in the yurt. My efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered; I was told categorically that it was already "ulbuch" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unblessed, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if she were to sell it to me in an intact state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 85). In speaking about seal-hunting, The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

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to fishing or seal-hunting, a natural explanation is found in the circumstance already pointed out in the beginning, that among them hunting does not by far stand in the foreground of life to the degree that fishing and seal-catching do.

Delineating the various kinds of arrows used by the Gilyak, the hunting of wild fowl was also considered above in passing. A few pertinent remarks might be added in addition follow here. By far the greatest number of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl are not killed by the aforementioned knob-shaped arrows, which on the whole are used very little, but are caught in nets during the molting season and simply beaten to death. Only incidentally, but not infrequently, I have seen that geese that get their heads dividing into the water and become entangled in the nets. Among these they pay special attention to the divers. Colymbus septentrionalis L. and C. arcticus L. (Gilyak ugn), which however, is eaten not for profit, but as a delicacy, but out of superstition, about which I shall speak later when discussing their methods of burial. The hazel grouse (Gilyak hang) and white grouse (Gilyak pank), along the Tymy on Sakhalin tschkeala-ngaj, with which the Gilyak /565/ amply supplied the Nikolayev post during the winters of 1855-1857, are caught by them in snares (Gilyak kun). With regard to the white grouse, I also found superstitious notions and amulets among the Gilyak. Although in a completely unrecognizable, only symbolic fashion, it likewise noted among them the above-mentioned superstition relating to the head of the animal, in that in selling this bird they giving the head first to the buyer.

For the Gilyak the most important of all the birds are the fishing eagles: Haliaëtos pelagicus Pall. (Gilyak tschamgaltschamp and H. albicilla Brin. (Gilyak mygir-tschamp, in the interior of Sakhalin ach-tschamp). The former, however, occurs only rarely in their territory and chiefly along the seacoast, but the latter, on the other hand, is common and occurs throughout the region, and, in fact, there is hardly any place where the eagle (tschamp (eagle) is mentioned. The benefit that the Gilyak derive from it consists in the fact that their feathers are an important

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In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shown many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peoples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Matilda Rimš's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tŭ-tan kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak; for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of sea otters, with a fish as bait — a statement that is somewhat doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov "Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

/576 cont./ More Trustworthy

and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up traps similar to those used by the Gilyak, in the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamui), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I have found nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reindeer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through the Gilyak living in the forest, in whose elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian — a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, the Ainu are known to have been in no less an extent to the above-mentioned kinds of red deer, big game, wild boar, and, to be sure, they are not merely slain and utilized on occasion, as happens among the Gilyak, but are pursued regularly and zealously, because they are used directly and very essentially for their clothing and food. This has already been pointed out above in the discussion of these two points. With regard to food, however, all the more significance must be ascribed to hunting among the Gilyak, because, for it takes up much more of their time than among the Gilyak, and the farther upstream and inland, the more, and the more exclusively, it takes up the entire winter and part of the fall and spring.

Hand in hand with the longer period of hunting among the Tungusic Amur peoples also goes its extension over a far larger area. Whereas the Gilyak contents himself with a relatively small sphere for hunting, set up his traps and self-fixers in the localities that he knows to be favorable from experience and at the spots suggested by animal tracks in the snow, visits them from time to time, and at night always returns again to his

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it must have gained far greater scope among all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region and must be of more essential significance for their entire lives than is the case among the Gilyak.

Among the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region, too, just as among the Gilyak, the catching of precious fur-bearing animals, such as sable, river otter, and the fox, comes first, simply because by trading them they obtain not only clothing materials and foodstuffs, but also the universally popular luxury articles, tobacco, which has become indispensable to them. It is also practiced in the same ways and with the same means, but over a greater area and with more adroitness and skill and, therefore, with more success.

But whereas the Gilyak hunting is limited almost solely to the catching of fur-bearing animals and thus wholly in the interests of trade, among the Tungusic Amur /579/ people it also extends to no less an extent to the above-mentioned kinds of red deer, big game, wild boar, and, to be sure, they are not merely slain and utilized on occasion, as happens among the Gilyak, but are pursued regularly and zealously, because they are used directly and very essentially for their clothing and food. This has already been pointed out above in the discussion of these two points. With regard to food, however, all the more significance must be ascribed to hunting among the Gilyak, because, for it takes up much more of their time than among the Gilyak, and the farther upstream and inland, the more, and the more exclusively, it takes up the entire winter and part of the fall and spring.

Hand in hand with the longer period of hunting among the Tungusic Amur peoples also goes its extension over a far larger area. Whereas the Gilyak contents himself with a relatively small sphere for hunting, set up his traps and self-fixers in the localities that he knows to be favorable from experience and at the spots suggested by animal tracks in the snow, visits them from time to time, and at night always returns again to his

/579 cont./

permanent winter-dwelling along the river or on the seacoast, the Amur Tungus not infrequently undertake long hunting expeditions which may last months, and, in addition, they most significantly express their predominant hunting nature, in contrast to the Gilyak. Although on the whole they have likewise become sedentary fishermen, their original inclination for the nomadic hunting life has not been entirely suppressed and breaks through from time to time triumphantly and irresistibly. In small parties of two to five men, they go on sids to the hunt grounds (hunting-grounds) and, along with them on light sledges, transported to a few dogs the necessary hunting equipment, a few of the most needed utensils, such as small cooking pots, etc., and some food supplies for the initial period. Having arrived at the place, they set up a hunting-hut in the forest a hunting-hut of the kind described above, a so-called alko, which serves them as a common dwelling and from which they make their further hunting expeditions in various directions in a closer or wider sphere. Beyond the hunting-hut they set up traps and self-fixers, the traps and self-fixers set by him, and toward evening the small company appears in the tent around a blazing fire, to eat a meal prepared from the parts of the captured animals. If, however, a hunter has been diverted too far by following an alluring trail or is delayed too long by some special occurrence or adverse while hunting to be able to return in time, he prepares for himself, either a small hut, either a small archer's tent of fir branches, a so-called homors, which I have likewise described above, or a simple resting-place in the snow, in order to have his meal and the night's rest there beside a small fire.

If it is required in the interests of the hunting, the fixed quarters are moved and the hunting carried on over other, less frequent and more productive terrain, and, finally, when enough game has been collected and the pelages for hunting has sufficiently cooled, the return trip to the kin who remained behind in the winter dwellings, to wife and child, is begun, on which /580/ the hunters in part proceed on the sleds laden with the hunting equipment and make a stopover for them and in part will along with the dogs.

/588 cont./

them, therefore, I can only refer to the descriptions by Maack (1),

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 49, 75, and 76.

Gerstfeldt (2), Ussolzef (3), and others. The picture of the hunting

2. "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amur /Concerning the Population of the Amur Coast/" (Vlestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 307).

3. "Putesh. po dolinie r. Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/" (op. cit., pp. 77 ff.).

practices of these peoples that they give shows the greatest similarity with that presented by their neighbors to the north and to the west, the Russo-Siberian Tungus, who are likewise not at all sharply demarcated from them geographically. On the other hand, how very greatly the upper Amur peoples contrast in this direction, as hunters and hunting nomads, from the more or less sedentary fishing peoples of the lower Amur region has already been noted several times in connection with phenomena discussed above, their dwelling, clothing, food locomotion, and especially their fishing.

To conclude these observations on the hunting of the Amur peoples, as a supplement, so to speak, the contrast that can be observed between the inhabitants of the upper and lower Amur region with regard to the animal species representing the principal objects of their hunting might be pointed out here. Whereas in the lower Amur region, and especially among the most typical and ichthyophagous of its peoples, the Gilyak, hunting is directed primarily and particularly against the precious fur-bearing animals, so that, in accordance with its principal aim and character, one can designate it as fur-bearing-animal hunting, or, on the

/588 cont./

basis of the most numerous and generally most popular of these animals, simply as sable hunting, among the peoples of the upper Amur region, who rely on hunting almost entirely for their food and in large part for their clothing, the meat animals, elk, red deer, roe deer, and wild pig, stand in first place as the objects hunted. Also contributing to this is the fact that the two large animals named first are also used for tributary payments to the Manchu officials (4), and the young and still soft deer antlers are

4. I again draw attention to the fact that my descriptions apply to the 50's, that is, a time when almost the entire Amur region was still under Chinese rule.

an important trade item. To be sure, the precious fur-bearing animals, and especially the sable, are regarded as most desirable booty, and, accordingly, zealously hunted, by the upper Amur peoples, too, but their number has so greatly declined in the course of time, both because of the constant and strenuous hunting and because of the frequent and extensive forest fires, in part caused by negligence and in part intentional, that, in addition to them, other animals formerly regarded as worthless and ignored have acquired value. In particular, as the sable gradually disappeared, the squirrels serving as food for it became so much more common and numerous that along the upper Amur and its /589/ tributaries on both sides they have already become the principal objects of attention for the hunters, and, though of little value individually, they repay their labor and expense because of their great numbers. The Schilka and Argunj Cossacks, who annually in the fall and organized in small companies (artels) undertake long hunting expeditions lasting for weeks and months in the Orochon and Manegir territories, therefore simply call this hunting of theirs, in accordance with its chief purpose, "belkowjo" (1), i.e., squirrel pursuit. Thus, another

1. Accordingly, the verb "belkowatj," i.e., to pursue squirrel-hunting.

/589 cont./ Thus another

characteristic difference between the hunting conditions of the lower and of the upper Amur regions is presented by the sable hunting of the one side and the squirrel pursuit of the other.

Contributing very essentially to the change from the former to the latter in the upper Amur region, however, in addition to the causes given above, are the handy firearms, the small-caliber, Russo-Siberian rifles, which came from Siberia and whose importation and adoption are growing more and more in the course of time. Whereas in the lower Amur region at the time of my stay in it there were no guns at all, with a few minor exceptions (2), these rifles were already in general use among the

2. See p. 868 above.

Orochon, thanks to their immediate proximity to and long association with the Russians, and among the Manegir, too, they were already gradually pushing out the long and unwieldy Chinese matchlock guns, which were not very serviceable for hunting. Since the occupation and colonization of the entire Amur region by the Russians, the spread of good or at least serviceable firearms has made rapid advances in the lower part, which, in combination with the growing number of hunters must lead to a heavy decline in its wealth of sables and other animals in the future. How disastrous the consequences of this will be for the indigenous population of the region living on this wealth is easily grasped and can be judged in greater detail on the basis of the following discussion.

/600 cont./

1/2 ja, a whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 ja), whereas the Gilyak with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to these worthless, trifling materials. In further contrast to the Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing animals and fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 ja among them, a red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 ja, tanned 2 ja). Like the furs, the principal products from fishing also have a higher price among the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon, for example, costs 10 ja among the former), on the one hand because the fish supply in the Amur River decreases upstream, and on the other hand because they are nowhere near as productive in this respect as the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing. Cereals and vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is quite decidedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "string" of it, equal to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 ja (2).

2. At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to the above table /see p. 935/.

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Circassian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

Since principal commodity of the Amur peoples in trading with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable, fox, and otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on the whole, only /601/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of procuring this commodity in the largest quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way better suited to their nature. To this end they trade with their

2: Schrenck--1023 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

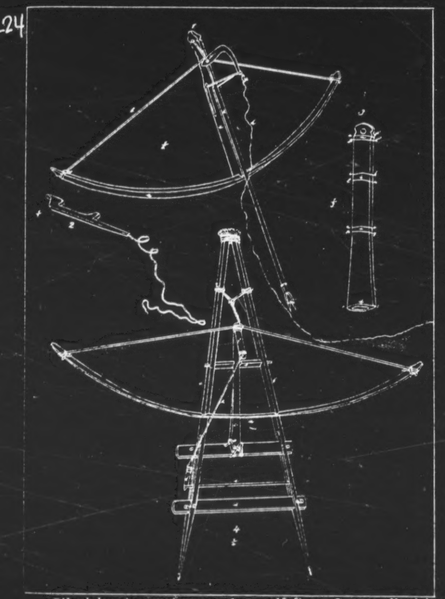

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1 -- self-firer; 2 -- small stick (g) that goes with it; 3 -- target stick for setting up the self-firer; 4 -- trap for small animals.

2: Schrenck--1086 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/669/

423 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in
224 that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunt-
226 ing, except for the places on the river where they have their
619 salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the
[648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to pene-trate into their territory without molesting them.

685 Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also
[421] based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and
[123] dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-
[186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to
685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from
648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted
[192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch, Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met
685 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc.,
123 whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

770 Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

224 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a
324 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after
22 the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat
[184] themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century
[197] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow
[198] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The
887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these
462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite
179 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective
433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in
22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola
262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

9: Hawes--179-180 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 776, 782, 825

"Gazing carelessly at the bank, I espied a head peeping out of the long grass, and called to my interpreter and the natives in a low voice, 'Malenkiy medvyet! ' (A little bear!). Seeing nothing, they smiled; but on my reiterating and pointing, Vanka caught sight of it, and called to me, 'Nyet stryelyay! Gilyakskiy sabaka' (Don't shoot; it is a Gilyak dog). Now, occasionally we had seen a native dog sitting alone at a distance from a village, fishing or waiting for his master, and we therefore hesitated; but before we had realized the mistake the animal had got up and trotted off, disappearing into the tall rushes and grass, giving us, however, one clear view of a beautiful coal-black fox with a white tip to his great brush. Even as he disappeared, Vanka was calling to us, 'Nyet stryelyay! Nyet stryelyay! Pal ni vookh budet serditiy' (Don't shoot! Don't shoot! The god of the mountains will be angry), and much more as to the fate the lord of this region would have in store for us should we cross his will. I [180] went ashore, but it was hopeless to expect to come up with the animal.

According to Vanka, if we had killed it, its brethren would have been informed, and when we set out for the winter's hunt they would have banded together to kill us. If Vanka was really sincere, I think it far more likely that he feared lest his winter's hunt should suffer, because, by killing thus in a haphazard fashion, it had not been inaugurated with the usual ceremonies. To seize of the provision of the great Pal ni vookh (he is lord of the forest and all therein) before acknowledging in due form his sovereignty and bounty, was to risk bringing down his wrath upon our heads."

9: Hawes--211-212 T-3
116, 224, 776, 782

"It is a wintry scene. The snare
streams and forest creeks. The fi
thin mantle of white. The cold nor
silent in the sombre depths, hangi
the hush a shadow steals quietly a
accustomed paths. He does not ca
log whereon to pass. All unsuspec
blocked by a tiny barrier of sticks
one way, is left, and that through
pushing through, he struggles, an
and a bent twig at one end of the c
are out, but each brings his first
the great giver of them, the lord
without grace, to start off on the i
are so valuable that anything, eve
them--without due acknowledgmen
dispense with feasting? and pieces
ground as an offering to the god,
cast into the sea. At this point it i
elsewhere, to call the attention of

es are set on logs and branches spanning the narrow
rst snows have fallen, covering all the forest with a
th wind hurries across the land. The trees stand
ng their hoary, lichen-covered branches, and amidst
cross the scene. [212] It is a sable. He goes by
re to swim the cold water, but seeks a fallen tree or
tingly he creeps along a trunk, only to find his way
, arranged in the shape of a fan; nevertheless a way,
a loop in the centre. Rising on his hind-legs and
d in so doing releases a peg hitched with a ratchet,
ord flies back, tightening the noose. Many trackers
catch to one place, where due honour is then paid to
of the forest. It would savour of greediness, of meat
mportant hunt of the sables--creatures whose skins
n in later times 'fire-drink,' may be purchased with
t to the giver. A feast is made; for what function can
s of roasted flesh, tobacco, etc., are dug into the
just as in the seal festival, we shall see, bones are
s necessary, lest he be not observing or engaged
Pal ni vookh to their offering, so they whisper,

9: Hawes--211-212 T-3
116, 224, 776, 782

'Chookh, Chookh,' i.e. 'God, Thou Go
rush (daimones) should hear; for these
of the forest, and might make off with th
Pal ni vookh generally walks among the
making their offering on high ground."

od.' They do this in an undertone, lest the pal-
: evil spirits dwell in the swamps and the deptl
ne offerings. For this reason, and because
mountains, the Gilyaks take the precaution of

9: Hawes--211 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 224, 527, 805

"Among the Gilyaks the hunt is preceded by
(Mustela zibellina) and seal hunts commence e
and thus he has two years to our one. If only t
be the envy of his western compeers. These tw
respectively, are called the winter year (tulf-a
opened by holiday festivals. The sable holiday
sonch, or 'the prayer to the lord of the forest.

an interesting ceremony. The sable
ach a new year in the Gilyak kalendar,
e Gilyak child kept 'birthdays,' he would
o years which begin in October and April
n) and summer year (tolf-an), and are
goes by the name of Pal ni vookh chi-
' "

9: Hawes--296-297 T-3 (
116, 224

"The autumn is not, of course, t
poor summer-coat on, which is of
though hunger or venturous hunters
When he comes forth from his cave
kindled in front, or by the sticks a
of Gilyaks lets fly an arrow at him
favourite track, where is placed a
touches the cord the iron-pointed a
of pain he turns on his pursuers,
One, however, is too late, and the
embrace. The unfortunate victim's
attention. They worry him with sti
man, one of them stands unflinchin
seems madness to stand thus, for
but it would be useless to do so, f
art of parrying. He holds his spea
the ground behind him, and the poi
It is a terribly anxious moment. H
flinging himself [297] upon him. A
bear is wounded and the man is sa

he season for bear-hunting, since Bruin has only his small value as fur. Early spring is the best time, s may rouse him from his torpor in mid-winter. e, half awake, and driven by the smoke of a fire nd stones of the hunters, one of the surrounding circle , or the whole party attempt to drive him down a yu-ru (an automatic bow and arrow). As his foot rrow is released and pierces his side. With a snarl who scatter in all directions, some climbing trees. bear is upon him, and has him already in his deadly companions approach and try to attract the beast's cks and stones, and when he drops the unfortunate gly waiting the onslaught of the infuriated animal. It he makes no attempt to thrust at Bruin with his spear; or he knows too well that the bear is a master at the r apparently quite harmlessly, for the shaft rests on nt on a level with his chest is hidden beneath his tunic. ow can the man escape? The raging beast is now ll hope is gone. But no. What has happened? The fe, for as the animal hurled himself at the hunter,

116, 224, 782

"When the hunting season is advanced
adopted. The native sets out with his do
imal, and drive it up a tree. The hunter
stuns his prey. With fair success he ma
He is careful so to kill them as not to in
like a sock. Half of the flesh he gives to
vookh."

, another method for the capture of the sable is
gs, who quickly find the tracks of the little an-
then lets fly a blunted arrow, and, if skilful,
ay thus catch seven or eight sables [213] in a da
ajure the skin, and in skinning he strips it off
the dogs, and the other half he offers to Pal n

the latter, in the twinkling of an eye, step
and the great beast impaled himself upon
his movements are impeded by the spear.
iron, for such is Bruin's cunning that he
through his body so that it may not hinder
efforts now grow weaker from loss of blo

The real bear-hunting season is rather
and the tiny streams are let loose in the
emerges from his winter's sleep and seek
the mountains. This is the opportunity of
favourite routes, and set their yu-ru. An
lets fly the arrow automatically, and wou
leaves his bloody tracks, and the hunters
hausted, he falls a prey to an archer or t
then drawn on a sledge to their village, a
During the winter such a lucky find is a w
of the prospective value of the skin."

pped back a pace without moving the spear,
it. The animal is still very dangerous; but
. On the shaft is a crescent-shaped piece o
is said sometimes to push the spear further
him in his angry pursuit of the hunters. H
od, and finally he sinks down dead.
later. As soon as the snow begins to thaw,
high valleys, the chief inhabitant of the fore
s food, going backwards and forwards amo
the native hunters. The Gilyaks discover h
unsuspecting beast trips over the cord, wh
nds, but does not kill him. Nevertheless, h
, following these up, worry him until, ex-
he owner of an old shot-gun. The carcass i
nd after two or three days a feast is held.
elcome addition to their menu, to say nothi

0: Coxwell--128 B-3 (no date)
6, 224, 539, 688

"THE GILYAK WHO MATED

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 5

Sternberg says that after every successful be
erformed; part of the meat being eaten and par
ide. In our story, the hero carries away meat
rime punishable by the gods. The Gilyak was
xtraordinary, namely his love for the tigress,
nd he married her. The largeness of the sacri
nportance of the tigress."

1925 Gilyak

WITH A TIGRESS
539, pp. 120-121.]

ar hunt, a religious ceremony must be
rt carried to the relatives on the mothe
to the forest; such an act being a great
induced to behave thus by something
a creature more powerful than any bea
fice in the story corresponds to the

10: Coxwell--130 [2] B-3
116, 224, 539, 782

"THE MOUNTAIN-DE

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see cat

It is noticeable that the hunting party,
but to the mountain and the sea. Later,
real relief in the power of the mountain
in the middle of a perilous adventure, b
sacrifice a reindeer at marriage; also d
foal, an ox or a cow to their gods, Kere
The Eskimo have a tale of a mountain
pretended to be dead in order to see wha
spirit carried the man to its home and t
captor, also the latter's children. The d
he escaped by telling hills to rise up and
pursuer. (3)

3. Rasmussen and Worster

(no date) 1925 Gilyak

VIL IN THE FORM OF A TIGER
tegory 539, pp. 126-127]

on setting out, sacrificed not only to the fire,
the sacrifice of dogs to the mountain shows a
spirit. In the Ostyak tale, 'Aspen-leaf,' the hero,
ends his neck in worship of spirits. The Yukaghirs
eer to a river. The Tcheremisses sacrifice a
met and Sheert.
spirit that dug up the body of a man, who had
t the mountain spirit would do. The mountain
e man soon opened his eyes and killed his
lead mountain spirit's wife pursued the man, but
a stream to flow between himself and his

, p. 84."

136
224
825

remember only two instances when Europeans were assaulted by it without having been the attackers. The one case occurred in the year 1878 in broad daylight on the ice near a post station. A post servant was gored by the tiger. The skull of this animal which was itself killed the next day now belongs to me. It measures seven and one-half vershok (33 centimeters), the upper canines are as long as a finger.

himself takes the offensive, does the monster lose his instinctive fear of him, and then suddenly shows all its terrible natural qualities, to which belong an amazing toughness. Even with five or six rifle balls inside it, it still takes enormous leaps, and even in its death throes it can still overcome a man. The bullets bounce off its skull, and one is supposed to aim at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart finishes it off. Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dangerous that bear hunting may be considered child's play in comparison, and the peasants and Cossacks decide on it in dire necessity when the tiger breaks into their stables and cannot be got in any other way. In that case 15-20 men with bayonets on their rifles and in closed ranks descend on the place where the animal was scented. But the regular method of capture is poisoning with strychnin or the setting up of rifles which go off when the tiger approaches the bait. The corpse of an animal that was killed by the tiger himself usually serves as bait, for the tiger has the laudable habit of returning the day after his assault.

The wolf exists on the lower Amur, but rarely shows itself and does no harm. It is seldom shot.

223 Birds, especially ducks and geese, partridges and hazel grouse are now usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set for partridges on flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel grouse are lured in spring with whistles, in winter they are openly hunted in spruce thickets. The Gilyak who live in the surrounding country are the chief purveyors of wild game for Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

462 We mentioned above the other occupations and embryonic handicraft and trades. Specialization [124] consists in not much more than a division of labor between men and women. The man hunts, does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

225

225 MARINE HUNTING--animals sought (e.g., whale, alligator, seal, dugong, turtle); methods and techniques employed; special elaborations (e.g., whaling and sealing); organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; regulation; etc. See also:
Weapons 411

/25 cont./

000 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/53 cont./

825 run on the harpoon of the Gilyak. Woe to the animal who falls to his teeth; he tears the great eared seal in half. The most awful sight, however, is kosatki hunting a whale. "Sighting him, the school of kosatki divides into parties. The younger ones set out on the flanks, trying to contain the whale, while the older ones remain in the rear. Having thus stationed themselves for a battue (cautiously without noise so as not to frighten the whale), they suddenly appear on the surface of the water when they calculate that the catch should be in the middle of the circle they have formed. They then throw themselves savagely upon the whale and begin to tear his body into large chunks and greedily swallow them. They all vie in particular to try to get his tongue. The whale thereupon raises a soul-rending roar which can be heard for many versts. Hearing such a roar, I always knew that somewhere close by kosatki were hunting a whale." Thus the zoologist Voznesenski described this terrible sight in the Aleutian Sea, and I happened to see the same sight many times in the waters of the territory of the Gilyak.

And yet this same monster before whom quake the titans of the sea, this tyrannus balaenarum (tyrant of whales), as he was called by Fabritsius, an ancient specialist on whales, not only never touches the boats of the Gilyak, but is his true benefactor, driving nammals and fish to him!

● [225] /54/ For hours on end the Gilyak waits in his fragile little boat for the appearance of the head of a seal on the surface of the water in order to throw his long harpoon into him. But the cautious seals prefer not to appear at all, or show themselves from under the water only to dodge in a most crafty way the blow directed at them. Then, quite unexpectedly, as if specially sent by someone, seals, eared seals, and beluga begin to run onto the harpoon of the Gilyak... The kosatka has appeared, forcing the inhabitants of the sea to throw themselves in all directions without a backward glance! -- How, after this, could the Gilyak not consider this mighty creature, who does not spare anyone but him and, in addition, is his bread winner, sending all sorts of sea animals, his god-benefactor? And he calls this animal none other than yz' -- "master."

476 615 885 591 796 615 476 /122 cont./

blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

615 * 614 476 574 [606] [431] The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage, when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There

* 614 731 476 574 606 615 are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman, because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all. Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

615 224 Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymgi are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.

● 225 476 * 614 The most important of these require the participation of several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it

* 614 615 224 ● 225 476 /123 cont./

from its lair), sable hunting, and especially the hunting of sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participatio not of his clansmen, but of the ymgi, and not necessarily those married to his sister or daughter, but ymgi in general, i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than h does with his own /124/ clansmen; he can freely converse and joke with them, while he may not do this, as we know, with all of his clansmen. In turn, in their akhmal'k clan th ymgi feel like a fish in water; all the women of their gener tion are their an'gej (wives) -- all future wives and at any r women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in th broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young ma population, they find their revenge in the clan of their akhmal'k'i, where they meet the same reception from their

* 614 615 608 [601] "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Betwe the male youth of both clans ("navkh'i") (1), as a result of

1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'i.

frequent meetings, not to mention relationship by marriage, the most touching relations are established. It is in these su roundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchan of presents, mutual aid in misfortune, and other such servic But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood n be found among the navkh'i. Here is one such example, es cially surprising to me, which I chanced to observe in the settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. B friends, "navkh'i," lived in one yurt; they had everything i common, went about together like lovers, almost never separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both

225 The seal (1) is caught in several ways. On the island of
411

1. On the Amur it is found only way down at the mouth.

Sakhalin a lance about two to two and one-half fathoms long which is thicker at its lower end is laid into a wooden trough; on the thick end of the lance a 20-30 fathom long strap is fastened. In spring when the ice breaks up, the seal climbs onto land and the Gilyak pursues it, often at the risk of his life, on a boat or over floating ice fields. As soon as he is near enough to it he places the trough which somewhat represents the barrel of a gun, with the lance inside it on the ground, aims and throws the lance while holding the end of the strap with his left hand, so that the animal cannot get too far away.

225 Another method which is practiced, for instance, in the village of Charbakh, below Nikolayevsk-na-Amure is done in the following way: near a place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom of the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunter conceals himself. The seal, all unsuspecting, climbs on a stone in order to sun himself and is hit by the lance which is attached to the boat by a long strap.

Finally the seal, when he is sunning himself on a rock, is sometimes killed by means of an endlessly long lance, the lower end of which lies on the shore.

The sea lion frequently is found on the coast of Sakhalin and it is the simplest thing in the world to kill it. The animal is stupid and at the same time inquisitive and lets the hunter come so near that he can beat it to death with a club.

224 The otter is frequently seen on the rivers of the country
225 and its pelt is very much prized. It is shot, sometimes even killed with sticks. Cross-bows are also sometimes set up for it, as for the sable.

224 Of land mammals the bear, the elk, the reindeer, the fox,
554 the musk deer and particularly the sable are hunted.

The bravest men conduct a hand-to-hand fight with the bear and thrust their lance into his breast when he stands up on his hind legs. The scars which a man carries away from such a battle bring him great honor and songs of praise. Most of the men do not attempt this single combat and go after the animal in pairs, and [121] armed with rifles; sometimes the bow and arrow are also used; in any case, it is a dangerous hunt.

224 For the bear festival (se
527 sought and are raised in a
be caught in any other way

1. Sometime
about so far
that they can

with the mother bears. T
seek out a bear cave. On
out for the cave with lance
empty dog sleds. They be
ing long sticks into the cav
roar tremendously and sta
stant the bravest and stron
close to the entrance with
soon as the bear appears
against the bear's head.
leader and thus the alarme
impact and is soon bound.
he cannot be handled, he i
a noose is also put around
If the prisoner was a fema
home in sleds.

136 The elk is not found in t
224 the vicinity of Nikolayevsk
farther up at the Amgun riv
because, like the horse, i
the deep snow, and the Gil
overtake it and kill it with
animal is killed with rifles
skin is used for shoes, st

The reindeer is also hu
manner. Occasionally the
tance from the target.

The wild boar does not
Amur; however, it appear
It is hunted with lances an
popular, its skin, among
drums.[122]

224 The fox is preferably p
278 the Gilyak buy from the C
439 strong; much faster, in fa
effect of its alkoloid, i.e.
hunters use but which the

ee below) live young animals are
special enclosure. If they cannot
(1), they are sought out together

s young bears roam
from their mamas
be easily caught.

he Gilyak wait for winter and then
the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set
s, hatchets, straps, and several
gin to irritate the bear by thrust-
ve. Whereupon bruin begins to
rts to leave his cave. At this in-
ngest of the Gilyak takes his stand
his pelt coat on backwards, and as
he hurls himself with his chest
The others hurl themselves on their
ed bear is felled by the combined
If he is strong and raging so that
s immediately killed. Sometimes
his neck as soon as he appears.
le with cubs, they are all taken

he lower Amur region, that is, in
-na-Amure, but is seen somewhat
ver. It is usually hunted in winter
t can travel only with difficulty in
yak on his snow shoes can easily
his lance. In summer time the
. Its meat is very popular and its
raps, etc.
nted chiefly in winter in the same
lance is also thrust at some dis-

occur on Sakhalin and the lower
s 40-50 versts above Nikolayevsk.
d with rifles. Its meat is very
other things, is used for the shaman

oisoned with the vomic nut which
hinese. But this poison is not very
ct almost instantaneous, is the
, strychnine, which Russian fox
Gilyak seldom get hold of. But

224 even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of
278 all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution;
439 furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

224 Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or a snare is set up in a certain calculated manner. For, the sable, when it wants to cross a small stream never fails to use a log that has fallen across it, if he can find one. Now, such logs are purposely prepared for him, and snares as well.

With the first snow fall he is pursued by dogs and killed with buck shot; the pelt is thus little damaged, for two or three grains of shot suffice to kill the animal.

A method commonly used and one that can be applied all winter long, consists of setting up cross-bows, the mechanism of which is cunningly devised. The shaft stands on a stake; behind the arrow there is a sort of cock made of a knee-shaped piece of wood; on the latter is a trigger from which a long thread leads diagonally forward and down and is fastened somewhere on the ground. As soon as the sable in passing touches the thread, the shot is fired.

136 The tiger is known to the Gilyak and they have a word for
224 it in their language, but it is not hunted, because it occurs
825 only rarely in the Gilyak country, and not at all on Sakhalin, and because they regard it as something more than a wild animal. This fear has probably [123] been passed on to them by the Manchurians and the Goldi. The tiger of the Amur-Ussuri country is of the mightiest and most powerful of its kind, as well as extremely cunning; but for humans, especially for Europeans, it is not nearly as dangerous as it is in India, because it finds more food. (1) Only when man

1. During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

'About the same time of the year is set the kas-m
rly interesting from its extraordinary simplicity.
k in it, and cuts it very carefully to the required
s a piece of flesh, wrapped in a rag to prevent the
ning along, suddenly feels the pangs of hunger esp
meat. How good it smells! Cautiously approachi
his hind-legs, he sniffs, and tries in vain to reac
h. He then tries with his paw, but the meat is fir
es again and again until, with a great effort, he 'o
paw in the fork of the stick and cannot withdraw i
paw up, until the Gilyak comes to examine his tr

a, or fox-trap, and this is partic-
The Gilyak takes a stick with a
length. In the fork of this piece he
birds eating it. Master Reynard,
pecially poignant as his eyes fall on
ng, and raising himself hesitatingly
h the bait with his mouth. It is too
nly tied. Fairly roused now, he
'er reaches himself,' and lands
t. There he stands, helpless, with
aps."

"All these traps and snares of the Gilyaks
the beginning and end of winter, when the sn
of storms, snares and tracks are covered u
in all her moods, and, recognizing the appr
they shall be lost, vowing in his heart that e

The sky is already wrapped in swaddling
sweeps through the forest with howls; blast
snow whirl by. The buran is upon him, and
its bitter cold. A group of reindeer is huddl
They are standing with their heads to the g
Blinded by the snow, their keen sight and po
weather, they have forgotten all caution, ye
bear or man. But what is happening? There
objects, and in a momentary lull of the stor
Their hoofs sink deep into the snow, and, di
the trees with the unerring dexterity of caln
glide like lightning after them. For long hav
just this opportunity of the buran to catch th
shoot in this weather, and while running, is
tray him.

are of use in calm weather, especially at
now-covering is yet thin, but with the arrival
p. The native has [299] learnt to know Nature
oach of a gale, gathers up his traps before
even the storms shall yield their prey.
clothes of snow. The north wind blows, and
after blast succeeds, and clouds of driven
he knows it will endure for a long time with
ed together on the borders of the forest.
round, for even they are cold to the bone.
ower of smell having failed them in this
t stand shivering and trembling in fear of
is a slight stir. They have seen some dark
m have fled helter-skelter into the forest.
istracted by fear, their antlers do not clear
ner moments. Dark figures, in shaggy skins,
ve they tracked this herd on skis, and waited
hem. Each hunter has a knife in his hand. To
impossible, but a good knife will not be-

ddenly a whitish-grey great buck is ca
in to free himself. Like a bird the wil
rs, stabs it under the shoulder. With
kly stripping off the skin, sits quietly
his home, in the buran."

ught. Absalomwise, in a tree, and struggles
d man is up with it, and, catching it by the
a gasp the animal falls, and the hunter,
down and begins to feast. He was born, and

5, 224, 483, 527

He [LSS: Vanka, the author's Gilyak be
ays since there had been a bear-hunt b
vo cubs had fallen to their prowess. Or
one. Starting out with the dogs, they ha
nd the dogs immediately began to worr
other bear called to them to 'take care
hile, the dam was shot. An experience
seal-hide noose in his hand. With this
climb down by degrees. The carcase
rawn by the dogs, and the orphaned cub
ence on the morrow there was to be a
ere coming in to celebrate it."

oatman] was in high spirits, for two or three
y his friends of Ado Tim, in which a dam and
ne old Gilyak described to me how the hunt had
ad come up with the ch'uff and cubs in the fores
y the cubs, biting at their hind-legs until the
e,' and run up a tree. This they did, but, mea
ed hunter then proceeded to follow the cubs with
he lassoed them, and, descending, forced ther
of the dead animal was then placed upon a sled
bs were led, pushed, and dragged to the village
great holiday fête, and Gilyaks from all around

604 This formula has preserved its ritual significance even
605 today. One is supposed to send spiritual help to the ten-law
606 gods of children and a share of every catch. Moreover, the
607 hunting gods of the category *jinga* during the course of some
608 months out of the year are entailing guests in the settlement
609 of their fathers-in-law and are indispensable participants in
610 the more important hunting expeditions.

In particular, this relation is clearly attested to at the
611 time of distant sea excursions for the hunting of sea animals.
612 The master of the boat — he is the head of the expedition —
613 in such cases especially summons his *yrugi* to take part in
614 the hunt (I).

1. We find an analogous phenomenon among the Haida Indians, a purely matriarchal tribe. Here, so respectable a chief, one must not shoot in him. There is a contest going on on the other side — that is Pai-yu'-ut, a mountain master — likes a black dog. Tol — sea master — a white one. Each large house has two fires, Pai-ruu and Tol-ruu. If a person has one move, it is enough for Tol-ruu; and if he has bad luck, he blames the gods to a classman of that Shala who has two sources.

615 All this time the *yrugi* are not only fed for nothing, but
616 when they leave they carry away with them an equal share
617 of the catch and various *Pilsi* gifts besides. Only relations
618 with these young men are often much more tender than with
619 one's own children. And this is entirely understandable. For
620 a man's *yrugi* are the sons of his sisters or daughters, his
621 tribesmen, who under a maternal system must live with him,
622 while his own sons and grandsons will move to the settlement
623 of their wives and will be completely estranged from him.

624 This obligation for the "nourishment" of the tribesmen
625 through the female line, however, is a customary institution
626 in matriarchy. Among several peoples, as, for example,
627 among the Polynesians, the right of tribesmen to the property
628 of their uncle on the mother's side has taken on completely
629 improbable forms, where a tribesman has the right to revolt
630 with impunity the possessions of his uncle. This right is

Pilsi comes.

631 morning it is necessary to take back the sti and so forth quietly
632 and healthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-o'lvish
633 can see them and, by these signs, see what they had on the nature
634 of the Tly-o'lvish and "if he has a good or bad gift." Tly-o'lvish
635 "rain" *Pilsi* or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught some-
636 thing, one caught nothing, and one pursued bad gut and nothing.
637 What is the reason for this?"

During a talk — smallpox epidemic — in Tyr all the
638 Gilyak *nanaghik*, make a sacrifice — bow, present rice, roots,
639 and berries. First the 118-year-old man Zyavkaya from the vil-
640 lage of Pal'mun's sacrificed. They play bone dice for the dead.
641 This old man remembers four big *tabi*.

642 Pal'mun's tree with distinctive peculiarities, and on winter
643 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made
644 to one's own Pal-yu' (the master of the mountain), but they are
645 not made to Pilsi-yu' (the master of the sea), because, as regards
646 seen on a bushi. One must not shoot in him. There is a con-
647 test taken going on on the other side — that is Pal-yu'-ut, a mo-
648 untain master — likes a black dog. Tol — sea master — a
649 white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-ruu and Tol-ruu.
650 If a person has one move, it is enough for Tol-ruu; and if he has bad
651 luck, he blames the gods to a classman of that Shala who has two
652 sources.

653 Tol-tabkhip — a tabkhi of lands; a hammer, chong-shok'-
654 ch hung on it. Near it is a halgyep (bench) Fabar-pun which are
655 placed the corners of the house, and the Tly-o'lvish sacrifice. At
656 they invariably boil the dolphin, here the bones are left to lie,
657 and the shells and fins, which are placed in a kabuch
658 *Ranghi*, i.e., a place where they put shells. During the Tymmdo
659 only two dishes are placed on the halgyep — mos' and mos
660 (jelly-like dish). It is also from here, in the presence
661 of the entire Shala, that they throw a little of everything into the
662 Amur, but say nothing — otherwise another misfortune will
663 occur. — Then on the tabkhi they hang tobacco, *ngok* (*Abbyde*) —
664 a bush, *yuhala* — *pyr*, and announce that everyone should come
665 out and feed it. In the main office of the Tymmdo, they feed
666 with impunity the possessions of his uncle. This right

667 /313 cont.
668 to dunar; "Tra-ka?" — Is it enough?" — "Tra-ka!" — Is it enough?
669 Everyone approaches by honors and feeds it, and each says his
670 own: "Send the blessings to me, Tly-o'lvish, and so that every-
671 body must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would
672 be a heavy sin if they were to come back separately."

The customary tabkhi of a hunter is the individual sig. Any-
673 body who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has
674 smelled a bear's skin (the place for the bear festival), he appeal
675 *kumlaghi*: assumes, and they judge him; they demand a bear or
676 *Ish* — a shaggy dog. Pal-yu' — the master of the mountain is for
677 each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, *Fish*; they cut
678 the bones in a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have
679 stood for half an hour, they are thrown away.

When they build a pile *sigrgi* (house in which the bear festival
680 is celebrated), they do not forget to celebrate a bear festival.
681 Here is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a *Ish* — a shaggy
682 dog (Pal is just like *mish*, "i.e., like a bear). If the house
683 is simple, they kill only dogs, two or four in number, without re-
684 gard to kind. If a pest falls on a *Ishgi*, bear festival, a
685 dog pestilence, and the bear festival is not celebrated, the
686 bear festival, be given to the classman of that Shala who has two
687 sources.

688 Tol-tabkhip — a tabkhi of lands; a hammer, chong-shok'-
689 ch hung on it. Near it is a halgyep (bench) Fabar-pun which are
690 placed the corners of the house, and the Tly-o'lvish sacrifice. At
691 they invariably boil the dolphin, here the bones are left to lie,
692 and the shells and fins, which are placed in a kabuch
693 *Ranghi*, i.e., a place where they put shells. During the Tymmdo
694 only two dishes are placed on the halgyep — mos' and mos
695 (jelly-like dish). It is also from here, in the presence
696 of the entire Shala, that they throw a little of everything into the
697 Amur, but say nothing — otherwise another misfortune will
698 occur. — Then on the tabkhi they hang tobacco, *ngok* (*Abbyde*) —
699 a bush, *yuhala* — *pyr*, and announce that everyone should come
700 out and feed it. In the main office of the Tymmdo, they feed
701 with impunity the possessions of his uncle. This right

702 /313 cont.
703 are placed into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow
704 trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and
705 place the head and horns there.

The other is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the
706 table. The remaining bears are stigmd kaub (i.e., there is so
707 many bears, so many).

When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are
708 found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives
709 the Gilyak luck.

During the hunting with nooses (*gochashp d'arkhosh*), a
710 woman cries because anything new is dragged from her own
711 house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing
712 has been a pipe and the house. One must cover the fire out-
713 side. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the
714 taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night.
715 It cable is lost, the Gilyak must go to the house, and if he does not
716 hands without the permission of the master, and in general during
717 the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by
718 a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunt-
719 ing party; even a killed hazel grouse may not be touched. If
720 it is not at all separately, it is enough for the hunter to take a
721 month on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

722 /*Shal* (*Pilsi*) — sable, weasel, ermine, should not be killed by dogs.
723 Catching a wolf. In Dikhem (northwestern Sakhalin) they place
724 it near a bent or forked branch and dispersed edges not far from that
725 *yurt*. Yahola is not allowed to approach the place. Sakhalin and
726 the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes
727 caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot it wolves.

Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a *ngr* (?), and
728 the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they kill
729 them with the net.

Mos is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon,
730 and in winter, before the sables. In winter of the dog year Gilyak
731 kill a great number of dogs onscoil (a maximum of four), make
732 jelly of *mos*, and in summer catch a great number of bears (this
733 will be the Tymmdo Shlamdo). In general a great deal is done for
734 the sake of Shlamdo.

735 /313 cont.
736 are closed with this nest. When a clan is divided and part of it
737 emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (*khal*—*gorchan*)
738 takes with him a piece of the nest and hands it over to the elder among
739 the departing clansmen. The nest is the sacred place of the clan, and
740 light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be
741 sacred to the clan and will be used for the same purpose. Hence the ex-
742 pression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the
743 clan. This custom reminds us of Dravidian, where those leaving
744 their native land to found new colonies used to take with them
745 the sacred fire of the home altar.

746 Bear festivals are celebrated in bad in the spring before the hunting
747 of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refresh-
748 ment are borne by the Gilyak. The bear is the approach of ever-
749 ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the vil-
750 (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. There, in
751 the presence of the bear, they all bow deeply to him, and a specially
752 prepared, bad bears left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice.
753 Then all bow present squat down and each throws into the sea a
754 handful fresh catch rough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing
755 the customary formula of prayer: "Our tengo-shka" ("God,
756 Lord"), after which they place a bear in one pit, where the re-
757 freshments begin, in which the women take part.

758 The "Gilyak" clan, which, as we have seen, is not in each of its
759 members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
760 another shal'. The means a clan vengeance.

761 Blood vengeance, as everywhere, is a tribal, it is true, has
762 assumed considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has
763 not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional,
764 calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered
765 man — his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his
766 other clansmen — must, in the figurative expression of the
767 Gilyak, "raise up the sindred bones" (um'ny yuyuadoh), i.e.,
768 kill the murderer or at least some person of the main sex of his
769 shal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even new-
770 born children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mother
771 of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

772 /365 cont.
773 that they are killing seals; in such a case the boat is destroyed.
774 But if, in reply, the Gilyak display a hare's tail, the devil goes
775 away, and they continue their hunting.

The relationship between the Gilyak and all his gods —
776 *ginnaki* — is quite clear. It is the same as between people
777 foxes, bears, fish, seals, and so forth. Sables and with sables,
778 the relation of the spiritual world of Pal'-ninvish all fish and seals are the prop-
779 erty of "Tly'-ninvish, and so and dogs are the property of the
780 Gilyak. The gods specifically give a portion of their property to
781 man. It is not an exchange in the sense of a commercial deal
782 regularity during the appropriate seasons, it is not an accident that
783 sable is dressed in an expensive fur during the hunting season, it is
784 not an accident that weasel, ermine, and sable are in the hunting season
785 and become an easy catch for the Gilyak. All this is done by the
786 gods for man. In return, the Gilyak must give to the gods what
787 Gilyak should not remain in debt to their benefactors. And so
788 they give the gods a portion of everything that they avail them-
789 selves of, namely, "food, tobacco, bows, tobacco, sugar, and so forth. When
790 once expressed a desire to take part in the sacrifice to Tol'-
791 ninvish at the beginning of the bear festival, they said to me: "But
792 will you give the god bread, potatoes, etc.?" Sacrifices are the
793 exchange of portions with the nimshin. That is why the sacrifice
794 of bears took place in the winter, when the hunting season was
795 made; for example, among the dishes offered in thanks for the
796 bear, the last one not lapin. Although in certain cases indispen-
797 ble dish of the Gilyak themselves on the evening of the sacrifice.
798 Then, the bear at the well-known festival is no way a sacrifice,
799 as some think. *Pilsi* for not a single piece of its meat is appor-
800 tioned to the god, and the Gilyak does not understand allegory to
801 sacrifice — means giving the god something real. And actually,
802 at this festival, the master of the bear, Pal'-ninvish, is given a
803 sacrifice of tasmny, "nuts," yukola, and other stands. The
804 idea of exchange is so strong in the Gilyak that it has
805 that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the
806 to demonstrate "mercy to a Gilyak. For him, it religiously
807 *Ninvish*, he does not understand religious feeling.

808 /338 cont.
809 correct, or those sacred treasures which hypocritically lie un-
810 touched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays
811 is considerably relieved by the natural mechanism of the tether
812 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
813 determined by the force of acquiring the means of existence.
814 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
815 of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
816 existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
817 Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
818 require the cooperation of many people, because the hunting of
819 hunting the Gilyak join in temporary strife, whose composition is
820 completely accidental. Thus, the necessity for the existence of
821 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
822 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
823 the employment for one or another family, for example, in the hunting of wash
824 and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several
825 men to a boat, the social relationship of kinship among the partici-
826 pants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth
827 who sits /*Ninl*/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who
828 inhabit the Amur, or who does not possess the craft, is not so
829 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
830 In the same way, the Gilyak, Gilyak, Orochi, Goldi, and Orochon than
831 an equal share of the catch is not the manner of the bear, but the
832 one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as
833 carrying the bear from the place of the sacrifice to the Amur. In
834 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same
835 share as his have-not companions ("*nanghi*"). True, I have seen
836 an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3
837 of the catch, while his have-not contrade — only 1/3, but to
838 question my informant, he said that "everything I received he re-
839 plied: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone,
840 and I have a family and many mouths." I encountered a relationship
841 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but
842 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind
843 one of a hired worker. The master will help his worker gain
844 a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his
845 death.

846 /385 cont.
847 many of his children had died between
848 the beginning of the hunting and the
849 date of the census. In this way, we ob-
850 tained an exact number of the children
851 in a given family, living and dead.
852 Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate
853 of

854 fertility rate — 7.2%, although this figure is below the actual
855 for in the number of married people were included, on the one
856 hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives,
857 and, on the other hand, children who were married to adults
858 There is an average of 15 people living in each yurt, although
859 there are as many as 30 people in some yurts. Some of subtrapes,
860 for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyaniov accommo-
861 dated 42 persons of the same clan.

862 Gilyak, living in the coastal settlements, the largest of
863 these villages: the Tamlyno and Likleyvo (144 persons eac
864 Yukvo (102), Ashyuv (98), Tal'v-Mgrgo and Ko Tod
865 (64 each), Kinzdro and Pone (59 each), Nyaivo (98), the
866 intalent settlements are Yamg (4 persons), Vaan (8), Nobiy (8),
867 in the same way as the Gilyak settlements, Gilyak, Orochi, Goldi
868 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season
869 1,000, 1,200, and 1,500 respectively. Settlements nearer to the Aleksandr
870 post, 238 (?). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
871 for
872 5. The number of fur animals and so forth
873 killed during the last hunting was obtained
874 from reports of the Gilyak themselves.
875 These figures are more probably somewhat
876 low than actual. The data in the
877 village of Kinzdro, for instance, deliber-
878 ately underestimated the number of sables so as not
879 the truth to the Russians, who, according to
880 him, would come and take away the bounty
881 /386/ there are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
882 for every two persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some more

883 /385 cont.
884 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season
885 1,000, 1,200, and 1,500 respectively. Settlements nearer to the Aleksandr
886 post, 238 (?). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
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888 5. The number of fur animals and so forth
889 killed during the last hunting was obtained
890 from reports of the Gilyak themselves.
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892 low than actual. The data in the
893 village of Kinzdro, for instance, deliber-
894 ately underestimated the number of sables so as not
895 the truth to the Russians, who, according to
896 him, would come and take away the bounty
897 /386/ there are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
898 for every two persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some more

/319 cont./

3. (cont.)
not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 215 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaisenhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

55 / 164 / 164 / 36 / 121

count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an approximate estimate of their strength might be found in the number of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with certainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

Gen / 36 / 121

fraction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle along the higher bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live — along the seacoasts, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank investing above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/431 cont./

Sea of Japan, likewise occurs throughout the habitation area of the Gilyak and goes up the Amur River just as far as the seal (3). I learned this much about it, that though, like the latter, it, too, is used by the Gilyak as food for people and dogs (4), nevertheless

3. See Vol. I, p. 191, of the present work.

4. According to Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 106), the fat of the beluga whale is used for lighting the tents and the meat, too, has quite a good taste.

it comes after the seal, because hunting it, which will be discussed later, is much more difficult and dangerous and can be done for only a shorter period in the year, only as long as the river is open, and furthermore because it is not nearly as useful as the seal, which, besides food, also yields valuable clothing materials. Nevertheless, the numerous white-whale hunts, which one sees hanging on trees and branches at many places along the banks of the Amur River indicate that /432/ the white whale is not infrequently hunted by the Gilyak and, in conformity with its significance, is treated in traditional, superstitious ways.

The Gilyak behave quite differently toward another cetacean, /433/ the sea-lion (Eumetopias jubatus Schreb.), which in our territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live — along the seacoasts, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank investing above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/533 cont./

Wound in this manner, the kilio, like a shuttle, moves from one side to the other and back again, providing the material for the net and at the same time, tightening its meshes. For in no way make the latter and at the same time give them a certain uniform size, the kiwu is used, a rectangular little board, straight and horizontal at the top and bottom and indented at the sides, with two, approximately triangular cutouts, which, however, seem to be three only for stringing these boards on a cord, like a bunch of keys, and thus making it easier to store them.

The three meshes of a net are to be, the larger must be the instruments used in making it, the kilio and the kiwu. The net used for salmon (pach-hekhe) and for seal-hunting, also for seals — Gilyak pach-kil — has the largest meshes and, therefore, it can be made out of the thickest cord. Therefore to make it the largest instruments are used: the nutmu-needle, Fig. 4, called pach-kil-hilte by the Gilyak (also tollen-hilte and kewaqhilte), and the corresponding mesh-board, pach-kil-kiwu, Fig. 6 on the plate cited. Then, according to size, the equipment used for the knotting of the sturgeon net, Gilyak tukhi-kil, follows: tukhi-kil-hilte (also jaghan-kil-hilte), Fig. 3, and tukhi-kil-kiwu, Fig. 5 of the plate named. The next smaller, third netting-needle, Fig. 2, called anga-kil-hilte or also nohnal-hilte, is used for making the nets with which, in Gilyak, the pilengat (Cyprinus carpio), mimh (Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii), hich, etc. are caught. A fourth, even smaller netting-needle, Fig. 1, called pach-kil-hilte, is used for the seal-net, pach-kil-kiwu, that is, as the needle which serves for making the bag net (mytch-kil) used in the above-mentioned salmon weirs. They added, however, that nets knotted with this needle were also used for catching the tangi, S. grotesus. /534/ From this one may conclude that the bag nets of the salmon weirs used chiefly, or indeed, as far as I could see, exclusively, for catching S. lagocephalus are relatively fine-meshed, for even fish much smaller than S. lagocephalus, as S. grotesus in particular, do not get into these finer nets. And that is probably the result of learning by experience that with larger meshes in a bag net the fish entering it in

/543 cont./

Just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches of work the Gilyak stand fare among all the peoples of the Amur region. One can see with enough from the above descriptions how great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them for food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing means of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next to fishing, hunting seals is therefore their chief occupation, which, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation area, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of Sakhalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, in which, as we already pointed out, the seals migrate as far as the Olcha territory. In fact, among the coastal Gilyak, they hunt the seal not only on land and in the sea, but also often even comes before fishing. It can be seen merely from the clothing of these Gilyak, consisting to a great extent, indeed, of the skins of seals, that hunting seals plays a far more important role than among the Amur Gilyak. It should also be noted in this connection that on the Amur-Liman there are two places that bear the name of "Tangi-wo," or "Tangi" for short, and "Tangi," that is, seal village, perhaps because they are especially favorably located for seal-hunting or perhaps because their inhabitants prefer to hunt seals and traditional skill and success. I cannot say anything further about one of these places, Tangi, located on the west coast of Sakhalin, which, according to Glehn (fig. 1, merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

common village of the Gilyak of Tymy, /544/ The other one, however, Tangi, located on a small island in the entrance to the Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited myself, seems fully to justify its name and its correspondence with it. It is one of the largest Gilyak villages on the Amur-Liman, and its inhabitants carry on a lively trade with the Amur-Gilyak, using in particular his products of fur seal-hunting, such as skins, such as sealskin and fur and seal oil as means for bartering with them.

/544 cont./

Along with them, Tschonsi plays the same role in the southern part of the Amur-Liman that Tangi does in the north. In particular the small group of the Hagimif Islands is one of the localities more frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living adjacent to it. In order to hunt seals, however, the enterprising Tschonsi Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Manzia-Kuo Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, in Pogholti, for this purpose. Nearly less than of the inhabitants of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur River, at Tschchabach, Igale-wo, and Pronge, where in particular the small island of Ko-ni is especially favorable spot for it.

Of the seals found in the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception of the "ahch," Phoca equestris Pall., but the Gilyak do not actually go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the younger ones go up farther. In any case, Ph. nummularis Schleg., which in the adult state is called pghli-lungr by the Gilyak, gilachna by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak. One sees its more or less densely spotted fur everywhere among them and used in all kinds of ways, for clothing, for bags and decorations in detail above, ski, bags, small pouches, etc. Scarcely less important for them, however, is the hightsch, the Ph. barbata Nilss., which is less common in the river and whose thicker skin, with the hair removed, is used for making the foot part and the soles on their boots, the dog harness, and the straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to be about 60 versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Poro-Tymy (1), but as yet nothing is known about

1. Schrenk, Gilyaks' von Sakhal. Sketch of Sakhalin Island, St. Petersburg, 1892, p. 48.

the habits of the individual species.

/544 cont./

Along the seacoast and in the Amur-Liman seal-hunting takes place during every season of the year. In winter and in spring as long as there is an ice-cover, the Gilyak lie in wait for the seals at the places where they come to the surface of the ice to breathe, in order to kill them with the ordinary harpoon, the tungu (2) (Pl. XIII /p-1025/, Fig. 2), also used for spearing

2. This designation primarily refers to the iron point illustrated, but it is also used for the entire harpoon equipped with a pole for hurling it.

sturgeon and hausen, or, when they have crawled out on the ice itself, to cut them off from the water /545/ and simply club them. The latter can be done more often and to a greater extent in the spring, because then the seals are said to enjoy coming out on the surface of the ice to sun themselves. Both the Tschonsi Gilyak whom I met in Pogholti and the inhabitants of Tagi on the mainland coast of the Sea of Okhotsk told me that the month of April, called Ang, was the month in which more productive seal-hunting begins along the seacoast and in the Liman. In the Amur, on the other hand, seal-hunting is practiced only when the river has no ice, and, to be sure, especially in August, the pghli-lungr-time, because then the seals go into the river in greater numbers in order to feed on the mangs of kera salmon (S. lagocephalus) going up it. There is a similar situation at the mouth of the Tymy on Sakhalin, where not only the Gilyak and Orok living there, but also the Gilyak coming from the upper course of the Tymy to fish, engage in seal-hunting, the dog harness, and the straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to be about 60 versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Poro-Tymy (1), but as yet nothing is known about

1. Schrenk, Gilyaks' von Sakhal. Sketch of Sakhalin Island, St. Petersburg, 1892, p. 48.

the habits of the individual species.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/546/

Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lych, like the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.

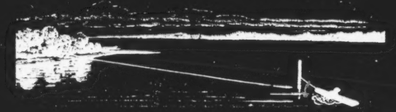

Use of the lych for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon. Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any use is made of a slain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife, whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown into the water, and, furthermore, the snout, or, to achieve both things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put into the water. The guiding thought in this is to leave the slain animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in the future. The same conception is evidently the basis for the above-mentioned similar procedure of the Manegir with their slain sturgeon and hausen. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to terms with this superstition in another and less costly way. Perhaps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

/546 cont./

225 825 seals was very inconvenient for me inasmuch as, because of it, I was unable to obtain perfectly whole and intact skins of the seals of the Amur region.

A 225 Just as among the Gilyak, seal-hunting also plays an important role among the Ainu living on both coasts of Sakhalin and is practiced by them in quite similar ways. Thus, according to Mizul's information (2), the above-described, long-handled

2. Op. cit., p. 130.

harpoon, the Gilyak lych, is also used among them, and even Mamia Rinsô mentions /547/ that they put in the water small wooden floats onto which the seals crawl and are then killed with javelins (1).

1. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

G1 225 Among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region it is possible for only a few, because of the location of their habitation area, to turn to seal-hunting among other sources of subsistence, or to practice it at all. The former is the case in particular among the Orochi of the coast, who do not practice [439] seal-hunting merely to satisfy their own needs for seal furs, skins, and oil, but also get from it important articles to barter in trade with their western neighbors, the Goldi. Nevertheless, even among the Orochi seal-hunting falls far behind the preferred [361] hunting of forest animals. The Olcha, too, though to a lesser extent, have an opportunity to devote themselves to seal-hunting within their own borders, thanks, on the one hand, to their dwelling sites on de Castries Bay and, on the other hand, to the ascent of the seals in the Amur River far into their territory. [191] [197] There can be no doubt but that they practice it in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak, who here again are their teachers. G1 225 221 361 Finally, the Negda, though living at a distance from the sea, annually travel in some number from the Amguni, and especially from their northeastern dwelling sites on Lake Orell and

G1 225 221 361 /547 cont./

Lake Tschlja, across the mountains to the Sea of Okhotsk, in order to occupy themselves there for a time with seal-hunting (2).

2. According to Boschnjak and Schmidt, see pp. 26 and 63 above.

G1 225 191 For the other Tungusic peoples of the Amur region nothing can be said about seal-hunting.

G 225 136 Catching the white whale comes into consideration for the Amur region within even narrower limits than seal-hunting. The distribution of the white whale (Delphinapterus leucas Pall., Gilyak pomi-tscho, Olcha malta) in the Amur region approximately coincides with the habitation area of the Gilyak; only along the east coast of Sakhalin and in the Amur River does it go somewhat beyond it to the south, whereas on the west coast G 136 of the island it falls back to the north behind it. An inhabitant of the arctic seas, among which the Sea of Okhotsk also belongs in view of its general character, the white whale goes down along the east coast of Sakhalin to its southern end and occurs in particular in great numbers in the Bay of Patience and at the mouth of the Poronai (3). On the other hand it remains far from

G [113]

3. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" /Journey to Sakhalin Island/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 107, 111). The same, Otchet" ob" izslied. na ostr. Sakhalinie, v" Iuzhno-Ussurisk. krae i v" Iaponii /Summary of the Research on Sakhalin Island, in the Southern Ussuri Region, and in Japan/ (supplement to Vol. XLVIII of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 6, pp. 5-7). At the latter place, Poljakof reports that the white whale appears in large schools in front of the mouth of the Poro-nai even before the river has shed its cover

/548 cont./

225 191 In view of this distribution of the white whale in the Amur region, the Gilyak are practically the only one of its peoples that occupies itself with catching it. To be sure, the Ainu along the east coast of Sakhalin would have the opportunity for it, but there is no mention of such an occupation by any of the travelers who became acquainted with them. Little inclined toward bolder hunting ventures, they presumably are satisfied, so far as the white whale is concerned, to capture the individuals stranded on the shore, just as they do in the case of the larger 225 true whales. With regard to the latter the Gilyak do no differently, but they pursue the white whale with weapons, and, to be sure, for this they use a harpoon intended specifically for this purpose, their so-called parr (Pl. XLII /see p.1022/, Figs. 3 and 4). This consists of a thick and short bone tube into which a dagger-shaped, double-edged and pointed iron lamella provided with a barb on either side in the back is inserted. This piece is mounted on a wooden shaft (Gilyak werl) for hurling it and, in addition, is equipped with a long, stout strap by which the wounded animal is pulled in, either to the boat or directly on land, depending on where the hunter may be, in order finally to be beaten to death. Here, too, as in seal-hunting, super- [825] stition, and presumably as the result of a similar idea, demands that, first of all, the head of the slain animal be cut off; it is not thrown into the water, however, but hung on a tree standing on the bank, after all the muscle meat and the like have first been removed from it. At various places along the right bank of the Amur I saw such trees with many skulls of white whales hanging in them, which at the same time showed the success [191] of the Gilyak in hunting /549/ the white whale. I cannot say whether the Olcha, in whose territory the white whale is much rarer, likewise hunt them, but, if this should be the case, only the Gilyak could have been their teachers. Thus, the hunting of the white whale is a characteristic feature in the way of life of the Gilyak in contrast to the other Amur peoples and brings them closer, in view of the arctic nature of this animal, to the ooo polar peoples. And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking

/549 cont./ And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking

225 191 825 the skulls of slain white-whales on a tree or, lacking one of them on vertical piles driven into the ground prevails among some of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed and

[113]

1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 85; Zoographia rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 275.

Ostyak along the Obj River.

/550/ Section 9

ooo

Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

224 191 As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forest, I must first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing, increases the more in immediate importance and significance the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region, just like fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

224 The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observations, are accordingly, as the most sedentary, the most ichthyophagous, and in general the most pronounced fishing people of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peoples [439] to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them catching fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for themselves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these ends

Economy and Everyday Life

226 [433] The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "xyyezdki," nets and seines. A "xayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this [433] method, several days' fishing produced 4000–5000 fish, which quite filled the [446] needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber. 225 They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the 288 shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from [199] the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

● 225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well, in open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted

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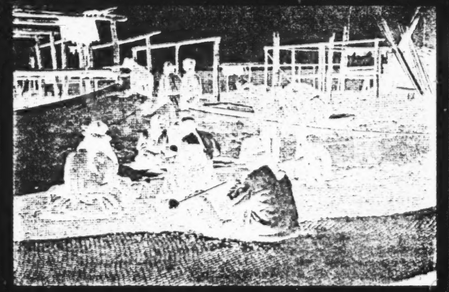

Sewing together a seine.

● 225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

224 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a 82 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after [184] the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow [198] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The 887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these 462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite 199 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective 433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

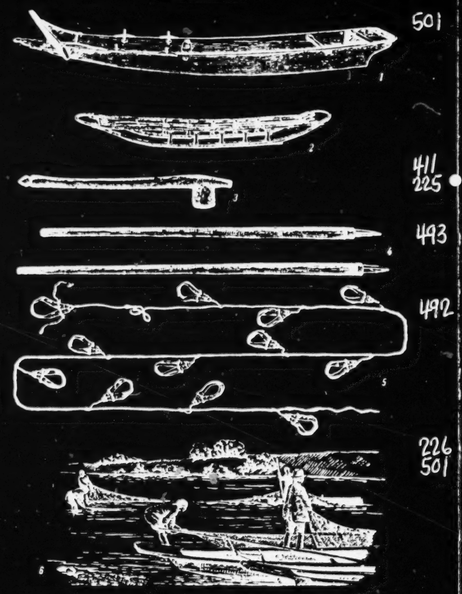

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Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with 262 fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, 252 seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi 129 became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded 262

● 225 [108] Hunting of the Beluga by the Gilyaks of the Village Puir
476
433 As L. Schrenk (1) rightly points out, hunting of the beluga

1. L. Schrenk, Ob Inorodtsakh Amurskovo Kraia, v. II, [Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region)

(white dolphin) does not play an important part in the economy of the Gilyaks which is based on fishing and, to a lesser extent, on seal hunting. Nevertheless, hunting of the beluga, which is now of an accidental rather than systematic nature, contains some features which merit description. These features are:

1) The primitive Communist character of the distribution of the catch. The hunters as well as the other village folk share the beluga. Not so in seal hunting, where the quarry is shared by the hunters only. (2)

2. E. A. Kreĭnovĭch, Morskoĭ Promysel Gilĭakov Derevnĭ Kul', [Fishing Industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul), Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.

2) The religious ceremony held by the Gilyaks on the occasion of a successful hunt.

124 We did our best to authenticate the facts we are about to
225 report by writing them down in the Gilyak language under the
115 dictation of the informant. Besides writing down texts, we collected maps, plans of summer and winter settlements, plans indicating the location of landed property, drawings, etc.

In the present article we publish drawings by the Gilyak Mytka which depict all the important phases of a hunt of the beluga and two accounts of the hunt; one told by the author of these drawings, the other--by the Gilyak Khor.

115 Mytka lives in the village Puir. He is about 35 years old. He is one of the most outstanding and talented Gilyaks I have met. He has a tremendous thirst for knowledge. When I went to see him for the first time, he was lying on his plank-bed and reading Goroda i Gody [Towns and Years] by K. Fedin, a book that he took out from the library at his place of work. Mytka is very much interested in problems of technology. The model of the airplane that I brought to the anthropological and ethnographical museum was made by him for his son. Mytka likes to draw, but, unfortunately

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[225 184 192] prong (Pl. XLII /p.1022/, Fig. 1), on which the ordinary harpoon-point (tugngy), equipped with a long strap, is set. At its rear end, on the other hand, where a deep groove is carved, the board is joined to a pole (Gilyak tla) 10-13 fathoms long and made up of several pieces (1). Thanks to such a length of the handle, an

1. On the island of Uĭsut, from which much seal-hunting is carried on, I saw such a pole lying flat, which was 40 paces long.

attack on the shy and cautious animals can be made with this weapon from a considerable distance. For this purpose, the whole weapon is lowered to the water and pushed along, slowly and carefully with its tip toward the seal resting on a stone or otherwise in view, by the hunter lying hidden as much as possible in the boat or on the bank, until it is close enough so that a sudden forceful thrust suffices to drive it into the animal's body, which then, by means of the long strap attached to the harpoon, is pulled toward the boat or onto the shore and clubbed. At places frequently visited by seals the Amur Gilyak also customarily fasten one or more floating beams to a post driven into the river bed at an appropriate distance from the shore in order to lure the seals out of the water and then kill them from hiding with the lych held in readiness (2).

[128 126]

2. The drawings for the woodcut on the following page and for those presented on pp. 751, 763, 780, 791, and 825 were made by the curator of our Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum, Mr. Mr. Russow, in part from the original sketches made on the spot by my travel companion, Mr. Poliwanof, or contained in my diary of the journey, and in part from the pertinent objects in our museum. I therefore take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to him.

115 his drawings have not been preserved. He is unable to go to Leningrad to study for he cannot leave his family and his old father.

225 Mytka made the sketches of the beluga hunt at my request.
124 Three of these are rough sketches which [109] I was fortunate enough to find at Mytka's. They are considerably better than the final sketches in which Mytka partly imitates the style of sketches he had seen in Russian books. (1)

1. On publication we were forced for technical reasons to substitute slanting lines for Mytka's shading.

Description of the sketches:

Sketch 1. The Gilyaks, having sighted a beluga, depart on the hunt.

Sketch 2. The Gilyaks have driven the beluga to a shallow. The Gilyak at the prow is about to throw the harpoon.

Sketch 3. A detail relating to the second sketch.

Sketch 4. Flight of the harpoon aimed at the beluga; the harpoon is supposed to hit the beluga at the moment when it emerges from the water.

Sketch 5. The beluga drags the float behind it. When the harpoon hits the beluga, the tip of the harpoon which is tied to a long strap, remains in the body of the beluga. The movements of the beluga are hindered by the float attached to the other end of the strap.

Sketch 6. The Gilyaks have caught the float and are getting ready to thrust the second harpoon at the beluga.

Sketch 7. The Gilyaks haul the beluga to the side of the boat and are about to kill it with a blow of a lance in the area of the respiratory orifice.

Sketch 8. The Gilyaks take the beluga which is fastened to the side of the boat to the village. An old woman sits on the shore and beats on a board using two sticks. This peculiar music stands for a welcome for the killed beluga.

Sketch 9. The hunters have brought the beluga to the village. The inhabitants of the village have come out to meet them and are about to haul the beluga ashore. The old woman continues to play on the board.

Sketch 10. The Gilyaks haul the beluga ashore.

Sketch 11. A Gilyak cuts up the beluga.

Sketch 12. The Gilyaks depart, each with his share of the beluga.

Sketch 13 & 14. The head of the beluga on a birch (From photographs).

225 The sketches do not include all the details of the beluga hunt. Mytka's account, dictated to me on June 29, 1931, in the village Puir, supplements the sketches. We give here a faithful translation of his account.

"During the ebb tide the belugas head inshore. After the tide receded, he gathered his friends (and said): 'Let us go after it (in the sea).' We went in pursuit. When the beluga headed out to the fairway we chased it back to a shallow. When it could not go any further the man at the prow who held a harpoon got ready and waited for it (the beluga) to appear (to come up). When it broke the surface, he lanced it. Then he threw the float. We let the beluga drag the float. When it got tired we approached it and lanced it a second time. Then we came close to it and hauled it to the side of the boat. We hooked the beluga and hauled it (out of the water). Then he hit it with a lance (that is, pierced it) (2)

2. The Gilyaks kill the beluga by lancing it in the area of the respiratory orifice.

When we killed it we tied a rope to it and hauled it ashore.
225 While we were hauling it, the old woman came down to the
533 shore and began striking the board with a stick. (3) When we
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3. Only in Puir do they welcome the caught beluga by such music. I have not observed this custom in any other village.

brought it (to the shore), we came up to the shore prow first. (4) Having untied the beluga, we hauled it to the shore

4. Usually the Gilyaks come up to the shore stern first, but when they bring a beluga, they come prow first.

[112] and pulled it out. We put the board on which the woman was beating under the head of the dolphin. The old men sent the youths to gather dozgon grass and piskər plant. (1) Then we

1. The Amur Gilyaks "feed" the plant piskər to all captured sea-animals such as sea-lions, seals, and belugas. They put this plant in the mouth of the killed animal (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel

We went to the "Cape Facing the Sea." (Tol-nun-iv-Kn=k)(2)

2. It is of interest to note that the Gilyaks sometimes name places according to their economic usage. This cape is named Tol-nun-iv-kn=k because from this place the Gilyaks watch the sea waiting for the sea animals which swim past the cape.

When we arrived at the "Cape Facing the Sea" no animal came up to the shore. We went back. We descended to our place. We had tea. We finished drinking our tea and loaded our things. We went to Otvax. From there we headed out to the open sea. When we were going down by boat to (the place) across Vaspn, the belugas came in behind us. The mother had a young one. (3) So they swam. When they passed by

3. He means the female beluga with a young.

us, I got up and wanted to shoot. As I was about to shoot, my friend (said): "It is too far." He did not want me to shoot. Then I said: "All right, I will fire, we will see." When I got up, the young one broke the surface. I let it emerge and fired. Then I fired (that is, I hit it). The young one plunged beneath the surface. I thought for a long time that it was lost. "Ah! There it swam away, it came up." Then we rowed and followed it. We caught up with it. We hurled the harpoon. Then we got up and lanced it a second time. Then we pulled the strap and hauled the beluga to the side of the boat, we fastened it, pierced it with a lance, and killed it. We took it in tow. Our children were happy. Then we came ashore and hauled the beluga ashore. I went up the hill to gather pisk=r. I came back, shoved the grass in the respiratory opening of the beluga, and fed it. Then we cut off the strap, cut up the meat, dragged it away, ate some of it, and covered up the rest. We went to sleep. We slept. When we got up in the morning, the animal did not come up to the shore. We ate and loaded our things. Then we went by boat to Otvax. When we came to the upper side of Otvax (Otvax k'eqr-ksef hertox), the seals crawled out of the water at the tip of the cape. We went to the tip of the cape and untied the harpoons. At that time the animals swam up to the shore. We let them come up, we aimed and missed. Then the animals fled. Then we came up (the mountain) and went down to our boat. Afterwards, we went by boat and

225 landed at P'arqaiv. We slept. Afterwards, when we got up, the seals were on a stone sticking out of the water, on the other side of P'arquaiv. (4)Then the two of us went by

4. Near the shore of P'arquaiv there are stones on which the seals rest. These stones are called norpax.

boat and fired our (Berdan) rifles. We let them thrash in agony. We went into the water, hit them with a harpoon and dragged them ashore. Striking the heads of the seals with a stick, we killed them. We dragged them to our place, skinned them, cooked and ate them. Then we slept. Then we got up, we ate, and when we turned back to the Big Cape (Pila-kp), the belugas swam up to the shore. We let them swim up to the shore and, taking the harpoons, we went up to the cape "Facing the Sea." We went down to the end of the stone Norpax. There they were, one on each stone. We untied the harpoons. Then we let the belugas approach us. We aimed, but missed. I was picking out a strap when, suddenly, a beluga came near us. My friend aimed, hit and threw a float. Then the beluga swam out to sea. We went up (the hill) to our boat. Following the beluga, we headed out to sea. [115] We went by boat and caught the float. Pulling out the strap we dragged the beluga and flung (the harpoon) a second time. Our beluga towed us between and past steamboats. I took the (Berdan) rifle, aimed at the respiratory opening and killed the beluga. We quickly attached it to the stern. We went down. We rowed and came to (stopped at) our place. Here we could not drag it out (we lacked the strength). We waited for the ebb and got ashore. Then we gathered some pisk=r, came down, shoved it in the respiratory opening and fed the beluga. Then we cut it up. When we finished, we quickly put the straps in the boat. We also put our things in the boat. Then we took off and went to the end of the cape having a sledge [Mys imeyuschi nartu] (T'u ift kr x). There was a storm there, the water came overboard, and we turned back to our places. We arrived. We took out all our things and dried them. We put part of the straps in the boat. We left our two children; the two of us went up in our boat to Hivzu. When we arrived, there were people there. We took out our things and, towing our own boat, we went down in another one. When we came down, we took the meat, our things and our friends. Then we went back. We landed at Hivzu. There we slept. Next

225 morning we returned to our village. We took everything out
and put it on the dock. Then we slept. Next day we got up
225 in the morning and called the people. We took off the head,
252 cut it up, fed the head to the people raw, (1) and cooked the
782

1. The Gilyaks call all raw food talq. The Gilyaks eat certain kinds of fish such as Siberian salmon and certain parts of seals and belugas raw.

parts designed for cooking as well as the jaws. After we cooked it, we took it out. Some ate the meat; others took off the meat from the jaws and ate it. Then we went to gather Hapzas. Then we brought it, cooked it, ground it and made muvi. Then we got some rowan shavings and shoved them (in the nose of the beluga). Then we took the head; we took it to throw it out. Here we cut off a young tree. We cut off a forked aldern tree. We spread muvi over the shavings stuck in the nose of the beluga; we spread muvi on the holy bones. We stuck the tree through the ear-ring holes of the beluga, lifted it and hung it up here. Then we lifted the holy bones (jugular vertebrae) and tied them to the tree. We put down the jaws and pressed them with a stick."

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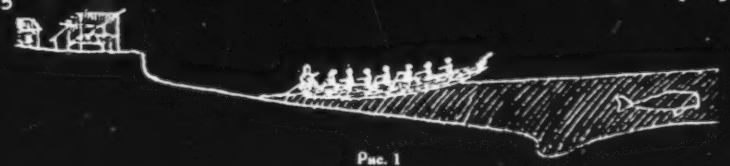

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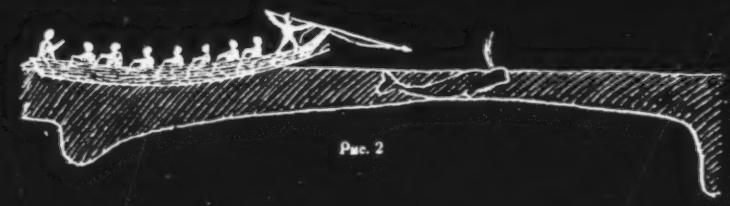

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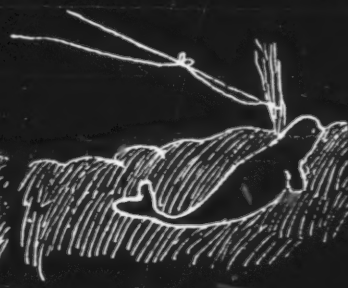

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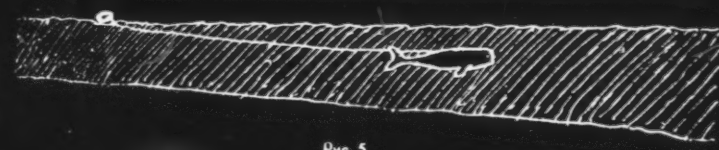

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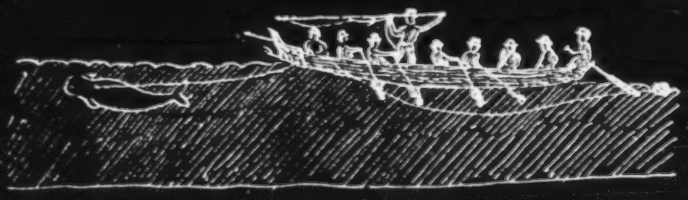

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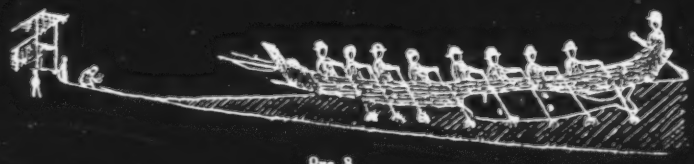

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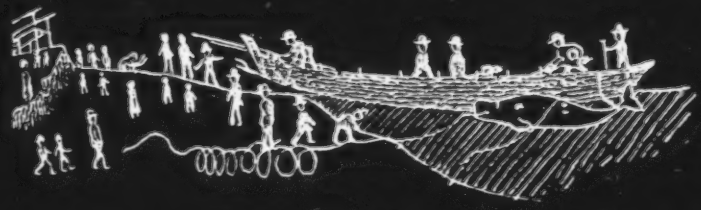

Рис. 9

Рис. 10

533 Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia,
824 1934, no. 5.).
182

225 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the
476 shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their
225 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we
782 cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut
778 some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

782 and suspend the head of the beluga in the tree.
778

on a birch-tree. Then they scattered some more rice and berries. (5) Then we sat down around it. We fed the childre

5. That is, they spread rice and berries on the head of the beluga.

and went down again. Then we got a young man to take a white stone and put it in the sea-dish. Then we returned and went home. When we came home we put the stone in the fire place." (6)

6. The stone which they put in the fire place is a payment to the master of fire for the successful outcome of the hunt (cf. our article "Morskoi Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the village Kul]).

182 The methods of beluga hunting as described by the Gilyak
225 Mytka in his account and pictured in his sketches are characteristic of the village Puir and partly of the village Lyangr. The hunt proceeds differently in other places. [114]

The account of the Gilyak Khor (from the village Chomi(? telling of a beluga hunt undertaken by him and his friend in 1930 supplies us with enough information to enable us to distinguish between the methods used by the Khor and those described above.(Khor's account was written down by me in the fisheries of Dzhaori in 1931) [For Mytka's account, see category 225, pp. 111-113; for Kor's account, pp. 114-116--Analyst.]

225 We present a translation of the account, striving to com-
103 municate the spirit of the briginal.

"During a run of herring, the four of us, two adults and two children, went in a boat to the Big Cape (Pila-kr-) to hunt for belugas. When we approached the whirlpool (Polx), we came ashore and took out our things. The animal (that is, a seal, a beluga) was swimming up (1) to the shore. The

1. Literally: "rose up to the shore."

children heated tea, and we took the harpoons and went up.

Рис. 11

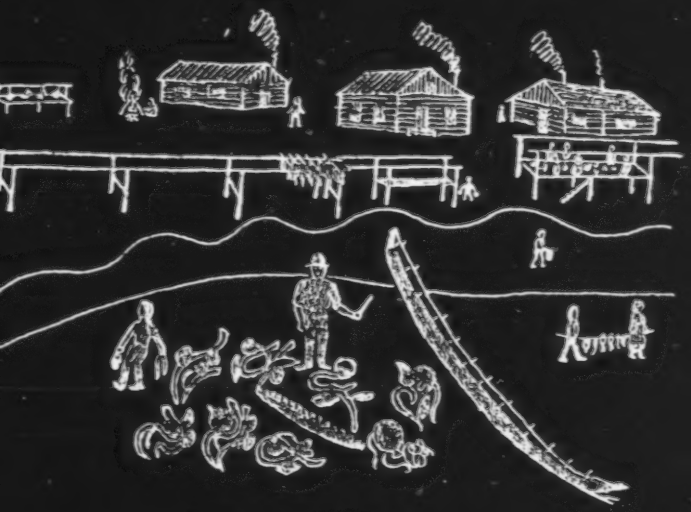

Рис. 12

the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the zayezdka.

When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects hunters regardless of clan membership.

Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan Tf nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi , Potaq from clan Neo afi , t from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez ran and Tesk from clan Tf nu .

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, 1 tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big, - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:

1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be, to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila.

3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs mu-zi d and t aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

225 the division of the quarry. Why this ceremony should have
422 stopped at the pilaŋ appropriating the first sivuch rather
476 than asserting his full title to it on top of his share of the quarry is hard to tell. It seems to us that this can be explained by the essential preservation of the primitive Communist method of distribution of the quarry among the Gilyaks of the village Kul which do not permit a single individual to assert his title to an entire extra sivuch.

225 [89] I gave here a few examples which I have recorded
476 of the distribution of the quarry among the Gilyak hunters on their return home to the village Kul on August 2, 1931. These examples demonstrate clearly the primitive Communist character of the distribution.

The quarry of ʼəlʼtun's collective consisted of 18 sivuchs 9 pəγi, 11 qoma and 1 alχ. They sold 3 sivuchs, 5 qoma and the fat of two seals on Cape Litke at the branch of the Rybaksoyuz [A, B Fisherman's Union]. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal shares. (1)

1. Unfortunately I did not write down how they distributed the money.

ʼəl tun.....received 2 sivuchs 2 pəγi
Jotkun.....received 2 sivuchs 1 pəγi 1 qoma 1 strap (2)

281 2. The hide of a young sivuch navəŋa is cut into three pieces and that of an older one - into four. Out of each piece the Gilyaks cut one thin long strap which is immediately spread out to dry.

225	Nərp (a shot)...	received	1	sivuch	1	p i	1	qoma	3	straps	
476	Rəntik.....	"	2	"	2	"	-	"	1	"	
	Təvus.....	"	2	"	1	"	1	"	-	"	
	Zabojko.....	"	2	"	1	"	2	"	1	"	alχ
	Tuŋs.....	"	2	"	1	"	1	"	1	"	strap
			13	sivuchs	9	pəγi	6	qoma	6	straps =	
										= 2 sivuchs	
										1 alχ	
	On straps		2								
	Sold		5				5				

Total.....18 Sivuchs 9 pəγi 11 qoma 1 alχ

225 The quarry of Nitgin's collective consisted of 19 sivuc
476 and 8 qoma and 1 pəγi. They sold 3 sivuchs and 4 qoma o
the cape Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and
remainder of the quarry into equal shares.

Nitgin.....	received	2 sivuchs	--	2 straps	
Nlamin.....	received	2 "		1 strap	
Kizgun.....	"	2 "	1 qoma	1 "	
Verun.....	"	2 "	1 "	1 "	
Ozgun.....	"	2 "	1 "	1 "	
I nun.....	"	2 "	1 "	1 "	
Izgun.....	"	2 "	1 pəγi	1 "	
		14 sivuchs	4 qoma and 8 strap 1 pəγi	2 sivuchs	
On straps....	2				
Sold.....	3		4		
Total.....	19 sivuchs	8 qoma	1 pəγi		

The quarry of Norp's collective consisted of 26 sivuch
1 pə i and 12 qoma. They sold 8 sivuchs and 4 qoma on ca
Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and the re-
mainder of the quarry into equal parts.

Norp.....	received	2 1/2 sivuchs	2 qoma	2 straps	
?t.....	"	2 1/2 "	2 "	2 "	
Potaq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Otaq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Tesq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Onkan.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	and
		15 sivuchs	8 qoma	12 straps 3 sivuch	
On straps....	3				
Sold.....	8		4		
Total.....	26 Sivuchs	12 qoma	1 pəγi		

[90] The fact that Norp received an extra qoma does n
prove that he received more than the other hunters. The
is not a valuable seal and it is really of no account whethe
does or does not get an extra qoma. What is important is

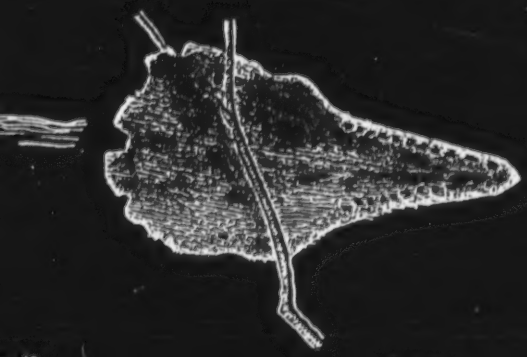

ne. 13

Fig. 14

121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan relations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I put before the reader the material gathered in the course of this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyaks in the village of Kul.

225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting.

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce and of a plant locally known as (t'ɘkr) bogulnik and set out on sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋəŋ-gan
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks in the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to submerge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks of the tackle kitə (2) which go into the implements for hunting

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal through
11 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
31 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker called tonr-tas (from tonr 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix pertaining to the implement used in the action), is made of a bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving which represents the snout of a seal.

For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
e broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
ats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping
ater of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

d a dried plant aγs, called puchka by the local Russians.
metimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby
es.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fond (major feeding of
e sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged
ly after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.
For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
os and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
rana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
s). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not
oked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will
t the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of
stination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks
ecially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the
liefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like them-
lves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind
chka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into
e sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that
e dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had
eir fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their
asters.

When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
omen are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore
e Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very
ge of the water; one twig is a keγla-ŋaks twig and the other
a qosk ŋaks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from
ese he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the
ter. These peculiar gates are called taγr. The offering is
own into the sea through the taγr. First to be emptied are
e uiγ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are

2. Uiγ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiγ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

they keep for a long time. When some one is drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and run. In this connection I wish to note that in the valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

ed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos s emptied out of the tol-ʔir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ʔir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the ti - ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and young hunters must not taste this mos.

It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of 80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul here are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

reason the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

ring the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches
the pilaŋ to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
ght a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose;
has to use the implements of the pilaŋ instead.
4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
es. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
this respect completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
f the pilaŋ observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters
e not worried."
5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.
As can be seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible
nctions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if any-
ng goes wrong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.
In the collective of hunters there must be not only organ-
ers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.
[81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning
the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
signated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its
me.
The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the
rn, is called ŋ̊tivd, the second - taŋpuf, the third - alx-
, the fourth - mɔ̊yerq-ŋid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth -
em-ŋid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats with
and even seven pairs of oars.
Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋ̊tivd, is oc-
pied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
t pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the
s at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in
boat.
When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the
ition at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until
t time he rows just like the others. As long as there are
eals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position
he bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often
s out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such
es he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits
he bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak
ŋ̊ Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals.
he same time Gilak st tended the rudder which the pilaŋ
turned over to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the
during the hunt. According to his information he had killed
imself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to
y that of the whole collective of hunters only one person
ots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 mu-ziv̊d on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziv̊d on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from
misfortunes.
782 Aside from mu-ziv̊d, taj is performed on the boat. Taj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inaŋ) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-ɔ-ks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
a representation of the bird ugʲ, placed by the Gilyaks at the
bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face
turned to the sea. We shall come back to these taj elsewhere.
782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
375 boat and fan, they tie to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
all sits at the stern. It happens that the pilaŋ is younger than
the extra man in the boat. In that case the pilaŋ tends the
rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know
of such a case. Pilaŋ Norp took along with him in the boat
old man Onan who sat at the stern and did nothing while
Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting
at the seals and st, to whom Norp had turned over the steering
oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting
about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting with-
out doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others
that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare
food. He also seems to have helped with some other things;
which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable
to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time
in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number
of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner,
he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.
Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient
degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.
225 [82] As mentioned above the pilaŋ performs mu-ziv̊d
789 and taj.
774 Mu-ziv̊d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
751 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern
board. The distance between them is approximately two fin-
gers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres
around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform ziv̊d on hands
of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog
and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the
child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

225 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
823 similar gifts which the pilaŋ throws into the sea together
766 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Ui,-kr, then they
782 throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which
they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (krʲ) there
lives a tik- an old woman. These old women must also be
given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed
that tɯx-tik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who
lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.
225 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf
(Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes
spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks
told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kɯvr-
mif (Shantar Islands). (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo-ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end of the summer and then they would return to the village to fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, they put out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

411 The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
225 tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
283

2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long. Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch. Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the tola-k'e is called ɔski 'back.' The shore-end of the net is

411 called ɔmɯus and the sea-end is called ɔz-bax-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied ɔz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,'
which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This
stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the
seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom
of the seine. They are called tatr-pax. Large wooden floats
(vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the
head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to
flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of
the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and
finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into
the seine. The seals pɔyi are shrewd and are seldom caught
in the net.
In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of
the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Kɛ-ŋalu, Vilk,
Lo-ri, and ɔt.
414 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvɔz-pər, 2. ŋ̊ayqej,
524 3. ɔt.
471 Lulvɔz-pər and ŋ̊ayreqej are names of rocks sticking out
of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks.
ɔt is a small island close to which there is another such rock (β)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ɔt. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onɔt two laqr-pax stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (tɛ̊ɔt ferd).

Clan Tɯaunuŋ owned: 1. Mat-lo-ri, 2. Tɔ-ri-γrɔ, 3. Zomi-
vɔr.
The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.
Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapɔz-vɔr a stone.
225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
552
198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-'Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Ĭevropy i severnoĭ Azii'
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.
mif, 'Land', they say ɔtx 'excrements.' If they are far
from land, they say tevl-ɔtxta, if near - knemla-ɔtxta.
mu 'boat' they say ɔrq.
ke 'sun' they say am.
la-urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am
sodra.
tulu 'fog' they say verq.
umgu 'woman' they say hiulɛd.
qan 'dog' they say aim.
to 'fish' they tomr leaf.'
loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.
lo-r 'trout' they say manm.
nemla 'link' they say naɔ-tomr.
va-s 'lake salmon' they say wɔtik.
al-o 'kunzha' they say doɔti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words
manm and doɔti from Tungus.

198 ti-r 'fire wood' they say ops; tuin ops-ket fuyr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'
la-r 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' ɔor vaad
'three seals.'
la-r pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say ɔrɔ.
i-d 'to kill' they say ɔazd.
pɔt 'tomorrow' they say mandɔa.
e-r vida 'let us return' they say pɔtkuda.
aaru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvata-mu.
kɔr-ɔqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-ɔ̊od 'tava
hurts.'
krɛzd 'I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqn-
tanɔgad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tot-ɔ̊od 'the hand
hurts.'

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'
ǝkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'
etc.
225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunter is supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kivid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even if it were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' Kas

225 hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt the Gilyaks do not allow any jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.
776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
825 of kas, 'god'; a point on which I did not want to agree with him.
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home? " he told me. "Surely kas must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kas exists."
225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-nivgv, 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
57 following ui-nd "taboo." "sin" during a seal hunt: the guest must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time) could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guests. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals:

Pila-la-r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-na 'present-time animal', i.e. a sivuch born in the given year.
2. Tje-na literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

225 3. Pila-lanr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
552
825 Pa-yi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups; a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qr-or is the youngest of all pa-yi.
2. Mat-na-ga-l is the next to the youngest pa-yi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-'nasal-k-id; mat - 'smal,' ga-ski 'back,' kid 'long,' 'little long-back.'
3. Tje-n-ga-l last year's pa-ga-yi.
4. ...at next in age to tje-n-ga-l.
5. Siusui- a next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pa-yi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Ta-a-a - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Ar-fk - next in age to ta-ar-a, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alx.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored al and dalr - grey Alx.

225 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
237 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (mǫxt) and two upper ribs.
225 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
782 "feed" it the root of the plant piskǿr. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orqoit."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muǫxk. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave par 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskǿr.

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its head and its
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a special scoop
-a-ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,' i.e. the scoop used in washing the face of the animal.

The beads with piskǿr stuck in them are taken home.

225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pila performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines t'aǫ. (Regardless of the
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties, this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first sivuch.) The pila cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as belonging to the pila. However, as far as the distribution of the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pila asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his share of the quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances. First - the pila appropriates the first sivuch killed during the hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise of a religious ceremony.

784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.
183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women) are
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only point to the explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the interdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue old men only can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in which the Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of these taboos and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
183 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
626 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
262 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
462 parts of the clan.

Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Carvax (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and Qiak (Agiska) informed
625 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by women in cutting leather and cloth (tana-kalmr). Also, a child must not play with a woman's cutting knife (tan-dagǿ).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,' 'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow, or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local Russian - fartz). If a woman or a girl were to step inadvertantly over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in play - have anything to do with implements used by women in their tasks and that, conversely, girls must not use implements used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legitimize for both men and woman, virtually from the time of birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.
462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs, row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disreputable and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food, make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dignity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food. They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

452 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
552 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time they are born, and when they grow up they are given away, in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that takes the woman in marriage is called ga-ya-ain (ga-ya) becomes dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also, women play no part in the religious life of the clan.
527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in the life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat. They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts. Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, otherwise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return home empty handed, etc., etc.
784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
472 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the t'aǫ where the pila attempts to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pila distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes apparent that the sivuch, which is the pila's legal property and whose blood he used in feeding the t'aǫ, is included in

225 distribution of the sivuchs . The number of sivuchs he re-
476 ceived was the same as that received by the others. If at all it is Nitgin who received a tiny bit more than the others; he received one extra strap but did not get a qoma and so he
225 really got no more than the others. My report of my obser-
476 vation in the year 1931 of the primitive Communist method of
461 the distribution of the quarry in the village Kul can be appropriately concluded with the following passage from L. IA. Shternberg's work "Sakhalínskiĭe Gilíakī" (The Sakhaline Gilyaks), mentioned by F. Engels and published in "Etnograficheskoĭe Obozreniĭe" in 1893, i.e. 40 years ago. "During the common hunt, for instance, during a seal or dolphin hunt, when a group of Gilyaks banded together for this purpose set out in a single boat, the quarry is shared equally by the participants. The owner of the boat receives a share equal to that of the young man sitting na grebkakh. The skill of the maker of spears and arrows is not specially rewarded. Moreover, during a long expedition, i.e. from Amur to the South of Sakhalin, it is not the owner of the boat who receives more than his share of the quarry, but rather the man who, on the voyage, performs the bothersome duties connected with the preparation of food and the collection of firewood." Apparently, it is for this kind of work that old man Onkan received not only a participant's share but an extra p=-i.

476 I find it necessary to give one more example of the
225 distribution of the quarry in the collective of Xitkun, for in it we come across an entirely new phenomenon.

The quarry of Xitkun's collective consisted of 14 sivuchs. They cut the hides of two sivuchs on straps. They cut the hide of the youngest sivuch nav-ŋa into three straps, and the hide of the tje-ŋa into four straps. There were seven straps in all. There remained 12 sivuchs. Of the remaining sivuchs Xitkun gave one and a half sivuch to each of the seven members of the collective. This made a total of ten and a half sivuchs. The fat of the remaining one and a half sivuch was divided (unfortunately, I did not find out how) and as for the hides, the hunters decided to let them dry and then make ki (vamps and soles for shoes) of them. Including Xitkun there were six men in the boat and they divided the quarry into seven parts. It turned out that the seventh share was mu-ar, the share of the boat (or as the Gilyaks say pay), that is, what they were supposed to pay to the Gilyak Arban from whom they rented the boat for the hunt. Xitkun and the other hunters

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
178 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

116, 225, 731, 776, 782

"It often happens that by the time of the arriva
quite exhausted, and hunger reigns in the village
fête held in honor of the first catch; see categor
with all due ceremony. On the following day the
groups begin to gather up the 'fragments,' inclu
and reverence, are cast into the sea. The flesh
has plenty of raw, are offerings to Tol ni vookh,
permission to use the products of his domain, th
offering in acknowledgment of the god's goodwi
Gilyaks to open the New Year's fête with the due
bones the great Tol ni vookh will make many mo
the bones to the four winds, thus making it more
Tol ni vookh would in that case have to recreate
has only to reclothe them with flesh, and lo, the

The offering is cast into the sea in complete s
Uichkha rush, or water daimones, who, if they
would spoil the whole affair, by seizing what wa

After the day of the offering, the Gilyak is fre
ful is he with his harpoon that a canoe of five wi

l of the seals, the winter stores are
; nevertheless, the fête [**LSS**: The seal
y 116, pp. 252-254.] must be celebrated
whole village turns out, and the family
ding the bones, which, in deep silence
and fat, boiled or roasted, for the god
with the request that he will give them
e sea; and the bones are the thank-
ll in sending the seals and allowing the
and proper ceremonies. With these
re seals. It would be a sin to scatter
difficult to create for want of material.
entirely, whereas, given the bones, he
seals are complete, alive!
ilence, because there are many
should overhear the Gilyak praying,
s intended for the god.
e to follow up the hunt, and so success-
l sometimes take as many as fifty

9: Hawes--255 T-3 (1901) 1

116, 136, 225, 825

"In autumn a few seals ascend the river,
low in the wake of the Salmo lagocephalus,
grampus, or black killer (Orca atra). This
family, is armed with a formidable dorsal
species attains to the enormous length of s
terrible wolves of the ocean will even attac
ing its throat and lips, and finally hauling i
great pieces of its flesh in their maws. Ev
with its young to be out of the way of these
such as the smaller dolphins or seals are r
a meal for this hungry animal.

Hence, before it are driven ashore and u
etc., upon which the Gilyak lives. It is, th
upon the 'sword dolphin,' as the Germans c
successful catch. The grampus never meet
and if his lifeless carcase be cast up on sh

It is otherwise with the white fish or whi
the mouths of rivers; for his flesh provide
SS: of the white whale.] I believe, and cert

and these are shot by the natives. They fol-
or are driven before the attack of the dreaded
terrible enemy, the largest of the dolphin
fin, which in the case of the rectipinnia
ix feet. Not content with smaller fry, these
k a large whale, gathering round it and gash-
t to the bottom of the sea to rise thence with
en the fierce walrus will crawl upon the rocks
voracious creatures; and when larger prey,
not to be had, salmon and smaller fish furnish

p the rivers the seals, salmon, smelt, trout,
erefore, not unnatural that he should look
call it, as a friend to whom he owes many a
s with a hostile reception from the natives,
ore, rightful honours are paid it.
te whale Delphinapterus leucas) which haunts
s a feast for the Gilyaks. From the skin, [L
ainly from that of the rarer seal

52 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.

63 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
77 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
58 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
14 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
15 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.

52 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
82 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
25 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of qosk-γəks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanγ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (maʒt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

the bow and one was at the stern. Then we went down, pushed the boat off and went. "Row, ice is there. Use more strength, we shall go more quickly." We came to the ice, we pulled the boat out onto the ice. "Throw into the sea." After throwing (the offerings) into the sea, we stalked the seals. Then one comrade, carrying a gun, went towards the seal, stalking the seal. He went stalking the seal, he fired, killed it. "Fellows, go to your comrade, bring the seal." Four went. We dragged a big seal (sivuch). We hauled it to the boat. "Skin the seal. After skinning the seal, we shall cook and eat." We skinned it, then: "Go quickly, a seal is there again. Many seals, go quickly." Three went together, going towards the seal they stalked it, they shot, the shot another one, they killed two. The pilan said: "Those in the boat, go to your comrades." Two more went to their comrades. Only the pilan was in the boat. Then dragging we hauled a seal. Three dragged one, two dragged another. "Haul it to the boat." We hauled it to the boat. The pilan said: "skin it." We skinned it next. "It is already dark. We shall cook meat and eat. We shall cook meat, eat and go to sleep." It got dark. "Let us sleep." [96] We slept and got up in the morning. When we got up in the morning it was dark, a fog. The pilan: "It is dark. How shall we go. We won't go. We shall wait on the ice. We shall dip the companion (1) we shall see if we go soon or not.

1. ŋafq-vax 'companion stone' or 'companionable stone.' In olden times the Gilyaks used to take along to sea a small stone with a string tied around it. Using this stone the Gilyaks measured the depth of the sea, determining in this way the distance from the shore. Sometimes they take a stone of this type along with them even today.

We shall dip the big companion and we shall see." When we dipped our companion: "We won't go soon. We will wait till dawn." When we were staying it was dark. Then it dawned a bit. Then the pilan: "When it dawns we will go." We lighted a fire, put up the kettle and ate. We ate and when we finished the mountain could be seen. "When it is quite light we will go. It dawned, the whole mountain could be seen. "It is far. That is bad. We will go toward the land." We went. While we were travelling it got dark, we kept on going during the night. While we were travelling at night, it began to dawn. When it dawned the land was near. "We shall travel toward the land." We went. We put in to shore, pulled out the boat. "We will eat."

nd proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners," I. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new

1 N. V. Slîunîn, Sovremennoîe polozhenîe nashevo Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

xploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis f ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms f distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form f the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares. was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new ontent was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of abor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began o claim shares for members of his family who did not articipate at all in the process of production such as wives nd children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

f the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even or the use of the bench in the boat (mlət) and of the stick ver the door of the house (mγamr-tis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

According to the Gilyak ;argun (?) now living in the village γarva: (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other ilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from e village Təlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and orked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island anger for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the land. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked ith him. In all there were seven men working. When the shing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and s brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks re- ived five shares, one share per man. The six shares ob- ined by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for rmən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of e boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one are each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom ok part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

225 for their families.

171 I observed analogous facts on the very same island in
127 1927 and in 1931.

In the village Vaz-vo (cape Vasin) from which the Gilyaks were driven out in 1914 or 1915, the system of exploitation on the basis of ownership of the instruments of labor was, it seems, even more cruel. According to the expert on Gilyak life, the inquisitive Gilyak ə̄ʃisk, an owner of a zayesdok claimed one share for himself, one share for the boat, one share for the plank-bench in the boat (mlət) and one share for the nγəmr-ṭis - the shelf over the door in the entrance-hall. I failed to find the reason for the claim to an extra share in connection with the nγəmr-ṭis. I am inclined to think that no such reason exists and that nγəmr-ṭis is used by the owner of the tools of labor [92] solely as a pretext for getting an extra share for himself.

The Gilyak Miskin, inhabitant of the village Puir, told me of an incident that sounds like an anecdote. The incident took place in that village in 1931. An old Gilyak, called for one reason or another Tetkin, asked the young Gilyaks Pnadainu, Lakhtaku and Kondinu (?) to come with him to hunt (AB: fish?) kaluga. On return Tetkin took for himself four shares: one for himself, one, for some other obscure reasons, for some Russian acquaintance of his in the village Makarevka, one for a daughter in the village Langer and one for a daughter in the village Charbakh. As for his companions, he gave a single share to each. I later talked about this incident the Pnadainu. Pnadainu confirmed Miskin's story and further clarified it. Unfortunately, I wrote down Pnadainu's information on a separate piece of paper and, it seems, lost it.

My lengthy discussion is meant as a very general introduction to this problem. It is meant to show how, among the Gilyaks, the owner of the tools of work, as still found in the village Kul, could under the influence of Russian capitalism turn into a kulak-exploiter. This discussion is also meant to show how he utilized the old forms of the distribution of the quarry into shares for the purposes of exploitation. This interesting process deserves careful study.

281 After the distribution of the quarry the hunters and their
462 wives at once start to work. There is a lot of work to do. The suet has to be separated from the hides. The hides have to be stretched on special frames used in drying seal hides. Some hides have to be cut into straps and those have to be stretched to dry, for one cannot make dry hides into straps

2 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzŋisŋar.
2 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
5 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles as
2 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
2 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-uski-d
5 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).

There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire?

Of some help in answering this question may be the following opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin in 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmur informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the master of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no better. "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea concludes the seal hunt.

A seal hunt. (1) Supplement

5

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

5 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were suffering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate."Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put everything in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out the boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) make

2. I. e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was at

We were almost falling asleep; it is bad: we did not sleep one night. The pilaŋ said: "Well, fellows: It is hard. We'll sleep here." Then we slept. Then we got up. We killed few seals."Fellows, shall we go back and hunt seals again." The fellows: "We'll hunt seals again." Again we went to the ice fields. We got there. As we got there, we saw seals. We sneaked up in the boat (literally: using the boat only). One at the bow did the shooting. Another was next to him. Both were shooting and killing. We went and kept on shooting, killing. Then we went again and kept on shooting, killing. The boat was almost full. We already killed fifteen sivuch. The boat was full. "Now we'll go toward shore." While we were travelling it got dark. We travelled during the night. When it dawned we reached the shore. We lighted a fire, ate. "Fellows, we'll eat and return home." We went. After a long trip we got to the mouth of the river. From there we went to the village. All the women got (to the shore). The children came. The women: "Our comrades got seals. Fine. Nice." The men dragged out the seals. We dragged them all ashore. We pulled the boat and lifted it (ashore). We divided the seals. We made six shares. The pilaŋ made the shares. After that: "Take your shares." We dragged them away. Then the woman cooked the heads. Then we ate. The women skinned the seal. Then they put them in the kettle. The men stretched the skins and dried them.

116, 225, 411,

"On shore
the water or
Wild men,
of the rivers
provisions a
approach of t
floes seen on
quite near, f
habitants run
concealing th
the fish-spea
jointed, each
which the har
better to thru
the seal suffi
unsuspecting
ing cover beh
By a quick th
In so doing h

preparations are being made for the Chak vi hŭnch, or Tol vi hŭnch, i.e. sea holiday; for this is the inauguration of the tolf-an, or summer year. with raven pigtails and high cheek-bones, are bustling about at the mouths preparing to receive the unsuspecting guests. [LSS: i.e. seals] Last year's e all consumed, and the Gilyaks await with suppressed excitement the heir fat lazy visitors. The wind from the sea increases in vehemence, ice- the horizon are being driven closer and closer to the shore. Now they are orming great glistening fields. The whole Gilyak village is alive, the in- ning about on the swaying white floor quickly taking up [253] positions, emselves behind the bergs. Each one has in his hand a harpoon similar to r already described on a larger scale. The pole consists of five lengths 7 metres long, and is therefore at full length about 135 feet. The end, to poon is attached by a thong, is ski-shaped, with its end bent upwards, the st into the side of the seal. The thong itself is also 135 feet long, to allow cient play. This great length of weapon enables the Gilyak to harpoon his prey at a considerable distance. He stealthily approaches his victim, tak- ind the bergs, and placing the harpoon on the ice slowly unwinds the thong. rust the animal is speared, and flings himself frightened into the water. e frees the head of the harpoon from the shaft, to which, however, he is

"The first catch is collected and left on
evoured there would be a graceless, gree
anction to the domestic use of them. Such
eal season, owing to the god's anger. No;
hough at some inconvenience, in full view
On the bank, therefore, fires are kindle
vith it is hashed up anything left over from
he feasting commences, and lasts all day.
anks, but in the huts; at the same time it
ewly caught seals shall not be brought wit
ven the blood spilled. If the god has allow
hem to be consumed only on his premises
ttention on the part of the Gilyaks, Tol ni
end them abundance of seals and all mann

the shore. To take it to their huts to be
dy thing to do, for there is as yet no divine
a proceeding might result in a failure of the
the feasting must be done openly, and,
of the god's province.
d; and the flesh of the seals is cooked, and
the winter's stores. When all is prepared
Eating and drinking go on, not only on the
is strictly observed that the pieces of the
thin the hut, nor left scattered about, nor
ed seals to be caught, he has [254] permitted
, i. e. the banks. By this courtesy and little
vookh will be content, and in future will
er of inhabitants of the sea."

G Gi T 342 171 /383 cont./
dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

G Gi T 361 342 22 In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are

G 361 433 226 [231] [262] predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

G 361 433 [224] [224] [439] /384 cont./
most surely and best obtained by stable, permanent residence in a place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

G Gi T 224 226 231 433 361 The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes surrounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessary, indeed essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less extensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed, and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the main river to the mountains that skirt its tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wildernesses along the left tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the first and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dseja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is

G Gi T 231 361 possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals, in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,

SS 262 171 /425 cont./
in that they more or less provide merely a kind of accompaniment, and to be sure, they are either the wild, natural products of the country, which are simply gathered, some cereals and vegetables obtained by trade from the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese,

SS [184] Japanese, and, more recently, Russians. The individual peoples of the Amur region primarily differ from one another as far as food is concerned only in that fish among some or meat among others is the principal food, each according to their principal occupation, and furthermore the proportion of plant food to animal food differs for each one according to their greater or lesser communication and trade relation with the Chinese or Japanese.

G *262 G [231] Among all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the most pronounced ichthyophagi. One cannot imagine their life without fish; it is the conditio sine qua non of their own existence as well as that of their only domestic animal, the dog, which provides them with food as well as transportation and clothing. There is hardly a fish in their country that the Gilyak

G *262 226 251 would not, if necessary, use as food. But standing in the first rank, of course, are those fish that, because of their seasonal appearance in great numbers, make it possible to prepare the large supply needed to last through the long winter when fish are scarce, hence the species of salmon coming up the rivers from the sea, among which, in turn, Salmo lagocephalus Pall. (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin laghi-tscho) and Salmo proteus Pall. (Gilyak /426/ tengi-tscho) play the principal role (1).

G [104] 1. In all of eastern Siberia to Kamchatka and northwestern America, the Russian terms for these two species of salmon are keta and gorbuscha; hence in the following I shall refer to them occasionally as keta and gorbuscha salmon.

At the time when these fish come up into the lower Amur and its tributaries, which falls in June for S. proteus, in August for S. lagocephalus, an active life prevails among the Gilyak, for everyone is busy with preparing supplies of fish for the winter.

/426 cont./

*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[462] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
[412] side and on the belly side with the tschomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1),[1]
and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head;
then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the
meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them
is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper
end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[192] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is
the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it, which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalong of the Olcha and
[258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
252 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
825 (Gilyak well), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[226] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longr[sch]), Salmo leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out
[1] [See Category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively—Analyst]

/427 cont./

000 campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not
*262 only eaten au naturel, but is also an important ingredient of many
[252] dishes, whose composition and preparation I shall come back to
[231] later. Finally, in addition to the chark, it is the principal food for
262 the dog. In view of the importance of jukola for the Gilyak, it is
221 understandable that, despite the indolence and carelessness more or
226 less characteristic of all primitive peoples, they are very intent on
252 preparing the largest possible supply of it and do not hesitate to make long trips and even temporary changes of residence for this purpose. Thus, for example, when those types of salmon come up into the rivers, some of the Liman Gilyak come to the Amur in order to take advantage of its surplus; others, such as some of the Tschomi Gilyak and the inhabitants of some places on the west coast of Sakhalin, move to the Tymy /Tym'/ River in the interior of the island, which is especially rich in fish, and do not return with the acquired supplies until winter. On the other hand, at the other times, for instance, when the kangi-tscho (Gadus wachnja Pall.) migrates in large numbers along the sea coast, some of the Tymy Gilyak, conversely, betake themselves to their countrymen on the west coast of Sakhalin in order to feast for a while on these fish.
[628] In this respect there seem /428/ to have developed in the course of time certain mutual agreements and relations based on reciprocity between the inhabitants of certain places, for example, between the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak, or between the latter and the Gilyak of Duĭ, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast of Sakhalin.

226 However plentiful the jukola supplies might be, however,
*262 they would never suffice to make the life of the Gilyak secure if
361 there were not at every season of the year more or less, depending on the locality, many other kinds of fish, which the Gilyak eat fresh, besides those salmon. In this connection the most favorable locality in the Gilyak region is, of course, the mighty Amur River, and therefore along its banks, as discussed above, one also finds the largest concentration of the population and the richest development of the Gilyak individuality. The dwellers along the banks of
The Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat.

/428 cont./

226 the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat. Needless to say,
*262 the above-mentioned species of salmon used for jukola by the Gilyak are also eaten fresh and even constitute their principal food when they come upstream in great numbers. In addition, however, the river also offers them an abundance of fresh food in its more or less permanent species of fish, such as sheatfish (Silurus asotus L., Gilyak mub), eelpout (Lota vulgaris Cuv., Gilyak mad[r]sch), pike (Esox lucius L., Gilyak iwys), and espe cially many cyprinoids, among which the pilengat (Cyprinus carpio L.) plays the principal role (1). But more important and

[113] 1. Incidentally, on the basis of the findings of Herzenstein and Warpachowski ("Notizen über die Fischfauna des Amur-Beckens /Notes on the Fish Fauna of the Amur Basin/," in Trudy S. Peterb. Obshch. Estestvoisp. po otd. Zool., Vol. XVIII, 1887), we shall name here a number of the permanent Amur fish, the larger of which are generally used for food by the Gilyak, the smaller only when necessary and if nothing else is available. Thus, the following: lering (Carassius vulgaris Nilss.) uk or uk-tscho (Barbus labeo Pall.), koll (Pseudas pius leptocephalus Pall.), kunung (Parabramis bramula Val.), mimk (Hypophtalmichth dybowskii Herz.), wa (Culter erythropterus Basil.), mykyk (Idus waleckii Dyb.), isn-ngoch (Pseudogobia amurensis Dyb.), markram (Gasterosteus pungitius L.), and others.

more precious to the Gilyak than all these fish are the two specie of Acipenser that occur in the Amur and sometimes reach tremen proportions, the tukki-tscho (Acipenser schrenckii Brandt), the Amur sturgeon, and the patch-tscho (Acipenser orientalis Pall), 000 the Amur hausen (2). On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning fr

[113] 2. Cf. J. Fr. Brandt, "Einige Worte über die

without any kind of bait on it is lowered into a crack or a hole drilled into the ice and is as a rule immediately pulled up with one or more fish attached to it. [119]

Sturgeon are caught with hooks. Large iron hooks are fastened to pieces of either wood or cork by means of a rope which in turn is held in place by heavy stones deep in the water, that is, not much above the bottom. The sturgeon which goes down deep is, curiously enough, attracted by the moving pieces of wood, he "plays" with them, as the natives say, and thus gets caught by one or another hook. In winter this fish is also caught in strong nets, for at this time it is supposed to be weaker.

The greatest activity occurs at the time of the salmon run. The results of it influences the lives of these people for the rest of the year, therefore whole swarms of Gilyak are to be found on the Amur. The fish are caught by means of enclosures (1); near the shore a row of posts are driven into the

1. Called sayesdka by the Russian fishermen.

river bed; in general the enclosure has this shape ⊓, the open side of it is turned toward the mouth of the river from which the fish comes. The fish bumps against the wall, turns sideways, and is caught in the bag which is lowered from the boat on the inner sides of the enclosure. At the height of the salmon run there are such masses of fish that the bags are filled almost as soon as they are lowered. The fish weighs 8 to 12 or even 20 pounds and costs three to five Kopeck.

The women also take part in this catch. There is no particular organization in the matter of assigning the fishing places but care is taken that every head of a family fishes where his father and grandfather did before him; this place in the river is then practically his property.

Dolphins are harpooned, but this is considered a difficult hunt. The animal is cautious and does not let the hunter come very near; and should this happen, the wounded animal can easily upset the boat. The harpoon consists of a long hook which has points and barbs at one end and at the other, a rope about 15 fathoms long with a blown-up bladder fastened to it. As is the case in whale fishing, the bladder must show the place where the wounded dolphin went under. When the animal reappears, he is given the finishing blow with harpoons or lances. [120]

225 The seal (1) is caught in several ways. On the island of
411

1. On the Amur it is found only way down at the mouth.

Sakhalin a lance about two to two and one-half fathoms long which is thicker at its lower end is laid into a wooden trough; on the thick end of the lance a 20-30 fathom long strap is fastened. In spring when the ice breaks up, the seal climbs onto land and the Gilyak pursues it, often at the risk of his life, on a boat or over floating ice fields. As soon as he is near enough to it he places the trough which somewhat represents the barrel of a gun, with the lance inside it on the ground, aims and throws the lance while holding the end of the strap with his left hand, so that the animal cannot get too far away.

225 Another method which is practiced, for instance, in the village of Charbakh, below Nikolayevsk-na-Amure is done in the following way: near a place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom of the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunter conceals himself. The seal, all unsuspecting, climbs on a stone in order to sun himself and is hit by the lance which is attached to the boat by a long strap.

Finally the seal, when he is sunning himself on a rock, is sometimes killed by means of an endlessly long lance, the lower end of which lies on the shore.

The sea lion frequently is found on the coast of Sakhalin and it is the simplest thing in the world to kill it. The animal is stupid and at the same time inquisitive and lets the hunter come so near that he can beat it to death with a club.

224 The otter is frequently seen on the rivers of the country
225 and its pelt is very much prized. It is shot, sometimes even killed with sticks. Cross-bows are also sometimes set up for it, as for the sable.

224 Of land mammals the bear, the elk, the reindeer, the fox,
554 the musk deer and particularly the sable are hunted.

The bravest men conduct a hand-to-hand fight with the bear and thrust their lance into his breast when he stands up on his hind legs. The scars which a man carries away from such a battle bring him great honor and songs of praise. Most of the men do not attempt this single combat and go after the animal in pairs, and [121] armed with rifles; sometimes the bow and arrow are also used; in any case, it is a dangerous hunt.

226

226 FISHING--species sought (e.g., fish, shellfish); gathering of marine fauna; fishing methods and techniques (e.g., hook and line, nets, poison); description and use of traps and weirs; special elaborations (e.g., fishing for sport); economic importance of fishing; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; fishing for sport; regulation (e.g., licenses); etc.
See also:

Marine fauna	136	Net manufacture	288
Manufacture of poison	278	Boats	501

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature
that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and
women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and
fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion.
Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the
belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect
the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in
the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black
coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background
the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in
gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat
of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves --
the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling
completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak,
made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In
recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drei'
has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more
imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported
materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along
the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which
sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely
disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly
stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of
the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the
[133] Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a
fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold
northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence
[226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons
and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other
fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and
streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount
by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I
myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This
[172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the
strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

/25 cont./

080 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
269 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal
sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long
winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are
merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The
countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to
spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of
all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
269 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished
native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity
to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

205 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a
boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the
Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves
as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food
product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak.
The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here
it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been
brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only
appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws
himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with
fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes un-
recognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and
vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down
to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and
the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear
killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations.
Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable
has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the
setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/246 cont./

595 Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described
171 in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that
"the second husband must always be either a brother or a
very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

served among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

157 The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with
224 such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves
831 a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual
433 sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn,
could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor.
[226] The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too
much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which
could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital
energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant
role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake
[221] distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables,
squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions
after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any
special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very
weakly developed.

/365 cont./

776 that they are killing seals; in such a case the boat is destroyed.
But if, in reply, the Gilyak display a hare's tail, the devil goes
on his way without further consideration.

776 The relationship between the Gilyak and all his gods --
782 nivukhi -- is quite clear. It is they who provide him with sables,
22 foxes, bears, fish, seals, and so forth. Sables and bears are just
as much the property of Pal'-nivukh as fish and seals are the prop-
erty of Toll'-nivukh, and as sled dogs are the property of the
Gilyak. The gods specifically give a portion of their property to
man. It is not an accident that the fish appear with such amazing
regularity during the appropriate seasons, it is not an accident that
sable is dressed in an expensive fur during the hunting season, it is
not an accident that swans, geese, and ducks molt in the summer
and become an easy catch for the Gilyak. All this is done by the
776 gods for man; he lives only by these gifts. It is clear that the
782 Gilyak should not remain in debt to their benefactors. And so
they give the gods a portion of everything that they avail them-
selves of: saranka, roots, tobacco, sugar, and so forth. When I
once expressed a desire to take part in the sacrifice to Toll'-
nivukh at the beginning of the seal season, they asked me: "But
will you give the god bread, potatoes, etc.?" Sacrifices are the
exchange of portions with the nivukhi. That is why the sacrifice
may never consist of the same objects for which sacrifices are
made; for example, among the dishes offered to thank for fish in their
seal, this last does not figure, although it constitutes an indispensa-
ble dish of the Gilyak themselves on the evening of the sacrifice.
Thus, the bear at the well-known festival is in no way a sacrifice,
as some think, /366/ for not a single piece of its meat is appor-
tioned to the god, and the Gilyak does not understand allegory: to
sacrifice -- means giving the god something real. And actually,
at this festival, the master of the bear, Pal'-nivukh, is given a
sacrifice of saranka, "mosa," yukola, and other viands. The
principle of exchange in sacrifices is not contradicted by the fact
225 that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the
226 head and eyes of seals. The explanation for this is very simple:

/366 cont./

776 the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the
782 creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason
224 the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and
225 any undeveloped fetus found in the uterus of a seal. To the Gilyak
a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business
on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices
offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special
solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable
season. He offers this sacrifice at his yurt. In the taiga, at the
342 side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the
whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual
gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After
striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to
the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen.
He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little
at a time, believing that a hundred fish more or less is little to a god
as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made
during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a
journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge
unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama
of the mountains. The "Head of the earth" towered majestically
before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of
them took from his sled his cherished little sack with saranka,
tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps
to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the
snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up,
he moved the same number of steps to the left and did the same.
Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and dis-
tributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted
a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had
771 been heard... There is a tremendous difference between the re-
ligious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a
Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition,"
the striving of the soul toward the deity, in our meaning, all seem
to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion
everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no
781 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy.

/376 cont./

593 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be
disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority
is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
176 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
176 of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
168 existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
224 Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
225 require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal
hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
167 such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of
division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such
work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving
their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
594 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
168 But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the
death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we
should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers
continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equip-
ment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the
division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations
of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual
aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between mem-
bers of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among
these barbarians than in a civilized family.

/378 cont./

482 And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house
422 together and eating together, individual members, such as, for
594 example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs,
boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with
their father obtain in good time property for their future inde-
pendence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means.
[133] Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained
[224] as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of
[165] success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the re-
sult of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear,
[224] the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his
[225] fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but
he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The
[165] same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for him-
[226] self a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill
of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations
422 prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain
606 a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisi-
422 tions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute
556 the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his
[151] "wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and
does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable
fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with
silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches
pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only
at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the
storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son,
when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, depart-
ing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its com-
mon efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when
he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and
whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of
sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are
556 brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward
rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

/380 cont./

426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie un-
touched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays
hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled
to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing
of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods
of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in
favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the
trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will
ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it
may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask
him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the
debtor)" replies the puzzled creditor.

Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one
433 cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital,
46 as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet.
[225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals
422 and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several
606 men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the partici-
pants. The master of this boat gets the same share as the youth
who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who
makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for spe-
cial reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example,
from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than
an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the
one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as
226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In
165 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same
433 share as his have-not companion ("navikh"). True, I have seen
an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3
of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to
my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the re-
ply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone;
554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling
176 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but
426 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind
one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase
a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his
death.

G- /319 cont./

161 3. (cont.)
114 not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as
161 Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur
as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by
Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and
elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast
from de Castries Bay to Kaiserhafen. How strange
it must seem to one to find at the very beginning
of an article supposedly dealing specifically with
the Gilyak such a convincing mixture with their
neighboring tribes who are completely different
linguistically and to some extent in their ways
of life!

SS
161 count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an
114 approximate estimate of their strength might be found is the num-
361 ber of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with cer-
tainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of
SS this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings
[121] are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a
consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

G- A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satis-
361 faction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost
226 exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle
225 along the banks and estuaries of water with the most fish in their teri-
tory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak
villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the
seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern
half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains
or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less
favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the
seacoast, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against
the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above
the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing
the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against
the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/357 cont./

342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the
dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.
The above description also applies, apart from the
342 specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwel-
231 lings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on
Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar
nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the follow-
ing remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is
on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front
side is likewise on the ground level. As in the pile-yurt, this
space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to
the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on
both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a
few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the excep-
tion of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and
the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brush-
wood, so that a sort of mattehouse is produced. This is assigned
to the dogs for their abode, where, protected at both sides of the
entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

251 Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the
[231] summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winte
226 one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivance
225 for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for
[417] hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and
not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite simila
to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crosspoles
under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected
against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see
000 Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer

1. A more detailed description of the
treatment of the fish before they are dried,
as well as of the use of the individual parts
and the like, will be given later at the
appropriate place.

Hawes--255-256 T-3 (1901) 1903

, 225

"In the autumn comes also another inhabitant
lleri). Gazing far out to sea, the Gilyak has s
-appearing, and then a second and a third. Thi
apparatus, his nets with their floats of burnt
ese he sets far away from shore, near great r
d them, patiently awaiting results. A little wa
s on the pebbles. The black floats are gently
crest, at the next in the trough of the wave.
-lions swimming near the pebbles? The midd
ter, and beckons the herd outside to a sun-bat
o have preceded them in this intention, they s
t ere before the first has discovered the decep
noe shoots rapidly from behind the rocks, and
ever."

of the ocean, the sea-lion (Eumetopias
een a black point disappearing and [256]
s is enough. He hastens to bring out
wood shaped like the heads of sea-lions.
ocks, while he lurks in his canoe be-
ve breaks lazily on the shore, and rip-
ocked, at one moment they appear on
Who could doubt this to be a herd of
ay sun has heated the surface of the
h on shore. Sighting these 'comrades,'
wim towards them all unsuspectingly.
tion, he is entangled in the net, a
a skilful thrust quiets his fluttering

28 cont./

2. (cont.)
europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from
halin, I reached the village of Tschcharbach at the mouth of
Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish sup-
es and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the
geon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to
end the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at
ctically every season of the year and even throughout the
ter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post
amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the
ki-tscho which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur,
t this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter,
9/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it
ime. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular,
e the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they
mselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it
y much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which
y always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded
ong them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities
turgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear
ivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw
le rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the
t decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the
u of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten
etween them or on the days preceding or following the festival.
e the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these
, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less
rable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the
t clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle
rder to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

/429 cont./

226 Next to the Amur the Tymy River on Sakhalin is the Gilyak locality richest in fish. It is therefore the vital artery of the entire Gilyak northern half of the island, and especially along its upper course, where it does not freeze even in winter, despite the low air-temperatures dropping to below the freezing point of mercury, small Gilyak villages lie more tightly packed than almost anywhere else in the Amur region. To be sure, the tastiest and largest fish of the Amur River, the above-mentioned sturgeon, is missing in the Tymy River, but it is especially rich in salmon, and, to be sure, not only in those above-mentioned species generally widespread in the Amur region and, as a result of their great quantity, principally used for the preparation of jukola, which annually in the fall, as previously mentioned, also attract the inhabitants of more distant localities to its banks (1), but also in

[132] [361] [221]

[113]

1. During the past few years even the Japanese have come to the mouth of the Tymy to fish there when the Salmo lagocephalus come up, and, as Mizzul (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, 1873, p. 120) and Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island, 1881-1882/, pp. 70-80) reported in detail, they return home with a rich booty.

various other species, such as the nem(a)lja, (Salmo coregonoides Pall.), the longr(sch) (S. callaris Pall.), njalych (probably S. sanguinolentus Pall.), loimang (a species of trout), etc. Indeed, there are even species there that are absent in the Amur River, such as choi-tscho (Salmo orientalis Pall.) and the tschawytscha of the Kamchadal, the largest and most prized salmon species of the shores of the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). The

2. The Nyi Gilyak, among whom I saw two large specimens of choi-tscho in

/429 cont./

2. (cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

The mainland Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infrequently bring some pieces of choi-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habitation sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greatest importance to them is a fish which is insignificant in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnja Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and even more in Dul', Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is always the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins is cut out along the back and thrown away, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the laghi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating of it than with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten without any accompaniments, placed on the sleeping bench of the yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

/430 cont./ Moreover, with regard to these and similar views, there are many local differences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not object if the kangi fish intended for me was roasted on the spit in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as uitsch and permissible without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the continental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kulj, Tägl, Hisska (Petrofski Simowjo), etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, where in the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more closed-off part of the Liman, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

Next to fish, seals represent the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly at all the places in their habitation area, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Liman, where this food source, of course, is supplied most abundantly, various species of seals, as I have set forth at another place (1), also come

1. See Vol. I, pp. 180 ff., of this work.

up the Amur through the entire Gilyak area and far into that of the Olcha. /431/ The Gilyak think the least of the seal meat itself as a food. Sperk is even of the opinion that they themselves do not even eat it, but only feed it to their dogs (1). This is indeed

1. Ed. Shperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Vostochn. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Mediko-

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3. (cont.)
II, p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating a raven that had been shot.

of the great similarity between the
n externals and in their way of life, it is quite possible
ilyak have the same attitude toward both and therefore
o not eat the raven.
ong the reptiles and amphibians, there is not a single
it the Gilyak eat, for with regard to all of them, but
snakes and toads, they have a fear rooted in superstiti-
, which will be discussed in the following (4).

4. In China, frogs, turtles, and even snakes are eaten. Jakinf, op. cit., p. 262; John Bowring, loc. cit.

lly, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few
tes must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not
ering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks
by the sea or left behind by the ebb. For example,
st coast of Sakhalin they designated for me the Tellina
Gilyak kär wub) (5), Mactra sachalinensis (Gilyak

5. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

wellach) (6), and a third mussel, which they called

6. Ibid., pp. 575-578. As is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a snail shell or mussel shell in general, but the animal of the moghomi-wellach is called pubk, according to Glehn.

llach and which remains unknown to me, as the species
nals they eat and at the same time praised them as
eet as sugar."

G1 48 171 175

/478 cont./
basis of tales told by the Hollanders who had been prisoners in Korea in the middle of the seventeenth century, that in winter there one binds small boards under the feet in order to be able to walk over the snow without sinking into it.

G G1 484 171

Of the greatest importance for the economy and the whole life of primitive peoples is the manner in which they undertake their greater moves from place to place by land, and in this respect we find in the Amur region very different, and for the individual peoples characteristic, phenomena.

G 492 231

Of all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the ones who use the dog for traveling to the greatest extent and among whom the dog plays more important role in the economy and whole life than among any other of these peoples. For, aside from its principal purpose as draft animal, it furnishes the Gilyak, as we have seen, with the generally most popular and most used fur for clothing, and even serves them as food, which, aside from the Ainu, does not occur among any other people in the Amur region. Nowhere is the keeping of dogs for winter travel required by natural conditions and by the way of life and needs of the people to such an extent as among the Gilyak. If the dog is to serve as a draft animal, it must, because of its little strength, be kept in large numbers, and for that, in view of its predatory nature, large, never-failing stores of animal food are required, such as, not the roaming hunters, but fishermen settled along a river rich in fish or along the seacoast are in a position to provide for them.

G 226 484 492

These requisites, as discussed above (3), are best met among the

3. See pp. 645 ff. above.

Gilyak, who occupy the part of the Amur region richest in fish and are the most sedentary of its peoples and the one most devoted to fishing, and who, in addition, are impelled by their lively commercial spirit to undertake winter trips and voyages more than the others.

Tungus Rus
Goldi RX

SS 492 184 G1 T 492

/500 cont./
of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and Reindeer Tungus, the reindeer serves only as a riding and pack animal, but on the latter, among the Orok, it serves also as a harness animal, and in this its use joins that of the dog.

SS 501 184 484

As dwellers on a great river and its tributaries or the sea and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are more or less oriented toward moving and traveling from place to place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The diverse nature of the waters on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sleds, always built after one and the same pattern, the boats used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the actual forms adapted to the character of the waters are repeated with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

G 501 484 [226]

None of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live by fishing and who are inclined by their genius for trading to undertake long river and sea voyages. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by no means bold and skillful mariners and hunters of marine animals, who in small, easily maneuverable vessels, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarkas, /501/ would be inclined or able to battle the high ocean waves. Principally concentrated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers them, in addition to an extraordinary abundance of fish, a natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Manchu-Chinese along the Sungari, and, on the other hand, favored by the nearness of a large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cuts them off from the open sea and, with its long meridional expanse, gives them a bridge, so to speak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their over-all pursuits

G [361] [181]

50 Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon. Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed
171 that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the
335 peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descriptions of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequences of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing
[1] exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various
[2] peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kinds of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail.
[1] And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn the way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most important fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the times when it is done and some of the details connected with it.

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, and, to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amur is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profitable and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

226 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
796 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
226 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
782 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1008/). It was a long boat with
[50] one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
[192] automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
[194] to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

796 Presumably only loosely hung over the racks upon departure,
226 they could only too easily have fallen off during the rapid
782 and wild voyage and could have been carried into the river by the wind. Indeed, the latter may even have been the precise intention of the sacrificers, for the entire sacrificial voyage is supposed to serve to gain the favor of the river or the river spirit through the gifts mentioned, and through that to secure good luck and success in fishing and during all river travel in the coming /518/ summer and fall. My opinion concerning the zach in connection with the sacrificial voyage on the Amur was confirmed by the fact that in the fall, as soon as a new covering of ice has formed on the river, another celebration with sacrifices and zach takes place. The Gilyak then go out on the ice in front of their village: here a hole is cut in the covering of ice, and beside it a pole decorated with zach is erected. Now the above-mentioned gifts are thrown into the river by means of this hole, obviously to obtain its favor for the winter fishing and perhaps also for the traffic on the ice covering.

226 Immediately after the Amur is open, there comes up it from the sea the best and largest fish that it has to exhibit: the Amur sturgeon (Acipenser schrenckii, Gilyak tukki-tscho) and the even larger Amur hausen (Ac. orientalis, Gilyak patch-tscho). Both go far up the Amur and its major tributaries, the Ussuri, Sungari, etc., and, indeed, of the latter, the kaluga of the Russians, it was reported as early as Pallas that it also occurs in the source rivers of the Amur, in the Schilka /Shilka/ and in the Argunj /Argun/ (1). It has already been pointed out

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1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 207. The same, Zoogr. Rosso-asiatica, Part III, p. 107. Georgi, who gave the first description of this fish, which was also used by Pallas, called it

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1. (cont.)

Ac. dauricus, as Brandt also does in turn (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 172. Among the source rivers of the Schilka, the Onon has it especially abundantly, whereas the Ingoda, as Georgi noted (Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in 1772/, Vol. I, p. 353), and recently Maack (Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 27), is too shallow and stony for it. When in other older as well as more recent reports on Dauria, chiefly Russian ones, reference is made simply to hausen (bieluga) and sturgeon (osetr") in connection with the kinds of fish occurring in its rivers, as, for instance, in Hedenström (Otryvki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, 1830, p. 146), Parschin (Poiezdka v" Zabaikal'skii krai /Journey to the Transbaikalia Region/, Moscow, 1844, p. 117), Hagemeister (Statist. obozr. Sibiri /Statistical Survey of Sibiria/, St. Petersburg, 1854, Vol. I, p. 351), Kaschin ("Nieskol'ko slov" ob" Arguni /A Few Words about the Argun/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VI, Irkutsk, 1863, p. 103), Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1567), and others, undoubtedly the two Acipenser species named, which go from the Amur up its source rivers, are to be understood.

226 above how greatly the Gilyak prize sturgeon and hausen. The
226 situation is the same among the other Amur peoples. There is
171 eager pursuit of them everywhere, and the methods of fishing are

226 in general the same everywhere. But the individual peoples
[197] prefer one or another method of fishing, according to their nature and the local conditions in their part of the river. The Gilyak chiefly catch them with nets, which are knotted with large meshes and very strong twine so as not to be torn by the resistance of the large animals. The shape of these nets and the way they are handled differ, however, and in this the season of the year in particular is also a definite factor, for it depends, for example, on whether the fish are present in larger or smaller quantities, whether they stay closer to the surface or at greater depths, whether the river is open or covered with ice, and so forth.

Toward the end of May and in June, when the sturgeon and hausen coming from the sea are most abundant around the mouth of the river and stay near the surface, especially in calm weather, the Gilyak get along with a simple, longish-quadrangular net, on the upper edge of which are fastened a few wooden floats and on the lower edge occasional small stones. In two boats the Gilyak go out in the channel of the /519/ river with this net, cast it across it, and, holding the upper ends of the net, let themselves be driven downstream by the current against the ascending fish. If the surface of the river is calm, they recognize with a sharp and practiced eye the approach of a large fish from afar, by a gentle swirling of the water, etc., and guide their boats with the net between them toward the fish. When it has reached the net and has
[192] become entangled in it, the wooden float affected gives notice of it, and now both boats go to the spot where the fish is, the net is lifted, and the fish entangled in it is pulled into the boat by means of an iron hook attached to a pole (Gilyak schab-tschamrch, Pl. XI /see p.1020/, Fig. 2) and killed by a blow on the head with a club. If the fish is very large and the boat small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and
[411] taken to land to be killed there. The proper club for this is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

226 ancient use of this weapon from the Stone Age (1).
[411]

1. I myself did not see it among the Gilyak, but received a picture of it through one of my friends in Nikolayevsk, as well as one of a similar instrument used for smashing the bear skull, which are to be shown on a later plate.

When the water is more agitated and the sturgeon or hausen stay at greater depths, the net, especially at its lower ends, is weighted with larger stones so that it will sink deeper, and at the same time an arrangement is made so that from each of the two lower ends of the net a string runs through several rings plaited out of willow bast on the side edges of the net to the hands of the fishermen. Since, in addition, with more agitated water the entry of a large fish into the net would not be indicated as noticeably by the wooden floats, there are attached to the rear wall of it several thin strings (Gilyak umysij), the ends of which are likewise in the hands of the fishermen, and which by their subsequent jerky tension, reveal the presence of the fish in the net. As soon as this is recognized, the net is raised by pulling on the aforementioned two strings, and thus withdrawal from it is cut off for the fish, whereupon it is killed in the previously described manner.

Finally, the Gilyak also use a bag net for catching sturgeon and hausen. It is likewise equipped with stones at the lower edge of its opening and with wooden floats at the upper one. At each of the places where the ones end and the others begin, there are a ring plaited out of willow bast and a few strings which serve for holding or fastening the net. Fishing with this bag net is done in the same manner as with the above-mentioned net, in that the fishermen go out in two boats, cast the net, and, holding it in between at the sides, go downstream toward the ascending fish. As soon as the movement of one of the wooden floats or the jerky tension of one of the signal lines

/519 cont./

226 (umyssj) running from the walls of the bag betray the entrance /520/ of the fish, the net is drawn together, and the fish is caught. Sometimes this bag net is set permanently in the river, for which two posts are driven as firmly as possible into the river bed at a per pendicular to the bag opening, and the net is fastened to them by means of the rings and cords on its edges on either side. A Gilyak sitting in a boat takes up his station at one of the posts and holds the signal stringers in his hand so that, as soon as a fish has entered the net, he either catches it definitively and recovers it himself or he procures the help needed to do it.

The two last-mentioned nets are also used for fishing in winter, but the ice cover of the river then makes necessary a few other devices and manipulations. First of all, for each net, two holes must be made at a distance corresponding to its length, or, in the case of the bag net, to the diameter of its
226 opening. To scoop out the detached pieces of ice floating in
192 the holes the Gilyak use the hand net (Gilyak chuntulk) (1)

(227) 1. The net stretched in the hoop is called assj in Gilyak, the crosspiece in the lower part of the hoop -- lott, the long and crude handle-stick, with which the new ice that perhaps arose in the hole is sometimes broken up -- kip.

illustrated on Plate XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 3. A special instru-
(229) ment is used for setting up the net under the ice: it is a long,
(532) flat, wooden staff curved slightly toward the tip, the so-called odn, which on the end runs out into an approximately triangular plate with two points directed toward the rear and with two eyes carved in it in a primitive manner, which bears the name odn-tschongr, i.e., odn head (see Pl. XL, Fig. 4).
226 One reaches into one of the holes in the ice with this staff and shoves it forward, close under the ice, until the tip, the odn-tschongr, comes out at the other hole. Here one of the two

/520 cont./

226 upper corners of the net, or, in the case of the bag net, one of the sections of the bag opening equipped with the rings and cords, is hooked onto the prongs of the odn-tschongr, while the other corner of the net, or the place on the bag opening diametrically opposite the first one, is fastened to a pole placed across the hole, and the rest of the net, weighted with stones at the lower edge, is let down into the water. Now the odn is withdrawn, and the corner of the net coming out with it at the other hole is fastened, like the first one, to a pole. In this fashion the net is set up, like a wall directly under the ice, between the two holes. From these also emerge the cords by which it can be raised, and, finally, to one of them run the signal cords from the wall of the net or bag, so that the presence of fish in the net must be watched for here. From the foregoing it is to be seen that the length of the odn, determined by the size of the net and the distance of the holes in the ice from each other, is very considerable. It may therefore consist of several pieces.

(532) The representation of a face on the odn-tschongr is always necessary, however, according to Gilyak belief, and very essential for success in catching sturgeon or hausen. In this connection another /521/ Gilyak superstition should be considered, one specifically referring to the catching of sturgeon
(845) and hausen with nets. It is that a cuckoo feather attached to the net will make the fishing successful -- a superstition to which I shall return later with regard to its consequences.

226 Another way of catching sturgeon and hausen among the
171 Gilyak, though far less common, is to set out fishhooks. This is the same method of fishing that is known in Siberia as siamolowy (automatic fishing) and has been described by Pallas in the various modifications with which it is practiced along the lower Obj, on the Irtysch, Jaik, and along the Volga (1).

1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. II, pp. 339, 444; Vol. III, p. 88.

/521 cont./

226 Among the Gilyak this fishing is done in the following way. An
192 anchor (Gilyak tschabchy consisting of a branched tree-root, or of three wooden pegs connected with one another in the manner shown on Plate XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 10, and fastened to a stone between them, is lowered into the deep channel of the river by a rope (Gilyak tyk) (2) plaited out of willow bast and

2. Perhaps tyk merely means "rope" in general.

many fathoms long. Extending from this thick rope at certain intervals are thinner and shorter bast cords, and at the end of each one there is fastened a wooden clog (Gilyak kita, ibid., Fig. 9) equipped with a pointed and sharply ground iron hook. From the upper end of each of these clogs a thin string runs to the surface of the water where it bears a wooden or bark float. At certain intervals stones are tied to the main rope so that it will remain lying on the river bed, while the clogs with their iron hooks float some distance above it and, thanks to the floats, assume a more or less vertical or slanting position. Finally, at the very end of the main rope, which is lowered into the water last as the apparatus is being set up, a heavy wooden block is attached as a float, which makes the end of the rope easy to find at any time. The fish going up the river run into the clogs, push past them or even play with them, injure themselves in doing so, thrash about, and only remain ever more firmly hung on the hooks, as is revealed by the movements of the corresponding wooden floats. As soon as the Gilyak notice this, they come along in the boats, wind up the rope from the floating wooden block, and lift the fish into the boat by means of the hooks described above.

226 In fishing for sturgeon and hausen, the Gilyak use the
411 harpoon, though again less frequently than the net, simply because, as was said above, they move on the water with great caution and not too easily and boldly. The fish-harpoons customarily used among them are of two kinds: one consists of a simple iron point equipped with a couple of barbs, which

/521 cont./

226 is also used for seal-hunting and is to be described in the fol-
411 lowing in discussing this; the other is a trident (Gilyak tschak, Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 8), with barbs put on each prong. The one as well as the other is /522/ put on the tip of a wooden pole for hurling and, in addition, is tied to the end of a long strap remaining in the hand of the fisherman, by means of which the fish hit is pulled in and out of the water. The former weapon is more common among the Gilyak than the latter and bears the name tugngy.

226 Finally, it not infrequently happens that sturgeon and
411 hausen get into the nets set up for salmon and are caught together with the latter, or, and especially in midsummer with receding water, as I myself have seen, they are stranded in the shallows and then merely need be simply clubbed.

Soon after the opening of the river, the ascent of the species of salmon in the Amur and its tributaries begins, which, all together, lasts throughout the summer and early fall until into October, in fact, even after a new ice cover has formed, not counting the completely stationary species go upstream singly or in small parties, others in mighty processions repeated at intervals, and in particular there are two species of the greatest importance to the Gilyak on account of the great
(136) numbers in which they appear. These are the tengi or tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, and even more the lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin lughi-tscho, S. lagocephalus. How essential and indispensable they are for the diet and the total economy of the Gilyak has already been discussed in detail above. We shall therefore have to go into somewhat more detail on the catching of these fish, and especially the latter. First, however, space might be found here for a few remarks about their seasons of migration both in the Amur and along the adjacent seacoasts to the north and south.

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226 Salmo proteus, the gorbuscha of the Russians (1), is not

1. i.e., the same as saying hunchbacked fish or hunchbacked salmon. As is well known, it is called this because of the bulge that develops on the back of the spawning fish.

only one of the most abundant, but is also one of the earliest species of salmon entering the rivers along the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, northwest of the Amur-Liman, and along the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan south of it. Here it always precedes Salmo lagocephalus (the Russian keta) by a few weeks. According to Mizul, it appears on the west coast of Sakhalin in June and goes up all of its rivers and streams indiscriminately and in great quantities (2). the keta, however,

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khozyaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Standpoint of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 46.

appears in them somewhat later and in smaller numbers (3).

3. Mizul /Mitsul'/, op. cit., p. 49.

The situation seems to be similar along the opposite coast of the mainland (4), with the difference, however, that there the keta,

4. In the Ssuifun, according to Barabasch ("Sungar. Eksp. /Sungari Expedition/," -- Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 1, p. 167), the gorbuscha is caught chiefly and is sold by the Chinese fishermen to the gold-washers in the interior of the country, and in part even as far as Nitguta.

/522 cont./

226 too, appears in great quantities, at least at the mouths of the
6 large rivers. For one spot along this coast, Kaiserhafen at the mouth of the Hadshi River, there are detailed reports concerning the date of the appearance of the two species of salmon named, which here, too, play the principal roles. Margaritof, 226 who, for the /523/ purpose of ethnographic research, spent a
[114] whole summer among the Orochi in Kaiserhafen, reports that there the gorbuscha (okô among the Orochi), as well as the keta (dawâ among the Orochi), have three migration periods each, during which they enter the bay and the rivers emptying into it in greater quantities and alternate with each other in intervals of half a month each, in that the gorbuscha comes there during the first halves of the three summer months, but the keta during the second halves. With regard to the keta, he says in greater detail that their first migration begins around the middle of June and lasts until the first days of July, whereupon a pause of about ten days occurs, after which, about the 20th of July (the statements follow the old style /calendar/), they appear anew and continue to come until the beginning of August; then there is another interruption of a couple of weeks, after which, toward the end of August, the third migration period begins, which lasts far into September. The first of these migration periods, however, for the one species as well as for the other, scarcely deserves the name as such: the fish only appear in small numbers and do not go up the rivers but appear only at their mouths as far as the tide reaches in them. During the second period of migration they advance upstream in shoals, and, finally, in the third, they reach their maximum number, whereupon, however, as a result of exhaustion and the process proceeding in their organisms and, as is well known, manifesting itself by external changes, their goodness decreases in the same proportion, so that the jukola supplies made during the third migration period are the easiest to procure, to be sure, but at the same time are the most
6 inferior in quality. Incidentally, the Orochi are said to
226 prefer the gorbuscha generally for making their supplies of
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226 not appear in larger numbers in de Castries Bay until fall, that
6 is, toward the end of August at the earliest and during September.

Farther to the north, in the Amur-Liman, I was told by
226 the Tschorki and Ulchi, unfortunately without any reference to
114 dates, that both species, the tengi-tscho and the lyghi-tscho,
223 were to be found among them, but the latter in numbers in-
187 sufficient for their needs, so that, as has already been men-
480 tioned (4), when this fish migrates, they, like the Gilyak from

4. See p. 647 ff. above.

Tangi, Arkai, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with larger quantities of winter supplies there.

6 Some date for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
114 to the northwest of the Amur-Liman, are found in Middendorff.
226 In the list given by him for the dates of the migrations of various fish and especially of the species of salmon at the mouths of the rivers of Siberia and northwestern America, June 22 is given as the arrival time of S. proteus at the mouth of the Udj, and July 9 as that for S. lagocephalus along the same coast (5).

5. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1226 and 1227. The statement contained in the same work (p. 1192, note 2), but not in the above-mentioned list and standing in contradiction to the data in it, that S. lagocephalus arrives at the mouths of the Ala and Uda (that is, Udj) fairly regularly about June 10, and 7-10 days later also at the mouth of the Tugur, does not seem trustworthy to me and, incidentally, it gives with the reservation, "as is said." The regrettable, as I must note here in passing, that the explanation of the abbreviations which are used for the sources

utilized for the above-mentioned list of the migration dates of the fish (op. cit., p. 1228) is limited to only a part of them and many remain completely incomprehensible.

Moreover, /525/ the statement that S. lagocephalus does not seem to occur in the waters of Great Schantar Island, whereas S. proteus is caught there (1), is of interest for our purposes.

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1261

226 Finally, so far as the mouth of the Amur is concerned, S. proteus enters it as early as May, soon after the ice goes. But it appears then only in small numbers, only as the vanguard so to speak, of a second, large migration which takes place in June. During the latter month it is eagerly caught by the Gilyak for use in the preparation of supplies of jukola and also goes up the first major Amur tributary, the Amgunj /Amgun/, where it, together with S. lagocephalus, is the mainstay of the economy of the Negda (2). In July, finally, some straggle

2. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1524.

appear around the mouth of the Amur, but they are scarcely worth mentioning. It would therefore be an exaggeration to speak of three migration periods for S. proteus into the Amur; it is more correct to assume an initial weak migration in May a second strong or principal migration in June. Salmo lagocephalus does not appear in the Amur mouth until August and, in fact, except for a few forerunners, its actual great ascent into the river in shoals begins around the middle of August, reaches its peak toward the end of this month and the beginning of September, and then lasts with waning energy all through this latter month and continues into October, until

/529 cont./

thin cord, initially single, but very soon divided into three strings which are attached by their ends, at about half the length of the net, to its opposite wall. When the net is to be set up, its lower end is drawn together into a bag by means of a strap, it is weighted with stones above at the lower edge of the bag opening, and, by means of the cords on it, it is fastened to the above-mentioned myr piles, whereby the side of the net equipped with the slit in its upper part is turned toward the middle of the river, and the opposite one toward the bank. In order to give the net more support and also in order to pull it out later, a long, thick cord runs from the opening of the bag to the bank and is fastened there to a pile. /530/ Once the net is set up, a Gilyak stations himself in a boat at its exterior point of attachment at the end of the second row of piles and holds the signal cord in his hand, putting each part of it between two fingers. The salmon ascending along the bank and now coming upon the willow plaiting built out crosswise to them find no way through it and, in order to get around it, crowd along the plaiting running downstream and thereby get into the net. This is made known to the Gilyak

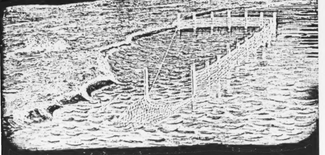

A salmon-weir (Gilyak myr) in the Amur River.

on guard by a pulling and tugging on the signal cords, and, as soon as he can assume from the repeated and strong tension on them that the net is

/530 cont./

226 full of fish, he lets the signal cord fall and draws together the opening of the bag, whereupon it is dragged ashore with the booty. Needless to say, besides the salmon going upstream at the time, other fish, sometimes even sturgeon and hausen, are caught in these bag nets. Since some labor and trouble is connected with making a myr, the Gilyak usually erect them only to catch the species of salmon most important to them and at the same time ascending in the greatest multitudes, the lyghi-tscho. They cannot have enough of this fish, and therefore at the time of its ascent the myr are not infrequently seen throughout the Gilyak area of the Amur River.

The Gilyak pursue salmon fishing in the Tymy River on Sakhalin in the same manner and with no less zeal. But this is less suitable for the erection of myr on account of its smaller size and, in places, its shallowness. They are nevertheless in use in its lower course and at the point where it empties into Nyi Bay. It is here that at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus, 226 in addition to the Gilyak, the Orok, too, zealously engage in 191 fishing and the preparation of fish supplies. Indeed, during the 648 last decades, the Japanese, too, after they have applied themselves, with the help of the Ainu, to the herring fishing on the coasts of southern Sakhalin and the catching of S. proteus at the mouth of the Poronai, generally appear at the mouth of the Tymy at the time of the migration of S. lagocephalus and engage in catching it with great energy and ruthlessness. Poljakof, who met them there at this occupation in August, 1881, reports, among other things (1), that they had first erected a weir of the

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-79 and p. 99.

kind described above reaching across the entire river and opened one-twelfth of the width of the river only as a result of his threatening demand, but then immediately above the first erected a second weir blocking no less than nine-tenths of the river. Under these circumstances it is understandable that they annually take large quantities of this species of salmon out of the

/530 cont./

226 Tymy River: no less understandable, however, is the harm that 191 they do through this to the Orok and especially to the Gilyak of 648 the entire Tymy Valley who rely on the abundance of fish of their river.

Nothing special is to be said about the catching of the fish living permanently in the Amur, such as carp, eelpout, sheatfish, pike, etc. for it is carried on with ordinary nets during the /531/ periods when there is no more important fishing, therefore especially in winter, under the ice, in the same way as sturgeon is then caught. In the calm, lake-like wide places with a muddy bottom, of which there are many along the banks of the Amur River, and which are always connected with it by a more or less swampy branch of the river or a small water-course, I have seen the Gilyak set up bag-shaped nets on poles in order to catch crucians and similar fish, which are abundant in these small basins.

One type of fishing must be given special consideration, both on account of its great importance for some of the Gilyak, and also on account of the characteristic, original way in which it is carried out. This is the kangi fishing along the west and east 136 coasts of Sakhalin. The importance of the kangi fish (Gadus wachnia Pall.) for the Gilyak and the way it is used have been discussed above (p. 653 ff.). The vast quantities in which they appear directly under the ice of the sea permits the Gilyak to 192 employ the simplest means to catch them in abundance. All as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kulk. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak pukij) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish; even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about 285 the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is 286 provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and 324 Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first 462 part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women: the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, 114 as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kulk. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak pukij) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

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286 Wound in this manner, the kilks, like a shuttle, moves from one 192 side to the other and back again, providing the material for the net and at the same time, knotting its meshes. But in order to make the latter and at the same time give them a certain uniform size, the kiwu is used, a rectangular little board, straight and horizontal at the top and bottom and indented at the sides, with two, approximately triangular cutouts, which, however, seem to be there only for stringing these boards on a cord, like a bunch of keys, and thus making it easier to store them.

286 The larger the meshes of a net are to be, the larger must 192 be the instruments used in making it, the kilks and the kiwu. 286 The net used for catching hausen (patch-tcho) and occasionally 192 also for seals -- Gilyak patch-kā -- has the largest meshes and, 223 correspondingly, it is the out of the thickest cord. Therefore to make it the largest instruments are used: the netting needle, Fig. 4, called patch-kā-kilks by the Gilyak (also tolles-kilks and kerwagn-kā-kilks), and the corresponding mesh-board, patch-kā-kiwu, Fig. 6 on the plate cited. Then, according to size, the equipment used for the knotting of the sturgeon net, Gilyak tukki-kā, follows: tukki-kā-kilks (also jaghin-kā-kilks), Fig. 3, and tukki-kā-kiwu, Fig. 5 of the plate named. The next smaller, third netting-needle, Fig. 2, called anga-kā-kilks or also nokn-kā-kilks, is used for making the nets with which such fish as pilengat (Cyprinus carpio), mimk (Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii), kych, etc. are caught. A fourth, even smaller netting-needle, Fig. 1, was designated for me by the Gilyak as mych-kā-kilks, that is, as the needle which serves for making the bag net (mych-kā) used in the above-mentioned salmon weirs. They added, 287 however, that nets knotted with this needle were also used for 227 catching the tengi, S. proteus. /534/ From this one may conclude that the bag nets of the salmon weirs used chiefly, or indeed, as far as I could see, exclusively, for catching S. lagocephalus are relatively fine-meshed, for even fish much smaller than S. lagocephalus, such as S. proteus in particular, do not require finer nets. And that is probably the result of learning by experience that with larger meshes in a bag net the fish entering it in

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226 great multitudes and heavily crowding one another could easily 286 slip through, which would considerably reduce or even bring to naught the mass catch of the most important of all fish aimed at by erecting the myr. Furthermore, this bag net need not be made out of a very thick cord, because, when filled, it is immediately dragged to the not very distant bank. I did not see the mesh-board which go with the latter two netting-needles, and which of course, are likewise of correspondingly smaller size in comparison with those mentioned earlier. Since the Gilyak have even finer nets than the mych-kā, such as, for example, the bag nets used in the smaller river-branches and lakes for catching crucians and smaller fish, they must certainly have even smaller netting-needles and mesh-boards than the last-named ones, even though always of the same form; but these are of so much less importance that, when I inquired about them, they were neither able to show me any nor give me special names for them.

286 Now when the knotting of a net with the instruments described is being done, a special wooden fork designed for this purpose is fastened to the bench in the yurt, on the edge of the boat, or wherever the work is to be done, and one of its prongs is used to hold the net being knotted, while over the other one are hung the pieces already completed (1). After the knotting

192 1. The Gilyak designation for this fork remains unknown to me; according to Maack (op. cit., p. 130), the Goldi call it ilaking.

is completed, the net is edged all around with cord twisted out of willow bast and is provided with a second cord of this kind at the upper and lower ends on the outside, running close to the first one and connected with it only at individual points. While 227 fishing, small stones or the above-mentioned wooden or bark 226 floats are fastened between these two cords as required. The 286 nets of the Gilyak are always handled with great care and

/534 cont./

227 consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in 286 the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they 184 are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superstition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

226 /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak 183 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught. 262 First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing, all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest 224 to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life, hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than fishing. Among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this away from fishing. In particular, it cuts heavily into winter fishing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in 226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the 262 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite vario

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kinds of eager and assiduous hunting of game, whereas the onset of winter seems to awaken in the latter a passion not entirely suppressed by the fishermen's life, which temporarily transforms them, as it were, into hunting nomads. Nevertheless it should not be thought that among the Amur peoples the Gilyak alone busy themselves in the winter with fishing (1). The Olcha likewise

1. As, for example, Arthur Nordmann ("Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/." -- Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part 2, 1861, p. 230) says.

The Olcha likewise practice it to a very considerable extent, and the Marinski post in the middle of their area was abundantly supplied with fresh fish by them in the winters of 1855 and 1856. The Amur Goldi, too, devote themselves to it, but it gradually decreases among them going upstream: as I myself experienced, the traveler going in this direction in winter is more and more commonly offered deer, elk, and wild-pig meat or fat instead of fresh fish. Przewalski (2) said of the Usuri dwellers that fishing

2. Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, p. 98.

practically ceases among them in winter because all the able-bodied men go hunting then and only the old men and the women left behind engage in angling. Sitting for hours at the table in the ice, they continually move their tackle, equipped with only a small piece of red cloth or a bit of fat instead of bait. /538/ up and down, and, despite this simple procedure, it is said that on good days they succeed in catching from two to three pood of fish, chiefly carp (Cyprinus carpio) and salmon trout (Salmo fluviatilis Pall.). I found the Samagir along the

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zin-jui (3), hausen, in the Churcha or Mutwan-ho (Mudan-shan

3. According to Maack (op. cit., p. 201), Acip. orientalis is called zing-huan by the Chinese.

in the Russian version), the last large right tributary of the Sungari, and that they are speared with iron fishhooks through holes in the ice in winter, was reported even by the Chinese Utchen in his memoir on Ninguta written in 1722 (4). But of all

4. Vasil'ev", "Zap. o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (zap. Rustk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, p. 88).

the Sungari tributaries the Nonni is said to be the richest in fish (5). The big sturgeon or hausen which Father Paranin served

5. Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 1, p. 149; No. 2, p. 346).

to the Russian ambassador Ismailof and his party in Peking in the winter of 1721, and which allegedly had been brought from the Amur frozen and packed in snow, may even have come from the Sungari or Ussuri (6).

6. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage depuis St.-Pétersb. en Russie dans diverses contrées de l'Asie, Paris, 1746, translated from the English by M ***, p. 366. According to Maack (op. cit., p. 201), Chinese merchants annually bring hausen and other fish from the Ussuri to Peking to sell.

Aside from some minor differences in details, the methods of catching sturgeon and hausen among the Olcha and Goldi are exactly the same as among the Gilyak, but the inclination toward

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hunting inherent in them, as in all Tungusic tribes, makes it certain that they will prefer methods of fishing that are less common among the Gilyak. For example, the /537/ above-mentioned method of fishing with a hook attached to a wooden clog, which is little used among the Gilyak, is very popular among the Olcha and even more among the Goldi, both on the Amur and in particular on the Ussuri, and, judging by the striking correspondence in the designations for the individual pieces of this fishing apparatus among the former and among the latter (1),

1. For example, the anchor part of this apparatus is called tschabch by the Gilyak, tschabbe by the Olcha and Goldi; the main rope fastened to the bottom by means of it is called tyk by the former, dyka by the latter; the clog equipped with the hook is called kita by the former, kuirai and kuitraie by the latter.

I am inclined to believe that the Gilyak, despite the fact that in most things concerning fishing they may be regarded as the teachers of their Tungusic neighbors, have borrowed this method of fishing from the latter. Still greater and more characteristic in comparison with the Gilyak is the preference of the Olcha and in particular the Goldi for catching sturgeon and hausen with the above-mentioned and illustrated (Pl. XLI /p.1021/, Fig. 8) too, the fact that the Gilyak term for this weapon (tschak) is very similar to that of the Olcha-Goldi (dshogbo) seems to me to argue in favor of a borrowing of it on the part of the Gilyak from their Tungusic neighbors, whereas the much greater and more characteristic harpoon, the tugnay, was probably theirs originally. In the preference of the Olcha and Goldi for this method of fishing, which is closest to hunting, indeed, in fact is more fish-hunting than fishing, their Tungusic hunter-nature is clearly to be seen. Moreover, it is intimately bound up with the boldness, ease, and adroitness with which they glide over the water in small

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extensive trade relations, keep a smaller number of dogs than the Gilyak, their requirements for winter supplies of fish are not as large as among the latter. And naturally they spend less time and effort on obtaining and preparing them. Linked with these more or less purely quantitative differences in the salmon fishing of the Olcha and Goldi in contrast to that of the Gilyak, there are also qualitative ones inasmuch as the individual species of salmon go up the Amur and its tributaries in varying numbers and frequency and therefore vary in their importance for some of the dwellers on it. Salmo proteus, for instance, highly regarded among the Orochi, the Gilyak on the coast and on the Amur, and the Negda on the Amguni on account of its mass migrations, very soon loses its importance farther upstream. To be sure, it occurs throughout the Olcha area and is said to go up the small river emptying near the village of Kada as far as the lake in its upper course; indeed, a fine-meshed net used among them, as well as among the lower Goldi, for catching smaller fish bears the designation daa-magda after it, but it was not named for me among the Gorin fish by the Samagir in Ngaghs, and it is likewise not mentioned by Maack, Przewalski, and others for the Ussuri. On the other hand, another species of salmon, S. lycaodon, which is less important to the Gilyak, receives greater consideration among the Olcha and Goldi. Whereas it plays only a very subordinate role in the mouth part of the Amur River, in comparison to the great masses of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, between whose migrations it appears in incomparably smaller numbers, its appearance farther upstream comes at a time when there are relatively few fish, in that the former gradually declines and the latter appears later, and therefore meets a definite need of the river dwellers. On July 3/16, 1855, I saw the Olcha of Adi and in the days following also the Goldi of Kõurmi and the adjacent villages upstream busily catching cheike or selike, as they call S. lycaodon; not only did they feast on the freshly caught fish, but they also took advantage of the great schools in which they traveled for the preparation of supplies, which the Gilyak, as a rule, disdain to do with this species of salmon (their well-

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in spite of the fact that the Olcha and Goldi villages named, where I saw S. lycaodon in great numbers, lie quite close to the mouth of the Gorin, it does not seem to enter this latter river, for among its fish enumerated for me by the Samagir the cheike was absent. In the Amur, however, it also occurs farther upstream and is designated by the Goldi above the Geong Mountains with the name uru. Nevertheless it does not seem to reach the Ussuri; at least I did not get any information about it there, /539/ and in the latter reports by Maack and Przewalski concerning the fish fauna of this river, it is not mentioned.

By far the most important of all the species of salmon, however, for all the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region, is for the Gilyak, it S. lagocephalus, called daua or dawa (1)

1. The w here is pronounced like the English w.

by all of them. This salmon goes from the lower Amur into all its tributaries, the Amguni, Gorin, Chongar, and Ussuri, and goes up to their uppermost tributaries. In the region of the latter, strange to say, it avoids Lake Kengka, otherwise so rich in fish, and, to be sure, as Przewalski (2) suspects, because of its all too

2. Op. cit., p. 97, footnote.

muddy water. Its migration up the Ussuri is said to last for about 14 days, from the middle of September on. Late in the summer of 1855, when I traveled down the Amur from the Ussuri mouth, I met the first specimens of S. lagocephalus going upstream on August 25 and 26 (September 6 and 7) near Sioja and Emmero at the outlet from the Geong Mountains. Just three days later, near Chongar and Ommoi, I met it in mass migrations, and the Goldi were completely absorbed in catching it. In the latter village, where I rested for a few days, an old and very intelligent man told me that the mass migration of the daua lasted here for about 10 days, after which it was scarcer, to be sure, but continued to migrate for another 20 days or so. Farther downstream [Gilyak, the villages of Adi and Kõurmi--Analist] in the Gorin fish, chiefly carp (Cyprinus carpio) and salmon trout (Salmo fluviatilis Pall.). I found the Samagir along the

/539 cont./ Farther downstream everything revolved exclusively around the catching of this fish and the preparation of winter supplies out of it, everyone feasted on it, the drying racks standing around the yurts were hung with tight rows of cut-up fish, like wide red ribbons, and the refuse poisoning the air yielded abundant food for the dogs, crows, and blowflies. In Mongolo, near the northern boundary of the Olcha, on September 13/26, the people thought that the mass migration of the daua had already come to an end, and only straggler were still going upstream. Nevertheless I found the Gilyak as far as Nikolayevsk still busy everywhere catching lyghi-tscho, either at the salmon weirs or with the help of ordinary nets. By the way, the catching of S. lagocephalus is done among the Olcha and the Goldi in precisely the same way as among the Gilyak, in part with ordinary nets, which, with meshes of a definite size, bear the name daua-magda after this principal fish, and in part with the help of the above-mentioned salmon weir, called mynga by them. The bag-shaped net on this latter (adule) is also made exactly like the myreh-ki of the Gilyak, is likewise equipped with signal cords (Gilyak umyss), Olcha and Goldi sirachs), and is also handled in the same way. But the salmon weirs of the Olcha and Goldi, in accordance with the above general remarks about their fishing in comparison with that of the Gilyak, are, as a rule, smaller, less carefully made, and less numerous than among the latter.

Prior to the surplus of fish brought about by the appearance of S. lagocephalus, there is a rather long period that is relatively poor for fish, during which the Olcha and Goldi /540/ are dependent on the fish living permanently in the Amur. The most important among them, aside from the species of Acipenser already discussed, are several cyprinoids, such as Cyprinus carpio (Olcha ua, Goldi kyaga; Carassius carassius vulgaris (Olcha and Goldi chargi), Pseudaspius leptocephalus (Olcha and Goldi suwa and ava), Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii (Olcha and Goldi takko and tawa), Leuciscus erythropterus (Olcha and Goldi diadi ch), and other fish as well as Salmo fluviatalis (among the Olcha and Goldi dhal, among the Samagir on the Gorin dishl), the sheatfish, Silurus asotus (Olcha and Goldi lachu), and the pike (Olcha koro, Goldi guzza, Samagir gutscha).

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Goldi guzza, Samagir gutscha). I have even seen jukola made from the last two, though only in small quantities and for the immediate future. Certainly a river so rich in fish as the Amur could provide the dwellers on it with a rich yield of fish even when it is not filled with species of salmon going upstream, if only they were willing to fish with diligence and energy, but in this respect the Olcha and Goldi fall far behind the Gilyak. I sometimes saw the Goldi badly in want in the middle of summer but instead of energetically going fishing, which would certainly have crowned their efforts with success, even though not to the same extent as in the period of the migrating salmon, they contented themselves with lazily and comfortably angling for small fish near the shore, which were supposed to relieve their momentary distress. They lack what is needed to overcome their natural indolence, the peculiarly Gilyak love of fishing, if it does not have the character of hunting, as in the case of sturgeon and hausen fishing carried on with a harpoon.

With regard to the fishermen's nets of the Olcha and Goldi, it is to be noted that, with the same nature as the Gilyak nets, they nevertheless present some variety with regard to the materials used in making them, for they are not only made out of nettles, but also, and, to be sure, the more frequently the farther upstream one goes, out of the stems of the hemp plant (Cannabis sativa L., Olcha and Goldi onochto), which grows in great profusion along with nettles and artemisia around their yurts. Moreover, instead of the stones which the Gilyak sometimes use to weight their nets, they use oblong-parallelepiped pieces of clay (libicha) intended expressly for the purpose, which fit exactly in between the two willow-bast cords (Olcha and Goldi bartoche) framing the net and are equipped with suitable straps for being fastened to them. For making these net-weights, a wooden mold consisting of two individual halves is used. It is first greased with fish oil, then the clay is packed in, and any protruding beyond the mold is cut off with a knife. These pieces of clay are not fired, however, after they are taken out of the mold, but instead are dried and slightly hardened on the seven Sling benches or in front of the hearth-fire in the yurt.

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226 [114] The dates given here for the migrations of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Amur agree very well with the dates given above for various points of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, especially if one keeps in mind, as is required on the basis of the available data, the multiple, intermittent, more or less large migrations or ascents of one and /526/ the same species. If one also takes into account the greater or smaller numbers in which they appear at the points mentioned above, one comes to the conclusion that S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, moving northward from the northern part of the Sea of Japan reach the Amur-Liman and the mouth of the Amur River, in the course of which the former, especially toward the end of its migration period, enters all the bays and inlets, and even the smallest rivers of both coasts, in great quantities, whereas the latter visits only the larger and major ones among them, but avoids the smaller ones, and in the main, moving against the current coming from the Liman and strongly mixed with fresh water, strives for the mighty Amur in order to go far up into its extensive network and in particular into the large tributaries of its lower course. In the following, while discussing the fishing of the other peoples of the Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, we shall repeatedly encounter it on its migration. First, however, we must remain for a moment with the appearance of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus in the Gilyak area.

226 192 805 The arrival and the mass migration of these two fish especially *important for the economy of the Gilyak* are, of course, phenomena of such extraordinary significance for them that they are used by them to designate the periods of the year, the months, in which they occur. For instance, May is known among them as the month in which the tengi-tscho (S. proteus) first comes upstream, walten-tengi-long, and June, in which its mass migration takes place, tengi-wota-long (1). August

1. Long in Gilyak means "month"; I am unable to offer a detailed explanation of the expressions "walten" and "wota," but

/526 cont./

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1. (cont.)
it seems to me that in these as well as in the following designations for the months the first expression refers to the first and still sparse appearance of the fish concerned, and the latter to the main or mass appearance of it.

during which the lyghi-tscho (S. lagocephalus) goes up the Amur River in colossal numbers and the activity of the entire population is required for the preparation of winter supplies, is called among the Gilyak lyghi-wota-long or pilja-tschrar- (2), or simply

2. The word "tschrar" is undoubtedly related to "tscho," fish.

pilja-long, i.e., the "great fish-month," or also simply "great month." This latter designation gives especially convincing evidence of the great importance which S. lagocephalus has for the entire economy of the Gilyak. In comparison with June and especially with August, July is only poor for fish. Among the species of fish peculiar to it S. lycaodon (Gilyak well, the nerka of the Russians) is the most prominent. This species of salmon, however, only plays a certain role farther upstream, among the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed at the appropriate place, but for the Gilyak it is of no special importance, inasmuch as it does not appear by far in such quantities as S. proteus or even S. lagocephalus and does not provide as good and as long-lasting a jukola as these do; indeed, in view of the certain quantities of lyghi-tscho to be expected soon, the Gilyak regard it as useless and not worth the trouble /527/ to prepare jukola supplies from the well. In contrast to August, the "great fish-month," July is therefore called by the Gilyak matschn-

226 192 805 /527 cont./
tschrar-long -- "the little fish-month" (1).

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1. At the appropriate place in the following there will be a discussion of the other designations which the months May-August bear among the Gilyak and which are derived from factors other than the periods of the migrations of fish, as well as the names customary among them for the other months.

226 The direction and the time of migration of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus along the east coast of Sakhalin seem to be somewhat different than in the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in the Liman, and at the mouth of the Amur. According to Mizul, the former goes along this coast from south to north, reaches the Bay of Patience about the middle of June, and in July and until late August goes up the Plyi or Poro-nai and its tributaries. During the first half of August it also appears along the island's coast located to the north of the Bay of Patience, goes up into the Tymy River, and by the middle of this month and until late in the fall is found in its upper course and its tributaries. S. lagocephalus appears somewhat later than S. proteus, and, as Mizul expressly remarks, first in the northern part of southern Sakhalin and not until later in the southern part, so that its migration here, in contrast to that of S. proteus, seems to go from north to south; moreover, it appears there in smaller quantities and not in all, but only in certain rivers, in these, however, every year, though in variable numbers (2). It therefore seems principally to strive

2. Mizul, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

for the larger rivers on the east coast of Sakhalin also, that is, the Poro-nai and especially the Tymy. At the mouth of the latter, in Nvi Bay, Poljakof in 1881 witnessed the mass appearance and ascent of S. lagocephalus into the river, which continued

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ice cover forms. Middendorff's migration date for S. ocephalus into the Amur (end of August) known to him ough the work of Przewalski (3) -- who, however, had not

3. Puteshestv. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, p. 97.

n at the mouth of the Amur himself -- did not seem to ee with that for the same species along the south coast of Sea of Okhotsk (4). But for this he had in mind only the

4. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1221.

tement, questioned by me and, one can almost say with tainty, erroneous, concerning the migration date of S. ocephalus at the mouth of the Udj, which has been dis- sed above (p. 816, note 5). The subsequent entry of S. ocephalus into the Amur, much later than Middendorff pre- med (5), explains quite simply and naturally the fact stated

5. Op. cit., p. 1220, where it is said that the keta salmon goes up into the Amur at least at the same time as into the Tugur (June 17-20), and probably even earlier.

him (6) that the keta salmon going up the Tugur arrive much

6. Op. cit., pp. 1220 and 1485.

ier than those going up the Amur and Amgunj at the point re the Tugur and the Amur systems come close together result of a bend in the river beds of the Tugur and Nemilen, hat the Tungus have plenty of time to do their fishing at Tugur bend (near Burukan) and then to move over to the by Nemilen to fish anew for keta salmon there.

/527 cont./

226 throughout the second half of August and did not decrease until the 30th (3). For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and

3. Poliakov", Putesh. na o. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. I. R. Geogr. Obshch.; p. 97).

226 184 805 For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and especially along its upper course in great density, September is therefore chiefly the month that brings them the greatest quantities of laghi-tscho, so essential to their economy, and in which, traveling to meet the ascending fish, they devote themselves entirely to fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter. This explains the fact, repeatedly told to me by the Tymy Gilyak, that among them not August, but September bears the name pilja-long, "great month," whereas August, less rich in fish in comparison with it, is designated only as matschki-long, "little month." Thus, as a result of somewhat different natural conditions, a shift in the names for the months customary among the Amur Gilyak takes place there (4). Whether this also extends to the Tro Gilyak, for

4. The shifts or other differences in the names of the rest of the months that occur among the Tymy Gilyak in contrast to their countrymen on the Amur will be discussed later where appropriate.

whom the names customary along the Amur would actually be more appropriate, I am unable to say because I had too little contact with them. But it is not impossible, since the Tymy Gilyak speak the same dialect as they do and generally have a /528/close and, to a certain extent, decisive relationship with them, similar to the one that the Amur Gilyak have with those of the Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/528 cont./

226 The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and [251] children participate in this work, and within a short time one [252] boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken. [462] While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as [462] the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen, in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream toward the ascending fish and draw up the filled net first into the one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces, 227 drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight differences in shape and the manner in which they are used and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size [192] of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

/528 cont./

227 192 quadrangular net is called tschessk and, depending on the size of its meshes, is a lyghi-tschessk or a tengi-tschessk; another one was named for me as kyrn-kä and likewise distinguished as lyghi-kyrn-kä and a tengi-kyrn-kä (1), etc.

1. Kä in Gilyak means "net" in general.

226 In order to catch greater quantities of the ascending fish without much trouble, weirs are erected from the bank into the river for the purpose of deflecting the fish from the direction of their migration and directing them into a bag net set up alongside. For this, places are chosen on higher banks in the vicinity of a projecting tongue of land, where there is a stronger current and, as is known from experience, the fish usually ascend in great multitudes. /529/ The nature of such a salmon [192] weir, called myr among the Gilyak, is the following. From the bank a series of piles one fathom apart is driven out into the river, and from the end of it, at a right angle, a second, shorter stretch running downstream is driven into the river bottom. The spaces between the piles are then so closely interwoven with osier switches from the surface of the water as far down [192] as possible that the fish can find no exit. Between the lower end of the row of piles running downstream and a single post standing some distance from it and closer to the bank, the bag net, the myrch-kä of the Gilyak, is fastened. This has the shape of a long funnel very gradually becoming narrower toward the bottom: a specimen from the village of Tschcharbach that I measured, spread out on the ground, had a length of six and a half meters and a width of three meters at the upper end and one and a half meters at the lower one. From the upper edge of this funnel-shaped net, equipped with two parallel willow-bast cords, a slit in the net about 12 decimeters long runs down along one side, and on each of the two tips thus formed along the edge of the funnel are put two cords, which, like the similar cord found diametrically opposite them, serve for fastening the net to the appropriate piles. Furthermore, from one of the above- [192] mentioned tips there extends the signal cord (Gilyak umyssj), a

edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thickness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settlements were particularly numerous along the shallow shore of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

Goldi RKS

/600 cont./

1/2 ja, a whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 ja), whereas the Gilyak with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to these worthless, trifling materials. In further contrast to the Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing animals and fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 ja among them, a red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 ja, tanned 2 ja). Like the furs, the principal products from fishing also have a higher price among the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon, for example, costs 10 ja among the former), on the one hand because the fish supply in the Amur River decreases upstream, and on the other hand because they are nowhere near as productive in this respect as the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing. Cereals and vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is quite decidedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "string" of it, equal to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 ja (2).

2. At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to the above table /see p. 935/.

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Circassian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

Since principal commodity of the Amur peoples in trading with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable, fox, and otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on the whole, only /601/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of procuring this commodity in the largest quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way better suited to their nature. To this end they trade with their

/669/

423 224 226 619 Finally, they also embrace the communistic that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishi ing, except for the places on the river where they h salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where the self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wh limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the T for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and t Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Al [648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samag trate into their territory without molesting them.

685 [421] [123] Like the communism, the inviolability of pro based upon the national principle. I have seen eve dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small t ample, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart fr people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage tra etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the [186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilya inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the e 685 648 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russian the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed muc Even the small burial houses were not safe for their though they did not contain anything but a few artic bolic significance. Thus it came about that I becam [192] with the principal international relationship betwee peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to ste Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) di known to me until much later. But it hardly ever h one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indee 685 123 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssaba whom I could fully trust even from an international The former, for instance, after a few days, returned cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there wa

principle in
ng and hunt-
ave their
ir traps and
lly without
River to fish,
'ymy River
the sea-
he Tymy
so, in the
gir to pene-

perty is also
n old and
neft, for ex-
om the young
vel bags,
Amur-
k about the
ntrance to
s steal from
temptation
front in order
h greater.
contents,
les of sym-
ne acquainted
n the two
al" (ukradntsch,
d not become
appens that
d, I met
ch, etc.,
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s not one

Economy and Everyday Life

226 [433] The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this [433] method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the [496] needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber. 227 [283] They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from [177] the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (iykh). This consisted

286 516

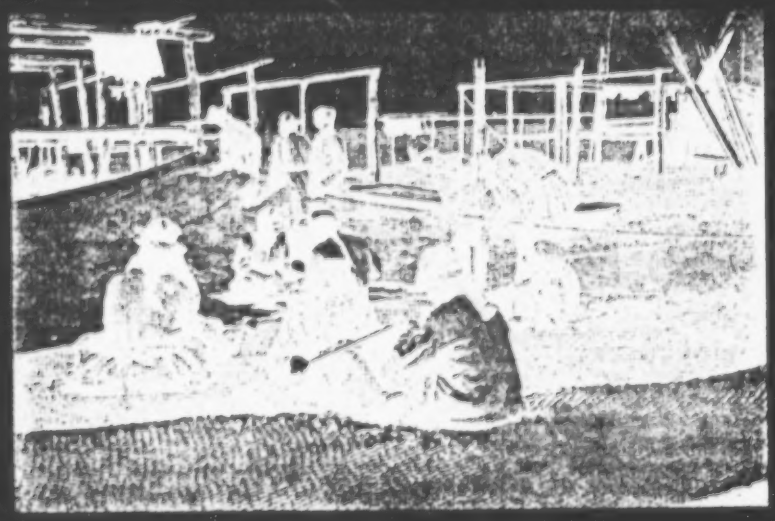

Sewing together a seine.

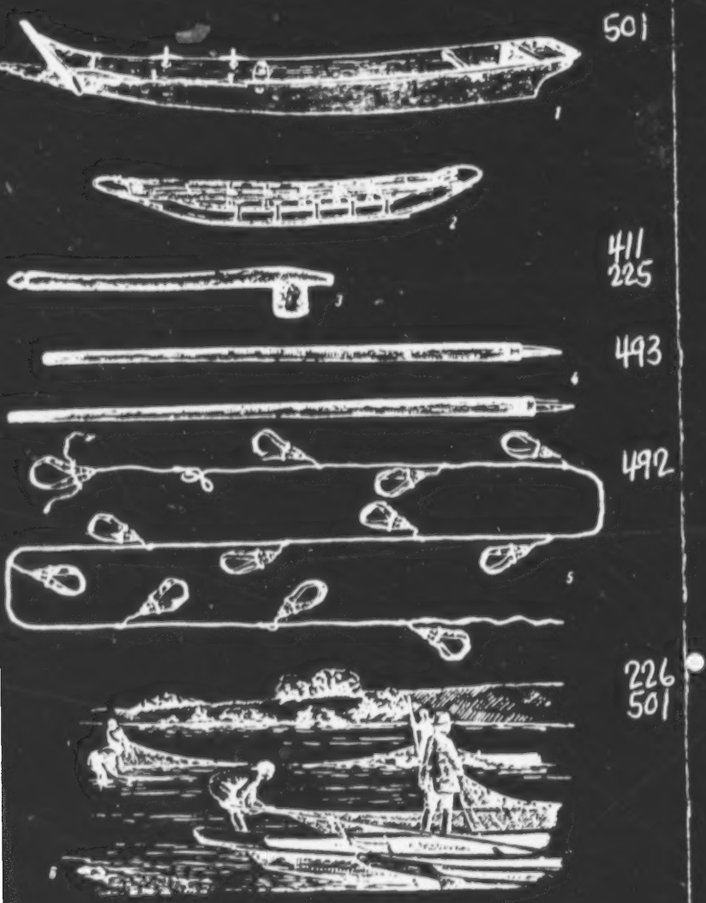

Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

d was prepared with
-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins,
-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite
was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi
ame acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a somewhat different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resistance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats (kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die."

were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northernmost Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

7: Kreinovich--21 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
177
127 1 N. V. Slîunin, Sovremennoîe polozhenîe nashevo
476 Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
476 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares.
177 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mlət) and of the stick over the door of the house (ŋəmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak argun (?) now living in the village
471 Cəarva (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from the village Təlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

116, 226, 411

"Vanka, . . . got out his long fish-spear (marikh), and, balancing himself on the prow of the boat, skilfully lunged at passing salmon. His weapon, which is one of a kind used by many of the tribes of North-Eastern Siberia, was of a peculiar character. To the shaft, which was about fourteen feet long, a large iron hook was loosely fastened by a thong. Close to the end was also another thong, bound round three or four times, but just loosely enough to allow of the hook being temporarily slid into it, the 'business' end free and pointing with the shaft. Ready now for action, the weapon was like a magnified letter h. On sighting the gleam in the limpid depths beneath, the skilful harpooner gives a rapid thrust, and the belly of the salmon is pierced. The action of piercing looses the hook from the threefold thong, and the struggles of the fish now only serve the hook, which is dangling from the first thong, to gain a firmer grip.

The first lunge by Vanka proved unsuccessful, as a cry of 'Kaukray' announced; again a silvery gleam, and [172] a second attempt had happier results, for a kita of fifteen to twenty pounds was hauled in, splashing and somersaulting. A blow on its head, and the fish lay dead; whereupon our Gilyaks whipped out their knives, and, like the Red Queen in 'Alice in Wonderland,' 'offed with its head,' and with teeth and knife devoured their tasty morsel raw, leaving nothing but the jaws. The natives regard the head of a salmon as a great delicacy, especially the cartilaginous parts, and in this they can claim kinship with the bear, for during the spawning-season Master Petz will come down to the river's edge, and in one night spoil a score of kita, devouring the heads, and throwing away the bodies."

, 226, 251, 262, 731

"Fish being the staple article of food,
necessarily of great importance to the
nerally consumed by December, and t
rival of the seals in April there is onl
glefinus, or Vachnya), or in the Gilya
ore and gazes seaward, he will see bl
figures of men wrapped from head to
their [257] hands are sticks with big h
ming to the hole made in the ice, and
nan has been known to catch as many

the 'bread' of the Gilyaks, the summer supply
em. The winter stores of sun-dried kita are
hen comes the hard time for them. Until the
y one other visitant. This is the haddock (Gadu
k tongue, kan-hi. If one is sledging along the
ack specks among the gleaming ice. They are
foot in skins, and they are hooking haddock.
ooks attached, and the hungry and stupid fish
grabbing at the hook, is caught. By this means
as 300 in a day."

16, 136, 226

"After the seals arrive the herrings (Clupea hare
Pleuronectes hippoglossus), in Gilyak pilencho, wi
arge hook baited. The natives allow this powerful
00 lbs., to drag the boat until, its strength exhaus
Trout (Salmo fario) appear now in the rivers, bu
ig catch is of the ide (1) (Idus melanotus). A weir

1. The common ide (Leuciscus idus) is a specie

tream. Two lines of wattle are constructed so as
oint of meeting is a large, long basket. The fish
nd a Gilyak sitting near the entrance all night beat
hem in and preventing them from returning. In the m
akes his catch ashore. The smelt (Osmerus eperla
t is caught with a hand-net, and simply ladled out
orbusha (Salmo proteus) and kita (S. lagocephalus
he natives, has already been described."

engus), and then the halibut
hich is caught from a boat with a
fish, which sometimes weighs over
ted, they haul it in and spear it.
t not in large numbers, and the next
is formed in the river pointing up

s of roach (Leuciscus rutilus).

to form an acute angle, and at the
coming up stream find their way in,
s with a mallet or oar, frightening
horning he fastens up the basket, and
anus) appears in such quantities that
of the water. The spearing of the
s), the most important fish of all to

"There are many other [LSS: other than
bitants of the sea and rivers which have
nds; and though to the cold current issuin
nter, yet he owes to it the large schools
khalin. They come in such rapid sequenc
'posts.' "

the list in category 225, pp. 255-256.] in-
interest for the Gilyak, especially the smaller
ng from the Okhotsk Sea is due his severe
of fish which arrive off the coast of
e that the Russian fishermen say they come

484 sled is 70-80 rubles.

492 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is the fact that he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely-packed snow as the horse, and in general is much more agile, so that a dog-sled finds its way without a road where horses sink in up to their chests and cannot move from the spot. Moreover, one can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus visit uninhabited regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and about 30 pood of baggage. However, this applies more to Russian teams, for the Russians feed their animals better (1) and their dogs pull

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In drying the salmon, they divide it into three parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.

481 As is well known, snow shoes are used for walking on the loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very far. The Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch wood about two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered with seal-skin, the hair of which is turned in such a way as to prevent the shoes from slipping back.

226 VII. Trades and Occupations

286 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indispensable tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, etc.

Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting, etc., are caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thread or hemp fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the frost for a time,

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. The spindle is like that used by the Russians. The long, lower end of the shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set into motion and at the same time one end of two long strands is tossed over the head of the spinner, while the other end is pressed against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up. The net is braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are the duties of the women, but sometimes the men also condescend to do them.

226 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught with a fishing rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along the coast haddock is also plentiful that there is a special kind of hook used for it. The end of the line is studded with a number of hooks which face in all directions; in winter such a line

"The river [LSS: the Amur] at this point is n
extensive plains of meadow-land burdened with
on either hand, in the distance, faint blue hills
the plains, and, in many places, extend to the
clusters of foliage, the tasty though filthy Gilak
near the sandy beach. One of these we came u
front of each house, upon the beach, were draw
elevated, fancifully-carved prows, and all alon
natives toiling at their long seines, and strewin
that glittered in the sunlight like heaps of silve
suspended on light poles under bark or straw-c
main until required for use, they being here, a
nance of both men and dogs during the long win
bark and roots of various trees, constitute alm
though many of the more hardy vegetables coul
they content themselves with the food that natu

The river at certain seasons of the year is l
effort is required to capture them [90] that they
that would adorn banquets in many places are h

early a mile in width, and flows through
a rank growth of tall grass, beyond which
limit the vision. Patches of woodland dot
river-bank, where, beneath the thick
ts erect their picturesque habitations
pon shortly after leaving Marinsk. In
vn up their odd-shaped canoes, with
g the shores we could see the bare-legged
ng the banks with hundreds of fine salmon,
r. These fish are afterward split, and
overed shelters to dry, where they re-
as in Kamtchatka, intended for the suste-
ter months. Fish and berries, with the
ost the only food of the inhabitants, and,
d be had at the expense of a little toil,
re showers upon them.
iterally alive with salmon, and so little
y are considered almost valueless. Fish
ere thrown to the dogs by hundreds."

226 without any kind of bait on it is lowered into a crack or a hole drilled into the ice and is as a rule immediately pulled up with one or more fish attached to it. [119]

Sturgeon are caught with hooks. Large iron hooks are fastened to pieces of either wood or cork by means of a rope which in turn is held in place by heavy stones deep in the water, that is, not much above the bottom. The sturgeon which goes down deep is, curiously enough, attracted by the moving pieces of wood, he "plays" with them, as the natives say, and thus gets caught by one or another hook. In winter this fish is also caught in strong nets, for at this time it is supposed to be weaker.

The greatest activity occurs at the time of the salmon run. The results of it influences the lives of these people for the rest of the year, therefore whole swarms of Gilyak are to be found on the Amur. The fish are caught by means of enclosures (1): near the shore a row of posts are driven into the

1. Called sayesdka by the Russian fishermen.

river bed; in general the enclosure has this shape ⊓, the open side of it is turned toward the mouth of the river from which the fish comes. The fish bumps against the wall, turns sideways, and is caught in the bag which is lowered from the boat on the inner sides of the enclosure. At the height of the salmon run there are such masses of fish that the bags are filled almost as soon as they are lowered. The fish weighs 8 to 12 or even 20 pounds and costs three to five Kopeck.

226 The women also take part in this catch. There is no partic-
423 ular organization in the matter of assigning the fishing places but care is taken that every head of a family fishes where his father and grandfather did before him; this place in the river is then practically his property.

225 Dolphins are harpooned, but this is considered a difficult
411 hunt. The animal is cautious and does not let the hunter come very near; and should this happen, the wounded animal can easily upset the boat. The harpoon consists of a long hook which has points and barbs at one end and at the other, a rope about 15 fathoms long with a blown-up bladder fastened to it. As is the case in whale fishing, the bladder must show the place where the wounded dolphin went under. When the animal reappears, he is given the finishing blow with harpoons or lances. [120]

These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, no even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

vidently on a trading expedition. He had a boat about wenty-five feet long by eight wide, with a single mast carrying a square sail. His boat was full of boxes and bales and ad a crew of four men. A small skiff was towed astern nd another alongside. These Manjour merchants are quite nterprising, and engage in traffic for small profits and large isks when better terms are not attainable. Before the Rusian occupation all the trade of the lower Amoor was in Manour hands. Boats annually descended from San-Sin and goon bringing supplies for native use. Sometimes a merhant would spend five or six months making his round ourney.

The merchants visited the villages on the route and barained their goods for furs. There was an annual fair at the Gilyak village of Pul, below Mariensk. and this was made he center of commerce. The fair lasted ten days, and durng that time Pul was a miniature Nijne Novgorod. Manjour nd Chinese merchants met Japanese from the island of Sakalin, Tunguse from the coast of the Ohotsk Sea, and others rom the head waters of the Zeya and Amgoon. There were Gilyaks from the lower Amoor and various tribes of natives rom the coast of Manjouria.

A dozen languages were spoken, and traffic was conducted n a patois of all the dialects. Cloth, powder, lead, knives, nd brandy were exchanged for skins and furs. A gentleman ho attended one of these fairs told me that the scene was ull of interest and abounded in amusing incidents. Of late ears the navigation of the Amoor has discontinued the fair f Pul. The Manjour traders still descend the river, but they re not as numerous as of yore.

With a good glass from the deck of the steamer I watched he native process of catching salmon. The fishing stations re generally, though not always, near the villages. The natives use gill nets and seines in some localities, and scoop nets in others. Sometimes they build a fence at right angles o the shore, and extend it twenty or thirty yards into the

226 stream. This fence is fish-proof, except in a few places where holes are purposely left.

The natives lie in wait with skiffs and hand-nets and catch the salmon as they attempt to pass these holes. I watched a Gilyak taking fish in this way, and think he dipped them up at the rate of two a minute; when the fish are running well a skiff can be filled in a short time. Sometimes pens of wicker work are fixed to enclose the fish after they pass the holes in the fence. The salmon in this case has a practical illustration of life in general: easy to get into trouble but difficult to get out of it.

GILYAK MAN.

For catching sturgeon they use a circular net five feet across at the opening, and shaped like a shallow bag. One side of the mouth is fitted with corks and the other with weights of lead or iron. Two canoes in mid stream hold this net between them at right angles to the current. The sturgeon descending the river enters the trap, and the net proceeds of the enterprise are divided between the fishermen.

251 It requires vision or a guide to find a fishing station, but the sense of smell is quite sufficient to discover where salmon are dressed and cured. The offal from the fish creates an unpleasant stench and no effort is made to clear it away. The natives and their dogs do not consider the scent disagree-

227

227 FISHING GEAR--description of fishing implements and equipment; miscellaneous gear used in fishing (e.g., rods, baskets, lures); etc. See also:
Manufacture of lines . . . . . 283 Manufacture of tackle 391
Manufacture of nets 286

/519 cont./

226 (umyssj) running from the walls of the bag betray the entrance /520/ of the fish, the net is drawn together, and the fish is caught. Sometimes this bag net is set permanently in the river, for which two posts are driven as firmly as possible into the river bed as far apart as the diameter of the bag opening, and the net is fastened to them by means of the rings and cords on its edges on either side. A Gilyak sitting in a boat takes up his station at one of the posts and holds the signal strings in his hand so that, as soon as a fish has entered the net, he either catches it definitively and recovers it himself or he procures the help needed to do it.

The two last-mentioned nets are also used for fishing in winter, but the ice cover of the river then makes necessary a few other devices and manipulations. First of all, for each net, two holes must be made at a distance corresponding to its length, or, in the case of the bag net, to the diameter of its
226 opening. To scoop out the detached pieces of ice floating in
192 the holes the Gilyak use the hand net (Gilyak chuntulk) (1)

• [227] 1. The net stretched in the hoop is called assj in Gilyak, the crosspiece in the lower part of the hoop -- lott, the long and crude handle-stick, with which the new ice that perhaps arose in the hole is sometimes broken up -- kip.

[227] illustrated on Plate XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 3. A special instru-
[532] ment is used for setting up the net under the ice: it is a long, flat, wooden staff curved slightly upward toward the tip, the so-called odn, which on the end runs out into an approximately triangular plate with two points directed toward the rear and with two eyes carved in it in a primitive manner, which bears the name odn-tschongr, i.e., odn head (see Pl. XL, Fig. 4).
226 One reaches into one of the holes in the ice with this staff and shoves it forward, close under the ice, until the tip, the odn-tschongr, comes out at the other hole. Here one of the two

/528 cont./

226 The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and
[251] children participate in this work, and within a short time one
[252] boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken.
[462] While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as
[462] the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen, in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream toward the ascending fish and draw up the filled net first into the one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces,
• 227 drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight differences in shape and the manner in which they are used and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species
[192] of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

/528 cont./

227 192 quadrangular net is called tschessk and, depending on the size of its meshes, is a lyghi-tschessk or a tengi-tschessk; another one was named for me as kyrn-kä and likewise distinguished as lyghi-kyrn-kä and a tengi-kyrn-kä (1), etc.

1. Kä in Gilyak means "net" in general.

226 In order to catch greater quantities of the ascending fish without much trouble, weirs are erected from the bank into the river for the purpose of deflecting the fish from the direction of their migration and directing them into a bag net set up alongside. For this, places are chosen on higher banks in the vicinity of a projecting tongue of land, where there is a stronger current and, as is known from experience, the fish usually ascend in great multitudes. /529/ The nature of such a salmon [192] weir, called myr among the Gilyak, is the following. From the bank a series of piles one fathom apart is driven out into the river, and from the end of it, at a right angle, a second, shorter stretch running downstream is driven into the river bottom. The spaces between the piles are then so closely interwoven with osier switches from the surface of the water as far down [192] as possible that the fish can find no exit. Between the lower end of the row of piles running downstream and a single post standing some distance from it and closer to the bank, the bag net, the myrch-kä of the Gilyak, is fastened. This has the shape of a long funnel very gradually becoming narrower toward the bottom: a specimen from the village of Tschcharbach that I measured, spread out on the ground, had a length of six and a half meters and a width of three meters at the upper end and one and a half meters at the lower one. From the upper edge of this funnel-shaped net, equipped with two parallel willow-bast cords, a slit in the net about 12 decimeters long runs down along one side, and on each of the two tips thus formed along the edge of the funnel are put two cords, which, like the similar cord found diametrically opposite them, serve for fastening the net to the appropriate piles. Furthermore, from one of the above- [192] mentioned tips there extends the signal cord (Gilyak umyssj), a

286 283 /532 cont./ this work and describes it as follows (1). "The thread intended for

[113] [114] 1. Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 230, note 5; Mél. biolog., Vol. II, p. 501, note 5. The observations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on a voyage in the lower Amur region between the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts; to be sure, it is not said whether he was among the Gilyak or among the Olcha, but it may be safely assumed that the work discussed is done in precisely the same way among both of these peoples.

the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is protected against unwinding. The threads running through the ring are tied to a suspended spindle, which is kept in rotating motion until the cord is firmly twisted together sufficiently, and, as a consequence of this, the rotating spindle has been forced almost up to the ceiling. The firmly twisted piece of cord is now wound on the suspended spindle and protected against unwinding. Then new thread is released from the stationary spindles, the rest is made fast, and the work continues in the same way." The cords obtained in this manner are in no way inferior in tightness and uniformity to good types of our hemp cords.

286 In view of the considerable variation in size of just the [227] principal fish that the Gilyak catch, say, from the smaller cyprinoids or the tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, to the colossal hausen, the nets used for catching them are also made with meshes varying greatly in size and out of cord of various thicknesses. And, correspondingly, the instruments used by the Gilyak for knotting their nets are of widely varying sizes, while

/534 cont./

226 286 great multitudes and heavily crowding one another could easily slip through, which would considerably reduce or even bring to naught the mass catch of the most important of all fish aimed at by erecting the myr. Furthermore, this bag net need not be made out of a very thick cord, because, when filled, it is immediately dragged to the not very distant bank. I did not see the mesh-board which go with the latter two netting-needles, and which of course, are likewise of correspondingly smaller size in comparison with those mentioned earlier. Since the Gilyak have even finer nets than the myrch-kä, such as, for example, the bag nets used in the smaller river-branches and lakes for catching crucians and smaller fish, they must certainly have even smaller netting-needles and mesh-boards than the last-named ones, even though always of the same form; but these are of so much less importance that, when I inquired about them, they were neither able to show me any nor give me special names for them.

286 Now when the knotting of a net with the instruments described is being done, a special wooden fork designed for this purpose is fastened to the bench in the yurt, on the edge of the boat, or wherever the work is to be done, and one of its prongs is used to hold the net being knotted, while over the other one are hung the pieces already completed (1). After the knotting

[192] 1. The Gilyak designation for this fork remains unknown to me; according to Maack (op. cit., p. 130), the Goldi call it chalang.

is completed, the net is edged all around with cord twisted out of willow bast and is provided with a second cord of this kind at the upper and lower ends on the outside, running close to the first one and connected with it only at individual points. While 227 fishing, small stones or the above-mentioned wooden or bark floats are fastened between these two cords as required. The [286] nets of the Gilyak are always handled with great care and

G /534 cont./

227 [286] [184] consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superstition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

G. /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak 226 433 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught. G. First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing, [262] all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among G. all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life, [224] hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish- G. ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in 226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the 221 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

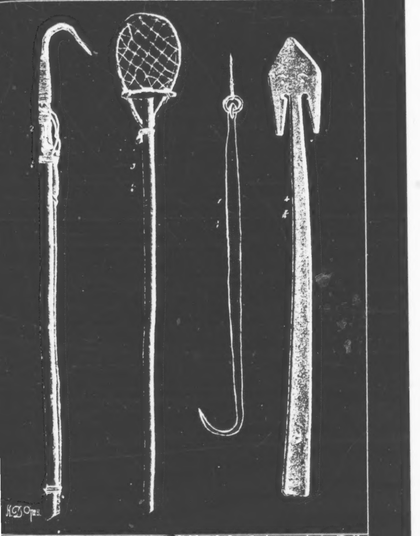

lyak fishing equipment: 1 -- fishhook for Gadus wachnja (Pall.), -- hook for pulling out fish; 3 -- net for cleaning out the holes the ice; 4 -- odn-tschongr of the Gilyak.

Economy and Everyday Life

226 [433] The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

[423] [406] 227 228 [199] The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber. They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted

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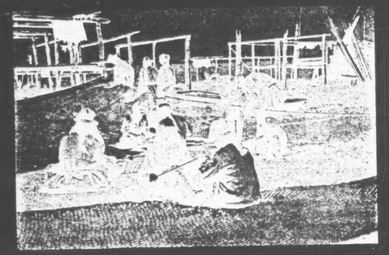

Sewing together a seine.

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

228

228 MARINE INDUSTRIES--commercial elaboration of the fishing industry; cultivation of fish and shellfish; nonfood marine industries (e.g., sponge collection, pearl diving, shell gathering); specialized equipment and apparatus; organization of labor and production; regulation; fish packing industry; scientific fisheries research; etc. See also:

Canning industry . . . . . 256 Work in shell 321

THE ABORIGINES OF THE SOVIET FAR EAST

Go 177 166 The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almost without any accent'.[28] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Gi 131 166 101 Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi. They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin, and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots, [187] and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established [228] a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited exclusively by Nivkhi.

186 198 The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that, together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. Accordingly, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[29]

634 111 In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhalin National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

231

231 DOMESTICATED ANIMALS--captive and tamed animals; domesticated insects (e.g., silkworms, bees); pets (e.g., dogs, cats); domestic animals; special treatment and uses of each; taming and training; care and feeding; grooming; slaughtering; associated beliefs and rituals; economic and social importance of animal husbandry; diseases, etc. See also:

Work in furs, hides, and skins	281	Names of animals	552
Work in bone and horn	321	Animals as wealth	556
Animal shelters	343	Ethnozoology	925
Use of animals in transportation	492		

/25 cont./

889 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
225 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
231 the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
251 thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/60/

796 This festival has already been described many times,
231 and therefore I shall consider for the most part those features that have not been noted before. First of all, it is remarkable
[769] that ordinarily the festival is generally celebrated in memory of a dead clansman, being a kind of funeral feast for the deceased. A very close kinsman of the deceased buys for money or catches for himself in the taiga a bear cub, which is brought solemnly and amidst cries of joy and music into the native village. Here a separate framework is built for it out of thick poles and spars and decorated in the corners
[614] with sacred trees. The feeding of the cub is done, not by its specific master, but by the entire clan: One or another family in turn, feeds the honored guest for the duration of the appointed time, cleans the framework, and in general takes care of it in every way. On appointed days the bear is taken from its cage for a walk. This is a great event in the life of the settlement, taking many hours and giving extraordinary pleasure to young and old. The procedure of getting the bear out of the cage is quite complicated. First of all, while the bear is still in the case, they hobble its legs, sticking through the spaces between the poles thongs which end in quickly tightened nooses and are put on sticks. After this they take away a few links of the top part of the cage, providing the bear with the opportunity to stick its head out; then they put a stick into its mouth, which it violently clenches with its teeth, and at this time they very tightly bind its mouth. After this, it is calmly pulled out of the cage, and an iron ring is put on it, clasping it at the belly. Long thongs are attached to this ring on both sides, and several men hold fast to them, pulling them hard in opposite directions; they do not give the bear any opportunity to attack the surrounding people. Only then do they free it of its hobble and take it for a walk.

/60 cont./

796 Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction
231 and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is
[614] displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so
[182] impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

796 There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to
621 compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to
476 participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival
796 come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins -- the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of
[778] ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees: the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/85 cont./

[723] respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.
[724] Furthermore, with regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of
[725] the bear, this at first sight may not at all appear to an ele-
[726] ment of a religious nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some
[727] occasions may catch young animals, and, whenever he finds
[728] it profitable, he feeds them thus. he feeds the fox for its fur,
[729] and he fattens pigs for their feathers. Similarly, it is disad-
[730] vantageous for the Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers
[731] to feed it in order to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and
[732] an enormous skin. Furthermore, there is nothing more
[733] natural it would seem than to use the killing of the bear for
[734] a solemn occasion like the celebration of the funeral feast
[735] of other persons. By the way, the feeding and the killing
[736] of a bear is an excellent means of education for the youth
[737] who from childhood become accustomed to the most terrible
[738] animal of their land: learn not to fear it. and shall be indis-
[739] pution. its strength. and its weaknesses. The procedure for
[740] getting the best out of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting
[741] it out of the woods.

Nonetheless. it is not these crude. utilitarian motives that
[742] play the major role in the Gilyak's expensive. wearisome
[743] and prolonged care in feeding a bear. He is governed here by
other motives. perhaps also utilitarian. but of a quite different order. As we have already seen. in the eyes of the Gilyak
[744] the bear is a creature sui generis. No matter what creature is
concealed under the hairy covering of the bear. a divine
[745] clansman of the master of the mountains. a mountain man. or
a real animal sent as a present to the Gilyak by its master. in
any case he is a creature of a higher order. more powerful.
and superhumanly strong. The presence of such a being for a
long stretch of time in his native settlement. according to
the view of the Gilyak. who is convinced of the constant
conspiracies of crowds /86/ of evil spirits eternally threatening his life and health. must be extremely beneficial. The
presence of this mighty creature. like a very strong disinfectant.
must kill and drive away any insidious spirit. It is not by

1: Shternberg--443 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

/207 cont./

[765] next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the
[766] ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the
[767] dead person and a Yenisei fox. The body of the deceased is dressed
in stocking, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased
is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached,
on one side, a curved knife (ng-dexin) and, on the other, ke'ser
-- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mij -- a
purse with a flint, tinder, and steel. Then alongside is placed a
little stake, and on it a human hair (from the wife, sister,
[768] mother) -- mu n'kvekh kiur, which will serve the deceased as
an insole for footwear upon going over into the world beyond the
grave; then, alongside, a little stake with three hairs (be-kiur) from
on which is placed a small cup for a cuckoo (pyk ngi); further-
more, a little stake with a wooden cuckoo -- mu n'kvekh pyk,
i.e., "the cuckoo of the dead man," and finally still another little
stake with an eagle feather -- chamngar.

The building of a little grave house can be postponed, but
the dressed dead body -- kak (?) must be made without fail.

1. K'ak -- wooden image of the deceased,
a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, kak-raf, is erected over
him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast
is held.

[769] In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive,
drink, eat, and commemorate. They do this for a year; in
some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this,
then for one month, depending on status. At the end of the
term of "observation" (tigr ar'ado) -- "observation of the tree,"
the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased),
they buy vodka and rice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws,"
and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate;
this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyr'do, tigr pykyr'do).
[770] They walk to the tut, the place of the cremation of the
deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

1: Shternberg--447 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

/207 cont./

[771] and bring over the favorite dog and feed it. This dog is called
[772] pyrsik -- gum (from the Gilyak "gum," i.e., "to carry
person, carry a child, but without fail his own pyrsik). From
childhood everyone has his favorite dog,and when a man dies,
they sacrifice -- if the man favorite dog or the best of those
[773] mentioned to the sled and make a pyrsik of it. If it dies, they
[774] bury it and cover it with chocks. Each says the following to the
deceased: "Ning yu: hdemnyr; hyr'kzam; tog-ngdo yugar ejin
[775] ning-d'vunk gedzih mlyvrosah (gimlyh-tado). Yingle, /208/
[776] eriktomydz, hdin pyk yunakhand, pyk tydd, chi ertinashana
hongan ga ochgan, chamngar, dzhakhan dzhakhan dzhangr
[777] hankhand ofanu khah'a ngr, kiur kezal, h'dhagyind ngzyd
kakgdr, tut kher; tor'a, pyhr'do; pyk chakh tanydz; pyk tekd;
[778] nemakhind." Urga vis; namugur hmnyd pyrsik dzhakhan
gumakhe dzgu; pi ngzgdo-ka, vis'.

"To live near us, there is no happiness (not fate), in such a
case, fine, go to the deceased, to the settlement of the dead
(to your settlement of the dead). When you go, you will cross
the river; a cuckoo will cuckoo there; after the cuckoo bird
cuckoos for a long time, you will wake up. When you get up,
[779] you will shake off ashes and coal with eagle feather, then you
will dress yourself, make an insole out of the hair (1), put on

1. Out of the hair of the wife,
or mother.

this clothing, and, having made something like a little bridge
from the figure, cross; a cuckoo bird, becoming tired (?) after it

[780] 2. All during the trip to the stream the
cuckoo will cry; before the stream there
will be no water and no food. It will
become tired and will have no drink
from the cup. There are cuckoos which
squeal, which means that they are tired
from accompanying the deceased.

1: Shternberg--447 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

/208 cont./

[781] The favorite dog, "pyrsik" (every man has his own pyrsik)
[782] is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and before it is
taken away to the yurt, tied to the place where the dead man slept,
and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four
years -- if it is a woman. After this it is sold or given as a gift, but
they cannot keep it.

[783] Even where cremation is practiced, Intsne persons after
death are buried directly into the ground.

[784] In Ady-Tymt, if they suspect that a person died from magic,
[785] two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place
[786] of cremation. Both appear dressed, their hats and foxes and then
[787] the cerni-mlih, rubbed with clay and other arrows, are sent to
[788] the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in
[789] the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come
[790] and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

[791] After this, the mu n'kyvyn is fed no longer, though
[792] they continue to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka.
Talk continues for from two days to one three months. The
[793] n'kyvyn is then returned to its original place. It may not be
[794] sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin,
[795] clothes for kinsmen or for someone from abroad.

[796] After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
[797] up a chikich (see below, pp.475-476), and then they make a raf
[798] [illegible]

[799] The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
[800] killed by a mlih (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
[801] is made and taken with Pal-n'ngyvyn or Tol-n'ngyvyn, depending
on which mlih killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo
[802] in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there
[803] old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes
[804] to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo,
[805] and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar
to the man.

1: Shternberg--449 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

/231 cont./

The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to
[806] her several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father
[807] took me to Ogdyn," and he did not appear.

The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this
[808] large soul live small souls -- tum. After the death of a person,
[809] a small soul lives in his pyrsik (dog), which is tied to his grave
[810] [illegible]. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During
[811] sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.
[812] [illegible] Ady-Tymt means "until has one tiny little soul." If a person dies
[813] away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a
dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body.
Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire
a corresponding soul, and therefore if a thorat is sore, they make
[814] the tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue, and he can speak
[815] which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will
carry away the soul.

[816] The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person
who has been eaten by a bear lives in a ripe old age with
[817] Pal-n'ngyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who
[818] allowed -- with Tol-n'ngyvyn, and then goes directly to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is
[819] caused by the bloodshed dropped years ago by the Japanese, the
Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle)
[820] lives, like a bear, in the forest. The souls of such unfortunates
[821] [illegible]

5. Until a tibuind (ransom) is received, one who was
killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is
taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

[822] The night bird tabich is of the size of a crow and just as
black, but its beak is red. If it cry is heard at night, one must
not call it by name, but must say ets.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly
together into the village.

1: Shternberg--449 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Sakhalin

[The Western Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/385 cont./

[823] many of his children had died between
the beginning of his marriage and the
date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of children
in a given family, living and dead.
Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate
of mortality.

[824] fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one,
[825] for in the number of marriage records were found only the one
[826] hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives,
and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives.
[827] In an average of 111 people living in each year, although
[828] there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants;
[829] for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of
[830] these are the following: Yamgyn and Lirkyvo (144 persons each),
[831] Vishno (116), Nyur (103), Arkyvo (87), Kimidvo and Tengi
(64 each), Kimidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the
smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaat (8), Nokoy (8).
In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

[832] Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season,
[833] 1,926; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk
[834] post, 238 (%) /386/ There are 183 yurts and 201 huts (one boat
[835] [illegible]

5. The number of fur animals and so forth
killed during the last season was obtained
from reports of the Gilyak themselves.
These figures are most probably somewhat
below the actual ones. The tarosta in the
village of Kimidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade me not to tell
the truth to the Russians, who, according to
him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

[836] /386/There are 183 yurts, 201 boats (one boat
[837] to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

/387 cont./

[838] settlements the settlement of Mos'vvo
on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
versts from the settlement of Sykoshnyo.
In connection with this settlement of
Mos'vvo, the author makes the following comment. "It is inhabited only in
autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the west-
[839] ern coast, mainly to the vicinity of
Arkyvo, where in the early spring they
hunt seals and during the summer catch
fish which set out to the bank in the
Tym' at this time of the year. At the
beginning of August, before the Siberian
salmon run, the population moves
their winter dwellings." Editor of the
journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

[840] with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
[841] on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416
are male and 287, female; there are 109 yurts and 109 [illegible]
[842] households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 143
[843] died. Gum -- 64 (of which 23 were on the Okhotsk coast and
[844] the remainder on the Tym'), 121 men, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
[845] During the last season 688 seals killed, 386 sables, 134 foxes,
[846] 43 otters, and 63 bears.

From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
[847] there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average
[848] family has /388/ four to five members. There are 13 married
males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[849] 1. The word bachelor is applied only
to oldster, so speaks, inveterate
bachelors.

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is
such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Rustia there
are 1,923 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 969
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
192 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
611 guns, on the whole.
182

The Tymovskie and the Okhonk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (9,
126)

2. The property of each person has been
registered to this or that clan, the figures
on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement
of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons),
Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandah in Chayvo (55 persons).
The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
361 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
103 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym'
162 and the neighboring Khomrvo and Flyvvo (106 persons), not count-
ing the immigrant population from the western coast. Most two
20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
(184) difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult
because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long
stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is
communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of
Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible
along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
484 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the
mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer
makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear
how difficult and slow such a journey is.

/327 cont./ they are fed through openings (f) on their front side and on top have /329/ a round
(415) hole (g) for the large kettle, in which the fish broth for the dogs
and under certain circumstances even food for human beings are
342 prepared. Directly adjacent to the hearths are the sleeping and
(415) sleeping benches or plank beds (h, Gilyak: ukkv) which bend in
354 very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet high
and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chief
characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of
wooden pipes (i) lined with clay, which come out from both
hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the
house diagonally across from the entrance. From here the single
pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as an outlet
for the smoke runs out of the house underground and opens not
far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (k,
Gilyak: ilin) usually higher than the house. The benches are
342 covered with mats usually plaited by the Gilyak themselves out
355 of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered,
(288) and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mats in
places. In the center of the house, between the two pipes
342 supporting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (l), about two
355 fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and
(223) which I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Gilyak: krtl).
The top of it, which along its longitudinal usually projects
out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continua-
tions, rests upon four posts (m) firmly rammed into the ground
and, if necessary, when there is space in the house, serves during the heat festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them.
Above the two ends of the dogs' table two cross-sticks hang down from the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long pole can be stuck between them, to which the dogs are tied during the feeding. Our Plate XII,[1] which shows the feeding of the dogs, to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of the interior of a Gilyak winter-house. I must mention, however, that the dogs' table on it is drawn a little too small and, on the other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide. Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate

1. See Category 116, P. 992 -- Analyst

/328 cont./

342 proportions in this respect and at the same time show other pre-
(415) viously discussed details in the construction and interior arrange-
ment of a Gilyak winter-house. In passing, I should also description I
(353) must mention that along the walls (n), immediately to the right
and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards
for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one
or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for
drinking and cooking the food. An open-air cabinet with various
cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind
342 the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse
354 wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which
can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for
ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of
(394) the smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse
(288) wall is very slight, it is regarded as the best place in the house
and usually lacks the straw mats, whereas the bench along the
front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a
342 guest, a small rug acquired by trade from the Chinese is some-
(223) times also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking.

As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is
(107) over their earth yurt, insofar as it is more roomy, good, lighter,
(288) and in general, due to the pipe lines under the plank beds, also
warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature,
nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some
that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same
degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer
sufficient resistance to the heavy frosts and violent snowstorms.
There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered
snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even
stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly
to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the
earth yurt. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

/383 cont./

342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the
(171) dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

The above description applies, apart from the
342 specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwell-
231 ings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on
Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar
nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is
on level ground, the flat sill, space j, projecting along its front
side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this
space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to
the yurt, even though only a crude one! For this purpose, on
both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a
few poles and boards are set up vertically and, -with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and
the spaces between them /388/ are filled with grass and brush-
wood, so that a sort of anteroom is produced. This is assigned
to the dogs for their abode, and, in general, it is regarded as the
entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the
342 summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter,
(126) one always seen beside the summer dwellings several contrivances
(417) for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for
hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and
342 over their earth yurt, insofar as it is more roomy, good, lighter,
(184) and in general, due to the pipe lines under the plank beds, also
warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature,
nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some
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snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even
stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly
to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the
earth yurt. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

1. A more detailed description of the
treatment of the fish before they are dried,
as well as of the use of the individual parts
and the like, will be given later at the
appropriate place.

/384 cont./

342 dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need
(171) only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and
resting on piles, with the daura of the adjacent Tungusic peoples.
Moreover, if the daura of the Olcha, Nanaia, and Samagir, even
though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles,
some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark,
etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the
outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow
twitches and birch bark and easily transported from place to
place, and the daura of the Orochi do not even go beyond the
roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur
region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, the forms
of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly
adapted for a nomadic life, and, for a temporary stay at
a place, are furnished to merely a few poles and a bark mat
wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed
on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to
the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the
Amur region, though it has penetrated the area lying between
and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on
the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a side covering,
in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

In these housing conditions of the indigenous peoples
it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different be-
tween the ancients sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the
Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later,
Indeed, it does not seem probable that the Gilyak ever could
inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences
in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way
of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are
predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal
hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyo-
phagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in
order to support themselves and their dogs, they need both
the fishing for fish and winter trips and trade journeys and for pro-
curing the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish
are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

/385 cont./

231 are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more
192 abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of
611 grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an addi-
182 tional motive for the nomadic life.

/386/

Section 5

External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style,
Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the
dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and
means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by
them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized
people, they secure them from the same source as their food,
whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic ani-
mals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable
to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our dis-
cussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and seal-
hunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only
(223) second place among them. Furthermore they keep only one
(109) domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft
animals, and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had
about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203. above.

Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, be-
sides cotton, which since ancient times they have obtained from
the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak,
pon; Russian-Siberian, dabk), are the skins of dogs and seals and
fish skins, while the chief furs animals, fox, otter, sable,
squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles
of clothing. such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

/389 cont./

342 preference for dog fur for their own use may, in part, be the
(171) same ones that, according to Steller (1), made the ancient

1. Steller, Beschreibung von dem Lande
Kamtschatka [Description of the Country
of Kamchatka], Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774,
p. 137.

Italimen on Kamchatka prefer to use dog fur for their clothing,
even preferring it to fox and sable. Of course, in view of the
conservative tendencies of every primitive people, the usage one
customary, the custom handed down for generations, may also
play an important role. In addition, however, the advantages
of this fur, learned from experience, come into consideration,
its "warmth," durability, and the firmness of its hair, even if it
has been exposed to weather--characteristics which must rank
it especially prized by the common man almost always exposed
to bad weather. And finally, in addition to all that, there is
still another circumstance -- and in this may lie the chief reas
(223) why the Gilyak -- in spite of dog fur among the Gilyak -- in
the ease and cheapness of obtaining it, since the Gilyak keep
dogs in great numbers as indispensable draft animals, and the
fur cannot be used profitably in trade with either the Chinese,
Japanese, or Russians.

Nevertheless fur coats made out of the fur of other anima
are found among some Gilyak. They do not serve for use, bu
are carefully stored as valued and rare objects. A lynx coa
(Gilyak tschlyul-utschi) in particular plays such a role among
them. A person who owns a lynx coat is regarded among the
Gilyak as a rich and distinguished man, and at the time of my
stay in the Amur region they could name for me only three of
countrymen and one Olcha who enjoyed such a possession. The
Gilyak were. Nenjdan in the village of Allof on the Amur,
Mengun in Patt, each having one coat of this type, and Pavgun
in Tamlin -- the Gilyak in Tymovskiy, and the Olcha in Tudo
Todo in Tschlivi, who likewise had one such fur coat in his
possession.

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

/61 cont./

796 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nau-vakhnku,
778 the day of the preparation of the inau, i.e., sticks with sharpened ends, which play an important religious role in the festival. These sticks, of various forms and sizes, represent orators-intercessors, which, together with the slain bear will set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talismans as well. Each kind of inau is made in pairs; each pair is spouses, so that they will be happier, and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the inau are hung as ornamentation on the posts of the
796 arena; some are attached to them at the bottom. While the
574 preparation of the inau takes place, the clan elder, together
614 with the master of the bear, and several clansmen ride out to greet the so-called narkh'i. These narkh'i are honored guests and play a very important role in the festival: the killing of the bear is left to them alone, to them /62/ alone is given all the meat of the killed beast and even the skin. The narkh'i are not arbitrarily chosen people, but of necessity representatives of that clan into which the daughters of the master of the bear, as well as the women of his clan in general, marry.
[606] Most often, therefore, a narkh is a son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the bear /see navkh, p. 82/. The narkh'i in turn take along their sons-in-law and decide among themselves which one of them is to kill the bear. If several bears are killed at the same time, narkh'i are invited from all the clans from which the clan arranging the festival has taken wives, so that sometimes up to ten clans participate in such a festival. It is these narkh'i whom the master of the bear must solemnly greet and lavishly entertain when he meets them, and transport them with honor to his village.

796 The following day is the day of the killing. It is called
●231 Na-khan-ku (the day of the killing of the bear) or Chkhyf-aryn-ku (the day of the feeding of the bear). Early in the morning the bear is taken out of its cage in the same way as to take it for a walk. A large woven belt to which are tied bags full of assorted viands is put on it, and it is tied up near a yurt and given the opportunity to enjoy the last hours of life remaining to it in this

/62 cont./

796 ●231 semifreedom. Around noon it is untied and, held by thongs on both sides, is taken for a walk. This walk, however, gives the bear little pleasure, for from every side they tease it in every way and try to drive it beyond patience. The bear at first lets out some grumbling, but gradually becomes enraged, attempts to attack the people, and gets up on its hind legs, but it is held by dozens of hands, and all its rage is lost in fruitless thrashing. But now, seizing the moment, the master of the bear cautiously steals up, seizes it by the head, kisses it good-by, and, without waiting for a return kiss, speedily jumps away. Most often, however, the bear freely returns the good-by kiss to its protector, who considers himself quite lucky if the clumsy one limits itself to tearing off a good chunk of meat and does not get its teeth into, say, an eye or the throat arteries. A wound inflicted by a bear on such occasions, however, is considered an expression of good will on the part of the good-natured beast. The walk ends in leading the bear three times around the yurt of its master. Beforehand everything living, even suckling babies and animals, is removed from the yurt; only the clan elder stands in the passageway, and every time the bear comes around even with the entrance he teases it with a long pole with an uncut crown of coniferous needles at the end and speaks gentle words. /63/ At the end of this procedure the bear is led to the plot of ground and tied between the two trees which have been ritually decorated. The pole with which the bear was teased is fixed to the hearth, so that its spreading crown of coniferous needles rises high above the smoke opening. After that there is an intermission. The 796 bear is again left to itself, while the people assemble in a 574 dense throng in the yurt of the master of the bear, where lavish entertainment begins. They literally sit on one another's heads; nonetheless the gaiety is extraordinary; the loud talk, the laughter, and the jokes never cease. Only the narkh'i are serious: they bend their bows, sharpen their arrows, and prepare themselves for the crucial moment. Meanwhile all kinds of cold viands are carried in huge troughs on dog sleds to the sacred plot of ground; there are frozen fish of all kinds, rice,

/63 cont./

796 buda, and beans, and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish, 574 "the mos'," whose method of preparation I have already described in the second chapter.

796 This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan elder ●231 or the master feeds the bear for the last time from a big spoon on a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while asking it to offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally he addresses the bear with the following farewell words: "Good-by. I am feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quickly to your master, and may your master greatly love you." Other clansmen also try to offer something to their old friend; even 796 small children participate in this kindly affair. After the short [562] break all the people pour out of the yurt, with the exception of the women, who are forbidden to be present at the killing of the bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- and arrange themselves in fighting formation. The master of the bear or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an ax in his hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also with a kettle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i, with bows and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the festival follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy throng. Within a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied, the people stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and places the kettle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle and ax. The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name of nich, i.e., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the narkh elder exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a sign 796 of eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been placed, the 526 next to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary competitive archery. Once, when the bow played a more important role in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt had the character of a great competition; now, however, it is reduced almost to a simple formality. The target is a board placed behind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them the clansmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the guests and make intentional misses. The crowd follows with

Gi 23 /457 cont./

222 various places on the Amur and especially on the Ussuri and have
[177] small gardens and farms. Apart from the dog and the house cat
[241] occasionally present among the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak /458/
[439] and treated merely as a luxury item (1), the first domestic animal

Gi 171 231

1. Concerning the distribution of the house cat in the Amur region and its position among the Amur peoples, see what is said in the first volume of this work, pp. 98-100.

met among the Amur peoples, going upstream, is the pig. As was discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (p. 155), individual specimens are found even among the Olcha (2), but

G [231] 439 [262]

2. There was none among the Gilyak in my time. Later, when there were pigs raised by the Russians in Nikolayevsk, the Gilyak occasionally bought some in order to consume them in festive fashion (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59).

a regular breeding of pigs is found first among the Goldi, up the Amur from about Ssargu and Naiche on and along the Ussuri.
Gi 23 The animals, fed on fish, are sold by the Goldi to their country-
439 men or to Chinese traders, through whose mediation they reach
[438] the Olcha farther downstream. The Goldi get the breeding ani-
[262] mals, however, in part from the Man-dse (Chinese) along the upper Ussuri (3), but for the most part from the Sungari region

Gi [113]

3. F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie" (Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 122).

where the pig is raised in great numbers everywhere by the Chinese

Gi 48 /478 cont./
basis of tales told by the Hollanders who had been prisoners in Korea
171 in the middle of the seventeenth century, that in winter there one
175 binds small boards under the feet in order to be able to walk over the snow without sinking into it.

G Gi 484 171 Of the greatest importance for the economy and the whole life of primitive peoples is the manner in which they undertake their greater moves from place to place by land, and in this respect we find in the Amur region very different, and for the individual peoples characteristic, phenomena.

G 492 231 Of all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the ones who use the dog for traveling to the greatest extent and among whom the dog plays more important role in the economy and whole life than among any other of these peoples. For, aside from its principal purpose as draft animal, it furnishes the Gilyak, as we have seen, with the generally most popular and most used fur for clothing, and even serves them as food, which, aside from the Ainu, does not occur among any other people in the Amur region. Nowhere is the keeping of dogs for winter travel required by natural conditions and by the way of life and needs of the people to such an extent as among the Gilyak. If the dog is to serve as a draft animal, it must, because of its little strength, be kept in large numbers, and for that, in view of its predatory nature, large, never-failing stores of animal food are required, such as, not the roaming hunters, but fishermen settled along a river rich in fish or along the seacoast are in a position to provide for them.
G 226 These requisites, as discussed above (3), are best met among the
484
492

3. See pp. 645 ff. above.

Gilyak, who occupy the part of the Amur region richest in fish and are the most sedentary of its peoples and the one most devoted to fishing, and who, in addition, are impelled by their lively commercial spirit to undertake winter trips and voyages more than the others.

/479/

231 The dogs of the Gilyak are of the same breed as the draft
136 dogs distributed throughout Siberia and over to North America with the Eskimo: wolf-like, long-haired, with short, erect ears, and of all possible colors, black, white, brown, fox-red, mottled, and especially often of a striking wolf-like yellowish-gray color. The Gilyak dogs are small in comparison with the dogs of the polar regions of eastern Siberia, of the Jana /Yana/ and Indigirka regions, or even with those of Kamchatka as they were formerly
231 and still occur in isolated specimens (1). Nothing is done among
232

1. In the summer of 1854, in Peter-Paul Harbor, I saw two extremely large dogs which had been brought to the governor from the interior of the peninsula. I measured a still young, not quite fully grown animal likewise belonging to the large, old-Kamchatka stock, which was 11 decimeters long from the point of the snout to the root of the tail, four of which was the head and neck to the withers, and at the latter seven and a half to eight decimeters high.

the Gilyak to improve the breed: they neither convert especially large and strong individuals into breeding animals nor sort out and care for the whelps afterwards. A circumstance greatly contributing to the deterioration of their breed of dog is the bad treatment that they give the bitches. They do not use them for harnessing, and so they shortsightedly do not give them the same amount of food as the male dogs. Whereas the latter, insofar as circumstances permit, are fed with great regularity, daily in winter, every other day in summer, the former are excluded from these meals and in winter receive only a little food from time to time, just enough so they will not starve, but in summer no one concerns himself about them and they are left to find all of their food themselves. One therefore sees them, wretched and emaciated, slinking around the yurts and in them and greedily snapping at any scrap.

/479 cont./

231 The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters,
136 sists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provi in particular by the same fish appearing on the coasts and in rivers in shoals at certain seasons on which the existence of t Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of s especially lyghi-tscho and tengi-tscho (Salmo lagocephalus a Salmo proteus), and in winter along the seacoast the kangi f (Gadus wachnja), which, however, on account of its smallne stands far behind the former. The part of these fish especial and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentione

2. See p. 646.

so-called chark in Gilyak, the pieces consisting of the head a backbone with a little flesh attached to it (3). Only if there

3. The Russians in the Amur region and throughout Siberia very aptly call it kosstj, that is, bones, which in fact is all it is.

more of it available is the jukola intended for the people use dog food. Next to this, seal and white-whale meat, and alo the seacoast not infrequently the meat and blubber of strande whales, serves the same purpose. With the exception of the which, as was mentioned above, may not be brought into the according to Gilyak superstition, /480/ food is never given to dogs in the raw state, as the Russians do, but rather cooked to soup. Also, the feeding does not take place outside, but alw
462 the yurt. Like all housework, it falls upon the women. In th
352 tschadryf, the table found in the center or in a corner (Gilyak kyll) (1) is used for this purpose; in the toryf, the platform o

1. See pp. 458, 462, 546 above.

462 hearth. When the soup, made out of the above-mentioned m
512 terials in one of the large hearth-kettles, is ready, which is a ways one of the first of the daily chores of the women, a cou

/404 cont./

made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

All the other peoples of the lower Amur region in general have the same clothing as the Gilyak. Nevertheless, to the extent that the natural conditions of the region, the means of subsistence, and the principal occupations of the people differ, more or less conspicuous differences and peculiarities show up among them, in that other clothing materials gradually gain the upper hand, many an article of clothing no longer corresponding to the changed requirements will be modified or disappear, and, on the other hand, there may a new one appear, etc.

The greatest, and in fact virtually complete, correspondence with the Gilyak in their clothing is shown by their nearest neighbors on the lower Amur, the Olcha, who live under the same physical conditions and in the same manner as they do, chiefly by fishing and, in de Castries Bay, also by seal hunting, and, like the Gilyak, keep hunting dogs, as their sole domestic animal, for winter trade and intercourse with the neighboring peoples. During the long period of living beside and in part among the Gilyak, the Olcha adopted, among other things, the clothing of the latter completely, and every one of the garments described above, not excepting even the lynx cap so peculiarly Gilyak, as well as the implements customarily used for making them, is found identically among the Olcha and has an Olcha-Tungusic designation. Nevertheless, among the Olcha, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution, closer to the Samagir and Goldi borders, one sometimes comes across an article of clothing that came from the last-named peoples and is foreign to the Gilyak, such as a deer-leather or elk-leather robe, a boa made of musk-deer skins instead of squirrel tails, etc.

The situation is the same with regard to the clothing of the Negda and the Ulguni (Ulgun), where Maldendorff, coming from the Tugur Tungus, visited them, everything gave him the impression, despite their language, differing only dialectically from the Siberian Tungus, "that he had come upon a new people". The shape and cut of the individual articles of clothing, the

/405 cont./ (1) In all they more or less provide merely a kind of accompaniment, and to be sure, they are either the wild, natural products of the country, which are simply gathered, some cereals and vegetables obtained by trade from the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese, Japanese, and, more recently, Russians. The individual peoples of the Amur region will accordingly differ from one another as far as food is concerned only in that fish among some or least among others is the principal food, each according to their principal occupation, and furthermore the proportion of plant food to animal food differs for each one according to their greater or lesser communication and trade relations with the Chinese or Japanese.

/406 cont./ (2) Fish is chosen by their nearest neighbors as the most pronounced ichthyophagi. One cannot imagine their life without fish; it is the condiris sine qua non of their own existence as well as of their only domestic animal, the dog, which provides them with food as well as transportation and clothing. There is hardly a fish in their country that the Gilyak would eat, if necessary, use as food. But starting in the first rank, of course, are those fish that, because of their seasonal appearance in great numbers, make it possible to prepare the large supply of food needed for the long winter when there are scarce, hence the species of salmon coming up the rivers flow the sea, among which, in turn, Salmo lagocephalus Pall. Gilyak nam, Ulch. Ussuri Sakhalin lagi-tschop and Salmo pneus Pall. Gilyak /426/ tengi-tschop play the principal role (1).

(1) In all of eastern Siberia to Kamchatka and northwestern America, the Russian terms for these two species of salmon are keta and gorbuscha; hence in the following I shall refer to them occasionally as keta and gorbuscha salmon.

At the time when these fish come up into the lower Amur and its tributaries, which falls in June for S. pneus, in August for S. lagocephalus, an active life prevails among the Gilyak, for everyone is busy with preparing supplies of fish for the winter.

/427 cont./ campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not /428/ eaten as natural, but is also an important ingredient of many dishes, whose composition and preparation I shall come back to later. Finally, in addition to the chark, it is the principal food for the dogs, a fact of the importance of jukola for the Gilyak, it is understandable that, despite the indolence and carelessness more or less characteristic of all primitive peoples, they are very intent on preparing the largest possible supply of it and do not hesitate to make long trips and even temporary changes of residence for this purpose. This, for example, when those types of salmon come up into the rivers of the Amur Gilyak come to the Amur in order to take advantage of its surplus; others, such as some of the Tchomi Gilyak and the inhabitants of some places on the west coast of Sakhalin, come to the Tymy River in the interior of the island, which is especially rich in fish, and do not return with the acquired supplies until winter. On the other hand, at the other times, for instance, when the kangi-tschir (Gadus wachnia Pall.) migrates in large numbers along the sea coast, some of the Tymy Gilyak, conversely, betake themselves to their countrymen on the west coast and live in exile for a while in order to hunt and fish. In this respect there seem /428/ to have developed in the course of time certain mutual agreements and relations based on reciprocity between the inhabitants of various places, for example, between the Tchomi and the Tymy Gilyak, or between the latter and the Gilyak of Duf, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast of Sakhalin.

However plentiful the jukola supplies might be, however, they would never suffice to make the life of the Gilyak secure if they were not over at every season of the year more or less, depending on the locality, many other kinds of fish, which the Gilyak eat fresh, besides their salmon. In this connection the most favorable locality is the Gilyak region, of course, the mighty Amur River, and therefore along its banks, as discussed above, one also finds the largest concentration of the population and the richest development of the Gilyak individuality. The dwellers along the banks of the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat.

/429 cont./

(2. cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the east coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

Salmon Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infrequently bring some pieces of chok-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habitation sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas for only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is in general unfavorable for the above-mentioned fish and lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greatest importance to them is the sea, which abounds in fish in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnia Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and in Duf, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is always the same, in that first a thin slice with the tender skin is cut off and eaten with salt, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the kangi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating of it than with the use of more other fish. Thus, it must be eaten without any accompaniment, and on the last day of the kettle of yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

/430 cont./ with regard to these and similar views, there are many local differences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not be subject to the kangi fish prohibition, and they eat the gill in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as sacrilege and permitted without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the continental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kulu, Tagi, Hinka (Pendolin, Simonyo, etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the island and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tshki-tschir which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /431/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular, for since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it highly, they could, in exchange for it, obtain from the Russians all they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities of sturgeon are consumed especially during the winter at the festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival. Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

/431 cont./

(1. cont.)
Bergsal. Sbom., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 13).

the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, superstitious I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the fine aroma of the fat that it left in the pan, the owner /432/ shouted, almost furiously could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

(2. Steller (op. cit., p. 303) also points out with regard to the Itelmen and Koryak that they do not like to fry, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and numerous jars or bottles, apart from its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important and precious foodstuff in almost the same way: it is the dolphin whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak pomi-tschop), which, with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

/433 cont./

3. (cont.)
the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. 1, p. 312. John Bowring, "Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche (The Chinese, Their Manners and Customs)" (Germanism Georg. Mithell), 1858, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois etc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32. Others, like the English missionary Milne (Petermann's Georg. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) and Prosper Montagne (La Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 272), deny the use of rats for food among the Chinese.

Gilyak were taught better by experience, perhaps as a result of painful or even fatal experiments, that the meat of the bear and other mammals there are only two that are of special significance in food for the Gilyak, and, to be sure, both on account of their general and frequent use and the great importance that they place upon them. These are the bear and the dog.

Bear meat and bear fat are the greatest delicacies that there are for a Gilyak. For the greater part of the year, the bear is taken from its lair and kept in captivity for a long time and fed. But, according to Gilyak custom, it may not be eaten except at certain times and with the observance of certain ceremonies and practices that are undertaken in large ad hoc festive gatherings. I have had an opportunity, as an eyewitness, to become acquainted with these bear festivals, which play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, in all their individual acts from beginning to end, and therefore I am obliged to discuss them in a special, later section of this work. Besides that, however, the bear is considerable insight into the food and cooking of the Gilyak in general, for to entertain the large festive company assembled many dishes must be prepared and served in the course of a few days. And so most of what is presented below concerning their culinary achievements was observed by me on such occasions.

/434/

*262 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of
23 a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained
(B31) inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great satisfaction in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

(123) (B34)

1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fish taste. From my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Usuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed hukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

(113)

23 /434 cont./
(B31) from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, (B34) without an urgent reason. Such a reason can appear readily enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of (B32) a few traveling Tschonsi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, three young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part being added to the hukola soup for the dogs, and -- characteristically enough -- I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and hand another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to enjoy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Duf, I was a witness to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent to a bear festival held there a short time before, traces of which were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disembowelled, the meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one animal wrapped in its pelt. /435/ Inside the yurt, the place between the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

(B34) (B32) (B31) (B34)

1. The details concerning this will be found in the present section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two staffs, between which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

23 /435 cont./
● 262 shavings, the so-called zach, whose significance will be discussed
*262 in the following. The bundles containing the meat and bones of
the dogs were now brought into the yurt and arranged on the rear sleeping bench, whereupon the women went to the hearth and, under the kettles on the hearth in order to cook the meat and to make a broth out of the bones. These preparations, however, took so much time that the meal could not take place until late in the evening. Meanwhile the flames leaping on the hearth, the steam and smoke rising from the kettles, and the crowd of people, who not only occupied all the sleeping benches, but had also settled down on the floor of the small earth-yurt, soon made any further stay in it so unbearable that I found it necessary to leave before the actual meal and to seek another shelter for the night.

(B31) (B34) (B32)

If one wished as a conjecture to grast for the northern peoples the discovery made in the south among various Negro tribes, namely, that the enjoyment of dog meat is generally the first step toward anthropophagy and accompanies it (2), he would look quite

(B14) (B31) (B34) (B32)

2. Schweinfurth, "Das Volk der Monbuttu in Central-Afrika /The Monbuttu People in Central-Africa/" (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, Vol. V, 1873, p. 10). Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 168.

in vain for evidence of it among them. I have never come across anything among the so generally and markedly cynophagous Gilyak that would even distantly support such a conjecture. On the other hand, I believe it can be said as a general rule for these peoples with respect to the custom of eating dogs that it is common only in the case of those among them who keep the dog as the only domestic and draft animal, for only in this case can it be considered quantitatively as a food and morally nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the draft dog does not at all stand in the close, individual, and to a certain degree personal

(B31) (B34) (B32)

23 /435 cont./
● 262 relationship to his master as does the hunting or house dog,
*262 who, through loyalty, personal attachment, and other character-
(B31) istics lacking in the draft dog, makes himself the constant companion and friend of man. Accordingly, just as among the Gilyak, one also finds cynophagy among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for example, among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3) and of

(B34)

3. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' (Supplement to Izvest. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37). Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 204.

Jesso /Yesso/, the latter of which supposedly even fatten dogs for eating them later (4). The Eskimo, too, eat dogs (5), but at

(B13)

4. According to Adam Laxmann; see Polomkiii, "Kurily /The Kurilles/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 501).

5. Alois v. Becker, "Arkt. Reise der engl. Yacht 'Pandora' im J. 1876, unter dem Commando des Capit. Sir Allen Young /Arctic Voyage of the English Yacht 'Pandora' in 1876, under the Command of Captain Sir Allen Young/" (Ausland, 1879, p. 435).

present in most /436/ places, especially in the north and east of their area of distribution, they may be scarcely better off than in Greenland, where, according to Rob. Brown (1), the highly prized

(B13)

1. "Die Säugethiere Grönlands und der Grönländ. Meere /The Mammals of Greenland and the Greenland Seas/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mitthell., 1869, p. 464).

23 /436 cont./
● 262 dog meat is still a rare delicacy because of its naturally very
*262 high price. The ancient Haimen on Kamchatka seem to be a
(B17) striking and completely unique exception to the rule, for though they had dogs to pull the sleds and had no other domestic animal besides them, they nevertheless ate them, and the animals of their country "only dogs, mice, and hares were excluded from their menu" (2),

(B13)

2. Steller, op. cit., p. 323. Kraschenninikof does not mention this.

as Steller expressly states. Or had they perhaps already given up eating dogs in Steller's time, as a result of their well-known, exceedingly eager imitation of the Russians (3), for whom it was a

(B13)

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 285 and elsewhere.

particular abomination? And all the more since it could not have been difficult for them in material respects in view of Kamchatka's great wealth of fish (4). On the other hand, those peo-

(B13)

4. According to the observations made by the Voga Expedition, the Chukchee of Pitlesai and Jinretlen referred to as the Reindeer Chukchee slain dog (Nordenskiöld, Die Umseegelung Asiens und Europas /A Voyage around Asia and Europe/, Vol. I, p. 96). Whether this is general among the Chukchee has not yet been ascertained.

ples -- as I should like to formulate the above rule further -- who keep the dog only for hunting or to guard house and grounds, but use another domestic animal, the reindeer or the horse, for traveling, sledding, or burden-carrying, such as the Orok, the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, Orochon, Manegir, etc., not only eat no dog meat, but even have a more or less marked aversion to it. (B20) From this point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha, who at

Goldi RX3
Olcha

G1 /436 cont./ From this
23 point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha also
● 262 present have with the same way of life as the Gilyak and likewise
*262 have only one domestic animal, the dog, and, to be sure, as a
(B17) draft animal, nevertheless do not eat dog meat. When
(B16) Pragatschekii asked them about this in the village of Pul, they "expressed their aversion to such fare and even designated this as
(B20) the particular feature of the Gilyak (5). One might, then,

G1
(1)(3)

5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimnim putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur River/" (Vestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 162).

G1 (4) One might
23 at first infer see in this a contradiction of the first part of the
● 262 rule set forth by me above; considered more carefully, however,
*262 it is a splendid confirmation of the second part. For, as discussed
above, the Olcha were formerly reindeer nomads and were forced into settling along the Amur and into the life of fishermen like the Gilyak only through the loss of their reindeer (6). And since

6. See pp. 284, 308, and elsewhere above.

the memory of that change in their way of life is said to live on in their legends, it should not surprise us that their aversion to eating dog meat, which dates from that nomadic period, has also been preserved among them. Conversely, one can also see in this aversion of theirs more proof for their former reindeer nomadism. The situation may be similar for the Negda, Samagir, and Kile (7).

7. See pp. 322-329 above.

In fact, neither from my own experience nor through other travelers (Wenjukof, Przewalski, Nadarof) /437/ is it known that G. the Goldi and Orochi eat dog meat. Thus cynophagy in the Amur
23 region, Sakhalin included, remains limited to the two Paleo-
● 262 Asiatic peoples (1).
*262 (1) A [See category 16, P 465-- Analysis?]
(17)

23 /437 cont./
● 262 Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Ainu, and must be regarded as a
*262 custom peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the cir-
(B17) cumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the
(B16) Amur region further upward, towards the Usuri and Sungari, makes it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as is well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand,

23
*262
(17)
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1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by lower people out of lack of any other food, in generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den vereinigten Niederland. an den Tart. Chans /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 278. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by Lesage, Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 236. Iakimf, Kitai i ego. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 362, 369, 377. Hier, fourn.

(B13)

traced back to Chinese influence.

23 Rich furnish the Gilyak hukola less food than do mammals,
● 262 merely for the reason that they are not hunted very much on ac-
*262 count of their little use otherwise and, as a rule, they are much
more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however,
is consumed indiscriminately, and some birds which are periodically more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At
(B36) several places, for instance, the ptarmigan (Lagopus alba Gm.,
(B36) Gilyak gerzi, on Sakhalin tschiskol-ngi) is caught by them in large numbers by means of simple snares. Along the west coast
(B36) of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Duf, I saw them consuming with great relish the fjhalerja cristatella Pall. (Gilyak nochka-ngi), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they alight individually or in small flocks on the ice near open places in the sea and freeze
*262 to it. The meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its
23 nest and use to spell the fall of the leaves, is likewise
(B17) consumed by them when its hour of death tolls.

/562 cont./

prey in their region and at the same time the animal that most pleases their palates and that, because of the festivities connected with eating it, also plays an especially important role in their social life. Striving, above all, to capture the animal alive, they eagerly search in the fallen snow for where a bear might have its winter quarters. When this has been discovered, a number of courageous and strong men band together, in order, equipped with the required paraphernalia of ropes, chains, pikes, etc., to surprise the sleeper in its lair, disturb its rest, fetter it, and lead it into captivity. Needless to say, this cannot be done without a fight, and however skilled the usually experienced bear-catchers may be, more or less serious wounds not infrequently result, which, however, are borne more easily than others by the Gilyak, because they are regarded as especially honorable and lend the one concerned an aura of manly fortitude. Nevertheless, the frequency of the bears kept in captivity among the Gilyak indicates that the outcome of the battle is usually or often successful; there is scarcely a village of any size in which on a trip through the region, one would not see one or several such animals. If the place where the bear was lifted from its lair and fettered is not far from the village to which its captors belong, it is simply taken to it in its fetters by ropes and put in the prison kept ready for it. For greater distances, however, the sleds on which the hunters came also serve to take their booty home. The fettered bear is put on one or, if the route permits, even on two sleds put side by side and tied together, and is brought to its new domicile in a triumphal procession amid the loud cheers of the sled drivers and the barking of the many, passionately excited dogs. The nature of the bear's prison and the treatment of the captured animal will be discussed later in speaking of the bear festivals of the Gilyak, but at the moment it is primarily only a question of its capture. The battle with a bear disturbed from its rest does not always end in its being fettered. It often defends itself so tenaciously and vigorously and is so dangerous for its adversaries that they find it necessary to put an end to it with their pikes and lances. In fact, the latter happens

G 223 [439] G [239] 411 [964] G 223 231 439 Gi 231 439 114 136 A 231 439

/565 cont./

article of trade with the Japanese, amo
told me, they are used to decorate the
of prominent persons, thereby distingui
ings of ordinary people. Moreover, th
to feather their arrows and to make cer
significance for their little burial house
rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as
the young birds out of the nest, in conn
fell tall trees that are hard to climb an
before the young can fly. The capture
chained to the fish-drying racks and fe
they are in full feather, whereupon the
feathers are carefully spread out betwe
in this fashion stored for trading. The
caught and raised by the Gilyak must b
one can scarcely enter a Gilyak villag
several of them on fish-drying racks.
the southern coast of the Sea of Okhots
region proper, because there not only
tured, but also the tscharngai-tscham,
especially prized by the Japanese. Th
for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go
Okhotsk for a stay of several years in c
there. Like the Gilyak, their closer a
on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, al
raising young fishing eagles of the sam
Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to
thinks (1), in order to show them relig

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp.

other birds away from the fish hanging
likewise only in order to sell their tai
is done either directly or through the
is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the K

ng whom, as the former
windows in the dwellings
shing them from the dwell-
Gilyak use eagle feathers
tain articles of symbolic
s. In order to obtain the
possible, the Gilyak take
ection with which they
d have nests in their tops
d young eagles are kept
d with fish scraps until
y are killed, but their tail
en sheets of birch bark and
number of eagles annually
e very considerable, since
in which he does not see
In particular, however,
k is regarded as the eagle
the myghr-tscham is cap-
whose tail feathers are
us, it is not at all unusual
o the coast of the Sea of
rder to obtain eagles' tails
nd more distant neighbors
so occupy themselves with
e species (Hal. albicilla,
be sure, not, as Maack
ious veneration or to keep

143, 170, 206.

on the drying racks, but
s to the Japanese, which
ilyak. Finally, the same
riles, as has been

/612 cont./

439 [435] prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjelm, at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

439 484 487 Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often extends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they [231] still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

order to raise them at home.

648 439 484 The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the [823] southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

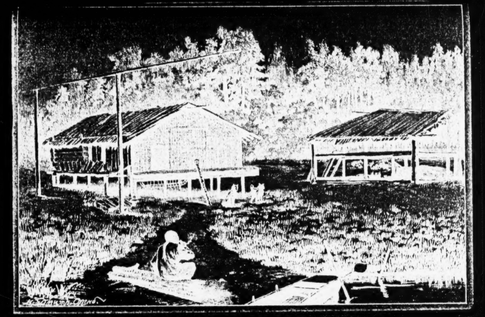

Gilyak summer yurt.

/696 cont./

825 like them it stands upright in combat, etc. In spite of all this,
[262] however, the Gilyak is not willing to forgo the great enjoyment which bear meat and fat provides for his palate, and he longs for it especially if the bear first lived in captivity for a time and was fed on fish, for this food adds a fishy flavor to its meat and fat, which is especially agreeable to the Gilyak. Moreover, a person may /697/ then indulge in the enjoyment of these savory morsels quite without danger and without punishment, for, in order to achieve this, according to Gilyak belief, a long series of preliminary act is necessary, all of them aimed at outwitting the bear during its lifetime by attestations of esteem and to deceive it, as it were, about everything that is done with it, but, after its death, to pacify the angered spirits of revenge of the mighty beast by paying homage even to the manes of the slain animal.

•231 The attestations of esteem begin immediately with the leading of the bear into captivity. If the bear has been discovered in its lair and safely shackled following a successful battle, it is taken, as has been said (1), on two sleds put side by side and tied

1. See p. 878-880 above.

together, in a triumphal procession to the place from which the hunters set out, and it is received there with loud shouts of jubilation from young and old. The same thing happens when a Gilyak returns from a trading trip to Sakhalin and in the central space of his boat brings with him one or a couple of young bears bought on the island (2). In the Gilyak villages there is usually

2. See p. 960 above.

never a lack of lodging for putting up the bear, but if need be a new one is erected for it. This consists of a square box made of beams, open at the top, with a small, heavily barricaded door and an even smaller, always open window. The bear is forced to climb into it and, after it has been unfettered, is prevented from escaping its prison by a layer of boards spread over it, fastened with poles, and weighted with stones. From now on

• 23 /697 cont./ From now on
75 it belongs,so to speak, to the whole village, for all its members
[421] have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are entitled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor, ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The
[182] bear festival, then, in a very eminent sense is a communistic festival which unites all the individual members of one village community and therefore understandably represents the climax of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original owner of the bear, the man who bought it or who arranged for its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course, within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host,
[574] he may make the feast a more or less opulent one by adding culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and, accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances, even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally, after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

231 The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of the village takes place in accordance with a previously established order. The food given to it, through the little window in the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state (jukola), mossj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or crowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form, but in winter only as ice or snow. The long spoon (Gilyak nichyr) illustrated on Plate LI /p.125?/, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the food, in particular the mossj and the water. From time to time, but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however, which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman, it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose round the neck of the bear still in the cage, and shackling its

/698 cont./

• 231 hind legs. After this the other boards on top of the cage are removed, and the bear is dragged by a number of people into the yurt, where the dogs' table found in the middle of it has meanwhile been removed. Since one cannot depend on merely the leather noose thrown around the neck of the animal, if it is full-grown, a Gilyak now jumps in front of the bear with legs apart, seizes it by the roots of the ears, and presses its head against the floor. Simultaneously two other Gilyak armed with wooden poles do the same thing with its front paws, and now still another jumps on the back of the animal, straddles it, and puts a collar on it, from which, by means of a revolving ring, long iron chains and leather straps run in two directions. With these the bear, after its hind legs have once more been unfettered and, roaring loudly, it has stood erect, is now tied between the two central posts of the yurt in such a way that it can comfortably lie down and get up again. As a reward, so to speak, or as a token of fondness a few slices of jukola or seal fat are then given to it, whereupon it is led around the inside of the house several times and then back to its cage.

114 Undoubtedly this Gilyak custom of keeping bears in cap-
231 tivity, occasionally bringing them into their houses, and treating
175 them in the manner described has given rise to the legend, very widespread in Siberia, that they tame bears and use them as domestic animals for riding and driving. In a Russian document about the Amur stemming from the seventeenth century and published by Spasskij (2) ("Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie /Story

[113] 2. In his article, "Sviedieniia Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII. stol. /The Russians' Knowledge about the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geograf. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, Res., p. 20.

about the Great Amur River/"), it is said: "on a large island (Sakhalin) lying opposite the mouth of the river live the Gilyak peoples, who keep 500-1000 dogs in their villages, eat all kinds

/698 cont./

114 of animals, and feed bears for peaceful work" (3). At the
• 231
175

3. In the original the latter passage reads: "i medvyedei kormyat" v" ulusakh" diya raboty mirno."

beginning Spasskij did not want to give any credence to the latter statement, both on account of its strangeness and from the lack of any other confirmation. But in the "Copy of a Sketch from the Siberian Country" (Spisok" s" chertezha Sibirskiia zemli) published by him in 1849, it is said explicitly: "The Gilyak people sow no grain, eat fish, and drive or ride on /699/ bears" (Gilyanskie lyudi khlyeba ne syeyut", pitayutsya ryboyu, a yezdyat" (1) na medvyedyakh"). Witsen also found

[192] 1. The Russian verb, yezdit', means both "to drive" and "to ride."

the same legend, that at the mouth of the Amur River "lives a savage people, called Gilaki, who keep many bears and dogs in order to utilize their services" (2). Finally, it is also found in

2. Witsen, Noord- en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/, 1705, p. 884.

Strahlenberg (3), for it says there: "at the mouth of the Amur

[113] 3. Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, pp. 386, 387.

River lives a people whom the Russians call Kilaki; some 'Yaku Tatars' have related to me about these people that they tame bears and use them as we do horses" (4).

4. Witsen (op. cit., p. 686) was also told

/699 cont./

114 ●231 195 4. (cont.)
this fable by the Yukagir in the country of "Ssabatsia" (sobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

231 *796 The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the [956] summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival. As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears [609] kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration [123] of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

/700 cont./

*796 526 to some of our French rounds: the players joined hands, forming a circle; the circle moved around rapidly until it broke at one point, and a single row was made out of the circle. As soon as this happened, the first man passed under the raised arms of the last two members at the other end of the row, pulling the whole row after him, and making it necessary for the last man to turn himself around himself. If he succeeded in doing this and thus became the first man, he did what the first one had done, and so it alternated on and on, until the clumsiness of one of the leaders or a slip and fall by a member of the chain caused the whole row to break up, which happened not infrequently in the slippery, unevenly packed snow in front of the house and was always accompanied by the resounding laughter of all the bystanders. Close by another circle made up of young boys romped about and imitated exactly everything relating to the adults (see Plate XI /p. 991/). Many women, girls, and small children of the village had gathered around both circles and at every opportunity expressed their approval by wildly shouting in unison and by stamping and loudly beating on their furs and robes.

*796 ●231 After the game had come to an end, Judin approached us and urged us to enter the house, /701/ into which the whole crowd from outside followed us. The dogs' table had been removed and in its place were three bears who were tied to the two central posts of the yurt and to the supports on either side of the absent dogs'-table top, for the latter alone would not have offered enough resistance. The bear wears a stout leather band around its neck and a second on its back connected with the first around its body directly behind the front legs, which serves to keep the neck-band from slipping over the head of the animal. The space otherwise taken up by the dogs' table is rather small for three bears, especially since the animals cannot be put too close together, so the chains running from the neck-band, which are extended by a long rope on either side, are drawn quite taut, but always so that the animals can lie down, get up again, and move somewhat to the side. This greatly restricts the free

/701 cont./

*796 ●231 traffic within the yurt, for now with every step one has to stay close to the edge of the sleeping benches in order not to be unexpectedly seized by the paw of a bear.

Only two of the bears, a very large animal of the female sex and a considerably smaller, yet fully grown, seven-year-old male bear, belonged to Judin, who had bought them in the villages of Tschilwi and Aure, inhabited entirely and half by Olcha, respectively; the third and likewise male bear of medium size came from Kalm and was the property of another Tebach Gilyak. As in size, the animals also differed in coloring: the small bear was light brown, the large one dark brown, and the medium-sized one almost black. Moreover, the large bear differed from the other two in that it had a whitish-gray band on the lower part of its neck, but not enough to be called a collared bear (Gilyak molk) by the Gilyak, which happens only if the white is quite pure and extends over a large part of the throat. Finally, the three bears also differed in their behavior, especially in the way they defended themselves, as we shall presently see.

Immediately after we, followed by the throng, had taken *796 526 seats on one of the sleeping benches, another game was begun [191] here, despite the limited space, the one that I described above in discussing the Goldi games and which consists of jumping over a rope swung by two persons. The Gilyak called it tyk-tyk (1).

[192] 1. Tyk means cord.

and the activity that goes with it, tykyrtsch. But it did not last long and was not performed nearly as skillfully as by the Goldi. Nevertheless it is part of the entertainment program during a bear festival and, judging by the noise, shouting, and laughter of the onlookers, found hearty approval. I did not see it performed by the Gilyak at other times, and the fact that it took place in the limited space of the house and not outside, where, in the moonlit night, it would have been much better and more comfortable for the fur-clad players as well as for the spectators, and the brief duration of the game, /702/ almost permit one to conclude that

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*796 it took place only in honor of the bears present. The latter, moreover, were immediately afterwards treated with mossj, which they *796 ●231 licked from long nichyr.

Next came the chief entertainment of the festival, the procession with the bears from house to house. For this, as for all subsequent events, the same order was always observed with the animals, in that first came the small one, then the large one, and finally the medium-sized bear -- an order evidently determined by the unequal share of their owners in the festival, since two of them belonged to Judin and he was at the same time the chief host of the entire festival. Accordingly, the procession began with the small bear. The ropes with which it was tied to the posts were loosened, and at each of them a long row of Gilyak posted themselves in alternating order. The two men standing next to the bear on either side had reversed their fur coats, wearing the back in front, and their sealskin apron-skirts (kossjkha) were around the body as tightly and smoothly as possible, so that if a bear claw grazed them, it would not catch anywhere, but would slide off the smooth skin. Each of them also held a short stick in his hand in order to tease the bear. The first man standing in the direction in which the procession is supposed to go now jumps in front of the bear with his legs apart and his chest pushed far out and goads it with his stick. The animal roars loudly, throws itself forward, partly lifts itself up, and flies out at its opponent with its paw. But the latter instantly jumps back a step, and all those standing at the same rope move one step forward toward the house door, dragging the bear after them. The same thing is repeated a second time, a third time; the bear tries in vain to seize its opponent, but its claws always slide off the smooth skirt. Meanwhile others are busy with sticks and poles pushing the bear in the direction it is to go. If it presses the man in front too much, if it has not only grazed him with its paw, but clawed his fur coat, making his plight dangerous, the first man in the row behind the bear goads the animal from the rear and forces it to turn around and to direct its attacks at him, while those standing at the rear rope at the same time drag the animal backward.

/702 cont./

*796 Thus the procession sways along, sometimes forward, som
354 times backward, but always closer and closer to the house doo
●231 amid the loud roars of rage of the bear being tugged back and forth, in which the other two animals join, and amid the wild intermittent shouts of jubilation of the bear leaders as well as bystanders. The few oil-lamps do not sufficiently illuminate the large space of the yurt with its dark sooty beams so that al those who are busy with the bear can clearly see its movemen and yet this is absolutely essential for the prompt intervention one or the other man in front. Hence a number of boys leap onto the sleeping benches and from there illuminate the turbu proceedings, following the procession back and forth with im-provised torches, which consist of rolled-up birch-bark and so times flare up brightly and then again spread only dark smoke Truly a strange picture (see Plate XLVII /p.1247/).

*796 The two other bears were then /703/ led out of the house
231 the same manner as the small bear. The first one was decide the most enraged and intractable of all, which the Gilyak asc to the fact that it had broken a leg while being captured and c sequently was still limping. It was remarkable how differentl the three bears expressed their rage and defended themselves: whereas the small bear and the large one straightened themsel up and tried to claw the man goading them, the third bear be haved quite differently; it did not try to get up at all, but at tempted to ward off the thrusts of the stick by holding its paw front of its face and reaching out for the legs of the one goadi it, or it would lie down on its back and defend itself with its p It was also the only one of the three which in its fury, tried to scratch up the stamped-earth floor of the yurt, which, howeve the Gilyak stopped it from doing each time.

The purpose of the procession with the bears was to lead t
[825] through all the houses in the village, of which there were seve Tebach; the procession with the three bears turned into each c them, and everywhere they were arranged in the same order, large bear in the middle, the two others at the sides, and trea with mossj from nichyr spoons as a sign that they are held in e and are welcome guests in each house.

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

/480 cont./
long troughs are placed along the edge of the dogs' table or the hearth platform, the door of the yurt is opened, and the dogs lying outside and held by straps or chains are untied. As soon as this is done, the dogs, already impatient, dash straight into the yurt, often jumping on and over one another, and stand on the kyll or on the ground in front of the troughs. Meanwhile, the women, with the help of large ladles (2), have filled several

2. See p. 683 and the illustration above.

buckets with the soup, bubbling and steaming in the kettle, and now pour it into the troughs. Since the whole pack ravenously and greedily pounces on the food, each animal trying to outdo the other and to snatch everything for himself, furious struggles and fights usually break out between neighboring dogs, but are stilled by blows on the heads of the animals delivered with sticks by the women and children standing by and holding the dogs by leashes or chains. Plate XII /see p. 992/ illustrates the feeding of the dogs in one of the large, Chinese winter-yurts of the Gilyak. In the earth yurt, where the low sitting and sleeping benches are separated from the hearth platform by only a narrow passage, this takes place so close to one that he finds himself almost surrounded by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold streaming in over the floor through the open door and the steam rising from the hot fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure does not exactly contribute to the comfort of a stay in the earth yurt. Beyond this meal the Gilyak dogs get nothing to eat when they are at home resting. In times of scarcity, however, even this meal is very meager; for instance, in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, I noticed that the dogs received only a soup made of a little jukola, reindeer moss, and a small amount of seal oil, and if times become even more difficult, the feedings become more infrequent, only every other day. On long journeys, however, the Gilyak, if about noontime they do not reach a village in which the dogs are given their usual meal, throw them some chark or ma twice a day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such times

/480 cont./
23 [484] [171] feed their dogs only once, only at the overnight campsite and always only dry jukola. The Russian dogs, therefore, are perhaps even more exclusively ichthyophagous than the Gilyak dogs. Lacking jukola, I once had them given elk meat, and they left it untouched. Only severe hunger makes the dogs omnivorous, and in summer along the Amur one cannot adequately protect his belongings /481/ against the starving dogs of the natives, seizing everything that is of animal nature, such as fish-skin and fur covers, boots, etc.

Like the grown animals, the whelps, too, are fed in the yurt. To be sure, on Sakhalin they are often kept inside the house the rest of the time, too, and on the sleeping benches at the very rear where they come up against the roof. The greater care of the whelps on Sakhalin may be the reason why the dogs there, and especially those of the Tymy Gilyak, are said to be the largest and finest in the whole region.

Since the actual master and owner of the dogs, as soon as he has returned from a trip, no longer pays any attention to them and their entire care and feeding are managed by the female occupants of the yurt, with the assistance of the children, they are actually as good as masterless and they do not have the usual characteristics of the dog which is kept more or less singly as the follower and companion of man, such as personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance, or they are not developed in them. The situation is the same, incidentally, with respect to the Russo-Siberian draft-dogs so that one may probably say in general that dogs kept in large numbers for harnessing and treated more or less as a pack, in comparison with hunting or watchdogs, have remained on a lower level of culture, so to speak, or have again sunk to one. But a certain attachment to the place and house where they get their food may be found among them, too, so that, even unleashed, they do not readily leave it, and if, in harness, they get free from their driver as the result of an overturned sled, they go home as a rule, or to the nearest village (1). The dogs

[113] [171]

1. According to Sujef (see Pallas, Reise

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1. (cont.)
durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

231 171 439 The dogs of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

493 The Gilyak sled (tu) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian narte, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions [123] and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11 [192] times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles /runners/ (Gilyak tusskrj, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect [192] them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside.

Northeast Siberia RY1
Koryak RY4
Goldi RX3
Eskimo ND2

NS 492 484 /488 cont./
development, also by the Russians, of the greatest and fullest use of them and for the longest journeys, for instance, to the New Siberian Islands, etc., were found there along the Jana and Indigirka.

K 231 [361] [492] To the north of Kamchatka we find another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Koryak living in permanent sites along Penshinsker /Penzhinskaya/ Gulf and along the Bering Sea, who likewise have only the dog as a domestic and, at the same time, draft animal. I believe that I have already proved above (7) that

K 174 231 361

7. See pp. 481 ff.

formerly the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and the closely related Chukchee (the Onkilon) had permanent habitation sites and, in fact, earth yurts, just as they did, and, correspondingly, as fishermen, seal-hunters, etc., like them, they, too, may have had only the dog as a companion until they became acquainted with the domesticated reindeer, probably through the Tungus pressing in on them from the south and the west, and with it took up their present nomadic life.

G. G1 NS K 231 171 /489/ Thus, we must designate the dog, this oldest of all animals domesticated by man, as the only domestic animal and therefore, especially in its position as draft animal, as, so to speak, a characteristic form of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, this oldest formation of peoples in northeastern Asia. Where, subsequently, another domestic animal appears among them, such as the reindeer among the nomadic Koryak and Chukchee in the case mentioned above, it is always a gift brought to them at a later period by a younger family of peoples with whom they came in contact.

E 231 171 174 Without doubt it may be assumed that the Eskimo, like other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, had the dog as their only domestic animal and used it in harness when they were still on their original Asiatic soil. With this domestic animal they crossed over to America, and there, continuing to live in the same way by fishing, seal-hunting, etc., they spread across the entire northern

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1. (cont.)
the same thing was repeated several times later with other Gilyak from the various villages along the Amur and Liman, so that I never once succeeded in producing my stick in front of them, and from then on gave it up completely, trying in vain to think of a reason for this strange, highly excited, and fearful behavior toward an object as harmless as a fishing rod. How great, therefore, was my surprise when, already in St. Petersburg after my return, I once happened to hear Mr. v. Middendorff, who had visited the Gilyak ten years before I had, and, to be sure, in their most remote dwelling sites along Ulban Bay in the Sea of Okhotsk, relate how he had once played the following joke on them. As he stood in their company [231] in front of a white-tailed eagle which, chained, was perched on one of the fish-drying racks -- a very common sight in their villages, which will be discussed further in the following -- in front of their eyes he cut off a thin willow switch, stuck its point, unnoticed, into a little bottle of prussic acid which he carried with him, and held it in front of the beak of the eagle. The animal immediately collapsed and died, but the Gilyak were seized with horror and fear and from then on regarded our traveler as a powerful sorcerer. To me there now remained no doubt: obviously the news

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Bear festival. Last procession with the bears (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

P96
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P91

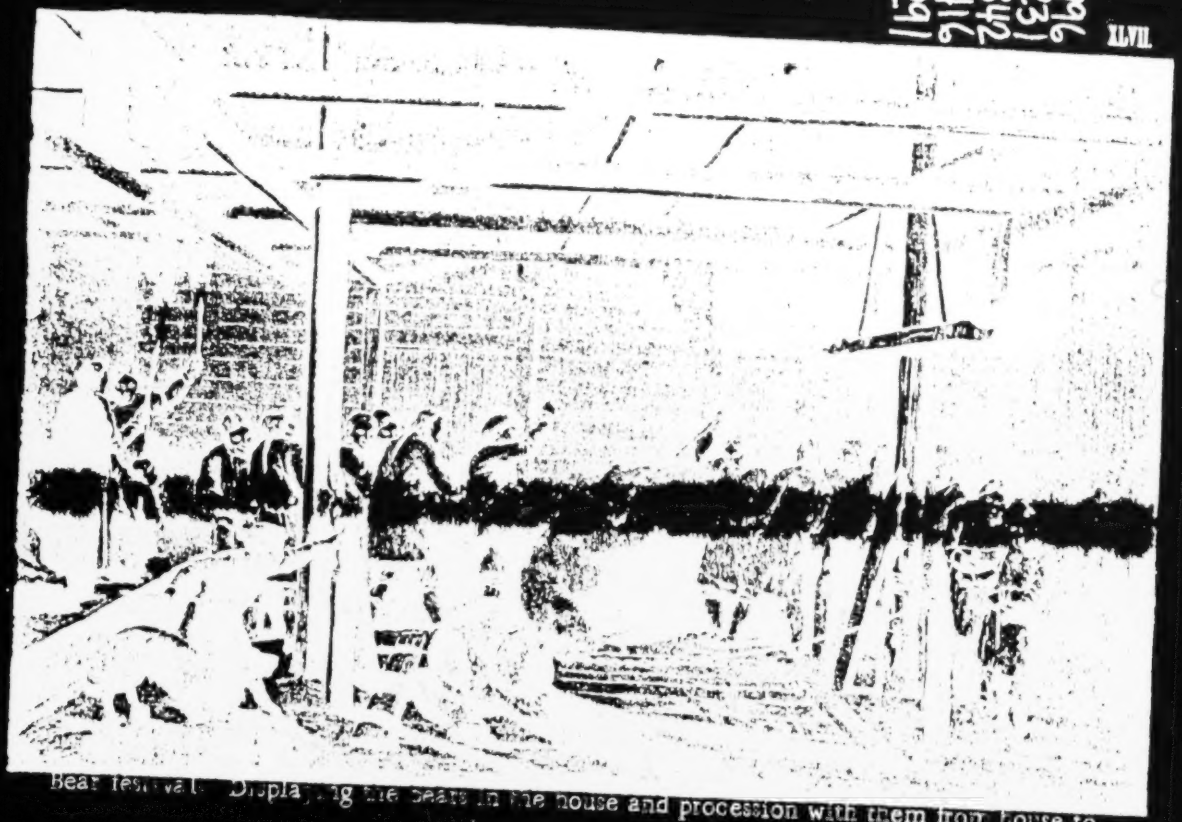

Bear festival. Displaying the bears in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/703 cont./

and are welcome guests in each house. Thus the procession lasted a long time, and the bears were not returned to Judin's house for the night, but remained in one of the other houses. It was not until the morning of the following day (January 11) that the two animals belonging to our host, the small and the large bear, were brought back to his house and were displayed there in the customary manner.

Meanwhile it was time to feed the dogs which always takes place in the morning. There were many of them on account of the many guests who had traveled to the place. Since the dogs' table had been removed, another arrangement had to be made in order to feed the dogs in the house. For this, a long pole was put through an opening in one of the central posts between which the large bear stood, and it was fastened at the ends to the supporting posts at either side of the top of the dogs' table. The dogs, very excited by the presence of the bears in the house, were now tied to this pole; and in front of them lay a board upon which their troughs with the steaming fish-broth were placed. The feeding of the dogs seemed to be done with special care this time, because dog races were to take place on the following day. Judin was very busy and concerned that everything should be done properly for his guests.

After the arrangement for feeding the dogs had been removed, the leading of the bears in and out began again, without my being able to discern any apparent purpose for it: the small bear was taken into another yurt, while the large bear was led out of the door of the house and immediately back in again four times, with intervals of only a few minutes. Perhaps through the frequent repetition of this experiment the neck-band on this bear may have become somewhat loose or damaged in some other way; it soon appeared necessary to the Gilyak to provide it with some auxiliary ropes -- an undertaking that was most interesting for me, for it showed me the great intrepidity /704/ of the Gilyak in confronting the bears and their enormous skill and adroitness in dealing with them. This task was even more difficult than putting on the neck and body bands at the beginning, which was

/704 cont./

described above, for the latter was done after the hind legs of the bear had already been fettered in the cage, but here the bear could make full and free use of all four extremities and its teeth. While the procession halted outside the house, all the ropes and straps required for carrying out the feat were held in readiness. Seizing the moment when the mighty animal stood fully erect, one of the Gilyak threw himself from the front around its neck and embraced it as firmly as he could. At the same moment a second one muzzled the animal. Simultaneously several others seized the animal from the rear, pulled its hind legs from under it by means of nooses, and held them against the ground. The bear fell on its front paws, but here, too, someone was ready to press them against the ground with a pole and to fetter them. Thus through quick and concerted steps the animal was completely disarmed and fettered in an instant, and now the auxiliary ropes needed on its neck-band could be put on in peace and safety. As soon as this was done, all the Gilyak jumped off the bear, all the knots and nooses fastened around its snout and paws with special skill were loosened with one jerk, and the bear again stood there on its chain entirely free and unfettered, except for the neck and body band, roaring loudly, repeatedly shaking itself. Now, together with the small bear, it was led back into the house and regaled there with finely crushed ice and cowberries /Strichbeeren/, whereupon, after a short pause, the same procedure was again repeated several times; that is, the small bear was taken immediately from Judin's house to another one, but the large bear only after having been led in and out four times, or sometimes only twice.

Immediately after the bears had been removed, the male youth of the village began to carry large and small sticks of alder and mountain ash into the house and to deposit them at the place where the bears had stood, until there was a large pile of them. Everybody who had a knife, except for the women and girls, began to cut the sticks at one end, or, more properly, to whittle them, that is, to make the so-called nauws (1) of the Gilyak out of them.

1. The ŋ here is to be pronounced soft, like the French g.

/704 cont./

Many of them were whittled with the knife on only one side, but others on two opposite sides. And some all around; indeed, from some of them very fine and gracefully curled wood-shavings (the repeatedly mentioned so-called zach of the Gilyak) hung down from the upper end of the stick to the lower one. This symbol, which among the Gilyak accompanies all religious performances based on the fear of the influence of evil spirits, such as the giving of offerings to the river (2) conjuring away storms (3), etc.,

2. See pp. 802-804 above.

3. See p. 1088 above.

may not, of course, be absent from the bear festival. Thus we already see it exhibited over the roof of the house in which a bear festival is to be celebrated and at the same time a part of the bear cult is to be enacted. We were to /705/ encounter it in more complete form as the bear festival progressed. For the moment, however, the whole heap of whittled sticks was again carried out, in order to be used on the following day. While the men, youths, and boys carved on the sticks, the women prepared a fresh supply of gonej, into which this time they also mixed pulverized fir-needles (from Picea ajanensis). Finally, Gilyak twink -- an activity which lasted until evening.

Meanwhile the leading of the bears in and out of the other houses of the village went on without interruption. The Gilyak can never have enough of this entertainment, and they take a lively an interest in all the individual incidents that occur in connection with it as is shown among other peoples at, say, contests, festive games, or dances with the merry music, which in this case is provided by the roaring of the bears. Everyone has an opportunity as the head of the one or the other row of bear-leaders to display his prowess, intrepidity, skill, and presence of mind; the closer he allows the infuriated animal to approach him, the greater the danger to which he exposes himself, the louder is his share of the applause and the greater his fame and distinction among the people. Every detail is followed attentively and afterward

/705 cont./

discussed about in an animated discussion in short, on such an occasion one hardly recognizes the otherwise serious, sedate, cautious, and somewhat taciturn Gilyak. Late at night the procession with the medium-sized bear paid a brief visit to Judin's house. But only the two bears that belonged to him returned to it for the night. Men and animals had tugged themselves weary and seemed to need a rest. The night also passed more quietly than one would expect with two bears quartered in the house.

Toward the morning, January 12, however, I was awakened by a loud roar from the bears: the leading of the animals back and forth, out of the house and back again, had begun anew. First our two sleeping companions were taken out, and then all three bears were brought back in again, in the order established at the beginning of the festival, and fed out of three pitchys, the mosej that had been prepared the day before, some of which the people ate, and then the foreign bear was removed again, while the other two remained in the house. Then began the preparation of the place where on the following day the bears were to meet their deaths and then be skinned and cut up. For this, a rectangular area not far from the house was marked off with the sticks (nauws) carved the day before, and at each of four places about a fathom apart on its longitudinal sides, two posts were set up and lies with beam-shaped tops were rammed into the ground beside each other. These stakes were old and may already have served the same purpose several times. They were likewise surrounded by whittled sticks. At one end, in line with the two posts, a small square was also marked out by the nauws (the so-called kabdra of the Gilyak) was left open at the other, opposite end a small structure made out of boards (called lâŋug (1) among the Gilyak stood somewhat elevated above

1. The ŋ is to be voiced like the French g.

the ground on four posts driven into the earth and was closed in the back, but in front, in the direction of the row of stakes, was marite /706/ open. and here, besides a croupole near the roof, had a second, lower croupole, from which the opening was

/705 cont./

divided into approximately even halves. The path leading from Judin's house to this place of death for the bears was also marked out with a line of whittled sticks.

Meanwhile the dog-feeding was going on in the house in the same way as on the day before, except that those animals that were to participate in the races an hour hence did not get anything for the time being; they were also brought into the house, to be sure, but could only watch while the other dogs ate, their feeding being postponed until after the races in order to stimulate them to run faster. Everyone now set out for one end of the racecourse, which was laid within the bare cover of the river and consisted of a strip about two fathoms wide, on which the snow had been shoveled to the sides and the ice smoothed somewhat for a distance of about one and a half to two versts. Here stood two sleds, one harnessed to 14 dogs, the other to ten, of which the latter was front men on the first sled were adorned with elegant Manchurian collars, the above-mentioned rŋak (1). In front of the sleds two other dogs were held

1. See p. 750 ff. above with the woodcut, and Plate XXXVI /p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5.

on long straps. Many spectators had stationed themselves on the elevated embankments at both sides of the racecourse. First the two dogs not harnessed to the sleds were released, they glided behind them at the end of their long straps only a fox tail and the tail of a black dog, respectively. With this light burden they disappeared from the racecourse in an instant and ran up the hill to the house where they were caught by the women and children. They were particularly twift-footed animals, one of which was a so-called kyll or kyll-kan among the Gilyak, over the possession of which Judin was very proud, saying that in the whole Amur region there were only two or three animals of the same quality, and he could name their owners. It was not clear to me, however, what the special characteristics of the kyll-kan are, aside from twift-footedness. The animals harnessed to the sleds did not get off so easily, for although the bucks which they had to pull was

/705 cont./

hardly greater -- on each of the otherwise quite empty sleds lay only two brake-sticks stuck into the plaited work -- obstacles of another kind were put in their path. As soon as the dogs were racing along at top speed, a Gilyak standing on the embankment of the racecourse threw himself on the sled and tried to gain control of the dogs and their vehicle by using the brake-sticks, at which, of course, he was not immediately successful. If one failed, a second one did it, and a third: throwing himself upon the sled, he held on to it tightly, the sled overturned two or three times, but the man held on tightly and let himself be dragged along at the utmost speed until he succeeded in sitting astride and, with the two brake-sticks in his hands, driving up the hill in triumph. During the entire race the women drum with cudgels and sticks upon a /707/ beam suspended from a framework in front of the house. This is done with a certain regularity and requires some special knowledge. For there are various types and modes of drumming, depending on the occasion. Every woman is given two cudgels, or one cudgel and one stick, and beats with them on the beam two or three times, either simultaneously or alternately, then cudgel on cudgel or cudgel on stick, then again on the beam, etc., in different rhythms and tempos, as the mode of the moment requires (see Plate XLVIII /p.1248/). As soon as all the dogs participating in the races have returned the longed-for meal it sat before them in the house by the women. The men bypower, indulge in a lively discussion of all the details occurring in connection with the races, in that one dog is to be praised and another criticized, but even more to laugh over the ineptitude of one of their countrymen and to marvel at the courage and agility of a second and third. For, as is to be seen from this description, the dog races among the Gilyak do not serve to test the quality of the dogs as much as to give the men an opportunity to show off their above-mentioned physical and moral virtues, just as is the case for other entertainments that are part of the bear festival.

After this interlude, the leading of the bears which had been interrupted in the morning, was resumed, and everything was repeated as on the preceding days. for example, the large

/707 cont./

bear did not leave or enter Judin's house until after it had been led back and forth through the door four times. Again the bears had to be led through all the houses in the village and treated everywhere with mosej and crushed ice. Twice they came into Judin's house and received the same treatment. The Gilyak especially like to see their boys, even if they are very small, participate in the feeding of the bears: they bravely step up to the animal and offer it the spoon filled with mosej, which is sometimes held and supported by several small hands; many a little fellow who can hardly stand on his legs, not to speak of holding a nichyr, must be helped by the father or older brother, who lifts up the little one. Perhaps this is done for pedagogical reasons, but more probably for superstitious reasons, namely, in the belief that through this the children will continue to have the good will of the mighty animal even after they are grown. As soon as the bears have again been taken out of the house, however, the children use the free space to romp about in and to perform an exact duplicate of what they have seen during the leading of the bears, during the changing of the bands on them, etc., most faithfully imitating all the movements, positions, and demeanors of the adults, as has been described above (pp. 1136 ff.). Thus they learn how to deal with the bears long before they can lend a helping hand.

In the evening, in bright moonlight, the bears were led beyond the village and all the way around Cape Tebach on the river ice. It was a long procession that started moving down toward the river, for, in addition to the three bears, who were led in the same order as /708/ always, a great number of idle boys followed them. Since the bank is high and slopes rather steeply down to the river, it was interesting to see how the procession moved down the slippery hill without falling into disorder even for a moment: while those standing at the front rope ran down at top speed, the ones busy on the rear rope had to hold back with all their might in order to prevent the bear from running down just as quickly and causing damage below, by their combined efforts, however, they succeeded in letting all three bears slide down the hill slowly and evenly. It was much easier going back, for those

/708 cont./

in the rear let themselves be taken in tow by the bears and dragged up the hill. During the whole procession the women again drummed incessantly on their beams. A short pause followed, during which a few games were played in front of the house, such as the above-mentioned roundelays, the competitive jumping, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two. which I had previously seen among the Goldi, and then the popular leading of the bears, never tiring the Gilyak began again and continued far into the night. For during this night immediately preceding the killing of the bears no one among the Gilyak may sleep; the men spend it alternately leading and feeding the bears, while the women prepare the foods for the feast that is to take place on the following day. Let us therefore now turn to these for a moment.

In a previous section (1), it has already been pointed out

1. See pp. 676 ff. above.

that the foodstuffs used in connection with the bear festival are primarily of a vegetable nature and in particular consist of the cereals and legumes of Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russian origin named there. This is especially true of the great feast held shortly before the killing of the bears and, as we shall see in the following, of the one during which, sometimes at a much later date, the bear itself is eaten. Aside from these two, I might almost say official feasts, which are held in a more or less opulent manner in all or at least most of the houses of the village where a bear festival takes place, and which sometimes are even repeated for a certain length of time, the Gilyak also eat their regular fish diet even during the bear festival, but in an irregular fashion, during the intervals between the individual festive events and generally in accordance with the requirements of the individuals. Considering the large number of people invited to the festival or taking part in it generally, however, the consumption of fish on such an occasion is always very considerable, and I was amazed at the colossal quantities of hausen and sturgeon which were used, in addition to the regular jukola diet of the Gilyak, in Judin's house alone.

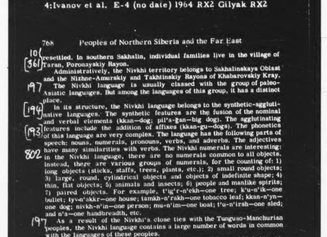

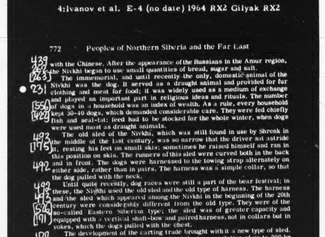

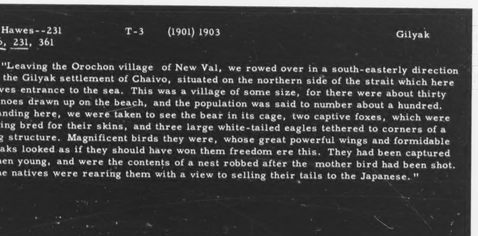

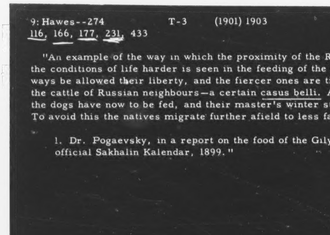

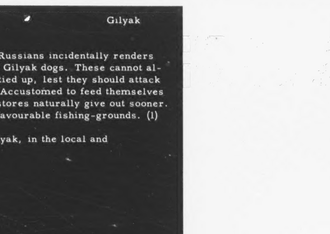

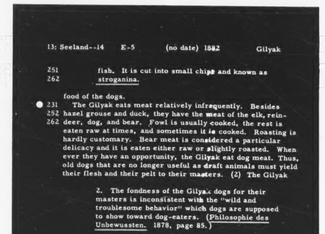

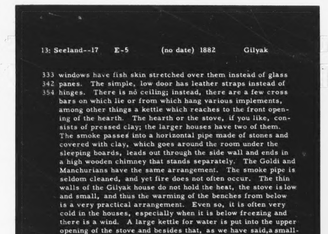

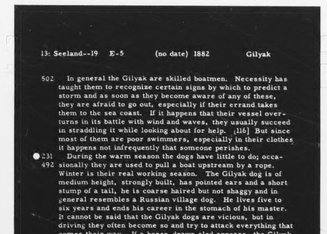

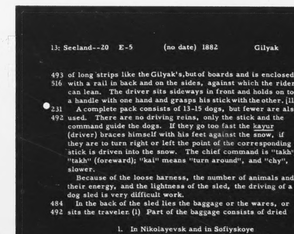

/708 cont./

000 house-house. Hence it is quite understandable that during the
*796 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the
252 principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the
preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been men-
[354] tioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall
of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the center area
and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore
*796 call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, quite large quanti-
[824] ties of fresh fir branches (from the Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twink)
are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this
last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festi-
val, which may be one of the attestations of homage which are given
to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them.
Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of
burned pine-needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.

*796 On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the
•231 leading of the bears finally ceased. After they had made their
last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place
of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak,
and arranged and carefully bound there between the stakes stand-
ing in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again
the same so that the female bear was closest to the building in the
back of the kadhra, the läsgn, the large one in the middle, and
*796 the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody
went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had
set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden troughs, round
wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the
central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood
The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench
[509] along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such
an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule,
it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

/710 cont./

*796 amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the
[541] day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a
fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river
[244] and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast
on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon
the important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated
*796 around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three
824 Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They
consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which
all the branches had been removed except the crown and the
uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around
the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of
[241] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks,
[239] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice
in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these
peculiar banners were of the first type; the third was of the latter
type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who,
as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but
he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody
now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with
their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the
bears several times, always refiring to the same place, and
there running around again, and, finally, planted one of their
insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the
signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes
and led out of the kadhra.

Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the
*796 bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear
• 231 this had been done the day before, and the animal had been pro-
vided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order
on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and
stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have
his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi-
[156] ment. Chuisiin, Judin's oldest son, a young and strong man who
evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

/710 cont.

*796 bears, volunteered to do this. The day before he had already per-
• 231 formed this task in the large bear. /711/ brilliantly proved his
156 bold and resolute courage. When this bear was led out of the
house, it seized so firmly with its claws the front Gilyak goading
it that the latter could not free himself any more and was pulled
close to the furious animal. At this moment, Chuisiin, who
stood immediately behind the bear, jumped over the animal's
back and landed directly in front of its snout. The startled bear,
infuriated anew, dropped its first prey and bit at the second, but
fortunately without success. Now, for the small bear, Chuisiin
took the precaution of wearing his dog-fur coat reversed, with the
fur on the inside, and over it he put on a reindeer-fur coat with the
fur on the outside and the back part turned to the front, at the
same time tying his belt around himself in such a manner that the
fur coat projected out in front of him hump-like and stuck out far
from his body. So equipped, he waited for the moment when the
bear, goaded with sticks, showed its teeth in a roar, now he
stepped up to it with chest thrust forward and let it bite into the
puffed-out fur-coat over it. Then he threw himself around the
animal's neck, seized its head at the ears, and bent it down.
The men standing around were ready at this moment to muzzle
it, to press its paws down, etc., as I have already described above.

After this was taken care of, the bears set out on their
*796 last walk: in the same order as before, the procession, accom-
23 panied by the loud drumming of the women, went down the high
bank to the river. Having reached there, it circled at a distance
of several times in the hole in the ice where the women scoop water
(see Plate XLVIII, p.1248 /), and returned up the hill. The bears
passed close to Judin's house and the one where the owner of the
third animal lived: the doors were open, and the procession in-
voluntarily came to a halt because the bears made the greatest
effort to get back in. But they were no longer permitted to do
[857] this. The procession halted at the entrance to the kadhra. Boys
came running from all sides in order to shoot their small, but
not always harmless arrows at the animals, which the leaders,
visibly amused, permitted them to do.

/711 cont./

*796 visibly amused, permitted them to do. The choice of the archer
• 231 who is to dispatch the bear and move toward the bear, however, is
[854] made by the owner himself and is regarded as an honorary token
of his favor. For the two animals belonging to him Judin had
chosen two young people, one of them, an Olcha from Tschihvi
whose father was a friend of his and from whom he had bought
one of the bears. Both animals, hit in the right lung at a dis-
tance of about five paces, fell dead after the first shot; the third
animal died slowly after it had been hit by two arrows. The blood
[784] which they lost in dying was immediately covered with snow, for
[826] otherwise someone might step in it, which would definitely be
ultcin.

As soon as the bears were dead, they were dragged into
the kadhra by their chain and an auxiliary strap tied around the
snout, and put down at the places where they had stood in life,
on a bed prepared for them out of peeled sticks. Here all three
carcasses lay in the same order and the same position: the snout
and the front legs to the front pointing toward the entrance into
the kadhra, the hind legs to the rear, pointing toward the läsgn.
The neck /712/ and body bands were taken off of them and the
snow beaten off their fur with sticks. Next the carcasses were
skinned and cut up. For this purpose I illustration appears here;
strap was next slung around the neck of the animal and attached
[784] to the stake in front. Again it is ultcin to step over this strap --
one may only walk around it, either in front or in back. The
bear was now rolled over on its back, and a cut was made down
the middle of the entire belly side, beginning at the throat, and
from this middle cut four others went out to the legs. Then the
fur was stripped off and cut around the paws in such a manner
that a ring of fur remained above the claws on each one. After
the belly side had been skinned, the animal was turned over and
the fur stripped off the back side up to the head. Then the man
standing at the tail end once more waved the fur up and down
over the carcass and threw it over the head of the bear to his
companion at the head end, who threw it back again. This

/712 cont./

*796 experiment was repeated several times, whereupon the carcass
• 231 was once more rolled over on its back to be cut up. First of all
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companion at the head end, who threw it back again. This

/713 cont./

*796 from the head and cut into halves on one side along the spine.
• 231 Then the dismemberment was completed, and only the head
remained in the skin. All three bears were treated in exactly
the same way. After the pieces of meat and bone of the
bears, and finally also the strips of fat hung on the sticks
and meanwhile frozen, were put away in the storage chamber,
the three bear-heads with the rest of the skin were carried
to the läsgn and there, by means of a strap slung around the

Place of death for the bears.

of the entire belly side, provided at one end with an eye-shaped
cut, and hung by it on one of the surrounding peeled sticks. A
similar strip of fat reaching from the head to the tail was also
taken from the back side of the /713/ carcass, again rolled over,
and was treated similarly. Then, between these two longitudinal
strips, two narrow transverse strips were cut out on either side, one
directly behind the front legs, and the other directly in front of the
hind legs, and the same was done with them. Obviously this was
intended as an offering, which perhaps was to serve to appease the
spirits of revenge of the slain bears. The whole layer of fat was
divided by the longitudinal and transverse grooves cut in the fat
into six areas, which were now individually removed and each one
immediately placed between two fresh fir-branches and carried
into the storage chamber. While this work was going on, the Gilyak
could not resist nibbling at the fat now and then. Cutting up the
rest of the carcass now followed: first the legs were amputated,
then the breast and belly pieces carved out, the intestines removed
and squeezed out, and, finally, the rest of the body was severed

The arrangement of the heads with the skins in the läsgn.

skin directly behind the head and knotted to the upper crosspole,
arranged so that the heads rested on the lower crosspole,
but the skins inside the house. It thus appeared as though
the bears had entered this abode and were looking out of it
through the window opening, the large one in the middle, to
the left of it the small one, and to the right the medium-
sized bear, that is, in the order in which they had stood in the
house. In front of this structure, however, a fir branch was
planted in the snow, the tip of which reached to the heads of
the bears and partly shaded them.

*796 With this the first big act of the bear festival came
to an end. The head and the skin of the bear are kept in the

/718 cont./

*796 just as it would be extremely ultsch if one wanted to fry, not only
859 bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other bowl, for the
[784] bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be
[263] shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the
broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but
the meat was placed upon fir branches under the ätugbre and
covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the
trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward
[782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was
about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in
front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and
were intended for the forthcoming feast.

In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old
*796 men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young
[889] people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in addi-
[851] tional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in
order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women
had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.
*796 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals
• 231 which Judin had selected for a heavier ride on the river. They
54 were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars
and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven
by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the
women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the
river and then on a leisurely course along the latter, and ended
without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng.
Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while
the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat
[889] into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and
fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads,
and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them
down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same
way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the mean-
time, more life and commotion had entered into these prepara-
tions for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

The Nivkhi 783

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material 177
culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a some- 643
what different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and hunting 474
enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized
among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize
the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went
on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural coopera-
tive. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situ-
ated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities [241]
and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi [231]
began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; till-
age, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary
Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages
lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character.
The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and
fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter,
they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the coopera-
tives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up
of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed,
such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the econ-
omies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River
(Kirovsky Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was
played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were
openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resist- [367]
ance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement
of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the
need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three
houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good
fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the
collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright
homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. 177
The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with 643
seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked 474
scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur railboats [22]
(bunksy) and cutters; and Moscr-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive [241]
aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions.
To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing [122]
usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where
the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the
fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they
hunt for animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin 177
Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was 643
organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. 474
In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its [241]
acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of 474
its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The
collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers
and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered
agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants
will die."

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

784 Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of
[241] potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949
[122] to 1951, the collective harvested twice as much.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal
husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle
[231] and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also
progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and develop-
177 ment of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly
643 scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often
474 consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages,
the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and
36 the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the
collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are com-
fortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages,
particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites.
Before the Revolution, most of the Nakhi lived in dugouts, and most
of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-
Chinese fanza.

177 The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log
643 house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds,
474 etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings, a
school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings
36 devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable
[342] storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a
bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many indivi-
dual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

177 The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are
643 today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages
644 have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the conti-
475 nent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered
with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and
31-2 flowers in the window. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the
33 walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They
177 also use unskrwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the
643 continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and
[244] also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made
[239] of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok
collective-farm members. The fur clothing and homeiress remain of the
[244] traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing
[239] of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages.
Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays,
[242] the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented.
Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued,
as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater
643 use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products.
[242] The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been
755 widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically im-
proved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions.
[243] Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical
and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational
work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical
aid. Soviet medicine rightly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

9: Hawes--162 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 231, 527, 783, 796

"The object of the capture and feeding of the bear is the holding of a great yearly semi-religious festival, in which the slaughter of the beast plays the chief part. It is more probable, that in the older times a full-grown bear was captured just previous to the fête, and that to-day the letter rather than the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by seizing cubs and rearing them for three or four years. The feeding is a matter of no difficulty, as will be seen when we come to the preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores. [LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner or capturer of the bear, the feast turns out a very profitable investment, for visitors from neighbouring villages flock in, and while necessaries are provided by the owner, luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, adorned with a pine-branch at each corner. Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph one of the occupants, I desired the villagers to bring one out, or at least unroof him. There were, however, too few men-folk at home, and the adult bears were very fierce, as indeed we gathered from their movements and remarks within; so two of the five little cubs were partially unroofed. The poor little orphans snarled, and shrank frightened into a corner, tumbling over one another, and trying in their terror to hide each beneath the other. Ere the month of January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before, their spirits will have been released to carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

9: Hawes--172 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 231, 492

"Another village, Auk-vun-wauk by name, hove in sight, and, paddling in, we stepped gingerly from our unstable craft. Vanka insisted on accompanying me because of the crowd of yelping dogs, although the most savage were tied up to a pole underneath a hut built on piles. These animals are fierce towards strangers, and especially white men, although I believe it is on the whole true the world over, that, if you show no sign of fear, dogs may yelp and growl, but will stop short of actual attack. My present position reminded me of an incident in Southern China—a sahib obliged to appeal to a piccaninny for protection from a buffalo, whose discrimination between the white man and the yellow is well known.

These dogs are used by natives in hunting bears and in tracking brodyagi. In winter, harnessed to the sledges, they are not fed until the end of the journey, and are then much more dangerous to encounter."

9: Hawes--195-196 T-3 (1901) 1903

116, 231, 527, 796

"Emerging from the hut into a crowd of yelping d
cage. In front hung a birch-bark basket, as seen in
[LSS: See Visual File] containing fresh water for B
dried fish, and holding it before a hole in the cage,
his great paw out to grasp the fish, the while I snap
mal, having already attained his majority, was due
in the following January.

The bear fête, which probably originated as a pur
a 'Bank Holiday' in the Gilyak calendar, the great b
winter. The proceedings are unique and interesting
tured young, and fed up until he attains the age of fo
following January. Invitations are then sent round t
habitants, however, need no such announcement, fo
coming event. On the morning before the fête the vi
guests arrive in great numbers, their sledges, dra
from all parts of the snow-mantled forest. [LSS: Se
description of the bear fête.]"

13: Seeland--45 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their songs.

535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally (if his neighbors are sober). There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is neither or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a leather collar, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.

527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
• 231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various

13: Seeland--59 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a
contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a
skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points
to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians
of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the soft-
ness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was
that of a woman living in the Russian Amur.

755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary.
They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans,
since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural
healing agencies over which the shamans commands are very
few in number and are carefully guarded.

752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks,
splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and
washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of
agaric, [Lärchespilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases
of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs,
especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of
violent attacks of colic, which occur with this illness the
Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatic
bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mihiki, and
these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36
degrees Reaumur and belong to the in-
different thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate
into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment.
They suffer patiently all the sharp pains only in extreme
cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but
they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the

19:Gennet--2 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

101 edition), p. 390 and note 7. Venukov's
142 observation that the language of the
Gilyak is radically different from that
of the Tungusic completely confirmed
by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the
wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to
language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly
different from them. According to ethnographs that the
traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, she
heard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier
than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thickness
101 of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they
probably occupied the basin of the Amur as far as the Gorin,
while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies
about 100 versts above Nikolaievsk and their former terri-
tory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we
mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume (see
Goldi source 16: Genest--Analysi). They occupy the northern
part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them
among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they
probably came as labourers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

1. We will have more to say below about
the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island.
Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on
Aniva Bay.

361 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settle-
163 ments were particularly numerous along the shallow shore
166 of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these
228 have disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along
• 231 this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live
133 there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts de-
ported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established
new settlements near their former residences, for the
traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants
of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs
which were set on land to pull the boats
along whenever the wind was against the
fishermen as well as whenever they were
struggling against the strong north-south

19:Gennet--4 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, and, moreover, they are so
bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wear-
ing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the
fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
117 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloth. The festooni
customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173)
[see Goldi source 16: Genest--Analysi] do not exist among Gilyak
women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in grace-
fulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn
not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned
repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appearance as there. It might be mentioned that tobacco,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are
already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The dress of the Gilyak
441 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon
often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use
492 of smaroschka; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
• 231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will
not a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in
the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion
even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief sojourn in the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
101 experience was sufficient to make the following assertion: The
Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The
amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear
rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however
high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our
traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old
Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter had been informed, a
offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but
met him on the river to conclude the bargain there.
The traveller believed in this case that it would be
permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon

19:Gennet--5 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
622 to be killed by the same means as those discussed earlier
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants lack
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
fooi, but at the end of it they are hundred fat. They pay 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
141 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were assembled by
322 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak
succeeded very well in this attempt, others, on the other hand,
were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and
sometimes suffered a tumble. Nevertheless, they kept hanging
with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of
their luckier companions.

796 The festival ended with the whole crowd, closely followed
by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
mentioned above and released the bear from his prison. Then
the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests
from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the
bear down the hill, some of the fence was erected, to the vil-
lage. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts
described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting
796 to follow of its own willingly. The others steered the bear
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During
this, the crowd of people made a terrible racket. Now both parties
would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his
companions, and the bear would then have fallen into would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, how-
796 ever, being able to free himself in any way. Then again, the
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [181] they
stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He a beam about
three metres long had been placed in front of the
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
530 eight girls and women who were provided with clubs like sticks

19:Gennet--6 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

796 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed. Some of the bears are those discussed earlier
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants lack
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796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
530 eight girls and women who were provided with clubs like sticks

19:Gennet--7 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught
• 231 dogs show outstanding spee.. This is shown by the fact that
437 only one sled starts along the track at a time; the test is,
rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading
dog run along the prescribed route. Such sledges, which
show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in
understanding an following exactly the calls of the leaders,
are very highly appreciated and can also be paid from 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
141 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were assembled by
322 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak
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Implements used at the bear festival c
size); 2--long spoon for feeding the b
for split

: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

f the Gilyak: 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in
ears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax
ting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

9: Hawes--196-197 T-3
116, 231, 527

"The day before the feast a r
owner to the cage and proceed t
in the form of a loop at the end
bear, and then over a paw and s
tightened. To this loop are atta
unroof further and haul him out.
unnecessary, for he emerges to
desirable now is to pull all the
captors. Methods differ slightly
reader will see by the illustrati
were looped over his paws; and
a pole placed between his fore-
which several men stood. Held
now the Gilyaks could proceed t
they teased him until he took it
tightly bound to this 'bit.' To co
neck and shoulder, a seal-skin
his neck. To the ends of the cha
led about by.

The animal was then taken fo

ehearsal is held. Several men of the village go with the
o lift off one or two of the roofing logs. Inserting a tho
of a stick, they skilfully slip this over the head of the
houlder to prevent strangling him when the strap is
ched other thongs, [197] and the men can now proceed t
. In the case of the bigger bears the hauling is generall
o readily with a snarl and a growl; and the one thing
thongs taut, to prevent him attacking one or other of hi
in different parts of the island; but in this case the
on [LSS: See Visual File] that native-made ropes of gra
to prevent his doing harm these ropes were carried u
and hing-legs, and projecting on each side of him, on
thus it was impossible for him to move his paws, and
o muzzle him. Taking a piece of stick with a rope atta
in his mouth, whereupon his muzzle was quickly and
omplete his toilet, in place of the leather band round hi
collar with two short lengths of chain was slipped over
ins were attached thongs, which served for him to be

r a short walk to test his new 'dress,' and afterwards

9: Hawes--196-197 T-3

116, 231, 527

tied up and eventually put back agai
quickly described, but the actual pr
ready for evacuating the cage occup

n in the cage. Thus ended the rehearsal. It
rocess takes a long time, the getting of the
oying half an hour."

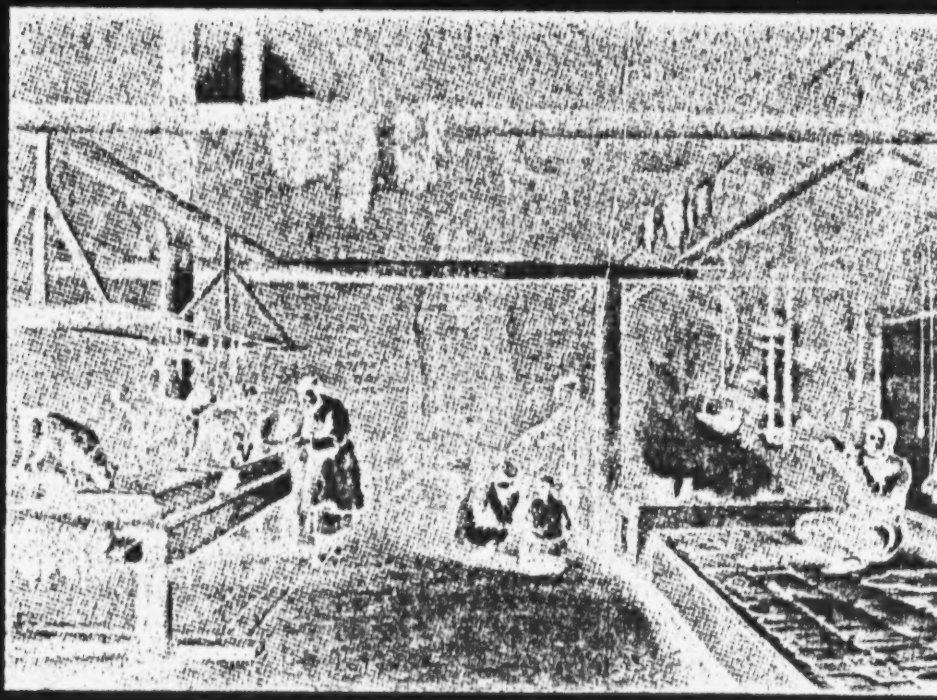

Interior of an old winter dwelling.

512
23

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[P. 776]

342
35
291

"Another village, Auk-vun-wauk by n
gingerly from our unstable craft. Va
crowd of yelping dogs, although the n
built on piles. These animals are fie
although I believe it is on the whole t
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reminded me of an incident in Southe
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discrimination between the white man and the yell

hunting bears and in tracking brodyagi. In winter,
ot fed until the end of the journey, and are then mu

Gilyak funeral.

10 [361] resettled. In southern Sakha
Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Niv
and the Nizhne-Amurskiy a

197 The Nivkhi language i
Asiatic languages. But amon
place.

[194] In its structure, the Niv
native languages. The synt
and verbal elements (kkan
[193] features include the additi
of this language are very co
speech: nouns, numerals, p
802 have many similarities wit
in the Nivkhi language, th
instead, there are various
long objects (sticks, staffs
3) large, round, cylindric
thin, flat objects; 5) anima
7) paired objects. For e
bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house
one dog; nivkh-n'in—one pe
and n'a—one handbreadth, e

197 As a result of the Niv
peoples, the Nivkhi languag
with the languages of these

In the Lower Amur Basi

174 There are enough grounds t
the neolithic population of t
ous pits—marks of old dugo
plements, and a special ty
ornament. Such pits have
There are different points
habitation—the Amur or
peoples, Academician L. Sh
the Nivkhi, whence they sp
expressed by L. Ya. Shternb
Nivkhi and their considera
indicate a larger northward
Sea of Okhotsk in the past
lived farther up the Amur t
tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi live
century; there is every
Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data
to these data, the Nivkhi d
travel down to the mout
Poyarkov (1643-1646). He
the boyar's son Pushchin,
reports of the 17th centur
[361] as "Gilyak peasants." Ac
[342] lages in wooden winter ho
[343] log structures for bears.
[291] belts; they kept many d
mainly of fish. They trade
[231]
[232]

alin, individual families live in the village of

ivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast
and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.
s usually classed with the group of paleo-
ng the languages of this group, it has a distinct

vkhi language belongs to the synthetic-aggluti-
thetic features are the fusion of the nominal
—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating
ion of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics
mplex. The language has the following parts of
pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives
h verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting:
ere are no numerals common to all objects.
groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1)
, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects;
al objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4)
ls and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits;
xample, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one
e; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—
rson; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled;
tc.

khi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian
e contains a large number of words in common
peoples.

n, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants.
o consider them the most direct descendants of
his territory. This population left behind numer-
ts of square or round shape, polished stone im-
pe of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral
een found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin.
of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi
Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur
renk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of
ead to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was
erg, who insisted on the continental origin of the
bly later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data
distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the
. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once
an they do today. According to Chinese sources,
on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th
eason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or

n the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According
d not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to
of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy
vas followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba,
he official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack
, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to
ording to these reports, they lived in large vil-
ses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
he Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
s, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

342
291
231

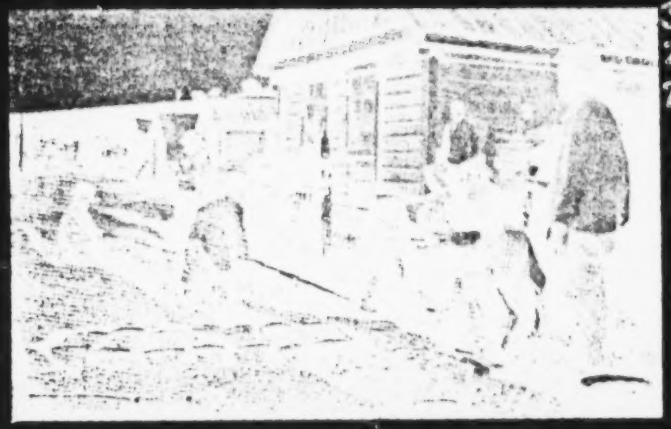

Feeding a bear.

sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care 771
man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky 776
ple—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi
e always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish,
animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice
hem. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced
n character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi 796
king, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le- 614
rno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the 231
tival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was [269]
nected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of
dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and
ced in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the
en clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the
ampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival,
the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The
ster's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February).
t a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles
g with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was
between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the
kha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan
ding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and con-
ed of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow,
al feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The
rskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent
a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, [526]
oting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing.
er the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et
era were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi
d, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always
ught the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the 764
guso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material 177
culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a some- 648
what different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering
enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized 474
among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities [241]
and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi [231]
began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resist- [361]
ance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. 177
The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with 648
seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked 226
scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats 474
(kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing [22]
usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin 177
Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was 648
organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. 241
In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its 474
acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die."

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

"The object of the capture and feeding of the bear is the holding of a great yearly semi-religious festival, in which the slaughter of the beast plays the chief part. It is more probable, that in the older times a full-grown bear was captured just previous to the fête, and that to-day the letter rather than the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by seizing cubs and rearing them for three or four years. The feeding is a matter of no difficulty, as will be seen when we come to the preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores. [LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner or capturer of the bear, the feast turns out a very profitable investment, for visitors from neighbouring villages flock in, and while necessaries are provided by the owner, luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, adorned with a pine-branch at each corner. Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph one of the occupants, I desired the villagers to bring one out, or at least unroof him. There were, however, too few men-folk at home, and the adult bears were very fierce, as indeed we gathered from their movements and remarks within; so two of the five little cubs were partially unroofed. The poor little orphans snarled, and shrank frightened into a corner, tumbling over one another, and trying in their terror to hide each beneath the other. Ere the month of January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before, their spirits will have been released to carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

"Emerging from the hut into a crowd
cage. In front hung a birch-bark baske
[LSS: See Visual File] containing fresh
dried fish, and holding it before a hole
his great paw out to grasp the fish, the
mal, having already attained his major
in the following January.

The bear fête, which probably origin
a 'Bank Holiday' in the Gilyak calendar
winter. The proceedings are unique an
tured young, and fed up until he attains
following January. Invitations are then
habitants, however, need no such anno
coming event. On the morning before t
guests arrive in great numbers, their
from all parts of the snow-mantled for
description of the bear fête.]"

of yelping dogs, we were attracted by the bear-
, as seen in the illustration (opposite p. 196),
water for Bruin. His owner fetched a piece of
in the cage, the bear, who was of full size, thrust
while I snapped him with my camera. This ani-
ity, was due to play the chief rôle at a festival

ated as a purely religious festival, has become
, the great break in the monotony of the long
d interesting. [196] The animal having been cap-
the age of four, a fête is decided upon for the
sent round to neighbouring villages, whose in-
uncement, for they are already well aware of the
he fête the village presents a busy scene as the
sledges, drawn by teams of dogs, dashing up
est. [LSS: See category 527, pp. 196ff. for a full

20: Bush--123-124 T-2 (1865) 187
116, 231, 515

"Near by, sitting cross-legged, Turkish-fash
haggard-looking women were sewing very industr
pausing now and then to give some directions to
what I don't know, but it sounded very harsh--up
urchins, [124] who were disputing the possession
famished, toothless dog. The latter appeared to
and obstinately refused to budge beneath the feeb
dogs were in abundance, but the crowning feature
will express it), wrinkled, withered, and toothle
skins, with long, scant locks of hair dangling wil
a pitiable object had it not been for her occupatio
head of a dirty-faced girl, and disposing of them
one's appetite."

ion, upon the skins, two frowsy-headed,
riously upon filthy skin garments, only
the cook, and to launch something--
on the heads of a couple of naked little
of a deer-skin bed with an old, half-
be conscious of his rights, however,
le blows of his tormentors. Other
e of all was an old hag (no other word
ss, and clothed in the dirtiest of dirty
dly about her face. She would have been
n--that of catching vermin from the
in a manner not very conducive to

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

9: Hawes--274 1-5 (1901) 1903
116, 166, 177, 231, 433

"An example of the way in which the proxi
the conditions of life harder is seen in the fe
ways be allowed their liberty, and the fierce
the cattle of Russian neighbours—a certain c
the dogs have now to be fed, and their maste
To avoid this the natives migrate further afi

1. Dr. Pogaevsky, in a report on the foo
official Sakhalin Kalendar, 1899."

nity of the Russians incidentally renders
eding of the Gilyak dogs. These cannot al-
r ones are tied up, lest they should attack
asus belli. Accustomed to feed themselves
r's winter stores naturally give out sooner.
eld to less favourable fishing-grounds. (1)

od of the Gilyak, in the local and

251 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
262 stroganina.

food of the dogs.
231 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
252 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
262 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. When ever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus, old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.
262 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course, corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animals is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.
They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
262 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
272 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
515 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

333 windows have fish skin stretched over them instead of glass
342 panes. The simple, low door has leather straps instead of
354 hinges. There is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross bars on which lie or from which hang various implements, among other things a kettle which reaches to the front opening of the hearth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, consists of pressed clay; the larger houses have two of them. The smoke passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping boards, leads out through the side wall and ends in a high wooden chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and Manchurians have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom cleaned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the benches from below is a very practical arrangement. Even so, it is often very cold in the houses, especially when it is below freezing and there is a wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper opening of the stove and besides that, as we have said, a smaller kettle or cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests just in front of the front opening of the stove, right next to the floor. The logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit properly and burn outside the opening of the stove, which frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.
231 The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the
352 hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish, cloths, etc.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows, and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special
354 occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primi-
373 tive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp, or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.
513 In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

502 In general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has taught them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a storm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, they are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes them to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel overturns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed in straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since most of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes it happens not infrequently that someone perishes.
231 During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occa-
492 sionally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. Winter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of medium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short stump of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in general resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to six years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. It cannot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in driving they often become so and try to attack everything that comes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak usually turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they will not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that wander around the Russian villages have particularly good reasons to be afraid of these hunters.
493 The dog equipage usually has the following appearance: the
516 sled (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1. In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as narta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

narrow, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a knob to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak straddles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; he braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the sticks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the right direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap and two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are slung around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a loop at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog harnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are more like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, and a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have also modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

493 of long strips like the Gilyak's, but of boards and is enclosed
516 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the rider can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on to a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other. [117]
231 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are also
492 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur (driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if they are to turn right or left the point of the corresponding stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "takh", "takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy", slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals and their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of a dog sled is very difficult work.

484 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, or
492 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of fish and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which has a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on the journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to a sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled against each other, until the raging storm subsides. However, at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of escape is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. Such cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and on the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal of the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this seemed utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best lead-dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with the

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort who entertain the others with their song.

535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival, are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as a good omen.

527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water. The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those places that had their own bear festival and had already consumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the mainland at this time, although they themselves are well supplied with bears.

527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the softness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary.
They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans, since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very few in number and are carefully guarded.

752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks,
splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases
of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs, especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatics bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the indifferent thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment. They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the native ones.

231 Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal,
the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be related to the fact that among natives as well as among many Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is, for draft purposes.

101 edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's
142 observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thick-
101 ness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

361 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settle-
563 ments were particularly numerous along the shallow shore
166 of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these
226 had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along
231 this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live
133 there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

796 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their involuntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have
been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from
the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that
they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the
front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are
attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these
chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and
others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand completely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on
whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it
wants to attack its leaders.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also
fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside
this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had
a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, however, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the
track by their owners and placed next to each other, they
were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all
arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the
way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do
not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race
since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs
in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught
231 dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact that
437 only one sled races along the track at time; the test is, rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, which show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in understanding and following exactly the calls of the leaders, are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
541 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by the
322 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak succeeded very well in this attempt; others, on the other hand, were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, however with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of their luckier companions.

796 At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followed by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Then the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the village. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting
796 to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the bear
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parties would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his companions, and those that came after him would kick and jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, how-
796 ever, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding, scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He a beam about three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of the door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
533 eight girls and women who were provided with club-like sticks

343 These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

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342 The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles, knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

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257 It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

226 Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

● 231 There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

● 231 like a Pawnee concert. There were big dogs and little dogs, white, black, grey, brown, and yellow dogs, and not one friendly. They did not appear courageous, but I was not altogether certain of their dispositions. Their owners sought to quiet them, but they refused comfort.

These dogs had some peculiarities of those in Kamchatka, but their blood was evidently much debased; they appeared to be a mixture of Kamchadale, greyhound, bull dog, and cur, the latter predominating. They are used for hunting at all seasons, and for towing boats in summer and dragging sledges in winter. I was told that since the Russian settlement of the Amoor the Gilyak dogs have degenerated, in consequence of too much familiarity with Muscovite canines. Nicolayevsk appeared quite cosmopolitan in the matter of dogs, and it was impossible to say what breed was most numerous. One day I saw nineteen in a single group and no two alike.

ABOUT FULL.

609 Near the entrance of the village an old man was repairing his nets, which were stretched along a fence. He did not regard us as we scrutinized his jacket of blue cotton, and he made no response to a question which Borasdine asked. Further along were two women putting fish upon poles for drying, and a third was engaged in skinning a large salmon. The women did not look up from their work, and were not inclined to amiability. They had Mongol features, complexion, eyes, and hair, the latter thick and black. Some of the

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men wear it plaited into queues, and others let it grow pretty much at will. Each woman I saw had it braided in two queues, which hung over her shoulders. In their ears they wore long pendants, and their dresses were generally arranged with taste.

When recalled by the steam whistle we left the village and took a short route down a steep bank to the boat. In descending, my feet passed from under me, and I had the pleasure of sliding about ten yards before stopping. Had it not been for a Cossack who happened in my way I should have entered the Amoor after the manner of an otter, and afforded much amusement to the spectators, though comparatively little to myself. The sliding attracted no special attention as it was supposed to be the American custom, and I did not deem it prudent to make an explanation lest the story might bring discredit to my nationality.

825 middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On f
days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of cou
796 is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day
rives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the fest
by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremo
carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbo
and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off
spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make
who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of th
ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked u
a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear w
more gentle in his manners he might become a household
among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, es
ially where there are small children.

231 Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats,
high price of cats confining their possession to the weal
825 Cats have a half-religious character and are treated
great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the sup
439 is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants u
to bring only male cats that could not trouble themsel
about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred rou
for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the M
jours kept the market good.

756 The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern A
are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the
753 ble function of priest and doctor, ministering to the phys
and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is ta
sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and
shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a dist
spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a
ticular manner. While practicing his profession the sha
contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls w
than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fanta
manner and beats a tambourine during his performance.
accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates
voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his

[231] 14 APPLIED ANIMAL SCIENCE—practical and scientific knowledge about animal husbandry; veterinary science, specialists in diseases of domestic animals and disease control; scientific breeding of animals, artificial insemination, [232] [illegible] breeding, [illegible] breeding and breeding of meat animals; veterinary services and [illegible] — See also

[illegible]

[233] *FATM*

The dogs of the Gilyak are of the same breed as the draft dogs distributed throughout Siberia and over North America with the Eskimos: wolf-like, long haired, with short, erect ears, and of all possible colors, black, white, brown, fox-red, mottled, and especially often of a striking pale yellowish-grey color. The Gilyak dogs are small in comparison with the dogs of the polar regions of eastern Siberia, of the Iaka *Yrsaul* and Indigirka regions, or even with those of Kamchatka as they were formerly [234] and still occur in isolated specimens (1). Nothing is done among

[235] 1. In the summer of 1884, Dr Peter-Paul Herber, I saw two extremely large dogs which had been brought to the governor from the interior of the province. I measured a still young, not quite fully grown animal likewise belonging to the large, old-Kamchatka stock, which was 11 decimetres long from the nape of the neck to the root of the tail, four of which was the head and neck to the withers, and at the latter seven and a half to eight decimetres high.

the Gilyak to improve the breed; they neither convert especially large and strong individuals into stallions nor use, or care and care for the whelps afterwards. A circumstance greatly contributing to the maintenance of this breed of dogs is the bad treatment that they give the bitches. They do not use them for harnessing, and so they thoroughly do not give them the same amount of food as the male dogs. Whereas the latter, insofar as circumstances permit, are fed with great regularity, daily in winter, every other day in summer, the former are excluded from these meals and in winter receive only a little food from time to time, just enough so they will not starve, but in summer no one concerns himself about them and they are left to find all of their food themselves. One therefore sees lean, wretched and emaciated, slinking around the yurts and in them and greedily snapping at any scraps.

[236] *Ainu*

[237] *Ainu*

[238] *Ainu*

[239] *Ainu*

[240] *Ainu*

[241] *Ainu*

[242] *Ainu*

[243] *Ainu*

[244] *Ainu*

[245] *Ainu*

[246] *Ainu*

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[250] *Ainu*

[251] *Ainu*

[252] *Ainu*

[253] *Ainu*

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[255] *Ainu*

[256] *Ainu*

[257] *Ainu*

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[287] *Ainu*

[288] *Ainu*

[289] *Ainu*

[290] *Ainu*

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[292] *Ainu*

/396 cont./

I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all the more a coat made of six skins of this kind, has so high a conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese concepts. In any case the lynx skin has a considerable real worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and so it is used by the Gilyak like lynx furs for coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not possess for their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions of this sort must therefore come into play here. In view of the conditions and trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the highest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne. For example, the skin of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the Chaje cuhsiers carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

2. Tobacco bag, Dzisangje Seine near China (A Tsewer-yew Trip to China, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 58.

/397 cont./

(flap, through which the head may be much outside of its covering if necessary (1).

1. On the hand coverings of the Tungus and of the Russian in Siberia the flap for sticking the hand out has no protective flap; on the other hand, it is present on the dog-fur coverings of the Orochi of Hadshi Bay.

The Gilyak never have a hood hanging down the back between the shoulders on their fur coats for protection for the head, as is customary among all the tribes in the Northern peoples, Kamchatkal, Koryak, Chukchee, Eskimo, even Tungus, and so others. Instead, the neck and head have special articles of clothing. For the protection of the head there is made of the half-fur of squirrels (Gilyak tolgi, Fl. XIX[7]) an oval and a semicircular piece, which are sewed together, and also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not possess for their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions of this sort must therefore come into play here. In view of the conditions and trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the highest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne. For example, the skin of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the Chaje cuhsiers carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

and at the front corners has either two bands (as in the pertinent illustration, Fl. XXI, Fig. 1[8] for tying it under the chin, or only a single band connecting the inner corners of the two corners

See Category 16, Pp. 999, 998, 1000, 1002, 1001 respectively—Analysis

/398 cont./

band mentioned is first brought under the chin, and then the cap is pulled down over the head. The cap is sewed together at the edges, which, standing out in front and on the outside, also form the edging. The outside consists of either the same kind of sealskin throughout or various pieces of fur not infrequently put together artistically and carefully. /399/ For example, the tom-fish of a Tschoni cuipsa also valued one in Nikolaiewsk, which is illustrated on Fl. XXI, Fig. 1, was of this type. The upper middle piece of this cap, based on the pattern, is made of sealskin, the white sealsoccur in it are of short-haired dog-skin; the edging, separated from the middle piece by a blue band, is made up of three pieces, the front piece being of sealskin, the two, consisting of the fox fur emerging from the inside, but at the bottom the cap is trimmed all around with long-haired white dog-fur. This trimming, by the way, is not lacking on the less elegant, indeed even on the simplest fur-caps of the Gilyak and gives them at a special, particular value. The long-haired white or gray hair of the cap reaching down to and the neck, the more beautiful it appears in the eyes of the Gilyak, just as it is in the eyes of the Haimen on Kamchatka trimming the fur coats, which might have been coarser or fine skin, all sewed with long hair, which, was always regarded, as Steller puts it (1), as the "greatest

1. Steller, Beschr. von Land Kamtschatka, p. 138.

ornament" of them. This trimming on the caps, by the way, may offer some protection for the neck against wind and snow. The cap is made in severe cold the Gilyak wear several undergarments under the fur coat. In particular, immediately next to it, for example, in Nikolaiewsk, there is a kind of cotton material or of cloth, the so-called nikiby in Gilyak, a garment somewhat of Chinese cut, which they wear in cold weather or on walks without a fur coat, with only the tulp around

/399 cont./

and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2). The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata) adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is by any authority in shape, silent in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Fl. XIX[9]). Usually a second knife is also worn at

5. On Fl. XVIII[10] one never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the ul-jibakho (Fl. XVII, Fig. 4)[11] quite indispensable to the Gilyak, which usually, just like the tinder-box, wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring at the lower end. It is always inserted in a form sheath made of Angelica root or of wood or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The ul-jibakho is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as elaborate articles of all of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinsô reports about them. It is, on the contrary, in the

/396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as

1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Ô-tsin ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's work, p. 205.

the above-mentioned kettle is the fire apparatus: a container for the tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak nchunjak, Fl. XXVIII, Fig. 1), or is elegantly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (5), or a box (Gilyak mlo, ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of Chinese cut, which they wear in cold weather or on walks without a fur coat, with only the tulp around

p. 189, of the present work).

See Category 16, Pp. 999, 998, 1011 and 1008 respectively—Analysis

/396 cont./

Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a fish, which is sewed together beforehand for the purpose and later hardening like wood: on the Amur out of the skin of the tshilbatsche of the Gilyak (Salmo lycaodon Pallas), Sakhalin out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the northern part of the island of Sakhalin and called ojiro by the Gilyak. The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be inverted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that, after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper piece can be lifted off the lower one. On the inside there, the steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain (Gilyak, yaxi, Fl. XXVIII, Fig. 2) or is sometimes replaced by a bone tip (ibid., Fl. XXIX, Fig. 3) sometimes there is also found on this a bent, little iron ring pointed at the bottom (Fl. XXVIII, Fig. 1 and 2), which, as it can be easily separated and used for all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap, at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc. [The instrument (Gil. tsekki) is not infrequently also made of bone or horn, and as insignificant and unessential as it is, it is not also of Chinese title, on which gay-colored dragon figures (Fl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, and there is which the steel is represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fur

1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragon on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, are only allowed to have four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des ven l'Empr. de la Chine

/397 cont./

(1. (comp. Ch. Gaubil, Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, Paris, 1781, p. 237 (Lettre à M. Bréy, Paris, year VI, Vol. II

/482 cont./

493 all along the horizontal middle piece, with mountings, or rather,
192 if one thinks of the considerable length of the latter, with a
second pair of soles, the protective soles (Gilyak motass), b
in the illustration), which are fastened by means of wooden pegs
and, at their sharply reduced ends, also by means of leather straps
to the main soles. The sole-mountings are usually likewise of
wood and can easily be replaced when worn out. In the spring,
237 however, when the snow melting in the sun sticks to the wooden
sole and makes travel very difficult, instead of the wooden mount-
ings, some made of whalebone are fastened to the sled, or the
wooden protective soles are covered with a whalebone plate, as
I have seen on several occasions, especially on Sakhalin, where this
material is more readily available (1). A very characteristic feature of the

237 1. As was discussed in the first volume of
493 this work (p. 193), these quite long whale-
192 bone plates come from a kind of whale which
171 the Gilyak call kalm and which presumably
136 is Balaena australis Desmoul, but as a rule
the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw
or the ribs of Balaenoptera longimana Rud.
(Gilyak keng), the one most frequently stranded
along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even
among the Russians in Siberia bone or whalebone
mountings are often used on the sleds, espe-
cially for travel over sea ice which is covered
with salt crystals that have separated out
(Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i po
Levod. moriu /Journey along the Northern
Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/,
Vol. II, p. 238). According to information
given by A. Schroot in the Leipziger Tageblatt,
237 bone sled-mountings (sled-runners), as well as
bone skates, were formerly used in many
regions of Germany, for instance, in
the province of Brandenburg, in several
Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut,

/482 cont./

237 1. (cont.)
171 etc., and such bones have been found a
number of times in excavations in
Scandinavia, on Iceland, on the Zealand
Islands, in Friesland, Pomerania, in the
March, in Moravia, and even in the pile
dwellings of the Swiss lakes (St. Petersb.
Zeit., 1880, No. 58).

493 Gilyak sled is that when it is equipped with the protective soles
and is placed on firm level ground, the latter is touched by only
a small part of the sole, equivalent to about one-quarter of the
total length of the sled, while the two ends rise to a considerable
height above it. For example, in the case of the specimen meas-
ured by me, their distance from the ground amounted to one foot,
493 ten inches. Between the two ends of the thus shallowly arched
192 soles run, as sinews, the two longitudinal side-bars (Gilyak kigi,
c in the illustration) of the sled, which form the frame of the very
shallow sled-basket serving as a seat and for holding effects. They
rest on several thin little supports (Gilyak ich, d in the illustration)
set into the soles from above, and their ends, moreover, are con-
nected with the soles by means of a perforating wooden crosspiece
493 (Gilyak kemghi, h in the illustration). The ich, of which a/483/
Gilyak sled of regular size, like the one illustrated, has five on
either side, a smaller one only four, are rather wide and solid at
their ends, somewhat reduced toward the middle, and their posi-
tion and distance from one another and from the ends of the sled
likewise seem to be standardized by quite definite proportions. If
there are five of them, the middle one is exactly in the center of
the entire length of the sled, all the others are at a distance of
1' 10" from one another, that is, at precisely one-eighth of the
sled's length, and the distance of the two outermost ones (the
front and the back ich) on either side from the sled-ends is double
that, therefore 3' 8" or two-eighths of the length of the sled each.
The sled touches level and firm ground only with the part of the
soles which is found between the two supports standing next to the

493 /483 cont./
exception of the curved pieces of wood at both ends of the sled,
192 which are made out of the particularly flexible wood of the black-
824 alder tree, and the bottom of the sled used for sitting, which is
either likewise made of black-alder or of willow switches.

/484/ As is to be seen from the above description, lightness
is the basic characteristic of the Gilyak sled: it has no iron at all
and throughout is made only out of thin, carefully selected and
fitted pieces of wood also fastened together in part by means of
straps. It owes to the resulting flexibility its ability to withstand
even rough trails such as the forest or the river and sea ice all too
often present to it. It is not suitable, however, for carrying much
baggage and heavy loads. In this respect it falls far behind the
Russo-Siberian narte. This, generally provided with larger di-
mensions and wide soles, rests on the same principle as the ski,
the distribution of the load over the largest possible surface and
the greatest possible elimination of friction-resistance in move-
ment, for which purpose, before a trip, the soles are provided with a
thin layer of ice with a damp cloth, which to a certain extent sub-
stitutes for the fur covering of the ski (1). The narrow soles of the

1. The above-mentioned covering of the sled
soles with bone or whalebone plates serves
the same purpose.

Gilyak sled encounter only a little friction-resistance and therefore
do not need the ice coating; on the other hand, it does not allow
for a distribution of the load over a large surface and hence, even
with a small load, cuts too deeply into the snow to be able to glide
along easily. In accordance with its lightness and small size, the
Gilyak sled has little space for baggage, for the basket designed
for it is, as was pointed out, very shallow, only as deep as the
wooden longitudinal side-pieces rise above the switches forming
the bottom of the sled, and this is very little. To prevent the
237 baggage from falling off, a cover made out of fish skin (Gilyak
mytsch) is first spread over the bottom of the sled, the baggage
is placed on it, wrapped in it, tied crisscross to the sled with a
long strap.

493 /484 cont./
long strap. If a longer trip is undertaken, a few of the most
necessary weapons, a lance or a bear spear, are stuck under the
strap. In front, approximately above the outermost ich, a saddle-
192 shaped hollow is left when the baggage is loaded, which, covered
237 with a piece of fur (Gilyak tyws) (2) likewise fastened to the sled,

104 2. The s here is soft, pronounced like
the French z.

and, to be sure, a piece of fur from either a bear's head or an
elk's head (Gilyak kotr-ngar-tyws and toch-tschongr-tyws, re-
spectively, serves as a seat for the Gilyak going on the trip, who,
with small ski on his feet, sits astride it (see Pl. XXXVII /see
p.1017/).

192 The Gilyak dog-harness is very simple and primitive: to
192 the above-mentioned long guide-line (Gilyak nygtsch, Pl. XXXVI
237 /see p.1016/, Fig. 2) plaited out of seal straps are fastened, at
regular intervals and alternating from one side to the other, seal-
leather neck-bands or collars (Gilyak chall) of the form shown in
Fig. 3 of the last-mentioned plate, and such a one, but without
the movable iron ring, is also attached to the end of the strap
(Gilyak lat) serving as an extension of the guide-line. This latter
/485/ neck-band is pulled over the head of the lead dog, the others
over the other dogs, and the team is ready. The harnessing of
the dogs, therefore, is the work of only a few minutes among the
192 Gilyak. On solemn and festive occasions, such as matchmaking
trips or the dog races arranged during the bear festivals, and the
like, instead of ordinary collars the dogs get elegant ones with
high-standing, Chinese horsehair braids and tassels made of red-
dyed sheep or goat wool, the so-called rüssk of the Gilyak, like those
illustrated on Plate XXXVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5. The ac-
companying woodcut serves to show the way in which such a collar
is put on the dog. /Illustration appears here./ The chief dis-
advantage of the Gilyak harness is that the dogs have to pull with
their necks, and, with great exertion and in violent excitement,
they all too readily choke themselves. In this it is far behind the

/544 cont./
880 bartering with them. Tschomi plays the same role in the south-
225 ern part of the Amur-Liman that Langr does in the north. In
184 particular the small group of the Hagimif Islands is one of the
361 localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the
mainland Gilyak living adjacent to it. In order to hunt seals,
however, the enterprising Tschomi Gilyak also go south of the
Amur-Liman into the Mamia-Rinsô Strait and to the northern
end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of
Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Poghobi,
for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-
Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth
of the Amur River, at Tschcharbach, Ngale-wo, and Pronge,
where in particular the small island of Ulsut is an especially
favorable spot for it.

225 According to the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the
136 Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception
of the "alch," Phoca equestris Pall., but the old animals are
said to go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the
younger ones go up farther. In any case, Ph. nummularis
Schleg., which in the adult state is called phghi-langr by the
Gilyak, gjäuchssa by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is
therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak.
225 One sees its more or less densely spotted fur everywhere among
237 them and used in all kinds of ways, for clothing, as was dis-
136 cussed in detail above, ski, bags, small pouches, etc. Scarcely
less important for them, however, is the kighitsch, the Ph.
barbata Müll., which is less common in the river and whose
thicker skin, with the hair removed, is used for making the
foot part and the soles on their boots, the dog harness, and the
225 straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to go about 60
versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy
and Plyi or Poron-ai (1), but as yet nothing is known about

113 1. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch
of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873,
p. 48.

the habits of the individual species.

/558 cont./

123 152 203 1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

411 191 In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin [192] punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees [824] or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley [192] on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113] 2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

411 239 53 In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

[104] 3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/559 cont./

411 239 [53] [192] [439] which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak 411 kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white 192 239 whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal) [283] is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku) [415] have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the 411 musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended 192 for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

G 223 [439] /565 cont./
article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers G [239] 411 [164] to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the 283 rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take 231 the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they 439 fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails G 231 there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors 439 on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with 114 raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, 136 Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which A 231 is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same 439 is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

G 325 191 /574 cont./
to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

G 714 [192] [239] The net armor (Gilyak kä-petsch) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole or short shirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 1), which is plaited with multiple strands of nettle-yarn cord, such as is also used G [239] for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone added here and there. The neck opening is trimmed with long-haired dog fur and has a button and a loop for buttoning it, otherwise the armor, pulled on over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on account G [126] of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak Mradamu in Ssabach, is 2' 4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 28 1/2 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the G [628] Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major feuds when, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like, a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found G 714 in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me 126 shows the signs of great age, and its aged former owner was of the 556 opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it new. Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragmentary and rusted Manchurian armor (1).

G 714 191 1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

Gilyak winter caps: 1 -- men's cap; 2 -- women's
cap made of Chinese silk material; 4 -- the sam

2: Schrenck--1001 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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XXI

everyday cap; 3 -- women's elegant
e made of lynx fur with sable trimming.

/469 cont./

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1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

276 415 (171) Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8)[z] and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily [237] [531] made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

276 574 The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. [439] I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

z [See category 116, P. 1014 — Analyst]

Ainu ABL

G 481 /474 cont./

As essential a service as the small ski performs, however, they are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they prevent sinking into the snow only in a very imperfect way, they are not very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they are not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expeditions and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.1015/). G [824] Like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as lakk-tschchar, i.e., ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provided

A 481 824 113

3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99; Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi out of ash wood (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, p. 128).

G 481 824 G 237

with a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made of sealskin, which, with the hair pointing toward the rear, is pasted as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebone or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of the ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps for

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Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

/683 cont./

534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

517 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the
533 sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw
534 forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

534

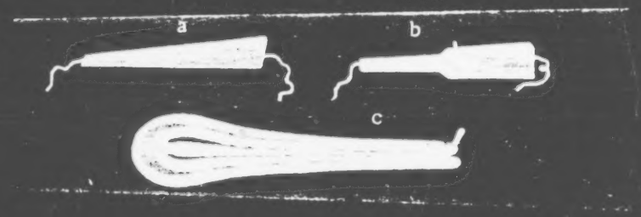

Gilyak jew's-harps.

517
533 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy.
534 And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.

/684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar
534 to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak tyngrsch, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-
[824] casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means
[237] of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

/710 cont./

*796 amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the
[541] day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the rive
[264] and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

*796 From all the houses of the village the people congregated
824 around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of
[291] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and neck
[237] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

*796 Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the
231 bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi-
[156] ment. Chusisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

Goldi RX3

/731 cont./

which were strung in a row by means of the Foramina vertebralia on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Goldi birch-bark bowls and baskets, such as are found also on the grave sites, of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur, they found a home there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them, determined chiefly by the different method of construction and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low, conical, snow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young fir trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ringlet-shaped, curled wooden-shavings (zach) hanging down from their crowns and from the branches of neighboring shrubs. Only when a bear has been eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it is put a bundle of wooden curls (zach) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk, Duĭ, Jwlk, Pud-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/732 cont./

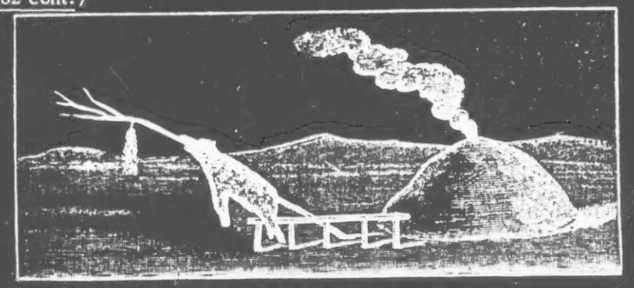

Bearskin hung up near the yurt.

If the head and leg pieces of the skin have already been cut off to be used as bowls at the bear-festival feasts, they are sewed back on the rump section on such an occasion, in order to make the skin look whole.

The narrow, low, and dark passageway leading into the earth yurt and the small entrance often closed only with a board that can be pushed in a horizontal direction instead of a door make it impossible to lead the bear in and out here, and in the interior of the yurt, taken up almost entirely by the hearth and the three sleeping-benches, there is no room for temporarily displaying even one bear, much less two or three (1). Thus this principal pleasure of the Amur

1. See the plan and the arrangement of a Gilyak earth-yurt, p. 452 of this work.

Gilyak during a bear festival must be renounced by their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin, in so far as there are only earth yurts there. The opportunity for this was first offered to the Gilyak when the earth yurts (toryf) originally customary among them even on the mainland, were replaced by houses built in the Chinese fashion (tschadryf), which in my day had already taken place throughout on the mainland, except for one earth yurt in Pättach, and to a large extent along the Liman coast of Sakhalin (2). At first, the conservative spirit which

2. See p. 469 above.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--229-230 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 241, 433

"If there were more friends of the Gilyaks like Mr. Pilsudski, who was a political exile on the island, they indeed might yet be saved from extinction. He recognized that their means of livelihood, hunting and fishing, were beginning to fail them, and therefore endeavoured to induce those who dwelt near the Russian settlements to cultivate potatoes and to salt fish. To the natives utterly unused to it, the work was extraordinarily exhausting; and one gave it up after two hours because 'his back ached,' while others eagerly sought permission to eat the seed potatoes! I fear, unaided and not followed up, [230] his efforts have failed, though after a great amount of persuasion he got several puds sown."

244

244 VEGETABLE PRODUCTION--gardening where differentiated from field agriculture; truck gardening; specialized production of particular root crops, leaf plants, or vegetable fruits (e.g., peanuts, potatoes, cabbage, beans, tomatoes, melons); special techniques and apparatus; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Preservation and storage . . . . . 251 Canning industry 255

Sakhalin

/350 cont./

Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent, have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows. They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently, iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single nail, though the Gilyak

[The western Coast]

/386 cont./ To make some money,

115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

246

246 FORAGE CROPS--specialized production of crops for animal fodder (e.g., hay, alfalfa, vetch); techniques of planting and harvesting; use of specialized tools, equipment, and machinery; organization of labor and production; processing (e.g., bailing); storage of product (e.g., in stacks, silos, barns) etc. See also:

Animal husbandry . . . . . 23 Barns and silos 343

1: Shternberg--501 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/350 cont./

177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
[372] and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
174 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 t
30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himsel
nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, th
hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal

324 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played
22 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, afte
[184] the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to trea
themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows o
guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bear
with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season
Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an im
portant part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autum
in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, return
ing from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sabl
on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen tree
which served the sables as crossings.

224 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th centur
[177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bo
[178] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel an
foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and larg
animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle
the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivk
had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths
some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russia
metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curve
adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and
forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces
massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the o
smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. T
887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harnes

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in the
462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparati
and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed t
skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed a
ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, d
the housework and took care of the dogs.

177 By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were qui
433 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collecti
production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impa
of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters w
lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks a
other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the incor
from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an i
significant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale a
sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fis
ing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 person
Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked duri
the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but
22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yuk
262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared w

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a somewhat different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages. 177 648 474

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol. [241] [231]

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resistance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes. [361]

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats (kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen. 177 648 226 474

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals. [22]

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die." 177 648 241 474

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%. [241] [433]

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed. [231]

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza. 177 648 474 361

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses. 177 648 474 36 [342]

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs. 177 648 474 342 353

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats. 177 291 [294] [292]

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi. 177 262 758 [143]

9: Hawes--158 [2] T-3 (1901) 19
116, 181, 241, 433

"The Gilyaks are veritable children of t
therein. Cultivation of the soil is unknown
the flesh of beasts that fall to their snares
obtain tobacco, brick-tea, etc."

he forest, finding their home, food, and gods
to them, and they live mainly on fish and
s. By bartering the skins of such animals they

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/766 cont./

764 bystanders to step somewhat farther back, and there a group of men, women, and children sat under a tree, watching the greedy flames which consumed their dead.

Nearby was the cremation site of an old woman from the same village, who had died not long before /767/ and beside it the raff belonging to it, still quite new (*). This was now to

* The little hut to the right on Plate LXV /p. 1265 /; between it and the pyre, the cremation site.

serve as the raff for the old man, and its door was opened so that the soul of the deceased, during the cremation of his body, would move into this domicile intended for it.

At the moment only the customary raff symbols, discussed below (53-55 /pp. 1233-1234 /), and a few bowls and vessels made of birch bark and wood stood in it. After the corpse is burned, however, and his soul has moved into the raff (for traveling on to Mlygh-wo), then the provisions of berries, fish, tobacco, and the like needed for it are also brought into the raff. -- When the fire had died down somewhat, the widow and a few men took long poles and pushed the burning wood closer together; they also threw on new wood in order to speed up the cremation. Soon nothing could be seen of the corpse except the charred stomach, which burned the slowest. The quantity of material burned and the fresh air of the forest prevented any unpleasant odor from being detected during the cremation of the body. The fire was maintained for a long time so that the body would burn completely to ashes, which are then scraped together and buried (on the spot). In the meantime the women, and among them the wife of the deceased, take up the slain dogs (**) and begin to skin

[237] [294]

** On Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, and on Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, three dogs are erroneously shown instead of two.

G 764 /767 cont./

[237] [294] [262] them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the sk The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eat but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally become booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the vill (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

Gi 764 152 49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right b of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that w some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I vestigated and saw a woman who sat there hunched togethe wailing, staring at the sky. I watched her for a while and inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in rep buike, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me her husband had died in the next village and she was lamen She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamen tion, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (I S.R. I

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

G 764

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following c cerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corps are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the g /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). T

G [114]

* See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustra Plate LXVIII /p. 1268 /, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r p nounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a linen-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the cente and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried the ground.

G [211]

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of 291
specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal 237
and elk skin, dog-fur, etc.

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; 302
they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids.

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly 114
interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State").

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there 614
were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs.

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship [60]
with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage.

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

7: Kreinovich--13 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 3. Pila-laŋr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
552
825

Pəγi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups: a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qrγər is the youngest of all pəγi.
2. Mat-γəski is the next to the youngest pəγi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-γəski-kəld; mat - 'smal,' γəski 'back,' kəld 'long,' little long-back.
3. Tje-γəsχəl last year's γəsχəl.
4. [illegible]at next in age to tje-γəsχəl.
5. Siusui-γa next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pəγi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Ta[illegible]a - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Ar-fk - next in age to taγarγa, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alχ.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored alχ and dalr - grey Alχ.

225 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
237 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (maχt) and two upper ribs.

225 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
782 "feed" it the root of the plant piskər. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orŋoχt."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muzγi. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave pər 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskər.

1 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
2 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

1 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

7 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
5 They cut the suet (ŋɔ̃ʔ) into pieces. They put the pieces into
1 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tóm) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (ta) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

3 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
2 hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

[93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmŋar can be easily

193 explained. In the same dialect there exists a word ja-jmnd
197 'to know' (to this word there corresponds in the Amur dialect the word jəjmd). In the direct object, which according to the rules of the Gilyak language merges with the predicate, the letter j alternates with c h. Thus for instance "I know Mizgun" sounds in Gilyak Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. In this way the verb jajmnd gives rise to the second form of the stem - hajmnd which exists independently of the first as a distinct word (just as the intransitive form of the transitive verb jajmnd 'to know') meaning 'to get old'. Hajmnd means 'to get old'. (In the Gilyak language intransitive verbs are formed out of transitive verbs by alternating the first consonant of the stem of the transitive verb.) In the Gilyak language "to know" and to "get old" derive their origin from the same stem and this is understandable for in the case of primitive man knowledge came with experience and so with age. We have thus explained the origin of hajm in the word hajm ar: hajm is derived from the intransitive form of the stem which, in this form, means 'to get old.' ŋ is the suffix which transforms verbs into nouns. We already know the meaning of ar. Thus the word hajmŋar means 'the knowing male' or 'old male.' The Amur hem is, of course, the same as hajm-ŋ in the Sakhalin dialect which change considerably in the Amur dialect. The disappearance of ŋ in it is understandable for the Amur dialect drops its final ŋ's as against the Sakhalin dialect which does not. For instance, 'horse' is murŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and mur in the Amur dialect, 'dog' is qanŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and qan in the Amur dialect. At present we find it difficult to explain why hajm became hem in the Amur dialect, contrary to the rules which would lead us to expect həjm as the counterpart of hajm; thus, həjmr instead of hemar. At any rate it is incontestable that hemar and hajmŋar have the same meaning and, accordingly, hemanχ means a 'knowing female' or and 'old female.' It is possible that at one time or another the Gilyaks meant by ar not only male but also man. This is quite probable for at present they use two words for man: azmət in the Sakhalin dialect and utku in the Amur dialect.

252 Hemanχ sat in squatting position at the trough containing
237 the heads of the sivuchs. The skin was taken off the heads of the sivuch right down to the level of the eyes. The skin on the snouts was untouched. First the old woman cut out the throat together with the tongue. Then she took out of the heqr kuti (?) the plant piskər placed there by the hunters. Then she pulled out the whiskers and put them in a separate cup. After

52 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
37 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-ŋək and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

62 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
84 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
12 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
52 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-ŋək.

11 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
77 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
52 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

2 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskər around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

241

241 TILLAGE--plants cultivated and their relative importance; special treatment accorded each crop; intensity of cultivation (e.g., brand tillage); clearing of land; soil preparation (e.g., hoeing, plowing); use of fertilizers and irrigation; planting; care and protection of growing crops (e.g., weeding, fencing, scarecrows); tools and implements used; economic importance, and adequacy for needs, of agriculture; organization of labor and production; distribution of products; agricultural beliefs, taboos, and rituals; etc. See also:

Agricultural tools and appliances 41
Annual cycle of economic activities 221
Landuse 311
Irrigation systems 312
Granaries and barns 343
Fertilizer manufacture 387
Manufacture of agricultural machines 392
Agricultural machines 407
Fences 417
Ceremonial calendar 796
Ethnobotany 824

Gi 262 33 226 [224] [439] Gi 226 184

/538 cont./

extensive trade relations, keep a smaller number of dogs than the Gilyak, their requirements for winter supplies of fish are not as large as among the latter. And naturally they spend less time and effort on obtaining and preparing them. Linked with these more or less purely quantitative differences in the salmon fishing of the Olcha and Goldi in contrast to that of the Gilyak, there are also qualitative ones inasmuch as the individual species of salmon go up the Amur and its tributaries in varying numbers and frequency and therefore vary in their importance for some of the dwellers on it. Salmo proteus, for instance, highly regarded among the Orochi, the Gilyak on the coast and on the Amur, and the Negda on the Amgunj on account of its mass migrations, very soon loses its importance farther upstream. To be sure, it occurs throughout the Olcha area and is said to go up the small river emptying near the village of Kada as far as the lake in its upper course; indeed, a fine-meshed net used among them, as well as among the lower Goldi, for catching smaller fish bears the designation oko-magda after it, but it was not named for me among the Gorin fish by the Samagir in Ngagha, and it is likewise not mentioned by Maack, Przewalski, and others for the Ussuri. On the other hand, another species of salmon, S. lycaodon, which is less important to the Gilyak, receives greater consideration among the Olcha and Goldi. Whereas it plays only a very subordinate role in the mouth part of the Amur River, in comparison to the great masses of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, between whose migrations it appears in incomparably smaller numbers, its appearance farther upstream comes at a time when there are relatively few fish, in that the former gradually declines and the latter appears later, and therefore meets a definite need of the river dwellers. On July 3/15, 1855, I saw the Olcha of Adi and in the days following also the Goldi of Köurmi and the adjacent villages upstream busily catching chelke or sselke, as they call S. lycaodon; not only did they feast on the freshly caught fish, but they also took advantage of the great schools in which they traveled for the preparation of supplies, which the Gilyak, as a rule, disdain to do with this species of salmon (their well).

G [226] Gi [227] G [226] Gi [114] Gi [251]

/638 cont./

586 material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

462 For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In general, the man only has to attend to providing the most important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it, make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods inso[illegible] as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries, roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

462 462 22 [251] 462 [313]

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
● [251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The
462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does
264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men
[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women
462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper
[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations
462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work
411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting
[517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/718 cont./

*796 just as it would be extremely uïtsch if one wanted to fry, not
252 bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for t
[784] bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be
[263] shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, towar
[782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice a were intended for the forthcoming feast.

*796 In the morning of the following day (January 29) the o
[887] men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The you people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in ad
● [251] tional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the wom had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the fest

*796 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 anim
231 which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. The
541 were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled colla and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was d by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by th women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ende without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled th Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, whi the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear f
252 into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) a fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads, and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take t down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the sa way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the mea time, more life and commotion had entered into these prepa tions for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

/25 cont./

man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact, these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals, the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish, pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds constitute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/382 cont./

In the evening of the day of arrival at the hunters' balagan, they make chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) to Pal-n'ngyvyn, the master of the mountains; the master says, "Az'nyr sikrd, urgur n'un'ujd, munkjd" -- "there are no more presents, make it so that I am not afraid, look after us well!" They make chukh-chugynd before a particular tree (uig-chkhar -- a taboored and forbidden tree); then they only feed the fire, saying: "Urgur in'ja, hiulan tugur mujd, pal'akh pong arguid -- eat well, make the mountain people take pity on us!" The fire may not be made by an alien kikhal. Only the master -- yz'ing -- may clean the fire, tugurmynd; /383/ the cleaning is done in the winter quarters in fall and in the summer quarters in spring; the rubbish is put in one place. Mos' for the fire is prepared also only by the yz'ing and his kikhal, but the sacrifice may be offered by anybody. On the first evening they make the sacrifice to the hearth: "Urgur in'ja pal'akh ponargja nula n'ivukh mungja" -- eat well, make the mountain take pity on me, make me a happy man!" Old takhej (trees with bifurcations) are stacked together, and new ones are made. Near the balagan there is an uig-takhej on which are hung sables, nooses, and so forth. The word to it: "Pal ponargja n'akh hiulan -- n'igyvyn mungja!" -- "mountain, take pity on me and make me successful in hunting the bear!"

Near the balagan is an uig-chkhar to which sacrifices are thrown merely with spoons -- no chkhnaj are made. They also feed kelnung an'kh (a bitch looking into a behind) and Lymyz'n mam.

Those who have arrived with the game hang it on the common takhej, where it hangs for several hours until it dries. Anyone from the same clan can take off the skin. The boiled head of a sable is decorated with inau, placed on sticks on the front part of the hearth, nearer the ponang (the middle plank-bed), and rice, puchka, sarana, and mos' are stuffed through the opening in the back of its head and through its nostrils; then the head is eaten by anyone who wishes.

When the head and the bones of the animal have been put together in chumashki, sacrificial dishes are prepared, and the bones

/355 cont./

the low threshold and soaks the floor when the snow melts quickly or when there are heavy rains. Even these dwellings, however, become impossible in summer because of the warm sleeping benches, which inevitably are heated each time food is cooked, and because of the above-mentioned vermin, and, finally, the catching of fish carried on in this season of the year requires the move into the summer dwellings, which are more favorably and conveniently located for it.

The summer dwelling of the Gilyak is of the same type everywhere, on the continent as well as on Sakhalin, and bears the same designation in both places: kkryf. The most striking exterior feature is that it rests on piles which rise four to five feet above the ground. Only at isolated points on the west coast of Sakhalin, south of the Amur-Liman, especially in Tangi, Choji, Arkai, and Dui, did I see summer houses set on level ground, but otherwise of exactly the same type, outside and in, as those resting on piles (1). The aim that the Gilyak have in

1. The large village on Nadeshda Bay at the northern tip of Sakhalin (Ngyvr-wo, see p. 467 above), which was visited by Krusenstern, had summer houses resting on piles. See his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 182.

in mind with this construction on piles is a twofold one: first, to protect their dwellings against inundations, since the Amur, as a result of prolonged rainfall, often rises considerably and floods the lower stretches of its banks; and then also to make the houses airier and drier by setting them not directly upon the damp ground but somewhat above it, with a constant flow of air under them and penetrating even into the house itself through the crevices in the floor; this is all the more necessary since part of the fish supply is stored in them. Both may also have been decisive for the Gilyak living along the seacoast, for there, too, depending on the locality, a sudden rise of the waters as a result of stormy winds must be reckoned with, and

/357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,

/357 cont./

yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

The above description also applies, apart from the specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a sort of antehouse is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter, one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite similar to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crossposles under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer,

1. A more detailed description of the treatment of the fish before they are dried, as well as of the use of the individual parts and the like, will be given later at the appropriate place.

/358 cont./ For the storing of the supplies prepared in Sum

there are special storehouses, which, however, since consumption takes place in winter, are always located beside the winter dwellings, and the supplies are carried to them as they accumulate.

The storehouses of the Gilyak (njõ, in the Tro and Tymy dialect njo) /illustration appears here/ appear at first glance to be very similar to the summer dwellings in that, like them, they rest on piles (on which the above-mentioned pieces of birch bark may not be absent) (2) and have the same kind of walls and roofs, inde

2. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 482) mentions that the Cheremis along the Kama and Wjatka, like most of the Kasan Tatars, put their sheaves of stored grain in round, pointed heaps above four piles connected by beams and covered

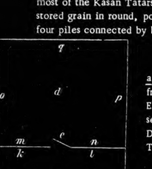

Plan of a Gilyak Storehouse (njõ, njo).

a -- Balcony-like sill on the front side of the house. b -- Entrance opening. c -- Front section, e -- rear section. c -- Door between them. f to q -- The eleven wall surfaces.

with bark, which makes them inaccessible to mice.

even the same balcony-like sill on the front side, to which one climbs on a thin, notched beam, which can easily be taken away; but even the largest of them are always smaller than the latter, and the entrance is likewise lower and narrower, indeed, sometimes

/426 cont./

SS 262 (in that they more or less provide merely a kind of accompaniment,
171 and to be sure, they are either the wild, natural products of the
25 country, which are simply gathered, some cereals and vegetables
obtained by trade from the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese,
SS Japanese, and, more recently, Russians. The individual peoples
[184] of the Amur region primarily differ from one another as far as
food is concerned only in that fish among some or meat among
others is the principal food, each according to their principal occupation, and furthermore the proportion of plant food to animal
food differs for each one according to their greater or lesser communication and trade relation with the Chinese or Japanese.

Among all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are
G *262 the most pronounced ichthyophagi. One cannot imagine their
G life without fish; it is the condition sine qua non of their own
[231] existence as well as that of their only domestic animal, the dog,
which provides them with food as well as transportation and
G clothing. There is hardly a fish in their country that the Gilyak
G *262 would not, if necessary, use as food. But standing in the first
222 rank, of course, are those fish that, because of their seasonal
25 appearance in great numbers, make it possible to prepare the
large supply needed to last through the long winter when fish
are scarce, hence the species of salmon coming up the rivers
from the sea, among which, in turn, Salmo lagocephalus Pall.
(Gilyak hyghl-tscho, or on Sakhalin lagu-tscho) and Salmo
proteus Pall. (Gilyak /426/ tengi-tscho) play the principal role (1).

G [104]

1. In all of eastern Siberia to Kamchatka
and northwestern America, the Russian terms
for these two species of salmon are keta and
gorbuscha; hence in the following I shall re-
fer to them occasionally as keta and gorbuscha
salmon.

At the time when these fish come up into the lower Amur and
its tributaries, which falls in June for S. proteus, in August for S.
lagocephalus, an active life prevails among the Gilyak, for
everyone is busy with preparing supplies of fish for the winter.

/426 cont./

*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the later species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[142] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
[142] side and on the belly side with the tschomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1 3/4),
and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head;
then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the
meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them
is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper
end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[190] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is
the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term,
probably originally stemming from Kam-
chatka, customary among the Russians
throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried
fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and
Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it,
which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying
it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for
the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalongi of the Olcha and
[258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which
provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders
and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror
by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe
is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
262 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
252 (Gilyak weli), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[226] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longi-schi), Salmo
leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out
2/3 (See Category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively—Anakes)

/431 cont./

*262 1. (cont.)
[113] topograf. Sbom., St. Petersburg, 1870,
p. 13).

[114] the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen
[231] them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like
*262 the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw,
252 whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even
preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a
general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat,
a superstition I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for
whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first
sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "ultsch, ultsch" (un-
lucky) could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to
●[251] finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they
[171]

2. Steller (op. cit., p. 323) also points
out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak
that they do not like frying, in contrast to
the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut
in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from
it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their
supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from
its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of
many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as
fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this
ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the
closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the
food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the
other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important
*262 and precious foodstuff to almost the same extent. It is the white
136 whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak gomi-tscho), which,
with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

/438 cont./

*262 Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the
Gilyak is far behind. In the first rank here, because they are
generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the local,
wild, natural products, many kinds of berries, small tree-fruits,
tubers, herbs, algae, and seatang. All of these vegetable foods
[252] are eaten only as accompaniments to animal food or mixed with
[137] it and made into various kinds of dishes. The bilberry, Vaccinium
vitis idaea L. (Gilyak myghr-ah (?), or also /439/ simply called
[104] 7. The j is soft in pronunciation in this
word, like the French z.

ah, i.e., "berry") (1), in particular stands first among them with

[192] 1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east
coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry itkt or
paghla(n)-ah, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold uses and
the tastiness that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the
222 fall great stores of this berry are put up for the winter. For this
[221] purpose whole families, but in particular the women and chil-
dren, go into the woods, especially up the small rivers emptying
into the Amur or Liman. At a convenient place there a tent or
merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected,
in front of which a fire blazes, and the whole time is devoted to
the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayevk post,
on the Kamr and Litsch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such
families picking berries. The berries are poured into large,
●[251] birch-bark bags and baskets and brought by boat to the house,
where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a
frozen condition in the storage chambers. The Gilyak around
Nikolayevk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of
their own needs throughout the winter, they also supplied the
262 Russians there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil
*262 and stirred, represent the whole of the customary accompaniment
for the fish, especially jukola, diet of the Gilyak. Moreover, they

/440 cont./

*262 (Gilyak tym-ah), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but
[137] does not replace the former two in the moss). Other berries, too,
such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L.
(Gilyak edeni-ah), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not
important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called
[192] hitrynch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin
pilj-ah, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113] 1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the
Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn
called pilja-iatsch by the Gilyak there;
see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande
und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the
Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/"
(Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb.,
seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp.
213, 215).

●[251] Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I
[258] repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the
kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to
a mush which is eaten with spoons.

*262 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the
252 Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits
264 of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrr),
[142] the primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by
[137]

2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding
[192] trees are called tassi (Prunus padus) and
chim (Pinus cembra, pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the
252 kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is like-
*262 wise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this
[198] connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and,
with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

/441 cont./

252 prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe,
*262 finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The
[137] Gilyak also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially
reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chitwyrk) (3), and
[192]

3. Among the Olcha: chity.

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwlch, and, to be sure, distin-
guished as kana (white) and piula (blue) tschwlch), for food by
making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vege-
[137] table food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they
call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak putsch).

4. Glehn, op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the
same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants,
in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, where-
upon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white
[192] color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in
[101] small stocks for the winter, which they may have learned from
●[251] the Ainu, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Ainu busy at it and
annually send whole shiploads of dried and artificially rolled up
Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

*262 While the natural vegetable products discussed above are
443 of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are avail-
[171] able to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though
not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the
greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of
scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies
of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation.

/528 cont./

226 The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular
the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its
tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy
matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the
Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves
onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply
with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or
pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and
●[251] children participate in this work, and within a short time one
[258] boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the
previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting
up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken.
[142] While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more
new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn
across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the
whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as
[142] the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where
fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending
fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets
suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen,
in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream
toward the ascending fish and draw up the fish that they may have
one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two
men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some
distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with
the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in
the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently
filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about
and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in
order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces,
226 drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are
given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight
differences in shape and the manner in which they are used
and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species
of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size
[192] of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

equent intervals with the evergreen pine, rivalled the October hues of our New England landscape. Hills and low ountains rose on both banks of the river and made a beauful picture. The hills, covered with forest from base to ummit, sloped gently to the water's edge or retreated here nd there behind bits of green meadow. In the distance was background of blue mountains glowing in sunshine or dark n shadow, and varying in outline as we moved slowly along. The river was ruffled only by the ripples of the current or he motion of our boat through the water. Just a year earlier descended the Saint Lawrence from Lake Ontario to Quebec. saw nothing on the great Canadian river that equaled the cenery of my first day's voyage on the Amoor.

Soon after leaving Nicolayevsk we met several loads of hay loating with the current to a market at the town. On the neadows along the river the grass is luxuriant, and hay reuires only the labor of cutting and curing. During the day ve passed several points where haymaking was in progress. Cutting was performed with an instrument resembling the hort scythe used in America for cutting bushes. After it vas dried, the hay was brought to the river bank on dray-like arts. An American hay wagon would have accomplished wice as much with equal labor.

The hay is like New England hay from natural meadows, nd is delivered at Nicolayevsk for six or eight dollars a ton. Cattle and horses thrive upon it, if I may judge by the conlition of the stock I saw. For its transportation two flatbottomed boats are employed, and held about twelve feet part by timbers. A floor on these timbers and over the oats serves to keep the hay dry. Men are stationed at both nds of the boats, and when once in the stream there is little o do beside floating with the current. A mile distant one f these barges appears like a haystack which an accident as set adrift.

We saw many Gilyak boats descending the river with the urrent or struggling to ascend it. The Gilyaks form the

249

249 SPECIAL CROPS--specialized cultivation of plants not classifiable under the foregoing headings (e.g., cinchona, indigo, oil palm, opium poppy, rubber, sugarcane, tobacco); techniques of planting and harvesting; use of specialized tools and equipment; organization of labor and production; processing prior to shipment or industrial use (e.g., curing, refining, grading); etc.

See also:

Manufacture and use of narcotics 27
Confectionery industries 257
Condiments 263
Rubber industry 383
Dyes 386

Goldi RX3
Southeast Siberia RX1

HM /467 cont./
276 Moreover, one may safely assume that, like the Daur and Manchu
17 in the Sungari region, the tribal relatives of the Manchu who were formerly distributed from the Sungari along the southern Amur River to far below the mouth of the Ussuri, approximately to the present Goldi village of Dondon, the Djutscheren, who lived in large farming and livestock-raising villages (4), also cultivated

4. See pp. 316 ff. above.

SS tobacco among other things. Finally, it must have also spread
Gi from the Sungari and from Korea to the upper Ussuri and down this
276 river to the Amur. There can be no doubt but that even before
17 the Russian military expeditions in the seventeenth century the Goldi had become acquainted with tobacco and its cultivation from the Manchu (Djutscheren) neighboring them, indeed, in part
SS even living mixed in with them. Even today, tobacco is culti-
Gi vated not only by individual Chinese living in the area, but also
[249] by them themselves, on the Ussuri as well as on the Amur, and on the latter, strangely enough, exactly as far as the dwelling sites of the Djutscheren formerly extended. For, going upstream, we found the first Goldi cultivation of tobacco in the village of Da, which lies on the right bank of the Amur, opposite the above-mentioned Dondon located on an island. Like the Goldi, the Orochi living on the sources and tributaries of the Ussuri also obtained tobacco in this way. Furthermore, the other peoples of
G the lower Amur region, the Olcha, Samagir, Negda, and Gilyak,
[276] in contact with the Goldi as well as with the Manchu and Chinese
[249] on the Amur and Sungari, must have also become acquainted with
Gi tobacco as early as the seventeenth century even though tobacco
[249] could not be cultivated among them because of climatic and
G other reasons. Finally, through the Gilyak and Olcha of the
Gi mainland tobacco also reached their countrymen, the Gilyak
276 and Orok of Sakhalin, whereas the third people of the island, the
17 Ainu, probably received it from /468/ another source, directly
G from the Japanese (1). Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had
SS
[192]

1. The designation for tobacco, as among

251

251 PRESERVATION AND STORAGE OF FOOD--techniques of food preservati
(e.g., drying, smoking, pickling, refrigeration, home canning); use of preservatives and special equipment; accumulation and storage of supplie and reserves; etc. Data on culturally elaborated or commercialized techniques of preservation and storage should be filed under the more specialized categories below. See also:

Granaries . . . . . 343 Warehousing 48

Hawes--207 T-3 (1901) 1903

, 171, 251, 262

"However unpleasant to the stranger . . . smoke-curing of
lasts may be, it is one of the few advantages that they ca
e latter is entirely dependent on a sunny season for the d
ould be rainy, then he will be in danger of starvation befo
sufficient accumulation of stores; for dried fish is bread
ring the long winter. The Orochon, on the other hand, af
. . . . . slices and cuts them up and cures them in the shelt

fish by the Orochons while
n claim over the Gilyaks.
rying of his catch, and if it
ore winter is over, from an
and meat to these tribes
ter hanging his fish to drain,
er of his hut over his fire."

9: Hawes--256-257 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 226, 251, 262, 731

"Fish being the staple article of food, the 'bread' of the G
is necessarily of great importance to them. The winter stor
generally consumed by December, and then comes the hard
arrival of the seals in April there is only one other visitant.
aeglefinus, or Vachnya), or in the Gilyak tongue, kan-hi. If
shore and gazes seaward, he will see black specks among th
the figures of men wrapped from head to foot in skins, and t
In their [257] hands are sticks with big hooks attached, and
coming to the hole made in the ice, and grabbing at the hook
a man has been known to catch as many as 300 in a day."

ilyaks, the summer supply
es of sun-dried kita are
time for them. Until the
This is the haddock (Gadus
one is sledging along the
e gleaming ice. They are
hey are hooking haddock.
the hungry and stupid fish
, is caught. By this means

0: Bush--103 T-2 (1865) 1871
16, 251, 354

Many of their houses are heated by a fire in the centre of the ro
leeping ranged around the sides, and a square hole in the roof f
hrough, while others have the fire in a kind of oven in one corne
being conducted entirely around the room, under the bunks, befo
chimney. This is in order to heat their beds during the winter.
afters overhead they frequently have hundreds of salmon curing
This is called 'ukale' by the Russians, and, when carefully prep
he woman as made 'em,' as Sam Weller said of veal pies--are

om, the bunks for
for the smoke to escape
er, the smoke and heat
ore escaping from the
Suspended to the
in the dense smoke.
ared--'and you know
quite palatable."

116, 251, 343, 412

"We came upon an old Gilyak and his wife, who sa
rakish knife, which is the men's hunting and 'gene
fish was split open, a nd with a short-bladed and
woman's fish and domestic knife (ungu dzhakho)—
cut from each side, leaving for remainder the hea
flesh adhering. All these were then hung up to dr
the 'village green,' or 'market-place,' of the Gily
sumption, and woe betide the Gilyaks if August (O
13 days earlier than the Gregorian calendar.] whi
prove a rainy month, for then only a small quanti
against the winter, and stores will give out early,
tunately, sunny weather [174] had this year attend
of sun-dried fish were hanging in rows upon rows,
strange-looking coffin erections, consisting of a s
forked stakes. These stakes were, in 'well-regula
pieces of bark, umbrella-shaped, to prevent the r

t slicing and cleaning kita. With a long
ral-purposes' knife (dzhakho), the
curved edition of the former—the
he kita was cleaned. Two slices were
d and tail and backbone, with some
in the sun, this drying-ground being
aks. The slices were for human con-
.S.) [LSS: The old style calendar is
ch is the chief season of fish-drying,
y of their staple food will be prepared
and many will die of starvation. For-
ed their efforts, and goodly quantities
to be eventually consigned to those
hort log hollowed out and perched on
ated establishments,' encircled with
avages of rats and other vermin."

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

251 able and have no occasion to consult the tastes or smell of others. The first time I visited one of their fish-curing places I thought of the western city that had, after a freshet, 'forty-five distinct and different odors beside several wards to hear from.'

133 Above Mariensk the Amoor valley is often ten or twenty miles mide, enclosing whole labyrinths of islands, some of great extent. These islands are generally well out of water and not liable to overflow. Very few have the temporary appearance of the islands of the lower Mississippi. Here and there were small islands of slight elevation and covered with cottonwoods, precisely like those growing between Memphis and Cairo.

GILYAK WOMAN.

The banks of this part of the Amoor do not wash like the alluvial lands along the Mississippi and Missouri, but are more like the shores of the Ohio. They are generally covered with grass or bushes down to the edge of the water. There are no shifting sand-bars to perplex the pilot, but the channel remains with little change from year to year. I saw very little drift wood and heard no mention of snags. The general features of the scenery were much like those below Mihalofski.

The numerous islands and the labyrinth of channels often permit boats to pass each other without their captains knowing it. One day we saw a faint line of smoke across an island three or four miles wide; watching it closely I found it

252

252 FOOD PREPARATION--processing of edible materials (e.g., grinding, cutting, mixing); cooking methods and techniques (e.g., broiling, roasting, baking, boiling, frying); use of special apparatus (e.g., mills, motors, earth ovens, stoves); use of cooking implements and utensils; recipes; associated beliefs and practices; etc. Data on culturally elaborated or commercialized techniques of food preparation should be filed under the more specialized categories below. See also:

Household implements and utensils	41	Meals	264
Slaughtering	231	Cookhouses	343
Manufacture of butter and cheese	234	Ovens and stoves	354
Condiments	263	Fire and fuel	372

/27 cont./

22 In spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/382 cont./

224 782 In the evening of the day of arrival at the hunters' bal hey make chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) to Pal-n'igyvyn, the of the mountains; the master says, "Az'myr sikrá, urgur n'i munkjá" -- "there are no more presents, make it so that I a afraid, look after us well!" They make chukh-chugynd bef particular tree (uig-chkhar -- a tabooed and forbidden tree) hey only feed the fire, saying: "Urgur in'ja, hiulan tugur m pal'akh pong argujá -- eat well, make the mountain people pity on us!" The fire may not be made by an alien k:khal. the master -- yz'ing -- may clean the fire, tugurmynd; /3 the cleaning is done in the winter quarters in fall and in the ner quarters in spring; the rubbish is put in one place. Mos the fire is prepared also only by the yz'ing and his k:khal, b the sacrifice may be offered by anybody. On the first eveni they make the sacrifice to the hearth: "Urgur in'jà pal'akh ponargjà mula n'ivukh mungjà" -- eat well, make the moun take pity on me, make me a happy man!" Old takhej (tree with bifurcations) are stacked together, and new ones are m Near the balagan there is an uig-takhej on which are hung s nooses, and so forth. The word to it: "Pal ponargjà n'akh n'igyvyn mungjà!" -- "mountain, take pity on me and ma successful in hunting the bear!"

Near the balagan is an uig-chkhar to which sacrifices thrown merely with spoons -- no chkhnaj are made. They feed kelnung an'kh (a bitch looking into a behind) and Lym mam.

[251] Those who have arrived with the game hang it on the mon takhej, where it hangs for several hours until it dries. one from the same clan can take off the skin. The boiled h [252] of a sable is decorated with inau, placed on sticks on the fr part of the hearth, nearer the ponang (the middle plank-bed rice, puchka, sarana, and mos' are stuffed through the ope in the back of its head and through its nostrils; then the hea eaten by anyone who wishes.

When the head and the bones of the animal have bee together in chumashki, sacrificial dishes are prepared, and

343 These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild ani-
685 mals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

342 The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping
415 goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles,
777 knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

257 It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

226 Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

231 There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves

"The river [LSS: the Amur] at this point
extensive plains of meadow-land burdened
on either hand, in the distance, faint blue h
the plains, and, in many places, extend to
clusters of foliage, the tasty though filthy C
near the sandy beach. One of these we cam
front of each house, upon the beach, were c
elevated, fancifully-carved prows, and all
natives toiling at their long seines, and str
that glittered in the sunlight like heaps of s
suspended on light poles under bark or stra
main until required for use, they being her
nance of both men and dogs during the long
bark and roots of various trees, constitute
though many of the more hardy vegetables c
they content themselves with the food that n

The river at certain seasons of the year
effort is required to capture them [90] that
that would adorn banquets in many places a

is nearly a mile in width, and flows through
with a rank growth of tall grass, beyond which
ills limit the vision. Patches of woodland dot
the river-bank, where, beneath the thick
Gilaks erect their picturesque habitations
ne upon shortly after leaving Marinsk. In
drawn up their odd-shaped canoes, with
along the shores we could see the bare-legged
ewing the banks with hundreds of fine salmon,
ilver. These fish are afterward split, and
w-covered shelters to dry, where they re-
e, as in Kamtchatka, intended for the suste-
winter months. Fish and berries, with the
almost the only food of the inhabitants, and,
could be had at the expense of a little toil,
ature showers upon them.
is literally alive with salmon, and so little
they are considered almost valueless. Fish
re here thrown to the dogs by hundreds."

stream. This fence is fish-proof, except in a few places where holes are purposely left.

The natives lie in wait with skiffs and hand-nets and catch the salmon as they attempt to pass these holes. I watched a Gilyak taking fish in this way, and think he dipped them up at the rate of two a minute; when the fish are running well a skiff can be filled in a short time. Sometimes pens of wicker work are fixed to enclose the fish after they pass the holes in the fence. The salmon in this case has a practical illustration of life in general: easy to get into trouble but difficult to get out of it.

GILYAK MAN.

For catching sturgeon they use a circular net five feet across at the opening, and shaped like a shallow bag. One side of the mouth is fitted with corks and the other with weights of lead or iron. Two canoes in mid stream hold this net between them at right angles to the current. The sturgeon descending the river enters the trap, and the net proceeds of the enterprise are divided between the fishermen.

It requires vision or a guide to find a fishing station, but the sense of smell is quite sufficient to discover where salmon are dressed and cured. The offal from the fish creates an unpleasant stench and no effort is made to clear it away. The natives and their dogs do not consider the scent disagree-

found Vanka and Armunka had the slices
e. Running into the forest, they had deftl
g off the leaves, and slitting them lengthw
fish, extended by two cross-pieces, the
th the green rind."

of the salmon already grilling in front of a
ly cut and prepared two willow twigs, strip
vise. In each of these was inserted a slice
slit-ends at the same time being bound up

vear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which re decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads re bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings hemselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of olored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden mulets representing human figures.

Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak ersonality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their ipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of lack horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth iece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is o larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone pike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe leaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk f walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and his is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as hey have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and obacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a ay. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or ursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, nly on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, e undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak akes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. rom an eyewitness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winer journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen turgeon in one day [110]

Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types f carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A reshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the almon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose he fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from he ground; by means of air currents they become a dried nonotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita rovides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears t the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored n a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

231 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
262 stroganina.

food of the dogs.

231 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
252 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
262 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. Whenever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.

262 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animal is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.

They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
262 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
272 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
515 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner. They cut the suet (ŋɔ̃ʒ) into pieces. They put the pieces into a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (taχ) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

[93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient

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are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the bear. The remaining beasts are signed kasik (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

During the hunting with nonnes (nochakhir ĉ'ŋŋundu), a woman must not sew anything sewn or pierced with a needle in her house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not salute any other hunting nonnes. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien man may take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If any person commits an offence against ☀ dog, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

/327/ Sakhalin, where nonnes are hunted, is called ŋundu, ĉ'ŋŋundu, or ŋundu. In Ishdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is being hung on the branches of this tree, so that the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a rite to shoot a wolves.

Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a ŋgr (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

Men in made twice a year (in summer after the salmon, and in autumn before the salmon). Men must eat unfailingly; all a great number of dogs owned (a minimum of four), and plenty of meat; and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be [illegible] Ishdam). In general a great deal is done for the sake of ritualism.

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Germans give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this. As recently as a generation ago wood was a valuable thing. /329/ Canoes and sledges were made of wood, and furniture was dear. Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire — a method used in burning the deceased. The Gilyak's attitude to wood is so much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their conscientious care for rewinge have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... *But ye or nature or the* to which their civilization stopped.

Fish, the staple food of the Gilyak, the basic food of the Gilyak is the ready products of nature — fish, fowl, berries, roots; he is yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating the creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak habitations are never where water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their ancestors knew pottery made of wood, clay, and stone. Knowledge of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the-most elementary form of pottery. Yet pottery, the sign of a feature of the culture, of "savages." Along with this, we have another fact — the training of dogs for sled sweat — a trait which raises them up step to the first stage of barbarism (so use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

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5. The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to Gilyak, Orochi, Ainu, and Japanese, is celebrated by the clan, even through /333/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is always brought in nonnes in the clan, but all the expeditions in connection with the festivals are covered by the clan-mates. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and are given, in the end, a very numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The bear, which is the totem of the clan, determines its character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a human festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real victory for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the celebration of the bear festival in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival. The ceremonial, performed, as it seems in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable. All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but to the spirits of the forest, which place in the winter "Pal'-ninak." It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor. In most cases he shows in the dogs, it cannot be eaten with meaningy, etc. "Pal'-ninak" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bear to bite especially hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, do not participate in the eating of the bear. The fire in the stove is which the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan priest. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

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While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, especially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy themselves with drying the entire catch on racks. A hundred-tail cut is made from the head to the tail, the backbone is removed, the head and one half of the body are left attached to the tail, and thereby a long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 5, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1) and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head; then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them is cut into two long strips, and each of these strips has a rib in upper end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is the yukola (?), the staple food of the Gilyak, which has a special character of the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a human festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real victory for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the celebration of the bear festival in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival. The ceremonial, performed, as it seems in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable. All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but to the spirits of the forest, which place in the winter "Pal'-ninak." It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor. In most cases he shows in the dogs, it cannot be eaten with meaningy, etc. "Pal'-ninak" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bear to bite especially hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, do not participate in the eating of the bear. The fire in the stove is which the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan priest. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

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campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not keeping the meat of the bear, which is considered to be a special kind of food, which is not permitted to be eaten by the Gilyak, but is given as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lygdi-ma and tangi-ma, always giving preference to the former over the latter, for them, in the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (?) —

3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 75) descriptions of the Gilyak's bear festival, which is the chief festival of the Gilyak tagoschphas, as the Gilyak call their bear festival —

2. As it will known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russian throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makant of the Olcha and Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it, which is prepared in a special way, is called the jukola. It is made in more readily, furthers the jukola used exclusively as food for the dogs. The jukola is the chief of the dogs of the Olcha and Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders and stomachs. The entrails and the milk, rejected with horns by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe is eaten and is used with various foods, among which it is especially prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall. (Gilyak yeŋ), which comes up the Amur regularly before the salmon, Salmo callarii Pall. (Gilyak longi-ŋdi), Salmo hucho (Gilyak ŋaŋgi), etc. The jukola made out

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(cont.)

Angelbis-Angel-Sachen-Sammlung für Ethnographie und Anthropologie (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersbourg, Vol. XIV, pp. 57-58) —

On March 6/18 1856 when we arrived at the village of Pechenkovsk at the mouth of the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish supplies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the natives would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But further up the Amur some are caught at particular times of the year, when the river is frozen, even in winter. In 1850 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post to ample with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tabki-nerka (?). In winter, it seems, it more common and lower river, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /329/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular, since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they [illegible] almost unknown to us. Although the Gilyak did not feed, in the winter, dogs much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which they caught in the Amur, is considered a special food, and, indeed they also make use of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the beer festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration; though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival. Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these fish; in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less tasty pieces and mixed with the fish-meal, which remains with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

/329 cont./

February 1856, thought that it occurred very frequently in the taiga of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

The traditional Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infrequently bring some pieces of chot-ucha to the Amur as a special delicacy.

Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habitation since antiquity on the seacoast where there are no river deltas or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greater importance to them is a fish which is found in the sea and in the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

Next to fish, which forms the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly in all the places in their habitation, they also eat, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as the Amur and its tributaries, most people live in villages, where they also have the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins is cut from the fish, then a second one, and finally the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chabi, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the tagiŋ-chabi and tangi-chabi. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating of them with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten without any accompaniment, placed on the sleeping bench of the yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

/320 cont./ Мыхоуфкъ

with regard to these and similar views, there are many local differences among the Gilyak villages. The Gilyak of Pechenkovsk at the mouth of the Amur, for example, when they catch the kangi fish, which is the most important food for the dogs, in the Limun, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschonti Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern coast of the island, where they spend the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more inhabited part of the Limun, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

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1. (cont.)

topograf. Shem., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 12).

the main use that they make of it, but on the Limun I have seen [illegible] the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even particularly fond of it. Nevertheless, the Gilyak, in general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, a superstition which is not shared by the Gilyak in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "ajhish, ajhish" (or [illegible]) was raised, and I was asked to stop it. It is more difficult to [illegible] the cooking (?). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

2. Steller (op. cit., p. 202) also points out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak that they do not like the fat, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices and with the skin attached, most popular of all foods among them is, which is in general very strong them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from the ordinary seasoning, as a medicine against all possible ailments, many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by the ingredient, which becomes more pleasant and more essential to closer study/comes to the Amur-Limun and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

1. Ed. Sperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Yomskoi. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Medito-

/A86 com./
been not be a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, without an ceremony. Such a thing would appear scarcely enough, however, if individual animals are starved or rendered useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1896, in the company of a few traveling Gilyak people and Tyrs (Orochi). In order to calm the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, three young dogs were strangled and commissioned, which was to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the tundra, a pot being added to the shiela soup for the dogs, and—characteristically enough—I saw the women occupied with sharp preparations into off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and had another little piece cut off of it as a charm, which women seemed to enjoy very much. On another occasion, in the village of Dul, I was a witness to the sacrifice of a dog in the company of Gilyak with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration belonging to a bear festival held there a short time before, taken of which were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of lovelals furnished by me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disembowled, the meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one animal wrapped in the pelts. /A87 Inside the yurt, the place between the rear sleeping bench and the bench, where the scaffold with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (b), was

1. The details concerning this ceremony will be found in the pertinent section specifically treated in this subject.

marked off by two pelts, one of which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of this, curly, crimped wood

/A88 com./
Compared with the animal food the vegetable food of the Gilyak is far inferior. In the Sea of Okhotsk, the Gilyak are generally accessible and can be had for nothing, are the lazed, wild, nature products, such as the roots, shoots, small sea-blade, lubet, berts, algae, and seaweed. All of these vegetable foods are eaten only as accessories to animal food. For the purpose of meal, the fish skins, from /A89 fish-skin or tanga-skin, are cut up in small pieces, well washed and stirred with fish oil to a mash of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance, like thick cream (pour

/A90 com./
are a popular ingredient in many dishes of the Gilyak, for example, in the soup, which, in the case of the people living on the Amur, is called mamy. This is a mixture of ground fish-skins, or lacking them, of chopped fish, with water and millet. For the preparation of mamy, the fish skins, from /A91 fish-skin or tanga-skin, are cut up in small pieces, well washed and stirred with fish oil to a mash of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance, like thick cream (pour

[104]

Ab, i.e., "berry" (1), in particular stands first among them with

1. The Gilyak from the Tymy and the east coast of Sakhalin call the bilberry ther or ther-ghi, i.e., "red berry."

regard to both the quantity consumed and its manifold use and the nutrients that the Gilyak find in eating it. Every year in the fall great stores are laid in for the winter. For the purpose whole families, but in particular the women and children, go into the woods, especially up the Amur from swamp into the Amur or to another place, where there are to be found merely a sloping protective roof supported by four poles is erected, in front of which a fire burns, and the whole time is spent perfectly settled the gathering of berries. In the vicinity of the Nikolayev post, on the Kamt and Lunch Rivers, I repeatedly came across such families picking berries. The berries are poured into large, bark-lined baskets and carried home. In the Gilyak yurt the baskets where, covered with grass, they are stored for the winter in a frozen condition as the supply demands. The Gilyak around Nikolayevk had so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs, they could sell a large number, they also supplied the Russian there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil (2) are stored, prepared, in the Gilyak winter, nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the dark dog does not at all stand in the chow, individual, and to a certain degree personal

/A92 com./
Gilyak tyn-ulch, is eaten with and in great quantities, but only in the season, in the summer, when the berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelarh, R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak ulach-ulgh, etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L. (Gilyak ghlyuvun), which is very common on Sakhalin (ghl-ulch, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the hazel tree (Ulg), according to Gilyak called ghlu-ulach by the Gilyak there; see Schrenk, "Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande" und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/ (Gotha: Perthes, 1881-1903), Vol. II, Sec. 1, p. 215, 215).

Gilyak. The hogs, gathered for storage in the fall, are, at I have seen, fed with fish, bread, potatoes, and mixed with seal-oil to a mash which is eaten with spoons.

Among the Gilyak, the most powerful chewing apparatus of the Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruit of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak ulch), primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by

2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding word is ulch-ghlu (Gilyak ghlu, potato) and chim (Prunus cembra, pumila).

/A93 com./
of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria tamuschkatschi Gmel. (Gilyak kaly) and of Allium ascalonicum Linn. (Gilyak nash), which are not so strong on cook and hanging in their vicinity, cooked, shortened the water was wrung out of the leaves in the Gilyak yurt, and, after being cooled, stored in the cellar. Nikolayevsk was so many of them that, beyond taking care of their own needs, they could sell a large number, they also supplied the Russian there. Bilberries, covered with fish oil or seal train-oil (2) are stored, prepared, in the Gilyak winter, nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the dark dog does not at all stand in the chow, individual, and to a certain degree personal

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/A95 com./
bandfish, like the salmon berries, without first crushing the kernels or even cracking the shells. The nuts, which, in fact, are a lime-wine not more a kind of cake is made out of them. In this connection the hazel nut is also mentioned and also appreciated on the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

/A96 com./
which among the Gilyak on the mainland is called kyn, on Sakhalin kyn. The kernels and shells of the nuts, the nutshells, too, are put in the bath to make them tender, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the most islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Sagi-oul (oul means island in Gilyak) (Sagi, Sagi-oul, Sagi-oul, which the Russian have extended to the entire Sakhalin group, and the peninsula Gilyak poroth).

2. The nuts given in the following are based on the findings that were made by Schrenck and Maximowicz in the "Prémière étude, Sagi-oul." St. Petersburg, Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1860 (Mélanges Biologiques, Tome III, p. 1 et seq.). Cf. also Maximowicz, "Diagnoses plantarum novarum Asiaticarum" (Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, Tome III, 1861, p. 1 et seq.). Cf. also Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Gotha: Perthes, 1881-1903), Vol. II, Sec. 1, p. 215, 216, 217.

/A97 com./
species of leeks (Gilyak hash), for the most part from Allium ascalonicum Linn. (Gilyak nash), on the mainland, and Allium ochotense L. on Sakhalin, are put in the bath to make them tender, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

1. Among the Gilyak: chim, a tree name, Cimus (Gilyak tschuch), and, to be sure, Cimus sylvestris (white) and pyrus (Mon) tschuch), for food by making soup out of them with the addition of fish oil or seal oil; a vessel, a pot, in which the nuts are boiled, which is the preparation of a kind of cake or small loaf of bread. For this purpose, it is first cut up into small pieces and then put through a work which the women accomplish by taking a mouthful of wood, cut off a piece, and, with the aid of a knife, it is needed ran into it. From this dough, flat, longish, or round small loaves are formed, cooked in water in the large kettle at the beach, and, finally, stored in the cellar for the winter. Gilyak: ghlu, potato, and chim, another dish which is very pleasing to the Gilyak palate by mixing the flour with the fish oil, which, in the bilberries or cranberries (Vaccinium vitis-idaea) (cowberry) and stirring this to a mash. Only the Gilyak who live on the Amur and Sakhalin, as well as the Tymy, are acquainted with this, according to Schrenck (1), for their part

2. Gilyak, op. cit., p. 215-216.

3. Op. cit., p. 98.

Imported it from the Japanese, who keep the Aino busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artifically rolled up Lart-leaves from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

The Gilyak, who live on the mainland, in contrast where are of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are available in great quantities, for example, in the Amur, Kamt, Pogibi, and Tymi, Lunch, Kamt, Pogibi, and Tymi, Lunch, Kamt, Pogibi, and Tymi, Lunch

/639 cont./

since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dog, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
*796 punision by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparation for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing baskets and -bags, and small boxes made from out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work even for a moment, whereas the men, upon his return from hunting or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/708 cont./

house alone. Hence it is quite understandable that during the
*796 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the
principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the
preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been men-
(B54) tioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the center area and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, unlike large quantities of fresh fir branches (from the Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twink) are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festival, which may be one of the attractions of homage which are given to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them. Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of burned pine needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.

*796 (B24) On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the
23 leading of the bears finally ceased. After they had made their
last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place
of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak,
and arranged and carefully bound there between the stakes standing in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again the same so that the small bear was closest to the building in the
*796 middle of the kadhra, the lingr, the large one in the middle, and
the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody
went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had
set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden trought, round
wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the
central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood
The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench
(B74) along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such
an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule,
it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

/716 cont./ At this unknown,
*796 after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation
(B52) of a toad (Gilyak mipitnch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from
the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see
the model, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the
adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to
represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig.
3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

2. In order to be seated, the figure concerned is movable in the hip and knee joints; the clothing, of course, is only very crudely and rudimentarily realized.

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in detail later.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the misfortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and
*796 (B88) (B89) (B87) (B88) (B87) (B87) (B87

/733 cont./
*796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

*796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.
*796 Since the hearth platform is raised up quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadyf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir
[192]

1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin,

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

*796 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of
178 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
355 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
184 from the center of each of the four cross-beams supporting the conical roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt. In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of
[171] them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau.

225 morning we returned to our village. We took everything out
and put it on the dock. Then we slept. Next day we got up
225 in the morning and called the people. We took off the head,
252 cut it up, fed the head to the people raw, (1) and cooked the
782

1. The Gilyaks call all raw food taig. The Gilyaks eat certain kinds of fish such as Siberian salmon and certain parts of seals and beluga raw.

parts designed for cooking as well as the jaws. After we cooked it, we took it out. Some ate the meat; others took off the meat from the jaws and ate it. Then we went to gather Hepsas. Then we brought it, cooked it, ground it and made muvi. Then we got some rowan shavings and sieved them (in the case of the beluga). Then we took the head; we took it to throw it out. Here we cut off a young tree. We cut off a forked aldera tree. We spread muvi over the shavings and in the nose of the beluga; we spread muvi on the holy bones. We stuck the tree through the ear-ring holes of the beluga, lifted it and hang it up here. Then we lifted the holy bones (jugular vertebrae) and tied them to the tree. We put down the jaws and pressed them with a stick.

Means of transportation and hunting:
1--river boat made of boards; 2--old dugout; 3--club for killing seal; 4--broke poles used in steering sled; 5--old dog-harness; 6--fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with

225 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
782 the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
252 boats and "feed the sea" out of muura ("scoops for scooping water of the boat"), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant aya, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fand [major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major feeding of the water'] is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.
225 For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
782 mos and muvi --one rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
776 sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
825 (a, a). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak--the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-skin bows (mam-r) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.
782 When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
225 Women are not present at this ceremony. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keyla- -ika twig and the other is a qosa -ika ("rowan twig"). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is
782 thrown into the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are
225 the uj-^ir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are
766
48

2. Uj-^ir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uj-^ir "should be lost" quickly--as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
452 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be
cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.
281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned
from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet
from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of
one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides
is very hard. Most of the time the women has to work in a
bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process
of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the hide, cleased hide
with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet
with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a
large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with
her right hand.
237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ga-) into pieces. They put the pieces into
252 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep
trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet
begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to
give a more detailed account of the process which takes
place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the
suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is
either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted
fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the
melted suet (ga-) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by
the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the
Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up
to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder.
Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.
888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanr, 'old woman,' was preparing
the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it
was Hemanr, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the
heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a
certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of
which are the old people.
193 [193] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanr
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common
the sound combination hem and differ in their respective
endings ar and anr. Ar means in the Gilyak language male
and anr ~ female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo
where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they
call an old man hajmnar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmnar can be easily

193 explained. In the same dialect there exists a word ja-jmnd
197 'to know' (to this word there corresponds in the Amur
dialect the word hajmd). In the direct object, which according
to the rules of the Gilyak language merges with the predicate,
the letter j alternates with c h. Thus for instance "I know
Mizgun" sounds in Gilyak Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. In this way the
verb hajmnd gives rise to the second form of the stem -
hajmnd which exists independently of the first as a distinct
word (just as the intransitive form of the transitive verb
hajmnd 'to know') means 'to get old'. Hajmnd means 'to
get old'. (In the Gilyak language intransitive verbs are
formed out of transitive verbs by alternating the first con-
sonant of the stem of the transitive verb.) In the Gilyak
language "to know" and to "get old" derive their origin
from the same stem and this is understandable for in the
case of primitive man knowledge came with experience and
so with age. We have thus explained the origin of hajm in
the word hajmnar: hajm is derived from the intransitive
form of the stem which, in this form, means 'to get old.'
-ja is the suffix which transforms verbs into nouns. We
already know the meaning of ar. Thus the word hajmnar
means 'the knowing male' or 'old man.' The Amur form is,
of course, the same as hajm-^ in the Sakhalin dialect which
change considerably in the Amur dialect. The disappearance
of -n is understandable for the Amur dialect drops its
final -'s as against the Sakhalin dialect which does not. For
instance, 'horse' is mur in the Sakhalin dialect and mur in
the Amur dialect, 'dog' is ga in the Sakhalin dialect and
gan in the Amur dialect. At present we find it difficult to
explain why hajm became hem in the Amur dialect, con-
trary to the rules which would lead us to expect hajm as
the counterpart of hajm; thus, hajmr instead of hemar.
At any rate it is incontestable that hemar and hajmnar have
the same meaning (Ayvatel'skii, Aleutskii, Aleutskii, means a
'knowing female' or and 'old female.' It is possible that
at one time or another the Gilyaks meant by ar not only male
but also man. This is quite probable for at present they use
two words for man: azmzi in the Sakhalin dialect and uku in
the Amur dialect.
Hemanr, sat in squatting position at the trough containing
252 237 the heads of the sivuchs. The skin was taken off the heads of
the sivuch right down to the level of the eyes. The skin on the
snout was scached. The old woman cut out the brain and put it in a separate
trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant
252 piskor around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout in the same way as the door
where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After
taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their
content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned
the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil
afterwards, she cut off the nozzak and put it in a separate
cup since it is eaten in raw form.
This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the
skull was broken by the strikes, she picked the bone splinters,
sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel.
Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown
into the sea.
262 [95] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
412 than an axe to break the skull, to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it
has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed
by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart,
the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the nozzak.
411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, also "knowing male" or "old man," the Amur form is,
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second
to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, it we disregard
the recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they
also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese
kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and
harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft
and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered
in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Ghilaiskiie chisllitel'nyie" ("Gilyak Numerals"). Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skii Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p.10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.
252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate
trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant
piskor around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

2 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.

3 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
7 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
8 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
4 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha.
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
5 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
3 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.

2 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
2 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
5 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of qosk-ʔəks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanγ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (maʔt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

116, 252, 262, 527

"The roe [LSS: of the s
into interesting looking w
to receive the blood from
the beginning of the sable
ing two years to our one),
made into a much appreci
for the dogs and the bear,
quisites while the operati
themselves in summer."

almon] is regarded as a great delicacy, and was being scraped
ooden vessels resembling a butcher's tray, which also serve
the slain bear at the great festival. On feast-days, such as at
and seal hunts, which inaugurate a New Year (the Gilyaks hav-
the roe is mixed and pounded with whortleberries, etc., and
ated mess. The tail and head-pieces of the kita are intended
and the former came in for a few bits of fresh fish as per-
ons were going on before us, though for the most part they feed

51 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
62 stroganina.

food of the dogs.

31 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
52 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
62 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. When ever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus, old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.

62 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course, corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animals is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.

They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
2 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
2 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
5 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chi
eaten as a porridge or in soup. Th
bread, but both are more expensive t
they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their fa
berries, raspberries and black alder
for the winter. In bad years, when th
they gather and consume great numbe
cially cedar nuts, as a substitute for
ishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much
of course, only the commonest variet
which is sold in the form of compactl
has nothing added. They do not, how
because they often do not have the mo
buy it. If they also have sugar for th
utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of S
Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is
Salt is now regularly used. Some Gil
they have been eating salt, their sens
so acute, and that formerly they coul
passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant me
Liquor which is smuggled in from Ch
is very high in raw alcohol and the dr
induces [112] often has elements of ne
do not know any other intoxicating bev

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgenc
439 both sexes. It comes from neighbori
very strong. Children of six to eight
although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably
expensive. After this general accoun
of nourishment and intoxication, I sho
about the methods of preparation of t

252 During the day the food is mostly e
264 toward evening. The cold food is at t
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the
is small. They consist mostly of mil
One kind of soup is worth describing
of preparation. The assembled comp

da (millet). It is
ese merchants and
love potatoes and
n millet and therefore

orite dainties. Cran-
erries are gathered
salmon catch was poor,
s of berries and espe-
nore substantial nour-

as spirits. They use,
, that is, brick tea
pressed bricks but
ver, drink it regularly,
ney or the opportunity to
eir tea, these people are

practically only the leek
akhalin, according to
also put into the soup.
yak maintain that since
e of smell is no longer
d tell what animals had

above all; it is also the
erchants entice them.
ina (suli or chanshina)
runken state which it
ar-insanity. The Gilyak
verages.
ce of young and old of
ing Manchuria and is not
t years already smoke,

ly because it is very
nt of the various articles
ould like to add something
the food.
eaten cold; cooking is done
the same time usually raw.
number of cooked dishes
llet porridge and soup.
because of its odd manner
pany put dried fish into

264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch b
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered
put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, be
cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is the
cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk ou
wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge.
eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for d
food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sex
together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also
bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, se
12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or
hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are drie
The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neith
stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen
gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such
village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular

> 1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these
dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have
separate bear houses, a small square made of beams
a bear is kept and fattened!

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm
342
354

> 2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower,
no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof.
consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin
beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared
with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof
birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpur
on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes
weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. T

/426 cont./

*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[462] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
[412] side and on the belly side with the uchomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1).[1]
and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head;
then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the
meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them
is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper
end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[192] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is
the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and
Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it,
which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying
it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for
the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalong of the Olcha and
● [258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which
provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders
and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror
by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe
is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
252 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
825 (Gilyak well), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[222] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longr[sch]), Salmo
leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out
[3] [See Category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively—Analyst]

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.
263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
● 258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.
462 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
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He handed the shavings to his wife Hemany. The old woman
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two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
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[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

261

261 GRATIFICATION AND CONTROL OF HUNGER--ideas about food and ingestion; eating sparingly or to excess; attitudes toward wasting food; special adjustments to hunger or famine; dieting; cultural elaboration of food appetites (e.g., geophagy, gum chewing, epicures); etc. See also:

Famine relief 731
Religious fasting 786
Theory of digestion 827
Conception of the hunger drive 828
Food craving during pregnancy, ... 843
Infant feeding, ... 853
Food training of children 862

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the
manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home
for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream
to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he
inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of ani-
mal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes him-
self to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult
moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the
gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a
snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule
hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of
the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each
snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and,
finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination de-
pict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demon-
ology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry
of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the
terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this
aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even
death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors
and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal re-
turn home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully
rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole,
the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to
him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond,
[262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist,
and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by
frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.
221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The
supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from
the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the
[574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and
[996] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February,
[538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the
● [261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance
[164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and some-
ooo times scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

/69 cont./

796 825 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master."
We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Avesta a long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the cult of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mountain man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or even a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." Therefore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed its head, generously supply it for its journey with various kinds of provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable consequence of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance of the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display of respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whom the welfare of man depends. It is the most apt occasion for sending to this distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and the food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

796 782 825 [114] From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear during the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for instance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, believes it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacrifices to each god only that which the god himself does not have, and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. He needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- and it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is a deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itself

796 825 261 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important moment in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a general rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, i.e., to the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the

/70 cont./

796 825 182 775 774 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 [562] be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman, for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

796 825 182 775 774 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with regard to the origin of sickness and death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom

796 825 614 775 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last point, it is important to remember what we said about clan gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people," i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains" himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master," but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 614 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteristic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of women who are wives of the members of that clan are not allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/91 cont./

000 504 688 392 795 very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

*614 433 476 But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet

*614 476 the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate

*614 476 261 [262] in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

/91 cont./

476 *614 261 [261] to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or even simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valuable spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more individualism, introduced by more recent conditions of exchange, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purchase of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrifice his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan.

*614 428 This same principle of the communality of the material goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of inheritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of the clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, the well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in effect among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento.[2] In the absence of members of the family, in which the "workers" are also classed, the property passes to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excluding even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

[422] [556] 1. "Treasures" -- a property sui generis, consisting of unused objects, designated only for exceptional cases: bride price, dowry, ransom, funerals. It is divided into 1) the iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron kettles, spears decorated with silver inlays, valuable Japanese sabers, coats of mail, and so forth, used chiefly for the bride price; 2) the fur, consisting chiefly of expensive fur coats, used principally for dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk materials and garments, which are

[2] [i.e., "in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir", cf. translation on p. 512. - Analyst]

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/

823 773 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin. Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- moth and daughter -- look after them.

825 761 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary. Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 825 [782] A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

704 782 825 261 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and they treat him like a killed one. When they set off somewhere (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

703 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

116, 252, 272, 342

"Our tent, being new and of very thin m
could keep nearly as dry, and certainly mu
fire within, but in a few moments the smok
refuge Swartz and myself fled to our Gilak
birch-bark, sewed together in long narrow
spread over a frame of light poles sloping
open in front and at each end. This was ere
bank, which served as a protection from th

As we came up, one of the women was i
a small fire in front of the camp. A small
was hanging a good-sized copper tea-kettle
as a general thing, unable to indulge in tea
exchange for fish. [123]

Beneath the shed several deer-skins we
upon which half a dozen humans and about a
every conceivable shape. The group preser
I will endeavor to portray in a few words,
the internal workings of a Gilak domicil, a

aterial, leaked badly--so much so that we
ch warmer, walking outside. We tried a small
e became unbearable, and for want of better
neighbors. Their only shelter consisted of
strips about two feet in length, and
to the ground and forming a shed-like covering,
ected upon the beach, facing the high wooded
e wind.
n the act of preparing the noonday meal over
pot contained several fine trout, near which
(a rare article among the Gilaks, who are,
). On this occasion we furnished them, in

re spread over a thick layer of green boughs,
as many dogs lay twisted and coiled into almost
nted a curious, if not interesting tableau, which
as it conveyed to us a very complete idea of
s well as some of their occupations."

2G

58

116, 261

"The Tungus told Mr. Sternberg that t
with true Pharisaical scorn added, 'We
and christened, but the Gilyaks and Oroc
Orochons eat their dogs, and even sables

hey despised the Gilyaks and Orochons; and
are subjects of the Empire, and are baptized
hons eat dogs.' It is true that the Gilyaks and
s, when driven to it in winter by starvation."

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

563 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
609 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
177 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

181 XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

671 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

556 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
595 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

735 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
438 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
556 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
261 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

262

262 DIET--staple and other foods consumed; seasonal changes in diet; proportion of various foods in diet; group differences in diet (e.g., by age, sex, social class); discriminations between edible and harmful foods; food preferences and avoidances, food taboos; etc. See also:

Food processing	25	Religious taboos	784
Nutritional balance	146	Food taboos during pregnancy	843
Standard of living	511	Infant feeding	853

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented by
* 114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

* 114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
797 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
[076] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form of animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
• [262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

* 114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[797] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
[825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

[956] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

* 114 "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
797 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of the Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

/25 cont./

000 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
• 262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond,
• [262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the
[574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and
796 listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February,
[538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the
[261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance
[164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In
000

/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the pre
574 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is c
the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The nar
seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, whi
host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes piece
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with t
own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece
the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to f
• [262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allow
eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bear
carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enorm
quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to fee
264 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to
it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the v
It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness.
intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing w
sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the susp
533 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast
played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which l
[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's g
drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yes
the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear or
boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of
parture of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all ki
of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are pla
[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead seve
dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of h
to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a s
a thong, and other such items next to the head of the ani
or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavish

Ainu AB2

/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

/457 cont./

various places on the Amur and especially on the Ussuri and have small gardens and farms. Apart from the dog and the house cat occasionally present among the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak /458/ and treated merely as a luxury item (1), the first domestic animal

1. Concerning the distribution of the house cat in the Amur region and its position among the Amur peoples, see what is said in the first volume of this work, pp. 98-100.

met among the Amur peoples, going upstream, is the pig. As was discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (p. 155), individual specimens are found even among the Olcha (2), but

2. There was none among the Gilyak in my time. Later, when there were pigs raised by the Russians in Nikolayevsk, the Gilyak occasionally bought some in order to consume them in festive fashion (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59).

a regular breeding of pigs is found first among the Goldi, up the Amur from about Ssargu and Naiche on and along the Ussuri. The animals, fed on fish, are sold by the Goldi to their countrymen or to Chinese traders, through whose mediation they reach the Olcha farther downstream. The Goldi get the breeding animals, however, in part from the Man-dse (Chinese) along the upper Ussuri (3), but for the most part from the Sungari region

3. F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie" (Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 122).

where the pig is raised in great numbers everywhere by the Chinese

2: Schrenck--880 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

/534 cont./

consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superstition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

/535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught. First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing, all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life, hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fishing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

2: Schrenck--880 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/562 cont./

as a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the processions, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1)

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two trees standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-nooses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly associated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their observance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce

/696 cont./

like them it stands upright in combat, etc. In spite of all this, however, the Gilyak is not willing to forgo the great enjoyment which bear meat and fat provides for his palate, and he longs for it especially if the bear first lived in captivity for a time and was fed on fish, for this food adds a fishy flavor to its meat and fat, which is especially agreeable to the Gilyak. Moreover, a person may /697/ then indulge in the enjoyment of these savory morsels quite without danger and without punishment, for, in order to achieve this, according to Gilyak belief, a long series of preliminary act is necessary, all of them aimed at outwitting the bear during its lifetime by attestations of esteem and to deceive it, as it were, about everything that is done with it, but, after its death, to pacify the angered spirits of revenge of the mighty beast by paying homage even to the manes of the slain animal.

The attestations of esteem begin immediately with the leading of the bear into captivity. If the bear has been discovered in its lair and safely shackled following a successful battle, it is taken, as has been said (1), on two sleds put side by side and tied

1. See p. 878-880 above.

together, in a triumphal procession to the place from which the hunters set out, and it is received there with loud shouts of jubilation from young and old. The same thing happens when a Gilyak returns from a trading trip to Sakhalin and in the central space of his boat brings with him one or a couple of young bears bought on the island (2). In the Gilyak villages there is usually

2. See p. 960 above.

never a lack of lodging for putting up the bear, but if need be a new one is erected for it. This consists of a square box made of beams, open at the top, with a small, heavily barricaded door and an even smaller, always open window. The bear is forced to climb into it and, after it has been unfettered, is prevented from escaping its prison by a layer of boards spread over it, fastened with poles, and weighted with stones. From now on

/708 cont./

796 in the rear let themselves be taken in tow by the bears and dragged
23 up the hill. During the whole procession the women again drummed incessantly on their beam. A short pause followed, during which a few games were played in front of the house, such as the above-mentioned roundelays, the competitive jumping, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two, which I had previously seen among the Goldi, and then the popular leading of the bears, never tiring the Gilyak began again and continued far into the
513 night. For during this night immediately preceding the killing of the bears no one among the Gilyak may sleep; the men spend it alternately leading and feeding the bears, while the women prepare the foods for the feast that is to take place on the following day. Let us therefore now turn to these for a moment.

796 In a previous section (1), it has already been pointed out
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1. See pp. 676 ff. above.

that the foodstuffs used in connection with the bear festival are primarily of a vegetable nature and in particular consist of the cereals and legumes of Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russian origin named there. This is especially true of the great feast held shortly before the killing of the bears and, as we shall see in the following, of the one during which, sometimes at a much later date, the bear itself is eaten. Aside from these two, I might almost say official feasts, which are held in a more or less opulent manner in all or at least most of the houses of the village where a bear festival takes place, and which sometimes are even repeated for a certain length of time, the Gilyak also eat their regular fish diet even during the bear festival, but in an irregular fashion, during the intervals between the individual festive events and generally in accordance with the requirements of the individuals. Considering the large number of people invited to the festival or taking part in it generally, however, the consumption of fish on such an occasion is always very considerable, and I was amazed at the colossal quantities of hausen and sturgeon which were used, in addition to the regular jukola diet of the Gilyak, in Judin's house alone.

/720 cont./

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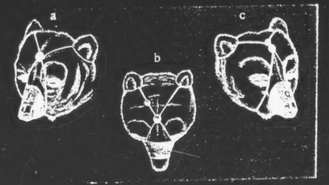

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

796 conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead
197 swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in
194 superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine,
825 and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished
776 them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, according to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

*796 With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the
574 toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been
415 shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete
576 innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give themselves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench
•[262] of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it simple circular

/721 cont./

*796 wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aam-
574 ngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,
•262
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1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each
796 side of the étagère a man was busy lifting one plate after another
574 from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat
576 on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXIII /p.1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped the aforementioned mush from a trough and served it on the plates which were then immediately taken back again to their places. This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured
[562] back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the feast, indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical
[742] meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the following day.

796 This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the
574 previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the
262 presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already ap-
576 peared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

576 /721 cont./
*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
•262 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[855] pated in the meal, indeed, even the women and children re-
[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p.1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p.1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call mōps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[857] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated,
[533] for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

/722 cont./

796 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for
574 departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- onl
•262 bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received
576 in their mōps as provisions for the trip.

Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the d
*796 races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afte
53 however, for the first and only time the women actively partic
562 pated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a da
171 to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, hol in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clapp and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it w drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudge and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectato jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of
796 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, bec
562 in general they are even more serious and se e than the men
157 and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work activities. And it could by no means have been the result of h
[203] spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festiv a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reas

2. See p. 719 above.

796 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fac
756 much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, nam that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be t in the eyes of he Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the fes

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[262] women, but only clansmen.

[766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At
774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'-yz'.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/71 Cont./

796 or the female line; the only kinsmen allowed to kill are the
614 "zyat'ya" /sons-in-law, brothers-in-law/, i.e., persons married to women from this clan, persons whose blood was
796 never mixed with the celebrating clan. In the second place,
614 the entire carcass of the bear, with the exception of the meat
262 of the head, is given to a different clan, the clan of "narkh'i" and, on the other hand, forbidden to the clan to whom the bear belongs. Once perhaps even the head was also prohibited for the celebrating clan. Are these prohibitions not caused by the totemistic caution against killing and eating the body of a clansman? After all, could not the slain bear accidently turn out to be a clansman of the mountain-man clan and therefore a clansman of those who are celebrating the holiday? In such a case killing him and eating his meat would be criminal and fatal for the given clan.

But for a different clan, i.e., the clan of the "narkh'i" this is permitted, because /72/ another "master" sends bears to it, its own clansman, so that it is completely safe for them to eat the meat of the bear of an alien clan.

614 The coexistence of such norms as, on one hand, the
262 permission to kill a bear, though not personally, and to eat
171 its head and, on the other hand, the prohibition against the rest of the meat may seem a strange and irresolvable contradiction. Among totemistic tribes, however, we often meet such contradictions. The Samoans, for example, on solemn occasions kill owls and honor them as their deified ancestors, while at the same time they do not dare to touch the meat. In the works by Spencer and Gillen we read that among the tribes of central Australia, among whom it is normally prohibited, for example, to kill kangeroos and to use them for food, on a certain solemn day two or three of the forbidden animals are killed, and pieces of the meat are distributed among the clansmen. There are many such examples.

/72 cont./

G 796 171 262 Gi 796 171 262 773

An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened, however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, consequently, a clansman of the Orochi.

G 776

Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have mentioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'k'i" and "kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are individual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

G 776 761 753

Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'i); others ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/80 cont./

764

those around him should be gay, jest, and laugh. Silence in the house of the deceased is a sin. When all the preparations are finished, the deceased is tied with thongs to a dog sled and his favorite dog is placed over him. For some time the little soul of the deceased will live in this dog. The dog will subsequently be tied to the place where the deceased slept and will be fed the best dishes, and after several months, when the small soul is once again settled in its place, the dog is sold.

Finally, the deceased is brought to that place where his remains will stay forever. Here his last bed on earth awaits him -- a high, symmetrically arranged pile of wood, on which he is carefully placed with his face toward the west. For the last time the wife, the husband, the mother, if the deceased is young, the wife of the elder brother, if the deceased was unmarried, climb up to him and weep, and then, making a sacred fire by means of friction, they set fire to the platform from all sides. When the fire reaches the body of the deceased, everyone hastens to pay their last tribute to him by throwing pieces of firewood into the fire. Even small children take part in this. Four men stand on the sides and, with long poles, readjust the firewood and poke the body so that it will burn faster and better. At the same time they [774] break the sled, kettles, and spears and kill the dogs, which frees the souls of these objects to follow the deceased... The ashes are covered with birch bark, and of the deceased there remains only ashes, in the literal sense of the word.

[824] /81/ A tree torn up with the roots is placed over the spot where the deceased was burned.

[262] After this the people seat themselves around the kettles containing the meat of the slain dogs, part of which is eaten and part thrown in all directions. On the way back, they drop in for only a short time at the yurt of the deceased to taste the viands placed there, and then disperse.

/91 cont./

000 very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable,
574 not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as
688 we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally
372 the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole
795 clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

* 614 But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of
433 their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal
476 "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet
* 614 the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for
476 sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate
* 614 in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak,
476 is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose
26 supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without
[262] any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

Sakhalin

/350 cont./

125 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There
167 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

174 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

177 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent,
41 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows.
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They
291 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous
292 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve
262 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes
244 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

177 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ores, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

Goldi RX3

/383 cont./

dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

/444 cont./

114 certainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
263 almost exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
171 (and the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar with salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas peoples nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods have an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable food" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations from the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
263 confirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

[113]

1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp. 109 ff.

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
263 of salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
796 at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
114 eat plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
262 quantities. Is it therefore not surprising that at that time the Gilyak distaste for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the contrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is regarded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet, this does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclusion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the bear festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten at them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise, and in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear festivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak, among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn resistance.

/350 cont./

177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
372 and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
174 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/For information on the various items entering into the Gilyak diet, see category 116, pp. 645-679./

/728 cont./

produced in part by veneration for the mighty beast, in part by superstitious fear of it and its spirits of revenge. it is given the place of honor in the house, the people appear to act only with its permission, reluctantly and out of sheer necessity, as it were, and finally, all guilt and responsibility are shifted from them. On the other hand, scarcely anything of the sort is noted among the Olcha: the only superstitious conceptions referring to the bear and the bear festival which I found among them consisted in the fact that they did not want to sell me any bear meat and that they regarded it as ulisch (an idea which they have likewise received from the Gilyak) to go outside with fire taken from the hearth during the bear festival, which, they said, was by no means forbidden at any other time. In contrast to the fearful, superstitious, and, as it were, religiously colored conception of the Gilyak, the second and most important part of the bear festival has degenerated into mere ceremonial among the Olcha, a series of pedantically observed formalities, such as one might expect from the millennium-old Chinese, but not from a primitive people. Perhaps this degeneration of a custom originally foreign to the Olcha, which does not have its roots in the people, has indeed come about under Manchu-Chinese influence. Among them, too, all the foods served at the festival, with almost the sole exception of bear meat and fat, are of Manchu-Chinese /729/ origin, whereas among the Gilyak, in accordance with ancient tradition, sturgeon and hausen meat and mossj prepared from species of salmon play a prominent role at the festival. It can be observed, incidentally, that the eating of foreign, Manchu-Chinese foods is always done with greater formality even among the Gilyak, which can be explained by the fact that it automatically lifts primitive man out of his everyday routine and puts him in an elevated festive mood. The greater number of Manchu-Chinese foods at the bear festival of the Olcha in comparison with the Gilyak is undoubtedly due to the fact that their sources for these products are closer and more numerous as a result of both the permanent residence of Chinese traders in the habitation areas of the Olcha and Goldi and the more frequent and active intercourse between these peoples and the Chinese on the Sungari.

/729 cont./

After this insertion on the bear festival of the Olcha, which seemed to me necessary for a comparison with the same festive act among the Gilyak, let us again take up the thread of our description of the bear festival of the Gilyak. We still lack any knowledge of its final act: what happens to the skull and bones of the animal after the fat, meat, and internal organs of the bear have been eaten? Unfortunately I was not an eyewitness here, and I can only report what I heard from the Gilyak and what must follow from other facts. Ditmar left Tebach before this final act. He concludes his notes from there with the remark that his further presence there would apparently offend Judin and other Gilyak, and that the repeated assertions by the former that he could not wait for the end of the festival because it would drag out for a long time yet showed only too clearly the desire that he speed up his departure. On the day before, when the first bear-meat was eaten, the bear heads were still untouched and bore their snout and head bands. When I arrived among the Olcha in Uda, I did not see these heads; if they are used at all by the Olcha, they had already been removed; the skull and the lower jaw had been removed from the skin and were, as was said, set before the guests for the consumption of the meaty parts. The former was not split, and I saw nothing of the brain parts. It is not likely, however, that they would forgo these especially tasty morsels. But in order to get at them, they must split the skull. From this one may surely conclude that the teachers of the Olcha, the Gilyak, do likewise and, after the other parts of the bear have been eaten, finally skin the head and split the skull. But this final blow directed against the bear, the splitting of its skull, may be one of the acts that are preferably done in secret, or at least not in the presence of strangers, and therefore Ditmar's departure from Tebach was especially desired. Just like the removal of the bear head from the skin, so most probably is the splitting of the skull done in the house, where immediately or soon afterward its meat and the brain parts are eaten. Arguing in favor of this is the circumstance that the instrument with which the skull of the bear is split is brought into the house at the very beginning of the second act of the festival. /730/ It is a pickax (Gilyak

/730 cont./

mytsching), which is illustrated on Plate LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 5, from a specimen that lay on the bear tack in Judin's house during the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, this pickax is unmixakably a specimen from ancient times and certainly in former times had a stone blade, which was later replaced with an iron one (1). Finally, when the brain of the bear has been eaten,

1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and the sturgeon and hausen has a stone end-piece (see above, p. 806). The caption on Plate LI should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest — an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skull, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull of the bear, however, is treated differently, in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I had had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The above-mentioned pickax, apparently from the Stone Age, is also used for a similar purpose by the Goldi, to judge from traces of blows. They do not, however, split the skull of the bear, but content themselves, forgoing eating the brain, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Buri, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Usuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed it in order to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 8-16).

/734 cont./

I was present at the bear festival in Tyk when the meat of the animal was already being eaten, that is, toward the end of the second act. Parts of the dismembered animal were still lying on the bear rack, and among them the skull already cleaned of the muscle meat, which I tried to buy, in vain, of course, from the owner of the animal. Several Gilyak busily eating their portions still sat on the benches, others were either crowding around them or in the passageways between the hearth and the benches, each one trying to snatch a piece of meat here or there with his knife. One of the members of the household was collecting contributions from the diners in a little trough in order to give them to the women and children, and similar troughs with pieces of bear meat were carried to the other yurts of the village. Even among the Amur Gilyak, when this time comes during the feast, formalities usually cease, and here not a trace of them remained -- everybody milled around informally in the narrow space. A meal of Manchu-Chinese products, cereals and legumes, such as it customarily served to guests in the Amur villages in lavish amounts, seemed not to have preceded the eating of the meat, since the host and owner of the bear evidently was not one of the well-to-do and only a little of these products reach Sakhalin, and that only through the Amur Gilyak and Olcha. Under these circumstances it was understandable that in Dui, where soon thereafter a bear festival was celebrated amid a great conflux of participants, a subsequent celebration took place immediately afterward for the gratification of the latter, or which, lacking other food, dogs were eaten, as has already been mentioned above (1) in connection with the discussion

1. See pp. 661 and 662.

of cynophagy among the Gilyak.

It struck me that on Sakhalin there was nothing to be seen of any of the collateral entertainments, such as dog races, all kinds of games for young and old, etc., which customarily accompany the bear festival among the Amur Gilyak. In summing up, one may conclude that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, especially, in the region with earth yurts exclusively, that is, along the

/767 cont./

them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins. The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten, but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the village. (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right bank of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that were some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that came out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I investigated and saw two women who sat there hunched together and wailing, starting at the sky. I watched her for a while and then inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in reply, buiive, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me that her husband had died in the next village and she was lamenting it. She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left, in order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamentation, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (1 S.R. IV, p. 17.)

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following concerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground, /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

* See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration Plate LXVIII /p. 1268 /, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r pronounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a small linen-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the center and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under the ground.

/770 cont./

the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, to the right in the middle distance).

There was no pittysej in Gilyak. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death, otherwise it would be uitch to set up a pittysej. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

57. Gilyak. According to Sergin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

/771 cont./

years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse of a person killed by an ati (tiger and leopard) is taken to a similar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Holk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk, and Tschlivl (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their corpses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R. I, p. 8.)

60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood shavings (ai-ch). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of a

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-branches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

[184] presented. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of [185] Tarar, Purronaysk Raion.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Tokhtinskiy Okruga of Khabarovskiy Kray.

[187] The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-[188] Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct [189] place.

[190] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal [191] and verbal elements (kun-dog; pil'e-ŋun-dog). The agglutinating [192] features include the addition of affixes (kun-gu-dogs). The phonetics [193] of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of [194] speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives [195] have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi nouns are not differentiated [196] in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects, [197] instead, there are various groups of numerals for the counting of: 1) [198] long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; [199] 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) [200] thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; [201] 7) animal objects. For example, 1) q'e-ŋ'ak-ŋun (tree), k'ev'-k'e-ŋun (bullet); tyw'-ŋkkl'-ŋun (house; tamish-r'ciŋk-ŋun (tobacco leaf); kkan-s'yŋ-ŋun (dog; nivkhe-q'ŋ-ŋun (person; mas-'ŋun (man; tyw'-k'e-ŋun (sled; and 2) s'ŋ-ŋun (mushroom, etc.).

[202] The Nivkhi language has close ties with the Tungusu-Manchurian [203] peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common [204] with the languages of these peoples.

[205] In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are composed of two dialects. [206] There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of [207] the neolithic population of this territory. The population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic vessels, decorated with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. [208] There are different points of view as to who is the older one of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur [209] peoples, Nikolaevskiy L. Shevek, held that Sakhalin was the original home of [210] the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Sternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the [211] Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data [212] indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the [213] Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi occupied further up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, [214] tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th [215] century. There, in every respect, they could be identified with the Nivkhi.

[216] The first Russian dots on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According [217] to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to [218] travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing clerk" Vasiliy [219] Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Sugdan, [220] the boyar's son Ivashkin, the officer Stepanov and others. In the Cossack [221] reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ulchi are referred to [222] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-[223] lages in wooden winter houses, flankedby barns, raised on hanging fish net-[224] ting structures for bears. The Nivkhi are engaged in fishing and hunting [225] seals; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted [226] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Yukagir.

[227] of a small board equipped with harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to [228] 20 meters long. The jobb was invented in the nineteenth century, but has found [229] nearly its full use on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the [230] hunter carefully approached the boat and harpoonedthe seal at close range.

[231] As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a [232] smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after [233] the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat [234] themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or [235] guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears [236] with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. [237] Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the economy of the Nivkhi. The Amur hunters, and every adult [238] man in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This hunt was the mainstay of sable [239] on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees [240] which served the sables as crossings.

[241] The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [242] replaced the compound bow and the spring-operated crossbow. The gun was primarily used in the hunt for sea otter and in children's games. Squirrel and [243] bears were hunted with a bow. Crossbows were used for small birds and large [244] animals.

[245] Domestic already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of [246] the 19th century, when they first acquired domestic animals. Individual families had owned goats in the past and hired out for work in other families.

[247] The Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common [248] with the languages of these peoples.

[249] In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are composed of two dialects. [250] There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of [251] the neolithic population of this territory. The population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic vessels, decorated with spiral [252] ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. [253] There are different points of view as to who is the older one of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur [254] peoples, Nikolaevskiy L. Shevek, held that Sakhalin was the original home of [255] the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was [256] expressed by L. Ya. Sternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the [257] Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data [258] indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the [259] Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi occupied further up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, [260] tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th [261] century. There, in every respect, they could be identified with the Nivkhi.

The Nivkhi

[262] The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The [263] Nivkhi used spears from two and three-pronged, built dogs and dog-harness. [264] Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these [265] occupations, including boats and means of transportation, preparation and [266] transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the [267] skins of fish, and sewing, made fish-skin clothes for their various uses, sewed and [268] ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did [269] the housework, and took care of the children.

[270] By the time the Far East was Sovietized, community relations were quite [271] strong among the Nivkhi. Most aspects of the old forms of collective [272] production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact [273] of social pressure. Some elements of the old communal organization still [274] lacked the necessary grip: were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and [275] other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income [276] from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Nivkhi. The Nivkhi lived in small, white whale and sea lion wooden sheds to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. [277] Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during [278] the fishing on hired tractors, processing the fish.

[279] Fishing was also highly important among the Nivkhi. Salmon was [280] obtained in large quantities, and also sturgeon, herring, smelt, cod, etc. [281] The last couple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often perhaps, [282] took the place of bread. Bread was eaten rarely. Bread was prepared with

[283] With the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, [284] the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

[285] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the [286] Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur [287] clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a form of exchange [288] and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number [289] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household [290] had 20-30 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly [291] on fish and fish meal, but also on bones and sometimes on meat. When dogs were used most as draught animals.

[292] The dog sled, which the Nivkhi was still found in use by Shrek in [293] the middle of the 1st century, was the only means of transport in winter. [294] The sled was made of birch, and sometimes he raised himself and ran in [295] his place on the sled. The dogs were harnessed to the lowing strap alternately on [296] one side or the other. The harness was a wooden yoke, which was placed on the dog pulled with the neck.

[297] Until more recently, the Nivkhi used sled of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness [298] was the sled which people used when they first arrived in Sakhalin. The Nivkhi had retained goods in the past and hired out for work in other families.

[299] The Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common [300] with the languages of these peoples. Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; the Russians also acquired and [301] adopted by wood-carving, arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so [302] forth. The Nivkhi adopted the Russian plow, and shaft-bellows. Placed at [303] massive chunks preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old [304] smiths.

[305] The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The [306] Nivkhi used spears from two and three-pronged, built dogs and dog-harness. [307] Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these [308] occupations, including boats and means of transportation, preparation and [309] transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the [310] skins of fish, and sewing, made fish-skin clothes for their various uses, sewed and [311] ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did [312] the housework, and took care of the children.

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Means of transportation and hauling:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—kayak (seals used in steering sled), 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with nimes.

Fish was prepared with flour, fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fish-oil or seal-fat, herrins, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talka—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi also became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the Russians who they traded with.

[327] In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unef" collected 200 tonnes of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area has increased by 30%.

[328] Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unef" collective engages in animal husbandry. In the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

[329] As scientific prerequisites for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the sufficiency of small villages, formerly scattered and fragmented into large collective farms. Before, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But now, the Nivkhi have begun to settle in large, well-organized villages. The old villages are being razed and the construction of new populated centers more rapidly. Nivkhi collective farmers are moving into new houses, which are more spacious, more comfortable, well-planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, primary attention is given to selecting suitable sites, and to the fact that before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and moved into the new houses, they were forced to learn how to construct the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

[330] There is a widespread of the new dwellings in the Nivkhi dwelling house. Next the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective farm has a club, a library, a medical station, a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic needs: a collective farm grange, a dairy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc. Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never saw in the past. Today, more individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

[331] The material furnishings of the Nivkhi dwellings have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi dwellings, usually on the contingent, one often sees photograph and chromoxylated walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, including tables and chairs. Flowers in the windows are not uncommon. There are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, postcards and photographs.

[332] Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They wear also sealskin boots, which was entirely unknown in the past. Women wear traditional Nivkhi wear silk-type cloth, felt boots, high overshoes, and some footwear of rubber. The Nivkhi prefer bought clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok [333] reindeer herders. Nowadays, they have to purchase the clothing and traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing [334] on factory-made sewing machines. In other respects, the clothing of Nivkhi, there and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, [335] the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented, such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the ancient birchbark hats.

[336] Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater [337] variety, more meat, more bread, and less fish. The frequency of occurrence [338] of the occurrence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been a widespread scourge, has decreased sharply as a result of the fact that in the [339] Nivkhi dwellings, in schools and the wide network of medical institutions, [340] Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and economic centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to overcome the Nivkhi's fear of these institutions for medical aid. Not medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
765 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
418 valleys Chayon, on the Okhotsk shore of the
Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of
drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are
allowed when a man is drowned.

7: Kreinovich--15 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

782 (Men for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, man
is emptied out of the tol-ir ('sea troughs') for which it is
prepared, as is also the sivuch. When the feasting is
completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes"
are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I
have already stated, the tol-ir is prepared in
the quarry in connection, this sivuch is regarded as being not
a trough, but an animal. Therefore, the "eyes" are cut
from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a
Gilyak, the tol-ir habitu only if the sivuch have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pile
asserting his title to an animal sivuch or to his share of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances.
The pile asserts his ownership of the sivuch only if he is a
hunt; second - This appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.

This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
number of taboos among the Gilyaks.

Thus, for example, among hunters as well as women are
supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
bear festival. At the same time women are not not observe
those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the
taboos parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well
as women) are supposed to observe. I wish to point to the
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the in-
junctions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go
hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him
with a tongue. The young hunter must not give old men only
can eat. These instances illustrate the manner in which the
taboos are supposed to operate.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these taboos and explanations. The meaning of these taboos
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

7: Kreinovich--15 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
782 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
225 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
182 parts of the clan.
8-8 Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Carvu,
183 (Charbah), the old Gilyak Kosin and G'ak (Agiska) informed
775 me of interesting taboos connected with the killing of the first
sivuch.) The pila cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sacrificial sivuch. The figurines were so made as to smear all
of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After
performing the ceremony, the figurines were to be regarded as
belonging to the pila. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
a trough, but an animal. Therefore, the "eyes" are cut
from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a
Gilyak, the tol-ir habitu only if the sivuch have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pila
asserting his title to an animal sivuch or to his share of the
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these taboos and explanations. The meaning of these taboos
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252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-nak and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
412 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-nak.

411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskar around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

116, 252, 262, 327

"The roe [LSS: of the salmon] is regarded as a great deli
into interesting looking wooden vessels resembling a butche
to receive the blood from the slain bear at the great festival
the beginning of the sable and seal hunts, which inaugurate a
ing two years to our one), the roe is mixed and pounded with
made into a much appreciated mess. The tail and head-piec
for the dogs and the bear, and the former came in for a few
quisites while the operations were going on before us, thoug
themselves in summer."

cacy, and was being scraped
r's tray, which also serve
.. On feast-days, such as at
a New Year (the Gilyaks hav-
n whortleberries, etc., and
es of the kita are intended
bits of fresh fish as per-
gh for the most part they feed

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--291-292 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 262

"Our natives were very merry, notwithstanding that th
posed of; and dried fish and seal-oil was the one cours
breakfast on the following morning, were added the se
cembra pumila). A Gilyak youth of the party disappear
re-appeared with a lapful of the cones, from which the
with teeth and [292] fingers."

e seal had been incontinently dis-
se on their menu. To this, for
eds of the Swiss pine (Pinus
ed into the taiga, and quickly
y picked the seeds like monkeys,

91 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
01 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
31 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

77 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
76 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
31 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

61 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

51 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
62 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

251 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
262 stroganina.

food of the dogs.

231 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
252 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
262 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. Whenever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus, old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.

262 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course, corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animals is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.

They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
262 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
272 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
515 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

15: Pilsudski--4 E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 Gilyak

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

843 Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

20: Bush--89-90 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 226, 251, 262

"The river [LSS: the Amur] at this point is nearly a mile in width, and flows through extensive plains of meadow-land burdened with a rank growth of tall grass, beyond which on either hand, in the distance, faint blue hills limit the vision. Patches of woodland dot the plains, and, in many places, extend to the river-bank, where, beneath the thick clusters of foliage, the tasty though filthy Gilaks erect their picturesque habitations near the sandy beach. One of these we came upon shortly after leaving Marinsk. In front of each house, upon the beach, were drawn up their odd-shaped canoes, with elevated, fancifully-carved prows, and all along the shores we could see the bare-legged natives toiling at their long seines, and strewing the banks with hundreds of fine salmon, that glittered in the sunlight like heaps of silver. These fish are afterward split, and suspended on light poles under bark or straw-covered shelters to dry, where they remain until required for use, they being here, as in Kamtchatka, intended for the sustenance of both men and dogs during the long winter months. Fish and berries, with the bark and roots of various trees, constitute almost the only food of the inhabitants, and, though many of the more hardy vegetables could be had at the expense of a little toil, they content themselves with the food that nature showers upon them.

The river at certain seasons of the year is literally alive with salmon, and so little effort is required to capture them [90] that they are considered almost valueless. Fish that would adorn banquets in many places are here thrown to the dogs by hundreds."

: Hawes--256-257 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 226, 251, 262, 731

"Fish being the staple article of food, the
s necessarily of great importance to them.
enerally consumed by December, and then
rrival of the seals in April there is only on
eglefinus, or Vachnya), or in the Gilyak to
hore and gazes seaward, he will see black
ne figures of men wrapped from head to foo
n their [257] hands are sticks with big hook
oming to the hole made in the ice, and grab
man has been known to catch as many as

'bread' of the Gilyaks, the summer supply
The winter stores of sun-dried kita are
comes the hard time for them. Until the
e other visitant. This is the haddock (Gadus
ngue, kan-hi. If one is sledging along the
specks among the gleaming ice. They are
t in skins, and they are hooking haddock.
s attached, and the hungry and stupid fish
bing at the hook, is caught. By this means
300 in a day."

9: Hawes--289-290 T-3 (190

116, 262

"We scarcely expected to find in seal
'bacon,' but in this case scarcely any
I, decided that the brain would be the
ourselves into imagining that we were
how near we came to committing a mo
edge among the Gilyaks that to eat the

In addition to any other terrors that
on a seal's brain, roasted and eaten it
again."

lesh a great delicacy. The Gilyaks prefer the
of it remained uneaten. We, my interpreter and
east objectionable part, and hoped to deceive
eating calves' sweet-breads; but we little knew
rtal sin. For it was a matter of common knowl-
brain of a seal was indeed a deadly sin. [290]
the next world might hold for us, to have put salt
, would have resulted in our never killing a seal

9: Hawes--207 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 171, 251, 262

"However unpleasant to the stranger . . . s
it lasts may be, it is one of the few advanta
The latter is entirely dependent on a sunny
should be rainy, then he will be in danger o
insufficient accumulation of stores; for drie
during the long winter. The Orochon, on the
. . . . . slices and cuts them up and cures th

moke-curing of fish by the Orochons while
ges that they can claim over the Gilyaks.
season for the drying of his catch, and if it
f starvation before winter is over, from an
d fish is bread and meat to these tribes
other hand, after hanging his fish to drain,
hem in the shelter of his hut over his fire."

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

9: Hawes--196
116, 262, 527

"[LSS: Bef
The huts are
of the bear ar
rice, vodka,
feast is of co
Gilyak housev
and mixed wi
rice, salmon
results to the
(species of w
barbatum and
bear's, deer'
with fish-roe
with potatoes
their skins m

ore the bear fête] Great preparations of food have been made for days past. crowded, and hospitality is freely dispensed. At the same time the owner nd his nei ghbours will be gainers by the feast, for luxuries such as tobacco, etc., are on sale, and will bring in a goodly profit. The staple article of urse yukola, or dried fish, but a variety of dishes is concocted by the wife, with this as a base. Dried and frozen hard, it is grated to fine powder th seal-oil and whortleberries; and when you add to these three ingredients -roe, and roots, the possible combination of messes are many, and the Gilyak highly palatable. The roots in most common use are pu-chi and pis ild rhubarb, I believe). [LSS: Erratum: this should read Heracleum l Laminaria esculenta] These are in demand for flavouring their stew of s or seal's flesh; while a lily, which they name kashk, is eaten generally . At special feasts and near Russian settlements, the guests may be regaled , in which case they are doled out sparingly, and not a particle of them or ust be wasted."

263

263 CONDIMENTS--kinds of condiments used in the preparation and consumption of food (e.g., salt, sugar, honey, spices); processing of savory herbs and spices; uses of condiments; etc. See also:

Use of seasoning in cooking . . . . . 252 Salt manufacture 258
Manufacture of sugar and sweet confections . . 257

/440 cont./

252 which among the Gilyak on the mainland is called kyp, on
* 262 Sakhalin kap. The kernels and shells of the cembra nuts are
[192] kneaded into a dough-like mass of a reddish-brown color, obtain
from the ground bark of the black alder with the addition of seal
oil, which is given the form of cakes or small loaves of bread
about one span long and equally wide and decorated on the uppe
side with some figures.

The number of roots which the Gilyak use as food is not inconsiderable. Unfortunately, I am not in a position with regard to many of them to give the taxonomic names of the plants
[137] to which they belong (3). Most of the roots, especially those

[113]

3. The names given in the following are based on the findings that were made by Maximowicz in working up his "Primitiae florae amurensis," St. Petersburg, 1859 (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. par divers savants, Vol. IX), and Fr. Schmidt for the botanical part of his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin," 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 212), on the basis of the material collected by him and Glehn.

of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria kamtschatkensi Gawl. (Gilyak kark) and of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak nork which one sees strung on cords and hanging in their storage chambers; likewise the roots of Corydalis ambigua Cham. (Gilyak tschjurk), Heracleum dissectum Led. (Gilyak ryghr), and many other roots with which I am not familiar, such as tuks udalak, /441/ mryu, plim, a(r)sj, etc. Some bulbs, such as tho
• 263 called ngyfki by the Gilyak, which presumably belong to a speci
252 of Allium, are cut up in the fresh state and added to dishes as
137 seasonings, and likewise the chopped and dried leaves of some

/441 cont./

263 species of leeks (Gilyak hagi), for the most part from Allium
252 schoenoprasum L. on the mainland and from Allium victoriale L.
137 on Sakhalin, are put in the broths to make them tastier, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

[103]

1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the small islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Hagi-mif (mif means land in general)by the Gilyak, a designation which the Russians have extended to the entire archipelago embracing eight small islands.

*262 The young leaves and peeled leaf stalks and stems of a
252 number of other plants are used for food by boiling them with fish or seal oil into a soup, for example, Cacalia hastata L. (Gilyak pytk), Epilobium angustifolium L. (Gilyak tschola), and, according to Glehn, also Polygonum weyrichii Schm. (Gilyak haps), Heracleum barbatum Led. (Gilyak nukr), Senecio pseudo-arnica Less. (Gilyak kengs), and Petasites japonicus S. et Z. (Gilyak löllu and tol-achs) (2). The first plant in particular seems to be

2. Glehn, op. cit., pp. 212-214,

used a great deal. I have seen it eaten by the Gilyak in the village of Tyk even in winter, after a very protracted and complicated preparation. First, the leaves were plucked off the dried plant, gathered in the summer to be stored, and cooked in water in a kettle. Then the contents were poured into a wooden trough and cooled, whereupon the water was wrung out of the leaves as out of a piece of laundry. The longish bundles of leaves thus
[264] produced were then cut into very small pieces with the large fish-knife, stirred with lyghi-tscho roe, and the whole again cooked in water to a thick soup, which was in part eaten with a spoon and in part drunk out of wooden bowls. A few days later I saw the same dish

/443 cont./

*262 animal food, and especially fish food, on the whole, constitutes the basis and mainstay of the existence of the Gilyak.

263 A noteworthy circumstance in connection with the diet of the Gilyak must still be considered here. It is the fact that they do not use any salt at all with their food and, indeed, even have a certain aversion to it. I am taking the liberty of repeating here what I wrote several years ago in a letter to Dr. Gustav Bunge (1).

1. At that time a docent in Dorpat, now a professor in Basel.

which has also been published by him (2). Despite my long stay

[113]

2. In his article "Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und das Verhalten der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus /Ethnological Supplement to the Discussion on the Significance of Cooking Salt and the Effect of Potassium Salts on the Human Organism/" (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Vol. X, Munich, 1874, p. 115).

among the Gilyak and many an observation of their food and the preparation of dishes, I never saw them add salt to any dish or eat it in any other way. I was never asked for any by them and do not know /444/ that they ever asked for it in Nikolayevsk, where it
114 was sold. The following experience gave me further evidence of
263 how little it is required by them: since toward the end of my journey in the winter of 1856 my salt was exhausted, I asked for so in every Gilyak village that I passed through on the west coast of Sakhalin and along the Amur-Liman, but always in vain, until Pronge, on the mouth of the Amur, a hazelnut-sized lump of salt wrapped in a dirty rag, which its owner had once happened to get and had kept as a worthless curiosity, was finally brought to me. The Gilyak repeatedly expressed their repugnance for it when they saw me eat salt. From the numerous similar reports on the use or
[171] non-use of salt by various peoples Dr. Bunge draws the conclusion,

/444 cont./

rtainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
most exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
nd the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar
th salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas
oples nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods
ve an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable
od" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations
m the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
nfirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp. 109 ff.

luced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to
ke a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
antities. Is it therefore not surprising that at that time the
yak distaste for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the
ntrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is
garded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet,
s does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclu-
n and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the
r festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which
es not alter the very predominantly animal character of the
yak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten
them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man
o trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise,
in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal
d, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear
ivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall
, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak,
ong whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn
istance.

/444 cont./

000 resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they be-
263 came acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that
101 they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a some-
[796] what modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation taftsch for
[192] salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dabssun
(Mongolian: dabassu) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

[113] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298; Sprachatlas /Linguistic Atlas/ p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Djutscheren, engaged in agriculture, livestock-breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Ussuri, from where they were transplanted to the Churcha in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among the Gilyak -- certainly proof that there was no physiological need for it.

Whereas the Gilyak aversion to salt is so pronounced and
263 general, sugar (Gilyak ssäta), on the other hand, finds great ap-
439 proval among them, and to be sure, in the form in which they
became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

[192] 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian ("ssachar")?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

/445 cont./

263 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are
439
000

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
250 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
[182] hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2/. Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
415 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
197 ormotsch-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of
[See category 116, p. 1013--Analysis]

322 /717 cont./

*796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
[126] came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly uitsch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p.1250 /, Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252 /, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band. Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the lásng and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

*796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
263 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

/718 cont./

*796 just as it would be extremely uitsch if one wanted to fry, not only
252 bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the
[784] bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be
[263] shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward
[182] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in front of the bears, they were offered to them as a sacrifice and were intended for the forthcoming feast.

*796 In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old
[887] men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young
[251] people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in additional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.
*796 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals
231 which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They
541 were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng. Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat
252 into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads, and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the meantime, more life and commotion had entered into these preparations for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

/716 cont./

anging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides
he elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so
t appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking
nd the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the
ld men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat,
hich was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the
ouse and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals
ragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was men-
ioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from
he storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached
o the bear rack in colorful confusion pieces of fur and the skins
f paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were
ed while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives
hich at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of
air from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uing-
shakko of the Gilyak, with which it is uitsch to cut anything other
han bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a
umber of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The
atter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth ob-
ained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with
he help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when
onsuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed
iscussion.

The bowls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-
poon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always
arved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about
n the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather
eep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and
). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat
roth, the latter (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat.
hat makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that
ometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood,
nd sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided
ith various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival.
he latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

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439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup.

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened.

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
342
354

2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes

266

266 CANNIBALISM--prevalence of cannibalism; participants; victims (e.g., captives, felons, slaves, sacrificial victims); parts eaten; occasions; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:
Human sacrifice 782

9: Hawes--269-270 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 266, 821, 823

"There were legends which seemed to indicate
in the extreme north of the island, was regarded
of 'black men who were cannibals,' (1) but beyond

1. What the origin of this report about black m
old legends the Gilyak hero is often represent
eating him.

us lay our goal. The Gilyak canoe seemed a poor
the stars shown by the natives stamped them as a
were noted for their [270] excellent orientation in
no information about the moon, and so I asked if
No, his father had told him something about him
he knew he was there, he really couldn't tell if he
there, or a good man."

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
262 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
● [263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur
clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange
and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[550] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly
fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs
were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride
it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in
this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on
either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that
the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[526] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[171] equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in
yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

177 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most
valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his
directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a
brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer
tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
177 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former
were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-
hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips
nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
50 boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[824] by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled
with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which
[824] the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was
rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the
left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn-
ing-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
ings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[354] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[352] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

7: Kreinovich--26 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.

● 263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.

452 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of gosk-pas 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanɣ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pas. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (maɣt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

13: Seeland--15 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and
eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and
bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore
they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cran-
berries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered
for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor,
they gather and consume great numbers of berries and espe-
cially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nour-
ishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use,
of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea
which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but
has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly,
because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to
buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are
utterly happy.

● 263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to
Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup.
Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since
they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer
so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had
passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them.
Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina)
is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it
induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak
do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not
very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke,
although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very
expensive. After this general account of the various articles
of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something
about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes
is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup.
One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner
of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

264

264 EATING--regularity of eating; informal eating (e.g., between meals, at work or play); meals (e.g., hours, number per day, participation, composition); techniques of eating; table manners; sequels to eating (e.g., disposal of waste and excess food, cleaning of utensils); associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Eating implements and utensils	41	Feasts and entertaining at meals	574
Food preparation	252	Etiquette	576
Ablutions	515	Military mess arrangements	705

Gilyak

that Cape Maria (or Cape Elizabeth),
as the 'end of the world.' We heard
them and their country, Vanka assured

hen was I do not know, but in the
ed as slaying his opponent and

sea-going craft, and the ignorance of
land race. On the other hand, they
the dark. From Vanka we could get
e knew anything about the man in it.
once, but he had forgotten, and, though
were a bad man, condemned to live

271

271 WATER AND THIRST--use of water for drinking; manifestations and control of thirst; ideas and practices related to the drinking of water; etc. See also:

Water supply	312	Libations	789
Municipal purification of water	364	Notions about water	823
Utensils	415	Conception of the thirst drive	828

13: Seeland--53 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
● 271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.

272

272 NONALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES--drinking of nonalcoholic beverages (e.g., tea, coffee, lemonade, milk, blood); special techniques of preparation (e.g., boiling, percolating); consumption (e.g., quantities, occasions); food values and physiological effects; drinking etiquette; etc. See also:

Dairying	234	Meals	264
Cultivation of tea, coffee, and cacao	245	Utensils	415

/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
574 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
264 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
533 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts
[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed
[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/374 cont./ YeT

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortunate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[264] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[593] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she participates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourning they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[574] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father, and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
[589] brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the desire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradually acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as Arkyyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
177 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow themselves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/426 cont./

of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both qualitatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma, always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches, a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4)[1] with several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014--Analyst]

/427 cont./

1. (cont.)

unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, p. 232), the Buryat (Radde, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 140; Raev", "Buriaty /The Buryat/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 24, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 10), the Ostyak (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 46), the Samoyed (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands /Travels to the Northeastern Part of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 311; Islavin", Samoiedy /The Samoyed/, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 35; Abramov", "Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 354; Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, 1453), and others. The Tungusic tribes of the Amur region do the same thing. The Nertscha /Nercha/ Tungus call it "to eat from the knife" and maintain that meat so eaten is much tastier than if it is first cut in pieces (Usol-tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/," Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, I, p. 76).

* When a Gilyak undertakes a long trip, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his countrymen, he nevertheless takes along a bundle of jukola just in case bad weather should force him to spend the night under the open sky, in which case the ma, warmed or slightly roasted over the campfire, will serve him very well.

226 2. (cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

221 The
222 mainland Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infre-
262 quently bring some pieces of choi-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habita-
226 tion sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas
262 or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is
[361] worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish.
Of greatest importance to them is a fish which is insignificant in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnja Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and even more in Duĭ, Arkai, Tangi, and other
252 places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is
262 always the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins
[231] is cut out along the back and thrown away, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the laghi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating
[264] of it than with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten without any accompaniments, placed on the sleeping bench of the yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

*262 (Gilyak tym-als), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but
[139] does not replace the former two in the mossj. Other berries, too, such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L. (Gilyak edeni-als), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called
[192] tityrsch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin pilj-als, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the

[113] 1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn called pilja-latsch by the Gilyak there; see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/" (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 213, 215).

[251] Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I
[252] repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to a mush which is eaten with spoons.

*262 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the
252 Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits
● 264 of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrs),
[142] a primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by
[139]

[192] 2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tassj (Prunus padus) and chim (Pinus cembra, pumila).

handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the
252 kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is like-
*262 wise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this
[192] connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and, with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

263 species of leeks (Gilyak hagi), for the most part from Allium
252 schoenoprasum L. on the mainland and from Allium victoriale L.
137 on Sakhalin, are put in the broths to make them tastier, for which the Gilyak provide themselves with a considerable supply of them for the winter (1).

[103] 1. Presumably because of the quantity of this natural product one of the small islands in the southern part of the Amur-Liman was given the name of Hagi-mif (mif means land in general) by the Gilyak, a designation which the Russians have extended to the entire archipelago embracing eight small islands.

*262 The young leaves and peeled leaf stalks and stems of a
252 number of other plants are used for food by boiling them with fish or seal oil into a soup, for example, Cacalia hastata L. (Gilyak pytk), Epilobium angustifolium L. (Gilyak tschola), and, according to Glehn, also Polygonum weyrichii Schm. (Gilyak haps), Heracleum barbatum Led. (Gilyak nukr), Senecio pseudo-arnica Less. (Gilyak kengs), and Petasites japonicus S. et Z. (Gilyak löllu and tol-achs) (2). The first plant in particular seems to be

2. Glehn, op. cit., pp. 212-214,

used a great deal. I have seen it eaten by the Gilyak in the village of Tyk even in winter, after a very protracted and complicated preparation. First, the leaves were plucked off the dried plant, gathered in the summer to be stored, and cooked in water in a kettle. Then the contents were poured into a wooden trough and cooled, whereupon the water was wrung out of the leaves as out of a piece of laundry. The longish bundles of leaves thus
● [264] produced were then cut into very small pieces with the large fish-knife, stirred with lyghi-tscho roe, and the whole again cooked in water to a thick soup, which was in part eaten with a spoon and in part drunk out of wooden bowls. A few days later I saw the same dish

415 the two hearths to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
199 earth yurt and in the summer yurt is placed on the platform of the hearth on top of three stones. It is always of Chinese origin and is used for the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs and some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, depending on the circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part likewise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 3: matsch-wunj (i.e., small kettle) and kughi-wunj (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
[412] made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5 and 6; Gilyak myich and mityr) are used, and for smaller kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, Gilyak komb).
415 To prepare and serve mush-like dishes, such as the above-mentioned groats and the like, the Gilyak, according to need, use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and orong), which are quite similar in form to those out of which the dogs
[531] are fed and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. I saw other
[824] foodstuffs and dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
[531] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls made of birch bark, whose bottoms and rims were decorated with various arabesques; they are the so-called tottangr in Gilyak (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service, so also do the vessels intended for the use of individuals as cups and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
● 264 served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is suf-
415 ficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachtschitsch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped in fish oil and consumed. Liquid foods, like the above-mentioned
[See category 116, P. 1014 -- Analyst]

/446 cont./

264 415 broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat, blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir (3)

[104] 3. The s is soft in this word and is to be pronounced like the French z.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously on account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thumb-

[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves

415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great

531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for

796 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not by any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin and the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi, all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decorations put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artistic carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively

322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-

412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

/473 cont./

481 The small ski of the Gilyak consist of two thin boards without a fur covering. They are about four and a half feet long and five to six inches wide, and are completely flat and level except for the more or less sharply tapering front end gently curving upward. Depending on the degree of this tapering at the front end, several forms of the small ski may be distinguished among the Gilyak in certain regions. Thus, the form with a gradual tapering of the tip, illustrated on Plate XXXV /see p.1015/, Figs. 1 and 2 prevails along the Amur River as far down as Wair. Below Wair, at the mouth of the Amur, along the Liman, and along the opposite coast of Sakhalin, the ski have the form shown in Fig. 3, with a more abrupt tapering, and, finally, on Sakhalin there is a third form with an even more abrupt tapering of the front end, but unfortunately, I had no opportunity to get an illustration of it. These small ski are an absolutely indispensable /474/ item for the Gilyak, and in winter it is almost only inside the yurt that he is seen without them. Not only does he need them for even the shortest walk, but he also keeps them on his feet when traveling sitting astride his sled, both so that he can get off and take a few steps in the snow if necessary, say, for example, to adjust the harness of the dogs, and also in order to facilitate the movement of the sled, to which I shall come back

481 later. Once he has reached the spot where he plans to spend the

484 night in the open, the ski, with its rear and level end, serves him

412 as a shovel for readying the campsite as required (1) and for filling

516

● 264 1. See p. 559 above.

with snow the kettle hung over the fire, and, finally, when he sits down on the fir branches in front of the blazing fire, his legs crossed under him, a ski placed across his knees serves as a tray, taking the place of the chachtschitsch in the yurt (2), for eating

2. See pp. 647 and 683 above.

the evening meal.

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-

[251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the

[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The

462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does

● 264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men

[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women

462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper

[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations

462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work

411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting

[517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/710 cont./

*796 amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the

[541] day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the riv

● [264] and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfa on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated

*796 around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Thre

824 Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of

[291] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and ne

[239] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latte type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, bu he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybo now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it a there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, th signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

*796 Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the

231 bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bea this had been done the day before, and the animal had been pro vided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in orde on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to hav his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous exper

[156] ment. Chusisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading th

55 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
84 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
55 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
86 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
78 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

55 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
89 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.

89 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
72 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
71 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.

77 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
97 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
From this we may see how much they really understand of
their new religion. We have said before that they regard

272

272 NONALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES--drinking of nonalcoholic beverages (e.g., tea, coffee, lemonade, milk, blood); special techniques of preparation (e.g., boiling, percolating); consumption (e.g., quantities, occasions); food values and physiological effects; drinking etiquette; etc. See also:

Dairying 234
Cultivation of tea, coffee, and cacao. . . . 246
Meals. 264
Utensils. 415

/350 cont./

175 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. The
167 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which
could not produce themselves.

174 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how lo
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that wh
they first appeared there they must have been in possession of
entire economic inventory which they possess at the present ti
(with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say,
the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds
and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, e
His first cultural products must have been made in areas which
were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It
be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

177 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent
41 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made o
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They
291 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendo
● 292 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they pres
262 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robe
244 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink te
and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They hav
finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may,
haps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors
On what did they stop in their own independent cultural develo
ment?

177 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iro
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remote
from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them
in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know ho
to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until
cently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boa
and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

T /462 cont./
Gi salt with their food than do those of the lower Amur. We found
263 a pronounced aversion to it among the Gilyak. The Goldi and
T the Orochi only use very little of it (1). Of the Manegir, however,
263
554

Gi 1. Nadarov", "Siev.-Ussur. krai" (Zap.
[113] Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch.
Geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 80).

Maack (2) reports that every well-to-do person among them has

2. Op. cit., p. 79.

T salt in his household. They buy it from the Daur and have a
263 designation borrowed from the Daur ("katà") for it: katachàn.
439 Presumably therefore, they first became acquainted with it
192 through the Daur, and at a time when the latter, prior to the Russian invasion, lived all along the upper Amur and its source rivers, the Schilka and Argunj, engaged in agriculture and live-stock-raising, and had barter-trade relations with the hunting tribes in the north (3). Therefore, even at that time the tribes

T 3. See p. 339 ff above.
262
179
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174 of the upper Amur region may already have obtained a number of cereals for food from the Daur.

Gi /463/ There should be added to a consideration of the diet
Gi of the Amur peoples a few remarks concerning the luxuries used
293 among them, especially liquor and tobacco.
292
171 The Gilyak do not know how to make any beverage for
G pleasure, either by an infusion of water upon the leaves, stems,
292 barks, or other parts of certain species of plants or from the juice
293 of berries and other fruits of their region, as is understood so well
171 by the Italmen of Kamchatka, according to the testimony of

G /463 cont./
292 Steller (1) and Krasheninnikof (2). I came across just as little of
293
171
000

1. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka,
pp. 76-89.

2. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossi, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.).

Gi I came across just as little of
292 anything of the kind among the Olcha and Goldi (3). Even tea,
293

T 3. I am thinking here only of beverages for
[292] pleasure, but not medicinal potions. Among
[298] the Manegir on the upper Amur I saw a moss
[222] that they gather in the forest and call mogo
[439] drying in the sun on birch-bark mats. As far as I could learn from them, they take it to the city of Aigun, where they are paid well by the inhabitants, to be drunk in an infusion, like tea. Presumably, however, this infusion is used only as medicine for some ailment.

Gi Even tea
292 which these peoples must have known for a long time through
179 their association with the Chinese (4) and which they were able
439

G 4. The Gilyak have the designation pyncht
[292] for it.
[192]

to buy in Nikolayevsk as well as in Mariinsk since the Russian occupation of the region (in the fifties), had not found acceptance among them at the time of my stay in the Amur region (5).

Gi 5. Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin",
114 pp. 88-90) reported that in 1881 the Orok
179 on Sakhalin prized tea highly and, if there
292 were any, drank it regularly toward evening. But this could have appeared only since the

251 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
262 stroganina.

food of the dogs.
231 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
252 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
262 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. Whenever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus, old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.
262 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course, corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animals is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.
They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
262 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
272 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
515 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

273

273 ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES--types of alcoholic beverages used (e.g., beer, wine, spirits); techniques of preparation (e.g., brewing, distilling); apparatus (e.g., stills); consumption (e.g., users, quantities, occasions); drinking etiquette; craving for liquor; prevalence of drunkenness and behavior under intoxication; associated beliefs and practices; social and legal controls; etc.

See also:

Industrialized manufacture of alcoholic beverages	274	Sanctions against inebriation	689
Utensils	415	Alcoholism	733
		Religious orgies	786

/65 cont./

796 574 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of [576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish [262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear [614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 264 576 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 533 273 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts [554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed [782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/383 cont./

422 673 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians, regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they 673 762 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 177 526 152 273 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling, and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

T Gi 263 /462 cont./ salt with their food than do those of the lower Amur. We found a pronounced aversion to it among the Gilyak. The Goldi and T 263 554 the Orochi only use very little of it (1). Of the Manegir, however,

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"Our tent, being new and of very thin material, leaked badly--so much so that we could keep nearly as dry, and certainly much warmer, walking outside. We tried a small fire within, but in a few moments the smoke became unbearable, and for want of better refuge Swartz and myself fled to our Gilak neighbors. Their only shelter consisted of birch-bark, sewed together in long narrow strips about two feet in length, and spread over a frame of light poles sloping to the ground and forming a shed-like covering, open in front and at each end. This was erected upon the beach, facing the high wooded bank, which served as a protection from the wind.

As we came up, one of the women was in the act of preparing the noonday meal over a small fire in front of the camp. A small pot contained several fine trout, near which was hanging a good-sized copper tea-kettle (a rare article among the Gilaks, who are, as a general thing, unable to indulge in tea). On this occasion we furnished them, in exchange for fish. [123]

Beneath the shed several deer-skins were spread over a thick layer of green boughs, upon which half a dozen humans and about as many dogs lay twisted and coiled into almost every conceivable shape. The group presented a curious, if not interesting tableau, which I will endeavor to portray in a few words, as it conveyed to us a very complete idea of the internal workings of a Gilak domicil, as well as some of their occupations."

Gilyak Men

2: Schrenck--424 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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[806]

heir mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has hewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark. 'he contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and ut into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, edar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then ooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of ooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They at with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry ood they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat ogether; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the owls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places hich, however, are usually not reached by flood waters. he houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom or more. The front of the village is usually more or less dden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. he only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither alls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen rdens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a llage. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the gs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have parate bear houses, a small square made of beams where bear is kept and fattened.

Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,

2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

t it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It nsists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir ams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over th clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of rch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae), which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes ighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

266

266 CANNIBALISM--prevalence of cannibalism; participants; victims (e.g., captives, felons, slaves, sacrificial victims); parts eaten; occasions; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See Also:

Human sacrifice. 782

2 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
9 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

2 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

3 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
7 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

3 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
9 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

6 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
9 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

2 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
4 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

/716 cont./

hanging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking and the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat, which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the house and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was mentioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from the storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached to the bear rack in colorful confusion pieces of fur and the skins of paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were led while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of hair from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uĭng-dshakkò of the Gilyak, with which it is uĭtsch to cut anything other than bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth obtained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when consuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed discussion.

The bowls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-spoon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always carved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and 2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat broth, the latter (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat. What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood, and sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

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2

271 WATER AND THIRST--
of thirst; ideas and pra
Water supply . . . . . .
Municipal purification of water
Utensils . . . . . .

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use of water for drinking; manifestations and control
ctices related to the drinking of water; etc. See also

. . . . . 312 Libations 782
. . . . . 364 Notions about water 823
. . . . . 415 Conception of the thirst drive 828

/324 cont./

412 origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
177 handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is shown on Plate XXX in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end.
342 Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these emergency tents in form, ground plan, and construction speaks for their quite primitive character.

342 As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it never-
354 theless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions
521 are somewhat larger. The location of part of it in the ground, the carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no lateral entry into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed, and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and venti-
[352] lates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another, all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably
[276] leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adventures, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often partici-
342 pating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside
354 from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened, a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and moves along the floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway
[See Category 116, P. 1010--Analyst]

T. /462 cont./
Gi salt with their food than do those of the lower Amur. We found
263 a pronounced aversion to it among the Gilyak. The Goldi and the Orochi only use very little of it (1). Of the Manegir, however,
T 263 554
Gi [113]

1. Nadarov", "Siev.-Ussur. krai" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po obshch. Geogr., Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 80).

Maack (2) reports that every well-to-do person among them has

2. Op. cit., p. 79.

T 263 salt in his household. They buy it from the Daur and have a
439 designation borrowed from the Daur ("katà") for it: katachàn.
192 Presumably therefore, they first became acquainted with it through the Daur, and at a time when the latter, prior to the Russian invasion, lived all along the upper Amur and its source rivers, the Schilka and Argunj, engaged in agriculture and live-stock-raising, and had barter-trade relations with the hunting tribes in the north (3). Therefore, even at that time the tribes

T 262 177 439 174

3. See p. 339 ff above.

of the upper Amur region may already have obtained a number of cereals for food from the Daur.

Gi /463/ There should be added to a consideration of the diet
Gi 263 of the Amur peoples a few remarks concerning the luxuries used
276 among them, especially liquor and tobacco.
171 The Gilyak do not know how to make any beverage for
G 272 pleasure, either by an infusion of water upon the leaves, stems,
273 barks, or other parts of certain species of plants or from the juice
171 of berries and other fruits of their region, as is understood so well by the Italmen of Kamchatka, according to the testimony of

HM /467 cont
276 Moreover
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, one may safely assume that, like the Daur and Manchu ngari region, the tribal relatives of the Manchu who were distributed from the Sungari along the southern Amur far below the mouth of the Ussuri, approximately to the oldi village of Dondon, the Djutscheren, who lived in ming and livestock-raising villages (4), also cultivated

4. See pp. 316 ff. above.

among other things. Finally, it must have also spread Sungari and from Korea to the upper Ussuri and down this he Amur. There can be no doubt but that even before an military expeditions in the seventeenth century the d become acquainted with tobacco and its cultivation Manchu (Djutscheren) neighboring them, indeed, in part ng mixed in with them. Even today, tobacco is culti- t only by individual Chinese living in the area, but also themselves, on the Ussuri as well as on the Amur, and tter, strangely enough, exactly as far as the dwelling he Djutscheren formerly extended. For, going upstream, the first Goldi cultivation of tobacco in the village of ch lies on the right bank of the Amur, opposite the above- ed Dondon located on an island. Like the Goldi, the ving on the sources and tributaries of the Ussuri also ob- bacco in this way. Furthermore, the other peoples of Amur region, the Olcha, Samagir, Negda, and Gilyak, t with the Goldi as well as with the Manchu and Chinese mur and Sungari, must have also become acquainted with as early as the seventeenth century even though tobacco be cultivated among them because of climatic and sons. Finally, through the Gilyak and Olcha of the tobacco also reached their countrymen, the Gilyak of Sakhalin, whereas the third people of the island, the obably received it from /468/ another source, directly Japanese (1). Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had

1. The designation for tobacco, as among

G Gi /468 cont./
276 17 192 SS [192]

1. (cont.)
the Manchu (dambagu) and Mongols (tamachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too; thus, among the Goldi and Olcha damche, tamche, and tamache, among the Gilyak tam(a)ch, among the Ainu tambaku, etc.

G Gi SS 276 439

Later, after the Manchurian tobacco had already spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable necessity for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the west and north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders with the Orochon, Manegir, and other tribes of the upper Amur region, and through the Yakut merchants who in part followed these nomads and in part visited certain trading points at which they established relations with them as well as with other peoples of the lower Amur region (2). Nevertheless, up

2. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the fifties, Manchurian tobacco was definitely predominant among all the peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian (Circassian) tobacco began to replace it very rapidly, first and especially of course, among those peoples who did not cultivate tobacco themselves, hence among the Gilyak, Olcha, etc. What made it especially popular among them is its much greater strength or acridness in comparison with the Manchurian tobacco, as well as its being far cheaper. The great popularity of Russian tobacco and the general and heavy demand for it among the peoples named soon made it the most important and most necessary article of trade in dealing with them.

G SS 276 177

Like tobacco, the Gilyak and the other peoples of the Amur region also adopted from the Manchu the form of the pipe (Gilyak tai), which is also widespread throughout China and consists of two metal pieces connected by a thin, black-colored,

G SS 276 177 /468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, o mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every

G [554] [321]

well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439

The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of th Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [824]

A [171] [127]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VII Th. Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

A [113]

/464 cont./

made out of willow switches and lined on the inside with strong paper, or in square chests made of six boards and likewise with paper stuck on the inside, on which an opening, closable by a bolt, is found on top on one of the edges (4). One of the purposes

4. Williamson, op. cit., p. 68. Nadarof, op. cit., p. 113. Maack, op. cit., p. 196.

of a Sungari journey by the Gilyak, Olcha, or Goldi is to buy such a chest (Gilyak kylmr-wakke) (5) of araki, for the liquor

5. Wakke means box or chest in general.

is naturally much cheaper at the place of production than among the Chinese retail merchants along the Amur.

Along with the liquor the Gilyak and the other peoples of the lower Amur region have also adopted the manner of drinking it from the Chinese. Like them, they always drink it warm (6) out

6. Marco Polo already remarks that the Chinese do not drink the "rak" (arrack) until after they have first heated it (Marco Polo's Reisen, the German by Bürck, p. 341, note 284).

of tiny porcelain bowls which they likewise buy from the Chinese for the purpose, just like the metal can in which the liquor is heated beforehand by putting the can into hot water or in the hot ashes of a basin filled with glowing coals always kept handy for this purpose as well as for lighting the pipe (7). This is how the Chinese

7. The Chinese way of drinking liquor has often been described, for instance, by Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 390) and others.

G SS /464 cont./ This is how the Chinese
273 merchant on the Amur does it as he deals with his customers
177 and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is
439 how he is imitated by all well-to-do Goldi, Samagir, Olcha, or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is precisely how Mamia Rinsô describes the manner in which the Smerenkur on /465/ Sakhalin drink their "arka" brought from the Amur. I also saw the libation preceding the drinking, which consists of first moistening the tips of the thumb and forefinger with liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the left, up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less carefully executed, just as by the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur, also by the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and even Orochi in Hadshi Bay. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these peoples is done in a definite way sanctioned by usage, from peculiar foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this circumstance, besides the others mentioned above, the procurement of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I must testify to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I knew best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the lower Amur, in Nikolayevsk and Mariinsk, a new and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This last seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as uitsch (unlucky) -- a conception which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

G 273 982 171 / G 273 (170) / G 273 439 / G 273 796

/465 cont./

273 preservation and augmentation of their property, which is peculiar
796 to the Gilyak to a high degree; for with the large number of participants at such festivals the host's expensive supply of araki would be gone in no time, apart from other dangers. Furthermore, thanks to this characteristic of the Gilyak and the rare energy of their character, there appeared at the very beginning of their relations with the Russians a phenomenon which may hardly be equaled in the history of the relations between primitive and civilized peoples: instead of being exploited by the Russians through liquor and losing everything, they, on the contrary, knew how to win many an advantage from the Russian sailors and Cossacks with their small supplies of Chinese liquor. Their moderation and power of resistance were also greatly aided by the fact that during the first years of the Russian occupation of the Amur region only very little liquor was imported, while the number of the Russian consumers of it grew rapidly (1). Later, however, after

159 273 439 648

1. For instance, in 1855 the crews of several war vessels from Kamchatka and several detachments of Cossacks from Transbaikalia were added to the previous garrison of the lower Amur region.

the end of the Crimean War, when the importation of liquor into Nikolayevsk, handled by many and in particular North American and Hamburg trading ships, /466/ greatly increased, and, simultaneously, the ancient, original ways of life and views of the Gilyak were more and more undermined and began to disappear under the impact of Russian immigration and colonization, it was also the end of their moderation and power of resistance to alcohol, and as early as the sixties one could read in the local newspapers, as well as in the reports of returning travelers and other eyewitnesses, of the ever increasing drunkenness and gluttony among the Gilyak, especially during their bear festivals and other celebrations (1).

[113] 1. Cf., for instance, Arth. Nordmann,

G 157 273 439 648 113 /466 cont./

1. (cont.)
"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/" (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 254); also Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59 and elsewhere.

SS 276 19

Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the Amur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and even the children are given the opportunity to become accustome to it at an early age. It seems obvious to me where these people first learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As is well-know Manchuria is the country from which China, at least the northern part, obtained the tobacco plant and the custom of smoking tobacco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about two and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dyna ascended the throne (1644), upon whose orders the introduction o tobacco into China took place (2) and under whose protection the

HM 276 19

HM [113]

2. Huc, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Poussielgue, Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 66. Wassiljef ("Opisanie Man'chzhurii." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, pp. 52, 53) says: if one may give credence to a Chinese drama, the Chinese were not familiar with the smoking of tobacco up to the Manchu Dynasty.

cultivation of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (3).

HM [113]

3. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

439 /599 cont./
435 pieces for elegant women's caps -- but rather because they want
291 them for trade with the Japanese -- a matter that I shall come back to in the following and which gives the best proof for their outstanding talent for trade.

439 5) Something similar is the basis for their very high evalua-
●273 tion of the liquor (araki /arrack/) in the barter trade with the
435 Chinese. One would be very much mistaken if he concluded from this evaluation of the liquor that they were strongly addicted to drinking it and therefore readily let themselves be plundered by means of it. To be sure, they do not reject liquor, but they used it, as was pointed out above (1), in moderate fashion at the time

1. See p. 719 above.

of my stay among them. On the other hand, their gaze, constantly looking for advantages and profit, could not miss the value of so generally popular a commodity in the trade relations with both their own countrymen living farther away from the source of supply and in particular their less energetic Tungusic neighbors. Thus, their genius for trade also proved itself with respect to liquor and, as has already been mentioned, with the help of it they were even able to obtain many an advantage in their barter with the Russian Cossacks and sailors.

435 6) The articles that they themselves make for their household and the rest of their life and activities, such as utensils of all kinds, pieces of clothing, etc., however neatly made and adorned with decorations they might be, are not very highly valued by the Gilyak, unless they contain a precious material acquired from the Chinese, such as bows covered with buffalo horn, or the lances furnished with inlaid figures of silver, etc. It is not the fineness and beauty of the work or the time and labor spent on them, but the bit of silver or horn that gives these objects their high value in the eyes of the Gilyak.

*796 /722 cont./
594 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the
262 departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only
596 bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this in their mōps as provisions for the trip.

*796 Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog
53 races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon,
562 however, for the first and only time the women actively partici-
171 pated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappers, and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators
*796 jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of
562 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because
[157] in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work and
●[293] activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals, a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

2. See p. 719 above.

*796 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is
756 much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely, that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that in the eyes of the Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

9: Hawes--276 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 273 Russia
636.27

"Many of the peoples of these northern climes make intoxicating beverages, as for instance the Yakuts, who manufacture a spirit from toadstools. The Gilyaks may be considered an exception. There is, however, a decoction, but little heard of, made by them from the 'burrs' of birch-trees. These exude a black juice so strong that a piece of the wood, of the size of a lump of sugar, is sufficient to make a big cauldron of the beverage. The decoction is sweet to the taste, and has a welcome softening effect on the organs of respiration.

To-day Russian vodka, though prohibited by the Government, is eagerly sought after and frequently obtained."

Goldi RK3

463 cont. /

5. (cont.)
Russian colonization of the island, therefore only quite recently -- was by no means the case at the time of my travels on it, or Schmidt's and Glehn's.

'hey did not know coffee at all and considered it, when they saw ne drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor 'as, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be ure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other peoples of the mainland, nder the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) araki or arki, also ustomary among the Manchu and among all the Tungusic, longolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (6). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Klaproth's Asia polyglotta. There are, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as araka, araku, airaki, etc.

ndoubtedly
equaintance with liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the me of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread pidly since then. Through the trading trips of the Goldi, Olcha, nd especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must ave soon been introduced to the Gilyak there. The latter, to be ure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from nother direction, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained eir liquor, the so-called ssaki, and even learned how to make weak ssaki themselves (7); but the stronger and presumably cheaper

7. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, p. 132. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar', Preface, p. 38.

hinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinsô (8) reported

8. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 192).

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/463 cont./

in 1808 that the Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Sakhalin hardly know of the Japanese ssaki at all, to say nothing of /464/ making it themselves, but, on the other hand, "obtain a type of it, called arka, from the Man-kôs (Amur-dwellers), which in taste is very similar to the Japanese sôtsu." Like all products of civilization, liquor, too, is supplied to the Gilyak and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region chiefly from the Sungari region, where there are numerous and some very large distilleries established and run by Chinese (1) and in part also from the Ussuri, where the production

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1. Williamson, Journ. in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, Vol. II, p. 67. Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

of liquor is likewise carried on by the Chinese, and, to be sure, exclusively for trade. The liquor made by them varies in quality depending on the grain from which it is made, either from kao-ljan, i.e., Sorghum vulgare, which is especially used for this purpose (2), or from one of the species of millet cultivated by the

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2. Barabash (loc. cit.) says that extensive kao-ljan fields along the lower Sungari always indicate distilleries in the vicinity.

Chinese (Setaria italica, Panicum miliaceum, etc.), or from a mixture of the latter with one another and with barley (3). De-

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3. For more details concerning the Chinese liquor and its preparation, especially in the Ussuri region, see Nadarof, Sieverno-Ussur. krai, pp. 105 ff.

pending on the quantity and the place of destination, the liquor is sold by the Chinese either in large bottles inclosed in wickerwork

Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw. Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

843 Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

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276 NARCOTICS AND STIMULANTS--drugs consumed for nontherapeutic purposes (e.g., tobacco, betel, coca, peyote); techniques of manufacture and preparation; methods of consumption (e.g., eating, chewing, smoking); special apparatus (e.g., cigarette holders, pipes, hypodermic needles); users; quantities consumed; physiological effects; behavior under narcosis and stimulation; associated beliefs and practices; social and legal controls; etc. See also:

Psychiatric aspects of drug addiction 188
Cultivation of narcotic plants 249
Condiments 263
Palliation of labor with drugs 461
Illicit narcotics traffic 548
Treatment of drug addicts 733
Notions about drug cravings 828

2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak summer yurt.

/469 cont./

1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8)[1] and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014 – Analyst]

Gold RAS
Southeast Siberia RAI

/469 cont./

G 276 824 If the Gilyak run out of tobacco, they seize upon various substitutes for it. The most common of these makeshifts is fine dry wood shavings from any kind of wood, but always from a soft type, presumably willow by preference. Such shavings are even mixed with the tobacco when it is beginning to get low. When it is all gone, the wood shavings mixed with tobacco oil are smoked G 276 415 in place of it. For this purpose the tobacco oil is scraped out of the pipes from time to time and stored in a special small pouch (Gilyak niryghsis), which /470/ is made of a few scraps of leather fastened between two pieces of sealskin (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6).[1] on which the tobacco oil is smeared and, when required, is scraped G 276 824 off, mixed with the wood shavings, and again returned to the pipe (1). Moreover, the Gilyak use some of their native herbs as

G [191]

1. The very same tobacco substitutes is also used by the Chukchee, who, however, obtain it by putting the wood shavings in the tube, much wider on their pipes, above the pipe bowl, where it is gradually saturated with nicotine from the smoke passing through it (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 429; Dall,

tobacco substitutes, for example, an herb that they named for me in Allof on the Amur as tschomr, in Tyk on Sakhalin as wurpi, and which, judging by the dried fragments that I saw, seemed to be a G 276 824 fern. Among the Goldi in Kõurmi on the Amur I likewise saw hanging bundles of an herb which they called toina and used as a substitute for tobacco. For the present the taxonomic names of these plants must remain unknown.

SS 276 The taking of snuff and tobacco-chewing are not found at all among the Amur peoples, at least in the lower Amur region (2).

SS [191]

2. Among the Aleut, who became acquainted with tobacco through the Russians, it is mostly chewed, taken as snuff very little, and not

[1] [See category 116, P. 1008 -- Analyst]

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Goldi RX3

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whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 ja), whereas the Gilyak
r great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to
thless, trifling materials. In further contrast to the
imiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing
nd fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins
er-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with
se (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 ja among
red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 ja, tanned 2 ja). Like
the principal products from fishing also have a higher
ong the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon,
ple, costs 10 ja among the former), on the one hand be-
fish supply in the Amur River decreases upstream, and
her hand because they are nowhere near as productive in
ct as the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing.
nd vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem
aper for them than for the latter, both on account of
ter proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because
nselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is
idedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "string" of
to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 ja (2).

2. At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to
the above table /see p. 935/.

lly, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the
he Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the
e Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Circassian)
s much more to their taste.
ce principal commodity of the Amur peoples in trading
Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable,
otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on
, only /601/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters,
, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade
scale, think of procuring this commodity in the largest
possible, not only by hunting, but in another way
ted to their nature. To this end they trade with their

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2: Schrenck-- 990 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

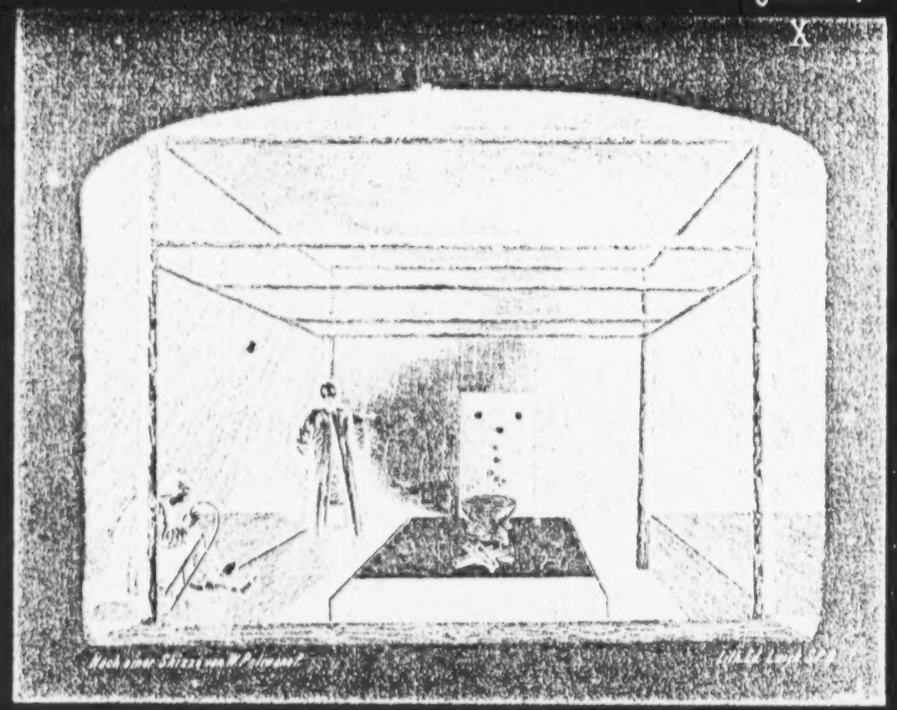

The interior of a Gilyak winter yurt on Sakhalin.

Gilyak in summer clothing.

Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

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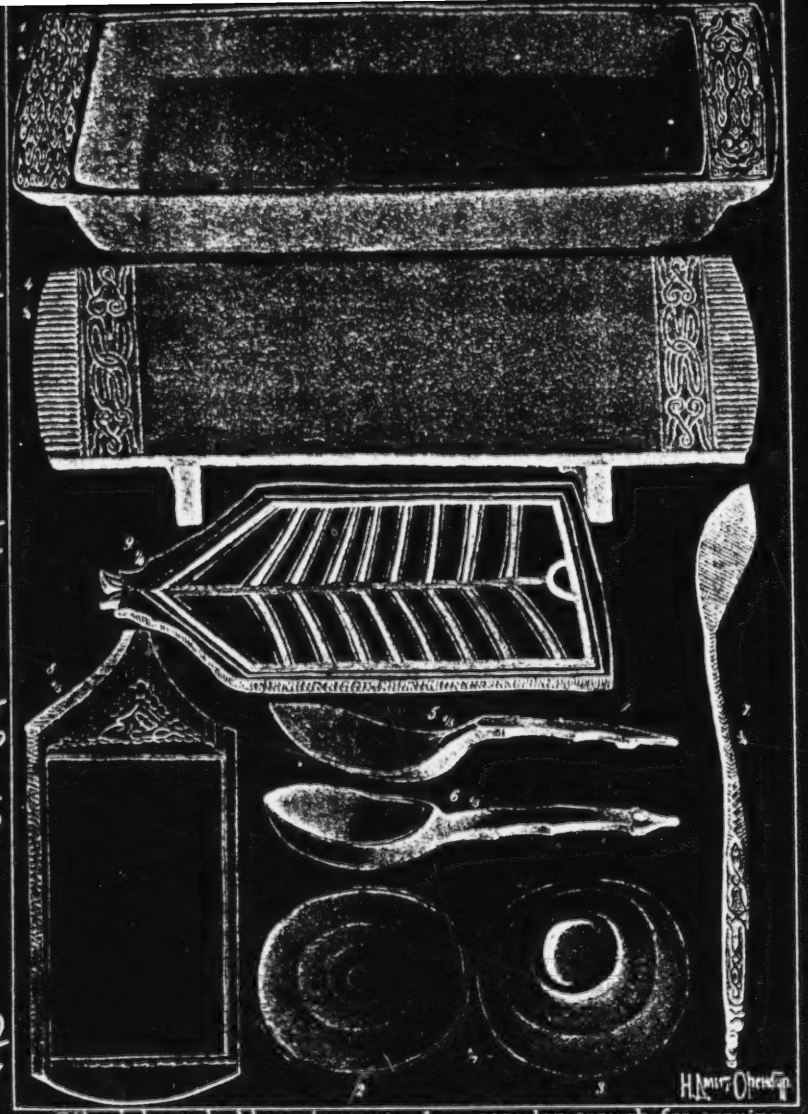

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop; 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

116, 276, 291, 302, 515

"They [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] were
greasy skin garments, with naked feet and legs
that had once been braided, hung down their ba
both sexes were represented) was arranged mu
single braid, with the exception that no part of
two braids, or what had once been such, since
was a perfect mass of tangle, and becoming mo
energetic clawing and digging of several long,

We would have experienced some little diffi
which the woman had it not been for a long-ste
miniature brass bowl, which the former smoke
number of fine, large, freshly-caught fish."

e a filthy-looking pair, clad in dirty,
s, and their long, coarse, uncombed hair,
cks in queues. That of the man (for
ch like the 'tail' of a Chinaman, in a
his head was shaven. The woman wore
her hair, as well as that of her husband,
ore so every moment through the
unwashed fingers.
iculty in deciding which was the man and
mmed pipe, with amber mouth-piece and
ed, while his fair partner carried a

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278 PHARMACEUTICALS--materia medica and pharmacology; manufacture of narcotics, drugs, and poisons; processing techniques; products; organization of labor and production; regulation; specialists (e.g., pharmacists); etc.
See also:
Use of poisons in hunting and fishing . . . . . 22 Use of medicines 757
Drugstores 444

/557 cont./

224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
278 catch foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
192 which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
439 and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call
käkch-ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

41 When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all,
177 though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from tw
439 directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (póroki"): póroke.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though likewise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy
000 Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

[113] 5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

"Coughs, colds, and pulmonary complanints are very prevalent, and the methods of healing scarcely adequate. For a sore throat, a concoction of moshun-tomash (field camo mile) is swallowed, and for inflammation of the lungs, a diluted exusion from the gungi of trees is drunk in place of tea.

Whether these herbal remedies are dictated by experience and the Gilyak knowledge of medicinal herbs, which is said to be considerable, or is anything more than Shamanistic lore and a series of charms, I cannot say. The treatment adopted for other ailments, such as toothache, swellings, earache, and ulcer, is certainly of the latter kind. For the first they apply some of the down of a hazel-grouse (Tetrao bonasia) to the cheek; for the second and third, the squirrel's tail (olf-rega) and a piece of its ear (tul-noss) are respectively tied to the parts affected; and for the last, gazhu, i. e. a piece of a wasp's nest, is placed on the ulcer."

224 For the bear festival (see below) live young animals are
527 sought and are raised in a special enclosure. If they cannot be caught in any other way (1), they are sought out together

1. Sometimes young bears roam about so far from their mamas that they can be easily caught.

with the mother bears. The Gilyak wait for winter and then seek out a bear cave. On the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set out for the cave with lances, hatchets, straps, and several empty dog sleds. They begin to irritate the bear by thrusting long sticks into the cave. Whereupon bruin begins to roar tremendously and starts to leave his cave. At this instant the bravest and strongest of the Gilyak takes his stand close to the entrance with his pelt coat on backwards, and as soon as the bear appears he hurls himself with his chest against the bear's head. The others hurl themselves on their leader and thus the alarmed bear is felled by the combined impact and is soon bound. If he is strong and raging so that he cannot be handled, he is immediately killed. Sometimes a noose is also put around his neck as soon as he appears. If the prisoner was a female with cubs, they are all taken home in sleds.

136 The elk is not found in the lower Amur region, that is, in
224 the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, but is seen somewhat farther up at the Amgun river. It is usually hunted in winter because, like the horse, it can travel only with difficulty in the deep snow, and the Gilyak on his snow shoes can easily overtake it and kill it with his lance. In summer time the animal is killed with rifles. Its meat is very popular and its skin is used for shoes, straps, etc.

The reindeer is also hunted chiefly in winter in the same manner. Occasionally the lance is also thrust at some distance from the target.

The wild boar does not occur on Sakhalin and the lower Amur; however, it appears 40-50 versts above Nikolayevsk. It is hunted with lances and with rifles. Its meat is very popular, its skin, among other things, is used for the shaman drums.[122]

224 The fox is preferably poisoned with the vomic nut which
278 the Gilyak buy from the Chinese. But this poison is not very
439 strong; much faster, in fact almost instantaneous, is the effect of its alkoloid, i.e., strychnine, which Russian fox hunters use but which the Gilyak seldom get hold of. But

224 even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of
278 all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution;
439 furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

224 Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or a snare is set up in a certain calculated manner. For, the sable, when it wants to cross a small stream never fails to use a log that has fallen across it, if he can find one. Now, such logs are purposely prepared for him, and snares as well.

With the first snow fall he is pursued by dogs and killed with buck shot; the pelt is thus little damaged, for two or three grains of shot suffice to kill the animal.

A method commonly used and one that can be applied all winter long, consists of setting up cross-bows, the mechanism of which is cunningly devised. The shaft stands on a stake; behind the arrow there is a sort of cock made of a knee-shaped piece of wood; on the latter is a trigger from which a long thread leads diagonally forward and down and is fastened somewhere on the ground. As soon as the sable in passing touches the thread, the shot is fired.

136 The tiger is known to the Gilyak and they have a word for
224 it in their language, but it is not hunted, because it occurs
825 only rarely in the Gilyak country, and not at all on Sakhalin, and because they regard it as something more than a wild animal. This fear has probably [123] been passed on to them by the Manchurians and the Goldi. The tiger of the Amur-Ussuri country is of the mightiest and most powerful of its kind, as well as extremely cunning; but for humans, especially for Europeans, it is not nearly as dangerous as it is in India, because it finds more food. (1) Only when man

1. During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the othe
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave
chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the wat
some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap wh
they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair wit
wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it wit
and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb thei
hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are
in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as th
three to four months old they are placed in a trough-lik
The little trough is open at one end and somewhat point
on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130]
is laid with its back against the bottom, its head agains
open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up
wise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother
leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle
her back.

368 When the Gilyák lad no longer needs his mother's ca
76 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gra
47 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even
but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him

55 The parents are tender and indulgent with their child

2 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
9 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

2 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

3 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
7 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

3 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
9 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

6 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
9 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

2 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
4 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
5 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

/327 cont./

reduced as much as possible. The house is provided with windows (4) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two longitudinal walls and the rear transverse wall each have two, the front transverse wall one. Even in the most spacious Gilyak houses I never saw more than these seven windows (1); very often,

1. I did encounter this among other Amur peoples, but I shall speak about that later.

however, the window in the front transverse wall is absent, as, for example, in the Tebach house standing in the Pogromnaia on Plate XI, and not infrequently the other transverse wall and the rear longitudinal wall have only one window each, which is then always placed approximately exactly closer to one or the other corner of the house; in fact, in the smaller houses even the window in the rear longitudinal wall is absent, so that the number of windows in them is reduced to three. Nevertheless, even there, because of their considerable size, light the interior of the house sufficiently. The windows are sometimes square, three to four feet in size, sometimes rectangular wider than high, or vice versa. They have no crossbars, but instead only a number of vertical little sticks equidistant from one another, and fish skins take the place of glass between them. In particular these are skins from Salmo Jagocephalus (Gilyak: ḫgibi-ṅcho, or, on Sakhalin, ḫaghi-ṅcho) (3),

2. Known by the Russians throughout Siberia under the name ḫetĭ.

the most common kind of salmon in the Amur River, made as thin and transparent as possible by scraping and pounding, and then sewed together in such a way that the seams form many longitudinal lines and a few transverse lines running in a zigzag. The windows do not open, but are only lifted out with the whole frame. The floor inside the house consists of stamped clayey material. To the right and left of the entrance are the two hearths (2, Gilyak: ḫchenṅ) made of clay. They are fed through square

/388 cont./

1. (cont.) characters on it — no matter whether written or printed — I hoped that perhaps through him I would succeed in learning the possible diaries or other written notes of a Dzhaldzhin. But despite the high monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak for them, only a few scraps of one of Dzhaldzhin's maps of China were brought to me by their after the lapse of some time, when I had already again returned to the Nikolayevsk post.

/139 cont./

[illegible] the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible excursions and in [illegible] the starting of all kind of sleighs. The preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men return from their outside activities and when persons are gathering through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and who live in small huts, sometimes in rather great distance. Moreover, through the preparation for this meal the yurt is heated to the proper temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

Dried meat recently, dog meat — still a part of the bear festival; in there, the Nivkhs used the old steel-and-the old type of harness. The harness and the sledge which Grewingk saw in the Nivkhs in the beginning of the century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the same construction as another Tungus, namely, the Orochi, and were provided with a vertical shaft with the chief. The harness was made of a new type of steel.

The harness used the Gilyak trade wagon with a new type of steel. Its greater size and mobility permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods in a single journey drawn by 11 to 12 dogs. The Gilyak also had valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayar—usually called out his directions to his dog. The dogs were imported from Sakhalin and cost a brisk price. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a long or a longer sledge.

The Gilyak to a strength unknown to other peoples, especially in the Amur region, and, on the other hand, look as sturdy as they were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts especially sharply with the wide black edging with which the body of the robe is front, above and below, as well as the sleeves at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentioned color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on in the interveining spaces, and the back in particular is distinguished by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with different colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, Figs. 2, 3 and 4. The above-mentioned ornaments, however, too, are never lacking on them.

[illegible] 1895 г. 498—494 [illegible]

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, they began to use small quantities of tobacco, sugar and tea.

The immersion, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhs was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and was considered as a sacrificial animal. The Nivkhs also kept a few dogs in a household sense, as, for example, in a yurt, or in a fish-drying shed, or in a fish-drying shed, or in a fish-drying shed

/402 cont./

beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some
[494] sinew attached to the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the
[531] tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).

/402 At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak,
[494] who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements
[183] and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of
[171] the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a line for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

(3)

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 30. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rindô, "Tô-tari ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, Vol. 182, 188, 190, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note I. Fr. Schmidt, "Reinen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrovolskii, "Inzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Zvietiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 77). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

? [See Category 116, p. 1009 -- Analysis]

/403 cont./

286 (1. cont.)
[223] Geogr. Obshch., po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV,
[107] 1871, pp. 379, 390, 392, 500). N. Busse,
[113] Ostr. Sakhalin" (i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 70). Mimul, Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 31, 132. Recently Dr. Suzpunenko has given our museum several articles of clothing woven out of elm bast by the Ainu of Sakhalin.

likewise with the utilization of nettle fibers, among many Siberian peoples, such as the Ostyak, Kêgiz, Bashkir, Vogul on the Ural, and others, as an ancienly familiar one (2).

(13)

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost-Tartarye, second printing, 1705, pp. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, Leben und Gewohnheiten der Tataren /Life and Customs of the Ostyak/, Berlin, 1720, p. 30. Castren, Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845-49 /Travel Account and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Peterb., 1856, p. 55. Beliaevskii, Poiezdka k Ledovit. moriu /Journey to the Arctic Ocean/, Moscow, 1833, pp. 73, 77. Abramov", Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Island of Berezov Kraj/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 406). Archimandrite Platon, "Sur les Vogouls" (Klaproth, Magasin Asiat., Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 261).

(150) Moreover, in China, from where so much cultural influence reached the Gilyak and other Amur peoples, one type of nettle (Urtica nivea) is even cultivated in fields for use in weaving (3).

3. Barrow, Reise durch China im Gefolge

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned
[223] sideways served as protection from the wind. There were several
[107] other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance
[113] from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish; even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many impertinsions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

286 In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about
[223] the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is
[107] provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and
[824] Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and retted in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first
[142] part of the work, the preliminary stripping of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women, the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Nivkhi, with the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and soaked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak pukin) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

/559 cont./

286 which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illus-
[223] trated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from
[153] Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call
[107] "kangi-ngai" (kangi, horn; ngai, or from the name-piece of the
[113] Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak
411 kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white
[183] whale. A case made out of fur or fish-skin (Gilyak punnch-chal)
[223] is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ho)
[148] have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fish-
[113] ing eagle (Haliaëtus albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is wound on the spindles; the threads are then and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first part of the work, the preliminary stripping of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women, the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Nivkhi, with the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and soaked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak pukin) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winnyr (winter); and summer arrows, the vilyal are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone and
411 horn. Of the latter I have seen specimens of the sing leg bones of the
[183] musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended
[192] for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-2. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

Economy and Everyday Life

(223) The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most
[224] important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian
[225] salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zayezdki," sets sea
[226] salmon, or "zayezdki" was at its peak when the fish were taken and target
[227] set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the outcrop.
[228] On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a
[229] boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap
[230] and turned and swam into the net. Sometimes they saw the movement of the
[231] ropes, the fisherman lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this
[232] method, seven "zayezdki" produced 400,000 fish, or more than 2 tons. The Gilyakis
[233] needs of the fisherman. The "zayezdki" was usually built jointly by several families.

The salmon, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fibers
[234] They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom was standing in the
[235] shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from
[236] the Russians to sew together large salmon. Sedges and sturgeon were caught
[237] with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached
[238] to a long rope anchored in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (ungu-an-ma), carried
[239] on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets
[240] (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring
[241] and summer). The seines were used in the shallows.

The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the mouth of the Amur made a point of sea
[242] hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large
[243] fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the time of the first signs of breaking ice.
[244] They were killed with harpoons and clubs and dragged into the summer as well, in
[245] seiren on the ice floes. Seal-hunting was also pursued into the summer as well, in
[246] open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (ykh). This consisted

Sewing together a seine.

225 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
226 a special gift: the pim, throws into the sea together
786 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Ui,-ker, then they
782 throw their offerings into the sea from the first line at which
they stop. The Gilyakis believe that on every cape (kr,-) there
lives a ·tik- an old woman. These old women must also be
given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed
that ytax-·lik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who
lives in the mouth of the river Kal helps during the hunt.
225 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf
(Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes
spend the entire summer and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks
told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kuvr-
mkl (Shantar Islands) (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenck, the Gilyaks
go to Shantar Islands (On the natives
of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo·ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when
the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end
of the summer and then they would return to the village to
fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal
hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of
tsia-k'e, a heavy drag net.

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not
exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Nosp put
out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the
hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals
off cape Lisse and stayed there for two months.

The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
411 225 tsia-k'e. (2) Tsia-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
283

2. The very old seal-hunting implements in the
village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tia is
completely out of use. It was made out of a few long
sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted
with its structure and I observed how it is being used
in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18
kilometers in length.

maksuna. The rope is 45 ruchnyk (makhovyk) sagenes long.
Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a stretch.
Tsia-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the
tsia-k'e is called ·taki 'back.' The shore-end of the set is

411 called ymlrus and the sea-end is called ·zs-bax-puka
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied ·zs-bax 'master's stone' or 'masters stone,'
which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This
stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the
seine. In place of plummets stones are attached to the bottom
of the seine. They are called tstr-pay . Large wooden floats
(vas,) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine, and
a stretch gets caught in the net, the stretch starts to
flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge
of the seine together with the plummets over the upper edge and
finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into
the seine. The seals pryt are shrewd and are seldom caught
in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of
the village Kul set the tsia-k'e at Kôvt-yain, Ks-ymu, Vilk
Lo·ri, and at.

According to old man Virp, some claims in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus Clan Qayjuy owned: 1. Lulvyz-pax, 2. Qayaqi,
424 3. Ir.
411 Lulv. -p·r and ·a,ryaqi are names of rocks sticking out
of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks.
It is a small island close to which there is another such rock.

3. In fog the hunters come alongside of the shore
or of the small island ·r. Then the young hunters
amuse themselves and play. There are only two
tsagr-pak stones for a game: "who can lift it and
who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat
place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition
consists in jumping on one foot (ta,lut ferd).

Clan Tsauuuy owned: 1. Mat,-lotri, 2. Tp·ri-yr·x, 3. Zom
v.r.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are
resting places for seals. The third is a rock.
Clan Kezop owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for
seals and Hapsa-vir - a stone.
225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

dominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of
hination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs
their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imag-
tion so boldly that their assertions contradict those of
er shamans or of everyday experience. From conversa-
ns, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the
yak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits,
n good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not
erged from fetishism.
od (Kush or Kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and
er appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing
aid of his characteristics. In one village, however, I
rd that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In
we may already see something like priestly self-glorifi-
ion. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother
ch about him, only now and then something is sacrificed
im, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him
or his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak
sses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a
l of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the
rifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is
rificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a
ke is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it
let or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240]
tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme
g. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.
he bear usually appears as the executor of divine
inances, and he punishes the bad people during their life-
e. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstiti-
s ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be
arded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as
d or demigod.
he Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they
om encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-
d him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded
aving some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a
ain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored
". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874.
(Published in Russian).

ble. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and
the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

825 and if he gets
789 handled with
278 house of the i
Besides the s
sold, for the
brave, and the
776 Of the nume
782 know about, s
ity are more
with gifts. Th
island of Sakha
778 ponds to the d
782 and "idol" are
532 symbols, but
kobolds. Usua
handed out on
means that its
it gets "lighter
somewhere.
tobacco, etc.;
with cranberry
Wood chips are
different appea
lives in a wood
vicinity of the
taken down, th
one is made.
others have the
still others hav
idols represent
hands and feet,
ing a navel. S
These also usu
789 different. Thu
844 figure carved
Besides the
778 looking objects
782 have a mysteri
177 stands on the s

1. From

Nikolayevsk-na
a Bhuddist tem
pillars remain,

aught, he is killed. But even after that he is
spect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
ols and left there until it begins to decay.
in, the bones and the gall are immediately
rmer are held by the Gilyak to make a man
latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
ous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
me are good and protect man, but the major-
r less evil, and must therefore be propitiated
e chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the
lin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
vil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
both called kegn, for the idols are not only
t times also the dwellings of the spirits or
lly they are kept in the storage huts and only
pecial occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it
inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when
" than usual, the spirit is roaming about
he offerings here also consist of millet,
very often the face of the idol is smeared
juice, which seems to have a powerful effect.
also hung around its neck. The idols have
rances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24]
en cone that is placed somewhere in the
yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be
e idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new
Some idols are crude imitations of humans,
shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin,
ve the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like
t children, others old people. Some have
others only a head which sits on a body show-
mall idols are sometimes worn as talismans.
ally have human forms, but some look very
s the talisman against a difficult birth is a
of wood, representing a double acorn.
idols, there are some more or less strange-
not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
ous significance for them. Such an object
o-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

the Gilyak village Tyr.

-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank
ple formerly stood; of this only a few stone
bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

281

281 WORK IN SKINS--preparation of hides and furs (e.g., drying, scraping
ning, tawing); materials and products; special apparatus; cutting an
ing of skins; specialization and organization; etc. See also:
Animal by-products . . . . . 237 General tools . . . . . .
Manufacture of garments 394

284

4 KNOTS AND LASHINGS--types of knots and their uses; splices; methods of lashing, hafting, and joining; etc. See also:

Weapons and tools . . . . . 41 Surgical ligatures. 752
Knot records 211

/509/

G. G. 412 171 [396 126]

The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is d
all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilya

[284]

Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of
Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the A
Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is il
the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which
acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, an
made in the following manner. At the upper end of
branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron b
ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong,
means of its upper part, which is all that remains of
the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the ac

G. 412 171

Gold RX3
IIII.

G.
Gi
481
.284

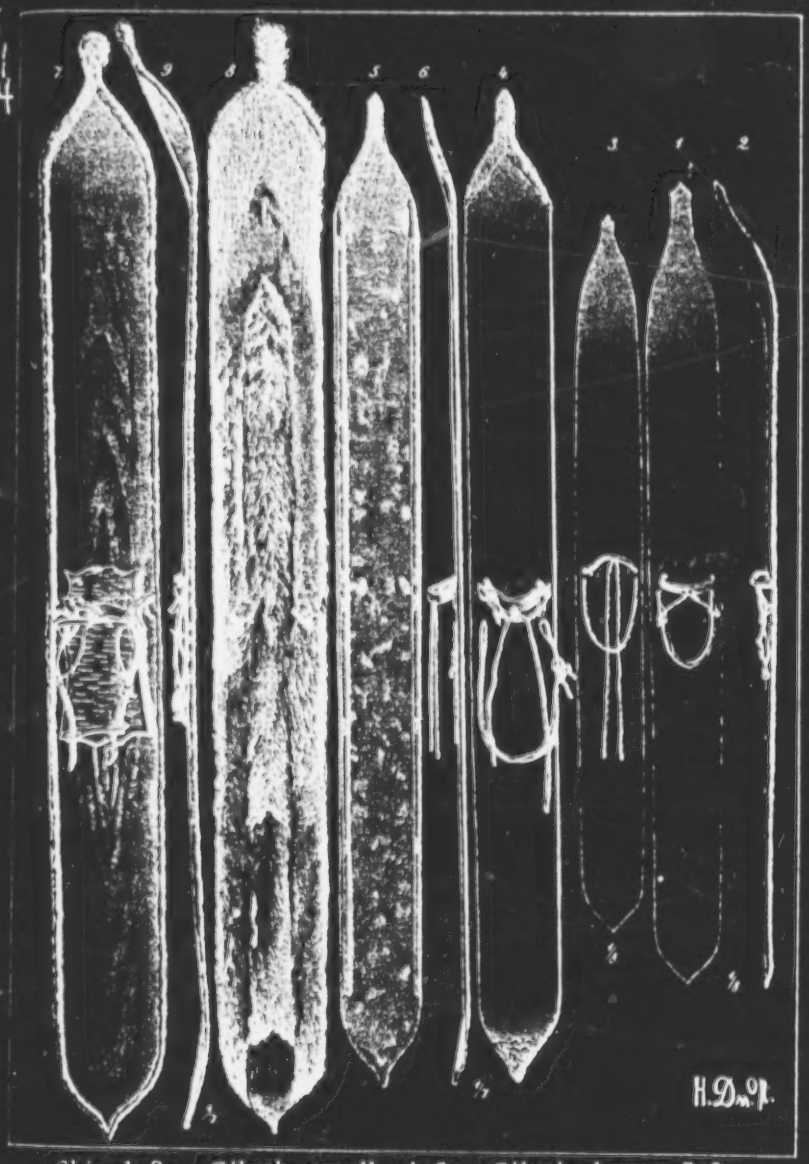

Ski: 1-3 -- Gilyak, small; 4-6 -- Gilyak, large; 7-9 -- Goldi, large.

e skin, [LSS: of the white whale.] I believe,
l (Arctocephalus monteriensis), thongs of se
it spirally. These are again cut into lengths
ons, dog harness, and straps generally."

and certainly from that of the
everal hundred feet are obtained
s of about 130 feet, and much prized

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1, 2 -- weapons for killing seals; 3, 4 -- weapons for killing white whales.

285

285 MATS AND BASKETRY--techniques of manufacture (e.g., checkerwork, coiling, twilled work, twining, wickerwork, wrapped work); materials; products; uses of mats and baskets; personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Household appurtenances. . . . . 352 Utensils. 415

342 /327 cont./ They are fed through square
354 openings (f) on their front side and on top have /328/ a round
[415] hole (g) for the large kettle, in which the fish broth for the dog
and under certain circumstances even food for human beings ar
342 prepared. Directly adjacent to the hearths are the sitting and
352 sleeping benches or plank beds (h, Gilyak: tikky) which bend i
354 very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet hi
and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chi
characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of
wooden pipes (i) lined with clay, which come out from both
hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the
house diagonally across from the entrance. From here the sing
pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as an outlet
for the smoke runs out of the house underground and opens not
far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (
Gilyak: kla) usually higher than the house. The benches are
342 covered with mats usually plaited by the Gilyak themselves ou
352 of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncover
● [285] and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mat
places. In the center of the house, between the two posts sup-
342 porting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (l), about two
352 fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and
231 which I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Gilyak: kyl
The top of it, which along its longitudinal edges usually projec
out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped contin
tions, rests upon four posts (m) firmly rammed into the ground
and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, du
ing the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them.
Above the two ends of the dogs' table two cross-sticks hang dow
from the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long po
can be stuck between them, to which the dogs are tied during
the feeding. Our Plate XII, 3/4 which shows the feeding of the do
to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of
the interior of a Gilyak winter-house; I must mention, howeve
that the dogs' table on it is drawn a little too small and, on the
other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide
Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and
the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurat
3/4 [See Category 116, P. 992 -- Analyst]

286

286 WOVEN FABRICS--textiles; weaving, knitting, and netting techniques; special apparatus (e.g., netting needle, loom); products and their uses; specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Clothing	29	Industrial production of textiles	288
Spinning	283	Description of power looms	402

/402 cont./

294 412 531 beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).[1]

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak, 286 283 171 who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

(113)

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izviestiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

[1] [See category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]

/532 cont./

286 uniform in shape. Nevertheless, as we shall see in a moment, only a few, about four, can be distinguished among them as the most important and most practicable sizes on the basis of the principal types of fish. But before we discuss them in more detail, consideration must be given to one instrument which is used by the Gilyak for knotting all nets, no matter how fine or coarse they may be, for an uninterrupted and an even flow of the work. This is the so-called pork (Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 7) -- a wooden reel revolving around its axis, with two arms at the top and at the bottom, on which the cord for the net is wound and which is hung by its lower handle-end on a ceiling beam of the /533/ yurt or elsewhere, so that the threads required as the work progresses always run smoothly and unchecked to the knotter.

[192] The two most important tools used by the Gilyak for net-knotting are a peculiar netting-needle, Gilyak kilks (1) (Pl.

1. Among the Olcha it is called ssarpol, and among the Goldi ssarfo.

XLI /see p.1021/, Figs. 1-4), and a rectangular wooden board called kiwu (2) (ibid., Figs. 5 and 6). The former consists of

[104] 2. The w in this word is pronounced like the English w. Among the Olcha the kiwu is called keror or kerul.

a long, narrow, and thin wooden plate, the lower end of which is two-pronged as a result of the cutting out of a section, while in the upper half two long cutouts running parallel to the edges and meeting just short of the tip, leaves a long prong in between reaching almost to the tip, which I shall call the upper prong to distinguish it from the two on the lower end. The cord to be used for making the net, unwinding from the above-mentioned reel, is wound around these three prongs, and, indeed, in such a manner that it is alternately slung around the one and the other of the two lower prongs and, in between, always around the upper prong.

/533 cont./

286 192 Wound in this manner, the kilks, like a shuttle, moves from one side to the other and back again, providing the material for the net and at the same time, knotting its meshes. But in order to make the latter and at the same time give them a certain uniform size, the kiwu is used, a rectangular little board, straight and horizontal at the top and bottom and indented at the sides, with two, approximately triangular cutouts, which, however, seem to be there only for stringing these boards on a cord, like a bunch of keys, and thus making it easier to store them.

286 192 226 [225] The larger the meshes of a net are to be, the larger must be the instruments used in making it, the kilks and the kiwu. The net used for catching hausen (patch-tscho) and occasionally also for seals -- Gilyak patch-kä -- has the largest meshes and, correspondingly, is made out of the thickest cord. Therefore to make it the largest instruments are used: the netting needle, Fig. 4, called patch-kä-kilks by the Gilyak (also tolles-kilks and kerwagn-kä-kilks), and the corresponding mesh-board, patch-kä-kiwu, Fig. 6 on the plate cited. Then, according to size, the equipment used for the knotting of the sturgeon net, Gilyak tukki-kä, follows: tukki-kä-kilks (also jaghsin-kä-kilks), Fig. 3, and tukki-kä-kiwu, Fig. 5 of the plate named. The next smaller, third netting-needle, Fig. 2, called anga-kä-kilks or also nokn-kä-kilks, is used for making the nets with which such fish as pilengat (Cyprinus carpio), mimk (Hypophthalmichthys dybowskii), kych, etc. are caught. A fourth, even smaller netting-needle, Fig. 1, was designated for me by the Gilyak as myrch-kä-kilks, that is, as the needle which serves for making the bag net (myrch-kä) used in the above-mentioned salmon weirs. They added, 286 226 however, that nets knotted with this needle were also used for catching the tengi, S. proteus. /534/ From this one may conclude that the bag nets of the salmon weirs used chiefly, or indeed, as far as I could see, exclusively, for catching S. lagocephalus are relatively fine-meshed, for even fish much smaller than S. lagocephalus, such as S. proteus in particular, do not require finer nets. And that is probably the result of learning by experience that with larger meshes in a bag net the fish entering it in

/534 cont./

226 286 great multitudes and heavily crowding one another could easily slip through, which would considerably reduce or even bring to naught the mass catch of the most important of all fish aimed at by erecting the myr. Furthermore, this bag net need not be made out of a very thick cord, because, when filled, it is immediately dragged to the not very distant bank. I did not see the mesh-board which go with the latter two netting-needles, and which of course, are likewise of correspondingly smaller size in comparison with those mentioned earlier. Since the Gilyak have even finer nets than the myrch-kä, such as, for example, the bag nets used in the smaller river-branches and lakes for catching crucians and smaller fish, they must certainly have even smaller netting-needles and mesh-boards than the last-named ones, even though always of the same form; but these are of so much less importance that, when I inquired about them, they were neither able to show me any nor give me special names for them.

286 Now when the knotting of a net with the instruments described is being done, a special wooden fork designed for this purpose is fastened to the bench in the yurt, on the edge of the boat, or wherever the work is to be done, and one of its prongs is used to hold the net being knotted, while over the other one are hung the pieces already completed (1). After the knotting

[192] 1. The Gilyak designation for this fork remains unknown to me; according to Maack (op. cit., p. 130), the Goldi call it chalang.

is completed, the net is edged all around with cord twisted out of willow bast and is provided with a second cord of this kind at the upper and lower ends on the outside, running close to the first one and connected with it only at individual points. While 227 fishing, small stones or the above-mentioned wooden or bark floats are fastened between these two cords as required. The [286] nets of the Gilyak are always handled with great care and

G /534 cont./
227 consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
• [286] the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
[784] are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and super-
stition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he
must always go around them, never underneath them. And,
finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used
again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among
the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used
in making it.

G Gi /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
226 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the
433 lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with
a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in
part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in
G part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught.
Gi First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
[262] all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from
the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new
methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that
none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are
or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak,
and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and
with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among
G. all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest
Gi to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life,
[224] hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying
the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more im-
portant role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is
more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream
and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently,
it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this
away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish-
G. ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
Gi 226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the
221 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that
the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

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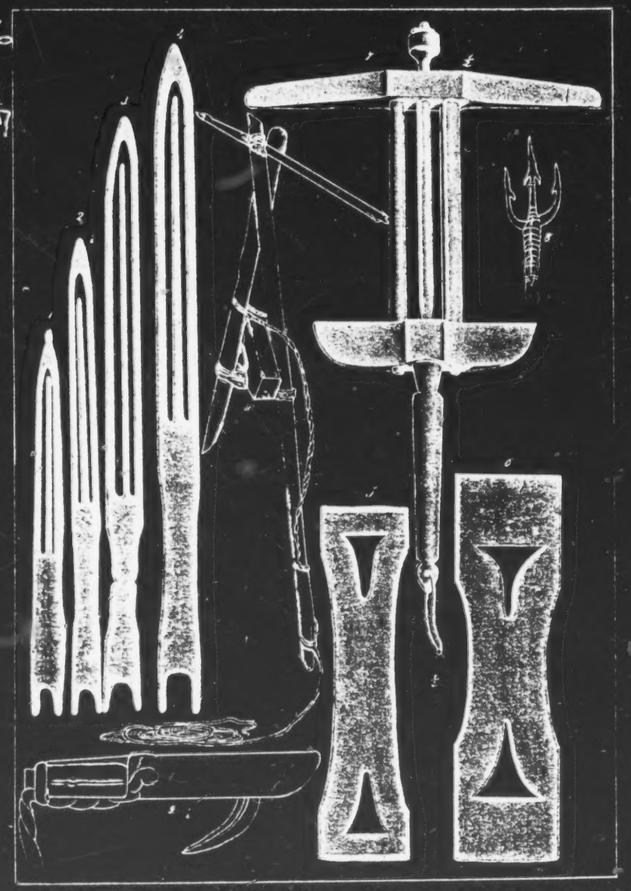

Fishing equipment of the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi: 1-6 -- needles for plaiting nets (Gilyak) /see the listing for Pl. XLI, p. 431hh /; 7 -- yarn reel (Gilyak); 8 -- fish harpoon (Goldi); 9 -- fishhook for sturgeon (Goldi); 10 -- anchor that goes with it (Goldi).

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Economy and Everyday Life

226 The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most
[433] important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this
[433] method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the
[496] needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber.
227 They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the
[283] shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from
[177] the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign [illegible] breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted

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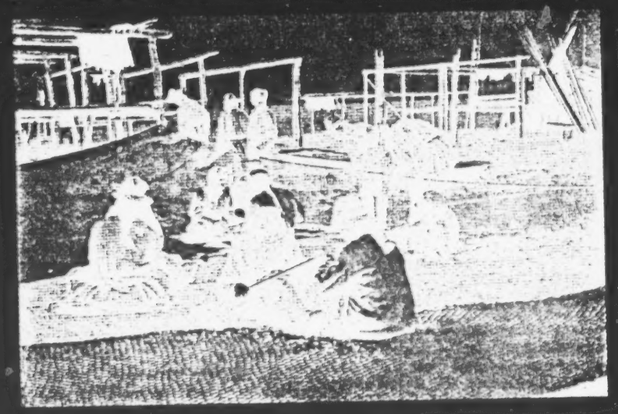

Sewing together a seine.

/403 cont./

1. (cont.)
Geogr. Obshch., po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 379, 390, 392, 500). N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 70). Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /S[illegible]ch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1[illegible], pp. 31, 132. Recently Dr. Ssuprunenko has given our museum several articles of clothing woven out of elm bast by the Ainu of Sakhalin.

likewise with the utilization of nettle fibers, among many Siberian peoples, such as the Ostyak, Kirgiz, Bashkir, Vogul on the Ural, and others, as an anciently familiar one (2).

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost-Tartarye, second printing, 1705, pp. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, Leben und Gewohnheiten der Ostjaken /Life and Customs of the Ostyak/, Berlin, 1720, p. 30. Castren, Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845-49 /Travel Account and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 55. Beliaevskii, Poiezdka k" Ledovit. moriu /Journey to the Arctic Ocean/, Moscow, 1833, pp. 73, 77. Abramov", Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Krai/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 406). Archimandrite Platon, "Sur les Vogouls" (Klaproth, Magasin Asiat., Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 251).

Moreover, in China, from where so much cultural influence reached the Gilyak and other Amur peoples, one type of nettle (Urtica nivea) is even cultivated in fields for use in weaving (3).

3. Barrow, Reise durch China im Gefolge

/403 cont./

3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, Journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

286 194 191 [126] [114] I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu, knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I acquired from them in the village of Ssabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas [199] the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish: even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

286 283 [824] In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first [462] part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women; the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, [114] as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kuik. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak puksj) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

/532 cont./

286 283 this work and describes it as follows (1). "The thread intended f

[113] [114]

1. Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 230, note 5; Mél. biolog., Vol. II, p. 501, note 5. The observations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on a voyage in the lower Amur region between the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts; to be sure, it is not said whether he was among the Gilyak or among the Olcha, but it may be safely assumed that the work discussed is done in precisely the same way among both of these peoples.

the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is protected against unwinding. The threads running through the ring are tied to a suspended spindle, which is kept in rotating motion until the cord is firmly twisted together sufficiently, and, as a consequence of this, the rotating spindle has been forced almost up to the ceiling. The firmly twisted piece of cord is now wound on the suspended spindle and protected against unwinding. Then new thread is released from the stationary spindles, the rest is made fast, and the work continues in the same way." The cords obtained in this manner are in no way inferior in tightness and uniformity to good types of our hemp cords.

286 [227] In view of the considerable variation in size of just the principal fish that the Gilyak catch, say, from the smaller cyprinoids or the tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, to the colossal hausen, the nets used for catching them are also made with meshes varying greatly in size and out of cord of various thicknesses. And, correspondingly, the instruments used by the Gilyak for knotting their nets are of widely varying sizes, while

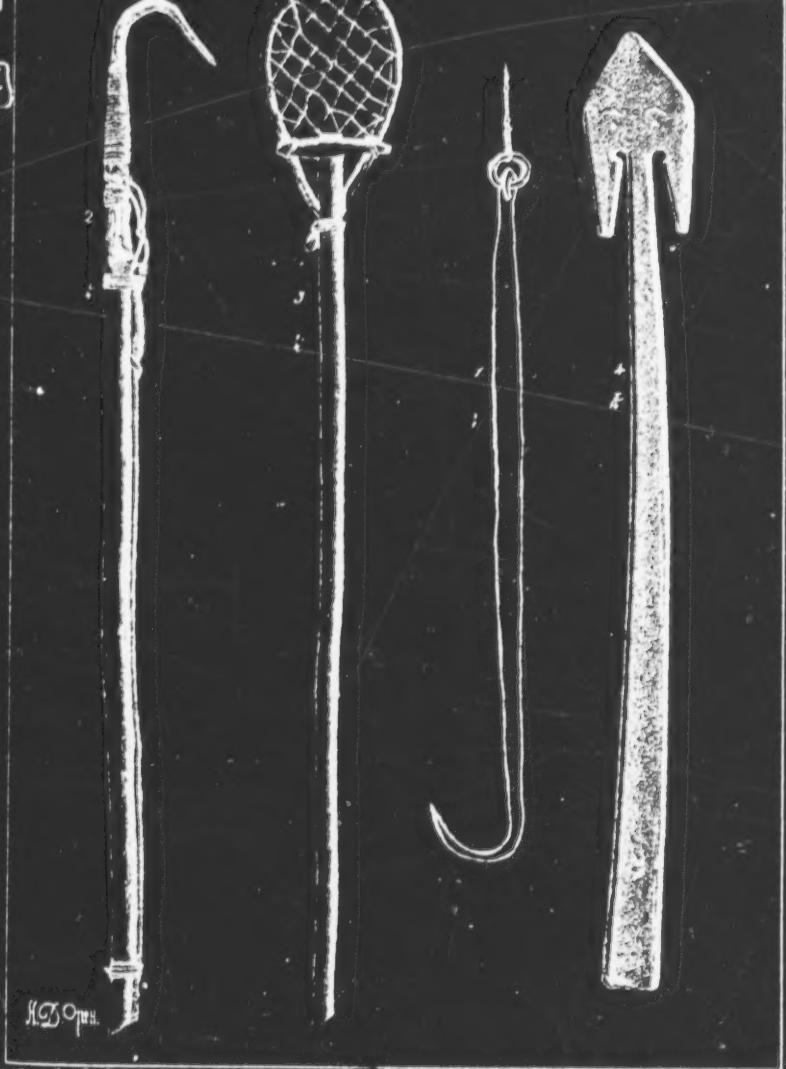

Gilyak fishing equipment: 1 -- fishhook for Gadus wachnja (Pall.); 2 -- hook for pulling out fish; 3 -- net for cleaning out the holes in the ice; 4 -- odn-tschongr of the Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--554 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

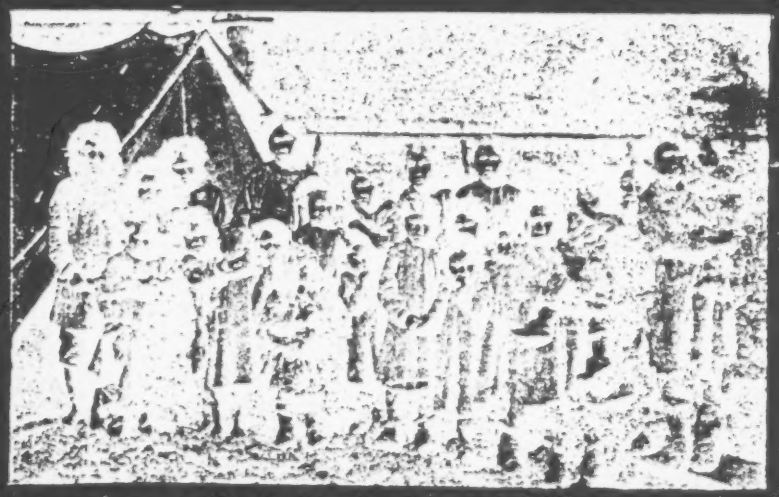

Photo. 26. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

2: Schrenck--207 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881

/100 cont./

101 cases, on the other hand, where nearer an
were involved, they gave different names
one and the same people differing only sli
101 is therefore not surprising that one finds co
114 in the interpretations made up to now abo
Chinese names, for which the above point
and which, in addition, came from men
sonal acquaintance with the lower-Amur p
example, thought at the beginning that Fi
were the Manchu terms for the Gilyak (4);

(113) 4. Asia polyglotta, Paris, 182
301. In this connection he r
Gilyak as the Kuriles of the c
cerning which more later.

5. Atlas accompanying Timko
Journey, loc. cit.

he thought that he recognized in the Kilen
called themselves, the Gilyak of the Russi
ever, even recently regarded the Fiaka as
on the other hand, as Amgunj-Tungus, tha
considers the alleged habitation sites of th
as the few reports concerning their respect
way of life, clothing, etc., one must, to
right to the latter interpretation, but cann
it either. The description of the Fiaka in
•[291] ing Timkovski's Journey, as a crude, but b
winter are clothed in pelts of dog fur, inco
Gilyak better than that of the Kileng, who
for /101/ perhaps also roe or reindeer ski
a Tungusic people devoted to a higher leve

1. The drawings of the Kileng
(Atlas, Plate VII), as crude an

d more familiar regions
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ightly dialectally. It
ontradictory statements
ut these Manchu-
of view was not followed
who lacked any per-
peoples. Klaproth, for
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later (5), however,

23, pp. 290,
egards the
ontinent, con-

ovski's

g, as they supposedly
ans. Palladij, how-
Gilyak, and the Kiler,
at is, Negda. If one
ese peoples, as well
ive character traits,
be sure, grant more
ot entirely agree with
the atlas accompany-
brave people who in
ontestably fits the
se clothing of stag hide
ns) in itself indicates
el of hunting (1).

and Fiaka
d dissimilar

A G 101 439

/117 cont./ buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G 175 113 291

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. Gi 101

The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

A F.J. Gi 103

Gi 101 175 439 F.J. 101

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

4 sled is 70-80 rubles.
2 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is the fact that he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely packed snow as the horse, and in general is much more agile, so that a dog-sled finds its way without a road where horses sink in up to their chests and cannot move from the spot. Moreover, one can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus visit uninhabited regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and about 30 pood of baggage. However, this applies more to Russian teams, for the Russians feed their animals better (1) and their dogs pull

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In drying the salmon, they divide it into three parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.
1 As is well known, snow shoes are used for walking on the loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very far. The Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch wood about two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered with seal-skin, the hair of which is turned in such a way as to prevent the shoes from slipping back.

VII. Trades and Occupations

5 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indispensable tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, etc.
Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting, etc., are caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thread or hemp fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the frost for a time,

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. The spindle is like that used by the Russians. The long, lower end of the shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set into motion and at the same time one end of two long strands is tossed over the head of the spinner, while the other end is pressed against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up. The net is braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are the duties of the women, but sometimes the men also condescend to do them.
5 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught with a fishing rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along the coast haddock is also plentiful that there is a special kind of hook used for it. The end of the line is studded with a number of hooks which face in all directions; in winter such a line

462 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.
286 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
326 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
463 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.
572 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

411 The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.
The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i. e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

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291 NORMAL GARB--nude and covered parts of body; services of clothing (e.g., protection, vanity, modesty); standard costume; age and sex differences; seasonal variations; styles and fashions; description of individual garments; means of attachment and suspension (e.g., belt); etc. See also:

Cyclical trends in fashions 178
Sumptuary laws 434
Sexual modesty 834
Swaddling and infant attire 854

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion. Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves -- the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak, made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel' has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a [133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence [226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This [172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

/254 cont./

832 826 609 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Pilsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhrā -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

832 826 533 In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree," luxuriant hair (a braid reaching to the waist, hair made sleek), gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side, smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size (his trunk is an arm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

832 291 533 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 577 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ŕvukh'a, i.e., respected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer, Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the [867] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

Sakhalin

/350 cont./

175 169 648 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

104 160 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

179 41 325 342 354 291 292 262 244 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent, have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows. They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

179 325 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

Amur
Sakhalin

Photo. 22. Amur Gilyak.

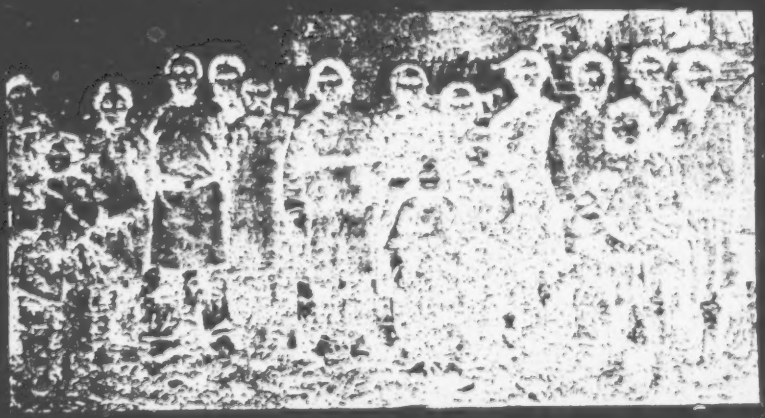

Photo. 23. Sakhalin Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--553 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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Photo. 24. Sakhalin Gilyak,

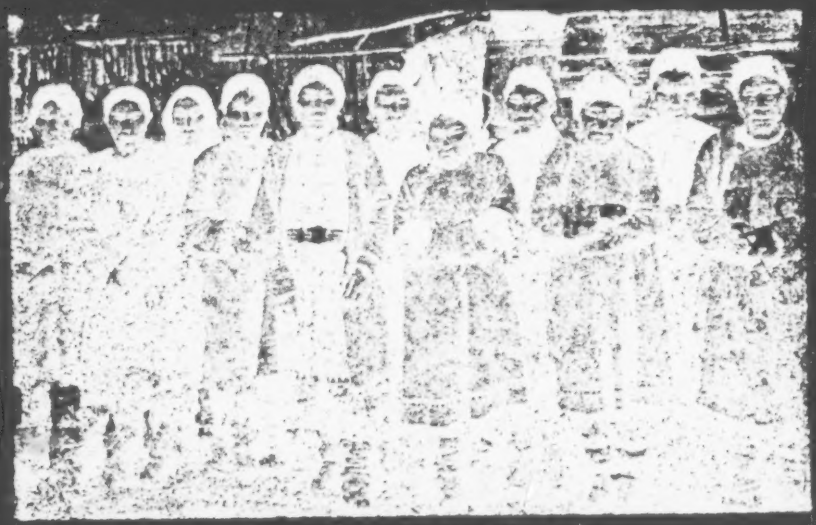

Photo. 25. Sakhalin Gilyak.

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Tungus RU

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are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an additional motive for the nomadic life.

/386/

Section 5

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External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style, Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized people, they secure them from the same source as their food, whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic animals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

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As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our discussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and seal-hunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only second place among them; furthermore they keep only one domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft animals; and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203 above.

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Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, besides cottons, which since ancient times they have obtained from the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak, possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skins of dogs and seals and fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, fox, otter, sable, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

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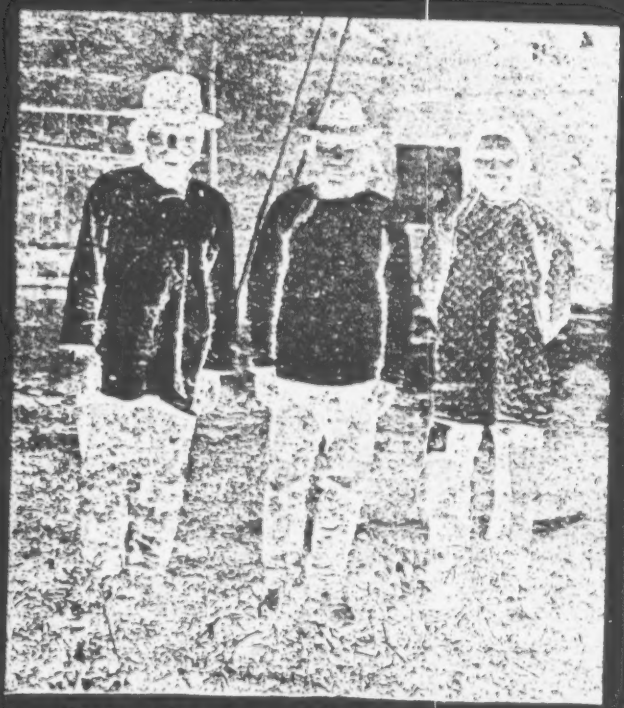

Photo. 16. Amur Gilyak.

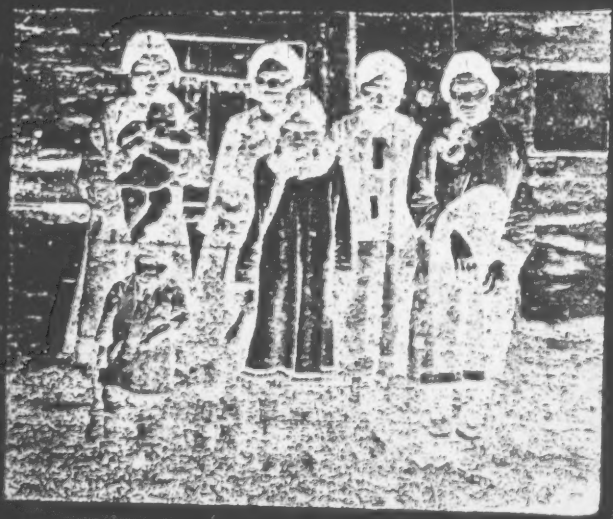

Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--551 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Amur
Sakhalin

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Photo. 18. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 19. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

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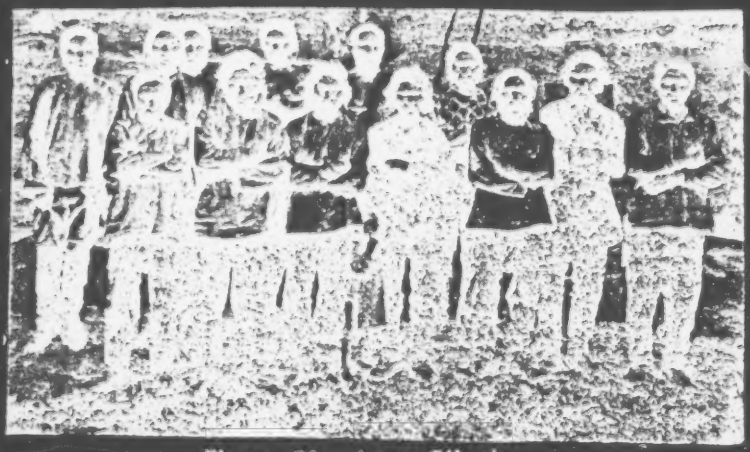

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

1, 2, -- Gilyak Women; 3, 4 -- Gilyak Gi
Gilyak Men

2: Schrenck--425 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

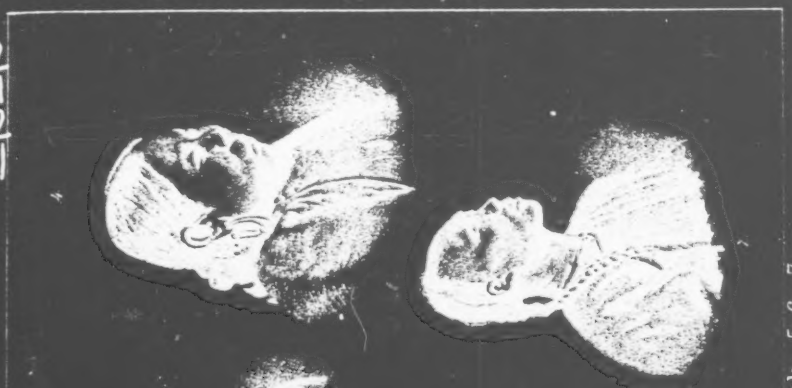

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CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

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represent the principal articles in the trade with the Chinese. Since in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange, besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this trade has a very great association with this civilized people next to them, easily explain the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and arrangement of embroidery and other decorations.

/387/ The clothing worn not to the body by the Gilyak consists of drawers, which are sometimes cut in a single piece, tunnies (Gilyak [illegible]), an under and an outer skirt (Gilyak [illegible]) reaching to the knees and sometimes to the ankles, and a short shirt. These articles of clothing are always made out of Chinese, for nowadays also of Russian, blue or gray cotton material, and sometimes also of white, which, however, they do not wear when wash their clothing, very soon turns a more or less dirty gray.

As a rule, no outer garment is needed during the summer, but if unfavorable weather, not infrequent even in this season, requires it, a winter garment, in particular the dog-fur coat to be described later, is used. High boots of seal leather and fur always wore as footgear. As a rule, the lower part of the boot (Gilyak [illegible]) and the sole are made of the skin of Phoca barbata (Gilyak [illegible]), tightened and highly polished. Sometimes, in the case of older specimens, it thicker and more durable than that of the other type of seal very common in the waters of the Amur region (2). Summerboots (Gilyak [illegible] and [illegible]-[illegible]) (3) and

1. See my Beis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Lengr simply means "seal."

for this purpose deprived of its hair. In accordance with the foot structure of the Gilyak, the lower part of the boot is small and graceful, with a high back and sharply bent toe, and the pointed end, turned somewhat upward and back, shows unmistakably the influence of the Chinese pattern. The legs of the boots, broad

/388 cont./
Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin tunnies they also

1. During my stay in the Amur region, among such decorated several little bran crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" on the back of the medallion, I found the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wai or one of the nearby villages. In the Amur region, these pieces come from the French missionary, de la Brunière, who in 1864, after he had left the mission station in Wai, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak. His colleague Venaut, who by order of the governor-general of Manchuria made a journey in 1880 from Aike-bo on the Sungari to the station of Wai, found in a Gilyak house, in one, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Comte, Adrien de Gerlaz, Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1882 (Vol. III), p. 228). In my ethnographic objects collected by Venaut concerning the kilting of ice in Brunière, I found a little cross and medal of pewter that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wai and Sadach, at the point where the mole in a savage pate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1856. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wai was amazed to see me as one of the Chinese. The moderen. He evaded or declined to adhere to questions concerning the Gilyak. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (ulkuch) to destroy a piece of paper with

/389/
The footgear of the Gilyak women is the same as among the men, namely, "Chinese make the man." Which is special, for the women wear, not only occasionally, have legs likewise of fish skin instead of leather, as the men of Chinese. Besides from Gilyak [illegible]-[illegible], also from Saime [illegible] (Gilyak [illegible]-[illegible]), which women also wear, and which, as the Chinese is in regard to the equivalent of two other skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not rare among the Gilyak, and, as a rule, only the rich can obtain it. As a table to be presented below, on the values given by the Gilyak to various articles of clothing, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which cost much more than a lynx skin. Such articles are the [illegible] and the [illegible] and attention as the lapter does. Conceptions of product and that therefore come into play here. In view of the active, commercial relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, or, the Chinese, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

/394 cont.

the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur cap, inside the yurt. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the area of the pit of the stomach free, they are flap lined with fur, the so-called koch-pani, it were there under the shirt, on the naked body, hung round the neck with a small head and at the bottom knotted around the body by two cords. The example of the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 3 which I saw in the possession of the Gilyak Justin in Tebach, was of Gold workmanship. In was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with fur, and adorned all around with the fur, and the pendant on the outside with multicolored and in part artistic embroidery on black cotton material, which I shall come back to below. Here there must still be mentioned a special form of pendant that I noticed in particular among the Tro Gilyak in Nyi, both among adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a peach tied around the loins and of use to the male sex only. For the Gilyak sitting outside their huts it is especially important to protect the lower against wind and weather, and so the lower death (Gilyak pani) made of sealskin and tied around the leg below or above the knee serves for this purpose.

/395 The footgear has already been mentioned above. In the winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put on boots made of bear skin, or more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). According

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland, for example (Pub. Museum. "Der Eismeer von Grönland /The Interior of Greenland/," in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, Pl. 13)

ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a description of the town of Ningsta in 1722, it is also customary among the Manchu there, and for this they use a soft, fine, longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

/395 cont.

sala (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with

2. According to Maximowicz (Statistisch/Orientalische Reise in Ussuri-Land, in Mél. géographiques, 1. Fascicule, p. 1/Acad. de sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to E. Bretschneider (Pub. Museum. Ost-Asiatische Gesellschaft, Vol. IX, 1880

2: Schrenck-- 990 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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2: Schrenck--1261 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 III

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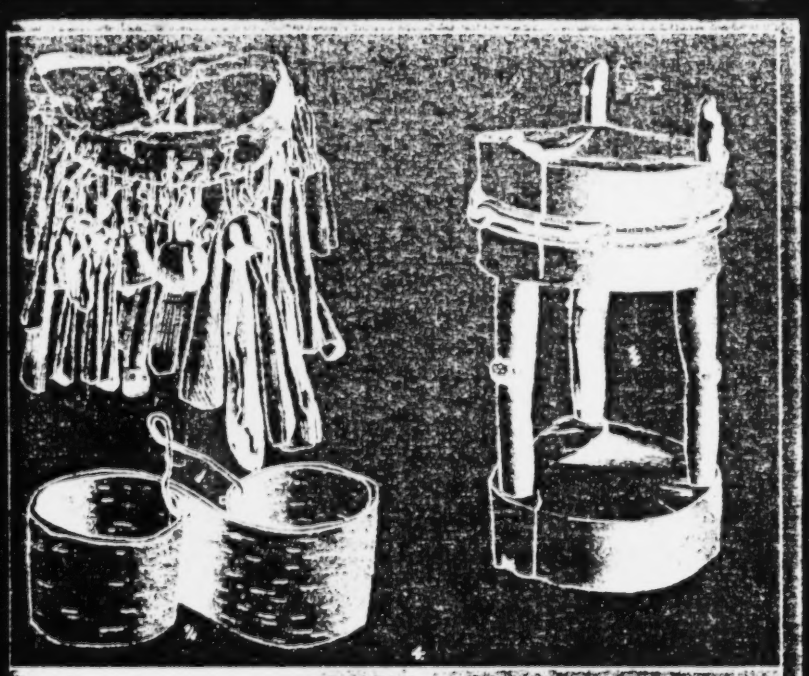

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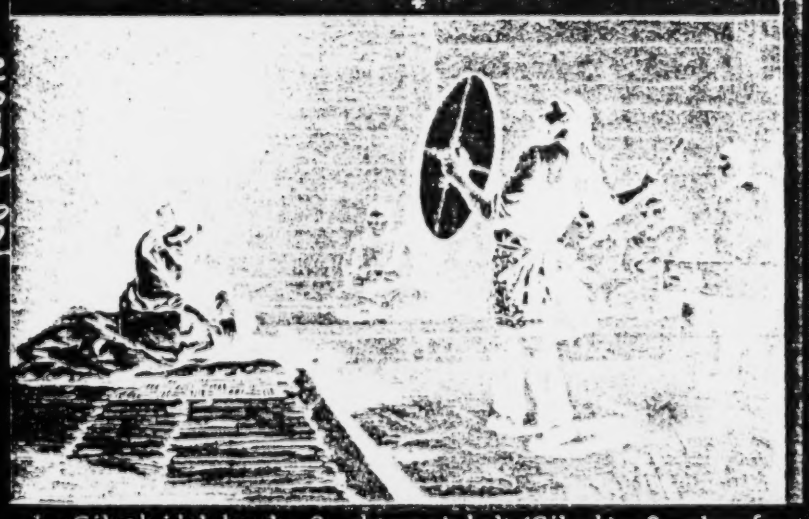

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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XI.

Gilyak winter houses, decorated for the bear festival. Entertainment in front of them.

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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LXII

A Gilyak corpse in the yurt.

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XII

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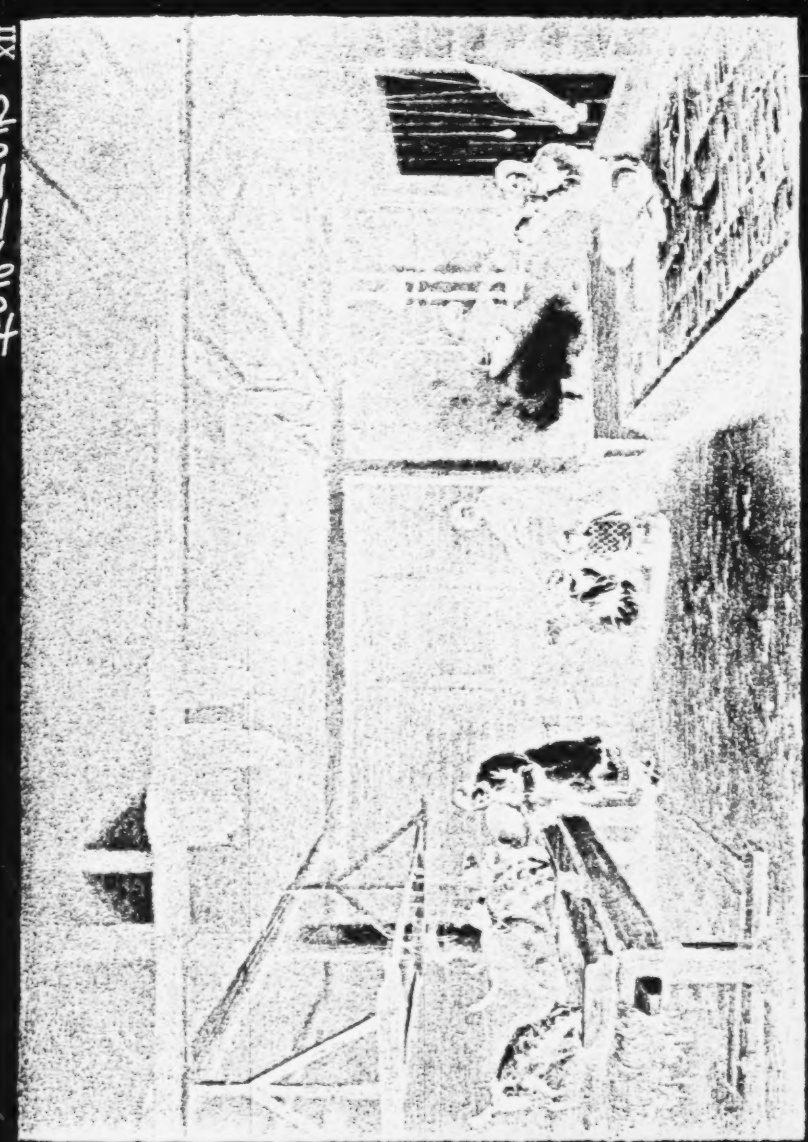

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

2: Schrenck--1263 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXIII

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Gilyak interment.

Gilyak winter caps: 1 -- men's cap; 2 -- women's everyday cap; 3 -- women's elegant cap made of Chinese silk material; 4 -- the same made of lynx fur with sable trimming.

2: Schrenck--1002 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XXII

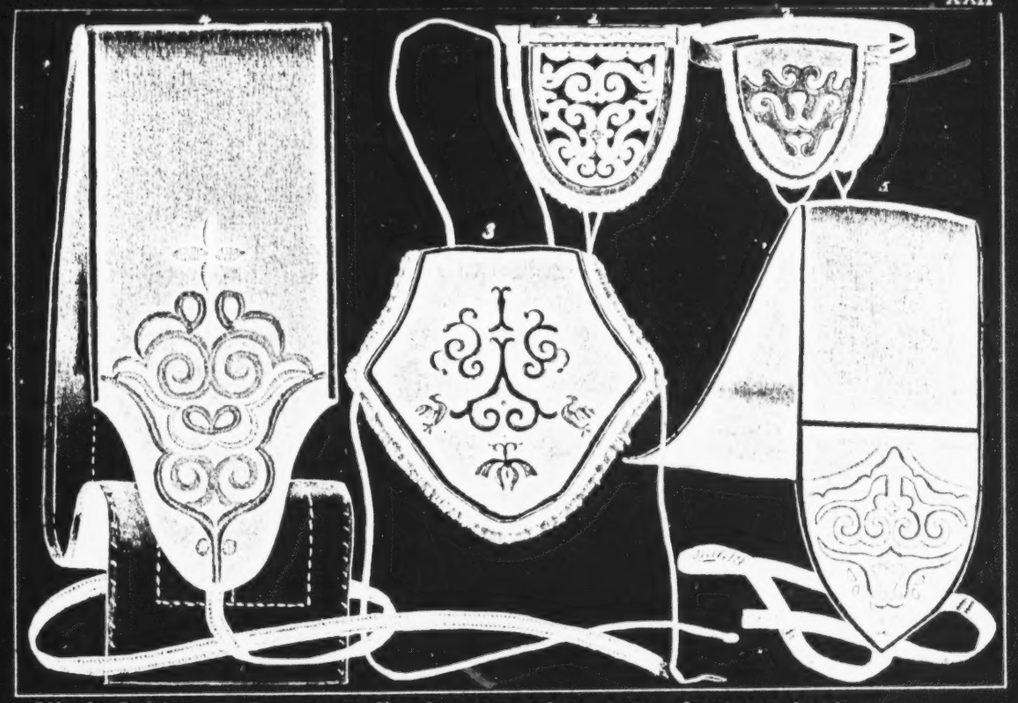

Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- ear muffs; 3 -- stomacher; 4, 5 -- fur sleeve-bands.

2: Schrenck--1009 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

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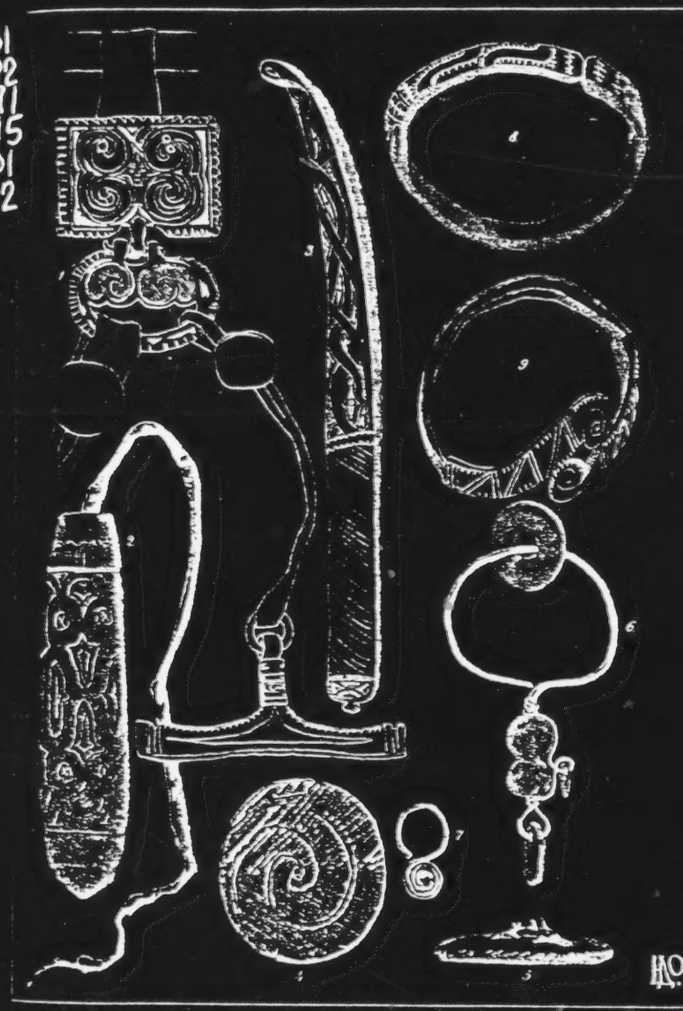

Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

/409 cont./

As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

Gi /492 cont./

Gi 492 the river near the Gilyak village of Plub-wo, we saw in the willow
Gi 493 thickets along its bank three sleds harnessed to dogs, whose drivers
[114] had climbed down and were holding their dogs. They informed us
G. at once that an Orok reindeer-expedition was approaching and that
Gi we must likewise hold back our dogs. Two of the men could be
[291] recognized as Orok merely by their clothing, the reindeer-fur coat
caps, boots; the third was dressed like a Gilyak, in a coat of dog
fur, with sealskin boots and apron-like skirt (kossjkcha), the latter

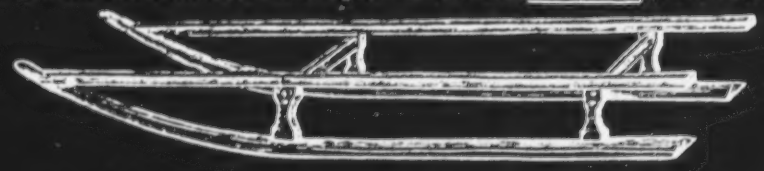

Orok Sled

Gi 493 of which was not lacking on the other two. Their sleds differed
no less than their clothing: two of them could not be distinguished
from the Gilyak sleds, but the third, a national Orok reindeer-sled
was of an entirely different nature. The accompanying illustration
which was made from a hastily drawn sketch in my diary, may
give an approximate idea of it. In comparison with the Gilyak
sled, it was far shorter and somewhat wider, with the same height
the soles /runners/ were likewise wider than among them, triangular
in cross-section, and provided with a sharp edge at the top. Toward
the rear they were completely horizontal up to the blunt ends;
toward the front they gradually sloped upward to join the longitudinal
side-bars of the sled at an acute angle; but there was no
curved piece of wood connecting the soles and the longitudinal
bars on either side, so that from the front the sled seemed to gape
so to speak. Two of the waiting sleds were loaded with reindeer
Gi moss, the third contained some household utensils, ski, lances,
492 bows, etc. It was not long before the reindeer-expedition of the
493 Orok could be seen and passed by us in a curve. It consisted of
5-7 sleds of exactly the type described above. Each of them was
harnessed to one reindeer, which pulled the sled by one strap.
The guide-strap ran from the horns down under the neck and chest

/598 cont./

435 undoubtedly can be explained by their great quantity, by the
439 as yet still undiminished wealth of animals in the lower Amur region. Only two types of fur considerably surpass all the others with their high prices: the black fox and the lynx. The former owes its high price, not only to the absolute beauty of its fur, also recognized and highly appreciated by the Chinese, but certainly also to its far greater rarity. The lynx fur, on the other hand, as was pointed out above, has too high an imaginary value in the eyes of the Gilyak themselves to be marketed in great quantities.

2) Like the lynx fur, several other articles are distinguished
435 in the above table by their very high price, in no way corresponding to their real value. Among these in particular are the old Manchurian iron armor and helmets discussed above at great length and the Japanese kettles with three handles, which, unfortunately, I did not see, but these could hardly so greatly surpass in quality the kettles from there with two handles, or otherwise somewhat different from them in form, as to justify
[556] the great difference between them in price. The necessity for special marks of wealth and distinction, present even among the otherwise practical Gilyak, is expressed in these things.

825 3) The same motive, vanity, also explains the high value
556 of a live bear among the Gilyak. It brings its owner not only no material /599/ advantage, but, on the contrary, even disadvantages, for the killing and consumption of it can take place only in a festive fashion which entails expense for the owner and host; in return, however, it brings him the flattering reputation of a rich and renowned man.

435 4) Among the various clothing materials which represent
439 the principal barter item of the Chinese in dealing with the Gilyak, the latter most prize the colorful silk materials with
291 dragons and other Chinese patterns and often gold and silver interwoven through them, but not because they themselves take special pleasure in them and live in luxury with them -- instead, one sees them used among them almost exclusively in small

/599 cont./

439 pieces for elegant women's caps -- but rather because they want
435 them for trade with the Japanese -- a matter that I shall come
291 back to in the following and which gives the best proof for their outstanding talent for trade.

439 5) Something similar is the basis for their very high evalua-
273 tion of the liquor (araki /arrack/) in the barter trade with the
435 Chinese. One would be very much mistaken if he concluded from this evaluation of the liquor that they were strongly addicted to drinking it and therefore readily let themselves be plundered by means of it. To be sure, they do not reject liquor, but they used it, as was pointed out above (1), in moderate fashion at the time

1. See p. 719 above.

of my stay among them. On the other hand, their gaze, constantly looking for advantages and profit, could not miss the value of so generally popular a commodity in the trade relations with both their own countrymen living farther away from the source of supply and in particular their less energetic Tungusic neighbors. Thus, their genius for trade also proved itself with respect to liquor and, as has already been mentioned, with the help of it they were even able to obtain many an advantage in their barter with the Russian Cossacks and sailors.

435 6) The articles that they themselves make for their household and the rest of their life and activities, such as utensils of all kinds, pieces of clothing, etc., however neatly made and adorned with decorations they might be, are not very highly valued by the Gilyak, unless they contain a precious material acquired from the Chinese, such as bows covered with buffalo horn, or the lances furnished with inlaid figures of silver, etc. It is not the fineness and beauty of the work or the time and labor spent on them, but the bit of silver or horn that gives these objects their high value in the eyes of the Gilyak.

/599 cont./

439 435 291 pieces for elegant women's caps -- but rather because they want them for trade with the Japanese -- a matter that I shall come back to in the following and which gives the best proof for their outstanding talent for trade.

439 273 435 5) Something similar is the basis for their very high evaluation of the liquor (araki /arrack/) in the barter trade with the Chinese. One would be very much mistaken if he concluded from this evaluation of the liquor that they were strongly addicted to drinking it and therefore readily let themselves be plundered by means of it. To be sure, they do not reject liquor, but they used it, as was pointed out above (1), in moderate fashion at the time

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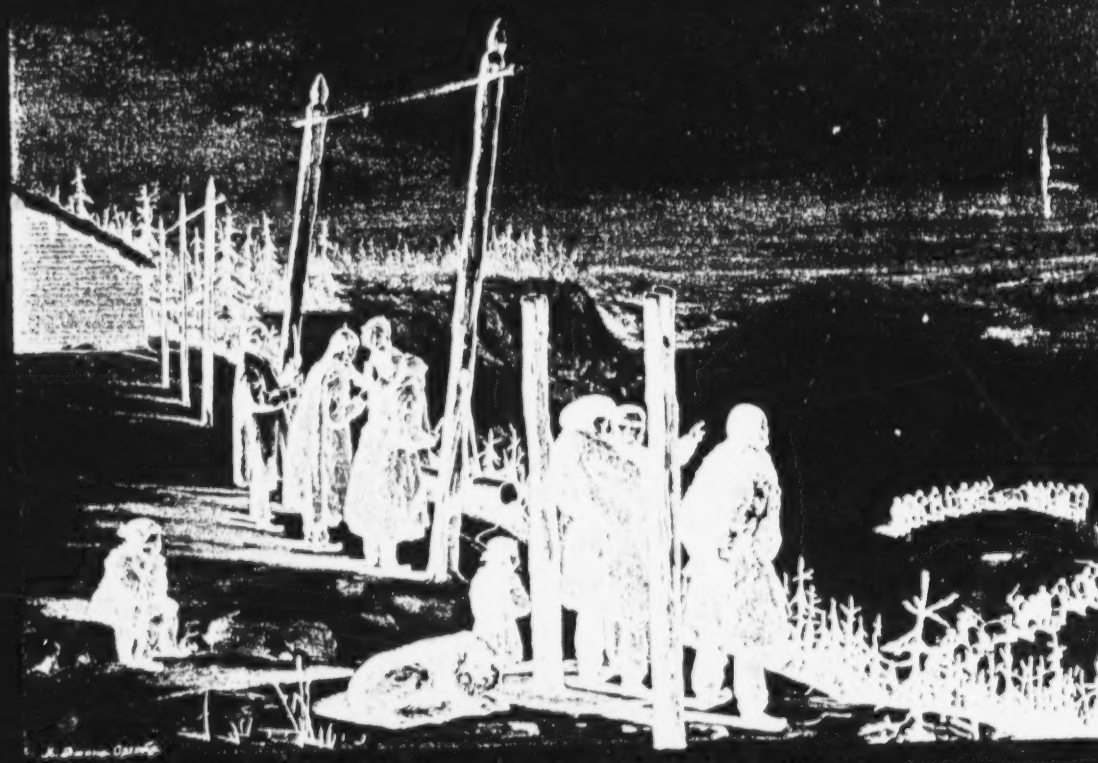

Bear festival. Last procession with the bears (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck-- 990 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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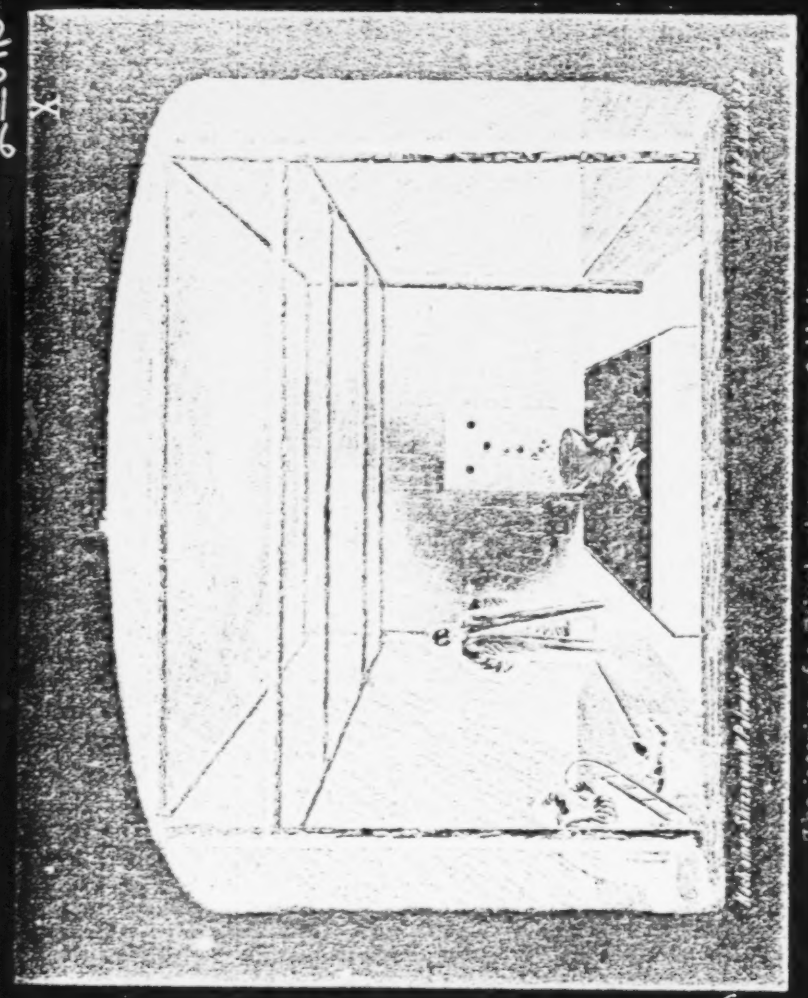

The interior of a Gilyak winter yurt on Sakhalin.

2: Schrenck--1261 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

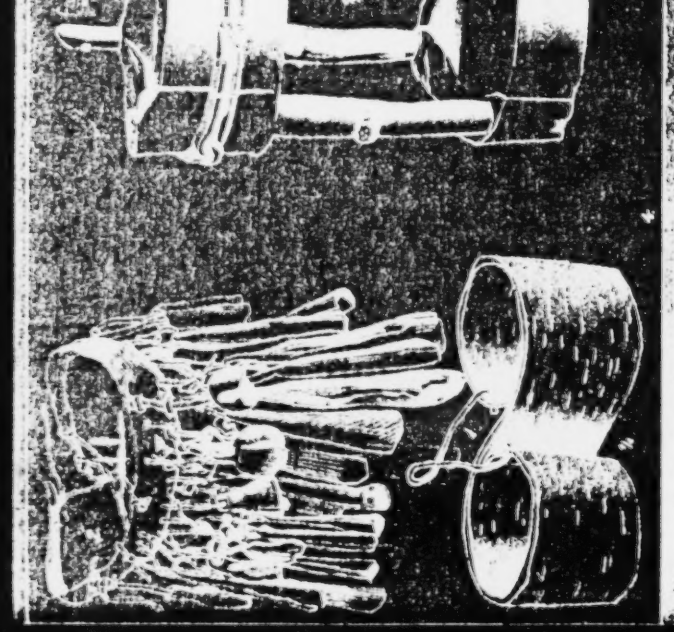

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak)

2: Schrenck--1248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

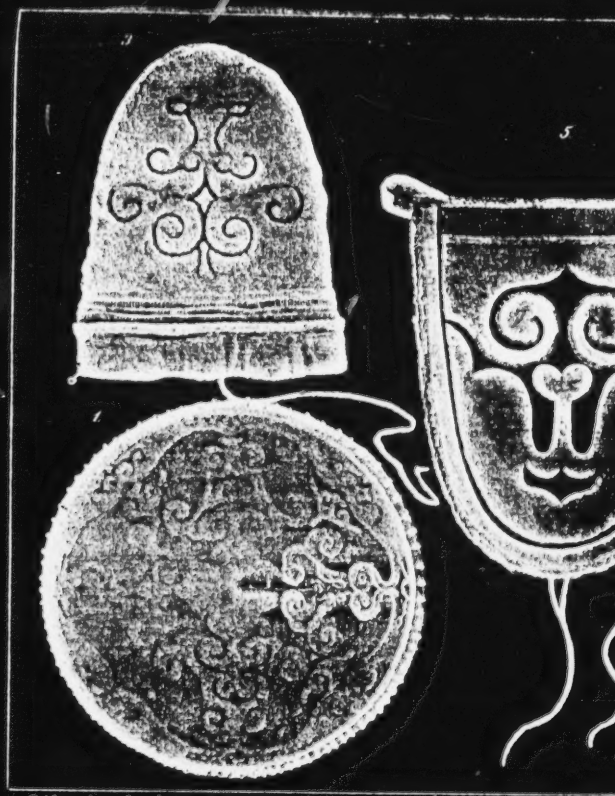

Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- summer hat made of bir

2: Schrenck--1000 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

ch bark; 3, 4 -- mittens; 5 -- ear muffs.

Gilyak in summer clothing.

Gilyak in

winter clothing.

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

/644 cont./

855 case of a small boy; but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the howls that he emitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and annoying the whole procedure was for him.

855 291 In spite of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair, the Gilyak children are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very fully. In their garments, made for them as a copy of those of the adults, often down to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments and embellishments on a reduced scale, one can see that in this resp the mothers spare no toil or effort for the sake of their children and a probably not lacking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that o 524 sees on many a small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together 273 a belt on which hang all the numerous implements carried by an adu ngawla- and yi-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., cept that they are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that th fathers, too, in their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time to their children and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.

855 861 Otherwise, one cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children, of any training in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the like for them; they simply grow up, following the patterns that they have set before their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without an one paying any attention to them.

524 The Gilyak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and mimicking in their games the activities; work, and amusements of parents and adults. One of the earliest, most common, and most popular games of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of wooden figures which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworth that these figures, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite stereotyped among the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260 /) and only now and then vary in size. Whether they are made by the parer or by older brothers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is obviously never intended in producing them. The legs of the animal for instance, are not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply the conventionally assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or cou it perhaps be, as one might almost suspect from its general usage am the Gilyak, a fragment of an old conventional picture language amo them? Other animal figures allegedly likewise carved for the deligh

2: Schrenck--1264 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LIV.

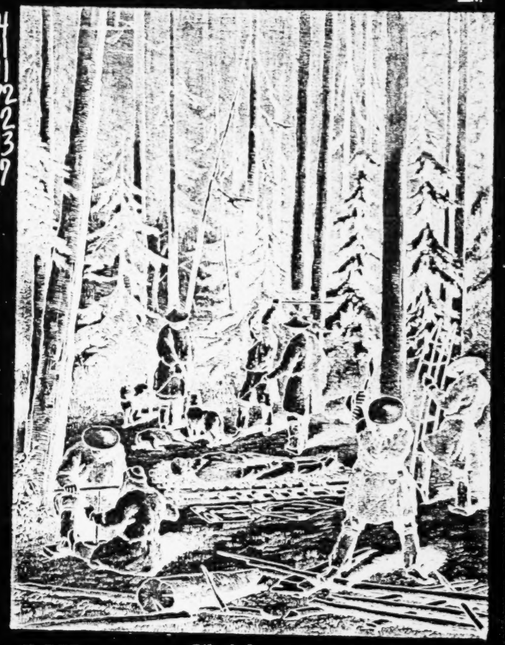

Gilyak funeral.

2: Schrenck--1265 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXV

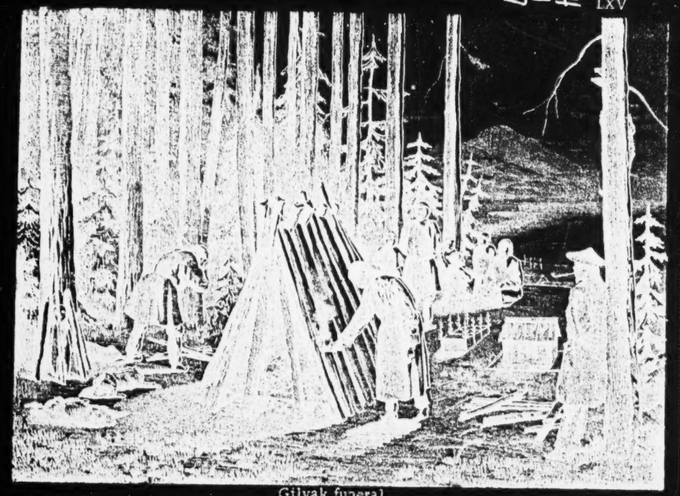

Gilyak funeral.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

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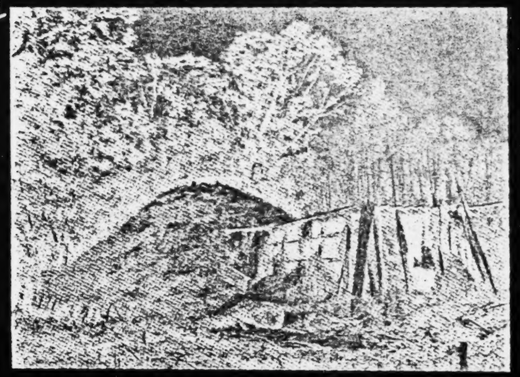

Mud hut.

342 175 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and lay-
[171] out of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually sur-
[171] rounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

• 291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head
[531] was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).
[439] Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of 291 287
specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal and elk skin, dog-fur, etc.

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; 302
they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids.

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly 114
interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State").

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there 614
were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs.

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship
with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the [60]
murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage.

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

[P.096]

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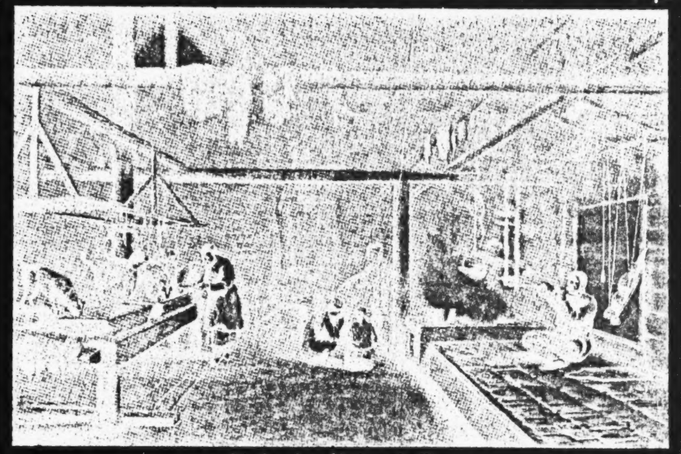

Interior of an old winter dwelling.

2: Schrenck--1148 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/710 cont./
amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks, or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experiment. Chusisin, Iudin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

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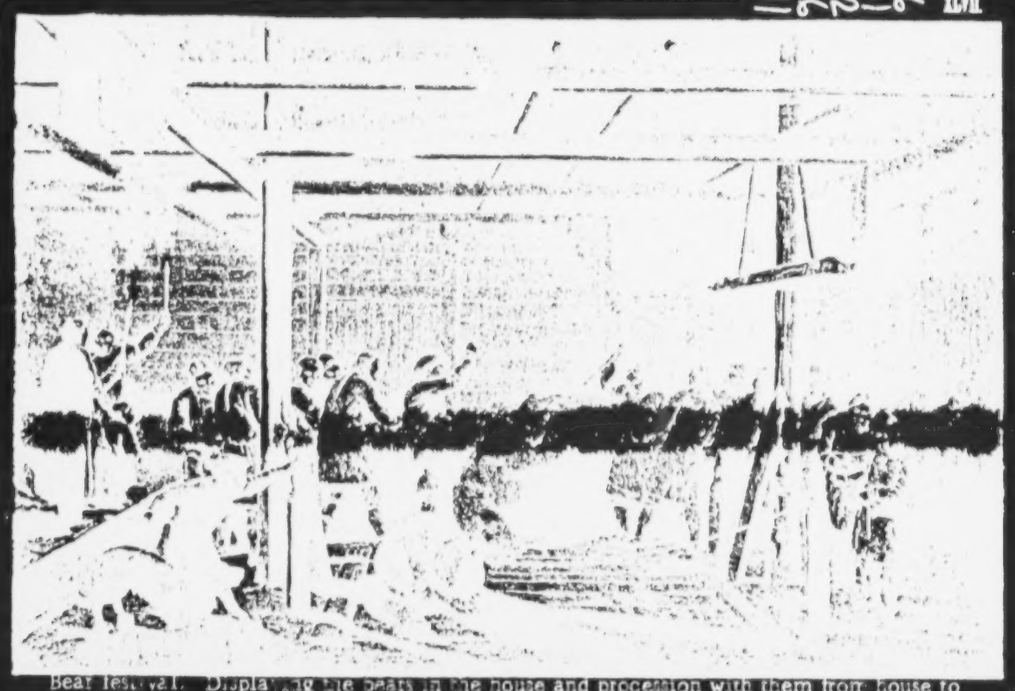

Bear festival. Displaying the bears in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1247 E-5 (1854-1856) 18[illegible]895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

9: Hawes--158 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 291

"In summer they used to dress in fish-skins, (1) and in winter in seal-or dog-skins.

1. Salmon (Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which are known in Eastern Siberia as kita and gorbusha respectively).

Gradually Chinese cotton (ta-pu) has filtered in through Manchuria, and largely taken the place of fish-skins, though this material is still used for parts of the dress, especially of the Gilyak woman; and when visiting a Gilyak headman I found a mat of salmon-skins, stitched together, spread in my honour. In winter the men wear coats of dog-skins, but the women favour seal-skin, the short bristly hair being less in the way in their domestic occupations. The men add to their coat in winter a short petticoat of seal-skin. In summer they go bare-footed, except on journeys when, as in winter, they use mocassins of seal-skin, the hair on the outside of the leg portion only.

For underclothing, a ta-pu shirt, 'shorts,' and long gaiters, or spatter-dashes, like the Chinese, are worn by the men; and by the women long gaiters only, and a shirt or two of cotton or fish-skin. The outer tunic of the Gilyak woman, or rather frock, for it possesses sleeves, has Chinese cash coins strung round the border, which reaches just below the knees."

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Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could also accept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and gave a piece to the part that split off. 614 [372]

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhusind). In reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy 614 627

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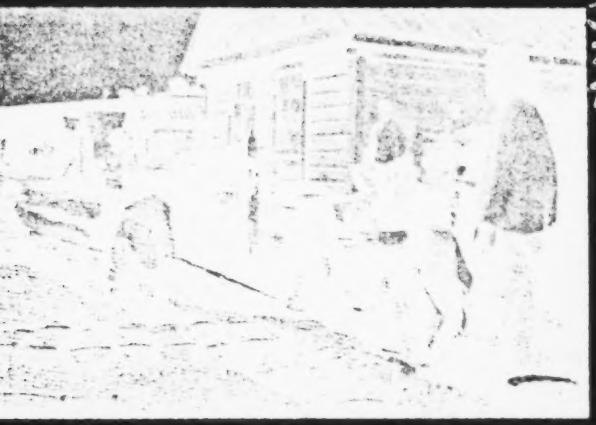

Feeding a bear.

h the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care 771
he sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky, 776
sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi
s in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish,
s, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice
e cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced
ter.
ountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi 796
ere common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le- 614
ear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the 231
umed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was
ith the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of [769]
n kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and
special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the
On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the
. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival,
n members gave the bear's master products and money. The
mily prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February).
orm—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles
itual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was
n them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the
ple of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan
festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and con-
complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow,
ing on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The
th the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent
pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, [526]
atches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing.
estival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et
put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi
tained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always
skulls of the bears he killed.
ial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the 764
nchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

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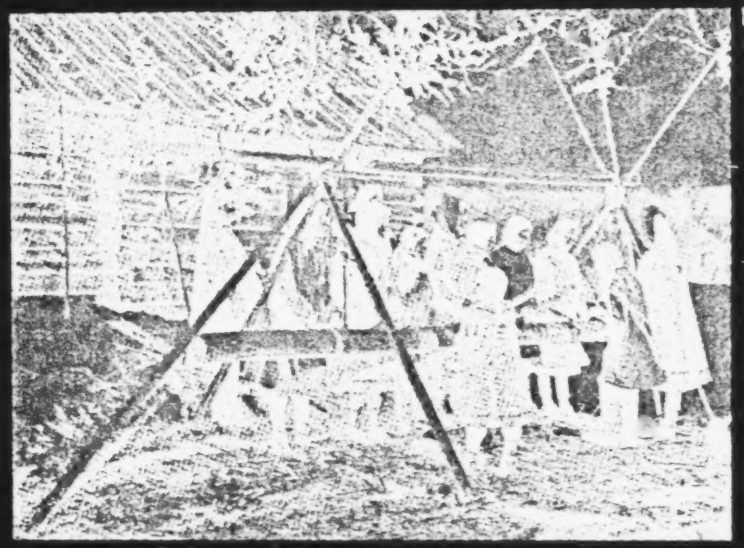

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi 532
and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the 322
bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers [171]
were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved
with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given
bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they
indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt
or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so
forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a 534
primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). [796]
During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an
ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolu- 871
tion. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, [212]
Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two
others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds.
Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the 175
Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, be- 648
came the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized
to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted
several years.

the leftovers of the least concluded this interlude, whereupon important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated ound the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three lyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They nsisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which the branches had been removed except the crown and the permost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around e crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of irrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks, a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these culiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter pe. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody w stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with eir insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the ars several times, always returning to the path that led to it and ere turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their ignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the nal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes l led out of the kadhra.

Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the ars had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear s had been done the day before, and the animal had been pro- ed with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and bborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi- nt. Chusisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who

9: Hawes--271 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 291

"The shubi, or fur coats of the men and wome
by either, but the women prefer seal-skin and t
cause the former seldom go far from their huts
a great furry coat on (the hair is worn outside)
light and smooth seal-skin. The woman's hat (h
in shape, but has three lappets, two for the ear
up prettily with rings in two pigtails. This shap
the ears from the cold, and yet being easily ren
tearing the ears."

en, are often alike and taken in mistake
he men dog-skin. Probably this is be-
, and it is hot and inconvenient to have
during domestic duties rather than a
akh-pisakh) is not unlike a sun-bonnet
s and one for the coiffure, which is done
e of hat has the advantage of protecting
noved without catching the earrings and

20: Bush--104-105 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 291, 516

"At 6 o'clock we went ashore near a Gilak settlement to make tea, and were soon surrounded by a group similar to the one of the night before. They wandered barefoote over the jagged stones on the beach as though their feet were soled with iron, while the cold seemed to have no effect on them whatever. Some of them presented a very amusing tableau as we pushed from shore. Near our fire was an old [105] stump of driftwood about six feet long, on which six of them sat, with their feet drawn up under their bodies, their heads resting on their hands, and their elbows on their knees. In the group was an old gray-headed man, the patriarch of the village; and from him down in both sexes, to a little boy hardly old enough to walk, who, however, imitated the attitude of the others with the greatest precision. I would not have believed it possible to roost so many humans on a log of that size, had I not seen it done."

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

133 was in motion and evidently came from a descending steamboat. On another occasion we missed in these channels a boat our captain was desirous of hailing. Once while General Monravieff was ascending the river he was passed by a courier who was bringing him important despatches.

502 The pilot steers with a chart of the river before him, and relies partly upon his experience and partly upon the delineated route. Sometimes channels used at high water are not navigable when the river is low, and some are favorable for descent but not for ascent. In general the pilotage is far more facile than on the Mississippi, and accidents are not frequent.

609 The peasants always came to the bank where we stopped, no matter what the hour. At one place where we took wood
● 291 at night there was a picturesque group of twenty-five or thirty gathered around a fire; men and women talking, laughing, smoking, and watching the crew at work. The light of the fire poured full upon a few figures and brought them into strong relief, while others were half hidden in shadow. Of the men some wore coats of sheepskin, others Cossack coats of grey cloth; some had caps of faded cloth, and others Tartar caps of black sheepskin. Red beards, white beards, black beards, and smooth faces were played upon by the dancing flames. The women were in hoopless dresses, and held shawls over their heads in place of bonnets.

133 A hundred versts above Sofyesk the scenery changed. The mountains on the south bank receded from the river and were more broken and destitute of trees. Wide strips of lowland covered with forest intervened between the mountains and the shore. On the north the general character of the country remained. I observed a mountain, wooded to the top and sloping regularly, that had a curious formation at its summit. It was a perpendicular shaft resembling Bunker Hill Monument, and rising from the highest point of the mountain; it appeared of perfect symmetry, and seemed more like a work of art than of nature. On the same mountain, half way down its side, was a mass of rock with towers and buttresses

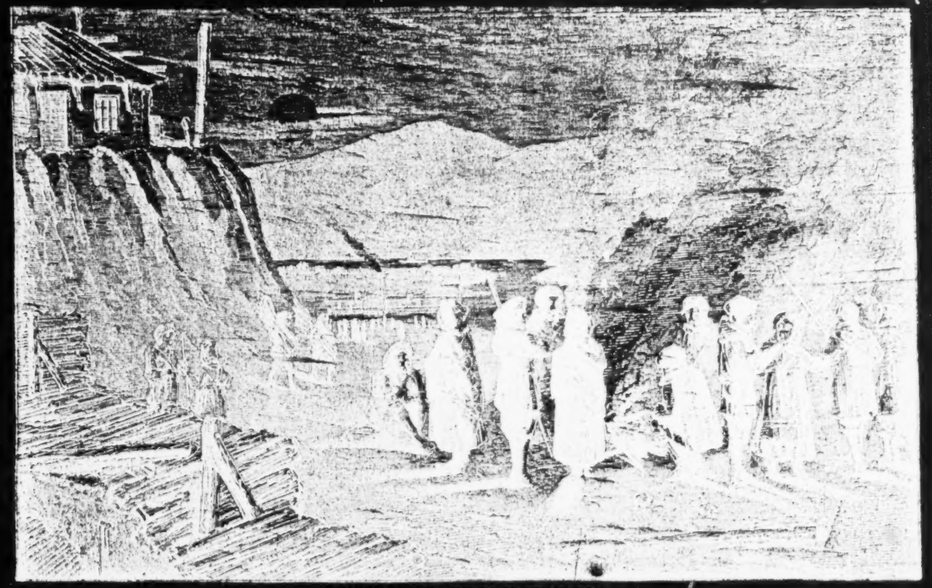

NIGHT SCENE—GROUP OF PEASANTS.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

opp. 154

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292 SPECIAL GARMENTS--clothing of special occasions (e.g., festive apparel, rain gear, bathing costumes); headgear and footwear not ordinarily worn; costumes associated with special statuses and activities; special methods of wearing garments; etc. See also:

Dance and dramatic costumes 53
Personal or body armor 714
Military uniforms 714
Ceremonial attire 798

/325 cont./

764 Funeral ceremonies. After closing the eyes of the deceased with a hat they stretch him out and fold his hands across his stomach; they (wife, mother) let down their hair and that of the deceased. They try to lift the head, putting garments under it, or, in the case of the poor -- straw. Sometimes the wife or the husband cuts off a piece of the braid. Tobacco and a pipe are placed on the breast, and the guests come up one by one and smoke from this pipe into his mouth. The wife, or some other near relative, or, finally, /326/ an unrelated old man or old woman places at his head a small cup with food, vodka, and cold water; the relatives come up from time to time, eat what has been put there, and again fill up the cup.

764 292 The deceased should not be dressed in garments made of leather or of fish skin, for a drop of fat might fall into the fire, and that is a sin. Ornamented things, too, may not be given, for otherwise the deceased will lose his way. The garments for the deceased are sewed out of drel' and silk (pos") and provided in a multiple number, the rest in the singular. All the women [294] assemble for the sewing of the garments. The garments are sewed "lightly"; to sew strongly is a sin -- "uigyf." The deceased should not be washed.

764 292 192 The deceased is dressed in the following garments:

1. L'arkh, shirts, but unfailingly without wadding; no belt; no modesty pants.
2. Pan" -- leggings.
3. Ki -- boots of drel', of the same shape for men and women; the tops are short; the soles are also of drel'; they are put on the naked foot.
4. Hak: -- a hat also of drel'; the hat looks like a child's hat with the hood backwards.
5. Vamykh -- mittens with one finger, of any color; no sleeve coverings.
6. N'akh air -- glasses, i.e., eye patches of drel', three fingers in breadth. Earrings and bracelets are taken off.
7. Vigvyr -- a belt, a piece of simple drel', white in color, and with this only two pairs of scabbards (chek:okhal') of drel' (for

/326 cont./

764 a man) and one purse (mly) for tinder and flint.

[292] 8. Hontkh -- a tobacco pouch, also of drel', for both men and [192] women; tobacco is placed in the mly and the hontkh.

A husband dresses his wife, a wife her husband, parents their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated. Shagund -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

[574] Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning until night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

No news, or tales, or songs (are recited -- purind).

On the following day the men go to cut firewood for the [824] cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and for children -- rose-willow; to cut larch or fir for children is a sin. One must select a good tree; otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length: /327/ among some, up to a sagene in length (the clan of Pletunka); among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows, lengthwise and crosswise.

During the second night, too, nobody sleeps; everyone feeds [782] the deceased (mu n'igyvyn achnind), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt is cleaned -- tav mund, the floor is swept, then the fire is purified -- tugur mund, mos' is prepared, and tugur arnind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a clansman)-- mos' is thrown into a fire started with the branches of a fir, but nothing is said.

When all the preparations have been completed, they eat, drink vodka, and then bring in a dog sled. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, bound to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "pryski" (dog) is tied to the place where its master slept. They walk around the future fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a respite three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the side, and the deceased,

628 614 682 [562] /356 cont./

every means to mask the sex of the newborn child. Only wom are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable tha from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful, burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer li under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any corner, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the of the murderer sends some person from a neutral khal' (necess neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murde man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, a in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years pass until, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the aven consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedur

614 628 682 539 reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects fr some neutral clan an able and eloquent /357/ man ("khlay-niv literally: orator -- from the verb "khlayndzh" -- to speak, an the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries tween the parties. Each clan provides its khlay-nivukh with a

[292] gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, a sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputa of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-nivukh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. The somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village o the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal' nivukhi), with their orator at their head, await the emissary. latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with h own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as poss The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a pl for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-

they masters. It is very strange that among these people who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

The characteristics here described apply also to the Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket consists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons. The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various necessary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc. Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are fastened with a little band at the wrist.
294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.
291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets [109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows. In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

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huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings selves. Around their necks the women wear beads of red glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden ets representing human figures.

pes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak onality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the churian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is rger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone , ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe er. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk lrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and s fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and co into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

he Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or e other activities for two days without any kind of food, on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. e other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, doubtedly eats five times a day.

would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winurney consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen eon in one day [110]

eir staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types rp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita o longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A ly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the on catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose sh are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from round; by means of air currents they become a dried non- substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita des the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored rozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

844 When the woman in labor goes to the place made
291 ready for her, she is clad in old soiled clothes. If the weather is cool she takes more clothes along. The only distinction in clothing worn during labor is that the woman in labor takes off the trousers, a garment that Gilyak women wear in summer and winter.

844 Usually an older woman who herself has gone
835 through several childbirths helps the woman in labor. If [757] such a midwife, called lanaven szauk, is not at hand the husband of the woman in labor can take her place; but under no circumstances may another male member of the family take this place, not even the younger brother of the husband, although, according to the customs of the Gilyak he has a right to the wife of his older brother and considers himself in a way her husband and certainly the second father of the child.

844 The Birth.

753 During the delivery the woman in labor sits and does not stretch her legs. The seat is erected at the same height as the bed in the yurt, that is about half a yard above the floor. During the whole period of delivery the woman in labor is supposed to keep quiet, not to strike out in pain, not to try to get up, not to lean over to one side or the other. If, during a hard delivery, the woman is not able to stay in the prescribed attitude by herself and starts writhing in pain, it is the duty of the midwife or husband to hold her up at her shoulders in order to prevent her from making the forbidden movements. The Gilyak believe that women who try to get up during the delivery contract a disease which causes a deformation of the spine. Once I was even shown a young woman who had become a cripple because she had not stayed quiet while in labor. Her spine was really deformed or, as the Gilyak say, broken (naski ts' onkrynd). She was not able to walk and died a few years later.

845 If the labor pains last too long and the woman suffers too badly, a piece of clothing is moved back and forth in front of her face and somebody blows down from above on the part in her hair.

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

"They [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] were
greasy skin garments, with naked feet and legs
that had once been braided, hung down their ba
both sexes were represented) was arranged mu
single braid, with the exception that no part of
two braids, or what had once been such, since
was a perfect mass of tangle, and becoming m
energetic clawing and digging of several long,

We would have experienced some little diff
which the woman had it not been for a long-ste
miniature brass bowl, which the former smoke
number of fine, large, freshly-caught fish."

a filthy-looking pair, clad in dirty,
, and their long, coarse, uncombed hair,
cks in queues. That of the man (for
ch like the 'tail' of a Chinaman, in a
his head was shaven. The woman wore
her hair, as well as that of her husband,
ore so every moment through the
unwashed fingers.
iculty in deciding which was the man and
mmed pipe, with amber mouth-piece and
ed, while his fair partner carried a

Gilyak winter caps: 1 -- men's cap; 2 -- women's ev
cap made of Chinese silk material; 4 -- the same m

2: Schrenck--1001 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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XXI

veryday cap; 3 -- women's elegant
nade of lynx fur with sable trimming.

/396 cont./

which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

/397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tulv-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2).[1] It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter consists of single Chinese material, usually black or dark-blue cloth. On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des vers l'Emper. de la Chine

[See category 116, P. 1001--Analyst]

/397 cont./

292 174 531 [171] [113]

1. (cont.)

en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

292 531 199 239 fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to [301] the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women 292 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use 239 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

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291 skin undoubtedly affords better protection against cold, wind, and rain when the hair is on the outside than when it is turned to the inside, and if it were first tested in this position, it would be natural to add another layer of it or of another skin in the opposite position, with the hair on the inside, and thus, avoiding a foreign covering, to obtain that double fur undoubtedly giving the best protection, as one finds among all the northern and polar peoples.

291 The above-described or illustrated garments are sufficient
●292 to show that the Gilyak like to provide their clothing with all
531 kinds of variously shaped, gay-colored embroidery and other ornamentation. I have sometimes seen among them whole collections of embroidery designs, and I brought back some of them. These consist of fabric or fish-skin patches on which the designs are embroidered or on which various figures cut out of thin birch-bark and symmetrically arranged are pasted (Pl. XXIII and XXIV).[2] Among them, however, are also found larger pieces of fabric sometimes made up of several multicolored patches and not used for embroidery, but on which arabesques and animal figures of the most varied kinds are colorfully, but always symmetrically arranged beside or intertwined with one another (Pl. XXV-XXVII).[2] If for the moment, we disregard the latter, to which I shall come back later, particularly in connection with the animal figures, and if we consider only the designs to be embroidered on the articles of clothing previously discussed, we find in them a peculiar character and taste which fundamentally distinguishes them from those of the Siberian

531 peoples. Whereas among the Siberian Tungus, for instance,
[191] who likewise adorn their clothing with embroidery, the simplest patterns and motifs recur with great uniformity and often, for example, only rows of the same simple figures, small triangles, squares, circles, crude curlicues, and the like, running over or beside one another, are to be found (as the Tungusic specimens illustrated on Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIV, Figs. 5 and 6 show), in the Gilyak designs and ornamentation beautiful, curved and interlaced lines, diverse arabesques artistically overlapping,

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 1003-1004 --Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, pp. 1005-1007--Analyst]

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000 and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,
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●292 reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater
A
175 importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding re-
648 port which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he
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1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which
A he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report
175 the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the
114 tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and
648 the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

.../

he character of an imitation of the whole animal. The ng of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although ect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the , so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, ust stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine d love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in saw them on two women, and the above illustration from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either al- a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one. similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed s headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation ole animal may occur among many primitive peoples. refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind her Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on er /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear olf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an ition (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

s place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northeig-müt down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this mal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo

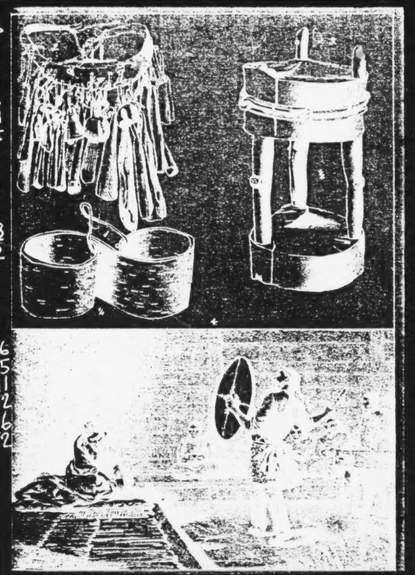

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse--something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical

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293 PARAPHERNALIA--dress accessories (e.g., fans, special paraphernalia and regalia); protective apparatus (e.g., umbrellas, goggles); etc. See also:

Ornaments	301	Medals	554
Eyeglasses	416	Hearing aids	722
Canes, crutches, and other aids to locomotion	481	Shamanistic paraphernalia	756
Riding gear	492	Amulets	761, 778
Athletic equipment	526	Ceremonial paraphernalia	796

2: Schrenck--389 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/395 cont./

ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with

2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt, in particular as a holder for some of the implements always accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.

[See Category 116, P. 1011 -- Analyst]

/395 cont./

and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2). The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata) adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX) (5). Usually a second knife is also worn at

5. On Pl. XVIII the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dshakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4), quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made of sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dshakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the /396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as

1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak tschondak, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5), usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[See Category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respectively -- Analyst]

293 /396 cont./
302 Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well
412 as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a
[531] sturgeon that is softened beforehand for the purpose and later
[239] hardening like wood; on the Amur out of the skin of the tukki-
tscho of the Gilyak (Acipenser Schrenckii Brandt), on Sakhalin
out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the
northern part of the Sea of Japan and called okras by the Gilyak.
The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be in-
verted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent
into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that,
after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper
372 piece can be lifted off the lower one. Like the tinder box, the
293 steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain
(Gilyak kessj-kessj) equipped with various appendages (Pl. XXVIII,
Fig. 1 a/a and Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1) a/a Sometimes there is also found
293 on this a bent, little iron rod pointed at the bottom (Pl. XXVIII,
412 Figs. 1 and 2), which is also carried separately and serves for
all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap,
at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc.
[32] This instrument (Gil. kedak) is not infrequently also made of
[531] horn or bone, and as insignificant and unessential as it is in
itself, nevertheless it is usually decorated with all sorts of carved
293 figures (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, various other odds and
ends usually hang in the belt of the Gilyak as he happens to find
them, for instance, a boar's tusk or tooth, a piece of antelope
horn or deer antler, etc.
291 In winter, the Gilyak women also wear coats of dog fur,
237 which are made like those of the men; nevertheless they are
sometimes seen, though rarely, in coats of more precious furs.
In the winter of 1856, for instance, in Tangi on Sakhalin, I saw
one of the wives of the Gilyak Kombrein wrapped in a coat of
fox skins with the fur turned to the outside, under which two
under-coats of blue and of patterned Chinese material trimmed
with otter and sable furs were visible. On neatly dressed girls,
children of well-to-do parents, one sometimes sees on the dog-fur
coat a narrow fox-fur collar, the so-called mungrusk in Gilyak,
a/a [See Category 116, pp. 1008 and 1009 respectively--Analyst]

/567 cont./
114 On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching
325 the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The
326 smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the
192 entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping
benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor under-
neath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr)
made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the
ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a
semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which
on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which
corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and im-
mediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the
iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube im-
movably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several
longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak,
placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows,
alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another,
adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the

[104] 3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them
on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These
tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces
to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordi-
[293] nary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yi-
dshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj,

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/
which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner,
a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

/568 cont./
114 Gilyak (1).
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[293]

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008/, Fig. 1.

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to
325 iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are
326 also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass
[531] (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the
[435]

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of
the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna-
[439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they
prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because
pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-
mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the
forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak
for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
325 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
197 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
174 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the
Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

/644 cont./
855 care of a small boy; but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the
howls that he emitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and an-
noying the whole procedure was for him.
855 In spite of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair,
291 the Gilyak children are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very
fully. In their garments, made for them as a copy of those of the
adults, often down to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments
and embellishments on a reduced scale, one can see that in this respect
the mothers spare no toil or effort for the sake of their children and are
probably not lacking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that one
524 sees on many a small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together by
285 a belt on which hang all the numerous implements carried by an adult,
ngawla- and yi-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., ex-
cept that they are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that the
fathers, too, in their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time
to their children and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.
855 Otherwise, one cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children,
861 of any training in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the
like for them; they simply grow up, following the patterns that they
have set before their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without any-
one paying any attention to them.
524 The Gilyak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and
mimicking in their games the activities; work, and amusements of
parents and adults. One of the earliest, most common, and most
popular games of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of
wooden figures which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworthy
that these figures, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite
stereotyped among the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260/) and
only now and then vary in size. Whether they are made by the parents
or by older brothers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is
obviously never intended in producing them. The legs of the animal,
for instance, are not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply
the conventionally assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or could
it perhaps be, as one might almost suspect from its general usage among
the Gilyak, a fragment of an old conventional picture language among
them? Other animal figures allegedly likewise carved for the delight

164 The Gilyaks are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the
563 Russians suffer from it more than in Europe. I have
342 spoken in another connection (1) of the fact that I believe
362

1. St. Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3. 1882.

this illness can be traced to earth miasmas, and particular-
ly to external ones rising up from the extensive marshes
and bogs, as well as house miasmas. The fact that the
natives are immune [248] may be attributed partly to habit,
(for Europeans suffer most from it when they first arrive)
and especially to the functional construction of the houses.
Russian barracks and private houses stand on frame work
which soon rots. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood
and damp earth which does not freeze even in winter. The
houses are badly ventilated and frequently have a definite
odor of mould. The Gilyak house has a solid floor of
pressed clay which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate;
it is well ventilated and is often filled with smoke whose
disinfectant qualities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems
to be only a limited factor in this question.
164 Another endemic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal
catarrh, occurs among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom
and soon disappears. It is usually accompanied by unbear-
able colic. This catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.
In spite of the constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers
from tape worm. Among Russians, too, it seems to come
mainly from pork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.
Bronchial catarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia
seems the most frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the
Gilyak. The children of the Gilyak villages also suffered
from a whooping cough epidemic that was prevalent during
my time in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.
Eye diseases occur more seldom than one would expect,
for in general, tribes that live in smoky houses frequently
suffer from them and present many one-eyed and blind
cases. The Gilyak houses are not always full of smoke, to
be sure, but so frequently that the relative absence of these
diseases must be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the
eye nerves. Actually, everyone who has been inside a
Gilyak house will be convinced that the natives can remain
calmly seated in smoke clouds that would immediately drive
164 a European out. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely
293 unpunished. One finds among them people with chronic

164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in February and March because at that time, in the mid-day sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair, which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infectious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infectious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say, but one may assume that they were less frequent and permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease in the native population.

164 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
158 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy. I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However, diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking should become prevalent.

752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains, breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude that the primitive methods of healing combined with the power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

164 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

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294 CLOTHING MANUFACTURE--techniques of manufacture (e.g., cutting, fitting, sewing); special treatment of particular materials and products (e.g., shoemaking, hat manufacture); decoration (e.g., embroidery); use of special implements and apparatus (e.g., sewing machines); specialization (e.g., dressmakers, tailors, cobblers, hatters); etc. See also:

Leather and textile industries 28
Factory buildings 348
Household sewing machines 404
Decorative art 531

/325 cont./

764 Funeral ceremonies. After closing the eyes of the deceased hat they stretch him out and fold his hands across his stomach they (wife, mother) let down their hair and that of the decea They try to lift the head, putting garments under it, or, in t case of the poor -- straw. Sometimes the wife or the husban off a piece of the braid. Tobacco and a pipe are placed on t breast, and the guests come up one by one and smoke from t pipe into his mouth. The wife, or some other near relative, finally, /326/ an unrelated old man or old woman places at head a small cup with food, vodka, and cold water; the rela come up from time to time, eat what has been put there, an again fill up the cup.

764 292 The deceased should not be dressed in garments made leather or of fish skin, for a drop of fat might fall into the fi and that is a sin. Ornamented things, too, may not be giver for otherwise the deceased will lose his way. The garments the deceased are sewed out of drel' and silk (pos") and provi in a multiple number, the rest in the singular. All the wom [294] assemble for the sewing of the garments. The garments are "lightly"; to sew strongly is a sin -- "uigyf." The deceased not be washed.

764 292 192 The deceased is dressed in the following garments:

1. L'arkh, shirts, but unfailingly without wadding; no belt no modesty pants.

2. Pan" -- leggings.

3. Ki -- boots of drel', of the same shape for men and wo the tops are short; the soles are also of drel'; they are put o naked foot.

4. Hak: -- a hat also of drel'; the hat looks like a child's with the hood backwards.

5. Vàmykh -- mittens with one finger, of any color; no sl coverings.

6. N'akh àir -- glasses, i.e., eye patches of drel', three in breadth. Earrings and bracelets are taken off.

7. Vigvyr -- a belt, a piece of simple drel', white in col and with this only two pairs of scabbards (chek:okhal') of dre

/399 cont./

531 and snail-shaped spiral figures prevail throughout.

/400/ As on their garments, the Gilyak like to decorat all the other implements in their household and their lives wi all kinds of designs and ornamentation, as we noted on the ab mentioned implements worn at the belt and as we shall frequently have occasion to see below. The general character o these decorations is always the same, as is described in more tail above, whether the articles are made of wood, tree bark, leather, bone, or iron, and only the execution will be less ex and neat in the case of more brittle material, although with every type of object we shall come across some which testify the great skill and dexterity on the part of the Gilyak in the u of the simplest tools. The talent of the Gilyak for ornamenta 531 294 however, appears to us in its boldest and greatest developmen the embroideries for the decoration of their clothing, utilizin for this in particular, besides the easier reproduction of divers lines and figures, also the effects obtained by putting togethe various colors. And of this the Gilyak, as much as in general they prefer somber colors for their clothing, also popular amo the Chinese (1), a more or less dark blue or gray, make liber

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59.

but moderate and tasteful use in decorating their clothing, as [439] the above illustrations show. This is made possible by the variously colored silk and cotton thread obtained in trade fro the Chinese.

531 177 I have previously described the general character of Gil ornamentation as unique and completely different from that o the Siberian peoples. Also, no trace of Russian national influ ences, as are quite explicable among the latter as a result of centuries old, manifold, and constant intercourse with the Russians, is found among the Gilyak. On the other hand, mu of the Gilyak ornamentation, spiral-shaped coiled lines,

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Gilyak Men

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III.
2: Schrenck--425 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

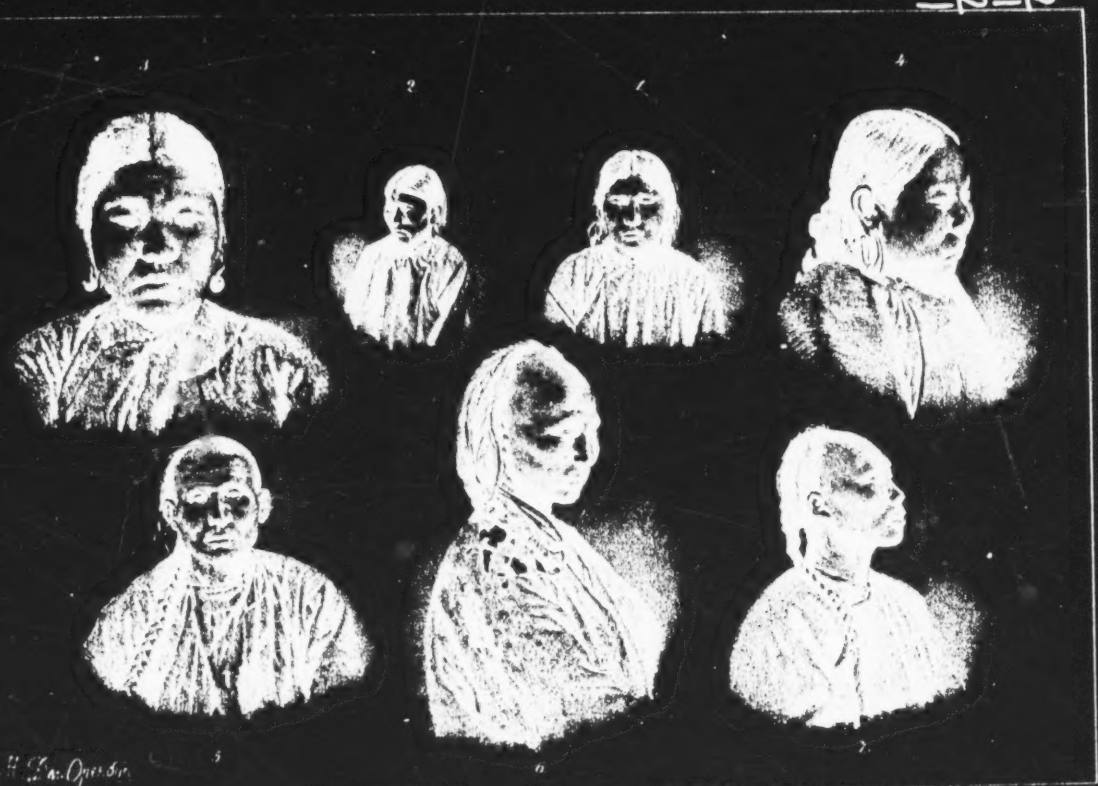

1, 2, -- Gilyak Women; 3, 4 -- Gilyak Girls; 5, 6, 7 -- Gilyak Men

cont./
vide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the
er and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal,
the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and,
the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under
h a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy
h of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unneces-
during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against
and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical
nade out of birch bark (Gilyak chib-hak, i.e., in literal
ation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with
ent kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate
round the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark,
d on the hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII and Pl.
Figs. 1 and 2) (2).

2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer
reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ pro-
with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made
of similar material or of fish skins. Shirt and robe usually
a broad edging of material in a different color, over which
a decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows
riously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging
on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper
with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl.
). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step
hey take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking
ner of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This
m, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of
ee Category 116, P. 997 -- Analyst]
ee Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

177 /388 cont./
291 Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use
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000

175 1. During my stay in the Amur region,
301 among such decorations several little brass
797 crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de
291 mission" and a bronze medallion bearing
648 the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?)
inscription were found on a woman's robe
from the village of Wair or one of the nearby
villages. In all probability these pieces came
from the French missionary, de la Brunière,
who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in
Wair, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak.
His colleague Venault, who by order of the
Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey
in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the
Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime,
saw many of their children wearing such
crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des
Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol.
II], p. 218). To supplement the reports col-
175 lected by Venault concerning the killing of
648 de la Brunière, it should be noted here in
797 passing that it took place, according to what
114 I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank
of the Amur, between the villages of Wair
and Ssabach, at the point where the rocks in
a strange gate-like formation come close to
the river. I visited it during my winter journey
on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already
aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village
of Wair was named for me as one of the
murderers. He evaded or declined to answer
my questions concerning the details of the matter.
Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad
luck (ultsch) to destroy a piece of paper with

/388 cont./
175 1. (cont.)
648 characters on it -- no matter whether
797 written or printed -- I hoped that perhaps
114 through him I would succeed in obtaining
possible diaries or other written notes of
de la Brunière. But despite the high
monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak
for them, only a few scraps of one of
D'Anville's maps of China were brought
to me by them after the lapse of some time,
when I had already again returned to the
Nikolayev post.

281 To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use
291 the most common species of salmon in the waters of the Amur
[136] region, Salmo lagocephalus (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, on Sakhalin
laghi-tscho). For this purpose the skins stripped from them hav
the scales removed, which is done by pounding the soaked skin
in a wooden vessel; then, by scraping, they are cleaned of the
adhering muscle and fatty parts, flattened and smoothed, and t
individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in qualit
is obtained, depending on how carefully these operations are pe
formed. On the robes intended for everyday use or for protecti
against rain, which are of a yellowish-gray color and usually
without any ornaments, the places where the scales were attach
to the individual skins can be clearly recognized (Pl. XVIII).
The more elegant robes, on the other hand, look as though the
281 were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts
291 especially sharply with the wide black edgings with which the
53 of the robe in front, above and below, as well as the sleeves
at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentione
color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on
in the intervening spaces, and the back in particular is distingu
by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with differently
colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, Figs. 2, 3 a
[301] 4. The above-mentioned metallic ornaments, too, are never
lacking on them.
[See Category 116, P. 998--Analyst]

/401 cont./

the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned, but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep themselves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it. For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles(Gil. nugsis,

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2),[2] worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck; whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the

[See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

/401 cont./

latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This ingenious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilyak and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting them

cont./
object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be
ed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by suc-
- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.
The thread with which garments are sewed varies accord-
the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for
ole, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn,
, fine thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call
k and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which
taken, as pilengat-mydisk, mimk-myd., kych-myd.,
5), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat is Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary
g nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fish-
ts (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

hinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and em-
ries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread like-
btained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the
nd the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak
n use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although
now of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term
) for them; instead they only use a knife. For smoothing
ric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pam), which is

/402 cont./
294 beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some
412 decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the
531 tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).*

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak,
286 who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements
283 and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of
171 the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

[113]

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izviestiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

* [See category 116, p. 1009 -- ANALYST]

/639 cont./
462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
[251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The
462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does
264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men
[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women
462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper
[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations
462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work
411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting
[517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/766 cont./

764 bystanders to step somewhat farther back, and there a group of men, women, and children sat under a tree, watching the greedy flames which consumed their dead.

Nearby was the cremation site of an old woman from the same village, who had died not long before /767/ and beside it the raff belonging to it, still quite new (*). This was now to

* The little hut to the right on Plate LXV /p. 1265 /; between it and the pyre, the cremation site.

serve as the raff for the old man, and its door was opened so that the soul of the deceased, during the cremation of his body, would move into this domicile intended for it.

At the moment only the customary raff symbols, discussed below (53-55 /pp. 1233-1234 /), and a few bowls and vessels made of birch bark and wood stood in it. After the corpse is burned, however, and his soul has moved into the raff (for traveling on to Mlygh-wo), then the provisions of berries, fish, tobacco, and the like needed for it are also brought into the raff. -- When the fire had died down somewhat, the widow and a few men took long poles and pushed the burning wood closer together; they also threw on new wood in order to speed up the cremation. Soon nothing could be seen of the corpse except the charred stomach, which burned the slowest. The quantity of material burned and the fresh air of the forest prevented any unpleasant odor from being detected during the cremation of the body. The fire was maintained for a long time so that the body would burn completely to ashes, which are then scraped together and buried (on the spot). In the meantime the women, and among them the wife of the deceased, take up the slain dogs (**) and begin to skin

[237] [294]

** On Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, as on Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, three dogs are erroneously shown instead of two.

G 764 [237] [294] [262]

/767 cont./

them in order to
The meat of the
but left on the p
booty of crows a
(2 S.R.I, pp. 1

Gi 764 152

49. Goldi
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wailing, staring
inquired as to th
buike, that is, "
her husband had
She did not seem
order not to distu
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tion, in the othe

*** Se

G 764

50. Gilyak
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are cremated, a
/768/ over which

G [114]

* See
48, p

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Plate LXVIII /p.
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linen-covered or
and equipped wit
the ground.

G [211]

sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins.
se sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten,
lace of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the
nd also of the other hungry dogs of the village.
0-14.)

In the village of Chongar (on the right bank
hile I was passing between two yurts that were
part, I was startled by human wailing that came
which was higher than a man's height. I in-
w a woman who sat there hunched together and
at the sky. I watched her for a while and then
e reason for her mourning. She said in reply,
dead," then stood up and explained to me that
died in the next village and she was lamenting it.
to mind the interruption, and when I left, in
rb her in her grief, she likewise went off
d by the interruption), giving up her lamenta-
r direction toward the yurt (***). (I S.R. IV, p. 17.)

e Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

Tombs

. I learned from Jutschin the following con-
l of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses
d the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground,
a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

the divergent statement in Appendix
1227.

e roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration
1268 /, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r pro-
urr). In the interior of the raff there is a small
cloth-covered board, pierced in the center
a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under

[241] In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949
[433] to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal
[231] husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

177 An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and develop-
648 ment of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly
474 scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages,
361 the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

177 The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log
648 house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds,
474 etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings
36 devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a
[342] bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are
177 today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages
648 have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the conti-
474 nent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and
342 flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the
353 walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They
177 also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and
29 also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the
[294] traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays,
[292] the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater
262 use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products.
758 The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions.
[043] Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part
of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to
a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them
wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the
gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to
the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw
into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the
same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with
the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and
has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned
up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of
the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket
differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are
most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket con-
sists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is
of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this
type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons.
The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various neces-
sary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc.
Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a
shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of
bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear
a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are
covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very
cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the
inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are
fastened with a little band at the wrist.

294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the
Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.

291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets
[109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of
their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of
sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid
of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are
soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows.
In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of
attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have
brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa
are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored
cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

296

296 GARMENT CARE -- methods of laundering clothes; repair techniques (e.g., darning, patching); special care and preservation of clothing (e.g., drying, snow removal, waterproofing, storage); organized services (e.g., laundries, dry-cleaning and pressing establishments, shoe-shining and repairing specialists); special techniques and apparatus; etc. See also:

Soap manufacture . . . . . 388 Domestic laundry appliances 404
Commercial laundry and dry-cleaning machinery 402

/386 cont./

291 represent the principal articles in the trade with the Chinese.
439 Since in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange,
[177] besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this, as well as their general association with this civilized people next to them, easily explains the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and patterns of embroidery and other decorations.

291 /387/ The clothing worn next to the body by the Gilyak consists of drawers, which are not taken off even at night, trousers (Gilyak warsch), an under and an outer shirt (Gilyak larkch) reaching to the knees and buttoned from left to right at the neck and
[177] chest. These articles of clothing are always made out of Chinese,
[296] or nowadays also of Russian, blue or grey cotton material, and sometimes also of white, which, however, since the Gilyak never wash their clothing, very soon turns a more or less dirty gray. As a rule, no outer garment is needed during the summer, but if unfavorable weather, not infrequent even in this season, requires it, a winter garment, in particular the dog-fur coat to be described later, is used. High boots of seal leather and fur always serve as footgear. As a rule, the lower or foot part of the
[237] boot (Gilyak ki) and the sole are made of the skin of Phoca barbata (Gilyak kighitsch and kighitsch-langr), which, especially in the case of older specimens, is thicker and more durable than that of the other type of seal very common in the waters of the Amur region (Ph. nummularis; Gilyak pyghi and pyghi-langr) (1) and

1. See my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Langr simply means "seal."

for this purpose deprived of its hair. In accordance with the foot structure of the Gilyak, the lower part of the boot is small and graceful, with a high back keel-shaped in the middle, and the pointed end, turned somewhat upward and back, shows unmistakably the influence of the Chinese pattern. The legs of the boots, broad

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30 ADORNMENT--general statements dealing with several aspects of adorning the body other than by the wearing of clothing, and with th facture of the means of adornment.

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

687 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tugurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
837 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

301

301 ORNAMENT--types of ornament worn (e.g., necklaces, bracelets, ring
anklets, earrings, labrets, hair ornaments); mode of attachment or sus
pension; age, sex, and status differences; materials and manufacture;
casions of use; etc. See also:

Work in bone, horn, and shell 321

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotschai; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

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302 TOILET--shaving and depilation; hairstyles (e.g., cutting, parting, arranging); care of the hair (e.g., washing, brushing); care of the nails (e.g., cutting, filing); body painting; use of cosmetics, ointments and perfumes; age, sex, and status differences in toilet; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See Also:

Electrical appliances	403	Bathing and laving	516
Combs, brushes, etc.	412	Decorative art	531
Barbering tools	413	War paint	714
Elimination	514	Menstrual hygiene	841

/257 cont./

143 826 588 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 ● [302] The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attaining sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.

881 826 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who [302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 867 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos connected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,

881 585 833 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

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685 754 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire village, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

687 695 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 30 178 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their

881 585 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she begins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her

841 ● [302] oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŭgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 839 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives accommodates a guest under one blanket.

843 823 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it begins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

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823 773 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin. Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 761 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary. Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

● 302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 825 [782] A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

704 825 [261] In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and they treat him like a killed one. When they set off somewhere (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

703 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

142 291 ● 302 516

Photo. 16. Amur Gilya

142 291 854 302 516

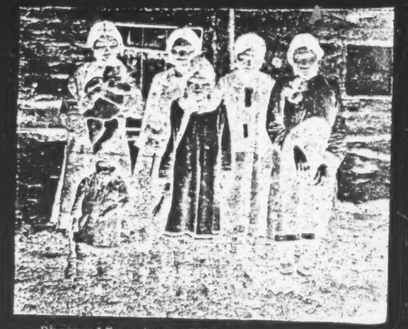

Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

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292 1. (cont.)
171 en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St.
53 Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's
171 note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et
113 privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869,
Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

292 fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the
53 cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The
171 tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the
239 Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the) ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women 2 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use 7 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

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As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

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This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

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The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak

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artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting
[142] in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridi-
[826] cule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn
[856] from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of
● [301] boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

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and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

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Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7), 2 or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair

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worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the
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[301] cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or

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facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and
301 the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among /

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this
2 [See category 116, p. 1009-- Analyst]

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301 1. (cont.)
ornament on a male individual, a Goldi from Mylki. I did not come across such a case.

whom, however, it is never absent, so that by it one can immediately distinguish the women of these nationalities from
Gi [304] those of the Olcha and Gilyak. This is a nose ring shaped exactly
[515] like the small earring described above, but still smaller, which hangs down from the pierced septum to the upper lip -- a most peculiar, ugly ornament and one which in addition impedes cleanliness, in which all these peoples are so deficient anyway.
Gi [191] Finally, among the Orochi the same situation is found with re-
[184] gard to the kinds of ornaments discussed as with regard to the hair style: the northern Orochi, such as those on Kaiserhafen Hadshi Bay), correspond in this with the Olcha and Gilyak, but the southern ones, or Ta-dse, along the seacoast at least from Olga Bay downward (2) and along the right Ussuri tributaries, corre-

2. Olympiada Wassiljewa, op. cit., p. 67.

spond with the Goldi and Samagir, that is, the former wear only earrings, and the latter, those of the female sex, also nose rings. Moreover, one sees among the Orochi women or girls, and sometimes also among those of the Goldi along the Ussuri and on the Amur near the mouth of the Ussuri, just such a small ring in the
ooo right or the left nostril (3). From what has been said, it is readily

Gi [114] 3. According to Przewalski (op. cit., p. 105) in the right nostril; according to Nadarof (op. cit., p. 78) and Maack (op. cit., p. 179) in the one or the other nostril.

G From what has been said, it is readily
Gi seen that the custom of wearing nose rings, strangely enough, has
SS 301 spread among the peoples of the lower Amur region only as far as
302 the Manchu-Chinese hair style has been accepted by them; where
171 this has not been taken up by them, there are likewise no nose
177 rings in either the nostrils or the nasal septum. I would not know,

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302 however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hair
301 style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the
171 lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not
177 wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, the
T Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and
[302] even far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes there
[301] wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Manegir, nor the Orochon.
[171] Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus tribes of the Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

G A more common customary ornament among all the peoples
301 of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver
171 or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyisj) made out of the same material or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. On
G [531] Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak workmanship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilyak, who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XLV, 1 Fig. 5 /in the original work; the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop securely soldered and overlapping on the outside. This
Gi ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite
[301] practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi
[464] (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves them as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work,
Gi however, is not done by the men, but by the women.
[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.

1 [See category 116, p. 1025--Analyst]

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ooo however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
301 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other
17 Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring
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[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely, Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[177] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[579] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

301 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this
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is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubtedly

5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch.-Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

In concluding this section I must still raise the question as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, painting or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

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solely decisive position which the former occupy in the trade with them. Among the Goldi, who live closest to the Sungari Chinese and have constant retail-trade relations with them, a tenth part and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja or the silver ounce comes into consideration, which makes it necessary for them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value (ja or dicha). For the more distant Olcha and Gilyak, however, who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods in larger quantities in Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, the tenth and the hundredth of the ja are no longer of any practical significance -- for they are concerned only with the whole unit of value and its multiples, and therefore there is no need among them to name it expressly in making appraisals, but rather it suffices to give only the number concerned. If I had made my investigations into this question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Goldi, in the opposite direction, going from the latter to the former, the unit of value upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent to me without any difficulty, automatically, as it were. Incidentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it is not represented among the latter by any coin, is always only an imaginary quantity for the Amur peoples, and they are able to form only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or quantity of the corresponding pieces of goods or other articles. As is well known, in China only the thousandth part of a silver ounce is current in the form of coins -- the round brass coins with a square hole in the center (Gilyak tschcha), which are usually strung ten and a thousand on a string. On account of their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention to them, and, like the variously shaped brass lamellas, they are used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also as shirt and belt buttons. In my time Russian coins, likewise called tschcha (that is, probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak, were not accepted either by them or by the other natives of the lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their value and because the Chinese merchants likewise would not accept them (1). Through their association with the Russians,

1. The only coins for which a use could be

2: Schrenck--998 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

2: Schrenck--1009 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

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Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

116, 301, 422, 435, 556

"Earrings (meskh) are in general use,
are large simple rings of silver, of on
with an agate or two. These, with the r
shoes are regarded as family heirloom
surplus 'wealth' of the Gilyak family, a
paper-money or a heap of silver pieces
sable-skin shuba or a piece of sky-blue
Moreover, they are just as useful in th
to dealing in the concrete, knows exact
and when he comes in his travels to a F
measure the value of his ruble notes."

and mostly of Japanese and Chinese make. They
e and a half or more inches in [272] diameter,
are silk brocade, sable-skin hats, shubi, and
s. They are bought one after the other with the
nd represent the capital of the hut. A bundle of
have little attraction for the native, whereas a
silk is a 'thing of beauty and a joy for ever.'
e business of exchange; and the native, long used
ly their value, whereas money is unfamiliar;
Russian store, he has no standard by which to

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket consists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons. The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various necessary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc. Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are fastened with a little band at the wrist.

294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.

291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets [109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows. In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

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As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

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This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

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The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak

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artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

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1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however,
[153] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the
[161] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and
302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and pre-
765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later": see note * on p.1236./

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will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/

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fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about

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his health and took him back again. In connection with this, the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi-

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tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy, I was given the answer that they were paying back the little animals for what the latter were doing to them.

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animals for what the latter were doing to them.

Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Olcha, and their fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamiā Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

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It may be presumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

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the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/ shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

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Goldi, etc. (1). These peoples therefore regard the unshaved and

1. Venault, "Excursion dans les parties intérieures de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Annales des voyages, Vol. XXX, 1852[II], pp. 205, 214. Actually it is not difficult to recognize the Olcha villages of Adi, Pulu, and Uchtr in the Tschang-Mao-tse villages mentioned by Venault, "Aki," the first, going downstream, "Pulo," and "Ukuu." It has already been mentioned above (pp. 212 and 388, note 1) that the "Kili-mi" belonging to the Tschang-Mao-tse, who through the murder of de la Brunière gave rise to Venault's voyage, are the Gilyak. Venault also notes that in their physiognomy the Tschang-Mao-tse are closer to the European type than the Tuang-Mao-tse, which is absolutely correct for the Gilyak and Olcha in contrast to the Goldi, Orochi, etc. (See pp. 286 ff. /untranslated/ above.)

unshorn hair as a symbol of freedom, as the Ainu do with regard
G to the braid. This also explains the aversion, heightened to
302 superstition, of the Gilyak, who are especially proud of their
648 freedom from the Manchu-Chinese, against shearing their hair or even cutting the braid plaited with all of it.

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How much the distribution of the Manchu-Chinese hair style among the Amur peoples depended on the expansion of the effective, not merely nominal rule of the Celestial Empire can be seen from the Orochi. In the southernmost part of their habitation area, where they, designated as Ta-dse, are under considerable pressure from the many Chinese (Mandse) living among them, they wear their hair exactly like the latter, except that, as is also very frequent among the Goldi and Samagir, it is not shaved on the front of the head, for lack of the necessary tools, but only cut quite short (2). Farther north, such as in

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southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuli, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4),

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

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1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chtenlia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

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Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

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and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

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Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7), or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from

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the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and

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the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Puteshi. na Amur", p. 224) see this
2 [See Category 116, P. 1009-- Analyst]

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1. (cont.)
ornament on a male individual, a Goldi from Mylki. I did not come across such a case.

whom, however, it is never absent, so that by it one can immediately distinguish the women of these nationalities from those of the Olcha and Gilyak. This is a nose ring shaped exactly like the small earring described above, but still smaller, which hangs down from the pierced septum to the upper lip -- a most peculiar, ugly ornament and one which in addition impedes cleanliness, in which all these peoples are so deficient anyway. Finally, among the Orochi the same situation is found with regard to the kinds of ornaments discussed as with regard to the hair style: the northern Orochi, such as those on Kaiserhafen Hadshi Bay), correspond in this with the Olcha and Gilyak, but the southern ones, or Ta-dse, along the seacoast at least from Olga Bay downward (2) and along the right Ussuri tributaries, corre-

2. Olympiada Wassiljewa, op. cit., p. 67.

spond with the Goldi and Samagir, that is, the former wear only earrings, and the latter, those of the female sex, also nose rings. Moreover, one sees among the Orochi women or girls, and sometimes also among those of the Goldi along the Ussuri and on the Amur near the mouth of the Ussuri, just such a small ring in the right or the left nostril (3). From what has been said, it is readily

3. According to Przewalski (op. cit., p. 105) in the right nostril; according to Nadarof (op. cit., p. 78) and Maack (op. cit., p. 179) in the one or the other nostril.

From what has been said, it is readily seen that the custom of wearing nose rings, strangely enough, has spread among the peoples of the lower Amur region only as far as the Manchu-Chinese hair style has been accepted by them; where this has not been taken up by them, there are likewise no nose rings in either the nostrils or the nasal septum. I would not know,

/417 cont./

however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hair style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, the Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and even far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes there wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Manegir, nor the Orochon. Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus tribes of the Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

A more common customary ornament among all the peoples of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyisj) made out of the same material or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. On Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak workmanship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilyak, who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XLV, Fig. 5 /in the original work; the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop securely soldered and overlapping on the outside. This ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves them as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work, however, is not done by the men, but by the women.

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.

[See category 116, p. 1025--Analyst]

/418 cont./

is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubtedly

5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch.-Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

In concluding this section I must still raise the question as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, painting or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

/419 cont./

First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Arai Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Apercu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more or less discussed by the European or North American travelers who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

1:Shternberg--551 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Amur Sakhalin

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Photo. 18. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 19. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

[516]

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

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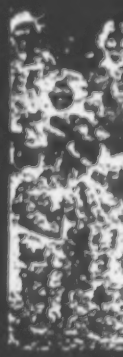

Sakhalin

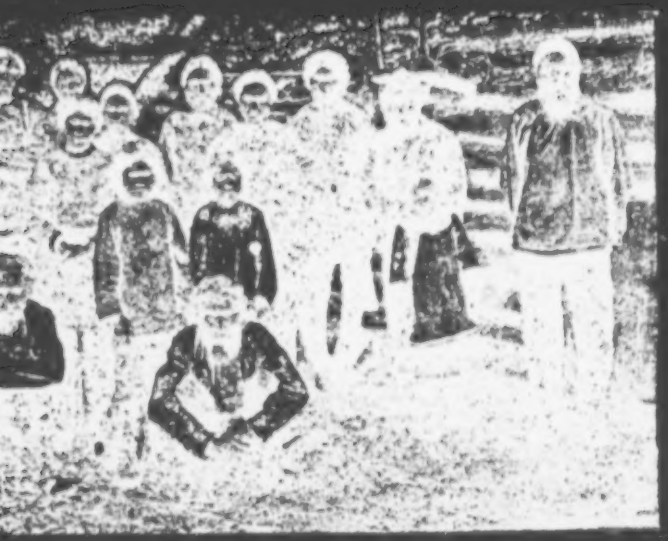

Photo. 22. Amur Gilyak.

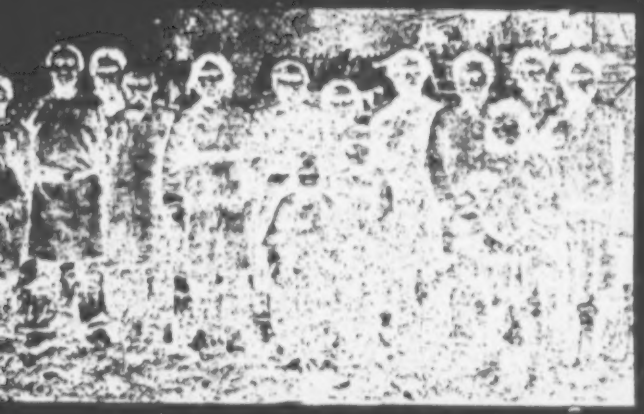

Photo. 23. Sakhalin Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--553 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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Photo. 24. Sakhalin Gilyak.

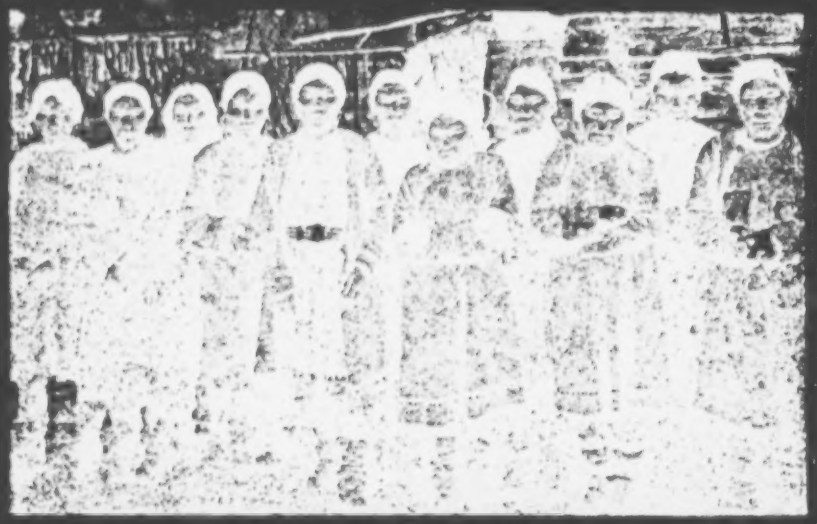

Photo. 25. Sakhalin Gilyak.

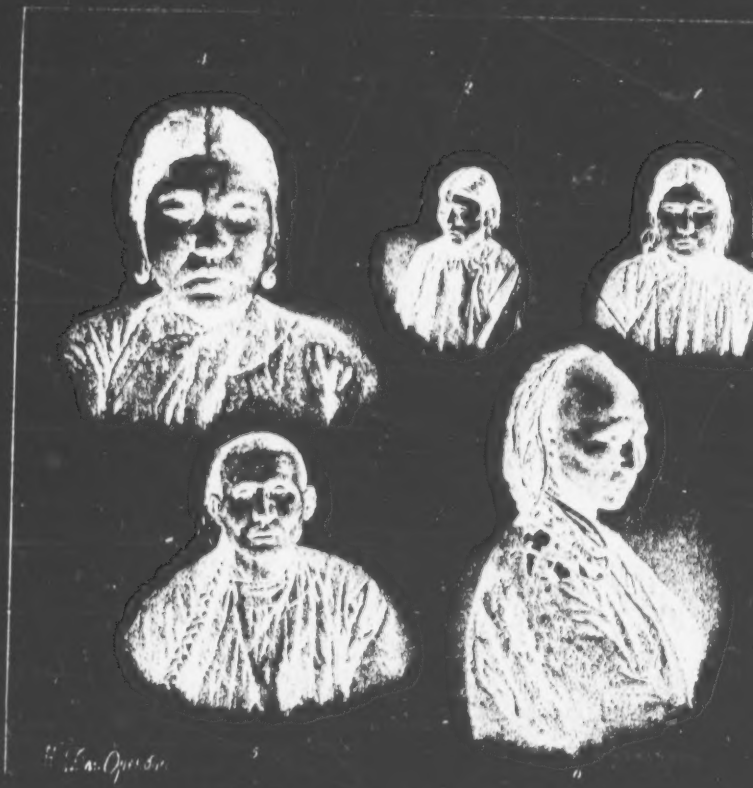

1, 2, -- Gilyak Women; 3, 4 -- Gilyak Gi
Gilyak Men

2: Schrenck--425 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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ls; 5,6, 7 --

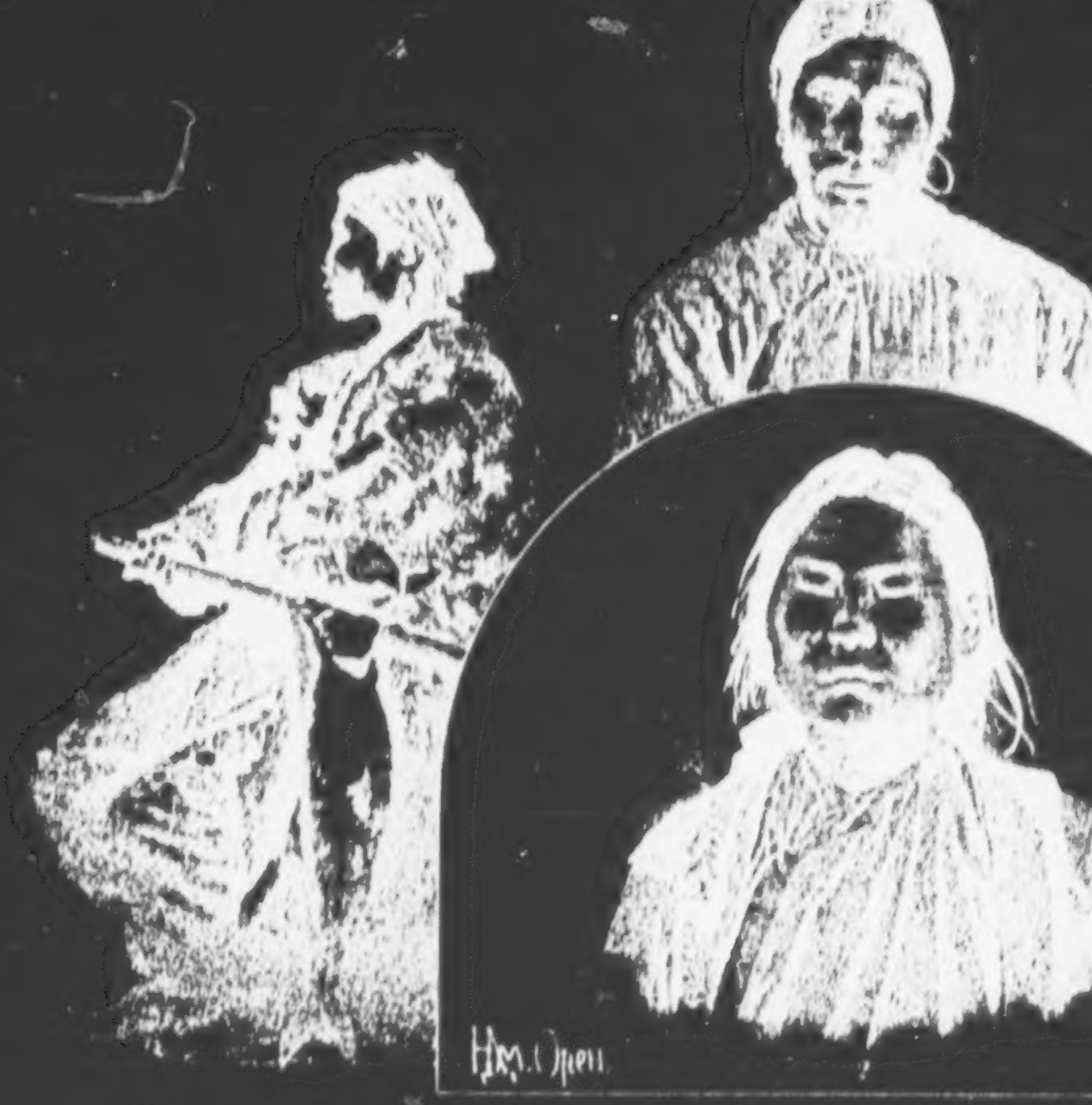

Gilyak Men

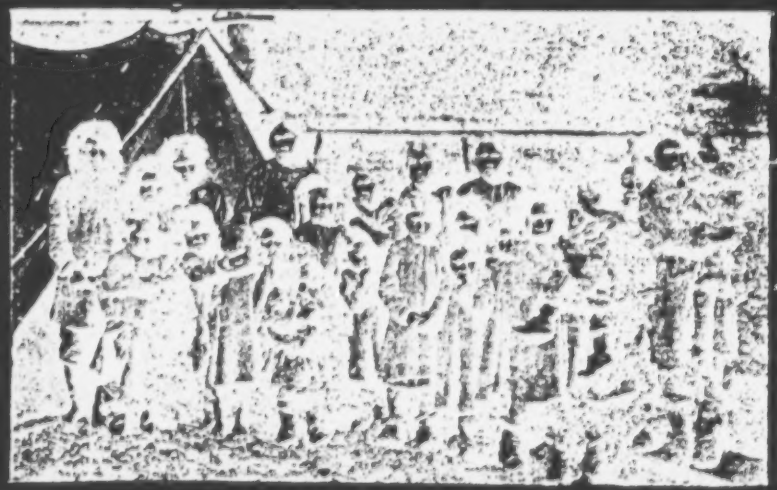

Photo. 26. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

2: Schrenck--998 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XVIII.

Gilyak in winter clothing.

2: Schrenck--999 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XIX.

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal and elk skin, dog-fur, etc.

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids.

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State").

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs.

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage.

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

9: Hawes--157-158 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 142, 302

"The Gilyak is short of stature, about 5 feet 3 inches in height, spare of limb, and, though often wiry, scarcely robust. His women-folk scarcely exceed 4 feet 6 inches. His complexion is tawny, gipsy-like, but not yellow, and his hair, which he wears in a pigtail, is raven black. Altogether his features betoken a mixed race. Though he has the brachycephalic (round) head, the broad face, and high cheek-bones of the Mongol, [158] yet the slight brow ridges, big mouth, prominent lips, and flattened nasal bridge of the latter are considerably modified in his case. The majority of Gilyaks possess the hairless faces of the Mongol, and perhaps the exceptions who have bushy beards are descendants of Ainu and Gilyak ancestors."

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FROM
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2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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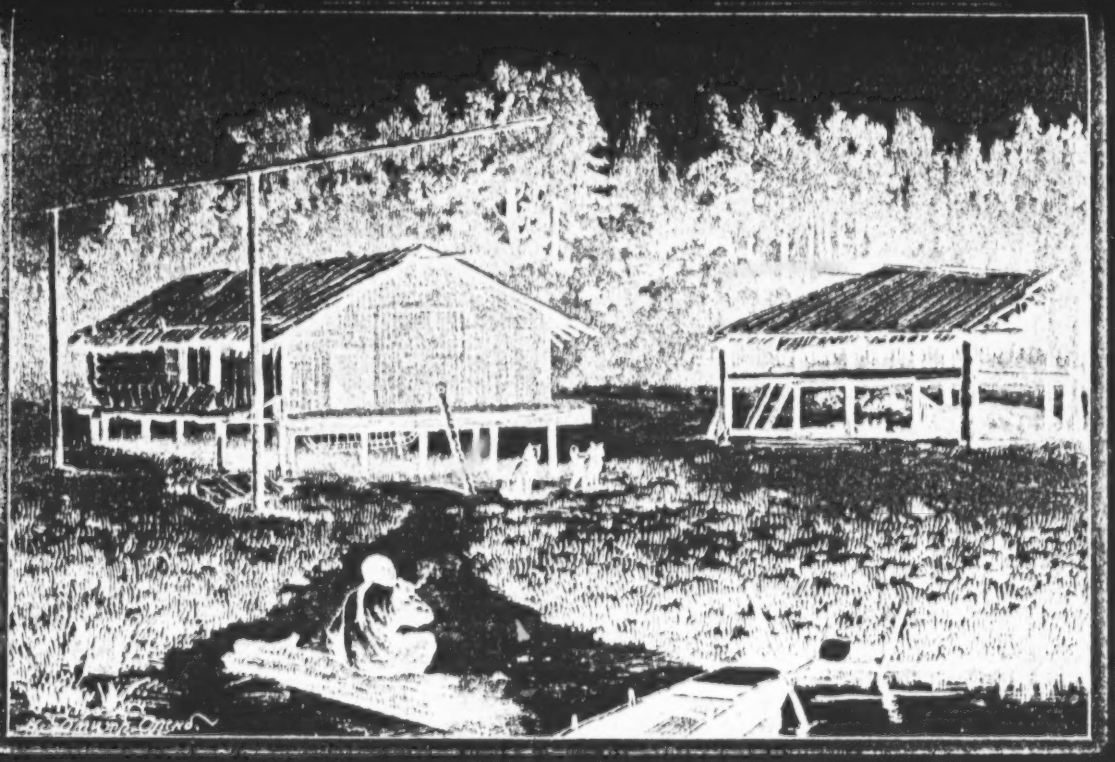

Gilyak summer yurt.

13: Seeland--32 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slantwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

> 1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

20: Bush--77
116, 276, 291

"They [LS
greasy skin g
that had once
both sexes we
single braid,
two braids, o
was a perfect
energetic cla

We would
which the wo
miniature bra
number of fin

T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak

, 302, 515

SS: A Gilyak man and woman] were a filthy-looking pair, clad in dirty, garments, with naked feet and legs, and their long, coarse, uncombed hair, been braided, hung down their backs in queues. That of the man (for ere represented) was arranged much like the 'tail' of a Chinaman, in a with the exception that no part of his head was shaven. The woman wore or what had once been such, since her hair, as well as that of her husband, t mass of tangle, and becoming more so every moment through the wing and digging of several long, unwashed fingers.

have experienced some little difficulty in deciding which was the man and man had it not been for a long-stemmed pipe, with amber mouth-piece and ass bowl, which the former smoked, while his fair partner carried a e, large, freshly-caught fish."

231 like a Pawnee concert. There were big dogs and little dogs, white, black, grey, brown, and yellow dogs, and not one friendly. They did not appear courageous, but I was not altogether certain of their dispositions. Their owners sought to quiet them, but they refused comfort.

These dogs had some peculiarities of those in Kamchatka, but their blood was evidently much debased; they appeared to be a mixture of Kamchadale, greyhound, bull dog, and cur, the latter predominating. They are used for hunting at all seasons, and for towing boats in summer and dragging sledges in winter. I was told that since the Russian settlement of the Amoor the Gilyak dogs have degenerated, in consequence of too much familiarity with Muscovite canines. Nicolayevsk appeared quite cosmopolitan in the matter of dogs, and it was impossible to say what breed was most numerous. One day I saw nineteen in a single group and no two alike.

ABOUT FULL.

609 Near the entrance of the village an old man was repairing his nets, which were stretched along a fence. He did not regard us as we scrutinized his jacket of blue cotton, and he made no response to a question which Borasdine asked. Further along were two women putting fish upon poles for drying, and a third was engaged in skinning a large salmon. The women did not look up from their work, and were not 142 inclined to amiability. They had Mongol features, complex-
• 302 ion, eyes, and hair, the latter thick and black. Some of the

•302 men wear it plaited into queues, and others let it grow pretty much at will. Each woman I saw had it braided in two queues, which hung over her shoulders. In their ears they wore long pendants, and their dresses were generally arranged with taste.

000 When recalled by the steam whistle we left the village and took a short route down a steep bank to the boat. In descending, my feet passed from under me, and I had the pleasure of sliding about ten yards before stopping. Had it not been for a Cossack who happened in my way I should have entered the Amoor after the manner of an otter, and afforded much amusement to the spectators, though comparatively little to myself. The sliding attracted no special attention as it was supposed to be the American custom, and I did not deem it prudent to make an explanation lest the story might bring discredit to my nationality.

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304 MUTILATION--scarification and tattooing; cranial deformations; tooth filing and removal; piercing of ears, nose, and lips; genital mutilation (e.g., castration, circumcision, clitoridectomy); age, sex, and status differences; special techniques and apparatus; associated beliefs; etc. See also:

Masochism	158	Self-torture	786
Mutilation of criminals	681	Eunuchs	839
Mayhem	683	Initiatory rites	852, 881
Mutilation of captives	727		

/418 cont./

301 is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it
191 made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate, etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubt

[113] 5. Davis, La Chine, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch.-Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (Ein Spaziergang um die Welt /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

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G /419 cont./

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A 302 coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced
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[113]

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[184] who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails
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2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

G
K /421 cont./

304 In the whole series of Paleo-Asiatic peoples from Jesso to
171 Greenland we find only two small tribes who lack the custom of tattooing -- the Italmen on Kamchatka and the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin. Under these circumstances one might think that the custom of tattooing was formerly indigenous among these two peoples, too, but had disappeared in the course of time. Such an assumption, however, is not permissible. Steller's and Krascheninnikof's reports on the Italmen come from a time when the latter had by no means lost their national characteristics to such an extent that such a prominent and, if it existed among them, ancient custom as tattooing could have already completely disappeared without any remnants or traces and even without having left behind any accounts in the traditions. And, as was pointed out at the very beginning of this work, I became fully acquainted with the Gilyak at a time when they were still in full possession of their individuality. The complete lack of tattooing among the former as well as among the latter must therefore be regarded as part of their individuality in contrast to the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

Gi At first glance it might seem that this individuality of the
304 Gilyak in the Amur region was also shared by other peoples, in
171 particular those living adjacent to the Gilyak, for the Olcha, the Orok on Sakhalin, the Negda, and Samagir do not have the custom of tattooing. But the situation is essentially different among them. I think I can say with certainty that tattooing is not at all customary at present among the Olcha, /422/ for I became acquainted with them on several voyages throughout their habitation area. I became acquainted with the Samagir on the Gorin only in Ngagha, the largest of their villages, to be sure, and concerning the Orok on Sakhalin and the Negda, I met only isolated individuals, but other travelers, too, who had more contact with them, did not observe any kind of tattooing among them, for example, neither Middendorff and Schmidt among the Negda nor Poljakof, after a stay of several weeks on the east coast of Sakhalin, among the Orok there. This is very noteworthy

/650 cont./

114 and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4,
175 often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and
567 stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services,
[435] are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the
[439] Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over
Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the
[304] country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the
[184] slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Be-
175 sides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get
567 their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ai who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say, they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had
[648] absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

Before I go further in describing the family relations of the
567 Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery
171 among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided

posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and deformities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat upward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies, also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his
claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

Gilyak in summe

r clothing.

293 /396 cont./
377 Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well
415 as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a
[53] sturgeon that is softened beforehand for the purpose and later
[239] hardening like wood: on the Amur out of the skin of the tukki-
tscho of the Gilyak (Acipenser Schrenckii Brandt), on Sakhalin
out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the
northern part of the Sea of Japan and called okras by the Gilyak.
The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be in-
verted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent
into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that,
after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper
372 piece can be lifted off the lower one. Like the tinder box, the
293 steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain
(Gilyak kessj-kessj) equipped with various appendages (Pl. XXVIII,
Fig. 1,[2] and Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1).[2] Sometimes there is also found
293 on this a bent, little iron rod pointed at the bottom (Pl. XXVIII,
412 Figs. 1 and 2), which is also carried separately and serves for
all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap,
at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc.
● [321] This instrument (Gil. kedak) is not infrequently also made of
[53] horn or bone, and as insignificant and unessential as it is in
itself, nevertheless it is usually decorated with all sorts of carved
293 figures (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, various other odds and
ends usually hang in the belt of the Gilyak as he happens to find
them, for instance, a boar's tusk or tooth, a piece of antelope
horn or deer antler, etc.

291 In winter, the Gilyak women also wear coats of dog fur,
237 which are made like those of the men; nevertheless they are
sometimes seen, though rarely, in coats of more precious furs.
In the winter of 1856, for instance, in Tangi on Sakhalin, I saw
one of the wives of the Gilyak Kombrein wrapped in a coat of
fox skins with the fur turned to the outside, under which two
under-coats of blue and of patterned Chinese material trimmed
with otter and sable furs were visible. On neatly dressed girls,
children of well-to-do parents, one sometimes sees on the dog-fur
coat a narrow fox-fur collar, the so-called mungrusk in Gilyak,
[2] [See Category 116, pp. 1008 and 1009 respectively--Analyst]

Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
323 sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
177 i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
A Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
175 Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
172 Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
415 wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

A [113] 1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
G ● 321 Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
171 Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they

K 323 415 [113] 2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
K Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and
172 Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K [113] 3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.
4. Op. Cit., p. 184.

Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6

G /468 cont./
G 276 wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small
192 bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or
G mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every
[554] well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for
● [321] his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of
chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the
Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192 4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the
276 Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it
439 up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-
made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes,
because they get them from another source, from the Japanese.
I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small
head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little
finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-
A shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their
824 own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb.
et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A 191 [29] 1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his
A [113] "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

175 /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
114 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
411 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
326 "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
[10] and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credenc

[113] 2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the
[53] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg
● [321]

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small
556 quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand,
and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

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Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
•321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.

[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak
593 of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
842 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlà, tammlà, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

322

322 WOODWORKING--methods of seasoning wood; techniques of shaping (e.g., cutting, planing, burning, warping); treatment of special materials (e.g., coconut, bamboo, gourds, bark); use of special apparatus; finishing techniques (e.g., oiling, lacquering); elaborated woodworking crafts (e.g., cooperage, cabinet making), manufacture of wooden and other furniture; specialized personnel and organization; wooden products not elsewhere described; etc. See also:

Lumbering and sawmills	313	Shipbuilding	396
Carpentry in building construction	335	Lathes and other woodworking machines	402
Description of furniture	352	Tools	412
Woodworking machine manufacture	392	Sculpture in wood	532

264 /446 cont./
415 broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir

[104] 3. The s is soft in this word and is to be pronounced like the French z.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Fig 2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously o account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thum
[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves
415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great
531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for
796 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself s the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In cont to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi, all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decora tions put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artisti carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusi
•322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-
412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carv on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

/322 cont./

342 half feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at
35 the two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually rounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away various utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This creates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, between the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded as the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the inner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man, there are crosspoles running between the supporting posts, which serve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the yurt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet from each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide, twice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is very simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame put together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped earth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, there are several crosspoles, two across the front part and one across the rear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crosspoles put be-
[417] tween the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crosspoles over the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which the kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the front part of the hearth three stones (h) are set upright in a triangle and firmly embedded in the earth, on which stands the large kettle used for cooking the soup for the dogs. In large yurts there are sometimes two such large kettles, also serving for human use, incidentally, as was the case, for example, in the large yurt at Tyk, in which I stayed repeatedly and for several days, and where I sketched the plan presented here. The fire is made in the rear part of the hearth, that is, somewhat more in the center between the three plank-beds, serving for heat and for
[415] illuminating the yurt at night. In front of the hearth stands one or
[312] more large receptable, usually tubs (i) made of birch bark, with drinking water, and along the front wall (k), right and left of the entrance, or in one of the front corners (l, l) of the yurt, a supply of dry firewood is always piled up. Finally, at the top, exactly above the fireplace, there is the smoke vent in the form of a longish rectangle that is placed either with its lengthwise

/445 cont./

263 439 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
[482] hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2, Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
415 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
179 ormotsch(?)-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of

[See category 116, p. 1013--Analyst]

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.
161 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
177 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p.249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

133 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
312 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) sea-going vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

133 they do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream
312 is torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not have an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

133 The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from
361 both sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low islands. The general character of the land is that of a majestic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear partly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland they are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are generally not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region is covered with vast dark green forests. Only here and there the stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by the sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, isolated spots along the shore there are Russian villages surrounded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, at the foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak villages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. Occasionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark
136 or Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless heron is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish splashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges only to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the large animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the traveler as he might have expected and as is the case in other regions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the Ussuri.
136 The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir
137 and larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is wafted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

/638 cont./

586 material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

462 For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In 462 22 general, the man only has to attend to providing the most important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it, [251] make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods inso as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries, 462 roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to • [313] cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

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314 FOREST PRODUCTS--exploitation of forests and other uncultivated areas
products other than timber or food (e.g., gums and resins, rubber, vege
oils, dyestuffs, medicines, bark, textile fibers, peat); intermediate proc
(e.g., refining of palm oil or rubber, production of charcoal); organizati
labor and production; etc. See also:

Chemical industries	38	Materia medica	
Collecting of edible materials	222	Ethnobotany	

42 posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not
46 to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and de-
32 formities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

ward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

2 Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is
2 serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

1 Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies,
4 also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

6 As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall
- below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

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312 WATER SUPPLY--sources of water (e.g., springs, wells, rainwater catchment); waters with special properties (e.g., mineral water); waterworks (e.g., dams, reservoirs, settling basins); transportation of water (e.g., containers, pipes, aqueducts, canals); irrigation and drainage systems; construction, maintenance, and regulation of water supply systems; etc. See also:

Natural occurrence of water 133
Use of irrigation in agriculture 241
Excavation 332
Water purification 364
Water power 376
Pumps 406
Plumbing 336, 414
Containers 415
Water rights 423
Canal navigation 502
Bathing 515
Flood control 731
Public health 744
Beliefs about water 823

purga (snow-storm) blows up everything is so completely buried that only those trees can be seen which, at the beginning of winter when the post roads are being laid, are pounded into the ice at regular intervals. Then everything is buried under an enormously thick covering of snow which lies immovable for half a year. During this time the forests are accessible to man only with the help of snow-shoes and dog sleds. Through the stillness of this white solitude the unlovely but energetic voice of the raven is heard; or the stillness is broken by the rapid ringing of a Russian post bell or by the "takh", "takh" which is the Gilyak's signal to his dogs. The raging purgas which last for several days are followed by weeks of cloudless skies when during the day everything lies in a dazzling white glow, and at night the icy heavens are resplendent with bright stars.

The sea coast of the Gilyak country is very picturesque, but hardly charming. From the foam of the breakers up to the peaks of the mountains everything is covered with dark forests, and even the picture of the summer landscape is often clouded with rain and fog which are almost continuous throughout the warmer season. (1) And during the other half

1. The cold arctic current travels past this coast and condenses with the moisture-laden southeast winds.

of the year everything is rigid with snow and ice, so that in winter one can travel with dogs from the mainland to Sakhalin.

This is the general picture of the native land of the Gilyak. There remains for us to add a few details, insofar as these have been ascertained.

With respect to geology, it may be said that argillite seems to occur more extensively, but many igneous minerals also appear. Thus the shores of the De Kastri bay consist of trachyte and basalt. Limestone occurs only seldom, which accounts for the softness of the water. The mountains are rich in metals -at least in various localities gold, iron, and lead were found, and it is well known that on the island of Sakhalin there are large coal beds.

The flora is varied and abundant. The conifers are represented by the fir and the larch, but the pine is absent. Of deciduous trees [104] there are oaks, maple, alder, birch, aspen, elm, among others. There are many berries, especially cranberries, raspberries, and rubus chamae morus.

313

313 LUMBERING--kinds of timber exploited; gathering of firewood; logging op
tions (e.g., felling, trimming, hauling); techniques and apparatus used; s
mills and pulp mills; economic importance of lumbering; organization of
labor and production; forestry science, practices, and policy; etc. See al

Forest resources 137
Conservation policies 185
Silviculture 245
Paper manufacture 289
Woodworking 322
Building supplies industries 339
Industrial structures 34
Fuel 37
Lumbering machinery 40
Tools 41
Moving of heavy weights 48
State and national forests 65

Then she pressed tubers of dry shrub into the opening for the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the kettle.

When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha. While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese. In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea, in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the Muzeĭ Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the ancient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat. In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for dipping pieces of meat in it.

On the following day, after the meat was taken off the heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea. The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings of qosk-pāks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps. He handed the shavings to his wife Hemany. The old woman stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using stalks of burdock-pas. In a row with the skulls lay jugular vertebrae (mar't) and bone splinters from the broken skulls. The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun took the board with the heads and the mug containing the eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at [95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible. next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

513 heads. Their cover consists of skins, some
coarse military cloth.
182 The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are diff
342 They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, no
floor is somewhat below the surface of the g
middle of it is a box-like open hearth made
and above this is an opening in the roof. In
the houses are usually full of smoke.
314 A Gilyak house is lived in only during the
342 parts of the year; in summer, however, tho
484 off on longer excursions move into the airy
592 consists of boards, and stands on poles in o
from rats. [115] On their expeditions the G
themselves huts of birch bark, and they car
wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped,
hot steam. They also make baskets, small
this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one fam
al of them live together, sometimes as man

501 VII. Transportation Methods
Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regula
made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather nar
about six to seven meters and has no keel.
is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Leng
of three planks, one of which is the floor, th
sides. The floor board projects out at the p
boards are shorter than it and are joined by
boards; the projecting floor board softens th
and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards
wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss w
is covered with thin wooden strips and faste
is no rudder; instead they use a short steeri
used alternately on the right and left sides.
are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in th
There is a small bar fastened to the edge of
oar, against which it is braced. The rower
cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised
The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth
very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe m
inside, the frame is supported by a double r
same material, which runs criss-cross. U
person sits in this canoe and rows with a do
right and left.

etimes also of a

erently arranged.
r windows. The
round; in the
of pressed clay,
windy weather

cold and colder
se who do not go
storage hut. This
rder to protect it
ilyak often make
ry along with them
and softened in
dishes, etc. of

nily; usually sever-
y as eight or nine.

r one is usually
row, but very long,
The steering end
gthwise it consists
ne others, the two
row, the two side
two small cross-
e impact in landing
are joined with
which on the inside
ned down. There
ng oar which is
The ordinary oars
e shape of a lyre.
the boat for each
s sit on low, narrow
and a sail is set.
These boats go

ade of birch bark;
ow of lashing of the
sually only one
able oar, both

321

321 WORK IN BONE, HORN, AND SHELL--techniques of cutting, drilling, and polishing; treatment of special materials (e.g., ivory, mother-of-pearl, chitin); use of special implements and apparatus; bone, horn, and shell products not elsewhere described; industrial elaborations (e.g., button ma facture); specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Tools 41
Marine industries 228
Animal by-products 237
Featherwork 287
Ornaments 301

Gilyak patterns with animal figure and arabesques of birch bark.

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- dipper made of birch bark, with decorative arabesque work; 4 -- dirc, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and tongs; 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.

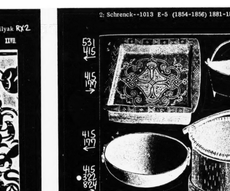

/640 cont./

would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made everywhere and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 896), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows, which also they buy in the material and use specifically or chiefly by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and to still less time left for smoking, and sleeping.

The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however, are far from exhausted by what has been mentioned above; for in addition to all that there is still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak husband as well as wife find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, but even when he can about to leave on a journey or returned from one, on the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, and one who has this pride himself on it. One (X Xyi) was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could answer: ламгин, ламгин, ламгин, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however, there is also an egotistical, militarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in the maintenance hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise /641/ apart from the bride price they will be a welcome help in the

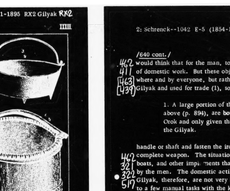

/704 cont./

described above, for the latter was done after the hind legs of the animal had already been fettered in the cage, but here the bear could make full and free use of all four extremities and its teeth. While the procession halted outside the house, all the ropes and straps required for carrying out the feast were held in readiness. Setting at the moment when the mighty animal stood fully erect, one of the Gilyak threw himself from the front around its neck and embraced it as firmly as he could. At the same moment a second one mounted the animal. Simultaneously several others seized the animal from the rear, pulled its hind legs from under it by means of ropes, and laid it down on the ground. The bear fell on its front paws, but here, too, someone was ready to press them against the ground with a pole and to fetter them. This through quick and concerted action they have the animal so completely disarmed and helpless that in instant, and now the auxiliary ropes needed on its neck-band could be put on in peace and safety. As soon as this was done, all the Gilyak jumped off the bear, all the knots and nooses fastened around its snout and paws with special skill were loosened with one jerk, and the bear again stood there as its claws entirely free and unfettered, except for the neck and body band, roaring madly, whereupon the young boys carried on the sticks, the women in their arms, it was led back into the house and regaled there with finely crushed ice and cowberries /Brickeberen/, whereupon, after a short pause, the same procedure was again repeated several times, that is, the small bear was taken immediately from Jolin's house to another one, but the large bear only after having been led in and out four times, or sometimes only twice.

Immediately after the bears had been removed, the male youth of the village began to carry large and small sticks of alder and mountain ash into the house and to deposit them at the place where the bears had stood, until there was a large pile of them. Everyone who had a knife, except for the women and girls, began to cut the sticks at one end; or, more properly, to whittle them. that is, to make the pointed end of the stick into a kind of

1. The j here is to be pronounced soft, like the French ج.

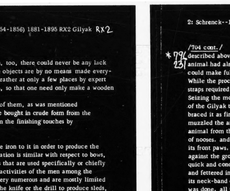

/704 cont./

Many of them were whittled with the knife on only one side, but most of them on two opposite sides, and some all around; indeed, from some of them very fine and gracefully curled wood-shavings (the repeatedly mentioned so-called catch of the Gilyak) hung down from the upper end of the stick to the lower one. This symbol, which among the Gilyak accompanies all religious performances based on the fear of the influence of evil spirits, such as the giving of offerings to the river (1) conjuring away storms (2), etc.,

2. See pp. 802-804 above.

3. See p. 1088 above.

may not. of course, be absent from the bear festival. This we already see it exhibited over the roof of the house in which a bear festival is to be celebrated and at the same time in the part of the bear cult is to be enacted. We were to /705/ encounter it in more copious masses as the bear festival progressed. For the moment, however, the whole heap of whittled sticks was again carried out. in order to be used on the following day. While the men, young and old, were busying themselves in this way, there appeared a fresh supply of ennep, into which this time they also mixed pulverized fir needles (from Picea ajanensis, Fisch., Gilyak name) as an activity which lasted until evening.

Meanwhile the leading of the bears in and out of the other house, in which the bears were not without disturbance, the Gilyak can never have enough of this entertainment, and they take as timely an interest in all the individual incidents that occur in connection with it as is shown among other peoples at. say, concerts, festive games, or dances with the merry music. which in the bear feast is the Gilyak's only music. Everyone has an opportunity as the head of the one or the other row of bear-leaders, and, as I could by presence intensity, and pressure of mind; the closer he allows the infuriated animal to approach him, the greater the danger to which he exposes himself, the louder is his share of the applause and the greater his fame and distinction among the people. Every detail is followed attentively and afterward

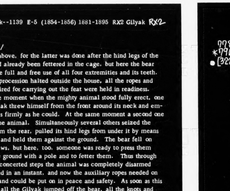

/714 cont./

Toad made out of birch bark.

the gra; beards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly. Siberian, and, so to speak, solemnly. The place in the kettle in the fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. This the kettle was filled with water for it to clinch up water for cooking bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and the hatchet, with the latter also used for incense from time to time. Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly under the bears' noses so that it hung about three feet above the floor. The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and on the other side a toad likewise executed in relief.

The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the large bear. Each leg was first placed upon the chopping block, and, as the bears, as though to ask him for their permission to prepare it; and was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked piece were fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

/716 cont./

begging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, to it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking and the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat, which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the house and a rare beforehand with specially decorated animals dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was mentioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from the storehouse, /717/ All of which were hung or otherwise attached to the bear rack in colorful confusion: pieces of fur and the skin of paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were led while alive, dried bear-paws wrapped in birch bark, knives which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bonite of hair from the bear's pelvic region around them, the so-called ninda-dokako of the Gilyak, with which it is clinch to cut anything other than bear meat and so on (see Plate II /To 1351/, Fig. 3), and a number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth obtained from the bear meat, which was cooked directly in it with the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when performing bears, is very interesting and deserves detailed discussion.

The bowls called nichrey-ngar or nichrey-ngash, i.e., bear-spoon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons nichrey, are always carved out of a single, rather thick, good-size piece of wood, which about in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate I /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and 2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat broth, the latter (the same Plate, Fig. 2) for the bear meat or fat. What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood, and sometimes both the front and the handle end, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

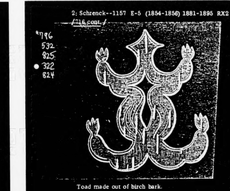

/718 cont./

even on the lower end of the spoon which are used by the Gilyak at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Stogin in Kuik, and came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a similar used in connection with bear feast, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly sinch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival. on Plate I /p.1250/, Fig. 1, for instance, it is drawn with the neck and body band, on Plate I, Fig. 3, and Plate III /p 1252/, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band. Plate III, Fig. 6, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate II /p 1251/, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 1 in Plate III, shows the bear's head in the tilting and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate II, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because in a case shown about all the situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the bear's close spiritual relation of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak set on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. A barbecue, the kettle was filled with water, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, only in the prepared bear meat broth, and sometimes both the front and the handle end, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

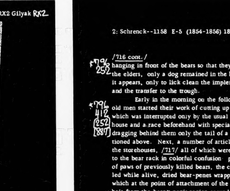

/718 cont./

stagnon lying in front of the bears, and a little to one side, in an unsuitable place, so to speak, where they could not be seen by the bears, quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Stogin in Kuik, came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a similar used in connection with bear feast, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly sinch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival. on Plate I /p.1250/, Fig. 1, for instance, it is drawn with the neck and body band, on Plate I, Fig. 3, and Plate III /p 1252/, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band. Plate III, Fig. 6, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate II /p 1251/, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 1 in Plate III, shows the bear's head in the tilting and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate II, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because in a case shown about all the situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the bear's close spiritual relation of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak set on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

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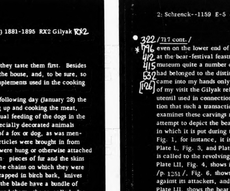

1. Like the one pasted on the window, see p. 1157.

interpretation for this symbolic act in connection with what has been said above other than the following. With the cutting up of the meat, the cooking of the broth, and the eating of the bear meat and broth, but also for all other food during the bear festival,

/754 cont./

826 753 sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however, 755 is a shaman. He conjures up a ldgn (a good god), who removes 756 the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch 757 carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of (780) the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the vagmipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp. 822 1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found. 746 It is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always 824 made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

753 The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mkjingai) are 755 similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much 825 less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (halb) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the laiz bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magi. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak 554 shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

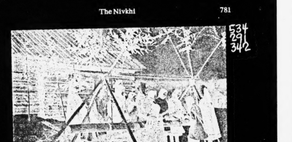

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ulchi 534 and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the 324 bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers 1071 were often remarkable in their craftmanship. Some of them were carved 746 with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer, and so forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a 534 primitive one-string instrument (t'ygytyg) and a lip jew's-harp (khangai). 1046 During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an 871 ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks. 1042

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay school was opened in the 1890's by the missionary, Protopopov, who was assisted by the Nivkhi.

Protopopov also established the first school, which was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

175 In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the 648 Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted

/350 cont./

197 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this. 325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/ 871 and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel. 1042 Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in 197 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is 741 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he 18 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her 472 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes- 255 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a 18 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when 323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their 194 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence 172 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savagery." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/447 cont./

302 yi-dhakko already mentioned, several knives of special shape. 412 Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of various sizes, the unjir-wen of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4), 2 is used; for fine carving, the kydr-dhakko, a knife with a very narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among 412 the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschakhr) (1)

[192] 1. Presumably borrowed from the Manchurian tschakcha. Among the Olcha: alako.

copied from the Chinese must be mentioned, a specimen of which, from the village of Wasej, is shown on Plate XXXIII, Fig. 6. These owe their origin among the Gilyak more to the imitative instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard to anything Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

As one sees from the above, all the household and table 445 equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood 323 or birch bark. Earthenware is not found among them at all; they 322 neither make any themselves nor is there used among them, in spite of their contacts with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain made by these peoples, for at most a single piece of it, usually one or several of the small porcelain bowls used by the Chinese for drinking brandy, is kept here and there by a well-to-do Gilyak as an article of value or as an oddity. The fact that pottery, even 323 in its beginnings, is completely foreign to the Gilyak, despite 114 their being surrounded by people skilled in other things, for example, in woodworking and, as we shall see later, at the smith's trade, certainly merits full consideration, and I am therefore permitting myself a few remarks about it. In order first to put their fate itself still further beyond doubt, I must expressly emphasize that despite my long and various stays among them I never saw a piece of pottery of any kind in their households nor did I even hear of any from others. Hence, some entirely different statements in Mamia Rinš's report on his travels on Sakhalin (Krafto) and in the Amur 197 region were all the more striking to me. He found that the earthenware and porcelain of the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin was

/447 cont./

323 similar in shape to that of the Olcha and the Japanese (2). /448/ 114 114 648 [113] 2. Mamia Rinš, "Tôsats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

322 One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not 114 originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese 114 pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not 114 remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Mamia Rinso goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Manšô) near Kidzi (1). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidzi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still farther upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Usuri, I never saw such factories or any 323 their products. And Maack had the same experience, except that 114 in the Goldi village of Sulbi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the natives (2). This village, however,

[113] 2. Maak", Puteši. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 143.

323 is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, 114 totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinš's report, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were likewise familiar with this industry -- an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored 323 the Amur region. How this happened will be illustrated as 114 much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion 648

/448 cont./

323 of the trade relations of the Amur peoples, and especially of the 114 Gilyak, with the neighboring civilized peoples. For the moment, 648 it will suffice to make the general remark that it most probably was brought by violent seizure and devastation plundered by the Manchu-Chinese government itself for political reasons and to which Mamia Rinso's voyage may even have given rise. Through the devastating blow that the government, feared by the natives, executed, among other things, against the pottery and porcelain manufacturing of the Olcha on the Amur, they were forced back, like their neighbors upstream and downstream, the lower Goldi and Gilyak, to their traditional woodworking industry and were so strongly and lastingly prejudiced against all pottery and porcelain that from then on even articles of this sort made in China or Japan could not find approval and acceptance among them. This destruction of the pottery manufacturing in the lower Amur region, 415 on the other hand, may have prompted the Goldi to take up the 114 mass production of wooden implements, to turn those large bowls 114 322 and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha under the designations aam-ngir and kota, respectively.

Whereas the pottery and porcelain industry was destroyed 323 along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made rapid and unimpeded 114 progress in southern Manchuria and along the Sungari and its tribu- 648 taries. /449/ According to the notes of the Chinese U-tsien in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

[115] 1. Vasil'ev", "Zapiski o Ningutse /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Imp. russk. Geogr. Obšch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also arose there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

[113] 2. Journey in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

/449 cont./

323 utensils produced there, some of them of very good qua- 171 were shipped far away, and, according to Barabash (3),

[113] 3. Barabash", "Sungar. ekspedicia 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

one or several of them in every Sungari town. The pot- Maack saw in Sulbi on the Amur probably also came fr Sungari. The fact that it does not go farther down the ever, to the lower Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, in spite 323 annual trade voyages to the Sungari, attests all too clea 17 aversion that they entertain against such utensils.

If, from the statements by Mamia Rinš given ab 323 must draw the conclusion that the Gilyak and Olcha, th 17 do not use pottery in their households today, nevertheless they must have been familiar with it in the past, for they 415 it themselves, it may also be gathered from them that 114 means an art practiced since ancient times, but rather 114 learned it through the Chinese and Japanese in relatio 114 He found the pieces seen by him on Sakhalin, as was sa 114 to those of the Chinese and Japanese, and it is highly p 114 the main porcelain factories near Kidzi which he ment 114 under Chinese influence and with Chinese co-operation 114 it was recent and foreign, this art could so easily again 114 altogether among the Gilyak and Olcha amidst the subs 114 favorable conditions, without leaving any trace other t 114 aversion against its products. My view that the mainl 114 was originally foreign to the Gilyak and was temporarily 114 by them from the Chinese only in recent times is also 114 by the fact that this art, as among the Gilyak, it missi 114 was missing up to a short time ago, among all the other 114 Asiatic peoples, with one single exception. Mamia Rin

4. Op. cit., p. 184.

/447 cont./

yï-dshakko already mentioned, several knives of special shape. Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of various sizes, the us(i)r-wossj of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4), is used; for finer carving, the kydr-dshakko, a knife with a very narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschawkr) (1)

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colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also arose there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

[113] 2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark

/453 cont./ Mamin Rivers (Alaska) to be rare, report that the Ten Commandments Sakhalin that they make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two sides, large, hollow, and with a round bottom, and the other (i.e., divine pots, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent Japanese origin of this art. The Sakhalin people, in the north, are Tungusic, and their neighbors are Ainu and Japanese.

6. Nordenskjöld, Die Umseglung Asiens und Europas auf der Vega. Leipzig, 1880, Vol. I, p. 147.

1. Sibirsk. Aneb. no wilhelmshof, Inclichtvot de ostiaks. Ein Vitre Ethnographie Exploration from the Discoverer by Vrian, F. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Patjalsof found, besides other articles, in the graves of Aino given on Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient Kamchadal, one finds, in the work of Steller, Beschreibung des Camtschatkischen Volkes, the information that they

2. Nomad on Ono Tetsuya, ed. of 1905, p. 87b.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and Kraschninnikof say only wooden vessels among them, and Pinkerton (9), while giving a description of the vessels, says

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamtschatka in the Years 1851-1855 (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Ibid series, Vol. VIII, 1856).

mood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly dried. Such be thought was a Tungusic (?) [illegible]

/453 cont./ Mamin Rivers (Alaska) 2: Schrenck—490 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak 82.

was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand. Also, with regard to Kuryak and Chukchee, the anthropologist Bogoras, at Tuchi (Tuchinskaya Bay), knew only of the making of seing and drinking vessels out of wood, bone, etc., but do not report any of fired clay. The northernmost pots that the members of the Vega expedition saw among the Chukchee were of American or European origin (6). Nordenskjöld, however, heard that the Asian dwellers

4. Nordenskjöld, Die Umseglung Asiens und Europas auf der Vega. Leipzig, 1880, Vol. I, p. 147.

5. Ceramics, pottery, etc. Among the Gilyak, Orochi, and Olcha of which Shimin Rinsö spoke was of in only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent measures of the Manchu-Chinese to be discussed later. If, however, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even further back, it is not impossible that the Gilyak and Orochi have recently been found in the earth, together with some tools, at various points in the Amur region and in Sakhalin, especially along the Petchi River and in Tarakha (3). These potsherds,

3. In 1865, while digging up the earth at the bottom of some pits along the Petchi River, near the village of Nikolayevsk and emptying into the Amur only slightly above Cape Tuchutyrkach at Tuchutyrach (at the Russian call it), the pits seeming to be remains of former earth dwellings, potsherds were found at a depth of three feet, along with traces of charcoal, and at another place, at a depth of six feet, a human skull (Tuchutyrkaya Pomor'e, July 1, 1866, p. 58). Thanks to the good offices of Dr. Pfeiffer in Nikolayevsk, some of these articles came to the Königliche Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

2: Schrenck—490 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak 82. Esk: no N02.

/450 cont./ 7. (cont.) Peoples in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847, Part I, p. 58. Alaska and its resources, 1870, p. 150.

Pinkerton and Kotzebue Sounds (8), and elsewhere. Dall says that

8. Wolde, Capt. Jacobson's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerika's /Capt. Jacobson's Travels on the Northwest Coast of America/, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 214, 215, 290.

among the earthenware vessels made by the Eskimo which he saw on the Yukon (Kwichpak), a few of which are illustrated in his book on Alaska, one was obviously modeled after a Russian model. This may have been the case, for since the Russians settled in this country some Russian dishes and troughs were soon unfindable in reached the natives there. Nevertheless, the making of pottery by the Aleutian Eskimo is so way came from the Russians. The latter found it there already, and Dawydof, like Sagaskin, represents the acquaintance with copper kettles and other implements, which the Eskimo owed to the Russians, and considerable late among them the relatively general distribution of pottery vessels of their own manufacture, was which Dall, too, agrees. Finally, also arguing for the great antiquity of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, Nordenskjöld (7) says that the simple and primitive fashion in which it is practiced. the vessels are shaped freehandedly, and therefore are not quite circular or symmetrical (1), and then are smoothed and decorated by means

1. As can be seen from the illustrations in Dawydof's travel account (pp. 214 and 215).

of peculiar and likewise very simple instruments (2). Without

2. These implements are illustrated by Dawydof (op.cit., P. 298).

2: Schrenck—491 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak 82. Esk: no N02.

/450 cont./ 7. (cont.) Peoples in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847, Part I, p. 58. Alaska and its resources, 1870, p. 150.

the same time, it specify more precisely the date and the manner of the origin of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, I feel able to make no decision. Dall, however, has given the following conclusion concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

To return to the Amur region, I regret that the portion's art of the Gilyaks, Olcha, and Ainu of which Shimin Rinsö spoke was of in only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after a brief existence, again disappeared as a result of the violent measures of the Manchu-Chinese to be discussed later. If, however, contrary to my opinion, one should want to date it even further back, it is not impossible that the Gilyak and Orochi have recently been found in the earth, together with some tools, at various points in the Amur region and in Sakhalin, especially along the Petchi River and in Tarakha (3). These potsherds,

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/451 cont./ 2. (cont.) by Jacobsen (op. cit., p. 199).

3. (cont.) Imperial Academy of Sciences/ and are in our museum. Three years later, near the village of Tymovskoye, on Sakhalin and likewise at the bottom of pits which looked like the remains of earth dwellings, I found the above considerations concerning the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and only learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

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1: Sibirsk/ng—501 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1903 RXI Gilyak 83 Sakhalin

/451 cont./ 4. (cont.) beads either straight, wavy, and zigzag lines, and, in general, the ornamentation

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period in the history of the Gilyaks, and, in particular, to a relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Petchi River (see /453/ note 3 on p. 490) were not to many Gilyak (?) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vremeshnoe Pomor'e)

whether they will had similar tools, or why tradition referring to them — they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin continued the idea and Czech in Tarakha above the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that dating the ware the Aino had gone into hiding in the earth after the arrival of the Gilyak in the Amur region, but the Nivx themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, the old men of Tymovsk knew of a legend which another than jects in a people called Tsisei who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the Amur. The remains of the ancient Tsisei now lived degenerate on the Gulf of Petlance, near Cape Tatarovo, and of other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (5).

5. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsheres are supposed to come actually only means Tungusic, it can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamin Sibirsk concerning the pottery of Tymovsk (7 Tymovsk, 1 E-5, Esc.then.pan)

123 METALLURGY—smelting and refining of ores, alloys, methods of casting, hot and cold forging; tempering; welding; welding; special operations (e.g. bellows, anvils, pincers) and scientific metallurgical knowledge etc. See also Ethnology, Industrial Arts, Mining, Technology, Commerce of metals" 123, 00 Metallurgy, general, 123, 01 Iron

1: Sibirsk/ng—501 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1903 RXI Gilyak 83 Sakhalin

/200 cont./ Manchu reached them also and installed elected tsiseis. There was such a seasons, for example, in Tangis. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak learned to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

Gilyak (?) Iron was known to them, however, in the earliest times as the most sacred method of obtaining fire — a method used in ancient times by the ancestors. All the other hollowwage are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but the most consequence these borrowings have inevitably brought the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

The Gilyak, in their primitive state, the basic food of the Gilyak is the ready products of nature — fish, fowl, berries, roots; he is the only one that knows how to catch fish and to obtain and accelerating his creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals, or hunt game. This is the fundamental feature of a "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of time when the Gilyak was ignorant of hoeing and sowing

/568 cont./
with the latter probably extend back into earlier times than those with the former, in that, as the latter do not show the Golds (in the other groups (i.e., before they came to the south region of the Amur.

1. See p. 214 above /unrevised/.

they already had a homeland on Sakhalin, where they were directly in contact with the Ainu and thus also indirectly with the Japanese -- this circumstance points to the latter as the source of the Gilyak's knowledge of iron and other metals, and as their teachers, even though only indirectly, in the minh's art. And a series of facts corroborate this in this view.

If the use and the working of iron had come to the Gilyak from the Chinese, that is to say, down the Sungari and Amur through the intermediation of the Manchu and Goldi, one would expect in the opposite direction, going upstream from the Gilyak, an increase in skill in the forging of iron. Actually, however, in the direction mentioned there is not only no increase, but, on the contrary, a decrease in the fineness and neatness of the metalwork. For the Chiba, to be sure, the Gilyak actually into skilled ironsmiths, and especially armorers, than their teachers, the Gilyak, but far behind the Golds and the Chiba in this (b).

2. The Manchu opinion also pen his Yutenb. ia Amur", pp. 175 and 207).

though they are extraordinarily skilled at many other things, such as boat-building, sewing, embroidery, and plaiting. In this connection, they do something different from the Gilyak in forging in that they use only one bellows, and also accumulate iron are not insignificantly /569/ different, for instance, an anvil shaped quite differently, and the like (1). Finally, it is not in

1. See Maack, op. cit., p. 207 and Plate II, Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 24.

be overlooked that the Goldi designation for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak one. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that they owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsh devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (b). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron was then imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, and already had been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of pieces which they obtained by trading with the Japanese in Sakmarai. Mamia Rinsh describes their procedure in forging the iron, which again corroborates what we can described above for the Gilyak; he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (b), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Sternenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

/569 cont./
cutting edges of their weapons in Japanese fashion and that in general their method of forging is "approximately the same as in Japan," still Mamia Rinsh does not draw the obvious conclusion that the Ainu have to thank the Japanese for their knowledge of iron and other metals and the working of them, and, indeed, he maintains instead that they did not learn their manner of forging iron from any other people, but rather seem to have invented it themselves. This should not surprise us, however, because the careful traveler gives in his short and sober report only what was seen and experienced by him and may even have been of categorization and conclusion. It therefore even more establishes beyond doubt that the spread of iron and the art of working it took place from Japan to the Ainu of Sakhalin and from Sakhalin and Japan to the Gilyak in a very ancient period, a period which is too far back for any accounts or traditions concerning that event to have been preserved among the Ainu at Rinsh's time.

/570/ Finally, the fact, too, that the Gilyak iron utensils and weapons, bowls, spears, and the like are more like those part of the same form as those of the Ainu and that the figures engraved on them are more like those of the Ainu than those of Japan are often reminiscent of Japanese pattern -- as was noted above (1)

1. See p. 597.

with reference to the decorations on their clothing and on various wooden and bone implements -- this fact stands in agreement, to a least not in contradiction, with the Japanese origin of the familiarity of the Gilyak with iron and the working of it. There is only one thing that might appear strange at first glance, namely, the fact that the greatest skill of the Gilyak in forging iron is not found on Sakhalin, but on the Amur and therefore in that section of their habitation area which is the farthest from Japan and, on the other hand, is most open to Manchu-Chinese influence. This can be explained, however, on the basis of political conditions. According to Mamia Rinsh's testimony,

/570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinsh's testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin (Krafto) lost their skill at forging iron more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, in part, of the Japanese prohibition against forging. We must add that this step backward by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery, and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and strong character, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have had a salutary effect upon them in regard to the more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps accounted also, said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /unrevised/.

At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of their material skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more to the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Oroch, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

/572 cont./
their eyes, of course, were accustomed with the sea of great waves, so that they could not see the other bays, inlets, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly to trade with them, and, indeed, much (the) so the case can be seen from Stellar's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but were much taken aback only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figure during the welcoming" with them.

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadals, were brought by Japanese sailors, or from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukches, before iron needles were then brought by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a central occurrence of the geographical history of Asia, in consideration of the vast number of the peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the Asiatic continent, the region of the Ainu (1).

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 150) has recently been attacked by Braun ("Die Bevölker der japanischen Inselwelt. /"Ie Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm)" in the Jahrescber. der Frankfurter Verein fir Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1885-1886, 1886-1887, Berlin, Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. In speaking of the former (on Sakhalin) at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

/572 cont./
of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /unrevised/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the sea-shore, and had taken up fishing and hunting on the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of the Gilyak, which, of course, outside the scope of this work.

If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons and of hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two long very valuable and very estimated 2.5 meters long, which happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, he bought back his property.

K. Marriage and the Bearing of Children

Not much can be reported concerning this, and, indeed, summarized, and it is even rarer to find married men with more than one or two wives, for the reason a certain amount of means is needed, there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This dare not consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons, dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300 rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations are much alike to be given by the bridegroom last a rather long time,-a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A various, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl, the one known and wed. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl home, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

/574 cont./ Dwelling Sites
reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /575/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelichte., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 243.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Oc., p. 197.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, and to a doubt on the origin indeed very strange linking of the Kilan with the Gilyak of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged question the correctness of such a people (b).

2. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially gushed by a weapon-forging Gilyak, Siberia must be with them, and these weapons would long since have b able, if not from the people themselves, at least then Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien. Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is no for both the above-mentioned bow faced with buffalo decorated with silver and the beautiful knives, tipped knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, have to equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons w worked and inlaid with silver and brass today exactly foreign origin, nevertheless, they are not very ancient. Even the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the present

10. Seriand--2b E-5 (no date) 1882

Gilyak

/572 cont./
10. instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck hunting and hence is called "duck arrow" (1). The other arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not [illegible] more than 1 meter long and 0.25 meter in diameter.
11. small board and is usually decorated on the outside with various decorations and ornaments. It is fastened to the belt.
The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done without a pneumatic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is brought from the Russians and Japanese. Nowadays, however, the Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.
178 Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are 45 cm. wide and 1.5 meters long, made of very sturdy wood, and 45 cm. wide and 1.5 meters long, made of very sturdy wood, 4/5 lashkoed, and consist of iron rings. They come from China and at present have no other value than that of being a means of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 20 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, he bought back his property.

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/574 cont./ Dwelling Sites
reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /575/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelichte., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 243.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Oc., p. 197.

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/566 cont./

especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region, the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak. In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

/567 cont./

114 325 326 192

On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor underneath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr) made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and immediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube immovably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak, placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows, alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another, adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the

[104] 3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordi-
[293] nary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yi-dshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj,

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/ which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner, a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

/568 cont./

114 325 326 192 [293]

Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008/, Fig. 1.

325 326 [531] [435]

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna-
[439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
325 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
197 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
174 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relatic

225 of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

324 As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a 362 smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after 22 the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat [184] themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

324 The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century [177] replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow [178] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

241 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The 887 old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these 462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite 177 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective 433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

462 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.

286 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
326 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
463 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.

372 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

411 The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i. e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

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333 MASONRY--laying of bricks and stones; use of mortar; mixing and laying of adobe and concrete; types of construction (e.g., foundations, floors, walls); structural principles (e.g., arch, dome); use of special implements and apparatus (e.g., trowel, hod, cement mixer); specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Stone industry . . . . . 324 Tools 413
Brick and cement manufacture 339

/321 cont./

192
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[113]

2. (cont.)
Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 105). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the dwellings of same, of whatever kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Russ.: izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russians in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the same sense in this work.

342 house or Chinese winter-yurt. The earth yurt, toryf of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is nothing more than a more or less spacious, immovable tent half sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with thin beams. Around it there is erected a pyramidal /322/ roof slanting upward evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to one another and resting on four crossbeams, which, in turn, are supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration appears here./ Only at the peak of the roof is an opening left to serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however, but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passageway (c), likewise roofed over with thin beams or tree branches and dry grass, in which, at both sides, either a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

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/326 cont./

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1. This plate is to serve at the same time to illustrate the house decorations customary during the bear festival and some of the entertainment going on in front of it, which will be discussed later. ⁂

[335] The walls consist of thin, horizontal beams, which are not joined at their ends, but are pointed and fitted into the lateral grooves of a few thicker, upright beams. On the transverse walls, which rise higher, and especially in the middle of them, these vertical beams are of a considerable thickness. The gaps between the beams are plugged with moss and daubed with mud on the outside. The large, rather flat roof, which in winter has to carry a considerable burden of snow, requires very complicated timberwork for its construction and support. /Illustration appears here./ It has a regular roof framework made up of longitudinal beams and crossbeams. The ridge is supported, in addition to the central, upright beams of the two transverse walls (see Pl. XI), also by two thick, towering posts in the interior of the house (a) on the accompanying plan). Sometimes, instead of one post, two standing not far apart rise in each place. Similar, but much smaller and thinner posts (b) sometimes rise up here and there at the sides and, together with the two nearest vertical beams of the transverse wall, serve as supports for the middle part of the roof, and in the lower part it is supported by the longitudinal walls of the yurt. Longitudinal beams and crossbeams in turn run here and there between the towering posts in the interior, and similarly to the upper edges of the longitudinal walls -- a framework that /327/ serves to connect the walls to one another and thus to steady the walls and keep them upright. In addition, the lower part of it, up to a little above the height of a man, is used for the storage of various articles and for hanging up clothing, and so forth. On our Plate XI one sees the ends of the aforementioned longitudinal beams at the transverse wall, as well as at the ridge and the side edges of the roof, project out quite far, whereby the side beams of the latter intersect each other far out at the gable

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[353]

⁂ [See Category 116, p. 991 -- Analyst]

Ainu A8L
Eskimo ND2

A
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439

/565 cont./
reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E
239
41

Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E
[113]

1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G
326
[411]

At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

G
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342 DWELLINGS--description of residential buildings; seasonal, local and status differences in dwelling types; durability and portability of dwellings; mode of construction; adequacy (e.g., for protection from elements, for security, for light and ventilation); typical number of occupants; ceremonies during and after construction; etc. See also:

Housebuilding specialists	33	Names of houses	882
Adequacy of housing	362	Household organization	892

/17 cont./

194 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in
174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant
171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dug-
342 out is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

342 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak
196 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the
178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu
[199] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a
[192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

342 /18 cont./
198 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of
178 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.
192

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the
171 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that
174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee,
492 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

173 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
174 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
133 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-
[614] called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo.
[614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/27 cont./ In
22 spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar
252 festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple.
354 Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted
352 the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also
[197] very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank
[132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes
352 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward
516 the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/28 cont./
352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
[516] tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[492] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

492 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/30 cont./
221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Ty the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several h dred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, o to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their nativ
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrang
[484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live
159 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociablenes which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must l the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its in ternal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mai to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence
171 on the Family-Clan Structure.
174

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothin characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nat alities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules t regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the A and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved featu
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although t
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful compa of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gil leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite differe

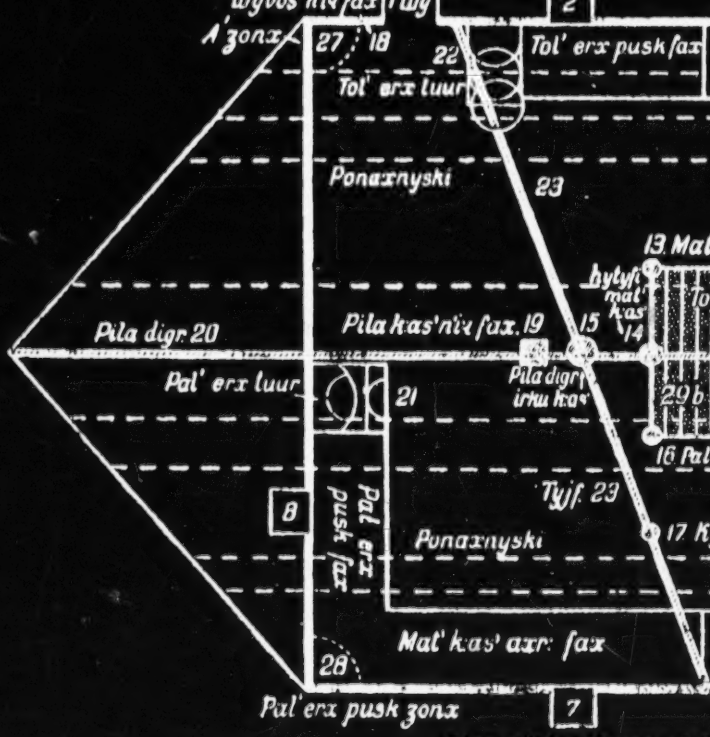

Plan of the House of th

/Three letters in the terms above have been changed in the
letters are from the Latin alphabet; see the table on p. 36

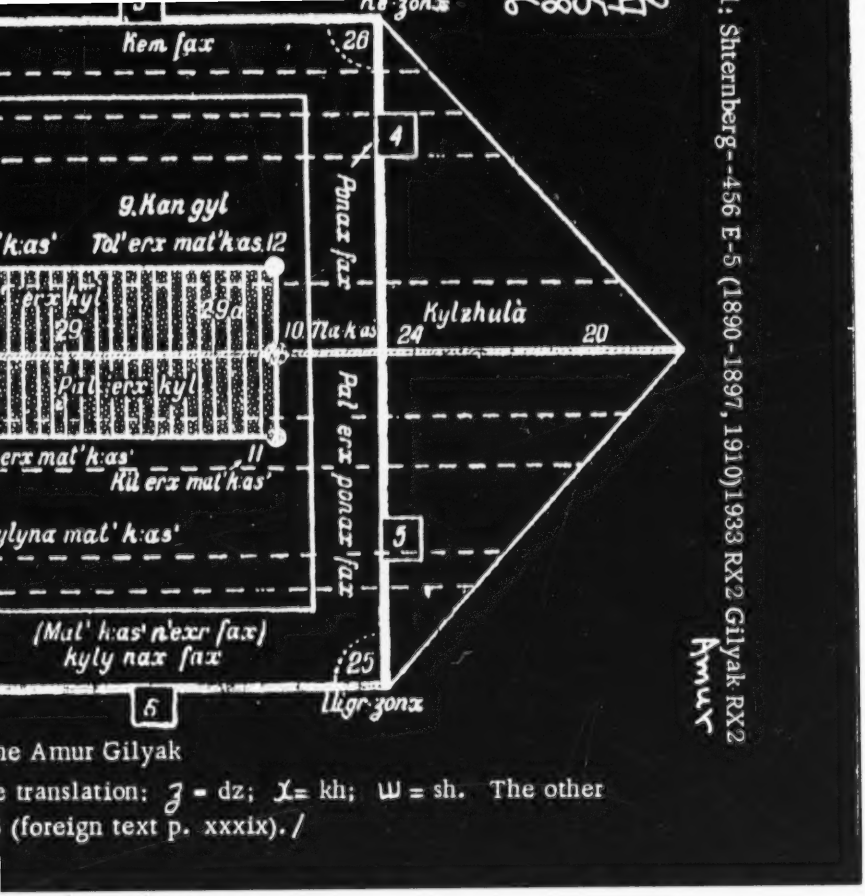

he Amur Gilyak

e translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other

(foreign text p. xxxix). /

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

> 1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened!

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
342
354

> 2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

333 windows ha
342 panes. Th
354 hinges. Th
bars on wh
among othe
ing of the h
sists of pre
The smoke
covered wi
sleeping bo
a high wood
Manchurian
seldom cle
walls of the
and small,
is a very p
cold in the
there is a
opening of
er kettle o
just in fron
floor. The
properly a
frequently
231 The furn
352 hearth or,
entrance.
continuous
diagonally
arundo. In
table. The
the table; t
again. Be
decorated
stools in ca
cross beam
cloths, etc
and the lik
kept in the
354 occasions.
373 tive fashio
or, if ther
513 In summ
skins or ot
cloth sacks

ve fish skin stretched over them instead of glass
e simple, low door has leather straps instead of
here is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross
ich lie or from which hang various implements,
r things a kettle which reaches to the front open-
earth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, con-
ssed clay; the larger houses have two of them.
passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and
th clay, which goes around the room under the
ards, leads out through the side wall and ends in
den chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and
ns have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is
aned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin
e Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low
and thus the warming of the benches from below
ractical arrangement. Even so, it is often very
houses, especially when it is below freezing and
wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper
the stove and besides that, as we have said, a small-
cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests
t of the front opening of the stove, right next to the
logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit
nd burn outside the opening of the stove, which
causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.
iture is very simple. Not far from the door is the
if there are two, they are put on either side of the
Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one
bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie
across it. It is covered with woven mats made of
the middle of the room is the long and low dog
dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on
hey are let down one by one, fed, and chased out
sides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively
cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few
ase a higher seat is needed for some work. On the
ns below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish,
.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows,
e. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually
storage houses and are brought out only on special
In the evening the room is lighted in the most primi-
n: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp,
e happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.
er their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear
her skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical
stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

335

335 CARPENTRY--special treatment of wooden materials in building construction; techniques of joining (e.g., by mortise and tenon, with nails or screws); structural devices (e.g., struts, king-post); specialized personnel and organization (e.g., carpenters' guilds or unions); etc. See also:

Nonstructural woodworking 322
Shipbuilding 396
Tools 412
Hardware 414

342 Before layin
[787] flour: if in the mo
is good; if of a hu
they change the pl
is also good.

342 Explanation
354 door. 2. Tol-erkh
"master" of the se
of the door. 4. Po
bed. 5. Pal-erkh
the mountain. 6.
alongside the long
near a small post.
342 of the mountain.
k:as' -- large post
erkh mat' k:as' --
small post. 14. H
digr-irku k:as' --
erkh' mat k:as' --
Kylyná mat' k:as'
n'ich fakh -- smal
fakh -- small ston
[354] 20. Pi'la digr -- e
the master of the
[335] master of the sea.
24. Kylzhutá -- th
son who has been
[778] corner for the bear
corner. 27. A dz
dz:onkh -- corner
[776] 29. The floor is di
tol erkh kyl. On e
the appropriate spi

f a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected
with the House

g down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling
rning there is an imprint of a human foot, this
man hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then
ace. If there are no imprints of any kind, this

of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy --
pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the
a. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left
nakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-
ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of
Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- window
plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window
8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side
9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly
. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. To
post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' --
ytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la
large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal
small post on the side of the mountain. 17.
-- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos
stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir
e at the threshold on the level of the floor.
longated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of
nountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the
23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house.
e middle of the plank bed where they put a per-
vounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooed
s head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper
:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk
on the side of the mountain for tabooed things.
vided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b)
ach half is placed only that which has to do with
rit, with tol or pal'.

/317 cont./
Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of the sanctification, on the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chihinyr chihinx, a grass figure, and drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in autumn (cleaning) (I) and another time when one wishes. They

1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matrix, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

/318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the following fashion: a grass figure -- chihinxi, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kejihn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

The shaman then says: "gu, gu (i.e., 'good'), in such and such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Z-z-gu, z-z-gu," such and such a corner does not have any spirit." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner. Ntasu (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kehhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/318 cont./
"Make a battue, drive him toward this grass figure. Ah! He has turned into a mouse." The chorus: "He is going there. He turned into a human form... he turned into a bird. He got into the pots!"

Finally, there is no other place, and he has to get into the chihinxi -- the grass figure, whether he wants to or not. When he has entered it, the hand of the person holding the thread appears to shake. The shaman shouts: "Pik hisu!" And that one hits. They light a candle, throw light on it, and inspect the grass figure: it again does not have its head toward the threshold. The shaman searches for him again. He finds him. Again the same thing. Finally, the chihinxi has its head toward the threshold, which means that the evil spirit has gone out. The shaman leaves his hanxi to keep watch overnight. In the evening of the following day the shaman calls the rest "master." He has one answer that he was late. The real "master" is generally hidden under the earth, the shaman looks for him and addresses to him the request: "Here they have built an isba, be the matter, they will feed you. watch over it, protect it!" Finally the master has appeared in the middle of the floor and stuck out his head. "Come out," says the shaman, "do not be shy, say what you want, we will prepare everything!" The master answers: "Kill the dog, rub the corner with its blood, boil its meat so that the dog steam fills the house. Boil kosterka. Boil mlyk marcha (a fish with two fins at the tail), boil the white lin'ka, the puchka, the head of the Siberian salmon, treat each post to the steam, do that, make a fumigating smoke with marsh tea, drive in a piece of pig iron several pieces by the threshold and in other places of the floor, then the floor will be iron. Strengthen it thus."

/234 cont./
One may not sleep with a woman when nooses and traps are being set, i.e., during the narkhund, and also during a bear festival and when a child was born.

III.

The Building of a House and Rites and Ideas Connected with the House

A flint and some sweetbrier are placed under the post. The sweetbrier guards against the milk, while the flint is there so that there will be no hole in the wood, and then the milk (evil spirit) cannot come through. The hanxi is made.

When a new yurt is finished, a festival is held. They make an iinu chihinxi (chihinx) efn (I) ehhlung: Ady-Tymti in the shape of a human face on each of four posts (narki khsr) of the house, and,for the sturdiest of the house, inau are tied to the cross rafters (narki). Then they kill a dog, tie it to the narki khsr closest to the door, and rub the chihinxi with the blood of its heart. The meat of the dog is boiled. Mos' is made, and the chihinxinau, the kelgelnan'ch, or (in Arkyro) the lymyznman, and the mich are fed. These fetid fats are then placed in the hearth and tied up with two saranka -- bound with puchka (ehhr); for some reason these bindings are called "heart." After this, mos' wrapped in inau is put in three places under the ground. At night when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn the fire and say a prayer.

In the fire nearest the exit is the tugur-mam, and beyond the fire the old man tugur-yehhh. The tugur, the master of the fire, is fed with all sorts of viands; they throw them into the fire and say: "Ungur inji, urlantaf muqit" (i.e., "eat well, be a good house"). Next they feed each /335/ corner, repeating: "Urlan tugur muqitalu urlaf parkif, hinlan taf muqif ta cho'ihsiff" -- "In a good fire, do everything well, be a house that brings luck in the hunt, do not get broken!" (it is understood that the old woman

/335 cont./
of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Ungur ch'ef, nehhlung kun k-khoiaf khavyr hunivagqin" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the ka'lung anikh -- "the hatch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three fats, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe: one is thrown by the woman, another by the man. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the blood.

The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house - four chihinxi, two male, two female, all pile hejmar -- old men. Tavyzing tugur, -- This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.

If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyr'a-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hanchebacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves or arrives, she lies in the corner at the entrance, near the caps which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

Means for love. There is medicine to make another person fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies),or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

/350 cont./
in boots or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Some Gilyak have indicated the period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with a war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might be of wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve very expensive swords decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the south-east tribes they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to reforge iron, but they do not know how to make use of it. Recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail. Though the Gilyak

/358 cont./

/362 cont./
Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his clan, the tombs of his clan. No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a yurt, since in any village there will always be two to three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a boat and a net; he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, customs, and intellectual development. The habit of judging all jointly, this necessity of entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed a social, communal, loquacious, serious character, non-like in matters of friendship.

Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent in the north, enter one of these authilis on a winter's evening, and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

/366 cont./
the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and any underwater fish is placed in the interior of a seal. To the Gilyak a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special ceremony gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable season. He offers this sacrifice all by himself in the taiga, at the side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual gifts, he necessarily sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen. He usually gives his client gifts to his god, although just a little at a time, believing that a hundred fish mean as little to a god as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama of the mountains. The "head of the earth" towered majestically before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of them took from his pocket a little sack with saranka, tobacco, tweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up, he moved a few steps to the left and did the same thing. Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and distributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had been heard... There is a tremendous difference between the religious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition," the utility of the sacrifice, the idea of a God, in our meaning, all seem to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no suffering. He does not wage any religious conflicts

/377 cont./
permission, the emigrant builds a yurt, fishes, kills seals, hunts
361 fowl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting
of nets for sable.

342 /378/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live
alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his
brothers and classmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more
rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern
Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people,
frequently all classmen. The economic advantage of such communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes
a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the houses, is not so costly for each individual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women. The summer yurts are built
smaller and ordinarily house from one to three families. The winter
yurts are built through the joint efforts of several brothers or
classmen, the summer ones -- frequently by one person. But all
those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabitants
classmen or members of other clans who had no part in building
it, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders,
and it is doubtful whether the latter enjoy any special privileges
in obtaining firewood. If the yurt becomes congested, there
will always be found a pair of persons who on their own initiative
will undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the
builders themselves move and gladly welcome co-dwellers. Thus,
the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of
several families who participated in its construction, but at the
same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by classmen
(074) and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of
the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the
clan and was an object of collective property.

342 The views of the Gilyak concerning movable property
are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary articles of
movable property among them are boats, nets, kettles, arms,
dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happens that a
boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or three

/386 cont./ To make some money,
166 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
423 a living by sledding, sealing, etc. The settlements richest in seals and
(Z04) dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pontr, and Tangi; this last is
(Z05) also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
(Z06) Gilyak of Khoe and Tangi. In the settlements of Tyki, the
(Z07) Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
(Z08) them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
(Z09) vegetables. The settlement of Tyd should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point
(Z10) the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming
(Z11) competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the
vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer.

Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very
342 successful hunters of wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
(Z12) ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement
(Z13) in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
(Z14) above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
(Z15) on one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead
of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe.
Farther north, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters
enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The
horizontal channels which lead out from the stove and stretch
along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these
latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a
vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
(Z16) adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
(Z17) the Amur Gilyak and in the *fanza* /house/ of the Manchu, from
(Z18) whom, it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections
133 of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-
(Z19) tion; road runs partly along the sea, partly through the
(Z20) taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the
settlement of Pontr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Mut'vo, it strikingly

Photo. 68. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

/300 cont./
361 1. (cont.)
Amur was covered with ice. In the spring of
1855, I found the Gilyak in the village of
Sasaoch, the first above Nikolayevsk, already
in their summer dwellings located beside the
winter houses on May 16 (28); in the villages
farther upstream, however, up to Tadi, they
had not yet moved into them at that time.

361 Sometimes the Gilyak living together in one village
342 in winter separate to go to different places for the summer, only
114 to come together again in the fall. If the winter and summer
houses are located beside one another, as, for instance, in Wair
(or Weir, as the Russians call it), the summer houses are larger
and more populous than it actually is. More than half of all
the houses are then the summer houses, much smaller in com-
parison with them, large winter-houses, and some of the
larger storehouses, /321/ similar to the former in construction,
could easily be taken for living quarters. This explains the
excessively great number of houses that I gave in some instances
for individual villages (1). On the other hand, if the

1. Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Journey
around the World/, St. Petersburg, 1811,
Vol. II, p. 162) counted 27 houses in one
Gilyak (according to him, "natarischen")
village, which was located on the northern
end of Sakhalin between the capes Elizabeth
and Maria. For another village, on Baddaka
Bay, he gives 16 to 18 houses, but the de-
scription of it clearly permits one to recog-
nize summer and winter dwellings the latter
of which, moreover, stood empty (op. cit.,
pp. 178, 182, 183). Orlof, on the occasion
of his first trip to the Gilyak on the Sea of
Okhotsk (in July, 1849), gave the number of
houses in the village of Kuli as 46 (cf.
Tikhmenev*, Ист. Опис. обоз. Рос.-

/301 cont./
192 1. (cont.)
361 Amurik. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Forma-
342 tions of the Russian-American Company/, Part II,
(113) St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 64), many of which were
certainly only storehouses.

summer and winter houses lie apart as two separate villages, the
number of individual villages appears larger to the uninitiated
traveler and in another way he again gets the impression of a
larger population for the region than it actually has. Later on I
shall return to the number of houses in the individual villages of
the Gilyak, after we have first come to know in greater detail the
construction and nature of their summer and winter dwellings.

342 It is certainly for reasons that make it necessary for the
136 Gilyak to build separate dwellings for winter and for summer. In
winter it is important to be protected against the exceedingly
severe cold; they accompanied by violent storms and snowfalls;
in summer, on the other hand, to counteract the excessive
humidity which is caused by the maritime location and the con-
stant overflow of houses that is by no means rare. The summer rooms
that are as tight as possible and enclosed by windproof walls,
while the latter, on the contrary, can be achieved only by more
open dwellings with a constant circulation of air. To contribute
both adequately in one structure seems to be beyond the strength
and means of a primitive people. Let us now see how the Gilyak
have solved this problem.

342 The winter houses of the Gilyak are of two types: a simpler one,
peculiar and primitive -- the *earth* yurt, and a more complicated
one copied from the Chinese design, which deserves the name of
house rather than yurt (2), and which I shall call simply winter

2. The Russians originally designated the tent-
like dwellings of the Siberian natives with this
word (Russ.: yurta) of Finnish-Tataric origin (cf.
Ahlqvist, Die Culturwörter der westfinnischen
Sprachen /The Cultivated Words of the West

/321 cont./
2. (cont.)
Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 106).
Gradually, however, it became common among
them for all the dwellings of same, of whatever
kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam
houses of the Russian peasants (Russ.: izba) or to
other European houses, and one also often finds
it used in this wider sense in the official accounts
referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russians
in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak
winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the
same sense in this work.

342 house or Chinese winter-yurt. The earth yurt, *tarvf* of the Gilyak,
is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is noth-
ing more than a more or less spacious, immovable tent half
sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to
be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square
and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are
smoothed off, at least the upper part, and roofed with beams.
342 Around it there is erected a pyramidal /322/ roof slanting upward
(336) evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to
one another and resting on four vertical posts, in turn, it is
supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration
(B54) appears here./ Only at the peak of the roof is an opening left to
serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is
covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn
when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely
looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by
the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the
yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected
from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however,
but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passage-
way (c). Likewise roofed over with thin beams or tree
branches and dry grass, in which, at both sides, either
a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

/322 cont./
342 Plan of a Gilyak Earth Yurt (*tarvf*).
(113)

Key:
a - Supporting posts. b - Entrance. c - Low passage. d - Door. e - Hearth. f - Rear corners, without plank beds. g - Hearth. h - Stone triangle for the large kettle. i - Water container. j - Front wall. k - Front corners of the yurt.

floats. At the end of this passageway one reaches the door
(d), which is either vertically hinged, or is turned up, or is
formed by a board placed horizontally, which can be pushed
aside (Pl. X) (i). Directly behind it, or below it, a few steps

1. On this plate, showing the interior of a
Gilyak earth-yurt, the door, through which
one can pass only in a extremely stooped
position, is too high.

lead down to the floor of the hut, which consists of stamped earth.
342 In the yurt, along both sides and in the rear, between the sup-
35 porting posts and the earth wall, runs a sitting and
sleeping bench or plank bed (e), which is about one and a
half feet Category 116, P.990 -- Analyst)

/322 cont./
342 half feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at
35 the two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually
rounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away
various utensils, clothing, and sleds, and the like. This
creates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, be-
tween the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded
as the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the
inner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man,
there are cross-poles running between the supporting posts, which
serve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the
yurt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet
from each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide,
twice that in length, and three inches high, made of clay, or
very simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame
put together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped
earth. Over the hearth, another stone platform is laid, the inside vent is so
very high above the hearth; the passage-way leading to the do
has disappeared or shrunk to a few sheltering projections -- in
short, the yurt has become a tent made of thin wooden beams.
(Z21) Such was the small yurt of Tafiz-wo in the Tymy Valley on
(Z22) Sakhalin where I spent the night of February 18 (March 1), 1856
and found the mercury in the thermometer freezes the next morn-
ing. I am unable to say whether this was only a temporary stru
ture, or, any rate, it was occupied by a Gilyak family with chil
dren, and their summer yurt stood not far off. This winter yurt
Tafiz-wo was distinguished only by its stronger material and
larger dimensions from the emergency tent that the Gilyak usu
erect when during their winter journeys they are taken by surp
by a violent snowstorm. On my /324/ winter journey in 1855
(Z23) was forced to spend the night of Feb. 6/18 in the forest on
high nashore somewhat south of Cape Wangi (I) on the west

/323 cont./
342 and crosswise diameters corresponding to the hearth or crosswi
35 to it.

The smaller earth-yurts of the Gilyak are quite similar in
nature, except that in them all the dimensions are more or less
considerably smaller. In some cases, for instance, the hole
dug in the ground for building the yurt is so shallow that there
is nothing to be seen of any wall behind the plank beds, but
rather the timber of the roof begins immediately. In order to
gain space in such small yurts, the two rear corners are also
equipped with plank beds, so that, with the exception of the
front wall and the two front corners, one continuous sitting or
sleeping bench extends all around. If the dimensions of the yu
are reduced even more, it finally becomes quite shallow, and
hearth and plank beds, framed by narrow, upright boards, ar
rise above the ground, the latter only as much as the thickness
of the layer of boards serving as a bed. In the smaller yurts, ther
very high above the hearth; the passage-way leading to the do
(Z24) Sakhalin where I spent the night of February 18 (March 1), 1856
and found the mercury in the thermometer freezes the next morn-
ing. I am unable to say whether this was only a temporary stru
ture, or, any rate, it was occupied by a Gilyak family with chil
dren, and their summer yurt stood not far off. This winter yurt
Tafiz-wo was distinguished only by its stronger material and
larger dimensions from the emergency tent that the Gilyak usu
erect when during their winter journeys they are taken by surp
by a violent snowstorm. On my /324/ winter journey in 1855
(Z23) was forced to spend the night of Feb. 6/18 in the forest on
high nashore somewhat south of Cape Wangi (I) on the west

1. The Gilyak call this cape "Pilia-Wangi," i.e.,
Large Wangi, and a smaller, more southerly
promontory, where we were, "Manch-Wangi"
Little Wangi.

/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 [087] Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this is also good.

342 354 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy -- door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the "master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- window alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side 342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly k:as' -- large post. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. Tol erkh mat' k:as' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' -- small post. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la digr-irku k:as' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal erkh' mat k:as' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17. Kylynã mat' k:as' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor. 20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of [354] the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the [335] master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house. 24. Kylzhutã -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a person who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooed [778] corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things. [776] 29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do with the appropriate spirit, with tol or pal'.

/315 cont./

342 782 Sacrifices (sacrificed dishes -- chmãus) are placed on the appropriate half; if there is not enough space, then on the appropriate nau (tol or pal'). /316/ /Sketch of the house-plan appears here./

342 [776] /317/ Tyvyz -- "master" of the house; he lives either under the post (10) or under a stone (19). Sometimes he is an old man, sometimes an old woman or a young woman.

The master of the house and his family occupy the tol' erkh pusk; if the family is large then also the kemfakh (3) and ponakh (4). The bear's head is placed in the middle (25).

[356] [782] In autumn, during cleaning, everything is abundantly fed: the walls, the floor, the supports under the plank beds, the edges of the plank beds, and so forth.

Rites upon the completion of a house. When a new house is completed, they place two sticks, one in the front and the other in the back (of the house), and on a thread stretched between them are hung images of the sun (keng) and the moon (long chakh). They are not renewed later.

342 782 When the house is completed, sacrifices are made: They prepare mos' 1) alys -- berries, 2) rak: -- a porridge of rice or wheat, and feed the four corners (chonkh), four posts (mon'-nakh) and the two posts in the middle -- the front one, amkhas', and the rear one, kemkhas', in which the master lives; they also feed the crossbeam -- tyjf (edz:). Here the old man says: "Urla dyf muja' nolagu kýnynguch: humguja', ta sikhydz kh:olaf ta humguja'" -- be a good house (sit firmly). Make it felicitous for my children, and so that there be no kind of sickness." In autumn the [356] house is cleaned, plastered with clay, and they sacrifice -- tyv arnydz:.

342 778 776 Tyv yz' bakh -- a stone before the threshold or beyond the threshold, or a piece of pig iron; under it sits the "master," who guards against the entry of the milk'.

342 782 776 Lym yz' -- threshold. Beyond the threshold, under the ground, they place different foods (chyudz:) -- for the earth -- the master and the tol fynydz:.

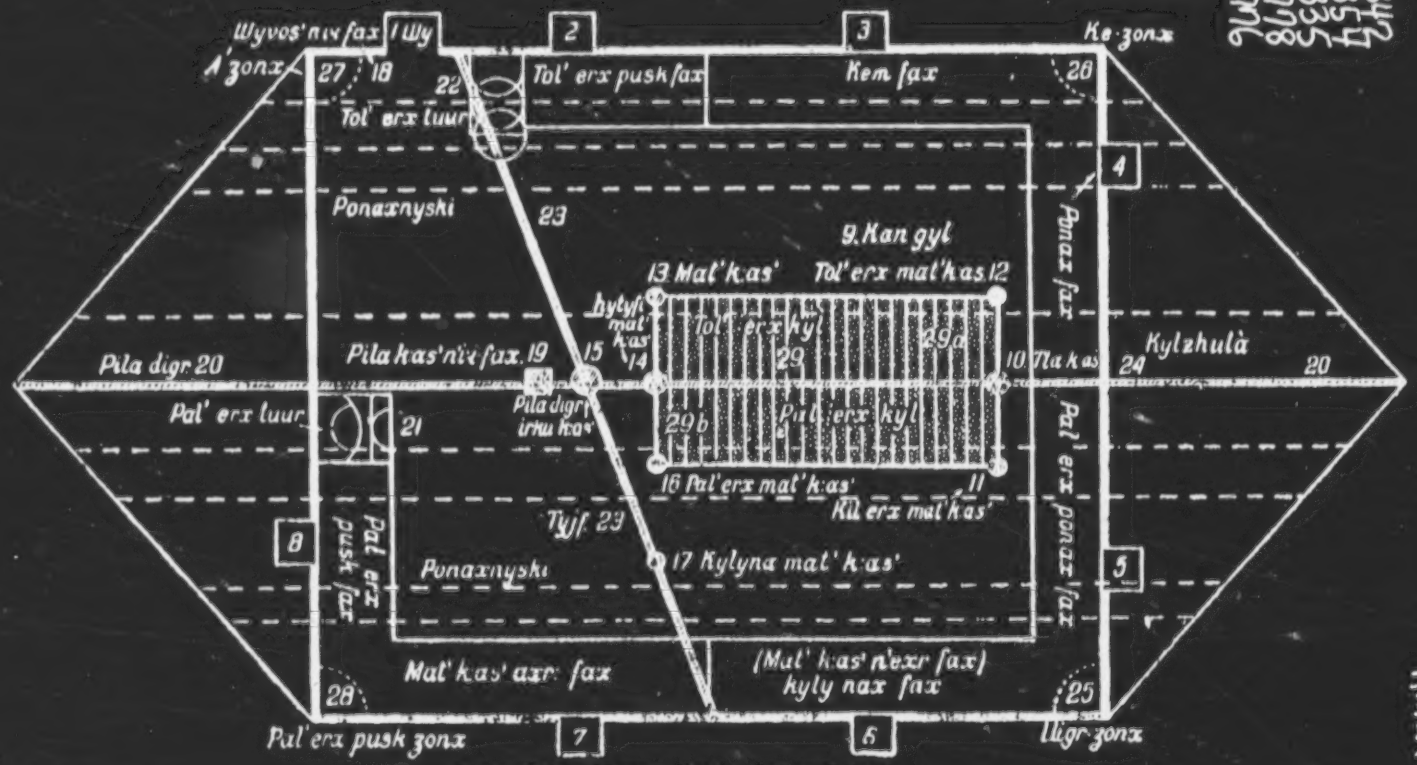

Plan of the House of the Amur Gilyak

/Three letters in the terms above have been changed in the translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other letters are from the Latin alphabet; see the table on p. 36 (foreign text p. xxxix)./

/352 cont./

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[113]

8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

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Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uïtsch, uïtsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

[123]
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[177]

G /353 cont./
352 running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet th
354 for the head. There is another justification for this custom
513 the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his
516 head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats,
171 which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which
[136] ways run along the walls, would be constantly running over
G face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak ref
[184] to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their 'kan
[199] if superstition did not demand strict observance of the tradi-
tional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter
G whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.
342 Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be deter-
171 mined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on
Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the
earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea o
G Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports o
[175] Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilya
at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1
45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which w

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at
342 time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kam
177 chadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappea
175 before an imported, foreign type of house construction with
the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheni
and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the
Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described al
Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the la
third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the
peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherez

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4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

/324 cont./

(417) origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
(417) beard, and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is
(418) shown on Plate XXX[illegible] in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time
(419) the Gilyak lived entirely on human food, with a short, somewhat
(420) sloping handle and a little more than a pit's few feet deep in the
(421) snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread
(422) a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck
(423) obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over
(424) which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and
(425) in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was
(426) inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a
(427) camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug
(428) a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming
(429) together conically at the top, and spread several fish-skin
(430) covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top
(431) was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could
(432) be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
(433) ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were
(434) spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take
(435) with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
(436) hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
(437) the base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over
(438) the snow, it would soon degrade into a pit and could no longer
(439) warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat
(440) pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another
(441) as possible, framed on all four sides by other, thicker and set on
(442) edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs.
(443) In this manner a rectangular cavity was obtained for the
(444) hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-
(445) tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high em-
(446) bankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which
(447) they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure
(448) the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
(449) filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
(450) must mention that the axes commonly used for housebuilding
(451) and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my
(452) stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/324 cont./

(453) Tyrmy Gilyak and one from the village
(454) of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next
(455) to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy
(456) snowfall. The Gilyak dug out a pit a few feet deep in the
(457) snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread
(458) a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck
(459) obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over
(460) which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and
(461) in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was
(462) inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a
(463) camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug
(464) a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming
(465) together conically at the top, and spread several fish-skin
(466) covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top
(467) was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could
(468) be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
(469) ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were
(470) spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take
(471) with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
(472) hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
(473) the base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over
(474) the snow, it would soon degrade into a pit and could no longer
(475) warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat
(476) pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another
(477) as possible, framed on all four sides by other, thicker and set on
(478) edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs.
(479) In this manner a rectangular cavity was obtained for the
(480) hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-
(481) tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high em-
(482) bankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which
(483) they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure
(484) the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
(485) filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
(486) must mention that the axes commonly used for housebuilding
(487) and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my
(488) stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

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(489) in front of the door, but in no way eliminated, and if the door
(490) remains open, such a strong draft is produced between it and the
(491) smoke vent, that even in the middle of the day, when the latter
(492) is deprived of all its warmth in no time and comes close to having
(493) the temperature of the air outside. And yet this experiment must
(494) often be repeated several times a day precisely during very cold
(495) and stormy weather, because then it frequently happens that a
(496) man of cold air sinks down through the smoke vent, or an eddy
(497) of wind gets into it, forces back the smoke, and temporarily
(498) blocks it from getting out. In the shortest time the small room
(499) is then filled with suffocating smoke affecting the eyes, throat,
(500) and lungs, and there is nothing left to do but quickly open the
(501) door, clearing the air again. This is why all the beams in
(502) the yurt are blackened by smoke and covered with a more or less
(503) thick layer of soot near the smoke vent. The temperature in
(504) the earth yurt is even more perceptible at night, for after the fire,
(505) beside which one has fallen asleep, goes out, the yurt is soon
(506) filled with cold air coming down through the smoke vent. It is be-
(507) sure, it is said that this can be closed, but I have never seen it
(508) done, though I spent many a night among the Gilyak. And to be
(509) sure, the air inside is all the worse the smaller the yurt is and the
(510) lower the smoke vent is over the hearth and the sleeping benches.
(511) At night in the small tent-yurt of Tafiz-wo, where one could
(512) reach the smoke vent with the hand and where so big and lasting
(513) fire was therefore possible, /286/ we soon had the temperature
(514) of the outside air, which, in addition, set in accompanied by a
(515) noticeable difference between the temperature in the yurt, and so
(516) preferred in a night's rest in the open air with a steadily burning
(517) fire, even if it should be very cold, as long as there is no snow-
(518) storm!

342 (519) The winter yurt built after the Chinese pattern tschadyf of
342 (520) the Gilyak, is completely different in character. It always has
(521) the appearance of a house provided with walls and a roof. It is
(522) an approximately square structure, though, as a rule, somewhat
(523) longer than it is wide, about 6-7 fathoms long and about 5-6
(524) fathoms wide, with low walls and a large roof sloping down finally
(525) toward the two longitudinal sides (see Pl. XI) (1). The walls

/326 cont./

342 (526) of the walls, horizontal beams, which are not joined at their
(527) ends, but are pointed and fitted into the lateral grooves of a few
(528) thicker, upright beams. On the transverse walls, which rise
(529) higher, and especially in the middle of them, these vertical
(530) beams are of a considerable thickness. The gaps between the
(531) vertical and horizontal beams are chinked with moss and caulked
(532) with clay. The rafters, rather flat roof, which in winter has to carry
342 (533) a considerable burden of snow, requires very complicated timber-
(534) work for its construction and support. The construction appears here
(535) It has a regular roof framework made up of longitudinal beams
(536) and crossbeams. The ridge is supported, in addition to the cen-
(537) tral, upright post of the two transverse walls (see Pl. XI), also
(538) by two thick, towering posts in the interior of the house (a) on
(539) the accompanying plan). Sometimes, instead of one post, two
(540) are used, and the latter is placed in the middle. Similar, but much
(541) smaller and thinner posts (b) sometimes rise up here and there
(542) at the sides and, together with the two nearest vertical beams of
(543) the transverse wall, serve as supports for the middle part of the
(544) roof, and in the lower part it is supported by the longitudinal
(545) walls of the yurt. Longitudinal beams and crossbeams in turn
(546) rest here and there between the towering posts in the middle and
(547) similarly to the upper edges of the longitudinal walls -- a framework
(548) that /327/ serves to connect the walls to one another and thus to
342 (549) steady the walls and keep them from plain. In addition, the lower
342 (550) part of it, up to a little above the height of a man, is used for
(551) the storage of various articles and for hanging up clothing, and so
(552) forth. On our Plate XI one sees the ends of the aforementioned
(553) longitudinal beams at the transverse wall, as well as at the ridge
(554) and the side edges of the roof, project out quite far, whereby the
(555) ends of the latter intersect each other far out at the gable
(556) ¾ [See Category 116, p. 491 - Analysis]

/327 cont./

342 (557) and with the ridge. The remaining finer latticework of the
342 (558) roof is made up of thin poles and sticks put crosswise and then
(559) covered with mats (c) or the large reeds, which, finally with
(560) a layer of dry grass or Calamogromis straw, etc., which is
(561) pressed down and held in place by a series of poles placed para-
(562) llel to the ridge of the roof. The entrance is found in one corner
(563) of the house, and, to be sure, if one stands in front of one of
(564) its long sides, always to the right, in the transverse wall or in
(565) the longitudinal wall, with an ordinary door (d), which consists
(566) of several boards held together by a few cross-strips, and also
(567) always with a high threshold by means of which the influx of
(568) cold air into the house is, at least, somewhat lessened. In the single
(569) pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as outlet
(570) for the smoke there is one of the most frequently used open sa-
(571) far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (e,
342 (572) Gilyak: kin) usually higher than the house. The benches are
(573) covered with mats usually put up by the Gilyak themselves out
(574) of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered,
(575) and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mats in
(576) place. In the center of the house, between the two posts sup-
(577) porting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (f), about two
(578) fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and
(579) which, I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Russian: [illegible]).
(580) The top of it, which, along its longitudinal edges usually projects
(581) out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continua-
(582) tion, rests upon four posts, and only rarely stands on four posts
(583) and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, dur-
(584) ing the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them.
(585) Above the two ends of the dogs' table there hangs down from
(586) the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long pole
(587) can be stuck between them, to which the dogs are tied during
(588) the feeding. Our Plate XII shows the feeding of the dogs,
(589) to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of
(590) the interior of a Gilyak winter-house; I must mention, however,
(591) that the dogs' table as it is there shown is little too small and, on the
(592) other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide.
(593) Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and
(594) the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate
¾ [See Category 116, p. 492 - Analysis]

/327 cont./

342 (595) reduced as much as possible. The house is provided with windows
342 (596) (g) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two
(597) longitudinal walls and the one transverse wall on the side of the dogs
(598) and under certain circumstances even food for human beings are
(599) prepared. Directly adjacent to the benches and the sitting and
(600) lying-down benches of plank bed with their high edges, which are in
(601) very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet high
(602) and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chief
(603) characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of
(604) wooden pipes (i) lined with clay, which come out from both
(605) hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the
(606) house diagonally across from the entrance, and in this single
(607) pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as outlet
(608) for the smoke there is one of the most frequently used open sa-
(609) far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (e,
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(616) fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and
(617) which, I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Russian: [illegible]).
(618) The top of it, which, along its longitudinal edges usually projects
(619) out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continua-
(620) tion, rests upon four posts, and only rarely stands on four posts
(621) and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, dur-
(622) ing the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them.
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(624) the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long pole
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(628) the interior of a Gilyak winter-house; I must mention, however,
(629) that the dogs' table as it is there shown is little too small and, on the
(630) other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide.
(631) Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and
(632) the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate
¾ [See Category 116, p. 492 - Analysis]

/328 cont./

(633) proportions in this respect and at the same time show other pe-
(634) culiarity discussed details in the construction and interior arrange-
(635) ment of a Gilyak winter-house. In contrast to the summer-house
(636) I make mention that along the walls (h), immediately to the right
(637) and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards
(638) for storing household utensils, and, to be sure, there are also
(639) one or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for
(640) drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various
(641) cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind
(642) the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse
(643) wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which
(644) can be closed with a similarly-shaped, round board and serves for
(645) ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during
(646) the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke
(647) of the bear's fat, in the middle of the house, and when the window in
(648) the rear longitudinal wall is absent, so that the number of windows
(649) in them is reduced to three. Nevertheless, even these, because
(650) of their considerable size, light the interior of the house sufficient-
(651) ly. The windows are sometimes square, three to four feet in size,
(652) sometimes somewhat wider than high, or vice versa. They have no
(653) glass panes, but instead only a number of little sticks or sticks
(654) distant from one another, and fish skin take the place of glass
(655) between them. In particular there are skins from Salmo
(656) [illegible]ghalian Gilyak: [illegible]-tscho, or, on Sakhalin, [illegible]-tscho (7).

(192) 2. Known by the Russian throughout Siberia
under the name [illegible]

the most common kind of salmon in the Amur River, made at
this and transparent as possible by scraping and pounding, and
then sewed together in such a way that the seams form many
longitudinal lines and a few transverse lines running in a zigzag.
The windows do not open, but are only lifted out with the whole
frame. The floor inside the house consists of stamped clayey
earth. To the right and left of the entrance are the two benches
(Gilyak: [illegible]) made of clay. They are fed through square

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(657) same time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The
(658) [illegible] and along the walls of the house are placed the sleeping
(659) benches, the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm.
(516) The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually
(517) sleep on the plank bed with their feet stretched out toward the
(518) fire and are convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
(519) these can become, when in January, 1896, I attended the bear
(520) festival in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numer-
(521) ous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both
(522) hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank
(523) beds rose so much that some nearby stories on hand in my leather
(524) suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heat
(525) during the bear festival, however, is an exceptional case and great
(526) things that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of
(527) vermin. Under them, in inaccessible hidden spots, along the
(528) pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their home and
(529) ravage at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had
(530) gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see
(531) rats come out from their hiding places and go about the house
(532) not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the un-
(533) [illegible] beam of the house; when I once, in order to escape other
(534) vermin, had a hammock put up between two posts, the great rats
(535) the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would
(536) fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection
(537) are more annoying: the water bugs (Blattidae) and bedbugs
(538) which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In
(539) summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is
(540) literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that
(541) it is advise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, or the
(542) surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /326/ the
(543) vermin that makes why the Gilyak leave their winter-houses
(544) spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings
(545) in the hot months of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well
(546) as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank bed in summer

1. The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese winter-yurts. The area east of the island and the Tymy Valley had only the earth yurt. (In the west coast of Sakhalin,

2. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jalkun and Pryngan from the village of Dobongi, and Tamkin from the village of Ngaur-wo on the Limun.

A FEW YEARS LATER (1863) Dybovski through a section of this coast and made a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they

essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of little value and lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glebov's, in which the names are scrap, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list shows significantly greater a larger number of yurts than Glebov's. This depopulation which took place after my time is fully explained by the decimation of the native population by epidemic which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely, and in Sakhalin generally almost since in 1856 and 1858 I was at this place no less than four times

along the Limun and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages containing sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of winter dwellings occurred beside each other. I myself have not been in this part of Sakhalin, but have collected detailed information on the villages in it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak residing there, who visited me at the Nikolayevsk post in the company of Tschebarbach-Gilyak friends of mine (3). A few years later

Nikolaevsk. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three villages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the north of Pogbobi. In Dabong, consisting of four yurts, one stood earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulbij (1).

1. In Gleben it is called Jordört-tigr-wo.

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tymi-mula-wo, in my large sketch-map is referred to in pedantry population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

2. Gleben found only nine. The great number of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for tamla, tamlamch, or tamlamch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

tschebrs' villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, in Pontyr-wo in Tymi-wo on the Sea of Okhotsk. Glebs did not go northward beyond that village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small interval village, Mainb-wo (in Gleben, Maiyb), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more, tschabiyf villages, Tumi-wo and Ngyw-wo (in Gleben, Ngyb), the latter of which is made up of four yurts (and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (the Mif-yurt, as the Gilyak designated it to me). According to its location on the small bay which Krusenstern called Nadezhda Bay, Ngyw-wo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

2) Schrenck—669 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX2.

description one learns that the Gilyak ("Tatarem") at the time — it was August 15/27 — lived in their summer yurts. Somewhat farther, Ngyw-wo, larger, by other, apparently larger houses, provided with fireplaces and chimneys, which, however, stood empty at the time (3) — evidently the above-described winter

3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 178, 185.

houses of the Gilyak. Here, therefore, is other proof of the presence of tschabiyf villages in this part of Sakhalin, too (4).

4. In order to supplement and verify my above data and at the same time to make it possible to compare them more accurately with Glebov's, I am adding here the whole list of the villages explored by me north of Pogbobi on Sakhalin, with a statement of the number and nature of their yurts. To be sure, we did not always hear the name of the village exactly the same, but it is not difficult to recognize them. I am also adding in parentheses the number of yurts given by Glebs, for from this one can judge the extent of the depopulation caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1857-1858, especially for the part of the coast extending south of Pontyr-wo, where Glebs himself visited most of the points and counted their yurts. The following villages lie north of Pogbobi:

Ngamuyf	-	earth yurt	
Wanj - - -	-	1 (4)	"
Ngynb - - -	-	1 (4)	"
Tschebrs - -	-	1 (1)	Chinese yurt
Lolntsch - -	-	1 (1)	earth yurt
Jigdanna - -	-	1 (1)	"
Pyrki - - -	-	1 (1)	"

4. (cont.)

Tschegdagi - - with		1 (1)	earth yurt
Jordört-tigr-wo -		1 (1)	and 1 Chinese yurt
Tulbij - - -		2 (3)	Chinese yurts
Langri (summer village of Tulbij)			
Mainbo-wo -	-	2	"
Mangai-wo -	-	1 (1)	"
Ngaiy-wo -	-	1 (4)	"
Tylent-tigr-wo -	-	1 (1)	"
Mateu-tigr-wo -	-	1 (1)	"
Tymi-mula-wo	-	over 12 (8)	"
Lytke-wo - -	-	4	"
Wmb-wo - -	-	2 (3)	"
Ngyl-wo - -	-	1 (1)	"
Ngamb-wo -	-	2 (3)	"
Mulnb-wo - -	-	1 (2)	earth yurt
Pilja-wo - -	-	1 (1)	" and 1 Chinese yurt
Tumi-wo - -	-	2 Chinese yurts (1 earth yurt)	
Ngyw-wo - -	-	1 (4)	"

/331/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-yurt predominates to a much greater extent than the earth yurt on Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left, which presumably has since disappeared. It was the small earth yurt of Pjtnach, directly on the Limun just north of the mouth of the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856. It was located at some distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and was constructed exactly like the smaller earth-yurts on Sakhalin. It could be maintained with some ease that it was almost accordingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, in the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Palaeo-Asiatic peoples.

there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays of Tugur and Ulban, where Sakhalin approaches most closely the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his handwritten notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XX, Part 2, p. 619), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak there.

Limun and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kuli and Ulban Bay, the only search for which so far has yielded no ethnographic accounts. The Gilyak, too, though I often asked them about it, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to me other than the above-mentioned one of Pjtnach.

In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as far as their distribution extends, the Chinese yurt at present represents the only form of winter dwelling: on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, along the Limun, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with earth yurts, while in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only the latter form is found. Form this distribution of two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling particular to the Gilyakh, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and Ajtkh has been preserved only among the Gilyak of Sakhalin. Perhaps, I am bringing in favor of this view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, that it is the only one that is constructed accordingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, in the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Palaeo-Asiatic peoples.

1. Ventsmirnof, op. cit., p. 201.

After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications in the original winter dwelling of all the Palaeo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth yurt, the tanf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tschabiyf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside. Into contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have therefore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glebs (2),

2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 133 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mitnl (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

3. "Ilimo. Ber.," etc. — Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 139.

4. "Ethnol" u. Sachalina, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (3), as I believe it to be, then it can be

3. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed their way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese. That is reached the Gilyak from the south, down the Amur, in Bowsi, as was mentioned above, by the distribution of the earth yurt and the Chinese winter-yurt in their area, in particular by the fact that on Sakhalin the latter are found only along the west coast of the island facing the Chinese mainland. Moreover, the type of construction of the winter house can be followed continuously from the south to the north of the Amur region lying upstream from the Gilyak, up to the Chinese along the Unori and Sungari. There is a prevalent everywhere among the Manchu, Chinese and Dwar (2). For example, the Chinese

1. The latter will be dealt with separately below.

Korea (3), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, they

2. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przhevalskiy, Puteb. v Ussuriisk. krae, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

clearly in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of architectural and decorative elements borrowed from the Chinese, but as in the rest of the construction, for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of people in the family.

7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing lüeh-chi," Fuchsier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1845, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor of the side rooms separating the rooms (8), etc.

8. Van Braam, Gesandtschaftsreise der Engl. Gesandtschaft nach Peking, Leipzig, 1798, p. 364, among others.

more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),

5. Grenée (Reise durch Sibirien vo. dem Ural bis zum Amur, Berlin, 1858, Vol. II, p. 44b, Pallas (Reise durch verschi. Provinzen des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Manzhouzhou opposite Kjachta. In Dybowski (Dwa. d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, in Tissot et le Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 170), there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, they

6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przhevalskiy, Puteb. v Ussuriisk. krae, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of pipes carrying the heat underneath, under the sleeping benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house, is by no means of Chinese provenance, but rather is a product of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from the motherland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies. For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in North China (6) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, are

4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part only incidental, in part more discussion or descriptions of it: for example, in Du Halde (Description de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Gesandtschaftsreise in Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales nach Peking, Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 364), Grenée (Reise durch Sibirien, Berlin, 1858, Vol. II, p. 44b), by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 340, Davis (La Chine, traduit de l'anglais, Paris, 1844, Vol. I, p. 120), Fortune (Reise durch China, transl. from Eng. by Fischer, Paris, 1857, Vol. I, p. 301), Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 380), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 187-190 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage du Prince de Joinville dans l'Asie Ch. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 24), and Grand-Jean (Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans l'Asie orientale, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

5. Von Wellemitof-Urbaf (Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the World under the Command of Commodore B. von Wellemitof-Urbaf, Anthropol. Part,

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of architectural and decorative elements borrowed from the Chinese, but as in the rest of the construction, for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of people in the family.

7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing lüeh-chi," Fuchsier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1845, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor of the side rooms separating the rooms (8), etc.

8. Van Braam, Gesandtschaftsreise der Engl. Gesandtschaft nach Peking, Leipzig, 1798, p. 364, among others.

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shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Saatyschof reported /354/ from his journey through the country that there were no longer any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style houses (log houses, plaited huts) had been built everywhere, only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal, which are like-wise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by

1. Sarychev*, Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

Mamia Rinof on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that the same thing had happened among the Gilyak on the Amur, too. Coming from the territory of the S'ksma (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Smienouhar (Gilyak) at Horo (Chipere), he noticed that from there on people, clothing, implements, and way of life changed and became exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts as on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Krusenstern had found the earth dwelling prevalent among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. If, in addition, one considers the fact that Mamia Rinof was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur region were too different to have produced an equally rapid disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled

/354 cont./

permanently among the natives, who were greatly decimated by the previous bloody battles, building their houses in their own way (as already mentioned, peaceful relations with the Kamchadal, even mixing with them more and more. It is therefore not surprising that their style of building soon became the commonly use house throughout the region. Matters were different in the lower Amur region among the Chinese and Manchu: a conquest and colonization of this region by the peoples named have never taken place. As we discussed above in detail (3),

3. See pp. 119, 142-144 above.

it instead was and is visited only from time to time by individual Manchu officials and Chinese merchants who, in a few places, during the year have their own houses, always take up residence in the houses of the natives, and this only among the Tungusic Amur-peoples, for the Gilyak have even denied the Chinese trader entry into their region. Hence, it undoubtedly must have taken a long time before the Chinese winter-yurt replaced the Gilyak from the Chinese on the Sungari, spreading along the Ussuri and the Amur from people to people, and the trading expeditions which the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from ancient times to now have conducted annually to the Chinese along the Sungari and on which they have had repeated opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese house, must certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

/355/ In April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak find it necessary to abandon their winter dwellings and to move into their summer dwellings. First the inhabitants of the earth yurts move out of their houses, because they are made wet and uninhabitable by the water running in both from the top and the sides as a consequence of the melting snow and the thawing of the ground. The Chinese winter-yurts, set on level ground, are more serviceable, even in spring and summer, though even in them water sometimes comes through or over

/355 cont./

the low threshold and soaks the floor when the snow melts quickly or when there are heavy rains. Even these dwellings, however, become uninhabitable in summer because of the warm sleeping benches, which inevitably are heated each time food is cooked, and because of the above-mentioned vermin, and, finally, the crowding of fish carried on in this season of the year requires the move into the summer dwellings, which are more favorably and conveniently located for it.

The summer dwelling of the Gilyak is of the same type everywhere, on the continent as well as on Sakhalin, and bears the same designation in both places *kŷ-f*. The most striking exterior feature is that it rests on piles which rise four to five feet above the ground. Only at isolated points on the east coast of Sakhalin, south of the Amur, especially in Tangi, Choji, Arkai, and Dui, did I see summer houses set on level ground, but otherwise of exactly the same type, outside and in, as those resting on piles (1). The aim that the Gilyak have in

1. The large village on Nadezhda Bay at the northernmost tip of Sakhalin (map, see p. 467 above), which was visited by Krusenstern, had summer houses resting on piles. See his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 182.

mind with this construction on piles is a twofold one: first, to protect their dwellings against inundations, since the Amur, as a result of prolonged rainfall, often rises considerably and floods the lower stretches of its basin, and then also to make the houses airier and drier by setting them not directly upon the damp ground but somewhat above it, with a constant flow of air under them and penetrating even into the house through the crevices in the floor, this is all the more necessary since part of the fish supply is stored in them. Both may also be necessary for the Gilyak living on the Amur itself, for there, too, depending on the locality, a sudden rise of the waters as a result of stormy winds must be reckoned with, and

/356 cont./

one might call a narrow balcony (1). On the accompanying plan of a Gilyak summer-house it is the space a bounded with a dotted line toward the front. The entrance to it (b) is precisely in the middle of the front side of the house, or, as in the illustration on Plate XIII, somewhat to the side. Through this, however, one

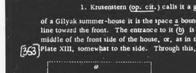

a = Sill or narrow balcony along the front side of the yurt. b, c = Doors. d = Anteroom for the storage of implements and supplies. e = Actual living quarters. f = Sleeping benches. g = Hearth. h = Stone triangle for the big kettle. i = Corners for odds and ends.

Plan of a Gilyak Summer-Yurt (Ailyŷ).

first enters a good-sized front space (d), which is used for the storage of various implements, as well as for storing supplies of fish and the like, and only behind it is the living room proper (e) found (2). This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,

1. Krusenstern (op. cit.) calls it a gallery.

2. Krusenstern found this room locked and though that it was the room for this women, which fitted in with his general conception of a Mohammedan Gilyak population consisting of "Tatars," which, however, does not at all correspond with reality.

/357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts, in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along the sides of the room, on both sides and the entrance, leaving a passage door (g), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as the front side of the house, or, as in the illustration on Plate XIII, somewhat to the side. Through this, however, one

/357 cont./

yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable shelter under the same protective roof.

The above description also applies, apart from the specific reference to the pile-construction, to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak on the Amur and in addition to those on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the domed line is on the plan a-f-a, poles are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a shelter is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter, one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, upon racks for vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Sibi at the time it was set up, usually, another dwelling, usually one, to be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the pole-supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing up the poles to get into the yurt. The sled are hung under the

/358/ merely an approximately square hole which is just big enough so that a person can go through it in a stooped position, and whose cover is a board that fits it exactly, before which a crosspiece of wood is advanced instead of a bolt (1). The interior of the store-

1. An illustration of the front side of such a storehouse, among other things, will be found below on a plate showing a funeral procession of the Gilyak.

house is usually divided by a partition into two sections, which are connected by a door, so that in it, as the accompanying plan indicates, there are eleven separate, large and small, or smaller wall surfaces, along which the supplies of fish are stacked.

/359/ Like the earth yurt, all the pile buildings mentioned above, the summer yurt, the storehouse, etc., are original, peculiarly Gilyak structures which the neighbors of the Gilyak, the Tungusic Amur-peoples, lack, but which recur among many other Paleo-Asiatic tribes. For example, according to Krasheninnikof's and Steller's descriptions and an illustration given by the latter, the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal are pyramidal huts built on top of pillars, and the pile hutsgen by the Russians (1). The Eskimos of the American Northwest along

1. Krasheninnikow*, "Opis. semli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. pusch. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 87). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 318. Steller also gives the dampness of the air and the ground as the compelling reason for the construction of such "dry dwellings" on Kamchatka. This explains why these peculiar dwellings can be found also in other parts of the earth yurts, as mentioned above, had already been forced out by Russian-type dwellings.

/359 cont./ the Eskimos of the American Northwest also the Kwikpak, Norton Sound, and the Arctic Ocean erect their storehouses on high piles above the ground in order to safeguard the supplies of fish, dried meat, and the like against the dampening the summer both against the humidity and against attacks by mice, foxes, wolves, and especially the dogs, which are always hungry during the summer (2).

2. Zagoskin*, Pechehlioch. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v' Rossiskoi Amerikie, Moscow, 1847, Pt. I, p. 56. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 27. Jacobsen, Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, Leipzig, 1884, p. 173. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, Hannover, 1858, p. 62. In Dall (op. cit.), p. 13 and 40 there is a description of such "dovecote-like" buildings, as Seemann aptly calls them. The designation comes from the Russian (Sagoskin, op. cit.), which Dall also uses for the summer and winter dwellings of the Eskimo (op. cit., p. 20, 40), and according to Steller (op. cit., p. 318, for him), through the correspondence of the word "pasapar," by which, however, the Kamchadal refer to a last made out of long grass for an overnight stay.

Thus, the Gilyak, where they have kept their original Gilyak and construction, and many another Paleo-Asiatic people can to a certain extent be called cave-dwellers or troglodytes in winter and pile-dwellers in summer. In this respect they stand at a point which on Europe, according to far distant, prehistoric period. From this point of view, too, the pile huts of Paleo-Asiatic peoples, which I have proposed for those remnants of an ancient population formerly more widespread on Asiatic soil, is in a certain sense justified.

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Before I leave the Gilyak, I must come back to the question touched on above about an approximate determination of their total number according to the number of their winter dwellings. Such an estimate can only be undertaken on the basis of the winter dwelling, not the summer one, if only because the number of the former is far easier to ascertain. Although summer population is that of the latter. If the large winter houses with their separate chimney-cowls, with smoke nonetheless pouring out, more readily strike the eye of the traveler at any time, this is especially the case in winter, since on the journey then from village to village or dog-drawn /360/ sled brings him directly in front of one of the winter houses, whereas the summer houses off to one side and sometimes at a considerable distance from them, without a road to them, and so, for overlooked, or even confused with the storehouses, which are of very similar construction. Moreover, the statements of the Gilyak themselves, when asked about the number of houses in that or that place, always refer only to the winter dwellings, for it is in these solid, spacious winter dwellings, erected with a great expenditure of labor and energy, that the life of the Gilyak is concentrated during the greater part of the year, from about the middle of October to the middle of May, that is, seven months. Everyone of them has a hospitable reception there on his winter travels and journeys, shelter and food for himself and his dogs, the best festivals are celebrated there amid a confluence from near and far, etc.; yet, the warm dwellings are the true permanent dwellings of the Gilyak, whereas in summer the fishing and the gathering of all kinds of provisions puts the whole population in a more or less fluctuating movement and scattered over a broad area, and in addition the mild season makes a house less necessary. For this reason, incidentally, winter is also the most suitable time of the year for ethnographic investigations among the Gilyak. The number of winter dwellings in the individual Gilyak villages is of interest for still another reason, for it gives an immediate criterion for their size and importance and indicates that principal and central points of Gilyak life note.

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in general and in the individual areas. Such principal and central points are of special importance for the ethnographer, because here the national character of a people as a rule appears more sharply and precisely stamped and the peculiar usage and customs remain preserved longer against foreign influences, whereas in smaller villages it more readily happens that, as a result or support in isolation, the mixed marriages of the few residents with members of a neighboring tribe, etc., many a national characteristic is obliterated. Indeed, in the course of time many a foreign idea or custom finds entry, for which I shall have more than one opportunity to cite examples in the following.

Unfortunately, I am not in a position to give the number of winter dwellings in the whole Gilyak area. In those parts through which I traveled, such as along the Amur River and the Limun on the mainland, on Sakhalin along the west coast from Pogibshi to Dué and in the interior along the entire Tymve River to somewhat north of its mouth, I have been able to ascertain it owing to my own count, and in other adjacent parts such as on the west coast of Sakhalin north of Pogibshi and south of Dué, by means of many inquiries among the Gilyak. For the east coast of Sakhalin a few statements by Glehn are available (1); these on the parts of the Gilyak territory along

1. "Reisebericht, von der Insel Sachalin" (Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences, St. Petersbourg, Vol. XXV, p. 220).

the sea of Okhotsk do not have /361/ any data at all, except for the small stretch between Kalj and the Amur Limun likewise visited by me (1).

1. Middendorff was told during his stay on Tugur Bay (in 1844) that there were four large Gilyak villages between Cape Uschlongin (Ushtelegin), the point of the east

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List of the Gilyak Villages and the Number of Their Winter Dwellings (1)

MAINLAND

Amur River Upstream from the Mouth of the Chibchi Chiver Yuma		Amur-Limun Area from N to S.		Tymve River Downstream from Its Sources. Purely Gilyak Yuma		East Coast from N to S. Purely Gilyak Yuma	
Left bank	Right bank	Left bank	Right bank	Left bank	Right bank	Left bank	Right bank
Tschachtschi	1	Sgolo-ma	1	Pagi	1	Kolpakowa	1
Tschachtschi	1	Sgolo-ma	1	Pagi	1	Ulchi	1
Tschachtschi	1	Pagi	1	Pagi	1	Ulchi	1
Tschachtschi	1	Pagi	1	Pagi	1	Ulchi	1
Wor-Mun	1	Pagi	1	Pagi	1	Ulchi	1
Wor-Mun	1	Pagi	1	Pagi	1	Ulchi	1
Tymkan

2: Schrenck--999 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

III.

Gilyak in winter clothing.

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2: Schrenck--1019 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Sacrificial trip of the Gilyak in connection with the opening of the river.

Gilyak winter houses, decorated for the bear fes

2: Schrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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361
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ival. Entertainment in front of them.

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

2. Schrenck--885 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilya

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

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dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

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In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are

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predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

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reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ an

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

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Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern Am along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

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1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

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At various places in the foregoing, mention has been of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the of which we have come across, especially among the latte specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the ma of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance tha

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Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior constr of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join th individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect the be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance sugge conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistical worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of

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foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previ

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435 The value of the kettle embedded in the hearth and
439 the portable kettle is reckoned in part, on the basis of size, but in part and chiefly on the basis of their origin, because the Manchurian (Chinese) kettles are far inferior in quality to those of Japanese: the former easily crack over the fire if they contain no water, but the latter will not. Accordingly, it costs for:

A large Manchurian hearth-kettle (tsch) (ormoz-wunj)	4 ja
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A smaller Manchurian hearth-kettle	3 "
" Manchurian portable kettle (matsch-wunj) with handles, depending on the size	3-7 "
A small Japanese kettle (Gilyak kughi-wunj, i.e., Ainu kettle)	7-8 "
A large kettle of the same kind	20 "
" " Japanese kettle with three handles . . .	30 "

435 The evaluation used among the Gilyak for
342 their houses is very peculiar, inasmuch as it
343 costs for:

A winter yurt (tschadryf) with two hearths only . .	4 ja
" summer yurt (käryf) only	2-4 "
A storehouse(njö), on the other hand, depending on the number of compartments	10 " and more.

435 A number of conclusions concerning the trade of the Gilyak,
439 as well as telling numerical evidence of certain of their customs and beliefs, can be drawn from this table, some of which have already been discussed in the previous sections and some will be discussed in the following. For the moment it will suffice to draw attention only to the following points:

1) Furs, the most important barter item of the Gilyak in their trade with the Chinese, have a relatively low price, which

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G 435 342 343 7) At first glance the evaluation of their various kinds of housing on the part of the Gilyak as given in the table seems very irrational, for one can scarcely believe that a structure as large and relatively complicated as their winter dwelling, built on the Chinese pattern and provided with two hearths, four wide sleeping benches heated by pipelines, and large windows, is worth only about half as much as a /600/ storehouse lacking all of these accessories. Nevertheless I must stand by the above figures, repeatedly confirmed for me by the Gilyak and hope to be able to give an adequate explanation for them in the following while discussing the social relations of the Gilyak and their socio-communistic attitude coming to light in the construction and utilization of their houses, as well as in other things, as I learned from them themselves.

G G1 435 8) Finally, if I compare the table of prices of the Gilyak with that drawn up by Maximowicz (1) in a similar way among the

1. In his handwritten notes put at my disposal.

Goldi, I find an almost complete correspondence in most things, obviously because the prices prevailing among the Sungari Chinese are decisive for both. Nevertheless, some differences, which are characteristic of region and people, can be recognized in them. Among the Goldi, for example, all fur seems to have a higher price than among the Gilyak (a good sable, for example, is valued by them at 4-5 ja, a red fox at 3 ja, a black one even at 30-60 ja), undoubtedly because the animals involved are less frequent in their territory than in the abundantly forested north, and perhaps also because the Gilyak accumulate a greater quantity of them through their industrious trade as middlemen, with the neighboring peoples. In this connection, too, among the Goldi attention is paid to the smaller animals, such as squirrels, ermine, Mustela sibirica, and the like (ten specimens of the former, for example, cost

2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XIII

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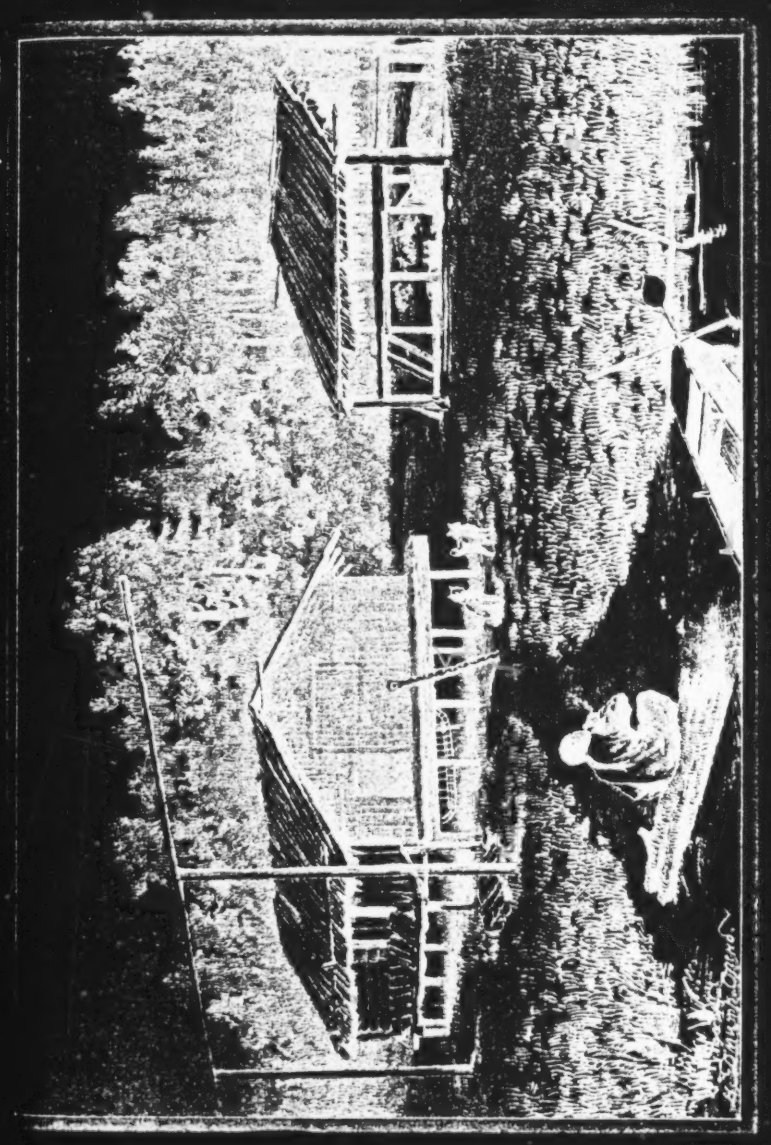

Gilyak summer yurt.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[P.776]

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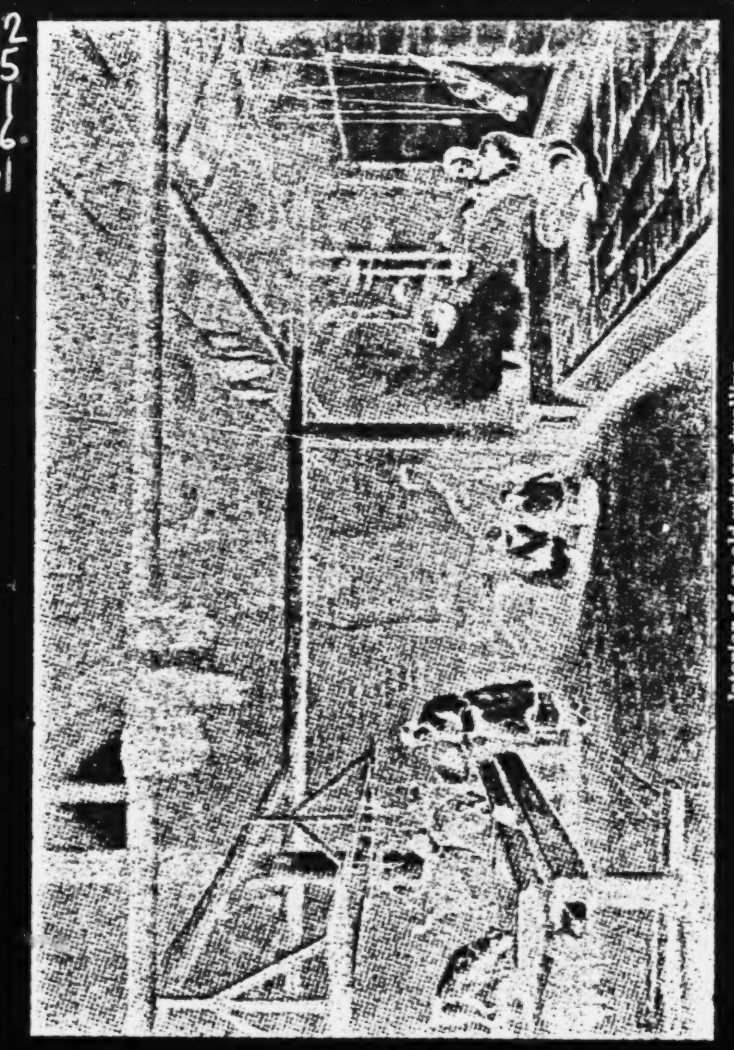

Interior of an old winter dwelling.

/636 cont./

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and lead her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier [556] people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, mossj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

591 592 As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live, and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are of the type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with its owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and some of them have the means to build another house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides 592 the central room used by all the members of the household, with • 342 the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the winter house 35 built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

577 171 As little as such living together by all the members of the household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, 577 Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

/667 cont./

735 421 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely [182] active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

• 342 421 423 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less importance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

/668 cont./

and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated construction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

/731 cont./

which were strung in a row by means of the Foramina vertebralia on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Goldi birch-bark bowls and baskets, such as are found also on the grave sites, of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur, they found a home there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them, determined chiefly by the different method of construction and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low, conical, snow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young fir trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ringlet-shaped, curled wooden-shavings (zach) hanging down from their crowns and from the branches of neighboring shrubs. Only when a bear has been eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it is put a bundle of wooden curls (zach) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk, Duĭ, Jwlk, Pud-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/732 cont./

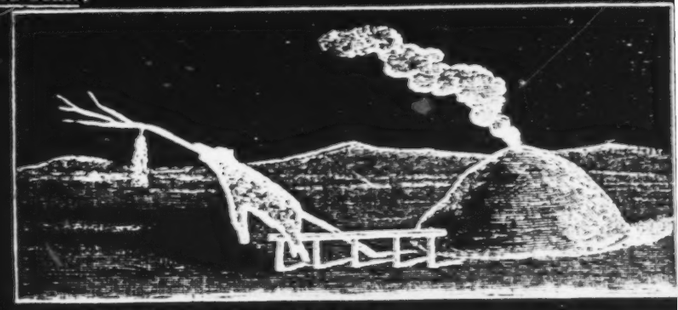

Bearskin hung up near the yurt.

the head and leg pieces of the skin have already been cut off to be used as bowls at the bear-festival feasts, they are sewed back on the rump section on such an occasion, in order to make the skin look whole.

The narrow, low, and dark passageway leading into the earth yurt and the small entrance often closed only with a board that can be pushed in a horizontal direction instead of a door make it impossible to lead the bear in and out here, and in the interior of the yurt, taken up almost entirely by the hearth and the three sleeping-benches, there is no room for temporarily displaying even one bear, much less two or three (1). Thus this principal pleasure of the Amur

1. See the plan and the arrangement of a Gilyak earth-yurt, p. 452 of this work.

Gilyak during a bear festival must be renounced by their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin, in so far as there are only earth yurts there. The opportunity for this was first offered to the Gilyak when the earth yurts (toryf), originally customary among them even on the mainland, were replaced by houses built in the Chinese fashion (tschadryf) which in my day had already taken place throughout on the mainland except for one earth yurt in Pättach, and to a large extent along the Liman coast of Sakhalin (2). At first, the conservative spirit which

2. See p. 469 above.

2: Schrenck--940 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

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/599 cont./

7) At first glance the evaluation of their various kinds of housing on the part of the Gilyak as given in the table seems very irrational, for one can scarcely believe that a structure as large and relatively complicated as their winter dwelling, built on the Chinese pattern and provided with two hearths, four wide sleeping benches heated by pipelines, and large windows, is worth only about half as much as a /600/ storehouse lacking all of these accessories. Nevertheless I must stand by the above figures, repeatedly confirmed for me by the Gilyak and hope to be able to give an adequate explanation for them in the following while discussing the social relations of the Gilyak and their socio-communistic attitude coming to light in the construction and utilization of their houses, as well as in other things, as I learned from them themselves.

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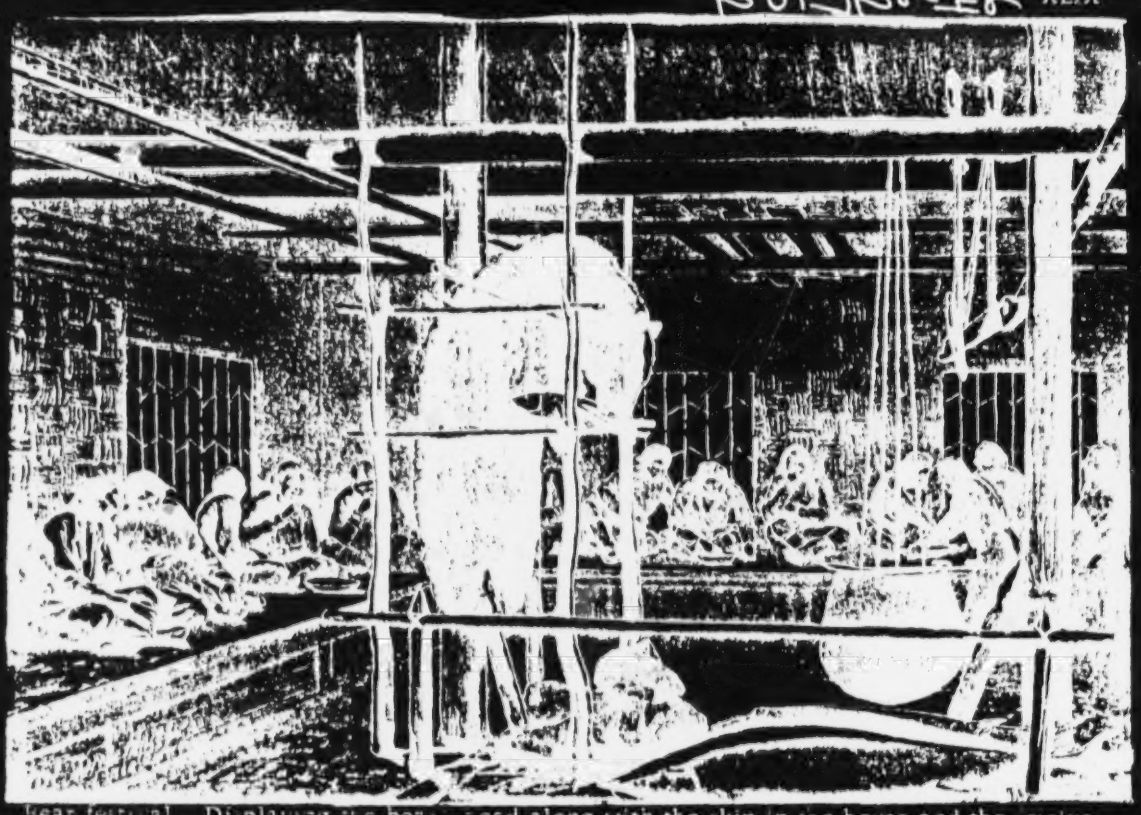

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck-- 990 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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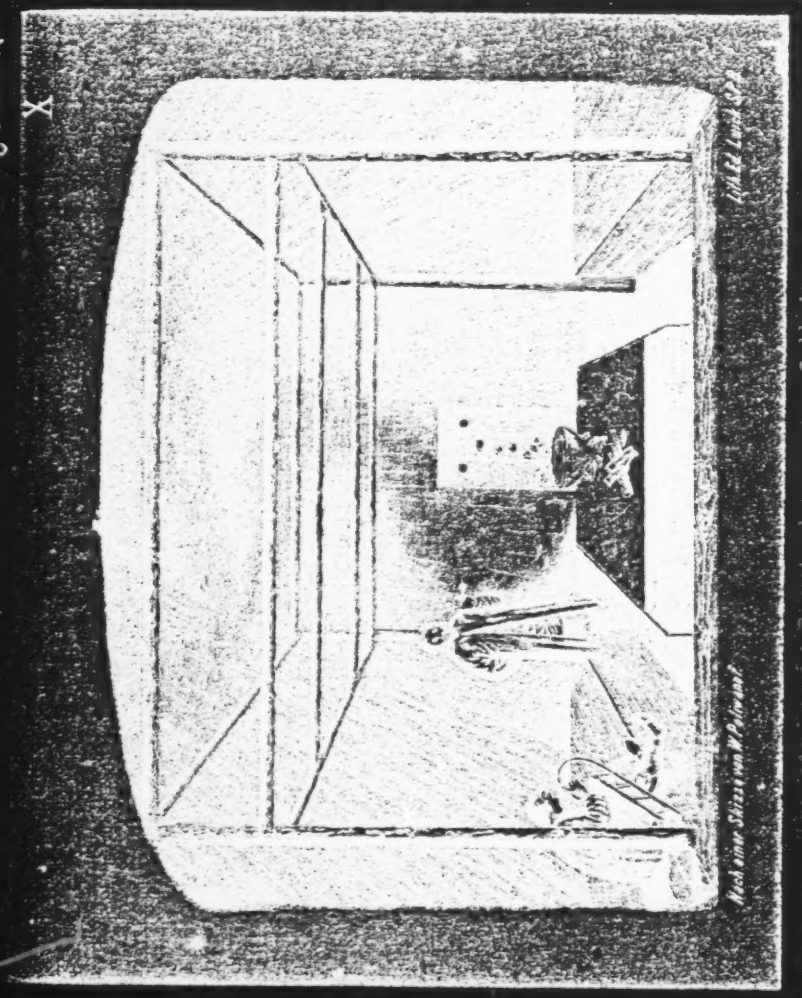

Gilyak winter hut on Sakhalin.

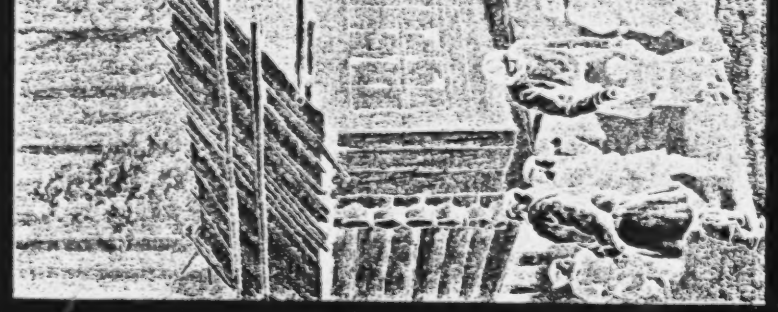

2: Schrenck--1249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

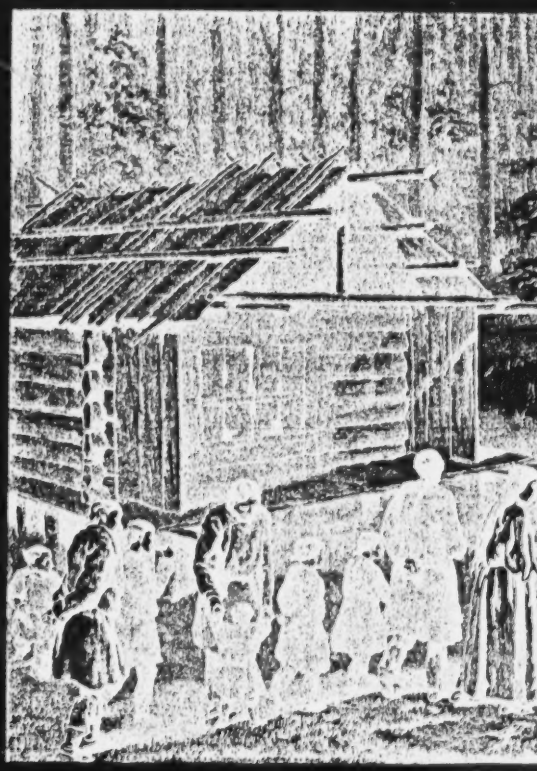

Gilyak

2: Schrenck--1263 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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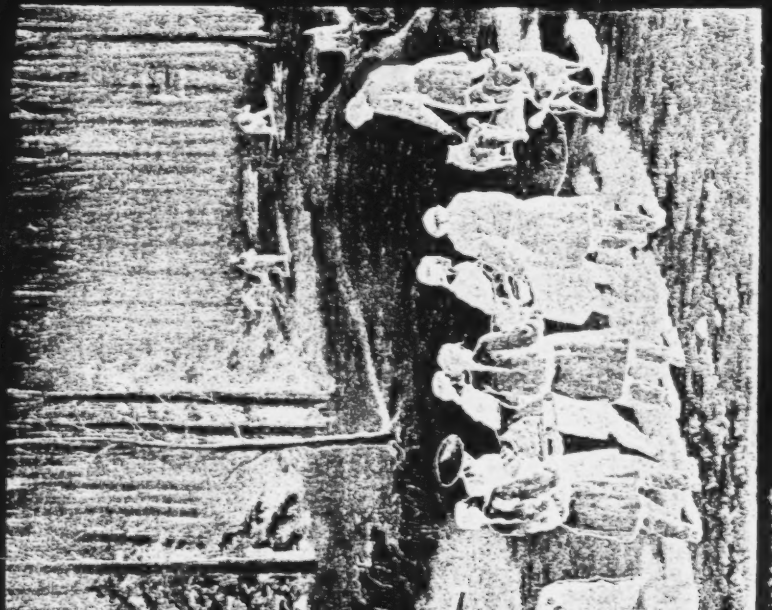

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2: Schrenck--1247 E-5 (1854-1856) 18[illegible] :895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

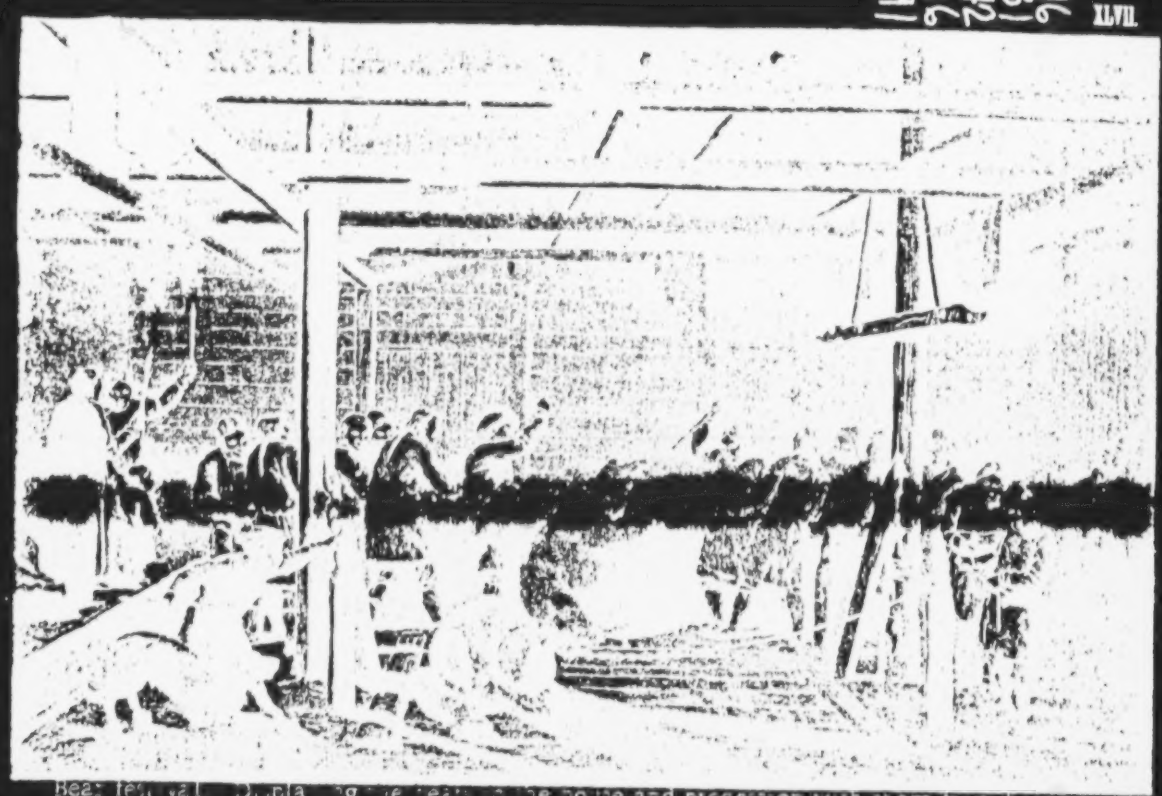

Bear festival. Displaying the bear in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

9: Hawes--192 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 182, 342

"The possession of two houses for the different seasons is also found to be an advantage from the point of view of their occupations. In winter it is convenient to be in the forest to pursue the hunting of the bear, fox, etc., while in the summer fishing points to the river bank or sea-coast as the most handy. In shape the summer hut resembles a rudely constructed Swiss châlet. Some were built on piles, but these were few, and this was apparently a doomed fashion."

116, 342, 361

"The yelping of sledge-dogs, and
just visible at the bend of the river
village, if I may so dignify a colle
finished canoes lay in their beds of
village, were women cleaning fish

Huts of larch or pine planks, rec
and doors about three feet high, a f
piles, for storing the winter provis
village of Ukavo."

the smell from strings of fish drying in the sun,
, aroused us to the contemplation of another Gilya
ction of half a dozen huts with that name. Two un-
fragrant chips; and beyond, on the 'floor' of the
preparatory to stringing it.
tangular in shape, with obliquely sloping bark roo
ew similarly shaped but quite small erections on
ions of dried fish, and three bear cages made up

116, 182, 342

"The Gilyaks boast of two kinds of hut
tuf, and the other for winter residence
contact with their neighbours have led
times, probably as late as the beginni
later on the island, the winter hut was
Protection against the wind and cold
site is chosen in the forest, [191] whic
winter's hunting. A quadrangular pit i
corners of a smaller quadrangle withi
united at the tops by four other poles.
the level ground, i.e. three feet abov
of larch, are rested against the frame
erection with its conical top cut off. T
earth dug out of the pit, saving only a
or tunnel, likewise composed of timbe
approach to the dwelling. This is on t
it, finds the end blocked, but slipping
panel, a little earthen stairway is rev
hut."

s, destined the one for summer and called tol
named torif. The extremes of climate, and
to the adoption of dual dwellings, but until re
ng of the nineteenth century on the mainland,
the only style of dwelling.
l being the chief requisites of a winter abode,
h has the added advantage of being handy for t
s dug to the depth of about three feet. At the
n this pit are erected four stout poles, which
This forms the main framework of the hut. F
e the floor of the hut, smaller poles, generall
work all round, thus forming a tent-shaped
he whole of the structure is covered up with t
hole in the top for chimney. A covered entran
r supports covered in with earth, forms the
e level ground, and the stranger having penet
aside a sliding door, or, more accurately, a
ealed, by which he descends to the floor of the

/732 cont./

animates all primitive peoples may have resisted any change in the traditional custom, but gradually there must have been greater utilization of the advantages which the new housing offered to them by its position on level ground and its greater spaciousness also for the celebration of the bear festival and this could not have taken long for a people with such practical talents as the Gilyak. If one sees the Amur Gilyak lead their bears, temporarily displayed in the houses, out through the door and immediately back in again many times, apparently without any purpose whatsoever, and stroll around with them in this fashion from house to house throughout the entire village, it gives the impression as though, with their traditional memory, so to speak, of the limitation that was formerly imposed on them in this respect and within which their fellow-tribesmen on Sakhalin still find themselves today they revel in the enjoyment offered to them by their present /733/ dwellings, which are more suitable for the bear festival. As a matter of fact, this custom seems to be only the manifestation of joy and satisfaction gradually becoming customary among the continental Gilyak over the change in the construction of their dwellings which has taken place in the course of time.

Another difference in the bear-festival practices determined by the different construction of the dwellings among the continental Gilyak and the Sakhalin Gilyak pertains to the transfer of the bear's head from the läsng into the yurt. Among the former this is done, not through the door, but always through one of the windows of the house. The earth yurt, however, has no windows and gets daylight only through the smoke vent, which, aside from the door, is generally the only opening in it leading to the outside. I therefore suspect that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, this transfer taken place, not through the door, but through the smoke vent, which would scarcely be possible in the Gilyak houses built in the Chinese fashion, and therefore the continental Gilyak are obliged to use the window opening instead of the smoke vent, which is also much easier. I think that confirmation of this conjecture of mine with regard to the Sakhalin Gilyak is to be found in the fact that over a yurt in which a bear has been eaten the skin of the animal consumed, immediately after the meal is finished, is spread over a pole jutting

/733 cont./

796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

[192] 1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

796 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of
798 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
353 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
184 from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt.
[171] In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau.

resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

with the Chinese. A
the Nivkhi began to
The immemoria
Nivkhi was the do
clothing and meat
and played an impo
of dogs in a househ
kept 30-40 dogs, wh
fish and seal-fat;
were used most as
The old sled of
the middle of the
it, resting his feet
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ter the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
l, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the g. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur or food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange rtant part in religious ideas and rituals. The number old was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household ich demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly eed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs draught animals.
the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in ast century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in . The runners of this sled were curved both in the back dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the neck.
ntly, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in ed the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th derably different from the old type. They were of the Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and tical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in gs pulled with the chest.
t of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. d stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg ually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his log. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer

draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively

dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by thout fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former t trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur- e Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips

e rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed lar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried rriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled s (usually employed for upstream travel). For long- e Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, i. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which s bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the

ages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn- ldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell- were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the till widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig- .25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent dow as well; the hearth was built in the center, and set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

342

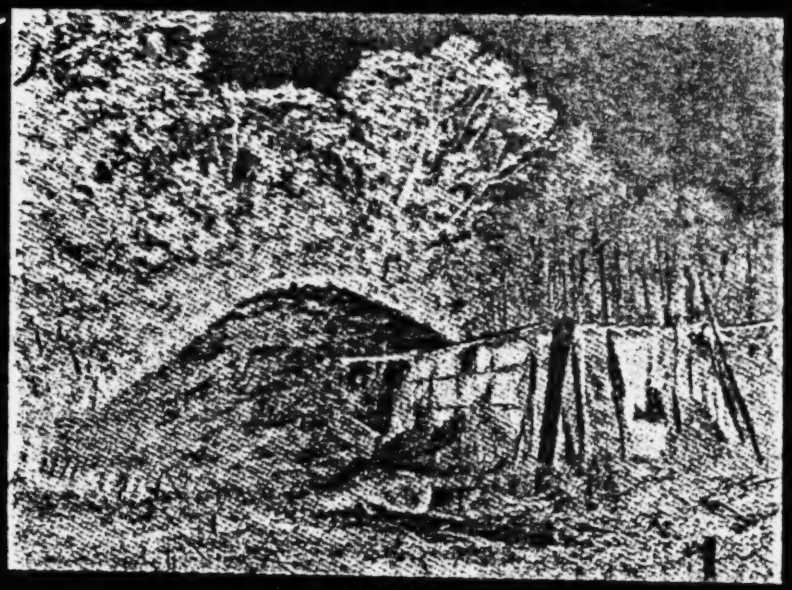

Mud hut.

342 175 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and lay-
[171] out of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually sur-
[171] rounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head
[531] was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).
[439] Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

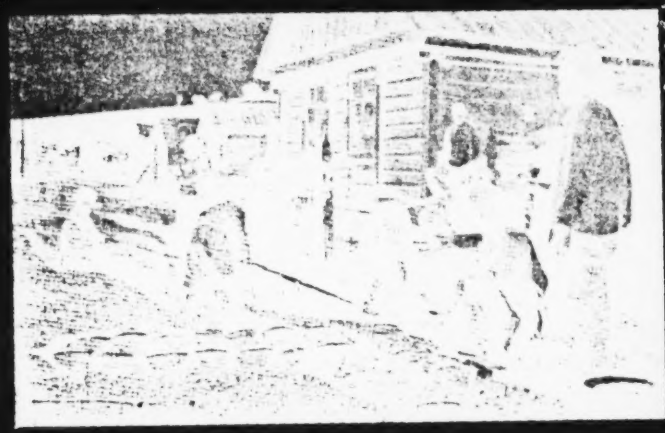

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-lekherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

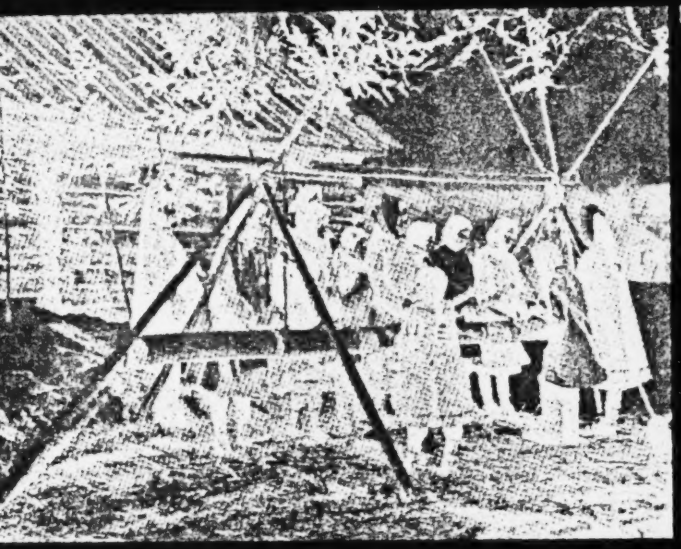

534 291 342

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

e wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they ted by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt ared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so

532 322 [191]

e musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a ive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ry log, which the women struck with sticks.

534 [196]

ucation was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolu- The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, d'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

871 [212]

1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

mporary Life of the Nivkhi

175 648

1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Cast, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, be- the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized nt the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted l years.

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

[241] [433]

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

[231]

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

177 648 474 361

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

177 648 474 36 [342]

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

177 648 474 342 353

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 291 [294] [292]

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

177 262 758 [043]

9: Hawes--259-260 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 342, 361, 622

"We drew up in front of the 'great city' of Nivo
dwellings which would be reckoned miserable b
the usual signal, twelve pair of stalwart hands
strode up the sands to meet the headman of the
him, the 'Lord Mayor of the city of Nivo.'

The 'Mansion House' of the 'Lord Mayor of N
humble fashion, was rather larger than those w
exactly similar. Outside, on either side of the
shelves sheltered by an extension of the roof, a
manner of tackle not required until later in the
some score, of Gilyaks, who were to be our sl
prised the starosta, his two wives, his childre
Armunka, who was a distant cousin."

, consisting of less than two dozen huts,
y the occupants of Irish [260] hovels. At
were ready to haul up our canoe, and we
village, or, as my interpreter called

Nivo,' which I now entered in the usual
ve had seen hitherto, but in other respects
three-foot doorway, were two broad
and containing winter sledges and all
year. Inside was a goodly gathering,
eeping companions that night. These com-
n and relatives, the latter including our

9: Hawes--192-193 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 342, 352

"The one [LSS: A Gilyak summer hut] which w
large—about 16 feet long and 13 feet wide; the
feet 6 inches, and from these sprang the obliq
slips of bark for tiles. Stooping low, we advan
assuming a half-erect position, and unsuccess
heads. Accustoming our eyes to the darkness,
window and chimney, we made out in the centr
and 2½ feet broad, on the smouldering logs of
above depended a cauldron. Around the two si
bench or dais (nakh), 15 inches from the groun
narrow gangway between it and the fire (tur).
a mother with a baby, a girl smoking, and thr
articles, from [193] a baby's cradle to a rude
wood, shaped like a scoop without the handle,
seal-hide. On the bench and hanging above we
water or seal-oil (p. 203), dried fish-skins, d
stomachs, etc."

e now entered, in Kamavo, was not
side timbers rose to a height of about 4
uely sloping roof of poles for rafters, and
ced to the 3 feet doorway, cautiously
fully attempting to avoid knocking our
for there was but a hole in the roof for
e a large earth and ash box, 4 feet long
vhich was a kettle, and from a rafter
les and further end of the hut ran a rude
d and about 4 feet in width, leaving a
On the nakh were seated several Gilyaks,
ee or four men. Above hung a mêlée of
axe for hewing out canoes. The cradle, of
was strung to a cross-pole by thongs of
e fishing-nets, birch-bark bowls for
g-skins, winter clothes, seal-oil in seal's

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

843 These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was
.85 a crime unknown.

342 The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping
415 goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles,
777 knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

251 It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

226 Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

.31 There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves

342
291

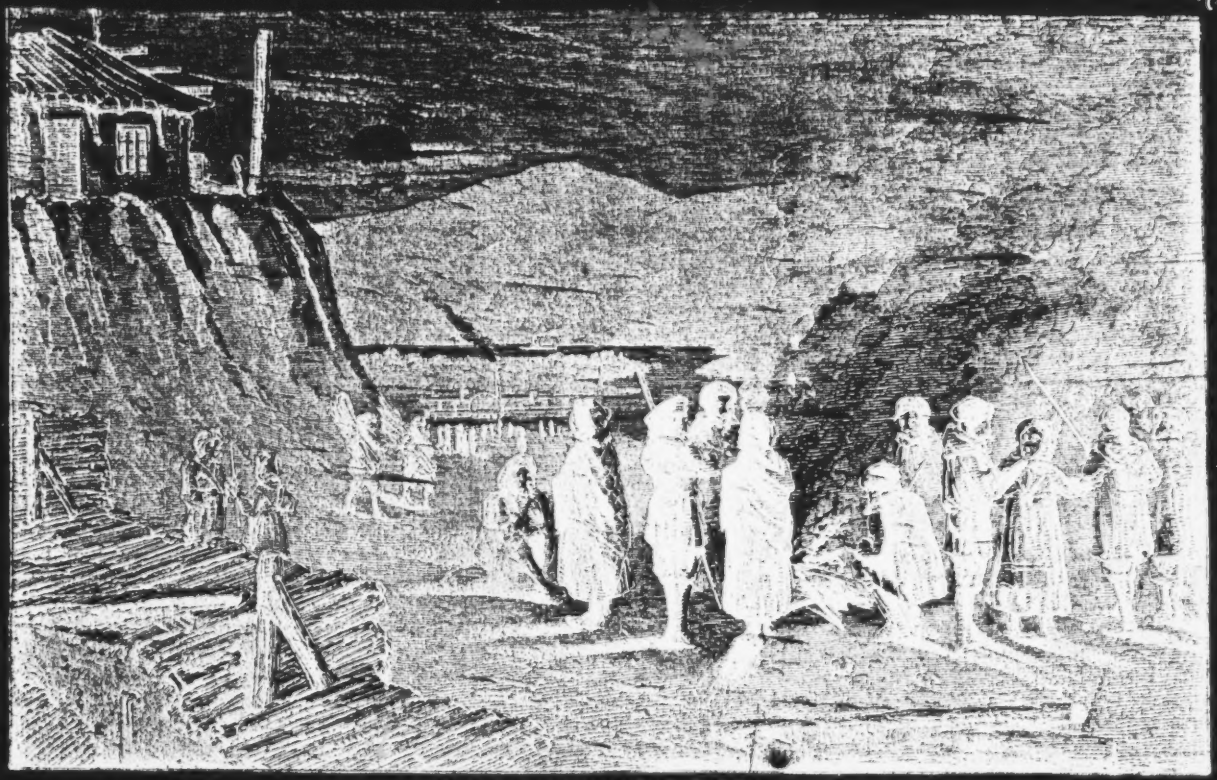

NIGHT SCENE—GROUP OF PEASANTS.

heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse military cloth.

The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged. They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a box-like open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder parts of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go off on longer excursions move into the airy storage hut. This consists of boards, and stands on poles in order to protect it from rats. [115] On their expeditions the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped, and softened in hot steam. They also make baskets, small dishes, etc. of this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one family; usually several of them live together, sometimes as many as eight or nine.

VII. Transportation Methods, Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regular one is usually made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, about six to seven meters and has no keel. The steering end is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Lengthwise it consists of three planks, one of which is the floor, the others, the two sides. The floor board projects out at the prow, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small cross-boards; the projecting floor board softens the impact in landing and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss which on the inside is covered with thin wooden strips and fastened down. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a small bar fastened to the edge of the boat for each oar, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on low, narrow cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised and a sail is set. The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth. These boats go very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe made of birch bark; inside, the frame is supported by a double row of lashing of the same material, which runs criss-cross. Usually only one person sits in this canoe and rows with a double oar, both right and left.

164 The Gilyaks
563 Russians suffe
342 spoken in anot
362

1. St. P
1882.

this illness ca
ly to external
and bogs, as
natives are im
(for European
and especially
Russian barra
which soon ro
and damp eart
houses are ba
odor of mould.
pressed clay
it is well venti
disinfectant qu
to be only a li
164 Another end
catarrh, occu
and soon disap
able colic. T

In spite of t
from tape wor
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seems the mo
Gilyak. The
from a whoopi
my time in Ni

Eye disease
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cases. The G
be sure, but s
diseases must
eye nerves.
Gilyak house
calmly seated
164 a European ou
293 unpunished. C

E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the
r from it more than in Europe. I have
her connection (1) of the fact that I believe

Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3.

n be traced to earth miasmas, and particular-
ones rising up from the extensive marshes
well as house miasmas. The fact that the
mune [248] may be attributed partly to habit,
s suffer most from it when they first arrive)
to the functional construction of the houses.
cks and private houses stand on frame work
s. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood
h which does not freeze even in winter. The
dly ventilated and frequently have a definite
The Gilyak house has a solid floor of
which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate;
lated and is often filled with smoke whose
alities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems
mited factor in this question.
emic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal
s among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom
pears. It is usually accompanied by unbear-
his catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.
he constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers
m. Among Russians, too, it seems to come
ork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.
tarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia
t frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the
children of the Gilyak villages also suffered
ng cough epidemic that was prevalent during
olayevsk-na-Amure.
s occur more seldom than one would expect,
tribes that live in smoky houses frequently
em and present many one-eyed and blind
lyak houses are not always full of smoke, to
o frequently that the relative absence of these
be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the
ctually, everyone who has been inside a
ill be convinced that the natives can remain
in smoke clouds that would immediately drive
. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely
ne finds among them people with chronic

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

116, 174, 342

"The winter huts, when covered with snow and l
cosy. Dr. Schrenck and Mr. Sternberg have sur
the survival of a custom in the bear festival indi
originally only by the chimney, that the Gilyaks'
words used for entering and leaving the hut, kus
emerge, also witness to the use of the chimney
are not lightly to be differed from, but it should
this kind have been used over wide areas by diff
has not been attested, e.g. in Yezo, the Primor
surrounding regions; and what is also importan
of Manchuria, the Yih-len, are described in the
(A. D. 25-219) as [192] 'Troglodytes living in cav
their dwellings, the most honourable having a d
chronicles) the 'entrance being at the summit.'

Whatever may have been the origin of the win
summer dwelling is traceable to Northern China
how it would have appealed to the Gilyak. The m
hut damp and wet, and the increasing heat of the

it up by a blazing fire inside, are very
mised from this pattern of hut, and from
cating that their entrance and exit was
ancestors came from the North. The
ind and jigind, implying to sink and to
as entrance and exit. Such authorities
be remembered that pit-dwellings of
ering peoples, whose northern origin
sk, and Manchuria, to mention only the
in this connexion, the early inhabitants
Chinese annals of the After Han dynasty
es, their rank marked by the depth of
escent of nine steps,' and (later

ter hut, it is fairly certain that the Gilyak
through Manchuria. It is easy to see
elting snow in spring renders his winter
sun makes it stuffy and hot."

110, 232, 272, 342

"Our tent, being new and of very thin m
could keep nearly as dry, and certainly m
fire within, but in a few moments the smo
refuge Swartz and myself fled to our Gilak
birch-bark, sewed together in long narrow
spread over a frame of light poles sloping
open in front and at each end. This was er
bank, which served as a protection from t

As we came up, one of the women was
a small fire in front of the camp. A small
was hanging a good-sized copper tea-kettl
as a general thing, unable to indulge in tea
exchange for fish. [123]

Beneath the shed several deer-skins we
upon which half a dozen humans and about
every conceivable shape. The group prese
I will endeavor to portray in a few words,
the internal workings of a Gilak domicil,

naterial, leaked badly--so much so that we
uch warmer, walking outside. We tried a small
ke became unbearable, and for want of better
neighbors. Their only shelter consisted of
v strips about two feet in length, and
to the ground and forming a shed-like covering,
ected upon the beach, facing the high wooded
he wind.

in the act of preparing the noonday meal over
pot contained several fine trout, near which
e (a rare article among the Gilaks, who are,
a). On this occasion we furnished them, in

ere spread over a thick layer of green boughs,
as many dogs lay twisted and coiled into almost
nted a curious, if not interesting tableau, which
as it conveyed to us a very complete idea of
as well as some of their occupations."

161 lages with about two thousand
361 on both banks from the mout
out of the reach of all inundat
ment to the view of their hou
inspection.

592 Some of the houses might c
361 ordinary size, and were well a
we took wood at a Gilyak vill
342

A GILYA

to visit the aboriginals. The
ings and several fish-houses.
poles, split in halves or use
poles covered with a thatch c
cold. Some of the dwelling
floors, while others had floor

343 The store houses were ele
American 'corn barn,' and
dwellings. Each storehouse
canoes, fishing nets, and othe

inhabitants. The villages are
n of the river to Mariensk, and
ions. Distance lends enchant-
ses, which will not bear close

ontain a half dozen families of
adapted to the climate. While
age I embraced the opportunity

AK VILLAGE.

e village contained a dozen dwell-
. The buildings were of logs or
ed whole, and were roofed with
of long grass to exclude rain and
g houses had the solid earth for
ings of hewn planks.
vated on posts like those of an
were wider and lower than the
had a platform in front where
er portable property were stowed.

The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters. The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 2 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

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but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

354 hinges. There is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross bars on which lie or from which hang various implements, among other things a kettle which reaches to the front opening of the hearth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, consists of pressed clay; the larger houses have two of them. The smoke passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping boards, leads out through the side wall and ends in a high wooden chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and Manchurians have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom cleaned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the benches from below is a very practical arrangement. Even so, it is often very cold in the houses, especially when it is below freezing and there is a wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper opening of the stove and besides that, as we have said, a smaller kettle or cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests just in front of the front opening of the stove, right next to the floor. The logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit properly and burn outside the opening of the stove, which frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.

231 The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the
352 hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish, cloths, etc.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows, and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special
354 occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primi-
373 tive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp, or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.

513 In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

2: Schrenck

343 /For information on the raff, a small b
see category 764./

RX2 Gilyak RX2

urial hut erected at a grave site,

/358 cont. /For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer, there are special storehouses, which, however, since consumption takes place in winter, are always located beside the winter dwellings, and the supplies are carried to them as they accumulate.

The storehouses of the Gilyak (njö, in the Tro and Tymy dialect njo) /illustration appears here/ appear at first glance to be very similar to the summer dwellings in that, like them, they rest on piles (on which the above-mentioned pieces of birch bark may not be absent) (2) and have the same kind of walls and roofs, indeed,

2. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 482) mentions that the Cheremis along the Kama and Wjatka, like most of the Kasan Tatars, put their sheaves of stored grain in round, pointed heaps above four piles connected by beams and covered

a -- Balcony-like sill on the front side of the house. b -- Entrance opening. c -- Front section, d -- rear section. e -- Door between them. f to g -- The eleven wall surfaces.

Plan of a Gilyak Storehouse (njö, njo).

with bark, which makes them inaccessible to mice.

even the same balcony-like sill on the front side, to which one climbs on a thin, notched beam, which can easily be taken away; but even the largest of them are always smaller than the latter, and the entrance is likewise lower and narrower, indeed, sometimes

2: Schrenck--530 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Kamchadal RX3

G 343 /358 cont. /

merely an approximately square hole which is just big enough so that a person can go through it in a stooped position, and whose cover is a board that fits it exactly, before which a crosspiece of wood is advanced instead of a bolt (3). The interior of the store-

3. An illustration of the front side of such a storehouse, among other things, will be found below on a plate showing a funeral procession of the Gilyak.

house is usually divided by a partition into two sections, which are connected by a door, so that in it, as the accompanying plan indicates, there are eleven separate, larger or smaller wall surfaces, along which the supplies of fish are stacked.

G 342 343 171 /359/ Like the earth yurt, all the pile buildings mentioned above, the summer yurt, the storehouse, etc., are original, peculiarly Gilyak structures which the neighbors of the Gilyak, the Tungusic Amur-peoples, lack, but which recur among many other Paleo-Asiatic tribes. For example, according to K 175 [342] Krascheninnikof's and Steller's descriptions and an illustration given by the latter, the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal are pyramidal huts built on high piles, which are called balagan 000 by the Russians (1). The Eskimo of the American Northwest along

K [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, K [132] Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 215. Steller also gives the dampness of the air and the ground as the compelling reason for the construction of such "airy dwellings" on K [198] Kamchatka. This explains why these peculiar [199] dwellings continued to be retained after the earth yurts, as mentioned above, had already been forced out by Russian-type dwellings.

2: Schrenck--531 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Eskimo ND2

G 343 171 E 343 /359 cont. /The Eskimo of the American Northwest along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, and the Arctic Ocean erect their storehouses on high piles above the ground in order to safeguard the supplies of fish, skins, furs, and the like stored in them during the summer both against the humidity and against attacks by mice, foxes, wolves, and especially the dogs, which are always hungry during the summer (2).

2. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie, St. Petersburg, 1847, Pt. I, p. 56. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 27. Jacobsen, Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, Leipzig, 1884, p. 173. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, Hannover, 1858, p. 62. In Dall (op. cit., pp. 13 and 65) there are also illustrations of such "dovecote-like" buildings, as Seemann aptly calls them. E [192] The designation barabora for them (Sagoskin, op. cit.), which Dall also uses for the summer and winter dwellings of the Eskimo (op. cit., pp. 39, 65), arose according to Steller (op. cit., p. 218; for him, "barabara"), through the corruption on the part of the Russian Cossacks in Kamchatka of the word "pasapar," by which, however, the Kamchadal refer to a hut made out of long grass for an overnight stay.

G 342 174 Thus, the Gilyak, where they have kept their original dwellings and constructions, and many another Paleo-Asiatic people can to a certain extent be called cave-dwellers or troglodytes in winter and pilework-dwellers in summer. In this respect they stand at a point which on European soil belongs to a far distant, prehistoric period. From this point of view, too, the designation of Paleo-Asiatic peoples, which I have proposed for these remnants of an ancient population formerly more widespread on Asiatic soil, is in a certain sense justified.

2: Schrenck--937 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/597 cont. /

435 439 The value of the kettle embedded in the hearth and the portable kettle is reckoned in part, on the basis of size, but in part and chiefly on the basis of their origin, because the Manchurian (Chinese) kettles are far inferior in quality to those of Japanese: the former easily crack over the fire if they contain no water, but the latter will not. Accordingly, it costs for:

A large Manchurian hearth-kettle (tsch) (ormoz-wunj)	4 ja
/598/	
A smaller Manchurian hearth-kettle	3 "
" Manchurian portable kettle (matsch-wunj) with handles, depending on the size	3-7 "
A small Japanese kettle (Gilyak kughi-wunj, i.e., Ainu kettle)	7-8 "
A large kettle of the same kind	20 "
" " Japanese kettle with three handles . . .	30 "

435 342 343 The evaluation used among the Gilyak for their houses is very peculiar, inasmuch as it costs for:

A winter yurt (tschadryf) with two hearths only . .	4 ja
" summer yurt (käryf) only	2-4 "
A storehouse (njö), on the other hand, depending on the number of compartments	10 " and more.

435 439 A number of conclusions concerning the trade of the Gilyak, as well as telling numerical evidence of certain of their customs and beliefs, can be drawn from this table, some of which have already been discussed in the previous sections and some will be discussed in the following. For the moment it will suffice to draw attention only to the following points:

1) Furs, the most important barter item of the Gilyak in their trade with the Chinese, have a relatively low price, which

2: Schrenck--940 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3

/599 cont. /

G 435 342 343 7) At first glance the evaluation of their various kinds of housing on the part of the Gilyak as given in the table seems very irrational, for one can scarcely believe that a structure as large and relatively complicated as their winter dwelling, built on the Chinese pattern and provided with two hearths, four wide sleeping benches heated by pipelines, and large windows, is worth only about half as much as a /600/ storehouse lacking all of these accessories. Nevertheless I must stand by the above figures, repeatedly confirmed for me by the Gilyak and hope to be able to give an adequate explanation for them in the following while discussing the social relations of the Gilyak and their socio-communistic attitude coming to light in the construction and utilization of their houses, as well as in other things, as I learned from them themselves.

G 435 8) Finally, if I compare the table of prices of the Gilyak with that drawn up by Maximowicz (1) in a similar way among th

1. In his handwritten notes put at my disposal.

Goldi, I find an almost complete correspondence in most things, obviously because the prices prevailing among the Sungari Chinese are decisive for both. Nevertheless, some differences, which are characteristic of region and people, can be recognized in them. Among the Goldi, for example, all fur seems to have a higher price than among the Gilyak (a good sable, for example, is valued by them at 4-5 ja, a red fox at 3 ja, a black one even at 30-60 ja), undoubtedly because the animals involved are less frequent in their territory than in the abundantly forested north, and perhaps also because the Gilyak accumulate a greater quantity of them through their industrious trade, as middlemen, with the neighboring peoples. In this connection, too, among the Goldi attention is paid to the smaller animals, such as squirrels, ermine, Mustela sibirica, and the like (ten specimens of the former, for example, cost

/641 cont./

593 842 the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A
[595] sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the hus-
[586] band will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstitiotion gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a
[825] [789] woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to
844 114 believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive.
[132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery
● 343 does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/641 cont./

844 erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
● [343] also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter tempera-
[132] tures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[165] a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition
[846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn
[763] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated construction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can
[476] the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on
[574] it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction
[427] and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

● 343 The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
423 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is
[427] arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

10 resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of
[361] Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

[194] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating
[193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives
802 have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants.
174 There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to
[361] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-
[342] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
[343] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
● [241] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
[731] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.
[822]
[429]

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

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578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
● 343

> 1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
● 343 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
562 women. The location of these bushes is always
841 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

844 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
183 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

161 lages with about two thousand inhabitants. The villages are
361 on both banks from the mouth of the river to Mariensk, and out of the reach of all inundations. Distance lends enchantment to the view of their houses, which will not bear close inspection.

592 Some of the houses might contain a half dozen families of
361 ordinary size, and were well adapted to the climate. While
342 we took wood at a Gilyak village I embraced the opportunity

A GILYAK VILLAGE.

to visit the aboriginals. The village contained a dozen dwellings and several fish-houses. The buildings were of logs or poles, split in halves or used whole, and were roofed with poles covered with a thatch of long grass to exclude rain and cold. Some of the dwelling houses had the solid earth for floors, while others had floorings of hewn planks.

● 343 The store houses were elevated on posts like those of an American 'corn barn,' and were wider and lower than the dwellings. Each storehouse had a platform in front where canoes, fishing nets, and other portable property were stowed.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles, knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

34

346 RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES-
temples, churches, libraries, museums, school
educational structures; special characteristics o
tion; etc. See also:
Administration of schools and colleges . . . . 87 Administrati
Administration of libraries and museums . . . 217 Administrati

P.Sitemberg--452 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/313 cont./

778 782 224 225 to shout: "Yrk-lu? -- Is it enough?" -- "Yrkrá! -- It is enough!" Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

778 688 The customary takhej of a hunter is the individual uig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund kymlydz: assembles, and they judge him; they demand a bear or 782 a luk -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

796 346 782 When they build a pila uigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a luk: -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a post falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila uigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzig.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several uigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an uigryf.

6

--description of shrines, s, and other religious and of each; mode of construc-

on of sacred places 778
on and functioning of churches . . 794

34

3

"We came upon an old Gilyak and his wife, who sat slicing and cleaning kita. With a long rakish knife, which is the men's hunting and 'general-purposes' knife (dzhakho), the fish was split open, a nd with a short-bladed and curved edition of the former—the woman's fish and domestic knife (ungu dzhakho)—the kita was cleaned. Two slices were cut from each side, leaving for remainder the head and tail and backbone, with some flesh adhering. All these were then hung up to dry in the sun, this drying-ground being the 'village green,' or 'market-place,' of the Gilyaks. The slices were for human consumption, and woe betide the Gilyaks if August (O.S.) [LSS: The old style calendar is 13 days earlier than the Gregorian calendar.] which is the chief season of fish-drying, prove a rainy month, for then only a small quantity of their staple food will be prepared against the winter, and stores will give out early, and many will die of starvation. Fortunately, sunny weather [174] had this year attended their efforts, and goodly quantities of sun-dried fish were hanging in rows upon rows, to be eventually consigned to those strange-looking coffin erections, consisting of a short log hollowed out and perched on forked stakes. These stakes were, in 'well-regulated establishments,' encircled with pieces of bark, umbrella-shaped, to prevent the ravages of rats and other vermin."

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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291
516
415
854

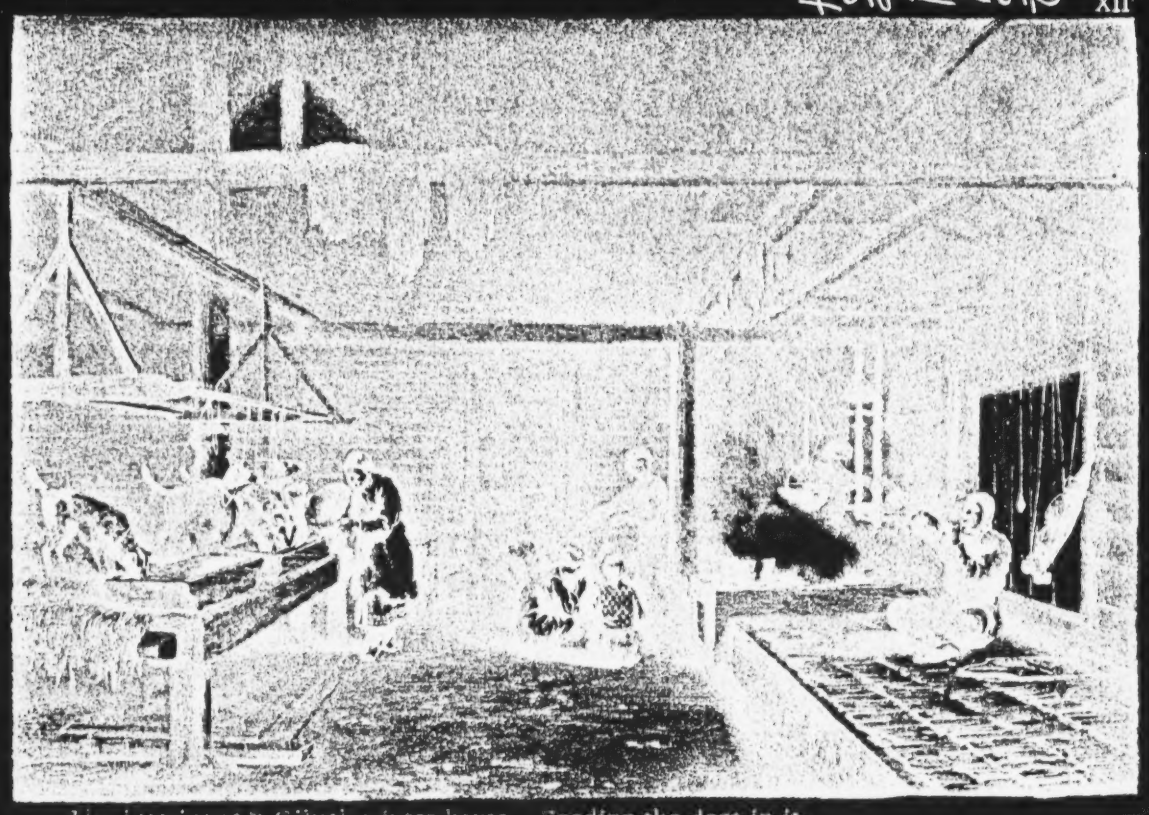

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

352

FURNITURE--pegs, racks, shelves, and cupboards; description of furni
(e.g., chairs, tables, chests, beds, hammocks, head-rests); floor cove
ing (e.g., mats, rugs); special uses of furniture; etc. See also:

Mat making . . . . . 285 Hardware 4
Furniture manufacture . . . . . 322 Bedding 6

Amoor line is closed up, the telegraph circuit around the globe will be complete.

The telegraph is operated on the Morse system with instruments of Prussian manufacture. Compared to our American instruments the Prussian ones are quite clumsy, though they did not appear so in the hands of the operators. The signal key was at least four times as large as ours, and could endure any amount of rough handling. The other machinery was on a corresponding scale.

A merchant who knew Mr. Borasdine invited us to his house, where he brought a lunch of bread, cheese, butter, and milk for our entertainment. Salted cucumbers were added, and the repast ended with tea. In the principal room there was a Connecticut clock in one corner. and the windows were filled with flowers, among which were the morning glory, aster, and verbena. Several engravings adorned the walls, most of them printed at Berlin. We purchased a loaf of sugar, and were shown a bear-skin seven feet long without ears and tail. The original and first legitimate owner of the skin was killed within a mile of town.

In addition to his commerce and farming, this merchant was superintendent of a school where several Gilyak boys were educated. It was then vacation, and the boys were engaged in catching their winter supply of fish. At the merchant's invitation we visited the school buildings.

The study room was much like a backwoods schoolroom in America, having rude benches and desks, but with everything clean and well made. The copy-books exhibited fair specimens of penmanship. On a desk lay a well worn reading book containing a dozen of Æsop's fables translated into Russian and profusely illustrated. It corresponded to an American 'Second Reader.'

There was a dormitory containing eight beds, and there was a wash-room, a dining-room, and a kitchen, the latter separate from the main building. Close at hand was a forge where the boys learned to work in iron, and a carpenter shop with a full set of tools and a turning lathe. The superinten-

346 dent showed me severa
wooden spoons, forks,
souvenir a seal cut in
in Russian letters, and

The school is in ope
superintendent said th
could attend if they wis
871 was a subordinate pries
of the establishment
sign of making the bo

771 The Gilyaks of the
825 tempts to Christianize
964 thus far. Their religi
766 animals, and their pr
'medicine man' of the
they revere the tiger,
of their killing one.
are buried without cere

sons the Gilyaks follo
bear is also sacred,
from being killed.

825 In hunting this bea
once taken and secur

NG A WILD BEAR.

l articles made by the pupils, including
bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a
pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyhelm'
having a neatly turned handle.
ration ten months of each year. The
e children of the Russian peasants
hed, but very few did so. The teacher
t of the Eastern church. The expense
vas paid by Government, with the de-
s useful in educating the Gilyaks.
lower Amoor are pagans, and the at-
them have not been very successful
on consists in the worship of idols and
iests or *shamans* correspond to the
American Indians. Among animals
and I was told no instance was known
The remains of a man killed by a tiger
emony, but in the funerals of other per-

EAR IN PROCESSION.

v very nearly the Chinese custom. The
ut his sanctity does not preserve him

st they endeavor to capture him alive;
ly bound he is placed in a cage in the

349

349. MISCELLANEOUS STRUCTURES--description of structures not classifiable above (e.g., monuments, radio towers, lighthouses, hangars, railway stations); special characteristics of each; mode of construction; etc. See also:

Radio and television 207
Commemorative statues and monuments . . . 211
Railway terminal facilities 498
Adjuncts to navigation 502
Airport facilities 508
Funerary monuments 764

2

description of furniture
ad-rests); floor cover-
c. See also:
. 414
. 513

/27 cont./

22 In spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [197] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/28 cont./

352 [516] roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[422] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed
are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive
spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn oc-
casions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent
off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a
daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's
house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance,
or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother,
and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the
ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already be-
ginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip
and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of
late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In
addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon
for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional
shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting.
Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in
height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/
a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift
them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time
they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a
ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-
sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened
segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its
surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very
light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places,
and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and
lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/31 cont./

601 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they
191 have influenced one another, they basically belong, spea
174 [595] the language of geology, to different formations. It is su
[835] to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse wi
individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for exam
the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the
this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage doe
581 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally bu
[583] rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan a
garded before the world as his personal wives and the mot
[851] his children. The children belong exclusively to the fath
[611] succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a f
[551] is no longer called by his former name, but is called the
of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives e
[684] itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the
[614] of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle o
[582] tion, and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gily
601 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long tim
not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their fami
[592] large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds
[352] families, each living in relation to its own particular inte
Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among hu
wife, and their children. That is not all. One may freq
[765] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between
When one of them dies, the other frequently lays ha
or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are
with the type of family which is generally called patriarc
Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck b
strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women
whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latt
them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of m
a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of me
fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/328 cont./

764 To be burned is better than to be buried.

766 The one made the first mos' for a drowned man is not burned after death, but buried in the ground.

A drowned person, if he is of another clan, is not burned, but is inclosed in sticks.

If the deceased was murdered, he is not carried into the yurt, but is placed beside it. Near the place of the cremation of the murdered person, they place a "vagn'" -- a tree with the roots /329/ upward. Those who have been killed are carried off the field of battle by both sides to their villages.

764 If a person dies in a balagan, he remains there (until the funeral.

764 349 A raf (a little house with a little door, over the grave) is made in a month, or in two, three, or four months, when there is time. A raf cannot be set up in winter or spring, for the earth is frozen, and in autumn as well. During this time the deceased is absolutely not fed. A raf is prepared by common efforts.

[784] [614] On the day of the preparation of a raf, as on the day of cremation, all forms of work are prohibited for the clan members. It is prohibited to fish, to go hunting, to make a dog sled; it is prohibited to sew, even to "make one's head," i.e., to comb one's hair, but one can sing songs. Members of alien clans are allowed to work if they did not observe the work on the construction of the raf, but the members of the same khala, if they know that a raf is being made, even if they live in a different settlement, are forbidden to work. The master who helps in the building of the raf does not receive any reward; that is a sin.

The walls of a raf are made of boards. The roof is made as on an actual house. In the middle there is a k:khak:, a double board with a stopper which closes an aperture -- kylmyz' (navel). The sharp stoppers go through a round piece of birch bark which is placed over the aperture. In the upper section are stuck a spear, arrows, hooks, and a knife. The k:khak: is wrapped in a piece of drel' of a trapezoidal shape and fastened, tied to the navel; the upper part of the k:khak: remains bare. On top of this, in front, there is an apron of the same shape, which is decorated

/329 cont./

764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A hontkh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard are tied to the belt of drel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nirng, into which they put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside, next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka. First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the raf mu nig:yvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning,
[231] brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu n'igyvyn is fed no longer, though they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka. This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
[231] pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for kinsmen or for someone from the kikhal.

766 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a takhch (see below, pp.4[illegible]-476), and then they make a raf anyway.

765 The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
[761] killed by a milk (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
[766] is afraid and hides with Pal-n'igyvyn or Tol-n'igyvyn, depending on which milk killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to that of men.

35

ENT AND MAINTENANCE OF BUILDINGS--general statements cover-
al aspects of the material equipment, care, and upkeep of dwellings
esidential buildings. For descriptions of other machines, appliances,
nsils, hardware, and apparatus used in buildings see 40 and 41.

2

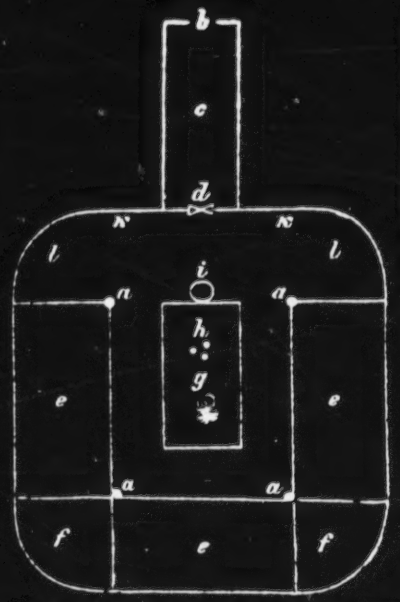

a -- Supporting posts. b -- Entrance. c -- Low passage. d -- Door. e -- Plank bed. f -- Rear corners, without plank beds. g -- Hearth. h -- Stone triangle for the large kettle. i -- Water container. k -- Front wall. l -- Front corners of the yurt.

Plan of a Gilyak Earth Yurt (toryf).

found. At the end of this passageway one reaches the door (d), which is either vertically hinged, as is customary, or is formed by a board placed horizontally, which can be pushed aside (Pl. X) (1). Directly behind it, or below it, a few steps

1. On this plate, showing the interior of a Gilyak earth-yurt, the door, through which one can pass only in a extremely stooped position, is too high. 1 n

lead down to the floor of the hut, which consists of stamped earth. 2L In the yurt, along both sides and in the rear, between the supporting posts and the earth wall, runs a sitting and sleeping bench or plank bed (e), which is about one and a
5
n [See Category 116, P. 990 -- Analyst)

/322 cont./

342 half feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at
35 the two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually rounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away various utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This creates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, between the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded as the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the inner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man, there are crosspoles running between the supporting posts, which serve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the yurt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet from each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide, twice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is very simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame put together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped earth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, the are several crosspoles, two across the front part and one across the rear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crosspoles put be-
[417] tween the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crosspoles over the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which the kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the front part of the hearth three stones (h) are set upright in a triangle and firmly embedded in the earth, on which stands the large kettle used for cooking the soup for the dogs. In large yurts there are sometimes two such large kettles, also serving for human use, incidentally, as was the case, for example, in the large yurt at Tyk, in which I stayed repeatedly and for several days, and where I sketched the plan presented here. The fire is made in the rear part of the hearth, that is, somewhat more in the center between the three plank-beds, serving for heat and for
[415] illuminating the yurt at night. In front of the hearth stands one or
[312] more large receptable, usually tubs (i) made of birch bark, with drinking water, and along the front wall (k), right and left of the entrance, or in one of the front corners (l, l) of the yurt, a supply of dry firewood is always piled up. Finally, at the top, exactly above the fireplace, there is the smoke vent in the form of a longish rectangle that is placed either with its lengthwise

/323 cont./

342 35 and crosswise diameters corresponding to the hearth or crosswise to it.

The smaller earth-yurts of the Gilyak are quite similar in nature, except that in these all the dimensions are more or less considerably smaller. In some cases, for instance, the hole dug in the ground for building the yurt is so shallow that there is nothing to be seen of any wall behind the plank beds, but rather the timber of the roof begins immediately. In order to gain space in such small yurts, the two rear corners are also equipped with plank beds, so that, with the exception of the front wall and the two front corners, one continuous sitting or sleeping bench extends all around. If the dimensions of the yurt are reduced even more, it finally becomes quite shallow, and hearth and plank beds, framed by narrow, upright boards, just rise above the ground, the latter only as much as the thickness of the layer of branches serving as a bed; the smoke vent is not very high above the hearth; the passage-way leading to the door has disappeared or shrunk to a few sheltering projections -- in short, the yurt has become a tent made of thin wooden beams.

342 [122] Such was the small yurt of Tafiz-wo in the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin where I spent the night of February 18 (March 1), 1856, and found the mercury in the thermometer frozen the next morning. I am unable to say whether this was only a temporary structure, at any rate, it was occupied by a Gilyak family with children, and their summer yurt stood next to it. This winter yurt of Tafiz-wo was distinguished only by its stronger material and its larger dimensions from the emergency tent that the Gilyak usually erect when during their winter journeys they are taken by surprise

[122] by a violent snowstorm. On my /324/ winter journey in 1855 I was forced to spend the night of Feb. 6/18 in the forest on the high seashore somewhat south of Cape Wangi (1) on the west

[192] 1. The Gilyak call this cape "Pilja-Wangi," i.e., Large Wangi, and a smaller, more southerly promontory, where we were, "Matsch-Wangi" -- Little Wangi.

/327 cont./

342 [824] and with the ridge. The remaining finer latticework of the roof is made up of thin poles and sticks put crosswise and then covered with tree bark, in particular fir bark, and finally with a layer of dry grass or Calamogrostis straw, etc., which is pressed down and held in place by a series of poles placed parallel to the ridge of the roof. The entrance is found in one corner of the house, and, to be sure, if one stands in front of one of its long sides, always to the right, in the transverse wall or in the longitudinal wall, with an ordinary door (c), which consists of several boards held together by a few cross-strips, and also always with a high threshold by means of which the influx of cold air over the floor, as well as the penetration of drifting snow and running rainwater into the house, is supposed to be reduced as much as possible.

342 35

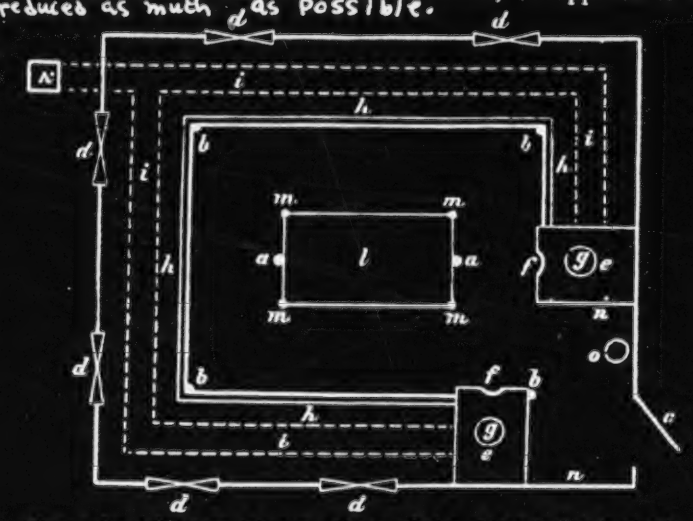

Plan of a Chinese Winter-Yurt of the Gilyak (tschadryf).

a -- Large supporting posts of the roof framework, b -- smaller supporting posts for it. c -- Door. d -- Window. e -- Hearth. f -- Opening for feeding the fire. g -- Hole for the large kettle. h -- Sitting and sleeping benches. i -- Pipes used for heating same. k -- Chimney. l -- Dogs' table. m -- Posts on which the table top rests. n -- Places for storing household equipment. o -- Water container.

2: Schrenck-- 990 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

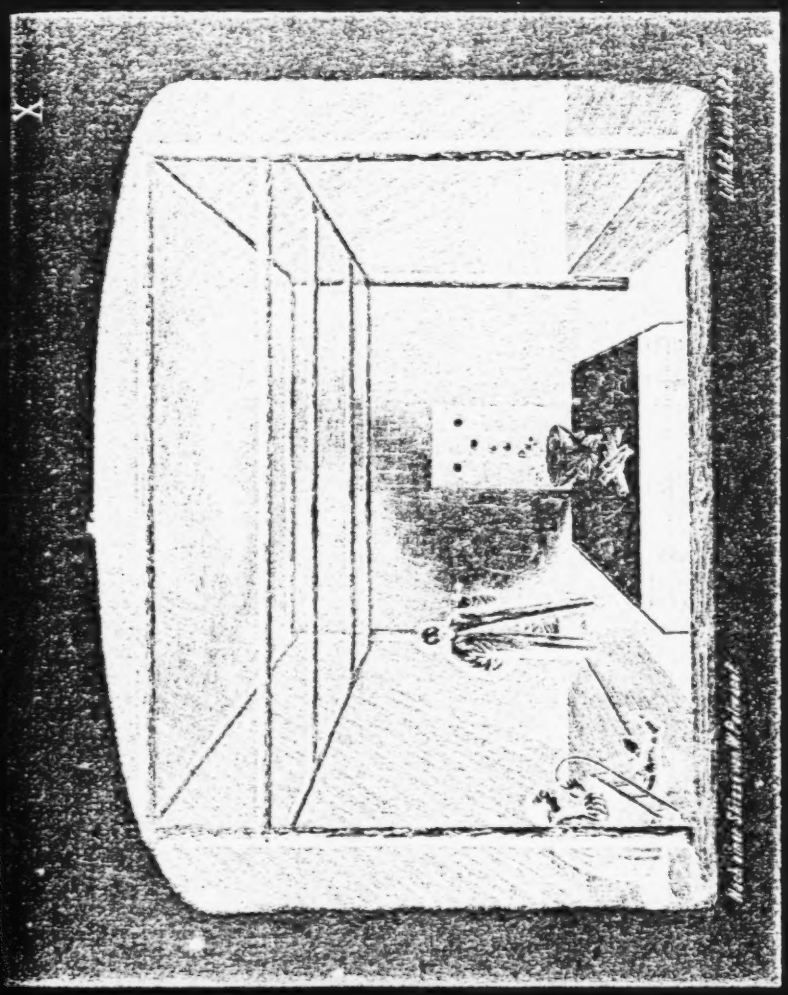

Inneres eines Gilyak winter yurt on Sakhalin.

85 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and lead her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier 56 people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, mossj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

91 As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the 92 husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live, and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are of the type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with its owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and some of them have the means to build another house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides 92 the central room used by all the members of the household, with 42 the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the winter house 35 built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

77 As little as such living together by all the members of the 71 household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi,

/636 cont./

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342 ● 35 291 516 231

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2 [P.096]

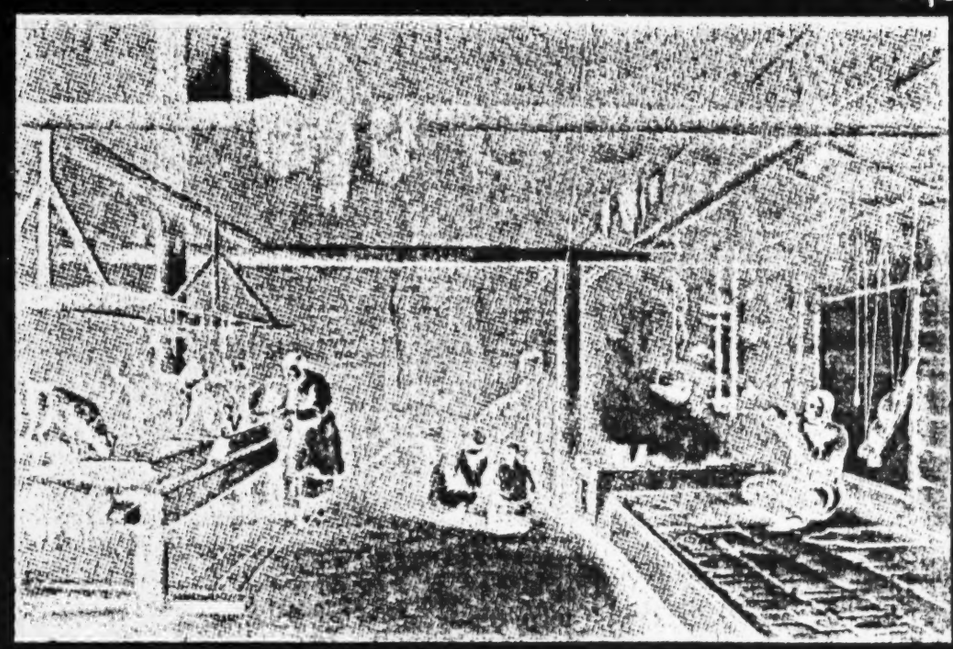

Interior of an old winter dwelling.

● 796 544 516 352 411 415 342 XLIX

2: Schrenck--1249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

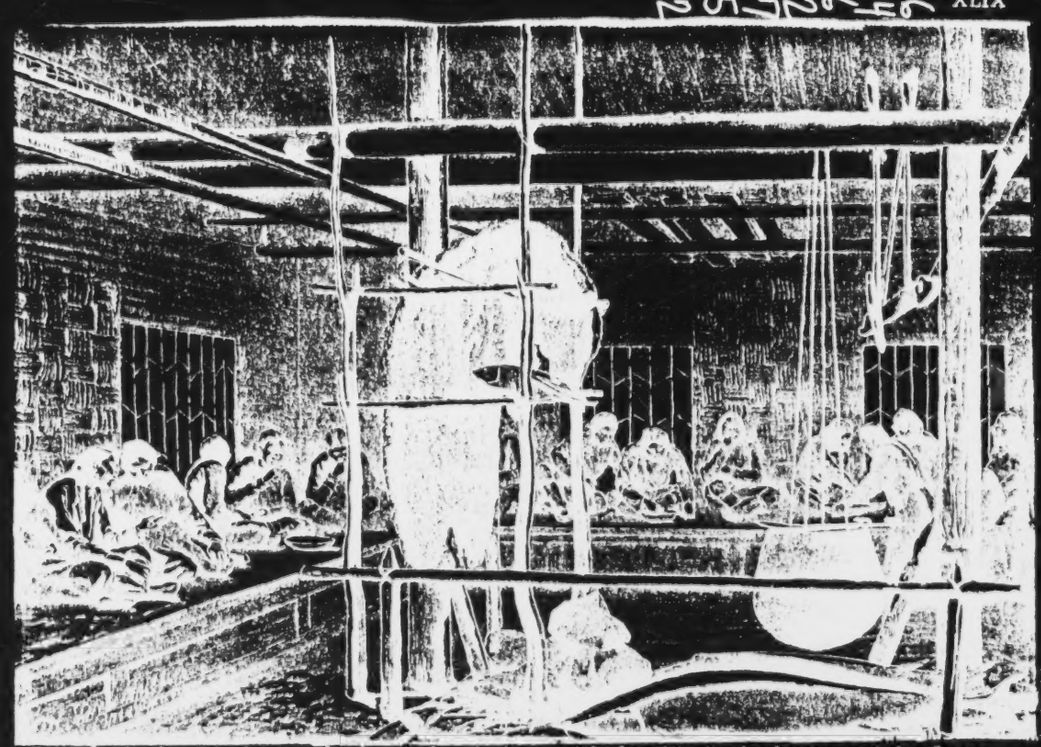

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1261 E-5 (1854-1856)

756 ← 778 782 → 778 415 ←

756 755 291 292 516 ● 352

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shan
burning incense by the shaman
before a sick wo

/324 cont./
origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
(77) handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is
shown on Plate XXX[a] in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time
there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat
sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end.
342 Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered
the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form
and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like
the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to
insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this
was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among
the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these
emergency tents in form, ground plan, and construction speaks
for their quite primitive character.
342 As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it never-
351 theless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions
52 are somewhat larger. The location of part of it in the ground, the
carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of
snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give
the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no lateral entry
into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed,
and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and venti-
352 lates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same
time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified
character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire
which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another,
all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably
leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adven-
(76) tures, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak
sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the
night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often partici-
342 pating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside
354 from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The
most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of
temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened,
a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and blows among the
floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway
& [See Category 116, P. 1010--Analyst]

342 /327 cont./ They are fed through square
354 openings (f) on their front side and on top have /328/ a round
(415) hole (g) for the large kettle, in which the fish broth for the dogs
and under certain circumstances even food for human beings are
342 prepared. Directly adjacent to the hearths are the sitting and
354 sleeping benches or plank beds (h, Gilyak: tikky) which bend in
very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet high
and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chief
characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of
wooden pipes (i) lined with clay, which come out from both
hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the
house diagonally across from the entrance. From here the single
pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as an outlet
for the smoke runs out of the house underground and opens not
far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (k,
Gilyak: kin) usually higher than the house. The benches are
342 covered with mats usually plaited by the Gilyak themselves out
354 of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered,
(286) and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mats in
places. In the center of the house, between the two posts sup-
342 porting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (q), about two
354 fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed and
(23) which I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Gilyak: kyll).
The top of it, which along its longitudinal edges usually projects
out in crudely carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continua-
tions, rests upon four posts (m) firmly rammed into the ground
and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, dur-
ing the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them.
Above the two ends of the dogs' table two cross-sticks hang down
from the central longitudinal beam of the house, and a long pole
can be stuck between them, to which the dogs are tied during
the feeding. Our Plate XII, which shows the feeding of the dogs,
to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of
the interior of a Gilyak winter-house; I must mention, however,
that the dogs' table on it is drawn a little too small and, on the
other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide.
Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and
the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate
& [See Category 116, P. 992 ~ Analyst]

/328 cont./
342 proportions in this respect and at the same time show other pre-
354 viously discussed details in the construction and interior arrange-
(23) ment of a Gilyak winter-house. In concluding this description I
(353) must mention that along the walls (n), immediately to the right
and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards
for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one
or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for
drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various
cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind
342 the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse
354 wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which
can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for
ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam dur-
ing the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke
when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost
always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of
(574) this smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse
(437) wall is very drafty, it is regarded as the worst place in the house
and usually faces the straw mats, whereas the bench along the
front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear
transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a
guest, a small rug acquired by trade from the Chinese is some-
times also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking
342 [illegible] As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is
(190) over their earth yurt, insofar as it is much more spacious, lighter,
354 and, in general, due to the place under the plank beds, also
warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature,
nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some
that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same
degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer
sufficient resistance to the heavy fronts and violent snowstorms.
There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered
snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even
stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly
to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the
earth yurts. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

/329 cont./
342 some time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The
(352) draft and cold along the floor are all the more noticeable here
since the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm.
(516) The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually
342 sit on the plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I be-
(78) came convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
138 these can become, when in January, 1856, I attended the bear
(114) festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numer-
ous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both
hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank
beds rose so much that some stearin candles on hand in my leather
suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heat-
able sleeping benches, incidentally also have the great disadvan-
tage that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of
vermin. Under them, in inaccessible, hidden spots, along the
pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their nests and
emerge at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had
gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see
them come out from their hiding places and go about their business
not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the in-
terior beams of the house; when I once, in order to escape other
vermin, had a hammock put up there, the Gilyak warned me that
the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would
fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection
is even more annoying: the warm benches are alive with fleas,
which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In
summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is
literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that
it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, on the
surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /330/ the
principal reason why the Gilyak leave their winter houses when
spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings
lies in this swarm of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well
as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

/351 cont./
030 winter houses from the Chinese. That it reached the Gilyak
342 from the south, along the Amur, is shown, as was mentioned
141 above, by the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese
(194) winter-yurts in their area, in particular by the fact that on
Sakhalin the latter are found only along the west coast of the
island facing the mouth of the Amur. Actually, this type of
construction of the winter house can be followed continuously
among all the peoples of the lower Amur region living up-
stream from Gilyak, as far as the Chinese along the Usuri
and Sungari. There it is prevalent everywhere among the
342 Manchu, Chinese and Daur (6). For example, the Chinese
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6. The latter will be dealt with separately below.

U-tschen, in the description of his birthplace, Ninguta, written by him in 1722, mentions that the houses there have three kang, i.e., sitting and sleeping benches or plank beds running along the walls and heated by pipes running under them (7).

7. According to U-tschen, the kang, about six feet wide and two fathoms, five to six feet long, were put along the north, west, and south walls of the houses; along the east wall, separated by a partition from the rest of the room, was the women's room, which had two kang, along the north and along the south wall. The kang are covered with reed or straw mats, over which a red felt carpet is frequently spread. Cf. U-tschen's writing in the translation by Klaproth: "Zapiski o Manchzhurii" (Zap. Rusk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. XII, 1857, p. 98).

/351 cont./
342 The French missionary Venault (8) and the Korean Kimal-
17 (8) 2
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8. "Excursion dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., Vol. XXX, 1852, Vol. II, p. 208).

Kim (9) likewise mention the kang in the houses of Ninguta,

9. "Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évêque de Belline, 1844" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., 1847, Vol. I, p. 71).

Girin, Sian-Sin, and other places which they touched on their travels through Manchuria, /352/ and later travelers, such as Williamson (1), Barabasch (2), and others found it in general

1. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 229.

2. "Sungariiskaia eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sbornik., Vol. XVII, 1874, No. 2, p. 332).

use along the Sungari, Nonni, Churcha or Mutuan-ho, etc. (3).

3. In the middle of the house, where among the Gilyak the dogs' table stands, there is an elevation made of clay or bricks with a cavity the size of an ordinary tub. Wood and charcoal are kept burning in it, so that it is always full of hot ashes; kettles with hot water stand there for replenishing the tea cups, brandy and beer are warmed there in tin containers, etc. Williamson, op. cit.

/352 cont./
342 Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of
354 pipes going out from the hearth, running under the sleeping
17 benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house,
354 is by no means of an indigenous Manchurian origin, but rather
of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from
the motherland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies.
For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in
North China (4) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, ar
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4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part older, in part more detailed discussions or descriptions of it: for example, in Du Halde (Descript. géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et litér. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 346), Davis (La Chine ou descript. géngr., des moeurs et des coutumes etc. de l'empire Chinois, transl. from Eng. by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 331), Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 380), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, pp. 192-194 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 24), and Girard (France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

/352 cont./

342 352 364 17 [113]

more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),

5. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733-1743, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. I, p. 448), Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Maimatschin opposite Kjachta. In the (Souv. d'un Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 13), there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, espe-

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6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of modifications and complications in the heating of the houses, just as in the rest of the construction; for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of rooms (7), the heating pipes

[113]

7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing hoei-tien." Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1843, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor and in the walls separating the rooms (8), etc.,

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8. Van Braam, op. cit. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte "Novara" um die Erde in den J. 1857-1859 unter den Befehlen des Kommod. B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair /Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the World under the Command of Commodore B. von Wüllerstorf-Urbair/, Anthropol. Part,

/352 cont./

342 352 364 17 [113]

8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are

352 364 517 17 [126] 513 [199]

used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassiljef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the

[123] 184 [197]

head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uftsch, uftsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is arouse warth because of the pipe

/353 cont./

G 352 364 517 513 516 17 [126] 184 [199]

running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than for the head. There is another justification for this custom in the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats, which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which always run along the walls, would be constantly running over the face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse to allow even a stranger to approach this position on their kang, if superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by

G 342 17

whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the

G [195]

earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K 342 197 195

permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krasheninnikof and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the

342 825

peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

K [113]

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

342 /354/ 352 364 354

This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts, in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (e), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.

[117] [353]

Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing.

In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply

342 354

of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mäo at the time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to

342 825

be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible

[251]

to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing

342

up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/479 cont./

23 [136]

The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters, consists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provided in particular by the same fish appearing on the coasts and in the rivers in shoals at certain seasons on which the existence of the Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of salmon, especially lyghi-tscho and tengi-tcho (Salmo lagocephalus and Salmo proteus), and in winter along the seacoast the kanji fish (Gadus wachnja), which, however, on account of its smallness, stands far behind the former. The part of these fish especially and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentioned (2),

2. See p. 646.

so-called chark in Gilyak, the pieces consisting of the head and backbone with a little flesh attached to it (3). Only if there is no

3. The Russians in the Amur region and throughout Siberia very aptly call it kosti, that is, bones, which in fact is all it is.

more of it available is the nikola intended for the people used as dog food. Next to this, seal and whitewhale meat, and along the seacoast not infrequently the meat and blubber of stranded whales, serves the same purpose. With the exception of the latter, which, as was mentioned above, may not be brought into the yurt, according to Gilyak superstition, /480/ food is never given to the dogs in the raw state, as the Russian do, but rather cooked to a soup. Also, the feeding does not take place outside, but always in

[462] 352

the yurt. Like all housework, it falls upon the women. In the tuchadrif, the table found in the center or in a corner (Gilyak

[512]

kylli) (1) is used by the women, in the toryf, the platform of the

1. See pp. 458, 462, 546 above.

[462] [512]

hearth. When the soup, made out of the above-mentioned materials in one of the large hearth-kettles, is ready, which is always one of the first of the daily chores of the women, a couple of

/642 cont./

553 852

Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any ceremony: the father simply names the name desired by him or the mother, or /643/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts are practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving.

[852] [656]

In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a special celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share with a few villagers and friends.

When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle

854 [192] [352]

(Gilyak tuchjakli). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists of a canoe-shaped or fluted, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its head, can be fitted into it comfortably. While its upper end, usually painted, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked buttock is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow, whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to the other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII /see p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by excrement that might seep through the basket, a longish board (Gilyak mu, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with raised rims and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can be put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal position as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of various small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle an

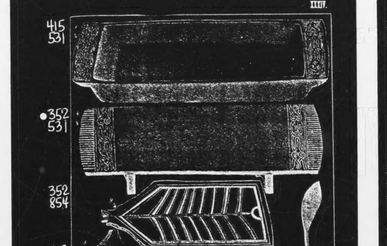

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop; 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

756 ←

778
782 →

778
415 ←

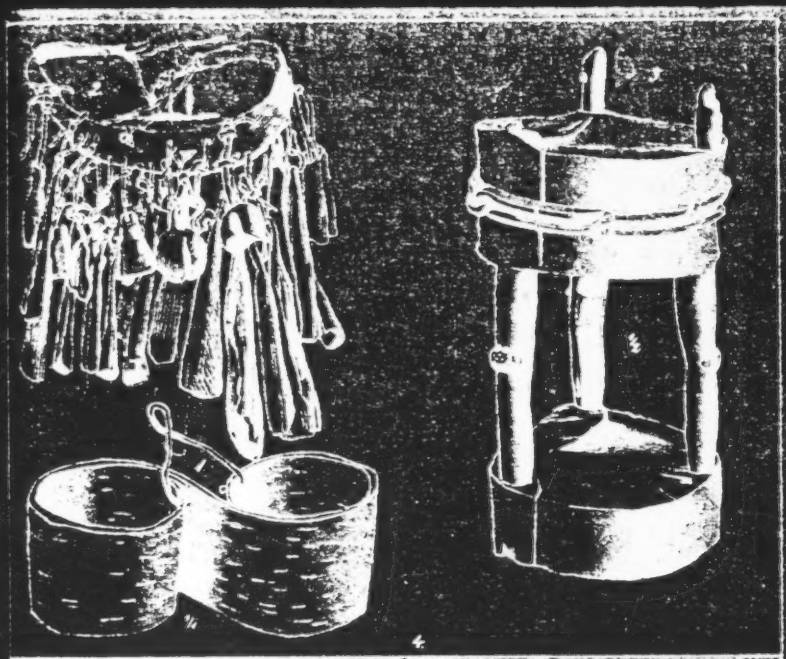

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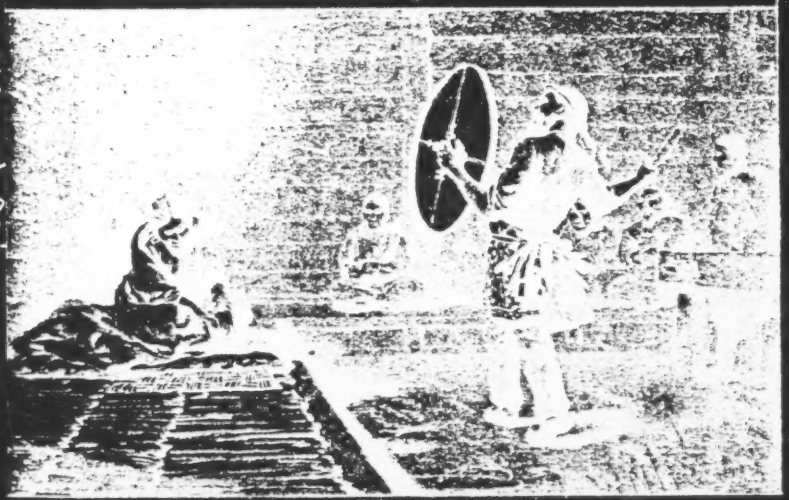

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

764
493
291
417
352

A Gilyak corpse in the yurt.

439 with the Chines
262 the Nivkhi bega
[263] The immen
231 Nivkhi was th
clothing and m
and played an
[556] of dogs in a h
[422] kept 30-40 dog
fish and seal-
were used mos
493 The old sl
[175] the middle of
it, resting his
this position o
492 and in front.
either side, ra
the dog pulled
492 Until quite
493 these, the Nivk
and the sled
[526] century were
[171] so-called Eas
equipped with
yokes, which t
177 The develo
492 its greater si
493 of goods. It w
valuable dog
directions to
brake pole.
tow strap.
492 The horse
177 recently.
In additio
281 skis—bare sk
were used for
hunting seaso
nailed over th
501 Travel al
[824] boats made
by hand acro
with oars o
[171] distance trav
Nanays and
[824] the bottom o
rowed with
left ones.
361 The Nivk
ing-rivers,
ings of kin
342 Sakhalin Niv
175 ging a pit s
built of thin
[354] served as

se. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, n to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
norial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the e dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur neat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number ousehold was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household s, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs st as draught animals.
ed of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in n skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on ther than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that with the neck.
recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in khi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th considerably different from the old type. They were of the stern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in he dogs pulled with the chest.
pment of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. ze and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg as usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer

as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively

n to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by is without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur- n. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips e fur.
ong the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed f poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried ss barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long- el, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which he was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the

hi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn- nd seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell- smen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the khi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig- ome 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

16, 342, 352

"The one [LSS: A Gilyak summer hut] which w
arge—about 16 feet long and 13 feet wide; the
eet 6 inches, and from these sprang the obliq
lips of bark for tiles. Stooping low, we advan
ssuming a half-erect position, and unsuccess
eads. Accustoming our eyes to the darkness,
vindow and chimney, we made out in the centr
nd 2½ feet broad, on the smouldering logs of
bove depended a cauldron. Around the two sid
ench or daïs (nakh), 15 inches from the groun
arrow gangway between it and the fire (tur).
mother with a baby, a girl smoking, and thr
rticles, from [193] a baby's cradle to a rude
vood, shaped like a scoop without the handle,
eal-hide. On the bench and hanging above wer
vater or seal-oil (p. 203), dried fish-skins, do
tomachs, etc."

e now entered, in Kamavo, was not
side timbers rose to a height of about 4
uely sloping roof of poles for rafters, and
ced to the 3 feet doorway, cautiously
fully attempting to avoid knocking our
for there was but a hole in the roof for
e a large earth and ash box, 4 feet long
which was a kettle, and from a rafter
les and further end of the hut ran a rude
d and about 4 feet in width, leaving a
On the nakh were seated several Gilyaks,
ee or four men. Above hung a mêlée of
axe for hewing out canoes. The cradle, of
was strung to a cross-pole by thongs of
e fishing-nets, birch-bark bowls for
og-skins, winter clothes, seal-oil in seal's

353

INTERIOR DECORATION AND ARRANGEMENT--painting, carving, and incising of walls and woodwork; screens and draperies; color schemes; furniture arrangement; use of pictures and prints; shrines and sacred objects; bric-a-brac and objets d'art, flower arrangement; specialization in interior decoration (e.g., interior decorators); storage of household items; etc.

See also:

Storage of food	331	Decorative art	831
Storage of clothing	296		

/326 cont./

342 1. This plate is to serve at the same time to illustrate the house decorations customary during the bear festival and some of the entertainment going on in front of it, which will be discussed later.

[335] The walls consist of thin, horizontal beams, which are not joined at their ends, but are pointed and fitted into the lateral grooves of a few thicker, upright beams. On the transverse walls, which rise higher, and especially in the middle of them, these vertical beams are of a considerable thickness. The gaps between the beams are plugged with moss and daubed with mud on the out-
342 side. The large, rather flat roof, which in winter has to carry
335 a considerable burden of snow, requires very complicated timber-work for its construction and support. /Illustration appears here./ It has a regular roof framework made up of longitudinal beams and crossbeams. The ridge is supported, in addition to the central, upright beams of the two transverse walls (see Pl. XI), also by two thick, towering posts in the interior of the house (a) on the accompanying plan). Sometimes, instead of one post, two standing not far apart rise in each place. Similar, but much smaller and thinner posts (b) sometimes rise up here and there at the sides and, together with the two nearest vertical beams of the transverse wall, serve as supports for the middle part of the roof, and in the lower part it is supported by the longitudinal walls of the yurt. Longitudinal beams and crossbeams in turn run here and there between the towering posts in the interior, and similarly to the upper edges of the longitudinal walls -- a framework
342 that /327/ serves to connect the walls to one another and thus to
[353] steady the walls and keep them upright. In addition, the lower part of it, up to a little above the height of a man, is used for the storage of various articles and for hanging up clothing, and so forth. On our Plate XI one sees the ends of the aforementioned longitudinal beams at the transverse wall, as well as at the ridge and the side edges of the roof, project out quite far, whereby the side beams of the latter intersect each other far out at the gable [See Category 116, p. 991 -- Analyst]

/328 cont./

342 proportions in this respect and at the same time show other pre-
352 viously discussed details in the construction and interior arrange-
[231] ment of a Gilyak winter-house. In concluding this description I
[353] must mention that along the walls (n), immediately to the right and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind
342 the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse
354 wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of
[504] this smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse
[439] wall is very drafty, it is regarded as the worst place in the house and usually lacks the straw mats, whereas the bench along the front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a guest, a small rug acquired by trade from the Chinese is sometimes also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking.

342 As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is
[197] over their earth yurt, insofar as it is much more spacious, lighter,
[354] and in general, due to the pipe lines under the plank beds, also warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature, nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer sufficient resistance to the heavy frosts and violent snowstorms. There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the earth yurts. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

/356 cont./

342 one might call a narrow balcony (1). On the accompanying plan

1. Krusenstern (op. cit.) calls it a gallery.

of a Gilyak summer-house it is the space a bounded with a dotted line toward the front. The entrance to it (b) is precisely in the middle of the front side of the house, or, as in the illustration on
[353] Plate XIII, somewhat to the side. Through this, however, one

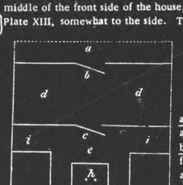

a -- Sill or narrow balcony along the front side of the yurt. b, c -- Doors. d -- Anteroom for the storage of implements and supplies. e -- Actual living room. f -- Sleeping benches. g -- Hearth. h -- Stone triangle for the big kettle. i -- Corners for odds and ends.

Plan of a Gilyak Summer-Yurt (käryf).

first enters a good-sized front space (d), which is used for the storage of various implements, as well as for storing supplies of fish and the like, and only behind it is the living room proper (e) found (2). This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,

[114] 2. Krusenstern found this room locked and though that it was the room for the women, which fitted in with his general conception of a northern Sakhalin population consisting of "Tatars," which, however, does not at all correspond with reality.

342 /357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,
[357] in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along
[354] three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (c), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.

[417] Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle
[353] over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply
342 of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a
354 whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mäo at the
342 time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to
825 be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction
[251] of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing
342 up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/733 cont./

*796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

*796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

*796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

[192] 1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and a at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

*796 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of
178 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
*353 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
184 from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conic roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yu In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of
[171] them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supportin posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau

/743 cont./

778 down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in
532 back and seem to represent hair. Below the face the hair is fas-
tened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate
LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols
stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with loose
grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols
were named for me by the Allof Gilyak as tubyn. The Gilyak
Surgin, however, did not know this name and used the expression
tyf-ÿžigy, i.e., house god. This was the first time that I heard
the word ÿžigy used in connection with the idols of the Gilyak, and
I believe that this was done only in order to make me understand.
I was likewise unable to find out whether by tyf, that is, house,
the yurt of the Gilyak or the little idol-house was meant. Since
the latter bears the name kánigs. I must relate it to the yurt of the
Gilyak, and it therefore seems that these idols mainly play the part
of lares or guardians of the house. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

778 5. Gilyak. In the Gilyak village of Patt (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) I saw three idols standing outside a storage chamber,
532 human figures hewn out of blocks of wood, very similar to those
171 of the Olcha, though not with the particular expression which
seems to be characteristic of all the idols of the latter. When I
inquired, the Gilyak informed me that they revere these kägn
like gods. In Patt, they said, they are also kept in the yurts, but
not among other Gilyak. I then had the idols in the yurt showed to
me: three large, wooden human-figures with old, smoky zach
around their necks, as is also the custom among the Olcha, stood
there on the beams of the yurt above the rear sleeping-bench. --
778 In the village of Kuik, too, I saw idols in the yurts, standing in the
532 same place as in Patt. This is a very dark spot in the yurt, con-
184 cealed from sight, and anyone who does not know that the Gilyak
(353) keep their idols there will not easily find them. Many a yurt may
therefore have contained idols, while seeming to me not to have
any. But many a one actually does not have any, as I discovered
in Wait. -- It seems to me that /744/ the farther downstream one
goes on the Amur the less esteemed or at least less obviously
revered the idols are. (I W. R. II, pp. 119, 137, note 5.)

(241) **In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of**
(243) **potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949**
(251) **to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.**

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

177 **An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly**
448 **scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often**
477 **consisted of no more than 3-5 households, But even in the larger villages,**
361 **the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.**

177 The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log
64 house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds,
474 etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a
school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings
36 devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable
storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a
(342) bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

177 The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are
64 today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages
64 have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the conti-
471 nent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered
with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and
34 flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the
(353) walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

177 Today, the Nivkhi wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They
also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the
29 continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and
fur caps (edges of silver seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made
of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok
collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the
(234) traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing
of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages.
Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays,
(242) the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented.
Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued,
as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater
26 use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products.
The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been
759 widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions.
(243) Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical
and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational
work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical
aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

354

154 HEATING AND LIGHTING EQUIPMENT--systems for the lighting, heating, insulation, ventilating and air-conditioning of buildings; hearths and fireplaces, special lighting equipment (e.g., candles, oil lamps, gas lights, electric lights), special heating appliances (e.g., wood, coal, oil, gas, and electric stoves and furnaces); air-conditioning installations; insulating materials, etc. See also

Heat, light, and power	27
Cooking	325
Electrical installations	337
Manufacture of fuel oil and illuminating oils	395
Manufacture of candles	398
Manufacture of heating and lighting appliances	394
Refrigerators, incubators, and portable lights	416

/27 cont./

In
22 spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses up-
stream to spawn, the koryushka, herring. the Gilyak is again re-
vived. and in the course of the summer months in the expectation
of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far
niente.

In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar
574 festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are
252 treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth
of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition
of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled.
Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is
added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish
skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak
women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first
ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple.
342 Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted
(354) the Manchu type of winter dwellings. which, by the way, are also
352 very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles
(197) and spars. in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared
with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid
on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank
beds. which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The
smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a
high vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the
ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factor-
ies, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high
rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when
they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is
half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with
clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is
through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the
middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank
(192) beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the
yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in
the thermometer freezes. and with the least wind the yurt becomes
352 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward
516 the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/313 cont./

796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly
787 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh
descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature
of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a
"risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught some-
thing while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing.
What is the reason for this?"

731 During a tahh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the
787 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,
165 and berries. First the 120-year-old man Żyvavun from the vil-
lage of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chêdzigr.
This old man remembers four big takh.

796 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn
787 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made
to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they are
not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently
seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a con-
versation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal --
mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a
white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur.
(372) If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil
(354) bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two
stoves.

Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtäs',
787 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are
787 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here
225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie,
except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to kikhork
n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz:
only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi
(kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence
of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the
Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will
occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, agia (akhydz') --
a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should come
out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling
(287) flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this
is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then
they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this
is also good.

342 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy -
354 door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the
"master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left
of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-
bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of
the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'kas' n'ekh fakh) -- windo
alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' kas' akhr fakh -- window
near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side
342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly
kas' -- large post. 11. Kil-erkh mat' kas' -- small post. 12. T
erkh mat' kas' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat kas' -
small post. 14. Hytyfi mat kas' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la
digr-irku kas' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal
erkh' mat kas' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17.
Kylynä mat' kas' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos
n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la kas' nir
fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor.
20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of
(354) the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the
(355) master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house
24. Kylzhutä -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a pe
son who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- taboo
(178) corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper
corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk
dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things.
29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b)
(176) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do wi
the appropriate spirit, with tol or pal'.

Plan of the Ho

/Three letters in the terms above have been chang
letters are from the Latin alphabet; see the table

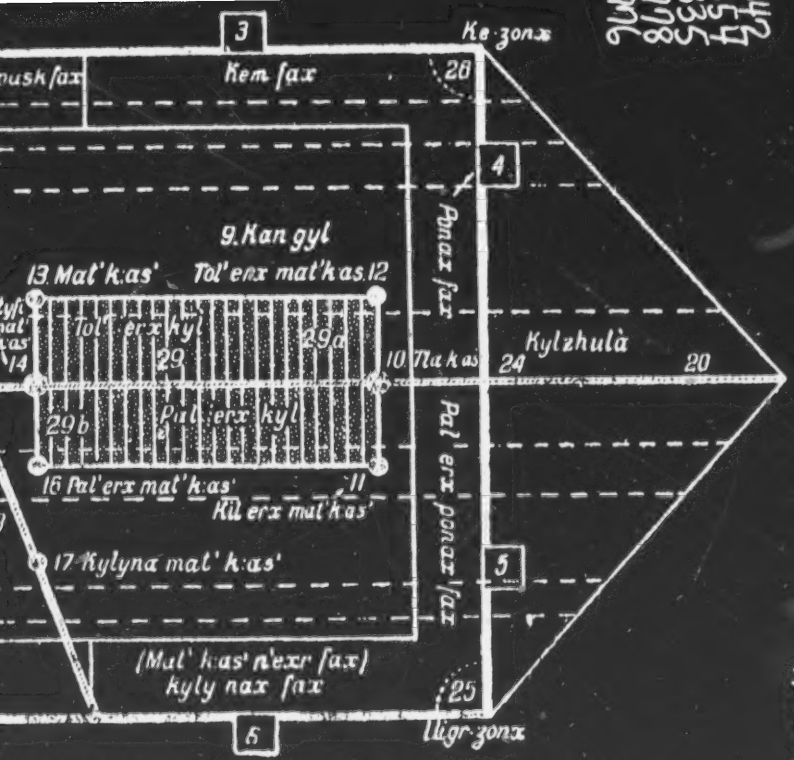

ouse of the Amur Gilyak

ed in the translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other
on p. 36 (foreign text p. xxxix). /

1: Shternberg--456 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

windows have fish skin stretched over them instead of glass panes. The simple, low door has leather straps instead of hinges. There is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross bars on which lie or from which hang various implements, among other things a kettle which reaches to the front opening of the hearth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, consists of pressed clay; the larger houses have two of them. The smoke passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping boards, leads out through the side wall and ends in a high wooden chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and Manchurians have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom cleaned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the benches from below is a very practical arrangement. Even so, it is often very cold in the houses, especially when it is below freezing and there is a wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper opening of the stove and besides that, as we have said, a smaller kettle or cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests just in front of the front opening of the stove, right next to the floor. The logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit properly and burn outside the opening of the stove, which frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.

The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish, cloths, etc.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows, and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primitive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp, or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.

In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the other hand, there were far fewer villages.

139 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
133 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their primary occupations they spend their summers on the river banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
71 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be situated right by the river. One might conclude from this, perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the river in summer because of the partically marshy and therefore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller, for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close contact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that, in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
36 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

"Having turned our horses over to the s
straw-thatched shelter close by, followed b
our [78] way into a smoke-blackened apartm
small aperture in the log-walls. A large b
dirt floor of the room, upon the top of whic
fish and wood drying for fuel. In two of the
rags, very repulsive in appearance, and i
and a couple of stools."

oldiers, who fastened them beneath a small
y the Gilaks and several chickens, we found
nent, lighted by a piece of fish-skin set in a
rick 'peachka' covered three fourths of the
h was stored away a good supply of dried
corners were narrow bunks covered with
n another corner was a small rude table

/350 cont./

125 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. T
169 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from t
648 Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects whi
could not produce themselves.

174 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that
they first appeared there they must have been in possession
entire economic inventory which they possess at the present
(with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to sa
the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds
and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools
His first cultural products must have been made in areas whi
were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing.
be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

177 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the contin
41 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fello
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes mad
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron an
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. Th
291 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremen
292 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they p
262 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear ro
244 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink
and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They h
finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may
haps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighb
On what did they stop in their own independent cultural deve
ment?

177 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of i
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remo
from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to th
in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know
to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Lat
ently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their bo
and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilya

/365 (cont.)

This it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his classmen, the tombs of his clan. In matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he first returns to his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find in absolutely nothing to constitute a yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to three square arshun on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a bed and a lamp; he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The invaluable utilization of every thing in the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, on his intellectual development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, the settlement of disputes and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity of constantly living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed a social, communal, hospitable, serious character, sensitive in matters of honor.

Most one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent in the north, enter one of these anthills on a winter's evening, and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stove, which has formed in it a completely dark, but you will hear the notable conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged men, the laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place.

/323 (cont.)

2. (cont.).

Finnish Language(, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 160). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the dwellings of some, of whatever kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Russ. izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts relating to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russians in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the translation of this work.

house or Chinese winter yurt. The earth yurt, tavif of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is nothing more than a more or less spacious, immovable tent built into the ground. Instead of a tent cloth, a roof of bark is used. It is be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug, and the walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with tin beams. Around it is erected a pentahedral /292/ roof starting upwards on all sides. Instead of a tent, it would seem better to use a horizontal roses plus which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank bed were easily to hold house latter, the smoke gas through a subterranean passage and a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly rocky tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the forests, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pronsk the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Mus'vo, it strikingly

/324 (cont.)

coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village of Tyk, who were returning along the same route, camped near us. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and its walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, then, using sticks and cords, they tied together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top was left for the smoke to escape. The edge of the cover should be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the conical tent were covered with fish skins, and there it is so much a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug, and the walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with tin beams. Around it is erected a pentahedral /292/ roof starting upwards on all sides. Instead of a tent, it would seem better to use a horizontal roses plus which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank bed were easily to hold house latter, the smoke gas through a subterranean passage and a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

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/304 (cont.)

origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as in the Tymy Gilyak, who were trading along the same route, camped near us. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and its walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, then, using sticks and cords, they tied together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top was left for the smoke to escape. The edge of the cover should be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the conical tent, which, as it were, carried out the pit, were covered with fish skins, and there it is so much a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug, and the walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with tin beams. Around it is erected a pentahedral /292/ roof starting upwards on all sides. Instead of a tent, it would seem better to use a horizontal roses plus which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank bed were easily to hold house latter, the smoke gas through a subterranean passage and a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from whom it may have been borrowed.

/327 (cont.)

/292/ roof such as possible. The house is provided with windows (3) on all four or at least three sides, and, to be sure, the two longitudinal walls and the one transverse wall have each four, the front transverse wall one. Even in the most spacious Gilyak houses I never saw more than these seven windows (1). very often,

(1) I did encounter this among other Amur peoples, but I shall speak about that later.

however, the window in the Tebach house standing in the foreground on Plate XI, and not employed in the other transverse wall and the longitudinal wall but only on one side, is unique. Usually it is then always placed unsymmetrically closer to one or the other corner of the yurt, and, in the latter case, the remaining wall is covered with a more or less thick layer of soot near the top. The change of temperature in the earth yurt is even more perceptible in the Amur Gilyak, for the latter, besides which one has fallen asleep, goes out, the yurt is soon filled with cold air coming down from the smoke vent, and, if there is no one in the house, the smoke vent is closed, but I have never seen it done, though I spent many a night among the Gilyak. And to be sure this should be done, for the smoke vent is very large, and the lower the smoke vent is over the hearth and the sleeping benches. At night in the usual fire place and in the hearth, the smoke reaches the smoke vent with the heat and where no big and lasting fire was therefore possible, /292/ we soon had the temperature of the outside air, which, in Sakhalin, in December, is not a noticeable draft. Under these circumstances how greatly to be pitied are the natives, who, in the open air with a notably burning fire, even if it should be very cold, as long as there is no snow-storm!

The winter yurt built after the Chinese pattern tchadyr of the Gilyak, is completely different in character. It always has the appearance of a house rather than a yurt, since it is built on an approximately square structure, though, as a rule, somewhat longer than it is wide, about 6-7 fathoms long and about 5-6 fathoms wide, with the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/327 (cont.)

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/328 (cont.)

proportion in this respect and at the large time they offer precisely detailed details in the construction and interior arrangement of the Gilyak dwelling. In concluding this description I must mention that along the walls (3), immediately to the right of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or supports for storing household utensils, and here, too, in the place for one or more large receptacles which serve for storing the food. An open cabinet with various cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind the stove, and, finally, it should be mentioned that in the interior of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which serves as a chimney for the smoke, and, in the place for the stove, a hole for letting the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke and steam in the winter, when the door, which generally (2) always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of the smoke, the /292/ roof of the yurt, which, as a rule, consists of a kind of roof, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered, stood out infrequently the walls of the house, which are covered with bark or the /292/ roof, the place of the house, between the two pair supporting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (3), about two fathoms long and about one fathom in the form of a bench, temporarily placed in the middle of the house, and, finally, there is also a large table (4) for the dogs, which, in contrast to the other dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, later by tinge and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /292/ has been preserved only among the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of this view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction and arrangement, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

/328 (cont.)

there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays of Tugur and Ulbi, which, according to information given me by the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his hand-written notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

(1) In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, St. Petersb., 1857, Bd. XXIX, p. 58) he mentions the "fractional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak

Limas and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kuli and Ulbas Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitness accounts. The Gilyak, too, have adopted the Chinese tchadyr. They, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to the other than the above-mentioned Russian peasants.

In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as far as their distribution extends, the earth yurt is the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, and, finally, on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, being that there it is found in the form of a bench, temporarily, and, finally, also in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only the latter, however, in a modified form. In contrast to the other Gilyak dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, later by tinge and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /292/ has been preserved only among the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of this view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction and arrangement, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

/351 cont./
in more ancient times (1).

1. Wenkämindof, op. cit., p. 201.

After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth yurt, the kapi, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tukahrf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have therefore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.),

Schmidt (3), Mitul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

3. "Tiutsr. Ber.," etc. -- Beiz. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ochota -- Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (3), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

/351 cont./
winter houses from the Chinese. That it reached the Gilyak from the south, down the Amur, is shown, in the manner mentioned above, by the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts in their areas, in particular by the fact that on Sakhalin the latter are found only along the west coast of the island facing the mouth of the Amur. Actually, this type of construction of the winter house can be followed continuously among all the peoples of the lower Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, up to the Chinese along the Usuri and Sungari. There it is prevalent everywhere among the Manchu, Chinese and Dsai (6). For example, the Chinese

6. The latter will be dealt with separately below.

U-tschen, in the description of his birthplace, Ninguta, written by him in 1722, mentions that the houses there have three kang, i.e., sitting and sleeping benches or plank beds running along the walls and heated by pipes running under them (7).

7. According to U-tschen, the kang, about six feet wide and two fathoms, five to six feet long, were put along the north, west, and south walls of the houses, along the east wall, separated by a partition from the rest of the room, was the women's room, which had two kang, along the north and along the south wall. The kang are covered with reed or straw mats, over which a red felt carpet is frequently spread. U-tschen's writing in the translation by Wassiljef; "Zapiski o Ningutse" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obsch., Bk. XII, 1857, p. 98).

/352 cont./
Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of pipes going out from the hearth, running under the sleeping benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house, is by no means of an indigenous Manchurian origin, but rather of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from the mainland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies. For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in North China (4) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, are

4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the kang as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part older, in part more detailed discussions or descriptions of it; for example, de Du Halde (Description géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et ligue. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VIII, 1798), Vol. I, p. 346), Davis (La Chine ou descript. géogr. des mœurs et des coutumes etc., de l'empire Chinois, transl. from Eng. by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 301), Hue (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 300), Fleming (Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1865, pp. 192-194 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 54), and Girard (France et Chine, sur poih. et priste des Chinois, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

/352 cont./
more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),

5. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733-1743, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. I, p. 449), Pallas (Reise durch verschi. Provinzen des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Maimatschin opposite Kiachta. In the latter, Van Braam, Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 19, there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, sign-

6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Pashuski, Poesch, "Deutsch-Korea", St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of modifications and complications in the heating of the house, just as in the rest of the construction, for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of rooms (7), the heating pipes

7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Ting hoei-tien." Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1843, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor and in the walls separating the rooms (8), etc.,

8. Van Braam, op. cit. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte "Novara" um die Erde in den J. 1857-1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair /Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the world under the Command of Commodore B. von Wüllerstorf-Urbair/, Anthropol. Part.

/352 cont./
8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materialien bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1858, p. 138. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur people.

Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassiljef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98:

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleep in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uhsch, uhsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

/353 cont./
running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than for the head. There is another justification for this custom in the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rays, which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which always run along the walls, would be constantly running over the face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse his allow even a stranger to assume their position on their kang. If superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

Now, as the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-liman, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of Poyarkof and Nagibin, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-45 and 1646 (2), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

2. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadals, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before a imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krashenninikof and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadali still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's third voyage, visited Kamtschatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Petar-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolschereck (4),

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

/357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts, in that low and wide plank-bed or sleeping benches (1) run along the walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (2), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole. Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden block is hung on them to hold the kettle over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the contact between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (g) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for in walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as has been done in the case of the yurt at hand at the time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies associated, the hunting dogs are put over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/352 cont./
Thus the procession sways along, sometimes forward, sometimes backward, but always closer and closer to the house, right around the local oaken of cage of the bear being tugged back and forth in which the other two animals jump, and around the wild, intermittent shouts of jubilation of the bear leaders as well as the bystanders. The few oil-lamps do not sufficiently illuminate the large space of the yurt with its dark sooty beams so that all those who are busy with the bear can clearly see its movements, and yet this is absolutely essential for the prompt intervention of one or the other man in them. Hence a number of boys leap onto the sleeping benches and there illuminate the turbulent proceedings, following the procession back and forth with improvised torches, which consist of strips of birch-bark and sometimes flare up brightly and then again spread only dark smoke. Truly a strange picture (see Plate XLVII /p.1247/).

The bear's feet were then /357/ led out of the house in the same manner as the small bear. The first one was decidedly the good-natured and attractable of all, which the Gilyak ascribed to the fact that it had broken a leg while being caught and consequently was still limping. It was remarkable how differently the three bears expressed their rage and defended themselves: whereas the small bear and the large one straightened themselves up and tried to claw the man goading them, the third bear behaved quite differently: it did not try to get up at all, but attempted to ward off the thrusts of the stick by holding its paw in front of its face and reaching out for the legs of the one goading it, as it would lie down on its back and defend itself with its paws. It was also the only one of the three which in its fury, tried to scratch up the stamped-earth floor of the yurt, which, however, the Gilyak stopped it from doing each time.

The purpose of the procession with the bears was to lead them through all the houses in the village, of which there were seven in Tebarki; the procession with the three bears turned into each of them, and everywhere they were arranged in the same order, the large bear in the middle, the two others at the sides, and treated with many foot-stamps as a sign that they are held in esteem and are welcome guests in each house.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/708 cont./

*796 house alone. Hence it is quite understandable that during the
292 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the
principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the
preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been mentioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-
[354]

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall
of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the center area
*796 and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore
[824] call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, quite large quan-
tities of fresh fir branches (from the Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisky)
are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this
last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festi-
val, which may be one of the arrangements of homage which are given
to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them.
Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of
burned pine-needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.
*796 On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the
23 leading of the bears finally ceased. After they had made their
last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place
of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak,
and arranged carefully bound there between the stakes standing in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again
the same so that the small bear was closest to the building, in the
back of the kadhra, the lässgn, the large one in the middle, and
*796 the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody
went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had
set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden troughs, round
wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the
central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood
The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench
[804] along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such
an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule,
it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

ON TINUING
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

/733 cont./

*796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here, the road carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is
lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of
the hearth.

*796 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the rack
184 for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has
been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or bench
of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one
occupied in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.
*796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious,
184 two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the
yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or
[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir
[192] are burned.

1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern
Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also
at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular
fragrance.

The wooden curls (zacht), being regarded as a symbol of
*796 holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in the
708 interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle
353 from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical
184 roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased
by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt.
[177] In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two of
them, and not always even these, suspended from the two supporting
posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name inau.

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
*796 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[823] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur
clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange
[55] and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[420] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
kept six to eight dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly
fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs
were used most in drought animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
the middle of the last century, was so narrow that it could be carried outside
[177] by a single person. Resting his feet on small skis, sometimes he raised himself and ran in
this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the runners by fixed loops
492 either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that
the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
*796 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
184 and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi at the beginning of the 20th
354 century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
[824] so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[192] equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness; not in collars but in
yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
179 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
182 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most
183 valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his
directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and
brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer
tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
184 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skin-share skis without fur lining, or by bulls lined with seal fur. The former
were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-
hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips
nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
50 boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[824] by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled
with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide outer boards, of which
[824] the bottom was a bent board in front, projecting like a spade. It was
rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the
left oars.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
342 ings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
175 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[824] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[192] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
354 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and
put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries,
cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then
cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of
wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They
eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry
food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat
together; they sit crossleged on benches on which also the
bowls and little trays stand.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
366 which, however, are always free from floods by flood water.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom
12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less
hidden by the high scaffolding, on which the fish are dried.
The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither
stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen
gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a
village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the
dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have
separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where
a bear is kept and fattened!
333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
342
354

2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has
no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It
consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir
beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over
with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of
birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurea)
on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes
weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.
439 I like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
431 only now and then they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I saw them in the winter with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that [164] they do not fit
in groups of people. The Gilyak in the last few years
frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.
231 The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the
352 hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the
entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one
511 continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie
515 diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of
arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog
table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on
the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out
again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively
decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few
stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the
cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish,
clothing, etc., above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows,
and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually
kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special
354 occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primi-
373 tive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp,
or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.
513 In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear
skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical
cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

20: Bush--103 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 251, 354

"Many of their houses are heated by a fire in the centre of the room, the bunks for sleeping ranged around the sides, and a square hole in the roof for the smoke to escape through, while others have the fire in a kind of oven in one corner, the smoke and heat being conducted entirely around the room, under the bunks, before escaping from the chimney. This is in order to heat their beds during the winter. Suspended to the rafters overhead they frequently have hundreds of salmon curing in the dense smoke. This is called 'ukale' by the Russians, and, when carefully prepared--'and you know the woman as made 'em,' as Sam Weller said of veal pies--are quite palatable."

356

356 HOUSEKEEPING--upkeep of dwelling and outbuildings (e.g., painting, repairs); routine indoor chores (e.g., housecleaning, bed-making); use and care of household implements and appliances; etc. See also:

Household tools and appliances	41	Furniture and paraphernalia	338
Food preparation	351	Household machines	444
Cleaning of cooking and eating utensils	354	Daily routine	615
Laundering	356		

1: Shternberg--455 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/315 cont./

342 782 Sacrifices (sacrificed dishes -- chmfun) are placed on the appropriate half; if there is not enough space, then on the appropriate nau (tol or par). /316/ Sketch of the house-plan appears here./

342 [700] /317/ Tyvyz -- "master" of the house; he lives either under the post (10) or under a stone (19). Sometimes he is an old man, sometimes an old woman or a young woman.

The master of the house and his family occupy the tol' erkh nuik; if the family is large then also the kemfaih (9) and ponakhfaih (4). The bear's head is placed in the middle (23).

• [356] 782 In autumn, during cleaning, everything is abundantly fed: the walls, the floor, the supports under the plank beds, the edges of the plank beds, and so forth.

Rites upon the completion of a house. When a new house is completed, they place two sticks, one in the front and the other in the back (of the house), and on a thread stretched between them are hung images of the sun (keng) and the moon (long chakh). They are not renewed later.

342 782 When the house is completed, sacrifices are made: They prepare mos' 1) alya -- berries, 2) rak; -- a porridge of rice or wheat, and feed the four corners (chonkh), four posts (mon'-nakh), and the two posts in the middle -- the front one, amkhas', and the rear one, kemkhas', in which the master lives; they also feed the crossbeam -- tyif (edzz). Here the old man says: "Uria dyf' muiz' nolagu kynynguch: humguja', ta sikhydz khoiaf ta fum guiz'" -- be a good house (sit firmly). Make it felicitous for my children, and so that there be no kind of sickness." In autumn the 356 house is cleaned, plastered with clay, and they sacrifice -- tyv arnydzz.

342 778 776 Tyv yz' bakh -- a stone before the threshold or beyond the threshold, or a piece of pig iron; under it sits the "master," who guards against the entry of the milk'.

Lym yz' -- threshold. Beyond the threshold, under the 342 782 776 ground, they place different foods (chyudzz) -- for the earth -- the master and the tol (vyydzz.

357

2: Schrenck--1051 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/646 cont./

595 presence of several women around one man in the same room and in a common household if, in the long run, scarcely con-
595 ceivable. Therefore very rich Gilyak who are impelled by
567 vanity to display their wealth and indulge in the luxury of
[556] polygamy, frequently seize upon another means to lighten the work for their wives and, without disturbing the peace, to be able to favor one or another of them. This means is to keep slaves, usually of the female, but sometimes of the male sex, for the purpose of performing the heaviest work in the house.

595 These, however, are by no means to be thought of as lone Gilyak
567 men or women who attach themselves to a family and, in ex-
357 change for free food and lodging, assume the obligation to per-
• form the heavy work in the house, such as fetching water, felling and splitting firewood, etc. There are such domestic persons, who are hired, so to speak, among the Gilyak, but the situation that they are in is entered into by them voluntarily, it can be dissolved at will, and it in no way deprives them of the esteem of their countrymen, nor does it injure their social position with equal rights among them.

567 The situation is entirely different, however, with regard to the slaves. The Gilyak have a special term for them: kryghryu, or, with a statement of the sex, kryghryu-umgu -- female slave, and kr.-uzgu -- slave of the male sex. It is to be stressed, first of all, that they are never and under no circumstances Gilyak, but are always individuals bought from the neighboring tribes, Ainu or Goldi. The Ainu (Kughi) supply the most slaves, and especially female slaves, to the Gilyak, the Goldi supply them in smaller numbers, and, to be sure, the "Jant" as well as the "Tycholdok," that is, the lower as well as the upper Goldi. The Gilyak were unable to name for me any other tribes furnishing them with slaves. Thus, significantly enough, the shameful sale of girls and boys of their own tribe into slavery is practiced only by the two peoples of the Amur region who are the immediate neighbors of the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Japanese and Chinese, and who are the most dominated and oppressed by them. It is certainly no mere accident that the

2: Schrenck--1057 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/649 cont./

114 176 595 case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the

114 176 592 595 Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Cape Noteito for an opportune moment to carry out his planned trip to Tōtats (on the opposite mainland), which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and without any provision, Mamia Rinso found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a time,

• [359] then, he entered the ranks of person obligated to perform do-
[560] mestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyandry nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the undignified and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged

[515] custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the "Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dark, and sooty earth huts.

114 176 595 567 435 Even though Mamia Rinsō avoids speaking of slaves in referring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he is well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trade with the Santaner, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

361

361 SETTLEMENT PATTERNS--location and distribution of settlements; types and descriptions of settlements and the incidence of each (e.g., rary camp, set'led hamlet or village, town, city, urban metropolis); permanence or impermanence; settlement plan; urban ecology (e.g., dential, business, and industrial areas); satellite areas (e.g., suburb terns of urban growth; zoning; city planning; etc. See also:

Demography 16
Place names 103
Social planning 185
Land use . . . . . .
Community organization . . . . . .

/109 cont./

And this is just what is striking in the Gilyak system of life. Despite all the complexity of the social fabric, embracing all aspects of life, all those external-formal signs of organization which the European involuntarily seeks everywhere are either completely absent or assume forms which are too fluctuating.

/110/ Let us begin with territory. It is completely natural that the members of one clan should prefer to live together in immediate unity and community with each other. There are actually some settlements, such as Tangi, Nyanivo, Viskivo, and others, where the whole population belongs to one clan. In the large winter yurts of such settlements one can sometimes count 20 or 30 clansmen and not a single alien. Even where several clans live in one settlement, as in Kol', the yurts of each clan are arranged in a row, as if in accord with a strictly observed tradition. Each clan has its own clan streams for hunting, divided among the different families, among whom they pass by inheritance from father to son, although the right to property is limited by actual use, upon the suspension of which the stream becomes res nullius and can be utilized by anyone, even an alien.

Nevertheless, despite the natural tendency of clansmen to remain near each other, the principle of territoriality does not in fact exist. In the great majority of Gilyak villages the composition of the population is mixed. In the above-mentioned settlement of Kol' I counted representatives of eight clans, in smaller villages, from two to three clans, and but very few villages in which there were absolutely no members of other clans. There are clans whose branches are to be met in the most different and remote points of Gilyak territory. This dispersion, of course, is a fact that seems to be at variance with the principles of clan, but it is inevitable under the given economic and social conditions. A settlement located in a particularly favorable place from the fisherman's point of view will naturally attract newcomers from other clans, and, conversely, if the clan has grown so large

/110 cont./

in its original site that the indigenous village can no longer feed everybody, emigrants by degrees depart from it to other places, selecting the nearest possible sites in order that the ties between the clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to very distant points involves an actual division of the "fire" and branching out of the clan. A no less important cause of the mixture of population is the custom, in some instances, of sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ moving to the clans of their fathers-in-law, about which we shall speak in detail in its place. Territory is in any case an indefinite sign of the clan.

The Gilyak do not even possess a consciousness of the right to property, not only with respect to themselves, but also with respect to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus appeared on Sakhalin 50 years ago and began to hunt in the primordial territories of the Gilyak, it did not occur to anyone to protest against this, although the Tungus came in small groups and could hardly have withstood the numerous aborigines with force.

Clan names are just as indefinite a sign. In the mass of primitive, so-called "totemistic" tribes, the clan name is one of the very sharpest external signs of the unity of a clan. A totemistic name is a real object of nature, animal or plant, which is represented on the body, clothing, buildings, etc.

Among the Gilyak there is nothing of this sort. In some clans there are totemistic legends. Thus, for example, a clan living in the settlement of Tangakh considers itself kindred with the bear on the grounds that a woman of that clan had given birth to a monstrosity with features resembling those of a bear. Similar legends exist in other clans. Nevertheless, not only typical totemistic, but even ordinary clan names in the proper sense are absent. There are only territorial names. If a Gilyak wants to name the people of such and such a clan, he says "the dwellers of such and such a settlement," which sometimes corresponds with the actual place of habitation of the clan, but most frequently only indicates the village which was once the primordial abode of one or another clan.

*835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
878 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
182 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southern-
●[361] most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well
*835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and completely disregards her obligations to her individual husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
*835 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
578 gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[554] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all. Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lightheaded, and undistinguished by any

/286 cont./
117 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:,
103 Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/
173 notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing
[173] /see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyr

117 Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal
103 Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhajl. 3) Khal N'askhajl.
●361 Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty y of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from
[162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

117 A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the
582 Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chédzigr (see belo and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

117 Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally
103 the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They
173 all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en-
[539] campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, bu could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. The

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/391 cont./

II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1910. Pilavo is four settlements; two on Sakhalin, one Khez'-Pilavo and Tky, the Goldi settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still burn their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

On the north of Sakhalin a father had many children. During the sharing they quarreled over a stone with a hole, or, which, on a silver chain, is put on the breast of a bride. One brother said: "You have divided everything, now give the stone to me." He put it on the neck of his daughter, and through the night it was not possible to take it off. The others said: "Daughters are not of our clan, they leave to marry, how can one leave them such an expensive article?" The eldest brother: "We consider only sons, daughters are not ours. You can make as many children as you wish, but you cannot find such stones." After this the eldest brother always wanted to kill the little girl, while the younger brother guarded. The younger brother became angry and ran away from the south of Pilavo to the north. There, was a famine. During the most severe famine they killed a seal, they killed a small seal. They boiled it, they divided it up into pieces, they ate it, and the bones remained. The children began to chew, to fight. One of the brothers came up and began to beat the son of another brother on the "mug" with the same bone: "You, dog, take it, gorge!" and he was beating the youth. The youth began to cry. His father was not at home. The mother stepped in for her son, and the mother got it. In a little while the father arrived. The mother complained to her husband, and a fight took place.

/384 cont./

128 (121) resulting(1)ly, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the numerical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marik (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtera (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

(a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settlements between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyryo, Yamy, Mangiuay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyvde (1), Noksy,

/387 cont./

114 / 103 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven verst from the settlement of Rykovskoye. In continuation with this settlement of Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyro, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Ernogr. Obozr."

361 / 321 / 162 / 417 / 163 / 165 / 231 / 232 / 417 / 166 / 167 / 168 / 169 / 170 / 171 / 172 / 173 / 174 / 175 / 176 / 177 / 178 / 179 / 180 / 181 / 182 / 183 / 184 / 185 /

131 /14 cont./
(361) 50° north latitude and therefore located almost precisely at half the length of this island which stretches in the direction of the meridian. The Gilyak population on the east coast of the island
131 extends somewhat less far south. According to the information
361 that I gathered from the Gilyak in the Tymy /Tym'/ valley and in the village of Nyi on the east coast, south of this village and of the mouth of the Tymy River there are four additional Gilyak villages (3), of which the southernmost and last, three days'

[114] 3. Cf. the map accompanying Vol. I of this work. The map drawn up by Schebunin on the basis of the material from the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society shows a few additional place names among them. Therefore, the number of these Gilyak villages is perhaps greater than the one given to me, but perhaps the added names only refer to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak belonging to the winter villages named, or to overnight camping places and other such localities.

journey from Nyi, is the village of Tschamr-wo, beyond which
[115] the coast is said to be uninhabited for a great distance. This information was later confirmed by the mining engineer Lopatin, who in 1868 made a wearisome journey on foot along this deserted coast; coming from the south, he found the first Gilyak village (Tschamr-wo) (4), according to Kropotkin's translation of his

[103] 4. "Tscham-wo," as Lopatin calls the village, or "Tschamr-wo," as I heard and believe to be correct, has a name in Gilyak meaning "eagle village."

131 /14 cont./ 4. (cont.)
361 I cannot accept the version "Tschamg-
[103] wo," as given on the Schebunin map
[114] of Sakhalin.

report (5), one and a half days' journey north of Cape Delisle de

[113] 5. Izvestiia Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 308, 311.

la Croyère, but, according to the statements that he made to Fr. Schmidt upon looking through his journals (6), "behind" the

[113] 6. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, p. 387.

large cape of rock mentioned, which among the Gilyak bears the
131 name Harpach (7). At any rate, on the east coast of Sakhalin

[103] 7. Following Lopatin, Schmidt gives the Gilyak name of Cape Delisle de la Croyère as "Harpa." There is no doubt about the ending sounding like, not "pa," but "pach," since the latter is often repeated in Gilyak place names and means "rock" or "stone." I suspect, however, that the first syllable, too, is not rendered quite correctly, and that the cape is not called "Harpa," but "Tschaharpach," that is, "wood-" or "forest-rock" -- a name which occurs also at the mouth of the Amur.

the southern border of the Gilyak territory thus lies close to Cape Delisle de la Croyère, that is, /15/ about 51° north latitude, or

G 101 179 G 103 113 /15 cont./ 4. (cont.)
den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

G 131 361 103 115 119 103 361 The Negda
live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chlya/, as well as along the river branch connecting them, although there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. This information, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Judin in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later travelers,

[103] 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu. On the former lie the villages of Pfypri-wo and Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomok and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, calls

G 113 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk. posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolayev Post on the Amur River to Udskii

G 131 113 /16 cont./ 2. (cont.)
Ostrog/," in Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. III. 1857, Miscellany, p. 11.

G 103 3. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 148. Schmidt mentions only the Negda village Nemorchon on the river branch that connects the two lakes, Orel and Tschlja (op. cit., p. 142). This name is probably Negda, at any rate not Gilyak.

Lake Orel "Negda Lake" on a map in part based upon Chinese information and still unpublished ("Erster Versuch einer hydrographischen Karte des Stanovoi-Gebirges und seiner Ausläufer, zwischen dem 45. und 62. Grade nördl. Br. /First Attempt at a Hydrographic Map of the Stanovoi Mountain Range and Its Spurs, between 45° and 62° North Latitude/."

G 101 G 101 103 361 In the territory of the Gilyak, their Amur neighbors, the Olcha, have penetrated more deeply than the Negda. To begin there, too, as mentioned above, with the village of Chjare, there lie far to the north of it, on the right bank of the river and surrounded by purely Gilyak villages, two villages, Tschylwi and Tyt, which are inhabited only by Olcha, the former with six, the latter with two winter yurts. And still farther to the north, on the same bank, there is the place Kaberazbach, consisting of only one winter yurt besides accessories, in which at the time of my journey an Olcha, who had married a Gilyak wife, governed as head of the household. On the other hand, deep within Olcha territory
G 361 one comes across isolated permanent Gilyak sites. For example, of the six winter yurts that make up the village of Aure located only slightly north of Kidsi, I found that three had been occupied by Gilyak for many years. Everywhere these scattered members of an alien people have clung as much as possible to their respective mother tongues and native customs.

G 101 /16 cont./
It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
G 131 A 101 separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A 101 the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
A 101 162 mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
G 361 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duf, Adogi was still purely
103 Gilyak, Sthdus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chograni again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A 103 361 inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthêm, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chograni an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Krasui," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

G 361 A 113 place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A G 103 361 113 /17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizui's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skhozyaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Poro-
A 114 kotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

G 361 439 2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Stiranusi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent in-
G 101 G 101 103 361 habitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

G 101 361 /17 cont./
on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

A G 101 361 Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok
114 113 settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Aïnos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructive for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

Amur

/287 cont./

they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept, six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in different directions, Four generations have lived here. The Tyr branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma. Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the ground (1896).

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1) The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /2887 (from chozmudz: -- to peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing

1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:ná? which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

Amur

/289 cont./

117 by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Re-
103 cently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12
614 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbifing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

• [361] Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chilng-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

117 Settlement of Karki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before
103 the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three
731 Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2)
173 Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest
[361] died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910). 3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

117 Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).
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Goldi RX3
Orok
Orochi
Ainu AB6

Gi 174 167 /21 cont./

words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

Gi Gi A 101 If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

G. Gi A [113]

1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

G. Gi 101 361 Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

G. Gi [487]

Goldi RX3
Orochi
Olcha

G Gi 361 101 [487] /21 cont./

by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak, which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the population of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

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1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

Gi 101 361 It is different with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to the sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep and protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, have their permanent habitation sites in it.

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S.S.
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/95 cont./

1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amur), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

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/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/(1). In this connection several, often

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1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

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2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

/96 cont./

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elsewhere that they live at the mouth of the Amur River and along the seacoast to the north and south of it (3), as well as

3. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 33, 36; edition of 1705, pp. 88, 106.

on a very large island lying opposite the mouth of the Amur, called Giliat (4), which evidently is Sakhalin; sometimes

4. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 34; edition of 1705, p. 96.

they are said to extend along the seacoast southward almost to China (5) and northward to the Anadyr River (6), and, finally

5. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 104; edition of 1705, p. 267.

[103]

6. The rivers around whose mouths they live are expressly named, and, to be sure, in two versions (edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 32; edition of 1705, pp. 86 and 105), among which the later, more correct ones run: Lama, Ochota, Towoi (evidently Ta-ui), Tadui, Penchion (Penshina), Kamtschatka, Tschiundon, and Anadir.

sometimes their habitation sites are given on the northern bar of the Amur River near Nerchinsk (7), and therefore quite far

7. Edition of 1705, p. 77.

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from the sea. Accordingly, the Gilyak are shown on the map three places: first, on the seacoast directly north of the Amu

2. Schrenck--231 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2.

/111 cont.

2. (cont.)
does not mean much, since the Shantar islands lie there all in a row approximately from west to east.

Kyakhta, Kyakhta Kyo 6.

Pallas, Reise, etc., Vol. I. p. 171. Schmidt obtained this information from traditions and stories, since he himself was never on the Shantar Islands, or even near them. Moreover, it is very reminiscent of the above-mentioned story about the burning of the forest on Large Shantar Island, which does not exactly serve to increase its credibility. Kosmin's statement in the northeastern part of Large Shantar Island not far from Lake Kolbinsche he had seen dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were said to have formerly lived (2) seems more important. But we encounter uncertainty

3. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV, p. 46.

even with respect to this report, in that the traditions that Schmidt discovered in Ishkin Cape (Ishkinskoe Nos) behind Chine yurts to Russian fur trappers (4). In spite of these few and

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV. p. 108, note 1. Middendorff adds that this seems much more probable to him.

uncertain reports, I do not doubt but that the Gilyak visited the Shantar Islands in former times. Full credence should be given to the above-mentioned report to this effect by the Tungu, which carries with the very first report concerning these islands. Whereas the Tungus along the Sea of Okhotsk are essentially hunters and come to the sea only temporarily to fish, the Gilyak stay there continually and are therefore much better seafarers than the former, as Müller has already correctly noticed (5). Hence it seems entirely plausible that from time

5. Samml. Russ. Geneh., Vol. III.

2. Schrenck--242 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/116 cont.)

vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most both and most highly. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Geneh., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Nahrem, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atchansen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

The last, and still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the Tr'ate from the Amur region published by Spafarii (4) and by Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and to be sure, from quite different sources, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsō (Rinsō Mamiya), who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and also the Tatar Strait, the Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117 Cape Kakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinsō ("Tō-tan ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

2. Schrenck--243 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/117 cont.)

1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 147-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Takka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Ta and Ka (op. cit., p. 195, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, locating the Lakes in their maps as well as in well known, substitute an r for ts: Cape Takka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

coast southward to Cape Moshio (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, and sailed downstream to the Amur Estuary. He then sailed the large village of Kidni located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Kidni, having following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this trip he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbor on the Amur River, the Orochi. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally, from the former being prominent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Sajamami; the latter only as occasional traders crossing over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsō even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Notesto (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Orcha from Tyr, who

2. Schrenck--248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/119 cont.)

Apart from along the Amur River, we also learn from Mamia Rinsō the southern boundary of the Gilyak along the seacoast at that time. In the Amur-Liman he visited the village of Tyjemen, which consisted of large dwellings of the Jennemkur, scattered along a small river of the same name (4).

"Tō-tan ki ko," op. cit., p. 178.

Today's Tchomi, the southernmost coastal village of the Gilyak, is arranged in precisely the same way, as I can confirm from experience. And that at that time, too, it was the last village in the Gilyak country, I can conclude from the fact that on the Amur to the seacoast directly south of Tyjemen and undoubtedly is supposed to designate the southern boundary of the Jennemkur along the coast. Mamia Rinsō then southward to beyond Taba Bay stretched at that time, too, only an uninhabited coast; as one likewise understands from Mamia Rinsō's statement: on his return trip to Sakhalin, he sailed around Cape Waubundi (Cape Lazarev/Lasarev), called Waibun by the Gilyak and into the channel which Sakhalin Island separated after him, but on his outbound voyage he had sailed along part of the coast north of Cape Waubundi and named on a series of place names, but with the express remark that the coast was uninhabited and these places were only anchorages (5). Thus, in

5. Op. cit., pp. 170, 178.

"Tō-tan ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 179).

Chjore, the first Gilyak village going downstream. As further proof of this there is also the fact that directly above Horo on Rinsō's map is shown the village of Fum, which one easily recognizes as today's next to last Gilyak village of Fulo. Thus, in Rinsō's time (1810) the boundary between the Gilyak and the Chika was exactly where I found it 45 years later (3).

3. See above, pp. 20, 27, 51, and

2. Schrenck--254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/122 cont.)

Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitoni region still inhabited by the Aina (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tō-tan ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokoran (2), and this

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'tai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Porokoran," which I have taken from a printing error or confusion between g and r on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinse 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokiran," Porokiran.

Ito, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Filja-wo of the

2. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Aina. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though the Japanese through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Aina can have taken place in the same manner as that of Mamia Rinsō's visit to these regions to note is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two had occurred, probably because even then some of the Aina fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

2. Schrenck--283 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/136 cont.) A Gilyak from Tkeyen in the Tatar Strait, very well versed in his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages in the mainland was acquainted with the Aina and Orcha languages, named for me, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kikai," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castrie /Ge-Kasuri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times where a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kikai-wo" (1). A conjecture as to what circumstances

10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the name of the Gilyak, I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Orochi people there is also the same as among the Gilyak, with minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the Amur River, as far as the Ussuri and the Sungari, the Orochi and Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all kinds of connections and contacts with each other, and have repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a large stretch of land with the Aina. At the present time a mixed people can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the interest of trade often come along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Sirammu, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown to them. The sea, too, becomes a barrier between both and also freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact between the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak. Hence they know them — and, of course, to a greater extent the Aina as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

2. Schrenck--290 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Fischer RX 2. Samoyed RX 2. Tungus RX 2. Manchu Kiang

/140 cont.)

The Olcha are lumped together with all their neighbors in the vaguest manner by the old Jesuit missionaries, who used the collective name of "Yankinsky," "Kenchengs," or "Kenchingtatse" to designate all the peoples along the lower Amur River from Dondon down to its mouth, and on the west coast there are two villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village, the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, both are highly inhabited, and also today (3).

3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/," Bull. sur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 558), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other village he has been, of his own, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly large population on the Gulf of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out among the Gilyak, he has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the years 1854 and 1855, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tym'/Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harther climate is understandably much more sparsely inhabited.

/141/ I must content myself with these general remarks concerning the extent of the population of the Gilyak along the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find statements concerning the number of individuals for particular Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

2. Schrenck--445 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Southern Sakhalin Kiria AB

/318 cont.)

1. Gilyak	in 39 villages (28 on the right bank and 13 on the left)	1400 souls
2. Manguntsen (Olcha)	in 40 villages (36 on the right bank and 4 on the left)	1300 souls (2)
3. Goldi	in 12 villages (all on the right bank and 37 on the left)	2000 souls
Nomadic and dispersed tribes		2000 souls

3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, without giving any reliable data, gave the number of Gilyak as 1400, that of the Olcha ("Mangunsen") as 1300 persons.

Gilyak gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (3). These statements

4. Brykin, "Statist. o. upogr. Nachr. Ober

2. Schrenck--463 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RXI Gilyak RX 2. Gilyak RX 3. Southern Sakhalin Kiria AB

/317 cont.) A move numerous Gilyak population on the island in former times is indicated, among other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village, the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, both are highly inhabited also today (3).

3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/," Bull. sur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 558), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other village he has been, of his own, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly large population on the Gulf of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out among the Gilyak, he has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the years 1854 and 1855, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

On the size of the Gilyak population in 1854 and completed in 1857, Budashkin reckoned the total population of the Amur on Sakhalin at 5,000 (5). In 1861,

5. Budashkin "Otcet" (Report) o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin" (Voenschoe Pontor'e, 1866, p. 99).

Brykin, "Statist. o. upogr. Nachr. Ober

/319 cont./ 3. (cont.)

not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaisenhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

55 56 114 116 36 [121]

Account of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an approximate estimate of their strength might be found in the number of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with certainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a

55 56 114 116 36 [122]

description of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satisfaction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc., almost exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle

114 116 [125]

along the largest bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the seacoast, a bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/320 cont./ respect and meets the requirements in winter and in summer, one always sees inhabited villages, even though the houses are different materials and construction depending on the season of the year. If, however, it offers considerable advantages in only one season and great disadvantages in the other one, the summer and the winter houses are erected at different places, and then there is a summer village and a winter village, and, accordingly, a change of location takes place twice a year. Often the affiliated summer and winter villages, or single houses, lie not very far apart; along the seacoast, for example, on the mainland as well as on Sakhalin, I have seen the summer dwellings as a rule close to the shore, but the winter dwellings lie somewhat inland, where mountain and forest offer more protection against the frequent snowstorms and where the necessary firewood is present more easily. Sometimes, however, there is a considerable distance between the corresponding summer and winter villages. Along the Amur, for instance, it may happen that one lies on one bank of the river, the other on the other bank. Also, for instance, located on the right bank, is nothing but the summer village of Kuik (or Kolgoi), at the Russian call it), which is on the left bank, or the latter is the winter village of the former. In summer all the inhabitants of Kulk move to Ildke, which has a better location for fishing, since it lies closer to the river channel that is followed by the salmon going up the Amur, the bank is higher there and more convenient for landings, etc. In the fall, however, they return to their winter dwellings lying diagonally opposite, where a bay in the bank and extensive forests give protection in winter against the prevailing bitingly cold west and northwest winds and snowstorms, and in addition there extends a larger, more convenient, and more productive tundra in winter and better fishing grounds in the spring

[113] 114 116 36 342 [123]

1. In the fall of 1854, this name of the Gilyak from Mão to Kulk took place in the second week of October (new style), shortly before the

/320 cont./ 1. (cont.)

Amur was covered with ice. In the spring of 1855, I found the Gilyak in the village of Sabach, the first above Nikolayevsk, already in their summer dwellings located beside the winter houses on May 16 (28). In the fall, the villages farther upstream, however, up to Tachi, they had not yet moved into them at that time.

361 342 114 116 342 [113]

Sometimes, when Gilyak live on the Amur, they find it necessary to go to different places for the summer, only to come together again in the fall. If the winter and summer houses are located beside one another, as, for instance, in Wuik (or Wait, as the Russians call it), the village seems much larger and more populous than it actually is. More than half of all the houses are empty. Sometimes, however, there is a considerable distance between the corresponding summer and winter villages. Along the Amur, for instance, it may happen that one lies on one bank of the river, the other on the other bank. Also, for instance, located on the right bank, is nothing but the summer village of Kuik (or Kolgoi, as the Russians call it), which is on the left bank, or the latter is the winter village of the former. In summer all the inhabitants of Kulk move to Ildke, which has a better location for fishing, since it lies closer to the river channel that is followed by the salmon going up the Amur, the bank is higher there and more convenient for landings, etc. In the fall, however, they return to their winter dwellings lying diagonally opposite, where a bay in the bank and extensive forests give protection in winter against the prevailing bitingly cold west and northwest winds and snowstorms, and in addition there extends a larger, more convenient, and more productive tundra in winter and better fishing grounds in the spring

[113] 114 116 36 342 [123]

1. Kruzenstern (Reise um die Welt / Journey around the World), St. Petersburg, 1812, Vol. II, p. 167: counted 27 houses in one Gilyak (according to him, "tatarischen") village, which was located on the northern end of Sakhalin between the capes Elisabeth and Maria. For another village, on Nadezhda Bay, he given 16 or 18 houses, but the description of it clearly permits one to recognize summer and winter dwellings (the latter of which, moreover, stood empty (op. cit., pp. 178, 182, 183). Orloff, on the occasion of his first trip to the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk (in July, 1849), gave the number of houses in the village of Kuli as 46 (cf. Tikhmenev", Istor. Obozr. obraz. Ross.-

/320 cont./ The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese winter-yurts. The east coast of the island and the Tymy River were fully only the earth yurt (1). On the west coast of Sakhalin,

[113] 114 116 342 [123]

1. Mizuki's /Mizuki/ statement (Ochota" ont. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khoz. otnosh. /Agricultural Outline of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 134),

342 [123]

as far as it borders on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, i.e., from Pilitun to Ildyakan, it is necessary to go to Pogbohi, where also only earth yurts (2). But from there northward,

[113] 114 342 [123]

2. In 1861, Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Im. Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/," -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. d. Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 236) found the village of Pogbohi a "large Manchurian" yurt (or two?), which, however, did not exist in my time, as I can definitely assert from the fall of 1856 I was at this place no less than four times.

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along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages consisting sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of winter dwellings occurred beside each other. I myself have not been in the northern part of Sakhalin, but have collected information on the villages in it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak residing there, who visited me at the Nikolayev post in the company of Tschchachach-Gilyak friends of mine (3). A few years later

/320 cont./ 3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and Tamkun from the village of Ngani-wo on the Liman.

A few years later (1861) Glehn travelled through a section of this coast and made a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they

[113] 114 116 36 342

4. Op. cit., pp. 232 ff.

/321 cont./ essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's. This depopulation which took place after my time is fully explained by the above-mentioned smallpox epidemic which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely, and many a village of many small settlements which numbered no more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /321/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could only report on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the intervening period I have collected information and view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself collected.

/321 cont./ collected. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three villages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay in the north of Popholi. In Dshongi, coming from the south, one encountered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the north of Talvant-tigr-wo, which contained one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulibi (1),

114 116 36 342 342

1. In Glehn it is called Jardém-tigr-wo.

there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tamla-wo, in my time sometimes for its predatory population, in his part belonging to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these

114 116 [102]

2. Glehn found only nine. The great number of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for tamla, tamlasch, or tamlamsch means "numerous" in Gilyak.

[197]

Tschadrayf villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, in Pomyr-wo or Pomyr-wo on the Sea of Okhotsk. Glehn did not go northward beyond this village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small tsyr village, Mustih-wo (in Glehn, Mustyr), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more tschadrayf villages, Tumi-wo and Nigyr-wo (in Glehn, Tumi-wo), the latter of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island like Mif-tych, as the Gilyak designated it to me. According to an inscription on a cross which Lt. Kruzenstern called Nadeshda Bay, Ngyr-wo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

/321 cont./ 4. (cont.)

Tschagdagi-. . . . with	1 (4)	earth yurt
Talvant-tigr-wo . . .	1 (1)	"
		Chinese yurt
Tulibi	2 (3)	Chinese yurt
Langri (summer village of Tulibi)		
Ildtschu-wo	2	"
Mangal-wo	1 (1)	"
Ngani-wo	4 (3)	"
Tylent-tigr-wo	1 (3)	"
Matent-tigr-wo	3 (2)	"
Tamla-wo	over 12 (9)	"
Pilja-wo	1 (1)	"
Wiuk-wo	5 (3)	"
Ngyl-wo	1 (1)	"
Pomyr-wo	3 (3)	"
Mustih-wo	1 (2)	earth yurt
Pilja-wo	1 (1)	Chinese yurt
Tumi-wo	2	Chinese yurt (1 earth yurt)
Nigyr-wo	5	" (3 earth yurts)

[931]

/322/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-yurt appears to have spread to a much greater extent than the earth yurt

342 342 114 116 36 342

Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left which presumably has since disappeared: it was the small earth yurt of Pilitach, directly on the Liman just north of the mouth of the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856; it was located at some distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and was continued exactly like the smaller earth yurts on Sakhalin. It can be maintained with some certainty that it was in fact the only one of its kind on the mainland. Elsewhere along the Liman on the Amur and in the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman to Kuik, the largest village on that coast, numbering 10 (7) winter yurts,

cont./

th ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high

8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

n the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, g the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan. Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples Vitsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the vak and their region also reveal by their endings their unbtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both he individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his k, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

cont./

1. (cont.)
as they are generally as well as in details, rather favor such an interpretation.

alleged habitation sites of the peoples in question likewise ar to argue in favor of this interpretation, as the Kileng are to live chiefly along the Amgunj (2), the Fiaka along the

2. Khenkhoûn in Klaproth (loc. cit.), Henkon on the maps by d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, Nos. 1, 18).

oast near the mouth of the Amur. There seems to be almost urther doubt but that the Fiaka are the Gilyak when Iakinf (3),

3. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg 1842, Part II, p. 30, footnote.

ne basis of Manchu-Chinese sources and without any com- t of his own, states that there are three peoples on Sakhalin, ã (Fyake), Eluntschun, and Kuã, obviously Gilyak, Orok, Ainu. Finally, among the statements by the old Jesuit ionaries, too, there are some that cannot be interpreted in way other than in the above sense; Gerbillon's statement (4),

4. J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37.

nstance, that the lowermost part of the Amur River down to ea was inhabited by the Fiatta or Fiattu (5) people, who

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

/383 cont./

dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different between the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyophagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

/384 cont./

most surely and best obtained by stable, permanent residence in a place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes surrounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessary, indeed essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less extensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed, and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the main river to the mountains that skirt its tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wildernesses along the left tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the first and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dseja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals, in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,

Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

/385 cont./

are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an additional motive for the nomadic life.

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Section 5

External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style, Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized people, they secure them from the same source as their food, whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic animals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our discussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and sealhunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only second place among them; furthermore they keep only one domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft animals; and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203 above.

Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, besides cottons, which since ancient times they have obtained from the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak, possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skins of dogs and seals and fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, fox, otter, sable, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

/427 cont./

campfire, will serve him very well. Jukola, by the way, is not only eaten au naturel, but is also an important ingredient of many dishes, whose composition and preparation I shall come back to later. Finally, in addition to the chark, it is the principal food for the dog. In view of the importance of jukola for the Gilyak, it is understandable that, despite the indolence and carelessness more or less characteristic of all primitive peoples, they are very intent on preparing the largest possible supply of it and do not hesitate to make long trips and even temporary changes of residence for this purpose. Thus, for example, when those types of salmon come up into the rivers, some of the Liman Gilyak come to the Amur in order to take advantage of its surplus; others, such as some of the Tschomi Gilyak and the inhabitants of some places on the west coast of Sakhalin, move to the Tymy /Tym'/ River in the interior of the island, which is especially rich in fish, and do not return with the acquired supplies until winter. On the other hand, at the other times, for instance, when the kangi-tscho (Gadus wachnja Pall.) migrates in large numbers along the sea coast, some of the Tymy Gilyak, conversely, betake themselves to their countrymen on the west coast of Sakhalin in order to feast for a while on these fish. In this respect there seem /428/ to have developed in the course of time certain mutual agreements and relations based on reciprocity between the inhabitants of certain places, for example, between the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak, or between the latter and the Gilyak of Duf, Arkai, Tangi, and other places on the west coast of Sakhalin.

However plentiful the jukola supplies might be, however, they would never suffice to make the life of the Gilyak secure if there were not at every season of the year more or less, depending on the locality, many other kinds of fish, which the Gilyak eat fresh, besides those salmon. In this connection the most favorable locality in the Gilyak region is, of course, the mighty Amur River, and therefore along its banks, as discussed above, one also finds the largest concentration of the population and the richest development of the Gilyak individuality. The dwellers along the banks of the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat.

/429 cont./

Next to the Amur the Tymy River on Sakhalin is the Gilyak locality richest in fish. It is therefore the vital artery of the entire Gilyak northern half of the island, and especially along its upper course, where it does not freeze even in winter, despite the low air-temperatures dropping to below the freezing point of mercury, small Gilyak villages lie more tightly packed than almost anywhere else in the Amur region. To be sure, the tastiest and largest fish of the Amur River, the above-mentioned sturgeon, is missing in the Tymy River, but it is especially rich in salmon, and, to be sure, not only in those above-mentioned species generally widespread in the Amur region and, as a result of their great quantity, principally used for the preparation of jukola, which annually in the fall, as previously mentioned, also attract the inhabitants of more distant localities to its banks (1), but also in

1. During the past few years even the Japanese have come to the mouth of the Tymy to fish there when the Salmo lagocephalus come up, and, as Mizzul (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, 1873, p. 120) and Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island, 1881-1882/, pp. 70-80) reported in detail, they return home with a rich booty.

various other species, such as the nem(a)lja, (Salmo coregonoides Pall.), the longr(sch) (S. callaris Pall.), njalych (probably S. sanguinolentus Pall.), loimang (a species of trout), etc. Indeed, there are even species there that are absent in the Amur River, such as choi-tscho (Salmo orientalis Pall.) and the tschawytscha of the Kamchadal, the largest and most prized salmon species of the shores of the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). The

2. The Nyi Gilyak, among whom I saw two large specimens of choi-tscho in

/429 cont./

226 2. (cont.)
February, 1856, thought that it occurred only along the coast of Sakhalin, without going up into the rivers.

221 The
222 mainland Gilyak, upon returning home from Sakhalin, not infre-
* 262 quently bring some pieces of choi-tscho to the Amur as a special delicacy.

226 Finally, with regard to those Gilyak who have their habita-
* 262 tion sites directly on the seacoast where there are no river deltas
● [361] or only small, insignificant streams, although their situation is worse inasmuch as most of the above-named fish are lacking for them and they /430/ can prepare only small stores of fish, nevertheless even in winter the sea supplies them with fresh fish. Of greatest importance to them is a fish which is insignificant in itself and not very tasty, but which, at a time when their supplies are running short, appears in shoals directly under the ice in the vicinity of the shore and can be caught in quantity with the most primitive methods. It is the aforementioned kangi-tscho, Gadus wachnja Pall. In February and March, 1856, I saw the people and dogs living almost exclusively on this fish in Nyi on the east coast of Sakhalin and even more in Dul', Arkai, Tangi, and other
252 places on the west coast. It is only eaten raw and the treatment is
* 227 always the same, in that first a thin slice with the three dorsal fins
[231] is cut out along the back and thrown away, and then the meat is cut from either side with one slice and is eaten; the remaining head with the backbone furnishes the kangi-chark, some of which, together with the rest of the scraps, is immediately cooked into a soup for the dogs and some is stored as food supplies for them, but, of course, it is far inferior to the laghi-chark and tengi-chark. Because of the importance of the kangi fish for the coastal Gilyak, more superstitions are connected with the preparation and eating of it than with the use of most other fish. Thus, it must be eaten
[264] without any accompaniments, placed on the sleeping bench of the
ooo yurt in only an open container, a bowl or a basket, etc. Moreover,

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Section 7

ooo Means of Moving and Going from Place to Place by Land and Water: Ski, Sleds; Draft, Riding, and Pack Animals -- Dog, Reindeer; Horse; Boats and Canoes.

SS As has already been mentioned frequently, the three principal
433 occupations which provide the Amur peoples with clothing and
484 food, as well as the luxuries that have become necessities, are fishing, hunting, and trade -- occupations that cannot be pursued except with various and more or less considerable moving from
SS place to place. Hence, before I start considering these principal
121 occupations, I think that it is necessary to go into a special dis-
481 cussion of the manner and type of locomotion among the Amur peoples and the means used for it. This will naturally fall into two parts in that it has to deal, on the one hand, with locomotion by land or on the ice-cover of the water and, on the other hand, by water.

G A fishing people like the Gilyak, who always set up their
484 dwelling places in the closest proximity to the water, from which
● [361] they get their food almost exclusively, and, furthermore, before whom, on the Amur River as well as along the west coast of Sakhalin, direct waterways stretch out for trade and intercourse with the neighboring tribes and with the closest civilized peoples, the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari and the Japanese on southern Sakhalin, such a people must naturally spend a great part of their lives in moving and going from place to place on the water. But the climatic conditions of the Amur region are such that locomotion by water is possible only during about five months, from May to September -- during the remaining and longest part of the year it must be done by land. And when winter shackles the waters and covers the surface of the earth with a thick layer of snow, it makes it possible for the Gilyak to move and go from place to place by land, or on the ice cover of the water, and opens up new
ooo territories and routes of communication for them. The

G /494 cont./
114 He had no knowledge of the Orok migrations through the Tymy
492 Valley studded with Gilyak villages in which there are many
484 dogs. And on these migrations, which take place every winter
[221] for the purpose of trade with the Gilyak, Ainu, Chinese, and
[437] Japanese, and which have already been discussed above with regard to their direction and final aims (2), the Orok use, as

2. See p. 38 ff. above; also Vol. 1, pp. 169 and 170, of this work.

has just been described in detail, the reindeer for harnessing in front of the sleds.

G Although in the above I had to reject the idea that a change
492 in the way the reindeer was used could have taken place among
114 the Orok on Sakhalin since Mamia Rinsô's trip, on the other hand,
177 this seems to me quite undeniable much farther back in time.
648 Undoubtedly the Orok formerly, when they roamed on the mainland with their tribal relatives, the Olcha, used the reindeer, like other Tungusic tribes, only for burden-carrying and riding. It was not until they went to Sakhalin that they also learned to use it as an animal to harness to the sled. But how could this have happened? I think that it must be ascribed merely to the influence of their new homeland, especially the inevitable contact with the Gilyak surrounding them everywhere there. Even though the Orok, when they migrated from the mainland to northern Sakhalin with their reindeer, found favorable natural conditions for a continuation of their nomadic life in its coniferous forests rich in moss and lichen, they could nevertheless gain a permanent foothold on the island only if they established friendly relations with the peoples there and the latter
G also benefited from the newcomers. This was particularly neces-
● [361] sary with regard to the Gilyak, because they occupied both
[648] coasts in the northern part of the island and all of the Tymy Valley, and it always lay in their power, because of their greater numbers and energy, to deprive the encircled newcomers of all means of existence and to destroy them.

SS /500 cont./
494 of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and
184 Reindeer Tungus, the reindeer serves only as a riding and pack
G animal, but on the latter, among the Orok, it serves also as a
T 492 harness animal, and in this its use joins that of the dog.

SS As dwellers on a great river and its tributaries or the sea
501 and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are
184 more or less oriented toward moving and traveling from place to
481 place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The diverse nature of the waters on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sleds, always built after one and the same pattern, the boats used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the actual forms adapted to the character of the waters are repeated with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

G None of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the
501 water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live by fishing and
481 who are inclined by their genius for trading to undertake long
[226] river and sea voyages. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by no means bold and skillful mariners and hunters of marine animals, who in small, easily maneuverable vessels, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarkas, /501/ would be inclined
G or able to battle the high ocean waves. Principally concen-
● [361] trated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers
[181] them, in addition to an extraordinary abundance of fish, a natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Manchu-Chinese along the Sungari, and, on the other hand, favored by the nearness of a large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cuts them off from the open sea and, with its long meridional expanse, gives them a bridge, so to speak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their over-all pursuits

/501 cont./

501 for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are
184 timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators.
G And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the
● [361] coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and
[181] trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft
501 boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p. 1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

396 In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily
[192] consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put to-
[824] gether have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twisjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from
[192] above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

/516/

Section 8

ooo Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon. Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed
[191] that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the
[433] peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importa
increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their e
tire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions an
aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descripti
of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples
to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequenc
● [361] of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fish
[221] exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast t
hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but
even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a ye
and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the
water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that
fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and o
necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kind
fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and be
the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out o
them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail.
[192] And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn th
way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most in
portant fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the
times when it is done and some of the details connected wi

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, a
to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect
superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amu
is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profit
and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

/332 cont./
there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays of Tugur and Ulban, where Middendorff became acquainted with the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his handwritten notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the

1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 619), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak there.

Liman and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kulj and Ulban Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitness accounts. The Gilyak, too, though I often asked them about it, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to me other than the above-mentioned one of Pättach.

In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as far as their distribution extends, the Chinese yurt at present represents the only form of winter dwelling; on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, along the Liman, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with earth yurts, while in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only this latter form is found. From this distribution of the two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /333/ has been preserved only among the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of the view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from its above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

/355 cont./

342 the low threshold and soaks the floor when the snow melts quickly or when there are heavy rains. Even these dwellings, however, become impossible in summer because of the warm sleeping benches, which inevitably are heated each time food is cooked, and because of the above-mentioned vermin, and, finally, the catching of fish carried on in this season of the year requires the move into the summer dwellings, which are more favorably and conveniently located for it.

[184] The summer dwelling of the Gilyak is of the same type everywhere, on the continent as well as on Sakhalin, and bears the same designation in both places: käryf. The most striking exterior feature is that it rests on piles which rise four to five feet above the ground. Only at isolated points on the west coast of Sakhalin, south of the Amur-Liman, especially in Tangi, Choji, Arkai, and Dui, did I see summer houses set on level ground, but otherwise of exactly the same type, outside and in, [251] as those resting on piles (1). The aim that the Gilyak have in

[36]

1. The large village on Nadeshda Bay at the northern tip of Sakhalin (Ngywr-wo, see p. 467 above), which was visited by Krusenstern, had summer houses resting on piles. See his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 182.

in mind with this construction on piles is a twofold one: first, to protect their dwellings against inundations, since the Amur, as a result of prolonged rainfall, often rises considerably and floods the lower stretches of its banks; and then also to make the houses airier and drier by setting them not directly upon the damp ground but somewhat above it, with a constant flow of air under them and penetrating even into the house itself through the crevices in the floor; this is all the more necessary since part of the fish supply is stored in them. Both may also [84] have been decisive for the Gilyak living along the seacoast, for there, too, depending on the locality, a sudden rise of the waters as a result of stormy winds must be reckoned with, and

/360 cont./

n general and in the individual areas. Such principal and entral points are of special importance for the ethnographer, ecause here the national character of a people as a rule appears nore sharply and precisely stamped and the peculiar usage and ustoms remain protected longer against foreign influences, hereas in smaller villages it more readily happens that, as a esult of personal intercourse, the mixed marriages of the few esidents with members of a neighboring tribe, etc., many a ational characteristic is obliterated; indeed, in the course of ime many a foreign idea or custom finds entry, for which I hall have more than one opportunity to cite examples in the ollowing.

Unfortunately, I am not in a position to give the num- er of winter dwellings in the whole Gilyak area. In those arts through which I traveled, such as along the Amur River nd the Liman on the mainland, on Sakhalin along the west oast from Poghobi to Duĭ and in the interior along the entire Tymy River to somewhat north of its mouth, I have been able o ascertain it myself by my own count, and in other adjacent arts, such as on the west coast of Sakhalin north of Poghobi nd south of Duĭ, by means of many inquiries among the Gilyak. or the east coast of Sakhalin a few statements by Glehn are vailable (1). Only on the parts of the Gilyak territory along

1. "Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 235).

he Sea of Okhotsk do we not have /361/ any data at all, except or the small stretch between Kulj and the Amur Liman likewise isited by me (1).

1. Middendorff was told during his stay on Tugur Bay (in 1844) that there were four large Gilyak villages between Cape Umelongte (Muktelja), the point of this coast

/361 cont./

342 131 ● 361 113

1. (cont.) which projects farthest to the north, and the mouth of the Amur (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, St. Petersburg, 1855, p. 618).

103 361 342 114 129

For the sake of clarity and because many of the individual villages of the Gilyak will be mentioned repeatedly in the course of this work, I give the following tabular list of all the Gilyak villages, in part from me, and mostly from personal experience, and in part from Glehn's statements, and the number of their winter dwellings.

000 /The following chart, which runs across pp. 362-363 in the original text, is given on four pages in the translation, the first page bearing the four columns pertaining to the mainland, the second page bearing the four columns pertaining to Sakhalin, and the next two pages containing the final column of notes./

Goldi RX3 olcha

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G 103 ● 361 342

List of the Gilyak Villages and the Number of Their Winter Dwellings[1)]

MAINLAND

Amur River Upstream from the Mouth. Purely Chinese Yurts.

Left bank		Right bank	
Tschcharbach	3	Ngale-wo	3
Tschchyrkrach	2	Wassj	3
Patchi	1	Pyghu	1
Kulk (Kuzgri-wo)	2	Allof	3
Seabach	2	Kaki	3 (?)
Wair (Wait)	16	Erli	2
Kassiif	2	Tobach	7
Naghe	11	Chossj	3
Kalghe	3	Tschylin	3
Pali-wo	3 (?)	Tschi	6
Tschlja [2)]	1	Kaborzabach	1
Nyhki	1	Kok	3
Tlala	1 (?)	Anghalm	3
Total	49	Kahu	3
		Hekh [3)]	3
		Tauz-wo	2
		Tylm	2
		Achna	1
		Tschalmah	1
		Mchyl	3
		Palych	1
		Pait	2
		Chyfk	2
		Holm	1 (?)
		Pulmi	1
		Chjaro	1
		Auro [4)]	2
		Total	79

Amur-Liman form N to S. Purely Chin. Yurts[5)]

Langy	8
Pulr	3
Pittach	2
Prongo	2
Ngolu	1
Chusi	1
Tscheri	1
My	4
Warki	2
Tymi	1
Tschemi	21
Total	36

1 earth yurt among them

Coast of the Sea of Okhotsk from the Liman Westward. Purely Chin. Yurts

Ahki	1
Olgh-wo	1
Tagi	1
Kulj (Kolj)	10 [6)]

Further data lacking

Total on the Amur River 119.

Gi 103 361 342

/363/

103 361 342 ● SAKHALIN ISLAND

West Coast from N to S. Chinese and Earth Yurts [7)].

Ngyr-wo	5 Chin. y.
Tumi-wo	2 "
Pilja-wo	1 " +1 ear.
Muinh-wo	– – 1 ear.
Pomyr-wo	3 Chin. y.
Ngyl-wo	1 "
Wiosh-wo	3 "
Lyrkr-wo	4 "
Tamb-wo	over 12 "
Nistent-tigr-wo	3 "
Tylent-tigr-wo	1 "
Ngauj-wo	4 "
Mangai-wo	1 "
Matsch-wo	2 "
Tulkaj	2 "
Talvant-tigr-wo	1 " +1 ear.
Tscheghagi	1 earth yurt
Pyrki	1 "
Jugdama	1 "
Lakitschi	1 "
Dshongi	1 Chin. y.
Ngylih	1 earth yurt
Waraj	1 "
Wismeryf	1 "
Poghobi	2 "
Tyk	6 "
Wjachin	1 "
Choji	2 "
Tangi	1 "
Myguai	1 "
Arkai	1 "
Dui	2 "
Adagi	1 "
Kiheust [1)]	2 "
Chograuj	1 "
Pilje-wo [1)] (Porokotan)	2 "
Total	48 Chin. y. + 31 ear.

Tymy River Downstre from Its Sources. Pu

Earth Yurts

Left bank		Right ba	
Ngachd-wo	1	Dajak-wo	1
Erling-wo	3	Ud-wo	
Pud-wo [9)]	3	Pad-wo	
Pahling-wo	1	Sili-wo	
Dawl-wo	1	Tschlo-wo	
Twlk	1	Gimk-wo	
Ytkym	2	Plab-wo	
Tchchar-wo [9)]	1	Tabs-wo	
Miwwach	1	Tschchar-wo	
Total	15	Total	

Total on the Tym River

...am ...rely	East Coast from N to S. Purely Earth Yurts
...k ... 1	Koihygr-wo[10] . . 1
... 1	Chankes 1
... 3	Ngod 1
... 3	Urdki 1
... 2	Eakr-wo 3
... 7	Charkr-wo . . . 7
... 1	Tschai-wo . . . 10
... 1	Laj-wo 3
... 1	Tyrmyx 7
... 19	Nyi 6
	Wenggi 2
	Kasengat-wo . . 1
	Mandshuhafd-wo 1
...y 32	Milk-wo } . . . 9
	Tagri [11] }
	Ngahi 3
	Lab-wo 7
	Lang-wo 7
	Pilugi 7
	Tschamr-wo . . 7
	Total without the villages with a questionable number of yurts. . . . 42
	with them, assuming the number of yurts to be two each (to be discussed later). . . 54

Goldi RX3
Olcha

G
361 /363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschilwi with six yurts.

G
361 164 4) This Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidsi which among its six houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

G
361 5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pättach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Middendorff among the Gilyak on Ulban Bay and made available to me.

G
114 7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with his statements on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be excused if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. Since, however, the comparison shows some decrease in

G
161 128 the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data ascertained by me personally are considered in this list.

G
162 128 8) Since this village and Pilja-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Ainu, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

G
114 10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

361 114 /363 cont./ Elisabeth and Maria, and believes that it is the same village that Krusenstern saw on "North Bay." Since the latter, however, was a very large village ("with 27 houses," among which some were certainly only storehouses), larger than the one later visited by him on Nadeshda Bay (Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 162 and 184), and this village, Ngywr-wo, still had five Chinese yurts in my time, it is inconceivable that only a few years later the village on North Bay should have been reduced to one small earth yurt, as Glehn thinks (op. cit., p. 232, note 1).

361 11) Presumably this is the same village that Glehn lists under the name of Takr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on the other side), in contrast to the above village of the latter name, which he calls Tukr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on this side). I must therefore apply the number of yurts given by Glehn for Takr-Nyi to this village of Tagri and the neighboring village to the north, Milk-wo, the first villages located to the south, or, proceeding from the north, on the other side of the Tymy mouth.

2: Schrenck--539 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

361 342 /364/ As may be seen from this list, very many Gilyak villages consist of only a single winter dwelling, be it a Chinese yurt or an earth yurt. Most Gilyak villages contain only two or three winter yurts. As one can see for himself from the above list, this is the average number of yurts in the Gilyak villages, and, to be sure, on the continent, along the Amur River and Liman, the average is three each, and on the island of Sakhalin, on the west coast and in the Tymy valley, two yurts to a village. For

128 this reason, in determining the total number of the winter yurts on the east coast of Sakhalin for the six villages whose number of yurts remained unknown to both Glehn and me, I reckoned two earth yurts for each village. Villages with four or five yurts belong among the large ones and are few in number in all the individual areas of the region occupied by the Gilyak; but in each of these areas there are individual places with a larger number of yurts, from six to ten and more, and they can be designated as the principal and central points of the individual areas, indeed, the largest among them as the principal and central points of the whole Gilyak region. The largest Gilyak village on the mainland is Wair, or Wait, as the Russians customarily call it. Located in the estuary part of the Amur River, nearly equidistant from the area extending above its last bend and the Amur-Liman, from North Sakhalin and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Wair lies at the center, as it were, of the entire habitation area of the Gilyak, continental as well as insular. With its 16 winter houses lying somewhat inland from the river in two rows, the many summer yurts rising close to the bank in front of them, the numerous large and small storehouses scattered alongside and in between, open or roofed drying racks, and the like give an impression of a large, heavily populated village, a metropolis of Gilyak life. Only a little above Wair there is another large Gilyak village, Mägho with eleven yurts, and diagonally across from it Tebach with seven yurts, which, located at the last bend of the river toward the east, belongs to both the estuary part of it and to the adjacent part upstream. In the latter part of the Gilyak habitation area the villages are closest together, though they are almost purely small villages with two or three yurts, and only the two Principal Points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number.

361 /364 cont./ principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number. Along the Liman, Langr in the north and Tschomi in the south are in dominant positions, the former as the chief exchange point between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin, the latter in constant communication with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, and, on the other hand, with the villages on the Amur beyond the mountains. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Kulj or Kolj is the principal village, about whose existence Middendorff received information even at Tugur Bay (1), and, according to the

113 103 1. In Middendorff's handwritten notes on his visit among the Gilyak the place is called "Kwol," and in Baer's report on his journey (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 620) "Kwel."

descriptions of the Gilyak, seems to play a role there similar to Wair's on the Amur River. /365/ Along the Liman coast of Sakhalin the same significance belongs to the above-mentioned Tamla-wo, of bad repute because of the predatory tendencies of its, as the name indicates, large population. The part of the west coast of Sakhalin that is washed by the northern part of the Sea of Japan has only small villages almost entirely, in that the village of Tyk with its six earth yurts is the only larger place and the principal point of the entire coast. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin, which has a great number of small villages in its upper part in particular, Pud-wo and Udmk-wo are the principal points, and, finally, on the east coast of Sakhalin Tschai-wo and Nyi are the principal places.

342 592 161 Now, if one wants to draw any conclusions about the size of the Gilyak population in its individual areas, as well as in general, from the number of winter dwellings, it must first be determined how many permanent residents on the average may be reckoned for a Chinese or an earth yurt. Just as the

/605 cont./

37 barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is con-
39 sidered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would
84 not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the unavoidable payment of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment. For a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that it leads through the territory, not only of their neighbors, the Olcha, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Ussuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they could quite easily lose their dogs altogether, and through that get into the greatest difficulty. Moreover, at best by this method such a small quantity of wares could be transported that the journey would
87 pay only slightly, if at all. The only way to do it safely and profitably is by boat up the Amur and Sungari. For this, however, a number of men are needed to propel the boat, loaded with furs and some supplies, even though not heavily, against the occasionally very strong current, sometimes by rowing and sometimes by pulling on ropes. Hence, a small, but well-organized company, with an authoritative and commanding leader at the head, is always required for such a journey.

61 The goal of the Sungari journeys of the Gilyak is always the town of Ssan-ssin, or Itscha-choton, as it is called by all the Amur peoples, located at the point where the Churcha or Mutuan-ho empties into the Sungari. They are not permitted

SS /620 cont./

175 questioned them as to how they came to be tributary to the
648 Manchu, he received the following information from several
439 inhabitants of the island: "In former times," they said, "when
622 they were not yet tributary, some Manchu vessels came to them every year in order to buy furs. The crews, however, behaved in an unfriendly and dissolute manner toward the inhabitants of the island, so that quarrels and brawls frequently broke out between them, whereupon a great number of Manchu landed one day, inspected the island everywhere, and took possession of it. Most of the inhabitants fled to the mountains out of fear, but some of those who had remained on the coast were summoned by the Manchu, who conferred with them and appointed one of them harata, that is, chief or elder. This event took place on the west coast of the island near Itoi (Itoikotan, Itoje). Similarly, they invested two men from the northern part of the east coast with this office (3), and in the same manner they also

3. Mamia Rinsô also knows the names of these three harata who were the first to be named.

appointed kasinta, or second elders. A black sea-otter fur was agreed upon as the annual gift (tribute) that the elders were to bring the Manchu, for which the Manchu gave them as a return gift a piece of silk fabric interwoven with gold and promised to sell them all the other trade commodities at a very cheap price."

SS G 175 That "Itoi, Itoikotan, or Itoje," which, according to the map
174 drawn by Siebold on the basis of the original notes by Mogami
361 Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô (4), is near Cape Otsisi (the southern
648

4. Atlas to Siebold's Nippon, Plate XXV.

tip of the Bay de la Jonquière), is undoubtedly the Gilyak village of Duĭ, and thus the whole of the above incident refers to the subjugation of the Sakhalin Gilyak, or making them tributary.

We were nearing Ado Tim, the last Russian penal settlement of all in the northern terior. The native village of that name was situated on the banks lower down, but the ttlement lay half a verst from the river.

We had no wish to arrest our progress here, the settlement had a very bad reputation, d we would rather camp in the open, or among the natives, from what we had heard; t the natives refused to take us further except at a prohibitive price, and we went hore, hoping that time would settle our difference.....[138]

n either side of the broad grass track of the settlement was a row of higgledy-piggledy, iserably poor, out-of-repair log-huts, with tiny windows, some roofed with boards, hers with loose pieces of bark. Pigs, a foal or two, and a few children, miserably ad were indiscriminately scattered on the 'road.' Kita (1) hung curing in the smoke of

1. The East Siberian name for Salmo lagocephalus.

fire kindled beneath, and bunches of withering green leaves by the hutside in the sun tokened tobacco drying. Women wandered about barefooted, and they and the men were the scantiest of clothing, the latter in a cotton shirt and trousers, and the former mply in a frock and an extra bodice. It was always a matter of wonder to me how in tumn mornings and late afternoons they could stand the cold so miserably clothed. Each village has its overseer, who is a soldier. In rank he may be compared to a

2: Schrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

342
361
137
291
296

XI

Gilyak winter houses, decorated for the bear festival. Entertainment in front of them.

: Hawes--137-138 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
6, 361, 563, 624

ergeant, but his duties are as varied as those of a prefect in France, or even a deputy-
ommissioner in India. Police, military, the census, agriculture, and 'roads,' all
hese and more come within his cares; and for this he is paid the magnificent sum of
hirty rubles (three guineas) a month. Tracking escaped convicts was not the least
mportant of his functions at Ado Tim, and he was away down the river on this errand
hen we arrived."

43 cont./

Just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches work the Gilyak stand first among all the peoples of the Amur gion. One can see well enough from the above descriptions w great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them r food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing the eans of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next fishing, hunting seals is therefore their chief occupation, ich, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation ea, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of khalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, which, as was already pointed out, the seals migrate as far the Olcha territory. In fact, among the coastal Gilyak, ong the Sea of Okhotsk and on the Liman, seal-hunting often en comes before fishing. It can be seen merely from the othing of these Gilyak, consisting to a great extent, indeed, en wholly, of sealskin, that among them seal-hunting plays far more important role than among the Amur Gilyak. It ould also be noted in this connection that on the Amur-Liman ere are two places that bear the names of "Langr-wo," or angr" for short, and "Langri," that is, seal village, perhaps cause they are especially favorably located for seal-hunting perhaps because their inhabitants practice it with special d traditional skill and success. I cannot say anything further out one of these places, Langri, located on the west coast Sakhalin, which, according to Glehn (1), is merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

nmer village of the Gilyak of Tulka). /543/ The other one, wever, Langr, located on a small island at the entrance to Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited self, seems fully to justify its name and the conjectures ociated with it. It is one of the largest villages of the Amur-man, and its inhabitants carry on a lively trade with the ur Gilyak, using in particular the products of their seal-ting, such as sealskins and furs and seal oil as articles for xtering with them.

/544 cont./

000 bartering with them. Tschomi plays the same role in the south-
225 ern part of the Amur-Liman that Langr does in the north. In
184 particular the small group of the Hagimif Islands is one of the
[361] localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the mainland Gilyak living adjacent to it. In order to hunt seals, however, the enterprising Tschomi Gilyak also go south of the Amur-Liman into the Mamia-Rinsô Strait and to the northern end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Poghobi, for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth of the Amur River, at Tschcharbach, Ngale-wo, and Pronge, where in particular the small island of Ulsut is an especially favorable spot for it.

225 According to the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the
136 Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception of the "alch," Phoca equestris Pall., but the old animals are said to go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the younger ones go up farther. In any case, Ph. nummularis Schleg., which in the adult state is called phghi-langr by the Gilyak, gjäuchssa by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is
225 therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak.
237 One sees its more or less densely spotted fur everywhere among
136 them and used in all kinds of ways, for clothing, as was discussed in detail above, ski, bags, small pouches, etc. Scarcely less important for them, however, is the kighitsch, the Ph. barbata Müll., which is less common in the river and whose thicker skin, with the hair removed, is used for making the foot part and the soles on their boots, the dog harness, and the
225 straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to go about 60 versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Plyi or Poron-ai (1), but as yet nothing is known about

[113] 1. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 48.

the habits of the individual species.

/566 cont./

326 especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to
411 use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them
556 away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may
361 have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region,
326 the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above
411
126
[128]

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak.
361 In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje
648 was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

[128] 2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

/586 cont./ the help of snares (1) in a manner similar to that of the Ainu,

1. Margaritov", Ob" Orochakh" Imperatorskoi gavani /Concerning the Orochi of Imperial Harbor/, St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 13, Pl. II, Fig. 2.

and from which they use the contents of the musk sacs in particular in trade with the Chinese. In converting their hunting booty into profit, however, the Orochi, because of the great isolation of their homeland, find themselves at a great disadvantage in comparison with all the other peoples of the lower Amur region. In the southern part of their territory, where, as so-called Ta-dse, they live intermingled with the Chinese they do find, to be sure, a ready market among the latter for all their hunting but, as a rule, they are greatly exploited by them in connection with this /587/ and not infrequently, through advance payments, are made their lifelong debtors. Farther to the north, however, where the Chinese element is missing, the Orochi, living almost exclusively by hunting, rely on their neighbors, the Goldi and Olcha, to sell their booty.

In concluding the above consideration of the way hunting is practiced among the peoples of the lower Amur region and its greater or lesser importance for the total pattern of their lives, I cannot but make room for an observation which the traveler who has ethnographic aims in mind is involuntarily forced to make. Whereas winter is by far the most favorable season of the year for ethnographic research among the Gilyak, and summer the most unfavorable, this reverses itself more and more into the exact opposite in an upstream direction along the Amur and its right tributaries toward the Goldi and Orochi. During the summer the Gilyak are wholly occupied with fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter and even bring something nomadic into their lives, inasmuch as many, in order to seek localities more favorable for fishing, then change their place of residence temporarily and often simply camp in tents scattered on the

Goldi RKB
Tungus RUS

/587 cont./ islands of the river and along the tributaries. With the onset of winter, however, all of them again assemble in the more comfortable and spacious winter dwellings, and there begins a long period of a quieter and more settled life which, in its regular routine with the hunting carried on only in the vicinity, the sturgeon fishing on the ice, the trade and communication, the manifold domestic tasks and handicraft, the peculiar and prolonged bear festivals, etc., offers the ethnographer a rich field for observation and study. It is almost the same among the Olcha. Among them, however, and to an even greater extent among the Goldi, life in summer assumes an even more nomadic character as a result of the easily transportable tent dwellings solely used then, and the farther upstream one goes, the more the winter dwellings are deserted, because part of the men have left to hunt in more or less remote regions. As we saw, among the Ussuri Goldi only women, children, and aged people are to be found in them in winter, because all the able-bodied men go hunting, and, finally, the Orochi not infrequently take their wives and children along into the wilderness on their hunting, which takes up the entire winter. With respect to them, therefore, summer, which calls them back from the forests and for fishing and seal-hunting assembles them in the summer dwellings, which, though likewise only tent-shaped, are located at definite points along the seacoast and at the mouths of the rivers, offers the traveler the best time, in fact, almost the only possible time, for ethnographic research. Thus, all the living conditions of the lower Amur tribes vary and change greatly, depending on whether and to what extent fishing or hunting plays the principal role among them.

/588/ I cannot discuss in detail the hunting practices of the peoples of the upper Amur region, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, because I had only fleeting contact with them, and at a time when, far from their hunting areas, they were still in part occupied with fishing in the Amur River. With respect to

Negidal
Samagir

/602 cont./ First of all, the Amgunj offers them a direct and convenient route to the Chinese merchants along the Amur; secondly, in winter only a short distance separates them from the Samagir on the Gorin, who are likewise visited by Chinese merchants; and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Nemilen, the chief northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a low watershed, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 166 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Siberian Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 and 150).

Under these circumstances the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the Negda are not very great, except perhaps in those places where the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from those trade opportunities, namely, on Lake Orell and Lake Tschlja, where there is also a Gilyak village and which, moreover, lie on the route from the Amur to the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. Like the Negda, the Samagir, too, in addition to their principal territory on the Gorin (Gilyak Kyr), have still other habitation sites remote from it and closer to the Gilyak -- these are their settlements on Lake Udyl, and, like the Negda lakes, these, too, are /603/ visited by the Amur Gilyak for trade, and, to be sure, in winter as well as in summer. Thus, on May 18 (30), 1856, I met the Gilyak Mesgun in Patt at the moment when he was about to set out in a boat laden with various Chinese commodities to travel to the "Rdhy" (Samagir) living on Lake Udyl. On the whole, however, the latter lies, geographically as well as on the basis of the linguistic relationships of the dwellers on it, closer to the Olcha than to the Gilyak.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[P 073]

361 ●

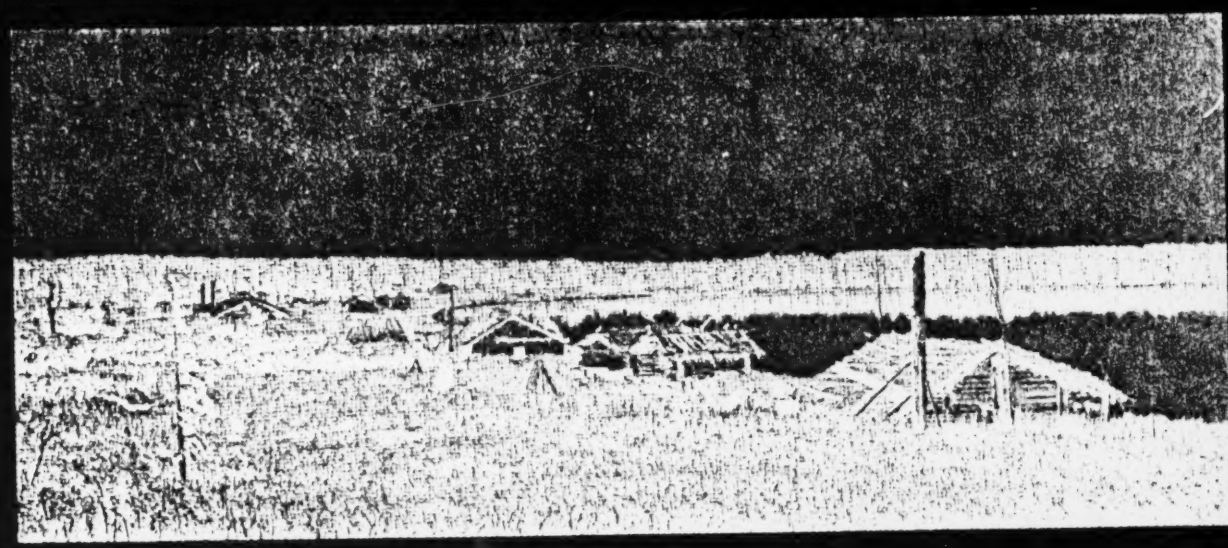

View of a village.

9: Hawes--187-188 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 361, 563

"From the delta of the Tim we made across the bay in a north-easterly direction to a cluster of huts on the inner side of the dune. The wind was already making itself felt; our light craft rocked, and the morning air struck cold on our damp clothes. The villages of Nivo [188] (the first, for there are two) and Kamavo, with their bear-cages adorned with pine branches, stood out prominently on the sandy level, and a crowd of dogs, barking and splashing, stopped their fishing to show resentment at the appearance of strangers. A verst or two beyond Kamavo our boat was beached, where stood a tent, and as we waded ashore we were accosted by two or three Kazaks, who led us into the presence of a Russian police officer.

It was a strange, out-of-the-way place to be stationed at, and only exceptional circumstances accounted for his practical banishment to this far-away spot."

horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage, whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

/739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ýżigy (**) and designate

* From the villages of Patchá and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

** Wherever the author used ы and я from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kíngulātsch, an attribute that means the same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuĭk (***). But they

*** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo, see pp. 448, 535.

THE NIVKHI

S. V. IVANOV, M. G. LEVIN and A. V. SMOLYAK

(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

General Information

The Nivkhi live on the lower reaches of the Amur and adjacent areas, as well as on Sakhalin. They are sharply different in language from their neighbors, who speak languages of the Tunguso-Manchurian group, and belong to the so-called paleo-Asiatic peoples.

The name of the people derives from their name for themselves, Nivkh, or "man." They were known in Russian pre-Revolutionary literature as "Gilyaks." This word evidently derives from "Gileke" and "Gilyami," as the Nivkhi are called among Tunguso-Manchurian peoples.

The census of 1926-27 set the number of Nivkhi at 4076 persons (1700 on Soviet Sakhalin and 2376 on the continent). In addition, according to data in 1928, 111 Nivkhi lived in the formerly Japanese part of Sakhalin.

Thus, the Nivkhi consist of two groups territorially: the continental, or the Amur, group, and the Sakhalin group. The continental Nivkhi live along the Lower Amur, along the coast of the Amur Estuary, and in the adjoining areas along the Tatar Strait and the Sea of Okhotsk. On the Amur, the Nivkhi villages are interspersed among Russian and Negidal villages. The Nivkhi village farthest up the Amur is Pad; others are situated lower on the Amur and its estuary; in the south they reach as far as Cape Lazarev; the northernmost village in the estuary is Kul' (181 km from Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur). Individual families live among the Ul'chi. In the past, some Nivkhi groups were found as far as the Uda River. In 1884, the well-known Russian traveler Middendorf encountered them on the Chumikan. In Sakhalin, the Nivkhi are living today both on the western and eastern coasts, as well as along the middle reaches of the Tym' River. On the western coast, their main mass is concentrated in the Rybnovskiy Rayon. In the Aleksandrovskiy and Shirokopadskiy Rayons there are only small groups of Nivkhi, who remained there after the resettlement of a large group in the Kirovskiy Rayon. The population of the latter is today almost entirely concentrated on one large collective farm, Chir-Unvd. On the eastern coast, the southernmost point is the village of Nyyvo; farther north, there are large villages, Dagi, Chayvo and Pil'tun, where the former residents of the tiny hamlets scattered along the coast have

resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasilly Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a somewhat different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resistance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats (kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die."

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

foxes, etc.

Hawes--231 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 231, 361

"Leaving the Orochon village of New Val,
the Gilyak settlement of Chaivo, situated
ves entrance to the sea. This was a village
anoes drawn up on the beach, and the popul
anding here, we were taken to see the bear
eing bred for their skins, and three large w
og structure. Magnificent birds they were,
eaks looked as if they should have won them
hen young, and were the contents of a nest
he natives were rearing them with a view t

we rowed over in a south-easterly directio
on the northern side of the strait which here
e of some size, for there were about thirty
ation was said to number about a hundred.
in its cage, two captive foxes, which were
white-tailed eagles tethered to corners of a
whose great powerful wings and formidable
n freedom ere this. They had been captured
robbed after the mother bird had been shot
o selling their tails to the Japanese."

9: Hawes--221 T-3 (190
116, 361

"On the opposite shores of Chaivo Bay
both Gilyak settlements, and New Val
Orochon] village. North of these there
two occupied occasionally merely for

y, on the sandbanks, were Vurkovo and Chaivo,
, an Orotchon [LSS: Erratum; it should read
e were none known, save only a solitary hut or
the fishing."

9: Hawes--106 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 136, 361

"If the human population of Sakhalin is small in
are many. It was probably as a happy hunting-gro
Gilyak pioneers from the Amur, whose descendant
west coasts and the banks of the river Tim.

The most striking of all the animals on Sakhalin
(Ursus arctos), which is found in great numbers.
chiefly in the south, and even there not in any grea
ever, prolific, and the skins of these, the reindee
up the bulk of the fur trade to the mainland."

number, the four-footed inhabitants
ound that the island appealed to the
ts are settled to-day on the east and

is, without doubt, the big brown bear
Wolves also haunt the forests, but
at numbers to-day. Foxes are, how-
r, the sable, and the otter, go to make

9: Hawes--137-138 T-3
116, 361, 563, 624

"We were nearing Ado Tim, the last Ru
interior. The native village of that nam
settlement lay half a verst from the riv
We had no wish to arrest our progres
and we would rather camp in the open,
but the natives refused to take us furthe
ashore, hoping that time would settle ou
On either side of the broad grass track
miserably poor, out-of-repair log-huts
others with loose pieces of bark. Pigs,
clad were indiscriminately scattered on

1. The East Siberian name for Sal

a fire kindled beneath, and bunches of w
betokened tobacco drying. Women wand
in the scantiest of clothing, the latter in
simply in a frock and an extra bodice. I
autumn mornings and late afternoons th
Each village has its overseer, who is

ssian penal settlement of all in the northern
e was situated on the banks lower down, but the
er.
s here, the settlement had a very bad reputation,
or among the natives, from what we had heard;
r except at a prohibitive price, and we went
ır difference.....[138]
of the settlement was a row of higgledy-piggledy,
, with tiny windows, some roofed with boards,
a foal or two, and a few children, miserably
the 'road.' Kita (1) hung curing in the smoke of

mo lagocephalus.

vithering green leaves by the hutside in the sun
ered about barefooted, and they and the men were
a cotton shirt and trousers, and the former
t was always a matter of wonder to me how in
ey could stand the cold so miserably clothed.
a soldier. In rank he may be compared to a

d my interpreter began to make preparations f
r Tim, and the north-east coast of the island.
eanwhile, an opportunity presented itself of vis
coast division of the people, who were somew
n of Alexandrovsk, along the coast."

Gilyak

for an expedition to the Gilyaks on the

siting a village of this tribe, of the
what Russianized, at Arkovo, ten miles

116, 563, 361

"Arrived at the Gilyak village of Arkovo, to my disa
for the salmon-fishing, ascending a river higher up th
spawning season. We therefore pushed on inland, past
piles, to the Russian settlement called Arkovo the Fir

A stranger from Europe, suddenly dropped down her
Sakhalin, the dreary isle of punishment, the Hades of
wore a look of contentment, with its cosy log cottages
potatoes and cabbages. Sunflowers I saw also, and wa
perfumed the air in early summer; while away in the
grand [89] purple mountains reminded me of some of t

ppointment the natives had departed
e coast to take advantage of the
the strange native huts built on
st.

re would certainly ask, 'Is this
Russia?' Outwardly, this village
and gardens, in which flourished
s told that wild roses (rosa rugosa)
listance, forest-clad heights and
he finer scenery of Japan."

9. Hawes--161 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 342, 361

"The yelping of sledge-dogs, and the smell
just visible at the bend of the river, aroused
village, if I may so dignify a collection of ha
finished canoes lay in their beds of fragrant
village, were women cleaning fish preparator

Huts of larch or pine planks, rectangular i
and doors about three feet high, a few simila
piles, for storing the winter provisions of dr
village of Ukavo."

from strings of fish drying in the sun, and
us to the contemplation of another Gilyak
lf a dozen huts with that name. Two un-
chips; and beyond, on the 'floor' of the
y to stringing it.
n shape, with obliquely sloping bark roofs,
rly shaped but quite small erections on
ied fish, and three bear cages made up the

o, 361, 363

"Though we had left behind the last Russian set
helters were passed in the course of the morning
pawning season by a few Russian 'exile-settlers'
almon against the winter's needs. At a bend of th
helters, and five men dragging a seine-net, abou
ne hundred or so of plunging and splashing kita.
oused a solitary Russian and some barrels of sa
uss our midday meal—a duck we had shot during
ell, and though the keen edge of our distrust was
o spending a night with them or to the prospect o
Occasionally we came upon a Gilyak village, co
t each one hailed any visible member of the com
nen who would take us; but they all with one acco
odied were away fishing, [156] or the only perso
anoe."

tlement at Ado Tim, three or four rude
g, which were occupied during the
for the catching and salting down of
ne river we came upon one of these
ut two hundred feet long, which contained
At another of these rude huts, which
lt and dried grass, we stopped to dis-
the morning. Our men behaved very
s wearing off, we did not look forward
f night watches.
onsisting of half a dozen huts or so, and
munity, inquiring if there were not
ord made excuses. Either the able-
n available was ill or had no safe

: Hawes--259-260 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 342, 361, 622

We drew up in front of the 'great city' of Nivo
wellings which would be reckoned miserable
ne usual signal, twelve pair of stalwart hands
trode up the sands to meet the headman of the
im, the 'Lord Mayor of the city of Nivo.'
The 'Mansion House' of the 'Lord Mayor of
umble fashion, was rather larger than those
xactly similar. Outside, on either side of the
helves sheltered by an extension of the roof,
nanner of tackle not required until later in the
ome score, of Gilyaks, who were to be our s
rised the starosta, his two wives, his childre
rmunka, who was a distant cousin."

, consisting of less than two dozen huts,
by the occupants of Irish [260] hovels. At
were ready to haul up our canoe, and we
village, or, as my interpreter called

Nivo,' which I now entered in the usual
we had seen hitherto, but in other respects
three-foot doorway, were two broad
and containing winter sledges and all
year. Inside was a goodly gathering,
leeping companions that night. These com-
en and relatives, the latter including our

their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark. The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters. The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened.

Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,

2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.

Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a practical significance, for the good runners find immediate buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where various things are bartered.

The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cranberries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means worship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun, some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is not given such expressions of veneration.

When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo themselves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty, with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237] roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as entertainment has been described. Special music is produced in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -two old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thickness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settlements were particularly numerous along the shallow shore of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

161 It is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the other hand, there were far fewer villages.

439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their primary occupations they spend their summers on the river banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be situated right by the river. One might conclude from this, perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the river in summer because of the partically marshy and therefore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller, for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close contact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that, in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

y do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not ve an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0.050 to 0.053 soluble matter per liter of which 0.033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from h sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low ands. The general character of the land is that of a ma- tic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear tly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland y are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are gener- y not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region overed with vast dark green forests. Only here and there stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, iso- ed spots along the shore there are Russian villages sur- nded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, he foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak ages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. casionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless on is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish ashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges y to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the ge animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the veler as he might have expected and as is the case in other ions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the uri.

The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is ted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

frequent intervals with the evergreen pine, rivalled the October hues of our New England landscape. Hills and low mountains rose on both banks of the river and made a beautiful picture. The hills, covered with forest from base to summit, sloped gently to the water's edge or retreated here and there behind bits of green meadow. In the distance was a background of blue mountains glowing in sunshine or dark in shadow, and varying in outline as we moved slowly along. The river was ruffled only by the ripples of the current or the motion of our boat through the water. Just a year earlier I descended the Saint Lawrence from Lake Ontario to Quebec. I saw nothing on the great Canadian river that equaled the scenery of my first day's voyage on the Amoor.

Soon after leaving Nicolayevsk we met several loads of hay floating with the current to a market at the town. On the meadows along the river the grass is luxuriant, and hay requires only the labor of cutting and curing. During the day we passed several points where haymaking was in progress. Cutting was performed with an instrument resembling the short scythe used in America for cutting bushes. After it was dried, the hay was brought to the river bank on dray-like carts. An American hay wagon would have accomplished twice as much with equal labor.

The hay is like New England hay from natural meadows, and is delivered at Nicolayevsk for six or eight dollars a ton. Cattle and horses thrive upon it, if I may judge by the condition of the stock I saw. For its transportation two flat-bottomed boats are employed, and held about twelve feet apart by timbers. A floor on these timbers and over the boats serves to keep the hay dry. Men are stationed at both ends of the boats, and when once in the stream there is little to do beside floating with the current. A mile distant one of these barges appears like a haystack which an accident has set adrift.

We saw many Gilyak boats descending the river with the current or struggling to ascend it. The Gilyaks form the native population in this region and occupy thirty-nine vil-

lages with about two thousand inhabitants. The villages are on both banks from the mouth of the river to Mariensk, and out of the reach of all inundations. Distance lends enchantment to the view of their houses, which will not bear close inspection.

Some of the houses might contain a half dozen families of ordinary size, and were well adapted to the climate. While we took wood at a Gilyak village I embraced the opportunity

A GILYAK VILLAGE.

to visit the aboriginals. The village contained a dozen dwellings and several fish-houses. The buildings were of logs or poles, split in halves or used whole, and were roofed with poles covered with a thatch of long grass to exclude rain and cold. Some of the dwelling houses had the solid earth for floors, while others had floorings of hewn planks.

The store houses were elevated on posts like those of an American 'corn barn,' and were wider and lower than the dwellings. Each storehouse had a platform in front where canoes, fishing nets, and other portable property were stowed.

362

362 HOUSING--adequacy of housing facilities (e.g., for physical protection, for comfort, for privacy); housing shortages and overcrowding; effects of poverty, war, and natural calamities; public and private housing and slum clearance programs; etc. See also:

Dwellings	342	Standard of living	511
Renting and leasing	427	Public welfare	687

The Gilyaks are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the Russians suffer from it more than in Europe. I have spoken in another connection (1) of the fact that I believe

1. St. Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3. 1882.

this illness can be traced to earth miasmas, and particularly to external ones rising up from the extensive marshes and bogs, as well as house miasmas. The fact that the natives are immune [248] may be attributed partly to habit, (for Europeans suffer most from it when they first arrive) and especially to the functional construction of the houses. Russian barracks and private houses stand on frame work which soon rots. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood and damp earth which does not freeze even in winter. The houses are badly ventilated and frequently have a definite odor of mould. The Gilyak house has a solid floor of pressed clay which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate; it is well ventilated and is often filled with smoke whose disinfectant qualities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems to be only a limited factor in this question.

Another endemic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, occurs among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom and soon disappears. It is usually accompanied by unbearable colic. This catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.

In spite of the constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers from tape worm. Among Russians, too, it seems to come mainly from pork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.

Bronchial catarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia seems the most frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the Gilyak. The children of the Gilyak villages also suffered from a whooping cough epidemic that was prevalent during my time in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

Eye diseases occur more seldom than one would expect, for in general, tribes that live in smoky houses frequently suffer from them and present many one-eyed and blind cases. The Gilyak houses are not always full of smoke, to be sure, but so frequently that the relative absence of these diseases must be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the eye nerves. Actually, everyone who has been inside a Gilyak house will be convinced that the natives can remain calmly seated in smoke clouds that would immediately drive a European out. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely unpunished. One finds among them people with chronic

372

372 FIRE--generation of fire; techniques and apparatus (e.g., fire plow, fire drill, flint and steel, fire piston, matches); borrowing, preservation, and transportation of fire, tinder and kindling; fuels; uses of fire; beliefs about fire and associated practices; etc. See also:

Brand tillage	241	Firing of pottery	323
Cooking	252	Hearths, stoves, and lamps	354
Gathering of firewood	313	Fire protection	368
Production of charcoal	314	Manufacture of oil and gas	382
Coal mining	316	Conflagrations	731

/64 cont./

796 cutting up /65/ the bones, and so forth -- everything is done in conformity with permanently established rules. The first moment of this procedure, immediately following the removal of the skin, presents a very imposing sight for the Gilyak. The white (from the heavy layer of fat), soft body, stretched out on its back, those front paws with long and even fingers, resembling, to the point of illusion, human hands, amid the gloom of night, must irresistibly evoke in the savage the notion that he is not in the presence of a dead beast, but of a man of a particular nature, who has taken off his hairy skin and now majestically rests, following the least movement of his knife. The entire, detached skin of the bear, together with the head, is carried into the yurt, not through the door, but through the smoke opening, and down the high pole with the crown of coniferous needles, which still rises above the earth yurt. The clan elder carefully takes hold of the skin and, striking it lightly with a stick, says: "Remember that you were fed by such and such old man and by such and such old woman." Meanwhile the women greet the sacred head with a solemn [534] march played on a most original instrument. This is a dry log of larch hung on a frame, on which several people in turn beat out in rhythm relatively monotonous sounds. To the sounds of this charming music the clan elder installs the head of the bear on the plank bed of honor, covered with coniferous needles. Under the head there is a quiver with arrows and, by its side, tobacco, sugar, and other viands. [974] The bear takes along the souls of all these things. The carcasses of meat stay outside on a special wooden platform, and parts are brought in through the smoke opening. The day ends with eating, conversations, games of the youth, dances, and fencing with sticks. The next day is called the day of the feeding of the head. From morning until night kettles boil inside the yurt, and all kinds of dishes of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared. A portion of each dish is put in a separate vessel and placed next to the bear's head. This, then, means "to feed the head." ● [372] On the same day the boiling of the bear meat begins. The meat is boiled outside in a special kettle; the fire is ignited with the sacred steel, which is not used on any other occasion.

/86 cont./

*614 597 173 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is everywhere.

Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is homogeneous, cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kinship union.

*614 ● 372 776 2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan deity for the Gilyak. In each hearth there sits, according to one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but also by those who, having gone to the other world, have become the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea, etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an intermediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

[171]

1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also plays the role of intermediary between human beings and the gods; he intercedes for human beings, he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/87 cont./

*614 372 776 782 On all the important occasions of life, in case of sickness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey, etc. -- the clansman throws into the fire his modest sacrifices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack -- and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request. And she knows all the means necessary to insure that a petition to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

*614 372 776 775 In order to understand the real basis of the "clan" attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the fire, who can receive his favorites into his clan, so that these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire; 2) in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

[171] 2. It is curious that a similar view exists among the Buryat: a man who perishes from lightning becomes a powerful and beneficent spirit to whom sacrifices are made and prayers are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman" (mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire, its ability to spread quickly, its many tongues (tongues of flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-Veda) understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" special advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions; finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance, i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

/88 cont./

*614 372 Externally the clan unity of the fire finds expression in the following ways. Only a clansman has the right to light a fire in the hearth of a clansman. Only a clansman has the right to take fire out of the yurt. A member of another clan who has lighted his pipe at the clan hearth may not leave the yurt until he has finished his pipe. Any [688] infraction of these rules of the inviolability of the clan fire by a member of another clan inevitably incurs dangerous consequences for the clansmen and the obligation for the member of another clan to pay blood money.

Each clan has its own clan steel, guarded by the oldest member, and only with this steel can the fire be lighted when bear meat is cooked at the bear festival, which plays such an important role in the religious and clan life of the Gilyak. When it becomes necessary for the clan to divide, i.e., when a part of the clan is compelled to emigrate to a very distant place, the oldest member of the clan breaks the clan steel and entrusts one half to the oldest of the emigrants, and only after this is the clan formally divided.

The mistress of the fire, as the representative of the akhmal'k clan, plays quite an important role in interclan relations, binding, through her cult and protection, the clan in whose midst she dwells and to which she gave birth with the clan from which she came; from generation to generation she brings into it the daughters of her brothers and their descendants.

*614 775 3. One mountain man, sea man, etc. -- the common benevolent clan masters of the mountain, sea, earth, etc. In the section on religious beliefs we have already explained the nature and significance of this type of deity. These are not the fantastic heroes of the classical clans, not the vague, mythical beings whose clan celebrations were a simple traditional ritualism, but clansmen close to each living generation, who either died some kind of unnatural death (in the water, slain by a forest beast, and so forth) or,

/91 cont./

000 574 688 372 775 very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

*614 433 476 But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet *614 476 the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate *614 476 261 [262] in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

/313 cont./

796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly
782 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

731 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the
782 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,
[165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chêdzigr. This old man remembers four big takh.

796 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn
782 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they are
[372] not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a
[354] white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur. If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

798 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtäs',
787 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/) on which are
224 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here
225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz: only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, ag:a (akhydz') -- a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

/317 cont./

342 Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of
787 the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

342 If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple
787 streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking
789 is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a
[776] devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chkhnyr chkhnaj, a grass figure, and
342 drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in
776 autumn (cleaning) (1) and another time when one wishes. They
782

[372] 1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matka, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

342 /318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the follow-
789 ing fashion: a grass figure -- chkhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes
[534] with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman
[756] enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kekhn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

342 The shaman then says: "gy, gy (i.e., 'good'), in such and
756 such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Gy-gy,
789 gy-gy, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner.
[776] Massi (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kekhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/327 cont./

764 facing west, is placed upon the stacked firewood -- hap, the arms folded with the palms toward the breast, and the legs bent with the knees up (the favorite position on a plank bed. Then they pre-
[372] pare the wooden device for obtaining fire -- chkhach: tugur, namely, a vertical stick, lung (drill); the tinder is placed in the middle of a small stick, the fire is obtained by rubbing the lung against this latter, and the master of the house sets fire to the shavings.

Before (lighting the fire) they get up on the firewood and
[152] cry over the deceased. The crying is begun by women. It is a sin for a man to cry over the deceased, except for his wife. The wife of an elder brother, but not of a younger one, goes to cry on the hap of a deceased bachelor.

The lamentations over the body of a husband: "My husband, oh woe, the gay devil (crying), the gay ones killed, above me now they go; another man now; (those who are) poorer than I will grow rich, (be) richer than I from now on. I shall now eat only my tears."

[152] When the fire is well under way and the flames begin to approach the upper part of the body, they take firewood from a prepared stack and throw it in the fire; even a small child throws some kind of little stick; others poke the body with long
[763] sticks; this is an expression of love. If under the influence of the fire the hands of the deceased stretch out, this is an evil omen of the imminent death of some close kinsman, and the hands are restored to their original position with sticks.

At the completion of the ceremony of cremation, a dog is sacrificed, and upon killing it, its head is bent downward and toward the appropriate deity: to Pal toward the east, to Tol -- toward the sea. Some throw away (put into a pit) the dog's skin /328/ together with the meat; others boil the meat, for which a special fire is laid by the side of the hap, and the meat is partly eaten, partly scattered around. After this they set out for the yurt of the deceased, eat a spoonful of food each, smoke a little, and disperse.

/334 cont./

834 One may not sleep with a woman when nooses and trap
are being set, i.e., during the narkhund, and also during a b
festival and when a man has died.

III.

342 The Building of a House and Rites and Ideas Connected with the House

[789] A flint and some sweetbrier are placed under the post.
sweetbrier guards against the milk, while the flint is there so
there will be no hole in the wood, and then the milk (evil spi
cannot come through. The door is toward the east.

When a new yurt is finished, a festival is held. They n
an inau chkhnaj (chkhnaj efn (?) ekhlung; Ady-Tymi) in the
shape of a human face on each of four posts (nas'ki khar) of th
house, and, for the sturdiness of the house, inau are tied to the
cross rafters (nas'ki). Then they kill a dog, tie it to the nas'k
khar closest to the door, and rub the chkhnaj with the blood o
heart. The meat of the dog is boiled. Mos' is made, and th
[782] chkhnajinau, the kelgelnan'kh, or (in Arkyvo) the lymyznman
and the nich are fed. Three small firs are then placed in the
hearth and tied up with two saranka -- bound with puchka (ak
for some reason these bindings are called "little bear." After
this, mos' wrapped in inau is put in three places under the gr
At night when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to b
the firs and say a prayer.

372 In the fire nearest the exit is the tugur-mam, and beyo
782 the fire the old man tugur-ychkh. The tugur, the master of t
fire, is fed with all sorts of viands; they throw them into the
and say: "Urgur injä, urlantaf mujä!" (i.e., "eat well, be a
house!"). Next they feed each /335/ corner, repeating: "Ur
tugur mujäik urlaf parkjä, hiulan taf mujä ta chos'khejä" --
a good fire, do everything well, be a house that brings luck i
the hunt, do not get broken!" (it is understood that the old w

/335 cont./
372 of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four
382 inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Urgur n'ŭ, nekhlang kin kekholaf khavryr hunivaguja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kel'nung ankh --" the bitch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe: one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house -
76 four chkhnaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men.
42 Tavyzing tugur yzing. This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.

(688) If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyz'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

/32 Means for love. There is medicine to make another person
25 fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies), or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

/350 cont./
177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this,
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
372 Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
252 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
174 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

182 /354 cont./
614 5. The members of the clan are bound together by common
896 sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to
[574] everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a
[224] clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable.
[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but
[706] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."
[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on
[562] this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
392 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

614 /355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is
377 connected with this steel. When a clan is divided and part of it
167 emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar) breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting
614 of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refresh-
825 ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of even-
782 ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan
[562] (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kur niongu-khia!" ("God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

614 6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its
682 members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
628 another khal'. The means is clan vengeance.

The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has
[177] weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (nyn'vo yozynedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

/363 cont./
177 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influ-
177 ence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
464 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
[439] Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
[454] Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of the environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

776 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
392 is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies
[791] at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damage the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
[688] or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

396 /364 cont./
[372] Gilyak. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the number of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea
[191] and the taiga give the Gilyak more than fire does. Imagining the elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similiarity, but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination; "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared into the sky with their rider." One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("khal'") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- mountain, taiga). All the sacrifices /365/ at the bear festival belong to
[182] [196] him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Toll'-nivukh, and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it
[82] is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses; the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils ("ncuidharush"). This is a whole khal', living in the sea and dangerous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak repl

293 /395 cont./
412 and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 2).
[53] The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata)
[237] adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX)[2] (5). Usually a second knife is also worn at

[128] 5. On Pl. XVIII,[2] the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dshakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4),[3] quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring
[237] at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made of sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dshakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the
415 /396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as
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1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container
[53] for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small
[237] bag of sealskin leather (Gilyak tschondaR, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5),[4] usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[2,3,4,5] [See Category 116, pp. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respectively --Analyst]

293 /396 cont./
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[53] Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well
[237] as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a sturgeon that is softened beforehand for the purpose and later hardening like wood: on the Amur out of the skin of the tukki-tscho of the Gilyak (Acipenser Schrenckii Brandt), on Sakhalin out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the northern part of the Sea of Japan and called okras by the Gilyak. The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be inverted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that, after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper
372 piece can be lifted off the lower one. Like the tinder box, the
293 steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain (Gilyak kessj-kessj) equipped with various appendages (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1,[2] and Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1).[2] Sometimes there is also found
293 on this a bent, little iron rod pointed at the bottom (Pl. XXVIII,
/412 Figs. 1 and 2), which is also carried separately and serves for all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap, at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc.
[321] This instrument (Gil. kedak) is not infrequently also made of
[53] horn or bone, and as insignificant and unessential as it is in itself, nevertheless it is usually decorated with all sorts of carved
293 figures (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, various other odds and ends usually hang in the belt of the Gilyak as he happens to find them, for instance, a boar's tusk or tooth, a piece of antelope horn or deer antler, etc.

291 In winter, the Gilyak women also wear coats of dog fur,
237 which are made like those of the men; nevertheless they are sometimes seen, though rarely, in coats of more precious furs. In the winter of 1856, for instance, in Tangi on Sakhalin, I saw one of the wives of the Gilyak Kombrein wrapped in a coat of fox skins with the fur turned to the outside, under which two under-coats of blue and of patterned Chinese material trimmed with otter and sable furs were visible. On neatly dressed girls, children of well-to-do parents, one sometimes sees on the dog-fur coat a narrow fox-fur collar, the so-called mungrusk in Gilyak,
[2,3] [See Category 116, pp. 1008 and 1009 respectively--Analyst]

412 /502 cont./ Two Persons are required to
[372] work with this drill, in that, by means of a piece of wood, one person presses it from above, where a little iron peg set into the handle is found, against the place where the hole is to be, and the other one sets it in rotating motion by quickly pulling a strap looped several times around the handle -- a procedure which I also observed in connection with the Gilyak method of making fire by friction to be discussed later and in another connection. For this reason, I am inclined to regard the lung,
[192] as well as a second, quite similar and also similarly operated,
[194] but somewhat thinner drill, which the Gilyak call pisk, as ancient instruments perhaps invented by them themselves, whereas the small drill for finer work and similar to our tools of this type (ibid., Fig. 8), whose Gilyak designation is still unknown to me and which is wholly of iron, may be later and foreign in origin. (1). This is undoubtedly also the case for another

1. The Olcha-Tungusic designation for this small drill, according to Maximowicz, is sselgefó and sseldschefó.

[192] instrument, the saw. I myself never encountered this among the Gilyak, but in the village of Tylm Maximowicz saw a specimen of it which looked exactly like our ordinary carpenter's saw and was called puf by the Gilyak, pófo by the Olcha -- a correspondence in designation which likewise indicates a common borrowing of the object concerned by both peoples from a foreign source.

396 But after this digression let us return to the construction
[192] of the boat. The rear end of it is closed off with a vertical stern-board, and above it and between /505/ the two side-boards a horizontal board (Gilyak ott(o)ma), projecting somewhat toward the rear, is put in to serve as a seat for the steersman. The bow is closed off in front by two obliquely placed boards (Gilyak alo), the left one always riding a little higher than the right one, which gives the prow a pointed shape. All the seams, and especially the two longest ones, between the bottom and the two side-boards of the boat, are calked, but this must be done

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Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

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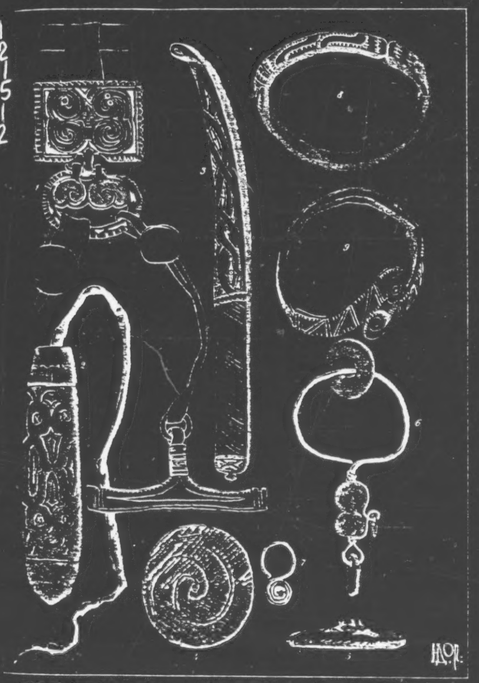

Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

/765 cont./

764 After the narte had been set down, the dogs were unhitched, and one of them led back to the village, while the other two were tied to a tree. Now the wife of the deceased stepped up to the corpse and removed the pieces of cloth and the spears, the gray shroud, the jukola, the tobacco, and the pipe, and put these articles aside on the ground. She also untied the eye binding and threw it away, as well as the bundle of wood shavings from the neck. Then she took from one of his hands a pinch of fine tobacco and from the other a root which had been placed between the fingers, and finally, untied the string which tied the corpse to the narte. In the meantime an old Gilyak had been busy spreading fir branches on the pyre.

When this bed was ready, the corpse was lifted from the narte and put on the pyre (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /). On the bottom of the narte lay a board and on it a large piece of birch bark which showed traces of its use for storing berries and which had now served as the underlayer immediately under the corpse. The board and birch bark were thrown off, and the sled was pulled aside, where a Gilyak broke it in two and left the pieces lying there. In the meantime, others were busy killing the two remaining dogs, which was done in the following way. One of the Gilyak held the dog on a cord, another threw him a piece of jukola, and, while the dog was eating it, a third hit the dog's neck with a cudgel and pressed it /766/ to the ground with it, whereupon a fourth pierced the animal's heart with a small pointed stick. Both dogs were
764 372 killed in this manner and laid aside (*). Meanwhile, still other

* On Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, due to an error, all three dogs are pictured as present during this act.

Gilyak made the fire for the cremation of the corpse. According to the Gilyak view, this may not be produced in the ordinary way with flint and steel, but must be made by rubbing pieces of wood together. For this purpose a kind of spindle was carved out

/766 cont./

764 372 of dry larch wood, as well as two elongated pieces of wood with a cavity in the center of each one, into which the tip of the spindle exactly fitted. A small piece of fungus was put into these small depressions in the pieces of wood; the spindle was put into them with its tips vertical, and turned with the help of a strap, which ignited the fungus after a few moments. The fire obtained was then maintained with fungus. (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, left foreground.)

764 Meanwhile the other preparations were made at the funeral pyre. After the corpse had been placed upon the layers of fir branches, as has been mentioned, it was covered up with a thick layer of fir branches, but in such a way that the forehead and the crown with the gray hair were visible in the brushwork. Now long logs, of the same dried larch wood as all the rest, were put around beside one another in the form of a pyramid, with only a small space left open at the head end, through which one could still see the gray crown. At the same time, several long logs were placed inside the pyramid on the fir branches that covered the corpse. When the pyre was ready, the place around it was cleared somewhat, in that the dry brush, the smaller roots, and the grass around the pile of wood were removed with the ax, so that the fire would not spread. Now the widow of the deceased took the glowing fungus, wrapped it in dry moss, wound a wide strip of birch bark around it and, by swinging it back and forth, made the flames which she fanned into bigger ones with another piece of birch bark. Since, out of lack of experience, she did not know where the fire must be put first, an old Gilyak gave her the necessary directions, and she now put the fire under the head part of the pyre (Plate LXV /p. 1265 /). As soon as that was done, other Gilyak came to help, took fire from the wife, and put it at corresponding places on the other side of the pyramid, under the corpse and then all around it, for which they used the birch bark that had lain under the corpse on the narte. The dry and easily inflammable material quickly caught fire, and with the moderate breeze the whole huge wooden pyramid soon stood in blazing flames. The heat streaming from it forced the

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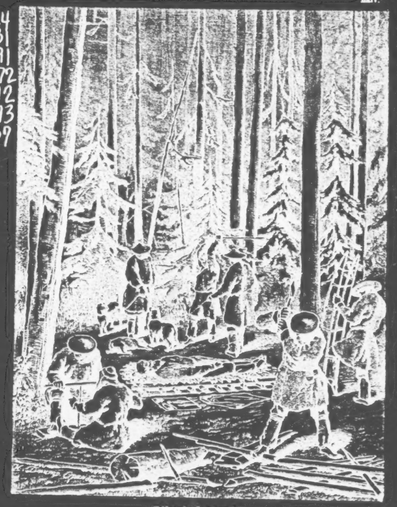

Gilyak funeral.

854
291
516

Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could also access (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and gave a piece to the part that split off. 614 372

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (khusind). In reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy 614 647

764 burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurines, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan. [795] 614

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any part in the clan cults. 372 784 756 795 614

538 Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyfugh), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

531 Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship. [462]

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times. [197]

225 the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
501 unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
476
422 zayezdka.
466 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
514 the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.
466 Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
556 Tf-nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi-, Potaq from clan Neo afi-, Ot from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez-ran and Tesk from clan Tf-nu-.

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, l tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
556 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
476 with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
466 of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big,' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
502 to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve-l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pilaf.

225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pilaf exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi-d and tra-j; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzisger.
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles as
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uŋkis 'pay' (j-uski-d
225 'to pay.' s - suffix of the implement of action).
775 There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire?

Of some help in answering this question may be the following opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin in 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmur informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the master of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no better. "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea concludes the seal hunt.

115 A seal hunt. (1) Supplement
225

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were suffering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate."Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put everything in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out the boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) make

2. i.e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was at

corpse is placed on the pyre ready for cremation, and all is now ready save the hich must be procured in a special manner. In memory of the earliest traditional s of obtaining it, flint and steel may not be used, nor of course the Russian, or Japanese, matches. A pointed stick is inserted in a hole made in a piece of plank on the ground. Four men take each an end of a thong attached to and twisted round ck, and pull it. This rotates, generates friction, and ignites the dried tinder in close proximity. The top of the stick is steadied by pressing on it a flat piece d, or if need be a Gilyak applies his chest. Torches are lighted, and fire is ap- is chest. Torches are lighted, and fire is applied to the pyre, first by the widow, eceased leave one."

9: Hawes--260 T-3 (
116, 372, 776, 823

"The honoured place at the end of
door (the east end it happened to be
preter. Honourable as it was, we to
secticide, a proceeding in no way r
came to shake a cloth over the fire,
derogatory to Tur ni vookh, the lor

f the hut, [LSS: of the headman at Nivo] opposite the
in this case), was reserved for me and my inter-
ook the precaution of sprinkling it freely with in-
esented, and probably not understood; but when I
, I was politely requested to refrain from an act
d of that element."

10: Coxwell--128 [2] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 372, 539, 776

"THE GILYAK WHO OFFENDED THE FIRE LORD

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, p. 121.]

The Lord of Fire is considered by the Gilyaks to be an intermediary between man and all the deities; and the hunter who sacrifices to fire considers that he thereby propitiates the Lord of the Forest, and secures success in the chase. In the Gilyak story, 'The Mountain-devil in the form of a Tiger,' a party of hunters sacrifices to fire. In the Yakut tale, 'Al-Iot: the Spirit of Fire,' a spoonful of all food is thrown to the Fire. Among the Yukaghirs, a definite form of words is employed before a fire when a new net is dedicated."

13: Seeland--27 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

462 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he
also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets
and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.
286 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
326 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
463 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive
manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man
and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their
existence, although not in the same degree. For instance,
with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a
knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few,
finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp
(to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as
for example lances with silver decorations.

● 372 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making.
The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing
flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder,
flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they
should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive
peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which
is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of
wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a
string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands
and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is
produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

411 The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except
his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife con-
sists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and
half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn
on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and
arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have
obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale
bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like
best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i.e.,
the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125]
small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched
bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use
it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The
string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires
some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The
arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is
somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

13: Seeland--53 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
● 372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
From this we may see how much they really understand of
their new religion. We have said before that they regard

19:Genest--4 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so
bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wear-
ing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the
fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons
customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173)
[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak
women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in grace-
fulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn
not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned
repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are
already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon
often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use
larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will
find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in
the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion
even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The
Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The
amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

19:Genest--5 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up des-
truction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over
the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village
of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when
Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and
they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task,
since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed
by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred
position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a
personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak,
it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does
today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious con-
ceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems
to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223),
[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi
pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are
fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden
spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually
held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of
the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now
give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the
opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a
festival was to take place on that day. From several other
villages, some of which were considerable distances away
large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole
place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The
opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

20: Bush--102 [2] T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 372

"Among other superstitious notions, the Gilaks will not allow a particle of fire to be taken from their habitations, not even in a pipe. A violation of this custom they firmly believe will be the occasion of some great disaster--either a complete failure in fishing or in the chase, or the death or serious accident to some near relative or dear friend."

9: Hawes--270-271 T-3
116, 372, 462, 562

"We have already seen how sacre
at the lying-in-state of a deceased
ni vookh, the god of fire. [LSS: See
rightful domain, so is the cauldron
daughters may interfere in this her
of putting on the cauldron; this is h
into the cauldrons may symbolize,
and the new one evidently witnesse
her rightful position as a hausfrau
forth her status is also guaranteed

ed the hearth is to the Gilyak, and in the rites adopted
woman, her intimate relation and duty towards Tur
e category 116, pp. 242ff.] Even as the fire is her
her special care, and [271] hers alone; not even her
private and sacred sphere. She alone has the right
er right as hostess. Whatever the putting of the feet
the fact that the bride does it to both the maternal
s for the first time to her equality with her mother,
and head of her own domestic establishment. Hence-
among her husband's kindred."

9: Hawes--260-261 T-3
116, 372

"The importance that fire plays i
climes cannot be exaggerated. It is
tects them in winter, and saves the
elevated to the rank of a deity.

This protector is also a purifier,
loved ones vanish—depart invisibly
Hence an added sacredness to the h
The hostess on going to bed raked a
ing fuel, covering it up with [261] n
tinuity maintained. Even to-day I h
it was. It is still a sin to take even
of the hut with a pipe which has bee

n the life of peoples living in sub-arctic or arctic
small wonder, therefore, that the element which pr
m from a diet of raw and frozen food, should be

and to him they give the bodies of their dead. Their
—and so they believe they may also return invisibly.
earth. In bygone times it was a sin to put out the fire
a small hole in the ashes, and placed there the burn-
ore ashes. Thus the fire was conserved, and its con
ave seen this done, though custom is less strict than
a spark from the fire outside of the hut, or to go out
n lighted inside."

3

373 LIGHT--sources of ligh
knowledge about lighting
lighting), beliefs about
Signaling with lights . . . .
Photography . . . . . .
Indoor lighting systems and app
Manufacture of lighting applian
Optical instruments . . . . .

73

t; methods of producing light; practical and scientific
; uses of light; outdoor lighting systems (e.g., stree
ight; etc. See also:

. 202
. 215
ltances. . . . 354
ces 394
. 416
Portable lights 418
Theatrical lighting 536
Ideas about day and night 821
Ideas about colors and shadows 822

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

225 During the hunt on
782 of the pilaŋ to ligh
372 light a camp fire u
476 he has to use the i

4. To tend the r
225 floes. Young hunte
476 in this respect com
502 "If the pilaŋ obser
are not worried."

5. To distribute

As can be seen,
functions of a leade
thing goes wrong d

In the collective
izers but also goo
22 [81] Everything i
501 to the conclusion o
476 designated position
name.

The position at t
stern, is called ŋ
pid, the fourth - m
lele m -pid ('plac
six and even seven

225 Starting from th
476 cupied by the oldes
554 next pair of oars i
561 oars at the bow is c
the boat.

When the ice fie
position at the bow
that time he rows j
no seals in sight he
at the bow. Since h
turns out to be a be
cases he turns the
at the bow to fire at
pilaŋ Norp sat duri
At the same time G
had turned over to h
bow during the hunt
by himself twenty s
imply that of the wh
shoots at the seals.

must use the tinder box or the matches
a campfire. No hunter has the right to
sing his own implements for this purpose;
nplements of the pilaŋ instead.
udder and to observe the wind and ice-
rs with no experience in sea-faring rely
pletely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
es the wind and the floes, the young hunters

the quarry among the hunters.
the pilaŋ performs the most responsible
r. I was told by the Gilyaks that if any-
uring the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.
of hunters there must be not only organ-
d oarsmen and a good shot.
n the boat is organized from the beginning
the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
at the oars. Each of the positions has its

he first pair of oars, starting from the
tivd, the second - tafpuf, the third - alχ-
ɣerq -pid ('sitting at the bow '), the fifth -
ed at the very bow'). There are boats with
pairs of oars.
e stern, the first position, ŋativd, is oc-
t and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
s a younger hunter. The position at the
ccupied by the youngest of the hunters in

ds are reached and the hunt begins, the
is occupied by the very best shot. Until
ust like the others. As long as there are
rows like the others, occupying the position
is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often
ter shot than the young hunters. In such
udder over to someone in the boat and sits
the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak
g the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals.
lak at tended the rudder which the pilaŋ
im. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the
According to his information he had killed
als and missed two. We do not wish to
ble collective of hunters only one person
Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 mu-ziv-d on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziv-d on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from
misfortunes.

782 Aside from mu-ziv-d, traj is performed on the boat. Traj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-aks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the
bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face
turned to the sea. We shall come back to these traj elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and,
starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the
outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks
with the branches so as to elvlaf-p-k-azd --"lose bad places
(evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the
sea and are off.

225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultane-
ous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and
quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the
bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in
the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They
need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a rep-
resentation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines traj. They
will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its
outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the
hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
823 first go to Ui-kr "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
766
782

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop con-
taining the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

/501 cont./
501 for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are
[184] timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators.
[361] And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the
[181] coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and
trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft
501 boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

396 In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily
[192] consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put to-
[824] gether have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twissjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from
[192] above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

/501 cont./

501

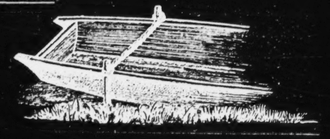

Gilyak Boat Construction

396 For this purpose several sticks are driven into the ground opposite one another on either side to serve as supports for the boards; around the upper end of each pair of the sticks standing opposite each other a strap or cord is looped (see the accompanying woodcut), and by a stronger or weaker tightening of it the side boards can be brought precisely into position so that their lower edges coincide with those of the bottom board. Once the boat has been tied together in this manner, its final strengthening can
[192] /502/ begin. First several crosspieces (Gilyak tschylch) are put between the side boards, connecting them with each other. One such connecting stick is found in the rear end of the boat, another in the middle, and a third just before the prow. The fastening
[412] of the side boards to the bottom board, and likewise all the other
[192] boards to one another, is done by means of wooden pegs, which, with the help of a little iron rod (Gilyak ottauws, Pl. XXXII /see p.1017/, Fig. 7), are driven into holes made beforehand with the large drill (Gilyak lung, ibid., Fig. 6) along the edges of the boards concerned.

412 In passing it should be mentioned that these implements,
531 not used merely in making boats, but also on other occasions, for example, for attaching the above-mentioned sole-mountings on the sleds, are always neatly made in Gilyak fashion and likewise provided with many decorations, the little iron rod with fine strips of inlaid copper and silver, the wooden handle of the
412 drill with many graceful carvings. Two persons are required to

/502 cont./ Two persons are required to
412 work with this drill, in that, by means of a piece of wood, one
[372] person presses it from above, where a little iron peg set into the handle is found, against the place where the hole is to be, and the other one sets it in rotating motion by quickly pulling a strap looped several times around the handle -- a procedure which I also observed in connection with the Gilyak method of making fire by friction to be discussed later and in another connection. For this reason, I am inclined to regard the lung,
[192] as well as a second, quite similar and also similarly operated,
[104] but somewhat thinner drill, which the Gilyak call pisk, as ancient instruments perhaps invented by them themselves, whereas the small drill for finer work and similar to our tools of this type (ibid., Fig. 8), whose Gilyak designation is still unknown to me and which is wholly of iron, may be later and foreign in origin. (1). This is undoubtedly also the case for another

1. The Olcha-Tungusic designation for this small drill, according to Maximowicz, is sseligefó and sseldschefó.

[192] instrument, the saw. I myself never encountered this among the Gilyak, but in the village of Tylm Maximowicz saw a specimen of it which looked exactly like our ordinary carpenter's saw and was called puf by the Gilyak, pófo by the Olcha -- a correspondence in designation which likewise indicates a common borrowing of the object concerned by both peoples from a foreign source.

396 But after this digression let us return to the construction of the boat. The rear end of it is closed off with a vertical
[192] stern-board, and above it and between /503/ the two side-boards a horizontal board (Gilyak ott(o)mus), projecting somewhat toward the rear, is put in to serve as a seat for the steersman. The boat is closed off in front by two obliquely placed boards (Gilyak alp), the left one always rising a little higher than the right one, which gives the prow a pointed shape. All the seams, and especially the two longest ones, between the bottom and the two side-boards of the boat, are calked, but this must be done

/503 cont./
396 very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together
[824] only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only
[412] with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water
[192] and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motassj), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the
[192] case of larger boats even three, pairs of oar-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misgyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too,
[532] with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-boards always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surface, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-boards for protection against rot,

/503 cont./
396 which is done by raising it on a pair of rather high trestles and lighting the brushwood spread under it.
[192] The oars (Gilyak ywnj) are provided with a broad, rounde blade tapering off to a point and with a hole at a thicker place on the handle for setting them on the oar-pins (Pl. XXXVIII
501 /see p.1018/, Fig. 2) (1). The Gilyak boat does not have fixed

[114] 1. This illustration has a fundamental error, so that one should visualize the direction in which the oar handle is bored as shifted by an angle of 90°, that is, not perpendicular to the blade, but in the same plane.

rowing benches resting on the side walls of the boat, /504/ for they would tear the side boards from the bottom board by their pressure. Instead, the Gilyak use small removable stools which rest only on the bottom board, without touching the side boards. For the same reason, in loading a boat, it is carefully seen to that the entire load rests on the bottom board and does not exert any pressure on the side boards. To this end several pieces of wood considerably shorter than the width of the bottom board are first placed across it, and upon these several boards which are to bear the load are spread the length of the boat -- a precaution which also serves to prevent the object transported from getting wet in the bottom of the boat. From
114 personal experience I realized how necessary it is to treat a
501 Gilyak boat with such care and precaution. In the spring of 185 when I was about to start on my first summer trip up the Amur and Usuri, I bought from the Gilyak two boats which apparently had been used very little. Still unfamiliar with their construction, I thought it best if I first had them inspected and put in order in the harbor of Nikolayevsk. One of the naval officers saw to it that they were calked like regular sloops by one of the best experts of the harbor and were equipped with rowing benches and a bench for the erection of a mast. But when I wanted to go aboard and the boats were put in the water, both of them

/506 cont./

501 184 [192] trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These [171] boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/ 396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak musskrj), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

G /507 cont./

396 824 171 longer voyages they use the commonly built Japanese boats (2).

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G Gi 501 Exactly the same type of boat as among the Gilyak is also in general use among their closest neighbors along the Amur River, the Olcha and Goldi. In appearance it exhibits no differences in shape or construction from those of the former. The Gilyak, however, asserted that their boats curved upward less at the prow end and therefore were better able to travel against the current than those of their neighbors -- an assertion whose accuracy I must leave undecided, though it agrees with some of my own experiences. They are completely different from G Gi one another, however, in the kind of wood from which they are 396 824 made. Whereas the Gilyak make their boats out of the wood of the fir tree (Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissjk, Olcha and Goldi Gi chassjchta), the Olcha and Goldi always use cedar (Pinus cembra, 184 var. excelsa, Pinus mandshurica Rupr., among the Olcha and Gi Goldi koldong). When, during our summer voyage of 1855, we 114 landed near the Olcha village of Adi, the approaching inhabit- 501 ants of the place, who, among other things, occupy themselves principally with boat-building and who therefore closely examined ours, immediately recognized from the wood in them that one of them (mine) was of Gilyak origin, and the other (Maximowicz's) was of Olcha origin, as was in fact the case. Gi But whereas among the Gilyak on the Amur one sees only 501 boats of this one kind, the Olcha and Goldi have some of quite 184 different shape and construction. This is simply the result of the circumstance that, besides the Amur, they also navigate many of its torrential and, in spots, shallow tributaries along

G /509/

Gi 412 171 The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is done among all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilyak, Orok,

396 [192]

[284]

Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of the Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the Admiralty Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is illustrated in the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which Mr. Poljakov acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, and which is Gi made in the following manner. At the upper end of a forked 412 branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron blade, 171 ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong, and by means of its upper part, which is all that remains of it, while the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the adze. This

A /565 cont./

231 439 reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and othe

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 239 411 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113] 1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveller's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G 396 [411] At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner G of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the [342] Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction 396 of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. [493] always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the [335] individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of G foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even [175] in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. 000 During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

windows have fish skin stretched over them instead of glass panes. The simple, low door has leather straps instead of hinges. There is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross bars on which lie or from which hang various implements, among other things a kettle which reaches to the front opening of the hearth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, consists of pressed clay; the larger houses have two of them. The smoke passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping boards, leads out through the side wall and ends in a high wooden chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and Manchurians have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom cleaned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the benches from below is a very practical arrangement. Even so, it is often very cold in the houses, especially when it is below freezing and there is a wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper opening of the stove and besides that, as we have said, a smaller kettle or cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests just in front of the front opening of the stove, right next to the floor. The logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit properly and burn outside the opening of the stove, which frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.

The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish, cloths, etc.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows, and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primitive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp, or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.

In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

386

386 PAINT AND DYE MANUFACTURE--paints, dyes, and pigments; materials in their manufacture; processing techniques; special equipment; products a their uses (e.g., aniline dyes, ink, art supplies); organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Body painting 302
Manufacture of cosmetics 303
Forest products 314
Special deposits 317
Interior decoration 353
House painting 338, 356
Pictorial art 532

/387 cont./

291 and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the thinner and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal, with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and, after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under [142] it with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unnecessary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against [824] rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical [531] hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chib-hak, i.e., in literal translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark, sewed on the hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII[3] and Pl. XX, Figs. 1 and 2)[2] (2).

[386] 2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

291 301 177 The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ provided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made either of similar material or of fish skins. Shirt and robe usually have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which is put as decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of

[3] [See Category 116, P. 997 -- Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

3

396 SHIPBUILDING -- co
manufacture of shipbu
nautical gear); industr
and production; etc.
Manufacture of cordage . .
Woodworking . . . . . .
Carpentry . . . . . .

96

struction and repair of boats, ships, and underwater craft;
ilding materials and equipment (e.g., marine motors,
ial specialization (e.g., shipyards); organization of labor
See also:

. . . . .	283	Description of water craft	501
. . . . .	322	Water transport	505
. . . . .	335	Naval vessels	716

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114
175

/147 cont./

I found it already in use among the few Russians at the Nikolayev a Mariinski posts. Nevertheless, it is certainly not of Russian origin, as Maack (5) and Brylkin (6) seem to believe. At any rate, I have

5. Putesh. po dol. r. Usuri, Vol. 1, p. 9.

6. Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, Misc., p. 1.

no idea how the Russians would have arrived at such a name, whose etymology is wholly unknown to us. /148/ What argues quite decisively against the Russian origin of this name is the circumstance that we find it, though in a form which at first glance is hard to recognize, outside and earlier than any connection with the Russians, from a wholly different party, the Japanese. On Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1809) heard of a people on the mainland named "Kordekke"; in the following year he met a few individuals from it, and, to be sure, as foreigners on the Amur (Mankô) above Kidsi and in Deren, that is to say, in Olcha territory, to which they had come downstream to trade. He found them dressed exactly like the Santan (Olcha). They are the ones, according to him, who manufacture the armor consisting of iron disks fastened together, which is so highly prized by the Smerenkur (Gilyak) and which will be discussed later; they build vessels for the Smerenkur, etc. (1). Siebold is of the opinion that the

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1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 169, 172, 174, 194, 195).

Kordekke are "undoubtedly Koryak" (2), but he evidently decided

2. Op. cit., p. 199.

on this only because of a fortuitous similarity of sounds, for how did the distant Koryak, living on the northern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and on Kamchatka, get to the Amur River? And what

and stern, which are often exactly si
When dried and stretched, two or thr
takes, under favourable circumstanc

In the management of them, their
They would stand at bow and stern of
its equilibrium one iota."

milar, are short flat projections used in punting.
ee rungs keep the sides rigid. The whole process
es, one month, but in winter two.
makers were as skilful as in their manufacture.
our frail craft, punting up stream, and not disturb

/350 cont./

175 167 648 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. The was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which could not produce themselves.

174 167 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how lo the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that wh they first appeared there they must have been in possession of entire economic inventory which they possess at the present ti (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, e His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

177 41 325 342 354 291 292 262 244 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made o wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendo chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they pres expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robe and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink te and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They hav finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, haps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors On what did they stop in their own independent cultural develo ment?

177 325 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iro is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remote from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know ho to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until cently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boat and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

411

411 WEAPONS--striking and thrusting weapons (e.g., club, spear); missile weapons (e.g., boomerang, lance, harpoon, bola); complex projectile weapons (e.g., sling, bow and arrow, spearthrower, blowgun, firearms); other weapons employed in hunting, fowling, fishing, marine hunting, and animal husbandry; methods of gripping, striking, and hurling; arrow and dart poisons; etc. See also:

Manufacture of poisons 278
Lashings and bindings 284
Games with weapons 526
Decoration of weapons 5
Specialized military weapons 7
Shields 7

"Our craft was about twenty-five fee
and though easily capsized a racing c
of these 'dug-outs' in course of maki
and cut down. This, and all the other
natives obtain either by bartering ski
payment for boat made over to a gang
placed a tzakh—that is, a twig with w
Ainus call an Inao. This, like the cr
of building by the Russians, is to kee
haunt the forest, and especially the s
little hewing and trimming suffices o
opposite p. 252. The hollowing proce
the circumference of the log is cut in
forming the outer surface of the boat
of about an inch, a cross-section wil
ence of a circle. The sides or lips o
outwards, by means of sticks placed
vertical, and the final form of a cros

All the work is performed with a c
Orotchon tribe a primitive plane. A

t long and two and a half broad, light, keel-less;
craft in speed. More than once I came across one
ng. A suitable tree near the river edge is chosen,
work on it, is done by means of an axe, which the
ins with the Russians, or, as at Pogobi, in part
g of brodyagi. On [160] the stump of the tree left is
vhittled shavings adhering to the top such as the
oss (†) stuck in the ground beside a house in course
ep away the evil spirits, the daimones, which here
swampy regions. The bark is chipped off, and very
n the outside, as will be seen from the illustration
ess follows, and about one-third or one-fourth of
nto, the remaining two-thirds or three-quarters
. When duly hollowed to a thickness at the gunwale
l thus give about three-quarters of the circumfer-
f the boat leaning to each other are then stretched
crosswise inside, so that the sides may become
ss-section of the boat be that of the letter U.
ouple of hatchets, though I once saw among the
thin rim is affixed to the gunwale, and at the bow

/28 cont./

roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite position of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original. Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/358 cont./

in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

/383 cont./

and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights. In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/ Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

[The Western Coast]

/385 cont./

many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual c for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons eac Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Teng (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyv

Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandr post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

/386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
36 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
361 In connection with this settlement of
221 Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
402 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
237 the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
30 During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
411 433 43 otters, and 63 bears.

162 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
592 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
422 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
162

[126] 2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons).
36 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo
20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
[484] difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
484 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the
492 mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

/418 cont./

000 however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
30 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other
171 Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring
411

[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely, Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[179] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[579] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

301 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this
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165 /432 cont./
* 262 they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For
171

[825] 6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat
[113] any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

[225] 7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) wit-
411 nessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

[164] 8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

/519 cont./
ncient use of this weapon from the Stone Age (1).

1. I myself did not see it among the Gilyak, but received a picture of it through one of my friends in Nikolayevsk, as well as one of a similar instrument used for smashing the bear skull, which are to be shown on a later plate.

When the water is more agitated and the sturgeon or
hausen stay at greater depths, the net, especially at its lower
nds, is weighted with larger stones so that it will sink deeper,
nd at the same time an arrangement is made so that from
ach of the two lower ends of the net a string runs through sev-
eral rings plaited out of willow bast on the side edges of the
net to the hands of the fishermen. Since, in addition, with
more agitated water the entry of a large fish into the net would
not be indicated as noticeably by the wooden floats, there are
attached to the rear wall of it several thin strings (Gilyak
ŋmyss)), the ends of which are likewise in the hands of the
fishermen, and which by their subsequent jerky tension, reveal
he presence of the fish in the net. As soon as this is recog-
nized, the net is raised by pulling on the aforementioned two
trings, and thus withdrawal from it is cut off for the fish,
whereupon it is killed in the previously described manner.

Finally, the Gilyak also use a bag net for catching
turgeon and hausen. It is likewise equipped with stones at the
ower edge of its opening and with wooden floats at the upper
ne. At each of the places where the ones end and the others
egin, there are a ring plaited out of willow bast and a few
trings which serve for holding or fastening the net. Fishing
ith this bag net is done in the same manner as with the above-
hentioned net, in that the fishermen go out in two boats, cast
he net, and, holding it in between at the sides, go downstream
ward the ascending fish. As soon as the movement of one of
he wooden floats or the jerky tension of one of the signal lines

/521 cont./
226 Among the Gilyak this fishing is done in the following way. An
[192] anchor (Gilyak tschabch) consisting of a branched tree-root, or of three wooden pegs connected with one another in the manner shown on Plate XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 10, and fastened to a stone between them, is lowered into the deep channel of the river by a rope (Gilyak tyk) (2) plaited out of willow bast and

2. Perhaps tyk merely means "rope" in general.

many fathoms long. Extending from this thick rope at certain intervals are thinner and shorter bast cords, and at the end of each one there is fastened a wooden clog (Gilyak kita, ibid., Fig. 9) equipped with a pointed and sharply ground iron hook. From the upper end of each of these clogs a thin string runs to the surface of the water where it bears a wooden or bark float. At certain intervals stones are tied to the main rope so that it will remain lying on the river bed, while the clogs with their iron hooks float some distance above it and, thanks to the floats, assume a more or less vertical or slanting position. Finally, at the very end of the main rope, which is lowered into the water last as the apparatus is being set up, a heavy wooden block is attached as a float, which makes the end of the rope easy to find at any time. The fish going up the river run into the clogs, push past them or even play with them, injure themselves in doing so, thrash about, and only remain ever more firmly hung on the hooks, as is revealed by the movements of the corresponding wooden floats. As soon as the Gilyak notice this, they come along in the boats, wind up the rope from the floating wooden block, and lift the fish into the boat by means of the hooks described above.

226 In fishing for sturgeon and hausen, the Gilyak use the
411 harpoon, though again less frequently than the net, simply because, as was said above, they move on the water with great caution and not too easily and boldly. The fish-harpoons customarily used among them are of two kinds: one consists of a simple iron point equipped with a couple of barbs, which

226 /521 cont./
411 is also used for seal-hunting and is to be described in the following in discussing this; the other is a trident (Gilyak tschak, Pl. XLI /see p.1021/, Fig. 8), with barbs put on each prong. The one as well as the other is /522/ put on the tip of a wooden pole for hurling and, in addition, is tied to the end of a long strap remaining in the hand of the fisherman, by means of which the fish hit is pulled in and out of the water. The former weapon is more common among the Gilyak than the latter and bears the name tugngy.

226 Finally, it not infrequently happens that sturgeon and hausen get into the nets set up for salmon and are caught together with the latter, or, and especially in midsummer with receding water, as I myself have seen, they are stranded in the shallows and then merely need be simply clubbed.

Soon after the opening of the river, the ascent of the species of salmon in the Amur and its tributaries begins, which, all together, lasts throughout the summer and early fall until into October, in fact, even after a new ice cover has formed, not ceasing suddenly and completely. Some species go upstream singly or in small parties, others in mighty processions repeated at intervals, and in particular there are two species of the greatest importance to the Gilyak on account of the great numbers in which they appear. These are the tengi or tengi-tscho,
[136] Salmo proteus, and even more the lyghi-tscho, or on Sakhalin laghi-tscho, S. lagocephalus. How essential and indispensable they are for the diet and the total economy of the Gilyak has already been discussed in detail above. We shall therefore have to go into somewhat more detail on the catching of these fish, and especially the latter. First, however, space might be found here for a few remarks about their seasons of migration both in the Amur and along the adjacent seacoasts to the north and south.

/557 cont./
224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
208 catch foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
192 which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
437 and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call
kätch-ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

411 When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all,
197 though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two
439 directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (also called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (порохъ): пóроке.

occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their southern neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though likewise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy ooo Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

[113] 5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

/557 cont./
411 5. (cont.)
197 Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, trans-
439 lated from the German by Hüttner, Vienna,
113 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 The Gilyak also have their
192 own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun, its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is called mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," shot -- matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small arrows," ooo and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 It was surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a gun,
197 whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at the
154 sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At the

/558 cont./
411 same time, however, they did not show any particular timidity
197 or fear in front of the gun, whereas a pistol imbued them with a
152 great, almost superstitious fear. For example, when I often had
[123] to threaten them with the pistol for various acts of insubordination, they beseeched me not to make use of it, because this would bring misery to the entire house, even to the women and children in it. Could this fear simply be based upon the still great unfamiliarity with the use of this weapon, upon the awareness that it could be brought into action at short range suddenly and unperceived, or, as I am almost inclined to believe, on some other superstitious belief or association of ideas (1)?

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1. At this point I cannot refrain from mentioning another and similar superstitious fear on the part of the Gilyak, which at first seemed totally mysterious to me, and it was entirely by accident that I later obtained the key for an explanation of it. The case is also noteworthy because it is evidence of how profoundly certain impressions gained through unusual experiences persist in the mind and memory of a primitive people and how easily they spread, going from mouth to mouth, throughout their entire area. I owned one of those walking sticks from which a long fishing rod can be turned out, and I wanted to show it on one occasion to a Gilyak who was with me at the Nikolayev post, with the intention of delighting him, especially since the apparatus was used for fishing. I had scarcely pulled out the tip, however, when the man turned away in horror and implored me to put the thing away and not to cause any misfortune. Exactly

/558 cont./

123 152 203

1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

411 171 [192] In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

[824] [192]

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113]

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

411 237 53 In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

[104]

3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/559 cont./

411 237 [53] [192] [194] 411 192 237 [283] [415]

which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal) is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku) have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

/559 cont./

411 [192]

yghli or orkai by the Gilyak (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 1), is used to kill wild fowl, ducks, geese, and the like. It consists almost wholly of wood, in that at the top the shaft runs out into a knob crowned with a point and in which are found three iron points, but blunt ones, turned in different directions (5). I have

411 171 175 [113]

5. There is mention of similar, knob-shaped arrows among various peoples of Siberia in some of the oldest reports on it. For example, Georg Adam Schleissing in his work, Neuentdecktes Sieweria, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden /Newly Discovered Siberia, Where the Sables Are Caught/, etc. (Danzig, 1692, p. 49), reports that the people there do not shoot pointed arrows but rather "in order that the rare hide not be damaged, the arrow, instead of a point, has a thick iron knob with which they shoot the sable down from the tree, so that it is dizzy and then they run up and beat it to death." Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. I, p. 323) mentions wooden arrows with knob-shaped points which the Kalmyk use to kill birds and small animals. Sujef (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obj for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1376, woodcuts e and d), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

/559 cont./ I have

411 171

never heard anything among the Gilyak about poisoning their arrows, as is done among the Ainu of /560/ Sakhalin and Jesso /Yezso/ (1) and, according to Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3),

[113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, etc., pp. 95, 96, 112, on the basis of reports by Hieron. de Angelis, Joan Saris, and Vries; the same, Nippon, VII, pp. 185 and 201, according to Mamia Rinsô; the same, Fauna Japon., Mammalia, p. 29. Langsdorf, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 287. v. Brandt (Verhandl. der Ges. für Anthrop., Ethnol. u. Vorgesch., Year 1872, p. 28). Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Preface (supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 45), etc.

2. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 27, 95, 236.

3. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. puteth. po Rossii, Vol. I, p. 334).

is said to have been customary among the Kuriles, Italmen, Koryak, and Chukchee, and perhaps in part still is. Middendorff (4), to be sure, says that the same custom is supposed

4. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1377.

to have been passed on to the Tungus of Manchuria, but he gives no source to support his statement. Maack (5) states that the

/560 cont./

411 171

5. Putesh. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegir smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region.

411 45 [531]

The quiver (Gilyak pi) used for stowing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carved arabesques or other figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow points (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is relatively heavy and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, one holds the exceedingly light and portable quiver of the Orochi from Kaiserhafen, made solely out of animal skins (ibid., Fig. 8)(6),

[101]

6. It is made out of pieces of reindeer and elk leg-fur; the crosshand in the middle is made of otter fur.

this in itself would show that hunting among the Gilyak, in comparison with their Tungusic neighbors, falls far behind.

411 776

I doubt very much that the Gilyak are skilled archers, though I do not have sufficient experience to be able to say anything more definite about it. The one time I saw them shooting was under conditions which would not permit drawing any conclusion as to their skill. It was at the bear festival in Tebach, when the three bears, held by chains and led about, were finally shot. The marksman in each case approached the erect animal from the right side to within about five paces. The first two bears went down with loud roars after the first shot, struck in the right lung; in one of them the arrow had penetrated to the middle of the shaft. The third marksman had struck his victim too low, in the abdomen, and therefore had to send a second arrow, which cut down the animal and caused it to die slowly.

/560 cont./

411

Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapons, bear pikes and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting large animals of the forest, and they handle them /561/ m more skillfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike u [192] [171] versally used among them (Gilyak lachtsch,(2) Pl. XLVI /see Fig. 2) is of the same nature as among the Tunguse and o Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet l [192] The lances (Gilyak kach) (1) are of even greater length. T

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /spear/." And yet they certainly must have different designations for them, as we have seen above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off tow the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting o shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their mid line have a projecting, rounded keel gradually flattening o the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workm [53] and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly a [126] worked pieces, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabe the like are inlaid in silver,copper,and brass, such as the sp illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5, ski saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, howeve

2. The illustrations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

Gilyak chiefly catch them with nets, which are knotted with large meshes and very strong twine so as not to be torn by the resistance of the large animals. The shape of these nets and the way they are handled differ, however, and in this the season of the year in particular is also a definite factor, for it depends, for example, on whether the fish are present in larger or smaller quantities, whether they stay closer to the surface or at greater depths, whether the river is open or covered with ice, and so forth.

Toward the end of May and in June, when the sturgeon and hausen coming from the sea are most abundant around the mouth of the river and stay near the surface, especially in calm weather, the Gilyak get along with a simple, longish-quadrangular net, on the upper edge of which are fastened a few wooden floats and on the lower edge occasional small stones. In two boats the Gilyak go out in the channel of the /519/ river with this net, cast it across it, and, holding the upper ends of the net, let themselves be driven downstream by the current against the ascending fish. If the surface of the river is calm, they recognize with a sharp and practiced eye the approach of a large fish from afar, by a gentle swirling of the water, etc., and guide their boats with the net between them toward the fish. When it has reached the net and has
92 become entangled in it, the wooden float affected gives notice of it, and now both boats go to the spot where the fish is, the net is lifted, and the fish entangled in it is pulled into the boat by means of an iron hook attached to a pole (Gilyak schab-tschamrch, Pl. XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 2) and killed by a blow on the head with a club. If the fish is very large and the boat small, it is towed by means of a hook and a stout rope and
93 taken to land to be killed there. The proper club for this is made out of a branched tree-root and equipped with an end piece of stone -- a circumstance which undoubtedly shows the

/561 cont./ such specimens, however, are not used as a rule, but rather, carefully wrapped in birch bark, are stored away by their owner as symbols of great wealth.

Bear pikes and lances are the weapons most commonly used by the Gilyak against elk, reindeer, bears, and the like. During the first period of my stay at the Nikolayev post, when it consisted of only a few log houses erected at the edge of the still completely uncleared forest, it happened almost in front of my eyes that an elk came running out of the forest toward the river, and, when it came upon a group of Gilyak camping there, tried to keep on going by swimming; but the Gilyak immediately pursued it in their boat and stabbed it in the water *with their lances, whereupon I received the skin of the animal.* In winter when the all too deep snow greatly impedes movement for the elk and reindeer, the Gilyak pursue them on ski in order to kill them eventually with their pikes and lances. They get at the reindeer, which is especially common on the unforested plains of northern Sakhalin and sets out in small herds on the ice of the Liman, in still other ways. When in early spring, under the influence of the midday sun and the nightly frosts, a thin crust of ice has formed on the snow and is strong enough to support the dogs, but breaks under the reindeer, they pursue it on a light sled harnessed to dogs until they can attack it with their pikes and lances.

Most frequently, however, they use these weapons against the bear. Aside from the tiger, almost only mythical because of its great rarity, and the no /562/ less unfamiliar leopard, which, out of superstitious fear, the Gilyak scarcely dare mention by name (1), the bear is the largest and most powerful beast of

1. I have already discussed this at great length in the first volume of this work (pp. 90-96) in speaking of the occurrence and distribution of these animals in the Amur region. I shall return in the following to the tiger and leopard idols alluded to there.

G 223 [439] /565 cont./ article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha gussi, Goldi käktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

G 239 [411] [144] 223 231 439

G 231 439 114 136

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

A 231 439

A 231 439 /565 cont./ reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 239 411 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113] 1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G 326 [411] At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

G [342] [396] [493] [335]

G [175] ooo

175 114 411 326 [101] /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki," "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows, and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credenc

[113] 2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg

[531] [321]

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

326 411 556

/566 cont./

326 especially well-worked pieces and which causes them neither to
• 411 use such pieces nor to sell them, but rather /567/ to store them
556 away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them, or at most use them to buy a wife, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. Moreover, in view of the inadequacy of their tools, much time may be spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody may
361 have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region,
326 the village of Chylk (1), located on the Amur directly above
411
126
[128]

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region appended to this volume, the location of this village is indicated, but its name is not entered.

Patt, was regarded as the place where the most beautiful spears, lances, and knives were manufactured, and the specimens illustrated on Plate XXXI /see p.1011/, Fig. 2, and Plate XLVI /see p.1026/, Figs. 4 and 5, which belonged to the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach and his sons and which I acquired from them for a high price in exchange for various wares were said to have been made there. Unfortunately, I passed this unattractive settlement consisting of only two houses at a time when I as yet knew nothing about its industrial importance for the Gilyak.
361 In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michailofskoje
648 was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

[128]

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

/575 cont./

G 714 171

1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak kä-petsch or a similar one. During the bloody fights which the North Americans had with the Koreans in 1871, they saw them clad in armor which consisted of forty layers of stout cotton material and was almost impenetrable for saber or bayonet (Nordische Presse, 1871, No. 214, according to a report sent to the Times by its reporter in Shanghai). On the other hand, Ditmar ("Ueber die Koräken und Tschuktschen /The Koryak and Chukchee/." -- Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 131; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 41) relates that the Chukchee use armor made out of whalebone and thick animal-skins.

G 714 [113]

To conclude the remarks concerning the weapons of the
• G 411 Gilyak, I must consider a piece which, to be sure, is harmless in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It
G [192] is their so-called mungtsche (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 3), a roundish or slightly angular stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom bears the characteristic, barely indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears, and harpoons, and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the palm of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mungtsche is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an acorn, in the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a saber and is always provided with a
G [191] deep groove on the back. From the Gilyak this strange weapon has also advanced to the Negda along the Amgunj, among whom it is called muketschi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally widespread. Middendorff
G [114] became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

/575 cont./

• 411 he gives an illustration of it and calls it a wooden saber (2) and
114

2. Vol. IV, p. 1535. The specimen brought back by him and now in our museum is in fact flattened somewhat like a saber in the last third, as mentioned above.

"cudgel of honor." In his opinion it is used only to settle matters of honor in combat, during which it is seized with both hands, and the blows are parried by moving the stick to and fro. His host, the old Negda Oltungab, on the Nemilen (a tributary of the Amgunj showed him how this weapon was used. This agrees essentially with what I learned about it from the Gilyak. During
411 the initial period of my stay in the Amur region, the Patchä-
[115] Gilyak Jutschin, a very intelligent person to whom I am indebted for the first groundwork of my Gilyak vocabulary, appeared at the Nikolayev post armed solely with the mungtsche. When I questioned him, he demonstrated the fencing movements for me with his wooden weapon. From his total handling of it, however, it could be assumed without any doubt that it was more than a simple fencing stick or "cudgel." For as he held it in front of him with outstretched right arm, like a halberd resting on the ground, he assumed an air of dignity as though he were a most distinguished person. Also, he did not want to be separated from it even when sitting down. Finally, the respect and regard that he rendered to his mungtsche were also expressed in the fact that at several places where it had been damaged /576/ it was carefully covered with birch bark and through that had not only not suffered in the eyes of its owner, but, on the contrary, had gained in value. All in
411 all the mungtsche gave me the impression of a conventional
194 weapon of honor, which originated in ancient times, perhaps in imitation of Japanese lances, and has inherited with the latter its continuing traditional significance. The deep groove always present on the back of the mungtsche, which Middendorff leaves unexplained, but obviously is supposed to represent a channel for the blood, also points to such a prototype.

G
Gi /589 cont./ Thus another
224 characteristic difference between the hunting conditions of the lower and of the upper Amur regions is presented by the sable hunting of the one side and the squirrel pursuit of the other.

G Contributing very essentially to the change from the former
Gi to the latter in the upper Amur region, however, in addition to
T the causes given above, are the handy firearms, the small-
224 caliber, Russo-Siberian rifles, which came from Siberia and
• 411 whose importation and adoption are growing more and more in
197 the course of time. Whereas in the lower Amur region at the time of my stay in it there were no guns at all, with a few minor exceptions (2), these rifles were already in general use among the

2. See p. 868 above.

Orochon, thanks to their immediate proximity to and long association with the Russians, and among the Manegir, too, they were already gradually pushing out the long and unwieldy Chinese matchlock guns, which were not very serviceable for hunting. Since the occupation and colonization of the entire Amur region by the Russians, the spread of good or at least serviceable firearms has made rapid advances in the lower part, which, in combination with the growing number of hunters must lead to a heavy decline in its wealth of sables and other animals in the future. How disastrous the consequences of this will be for the indigenous population of the region living on this wealth is easily grasped and can be judged in greater detail on the basis of the following discussion.

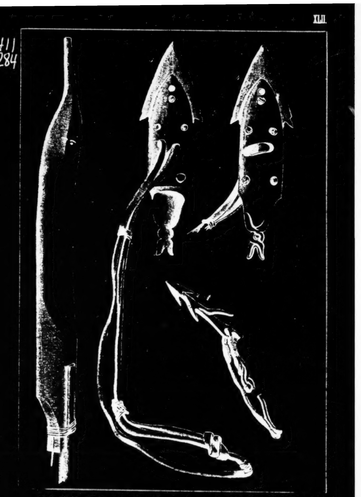

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1, 2 -- weapons for killing seals; 3, 4 -- weapons for killing white whales.

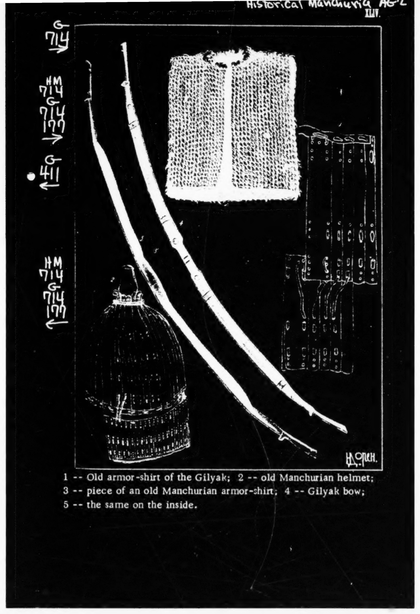

1 -- Old armor-shirt of the Gilyak; 2 -- old Manchurian helmet; 3 -- piece of an old Manchurian armor-shirt; 4 -- Gilyak bow; 5 -- the same on the inside.

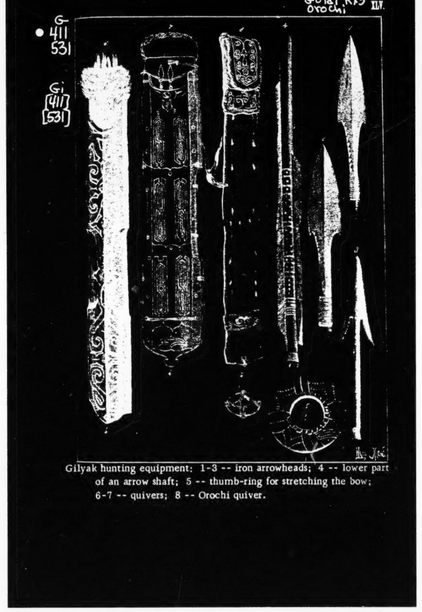

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1-3 -- iron arrowheads; 4 -- lower part of an arrow shaft; 5 -- thumb-ring for stretching the bow; 6-7 -- quivers; 8 -- Orochi quiver.

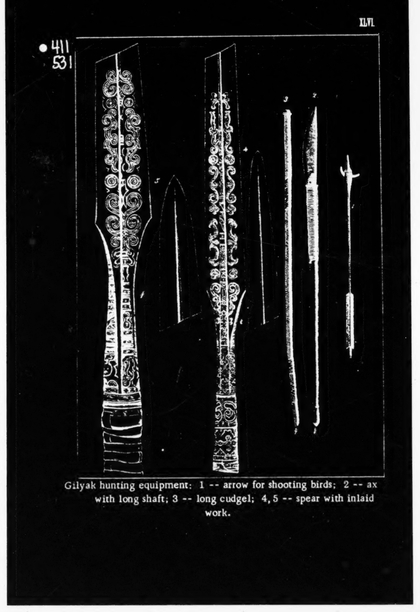

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1 -- arrow for shooting birds; 2 -- ax with long shaft; 3 -- long cudgel; 4, 5 -- spear with inlaid work.

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
[251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The
462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does
264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men
[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

244 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women
462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper
[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations
462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work
• 411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting
[517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
• 411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak
593 of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
842 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammla, tammia, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

Seeland--27 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

2 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.
6 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
6 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
3 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.

This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i.e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

13; Seeland--28 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

● 411 instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
325 shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
411 arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
439 hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
531 small board and is usually decorated on the outside with various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

178 Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples
411 are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are
422 very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely
439 fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China and at present have no practical value because no one thinks of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

58 Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried, and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides, there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons, dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300 rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the bridegroom last a rather long time, a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

13; Seeland--38 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

623 usually concern abductions of women or major transgres-
681 sions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of the idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

578 Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
● 411 conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the kaur, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the iron point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the stick. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry-which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

563 A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
177 fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called brodyagi (i.e., loafers) are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief deportation center for non-political criminals, these brodyagi also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their native villages and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest to entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they hold up to themselves is-not to be recognized in case of arrest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor, but only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

19;Genest--4 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.
171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials;
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
● 411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.
171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

20; Bush--102-103 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak

116, 177, 342, 411

"Formerly bows and spears were their only weapons, but of late these, the bow especially, have been discarded for [103] small-bored flint-lock guns, which they procure in trade from the Russians. Their habitations differ somewhat in their construction. Many of them are erected on posts several feet above the ground, and are surrounded by a platform, upon which they stow away their sleds, nets, weapons, etc. These platforms are reached by rude steps cut in a log."

2: Schrenck--733 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/473 cont./

481 The small ski of the Gilyak consist of two thin boards without a fur covering. They are about four and a half feet long and five to six inches wide, and are completely flat and level except for the more or less sharply tapering front end gently curving upward. Depending on the degree of this tapering at the front end, several forms of the small ski may be distinguished among the Gilyak in certain regions. Thus, the form with a gradual tapering of the tip, illustrated on Plate XXXV /see p.1015/, Figs. 1 and 2 prevails along the Amur River as far down as Wair. Below Wair, at the mouth of the Amur, along the Liman, and along the opposite coast of Sakhalin, the ski have the form shown in Fig. 3, with a more abrupt tapering, and, finally, on Sakhalin there is a third form with an even more abrupt tapering of the front end, but unfortunately, I had no opportunity to get an illustration of it. These small ski are an absolutely indispensable /474/ item for the Gilyak, and in winter it is almost only inside the yurt that he is seen without them. Not only does he need them for even the shortest walk, but he also keeps them on his feet when traveling sitting astride his sled, both so that he can get off and take a few steps in the snow if necessary, say, for example, to adjust the harness of the dogs, and also in order to facilitate the movement of the sled, to which I shall come back later. Once he has reached the spot where he plans to spend the
81 night in the open, the ski, with its rear and level end, serves him
88 as a shovel for readying the campsite as required (1) and for filling
412
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1. See p. 559 above.

with snow the kettle hung over the fire, and, finally, when he sits down on the fir branches in front of the blazing fire, his legs crossed under him, a ski placed across his knees serves as a tray, taking the place of the chachtschitsch in the yurt (2), for eating

2. See pp. 647 and 683 above.

the evening meal.

2: Schrenck--780 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/501 cont./

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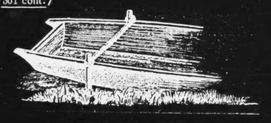

Gilyak Boat Construction

396 For this purpose several sticks are driven into the ground opposite one another on either side to serve as supports for the boards; around the upper end of each pair of the sticks standing opposite each other a strap or cord is looped (see the accompanying woodcut), and by a stronger or weaker tightening of it the side boards can be brought precisely into position so that their lower edges coincide with those of the bottom board. Once the boat has been tied together in this manner, its final strengthening can
[192] /502/ begin. First several crosspieces (Gilyak tschylch) are put between the side boards, connecting them with each other. One such connecting stick is found in the rear end of the boat, another in the middle, and a third just before the prow. The fastening
● [412] of the side boards to the bottom board, and likewise all the other
[192] boards to one another, is done by means of wooden pegs, which, with the help of a little iron rod (Gilyak ottauwz, Pl. XXXII /see p.1017/, Fig. 7), are driven into holes made beforehand with the large drill (Gilyak lung, ibid., Fig. 6) along the edges of the boards concerned.

412 In passing it should be mentioned that these implements,
531 not used merely in making boats, but also on other occasions, for example, for attaching the above-mentioned sole-mountings on the sleds, are always neatly made in Gilyak fashion and likewise provided with many decorations, the little iron rod with fine strips of inlaid copper and silver, the wooden handle of the
412 drill with many graceful carvings. Two persons are required to

2: Schrenck--781 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

412 /502 cont./ Two persons are required to
[392] work with this drill, in that, by means of a piece of wood, one person presses it from above, where a little iron peg set into the handle is found, against the place where the hole is to be, and the other one sets it in rotating motion by quickly pulling a strap looped several times around the handle -- a procedure which I also observed in connection with the Gilyak method of making fire by friction to be discussed later and in another connection. For this reason, I am inclined to regard the lung,
[192] as well as a second, quite similar and also similarly operated,
[194] but somewhat thinner drill, which the Gilyak call pisk, as ancient instruments perhaps invented by them themselves, whereas the small drill for finer work and similar to our tools of this type (ibid., Fig. 8), whose Gilyak designation is still unknown to me and which is wholly of iron, may be later and foreign in origin. (1). This is undoubtedly also the case for another

1. The Olcha-Tungusic designation for this small drill, according to Maximowicz, is selgefó and sseldschefó.

[192] instrument, the saw. I myself never encountered this among the Gilyak, but in the village of Tylm Maximowicz saw a specimen of it which looked exactly like our ordinary carpenter's saw and was called puf by the Gilyak, pófo by the Olcha -- a correspondence in designation which likewise indicates a common borrowing of the object concerned by both peoples from a foreign source.

396 But after this digression let us return to the construction of the boat. The rear end of it is closed off with a vertical
[192] stern-board, and above it and between /503/ the two side-boards a horizontal board (Gilyak ont(o)mis), projecting somewhat toward the rear, is put in to serve as a seat for the steersman. The boat is closed off in front by two obliquely placed boards (Gilyak alin, the left one always riding a little higher than the right one, which gives the prow a pointed shape. All the seams, and especially the two longest ones, between the bottom and the two side-boards of the boat, are calked, but this must be done

2: Schrenck--782 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/503 cont./

396 very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together
[324] only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only
412 with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water
[192] and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motasi), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips
[192] put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the case of larger boats even three, pairs of oar-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too,
[532] with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-board always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surface, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-board, for protection against rot.

2: Schrenck--792 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 ● Goldi RX3 Orok

G. /509/

412 The hollowing out of tree trunks for boats is done among
● 411 all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the Gilyak, Orok,
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396
[324]
[126]

[284]

Adze: a -- of the Orok from Sakhalin, b -- of the Tahiti Islanders, c -- of the Papuans on the Admiralty Islands.

Olcha, etc., by means of a special adze which is illustrated in the accompanying woodcut from a specimen which Mr. Poliakov acquired for our museum from the Sakhalin Orok, and which is made in the following manner. At the upper end of a forked
G. 412 branch forming a more or less acute angle, an iron blade,
197 ground sharp, is fastened in place of the one prong, and by means of its upper part, which is all that remains of it, while the other prong serves as a handle for wielding the adze. This

2: Schrenck--1008 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

XVIII.

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● 412
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Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

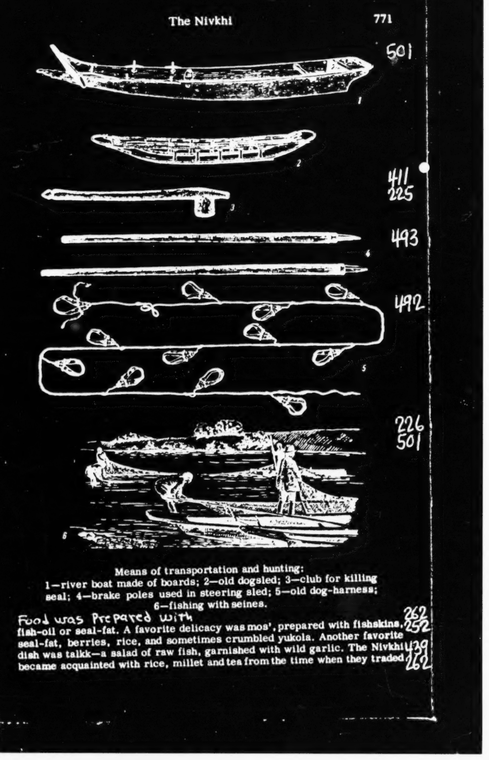

Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded

121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan relations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I put before the reader the material gathered in the course of this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyaks in the village of Kul.

225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting.

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce and of a plant locally known as (ḱskr) bogulnik and set out on sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋən-gan
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks in the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to submerge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks of the tackle kita (2) which go into the implements for hunting

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal through
411 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
531 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker called tonr-tas (from tonr 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix pertaining to the implement used in the action), is made of a bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving which represents the snout of a seal.

225 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
823 similar gifts which the pilay throws into the sea together
766 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Ui,-krə̂, then they
782 throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (krə̂) there lives a ɣik- an old woman. These old women must also be given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed that tvax-ɣik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.

225 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf (Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kəvr-mif (Shantar Islands) (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end of the summer and then they would return to the village to fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Norp put out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

411 The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
225 tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
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2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long. Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch. Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the tola-k'e is called ɣski 'back.' The shore-end of the net is

411 called əmlɣus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tstr-pəχ. Large wooden floats (vaχ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Ḱivf-ŋalu, Ḱe-ŋalu, Vilk, Lo ri, and ət.

614 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋəγqej,
524 3. ət.
471 Lulvəχ-pər and ŋəγreqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock.β)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-pəγ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot ferd).

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomi-vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə-vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, sh
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the
where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost".
taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and pour
content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then sh
the eyes inside out and cut out first the legs and then
Afterwards, she cut off the noz-pak and put it in a
cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If
skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone
sucked them one by one and put them in a separate
Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads
into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke i
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a st
412 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied t
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brai
has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items c
by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, th
the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the no
411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sis
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and dr
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for
to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we dis
guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron whic
also recently learned to work into the knives using J
kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows
harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoo
and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still reme
in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron k

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilʲatskiĭe chisliteln'yĭe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuĭ Assotsiatsiĭ Instituta Narod Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a s
breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gi
eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the ani
back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the win
and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that w
all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different
252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a s
trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied
piskər around its middle and put it in the kettle to c

412

412 GENERAL TOOLS--cutting tools (e.g., knife, ax, adze, chisel, wedge, plane, scissors, saw, sickle); boring tools (e.g., awl, needle, drill, augur, bit, reamer); abrading tools (e.g., scraper, file, grindstone); striking tools (e.g., maul, hammer, pestle); eating utensils (e.g., knife, fork, spoon); digging tools (e.g., digging stick, spade, pick, hoe, shovel); gripping tools (e.g., tongs, tweezers, pincers, vise, grapnel, wrench); miscellaneous tools of general utility (e.g., broom, brush, fan, comb, rake, fork); parts and their assembly (e.g., blades, handles); See also:

Lashings . . . . . 284 Hardware manufacture 391

/324 cont./
342 coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village
[122] of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy
[237] snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top of the tent was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
[237] ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were
[513] spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
342 hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
354 a solid base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over the snow, it would soon sink deeply into it and could no longer warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another as possible, framed on all four sides by others, thicker and set on edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs. In this manner a longish-rectangular cavity was obtained for the hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high embankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
412 filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
177 must mention that the axes customarily used for housebuilding and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/324 cont./
412 origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
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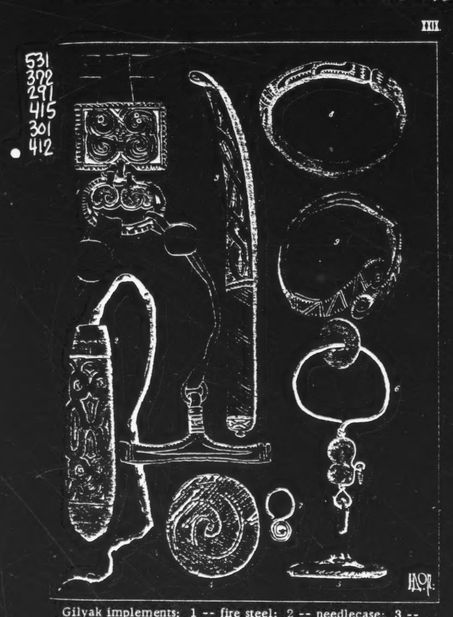

Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

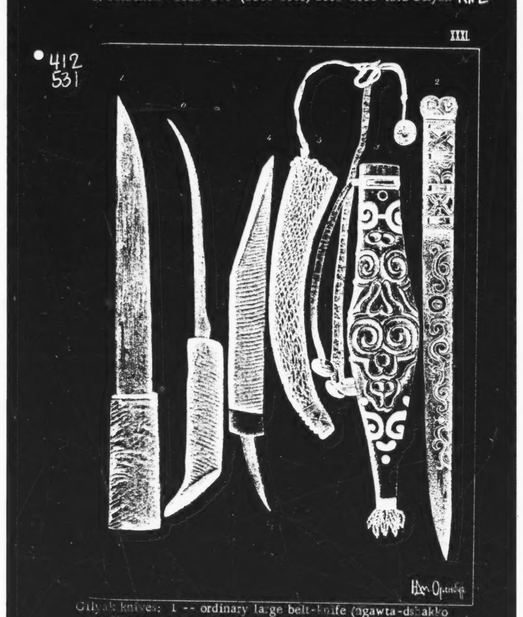

Gilyak knives: 1 -- ordinary large belt-knife (ngawta-dshakko corrected to ngawla-dshakko on p. 589, note 4/); 2 -- belt-knife with inlaid work; 3 -- sheath for same; 4 -- knife for cutting wood, etc. (yi-dsh.); 5 -- sheath for same; 6 -- knife for cutting up fish (ascho-mauwa).

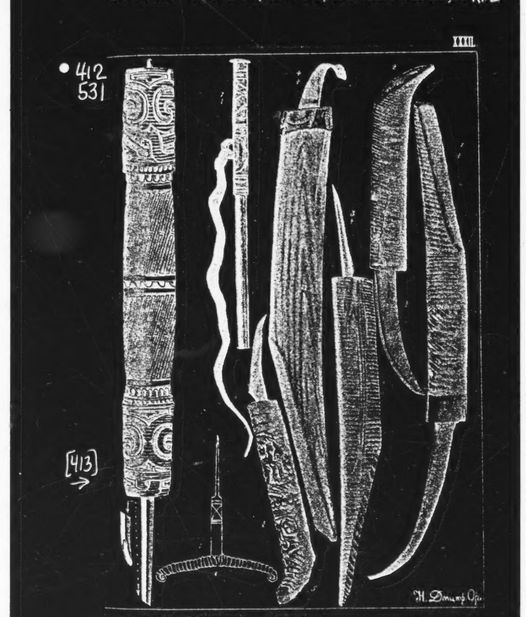

Gilyak implements: 1 -- fish knife; 2 -- knife, "ran-dshakko"; 3 -- knife for fine woodworking; 4 -- knife for hollowing; 5 -- umbilical-cord knife; 6 -- large drill; 7 -- small iron rod that goes with it; 8 -- small drill.

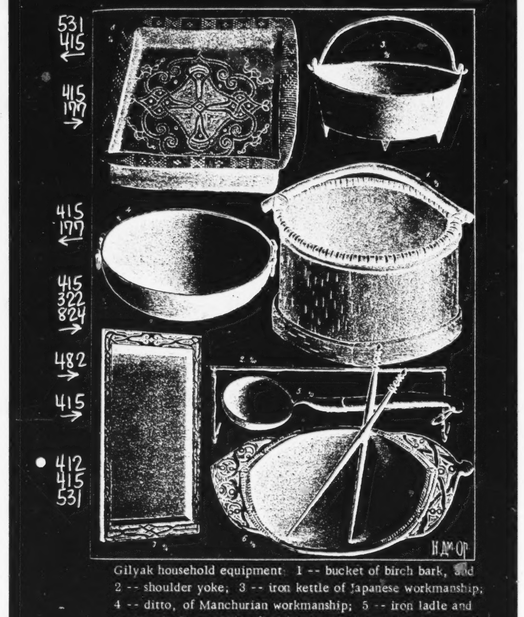

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke; 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop, 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.

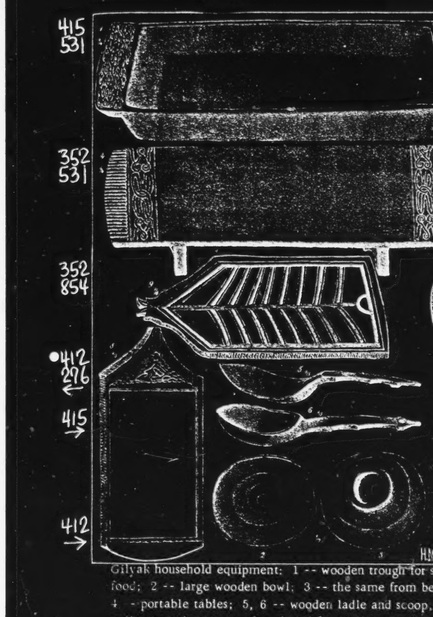

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for s food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from be 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop, ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobac board to put under a child's cradle.

52 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch,
37 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over th
where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost
taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and po
content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then
the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and th
Afterwards, she cut off the noz-ŋk and put it in a
cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull.
skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bor
sucked them one by one and put them in a separate
Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads
into the sea.

2 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke
4 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a
2 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied
2 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the br
has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items
by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back,
the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the n

To watch the old woman break the heads of the s
7 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and
2 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned fo
to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we di
guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron wh
also recently learned to work into the knives using
kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrow
harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpo
and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still rem
in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe
("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno
issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Naro
Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

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breaking the head to get at the brains and why the
eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the a
back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wi
and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that
all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely differen

Having taken out the brain and having put it in a
trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tie
piskər around its middle and put it in the kettle to

Gilyak in winter clothing.

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1, 2 -- weapons for killing seals; 3, 4 -- weapons for killing white whales.

Gilyak in w

winter clothing.

412

412 GENERAL TOOLS--cutting tools (e.g., knife, ax, adze, chisel, wedge, plane, scissors, saw, sickle); boring tools (e.g., awl, needle, drill, augur, bit, reamer); abrading tools (e.g., scraper, file, grindstone); striking tools (e.g., maul, hammer, pestle); eating utensils (e.g., knife, fork, spoon); digging tools (e.g., digging stick, spade, pick, hoe, shovel); gripping tools (e.g., tongs, tweezers, pincers, vise, grapnel, wrench); miscellaneous tools of general utility (e.g., broom, brush, fan, comb, rake, fork); parts and their assembly (e.g., blades, handles); See also:

Lashings . . . . . 284 Hardware manufacture 391

/324 cont./

342 coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village
[122] of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy
[237] snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top of the tent was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
[237] ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were
[513] spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
342 hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
354 a solid base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over the snow, it would soon sink deeply into it and could no longer warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another as possible, framed on all four sides by others, thicker and set on edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs. In this manner a longish-rectangular cavity was obtained for the hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high embankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
412 filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
177 must mention that the axes customarily used for housebuilding and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/324 cont./

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[1,2,3,4] [See Category 116, PP. 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respective --Analyst]

"Vanka, . . . got out his long fish-spear (marikh), and, the boat, skilfully lunged at passing salmon. His weap many of the tribes of North-Eastern Siberia, was of a which was about fourteen feet long, a large iron hook w Close to the end was also another thong, bound round t enough to allow of the hook being temporarily slid into pointing with the shaft. Ready now for action, the weap On sighting the gleam in the limpid depths beneath, the thrust, and the belly of the salmon is pierced. The acti from the threefold thong, and the struggles of the fish is dangling from the first thong, to gain a firmer grip.

The first lunge by Vanka proved unsuccessful, as a c a silvery gleam, and [172] a second attempt had happie twenty pounds was hauled in, splashing and somersault fish lay dead; whereupon our Gilyaks whipped out their in 'Alice in Wonderland,' 'offed with its head,' and wit tasty morsel raw, leaving nothing but the jaws. The na as a great delicacy, especially the cartilaginous parts, with the bear, for during the spawning-season Master edge, and in one night spoil a score of kita, devouring the h

balancing himself on the prow of
on, which is one of a kind used by
peculiar character. To the shaft,
vas loosely fastened by a thong.
hree or four times, but just loosely
it, the 'business' end free and
on was like a magnified letter h.
skilful harpooner gives a rapid
ion of piercing looses the hook
now only serve the hook, which

ry of 'Kaukray' announced; again
r results, for a kita of fifteen to
ing. A blow on its head, and the
knives, and, like the Red Queen
n teeth and knife devoured their
tives regard the head of a salmon
and in this they can claim kinship
Petz will come down to the river's
heads, and throwing away the bodies."

116, 225, 411, 527

now held by the thong. His efforts to get away only grip, and the poor animal is hauled in and killed by

serve to give the harpoon a firmer
a blow on the head."

411 instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped
piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
325 shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
411 arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
439 hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
531 small board and is usually decorated on the outside with
various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the
belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

178 Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples
411 are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are
422 very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely
439 fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China
and at present have no practical value because no one thinks
of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

58 Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried,
and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five
wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides,
there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage
requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not
consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons,
dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300
rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the
wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the
bridegroom last a rather long time, -a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

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578 Quarrels be
411 conducted in t
is the kaur, b
does not have
blow, the blow
stick. The fig
one of the figh
ends in death.
which, howeve
knives and beg
of rules. [228
563 A sad specta
177 fleeing Russia
carry on. Suc
are a common
direction they
west. Most of
forced labor.
chief deportati
brodyagi also
them escape in
European Russ
native villages
tions in even t
these refugees
entertain great
hold up to them
rest and thus t
which they wou
for a few years
citizens. Othe

rn abductions of women or major transgres-
nes. Women do not take part in them. The
e older generation usually are decisive. In
cular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding
rawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of
y for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty
village, or in a sort of ostracism which re-
sation of all intercourse with him. Occasion-
arely, the death penalty is pronounced, but
se kept a secret from the Russian administra-
corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no ad-
idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is
formerly it was never used.
tween men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
he presence of witnesses. The weapon used
ut in this case they fight with the end which
the iron point. The challenger deals the first
s are parried as much as possible with the
ht usually continues until blood is drawn or
ters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom
Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry-
r, seldom happens- they reach for their
in stabbing each other in disregard of any kind
]
cle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
n criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes
h refugees or so-called broydagi (i.e., loafers)
sight on all large highways in Siberia and the
take is always the same, that is, from east to
them are convicts who have escaped from
Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the
on center for non-political criminals, these
pass through the Amur region. Very few of
order to go back to their homes, i.e.,
ia. Even though the thought of home, of their
and families may arouse warm, tender emo-
he most hardened criminals, nevertheless,
know too well the possibility of arrest to
hopes. The usual practical goal which they
nselves is-not to be recognized in case of ar-
o be put in the general class of brodyagi in
ld also be condemned to hard labor, but only
s, after which they could become Siberian
rs, finally, escape without any particular

136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so
bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wear-
ing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the
fingers of the little children.
171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons
customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173)
[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak
women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in grace-
fulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn
not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned
repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are
already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon
often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use
larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will
find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in
the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion
even dangerous for the stranger.
171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The
Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The
amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

I was just in time [252] to take a snapshot of a fami
n afternoon call, in other words, to borrow some s
LSS: See Visual File category 501] On the gunwale
ppears to be an outrigger, but is really a Y-piece
'his cham-gash, which is the name the Gilyaks giv
nanipulated from a canoe."

ly leaving in their canoe to make
eal-oil and take a cup of (brick) tea.
of the canoe will be noticed what
for resting the seal harpoon in.
e the harpoon, is used on the ice or

116, 225, 411, 527

"On shore preparations are being made
the water or sea holiday; for this is the i
Wild men, with raven pigtails and high
of the rivers preparing to receive the uns
provisions are all consumed, and the Gily
approach of their fat lazy visitors. The v
floes seen on the horizon are being driven
quite near, forming great glistening field
habitants running about on the swaying wh
concealing themselves behind the bergs.
the fish-spear already described on a larg
jointed, each 7 metres long, and is theref
which the harpoon is attached by a thong,
better to thrust into the side of the seal.
the seal sufficient play. This great lengt
unsuspecting prey at a considerable dista
ing cover behind the bergs, and placing th
By a quick thrust the animal is speared,
In so doing he frees the head of the harpo

for the Chak vi hŭnch, or Tol vi hŭnch, i.e.
nauguration of the tolf-an, or summer year.
cheek-bones, are bustling about at the mouths
uspecting guests. [LSS: i.e. seals] Last year's
aks await with suppressed excitement the
vind from the sea increases in vehemence, ice-
closer and closer to the shore. Now they are
s. The whole Gilyak village is alive, the in-
ite floor quickly taking up [253] positions,
Each one has in his hand a harpoon similar to
ger scale. The pole consists of five lengths
fore at full length about 135 feet. The end, to
is ski-shaped, with its end bent upwards, the
The thong itself is also 135 feet long, to allow
h of weapon enables the Gilyak to harpoon his
nce. He stealthily approaches his victim, tak-
e harpoon on the ice slowly unwinds the thong.
and flings himself frightened into the water.
on from the shaft, to which, however, he is

takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs. Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial materials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter, moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.

This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i. e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

without any kind of bait on it is lowered into a crack or a hole drilled into the ice and is as a rule immediately pulled up with one or more fish attached to it. [119]

Sturgeon are caught with hooks. Large iron hooks are fastened to pieces of either wood or cork by means of a rope which in turn is held in place by heavy stones deep in the water, that is, not much above the bottom. The sturgeon which goes down deep is, curiously enough, attracted by the moving pieces of wood, he "plays" with them, as the natives say, and thus gets caught by one or another hook. In winter this fish is also caught in strong nets, for at this time it is supposed to be weaker.

The greatest activity occurs at the time of the salmon run. The results of it influences the lives of these people for the rest of the year, therefore whole swarms of Gilyak are to be found on the Amur. The fish are caught by means of enclosures (1): near the shore a row of posts are driven into the

1. Called sayesdka by the Russian fishermen.

river bed; in general the enclosure has this shape ⊓, the open side of it is turned toward the mouth of the river from which the fish comes. The fish bumps against the wall, turns sideways, and is caught in the bag which is lowered from the boat on the inner sides of the enclosure. At the height of the salmon run there are such masses of fish that the bags are filled almost as soon as they are lowered. The fish weighs 8 to 12 or even 20 pounds and costs three to five Kopeck.

The women also take part in this catch. There is no particular organization in the matter of assigning the fishing places but care is taken that every head of a family fishes where his father and grandfather did before him; this place in the river is then practically his property.

Dolphins are harpooned, but this is considered a difficult hunt. The animal is cautious and does not let the hunter come very near; and should this happen, the wounded animal can easily upset the boat. The harpoon consists of a long hook which has points and barbs at one end and at the other, a rope about 15 fathoms long with a blown-up bladder fastened to it. As is the case in whale fishing, the bladder must show the place where the wounded dolphin went under. When the animal reappears, he is given the finishing blow with harpoons or lances. [120]

1. On the Amur it is found only way down at the mouth.

Sakhalin a lance about two to two and one-half fathoms long which is thicker at its lower end is laid into a wooden trough; on the thick end of the lance a 20-30 fathom long strap is fastened. In spring when the ice breaks up, the seal climbs onto land and the Gilyak pursues it, often at the risk of his life, on a boat or over floating ice fields. As soon as he is near enough to it he places the trough which somewhat represents the barrel of a gun, with the lance inside it on the ground, aims and throws the lance while holding the end of the strap with his left hand, so that the animal cannot get too far away.

5 Another method which is practiced, for instance, in the village of Charbakh, below Nikolayevsk-na-Amure is done in the following way: near a place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom of the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunter conceals himself. The seal, all unsuspecting, climbs on a stone in order to sun himself and is hit by the lance which is attached to the boat by a long strap.

Finally the seal, when he is sunning himself on a rock, is sometimes killed by means of an endlessly long lance, the lower end of which lies on the shore.

The sea lion frequently is found on the coast of Sakhalin and it is the simplest thing in the world to kill it. The animal is stupid and at the same time inquisitive and lets the hunter come so near that he can beat it to death with a club.

4 The otter is frequently seen on the rivers of the country
5 and its pelt is very much prized. It is shot, sometimes even killed with sticks. Cross-bows are also sometimes set up for it, as for the sable.

Of land mammals the bear, the elk, the reindeer, the fox, the musk deer and particularly the sable are hunted.

The bravest men conduct a hand-to-hand fight with the bear and thrust their lance into his breast when he stands up on his hind legs. The scars which a man carries away from such a battle bring him great honor and songs of praise. Most of the men do not attempt this single combat and go after the animal in pairs, and [121] armed with rifles; sometimes the bow and arrow are also used; in any case, it is a dangerous hunt.

/396 cont./

Fig. 4) that is very peculiar with regard to the material as well as the form and arrangement. It is made out of the skin of a sturgeon that is softened beforehand for the purpose and later hardening like wood: on the Amur out of the skin of the tukki-tscho of the Gilyak (Acipenser Schrenckii Brandt), on Sakhalin out of that of an allegedly similar kind occurring in the northern part of the Sea of Japan and called okras by the Gilyak. The mlo consists of two quite similar pieces that may be inverted over each other and at their upper or lower edge are bent into a spiral and attached to a leather strap in such a way that, after pushing away a bone tube running on the latter, the upper piece can be lifted off the lower one. Like the tinder box, the steel, too, often hangs down from the belt on a long chain (Gilyak: kessj-kessj) equipped with various appendages (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1,* and Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1)* Sometimes there is also found on this a bent, little iron rod pointed at the bottom (Pl. XXVIII, Figs. 1 and 2), which is also carried separately and serves for all kinds of purposes, at one time for making a hole in a strap, at another time for loosening a knot or cleaning the pipe, etc. This instrument (Gil. kedak) is not infrequently also made of horn or bone, and as insignificant and unessential as it is in itself, nevertheless it is usually decorated with all sorts of carved figures (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Finally, various other odds and ends usually hang in the belt of the Gilyak as he happens to find them, for instance, a boar's tusk or tooth, a piece of antelope horn or deer antler, etc.

In winter, the Gilyak women also wear coats of dog fur, which are made like those of the men; nevertheless they are sometimes seen, though rarely, in coats of more precious furs. In the winter of 1856, for instance, in Tangi on Sakhalin, I saw one of the wives of the Gilyak Kombrein wrapped in a coat of fox skins with the fur turned to the outside, under which two under-coats of blue and of patterned Chinese material trimmed with otter and sable furs were visible. On neatly dressed girls, children of well-to-do parents, one sometimes sees on the dog-fur coat a narrow fox-fur collar, the so-called mungrusk in Gilyak,

*, * [See Category 116, pp. 1008 and 1009 respectively--Analyst]

/401 cont./

the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned, but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep themselves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it. For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles(Gil. nugsis,

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2)* worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the

* [See Category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]

/401 cont./

latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This ingenious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilyak and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting them

/402 cont./

on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be removed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by success -- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

The thread with which garments are sewed varies according to the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for example, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, fine thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call mydisk and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as pilengat-mydisk, mimk-myd., kych-myd., etc. (5), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat is Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

(Gil. kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fishing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread likewise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (chasa) for them; instead they only use a knife. For smoothing the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pans), which is

/402 cont./

beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).*

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izviestiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

* [See Category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]

/426 cont./

*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[462] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
• 412 side and on the belly side with the tschomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1),[2]
and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head;
then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the
meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them
is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper
end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[192] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is
the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it, which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalong of the Olcha and
[258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
252 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
825 (Gilyak well), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[222] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longri sch]), Salmo leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out

[2] [See Category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively--Analyst]

/426 cont./

*262 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both quali-
252 tatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the
825 two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma,
*262 always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

[113] 3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running
574 through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak
264 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches,
*262 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4),[1] with
• 412 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

264 1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo
191 (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of
113 Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[1] [See category 116, p. 1014--Analyst]

/446 cont./

415 the two hearths to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
177 earth yurt and in the summer yurt is placed on the platform of the hearth on top of three stones. It is always of Chinese origin and is used for the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs and some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, depending on the circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part likewise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 3: matsch-wunj (i.e., small kettle) and kughi-wunj (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
• [412] made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5 and 6,[1] Gilyak myich and mityr) are used, and for smaller kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, Gilyak komb).
415 To prepare and serve mush-like dishes, such as the above-mentioned groats and the like, the Gilyak, according to need, use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and orong), which are quite similar in form to those out of which the dogs
[53] are fed and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. I saw other
824 foodstuffs and dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
[53] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls made of birch bark, whose bottoms and rims were decorated with various arabesques; they are the so-called tottangr in Gilyak (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service, so also do the vessels intended for the use of individuals as cups and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
264 served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is suf-
415 ficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachtschitsch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped in fish oil and consumed. Liquid foods, like the above-mentioned

[1] [See category 116, p. 1014 -- Analyst]

264 /446 cont./
415 broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat, blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir (3)

[104] 3. The s is soft in this word and is to be pronounced like the French z.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously on account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thumb-
[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves
415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great
531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for
996 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not by any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin and the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi, all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decorations put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artistic carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively
322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-
• 412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

/447 cont./

322 yi-dshakko already mentioned, several knives of special shape.
• 412 Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of various sizes, the us(i)r-wossj of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4),[1] is used; for finer carving, the kydr-dshakko, a knife with a very
412 narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among
177 the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschawkr) (1)

[192] 1. Presumably borrowed from the Manchurian tschabcha. Among the Olcha: alako.

copied from the Chinese must be mentioned, a specimen of which, from the village of Wassj, is shown on Plate XXXIII, Fig. 6. These owe their origin among the Gilyak more to the imita instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard to anything Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

415 As one sees from the above, all the household and table
323 equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood
439 or birch bark. Earthenware is not found among them at all; they
[322] neither make any themselves nor is there used among them, in spite of their contacts with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain made by these peoples, for at most a single piece of it, usually one or several of the small porcelain bowls used by the Chinese for drinking brandy, is kept here and there by a well-to-do Gilyak as an article of value or as an oddity. The fact that pottery, even
323 in its beginnings, is completely foreign to the Gilyak, despite
114 their being exceedingly skilled in other things, for example, in woodworking and, as we shall see later, at the smith's trade, certainly merits full consideration, and I am therefore permitting myself a few remarks about it. In order first to put the fact itself still further beyond doubt, I must expressly emphasize that despite my long and various stays among them I never saw a piece of pottery of any kind in their households nor did I even hear of any from others. Hence, some entirely different statements in Mamia Rinsô's report on his travels on Sakhalin (Krafto) and in the Amur region were all the more striking to me. He found that the earthen
[171] ware and porcelain of the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin was

/716 cont./

hanging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking and the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat, which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the house and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was mentioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from the storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached to the bear rack in colorful confusion pieces of fur and the skins of paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were led while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of hair from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uing-dshakko of the Gilyak, with which it is uïtsch to cut anything other than bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth obtained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when consuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed discussion.

The bowls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-spoon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always carved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and 2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat broth, the latter (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat. What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood, and sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

322 /717 cont./

*796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
● 412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
[126] came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly uïtsch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p. 1250/, Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252/, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band; Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

*796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
253 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

/729 cont./

G *796 119 262 G1 796 114 262 After this insertion on the bear festival of the Olcha, which seemed to me necessary for a comparison with the same festive act among the Gilyak, let us again take up the thread of our description of the bear festival of the Gilyak. We still lack any knowledge of its final act: what happens to the skull and bones of the animal after the fat, meat, and internal organs of the bear have been eaten? Unfortunately I was not an eyewitness here, and I can only report what I heard from the Gilyak and what must follow from other facts. Ditmar left Tebach before this final act. He concludes his notes from there with the remark that his further presence there would apparently offend Judin and other Gilyak, and that the repeated assertions by the former that he could not wait for the end of the festival because it would drag out for a long time yet showed only too clearly the desire that he speed up his departure. On the day before, when the first bear-meat was eaten, the bear heads were still untouched and bore their snout and head bands. When I arrived among the Olcha in Uda, I did not see these bands; if they are used at all by the Olcha, they had already been removed; the skull and the lower jaw had been removed from the skin and were, as was said, set before the guests for the consumption of the meaty parts. The former was not split, and I saw nothing of the brain parts. It is not likely, however, that they would forgo these especially tasty morsels. But in order to get at them, they must split the skull. From this one may surely conclude that the teachers of the Olcha, the Gilyak, do likewise and, after the other parts of the bear have been eaten, finally skin the head and split the skull. But this final blow directed against the bear, the splitting of its skull, may be one of the acts that are preferably done in secret, or at least not in the presence of strangers, and therefore Ditmar's departure from Tebach was especially desired. Just like the removal of the bear head from the skin, so most probably is the splitting of the skull done in the house, where immediately or soon afterward its meat and the brain parts are eaten. Arguing in favor of this is the circumstance that the instrument with which the skull of the bear is split is brought into the house at the very beginning of the second act of the festival. /730/ It is a pickax (Gilyak

*796 262 G1 796 262 *796 262 *796 ● 412

Goldi RX3

/730 cont./

mytsching), which is illustrated on Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 5, from a specimen that lay on the bear rack in Judin's house during the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, this pickax is unmistakably a specimen from ancient times and certainly in former times had a stone blade, which was later replaced with an iron one (1). Finally, when the brain of the bear has been eaten,

1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and used to kill sturgeon and hausen has a stone end-piece (see above, p. 806). The caption on Plate LI should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest -- an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skull, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull of the bear, however, is treated differently, in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I had had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The above-mentioned pickax, apparently from the Stone Age, is also used for a similar purpose by the Goldi, to judge from traces of blows. They do not, however, split the skull of the bear, but content themselves, forgoing eating the brain, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Buri, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Ussuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed it in order to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 8-16).

796 415 412 532

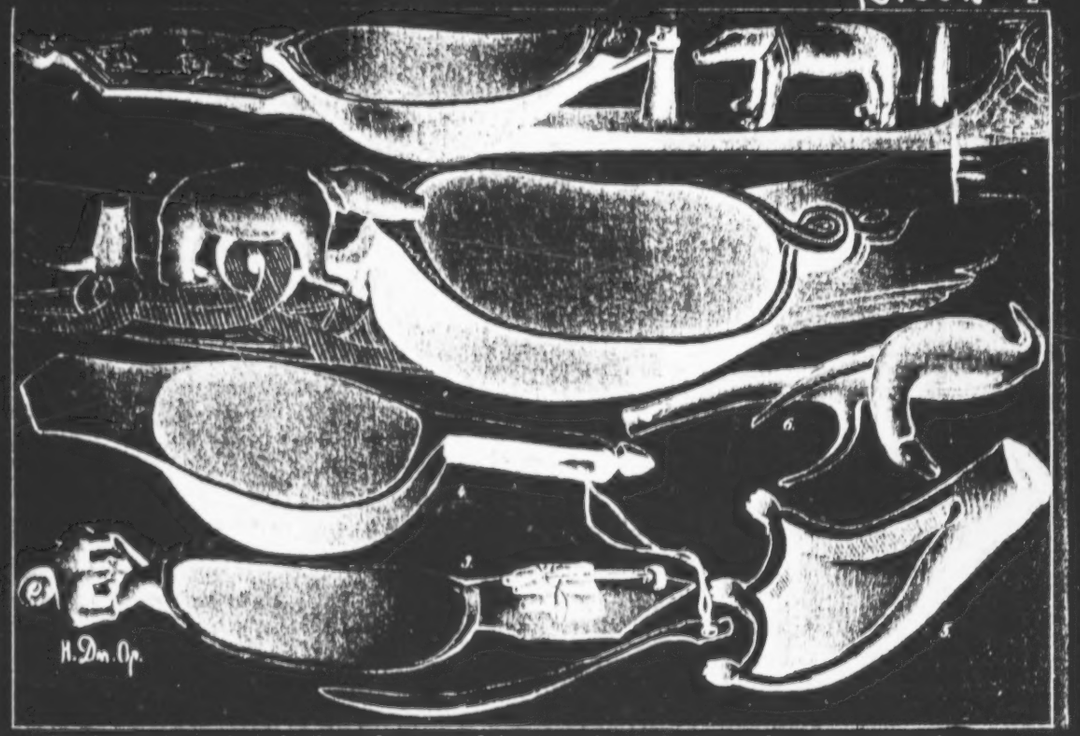

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

: Hawes--173-174 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 251, 343, 412

We came upon an old Gilyak and his wife, who
akish knife, which is the men's hunting and 'ge
ish was split open, a nd with a short-bladed an
voman's fish and domestic knife (ungu dzhakho)
ut from each side, leaving for remainder the h
lesh adhering. All these were then hung up to d
ne 'village green,' or 'market-place,' of the Gi
umption, and woe betide the Gilyaks if August (
3 days earlier than the Gregorian calendar.] w
rove a rainy month, for then only a small quan
gainst the winter, and stores will give out earl
unately, sunny weather [174] had this year atter
f sun-dried fish were hanging in rows upon row
trange-looking coffin erections, consisting of a
orked stakes. These stakes were, in 'well-reg
ieces of bark, umbrella-shaped, to prevent the

sat slicing and cleaning kita. With a lon
neral-purposes' knife (dzhakho), the
d curved edition of the former—the
—the kita was cleaned. Two slices were
ead and tail and backbone, with some
lry in the sun, this drying-ground being
lyaks. The slices were for human con-
(O.S.) [LSS: The old style calendar is
hich is the chief season of fish-drying,
tity of their staple food will be prepare
y, and many will die of starvation. For
ded their efforts, and goodly quantities
s, to be eventually consigned to those
short log hollowed out and perched on
lated establishments,' encircled with
ravages of rats and other vermin."

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak; 1--bowl for
size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting
for splitting the bear's skull; 6--s

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

collecting bear fat (reduced in
bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax
poon.

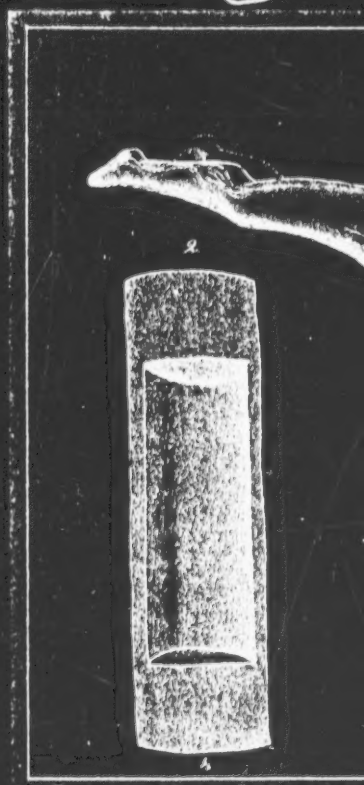

1. Grave marker of a murdere
from the t

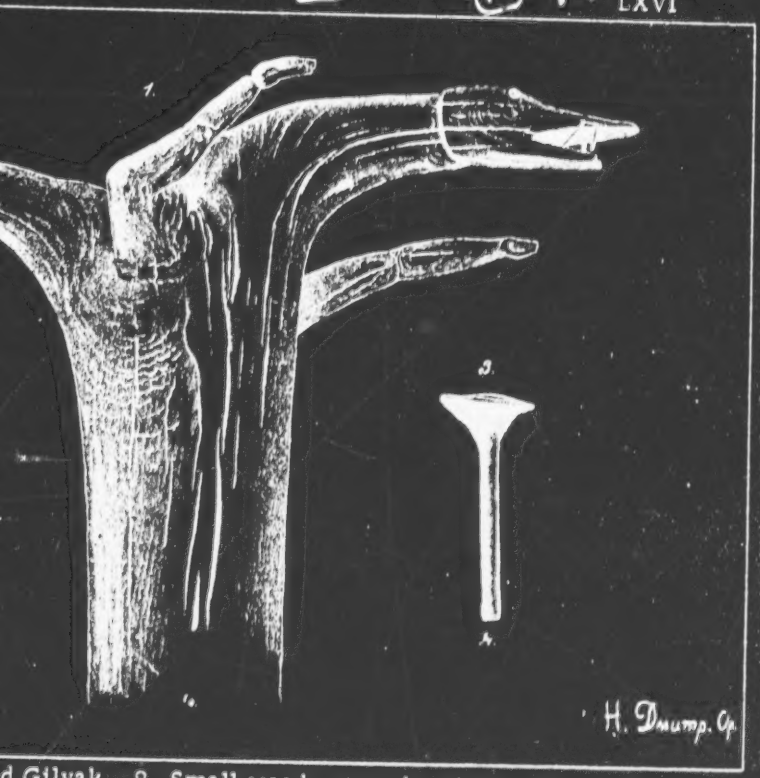

d Gilyak. 2. Small wooden trough, along with 3, a pestle,
omb of a drowned Olcha.

116, 396, 412, 501

and stern, which are often exactly similar, ar
When dried and stretched, two or three rungs
takes, under favourable circumstances, one m
In the management of them, their makers w
They would stand at bow and stern of our frail
its equilibrium one iota."

e short flat projections used in punting.
keep the sides rigid. The whole proces
nonth, but in winter two.
ere as skilful as in their manufacture.
craft, punting up stream, and not distu

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412
532

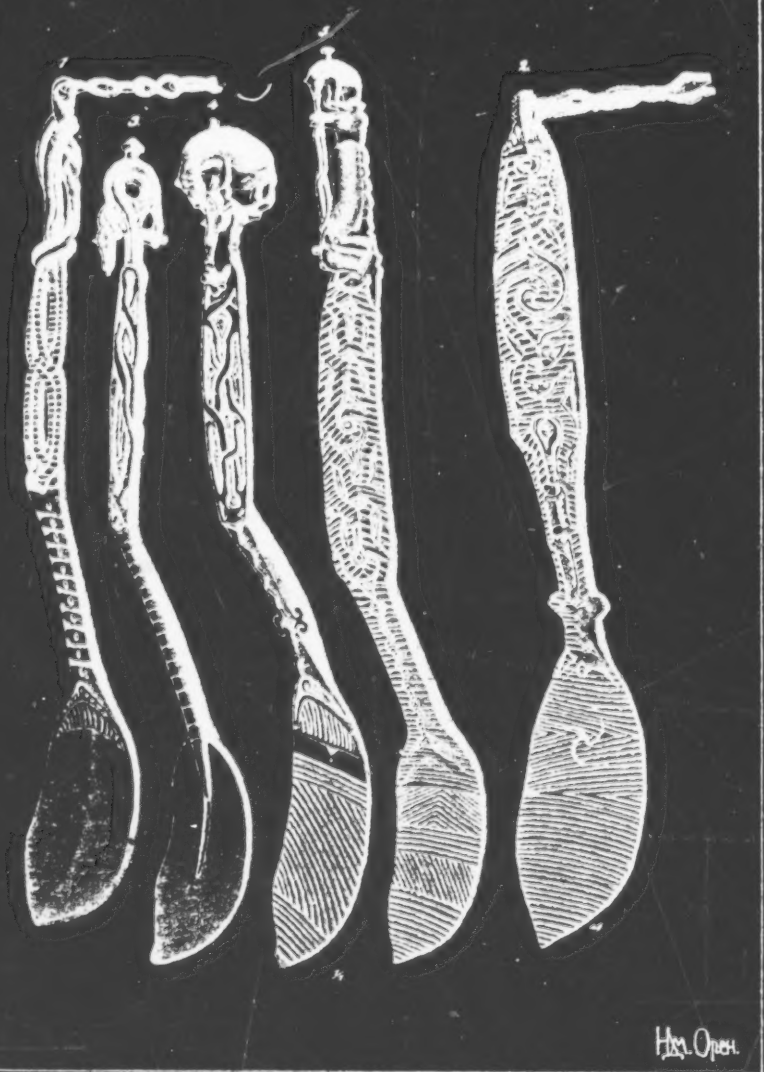

Spoons used at the bear festival of the Gilyak.

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231
291
372
412
493
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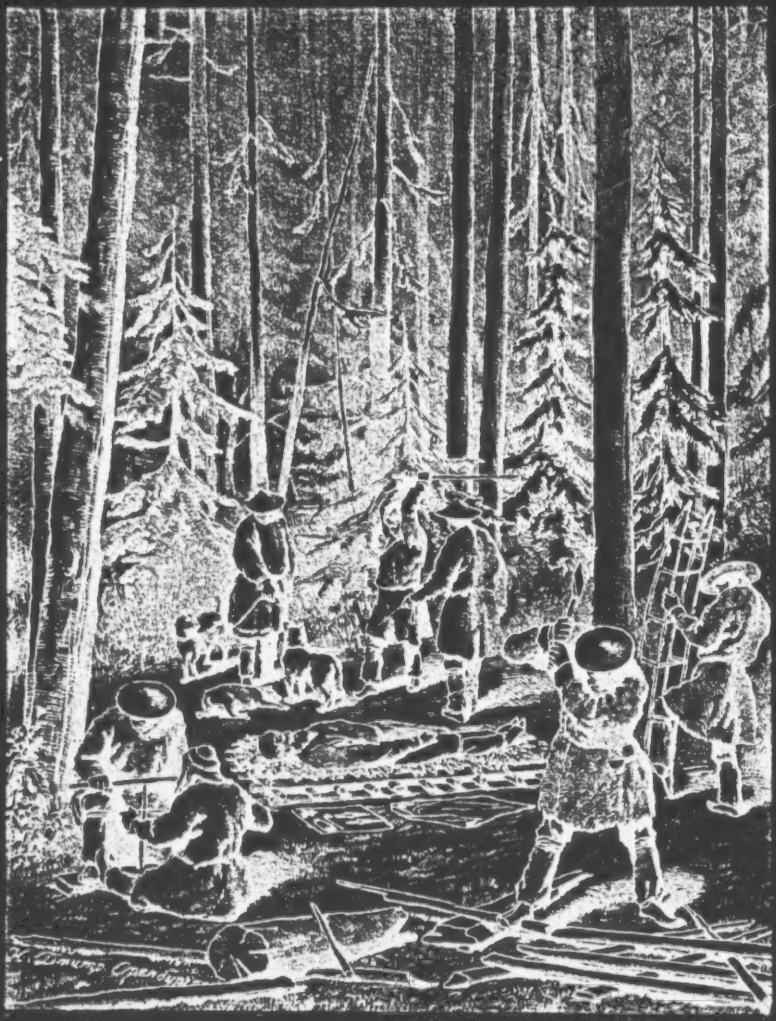

Gilyak funeral.

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-ŋǝk and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
412 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-ŋǝk.

411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskǝr around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

"Our craft was a
and though easil
of these 'dug-ou
and cut down. T
natives obtain ei
payment for boa
placed a tzakh—
Ainus call an Ina
of building by th
haunt the forest,
little hewing and
opposite p. 252.
the circumferen
forming the oute
of about an inch,
ence of a circle.
outwards, by me
vertical, and the
All the work i
Orotchon tribe a

bout twenty-five feet long and two and a half broad, light, keel-less;
y capsized a racing craft in speed. More than once I came across one
ts' in course of making. A suitable tree near the river edge is chosen,
his, and all the other work on it, is done by means of an axe, which the
ther by bartering skins with the Russians, or, as at Pogobi, in part
t made over to a gang of brodyagi. On [160] the stump of the tree left i
that is, a twig with whittled shavings adhering to the top such as the
o. This, like the cross (†) stuck in the ground beside a house in cours
e Russians, is to keep away the evil spirits, the daimones, which here
and especially the swampy regions. The bark is chipped off, and very
trimming suffices on the outside, as will be seen from the illustration
The hollowing process follows, and about one-third or one-fourth of
ce of the log is cut into, the remaining two-thirds or three-quarters
r surface of the boat. When duly hollowed to a thickness at the gunwale
a cross-section will thus give about three-quarters of the circumfer-
The sides or lips of the boat leaning to each other are then stretched
eans of sticks placed crosswise inside, so that the sides may become
e final form of a cross-section of the boat be that of the letter U.
s performed with a couple of hatchets, though I once saw among the
primitive plane. A thin rim is affixed to the gunwale, and at the bow

"How important a part sewing mus
imagined, when clothing consisted of
ordered over the counter by the yard
an adequate covering. In early times
by barter, a big ship's canvas-needle
treasure. How eagerly [221] such was
possessor handed it down as a family
of such value that a wife could be bou
as much as a narta (sledge) and tear
cases (nookh-tses), curiously carved
the principle on which they work is e
to-day in Korea.

The following shows the value they
a Gilyak family crying and howling.

'Why are you crying?' he asked. 'I

'No! What is death? It would have
lost!' "

t have played in the domestic economy can be
salmon-skins, a material which could not be
, but had to be diligently stiched together to fo
bone needles were used, but when, by accide
e came into their hands, it was a priceless
s sought after and seldom obtained. The happy
heirloom. In those days they tell us a needle
ght with it; whereas to-day a helpmeet may c
m of thirteen dogs. To keep the needle safe, b
d, were made; and it is interesting to note tha
xactly the same as that of the little silk ones

used to put upon the needle. A Russian came

s somebody dead?'
been better had somebody died. The needle is

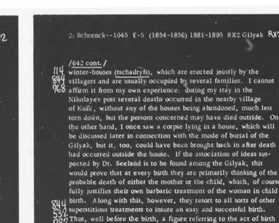

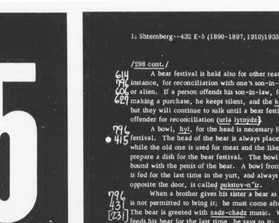

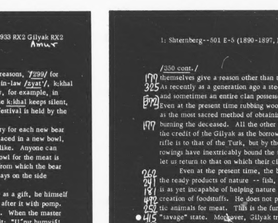

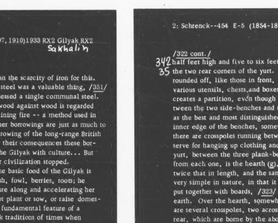

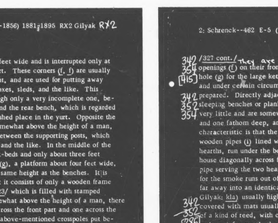

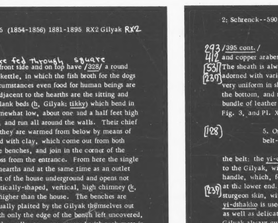

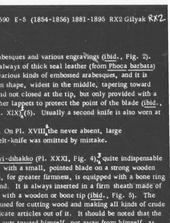

SPECIAL TOOLS--writing instruments (e.g., pencil, pen, brush), artists' tools, surgical instruments, specialized tools of particular trades (e.g., of jewelers, barbers, smiths, masons, weavers), measuring tools (e.g., clock, compass, calipers, measuring rod, square, level, quadrant, etc. See also)

Weighing and measuring machines..... 802 (See end pamphlet)

Gilyak Implements; 1 -- fish knife; 2 -- knife, "tar-dhakhu"; 3 -- knife for fine woodworking; 4 -- knife for buffoonery; 5 -- umbilical-cord knife; 6 -- large drill; 7 -- small rod tool that goes with it; 8 -- small drill.

/642 cont./

winter-houses (tuchadhi), which are erected jointly by the villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot affirm it from my own experience. During my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kuik, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the person concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Sternberg is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course fully justifies their anxiety for the treatment of the women in childbirth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth. Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1256 /) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

No one else is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife (Gilyak kuurak- or kopo-dhakhu, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1201/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (3). Evidently, the

2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuik.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where the alone takes care of it.

/298 cont./

A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /299/, khlal or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the khlal keeps silent, but they will continue to talk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (uzla lymyde).

A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukuvo-u'p.

Where a mother gives her son litter a bear as a gift, he himself is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp. The bear is greeted with nade-chade music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'ne hunyzki! Wingan fur hunyzk!--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mon' and all kinds of dishes.

When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylng-tysyk and prepare mal mon'. From all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries. Tabi -- a dog which has been born specially for the sig.

When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid in a wooden frame near the pening where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on them. This place is called k-ok ngangot.

V.

Slaves

The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet, in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure." Then he is a khlal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone

/250 cont./

themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this. As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /251/ and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel. Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in burning the dead. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic animals. Still is the fundamental feature of his "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/322 cont./

half feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at the two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, j) are usually rounded off, like those in front, and are used for storing various utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This creates a partition, each though only a very incomplete one, between the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded as the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the inner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man, there are crossposts running between the supporting posts, which serve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the yurt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet from each one, in the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide, twice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is very simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame tent together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped earth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, there are several crossposts, two across the front part and one across the rear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crossposts that between the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crossposts over the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which the kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the front part of the hearth there stones (h) are the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/327 cont./--they are fed through square

openings (f) on their front take and on log have /328/ a round hole (g) for the large kettle, in which the fish broth for the dogs and under certain circumstances even food for human beings are prepared. Directly adjacent to the hearth are the sitting and sleeping benches or plank beds (b, Gilyak: tikhy) which bend in very little and are somewhat low, about one and a half feet high and one fathom deep, and run all around the walls. Their chief characteristic is that they are warmed from below by means of wooden pipes (j) lined with clay, which come out from both hearths, run under the benches, and join in the corner of the house diagonally across from the entrance. From here the single pipe serving the two hearths and at the same time as an outlet for the smoke runs out of the house underground and opens not far away into an identically-shaped, vertical, high chimney (k, Gilyak: hlz) usually higher than the house. The benches are covered with mats usually plaited by the Gilyak themselves out of a kind of reed, with only the edge of the bench left uncovered, and not infrequently the walls, too, are covered with such mats in certain places. In the center of the house, between the two posts supporting the ridge, there is a large, heavy table (l), about two fathoms long and half as wide, on which the dogs are fed, and which I shall therefore simply call the dogs' table (Gilyak: hylt). The top of it, which along its longitudinal edges usually projects out in cruder carved, pyramidal, cone or hook-shaped continuations, rests upon four posts (m) firmly rammed into the ground, and, if necessary, when more space is needed in the house, during the bear festival, for instance, can be lifted off of them. Above the two ends of the dogs' table two crown-sticks hang down from the central longitudinal beam of the house, with a long pole can be stuck between them, by which the dogs are tied during the feeding. Our Plate XIX[illegible] which shows the feeding of the dogs, to be discussed later, also gives some insight into the nature of the interior of a Gilyak winter-house. I must mention, however, that the dogs' table on it is drawn a little too small and, on the other hand, the space between it and the plank bed is too wide. Subsequent pictures which are to illustrate the bear festival and the mourning ceremonies among the Gilyak give more accurate

/395 cont./

and copper arabesques and various engravings (ibid., Fig. 3). The sheath is always of thick seal leather (ibid., Fig. 2) and adorned with various kinds of embossed arabesques, and it is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the point of the blade (ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX[illegible]). Usually a second knife is also worn at

5. On Pl. XVIII[illegible] the never absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dhakhu (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4) quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade in a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is provided with a bone ring at the lower end. It is always inserted in a firm sheath made of kangaroo skin, with a wooden or bone tip (ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dhakhu is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the

/396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as

1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-zaki ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container for tinder and flint, and a steel. The latter is either a small bag of scaliskin leather (Gilyak tsolondzh, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 9), usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur shuttles sewed on it (2), or a bow (Gilyak nilgo; ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw specimens of this kind that was made entirely with small pieces of the fur of Ovaria urina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[illegible] (See category 116, Pp 999, 998, 1011 & 1008 respectively - Analyst)

[233] /Ski cont./

(Fig. 5) that is very popular with regard to the material as well as the form and arrangement. It is made use of the skin of a Mongolian fallow-deer (Cervus Sika Temminck), an Eastern Siberian [234] tribe, the Ulchi, which lives in the Amur valley, and which, in the Tungusic language of the Ulchi (Ai-ni-ren Schmidt), means "the people of the Amur." The Ulchi are a fishing people, and they live on the Amur and on the banks of the tributaries of the Amur (Ai-ni-ren Schmidt). Ethnologically speaking, they belong to the Tungusic group of people, and they are closely related to the Gilyak. The Ulchi are also known as the people living on the Amur River, and they are known as the people who live on the Amur River, and they are known as the people who live on the Amur River, and they are known as the people who live

2: Schrenck--1249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

796 594 516 352 417 415 342

XLIX

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1247 E-5 (1854-1856) 18[illegible] 895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

796 231 342 416 291

XLVII

Bear festival. Displaying the bears in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

SS /464 cont./
273 made out of willow switches and lined on the inside with strong
439 paper, or in square chests made of six boards and likewise with paper stuck on the inside, on which an opening, closable by a
SS Gi bolt, is found on top on one of the edges (4). One of the purposes
G 273 439

4. Williamson, op. cit., p. 68. Nadarof, op. cit., p. 113. Maack, op. cit., p. 196.

of a Sungari journey by the Gilyak, Olcha, or Goldi is to buy such a chest (Gilyak kylmr-wakke) (5) of araki, for the liquor

5. Wakke means box or chest in general.

is naturally much cheaper at the place of production than among the Chinese retail merchants along the Amur.

G Along with the liquor the Gilyak and the other peoples of the
SS lower Amur region have also adopted the manner of drinking it
273 from the Chinese. Like them, they always drink it warm (6) out
177
415
439

6. Marco Polo already remarks that the Chinese do not drink the "rak" (arrack) until after they have first heated it (Marco Polo's Reisen, the German by Bürck, p. 341, note 284).

of tiny porcelain bowls which they likewise buy from the Chinese for the purpose, just like the metal can in which the liquor is heated beforehand by putting the can into hot water or in the hot ashes of a basin filled with glowing coals always kept handy for this purpose as well as for lighting the pipe (7). This is how the Chinese

7. The Chinese way of drinking liquor has often been described, for instance, by Huc (L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 390) and others.

/469 cont./

1. (cont.) de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

276 Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special
415 board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8) and, when dry, disintegrating almost
(171) to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily
[237] made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with
[531] Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

276 The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco
574 with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing.
[439] I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.
[See category 116, P. 1014 — Analyst]

G /469 cont./
276 If the Gilyak run out of tobacco, they seize upon various
824 substitutes for it. The most common of these makeshifts is fine dry wood shavings from any kind of wood, but always from a soft type, presumably willow by preference. Such shavings are even mixed with the tobacco when it is beginning to get low. When it is all gone, the wood shavings mixed with tobacco oil are smoked
G 276 in place of it. For this purpose the tobacco oil is scraped out of
415 the pipes from time to time and stored in a special small pouch (Gilyak niryghsis), which /470/ is made of a few scraps of leather fastened between two pieces of sealskin (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6), on which the tobacco oil is smeared and, when required, is scraped
G off, mixed with the wood shavings, and again returned to the
276 824 pipe (1). Moreover, the Gilyak use some of their native herbs as
G [171]

1. The very same tobacco substitutes is also used by the Chukchee, who, however, obtain it by putting the wood shavings in the tube, much wider on their pipes, above the pipe bowl, where it is gradually saturated with nicotine from the smoke passing through it (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes, London, 1872, p. 429; Dall,

tobacco substitutes, for example, an herb that they named for me in Allof on the Amur as tschomr, in Tyk on Sakhalin as wurpi, and which, judging by the dried fragments that I saw, seemed to be a
Gi fern. Among the Goldi in Kōurmi on the Amur I likewise saw
276 hanging bundles of an herb which they called toina and used as a
824 substitute for tobacco. For the present the taxonomic names of these plants must remain unknown.

SS The taking of snuff and tobacco-chewing are not found at
276 all among the Amur peoples, at least in the lower Amur region (2).

SS [171]

2. Among the Aleut, who became acquainted with tobacco through the Russians, it is mostly chewed, taken as snuff very little, and not
[See category 116, P. 1008 -- Analyst]

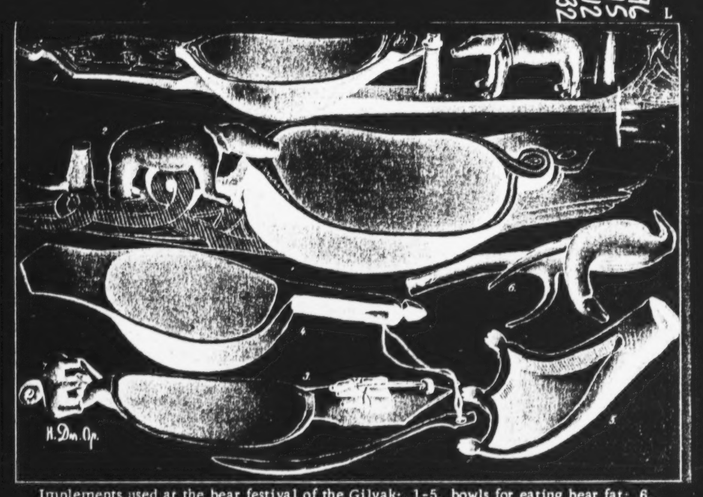

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

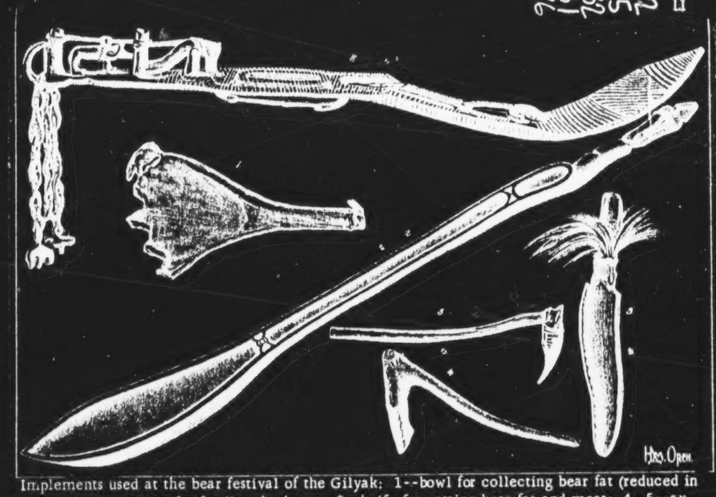

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax for splitting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

/322 cont./
alf feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at
he two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually
ounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away
arious utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This
reates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, be-
ween the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded
s the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the
nner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man,
here are crosspoles running between the supporting posts, which
erve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the
urt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet
rom each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide,
wice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is
ery simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame
ut together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped
arth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, there
re several crosspoles, two across the front part and one across the
ear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crosspoles put be-
ween the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crosspoles
ver the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which
he kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the
ont part of the hearth three stones (h) are set upright in a tri-
ngle and firmly embedded in the earth, on which stands the
rge kettle used for cooking the soup for the dogs. In large yurts
here are sometimes two such large kettles, also serving for
uman use, incidentally, as was the case, for example, in the
rge yurt at Tyk, in which I stayed repeatedly and for several
ays, and where I sketched the plan presented here. The fire is
ade in the rear part of the hearth, that is, somewhat more in
e center between the three plank-beds, serving for heat and for
luminating the yurt at night. In front of the hearth stands one or
ore large receptable, usually tubs (i) made of birch bark, with
inking water, and along the front wall (k), right and left of
e entrance, or in one of the front corners (l, l) of the yurt,
supply of dry firewood is always piled up. Finally, at the top,
xactly above the fireplace, there is the smoke vent in the form
a longish rectangle that is placed either with its lengthwise

/355 cont./
342 as far as the humidity of the air is concerned, it is even greater
184 there due to the nearness of the sea and the exceedingly frequent fogs and rain. Thus, if the Gilyak on Sakhalin build their summer houses on level ground in places, they must know that they are safe there against the first menace and in addition have other important reasons for building such dwellings. I think that one of these reasons is that these dwellings, less exposed to the wind, are warmer than those resting on piles and therefore can be moved into earlier in the year and can be occupied longer in the autumn. The first circumstance, /356/ however, is of importance in particular for the southern part of the Gilyak area of Sakhalin, where the Gilyak are driven from their earth yurts earlier in the year by the melting snow. It was in this southern part that I encountered the summer house built on level ground. In Tangi I found it occupied as early as February 8/20, and in Arkai on February 28 (March 11), when it was still fully winter. In Duĭ, however, it was still uninhabited on
[122] February 27 (March 10), although I stayed in it because the two winter-yurts of the village were overcrowded as a result of a great confluence of Gilyak. This latter summer house, in contrast to several others built close to the shore, was farther from the sea, beside the winter yurts, and its owner planned to use it even in late autumn and not leave it until winter set in /Illustration appears here./

342 On Plate XIII[2] a summer dwelling of the Amur Gilyak is shown, and, to be sure, a yurt in Mão, the summer residence of the Gilyak living in Kufk in the winter. It is a structure resting on piles, about three fathoms wide and four to five fathoms long, and looks rather clumsy. The walls are made of thin beams which, as in the case of the winter houses, are not joined at the ends, but are somewhat pointed and are stuck into the grooves of the upright piles. The rather flat roof consists of crudely hewn boards, which are held together by poles fastened crosswise. On a notched
[417] beam slanting against the front of the house one climbs onto a level narrow sill which runs along the whole front of the house, is partly covered by the somewhat projecting roof, and which
[See category 116, P. 993 -- Analyst]

342 /357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,
[352] in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along
[354] three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (c), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.
[417] Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle
[353] over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply
342 of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a
354 whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mão at the time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to
342 be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the
825 Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible
[251] to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing
342 up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/357 cont./
342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

342 The above description also applies, apart from the specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwell-
231 ings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a sort of antehouse is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

25 Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the
[22] summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter,
[226] one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for
[417] hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite similar to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crosspoles under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer,

1. A more detailed description of the treatment of the fish before they are dried, as well as of the use of the individual parts and the like, will be given later at the appropriate place.

/559 cont./

which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal) is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku) have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

/560 cont./

5. Putesh. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegir smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region.

The quiver (Gilyak pi) used for stowing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carved arabesques or other figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow points (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is relatively heavy and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, one holds the exceedingly light and portable quiver of the Orochi from Kaiserhafen, made solely out of animal skins (ibid., Fig. 8)(6),

6. It is made out of pieces of reindeer and elk leg-fur; the crossband in the middle is made of otter fur.

this in itself would show that hunting among the Gilyak, in comparison with their Tungusic neighbors, falls far behind.

I doubt very much that the Gilyak are skilled archers, though I do not have sufficient experience to be able to say anything more definite about it. The one time I saw them shooting was under conditions which would not permit drawing any conclusion as to their skill. It was at the bear festival in Tebach, when the three bears, held by chains and led about, were finally shot. The marksman in each case approached the erect animal from the right side to within about five paces. The first two bears went down with loud roars after the first shot, struck in the right lung; in one of them the arrow had penetrated to the middle of the shaft. The third marksman had struck his victim too low, in the abdomen, and therefore had to send a second arrow, which cut down the animal and caused it to die slowly.

XII

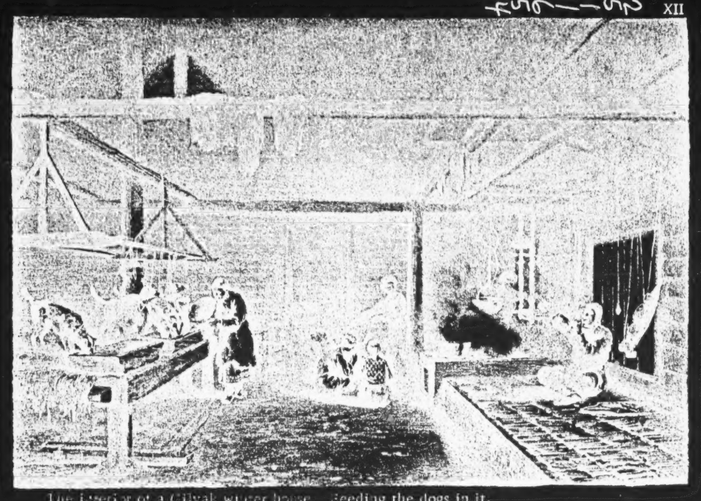

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

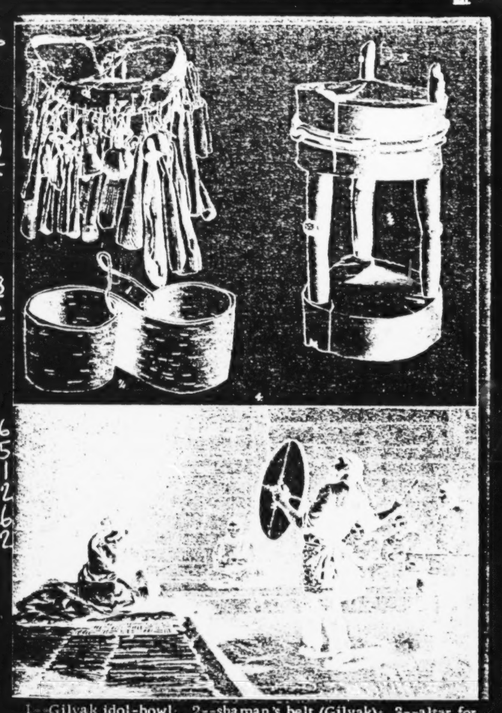

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

LXVI

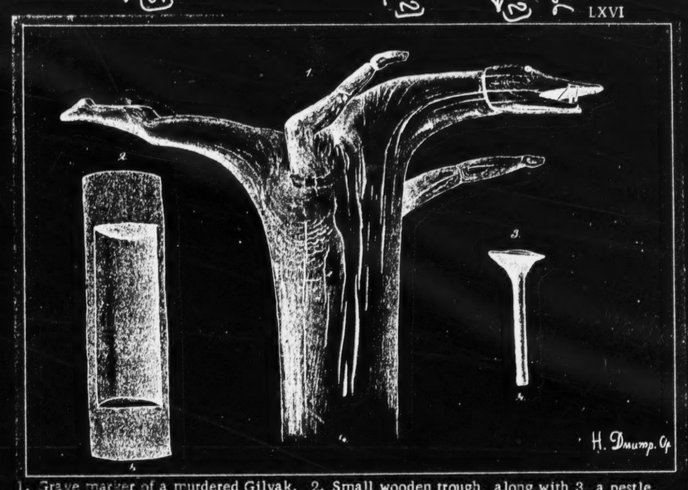

1. Grave marker of a murdered Gilyak. 2. Small wooden trough, along with 3, a pestle, from the tomb of a drowned Olcha.

7: Kreinovich--2 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
782 the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
252 boats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping water of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant ays, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fənd (major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.

225 For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
782 mos and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
776 sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
825 (aj s). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.

782 When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
225 Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keyla-qəks twig and the other is a qosk qəks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is
782 thrown into the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are
225 the úiŋ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are
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2. Uiŋ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiŋ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

XLVIII

Bear festival. Last procession with the bears (Gilyak).

XLIX

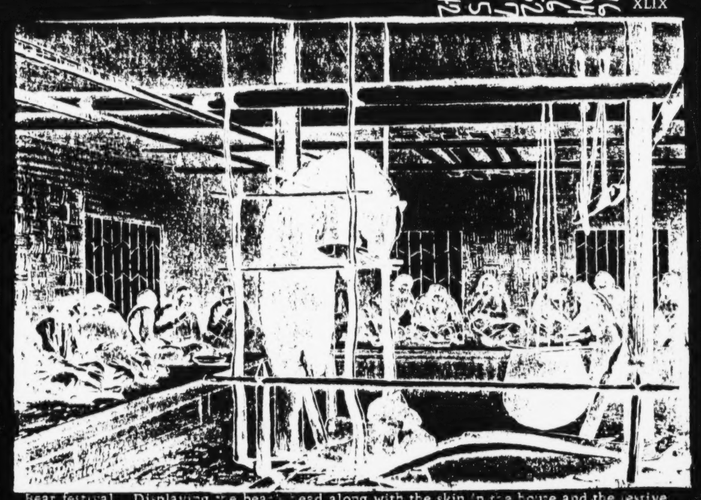

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner; 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

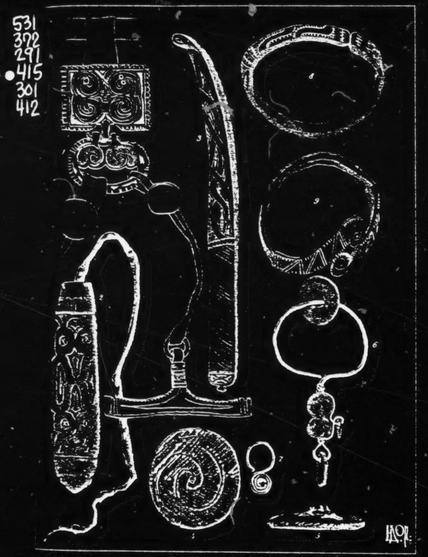

Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

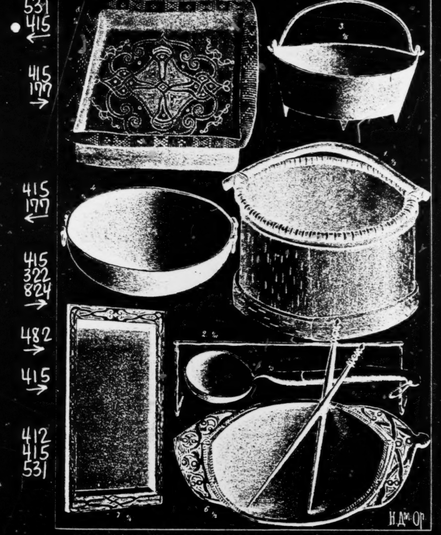

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke, 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop, 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.

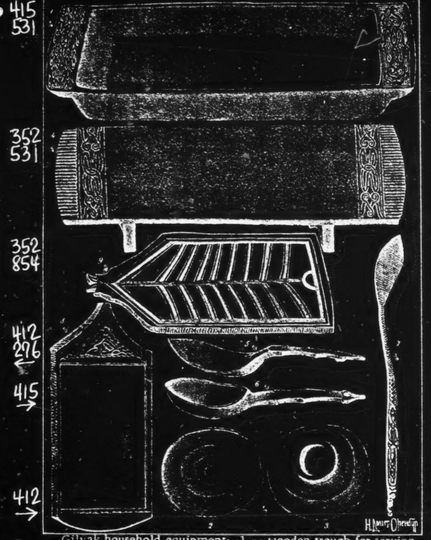

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop, 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

/716 cont./

*796 252 hanging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking and the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning of the following day (January 28) the

*796 412 252 [889] old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat, which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the house and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was mentioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from the storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached to the bear rack in colorful confusion: pieces of fur and the skins of paws of previously killed bears, the chains on which they were led while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of hair from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uing-dshakko of the Gilyak, with which it is uitsch to cut anything other than bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a

• [415 264] number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth obtained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when consuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed discussion.

*796 412 415 532 322 The bowls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-spoon bowls, by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always carved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and 2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat broth, the latter (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat. What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood, and sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear-festival. The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

322 /717 cont./
796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time
[126] of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a
utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the asser-
tion that such a transaction would be too greatly uitsch. If one
examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they
attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions
in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p.1250 /,
Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on
Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252 /, Figs. 3 and 5, attention
is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band;
Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI
/p. 1251 /, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself
against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on
Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down
from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the
spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be
regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also be-
cause it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the
festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the
bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad
depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the
spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and
spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in
/718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears
busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
263 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded
more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of
which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear
meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

/720 cont./

+796
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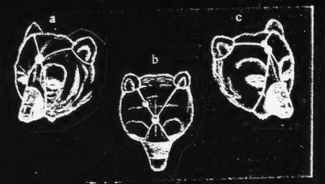

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

*796 conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead
199 swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in
194 superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine,
825 and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished
796 them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, accord-
ing to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among
the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

*796 With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the
574 toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been
415 shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete
576 innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give them-
selves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden
bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and
arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants
in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench
[262] of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred
utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère
the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon
to the guests. While they were still eating it, simple circular

/721 cont./

*796 wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aam-
574 ngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,
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576

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the
serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each
+796 side of the étagère a man was busy lifting one plate after another
574 from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat
576 on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large
hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXIII /p. 1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped
the aforementioned mush from a trough and served it on the plates
which were then immediately taken back again to their places.
This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server
got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a
piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each
side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed
a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them
to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two
sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the
ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured
[562] back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the
feast, indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone
then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house
where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical
meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a
[242] meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had
yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the follow-
ing day.

This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the
796 previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the
574 presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already ap-
262 peared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of
576 honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely
enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed
so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

576 /721 cont./
*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
262 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[562] pated in the meal, indeed, even the women and children re-
[855] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among
[415] the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5,
and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1 -- called äns-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft,
like the French z. The bowl is called äns-tymyk
because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and
children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was
therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/
that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and
fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said
to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into
the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As
the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his
hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking
each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten
bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[869] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
[533] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated,
for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with
which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar
aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the
third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small
individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

798 /750 cont./
532 figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of
825 the ailment (Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)
[755] 21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy
[126] many idols, all different and some of them very interesting,
for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate
LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a desig-
nation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another
had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /,
Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the
human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 4), several human figures
had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and
a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided
with a human face.

[126] I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the
idols is put and which is called toll-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pömi-tscho)
with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 5), as well
as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and
raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound
around them and several clothed in bearskin stood on a shelf in
[126] the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human
figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore
an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human be-
ing, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could
not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many
798 idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of
415 various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a
532 toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toll-ngir.
Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two
cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side
in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p. 1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel
[126] was called tschobrä and was used for the same purpose. No amount
[784] of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned
them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that
it was uitsch and would cause her death.

Kreinovich--26 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

52 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.

53 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
57 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
58 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
4 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeta Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
5 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
53 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.

52 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
82 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
25 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of gosk-pəks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanγ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (ma^t) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

9: Hawes--270 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 415, 422, 585

"The cauldron plays an important part, not only in the everyday domestic economy, but at the very threshold of the new joint life—at the marriage ceremony itself. At least, this is so among some of the clans on Sakhalin. No religious function, as we understand it, graces the occasion; only a simple custom, which appears as a traditional sanction to this important departure in the Gilyak's family life.

The payment hav ing been made without formality to the bride's father, a feast is prepared in his hut, to which the bridegroom comes with his friends, bringing a new Japanese cauldron. The marriage feast is then cooked in this new vessel, and eaten with rejoicing, for the eating together is part of the necessary function. This ended, the two cauldrons, the new one and that pertaining to the hut, are both cleaned and placed by the bridegroom's kindred in front of the bride, who, with her partner, is standing with her back turned to the fire, and face to the door of the hut. She then places her left foot in the new vessel and her right in the paternal, or rather maternal, cauldron, the two being placed one step apart. The bridegroom then moves them one by one, a step at a time, until the bride reaches the door. Here the couple take up their own and go to their new hut, amid the acclamations of their kindred."

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and in[illegible]cation, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

> 1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened!

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
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> 2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles, knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

416

416 APPLIANCES--portable lights (e.g., torches, lanterns, flashlights); heat-regulating appliances (e.g., refrigerators, incubators); cameras; optical instruments (e.g., eyeglasses, microscope, telescope); appliances not elsewhere described; etc. See also:

Machines 40
Photography 215
Umbrellas and goggles 293
Lighting, heating, and air-conditioning appliances for buildings 354
Manufacture of incubators and refrigerators . . 394
Manufacture of optical and photographic equipment 395
Household appliances 404
Plumbing fixtures 414
Hearing aids 732

4

17

225 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
782 the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
252 boats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping water of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant aγs, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fənd ('major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.

225 For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
782 mos and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
776 sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
825 (aγs). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.

782 When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
225 Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keγla-ʒəks twig and the other is a qosk nəks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called taγr. The offering is
782 thrown into the sea through the taγr. First to be emptied are
225 the uiγ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are
766
415

2. Uiγ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiγ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

they keep for a long time. When some one is drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and run. In this connection I wish to note that in the valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

ed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos s emptied out of the tol-ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

ebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. t home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left ver from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the l-ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and oung hunters must not taste this mos.

It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed efore the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this ustom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to e late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is easonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; lthough they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting ut to sea on a hunt.

The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large pacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of 30] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul here are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

eason the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
462 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ŋɔ̂ʔ) into pieces. They put the pieces into
251 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tóm) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (taʔ) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

193 [93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmŋar can be easily

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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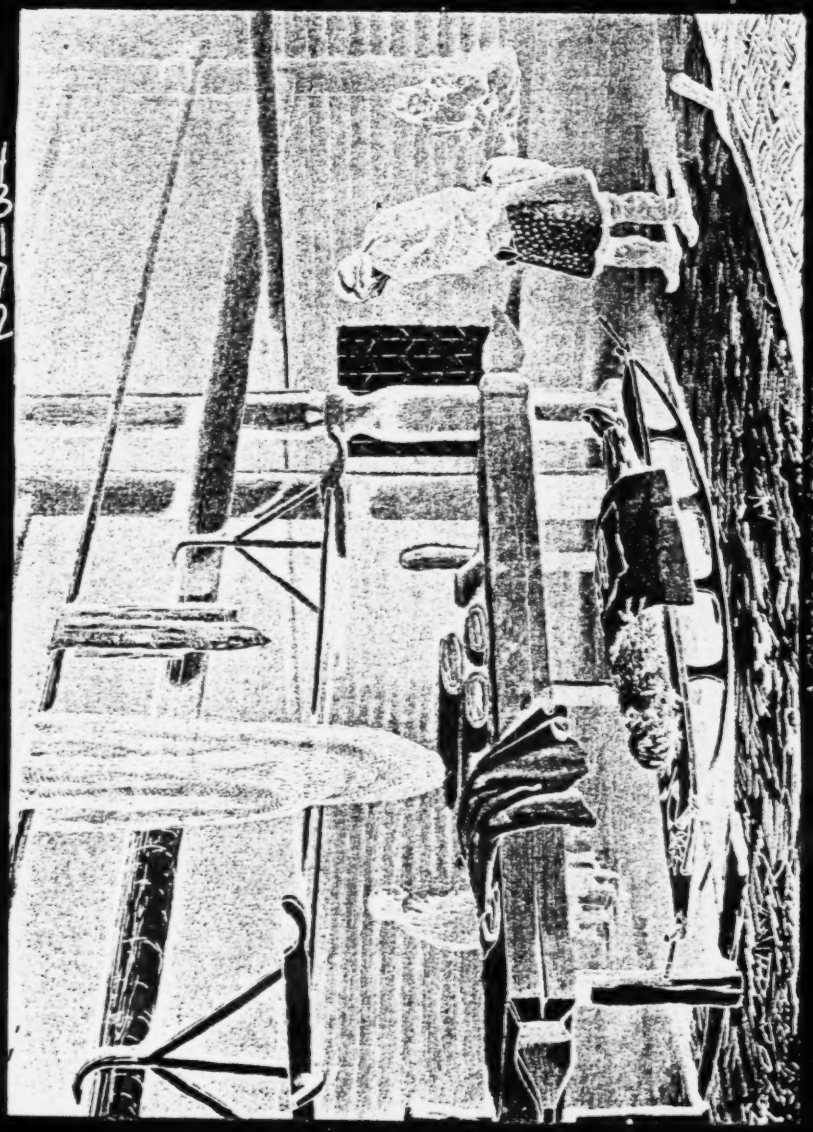

A Gilyak scraps in the yurt.

their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark. The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters. The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened.

Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,

2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

796 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their involuntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of considerable length, in such a way that some go forwards and others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand completely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it wants to attack its tormentors.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, however, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the track by their owners and placed next to each other, they were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

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421 PROPERTY SYSTEM--principles of property law; rights, privileges, and powers commonly involved in property relations (e.g., rights that others shall not use or destroy, privileges of enjoyment, powers of alienation and of transmission after death); recognized types of titles or tenure; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, joint, corporate, collective, public); their relation to classes of subject matter (e.g., land, movables, slaves); their degree of integration; their legal and statistical importance; their association with kin and other social groups; etc. See also:

Law	67	Property arrangements open	
Ownership of productive capital	471	Termination of marriage	586

/667 cont./

426 that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

735 Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in distress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence
181 of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the
[186] Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense
• 421 national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries,
735 and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in
421 case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

/667 cont./

735 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature
• 421 furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still
[182] very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

342 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle
421 in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with
423 long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less importance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
• 421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated con-
[476] struction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter, putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-
[574] villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction
[429] and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
342 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and
423 the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have
[429] provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

/669/

423 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in
224 that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunt-
226 ing, except for the places on the river where they have their
619 salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and
self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without
limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish,
and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River
for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-
coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy
Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the
[648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to pene-
trate into their territory without molesting them.

Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also
685 based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and
●[421] dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for ex-
[123] ample, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young
people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags,
etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-
[186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the
inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to
685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from
648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation
to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order
to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater.
Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents,
though they did not contain anything but a few articles of sym-
bolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted
[192] with the principal international relationship between the two
peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch,
Russ. ukrast)), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become
known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that
685 one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met
123 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc.,
whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint.
The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a
cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

23 /697 cont./ From now on
796 it belongs, so to speak, to the whole village, for all its members
●[421] have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are en-
titled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor,
ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The
[182] bear festival, then, in a very eminent sense is a communistic
festival which unites all the individual members of one village
community and therefore understandably represents the climax
of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original
owner of the bear, the man who bought it or who arranged for
its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the
festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course,
within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host,
[574] he may make the feast a more or less opulent one by adding
culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and,
accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances,
even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally,
after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

231 The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of
the village takes place in accordance with a previously estab-
lished order. The food given to it, through the little window in
the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state
(jukola), mossj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up
jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or crowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form,
but in winter only as ice or snow. The long spoon (Gilyak nichyr)
illustrated on Plate LI /p.125V, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the
food, in particular the mossj and the water. From time to time,
but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning
the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however,
which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman,
it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing
apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose
round the neck of the bear still in the cage, and shackling its

422

422 PROPERTY IN MOVABLES--culturally defined categories of movables (e.g., food stores, personal clothing and ornaments, artifacts, domestic animals, ceremonial objects); recognized types of title or tenure; rights, privileges, and powers involved in each; relation of types of title to categories of movables; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, corporate); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of movables, types of title, and classes of persons; records of ownership (e.g., property marks, registration), etc. See also:

Standard of living 811
Accumulation of wealth 556
Social classes 368
Slavery 567
Offenses against property 685

/28 cont./

352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
[516] tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
●[422] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed
are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive
spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn oc-
casions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent
off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a
daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's
house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance,
or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother,
and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the
ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already be-
ginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip
and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of
late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In
addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon
for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional
shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting.
Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in
height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/
a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift
them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time
they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a
ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-
sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened
segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its
surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very
light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places,
and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and
lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/91 cont./

476 to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or e
* 614 simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will
[261] share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their
last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valua
spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more in
dividualism, introduced by more recent conditions of ex
change, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purcha
of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so
on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrific
his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan

* 614 This same principle of the communality of the ma
428 terial goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of in
heritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of th
clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, th
well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in ef
among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles
familiam habento.[2] In the absence of members of the fam
in which the "workers" are also classed, the property pas
to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excludi
even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the
will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

●[422] 1. "Treasures" -- a property sui
[556] generis, consisting of unused objects,
designated only for exceptional
cases: bride price, dowry, ransom,
funerals. It is divided into 1) the
iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron
kettles, spears decorated with silver
inlays, valuable Japanese sabers,
coats of mail, and so forth, used
chiefly for the bride price; 2) the
fur, consisting chiefly of expensive
fur coats, used principally for
dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk
materials and garments, which are

[2] [i.e., "in the absence of close Kinsmen, the clan is the heir." Cf. Translation on p.512. -- Analyst]

/322 cont./

alf feet high and five to six feet wide and is interrupted only at he two rear corners of the yurt. These corners (f, f) are usually ounded off, like those in front, and are used for putting away arious utensils, chests, and boxes, sleds, and the like. This reates a partition, even though only a very incomplete one, be- ween the two side-benches and the rear bench, which is regarded s the best and most distinguished place in the yurt. Opposite the nner edge of the benches, somewhat above the height of a man, here are crosspoles running between the supporting posts, which erve for hanging up clothing and the like. In the middle of the urt, between the three plank-beds and only about three feet rom each one, is the hearth (g), a platform about four feet wide, wice that in length, and the same height as the benches. It is ery simple in nature, in that it consists of only a wooden frame ut together with boards, /323/ which is filled with stamped arth. Over the hearth, somewhat above the height of a man, there re several crosspoles, two across the front part and one across the ear, which are borne by the above-mentioned crosspoles put be- ween the supporting posts. Sticks are fastened to these crosspoles ver the hearth and at their lower end terminate in hooks on which he kettles are hung over the fire made in the hearth. In the ront part of the hearth three stones (h) are set upright in a tri- ngle and firmly embedded in the earth, on which stands the arge kettle used for cooking the soup for the dogs. In large yurts here are sometimes two such large kettles, also serving for uman use, incidentally, as was the case, for example, in the arge yurt at Tyk, in which I stayed repeatedly and for several ays, and where I sketched the plan presented here. The fire is ade in the rear part of the hearth, that is, somewhat more in e center between the three plank-beds, serving for heat and for luminating the yurt at night. In front of the hearth stands one or ore large receptable, usually tubs (i) made of birch bark, with rinking water, and along the front wall (k), right and left of e entrance, or in one of the front corners (l, l) of the yurt, supply of dry firewood is always piled up. Finally, at the top, xactly above the fireplace, there is the smoke vent in the form f a longish rectangle that is placed either with its lengthwise

/355 cont./

342 184 as far as the humidity of the air is concerned, it is even greater there due to the nearness of the sea and the exceedingly frequent fogs and rain. Thus, if the Gilyak on Sakhalin build their summer houses on level ground in places, they must know that they are safe there against the first menace and in addition have other important reasons for building such dwellings. I think that one of these reasons is that these dwellings, less exposed to the wind, are warmer than those resting on piles and therefore can be moved into earlier in the year and can be occupied longer in the autumn. The first circumstance, /356/ however, is of importance in particular for the southern part of the Gilyak area of Sakhalin, where the Gilyak are driven from their earth yurts earlier in the year by the melting snow. It was in this southern part that I encountered the summer house built on level ground. In Tangi I found it occupied as early as February 8/20, and in Arkai on February 28 (March 11), when it was still fully winter. In Dul', however, it was still uninhabited on [122] February 27 (March 10), although I stayed in it because the two winter-yurts of the village were overcrowded as a result of a great confluence of Gilyak. This latter summer house, in contrast to several others built close to the shore, was farther from the sea, beside the winter yurts, and its owner planned to use it even in late autumn and not leave it until winter set in /Illustration appears here./

342 On Plate XIII[3] a summer dwelling of the Amur Gilyak is shown, and, to be sure, a yurt in Mão, the summer residence of the Gilyak living in Kulk in the winter. It is a structure resting on piles, about three fathoms wide and four to five fathoms long, and looks rather clumsy. The walls are made of thin beams which, as in the case of the winter houses, are not joined at the ends, but are somewhat pointed and are stuck into the grooves of the upright piles. The rather flat roof consists of crudely hewn which are held together by poles fastened crosswise. On a notched [417] beam slanting against the front of the house one climbs onto a level narrow sill which runs along the whole front of the house, is partly covered by the somewhat projecting roof, and which

[See category 116, P. 993--Analyst]

342 /357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,
[352 in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along
354] three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (c), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.
• [417] Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle
[353] over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply
342 of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a
354 whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mão at the
342 time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to
825 be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible
[251] to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing
342 up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

/357 cont./
342 yurt, between the piles, for protection against the rain, and the dogs, too, find a suitable abode under the same protective roof.

The above description also applies, apart from the
342 specific references to the pile-construction, to the summer dwell-
231 ings of the Gilyak put on level ground at certain places on Sakhalin and, as has already been mentioned, of very similar nature, and it will therefore suffice to add to it only the following remarks referring specifically to the latter. If the yurt is on level ground, the flat sill, space a, projecting along its front side is likewise on the ground. As long as it is still winter, this space is used for the erection of a shelter before the entrance to the yurt, even though only a crude one. For this purpose, on both sides and in front, where the dotted line is on the plan a few poles and boards are set up vertically and, with the exception of a passage, are bound together with plaited switches, and the spaces between them /358/ are filled with grass and brushwood, so that a sort of antehouse is produced. This is assigned to the dogs for their abode, where, posted at both sides of the entrance to the house, they make good sentinels for it.

251 Since the main occupation of the Gilyak during the
[22] summer is fishing and preparing the supplies of fish for the winter,
[226] one always sees beside the summer dwellings several contrivances for this purpose. Thus, more or less numerous, open racks for
• [417] hanging and drying the fish in the sun are never lacking, and not infrequently one finds a roof supported by piles, quite similar to the one on the summer yurts but much cruder, with crosspoles under it, on which the fish, hung up in rows and protected against rain and sun, are dried in the continual air current (see
000 Pl. XIII) (1). For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer,

1. A more detailed description of the treatment of the fish before they are dried, as well as of the use of the individual parts and the like, will be given later at the appropriate place.

/90 cont./
worn on ceremonial occasions and
in which the dead are garbed.

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the tentator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the tentator and consequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so-called iron shagund, which in any case will return to the clan in the form of bride price, while the chainbinn the clan, the clan of father-in-law, only for shagund can be willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of the bride's dowry.

4. One bear: the common obligation of the clansmen to share in the fattening of the bear and in the bear festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a domestic bear and the hunting of the forest bear: "Khal-go, ur-gin, nashh mysel": "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with this summon the youths go around to the yurts, summoning the clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear inside the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the occasion by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligations with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privilege of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regarding this in the section on /293/ religion and the clan gods. As we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic features: first, by the honoring of the very person of the bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mountain masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain masters and his clan and, consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater significance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to the highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer of

1; Shternberg--173 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/113 cont./
labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc., but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreover, to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the clan customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his tribe, and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life that constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys, hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of his own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduct himself in society.

All these qualities, however, would have no significance if the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purposely train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the despotism of the head of the family with respect to its adult members. The sons are completely free to separate from their father, obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements, sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion. One encounters large families living in a communal economy, at the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfather, father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free association, from which one may depart at will. And even though he is a participant in such an economic union, every member can have his own individual economy in the form of sleds and dogs, arms, enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his personal merits; and what each member shares with his one -- and there is extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flour, rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are combined without any friction.

1; Shternberg--403 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/277 cont./
of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak place a sociio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a man with whom he is not orthodoxly prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the prepayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slaying of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood revenge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment. An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagund (E.D.), shygund (W.D.). These are valuables which are predominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In ancient times, evidently, asses, too, /279/ at first stone, later

1; Shternberg--404 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/278 cont./
iron, served as objects in the shagund (1).

1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryn' pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagund. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagund. One bears the designation Wa-ul-rif, meaning "place where the Japanese sabre is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kyfokhty -- the butt of the ax.

These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium. Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of a clansman in the alienation of objects of the shagund category allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered my question as to what she was going to do with the shagund in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and of my remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's son and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly by ambition; for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

1; Shternberg--407 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/280 cont./
it is a remnant of maternality when the mother's brother played a privileged role: the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the more ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marriage.

I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh shond, signifying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types of clothing and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silver bracelets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepare the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sacred chests with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry usually should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a matter of the greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or female slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance, Yukhin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (nihi), whom they provided with a Japanese tutor for cleaning the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambitious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, as part in it to serve her.

The dowry, although it is compensation for the bride price, since it frees the husband from great expenditures for the wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, her private property /281/ to which the husband has no rights whatsever.

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/281 cont./
She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, the may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiation, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with alcohol is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families, the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and then it will and, and of any part of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry. But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

1;Shternberg--534 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/377 cont./
permission, the emigrant builds a yurt, fishes, kills seals, hunts fowl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of snares for sable.

/378/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people, frequently all clansmen. The economic advantage of such communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations of private between father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisitions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his wealth.* Among the Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not increase and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These richer pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its common efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

/378 cont./
clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately. And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear, the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations of private between father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisitions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his wealth.* Among the Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not increase and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These richer pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its common efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

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428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[108] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family con-
tinues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-
up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A ques-
tion of the division of the inheritance only arises when the chil-
dren, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a
Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children
of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the de-
ceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one,
the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the
married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[108] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who
divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which
always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker
in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age.
With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his men or a poor
[108] relation-tym, who works together with him and is his heir. It
428 is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who
has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the
[108] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until
his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish
of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the
inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with
his father up to the very time of his death, while the other
brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the
other brothers.

[107] Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever
[107] encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps
his treasures in the storehouse, which is never theft. The Gilyak
calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an
uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety.
In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the
road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one
[102] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes
tempted by the possession of another, it is always in the field of

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/383 cont./

● 472 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
473 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to
the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this char-
acteristic of the Gilyaks. They took without permission, or asked
me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
472 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
[112] the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace.
And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak.
The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes
out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself).
Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which,
in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to
no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an
act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal
grief and take his life.

Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
[112] circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
and sometimes during the fighting the opponent grows so heated
that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for
his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as
prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian
justice has had a beneficient influence on him in this respect. The
Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun
to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But
Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in
an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders com-
mitted deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or
conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as
lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have be-
gun to disappear.

Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon
among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In
the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones
for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

1:Shternberg--544 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[The Western Coast]

/385 cont./

124 many of his children had died between
126 the beginning of his marriage and the
165 date of the census. In this way, we ob-
tained an exact number of the children
in a given family, living and dead.
Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate
of mortality.

162 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one,
592 for in the number of married people were included, on the one
hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives,
and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives.
There is an age of 15 people living in each yurt, although
there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants;
for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyaniyo accommo-
dated 42 persons of the same clan.

102 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of
[102] these are following: Tamlyvo and Lirkyvo (144 persons each),
Vizkvo (116); Nyuv (103), Arkyvo (87), Tal'vottgrvo and Tengi
(64 each), Klimdvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the
[102] least settlement are Yanny (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Nobzy (9).
In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season,
1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk
post, 258 (9). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
[192] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth
killed during the last season was obtained
from reports of the Gilyak themselves.
These figures are most probably somewhat
below the actual one. The starosta in the
village of Kimidvo, for instance, deliber-
ately tried to persuade his people not to tell
the truth to the Russians, who, according to
him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

● 411 /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
412 for every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,
[192] 231

1:Shternberg--547 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[The Western Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'tvo
34 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
361 In connection with this settlement of
221 Mos'tvo, the author makes the follow-
ing comment: "It is inhabited only in
autumn and winter. In spring and sum-
mer the inhabitants pass on to the west-
ern coast, mainly to the village of
Arkyvo, where in the early spring they
hunt seals and during the summer catch
fish which are not to be found in the
Tym' at this time of the year. . . . At the
beginning of August, before the Siberian
salmon run, the population returns to
their winter dwellings." Editors of the
journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

070 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
[116] on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416
are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133
households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygas-
mists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
● 402 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
[192] 257 post, 258 (9). /388/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
[192] During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
433 43 otters, and 63 bears.

From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average
family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married
males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only
to older, so to speak, inveterate
bachelors.

1:Shternberg--548 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
[The Eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is
such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there
are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
023 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
411 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
[126] 1. The property of each person has been
registered to this or that clan, the figures
on the number of clans, etc.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

772 Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

428 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
[108] the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[108] They use tobacco, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
[108] Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for her
[108] clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange
[108] and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[108] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[192] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly
[192] fish and so-called feed bear or bitch bear (bitches in heat), when dogs
were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by shrewd in
the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat outside
[173] it, resting his feet on small runners. The runners were extended beyond the
[173] runner crosspieces to the side. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
[482] and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the long strap, which was attached only on
[482] either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that
the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
[482] the past, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
[482] and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[482] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
[482] so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[482] equipped with a curved front rail and pointed runners. The harness was in
[482] strips, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the dog trade brought with it a new type of sled.
[173] Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
[173] of cargo. It was usually drawn by 8 to 11 dogs. The last sled used
[173] valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his
[173] directions to the dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a
[173] broke note. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer
[173] tow strap.

[482] The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
[482] recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
[281] skis—kaur ski, without fur lining, or skis lined with sealfur. The former
were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-
hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wide cargo
[281] guide over the toe.

Travel along the seacoast was quite simple in summer in light hollowed
[50] out boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[50] by hand across barrier beaches, shallows and sandspits. They were paddled
[191] with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[191] distance travel, the Nivkhi had two large dugouts similar to that of the Ulchi,
[191] Nanaya and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which
[194] the bottom one was hewn upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was
[194] rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the
left oars.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn-
ing-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
[342] ings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
[175] Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
[175] ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
[175] built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke was
[175] served in a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[392] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

7: Kreinovich--3 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
725 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
725 so forth. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the
Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of
drowned men in detail, no felicitations are
allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos
is emptied out of the tol-ir ("sea troughs") for which it is
prepared, by women. After the feeding of the fish is
completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes"
are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I
observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos
meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-
ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs.
At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.
782 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
302 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
325 ki-r is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
381 young hunters must not taste this mos.
223 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
782 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out
to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this
custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to
be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is
reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore;
although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting
out to sea on a hunt.
225 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
● 225 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
776 [83] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
● 222 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
495

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count
the number of these boats during my stay in the
village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

7: Kreinovich--4 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
701 unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
222 net-fence.
● 222 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat
starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ere) in the village, he asks him to join him in
the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.
Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
585 Tf nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans:
Tag, Gnarr (Gnar), Ulch, Ulch, Nen, Nen, Nen, Nen, Nen, Nen,
clan a ramia . Onkan from clan Lez-ran and Tesk from
clan Tf-nu .
A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who
went hunting in 1931.
The hunter collective centering around a boat is some-
times named after the owner of the boat. For instance,
l tun-munim ("one boat of Gylakhtyun") Xitkun-mu-nim (one
boat of Xitxun).
225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
276 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
475 on his boat are his permanent companions. The leader of such a collective
476 of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-ed-- "to

be big. - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)
225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed
476 to look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
302 to effect repairs.
2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips
(tamra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his
fellow-hunters, a kettle and a Tes-pot (the hunters are obliged
to take only cups with them), a tesh, a seal, a tripod for the
tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afu-ve. ("friend-
stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the sup-
plement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila;
225 5. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
476 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
371 this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi -c and l aij ceremonies to be described in detail below.

"How important a part sewing must have played in the domestic economy can be imagined, when clothing consisted of salmon-skins, a material which could not be ordered over the counter by the yard, but had to be diligently stiched together to form an adequate covering. In early times bone needles were used, but when, by accident or by barter, a big ship's canvas-needle came into their hands, it was a priceless treasure. How eagerly [221] such was sought after and seldom obtained. The happy possessor handed it down as a family heirloom. In those days they tell us a needle was of such value that a wife could be bought with it; whereas to-day a helpmeet may cost as much as a narta (sledge) and team of thirteen dogs. To keep the needle safe, bone cases (nookh-tses), curiously carved, were made; and it is interesting to note that the principle on which they work is exactly the same as that of the little silk ones made to-day in Korea.

The following shows the value they used to put upon the needle. A Russian came upon a Gilyak family crying and howling.

'Why are you crying?' he asked. 'Is somebody dead?'

'No! What is death? It would have been better had somebody died. The needle is lost!' "

9: Hawes--300-301 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 423, 578, 627, 721

"Of the possession of land in our sense of the word the Gilyaks have no conception. The nearest approach to it was a prescriptive right, sanctioned by immemorial custom, to place snares along certain creeks. The right of all to roam over the land in hunting was freely recognized; but they would have resented the placing of snares in chosen creeks and backwaters by the Tungus and Orochons, although, rather than provoke hostilities, they would have simply gone elsewhere. As among themselves, the division of the creeks and tracks for snaring had been made in olden [301] times; and the customary boundaries sanctioned by time are seldom transgressed. The abundance of game, coupled with the prowess of the pioneers, yielded little cause for quarrel, and spots were simply annexed according to the number of snares which the owner of the hut possessed. Here and there a dispute arose, and was settled by reference to the klenu, the elders in council, or by duels. In the latter case the disputants fought with a weapon like a hedge-bill, with a straight blade; but as they were always surrounded by a goodly concourse, the combatants were parted when either became exhausted, and the duel was not allowed to have a fatal ending."

462 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
562 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots
and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of
the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time
they are born, and when they grow up they are given away,
in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that
takes the woman, i.e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become
dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also,
women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their
life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat.
They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts.
Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the
woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a
man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not
come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, other-
wise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return
home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
462 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather
than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the tnaj where the pilan attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pilan distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes
apparent that the sivuch, which is the pilan's legal property
and whose blood he used in feeding the tnaj, is included in

225 the division of the quarry. Why this ceremony should have
422 stopped at the pilaŋ appropriating the first sivuch rather
476 than asserting his full title to it on top of his share of the quarry is hard to tell. It seems to us that this can be explained by the essential preservation of the primitive Communist method of distribution of the quarry among the Gilyaks of the village Kul which do not permit a single individual to assert his title to an entire extra sivuch.

225 [89] I gave here a few examples which I have recorded
476 of the distribution of the quarry among the Gilyak hunters on their return home to the village Kul on August 2, 1931. These examples demonstrate clearly the primitive Communist character of the distribution.

The quarry of ʼəlʼtun's collective consisted of 18 sivuchs 9 pəγi, 11 qoma and 1 alχ. They sold 3 sivuchs, 5 qoma and the fat of two seals on Cape Litke at the branch of the Rybaksoyuz [A, B Fisherman's Union]. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal shares. (1)

1. Unfortunately I did not write down how they distributed the money.

-1 tun..... received 2 sivuchs 2 pəγi
Jotkun..... received 2 sivuchs 1 pəγi 1 qoma 1 strap

281 2. The hide of a young sivuch navəŋa is cut into three pieces and that of an older one - into four. Out of each piece the Gilyaks cut one thin long strap which is immediately spread out to dry.

225	Nərp (a shot)...	received	1 sivuch	1 p i	1 qoma	3 straps
476	Rəntik.....	"	2 "	2 "	- "	1 "
	Təvus.....	"	2 "	1 "	1 "	- "
	Zabojko.....	"	2 "	1 "	2 "	1 " alχ
	Tuŋs.....	"	2 "	1 "	1 "	1 " strap

	13 sivuchs	9 pəγi	6 qoma	6 straps =
			= 2 sivuchs	
			1 alχ	
On straps	2			
Sold	5		5	

Total..... 18 Sivuchs 9 pəγi 11 qoma 1 alχ

9: Hawes--271-272 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 301, 422, 435; 556

"Earrings (meskh) are in general use, and mostly c
are large simple rings of silver, of one and a half c
with an agate or two. These, with the rare silk broc
shoes are regarded as family heirlooms. They are
surplus 'wealth' of the Gilyak family, and represent
paper-money or a heap of silver pieces have little a
sable-skin shuba or a piece of sky-blue silk is a 'th
Moreover, they are just as useful in the business of
to dealing in the concrete, knows exactly their valu
and when he comes in his travels to a Russian store
measure the value of his ruble notes."

f Japanese and Chinese make. They
r more inches in [272] diameter,
cade, sable-skin hats, shubi, and
bought one after the other with the
the capital of the hut. A bundle of
ttraction for the native, whereas a
ing of beauty and a joy for ever.'
exchange; and the native, long used
e, whereas money is unfamiliar;
, he has no standard by which to

22, 556

dman of Nivo was counted rich among the Gilyaks
s and produce of the chase. There were nets and
ar-spears, strangely shaped knives, seal-skins,
ough of a ruder make than those of the Orochons.
attention, one, a miniature of the Tsar Alexande
relled fowling-piece mounted on a wooden biped,
se natives and the Tungus in the winter hunts."

, his hut being littered with
snares, automatic bows and
dog-skins, as well as bark
Two other objects attracted
r III, and the other, an old
a cumbersome affair, but

116, 422, 435, 583, 591

"On Sakhalin, when the would-be husband
thirteen years old to assist his ageing spou
keeping, is in possession of wealth enough
fronted by a difficulty if he wishes to have a
to live on in the paternal home, or, if [269]
friends and comrades to help him build a hu
required, and this is a very expensive item
forty-five rubles (4 1/2 guineas). I have eve
was the difficulty with our Vanka, who was
his own estimate, but according to our noti
desirous of marrying, and offered to take n
summer to the 'end of the world,' with the
rate charge of forty rubles apiece. With thi
and he had already saved sufficient for the

—not the old man who buys a second wife
se—but the youth who aspires to set up house-
to pay the price demanded, he is still con-
separate establishment. He may be content
not, he will probably be able to get his
t; but this is not enough, a cauldron is
. He may have to pay in skins the value of
n heard of them costing sixty rubles. This
a capable young man of fifteen, according to
ons about twenty-six or twenty-eight. He was
e and my interpreter during the following
aid of three of his companions, for the mode-
s sum he would be able to buy a cauldron,
purchase of a wife."

116, 415, 422, 585

"The cauldron plays an important part,
but at the very threshold of the new joint l
least, this is so among some of the clans
understand it, graces the occasion; only a
tional sanction to this important departure

The payment hav ing been made without
prepared in his hut, to which the bridegro
Japanese cauldron. The marriage feast is
rejoicing, for the eating together is part o
cauldrons, the new one and that pertaining
bridegroom's kindred in front of the bride
back turned to the fire, and face to the do
the new vessel and her right in the patern
ing placed one step apart. The bridegroom
time, until the bride reaches the door. He
new hut, amid the acclamations of their k

not only in the everyday domestic economy,
ife—at the marriage ceremony itself. At
on Sakhalin. No religious function, as we
simple custom, which appears as a tradi-
in the Gilyak's family life.
formality to the bride's father, a feast is
om comes with his friends, bringing a new
then cooked in this new vessel, and eaten with
of the necessary function. This ended, the two
to the hut, are both cleaned and placed by the
, who, with her partner, is standing with her
or of the hut. She then places her left foot in
al, or rather maternal, cauldron, the two be-
n then moves them one by one, a step at a
ere the couple take up their own and go to their
indred."

instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out small board and is usually decorated on the outside with various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China and at present have no practical value because no one thinks of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried, and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides, there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons, dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300 rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the bridegroom last a rather long time, a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

423

423 REAL PROPERTY--conception of the subject matter of real property (e.g., as that which produces food, as things that are fixed or immovable); culturally defined categories (e.g., land, trees, growing crops, buildings, water); types of land subject and not subject to property (e.g., sites with monopoly value, waste land); recognized types of title or estate (e.g., eminent domain, fee simple, life, leasehold, sufferance); rights, privileges, and powers involved in each (e.g., usufruct, reversionary claims, privileges of gift and sale, power of expropriation); recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, public); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of immovables, types of title or tenure, and classes of persons (e.g., exclusion of minors, of women, of slaves); general characteristics of the system of real property (e.g., private property, feudal tenure, collective property with periodic reallotments, communism); land reform; records of ownership (e.g., boundary marks, deeds); registration of titles; etc. See also:

Territories of kin and local groups . . . . . 61,62 Serfdom 566
Land use . . . . . 311 Taxation 651
Ownership of productive capital 471

/109 cont./

And this is just what is striking in the Gilyak system of life. Despite all the complexity of the social fabric, embracing all aspects of life, all those external-formal signs of organization which the European involuntarily seeks everywhere are either completely absent or assume forms which are too fluctuating.

* 614 /110/ Let us begin with territory. It is completely
361 natural that the members of one clan should prefer to live
● 423 together in immediate unity and community with each other. There are actually some settlements, such as Tangi, Nyanivo, Viskivo, and others, where the whole population belongs to one clan. In the large winter yurts of such settlements one can sometimes count 20 or 30 clansmen and not a single alien. Even where several clans live in one settlement, as in Kol', the yurts of each clan are arranged in a row, as if in accord with a strictly observed tradition. Each clan has its own clan streams for hunting, divided among the different families, among whom they pass by inheritance from father to son, although the right to property is limited by actual use, upon the suspension of which the stream becomes res nullius and can be utilized by anyone, even an alien.

Nevertheless, despite the natural tendency of clansmen to remain near each other, the principle of territoriality does not in fact exist. In the great majority of Gilyak villages the composition of the population is mixed. In the above-
[121] mentioned settlement of Kol' I counted representatives of eight clans, in smaller villages, from two to three clans, and but very few villages in which there were absolutely no members of other clans. There are clans whose branches are to be met in the most different and remote points of Gilyak territory. This dispersion, of course, is a fact that seems to be at variance with the principles of clan, but it is inevitable under the given economic and social conditions. A settlement
[166] located in a particularly favorable place from the fisherman's point of view will naturally attract newcomers from other clans, and, conversely, if the clan has grown so large

* 614 /110 cont./
36
● 423 in its original site that the indigenous village can no longer feed
166 everybody, emigrants by degrees depart from it to other places,
[167] selecting the nearest possible sites in order that the ties between the clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to very distant points involves an actual division of the "fire" and branching out of the clan. A no less important cause of the mixture of population is the custom, in some instances, of sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ moving to the clans of their fathers-in-law, about which we shall speak in detail in its place. Territory is in any case an indefinite sign of the clan.

423 The Gilyak do not even possess a consciousness of the right to
604 property, not only with respect to themselves, but also with respect to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus appeared on Sakhalin 50 years ago and began to hunt in the primordial territories of the Gilyak, it did not occur to anyone to protest against this, although the Tungus came in small groups and could hardly have withstood the numerous aborigines with force.

* 614 Clan names are just as indefinite a sign. In the mass of primitive, so-called "totemistic" tribes, the clan name is one of the very sharpest external signs of the unity of a clan. A totemistic name is a real object of nature, animal or plant, which is represented on the body, clothing, buildings, etc.

Among the Gilyak there is nothing of this sort. In some clans there are totemistic legends. Thus, for example, a clan living in the settlement of Tangakh considers itself kindred with the bear on the grounds that a woman of that clan had given birth to a monstrosity with features resembling those of a bear. Similar legends exist in other clans. Nevertheless, not only typical totemistic, but even ordinary clan names in the proper sense are absent. There are only territorial names. If a Gilyak wants to name the people of such and such a clan, he says "the dwellers of such and such a settlement," which sometimes corresponds with the actual place of habitation of the clan, but most frequently only indicates the village which was once the primordial abode of one or another clan.

/377/

● 423 Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well as the streams, and their banks, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. Use is the absolute element of property. While they recognize
[185] their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set
[648] their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the mainland to hunt the sable and reindeer some tens of versts from their settlements, although it could be easily foreseen that this would lead to the complete disappearance of the sable from those Gilyak territories. But on the other hand they are extremely strict in their rights to those streams along which they set snares
423 and traps. All the streams of the territory of the settlement are
428 divided in perpetuity among the families of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among the sons on the same strict principles as any real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worthy of note that although the streams thus divided among the brothers and clansmen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-alloted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in
423 the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay or of eating and not giving to others.

166 Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or
423 journey at given seasons for fishing or sealing, and the indigenous inhabitants of the settlements do not even dream of considering this a violation of any of their rights. Without asking anyone's

/377 cont./

166 permission, the emigrant builds a yurt, fishes, kills seals, hunts
● 423 fowl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of snares for sable.

342 /378/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live
592 alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his
423 brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people, frequently all clansmen. The economic advantage of such communal dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the stoves, is not so costly for each individual taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women. The summer yurts are built smaller and ordinarily house from one to three families. The winter yurts are built through the joint efforts of several brothers or clansmen, the summer ones -- frequently by one person. But all those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabitants, clansmen or members of other clans who had no part in building it, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders, and it is doubtful whether the latter enjoy any special privileges in obtaining firewood. If the yurt becomes congested, there will always be found a pair of persons who on their own initiative will undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the builders themselves move and gladly welcome co-dwellers. Thus, the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of several families who participated in its construction, but at the same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clansmen
[174] and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the clan and was an object of collective property.

422 The views of the Gilyak concerning movable property are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary articles of movable property among them are boats, nets, kettles, arms, dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happens that a boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or three

/667 cont./

735 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature
421 furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely
[182] active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

342 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle
421 in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less im-
● 423 portance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
● 423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated con-
[476] struction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-
[574] villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction
[427] and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

343 The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
423 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is
[427] arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

/669/

● 423 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in
224 that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunt-
226 ing, except for the places on the river where they have their
619 salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the
[648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

685 Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also
421 based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and
[123] dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-
[186] Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to
685 the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from
648 the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted
[192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch, Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met
685 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc.,
123 whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

226 without any kind of bait on it is lowered into a crack or a hole drilled into the ice and is as a rule immediately pulled up with one or more fish attached to it. [119]

Sturgeon are caught with hooks. Large iron hooks are fastened to pieces of either wood or cork by means of a rope which in turn is held in place by heavy stones deep in the water, that is, not much above the bottom. The sturgeon which goes down deep is, curiously enough, attracted by the moving pieces of wood, he "plays" with them, as the natives say, and thus gets caught by one or another hook. In winter this fish is also caught in strong nets, for at this time it is supposed to be weaker.

The greatest activity occurs at the time of the salmon run. The results of it influences the lives of these people for the rest of the year, therefore whole swarms of Gilyak are to be found on the Amur. The fish are caught by means of enclosures (1): near the shore a row of posts are driven into the

1. Called sayesdka by the Russian fishermen.

river bed; in general the enclosure has this shape ⊓, the open side of it is turned toward the mouth of the river from which the fish comes. The fish bumps against the wall, turns sideways, and is caught in the bag which is lowered from the boat on the inner sides of the enclosure. At the height of the salmon run there are such masses of fish that the bags are filled almost as soon as they are lowered. The fish weighs 8 to 12 or even 20 pounds and costs three to five Kopeck.

226 The women also take part in this catch. There is no partic
23 ular organization in the matter of assigning the fishing places but care is taken that every head of a family fishes where his father and grandfather did before him; this place in the river is then practically his property.

225 Dolphins are harpooned, but this is considered a difficult
21 hunt. The animal is cautious and does not let the hunter com very near; and should this happen, the wounded animal can easily upset the boat. The harpoon consists of a long hook which has points and barbs at one end and at the other, a rop about 15 fathoms long with a blown-up bladder fastened to it. As is the case in whale fishing, the bladder must show the place where the wounded dolphin went under. When the anim reappears, he is given the finishing blow with harpoons or lances. [120]

25 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
83 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,'
which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This
stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the
seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom
of the seine. They are called tətr-paγ . Large wooden floats
(vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the
head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to
flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of
the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and
finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into
the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught
in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of
the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ké-ŋalu, Vilk,
Loŋri, and ət.

4 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
25 owned seal hunting places in the past.

23 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋaγqej,
24 3. ət.

71 Lulvəχ-pər and ŋaγreqej are names of rocks sticking out
of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks.
ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock.

> 3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paγ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot ɬerd).

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomi
vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are
resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for
seals and Hapzə-vər - a stone.

5 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
2 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
3 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
5 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
9 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

424

INCORPOREAL PROPERTY--extent to which property is recognized in intangible things (e.g., names, titles, songs, dances, visions, recipes, rituals, inventions); culturally defined categories of intangibles; recognized types of title; rights, privileges, and powers involved in titles to each type of incorporeal property; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, corporate); distribution of types of ownership according to categories of intangibles, types of title, and classes of persons; records of ownership (e.g., registration of patents and copyrights); patent and copyright law; etc. See also:

Invention 176
Corporate securities 473
Contractual rights 675

/303 cont./

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[825]
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dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft. They seek a man who understands the oath -- chkhyz´u n´ivukh, and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the Chkhyzyl clan; Il'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A thief frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'gu -- clansmen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryja´, mygja´, n´i heg:at pkhalgun polagun prydz:rá chigry´ tuur pugutá enan´ivukh, jugut prydókh kaukrá, par:k prydz:rá. Ni sidzymral´ó, sidz:jejmraló cherakh jot´in (prydz:rá) helá eg:ur pkhog:e jakhgujá," i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n´ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The thief sends a khimu-n´ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n´erakh elvg:az´ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: vurará. Navat taktó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

425

425 ACQUISITION AND RELINQUISHMENT OF PROPERTY--recognized means by which property rights may be acquired (e.g., appropriation, forceful seizure, gift, purchase); creation of new property rights (e.g., by physical appropriation, by priority of claim, by expenditure of labor in manufacture); rituals and symbols of appropriation; recognized means by which property rights may be extinguished (e.g., destruction, abandonment, confiscation, gift, sale); rights, privileges, and powers of the finders and losers of objects of property; etc. See also:

Gifts 431
Buying and selling 432
Marine salvage 502
Taxation 681
Judicial confiscation 681
Theft 685
War booty 721, 727

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its head and its
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a special scoop
r a-ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i.e. the scoop used in washing the face of the animal.

The heads with piskar stuck in them are taken home.

225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pilar performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines t:ıaj. (Regardless of the
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties, this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first sivuch.) The pilar cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as belonging to the pilar. However, as far as the distribution of the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pilar asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his share of the quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances. First - the pilar appropriates the first sivuch killed during the hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise of a religious ceremony.

784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.

183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women) are
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only point to the explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the interdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue old men only can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in which the Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of these taboos and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

426

426 BORROWING AND LENDING--bailment; rights, privileges, and powers of bailor and bailee; loans and debts; pawning rights, privileges, and powers of debtor and creditor; formalities in the arrangement and repayment of loans (e.g., witnesses, surety, sponsors); security; interest; notes and mortgages; specialization (e.g., pawn shops); bankruptcy (e.g., law, administration); etc.

See also:

Credit	452	Debt slavery	567
Banking	453	Public finance	682
Corporate securities and receivership	473	Penalties for the nonpayment of debts	686

/359 cont./

614 597 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 426 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 428 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

614 736 768 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gather- [963] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 627 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

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556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, 556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined 538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely 171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 432 437 427 426 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans, etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have the character of barter.

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak 426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the nonfulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract. No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known [184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but [197] even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The [614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con- [672] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

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426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

433 46 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one cannot fail to mention the role of ~~labor~~ in these relations. Capita as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet. [225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as 226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In 465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same 433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone; 554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling 476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but 466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

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56 named for me as mykstschr-kolla. The latter in particular was especially esteemed and popular among his countrymen, aside from other reasons, on account of his lavish and much visited bear-festivals, in one of which I, too, took part. They related that he was held in such esteem that even the Chinese in Ssansin and the Japanese on Sakhalin referred to him as Gilyak dshangin and treated him accordingly, which prompted some of them, too, to refer to him occasionally in this way, and yet, they said, he is no dshangin, of whom there are none among them, but only a mykstschr-kolla nibach. Thus do they cling, even with the great differences in means and, accordingly, also in social position, to their complete equality legally.

When I previously said that the poor Gilyak, in case of 56/5 necessity, count on the help of their richer countrymen and may expect to receive from them some things on credit, but others for nothing, this needs an explanation. One might accordingly think that the latter treat the former in about the same way as 89 the Chinese traders, who, in an emergency, give the Goldi, Orochi, and other natives of the region among whom they reside the things required, calculated at a very high price, on credit, in order that afterwards, by means of repeated and unchecked promissory notes, they will never be out of debt to them for the rest of their lives; in fact, the debts are even inherited by their children. This never happens among the Gilyak. As much as I was in contact with the rich and the poor among them, I never heard of anything that would permit one to conclude that there is any considerable debt relationship between the one and the other. Both are also probably too cautious and practical, too subtly and cleverly calculating, to enter into such relationships, disadvantageous for both, for the one injurious to his respect and popularity, for the other to his existence. Not that they do not have any debts among one another -- but these always seem to be only small advances within their means to one person or another, the casual repayment of which is taken for granted, but often, and probably usually in cases of unequal means, /667/ is not even claimed, 56 and not much is said about it. Perhaps related to this is the fact

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● 426 that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

735 Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in distress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence 181 of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the [186] Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense 421 national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries, 735/421 and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

577 As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among them-
● 426 selves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating
609 usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money from
186 a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in assuming from this that the Gilyak have two different moral standards, which would contradict our previous statements. The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take his money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take the liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that for this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently they are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would be the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants often played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on his shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's
577 ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that,
609 having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak
177 nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasants of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in general more honest than our sort, especially those who live in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest; on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the
563 part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is
512 only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board.
464 Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-
● 426 na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to
567 earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.
428 The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's
587 property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help
428 she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father
583 whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

427

427 RENTING AND LEASING--extent to which real, movable, and incorporeal property may be leased or rented; leases and rents (e.g., negotiations, terms, formalities); modes of payment (e.g., money rent, share cropping); rights, privileges, and powers of lessor and lessee; eviction; prevalence of tenancy and of home and farm ownership; factors determining rental rates; regulation (e.g., rent controls); etc. See also:
Control and ownership of capital. . . . . 471 Peonage and serfdom. 666

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite,
556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined
538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely
171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally
432 exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans,
437 etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have
427 the character of barter.
426

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak
426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the non-fulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract. No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known
[184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but
[197] even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The
[614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-
[672] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated con-
[476] struction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-
[574] villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on
[427] it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

343 The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
423 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have
[427] provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
178 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
177
127 1 N. V. Slʼunīn, Sovremennoĉ polozhenīe nashevo
476 Dalʼnevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
475 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares.
177 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mləṭ) and of the stick over the door of the house (mʏmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak ;argun (?) now living in the village
471 Cvarva (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kalʼma as well as fourth one from the village Ṭəlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

for their families.

I observed analogous facts on the very same island in 1927 and in 1931.

In the village Vaz-vo (cape Vasin) from which the Gilyaks were driven out in 1914 or 1915, the system of exploitation on the basis of ownership of the instruments of labor was, it seems, even more cruel. According to the expert on Gilyak life, the inquisitive Gilyak Ə/isk, an owner of a zayesdok claimed one share for himself, one share for the boat, one share for the plank-bench in the boat (mlət) and one share for the n/əmr-tis - the shelf over the door in the entrance-hall. I failed to find the reason for the claim to an extra share in connection with the n/əmr-tis. I am inclined to think that no such reason exists and that n/əmr-tis is used by the owner of the tools of labor [92] solely as a pretext for getting an extra share for himself.

The Gilyak Miskin, inhabitant of the village Puir, told me of an incident that sounds like an anecdote. The incident took place in that village in 1931. An old Gilyak, called for one reason or another Tetkin, asked the young Gilyaks Pnadainu, Lakhtaku and Kondinu (?) to come with him to hunt (AB: fish?) kaluga. On return Tetkin took for himself four shares: one for himself, one, for some other obscure reasons, for some Russian acquaintance of his in the village Makarevka, one for a daughter in the village Langer and one for a daughter in the village Charbakh. As for his companions, he gave a single share to each. I later talked about this incident the Pnadainu. Pnadainu confirmed Miskin's story and further clarified it. Unfortunately, I wrote down Pnadainu's information on a separate piece of paper and, it seems, lost it.

My lengthy discussion is meant as a very general introduction to this problem. It is meant to show how, among the Gilyaks, the owner of the tools of work, as still found in the village Kul, could under the influence of Russian capitalism turn into a kulak-exploiter. This discussion is also meant to show how he utilized the old forms of the distribution of the quarry into shares for the purposes of exploitation. This interesting process deserves careful study.

After the distribution of the quarry the hunters and their wives at once start to work. There is a lot of work to do. The suet has to be separated from the hides. The hides have to be stretched on special frames used in drying seal hides. Some hides have to be cut into straps and those have to be stretched to dry, for one cannot make dry hides into straps

428

428 INHERITANCE--forms of property and types of title subject and not subject to inheritance; disposition of noninherited property (e.g., destruction, abandonment, distribution by gift, reversion to a prior owner or his heirs); nondistribution (e.g., maintenance of estates intact within an extended family); preferred or natural heirs and relatives excluded from inheritance (e.g., children, siblings, spouses, parents); sex and age preferences (e.g., exclusion of females, primogeniture, ultimogeniture); persons who inherit in default of preferred heirs; types of ownership acquired by heirs; variant rules for different possessions and type of title; characterization of inheritance systems (e.g., as matrilineal, patrilineal, testamentary); dower (e.g., special provision for widow or widower); testamentary disposition (e.g., wills, bequests, legacies); formalities (e.g., probate procedure); probate law; etc. See also:

Family 69
Heirlooms 523
Rule of descent 611
Inheritance taxes 631
Probate courts 698
Adjustments to death 768

/91 cont./

476 to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or even
*614 simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will
[261] share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valuable spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more individualism, introduced by more recent conditions of exchange, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purchase of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrifice his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan.

*614 This same principle of the communality of the ma-
● 428 terial goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of inheritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of the clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, the well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in effect among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento.[2] In the absence of members of the family, in which the "workers" are also classed, the property passes to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excluding even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

[422]
[556]

1. "Treasures" -- a property sui generis, consisting of unused objects, designated only for exceptional cases: bride price, dowry, ransom, funerals. It is divided into 1) the iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron kettles, spears decorated with silver inlays, valuable Japanese sabers, coats of mail, and so forth, used chiefly for the bride price: 2) the fur, consisting chiefly of expensive fur coats, used principally for dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk materials and garments, which are

[2] [i.e., "in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir", cf. translation on p. 512. – Analyst]

*614 /92 cont./
● 428 worn on ceremonial occasions and
[422] in which the dead are garbed.
[556]

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the testator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the testator and c sequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so called iron shagund, which in any case will return to t clan in the form of bride price, while to the akhmal'k clan, the clan of fathers-in-law, only fur shagund can willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of t bride's dowry.

*614 4. One bear: the common obligation of the clan
796 men to share in the fattening of the bear and in the be festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a dom bear and the hunting of the forest beast. "Khal'-gu, u narkh muve!": "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with summons the youths go around to the yurts, summoning clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear in the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the oc by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligatio with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privi of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regar
*614 this in the section on /93/ religion and the clan gods.
796 we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic
782 features: first, by the honoring of the very person of t
[775] bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mount masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain master and his clan an consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater sig nificance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to th highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer

/124 cont./

it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possibility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations between members of matrimonial clans.

The principle of mutual aid between members of matrimonial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which, despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception, namely, with regard to the pandf'y; by a will, as we already know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" (i.e., going for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can obtain the fur "shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it from one pocket and putting it in another, serves, incidentally, as an important indication of the fact that originally among the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of payment for the bride, but rather was a form of religious ransom. But for what?

The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the bride price is in general a strange anomaly. Actually, once marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious obligation, and even preferable between the children of brother and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This change we know: it consisted in the fact that in some instances when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible, it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its own lawful ymgi and therefore could only accede to giving away its women by masking it with some act of pious deception of the gods, which would at the same time be profitable for the father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the ymgi clan, which

/281 cont./

She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, she may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiations, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with drinks is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families, the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry. But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/359 cont./

family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considere the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appe from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to b taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it mu fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ t this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, i general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by famili for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assu the debt of the insolvent person.

9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twe Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, clan is the heir).

10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. Whe Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceas man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the g ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

In general, no extraordinary event takes place without participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are se not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally reco nized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individual different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles th affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

831 code of civilization. In their actions the Gilyak are no less frivolous, from our point of view. Despite the vengeful jealousy of husbands, the sins of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal to cohabit (true, not openly) with individuals of those categories of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I shall add that the Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic propensities which not only impel young people to make long journeys for a rendezvous with their beloved, but frequently drive them into unreasonable enterprises, such as the abduction of a woman by force of arms.

596 The structure of the Gilyak family. One often encounters large complex families in which the aged father lives in a common household with all his children and their children. The master's brothers who are either incapacitated for work or do not possess equipment of their own frequently enter into the composition of the family. Not infrequently the family accepts the orphans of their clansmen, especially orphans left without a mother at an early age. It sometimes happens that the mother-in-law lives with her son-in-law and sons-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
594 cially when the latter have no sons. We shall note other peculiarities in the make-up of the family farther on; for the present we shall say that the normal composition of the family, its framework, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
593 ones pass into the clan of the husband). In the relations of the
594 members of the family among themselves there is nothing resembling the patriarchal relations of, for example, the old Roman family; /376/ the sons show respect for the father, but the latter does not wield over them that power which is known under the appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from the family of the father and live in separate households. Living with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
/ • [428] The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and, on the contrary, the youngest sons, as those who live with the father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of inheritance.

423 Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well as the streams, and their banks, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. Use is the absolute element of property. While they recognize
[185] their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set
[648] their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the mainland to hunt the sable and reindeer some tens of versts from their settlements, although it could be easily foreseen that this would lead to the complete disappearance of the sable from those Gilyak territories. But on the other hand they are extremely strict in their rights to those streams along which they set snares
423 and traps. All the streams of the territory of the settlement are
• 428 divided in perpetuity among the families of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among the sons on the same strict principles as any real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worthy of note that although the streams thus divided among the brothers and clansmen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-alloted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in
423 the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay or of eating and not giving to others.
166 Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or
423 journey at given seasons for fishing or sealing, and the indigenous inhabitants of the settlements do not even dream of considering this a violation of any of their rights. Without asking anyone's

/381 cont./

428 Inheritance. The structure of the contemporary family of the Gilyak naturally arouses in the father a desire to hand down his property to his children. On the other hand, the clan organization requires that in any case the property should not leave the confines of the clan. Out of the reciprocal action of these principles it develops that the children inherit from the father, and only in their absence -- the brothers of the deceased and his more distant clansmen, but at the same time, women, not only in the customary and ascending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines as well, are excluded from the rights of inheritance, as persons who are destined to leave the clan of their father and pass into the clan of their husbands. Such is the principle. In practice, it is true, it is relaxed; thus, for example, daughters obtain their dowry out of the hereditary property, and sometimes married daughters, especially when there are no heirs of the male sex or when the husbands purchased them for a big price, also share in the inheritance; but such instances are relaxations of the principle which are not generally accepted, and customarily they are effected by way of a will. Before his death the Gilyak summons his clansmen and makes known his wishes. These deathbed dispositions make it possible for the Gilyak to make not only daughters his heirs, but even persons of another clan, for example, his sons-in-law or workmen. If he should die without such a deathbed bequest, then, of course, the above-mentioned principle of inheritance goes into effect. But the details best serve to explain the essence of this principle.

If a Gilyak dies leaving neither wife nor children, /382/ his brothers are his heirs; in their absence -- his clansmen-ruvn in
[768] the order of their closeness of kinship. If he leaves a young widow
429 and children, the widow, according to the decision of the clan,
587 goes to one of the brothers or ruvn of the deceased, who has the rights and obligations of a father with regard to the children and is the guardian of their inherited property until they reach their majority. The young girls obtain a dowry, while the adult sons who have separated or wish to separate obtain their share of the

/382 cont./

● 428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[768] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family continues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A question of the division of the inheritance only arises when the children, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the deceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one, the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[768] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
428 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
597 time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age. With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It
428 is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the
[606] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with his father up to the very time of his death, while the other brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the other brothers.

673 Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever
[674] encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps his treasures in the storehouse, which is never shut. The Gilyak calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety. In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one
[422] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes tempted by the possessions of another, it is always in the field of

/652 cont./

567 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the
171 Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

● 428 The law of inheritance existing among them gives us
562 further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and,
[601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, be-
[768] cause of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken
[583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers
587 dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

/652 cont./

● 428 has one or several wives. This shows most clearly that the Gilyak
587 have no aversion to polygamy in principle and only live in monogamy for the most part for practical and economic reasons. The same happens when a widow with minor daughters or only the latter survive: the latter are regarded as part of their parents' estate, as it were, and they are inherited by the second husband of their mother, and, when they have reached marriageable age and suitors arrive, they can be purchased only by payments to him. On the other hand, if minor sons survive with the widow, her brother-in-law inherits her and the daughters, but the property of her deceased husband goes to /653/ him only temporarily for the use of the profit from it and must be handed over to her sons as their property as soon as they have grown up.

587 The marriage of the widow to her brother-in-law is not absolutely obligatory: if there is a man who wants to marry her, he can have her with the consent of her brother-in-law and for the payment of a sum designated by him, and, as happens as a rule among the Gilyak, can take her children as well. But once they are grown up and are claimed by their paternal relatives, he cannot keep them, but is obliged to let them go without any compensation or consideration.

587 If, however, the deceased was the youngest of the brothers,
428 his older brothers inherit his property, to be sure, but the widow does not go to any of them, but may marry any eventual suitor, as she wishes, and the latter does not have to pay her brothers-in-law anything for her. With regard to her children from the first marriage, however, the above-mentioned rules apply.

In the last-mentioned cases, where widow and child form at least part of the objects of the estate and therefore the principle of equal shares for all the brothers cannot be observed, the Gilyak law of inheritance favors, not the older brother, but the younger one. In spite of the fact that the oldest brother is distinguished from the younger ones by a special designation, the latter are actually favored by the inheritance law.

428 Finally, if a Gilyak dies and there are neither sons nor brothers to take possession of the inheritance, it goes to the

/653 cont./

428 nearest male relatives of the deceased, that is to say, brother's and father's brother's sons, or nephews and cousins of the first and second degrees, but always only on the father's side. The
428 Gilyak say that in such a case the inheritance belongs to the kall
614 of the deceased. To explain this, I must point out that they
601 make a definite distinction between the relatives on the father's side and those on the mother's side: the former are called ngafk and they alone are regarded as related by blood; the latter, on the other hand, are merely called ámal or ármal, which means roughly "friends." The vocative amalá, Friend, is the customary term of address which the Gilyak use among themselves as well as to a stranger, and which one uses them, whereas the much more meaningful naifká is only rarely heard and then only when they are speaking to one another. The totality of the ngafk, the paternal relatives of a Gilyak, constitutes his kall. This word, however, does not mean merely tribe /Stamm/, kin group /Geschlecht/, kindred /Sippe/, but also name. A kall, then, is exactly the same as a kin group bearing the same paternal or family name among us. It is the Goldi hala, which originally designated only a family relationship, but later, used by the Manchu government for administrative purposes, it was given a meaning going far beyond the family, which will be discussed in detail in the next section. The Gilyak, however, who were always outside Manchu rule, have been hardly affected by this /654/ and cling to their original conception of the kall, which is restricted to the family in the manner indicated above.

614 In view of all this, it might be expected that they also have special names for their various kin groups, and, indeed, I do not doubt but that they do have them. I never heard them use one, however. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that, as a rule, only the closest members of a kall have personal relations with one another, and they are aware of their membership in the same kin group without the common kin-group name. Moreover, the practical significance of this membership is considerably reduced for the Gilyak, in that it plays no part whatsoever in one of the most important family occasions, the conclusion of marriage, for among them, as has already been

/654 cont./

614 mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1035, above.

peoples, members of one and the same kall may marry each other.
562 From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it became
428 evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brothers, and then, as a widow, to the next brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for
[592] herself. The only thing left for her is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

171 A law of inheritance very similar to the one among the
428 Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possessions consist of their reindeer herds. According to Ditmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 33.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother,
171 the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the de-
587 ceased was married and leaves a widow, she goes to his youngest
428 brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second youngest, the third youngest, and so forth, always under the same conditions. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

428 /654 cont./
587 brothers-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, she becomes
171 free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In

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3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivoshapkin", "Eniseisk. okr. /The Yenisei District/," Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Res. and Mat., p. 178. Tret'iakov", "Turukhansk. krai /The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 403), among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

428 In principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar
171 to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal
614 relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal rela-
607 tives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the
628 latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge prevailing among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful, decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possible,

13: Seeland--41 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the
563 part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is
512 only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board.
464 Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-
426 na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to
567 earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

428 The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's
587 property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help
428 she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father
583 whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

428 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
583 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are
married off. If after the death of the parents only one
daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate
upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who
took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry,
the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by
going against the wishes of his wife.

428 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is
not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general
one can draw the following conclusions from what has been
said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives;
b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro-
vided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their
husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the
nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit
and have their own property, but in general they are not
left as much; however, they have the right to be supported;
e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they be-
come joint owners of the estate along with their children.

565 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
551 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
177 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or
because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they
have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also
have family names (which are handed down by the males);
many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which
is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from
outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not,
are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one,
and by this name they are known even among their fellow-
tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually
intelligent lads and understand Russian.

567 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
554 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
576 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ-
ual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a
certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of
real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment.
Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is
occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit,
both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds
up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

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429 ADMINISTRATION--guardianship (e.g., of minors, of widows, of defectives); rights, privileges, and powers of guardian and ward; trusts; rights, privileges, and powers of trustee and beneficiary; law of trusts; formalities; administration of estates; bankruptcy administration; specialization in administration (e.g., trust companies); regulation; etc. See also:

Role of heads of families and of kin and local groups as trustees for the property of their social groups 59, 61, 62
Receivership 473
Levirate 587
Agency 676
Embezzlement 685
Care of defectives 732
Philanthropic foundations 741
Definition of minors 858

/381 cont./

428 Inheritance. The structure of the contemporary family of the Gilyak naturally arouses in the father a desire to hand down his property to his children. On the other hand, the clan organization requires that in any case the property should not leave the confines of the clan. Out of the reciprocal action of these principles it develops that the children inherit from the father, and only in their absence -- the brothers of the deceased and his more distant clansmen, but at the same time, women, not only in the customary and ascending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines as well, are excluded from the rights of inheritance, as persons who are destined to leave the clan of their father and pass into the clan of their husbands. Such is the principle. In practice, it is true, it is relaxed; thus, for example, daughters obtain their dowry out of the hereditary property, and sometimes married daughters, especially when there are no heirs of the male sex or when the husbands purchased them for a big price, also share in the inheritance; but such instances are relaxations of the principle which are not generally accepted, and customarily they are effected by way of a will. Before his death the Gilyak summons his clansmen and makes known his wishes. These deathbed dispositions make it possible for the Gilyak to make not only daughters his heirs, but even persons of another clan, for example, his sons-in-law or workmen. If he should die without such a deathbed bequest, then, of course, the above-mentioned principle of inheritance goes into effect. But the details best serve to explain the essence of this principle.

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43 EXCHANGE--general statements dealing with several aspects of the mecha-
nisms of transferring economic goods and the titles to them, with the volum
of such transactions, and with the determination of prices and economic val
For specialization in exchange see 44; for the transportation of goods see 4
49, 50.

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1. (cont.) found with respect to the Chinese merchants during my time in the Amur region were Spanish (Mexican) piasters, so-called colonnados, and even these were always first carefully tested as to their weight with the help of hand scales.

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436 Through their association with the Russians
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however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the use of their coins (2).

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even Russian notes as payment. As proof of their great shrewdness in monetary and trade matters the following incident, which occurred during my stay, might be mentioned. The frequently mentioned Poswein, a Gilyak from Kulj, who had been close to the Russians ever since their first appearance in the region, made a voyage from Nikolayevsk to Sakhalin for the sole purpose of exchanging with his countrymen there various small items for all kinds of valuables and especially gold and silver coins, which they had stolen from a stranded American whaler after killing part of the crew, and then to make a profit out of them with the Russians.

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/595/ By means of the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese and common to all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the barter trade which they carry on among themselves and with the Chinese is, by and large, given a fixed standard in that the in part very heterogeneous wares involved in it appear equal in value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size, quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

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either the buyer or seller. The price or the value of the trade commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser demand which they enjoy among the Chinese and, on the other hand, the more or less strong need for them found among the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, and which is itself determined in turn in large part by their use in the trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities inevitably arose when the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, also came in contact with the Russians, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian commodities began in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese.

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More than elsewhere, therefore, it must be kept in mind in connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that my descriptions refer to a period when this contact had first been made and had not yet had the consequences that it has today. Finally, concerning the value of objects not involved

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in trade among the Gilyak, but associated with their households and the rest of their life and activities, the decisive factors are to be sought in their customs, conceptions, and views, evidence of which will be given in the following.

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By means of many and repeated inquiries among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn the values, given in the following table, of both the most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russians, and the foremost articles in their life and households, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Thus, among them:

A sable pelt, depending on its quality, ... equals 1-3 ja
A pelt from the red fox (pas(1)-nga) . . " 2 "

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1. The s is pronounced soft, like the French z.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (pladf) . . equals 3 ja

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431 GIFT GIVING--alienation of property by gift; rights, privileges, and powers of donor and recipient; frequency, types, occasions, and purposes of gifts; social relationships within which gifts are given; formalities of giving and receiving; potlatches; reciprocal gift exchange (e.g., kula); role of gifts in the distribution of economic goods; etc. See also:

Status and mobility 55
Property transactions in marriage 58
Acquisition and relinquishment of property . . . 425
Bequests 428
Feasts 574
Tribute giving 651
Bribery of officials 662
Almsgiving and charity 735
Philanthropic foundations 741
Sacrifice 782

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blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newl
the children of brother and sister. Standing in close conne
with this rite is the previously described moment in the be
festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the mast
the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside him
an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which
also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mut
sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation
hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basi

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The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic
visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some
economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time,
addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present
to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marria
when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depend
on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments fo
men. Cases of actual need are much more important. Th

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are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clans
because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken
Let something happen during the season of the fish run to t
them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is a
hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man
up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and cha
in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settle
of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the fi
minute he feels himself at home, where they give him foo
drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zy
of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or anot
but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in
long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a ti
when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and i
impossible to increase them.

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Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymg
are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.
The most important of these require the participation o
several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (takin

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by their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness. Toward an ymgi, though only potential, the "father-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children.

"One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily pass their time in the settlements of their "father-in-law," bringing in every year the most hearty welcome and the greatest delicacies, and when the hunting begins, the "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns to his own home, he carries with him, in addition to /167/ the usual gifts, also his share of the catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "son-in-law" are in the foreground among those who have been invited, and it is to them that the honor of killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in warfare, the "father-in-law" and the "son-in-law" are obliged to come to each other's aid in case of necessity.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

From the kinship terminology we show that the last of the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan from whose a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all the other clans from which ever one kinsman has changed to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

/264 cont./

This formula has preserved its vital significance even today. One is supposed to send relatives with his son-in-law gifts of edibles and a share of every catch. Moreover, the young men of the category ymgat during the course of several months out of the year are unfailing guests in the settlement of their fathers-in-law and "son-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily pass their time in the settlements of their "father-in-law," bringing in every year the most hearty welcome and the greatest delicacies, and when the hunting begins, the "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns to his own home, he carries with him, in addition to /167/ the usual gifts, also his share of the catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "son-in-law" are in the foreground among those who have been invited, and it is to them that the honor of killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in warfare, the "father-in-law" and the "son-in-law" are obliged to come to each other's aid in case of necessity.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

From the kinship terminology we show that the last of the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan from whose a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all the other clans from which ever one kinsman has changed to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

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"to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ ŭrkind -- "to pay" is derived from the word ŭrkind, which in the middle voice is a synonym of ŭhkind -- to fight, to war (ŭrkind is merely the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- ŭrkind was originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom -- peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered father, they ask him: on his return, "Pyrk ŭrkind joylo? -- "Did you fulfill ŭrkind for your father (literally ŭrkind -- "fulfill"), did you take vengeance?" He answers: "ulk khukiat" -- "I killed them all." Here the term ŭrkind is used in the sense of the act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used in the sense of ransom. "Tyn narkh ŭrkim -- "For their (slain companions), they paid damages, ransom."

From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing continue in various values for several years, and they were very often no less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

1. Here is an illustration of the institution of the bride price as an institution of mutual gift-giving, one of many examples which I wrote down. An elder in the settlement of Pomr, a man who was not well-to-do, gave as bride price for his daughter /ŭcf/ two Chinese kettles, one Japanese /kettle/, and five dogs. In exchange, the father-in-law sent his son-in-law two Chinese robes and for two or three

/276 cont./

years regularly sent him rice, tobacco, and tea, and divided with him all that he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he also bought a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

return a gift of equal value to the bridegroom. A Gilyak who breaks this custom becomes a general laughingstock. Besides the gifts to the groom, it is also the father's obligation to provide his daughter with a dowry equal in value to the bride price, and the dowry is the same as much a gift to the daughter as it is to her husband, who is freed from the great expense of expenditures on his wife.

Thus, it is clear that, at least among the Gilyak (among other peoples, too, there is much reason to think) (2), bride

2. Incidentally, among the Turkic people and the Samoyed Indians, where marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyak.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be axiomatic until very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /277/ this is the fact that it is positively not allowed to buy wives from one another.

It remains for us to answer the question, why is there no bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in this last case marriages are concluded between persons who are bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between alien clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

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A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /ŭyat/, ŭkhlak /ŭ/ or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, by making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the kikhal keeps silent, but they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (ŭla lymŭk).

A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a bowl for the bear festival. The bowl for the head is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukrow-v'ŭr.

When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp. The bear is greeted with zadi-chade music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "Ŭ'ŭr hunyŭ! Wingan ŭrur hunyŭ!--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mor' and all kinds of dishes.

When a bear falls sick, then they hold pying-tryvk and prepare uig, mor', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.

Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

When a dog is killed, the head and bones are laid in a wooden frame near the leaing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called kork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet, in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."

kikhal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone

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Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /ŭyat/ has beaten his brother-in-law /ŭburin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pair of racing dogs (there do five; they are sold only in pairs) -- kylyn-kan. The first dog is ŭyly-k.an, the second -- k.ukh, the third -- ŭrkhpe-k.ukh, the fourth -- tyly-k.ukh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- ŭyly-k.an -- last, farthest away, and the most catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and, if the ŭyly-k.an proves first, then it is not suitable. The cost of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /ŭyat/, in case of a fight with a brother-in-law /ŭburin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned, except if the dogs are ransom. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /ŭburin/ offends a son-in-law /ŭyat/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or bear as a present.

/303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth. The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her; you paid her with your own money" (clan money). The matter ended by giving a racing dog, and two bottles of vodka.

The oath: Uath -- ŭmbi chakhri lambe -- in Goldi, chikhye'u hyde.rd -- in Gilyak.

One must kill a wolf (tygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "where is the tendon for the thief? (ennŭhŭnorge'? ennŭh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jengaz' tongz' shamdrŭra?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

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clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately. And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their father obtain as good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear, the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his dogs and sables, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where obviously the skill of one individual plays no role. There same economic relations prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household furs and wages constitute individual acquisitions. There is a category of articles and generally which constitute the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his "wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable furs, coats and sables, a set of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its committee offers conclusion a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

/872 cont./ with regard to me, however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I, too, never received thanks from the Gilyak. I am not thinking now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are guilty. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiso, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to exchange mutual gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer, perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /873/ pai. If the latter were not done, the gifted in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, several buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy nature, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

custom may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relation of the Gilyak with the Manchu Chinese and Japanese, who in Sakhalin, as well as in Saïrunai, have their officials and trade agents who demand such capitain benevolentsie in their own interest and to the detriment of the government or the trading houses concerned.

Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, *pai*. And this is precisely what Julin did when, in the transaction with the Russian-American Company for the sizable sum that he received for compensation, he wanted to be given various costly fabrics and other luxury items.

It must say for the Gilyak, however, that as a rule one can trust their word and their honesty in business dealings with them, for example, the delivery of wares or other articles paid for in advance. As guides, too, they are generally trustworthy; in fact, some of them so identified themselves with my interests that they personally even warned me against the thieves in certain places of the population of this or that village which in their eyes was notoriously bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very difficult to get guides for a trip, for as a rule the Gilyak are too suspicious and fearful to give up their freedom and cast their lot in with that of the traveler. Since then once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their faithfulness, their knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening beside the blazing fire, with their communicativeness and clairvoyance. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deserted me. And that happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad snowstorm. The brave-spirited human and stubbornly stuck to the sea now, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf birch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. No wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect when one encounters a rich Gilyak. That a rich man should ignoble fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence for his exceptional source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence their respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift sent from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely diffused legend according them relationship to magic, and living today, who attained his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and, in general, who is inclined to attribute their success to a gift received his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans, etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have the character of barter.

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak does not borrow money, his debts arise principally from the non-fulfillment of the obligations of the other side of the property obligations of a sender. No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Debts are transferred to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from Manchu, but even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or table skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak constitutes, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his citizen relatives or after the death of these persons, the claim, in the person of the claimmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

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very great ill; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings human sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fare of the hearth lies the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the hearth, who, if we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

But the clan of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal "engaging" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity, and, in the first place, in some of the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no need for the community principle to be realized. Indeed, the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out can come home from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry in the taiga if any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

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Let us look more closely at these conditions, and fare of all at the economic ones.

The predominant form of labor is individual labor or the simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishing. The sea and rivers are so rich in the product that with the good manage equipment under normal conditions everyone can secure his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animals, it is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but the whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; everyone performs for that which he is /115/ most qualified. Moreover, the area is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never occurs to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than according to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those who have not participated in the hunting, for the catch belongs not only to some and not all the members of the clan? The same is true of hunting for forest beasts. If a hunter belongs to a group, he is ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along perfectly well in his pursuits without the help of others. And, in fact, during the fishing season the Gilyak population disperses in all directions; each master begins to his favorite site. During the hunting season everyone sets off for his hunting ranges and fixes these keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a stranger for weeks.

Thus, the predominant form of labor is individual. Everyone must be able to do everything, master all the knowledge of his tribe, be an individual equal with all, comprehensively developed and prepared for life.

And since the gifts of nature are plentiful, free, and accessible to the efforts of all, the well-being of a man depends exclusively, in consequence, on his abilities and diligence. Inequality, which under more complex conditions is a source of dissension and social differences, does not show its theme here. A wealthy man owes everything exclusively to his own personal abilities and virtues; his accumulations cannot enslave or humiliate anyone. Moreover, the personal accomplishments of a man are a gift of the gods,

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In reality, joint cohabitation and regular intercourse are connected, not with the sexual feature of the marital union, but with the economic aspect. Wherever economic conditions demand the separation of the family into single group of persons and allow living together, group marriage there can turn into a regular, continual marriage. But such conditions are rarely found in primitive society. They are possible -- but even then not often -- in a narrow circle of brothers; in this case group marriage is really accompanied by the elements of joint cohabitation and the regular exercise of marital rights familiar to us. We meanwhile know of such a clan among the Gilyak, among several Tungus tribes, in Africa, in India, and in other places. But types of this kind of cohabitation are also rare.

In spite of the old opinion, which was accustomed to regard the life of primitive people as a continuous orgy, in reality the economy of primitive man, at least the methods of obtaining the means of subsistence, is at the present time mainly individual, and the form of general collaboration that crop up only at certain times disappear as quickly as they arose with the passing of the necessity for them. We may see a typical specimen of individual economy among the wandering Tungus reindeer-herders, who *rarely* assemble once or twice a year for only a short time and then in small related groups. In contrast with these live apart, widely separated from one another, each family living by itself his own territory for pasture and hunting.

Among peoples who are not herdsmen, who live closer together, the forms of economy are all more or less individual. Under such circumstances it is quite natural that every man, conducting his own particular economy, should strive to have with him a woman who, in conformity with the natural division of labor between the sexes, might perform with him his economic duties. Thus, joint and regular cohabitation between a man and one or several women arises by itself. In societies where group norms of sexual intercourse exist, such individual alliances change nothing. An

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We proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are predominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to the shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities are characterized by the principle of having the most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochis, there is no marriage to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples of the Amur region.

In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationalities of marital rights familiar to us. We meanwhile know of such a clan among the Gilyak, among several Tungus tribes, in Africa, in India, and in other places. But types of this kind of cohabitation are also rare.

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Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (1). Similar phenomena have been observed

1. Veniamin Innokentia /The Works of Innokentii/, Kiev 3, p. 419.

served among the Central Eskimo by Rink. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with the social basis for a sexual intercourse, are in themselves a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor. The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather *fixty* timid bear, do not present any social dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

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584 my children and your children also be akhmalk'i. If you do
582 not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according to law ('live pure')."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmalk is not an ancient one.

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied
177 circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages
178 in the clans of akhmalk'i. One of the causes was the depopu-
614 lation of the clans from which they took wives, which com-
● 433 pelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause,
556 perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought
[582] about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and ornaments, but also food and spices, such as rice, groats, and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they preferred to dress themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain
177 the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
178 took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relation-
556 ships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's
582 dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good
584 person, urdla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared
[584] his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'ivukh became a synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting appeared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

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426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

● 433 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one
46 cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet.
[225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as
226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In
465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same
433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone;
554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling
476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but
466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

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124 163 165 many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163 165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives. 162 592 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

103 162 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons each), Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Tengi (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

224 225 433 000 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411 422 501 231 000 /386/ there are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

166 464 /386 cont./ To make some money, 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make 103 433 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is [244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the [162] Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the [177] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among [244] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise 224 433 178 648 potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement 342 178 354 [237] in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially [184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by [171] the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from [177] whom it may have been borrowed.

133 [137] [491] As to the character of the region, the maritime sections of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegetation. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

/387 cont./

114 36 103 361 221 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye. In connection with this settlement of Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 16 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169 422 231 501 411 433 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

162 592 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

G /383 cont./
342 dwellings of the successive peoples in this direction. One need
171 only compare the Gilyak summer-house, made of beams and resting on piles, with the dauro of the adjacent Tungusic peoples. Moreover, if the dauro of the Olcha, Negda, and Samagir, even though only made out of light /384/ materials, wooden poles, some of them perhaps of somewhat greater thickness, birch bark, etc., are nevertheless rather spacious and resemble a house on the outside, those of the Goldi shrink to small tents made of willow switches and birch bark and easily transported from place to place, and the dauro of the Orochi do not even go beyond the roof shape, the simplest of all tent forms. In the upper Amur region, among the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, tents of conical form again appear, to be sure, but these are wholly adapted for a nomadic life, and often, for a temporary stay at a place, are limited to merely a few poles and a bark mat wrapped around them. Moreover the winter dwelling constructed on the Chinese pattern has not penetrated to these peoples or to the Orok on Sakhalin at the diametrically opposite end of the Amur region, though it has spread throughout the area in between and is customary among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk and on the northern tip of Sakhalin, and the tent with only a hide covering, in spite of the severe climate, is also their winter dwelling.

G In these housing conditions of the indigenous Amur peoples
361 it is evident that there is a feature fundamentally different be-
342 tween the anciently sedentary, Paleo-Asiatic Gilyak and the
22 Tungusic peoples surrounding them, who wandered in later, indeed, in part even at a time not very long ago, and remained inclined toward the wandering, nomadic life. The differences in dwellings discussed above are closely linked to the total way of life and subsistence of the peoples mentioned. The Gilyak are
G 361 predominantly fishermen and, along the seacoast, also seal
433 hunters; correspondingly, they are almost exclusively ichthyo-
226 phagous, as is their only domestic animal, the dog. Now, in
231 order to support themselves and their many dogs, required both
260 for making the many winter trips and trade journeys and for procuring the customary winter clothing, during the period when fish are scarce, they need a considerable supply of fish, and this is

G /384 cont./
361 most surely and best obtained by stable, permanent residence in a
432 place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich
227 in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into
224 consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them
439 with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

G The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes sur-
224 rounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessary, indeed
226 essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the
231 farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in
432 view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in
361 comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less extensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed, and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the main river to the mountains that skirt its tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wildernesses along the left tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the first and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dseja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals,
G 231 in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,
361

/404 cont./
000 made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

G All the other peoples of the lower Amur region in general
291 have the same clothing as the Gilyak. Nevertheless, to the ex-
171 tent that the natural conditions of the regions, the means of subsistence, and the principal occupations of the people differ, more or less conspicuous differences and peculiarities show up among them, in that other clothing materials gradually gain the upper hand, many an article of clothing no longer corresponding to the changed requirements will be modified or disappear, and, on the other hand, many a new one appear, etc.

The greatest, and in fact virtually complete, correspondence
G with the Gilyak in their clothing is shown by their nearest neigh-
291 bors on the Amur River, the Olcha, who live under the same physical
171 conditions and in the same manner as they do, chiefly by fishing
101 and, in de Castries Bay, also by seal hunting, and, like the
433 Gilyak, keep many dogs, as their sole domestic animal, for
231 winter trade and intercourse with the neighboring peoples. During the long period of living beside and in part among the Gilyak, the Olcha adopted, among other things, the clothing of the
G 199 latter completely, and every one of the garments described above, not excepting even the lynx cap so peculiarly Gilyak, as well as the implements customarily used for making them, is found identically among the Olcha and has an Olcha-Tungusic designation. Nevertheless, among the Olcha, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution, closer to the Samagir and Goldi borders, one sometimes comes across an article of clothing that came from the last-named peoples and is foreign to the Gilyak, such as a deer-leather or elk-leather robe, a boa made of musk-deer skins instead of squirrel tails, etc.

The situation is the same with regard to the clothing of the
G 291 Negda on the Amgunj /Amgun/. When Middendorff, coming
171 from the Tugur Tungus, visited them, everything gave him the
G 291 impression, despite their language, differing only dialectally
199 from the Siberian Tungus, "that he had come upon a new people": the shape and cut of the individual articles of clothing, the

2. Schrenck-302 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/516/ Section 8

000 Fishing, and in particular Sturgeon, Hausen, and Salmon. Fishing. Fishing Equipment. Marine-animal Fishing: Seal, White Whale.

226 In the preceding chapters it has been repeatedly stressed
171 that fishing plays a more or less important role among all the
433 peoples of the Amur region, and that in particular its importance increases all the more the farther one goes downstream, until finally, in the region of the mouth of the Amur River, it becomes among the Gilyak the conditio sine qua non for their entire existence. The intermeshing of the various conditions and aspects of life made it necessary for us in the above descriptions of the housing, clothing, and locomotion of the Amur peoples to make many references to fishing itself or to the consequences of it. For example, one must consider the influence that fishing
361 exerts upon the lesser or greater sedentariness of the various
221 peoples in the Amur region, in that, to be sure, in contrast to hunting, it gives them in general a more sedentary life, but even so requires a change of locality and dwelling twice a year, and commonly during the summer repeated moves along the water. Furthermore, the more or less predominant part that fishing has in the procurement of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life was discussed. In this connection the kinds of fish most important to the Amur peoples were named, and both the way they are eaten and the preparation of provisions out of them for the use of people and dogs were described in detail.
121 And so, after all of that, there only remains for us to learn the way, how and by what means, fishing for at least the most important fish is carried on by the Amur peoples, as well as the times when it is done and some of the details connected with it.

/517/ As usual, we shall again start with the Gilyak, and, to be sure, with the Amur Gilyak, who are in every respect superior to their countrymen. To be sure, fishing in the Amur is also done in winter, but then it is relatively not very profitable and ceases completely toward spring when the ice becomes so

G /534 cont./
227 consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
286 the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
784 are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and superintition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he must always go around them, never underneath them. And, finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used in making it.

G /535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
226 fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the
433 lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught.
G 361 First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
262 all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak, and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among
G 361 all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest
224 to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life, hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more important role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently, it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish-
G 226 ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
226 character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the
221 lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

/543 cont./
225 Just as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches
184 of work the Gilyak stand first among all the peoples of the Amur region. One can see well enough from the above descriptions how great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them for food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing the means of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next
433 to fishing, hunting seals is therefore their chief occupation, which, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation area, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of Sakhalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, in which, as was already pointed out, the seals migrate as far as the Olcha territory. In fact, among the coastal Gilyak, along the Sea of Okhotsk and on the Liman, seal-hunting often even comes before fishing. It can be seen merely from the clothing of these Gilyak, consisting to a great extent, indeed, often wholly, of sealskin, that among them seal-hunting plays
225 a far more important role than among the Amur Gilyak. It
361 should also be noted in this connection that on the Amur-Liman
103 there are two places that bear the names of "Langr-wo," or "Langr" for short, and "Langri," that is, seal village, perhaps because they are especially favorably located for seal-hunting or perhaps because their inhabitants practice it with special and traditional skill and success. I cannot say anything further about one of these places, Langri, located on the west coast of Sakhalin, which, according to Gleha (1), is merely the

1. See p. 467 above.

summer village of the Gilyak of Tulu[illegible]. /542/ The other one, however, Langr, located on a small island at the entrance to the Amur-Liman from the Sea of Okhotsk, which I have visited myself, seems fully to justify its name and its conjectures
438 associated with it. It is one of the largest villages of the Amur
Liman, and its inhabitants carry on a lively trade with the Amur Gilyak, using in particular the products of their seal-hunting, such as sealskins and furs and seal oil as articles for bartering with them.

Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rest of Life.

Trade Relations of the Amur Peoples With One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Role of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they cannot directly satisfy all of their needs; they cannot procure some of their requirements in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of subsistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the observations on the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region has as much interest in and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that in the first decades after the Russians received about them -- I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Perfiljef heard from the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus in the years 1639 and 1640 (1) -- they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (Schilka) and having trade connections with the Chinese. In fact, they do more trading with the Chinese and Japanese than all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /591/ live farthest from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in that of the two civilized peoples with each other.

Economy and Everyday Life

The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "ayyeshki," sets and seines. A "ayyeshki" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. Medium-sized, new-type nets, made of the finest ropes, the fishermen lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. For this purpose they several times used "drawnet" fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the boat. Some of the fishermen use "carpenter's" unusually built boats for this purpose.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of cattle fiber. They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom waited along the shore, while the others rowed the seine in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi followed the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important in the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large metal nets. Sea lions were hunted in early spring, at the time of the breaking up. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. The seals were driven onto the ice floes and hunted in open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lyki). This consisted

The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The latter were very sharp, with barbs and notches, built stout and made for dog-harness.

Men's work on hand fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and many fine women. The Nivkhi knew how to prepare the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and embroidered, made birchbark containers, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

The Nivkhi had a complex and stable, community relations were quite strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked boats, nets and other means of production, a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic person. Spirits were held sacred. Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in their thinking an yr'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every island, mountain and hill its yr'. The chief of these were Pul-yr'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrandr, or Tol'yr'—the "master" of

Sewing together a seine.

of a small board equipped with harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 20 meters long. The harpoon was lowered into the water; the hunter lay down nearly in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the harpoon was quickly thrown at the animal, and he was finally drove it to the shore.

As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat the Tungusic-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As therefore, opposed to the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century the remnants of group marriage. These relations were possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers and sisters; 3) husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tavng); and 4) children (ytyng).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, had economic activities directed to commercial ends and stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Sakhalin Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and brought furs and beluga isinglass for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors—the Oroch, the Udegei, the Nanai, etc. Trade was also carried on between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be involved with the world market. The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's wife price always included large quantities of imported exhibition. But commodity relations were still very slow, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave was a member of his master's household and could be sold, but could not be killed. The women prepared the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and embroidered, made birchbark containers, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established tribute-bearer relations with the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the peoples of Sakhalin—the Ainu, and gasyanal—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally lacked a part of their former means of production, a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic person. Spirits were held sacred. Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in their thinking an yr'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every island, mountain and hill its yr'. The chief of these were Pul-yr'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrandr, or Tol'yr'—the "master" of

In 1931, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Usvd" collected 200 centners of potatoes and collected 200 centners of fish, and in the years from 1948 to 1952, the collected area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Usvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered over large distances. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers had made rapid strides since the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and well-ordered. Great attention is paid to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. After the Revolution, most of the Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese huts.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective farmers, barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an obstetrical station, baths devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse—pits, a fish-drying shed, a collective-farm store, a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past), many public-collective-farm dwellings have built their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are quite similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of Russian furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, pictures and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. The Nivkhi are unknown, which was entirely unknown in the past. But the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and sable-fur caps of old-style cut. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and homdrees remains of the traditional hat and moccasins. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. There and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the spread of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and midwifery centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but with educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

116, 181, 241, 433

"The Gilyaks are veritable children of the forest, finding their home, and therein. Cultivation of the soil is unknown to them, and they live mainly the flesh of beasts that fall to their snares. By bartering the skins of suc obtain tobacco, brick-tea, etc."

Hawes--274 T-3 (1901) 1903
, 166, 177, 231, 433

'An example of the way in which the proximity of th
conditions of life harder is seen in the feeding of
ys be allowed their liberty, and the fiercer ones ar
cattle of Russian neighbours--a certain casus bell
dogs have now to be fed, and their master's winte
avoid this the natives migrate further afield to les

1. Dr. Pogaevsky, in a report on the food of the
official Sakhalin Kalendar, 1899."

ne Russians incidentally renders
the Gilyak dogs. These cannot al-
re tied up, lest they should attack
li. Accustomed to feed themselves
er stores naturally give out sooner.
ss favourable fishing-grounds. (1)

Gilyak, in the local and

is as impossible to estimate with any certainty the number
Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
eir number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
ite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
her hand, there were far fewer villages.
Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
nly now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
se there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
appens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and ani-
our for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
rimary occupations they spend their summers on the river
anks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
rough the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
ey have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
ink such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
ives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
ound Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
onsisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
inter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
rick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
alls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
e travellers found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
hole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
istance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
f the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
erhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
illages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
hole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
orced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
iver in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
ore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
ot a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
entioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
nder-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
wellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
fer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
ut with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
ct with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that.
n short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin, in addition
he atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
he presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
r drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
scape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
n the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

/113 cont./

561 labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc.,
855 but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreover,
86 to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum
of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the clan
customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship
appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his tribe,
and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life that
constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys,
hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of his
own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduct
himself in society.

561 All these qualities, however, would have no significance if
579 the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples
855 of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a
special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purposely
train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the
Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the
despotism of the head of the family with respect to the adult mem-
bers. The sons are completely free to separate from their father,
obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements,
sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their
catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion.
596 One encounters large families living in a communal economy, at
the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfather,
father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free associa-
tion, from which one may depart at will. And even though he is a
1492 participant in such an economic union, every member can have
1434 his own individual property in the form of sleds and dogs, arms,
enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his personal
merits; and what each member shares with his own -- and there is
extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and
purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flour,
rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in
the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are
combined without any friction.

/29 cont./

493 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
492 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By
moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the
Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives
stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so
that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means
of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and
the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve
as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small,
uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much
as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the
middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of
broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the
driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
435 friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles.
556 ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen
dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satis-
fied with three to five.

501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also
built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of
ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred
steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and
flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and
passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle
in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the
Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the
water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life
of our native. The Gilyak is generally a semisedentary person.
In summer he usually lives near a river or sea, while for the
winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places,
to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place
of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In
addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to
resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when
his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/300 cont./

567 part of their dowry. In buying wives, the price corresponded to
582 the additional slaves. In 1896 a former slave, about whom we
have the following information, lived there. A Narni bought
from Kizi a Kugi (Ainu) maiden, and an illegitimate child was
born. Khuzin's father bought the son of this Kugi (krygryy) in
435 Kizi. He was 25 years old; he was paid for with nine pieces
of silk material (21 meters) at 75 rubles a piece.

This worker served him for five years. Eighteen years ago
he ran away to Kizi, and then to Arvo (near Nizhnetarbovskiy).
The name of this krygryy was Kutr. His former master from
Khez' summoned him to conduct shaman ceremonies, and he
used this opportunity to run away. Now he is an old man and
blind. One absolutely must take him back, though blind, feed
him, and bury him with their own hands, and then his soul will
follow him to Mlyvo (his father, dying, requested this of him).

Chinese girls were bought in a similar fashion. It was
necessary to take along 100 sables, 100 foxes, 100 otters, 100
squirrels, 100 polecats, between 10 and 100 black-brown foxes,
100 seals, and 100 bears. The travelers to Sanin were met by
a merchant who would take away all their merchandise and,
without counting it, would transport it to his warehouse. The
visitors would be feted for two days and /301/ questioned in Goldi
or through an interpreter. The newcomers would tell their hosts
about their wish to get married, then they would record how much
each had brought, and they would be taken to the governor. He
would provide carriages and food, and they would be transported
to the major city (Peking). They would be introduced and ac-
commodated in the palace, assigned servants, fed and looked
after by them. Then they would be given a remuneration by
an interpreter. Finally whole rows of women with covers over their
faces would be lined up in front of them; behind each woman
would stand a castrated slave. The old Gilyak would recommend:
"a young male slave -- an old woman -- a risk." They would
choose right there; they would each be led to a room. A slave
would sweep and spread out the bedding, and that very night
he would learn his fate. They were painted. He sticks his
tongue in the mouth; there are no teeth.

/302 cont./

578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin/, wife's brother/, he must
(present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only
in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second
-- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh.
If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They
are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another
and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last,
farthest away, and the must catch up with all of them and the
object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
435 if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost
of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /zyat/, in case of
431 a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of
dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or,
if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
435 except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-
law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat/, he gives for recon-
ciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
611 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
627 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back,
but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to
try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a cer-
tain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten
because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him:
"You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan
money). The quarrel was ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and
two kettles of vodka.

595 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz'u
635 nyydz:rd -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (tygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons
on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where
is the tendon for the thief? (emnikhrongz'? emnikh -- heel, tongz --
tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jemg:az' tongz'
shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/349 cont./

Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling (it is interesting that only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded). In the first place, there were the places closest to the mainland: half a day's a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin, the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent: the same abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kalugu /Huso dauricus/, sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of their irreplaceable Amur. They cannot bring themselves to do it, even now, crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by the Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free official transportation along the Amur. There were, of course, still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move to Sakhalin, for instance, density of population, conflicts between clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of 40 sables per person (we must remember that in the past sable was three or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur sable is still very expensive; one variety, for example, the Amgun, costs 25-30 rubles). The legends of the Gilyak themselves about their former relations with the Manchu are of interest: "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, "on the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable per person every year." Moreover, every time a Gilyak went to the Chinese town of Sungari (Saising), he was forced to pay one sable and the /550/ ransom of the settlement three sables each. The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu officials made a census of the population, and every year in the summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

/300 cont./

possession. I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all the more those made of six skins of this kind, has so high a conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese conceptions. In any case the lynx skin also has considerable real worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not used by the Gilyak like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not impart to their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions of another kind must therefore come into play here. In view of the active, centuries old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese, they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the mightiest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne: for example, the seats of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the chair cushions carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

2. Yubarats Ides, Dreijaarige Reize naar China /A Three-year Trip to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. De Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

/514 cont./

boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form in that they borrowed from the Manchu boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their means and power. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as is done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the people of the lower Amur region. Maximowicz saw a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an inner-sill length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a jug of liquor two feet tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet groats. Only in one point, as is seen from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars stuck on prongs, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; on the other hand, it recurs generally among the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XVIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Ainu-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

/568 cont./

Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1009, Fig. 1.

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass (Gilyak tusy), and silver (Gilyak tonta) (2). The price of the

the arrow, but possibly not fatally and only wounded, will not escape, the arrow is fastened by a loosely hanging cord (Gilyak tughr-pulsy) to the pole on which the self-firer rests.

The high value of sable, fox, and other fur bearers makes the use of the self-firer in the form described very general among the Gilyak, and in the forests surrounding their dwellings one can easily run into an apparatus of this kind set up, which makes caution necessary when roaming in them. It is interesting that on the above-described target-stick the worthless hare has been given consideration along with the three most highly prized furbearing animals. This perhaps may be explained by the fact that it is very common in the entire lower Amur region and on Sakhalin and, in the absence of other animal trails, often provides booty for the self-firers, whereby a good piece of meat and a fur for his own needs always fall to the hunter.

/568/ On the other hand, I have never heard it said that the Gilyak use the self-firer for killing other, more or less valuable, but larger animals, such as the lynx, wolf, alpine wolf, musk deer, reindeer, and elk. There may be various reasons for this. In general, the Gilyak are not hunters enough and are not enough interested in hunting animals other than those with precious furs to undertake long and strenuous hunting trips over great distances, to fell tree barricades, and to set up self-firers with arrows aimed horizontally in their passageways, as is customary, for example, among the Tungusic peoples and is discussed at length by

/592 cont./

country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them, I express the surprise that they were now only exploring the country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it later and to push out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, as in Tyk, Dul, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even directly opposed me insubordinately and hotbloodedly in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal, and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. This situation was so painful and even worse than two first ones, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however, I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the trade articles which I put forward with me and produced apparently without design, and, if just one yielded to temptation and made a small trade, the ice was broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had more than enough of what was offered. With the beginning of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, cleverness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of known practical value, such as tobacco, tobacco pipes, and the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "na-na-ŋ," accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), but not accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own accord they also value very much the other articles, in the order of the suffix ra means the "is" — tachalhara" (2), that is, it costs one, two, three, etc.,

2. Similarly, just as kaik means "not," kaikra means "is not"; or ŋgakhoschch, "bad," ŋgakhoera, "is bad."

Despite the fact that all trade in the Amur region, and hence also that in the Gilyak, is carried on only barter and no money is used among them, nevertheless a not merely relative but absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

/593 cont./

values or current prices of all the articles playing a more or less important part in the life and household of the Gilyak long before I knew the unit to which the numbers referred. Not until I was among the Olcha and thanks to my finding there a guide who besides his mother tongue, also had a command of the Gilyak language did I get on the right track, and my stay among the Goldi helped to give me complete certainty with regard to the questionable unit of value also generally current among the Gilyak. Chosiambo, as my guide was called (3),

3. He came from the Olcha village of Uda and owed his knowledge of Gilyak chiefly to the fact that he had a Gilyak woman from Tebach as a wife.

designated the value of various articles in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak do, in that he put only the pertinent number in front of the verb "saŋlê" (to cost, Gilyak tschalhatsch); sometimes, however, instead of "omu (one) saŋlê," he said "omu jan saŋlê," etc. After the removal of the ja, obviously for phonetic grounds, it was clear that the unit in question, the value of the object was based among the Olcha and Gilyak is the ja -- as was to be expected, a magnitude of value of Chinese origin. The further, confirming and illuminating information coming I was obtained without difficulty from the Goldi. The term "ja" for the unit of value in appraising trade items and other articles is quite familiar to them; they were also able to say that the Chinese divide the ja into 10 parts called dicha among them (the Goldi), each of which is worth 100 Chinese brass coins (Goldi zirikta dicha), so that 1,000 pieces of the latter equal one ja. This is therefore the Chinese silver ounce (liang or tael), almost equal to two Russian rubles in /592/ value. The fact that the Chinese unit of value also serves the peoples of the lower Amur region as the general basis for the evaluation of trade products and other property indicates better than anything else the dominant, in fact, and

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177, 241, 433

If there were more friends of the Gilyaks lik
le on the island, they indeed might yet be s
t their means of livelihood, hunting and fishi
refore endeavoured to induce those who dwel
tivate potatoes and to salt fish. To the native
raordinarily exhausting; and one gave it up a
le others eagerly sought permission to eat t
followed up, [230] his efforts have failed, th
got several puds sown."

3 Gilyak

ke Mr. Pilsudski, who was a political
aved from extinction. He recognized
ng, were beginning to fail them, and
t near the Russian settlements to
es utterly unused to it, the work was
after two hours because 'his back ached,'
he seed potatoes! I fear, unaided and
hough after a great amount of persuasion

"After all, regrettable as it is, the de
ith the white man. The immediate resu
nent of the native hunting preserves; an
ade of their main settlements, made lit
ng-grounds, e.g. the river Tim and the
nan, and in so far limited the possibilit
nd especially the fires—in some cases
aturally driven off or destroyed the wil
[274] Some of their elders told us that
f bears, sables, and reindeer, but sinc
ecome poor. In those days the poor ma
.e. with as large a following of helpers

cline of the race must be attributed to contact
lt of the latter's presence has been the curtail-
d though it is true that the Russians have, out-
tle impression on the taiga, yet the best fish-
west coast, have naturally attracted the white
ies of the Gilyak fishery. Then the clearings,
carelessly left to spread destruction—have
d game and restricted it to smaller compass.
'before the Russians came there were plenty
e they arrived and burnt the woods the rich had
n could go into the taiga as the rich man to-day'
s and as many snares to collect from)."

/594 cont./

(1. cont.)

found with respect to the Chinese merchants during my time in the country, and the Spanish (Mexican) piasters, so-called colonnades, just even these were always first carefully tested as to their weight with the help of hand scales.

THROUGH THE ASSOCIATION WITH THE RUSSIANS however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the use of their coins (2).

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even Russian notes as payment, but they are very great shrewdness in monetary and trade matters due the following incident, which, if it occurred during my stay, might be mentioned. The frequently mentioned Fotweiu, a Gilyak from Kalij, who had been since then the Russian ever since their first appearance in the region, made a voyage from Nikolajewsk to Sakhalin for the sole purpose of exchanging with his countrymen there various small items for all kinds of valuables and, particularly gold and silver coins, which they had stolen from a stranded American whaleship. Shrewd enough to see the intrinsic value of the Russian, and in part also with the Russian. Fotweiu, by means of the acts of value borrowed from the Chinese and common to all the peoples of the lower Amur region, the barter trade which they carry on among themselves and with the Chinese is, by and large, given a fixed standard in that the in part very heterogeneous items involved in it appear equal in value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size, quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

1. The only coins for which a are could be

/594 cont./

(1. cont.)

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1. The only coins for which a are could be

/595 cont./

either the buyer or teller. The price or the value of the trade commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser demand which they represent, on the other, on the ability, hand, the more or less strong need for them found among the Gilyak, Orcha, and Goldi, and which is itself determined in turn in large part by their use in the trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities inevitably arose when the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, also came in contact with the Russians, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections. The Russian commodities began in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese. More than elsewhere, therefore, it must be kept at mind in connection the following incident, which, if the people that my description refer to a period when this contact had first begun, and had not yet had the consequence that it has today. Finally, concerning the value of objects not involved in trade among the Gilyak, but associated with their household and the care of their life and livelihood, the decisive factor, as to be sought in their customs, conceptions, and views, evidence of which will be given in the following sections.

By means of many and repeated inquiries among the Gilyak and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to learn the values of their household items. The most important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and to part also with the Russian, and the foremost articles in their life and household, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Thus, among them:

A cable and pot, depending on its quality, ... equals 1-2 ja

A pelt from the red fox (*ganti*) -*ganti* . . . . . 2 "

The ja is pronounced *yeh*, like the French *je*.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (*pland*) . . . equals 3 ja

435 A pelt from the black fox (*hadi*), depending on its quality, ... equals 10 ja and more

A marten (*kuntsch*) . . . . . 3 ja

A lynx pelt with head, the leg pieces, and the tail . . . . . 8-10 "

A lynx pelt without head, leg pieces, and tail . . . . . 5 "

/596/ 1

A river otter pelt is estimated according to its size, each finger-span of it is equal to . . . 1 ja

A sable, either *Pinne* (*ambrosiana*) (*gilj*) or *Pl. barbata* (*highitsch*), provided it is very good, is equal to . . . . . 1 "

Four fathoms (1) of ordinary cotton cloth (*sun*) cost . . 1 "

1. That is, arm spans, since the Gilyak do not have any measure other than arm and finger spans.

(inch)

Two fathoms of very velvet (*pantsu-pan*) cost . . . 1 ja

One and a half fathoms of cloth (*khingan*) . . . . . 1 "

Four fathoms of silk brocade (*ilimsch*) . . . . . 1 "

(silk fabric (*ochara*) are equal to . . . . . 1 "

2. More correctly stated, Chinese. Four fathoms of it constitute one piece.

The value that the Gilyak give to their various pieces of clothing is judged according to the quality and price of the materials; thus, it cost for:

A simple cap, ... equals 1-2 ja

A cap made of the red fox (*ganti*) -*ganti* . . . . . 2 "

One wooden case (*kylme-wakim*) of liquor is regarded as equal to . . . . . 10 "

A bottle of tobacco leaves, and a tinder of scarcity even only 5, cost . . . . . 1 "

A very large sturgeon (*kukki-ochu*) equals . . . 2 ja

/596 cont./

A woman's cap made of the same material . . . . . 3 ja

A "Amur-hat" (*ochara*) . . . . . 3 "

A woman's cap made of lynx head-fur (*nuhiyak-hak*) . . . 5 "

The large and beautiful sturgeon (*kukki*) . . . . . 1 "

" woman's robe made of fish skin (*nehuch*), with considerable embroidery on it . . . . . 5 "

" fur coat of lynx pelts (about 5 pelts) . . . . . 10 "

A coat made of dog-pelts is evaluated primarily by the value not here by its quality, that is, whether they came from grown animals or from whelps. That, it costs for:

A large, very beautiful white dog-fur coat (*nuhale-ohich*) . 1 "

" spotted or brown-and-white mixed dog-fur coat . . . . . 1 "

Each ten fathoms of hempen cloth . . . . . 1 "

" white . . . . . dog-fur coat (*kuhang-ohich*) . . . . . 2 "

" black or white dog-fur coat (*ighe-ohich*) made of pelts of grown animals . 3 "

" " " made " " from whelps . . . 2 "

The other garments of the Gilyak, such as skirts of ordinary cotton, lined with rabbit-skins of cloth or velvet, trousers, open skirts of sealskin, ordinary winter caps, summer hats of linen, silk, sleeve-bands, ear muffs, gloves, etc., do not have the value of one ja, though the last three are, as a rule, provided with embroidery. Furthermore, the Gilyak value:

One sack of flour as equal to . . . . . 2 ja

A Manchurian sacks (*yuli*), but measured by the *ulachi* as equal to 4 tables, that is, about 6 or . . . . . 4-8 "

/597 cont./

A very large tobacco (*patch-tuchu*) equals . . . . 4-5 ja

Five, mild young, and small but equals . . . . . 25 "

" " full-grown bear, depending on its size, equals . 30-40 "

" of ordinary quality (*ochi-tuchu*) . . . . . 1 "

" ordinary tied equals . . . . . 1 "

" pair of Tungusic ski with skin covering (*Gilyak ulu-ergi*, i.e., Samogir ski equals . . . 1 "

The local ski covered with seahkin, on the other hand do not reach the value of one ja.

A small to middle-sized bear, depending on its size, equals . . . . . 3-7 "

A large, very beautiful bear . . . . . 13 "

" said made of fish skun equals . . . . . 1 "

Each ten fathoms of hemp cloth . . . . . 1 "

A bow covered with a wholebone plate equals . . . 1 "

" " " "

/400 cont. /

1/10 a whole fur-coat of squirrel skin ? [illegible], whereas the Gilyak with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to these worthless, trifling articles. The Samar-tsi, in contrast to the Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing animals for food and for trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/3 in among them, a red doe or elk hide, untanned, 1 ½, tanned 2 ½ like the fur, the principal products from fishing also have a higher [illegible] among the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon, for example, costs 10 in among the former), on the one hand because the fish supply is far more abundant in the Amur upstream, and on the other hand because they are nowhere near so productive in this respect at the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing. Cereals and vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is quite decidedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "sazup" of it, equal to three handfuls, is valued by them at 30 in (?).

2. At 30 in by the Gilyak, according to the above table (see p. 939).

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Crimean) tobacco is much more to their taste.

Since principal commodity of the Amur people in trading with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable, fox, martens, otter, and fine-furred dogs, as we saw above, are the whole, only /411/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of procuring the commodity in the largest quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way better suited to their nature. To this end they trade with their

/411 cont. /

on the west coast. A principal center for this trade, however, is the village of Nakam, not far from Kumara, to which the Aino people from the Sakhalin Island regularly distribute themselves, from Aniwa Bay and elsewhere (3). For

2. Bunge, op. cit., p. 84. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 92.

ecgonical reason the Japanese view this trade with great dislike and try as far as possible to prevent it, because they want to get for themselves the fur captured by the Aino. Since they do this in a way which is very unsatisfactory to the Aino, they buy their goods far below the price in part under threats of punishment and other coercive measures, and, indeed, sometimes for nothing, or payment for alleged debts (3), the Aino, whenever they

3. Bunge, op. cit., p. 84 ff.

can, avoid trading with them and try to sell their furs, kept secret from them, to the Russians and, in the end, preferably, to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha from abroad. The latter are said to pay them two to three hundred times the price, whereas the "sazup" of cloth for one sable pelt, depending on its quality, and just as much for each quarter of an inch of the length of river-otter skin, so that the latter, with a length of 1/4 arshin, which is easily attained as a result of the unavoidable stretching of the fur in skinning, will bring about ten Japanese of the material named (4) - prices which generally correspond to the values

4. Bunge, op. cit., p. 84.

given above for these articles among the Gilyak.

Having reached Sakhalin, the Sisiam voyagers, before they may begin to trade with the Japanese, first go to the Orok people introduced by the latter which consists of two or three blows across the back with a stick received by each of them, as a

/412 cont. /

token of their submissiveness from the highest Japanese official. After this is done, the people are taken to the Japanese, and brought to an official building of the Japanese, which no one except them may enter, in order to be subjected to a close scrutiny (5). It can hardly be doubted that some of the prices

5. According to Rudanofski, in Tichmenef's historich. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 127.

and certainly not the worst ones, never find their way back to their native [illegible] Rychiwi, Rychiwi, and they must content themselves to trade the newly arrived Gilyak and Olcha in the same inconsiderate and prudent manner as they do the Aino, simply for the reason that otherwise they might easily shy away together with the Aino and the several commodities that they bring to them would be lost. Behind /413/ this trade is all the more profitable for them since they principally use sable, fox, and river-otter furs in trade, articles which they procure in great quantities and almost without cost, thanks to their unremitting persecution of the Aino, whereas other furs, as well as so-[illegible] and for which they have no market in Japan because of the well-known aversion to fur among its inhabitants. They further owe a good part of its profit to the sale of silver-otter skin, so that the latter, with a length of 1/4 arshin, which is easily attained as a result of the unavoidable stretching of the fur in skinning, will bring about ten Japanese of the material named (4) - prices which generally correspond to the values

/412 cont. /

[illegible] Italiaiton albicilla, the amount of rice dented. Fortnightly, in that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Shelikof and the Russian, Ivan Ivanof, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Sisiam voyager in Sakhamuti at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 600 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenef, Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Sisiam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and neighboring rivers, and, in the case of the latter, also simply for the reason that otherwise they might easily shy away together with the Aino and the several commodities that they bring to them would be lost. Behind /413/ this trade is all the more profitable for them since they principally use sable, fox, and river-otter furs in trade, articles which they procure in great quantities and almost without cost, thanks to their unremitting persecution of the Aino, whereas other furs, as well as so-[illegible] and for which they have no market in Japan because of the well-known aversion to fur among its inhabitants. They further owe a good part of its profit to the sale of silver-otter skin, so that the latter, with a length of 1/4 arshin, which is easily attained as a result of the unavoidable stretching of the fur in skinning, will bring about ten Japanese of the material named (4) - prices which generally correspond to the values

/433 cont. /

5 pieces of Chinese silk at 4 ga each, together . . . . . 20 ga
1 Japanese kettle with three handles . . . . . 30 "
1 Manchurian iron-armor . . . . . 30 "
1 large bear . . . . . 50 "
5 especially good dogs (nyin-kan) at 5 ga each . . . . . 25 "
Total . . . . . 155 ga = about 386 rubles.

583 The bride price is therefore very high among the Gilyak, which indicates the relative prosperity of the people (1). Custom

1. For the sake of comparison I shall cite here the bride price among primitive peoples in older and more recent times. At the time of Aldon Rasul (Reverend Bachi, senior grammar Chinese-Tartar, wrote or anno 1692 etc. /Newly Discovered Tartary/ Ch. Ch. Journey Which He in 1692, etc./, Libbek, 1734, p. 96) Kalmuks living in the wilderness among the Tungus on the Wenchuaja Tunguska. A rich Oryak got on the Obi River, so Gmelin, who took part in the expedition, had to give in marriage for less than 100 reindeer and cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, 40 pieces of Indian silk, 40 pieces of Russian cloth, 40 pieces of Dutch cloth, 40 pieces of Persian, Prague, Bremen, Reisch /?/ cloth through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire, St. Petersb., Vol. III, 1776, p. 52). According to Castren (1849 /Travel Report and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 58), the current price for an ordinary girl in marriage was two reindeer in the Ob region, in exchange for a female skin and for the difference in the various bride price in some other towns.

/646 cont. /

people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, [illegible] Gilyak, who are not subjected to any yoke, and, finally, indicating that this deplorable custom of the Aino and Goldi is rooted in very ancient degenerate; which may have been brought by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them in the fact that the latter themselves nonetheless negotiate the sale of the Aino and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have been been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Aino and Goldi and under certain conditions, which, however, are very lenient, treat them, in contrast to any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they want to be regarded as the father of a family and to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen as to lose his entire reputation and his life.

On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak, the principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade to the Aino or Goldi and in the indirect one through the Gilyak. It is not rare for a Gilyak to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Sogin in Kulk (Sakhalin), paid for the latter, his first slave, a Aino woman named Koe, than for his second wife, Sogin, for his slave, paid twice as much, and, finally, for his third wife, Sogin, for his slave, paid twice as much as for his second wife. The use of a female slave as a concubine is no less strictly forbidden among the Gilyak. If anyone did so, he would not only lose completely all the respect that the [illegible] of a slave /648/ as a sign of great wealth gave him, but would stir up a general storm of indignation among his countrymen. The high price of the female slaves, however, is, either the most austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female slaves very valuable for the husband, for such a possession may be an enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does not hesitate to sell his daughter into a marriage, or to take in exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the various bride price in some other towns.

/647 cont. /

case present motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which can be interpreted in two ways, or at any rate female slaves, among them, Smerenkur (Gilyak) ape Kondra for an opportune moment to carry out his planned trip to Tôkan (on the opposite mainland), which had been unsuccessful the year before. /649/ and this without any provisions, Mamia Rinsô found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to sit all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the home where he had taken refuge. For a time, however, he entered the ranks of professional entertainers for money, service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, to the whims of the women, to put himself at the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated like a servant by her, but, since the woman was either partially not a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and completely carrying out, or, at least put the undignified and humiliating position and treatment [illegible] Smerenkur, the Gilyak, the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged [illegible] and indicated to the Japanese that the status of the Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas those around them, the Gilyak, Aino, and Goldi people, and those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dirty, and sooty earth huts.

Even though Mamia Rinsô avoids speaking of slaves in referring to his subordinate position among the Smerenkur, he is well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Aina) that in their trade with the Santanar, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

/650 cont. /

and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy. 3-4, often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and [illegible] people are not sold, because they are valued as slaves, are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the Aino people in the island of Yezo from time to time sell people to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situation [illegible] country of the Santanar" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the Aino and Goldi people, who are generally considered to be very and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin, the Aino, and the Goldi, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Aino. Nevertheless, the Gilyak, the Smerenkur, as Rinsô reports, do have their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as captives the women, children, and children of those who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say, they become slaves there. The Smerenkur, however, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main settlement, Nakamura, Rinsô's Tôkan, which belong to the Aino, which lay in the Gilyak province, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

Before I go further in describing the family relations of the Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other tribes of a similar primitive culture. As Bunge (1) has set forth, the Aino practice of selling tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Goldi, or, in the case of the Sakhalin Aino, to the Russians or by other traders, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it is a matter of the Aino or the Gilyak, is the fear of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

/650 cont. /

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9: Hawes--291 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 435

"We came to the first Gilyak village since leaving the bay. [LSS: The Bay of Ni] All the men-folk were absent, for it was the end of the Gilyak financial year; and although I did not hear of any accountants being called in or auditors appointed, a strict account of debts and payments was doubtless kept in the Gilyak memory. The current coin was dried fish, and the accumulation of this after spawning-time was now being applied by the men, who had gone up the river, to the payment of debts for rice and seal -oil borrowed, and in exceptional cases for potatoes advanced by the Russians."

436

436 MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE--articles circulating in exchange at their intrinsic value as standard money (e.g., salt, cattle, grain, shells, metal bars or coins); forms of representative money (e.g., warehouse receipts, certificates of deposit of standard money); credit money (e.g., government notes, bank notes); token money (e.g., subsidiary coins, shell money, bead money); coinage and mints; right of issuance; counterfeiting; etc. See also:

Foreign exchange 467
Government issuance and manipulation of currency 602
Punishment of counterfeiting. 687
Weights and measures 904

1: Sittenberg--165 E-5 (1880-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*614 628 537 •[436] /105 cont./
what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement... [576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and [171] separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the [789] last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 628 536 When an agreement has been reached, the religious feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

2: Schrenck--889 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

114 325 326 192 [293] /568 cont./
Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008, Fig. 1.

325 326 For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass [531] (Gilyak tussi), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the [435]

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna- [439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

•[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg 365 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have [197] borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East [194] Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relati

G
Gi /594 cont./
435 solely decisive position which the former occupy in the trade
177 with them. Among the Goldi, who live closest to the Sungari
Gi Chinese and have constant retail-trade relations with them, a tenth
[439] part and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja or the silver
ounce comes into consideration, which makes it necessary for
them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value
G (ja or dicha). For the more distant Olcha and Gilyak, however,
Gi who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods
439 in larger quantities in Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, the tenth and
435 the hundredth of the ja are no longer of any practical significance --
177 for they are concerned only with the whole unit of value and its
multiples, and therefore there is no need among them to name it
expressly in making appraisals, but rather it suffices to give only
the number concerned. If I had made my investigations into this
Gi question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Goldi, in the opposite
435 direction, going from the latter to the former, the unit of value
177 upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent
to me without any difficulty, automatically, as it were. Inci-
dentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it
is not represented among the latter by any coin, is always only
an imaginary quantity for the Amur peoples, and they are able to
form only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or
quantity of the corresponding pieces of goods or other articles.
G As is well known, in China only the thousandth part of a silver
[192] ounce is current in the form of coins -- the round brass coins
with a square hole in the center (Gilyak tschcha), which are
usually strung ten and a thousand on a string. On account of
G their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention
[436] to them, and, like the variously shaped brass lamellas, they are
[361] used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also
G as shirt and belt buttons. In my time Russian coins, likewise
435 called tschcha (that is, probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak,
436 were not accepted either by them or by the other natives of the
177 lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their
value and because the Chinese merchants likewise would not
accept them (1). Through their association with the Russians,

1. The only coins for which a use could be

G
Gi /594 cont./
435
436
177

1. (cont.)
found with respect to the Chinese merchants
during my time in the Amur region were
Spanish (Mexican) piasters, so-called colonnados,
and even these were always first carefully
tested as to their weight with the help of
hand scales.

G Through their association with the Russians
436 however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the
177 use of their coins (2).
439

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even
Russian notes as payment. As proof of their
great shrewdness in monetary and trade
matters the following incident, which oc-
curred during my stay, might be mentioned.
The frequently mentioned Foswein, a Gilyak
from Kulj, who had been close to the
Russians ever since their first appearance in
the region, made a voyage from Nikolayevsk
to Sakhalin for the sole purpose of exchanging
with his countrymen there various small items
for all kinds of valuables and especially
gold and silver coins, which they had stolen
from a stranded American whaler after kill-
ing part of the crew, and then to make a
profit out of them with the Russians.

G
Gi /595/ By means of the unit of value borrowed from the
43 Chinese and common to all the peoples of the lower Amur
177 region, the barter trade which they carry on among themselves
and with the Chinese is, by and large, given a fixed standard
in that the in part very heterogeneous wares involved in it appear
equal in value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size,
quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units
of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

437

437 EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS--types of exchange (e.g., barter, purchase of goods with money, exchange of services for goods); negotiations (e.g., haggling, auctioning); formalities; guarantees; trading expeditions; special trading relationships; etc. See also:
Marketing 44
Property transactions in marriage 58
Gift exchange 431
Foreign exchange 457
Exchange of services 476

/202 cont./

* 174 As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with
177 wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furnished
them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by
[221] seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of
• [437] neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into the
[487] Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes
of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to their
[563] homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peoples
or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital
relations with them or carried off their women. And although
these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not
be without influence.

* 174 A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has
177 been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Until
556 the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was no
stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there
were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated
them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or success-
[437] ful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with
the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. There
appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume,
but which they began to value, which were profitable to
accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate possessors
of valuables, and others who did not have them and wished
to possess them. In rich men there was born a consciousness
of their wealth and their importance, and together with this
the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the
[583] poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying
of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables.
The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the woman
was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and
with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to circumvent
[581] the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the insti-
ʊʊ tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual
marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

/379 cont./
556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of
life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling.
That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to
understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own
peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our under-
standing. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his
personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the
respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time
a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite,
556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined
538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely
171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still
living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation
and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/
had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered
down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden
rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally
432 exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans,
• 437 etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have
487 the character of barter.
426

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak
426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the non-
fulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract.
No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known
[184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but
177 even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan
of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The
[614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-
[612] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with
regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred
30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in
the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or
after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the
clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are
made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

A
G /17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
103 south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak
361 named only three to me, which makes the
113 designation of the place appear somewhat un-
called for. According to Schmidt, however
(op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually
been a large village in former times, but in
his time there were still only three poor yurts.
A Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v"
[114] sel'skokhozyaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin
Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/,
St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are
no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Poro-
kotan) is therefore not quite correct, accord-
ing to the above.

G
361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak fo
their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokoi-
nai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who h
G been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also
361
• 439

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit.,
p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the sout
point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the win
and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent in-
habitants of the place. The border conditions on the east co
G of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in
Gi that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together
A (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, end
181
361

G 3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl.
Gi physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de
A St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et
[113] chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

116, 435, 583

"Dr. Schrenck, speaking of the Amur Gi
their word 'to marry' (umgu genich) means
given, such as bear-spears, kettles, boats
case to as much as 310 rubles (31 guineas)
give a sledge with a team of dogs, or a spe
times an additional arrangement obtains, w
handsome price, and in consideration of th
parer, gives his services to his father-in-
days in the season."

lyaks whom he visited fifty years ago, says
'to buy a wife,' and the value of the articles
, and dogs amounts to large sums; in one
. The Sakhalin Gilyaks are much poorer, and
ear and two pieces of foreign stuffs. Some-
where the husband, who, unable to pay a
e value of his wife as fish-cleaner and pre-
law as hunter or fisherman for one or two

"Earrings (meskh) are in general use, and r
are large simple rings of silver, of one and
with an agate or two. These, with the rare s
shoes are regarded as family heirlooms. Th
surplus 'wealth' of the Gilyak family, and re
paper-money or a heap of silver pieces have
sable-skin shuba or a piece of sky-blue silk
Moreover, they are just as useful in the bus
to dealing in the concrete, knows exactly the
and when he comes in his travels to a Russia
measure the value of his ruble notes."

nostly of Japanese and Chinese make. The
a half or more inches in [272] diameter,
ilk brocade, sable-skin hats, shubi, and
ey are bought one after the other with the
present the capital of the hut. A bundle of
little attraction for the native, whereas a
is a 'thing of beauty and a joy for ever.'
iness of exchange; and the native, long us
ir value, whereas money is unfamiliar;
an store, he has no standard by which to

'How important a part sewing must hav
agined, when clothing consisted of salm
dered over the counter by the yard, but
adequate covering. In early times bone
barter, a big ship's canvas-needle cam
asure. How eagerly [221] such was sou
ssessor handed it down as a family heir
such value that a wife could be bought w
much as a narta (sledge) and team of
ses (nookh-tses), curiously carved, we
principle on which they work is exactl
day in Korea.

The following shows the value they used
Gilyak family crying and howling.

'Why are you crying?' he asked. 'Is son
'No! What is death? It would have been
t!' "

e played in the domestic economy can be
non-skins, a material which could not be
had to be diligently stiched together to form
needles were used, but when, by accident or
ne into their hands, it was a priceless
ght after and seldom obtained. The happy
loom. In those days they tell us a needle was
vith it; whereas to-day a helpmeet may cost
thirteen dogs. To keep the needle safe, bone
re made; and it is interesting to note that
y the same as that of the little silk ones made

to put upon the needle. A Russian came upon

nebody dead?'
better had somebody died. The needle is

"On Sakhalin, when the would-be husbar
thirteen years old to assist his ageing spo
keeping, is in possession of wealth enoug
fronted by a difficulty if he wishes to have
to live on in the paternal home, or, if [26
friends and comrades to help him build a
required, and this is a very expensive ite
forty-five rubles (4 1/2 guineas). I have e
was the difficulty with our Vanka, who wa
his own estimate, but according to our no
desirous of marrying, and offered to take
summer to the 'end of the world,' with the
rate charge of forty rubles apiece. With t
and he had already saved sufficient for the

nd—not the old man who buys a second wife
use—but the youth who aspires to set up house
n to pay the price demanded, he is still con-
a separate establishment. He may be content
9] not, he will probably be able to get his
hut; but this is not enough, a cauldron is
m. He may have to pay in skins the value of
ven heard of them costing sixty rubles. This
s a capable young man of fifteen, according to
tions about twenty-six or twenty-eight. He was
me and my interpreter during the following
e aid of three of his companions, for the mode-
his sum he would be able to buy a cauldron,
e purchase of a wife."

"Scarcely had we disembarked when a bo
paddle astern, hove in sight. It was a party
to buy a bear. The purchase-money was no
them it would have been somewhat difficult
dog, a piece of Chinese silk, and some tob

at, impelled by four pairs of sculls ar
y of Gilyaks from Nivo going up to Der
t in their purses, indeed had they pos
to get it in, for the price proposed wa
acco."

/592 cont./

23 country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them,
84 express the suspicion that they were now only exploring the
48 country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it later and to push out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, as in Tyk, Duĭ, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even directly opposed me insubordinately and hostilely in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal, and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. This latter refusal was even worse than the two first ones, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in
39 hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however,
23 I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the trade articles which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if just one yielded to temptation and made a small trade, the ice was broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had more than enough of what was needed. With the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all
39 other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, clever-
57 ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of known practical utility excites their inclination to buy: on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "tsa-tsa-ä," accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better ones, in the course of which they praise them and insist on the first demand. In short, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how very much this in fact fits them can be seen from the following more detailed statements.

Despite the fact that all trade in the Amur region, and
37 hence also that of the Gilyak, is only barter and no money is used
35 among them, nevertheless a not merely relative but absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

/592 cont./

437 trade or even otherwise in their life and household has been de-
435 veloped among them. This necessarily presupposes, however, the existence of an accepted absolute unit of value among them, through the multiplication of which the appraisal of the objects is made or their price standardized. What is this unit of value or of what does it consist? /593/ It was not easy for me to determine this, as one will see from the following reasons. Since the Gilyak are only familiar with barter, they answer any question about the price of an article, as a rule, by mentioning the quantity of goods desired in return (for instance, three bundles of tobacco, two fathoms of cloth, etc.). A question as to the absolute value of the foremost goods and objects, their price in themselves, the basis of even barter-trade, is rarely understood and only by the more intelligent, and even then the answer consists of only a number preceding the verb "to cost, to be worth" (Gilyak tschalhatsch), without the stating of any unit of value. In this connection, however, that form of the numbers which serves for the counting of animate objects is always used. I cannot say for what reason. To the question as to how much an article costs, properly understood in the above sense, the Gilyak will therefore give as an answer: "njunj, mor, tschor (1), etc.

[802]

1. Not njakr, mjakr, tschakr, etc., as the ordinary form of the numbers used for counting inanimate things runs.

tschalhatsch, or -- with the addition of the suffix ra meaning "is" -- tschalhara" (2), that is, it costs one, two, three, etc.,

2. Similarly, just as kauk means "not," kaukra means "is not"; or ngalskotsch, "bad," ngalskora, "is bad."

[435] and nothing more. The unit of value under consideration is never
[437] expressed, as if it were self-evident, as if it needed no special designation. I was therefore able to make a numerical list of the

nt./

r current prices of all the articles playing a more or
ortant part in the life and household of the Gilyak long
knew the unit to which the numbers referred. Not
as among the Olcha and thanks to my finding there a
no besides his mother tongue, also had a command of
ak language did I get on the right track, and my stay
he Goldi helped to give me complete certainty with
the questionable unit of value also generally current
he Gilyak. Chossiambo, as my guide was called (3),

3. He came from the Olcha village of Uda and owed his knowledge of Gilyak chiefly to the fact that he had a Gilyak woman from Tebach as a wife.

ed the value of various articles in exactly the same
as the Gilyak do, in that he put only the pertinent num-
ont of the verb "ssalé" (to cost, Gilyak tschalhatsch);
es, however, instead of "omu (one) ssalé," he said
n ssalé," etc. After the removal of the n, obviously
on phonetic grounds, it was clear that the unit on which
e of the object was based among the Olcha and Gilyak
-- as was to be expected, a magnitude of value of
origin. The further, confirming and illuminating in-
on concerning it was obtained without difficulty from
i. The term "ja" for the unit of value in appraising
ms and other articles is quite familiar to them; they
o able to say that the Chinese divide the ja into 10 parts,
icha among them (the Goldi), each of which is worth
ese brass coins (Goldi zirikta dicha), so that 1,000
f the latter equal one ja. This is therefore the Chinese
nce (liang or tael), almost equal to two Russian rubles
silver. The fact that the Chinese unit of value also
e peoples of the lower Amur region as the general
the evaluation of trade products and other property
better than anything else the dominant, in fact, almost

484
439 /601 cont./ the alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that
439 they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes,
[157] is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commodities, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the like, in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these foreign articles and with some of their own products, such as sturgeon or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to
[221] the places named. This is done especially in winter when there
[492] is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dogs which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish in the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests. Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to take only a small quantity of commodities with them each time, the frequency and common practice of such trading trips among them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goods, and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same, the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese, they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting. Here again experience proves that the producer of a commodity always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using it.

439 These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose men-
439 tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Negda
484 on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Gilyak ivnk) and the Samagir on Lake
648 Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhotsk,
[487] and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter, aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone, they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportunity.

G /602 cont./
439 First of all, the Amgunj offers them a direct and convenient
439 route to the Chinese merchants along the Amur; secondly, in
484 winter only a short distance separates them from the Samagir on the Gorin, who are likewise visited by Chinese merchants; and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Nemilen, the chief northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a low watershed, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 166 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Siberian Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 and 150).

G under these circumstances
439 the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the
439 Negda are not very great, except perhaps in those places where
484 the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from
487 those trade opportunities, namely, on Lake Orell and Lake
361 Tschlja, where there is also a Gilyak village and which, more-
G: over, lie on the route from the Amur to the southern coast of the
439 Sea of Okhotsk. Like the Negda, the Samagir, too, in addition
361 to their principal territory on the Gorin (Gilyak Kyr), have still other habitation sites remote from it and closer to the Gilyak -- these are their settlements on Lake Udyl, and, like the Negda lakes, these, too, are /603/ visited by the Amur Gilyak for trade, and, to be sure, in winter as well as in summer. Thus, on May 18 (30), 1856, I met the Gilyak Mesgun in Patt at the moment when he was about to set out in a boat laden with various Chinese commodities to travel to the "Rdhy" (Samagir) living
G: on Lake Udyl. On the whole, however, the latter lies, geographi-
[197] cally as well as on the basis of the linguistic relationships of the dwellers on it, closer to the Olcha than to the Gilyak.

/603 cont./

The Amur Gilyak find a field for their trading operations as middlemen that is far more favorable than among the Negda and Samagir among their own countrymen along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, which they reach in a short time, going either from Pali-wo to Kal via the lakes mentioned, or from Wair to Hinka, or by way of the Amur Liman, and where they are the sole suppliers of Chinese and, since the abandonment of the Petrofski post, also Russian wares. In exchange for these, they are supplied with animal pelts which the Gilyak living on the spot in part capture themselves in the coastal region and on the Schantar Islands and in part obtain from the Tungus hunting along the Tugur and in the Mitwatchan Mountains in exchange for the yield from their fishing and hunting of sea animals and articles previously procured from the Amur Gilyak. Furthermore, they buy eagle tails from their countrymen in order to use them in trade with the Japanese, and, finally, they cheaply procure there seal oil and skins both for their own use and for trade with their southern neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi.

The Amur Gilyak, and in part also the Tschoini Gilyak, get their greatest booty in animal skins for trade with the Tschoini, however, on Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the former chiefly in the northern part of the island, along the Liman and Tro coasts, and the latter on the west coast south of Poghobi and along the upper course of the Tymy River, without there being any strict division of these trade areas between them. It is strange that the Sakhalin Gilyak, unlike their aforementioned countrymen, do little moving about and almost never come to the mainland, to say nothing of their undertaking more distant trading trips, but rather they are content to exploit their nearest neighbors on the island, the Orok and the Ainu, and, in turn, let themselves be supplied with the Chinese commodities coveted by them, too, tobacco, liquor, cloth, and the like, by the continental Gilyak, who come over to them. The Tymi-Chaselach route only rarely roam beyond the Liman in order to approach the Chinese traders in Pulj along the Tymi-Chaselach route, and, finally,

/604 cont./

will be discussed separately later, after we have first become acquainted with that which they carry on with the Chinese, and which furnishes them the means for the former.

As was pointed out at great length above (1), there is along

1. See pp. 142 and 144.

the lower Amur, in the Olcha and Goldi area, a number of centers at which Chinese merchants stay temporarily or even more or less permanently, and which were very cleverly chosen by them in order to carry on trade with the adjacent native tribes and especially to acquire from them the precious furs. They are cunning and sly traders, who do not shrink from any trouble and deprivation or from any means, in order to draw the greatest possible profit from their calling in either their own or their employer's interest. Outwardly they are very affable and courteous toward the native tribes, so as to win them over; when I was in the above-mentioned village of Pulj, in a yurt in which one of the three Chinese permanently living in the village had his domicile, and the Olcha and Gilyak in whose company I had come from the Liman entered it, the Chinese immediately took pains to help them shake the snow off their fur coats and then handed each of them a leaf of tobacco. After he had again taken his former seat on the plank-bed, he asked the newcomers to take a seat likewise, lighted his pipe at the basin filled with glowing charcoal that stood beside him, and passed it around from /605/ hand to hand. Conversation was soon flowing, and it was not long before the Chinese lifted a small can filled with liquor from the coal-pan, put several small porcelain bowls on the low table standing beside him, filled them, and handed them to his guests. During the conversation the Chinese talked boastfully and took pains to point out to his listeners and to me that his countrymen, the Nekan, were the best friends of the Olcha, Goldi, Gilyak, etc., because they provided for their needs and paid for every piece of his clothing materials, millet, tobacco, liquor, or the like, according to their desires, and were always friendly to them, whereas the Manchu were their mutual enemies and only exploited and

/605 cont./

mistreated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal sprinkings of liquor, made to the native traders by Chinese merchants, and they never miss their mark, especially in the case of the Goldi who, living in the closest proximity to the Manchu and entirely dependent on them, have often personally experienced their cruelty and avarice and even give them the nickname "ningane," rau, to indicate that they act like the latter around their supplies and possessions. On the Gilyak, however, to whom the Manchu officials do not come to collect tribute and to practice all kinds of extortion, the flattering and seductive behavior of the Chinese merchants makes little impression. On the other hand, the great profit that the latter make by selling to the Amur peoples at retail for a very high price the commodities that they purchased cheaply at wholesale on the Sungari is obvious to their commercial sense, and, little inclined to contribute to it at their own expense, they try to imitate them and keep the profits for themselves. This explains their above-mentioned opposition to granting Chinese merchants access to their territory and the little encouragement that the latter find among them in general. The Chinese trade center on their border, in Pulj, is visited, apart from the Olcha, Samagir, and Orok, almost exclusively by the Tschoini Gilyak, who, far from the Amur, find there the means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and especially along the Tymy River. The Amur Gilyak, on the other hand, try to utilize the route offered to them by nature and, avoiding the profit-merchant middlemen located on it, fetch what is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, from the Sungari themselves.

To be able to undertake a trading trip to the Sungari or, as the Gilyak usually express it, "to the Manchu," is the goal of their most ardent desires and constant practical endeavors. It is chiefly for this purpose that sables, otters, and foxes are hunted and that the trip to the neighboring tribes to buy precious furs are carried out. For without a considerable supply of this

/605 cont./

barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is considered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the necessary payments of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment, for a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that in lesser degree (1) also on the small settlements of Tschoini Gilyak, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Usuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they must pass through Manchu territory, the fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does not do so in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not lend either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Stan-sisin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, as I have mentioned from first hand. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

/606 cont./ They are not permitted

by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari, the so-called Sachali River -- a prohibition whose observance and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment, for a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that in lesser degree (1) also on the small settlements of Tschoini Gilyak, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Usuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they must pass through Manchu territory, the fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does not do so in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not lend either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Stan-sisin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, as I have mentioned from first hand. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

/607 cont./

time they must submit to being treated like the Goldi and other peoples directly subject to the Manchu-Chinese. And in order to achieve their commercial ends, they behave, as they themselves told me, toward them on their part just like the latter, that is, they bend the knee before them in greeting or to make a request, which otherwise is not at all customary among them. The Gilyak in Stan-sisin put on an act of complete submission to the Manchu-Chinese government, and the latter is satisfied with this, along with the gifts collected from them in the form of tribute and probably going into the pockets of the local officials, and otherwise leaves them in peace.

The treatment of the natives of the lower Amur appearing annually on the Sungari for trade on the part of the Manchu officials and Chinese merchants there is extremely harsh, inconsiderate, and humiliating, and in particular the gentle and shy Goldi, who live closest to them and are directly subject to them, have suffered most from them. According to the description by Chikhofalsj (1) and Barabasch (2), who traveled up the Sungari

1. Khilkovskii (Izvient. Russk. Geogr. Obsch., Vol. II, 1866, Sec. II, P. 227. In the excerpt in Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., 1868, p. 345).

2. Iu. Barabash", "Sungarilsk. Eksped. 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 3, p. 141).

to Pe-tune (Bo-dune) in 1866 and 1872, they first had to pay for a permit for travel to Sun-sisin and for the trading itself, which was done in the village of Susu, lying somewhat below the latter, by paying a considerable amount of sturgeon and bauam-sage and also a fee to the Manchu judicial and national tribune. Upon reaching Sun-sisin, they first of all have to pay the tribute (alban) owed to the Chinese Crown, which consists of one sable,

/608 cont./

men and women, black woolens and velvet materials, silk fabrics, silk thread of all colors, sewing needles, buttons, and a quantity of Chinese ornaments, silver ear-pendants, rings and bracelets, glass beads, sheet-brass figures for decorating women's robes, and the like, as well as, finally, a number of household utensils, such as large and small kettles, etc. If the quantity of goods acquired in trade in Stan-sisin, in part heavy and bulky, is too large to be transported without injury in the small boats in which the Gilyak customarily make the arduous upstream voyage to and on the Sungari, a so-called "bauam" boat is built by the Goldi there, is bought, in which the return voyage downstream can be made easily and quickly. And since, in order to have a stronger current, one usually stays far from the banks, he at the same time avoids the danger of being heavily fleeced even yet by the Manchu officials and Chinese traders stationed or residing here and there temporarily or permanently. After the return trip is completed, the boat can still be used for a second type of trading voyage -- the trip to Sakhalin (Japanese), to a consideration of which we must now turn.

Among the above-named commodities which the Gilyak obtain by trade in Stan-sisin, one article plays an especially important role. It is the colorful Chinese silk fabric serving as designs of dragons and other figures and often with gold and silver interwoven in it, which is brought to market in part in whole pieces and in part worked up into long and wide-sleeved dressing gowns. /609/ Whereas the other commodities serve the Gilyak primarily for their own use or for trade with their neighbors, these find their foremost and best purchasers outside of the Amur region, among the Japanese, and therefore give them the principal reason for direct trade with the latter. There is mention of this trade, which, however, does not take place in Japan, but in the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin, even in the oldest accounts of this island which we have from the Japanese. The Japanese interpreter Kawamura, who visited Jesso /Yesso/ before 1852, already speaks of special fabrics which the inhabitants of this island get from "Krato" or "Kraft"

/609 cont./

designation (1 810/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the Japanese is Naiwo, the foremost settlement of the latter and located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the designation of the island and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Sisian" voyages of the Gilyak, on which they, as already mentioned, visit the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari, or, for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these heedless vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Blind Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaef (Gilyak Piljan-khy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible. But even the voyage along the coast, which is open, and especially south of Dui as far as Pilia-wo, is steep and rocky, offers many dangers, and, in the Japanese interpreter Kawamura's view, is only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

/410 cont. /
439 they take only a small supply of food with them and depend al-
439 most entirely on their fish nets for their subsistence (3), the
439
439

3. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

sea voyage sometimes takes a longer time. Under favorable conditions, however, they are said to be able to cover the short stretch, from Dut to Kusunai, often in four to five days. On winter voyages to the Sisiam, which are made in dog-drawn sleds, the above-mentioned steep, rocky coastal stretch puts great obstacles in the way. For the sea dogs use a steep trail along it, and even if a fringe of ice has formed, with a strong wind it often, and sometimes very suddenly and unexpectedly, is broken up again and carried off by the high waves of the sea. The travelers are therefore forced to go around the high land, and, on account of the mountains lying behind it, that can be done only by way of a long detour: they leave the seacoast at Arisai, shortly before Dut, turn inland over low passes to the Tymy sources, go from them to the Pyr, or Kusunai, River, and follow its course up to the mouth in the Bay of Patience, on which there are settlements of all three of the peoples represented on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. From there they travel along the east coast of the island to Mamia Bay then, along a low and convenient pass located at the narrower point of Sakhalin, /411/ cross again to the west coast, which they reach at Kusunai and which they then follow to Sisiranuri (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 110.

439 As has already been mentioned, one of the purposes of the Sisiam voyages of the Gilyak is to trade with the Ainu and to obtain furs from them in exchange for cotton cloth, tobacco, pipes, glass beads, and other Manchu-Chinese articles. This is done wherever they meet them, on the east coast of Sakhalin as

/413 cont. /
439 If one surveys all of the above-described trade activities
439 of the Gilyak, he will not hesitate to acknowledge that they are
439 a people extremely gifted for trade by nature and completely
439 dedicated to it. Their tendency to obtain by trade what they need
439 for trade with the neighboring civilized peoples on a larger scale
439 in keeping with their inclinations, they know how to win them
439 from the tribes neighboring them, who are more of a hunt-
439 ing, by means of trade indefatigably pursued from small be-
439 ginnings. Thus enriched, they undertake, in spite of their primi-
439 tive means of locomotion, long trade journeys to the Sungari
439 and to southern Sakhalin, to the Amur, and to the Sisiam,
439 and since they exchange the wares and products of the one for
439 those of the other, they serve as middlemen between the two
439 greatest civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the
439 Japanese. This latter activity of the Gilyak permits comparing
439 them with another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Chukchee, who,
439 likewise only poor hunters, but animated by a great genius for
439 trade, roam over the northern tundra and cross the Bering Strait
439 in order to trade for the last bagged by the Eskimo that lawning
439 and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not
439 make much of productions, but do it largely because they are
439 forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the
439 Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of
439 course, look before the Chinese officials. And probably the
439 Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating
439 expressions of veneration. [427]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Mamia-
Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the
streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has
deserved his countrymen. He is also the only one who can
be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about.
In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent
that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably
partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they
want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they
love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen
that this habit will become wide-spread.

XII. Contracts, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

/413 cont. / 439
439 changes must have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations
439 of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Stan-
439 ovin, as well as in Sisiam, have their officials and trade agents
439 who demand such carpatio benevolentiae in their own interest and
439 to the advantage of their countrymen, the Japanese and Chinese.

Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, /414/ and this is precisely what Indin did at first. Of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their greed from the strangers, but their pretense is so crude that they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex, as well as women and children, in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

It is impossible to describe the more subtle expressions of modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cheats. Their entire idea of cycle of life begins with the idea that lawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of productions, but do it largely because they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, look before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [427]

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533 **boats. However, there are some to be found among them**
534 **who are sufficiently well-to-do to be improvisers of a sort**
535 **who entertain the others with their song.**

The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
401 cludes in this category the spontaneous jumping with which a
537 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 special dance that they performed when the chief spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or undifferent. But I must
listen to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
abundance of ideas are always led by several men who
pulls up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all
sides. In the middle is placed the fish, milkey, and cran-
berries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyaks also
prosaicate themselves before him. This is by no means wor-
ship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun,
some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek
revenge on him for the slaying. Sometimes the bear is
not quite such expressions of veneration.

27 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo them-
selves. A particular bravery and brain is given a natural
blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty,
with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this
happens, the village is set free to make the change of him is often heard
to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak
seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are
passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237]
roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a
bear feast. The bear's skull and tongue which is here offered as ent-
ertainment has been described. Special music is produced
528 in the village of Kolo Bol. This village is the northernmost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curve of the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered - two
old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were
supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was
destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a prac-
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate
buyers. During this time the festival is a sort of fair, where
various things are bartered.

527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through
the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and
this is done in the following way. He has to go from one house
to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the
river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an
abundance of fish." He is always led by several men who
pulls up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all
sides. In the middle is placed the fish, milkey, and cran-
berries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyaks also
prosaicate themselves before him. This is by no means wor-
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776 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
774 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Great care and the trash at times; the best ut-
776 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
the village to a place where the bear feast will take place. Such bears are
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their in-
voluntary fast by being allowed to gorge the night from house
to house and feed the choicest titbits, namely, fresh and dried
fish, berries and cakes prepared from millet.

776 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 treated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a bear
hunt staged in them with lances. The bears are then that have
been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from
the Chinese or Ainu are also led by several men who pulls
776 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
At the end of the festival, the whole crowd, closely follow-
ed by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
Sometimes the bear's head is placed in the prison. The
the entire male population of Vaiza, together with the guest
chains, in turn—altogether there are more than 100 persons—and the
bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the
522 more or less by means of the tights attached to the back. Di-
this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both part
would shoot the medicine-man's bear, which, as I said, was
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of
the spectators, and those that had shot him would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, ho
776 the village, or, between two trees. The again, the bear
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the new
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they
stopped its last meal the evening before. He is a beam sho
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He is a beam sho
three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about
776 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six
533 eight girls and women who were provided with cob-like st

ridently on a trading expedition. He had a boat about
twenty-five feet long by eight wide, with a single mast carry-
ing a square sail. His boat was full of furs and hides and
had a crew of four men. A small skiff was towed astern
for another single man. These Manjour merchants are quite
enterprising, and engage in traffic for small profits and large
risks when better terms are not attainable. Before the Rus-
sian occupation all the trade of the Amur Amoor was in Man-
chour hands. Boats annually descended from San-Sin and
Ninguta bringing supplies for native consumers, a mem-
bant would spend five or six months making his round
trip.

The merchants visited Go-ngingen on the route and bar-
tered their goods for furs. There was an annual fair at the
Gilyak village of Pul, below Mariinsk, and this was made
the center of commerce. The fair lasted ten days, and dur-
ing that time Pul was a miniature Nijne Novgorod. Manjour
and Chinese merchants met Japanese from the island of Sak-
alin, Tungusu from the coast of the Okotsk Sea, and others
from the head waters of the Zeya and Amgunya. There were
Gilyaks from the lower Amoor and various tribes of natives
from the coast of Manjuria.

A dozen languages were spoken, and traffic was conducted
in a jumble of all the dialects. Cloth, powder, lead, knives,
and brandy were exchanged for skins and furs. A gentleman
who attended one of these fairs told me that the scene was
full of interest and abounded in amusing incidents. Of late
years the navigation of the Amoor has discontinued the fair
at Pul. The Manjour traders still descend the river, but they
are not as numerous as of yore.

With a good glass from the deck of the steamer I watched
a native process of catching salmon. The fishing stations
are generally, though not always, near the villages. The
fishers use gill nets and seines in some localities, and scoop
nets in others. Sometimes they build a fence at right angles
to the shore, and extend it twenty or thirty yards into the

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Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of junks have come down in years past from Ninguta, Sansin, and Ningpo, but these are rare. I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups — but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inspire the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these boating nomads, dependent on the tributaries, are, as we said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, that they, in fact, are, as regards the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development than in the upper Amur region. The Amur peoples, in fact, show that here the sans and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in general, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples has had more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

1. See p. 467 above.

/184. cont./

Tale as in the case of fishing, so also in these two branches of work the Gilyaks stand first among all the peoples of the Amur region. One can well enough from the Gilyak's habitat conjure up how great and manifold the direct use of the seal is among them for food and clothing, for feeding their dogs, in preparing the means of locomotion, and for other needs of daily life. Next to fishing, hunting seals is their most important occupation, which, thanks to the geographic location of their habitation area, they can pursue everywhere: along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the mainland as well as on the island of Sakhalin, along the Amur-Liman, and on the Amur River, in which, as we saw, they penetrate far up the stream where the Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

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1. See p. 467 above.

/184. cont./

1/2 oz. a whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 zo), whereas the Gilyak with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to these valuables. Nothing is more characteristic for the Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing animals and fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 zo among them, a red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 zo, tanned 2 zo). Like the fur, the principal products from fishing also have a higher price among the Goldi than among the Gilyaks. The salmon, for example, costs 16 zo among the former, on the one hand because the Amur region is the most important salmon region, and on the other hand because they are nowhere near as productive in this respect as the Gilyaks, who are devoted exclusively to fishing. Fish (and vegetable foods of various kinds), however, seem to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese, and because they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is should also be noted in this connection, that one "tang" of fish, equal to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 zo (2.

2. At 20 zo to the Gilyaks, according to the above table (see p. 903).

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyaks, since the far stronger Russian (Caucasian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

Since primitive community of the Amur peoples in trading with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sables, fox, and otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on the whole, only /185/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of the Gilyaks, the Amur-Gilyaks, the largest quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way better suited to their nature. To Gil and they trade with their

/185. cont./

neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting, and the Amur Gilyaks, who have the most dealings with the Chinese, also trade with their more distant countrymen living along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin and buy from them the desired furs. The Amur Gilyak, and in part the Tschonsi Gilyak on the lower Amur, are the active trade, through which the Chinese were are brought into circulation throughout the territory of the Gilyak and of the tribes immediately neighboring them, the Negda, Reindeer Tungus, Goldi, and even the Ulca, and they are also the ones who draw the greatest advantage from it. For, there is no Chinese merchant in the coastal region and on the Schantar Islands and in part obtain from the Tungus hunting, otter, and sable skins, which they exchange for the Gilyaks from the Tymi-Chaselach route, and finally, the Amur Gilyaks, who are the mainland remains to the Ainu. Thus, the trade in Chinese commodities on Sakhalin was almost exclusively in the hands of the continental Gilyak. And they know how to draw great advantage from it for their own purposes. As we have already seen, the island is exceedingly rich in the furbearing animals particularly sought by them and hunted successfully by all these nomadic tribes, and, in addition, by the bands of the Sakhalin Gilyak. The greatest quantity of fur-bearing animals is undoubtedly captured by the Orok, roaming and hunting throughout the whole winter, who, however, impelled or forced by their nomadic life, as well as by their, on the whole, carefree and lazy disposition, do not depart from any trouble deprive part of it over to the sedentary and enterprising Tymi and other Sakhalin Gilyaks. The latter know how to take advantage of the scarcities that not infrequently occur among their wandering neighbors with regard to food and luxuries for themselves or food for their dogs, and, in this way, they obtain the furs of the island Gilyak or stored by them themselves, they carry on an extensively profitable trade with Chinese, Japanese, and Russian merchants, at times, at a great profit, even make them their debtors. They particularly know how to take advantage from the Ainu, who, when they can, prefer to turn to them with their hunting booty rather than to the Japanese, for they are always underpaid by the latter with only a few trifles and are not treated with good faith at all. Thus, the Ainu, even the Sakhalin Gilyak, though they lack the enterprising spirit of their countrymen on the continent, do not in any way betray the passion for trade and profit peculiar to their tribe. Inasmuch, however, as they sell to them the animal pelts captured by them themselves or bought from their neighbors, they furnish them with the means to carry on trade on a large scale with the Chinese, which also benefits them. Moreover, the continental Gilyak make their purchases on the island not only among their countrymen or through the Ainu, but, particularly in the north and south of the island, outside the Tymi region, occasionally trade directly with the Orok and Ainu. In fact, they obtain a great portion of the coveted animal skins from the Japanese. But this

/185. cont./

steals through from Pul along the deserted left bank of the Amur to the Negda on the Amgunj, but carefully avoids the right bank, inhabited by the Gilyak, and, in the northern part of the island, they will not permit any Chinese merchants in their territory and, along the upper course of the Tymi-Chaselach route, they assumed this hostile attitude toward the Chinese merchants in order to defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese or in order to shake it off is still uncertain, but in any case it is greatly to their advantage commercially. For the role that is played further upstream by the Chinese merchants living among the Olcha, Goldi, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur region or visiting them, as that they act as middlemen in the trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers along the Sungari, falls in the Gilyak-Tungusic area, inasmuch they are not always active in the Amur Gilyak territory, and the Amur-Gilyaks are the ones who draw the greatest advantage from the trade in Pul along the Amur-Liman, or, as we saw, the Chinese traders in Pul along the Tymi-Chaselach route, and, finally,

/185. cont./

the mainland remains remote to the Ainu. Thus, the trade in Chinese commodities on Sakhalin was almost exclusively in the hands of the continental Gilyak. And they know how to draw great advantage from it for their own purposes. As we have already seen, the island is exceedingly rich in the fur-bearing animals particularly sought by them and hunted successfully by all these nomadic tribes, and, in addition, by the bands of the Sakhalin Gilyak. The greatest quantity of fur-bearing animals is undoubtedly captured by the Orok, roaming and hunting throughout the whole winter, who, however, impelled or forced by their nomadic life, as well as by their, on the whole, carefree and lazy disposition, do not depart from any trouble deprive part of it over to the sedentary and enterprising Tymi and other Sakhalin Gilyaks. The latter know how to take advantage of the scarcities that not infrequently occur among their wandering neighbors with regard to food and luxuries for themselves or food for their dogs, and, in this way, they obtain the furs of the island Gilyak or stored by them themselves, they carry on an extensively profitable trade with Chinese, Japanese, and Russian merchants, at times, at a great profit, even make them their debtors. They particularly know how to take advantage from the Ainu, who, when they can, prefer to turn to them with their hunting booty rather than to the Japanese, for they are always underpaid by the latter with only a few trifles and are not treated with good faith at all. Thus, the Ainu, even the Sakhalin Gilyak, though they lack the enterprising spirit of their countrymen on the continent, do not in any way betray the passion for trade and profit peculiar to their tribe. Inasmuch, however, as they sell to them the animal pelts captured by them themselves or bought from their neighbors, they furnish them with the means to carry on trade on a large scale with the Chinese, which also benefits them. Moreover, the continental Gilyak make their purchases on the island not only among their countrymen or through the Ainu, but, particularly in the north and south of the island, outside the Tymi region, occasionally trade directly with the Orok and Ainu. In fact, they obtain a great portion of the coveted animal skins from the Japanese. But this

/185. cont./

trade will be discussed separately later, after we have first become acquainted with that which they carry on with the Chinese, and which furnishes them the means for the further.

As was pointed out at great length above (1), there is along

1. See pp. 142 and 144.

the lower Amur, in the Olcha and Goldi area, a number of centers at which Chinese merchants stay temporarily or even more or less permanently, and which were very cleverly chosen by them in order to carry on trade with the adjacent native tribes and especially to acquire from them the precious furs. They are coming and ty trades, who do not depart from any trouble deprive tion or from any means, in order to draw the greatest possible profit from their selling in either their own or their employer's interests. Outwardly they are very affable and courteous toward the natives in order to win them over, which is the aforementioned village of Pul, in a yurt in which one of the three Chinese permanently living in the village had his domicile, and the Olcha and Gilyaks in whose company I had come from the Limun entered it. the Chinese immediately took pains to help them shake the snow off their fur coats and then handed each of them a leaf of tobacco. After he had again taken his former seat on the plank—bed, he asked the newcomers to take a seat likewise, signed his pipe to the hum tribes with growing contact that stood beside him, and passed it around from /186/ hand to hand. Conversation was lively, and it was not long before the Chinese filled a small can filled with liquor from the coal-pan, put several small porcelain bowls on the low table standing beside him, filled them, and handed them to his guests. During the conversation the Chinese talked boastfully and took pains to point out to his listeners and to me that his countrymen, the Dakan, were the best friends of the China, Goldi, Gilyak, etc., because they provided for their needs and paid for every piece of fur with clothing materials, millet, tobacco, liquor, or the like, according to their desires, and were always friendly to them, whereas the Manchu were their mutual enemies and only exploited and

/186. cont./

mistreated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal servings of liquor, made to the natives by Chinese merchants, and they always made a great impression on me. In the case of the Goldi who, living in the closer proximity to the Manchu and entirely dependent on them, are in a very unfavorable relation to their greedy and avarice and even give them the nickname "mangun," zato, to indicate that they act like the latter around their suppliers and their masters. On the Gilyak, however, to whom the Manchu officials do not come to collect tribute and to practice all kinds of extortions, the Manchu and adjacent Dauri and Chinese merchants makes little impression. On the other hand, the great profit they make on their wares and the ease with which people or retail for a very high price the commodities that they purchase cheaply at wholesale on the Sungari is obvious to their countrymen the natives in order to induce their countrymen to it at their own expense, they try to imitate them and keep the profits for themselves. The Chinese merchants are very generous in granting Chinese merchants access to their territory and the little encouragement that the latter find among them in general. The Chinese merchants, the center on their border, in Pul, is visited, apart from the Olcha, Samagir, and Goldi, almost exclusively by the Gilyak, who, living in the Amur-Liman, are the most means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and especially with the Tymi River. The Amur Gilyak, on the other hand, try to utilize the route offered to them by nature and, avoiding the profit-seeking middleman located on it, fetch what is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, from the Sungari themselves.

As the Gilyak usually express it, "go to the Manchu," is the goal of their most ardent desires and constant practical endeavors. It is chiefly for this purpose that sables, otters, and foxes are hunted and the trips to the neighboring tribes to buy precious furs are carried out. For without a considerable supply of this

140 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
141 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down by the steady
142 Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think
143 of concerning themselves with the affairs of their neighbors.

XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

144 Among Gilyak there are no particular of a King of Laws, to
145 say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law
146 which functions in place of these statutes is equitable and
147 just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where
148 it is accompanied by social qualities. But even the preponderance
149 of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of
150 individuals among whom the capabilities and the other
151 assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly
152 distributed.
153a There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
153b be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who
153c is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare
153d exception. The "rich" man is usually one who has a number
153e of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value,
153f such as "beautiful" tinfoil (Sil), many and good dogs, etc.
153g and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely
153h for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which
153i in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The
153j above-mentioned clumsy items belong to such luxury articles.
153k There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple
153l hundred silver rubles in a box.
153m Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
153n capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
153o Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
153p no actual reasons for natural poverty. Fish, game, wood,
153q berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one
153r must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish
153s is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in
153t these years in which the fish is scarce (this usually coincides
153u with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have
153v reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various
153w species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up
153x the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, dogs have
153y more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position
153z to trade young bears for dried fish with the Japanese and Ainos.
If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eat other roots,
berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor
substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual
'famines' here.

/205 cont./

At we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with
174 wives by the Tungus, but, just like the Aino, furnished
175 them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by
176 seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of
177 neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into the
178 Aino territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes
179 of trade and frequently brought Aino women back to their
180 homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peoples
181 or Aino settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital
182 relations with their women folk. Nevertheless, although
183 these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not
184 be without influence.
185 Finally, there was also influence in the economic sphere has
186 been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Until
187 the encounters with the Chinese and the Russian colony was no
188 stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there
189 were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated
190 riches, and the highest ambition of a poor man was to accumu-
191 late enough to make his acquisitions with others. Trade with
192 the Chinese created an incentive to accumulate, and there
193 appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume,
194 but which they began to value, which were profitable to
195 accumulate. These were primarily Chinese goods, precious
196 of valuables, and other who did not have them and wished
197 to possess them. In the men there was born a consciousness
198 of their wealth and their importance, and together with this
199 the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the
200 poor people there arose the temptation to make the marriage
201 of their daughter a source of the acquisition of valuables.
202 The old Gilyak with their simple, several articles of tradition,
203 was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and
204 there the slightest temptation arose /207/ tried to circumvent
205 the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the insti-
206 tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual
207 marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

/277 cont./

of safety from evil magical influences and social, as a symbol
222 of friendship, analogous to the exchange of blood signs in con-
223 clusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the item which
224 are observed when the bride moves to the house of the groom that
225 the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism
226 of new relations.
227 And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price
228 there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely
229 religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly
230 prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according
231 to the logic of primitive minds, should be atoned for in some way
232 -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from the
233 point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the gods of the
234 clan offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this
235 alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the
236 nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the sly-
237 ing of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this
238 case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation
239 in the whole clan.
240 For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the
241 same risk (mentioned in an earlier passage) as for blood re-
242 venge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken
243 long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of
244 the most cherished themes of the Gilyak epic.
245 The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment.
246 An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular
247 kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called thygrund
248 (W.D.), thygrund (W.D.). These are valuables which are pre-
249 dominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade.
250 Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of
251 material, clothes made of silk, several articles of tegkine,
252 Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also
253 big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include
254 and sable fur coats and feminine articles of adornment, such as
255 ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ of iron stone, later

/283 cont./

deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will
284 end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak
285 have a good advantage in obtaining more fur-bearing animals than
286 they are farther from the center of settlement. But Russian influ-
287 ence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
288 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
289 Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native
290 settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who re-
291 turns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover,
292 work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /284/ and
293 more develops that primitive egoism which constitutes the dom-
294 inant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
295 Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the
296 new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that
297 environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new
298 phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still
299 unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

300 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
301 is its animism, nevertheless, the spirit of ancestor worship is
302 its foundation. This, among them, fare is a deity. "A small-
303 small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question
304 "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?"
305 It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging
306 the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
307 or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases,
308 it is considered a sin to bring the fire out of the yurt. It is a fire,
309 as to a divine element, that the Gilyak address the deities of his
310 dead. It is the intercessor of deities, however, fire is far from
311 occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is a taboo, the
312 power of that greatly diminishes in majesty in the eyes of the

/117 cont./ A'mur-tyuzic Olcha from Tyr, who
himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin,
named them for me as "Mangunsi" -- expressly noting that
this was the name that the Aino, and following them, the
Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, in origin from the Aino
language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for
"ur, kotu, guru" means "man" in it (8. Perhaps, however,
3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823,
pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p.
198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained,
for "mimat" among the Aino of Sakhalin means "fox" (6), and

4. According to Fr. Schmidt, see my
Bemerk. über die Mongolischen und Mandschu-
Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes
on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern
Sakhalin and the Southern Kurilian/"
(Bulletr. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad.
Imp. des sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg, t. XX,
p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 103).
According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p.
309) the Aino called the Gilyak "Mimat-
gdole" des trois royaumes /General Survey
of the Three Kingdoms/. Siebold, from the
Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p.
345; see also Langsdorff, "Bemerk. auf-
einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage
around the World/" Frankf. on the Main,
Vol. I, p. 201: "-schumat" and
"-schimat".

5. Dr. Sternberg, Ethnol. Bulletin, Vol. I, p. 103.
According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p.
302), mimat is said that the Japanese
name for Sakhalin is "Jasbur," one can
easily recognize in it, by both the initial
and the final syllables, the above-mentioned
Aino designation, through the mediation
of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur
peoples visiting their island.

so "Sisumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I
cannot say with certainty what made the Aino give this name
to the Gilyak perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade be-
tween the Aino and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

/117 cont./
buyers of the fur captured by them and among them the Ma-
Manchu common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to
me, because of the Manchu-Tungusic word for ice (Sakhalin
ice), greater wealth than the Aino, for the most part were them-
selves clothed in fox skins (9).

6. In the seventeenth-century tale from
the great Amur River (Yenisei), see Fr. Müller,
Geogr. Obsch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II,
p. 370 it is said that the Gilyak lived in the
large island facing the mouth of the Amur
were table and ice for clothing.

The situation is different with regard to the customary
Japanese designation of the dwellers beyond the Gilyak
tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I
must note at once that they are not only Orcha, but in like
manner Goldi, also, however, are not distinguished by the
Aino and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective
name "Santan" or "Jantan." In the Japanese language used by
them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after
the people (1). Mamia Rinsh's predecessor, the Japanese

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso
(Yezo) (1785), the Japanese explorer Mamia Rinsh
learned the speak of the "Sandan-ainu"
(Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin
to trade; he, however, took them for
Koreans (cf. Krusenstern, "Cursiv." --
Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obsch., Part
Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 450,
541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously
led by the Japanese to think that on
Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he
heard in Aino, even only its northern
part, was called "Sandan" by the Aino

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the
Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and
Chinese owe their name for the Aino. As we shall see later,
visiting with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried
to the Aino, the Japanese and the Aino received the Manchu-
Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those
tribal names.

/129 cont./

(cont.)
"Lan" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak
along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel
report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math.
de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part
XXI, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 161, 165).
Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to
him, the Aino and after them the Japanese designate his people.
And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name.
It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name
for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the
immediate neighbors of the Aino on Sakhalin and, on the other
hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their
trade with the Aino people up to the Manchu, it is scarcely
conceivable but that the Aino first became acquainted with the
most numerous and most dwellers beyond the Gilyak, through the Gilyak. And this it is understandable that they also
accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in
accordance with their language, and, in accordance with the
Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (6).

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789 which Middendorff
found among the archival papers in
Udskoi Ostrog (Reise; etc., Vol. IV,
p. 1.), mention is said that the "Japan-
ese" gave the Gilyak the "Sandan-aino"
(Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin
to trade; he, however, took them for
Koreans (cf. Krusenstern, "Cursiv." --
Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obsch., Part
Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 450,
541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously
led by the Japanese to think that on
Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he
heard in Aino, even only its northern
part, was called "Sandan" by the Aino

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used
by the Aino and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as
the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by
Mamia Rinsh. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

Gi 101 /136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the
G [015] Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Olcha languages, named for me, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kākal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /De-
G [361] Kastri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at
G Gi [162] present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kākr-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

G [192] 10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names Kākal or Kāk(
I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with
G. Gi 101 177 minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Ussuri, the Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have al kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself ha repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a larg stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these tw
G [439] [484] peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in t interests of trade often come down along the west coast of Sakhalin as far as Ssiranussi, the deserted mainland coast, onl very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown
G. Gi [133] to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact be tween the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

Tungus RU5
Daur

/174 cont./

Gilyak. For example, I often asked the latter about the peoples living upstream on the Amur, and they always named for me the "Jam-Manchu" beyond the Manchu. For a long time I did not know what people they meant by that. I now no longer doubt but that it is the Daur. Despite the prohibition of the Chinese government, Daur merchants from the sources of the Bureja or the Ssilimdshi come across the Jam-alin Mountains to Burukan on the Tugur (2), where at times Tungus from the Tugur and from the

2. Cf. also the statements of an eyewitness, the priest Djatschkovskij, in Kosmin, in Zap. Gidrogr. Depart. Morsk. Minist., Part IV, p. 36.

Sea of Okhotsk, Negda from the Amgunj, and Gilyak from the Amur appear for trade. In exchange for the always desired sable pelts, they obtain there from the Daur probably much the same commodities as from the Chinese on the Amur and naturally must have learned from them on occasion the role they play in the region beyond the Jam-alin, along the Bureja, Ssilimdshi, and the Dseja, down to the Amur; that they carry on all trade there, collect the tribute from the Birar and Manegir for the Chinese government, etc. (3). If one now considers that the Gilyak, as

3. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166, note 1) says that the Daur, impressing even the Yakut Trofim, described how they occupied a large city on the Amur where the river was blocked by means of a strong chain across it.

has been noted above (4), not infrequently designate both the

4. See p. 144.

Manchu and Chinese simply as "Manchu," though they distinguish them by nationality, it is quite understandable that they also

/328 cont./

proportions in this respect and at the same time show other previously discussed details in the construction and interior arrangement of a Gilyak winter-house. In concluding this description I must mention that along the walls (n), immediately to the right and left of the entrance, there are sometimes shelves or cupboards for storing household utensils, and here, too, is the place for one or more large receptacles which contain the water needed for drinking and cooking the food. An open cabinet with various cooking and eating implements similarly hangs on the wall behind the hearth. Finally, it should be noted that in the front transverse wall of the house, close to the roof, there is a round hole which can be closed with a similarly-shaped, straw mat and is used for ventilating the house when it is filled with smoke and steam during the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs or with smoke when there is insufficient draft in the pipes. Incidentally I almost always saw it open, and closed only at night. Since, because of this smoke hole, the /329/ plank bed along the front transverse wall is very drafty, it is regarded as the worst place in the house and usually lacks the straw mats, whereas the bench along the front longitudinal wall and, after that, the one along the rear transverse wall are regarded as the best, and here, to honor a guest, a small rug acquired by trade from the Chinese is sometimes also spread out over the straw mat, which is never lacking.

As advantageous as the Chinese winter-yurt of the Gilyak is over their earth yurt, insofar as it is much more spacious, lighter, and in general, due to the pipe lines under the plank beds, also warmer and not subject to such sudden changes of temperature, nevertheless it, too, has many disadvantages, and in part some that the earth yurt does not have, or at least not to the same degree. The thin outer walls and large windows do not offer sufficient resistance to the heavy frosts and violent snowstorms. There is often a strong draft, and in many places fine powdered snow comes in, or there is a deposit of ice. The draft is even stronger along the floor, especially since the door opens directly to the outside and not into a protected space in front, as in the earth yurts. In addition, it must occasionally be kept open for

/354 cont./

permanently among the natives, who were greatly decimated by the previous bloody battles, building their houses in their own way and entering into permanent, peaceful relations with the Kamchadal, even mixing with them more and more. It is therefore not surprising that their style of building soon became the customary one throughout the region. Matters were different in the lower Amur region among the Chinese and Manchu: a conquest and colonization of this region by the peoples named have never taken place. As was discussed above in detail (3),

3. See pp. 119, 142-144 above.

it instead was and is visited only from time to time by individual Manchu officials and Chinese merchants who, in a few places where they have their own houses, always take up residence in the houses of the natives, and this only among the Tungusic Amur-peoples, for the Gilyak have even denied the Chinese traders entry into their region. Hence, it undoubtedly must have taken a long time before the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak from the Chinese on the Sungari, spreading down this river and the Amur from people to people, and the trading expeditions which the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from ancient times to now have conducted annually to the Chinese along the Sungari and on which they have had repeated opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese house, must certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

/355/ In April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak find it necessary to abandon their winter dwellings and to move into their summer dwellings. First the inhabitants of the earth yurts are driven out of their houses, because they are made wet and uninhabitable by the water running in both from the top and the sides as a consequence of the melting snow and the thawing of the ground. The Chinese winter-yurts, set on level ground, are more serviceable, even in spring and summer, though even in them water sometimes comes through or over

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most surely and best obtained by stable, permanent residence in a place known to be favorable by experience, be it on a river rich in fish, like the Amur, or on the seacoast. Hunting comes into consideration among the Gilyak only insofar as it provides them with the precious pelts so necessary for trade with the Chinese and Japanese, and in exchange for which fabrics needed for clothing, tobacco, liquor, and other luxury items are obtained.

The situation is different among the Tungusic tribes surrounding the Gilyak. Among them hunting is a necessary, indeed essential means of subsistence and existence, and the more so the farther upstream and the deeper inland one goes. Moreover, in view of the more limited talents for trading of these peoples in comparison with the Gilyak and their less frequent and less extensive winter trips and journeys, the number of dogs to be fed, and consequently the need for large supplies of fish, is reduced. Also, with the distance from the main river to the mountains that skirt its tributaries, fishing becomes less rewarding, whereas the abundance of game, increasing in the same proportions, makes hunting /385/ all the more tempting. The more that fishing recedes into the background and hunting, requiring a frequent change of locality, comes to the fore, however, the life of the people becomes more unsettled. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Orochi living in the forest and mountain wildernesses along the left tributaries of the Amur and Ussuri are already more hunters than fishermen. And this is far more the case for the peoples of the upper Amur region, the nomadic Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. Among them, completely in contrast to the Gilyak, hunting is the first and foremost source of subsistence, whereas fishing comes into consideration only to a subordinate degree, in that they leave their hunting grounds only temporarily in summer and move to the Amur, the Dseja, or the Bureja to fish. Also, they do not need any supply of fish for their domestic animals, since they use the dog at most for hunting, and not as a draft animal, as is possible only among sedentary peoples. Their domestic animals, in particular riding and draft animals, the horse and the reindeer,

/385 cont./

are, on the contrary, of such a type that they find all the more abundant food with a nomadic life because of the change of grazing areas and therefore in a way give their owners an additional motive for the nomadic life.

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Section 5

External Appearance: Clothing, Hair Style, Ornaments, Tattooing

The clothing of primitive peoples, even more than the dwelling, is intimately bound up with their total way of life and means of subsistence. For insofar as the materials required by them for clothing are not obtained through barter with a civilized people, they secure them from the same source as their food, whether this be fishing, hunting, or the raising of domestic animals used for food or for transport, and give them a style suitable to their life and activity, their crafts and occupations.

As for the Gilyak, with whom we shall again begin our discussion, it must first of all be repeated that fishing and sealhunting are their chief occupations, whereas hunting takes only second place among them; furthermore they keep only one domestic animal, the dog, but this in large numbers as draft animals, and finally, as the oldest reports that the Russians had about them said (1), they maintain constant trade with the

1. See p. 203 above.

Chinese. Accordingly, their principal materials for clothing, besides cottons, which since ancient times they have obtained from the Chinese and at the present time also from the Russians (Gilyak, possj; Russian-Siberian, dabá), are the skins of dogs and seals and fish skins, while the furs of forest animals, fox, otter, sable, squirrel, etc., are used only for trimmings or for smaller articles of clothing, such as caps, gloves, scarves, etc., but otherwise

/386 cont./

291 represent the principal articles in the trade with the Chinese.
439 Since in connection with it, the Gilyak receive in exchange,
[199] besides various fabrics both in solid colors and patterned, many ready-made articles of clothing, this, as well as their general association with this civilized people next to them, easily explains the influence of Chinese customs and Chinese taste discernible in their clothing in the shape, cut, and the type and patterns of embroidery and other decorations.

291 /387/ The clothing worn next to the body by the Gilyak consists of drawers, which are not taken off even at night, trousers (Gilyak warsch), an under and an outer shirt (Gilyak larkch) reaching to the knees and buttoned from left to right at the neck and
[199] chest. These articles of clothing are always made out of Chinese,
[296] or nowadays also of Russian, blue or grey cotton material, and sometimes also of white, which, however, since the Gilyak never wash their clothing, very soon turns a more or less dirty gray. As a rule, no outer garment is needed during the summer, but if unfavorable weather, not infrequent even in this season, requires it, a winter garment, in particular the dog-fur coat to be described later, is used. High boots of seal leather and fur always serve as footgear. As a rule, the lower or foot part of the
[239] boot (Gilyak ki) and the sole are made of the skin of Phoca barbata (Gilyak kighitsch and kighitsch-langr), which, especially in the case of older specimens, is thicker and more durable than that of the other type of seal very common in the waters of the Amur region (Ph. nummularis; Gilyak pyghi and pyghi-langr) (1) and

1. See my Reis. und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. Langr simply means "seal."

for this purpose deprived of its hair. In accordance with the foot structure of the Gilyak, the lower part of the boot is small and graceful, with a high back keel-shaped in the middle, and the pointed end, turned somewhat upward and back, shows unmistakably the influence of the Chinese pattern. The legs of the boots, broad

/390 cont./

000 possession. I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all
291 the more a coat made of six skins of this kind, has so high a
435 conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese
439 conceptions. In any case the lynx skin also has considerable real
237 worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not used by the Gilyak like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not impart to their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions
825 of another kind must therefore come into play here. In view of the
171 active, centuries old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese,
[439] they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger, as the mightiest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne: for example, the seats of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the chair cushions carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

[113] 2. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar China /A Three-year Trip to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

/391 cont./

825 influence similar use of the tiger skin as a mark of honor has be-
171 come established in Korea (3). The trading trips of the Gilyak
000
[113] 3. Thus, Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Travels in the Ussuri Region in 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 116) reports that during his visit to the Korean border town of Kygenpu on the Tumen-ula the governor appeared, carried on a chair over which a tiger skin was spread. After he had descended, it was spread on the ground and the traveler was invited to sit on it.

825 The Trading Trips of the Gilyak
439 to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari gave them an opportunity to witness
171 the extraordinary fear which the Chinese there (Man-dse), as well as the Goldi, have of the tiger and, prompted by this fear, the respect that they show for it everywhere, in that the former erect small chapels or temples for it and put up in them pictures of it (4), which the latter call it "ambanj," i.e., "master," and

4. Arkhimandr. Palladii, "Usuriiskie Man'tszy" (op. cit., p. 377). Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 347).

even bow to the ground before its remains (5). The impressions

[113] 5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur, completed between 1856 and 1857/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 171). Palladij, loc. cit.

/391 cont./

825 about the tiger that the Gilyak bring home from these trips, espe-
439 cially the stories that they hear from the Chinese and Goldi about
171 the many human lives annually falling victim to it (6), undoubtedly

6. Przewalski reports (op. cit., p. 233) that in 1867 no fewer than 21 Man-dse were killed and six wounded by tigers along the Zymuche, a tributary of the upper Ussuri.

contribute no little to the panicky fear and superstitious ideas that govern them with respect to the tiger. I have already discussed this above (7) and intend to add more occasionally below.

7. See my Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 90-97, where, in speaking of the distribution of the tiger and leopard in the Amur region, the beliefs of the Gilyak and other Amur peoples concerning them are given.

825 Since /392/, however, the tiger appears in the area of the Gilyak only as a most infrequent guest on its rovings from the south and is scarcely ever killed by them (1), it, and to an even greater

1. The Gilyak did not know of any instance of this kind to relate to me.

degree the leopard, belongs more in the category of mythical animals occupying only their imagination. On the other hand,
[439] they meet in their forests, and not so very infrequently, another animal, which through its decidedly predatory nature and its total appearance, the cat-like habitus, the spotted and in part striped marking of its fur, the black tip of its tail, etc., resembles the tiger as well as the panther (2), and whose fur is highly

[171] 2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 242) reports

439/392 cont./
825
[171]

2. (cont.)
that the natives of the Ussuri region (Goldi and Orochi or Ta-dse) always answered his questions about the character and way of life of the lynx: "igajan Lau-masa," which means, "like the tiger."

prized and dearly paid for by the Chinese (3). I am referring

[113]

3. Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost. Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Journeys in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in the Years 1855-1859/, Vol. I, "Die Säugethier-Fauna /The Mammalian Fauna/," St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 93) was unable to buy a lynx skin among the Manchu and Daur, even for silver coins, and heard the latter say that it, like a tiger skin, could be acquired only by high Chinese officials. Gerbillon (in Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 295) reported that the animal schulon (French "choulon"), a specimen of which Emperor Kang-hi killed during a hunt in 1692 and which he regarded as a lynx ("loup cervier"), which seems in fact to be wholly correct according to the description, provided one of the most highly prized pelts, which cost 15-20 ducats each in Peking. Elsewhere in Du Halde (op. cit., p. 29) this animal is called "chelason."

25 to the lynx. Therefore, the Gilyak transfer to it some of their conceptions about the tiger as a particularly noble, princely, or royal beast.

/399 cont./

31 and snail-shaped spiral figures prevail throughout.

/400/ As on their garments, the Gilyak like to decorate all the other implements in their household and their lives with all kinds of designs and ornamentation, as we noted on the above-mentioned implements worn at the belt and as we shall frequently have occasion to see below. The general character of these decorations is always the same, as is described in more detail above, whether the articles are made of wood, tree bark, leather, bone, or iron, and only the execution will be less exact and neat in the case of more brittle material, although with every type of object we shall come across some which testify to the great skill and dexterity on the part of the Gilyak in the use of the simplest tools. The talent of the Gilyak for ornamentation, 31 294 however, appears to us in its boldest and greatest development in the embroideries for the decoration of their clothing, utilizing for this in particular, besides the easier reproduction of diverse lines and figures, also the effects obtained by putting together various colors. And of this the Gilyak, as much as in general they prefer somber colors for their clothing, also popular among the Chinese (1), a more or less dark blue or gray, make liberal,

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59.

but moderate and tasteful use in decorating their clothing, as [439] the above illustrations show. This is made possible by the variously colored silk and cotton thread obtained in trade from the Chinese.

531 170 I have previously described the general character of Gilyak ornamentation as unique and completely different from that of the Siberian peoples. Also, no trace of Russian national influences, as are quite explicable among the latter as a result of centuries old, manifold, and constant intercourse with the Russians, is found among the Gilyak. On the other hand, much of the Gilyak ornamentation, spiral-shaped coiled lines,

/400 cont./

531 197 artistic interlacing of bands, tapering ornamental borders with multiple points, and the like, can also be recognized on ancient Chinese articles, costly garments and porcelain and ivory objects such as our museum has. Furthermore, quite similar ornamentation is found on some old Japanese objects, for example, on the brass mountings of half decayed wooden scabbards in our possession, which we obtained through Mr. Poljakof from ancient Ainu graves on southern Sakhalin and which undoubtedly are of Japanese origin. I therefore feel justified in concluding that the [439] Gilyak ornamentation has developed largely under the influence of ancient Chinese and, in part, ancient Japanese models, since in view of the anciently established and constant trade relations of the Gilyak on the mainland up the Amur and Sungari with the Chinese and on Sakhalin with the Japanese, and the Ainu completely subject to their influence, it could scarcely be otherwise (2).

2. The role that the Gilyak play as middlemen in trade between the Chinese and the Japanese will be discussed below.

531 170 /401/ Thus, as in other things, so also with regard to ornamentation, Chinese cultural influence spread along the natural route of trade, down the Sungari and Amur to the Gilyak. If, in addition to what has been presented above, more direct proof were needed, it is provided by the fact that the same type of ornamentation on clothing and other objects is found among all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, from the Gilyak upstream along the main river, as well as along its tributaries up to the Sungari. Though these peoples are from Tungusic tribes, they nevertheless have nothing in common with the Russian-Siberian Tungus with regard to the ornamentation customary among them, but rather are linked to the Chinese and Gilyak. In this connection, however, we are met by the striking phenomenon that the feeling for ornamentation and the development of the latter in the Amur region do not decrease but increase with greater distance from the civilized people concerned,

531 170 /401 cont./ the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned, 531 but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep them- 170 selves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent 442 direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

[439] Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

294 Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must 412 mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it. [439] For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the 294 Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles (Gil. nugis, 415 412

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal [114] obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2) $\frac{3}{4}$ worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the [See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

415 /402 cont./ 170 on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be 531 removed and the use of the tool will be accompanied by suc- 170 cess -- a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

294 The thread with which garments are sewed varies accord- 283 ing to the variety of material in them. Fish-skin robes, for example, and birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, fine thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call mydisk and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as pilengat-mydisk, mimk-myd., kych-myd., etc. (5), fur coats and similar articles of clothing with the thread

5. Pilengat is Cyprinus Carpio L.; mimk -- Hypophthalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name kych refers to.

(Gil. kuba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fish- [199] ing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed [439] 171

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread likewise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the 294 work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak 412 woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although 197 they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (chata) for them; instead they only use a knife. For smoothing 531 the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pam), which is

/428 cont./

226 2. (cont.) 262 europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few 113 Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

114 On March 6/18, 1856, when returning from 226 Sakhalin, I reached the village of Tcheharbach at the mouth of 262 the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish sup- 332 plies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the 439 sturgeon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at practically every season of the year and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tukki-tsche which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /429/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular, 226 since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they 262 themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it 439 very much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which 252 they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities 196 of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival. 231 Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these 439 fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

/434/

262 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of 23 a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained 237 inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of deafity or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fi diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilya 123 palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy 439

114 1. I could not bring myself to taste even the 122 dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo 113 one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

/434 cont./

231 *262 [123] [134] from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, without an urgent reason. Such a reason can appear readily enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of a few traveling Tschomi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, three young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part being added to the jukola soup for the dogs, and -- characteristically enough -- I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and hand another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to enjoy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Duĭ, I was a witness to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent to a bear festival held there a short time before, traces of which were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disemboweled, the meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one animal wrapped in its pelt. /435/ Inside the yurt, the place between the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

[114] [782] [189] [252] 252 *262 23 [114]

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two staffs, between which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

/437 cont./

231 *262 171 113

1. (cont.) d'un Voyage en Chine /Journal of a Voyage to China/, Paris, 1848, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une Ambass. Franç. en Chine /A French Ambassador in China/, Paris, 1854, p. 197. Bowring, "Die Chinesen" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, p. 249. Girard, France et Chine, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32.

231 *262 171 [113] the popular enjoyment of dog meat in Korea (2) may perhaps be

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p.57. O.Genest, "Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern /Captain Jacobsen's Visit among the Koreans/" (Globus, Vol. LII, p. 61).

traced back to Chinese influence.

Birds furnish the Gilyak much less food than do mammals, merely for the reason that they are not hunted very much on account of their little use otherwise and, as a rule, they are much more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however, is consumed indiscriminately, and some birds which are periodically more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At several places, for instance, the ptarmigan (Lagopus albus Gm., Gilyak parrā, on Sakhalin tschleola-nga) is caught by them in large numbers by means of simple snares. Along the west coast of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Duĭ, I saw them consuming with great relish the Phaleris cristatella Pall. (Gilyak nochla-nga), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they alight individually or in small flocks on the ice near open places in the sea and freeze to it. The meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its nest and raise with fish in order to sell the tail to the Japanese, is consumed by them when its hour of death tolls.

223 *262 [136] [136] *262 231 439

2. Schrenck--676 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/441 cont./

252 *262 [137] [192] prepared, but with the difference that, instead of the fish roe, finely chopped seal-blubber was mixed in with the leaves. The Gilyak also use various lichens in quite similar ways, especially reindeer moss, Cetraria islandica L. (Gilyak chitwyrk) (3), and

3. Among the Olcha: chity.

a tree moss, Usnea (Gilyak tschwalch, and, to be sure, distinguished as kana (white) and piula (blue) tschwalch), for food by making soups out of them with the addition of fish roe or seal oil.

Finally, the sea, like the forest, also yields some vegetable food for the Gilyak, especially an edible alga, which they call tschollach (4), and the Laminaria esculenta (Gilyak putsch).

4. Glehn, op. cit., p. 214.

I have seen the latter consumed in the village of Tyk in much the same fashion as the above-mentioned tree moss and other plants, in that, mixed with chopped jukola it was cooked in water, whereupon, when fully cooked, it made a sticky, viscous mass of a white color in the soup. The Gilyak collect and dry the Laminaria in small stocks for the winter, which they may have learned from the Ainu, /442/ who, according to Schmidt (1), for their part

[177] [171] [251]

1. Op. cit., p. 98.

learned it from the Japanese, who keep the Ainu busy at it and annually send whole shiploads of dried and artificially rolled up Laminaria from Sakhalin to Hakodate and Matsmai.

While the natural vegetable products discussed above are of great importance for the Gilyak inasmuch as they are available to everyone, with a little trouble and care, and, though not very nutritious in themselves, contribute essentially to the greater tastiness and variety of their diet, and in times of scarcity when no fish and no animals are caught and the supplies of animal food run low, they may even prevent starvation,

*262 439 177

/442 cont./

*262 439 177 [554] matters are quite different with respect to those vegetable foods that the region itself does not produce and which the Gilyak can obtain only by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals and legumes, are to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole have less significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent may even be called luxury items because they are directly available only to those who are better off and not always to them, but rather are eaten only upon certain occasions. In daily life they are used only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During the bear festivals, however, great quantities of them are consumed, and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently and, in keeping with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, are attended by numerous participants, the foods of this kind, stored up by an individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are always shared with a greater or lesser number of other and less prosperous Gilyak. On such occasions I have learned in detail the various foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak and the form in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not many of them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese. The most common and the most popular among the Gilyak is Chinese, or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria italica (Gilyak budā), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudī). Far rarer and less popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak ssjussj) (2).

*262 439 177 [554] 177 [114]

[192]

2. The first two have the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called ssjussu by them and by the Goldi.

Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, though it is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very distinguished Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended in the winter of 1856 in the village of Tebach, still had the remnants of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the Japanese (Sisam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set before the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

*262 439 177 [137] [137] [137] [137]

*262 /442 cont./As soon as the Russians settled in the lower Amur region, in Petrofskoje Simowjo, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk, the Gilyak began to obtain small quantities of various cereals from them. Buckwheat groats in particular found the greatest approval among them, and I saw it served in great quantities during the above-mentioned bear festival of 1856. They greatly liked the inexpensive Russian rye flour (Gilyak dwa), which they /443/ could obtain from the Chinese only small quantities, wheat flour (Gilyak rhak) at a high price. All the above-mentioned cereals are cooked by the Gilyak to a thick dry mush and eaten with fish oil, which, like melted butter among us, is poured with a spoon or a small stick into a depression made in the groats. It has a variety of uses among them. The principal one is in the preparation of a kind of cake or small loaf of bread. For this purpose, it has fish oil poured over it and is kneaded into a dough, a work which the women accomplish by taking a mouthful of water and, while kneading the dough, let as much of it as is in run into it. From this dough, flat, longish, or round small loaves are formed, cooked in water in the large kettle at the hearth, and finally, broken into pieces and sprinkled with fish oil. They another dish which is very pleasing to the Gilyak palate by mixing the flour with fish oil and partly crushed bilberries or cranberries (Empetrum nigrum /crowberry/) and stirring this to a mush. one garden vegetable is used among them, and this almost solely on festive occasions. It is the common white or yellowish bean (Phaseolus vulgaris L., Gilyak tursch), which they obtain from Chinese living farther up along the Amur and Sungari. They first cooked and then mixed with fish oil, chopped kyp (see above) and finely chopped dried leeks (hagi), and sometimes also berries from Empetrum nigrum -- a truly peculiar culinary achievement owing to its curious composition.

*262 439 177 [554] 252 439 177 [137] [137] [137] [137]

*262 Thus, not merely the various native vegetable foods, which serve more as supplements, but also the few really nutritious exotic ones which the Gilyak use as food are not eaten by them other than with a more or less strong addition of fish oil. The ichthyophagous nature of the Gilyak remains true even here. thus, in spite of the not inconsiderable vegetable foods listed a

/A84 cont./

resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they became acquainted with talk, as can be seen from the fact that they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a somewhat modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation tahsch for talk was probably /A85/ borrowed from the Manchurian dahsun (dangolian. dahsun) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

[115] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298;
Xenothalias (Longinotic Asia) p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with talk at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Dzutschwen, engaged in agriculture, livestock breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Ussuri, from where they were transplanted to the Chinese in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

[116] 2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then talk has found no acceptance among the Gilyak —certainly proof that there was no physiological need for it.

Whereas the Gilyak aversion to talk is so pronounced and [117] generally signified (tahsch tahsch), on the other hand, there prevail very [118] great sympathy, and to be sure, in the form in which they become acquainted with it from the Russian (3). The Chinese

[119] 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian (Tsachar?)?

[120] tsachar (tsachar) known to them earlier, brown in color and only [121] [illegible] sweet in taste, but not so important for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

/A86 cont./

4. Mamia Rinsô (Sôbôtô, Nippon, VII, p. 189) says that the Gilyak (Smenenkur) on Sakhalin have a Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

[122] In the upper Amur, they are very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the chief object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the chief-item forward, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar, but subsequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to [123] add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned Dzur-cakes and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the [124] dishes prepared for the bear festival; it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows they entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there [125] follows here a brief mention of those more important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the same. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be [126] discussed later at the proper place. At was already stated above, [127] that in the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other bowls [128] [illegible] is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke *PN*, *FIIIA*, Fig. 1 and *F*. [illegible] (also made of birch bark, respectively). /A87/ Similarly consideration has been given to the large iron kettle (Gilyak [illegible] [illegible]) which in the winter house is embedded in each of

[See Category IIa, P. 1015—Analysis]

/A87 cont./

various places on the Amur and especially on the Ussuri and have small gardens and farms. Apart from the dog and the house cat occasionally present among the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak /A88/ and treated merely as a luxury item (1), the first domestic animal

1. Concerning the distribution of the house cat in the Amur and Ussuri and its potential among the Amur peoples, see what is said in the first volume of this work, pp. 88-100.

met among the Amur peoples, going upstream, is the pig. It was discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (p. 155), individual typical forms were shown in Figs. 1 and 2 (Olcha (?), but

2. There was none among the Gilyak in my time. Later, when there were pigs raised by the Russians in Nikolayevsk, the Gilyak occasionally bought some in order to consume them in festive fashion (Yantschouse Schrenck, 1868, p. 58).

a regular breeding of pigs is found first among the Goldi, up the Amur from about Staaga and Naiche on and along the Ussuri. The animals, fed on fish, are sold by the Goldi to their country men or to Chinese traders, through whose mediation they reach the Olcha farther downstream. The Goldi get the breeding animals, however, in part from the Man-zhe (Chinese) along the upper Ussuri (3), but for the most part from the Sungari region

3. F. Busse, "Ochota" usiv. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie" (Gazp. dla chtenia inoper. [illegible] Ussuri, Sungari, Sakhalin, Obscr. Ussuri, p. 120).

where the pig is raised in great numbers everywhere by the Chinese

/A88 cont./

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/A89/

Chinese (Sataria italica, Panicum miliaceum, etc.), or from a mixture of the latter with one another and with barley (3).

3. For more details concerning the Chinese liquor and its preparation, especially in the Ussuri region, see Sadaouf, Sarayang-Tsinkest, pp. 101 ff.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinsô (1) reported

4. "Tôrum tahs" (Sôbôtô, Nippon, VII, p. 190).

/A90/

Southeast Siberia RXI
Goldi RX3

the Smenenkur (Gilyak) on Sakhalin hardly know of the Japanese sake at all, to say nothing of /A91/ making it themselves, but, on the other hand, "obtain a type of it, called [illegible], from the Ainu Smenenkur, which in taste is very similar to the Japanese [illegible]." Like all products of civilization, liquor, too, is very neglected by the Gilyak and the other peoples of the lower Amur region chiefly from the hungari region, where there are numerous and some very large distilleries established and run by Chinese (1) and in part also from the Ussuri, where the production

1. Williamson, Journ. in North China, Manchuria and East Mongolia, Vol. II, Appendix, Chinese Empire, 1872 g." (Vosem. Sbornr., 1874, No. 6, p. 201).

of liquor is likewise carried on by the Chinese, and, to be sure, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

1. (cont.)

"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/" (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 594). also Vambéry Ferne v. 1866, p. 59 and elsewhere.

Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the ur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and ve the children are given the opportunity to become accustomed it at an early age. It seems obvious to me where these peoples learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As is well-known, scharia is the country from which China, at least the northern ART obtained the tobacco plant and the custom of smoking. acco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dynasty ended the throne (1644), upon whose orders the introduction of acco into China took place (2) and under whose protection the

2. Hue, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Pousielgue, Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 188. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 66. Wassiljef ("Chinesische Mandschuria." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, pp. 52, 53) says: if one may give credence to a Chinese drama, the Chinese were not familiar with the smoking of tobacco up to the Manchu Dynasty.

Distribution of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (3).

3. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

1. (cont.)

the Manchu (dambago) and Mongols (tamachi), is always the same, with very minor variations, among all the Amur peoples, too, thus, among the Goldi and Olcha dambe, tamche, and tamacho, among the Gilyak tamgich, among the Ainu tambako, etc.

Later, after the Manchurian Tobacco had already spread among all the Amur peoples and had become an indispensable necessity for them, Russian tobacco entered the Amur region from the west and north, both as a result of the constant intercourse maintained by the Russian Cossacks, hunters, and traders with the Orochons, Tungus and other tribes of the upper Amur region, and through the Yakut merchants who in part followed these nomads and in part visited certain trading points at which they exchanged goods with them as well as with the other peoples of the lower Amur region (2). Nevertheless, up

2. See pp. 160-166 above.

until the Russian occupation of the Amur region in the fifties, Manchurian tobacco was entirely predominant among all the peoples there, and it was only after this event that the Russian (Circassian) tobacco began to replace it very rapidly, first and especially of course, among those peoples who did not cultivate tobacco themselves, hence among the Gilyak, Olcha, etc. What made it especially popular among them is its much greater strength or acridness in comparison with the Manchurian tobacco, as well as its being far cheaper. The great popularity of Russian tobacco and the general and heavy demand for it among the peoples named soon made it the most important and most necessary article of trade in dealing with them.

Like tobacco, the Gilyak and the other peoples of the Amur region also adopted from the Manchu the form of the pipe (Gilyak tai), which is also widespread throughout China and consists of two metal pieces connected by a thin, black-colored,

1. (cont.)

at St. Pétersb., Vilth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8)[a], and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is made of fine skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesque, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. Thus it never done, however, that a party passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the usual or ideal difference between the existing bet-ween those present. As a rule, however, one seat the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

[See category 114, Pl. 104 - Analysis]

1. (cont.)

durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

The dogs of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as we mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

The Gilyak sled (7a) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Tungus-Siberian sled, on the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, it is less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Dikolayevsk as temporary quarters and never had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated in Plate XXXVI, p.104/, Fig. 1, had the following /487/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective sides to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11 times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regard as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles /runners/ Gilyak tunlej, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided by the understide-

Fortunately for the Orok, however, the Gilyak intellect, directed him toward warfare than toward gain and profit, since made them recognize that they did not have to fear any curtailment of their interests by the immigrating newcomers, but rather could get considerable gain, for the treasures of precious fur-bearing, as skilled hunters, brought to light on their migrations in the remote mountainous forests of the island would have to benefit them the most as the fast buyers and inevitable middlemen in the trade with the Chinese and Japanese. I don't intend to that trade later. The advantage that the Gilyak derive from the Orok by means of it sufficiently explains the tolerance and forbearance that they show toward the latter in allowing them, despite the many inconveniences to themselves, to pass unhindered with their reindeer on the /485/ paths made by their dog sleds through the Tymy Valley. Such a possibility for the Orok, growing out of their good relations with the Gilyak and enabling them to use the paths made by the Gilyak sleds through the entire Tymy Valley and beyond, across the mountains and the Laman to the Amur, and along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, may have prompted them to use these paths for their annual migrations in the same manner as the Gilyak and Ainu did with their dogs, that is, to harness them to sleds constructed for this purpose. Indeed, they must have come to it all too soon readily since, as a result of their relations with the Gilyak, they were sometimes forced, for example, when they came into the latter's villages for trading purposes, to use dogs for driving. Furthermore, a few sleds harnessed to dogs are indispensable to them on their migrations in order to hasten in front of the reindeer expedition and prevent sudden encounters with Gilyak or other dog-teams. The sleds that I met near Pilb we were of this kind. Later on I repeatedly saw Orok traveling on dog-drawn sleds near Joj and in the upper reaches of the Tymy mouth. Thanks to their contact and intercourse with the Gilyak, the Orok on Sakhalin represent for us the certainly very rare, though not wholly unique case of a primitive people that has no less than three methods of locomotion by land, in that the reindeer is ridden and driven, and in addition the dog is used for

boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their yurts on the same pattern as the Gilyak and in the same form that they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their number of persons and powers. Indeed, in all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, at in done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled labor that both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the other peoples of the lower Amur region. Maximovicz (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIII, p. 186) describes a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a price of two feet silk and a foot-wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet groats. Only in one point, as is seen from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars tied on each side, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; in the other hand, it occurs generally among the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jezo (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Ainu-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 27 -- but these divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military Tsupik of China and are supposed to inspire the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inconsiderable to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as we said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries who do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development on the whole than in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Iron Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forest, I must first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing, increases the more in immediate importance and significance the farther we upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region, where fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observations, are accordingly, at the most sedentary, the most fishing-peoples, and at general the most precontrived fishing peoples of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peoples to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them catching fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for themselves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these ends

1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 83. Zoographisch-osteo-anat., Part I, p. 275.

Only at along the Oby River.

1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 83. Zoographisch-osteo-anat., Part I, p. 275.

Only at along the Oby River.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

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which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which not far away in the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bow-string (Gilyak kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chat) is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (Nu) have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtus albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /See p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation; it is known that they are called uch, but the latter winnger. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, just above the vane on the bowstring, is called lorm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In ancient times among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak kich) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak kranghch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points are intended for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /See p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bow and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, table, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

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to fishing or seal-hunting, a natural explanation is found in the circumstance already pointed out in the beginning, that among them, hunting does not by far stand in the foreground of life to the degree that fishing and seal-catching do.

In discussing the various kinds of arrows used by the Gilyak, the hunting of wild fowl was also considered above in passing. A few pertinent remarks might in addition follow here. By far the greatest number of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl are not killed by the aforementioned knob-shaped arrows, which on the whole are used very little, but are caught in nets during the molting season and simply beaten to death. Only incidentally, but not infrequently, they capture birds that get their food by diving into the water and become entangled in the nets. Among these they pay special attention to the divers (Colymbus septentrionalis L. and C. arcticus L. (Gilyak ugn), which however, is done, not for practical, utilitarian reasons, but out of superstition, about which I shall speak later when discussing their methods of burial. The hazel grouse (Gilyak hang) and white grouse (Gilyak parrâ, along the Tymy on Sakhalin tschkoia-ngâ), with which the Gilyak /565/ amply supplied the Nikolayevsk post during the winters of 1850-1851, are caught by them in snares (Gilyak kun). With regard to the white grouse, which one also finds represented on amulets among the Gilyak, although in a completely unrecognizable, only symbolic fashion, I likewise noted among them the above-mentioned superstition relating to the head of the animal, in that in selling this bird they greatly desired to remove the head first.

For the Gilyak the most important of all the birds are the fishing eagles Haliaëtus pelagicus Pall. (Gilyak tscharngaitschkam) and H. albicilla Brins. (Gilyak mygir-tscham, in the interior of Sakhalin ach-tschar). The former, however, occurs only rarely in their territory and only along the seacoast, but the latter, on the other hand, is common and occurs throughout the region, and it is therefore always meant when merely the eagle (eagle) is mentioned. The benefit that the Gilyak derive from it consists in the fact that the feathers are an important

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article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former said at the time, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they tell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks by feed and with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them in the fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the mygir-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors, the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and the Orochi occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha guni, Goldi kâktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show their religious veneration or to keep

1. Puteshi, na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

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Gilyak (1).

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /See p.1008/, Fig. 1.

For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wrtschi), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass (Gilyak tussi), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the

2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make ornaments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg is in full agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

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their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those who saw, swear, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and that Steller himself had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

For the moment the most certain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter. The originality of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 585) has recently been attacked by Braun ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahrerber. der Frankfurter Verein für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

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Gilyak have gained far greater scope among all the Tunguzic peoples of the lower Amur region and must be of more essential significance for their entire lives than is the case among the Gilyak.

Among the Tunguzic peoples of the lower Amur region, too, just as among the Gilyak, the catching of precious furbearing animals, such as sable, river otter, and the fox, comes first, simply because by trading them they obtain not only clothing materials and foodstuffs, but also the universally popular luxury items, and especially tobacco, which has become indispensable to them. It is also practiced in the same ways and with the same means, but over a greater area and with more adroitness and skill and, therefore, with more success.

But whereas among the Gilyak hunting is limited almost solely to the catching of fur-bearing animals and fish, which by the interests of trade, among the Tunguzic Amur /579/ peoples it also extends to no less an extent to the above-mentioned kinds of red deer, big game, wild boars, and, to be sure, they are not merely slain and utilized on occasion, as happens among the Gilyak, but are pursued regularly and zealously, because they are used directly and very essentially for their clothing and food. This has already been pointed out above in the discussion of these two points. With regard to food, however, all the more significance must be ascribed to hunting among the Tunguzic Amur peoples, for it takes up much more of their time than among the Gilyak, and the further upstream and inland the more, and the more exclusively, it takes up the entire winter and part of the fall and spring.

Hand in hand with the longer period of hunting among the Tunguzic Amur peoples also goes its extension over a far larger area. Whereas the Gilyak content himself with a relatively small sphere for hunting, sets up his traps and self-firers in the localities that he knows to be favorable from experience and at the spots suggested by animal tracks in the snow, visits them from time to time, and at night always returns again to his

Section 10

Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rest of Life. Trade Relations of the Amur Peoples with One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Rule of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they nevertheless cannot directly satisfy all of their needs; they cannot procure some of their requirements in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of subsistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the observations on the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region had as much interest and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that in the first information which the Russians received about them -- I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Pyrlitsyn had heard from the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus in the years 1639 and 1640 (1) -- they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (Schilka) and having trade connections with the Chinese. In fact, they do more trading with the Chinese and Japanese than the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /581/ live farther from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in that of the two civilized peoples with each other.

1. According to the Gilyak "belkowtj." i.e., to pursue squirrel-hunting.

/591 cont./

439 in that of the two civilized peoples with each other. Thus, they stand in the center, so to speak, of all international trade relations in the lower Amur region. This is especially true of the
439 Amur Gilyak, while those on Sakhalin and the southern coast
184 of the Sea of Okhotsk have hardly less a peripheral position in this respect than the other peoples of the region. The former, however, are also favored more than the latter two by their geographical position, in that, besides the sea route to the Japanese by way of the Liman and along the west coast of Sakhalin, they also have a second water artery on the Amur River, which leads them to the Chinese living on it as well as on the Sungari. Finally, in the trade with the Russians, too, the Gilyak, and, to be sure, again those of the Amur River, occupy a central and intermediary position, so to speak, in contrast to the neighboring peoples, merely as a result of the fact that the occupation of the Amur region in the 50's by the Russians started at the mouth of the Amur and the first settlements were founded in Gilyak territory, in particular the Nikolayev post, which for some time remained the headquarters of the Russian administration and from which the further exploration of the lower Amur region and of Sakhalin took place.

If one calls to mind the violent and bloody resistance with
195 which the Gilyak opposed the Russian freebooters in the seven-
648 teenth century (1) and considers that by nature they are by no
157

1. See pp. 218-227 above.

means as good-natured, docile, and indolent as the Tungus, but rather, far to the contrary, are malicious, spiteful, and deceitful, while at the same time energetic and even ready to shed blood if humiliation or greed are involved (2), it might be surprising

2. The killing of de la Brnière by the Gilyak mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) is evidence of this. Shortly before my arrival in the Amur region, the crew of a

/591 cont./

195 2. (cont.)
648 whaler that had run aground in the vicinity
157 of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tammlawo and the boat was plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak
[114] of Poghobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning took place in such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very
439 essentially contributed to this. The possibility of being able to
[174] exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no market, such as fish, game, berries, etc., for various articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev post soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /592/ that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the
184 Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Murawjof post in Aniwa
648 Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening,
[123] when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

/592 cont./

123 country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them,
184 express the suspicion that they were now only exploring the
648 country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it later and to push out of it and destroy all the Gilyak. At some places, as in Tyk, Duĭ, and the uppermost Tymy villages, they sometimes even directly opposed me insubordinately and hostilely in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal, and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their supplies. This latter refusal was even worse than the two first ones, because it could not be overcome by threats with pistol in
439 hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however,
123 I was always able to put an end to them: one or another of them certainly could not resist the trade articles which I carried with me and produced apparently without design, and, if just one yielded to temptation and made a small trade, the ice was broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had more than enough of what was needed. With the opening of trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all
439 other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, clever-
150 ness, tenacity, and skill in trading. Only articles of known practical utility excites their inclination to buy: on the other hand, anything new and unusual, no matter how striking, is, to be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated exclamation of "tsa-tsa-ā," accompanied by striking the head with the palm of the hand), and even accepted as a present, but never bought. Of their own wares they always offer the inferior pieces first and go up to the better ones, in the course of which they praise them and insist on the first demand. In short, everything points to a people skilled and experienced in trade, and how very much this in fact fits them can be seen from the following more detailed statements.

Despite the fact that all trade in the Amur region, and
439 hence also that of the Gilyak, is only barter and no money is used
435 among them, nevertheless a not merely relative but absolute, numerically definable value for all the articles playing a role in

G
Gi /594 cont./
435 solely decisive position which the former occupy in the trade
197 with them. Among the Goldi, who live closest to the Sungari
G Chinese and have constant retail-trade relations with them, a tenth
[439] part and perhaps even a hundredth part of the ja or the silver ounce comes into consideration, which makes it necessary for them in giving a price to name also the pertinent unit of value
G (ja or dicha). For the more distant Olcha and Gilyak, however,
Gi who, as we shall see, obtain what they need in Chinese goods
• 439 in larger quantities in Sian-sian on the Sungari, the tenth and
435 the hundredth of the ja are no longer of any practical significance --
197 for they are concerned only with the whole unit of value and its multiples, and therefore there is no need among them to name it expressly in making apparatus, but rather it suffices to give only the number concerned. If I had made my investigations into this
G question, instead of from the Gilyak to the Goldi, in the opposite
Gi direction, going from the latter to the former, the unit of value
435 upon which their evaluations are based would have been apparent
197 to me without any difficulty, automatically, as it were. Incidentally, the unit of value borrowed from the Chinese, since it is not represented among the latter by any coin, is always only an imaginary quantity for the Amur peoples, and they are able to form only an approximate idea of it in terms of the number or quantity of the corresponding pieces of goods or other articles.
G As is well known, in China only the thousandth part of a silver
[142] ounce is current in the form of coins -- the round brass coins with a square hole in the center (Gilyak tscheha), which are usually strung ten and a thousand on a string. On account of
G their insignificant value, however, the Gilyak pay no attention
[436] to them, and, like the variously shaped brass lamellae, they are
[361] used only as decorations for women's skirts or occasionally also as shirt and belt buttons. In my time Russian coins, likewise
G called tscheha (that is, probably "coin" in general) by the Gilyak,
436 were not accepted either by them or by the other natives of the
197 lower Amur region, both out of complete unfamiliarity with their value and because the Chinese merchants likewise would not
G accept them (1). Through their association with the Russians,

1. The only coins for which a use could be

/594 cont.)

1. (cont.)
found with respect to the Chinese merchants during my time in the Amur region were Spanish (Mexican) piasters, so-called colonnados, and even these were always first carefully tested as to their weight with the help of hand scales.

G Through their association with the Russians
436 however, the Gilyak very soon also became familiar with the
197 use of their coins (2).
• 434

2. Indeed, now they are said to accept even Russian notes as payment. As proof of their great shrewdness in monetary and trade matters the following incident, which occurred during my stay, might be mentioned. The frequently mentioned Foswein, a Gilyak from Kulj, who had been close to the Russians ever since their first appearance in the region, made a voyage from Nikolayevsk to Sakhalin for the sole purpose of exchanging with his countrymen there various small items for all kinds of valuables and especially gold and silver coins, which they had stolen from a stranded American whaler after killing part of the crew, and then to make a profit out of them with the Russians.

G
Gi /595/ By means of the unit of value borrowed from the
439 Chinese and common to all the peoples of the lower Amur
197 region, the barter trade which they carry on among themselves and with the Chinese is, by and large, given a fixed standard in that the in part very heterogeneous wares involved in it appear equal in value to the extent that, with respect to quantity, size, quality, etc., they represent or contain an equal number of units of value and can be exchanged without any disadvantage for

/595 cont./

G
Gi either the buyer or seller. The price or the value of the trade
43 commodities depends, on the one hand, on the greater or lesser
197 demand which they enjoy among the Chinese and, on the other hand, the more or less strong need for them found among the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, and which is itself determined in turn in large part by their use in the trade carried on by them among one another and with the Japanese. Great changes in the prices of certain commodities inevitably arose when the Gilyak, and after them the other peoples of the lower Amur region, also came in contact with the Russians, besides the Chinese and Japanese, with whom they had ancient trade connections, and the Russian merchants began in part to compete very successfully with those of the Chinese and Japanese.
G More than elsewhere, therefore, it must be kept in mind in
[128] connection with the trade relations of the Amur peoples that my descriptions refer to a period when this contact had first been made and had not yet had the consequences that it has today. Finally, concerning the value of objects not involved
435 in trade among the Gilyak, but associated with their households and the rest of their life and activities, the decisive factors are to be sought in their customs, conceptions, and views, evidence of which will be given in the following.

By means of many and repeated inquiries among the Gilyak
G and my own trade and other relations with them, I was able to
435 learn the values, given in the following table, of both the most
• 439 important commodities in their trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and in part also with the Russians, and the foremost articles in their life and households, discussed and in part illustrated in the above descriptions. Thus, among them:

A table pelt, depending on its quality, ... equals 1-2 ja
A pelt from the red fox (pasi(1)-ngā) . . " 2 "

G
[104] 1. The ā is pronounced soft, like the French e.

A pelt from the black-gray fox (pladi) . . equals 3 ja

/595 cont./

435 A pelt from the black fox (hādi), depending
439 on its quality, ... equals
A lynx pelt with head, the leg pieces, and the tail . . . . . .
A lynx pelt without head, leg pieces, and tail . . . . . .

/596/
A river otter pelt is estimated according to its size, each finger-span of it is equal to . . .
A sealskin, either Phoca numminiana (pegbi) or Ph. barbata (highsch), provided it is very good, equals . . . . . .
Four fathoms (1) of ordinary cotton cloth (possi) cost

[804] 1. That is, arm spans, since the Gilyak do not have any measure other than arm and finger spans.

Two fathoms of terry velvet (poihrō-possi) cost .
One and a half fathoms of cloth (dshangta) . . . . . .
Four fathoms of Manchurian (2) (very colorful) silk fabric (tscharp) are equal to . . . . . .

2. More correctly stated, Chinese. Four fathoms of it constitute one piece.

The value that the Gilyak give to their various clothing is judged according to the quality and price materials; thus, it costs for:

A long, wide-sleeved robe of Manchurian silk (tscht) . . . . . .

3. Perhaps reckoned somewhat too low.

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/550 cont./

224 439 only indirectly inasmuch as it furnishes them with those articles by means of which they can acquire through trade with the neighboring civilized peoples the foreign clothing, food, and stimulants which have become necessities for them. Hence, among them hunting is principally directed toward those animals for whose furs there is a sure and good market among their principal trade-lords, the Chinese, and since, merely in order to preserve the pelts as intact as possible, it is practiced for the most part by means of various kinds of traps, snares, poison pellets, etc., one can designate it, in accordance with its greatly predominant purpose and character, as the catching of fur-bearing animals.

224 /551/ Obviously, the Gilyak engage in hunting only in the winter, for they are then occupied with fishing only a little, have enough time for it, and, on the other hand, the animals are in their full, valuable winter-fur. In addition, the deep snow then covering the dense underbrush in the forest facilitates to a great extent movement through it, so that, as experience has taught, the Gilyak, too, know without any doubt that the heavier the snow is in winter, the more rewarding and successful the hunting will be. Nevertheless the Gilyak do not devote [171] themselves to hunting in winter nearly as much as their Tungusic neighbors do. Whereas the latter, as we shall see, frequently move then from their own habitation area into distant forest and mountain wildernesses, in order to live there for weeks entirely by hunting, the Gilyak content themselves with practicing it only in their own territory in a certain area, larger or smaller according to the locality, around their winter dwellings. For this purpose the latter are often erected separately, and sometimes even quite far from the summer dwellings, at such places which have an especially favorable location for hunting.

The most important fur-bearing animals for the Gilyak, because they are generally highly valued in trade and are present in great numbers in the Amur region, are the sable (Gilyak lumr, among the Tymy and Tro Gilyak oghrob and myghr-nga, i.e., brown animal), the otter (Gilyak ngy, among the Tymy and Tro Gilyak pehyik), and the fox (Gilyak käkch, among the Tymy

ont./

nally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine, they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price n accordance with the use that they make of it, call -ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

3. Among the Gilyak ocht means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

hen I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all, they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two ons: in the first place by way of their northern and western ors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among , thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small- r, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (póroki"): póroke.

onally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their n neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though lie- nly rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy e matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

5. According to Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

/557 cont./

411 177 439 113

5. (cont.) Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

411 192 The Gilyak also have their own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun, its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is called mäotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mäotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mäotscha.

mäotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet -- mäotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," shot -- matschi-ku (short for matschi-mäotscha-ku), i.e., "small arrows," 000 and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

411 177 152 It was surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a gun, whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at the sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At the

/597 cont./

435 A very large hausen (patch-tscho) equals . . . . .
439 " live, still young, and small bear equals . . . .
" " full-grown bear, depending on its size, equals . 3
" dog of ordinary quality and size, equals . . . . .
" ordinary sled equals . . . . . .
" pair of Tungusic ski with elk-skin covering (Gilyak rdhy-enj, i.e., Samagir ski equals . . . .
The local ski covered with sealskin, on the other hand do not reach the value of one ja.
A small to middle-sized boat, depending on its size, equals . . . . . .
A large, new boat equals. . . . . .
" sail made of fish skins equals . . . . . .
Each ten fathoms of fish netting comes to . . . . . .
A bow covered with a whalebone plate equals . . . .
" " " " " buffalo or rhinoceros horn plate and with silver clamps (ngynif-puntsch), depending on the number of the latter, equals . . .
A gun with one barrel is valued by the Gilyak at . . .
" Russo-Siberian rifle " " " " " " . . .
One double-barreled gun " " " " " " . . .
A spear approximately an ell long without inlaid silver figures equals . . . . . .
Such a spear with inlaid figures of silver equals . . .
A spear point about as long as an arm without silver decorations equals . . . . . .
A like-sized spear point with silver and other decorations will be valued, depending on the amount of the latter, as equal to . . . . . .
A Manchurian ax is equal to . . . . . .
A coat of old Manchurian iron armor (wytsch-petsch) is valued by the Gilyak at . . . . . .
A coat of old armor of local workmanship (kä-petsch) on the other hand, is valued at only . . .

apron skirts of sealskin, ordinary wi
birch bark, sleeve bands, ear muffs
the value of one ja, though the last
vided with embroidery. Furthermo

One sack of flour as equal to . . .
Four Manchurian sacks (tall, but na
as equal to 4 sables, that is, abo
/597/
One wooden case (kylmr-wakke) of
garded as equal to . . . . . .
Ten bundles of tobacco leaves, and
scarcity even only 5, cost . . .
A very large sturgeon (tukki-tscho)

nter caps, summer hats of
s, gloves, etc., do not have
three are, as a rule, pro-
re, the Gilyak value:

. . . . .	2 ja
rrow) of millet	
ut 6 or	4-8 "
liquor is re-	
. . . . .	10 "
in times of	
. . . . .	1 "
equals	2 "

/597 cont./

The value of the kettle embedded in the hearth and the portable kettle is reckoned in part, on the basis of size, but in part and chiefly on the basis of their origin, because the Manchurian (Chinese) kettles are far inferior in quality to those of Japanese: the former easily crack over the fire if they contain no water, but the latter will not. Accordingly, it costs for:

A large Manchurian hearth-kettle (tsch) (ormoz-wunj)	4 ja
/598/	
A smaller Manchurian hearth-kettle	3 "
" Manchurian portable kettle (matsch-wunj) with handles, depending on the size	3-7 "
A small Japanese kettle (Gilyak kughi-wunj, i.e., Ainu kettle)	7-8 "
A large kettle of the same kind	20 "
" " Japanese kettle with three handles . . .	30 "

The evaluation used among the Gilyak for their houses is very peculiar, inasmuch as it costs for:

A winter yurt (tschadryf) with two hearths only . .	4 ja
" summer yurt (käryf) only	2-4 "
A storehouse(njö), on the other hand, depending on the number of compartments	10 " and more.

A number of conclusions concerning the trade of the Gilyak, as well as telling numerical evidence of certain of their customs and beliefs, can be drawn from this table, some of which have already been discussed in the previous sections and some will be discussed in the following. For the moment it will suffice to draw attention only to the following points:

1) Furs, the most important barter item of the Gilyak in their trade with the Chinese, have a relatively low price, which

/598 cont./

435 undoubtedly can be explained b
439 as yet still undiminished wealth
region. Only two types of fur c
with their high prices: the blac
owes its high price, not only to
also recognized and highly app
certainly also to its far greater
other hand, as was pointed out
value in the eyes of the Gilyak
great quantities.

435 2) Like the lynx fur, seve
in the above table by their very
sponding to their real value. A
old Manchurian iron armor and
length and the Japanese kettles
fortunately, I did not see, but
surpass in quality the kettles fro
otherwise somewhat different fr
[556] the great difference between th
special marks of wealth and dis
the otherwise practical Gilyak,

825 3) The same motive, var
556 of a live bear among the Gilya
no material /599/ advantage,
advantages, for the killing and
only in a festive fashion which
host; in return, however, it br
of a rich and renowned man.

435 4) Among the various cl
439 the principal barter item of the
291 Gilyak, the latter most prize t
dragons and other Chinese patt
interwoven through them, but
special pleasure in them and li
one sees them used among the

/599 cont./

439 435 291 pieces for elegant women's caps -- but rather because they want them for trade with the Japanese -- a matter that I shall come back to in the following and which gives the best proof for their outstanding talent for trade.

439 273 435 5) Something similar is the basis for their very high evaluation of the liquor (araki /arrack/) in the barter trade with the Chinese. One would be very much mistaken if he concluded from this evaluation of the liquor that they were strongly addicted to drinking it and therefore readily let themselves be plundered by means of it. To be sure, they do not reject liquor, but they used it, as was pointed out above (1), in moderate fashion at the time

1. See p. 719 above.

of my stay among them. On the other hand, their gaze, constantly looking for advantages and profit, could not miss the value of so generally popular a commodity in the trade relations with both their own countrymen living farther away from the source of supply and in particular their less energetic Tungusic neighbors. Thus, their genius for trade also proved itself with respect to liquor and, as has already been mentioned, with the help of it they were even able to obtain many an advantage in their barter with the Russian Cossacks and sailors.

435 6) The articles that they themselves make for their household and the rest of their life and activities, such as utensils of all kinds, pieces of clothing, etc., however neatly made and adorned with decorations they might be, are not very highly valued by the Gilyak, unless they contain a precious material acquired from the Chinese, such as bows covered with buffalo horn, or the lances furnished with inlaid figures of silver, etc. It is not the fineness and beauty of the work or the time and labor spent on them, but the bit of silver or horn that gives these objects their high value in the eyes of the Gilyak.

/603 cont./

the mainland remains remote to the Ainu. Thus, the trade in Chinese commodities on Sakhalin rests almost exclusively in the hands of the continental Gilyak. And they know how to draw great advantage from it for their own purposes. As we have already seen, the island is exceedingly rich in fur-bearing animals particularly sought by them and hunted successfully by all three tribes on it, but chiefly concentrated in the hands of the Sakhalin Gilyak. The greatest quantity of fur-bearing animals is undoubtedly captured by the Orok, roaming and hunting throughout the winter, who, however, impelled or forced by their nomadic life, as well as by their, on the whole, carefree and lighthearted Tungusic nature, /604/ turn the largest part of it over to the sedentary and enterprising Tymy and other Sakhalin Gilyak. The latter know how to take advantage of the scarcities that not infrequently occur among their wandering neighbors with regard to food and luxuries for themselves or food for their dogs; with the help of supplies bartered from the Amur Gilyak or stored by them themselves, they carry on an extremely profitable trade with them, indeed, by means of advances, sometimes, at a great profit, even make them their debtors. They similarly draw advantages from the Ainu, who, when they can, prefer to turn to them with their hunting booty rather than to the Japanese, for they are always underpaid by the latter with only a little rice and sake and not infrequently are not paid at all. Thus, even the Sakhalin Gilyak, though lack the enterprising spirit of their countrymen on the continent, do not in any way belie the passion for trade and profit peculiar to their tribe. Inasmuch, however, as they sell to them the animal pelts captured by them themselves or bought from their neighbors, they furnish them with the means to carry on trade on a larger scale with the Chinese, which also benefits them. Moreover, the continental Gilyak make their purchases on the island not only among their countrymen or through their agency, but, particularly in the north and south of the island, outside the Tymy region, occasionally trade directly with the Orok and Ainu. In fact, they obtain a great portion of the coveted animal skins from the Japanese. But this

/604 cont./

trade will be discussed separately later, after we have first become acquainted with that which they carry on with the Chinese, and which furnishes them the means for the former.

As was pointed out at great length above (1), there is along

1. See pp. 142 and 144.

the lower Amur, in the Olcha and Goldi area, a number of centers at which Chinese merchants stay temporarily or even more or less permanently, and which were very cleverly chosen by them in order to carry on trade with the adjacent native tribes and especially to acquire from them the precious furs. They are cunning and sly traders, who do not shrink from any trouble and deprivation or from any means, in order to draw the greatest possible profit from their calling in either their own or their employer's interests. Outwardly they are very affable and courteous toward the natives in order to win them over; when I was in the above-mentioned village of Puli, in a yurt in which one of the three Chinese permanently living in the village had his domicile, and the Olcha and Gilyak in whose company I had come from the Liman entered it, the Chinese immediately took pains to help them shake the snow off their fur coats and then handed each of them a leaf of tobacco. After he had again taken his former seat on the plank-bed, he asked the newcomers to take a seat likewise, lighted his pipe at the basin filled with glowing charcoal that stood beside him, and passed it around from one to the other hand. Conversation was soon flowing, and it was not long before the Chinese lifted a small can filled with liquor from the coal-pan, put several small porcelain bowls on the low table standing beside him, filled them, and handed them to his guests. During the conversation the Chinese talked boastfully and took pains to point out to his listeners and to me that his countrymen, the Nekan, were the best friends of the Olcha, Goldi, Gilyak, etc., because they provided for their needs and paid for every article of fur with clothing materials, millet, tobacco, liquor, or the like, according to their desires, and were always friendly to them, whereas the Manchu were their mutual enemies and only exploited and

/605 cont./

mistreated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal servings of liquor, made to the natives by Chinese merchants, and they never miss their mark, especially in the case of the Goldi who, living in the closest proximity to the Manchu and entirely dependent on them, have often personally experienced their cruelty and avarice and even give them the nickname "sungaru," rats, to indicate that they act like the latter around their supplies and possessions. On the Gilyak, however, to whom the Manchu officials do not come to collect tribute and to practice all kinds of extortion, the flattering and seductive behavior of the Chinese merchants makes little impression. On the other hand, the great profit that the latter make by selling to the Amur peoples at retail for a very high price the commodities that they purchased cheaply at wholesale on the Sungari is obvious to their commercial sense, and, little inclined to contribute to it at their own expense, they try to imitate them and keep the profits for themselves. This explains their above-mentioned opposition to granting Chinese merchants access to their territory and the little encouragement that the latter find among them in general. The Chinese trade center on their border, in Puli, is visited, apart from the Olcha, Samagir, and Orok, almost exclusively by the Tscholi Gilyak, who, far from the Amur, find there the means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and especially along the Tymy River. The Amur Gilyak, on the other hand, try to utilize the route offered to them by nature and, avoiding the profit-seeking middlemen located on it, fetch what is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, from the Sungari themselves.

To be able to undertake a trading trip to the Sungari or, as the Gilyak usually express it, "to the Manchu," is the goal of their most ardent desires and constant practical endeavors. It is chiefly for this purpose that sables, otters, and foxes are hunted and the trips to the neighboring tribes to buy precious furs are carried out. For without a considerable supply of this

/605 cont./

barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is considered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the unavoidable payment of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is also arranged for its accomplishment. For a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that it leads through the territory, not only of their neighbors, the Olcha, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Uturi to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they could quite easily lose their dogs altogether, and through that get into the greatest difficulty. Moreover, at best by this method such a small quantity of wares could be transported that the journey would pay only slightly, if at all. The only way to do it safely and profitably is by boat up the Amur and Sungari. For this, however, a number of men are needed to propel the boat, loaded with furs and some supplies, even though not heavily, against the occasionally very strong current, sometimes by rowing and sometimes by pulling on ropes. Hence, a small, but well-organized company, with an authoritative and commanding leader at the head, is always required for such a journey.

The goal of the Sungari journeys of the Gilyak is always the town of Ssan-ssin, or Itscha-choton, as it is called by all the Amur peoples, located at the point where the Churcha or Mutuan-ho empties into the Sungari. They are not permitted

/606 cont./ They are not permitted

by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari, the so-called Sachalin River -- a prohibition whose observance the Manchu officials stationed in Dshang-ssin at the confluence of the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal observation. What they have to say about the towns of "Kirchi-choton" and "Nungdy-choton" (Ninguta?) located, respectively, above Itscha-choton on the Sungari and on its above-mentioned tributary, which they call "Ula" (which, however, in Manchu and Tungusic, as is well known, simply means "river"), as well as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Sachali River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they may have heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in part perhaps through Daurian-Yakut traditions in Burukan. The fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does nothing in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not send either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Ssan-ssin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

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time they must submit to being treated like the Goldi and other peoples directly subject to the Manchu-Chinese. And in order to achieve their commercial ends, they behave, as they themselves told me, toward them on their part just like the latter, that is, they bend the knee before them in greeting or to make a request, which otherwise is not at all customary among them. The Gilyak in Ssan-ssin put on an act of complete submission to the Manchu-Chinese government, and the latter is satisfied with this, along with the gifts collected from them in the form of tribute and probably going into the pockets of the local officials, and otherwise leaves them in peace.

The treatment of the natives of the lower Amur region appearing annually on the Sungari for trade on the part of the Manchu officials and Chinese merchants there is extremely harsh, inconsiderate, and humiliating, and in particular the gentle and shy Goldi, who live closest to them and are directly subject to them, have to suffer under them. According to the description by Chlikofaklij (1) and Barabasch (2), who traveled up the Sungari

1. Khlikovskii (Izviest. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. II, 1860, Sec. II, p. 227. In the excerpt in Petermann's Geograph. Mitthei., 1868, p. 343).

2. Ia. Barabash", "Sungariisk. Ekiped. 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 3, p. 141).

to Pe-tune (Bo-dune) in 1866 and 1872, they first had to pay for a permit for travel to Ssan-ssin and for the trading itself, which was done in the village of Susuu, lying somewhat below the latter, by paying a considerable amount of sturgeon and hausen cartilage and glue to the Manchu official stationed there. Upon reaching Ssan-ssin, they first of all have to pay the tribute (albun) owed to the Chinese Crown, which consists of one sable,

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and, to be sure, the best, per man. In order to find it, however, the officials in charge of this rummage through and inspect the entire collection of sables of each of the newcomers -- a procedure during which the owner in question must continually kneel down in respect, and many a one remains on his knees for an hour and longer before the best sable has been selected from his collection. It is obvious that, as a rule, this does not stop at one, but no protests or resistance would help here, since for the slightest offense of this /608/ kind the one concerned is punished immediately by beatings with bamboo. When the officials are satisfied, it is the merchants' turn to plunder, and they have at their disposal, among other things, so powerful a means as liquor, which no Tungus can easily resist. It is said that not infrequently the Chinese traders confront the Goldi with fabricated or false claims and demand from one or another of them the repayment of so many sable pelts allegedly still owed by his father or grandfather -- demands which the Goldi, out of fear of the punishment threatened and especially of the withdrawal of their trading permit by the officials, who have an understanding with the merchants, usually obey.

For furs, especially sable, otter, and fox furs, and sturgeon and hausen cartilage, spinal cords, and glue, the only products of their region that the Gilyak bring to Ssan-ssin, they get in trade from the Chinese various commodities produced by them in part for their own subsistence and in part for trade with the neighboring peoples. Among these are the aforementioned cereals and vegetables used in great quantities at the bear festivals, such as millet, barley, wheat flour, white and yellow beans, and then liquor and tobacco, along with the implements customarily used in enjoying them, the small porcelain bowls and the Chinese pipes distributed everywhere and provided with brass, glass, or stone (agate and chalcedony) mouthpieces. Of special importance for the Gilyak, furthermore, are the clothing materials which they obtain from the Chinese: the indispensable blue and gray cotton cloth worn by

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439 men and women, black woolens and velvet materials, silk fabrics, silk thread of all colors, sewing needles, buttons, and a quantity of Chinese ornaments, silver ear-pendants, rings and bracelets, glass beads, sheet-brass figures for decorating women's robes, and the like, as well as, finally, a number of household utensils, such as large and small kettles, etc. If the quantity of
439 goods acquired in trade in Ssan-ssin, in part heavy and bulky,
437 is too large to be transported without injury in the small boats
484 in which the Gilyak customarily make the arduous upstream
[501] voyage to and on the Sungari, a so-called Manchu boat, made by the Goldi there, is bought, in which the return voyage downstream can be made easily and quickly. And since, in order to have a stronger current, one usually stays far from the banks, he at the same time avoids the danger of being belatedly fleeced even yet by the Manchu officials and Chinese traders stationed or residing here and there temporarily or permanently. After the return trip is completed, the boat can still be used for a second type of trading voyage -- the voyages to the Ssisam (Japanese), to a consideration of which we must now turn.

439 Among the above-named commodities which the Gilyak obtain by trade in Ssin-ssan, one article plays an especially important role. It is the colorful Chinese silk fabric bearing designs of dragons and other figures and often with gold and silver interwoven in it, which is brought to market in part in whole pieces and in part worked up into long and wide-sleeved dressing gowns. /609/ Whereas the other commodities serve the Gilyak exclusively for their own use or for trade with their neighbors, these find their foremost and best purchasers outside of the Amur region, among the Japanese, and therefore give them the principal reason for direct trade with the latter. There is mention of this trade, which, however, does not take place in Japan, but in the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin, even in the oldest accounts of this island which we have from the Japanese. The Japanese interpreter Kanmemon, who visited Jesso /Yesso/ before 1652, already speaks of special fabrics which the inhabitants of this island get from "Krato" or "Kraft"

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439 (Sakhalin), and which he therefore calls "Kraft-ori" (1).

[113] 1. "Jesoki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, publ. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 162, 164). Cf. also p. 262, note 3, above.

175 There is an even more definite statement in Rinsifée's work, San
439 kokf tsou ran to sets, published in Jedo /Yedo, or Tokyo/ in 1785 or 1786, where it is said that the inhabitants of Jesso (Matsmai) exchange their products on Karafuto with the "Mantsiu" for blue glass beads, eagle wings, tobacco pipes, silken fabrics embroidered with dragons, and colored linen and cotton materials (2). This undoubtedly refers to the trade which

[113] 2. Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 190. Cf. also Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 487.

the Manchu-Chinese, Gilyak, and Olcha, with the above-named, mostly Chinese commodities, but in part also indigenous products of the Amur region (such as the eagle tails), conducted on Sakhalin with the Japanese and Ainu of this island and, through their intermediation, also with the inhabitants of Jesso, and which the last-named indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region and some of the Goldi still conduct. To be sure, they are not named there, but this is not to be expected in view of the lack of knowledge about the peoples of the lower Amur region at that time on the part of the Japanese, and, rather, it is to be assumed that under "Mantsiu" in the collective sense they meant all those people there carrying on trade with Manchu-Chinese

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175 commodities. The Gilyak and Olcha coming to Sakhalin to trade
439 with the Japanese are simply designated as "Manchu" even by many a more recent Russian reporter (3), though at present

[113] 3. For instance, by Rudanofskij (cf. P. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazovaniia Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii i dieistv. eia do nastoiashch. vrem. /Historical Survey of the Founding of the Russian-American Company and of Its Activities up to the Present/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 127), Busse, (Otrov" Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 g. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 62, 72, 85), and others.

neither they nor the Chinese merchants referred to as a rule under this name by the Russians visit Sakhalin. The first Russian report concerning the trade in question is almost as old as the last-mentioned Japanese account. In 1792, Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese on Jesso speak of the "Sandan-aino" who bring beads and fabrics to "Karap" (Krafto, Sakhalin) and barter for animal furs, sable, fox, etc. (4). To be sure, he thought that

[113] 4. Cf. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, pp. 493, 541). Similarly see p. 245 above.

these "Sandan People" must be Koreans, but since, as was discussed above at length (5), "Santan" is the Japanese and Ainu

5. See pp. 245 and 247, as well as the footnote.

/609 cont./

175 designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no
439 doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

439 The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the
437 Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter and
484 located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,
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1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea
[501] voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the
[103] higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these keelless vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsô Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaref (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

[104] 2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible. But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and especially south of Duĭ as far as Pilja-wo, is steep and rocky, offers many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

/610 cont./

439 they take only a small supply of food with them and depend al-
437 most entirely on their fish nets for their subsistence (3), the
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3. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

sea voyage sometimes takes a longer time. Under favorable conditions, however, they are said to be able to cover the worst stretch, from Duĭ to Kussunai, often in four to five days. On winter voyages to the Ssisam, which are made in dog-drawn sleds, the above-mentioned steep, rocky coastal stretch puts great obstacles in the way. For the sea does not always freeze along it, and even if a fringe of ice has formed, with a strong wind it often, and sometimes very suddenly and unexpectedly, is broken up again and carried off by the high waves of the sea. The travelers are therefore forced to cover this stretch by land, and, on account of the mountains lying behind it, that can be done only by way of a long detour: they leave the seacoast at Arkai, shortly before Duĭ, turn inland over low passes to the Tymy sources, go from them to the Plyi or Poronai River, and follow its course up to the mouth in the Bay of Patience, on which there are settlements of all three of the peoples represented on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. From there they travel along the east coast of the island to Manuê and then, along a low and convenient pass located at the narrowest point of Sakhalin, /611/ cross again to the west coast, which they reach at Kussunai and which they then follow to Ssiranussi (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 110.

439 As has already been mentioned, one of the purposes of the Ssisam voyages of the Gilyak is to trade with the Ainu and to obtain furs from them in exchange for cotton cloth, tobacco, pipes, glass beads, and other Manchu-Chinese articles. This is done wherever they meet them, on the east coast of Sakhalin as

/611 cont./

well as on the west coast. A principal center for this trade
however, is the village of Najoro, not far from Kussunai,
which the Ainu come for this purpose from considerable di
tances themselves, from Aniwa Bay and elsewhere (2). Fo

2. Busse, op. cit., p. 84. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 92.

egoistical reasons the Japanese view this trade with great d
and try as far as possible to prevent it, because they want
for themselves the furs captured by the Ainu. Since they
in a way which is very injurious to the latter, in that they
their goods far below the price in part under threats of pun
and other coercive measures, and, indeed, sometimes for
ing, as payment for alleged debts (3), the Ainu, whenev

3. Busse, op. cit., p. 71.

can, avoid trading with them and try to sell their furs, ke
hidden from them, to the Sakhalin Gilyak or, preferably,
the Amur Gilyak and Olcha from abroad. The latter are s
[435] pay them two to three fathoms (arm spans) of Chinese cott
cloth for one sable pelt, depending on its quality, and jus
much for each quarter of an arshin (finger span) of river-o
skin, so that the latter, with a length of 5/4 arshin, which
easily attained as a result of the unavoidable stretching of
fur in skinning, will bring about ten fathoms of the materi
named (4) -- prices which generally correspond to the val

4. Busse, op. cit., p. 84.

given above for these articles among the Gilyak.

Having reached Ssiranussi, the Ssisam voyagers, be
[648] may begin to trade with the Japanese, submit to a cerem
introduced by the latter which consists of two or three blo
across the back with a stick received by each of them, as

/600 cont./

1/2 ja, a whole fur-coat of squirrel skins 7 ja), whereas the Gilyak with their great wealth of precious furs, pay no attention to these worthless, trifling materials. In further contrast to the Gilyak, limiting themselves almost solely to catching fur-bearing animals and fur trading, the Goldi also bring the hides and skins of the deer-like animals eagerly hunted by them to trade with the Chinese (a roe-deer hide, for example, costs 1/2 ja among them, a red deer or elk hide, untanned, 1 ja, tanned 2 ja). Like the furs, the principal products from fishing also have a higher price among the Goldi than among the Gilyak (a large sturgeon, for example, costs 10 ja among the former), on the one hand because the fish supply in the Amur River decreases upstream, and on the other hand because they are nowhere near as productive in this respect as the Gilyak, who are devoted exclusively to fishing. Cereals and vegetables (beans of various kinds), however, seem to be cheaper for them than for the latter, both on account of their greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese and because they themselves cultivate some vegetables. Finally, the same is quite decidedly also the case for tobacco, in that one "string" of it, equal to three hundred bundles, is valued by them at 20 ja (2).

2. At 30 ja by the Gilyak, according to the above table /see p. 935/.

Incidentally, immediately after the arrival of the Russians, the value of the Chinese (Manchurian) tobacco rapidly sank in the eyes of the Gilyak, since the far stronger Russian (Circassian) tobacco is much more to their taste.

Since principal commodity of the Amur peoples in trading with the Chinese consists of animal skins, and in particular sable, fox, and otter skins, and the Gilyak, as we saw above, are, on the whole, only /601/ clumsy and not very industrious hunters, they must, above all, in order to be able to carry on this trade on a large scale, think of procuring this commodity in the largest quantities possible, not only by hunting, but in another way better suited to their nature. To this end they trade with their

/601 cont./

439 438 184 Tungusic neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting, and the Amur Gilyak, who have the most dealings with the Chinese, also trade with their more distant countrymen living along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin and buy from them the desired furs. The Amur Gilyak, and in part the Tschomi Gilyak too, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which Chinese wares are brought into circulation throughout the territory of the Gilyak and of the tribes immediately neighboring them, the Negda, Reindeer Tungus, Orok, and even the Ainu, and they are also the ones who draw the greatest advantage from it. There is not a single Chinese merchant in this whole area. 439 648 [487] The northernmost and easternmost point in the lower Amur region where such a one stays temporarily is the village of Pulj, located still in Olcha territory on the Amur, near the Gilyak border, which can easily be reached in winter, even from Tschomi, via the oft-mentioned Tymi-Chaselach route from the Liman (1). It was said that sometimes a Chinese merchant

1. See pp. 144 and 909 above.

steals through from Pulj along the deserted left bank of the Amur to the Negda on the Amgunj, but carefully avoids the right bank, inhabited by the Gilyak, because they, as they themselves told me, will not permit any Chinese merchants in their territory and 25 years ago killed one who ventured it. Whether they assumed this hostile attitude toward the Chinese merchants in order to defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese or in order to shake it off is still uncertain, but in any case it is greatly to their advantage commercially. 439 For the role that is played farther upstream by the Chinese merchants living among the Olcha, Goldi, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur region or visiting them, in that they act as middlemen in the trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers along the Sungari, falls in the Gilyak-Tungusic area, intowhich they are not allowed to come, to the Amur Gilyak themselves. And the latter perform their role of middlemen with great skill and success. The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that

484 437 /601 cont./ The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spi

439 [157] they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes, is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commod ties, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the lik in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these for eign articles and with some of their own products, such as stur or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to the places named. This is done especially in winter when ther [221] is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dog [492] which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish i the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests. Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to take only a small quantity of commodities with them each tim the frequency and common practice of such trading trips amon them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goo and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same, the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese, they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting. Here again experience proves that the producer of a commodit always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using

439 437 484 648 [487] These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose m tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Neg on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Gilyak Hynk) and the Samagir on the Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhots and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter, aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone, they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportu

Goldi KKS
Negida!
Samagir

/602 cont./

First of all, the Amgunj offers them a direct and convenient route to the Chinese merchants along the Amur; secondly, in winter only a short distance separates them from the Samagir on the Gorin, who are likewise visited by Chinese merchants; and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Nemilen, the chief northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a low watershed, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 166 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Siberian Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 and 150).

Under these circumstances the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the Negda are not very great, except perhaps in those places where the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from those trade opportunities, namely, on Lake Orell and Lake Tschlja, where there is also a Gilyak village and which, moreover, lie on the route from the Amur to the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. Like the Negda, the Samagir, too, in addition to their principal territory on the Gorin (Gilyak Kyr), have still other habitation sites remote from it and closer to the Gilyak -- these are their settlements on Lake Udyl, and, like the Negda lakes, these, too, are /603/ visited by the Amur Gilyak for trade, and, to be sure, in winter as well as in summer. Thus, on May 18 (30), 1856, I met the Gilyak Mesgun in Patt at the moment when he was about to set out in a boat laden with various Chinese commodities to travel to the "Rdhy" (Samagir) living on Lake Udyl. On the whole, however, the latter lies, geographically as well as on the basis of the linguistic relationships of the

/603 cont./

The Amur Gilyak find a field for their trading operations as middlemen that is far more favorable than among the Negda and Samagir among their own countrymen along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, which they reach in a short time, going either from Pall-wo to Kulj via the lakes mentioned, or from Wair to Hisska, or by way of the Amur Liman, and where they are the sole suppliers of Chinese and, since the abandonment of the Petrofski post, also Russian wares. In exchange for these, they are supplied with animal pelts which the Gilyak living there in part capture themselves in the coastal region and on the Schantar Islands and in part obtain from the Tungus hunting along the Tugur and in the Mäwatschan Mountains in exchange for the yield from their fishing and hunting of sea animals and articles previously procured from the Amur Gilyak. Furthermore, they buy eagle tails from their countrymen in order to use them in trade with the Japanese, and, finally, they cheaply procure there seal oil and skins both for their own use and for trade with their southern neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi.

The Amur Gilyak, and in part also the Tschomi Gilyak, get their greatest booty in animal skins for trade with the Chinese, however, on Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the former chiefly in the northern part of the island, along the Liman and Tro coasts, and the latter on the west coast south of Poghobi and along the upper course of the Tymy River, without there being any strict division of these trade areas between them. It is strange that the Sakhalin Gilyak, unlike their aforementioned countrymen, do little moving about and almost never come to the mainland, to say nothing of their undertaking more distant trading trips, but rather they are content to exploit their nearest neighbors on the island, the Orok and the Ainu, and, in turn, let themselves be supplied with the Chinese commodities coveted by them, too, tobacco, liquor, cloth, and the like, by the continental Gilyak, who come over to them. The Orok likewise only rarely roam beyond the Liman in order to approach the Chinese traders in Pulj along the Tymi-Chaselach route, and, finally,

/611 cont./
token of their submissiveness from the highest Japanese official. After this is done, the goods are taken away from them and brought to an official building of the Japanese, which no one except them may enter, in order to be subjected to a close scrutiny (5). It can hardly be doubted that some of the pieces

5. According to Rudanofski, in Tichmenef's Istorich. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 127.

and certainly not the worst ones, never find their way back to their rightful owners. The Japanese, however, do not permit themselves to treat the newly arrived Gilyak and Olcha in the same inconsiderate and predatory manner as they do the Ainu, simply for the reason that otherwise they might easily shy away altogether from trading with them and the coveted commodities that they bring to them would be lost. Besides /612/ this trade is all the more profitable for them since they principally use sable, fox, and river-otter furs in it, articles which they procure in great quantities and almost without cost, thanks to their systematic extortion practiced on the Ainu on Sakhalin, as well as on Jesso, and for which they have no market in Japan because of the well-known aversion to fur among its inhabitants. They further owe great profit to the popularity of their iron kettles, provided with handles, among the Gilyak. Finally, rice, tobacco, sake, porcelain and lacquered wooden bowls, and the like are readily marketable articles for them in this trade, in exchange for which they principally try to obtain from the Gilyak and Olcha those colorful, red and blue Chinese silk materials and the eagle tails likewise mentioned several times. How popular the one as well as the other is among them can be seen from the high prices that they pay for them. According to Poswein, the Gilyak from Kulj, the Japanese give for a piece of silk material seven fathoms long and one arshin wide five river-otter pelts, five fox pelts, and five sable pelts, and for an eagle tail from Haliaëtos pelagicus 12 otter pelts, and from the far less

/612 cont./
439 prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjelm,
[435] at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

439 Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin
484 for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often ex-
487 tends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they
[231] still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

648 order to raise them at home.
439 The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go
484 beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the
[823] southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

/612 cont./
439 their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of
484 the Ssisam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin
648 (Lär-mif) and separated from it by a "small sea" (matsch-kerchk).
[823] /613/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the
175 Amur region by the Russians, however, the Japanese also tried
648 to keep the traders from there away from Ssiranussi and Endungomo,
439 their second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Ssiranussi by the Japanese but only as far as Endungomo, and in the following year the Olcha traders were prohibited from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kussunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2). Even Judin, the

[113] 2. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, pp. 22, 26). Also, Schmidt, "Hist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebach, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Sziranussi and was well known there; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, stemming from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our considerations.

Chukches RX
Golj RX3
Olcha

G /613 cont./
439 If one surveys all of the above-described trade activities of the Gilyak, he will not hesitate to acknowledge that they are
G a people extremely gifted for trade by nature and completely
[181] dedicated to it. Too indolent to obtain by hunting the means for trade with the neighboring civilized peoples on a larger scale in keeping with their inclinations, they know how to win them from the tribes neighboring them, who are more skilled at hunting, by means of trade indefatigably pursued from small be-
G ginnings. Thus enriched, they undertake, in spite of their primi
[439] tive means of locomotion, long trade journeys to the Sungari
[484] and to southern Sakhalin, to the "Manchu" and to the "Ssisam," and since they exchange the wares and products of the one for those of the other, they serve as middlemen between the two greatest civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the
C Japanese. This latter activity of the Gilyak permits comparing
439 them with another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Chukchee, who,
437 likewise only poor hunters, but animated by a great genius for
484 trade, roam over the northern tundra and cross the Bering Strait in order to trade for the furs bagged by the Eskimo in the Yukon territory with the commodities of the Russo-Siberian merchants, and, conversely, along the Anjui, the latter for the former, and so in the polar north they act as trade intermediaries between Europe-Asia and America (3). None of the Siberian peoples can

C
[113] 3. Concerning this trade of the Chukchee, see the detailed and exhaustive account by Matjuschkin /Matiushkin/ (in Wrangell's /Vrangel'/ travel account, Russian edition, Vol. I, pp. 331 ff.), Ditmar (Bull. de la cl. hist.-philol. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., Vol. XIII, 1856, pp. 129 ff.; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 39 ff.), and others.

Gi None of the Siberian Peoples Can
439 be compared, with regard to its trade activities, /614/ to these
197 two Paleo-Asiatic peoples, except perhaps the Olcha, whose strongly developed genius for trade, however, as we shall see in a moment, must be traced back to the influence of the Gilyak.

A /621 cont./
175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
G to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
Gi
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
[114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

SS /622 cont./
G Let us now compare the conditions described by Mamia Rinsô
Gi with the position that the Manchu-Chinese occupied in relation
648 to the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region half a century
178 later at the time of my visit. This has already been discussed
439 in the foregoing on various occasions, and therefore I shall now only recapitulate /623/ briefly the principal features of it to make comparison easier. At the time of my visit, the Manchu or Chinese no longer made any trade journeys to Sakhalin at
A all (1). An obligation for the payment of tribute by the Sakhalin
[648]
B
[622]

1. Also, the above-mentioned Ssetakurero questioned by Mr. Schmidt could not remember having seen Manchu about (in Najoro): it was always only "Ssanta" (Olcha) or "Ssumeri" (Gilyak) who came there for trade purposes (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 94).

Ainu and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Manchu likewise did not exist, and thus there were none of those appointed chiefs or elders among them. Almost the same situation prevailed with regard to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha; the former were visited neither by the Manchu nor by Chinese merchants; among the latter, to be sure, Chinese traders stayed here and there, but they carried on their business entirely by their own hands, and a tribute, or, more accurately, a specific assessment in furs, was collected from the one as from the other only in Ssan-ssin for the
Gi granting of permission to trade. The Goldi, on the other hand,
178 were required to pay tribute to the Manchu-Chinese authorities,
439 and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin,
648 there was a permanent residence for Manchu officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it
SS must be concluded that in the period between Mamia Rinsô's
174 travels in the Amur region and mine a retreat of the Manchu-
648 Chinese control from Sakhalin and the lowermost course of the
439 Amur, from the territories of the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had
178 taken place.

Gi /626 cont./
361 Goldi, in order to escape pressure by the Manchu, have moved
167 into the deserted area -- a movement which was still going on
Gi in my time (3). It is therefore not surprising that the inhabitants
[443]
[439]

3. Concerning this, too, see p. 56 above.

of Dyra, just such Goldi who had immigrated later, could give me no information in answer to my inquiries about the trade center of Deren which had once stood there.

SS
Gi
T
439 With regard to trade in the upper Amur region, which I only became acquainted with on a journey through it along the main river, I must limit myself to pointing out a few general features particularly characteristic of it in contrast to the lower Amur region. If we first consider the peoples of the former which are analogous to the indigenous tribes of the latter, the Birar, Manegir and Orochon, both the articles that they bring to trade and those that they take away in exchange are practically the same for the one as for the other. For the former, which in both places are obtained solely by hunting, show only the /627/ minor, almost exclusively quantitative differences and modifications pointed out above in discussing hunting, and, concerning the latter, they are in general also the same clothing, food, and luxury items often mentioned above, which have become indispensable for the primitive peoples of both regions. An essential and characteristic difference between the upper and the lower Amur peoples with regard to trade, however, is to be found in their disparate relations with the neighboring civilized peoples caused by the location and other geographical and political conditions of the region. As was pointed out above,
G the peoples of the lower Amur region, prior to the occupation of
Gi it by the Russians, had practically no trade relations with them at
SS all, apart from some slight contact along the Tugur. Instead,
439 such took place only with the Japanese and Chinese, and the latter was centered on the Sungari, from where Chinese goods, through the intermediation of the Chinese merchants as well as

G /627 cont./
Gi of the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, were carried down the Amur
SS to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and along the island of Sakhalin
439 to the Japanese. Therefore, as far as trade was concerned, the lower Amur region was a region closed toward the west and completely dominated by the Sungari, to a certain extent a continuation of the Sungari region extending as far as the sea and including the island of Sakhalin stretching out in front of it.

T The situation is different for the upper Amur region. Be-
439 cause of its continental location and great distance from the sea, it is out of reach for communication, and its population is kept away from the lower Amur and the Sungari by the political measures of the Chinese government. Following the policy of keeping the Sungari cut off from the upper Amur, adopted in the seventeenth century in order to ward off a Russian invasion, it permits no direct trade and shipping connections between them and also prevents free communication between the inhabitants of the upper and lower Amur on the river connecting them. As a consequence of these geographical and political conditions the trade of the upper Amur peoples, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, turned toward the west and north, that is, first toward the source region of the Amur River, or so-called Russian Dauria, and the Lena area, and in the south, following the uppermost Amur, the Desja /Zeya/, and the Bureja /Bureya/ downstream, is concentrated in the culture area of the Amur River located between the mouths of these last two rivers and occupied by Manchu, Chinese, and Daur, in which Aigun, the Ssan-ssin of the upper, or more correctly, the middle Amur, is located, which, in turn, is oriented toward Tsitsikar, the administrative center of the Chinese Helong-Kiang district, which embraces the upper Amur region. The trade link between the upper Amur region and the Sungari region is, therefore, not the mouth of the Sungari, but Tsitsikar, which is located on the Nonni.

The extent and complexity of the trade ties which connect the Orochon, Manegir, and Birar with the Russians and Yakut of the adjacent sections of Siberia have already been indicated above in the discussion of the indefinite, overlapping, fluctuating, and

/666 cont./
556 named for me as mykstschr-kolla. The latter in particular was especially esteemed and popular among his countrymen, aside from other reasons, on account of his lavish and much visited bear festivals, in one of which I, too, took part. They related that he was held in such esteem that even the Chinese in Ssansin and the Japanese on Sakhalin referred to him as Gilyak dshangin and treated him accordingly, which prompted some of them, too, to refer to him occasionally in this way, and yet, they said, he is no dshangin, of whom there are none among them, but only a mykstschr-kolla nibach. Thus do they cling, even with the great differences in means and, accordingly, also in social position, to their complete equality legally.

426 435 When I previously said that the poor Gilyak, in case of necessity, count on the help of their richer countrymen and may expect to receive from them some things on credit, but others for nothing, this needs an explanation. One might accordingly [439] think that the latter treat the former in about the same way as the Chinese traders, who, in an emergency, give the Goldi, Orochi, and other natives of the region among whom they reside the things required, calculated at a very high price, on credit, in order that afterwards, by means of repeated and unchecked promissory notes, they will never be out of debt to them for the rest of their lives; in fact, the debts are even inherited by their children. This never happens among the Gilyak. As much as I was in contact with the rich and the poor among them, I never heard of anything that would permit one to conclude that there is any considerable debt relationship between the one and the other. Both are also probably too cautious and practical, too subtly and cleverly calculating, to enter into such relationships, disadvantageous for both, for the one injurious to his respect and popularity, for the other to his existence. Not that they do not have any debts among one another -- but these always seem to be only small advances within their means to one person or another, the casual repayment of which is taken for granted, but often, and probably usually in cases of unequal means, /667/ is not even claimed, 426 and not much is said about it. Perhaps related to this is the fact

507 /672 cont./ with regard to me,
123 however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I, [935] too, never received any thanks from the Gilyak. I am not thinking now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are urged forward. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiko, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

431 On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to
123 exchange small gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer, perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /673/ pai. If the latter were not done, the objects offered in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, sev-
431 eral buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not
• [439] by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy natures, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

431 /673 cont./ this
• 439 custom may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations
177 of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Ssan-
648 ssin, as well as in Ssiranussi, have their officials and trade agents who demand such captatio benevolentiae in their own interest and to the detriment of the government or the trading houses concerned.

439 Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, pai. And this is precisely what Judin did when, in the transaction with the Russian-American Company for the sizable sum that he received for compensation, he wanted to be given various costly fabrics and other luxury items.

439 I must say for the Gilyak, however, that as a rule one can
123 trust their word and their honesty in business dealings with them,
157 for example, the delivery of wares or other articles paid for in advance. As guides, too, they are generally trustworthy, in fact, some of them so identified themselves with my interests that they occasionally even warned me against the thievish instincts of the population of this or that village which in their eyes was notoriously
114 bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very diffi-
157 cult to get guides for a trip, for as a rule the Gilyak are too suspi-
123 cious and fearful to give up their freedom and cast their lot in with that of the traveler. More than once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their exact knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening beside the blazing fire, with their communicativeness and cleverness. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deserted me. And that happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad snowstorm. The broad-soled Russian sled stubbornly stuck to the wet snow, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but to drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf larch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. No wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

/677 cont./
805 Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for
184 January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound
805 of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-
184 month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the
825 former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas
• [439] of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese 000 origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long --

805 825 171 113 3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

/682 cont./

33 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among
14 the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song;
instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only
praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also
26) the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to
me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of
two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words
in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in
them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides
my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn
was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under
the title of Walghytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only

1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list;
see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p.
41 /this appendix is not included in the book
translated here/.

on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection
with the /683/ place Mlygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a
place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who
die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but
are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the
shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two
439 musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them
is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an
instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, ac-
cordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction
that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed
among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood,
and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The
first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into
which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining at-
tached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced
and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front
of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

/684 cont./

545 theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks, etc.
171 whereas other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts
and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these
and such great delight in these entertainments that there are
complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance
of /685/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected
[157] for the purpose (1). The Gilyak seem to have such a sober frame

1. Concerning the theatrical performances of
the Aleuts see in particular: Veniaminov",
Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the
Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg,
1840. Part II, pp. 85. 93. With regard to the
Eskimo, see above, pp. 492-498.

of mind that they are not capable of illusion.

527 Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind
[526] as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade
their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and after-
ward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, ex-
cept for their very active participation in preparing the latter,
play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a
128 chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section,
devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their
immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on
the program for it and in the order in which I myself became
acquainted with them.

524 Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak game
•439 which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese;
I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small,
Chinese playing-cards, which Chinese traders bring from the
Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory
of the Goldi and Olcha (2), and thus into the hands of the Gilyak.

[171] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 198)
saw for example, these Chinese playing

G /685 cont./
524 2. (cont.)
•439 cards, the game being played with 120
171 cards, in use among the Goldi of Ykka.

G The latter have only the expression pai, that is, gratis or free, for
524 card-playing, proof of the harmless fashion in which it has been
525 practiced up to now. In fact, in my time the Gilyak only played
171 for tobacco, which, in view of the common enjoyment of each
pipe of tobacco as a rule, even more reveals it as an entirely
harmless pleasure. But they knew that the "Manchu" (Chinese)
made a quite different use of it and played for much higher stakes.
Przewalski describes how widespread the card game is among the
Chinese in the upper Ussuri and the adjacent coastal area, espe-
cially along the Zymu-che and Ssutschan, where during the winter
unemployed riffraff spend entire days and nights playing cards and
cause the ruin of many a formerly rich houseowner (3). Under

3. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie
/Journey to the Ussuri Region/, St. Peters-
burg, 1870, p. 90.

these circumstances it is surprising that it has not spread more
rapidly down the Amur and that it has not found favorable soil in
particular among the greedy and acquisitive Gilyak. It is un-
doubtedly because of the energy with which the latter have been
able to keep the Chinese away. In the meantime it may also have
been carried to them by the Russians.

Gi Before I start the description of the bear festival of the
648 Gilyak, I must cast a brief comparative glance at the peoples
immediately adjacent to them, the Olcha and Goldi, with re-
gard to the social and co-operative relations touched on above.

/686/ In my time, after the official Manchu-Chinese trade
center of Deren was abandoned sometime in the twenties the
Olcha, like the Gilyak, were not tributary to either China or
G Russia Only if one or the other went to the Sungari to trade
[439] did they have to pay, as has been mentioned above (1), to the

1. Cf. p. 950.

10 resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of
[361] Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast
and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-
Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct
place.

[194] In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-aggluti-
native languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal
and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-ǧan—big dog). The agglutinating
[193] features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics
of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of
speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives
have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting:
802 in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects,
instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1)
long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects;
3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4)
thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits;
7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one
bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—
one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled;
and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian
peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common
with the languages of these peoples.

174 In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants.
There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of
the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numer-
ous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone im-
plements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral
ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin.
There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi
habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur
peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of
the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was
expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the
Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data
indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the
Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once
lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources,
tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th
century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or
Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According
to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to
travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasilly
Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba,
the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack
reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to
[361] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-
[342] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
[343] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
[251] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
[33] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.
[362]

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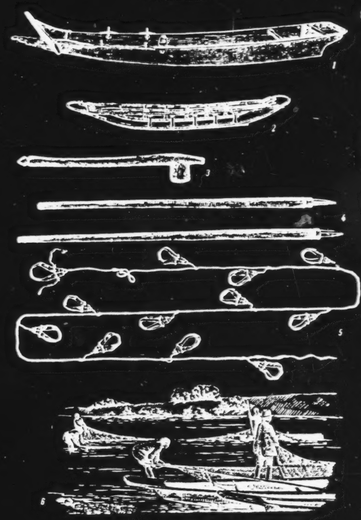

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Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was Prepared with
fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, 26
seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite 25
dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi 42
became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded 42

/630 cont./

Manchu officials there, in that the privilege of collecting tribute among the Manegir and Birar is conferred upon them by the latter, though presumably in return for a suitable guarantee and substantial payment, for which, however, they know how to get ample repayment in the trading. If one looks at their entire trading activity briefly outlined above, they can be compared, on the one hand, with the Chinese carrying on trade in the lower Amur region, and, on the other hand, in an even more striking way, with the Gilyak. For like the latter they carry their own and, even more, Chinese goods and products great distances to the neighboring tribes and, through trade, use their hunting booty for their own advantage. In any case, with regard to trade, these two peoples, the Daur and the Gilyak, are the most prominent and the most significant characteristic formations in the Amur region -- the former in the upper and the latter in the lower part of it. But it is noteworthy that these two peoples nowhere come in direct contact with each other except in that one place on the Tugur located outside the Amur region -- a consequence of the above-mentioned mutual isolation determined by geographical and political conditions in which the upper and the lower Amur region are found with regard to the trade of their peoples, and which has essentially contributed to the formation and preservation of peculiar ethnographic conditions in them.

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a woode

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, howeve
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
593 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible,
842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlà, tammlà, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growin sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from the help that they give in the household, a fine bride p

/646 cont./

567 people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the ones most involved in the slave trade. Finally, [170] indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is [648] rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought [181] by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is [439] the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have best been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain conditions sell them again, but they most decidedly abhor keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen that he would be in constant danger of his life.

567 435 On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in [583] particular in their resale by the Gilyak. It is much more expensive to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Ssogin in Kufk, for instance, paid far more for his slave, an Ainu woman named Kot, than for his second wife, Malguk from Langr: as noted above, he bought the latter for 155 ja = 310 rubles, but the former cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 ja, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because [556] of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful about it, as, for instance, Ssogin was. Such a possession seems [584] so enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does [583] not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in [556] exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the purchase price in some other form.

/650 cont./

114 and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4, 175 often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and 567 stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services, [435] are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the [439] Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations [304] named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

[184] customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Be- 175 sides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get 567 their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ainu who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say, [648] they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

567 Before I go further in describing the family relations of the 171 Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

2: Schrenck

RX2 Gilyak RX2
Historical
Manchuria AG2

441

/Information on itinerant Chinese merchants in the Amur and Manchurian areas will be found in categories 439 and 563./

/590/

Section 10

000

Trade. Value of the Principal Items Occurring in Trade, the Household, and the Rest of Life. Trade Relations of the Amur Peoples with One Another and with the Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. A Look at the Recent History of Trade and the Rule of the Manchu-Chinese in the Lower Amur Region.

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171

As essential as fishing and hunting may be for the existence of the Amur peoples, they nevertheless cannot directly satisfy all of their needs; they cannot procure some of their requirements in food and clothing, as well as the luxury items that have become no less essential to them, except by selling part of their hunting and fishing products to the neighboring civilized peoples, that is, by trading. Thus, in this latter, a third source of subsistence is opened to them, by means of which the first two are essentially supplemented and brought to their full significance.

439

It is clear that even more than in the earlier sections the observations on the trade of the Amur peoples should begin with the Gilyak. None of the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region has as much interest in and talent for trade and such extensive trade relations as the Gilyak. It is typical for them that

[195]

in the first information which the Russians received about them -- I mean the above-mentioned account that the Cossack leader Perfiliev heard from the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus in the years 1639 and 1640 (1) -- they were already designated as a people living

1. See p. 203 above.

at the mouth of the Amur (chitka) and having trade connections with the Chinese. In fact, they do more trading with the Chinese

[441]

and Japanese than all the other peoples of the lower Amur region, although they /591/ live farther from them, and often act as middlemen in the trade of the latter with the former as well as in that of the two civilized peoples with each other.

452

452 CREDIT--extension of credit by producers and middlemen; methods and terms; advances and discounts; bills of exchange; credit ratings and rating services; credit institutions other than banks (e.g., loan associations, finance companies); etc. See also:

Bankruptcy	498	Credit money	498
Interest, usury, borrowing and lending	498	Cycles of expanding and contracting credit	498
Mortgages	498		

/278 cont./

583 554 735 chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come [183] to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with [614] his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do [406] clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of 583 554 lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her 452 majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment 735 buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment 583 735 with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. 554 The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

583 As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. 614 At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes [627] necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

/281 cont./

583 422 428 She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, she may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

583 585 After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiations, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with drinks is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and 583 no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families, 585 the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom 556 lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry. 583 But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the 585 wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged [452] in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

454

454 SAVING AND INVESTMENT--saving; hoarding; safekeeping (e.g., safes, safe deposit boxes); savings in relation to income; funds available for investment; available and preferred forms of investment (e.g., in land, buildings, cattle, business and productive enterprises, corporate securities, government obligations); savings accounts; postal savings; and savings banks; underwriting and issuance of corporate securities; investment banking; specialized personnel (e.g., investment brokers); regulation; etc. See also:

Food preservation and storage	440	Food stock companies	474
Interest, loans, and mortgages	446	Accumulation of wealth	456
Income	448	Government finance	466
Participation in investment capital	450	Fraud	468

/115 cont./

555 556 156 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself his advantages (1).

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibl' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite-special circumstance: that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods. [789]

614 156 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and [454] fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoa [783] one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole pe sonality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ cluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for ea person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freed and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his re 557 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the g in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence no

middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On fete-days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day arrives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones, and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, especially where there are small children.

Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy. Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Manjours kept the market good.

The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia, are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the double function of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a particular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his cos-

441

441 MERCANTILE BUSINESS--extent of specialization in commerce; types an
tribution of mercantile businesses; social status and special characteristi
of merchants; business men's organizations (e.g., merchant guilds, trad
sociations, chambers of commerce); general characteristics of merchand
special mercantile privileges and restrictions; etc. See also:

Urban commercial facilities 366
Occupational specialization 463
Craft guilds 467
Competition 47
Business schools 87

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

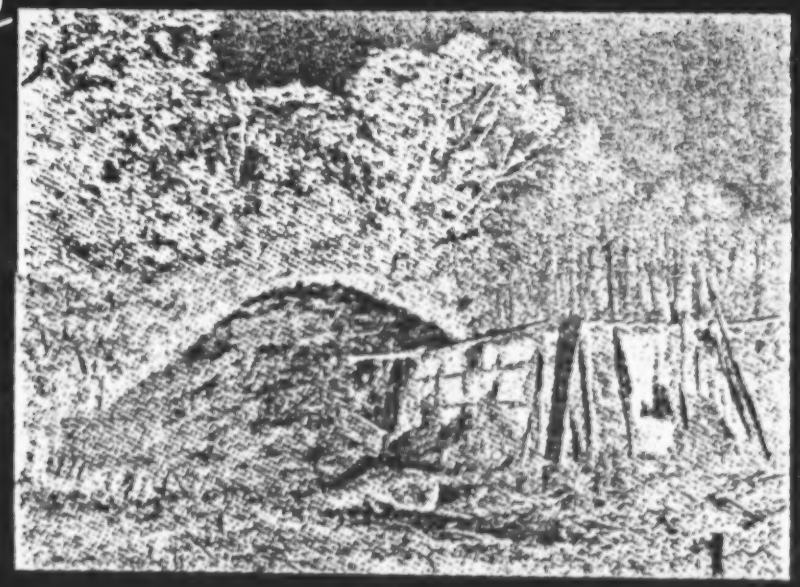

Mud hut.

the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and layout of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summertime, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually surrounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders, and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northernmost Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

91 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
77 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
91 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are [illegible] attire. Sometimes this jacket con-

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
● 439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly.

224 For the bear festival (see below) live young animals are
527 sought and are raised in a special enclosure. If they cannot be caught in any other way (1), they are sought out together

> 1. Sometimes young bears roam
> about so far from their mamas
> that they can be easily caught.

with the mother bears. The Gilyak wait for winter and then seek out a bear cave. On the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set out for the cave with lances, hatchets, straps, and several empty dog sleds. They begin to irritate the bear by thrusting long sticks into the cave. Whereupon bruin begins to roar tremendously and starts to leave his cave. At this instant the bravest and strongest of the Gilyak takes his stand

224 even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of
278 all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution;
339 furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

224 Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Only when [illegible]

[illegible] During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

411 instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped
piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
325 shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
411 arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
439 hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
531 small board and is usually decorated on the outside with various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of

[illegible]

[illegible] amounts to 400-500 rubles. There are no special religious ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations which must [illegible] by the bridegroom last a rather long time, a week or more. Besides millet, fish and ice, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between boy and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the bride and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with his husband; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the other hand, there were far fewer villages.

439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their primary occupations they spend their summers on the river banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the [illegible] are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand, [illegible] found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a [illegible] of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable [illegible] the river bank, while the summer settlements [illegible] by their nature as fishing villages used to be [illegible] by the river. One might conclude from this, [illegible] these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing [illegible] the summer, but served as dwellings for the [illegible] unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were [illegible] withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the [illegible] because of the partically marshy and there- [illegible] river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was [illegible] of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those [illegible] above; rather, the huts were only small and half [illegible], so that they had a certain similarity to the [illegible] the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They [illegible] unenviable abode for the European traveller, [illegible] confined space one can hardly avoid close con- [illegible] inhabitants and the dangers connected with that, [illegible] being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition [illegible] were created by the crowd of people present, by [illegible] of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up [illegible] for smoking, and by the smoke which can only [illegible] difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses [illegible] land are in better condition, but they, too, have

N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new

1 N. V. Slîunīn, Sovremennoîe polozhenīe nashevo Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares. It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mləṭ) and of the stick over the door of the house (ŋγəmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

According to the Gilyak ¡argun (?) now living in the village Cγarvaγ (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from the village Ṭəlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

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/373 cont./

583 in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms Ather's /Ather's/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a present to the bride.

585 Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any ceremonies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is concluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father, dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or /374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price. In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife, sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small compensation.

But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife, and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her. She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used for the year-round maintenance of the family and dogs. It is she who sews not with horsehair, sinews or wire thread, and so smooth, therefore, the two [illegible] seam, [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] family, [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

23] The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters, con-
[136] sists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provided in particular by the same fish appearing on the coasts and in the rivers in shoals at certain seasons on which the existence of the Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of salmon, especially kyghi-ucho and tengi-ucho (Salmo lagocephalus and Salmo gorbuscha), and in winter chiefly the ubiquitous kanji fish (Cottus cochinus), which, however, on account of its smallness, stands far behind the former. The part of these fish especially and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentioned (2).

2. See p. 646.

so-called chark in Gilyak, the pieces consisting of the head and backbone with a little flesh attached to it (3). Only if there is no

3. The Russians in the Amur region and throughout Siberia very aptly call it kosstj, that is, bones, which in fact is all it is.

more of it available is the jukola intended for the people used as dog food. Next to this, seal and white-whale meat, and along the seacoast not infrequently the meat and blubber of stranded whales, serves the same purpose. With the exception of the farmer, which, as was mentioned above, may not be brought into the yurt, according to Gilyak superstition, /480/ food is never given to the dogs in the raw state, as the Russians do, but rather cooked to a soup. This, the feeding does not take place outside, but always in the yurt. Like all housework, it falls upon the women. In the [illegible] the cook found in the yurts [illegible] is used for this purpose, in the [illegible], the platform in the

4. See pp. [illegible] above.

[illegible] beach. When the soup, made out of the above-mentioned ma-
[illegible] terials in one of the large hearth-kettles, is ready, which is al-
[illegible] ways one of the first of the daily chores of the women, a couple of

23] long troughs are placed along the edge of the dogs' table or the
[illegible] hearth platform, the door of the yurt is opened, and the dogs
[illegible] tying outside and held by straps or chains are untied. As soon as
this is done, the dogs, already impatient, dash straight into the
yurt, often jumping on and over one another, and stand on the
[illegible] kang or on the ground in front of the troughs. Meanwhile, the
women, with the help of large ladles (2), have filled several

2. See p. 685 and the illustration above.

buckets with the soup, bubbling and steaming in the kettle, an
now pour it into the troughs. Since the whole pack ravenously
and greedily pounces on the food, each animal trying to outdo
other and to snatch everything for himself, furious struggles an
fights usually break out between neighboring dogs, but are still
by blows on the heads of the animals delivered with sticks by t
women and children standing by and holding the dogs by leashe
chains. Plate XII /see p. 992/ illustrates the feeding of the do
in one of the large, Chinese winter-yurts of the Gilyak. In the
earth yurt, where the low sitting and sleeping benches are sepa
from the hearth platform by only a narrow passage, this takes
place so close to one that he finds himself almost surrounded
by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold streaming in
the floor through the open door and the steam rising from the
fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure
not exactly contribute to the comfort of a stay in the earth yu
Beyond this meal the Gilyak dog gets nothing to eat from the
in home rearing. In times of scarcity, however, [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] about noontime they do not reach a village in which the dogs a
[illegible] given their usual meal, those then some chark or ma twice a
day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such tim

/363 cont./

deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting, or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

/378 cont./

422 clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately.
422 And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house
594 together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means.
[431] Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained
[224] as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of
[465] success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear,
[224] the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but
[465] he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The
[226] same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill
422 of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations
606 prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisi-
422 tions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute
556 the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his
[454] "wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its common efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are
556 brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

46

/380 cont./

contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet. In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone; he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

461

461 LABOR AND LEISURE--ideas of the value and dignity of labor; notions of pleasant and unpleasant tasks; distribution of labor and leisure time; incentives to labor (e.g., pride in craftsmanship, prestige, material rewards, compulsion); time and motion studies; intensity of effort; palliation of labor (e.g., with drugs, rhythm, music); work tempo (e.g., steady, intermittent); standards of productivity and production norms; laziness and malingering; rest periods; loafing and loitering, etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities 221
Unemployment 464
Leisure-time activities 517
Holidays 527
Slavery 567
Social offenses 689

/114 cont./

*614 33 461 47%

Let us look more closely at these conditions, and first o
at the economic ones.

The predominant form of labor is individual labor or th
simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishi
The sea and rivers are so rich in this product that with the m
meager equipment under normal conditions everyone can se
his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animal
is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but th
whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of
masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; eve
performs that for which he is /115/ most qualified. Moreov
the artel is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never oc
to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than accordi
to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those
have not participated in the hunting, for do the clan gods gi
only to some and not all the members of the clan? The sam
true of hunting for forest beasts, if carried on by a group, a
ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along per
well without the aid of others. [illegible]
During season everyone sets off for his hunting [illegible]
there keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a [illegible]
for weeks.

[illegible]

[illegible]

225 distribution of the sivuchs. The number of sivuchs he re-
476 ceived was the same as that received by the others. If at all it is Nigin who received a tiny bit more than the others; he received one extra strap but did not get a qorna and so he
225 really got no more than the others. My report of my obser-
476 vation in the year 1931 of the primitive Communist method of
561 the distribution of the quarry in the village Kul can be appropriately concluded with the following passage from L. IA. Shternberg's work "Sakhalinskiie Gilyaki" (The Sakhaline Gilyaks), mentioned by F. Engels and published in "Etnograficheskoie Obozrenie" in 1893, i.e. 40 years ago. "During the common hunt, for instance, during a seal or dolphin hunt, when a group of Gilyaks banded together for this purpose set out in a single boat, the quarry is shared equally by the participants. The owner of the boat receives a share equal to that of the young man sitting na grebkakh. The skill of the maker of spears and arrows is not specially rewarded. Moreover, during a long expedition, i.e. from Amur to the South of Sakhalin, it is not the owner of the boat who receives more than his share of the quarry, but rather the man who in the voyage performs the most duties connected with the steering of the kind of the collaboration of man Onkha [illegible] in a public hunt [illegible] extra [illegible]

476 It is necessary to give one more example of the
225 distribution of the quarry in the collective of Kzoun, for in it we come across an entirely new phenomenon.

The quarry of Kzoun's collective consisted of 16 sivuchs. They [illegible] of 20 sivuchs on arrival. They [illegible] the hunt of the Kzoun's hunters [illegible] and the hunt of the [illegible] hunt. There were seven hunters in an [illegible] of [illegible] of the remaining sivuchs Kzoun gave one and a half sivuchs to each of the seven members of the collective. [illegible] half sivuchs. The lot of the remaining one and a half sivuchs was divided unfortunately, [illegible] the hunters decided to let them try and then [illegible] Kzoun's and [illegible] for about [illegible] Kzoun there were a women [illegible] and [illegible] were [illegible]

"After all, regrettable as it is, the decline of
th the wh.te man. The immediate result of the
ent of the native hunting preserves; and though
de of their main settlements, made little impr
g-grounds, e.g. the river Tim and the west co
an, and in so far limited the possibilities of th
d especially the fires—in some cases careless
turally driven off or destroyed the wild game
[274] Some of their elders told us that 'before
bears, sables, and reindeer, but since they a
come poor. In those days the poor man could
e. with as large a following of helpers and as

the race must be attribu ted to contact
latter's presence has be en the curtail-
it is true that the Russ ans have, out-
ession on the taiga, yet the best fish-
ast, have naturally attra cted the white
e Gilyak fishery. Then th e clearings,
ly left to spread destruc tion—have
and restricted it to small er compass.
the Russians came there were plenty
rrived and burnt the woo ds the rich had
go into the taiga as the ri ch man to-day'
many snares to collect f rom)."

"At this village of Nivo, which with Ch
heard much of the 'good old times,' and
in physique and in numbers. Yungkin tol
but now were small, short, and dry."

In explanation of this the Russians acc
notions there is a good deal in the accus
teeming with fish; he has made a catch
his stores will have given out. For this
sible. It would savour of greediness, an
exceed the usual custom. 'The Great Spi
reply to the stranger's inquiry. And prob
vidence was not misplaced, when their h
were practically limitless. It is said tha
spawning-time, 300 kita in a day, where

aivo is the best known on the east coast, we
he latter-day degeneration of the Gilyaks, both
how they used to be "big and strong as giants,

se them of being lazy, and according to our
tion. A Gilyak may be found sitting by a river
nd wants no more, yet before winter is over
tate of things habit and tradition are respon-
perhaps even of distrust of Tol ni vookh, to
rit does not wish us to catch so many' is the
ably in the olden time such dependence on Pro-
nting-grounds and the wild denizens thereof
twenty years ago a Gilyak would spear, during
s now he secures but eighty."

"From Nivo a start was made with our rive
the Tim. Both had been ostentatiously pleased
to pack I found Armunka averse from helping.
Vanka all the work, save what little I and my
so going up to him I took him by the shoulders
only refrained from boxing his ears at the req
tude of the dozen Gilyaks who were looking on.
companion, explaining that he had been making
There was, however, more than this in it; and
later that Armunka was, as we should say, of
cratic family; and therefore his pride of ances
fused to do menial service! It was several day
village of Irr Kirr, but in vain I looked around
of this Gilyak peer. The hut was [278] compar
him justice, however, for there was no doubt
previous year he had killed three bears and ca
and would gain him wealth."

r crew, Vanka and Armunka, to ascend
l to welcome us back, but when we came
I remonstrated with him for leaving to
interpreter were doing, but to no effect;
and shook him. I was really angry, and
uest of Vanka, and from doubt of the atti-
. Vanka good naturedly apologized for his
g merry and the effect had not yet worn off.
d we were considerably amused to learn
independent means, came of an aristo-
stry at times asserted itself, and he re-
s later that we arrived at his home in the
l for the paternal acres, the vast estates
atively small and rather bare. I must do
of his being a great hunter. During the
ptured two, which had brought him honour,

Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board. Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

"These people might
months they almost liv
continually. For their
this source nearly excl
dogs; but this is very li
dingy, smoky habitatio
before renewing their o

These exercises, ro
the muscles of the uppe
see men among them po
limbs are comparativel

7: Kreinovich--27 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzɲisnər.
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles as
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-uski-d
225 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).
77

There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire?

Of some help in answering this question may be the following opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin in 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmur informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the master of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no better. "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea concludes the seal hunt.

115 A seal hunt. (1) Supplement
225

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were suffering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate. "Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put everything in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out the boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) make

2. I.e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was at

9: Hawes--270-271
116, 372, 462, 562

"We have already se
at the lying-in-state o
ni vookh, the god of fi
rightful domain, so is
daughters may interfe
of putting on the cauld
into the cauldrons may
and the new one evide
her rightful position a
forth her status is als

with propriety be called an aquatic tribe. During the summer
upon the water, paddling here and there in their lotkas
ood, likewise, both during summer and winter, they rely upon
sively. What traveling they do in winter is accomplished with
tle, their preference being decidedly to lie and vegetate in their
s during the cold weather, waiting for the advent of spring
t-of-door exercises.
ing and fishing principally, are only partial, benefiting merely
portion of the body. Owing to this fact, it is not uncommon to
verful and robust about the chest and arms, while their lower
so small and puny as to convey the impression of deformity."

een how sacred the hearth is to the Gilyak, and in the rites adopte
f a deceased woman, her intimate relation and duty towards Tur
re. [LSS: See category 116, pp. 242ff.] Even as the fire is her
the cauldron her special care, and [271] hers alone; not even her
re in this her private and sacred sphere. She alone has the right
ron; this is her right as hostess. Whatever the putting of the feet
symbolize, the fact that the bride does it to both the maternal
ently witnesses for the first time to her equality with her mother,
s a hausfrau and head of her own domestic establishment. Hence-
o guaranteed among her husband's kindred."

during the rest of the time only the women are industri
The men often sleep at home during the day, and they
up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often
up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak s
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or some other close relative of the husband becomes, a
said, her second spouse, but if she already has childre
they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and
not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this hel

/528 cont./

The great numbers in which the salmon, and in particular the two species repeatedly named, go up the Amur and its tributaries make catching them in the largest quantities an easy matter for the Gilyak. In the small tributaries, such as the Litsch, Kamr, etc., the fish crowd and almost push themselves onto the bank and can be taken from the shallow water simply with the hand, and from deeper water scooped up in dragnets or pulled up with hooks and thrown into the boat. Women and children participate in this work, and within a short time one boat after another, filled with fish, returns home, where the previously described, more strenuous work of skinning, cutting up, and hanging the fish on the drying racks is undertaken. While the women attend to this, the men bring more and more new material. In the smaller rivers, a net is also often drawn across the entire width of the river, and in this manner the whole shoal of fish ascending at the time is caught, insofar as the net permits this without tearing. In the large river where fishing is done exclusively by the men, the schools of ascending fish are likewise so densely crowded that the simplest nets suffice to catch vast quantities in a short time. The fishermen, in two boats and holding a net between them, go downstream toward the ascending fish and draw up the filled net first into the one boat and then into the other, until both are full. Or two men, holding one end of a net, travel downstream at some distance from the shore toward the fish, while a third man, with the other end of the net in his hand, walks along the shore in the same direction. When they notice that the net is sufficiently filled, the fishermen sitting in the boat turn their vessel about and quickly row toward the man walking along the bank, in order to jump out of the boat near him and, joining forces, drag the net to land. The nets used for catching salmon are given different names by the Gilyak in part according to slight differences in shape and the manner in which they are used and, in addition, are differentiated according to the species of salmon for which they are intended on the basis of the size of their meshes. For example, the above-mentioned, simple,

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish; even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

286 In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about
283 the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is
[824] provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first
[462] part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women; the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are,
[114] as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kulk. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak puksi) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

/638 cont./

36 material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

62 For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In 62 general, the man only has to attend to providing the most 22 important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it, 51 make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods insofar as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries, 62 roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to 83 cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex- [251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the [252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The 462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does 264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men [574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women 467 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and [281] dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations 462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work 411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting [517] or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack 411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every- [463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert [439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the 467 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows, 321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly 322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the 517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however, [462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.

[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak 593 of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every 842 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlä, tammlä, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however, [592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from The help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

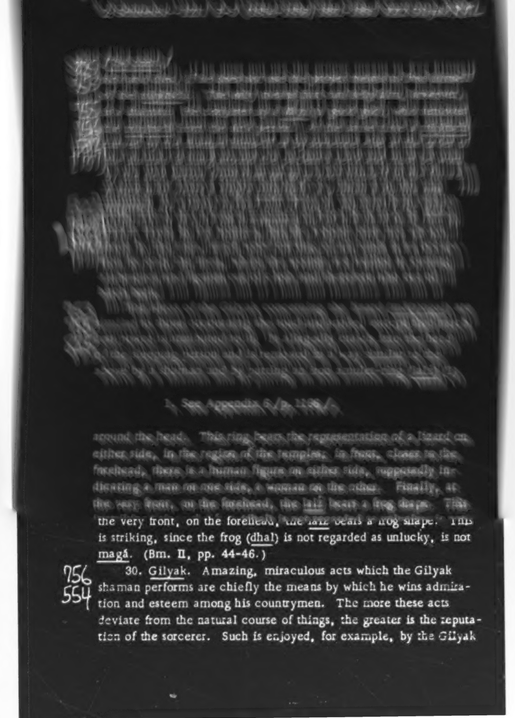

the very front, on the forehead, the last bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magä. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak 554 shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

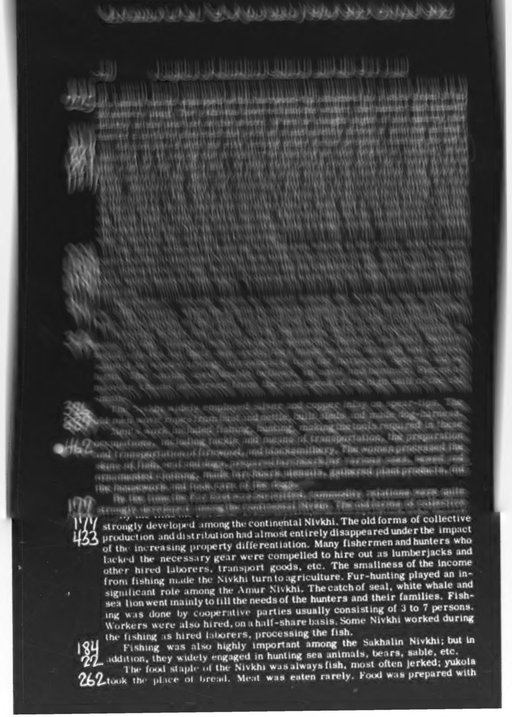

179 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective 433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

184 Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in 22 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola 262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

[illegible] taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated sums, bar[illegible] and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fish-skin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
462 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ŋ[illegible]) into pieces. They put the pieces into
251 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (ta) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanʒ 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanʒ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

193 (93) A propos the interpretation of the words hemanʒ
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anʒ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anʒ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmɣar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmɣar can be easily

remember only two instances when Europeans were assaulted by it without having been the attackers. The one case occurred in the year 1875 in broad daylight on the ice near a post station. A post servant was gored by the tiger. The skull of this animal which was itself killed the next day now belongs to me. It measures seven and one-half vershok (33 centimeters), the upper canines are as long as a finger.

himself takes the offensive, does the monster lose his instinctive fear of him, and then suddenly shows all its terrible natural qualities, to which belong an amazing toughness. Even with five or six rifle balls inside it, it still takes enormous leaps, and even in its death throes it can still overcome a man. The bullets bounce off its skull, and one is supposed to aim at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart finishes it off. Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dangerous that bear hunting may be considered child's play in comparison, and the peasants and Cossacks decide on it in dire necessity when the tiger breaks into their stables and cannot be got in any other way. In that case 15-20 men with bayonets on their rifles and in closed ranks descend on the place where the animal was scented. But the regular method of capture is poisoning with strychnin or the setting up of rifles which go off when the tiger approaches the bait. The corpse of an animal that was killed by the tiger himself usually serves as bait, for the tiger has the laudable habit of returning the day after his assault.

The wolf exists on the lower Amur, but rarely shows itself and does no harm. It is seldom shot.

223 Birds, especially ducks and geese, partridges and hazel grouse are now usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set for partridges on flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel grouse are lured in spring with whistles, in winter they are openly hunted in spruce thickets. The Gilyak who live in the surrounding country are the chief purveyors of wild game for Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

462 We mentioned above the other occupations and embryonic handicraft and trades. Specialization [124] consists in not much more than a division of labor between men and women. The man hunts, does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

takes trips on various business matters and so forth, he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs. Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial materials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter, moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.

572 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i. e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

[illegible] and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier. [illegible] (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses [illegible] were invariably indignant whenever he left the house with a lighted pipe in which his companions [illegible] the fire burning in it, but by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to confuse up their position not only over the inhabitants of the one but but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Vaiki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious con-
ceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems
to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223),
[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi
pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are
fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden
spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually
held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of
the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now
give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the
opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a
festival was to take place on that day. From several other
villages, some of which were considerable distances away
large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole
place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The
opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

"Now and then we encountered 'tolk
almost invariably propelled by the wo
a skill and grace really to be admired.
make the strokes alternately, allowing
stroke is being made with the other.
management of the boat, though their
in the stern of the craft and guide it wi
their long-stemmed pipes with small

as,' or canoes, gliding from shore to shore,
men, who handled the short carved paddles with
. They use the paddles much as we do oars, but
one to trail along the side of the craft while the
The men display equally as great skill in the
duty is comparatively light, being simply to sit
th a light paddle, in the mean while smoking
brass bowls and enormous amber mouth-pieces."

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for
the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the
kettle.

263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha
While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not
cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks
had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese.
In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient
Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told
the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my
informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of
trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of
those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea,
in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled
at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put
it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they
used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the
Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat.
In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which
as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for
dipping pieces of meat in it.

462 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-
hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring
pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings
of qosk-qəks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps.
He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanŋ. The old woman
stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the
two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then
she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using
stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular
vertebrae (maʒt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls.
The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun
took the board with the heads and the mug containing the
eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at
[95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the
sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible.
next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far
as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

463

.1 OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALIZATION-- number of partially and fully specialized occupations; major occupational categories (e.g., learned and artistic professions, independent industrial and business entrepreneurs, managerial personnel, independent and tenant farmers, government officials, clerical and white-collar workers, skilled artisans, semi-skilled and unskilled industrial workers, farm laborers, domestic servants, slaves); general information about occupational specialization; vocational guidance; specific information on occupations not classifiable elsewhere; etc. This category is designed for summary statements about occupational specialization; in nearly all instances specific information will be classified elsewhere under a wide range of functional and occupational headings. See also:

Stratification of occupations by class and caste . .06 Status, role, and prestige 664
Occupational composition of the population . . .162 Vocational education 874

1: Shternberg--362 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset
of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to
women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is
not content with the women to whom they have rights in their
own settlement, they do not stop with the circle of women to
whom they have rights by law. The only category of women
before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
491 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but
find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most
eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-
law" --akimalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey
even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering
me their assistance without compensation for many weeks,
and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic
adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
674 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival.
Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed
to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his
news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity,
and has already managed to let his glance fall on some
woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his
amatory experience and art.

2: Schrenck--1042 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited
to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds,
ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he
still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in
addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care
and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife,
find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it,
though they are generally very reserved about expressing their
feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even
when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak
of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
593 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible,
842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was
boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlà, tammlà, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing
sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing,
and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from
The help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

786 Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending
the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza
Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the
A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
[463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethno-
graphy of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are
working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and
club directors.

177 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
648 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions;
many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive
474 committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is con-
[64] ducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first
of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the
Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of
the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of
Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year
schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding
schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women
entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the
songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also
participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the
[545] Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely
spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic
clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi
began to present plays in their own language.

The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know
[526] how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusias-
tically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki
(canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the
[182] collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unifi-
cation in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to
different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors
have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous
remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the
562 Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of
her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the
house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to
them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had
to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they
attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their
fiancés, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure
and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome
the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built
near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had
to remain under these conditions for several days without any help.

462 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he
also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets
and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.
286 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
326 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
463 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive
manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man
and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their
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with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a
knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few,
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for example lances with silver decorations.

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The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing
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is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of
wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a
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IX. Weapons

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The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale
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some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The
arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is
somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

464

464 LABOR SUPPLY AND EMPLOYMENT--availability and scarcity of labor force; skilled and unskilled labor; incidence and types of unemployment (e.g., voluntary, intermittent, seasonal, cyclical, residual, technological); employment opportunities; labor mobility and turnover; employment agencies; regulation (e.g., age and sex restrictions); etc. See also:
Internal migration 168
Immigration 167
Business cycles 458
Unemployment insurance 746
Unemployment relief 746

/363 cont./

177 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will
end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak
have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since
they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influ-
ence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
178 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
• 464 Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native
[439] settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who re-
turns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover,
work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and
more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the domi-
nant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
[454] Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the
new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that
environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new
phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still
unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

796 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
397 is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies
[971] at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-
small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question
"why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?"
It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging
the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
[688] or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases,
it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire,
as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his
dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from
occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the
power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

/376 cont./

593 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be
disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority
is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
475 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
[126] of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[866] existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
[124] Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[125] require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal
hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
• 464 such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of
division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such
work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving
their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
594 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[768] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the
death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we
should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers
continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equip-
ment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the
division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations
of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual
aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between mem-
bers of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among
these barbarians than in a civilized family.

[The western Coast]

166 /386 cont./ To make some money,
• 464 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
183 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
[244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
[162] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
[197] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
[244] potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev-
224 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point
433 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming
198 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the
648 vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer.
Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very suc-
cessful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
348 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement
178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
[231] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead
of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe.
Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters
enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly com-
plex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The
horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch
along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these
latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a
high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
[184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
[171] the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from
[177] whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections
133 of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-
[137] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the
[491] taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the
settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, be-
ginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

[illegible] the boat; [illegible] as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they [illegible] unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the [illegible] yèzdka.

166 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
614 the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.

Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan [illegible] Tf-nu, was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi, Potaq from clan Neo-afi, [illegible]t from clan [illegible]a-amla, Onkan from clan Lez-ran and Tesk from clan Tf-nu.

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, [illegible]l tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
556 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
[illegible] with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
[illegible] of hunters is called pila (bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big,' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
202 to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve-l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea [illegible]afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila[illegible].

225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pila[illegible] exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi[illegible]d and t[illegible]aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

471

471 OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF CAPITAL--major forms of productive capital (e.g., land, cattle, industrial plants); extent to which the instruments of production are individually, collectively, internationally and publicly owned; forms and elaboration of governmental control (e.g., nationalized industries); etc. Only generalized data will be filed here: for information on specific ownership and organization, see the more specialized categories below. See also:

Capital goods industries	39	Accumulation of wealth	556
Property	42	Social classes	565
Government enterprises and government regulation	65	Political doctrines	668
General statements on different types of economic activity	133	Ideas about economics and political systems	829

7: K

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called əmləus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tətr-paγ. Large wooden floats (vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk, Lo ri, and ət.

According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul owned seal hunting places in the past.

Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋaγqej, 3. ət.

Lulv -p r and a reqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock(β)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paγ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot terd).

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomivər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə- vər - a stone.

[84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pilaγ was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
178 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
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427 1 N. V. Sliunin, Sovremennoie polozhenie nashevo
476 Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
476 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares
177 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mlət) and of the stick over the door of the house (ŋγəmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak ŋargun (?) now living in the village
471 Cəarva (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from the village Təlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board. Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

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465 WAGES AND SALARIES--wage levels (e.g., real and money wages); range and variation by occupational categories; composition (e.g., proportion paid in money, in board and keep, in share of product); fees and percentages; determination of wages (e.g., by custom, negotiation; edict or legislation); payments (e.g., daily, weekly, monthly); regulation (e.g., minimum wage legislation); etc. See also:

Income and purchasing power . . . . . 434 Standard of living 611

/378 cont./

clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately. And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear, the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for himself a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisitions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his "wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son, when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, departing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its common efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

/380 cont./

426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

433 46 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet.

[225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as

226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In

465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same

433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone;

554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling

476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but

466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

466

466 LABOR RELATIONS--respective rights, privileges, and powers of employers and employees; hiring and firing; tenure of employment; instruction and supervision, promotion and retirement; pension plans; working conditions (e.g., hours, hygienic conditions, safety provisions, recreational facilities); prevalence and types of forced labor; indentured labor; regulation (e.g., labor legislation); etc. See also:

Business and industrial organization	47	Slavery	567
Domestic servants	357	Bride-service	683
Peonage and serfdom	566	Taxation through labor levies	651
Prison and penal labor	697	Social insurance	745
Military labor battalions	708	Vocational training	874

/380 cont./

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782 225 766 415 they keep for a long time. When some one is drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and run. In this connection I wish to note that in the valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

782 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left 262 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the 225 ui-ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and 561 young hunters must not taste this mos.

225 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed 782 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

225 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large 501 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of 476 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul 422 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting 565

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

for their families.

I observed analogous facts on the very same island in 1927 and in 1931.

In the village Vaz-vo (cape Vasin) from which the Gilyaks were driven out in 1934 or 1935, the system of exploitation on the basis of ownership of the instruments of labor was, it seems, even more cruel. According to the expert of Gilyak life, the inquisitive Gilyak n-ish, an owner of a zayedok claimed one share for himself, one share for the boat, one share for the plank-bench in the boat (mlrt) and one share for the n-gmr-tin - the shelf over the door in the entrance-hall. I failed to find the reason for the claim to an extra share in connection with the n-gmr-tin. I am inclined to think that no such reason exists and that n-gmr-tin is used by the owner of the tools of labor [92] solely as a pretext for getting an extra share for himself.

The Gilyak Miskin, inhabitant of the village Puir, told me of an incident that sounds like an anti-Semitic incident too: place in that village in 1931. An old Gilyak, called for one reason or another Telkin, asked the young Gilyaks Pnadaimu, Lashkaiku and Kondinu (?) to come with him to hunt (ABI: fish?) kajuga. On return Telkin took for himself four shares: one for himself, one, for some other obscure reasons for some Russian acquaintance of his in the village Maxarevka, one for a daughter in the village Langer and one for a daughter in the village Charbakh. As for his companions he gave a single share to each. I later confirmed this incident the Pnadaimu. Pnadaimu confirmed Miskin's story and further clarified it. Unfortunately, I wrote down Pnadaimu's information on a separate piece of paper and, it seems, lost it.

My lengthy discussion is meant as a very general introduction to the problem. It is meant to show how the kulak, the Gilyaks, the owner of the tools of work, as still found in the village Kul, could under the influence of Russian capitalism turn into a kulak-exploiter. This discussion is also meant to show how he utilized the old forms of the distribution of the quarry into shares for the purposes of exploitation. This interesting process deserves careful study.

After the distribution of the quarry the hunters and their wives at once start to work. There is a lot of work to do. The suet has to be separated from the hides. The hides have to be stretched on special frames. The skins are then sewed. Some hides have to be cut into straps and those have to be stretched to dry, for one cannot make dry hides into straps

474 COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION--producers' and consumers' cooperatives, relationship between ownership, control, and management, organization (e.g.: Kolozhi, Kolozhi-sovkhoz, machine-tractor, collective farm, etc. See also: wholesale marketing . . . . . 102 Cooperative work group 476
craftguilds 467

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a somewhat different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered the techniques of production in collective farms, the Nivkhi began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, they made rapid strides after the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, and were inhabited by the owners of the tools of labor [92] solely as a pretext for getting an extra share for himself.

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In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Urevd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Urevd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the formation of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well-planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Since the Revolution, most of the Nivkhi have lived in dug-outs, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese hutz.

The most widespread of the new dwellings in the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings: a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses: a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio, in the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees bedstead and sideboard walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, calendars and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also wear sheepskin, which was unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear silk-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and fur-lined fur-coat or short sheepskin jacket. Formerly, clothing was made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and boots are remnants of the traditional out-door attire. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the traditional costume, the holiday, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of raising the improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Upvala during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical and Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.

Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 18 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Lisa Dekhak' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chunar Taksami of the village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, engineers on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have been elected to leading posts in collective farms and in various institutions, many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the culture and enlightenment institutions. The first Nivkhi school was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Noglikl, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinsky Rayon. The second school was founded in 1930 in the village of Pad on the Amur River. In 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenki children, and also dormitories boarding schools.

At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women sing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the collective-farm performances were limited to amateur theatricals, or merely spectators at performances organized by Russian, Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi put on present plays in their own language.

The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochai (cames) with a single oar, in which young men and women take speed races.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different tribes, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which survived after the Revolution. The old religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The greatest change has occurred in the position and customs, in the home, of the Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fiances, husbands and mothers. Some were married against their wishes and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the old ideas in the Nivkhi. Upvala during the early years of the Soviet regime, a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

476 MUTUAL AID--cooperation in economic activities (e.g., mutual aid); exchange of services, cooperative work groups; material and social rewards of cooperation; relationship between relations of cooperative and competitive activities; etc. See also:
Administration . . . . . 19 Interpersonal relations 87
Organization of labor and division of product . . . . . 19 Competitive relationships among kin . . . 56, 61, 81
Ownership of means of production . . . . . 102 Change from kin to peer groups 157
attitudes . . . . . 22, 23, 24, 31 Mutual benefit societies 156

/60 cont./

Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and. /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense. Because besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

There is no ceremonial organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins — the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of ground. In which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of posts. Crest the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

/91 cont./

very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

/121 cont./

in practice, as we know, these bonds extend far beyond the confines of the original four clans. First of all, in addition to these last, every clan with which at least one clansman has formed matrimonial ties is already an akhimal'k or ymgi to all his clan. On the other hand, we know that every akhimal'k and every ymgi retains its appellation not only with respect to those clans with which it is directly bound matrimonially, but also with respect to those who consider themselves the corresponding ymgi and akhimal'k of the former, so that in addition to the akhimal'k and ymgi of the first degree, each clan has still others of the second, third degrees, etc. All these clans call each other pandfy, individuals of a common origin.

[528] Thus we see that the basic principle, simple and clear, which lay at the basis of the family and clan, a principle according to which a man preferably marries the daughter of the brother of his mother, becomes the basis of blood ties and sympathy, not only within each separate clan, but of even more extensive unions, interclan and, finally, of the whole tribe. True, by virtue of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned by us, such as the dispersion of a small tribe over an enormous territory and many other circumstances, these bonds could not take formal shape in such completed organizations as the phratries and tribes, for example, of the North American Indians, but here also they created an atmosphere of social unity which led the clan from an egoistic isolation onto the path of interclan community and brotherhood.

/122/ Let us consider a little more closely the bonds which arise between the pandf clans, between each clan and those from which the Gilyak takes his wives or to which he gives his women. These bonds are not limited to feelings alone; they are expressed in quite real forms.

First of all, there is the obligation of mutual sustenance and hospitality. This in essence is only an extension of that same obligation existing within the clan to the blood pandf; the extension to them of that benevolence of the clan deities

/122 cont./

which belongs to them by right through the female line. "Ymgi (son-in-law /syat'y/ must be fed" -- such is the formula of this interclan obligation.

This rule, however, does not find expression at all in an obligation of the akhimal'k to support his son-in-law /syat'/ and his family permanently in his own home. It may be that at a very remote time, in the period of matriarchy when the husband went to live in the home of the wife, it was actually so, but at the present time, under agnatic principles, the wife goes to the home of the husband and customarily moves completely to the clan site of her spouse's habitation. Nevertheless, the principle of "sustenance," as we shall see, plays a definite role in the institution of the clans.

It is consolidated in a special, extremely peculiar religious rite, which consists of the following. At the last moment before the bride is carried away from the home of her father, there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled cast-iron kettle brought by the bridegroom as a part of the bride price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle belonging to the father of the girl. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle; the former remains with the father-in-law, the second is borne home by the bridegroom -- ymgi. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the akhimal'k, the same ceremony is repeated before their departure; only this time on each side of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged, as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nich (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nich aychyvnd (trampling of the nich). It is also called lymya'n-zand -- trampling of the threshold, which points to the religious element of the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called lymya'n-mam -- an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-forbear, the guardian genius of the home, whose

/122 cont./

blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of the bear (the akhimal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some economic significance, since the akhimal'k'i each time, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage, when the son-in-law /syat'/ is customarily given, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman, because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all. Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /syat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

Similar fraternal relations between akhimal'k'i and ymgi are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.

The most important of these require the participation of several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it

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Let us look more closely at these conditions, and first of all at the economic ones.

The predominant form of labor is individual labor or the simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishing. The sea and rivers are so rich in this product that with the most meager equipment under normal conditions everyone can secure his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animals, it is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but the whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; everyone performs that for which he is /115/ most qualified. Moreover, the artel is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never occurs to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than according to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those who have not participated in the hunting, for do the clan gods give only to some and not all the members of the clan? The same is true of hunting for forest beasts, if carried on by a group, but ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along perfectly well in his pursuits without the help of others. And, in fact, during the fishing season the Gilyak population disperses in all directions; each master departs to his favorite site. During the hunting season everyone sets off for his hunting balagan and from there keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a stranger for weeks.

Thus, the predominant form of labor is individual. Everyone must be able to do everything, master all the knowledge of his tribe, be an individual equal with all, comprehensively developed and prepared for life.

And since the gifts of nature are plentiful, free, and accessible to the efforts of all, the well-being of a man depends exclusively, in consequence, on his abilities and diligence. Inequality, which under more complex conditions is a source of dimension and social differences, does not show its thorns here. A wealthy man owes everything exclusively to his own personal talents and virtues. His accumulation cannot enslave or humiliate anyone. Moreover, the personal accomplishments of a man are a gift of the gods,

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to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or even simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valuable spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more individualism, introduced by more recent conditions of exchange, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purchase of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrifice his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan.

This same principle of the communality of the material goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of inheritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of the clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, the well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in effect among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento. In the absence of members of the family, in which the "workers" are also classed, the property passes to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excluding even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

1. "Treasures" -- a property sui generis, consisting of unused objects, designated only for exceptional cases: bride price, dowry, ransom, funerals. It is divided into 1) the iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron kettles, spears decorated with silver inlays, valuable Japanese sabers, coats of mail, and so forth, used chiefly for the bride price; 2) the fur, consisting chiefly of expensive fur coats, used principally for dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk materials and garments, which are

*[i.e., in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir. Cf translation on p.512.--Ainsley]

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from its lair), sable hunting, and especially the hunting of sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participation, not of his clansmen, but of the ymgi, and not necessarily those married to his sister or daughter, but ymgi in general, i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than he does with his own /124/ clansmen; he can freely converse and joke with them, while he may not do this, as we know, with all of his clansmen. In turn, in their akhmal'k clan the ymgi feel like a fish in water; all the women of their generation are their an'gej (wives) -- all future wives and at any rate women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in the broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young male population, they find their revenge in the clan of their akhmal'k'i, where they meet the same reception from their "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Between the male youth of both clans ("navkh'i") (1), as a result of

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1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'i.

frequent meetings, not to mention relationship by marriage, the most touching relations are established. It is in these surroundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much in vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchange of presents, mutual aid in misfortune, and other such services. But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood may be found among the navkh'i. Here is one such example, especially surprising to me, which I chanced to observe in the settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. Both friends, "navkh'i," lived in one yurt; they had everything in common, went about together like lovers, almost never separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both,

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chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come

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to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of

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lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A

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curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

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As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the

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shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

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593 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
476 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
[226] of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[866] existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
[224] Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[225] require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
464 such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
591 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[768] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equipment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between members of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among these barbarians than in a civilized family.

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426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

433 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one
46 cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet.
[225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as
226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In
465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same
433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone;
554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling
476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but
466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

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484 /473/ The northern primeval forest, inaccessible in summer on account
224 of the thick underbrush and the many fallen, half-rotted, and mossy trees, is accessible under certain conditions to foot-travelers and light sleds, thanks to the deep layer of snow leveling out all the unevenness of the ground, precisely at the time when it shelters the fur-bearing animals in their valuable winter coats. As a result,
[222] the forest, empty of human beings in the summer, or at most visited only here and there along its edges by women and children gathering berries and roots, becomes in winter a theater of action for the hunters. Through the impassable forest and mountain wilderness hunters and merchants make paths and trails which temporarily connect otherwise remote villages. Moreover, the ice of the Amur-Liman does away with the insular position of Sakhalin for months at a time, and finally and primarily the smooth ice-cover of the Amur River provides for the Gilyak a main artery of communication from the Liman up to the Sungari.

481 Let us now survey in greater detail the means which the Gilyak use for winter locomotion. With all the similarity, and, indeed, in part even identity, with those of other northern peoples, they offer enough deviations and peculiarities. The great amount of snow in the lower Amur region makes it necessary for the Gilyak to use ski at every step. Even for only a short walk from the house, indeed, for merely a few steps off the trodden or traveled path, ski are required if one does not wish to sink into the snow up to the waist and deeper. They are, of course, even more indispensable on longer trips through the forest, where the snow is especially deep and loose, or after snowstorms, when, driven by the wind, it accumulates in places, and especially along mountain slopes, in valleys and gorges, in such colossal quantities that crossing them without ski is unthinkable. For such trips as the Gilyak has to make often enough to set up or inspect his animal traps and for other hunting purposes, or on journeys when snowstorms surprise him, it is necessary, for easier and faster progress, that the ski not only prevent sinking into the snow as much as possible, but also permit gliding over it. In order to satisfy these various needs the Gilyak have two types of ski: small ones -- lakk; and large ones -- enj.

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481 The small ski of the Gilyak consist of two thin boards without a fur covering. They are about four and a half feet long and five to six inches wide, and are completely flat and level except for the more or less sharply tapering front end gently curving upward. Depending on the degree of this tapering at the front end, several forms of the small ski may be distinguished among the Gilyak in certain regions. Thus, the form with a gradual tapering of the tip, illustrated on Plate XXXV /see p.1015/, Figs. 1 and 2 prevails along the Amur River as far down as Wair. Below Wair, at the mouth of the Amur, along the Liman, and along the opposite coast of Sakhalin, the ski have the form shown in Fig. 3, with a more abrupt tapering, and, finally, on Sakhalin there is a third form with an even more abrupt tapering of the front end, but unfortunately, I had no opportunity to get an illustration of it. These small ski are an absolutely indispensable /47 item for the Gilyak, and in winter it is almost only inside the yurt that he is seen without them. Not only does he need them for even the shortest walk, but he also keeps them on his feet when traveling sitting astride his sled, both so that he can get off and take a few steps in the snow if necessary, say, for example, to adjust the harness of the dogs, and also in order to facilitate the movement of the sled, to which I shall come back
481 later. Once he has reached the spot where he plans to spend the
484 night in the open, the ski, with its rear and level end, serves him
412 as a shovel for readying the campsite as required (1) and for fillin
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1. See p. 559 above.

with snow the kettle hung over the fire, and, finally, when he sits down on the fir branches in front of the blazing fire, his legs crossed under him, a ski placed across his knees serves as a tray, taking the place of the chachtschitsch in the yurt (2), for eating

2. See pp. 647 and 683 above.

the evening meal.

G /474 cont./

481 As essential a service as the small ski performs, however, they are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they prevent sinking into the snow only in a very imperfect way, they are not very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they are not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expeditions and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.1015/). Like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as lakk-tschchar, i.e., ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provided

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3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99; Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi out of ash wood (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, p. 128).

G 481 [824] with a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made of sealskin, which, with the hair pointing toward the rear, is pasted as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebone or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of the ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps for

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481 the feet are like the ones on the small ski, but wider and stronger throughout. The tip of the foot, beyond the toes, is stuck under the front loop fastened to two straps running through the ski and its cover; the rear loop lies over the heel, and the two lateral straps, provided with several holes, are also fastened together there, and, to be sure, by one /475/ strap being passed through the other and wooden peg inserted to prevent slipping. In fastening the ski to the foot in this manner, the heel retains full freedom of movement up and down as well as to the right and left, and forward motion takes place merely by a forward push of the ski with the tip of the foot. The ease and speed of the motion thus depends chiefly on the ease with which the ski glides over the surface of the snow, and this is effected to a high degree for the Gilyak ski by the cover with the short-haired and smooth sealskin and the whalebone rails or the wooden ones rounded off on the outside and polished. The principal advantage of the Gilyak ski lies in this extraordinary smoothness. The rails, whether of whalebone or of wood, also serve to prevent skidding toward one side or the other. The more easily the Gilyak ski glide over the snow for the above-mentioned reason, however, the less suitable they are for mountain climbing, since only slightly cross-grained sealskin can offer only all too little resistance to sliding backward, and this resistance is paralyzed by the smooth whalebone or wooden rails projecting beyond the fur. As in the case of great unevenness of the terrain, another essential disadvantage of the Gilyak ski appears with a slight unevenness of the ground such as the northern primeval forest exhibits everywhere. This disadvantage is their lack of flexibility. The Gilyak take for their ski, perhaps for greater durability and because they count on the smoothness provided by the fur cover and the rails, not especially thin boards and, moreover, as was already mentioned, make them so flat and level that, when they are placed upon the ground without weight, they rest on it with their entire lower surface, apart from the front end curving upward. As a result of their lack of flexibility, however, they cannot accommodate themselves sufficiently to the unevenness of the ground and therefore sink in more deeply, which understandably, greatly impedes and

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/365 cont./ Just as the
342 Gilyak houses are not erected by individuals, but rather are erected
161 more or less with the help and participation of all the fellow-
592 members or people belonging to a place, so also as a rule, in
[476] accordance with the communistic spirit which characterizes primitive peoples, are they not inhabited by a single family, but by several together. As may be seen from the above description, a winter yurt of the Gilyak, built following the Chinese pattern with its four long sleeping benches, provides adequate and comfortable space for four families. If one reckons the average family at four persons, husband, wife, and two children, this already gives 16 occupants for each Chinese winter-yurt. Some yurts, to be sure, are occupied by only one or two families, as I myself have repeatedly seen, and occasionally one even comes across a yurt apparently standing empty throughout the entire winter. On the other hand, over and above the family members mentioned, single persons of both sexes, be it out of considerations of kinship or in return for certain services, find fixed and permanent lodgings in the yurt. Also, the average figure of only two children per family assumed above is undoubtedly not any too large. Hence I think that it is not estimating too high if I reckon an average of 16 persons for a Chinese winter-yurt, and for an earth yurt, since it contains only three sleeping benches, and much shorter ones at that, and in general provides considerably less space, only half as many, that is, only eight persons on the average. On this basis, approximate counts of the population for the individual parts of the Gilyak area mentioned above can be ascertained without difficulty. The available data are inadequate for this for only one part, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, for the number of the winter dwellings of the Gilyak along this coast, with the exception of the small stretch between the Amur-Liman and the village of Kulj, is still unknown to us. Hence
161 estimates must be made here in another way. The part of this coast which is unfamiliar to us, from Kulj to Tugur Bay, is about six to seven times the size of the stretch between Kulj and the Liman, and one therefore only needs to multiply by six or seven the population figure ascertained for the latter according to the

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342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
421 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
423 to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated con-
[476] struction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter; putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on
[574] it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction
[427] and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation for assistance for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

343 The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which
423 is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is
[427] arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be rented for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 529) with its 11 wall pieces (f-q) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

Economy and Everyday Life

226 The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most
[433] important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this
[433] method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the
[476] needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber.
223 They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the
282 shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from
[177] the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

225 The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted

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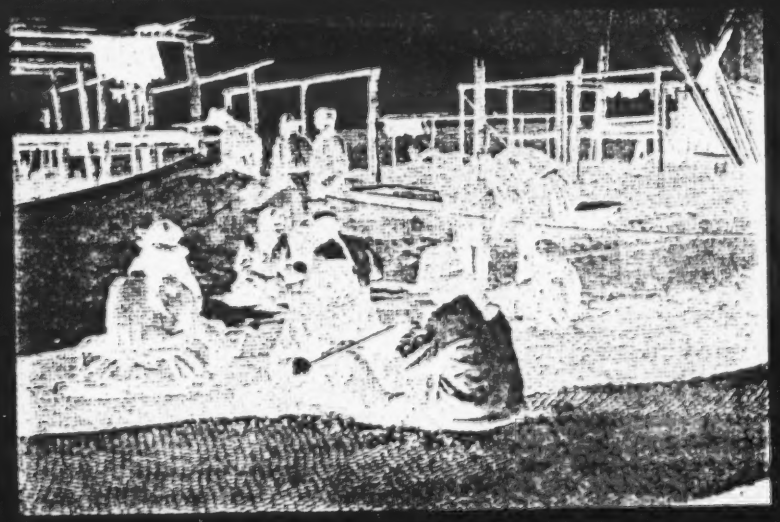

Sewing together a seine.

e boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
nite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
ayezdka.

When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat
arts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
e hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
unters regardless of clan membership.

Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
f nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans:
tag from clan Hutevi , Potaq from clan Neo-afi , t from
an a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez ran and Tesk from
an Tfanu .

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who
ent hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is some-
mes named after the owner of the boat. For instance,
l tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyuh') Xitkun-mu-nim (one
oat of Xitkun).

The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
ollective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
ith him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
f hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

e big. - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:

1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be, effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips amra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his llow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the a-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afu-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the sup-plement to "Seal Hunting."

re the property of the pilaf

3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies efore setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In is capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs u-zi d and t aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

225 During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches
782 of the pila to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
372 light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose;
476 he has to use the implements of the pila instead.

4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
225 floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
476 in this respect completely on the pila. One Gilyak told me:
502 "If the pila observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pila performs the most responsible functions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if anything goes wrong during the hunt the pila is held responsible.

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organizers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.

225 [81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning
501 to the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
476 designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋ-tivd, the second - taŋpuf, the third - alx-gid, the fourth - meyerq-pid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth - lele m -pid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats with six and even seven pairs of oars.

225 Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋtivd, is oc-
479 cupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
554 next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the
561 oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he rows just like the others. As long as there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pila often turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits at the bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak pila Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals. At the same time Gilak st tended the rudder which the pila had turned over to him. The Gilyak pila Tavjun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had killed by himself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person shoots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
476 must often get out on the floes for it is not always conven-
554 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
561

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
225 are five oarsmen, one pila and one other man, then the pila
476 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
561 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
883 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example:

if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pl skuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pl skuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pila is younger than the extra man in the boat. In that case the pila tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pila Norp took along with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting at the seals and it, to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

225 [82] As mentioned above the pila performs mu-zi d
789 and t aj.
774
751 Mu-zi d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform zi d on hands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

452 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
552 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time they are born, and when they grow up they are given away, in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that takes the woman, i.e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also, women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat. They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts. Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, otherwise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
412 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the t aj where the pila attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
479 the pila distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes apparent that the sivuch, which is the pila's legal property and whose blood he used in feeding the t aj, is included in

225 the division of the quarry. Why this ceremony should have
422 stopped at the pila appropriating the first sivuch rather
476 than asserting his full title to it on top of his share of the quarry is hard to tell. It seems to us that this can be explained by the essential preservation of the primitive Communist method of distribution of the quarry among the Gilyaks of the village Kul which do not permit a single individual to assert his title to an entire extra sivuch.

225 [89] I gave here a few examples which I have recorded
476 of the distribution of the quarry among the Gilyak hunters on their return home to the village Kul on August 2, 1931. These examples demonstrate clearly the primitive Communist character of the distribution.

The quarry of pil tun's collective consisted of 18 sivuchs 9 p i, 11 qoma and 1 a . They sold 3 sivuchs, 5 qoma and the fat of two seals on Cape Litke at the branch of the Rybaksoyuz [A, B Fisherman's Union]. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal shares. (1)

1. Unfortunately I did not write down how they distributed the money.

-1 tun.....received 2 sivuchs 2 pəyi
Jotkun.....received 2 sivuchs 1 pəyi 1 qoma 1 strap (2)

281 2. The hide of a young sivuch nav-ɔa is cut into three pieces and that of an older one - into four. Out of each piece the Gilyaks cut one thin long strap which is immediately spread out to dry.

225 Nərp (a shot)... received 1 sivuch 1 p i 1 qoma 3 straps
476 Rəntik..... " 2 " 2 " - " 1 "
Təvus..... " 2 " 1 " 1 " - "
Zabojko..... " 2 " 1 " 2 " 1 " alx
Tuns..... " 2 " 1 " 1 " 1 " strap

13 sivuchs 9 pəyi 6 qoma 6 straps = = 2 sivuchs 1 alx

On straps	2	
Sold	5	5

Total.....18 Sivuchs 9 pəyi 11 qoma 1 alx

225 The quarry of Nitgin's collective consisted of 19 sivuchs,
476 and 8 qoma and 1 pəyi. They sold 3 sivuchs and 4 qoma on
the cape Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and the
remainder of the quarry into equal shares.

Nitgin.....	received	2 sivuchs	--		2 straps	
Niamin.....	received	2 "			1 strap	
Kizgun.....	"	2 "	1 qoma		1 "	
Verun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "	
Ozgun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "	
I nun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "	
Izgun.....	"	2 "	1 pəyi		1 "	
		14 sivuchs	4 qoma		and 8 straps	
			1 pəyi		2 sivuchs	

On straps....2
Sold.....3 4

Total.....19 sivuchs 8 qoma 1 pəyi

The quarry of Norp's collective consisted of 26 sivuchs, 1 pəyi and 12 qoma. They sold 8 sivuchs and 4 qoma on cape Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal parts.

Norp.....	received	2 1/2 sivuchs	2 qoma	2 straps	
Ete.....	"	2 1/2 "	2 "	2 "	
Potaq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Otaq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Tesq.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2 "	
Onkan.....	"	2 1/2 "	1 "	2	"and 1 pəyi
		15 sivuchs	8 qoma	12 straps	
				3 sivuchs	

On straps....3
Sold.....8 4

Total.....26 Sivuchs 12 qoma 1 pəyi

[90] The fact that Norp received an extra qoma does not prove that he received more than the other hunters. The qoma is not a valuable seal and it is really of no account whether one does or does not get an extra qoma. What is important is the

225 distribution of the sivuchs. The number of sivuchs he re-
476 ceived was the same as that received by the others. If at all
it is Nitgin who received a tiny bit more than the others; he
received one extra strap but did not get a qoma and so he
225 really got no more than the others. My report of my obser-
476 vation in the year 1931 of the primitive Communist method of
481 the distribution of the quarry in the village Kul can be
appropriately concluded with the following passage from L.
IA. Shternberg's work "Sakhalinskiie Giliaki" (The Sakhaline
Gilyaks), mentioned by F. Engels and published in
"Etnograficheskoie Obozreniie" in 1893, i.e. 40 years ago.
"During the common hunt, for instance, during a seal or
dolphin hunt, when a group of Gilyaks banded together for
this purpose set out in a single boat, the quarry is shared
equally by the participants. The owner of the boat receives
a share equal to that of the young man sitting na grebkakh.
The skill of the maker of spears and arrows is not specially
rewarded. Moreover, during a long expedition, i.e. from
Amur to the South of Sakhalin, it is not the owner of the boat
who receives more than his share of the quarry, but rather
the man who, on the voyage, performs the bothersome duties
connected with the preparation of food and the collection of
firewood." Apparently, it is for this kind of work that old
man Onkan received not only a participant's share but an
extra pəyi.

476 I find it necessary to give one more example of the
225 distribution of the quarry in the collective of Xitkun, for in
it we come across an entirely new phenomenon.

The quarry of Xitkun's collective consisted of 14 sivuchs.
They cut the hides of two sivuchs on straps. They cut the
hide of the youngest sivuch nav-ŋa into three straps, and the
hide of the tje-ŋa into four straps. There were seven straps
in all. There remained 12 sivuchs. Of the remaining sivuchs
Xitkun gave one and a half sivuch to each of the seven mem-
bers of the collective. This made a total of ten and a half
sivuchs. The fat of the remaining one and a half sivuch was
divided (unfortunately, I did not find out how) and as for the
hides, the hunters decided to let them dry and then make ki
(vamps and soles for shoes) of them. Including Xitkun there
were six men in the boat and they divided the quarry into
seven parts. It turned out that the seventh share was mu-ar,
the share of the boat (or as the Gilyaks say pay), that is,
what they were supposed to pay to the Gilyak Arban from whom
they rented the boat for the hunt. Xitkun and the other hunters

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pila- was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for
supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organiz-
ing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that
arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation
is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing
tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the
hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the
quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
478 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the
town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed
most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until
recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the
hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents
another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative
relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the
Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the
boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part
whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the
fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian
salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of
the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese
began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no
importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese.
Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs
supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others.
They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among
Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them
from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of
Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of in-
come, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle
and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
177
427 1 N. V. Slûnin, Sovremennoîe polozheniie nashevo
476 Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our
Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
476 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares.
477 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new
content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of
labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began
to claim shares for members of his family who did not
participate at all in the process of production such as wives
and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even
for the use of the bench in the boat (mlət) and of the stick
over the door of the house (nəmr-tis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak ;argun (?) now living in the village
471 C/arva? (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from
the village Təlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and
worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island
Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the
island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked
with him. In all there were seven men working. When the
fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and
his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks re-
ceived five shares, one share per man. The six shares ob-
tained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for
Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of
the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one
share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom
took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

481

481 LOCOMOTION--walking and running; gaits; speed and distances cover
artificial aids (e.g., canes, crutches, stilts, snowshoes, skis, skates
cial modes of locomotion (e.g., crawling, jumping, climbing, swimmi
diving), etc. See also:

Crutches	202	Exercise	
Ladders	417	Figure skating	
Riding	492	Therapeutic apparatus	
Footgear	516	Transmission of skills	

225 [108] Hunting of the Beluga by the Gilyaks of the Village Puir
476
433 As L. Schrenk (1) rightly points out, hunting of the beluga

1. L. Schrenk, Ob Inorodtsakh Amurskovo Kraia, v. II, [Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region)

(white dolphin) does not play an important part in the economy of the Gilyaks which is based on fishing and, to a lesser extent, on seal hunting. Nevertheless, hunting of the beluga, which is now of an accidental rather than systematic nature, contains some features which merit description. These features are:

1) The primitive Communist character of the distribution of the catch. The hunters as well as the other village folk share the beluga. Not so in seal hunting, where the quarry is shared by the hunters only. (2)

2. E. A. Kreĭnovich, Morskoĭ Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Fishing Industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul), Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.

2) The religious ceremony held by the Gilyaks on the occasion of a successful hunt.

124 We did our best to authenticate the facts we are about to
225 report by writing them down in the Gilyak language under the
115 dictation of the informant. Besides writing down texts, we collected maps, plans of summer and winter settlements, plans indicating the location of landed property, drawings, etc.

In the present article we publish drawings by the Gilyak Mytka which depict all the important phases of a hunt of the beluga and two accounts of the hunt; one told by the author of these drawings, the other--by the Gilyak Khor.

115 Mytka lives in the village Puir. He is about 35 years old. He is one of the most outstanding and talented Gilyaks I have met. He has a tremendous thirst for knowledge. When I went to see him for the first time, he was lying on his plank-bed and reading Goroda i Gody [Towns and Years] by K. Fedin, a book that he took out from the library at his place of work. Mytka is very much interested in problems of technology. The model of the airplane that I brought to the anthropological and ethnographical museum was made by him for his son. Mytka likes to draw, but, unfortunately

225 533 824 182 Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.).

225 476 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their 225 782 778 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
766 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol- ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol- ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

82 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
62 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
25 ul - ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
61 young hunters must not taste this mos.

25 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
82 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

25 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
91 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
76 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
2 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
6

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

9: Hawes--306 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 224, 483, 527

"He [LSS: Vanka, the author's Gilyak boatman] was
days since there had been a bear-hunt by his friend
two cubs had fallen to their prowess. One old Gilya
gone. Starting out with the dogs, they had come up
and the dogs immediately began to worry the cubs,
mother bear called to them to 'take care,' and run
while, the dam was shot. An experienced hunter th
a seal-hide noose in his hand. With this he lassoed
to climb down by degrees. The carcase of the dead
drawn by the dogs, and the orphaned cubs were led
Hence on the morrow there was to be a great holida
were coming in to celebrate it."

in high spirits, for two or three
s of Ado Tim, in which a dam and
k described to me how the hunt had
with the ch'uff and cubs in the forest,
biting at their hind-legs until the
up a tree. This they did, but, mean-
en proceeded to follow the cubs with
them, and, descending, forced them
animal was then placed upon a sledge
, pushed, and dragged to the village.
ay fête, and Gilyaks from all around

75 cont./
ows travel on such ground. All things considered, and on the basis
their construction and their entire nature, the ski of the Gilyak
e less suitable for traversing uneven mountain and forest wilder-
sses than for rapidly sweeping over broad, flat surfaces deeply
overed with snow, such as the ice-cover of the Amur River, the
mur-Liman, the many gulfs and bays, and other level stretches
fered to them by their homeland. In conclusion, mention must
made here about the stick which the Gilyak, like other northern
oples, use when traveling on ski and which serves both as rudder
skiing down mountains as a support in ordinary forward motion.
he latter is made possible by the fact that there is attached to the
ick a little above its lower end, which tapers into a straight or
rved tip, a wooden hoop which has a somewhat movable connec-
on with it by means of several straps drawn like spokes from its
riphery to the stick and through it. Thanks to it, the stick has
fficient resistance in the snow to give some support, whereas
movability facilitates pulling the stick out of the snow again
d thus avoids unnecessary effort. Finally, the upper end of the
ick, widened somewhat like a shovel, is used /476/ /illustration
ppears here/ to remove the snow that collects and packs together
nder the foot.

Both types of ski, the small and the large, are also used
hong the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region who neighbor the
lyak. The small ski, called kángulta by the Olcha and Goldi,
ve the same form and nature among them as among the Gilyak.
e large ski among them (the Olcha and Goldi ssultá, or also
ch-ssultá), however, in comparison with those of the Gilyak,
ow very considerable and characteristic differences, which I
ust discuss here in some detail. As a whole they correspond
the ski, described in detail by Middendorff, "of the nomadic
nters of Siberia," a general designation which in this case, as
hink can be definitely concluded from the pertinent description
d illustration (1) refers to the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, in whose

1. Middendorff, Reise in den Nord. und Ost. Sibir. /Travels in Northern and Eastern Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1349.

492 /486 cont./
longer sufficient to make them run, he climbs down, continues on his way on ski, and pulls the dogs with the sled behind him. Incidentally, thanks to the circumstance that he is seated astride and has ski on, he can be more or less helpful during the trip: if the movement is impeded because the sled-soles /runners/ cut too deep into the snow or otherwise meet an obstacle, he gets up on the ski, and not until the dogs have got the sled, relieved of its chief burden, moving again does he let himself down on it again. If the snow is too deep and loose and the dogs sink into it, the Gilyak helps them by going ahead on ski and making a firmer path for them (2). But if in this case the sled is heavily

2. Often enough this must also be done in the case of the broad-soled Russian sleds, and on Sakhalin I myself have had to go in front of my sled on ski in order to probe the path, drifted over by snowstorms, with a long stick and make a new trail.

loaded and the route uneven and sloping first toward one side and then toward the other, he will even harness himself in front of the sled, in order, in part, to help pull it and in part to prevent it from overturning in the deep snow. This is done in the following manner: across the front end of the sled a braking stick or a similar stick is tied, and by means of it two long poles gently sloping upward are attached to the sled. The Gilyak stands on
[192] ski between these poles /Pfiémerstangen/ (Gilyak tádf), embracing the poles with his arms, and, by a timely lifting of the one or the other of them, prevents the overturn of the sled and at the same time helps to pull it, while the guide-line to which the dogs are harnessed runs between his legs or, as I have also seen, is tied
[481] to his belt. /487/ In a similar manner, incidentally, the Gilyak sometimes has himself pulled, standing on his ski without any sled, by a couple of dogs which he holds by a line in his hands and urges to run over a level surface of ice or snow, whereby he moves forward exceedingly fast, especially going homeward. Just

G.
G1
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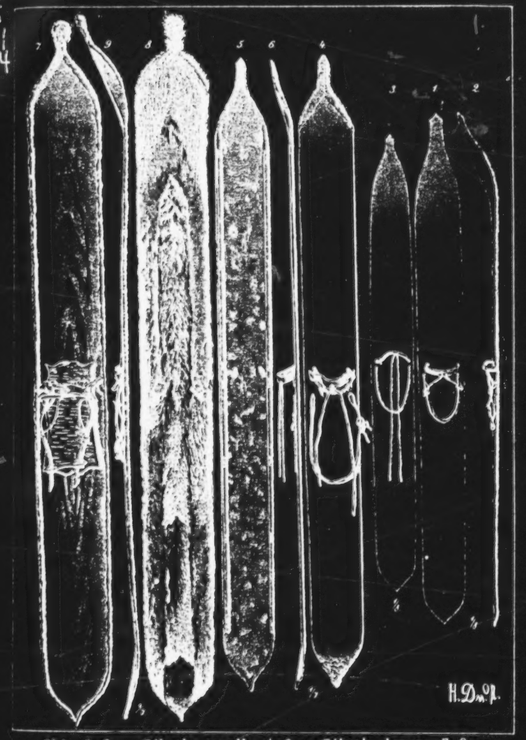

Ski: 1-3 -- Gilyak, small; 4-6 -- Gilyak, large; 7-9 -- Goldi, large.

484 sled is 70-80 rubles.
492 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is the fact that he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely-packed snow as the horse, and in general is much more agile, so that a dog-sled finds its way without a road where horses sink in up to their chests and cannot move from the spot. Moreover, one can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus visit uninhabited regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and about 30 pood of baggage. However, this applies more to Russian teams, for the Russians feed their animals better (1) and their dogs pull

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In drying the salmon, they divide it into three parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.
481 As is well known, snow shoes are used for walking on the loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very far. The Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch wood about two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered with seal-skin, the hair of which is turned in such a way as to prevent the shoes from slipping back.

VII. Trades and Occupations

226 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indispensable
285 tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, etc.

Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting, etc., are caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thread or hemp fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the frost for a time,

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. The spindle is like that used by the Russians. The long, lower end of the shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set into motion and at the same time one end of two long strands is tossed over the head of the spinner, while the other end is pressed against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up. The net is braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are the duties of the women, but sometimes the men also condescend to do them.
226 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught with a fishing rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along the coast haddock is also plentiful that there is a special kind of hook used for it. The end of the line is studded with a number of hooks which face in all directions; in winter such a line

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482 BURDEN CARRYING--methods of carrying burdens (e.g., on head, shoulders, back); gear (e.g., head pad, tumpline, carrying pole, pack basket); specialists in burden carrying (e.g., porters, coolies); uses (e.g., on safari); etc.

See also:

Water carrying	312	Transport of corpse to place of disposal	764
Gathering of firewood	313	Methods of carrying infants	854
Litters	493		

263 /445 cont./
439 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are
600

4. Mamia Rinsô (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that he gave them to try very tasty, but did not ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very importunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the children forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.
439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like. They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar and salt.

128 To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
415 follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
312 discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
824 bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for
482 dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
482 hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke /Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1
415 and 2/ Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
177 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak ormotsch(?)-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of
[See category 116, P. 1013--Analyst]

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke; 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop, 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.

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483 WEIGHT MOVING--application of human energy in the transportation of heavy weights (e.g., logs, heavy stones, carcasses of large animals); mechanical aids and cooperative techniques employed; use of weight-moving machinery; lifting or raising of heavy objects (e.g., in loading vessels, erection of megaliths); etc. See also:

Building and construction	33	Weight-moving machines	406
Logging	313	Vehicles	493
Knowledge of rollers, pulleys, and inclined planes	401		

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484 TRAVEL--volume, frequency, range, and occasions of travel; trips and expeditions (e.g., tourist travel, exploring expeditions); routine of travel (e.g., marching, caravans, camping); commuting; etc. See also:

Means of travel	49, 50	Traveling salesmen	446
Internal migration	166	Vacation resorts	529
Immigration	167	Guest friendship	572
Seasonal migrations	221	Visiting and hospitality	574
Hunting trips	224	Government-supported exploration	634
Trading expeditions	437	Military expeditions	726
Itinerant merchants	443	Pilgrimages	788

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange
●[484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in
159 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

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Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/55 cont./

776
787 Other gods distant from him, the sun and the moon, for example, just like the tly-nivukh'i, interest him little, for these gods are not closely related to his life and needs. On the other hand, the Gilyak is in constant communication with such gods as the master of the taiga, the sea, and the fire, turning to them sometimes with sacrifices, sometimes with prayers. Usually both acts are joined together. For an ordinary sacrifice neither solemnity nor any special objects are necessary. The principle /56/ of sacrifice is exchange, and therefore one cannot give the god of the sea fish, nor the god of the taiga the meat of animals.

782 If the Gilyak sails on the sea and is afraid of a storm, he
●[484] respectfully lowers a leaf of tobacco or a handful of rice over the side and says: "Please make the sea calm, so that I may arrive home alive and healthy." Whenever the Gilyak sets out, he takes along in a special sack his favorite objects for sacrifice, sweet herbs, sarana, and so forth -- since the gods are not demanding.

123 Some kind of candy delivered to the deity may sometime
776 stand one in very good stead. I experienced this once myself. It was in August, 1894. With great difficulties, almost without provisions or supplies, and with one piece of brick tea and some biscuits, I reached the Head of the earth. When I unexpectedly informed my companions that I had decided to betake myself up to the top of the "Head" in order to collect plants and remove some stones, my companions were overcome with panic. They adjured me to renounce my "insane" intention, which had to lead to our common destruction, offering as proof the example of two Russian seamen who had attempted to go up to the top of the small god, Lazarev Cape, perished, and were buried there. The captain of my boat, Gibel'ka, an intelligent and loyal Gilyak from the settlement Tangi, who had become quite attached to me, was especially agitated.

/174 cont./

*835
614 In clans where a distinction is made between the wives of younger and of older "brothers," this right was formulated for me still more boldly: "among clansmen, in one and the same clan everything is permitted ('good'), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." This undoubted and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his tuvn is invariably exercised throughout all the Gilyak territory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before the eyes of the individual husband of the woman and, as far
*835 as possible, not publicly. The right of the individual spouse,
593 of course, is peremptory -- he can demand from his wife fulfillment of her marital and economic obligations and that she
[597] follow him through /175/ any change of dwelling. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that she bears, but quite often a Gilyak, if he has several children, considers it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless tuvn of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. But also the subsidiary right of a wife and her group husbands in the person of his "brothers" to sexual intercourse is just as indisputable. It is true, the group spouses must look for a suitable opportunity in order, in the absence of the individual spouse (during his sleep or outside the home), to enjoy their rights, but there are more than enough such opportunities. A man passes the
●[484] greater part of his time away from home; either he is at the
[512] river catching fish, or he is away hunting for whole weeks at
[222] a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the women also absent themselves for whole days, going into the
*835 taiga for berries, roots, etc. Finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the exercise of the right of group marriage does not present any particular difficulties. The bachelor tuvn most of all
[837] fully enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group ang:ei, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
157 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
152 sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
●484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --aldmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
574 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/248 cont./

836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women go for several days to places very distant from the villages after berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, however, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gynd --
[196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also applied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings: "to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

• 484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the local youth, and the women already have their local admirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them. Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous reception always awaits him.

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
422 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
162

[126] 2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons).
361 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym' and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo
20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
• [484] difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
484 across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
492 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

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1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hisska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the towpath on the Ukakyt -- from the Hemlen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

175 come across Ulban Bay and Ssegneka Peninsula to the mouth
131 of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for
489 another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Ssegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

175 There is still no mention of these islands in the reports
131 cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports
• [484] concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon
[224] accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

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/109 cont./ purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak

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2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

[113] 3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

ততু however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

[192] 4. In Gilyak "island" is pólło-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Lushin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandarskij."

175 When the Russians
131 under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar
648 Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

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4. (cont.)
to the number of Russians originally present on the island, in which case the number of years of the stay would have been omitted, for the Russian original reads: zhit'ya ikh" bylo na tom" ostrovie liet" s" 20, kotorye khodilp v" tu zemlyu dlya rybnoi lovli..., etc. This information is also interesting because to a certain extent it is confirmation that in 1730 (not 1729 as is said in Middendorff and others), Schestakof had actually been on the Shantars, about which Middendorff, on the basis of the short and insufficient reports in Müller (op. cit., pp. 130 ff.), expresses doubt. According to him, the islands seen by Schestakof on the trips back and forth between Kamchatka and Udskoi Ostrog were not necessarily the Shantar Islands at all, since he navigated around the southern point of that peninsula and arrived at its east coast. The latter assertion, however, seems to me wholly unfounded, since Schestakof's trips, according to data from his own reports presented by Müller, took place only in the Sea of Okhotsk between the west coast of Kamchatka, Udskoi Ostrog, and Okhotsk. Müller himself never expresses doubt or uncertainty about the fact that Schestakof had visited the Shantar Islands, but only regrets being unable to give more detailed information about this trip because of the absence of the logbook.

175 It is noteworthy that all the accounts concerning the tempora
131 visits of the Gilyak to the Shantar Islands are inadequate and
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sidered particularly lucky. It has ha
t the bear, because of negligence on t
nsporting him, has crushed a child to
cidents are not mourned by the parents
ood omen.

The bear is kept in a special enclosure
old woman is appointed to feed him an
e latter is offered him in a long woode
erted through a little opening. His ch
ed fish, sometimes he also gets mille
raps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore
lages usually assemble for the festival
ces that had their own bear festival an
ned their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak
d at this time, although they themselv
h bears.

Besides feasts, various amusements ta

ppened now and then
he part of the people
death, but such
s, who regard it as

in his new home.
d give him water.
n spoon which is
ief food consists of
t and various

people from different
, even from those
d had already con-
come to the main-
es are well supplied

ke place at the

10 cons.)

[1] [illegible] far as it knows, the Gilyak were never met there directly during any of the numerous visits to these islands. The pertinent accounts therefore only rest on the above-mentioned statement by the neighboring Tungus /111/ and on singular notes that the temporary stay of the Gilyak on many of these islands has left behind. According to Middendorff (Reise, Zoologisches, Theil II), the island of Chobui (i.e., bad) Shantar

1. "Ojasaisa nemli Kamchatka
/Description of the Kamchatkan Peninsula/"
(Poln. Sobr. sochin. potesh. po Kom.
Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 130)

said to have inscribed its name because there had no forest at it, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly had been quite densely wooded and rich in sable, but the Gilyak had to extirpate the fur bearers, the Tungus had to leave the island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Kranchenninikow,

2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the island of Chobui (i.e. Schantar, "which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Kranchenninikow's description, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted but that Small Schantar Island (Maly Shantar) is meant (2), as it is also by the name "Bachui (ity) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Kara von der Lage von Kamchatka" (Karta po Kom. Lagu, Location of Kamchatka) in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Bach Schantar" west of the island of Reitinchi, just as Kranchenninikow, too, gives it, but this

2: Schenck—221 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.

/111 cont.)

2. (cont.)
does not mean much, since the Shantar Islands lie there all in a row approximately from west to east.

[2] [illegible] Middendorff thinks that information from traditions and stories, since he himself was never on the Shantar Islands, the Tungus near them. Moreover, it is very reminiscent of the above-mentioned story about the burning of the forest on Large Shantar Island, which, however, does not exactly prove its credibility. Komisa's statement in the northeastern part of Large Shantar Island nor the Tungus near Chobui Island has been dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were said to have formerly lived (2) seems more important. But we encounter uncertainty

3. Cap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV, p. 89.

even with respect to this report, in that the tradition that Middendorff discovered in Udskoi Ostrog expressly attributed these yurts to Russian fur hunters, and the ruins of these few and

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1: Middendorff adds that this seems much more probable to him.

uncertain reports, I do not doubt that the Gilyak visited the Shantar Islands in former times. Full credence should be given to the above-mentioned report to this effect by the Tungus, which came with the Russian fur hunters concerning these islands. Whereas the Tungus along the Sea of Chibom are primarily hunters and come to the coast only temporarily in July, the Gilyak stay there continually and are therefore much better informed than the former, as Middendorff also expressly mentioned (5). Hence it seems entirely plausible that from time

5. Reise, Zoologisch. Theil II, p. 108.

3: Schenck—222 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.

/111 cont.)

they visited the large islands within sight from their coast, namely, Sakhalin, and, at least, they could have visited small islands (2) [illegible] pass-fully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals, sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that wherever their westward expansion could have reached on land at first did not reach the Tugus and later did not go beyond it, that did visit the islands, which, in the southwestern part of them, and Bear Island (Medvéjki) located beyond Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ogorbach," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (2), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

origin, in that "Ogorbach" /113/ in Gilyak means "animal rock" (1).

1. From nap — animal, and pach — stone, rock (see above, p. 175, note 3). Similar Tungus names of the Ussuri, the Tschebarach, Tschordon, Tschuka, etc.

[2] [illegible] Gilyak, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his country, [illegible] Gilyak, he nevertheless will be a welcome guest, judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have fairly become acquainted with the Chuchi through the Golds. If one

4: Schenck—223 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.

/111 cont.)

[3] [illegible] Tungus gave to this island (2), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

responsible for this name is /113/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names Kihsi or Kihsyn, which, in contrast to Ogorbach, are not of Gilyak origin, the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Golds and, with minor modifications, among the Tungus, although the first borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For being the [illegible] Gilyak, who, because of the dwarfing of the Orochi, the Golds are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all kinds of contacts with the latter and, in the same time, I may repeatedly met Orochi passing through Gold territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there exists a large stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the [illegible] of Gilyak and Orochi, the Gilyak who were cast of Tymovsk, the fleeting nature of ice, the frequent fog, the [illegible] Gilyak, I do not doubt that they visited and trade with them. The ice, too, becoming wider toward the south and [illegible] Gilyak, which came with the Russian fur hunters from Golds, [illegible] Gilyak, they withdrew temporarily from the mouth of the Tugur which, as we mentioned before, is a winter quarters at the mouth of the Great Ulchin (2). It is very probably

5: Schenck—224 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.

/111 cont.)

[1] [illegible] Gilyak, though they visited the large islands within sight from their coast, namely, Sakhalin, and, at least, they could have visited small islands (2) [illegible] pass-fully pursue the hunting of the precious fur-animals, sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that wherever their westward expansion could have reached on land at first did not reach the Tugus and later did not go beyond it, that did visit the islands, which, in the southwestern part of them, and Bear Island (Medvéjki) located beyond Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ogorbach," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (2), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

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6: Schenck—225 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.
Southern Sakhalin RY1

/113/

Section 7

[1] Means of Moving and Going from Place to Place by Land, Water, and Ice. Sledges, Sledding, and Pack Animals — Dogs, Reindeer, Horses, Cows, Donkeys

As has already been mentioned frequently, the three principal occupations which provide the Amur peoples with clothing and food, as well as the luxuries that have become necessities, are fishing, hunting, and trade — occupations that cannot be pursued except with various and more or less considerable moving from place to place. The Amur peoples have been considering these principal occupations, I think that it is necessary to go into a special discussion of the means of locomotion and of the means which the Amur peoples and the means used for it. This will naturally fall into two parts in a little more detail than the other, namely, locomotion by land or on the ice-cover of the water and, on the other hand, on water.

A fishing people like the Gilyak, who always set up their fishing places in the vicinity of rivers, streams, lakes, and seas, they get their food almost exclusively, and, furthermore, before whom, on the Amur River as well as along the vast coast of Sakhalin, the Russian fur hunters and the Russian fur traders met with the neighboring tribes and with the closest civilized peoples, the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari and the Japanese on southern Sakhalin, such a people must naturally spend a great part of their time in winter on the ice-cover of the water, and, in the summer, make often enough to set up or inspect his animal traps and for other hunting purposes, or on journeys when snowwater-regime is, or is unusually low, and, in the winter, however, that the ski not only prevent sinking into the snow as much as possible, but also [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak have two types of ski: small ones — [illegible] and large ones — [illegible].

7: Schenck—226 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 KKI Gilyak RY2.

/113 cont.)

[illegible] undertaken a long [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak,

/487 cont./ Dwir

as the Gilyak on trips usually tries to lighten the work for his dogs during the traveling, so does he always seem to be in a hurry to have the necessary refreshment and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were fastened to each of them.

Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness is the one, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak, is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other tribes or peoples, but, on the contrary, it must be considered indicative to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their neighboring tribes-all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples not any more than there is probable.

Among the Ainu or Saxhalin the dog in general plays exactly the same role as among the Gilyak, even the construction of the sled, the harness and the manner in which they are fastened and driven are said to be the same (?). But the Ainu do not

1. N. Bunge, Ocherk Sakhalin's i Eksped. 1850 - 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1850 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1879, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanovskiy's manuscript diary, the Ainu-Sakhalin used the same of the peoples /Tlemenengan/ on especially difficult routes in also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

use the method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their

/501 cont./

55 of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and Reindeer Tungus, the reinder serves only as a riding and pack animal, but on the latter, similar to the one, also known as a Tungus animal, and in this in use joins that of the dog.

As dwellers on a great river and in tributaries of the sea and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are more or less oriented toward moving and travelling from place to place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The dwellings of the women on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sled, always built after one and the same pattern, the boat used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the form is adapted to the character of the waters and represents with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

Since of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live in fishing huts who are inclined by their gentus for trading to undertake long journeys and so on. Nevertheless, it is proof of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by nature bold and skillful seamen and hunters of marine animals, who instinct, only rarely venturable small, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarka, /Kiy/ would be inclined and able to undertake the high seven seas. Chief only concentrated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers them, in addition, a relatively favorable climate, a fertile natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Sakhalin-Gilyak along the Mongols, and, on the other hand, the Amur-Gilyak, a very large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cut them off from the open sea, and, on the other, the meridional expanse, given them a bridge, to the peak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their overall parts

/501 cont./

for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are more, in contrast, oriented toward the sea and its inlets and islands. And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the coastal Gilyak for fishing and for trade and communication and trading voyages matches this. It is a bateau, shallow-draft boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of single hewn log, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Fig. XXXVIII/ZM 1/ /Fig. 1/). It is not level, but, rather, curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but always built after one and the same pattern, the bank used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the form is adapted to the character of the waters represented with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

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and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is continually in danger of being capsized. Also, because of the sail and its attachments, the Gilyak, who accompanied me as guide or oarsman, could not leave the boat and swim ashore and experienced in a brisk wind, in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate rust bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and imploring me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. Their boat, which, by the way, is not at least without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and be greatly capsized, and, when it is not unballast seaworthy, in order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to the side wall. This is the case, for example, with the boat with such shapes (Gilyak /ebkch/) in particular, which they undertake sea trips, and these are generally used in the Amur region, in the bottom board (Gilyak /mach/), about 2-3 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned oscarian curvature. For the bottom board, which, as a rule, ends on two low textiles erected on level ground, each of which consist of two curved pieces of wood, joined along the grooves. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down further until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. When it is fixed in the proper way, it is kept and stiffened from the ground on either side and grapping the board from slipping, and, on the two side-boards (Gilyak /ebkch/), a strong rope is laid and pegs fitted with their loops fitted to correspond to the holes in the board, and, in order to be accurately, the latter at a very slight obtuse angle and temporarily held in that position.

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Tungus, Ainu, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with the necessary fishing animals and bear skins.

Some data for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, on the western shore of the Amur-estuary, are found in Maximovich. In the list given by him for the dates of the migrations of various fish and particularly the salmon species at least at the mouths of the rivers of Siberia and northern eastern Asiatic, June 22 is given as the arrival time of /p. gorbusa/ as the month of the Gilyak, and July 9 as the arrival time of /p. keta/ among all the same coast (2).

2. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1226 and 1227. The statement contained in the same work (p. 1192, note 2), but not in the above-mentioned list and standing in contradiction to the data in it, that 1. lagocephalus arrives at the mouths of the Ale and Uda (that is, Udi) fairly regularly about June 20, and 2. ciliatus also at the mouth of the Tugur, does not seem trustworthy to me and, incidentally, it given with the Gilyak name of /ulu/ for the latter. It is regrettable, as I must note here in passing, that the original sources, which are the observations which are used for the sources

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of many years in summer-dwelling along the river or on the seacoast, the Amur Tungus not infrequently undertake long hunting expeditions which may last many days or, indeed, weeks. This is particularly especially particularly true of the Orochon Tungus, in contrast to the Gilyak. Although on the whole they have likewise permanent dwellings, their original inclination for bearing animals, such as sable, river otter, and the fox, comes first, simply because by trading them they obtain not only clothing materials and foodstuff, but also the universally popular luxury items, and especially tobacco, which has become indispensable to them. For a long time they used to the same way and with the same means, but over a greater area and with more intensity than the Gilyak, with more success and profit.

But whereas among the Gilyak hunting is limited almost only to the coastal and river-dwelling animals and bear wholly in the interests of trade, among the Tungusic Amur /179/ peoples it also extends to too an less an extent to the above-mentioned kinds of sable and fox, but, in a considerable degree, to bear, which are not merely skin and utilized on occasion, as happens among the Gilyak, but, rather, constitute a hunting game, because they are used directly and very essentially for their clothing and food. As I have already been pointed out above in the discussion of these two points, they are related to food, however, of the more significance must be ascribed to hunting among the Tungusic Amur peoples, for he takes pleasure in hunting more than among the Gilyak, and the farther upstream and inland, the more, and the more exclusively, it takes up the entire winter and part of the fall and spring.

Hand in hand with the longer period of hunting among the Tungusic Amur peoples also goes its extension over a far larger area. Whereas the Gilyak confines himself with a relatively small area, where he pursues his hunting and self-defense in the localities that he knows to be favorable from experience and at the most, in exceptional years, he ventures a little farther, and, if it is regretable, as I must note here in passing, that the original sources, which are the observations which are used for the sources

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/605 cont./

numerated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal swirings of the Chinese tobacco pipe, sometimes, however, with, in the Amur region, only in winter only short distance separates them from the Tungus Lamut, who have adopted the Chinese customs and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Sakhalin, the chief northern tributary of the Amur, by only a few waterways, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 186 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Kais. Russischen Geographischen Gesellschaft" Bericht über die Sibirische Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 ff. Cf. also Dr. Radloff, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 ff.

the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the Tungus are very slight, and, in comparison with the Gilyak, where the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from the Amur-Tungus, who, far from the Amur, find there the means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and, rather than, try to utilize the route offered them by natural evolving the profit-seeking middlemen located on Sakhalin, is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, by the Tungusi themselves.

To be able to undertake a trading trip to the Tungusi in the Gilyak usually assists a person, "in the blanche," is the good will of the Tungusi, who, in contrast to the Gilyak, are generally, in a manner practically independent, and, in their relations with the Gilyak, in a manner practically independent, and, in their relations with the Gilyak, in a manner practically independent, and, in their relations with the Gilyak

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barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is considered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the unavoidable payment of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment. For a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that it leads through the territory, not only of their neighbors, the Olcha, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Ussuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they could quite easily lose their dogs altogether, and through that get into the greatest difficulty. Moreover, at best by this method such a small quantity of wares could be transported that the journey would pay only slightly, if at all. The only way to do it safely and profitably is by boat up the Amur and Sungari. For this, however, a number of men are needed to propel the boat, loaded with furs and some supplies, even though not heavily, against the occasionally very strong current, sometimes by rowing and sometimes by pulling on ropes. Hence, a small, but well-organized company, with an authoritative and commanding leader at the head, is always required for such a journey.

The goal of the Sungari journeys of the Gilyak is always the town of Ssan-ssin, or Itscha-choton, as it is called by all the Amur peoples, located at the point where the Churcha or Mutuan-ho empties into the Sungari. They are not permitted

/606 cont./ They are not permitted

439 439 484 648 823 by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari, the so-called Sachali River -- a prohibition whose observance the Manchu officials stationed in Dshang-dshu at the confluence of the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the *Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal* observation. What they have to say about the towns of "Kirchk-choton" and "Nungdy-choton" (Ninguta?) located, respectively, [103] above Itscha-choton on the Sungari and on its above-mentioned tributary, which they call "Ula" (which, however, in Manchu and Tungusic, as is well known, simply means "river"), as well as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Sachali River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they may have heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in part perhaps through Daurian-Yakut traditions in Burukan. The 439 439 484 648 fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does nothing in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not send either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Ssan-ssin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

G /607 cont./

439 439 484 648 time they must submit to being treated like the Goldi and other peoples directly subject to the Manchu-Chinese. And in order to achieve their commercial ends, they behave, as they themselves told me, toward them on their part just like the latter, th is, they bend the knee before them in greeting or to make a request, which otherwise is not at all customary among them. Th Gilyak in Ssan-ssin put on an act of complete submission to the Manchu-Chinese government, and the latter is satisfied with this along with the gifts collected from them in the form of tribute a probably going into the pockets of the local officials, and otherwise leaves them in peace.

G' 439 648 The treatment of the natives of the lower Amur region appearing annually on the Sungari for trade on the part of the Manchu officials and Chinese merchants there is extremely harsh inconsiderate, and humiliating, and in particular the gentle and shy Goldi, who live closest to them and are directly subject to them, have to suffer under them. According to the description by Chilkofakij (1) and Barabasch (2), who traveled up the Sungari

G' [113]

1. Khilkovskii (Izviest. Rusck. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. II, 1866, Sec. II, p. 227. In the excerpt in Petermann's Geograph. Mittheil., 1868, p. 345).

G' [113]

2. Ia. Barabash", "Sungariisk. Eksped. 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Voenn. Sborn., 1874, No. 3, p. 141).

to Pe-tune (Bo-dune) in 1866 and 1872, they first had to pay for a permit for travel to Ssan-ssin and for the trading itself, which was done in the village of Stussu, lying somewhat below the latter, by paying a considerable amount of sturgeon and hausen cartilage and glue to the Manchu official stationed there. Upon reaching Ssan-ssin, they first of all have to pay the tribute (alban) owed to the Chinese Crown, which consists of one sable,

/608 cont./

439 men and women, black woolens and velvet materials, silk fabrics, silk thread of all colors, sewing needles, buttons, and a quantity of Chinese ornaments, silver ear-pendants, rings and bracelets, glass beads, sheet-brass figures for decorating women's robes, and the like, as well as, finally, a number of household utensils, such as large and small kettles, etc. If the quantity of
439 goods acquired in trade in Ssan-ssin, in part heavy and bulky,
437 is too large to be transported without injury in the small boats
484 in which the Gilyak customarily make the arduous upstream
[501] voyage to and on the Sungari, a so-called Manchu boat, made by the Goldi there, is bought, in which the return voyage downstream can be made easily and quickly. And since, in order to have a stronger current, one usually stays far from the banks, he at the same time avoids the danger of being belatedly fleeced even yet by the Manchu officials and Chinese traders stationed or residing here and there temporarily or permanently. After the return trip is completed, the boat can still be used for a second type of trading voyage -- the voyages to the Ssisam (Japanese), to a consideration of which we must now turn.

439 Among the above-named commodities which the Gilyak obtain by trade in Ssin-ssan, one article plays an especially important role. It is the colorful Chinese silk fabric bearing designs of dragons and other figures and often with gold and silver interwoven in it, which is brought to market in part in whole pieces and in part worked up into long and wide-sleeved dressing gowns. /609/ Whereas the other commodities serve the Gilyak exclusively for their own use or for trade with their neighbors, these find their foremost and best purchasers outside of the Amur region, among the Japanese, and therefore give them the principal reason for direct trade with the latter. There is mention of this trade, which, however, does not take place in Japan, but in the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin, even in the oldest accounts of this island which we have from the Japanese. The Japanese interpreter Kannemon, who visited Jesso /Yesso/ before 1652, already speaks of special fabrics which the inhabitants of this island get from "Krato" or "Kraft"

/609 cont./

175 designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no
439 doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

439 The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the
437 Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter and
484 located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,
487

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea
[501] voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise the sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these keelless
[103] vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsô Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaref (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

[104] 2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible. But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and especially south of Duï as far as Pilja-wo, is steep and rocky, offers many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse military cloth.

The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged. They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a box-like open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder parts of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go off on longer excursions move into the airy storage hut. This consists of boards, and stands on poles in order to protect it from rats. [115] On their expeditions the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped, and softened in hot steam. They also make baskets, small dishes, etc. of this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one family; usually several of them live together, sometimes as many as eight or nine.

VII. Transportation Methods, Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regular one is usually made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, about six to seven meters and has no keel. The steering end is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Lengthwise it consists of three planks, one of which is the floor, the others, the two sides. The floor board projects out at the prow, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small cross-boards; the projecting floor board softens the impact in landing and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss which on the inside is covered with thin wooden strips and fastened down. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a small bar fastened to the edge of the boat for each oar, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on low, narrow cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised and a sail is set. The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth. These boats go very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe made of birch bark; inside, the frame is supported by a double row of lashing of the same material, which runs criss-cross. Usually only one person sits in this canoe and rows with a double oar, both right and left.

493 of long strips like the Gilyak's, but of boards and is enclosed
516 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the rider can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on to a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other. [117]
231 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are also
492 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur (driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if they are to turn right or left the point of the corresponding stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "takh", "takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy", slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals and their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of a dog sled is very difficult work.

484 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, or
492 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of fish and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which has a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on the journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to a sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled against each other, until the raging storm subsides. However, at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of escape is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. Such cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and on the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal of the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this seemed utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best lead-dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with the

484 sled is 70-80 rubles.
492 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is the fact that he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely-packed snow as the horse, and in general is much more agile, so that a dog-sled finds its way without a road where horses sink in up to their chests and cannot move from the spot. Moreover, one can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus visit uninhabited regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and about 30 pood of baggage. However, this applies more to Russian teams, for the Russians feed their animals better (1) and their dogs pull

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In drying the salmon, they divide it into three parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.
481 As is well known, snow shoes are used for walking on the loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very far. The Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch wood about two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered with seal-skin, the hair of which is turned in such a way as to prevent the shoes from slipping back.

226 VII. Trades and Occupations
286 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indispensable tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, etc.

Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting, etc., are caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thread or hemp fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the frost for a time,

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. The spindle is like that used by the Russians. The long, lower end of the shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set into motion and at the same time one end of two long strands is tossed over the head of the spinner, while the other end is pressed against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up. The net is braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are the duties of the women, but sometimes the men also condescend to do them.
226 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught with a fishing rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along the coast haddock is also plentiful that there is a special kind of hook used for it. The end of the line is studded with a number of hooks which face in all directions; in winter such a line

487

487 ROUTES--footpaths and trails (e.g., character, distribution); sea and air lanes; trade and caravan routes; marking of routes (e.g., blazes, signposts); route maps and charts, etc. See also:

Maps and place names	10	Railways	196
Topography	133	Aids to navigation	502
Streets	363	Map making	823
Highways	191		

G Gi 174 167 • G Gi A 101

/21 cont./

words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

G Gi A [113]

1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

G Gi 101 361

Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

G Gi [487]

G Gi 361 101 [487]

/21 cont./

by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the populatio of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

G [114] [113]

1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

Gi 101 361

It is different

with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to t sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep a protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, hav their permanent habitation sites in it.

/670 cont./

took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather takes him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for the dogs of the newly arrived guest. Needless to say, he then stays there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

In any case, however, the weather is first carefully checked, especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler in danger. During the several days of bad weather which detained me in the village of Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which overcomes the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the consultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides them on land as well as on sea journeys. On several occasions, however, I also had an opportunity to marvel at their knowledge of the climatic conditions of their country /671/ and the experiences that they had with them, for I had once made ready to continue my journey and found myself forced to return to the hated village where I had been received so inhospitably. On another occasion I reached the seacoast, which was 5-7 versts from the village, and continued my journey along it, but had to endure very bad weather and snowstorms. The Gilyak especially feared being surprised by an ady (north and northwest) or

/671 cont./

tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas the ladwilantsch (southeast wind), the tungyrsch and ngaluws (1)

1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French z.

(west and southwest wind), and the kongrsch (south wind) cause them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: ady, tschlangi, kongrsch, and tungyrsch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Duĭ to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

Magic arrow for exorcising storms.

front of the sleds of the travelers. In the village itself several methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a square piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing tinder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the storm ady-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

/673 cont./

114 157 123 snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kullj before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

● 484 805 Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

484 804 805

/674 cont./

● 484 804 805 them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the [192] Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspatj), with the derived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

805 821 It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

805 184 [171] The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months,

/674 cont./

484 804 805 them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the [192] Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspatj), with the derived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

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805 184 [171] The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months,

"Beaching our canoe
river, Vanka leapt ou
brodyagi in the near
Satisfied that there
reference to a bear]
landed. The shoal wa
by the willows, which
to cut down willow br
consisted of supports
fire lighted with marv
the rugs."

9: Hawes--126 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 487

"Our road [LSS: Near Arkovo on Sakhalin Island] continued to rise until it reached level of about 700 feet. The backbone of the island is crossed by practically only thr passes, of which this is the chief. Another, used by the natives, leads from the rive Tim to the west coast, north of Arkovo, and the third lies 200 miles to the south, be tween Kusunai and Manue. Rumour told of one in the extreme north, used by the nat Gilyaks; but I believe no white man has ever trodden it. Arriving at the top of the pa our route led us across an undulating plateau for several miles, until finally it desc to the bed of the upper reaches of the river Tim."

t a pleasant, clean, sandy shoal, dry from the recent fall of the
to take the omens, in other words, to note if there were signs of
eighbourhood.

vas nothing more than the footprints of Master Petz, [LSS: Russian
ho had been down to drink and fish during the previous night, we
of considerable length, but narrowed to about twenty feet in depth
formed here the van of the forest. Our natives ran into the taiga
nches for our bed, and stakes for the tent and fire. The tent, which
vith a piece of canvas thrown over, was quickly erected and the
ellous despatch, we meanwhile unloading the canoe and spreading

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489

489 TRANSPORTATION--extent of transportation; carrying capacity and volume of traffic by types of transport; transportation systems and their integration; regulation of transportation (e.g., permits, customs inspections); etc. See also:

Land transport	49	Foreign trade	439
Water and air transport	50	Tariffs and tolls	651
Postal service	205	Government ownership and control	471, 655
Articles entering into domestic commerce	438	Military supply and transport services	705

/610 cont./

they take only a small supply of food with them and depend almost entirely on their fish nets for their subsistence (3), the

3. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

sea voyage sometimes takes a longer time. Under favorable conditions, however, they are said to be able to cover the worst stretch, from Duĭ to Kussunai, often in four to five days. On winter voyages to the Ssisam, which are made in dog-drawn sleds, the above-mentioned steep, rocky coastal stretch puts great obstacles in the way. For the sea does not always freeze along it, and even if a fringe of ice has formed, with a strong wind it often, and sometimes very suddenly and unexpectedly, is broken up again and carried off by the high waves of the sea. The travelers are therefore forced to cover this stretch by land, and, on account of the mountains lying behind it, that can be done only by way of a long detour: they leave the seacoast at Arkai, shortly before Duĭ, turn inland over low passes to the Tymy sources, go from them to the Plyi or Poronai River, and follow its course up to the mouth in the Bay of Patience, on which there are settlements of all three of the peoples represented on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. From there they travel along the east coast of the island to Manuë and then, along a low and convenient pass located at the narrowest point of Sakhalin, /611/ cross again to the west coast, which they reach at Kussunai and which they then follow to Ssiranussi (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 110.

As has already been mentioned, one of the purposes of the Ssisam voyages of the Gilyak is to trade with the Ainu and to obtain furs from them in exchange for cotton cloth, tobacco, pipes, glass beads, and other Manchu-Chinese articles. This is done wherever they meet them, on the east coast of Sakhalin as

/612 cont./

prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjel at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimate the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often extends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

order to raise them at home.

The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

/612 cont./

439 484 648 [823] their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of the Ssisam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin (Lär-mif) and separated from it by a "small sea" (matsch-kerchk). /613/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the

175 648 439 Amur region by the Russians, however, the Japanese also tried to keep the traders from there away from Ssiranussi and Endungomo, their second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Ssiranussi by the Japanese but only as far as Endungomo, and in the following year the Olcha traders were prohibited from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kussunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2). Even Judin, the

[113] 2. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, pp. 22, 26). Also, Schmidt, "Hist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebach, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Ssiranussi and was well known there; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, stemming from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our considerations.

Gilyak RX3' Olcha

/613 cont./

G 439 If one surveys all of the above-described trade activities of the Gilyak, he will not hesitate to acknowledge that they are a people extremely gifted for trade by nature and completely

G [181] dedicated to it. Too indolent to obtain by hunting the means for trade with the neighboring civilized peoples on a larger scale in keeping with their inclinations, they know how to win them from the tribes neighboring them, who are more skilled at hunting, by means of trade indefatigably pursued from small be-

G [437] [484] ginnings. Thus enriched, they undertake, in spite of their primitive means of locomotion, long trade journeys to the Sungari and to southern Sakhalin, to the "Manchu" and to the "Ssisam," and since they exchange the wares and products of the one for those of the other, they serve as middlemen between the two greatest civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and the

C 439 437 484 Japanese. This latter activity of the Gilyak permits comparing them with another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Chukchee, who, likewise only poor hunters, but animated by a great genius for trade, roam over the northern tundra and cross the Bering Strait in order to trade for the furs bagged by the Eskimo in the Yukon territory with the commodities of the Russo-Siberian merchants, and, conversely, along the Anjui, the latter for the former, and so in the polar north they act as trade intermediaries between Europe-Asia and America (3). None of the Siberian peoples can

C [113] 3. Concerning this trade of the Chukchee, see the detailed and exhaustive account by Matjuschkin /Matiushkin/ (in Wrangell's /Vrangel'/ travel account, Russian edition, Vol. I, pp. 331 ff.), Ditmar (Bull. de la cl. hist.-philol. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, 1856, pp. 129 ff.; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 39 ff.), and others.

Gi 439 177 None of the Siberian Peoples Can be compared, with regard to its trade activities, /614/ to these two Paleo-Asiatic peoples, except perhaps the Olcha, whose strongly developed genius for trade, however, as we shall see in a moment, must be traced back to the influence of the Gilyak.

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Tugur River and the Gilyak then followed (5). But even at

5. Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Conditions on Kamchatka/, p. 57 (appendix to Steller's Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774.

even at
time the Gilyak went as far as Tugur Bay, north of the
th of the Tugur River, for /109/ on an old Russian hand-
ten map, whose origin Middendorff puts in the middle of the
century for several reasons, one finds the sketch of a
yak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka), which led over the
ow, stem-shaped part of the Ssegneka Peninsula from Ulban
to Tugur Bay (1). By this route the Gilyak may also have

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 116, note 2. The map is in the library of the Akademie der Wissenschaften. Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., 1769, p. 508) also mentions a towpath used by the Gilyak and therefore "called Giljazkaja perewoloko in Russian since ancient times." This, however, as he says, was used in order to avoid the northern promontory at the mouth of the Amur, since it ran from one brook, which empties to the south into the bay formed by the mouth of the Amur, to another brook which flows into the sea to the north. Müller adds that the latter brook bears the name "Gole" on Chinese maps and this indicates the towpath, for "Gole" evidently refers to the Gilyak village of Kolj or Kulj

/109 cont./

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1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hisska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the towpath on the Ukakyt -- from the Nemilen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

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come across Ulban Bay and Ssegneka Peninsula to the mouth of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Ssegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

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There is still no mention of these islands in the reports cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

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Tungusic neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting, and the Amur Gilyak, who have the most dealings with the Chinese, also trade with their more distant countrymen living along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin and buy from them the desired furs. The Amur Gilyak and in part the Tschomi Gil too, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which Chinese wares are brought into circulation throughout the territory of the Gilyak and of the tribes immediately neighboring them, the Negda, Reindeer Tungus, Orok, and even the Ainu, and they are also the ones who draw the greatest advantage from it. There is not a single Chinese merchant in this whole area.

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[487]
The northernmost and easternmost point in the lower Amur region where such a one stays temporarily is the village of Pulj, located still in Olcha territory on the Amur, near the Gilyak border, which can easily be reached in winter, even from Tschomi, via the oft-mentioned Tymi-Chaselach route from the Liman (1). It was said that sometimes a Chinese merchant

1. See pp. 144 and 909 above.

steals through from Pulj along the deserted left bank of the Amur to the Negda on the Amgunj, but carefully avoids the right bank, inhabited by the Gilyak, because they, as they themselves told me, will not permit any Chinese merchants in their territory and 25 years ago killed one who ventured it. Whether they assumed this hostile attitude toward the Chinese merchants in order to defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese or in order to shake it off is still uncertain, but in any case it is greatly to their advantage commercially. For the role that is

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played farther upstream by the Chinese merchants living among the Olcha, Goldi, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur region or visiting them, in that they act as middlemen in the trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers along the Sungari, falls in the Gilyak-Tungusic area, intowhich they are not allowed to come, to the Amur Gilyak themselves. And the latter perform their role of middlemen with great skill and success. The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that

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437 /601 cont./ The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that
439 they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes,
[157] is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commodities, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the like, in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these foreign articles and with some of their own products, such as sturgeon or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to
[221] the places named. This is done especially in winter when there
[492] is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dogs which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish in the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests. Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to take only a small quantity of commodities with them each time, the frequency and common practice of such trading trips among them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goods, and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same, the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese, they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting. Here again experience proves that the producer of a commodity always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using it.

439 These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose men-
437 tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Negda
484 on the Amgunj /Amgun/ (Gilyak Hynk) and the Samagir on Lake
648 Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhotsk,
[487] and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter, aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone, they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportunity.

Goldi RK3
Negida!
Samagir

G /602 cont./
439 First of all, the Amgunj offers them a direct and convenient
437 route to the Chinese merchants along the Amur; secondly, in
484 winter only a short distance separates them from the Samagir on the Gorin, who are likewise visited by Chinese merchants; and, finally, close to the northern border of their habitation area, separated from the Nemilen, the chief northern tributary of the Amgunj, by only a low watershed, where each year in December Yakut and Russian merchants congregate specifically in order to trade with the surrounding Tungusic tribes and, among them, with the Negda in particular (1). Under these circumstances

1. See p. 166 above. Cf. also Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht über die Sibir. Exp. der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Siberian Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 and 150).

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439 under these circumstances
437 the chances of the Gilyak middlemen for success among the
484 Negda are not very great, except perhaps in those places where
487 the latter live in the closest proximity to the Gilyak, far from
361 those trade opportunities, namely, on Lake Orell and Lake
G Tschlja, where there is also a Gilyak village and which, more-
439 over, lie on the route from the Amur to the southern coast of the
361 Sea of Okhotsk. Like the Negda, the Samagir, too, in addition to their principal territory on the Gorin (Gilyak Kyr), have still other habitation sites remote from it and closer to the Gilyak -- these are their settlements on Lake Udyl, and, like the Negda lakes, these, too, are /603/ visited by the Amur Gilyak for trade, and, to be sure, in winter as well as in summer. Thus, on May 18 (30), 1856, I met the Gilyak Mesgun in Patt at the moment when he was about to set out in a boat laden with various Chinese commodities to travel to the "Rdhy" (Samagir) living
G on Lake Udyl. On the whole, however, the latter lies, geographi-
[197] cally as well as on the basis of the linguistic relationships of the dwellers on it, closer to the Olcha than to the Gilyak.

Goldi RK3

G /605 cont./
G mistreated them. In the Amur region I often heard similar
437 assertions, sometimes reinforced with very liberal servings of
439 liquor, made to the natives by Chinese merchants, and they
G never miss their mark, especially in the case of the Goldi who,
[186] living in the closest proximity to the Manchu and entirely dependent on them, have often personally experienced their cruelty and avarice and even give them the nickname "ssingare," rats, to indicate that they act like the latter around their supplies and possessions. On the Gilyak, however, to whom the Manchu officials do not come to collect tribute and to practice all kinds of extortion, the flattering and seductive behavior of the Chinese merchants makes little impression. On the other hand, the great profit that the latter make by selling to the Amur peoples at retail for a very high price the commodities that they purchased cheaply at wholesale on the Sungari is obvious to their commercial sense, and, little inclined to contribute to it at their own expense, they try to imitate them and keep the profits for themselves. This explains their above-mentioned opposition to granting Chinese merchants access to their territory and the
G little encouragement that the latter find among them in general.
184 The Chinese trade center on their border, in Pulj, is visited,
438 apart from the Olcha, Samagir, and Orok, almost exclusively by
439 the Tschomi Gilyak, who, far from the Amur, find there the means for their trade with their countrymen on Sakhalin and
G especially along the Tymy River. The Amur Gilyak, on the
[487] other hand, try to utilize the route offered to them by nature and, avoiding the profit-seeking middlemen located on it, fetch what is needed for their own use, as well as for further trading, from the Sungari themselves.

G To be able to undertake a trading trip to the Sungari or,
437 as the Gilyak usually express it, "to the Manchu," is the goal
439 of their most ardent desires and constant practical endeavors.
484 It is chiefly for this purpose that sables, otters, and foxes are hunted and the trips to the neighboring tribes to buy precious furs are carried out. For without a considerable supply of this

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489 TRANSPORTATION--extent of transportation; carrying capacity and volume of traffic by types of transport; transportation systems and their integration; regulation of transportation (e.g., permits, customs inspections); etc. See also:

Land transport	49	Foreign trade	439
Water and air transport	50	Tariffs and tolls	651
Postal service	205	Government ownership and control	471, 655
Articles entering into domestic commerce	438	Military supply and transport services	705

Gold RUS
Tungus RUS

/515 cont./

GGT 501 171 174

Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inbue the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as was said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

GGT 489 438 439 171

In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development on the whole than in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

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491 HIGHWAYS--number, location, and distribution of roads; character (e.g., straight, meandering); surfacing and drainage; adjuncts (e.g., culverts, bridges, causeways, tunnels, fords, ferries); highway maintenance (e.g., responsibility, techniques, special apparatus, personnel); etc. See also:

Urban streets	363	Use of roads	494
Routes, footpaths, and trails	487	Ferry boats	501

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
[121] merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

103 (a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settle-
361 ments between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyyvo, Yamy, Manginay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyyde (1), Noksy,

[167] 1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigrvo (2), Marnlvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,

[491] 2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

Vaskhonkhvo, Kitnidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkryvo, Viskvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygrvo,

[491] 1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In
162 the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 245 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

[592] [128] 2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

166 /386 cont./ To make some money,
464 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
103 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
[244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
162 Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
191 Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
[244] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
224 potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev-
433 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point
178 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming
648 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
342 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement
178 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
354 a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
[237] in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe. Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly complex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
[184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
191 the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from
177 whom it may have been borrowed.

As to the character of the region, the maritime sections
133 of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-
[137] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the
[491] taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, beginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look
135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The
137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along
132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous
[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the
[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be
135 entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the
491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak
103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta
361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

[824] 1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

114 [2] 2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the
361 author did not include in the number of
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492 ANIMAL TRANSPORT--use of pack, draft, and riding animals; gear (e.g., saddle, bridle, stirrup, yoke, harness); loads; methods of guiding and riding etc. See also:

Animal husbandry . . . . . 23 Horse racing 541
Carrier birds and animals . . . . . 202 Cavalry 704

/605 cont./

barter commodity, which is practically the only one that is considered by the Chinese on the Sungari, the long journey would not only be unrewarding and hence purposeless, but could hardly be made in view of the unavoidable payment of tribute and bribes to the Manchu officials. Since such a supply can at first only be procured with difficulty, several usually make /606/ such a journey together, under the leadership of a traveled and experienced man. Or it may be started by an experienced man who invites other and younger men to participate in it in return for an appropriate share in the profits or for a definite wage. An association of several persons is always required for its accomplishment. For a Sungari journey cannot be carried out, like the shorter trading trips, in winter on sleds drawn by dogs, with each one his own master. This is impossible for the Gilyak simply because of the length of the trip, as well as the fact that it leads through the territory, not only of their neighbors, the Olcha, but also of the more distant Goldi, among whom they cannot always count on a hospitable reception for themselves and their dogs, and, from the Ussuri to the Sungari, cuts through a sparsely populated area where they could quite easily lose their dogs altogether, and through that get into the greatest difficulty. Moreover, at best by this method such a small quantity of wares could be transported that the journey would pay only slightly, if at all. The only way to do it safely and profitably is by boat up the Amur and Sungari. For this, however, a number of men are needed to propel the boat, loaded with furs and some supplies, even though not heavily, against the occasionally very strong current, sometimes by rowing and sometimes by pulling on ropes. Hence, a small, but well-organized company, with an authoritative and commanding leader at the head, is always required for such a journey.

The goal of the Sungari journeys of the Gilyak is always the town of Ssan-ssin, or Itscha-choton, as it is called by all the Amur peoples, located at the point where the Churcha or Mutuan-ho empties into the Sungari. They are not permitted

/609 cont./

designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakhalin were meant by it.

The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with the Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter and located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,

1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu boats brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise th sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these keelless vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinso Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasaref (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun)

2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thus have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as possible But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and especially south of Dui as far as Pilja wo, is steep and rocky, offers many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

/610 cont./

439 they take only a small supply of food with them and depend al-
437 most entirely on their fish nets for their subsistence (3), the
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3. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

sea voyage sometimes takes a longer time. Under favorable conditions, however, they are said to be able to cover the worst stretch, from Duĭ to Kussunai, often in four to five days. On winter voyages to the Ssisam, which are made in dog-drawn sleds, the above-mentioned steep, rocky coastal stretch puts great obstacles in the way. For the sea does not always freeze along it, and even if a fringe of ice has formed, with a strong wind it often, and sometimes very suddenly and unexpectedly, is broken up again and carried off by the high waves of the sea. The travelers are therefore forced to cover this stretch by land, and, on account of the mountains lying behind it, that can be done only by way of a long detour: they leave the seacoast at Arkai, shortly before Duĭ, turn inland over low passes to the Tymy sources, go from them to the Plyi or Poronai River, and follow its course up to the mouth in the Bay of Patience, on which there are settlements of all three of the peoples represented on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. From there they travel along the east coast of the island to Manuë and then, along a low and convenient pass located at the narrowest point of Sakhalin, /611/ cross again to the west coast, which they reach at Kussunai and which they then follow to Ssiranussi (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 110.

439 As has already been mentioned, one of the purposes of the Ssisam voyages of the Gilyak is to trade with the Ainu and to obtain furs from them in exchange for cotton cloth, tobacco, pipes, glass beads, and other Manchu-Chinese articles. This is done wherever they meet them, on the east coast of Sakhalin as

/612 cont./

439 prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjelm,
[435] at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

439 Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin
484 for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often ex-
487 tends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they
[231] still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

order to raise them at home.

648 The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go
439 beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of
484 Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the
[823] southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

The land [ESS: of Sakhalin Island]
forest. So dense is this, that the nativ
traverse in summer in canoes dug out
sledges over the frozen surfaces."

n for the greater part covered with primeval
es depend for highway upon the rivers, which they
of tree-trunks, and in winter in dog-or reindeer

/18 cont./

(kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee, the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

Among the numerous legends that I have collected about the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo. It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/28 cont./

352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
[E14] tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[192] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[E01] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
● 492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/29 cont./

493 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
● 492 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
[E35] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles.
[E56] ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a sedentary person. In summer his usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/350 cont./

170 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
[E72] Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
269 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
291 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
181 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domes-
● 492 tic animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
262 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
415 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
323 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
194 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have
173 never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of "savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact, however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes possible broad ethnographic conclusions, is their family-clan institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is
such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there
165 are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
[E22] three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
41 guns, on the whole.

[E14] The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
[E62]

[E26] 2. The property of each person has been registered to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (65 persons).

361 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym'
and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'vo (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
20 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
361 difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult
[E84] because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
484 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the
● 492 mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

[E8] /478 cont./
[E8] basis of tales told by the Hollanders who had been prisoners in Korea
171 in the middle of the seventeenth century, that in winter there one
195 binds small boards under the feet in order to be able to walk over the snow without sinking into it.

G- Of the greatest importance for the economy and the whole
[E8] life of primitive peoples is the manner in which they undertake
[E84] their greater moves from place to place by land, and in this re-
191 spect we find in the Amur region very different, and for the individual peoples characteristic, phenomena.

G- Of all the peoples of the Amur region the Gilyak are the
● 492 ones who use the dog for traveling to the greatest extent and
23 among whom the dog plays more important role in the economy and whole life than among any other of these peoples. For, aside from its principal purpose as draft animal, it furnishes the Gilyak, as we have seen, with the generally most popular and most used fur for clothing, and even serves them as food, which, aside from the Ainu, does not occur among any other people in the Amur region. Nowhere is the keeping of dogs for winter travel required by natural conditions and by the way of life and needs of the people to such an extent as among the Gilyak. If the dog is to serve as a draft animal, it must, because of its little strength, be kept in large numbers, and for that, in view of its predatory nature, large, never-failing stores of animal food are required, such as, not the roaming hunters, but fishermen settled along a river rich in fish or along the seacoast are in a position to provide for them.

G- There requisites, as discussed above (3), are best met among the
[E84]
[E84]
492 3. See pp. 645 ff. above.

Gilyak, who occupy the part of the Amur region richest in fish and are the most sedentary of its peoples and the one most devoted to fishing, and who, in addition, are impelled by their lively commercial spirit to undertake winter trips and voyages more than the others.

492 /484 cont./
long strap. If a longer trip is undertaken, a few of the most
necessary weapons, a lance or a bear spear, are stuck under the
strap. In front, approximately above the outermost ich, a saddle-
[192] shaped hollow is left when the baggage is loaded, which, covered
[E30] with a piece of fur (Gilyak tyws) (2) likewise fastened to the sled.

[104] 2. The t here is soft, pronounced like the French z.

and, to be sure, a piece of fur from either a bear's head or an elk's head (Gilyak kotz-ngar-tyws and toch-tschongz-tyws, respectively, serves as a seat for the Gilyak going on the trip, who, with small ski on his feet, sits astride it (see Pl. XXXVII /see p.1017/).

● 480 The Gilyak dog-harness is very simple and primitive; to
[192] the above-mentioned long guide-line (Gilyak nytsch, Pl. XXXVI
[E37] /see p.1016/, Fig. 2) plaited out of seal straps are fastened, at regular intervals and alternating from one side to the other, seal-leather neck-bands or collars (Gilyak chall) of the form shown in Fig. 3 of the last-mentioned plate, and such a one, but without the movable iron ring, is also attached to the end of the strap (Gilyak lat) serving as an extension of the guide-line. This latter /485/ neck-band is pulled over the head of the lead dog, the other over the other dogs, and the team is ready. The harnessing of the dogs, therefore, is the work of only a few minutes among the
[192] Gilyak. On solemn and festive occasions, such as matchmaking trips or the dog races arranged during the bear festivals, and the like, instead of ordinary collars the dogs get elegant ones with high-standing, Chinese horsehair braids and tassels made of red-dyed sheep or goat wool, the so-called ritsk of the Gilyak, like the illustrated on Plate XXXVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5. The accompanying woodcut serves to show the way in which such a collar is put on the dog. /Illustration appears here./ The chief disadvantage of the Gilyak harness is that the dogs have to pull with their necks, and, with great exertion and in violent excitement, they all too readily choke themselves. In this it is far behind the

/485 cont./ In this it is far behind the
492 harness used among the Russians
191 both in eastern Siberia and along
the Amur, which forces the dogs
to pull with their chests, and
this may explain why the Gilyak
dogs tire and are exhausted more
quickly than the Russian dogs. On
the other hand, it has the advan-
tage over the latter in that it does
not get tangled so easily, and,
if this happens, can be promptly
put to rights again. With the
Russian harness, the dogs, except

A dog's head adorned with the rüssk.

the front one, do not run singly, but in pairs, and each animal is fastened by two straps to the long guide-line running between them: by means of the rear strap the dog pulls the sled, but the front one prevents him from running sideways. With so complicated a harness, confusion arises all too easily as a result of the tempers of the dogs: sometimes the two dogs of a pair run toward the same side, sometimes an animal jumps over his harness strap, which then gets caught between his legs, etc. And when two sleds meet, especially a Russian one and a Gilyak one, without stopping in time, the dogs of the two vehicles angrily jump at one another, forming a cluster of perhaps twenty or more biting dogs, which can be disentangled only by a violent tugging and pulling apart of the fighting animals amid a rain of blows from both sides, and causing great confusion and damage in the harness, especially of the Russian dogs. The Gilyak, as well as the Russians, therefore carefully try to avoid such encounters by turning aside promptly, stopping and setting the sled, and holding fast to the pack, especially the lead dog.

/485 cont./
492 The Gilyak stop and set their sleds with not one but with
191 two simple, iron-tipped sticks (Gilyak kaur, Russo-Siberian
[192] oschtoll), which are thrust into the snow on either side of the
sled. To put little bells on the upper end of such a stick, as
the Russians do on Kamchatka and in other /486/ parts of
Siberia, is not customary among them, and therefore the spur of
the tinkling bells is unfamiliar to their dogs, which is why it has
been abandoned in the Amur region by the Russians who get their
dogs from the Gilyak and other natives. These Russians, however,
spur their dogs at the first signs of fatigue in many another way that
is likewise unfamiliar to the Gilyak. For instance, they some-
times hurl the braking stick at one or another of the animals ap-
pearing too lazy, which the Gilyak cannot do because, riding
astride the sled, he cannot jump off during the journey, as the
Russian does, to retrieve the stick and hoist himself back on the
sled (1). And he just as little copies the Russian practice of

1. The Russian dog-drivers, or "Kajuren," as they are called along the Amur, in Kamchatka, and elsewhere in Siberia, always sit sidewise (on the right) on their sleds and can easily jump off, which they are often obliged to do in order to give the sled a push toward one side or the other to prevent the soles /runners/ from passing over the fresh excrement of the dogs and thereby lose their smoothness. If this is ever neglected, one must stop after a brief time and turn the sled over on one side, in order to scrape off the soles and, if possible, apply a new ice-coating.

spurring on the dogs in extreme exhaustion by throwing small
pieces of jukola ahead of them. He cares too much for his dogs
492 to strain them excessively. If the shouts of "tach, tach" are no

492 /486 cont./
longer sufficient to make them run, he climbs down, continues
on his way on ski, and pulls the dogs with the sled behind him.
Incidentally, thanks to the circumstance that he is seated astride
and has ski on, he can be more or less helpful during the trip:
if the movement is impeded because the sled-soles /runners/ cut
too deep into the snow or otherwise meet an obstacle, he gets up
on the ski, and not until the dogs have got the sled, relieved of
its chief burden, moving again does he let himself down on it
again. If the snow is too deep and loose and the dogs sink into
it, the Gilyak helps them by going ahead on ski and making a
firmer path for them (2). But if in this case the sled is heavily

2. Often enough this must also be done in the case of the broad-soled Russian sleds, and on Sakhalin I myself have had to go in front of my sled on ski in order to probe the path, drifted over by snowstorms, with a long stick and make a new trail.

loaded and the route uneven and sloping first toward one side and
then toward the other, he will even harness himself in front of
the sled, in order, in part, to help pull it and in part to prevent
it from overturning in the deep snow. This is done in the follow-
ing manner: across the front end of the sled a braking stick or a
similar stick is tied, and by means of it two long poles gently
sloping upward are attached to the sled. The Gilyak stands on
[192] ski between these poles /Pfiemerstangen/ (Gilyak tädf), embracing
the poles with his arms, and, by a timely lifting of the one or the
other of them, prevents the overturn of the sled and at the same
time helps to pull it, while the guide-line to which the dogs are
harnessed runs between his legs or, as I have also seen, is tied
[481] to his belt. /487/ In a similar manner, incidentally, the Gilyak
sometimes has himself pulled, standing on his ski without any
sled, by a couple of dogs which he holds by a line in his hands
and urges to run over a level surface of ice or snow, whereby he
moves forward exceedingly fast, especially going homeward. Just

G /487 cont./ Just
492 as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during
484 the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the neces-
sary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached
and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting
place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line,
detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of
the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and
lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately
see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how
many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness
492 to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak,
191 is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other
194 Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar
to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most
distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic
peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of
them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their
only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with
there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of
the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly
A 492 the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the
492 sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are
[648] treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113]

1. N. Busse, Ocr. Sakhalin" i Ekiped. 1858 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1858 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G 492 191 194 A [481]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively
as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the
following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their
country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

E /490 cont./
23 Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality.
191 The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/
194 the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural
E conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the
[490] dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the
use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on
his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not
occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I
know, among any other people.

G After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region,
G the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes,
A 492 the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur
194 region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the
191 use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all;
G whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant
194 times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter
adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure,
through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

486 /601 cont./ The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit
439 they lack as hunters, in comparison with the Tungusic tribes,
439 is theirs to a high degree as traders. Not satisfied that many a
[197] Negda, Tungus, and Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk, from the
Liman, and from Sakhalin come to them in order to get from
their supplies of Chinese and, more recently, Russian commodi-
ties, tobacco, liquor, cereals, clothing materials, and the like,
in exchange for furs, they themselves, provided with these for-
eign articles and with some of their own products, such as sturgeon
or hausen /602/ meat and the like, undertake trade voyages to
[221] the places named. This is done especially in winter when there
is little fishing, and for this purpose they use the numerous dogs
492 which they are able to keep, thanks to the abundance of fish in
the Amur River. With their help they are almost constantly on
the move all winter in order to look after their trade interests.
Although the means of locomotion mentioned permits them to
take only a small quantity of commodities with them each time,
the frequency and common practice of such trading trips among
them on the whole brings about a considerable turnover of goods,
and since the main purpose of these trips is always the same,
the acquisition of the furs needed for trade with the Chinese,
they offer the persons undertaking them a rewarding substitute
for the time and effort spent on them instead of in hunting.
Ifete again experience proves that the producer of a commodity
always has a smaller profit than the middleman adroitly using it.

These trading trips of the Amur Gilyak for the purpose men-
439 tioned principally go in three directions: westward to the Negda
439 on the Amgun/ /Amgun/ (Gilyak ilvnk) and the Samagir on Lake
484 Udyl, northward to their own countrymen on the Sea of Okhotsk,
484 and eastward to Sakhalin. The relations of the Gilyak with the
[489] Negda are very ancient, as may be seen merely from the fact
that of all the Tungusic tribes of the Amur region the latter,
aside from the Olcha, has become most assimilated with the
Gilyak, or, so to speak, Gilyakized. For this reason alone,
they, like the Olcha, are more interested than other Tungusic
tribes in benefiting by trade, and, in view of the geographical
location of their habitation sites, they do not lack the opportunity.

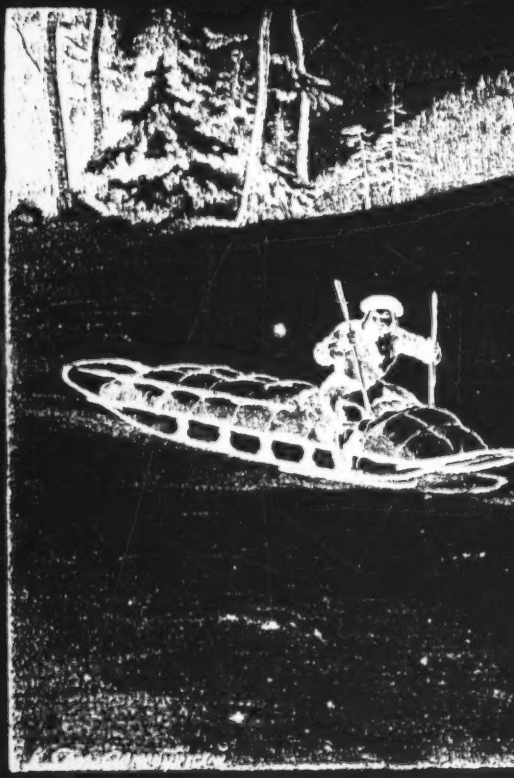

Sled

2: Schrenck--1017 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak Rx2
492
493
137

XXXVII

travel of the Gilyak.

1 -- Gilyak sled, and 2, 3 -- dog harn

2: Schrenck--1016 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

ness; 4, 5 -- fancy dog-collars.

"Another village, Auk-vun-wauk by
gingerly from our unstable craft. V
crowd of yelping dogs, although the
built on piles. These animals are fi
although I believe it is on the whole
fear, dogs may yelp and growl, but
reminded me of an incident in South
for protection from a buffalo, whos
is well known.

These dogs are used by natives in
harnessed to the sledges, they are
more dangerous to encounter."

name, hove in sight, and, paddling in, we stepped
anka insisted on accompanying me because of the
most savage were tied up to a pole underneath a h
erce towards strangers, and especially white men,
true the world over, that, if you show no sign of
will stop short of actual attack. My present positi
ern China—a sahib obliged to appeal to a piccaninn
e discrimination between the white man and the yel

hunting bears and in tracking brodyagi. In winter,
not fed until the end of the journey, and are then m

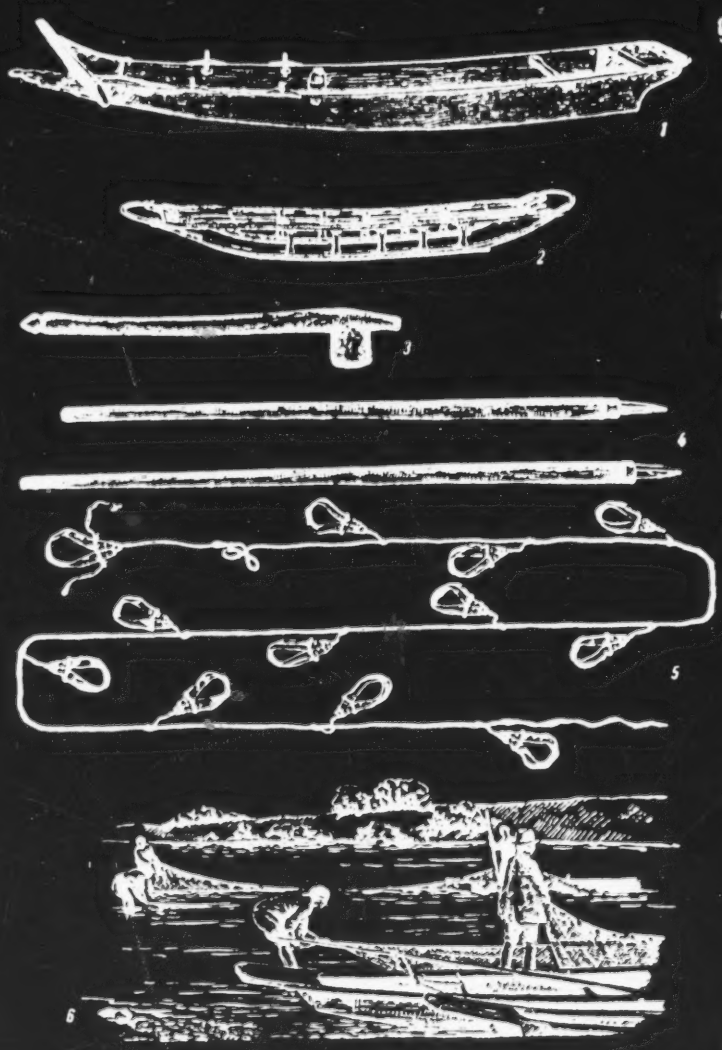

Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
262 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[526] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
[171] so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

177 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most
493 valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
171 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

501 Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
[824] boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
[824] Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[354] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[354] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century

/28 cont./

352 [519] [422] roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite position of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

493 [501] As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original. 492 493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/29 cont./

493 492 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal [435] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles, ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen [556] dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a semisedentary person. In summer hs usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/481 cont./

231 191 113 1. (cont.)

durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

231 191 439 The dogs of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

493 The Gilyak sled (tu) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian narte, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions [123] and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11 times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded [192] as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles /runners/ (Gilyak tusskrj, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect [192] them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside

/482 cont./

493 [192] all along the horizontal middle piece, with mountings, or rath if one thinks of the considerable length of the latter, with a second pair of soles, the protective soles (Gilyak motassj, b in the illustration), which are fastened by means of wooden peg and, at their sharply reduced ends, also by means of leather str to the main soles. The sole-mountings are usually likewise of wood and can easily be replaced when worn out. In the spring, [237] however, when the snow melting in the sun sticks to the wooden sole and makes travel very difficult, instead of the wooden mo ings, some made of whalebone are fastened to the sled, or the wooden protective soles are covered with a whalebone plate, as I have seen on several occasions, especially on Sakhalin, where t material is more readily available (1). A very characteristic featu

237 493 191 [136] 1. As was discussed in the first volume of this work (p. 193), these quite long whalebone plates come from a kind of whale which the Gilyak call kalm and which presumably is Balaena australis Desmoul, but as a rule the bone plates are taken from the lower jaw or the ribs of Balaenoptera longimana Rud. (Gilyak keng), the one most frequently stranded along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. Even among the Russians in Siberia bone or whalebone mountings are often used on the sleds, especially for travel over sea ice which is covered with salt crystals that have separated out (Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i po Levod. moriu /Journey along the Northern Coasts of Siberia and through the Arctic Sea/, Vol. II, p. 238). According to information 237 191 given by A. Schroot in the Leipziger Tageblatt, bone sled-mountings (sled-runners), as well as bone skates, were formerly used in many regions of Germany, for instance, in the province of Brandenburg, in several Bavarian lake districts, in Salzkammergut,

/482 cont./

237
171

1. (cont.)
etc., and such bones have been found a number of times in excavations in Scandinavia, on Iceland, on the Zealand Islands, in Friesland, Pomerania, in the March, in Moravia, and even in the pile dwellings of the Swiss lakes (St. Petersb. Zeit., 1880, No. 58).

493 Gilyak sled is that when it is equipped with the protective soles and is placed on firm level ground, the latter is touched by only a small part of the sole, equivalent to about one-quarter of the total length of the sled, while the two ends rise to a considerable height above it. For example, in the case of the specimen measured by me, their distance from the ground amounted to one foot,
493 ten inches. Between the two ends of the thus shallowly arched
192 soles run, as sinews, the two longitudinal side-bars (Gilyak kigi, c in the illustration) of the sled, which form the frame of the very shallow sled-basket serving as a seat and for holding effects. They rest on several thin little supports (Gilyak ich, d in the illustration) set into the soles from above, and their ends, moreover, are connected with the soles by means of a perforating wooden crosspiece
493 (Gilyak kernghi, h in the illustration). The ich, of which a/483/ Gilyak sled of regular size, like the one illustrated, has five on either side, a smaller one only four, are rather wide and solid at their ends, somewhat reduced toward the middle, and their position and distance from one another and from the ends of the sled likewise seem to be standardized by quite definite proportions. If there are five of them, the middle one is exactly in the center of the entire length of the sled, all the others are at a distance of 1' 10" from one another, that is, at precisely one-eighth of the sled's length, and the distance of the two outermost ones (the front and the back ich) on either side from the sled-ends is double that, therefore 3' 8" or two-eighths of the length of the sled each. The sled touches level and firm ground only with the part of the soles which is found between the two supports standing next to the

/483 cont./

493 central ich, that is, therefore, with only a quarter of its total length, while the other three-quarters, unloaded, rise more or less above it, and only as a result of loading do the soles come in contact with the ground farther toward the front and back. The mountings serving to protect them extend at least as far as the outermost ich, and very often almost as far as the ends of the soles.
493 The ich opposite each other are connected on top by wooden cross-
192 pieces (Gilyak tynyssj, e in the illustration). On these rest the long rods (Gilyak turssj, f in the illustration) which form the bottom of the sled; they are lashed to each of the crosspieces with straps, and where there are no crosspieces, in the front and back quarters of the sled, also by means of a pair of straps plaited across and stuck through the wooden, longitudinal side-pieces, and finally their ends are stuck through a crosspiece bored for the purpose (Gilyak warr(o)s, g in the illustration) which connects the two wooden, longitudinal side-pieces of the sled just in front of the above-mentioned kernghi. Finally, at each end of the sled there is a curved piece of wood (Gilyak mich, i in the illustration), which, in a gently sloping position, is lashed to both the longitudinal side-bars and to the ends of the soles projecting beyond the last cross-
493 piece. The guide rope for harnessing the dogs is attached to the soles immediately below the curved piece of wood at the front end. The curved piece of wood at the rear end is used for knotting on a strap which the Gilyak takes in his hand or fastens to his belt when he follows the sled on ski, in order to have himself thus dragged along by the dogs and to prevent them from running away without him. Sometimes, however, the curved piece of wood in the rear is missing, and in this case the front and rear ends of the sled differ, whereas otherwise they exhibit no differences. The Gilyak
[824] make all the pieces of the sled out of birch wood (both from Betula
[192] alba L., Gilyak chiws, and from B. ermani Cham., Gilyak kedras) (1), which on Sakhalin they designated separately for me as

[104]

1. In both Gilyak words the final s is soft and should be pronounced like the French z.

"tulytynt-tschchar," i.e., "wood for sled-building," with the sole

/483 cont./

493 exception of the curved pieces of wood at both ends of the sled,
[192] which are made out of the particularly flexible wood of the black-
[824] alder tree, and the bottom of the sled used for sitting, which is either likewise made of black-alder or of willow switches.

/484/ As is to be seen from the above description, lightness is the basic characteristic of the Gilyak sled: it has no iron at all and throughout is made only out of thin, carefully selected and fitted pieces of wood also fastened together in part by means of straps. It owes to the resulting flexibility its ability to withstand even rough trails such as the forest or the river and sea ice all too often present to it. It is not suitable, however, for carrying much baggage and heavy loads. In this respect it falls far behind the Russo-Siberian narte. This, generally provided with larger dimensions and wide soles, rests on the same principle as the ski, the distribution of the load over the largest possible surface and the greatest possible elimination of friction-resistance in movement, for which purpose, before a trip, the soles are provided with a thin layer of ice with a damp cloth, which to a certain extent substitutes for the fur covering of the ski (1). The narrow soles of the

1. The above-mentioned covering of the sled soles with bone or whalebone plates serves the same purpose.

Gilyak sled encounter only a little friction-resistance and therefore do not need the ice coating. on the other hand, it does not allow for a distribution of the load over a large surface and hence, even with a small load, cuts too deeply into the snow to be able to glide along easily. In accordance with its lightness and small size, the Gilyak sled has little space for baggage, for the basket designed for it is, as was pointed out, very shallow, only as deep as the wooden longitudinal side-pieces rise above the switches forming the bottom of the sled, and this is very little. To prevent the
[237] baggage from falling off, a cover made out of fish skin (Gilyak mytsch) is first spread over the bottom of the sled, the baggage is placed on it, wrapped in it, tied crisscross to the sled with a long strap.

93 of long strips like the Gilyak's, but of boards and is enclosed
16 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the rider can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on to a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other. [117]
31 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are also
92 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur (driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if they are to turn right or left the point of the corresponding stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "takh", "takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy", slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals and their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of a dog sled is very difficult work.

34 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, or
92 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of fish and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which has a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on the journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to a sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled against each other, until the raging storm subsides. However, at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of escape is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. Such cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and on the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal of the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this seemed utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best lead-dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with the

484 sled is 70-80 rubles.
492 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is
he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely-packe
the horse, and in general is much more agile, s
sled finds its way without a road where horses s
their chests and cannot move from the spot Mo
can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus vi
ed regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and abou
baggage. However, this applies more to Russia
the Russians feed their animals better (1) and the

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In dr ing the salmon, they divide it into parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.

481 As is well known, snow shoes are used for wa
loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very
Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch w
two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered wi
the hair of which is turned in such a way as to p
shoes from slipping back.

226 VII. Trades and Occupations

286 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indi
tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, et

Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting,
caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thre
fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the fro

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. Th
like that used by the Russians. The long, lower
shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set i
and at the same time one end of two long strands
over the head of the spinner, while the other end
against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up.
braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are th
women, but sometimes the men also condescend

226 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught
rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along
haddock is also plentiful that there is a special
used for it. The end of the line is studded with
hooks which face in all directions; in winter suc

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

493 /484 cont./
long strap. If a longer trip is undertaken, a few of the most necessary weapons, a lance or a bear spear, are stuck under the strap. In front, approximately above the outermost ich, a saddle-
[192] shaped hollow is left when the baggage is loaded, which, covered
[237] with a piece of fur (Gilyak tyws) (2) likewise fastened to the sled,

[104] 2. The s here is soft, pronounced like the French z.

and, to be sure, a piece of fur from either a bear's head or an elk's head (Gilyak kotr-ngar-tyws and toch-tschongr-tyws, respectively, serves as a seat for the Gilyak going on the trip, who, with small ski on his feet, sits astride it (see Pl. XXXVII /see p.1017/).

492 The Gilyak dog-harness is very simple and primitive: to
[192] the above-mentioned long guide-line (Gilyak nygtsch, Pl. XXXVI
[237] /see p.1016/, Fig. 2) plaited out of seal straps are fastened, at regular intervals and alternating from one side to the other, seal-leather neck-bands or collars (Gilyak chall) of the form shown in Fig. 3 of the last-mentioned plate, and such a one, but without the movable iron ring, is also attached to the end of the strap (Gilyak lat) serving as an extension of the guide-line. This latter /485/ neck-band is pulled over the head of the lead dog, the others over the other dogs, and the team is ready. The harnessing of the dogs, therefore, is the work of only a few minutes among the
[192] Gilyak. On solemn and festive occasions, such as matchmaking trips or the dog races arranged during the bear festivals, and the like, instead of ordinary collars the dogs get elegant ones with high-standing, Chinese horsehair braids and tassels made of red-dyed sheep or goat wool, the so-called rüssk of the Gilyak, like those illustrated on Plate XXXVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5. The accompanying woodcut serves to show the way in which such a collar is put on the dog. /Illustration appears here./ The chief disadvantage of the Gilyak harness is that the dogs have to pull with their necks, and, with great exertion and in violent excitement, they all too readily choke themselves. In this it is far behind the

Ainu AB6
Eskimo ND2

A 231 439 /565 cont./ reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 237 411 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113]

1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G 326 [411] At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

G [342] [396] [493] [335]

G [175] 000

1 -- Gilyak sled, and 2, 3 -- dog har

2: Schrenck--1016 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

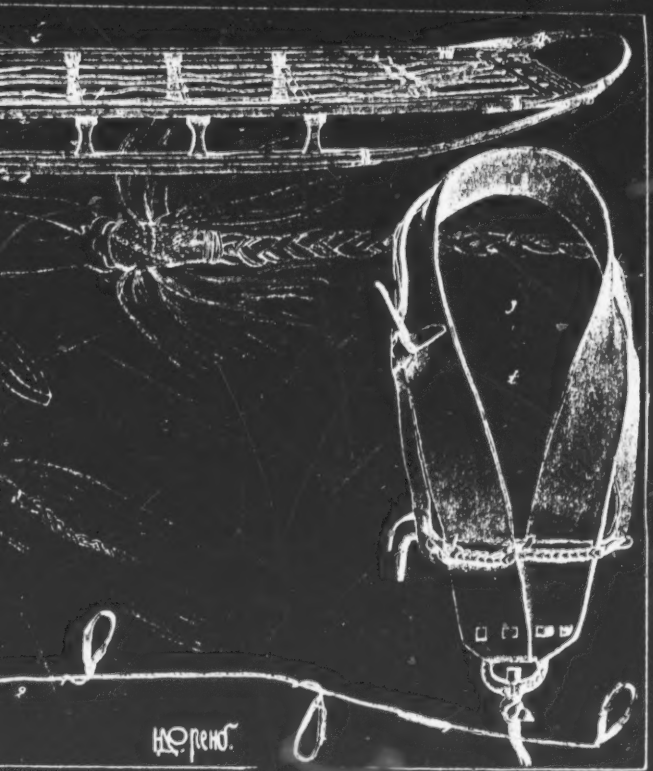

ness; 4, 5 -- fancy dog-collars.

ne main distinction between the habits of the Oro
reindeer for sledge-drawing, and the latter dogs
unting only. The Gilyak name on Sakhalin for th
lls himself Orumada."

chons and Gilyaks. The
. The last are kept by the
e Orochon is Or'nish, and

22: Knox 1-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

men wear it plaited into queues, and others let it grow pretty much at will. Each woman I saw had it braided in two queues, which hung over her shoulders. In their ears they wore long pendants, and their dresses were generally arranged with taste.

When recalled by the steam whistle we left the village and took a short route down a steep bank to the boat. In descending, my feet passed from under me, and I had the pleasure of sliding about ten yards before stopping. Had it not been for a Cossack who happened in my way I should have entered the Amoor after the manner of an otter, and afforded much amusement to the spectators, though comparatively little to myself. The sliding attracted no special attention as it was supposed to be the American custom, and I did not deem it prudent to make an explanation lest the story might bring discredit to my nationality.

493

493 VEHICLES--burden vehicles (e.g., litter, sedan chair); drag vehicles (e.g., sledge, travois); wheeled vehicles (e.g., cart, wagon, wheelbarrow, bicycle, motorcycle, automobile, tram, railway rolling stock); motive power, structure and capacity; mode of operation; gear; etc. This category is designed for descriptive data only; uses of vehicles will be found in separate categories. See also;

Manufacture of vehicles . . . . . 398 Military vehicles 715

n general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has ght them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a rm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, y are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes m to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel over- ns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since st of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes appens not infrequently that someone perishes.

During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occa- nally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. nter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of dium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short mp of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in eral resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. annot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in ving they often become so and try to attack everything that nes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak ally turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they l not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that nder around the Russian villages have particularly good sons to be afraid of these hunters.

The dog equipage usually has the following appearance:the d (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1: In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as narta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

row, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a b to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak addles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the cks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the ht direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap d two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are ng around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a p at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog rnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are re like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, d a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have o modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

411
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Gilyak in winter clothing.

Sled trave

2. Schrenck--1017 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

492
493
137

XXXVII

of the Gilyak.

/765 cont./

lay jukola (*), with several tobacco leaves wrapped in birch bark

* See p. 646 of this work.

and a pipe on top of it. The narte was of the ordinary kind, except that the arched or curved pieces of wood (**) in front and in the rear

** See Plate XXXVI /p. 1016 /, Fig. 1, i.

were missing, and instead of them straight short poles projected out on either side. The corpse was tied to the narte under the gray covering.

After I had stood in front of the corpse for a few minutes, three dogs tied to a long strap, were brought into the yurt, and the strap was attached to the narte. Then several men lifted up the narte with the corpse, while another led the dogs, and thus the procession set out (Plate LXIII /p.1263 /). It went out of the yurt, passing by the storage chambers, and into the forest behind the village, where the burial place of the dead was located, marked by several raff (***). The wife of the deceased immediately fol-

*** See Appendix 50 /p.1232 /.

owed the corpse, with her hair loose, a piece of birch bark in her hand, and setting up a monotonous wail, in which, however, she was not imitated by the other Gilyak, men, women, and children. When the burial ground was reached, the narte with the corpse was placed on the ground next to the pyre already prepared. The latter consisted of a few layers of wood placed alternately lengthwise and crosswise, the first of which was the same length as the corpse. Beside this a large heap of fir branches lay ready for the cremation of the body (1).

1. This was Pin. picea, as is everything else used for the cremation of the corpse and the decoration of the yurt.

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

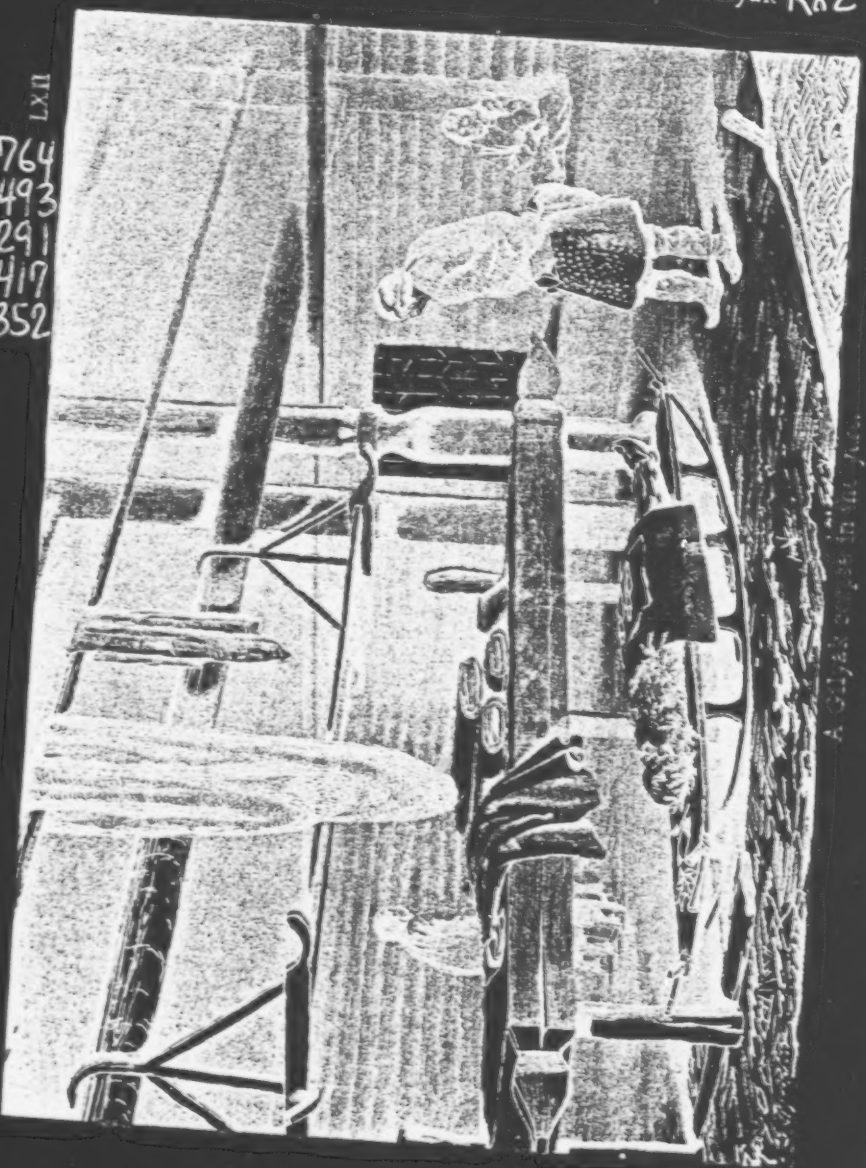

A Gilyak woman in her house.

LX1
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Gilyak funeral.

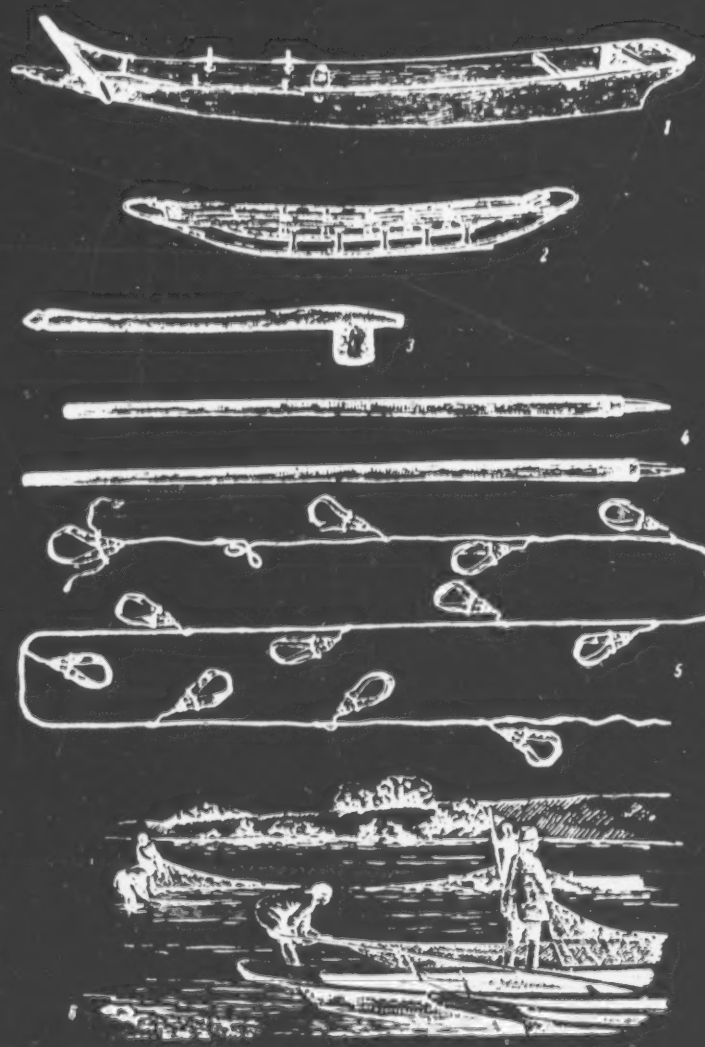

Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
262 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
[526] and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the
[171] so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

179 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
177 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

50 Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
[824] boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
[824] Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawn-
ing-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
342 ings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
175 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
[354] built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[352] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

116, 493

"Towards the end of December, or the beginning of January, the sea is sufficiently frozen for natives to undertake the arduous task of sledging to Nikolaevsk with the mails. At Alexandrovsk, and generally to the south of the 'funnel' of the Straits, only the coastal fringe of the sea is frozen, but to the north of that all is covered save for occasional holes. It is no easy journey along the ice-bound fringe of the coast, northwards to Cape Pogobi, and thence across the snow-covered frozen sea to the mainland.

To the narta, as the sledge is called, are harnessed thirteen dogs of the Arctic type. No. 1 is the leader, a valuable animal, the cleverest and most experienced. He has shoulder-straps, and one also passing between his legs is attached to the sledge. To this strap the others are joined by thongs on either side, and should any shirk their work, they are pounced upon by the leader or their fellows, and severely bitten. No reins, nothing but the strap connects the team with the sledge and its driver. The narta is a lightly constructed framework of wood, about fourteen inches high and fourteen feet long. Higgledy-piggledy lie the dogs outside the post-office at Alexandrovsk, their master in furs, mocassins and long skin hood, from out which peeps his pigtail. But already the [109] mails are out and on the narta, and the Gilyak, seizing the dogs, casts them to right and left. Throwing himself quickly astride of the sledge, feet on rails, clasping his two short iron-shod sticks, and calling, Ti ti, i.e. 'Forward,' to the dogs, the mail is away. A dash down the hill, and less than a mile's run brings them to the sea; but which is sea and which is land? All is covered with snow. For 100 miles they pursue their

502 In general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has taught them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a storm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, they are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes them to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel overturns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed in straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since most of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes it happens not infrequently that someone perishes.

231 During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occa-
492 sionally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. Winter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of medium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short stump of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in general resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to six years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. It cannot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in driving they often become so and try to attack everything that comes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak usually turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they will not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that wander around the Russian villages have particularly good reasons to be afraid of these hunters.

493 The dog equipage usually has the following appearance:the
516 sled (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1. In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as nārta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

narrow, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a knob to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak straddles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; he braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the sticks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the right direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap and two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are slung around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a loop at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog harnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are more like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, and a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have also modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

493 of long strips like the Gilyak's,but of boards and is enclosed
516 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the rider can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on to a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other. [117]

231 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are also
492 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur (driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if they are to turn right or left the point of the corresponding stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "takh", "takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy", slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals and their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of a dog sled is very difficult work.

484 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, or
492 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of fish and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which has a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on the journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to a sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled against each other, until the raging storm subsides. However, at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of escape is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. Such cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and on the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal of the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this seemed utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best lead-dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with the

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501 BOATS--types of water craft (e.g., rafts, skin and plank boats, bark and dug-out canoes, motor boats, sailing vessels, steamships); specialized craft (e.g., ferries, tugs, canal boats, tankers); mode of propulsion (e.g., poling, towing, paddling, rowing, sailing, power propulsion); rigging; machinery; gear (e.g., oars, paddles, rudders, anchors); seating, eating, and sleeping accommodations; etc. This category is designed for descriptive data only. See also:

Power	37	Water transport	508
Cordage	283	Boat names	552
Shipbuilding	396	Naval vessels	716

/28 cont./

352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
516 tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[422] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very originak.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/29 cont./

493 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
492 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
[435] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles,
[556] ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

•501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a semisedentary person. In summer hs usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

/358 cont./

614 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack
528 was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole
772 adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each
[342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the
• [501] eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts
597 persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came
[729] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

ourse over the frozen fringe of the sea.
Should they meet a traveller, the driver
hould read kaur.] into the snow, and cal
ight!) The dogs swerve, the left leg of the
naintain his balance, and the equipage is q
ver, fail to see the traveller, the dogs ma
njury, for in order to keep them running t
ourney."

digs his sticks (caur) [LSS: Erratum; it
ls, 'Pore!' (Stop!) or 'Kau! Kau! ' (Right!
e Gilyak is seen oddly in the air, but the sticks
quickly turned aside. Should the owner, how-
ay fly at the stranger and do him grievous
hey are only half fed until the end of the

ONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

[The Western Coast]

/385 cont./

124 163 165 many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163 165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives.

162 592 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

103 162 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons each), Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Tengi (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

224 225 433 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season, 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat

[126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411 412 561 231 /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,

[The Eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/387 cont./

114 361 103 361 221 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye. In connection with this settlement of Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 16 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

412 231 501 411 433 162 592 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

Southeast Siberia RX1 Tungus RU5 Gold RX3

55 /500 cont./

492 184 G1 492 of Sakhalin, in that on the former, among the Orochon and Reindeer Tungus, the reindeer serves only as a riding and pack animal, but on the latter, among the Orok, it serves also as a harness animal, and in this its use joins that of the dog.

55 501 184 484 As dwellers on a great river and its tributaries or the sea and its coastal rivers, all the peoples of the Amur region are more or less oriented toward moving and traveling from place to place by water for the purposes of fishing, hunting, trade, and communication. The diverse nature of the waters on which they dwell, however, makes necessary a multiplicity of vessels for staying or moving on them. In comparison with the dog sleds, always built after one and the same pattern, the boats used by the Amur peoples are very different in form and nature; but it must be stated at the outset that the actual forms adapted to the character of the waters are repeated with minor variations among all these peoples and only a few of them bear a peculiar national stamp.

G 501 484 [226] None of the Amur peoples spends as much time on the water as the Gilyak, who for the most part live by fishing and who are inclined by their genius for trading to undertake long river and sea voyages. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that in large part they live along the sea and obtain their food from it, they are by no means bold and skillful mariners and hunters of marine animals, who in small, easily maneuverable vessels, like, say, the Aleut in their bidarkas, /501/ would be inclined or able to battle the high ocean waves. Principally concentrated around the lower course of the Amur River, which offers them, in addition to an extraordinary abundance of fish, a natural and easy route of communication with their close and more distant neighbors as far as the Manchu-Chinese along the Sungari, and, on the other hand, favored by the nearness of a large island stretching immediately in front of the Amur mouth, which cuts them off from the open sea and, with its long meridional expanse, gives them a bridge, so to speak, to Japan, the Gilyak, on the contrary, in their over-all pursuits

G [361] [181]

/501 cont./

501 184 [361] [181] for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators. And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

501 396 In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put together have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twissjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

[192] [824] [192]

/501 cont./

● 501

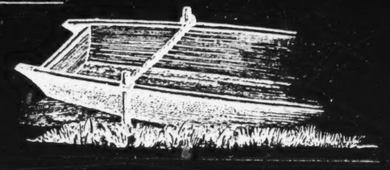

Gilyak Boat Construction

396 For this purpose several sticks are driven into the ground opposite one another on either side to serve as supports for the boards; around the upper end of each pair of the sticks standing opposite each other a strap or cord is looped (see the accompanying wood-cut), and by a stronger or weaker tightening of it the side boards can be brought precisely into position so that their lower edges coincide with those of the bottom board. Once the boat has been tied together in this manner, its final strengthening can [192] /502/ begin. First several crosspieces (Gilyak tschylch) are put between the side boards, connecting them with each other. One such connecting stick is found in the rear end of the boat, another in the middle, and a third just before the prow. The fastening [412] of the side boards to the bottom board, and likewise all the other [192] boards to one another, is done by means of wooden pegs, which, with the help of a little iron rod (Gilyak ottauwa, Pl. XXXII /see p.1017/, Fig. 7), are driven into holes made beforehand with the large drill (Gilyak lung, ibid., Fig. 6) along the edges of the boards concerned.

412 531 In passing it should be mentioned that these implements, not used merely in making boats, but also on other occasions, for example, for attaching the above-mentioned sole-mountings on the sleds, are always neatly made in Gilyak fashion and likewise provided with many decorations, the little iron rod with fine strips of inlaid copper and silver, the wooden handle of the 412 drill with many graceful carvings. Two persons are required to

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396 which is done by raising it on a pair of rather high trestles and lighting the brushwood spread under it.

[192] The oars (Gilyak ywnj) are provided with a broad, rounded blade tapering off to a point and with a hole at a thicker place on the handle for setting them on the oar-pins (Pl. XXXVIII

● 501 /see p.1018/, Fig. 2) (1). The Gilyak boat does not have fixed

[114] 1. This illustration has a fundamental error, so that one should visualize the direction in which the oar handle is bored as shifted by an angle of 90°, that is, not perpendicular to the blade, but in the same plane.

rowing benches resting on the side walls of the boat, /504/ for they would tear the side boards from the bottom board by their pressure. Instead, the Gilyak use small removable stools which rest only on the bottom board, without touching the side boards. For the same reason, in loading a boat, it is carefully seen to that the entire load rests on the bottom board and does not exert any pressure on the side boards. To this end several pieces of wood considerably shorter than the width of the bottom board are first placed across it, and upon these several boards which are to bear the load are spread the length of the boat -- a precaution which also serves to prevent the objects transported from getting wet in the bottom of the boat. From 114 personal experience I realized how necessary it is to treat a 501 Gilyak boat with such care and precaution. In the spring of 1855, when I was about to start on my first summer trip up the Amur and Ussuri, I bought from the Gilyak two boats which apparently had been used very little. Still unfamiliar with their construction, I thought it best if I first had them inspected and put in order in the harbor of Nikolayevsk. One of the naval officers saw to it that they were calked like regular sloops by one of the best experts of the harbor and were equipped with rowing benches and a bench for the erection of a mast. But when I wanted to go aboard and the boats were put in the water, both of them

/504 cont./

114 proved to be leaking, and all the efforts of the workers to re-
501 pair them were in vain. I now saw that through the rough and incorrect handling the side boards were more or less torn off and detached from the bottom board along their entire length; no amount of hammering, plugging, and calking the seams would help any longer -- one of the boats had to be given up altogether, and I reached the nearest Gilyak village in the other only with great effort and constant, strenuous bailing. There, in Ssabach, I bought a new, somewhat larger boat, which I treated from then on in accordance with its construction and entrusted it only to Gilyak hands for repairs when needed. And it served me very well, for in the same year I not only went up the Amur and Ussuri and back again to Nikolayevsk in it, but, in the following year, also up the entire Amur and a large part of the Argunj /Argun/ until I was forced by the drifting ice and the cold to abandon it near the village of Mulatscha on the Argunj.

● 501 Entirely different from the oars, the Gilyak steering oar [192] (Gilyak menj) is provided with an elongated narrow blade and at the upper end with a short transverse handle (ibid., Fig. 3). As a rule, the Gilyak steer the boat by hand. In order to give the helm more support in high waves or a strong current, however, a short loop of cord or an upright semicircular strip through which the steering oar can be stuck is found at the rear edge of the board on which the helmsman sits.

The Gilyak boat does not have a mast. Instead of this, [192] the Gilyak, if they want to sail, which rarely happens, use two poles tied crosswise (Gilyak kyrsh), which are stuck by their lower ends into corresponding /505/ holes in the side boards of the boat, while two long lines running from the upper ends [192] are slung around the hindmost crosspiece in the boat. The sail (Gilyak tulatsch) consists of a square piece sewed together out of fish skins, which is attached by corners to the upper ends of the above-mentioned cross-mast, but at each of the lower ones is provided with a sheet to haul in and to stretch or loosen the sail as desired. With such inadequate equipment it is understandable that the Gilyak are no masters or heroes at sailing,

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● 501 and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is cautiously avoided. I also observed that the Gilyak, and likewise the [114] Oicha and Goldi, who accompanied me as guides or oarsmen [157] in my boat always became mortally afraid when sailing in a brisk wind; in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1)

1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate mast bearers put on the bottom board.

and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and implored me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. There is no doubt, to be sure, that a boat without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and even capsize with high waves and an unskilled steersman. In order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to [192] the side wall. The Gilyak equip their boats with such sham-[484] edges (Gilyak ardsch) in particular when they undertake sea voyages, for instance, along the coast of Sakhalin to the Japanese, etc.

Of great usefulness on the Gilyak boat is the continuation of the bottom board extending under the prow, because it not only protects the latter from the immediate impact of the waves and possibly also from a severe impact on steep rocks along the shore, with another boat, etc., but it also permits the boat to glide over the waves more easily. Since the oars sit on fixed prongs, very little effort is required to propel a Gilyak boat if it is not moving against a strong current or high waves. It is not very well adapted to battle against them, however, and demands skilled and powerful handling of [114] the rudder. More than once it has happened to me in traveling around rocks and capes protruding into the Amur River that the boat, seized by the strong countercurrent, suddenly turned around and was irresistibly driven back. Undoubtedly the

/517 cont./

26 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
96 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
26 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
782 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1009/). It was a long boat with
501 one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars, sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar. Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
92 automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
74 to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas, the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

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bracelets, glas
robes, and the
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439 goods acquired
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484 in which the G
[501] voyage to and
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Jesso /Yesso/ b
the inhabitants

n, black woolens and velvet materials, silk
read of all colors, sewing needles, buttons, and a
nese ornaments, silver ear-pendants, rings and
s beads, sheet-brass figures for decorating women's
like, as well as, finally, a number of household
as large and small kettles, etc. If the quantity of
in trade in Ssan-ssin, in part heavy and bulky,
be transported without injury in the small boats
ilyak customarily make the arduous upstream
on the Sungari, a so-called Manchu boat, made
here, is bought, in which the return voyage down-
made easily and quickly. And since, in order
ger current, one usually stays far from the banks,
time avoids the danger of being belatedly
et by the Manchu officials and Chinese traders
siding here and there temporarily or permanently.
n trip is completed, the boat can still be used for
of trading voyage -- the voyages to the Ssisam
a consideration of which we must now turn.
the above-named commodities which the Gilyak
e in Ssin-ssan, one article plays an especially
. It is the colorful Chinese silk fabric bearing
gons and other figures and often with gold and
ven in it, which is brought to market in part
es and in part worked up into long and wide-sleeved
. /609/ Whereas the other commodities serve the
vely for their own use or for trade with their
se find their foremost and best purchasers outside
gion, among the Japanese, and therefore give
cipal reason for direct trade with the latter.
ion of this trade, which, however, does not take
, but in the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin,
dest accounts of this island which we have from
The Japanese interpreter Kannemon, who visited
before 1652, already speaks of special fabrics which
of this island get from "Krato" or "Kraft"

/609 cont./
175 designation /610/ for the lower Amur region, there can be no
439 doubt but that the Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi trading on Sakha
were meant by it.

439 The principal center for the trade of the Gilyak with th
437 Japanese is Ssiranussi, the foremost settlement of the latter ar
484 located close to the southwestern tip of the island (1). It is,
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1. See pp. 146-156 above concerning the founding and the character of the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin.

therefore, also the most distant goal of the "Ssisam" voyages of the Gilyak, on which trade is conducted, not only with the Japanese, but also with the Ainu. The journeys are made in summer and in winter, by boat and on sleds. For the sea
[501] voyage the Gilyak use either the above-mentioned Manchu bo brought from the Sungari or, and for the most part, their own ordinary river boats described above, on which they only raise sides by a board put on either side for protection against the higher waves of the sea. Making allowance for these keelless
[103] vessels of theirs, they cautiously avoid the open sea on the voyage and always stay, after they have crossed Mamia Rinsô Strait in calm weather at its narrowest point, from Cape Lasar (Gilyak Piljan-kthy (2), that is, "Great Cape," Olcha Wasfun

[104] 2. The th is to be pronounced as in English.

to Poghobi, where it is about four nautical miles wide and thu have reached the west coast of Sakhalin, as close to it as poss But even the voyage along the coast, which in spots, and espe cially south of Dui as far as Pilja-wo, is steep and rocky, offe many a danger, which the Gilyak try to avoid by going to sea only in calm weather or light winds. Because of this, as well because of the fact that, in order not to overload their boats,

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above-mentioned forward continuation of the bottom-board, which, in other situations, is so very useful, contributes no little to the cumbersome movement of the Gilyak boat against the current. Finally, it also affects the method of landing customary among the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and generally among all the other Amur peoples with the same type of boat: this is always done with the rear end of the boat, which is not very easy in high waves beating against the shore, because the boat must then first be put with the bow against the waves in order to be lifted by them and carried toward the shore. The Gilyak, /506/ or Olcha, etc., lands in such a way that he literally sits down on land with his boat, as it were.

To conclude these considerations I am giving the measurements of an ordinary, medium-sized Gilyak boat as I took them from a specimen in the village of Kalgho, from which the above-mentioned illustration was also made:

Length from the tip to the rear edge of the steersman's seat	25'--
Width at the steersman's seat	3'4"
" from edge to edge in the middle	3'2"
" " " " " at the bow, immediately in front of the prow boards	2'2"
Width of the bottom board	1'--
" " " steersman's seat	1'--
Depth of the boat in the middle where it is the greatest	1'6"

The length of a medium-sized oar is about 7 feet; that of the steering-oar 6 1/4 feet; the width of the blade on the latter, 4 inches.

I never saw boats other than the type described for the Gilyak either on the Amur and Liman or on the west coast of Sakhalin, and Middendorff does not mention any from the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. In the interior of Sakhalin, however, on the torrential and in places shallow Tymy River, quite a different vessel is used, a boat hollowed out of a single tree-

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501 184 [192]

trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These

[191] boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/

396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 58, 75; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak mussk-j), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

Goldi RX3
Olcha

G 396 824 171 /507 cont./

longer voyages they use the commonly built Japanese boats (2).

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G. Gi 501

Exactly the same type of boat as among the Gilyak is also in general use among their closest neighbors along the Amur River, the Olcha and Goldi. In appearance it exhibits no differences in shape or construction from those of the former. The Gilyak, however, asserted that their boats curved upward less at the prow end and therefore were better able to travel against the current than those of their neighbors -- an assertion whose accuracy I must leave undecided, though it agrees with some of my own experiences. They are completely different from

G Gi 396 824 Gi 184

one another, however, in the kind of wood from which they are made. Whereas the Gilyak make their boats out of the wood of the fir tree (Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissjk, Olcha and Goldi chassjchta), the Olcha and Goldi always use cedar (Pinus cembra, var. excelsa, Pinus mandshurica Rupr., among the Olcha and Goldi koldong). When, during our summer voyage of 1855, we

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landed near the Olcha village of Adi, the approaching inhabitants of the place, who, among other things, occupy themselves principally with boat-building and who therefore closely examined ours, immediately recognized from the wood in them that one of them (mine) was of Gilyak origin, and the other (Maximowicz's) was of Olcha origin, as was in fact the case.

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But whereas among the Gilyak on the Amur one sees only boats of this one kind, the Olcha and Goldi have some of quite different shape and construction. This is simply the result of the circumstance that, besides the Amur, they also navigate many of its torrential and, in spots, shallow tributaries along

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

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like the dsai in form and nature, but twice as long, while the width remains about the same. Thus, among the latter I saw such a boat that was 35 1/2 feet long and only 2 feet and 2 inches wide. Such a boat, like the multiple-seated Aleutian bidar and, incidentally, also like the large mango, if the latter are not propelled, say, by poles, is propelled by two or three persons equipped with double oars and rowing uniformly on one side and then the other, and thus shooting forward with great speed.

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It is very noteworthy that the above-described boat made out of boards, which is distributed throughout the lower Amur region, among the Goldi, Olcha, Gilyak, and Orochi, is completely absent in the upper Amur region. At least, I never saw any there, and Maack, traveling down the Amur from the Schilka, did not meet the first boat of this kind until at the mouth of the Ussuri (1). And, correspondingly, the form of

1. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", p. 178.

the hollowed-out boat that is patterned after this boat, the unjmagda or awarpe, also seems to be absent in the upper Amur region. I must therefore designate this boat made out of boards in a specific fashion as solely and exclusively peculiar to the lower Amur region and characteristic of it. And yet, I believe, one may not regard it altogether as an invention of those peoples or one of them. Whereas the hollowed-out or birch-bark boats bear the stamp of originality, the Amur boat, or, as I would prefer to call it in accordance with the above, the Goldi-Gilyak boat, reveals in its more ingenious form and construction a certain cultural influence, and I believe that I do not err if I trace this back to the Manchu-Chinese on the Sungari. For centuries Chinese traders and sometimes also Manchu officials have traveled from the Sungari into the lower Amur region, the former in order to engage in trade with its peoples, the latter in order to collect from them the tribute owed to the Chinese government. The boats in which they made these trips are, to be sure, much larger and more

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complicated than the Goldi-Gilyak boats, but essentially and in general are the same in form and construction. For example, like the latter, the Manchu-Chinese boat also consists chiefly of three long boards -- a bottom board which projects for quite a distance beyond the prow, and two side or edge boards, which are bluntly closed off in the rear by a vertical stern-board, and in front, in a pointed prow, by two small boards of uneven length. Furthermore, the way in which the boards are joined and fastened to one another, the way in which the seams are stuffed with moss and covered with strips inside and outside, etc. are the same in both cases. The far larger dimensions of the Manchu-Chinese boats (the bottom board is from 7 to 9 1/2 fathoms long), however, permit or demand certain additions or modifications in contrast to the Goldi-Gilyak boat. For example, the sides are always raised by a second board on either side, which /513/ is attached to the first one from the outside; this is done among the Goldi and Gilyak only as an exception, in case a boat is to be used for a sea voyage. These upper side-boards project toward the rear about a fathom beyond the stern board serving as their support, and at their rear ends they are joined to each other by a plank, but on top are covered with boards placed crosswise so that at the rear end of the boat there is a wide bridge or platform. On this, at the rear edge, are placed two vertical rods, between which the rudder is stuck in order to be controlled by the steersman standing on the platform. The greater depth of the boat given by the considerable width of the lower side-board and the added upper side-board further permits laying a floor made up of crossboards loosely set against one another in the rear part, over which a piece of wickerwork made out of several rods bent into a semicircle and a few horizontal ones is erected, which, covered with reed or straw mats, gives a kind of tent or cabin in which one may sit, or even stand in a stooped position, protected against rain and bad weather. A similar, though much smaller and lower covering under which a few persons may crawl in case of an emergency is found in the frontmost part of

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the boat. For this purpose a long and strong switch is stuck into the continuation of the bottom board there, bent toward the rear over the prow, and likewise provided with wickerwork made out of semicircular and horizontal switches, over which reed or birch-bark mats are spread. Furthermore, unlike the Goldi-Gilyak boat, the Manchu-Chinese boat has fixed rowing benches resting on the edges of the lower side-boards and a like mast-bench, through which the square lower end of the mast is inserted into the mast bearers put on the bottom board underneath it and, superfluously, tied with a cord to the nearest rear cross-piece connecting the lower side-boards to each other. Finally, on the Manchu-Chinese boat the arrangement of the oars is different, in that they are not stuck on prongs, and, accordingly, are not bored, but are set into correspondingly deep indentations in a board attached to the upper edge. They have only relatively narrow blades and on the upper end a transverse handle which is seized with both hands for rowing, always done at only one side. The rudder, provided with a blade that bulges toward the bottom, likewise has such a transverse handle. It is heavy and, when traveling under ordinary circumstances, seems to rest almost immovably, but a slight turn to the right or to the left is sufficient to give the boat the required direction.

This description will suffice to show that the boat of the dwellers along the lower Amur River and that of the Manchu and Chinese along the Sungari completely correspond in their basic features and their construction, and that the former is, so to speak, only the husked and pared down kernel taken, I might say, from the latter. It can hardly be assumed that the Chinese, clinging to their ancient customs, shaped their boat after a pattern borrowed from the Amur peoples standing far below them and provided improvements and additions only in accordance with their needs. And so /514/ there remains only

[199] the conclusion, which in fact is much more probable, that, conversely, the natives of the lower Amur region, first the Goldi living next to the Manchu-Chinese and then, through them, also the sedentary Olcha and Gilyak farther downstream, after they had become acquainted with the Manchu-Chinese

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boat on the Sungari as well as on the Amur, began to build their vessels on the same principle and in the same form in that they borrowed from that boat only the basic and fundamental parts satisfying their needs and gave them the small dimensions appropriate to their means and powers. Indeed, this situation is all the more probable inasmuch as the Sungari Chinese, always intent on exploiting the labor power of the natives for their own advantage, had probably long since arrived at the idea of not building their boats themselves, but of having them built by the latter according to a given pattern and in return for small pay, as is done to this day. In particular the lower Goldi and the Olcha living next to them (for instance, those of Adi), in whose regions the wood required, tall cedars, is found in abundance, provide the most and the most highly skilled builders of both the Manchu-Chinese boats and those for their own people and the other peoples of the lower Amur region. Maximowicz

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saw a Manchu-Chinese boat made to order by the lower Goldi, with an over-all length of eight fathoms and at its greatest width an opening of one and a quarter fathoms, for which the Chinese merchant had paid a jug of liquor two feet tall and a foot wide, three fathoms of cotton cloth, and four sacks of millet groats. Only in one point, as is seen from the above, is there an important difference between the Goldi-Gilyak boat and the Manchu-Chinese one, though in part it is due to the difference in size. It is in the mode of arranging the oars, since the former has bored oars stuck on prongs, while the latter has ordinary oars resting in appropriate indentations on the sides. I am not aware that the first mode occurs among the Chinese or any of the neighboring Siberian peoples; on the other hand, it recurs generally among the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso (1) and

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXIII.

therefore may perhaps be an Ainu-Gilyak or general Paleo-Asiatic invention or peculiarity, which was imparted by the Gilyak to their Tungusic neighbors along the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, and, on account of its usefulness, was also

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transferred to the boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese. The amount of local invention by the lower Amur peoples on their boat is not nearly as large as it might seem at first glance -- rather, we see that, with respect to the nature of the river vessels, just as in the construction of the winter houses and in so many other things, Chinese influence has spread from the Sungari over the whole lower Amur region.

How could it have happened, however, that the so practical and useful boat copied from the Manchu-Chinese pattern and distributed throughout the lower Amur region /515/ nevertheless remained wholly foreign to the upper Amur region which was

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under its dominance and inhabited by peoples of related tribes? The explanation for this must undoubtedly be sought in the political policy, often mentioned above, which the Chinese government observed in this region after the departure of the Russians from the Amur in the seventeenth century and which consisted of leaving its upper section as depopulated as possible and of isolating it by vast, uninhabited stretches from the Sungari region which was especially important to them (1). For

1. See above, pp. 332, 369.

this purpose the natives of the lower Amur region and, so it seems, also the Chinese traders on the Sungari, were forbidden by them to go beyond the mouth of the latter up the Amur, and, in order to enforce this prohibition, a permanent guard-station was established at the mouth of the Sungari (2). In this

2. See above, pp. 72, 119.

manner communications between the upper and lower Amur peoples on the water route connecting them, and thus also a compromise in the means used for it, was prevented by the measures of the Chinese government. But all the conditions for any possible independent imitation of the Manchu-Chinese boat on the part of the natives were lacking in the upper

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Amur region. To be sure, there are Manchu-Chinese boats there, which are used by the Manchu officials and Daur traders, and, indeed, a number of large boats of this kind constantly lies before the city of Aigun -- I myself counted 37 of them, divided into three groups -- but these old boats, painted black and red and decorated at the stern with crudely carved and likewise colorfully painted dragons, which represent the military might of China and are supposed to inbue the Amur peoples with respect for it, are of course, quite inaccessible to the latter. Moreover, these hunting nomads, depending more on the tributaries, are, as was said, completely satisfied with their primitive canoes, and, finally, also lacking there are the avaricious Chinese traders acting as intermediaries as they do along the Sungari and the lower Amur.

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In looking back at all the means used by the Amur peoples to move and to get from place to place on land and on water, it seems justifiable to conclude that they show very essential and characteristic differences in the upper and in the lower Amur region, and in the latter have reached a higher development on the whole than in the former -- a fact that in itself shows that here the aims and purposes served by them must be much more far-reaching, and, in particular, that the trade maintained among the Amur peoples themselves and with the neighboring civilized peoples is far more active and extensive here than there, for which, in fact, many examples and confirmations will be given in the following, with a more detailed consideration of these conditions.

Sacrificial trip of the Gilyak in connec

2: Schrenck--1019 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

501
796
13
342

XXXIX

tion with the opening of the river.

342
516
231
296
501
302

XIII

2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

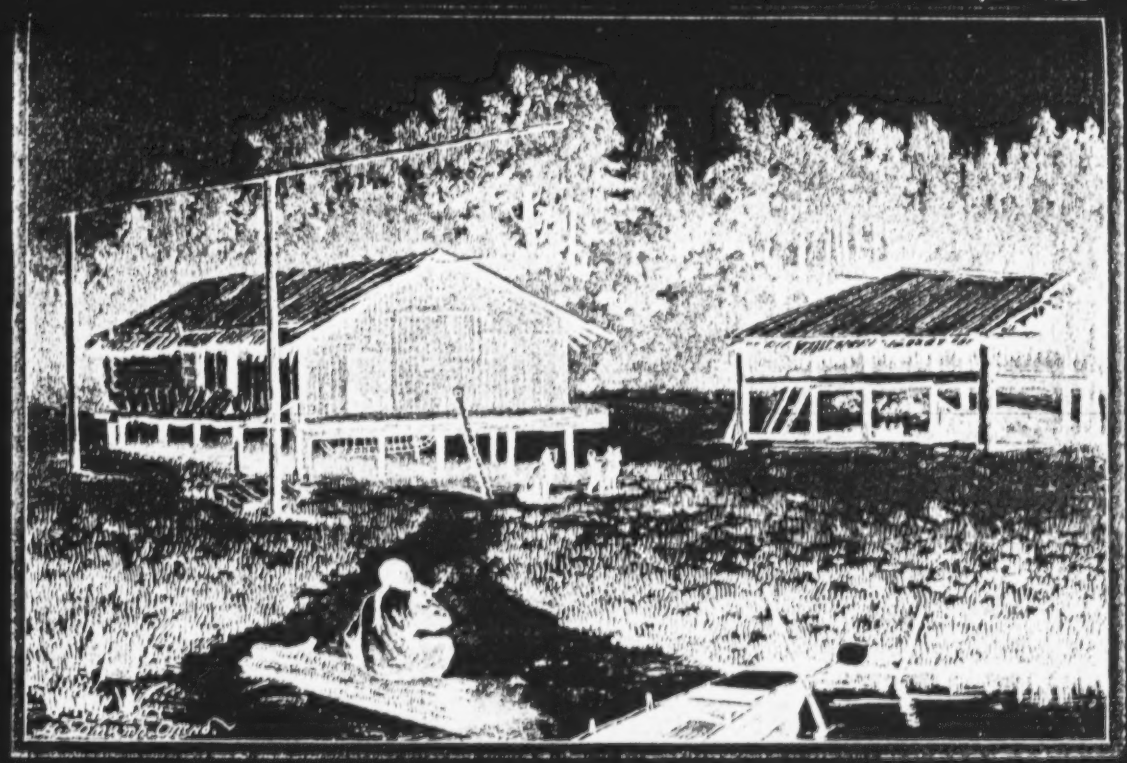

Gilyak summer yurt.

20: Bush--90 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 462, 501

"Now and then we encountered 'lotkas,' or canoes, gliding from shore to shore, almost invariably propelled by the women, who handled the short carved paddles with a skill and grace really to be admired. They use the paddles much as we do oars, but make the strokes alternately, allowing one to trail along the side of the craft while the stroke is being made with the other. The men display equally as great skill in the management of the boat, though their duty is comparatively light, being simply to sit in the stern of the craft and guide it with a light paddle, in the mean while smoking their long-stemmed pipes with small brass bowls and enormous amber mouth-pieces."

: Schrenck--997 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Gilyak in summer clothing.

2: Schrenck--1018 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RU5

1. Ordinary Gilyak boat. 2. Oar, and 3, steering oar, for it. 4. Boat made out of a tree trunk (Goldi, Orochi). 5. Birch-bark boat (Olcha, Goldi). 6. Birar boat made out of a tree trunk.

9: Hawes--159-160 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 396, 412, 501

and stern, which are often exactly similar, a
When dried and stretched, two or three rung
takes, under favourable circumstances, one

In the management of them, their makers
They would stand at bow and stern of our frai
its equilibrium one iota."

are short flat projections used in punting.
s keep the sides rigid. The whole process
month, but in winter two.
were as skilful as in their manufacture.
il craft, punting up stream, and not disturb

501
1946
13
842
XXXIX

2: Schrenck--1019 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

The Nivkhi

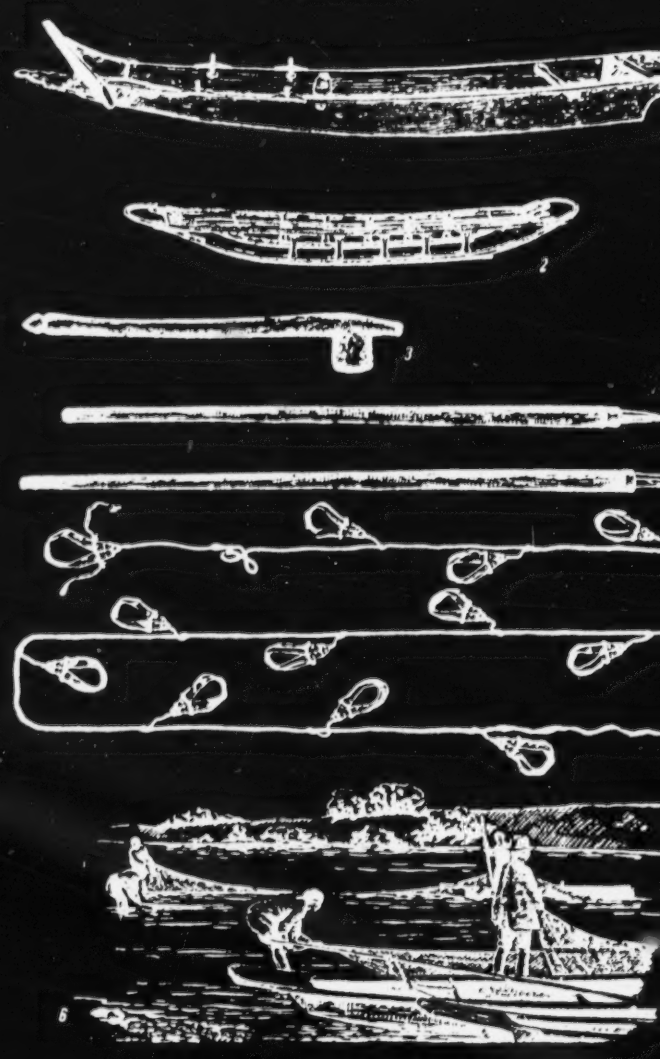

Means of transportation and hunting:
1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for kill
seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harne
6—fishing with seines.

Food was prepared with
fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fi
seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another
dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. Th
became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when the

reinovich--28 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

the bow and one was at the stern. Then we went down, pushed the boat off and went. "Row, ice is there. Use more strength, we shall go more quickly." We came to the ice, we pulled the boat out onto the ice. "Throw into the sea." After throwing (the offerings) into the sea, we stalked the seals. Then one comrade, carrying a gun, went towards the seal, stalking the seal. He went stalking the seal, he fired, killed it. "Fellows, go to your comrade, bring the seal." Four went. We dragged a big seal (sivuch). We hauled it to the boat. "Skin the seal. After skinning the seal, we shall cook and eat." We skinned it, then: "Go quickly, a seal is there again. Many seals, go quickly." Three went together, going towards the seal they stalked it, they shot, the shot another one, they killed two. The pilan said: "Those in the boat, go to your comrades." Two more went to their comrades. Only the pilan was in the boat. Then dragging we hauled a seal. Three dragged one, two dragged another. "Haul it to the boat." We hauled it to the boat. The pilan said: "skin it." We skinned it next. "It is already dark. We shall cook meat and eat. We shall cook meat, eat and go to sleep." It got dark. "Let us sleep." [96] We slept and got up in the morning. When we got up in the morning it was dark, a fog. The pilan: "It is dark. How shall we go. We won't go. We shall wait on the ice. We shall dip the companion (1) we shall see if we go soon or not.

1. ʼafq-vax 'companion stone' or 'companionable stone.' In olden times the Gilyaks used to take along to sea a small stone with a string tied around it. Using this stone the Gilyaks measured the depth of the sea, determining in this way the distance from the shore. Sometimes they take a stone of this type along with them even today.

We shall dip the big companion and we shall see." When we dipped our companion: "We won't go soon. We will wait till dawn." When we were staying it was dark. Then it dawned a bit. Then the pilan: "When it dawns we will go." We lighted a fire, put up the kettle and ate. We ate and when we finished the mountain could be seen. "When it is quite light we will go. It dawned, the whole mountain could be seen. "It is far. That is bad. We will go toward the land." We went. While we were travelling it got dark, we kept on going during the night. While we were travelling at night, it began to dawn. When it dawned

9: Hawes--178 T-3 (1901) 1
116, 502

"Our method of propulsion was altered thi
rapids, and were now on a full flowing riv
in the flat bulging part below the haft, wer
A minute or two sufficed to make rowlock
bound to the gunwale with seal thongs. Va
sculling) with them one after the other, wh
stern."

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

903 Gilyak

s morning. We had got beyond the region of
er. A pair of native sculls, with a hole bored
e brought to light from the bottom of the boat.
s, from forked branches cut and trimmed and
nka used these sculls at the bow, rowing (not
hile Armunka steered with a paddle in the

9: Hawes--251-252 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 411, 501, 574

"I was just in time [252] to take a snapshot of a family leaving in their canoe to make an afternoon call, in other words, to borrow some seal-oil and take a cup of (brick) tea. [LSS: See Visual File category 501] On the gunwale of the canoe will be noticed what appears to be an outrigger, but is really a Y-piece for resting the seal harpoon in. This cham-gash, which is the name the Gilyaks give the harpoon, is used on the ice or manipulated from a canoe."

9: Hawes--274-275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 164, 165, 511, 731

cent., or scarcely 1/4 per cent., per annum.

Lung and throat diseases and scurvy accounted for most of the deaths among the older people, but four died from accident, of whom one was frozen, another drowned, one already mentioned hanged herself, and another was beaten to death by her husband."

"Our craft was about twenty-five feet
and though easily capsized a racing c
of these 'dug-outs' in course of maki
and cut down. This, and all the other
natives obtain either by bartering ski
payment for boat made over to a gang
placed a tzakh—that is, a twig with w
Ainus call an Inao. This, like the cro
of building by the Russians, is to kee
haunt the forest, and especially the s
little hewing and trimming suffices o
opposite p. 252. The hollowing proce
the circumference of the log is cut in
forming the outer surface of the boat
of about an inch, a cross-section wil
ence of a circle. The sides or lips of
outwards, by means of sticks placed
vertical, and the final form of a cros

All the work is performed with a c
Orotchon tribe a primitive plane. A t

long and two and a half broad, light, keel-less;
raft in speed. More than once I came across one
ng. A suitable tree near the river edge is chosen,
work on it, is done by means of an axe, which the
ns with the Russians, or, as at Pogobi, in part
of brodyagi. On [160] the stump of the tree left is
hittled shavings adhering to the top such as the
ss (才) stuck in the ground beside a house in course
p away the evil spirits, the daimones, which here
wampy regions. The bark is chipped off, and very
n the outside, as will be seen from the illustration
ss follows, and about one-third or one-fourth of
to, the remaining two-thirds or three-quarters
. When duly hollowed to a thickness at the gunwale
l thus give about three-quarters of the circumfer-
the boat leaning to each other are then stretched
crosswise inside, so that the sides may become
s-section of the boat be that of the letter U.
ouple of hatchets, though I once saw among the
hin rim is affixed to the gunwale, and at the bow

heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse military cloth.

The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged. They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a box-like open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder parts of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go off on longer excursions move into the airy storage hut. This consists of boards, and stands on poles in order to protect it from rats. [115] On their expeditions the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped, and softened in hot steam. They also make baskets, small dishes, etc. of this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one family; usually several of them live together, sometimes as many as eight or nine.

VII. Transportation Methods, Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regular one is usually made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, about six to seven meters and has no keel. The steering end is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Lengthwise it consists of three planks, one of which is the floor, the others, the two sides. The floor board projects out at the prow, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small cross-boards; the projecting floor board softens the impact in landing and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss which on the inside is covered with thin wooden strips and fastened down. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a small bar fastened to the edge of the boat for each oar, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on low, narrow cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised and a sail is set. The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth. These boats go very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe made of birch bark; inside, the frame is supported by a double row of lashing of the same material, which runs criss-cross. Usually only one person sits in this canoe and rows with a double oar, both right and left.

bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are we
ing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at th
fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is ge
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons
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[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gi
women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gra
fulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt wo
not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people menti
repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches a
already in use with them in boxes which are either made by t
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gily
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still us
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weap
often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figure
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they u
larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the na
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds
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During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches of the pilaŋ to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose; he has to use the implements of the pilaŋ instead.

4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely in this respect completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me: "If the pilaŋ observes the wind and the floes, the young hunte are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible functions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if anything goes wrong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsib

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organizers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.

[81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning to the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋ́ativd, the second - tafpuf, the third - alχ-pid, the fourth - mayerq -pid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth lele ma -pid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats wit six and even seven pairs of oars.

Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋ́ativd, is occupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At th next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he rows just like the others. As long as there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the posit at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ oft turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and si at the bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyal pilaŋ Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the sea At the same time Gilak st tended the rudder which the pilaŋ had turned over to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had kill by himself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person

drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and run. In this connection I wish to note that in the valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the ti - ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and young hunters must not taste this mos.

It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of 80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul here are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

the boat, just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the zayezdka.

When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects hunters regardless of clan membership.

Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan Tf-nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi , Potaq from clan Neo-afi , [illegible]t from clan [illegible]a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez-ran and Tesk from clan Tf-nu-.

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, [illegible]l tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big,' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:

1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be, to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra-), harpoons shafts (ve-l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila.

3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs mu-zi-d and t aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
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531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
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512

512 DAILY ROUTINE--succession of activities throughout a typical day; time of arising and retiring; hours of work and relaxation; daily chores; longer rhyth (e.g., weekly, monthly); etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities. 221
Mealtimes 264
Housecleaning 356
Distribution of labor and leisure 461
Holidays 527

116, 164, 165, 511, 731

"The older Gilyaks say that during th
famine had occurred before the Russia
there have been many repetitions. In th
1897, there were successive bad times
be given to the natives by the authoritie
tion of the usual stores of dried fish, a
worthy ex-overseer at Derbensk, in wh
during that year. So terrible was the st
every hut,' and in the hope of stemmin
famine, he took upon himself the respo
most cases it was already too late, and
[275] condition of the huts, and the acc
the ravages of disease and the exposur

Such a state of things presses hardly
of mortality among them. There being
tion, we can only gather from tradition
statistics of recent years, the gradual

The figures already quoted show, fo
tween Arkovo and Cape Maria on the w

eir time, and their fathers' before them, but one
ns came, about eighty years ago, but since then
e winter and early spring of 1896, and again of
, and around Rikovsk special assistance had to
s. In 1898, a wet autumn prevented the accumula-
nd was followed by another very bad winter. The
ose hut we had stayed, was on duty down the Tim
tate of things that he found 'one or more dying in
g the tide of disease following on the ravages of
nsibility of giving away the Crown stores; but in
l large numbers died of the grippe. The filthy
umulations of winter, aggravated the effects of
e to the severities of the climate.
on the children, and accounts for the high rate
no statistics of the early years of Russian occupa-
and the shrinking of villages and from isolated
diminution of the Gilyak race on Sakhalin.
r the population of the Gilyak villages lying be-
est coast, the miserable increase of $\frac{10}{43}$ per

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554 Tf nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi , Potaq from clan Neo afi , t from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez ran and Tesk from clan Tfanu .

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, l tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
554 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
561 with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
466 of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big,' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
502 to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pilaŋ.

225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi d and t aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

225 During the h
782 of the pilaŋ t
372 light a camp
476 he has to use

4. To tend
225 floes. Young
476 in this respe
502 "If the pilaŋ
are not worri

5. To dist

As can be
functions of a
thing goes wr

In the coll
izers but als

225 [81] Everyt
501 to the conclus
476 designated po
name.

The positio
stern, is call
pid, the fourth
lele m -pid (
six and even s

225 Starting fro
476 cupied by the
554 next pair of o
561 oars at the bo
the boat.

When the ic
position at the
that time he ro
no seals in sig
at the bow. Sin
turns out to be
cases he turns
at the bow to fi
pilaŋ Norp sat
At the same tin
had turned over
bow during the
by himself twen
imply that of th
shoots at the se

nt one must use the tinder box or the matches
light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
fire using his own implements for this purpose;
the implements of the pilaŋ instead.
the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
t completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
bserves the wind and the floes, the young hunters
ed."
ibute the quarry among the hunters.
seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible
leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if any-
ong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.
ective of hunters there must be not only organ-
o good oarsmen and a good shot.
ning in the boat is organized from the beginning
ion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
sition at the oars. Each of the positions has its

n at the first pair of oars, starting from the
ed ŋ̊ativd, the second - tafpuf, the third - alχ-
- mayerq -pid ('sitting at the bow '), the fifth -
'placed at the very bow'). There are boats with
even pairs of oars.
m the stern, the first position, ŋ̊ativd, is oc-
oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
ars is a younger hunter. The position at the
w is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in

e fields are reached and the hunt begins, the
bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until
ws just like the others. As long as there are
ht he rows like the others, occupying the position
ce he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often
a better shot than the young hunters. In such
the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits
re at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak
during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals.
me Gilak at tended the rudder which the pilaŋ
r to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the
hunt. According to his information he had killed
nty seals and missed two. We do not wish to
e whole collective of hunters only one person
eals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 mu-ziγ̊d on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziγ̊d on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from
misfortunes.
782 Aside from mu-ziγ̊d, t̊aj is performed on the boat. T̊aj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-ɜks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the
bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face
turned to the sea. We shall come back to these t̊aj elsewhere.
782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and,
starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the
outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks
with the branches so as to elvlaf-pɜk-ɜzd --"lose bad places
(evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the
sea and are off.
225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultane-
ous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and
quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the
bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in
the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They
need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a rep-
resentation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines t̊aj. They
will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.
When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its
outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the
hunters left the shore for home.
225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
823 first go to Uiγ-krɜ "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
766
782

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

eland--19 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

In general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has aught them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a torm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, hey are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes hem to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel overurns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed n straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since nost of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes t happens not infrequently that someone perishes.

During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occaionally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. Vinter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of nedium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short tump of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in eneral resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to ix years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. cannot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in riving they often become so and try to attack everything that omes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak sually turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they ill not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that ander around the Russian villages have particularly good easons to be afraid of these hunters.

The dog equipage usually has the following appearance:the led (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1. In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as narta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

arrow, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a nob to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak traddles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the icks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the ight direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap nd two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are lung around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a oop at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog arnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are nore like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, nd a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have lso modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

133 was in motion and evidently came from a descending steamboat. On another occasion we missed in these channels a boat our captain was desirous of hailing. Once while General Monravieff was ascending the river he was passed by a courier who was bringing him important despatches.

502 The pilot steers with a chart of the river before him, and relies partly upon his experience and partly upon the delineated route. Sometimes channels used at high water are not navigable when the river is low, and some are favorable for descent but not for ascent. In general the pilotage is far more facile than on the Mississippi, and accidents are not frequent.

609 The peasants always came to the bank where we stopped,
291 no matter what the hour. At one place where we took wood at night there was a picturesque group of twenty-five or thirty gathered around a fire; men and women talking, laughing, smoking, and watching the crew at work. The light of the fire poured full upon a few figures and brought them into strong relief, while others were half hidden in shadow. Of the men some wore coats of sheepskin, others Cossack coats of grey cloth; some had caps of faded cloth, and others Tartar caps of black sheepskin. Red beards, white beards, black beards, and smooth faces were played upon by the dancing flames. The women were in hoopless dresses, and held shawls over their heads in place of bonnets.

133 A hundred versts above Sofyesk the scenery changed. The mountains on the south bank receded from the river and were more broken and destitute of trees. Wide strips of lowland covered with forest intervened between the mountains and the shore. On the north the general character of the country remained. I observed a mountain, wooded to the top and sloping regularly, that had a curious formation at its summit. It was a perpendicular shaft resembling Bunker Hill Monument, and rising from the highest point of the mountain; it appeared of perfect symmetry, and seemed more like a work of art than of nature. On the same mountain, half way down its side, was a mass of rock with towers and buttresses

50

504 PORT FACILITIES--boathouses; piers and docks; ing, and unloading; storage facilities; supply ser fueling stations); facilities for repair and overha

See also:

Construction	33	Warehousing
Ship repairs	396	Trucking
Cranes	406	Rail terminal
Weight moving	483	

4

; facilities for mooring, load-
vices (e.g., ship chandlers,
ul; use of natural harbors; etc.

. 488
. 494
ls 498

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look
135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The
137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along
132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous
[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the
[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the
135 491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak
103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta
361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,

[824]

1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

114 36 103

2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the author did not include in the number of

511

511 STANDARD OF LIVING--ideal standards and actual levels of quantity a
quality in regard to shelter, clothing, food, and other consumers' good
tent to which actual levels fall below the minimal requirements for nor
healthy living; results of statistical studies (e.g., of family budgets);
standards of indulgence and luxuries in excess of minimal biological re
ments; etc. See also:

Health and welfare	74	Leisure-time activities	
Nutrition	146	Gradations in wealth	
Population policy	168	Social classes	
Diet	262	Ownership of dwelling	
Housing	362	Taxation	
Prevalence of home ownership and tenancy	427	Poverty	
Income and purchasing power	434	Educational statistics	
Wages and salaries	466		

GO

02

heir number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
uite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
ther hand, there were far fewer villages.

Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunter
nly now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, i
ase there is among them a scarcity of food--something whi
appens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
our for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with thei
rimary occupations they spend their summers on the river
anks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
hrough the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
hey have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
hink such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
ives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobse
ound Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
onsisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
inter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
rick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
alls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand
he traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
hole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
istance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
f the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
ituated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
erhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
illages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
hole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak wer
orced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
iver in summer because of the partically marshy and there
ore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
ot a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
entioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
nder-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
wellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
ffer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
or with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
ct with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
n short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addit
he atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
he presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
or drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
scape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
n the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

/174 cont./

(174) to claim where a distinction is made between the wives of younger and of older "brothers," the right was formulated for the still more boldly. "among classmen, in one and the same clan everything is permitted ("good"), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." This undoubted and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his younger is adventitiously exercised throughout all the Gilyak territory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before *the eyes of the individuals' husbands* of the woman and, as far as possible, not publicly. Under the Gilyak social conditions, of course, is peremptory — he can demand from his wife fulfillment of her marital and economic obligations and that the latter bear him through *Ї*/*Ї* any children of his offspring. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that he bears, but quite often a Gilyak, if he has several children, considers it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless [illegible] of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. But also the subsidiary right of a wife and her group (relatives) in the person of his "brothers" to sexual intercourse is just as indisputable. It is true, the group spouse type has a suitable opportunity in order, in the absence of the individual spouse (during his sleep or outside the house), to exercise their right, but there are more than enough such opportunities. A man passes the greater part of his time away from home: either he is at the river catching fish, or he is away hunting for sea beasts at a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the women also absent themselves for whole days, going into the taiga for berries, roots, etc. Finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the exercise of the right of group marriage does not present any particular difficulties. The bachelor [illegible] of all only enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular pastime for this or that group [illegible], but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/179 cont./

(179) The diet of the Gilyak dogs, like that of their masters, consists almost exclusively of fish. Their principal food is provided by the Gilyak in the following: in the spring and in the fall in the rivers in bloom at certain seasons on which the existence of the Gilyak also principally rests, that is, the various species of salmon, especially [illegible]-nyo and [illegible]-nyo (latinus lagocephalus and [illegible]), and in winter along the seacoast the [illegible] fish (Gadus [illegible]), which, however, on account of its insignificant fat behind the former. The part of these fish especially and exclusively intended for the dogs is the above-mentioned (?),

2. See p. 666.

so-called [illegible] in Gilyak, the pieces consisting of the head and backbone with a little flesh attached to it. (In Only if there is no

[illegible] the seacoast is the Amur region and throughout Siberia in general, the dogs are fed with [illegible], that is, bones, which in fact is all it is.

more of it is available in the [illegible] intended for the people used as dog food. Next to this, we add any little whole meat, and along the seacoast we add [illegible] the meat and blubber of minded whales, serves the same purpose—with the exception of the latter, which is not distributed among the people, but is brought home, according to Gilyak superstition, *[illegible]* food is never given to the dogs in the raw state, as the Russian do, but rather cooked in a group. Also, the feeding does not take place outside, but always in the yurt. Like all housework, it falls upon the women. In the [illegible] the table found in the center or in a corner Gilyak [illegible] (1) is used for this purpose, in the *yurat*, the platform of the

1. See pp. 438, 462, 546 above.

hearth. When the soup, made out of the above-mentioned materials in one of the large hearth-kettles, is ready, which is always one of the first of the daily chores of the women, a couple of

/180 cont./

(180) long troughs are placed along the edge of the dogs' table or the hearth platform, the door of the yurt is opened, and the dogs lying outside and held by straps or chains are untied. As soon as this is done, the dogs, without waiting for the women to leave the yurt, often jumping on and over one another, and stand on the [illegible] or on the hearth platform of the younger women, while the women, with the help of large ladles (3), have filled several

2: See p. 683 and the illustration above.

buckets with the soup, frothing and steaming in the kettle, and now pour it into the troughs. Since the whole pack ravenously and greedily pounces on the food, each animal trying to outdo the other and to snatch something for himself, fairly loud shouts and fights usually break out between neighboring dogs, but are stilled by the blows of the whips and by the shouts of the women, who are women and children standing by and holding the dogs by leather or chains. Plate XIII *(see p. 390)* illustrates the feeding of the dogs in one of the large, or far-reaching, seacoast settlements. In the dark yurt yurt, where the low sitting and sleeping benches are separated from the hearth platform by a narrow passage, there is no place also to come to one that he finds himself almost surrounded by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold steaming in over the floor through the open door and the women and the hot fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure does not exactly resemble a peaceful idyll in the family circle. Beyond this meal the Gilyak dogs get nothing to eat when they are at home resting. In times of scarcity, however, even this meal is very meager. For instance, in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, I noticed that the dogs received only a soup made of a little [illegible], reindeer moss, and a small amount of seal oil, and if times become even more difficult, the feedings become more infrequent, and every other day, or even every third day, they receive, in the place of the soup, a piece of fish with as least as much [illegible] about sometime they do not receive a village at which the dogs are given their usual meal, throw them some [illegible] or no twice a day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such times

13. Sonland—41 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the part of the Gilyak to construct himself and his family. It is only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, [illegible] the men are fishing, the women are drying the fish. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up very late. In the winter, on the other hand, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and for the rest they do not care about it. Such people change often wanders as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to work and to remain with the Gilyak. The Russian Gilyak lazy monstrosities who have to be fed and clothed. Sometimes they are hauling in order to [illegible] themselves, but, on the other hand, they are [illegible] to do not let themselves be enticed into the taiga or the gold-seekers. They are [illegible] and are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never [illegible] in a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor does not become incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of the Russian debtor prison, and, perhaps, it is also [illegible] the case to one that he finds himself almost surrounded by the wild pack. If one now imagines the cold steaming in over the floor through the open door and the women and the hot fish-soup, he will readily understand why the whole procedure does not exactly resemble a peaceful idyll in the family circle. Beyond this meal the Gilyak dogs get nothing to eat when they are at home resting. In times of scarcity, however, even this meal is very meager. For instance, in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin, I noticed that the dogs received only a soup made of a little [illegible], reindeer moss, and a small amount of seal oil, and if times become even more difficult, the feedings become more infrequent, and every other day, or even every third day, they receive, in the place of the soup, a piece of fish with as least as much [illegible] about sometime they do not receive a village at which the dogs are given their usual meal, throw them some [illegible] or no twice a day, around noon and at night, whereas the Russians at such times

513 SLEEPING—hours of sleeping, postures in sleeping, segregation in sleeping (e.g., by age, by sex), bedding, ideas about sleep and sleepiness; naps and siestas, etc. See above.

Dals	21	Sexual intercourse	225
Gilyak (Amur region)	22	Sleeping habits of Gilyak	227
Description of bridge and dance	223		

/202 cont./

section 2, "Ethnographic, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Schrenck gesammelt. Materiale bearbeitet." Schrenck himself gives his opinion on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Schrenck and worked up by F. Miller,/" Sonna, 1856, p. 138. In the last-mentioned work the bedding by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Gilyak.

Finally, the fact that the bented sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and by the Amur-Gilyak, and, perhaps, in the same way as by the Chinese also /202/ argues in favor of the Chinese influence. According to Schrenck, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wamljiet's translation of U-tschun's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. See, also, the illustration of the Amur region, too. I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious reverence, whereas in the earth yurt, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "[illegible], which means the same as "Misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume the position on the kang and to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

/203 cont./

(203) sometimes unghyr-uilkch (near men) and sometimes unghyr-mifuilkch (near-earth men), were of especially gigantic stature, the shaman said, and lived in the sea. The spirit of the earth-men, however, could have in the form of a bear, the spirit of the sea-men, followed, but unfortunately I was unable to follow it in its fantastic and confused details.

(108) At the moment, however, we glance away from the shamans, their arts, conjuring the spirits, dances, and songs, to which a later section of this work will be devoted, and still dwell on the phenomena of the everyday social life of the Gilyak, a few remarks concerning their armaments, songs, music, dances, and general recreations.

(533) The minds of the Gilyak are turned too much toward more practical purposes, such as, for example, hunting, fishing, trade, and profit, for them to devote themselves much, or often to singing. In particular they are not accustomed to spend the time of festivals or at other occasional gatherings for the purpose of amusing or pleasing themselves and others. Only when the Gilyak knows that he is alone and unobserved, and that he is in the mood for harmonizing him, does a melancholy mood come over him as he is sitting, for instance, beside the fire, and he sings the silent form of sighing. He sits or lies in a light boat with the wind still and without the stroke of an oar — only in such and similar cases have I heard Gilyak sing. In the winter, when the Gilyak sometimes sits alone at his song come over to one sounding to monotonous and incandescently. On the other hand, he very often sings at night in order to shorten the slowly creeping, sleepless hours. Stretched out on the sleeping bench under his dog-hut coat, he begins to sing in a *low voice*, unconcerned about the repose of his neighbors and the other sleepers. When he has finished a stanza, a guttural *ay* usually comes from [illegible] or there as a sign that he has found a fellow-sufferer and his song should by all means go on. With this encouragement, a second stanza follows, then a third, etc. Sometimes it is a man, sometimes a woman, who sings, and, perhaps, by the encouraging *ay*, sometimes, when is lasted too long for me, I

the continuation of the song is replaced by a natal hi, hi (2).

2. Bychin (?)ra ma-r Sakhal. /Ksmen from Kaibalin Zap., Sibirk. Old. Geog. Gesellsch., Bk. VII, Bistrik, 1854, p. 78) relates that an aboriginal woman in the vicinity of Dalnkapaesgaia, after drinking sake, had begun to sing a song, the tune of which is not pronounced about his voyage. As soon as he stopped, all the Aino called out in unison the word hi, hi, i.e., more, more, in order to make him keep on singing, and so it went on endlessly. Hoppe (Tri months among the Tents of the Tunki, London, 1855, p. 187) similarly reports that the Chukchee, at sporting at such performances as dancing, imitations of the Eskimo, and the Russian, and, finally, begin to express their approval with the words hahi hah, which means the same as de capo.

/203 cont./ (or mother-men, when it lasts) he long for me myself, or more often my men, put a stop to it. The Gilyak, however, usually accompanied this diminution of the night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. In the same among the other natives of the lower Amur region (Orche, Sanger, Goldi, Ulchi) the chief of the go off

1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but which a later section of this work will be devoted, and still dwell on the phenomena of the everyday social life of the Gilyak, a few remarks concerning their armaments, songs, music, dances, and general recreations.

The minds of the Gilyak are turned too much toward more practical purposes, such as, for example, hunting, fishing, trade, and profit, for them to devote themselves much, or often to singing. In particular they are not accustomed to spend the time of festivals or at other occasional gatherings for the purpose of amusing or pleasing themselves and others. Only when the Gilyak knows that he is alone and unobserved, and that he is in the mood for harmonizing him, does a melancholy mood come over him as he is sitting, for instance, beside the fire, and he sings the silent form of sighing. He sits or lies in a light boat with the wind still and without the stroke of an oar — only in such and similar cases have I heard Gilyak sing. In the winter, when the Gilyak sometimes sits alone at his song come over to one sounding to monotonous and incandescently. On the other hand, he very often sings at night in order to shorten the slowly creeping, sleepless hours. Stretched out on the sleeping bench under his dog-hut coat, he begins to sing in a *low voice*, unconcerned about the repose of his neighbors and the other sleepers. When he has finished a stanza, a guttural *ay* usually comes from here /*ahi*/ or there as a sign that he has found a fellow-sufferer and his song should by all means go on. With this encouragement, a second stanza follows, then a third, etc. Sometimes it is a man, sometimes a woman, who sings, and, perhaps, by the encouraging *ay*, sometimes, when is lasted too long for me, I

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/480 cont./

480 On the whole, it is surprising how often and readily the Gilyak, or Chika, etc., treasures up the words he has never spoken from the constantal singing, he abandons his bed at noon as sleep leaves his eyelids, gets up, squats in front of the hearth, stirs up the fire in it or so, or, if he makes one pipe-full smoke, etc. - But I never saw him, lay or sight, pace back and forth in the yurt, and whatever I did, which was not influenced on starry days which permitted no activity in the open, this walking back and forth, inexplicable to them, evoked general laughter, remained an unless among those present, indeed, sometimes a direct question as to the purpose of this walking.

Since I rently heard the Gilyak sing in the daytime, for the reason given above, a number of the Gilyak, I asked them, which I found among his handwritten notes left for me to use, I all the more interesting to me. My predecessor in the northern Amur region (?) became acquainted with the Gilyak of the Amur

3. It is well known that Middendorff visited the northern river mouth of the Amur from the mouth of the Tugur and via the Dzeja (Zeya) and the Bureja (Bureya) and Dseja (Zeya) to Uri-Strelka, at the junction of the Argun (Argunya) and the Amur (see Reise nach Nordost. Sibirien, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615-616).

and Ulbeny Bays, that is to say, at their extreme northwestern boundary, to which he had come in the company of some Tuhur and Sivingui (Sevengi) the latter his acquaintance, and added to the fact that there were some accomplished singers among the inhabitant of the place, and he requested them to exhibit their art. At first they refused; then one sang for a while, but soon, perhaps because of embarrassment, he broke into laughter, whereupon all the others followed him. Now you who had to sup forward in turn. In general they sang with far more natural than the Tuhur, he general and /(?)/ usual trills also always played an important

/508 cont./

508 in the near in themselves but taken in tow by the bears and dragged up the hill. During the whole proceedings the women sighed and shuddered incessantly on their bears. A short pause followed, during which a few guests were placed in front of the bear's nose, as the above-mentioned roundelays, the competitive jumping, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two, which I had previously seen among the Goldi; and then the popular leading of the bears, never tiring the Gilyak began again and continued far into the night. For during this night immediately preceding the killing of the bears no one among the Gilyak may sleep; the men spend it alternately leading and feeding the bears, while the women prepare the foods for the feast that is to take place on the following day. Let us therefore now turn to those bears in a moment.

In a previous section (1), it has already been pointed out

1. See pp. 478 ff. above.

that the foodstuffs used in connection with the bear festival are primarily of a specially prepared kind, and differ from those of the cereals and legumes of Manchu-Chinese, Japanese, and Russian origin named there. The Gilyak, however, do not prepare these held shortly before the killing of the bears and, as we shall see in the following, of the sacrificial eating which, sometimes at a much later date, then takes place in the bear festival. They don't might almost say official feasts, which are held in a more or less opulent manner in all or at least most of the houses of the village where a bear festival takes place, and which sometimes are even repeated for a certain length of time, the Gilyak also eat their regular fish diet even during the bear festival; but in an irregular fashion. during the intervals between the individual bear festivals and generally in accordance with the requirements of the individuals. Considering the large number of people invited to the festival or taking part in it generally, however, the consumption of fish on the part of individuals is always very considerable, and it has amazed at the colonial quarters of Sakhalin and Nagasaki which were used. in addition to the regular /ukele/ diet of the Gilyak, in Jubo's house alone.

513 Seelend—18 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

513 beads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse woven material, and is very simple.

The bears of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged. They have neither wooden cages nor wooden cages, however. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a hole, surrounded by a wall made of clay, and there this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

Gilyak bears are kept in a horizontal position and closed and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping benches, leaving only the front part of the room free for the bear. The sleeping benches are made of the Goldi and Manchu-bears have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom closed and the bear's cage is made of wood. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the bear comes from below hot steam. They also make baskets, small chairs, etc. of

Transcription Notes

There are two kinds of baskets. The regular one is usually made of ice or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, and is made of a single piece of wood, with a little handle of wooden, frequently covered the cover is made of the same material. The circumference is very simple. Not but than the bear is the bear's head, which is placed in front of the bear's head, in the entrance. Around the wide front boards are the bear, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small crossbars diagonally and perpendicular to the bear's impact in leading and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pegs. The other basket is made of birch bark and is used in the table. The bear's head is made of birch bark and painted red. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a wooden horizontal bar which is tied to the bow, and, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on lengthwise cross boards. The oars are tied to be able, even in a gale, to keep in the strike boxes and are not stuck. These boxes are made of birch bark and are fastened to a lighted in the most primitive manner, a cloth and a small bear's claw. Sometimes, in the bear, or, if there happens to be so, a pine chip is lighted.

514 In summer their bed consists of a mat, a bolster of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

/513 cont./

513 rather but her own flies. After childbirth a woman wishes herself for these days and nights, and, in the meantime, she sitting in the sun upon and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is considered unlucky to touch a woman or any other fish, but if twins were born, they are a special blessing. - When a child is born, they hang in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift him up, and, if he grasps the sticks, it is a sign that the infant's hands when he falls off, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (?).

1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks /ki'nmgdr/ (from /ka/ = rib, lack, and /ki'nmgdr/ = sticks) are probably taken to the above-mentioned ut-ch.

/514/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of sticks. Transcription Notes: Mode of use—also, as a strip (giving /ki'n/), two small bows (/ndn/) and arrows of a special shape (/ri'ndn/) and a special shape (/ri'ndn/) or /ainu/. When they are finished, they put them — /ri' kinu/ — on the bed (entirement).

While a child is growing up, his emblical cord — /kalmar/ — is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the front and hang it on a tree. /C'ikrgr chikra/ is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The /chikra/ is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

The child's movement is poured out near a fire tree (both male and female), after being cut, hair is also thrown fire (it is considered unlucky to throw it into the fire). Transcription Notes: Mode of use—the hair which carefully to see due on female blood drops on the urine or the refuse, crass heard, in the fire, which is to be sent, over a spending there is broken. This tree is called /ciki sig/, and the place is called in /mal/ — literally — "urine pouring out place."

/515 cont./

515 1. I later saw something similar among the Deur in the village of Chaunskiho. the hair was cut off in a little tuft on the top of the seven days and hung on a tree and then, quite unsymmetrically, either on the right or the left side, which gave them a very comical appearance. - The Gilyak, in contrast to the Deur, have, of course, no knowledge of the Ainu.

Also in Jonkovo.

516 Twins (?) and heard bale cut, indeed, among the Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his hair cut, he would be given the name of his relative between the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Tsuri-mandal (relative) they usually perform in the tomsyo. Gilyak girls are not betrothed; they are married. Kimkan in Kalin showed me the leads that he had removed from his wife's hair, and, in general, "what a pity" — "what a pity against expecting their bodies before strange men. I had overlaid for the relatives of the Gilyak girl, who when I was taking body measurements.

177 Transcription Notes: Mode of use—Gilyak are very fond of the Ainu, and, in the Ainu settlement, probably presented the traveller from fully and specely confessing in his report the ability of the Ainu to understand and speak Gilyak, which had befallen him among the Sonemsiar, and prompted him to wear clothes resembling those of the Ainu and to use the cosmetic allusive other that a civilized man even finds the other of the Ainu and the Gilyak, and considered the Ainu and the Gilyak, and the Ainu and the Gilyak, and the Ainu and the Gilyak, and

Photo. 16. Amur Gilyak.

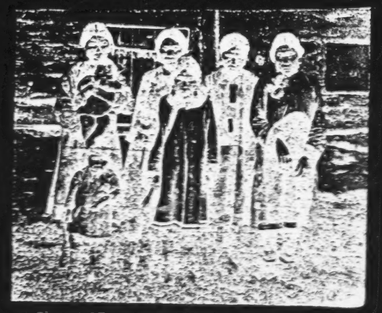

Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--551 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Amur
Sakhalin

142
291
302

Photo. 18. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 19. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

[516]

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

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Photo. 22. Amur Gilyak.

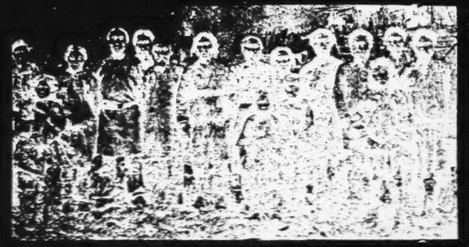

Photo. 23. Sakhalin Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--553 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Sakhalin

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302
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Photo. 24. Sakhalin Gilyak.

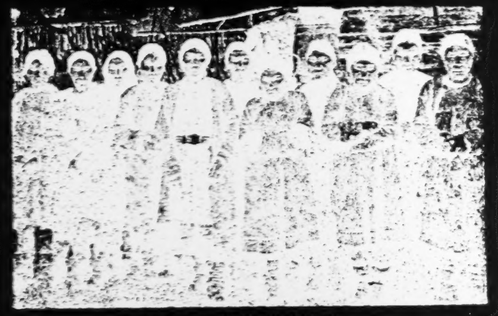

Photo. 25. Sakhalin Gilyak.

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Photo. 26. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

/329 cont./

342 some time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The
[352] draft and cold along the floor are all the more noticeable here since the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm.
● [516] The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually sit on the plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I be-
342 came convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
122 these can become, when in January, 1856, I attended the bear
136 festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numer-
[114] ous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank beds rose so much that some stearin candles on hand in my leather suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heatable sleeping benches, incidentally also have the great disadvantage that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of vermin. Under them, in inaccessible,hidden spots, along the pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their nests and emerge at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see them come out from their hiding places and go about their business not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the interior beams of the house; when I once, in order to escape other vermin, had a hammock put up there, the Gilyak warned me that the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection is even more annoying: the warm benches are alive with fleas, which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, on the surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /330/ the principal reason why the Gilyak leave their winter houses when spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings lies in this swarm of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

/352 cont./

342
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8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are
352 used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly
354 the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of
● 516 the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the
171 Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet
513
[177]

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the
[123] head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur,
[184] when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth
[177] yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused general indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uftsch, uftsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

G /353 cont./
352 running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than
354 for the head. There is another justification for this custom in
513 the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his
● 516 head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats,
171 which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which al-
[136] ways run along the walls, would be constantly running over the
G face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse
[184] to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their kang,
[177] if superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

G 342 Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be deter-
171 mined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of
G Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of
[195] Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that
342 time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kam-
177 chadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear
195 before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheninnikof and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

K
[113]

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

/473 cont./

481 The small ski of the Gilyak consist of two thin boards
out a fur covering. They are about four and a half feet lon
five to six inches wide, and are completely flat and level
for the more or less sharply tapering front end gently curvin
ward. Depending on the degree of this tapering at the front
several forms of the small ski may be distinguished among
Gilyak in certain regions. Thus, the form with a gradual t
ing of the tip, illustrated on Plate XXXV /see p.1015/, Fig
and 2 prevails along the Amur River as far down as Wair. B
low Wair, at the mouth of the Amur, along the Liman, and
along the opposite coast of Sakhalin, the ski have the form
in Fig. 3, with a more abrupt tapering, and, finally, on Sa
there is a third form with an even more abrupt tapering of t
front end, but unfortunately, I had no opportunity to get an
tration of it. These small ski are an absolutely indispensab
item for the Gilyak, and in winter it is almost only inside t
yurt that he is seen without them. Not only does he need th
for even the shortest walk, but he also keeps them on his fe
when traveling sitting astride his sled, both so that he can g
off and take a few steps in the snow if necessary, say, for
example, to adjust the harness of the dogs, and also in orde
facilitate the movement of the sled, to which I shall come
481 later. Once he has reached the spot where he plans to spen
484 night in the open, the ski, with its rear and level end, serv
412 as a shovel for readying the campsite as required (1) and for
● 516
264

1. See p. 559 above.

with snow the kettle hung over the fire, and, finally, when
sits down on the fir branches in front of the blazing fire, his
crossed under him, a ski placed across his knees serves as a
taking the place of the chachtschitsch in the yurt (2), for ea

2. See pp. 647 and 683 above.

the evening meal.

out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to

> 1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom; most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.

The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the improvised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily
515 hand, larger children are seldom bat
302 consider bathing a luxury, some neve
chance, if they are caught in the rain
some, however, wash occasionally,
they buy from the Russians. They co
wooden (Chinese) comb and at the sam
and hunt for lice. They do not by any
hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years
in a cradle which stands on the floor,
three to four months old they are pla
The little trough is open at one end a
on the other end it has a hole in the b
is laid with its back against the botto
open end; it is tied down and the whol
wise. The hole serves as a conduit.
leaves the house for a longer time, s
her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer neec
276 he begins to accompany his father on
147 learns what he needs for his life. M
but all fathers do not permit this. (1

> 1. The disciples of a one-sidec
> disease might cite the Gilyak a
> amples of the harmlessness of
> race is on the average healthie
> lized man, their teeth are whit
> and yet both sexes smoke from
> Nevertheless, this would be a f
> a single given cause always has
> effect according to the mode of
> Thus, for instance, the effect o
> is very different if one smokes
> weather or sitting in a warm ro
> work. In the latter case it will
> nervous palpitation. Furtherm
> constitution with which a perso
> be taken into consideration. C
> have to live through the tests w
> endures at birth in order to be

855 The parents are tender and indulge
524 The children are kissed by their mot

y, but, on the other
hed. Adult Gilyak
r do it and leave it to
or fall in the water;
even with soap which
mb their hair with a
ne time rub it with fat
means comb their

. Tiny babies are kept
but as soon as they are
ced in a trough-like bed.
nd somewhat pointed;
ottom. The [130] child
m, its head against the
e thing is hung up slant-
When the mother
he ties this cradle to

is his mother's care,
trips and thus gradually
any children even smoke
)

l etiology of
s living ex-
tobacco;this
r than civi-
e and strong,
childhood.
alse inference:
a different
living in general.
of a strong cigar
outside in cold
oom doing head
soon lead to
ore, the organic
n is equipped must
ivilized man would
hich the Gilyak
compared with him.

nt with their children.
hers, licked with saliva,

of Gilyak, as it is the number of Goldi. Rittich estimates
their number to be about 3000. On the Amur Jakobsen found
quite a large number of villages; on Sakhalin Island, on the
other hand, there were far fewer villages.

439 Like their neighbors, the Gilyak are fishermen and hunters;
433 only now and then do they engage in trading. For instance, in
221 case there is among them a scarcity of food--something which
342 happens quite often--they import from the mainland fish and
flour for the inhabitants of Sakhalin. In accordance with their
primary occupations they spend their summers on the river
banks while in winter they move into the mountains and roam
through the woods. I am unable to say with certainty whether
they have summer and winter dwellings like the Goldi, but I
think such may be assumed from the indications Jakobsen
342 gives. On his return from Sakhalin in January 1885, Jakobsen
352 found Gilyak villages near the mouth of the Amur River that
354 consisted of houses quite similar to those I described as the
171 winter houses of the Goldi. The typical, enormous clay-
brick ovens and the benches, warmed by the pipes, along the
342 walls are also to be found in these houses. On the other hand,
361 the traveller found in September 1884 above Nikolayevsk a
whole number of Gilyak villages that were at a considerable
distance from the river bank, while the summer settlements
of the Goldi by their nature as fishing villages used to be
situated right by the river. One might conclude from this,
perhaps, that these Gilyak villages were not simply fishing
villages for the summer, but served as dwellings for the
whole year; unless one wanted to assume that the Gilyak were
forced to withdraw from the immediate neighborhood of the
river in summer because of the partically marshy and there-
fore unhealthy river bank. In Sakhalin, moreover, there was
not a trace of the larger houses of the Gilyak such as those
mentioned above; rather, the huts were only small and half
under-ground, so that they had a certain similarity to the
511 dwellings of the Eskimos in Labrador and in Alaska. They
515 offer a very unenviable abode for the European traveller,
for with their confined space one can hardly avoid close con-
tact with the inhabitants and the dangers connected with that,
in short, being tormented by a multitude of vermin. In addition
the atmosphere created by the crowd of people present, by
the presence of the dogs, by the manifold provisions hung up
for drying or smoking, and by the smoke which can only
511 escape with difficulty, is hardly bearable. The large houses
136 on the main land are in better condition, but they, too, have

6, 515

"As soon as she entered the apartment, the G
ough in a very immodest manner, posted herse
tire herself a little more decently, neglecting,
omb her hair; but, poor thing, even what slight
as a very difficult proceeding, since either one
nployed answering the summons of innumerabl
ere, to all appearances, by no means unfelt."

ilak woman, out of deference to us,
lf upon one of the beds, and began to
, however, either to wash herself or
alterations she made in her appearanc
hand or the other was constantly
e creatures, which, though invisible,

116, 231, 515

"Near by, sitting cross-legged, Turkish-fash
haggard-looking women were sewing very indust
pausing now and then to give some directions to
what I don't know, but it sounded very harsh--up
urchins, [124] who were disputing the possession
famished, toothless dog. The latter appeared to
and obstinately refused to budge beneath the feeb
dogs were in abundance, but the crowning featur
will express it), wrinkled, withered, and toothle
skins, with long, scant locks of hair dangling wil
a pitiable object had it not been for her occupati
head of a dirty-faced girl, and disposing of them
one's appetite."

nion, upon the skins, two frowsy-headed,
riously upon filthy skin garments, only
the cook, and to launch something--
on the heads of a couple of naked little
of a deer-skin bed with an old, half-
be conscious of his rights, however,
le blows of his tormentors. Other
e of all was an old hag (no other word
ss, and clothed in the dirtiest of dirty
dly about her face. She would have been
on--that of catching vermin from the
in a manner not very conducive to

116, 276, 291, 302, 315

"They [LSS: A Gilyak man and woman] wer
greasy skin garments, with naked feet and leg
that had once been braided, hung down their b
both sexes were represented) was arranged m
single braid, with the exception that no part o
two braids, or what had once been such, since
was a perfect mass of tangle, and becoming n
energetic clawing and digging of several long,

We would have experienced some little dif
which the woman had it not been for a long-st
miniature brass bowl, which the former smok
number of fine, large, freshly-caught fish."

e a filthy-looking pair, clad in dirty,
s, and their long, coarse, uncombed hair,
acks in queues. That of the man (for
uch like the 'tail' of a Chinaman, in a
f his head was shaven. The woman wore
e her hair, as well as that of her husband,
nore so every moment through the
unwashed fingers.
ficulty in deciding which was the man and
emmed pipe, with amber mouth-piece and
ed, while his fair partner carried a

5

516 POSTURES--bodily posi
leg, leaning against a su
squatting, kneeling); re
for assuming particular
not elsewhere described

Motor habits in the use of artif
Nervous habits . . . . . .
Gestures . . . . . .
Furniture . . . . . .
Gaits . . . . . .
Positions in sleeping . . . . .
Positions in elimination . . .

16

tions assumed in standing (e.g., with feet apart, on or
upport, slumping); relaxed postures (e.g., sitting,
cumbent postures (e.g., reclining on elbow); occasion
postures; ideas about correct postures; motor habits
; etc. See also:

cts 41
. 157
. 201
. 352
. 481
. 513
. 514
Dance postures 535
Dramatic postures 536
Etiquette 576
Military drill 702
Genuflection 782
Positions in sexual intercourse 833

/27 cont./

22 spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/28 cont./

352 roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite posi-
[516] tion of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie
[422] sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

493 As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats
[501] in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

III.

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Gilyak in winter clothing.

/709 cont./

*796 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit.
574 In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On it, therefore,
[123] as Judin told us, there are even more uftsch to be observed than elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw some sketches of it from there, he asked us with great politeness to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented
• 516 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones immediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path on which the bowls traveled from one end of the bench to the other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc. The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in
[614] this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him, while the maternal/710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the friends and acquaintances, may participate in the meal. Judging by the quantity of foods and bowls that traveled back and forth, it was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Nevertheless, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another house in order to eat there, and this went on from house to house throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep.
*796 The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women
541 began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RY2

XII

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

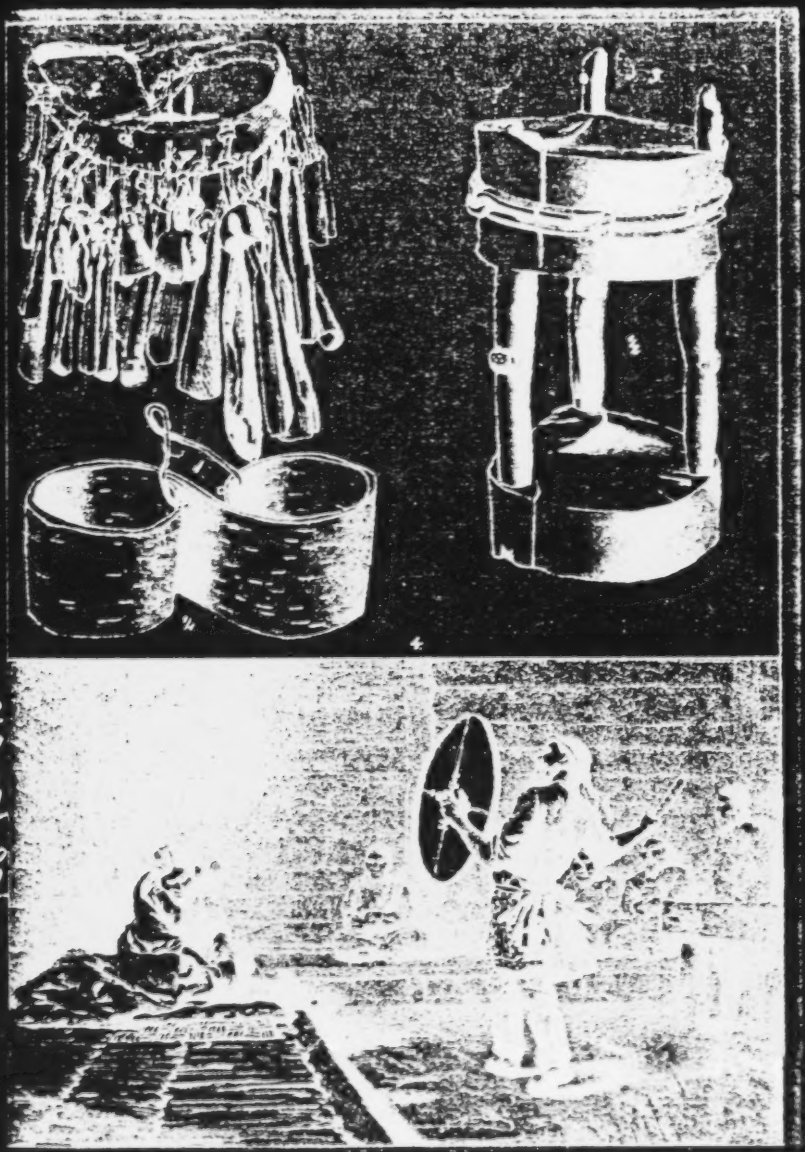

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Economy and Everyday Life

The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber. They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted

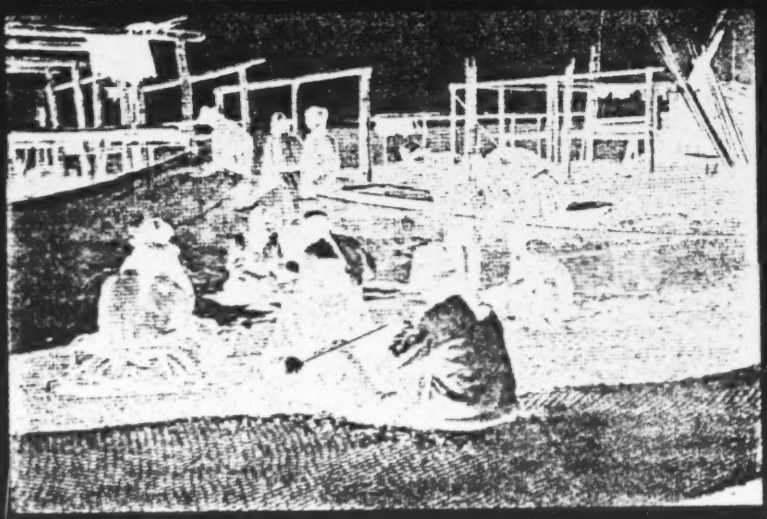

Sewing together a seine.

2: Schrenck--993 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Gilyak summer yurt.

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Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could also accept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and gave a piece to the part that split off. 614 [372]

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhusind). In reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy 614 [627]

132 peculiar. [105] In Europe and in continental Siberia the relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter, but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga, it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases again so considerably that the winter air may in general be said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and tobacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs, but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer, however, there are many rainy days.

132 The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the
164 army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connection.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

141 In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men who are more often tall. The women are considerably shorter and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of 12 men whom I actually measured was 162.2 centimeters, and that of eight women was 150.4 centimeters. These people had, of course, been picked at random.

142 The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively
516 broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands
732 and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs) as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

42 posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not
16 to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and de-
32 formities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

ward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

42 Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is
02 serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

42 Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies,
04 also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

26 As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall
16 below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

526 they masters. It is very strange that among these people
516 who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

151 I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

142 The characteristics here described apply also to the
171 Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

281 In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a
291 linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

291 In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

502 In general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has taught them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a storm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, they are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes them to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel overturns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed in straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since most of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes it happens not infrequently that someone perishes.

231 During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occa-
492 sionally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. Winter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of medium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short stump of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in general resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to six years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. It cannot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in driving they often become so and try to attack everything that comes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak usually turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they will not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that wander around the Russian villages have particularly good reasons to be afraid of these hunters.

493 The dog equipage usually has the following appearance:the
516 sled (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1. In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as narta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

narrow, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a knob to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak straddles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; he braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the sticks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the right direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap and two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are slung around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a loop at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog harnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are more like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, and a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have also modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

116, 291, 516

"At 6 o'clock we went ashore nea
surrounded by a group similar to th
over the jagged stones on the beach
cold seemed to have no effect on the
amusing tableau as we pushed from
driftwood about six feet long, on whi
their bodies, their heads resting on
the group was an old gray-headed ma
in both sexes, to a little boy hardly
attitude of the others with the greate
to roost so many humans on a log of

r a Gilak settlement to make tea, and were soon
e one of the night before. They wandered barefoo
as though their feet were soled with iron, while th
m whatever. Some of them presented a very
shore. Near our fire was an old [105] stump of
ich six of them sat, with their feet drawn up unde
their hands, and their elbows on their knees. In
an, the patriarch of the village; and from him dov
old enough to walk, who, however, imitated the
st precision. I would not have believed it possib
that size, had I not seen it done."

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[P.076]

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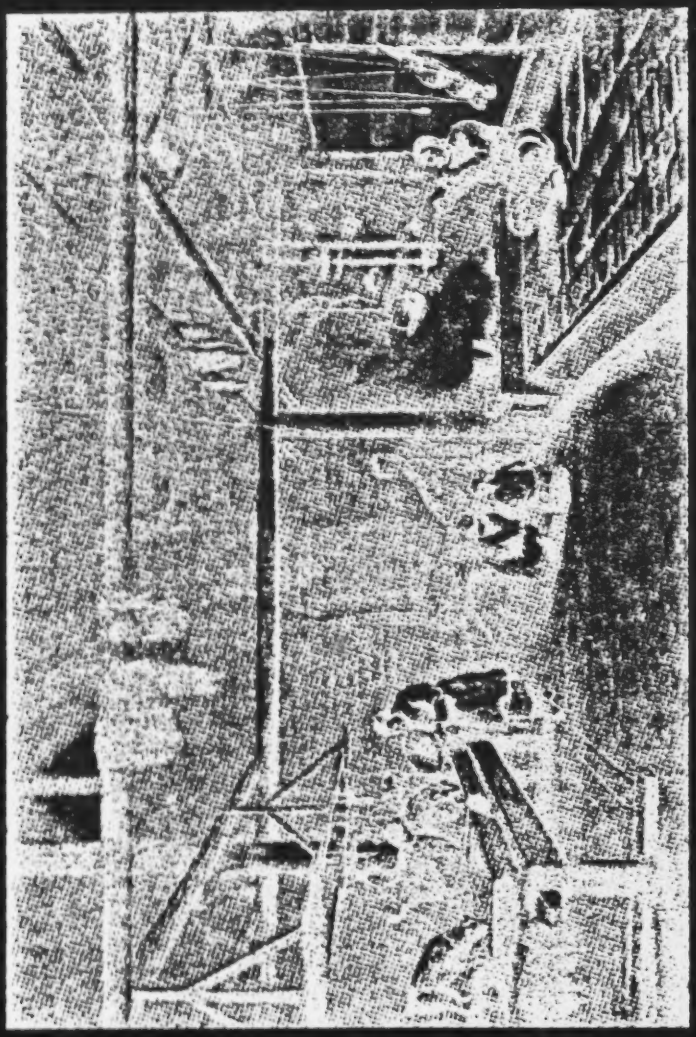

Interior of an old winter dwelling.

93 of long strips like the Gilyak's, but of boards and is enclos
16 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the ri
can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on
a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other.
31 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are a
92 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the
command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur
(driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if
they are to turn right or left the point of the correspondin
stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "tak
"takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy"
slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals a
their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of
dog sled is very difficult work.

84 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, o
92 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of f
and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which ha
a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their
only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on th
journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm
that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to
sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not
penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled
against each other, until the raging storm subsides. Howe
at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of esca
is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. S
cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and
the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take
along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal
the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be
counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this see
utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best le
dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with th

Gilyak in summer

clothing.

517

517 LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES--standards of amusement, recreation, and artistic appreciation; distribution of leisure time between active and passive, between social and individualistic, and between culturally preferred and less preferred pursuits; esthetic ideals and principles; canons of taste; levels of appreciation and "culture"; etc. See also:

Recreation	82	Distribution of labor and leisure	461
Artistic expression	83	Social classes	565
Entertainment	84	Visiting	574
Education	87	Religious activities	78, 796

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange
[484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

348 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in
157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 171 174 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/639 cont./

462 since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible ex-
[251] cursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the
[252] preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The
462 main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does
264 not take place until toward evening, for that is when the men
[574] return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

294 Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women
462 even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper
[281] condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the sewing thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with all sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations
462 and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing blankets and large and small bags and pouches out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

462 Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work
411 even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he
[517] has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
• 517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
593 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible,
842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammla, tammla, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
/ [592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

/683 cont./

534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

• 517 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the
533 sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw
534 forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

534

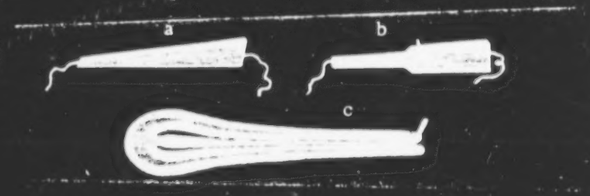

Gilyak jew's-harps.

517
533 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy.
534 And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.

/684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar
534 to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak tyngrsch, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-
[824] casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means
[239] of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort who entertain the others with their song.

535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
• 517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival, are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as a good omen.

527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water. The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those places that had their own bear festival and had already consumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the mainland at this time, although they themselves are well supplied with bears.

527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

/169 cont./

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
* 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere
outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in
the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
* 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
221 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The
married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their
hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they con-
tinually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
* 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants them-
• [52] selves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the
relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty
of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially
the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But
these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests
of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing
possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the
publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the
publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[67] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[84] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are
given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their
wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider
their obligation to impart to their children with religious
solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group
spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but
address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[96] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity
of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of
the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage.
In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the
group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out
on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
* 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
585
584

/182 cont./

* 835 their mother and their father's brother; in exactly the same
197 way, by one and the same term, andri waka, the piruari des-
ignate their father, their mother's sister, and their father's
brother's wife (ibid., Table IV). All the children of each noa
are one another's brothers and sisters and they are all con-
sidered children of the piruari group to which this noa belongs
(ibid., 19).

IV.

831 Moral and Psychic Consequences of the Sexual Norms

The peculiar norms of sexual relations described by us,
broadly permissive on the one hand, strictly prohibitive on the
other, are reflected in the morals and psychics of the Gilyak
in two diametrically opposed trends.

The permissive norms, which give both men and women
such an extensive legitimate freedom in sexual relations,
naturally must have given rise to general sexual laxity. In
fact, the virtues of chastity, sexual moderation, and conjugal
[837] fidelity are unknown to the Gilyak. Among married women,
and then as a rare exception, one still finds individuals who
are more or less faithful to their husbands; among men, by
the admission of the Gilyak themselves, even such exceptions
831 are not encountered. In the society of the most respected
• 521 individuals, tales of the most piquant romantic /183/ ad-
ventures are recounted with relish. An extensive amorous
experience does not stain the reputation of a gentleman
(urdla n'ig:yvyn) at all. In my presence, and that of a gather-
ing of the most honored elders, a young Gilyak, Laruk, to the
accompaniment of general noisy approval and merry laughter,
related his numerous romantic exploits, about how, by the
way, in one settlement he had engendered no less than 20
831 children... Such an attitude of respected people toward the
sexual laxity of youngsters is only possible in a society where

/362 cont./

514 Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak
182 to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not
abandon the settlement of his clansmen, the tombs of his clan.
No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to
[198] his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become
completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the
Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned
to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The
Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a
yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to
three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clans-
man. He does not even need a boat and a net; he will always
find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a
basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak
to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his en-
tire spiritual make-up, on his character, customs, and intellectual
[155] development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of
entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsi-
bility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and
sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and
children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large
yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that
compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this
must have developed a social, communal, loquacious, serious
character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent
354 in the north, enter one of these anthills on a winter's evening,
• 521 and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up
only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely
dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men,
the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and
music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

/362 cont./

• 514 Try entering into a conversation with anyone about their
[521] life, customs, and so forth -- the whole yurt gathers about you.
The adults listen and reply with serious interest. The children
will not tear their gaze from /363/ you. Their eyes glow with
the fire of intelligence and fascination. They answer you seriously
and conscientiously, only inspire trust in them. You will feel
yourself drawn toward these barbarians... And never, so to speak,
does life stagnate here, because each day brings some large or
small occurrence in the life of the settlement, each day brings,
finally, new guests with new subjects for conversation. In each
yurt you will find many such guests, who often stay for weeks,
and during all this time the hosts feed them and their dogs.

The Gilyak are very hospitable and love to pay visits and
entertain guests. Not only do the clansmen and kinsmen of the
wife pay visits, but also those outsiders who are simply friends.
In the yurt there often live together people of different clans, on
whom guests and clansmen from all parts of the Gilyak territory
[203] call. Imagine how much news each winter day brings. Winter
is the preferred season for visiting. This noble custom of hospi-
tality has still another good side. In a bad year, when the Gilyak
does not have enough food for either himself or his dogs and noth-
ing to buy it with, he does not have to stretch out his hands to a
benefactor; he quietly sets off to pay a visit, knowing full well
that in time his host will do the same. One encounters many guests
in the summer as well. At this time of year, too, the Gilyak
rarely lives alone in his yurt; there are always one or two families
177 of his brothers or other clansmen with him. Despite their long
subjection to the Sinicized Manchu, despite the destructive influ-
ence of the rascally population of the Amur region, the Gilyak,
morally, preserve many of the virtues of primitive tribes. But
the fate of their mode of life is irrevocably settled. One or two
more generations, and the Gilyak of the mainland will become
completely Russified and, together with the fruits of culture, will
master all its vices. One must give his due to the Gilyak: he does
not lightlyabandon his ancestral traditions, but they involuntarily
give way. At first they were indignant and perplexed, meeting

/324 cont./

412 origin, or, on the mainland, Chinese, with a rather long, straight
177 handle and a thick blade almost equally broad to the end, as is
shown on Plate XXX in the hand of a Goldi boy. At that time
there were practically no Russian axes, with a short, somewhat
sloping handle and a blade broadening greatly toward the end.
342 Thus, in the shortest time, there arose a lodging which offered
the Gilyak sufficient protection against the weather and in form
and construction reminded one strongly of their earth yurts. Like
the former in the snow, the latter are sunk into the ground to
insure protection against wind and weather. Perhaps /325/ this
was how the idea of erecting earth yurts such as we find among
the Gilyak arose. In any case their complete similarity with these
emergency tents in form, ground plan, and construction speaks
for their quite primitive character.

As simple and primitive as the Gilyak earth-yurt is, it never-
342 theless offers many advantages, especially when its dimensions
354 are somewhat larger. The location of part of it in the ground, the
• 521 carefully built, tightly closed roof provided with a thick layer of
snow on the outside, and the absence of any window openings give
the cold outer air, with even the strongest wind, no lateral entry
into the inner part of the yurt, provided that the door is closed,
and the fire maintained continually on the hearth warms and venti-
[352] lates the small room and makes a sojourn in it cozy. At the same
time the hearth located in the center of the yurt gives it a unified
character: the entire company is gathered around the blazing fire
which is equidistant from all three benches; all face one another,
all receive warmth and light from the same source. This inevitably
[206] leads to greater communicativeness, to a mutual exchange of adven-
tures, views, and experiences, and I have often seen the Gilyak
sitting this way in general conversation around the fire far into the
night and the tobacco pipe passing from hand to hand, often partici-
342 pating in their conversation myself insofar as possible. But aside
354 from these advantages the earth yurt has many drawbacks. The
most unpleasant of these is the frequent, severe, and rapid change of
temperature to which it is exposed. Whenever the door is opened,
a cold stream of air comes into the yurt and moves along the
floor. To be sure, it is lessened by the roofed-over passageway
[See Category 116, P. 1010--Analysis]

/705 cont./

* 096 hardly greater -- on each of the otherwise quite empty sleds lay
23 only two brake-sticks stuck into the plaited work -- obstacles of
54 another kind were put in their path. As soon as the dogs were
racing along at top speed, a Gilyak standing on the embankment
of the racecourse threw himself on the sled and tried to gain con-
trol of the dogs and their vehicle by using the brake-sticks, at
which, of course, he was not immediately successful. If one
failed, a second one did it, and a third: throwing himself upon
the sled, he held on to it tightly, the sled overturned two or
three times, but the man held on tightly and let himself be
dragged along at the utmost speed until he succeeded in sitting
astride and, with the two brake-sticks in his hands, driving up the
hill in triumph. During the entire race the women drum with
* 096 cudgels and sticks upon a /707/ beam suspended from a framework
54 in front of the house. This is done with a certain regularity and
534 requires some special knowledge, for there are various types and
modes of drumming, depending on the occasion. Every woman is
given two cudgels, or one cudgel and one stick, and beats with
them on the beam two or three times, either simultaneously or
alternately, then cudgel on cudgel or cudgel on stick, then again
on the beam, etc., in different rhythms and tempos, as the mode
of the moment requires (see Plate XLVIII /p.1248/). As soon as all
* 096 the dogs participating in the races have returned the longed-for meal
54 it set before them in the house by the women. The men, however, in-
231 dulge in a lively discussion of all the details occurring in connec-
• 521 tion with the races, in that one dog is to be praised and another
criticized, but even more to laugh over the ineptitude of one of
their countrymen and to marvel at the courage and agility of a
second and third. For, as is to be seen from this description, the
dog races among the Gilyak do not serve to test the quality of the
dogs as much as to give the men an opportunity to show off their
above-mentioned physical and moral virtues, just as is the case
for other entertainments that are part of the bear festival.

* 096 After this interlude, the feading of the bears which had
23 been interrupted in the morning, was resumed, and everything
was repeated as on the preceding days, for example, the large

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.
535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
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or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
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reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
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alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.
527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
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are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.
527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
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inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
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places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.
527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

522

522 HUMOR--conception of humor; sources of amusement (e.g., mishaps); types of humor (e.g., wit, puns, practical jokes); expressions of amusement (e.g., smiling, laughter); droll stories; coarse humor (e.g., anal, pornographic); humorists (e.g., wits, jesters, comedians); special elaborations of humor (e.g., comic strips); etc. See also:

Humor in the fine arts	83	Joking relationships between kinsmen	602
Humor in entertainment	54	Ridicule as a means of social control	636
Patterned expression of emotion	201	Ideas about laughing and smiling	827
Clowns	536	Obscenity and pornography	831

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught
231 dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact that
437 only one sled races along the track at time; the test is,
rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading
dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, which
show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in
understanding and following exactly the calls of the leaders,
are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
541 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by the
522 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak
succeeded very well in this attempt; others, on the other hand,
were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and
sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, however
with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of
their luckier companions.
796 At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followed
by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Then
the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests
from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the
bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the vil-
lage. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts
described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting
796 to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the bear
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During
this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parties
would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his
companions, and those that came after him would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, how-
796 ever, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they
stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He had a beam about
three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of the
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
533 eight girls and women who were provided with club-like sticks

524

524 GAMES--playthings (e.g., dolls, blocks, mechanical toys); games of dexterity (e.g., string figures, tops, juggling, kite flying, billiards); problem games (e.g., riddles, charades, puzzles); games of calculation (e.g., chess, checkers, card games); special childrens' games; occasions for playing games; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; organizers and sponsors of games (e.g., cliques, clubs, churches, communities, business organizations); etc. See also:

Childhood activities	857

/339 cont./

VI.

Games

526 1. Ball game -- poj. The ball -- pulk -- is smaller than a
fist and is sewed over with fish skin. The players are divided into
two teams. It begins with the ball being thrown up and then hit
away with a stick in the direction of the opponents. They must
hit the ball back and must prevent the ball from flying far. If
the ball gets past the opponent, then they move farther, and after
them the other team. When the ball rolls or flies near, everyone
with a stick in his hand tries to hit it away.
524 2. Pytyzaud. A player claps his hands several times and
with the lower parts of his palms hits the lower part of his chin
twice, while his teeth click rhythmically. Then they hit their
slightly inflated cheeks with their palms, the lips emit a fortsen --
sound -- and the teeth click. Then they hit the temples, the
head, the knees.
All this is performed with such headspinning speed that it
excites both the performer and the spectator.
526 3. Ter:nund -- jumping on one foot.
4. Nastumarnd -- jumping over a belt.
5. Tigrkyr -- jumping leaning on a pole.
(524) 6. Tykyryd (the Amur tykyrydz:) -- a variety of No. 2.
7. Varnd (the Amur varndz:) -- boat racing.
524 /340/ 8. Chong-king. A long narrow board has three para-
llel rows of nests (holes) -- up to 83 -- k:aryn^{n} ychkh (see drawing).

524 /340 cont./

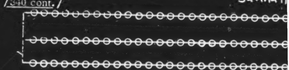

In one of the outside rows there is placed in each nest a "s
i.e., a vertical, round peg; also in the opposite outside r
soldier is similarly placed in each row -- a round peg, but
flattened out in its upper half in the shape /□/. They pla
with four cubes, each of whose sides has its sign and its nam
namely:

1) Chong -- a big hole in the center and four small
ones in the corners.

2) Kyr -- five holes distributed in the same manner,
but all of the same size.

3) Kor, with a sign resembling a swastika.

4) Tvyr -- a drawing resembling the Russian Ж.

5) Ton^dz:ś -- two diagonal lines which cross each
other, with holes of equal size in each of the triangles
so formed.

6) Mra -- a square with two vertical and two horizont
wavy lines mutually intersecting.

The one who begins the game throws up all four cube
in a handful and then sees whether or not the chong has com
up. Until the chong comes up, i.e., until the cube lands w
the chong side up, the player cannot make moves. Side No

52

EATION--general statements dealing with several different forms of
tion involving active participation. For those mainly involving spectator-
e 54.

177 Many Nivkhi with secon
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi att
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagog
the Institute. Among the
Dekhal' of the village of P
A. I. Herzen Institute in
[463] village of Kal'ma is toda
graphy of the USSR Acade
working today as captains
club directors.

177 The political activity o
648 have risen to leading posts
many work as instructor
474 committees.

[64] Wide educational work
ducted today by the cultur
of these was founded in 19
Tym' River in Vostochno-
the peoples of the North
Yukovo. These bases hav
schools for Nivkhi and Ev
schools.

[52] At the amateur conce
entertain, singing and per
songs are created on the
participate in regional Ol

[545] Theatre arts are also
Nivkhi, who had never se
spectators at performance
clubs were organized in
began to present plays in

[526] The Nivkhi are great l
how to swim and feared th
tically engage in water
(canoes) with a single oar

[182] The Nivkhi have also
The changed working
collectivization of their e
cation in collective-farm
different clans, and the ge
have completely destroy
remnants of clan relation
177 religious ideas, holiday
648 greatest change has occu
Nivkhi woman was timid
562 her domestic duties. S
house. When she met m
them. During the early p
to be applied toward th
attempted to study, mar
fathers, husbands and m
and discontinued their s
the ancient custom of p
near the dwelling. This
to remain under thes

dary schooling enter higher educational institu-
ended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
ical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending
students there are also women. In 1953, Liza
ad on the Amur graduated successfully from the
Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
y doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethno-
my of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are
, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and

f Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
s on collective farms and in various institutions;
rs with rayon Party committees and executive

among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is con-
al bases established on their territory. The first
28–29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the
-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of
was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of
ve libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year
venk children, and also dormitories and boarding

rts on the collective farms, both men and women
forming native and Russian dances. Frequently the
spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also
ympic games.
developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the
een a theatre before the Revolution, were merely
es organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic
the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi
their own language.
overs of sports. In former times they did not know
e water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusias-
sports. There are now special sports omorochki
, in which young men and women hold speed races.
preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.
, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the
conomy, their participation in industry, the unifi-
n villages of people who had formerly belonged to
neral rise in their cultural level—all these factors
ed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous
s which had survived until the Revolution. The old
s and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
rred in the position of women. In former times, the
and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of
he could be bought and sold, or turned out of the
en, she had to cover her face and turn her back to
ost-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had
e elimination of survivals of the past. When they
y young women and girls were ridiculed by their
others. Some were unable to withstand the pressure
studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome
lacing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built
tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had
e conditions for several days without any help,

521

521 CONVERSATION--loquacity and reserve; boasting and shyness; conversational patterns (e.g., idle chatter, rambling discourse, discussion, argument); occasions and places; participants; typical subjects (e.g., weather, news, gossip, politics); privileged and unprivileged communications; etc. See also:

Interpersonal relations 57
Stylistics 196
Verbal news dissemination and rumor 203
Drinking establishments 275
Idling and loitering 461
Oratory 537
Story telling 538
Debates 544
Lying 577
Gossip and intentional silence as a means of social control 626

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
315 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
392 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden [Chinese] comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slanwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco: this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

855 and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished
524 with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

674 [222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

152 First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs, etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

592 The quiet way in which several families live in one house,
578 or more accurately, in one room, already points to
888 peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the consumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [224] Then the idols are bowed and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as chung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among
the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

525

525 GAMBLING--laying of wagers on games, athletic contests, and spectacles; betting; lotteries; special gambling devices (e.g., roulette wheels), calculation of odds (e.g., bookmakers, parimutuel machines); informal gambling; gaming houses and their operation; gambling as a method of finance (e.g., government lotteries, church bingo games, hospital sweepstakes, club slot machines); specialists (e.g., gamblers, croupiers); prevalence of and attitudes toward gambling; restrictions and regulations; etc. See also:

Dexts	426	Illicit gambling establishments	548
Speculation	456	Conception and manipulation of luck	717
Horse racing	541	and chance	717

G 524 439 171 /685 cont./

2. (cont.)
cards, the game being played with 120
cards, in use among the Goldi of Ykka.

G 524 525 171 The latter have only the expression pai, that is, gratis or free, for card-playing, proof of the harmless fashion in which it has been practiced up to now. In fact, in my time the Gilyak only played for tobacco, which, in view of the common enjoyment of each pipe of tobacco as a rule, even more reveals it as an entirely harmless pleasure. But they knew that the "Manchu" (Chinese) trade a quite different use of it and played for much higher stakes. Przewalski describes how widespread the card game is among the Chinese in the upper Ussuri and the adjacent coastal area, especially along the Zymu-che and Sutschan, where during the winter unemployed riffraff spend entire days and nights playing cards and cause the ruin of many a formerly rich houseowner (3). Under

3. Przheval'skii, Puteshv. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 90.

these circumstances it is surprising that it has not spread more rapidly down the Amur and that it has not found favorable soil in particular among the greedy and acquisitive Gilyak. It is undoubtedly because of the energy with which the latter have been able to keep the Chinese away. In the meantime it may also have been carried to them by the Russians.

G 648 Before I start the description of the bear festival of the Gilyak, I must cast a brief comparative glance at the peoples immediately adjacent to them, the Olcha and Goldi, with regard to the social and co-operative relations touched on above.

/686/ In my time, after the official Manchu-Chinese trade center of Deren was abandoned sometime in the twenties the Olcha, like the Gilyak, were not tributary to either China or
G 439 Russia. Only if one or the other went to the Sungari to trade did they have to pay, as has been mentioned above (1), to the

1. Cf. p. 950.

526

526 ATHLETIC SPORTS--forms of exercise (e.g., hiking, swimming, skating, skiing, riding, mountain climbing, calisthenics, gymnastics); sports of pursuit (e.g., hide-and-seek, paper chases); individual contests (e.g., foot races, jumping, weight lifting, boxing, wrestling, archery, hoop and dart games, javelin throwing, trap shooting, bowling, tennis, golf); team contests (e.g., tug-of-war, boat races, lacrosse, hockey, football, baseball, basketball, polo); occasions; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; associated ideas (e.g., sportsmanship, amateur status, value of physical fitness); organizers and sponsors of sports (e.g., clubs, schools, business organizations, promoters); etc. See also:

Fishing and hunting	18	Racing and fighting with animals	541
Recreational musicians	348	Commercialized sport	542
Leisure	181	Manufacture and distribution of sporting goods	549
Aquatic life	520	Military training	702

/63 cont./

796 buda, and beans, and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish,
574 "the mos'," whose method of preparation I have already described in the second chapter.

796 This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan elder
231 or the master feeds the bear for the last time from a big spoon on a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while asking it to offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally he addresses the bear with the following farewell words: "Good-by. I am feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quickly to your master, and may your master greatly love you." Other clansmen also try to offer something to their old friend; even small children participate in this kindly affair. After the short
796 [562] break all the people pour out of the yurt, with the exception of the women, who are forbidden to be present at the killing of the bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- and arrange themselves in fighting formation. The master of the bear or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an ax in his hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also with a kettle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i, with bows and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the festival follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy throng. Within a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied, the people stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and places the kettle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle and ax. The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name of nich, i.e., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the narkh elder exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a sign
796 of eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been placed, the
● 526 next to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary competitive archery. Once, when the bow played a more important role in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt had the character of a great competition; now, however, it is reduced almost to a simple formality. The target is a board placed behind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them the clansmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the guests and make intentional misses. The crowd follows with

/64 cont./

796 rapt attention, and each shot is accompanied by loud approval
● [526] or by noisy outbursts of laughter. After this preliminary shooting the crowd moves closer to the bear and stops a few steps away from it. Amidst the deep silence that prevails, the selected narkh steps forward, takes his bow in his hands, and begins to watch the bear, waiting for the time when it "will offer the good spot," i.e., will turn so that it will be easy to get right to the heart. The bear often calmly remains in his place, however, digging in the snow with its paws and caring very little about offering a good spot. In order to drive it out of its calm state and compel it to offer a good spot, and also to drive it into a rage and thereby lighten for it, in their opinion, the pain from the wound inflicted, they begin to tease it. The bear thrashes in all directions, throws itself at its tormentors in helpless anger, and stands up on its hind legs. Meanwhile the archer follows it with the most rapt attention and, seizing the right moment, finally releases his sharpened arrow. The bear at first stops perplexed, then clutches its breast with his paw, tears appear in its eyes, and blood appears from the throat out of its mouth. Sometimes it begins to thrash furiously, but most frequently it falls calmly with perplexed hurt in its eyes. Although, as a rule, death comes immediately, nevertheless, just in case, several people throw themselves on the slain animal and begin to strangle it to hasten its death and prevent it from suffering. After this they take the chain off the bear, carefully straighten out its fur, and put it in a pose of majestic calm, with outstretched front and hind paws; the head, turned to the west, rests on the front paws. In this pose it resembles a man stretched out on the ground, lost in thought, leaning on his elbows. The people seat themselves ceremoniously in two rows, some on dog sleds, some directly on the snow, others on ski, and there begins the annihilation of those cold dishes which were brought for the feeding of the bear. Having eaten, the guests gradually disperse; only the closest clansmen, who begin to skin the bear, remain. This procedure is surrounded by strict ritual: the method of cutting the meat,

/339 cont./

VI.

Games

● 526 1. Ball game -- poj. The ball -- pulk -- is smaller than a fist and is sewed over with fish skin. The players are divided into two teams. It begins with the ball being thrown up and then hit away with a stick in the direction of the opponents. They must hit the ball back and must prevent the ball from flying far. If the ball gets past the opponent, then they move farther, and after them the other team. When the ball rolls or flies near, everyone with a stick in his hand tries to hit it away.

524 2. Pytyzand. A player claps his hands several times and with the lower parts of his palms hits the lower part of his chin twice, while his teeth click rhythmically. Then they hit their slightly inflated cheeks with their palms, the lips emit a fortsen -- sound -- and the teeth click. Then they hit the temples, the head, the knees.

All this is performed with such headspinning speed that it excites both the performer and the spectator.

526 3. Ter:nund -- jumping on one foot.

4. Nastumarnd -- jumping over a belt.

5. Tigrkyr -- jumping leaning on a pole.

[524] 6. Tykyryd (the Amur tykyrydz:) -- a variety of No. 2.

7. Varnd (the Amur varndz:) -- boat racing.

524 /340/ 8. Chong-king. A long narrow board has three parallel rows of nests (holes) -- up to 83 -- k:arynⁿ ychkh (see drawing).

/383 cont./

422 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
673 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
762 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
190 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
● 526 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
158 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atone for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/340 cont./

524 gives the right to one move, No. 2 -- to two, etc., side No. 6 gives the right to six moves.

If the chong comes up, the king from the middle line changes place with the nearest of his soldiers; if still another chong, he changes with the next one on one move; on the remaining figures, that soldier who took the king's place in the middle line moves. Once the chong has come up, one may move the next time in any case. The king makes moves only after the first chong; then /341/ he lets the soldiers move. If a soldier makes several steps along the middle line and meets a soldier of the opposite camp, he jumps over him, but does not take him, and only if this latter stands on the destination of the other, is he taken. One must figure out with what figure to make a move to succeed in taking the opponent.

On a chong, the king, making a move, counts only the occupied places; the empty ones do not count. A king cannot be killed; if a soldier moves up to him, he lies down and waits for another move. A chong normally does not take a soldier, except in only the last two nests. A king can move only on a chong; otherwise, he moves only when he has one soldier left. The opponent is taken only when he is on a destination.

During the game one must shout what he wants: kyr, mra, etc. If a king does not have one soldier to change with, the first chong has no effect, but the next one gives the king the right to make a move; a soldier may make a move for him. Sometimes one must combine in order to jump over an opponent's soldier.

The basic rules of the game. The soldiers cross first to the middle line and then move forward into the enemy camp, but do not come back. When there are no soldiers on someone's battle line (basic), then the king may make moves like the soldiers, i.e., in any number.

In accordance with the soldiers knocked out of formation or moved to the middle line, the king has the right, on a chong, to change with his soldier, regardless of distance, but, of course, not on the middle line. At the beginning of the game the kings stand on the middle line at the ends. If a king has made backward

/341 cont./

• 524 steps, then he can be killed. The game continues even after the king is taken. If the old man moves back, then a soldier may kill him with a chong; if there are two chong in a row, then the king can come back (1).

524
184
[115]

1. I offer a variation of the game, recorded by me from the words of the Amur Gilyak Mladzyan, student in the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad.

The one who begins to play after the chong comes up moves his soldier on the middle line of nests, in accordance with the number of moves which have come up (by the upper surfaces of the cubes), the appropriate number of rests, starting from the right. Then his partner does the same on his side, and when his soldier comes to land on the spot of a soldier of his partner, which is already standing there, he takes it.

After one of the partners has moved to the end of the battle line, he can, on future moves, cross over to the line of the enemy (his partner) and knock out his soldiers, and when he reaches the end of that line, he is considered the winner.

In spite of the fact that the above description differs from the description of the Sakhalin game of chong in Shternberg, we print it, for it may facilitate an understanding of the above-described variant of the game, although this latter differs considerably from that described by Mladzyan. S. Sh.

/644 cont./

855 case of a small boy, but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the howls that he emitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and annoying the whole procedure was for him.

In spite of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair,
855 the Gilyak children are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very
291 warmly. In their garments, made for them as a copy of those of the adults, often down to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments and embellishments on a reduced scale, one can see that in this respect the mothers spare no toil or effort for the sake of their children and are probably not lacking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that one
• 524 sees on many a small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together by
[273] a belt on which hang all the numerous implements carried by an adult, ngawla- and yi-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., except that they are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that the fathers, too, in their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time to their children and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.
855 Otherwise, one cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children,
861 of any training in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the like for them; they simply grow up, following the patterns that they have set before their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without anyone paying any attention to them.

524 The Gilyak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and mimicking in their games the activities, work, and amusements of parents and adults. One of the earliest, most common, and most popular games of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of wooden figures which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworthy that these figures, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite stereotyped among the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260 /) and only now and then vary in size. Whether they are made by the parents or by older brothers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is obviously never intended in producing them. The legs of the animal, for instance, are not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply the conventionally assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or could it perhaps be, as one might almost suspect from its general usage among the Gilyak, a fragment of an old conventional picture language among them? Other animal figures allegedly likewise carved for the delight

/645 cont./

• 524 and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really
857 similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to
868 romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

595 In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not com-
[593] pletely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placin a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one anoth For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

/684 cont./

545 171 theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks, etc. whereas other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great delight in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /685/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected [157] for the purpose (1). The Gilyak seem to have such a sober frame

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of mind that they are not capable of illusion.

527 [526] Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for their very active participation in preparing the latter, play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a 128 chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section, devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on the program for it and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

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[171] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 198) saw for example, these Chinese playing

Goldi RX3

G /685 cont./

• 524 439 171 2. (cont.) cards, the game being played with 120 cards, in use among the Goldi of Ykka.

G 524 525 171 The latter have only the expression pai, that is, gratis or free, for card-playing, proof of the harmless fashion in which it has been practiced up to now. In fact, in my time the Gilyak only played for tobacco, which, in view of the common enjoyment of each pipe of tobacco as a rule, even more reveals it as an entirely harmless pleasure. But they knew that the "Manchu" (Chinese) made a quite different use of it and played for much higher stakes. Przewalski describes how widespread the card game is among the Chinese in the upper Ussuri and the adjacent coastal area, especially along the Zymu-che and Ssutschan, where during the winter unemployed riffraff spend entire days and nights playing cards and cause the ruin of many a formerly rich houseowner (3). Under

3. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 90.

these circumstances it is surprising that it has not spread more rapidly down the Amur and that it has not found favorable soil in particular among the greedy and acquisitive Gilyak. It is undoubtedly because of the energy with which the latter have been able to keep the Chinese away. In the meantime it may also have been carried to them by the Russians.

G 648 Before I start the description of the bear festival of the Gilyak, I must cast a brief comparative glance at the peoples immediately adjacent to them, the Olcha and Goldi, with regard to the social and co-operative relations touched on above.

/686/ In my time, after the official Manchu-Chinese trade center of Deren was abandoned sometime in the twenties the Olcha, like the Gilyak, were not tributary to either China or G [439] Russia. Only if one or the other went to the Sungari to trade did they have to pay, as has been mentioned above (1), to the

1. Cf. p. 950.

2;Schrenck--1260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 LX

778 532 751

532

•[524]

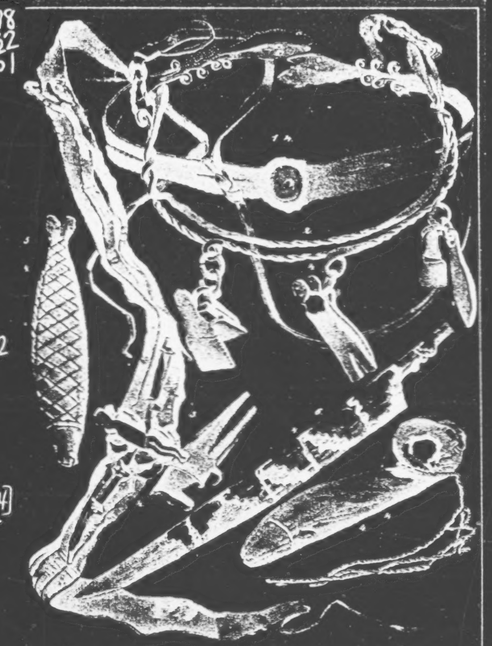

1. Iron circlet with animal figures, worn to prevent headaches (Gilyak). 2. Iron semicircle with symbolic figures, worn around the neck to prevent sickness (Gilyak). 3. Amulet-belt with human and animal figures (Olcha). 4, 5. Fish carved out of wood (Gilyak). 6. Gilyak child's toy representing a dog.

7: Kreinovich--9 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

411 called amlɔus and the sea-end is called ɔz-bax-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied ɔz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tatr-pax. Large wooden floats (vaɣ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals payt are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk, Lo ri, and ɔt.

614 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvax-pər, 2. ŋayqej,
• 524 3. ɔt.
471 Lulvax-pər and ŋayreqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ɔt is a small island close to which there is another such rock.

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ɔt. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are one or two laqr-pax stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (tejot ferd).

Clan Tnaunuŋ owned: 1. Mat-lo ri, 2. Tŋaqi-xra, 3. Zomi-vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə-vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

9: Hawes--162 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 231, 527, 783, 796

"The object of the capture and feeding of the bear is the holding of a great yearly semi-religious festival, in which the slaughter of the beast plays the chief part. It is more probable, that in the older times a full-grown bear was captured just previous to the fête, and that to-day the letter rather than the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by seizing cubs and rearing them for three or four years. The feeding is a matter of no difficulty, as will be seen when we come to the preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores. [LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner or capturer of the bear, the feast turns out a very profitable investment, for visitors from neighbouring villages flock in, and while necessaries are provided by the owner, luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, adorned with a pine-branch at each corner. Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph one of the occupants, I desired the villagers to bring one out, or at least unroof him. There were, however, too few men-folk at home, and the adult bears were very fierce, as indeed we gathered from their movements and remarks within; so two of the five little cubs were partially unroofed. The poor little orphans snarled, and shrank frightened into a corner, tumbling over one another, and trying in their terror to hide each beneath the other. Ere the month of January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before, their spirits will have been released to carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

9: Hawes--199 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 527, 539, 756, 782

"The following, however, is the part played by this functionary at this juncture, [LSS: i.e. the medicine man immediately preceding the sacrifice of the bear at the bear fête] as given me by an observer on the island.

The cham, with a pine-twig in his hand, amid the deep silence of the spectators, goes close to the bear and whispers in its ear—

'You have eaten many berries,
'You have caught many fish,
'You have frightened many people;
'Your ancestors and your comrades have 'broken' many Gilyaks:
'Therefore you must die for it.
'But your "host" has fed you three whole years, not stinting the delicious yukola (dried fish),
'He has given you the best water,
'He has taken you for walks,
'He has bathed you thrice a day (1) in the "summer year,"

1. I am afraid this is imposing on the bear's memory. It is such a difficult business getting him out of his cage; and those I saw were not taken out more frequently, it was then autumn, than once a fortnight for a constitutional.

9: Hawes--174 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 252, 262, 527

"The roe [LSS: of the salmon] is regarded as a great delicacy, and was being scraped into interesting looking wooden vessels resembling a butcher's tray, which also serve to receive the blood from the slain bear at the great festival. On feast-days, such as at the beginning of the sable and seal hunts, which inaugurate a New Year (the Gilyaks having two years to our one), the roe is mixed and pounded with whortleberries, etc., and made into a much appreciated mess. The tail and head-pieces of the kita are intended for the dogs and the bear, and the former came in for a few bits of fresh fish as perquisites while the operations were going on before us, though for the most part they feed themselves in summer."

9: Hawes--199 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 527, 539, 756, 782

'And three "winter years" you have lived in a nice warm lodging;
'He, your host, will not kill you:
'Therefore you must not complain about him to the great lord of the mountains.' "

9: Hawes--195-196 T-3 (1901) I
116, 231, 527, 796

"Emerging from the hut into a crowd
cage. In front hung a birch-bark basket,
[LSS: See Visual File] containing fresh
dried fish, and holding it before a hole i
his great paw out to grasp the fish, the
mal, having already attained his majori
in the following January.

The bear fête, which probably origina
a 'Bank Holiday' in the Gilyak calendar,
winter. The proceedings are unique and
tured young, and fed up until he attains
following January. Invitations are then s
habitants, however, need no such annou
coming event. On the morning before th
guests arrive in great numbers, their s
from all parts of the snow-mantled fore
description of the bear fête.]"

of yelping dogs, we were attracted by the bear
as seen in the illustration (opposite p. 196),
water for Bruin. His owner fetched a piece of
n the cage, the bear, who was of full size, th
while I snapped him with my camera. This ani
ty, was due to play the chief rôle at a festival

ted as a purely religious festival, has become
the great break in the monotony of the long
interesting. [196] The animal having been ca
the age of four, a fête is decided upon for the
sent round to neighbouring villages, whose in-
ncement, for they are already well aware of t
e fête the village presents a busy scene as the
ledges, drawn by teams of dogs, dashing up
st. [LSS: See category 527, pp. 196ff. for a fu

ONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

/684 cont./

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Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind 527 [526] as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for their very active participation in preparing the latter, play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section, 128 devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on the program for it and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

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[171] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 198) saw for example, these Chinese playing

/699 cont./

*796 After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the [123] Nikolayev post by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Judin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, precisely in order to make a few purchases for the forthcoming festi- [114] val. With my friend and later colleague at the Academy, C. Maximowicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allof, we entered Wair about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place: one of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little fir tree which stood in front of its transverse walls on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to [178] the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak, hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon when we drove up before Judin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wair. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd *796 of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young 526 men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who, [504] in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

/700 cont./

*796 to some of our French rounds: the players joined hands, forming 526 a circle; the circle moved around rapidly until it broke at one point, and a single row was made out of the circle. As soon as this happened, the first man passed under the raised arms of the last two members at the other end of the row, pulling the whole row after him, and making it necessary for the last man to turn himself around himself. If he succeeded in doing this and thus became the first man, he did what the first one had done, and so it alternated on and on, until the clumsiness of one of the leaders or a slip and fall by a member of the chain caused the whole row to break up, which happened not infrequently in the slippery, unevenly packed snow in front of the house and was always accompanied by the resounding laughter of all the bystanders. Close by another circle made up of young boys romped about and imitated exactly everything relating to the adults (see Plate XI /p. 991/). Many women, girls, and small children of the village had gathered around both circles and at every opportunity expressed their approval by wildly shouting in unison and by stamping and loudly beating on their furs and robes.

*796 After the game had come to an end, Judin approached us 231 and urged us to enter the house, /701/ into which the whole crowd from outside followed us. The dogs' table had been removed and in its place were three bears who were tied to the two central posts of the yurt and to the supports on either side of the absent dogs'-table top, for the latter alone would not have offered enough resistance. The bear wears a stout leather band around its neck and a second on its back connected with the first around its body directly behind the front legs, which serves to keep the neck-band from slipping over the head of the animal. The space otherwise taken up by the dogs' table is rather small for three bears, especially since the animals cannot be put too close together, so the chains running from the neck-band, which are extended by a long rope on either side, are drawn quite taut, but always so that the animals can lie down, get up again, and move somewhat to the side. This greatly restricts the free

/701 cont./

*796 traffic within the yurt, for now with every step one has to stay 231 close to the edge of the sleeping benches in order not to be unexpectedly seized by the paw of a bear.

Only two of the bears, a very large animal of the female sex and a considerably smaller, yet fully grown, seven-year-old male bear, belonged to Judin, who had bought them in the villages of Tschilwi and Aure, inhabited entirely and half by Olcha, respectively; the third and likewise male bear of medium size came from Kalm and was the property of another Tebach Gilyak. As in size, the animals also differed in coloring: the small bear was light brown, the large one dark brown, and the medium-sized one almost black. Moreover, the large bear differed from the other two in that it had a whitish-gray band on the lower part of its neck, but not enough to be called a collared bear (Gilyak molk) by the Gilyak, which happens only if the white is quite pure and extends over a large part of the throat. Finally, the three bears also differed in their behavior, especially in the way they defended themselves, as we shall presently see.

*796 Immediately after we, followed by the throng, had taken 526 seats on one of the sleeping benches, another game was begun [171] here, despite the limited space, the one that I described above in discussing the Goldi games and which consists of jumping over a rope swung by two persons. The Gilyak called it tyk-tyk (1).

[192] 1. Tyk means cord.

and the activity that goes with it, tykyrtsch. But it did not last long and was not performed nearly as skillfully as by the Goldi. Nevertheless it is part of the entertainment program during a bear festival and, judging by the noise, shouting, and laughter of the onlookers, found hearty approval. I did not see it performed by the Gilyak at other times, and the fact that it took place in the limited space of the house and not outside, where, in the moonlit night, it would have been much better and more comfortable for the fur-clad players as well as for the spectators, and the brief duration of the game, /702/ almost permit one to conclude that

'[LSS: Before the bear fête] Great preparations of food have been made for days past. e huts are crowded, and hospitality is freely dispensed. At the same time the owner the bear and his nei ghbours will be gainers by the feast, for luxuries such as tobacco, e, vodka, etc., are on sale, and will bring in a goodly profit. The staple article of st is of course yukola, or dried fish, but a variety of dishes is concocted by the yak housewife, with this as a base. Dried and frozen hard, it is grated to fine powder l mixed with seal-oil and whortleberries; and when you add to these three ingredients e, salmon-roe, and roots, the possible combination of messes are many, and the ults to the Gilyak highly palatable. The roots in most common use are pu-chi and pis ecies of wild rhubarb, I believe). [LSS: Erratum; this should read Heracleum batum and Laminaria esculenta] These are in demand for flavouring their stew of r's, deer's or seal's flesh; while a lily, which they name kashk, is eaten generally h fish-roe. At special feasts and near Russian settlements, the guests may be regaled h potatoes, in which case they are doled out sparingly, and not a particle of them or ir skins must be wasted."

"The day before the feast a rehearsal is held. Several men of the village go with the owner to the cage and proceed to lift off one or two of the roofing logs. Inserting a thong in the form of a loop at the end of a stick, they skilfully slip this over the head of the bear, and then over a paw and shoulder to prevent strangling him when the strap is tightened. To this loop are attached other thongs, [197] and the men can now proceed to unroof further and haul him out. In the case of the bigger bears the hauling is generally unnecessary, for he emerges too readily with a snarl and a growl; and the one thing desirable now is to pull all the thongs taut, to prevent him attacking one or other of his captors. Methods differ slightly in different parts of the island; but in this case the reader will see by the illustration [LSS: See Visual File] that native-made ropes of grass were looped over his paws; and to prevent his doing harm these ropes were carried under a pole placed between his fore-and hing-legs, and projecting on each side of him, on which several men stood. Held thus it was impossible for him to move his paws, and now the Gilyaks could proceed to muzzle him. Taking a piece of stick with a rope attached they teased him until he took it in his mouth, whereupon his muzzle was quickly and tightly bound to this 'bit.' To complete his toilet, in place of the leather band round his neck and shoulder, a seal-skin collar with two short lengths of chain was slipped over his neck. To the ends of the chains were attached thongs, which served for him to be led about by.

The animal was then taken for a short walk to test his new 'dress,' and afterwards

tied up and eventually put back again in the cage.
quickly described, but the actual process takes a
ready for evacuating the cage occupying half an h

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
282 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[550] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

492 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

499 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[526] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[191] equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

179 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled,
492 its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
179 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
501 boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[824] by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ulchi,
[824] Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwell-
342 ings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
175 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
[354] built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[358] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

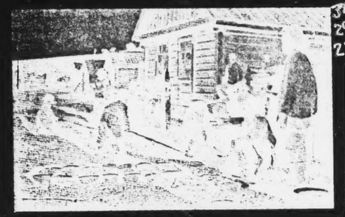

342
291
231

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care 771
of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky 776
people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi 796
thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le- 714
kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the 253
festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was 869
connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, [526] shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et ceters were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the 764
Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1963, Lisa Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
[463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
177 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions;
648 many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive
474 committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is con-
[64] ducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the
[545] Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

[182] The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the
634 Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of
562 her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

9: Hawes--200 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 526, 527

"[LSS: During the bear fete] The youths competed in archery, wrestling, and running, while primitive musical instruments were brought forth and songs were sung, telling of the exploits of heroes of the hunt. A favourite game with them is a game of ball. The aim is to keep it bounding in the air without its touching the ground. Only the hands may be used. The ball is made from the fungus of a tree."

3 Gilyak-2

Thus ended the rehearsal. It is
long time, the getting of the animal
our."

9: Hawes--197-198 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 535

"The following day [LSS: The day after the rehearsal for the bear fete; see category 527, pp. 196-197.] the same performance was gone through, and the animal led to the hut of his owner and around it three times. Each time that he passed the door the master poked him with a tzakh, or twig adorned with shavings, and broke it with the force of the thrust. This circumambulation was done to the strains of a unique band. Three or four young women, keeping time, beat with sticks on a log supported on short uprights. This highly varied 'musical' performance was accompanied by [198] dancing. Although the 'artiste' in this case was the oldest woman of the village, the display was far more interesting than the ritualistic dancing which the traveller in the East meets with generally, such for instance as that of young girls in the sacred temple of Nara in Japan.

First of all the old lady, dressed in seal-skins, stamped down the deep snow, and formed a little level square plat. Then taking two pieces of evergreens she threw herself into queer postures, using the branches as fans. Her movements were not rapid, but occasionally, and all unwittingly, she overstepped the limit of the plat and fell floundering in the deep snow, to the amusement of band and spectators too; but this in no way disconcerted her, for she came up laughing to renew the performance."

9: Hawes--198 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 825

"[LSS: During the bear fête] The bear was then paraded down an avenue of tzakhs stuck in the ground, to the place of execution. On the mainland there is much more merciless teasing of the animal than on Sakhalin. On the banks of the Amur the poor brute is dragged round for three days, and visits each hut in turn, where he is tied up and poked and teased, not always without danger to his tormentors. The smallness of the Sakhalin dwellings prevent such exhibitions on the part of the bear. While the poor animal was left tied up to ruminate over his position, the natives went off to feast; but first they took of their luxuries, rice, whortleberries, etc., and fed their victim until he could eat no more. This is a characteristic trait of their attitude towards Bruin. They were about to kill him, yet they fêted him. It was an attitude of apology. They realized that their conduct must appear ambiguous to him, and therefore, though he had to die at their hands, yet they would do all that they could to retain his good-will. Therefore they feast him loyally with all manner of dainties before he meets his fate at their hands."

posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and deformities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

ward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies, also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

526 they masters. It is very strange that among these people
516 who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers; and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

151 I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

142 The characteristics here described apply also to the
171 Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

281 In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a
291 linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

291 In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

527

527 REST DAYS AND HOLIDAYS--days reserved for rest from labor; conceptualization (e.g., as harvest celebrations, as patriotic or commemorative occasions, as reserved by religious taboos); secular festivals (e.g., harvest, housewarming, patriotic); birthdays and anniversaries; holiday activities (e.g., feasting, drinking, visiting, games, pageants); etc. For ceremonies associated with specific economic activities see elsewhere under specialized categories (e.g., agricultural ceremonies, see 24). See also:

Potlatches	431	Feasting	574
Distribution of labor and leisure	461	Victory celebrations	727
Leisure time activities	517	Taboos	784
Pageants	541	Religious festivals	796

/684 cont./

545 171 theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks, etc., whereas other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great delight in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /685/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected [157] for the purpose (1). The Gilyak seem to have such a sober frame

1. Concerning the theatrical performances of the Aleuts see in particular: Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Part II, pp. 85, 93. With regard to the Eskimo, see above, pp. 492-498.

of mind that they are not capable of illusion.

527 [526] Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parade their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for their very active participation in preparing the latter, play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a 128 chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next section, devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on the program for it and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

524 439 Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak game which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese; I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small, Chinese playing-cards, which Chinese traders bring from the Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory of the Goldi and Olcha (2), and thus into the hands of the Gilyak.

[171] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 198) saw for example, these Chinese playing

9: Hawes--200 T-3
116, 527, 756, 782

"At the end of this adjuration t
pine-twig over the bear's head.
forward, and at a couple of yards
the bow. The animal, however,
he turned round, when the archer
but simply tried to rub the arrow
round as if nothing had happened.
and the animal, still making no s
this time merely hit the collar.
vent, the poor beast sank down a
with sticks and lifted up the paws
ground three times.

When the cham is present, he
the pieces to the most honoured
the sacrificed beast will be assu

The skin having been quickly s
cauldrons were soon steaming w
roots, roe, seal-oil, etc., were
sat in groups, the women waited

he cham moves a little to one side, still holding the
At this point the accounts agree. An archer now came
s or so from the bear fitted his iron-tipped arrow to
would not expose his heart, and had to be teased until
r let fly. Strangely enough poor Bruin emitted no sour
y out with his paw, and failing to do so, sat looking
. The arrow had missed the heart, but pierced the lur
sign of pain, only coughed. Another arrow was shot, b
The first was then pulled out, and the blood now findir
nd died. When quite dead, the women came forward
s, and the carcase was dragged round the execution-

first cuts out the heart of the bear, and dividing it, gi
members present. To these partakers of the heart of
red successful hunts during the whole of the season.
stripped in this case, the carcase was cut up and the
ith bear stew. All the delicacies of dried fish, rice,
brought forth, and the feasting again began. The me
upon them and then took part in the feast."

Hawes--196 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 262, 527

"[LSS: Before the bear fête] Great preparat
he huts are crowded, and hospitality is freel
the bear and his nei ghbours will be gainers
ce, vodka, etc., are on sale, and will bring
ast is of course yukola, or dried fish, but a
ilyak housewife, with this as a base. Dried a
nd mixed with seal-oil and whortleberries; a
ce, salmon-roe, and roots, the possible con
esults to the Gilyak highly palatable. The roo
pecies of wild rhubarb, I believe). [LSS: Er
rbatum and Laminaria esculenta] These ar
ear's, deer's or seal's flesh; while a lily, w
ith fish-roe. At special feasts and near Russ
ith potatoes, in which case they are doled ou
eir skins must be wasted."

ions of food have been made for days past.
y dispensed. At the same time the owner
s by the feast, for luxuries such as tobacco,
in a goodly profit. The staple article of
variety of dishes is concocted by the
and frozen hard, it is grated to fine powder
nd when you add to these three ingredients
nbination of messes are many, and the
ots in most common use are pu-chi and pis
ratum; this should read Heracleum
e in demand for flavouring their stew of
hich they name kashk, is eaten generally
sian settlements, the guests may be regaled
t sparingly, and not a particle of them or

116, 231, 527

"The day before the feast a rehearsal is h
owner to the cage and proceed to lift off one
in the form of a loop at the end of a stick, th
bear, and then over a paw and shoulder to p
tightened. To this loop are attached other th
unroof further and haul him out. In the case
unnecessary, for he emerges too readily wi
desirable now is to pull all the thongs taut,
captors. Methods differ slightly in different
reader will see by the illustration [LSS: See
were looped over his paws; and to prevent h
a pole placed between his fore-and hing-legs
which several men stood. Held thus it was i
now the Gilyaks could proceed to muzzle hin
they teased him until he took it in his mouth
tightly bound to this 'bit.' To complete his t
neck and shoulder, a seal-skin collar with t
his neck. To the ends of the chains were att
led about by.

The animal was then taken for a short wal

eld. Several men of the village go with the
or two of the roofing logs. Inserting a thong
ney skilfully slip this over the head of the
revent strangling him when the strap is
ongs, [197] and the men can now proceed to
of the bigger bears the hauling is generally
th a snarl and a growl; and the one thing
to prevent him attacking one or other of his
parts of the island; but in this case the
Visual File] that native-made ropes of grass
is doing harm these ropes were carried under
s, and projecting on each side of him, on
mpossible for him to move his paws, and
n. Taking a piece of stick with a rope attached
, whereupon his muzzle was quickly and
oilet, in place of the leather band round his
wo short lengths of chain was slipped over
ached thongs, which served for him to be

k to test his new 'dress,' and afterwards

"The following day [LSS: The day a
527, pp. 196-197.] the same performa
hut of his owner and around it three t
poked him with a tzakh, or twig adorn
the thrust. This circumambulation wa
four young women, keeping time, bea
This highly varied 'musical' perform
the 'artiste' in this case was the olde
interesting than the ritualistic dancin
erally, such for instance as that of yo

First of all the old lady, dressed in
formed a little level square plat. The
self into queer postures, using the br
but occasionally, and all unwittingly,
floundering in the deep snow, to the a
no way disconcerted her, for she cam

fter the rehearsal for the bear fete; see category
ance was gone through, and the animal led to the
imes. Each time that he passed the door the master
ned with shavings, and broke it with the force of
as done to the strains of a unique band. Three or
t with sticks on a log supported on short uprights.
ance was accompanied by [198] dancing. Although
st woman of the village, the display was far more
g which the traveller in the East meets with gen-
oung girls in the sacred temple of Nara in Japan.
n seal-skins, stamped down the deep snow, and
n taking two pieces of evergreens she threw her-
anches as fans. Her movements were not rapid,
she overstepped the limit of the plat and fell
amusement of band and spectators too; but this in
ne up laughing to renew the performance."

"[LSS: During the bear fête] When the feasting, drinking, smoking, and talking were at an end, a start was made for the execution-ground. On [199] their way the company halted at the beginning of the avenue to allow a few of their number to shoot blunt, wooden-ended arrows towards the bear. There seemed no attempt on their part to hit the animal, or else they ignominiously failed, for the shots were lamentably short of or beyond the mark. This appears to be only another example of the weakening of traditional custom, for the shooting with blunted arrows at the poor bear was one of the greatest pieces of 'fun' in olden times. Arrived at the ground the crowd grouped itself in front of the animal in a semicircle."

9: Hawes--211 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 527, 805

"Among the Gilyaks the hunt is preceded by an interesting ceremony. The sable (Mustela zibellina) and seal hunts commence each a new year in the Gilyak kalendar, and thus he has two years to our one. If only the Gilyak child kept 'birthdays,' he would be the envy of his western compeers. These two years which begin in October and April respectively, are called the winter year (tulf-an) and summer year (tolf-an), and are opened by holiday festivals. The sable holiday goes by the name of Pal ni vookh chi-sonch, or 'the prayer to the lord of the forest.' "

"Customs differ from coast to coast, and from village to village, and here is a point of divergence. In many cases I believe the cham, or medicine-man, is not called in to officiate [LSS: At the sacrifice of the bear during the bear fête] possibly because the influence of his office is on the wane, and as the Tro Gilyaks told me 'we have no great cham now.' "

9: Hawes--252-253 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 225, 411, 527

"On shore preparations are being made for the Chak vi hŭnch, or Tol vi hŭnch, i.e. the water or sea holiday; for this is the inauguration of the tolf-an, or summer year.

Wild men, with raven pigtails and high cheek-bones, are bustling about at the mouths of the rivers preparing to receive the unsuspecting guests. [LSS: i.e. seals] Last year's provisions are all consumed, and the Gilyaks await with suppressed excitement the approach of their fat lazy visitors. The wind from the sea increases in vehemence, ice-floes seen on the horizon are being driven closer and closer to the shore. Now they are quite near, forming great glistening fields. The whole Gilyak village is alive, the inhabitants running about on the swaying white floor quickly taking up [253] positions, concealing themselves behind the bergs. Each one has in his hand a harpoon similar to the fish-spear already described on a larger scale. The pole consists of five lengths jointed, each 7 metres long, and is therefore at full length about 135 feet. The end, to which the harpoon is attached by a thong, is ski-shaped, with its end bent upwards, the better to thrust into the side of the seal. The thong itself is also 135 feet long, to allow the seal sufficient play. This great length of weapon enables the Gilyak to harpoon his unsuspecting prey at a considerable distance. He stealthily approaches his victim, taking cover behind the bergs, and placing the harpoon on the ice slowly unwinds the thong. By a quick thrust the animal is speared, and flings himself frightened into the water. In so doing he frees the head of the harpoon from the shaft, to which, however, he is

ed up and eventually put back again in the cage. Thus
uickly described, but the actual process takes a long
eady for evacuating the cage occupying half an hour."

ended the rehearsal. It is
time, the getting of the animal

: Hawes--201-202 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 527, 776, 782, 825

s another consideration which lurks, however
Not only is the bear the most dangerous anim
as deteriorated to the seizure of cubs and the
st rival of the Gilyaks. He lives, as they do,
he forest; and even robs the Gilyaks' snares
ore on every [202] count he must die."

unconsciously, behind this ceremony.
al to capture, although now the custom
rearing of them; but he is also the strong-
on the fish of the river, the berries of
of the small animals caught therein. There-

9: Hawes--202 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 183, 527, 782, 825

"It is useless to ask the Gilyaks of to-day the ra
bear fête] for they do not know; and, in any case
the hidden meaning of their rites. The following
to find out the signification of the ceremony, and
Gilyak. It means the offering to Pal ni vookh.
Russian. Why do you not recite about it during th
Gilyak. I don't know.
Russian. Do the Gilyaks punish the bear for his
Gilyak. No.
Russian. Why does the cham recite these charge
Gilyak. The Gilyaks have done this from ancient
know something about it.

The old men, however, on being asked, knew

ison d'être of the custom, [LSS: The
, they would not reveal to a stranger
is how a Russian fared when he tried
I met with no more success.

ne killing of the bear?

crimes?

es in the bear's ear?
times. Ask the old men, perhaps they

no more."

9: Hawes--202-203 T-3 (1901) 1903

116, 527, 764, 775, 782, 825

"There is one incident in the ceremonial [
tioned, but which possesses some special si
head, which is never on any account eaten. A
dogs which I bartered for were all minus the

It is noticeable that while the bear's head i
bring success and courage to the hunters, bu
eating of the brain would render the consume
The skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak
phins, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habi
place theirs near their huts and make offerin
and gain their protection; whereas the Gilyal
of the woods, and are not frequented by ther
of these golgothas, is, I do not know; but it
of the animals whose spirits have gone back
those of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of the
and either guard the remains of the Gilyak o

LSS: The bear fête] which I have not men-
gnificance. This is the saving of the bear's
A skin offered to me, and the fells of the
heads.
is not eaten, the heart is. The latter will
at I gathered that the Gilyak believes the
er bear-like, and an enemy to his fellows.
cemetery, and there, with skulls of dol-
t common among the Ainus, who, however,
ngs of sake (spirit), etc., to pacificate them
ks' cemeteries are in the secret recesses
n. What the idea that lies at the [203] root
seems probable that they think the remains
to the great Pal ni vookh should rest near
se animals will come back to these spots
r at least refrain from haunting the living."

9: Hawes--252-253 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 225, 411, 527

now held by the thong. His efforts to get awa
grip, and the poor animal is hauled in and ki

ay only serve to give the harpoon a firmer
lled by a blow on the head."

9: Hawes--253-254 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 183, 225, 527, 782

"The first catch is collected and left on th
devoured there would be a graceless, greed
sanction to the domestic use of them. Such
seal season, owing to the god's anger. No;
though at some inconvenience, in full view o
On the bank, therefore, fires are kindled
with it is hashed up anything left over from
the feasting commences, and lasts all day.
banks, but in the huts; at the same time it i
newly caught seals shall not be brought with
even the blood spilled. If the god has allowe
them to be consumed only on his premises,
attention on the part of the Gilyaks, Tol ni
send them abundance of seals and all manne

ne shore. To take it to their huts to be
y thing to do, for there is as yet no divin
a proceeding might result in a failure of
the feasting must be done openly, and,
of the god's province.
; and the flesh of the seals is cooked, an
the winter's stores. When all is prepare
Eating and drinking go on, not only on th
s strictly observed that the pieces of the
in the hut, nor left scattered about, nor
d seals to be caught, he has [254] permi
i. e. the banks. By this courtesy and litt
vookh will be content, and in future will
r of inhabitants of the sea."

Hawes--201-202 T-3 (1901) 1903
, 527, 776, 782, 825

'The original signification of the whole cere
gely lost, but the religious motive in the m
sending of a messenger to the great lord o
their punctilious observances of the rites o
nger may not miss his destination, it was u
me villages to assist the spirit of the bear i
ls were given him, one the planting of a sti
st where the great lord lived, and the other
re to hunt Bruin's spirit to Pal ni vookh. F
was a Gilyak was not a pious Gilyak. He w
d all dwellers in the taiga by Pal ni vookh a
d water, but in nothing would he give thanks
erings after every meal, therefore it could
find Pal ni vookh, or if knowing should be i
ys most punctilious in placing some fish or
erings to Pal ni vookh, and on one occasion
n from a watery grave to this timely act of
Probably the fact of the bear being the most
ds to the value of the offering, of which the

emony of the feast [LSS: The bear fête] is
inds of the Gilyaks of to-day seems to be
of the mountains, Pal ni vookh, to witness
f offerings; and, in order that their mes-
sual, and is, I believe, still so among
n finding his way to Pal ni vookh. Two
ck on the execution-ground, pointing to the
, the killing of two dogs, whose spirits
or it was explained that the bear, though
ould eat of the provisions made for him
nd Tol ni vookh, the lords of the forest
; whereas a true Gilyak always made
not be expected that he should know where
nclined to go to him. Even Vanka was al-
tobacco on the ashes of our camp-fire as
we owed, so he assured us, our preserva-
his.
difficult and dangerous animal to capture
bear's spirit would be a witness. There

Hawes--200 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
, 526, 527

LSS: During the bear fete] The youths competed in
ile primitive musical instruments were brought fo
e exploits of heroes of the hunt. A favourite game
m is to keep it bounding in the air without its touch
used. The ball is made from the fungus of a tree.

archery, wrestling, and running,
rth and songs were sung, telling of
with them is a game of ball. The
ing the ground. Only the hands may
"

9: Hawes--306 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 483, 527

"He [LSS: Vanka, the author's Gilyak boatman] was in high spirits, for two or three days since there had been a bear-hunt by his friends of Ado Tim, in which a dam and two cubs had fallen to their prowess. One old Gilyak described to me how the hunt had gone. Starting out with the dogs, they had come up with the ch'uff and cubs in the fore and the dogs immediately began to worry the cubs, biting at their hind-legs until the mother bear called to them to 'take care,' and run up a tree. This they did, but, mea while, the dam was shot. An experienced hunter then proceeded to follow the cubs wit a seal-hide noose in his hand. With this he lassoed them, and, descending, forced the to climb down by degrees. The carcase of the dead animal was then placed upon a sle drawn by the dogs, and the orphaned cubs were led, pushed, and dragged to the villag Hence on the morrow there was to be a great holiday fête, and Gilyaks from all aroun were coming in to celebrate it."

224 For the bear festival (see below) live young animals are
527 sought and are raised in a special enclosure. If they cannot be caught in any other way (1), they are sought out together

1. Sometimes young bears roam about so far from their mamas that they can be easily caught.

with the mother bears. The Gilyak wait for winter and then seek out a bear cave. On the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set out for the cave with lances, hatchets, straps, and several empty dog sleds. They begin to irritate the bear by thrusting long sticks into the cave. Whereupon bruin begins to roar tremendously and starts to leave his cave. At this instant the bravest and strongest of the Gilyak takes his stand close to the entrance with his pelt coat on backwards, and as soon as the bear appears he hurls himself with his chest against the bear's head. The others hurl themselves on their leader and thus the alarmed bear is felled by the combined impact and is soon bound. If he is strong and raging so that he cannot be handled, he is immediately killed. Sometimes a noose is also put around his neck as soon as he appears. If the prisoner was a female with cubs, they are all taken home in sleds.

136 The elk is not found in the lower Amur region, that is, in
224 the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, but is seen somewhat farther up at the Amgun river. It is usually hunted in winter because, like the horse, it can travel only with difficulty in the deep snow, and the Gilyak on his snow shoes can easily overtake it and kill it with his lance. In summer time the animal is killed with rifles. Its meat is very popular and its skin is used for shoes, straps, etc.

The reindeer is also hunted chiefly in winter in the same manner. Occasionally the lance is also thrust at some distance from the target.

The wild boar does not occur on Sakhalin and the lower Amur; however, it appears 40-50 versts above Nikolayevsk. It is hunted with lances and with rifles. Its meat is very popular, its skin, among other things, is used for the shaman drums.[122]

224 The fox is preferably poisoned with the vomic nut which
278 the Gilyak buy from the Chinese. But this poison is not very
439 strong; much faster, in fact almost instantaneous, is the effect of its alkoloid, i.e., strychnine, which Russian fox hunters use but which the Gilyak seldom get hold of. But

oats. However, there are some to be found among them
vho are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
vho entertain the others with their song.

The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
ludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
ipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
eason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
bove. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
r good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
asten to add that this immobility and indifference only
eaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
is sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
eality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
venings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
lternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
elebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
veeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
ears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
re taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
akhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
ne-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
runk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
ransported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
onsidered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
hat the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
ransporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
ccidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
good omen.

The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
n old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
he latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
nserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
ried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
craps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
illages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
laces that had their own bear festival and had already con-
umed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
and at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
ith bears.

Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
stival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
e and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

527 Sometimes the dogs al
541 Dog racing, besides
437 tical significance, for
buyers. In fact, the b
various things are bar
527 The chief figure of t
825 fed throughout the who
the village, at which t
this is done in such a
to another at an angle,
river. This symbolic
abundance of fish". H
put up the necessary n
sides. In the houses h
berries, and sometime
prostrate themselves
ship, however, as som
some in earnest, calli
revenge on them after
not given such express
527 When the bear's imm
782 which has been driven
766 arrows. In this proce
selves. At last the un
blow with a lance. He
with his fore-paws res
happens the woman wh
to weep loudly. Finall
seat themselves aroun
passed around and befo
roasted. Eating and te
bear festival. The sti
tertainment has been d
527 in the village of Kola.
361 of the Gilyak settlemen
534 about 200 versts from

1. This distance
curves in the coa
would be much s

to be found - and this h
old church bells bearin
supposed to have been
destroyed by the Chine

so draw sleds in these races.
being an amusement also has a prac-
the good runners find immediate
ear festival is a sort of fair, where
tered.
he festival, namely the bear, is well-
le period and is repeatedly led through
me he pays a call at each house and
vay that he has to go from one house
by way of the adjacent section of the
procedure assures the house of "an
is always led by several men who
umber of chains and ropes on all
e is treated to fish, millet, and cran-
s he is also teased. Some Gilyak also
before him. This is by no means wor-
e have assumed. Some do it for fun,
ng on the spirit of the bear not to seek
he is dead. Sometimes the bear is
ions of veneration.
nolation nears, he is tied to a stick
in the ice, and then he is shot with
dure the archers seek to outdo them-
fortunate bruin is given a merciful
usually dies in peace and majesty,
ting on his wounded chest. When this
o has had charge of him is often heard
y, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak
d them. Pieces of bear meat are
ore they are eaten they are lightly [237]
a-drinking are the main activity at a
ck music which is here offered as en-
escribed. Special music is produced
This village is the northern outpost
t, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

is measured according to the
st line; in a straight line it
horter.

as only recently been discovered -two
g Slavonic inscriptions. They were
taken from Fort Albasin when it was
se and since then to have belonged to

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

/722 cont./

in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this in their midst as provisions for the trip.

Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon, however, for the first and only time the women actively participated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding in her hands either fir branches or constant-like wooden clappers, and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Dittmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men and are always much butier than the latter at all sorts of work and activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals, a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

2 See p. 719 above.

and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely, that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that in the eyes of he Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

/387 cont./

and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the thinner and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal, with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and, after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under it with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unnecessary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chib-hak, i.e., in literal translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark, sewed on hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII[1] and Pl. XX, Fig. 1 and 2)[2].

2. The colors (black and red) are not washed off by rain; I therefore suspect that they are produced by a mixture of Chinese ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ provided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made either of cotton material or of fine fish skin; the latter robe usually have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which is put as decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of

[See Category 116, P. 947 -- Analyst]

[See Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

511 DECORATIVE ART.—types of artifacts decorated and not decorated; decorative techniques (e.g., carving, engraving, painting, inlay, embroidery); use of color and relief; designs and patterns (e.g., naturalistic, geometric); decorative symbols and their meanings; elaborated styles; associated beliefs and practices; specialists, etc. See also:

Textiles	19	Armoring	1
Leather	29	Decorative arts	341
Cloth, metals, and spinning	47	Interior decoration	360
Ceramics	123	Manufacture of paints and dyes	396
Ironwork	301	Enamels	817
Face and body decoration	302		

/388 cont./

1. (cont.)
characters on it -- no matter whether written or printed -- I hoped that perhaps through him I would succeed in obtaining possible diaries or other written notes of de la Brunière. But despite the high monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak for them, only a few scraps of one of D'Anville's maps of China were brought to me by them after the lapse of some time, when I had already again returned to the Nikolayev post.

3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 99). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Pogbobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt, in particular, the belt worn by some of the implements always accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawta-dhakko, which is used for cutting wood, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dhakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dhakko.

[See Category 116, P. 1011 -- Analyst]

/395 cont./

and copper arabesques and various engravings (Ibid., Fig. 2). The sheath is always of thick seal leather (from Phoca barbata) adorned with various kinds of enclosed arabesques, and is very uniform in shape, widest in the middle, tapering toward the bottom, and not closed at the tip, but only provided with a bundle of leather lappets to protect the blade of the blade (Ibid., Fig. 3, and Pl. XIX[1]). Usually a second knife is also worn at

5. On Pl. XVIII, the neer absent, large belt-knife was omitted by mistake.

the belt: the yi-dhakko (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4) quite indispensable to the Gilyak, with a small, pointed blade on a strong wooden handle, which, for greater firmness, is equipped with a bone ring at the lower end; it is always inserted in a firm sheath made of sturgeon skin, with a wooden or bone tip (Ibid., Fig. 5). The yi-dhakko is used for cutting wood and making all kinds of crude as well as delicate articles out of it. It should be noted that the Gilyak always cuts toward himself, not away from himself, as Mamia Rinso points out about the Ainu, too, in contrast to the

/396/ Japanese (1). Just as rarely lacking in a Gilyak's belt as

1. Cf. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 188, besides the latter's note, p. 202.

the above-mentioned knife is the fire apparatus: a container for tinder and flint, and a steel. The former is either a small bag of seaskin (see the Gilyak technical, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3), usually similarly decorated with embossed arabesques or with small fur rosettes sewed on it (2), or a box (Gilyak mlo; Ibid.,

2. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I saw a specimen of this kind that was decorated with small pieces of the fur of Otaria ursina, the first from this animal that I had encountered in the Amur region (see Vol. I, p. 189, of the present work).

[See Category 116, PP. 999, 998, 1011 *1008 respectively -- Analyst]

/396 cont./

which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

/397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tuki-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2). It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter contists of straight Chinese brocade, usually black or dark-blue cloth. On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the edge with otter skin. The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are represented (1). On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des vers l'Emper. de la Chine

[See Category 116, P. 1001 -- Analyst]

/397 cont./

1. (cont.)
en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II. p. 237 [editor's note] - Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869, Vol. 1. p. 59). The dragon on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Ailof was of the latter type.

292 fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the
293 cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The
294 tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the
295 Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyhi-hak, Pl. XXII, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to
301 the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass jaws into which the women
302 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use
237 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyhi-hak

/399 cont./

291 skin undoubtedly affords better protection against cold, wind, and rain when the hair is on the outside than when it is turned to the inside, and if it were first tested in this position, it would be natural to add another layer of it or of another skin in the opposite position, with the hair on the inside, and thus, avoiding a foreign covering, to obtain that double fur undoubtedly giving the best protection, as one finds among all the northern and polar peoples.

291 The above-described or illustrated garments are sufficient
292 to show that the Gilyak like to provide their clothing with all
53 kinds of variously shaped, gay-colored embroidery and other ornamentation. I have sometimes seen among them whole collections of embroidery designs, and I brought back some of them. These consist of fabric or fish-skin patches on which the designs are embroidered or on which various figures cut out of thin hitch-bark and symmetrically arranged are pasted (Pl. XXIII and XXIV). Among them, however, are also found larger pieces of fabric sometimes made up of several multicolored patches and not used for embroidery, but on which arabesques and animal figures of the most varied kinds are colorfully, but always symmetrically arranged beside or intertwined with one another (Pl. XXV-XXVII). If for the moment, we disregard the latter, to which I shall come back later, particularly in connection with the animal figures, and if we consider only the designs to be embroidered on the articles of clothing previously discussed, we find in them a peculiar character and taste which fundamentally distinguishes them from those of the Siberian
53 tribes. Whereas among the Siberian Tungus, for instance, a
171 who like-wise adorn their clothing with embroidery, the simplest patterns and motifs recur with great uniformity and often, for example, only rows of the same simple figures, small triangles, squares, circles, crude cuttlefishes, and the like, running over or beside one another, are to be found (as the Tungusic specimens illustrated on Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIV, Figs. 5 and 6 show), in the Gilyak designs and ornamentation beautiful, curved and interlaced lines, diverse arabesques artistically overlapping.
[1] [See Category IIc, pp. 1003-1004 - Analysis]
[2] [See Category IIc, pp. 1005-1007 - Analysis]

/399 cont./

53 and small-shaped spiral figures prevail throughout.

/400/ As on their garments, the Gilyak like to decorate
53 all the other implements in their household and their lives with
197 all kinds of designs and ornamentation, as we noted on the above-mentioned implements worn at the belt and as we shall frequently have occasion to see below. The general character of these decorations is always the same, as is described in more detail above, whether the articles are made of wood, tree bark, leather, bone, or iron, and only the execution will be less exact and neat in the case of more brittle material, although with every type of object we shall come across some which testify to the great skill and dexterity on the part of the Gilyak in the use of the simplest tools. The talent of the Gilyak for ornamentation,
53 however, appears to us in its boldest and greatest development in
294 the embroidery for the decoration of their clothing, utilizing for this in particular, besides the easier reproduction of diverse lines and figures, also the effects obtained by putting together various colors. And of this the Gilyak, as much as in general they prefer somber colors for their clothing, also popular among the Chinese (1), a more or less dark blue or gray, make liberal,

1. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. II, p. 82. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 59.

but moderate and tasteful use in decorating their clothing, as
[128] the above illustrations show. This is made possible by the variously colored silk and cotton thread obtained in trade from the Chinese.

53 I have previously described the general character of Gilyak
197 ornamentation as unique and completely different from that of the Siberian peoples. Also, no trace of Russian national influences, as are quite explicable among the latter as a result of centuries old, manifold, and constant intercourse with the Russians, is found among the Gilyak. On the other hand, much of the Gilyak ornamentation, spiral-shaped coiled lines,

53 /401 cont./
197 the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest
197 from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is
53 not, say, in the superiority of the peoples concerned,
197 but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep themselves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

1. See p. 144 above.

[128] Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must
294 mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it.
[197] For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese, or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the
294 Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles (Gil. mgnit,
415 [114]

2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from mug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3) is worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it. If one lifts the
[1] [See Category IIc, p. 1009 - Analysis]

/401 cont./

294 latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in
415 it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This in-
53 genious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among
197 the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

[170] And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

(Gil. luba) that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fish-
[170] ing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

6. As is also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal (Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 332), and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and cord from nettle fibers will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quiltings and embroideries the Gilyak use either the latter or the silk thread like-
294 wise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the
[170] work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak
[170] woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering. Although
[170] they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term
[53] (chasa) for them: instead they only use a knife. For smoothing
[53] the fabric they use a smoothed piece of wood (pam), which is

/402 cont./

294 beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some
412 decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the
53 tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).[1]
236 /402/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gil
283 who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievement
197 and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest kins-folk, the Ainu on Jesso / Yezo and Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. - La Pérouse, Voyage aux du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 78. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aard.-en volkenkund. toelichting, 1858, p. 11, Note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrovorskii, "Inzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" Zapiskii Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obsheb., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Leip. Imp. Russ.

[2] [See Category IIc, p. 1009 - Analysis]

53

SS /417 cont./

302 however, how to explain such a coincidence of the Chinese hai
301 style and the unusual use of nose rings among the natives of the
171 lower Amur region, for, as is well known, the Chinese do not
177 wear such an ornament. Moreover, this coincidence is found only in the lower, not in the upper Amur region. To be sure, t
T Manchu-Chinese hair style has also spread into the latter, and
[302] even far more than in the former, and yet none of the tribes the
[301] wears nose rings, neither the Birar, the Manegir, nor the Oroch
[171] Thus the custom is limited, on the whole, to only a few of the many Tungus tribes of the Amur region and may perhaps be regarded as only a remnant from an earlier time when it was presumably more widespread.

G A more common customary ornament among all the peop
301 of the Amur region, in particular for the female sex, are silver
171 or copper finger rings, several of which are sometimes stuck on one finger, and bangles (Gilyak tyisj) made out of the same ma
G terial or out of bone, /418/ which are worn above the wrist. O
[531] Plate XXIX, Figs. 8 and 9, a few such bangles of Gilyak workmanship made out of copper with inlaid silver disks and small engravings are shown.

Another piece likewise generally widespread in the Amur region is more interesting -- it is the large and strong ring worn only by men on the thumb of the right hand. Among the Gilya who call it aam, it is of the shape and size shown on Plate XLV Fig. 5 /in the original work; the size of the figure has been reduced for the translation/, made of copper or lead, decorated with various figures that are engraved or consist of inlaid brass and silver and provided in the inner circumference with a silver hoop securely soldered and overlapping on the outside. This
G; ring, by the way, is not merely adornment, but has a definite
[301] practical purpose. La Pérouse, who saw it among the Orochi
[462] (or Olcha) on de Castries Bay, was of the opinion that it serves them as a prop in skinning and cutting up fish (1). This work,
G; however, is not done by the men, but by the women.
[113]

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, p. 64.

Zn [See category 116, p. 1025--Analyst]

2: Schrenck--1002 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

29/531

XXII

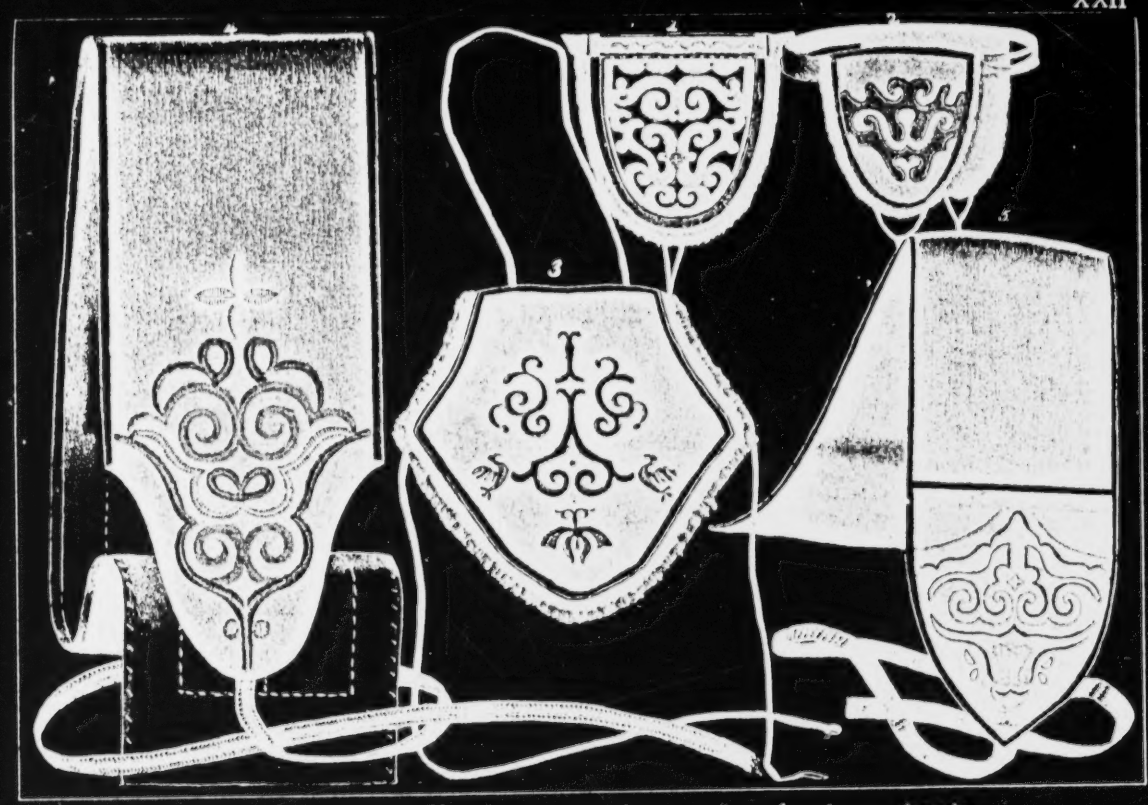

Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- ear muffs; 3 -- stomacher; 4, 5 -- fur sleeve-bands.

9: Hawes--193 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 531, 751, 778

"I turned my attention to two or three 'works of art.' Two small flat pieces of wood cut into the forms of a disc and a crescent hung from a beam. These represented the sun and the moon, and were used as charms. There were also two sticks, with shavings on, similar to the one I have described as protecting the canoe during its construction from evil spirits; but these particular ones, I learnt, were for placing over a sick child, and would ensure its recovery.

But no signs of worship were there, no graven images, for the great 'Kiskh' is invisible to mortal eyes. Charms there are, though with the decline of the cham's influence and the contact with Russians these are losing their value in the eyes of the Gilyaks, and they laugh when questioned about them by the foreigner, yet not without a lurking sense of fear at the bottom of their hearts."

Gilyak winter caps: 1 -- men's cap; 2 -- wome
cap made of Chinese silk material; 4 -- the sa

2: Schrenck--1001 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

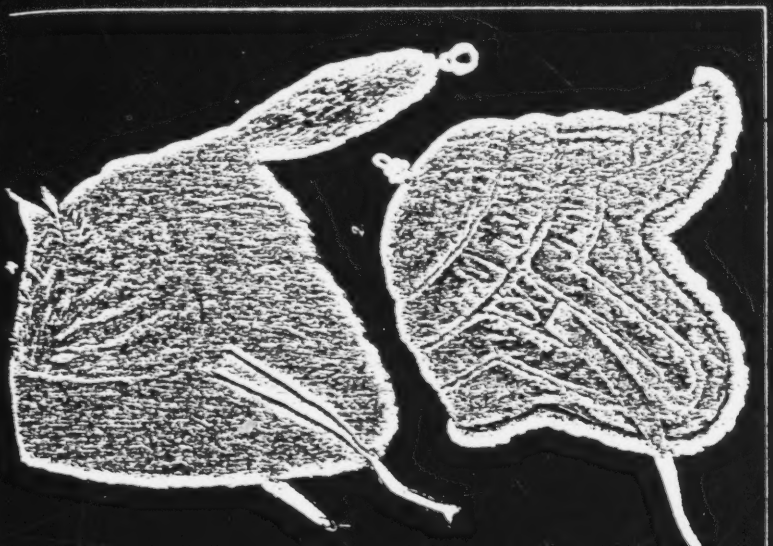

IX

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n's everyday cap; 3 -- women's elegant
me made of lynx fur with sable trimming.

/501 cont./

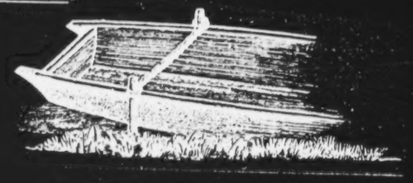

Gilyak Boat Construction

For this purpose several sticks are driven into the ground opposite one another on either side to serve as supports for the boards; around the upper end of each pair of the sticks standing opposite each other a strap or cord is looped (see the accompanying woodcut), and by a stronger or weaker tightening of it the side boards can be brought precisely into position so that their lower edges coincide with those of the bottom board. Once the boat has been tied together in this manner, its final strengthening can /502/ begin. First several crosspieces (Gilyak tschylch) are put between the side boards, connecting them with each other. One such connecting stick is found in the rear end of the boat, another in the middle, and a third just before the prow. The fastening of the side boards to the bottom board, and likewise all the other boards to one another, is done by means of wooden pegs, which, with the help of a little iron rod (Gilyak ottauwa, Pl. XXXII /see p.1017/, Fig. 7), are driven into holes made beforehand with the large drill (Gilyak lung, ibid., Fig. 6) along the edges of the boards concerned.

In passing it should be mentioned that these implements, not used merely in making boats, but also on other occasions, for example, for attaching the above-mentioned sole-mountings on the sleds, are always neatly made in Gilyak fashion and likewise provided with many decorations, the little iron rod with fine strips of inlaid copper and silver, the wooden handle of the drill with many graceful carvings. Two persons are required to

/558 cont./

1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

/559 cont./

which also bears fine silver decorations on the specimen illustrated. Sometimes used for this purpose are thin plates from Chinese buffalo horn, which for this reason the Gilyak call puntsch-ngynif, i.e., bow bones, or from the nose-piece of the Rhinoceros tichorhinus, which presumably reaches the Amur region by way of the Tungus and Yakut. The bowstring (Gilyak kich) is twisted out of fine strips of the skin or gut of the white whale. A case made out of fur or fish skin (Gilyak puntsch-chal) is used to protect the bow, especially on trips. The arrows (ku) have wooden shafts with vanes from the tail feathers of the fishing eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla) set in the lower part of two opposite sides (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Fig. 4) (4) and points of various forms,

4. By this characteristic alone they are essentially different from the simple shafts of the arrows used on the self-firer and, accordingly, have a special designation in that they are called uch, but the latter winngyr. The eagle feathers on the arrow shaft are called kyla-ngar in Gilyak; the notch at the lower end of the shaft, used for setting the arrow on the bowstring, is called korm.

depending on the animals for which they are intended. In my time among the Gilyak iron arrow points (Gilyak luch) were almost the only ones used, but there were also some of bone (Gilyak krangch), which were supposedly made of the leg bones of the musk deer in particular. Some of these iron arrow points intended for larger animals, elk, reindeer, and the like, and equipped on either side with a more or less sizable barb and in most cases also with a series of smaller barbs and notches, are illustrated on Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 1-3. The two-pronged point (kor) used on the arrows for both the bows and the self-firer for killing smaller animals, sable, otter, fox, etc., has already been discussed above. An arrow with a very special shape, called

/560 cont./

5. Putesh. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegir smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region.

The quiver (Gilyak pi) used for stowing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carved arabesques or other figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow point (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is relatively heavy and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, one holds the exceedingly light and portable quiver of the Orochi from Kaiserhafen, made solely out of animal skins (ibid., Fig. 8)(

6. It is made out of pieces of reindeer and elk leg-fur; the crossband in the middle is made of otter fur.

this in itself would show that hunting among the Gilyak, in comparison with their Tungusic neighbors, falls far behind.

I doubt very much that the Gilyak are skilled archers, though I do not have sufficient experience to be able to say anything more definite about it. The one time I saw them shooting was under conditions which would not permit drawing any conclusion as to their skill. It was at the bear festival in Tebach, when the three bears, held by chains and led about, were finally shot. The marksman in each case approached the erect animal from the right side to within about five paces. The first two bears went down with loud roars after the first shot, struck in the right lung; in one of them the arrow had penetrated to the middle of the shaft. The third marksman had struck his victim too low, in the abdomen, and therefore had to send a second arrow, which cut down the animal and caused it to die slowly.

/560 cont./

411 Among the Gilyak the thrusting weapons, bear pikes, spears, and lances, are far more popular than the bow for hunting the large animals of the forest, and they handle them /561/ much [192] more skillfully than the shooting weapon. The bear pike uni- [191] versally used among them (Gilyak lachtsch (2), Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 2) is of the same nature as among the Tungusic and other Siberian peoples -- a large, broad, single-edged, pointed blade which is attached to a sturdy wooden shaft five to six feet long. [192] The lances (Gilyak kach) (1) are of even greater length. The

1. I heard the Gilyak sometimes call the whole lance this and sometimes only the iron lance-point, just as is done in German with the word "Speer /spear/." And yet they certainly must have different designations for them, as we have seen above in the case of the harpoon and its point.

shaft is uniformly thick and does not begin to taper off toward the point until about two feet from it. The spears sitting on this shaft are two-edged, long and narrow, and along their middle line have a projecting, rounded keel gradually flattening out toward the tip. The spears used in daily life are of cruder workmanship [531] and undecorated, but there are also elegant, very neatly and finely [126] worked pieces, on which all kinds of animal figures, arabesques, and the like are inlaid in silver, copper, and brass, such as the specimens illustrated on Plate XLVI /see p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5, which I saw and acquired in Tebach (2). Such specimens, however,

2. The illustrations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

175 /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
114 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
411 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
326 "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
[10] and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence

[113] 2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the [531] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's [321]

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

/568 cont./
114 Gilyak (1).
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326
192
[293]

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008/, Fig. 1.

325 For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to
326 iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass [531] (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the [435]

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make orna- [439] ments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
325 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
189 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
194 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

531

Gilyak patterns for needlework.

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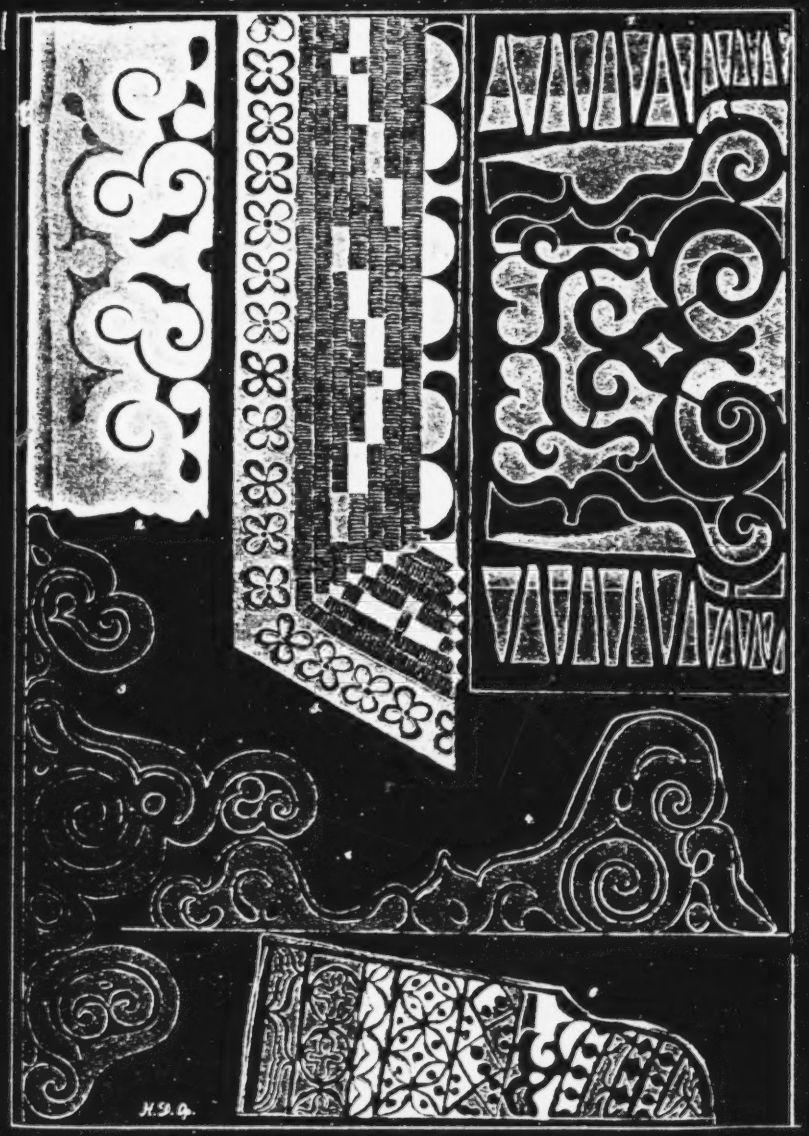

Gilyak patterns for needlework.

531
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322

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

531
824
322

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

/446 cont./

15 the two hearths to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
77 earth yurt and in the summer yurt is placed on the platform of the hearth on top of three stones. It is always of Chinese origin and is used for the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs and some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, depending on the circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part likewise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 3: matsch-wunj (i.e., small kettle) and kughi-wunj (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
12 made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5 and 6,[3] Gilyak myich and mityr) are used, and for smaller kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, Gilyak komb).
15 To prepare and serve mush-like dishes, such as the above-mentioned groats and the like, the Gilyak, according to need, use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and orong), which are quite similar in form to those out of which the dogs
531] are fed and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. I saw other
324] foodstuffs and dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
531] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls made of birch bark, whose bottoms and rims were decorated with various arabesques; they are the so-called tottangr in Gilyak (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service, so also do the vessels intended for the use of individuals as cups and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
64 served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is suf-
415 ficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachtschitsch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped in fish oil and consumed. Liquid foods, like the above-mentioned

[3] [See category 116, p. 1014 -- Analyst]

/446 cont./

264 broths, are eaten from wooden bow
415

2. Ngir means bowl in

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure,
eaten with a spoon. For the enjoy
blubber, and the like, rectangular

[104] 3. The s is soft in this
pronounced like the Fr

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also use
wooden, circular, rather shallow b
2 and 3), about a foot in diameter,
the name aam-ngir, ring bowls or
account of their round form similar
[439] ring (aam) (4). The Gilyak, howe

[192] 4. Among the Olcha th

selves, but obtain them from the G
415 with turning them. At the bear fes
numbers by the Gilyak, as well as
• 531 eating the above-mentioned kinds
796 any means /447/ implements used
these festivities, as might be concl
the complete lack of any ornament
the Gilyak use them often enough i
to these mass-produced, undecorat
all the other above-mentioned vess
Gilyak themselves always stand out
tions put on them, which, howeve
carvings which we shall discover on
322 at the bear festivals. For the manu
412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc.,
on them and on other utensils, the

ls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.

general.

more often noisily drunk than
ment of solid food, fish, meat,
shallow bowls, Gilyak es-ngir (3)

word and is to be
ench z.

d for the same purpose are
owls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs.
which among the Gilyak bear
humb-ring bowls, obviously on
to the above-mentioned thumb-
ver, do not make them them-

ey are called kota.

oldi, who occupy themselves
tivals they are used in great
by the Olcha, in particular for
of groats, though they are not by
exclusively in connection with
uded from their exotic origin and
ation and carving. I myself saw
n their everyday life. In contrast
d bowls turned by the Goldi,
els made freehandedly by the
because of all sorts of decora-
remain far behind the artistic
the implements used exclusively
facture of all the vessels pre-
for the execution of the carvings
Gilyak use, in addition to the

/469 cont./

000 1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII,
No. 2, p. 99).

276 415 (171) Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8)[1] and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is fastened to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily [237] [531] made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

276 574 The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one sees the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. [439] I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014 — Analyst]

0 cont./

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2. The illustrations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on the spot. On one of these spears (Fig. 4), among the identical figures on both sides, are to be found excellent representations of the sable as it bites into a fish, etc.

175 /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
114 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
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326 "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
[10] and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence

[113] 2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the
• [531] [321] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

/568 cont./
114 Gilyak (1).
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325 For this
326 iron (Gilyak
also used, esp
• [531] (Gilyak tussj)
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[439] ments, such a
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2: Schrenck--1026 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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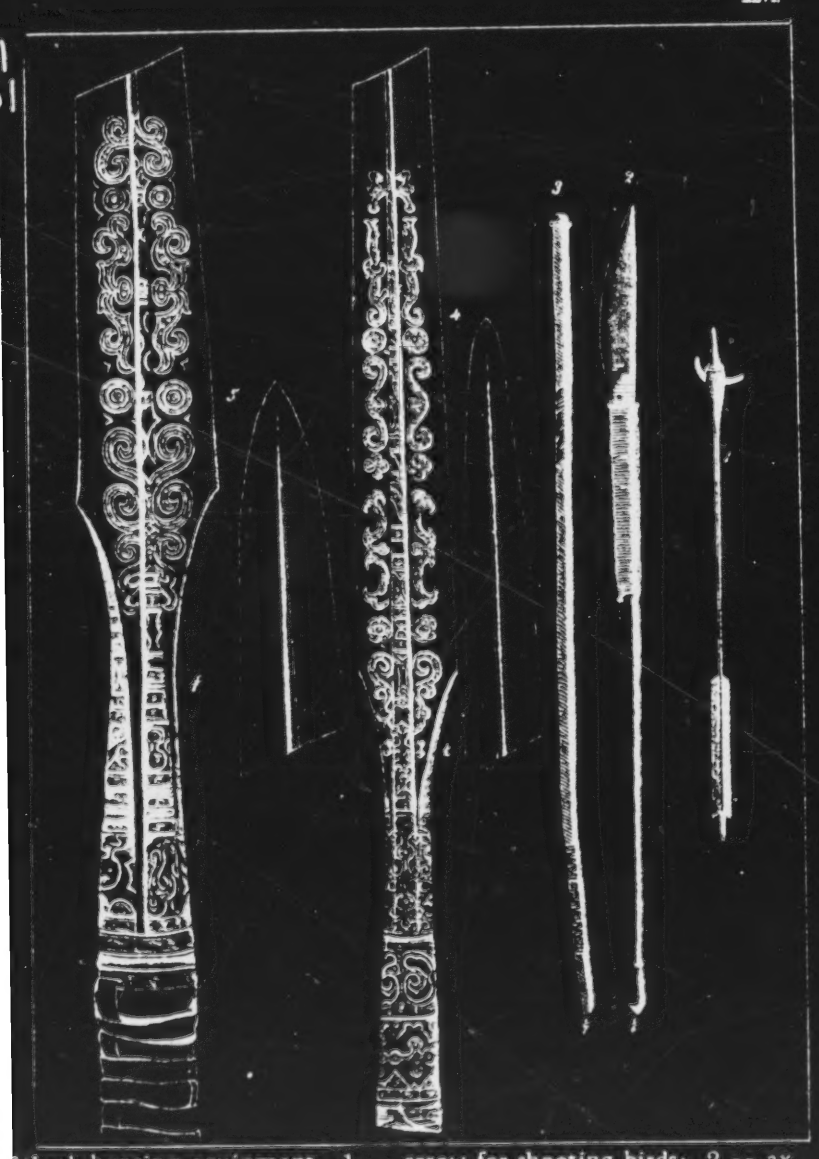

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1 -- arrow for shooting birds; 2 -- ax with long shaft; 3 -- long cudgel; 4, 5 -- spear with inlaid work.

2: Schrenck--1045 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/642 cont./
114 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the
844 villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot
768 affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kuĭk, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in childbirth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other
844 superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth.
532 Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth
782 is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254 /) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in
844 confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women
413 giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife
• [531] (Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, the

[126] 2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuĭk.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes care of it.

. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII
see p.1008, Fig. 1.

type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to
ytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are
ecially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass
and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the

. The quicksilver which they saw in my
ossession was totally new to them and
aused great surprise among them, but
hey immediately gave it the characteristic
esignation of "totta-tschach," that is,
lver-water.

nlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of
nce it is used only for this purpose or to make orna-
s rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they
nese silver above all others as the softest, because
efore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

. A few words about the use of silver and
old coins in trade, which was still almost
nknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be
id at the proper place in the next chapter.

h degree of skill that is expressed in the above-
lyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the
and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak
e, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
ement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
ing them. The only question is whether from the
m the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- summer hat made of birch bark, 3, 4 -- mittens; 5 -- ear muffs.

2: Schrenck--1000 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

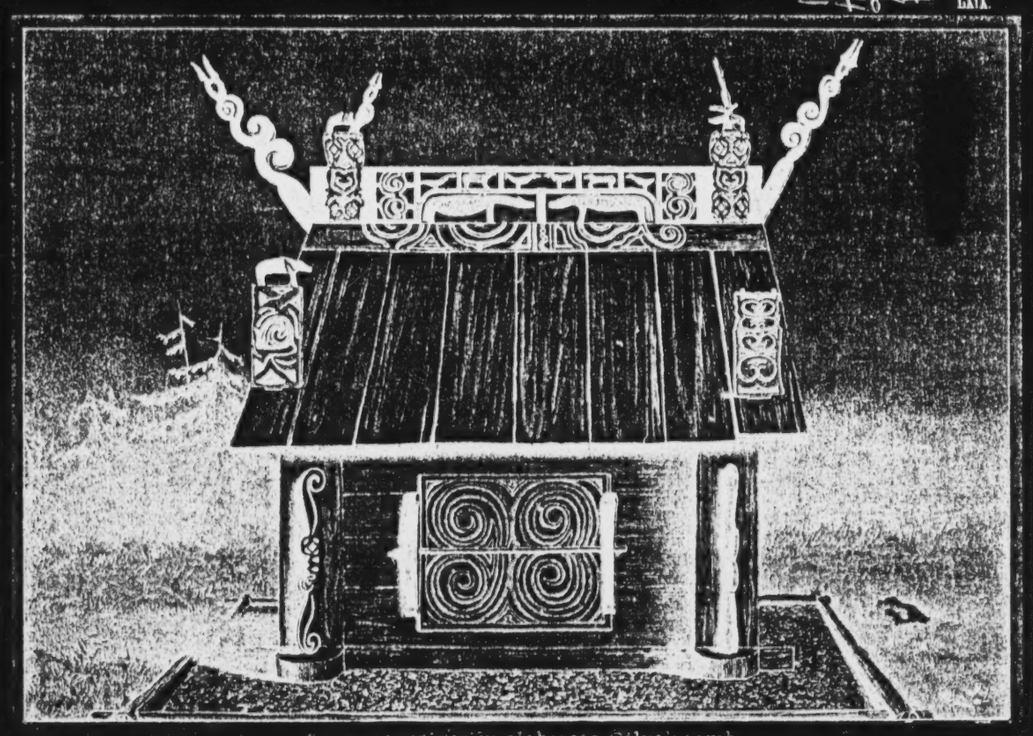

An extraordinarily elaborate Gilyak tomb.

2: Schrenck--1269 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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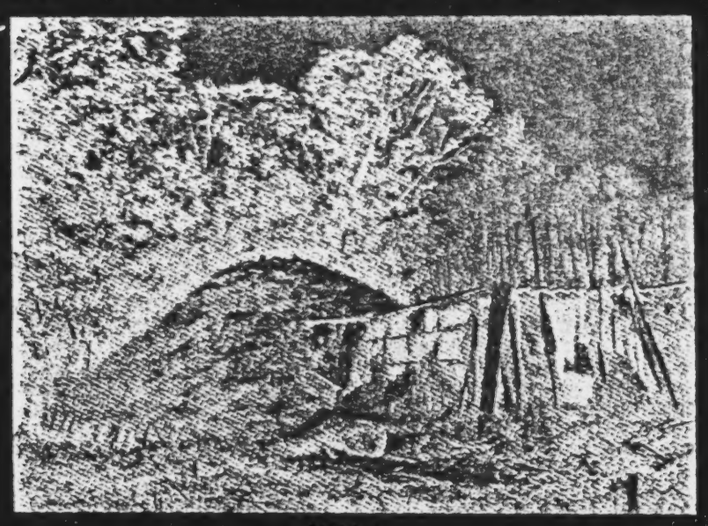

Mud hut.

342 175 the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and lay-
[171] out of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summer-time, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually sur-
[171] rounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

291 The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head
● [531] was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqués, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket consists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons. The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various necessary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc. Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are fastened with a little band at the wrist.

294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.

291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets [109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows. In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

411 instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped
piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
325 shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
411 arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
439 hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
531 small board and is usually decorated on the outside with
various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the
belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

178 Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples
411 are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are
422 very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely
439 fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China
and at present have no practical value because no one thinks
of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

58 Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried,
and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five
wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides,
there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage
requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not
consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons,
dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300
rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the
wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the
bridegroom last a rather long time, -a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so
bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons
customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are
already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon
often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use
larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotschä; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will
find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The
Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

Gilyak implements: 1, 2 -- iron pipe-cleaner, 3 -- the same made of bone; 4 -- tinder box of sturgeon skin; 5 -- the same made of seal leather; 6 -- tobacco-oil pouch.

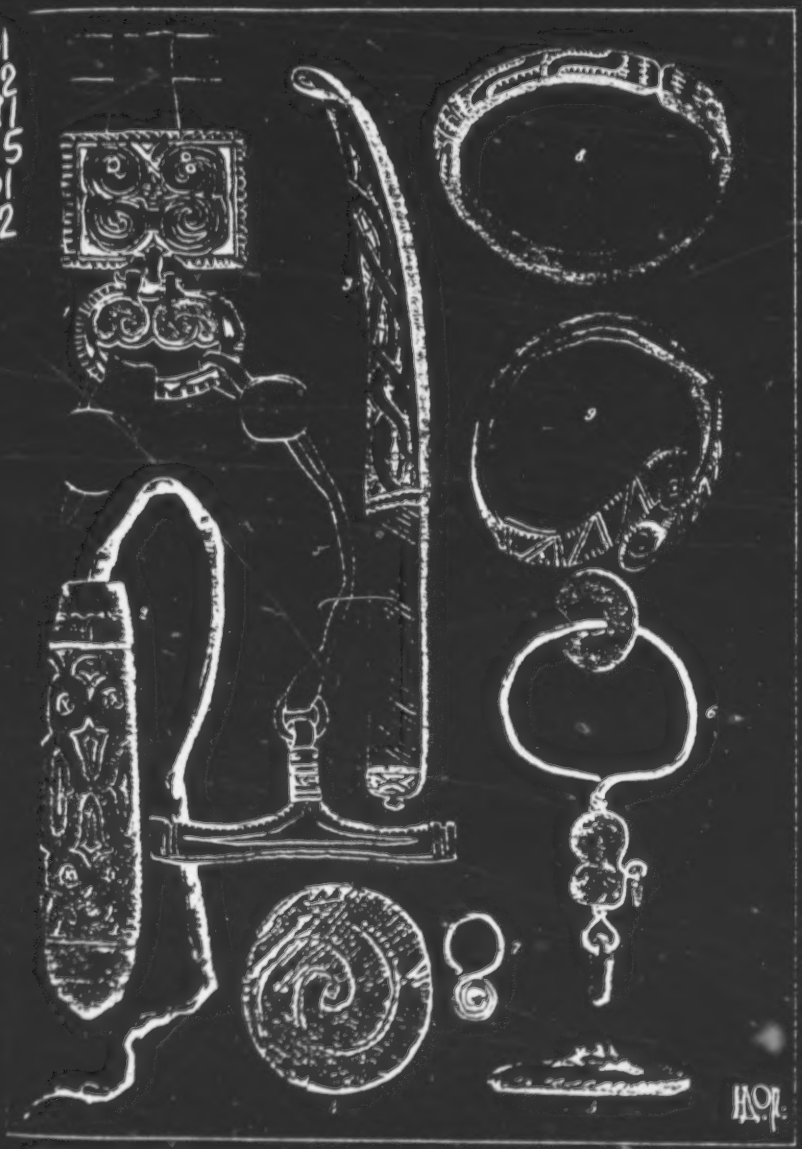

Gilyak implements: 1 -- fire steel; 2 -- needlecase; 3 -- stick for smoothing cloth; 4, 5 -- shirt button; 6 -- large earring; 7 -- small earring; 8, 9 -- bangles.

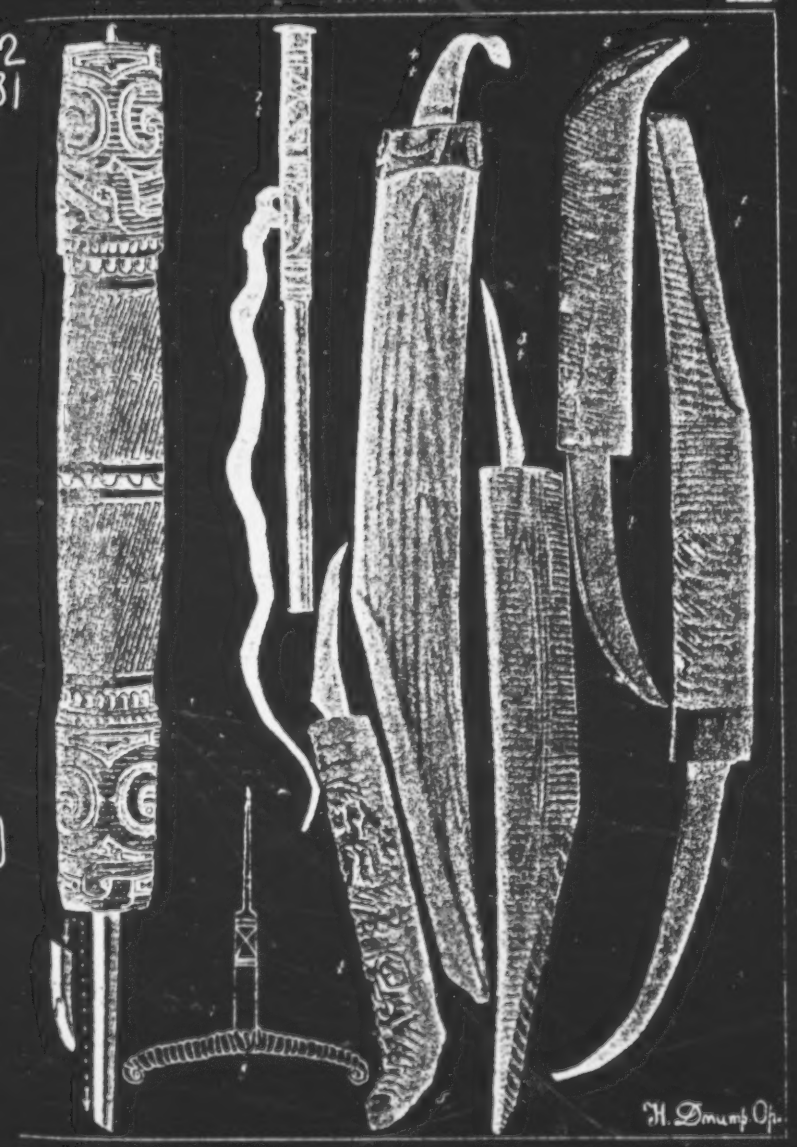

Gilyak implements: 1 -- fish knife; 2 -- knife, "tan-dshakko"; 3 -- knife for fine woodworking; 4 -- knife for hollowing; 5 -- umbilical-cord knife; 6 -- large drill; 7 -- small iron rod that goes with it; 8 -- small drill.

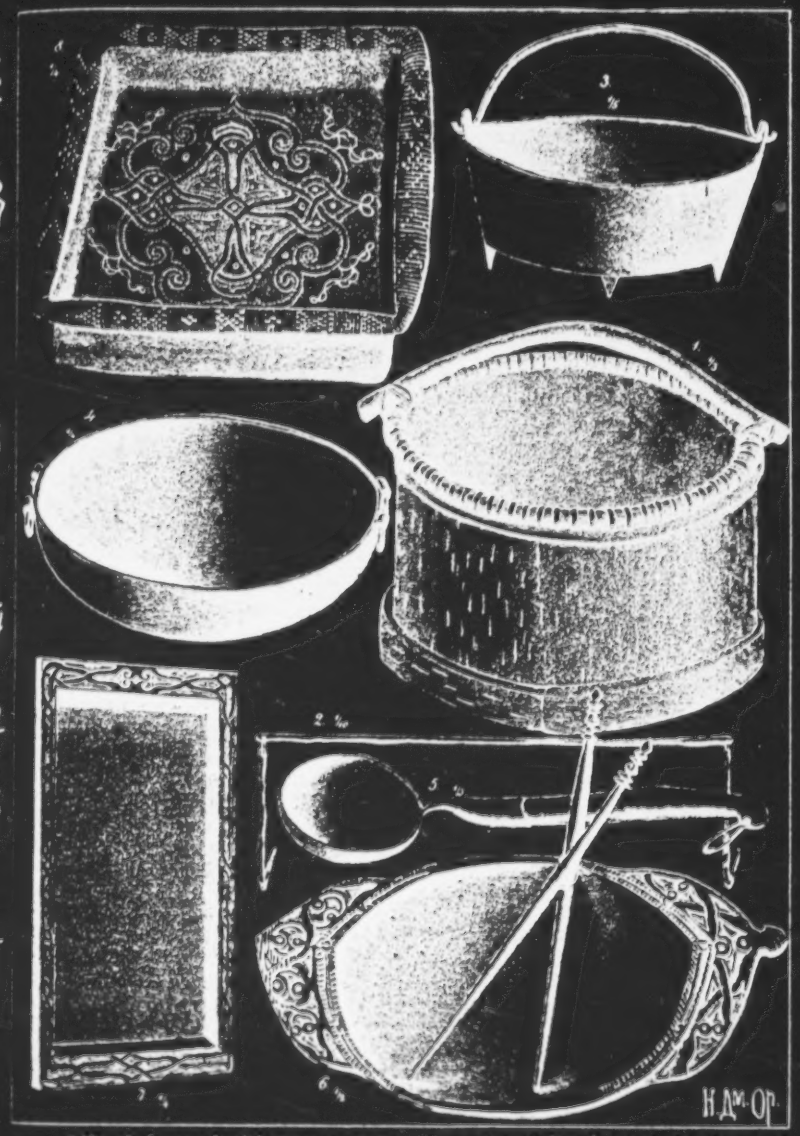

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke; 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop, 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.

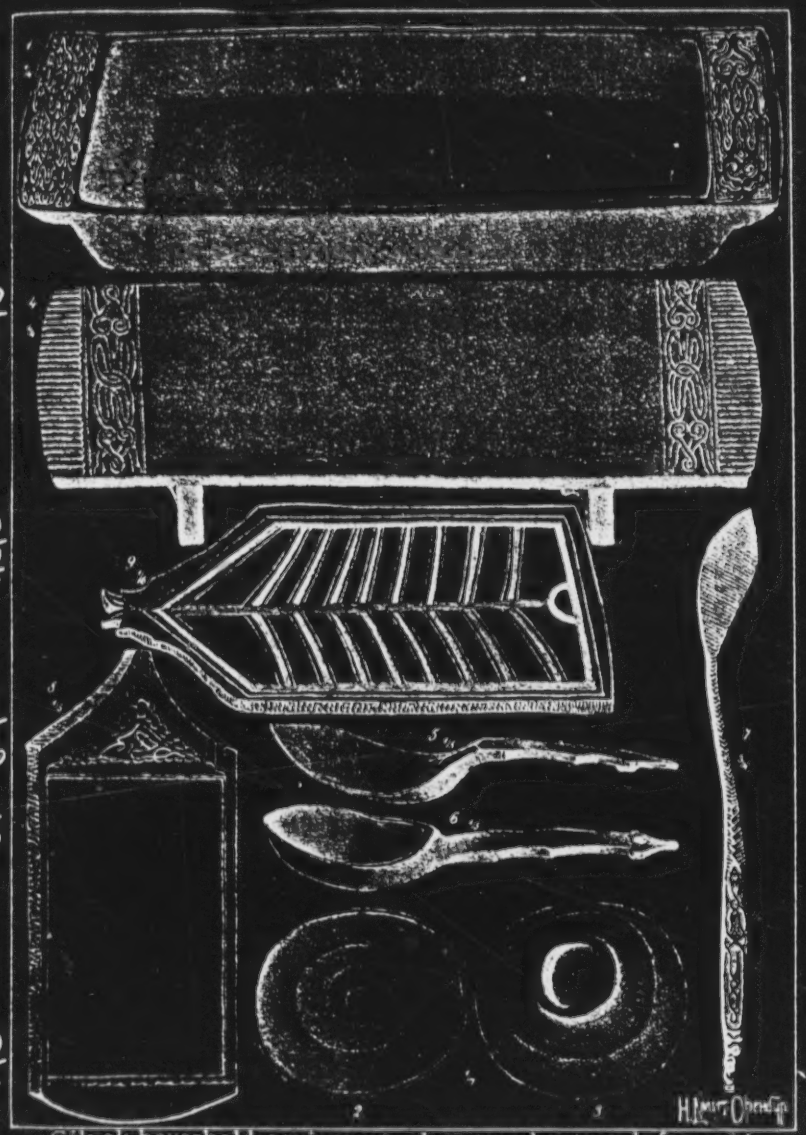

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop, 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

Gilyak hunting equipment: 1-3 -- iron arrowheads; 4 -- lower part of an arrow shaft; 5 -- thumb-ring for stretching the bow; 6-7 -- quivers; 8 -- Orochi quiver.

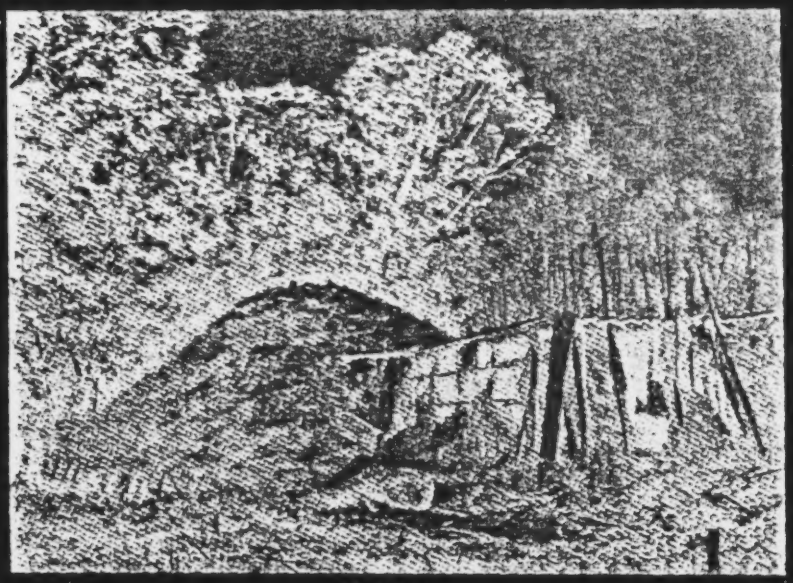

Mud hut.

the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

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Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

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oples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

ad, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burn-
e the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed
eat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The
soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lift-
as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little
rine which represented the dead.
etery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed
figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached
, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The
e, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held
the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situ-
nd. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.
of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master"
old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were
"healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil
and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had
ng spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly de-
the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any
cults.

onal poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs
ds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting
ent ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various
nena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales
ribing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi
clude the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns.
one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the
led from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.
decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood
roidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins.
ticles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birch-
nife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and
covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great
. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwell-
and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the
nays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing
utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often
and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fish-
nd birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather
smitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes
ther articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs,
articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of
hskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué
fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and
ne by men. Many women were famed for their skill and
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of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other
s, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the
as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unques-
sted by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent consid-
ransformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neo-

121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of
studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC
book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of
problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of
the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan re-
lations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I
put before the reader the material gathered in the course of
this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyak
in the village of Kul.
225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with
new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony
which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce
and of a plant locally known as (tʃkr) bogulnik and set out on
sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea
of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋəŋ-gar
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The
hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When
the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks i
the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to sub-
merge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks
of the tackle kitə (2) which go into the implements for huntin

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at
the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak
returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal throug
411 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
531 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker
called tor-tas (from tor 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix per-
taining to the implement used in the action), is made of a
bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with
a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the
lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving
which represents the snout of a seal.

ak knives: 1 -- ordinary large belt-knife (ngawta-dshakko
ected to ngawla-dshakko on p. 589, note 4/); 2 -- belt-knife
inlaid-work; 3 -- sheath for same; 4 -- knife for cutting
d, etc. (yi-dsh.); 5 -- sheath for same; 6 -- knife for cutting

Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants n the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three lays they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among he guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con- radiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor he bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its ictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender ttentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment. For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as he ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also, he circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was ot allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the ence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin- guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not fraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being, nd by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather arbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance hat during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobsen was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even hough the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is he purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river? [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest he idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further- more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to bring them destruction? In the former case one would think that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum- stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

20: Bush--99 T-2
116, 531

[LSS: Traveling on the Amur] "
before--the banks dotted with sma
admiring the taste displayed by ma
ture of their hats. They are made
outside covered with beautiful scr

(1865) 1871 Gilyak

The scenery was much the same as that of the day
ll Russian and Gilak settlements. I could not help
any of these Gilaks whom we passed in the manufac-
of birch-bark, shaped like a low, broad cone, the
oll-work figures cut from stained bark."

/715 cont./ AT This window,
after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation of a toad (Gilyak mipitsch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see the woodcut, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig. 3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

> 2. In order to be seated, the figure concerned is movable in the hip and knee joints; the clothing, of course, is only very crudely and rudimentarily realized.

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

> 3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in detail later.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the misfortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and finally, consumption. It is the scapegoat upon which the Gilyak heap all guilt and responsibility for their actions against the bear, and it is therefore not admitted into the festively decorated house, but remains /716/ outside of it stuck to the window, where it may witness its misdeeds. The bear, on the other hand, is greeted as a welcome guest by the participants at the festival and, as an equal (hence the clothing) is given a place on the bench of honor. Further proof of the correctness of this interpretation, which I can express only as a conjecture, will be given in the following. /Illustration appears here./

Immediately after the feeding of the dogs, which even on this day takes place in the house in spite of the festive decorations, the work of the day begins -- the cooking of the bear meat in the hearth concerned. This work is given to only the oldest men, the

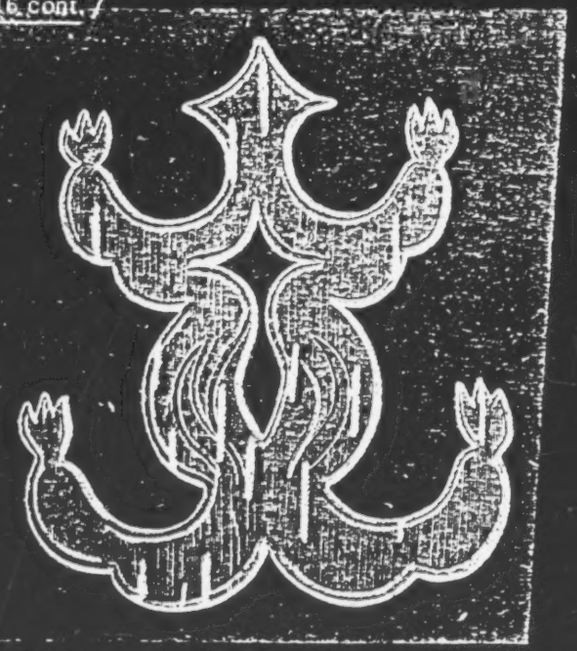

Toad made out of birch bark.

graybeards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly, deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the kettle was filled with snow for it is uïtsch to use water for cooking bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time. Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor. The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and on the other side a toad likewise executed.

The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

it of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides
ly a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so
y to lick clean the implements used in the cooking
r to the trough.

n the morning on the following day (January 28) the
d their work of cutting up and cooking the meat,
rrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the
ce beforehand with specially decorated animals
d them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was men-
Next, a number of articles were brought in from
, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached
k in colorful confusion pieces of fur and the skins
viously killed bears, the chains on which they were
e, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives
oint of attachment of the blade have a bundle of
bear's penis region around them, the so-called uïng-
Gilyak, with which it is uïtsch to cut anything other
t and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a
ely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The
t to use immediately, being filled with the broth ob-
e bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with
e spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when
rs, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed

owls called nichyry-ngir or nichyry-ngith, i.e., bear-
by the Gilyak after the bear spoons (nichyr), are always
a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about
or near the one or the other end has either a rather
shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and
er are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat
er (the same place, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat.
ese bowls especially interesting, however, is that
one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood,
both the front and the handle ends, are provided
rvings referring to the bears and the bear festival.
also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

322 /717 cont./
*796 even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
412 at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
415 museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
•532 had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Ssogin in Kuik, and
[126] came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the assertion that such a transaction would be too greatly uïtsch. If one examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate L /p. 1250/, Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252/, Figs. 3 and 5, attention is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band. Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 6, shows how, led on a chain, it defends itself against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also because it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the spiritual initiator of the whale bear festival. These bowls and spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in /718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

*796 In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
252 meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
263 floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
784 the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

/718 cont./
*796 sturgeon lying in front of the bears, and a little to one side, in
252 an unworthy place, so to speak, where they could not be seen b
the bears, the women began to prepare various dishes, such as
mosy, several kinds of groats bea.s with fish oil or seal oil, ar
the like -- work which, undertaken quite differently and in the
ordinary way, proceeded rapidly and vigorously.

*796 /719/ The morning of the following day (January 30) be
gan with putting on the bear rack the two pelves of the bears,
three carp (Cypr. carpio, Gilyak pilengat) and a portion of all
dishes prepared the day before and put in various bowls of birch
bark, whereupon an old man seated himself in front of the bears
and immediately began to eat some of the freshly prepared mos
out of two bear-bowls.

There followed the customary feeding of the dogs inside
the house and, as on the previous days, a race of decorated dog
along with drumming by the women. Next, strips of bear fat w
again hung on the étagère and then, amid the heavy incense of
branches, the internal organs of the bear were cut up and placed
[252] small bear-bowls. It seems that these parts are not cooked, but
eaten raw, like the fat.

At the same time, the women congregated in one corne
of the house around a little old woman and, out of motley rags,
began to sew together a band about ten inches long and three
inches wide -- the so-called tschudbas of the Gilyak. At sunset
*796 this band is wound around the snouts of the bears just below thei
325 eyes in order to dry the tears welling out of them. Fastened in
•532 middle of it, however, on the ridge of the snouts, there is a
324 representation of a toad, cut out of birch bark (1). I can give n
824

1. Like the one pasted on the window,
see p. 1157.

interpretation for this symbolic act in connection with what has
been said above other than the following. With the cutting up
of its internal organs, heart, liver, and the like, the bear know
that its fate is sealed and sheds tears over the evil spirit, the toa

532

2 REPRESENTATIVE ART--techniques in painting and sculpture (e.g., drawing or painting on flat surfaces, incising in relief, modeling or carving in the round); materials and implements used; subjects (e.g., still life, landscapes, human beings, abstractions); use of color; composition; appreciation of form and perspective; styles (e.g., naturalistic, idealistic, symbolic, abstract), special products (e.g., etchings, bas-reliefs, masks); specialized fields (e.g., portraiture, commercial art, religious sculpture); artists and sculptors, etc.
See also:

Commemorative statues	211	Advertising	447
Photography	215	Art supplies industry	549
Art galleries	217	Idols and images	778
Laundry art	306	Ideas about form and color	922
Paints and pigments	306		

/103 cont./

*614 791 even to his own clear advantage, but he has, as we know, an already tested expedient, with the help of which he pacifies the gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts, as in other cases, to pious deception of the gods, which offers him the opportunity both to fulfill his religious duty and to derive material

*614 628 791 gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored, and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall recount later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom, which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.

537 The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played

554 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (1).

*614 [192] [197]

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent, orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak, for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a particular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and inspires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen

• [532] ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/119 cont./

*614 554 556 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and

[537] knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator, "khlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the

• [532] Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions.

[623] In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the

[622] community in the name of the clan. Under other circumstances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

Amur

/307 cont./

765 next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the

764 dead man -- mu n'ivukh tuv. The body of the deceased is dressed in stockings, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached, on one side, a curved knife (ig:dzeko) and, on the other, kes'kes -- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mly -- a purse with a flint, tinder, and steel. Then alongside is placed a little stake, and on it a human hair (from the wife, sister, mother) -- mu n'ivukh kiur, which will serve the deceased as an insole for footwear upon going over into the world beyond the grave; next to this, a little stake with three horns (branches), on which is placed a small cup for a cuckoo (pyk nir); furthermore, a little stake with a wooden cuckoo -- mu n'ivukh pyk, i.e., "the cuckoo of the dead man," and finally still another little stake with an eagle feather -- chamngar.

The building of a little grave house can be postponed, but the dressed stuffed doll -- k:ak (1) must be made without fail.

• [532] [194]

1. K:ak -- wooden image of the deceased, a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, k:ak-raf, is erected over him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast is held.

765 In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive, drink, cry, and commemorate; they do this for a year, in some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this, then for one month, depending on status. At the end of the term of "observation" (tigr az'adz: -- "observation of the tree," the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased), they buy vodka and rice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws," and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate; this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyz'dz:, tigr pykyz'dz:).

[231] They walk to the tuv, the place of the cremation of the deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

Sakhalin

/532/

775 825 This bird (the soul of the slain man) enters the avenger of

• [532] the slain man and instills courage in him. Its image (vagn, taldhchvunga) is made out of the roots of the alder tree and placed, with the roots upward, not far from the raf over the grave of the

[518] slain person. The chldnaj of this bird must be made out of the root, and a small knife must be placed in its mouth.

775 The resurrection of the soul. The soul of the deceased will sometimes be born again. If a boy is born with a sign indicating his origin from a person who has died, he will say, even before sustained speech, words that indicate his knowledge of the past.

775 789 When he attains intelligible speech, his father puts a hat on him backwards and begins to ask him questions about the past, and then he says quietly, "Well, that is enough, forget the past," and puts the hat on him in the proper way, Then the boy forgets everything and will live for a long time. If the father does not do this, the boy will die. The procedure with the hat drives away the milk.

II.

Hunting and Fishing

224 982 Sacrifices to the sea -- Tol vyznd (fynydz:). 1. When winter sets in and there is not a single unfrozen patch of water on the surface of the sea, the men of the same khal'a (women do not participate) set out in the dark of night for the sea, a hole in the ice, and through it each of them throws wood -- "wood fire," which has been started with a piece of tinder -- to the sea. Later on, at home, they "eat," i.e., feast.

2. In summer, people who leave the shore in a rowboat throw things out of a bowl for sea offerings -- tol a ^ich: -- to the master of the sea, Tol yz ^dokh.

To Tol they always sacrifice a white dog, a white fir, everything smooth and clean; to Pal and Mif, on the other hand, everything fanciful; to Kur -- a red dog, a red cock, a bright cup, vodka.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while
[782] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[775] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
[787] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion
766 in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
274 The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
164 (Slyavo).
782

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
958 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw
753 and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/458 cont./

ODD China, for its pig-breeding. Besides the domestic pig, one also
235 finds among the Goldi the first domestic poultry, and, to be sure, primarily chickens (Goldi tscheko), which also come from the Sungari region. Maack (8) came across some in Chula on the Amur,

8. Op. cit., p. 230.

a little above Da, and I myself saw the Goldi in Chaizo on the Ussuri raising chickens just like the Chinese living beside them (9).

9. This fact, noted in my travel journal, was overlooked by me in the discussion
G [235] of domestic fowl in the first volume of this work (p. 404); on the other hand, it is
G [532] mentioned there that the hen is known by sight to the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from the Chinese and is popularly represented by them in woodcarvings and metalwork.

G 24 Finally, the Goldi also learned from the Chinese about the cultiva-
177 tion of vegetables and cereals, only the rudiments of which are understood by them. The northernmost point along the Amur River
G [103] where at the time of my journey there was still a small vegetable garden cultivated by Chinese was the village of Zjanka, as the Chinese called it, or Otza, as the Goldi called it, consisting of one Chinese house and two Goldi houses, located on an island near the mouth of the Gorin. At such places, whose number increases going upstream and up the Ussuri, the Goldi were able to learn, indeed, must have learned about a number of vegetables and cereals at first hand, and already in the vicinity of the mouth of the Ussuri, in Messur, Turme, and even /459/ more along this latter river, we saw them cultivating beans, squash, cucumbers, cabbage, onions, etc., and even maize, in their own gardens. Naturally at the same time, as the result of greater proximity to the agricultural Chinese along the Ussuri and Sungari and more active intercourse with them, the use of the cereals handled by them in trade, such as millet, barley, sorghum, wheat, etc., increased among the Goldi.

/503 cont./

396 very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together
[824] only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only
[412] with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water
[192] and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motassj), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the
[192] case of larger boats even three, pairs of car-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misgyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too,
[532] with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-boards always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surface, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-boards for protection against rot,

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226 (umyssj) running from the walls of the bag betray the entrance /520/ of the fish, the net is drawn together, and the fish is caught. Sometimes this bag net is set permanently in the river, for which two posts are driven as firmly as possible into the river bed as far apart as the diameter of the bag opening, and the net is fastened to them by means of the rings and cords on its edges on either side. A Gilyak sitting in a boat takes up his station at one of the posts and holds the signal strings in his hand so that, as soon as a fish has entered the net, he either catches it definitively and recovers it himself or he procures the help needed to do it.

The two last-mentioned nets are also used for fishing in winter, but the ice cover of the river then makes necessary a few other devices and manipulations. First of all, for each net, two holes must be made at a distance corresponding to its length, or, in the case of the bag net, to the diameter of its
226 opening. To scoop out the detached pieces of ice floating in
192 the holes the Gilyak use the hand net (Gilyak chuntulk) (1)

[227] 1. The net stretched in the hoop is called assj in Gilyak, the crosspiece in the lower part of the hoop -- lott, the long and crude handle-stick, with which the new ice that perhaps arose in the hole is sometimes broken up -- kip.

[227] illustrated on Plate XL /see p.1020/, Fig. 3. A special instru-
[532] ment is used for setting up the net under the ice: it is a long, flat, wooden staff curved slightly upward toward the tip, the so-called odn, which on the end runs out into an approximately triangular plate with two points directed toward the rear and with two eyes carved in it in a primitive manner, which bears the name odn-tschongr, i.e., odn head (see Pl. XL, Fig. 4).
226 One reaches into one of the holes in the ice with this staff and shoves it forward, close under the ice, until the tip, the odn-tschongr, comes out at the other hole. Here one of the two

/520 cont./

226 upper corners of the net, or, in the case of the bag net, one of the sections of the bag opening equipped with the rings and cords, is hooked onto the prongs of the odn-tschongr, while the other corner of the net, or the place on the bag opening diametrically opposite the first one, is fastened to a pole placed across the hole, and the rest of the net, weighted with stones at the lower edge, is let down into the water. Now the odn is withdrawn, and the corner of the net coming out with it at the other hole is fastened, like the first one, to a pole. In this fashion the net is set up, like a wall directly under the ice, between the two holes. From these also emerge the cords by which it can be raised, and, finally, to one of them run the signal cords from the wall of the net or bag, so that the presence of fish in the net must be watched for here. From the foregoing it is to be seen that the length of the odn, determined by the size of the net and the distance of the holes in the ice from each other, is very considerable. It may therefore consist of several pieces.
[532] The representation of a face on the odn-tschongr is always necessary, however, according to Gilyak belief, and very essential for success in catching sturgeon or hausen. In this connection another /521/ Gilyak superstition should be considered, one specifically referring to the catching of sturgeon
[885] and hausen with nets. It is that a cuckoo feather attached to the net will make the fishing successful -- a superstition to which I shall return later with regard to its consequences.

226 Another way of catching sturgeon and hausen among the
171 Gilyak, though far less common, is to set out fishhooks. This is the same method of fishing that is known in Siberia as saamolowy (automatic fishing) and has been described by Pallas in the various modifications with which it is practiced along the lower Obj, on the Irtysch, Jaik, and along the Volga (1).

1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. II, pp. 339, 444; Vol. III, p. 88.

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225 825 789 532 Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lych, like the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.

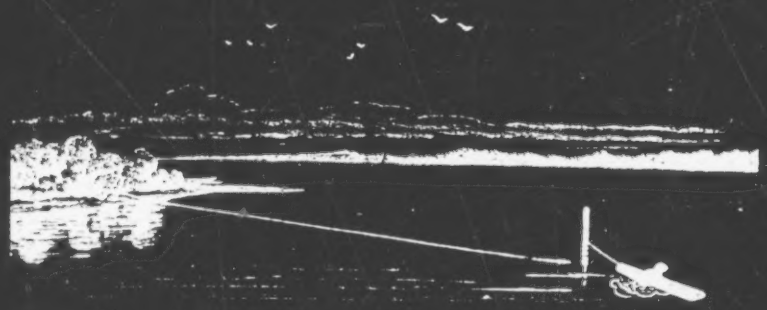

Use of the lych for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon. 225 825 Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any use is made of a slain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife, whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown into the water, and, furthermore, the snout, or, to achieve both things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put into the water. [779] The guiding thought in this is to leave the slain animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in the future. [191] The same conception is evidently the basis for the above-mentioned similar procedure of the Manegir with their slain sturgeon and hausen. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to terms with this superstition in another and less costly way. Perhaps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

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or seal-hunting, a natural explanation is found in the
ce already pointed out in the beginning, that among
ing does not by far stand in the foreground of life to
that fishing and seal-catching do.

iscussing the various kinds of arrows used by the Gilyak,
g of wild fowl was also considered above in passing.
inent remarks might in addition follow here. By far
st number of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl are
by the aforementioned knob-shaped arrows, which
le are used very little, but are caught in nets during
g season and simply beaten to death. Only incidentally,
requently, they capture birds that get their food by
the water and become entangled in the nets. Among
pay special attention to the divers. Colymbus
alis L. and C. arcticus L. (Gilyak ugn), which how-
ne, not for practical, utilitarian reasons, but out
ion, about which I shall speak later when discussing
ods of burial. The hazel grouse (Gilyak hang) and
se (Gilyak parrä, along the Tymy on Sakhalin
nga), with which the Gilyak /565/ amply supplied
yev post during the winters of 1855-1857, are caught
snares (Gilyak kusi). With regard to the white grouse,
also finds represented on amulets among the Gilyak,
n a completely unrecognizable, only symbolic fashion,
noted among them the above-mentioned superstition
the head of the animal, in that in selling this bird
ly desired to remove the head first.

the Gilyak the most important of all the birds are the
les. Haliaëtos pelagicus Pall. (Gilyak tscharngai-
d H. albicilla Bris. (Gilyak mygh-tscham, in the
Sakhalin ach-tscham). The former, however, occurs
in their territory and chiefly along the seacoast, but
on the other hand, is common and occurs throughout
and it is therefore always meant when merely the
gle) is mentioned. The benefit that the Gilyak derive
nsists in the fact that these rectrices are an important

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114 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the
844 villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I canno
768 affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the
Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village
of Kuik, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less
torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. O
the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which wil
be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the
Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after deat
had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas sus-
pected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this
would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of th
probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of cou
fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in chi
birth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of othe
844 superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth.
532 Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birt
782 is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254 /) and p
vided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in ord
to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil
spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

844 No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is i
413 confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other wom
[531] giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special kni
(Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1
the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and
which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, th

[126]

2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuik.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At th
place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the
women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, u
it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes
care of it.

/737 cont./

A 796 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube
782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage,
535 whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it
and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

500 /739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 76 24 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ŷžigy (**) and designate

G 61] * From the villages of Patcha and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

G 04] ** Wherever the author used ы and ю from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kíngulātsch, an attribute that means the
G 778 same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to
532 whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only
that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kulk (***). But they

G 61] *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo, see pp. 448, 535.

/740 cont./

771 powers always only directed against him and superior to him in
strength, and which he more or less personifies in concrete, but
771 crude representation. This feeling of his own helplessness in the
812 face of the forces hostile to him, and yet the inalienable wish to
avoid their harmful encroachment upon his life -- these causes, together with the inevitable, involuntary, and unconscious view that in the action of these powers, as in his own actions, there is a cause-and-effect, cause-and-consequence relationship, lead him to a series of conclusions through which his own acts and the action of the powers hostile to him are brought into a causal nexus
771 And this is the origin of his many-shaped superstition which gives
812 rise to customs and special performances that are intended to
pacify the evil forces or to keep them away, as well as to the per-
532 sonified representation of the evil powers in this or that crude, approximate fashion, through carving animal and human figures in wood, and to shamanism The many wooden figures of bears, lizards, toads, snakes, and even of human beings which are found among the Gilyak may have this origin and meaning. The Gilyak does not regard them as gods and does not worship them. They are only representations or intimations of hostile powers in Nature from which he seeks to escape. The fact that human figures are also found among them should not be interpreted as though they were personified representations of divine beings, such as anthropomorphism has created in more spiritual fashion in other places.
771 In the view of a primitive people, and the Gilyak, too, man stands
812 wholly and exclusively within Nature; according to their superstition he stands /741/ in a close and immediate causal relationship with the events of Nature (or evil powers), and this in itself may make the representation of a human being necessary for the performance of many a shamanistic act. The conception of God, the
[776] Good One, however, is much too vague and lacking in content among the Gilyak to make it possible to speak of any connection with it and thus also of anthropomorphic ideas and representations. But though the Gilyak do not regard this superstition and shamanism, etc. as divine service or prayer, but only as a practical act in their lives in order to escape all harm, nevertheless we are obliged to call this their religious consciousness. And thus we find a strange

/741 cont./

771 tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely
174 driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the
812 Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[124] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. I, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kāgn and tschngai (1).

[199] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped sāwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak
532 is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

/742 cont./

778 it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often
789 it is not exactly an idol, but some other kind of amulet, straps
755 knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the sick man's
532 neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery. Such an amulet is called ngif and kissj. From Judin in Tebach I
[126] obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face (see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. I, pp. 57, 58.)

778 3. Gilyak. The village of Poghobi on the west coast of
755 Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shaving
184 on a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whol bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in her chest and sat there groaning and complaining. The zach was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after she had received this medicine, the woman stopped groaning and behaved very calmly and quietly the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman. (2 W.R. I, p. 6.)

778 4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate
755 LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 4, was named for me by the Gilyak as myikr.
532 It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off
[126] sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kulk. In the same vil-
778 lage among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away
for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of
532 another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

/743 cont./

778 down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in
532 back and seem to represent hair. Below the face the hair is fastened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with loose grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols were named for me by the Allof Gilyak as tybys. The Gilyak Surgin, however, did not know this name and used the expression tyf-ýžigy, i.e., house god. This was the first time that I heard the word ýžigy used in connection with the idols of the Gilyak, and I believe that this was done only in order to make me understand. I was likewise unable to find out whether by tyf, that is, house, the yurt of the Gilyak or the little idol-house was meant. Since the latter bears the name kánigs, I must relate it to the yurt of the Gilyak, and it therefore seems that these idols mainly play the part of lares or guardians of the house. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

778 5. Gilyak. In the Gilyak village of Patt (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) I saw three idols standing outside a storage chamber,
532 human figures hewn out of blocks of wood, very similar to those
171 of the Olcha, though not with the particular expression which seems to be characteristic of all the idols of the latter. When I inquired, the Gilyak informed me that they revere these kägn like gods. In Patt, they said, they are also kept in the yurts, but not among other Gilyak. I then had the idols in the yurt showed to me: three large, wooden human-figures with old, smoky zach around their necks, as is also the custom among the Olcha, stood there on the beams of the yurt above the rear sleeping-bench. --
778 In the village of Kuik, too, I saw idols in the yurts, standing in the
532 same place as in Patt. This is a very dark spot in the yurt, con-
184 cealed from sight, and anyone who does not know that the Gilyak
[353] keep their idols there will not easily find them. Many a yurt may therefore have contained idols, while seeming to me not to have any. But many a one actually does not have any, as I discovered in Wait. -- It seems to me that /744/ the farther downstream one goes on the Amur the less esteemed or at least less obviously revered the idols are. (1 W.R. II, pp. 119, 137, note 5.)

/744 cont./

778 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in
755 Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols
532 which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII
[126] /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p. 1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body, the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

[778] All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not excepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

778 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar
532 purpose: they are the lalž and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1
751 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

/744 cont./

778 run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a
751 lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one
532 another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

778 The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang
706 figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifi-
532 cally: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the re-
[753] ports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing
[761] but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no
775 wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
766 the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
776 to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
[532] two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
[778] with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

778 I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans,
532 if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the
[751] purpose of the whole semicircle. Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

G 778 /745 cont./
532 more general meaning and to refer to amulets in general (Bm. II, pp. 30-32).

Gi 778 7. Idols in human shape among other Amur peoples. The
532 wooden idols, säwa, of the Samagir are shaped exactly like those
[184] of the Olcha and Goldi (Plate LIII /p.1253/, Figs. 6-8) and stand in the same place, propped upright on the sleeping bench along the transverse wall of the yurt, away from the door. (1 W.R. II, p. 77.)

Gi [171] 8. Goldi. The same custom as among the Gilyak, wearing
[126] idols around the neck, probably exists among all Amur peoples. Fig. 1 on Plate LIV /p. 1254/ represents such a small idol worked in lead, which I obtained from a Goldi on the Ussuri. (Bm. I, p. 58.)

9. Samagir. I found a small idol hanging in a deserted hunting-hut of the Samagir along the Gorin, and it reproduced the human figure in exactly the same manner and with the same features as the large säwa which one sees in the yurts of the Samagir, Goldi, and Olcha. The single deviation was that it bore a wooden eyelet on the head, through which a strap was drawn for the purpose of wearing it around the neck (Plate LIV /p. 1254/, Fig. 2). When this is done, my guide said, the säwa is fed by the one wearing it, in that the owner smears around its mouth a bit of everything that
Gi he himself eats. When I asked what the säwa actually is, he said that
[755] it is everything, the well-being of everyone, and thus his, my guide's, physical well-being, for example, the healing of his leg bitten by one
000 of my dogs. I could not find out anything more (2). There is

2. The guide of the author also called säwa the little stick, mentioned on p. 1113, deposited for a musk deer taken from a hunting tent on the Gorin (1 W.R. II, pp. 84, 85).

Gi There is
778 evidently connected with the säwa the idea of the prosperity and
777 well-being of man under the influence of a power outside of him
171 and superior to him. This conception may not be very different
000 from that of the Gilyak. A /746/ fact which speaks very much in

178 /746 cont. /A /746/ fact which speaks very much in
791 favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples,
171 whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

178 10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the
632 animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The
325 reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kägn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few
[171] bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kuĭk, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

[126] 2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

/746 cont./
the front side of the bear-idol, the lizard mä(t)ngai on the back side of it, and the snake kŷlanga, whose image is found on either side between the first two. I often witnessed the awe and fear of the Gilyak before reptiles (*).

* See Appendix 20, paragraph 2 /p. 1204/.

Among the Gilyak, besides the bear, one finds idols of the att or märeder, with downright superstitious fear connected with it among them. But since the tiger and leopard, which are united under the same name of att or märeder, are rarely seen in their northern homeland and casualties caused by them are rare, the idols of the att are less common than those of the bear. The slight acquaintance of the Gilyak with these predatory animals causes them to make the idols of them poorly and superficially (3).

3. See Vol. I, pp. 92-94, of this work.

see Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, Figs. 4, 5, 6. Fig. 4 represents an att idol which I found in the village of Kuĭk. It bears none of the marks which characterize the tiger and leopard and are present on the representations of these animals among the Goldi. Only the general shape is similar to those figures. /747/ But that this figure is in fact supposed to represent an att is certain, since I obtained the idols from a Gilyak expert in this. (Bm. I, pp. 59, 61.)

11. Gilyak. A fish carved out of wood, which came from the Gilyak village of Tebach, seems to serve less as an idol or amulet than as a piece of carving, as a representation, tschngai in general. It is supposed to represent the fish ngy-tscho, which is unknown to me. Even earlier I acquired from Tebach the figure of another small fish, the pilengat, Cyprinus carpio, which likewise had no significance other than that of pai (see p. 1090). Both are illustrated on Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 4, 5. Later, I obtained another carved fish from Tebach, which was supposed to represent the pak(ch?)-tscho, i.e., a large pilengat-tscho. (Bm. II, p. 32.)

/749 cont./
Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idol-images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Allof. The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the points marked with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (att) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic, see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an att head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

Finally I found here the representation of an animal reminiscent of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide snout was densely studded with teeth. The natives called it chaž, or, as an idol, chaž-kägn, but knew nothing about the animal which the figure represented, in that they had neither seen such an animal in the water or on land nor heard it mentioned in their traditions. They simply said that this

/750 cont./
figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of the ailment (Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy many idols, all different and some of them very interesting, for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 4), several human figures had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the idols is put and which is called toll-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pŏmi-tscho) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 5), as well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound around them and several clothed in bearskin stood on a shelf in the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toll-ngir. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p. 1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel was called tschobrä and was used for the same purpose. No amount of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that it was uitsch and would cause her death.

/750 cont./
Several neatly carved and interesting idols were also sold to me in the village of Patt. On one the back of the head had the shape of a heart, on another two human figures stood on a block which represented two hearts (Plate LV /p. 1255 /, Fig. 5). /751/ The heart (ngif), by the way, is very often used on such carvings (see 13 /p. 1292/ above).

Among the idols here there was one with the head of a tung or sea bear /fur seal/. The sea dog /harbor seal/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (2 S.R. I, pp. 6-9).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tschchyrkrach at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a flying fish-man. The head is similar to the head of a fish, with iron teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass-beads. The front and rear extremities are attached near the back of the neck. The former are evidently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out toward the front, the latter toward the rear, approximately on a horizontal plane with the head, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 1). C. v. Ditmar (who was in part instrumental in my obtaining the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patchä there is a legend which he was not disinclined to connect with it, since this village and the cape mentioned were not far apart.

"Once upon a time," the story goes, "the Gilyak of Patchä returned from fishing on two boats laden with fish. They were too tired to unload the fish at once and postponed the work until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark or the like. The next morning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly proved that someone had made a hearty meal of them. They therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

/751 cont./
third time and again brought back two full boats. But this time they decided to keep watch during the night in order to detect the destroyer of their catch. They succeeded and the culprit was caught. It was a strange shape with the head of a fish and human arms and legs. The monster was placed in a structure similar to the one erected for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived in this captivity for a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free it. They took it to a cape on the Amur River between the village of Patchä and Cape Tschchyrkrach and tied it there to a well. But the monster bit the rope in two and disappeared, so that when the Gilyak returned it was no longer there."

I now asked among the Gilyak what the figure represented and what its purpose was. They replied unanimously that the figure was called wagn, and they explained to me that this designated the place where the corpse of a slain Gilyak was burned (Bm. I, pp. 50, 51.)

23. Gilyak. Standing in the brush near the village of Patt (on the right bank of the Amur) there was a wagn which was for a Gilyak who had been killed by an Amgunj /Amgun/ Nägda /Negda/. The wagn was old and the eyes had fallen out, but the extremities were all there, only much less carefully /752/ worked than on the specimen acquired by me in Tschchyrkrach. The wagn reached from the ground up to my belt and was pointing with the head to where the murderer lived, that is, in the direction of the Amgunj. I do not wish to say, however, that such an arrangement was the rule among the Gilyak. (2 S. R. I, p. 8.)

24. Olcha. The Olcha assign an identical fate to those who die peacefully and those killed by human hand and erect no wagn for the latter, as do the Gilyak. According to the information of the Olcha Chossiambo the representation of the wagn is based on the bird kŏro whose appearance in any village is disastrous for its entire population. For whoever sees it must die. Such a case had happened many years before in the village of Chala, opposite Kisi (Kidsi?). The kŏro had come and perched on the tip of a larch tree (Olchä sissa, Gilyak koi), where the inhabitants of Chala saw it, and all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

/754 cont./

825 753 sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however, 755 is a shaman. He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes 756 the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch 532 carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of [787] the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-[322] mipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp. 462 1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found. [824] This is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

753 The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mā(r)ngai) are 755 similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much 825 less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalź) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the lalź bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magá. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak 554 shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

/761 cont./

000 II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

775 42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven [532] is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wagn, which [798] resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

775 43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an 533 interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained [724] a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rschyvguk, from Wair, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place [766] in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 above.)

764 /768 cont./

on the upper end of which is set a small spoon-shaped wooden bowl (Plate LXVIII /p. 1268 /, Fig. 4); moreover, there is a small stick whose point is inserted into the quills of 1-3 and four eagle-feathers, tscham-ngar (**) (ibid., Fig. 5), and

** Tcham-eagle.

a third small stick, hook-shaped at the top, tututor pyk, is carved out of a branch (ibid., Fig. 3). Also lying in the little house, usually crossed over one another, are a couple of arrows without points, variously colored rags, baskets of birch bark, wooden plates with carving, and the like. Sometimes several of the aforementioned boards are present, and they /769/ then do not occupy the middle of the little house. That is probably regulated by the number of corpses whose remains rest under the little house. (Bm. I, pp. 16, 51, 69.)

54. Gilyak. According to Surgin's explanation, a bit of [765] the skull and head hair from the remains of the cremated corpse is placed in the middle of the kakk where a wooden peg is driven in. The rags around the kakk signify garments which the dead person needs (on the journey of his soul). Also, various kinds of food, such as berries and fish, are set down for the deceased as long as the corpse is still in the yurt and later, after the cremation, for the ashes in the raff; therefore in every raff one finds all kinds of implements, baskets, and bowls of birch bark and the like, on which the food is placed. The little stick with the small bowl at the tip is to serve the dead for more quickly journeying on (therefore as a walking stick); the eagle feathers on the other stick are supposed to lend wings, as it were, to the soul. (Bm. I, p. 54.)

[532] 55. Gilyak. According to the information by Judin from Tebach, the little stick, tututor pyk (*), which one finds in the

* Pyk occasionally alternates with pyt in the author's work.

/769 cont./

764 raff next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove (tútut) or a 532 cuckoo (pyk). The former is for a man, the latter for a woman. The dove or the cuckoo is also involved with the small stick with the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as food for the bird; hence the designation tututor-ngir and tututor-ngit or pyk-ngir and pyk-ngit, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these sticks. The representation is the same for both birds, for it only most crudely 764 shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches. The word pittyssj, on the other hand, designates another item in the raff. It is a small framework of little sticks (*), on which hang berries,

* According to the appended, very cursory sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknown to me. On the tscham-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed for a deceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are supposed to [562] be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the soul, perhaps this takes into account the difference in physical strength and -- according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the difference in psychic energy of the two sexes. The tututor pyk is supposed to have almost the same purpose as the tscham-ngar, which is very probable on the basis of the explanation given by Judin concerning these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

764 56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the right bank 184 of the Amur) a newly erected raff stood very close to the bank and close to it a pittyssj, i.e., a storage chamber for the raff, which is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consists of a small roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dovecot. Its roof is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pittyssj, berries, fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

764 In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I found an ex-184 tremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimrkan, had erected 556 in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his daughter. On the outside it was provided with carvings and arabesques of various kinds. The /770/ carvings, painted black, red, and white,

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

2: Schrenck--1259 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3

Idols in animal form: 1--tiger (Goldi); 2, 3--leopard (Goldi); 4--seal (Olcha); 5--unidentified animal, a human heart in its mouth (Olcha amulet); 6--white whale (Gilyak); 7, 8--toad (Gilyak); 9--"chas" of the Gilyak.

2:Schrenck--1260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
LX

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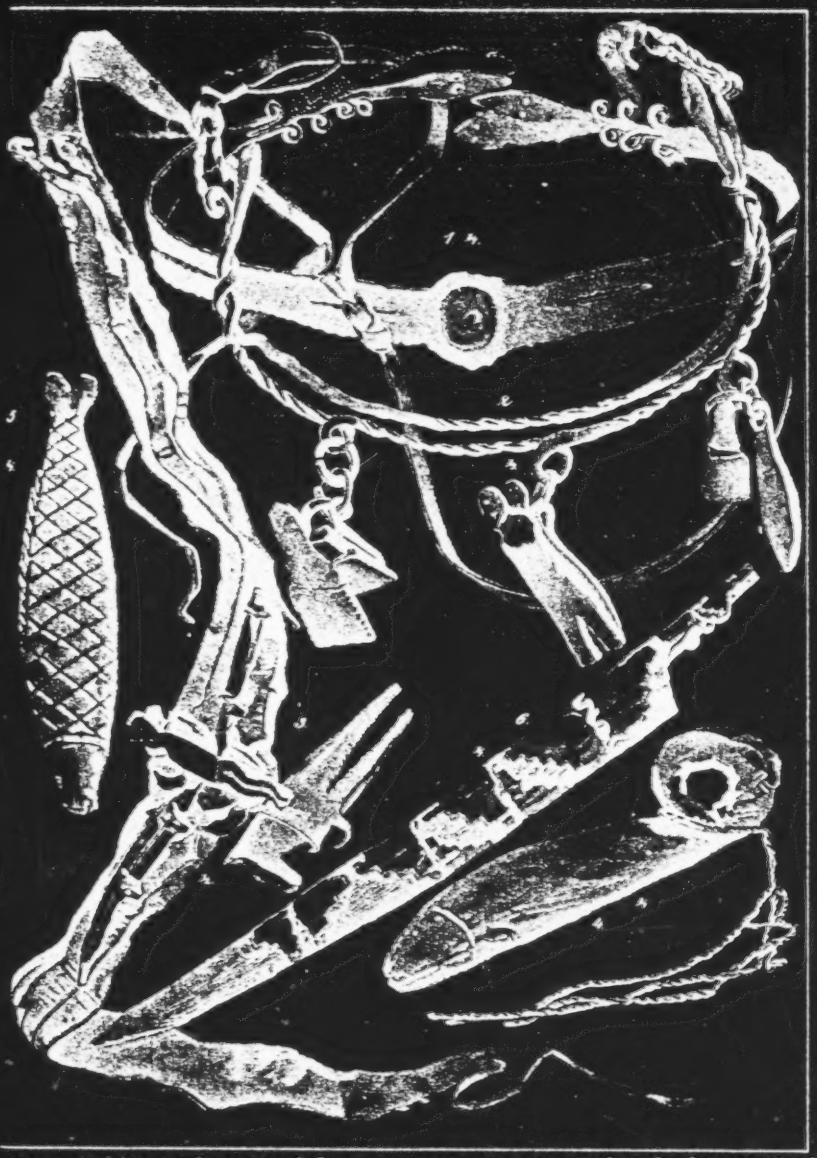

1. Iron circlet with animal figures, worn to prevent headaches (Gilyak). 2. Iron semicircle with symbolic figures, worn around the neck to prevent sickness (Gilyak). 3. Amulet-belt with human and animal figures (Olcha). 4, 5. Fish carved out of wood (Gilyak). 6. Gilyak child's toy representing a dog.

2: Schrenck--1266 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

766 [412] [532] [415]

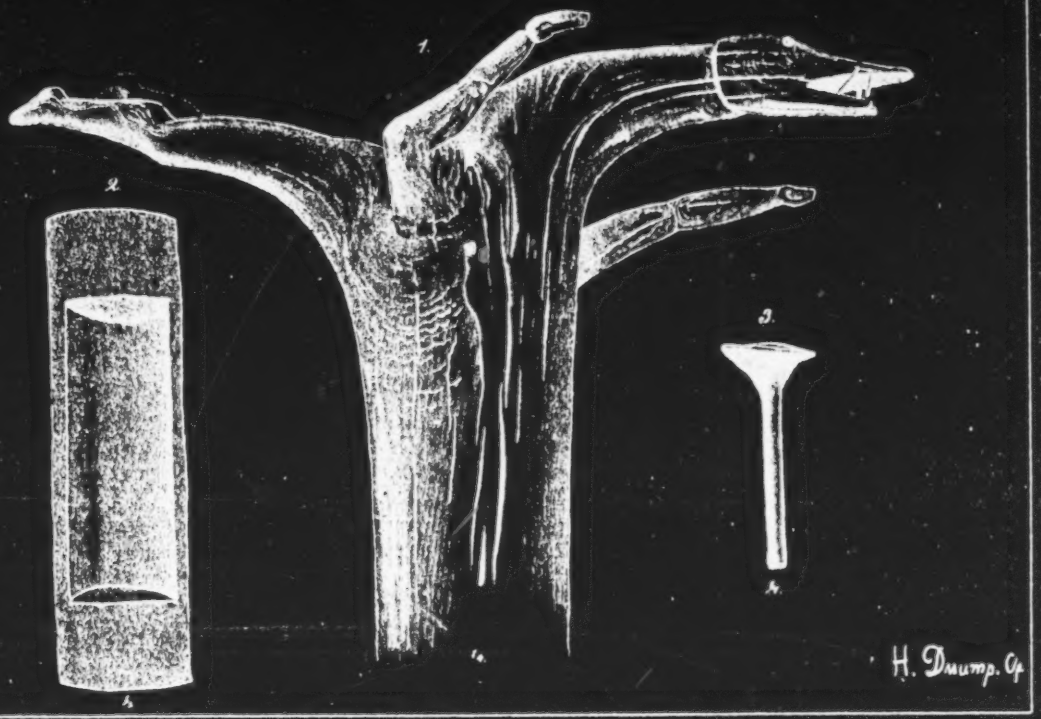

1. Grave marker of a murdered Gilyak. 2. Small wooden trough, along with 3, a pestle, from the tomb of a drowned Olcha.

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1--bowl for
size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting
for splitting the bear's skull; 6--s

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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collecting bear fat (reduced in
bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax
poon.

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FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

/771 cont./

880 years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse
766 of a person killed by an att (tiger and leopard) is taken to a simi-
778 [262] lar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a
[755] remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

764 59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk,
184 and Tschilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their corpses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for
[162] them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R.I, p. 8.)

[778] 60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood shavings (zach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

766 61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise
778 (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes
532 in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (**). It is made out of a

** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-knobbles serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

/771 cont./

766 wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the roots,
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† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p. 1266 /, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /772/ and, with the pointed end, is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn,
[674] projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgho, Tebach, and elsewhere.

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn. Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The same is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wagn is set up.

778 The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after the
532 ugn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by the
825 Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wagn. Such stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septentr. are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head of the ugn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

[628] [627] 1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect, is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

G /772 cont./

778 1. (cont.)
532 members of a village -- or -- as in the case
825 of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.
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Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does
766 not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the
775 wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

G 62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin)
764 told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes
184 of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)
778

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo
G 764 (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like-
184 wise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tututngit in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tschant-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

G- 64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of
[784] Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak
[171] are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 28).

G-i 65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of
764 Bogorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pulji (Pulu
531 on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

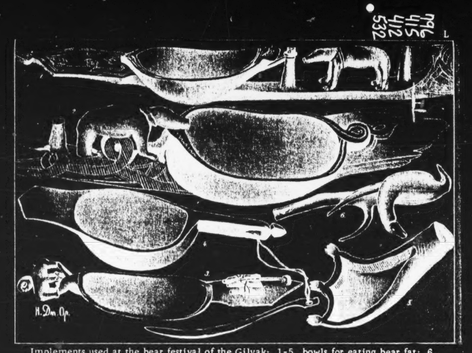

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

The Nivkhi 781

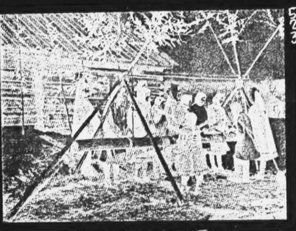

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi
and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the
ear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers
ere often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved
ith pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given
ear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they
ndicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt
r reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so
orth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a
primitive one-string instrument (t'yugrygg) and a lip jew's-harp (kanggyh,
during the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an
ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolu-
ion. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary,
Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two
there were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds.
Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the
Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, be-
came the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized
o fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted
several years.

116, 532

"Dr. Laufer, a member of the recent Jesup Expedition, despatched from Washington, U.S.A., and the greatest [195] authority on the art of the Amur tribes, has declared of the Gilyaks and Golds that their art is lacking in realistic representations. Their purely decorative work—and he excludes from this all wooden objects, animals, etc., carved as charms or toys—he alleges, is confined to copies of Chinese representations of animals which these natives have never seen, such, for instance, as the cook, the tortoise, and the mythical phoenix. It is interesting in this connexion to note that in this particular hut in the village of Kamavo, I found several carvings on the timbers of the wall of the hut of bears, as well as other crude mural decorations of a chess-board pattern. Perhaps these may be regarded as the exception which proves the rule."

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
775 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
777 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

533

/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
504 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[782] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
264 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
532 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts
[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of de-
parture of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed
[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/680 cont./Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I
myself, or more often my men, put a stop to it. The Gilyak, however, are perfectly accustomed to this disturbance of the night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. It is the same among the other natives of the lower Amur region, Olcha, Samagir, Goldi (1), only among them the call of ga urging

1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but when he once asked them to repeat their songs in the evening by the fire, they explained unanimously and with a sort of religious awe that it was sinful to sing at night (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Histor. Bericht /Journey around the World, Historical Report/, Vol. II, p. 354). Perhaps the Russians taught them this so as not to be disturbed during their night's rest.

the continuation of the song is replaced by a nasal kā, kā (2).

2. Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/," Zap., Sibirsk. Otd. Georg. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 29) relates that an Ainu in the village of Tschikapergunai, after drinking sake, had begun to sing a song, an improvisation about his voyage. As soon as he stopped, all the Ainu called out in unison the words kā, kā, i.e., more, more, in order to make him keep on singing, and so it went on endlessly. Hooper (Ten months among the Tents of the Tuski, London, 1853, p. 137) similarly reports that the Chukchee, as spectators at such performances as dancing, imitations of the Eskimo, etc., which take place among them, express their approval with the words kahi kahi, which means the same as da capo.

/680 cont./

513 On the whole, it is surprising how often and readily the Gilyak,
171 or Olcha, etc., interrupts his night's sleep even apart from the nocturnal singing, he abandons his bed as soon as sleep leaves his eyelids, gets up, squats in front of the hearth, stirs up the fire in it or on it, smokes one pipe after another, etc. But I never
[123] saw him, day or night, pace back and forth in the yurt, and whenever I did it, which was not infrequent on stormy days which permitted no activity in the open, this walking back and forth, inexplicable to them, evoked general amazement and smiles among those present, indeed, sometimes a direct question as to the purpose of it.

533 Since I rarely heard the Gilyak sing in the daytime, for the reasons given above, a statement by Middendorff about this, which I found among his handwritten notes left for me to use, is all the more interesting to me. My predecessor in the northern Amur region (3) became acquainted with the Gilyak at the Tugur

3. It is well known that Middendorff crossed the northern river system of the Amur from the mouth of the Tugur and via the Amgunj /Amgun/, the Bureja /Bureya/, and Dseja /Zeya/ to Ustj-Strelka, at the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and Argunj /Argun/ to the Amur (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615-625).

and Ulbanj Bays, that is to say, at their extreme northwestern boundary, to which he had come in the company of some Yakut and Tungus. Through the latter his attention was called to the fact that there were some accomplished singers among the inhabitants of the place, and he requested them to exhibit their art. At first they refused; then one sang for a while, but soon, perhaps becoming embarrassed, he broke into laughter, whereupon all the others followed him. Now each one had to step forward in turn. In general they sang with far more melody than the Yakut, but gutteral and /681/ nasal trills also always played an important

/681 cont./

533 part. In pithy and drastic language, after a statement about the music concerned, Middendorff characterizes the style of singing of the individual singers. "First, the Gilyak Lamran stepped forward. He had a pleasant voice and truly a great deal of skill. During the singing one could hear only a few words besides anga -- ynga, and it seems as though these words, used as an introduction and refrain with each song, had no meaning, but simply belonged to the singing. Here are the notes:

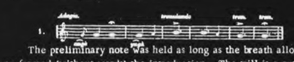

The preliminary note was held as long as the breath allowed and formed (without words) the introduction. The trill is a gutteral trill and is likewise held a long time. Since Lamran held a very pure note and also had an acceptable vibrant gutteral trill, this slow style was very pleasant, but not a little melancholy.

The second singer was the Gilyak Dsheien, and his melody the following:

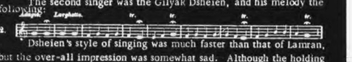

Dsheien's style of singing was much faster than that of Lamran, but the over-all impression was somewhat sad. Although the holding
[194] of the gutteral trills was also the most important thing for him, a special virtuosity was added: in holding the note, he suddenly acted as if he were losing his breath and as if someone were choking him, so that one became quite fearful and afraid that he would suffocate, but then the word begun came out quite clearly. Moreover, in between there was a sort of belching and sobbing, during which only the beginning of the word was pronounced, as by a stutterer, for example, ań --- ańga then the loss of breath and the sobbing and belching fol-

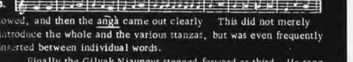

owed, and then the ańga came out clearly. This did not merely introduce the whole and the various stanzas, but was even frequently inserted between individual words.

Finally the Gilyak Njaungur stepped forward as third. He sang as follows; /see No. 3 above/

/681 cont.

533 Njaungur showed special virtuosity in singing; even the melody was much more varied than the previous ones; in addition, however, he, too, produced the stuttering, the loss of voice, strangulation and the stopping of the gutteral sounds, besides the subsequent belching out /682/ of the words like greater skill, and, moreover, besides the sobbing gutteral trill, he also made a falsetto nasal trill. In his case the trills, and especially the latter, reminded one vividly of the vibrating sound of the jew's-harp. These trills require a great deal of practice, and it is impossible for us to hold them so long and to produce them so clearly. It is also interesting physiologically that in producing these trills the soft palate plays an important role."

Middendorff continues: "From all these songs the differences caused by the individuality of the singers became clear: whereas Lamran, with a good voice and a clear trill, had in his way a melancholy, pleasant, and grave style of singing, the other two singers were like our artistic virtuosos who play violin variations on the cello. Along with the singing it must also be kept in
[194] mind that the Gilyak language, and thus also the ańga, sounds as though the nose had a chicken wishbone clamped on it; in addition there is the childish pronunciation of the r, which sounds as though it were midway between the r, g, and l and which is connected with d, g, and b, and, furthermore, the French ñ, the English th and w, the g combined with d, etc."

Middendorff also noted down the words of the last two songs,
114 but unfortunately I must disregard them here since they cannot be
533 even approximately deciphered. And this should not surprise one, for, in view of the traveler's very short sojourn among the Gilyak, the many and very peculiar sounds of their language must have sounded most strange and bewildering to his ear, which was as yet wholly unaccustomed to them. And there is also the circumstance, making comprehension more difficult to so great a degree, that the singer has the greatest freedom to change and to modulate the words as he pleases to make them fit his rhythm and melody -- a freedom which he does not give up as a rule even in repeating the words, because they were once impressed upon his memory this way during the singing. Hence it is more than doubtful that an interpreter, of

/682 cont./

533 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among
114 the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song; instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also
[126] the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under the title of Waighytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only

1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list; see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p. 41 /this appendix is not included in the book translated here/.

on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection with the /683/ place Mlygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two
[439] musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, accordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood, and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining attached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

/683 cont./

534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

517 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the
533 sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw
534 forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

534

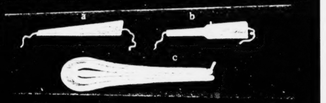

Gilyak jew's-harps.

517 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy.
533 And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.
534

/684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar
534 to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak
[824] tyngrsch, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-
[825] casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax for splitting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

2: Schrenck--1252 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

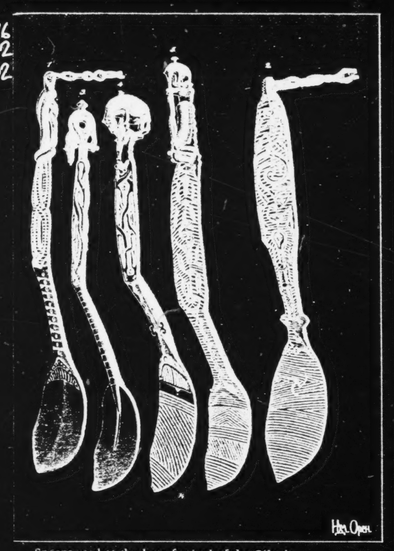

Spoons used at the bear festival of the Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1253 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3

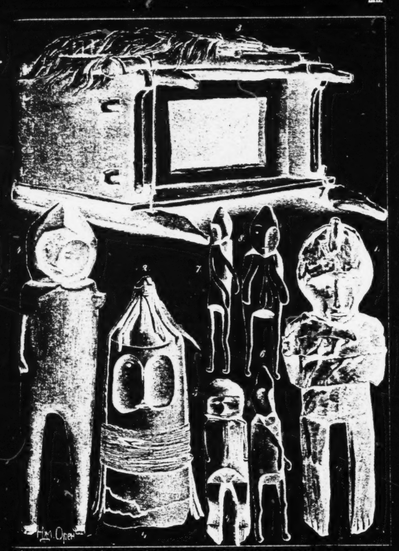

Idols in simple human form. 1,2--Gilyak house idols. 3. Dwelling of the idols. Fig. 2 (reduced). 4. One-armed Gilyak idol. 5. Gilyak neck-idol. 6-8. House idols of the Goldi (reduced).

2: Schrenck--1254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3

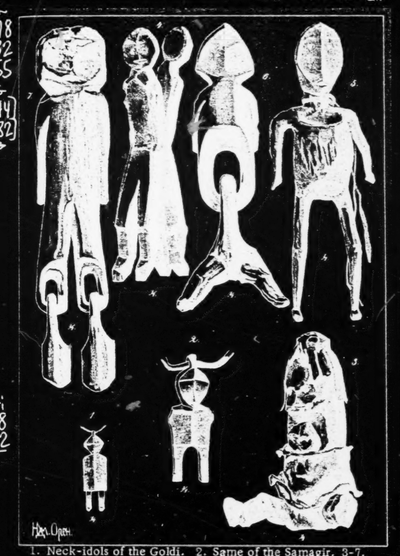

1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

1: Shternberg--246 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/164 cont./

582 614 marriage is that with the daughter of the mother's brother. "Pfandfukh an'g:ej gen urdra" -- "from the clan of your 'pandf' (see above), from the clan from which you originated (were born), i.e., from the clan from which your mother came, you [533] should take a wife," runs the Gilyak maxim. "I miss the house of my mother's brother" -- such is the motif of the contemporary Gilyak song. And statistics prove the degree to which these principles play a role in reality. From the very first days of my statistical census, when I was not yet conversant with all the subtleties of the kinship nomenclature, I was astounded that in each clan there were so many kinsmen's wives who were taken from one and the same clan, who called each other, according to the generation of the husband, sisters and aunts, and who actually seemed to be such. It was necessary to record many Gilyak who were married several times, and most often their wives turned out to be from one and the same clan, specifically, from the clan of the husband's mother. One of my companions on my journeys, Isayka, had been married three times, and always to wives from the very same clan. And in the majority of cases, it turned out that the husbands and wives were not only cognate cousins, but were corresponding children of own sisters and brothers.

582 171 The preference shown for this form of marriage even today is always the result of the religious imperative; we have seen above that only such a marriage is considered "pure." As to the role of this form of marriage among the Gilyak, one may express it in the same words that have been used to describe the same phenomenon among the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpûras in central India. In these tribes, "marriage between cousins is almost /165/ compulsory when a brother has a daughter and his sister a son" (1).

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 154.

1: Shternberg--274 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/184 cont./

*835 183 587 768 [614] levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is given, according to the decision of the clan council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

684 *835 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust. [796] In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in [825] beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the [762] same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging ● [533] of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

1: Shternberg--367 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/251 cont./

831 [192] words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych, n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

831 882 593 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the [684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many ● [533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous sufferings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances [835] going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in [762] the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to 584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly 593 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

1: Shternberg--368 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/251 cont./

584 593 childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an unloved man. But these are exceptional cases

831 In its content, love among the Gilyak does not differ in any way from love in civilized society. Coarse sexuality is completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive people we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil lover's sorrow to the stormiest outbursts of heroic passion, which neither halts before any obstacle /252/ nor shrinks before a manly resolution to part with one's life.

831 ● 533 These psychics of the Gilyak are very well reflected in love songs, especially in the songs of women.

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching images and forms. "Night and day do I think of thee... As on my own mother do I gaze...If thou leavest me, only of thee shall I think, where thou didst walk, there shall I walk. From the well whence we both did drink, thy dark shadow shall I drink. As of many trees the tallest one doth most greatly please, so of all men art thou most beautiful and best. O, take me with thee, I would be the wallet and flint that hang from thy belt. I shall be the bottom of thy boat, with thee would I be. My left tear flows and falls like rain, the calf of my right leg fails me, it has become immovable, wholly dry have I become, my legs do not move" -- with such expressions, taken at random from various Gilyak songs, a woman expresses her love. But it is noteworthy that the same sentimental notes sound in the songs of the men, and the references to left and right tears pattering like rain, to the knee, the same grief over separation, the same sweet dreams of reunion, are just as frequent. One finds such emotional expressions as "I have loved thee wholly, all of thee"... Only rarely does clumsy vulgar (from our point of view) crudity creep in, for example, "Of a fat thigh the joint (the calves) spins(twitches), that is how I like it." But never any cynicism.

1: Shternberg--369 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/252 cont./

831 ● 533 The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

831 584 593 762 An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides 831 58 frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary 593 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save 762 herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself. [847] There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had 831 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. 58 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with 159 the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the [682] husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

2: Schrenck--1165 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

76 /721 cont./
94 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
94 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
42 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
42 gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
53 pated in the meal; indeed, even the women and children re-
55 ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among
5 the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

04) 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call môps (1).

14) 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of 97 punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once 33 outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated, for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
4) ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

2: Schrenck--1212 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

756 /754 cont./ such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak
55 Räppun in Tebach, about whom the following miracle is reported.
55 His hands are tied to his back by straps, and his throat is likewise
789 strangled by a strap. Then he sits down on the floor of the yurt, in which the light and the hearth fire are extinguished. As soon ● [533] as it is dark, he begins singing, which, in shaman fashion, is performed with long prolongations, monotonously frequent repetition and transposition of the same words, and with a trembling, wailing voice. After this the shaman falls down as if dead. /755/ Now all those present in the yurt, men, women, and children, begin a song that serves to conjure up a kägn.

During this conjuration a kägn appears, invisible to everybody [787] except the shaman, loosens the straps on his neck and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

The shaman Chorvin from Tschcharbach is less powerful, but he is only a boy, a matscherlagu-tscham. Nevertheless, he, too, does miraculous things. Thus the Gilyak say that he sits down in the yurt with his hands tied to his back, the fires are [787] extinguished, and all the onlookers begin a shamanistic song, in which the kägn is called upon to come and to dance, and in fact, while the singing is still going on, a small kägn hardly larger than a nail comes and dances on his arms. As soon as the singing ceases, the boy shaman stands there unfettered.

Each shaman has his own songs; I could not find out what they 756 mean and whether they are also sung on definite occasions. It 533 seems certain that every shamanistic song serves for conjuring up a 787 kägn who is supposed to appear and to lend assistance, be it for curing a sickness or for divulging the future, etc. It also seems that, according to the conception of the Gilyak, the kägn always produces his effect while dancing, a conception that may be connected with the practice of dancing on the part of the shaman himself. In the aforementioned shamanistic songs the kägn is expressly invited to dance (lärta). But the appearance and the dancing of the kägn are never visible to anyone in the yurt other than only the shaman, and this is precisely the mark and proof of his higher power and supernatural strength. (Bm. II, pp. 47, 48.)

2: Schrenck--1213 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/755 cont./

756 31. Gilyak. The Gilyak Jutschin from Patchä gave me a [124] minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. His report corresponded to the shamanistic performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center 756 of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman 787 is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around 789 his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word tfwyssj, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt -- it emanates from one or several kägn who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kägn, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs berries, or elk fat or a root, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kägn answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative; finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/756/ Now the kägn, during constant noise, approach the shaman lying bound and noisily dance on him. The shaman breathes his last, audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the ● [533] Gilyak sitting in the yurt begin the conjuration song of the kägn; but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kägn is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (the name in question) sing? Should that one (so-and-so) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The [533] song which the Gilyak begin to sing after the death of the shaman runs: "Restore to life soon, come soon, why hesitate? Come soon, dance soon!"

This song moves the kägn to dance noisily again down from the shaman. Once more one hears him heave a deep sigh -- this time breathing in life anew -- and now he stands there freed

2: Schrenck--1222 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/761 cont./

000 II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

775 42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven [532] is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wagn, which [998] resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

775 43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an 533 interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained ● 533 a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung [124] by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rschyvguk, from Wair, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place [766] in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 Above.)

6: Kreinovich--3 E-5 (1931) 1935 Gilyak

225 The sketches do not include all the details of the beluga hunt. Mytka's account, dictated to me on June 29, 1931, in the village Puir, supplements the sketches. We give here a faithful translation of his account.

"During the ebb tide the belugas head inshore. After the tide receded, he gathered his friends (and said): 'Let us go after it (in the sea).' We went in pursuit. When the beluga headed out to the fairway we chased it back to a shallow. When it could not go any further the man at the prow who held a harpoon got ready and waited for it (the beluga) to appear (to come up). When it broke the surface, he lanced it. Then he threw the float. We let the beluga drag the float. When it got tired we approached it and lanced it a second time. Then we came close to it and hauled it to the side of the boat. We hooked the beluga and hauled it (out of the water). Then he hit it with a lance (that is, pierced it) (2)

2. The Gilyaks kill the beluga by lancing it in the area of the respiratory orifice.

When we killed it we tied a rope to it and hauled it ashore. 225 While we were hauling it, the old woman came down to the ● 533 shore and began striking the board with a stick. (3) When we 824 182

3. Only in Puir do they welcome the caught beluga by such music. I have not observed this custom in any other village.

brought it (to the shore), we came up to the shore prow first. (4) Having untied the beluga, we hauled it to the shore

4. Usually the Gilyaks come up to the shore stern first, but when they bring a beluga, they come prow first.

[112] and pulled it out. We put the board on which the woman was beating under the head of the dolphin. The old men sent the youths to gather dozgon grass and piskar plant. (1) Then we

1. The Amur Gilyaks "feed" the plant piskar to all captured sea-animals such as sea-lions, seals, and belugas. They put this plant in the mouth of the killed animal (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel

2: Schrenck--1250 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

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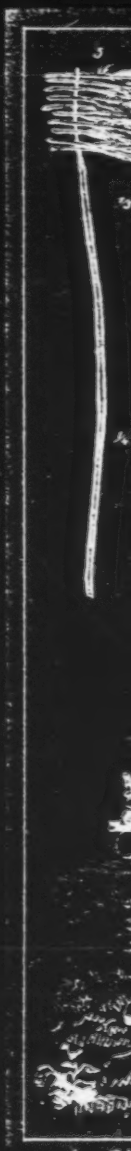

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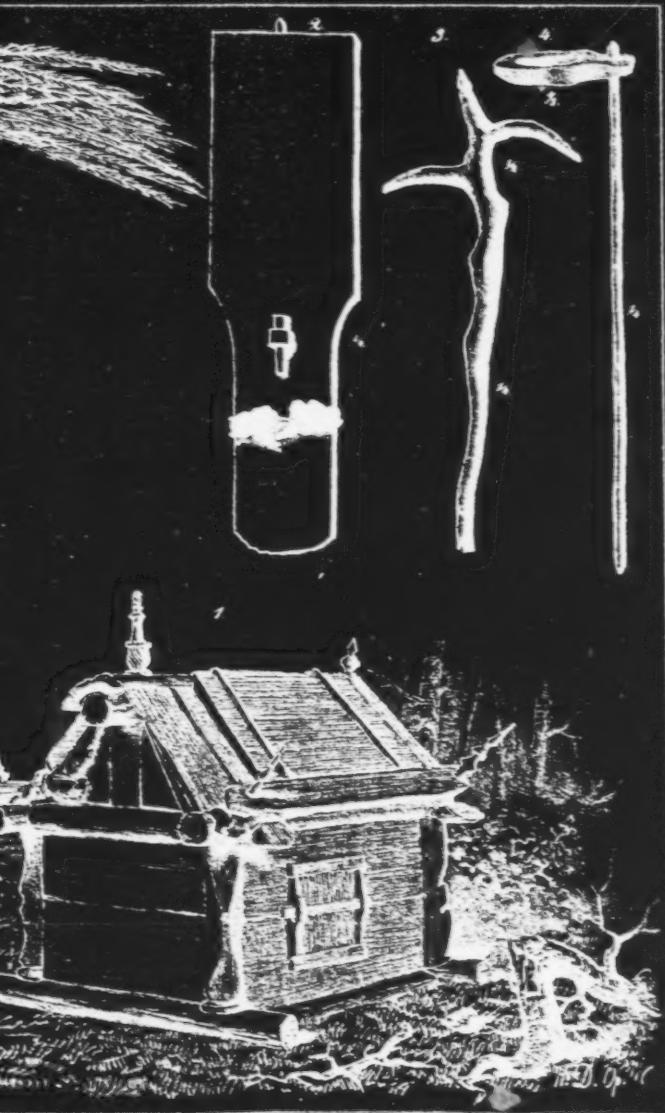

lyak tomb. 2-5. Objects of symbolic significance found in the tomb.

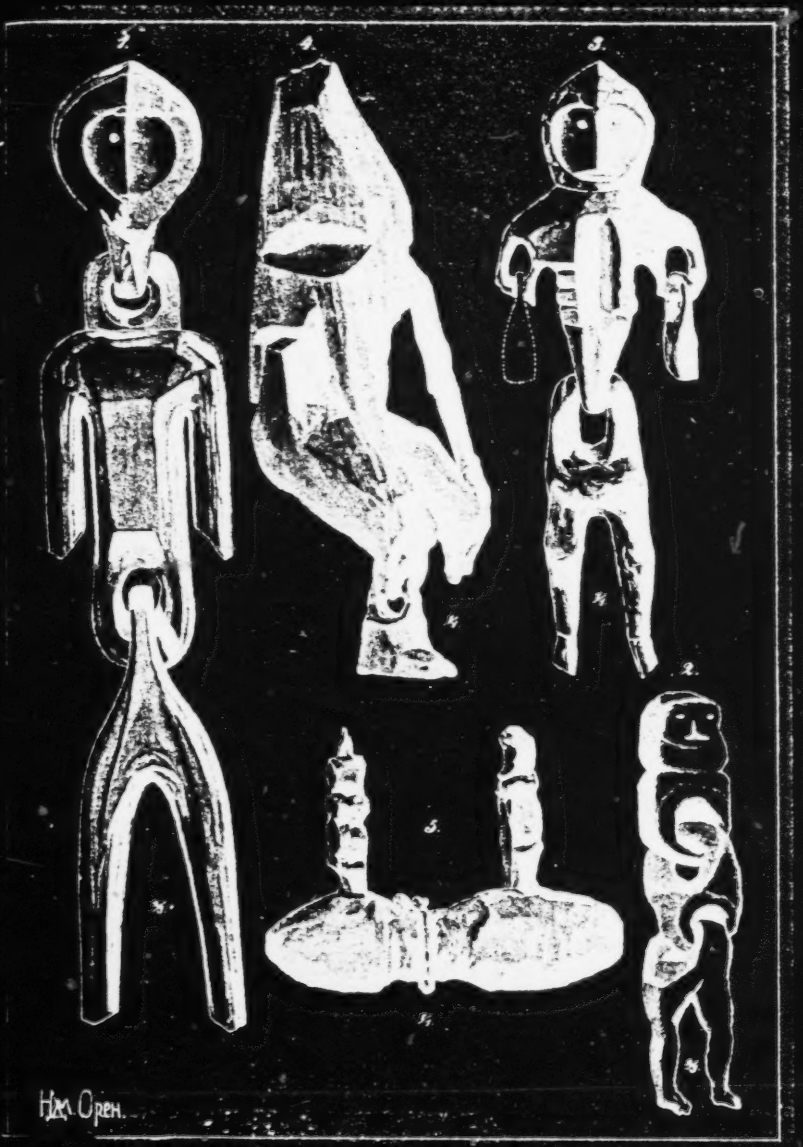

1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

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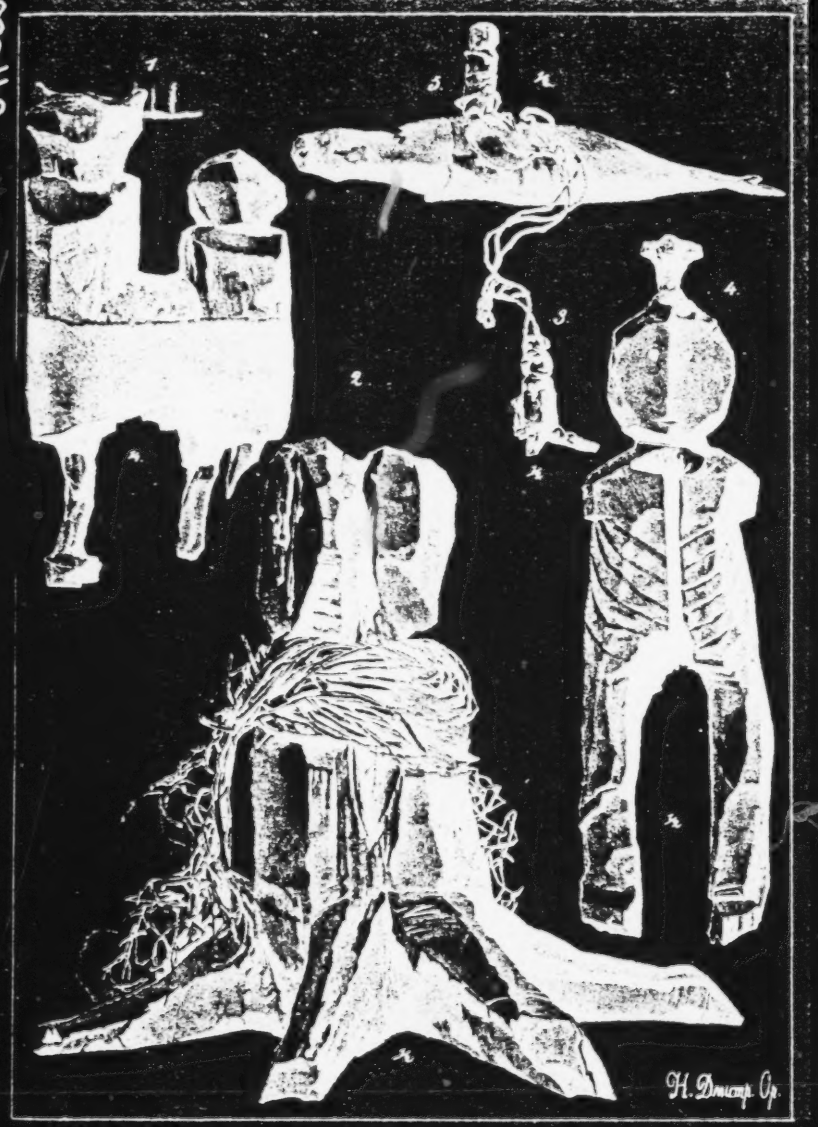

Gilyak idols made out of combined human and animal forms. 1. Human being and tiger. 2. Human being, tiger, and bear. 3. Human being and bear. 4. Human being and owl. 5. Human being and white whale.

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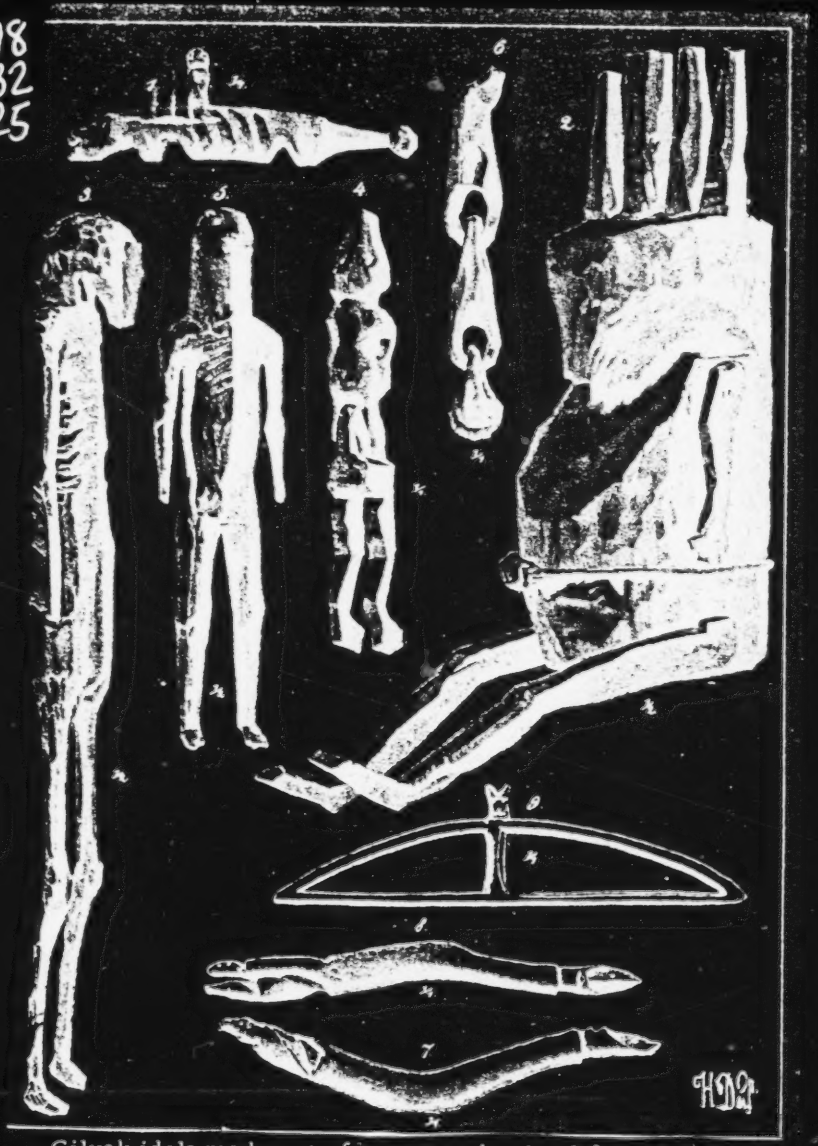

Gilyak idols made out of human and animal forms combined: 1--human being and tiger; 2--human being with tiger head; 3, 4--human being with bear head; 5--human being with owl head; 6--human back-joint with bear head and paw; 7, 8--Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9--similarly, a bow with human head.

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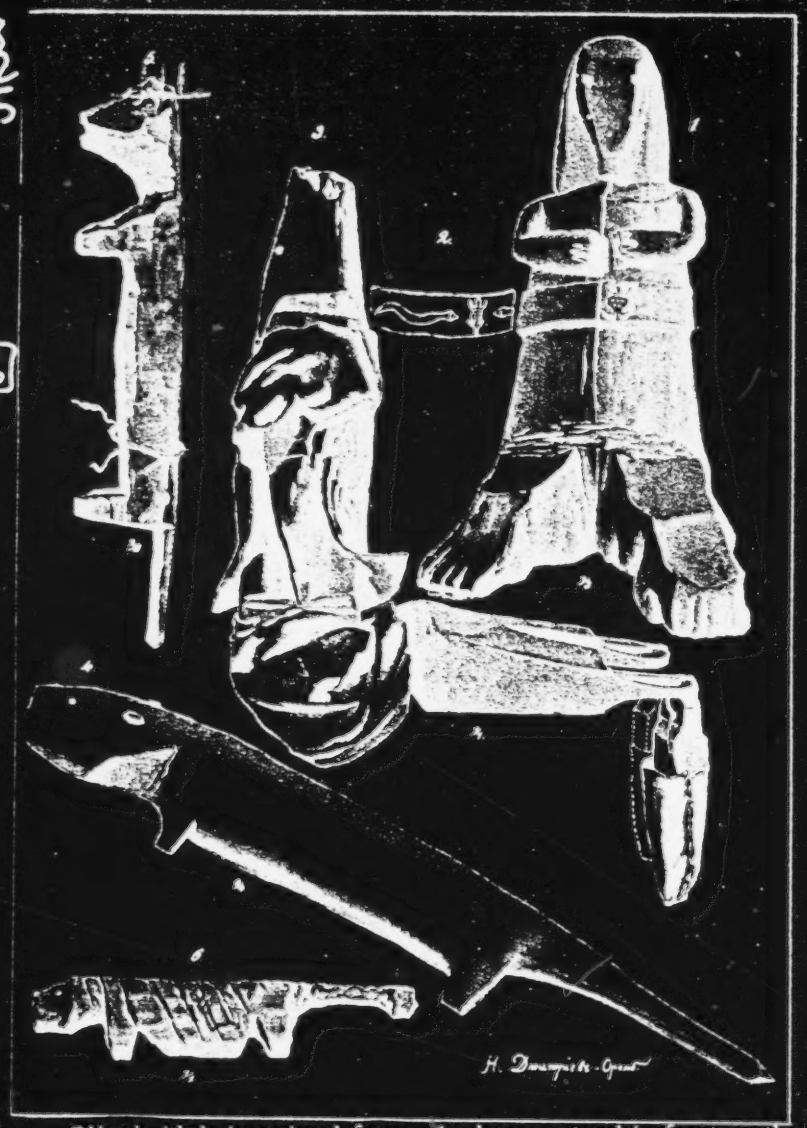

Gilyak idols in animal form: 1--bear, a toad in front on the belt; 2--in the back, a lizard and two snakes; 3--bear, jointed, dressed in fish skin; 4-6--tiger.

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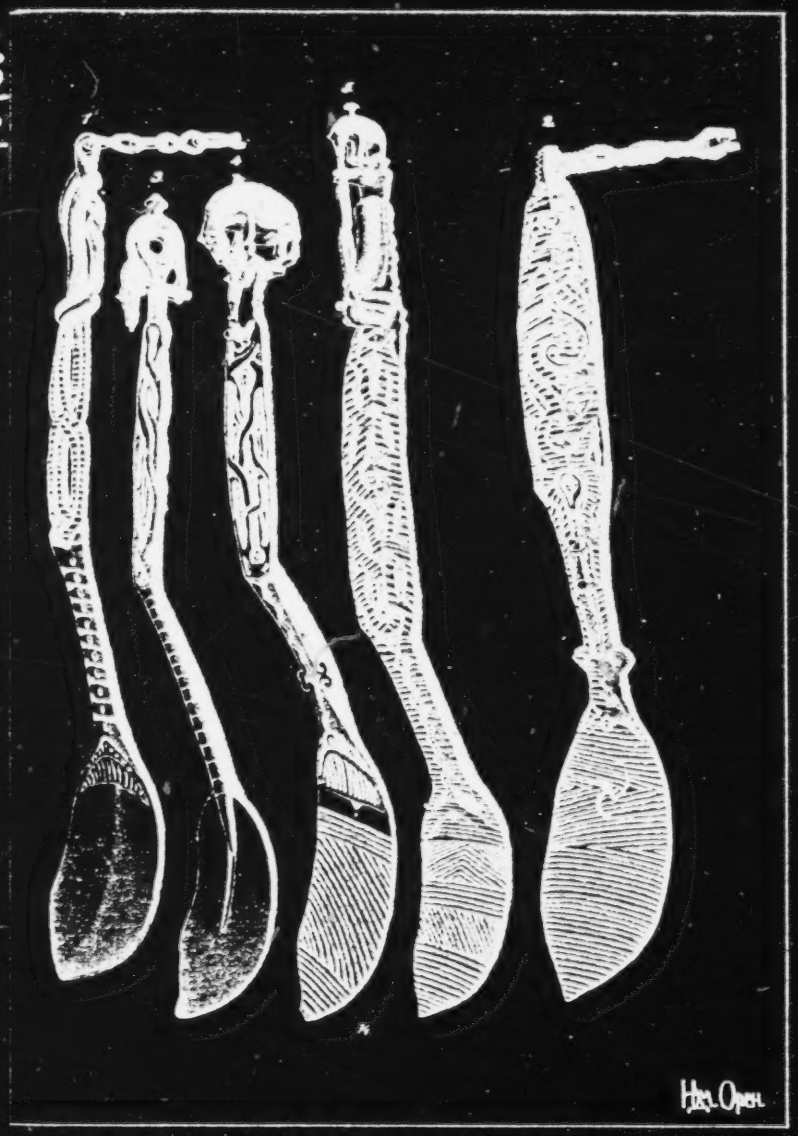

Spoons used at the bear festival of the Gilyak.

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Idols in simple human form. 1, 2--Gilyak hou
of the idols. Fig. 2 (reduced). 4. One-arme
Gilyak neck-idol. 6-8. House idols of the Gi

se idols. 3. Dwelling
d Gilyak idol. 5.
ldi (reduced).

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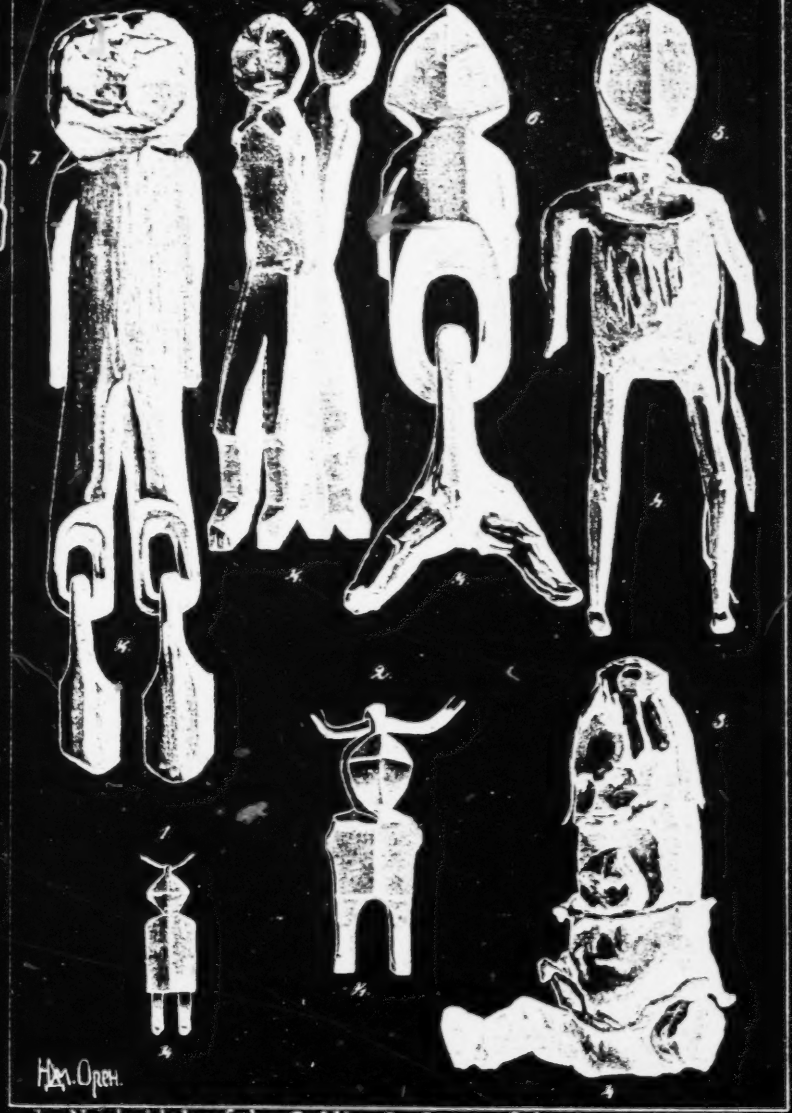

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1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

823 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately
acid, for the former are held by the Gilyaks to make a man
brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
775 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
785 know about, some are good and protect man, but the major-
ity are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated
with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kiza (on the
island of Sachalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
779 ponds to the devil. Abrimm, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
kegn-mimi, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or
kegn-beddi. Usually they are kept in the storage pits and only
brought out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it
means that its inhabitant, the kobeldi, is at home, but when
it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about
somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet,
tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared
with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect.
Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have
different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24]
lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the
vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be
taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new
one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans,
others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin,
still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like
idols represent children, others old people. Some have
hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body show-
ing a bowel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans.
These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
944 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.
Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
777 stands on the so-called Tyr (I) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank
a Buddhist temple formerly stood, of this only a few stone
pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

/63 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
5714 bear meat. The feast takes place on the next day, which is called
the day of treating the nash'i (nash'-arin-ash). The nash'i
seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the
host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
576 bear meat. More gracious host feed their guests with their
own hands, sticking into their mouths /68/ a huge piece of fat;
the guest bites off a piece. Leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[24] what he has started. Only the nash'i are allowed to eat bear
[24] meat; and his clan are denied this; they are allowed to
eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears'
carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous
quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
2471 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
5714 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit
it, the host respectfully offers him water and drinks the vomit.
It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In
intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with
sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
5714 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is
played by those who have contributed most to which lifts
634 the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests
drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday
the nash'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once
boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of de-
parture of the nash'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds
of viands prepared for their families and classmen are placed
[192] on their sleds. At the last moment the nash'i head several
dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor
to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear,
a thong, and other small articles next to the head of the animal
or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nash'i are lavishly

/64 cont./

582 164
114 marriage is that with the daughter of the mother's brother.
"Handfish angoj gen udra" -- "from the clan of your uncle"
(see above), from the clan from which you originated (were
born), i.e., from the clan from which your mother comes, you
● [533] should take a wife," runs the Gilyak maxim. "I miss the
house of my mother's brother" -- such is the motif of the
contemporary Gilyak song. And statistics prove the degree
to which these principles play a role in reality. From the
very first days of my statistical census, when I was not yet
conversant with all the subtleties of the kinship nomenclature,
I was astonished at the frequency of the marriages of Amurmen's
wives who were taken from one and the same clan, who
called each other, according to the generation of the husband,
sisters and aunts, and who actually seemed to be such. It
was necessary to record many Gilyak who were married to
several times, and most often their wives turned out to be
from one and the same clan, specifically, from the clan
of the husband's mother. One of my expeditions on my
journeys, Isayka, had been married three times, and always
to wives from the very same clan. And in the majority of
cases, it turned out that the husbands and wives were not only
cognate cousins, but were corresponding children of own sisters
and brothers.

582 The preference shown for this form of marriage even today
119 is always the exception, and it is important to observe; we have seen
above that only such a marriage is considered "pure." As to
the role of this form of marriage among the Gilyak, one may
express it in the same words that have been used to describe
the same phenomenon among the Sog and Ryga tribes of the
province of Saptpas in central Asia. In these tribes, "mar-
riage between cousins is almost /165/ compulsory when a
brother has a daughter and his sister a son" (1).

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and
Kurnai, p. 154.

/164 cont./

831 levirate. Then, in order that the
192 woman remain in the clan of her
142 deceased husband, he is given, ac-
cording to the decision of the clan
council, to a relative of the
ascending or descending degree of
[24] kinship with her late husband.

634 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons
● 835 of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust.
In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such
a man and his relatives, it is considered the inspiration of an evil
spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in
[796] beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a
fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the
[825] same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay
[842] themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging
[533] of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair,
the woman sings of how /165/ her elder sister called her a
[634] "bitch" for her love for her brother, and how the latter a
"devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters --
urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the ob-
ject of her criminal passion, the brother, could be of her age,
could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the
criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

● 835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the for-
bidden categories has a psychological character, like the
very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in
our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced
on us by the feeling which prompts the Gilyak to suppress in
himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests
when the question of the group-husbands of his individual
spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the
noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the
realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; un-
restrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/251 cont./

831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'ad'mych,
192 n'ad'ch. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage
142 of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This
view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down
on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's
nagging about her passion, sings:

Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time,
let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
192 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
575 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considera-
tions, since during the period of passion the young people
neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In
general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the
sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[634] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter
or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer,
but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he
may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the
amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural
phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the
confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
● [533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly
address their mothers with requests to protect their suffer-
ings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved.
Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
[192] going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In
such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
582 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
575 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an
advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/250 cont./

831 childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an
192 unloved man. But these are exceptional cases
575

In its content, love among the Gilyak does not differ in
831 any way from its civilized counterpart. Coarse sensality is
192 completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive peo-
ple we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the
tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil lover's
sorrow to the torrinent outbursts of heroic passion, which
neither halts before any obstacle /252/ nor shrinks before a
manly resolution to part with one's life.

The psychics of the Gilyak are very well reflected in
● 831 love songs, especially in the songs of women.
192

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and
delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching
images and forms. "I think and day do I think of thee...
As on my own mother do I gaze...If thou leavest me, only
of thee shall I think, where thou didst walk, there shall I
walk. Food shall I eat, water shall I drink, thy dark
shadow shall I drink. As of many trees the tallest one doth
831 most greatly please, so of all men art thou most beautiful
192 and best. O, take me with thee, I would be the wallet and
573 that that hangs from thy belt. I shall be the bottom of thy
boat, with thee would I be. My left tear flows and falls like
rain, the calf of my right leg falls me, it has become im-
movable, wholly shall I become, my legs do not move"
with such expressions, taken at random from various Gilyak
songs, a woman expresses her love. But it is noteworthy
that the same sentimental notes sound in the songs of the
men, and the references to left and right tears patterning
like rain, to the knee, the same grief over separation, the
same sweet dreams of reunion, are just as frequent. One
finds such emotional expressions as "I have loved thee wholly,
all of thee". Only rarely does crudity creep in (from our
point of view) crudity creep in, for example, "Of a fat
thigh the joint (the calves) spins(twitches), that is how I
like it." But never any cynicism.

831 The importance of the role of love in the life of the
192 Gilyak can be judged by the wealth of song material. Not
● 575 every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone
knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in
Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. A thirsty
831 sanguinous lovers sing improvised songs to each other in
192 place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to
meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through
a third person. Special terms have even been made up for
such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
831 be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
192 love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the
831 solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment
192 are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is
575 presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary
motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the child-
hood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a
woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides
831 take place quite a long time after the mercenary
192 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save
573 herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event
of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, compelled her to become his wife, and forbade her to leave him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate women hanged herself.
831 There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from
192 her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
● 575 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action.
831 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
192 the aid of relatives, but they will not stop at slaying the
575 husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

/234 cont./

instance of such erroneous beauties in the village of Hyaiwe. The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time he received was foolish gives in verse, but there was also the file saw his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of coarse cloth, and naked, despite the cold of winter, he danced in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his wife by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her constantly for many years (the last time he had time to see him about him for-far-off years and fear for such out of sable traits.

The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here the tragedy is inevitable. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily in such cases the lovers go to the place of their death and relives side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave and of their happiness in their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that the parents, narrow, the man, beside loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity. /235/ his long song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago. The certain nation became attracted to the wife of the brother of her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, the [illegible] (now idea of monarchy) in the Gilyaks was expressed by the term [illegible], literally -- "of a good face." [illegible] the good that he had brought back, released his bear, which [illegible] fetching out for a feast, [illegible] and [illegible] himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the moment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its entirety in the text in lyrics. Here we quote only the first lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy bark will I become... Now one must think only about Myen (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on the wall of my yurt.

The Gilyak empty magic means against unequited love. One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which is mixed with white beeco and offer to the girl in food. But they surreptitiously see the feather of a cuckoo to her dress. But there are other means that are not so harmless and lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these drugs, falls into a deep melancholy, and in a few days dies. I know two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to such drugs for a high price, and several women died of them.

Among the Gilyaks, as in our country, there are timid individuals who are being tormented by the unfortunate feeling of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old women, who, for, this, must be given "tea" or a present. Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries, ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, corresponding to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.

There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli of love are. Generally speaking, the individual attracts the beauty of her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, the [illegible] (now idea of monarchy) in the Gilyaks was expressed by the term [illegible], literally -- "of a good face." [illegible] the good that he had brought back, released his bear, which [illegible] fetching out for a feast, [illegible] and [illegible] himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the moment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its entirety in the text in lyrics. Here we quote only the first lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy bark will I become... Now one must think only about Myen (1).

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/235 cont./

childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic quality of voice. Her mother sings a young girl there is even her lullaby.

A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing a unwanted lifiter most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

/236/ Samail Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversion as pederasty had bestiality were known among them. He replied, "No, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for bestiality, there is one instance, a dog, which, I have seen them with dogs, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were sitting on a big shoal when a Gilyak passed by. He saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then he indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth you be beasts forever." Then, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward hermaphrodites (called in the eastern dialect, [illegible] -- in the western dialect, [illegible], in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/236 cont./

Representatives of a intermediate nature. To compose, [illegible], a song in honor of a man, [illegible] is a great honor.

[illegible] may (the body is a [illegible]-[illegible] (menyuel) (1) a shamanic cradle and a [illegible] (2) a [illegible] (3) [illegible]-[illegible], who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When initiating about the possibility of improvisation, Koynyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and begin [illegible] (1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this law, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of her father-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his daughter to the brother of his own father-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the [illegible] (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the [illegible] of the relation of the father of the clan, have frequently participates, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy person, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the trade price, and frequently, if the bridegroom is poor, the clansmen, because of the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and renowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/237 cont./

orthodox marriage. For an appointment concerning an orthodox marriage, the clan of the groom sends a young girl there or even the bride herself.

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/237 cont./

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Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/1862 cont./

a wife when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle with the mother bear ends not with the killing of the animal, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness are also fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness are also fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness are also

9: Hawes--265 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 533, 558, 562, 593

"All Gilyaks, it is said, know the old, old songs, the epics of their race, but with the lyrics it is otherwise, for they are very numerous, and always being added to. These are composed by the maidens of the tribe, who tell them to their girl friends, and they again to the Gilyak world. It may not be known who the authoress is, for that would be considered a want of modesty. Sometimes one may be heard to say, 'There goes an old woman who made songs in her youth;' but it is not 'good form.' Woman's mission is the ménage. The Gilyak's notions of modesty are very strict. After they have passed the age of childhood brothers and sisters are not allowed to speak to one another. If the former attempted it, the latter would turn away in injured modesty."

151 XIV Amusements and Festivities. Burial Ceremonies.
Among such peoples physical pleasures, naturally, take
a most important place, and foremost among the e are the
joys of eating and smoking. They are not very sensitive to
odors, for fish, smoke, and seal blubber to them have an
indifferent, or even an agreeable odor. But they abhor the
odor of decay, and conversely, they like a nice fragrance.
Whenever I experimentally held a bottle of eau-de-cologne
up to their noses, they always made a pretty face.
822 Among colors, the Gilyak prefer red and blue, but they
definitely do not belong to those peoples who go in for bright
colors. For instance, many of them could acquire a red
shirt or caftan instead of the dirty-blue ones, but it would
never occur to them to do this. The colored borders and
curlicues on the caps and petticoats of the women suffice;
otherwise clothes, houses, weapons, and tools are dark-
colored. A black dog pelt as a coat is, as I have said, re-
garded as particularly beautiful.
534 The Gilyak love music. If neighboring Russian peasants
strum their balalaikas or play the accordian, the natives
who are present like to listen. Their own music is very
primitive. It consists of a sort of jew's harp which looks
somewhat like a longish horseshoe. The broad end of the
instrument is grasped with one hand, the narrow end is
placed on the lips, the tongue of the player is placed forward
somewhat, while one finger of the other hand alternately
pulls and releases the little hook connected with the tongue
of the instrument. The tongue vibrates and a low buzzing
tone results, which can be modified by the tongue of the
player. Not everybody knows how to play on this
"harmonica".
Other quite embryonic music, or rather, clinking noise,
is produced as follows: a thin dry tree trunk is suspended
parallel to the ground by ropes, and on this they beat
rhythmically with a stick. During the bear festival the
audience is edified with this sort of "music": some woman
who has a talent for this, calls together a troupe of children
and, as though under the baton of a conductor, lets them hit
533 the limb with sticks. In winter time on a journey, the Gilyak
often sings a monotonous song which actually consists only
of all kinds of unrelated sentences about anything that happens
to occur to him [235] or that he sees. Actual songs that are
handed down from father to son the Gilyak do not possess,
and in general they are stingy with their singing. I never
heard them sing in the village, their houses, or on their

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.
535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.
527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.
527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]
Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.
527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on thi
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the drau
231 dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact tha
437 only one sled races along the track at time; the test is,
rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading
dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, whi
show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in
understanding and following exactly the calls of the leader
are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to tak
541 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by
522 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gil
succeeded very well in this attempt; others, on the other h
were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds an
sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, howe
with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule
their luckier companions.
796 At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followe
by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Th
the entire male population of Vaida, together with the gues
from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the
bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the v
lage. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the
described above since it gave indications of no longer wan
796 to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. D
this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parti
would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of
companions, and those that came after him would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, ho
796 ever, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they
stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He a beam abo
three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of t
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six
533 eight girls and women who were provided with club-like st

9: Hawes--264-265 T-3 (1901)
116, 533, 584, 762

"Among the eighty-eight adults who d
S: of Sakhalin] one was a young Gilyak
been given in marriage to a man she di
dirt-encased, skin-clad, unkempt, ill-
of nature;' and yet the old, old songs o
death of the disappointed lovers, or of

Perhaps one day we may hope to have
Mr. P.; [LSS: Pilsudski] meanwhile, h
tell the story of another.

The usual motif of these lyrics is the
sequent violent and secret attachment t
sion is strong, then rather than become
she and her lover will commit suicide.
ing a knife to the heart, or by stranglin
same way will be together in heaven. T
which tells how a young man loved a fai
another, and how they agreed to commi
and not only did not fulfil his word, but
said the maiden's spirit has never ceas
you would kill yourself, and you have n

ied between 1891 and 1895 on the west coast, [LS
woman who hanged herself, because she had
sliked. Under this strange wild exterior, this
favoured form, we are startled by the 'one touch
f this people tell mostly of such events–of the
the impassioned appeal to the loved one.
e some of these Gilyak lyrics from the pen of
his kindness enables me to give one here, and to

betrothal of the girl when young, and her sub-
o another and youthful lover. If the mutual pas-
e the wife of one chosen by her parents for her,
This they do in the same manner, i. e. by plung-
g, since those who thus kill themselves in the
here is one song, well known among the Gilyaks,
r maiden already betrothed in her childhood to
t suicide. This man, however, proved faithless,
had never intended so to do. Until this day, it is
ed to upbraid him, calling always, 'Ah, you said
ot. You deceived me! Men are liars!' [265]

9: Hawes--264-265 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 533, 584, 762

And to-day the reproachful tones of the cru
swish of the sledge and the howl of the dogs
'You said you woul
And you did not.
You are a deceiver
Men are liars!' "

uelly deceived maiden may be heard in
as the narta starts off'—
d kill yourself,

!

Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.).

fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told m that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After w cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cu some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared som berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eye

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they burie

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the hea

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

which they hit the beam rhythmically, two slow hits
owed by one fast one; this activity was not accompanied
any songs. They led the bear slowly past these women and
placed it so that its head was turned towards the house,
hough he should take another good look at the place where
had received its last nourishment from the inhabitants of
village. After a very brief halt they then dragged it further
ng to the river bank and then forced it to go on the ice to
ut the middle of the river. Thereupon the whole crowd
urned to the village and moved to the house inhabited by the
mer owner of the bear. Here the bear was awaited by a
y similar reception as that described above, except that in
place they forced the bear to stick its head inside the house
thus, in a way, to take leave from its master and nourisher.
n he was again led to the enclosure, and there they tied
up as before.

Only now had the moment come in which the bear was to lose
life. Amid general silence which was also commanded with
emn mien to our traveller, an old Gilyak--whether he was
owner of the animal or not is not indicated in Jakobsen's
ount--stepped forth from the crowd and grasped bow and
ows which were lying there ready for him. Then he slowly
off his under-jacket, wrapped some leather belts around
left hand in order not to injure it with the bow string, and
ed out an arrow with much solemnity and circumstance
ch made a rather comical impression, and finally he placed
arrow on the bow. At first it seemed as though he was
g to shoot in the air because he raised his bow while he
tched it. Then he lowered it again very slowly till the arrow
directed exactly at the bear's heart, and then he shot it
The bear fell down on the spot, as far its bonds permitted
do so, it reiled to and fro a few times, and then died after
w convulsive movements, thus proving what a steady hand
archer had preserved in spite of his old age. During this
le procedure, which lasted rather long, there reigned a
athless silence among the Gilyak standing around the fence,
this created an even more solemn impression since it was
uch sharp contrast to the foregoing deafening tumult.
fter the bear's death its former owner came and embraced
animal tenderly like a dear friend of whom he wanted to
e leave. Then they pulled a number of the sticks of the fence
of the ground and laid them down to serve the dead bear as
resting place. Later they drag the animal into its owner's
se, as the traveller was told, since he did not have the time
wait the end of the festival. In the house they lay the bear

534

534 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS--idiophones (e.g., clappers, gongs, rattles); membranophones (e.g., drums); cordophones (e.g., zithers, lutes, harps); aerophones (e.g., flutes, pipes, trumpets); special instruments (e.g., bullroarers), complex mechanical instruments (e.g., piano, organ); care and repair of musical instruments; etc. See also:

Drum signaling . . . . . 202 Sound recordings 216
Radio . . . . . 207 Musical supplies industry 949

/64 cont./

796 cutting up /65/ the bones, and so forth -- everything is done in conformity with permanently established rules. The first moment of this procedure, immediately following the removal of the skin, presents a very imposing sight for the Gilyak. The white (from the heavy layer of fat), soft body, stretched out on its back, those front paws with long and even fingers, resembling, to the point of illusion, human hands, amid the gloom of night, must irresistibly evoke in the savage the notion that he is not in the presence of a dead beast, but of a man of a particular nature, who has taken off his hairy skin and now *majestically rests, following the least movement of his knife.* The entire, detached skin of the bear, together with the head, is carried into the yurt, not through the door, but through the smoke opening, and down the high pole with the crown of coniferous needles, which still rises above the earth yurt. The clan elder carefully takes hold of the skin and, striking it lightly with a stick, says: "Remember that you were fed by such and such old man and by such and such old woman."

Meanwhile the women greet the sacred head with a solemn

• [534] march played on a most original instrument. This is a dry log of larch hung on a frame, on which several people in turn beat out in rhythm relatively monotonous sounds. To the sounds of this charming music the clan elder installs the head of the bear on the plank bed of honor, covered with coniferous needles. Under the head there is a quiver with arrows and, by its side, tobacco, sugar, and other viands.

[174] The bear takes along the souls of all these things. The carcasses of meat stay outside on a special wooden platform, and parts are brought in through the smoke opening. The day ends with eating, conversations, games of the youth, dances, and fencing with sticks. The next day is called the day of the feeding of the head. From morning until night kettles boil inside the yurt, and all kinds of dishes of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared. A portion of each dish is put in a separate vessel and placed next to the bear's head. This, then, means "to feed the head."

[372] On the same day the boiling of the bear meat begin. The meat is boiled outside in a special kettle; the fire is ignited with the sacred steel, which is not used on any other occasion.

/317 cont./

349 Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of
787 the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

342 If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple
787 streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking
789 is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a
[176] good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chkhnyr chkhnaj, a grass figure, and
342 drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in
776 autumn (cleaning) (1) and another time when one wishes. They
782

[372] 1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matka, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

342 /318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the follow-
789 ing fashion: a grass figure -- chkhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his

• [534] hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes
[756] with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kekhn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

342 The shaman then says: "gy, gy (i.e., 'good'), in such and
756 such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Gy-gy,
789 gy-gy, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner.
[176] Mang (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kekhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/682 cont./

533 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among
114 the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song; instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also
[126] the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under the title of Walghytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only

1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list; see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p. 41 /this appendix is not included in the book translated here/.

on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection with the /683/ place Kliygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

• 534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but
are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two
[439] musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, accordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood, and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining attached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

/683 cont./

• 534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

517 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the
533 sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw
534 forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

534

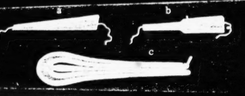

Gilyak jew's-harps.

517 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy.
533 And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.
534

/684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar
534 to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak
[824] tyngrach, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-
[825] casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

/684 cont./

534 The gut string is fastened to the short end and from there runs over
192 a bridge set up on the fish skin (Gilyak twua, as in the case of the bow) to the other end of the stick, where there is a device for keeping the string taut. The fiddle bow (Gilyak tyngr-puntsch) is sharply curved and strung with horsehair (Gilyak kich). The string, of course, is played between the bridge and the long end of the stick stuck through the cylinder-casing. The instrument seems to
91 me, judging also by its name, to be of Olcha, Goldi, or at any rate Tungusic origin. I saw it and heard it played only in Kidsi, and the monotonous and melancholy melody was very similar to those of the Gilyak.

535 It is very characteristic of the serious, sober, and practical state of mind of the Gilyak that in the course of two years I never saw dancing either at their bear festivals or on any other occasion; apparently this type of social entertainment does not appeal to them at all. Middendorff encountered it, but it took place under quite extraordinary circumstances; it was in Burukan, a place which the Gilyak visit only for trade; the Tungus, presumably excited by alcohol, performed a wild demonic dance, into which the Gilyak, at first only spectators, finally let themselves be drawn (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p 1486.

Otherwise, they said, they did not do it, as Middendorff, too, remarks in his handwritten notes. And at the time their entire behavior revealed this. Whereas the Tungus in their short, tight-fitting fur-jackets moved nimbly and skillfully, the movements of the Gilyak, who kept on their long dog-fur coats reaching down to their calves, were bear-like and extremely stiff and awkward. Moreover, when they tried to imitate the former, the dance always soon ended in exhaustion and a loud burst of laughter, because they felt so childishly silly behaving in this, to them, completely strange and foreign manner.

45 It seemed no less surprising to me to find nothing among
97 the Gilyak that might suggest the performance of masquerades or

/705 cont./

*796 hardly greater -- on each of the otherwise quite empty sleds lay
231 only two brake-sticks stuck into the plaited work -- obstacles of
541 another kind were put in their path. As soon as the dogs were racing along at top speed, a Gilyak standing on the embankment of the racecourse threw himself on the sled and tried to gain control of the dogs and their vehicle by using the brake-sticks, at which, of course, he was not immediately successful. If one failed, a second one did it, and a third: throwing himself upon the sled, he held on to it tightly, the sled overturned two or three times, but the man held on tightly and let himself be dragged along at the utmost speed until he succeeded in sitting astride and, with the two brake-sticks in his hands, driving up the
*796 hill in triumph. During the entire race the women drum with
541 cudgels and sticks upon a /707/ beam suspended from a framework
534 in front of the house. This is done with a certain regularity and requires some special knowledge, for there are various types and modes of drumming, depending on the occasion. Every woman is given two cudgels, or one cudgel and one stick, and beats with them on the beam two or three times, either simultaneously or alternately, then cudgel on cudgel or cudgel on stick, then again on the beam, etc., in different rhythms and tempos, as the mode
*796 of the moment requires (see Plate XLVIII /p1248/). As soon as all
541 the dogs participating in the races have returned the longed-for meal
231 is set before them in the house by the women. The men, however, in-
[521] dulge in a lively discussion of all the details occurring in connection with the races, in that one dog is to be praised and another criticized, but even more to laugh over the ineptitude of one of their countrymen and to marvel at the courage and agility of a second and third. For, as is to be seen from this description, the dog races among the Gilyak do not serve to test the quality of the dogs as much as to give the men an opportunity to show off their above-mentioned physical and moral virtues, just as is the case for other entertainments that are part of the bear festival.

*796 After this interlude, the leading of the bears which had
231 been interrupted in the morning, was resumed, and everything was repeated as on the preceding days, for example, the large

787 /753 cont./
75 that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and
825 pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as
782 the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During
[534] these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

825 753 [752]

2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipitsch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipitsch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water; hence the former is also designated as mif-mipitsch, the latter as tolli-mipitsch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magâ, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Porkuk and her son, Dshaman, from Kuik. Jutschin thought that the wap-mipitsch represents the copulation of the toads, which as a rule takes place in the water and the seeing of which is regarded by the Gilyak as uitsch. According to him, the wap-mipitsch must be worn by women.

the wap-mipitsch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, resembles the devil (kins ngarlatsch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and crawl through his mouth into his inner organs, into his chest and stomach, whereupon the person falls

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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342

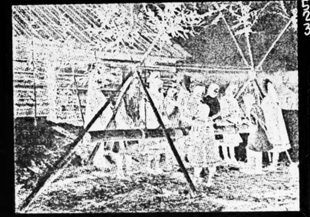

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so forth.

532 322 [791]

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkanggâ). During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

534 [796]

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

871 [212]

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Marinsk; two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

175 648

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

9: Hawes--272-273 1-3 (1901) 1905 Gilyak

116, 534

"The younger wife of our host [LSS: The chief of Nivo] was considered the belle of all the Gilyaks, but I will let the reader judge of her claims to beauty from the accompanying illustration, [LSS: See Visual File] in which she is represented playing a musical instrument. Vanka, who claimed to be a cousin of hers, had brought this forth from the recesses of the hut, and both he and she played upon it. It is now in my possession; but I must confess the music appealed more to the imagination than the ear, for when played with the tongue or even the hand it was with difficulty we could hear it. It consists of one string of fish-gut, strung along a stick and over a cylindrical piece of birch bark; and it goes by the scarcely euphonious name of tin-kirn. Other musical instruments are a little wooden jew's harp called a kos-cha [LSS: Erratum; it should read kanga]; a small bag of fish-skin stretched tightly on to a circular piece of wood like a [273] drumhead, containing bones which are rattled; and the fish-skin tambourine already mentioned."

1 XIV Amusements and Festivities. Burial Ceremonies.

Among such peoples physical pleasures, naturally, take a most important place, and foremost among the e are the joys of eating and smoking. They are not very sensitive to odors, for fish, smoke, and seal blubber to them have an indifferent, or even an agreeable odor. But they abhor the odor of decay, and conversely, they like a nice fragrance. Whenever I experimentally held a bottle of eau-de-cologne up to their noses, they always made a pretty face.

2 Among colors, the Gilyak prefer red and blue, but they definitely do not belong to those peoples who go in for bright colors. For instance, many of them could acquire a red shirt or caftan instead of the dirty-blue ones, but it would never occur to them to do this. The colored borders and curlicues on the caps and petticoats of the women suffice; otherwise clothes, houses, weapons, and tools are dark-colored. A black dog pelt as a coat is, as I have said, regarded as particularly beautiful.

4 The Gilyak love music. If neighboring Russian peasants strum their balalaikas or play the accordian, the natives who are present like to listen. Their own music is very primitive. It consists of a sort of jew's harp which looks somewhat like a longish horseshoe. The broad end of the instrument is grasped with one hand, the narrow end is placed on the lips, the tongue of the player is placed forward somewhat, while one finger of the other hand alternately pulls and releases the little hook connected with the tongue of the instrument. The tongue vibrates and a low buzzing tone results, which can be modified by the tongue of the player. Not everybody knows how to play on this "harmonica".

Other quite embryonic music, or rather, clinking noise, is produced as follows: a thin dry tree trunk is suspended parallel to the ground by ropes, and on this they beat rhythmically with a stick. During the bear festival the audience is edified with this sort of "music": some woman who has a talent for this, calls together a troupe of children and, as though under the baton of a conductor, lets them hit
3 the limb with sticks. In winter time on a journey, the Gilyak often sings a monotonous song which actually consists only of all kinds of unrelated sentences about anything that happens to occur to him [235] or that he sees. Actual songs that are handed down from father to son the Gilyak do not possess, and in general they are stingy with their singing. I never heard them sing in the village, their houses, or on their

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a prac-
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where various things are bartered.
527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cranberries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means worship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun, some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is not given such expressions of veneration.
527 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo themselves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty, with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237] roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as entertainment has been described. Special music is produced
527 in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -two old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.
527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.
527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the consumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.
764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only, if someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
534 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also seek to consolidate their authority by means of various magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly, disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle. After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these "Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine. From this we may see how much they really understand of their new religion. We have said before that they regard

535

535 DANCING--dance styles (e.g., imitative, pantomimic, symbolic, stylized); technique (e.g., movements of the head, trunk and limbs); gestures, postures, and their symbolism; solo, pair, and group dancing; choreographic patterns; extemporization and formalization; rhythm; musical accompaniment; occasions for dancing and associated dance forms (e.g., war dances, shamanistic dances, ballroom dancing, tap dancing); participants and spectators; dancing places (e.g., dance halls); dance costumes and paraphernalia; emotional expression in dancing; training in dancing; specialized dancers and dance leaders; choreographic arts allied to dancing (e.g., figure skating); etc. See also:

Gestures	201	Dance performances on the stage	545
Postures	616	Night clubs	547
Skating	628		

/684 cont./

534 The gut string is fastened to the short end and from there runs ov
[192] a bridge set up on the fish skin (Gilyak twua, as in the case of th bow) to the other end of the stick, where there is a device for keeping the string taut. The fiddle bow (Gilyak tyngr-puntsch) i sharply curved and strung with horsehair (Gilyak kich). The strin of course, is played between the bridge and the long end of the
[191] stick stuck through the cylinder-casing. The instrument seems t me, judging also by its name, to be of Olcha, Goldi, or at any rate Tungusic origin. I saw it and heard it played only in Kidsi, and the monotonous and melancholy melody was very similar to those of the Gilyak.

•535 It is very characteristic of the serious, sober, and practical state of mind of the Gilyak that in the course of two years I neve saw dancing either at their bear festivals or on any other occasio apparently this type of social entertainment does not appeal to th at all. Middendorff encountered it, but it took place under quit extraordinary circumstances: it was in Burukan, a place which t Gilyak visit only for trade; the Tungus, presumably excited by alcohol, performed a wild demonic dance, into which the Gilya at first only spectators, finally let themselves be drawn (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p 1486.

Otherwise, they said, they did not do it, as Middendorff, too, remarks in his handwritten notes. And at the time their entire behavior revealed this. Whereas the Tungus in their short, tight-fitting fur-jackets moved nimbly and skillfully, the movements of the Gilyak, who kept on their long dog-fur coats reaching down to their calves, were bear-like and extremely stiff and awkward. Moreover, when they tried to imitate the former, the dance always soon ended in exhaustion and a loud burst of laugh because they felt so childishly silly behaving in this, to them, completely strange and foreign manner.

545 It seemed no less surprising to me to find nothing among
171 the Gilyak that might suggest the performance of masquerades c

27, pp. 196-197.] the same performance was
ut of his owner and around it three times. E
oked him with a tzakh, or twig adorned with
ne thrust. This circumambulation was done t
our young women, keeping time, beat with st
his highly varied 'musical' performance was
ne 'artiste' in this case was the oldest woma
nteresting than the ritualistic dancing which
rally, such for instance as that of young girl
First of all the old lady, dressed in seal-sk
ormed a little level square plat. Then taking
elf into queer postures, using the branches a
ut occasionally, and all unwittingly, she ove
oundering in the deep snow, to the amuseme
o way disconcerted her, for she came up lau

s gone through, and the animal led to t
ach time that he passed the door the m
shavings, and broke it with the force
to the strains of a unique band. Three
ticks on a log supported on short uprig
s accompanied by [198] dancing. Althou
n of the village, the display was far m
the traveller in the East meets with ge
ls in the sacred temple of Nara in Japa
kins, stamped down the deep snow, an
two pieces of evergreens she threw h
as fans. Her movements were not rapi
rstepped the limit of the plat and fell
ent of band and spectators too; but this
ughing to renew the performance."

/104 cont./

8 Most infrequently the khlaj-nivukh is a chosen one of the gods in
7 other respects as well: he is a rich man, adept in hunting, worldly-
4 wise, courageous, has a great natural wit, and enjoys authority
4 among his fellow tribesmen.

Every clan, every settlement has its own small khlaj-nivukh, but there are celebrities who enjoy extensive fame among many nationalities of the region, and who, when necessary, are sought after, just as renowned lawyers are among us. They perform their functions rather honoris causa, because the customary honorarium -- a Chinese silk costume and a Japanese saber -- can hardly be a recompense to a rich man for the loss of his time and the burden of the obligation. The clothing and arms presented to them serve rather as their insignia magistratus, their official vestment, in which they carry out their obligations during the discussions.

4 And so, when the clan of the avengers has sufficiently worn
8 itself out in its attempts at a bloody retaliation, or if from the
37 first the slaying took place under conditions easily lending themselves to a reconciliation, then they begin to search for a khlaj-nivukh who would undertake the negotiations and be able to obtain the most profitable conditions. The khlaj-nivukh must necessarily be from a neutral clan. One may not send a clansman in the first place, until the reconciliation, it is a sin to have anything whatever to do with the clan of the slayer; moreover, in view of the naturally inflamed feelings of the parties, negotiations through a clansman might end in another slaying. The other side, in turn, selects its "orator," who is /105/ obligated to defend its interests in the negotiations over the ransom. Ordinarily the offended side takes the initiative.

One fine day a company of the armed avengers, with their khlaj-nivukh at their head, appears at the settlement of the slayer. In the adjacent taiga or on the shore of a river the avengers light a fire and make camp, while the khlaj-nivukh in his regalia, with a spear in one hand, a kettle in the other, goes alone to the enemy settlement. Here, in one of the yurts, await the opponents with their khlaj-nivukh at their head... Leaning on his spear, or sitting down and lighting his pipe (only with "his own" fire) he

/105 cont./

*614 628 ●537 [426] what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1):

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement...

[576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and
[171] [198] separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 628 536 When an agreement has been reached, the religious feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods

/105 cont./

*614 628 536 A procession of the avengers with the khlaj-nivukh at their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh'i they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel, of course, is fictitious, although there have been instances where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh'i pacify their clients
[782] insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen lead a dog apiece among their opponents and kill them with spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above), while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 628 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken materials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, considering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the common property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it replaces those valuables which were needed for the dead man in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund for the family of the slain man and the clan requirements.

628 ●537 554 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the intervention of khlaj-nivukh'i, but without any particular ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict of the whole gathering.

/119 cont./

*614 628 536 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator,
● [537] "khlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the
[532] Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions.
[523] In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the
[522] community in the name of the clan. Under other circumstances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

628 614 628 682 ●537 [542] /356 cont./ every means to mask the sex of the newborn child. Only women are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable that from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful, burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer lives under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any comer, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain man feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in any case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same time, in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the clan of the murderer sends some person from a neutral khal' (necessarily neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murdered man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, and in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years pass until, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the avenger consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedure for
614 reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects from
628 some neutral clan an able and eloquent /357/ man ("khlaj-nivukh" --
682 literally: orator -- from the verb "khlayndzh" -- to speak, and
●537 the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries be-
[292] tween the parties. Each clan provides its khlay-nivukh with a silk gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, and sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputation of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-nivukh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. Then, somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village of the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal'-nivukhi), with their orator at their head, await the emissary. The latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with his own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as possible. The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a plea for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-nivukh

/357 cont./

614 628 682 ●537 of the avengers, stubbornly insisting on his demands, departs in anger. The khlay-nivukh of the murderer goes after him and tries to enter into negotiations with his comrade-in-arms. More than once the two diplomats sear themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happens that the khlay-nivukhi move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and out to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and both sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his khlay-nivukh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other steps the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his khlay-nivukh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the khlay-nivukhi strictly restrain the adversaries, speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is not merely a ritual, for there have been cases where in that minute the avenger has boiled over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw down their arms, run toward each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /358/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another variant, the avenger and the slayer stand facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy; when the khlay-nivukhi call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

/358 cont./

614 628 682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A

614 628 682 murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 628 628 The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and

● [539] obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re-

[762] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 628 772 One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell

[777] of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

538

538 LITERATURE--literary styles; poetry (e.g., epic, lyric); verse forms (e.g., couplets, stanzas); poetic techniques (e.g., meter, rhyme, alliteration); prose forms (e.g., tales, sagas, proverbs, fiction, short stories, essays); narrative plot and structure; literary subjects and themes; characters (e.g., animals, men, gods); treatment (e.g., realism, fantasy, allegory, satire); composition; literary conventions; recitation and narration (e.g., occasions, audiences); specialists (e.g., poets, prose authors, story tellers, ghost writers); etc. This category is reserved for generalized descriptions of literature. For literary texts, and analyses and commentaries related to specific literary works see 539. See also:

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/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond,

[242] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from

[874] the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the

[796] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and

● [538] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February, there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the

[261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance

[164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

/55 cont./

776 For the Gilyak, the most important gods--"masters" are

825 Pal'-yz' -- the master of the mountains and of the taiga, and Tayrnadz, the same as Tol'-yz' -- master of the sea. The first lives on the highest mountain, and with him, whole settlements of his clansmen. Bears serve him as dogs. All the beasts of the taiga are subordinate to him, and, at his discretion, he distributes them to the Gilyak. It is he who orders the sable to dress himself in a new skin and hurry into the noose of the Gilyak; he, again, orders the bear to offer a good spot for a true blow. The god of the sea, Tayrnadz, lives on the bottom of the Sea of Okhotsk. He is a very old man with a white beard, who lives with his old wife in an underwater yurt. In the yurt there is a huge number of boxes with all kinds of spawn, which he throws by the handful into the sea from time to time. It is he who, at the appointed time, sends the countless detachments of salmon, without which the life of the Gilyak would be impossible; it is he who sends out the kosatki to establish order in the sea and drive all kinds of sea animals toward the Gilyak.

776 Besides these most important gods, there is a great number of less important ones who watch over the Gilyak. In the house of the Gilyak the master of the fire and the mistress of the threshold, keep vigil over him. Some kind of "master" watches at every stream, looking after the well-being of the Gilyak...

Not all the gods, however, are on such close terms with man. The sky is inhabited by whole tribes of tly-nivukh'i, heavenly people, who only rarely interfere in the affairs of the Gilyak, and then to no purpose, for a joke; for example, out of mischievousness a heavenly man will lower a fishing rod with hooks to the earth in order to catch some Gilyak. This does not always work, however. For example, the young

● [538] Gilyak, Il'k, from the village of Arkovo told me that tly-nivukh once caught his father with a golden hook, and he just saved himself by grabbing a tree, thus getting away with only a scare and a torn coat.

/100 cont./

000 To meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers. Chivalry

* 614 manifests itself in many other forms. Although ordinarily

628 the raid of the avengers is too impulsive for people to be

721 able to think about any kind of formalities of attack,

● [538] epics and legends have preserved many formulas for the declaration of "war" through special intermediaries, about whom we shall speak in more detail later.

The conventional formula laconically declares: "He (the avenger) has irrevocably said that he prepares to come to do battle with thee; if thou art stronger, thou wilt slay him, if he is stronger, he will slay thee -- thus he spoke."

Military expeditions are undertaken for purposes other than avenging the slaying of a clansman. Extremely frequently they are on account of women. "Lovely Helens" are the tragic causes of war among the Gilyak much more frequently even than slayings. The latter are extremely rare and never bear a mercenary character, being exclusively a case of a momentary flare-up on the part of an easily aroused "barbarian" because of a slight offense to his vanity. But conflicts over women are much more frequent. Either a group of clansmen undertakes a purely romantic raid to abduct the beloved of their comrade. Or expeditions are undertaken with the forcible recovery of the abducted wife of a clansman as their objective -- a more serious incident, because this action is as obligatory for the clan (up to the third generation exclusively) as revenge and blood money for the slaying of a clansman. Customarily they strive to avoid bloodshed, choosing a time for the attack when the men are absent, but the matter rarely ends -- either at the time of the abduction or during the pursuit -- without bloody conflicts, which inevitably bring on the necessity of "raising the kindred bones," i.e., war with all its consequences.

/137 cont./

614 all in the fact that it embraces persons of both sexes alike;

*601 it equally signifies brother and sister. Another peculiarity --

602 still more important -- consists in the fact that under tuvn an understood not only own brothers and sisters, i.e., the children of one father, but also the children of all brothers of the father, own and collateral of all degrees of kinship, i.e., m and female first cousins, second cousins, etc. in the male line. Thus, within the clan, all the male and female agnat of the same generation are brothers and sisters; male and female cousins in the male line and likewise a married wom and the wives of the brothers /138/ of her husband are tuvn in relation to each other. But a man, as we shall see, can

*601 have tuvn outside his clan as well, namely, the children of

602 those persons outside his clan whom he calls father and mother (see the class of fathers and mothers). Within this class there is one large and important subdivision that plays a leading role in both terminology and sexual norms, namely the one for those persons who are older than the speaker or person referred to and persons younger than he, namely, "akand, aki" -- elder brother or sister (tuvn) and "ar'khand, ar'kh" -- younger brother or sister (tuvn). For the designatio of the elder sister, in view of the peculiarity of her position in sexual rights, there is in addition the term "nanakhand, nanakh, nankh" -- identically used in reference to her by bo men and women. Certain special terms for separate categ of this class, however, have been developed. Thus, there is a general term to designate the concept of "sister" in the class sense, namely, ranr (same root as ranikh -- sister). One meets (very rarely, however, and only in poetry) the term "kivung, kiun" -- brother (1). Descriptive forms are

● [538]

1. "Chikhys' kivung khendra" -- "I considered you a brother," says the heroine to her beloved in one song. "Kiun" could also be formed from the rare form akikhun.

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] The eyes
foams at the mouth, and sings the orders of the evil s

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick man well.'

The first syllable in each line is articulated quickly
slowly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is made to end

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or has any
he may ruin the whole family by his interpretation of t
to bring all their dogs and everything that they value m
times human offerings were demanded."

of the cham are like flames; he
pirit—

, and the last vowels in the line

in a—aa.

spite against him or his relatives,
he spirit's demands, forcing them
nost. It is even said that in olden

boats. However, there are some to be found among them who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort who entertain the others with their song.

The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one includes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays. The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival, are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as a good omen.

The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home. An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water. The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those places that had their own bear festival and had already consumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the mainland at this time, although they themselves are well supplied with bears.

Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

536

536 DRAMA--compositions for dramatic representation; types (e.g., tragedy, comedy, farce); themes (e.g., from myth, history, everyday life); treatment (e.g., realistic, stylized); conventional limitations on dramatic composition; characters and parts; impersonation; acting techniques (e.g., gestures, postures, emotional expression); costumes and paraphernalia; make-up; staging (e.g., scenery, lighting, props, musical accompaniment); acts, scenes, choruses, and interludes; specialists (e.g., playwrights, actors, stagehands, directors); relation of drama to dancing, mythology, magic, and ritual; special types of plays (e.g., puppet shows, shadow plays, musical comedies); special roles (e.g., clowns); etc. See also:

Gestures	201	Humor	522
Patterned expressions of emotion	201	Masks	532
Radio and television	207	Pageants and circuses	541
Cosmetics	302	Stage productions	546
Theater buildings	345	Motion pictures	546
Postures	516	Religious ceremonial	706

/105 cont./

* 614 628 537 [436] what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1):

> 1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement... [576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and separations. [171] [789] Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

* 614 628 ● 536 When an agreement has been reached, the religious feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/105 cont./

*614 628 •536 A procession of the avengers with the khlaj-nivukh at their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh'i they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel, of course, is fictitious, although there have been instances where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh'i pacify their clients insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen [782] lead a dog apiece among their opponents and kill them with spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above), while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 628 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken materials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, considering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the common property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it replaces those valuables which were needed for the dead man in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund for the family of the slain man and the clan requirements.

628 537 554 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the intervention of khlaj-nivukh'i, but without any particular ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict of the whole gathering.

/325 cont./

756 538 [688] Improvisation of a storyteller-shaman. To compose, tyl'gund, is not allowed; it is a sin. This is a legend, truth.

[776] N'as'tund may (be told) by a n'as'tun'-n'ivukh (storyteller) or a shaman, who is helped by a special kind of kekhn (mif-n'ivukh-kekhn, who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When inquiring about the possibility of improvisation, Koynyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and began to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that this was inspiration by the richness and elusive quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyurn listened with ecstasy and with interest asked for explanations.

756 533 538 Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song was far from that which accompanies n'as'-tund; there is a great deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In places a quiet tenor vibrates beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in places flows into the thinnest pianissimo, while shrieks and artificial throat vibrations sound with tremendous dissonance. The entire song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of a stanza the shaman comes to the end by abruptly cutting off with the words "hand furu" -- "thus it is said." Frequently, he finishes his song covered with perspiration.

Declamation and singing in narration. 1. In a nas'-tund: a) first humming, b) then -- monotonous, vibrating, doleful singing with all one's might, ending in c) fortissimo with exhaling.

2. In descriptions -- a single-tone recitative.

• [536] 3. Dramatism: the artistic communication of conversations in a rhythmic recitative is especially good. If one becomes accustomed to it, it is very melodious.

4. Those present support him with yells: "Ola! epoj, epoj!" etc.

756 776 The kenchkh is a bird which comes on the wind. They pull on a thong with the kenchkh during the song. Two men (one a shaman) cast a rope, and the kenchkh seizes it and pulls over the people.

537

537 ORATORY--rhetorical style; patterned forms of oratory (e.g., narration, debating, exhortation); techniques of declamation (e.g., exaggeration, repetition, figures of speech); gestures and postures in orating; training in public speaking; occasions for oratory; etc. See also:

Stylistics 195
Gestures 201
Postures 516
Boasting 521
Lectures and debates 544
Parliamentary debates 646
Electioneering 666
Arguments in court 695
Pronouncing of spells 789
Preaching 793

*614 even to his own clear advantage,
771 already tested expedient, with th
gods with full observance of his c
other cases, to pious deception o
opportunity both to fulfill his rel
*614 gains from the conflict. Usually
628 procedure of the institution of bl
771 and indeed traces of religious ce
preserved among all peoples, am
count later on, this is distinctly
which demands a preliminary im
form of a battle between represe
killing of dogs, and the feeding
their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the pr
● 537 The principal role in the pro
554 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (
*614
[192]
[197]

1. I use the term of
western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: t
orator. Such a man enjoys speci
for in his view the eloquent indiv
ticular deity who constantly inspi
spires in him beautiful, convinci
influence on his hearers. The ve
ability to speak fluently and rapi
apart from the content of the spe
talent of the highest order. "His
windmill," thus, with awe, does
standing orators. The latter, in t
[532] ones. On the continent they alw
head of which is carved a human
deity which inspires them and hel
pathetic moments they wave thes
them in the event of the failure o
wrath of the gods upon themselves

but he has, as we know, an
e help of which he pacifies the
wn interest; he resorts, as in
f the gods, which offers him the
gious duty and to derive material
, this most important religious
ood money is completely ignored,
emonies of reconciliation are not
ong the Gilyak, as we shall re-
clear from the ritual of ransom,
itation of blood revenge in the
ntatives of the warring clans, the
of the spirit of the dead man with

actice of this institution.
ocedure of reconciliation is played
1).

the more widespread

he explaining man, /104/ eloquent,
al regard in the eyes of the Gilyak,
vidual is the chosen one of a par-
ires him, dwells in him, and in-
ng speeches and an irresistible
ery quickness of speech, the
dly for a prolonged time, even
ech, is already considered a
tongue turns like the wings of a
s the Gilyak characterize out-
turn, regard themselves as chosen
ays carry a wooden rod, on the
face, depicting, apparently, that
lps them to convince others. At
e threateningly, swearing to break
f their arguments and bring the
s and their intractable opponent.

/145 conc./

Both the case-form *gilenq*, in the form gila ч̌ьнчун or ginenq, appear at a kinship term — namely, in the meaning of younger brother of the father: *gila-ч̌ун* — father — is a term that has evidently been made up under the influence of the Tungus *ajja*.

Plural kinship terms. Due to the classificatory system there has developed the concept of the plural of the term such as father, mother, wife in reference to a single individual, for example, *ч̌ун* plurals *ч̌ун* — "I am going to my fathers" (i. e., to the village where the clan of the speaker's father lives, even though his own father may no longer be alive); *ч̌ун* plurals *ч̌ун* — "I am going to my fathers and mothers."

/146/ Owing to the frequent use of such terms in the plural, a sudden curious phenomenon has resulted. In the first place, they have begun to use the plural form of a given term in those cases where by the sense that reference is to only one person, for example, in the phrase, "I have a kinsman" — "where did my father go?" they often say, "*ч̌ун-ин* (kinsman) *ч̌ун* — "where did my fathers go?" Another example: "*ata*, *ритйин ninja*" — "O, elder brother, only one father (?)"! Said immediately after the characteristic example

1. L. Sibenrieg, Materialy po inostrannoj gilliarskoju azyku I Sa'ksyr (Materials for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore), I, p. 15, Iste 173. Petersburg, 1896. Published in the Notes of the Gilyak Language and Folklore, I, p. 15, Iste 173. Petersburg, 1896. Published in the Notes of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vol. 73, Appendix No. 1.

from one of the texts taken down by me (G). The hero of a

2. Ibid., p. 85, Iste 108-109; p. 86, Iste 110-112.

/146 conc./

In these cases where the "older brother" are evidently form the class "*ata*" with respect to the river of "younger brother" — namely, the "younger brother" is the "older brother" of the deceased, but here also, in the absence of "younger brother," one of the "older brothers" is obliged to accept the name "*ata*" — "father." However, in killed too, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my will in my report." In such is the force of the elective categories of importance of marriages between the categories common relatives. This interpretation, the Gilyak *ритйин* ninja, must speak in detail. The levirate marriage is a more or less exceptional phenomenon, when he has not the exemption in comparison with the bears of marriage later on. For one purpose the right—although not necessarily—of the levirate, and *ритйин* lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the marriage terminology, in other words, in the condition of the normal marriages. This right—obligation characteristic of the levirate, which, as we have seen, is a thing more considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall further — the Gilyak *ata* is also used in the meaning of father and mother, father and clansmen, "*Гоголевайн*" (relatively, "my wives") — in the sense of the beloved and her girl-friends. The term "*ata*" (namely, "father-in-law /*ритйин*") — the son-in-law together with his wives. In a curious clan in Tamgu we evidently meet the same phenomenon. I judge this by one case introduced by Imbut'sen, where a man says "my father" (father-in-law) of "my father", although Imbut'sen admits that the plural could be used out of respect to the man's father, namely, in the case, in the same context — "a friend to my fathers will wander" — the father is being addressed by the plural form, which, most apparently there is no need for rendering any particular respect.

/147 conc./

Marriage of the Gilyak. Then he immediately enters the killer to be summoned to his house, that is, the man against whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was unpremeditated, and he says to him: "I have come to allow into his house, and in the presence of the assembled members of the clan he solemnly says: "Brother, I have killed, I killed you, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my will in my report." In such is the force of the elective categories of importance of marriages between the categories common relatives. This interpretation, the Gilyak *ритйин* ninja, must speak in detail. The levirate marriage is a more or less exceptional phenomenon, when he has not the exemption in comparison with the bears of marriage later on. For one purpose the right—although not necessarily—of the levirate, and *ритйин* lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the marriage terminology, in other words, in the condition of the normal marriages. This right—obligation characteristic of the levirate, which, as we have seen, is a thing more considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall further — the Gilyak *ata* is also used in the meaning of father and mother, father and clansmen, "*Гоголевайн*" (relatively, "my wives") — in the sense of the beloved and her girl-friends. In the Gilyak *ata* also stands for the son-in-law /*ритйин*/ — the son-in-law together with his wives. In a curious clan in Tamgu we evidently meet the same phenomenon. I judge this by one case introduced by Imbut'sen, where a man says "my father" (father-in-law) of "my father", although Imbut'sen admits that the plural could be used out of respect to the man's father, namely, in the case, in the same context — "a friend to my fathers will wander" — the father is being addressed by the plural form, which, most apparently there is no need for rendering any particular respect.

/147 conc./

body was laid on the funeral platform amidst a huge and solemn crowd of Gilyak who had assembled from all directions, the relatives of the deceased, before the wife of the older brother, with her hair unbound as a sign of mourning, climbed up to it, made obeisance to the corpse, and in complete silence, as if in a trance, she solemnly says: "Brother, I have killed you, give me your daughter." Then the relatives of the deceased, and in complete silence, as if in a trance, and in complete silence, as if in a trance, and in complete silence, as if in a trance

/336 cont. /

In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual intercourse and marriages of Gilyaks women are often confused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyaks known to me. On Sakhalin I know of two cases. In the settlement of Yanu, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak, Chokhu, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum stille was underdeveloped) and wore woman's clothing. Later the membrum virile attained the proper development, and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married. I learned of another instance in the settlement of Ney Gyrk on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. There I once met two young people sitting on the dikes, a man and a woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed that the latter very much resembled a man in dat face. My companion explained that only a year ago the had been wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing together. They had to spend the night together, and then the hermaphrodite revealed her sex to her friend. From that time on they began to live together and ended up by getting married, although people strongly urged the young man against it. /Taking this into account, there can be no question of a rise to the legends about transformed persons (those werewolves), /

/337 cont. /

but the latter very boldly and seriously spoke to me with concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that he was developing a membrum virile, which could send sometimes grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes disappear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the course of several years the hard grow and the male organ was definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

XII.

Methods of Obtaining a Wife

/338 Data from the epos. It is first of interest to reconstruct the picture of the acquisition of a wife in the old days according to the old texts of epic poems. Judging from these texts, especially from the so-called yrkhnad (poems), the acquisition of a wife in the old days was not at all an easy matter (1).

/339 (1). That the procuring of a wife was a matter of great difficulty is very expression for this undertaking, gulyk i yarpgyl, literally "to the dogs, to wash or nanygyled is a technical term for the hunting of a beast, usually accompanied by difficulties with the stench and all sorts of dangers.

On the contrary, one of the chief exploits of the heroes is the search for a wife. In order to find his wife, the hero of a Gilyak poem must undertake the most difficult and arduous journeys to the end of the world; he must kill over normy seas, even among the heavens in the underworld or the bottom of the sea, not to speak of all sorts of heroic deeds with whole clans of the most fearsome foes -- deeds concerned in the course of these peregrinations.

Why is it so, why must the hero, a strong man, of necessity seek his wife far away, when he has every opportunity to find a wife nearby?

First of all, we shall note that the aforementioned term nanygyled "to seek a wife" is very clear, and we have to think that the ordinary mode of securing a wife for the heroes was force, abduction. They, the heroes, did not buy wives, but most frequently they obtained their wives in the most peaceful manner, without even paying anything. This is

/359 cont. /

evidence is known to every interested individual, and consequently we can find them in the same settlement. But such is the fate of heroes; marvellous adventures always fall to their lot. Commonly they are isolated people, whose lives have suffered some catastrophe. In the epics they relate that the hero appears with his demands he is addressed by the term yrmyl -- son-in-law /yrgyl/, and the woman to whom he makes claim are designated ninyl, he then also refer to some other possible candidates, silent to him, they do not call her ninyl. Here is a characteristic example. The hero of one poem (2) /360/ was rejected by his

2. L. Shternberg, Materialy po inorodtsam gilliatskogo laryka i t.d. Sbornik Muzeiskogo Obozreniya. Otdel. Gilyatsk Language and Folklore/, 1908, p. 118.

lawful nanygyl, who declared that if she had to marry him she would kill herself. Then the hero said: "Why, why, why? Once the maiden does not want him, what can you do? Go and seek another woman." And, appearing at the house of whom he is to be his wife, he must kill over normy seas, even among the heavens in the underworld or the bottom of the sea, not to speak of all sorts of heroic deeds with whole clans of the most fearsome foes -- deeds concerned in the course of these peregrinations.

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/360 cont. /

such statements, as we shall see further on, are not at all rare. In the epic poems of the Gilyaks, the hero, faced the man of olden times -- either to marry his lawful nanygyl, who belongs to him by law, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal to an alien woman as a special form of marriage -- proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /bilyl yrk/ as its bloody consequence, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

The one and the same, the father of the bride, questions the hero: "Then art a man from where?" Our Gilyaks: "I am a dweller of the village in the middle of the bay; I have come to take my daughter in marriage." The hero said: "Give me, Father, my child, this giant has come to take thee, go with him." This woman said: "Why, why, why? I shall go with him." The hero said: "No, slaves! Prepare a meal, feed the guest". -- Our Gilyak sat with his wife. Having eaten, having finished, he set out with his wife" (1). Another example: the hero

depicts this simplicity of ritual. "That old man (the father of the bride) said: 'Eat with your husband.' Then that woman sits with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, attained, came to the house of the bridegroom, got in under one blanket, lay down, and slept." On the following day the hero departed with his wife and the dowry (2).

2. Ibid., 81.

But along with such lawful marriages there are also marriages of a different character, which have no sanction. And this is quite natural, for such misfortune may overtake the hero that the clans of his lawful father-in-law may become extinct, and willy-nilly he must obtain a wife by force.

/361 cont. /

Contemporary method of obtaining a wife. Up to the present time Gilyak law has retained the old custom of marrying a woman of the nanygyl category, a woman who is regarded as his wife by right, which, however, is frequently not consecrated "pure." And people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the categories of nanygyl the most complete example is the daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most schedule in marriage. The hero is more dear than the daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a marriage is so highly valued that even before the future spouses appear in the world of the living they promise to each other their word to unite the children in marriage. Even before the birth of the children, when they have reached age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the classmen of one side or the other a formal act of agreement in the form of betrothal of the future spouses. The mother of the groom may carry on the negotiations, not with the father of the bride (as is the case in other cases, versation between brother and sister is prohibited) but with his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to this: the mother-in-law /yrat/ /yrat/ /yrat/

/ГЛ1 conds./
of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, sympathy or the desire to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and what is important is that, it is not in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to intermarry between clans. Here, too, men's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot marry her.

There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Ilimsing clan who have entered into a union with the Chukcy with the Khydyr' in Chal'bo. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak who which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun: they were sent on the Amgun by Pytyvu (1). There are

1: In the text, "bea," but, judging by sense it is a misprint for "bea," meaning "marbleskin glitterbugs satyba I fed Mom Pakhamsin to the Gilyak and Tungus and Yukagir and Yukhtsyr, this is a mistake

also Golds who are kin to snakes.

A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a Koman, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Koman stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover was in the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home — her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Koman demanded that his wife sleep with him. But she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating, a tumpline saber, and also burned tried to protect her; the Koman complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Koman (petitioner) the

/ГЛ2/
A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take widows without marriage. A man is helped by a sister to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and what is important is that, it is not in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to intermarry between clans. Here, too, men's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot marry her.

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/ГЛ4/ Kin
Interpretation of a storytelling character. To compose, to tend. In Gilyak dialects, it is kin. This is a legend, truth.

/ГЛ5/ Kmal may be tied to a gl'ka/ "gl'ksh (marvellous) in Amurian, meaning a feeling of joy and happiness. / gl'ksh-/ Gilyak, who sits on the origin of the speaker. When interrupting stories (multiple) or conversations, Gilyak (a Gilyak) said, "I can," and begin to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that one man who was impatient by the richness and elusive quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyen listened with ecstasy and with interest mixed for explanations.

Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song was far from that which accompanied /ГЛ7/conds. There is a great deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In Amur-Sakhalin region Gilyak dance beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in places flows into the thinnest pizzicato, while they believe that Gilyak pizzicato sound with tremendous elegance. The strike song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of the strike, the Gilyak performer, the cat by the shoulder, and the word: "Kmal ka" — "than it is said." Frequently, in the Gilyak language, there are Kmal, Kmal, Dictatorium and singing in narration. In a /ка/ conds. a) fact belonging, b) that which belongs, c) belonging, d) singing with all one's might, ending in e) fortitude with exhaling.

1: Dictatorium — a single-verse recitative.

2: Dictatorium, the artistic communication of conversations in Gilyak: recitative and especially Gilyak. The sick woman is accompanied to it, it is very melodious.

4: Those present support him with yells: /ylk/ /ylk/ /ylk/ /ylk/ etc.

The /ылк/ka is a kind which comes on the wind. They pull the /ылк/ka, and the /ылк/ka sings the song. Two men come a distinct and a tape, and the /ылк/ka raises it and pulls over the jungle.

/ГЛ9 conds./
with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. Tyen attempts to sing and has great reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of respect for a poorer man is a peculiar source, not complete, rather, however, to our understanding. It was the feeling of respect for the poor man (Gilyak) said, "I can," and begin to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that one man who was impatient by the richness and elusive quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyen listened with ecstasy and with interest mixed for explanations.

Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song was far from that which accompanied /ГЛ7/conds. There is a great deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In Amur-Sakhalin region Gilyak dance beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in places flows into the thinnest pizzicato, while they believe that Gilyak pizzicato sound with tremendous elegance. The strike song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of the strike, the Gilyak performer, the cat by the shoulder, and the word: "Kmal ka" — "than it is said." Frequently, in the Gilyak language, there are Kmal, Kmal, Dictatorium and singing in narration. In a /ка/ conds. a) fact belonging, b) that which belongs, c) belonging, d) singing with all one's might, ending in e) fortitude with exhaling.

1: Dictatorium — a single-verse recitative.

2: Dictatorium, the artistic communication of conversations in Gilyak: recitative and especially Gilyak. The sick woman is accompanied to it, it is very melodious.

4: Those present support him with yells: /ylk/ /ylk/ /ylk/ /ylk/ etc.

The /ылк/ka is a kind which comes on the wind. They pull the /ылк/ka, and the /ылк/ka sings the song. Two men come a distinct and a tape, and the /ылк/ka raises it and pulls over the jungle.

burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they had to make a fire, which they had brought the corpse and the shaman. Shaman's corpse was placed in the fire, and the shaman was placed in the fire. The burning of the corpse took place indefinitely later, on the day of the "rib." The fire in the corpse was burned, and the shaman was placed in the fire. The fire in the corpse was burned, and the shaman was placed in the fire. The fire in the corpse was burned, and the shaman was placed in the fire.

/121 conf./

Lakkam. Whatever I have, (with it) am ready to aid thee, although I have nothing.

539 Pavu. If thou hast something, wait thou not pay me, with this not wish to laugh?

Lakkam. To day I have nothing (but nothing, it is not so?

Pavu. Of course.

Lakkam. If thou hast something, then wait have pay me.

Pavu. Then thou hast have nothing, I gladness me. Thus in truth thou not ready to give me what thou hast?

Lakkam. What I have, if thou shall ask, I am ready to give thee.

After this the matchmaker again proclaimed, and finally, everyone fully assented. Then the bridegroom's father gave me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I have a son. Let us become ahmrah's."

To this Lakkam replied: "I have already given my word to others."

Pavu: What if you did give your word to another man? You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to court with you.

After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the business negotiations concerning the bride price.

Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak Shamanist of the bride price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak call this institution is extremely characteristic. The term, I believe, throws light on the very origin of the institution.

In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by the word gif, gif from mimgif, or-kaa-gif, or-kaa-gif, literally, gif means a present, a gift, which the family or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan of the bride. This term was not formed by chance it shows from two following. In other tribal clans where compensation for such relative is obligatory, for example, in the case of [illegible] — [illegible] said for an abducted woman, for a

J:Sternberg--412 E-3 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RXG Gilyak RXG

/124 conf./

539 be advised on how to live in a strange land, and, if she is unhappy about the marriage, they try to persuade her in every way possible. During the farewell feast the groom's father introduces the bride, and both eat from one dish and smoke from the same pipe, but during that day they usually do not converse. In general, the groom is supposed to compact himself modestly the whole day, and not to converse. Late in the evening, when the feast is over, the bride's mother orders the bridegroom to lie down on the bride's bed, and the marriage act is consummated. On the next morning the newly married woman brings breakfast to her husband. The newly married woman calls her husband." On that very morning they depart. Before the departure there is a last [illegible] and at that time the parents of the bride exchange prayers of good wishes. Here is an example of such benedictions, taken down on the Amur.

"If god gives happiness, they will live out their time happily. If there is no happiness, they will live out their time badly. O god, make the life of our children happy ever."

After this the father or a clansman of the groom says /125/ the following prayer: "O god, make, may there be the time of our children, in order that we may live happily; to our life together give good fortune."

Saying their benedictions, they sprinkle vodka in the direction of the heavens and in all directions. Before actually carrying out they go through a ceremony which begins the wedding. The ceremony is called "the battle." It consists of the following. At the inner side of the threshold of the yurt there is placed a large Manchurian kettle with two little ears (for the feeding of dogs) from the bride price of the groom, and at the outer side a small kettle from the bride's parents. Upon going out of the yurt, the bride and the groom, each with the other, pour one ladle of the large kettle and the other four in the small kettle, not treading on the threshold. This ceremony establishes a friendship union of mutual nourishment and mutual friendship in the presence of the two female penates — the "old woman-mistress of the threshold" and the "mistress of the crossbeam over the door."

J:Sternberg--416 E-3 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RXG Gilyak RXG

/126 conf./

539 They saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one saw them an Amur Gilyak named Tyr, 22 years old and from the upper (or inner) side of the Amur, went to the Ulcha land (Tyrkhala) and married the Ulcha girl Ulchi Ulchi. The Ulcha girl Ulchi Ulchi, while the Amur Gilyak Tyr, 22 years old, was in the Ulcha land, married the Ulcha girl Ulchi Ulchi. The Amur Gilyak Tyr, 22 years old, and the Ulcha girl Ulchi Ulchi, married in the Ulcha land

/346 cont./

539 down; no one knew. They were sleeping; he dreamed (that the fish said to him: "This is your little boy, see to it that no one knows. Feed him well. If another Gilyak looks, the little boy will die. You will have many fish, in hunting you will have many sables and bears." Many days passed, and there were many fish. In autumn he went to set nooses; the god provided 50 sables; he looked for bears in the ridges and killed three bears. One more year passed, and the little boy grew rapidly, the little boy began to carry the dagger -- the ytk (father) became old -- and the god gave many fish to the little boy; then he went after the bears /346/ and killed many with the dagger, no weapons except the dagger; he killed 30 bears. On one occasion the largest bear came. The bear wanted to eat him, but he struck it in the head with the dagger, and the bear ran away alive; again the little boy went home and lay down to sleep. Again he had an uyngid. Pal-n'ivukh came with a hole in his head and blood and said: "Party! You constantly strike our head with your dagger; if you are strong, I shall not kill you, if I am strong I shall kill you. Now you will have ukhmund." The little boy again went to hunt for bear. The big bear himself came; the bear immediately grabbed the dagger that was hanging on his body and the little boy was not able to get at it. Then they entered into single combat; they wrestled for a long, long time, and both fell dead.

A bear argued with a chipmunk /burunduk/: "I am afraid only of dogs." And the chipmunk said: "And I am not at all afraid of dogs." The first: "I am afraid of arrows." The second: "And I am not afraid of arrows." The bear became angry and scratched the chipmunk with its paw. Hence, five spots (?--illegible. S. Sh.) on the back of the chipmunk.

A noose said to a trap: "Go ahead and catch by yourself, I shall not catch." The trap said: "You go yourself and catch," etc. As a result they did not catch anything.

/750 cont./

778 532 [126] Several neatly carved and interesting idols were also sold to me in the village of Patt. On one the back of the head had the shape of a heart; on another two human figures stood on a block which represented two hearts (Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 5). /751/ The heart (ngif), by the way, is very often used on such carvings (see 13 /p. 1202/ above).

[825] Among the idols here there was one with the head of a tung or sea bear /fur seal/. The sea dog /harbor seal/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (2 S.R. I, pp. 6-9).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tschchyrkrach at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a flying fish-man. The head is similar to the head of a fish, with iron teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass-beads. The front and rear extremities are attached near the back of the neck. The former are evidently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out toward the front, the latter toward the rear, approximately on a horizontal plane with the head, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p. 1266/, Fig. 1). C. v. Ditmar (who was in part instrumental in my obtaining the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patchá there is a legend which he was not disinclined to connect with it, since this village and the cape mentioned were not far apart.

778 532 539 "Once upon a time," the story goes, "the Gilyak of Patchá returned from fishing on two boats laden with fish. They were too tired to unload the fish at once and postponed the work until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark or the like. The next morning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly proved that someone had made a hearty meal of them. They therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

G /751 cont./
778 third time and again brought back two full boats. But this time
532 they decided to keep watch during the night in order to detect
539 the destroyer of their catch. They succeeded and the culprit was caught. It was a strange shape with the head of a fish and human arms and legs. The monster was placed in a structure similar to the one erected for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived in this captivity for a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free it. They took it to a cape on the Amur River between the village of Patchä and Cape Tschchyrkrach and tied it there to a well. But the monster bit the rope in two and disappeared, so that when the Gilyak returned it was no longer there."

G 778 764 I now asked among the Gilyak what the figure represented and what its purpose was. They replied unanimously that the figure was called wagn, and they explained to me that this designated the place where the corpse of a slain Gilyak was burned (Bm. I, pp. 50, 51.)

23. Gilyak. Standing in the brush near the village of Patt (on the right bank of the Amur) there was a wagn which was for a Gilyak who had been killed by an Amgunj /Amgun/ Nägda
G [126] /Negda/. The wagn was old and the eyes had fallen out, but the extremities were all there, only much less carefully /752/ worked than on the specimen acquired by me in Tschchyrkrach. The wagn reached from the ground up to my belt and was pointing with the head to where the murderer lived, that is, in the direction of the Amgunj. I do not wish to say, however, that such an arrangement was the rule among the Gilyak. (2 S. R. I, p. 8.)

G 778 825 764 [163] 24. Olcha. The Olcha assign an identical fate to those who die peacefully and those killed by human hand and erect no wagn for the latter, as do the Gilyak. According to the information of the Olcha Chossiambo the representation of the wagn is based on the bird kóro whose appearance in any village is disastrous for its entire population. For whoever sees it must die. Such a
G 778 825 773 case had happened many years before in the village of Chala, opposite Kisi (Kidsi?). The kóro had come and perched on the tip of a larch tree (Olcha sissa, Gilyak koi), where the inhabitants of Chala saw it, and all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

9. Hawes--116 L-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 539, 766, 775, 825

"Wild swans occasionally flew across high overhead, and a woodpecker could be heard tap-tapping the trees. Our natives eagerly asked us to shoot the eagles which soared aloft or settled on the top of a high tree, only to fly away as we approached within gunshot. These were the white-tailed eagles (Haliëtus albicillus), prized by the natives for their tail-feathers, for which they declared the Chinese gave them three dollars (about 6s.). The Japanese (in Yezo) are said to use them to indicate the residence of a person of importance by placing them over his door; in any case, the Gilyaks themselves value the feathers, which they use for arrow-heads. The wings are also prized by them, being placed at the grave of a Gilyak who has been murdered or has committed suicide, to aid his soul in its flight to heaven."

116, 173, 183, 212, 539

"The Gilyaks have no written language, but they have a legend to account for the want of it. I learnt it from one of their number, Imdin by name, the only Sakhalin Gilyak known to have been brought up and educated by the Russians. He is an intelligent youth, and had been sent to a school at Vladivostok, where I met him in the charge of a political exile, to whom he owed nearly everything.

'The legend current among my tribe,' he said, with a smile, 'tells how a Gilyak and a Chinaman were talking together one day on the shore. The former was showing his books and letters (characters) to the latter, when most unfortunately a great wind arose, and blew away all the letters save five; and to complete this great catastrophe, when the Gilyak's back was turned the Chinaman meanly made off with the small remnant.'

The Ainus have a not dissimilar legend, in which, according to one version, their letters and records were stolen by their guest from Japan, while they were yet recovering from after-dinner effects."

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

116, 527, 539, 756, 782

"The following, however, is the part played by
i. e. the medicine man immediately preceding t
as given me by an observer on the island.

The cham, with a pine-twig in his hand, ami
close to the bear and whispers in its ear—
'You have eaten many berries,
'You have caught many fish,
'You have frightened many people;
'Your ancestors and your comrades have 'brok
'Therefore you must die for it.
'But your "host" has fed you three whole years,
(dried fish),
'He has given you the best water,
'He has taken you for walks,
'He has bathed you thrice a day (1) in the "sumn

1. I am afraid this is imposing on the bear's
business getting him out of his cage; and th
frequently, it was then autumn, than once a

this functionary at this juncture, [LSS:
the sacrifice of the bear at the bear fête

d the deep silence of the spectators, goe

en' many Gilyaks:

not stinting the delicious yukola

ner year,"

memory. It is such a difficult
ose I saw were not taken out more
fortnight for a constitutional.

116, 527, 539, 756, 782

'And three "winter years" you have li
'He, your host, will not kill you:
'Therefore you must not complain ab

ived in a nice warm lodging;

bout him to the great lord of the mounta

[A Legend about Pilavo] Amur

/294 cont./

539 generation has now all died out. They bore children and multiplied (Takhta -- two yurts, Kabachi -- two yurts, Chilma -- eight families, Khez' -- all Pilavyn. They bore children and multiplied and built a large isba -- about 15 sagenes (1) (three

1. I.e., about 30 meters.

ordinary ones); he lived there. All the Pilavyn (inhabitants of Pilavo) lived in this crowded yurt, while the others lived in another yurt. They lived richly, made trips to Japan, Manchuria (Saysin), and Korsakovsk, they bought Chinese women, female slaves for them (beyond Saysin), and also Ainu women and male and female slaves (krǒgrys) for them; they lived very richly, they all had full wealth. Once there was a holiday. They boiled dog meat (formerly they ate dog meat). The children began to fight, the elders stepped in, and a fight broke out. It even came to knives. The old man Yuryng (from the Arkhong clan) came from Tebakh and reconciled them. After that, however, they would now and again get drunk on khan'shina and, once again, a fight. A full assembly was called (assembly -- vopud kymlydz), and /295/ the people began to divide things up. The workers had married, and their children were also slaves. First they divided the slaves, various things, and furs. One [103] brother, together with his slaves, set off up the Amur: "I shall look for a place like Khez' (formerly it was called Pilavo, in the Chinese books it was called Tajrá, and in Goldi daj gasá -- large village). Their nickname was hes'-pilavo from the word hes' -- gullet, because they fight over their gullet and not over serious things. He stopped near the Goldi settlement of Yky (the settlement of Sarapul'skoye). Yky was inhabited by the ancient Gilyak emigrants from the settlement of Pilavo on Sakhalin. They bore children and multiplied and now not many of them are left. They still burn their dead.

Amur

/297 cont./

614 796 but we have daughters and in-laws, and it is necessary that everybody know, and therefore necessary that we should celebrate a common bear festival." Each k:khal should buy one, or better, two-three-four bears. They agree. They buy a bear and prepare mos'. The bear is fattened as fat as possible; they feed it about two years; they prepare mos' and buy racing dogs. The time for the festival finally arrives: they play games, wrestle, then kill the bear. Before the killing of the bear, an old man is selected -- he does not have to be the bear's master; he is the nga khez'-ni'vukh; he cannot decline. He says the word to the bear: "Chi pilá pal' urgur p'ach adz: kukujá pkhylava:r chajpidugujá!" -- thou, big mountain (mountain man), shake off well our Gilyak dust. Turn around so that I can see you."

They killed it, cut up its meat (the bones must not be broken), brought it into an isba, and boiled the meat. They compete in a "race" -- vardz:. They call together both clans, men and women, and distribute the bear meat to all. As a rule, the elder consults with the master on how to divide the bear. The main bones are the two tibial bones -- tereng, and the two pelvic ones -- pyjkh. The tibial and the pelvic bones are given [688] to the most honored persons. It is a sin to give the head and the 614 kidneys to the young people, the kidneys are very important. The 796 khlaj n'ivukh then says: "K:khal m'ekh:r: ólagu k:khálgu 539 umguólagu umgugu-tokh itdz: furará; navat m'er: chuz'n'akhr: ngar: /298/ n'akh:r: munakhana. K:khal itdz: furará: "umgu n'i ó:la, utku n'i ó:la, umgu n'anak, n'i n'anak, n'i nanak'ar. Nafkhá-chi n'anak furará navát, chiagr. Ni ykyn furará n'an ch'ach'ek munakhana." Another representative answers: "Agitlá, pilymra siktumá mer: vará tyngyztá ching ag:yr: ningrota, ningagr vara chingrodá, n'ishak lyt k:khal, k:khal munakhanó." "To the children of the two clans, to the clans to the little girls and the women I say: 'Now we shall become common meat and common blood.'" The clan speaks thus (1): (Every) woman is my

1. Evidently, one representative of a clan to another.

Amur

/298 cont./

614 796 child (daughter), (every) man is my child (son), a woman -- 539 an elder sister (also aunt) is my sister (my aunt). Now thou, comrade, art called sister; thou, too. I am an elder brother, but I shall now also become your younger." "Of course. We all equally did great things together. You also helped us and we also helped you equally. Once we have formed a clan, we shall become a clan.

"Elder (i.e., the person chosen for the distribution of the meat; he may be young)! Think well; do not give the good to big girls, to big sisters (aunts), or to sons-in-law /zyat'ya/. Give much to the big people, less to the little girls, feed the kidneys to the big old man of the clan, serve the head; distribute the back fat equally, do not share unequally. Give the tibial bone to the elder sons-in-law, give the pelvic bone to the sons-in-law. "Pilynga urgur kymlyjá, umguolagu pilý, nanakagú pilý, ok:ongú-tokh urlý chus' ngokh ta rozgujá, pila n'ivukhdokh malg:ógur khet'ijá umguolagudokh khiskioguja! K:khalgu pila, hejmartokh, tafut jarjá k:orkh khet'ijá. Tereng pily okhomdokh khitirá, pyjkh n'yn'yv póradokh khet'ijá, mur:k ngokh vará rozjá ta rozgujá..."

614 796 After preliminary consultation, a certain person finally brings in the bear and hands it over to the important person, who then, in the presence of several urdla n'ivukh (good people), inquires: "Why?" The person who brought in the bear answers: "I want to enter into ceremonial brotherhood." "All right,"

Next k:khal are consulted without him. During the festival the new clansmen buy dogs and prepare food. During the eating [606] the son-in-law says analogous things, while the fathers-in-law call him father-in-law, brother-in-law, etc. At the end of the festival they give the adopted one their own flints -- tugur:, but they do not give him the real uig tuur (the tabooed fire). There are no more than two or three uig tuur in a village. They light the fire at a bear festival; on a hunt only the urdla n'ivukh takes it when he goes for bear.

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
794 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
796 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
● 539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
841 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
854 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
[562] feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
[578] away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[833] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
[158] She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings.. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/344 cont./

VIII.

Folklore (1)

114
● 539 1. The two tales printed below were found in Shternberg's archives without a Gilyak text. All the remaining folklore materials not included in Volume 1 of his Materialov po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/ are planned for separate publication. S. Sh.

539 Tale No. 1. Once upon a time two brothers, no mother, no sister, no one, lived alone quietly by themselves. In the spring they went to hunt a bear, one in one direction, the other in the other one. The elder brother sat down to s--t (in great need); a fishing rod from the sky caught (him) and took him into the sky. The younger brother searched for but did not find his brother. He returned home alone. At night, when he was asleep, he dreamed (tyjnd) that a Gilyak came and said that his brother was taken into the sky.

"Be careful, you, too, will be taken into the sky." He woke up and began to look for the Gilyak, no one!

He took a long leather rope and a pole and make a large shed. In the morning he went to s--t, the fishing rods descended, grabbed him, and picked him up. The chain broke and fell. He looked; the chain was all gold. With the chain there were four small bells -- (k:ongkh):, three large, one small. The Gilyak did not touch anything. There was a whole pile of chain.

The following night he was sleeping -- someone got the chain and the little bell, and the little bell rang. In the morning he did not find them; he looked in the storehouse -- bears' heads. He went fishing and caught a whole boatful of small, small fish. One small, beautiful fish /345/ was unfamiliar; he put it in the bow of his boat. Upon approaching a seal, he saw smoke from his yurt. He thought: "Where is that coming from, are we on fire?"

/345 cont./

● 539 And he was still sitting on the bank and thinking thus.

At this point a little boy came running toward him. He caught the beautiful fish and ran away home. He began to think, what sort of boy is this, he must look, find out. He went into the yurt, looked: two women, his elder brother, the little boy. Both women were the daughters of Tlyik Tol-n'ivukh, taken to the sky by Tly-n'ivukh.

The elder daughter loves the Sakhalin Gilyak very much; she lowered a fishing rod and dragged off the Gilyak. Then the younger sister lowered her fishing rod and it broke. The younger had a son from one of the Tly n'ivukh; she did not want him; it was impossible to catch anything with the fishing rod; they descended.

To lose a little bell -- means to lose one's reason. When they took the little bells, it seemed as if their reason returned. The younger brother took the younger sister; the little boy became the son of this brother. The wife began cleaning fish.

The elder brother said to the younger /fem./: "Here is your husband, and this fish will be yours, go, clean it and dry it." She took a knife and went. Her husband thought: "I shall do a little smoking and then go and dry the fish." He finished smoking, went outside, and his fish was already prepared. Then they lived richly. They put the little bells with their things, and they had (everything).

Tale No. 2. Tylgund (from Obona). The first Gilyak was born in Aleksandrovsk. He caught a fish, caught Tarmyk-cho; he could not kill it because it was umgu, and he threw it alive into the sea again; on the following day he again caught it -- "threw it into the sea, did not tell anybody." He did that many times. In the summer the fish gave birth to a little boy and cast him on the shore. The man saw: "Who is this little boy?" If he has a father, he will come and take him. The father found out, took the little boy, and made a balagan on the shore; by the side of the boy there was a big dagger, which his father took with him. The Gilyak gathered grass (kenkhong), made a bed, and they settled

Hawes--265-268 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 539

On the End of Cape Siata h
Wrinkled up
And featherless,
From his forehead mud ru

Oh unhappy I! I look round
I am sorry for myself,
The owlet
Sat on my knees, (1)

1. She is distressed because, in her mind's eye,
beside her or on her knees.

Hooting and trembling;
He lifts up
His head (all) white.

In a boat I saw thee,
On a level with the edge,
But the boat was without p

e sat

ns down.

myself,

she sees him come and sit

row;

10: Coxwell--121-124 B-3 (no d
116, 539

"THE BRAVE GILYAK AN

2. L. Y. Sternberg, p. 201.

A father and his two sons went together on
firewood, sacrificed to the Sea and the Moun
made an [122] offering to the Fire. When the
up the entrance. They were terrified, but, a
dreamed that he approached the tiger, and s
tinder? Speak! Have you come because you h
various valuable things? I may not have then
for you. Maybe, you require dogs of another
require anything of you, but your son has be
kill me; if I am the stronger, I will kill him.
your younger son.'

Afterwards, the old man got up and said,
Do not boast! I told you before, but you did n
son and said, 'My boy, we will both go back;
'Father, why are you going without me? Oh,

D THE GRATEFUL TIGER (2)

a sable hunt. They reached their tent, cut
tain, obtained water, entered the tent and
ey had eaten, a great tiger came and filled
fter awhile, the father fell asleep and
aid, 'Have you come because you have no
ave no flint? Speak! Perhaps you require
n, but, if I go to my village, I will get them
breed?' The tiger answered, 'I do not
en boasting. If he is the stronger, let him
Tell him of my command! and go home with

'Son, here is my order. Are you listening?
not obey.' Then he turned to his younger
roll up your bedding.' The elder son said,
wait for me. Will you not forgive me?' The

9: Hawes--265-268 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 539

A long whip (lay)
Across the bow,
I raised the whip
And cried,
'Owl bird,
Thy face is against the s
Wrinkled
Is thy high forehead.'

I am sorry for myself,
But do not thou say of m
That thou art sorry for

The meaning is not everywhere clear, and the t
was intended is one that has to be resisted. There
Her disappointed lover is described as featherle
his forehead; and, again, as peevish in his cries
In the third verse (the divisions are mine) she b
cause his attentions make her miserable, and he
whereupon she strikes a note of contempt in her e
Another picture rises without warning before us

sun, and therefore

e
me. [268]
emptation to read more into it than
is no doubt of her withering scorn.
ess (bald), and with mud running down
for 'various things.'
reaks into her plaint, apparently be-
persists in sitting down beside her,
pithet of 'owlet,' or fledgeling.
in the fourth verse. It is like a child's

9: Hawes--265-268 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 539

story made up on the spur of the moment. She
prow), and a whip, a long dog's whip the words
'Thy face is against the sun, and therefore wri
tempted to see in them a warning to the suitor
the night, aspiring to the sunlight of her counte
that the maiden authoress, having kept up her
into narrative, and drawn a picture from mem

is in a boat, a canoe apparently (without
s imply, lies on the prow. Then she cries,
nkled is thy high forehead,' and one is
that he looks too high—he, a denizen of
enance. But I think it is more probable
metaphor so long, has a t length slid off
ory's portfolio."

10: Coxwell--121-124 B-3
116, 539

In the middle of the floor sat a v
girl. The man said, 'Dear father a
brought him in order to give him m
replied to his son, 'Send for your y
otter's flesh and bear's meat. Whe
chattered and laughed. It seemed t
who had been a tiger turned to then
friend, out of gratitude, in order t
you wish to give her, I am willing.
my village.'

The next day six men, heavily la
the Gilyaks went to Manchuria, loa
Manchurian Governor. The wife of
the tigress woman?' 'Yes,' was th
wife.' The Gilyak received the gif

In the autumn, when the elder sc
accompany him. But the elder scol
allowed the elder to depart, and th

ery old man and woman and, before them, a young
nd mother, out of gratitude to my friend, I have
ny sister; that is why he is here.' The old man
younger brother and explain to him.' They ate fish and
n the sun set, people appeared behind the hut and
o the Gilyak that eight people entered the hut. The man
n and said, 'Younger Brother, I have brought my
o give him our sister.' The younger man replied, 'If
' Then our Gilyak said, 'To-morrow, I will return to

den, bore furs to the village. The following summer,
ded three boats with the furs, and visited the
the Manchurian Governor said, 'Gilyak, did you marry
e reply. ' I send this pipe and this kerchief to your
ts and returned to his village.
n was about to go hunting, the younger wished to
ded him and forced him to remain. The younger
en followed in his footsteps. After going a long way

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

9: Hawes--265-268
116, 539

"The song that follows
the Gilyak maiden in c
the song of a Gilyak gi
summary and cruel re
picturing him as an ov
words—

i.e. admit that thou a

Coxwell--121-124 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
539

reaching a tent, he, the younger son, went into the forest, hewed wood, obtained
er, then entered the tent and kindled a fire. Just at sunset the noise of a tiger's
vements was heard. The elder brother said to the younger, 'These are my father-
's people, I am taking a wife from them. Do not fear them.' The tiger man's
ends appeared behind the tent and talked; whereupon our Gilyak went out to them a
d, 'Friends, will you not smoke tobacco?' The visitors laughed and talked, and
ered and, taking places, sat down. Afterwards, one of them noticed the foot of the
nger brother, who sat in a far corner so as not to frighten them; they were alarm
r Gilyak said, 'There is no reason to be alarmed; this is my younger brother.' T
er-man's party ate and slept soundly, rose the next day and departed, and the Gily
nt with them. After they had gone far, they reached the tiger's hut. They entered
nd [124] the wife was there. 'Friends,' the Gilyak said, 'I shall go home to-mor
e following day, taking his wife, he returned to his village and they lived."

, which I give in the original, with an English translation, reveals
uite another attitude. [LSS: See category 533, pp. 264-265 for
rl rejected by her lover] This is no impassioned appeal, but a
jection of her lover. She holds him up to ridicule in her song,
vl. She will have none of his addresses, and finishes with the

'Do not thou say of me
That thou art sorry for me.'
rt unworthy of me, and cease to say thou lovest me. [266]
GILYAK MAIDEN'S SONG.
[LSS: The Gilyak text of this song has not been
reproduced for the Files.] [267]
(TRANSLATION.)
The owl bird
Sat on top of a barkless tree
Hooting and trembling
And bending down.

The owl bird raises his head and cries,
For various things he asks;

l
-in-
nd
e
ned.
he
yak
and
row.'

1. L. Y. Sternberg,

Two women were dwelling togetl
seals, they were well off; they liv
the next day do something; they ha
After collecting a quantity, they r
entering a passage, they heard a r
I heard, sister?' The elder replie
young sister remarked, 'I am afr
replied, 'Never mind, let us go in
entered together and looked at the
the dish and set on the seat. They
'what is this? I do not understand.
it.' Helping herself, the elder sis
replied, 'I do not wish to eat; I ar
I shall sleep.' They both slept.

10: Coxwell--120 [3] B-3 (
116, 539

"Gilyak stories not included here, are
who Married a Seal, ' 'The Gilyak who M
who Married a Gilyak Woman. ' Clearly,
look on animals as little below themselve

: 'The Woman who Married a Fox,' 'The Woman
arried a Mountain-Woman', 'The Mountain-Man
, the Gilyaks are in the early stage when men
es, and on Nature as animated."

10: Coxwell--121 B-3 (no da
116, 539

"THE GILYAK WHO OFFEN

1. L. Y. Sternberg, No. 38.

Five men went into the forest to set snares.
sacrificial offerings and arranged snares. Bu
for the animals often got the better of him. H
In the evening, he prepared food and, seizing
fire with a single cup and said, 'If the lord is
he broke up the hearth, and all the party lay
In the night, the head of the party dreamed
set snares!' So when his companions departed
in his tent. A strange man appeared and said,
commanded to make you a present.' They wer
which were many sables. A man with a banda
and he gave the visitor twenty sables and said
broken up the hearth at the beginning of a sab
next year, with a bow and with arrows and a
will kill you; if you are stronger, you will kil
that!' In the summer this Gilyak perished dur

DED THE FIRE LORD(1)

. They erected tents, prepared food, made
t the chief hunter of sables was unfortunate,
e grew angry and collected all his snares.
an axe, placed it beside him; he fed the
present, let him eat!' Next, lifting his axe,
down to sleep.
that a man said to him, 'Remain here and
to their homes, this hunter stayed alone
'Come with me to my house; I am
nt away together and entered a house in
ged wound upon his face was sitting there
, 'If you come upon a Gilyak who has
le-hunt, say to him, "Provide yourself,
spear, and walk about; if I am stronger, I
l me," when you meet such a man, tell him
ing a hunting expedition."

father and the younger son tied up
'Step away and let us pass.' The
away.

The tiger returned and occupie
shirt and with his sleeves turned
After the Gilyak had struck with h
mighty effort, jumped into a larc
lad's boot, tore it away and fell d
die. The Gilyak let himself down,
much effort, drew him away, so

The lad descended, took his sp
He finished eating, and the tiger
ready to discharge an arrow; the
finished eating and threw himself
they came to a clear place. Ther
several tiger skins. The tiger ap
for the tiger, he shook himself,
Having lifted his [123] tiger-skin
the hut!

o their beds, and the father, turning to the tiger, sai
reupon the tiger moved aside and the two Gilyaks wer

d the entrance. Then the Gilyak, attired only in his
up, holding a little Chinese axe, approached his ener
is axe, the tiger gave way. Then the lad, with a
h tree. The tiger sprang after him, bit the heel of th
own into a fork of the tree, where he was likely to
seized the tiger by the back of the neck, and, with
that the animal could depart.
ear, fetched water, cut wood and cooked some food.
came and looked. The Gilyak raised his bow and got
the tiger retreated, but appeared again. The lad
on the tiger's back; when they had gone some distanc
e on a height stood a large hut, before which hung
proached and crouched down. The Gilyak stood up; as
hrew off his skin and, in a second, became a man.
and hung it on a pole, he said, 'Friend, let us enter

10: Coxwell--120-121 B-3 (no
116, 539.

"THE GILYAK WHO

2. From the Russian of L. Y
of the Gilyak Language and F

Two brothers had a sister. The younger
partook of its flesh, and gave to other peo
to a neighbouring promontory, and there d
bringing nothing, he returned home alone.
possessed of a devil, these words, 'She is
take a tigress as his wife! Next summer,
will collect various dogs and kill them; he
sacrificial dish; he will visit his bride, an
sister lost consciousness, but revived[121

The following summer the party went to
dogs and many fish-skins; they killed all s
Then the younger brother went to the mou
told."

MATED WITH A TIGRESS(2)

. Sternberg, Materials for Study
olk-lore, No. 23.

brother killed a bear and brought it home and
ple; he then went in his boat across the water
leposited the rest of the carcase. Later,
Afterwards his sister sang, like a woman
beloved by my younger brother; he intends to
having set out for the coast of Saghalien, he
will take all sorts of fish-skins and make a
d we shall smoke tobacco together!' Then the
]
the coast of Saghalien; they took all sorts of
orts of dogs, and made a sacrificial dish.
ntain and took his wife, and they lived. It is

10: Coxwell--125-126 B-3
116, 539

hurled itself upon him, but when the y
it proved useless as a weapon. The be
man, but died; Son-of-the-Mother-of-

(no date) 1925 Gilyak-2

oung man sought to defend himself with the sable,
ear and the man fought; the bear rose above the
Water went down in the water and perished."

10: Coxwell--125-126 B-3 (no dat
116, 539

"SON-OF-THE-MOT

1. L. Y. Sternberg, No. 39.

A certain Gilyak, who lived alone, took as h
called Mother-of-Water. A boy was born to the
with him a sable, by aid of which, in the sprin
cleft their skulls.

Once the old Gilyak set out upon the river's
sat and ate frozen fish, said to him, 'Come wi
together. When they entered the hut a big man
head toward the entrance, and half of his head
the-Mother-of-Water that I send him this mes
the movement of the herrings, I will come dow
himself with a spear and await my coming!' T
message to Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water, and,
Water frequently sharpened his sable's claws.

Next year, in the spring, the man with the b
time when a whale was lying on the seashore.
an enormous bear. Son-of-the-Mother-of-Wate

THER-OF-WATER (1)

is wife a fish from the sea. She was
em, who, when he grew up, used to carry
g time, he frequently killed bears; he

surface to get frozen fish. A man, who
th me to my village.' They departed
was lying on the boards, [126] with his
bound up. This man said, 'Tell Son-of-
sage: in the spring of next year, during
n from the mountains; let him arm
The old man went and delivered the
in consequence, Son-of-the-Mother-of-

andaged head came down to the sea, at a
The man with the bandaged head became
er arrived and jumped back as the bear

10: Coxwell--126-127 B-3
116, 539

"THE MOUNTAIN-D

1. L. Y. Sternberg, N

A party of three, consisting of a
Having pitched their tent on a moun
the Sea; then they cut some wood, g
and took up his position before the t
sleep, 'Has someone come because
or because he has no tinder? Has h
for valuables?' The answer sounde
said, 'Please, do not touch him!' A
the tiger, and the sister's son woke
tiger bit one of them so that his blo
tiger has killed our boy; get up!' T
mother and younger brother may lo
for you to go; if I tell the news, the
let us go together!'

Each took a spear; the son had a

DEVIL IN THE FORM OF A TIGER (1)

No. 35.

father, his son and sister's son, went to set snares. tain, they sacrificed to Fire, to the Mountain and to got water, and entered the tent. But a tiger approached tent's entrance. The father said to himself, in his he possesses no steel? or because he has no flint? e come because he needs dogs? or because he wishes ed, ' I have come for your sister's son!' The old man After a time, the old man's son woke, but did not see but did not see the tiger; they both went out, and the od flowed. The other ran back and cried, 'Father, a he father got up. 'My son, ' said he, 'go home; your se their lives. ' The son replied, 'No, father, it is y [127] will not believe me!' 'My son, go!' 'Father,

gun and the father had his bow and arrows and they

10: Coxwell--126-127 B-3
116, 539

started. They saw the tiger eating th
son ran up and gave a thrust with his
together they killed the tiger. Father
his plait of hair, his buttons and his
his body and that of his prey upon a s
returned to the tent. They cut down w
kettle and boiled some water. Sudden
the fire and let us run away!' They w
water! There is a devil!' 'Where did
heard twice some barking, but it was
us descend to the shore!' They enter
hearth, kindled a fire and went away.
came up, but father and son aimed th

The pair went home and the father
tiger has killed the boy! We are goin
was late and father and son went to s
approaching the tiger, raised him up,
to their home. 'Old woman, prepare

e youth. The tiger sprang upon the father, but the
spear, and the father thrust with his spear;
and son approached the boy's body and removed
shirt. They stripped off the tiger's skin and placed
caffold, for preservation from wild beasts, and
ood and lit a fire, then got water and hung up the
ly the dogs barked twice. 'Father, pour water on
ent out, and the son said, 'Father, jump into the
the noise come from?' replied the old man. 'I
an illusion, there is nobody about.' 'Father, let
ed the tent, broke up firewood, placed it on the
After a noise of stamping and trampling, a tiger
eir spears at him and he disappeared.
called out, 'Old woman, collect the neighbours, a
g in a dog-sleigh to fetch the body.' However, it
eep. Next day they returned to the mountain and,
and set him on the sleigh and carried him almost
a sacrificial dish for the people; and son, go off

10: Coxwell--124-125 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak-3
116, 539

Our woman ran off and, shutting the door, spat and pasted up the whole of it. The bear approached and attacked the door with its teeth; but the door was of iron, and he broke all his teeth. Our woman rushed back, and, arriving at the village, entered her hut; then she passed into the passage. Her elder sister was inside asleep. The younger sister cried, 'When did you arrive?' The elder sister replied, 'A bear took me, and carried me away; he ate all my body; only my head remained. You took my head and beat it on every side. I arose from the dead; somehow I came back and have here awaited you.' The younger sister said, 'The bear will no longer come to us now; you will die.' "

10: Coxwell--130 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 825

"SON-OF-THE-MOTHER-OF-WATER

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 125-126]

Sternberg remarks that the son of the Gilyak and of the Woman-Fish grew up and defeated many bears. The Lord of the Bears, being much offended because Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water fought with the aid of a sable, instead of with the traditional spear, challenged him to a duel, and both perished. As an instrument of the chase, a sable would be useless except for self-defence. Only a man of unusual physical strength would, thus armed, risk a contest with a bear. But the hero of a certain legend so fights and, at the last moment of the contest, stifles the bear in his embraces."

10: Coxwell--126-127 B-3
116, 539

with the dogs!' The son went in the
took it from the shore, where the vi
mountain; there they killed dogs, an
body and returned home and lived, b

(no date) 1925 Gilyak-

dog-sleigh and brought home the boy's body. They
llage was standing, and bore it some distance up
d sacrificed to the mountain; then they buried the
out remained incensed against the mountain-devil.

10: Coxwell--128 B-3
116, 224, 539, 688

"THE GILYAK W

[LSS: For the text of this tale, se

Sternberg says that after every s
performed; part of the meat being e
side. In our story, the hero carrie
crime punishable by the gods. The
extraordinary, namely his love for
and he married her. The largeness
importance of the tigress."

(no date) 1925 Gilyak

HO MATED WITH A TIGRESS
e category 539, pp. 120-121.]

uccessful bear hunt, a religious ceremony must be
eaten and part carried to the relatives on the mother's
s away meat to the forest; such an act being a great
Gilyak was induced to behave thus by something
the tigress, a creature more powerful than any bear;
of the sacrifice in the story corresponds to the

Coxwell--124-125 B-3 (no date) 1925

539

" A TALE OF A BEA

I. L. Y. Sternberg, No. 24.

Two women were dwelling together in a storehouse.
als, they were well off; they lived comfortably. One
next day do something; they had abundance. Once th
ter collecting a quantity, they returned to their store
tering a passage, they heard a noise within. The you
eard, sister?' The elder replied, 'I do not know! I
ung sister remarked, 'I am afraid, and will not ente
plied, 'Never mind, let us go in! The younger agree
tered together and looked at the middle seat; all the
dish and set on the seat. They sat, each in her own
hat is this? I do not understand.' The other answere
' Helping herself, the elder sister ate, and said to t
plied, 'I do not wish to eat; I am afraid.' The elder
hall sleep.' They both slept.

R (1)

Whenever they caught fish or
day they would sit at home and
ey set out together for berries.
house and went upstairs. But,
nger said, 'What was that noise
do not understand it.' The
r on any account,' but the other
d. 'Yes, let us go in!' They
meat had been cooked, and put on
place. 'Sister,' said the younger,
d, ' I do not know; but I shall eat
he other, 'Eat!' The younger
remarked, 'Now that I have eaten

10: Coxwell--124-125 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak-2
116, 539

In the night the elder sister began to converse with someone, and the younger sister rose and looked. There was a light round about! The younger sister was frightened, and could not sleep, but the other conversed continually. The younger sister, at last, fell asleep, and heard nothing more; then she awoke and rose; it was already dawn, and had become light. She looked for her sister, who was not to be seen! Becoming anxious, she jumped up and dressed herself; then, running down, she went out and sought the mooring rope and the boat. One of the boats had gone, the other remained. Reaching it and pushing off, she began to row; when she landed she found the footprints of her elder sister, and looked; there were foot-[125]prints of a bear alone, of her sister alone, and next of a bear and her sister near one another. The bear and the elder sister had climbed a mountain together.

The younger sister ascended the mountain in their tracks; she ran uphill, and crept along after them. A hut stood alone, and the girl entered. Her elder sister's head lay in the middle of the plank bed. The younger sister said, 'So, you have been lovemaking? Not bad!' The elder sister's head answered, 'I thought it would be well.' The reply came, 'I told you, I told you how I feared those food delicacies! Why did you not obey me? You took and ate. Why did you not obey me?' The elder sister's head wept. The younger woman took her sister's head and beat it on all sides. A bear issued from a corner and opened its jaws.

10: Coxwell--128-129 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 839

"A TALE OF A BEAR

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp.124-125.]

This story of mating with a bear is one of several stories mentioned in the Note to the Kalmuck story, 'The Birdcage [129] Husband.' But in the present tale we have no mere allusion to the subject; on the contrary, as in 'The Gilyak who Mated with a Tigress,' the tale actually deals with a wooing, and the life of the characters concerned.

The majority of stories of men or women mating with animals were probably, even in the first place, amusing fiction and did not arise from abnormality and depravity of savages or barbarous races. Similarly, considerations of totem ancestry, while interesting from the standpoint of man's early evolution, seem too remote to have played an important part in origination of the mass of folk-tales, even of the most ancient, such as the Egyptian, Indian or Kalmuck. This is not to deny the possibility of such causes, but to lay stress on the greater influence of a story-telling faculty which has used striking ideas and situations in order to divert childish persons or to arrest the attention of dull minds. To the primeval hunter it doubtless appeared that the hunted are not very different from himself, for they lived in the same environment, and were influenced by similar considerations. He developed, but an inherited tendency to look on animals as his fellows persisted after notions of totem ancestry had vanished."

Coxwell--128[3] B-3 (no date) 1925
, 539, 776, 825

"THE BRAVE GILYAK AND THE
[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp

The story of Androcles and the Lion will occur to th
e East transmutation is into the larger animal forms
a Kalmuck tale, a demon appears as a buffalo, as o
olf of a Russian tale and into a yellow dog of a Mordv
ansformed into a tiger by a curse, as in Western we
e general Gilyak belief that there are special beings
ving the appearance of Gilyaks, can assume the shap
adowed forth. The absence of ceremony is noticeabl
ger-man's sister."

GRATEFUL TIGER
. 121 -124.]

e reader. It is observable that in
, thus here is a tiger-man and,
pposed to the transmutation into a
in tale. But the man has not been
rewolf stories; on the contrary,
in the mountains and forest who,
e of wild beasts, seems here
e when the Gilyak marries the

10: Coxwell--130 [2] B-3 (no date) 1925
16, 224, 539, 782

"THE MOUNTAIN-DEVIL IN THE FORM OF A

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 126-127]

It is noticeable that the hunting party, on setting out, sacrific
out to the mountain and the sea. Later, the sacrifice of dogs to
real relief in the power of the mountain spirit. In the Ostyak tal
n the middle of a perilous adventure, bends his neck in worship
sacrifice a reindeer at marriage; also deer to a river. The Tch
foal, an ox or a cow to their gods, Keremet and Sheert.

The Eskimo have a tale of a mountain spirit that dug up the bo
pretended to be dead in order to see what the mountain spirit wo
spirit carried the man to its home and the man soon opened his
captor, also the latter's children. The dead mountain spirit's w
he escaped by telling hills to rise up and a stream to flow betwe
pursuer. (3)

3. Rasmussen and Worster, p. 84."

Gilyak

A TIGER

ed not only to the fire,
the mountain shows a
e, 'Aspen-leaf,' the hero,
of spirits. The Yukaghirs
eremisses sacrifice a

dy of a man, who had
uld do. The mountain
eyes and killed his
ife pursued the man, but
en himself and his

: Coxwell--128 [2] B-3 (no date) 192
, 372, 539, 776

"THE GILYAK WHO OFFENDED THE
LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, p

The Lord of Fire is considered by the Gilyaks to
nd all the deities; and the hunter who sacrifices to
ropitiates the Lord of the Forest, and secures suc
tory, 'The Mountain-devil in the form of a Tiger,
ire. In the Yakut tale, 'Al-Iot: the Spirit of Fire, '
he Fire. Among the Yukaghirs, a definite form of
hen a new net is dedicated."

FIRE LORD

p. 121.]

be an intermediary between man
fire considers that he thereby
ccess in the chase. In the Gilyak
a party of hunters sacrifices to
a spoonful of all food is thrown to
words is employed before a fire

a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded. If the baby was born in the summer, the children are told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to have found it in the snow.

Twin births.

No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why there are no legends about such an event either.

Not infrequently twin births take place among the natives. They contend that in each one of these cases both children are of the same sex. I personally came to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were between forty and forty-five years old. In regions rather well known to me there occurred three twin births in a population of more than 300 persons within a decade, but all these twins died immediately after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote down are twins of different sex mentioned. The brother is in love with his sister and, in this song, asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he will die.

The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak: one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

rookh, should be given back to his father right away. But, not being certain which of the children is not an offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them both equally.

It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

796 in this the proof of
entirely enough to a
making the archer u
bring him into the d
torture that they im
meant to be a symbo
Even this conception
one torment an expi
enough by its innoce
besides, does not th
death give the impre
overbubbling festive
the traveller was un
of the ceremonies d
unable to explain the
way their fathers an
worrying any further
Jakobsen's friends i
him adequate explan
fore, we need more
than is available tod
clearly.

115 Finally, a saga c
173 heard from a Russia
539 territory for a long
time ago there appea
a small vessel full o
complexion. These
them down, and, wit
ate all the inhabitant
the river, they actec
Goldi till finally the
terror, banded toget
the barbaric enemy,
battle. All the cannil
destroyed. From thi
more foreign people
up to the time when
the river and took po

eriousness or mourning; rather, it is
sume that in this way they want to avoid
nsteady by noisy behavior, and thus to
nger of missing his mark. Or is the
ose on the poor animal before its death
l of the serious nature of this festival?
seems untenable to me, for why should
tory sacrifice that already has to suffer
nt death, as happens in this case; and,
cruel treatment of the bear before its
ssion of proceeding entirely from the
joy of the celebrators? Unfortunately,
able to give any hints as to the significance
scribed, since the Gilyak were themselves
m. They celebrated [382] the festival the
d forefathers had celebrated it, without
about the meaning of the various actions.
n Nikolayevsk were equally unable to give
ations on this subject. Probably, there-
frequent and more detailed observation
ay before we can see into the matter

urrent among the Gilyak which Jakobsen
n station master who had lived in their
time. It goes as follows: A long, long
red on the Amur coming from the east
f enormously strong people of a dark
vent ashore, attacked the villages, burned
hout distinguishing age or sex, killed and
s that they could lay hands on. Sailing up
l in the same fashion in the land of the
invaded tribes recovered from their
her and moved in large hordes against
whom they then defeated in a bitter
bals were killed and their ship was
s time on, the Gilyak always add, no
came to the Amur River from the east
he Russians appeared at the mouth of
ssession of the land.

541

541 SPECTACLES -- patriotic celebrations; parades; fireworks displays; mil
tary reviews; secular pageants; carnivals, circuses, and rodeos; anima
racing and fighting (e.g., horse and dog races, bull baiting, cockfighting
gladiatorial combats; public hangings; organization of spectacles; financ
(e.g., by profits, voluntary contributions, subsidies); admissions (e.g.,
gratis, by ticket); specialists (e.g., organizers, performers); etc. See

Breeding of racehorses 232
Animal transport 492
Attendant gambling 525
Clowns 52
Religious spectacles . . . . . .

/705 cont./

*796 divided into approximately even halves. The path leading from Judin's house to this place of death for the bears was also marked out with a few whittled sticks.

*796 231 ●541 Meanwhile the dog-feeding was going on in the house in the same way as on the day before, except that those animals that were to participate in the races an hour hence did not get anything for the time being; they were also brought into the house, to be sure, but could only watch while the other dogs ate, their feeding being postponed until after the races in order to stimulate them to run faster. Everyone now set out for one end of the racecourse, which was laid out on the ice-cover of the river and consisted of a strip about two fathoms wide, on which the snow had been shoveled to the sides and the ice smoothed somewhat for a distance of about one and a half to two versts. Here stood two sleds, one harnessed to 14 dogs, the other to ten, of which the three front ones on the first sled were adorned with elegant Manchurian collars, the above-mentioned rüssk (1). In front of the sleds two other dogs were held

1. See p. 750 ff. above with the woodcut, and Plate XXXVI /p.1016/, Figs. 4 and 5.

on long straps. Many spectators had stationed themselves on the elevated embankments at both sides of the racecourse. First the two dogs not harnessed to the sleds were released; they pulled behind them at the end of their long straps only a fox tail and the tail of a black dog, respectively With this light burden they disappeared from the racecourse in an instant and ran up the hill to the house where they were caught by the women and children. They were particularly swift-footed animals, one of which was a so-called kylâ or kylâ-kan among the Gilyak, over the possession of which Judin was very proud, saying that in the whole Amur region there were only two or three animals of the same quality, and he could name their owners. It was not clear to me, however, what the special characteristics of the kylâ-kan are, aside from swift-footedness. The animals harnessed to the sleds did not get off so easily, for although the burden which they had to pull was

/705 cont./

*796 231 ●541 hardly greater -- on each of the otherwise quite empty sleds lay only two brake-sticks stuck into the plaited work -- obstacles of another kind were put in their path. As soon as the dogs were racing along at top speed, a Gilyak standing on the embankment of the racecourse threw himself on the sled and tried to gain control of the dogs and their vehicle by using the brake-sticks, at which, of course, he was not immediately successful. If one failed, a second one did it, and a third: throwing himself upon the sled, he held on to it tightly, the sled overturned two or three times, but the man held on tightly and let himself be dragged along at the utmost speed until he succeeded in sitting astride and, with the two brake-sticks in his hands, driving up the

*796 541 534 hill in triumph. During the entire race the women drum with cudgels and sticks upon a /707/ beam suspended from a framework in front of the house. This is done with a certain regularity and requires some special knowledge, for there are various types and modes of drumming, depending on the occasion. Every woman is given two cudgels, or one cudgel and one stick, and beats with them on the beam two or three times, either simultaneously or alternately, then cudgel on cudgel or cudgel on stick, then again on the beam, etc., in different rhythms and tempos, as the mode

*796 541 231 [521] of the moment requires (see Plate XLVIII /p.1248/). As soon as all the dogs participating in the races have returned the longed-for meal is set before them in the house by the women. The men, however, indulge in a lively discussion of all the details occurring in connection with the races, in that one dog is to be praised and another criticized, but even more to laugh over the ineptitude of one of their countrymen and to marvel at the courage and agility of a second and third. For, as is to be seen from this description, the dog races among the Gilyak do not serve to test the quality of the dogs as much as to give the men an opportunity to show off their above-mentioned physical and moral virtues, just as is the case for other entertainments that are part of the bear festival.

*796 231 After this interlude, the leading of the bears which had been interrupted in the morning, was resumed, and everything was repeated as on the preceding days, for example, the large

2: Schrenck--1147 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/709 cont./

*796 574 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit. In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On it, therefore, [123] as Judin told us, there are even more ufitsch to be observed than elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw some sketches of it from there, he asked us with great politeness to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented 516 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones immediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path on which the bowls traveled from one end of the bench to the other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc. The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in [614] this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him, while the maternal /710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the friends and acquaintances, may participate in the meal, Judging by the quantity of foods and bowls that traveled back and forth, it was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Nevertheless, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another house in order to eat there, and this went on from house to house throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep.

*796 ●541 The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

/710 cont./

*796 ●[541] amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river [264] and were recaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

*796 824 From all the houses of the village the people congregated around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of [291] [239] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and necks or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

*796 231 Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi- [156] ment. Chuzisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

/718 cont./

*796 252 [784] [263] just as it would be extremely uitsch if one wanted to fry, not only bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward [782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and were intended for the forthcoming feast.

*796 [887] [251] In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in additional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.

*796 23 541 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng. Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 252 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads, and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the meantime, more life and commotion had entered into these preparations for the feast; some young men began to cut up the six

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.
535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.
527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.
527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]
Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.
527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a prac-
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate
buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where
various things are bartered.
527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through
the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and
this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house
to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the
river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an
abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who
put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all
sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cran-
berries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also
prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means wor-
ship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun,
some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek
revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is
not given such expressions of veneration.
527 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo them-
selves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful
blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty,
with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this
happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard
to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak
seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are
passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237]
roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a
bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as en-
tertainment has been described. Special music is produced
527 in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered - two
old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were
supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was
destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

796 Elder who also determines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
374 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their in-
voluntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house
to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried
fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.
796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have
been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from
the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that
they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the
front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are
attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these
chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and
others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand com-
pletely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on
whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it
wants to attack its leaders.
796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also
fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside
this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had
a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, how-
ever, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the
track by their owners and placed next to each other, they
were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all
arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the
way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do
not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race
since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs
in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact that only one sled races along the track at time; the test is, rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, which show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in understanding and following exactly the calls of the leaders, are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30 to 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by the track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak succeedes very well in this attempt; others, on the other hand, were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, however with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of their luckier companions.

At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followed by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Then the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the village. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the bear more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parties would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his companions, and those that came after him would kick and jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, however, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding, scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He [illegible] a beam about three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of the door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to eight girls and women who were provided with club-like sticks

543

543 EXHIBITIONS--international expositions; local and regional fairs; animal-judging contests (e.g., horse and dog shows); handicraft displays; automobile and flower shows; art exhibitions; special exhibits (e.g., by libraries and museums); offering of prizes and awards; organization of exhibitions; mode of finance (e.g., by sale of tickets, sale of articles on display, voluntary contributions); specialized organizers and dealers, etc. See also:

Libraries, art galleries, and museums	217	Markets	443
Zoological and botanical gardens	367	Sales promotion	446
Auctioning	427	Advertising	447

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

150 A MOTLEY GROUP.

000 evidently on a trading expedition. He had a boat about twenty-five feet long by eight wide, with a single mast carrying a square sail. His boat was full of boxes and bales and had a crew of four men. A small skiff was towed astern and another alongside. These Manjour merchants are quite enterprising, and engage in traffic for small profits and large risks when better terms are not attainable. Before the Russian occupation all the trade of the lower Amoor was in Manjour hands. Boats annually descended from San-Sin and Igoon bringing supplies for native use. Sometimes a merchant would spend five or six months making his round journey.

437 The merchants visited the villages on the route and bar-
● 543 gained their goods for furs. There was an annual fair at the Gilyak village of Pul, below Mariensk. and this was made the center of commerce. The fair lasted ten days, and during that time Pul was a miniature Nijne Novgorod. Manjour and Chinese merchants met Japanese from the island of Sakhalin, Tunguse from the coast of the Ohotsk Sea, and others from the head waters of the Zeya and Amgoon. There were Gilyaks from the lower Amoor and various tribes of natives from the coast of Manjouria.

A dozen languages were spoken, and traffic was conducted in a patois of all the dialects. Cloth, powder, lead, knives, and brandy were exchanged for skins and furs. A gentleman who attended one of these fairs told me that the scene was full of interest and abounded in amusing incidents. Of late years the navigation of the Amoor has discontinued the fair of Pul. The Manjour traders still descend the river, but they are not as numerous as of yore.

226 With a good glass from the deck of the steamer I watched the native process of catching salmon. The fishing stations are generally, though not always, near the villages. The natives use gill nets and seines in some localities, and scoop nets in others. Sometimes they build a fence at right angles to the shore, and extend it twenty or thirty yards into the

545

545 MUSICAL AND THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS--public concerts; operatic productions; performances by dance troupes (e.g., ballets); burlesque and vaudeville; production of musical comedies and plays; stock companies, amateur musicals and theatricals; metropolitan show business (e.g., selection of a play, backers, producers, casting, try-outs, staging, rehearsals, promotion, advance sales, first nights, reviews, runs, motion picture rights, royalties, returns on investment, road companies); promotion of other musical and dramatic productions; etc. See also:

Fine arts	68	Theatrical supplies industry	948

/684 cont./

534 The gut string is fastened to the short end and from there runs over
[192] a bridge set up on the fish skin (Gilyak twua, as in the case of the bow) to the other end of the stick, where there is a device for keeping the string taut. The fiddle bow (Gilyak tyngr-puntsch) is sharply curved and strung with horsehair (Gilyak kich). The string, of course, is played between the bridge and the long end of the
[191] stick stuck through the cylinder-casing. The instrument seems to me, judging also by its name, to be of Olcha, Goldi, or at any rate Tungusic origin. I saw it and heard it played only in Kidsi, and the monotonous and melancholy melody was very similar to those of the Gilyak.

535 It is very characteristic of the serious, sober, and practical state of mind of the Gilyak that in the course of two years I never saw dancing either at their bear festivals or on any other occasion; apparently this type of social entertainment does not appeal to them at all. Middendorff encountered it, but it took place under quite extraordinary circumstances: it was in Burukan, a place which the Gilyak visit only for trade; the Tungus, presumably excited by alcohol, performed a wild demonic dance, into which the Gilyak, at first only spectators, finally let themselves be drawn (1).

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p 1486.

Otherwise, they said, they did not do it, as Middendorff, too, remarks in his handwritten notes. And at the time their entire behavior revealed this. Whereas the Tungus in their short, tight-fitting fur-jackets moved nimbly and skillfully, the movements of the Gilyak, who kept on their long dog-fur coats reaching down to their calves, were bear-like and extremely stiff and awkward. Moreover, when they tried to imitate the former, the dance always soon ended in exhaustion and a loud burst of laughter, because they felt so childishly silly behaving in this, to them, completely strange and foreign manner.

● 545 It seemed no less surprising to me to find nothing among
171 the Gilyak that might suggest the performance of masquerades or

/684 cont./

● 545 theatrical presentations, no fantastic costumes, no masks, etc.,
171 whereas other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for instance, the Aleuts and the Northwest American Eskimo, have such a wealth of these and such great delight in these entertainments that there are complicated arrangements for setting up the stage, the entrance of /685/ the actors, etc. in the kashim for the most part erected
[157] for the purpose (1). The Gilyak seem to have such a sober frame

1. Concerning the theatrical performances of the Aleuts see in particular: Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/. St. Petersburg. 1840. Part II. pp. 85. 93. With regard to the Eskimo, see above. pp. 492-498.

of mind that they are not capable of illusion.

527 Their social entertainments are principally of such a kind
[526] as to offer the men an opportunity, in competitive tests, to parad their great skill, fearlessness, boldness, and strength, and afterward to enjoy an opulent, hearty meal, whereas the women, except for their very active participation in preparing the latter, play an almost entirely passive role at them and hardly have a
128 chance to enjoy the results of their own labor. In the next sectio devoted exclusively to the bear festival of the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, I shall also discuss the entertainments on the program for it and in the order in which I myself became acquainted with them.

524 Mention might be made here, however, of one Gilyak gam
439 which does not belong there and which they owe to the Chinese; I mean playing with cards. They are the well-known, small, Chinese playing-cards, which Chinese traders bring from the Sungari and upper Ussuri down the Amur, through the territory of the Goldi and Olcha (2), and thus into the hands of the Gilyak.

[197] 2. Maack (Putesh. na Amur". p. 198) saw for example, these Chinese playing

177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending
the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza
Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the
[43] A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethno-
graphy of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are
working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and
club directors.

177 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
648 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions;
many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive
[47] committees.

[64] Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is con-
ducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first
of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the
Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of
the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of
Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year
schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding
schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women
entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the
songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also
participate in regional Olympic games.

● [545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the
Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely
spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic
clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi
began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know
how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusias-
tically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki
(canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

[182] The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the
collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unifi-
cation in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to
different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors
have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous
remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the
Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of
561 her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the
house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to
them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had
to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they
attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their
fr ers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure
and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome
the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built
near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had
to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

548

548 ORGANIZED VICE--prostitutes and houses of prostitution; recruiting of prostitutes; business methods; auxiliary specialists (e.g., procurers, madams, pimps); organized homosexuality; illicit narcotics trade (e.g., drug peddlers, opium dens); underworld gambling establishments; illicit liquor business (e.g., rumrunning, bootlegging, speakeasies); organization of underworld activities; political protection and graft; racketeering; etc. See also:

Use of narcotics and liquor 27
Political corruption 66
Sex 83
Gambling 525
Crime 674
Public health 744
Religious prostitution 786

577 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
609 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
177 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had be-
fore that behaved properly. The causes for that may be
found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated
individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain
extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. How-
ever, this fact has in recent times been badly misused
and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have
pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to
put themselves in the place of strangers as well as
fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one
must remember that, where strangers are concerned,
moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of
pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever
make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that
tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed,
vindictiveness, etc.- breaks out more easily if one is
177 face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
682 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
627 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le
Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by
way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was
robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But
this case was and has remained an exception. The
village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants;
at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or
eight men took part in the crime, of which none is
living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are
caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives
of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge;
now, however, they usually file complaints with the
Russian administration. [226]

● 548 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
837 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
684 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself
be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself
is not too much offended, provided only that there
are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity
have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not
taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself
completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

● 548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about
them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what
I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have
already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which
people live together does not permit such delicacy; however
the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers.
Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the
open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of mem-
bers of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in
urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard
against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had
some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was
taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawn-
ing and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not
make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are
forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the
Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of
course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the
Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating
expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-
Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the
streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has
deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can
be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about.
In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent
that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably
partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they
want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they
love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen
that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

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551 PERSONAL NAMES--proper names of individuals (e.g., number and va
meanings, circumstances of use); sex and status differences, special n
usages (e.g., nicknames, aliases, teknonymy); name taboos and avoida
etc. See also:

Incorporeal property 426
Naming 553
Titles 884
Kinship terms . . . . . .
Names as souls . . . . . .

601 /31 cont./
191 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
104 have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in
[595] the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
[835] to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
581 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
[583] rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[851] succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he
611 is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
[551] of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
[684] itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
[614] of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agna-
[582] tion, and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
601 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
[592] large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by
[352] families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
[765] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/130 cont./
58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[591] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
[551] husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
[555] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
[684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
121 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
125 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
[59] own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

428 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
583 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are married off. If after the death of the parents only one daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry, the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by going against the wishes of his wife.

428 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general one can draw the following conclusions from what has been said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives; b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, provided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit and have their own property, but in general they are not left as much; however, they have the right to be supported; e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they become joint owners of the estate along with their children.

565 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
551 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
177 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also have family names (which are handed down by the males); many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not, are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one, and by this name they are known even among their fellow-tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually intelligent lads and understand Russian.

567 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
554 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
576 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment. Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit, both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

845 who are descendents of the Ainu bury
766 their bodies in the earth.

be cremated after their death. If that were done all those present at the ceremony would be punished with the loss of their eyesight. Even the parents of twins have to be buried in the earth, because they too have become relatives of the god of the mountains. The children of twins, however, are considered to be ordinary members of the tribe, and at their funeral there is no deviation from the custom.

845 If twins stay alive and grow up they remain, for the
551 rest of their lives, the object of awe for all their
769 neighbors and friends although there may be enough proof that they lack every kind of supernatural power. At every meeting, either in friendship or in hostility, the others remind them of their unusual progenity and everybody attributes to them that mysterious innate power. Each of the twins bears the name he gave himself as a child. The custom of giving the child the name of a dead ancestor is not followed in the case of twins. The names of the twins are neither given to another child in the same family nor to another child in the tribe. Here too we see a deviation from the general custom of giving children the names of dead ancestors.

845 The greatest awe is felt for those twins who die in
766 childhood. The offspring of the spirits of the
782 mountains who, while living among ordinary human
775 beings for a short time, who did not get used to them and did not feel he was one of them, has especially the power to do harm to people; that is why they try hard to win his favor. The family who had harbored the unwelcome offspring of the mountains constructs a little model of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a little board inside the house or outside in the open. A little figure carved in wood which represents the dead child is put into that little hut. The members of the family consider it necessary to give some of the food they eat themselves to that little figure every day. This rule is strictly followed not only by the parents of the twins but also by the two following generations. Only the great-grandchildren, observing ceremonial rites, carry the little figure with its

552

552 NAMES OF ANIMALS AND THINGS--proper names of individual animals, houses, boats, and other objects; meanings; bestowal and use; etc. See also:
Names of sin groups 61
Place names 103
Vocabulary 192
/Property in names 494
/Names of supernatural beings 778

411 called əmləus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,'
which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This
stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the
seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom
of the seine. They are called tətr-paχ. Large wooden floats
(vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the
head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to
flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of
the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and
finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into
the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught
in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of
the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk,
Lo ri, and ət.

614 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. 'ayqej,
524 3. ət.
471 Lulvəχ-pər and 'ayreqej are names of rocks sticking out
of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks.
ət is a small island close to which there is another such rock.(1)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ət. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paχ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (tenot ferd).

Clan Tnaunuŋ owned: 1. Mat-lonri, 2. Tpəri-yrə, 3. Zomi-vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapəə-vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
552

198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-"Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Ĭevropy i severnoĭ Azii"
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeĭa Antropologii i Ĭtnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.
mif, 'Land', they say otχ 'excrements.' If they are far from land, they say tevl otχta, if near - knemla-otχta.
mu 'boat' they say orq.
ker 'sun' they say am.
la urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am sodra.
t-lu 'fog' they say verq.
umgu 'woman' they say hiulaf.
umgu 'woman' they say hiuraq.
qan 'dog' they say aim.
to 'fish' they tomr 'leaf.'
loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.
lo r 'trout' they say manm.
nemla 'linek' they say naχ-tomr.
va a 'lake-salmon' they say vəlik.
al o 'kunzha' they say doχti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words manm and doχti from Tungus.

198 ti r 'fire wood' they say opa; tuin ops-ket tuγr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'
la r 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' tor vaad 'three seals.'
la r pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say lərŋ.
i d 'to kill' they say ŋazd.
pət 'tomorrow' they say mandəa.
e r vida 'let us return' they say pəγtkuda.
saru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvəta-mu.
kər-ŋoqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-ŋod 'tava hurts.'
kraəzd '(I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqq-tangad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tot-ŋod 'the hand hurts.'

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
825 of kəs, 'god'; a point on which I did not want to agree with him.
228 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home?" he told me. "Surely kəs must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kəs exists."

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-nivəvə 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
874 following ui and "taboo," "sin" during a seal hunt: the guest must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time) could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals:

Pila-lar 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-ŋa 'present-time animal,' i.e. a sivuch born in the given year.
2. Tje-ŋa literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

225 3. Pila-lanr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
552
825

Pəγi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups: a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qr-ŋr is the youngest of all pəγi.
2. Mat-ŋəγəl is the next to the youngest pəγi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-ŋəski-kəld; mat - 'smal,' ŋəski 'back,' kəld 'long,' little long-back.
3. Tje-ŋəγəl last year's ŋəγəl.
4. At next in age to tje-ŋəγəl.
5. Siusui-a next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pəγi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Ta a - a - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Kr-ŋa - next in age to ta a, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alχ.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored al and dalr - grey Alχ.

225 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
237 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (mat) and two upper ribs.

225 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
782 "feed" it the root of the plant piskər. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orŋət."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muzγi. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave pər 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskər.

553

553 NAMING--bestowal of names in infancy; name givers and namesakes; naming ceremonies; exchange of names; reciprocal relationships created by naming or name exchange; assumption of new names (e.g., occasions, ceremonial); posthumous assumption of names; reasons for name changing; bestowal and assumption of honorific names and titles; etc. See also:
Personal names . . . . . 551 Godparents and godchildren 60
Titles . . . . . 554 Ceremonies during infancy 28

/118 cont./

614 556 554 But who are these authoritative individuals who appear on the scene in special cases and either personally or together with the "village community" of their clansmen display, as those having the power, their initiative and energy? What role do they play in ordinary life?

They are the so-called yz' -- the "masters" (1), or otherwise

1. Up to the present, little attention has been focused on the role of such persons in the structure of primitive societies. Their role is obscured by their being classified only as representatives of wealth. Here is one of the most recent examples of such a relation. Separate classes of "nobles" and "commoners" do not exist in northwestern California, but in almost all affairs of life the rich man plays the most important role ("Types of Indian Culture in California," by A. L. Kroeber, University of California Publications, June, 1904, Vol. II). One should be grateful, however, that such facts have been noted at all.

[171] [13]

the urdlya-nivukhi -- the good, i.e., the rich, outstanding men (good and rich are synonomous among all primitive peoples). These are individuals who enjoy outstanding prosperity, thanks to their exceptional individual talents -- bravery, dexterity, strength, enterprise, and intelligence, which place them in an advantageous position in the business of obtaining the means of subsistence. Such an individual is a valuable man for all around him. For the narrow circle of his own family he is the natural head of the communal economy, which, thanks to his initiative and talents, is run more profitably than if it were conducted haphazardly. /119/ The huge family grouped around him is better provided with

/119 cont./

* 614 ● 554 556 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator, [539] "khlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned [532] images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions. In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, [623] which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the community in the name of the clan. Under other circum- [622] stances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

* 614 ● 554 556 [622] /119 cont./ the most outstanding yz'i become leaders of the tribe for life, or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do not yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still too insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison with the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and life are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ yz' if not that integrated personality in its highest manifestation of individuality? The influence of the yz' is therefore purely factual, moral; between him and the poorest of his clansmen there is no abyss either in the intellectual or economic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

* 614 182 Such is the mechanism of clan life. Its real mainspring is the comprehensive development of the personality, together with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent. Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authority exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at all as constant elements of authority which would push the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them:

[623] Above all there is the khal', the clan, i.e., the whole totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regular assemblies, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once the problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly as it appeared.

/120 cont./

* 614 182 623 Then there are the hejmary, the elders, all of whose authority consists in the solution of moot problems of cult and kinship. They play a certain role at the time of the clan festivals, at which they are generally the principal managers; they are, after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They do not, however, wield any influence or possess any actual significance in the other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

* 614 182 Finally, the third element of authority is the yz'i.

● [556] [554] Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of these three elements those diverse forms of power which in various combinations (people's assemblies, the council of the elders, patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, dukes, vikings, kings, and so forth) we find among many semi-cultured peoples at the present time and at the dawn of the history of all nations which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these elements are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

/121/

VIII.

Interclan Relations

615 * 614 The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution, and a man's intimate ties are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law, is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the akhmal'k and ymgi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond of blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, the bond of common origin through the mother (the male ancestors of all four clans and the representatives of each of their generations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and to this are united those powerful ties of natural intimacy which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage unions.

835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
818 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
182 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southern-
[361] most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well
835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and completely disregards her obligations to her individual husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
835 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
578 gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Piłsudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[186] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[554] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all. Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lightheaded, and uncivilized by any

/189 cont./
602 speech, in the form of orders, business advice, and so forth, is always permitted between brothers, between daughter-in-law and the father and mother of her husband, even between a man and the wife of his younger brother, with the use of the vocative case. But ordinarily they seek to avoid direct address. If there is a person of a permitted category at hand, they transmit their wish to this person, addressing their message in such a manner that it is audible to the prohibited individual,
602 who, in turn, answers in the same manner. If not, the ad-
195 dress is in the third person or in the impersonal form. For
193 example: "the daughter-in-law, the brother, etc., could do such a thing," instead of "daughter-in-law, do it!" Or, "thanks to my brother," instead of "thank you, brother" etc. Owing to this custom of getting around the prohibition on speech by the use of the third person, the Gilyak have formed the custom of frequently using the third person in general instead of the second, especially in reference to strangers, out of fear, apparently, that they may turn out to be persons of prohibited categories. Again and again, upon the entrance of an unknown Gilyak, one hears the phrase: "Where has the Gilyak come from?" (instead of "where have you come from?"). Perhaps there is concealed in this custom, brought about by the prohibition on conversation and not peculiar to the Gilyak alone, the reason for the origin of these strange forms of the third person in place of the second that we find in Italian,
602 Polish, Tatar, and other languages. Finally, the plural num-
193 ber, which is commonly used in addressing old people and
[278] honored persons or strangers, is most frequently used in ad-
[554] dressing persons of forbidden categories. Thus, for example, in addressing the wife of an elder brother they commonly use the singular, chi, while in addressing the wives of the younger brothers, on the other hand, they use the plural, chin.

/269 cont./
584 my children and your children also be akhmalk'i. If you do
582 not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according to law ('live pure')."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmalk is not an ancient one.

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied
177 circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages
178 in the clans of akhmalk'i. One of the causes was the depopu-
614 lation of the clans from which they took wives, which com-
433 pelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause,
556 perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought
[582] about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and ornaments, but also food and spices, such as rice, groats, and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they preferred to dress themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain
177 the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
178 took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relation-
556 ships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's
554 dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good
[582] person, urdla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'ivukh became a synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting appeared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

192 /270 cont./
584 orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox
[197] /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special term tkhagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

584 Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom
602 the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the
[593] father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his closest akhmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla
584 n'ivukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the
602 marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequently
614 participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy per-
[556] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing
[583] with them at once the articles of the bride price, and frequently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

583 The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all
422 alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re-
554 nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the
[559] maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married
595 man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself
584 usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter
614 herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

422 /278 cont./
583 iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).
[194]

[773] 1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryus" pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagynd. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagynd. One bears the designation Wa-ul-s'if, meaning "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 These are objects which are unalienab[illegible], extra commer
422 Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence o
556 clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category
735 allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in
554 settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answere my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are re served for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or wh one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among pers of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utili objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

583 Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided m
735 by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evide
[556] of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his o

/130 cont./

8 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
91] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emi-
grations, and before all the world is considered the personal
wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
9 succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
51] husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
51] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn
53] ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" --
teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
84] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even
bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
14] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous
marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the
Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life,
and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the
inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with
regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and
wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/
relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between
spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other
sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
601 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
21 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
125 own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
59] realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me,
and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study
of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship
nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully
accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
14] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first
census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern
Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory
system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

13] 1. At the time the account of this was

/266 cont./

174 reverence with which they approached a settlement where,
611 according to them, one of their female ancestors had once
614 lived.
186

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

• 553 Usually at the present time children are given names
184 according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general
614 rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement
611 of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names accord-
ing to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as
though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with
611 the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan,
174 but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the
present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak them-
[582] selves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by
[614] the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins,
the children of brother and sister, and the members of each
clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that
the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each
other, and in the main between male and female lines there
does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate or-
ganizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not
in effect.

/336 cont./

854 A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days
[844] and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the
whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung --
789 ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used
instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies,
they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next
child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they
preserve them until their old age.

845 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride
784 along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no
854 fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows,
755 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of
787 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up
at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her
husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece
of her husband's belt.

• 553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are
too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not
take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter
the names from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and
[776] the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn,
i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of
the sea.

845 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for
782 Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small
quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them them-
selves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

/642 cont./

553 Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child
352 is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any ceremony: the father simply names the name desired by him or the mother, or /643/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts are
756] practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving. In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a special
756] celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share with a few villagers and friends.

354 When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle
92] (Gilyak tschjakk). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists of
952] a canoe-shaped or fluted, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its head, can be fitted into it comfortably. While its upper end, usually pointed, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked buttocks, is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow, whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to the other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII /see p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by excrement that might seep through the basket, a longish board (Gilyak mu, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with raised rims and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can be put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal position as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of various small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

844 The mother delivers the child herself, and only if the mother is entirely too weak does the midwife help at the delivery.

The Gilyak do not know how to give obstetric help to a woman in labor. If a woman is not able to deliver the child she dies, and, in this case, the child will perish too. But that happens very rarely. During a more than ten years' stay in the region of the river Tym I heard only once that a woman died during the delivery.

Among the Gilyak the first childbirth is considered to be the hardest. It is especially hard and painful for very young women who are not fully developed physically.

845 Girls are strictly forbidden to laugh when people
784 talk of delivery or confinement, and they are supposed to stay serious during the act of birth. If they fail to do so, in the future they will go through very hard deliveries and suffer exceedingly great labor pains.

844 In order to speed up the discharge of the placenta chiplings of a certain wood (sambucus racemosa) are put into the mouth of the woman in labor. The bitter disgusting taste of the wood causes vomiting which, according to the belief of the Gilyak, should accelerate the discharge of the placenta (ehlaud cuind, that is: the child's food). But, if the placenta nevertheless is not discharged after a while the woman dies. This [758] happens rarely but does occur once in a while among the Gilyak. The placenta is wrapped in a towel and hung up on a tree in the wood not far from the house.

845 If a child is born with a caul which, however,
777 happens very rarely, the caul is not thrown away but is carefully dried and kept with other household articles. For the Gilyak believe that this caul which in the language of their tribe, is called ehlan ok (the suit of the child) brings luck to the whole family.

844 The newly born child is not simply called a boy or
553 a girl. If a girl was born it is, for the time being, called mukin ehlan, that is: tailless child (mukind usually is the name for a dog with a very short tail). But if a boy was born his relatives say: moi ivend panend, that is: one who has a penis was born.

554

554 STATUS, ROLE, AND PRESTIGE--relative prevalence of ascribed and achievable statuses; statuses adapted to particular personality types; general comments on the social ranking of statuses and roles; types of roles and achievable statuses which bring the largest rewards in prestige; individuals typifying the foregoing (e.g., celebrities, national heroes); symbolic tokens of the achievement of prestige (e.g., medals, titles, insignia, praise songs, special privileges); general statements on the various avenues of mobility (e.g., technological skill, wealth, shrewdness, valor, piety, wisdom); etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Relation between individual roles and culturally defined statuses 156
Ethos 181
Occupational specialization 463
Ethical ideals 677
Military virtues and prestige 703

/33 cont./

835 171 who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of the tribe. With regard to this group, she is piruari, and vice versa. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the Hawaiian Islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of Gilyak marriage.

835 684 The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly expressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever, causing only some irritation, and in rare cases the moving of the seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

835 More than once I observed even cases of the regular cohabitation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed [554] [722] between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a Gilyak from the village of Tangivo, Gibel'ka, the richest and most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations between the latter and the wife of his elder brother were no secret to anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical tenderness and enjoyed equal tenderness from the latter, and, when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted [593] about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melancholy would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never saw even a trace of bad relations between the brothers.

/54 cont./

825 [766] The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a kosatka, and when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the kosatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion, however. Signs of the deepest respect are shown toward any animal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea. The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore, and likewise the heads of other animals.

825 776 The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not independent gods and not even deities in general; they are merely the subordinates of the real deities, the "masters" of this or that element, this or that animal. These "masters" in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who, according to need, assume the form of this or that animal. These gods live in the forests, the mountains, and on the bottom of the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak themselves, have wives children, and clansmen. Like the Gilyak, they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods, "yz'" -- master, is in command. It is these masters who send the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables, bears, salmon, 825 seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element, 776 however, should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense. 554 It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there are simply rich people and among them one kind that is richest, just as, in addition to the great gods-masters, every territory, every stream, each has its own "master" who takes care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods). [614] The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence, courage, and cunning, and consequently richest, is called "yz'" (master), and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
574 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
264 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
533 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts
● [554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed
[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/103 cont./

*614 even to his own clear advantage, but he has, as we know, an
771 already tested expedient, with the help of which he pacifies the gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts, as in other cases, to pious deception of the gods, which offers him the opportunity both to fulfill his religious duty and to derive material
*614 gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious
628 procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored,
771 and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall recount later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom, which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.
539 The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played
● 554 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (1).
*614
[192]
[197]

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent, orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak, for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a particular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and inspires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen
[532] ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

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Most infrequently the khlaj-nivukh is a chosen one of the gods in other respects as well: he is a rich man, adept in hunting, worldly-wise, courageous, has a great natural wit, and enjoys authority among his fellow tribesmen.

Every clan, every settlement has its own small khlaj-nivukh, but there are celebrities who enjoy extensive fame among many nationalities of the region, and who, when necessary, are sought after, just as renowned lawyers are among us. They perform their functions rather honoris causa, because the customary honorarium -- a Chinese silk costume and a Japanese saber -- can hardly be a recompense to a rich man for the loss of his time and the burden of the obligation. The clothing and arms presented to them serve rather as their insignia magistratus, their official vestment, in which they carry out their obligations during the discussions.

And so, when the clan of the avengers has sufficiently worn itself out in its attempts at a bloody retaliation, or if from the first the slaying took place under conditions easily lending themselves to a reconciliation, then they begin to search for a khlaj-nivukh who would undertake the negotiations and be able to obtain the most profitable conditions. The khlaj-nivukh must necessarily be from a neutral clan. One may not send a clansman: in the first place, until the reconciliation, it is a sin to have anything whatever to do with the clan of the slayer; moreover, in view of the naturally inflamed feelings of the parties, negotiations through a clansman might end in another slaying. The other side, in turn, selects its "orator," who is /105/ obligated to defend its interests in the negotiations over the ransom. Ordinarily the offended side takes the initiative.

One fine day a company of the armed avengers, with their khlaj-nivukh at their head, appears at the settlement of the slayer. In the adjacent taiga or on the shore of a river the avengers light a fire and make camp, while the khlaj-nivukh in his regalia, with a spear in one hand, a kettle in the other, goes alone to the enemy settlement. Here, in one of the yurts, await the opponents with their khlaj-nivukh at their head... Leaning on his spear, or sitting down and lighting his pipe (only with "his own" fire) he says: "I was sent to tell you that you have killed our man, and

/105 cont./

*614 628 536 A procession of the avengers with the khlaj-nivukh at their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh'i they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel, of course, is fictitious, although there have been instances where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh'i pacify their clients [782] insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen lead a dog apiece among their opponents and kill them with spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above), while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 628 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken materials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, considering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the common property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it replaces those valuables which were needed for the dead man in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund for the family of the slain man and the clan requirements.

628 537 554 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the intervention of khlaj-nivukh'i, but without any particular ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict of the whole gathering.

20: Bush--101-102 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 554, 778, 797

"The Gilaks are a very superstitious, pagan people, worshiping idols of wood and stone as of old, though many of them have been baptized into the Greek Church, and wear small [102] metal crosses suspended about their necks. They have their priests, or 'shamans,' who conduct all their ceremonies and are the advisers of the communiti These shamans are supposed by them to be gifted with supernatural powers, and are held in great awe and reverence."

es.

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555. TALENT MOBILITY--extent to which prestige can be gained by mastering or excelling in some complex or difficult cultural activity (e.g., religious ritual, fine arts, scholarship, war, technology, business); talents and skills most highly rewarded in prestige (e.g., directly rather than indirectly through the material remuneration they may bring); frequency with which such channels of mobility are chosen; desirable statuses achievable thereby; symbolic tokens of success; specific techniques (e.g., counting coup, writing a bestseller, making a scientific discovery, winning an Olympic race); etc. *See also:*

Education . . . . . 87 *Preferment of war veterans* . . . . . 72[illegible]

Occupational specialization 463

/378 cont./

chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced; a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /379/ installment payment is sometimes practiced, depending on the circumstances. A curious means of paying the bride price in the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagyrd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the shagyrd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

/380 cont./

contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unhamessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be in great generosity. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him, after he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)" replies the puzzled creditor.

Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital, as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet. In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same share as his have-not companion ("navikh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone; he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not resemble one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

/389 cont./ The reasons why the Gilyak have such a strong preference for dog fur for their own use may, in part, be the same ones that according to Steller (1), made the ancient

1. Steller, Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 137.

Italmen on Kamchatka prefer to use dog fur for their clothing, even preferring it to fox and sable. Of course, in view of the conservate tendencies of every primitive people, the usage once customary, the custom handed down for generations, may also play an important role. Besides this, however, the advantages of this fur, learned from experience, come into consideration, its "warmth," durability, and the firmness of its hair, even if it has been exposed to wetness -- characteristics which must make it especially prized by the common man almost always exposed to the elements. And finally, in addition to all this, /390/ the fur still another circumstance -- and in this may lie the chief reason /390/ for the universal use of dog fur among the Gilyak -- it is the ease and cheapness of obtaining it, since the Gilyak keep dogs in great numbers as indispensable draft animals, and the fur cannot be used profitably in trade with either the Chinese, Japanese, or Russians.

Nevertheless fur coats made out of the fur of other animals are found among the Gilyak. They do not serve for use, however, but are carefully stored as valued and rare objects. A lynx coat (Gilyak tschlghi-okch) in particular plays such a role among them. A person who owns a lynx coat is regarded among the Gilyak as a rich and distinguished man, and at the time of my stay in the Amur region they could name for me only three of their countrymen and one Olcha who enjoyed such a possession. The Gilyak were: Nenjdan in the village of Allel on the Amur, Ungun in Pal', who is having one coat of this type, and Pawgun in Tamla-wo on Sakhalin, who had two of them, and the Olcha Todo in Tschiwi, who likewise had one such fur coat in his possession.

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Hence it is no wonder that, in accordance with the proverb, "Clothes make the man," which is especially apt among primitive peoples, the Gilyak who can occasionally parade around in a whole coat of lynx skins, and who can thus scorn the profit that would accrue to him from the sale of these skins, is surrounded with an aura of extraordinary distinction and wealth in the eyes of his countrymen.

But let us return to the ordinary winter-clothing of the Gilyak. Like the shirt, the fur coat, too, is always bordered by the Gilyak from left to right over the chest, sometimes with several metal buttons of Chinese or Russian origin, sometimes with a large wooden button of Gilyak workmanship (Pl. XXIX, Figs. 4, 5), and the skirts of the coats likewise overlap. To hold them together, however, the complete winter outfit includes, besides the belt, which will be discussed later, a special piece of clothing, the so-called konjiha, that is, a short apron-skirt of sealskin, which is tied around the body, which, by better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII and XIX). The konjiha seems to be an article of clothing that is peculiarly Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, Negda, etc. For /391/ the Gilyak always traveling about his low dog-sled, the konjiha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak as we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a washing fashion and tied at the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of of fabric or leather (Gilyak tokshas; see Pl. XXII, Figs. 4, 8). The hand covering (Gilyak wontschgi) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX, Figs. 3, 4) and distinguished in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a [illegible] (see Category 16, pp. 1005, 998, 999, 1002 and 1006 respectively -- Analyst).

/398 cont./

is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed animal is also found among around the body, which, by better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII and XIX). The konjiha seems to be an article of clothing that is peculiarly Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, Negda, etc. For /399/ the Gilyak always traveling about his low dog-sled, the konjiha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak as we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a washing fashion and tied at the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of of fabric or leather (Gilyak tokshas; see Pl. XXII, Figs. 4, 8). The hand covering (Gilyak wontschgi) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX, Figs. 3, 4) and distinguished in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a [illegible] (see Category 16, pp. 1005, 998, 999, 1002 and 1006 respectively -- Analyst)

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however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I myself have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other Gilyak peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (3), the thumb ring

2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 76, 207. Gerstfel'ch, "O pribrezhn. shit. Amura" (Vestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 30, 1857, Sec. on Ret. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from injury as a result of severe abrasion (2). Aside from this practical

3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Lak" i Hriel', Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrow; an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 38), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Moser, in his work, "Ancient and Modern Bows and Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples. Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this

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matters are quite different with respect to those vegetable foods that the region itself does not produce and which the Gilyak can obtain only by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals and legumes, are to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole have less significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent may even be called luxury items because they are directly available only to those who are better off and not always to them, but rather to persons who are more or less certain of their daily life. They are used only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During the bear festivals, however, great quantities of them are consumed, and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently in the region with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, and are attended by numerous participants, the foods of this kind, stored up by an individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are always shared with a greater or lesser number of other and less prosperous men. On such occasions I have learned in detail the various foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak and the form in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not many of them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese, the most common and the most popular among the Gilyak is Chinese, or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria italica (Gilyak budi), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudi). Far rarer and less popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak mjam) (2).

2. The first two have the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called ugumu by them and by the Goldi.

Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, though it is only rarely found among them. Judin, a very distinguished Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended in the winter of 1868 in the village of Tebach, still had the remnants of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the Japanese (Siam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set before the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

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wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, a quadrangular, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (?), especially in Tsitsihar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungank. eisp." (Vosm. Sbornik, 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece proper, the wooden middle piece connecting them twandairr.

The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the Gilyak making it always copied it from the Sungari region, where they are factory made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small bowl, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped bowl. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Siebold et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kununai and Mamiya, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notoyama. See his "Reisen im Amurlande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VII th. Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

/704 cont. /

Many of them were whittled with the knife on only one side, but most of them on two opposite sides, and some all around. Indeed from some of them very fine and graceful [illegible] Gilyak-things (the repeatedly mentioned so-called ŋach of the Gilyak) hung down from the upper end of the stick to the lower one. This symbol, which among the Gilyak accompanies all religious performances based on the fear of the influence of evil spirits, such as the giving of offerings to the river (2) conjuring away storms (3) etc.

2. See pp. 602-604 above.

3. See p. 1088 above.

/711 cont. /

[illegible] amused, permitted them to do. The choice of the archer who is to dispatch the fatal arrow toward the bear, however, is made by the owner himself and it regarded as an honorary token bestowed by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A stick man wears a single mipinch, a woman a double one. The mipinch are always carved out of wood, especially the wapmipinch. It is only on the snout-hand of the dead bear (see pp. 1156, 1162) that a single mipinch of birch bark may be found. The mipinch by the women are made of birch bark and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

The shaman Gondemchach's Dzuchachach is less powerful, but he is only a boy, a matscherlaga-tscham. Nevertheless, he, too, does miraculous things. Thus the Gilyak say that he sits down in the yurt with his hands tied to his back, the fires are extinguished, and all the visitors begin a hide-and-seek game, in which the lŋan is called upon to come and to dance, and in fact, while the singing is still going on, a small lŋan hardly larger than a nail comes and dances on his arms. As soon as the singing ceases, the boy stands there restored to life.

Each shaman has his own songs; I could not find out what they mean and whether they are also sung on definite occasions. It seems certain that every shamanistic song serves for conjuring up a lŋan, which appears in the form of a little man, or a little bird, indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the laiz beam a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not mapd. (ibm. II, pp. 44-46.)

30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

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sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipinch. The only means that can help him, however, is a shaman. He conjures up a lŋan (a good god), who removes the mipinch from the sick person. At the same time a mipinch carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A stick man wears a single mipinch, a woman a double one. The mipinch are always carved out of wood, especially the wapmipinch. It is only on the snout-hand of the dead bear (see pp. 1156, 1162) that a single mipinch of birch bark may be found. The mipinch by the women are made of birch bark and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

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?: Kreinovich--5 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches 742 of the pilar as light in campfire. No hunter has the right to 372 light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose; 475 he has to use the implements of the pilar, instead.

4. To hunt the pilar rudder and to observe the rules and ice-225 floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely 475 on this rule completely on the pilar. One Gilyak told me: 902 "If the pilar observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pilar performs the most responsible functions in the hunters' organization. The pilar knows all anything goes wrong during the hunt the pilar is held responsible.

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organized hunt, but also expose the boat to smoke.

225 [81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning 475 to the end according to the rules. Each of the hunters occupies a 476 designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋuivd, the second - ŋafpuf, the third - ŋkiŋ, the fourth - ŋkiŋ (literally "the same as the third"), the fifth - (ŋ)ele mi-pid (placed at the very bow). There are boats with six and even seven pairs of oars.

225 Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋuivd, is oc- 475 cupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the 501 next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the 361 oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he occupies the other oars. At the same time there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilar often turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits in the bow to fire at the seals. Such cases, for instance, the Gilyak pilar. Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fires at the seals. At the same time Gilyak at tended the rudder which the pilar had turned over to him. The Gilyak pilar Tayŋun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had killed by himself 47 seals and missed one. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person shoots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

?: Kreinovich--5 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters 475 must often get in the bow for it is not always convenient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there 225 are five oarsmen, one pilar and one other man, then the pilar 476 -ŋ is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without 501 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The 688 Gilyakes illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Aŋkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the other hunters, then Aŋkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and the pilar, Aŋkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tuŋun, Aŋkun, Pil-ŋkuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pil-ŋkuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tuŋun and Aŋkun, are at the stern, Aŋkun takes over the rudder and Tuŋun, as the oldest of them all, sits at the stern. Thus the pilar is not always the younger than the extra man in the boat. In such case the pilar tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pil-ŋkuk, the pilar, sat with him in the boat old man Oŋkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while pilar tended the rudder. Oŋkan was the best shot in the shooting at the seals and t. to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder. Oŋkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his worn-out boat, he met: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he had built the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to my great regret. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Oŋkan performed a number of functions which are usually ascribed to the pilar, whereas, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient 225 [82] As mentioned above the pilar performs mu-ŋi-d 774 the and t ŋa.

Mu-ŋi-d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short 791 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern 792 board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually performed on heads of children. They believe that a thread made of hair or a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

?: Kreinovich--7 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

223 mu-ŋi-d on the boat supports the assumption that at one 789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as a living thing. Moreover, the Gilyaks believe that it is convenient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.

Uniformers.

782 Aside from mu-ŋi-d, t-ŋ is performed on the boat. T-ŋ 178 means 'image', 'figure', 'picture.' With shavings (tmaŋ) 782 a branch of rowan (ŋaŋ-ŋ-ŋa) the pilar makes two figurines. 225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the 780 other - at the stern. I saw such a figure on the neck of a representation of the bird ug-, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the pilar, the other - back to the bear trap elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before 225 hunt, pour a handful of tobacco into the boat to smoke. 225 They light fires of spruce and boguinik on both sides of the boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. They light the fires in the following way: one place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunters place themselves. The hunters light the fire (evil)-. Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the open sea.

223 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from 225 hunt, put on a sail with the hunters a second time. Two 834 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an experienced pilar, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the bird ug- and the figurines t-ŋ. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They 833 first go to Ul-ŋkŋ "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull 225 [83]

782 1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilar picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

13: Seeland--23 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

225 The seal (1) is caught in several ways. On the island 411

1. On the Amur it is found only way down at the mouth.

Sakhalin a lance about two to two and one-half fathoms long with a wooden shaft, the thickness of a man's arm, and a trough; on the thick end of the lance a 20-30 fathom long strap is fastened. In spring when the ice breaks up, the seal climbs onto land and the Gilyaks pursue it, often at risk of his life, on a boat or over floating ice fields. As soon as he is near enough to the seal, he places the trough with somewhat represents the barrel of a gun, with the lance inside it on the ground, sometimes he leans against it, holding the end of the strap with his left hand, so that the animal cannot get too far away.

225 Another method which is practiced, for instance, in the village of Charbabh, below Nikolayevsk-na-Amure is done in the following way: one place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunters place themselves. The hunters light the fire (evil)-. Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the open sea.

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225 the musk deer and particularly the sable are hunted.

The bravest men conduct a hand-to-hand fight with the bear and thrust their lance into his breast when he stands up on his hind legs. In a place where a man carries away from such a battle bring him great honor and songs of praise. Most of the men conduct single combats and go after the animal in pairs, and [123] armed with rifles, sometimes the bow and arrow are also used; in any case, it is a dangerous hunt.

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428 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
583 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are
married off. If after the death of the parents only one
daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate
upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who
took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry,
the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by
going against the wishes of his wife.

428 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is
not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general
one can draw the following conclusions from what has been
said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives;
b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro-
vided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their
husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the
nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit
and have their own property, but in general they are not
left as much; however, they have the right to be supported;
e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they be-
come joint owners of the estate along with their children.

565 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
551 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
177 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or
because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they
have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also
have family names (which are handed down by the males);
many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which
is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from
outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not,
are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one
and by this name they are known even among their fellow-
tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually
intelligent lads and understand Russian.

567 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
554 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
576 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ
ual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a
certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of
real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment.
Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is
occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit,
both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds
up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

/114 cont./

Let us look more closely at these conditions, and first of all at the economic ones.

The predominant form of labor is individual labor or the simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishing. The sea and rivers are so rich in this product that with the most meager equipment under normal conditions everyone can secure his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animals, it is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but the whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; everyone performs that for which he is /115/ most qualified. Moreover, the artel is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never occurs to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than according to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those who have not participated in the hunting, for do the clan gods give only to some and not all the members of the clan? The same is true of hunting for forest beasts, if carried on by a group, but ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along perfectly well in his pursuits without the help of others. And, in fact, during the fishing season the Gilyak population disperses in all directions; each master departs to his favorite site. During the hunting season everyone sets off for his hunting balagan and from there keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a stranger for weeks.

Thus, the predominant form of labor is individual. Everyone must be able to do everything, master all the knowledge of his tribe, be an individual equal with all, comprehensively developed and prepared for life.

And since the gifts of nature are plentiful, free, and accessible to the efforts of all, the well-being of a man depends exclusively, in consequence, on his abilities and diligence. Inequality, which under more complex conditions is a source of dissension and social differences, does not show its thorns here. A wealthy man owes everything exclusively to his own personal talents and virtues. His accumulations cannot enslave or humiliate anyone. Moreover, the personal accomplishments of a man are a gift of the gods,

/115 cont./

555 556 156 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on his advantages (1).

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibl' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance: that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

[789]

614 156 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard [454] one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be [183] equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-
771 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

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556 ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH--extent to which prestige can be gained through amassing wealth; means used to accumulate wealth or degree of skill involved; principal objects of wealth (e.g., money, cattle, slaves, land); relative importance of sheer accumulation, of display, of generosity in distribution; prominence of wealth accumulation as a mobility mechanism; desirable statuses achievable thereby; symbolic tokens of success; specific techniques (e.g., conspicuous consumption, potlatching, endowing a college, buying a title); etc. See also:

Property 42
Potlatches 431
Saving and investment 484
Individual enterprise 473
Wealth in relation to social classes 566
Hospitality 574

/xxviii cont./

*114 582 595 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To accept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably, the conclusions of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

*114 602 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations, and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming [174] the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

*114 614 Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their common law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the Australians.

*114 614 556 Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vukhakh and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention to it.

/29 cont./

93 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on
92 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal
35] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles,
56] ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

01 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a semisedentary person. In summer hs usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

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*614 Once the above-mentioned principle was created and became an immutable imperative of life, the natural consequence was the appearance of exogamy, and exogamy is the foundation of the clan.

But the exogamy of the Gilyak, as we have seen, is not the mere obligation to take wives from outside their clan. It gives a man a whole series of rights, which play an enormous role in his life.

We know that the acquisition of a wife is one of the most difficult problems of primitive man. There are ordinarily
[583] fewer women than men. One must pay for a woman, and to
[556] make matters worse each of the wealthy men snatch up many wives. For the poor man -- and such are in the majority -- acquiring a wife under such conditions is far from easy; frequently he must even resort to methods that risk his life.

The norms of Gilyak marriage give each Gilyak the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, in particular to the daughters of the brothers of his mother; this is simultaneously
[583] his religious obligation and right. The bride price in such cases, if not a formality, is a burden which each one always has a right to expect his clansmen, interested, like himself, in his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man succeeds in setting up his own family, the families of his older brothers, with whom he shares the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, are his family, their wives are his wives, to
[587] whom he has lawful conjugal rights. When a married Gilyak
[768] dies, his wife passes without any bride price to one of his younger brothers determined by the choice of the clan.

*614 These are all advantages which play a role of the
587 first order in the eyes of primitive man. The crown of
768 these advantages is the social privilege of every clansman of not having to fear for the fate of his wife and his children after his death. His wife and children during his life are juridically, and frequently factually as well, the wife and children of his younger brothers; they will remain such after

/91 cont./

476 to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or even
*614 simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will
[261] share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valuable spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more individualism, introduced by more recent conditions of exchange, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purchase of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrifice his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan.

*614 This same principle of the communality of the ma-
428 terial goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of inheritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of the clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, the well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in effect among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento.[2] In the absence of members of the family, in which the "workers" are also classed, the property passes to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excluding even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

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1. "Treasures" -- a property sui generis, consisting of unused objects, designated only for exceptional cases: bride price, dowry, ransom, funerals. It is divided into 1) the iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron kettles, spears decorated with silver inlays, valuable Japanese sabers, coats of mail, and so forth, used chiefly for the bride price: 2) the fur, consisting chiefly of expensive fur coats, used principally for dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk materials and garments, which are

[2] [i.e., "in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir", cf. translation on p.512. – Analyst]

*614 428 [422 556]

/92 cont./

worn on ceremonial occasions and in which the dead are garbed.

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the testator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the testator and consequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so-called iron shagund, which in any case will return to the clan in the form of bride price, while to the akhmal'k clan, the clan of fathers-in-law, only fur shagund can be willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of the bride's dowry.

*614 796

4. One bear: the common obligation of the clansmen to share in the fattening of the bear and in the bear festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a domestic bear and the hunting of the forest beast. "Khal'-gu, ut-gu, narkh muve!": "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with this summons the youths go around to the yurts, summoning the clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear slain in the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the occasion by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligations with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privilege of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regarding this in the section on /93/ religion and the clan gods. As we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic features: first, by the honoring of the very person of the bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mountain masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain master and his clan and, consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater significance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to the highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer of

*614 796 782 [775]

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*614 433 461 476

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*614 156 [454] [183]

His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

156 771

But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

/118 cont./

* 614 ● 556 554 But who are these authoritative individuals who appear on the scene in special cases and either personally or together with the "village community" of their clansmen display, as those having the power, their initiative and energy? What role do they play in ordinary life?

They are the so-called yz' -- the "masters" (1), or otherwise

> 1. Up to the present, little attention has been focused on the role of such persons in the structure of primitive societies. Their role is obscured by their being classified only as representatives of wealth. Here is one of the most recent examples of such a relation. Separate classes of "nobles" and "commoners" do not exist in northwestern California, but in almost all affairs of life the rich man plays the most important role ("Types of Indian Culture in California," by A. L. Kroeber, University of California Publications, June, 1904, Vol. II). One should be grateful, however, that such facts have been noted at all.

[171] [113]

the urdlya-nivukhi -- the good, i.e., the rich, outstanding men (good and rich are synonomous among all primitive peoples). These are individuals who enjoy outstanding prosperity, thanks to their exceptional individual talents -- bravery, dexterity, strength, enterprise, and intelligence, which place them in an advantageous position in the business of obtaining the means of subsistence. Such an individual is a valuable man for all around him. For the narrow circle of his own family he is the natural head of the communal economy, which, thanks to his initiative and talents, is run more profitably than if it were conducted haphazardly. /119/ The huge family grouped around him is better provided with

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al products, but also purchased ones, tobacco,
.., because his wealth and associations make
n to undertake distant journeys for the barter
quisition of goods at firsthand. He is the
ommon "shagund" of his closest kinsmen,
of his own rich collection of "shagund,"
en may use in case of necessity.
clan he is not only a man whose home is al-
e one can always go to eat well, enjoy the
co, and hear interesting things, but one who
assist in time of need. Especially invaluable,
elp at times of common misfortune, such as
ising from revenge, disputes with members of
has supplies of the best weapons and con-
me strikes terror into the foe, who for that
willingly consent to a reconciliation, and,
pplies of "shagund" when it becomes neces-
m. Moreover, such a person usually possesses
ligence, eloquence, rich experience, and
and people. He is the natural orator,
who plays such a weighty role in affairs of
disputes; even neighboring clans resort to
ervention of intermediaries is necessary.
there are individuals who enjoy enormous
throughout all the territory settled by the
mage and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned
ds, the "masters" of the mountains, seas,
etc. Moreover, they do not simply display
m, but also a feeling of religious adoration.
individuals, under favorable circumstances,
se elements of authority which we find in
ing on a higher level of cultural conditions.
ch yz'i will become the council of elders,
clan assembly decides the affairs of the
name of the clan. Under other circum-
tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

/119 cont./

*614 554 556 [622] the most outstanding yz'i become leaders of the tribe for life, or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do not yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still too insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison with the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and life are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ yz' if not that integrated personality in its highest manifestation of individuality? The influence of the yz' is therefore purely factual, moral; between him and the poorest of his clansmen there is no abyss either in the intellectual or economic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

*614 182 Such is the mechanism of clan life. Its real mainspring is the comprehensive development of the personality, together with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent. Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authority exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at all as constant elements of authority which would push the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them:

[623] Above all there is the khal', the clan, i.e., the whole totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regular assemblies, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once the problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly as it appeared.

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*614 182 623 Then there are the hejmary, the elders, all of whose authority consists in the solution of moot problems of cult and kinship. They play a certain role at the time of the clan festivals, at which they are generally the principal managers; they are, after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They do not, however, wield any influence or possess any actual significance in the other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

*614 182 556 554 Finally, the third element of authority is the yz'i. Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of these three elements those diverse forms of power which in various combinations (people's assemblies, the council of the elders, patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, dukes, vikings, kings, and so forth) we find among many semi-cultured peoples at the present time and at the dawn of the history of all nations which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these elements are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

/121/ VIII.

Interclan Relations

615 *614 The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution, and a man's intimate ties are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law, is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the akhmal'k and ymgi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond of blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, the bond of common origin through the mother (the male ancestors of all four clans and the representatives of each of their generations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and to this are united those powerful ties of natural intimacy which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage unions.

/165 cont./

582 584 Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to 585 marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a common economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing; they fashion [601] nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is concluded, and when the bride has grown up a little more, approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband" (n'an g:ej, n'fu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at which time they become actual spouses, without any of the ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in concluding marriage with outsiders. This custom probably explains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "yr:kh" and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age when most of us are only preparing to get married the young Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anniversary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage [582] unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old. The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar- [556] riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all the ancient customs and rites.

/175 cont./

*835 837 wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights just as broadly as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between pu and an'g:ej is largely determined by the conditions of cohabitation.

*835 832 Under the conditions of living in different villages, the relations between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses know each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a pu or an'g:ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch the breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together," in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of winks alone.

*835 [593] In a place where the individual bachelor pu and their wives, an'g:ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathies and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the woman from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her individual husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official [595] spouse of this woman is considered to be only the oldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual spouse, but, with the tacit consent of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, not only to outsiders, but [184] also to the children of the brothers-spouses. One encounters [556] such situations also in the richest and most respected families.

*835 578 184 166 [361] /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southernmost Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well *835 578 834 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and completely disregards her obligations to her individual husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village, [166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the *835 578 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the [626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases [554] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the [556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all. Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lightheaded, and undistinguished by any

/202 cont./

* 174 177 As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furnished them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by [221] [439] seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into the [439] Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to their [563] homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peoples or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital relations with them or carried off their women. And although these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not be without influence.

* 174 177 ● 556 A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Until the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was no stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or success- [439] ful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. There appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume, but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate possessors of valuables, and others who did not have them and wished to possess them. In rich men there was born a consciousness of their wealth and their importance, and together with this the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the [583] poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the woman was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to circumvent [581] the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the insti- ooo tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

/269 cont./

584 582 my children and your children also be akhmalk'i. If you do not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything accord- ing to law ('live pure')."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the akhmalk is not an ancient one.

177 178 614 433 ● 556 [582] Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages in the clans of akhmalk'i. One of the causes was the depopu- lation of the clans from which they took wives, which com- pelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause, perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and ornaments, but also food and spices, such as rice, groats, and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they pre- ferred to dress themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain

177 178 556 582 584 [594] the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relation- ships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good person, urdla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'ivukh became a synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting ap- peared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

177 178 ● 556 582 584 [565] /270 cont./ in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers, and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and become related to only rich people. In the question of the choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and, consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even in the ancient "tylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my

178 556 58 614 equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek women who were famous for their special qualities, who were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the pro- cedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

192 584 The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex- pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the match- maker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called pu -- husband, and the bride -- an'g:ej. The term jokh, [174] which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

192 584 [199] /270 cont./ orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orth /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the specia term tkhagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

584 602 [593] Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the of the father. The role of the latter individual is explain apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. Accordin to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry t brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister o the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage o his closest akhmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-la

584 602 614 If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla n'ivukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there freque participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy pe

● [556] [583] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringin with them at once the articles of the bride price, and fre- quently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes proper impression, they immediately take the maiden aw with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

584 554 556 [533] The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is a alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re- nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one so maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth

595 584 614 Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a marrie man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the lat herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

/278 cont./
son, served as objects in the shagred (1).

1. The following spindled legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryun' pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagred. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagred. One bears the designation Ulkh-Ul'ka-Ul'ka, "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another bears ul -- "place where the kettle is hulled," and the third, Kyl'ckhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 There are objects which are unalienable, exist commercium. Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty, or in the absence of a kinsmen is the alienation of objects of the shagred category allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the settlement of Pilavo, who lived on the Tymovka River, explained my question as to what she was going to do with the shagred in this way: "Part of it I will sell, and the remainder will go with me to Milyo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of great means, the bride price is not always limited to such unalienable objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

Rich people, wishing a large bride price, are guided mainly by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

/280 cont./
(2) Contract of maternality when the mother's brother played a privileged role: the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin marriage among the Gilyaks is perfectly explain on the ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of the ancient form of marriage.

583 I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- the dowry.

For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh ûmdo, signifying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists of the shagred, of clothing, and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable Japanese and Chinese goods, such as large kettles, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated sledes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away her bed, because, if one gives the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in a room of them with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually are stored away. The dowry should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the grouping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer to the "bride" and a "poor dowry," or, "the bride price and the greatest price to provide the daughter with a male or female slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance, Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (ash), whom they provided with a Japanese saber for clearing the wilds of her mistress boots. Especially anxious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, and in the same lies the dowry, although it is compensation for the bride price, since it from the husband from great expenditures for the wife, it nevertheless can hardly a gift to the bride, but private property /281/ to which the husband has no right whatever.

/278 cont./
clansmen, even in those cases where the families are separately. And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house together and eating together, individual members, such as, for example, the unrepatriated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. In this case, they are with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained as a present /279/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in town. If an unseparated son kills a bear, the bear meat goes the general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The newly wedded husband and wife are independent in the matter of property of which he shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of rich means, that the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to a large sum of money, and the groom and the bride are so preparations whatever are demanded. Among rich families, the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom gives very far away, when the given marriage is considered valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the groom's renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement being broken if a richer competitor appears. Ordinarily, in cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their nobles clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry. But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged by installments. At first only one object is given, as a token of settle, the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/278 cont./
556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. Just as rich man feels respect and reverence for a dog, a poor man, for example, the unrepatriated sons, are independent owners of dogs, boats, and other movable property. In this case, they are with their father obtain in good time property for their future independence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means. Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained as a present /279/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the result of employment in town. If an unseparated son kills a bear, the bear meat goes the general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The newly wedded husband and wife are independent in the matter of property of which he shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of rich means, that the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to a large sum of money, and the groom and the bride are so preparations whatever are demanded. Among rich families, the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom gives very far away, when the given marriage is considered valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the groom's renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement being broken if a richer competitor appears. Ordinarily, in cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their nobles clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry. But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged by installments. At first only one object is given, as a token of settle, the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/361 cont./ Quick Strokes, Heavier.
are not used as a rule, but rather, carefully wrapped in birch bark, are stored away by the Gilyaks as a treasure of great value.

Bear pikes and lances are the weapon most commonly used by the Gilyak against elk, reindeer, bears, and the like. During the first period of my stay at the Amur, I was under the impression that, if it consisted only a few log houses erected at the edge of the small, completely uncleared forest, it happened almost in front of my eyes that an elk came running out of the forest toward the river, and, when it came upon a group of Gilyak camping there, tried to leap over the people and the Gilyak. The people immediately pursued it in their boat and stabbed it in the water with their lances, whereupon I expected the elk to be killed on the land. In winter when the all too deep snow greatly impedes movement for the elk and reindeer, the Gilyak pursue them on ski in order to kill them eventually with the aid of a lance. The Gilyak, however, at the reindeer, which is especially common on the unforested plains of northern Sakhalin, they pursue in winter with the aid of the Linnan, in the Amur other ways. When in early spring, under the influence of the midday sun and the nightly frosts, a thin crust of ice has formed on the snow and is strong enough to support the dogs, but breaks under the reindeer, they pursue it on a light sledge and harnessed to dogs until they can attack it with their pikes and lances.

Most frequently, however, they are on the hunt against the bear. Under the term the Gilyak, among other mythical beasts of ill great rarity, and the no /362/ less unfamiliar leopard, which, according to superstition fear, the Gilyak scarcely dare mention by name (1), the bear is the largest and most powerful beast of

1. I have already discussed this at great length in the first volume of this work (pp. 96-98) in speaking of the occurrence and distribution of these animals in the Amur region. I shall return in the following to the tiger and leopard idols alluded to there.

/362 cont./ Carefully in Sheets at the Beginning of the Journey
the Gilyak, and the tiger and leopard idols, which are the idols of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russian call "Kilaki."

Bear pikes and lances are used among them the least, and only in winter (2) -- a report which was given to little credence

2. Pp. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilaki with the Persian province of Gilan and the Caspian Sea. Yet, I am inclined to regard as question the very existence of such a people,(3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which are especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available not from the people themselves, at least through the Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have to equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown in Siberia Gmelin's time, and they were unknown among the people of the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

/278 cont./
to the property of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have been given the Gilyak on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and the Japanese, who had already received a knowledge of the discovered above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity, in view of the increase acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

The coat of arms armor (Gilyak kâ-petrich) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless cuirasse (Gilyak -- ûrt pal /1/), of a helmet (Gilyak -- ûrt ûl /2/), and of a pair of stiff, cylindric strands of textile -rain cord, such as is also used for fastening fish nets, and with individual strips of wholebone (Gilyak -- ûrt ûl /3/) and of a pair of wooden shoulder pieces with holes, long for and low and a large-bodied big buttoning in, otherwise, of a pair of wooden shoulder pieces with holes, long for and low, remain open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on account of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the coat of arms armor is considerably lighter. Both helmets are made of birch bark, the helmet, is 2'-4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 18 /#/ (the coat of arms armor is considerably lighter. Both helmets are made of birch bark, the helmet, is 2'-4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 18 /#/ (the coat of arms armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major hunts, for example, the hunting of a muskrat, wolverine, and the like, and also took to the field against another one. In my time, it was nothing more than an indicator of importance for the Gilyak. In the summer of 1855, the Russian settlement of Michaïlovkhoye was founded directly beside it, indeed, almost at the same spot (2), which presumably later prompted the Gilyak to abandon

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

that even the ancient Matcha (Ayatschi), had pieces of armor and helmet, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pin or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest, the Gilyak obtained the Matcha. The fate of the Matcha were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

435 undoubtedly can be explained by their great quantity, by the
436 as yet still undiscussed wealth of animals in the lower Amur
437 region. Only the very best of fur considerably surpass all the others
438 with their high prices: the black fox and the lynx. The former
439 shows in high price, not only to the absolute beauty of its fur,
440 also recognized and highly appreciated by the Chinese, but
441 certainly also to its far greater rarity. The lynx fur, on the
442 other hand, as was pointed out above, has too high an imaginary
443 value in the eyes of the Gilyak themselves to be marketed in
444 great quantities.

445 1) Like the lynx fur, several other articles are distinguished
446 in the above table by their very high price, in no way corre-
447 sponding to their real value. Among these in particular are the
448 old Manchurian iron armor and helmets discussed above at great
449 length and the Japanese kettles with three handles, which, un-
450 fortunately, I did not see, but these could hardly so greatly
451 surpass in quality the kettles from there with two handles, or
452 otherwise somewhat different from them in form, as to justify
453 the great difference between them in price. The necessity for
454 special marks of wealth and distinction, present even among
455 the otherwise practical Gilyak, is expressed in these things.

456 2) The same motive, vanity, also explains the high value
457 of a live bear among the Gilyak. It brings in owner not only
458 no material /*199*/ advantage, but, on the contrary, even dis-
459 advantages. For the killing and consumption of it can take place
460 only in a festive fashion which entails expense for the owner and
461 host, in return, however, it brings him the flattering reputation
462 of a rich and renowned man.

463 4) Among the various clothing materials which represent
464 the principal barter item of the Chinese in dealing with the
465 Gilyak, the latter most prize the colorful silk materials with
466 dragons and other Chinese patterns and often gold and silver
467 interwoven through them, but not because they themselves take
468 special pleasure in them and live in luxury with them -- instead,
469 one sees them used among them almost exclusively in small

1. (cont.)
583 1919
113

image, one horse, a cow, and an ox,
7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood
of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hope
for the proprietor's sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers
and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various
foods, fish, meat, berries, millet, etc., are given to the de-
parting matched couple, so that the young wife, having reached
the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the
relatives, there, as well as members of the household and
villagers.

As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the
husband has been living, that is, where the groom's parents live.
And take up residence with one or the other of them, according
to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been
described above, are of the type that can accommodate several
families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited
only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps
helped in building it or have some other connection with its
owner. The members of the household remain together until,
through the increase in the families, the space becomes too
cramped, and then one or more families leave the common home
for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides
the central room used by all the members of the household, with
the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the wooden yurt
built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of
the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has
his designated place on them. But these individual sections are
never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains,
or in the one, and the whole interior of the house always gives the
impression of a room used by everyone in common.

As little as such living together by all the members of the
household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally
speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in
this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally
mature people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi,
Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded
as merely another ceremony, which takes place in the bride's
556 house. This is often done without further ado. Weather
people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding
of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers
and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various
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553 Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child
554 is given a name, usually towards evening of the same day or in the
555 morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born
556 in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any
557 ceremony: the father simply names the name desired by him or
558 the mother, or /641/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may
559 propose a name. Or the father approved or said adopts it for his
560 child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts are
561 practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving.
562 Thus, however, are by no means to be thought of a kind of special
563 celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express
564 their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share
565 with the neighbors and kinsfolk.

566 When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle
567 made of wood and usually. This has a very peculiar construction of
568 a cone-shaped or flened, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a
569 length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its head,
570 can be fitted into it. Although, while its upper body is fixed, is strictly
571 pointed, remain open, the lower end is closed with a cronbaund
572 which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central
573 hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked buttocks,
574 is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow,
575 whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to the
576 other to prevent the child from falling out. A small board is then
577 filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the
578 opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on
579 a cronbaum of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. **Pl. XIII** /see
580 p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by
581 excrement that might seep through the basket, a length board
582 (Gilyak **ям**, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with
583 raised rim and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put
584 on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is
585 suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can be
586 put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal position
587 as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, it bundle of various
588 small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

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presence of several women around one man in the same house
is not a common household in, in the long run, scarcely con-
ceivable. Therefore very rich Gilyak who are impelled by
the desire to display their wealth and indulge in the luxury of
polygamy, frequently seize upon another means to lighten the
lot of their wives and, without disturbing the peace, to be
able to live one or another of them. This means is to keep
slaves, usually of the female, but sometimes of the male sex,
for the purpose of performing the heaviest work in the house.
These, however, are by no means to be thought of as local
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567 people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke,
568 and, in fact, are the ones most involved in the work. Finally,
569 indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is
570 rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought
571 by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese is the
572 the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale
573 of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the
574 trading trips of the litter furnish them the opportunity. The
575 Gilyak, on the otherhand, who have been able to preserve
576 their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to
577 be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain con-
578 ditions sell them again, but they must decidedly abhor keeping
579 any of their own people as slaves or sell them to the others.
580 In fact, they were to the opinion that if one of them tried to do
581 it, he /647/ would come such indignation among his countrymen
582 that it would be in outmost danger of his life.

583 On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that
584 of the female slaves who are always more common, is small
585 among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price
586 that they can both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in
587 exchange for their trade by the Gilyak: it is sometimes necessary
588 to acquire a slave intrade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Stogin
589 in Kuik, for instance, paid for three for his slave, an Ainu woman
590 named Ainu-mamu. So Gilyak may marry a female slave, mentioned
591 above, he bought the latter for 150 in = 210 rubles, but the former
592 cost him 60 pieces o Chinese silk, which alone amounted to
593 300 in, or almost tworoubles, aside from other things. It appears
594 once she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from
595 the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of
596 the social position ofemale slaves among the Gilyak. Because
597 of the high price of ne female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can
598 afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful
599 about it, as, for instance, Stogin was. Such a possession seems
600 to envious to them not in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does
601 not hesitate, to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in
602 exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the
603 Purchase Price in some other form.

560 high price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are
561 cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less
562 handy and strong, and therefore less useful in the house than
563 the female slave are, and in addition perhaps also because, in
564 spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give
565 cause for concern on the part of their wives and children.

566 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation
567 to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no
568 rights. they are nothing more thin domestic animals in human
569 shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit
570 and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of
571 course, it is only with in the house, such as hauling and
572 splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever
573 else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they only to
574 obey and to work. Nowhere, however, does there is a slave in the
575 house, the housework is done almost exclusively by her, while
576 the wives of the head of house share themselves only in
577 handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they
578 please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make
579 the lot of the slaves, and especially the female slaves, hard
580 among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as
581 well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which
582 is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they are
583 excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with
584 their social inferiors. So Gilyak may marry a female slave, mentioned
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597 Purchase Price in some other form.

556 While there is no ranking of individuals as superior or in-
557 ferior in a legal sense among the Gilyak, a social structure
558 determined by differences of wealth is very marked among them.
559 Among a people so generally and to such a high degree devoted
560 to trade as the Gilyak, it could not be otherwise but that wealth
561 would play a important role in social life and become one of the
562 for the reputation, moral power, and influence of the individual.
563 The rich man among them, who on trading trips to the Manchu
564 and the Sisiam provides himself with a stock of everything that
565 his countrymen regard as necessary and desirable, is an important
566 and indispensable person for the less well-to-do who are unable
567 to make such trips. at his place they can always dispose of the
568 precious furs, which they themselves have hunted, in exchange
569 for the clothing, or luxuries that they could not do so. In case
570 of necessity, can also count on help and receive some things
571 perhaps on credit, but other things, and the most essential ones,
572 are for nothing. Furthermore, charity is in high repute among
573 his extensive contacts, the rich Gilyak is as a rule superior to
574 his poorer countrymen in farsightedness, experience, discern-
575 ment, and judgment and that has not only an economic, but
576 also a moral influence upon them. Finally, his means permit
577 him to put himself at the very center of the whole social life
578 of his village and to make his house the scene of its festivities,
579 especially the great bear festivals and the sumptuous feasts
580 associated with them, in which his poor fellow-villagers and
581 business associates may participate. Under these circumstances
582 there is among the Gilyak a quite spontaneous superiority or
583 inferiority of individuals in social relations, based on their
584 greater or lesser wealth. Thus if one enquires among them,
585 at Tolbut did, about this or that person, they will never fail to
586 indicate the part of all the financial position of the person con-
587 cerned by briefly stating whether he is a tscholla nibelch, i.e.,
588 a poor man, or a halla nibelch, a richer one, or mysinnin-
589 halla nibelch, that is, a very rich man, with which in the same
590 time his social position and the respect that he enjoys among
591 them are generally indicated.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--161-162 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 556

"Ukavo was at the time of my visit a rich, or a
basis of its affluence present, or to come, was
township in Australia which, possessing 400 in
and a collection of galvanized-iron roofed cabi
soon to throw Ballarat into the shade! No min
Gilyaks' calculation, but they possessed a far
bears."

at least a potentially rich, village. The
s even more assured than that of the new
habitants, a town hall, a telephone union,
ns of unvarying [162] pattern, promised
es, gold or otherwise, entered into the
more important asset in the shape of seven

9: Hawes--261 T-3 (1901) 190

116, 177, 422, 556

"The headman of Nivo was counted rich
the weapons and produce of the chase. The
arrows, bear-spears, strangely shaped kn
baskets, though of a ruder make than those
my special attention, one, a miniature of t
double-barrelled fowling-piece mounted on
used by these natives and the Tungus in the

among the Gilyaks, his hut being littered with
re were nets and snares, automatic bows and
ives, seal-skins, dog-skins, as well as bark
e of the Orochons. Two other objects attracte
the Tsar Alexander III, and the other, an old
a wooden biped, a cumbersome affair, but
e winter hunts."

9: Hawes--277-278 T-3
116, 461, 556

"From Nivo a start was made
the Tim. Both had been ostentat
to pack I found Armunka averse
Vanka all the work, save what li
so going up to him I took him by
only refrained from boxing his e
tude of the dozen Gilyaks who w
companion, explaining that he h
There was, however, more than
later that Armunka was, as we
cratic family; and therefore his
fused to do menial service! It w
village of Irr Kirr, but in vain
of this Gilyak peer. The hut was
him justice, however, for there
previous year he had killed thre
and would gain him wealth."

with our river crew, Vanka and Armunka, to ascend
iously pleased to welcome us back, but when we cam
from helping. I remonstrated with him for leaving to
ittle I and my interpreter were doing, but to no effect
the shoulders and shook him. I was really angry, an
ears at the request of Vanka, and from doubt of the at
ere looking on. Vanka good naturedly apologized for
ad been making merry and the effect had not yet worn
this in it; and we were considerably amused to lear
should say, of independent means, came of an aristo
pride of ancestry at times asserted itself, and he re
as several days later that we arrived at his home in
looked around for the paternal acres, the vast estat
s [278] comparatively small and rather bare. I must
was no doubt of his being a great hunter. During the
e bears and captured two, which had brought him hor

ONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/665 cont./

556 Among the Gilyak the man who undertakes frequent journeys to the Manchu and Sáisam, carries on extensive trade with his countrymen and the neighboring tribes, and in general lives in evident prosperity is regarded as rich, kolla, and therefore esteemed. He is regarded as belonging to a higher level, however, as mykstschr-kolla nibach, a very rich and highly esteemed man, only if, in addition, he also meets the following conditions: 1) if he owns many of the above-mentioned (1)

1. See pp. 933-937 above.

objects which are especially valuable in the eyes of the Gilyak, such as a lynx-fur coat, old Manchurian iron-armor, bows with buffalo and rhinoceros horn mountings, three-handled Japanese cooking kettles, and the like, and then does not sell these inherently useless, but yet very costly articles, /666/ thus putting them to practical use, but keeps them only as dead capital and heirlooms for his sons, he proves his great wealth; 2) if from time to time he gives great bear festivals with opulent feasts and arranges for the invitation of many guests; or finally, 3) if he displays a particularly large household and has 3-5 wives besides several male and female slaves. It is not necessary that all three conditions be met by one person -- it is enough if one or another of them is satisfied as long as this is done to a particularly high degree. Ssogin in Kuñk-Mäo, for instance, owned a number of luxury items and also had two wives and a female slave, but he was nevertheless regarded as only a kolla nibach. On the other hand, Numkwin in Wair (1), Amin in Kaki, Ssondon and

1. The same who was mentioned above (p. 575, note 1) as one of the murderers of de la Brunière.

his son Libgun in Tschylm, Jondom in Kalm, Pysgun and Mesgun (2) in Patt, and, especially, Judin in Tebach were

[104] 2. In all the Gilyak names mentioned here the s is pronounced soft, like the French z.

/666 cont./

556 named for me as mykstschr-kolla. The latter in particular was especially esteemed and popular among his countrymen, aside from other reasons, on account of his lavish and much visited bear festivals, in one of which I, too, took part. They related that he was held in such esteem that even the Chinese in Ssansin and the Japanese on Sakhalin referred to him as Gilyak dshangin and treated him accordingly, which prompted some of them, too, to refer to him occasionally in this way, and yet, they said, he is no dshangin, of whom there are none among them, but only a mykstschr-kolla nibach. Thus do they cling, even with the great differences in means and, accordingly, also in social position, to their complete equality legally.

426 When I previously said that the poor Gilyak, in case of
935 necessity, count on the help of their richer countrymen and may expect to receive from them some things on credit, but others for nothing, this needs an explanation. One might accordingly
[439] think that the latter treat the former in about the same way as the Chinese traders, who, in an emergency, give the Goldi, Orochi, and other natives of the region among whom they reside the things required, calculated at a very high price, on credit, in order that afterwards, by means of repeated and unchecked promissory notes, they will never be out of debt to them for the rest of their lives; in fact, the debts are even inherited by their children. This never happens among the Gilyak. As much as I was in contact with the rich and the poor among them, I never heard of anything that would permit one to conclude that there is any considerable debt relationship between the one and the other. Both are also probably too cautious and practical, too subtly and cleverly calculating, to enter into such relationships, disadvantageous for both, for the one injurious to his respect and popularity, for the other to his existence. Not that they do not have any debts among one another -- but these always seem to be only small advances within their means to one person or another, the casual repayment of which is taken for granted, but often, and probably usually in cases of unequal means, /667/ is not even claimed,
426 and not much is said about it. Perhaps related to this is the fact

/686 cont./

G1 556 But wealth does come into consideration to the extent that it does among the Gilyak, and those blessed with it do not enjoy nearly as much esteem, moral influence, and popularity as among the
G1 [1697] latter. But the reason for this, too, in large part is again the greater industriousness and gain-seeking of the Gilyak. If one of them acquires a certain amount of wealth, he continues unceasingly to try to increase it by buying new furs in the neighborhood and on trade voyages, through which his name and reputa-
G1 [1697] tion /687/ will become known far and wide in the country. The Olcha, on the other hand, are decidedly of a more indolent and
G1 more easily satisfied nature in this respect.
G1 181 171

Another social trait that distinguishes the Olcha from the Gilyak is that their communism does not work merely within the boundaries of tribal affiliation nearly as much as is the case among the latter. And this is explained by the fact that, while, to be sure, they are most like the Gilyak in their way of life, their customs and practices, on the other hand they are surrounded by
G1 closely related Tungusic tribes with whom they have many
G1 935 character traits in common and whose dialects are readily intelligible to them. Thanks to this considerably lessened national consciousness, the individual man, to be sure, finds among them, in case of need, no such support by his more prosperous countrymen as among the Gilyak, but, on the other hand, a decidedly milder and more humane spirit than among the latter prevails over the whole.

G1 42 224 Evidence that the Olcha, and likewise the Goldi, Samagir, etc., do not limit their communism to such narrow tribal boundaries as the Gilyak is given by the hunting customs already discussed above (1). On the Gorin, for instance, the Olcha,

1. See p. 910.

Goldi, and Samagir have their hunting tents, but these stand open, with their household and hunting equipment, to all hunters, regardless of what nationality they are, with the tacit presupposition that no pilfering of the hunting booty or implements

/769 cont./

764 532 raff next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove (tútut) or a cuckoo (pyk). The former is for a man, the latter for a woman. The dove or the cuckoo is also involved with the small stick with the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as food for the bird; hence the designation tútut-ngir and tútut-ngit or pyk-ngir and pyk-ngit, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these sticks. The
764 representation is the same for both birds, for it only most crudely shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches. The word pittyssj, on the other hand, designates another item in the raff. It is a small framework of little sticks (**), on which hang berries,

** According to the appended, very cursory sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknown to me. On the tscham-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed for a deceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are supposed to
[562] be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the soul, perhaps this takes into account the difference in physical strength and -- according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the difference in psychic energy of the two sexes. The tútut or pyk is supposed to have almost the same purpose as the tscham-ngar, which is very probable on the basis of the explanation given by Judin concerning these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

764 184 56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the right bank of the Amur) a newly erected raff stood very close to the bank and close to it a pittyssj, i.e., a storage chamber for the raff, which is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consists of a small roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dovecot. Its roof is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pittyssj, berries, fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

764 184 556 In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I found an extremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimrkan, had erected in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his daughter. On the outside it was provided with carvings and arabesques of various kinds. The /770/ carvings, painted black, red, and white,

/770 cont./

764 184 556 represented various animals, bears, horses, hares, cocks, and ducks (Plate LXIX /p. 1269 /).

On the inside the raff was very opulently equipped. The usual articles in it, kakk, pyk-ngir, tcham-ngar, were so luxuriously made that they could hardly be recognized. The former wa completely covered with a multicolored cloth, which bore brass ornaments such as the Gilyak women have on their robes, corresponding to the purpose of the kakk, namely, to carry the clothing for the deceased. -- Do the rags on the kakk perhaps come from the garments of the deceased? Very probably, since these rags are called okch, fur. -- A small Manchurian bowl served as pyk-ngir. The floor of the raff was covered with a fine reed or straw mat. Aside from the articles mentioned, there also lay in the raff a great number of birch-bark bowls (with berries, etc.), neatly stacked up, a small box in which lay a tobacco pouch and a pipe, another pipe which was for Kimrkan's daughter, and the like, and, finally, the braids of the two deceased women, cut off at the roots and wrapped in birch bark were preserved here (*).

* See p. 615, where raff is to be read instead of rakk.

764 Kimrkan himself took out the articles and showed them to me, evidently, however, without thinking much about the dead. Moreover, he had now replaced his late wife with three of them. Near the raff there was the cremation site of a corpse and next to it stood the raff that went with it. The raff is never erected directly over the ashes of the deceased, but apart from them (**).

[114] ** The reports concerning this, collected by the author in various places, differ in part from one another, cf. 47 /p. 1227/, 48 /p. 1227/, 51 /p. 1233/.

Kimrkan's deceased, for example, were cremated far in the forest, and their ashes were there, while the raff stood here near

63 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
69 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
77 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

81 XII Economic and Social Conditions.

71 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

56 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
95 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

5 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
8 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
6 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
1 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

557

557 MANIPULATIVE MOBILITY--extent to which desirable statuses and the prestige they bring can be achieved by opportunistic manipulation of social relationships (e.g., cultivation of persons in authority, political machinations, exploitation of friends and relatives, backslapping, marriages of convenience); prominence and relative effectiveness of manipulative techniques as compared with acquisition of skills and wealth; desirable statuses achievable thereby (e.g., political proferment); etc. See also:

Interpersonal relations	87	Traits of leadership	187
Political behavior	68		

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

558

558 DOWNWARD MOBILITY--possibility and incidence of serious loss of prestige; extent to which such loss involves actual descent to less desirable statuses or merely a less favorable estimate of role enactment in the same statuses; major factors in downward mobility (e.g., loss of wealth, misalliance, cowardice, impiety, crime); special examples (e.g., losing face, losing caste); etc. See also:

Breaches of etiquette and ethics	57	Crime and sin	474
Social control	628	Poverty	738

/647 cont./

567 purchase price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are
435 cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less handy and are lazier and therefore less useful in the house than the female slaves are, and in addition perhaps also because, in spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give cause for jealousy on the part of the head of the house.

567 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no rights; they are nothing more than domestic animals in human shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of course, all the heavy work in the house, such as felling and splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they are only to obey and to serve. Therefore, where there is a slave in the house, the housework is done almost exclusively by her, while the wives of the head of the house devote themselves only to handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make the lot of the slaves, and especially the female slaves, so hard among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they remain excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with those around them. No Gilyak may marry a slave; indeed, he may not sell a slave to another Gilyak if the latter expresses an
[595] intention to marry her. The use of a female slave as a concubine
558 is no less strictly forbidden among the Gilyak: if anyone did so, he would not only lose completely all the respect that the
556 possession of a slave /648/ as a sign of great wealth gave him, but would stir up a general storm of indignation among his countrymen. This is certainly another indication of the moral austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female slaves very useful for the household, for in their position they cannot arouse the jealousy of the wife or wives of their owners and thus, for their part, do not bring any discord into the house, as happens all too frequently in the case of polygamy. Perhaps

9: Hawes--265 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 533, 558, 562, 593

"All Gilyaks, it is said, know the old, old song lyrics it is otherwise, for they are very numerou are composed by the maidens of the tribe, who te again to the Gilyak world. It may not be known w considered a want of modesty. Sometimes one ma woman who made songs in her youth; [1] but it is no ménage. The Gilyak's notions of modesty are ver age of childhood brothers and sisters are not allo former attempted it, the latter would turn away i

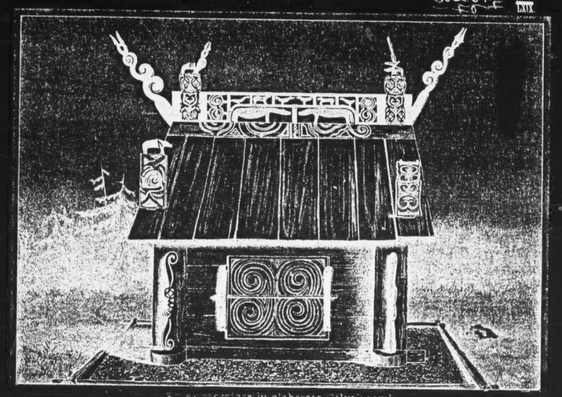

An extraordinarily elaborate Gilyak tomb.

5: Schrenk--1289 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
269 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[863] The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
● [556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[420] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness
493 and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[562] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[171] equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

179 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
179 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
50 boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried
[824] by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which
[824] the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was
[354] built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[352] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
627 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to
601 the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[198] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
[895] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
614 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
561 (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
175 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
439 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
614 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and
184 bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal
187 articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvaling clan, for instance, were for a long time
● [556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

195 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
195 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
648 and gasyanda—village elders.
622 After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
195 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
198 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
433 ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch
[567] was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
77 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
776 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in "bear thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

7: Kreinovich--4 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

225 the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
501 unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
475 zayezdka.
422
466 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
516 the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.
466 Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
555 Tf nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans:
Otag from clan Hutevi , Potag from clan Neo. afl y t from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez ran and Tesk from clan Tf nu .

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance,
1 tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
555 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
476 with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
466 of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big. - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
502 to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila.

225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi -o and t ai ceremonies to be described in detail below.

Gilyak

s, the epics of their race, but with the
s, and always being added to. These
ll them to their girl friends, and they
ho the authoress is, for that would be
y be heard to say, 'There goes an old
t 'good form.' Woman's mission is the
y strict. After they have passed the
wed to speak to one another. If the
injured modesty."

9: Hawes--268 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 558, 591

"A young man on marrying may make his home with his father; but if he be still in the single state and desire a hut of his own, he must marry, for it is more than infra dig. for him to do domestic work. For a Gilyak to take in his hand the woman's fish-knife (ungu-dzhakho) is considered a disgrace."

561

561 AGE STRATIFICATION--recognized age levels and their differentiation (e.g., age terms); generalized information on rites of passage from level to level; organized age-grades (e.g., composition, admission, advancement, symbols of membership, activities); relations between age levels and age groups; division of labor by age; etc. See also:

Status and activities of children 88
Status and activities of adolescents, adults, and the aged 88
Sodalities 576

1: Shternberg--172 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*614 /112 cont./
clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the Buryat, the Kirgiz, the Caucasian peoples, etc., is absolutely lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in
[562] the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters or selling them into slavery are impossible.

562 True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry,
593 which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between
[606] the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /zyat'/ there are established for their whole life, as we shall see, profound and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are consulted, and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies of the clansmen.

● 561 There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the
855 representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point, it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any
[86] difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak male child of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

9: Hawes--271-272 T-3 (19

116, 301, 422, 435, 556

"Earrings (meskh) are in general use
are large simple rings of silver, of o
with an agate or two. These, with the
shoes are regarded as family heirloo
surplus 'wealth' of the Gilyak family,
paper-money or a heap of silver piec
sable-skin shuba or a piece of sky-bl
Moreover, they are just as useful in
to dealing in the concrete, knows exa
and when he comes in his travels to a
measure the value of his ruble notes.

, and mostly of Japanese and Chinese make. They
ne and a half or more inches in [272] diameter,
rare silk brocade, sable-skin hats, shubi, and
ms. They are bought one after the other with the
and represent the capital of the hut. A bundle of
es have little attraction for the native, whereas a
ue silk is a 'thing of beauty and a joy for ever.'
the business of exchange; and the native, long used
ctly their value, whereas money is unfamiliar;
Russian store, he has no standard by which to
"

"Four garments—short-skirted fro
Only the best may be selected, and in
cade, I have mentioned, will be used.
reason of the four garments is this.
each of the gods or lords in turn, To
rivers); Pal ni vookh, the lord of the
the judge of good and evil; and as her
after the fire, so Tur ni vookh is her
each one, and the road is long and di
suffices for a journey, and she must
course, if the family of the deceased
delicacy; but woe to the light-minded
four garments on their dead. She and
in the next world will be poverty-stri
condition, and her kindred will suffer
whose majesty has been insulted."

cks—are placed upon the corpse of the woman.
case of a 'wealthy' Gilyak the rare Chinese bro-
Over all the corpse is robed in a shuba. The
The spirit of the dead woman must appear before
ni vookh, the [243] lord of the water (sea and
forest; Tur ni vookh, the lord of fire; and Kiskh,
duty on earth was to keep the hearth, i. e. look
most intimate deity. Since she must appear before
fficult, four dresses are necessary, as one only
not appear before the god in torn garments. Of
is poor, the god will overlook that little want of
members of a rich family, if they omit to place
her kindred will indeed have a bad time; her life
cken even as she has shown herself in miserable
many misfortunes from the hands of those gods

3 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
9 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think
of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves. Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

557

557 MANIPULATIVE MOBILITY--extent to which desirable statuses and the prestige they bring can be achieved by opportunistic manipulation of social relationships (e.g., cultivation of persons in authority, political machinations; exploitation of friends and relatives, backslapping, marriages of convenience); prominence and relative effectiveness of manipulative techniques as compared with acquisition of skills and wealth; desirable statuses achievable thereby (e.g., political preferment); etc. See also:

Interpersonal relations . . . . . 57 Traits of leadership 157
Political behavior 66

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other clo
relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a
matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, s
may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman
does not take part in the more important councils. On t
other hand, she may occupy an independent and respecte
position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She
have her own money and inherit, although usually less th
her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all a
more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, bu
even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the we
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not
particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorabl
consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-tr
she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary
affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in h
sphere she is entirely independent and in the family cou
her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere,
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and hand
shaking are done only on special occasions, of which we
speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even wh
the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is
embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes
exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, th
are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find appr
In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man
hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth.
Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to
lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in was
each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer s
denly appears with some companions, the lady is set in
sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However,
men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue t
abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her on
more by means of cunning or even force. Some men se
revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, bu
is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem fro
some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hi

558

558 DOWNWARD MOBILITY--possibility and incidence of serious loss of prestige; extent to which such loss involves actual descent to less desirable statuses or merely a less favorable estimate of role enactment in the same statuses; major factors in downward mobility (e.g., loss of wealth, misalliance, cowardice, impiety, crime); special examples (e.g., losing face, losing caste); etc. See also:

Breaches of etiquette and ethics 57
Social control 626
Crime and sin 674
Poverty 736

/647 cont./

567 purchase price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are
435 cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less handy and are lazier and therefore less useful in the house than the female slaves are, and in addition perhaps also because, in spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give cause for jealousy on the part of the head of the house.

567 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no rights: they are nothing more than domestic animals in human shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of course, all the heavy work in the house, such as felling and splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they are only to obey and to serve. Therefore, where there is a slave in the house, the housework is done almost exclusively by her, while the wives of the head of the house devote themselves only to handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make the lot of the slaves, and especially the female slaves, so hard among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they remain excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with those around them. No Gilyak may marry a slave; indeed, he may not sell a slave to another Gilyak if the latter expresses an intention to marry her. The use of a female slave as a concubine
[595] is no less strictly forbidden among the Gilyak: if anyone did so,
[558] he would not only lose completely all the respect that the
[556] possession of a slave /648/ as a sign of great wealth gave him, but would stir up a general storm of indignation among his countrymen. This is certainly another indication of the moral austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female slaves very useful for the household, for in their position they cannot arouse the jealousy of the wife or wives of their owners and thus, for their part, do not bring any discord into the house, as happens all too frequently in the case of polygamy. Perhaps

116, 533, 558, 562, 593

"All Gilyaks, it is said, know the old,
lyrics it is otherwise, for they are very
are composed by the maidens of the trib
again to the Gilyak world. It may not be
considered a want of modesty. Sometime
woman who made songs in her youth; ' bu
ménage. The Gilyak's notions of modest
age of childhood brothers and sisters ar
former attempted it, the latter would tur

old songs, the epics of their race, but with the numerous, and always being added to. These e, who tell them to their girl friends, and they known who the authoress is, for that would be s one may be heard to say, 'There goes an old t it is not 'good form.' Woman's mission is the y are very strict. After they have passed the e not allowed to speak to one another. If the n away in injured modesty."

77 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
97 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

02 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
05 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

21 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

05 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
61 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

3 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
1 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
21 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

562

562 SEX STATUS--rights, privileges, powers, duties, and disabilities of each sex (e.g., legal, domestic, economic, political, ceremonial); special exceptions for each sex; general statements bearing upon the status inferiority or superiority of women; special elaborations (e.g., chivalry, notions of the uncleanness of women); explanations of sex differences; etc. See also:

Marriage 58
Status and activities of children 85
Division of labor by sex 462
Franchise 641
Cloistering of women 837
Transvestitism 838
Menstrual isolation 841

796 574
796 231
796 [562]
796 526

cont./

a, and beans, and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish, e mos'," whose method of preparation I have already de- bed in the second chapter.

This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan elder he master feeds the bear for the last time from a big spoon a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while asking it offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally he resses the bear with the following farewell words: "Good-by. n feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quickly to r master, and may your master greatly love you." Other nsmen also try to offer something to their old friend; even all children participate in this kindly affair. After the short ak all the people pour out of the yurt, with the exception he women, who are forbidden to be present at the killing he bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- and ar- ge themselves in fighting formation. The master of the r or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an ax in hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also with a tle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i, with vs and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the festi- follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy throng. thin a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied, the ple stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and places the tle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle and The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name of nich, ., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the narkh er exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a sign eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been placed, the t to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary com- itive archery. Once, when the bow played a more important e in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt had the racter of a great competition; now, however, it is reduced nost to a simple formality. The target is a board placed ind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them the nsmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the sts and make intentional misses. The crowd follows with

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
[562] into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman, for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains" himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master," but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteristic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of women who are wives of the members of that clan are not allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/79 cont./

775 not know exactly where this place is); the soul need only
772 descend into this opening and it reaches its goal. There everything is as it is here: the same earth, the same sky, s rivers, and forests; only there the sun shines when we have night, and the moon when we have day. The dead come to life and continue to live there in the same settlements as on earth, fish, kill beasts, celebrate clan festivals, marry and procreate. Only the material status changes: the poor man becomes rich and the rich man poor. As you see, even amo the Gilyak the poor men find their consolation not in this be of all possible worlds. Even in the new world, however, sic ness and death await man. From there the soul must migrat into a third world, and so on until such time as the soul de generates and turns into ever smaller and smaller beings, a small bird, a gnat, and, finally, ashes. Sometimes souls are born again on our planet, completing again the infinite [562] series of transformations. For the most part, however, that is the lot of women.

764 /80/ Before entering mlyvo, the soul waits to be
775 equipped with everything necessary to go to the new land comfortably and richer. And so the deceased is dressed in his best garments and in silken robes. Everything that is put on the deceased must be new, fully embroidered, elegant, and durable. A man is dressed in one, three, or six pairs, generally a number of pairs divisible by three, and women in two, four, eight, etc. pairs.

The most expensive spears, rifles, bows, and nets ar taken from the storehouse -- and the souls of all these objec set off with the deceased on his journey.

764 While these preparations for a long journey are goin on, the deceased is constantly fed the most delicate dishes. Kettles boil from morning until late at night; people throng in the yurt. They eat and drink as during the bear festival, and a part of each dish is given to the deceased. When the smoke, they put their mouths to the lips of the deceased, and share with him this favorite of Gilyak pleasures. While the body of the deceased is in the house, custom dictates th

*614 /112 cont./

clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the Buryat, the Kirgiz, the Caucasian peoples, etc., is absolutely lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in [562] the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters or selling them into slavery are impossible.

562 593 True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry, which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between [606] the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /zyat'/ there are established for their whole life, as we shall see, profound and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are consulted, and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies of the clansmen.

● 561 855 There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point, it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any [86] difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak male child of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

/113 cont./

● 561 855 86 labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc., but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreover, to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the clan customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his tribe, and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life that constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys, hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of his own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduct himself in society.

561 596 855 All these qualities, however, would have no significance if the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purposely train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the despotism of the head of the family with respect to its adult members. The sons are completely free to separate from their father, obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements, sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion.

596 One encounters large families living in a communal economy, at the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfather, father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free associa- [422] tion, from which one may depart at will. And even though he is a [434] participant in such an economic union, every member can have his own individual economy in the form of sleds and dogs, arms, enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his personal merits; and what each member shares with his own -- and there is extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flour, rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are combined without any friction.

614 627 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

601 The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of [198] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were [595] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

614 ● 561 All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

175 439 614 184 182 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time [556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before [595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. [567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 567 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

175 648 649 622 At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders, and gasyanda—village elders.

175 178 433 [567] After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

771 776 Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
766 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-ŋir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ŋir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

782 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
262 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
225 ui-ŋir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
561 young hunters must not taste this mos.

225 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
782 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

225 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
501 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
476 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
322 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
466

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

225 During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches
782 of the pilaŋ to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
372 light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose;
476 he has to use the implements of the pilaŋ instead.

4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
225 floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
476 in this respect completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
502 "If the pilaŋ observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible functions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if anything goes wrong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organizers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.

225 [81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning
501 to the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
476 designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋətivd, the second - tafpuf, the third - alχ-pid, the fourth - mayerq-pid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth - lele mayerq-pid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats with six and even seven pairs of oars.

225 Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋətivd, is oc-
476 cupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
554 next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the
561 oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he rows just like the others. As long as there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits at the bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak pilaŋ Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals. At the same time Gilak ət tended the rudder which the pilaŋ had turned over to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had killed by himself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person shoots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
476 must often get out on the floes for it is not always conven-
554 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
561

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
225 are five oarsmen, one pilaŋ and one other man, then the pilaŋ
476 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
561 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
885 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pləskuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pləskuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pilaŋ is younger than the extra man in the boat. In that case the pilaŋ tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pilaŋ Norp took along with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting at the seals and ət, to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

225 [82] As mentioned above the pilaŋ performs mu-ziχəd
789 and tʼaj.

774 Mu-ziχəd is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
751 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform ziχəd on hands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

/100 cont. /

of other obstacles in the path of the attackers. In hostile territory all hunting is dangerous (in many clans it is even prohibited, while some also forbid the use of water from the rivers and springs); the supplies brought from home do not last long, while an open, sudden attack -- bearing in mind arrowheads and the impotency of the women's sentry duty -- is not always possible. With long patience and severe deprivations they must await the favorable moment or elite in desperation resolve to take any risk.

Most frequently the defenders prefer to await the attack in their own settlement. Then, abandoning the female population, which enjoys inviolability, the men gather in a separate yurt, from which, at the guards' first signal of the approach of the foe, they scatter through secret passages and gather together beyond the yurts, ready to meet the foe. In accordance with interclan customs, the battle continues through one night or at most twenty-four hours, until, finally, fatalistic sorrow, after which the enemy departs, and the survivors count the number of fallen men on each side. If the defenders have lost a greater number than the opposite side, a new attack begins. The attackers must in any case consider themselves satisfied. But the affair does not always end with a few victims. Instances are known where a whole clan perished, and only women remained alive.

There have been cases, on the other hand, where, to avoid the destruction of a small clan incapable of a strong rebuff, the self-sacrifice of one man has expiated the general guilt. I know of one case where, at the very moment that news came of the approach of the foe, a youth responsible for the conflict prayed his clansmen who were gathered about him in the yurt to save themselves by flight, offering to save the clan from destruction by his own death. And when the clansmen, with downcast eyes, began to leave the yurt, he, quaffing a cup of seal fat at one draught for courage, flung himself headlong, brandishes his spear, To meet the maidens /121/ throng of avengers.

/101 cont. /

628 Now let us proceed to the institution of ransom, "itkuhnd," which has in part taken the place of revenge and in part coexists with "revenge," serving as its indispensable corrective.

The reasons that gave rise to the institution of ransom side by side with the imperative of blood retaliation, which was finally squeezed out completely by the former, remain completely unexplained in science to this day.

Among the Gilyak, we believe, it is easy to find at least the principal reason for this great transformation in social relations. It rests on that special form of exogamy about which we spoke in detail in its place.

/102/ Each clan is bound to a number of clans, at least four, by bonds of the most intimate character. It takes a wives from the akhmal'k clan or clans, and from these clans came its mothers; it gives in marriage its own women, daughters and sisters, to the ymgi clan or clans. These clans, in the natural order of things, are near to it; mothers, daughters, sisters bind it to them interpersonally.

The clan of the slayer can easily turn out to be the one that takes its women from it, in which are his sisters and daughters, or one which provides it with women. Hence the first great modification; the inviolability of women in conflicts of vengeance.

But the role of the women does not end here. If the slayer is from the akhmal'k clan, i.e., the clan which gives the mothers and wives of the avengers, it is not difficult to imagine that these women cannot be indifferent spectators of a war against their own brothers and fathers. If the slayer is from the ymgi clan, the wives of the latter likewise will not lightly reconcile themselves to the destruction of their husbands and sons at the hands of their own fathers and brothers. In both cases the intervention of the women is inevitable, and a few precedents of their pacifying influence suffice to turn the precedents into a lawful custom, at first coexisting with blood revenge and later squeezing it out.

Indirectly the influence of women in this respect must have found expression in still another way, purely mechanical, so to speak. Their inviolability factually hindered to a considerable degree the realization of blood retaliation itself. Their sentry duty, the

/102 cont. /

614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the foe and weakened his
628 spirit more than the most active resistance. Utilizing their habitual
562 corpus, day and night they go about the environs in perfect safety,
looking into every bush, every blade of grass, in search of the enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do not possess an overwhelming number that makes it possible to fall openly upon the expectant enemy, they will never succeed in eluding the vigilance of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the patience of the attackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the torment of waiting, of necessity breaks on the passive resistance of the weaker sex, and the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of the passive
614 participation of the women in the struggle of the clans, it must
562 be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbidden to light a fire
on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its rivers and springs, hunt,
etc., so that, like the Biblical Jewellers of Gibeon, the Gilyak
find it necessary to set off on an expedition loaded down with skins
filled with water and as much food supplies as a man can carry.
Under such conditions every extra day of waiting threatens death
by famine, and thus the vigilance of the women necessarily
conquers.

Here is one of the examples known to me. In 1851, 30 men
614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland to take vengeance on
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Ejal' for the slaying of a
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still longer and more fruitless
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance of the women, with
polen in their hands, ceaselessly searching the locality, the water
in their skins and their provisions by gave out, and the avengers had to
depart with nothing and terminate the matter peacefully ... Thus
small causes often lead to important consequences.

Tylor was right when he asserted that exogamy weakened the
614 relations between clans and introduced peace, although he pro-
114 ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the aspiration for peace
brought to life the very institution of exogamy. It is true that
primitive man is not sentimental, he is mainly too "god-fearing."
That inviolability factually hindered to a considerable degree
the realization of blood retaliation itself. Their sentry duty, the

/114 cont. /

clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the
Buryat, the Tungus, the Yakut, Samoyed, etc., is absolutely
lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a
level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in
the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect
to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and
brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a
despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the
Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters
or selling them are very rare among the Gilyak.

True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry,
which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously
sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers
and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of
the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between
the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /syat'/ there
are established for their whole life, as a rule, well-proved
and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare
cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always
receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however,
the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are combined,
and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies
of the clansmen.

There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the
representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point,
it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children.
It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feel-
ing of respect and respectfulness the Gilyak give their youth.
Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of
society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most
honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their re-
marks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they
display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any
difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak make child
of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He
has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

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III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of
Sexual Intercourse and Marriage

Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kin-
ship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual
intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyak, at least at the present time, we can-
not speak of any kind of general prohibitions against extra-
marital sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is
a completely nonchalant and natural act, like any other
natural act, satisfying a certain natural need of man. Pro-
hibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound
by agnate or cognate kinship. Outside of these circles there
is no regulation or censure of sexual behavior, either on the
part of public opinion or on the part of the elders. Outside of
the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have
only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party
concerned. Young men and girls have complete freedom in
the women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggressive at an
alien usurper and soundly teach the stranger not to sneak into
a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very
rarely. Adultery is much more serious affair if a married woman is
involved. A stranger caught in flagrante delicto with a
married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the
custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of
penal repression has begun to restrain some more impulsive
slayings, which are beginning to be replaced by duels and
ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They beat her
thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her:
in the first place, because, at we shall see further on, a woman
is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the
second place, because she is an article of value, having been
her husband dearly, and furthermore she is a necessary worker.
In any case, the matter is not settled without repression, bloody

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83 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
121 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
86 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on
account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
83 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
121 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1)
the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden cate-
gories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
83 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
579 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of
583 several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-
in-law," where there are so many an-ke; maidens at their
disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose
this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an
unmarried ymgi (son-in-law /syat'/) is a most desirable guest
in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "ymgi" (son-in-
law)" (see p. 109). Women and even maidens pay little to
the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
83 (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of
121 the clan) and for this reason they do not affect any ap-
pearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
83 that the Gilyak it devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be
121 the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to
their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And,
on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example,
reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tum, and especially
sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is
observed with a very great rigeousness completely unknown
to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions
on sexual intercourse often have in their favor not only
physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable
basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
very distant agnate male and female cousins. During

/271 cont. /

584 The bride is customarily represented by the father and
121 mother, but the final decision the attendance of repre-
584 sentatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those
of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations,
but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the
question, aside from the consent of the father and mother,
the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes
of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of matriarchy.
583 In the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief.
584 Among the Gilyak it is more about a father, whom he sub-
583 forms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, re-
plies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the
584 counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also,
583 that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women
generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, is
584 so smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father.
"Pah, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur
the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the
negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who
sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks with
her dowry and awaits the decision concerning her fate.
Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been
decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she
does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and
if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she
ordinarily tosses off the laconic phrase; "Since you wish this,
is it for me to contradict" But it may happen that the maiden,
upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom,
immediately runs out and does not return until the departure
of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends in
naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

/171/ 1. It is interesting to note that among
the Negda, whose customs, as a result
of ancient matrimonial ties, are as a
rule similar to those of the Gilyak, con-
siderable differences were noticed by me.

X1.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-pame, in the form of an isolated stone pillar,
is between Khes' and Chil'mil. Formerly one could hear how the
782 master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Those times (a year)
they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request:
"Pâhys'kyr ururungid! -- do good for us with your risk!"

During a ptiâ-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the
house.

When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
(i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for
they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that
is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

The female Chariaht. Proverbs: 1) The female character is
like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you
will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire
started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.

Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the
female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally
everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even
actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick seem as
then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made
to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to
attack with a knife. In their yeuth they did not suffer from
meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Prongs.

/323 cont./

756 When shamani fight, the one who hat more souls wins. The
757 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
758 of the pallet of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
759 (578) of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tul). On these
islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone
tul-kekhin. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the
abode of pal-kekhin. The shaman kekhin feats only Pal milk and
Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII,
"Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhin there are variously colored eared seals, iron
trout, and tigers.

762 They bring an shaman Chomkir resurrected a woman (the settlement of
763 (529) Bykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell
sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans
are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!"
The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night;
if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live."
That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth,
and "nothing."

A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
764 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
765 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
766 feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
767 (530) away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
768 (532) ataxia.

The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
own words, was midwifed (mad) after the birth of her first daughter,
769 (158) consists in her taking off her dress, breast, and belt and so forth
with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her
tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings
and girdled herself with shavings.. she yawned. Moderate blows...
The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/354 cont./

614 5. The members of the clan are bound together by common
615 (617) sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to
everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the
clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take
part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the ex-
penditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clans-
men. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles.
Clansmen assemble from all parts of the island, and as great numbers
of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be en-
tertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their
numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the
festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character
or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the
Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a
(621) clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful at-
tack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by
the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured
the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear
was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal
was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in
winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries had led a full
ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the
eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable.
(622) All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but
to the "master" of the taiga, the master of the bear - "Pal'-nivukh."
It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position
of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be
eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact
revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially
(642) hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on
this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan,
are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
(252) steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

/355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak S
connected with the bear. When a clan is divided and part of it
emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar)
breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among
the departing clansmen. With this steel the settlers will
light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be
handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the ex-
pression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the
clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving
their native land to found new colonies used to take with them
the sacred fire of the home altar.

Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting
of the seal. On this occasion, too, the sacrifice of the refresh-
ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of even-
(642) ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the
clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in
long rough lines, are placed all the choicest viands which, carefully
prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice.
Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a
handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing
the customary formula of prayer: "Kur nionga-khlar" ("God,
please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the re-
freshments begin, in which the women take part.

6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its
members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
another khal'. The means in clan vengeance.

The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has
weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has
not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional,
calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansmen of the murdered
man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his
other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the
Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (nyn'ro yeeynedeh). I.e.,
kill the murderer, or at least some person of the same sex of his
khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even new-
born children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers
of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

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every means to mask the sex of the newborn child. Only women
are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable that
from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful,
burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer lives
under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any
corner, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain man
feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in any
case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same time,
in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the clan
of the murderer, from a neutral khal' becomes his wife, takes her back
neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murdered
man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, and
in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years
pass until, by way of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the avenger
consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedure for
614 reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects from
615 its members a special khlay-nivukh ("khlay-nivukh" -- literally: orator -- from the verb "khlayndzh" -- to speak, and
616 the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries be-
(642) tween the parties. Each clan provides in khlay-nivukh with a silk
lasso, a cup of the same material, a tobacco pouch, a spear, and
sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official
uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputation
of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-
(642) nivukh at their head, appears near the quarters of the murderer. Then,
somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the
new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From
here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village of
the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal'-
nivukhi), with their orator at their head, await the emissary. The
latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with his
own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The
role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as possible.
The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a plea
for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-nivukh

/374 cont./

583 in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It
is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned
with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms
Ziber's (Sieber?) view of the dowry in primitive societies as a
present to the bride.

585 Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any cere-
monies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the
bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but
583 nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is con-
583 cluded. The husband can, if disappointed in his wife, take her back
to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father,
dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or
/376/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by
the son-in-law, can take his daughter back, returning the bride price.
In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the
Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with
its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one
583 middle-aged Gilyak, a widow and disappointed in his third wife,
sold her (with her consent) to another Gilyak for a small
compensation.

But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife,
(642) and despite the fact that the bridegroom, a young man, and
584 required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women
is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that
she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her.
The clansmen of her husband appear near the quarry of fish, which, somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the
new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From
months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose
every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and
on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding
of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers saranu,
berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak dur-
ing the whole year. Finally, she has the whole burden and care of
feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while
ooo her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

/373 cont./ YeT

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562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortu-
nate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
583 nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
584 eats at the same table with her husband and children, she partici-
pates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife
and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
(765) to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate
her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourn-
ing they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an
occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself
out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
ties with her former family and clan. She, along with her
(574) husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of
misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance
and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her
without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father,
and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her
back.

515 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of
polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned complete equality
(589) brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors
among the Gilyak. /375/ frequently without special reasons, such
as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the de-
sire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the
Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradu-
ally acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to
the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as
Arkyym, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
(597) sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the
husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite
wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in
the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the
Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow them-
selves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/633 cont./

583 It is to be seen in part from the preceding that the custom
584 of wife purchase has, on the whole, a beneficial influence upon a
primitive people. Even though, to our minds, it involves an in-
(642) sulting disregard for human dignity and the personal rights of the
woman, /634/ in that, in relation to the man, it makes her simply
a commodity, nevertheless it exerts some moral pressure upon the
men. For, above all, it forces them, through activity and indus-
try, to acquire the means to buy a wife and to found a household
of their own, and thus it puts an effective curb on premarital
marriages, as we have seen, through the influence of material
obstacles that it puts in the way of polygamy, it promotes
monogamy. And, finally, it provides the wife with both a
guarantee of good treatment on the part of her parents, for a
well-fed and well-supported girl can be married off more easily
and at a higher price, and, in particular, some protection against
rough mistreatment on the part of the husband, for what is bought
with difficulty and at some expense is as a rule, among primitive
people in particular, more highly prized and better cared for than
that which is attained without effort and for a low price or even
as a gift. Thus, among primitive peoples, the bride price to
(642) a certain extent constitutes a corrective for their lack of esteem
and spiritual appreciation of the wife, and the higher it is, the
greater its effect is bound to be, and the more favorable the
prognosis for the marital and family relations of the people con-
cerned. To what extent this may be true among the Gilyak,
beyond our above-mentioned prevalence of monogamy among
them, we shall have occasion to learn from the following ob-
servations.

583 On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the higher
the bride price, the greater the temptation for poor but enterprising
young men to avoid paying it and to gain possession of a wife by
a ruse or force. Indeed, among the Gilyak the abduction of
women is by no means rare. According to their own statements,
it almost always takes place by prearrangement between the
parties, the abductor and the one to be abducted. In order to
carry it out, the man appears, as if by chance, in the house

/638 cont./

834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
834 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other
and in their women and girls. Some women, in the modesty of
them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure,
such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

(18)

2. N. Buse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped.
1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Ex-
pedition of 1853-54/, St. Peterb., 1872,
pp. 55, 56, 70.

537 shocking scenes. Violation of chastity, particularly among
837 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
837 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
844 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out
corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries
to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
(642) secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child
is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum-
stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

837 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
537 of this, and in clear contrast to what has been said, the relations
(583) of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory
(583) course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband
jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
he is young. It is considered a disgrace for a married woman
her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband
if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her
parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a re-
fund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a
friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/652 cont./

567 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the
171 Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

428 The law of inheritance existing among them gives us further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After
● 562 what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and,
[601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, be-
[768] cause of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken
[583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers
587 dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

/654 cont./

614 mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1035, above.

peoples, members of one and the same kall may marry each other.
● 562 From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it became
428 evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brothers, and then, as a widow, to the next brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for
[592] herself. The only thing left for her is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

171 A law of inheritance very similar to the one among the
428 Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possessions consist of their reindeer herds. According to Ditmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 33.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother,
171 the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the de-
587 ceased was married and leaves a widow, she goes to his youngest
428 brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second youngest, the third youngest, and so forth, always under the same conditions. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

/721 cont./

wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aamngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each side of the étagère a man was busy lifting one plate after another from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXIII /p. 1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped the aforementioned mush from a trough and served it on the plates which were then immediately taken back again to their places. This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the feast; indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the following day.

This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already appeared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

576 /721 cont./

*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as

574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the

262 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and

[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-

[855] pated in the meal; indeed, even the women and children re-

[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once

[859] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated,

[533] for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-

[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

/722 cont./

796 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for

574 departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only

262 bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received

576 in their möps as provisions for the trip.

*796 Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the d

53 races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the after

562 however, for the first and only time the women actively partic

171 pated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a da to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, hold in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappe and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures a contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it w drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudge and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectato

796 jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of

562 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, bec

157 in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work

[203] activities. And it could by no means have been the result of h spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festiv a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reaso

2. See p. 719 above.

796 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fac

756 much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, nam that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be t in the eyes of he Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the fes

ring her own health and that of the child. The force of tradition was g that even in 1932 some of the women stubbornly refused to have bies in hospitals, despite the good care and the free clothing and which were given to the infants. It was only after wide medical- nal work that women began to turn to maternity hospitals. The new nding of the role and importance of medical institutions has also y Nivkhi women to go to work in them as attendants and later as educated at the medical school in Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

y the Nivkhi woman manages her own life and does not enter into marriage. Polygamy, the levirate and remnants of the old group ge have become things of the past.

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116, 372, 462, 562

"We have already seen how sacred the hearth is to the Gilyak, and in the rites adopted at the lying-in-state of a deceased woman, her intimate relation and duty towards Tur ni vookh, the god of fire. [LSS: See category 116, pp. 242ff.] Even as the fire is her rightful domain, so is the cauldron her special care, and [271] hers alone; not even her daughters may interfere in this her private and sacred sphere. She alone has the right of putting on the cauldron; this is her right as hostess. Whatever the putting of the feet into the cauldrons may symbolize, the fact that the bride does it to both the maternal and the new one evidently witnesses for the first time to her equality with her mother, her rightful position as a hausfrau and head of her own domestic establishment. Henceforth her status is also guaranteed among her husband's kindred."

13: Seeland--29 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening sex
582 impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20 years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity,
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually settles with the husband for the payment of kalym. It happens now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of kalym, which is

13: Seeland--30 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

Gilyak-1- 2

S: A small Russian steamer
a convict) were making the
ation of the poor is fishing,
no lagocephalus) and shad
n the fact that the prices fixed
mon, [62] say eighteen pounds,
f the natives and poor
hich will not grow in
attributed the leprosy among
ccommodation for these
led, but now there is a prop-
olaevsk. So plentiful are the
banks; but on the journey
ed to be to build a wattle-
surface of the water. At the
owded as they hurried round
vith its living freight, when
nge, seine-nets were being
ive village of Pronge is really
t the mouth of the Amur, but

9: Hawes--61-63 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2
116, 563

the temporary Russian fishing settlement is situated on the right or southern bank of the river just before one reaches the headland. Our little vessel threaded its way very gingerly between the sandbanks and shoals, past the batteries, and then by miles of forest-clad slopes, the home of the bear and reindeer, to the little settlement where the great river broadens out until it is eight miles wide from head to head.

A few log-huts, and a native shelter or two of pine-branches, and a wooden jetty in embryo, told of our arrival at the curing-station. Until then, I had thought our crew were a rough lot, but they were quiet and respectable compared with the ex-convicts on shore. Several boarded our vessel, and three of them burst into my cabin, but satisfied [63] themselves with staring long at me as though I were a strange new animal, and departed.

On shore we found them busily cutting up and cleaning the salmon before plunging them into the pickling vats. Most of this salted salmon goes to supply Eastern Siberia, the emigrant population, and the convicts, and some is exported to Japan in casks."

9: Hawes--76 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

"At De Castries, a beautiful natural harbour opens out to the v
lets, Observatory Island and Basalt Island, reposing in the smoo
was discovered and named by La Pérouse in 1787. There is a sm
consisting of the dwellings of a telegraph chief, his assistants, a
the cable to Sakhalin crosses from this point. (1)

1. This cable, which was broken in June, 1901, has now been
and a fresh one laid between Capes Lazarev and Pogobi. The
be maintained at De Castries, because it has communication
with Vladivostok, and is the only safe haven for ships passing
the Straits of Tartary."

15: Pilsudski--1 E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 Gilyak

844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
343 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
562 women. The location of these bushes is always
841 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

844 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
183 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

Gilyak

iew with a couple of is-
th water. This haven
nall Russian post here,
nd a few soldiers, for

abandoned,
post is to
by telegraph
through

563

563 ETHNIC STRATIFICATION--alien and immigrant subgroups; racial and national minorities; cultural differences between and characteristics of ethnic and minority groups; social and political status of ethnic subgroups; race prejudice and discrimination; assimilation and irredentism; extent of intermarriage; race crossing and amalgamation; racial hybrids and their status; etc. See also:

Racial affinities 144
Ethic composition of the population 162
Immigration 167
Acculturation 177
Degree of subcultural differentiation 184
Ethnocentrism 186
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Naturalization 641
Reservations 687
Religious persecutions 798
Race theories 829

1: Shternberg--209 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/139 cont./ Every Gilyak, man and woman,
*601 uses one and the same term for "mother" (ymk and synonyms),
[184] not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" /140/ (female tuvn) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

[199] 1. The sole exception that I found during
[563] the time of the census in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan: all the "sisters" of persons of the akhmalk class (concerning this, see below).

[197] The class of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in
[184] use for wife in both dialects is an'kh, an'g:ej. Within the clan
[614] the Gilyak gives this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvn), to the wives of all his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the class of younger "brothers" (as'kh) the Gilyak gives the name of jokho, jokh /see yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or mother-in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law /nevestka, "daughter-in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant
[171] number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother yvy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvn class, no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvn), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

1: Shternberg--298 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 G

/202 cont./

*174 As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished
177 wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furni
[221] them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted b
[437] seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory
[439] neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went in
Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for p
of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to t
[563] homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus
or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into ma
relations with them or carried off their women. And
these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could
be without influence.

*174 A quite specific influence in the economic sphere
177 been exerted by communication with cultured peoples
556 the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there
stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then th
were only objects of consumption. No one accumula
them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or
[439] ful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Tra
the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation.
appeared new valuables which it was impossible to co
but which they began to value, which were profitable
accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate pos
of valuables, and others who did not have them and w
to possess them. In rich men there was born a conscio
of their wealth and their importance, and together wi
the ambition to become related to their equals. Amo
[583] poor people there arose the temptation to make the m
of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuat
The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the w
was given without a bride price, became unprofitable,
with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to cir
[581] the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the
tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individ
marriage. The custom of brothers' living together wit

9: Hawes--84-85 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 563

"The town of Alexandrovsk, or rather Post Alexandrovskiy, as it is called, for it has no municipal authority, and comprises a population of only 6000, lies mainly in a hollow at the foot of the mountains, worn by the two streams, the Great and the Little Alexandrovka rivers, which here break the line of sea-cliff for about half a mile. Marshy land stretches between the town and the sea. Two principal streets cross at right angles in the centre of the town, one containing the church, the chief officials' houses and the post-office and leading to the bazar or market, and the other, beginning on the hill slopes, continues past the prison down to the jetty.

Though the former street is wide and planted in part with young trees, the log buildings give it a dingy and sombre look. These two streets boast plank 'street walks,' which the foot passenger does well to avoid at night, owing to the occasional absence of a plank. Outside of these two streets the rest are tracks, wide and grassy, as in all Russian villages, with ditches on either side. The laying out of the place resembles that of a poor far-west American township. Each hut, with its small windows, [85] looking as if it feared either robbers or the cold hand of Jack Frost, had a tiny yard fenced in with a shed forming two sides of the square. In late autumn this little court would be scantily roofed with pine-branches to catch the snow and form a warm covering.

The 6000 inhabitants of Alexandrovsk consist of convicts and ex-convicts, their wives and children, and officials and their families. Besides these there are probably not a dozen free-born individuals, whose business here is that of merchants' agents, etc.

Olcha

/722 cont./

It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/ who are likewise able to practice this art, because they might easily misuse it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the festive meals as a matter of principle.

The bear festivals have no definite duration: the feasting goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives, friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear meat and fat lasts. In Tebach, Judin told his guests, Ditmar and Brevern, that it would last for many days since three bears had been killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13) the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to Nikolayevsk.

As was mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previous year (1855) to witness this second part of the bear festival, concluding with the eating of the bear, among the Olcha in the village of Uda. My conjecture that their customs would not differ essentially from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Ditmar's report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

When I arrived in the village of Uda, located only five versts below Kidsi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in the morning and stepped into one of its five houses, I found it decorated in the interior in the same manner as is done among the Gilyak for an imminent bear-festival feast. Here, however, opposite the étagère decorated with the bear's head and skin and with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak zach = Olcha gjamssassá), a second rack quite similar to the first one but somewhat smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its shelves likewise held meat and pieces of the fat of the dismembered bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passageway between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

/769 cont./

764 raff next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove
532 cuckoo (pyk). The former is for a man, the latter fo
The dove or the cuckoo is also involved with the sma
the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as
bird; hence the designation tutut-ngir and tutut-ngit
and pyk-ngit, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these stic
representation is the same for both birds, for it only
764 shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches.
pittyssj, on the other hand, designates another item i
It is a small framework of little sticks (**), on which

** According to the appended, very cursor
sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on
which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknow
the tscham-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed
ceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are
•[562] be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the s
this takes into account the difference in physical stre
according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the d
psychic energy of the two sexes. The tutut or pyk is
have almost the same purpose as the tscham-ngar, w
probable on the basis of the explanation given by Jud
ing these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

764 56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the
184 of the Amur) a newly erected raff stood very close to
close to it a pittyssj, i.e., a storage chamber for the
is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consists o
roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dove
roof is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pit
fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

764 In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I fou
184 tremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimrkan,
in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his
556 On the outside it was provided with carvings and arab
various kinds. The /770/ carvings, painted black, r

177 648 873 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the [463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

177 648 474 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions; many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

[641] Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

[545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races. The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

[182] The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old 177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The 648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of ● 562 her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

116, 165, 562, 595, 855

"The Gilyaks treat their children
wealth, and will 'fetch a wedding pr
fish-winner, is naturally of more a
course, very high. In the villages o
gives the births in 3 1/3 years as 13
88 deaths among the older persons),
chief reason, however, of the decli
A wife has to be bought, and she is
unremunerative investment, but few
expenditure."

remarkably well, and though a girl is potential
ice,' the boy as an early bread-winner, or rather
ccount. The death-rate among young children is, of
n the west coast, north of Arkovo, Mr. Sternberg
0, out of which there were 34 deaths (in addition to
i.e. an average of more than 26 per cent. The
ne in polygamy is more probably growing poverty.
a moderately expensive article. Not that she is an
Gilyaks are in a position to make the capital

533, 558, 562, 593

All Gilyaks, it is said, know the old,
cs it is otherwise, for they are very
composed by the maidens of the trib
n to the Gilyak world. It may not be
sidered a want of modesty. Sometim
nan who made songs in her youth; ' b
age. The Gilyak's notions of modest
of childhood brothers and sisters ar
ner attempted it, the latter would tu

old songs, the epics of their race, but with t
numerous, and always being added to. These
e, who tell them to their girl friends, and the
known who the authoress is, for that would b
es one may be heard to say, 'There goes an ol
ut it is not 'good form.' Woman's mission is t
y are very strict. After they have passed the
e not allowed to speak to one another. If the
rn away in injured modesty."

452 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
552 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots
and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of
the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time
they are born, and when they grow up they are given away,
in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that
takes the woman, i. e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become
dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also,
women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their
life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat.
They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts.
Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the
woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a
man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not
come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, other-
wise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return
home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
452 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather
than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the taj where the pilan attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pilan distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes
apparent that the sivuch, which is the pilan's legal property
and whose blood he used in feeding the taj, is included in

"Crying and loud taking fill the hut. The mo
and all vie with each other in showing their ab
eschewed, pipes are broken in pieces, and the

If the deceased be a man, similar ceremoni
maintainer of the hearth, he [244] has to give
only; and therefore his body requires only thr
days. As with the woman, over the other garn
have not yet gained that supernatural capacity
raiment is necessary on their long journeys.

At the end of the lying-in-state, i.e. on the
for the man, the corpse is taken out of the hut
team of dogs. The shuba is taken off, for alth
ties, the journeys have been made, and it is n
gained by purification."

urners loose their hair from the pigtails,
andonment of pleasure. Luxuries are
e tobacco is allowed to fall out.
es are gone through, but as he is not the
an account of his doings to three gods
ee garments, and lies in the hut but three
nents is worn a shuba; for their spirits
which defies the elements, and warm

fifth day for the woman and on the fourth
and laid on a narta, a sledge drawn by a
ough the soul has not yet its divine facul-
o longer needed. These are now to be

2: Schrenck--1036 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/636 cont./

2. (cont.)
Chine mod. ou descr. de ce vaste Emp. d'après des docum. chinois, Part I, pp. 25, 275; Part II, p. 238. Iakinf", Kitai /China/, St. Petersb., 1840, p. 198.

a much distorted form, among the Goldi (3). Even a difference

3. A more detailed explanation of this will be given in the following.

Even a difference of nationality is by no means as decisive for the conclusion of the marriage of the Gilyak as one would expect from the radical difference of their language from those of all their neighbors. On the mainland there are frequent marriages between the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha, and probably it is to this circumstance above all that the similarity in the customs and usages of the two peoples, or, in other words, the Gilyakization of the Olcha stressed several times already, is to be attributed. To a lesser degree the same thing also takes place with the Negda. Occasionally an Amur Gilyak will bring home from a trading trip to the Japanese a wife from the Ainu people (4).

4. The mother of the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach, for instance, was an Ainu woman, as was mentioned above (p. 224 /untranslated/).

Conversely, however, it hardly ever happens that Amur-Gilyak women marry Ainu men, because the latter are not in the habit of leaving their island and, if this should happen as an exception, would not be in a position to pay the high bride price of the Gilyak. Where, however, as on Sakhalin, the two peoples live directly beside each other and the bride price is also lower, frequent marriages take place between them, as Mamia Rinsô reported (5),

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, 195.

and the assimilation between the two tribes is considerable.

2: Schrenck--1054 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX

/648 cont./

this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has, will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (lawful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryss-umgu (female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper understanding of his marital situation.

As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother and likewise, as kryghryss, becomes the property of her owner, who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up, sells it as kryghryss. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not unhappily permits a marriage between his male and female kryghryss; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children they might have will be his kryghryss and, as such, can be turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

: Hawes--116-117 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
16, 177, 563, 631

"The Russian occupation [LSS: of Sakhalin] is practically confined to the district enlosed in a radius of thirty miles from Alexandrovsk on the west coast, and another maller one around Korsakovsk in the south.

The island is divided into three administrative districts—the Alexandrovsk, Timovsk, nd Korsakovsk okrugi. Each of these is presided over by a chief of the district, or kruzhni nachalnik, over whom is the military Governor of the island. The latter has reat authority, but in his turn is subject to the Governor-general of the Pri-Amursky blast.

The biggest prison centre is at Alexandrovsk. The next is at Korsakovsk, and the imovsk dostroct has two, one at Derbensk and the other at Rikovsk, thirty-five and orty-four miles, respectively, by road inland from Alexandrovsk. [117]

Immediately around these centres clearings have been made, and beyond are a few illages dotted about in the forest, with a population varying from 200 to none at all."

9: Hawes--viii T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 177, 563

"Of the faulty state of the penal administration, and the unfortunate condition of the 'exile-settlers' described in these pages, it is devoutly to be hoped that in any future investigations no trace may be found. At the same time a word of warning is due, lest the reader should found a generalization for Siberia upon this particular settlement. Sakhalin is the colony to which all Russia's worst criminals are despatched, and the very name of the island is banned in St. Petersburg. Moreover, it is a far cry to the capital—the sign-post in front of the post-office at Alexandrovsk says 10,172 versts (6752 miles)—and the threads of control cannot be pulled tight. Since the publication of Mr. George Kennan's two volumes, (1) great improvements have been made in the con-

1. 'Siberia and the Exile System.'

ditions of prisoners, throughout Siberia, not excepting Sakhalin; but that island still lags, as ever, many years behind the average penal settlement on the mainland."

9: Hawes--121-123 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1- 3
116, 563

"Turning inland at the Gilyak village, we passed through the Russian Arkovo, the first, for there are three hamlets of that name, where we had experienced the hospitality of the convict-farmer three days since. Our journey now took us beyond, by a road winding through a beautiful valley. If the little gardens, with their cabbages and potatoes, had astonished me before with their look of contentment, so did now the reverse side of the picture, [122] the miserably poor cereal crops standing in the little strips of clearings which fringed the road—crops that could not have yielded more than a two or threefold return on the sowings. Referring to the official records for the year 1898, I find that wheat and oats, which were the chief cereals sown in this village, yielded 3.7 and 4.4-fold harvests, against a 15-fold average in England. Potatoes showed better results with 6.7-fold crop. In the village of Slavo, which we reached the following day, the record was terrible, the wheat yield for the same year being eleven grains for every ten sown! And, as if to make more obvious the settlers' inability or culpable failure to grow enough corn to satisfy their needs, we overtook several telyegi (primitive springless carts), drawn by oxen and Siberian ponies, laden with sacks of American flour from Portland, Oregon. A political exile, writing in the official Sakhalin Kalendar of 1896, lays most of the blame for the unsatisfactory state of the outlying settlements at the officials' doors. He claims that the system, under which the 'exile-settlers' (1) are sent to found new

1. One whose sentence has expired, but who must remain on the island for six

9: Hawes--57-58 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

"The town of Nikolaevsk, in which I now four
was founded on August 6, 1850, by Captain Nev
headquarters, for it was not until 1858 that the
of the Amur, to Russia. I have already referre
1872, the naval base was transferred to Vladiv
of the province was removed to Khabarovsk.

The town, which is perched on the rugged sl
sists mainly of one broad street or road with o
parallel green tracks. The main street contain
tures, including the church, the Russo-Chines
There are a few shops and residences of offici
away into the scrub and forest, out of which th
the foot is the collection of wooden wharves, w
scene. An Amur steamboat is in, three or four
etc., for the winter are lying in mid-stream,
in England, are being tugged ashore, while a s
higher up stream waiting for their annual load

Yet Nikolaevsk wears a triste look. The two
bidding-looking stockades, frown upon you, an

ıd myself stranded for an unknown period,
elskoy, acting without instructions from
Treaty of Aigun gave this, the left bank
ed to the severe blow it received when, in
ostok, and again when the administration

ope of the northern bank of the Amur, con-
ne offshoot down to the pristan, and a few
s half [58] a dozen well-built wooden struc-
e Bank, and some merchants' stores.
als, the rest are log-houses straggling
e site of Nikolaevsk has been carved. At
hich in the autumn present quite a busy
steamers bringing provisions, tea, flour,
huge lighters, which I am told were made
mall fleet of schooners rides at anchor
of fish for Japan.
prison buildings, with their dingy, for-
d the deserted old rambling wooden houses

9: Hawes--57-58 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

of the admiral and military officials tell of its
place, I could not resist the feeling of oppress
were allowed their liberty—a very modified fo
ance. What a contrast to merry, happy Japan,
Japanese pride in their police and military! C
besides officials there were scarcely fifty Rus

fallen fortunes. As I wandered about the
ion in the air. It was, as if the inhabitants
rm of it—by the officials, only on suffer-
and the gay village scenes there, and the
Of course, it should be remembered that
ssians who were not ex-convicts."

9: Hawes--61-63 T-3
116, 563

"At the mouth of the Amur, the c
traveling the Amur River] (the chie
first attempt at salmon-canning in
and in the month of August, at spaw
swarm. Some idea of their abundan
by the municipality at Nikolaevsk fo
was six kopyeks (1 1/2d.). Salted, it
Russians. To lack of variety, the a
Nikolaevsk, and the unhealthy cond
the Russians on the Amur. A few y
lepers, and many suffered from wa
erly constructed leper-house two
fish that I have seen Russians spea
from Khabarovsk down the Amur, t
weir projecting into the stream, an
mid-stream end was fixed a 'set' n
the corner. A boatman sat waiting
he hauled it up, and emptied the ca
used, a good average haul of the ne
in the Straits of Tartary, just roun

owners of the vessel [LSS: A small Russian steamer
f partner was the son of a convict) were making the
Siberia. The chief occupation of the poor is fishing,
vning-time, salmon (Salmo lagocephalus) and shad
ce may be gathered from the fact that the prices fixed
or a moderate-sized salmon, [62] say eighteen pounds,
forms the staple food of the natives and poor
bsence of vegetables, which will not grow in
itions of living, must be attributed the leprosy among
ears back there was no accommodation for these
nt of food, or lay untended, but now there is a prop-
or three miles from Nikolaevsk. So plentiful are the
ring the salmon from the banks; but on the journey
he usual method appeared to be to build a wattle-
d just visible above the surface of the water. At the
et, into which the fish crowded as they hurried round
until the net was heavy with its living freight, when
tch into his boat. At Pronge, seine-nets were being
t yielding 3000. The native village of Pronge is really
d the southern foreland at the mouth of the Amur, but

1: Sternberg--413 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/285 cont./

17 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is
14 also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that
03 one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nami) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese
[97] came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a
[63] hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymi-fing.

17 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from
03 the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli --
73 from Dzhongli, near the Perm ones: Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvl-fing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

2: Schrenck--254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX
Feudal Japan A
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. /122 cont./
175 Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited
G by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,
131
175
[361]
[563]

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

it, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live
A intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed popula-
G tion of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was
131 explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at
178 that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples con-
563 cerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though
175 mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true,
A then the entire change in the boundary situation between the
[648] Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

/122 cont./

began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries. According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

/318 cont./

6. (cont.)
das südl. Sachalin /Statistical and Topographical Data on Southern Sakhalin/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 279). At the same time Pemb. Hodgson ("Account of four Excurs. in the Japanese Island of Jesso," in the Literary Gazette of March 16, 1861; cf. Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1861, p. 241) gave the number of Ainu on Jesso as 80,000 (!).

These statements referring to Sakhalin are based upon a rather accurate knowledge of it obtained through many trips in the country. On the other hand, Collins's data, of greater interest to us, are very dubious. They are certainly not based upon counts; rather, they seem to have been obtained by questioning the Russians settled in the Amur region at that time, as /319/ is indicated by the typical Russian name "Manguntsen" for the Olcha. Trustworthy data could probably all the less likely be obtained by this method since, besides the lack of any counts, the territories of the peoples named, of the Olcha in particular, with reference to their northern and southern neighbors, were as a rule erroneously demarcated by the Russians (1). At that time, moreover, people

1. For more details concerning this, see pp. 51 ff. above.

did not realize that in almost every one of these territories there were isolated villages of other nationalities (2). For this reason

2. In the Gilyak territory, for instance, the Olcha villages, Tschylwi and Tyr; see above, p. 28.

alone, as well as the necessity for distinguishing summer and winter villages, little value can be put on the number of the villages of various nationalities given by Collins. Moreover,

116, 563

"At De Castries, a beautiful natural har
lets, Observatory Island and Basalt Island
was discovered and named by La Pérouse
consisting of the dwellings of a telegraph c
the cable to Sakhalin crosses from this poi

1. This cable, which was broken in Jun
and a fresh one laid between Capes La
be maintained at De Castries, because
with Vladivostok, and is the only safe
the Straits of Tartary."

bour opens out to the view with a couple of is-
, reposing in the smooth water. This haven
in 1787. There is a small Russian post here,
chief, his assistants, and a few soldiers, for
int. (1)

ne, 1901, has now been abandoned,
zarev and Pogobi. The post is to
it has communication by telegraph
haven for ships passing through

"The town of Alexandrovsk, or rather Pos
no municipal authority, and comprises a pop
at the foot of the mountains, worn by the two
Alexandrovka rivers, which here break the l
land stretches between the town and the sea.
in the centre of the town, one containing the
post-office and leading to the bazar or mark
continues past the prison down to the jetty.

Though the former street is wide and plant
give it a dingy and sombre look. These two
the foot passenger does well to avoid at nigh
plank. Outside of these two streets the rest
Russian villages, with ditches on either side
of a poor far-west American township. Eac
as if it feared either robbers or the cold han
with a shed forming two sides of the square.
scantily roofed with pine-branches to catch t

The 6000 inhabitants of Alexandrovsk cons
and children, and officials and their families
dozen free-born individuals, whose business

t Alexandrovskiy, as it is called, for it has
ulation of only 6000, lies mainly in a hollow
streams, the Great and the Little
ine of sea-cliff for about half a mile. Marsh
Two principal streets cross at right angles
church, the chief officials' houses and the
et, and the other, beginning on the hill slope

ted in part with young trees, the log building
streets boast plank 'street walks,' which
t, owing to the occasional absence of a
are tracks, wide and grassy, as in all
. The laying out of the place resembles that
h hut, with its small windows, [85] looking
d of Jack Frost, had a tiny yard fenced in
In late autumn this little court would be
he snow and form a warm covering.
ist of convicts and ex-convicts, their wives
s. Besides these there are probably not a
here is that of merchants' agents, etc.

9: Hawes--121-123 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

Sakhalin than his unwonted energy. In speaking
tributed the small crops usually obtained to the

1. A peasant is an ex-convict who has comp
settlership,' and now has the return of certa
including those of the right to move from pla

carelessness in sowing the seed, 'scattering he
insufficiently.' "

of agriculture on the island, he at-
laziness of the 'peasants' (1) and their

leted his six years of 'exile-
ain elementary civil rights,
ace to place.

re,' as he said, 'in excess, and there

9: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

"The law provides that any female crimin
than two years, may be sent from Russia to
are placed altogether in the kamera at the s
have often seen them-those of them that had
for cleaning and sewing purposes, I say nom
known; the others, chosen by 'exile-settlers
are released from confinement within barra
are still obliged to do their hard-labour tas

There is no marriage ceremony. The cho
nachalnik of the okrug, their names are wri
dwell together. A policy such as this, which
the marriage tie, and directly encourages a
light of an attempt on the part of the Govern
vious scheme had been tried, and failed. In
had been sent to the island, but they all ultin
life.

By settling the exiles down with partners
hoped to avoid the letting loose [142] of large
mainland. . . . . .Brodyagi-passp
wholesale across the border into Siberia, an

al under forty, whose sentence is not less
Sakhalin. On arrival at Alexandrovsk they
outh-east corner of the prison buildings. I
been retained by the officials, nominally
inally, because the real purpose was openly
s,' who are allowed thus to take a helpmate,
cks, and live with their 'men' though they
k.

ice being made with the sanction of the
tten in a book, and henceforth the couple
violates our notions of the sacredness of
criminal breed, must be regarded in the
ment to settle and colonize Sakhalin. A pre-
1862, and again in 1869, a few free colonists
nately left for a less lonely and arduous

in life and families, the Government also
numbers of ex-convicts of Sakhalin on the
portless vagabonds—had been despatched
d the country was over-run with escaping

9: Hawes--121-123 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

more years without legal rights.

villages in the forests, is not given a fair tria
are shipped off to these parts, because they a
Furthermore, the 'exile-settlers' are often de
have chosen, thus making, what was at best a
Garnak, in the eighties, sent out to scientifica
come to the conclusion that colonization was i
administration.'

On the other hand, the ex-convicts do not m
love have they for the island which is their pr
industry and perseverance needed in a struggl
from those who have sought in their days of fr

Some weeks later I met a Caucasian Kazak,
nary run of Sakhalin criminals. Whatever his
tion, he was very energetic, and most succes
the interior, in the midst of forest which invo
boured many a destructive enemy of his cattle
cows, and sowed his 150 puds of corn. He clai
if we make some allowance for exaggeration,

l, and adds that it is the worst men who
re as sores in the eyes of the officials.
spatched to places that no sane man would
hard life, an impossible one. Colonel
lly explore the island, is said to have
n a very bad state owing to the 'faulty

ake the best of their circumstances. Small
ison-land, and, even if reconciled to it the
e with [123] nature are not forthcoming
eedom to live by avoiding honest work.
who was a striking exception to the ordi-
crime may have been, probably insurrec-
sful. Living at the village of Uskovo, in
lved no little labour in clearing, and har-
, he owned, he told us, no less than fifty
med to get a twelve-fold crop, which, even
was really no less extraordinary for

9: Hawes--137-138 T-3
116, 361, 563, 624

sergeant, but his duties are as varie
commissioner in India. Police, milit
these and more come within his care
thirty rubles (three guineas) a month
important of his functions at Ado Tim
when we arrived."

d as those of a prefect in France, or even a deputy-
tary, the census, agriculture, and 'roads,' all
s; and for this he is paid the magnificent sum of
. Tracking escaped convicts was not the least
n, and he was away down the river on this errand

9: Hawes--137-138 T-3
116, 361, 563, 624

"We were nearing Ado Tim, the last F
interior. The native village of that nar
settlement lay half a verst from the ri

We had no wish to arrest our progre
and we would rather camp in the open,
but the natives refused to take us furth
ashore, hoping that time would settle
On either side of the broad grass trac
miserably poor, out-of-repair log-hut
others with loose pieces of bark. Pigs
clad were indiscriminately scattered

1. The East Siberian name for S

a fire kindled beneath, and bunches of
betokened tobacco drying. Women war
in the scantiest of clothing, the latter
simply in a frock and an extra bodice.
autumn mornings and late afternoons

Each village has its overseer, who

Russian penal settlement of all in the northern
me was situated on the banks lower down, but the
ver.
ess here, the settlement had a very bad reputation,
or among the natives, from what we had heard;
ner except at a prohibitive price, and we went
our difference.....[138]
k of the settlement was a row of higgledy-piggledy,
s, with tiny windows, some roofed with boards,
, a foal or two, and a few children, miserably
on the 'road.' Kita (1) hung curing in the smoke of

almo lagocephalus.

withering green leaves by the hutside in the sun
dered about barefooted, and they and the men were
in a cotton shirt and trousers, and the former
It was always a matter of wonder to me how in
hey could stand the cold so miserably clothed.
is a soldier. In rank he may be compared to a

9: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 190

116, 563

members of this fraternity. On this subject,
says, '...on January 1, 1876, over 51,000 pe
government of Tobolsk as penal colonists, a
local administration. ... These figures, tog
authorities, bear witness to the inefficiency
of Tomsk and Yeniseisk, in 1883, there were
not merely 'exile-settlers') registered in dif
ing in the places assigned them; over 17,000
has improved with the advancing settlement
reader think for a moment that the brodyaga
day. Irkutsk which competes with Tomsk for
London, attracts large numbers of that profe
This is a misnomer for the Siberian member
to delicate fingering, and the murder of thei
the profession. It is said that two murders i
outskirts, is the weekly average of Irkutsk.
either, for just previous to my visit two had
[143] Security of life and property spell for t
and this was another reason why the importu
Hence it was that in 1888, Mr. Galkin Vrass

A. Leroy-Beaulieu, quoting official figures
rsons were entered on the registers of the
nd only 34,000 could be produced by the
ether with the carelessness of the local
of the system. ... In the 'governments'
, out of 20,000 exiles (all classes exiled,
ferent communes, only 2600 actually resid-
were fugitives.' That this state of things
of the country is true, though let not the
fraternity fails to number its thousands to-
the title of premier city of Siberia, like
ssion generally dubbed the 'light-fingered.'
s. Hard life in the taiga does not conduce
victim is a sine quâ non in the pursuit of
the nucleus of the city, and fourteen in the
And daylight or publicity are not shunned
taken place in the high street in the daytime
e Exchequer greater potential receipts,
nities of the Siberians should be listened to.
y, afterwards head of the general prison

9: Hawes--88-89 T-3 (1901) 19
116, 563, 361

"Arrived at the Gilyak village of Arkovo
for the salmon-fishing, ascending a river
spawning season. We therefore pushed on
piles, to the Russian settlement called Ark
A stranger from Europe, suddenly dropp
Sakhalin, the dreary isle of punishment, th
wore a look of contentment, with its cosy
potatoes and cabbages. Sunflowers I saw a
perfumed the air in early summer; while a
grand [89] purple mountains reminded me

, to my disappointment the natives had departed
higher up the coast to take advantage of the
inland, past the strange native huts built on
kovo the First.
ped down here would certainly ask, 'Is this
ne Hades of Russia?' Outwardly, this village
log cottages and gardens, in which flourished
also, and was told that wild roses (rosa rugosa)
away in the distance, forest-clad heights and
of some of the finer scenery of Japan."

9: Hawes--116-117 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 563, 631

"The Russian occupation [LSS: of Sakhalin] is p
closed in a radius of thirty miles from Alexandro
smaller one around Korsakovsk in the south.

The island is divided into three administrative
and Korsakovsk okrugi. Each of these is presided
okruzhni nachalnik, over whom is the military Go
great authority, but in his turn is subject to the G
oblast.

The biggest prison centre is at Alexandrovsk.
Timovsk dostroct has two, one at Derbensk and t
forty-four miles, respectively, by road inland fr

Immediately around these centres clearings ha
villages dotted about in the forest, with a populat

ractically confined to the district en-
vsk on the west coast, and another

districts—the Alexandrovsk, Timovsk,
l over by a chief of the district, or
vernor of the island. The latter has
Governor-general of the Pri-Amursky

The next is at Korsakovsk, and the
he other at Rikovsk, thirty-five and
om Alexandrovsk. [117]
ve been made, and beyond are a few
ion varying from 200 to none at all."

not stop here to tell of the place, for I was to exp
rom an expedition to the north-east coast; suffice
on of the island consists of convicts and officials.
engaged in hard labour—7080 (January 1, 1898)—
634 were women. The number of convicts and e
167, so that a moderate estimate would give 8000

perience much more of it on my
e it to say, that the Russian
Out of a total of the former
the murderers numbered 2836,
x-convicts at the same date
of these as murderers."

9: Hawes--309-310 T-3
116, 563

"[LSS: Traveling from Ado Tin
rather a poor attempt at a clearin
some rough meadow-land, almos
habitants, all men. The huts wer
letting in the cold through the cre
with a hole for chimney, offering
a table, some boxes for a bed, a
small paper-mended window. It w
and indeed it was from such place
grew potatoes, and in the larger
two or three ponies. Potatoes had
to be salted against the winter. S
this, and, having borrowed in the
Crown, sank, in company with th
villages that are large enough to
and the [310] money-lender. Then
goods, if he has some petty spite
the usual quantity of potatoes in e
The poor 'exile-settler' is also

n to Slavo] Once or twice we passed a clearing, or
ng, where stood a settlement of a few log-huts and
t in a virgin state. One of them contained only six in
e about twelve by eighteen feet in size, the log walls
vices; and the miserable roofs of loose pieces of ba
poor protection against the rain. Inside one would fi
nd a home-made stove; the whole faintly lighted by a
was a mystery how these poor people managed to live
es that the gangs of brodyagi were recruited. A few
settlements a 'wealthy' settler will own some cows o
d to be bartered for flour, tea, and rice; and for fish
ome, even by much scraping, were unable to compas
first place seed-potatoes or corn, etc., from the
e lazy or hopeless, deeper and deeper into debt. In t
have a store, the shopkeeper is generally the rich m
e is then nobody to prevent him refusing to supply
e to avenge, or compelling the 'peasant' to give twice
exchange for flour, rice, or salt.
o at the mercy of any official who may choose to

9: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

convicts were, on January 1, 1898, respectivel
round numbers in the proportion of 8 to 1. The
presence of 1308 women who followed their con
island. Only six men did this in the case of thei
to Sakhalin as criminals.

event of their doing so they have a choice, miserab
There is even a sadder aspect of this matter. It
the wives of convicts who have joined them, but mo
All around them are openly vicious practices [145]
The very 'game' of concubinage is in vogue in the n
traded with their daughters is to say little. I had gr
succeeded, in convincing a highly educated prisone
literature, that fathers did not stand in the streets
for sale. His experience on Sakhalin only confirme
retailed by Russian papers. It would be impossible
—for me to mention the many terrible things I hear
of Sakhalin, if any reform is to be brought about, t
not have dared to make myself, but which comes fr

y 19, 770, and 2397, or in
ratio is reduced by the
demned husbands to the
r wives being despatched

ble as that may be.
is the effect upon the free population,
ore especially the free-born children.
and scenes of unblushing prostitution.
nixed schools. To say that fathers
reat difficulty, I am not sure that I
r of rank, familiar with English
of London offering their daughters
d some garbled reports of London life
—and probably incredible to the reader
rd, but I feel it only due to the children
o quote a statement which I should
rom one of unquestioned authority.

9: Hawes--187-188 T-3 (
116, 361, 563

"From the delta of the Tim we made acr
cluster of huts on the inner side of the dun
our light craft rocked, and the morning air
villages of Nivo [188] (the first, for there a
adorned with pine branches, stood our pro
dogs, barking and splashing, stopped their
of strangers. A verst or two beyond Kama
and as we waded ashore we were accosted
presence of a Russian police officer.

It was a strange, out-of-the-way place t
stances accounted for his practical banishm

oss the bay in a north-easterly direction to
e. The wind was already making itself felt;
struck cold on our damp clothes. The
are two) and Kamavo, with their bear-cages
minently on the sandy level, and a crowd of
fishing to show resentment at the appearanc
avo our boat was beached, where stood a ten
by two or three Kazaks, who led us into the

o be stationed at, and only exceptional circu
nent to this far-away spot."

9: Hawes--155-156 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 361, 563

"Though we had left behind the last Russian s
shelters were passed in the course of the morni
spawning season by a few Russian 'exile-settler
salmon against the winter's needs. At a bend of
shelters, and five men dragging a seine-net, ab
one hundred or so of plunging and splashing kita
housed a solitary Russian and some barrels of
cuss our midday meal—a duck we had shot duri
well, and though the keen edge of our distrust w
to spending a night with them or to the prospect

Occasionally we came upon a Gilyak village,
at each one hailed any visible member of the co
men who would take us; but they all with one ac
bodied were away fishing, [156] or the only pers
canoe."

ettlement at Ado Tim, three or four rude
ing, which were occupied during the
s' for the catching and salting down of
the river we came upon one of these
out two hundred feet long, which containe
. At another of these rude huts, which
salt and dried grass, we stopped to dis-
ng the morning. Our men behaved very
vas wearing off, we did not look forward
of night watches.
consisting of half a dozen huts or so, and
mmunity, inquiring if there were not
ccord made excuses. Either the able-
son available was ill or had no safe

9: Hawes--168 [2] T-3 (1901) 19
116, 563

"Bruin is very human in many of his ways
peasant towards him is expressed in the p
Petz. On the mainland one not infrequently
seen them housed in a kennel in a yard, a
wayside, where the bystander might be se
ing a less amicable return. The Caucasian
put them in a big box in his yard."

, and the brotherly feeling of the Russian
et names they give him—Mishka and Master
y comes across the cubs kept as pets. I have
nd even tied up to the side of a shanty by the
en trying to give a friendly pat before receiv-
n farmer of Uskovo once caught three cubs and

Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903
, 563

ministration, recommended that all brodyagi
nd, but to the island of Sakhalin, where, escap
rm at large in the taiga, while the sea and ice
s tantamount to a declaration that in future Si
lony, while the convicts must be more and mo
licy has culminated in the ukaz of 1900, which
nuary 1, 1902 (O.S.).
The attempt to settle free colonists on Sakhali
the second method of 'civil marriage'? On the
ould admit it to be a failure.
That the couples remain is true, but it is beca
actically forced exiles; the majority, regardi
more than is necessary to gain a bare existen
s crushed, energyless majority long to put an
e when, returning from Arkovo, where we had
g rich' as the owner of three cows, I remarke
ttler, such as he, who has been here fifteen
ing well, very well as Sakhalin standards are
'Why!' he replied, 'he only asked me just now

should be sent, not to the Siberian main-
ping from control, they could do little
would be effective prison walls. This
beria was to be first and foremost a
re confined to restricted areas. This
nominally abolished deportation from

in having failed, what has been the result
e whole, even the officials, I think,

ause they cannot get away, and are
ng the land as their prison-island, strive
nce. How those few bright exceptions to
end to their exile, was brought home to
supped with the farmer who was 'pass-
d to my companion, 'I suppose an exile-
years, has a wife and children, and is
is quite content to live here?'
'Did I think there was any hope of his

9: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

getting away back home to Russia?' ' With t
may not be so. [144]

There are other results that have to be tak
the Government pause. In the first place, the
as a mate, is, in the majority of cases, terr
of such a union is convict by heredity and de

On this subject, Mr. Zhook, quoting Mr.
of Russian Prisons from 1896, says, 'The so
who are given to the settlers to help them, a
households, consider themselves as having t
and they leave their partners if the latter try
Usually, however, this is not the case, as th
Mr. Zhook adds, 'Deprived of all civil rights
family; but it is impossible to deprive her o
co-habitation; and once she forsakes her 'ma
to settle down with another one. This, indee
women are subjected.' At the same time, it
in the minority, (1) the power to leave their

1. The numbers of men and women on the

he second generation, it is possible, this

en into account, and which ought to give
e moral effect on the woman who is chosen
ible; and in the second place, the offspring
noralized by environment.
P. A. Salomon, who was Director-in-Chief
-called concubines, i. e. the exiled women
nd for the mutual management of their
he right freely to dispose of themselves;
to prevent them admitting outside visitors.
e co-habitants share all their earnings.'
, she loses by law the right to have a
the right to feel disgust towards the forced
ster' there is no other way open to her but
l, is that 'hard labour' to which criminal
should be pointed out, that the women being
men' has a restraining effect, and in the

island who had been sent out as

: Hawes--141-145 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 563

Vhat more awful charge against the officials
han in these words, 'There is not a girl over
irgin.' "

and the criminal population can be made
nine years of age on the island who is a

9: Hawes--187-188 T-3
116, 361, 563

"From the delta of the Tim we mad
cluster of huts on the inner side of th
our light craft rocked, and the morni
villages of Nivo [188] (the first, for t
adorned with pine branches, stood ou
dogs, barking and splashing, stopped
ance of strangers. A verst or two be
a tent, and as we waded ashore we w
into the presence of a Russian police

It was a strange, out-of-the-way p
cumstances accounted for his practic

le across the bay in a north-easterly direction t
e dune. The wind was already making itself felt
ng air struck cold on our damp clothes. The
here are two) and Kamavo, with their bear-cage
t prominently on the sandy level, and a crowd o
their fishing to show resentment at the appear-
yond Kamavo our boat was beached, where stoo
ere accosted by two or three Kazaks, who led u
officer.
lace to be stationed at, and only exceptional cir
al banishment to this far-away spot."

Hawes--309-310 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 563

rannize over him, and unfortunately for thos
selenie, or Chief of the exile department, wa

e in the Alexandrovsk okrug, the smotr
as a man of very bad repute."

: Hawes--341-342 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 563

"Compared with the criminal population the r
nsignificant. According to the census of Janua
nd eighty engaged in hard labour they numbere
hough not so terrible as that of their friends in
he Arctic Circle. The greatest hardship [342]
rom their homeland, and the banishment from

Gilyak

umber of political exiles on Sakhalin is
ry 1, 1898, out of a total of seven thousand
ed seventy-six. Their fate is bad enough,
such a place as Sredni Kolimsk, within
that awaits them on Sakhalin is the exile
anything like educated society."

9: Hawes--337-339 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

"There is another class of prisoners besides the
the so-called 'free-commands,' or ticket-of-leave
—may be seen going to the prison to get their quota
to the post [LSS: At Alexandrovsk] I often passed gr
skirts and great top felt boots, long frieze khalati (
tell-tale patch of yellow cloth let in the back. These
'wives' of 'exile-settlers;' the others, retained by
the prison, were kept in the building, where they co
window to the right of the main entrance to the pris

The law provides that any criminal with a sentenc
eight months; any woman, not exceeding forty years
or over; and any political exile, at the discretion o
to Sakhalin. The ukaz of 1900, in reference to exile
put an immediate stop to their deportation; [338] bu
labour are not contemplated in the proclamation, th
political exiles continue to arrive on Sakhalin. The
register the desire of the penal authorities; to indic
reserving to themselves the right of dealing with sp
realizing their scheme in their own time.

Criminals on their arrival are classified accordi

soldier-gang and the overseer-gang,
men, many of whom—men and women
of work every morning. On my way
roups of these, the women in short
overcoats), with the diamond-shaped
e were convicts who had become the
the officials nominally for cleaning
ould be seen through the bars of the
on offices.
ce of not less than two years and
s of age, with a sentence of two years
f the Government, may be deported
s, has generally been thought to have
t exiles with a sentence of hard
erefore it is that criminal and
ukaz may be considered rather to
cate the line they wish to take, while
ecial cases in their own way, and

ng to their sentence. Those with a

9: Hawes--337-339 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

sentence of twelve years and upwards are put int
These are mostly murderers, and, if they have
chains are not struck off after the journey, but t
called the kandalnaya turma (chained prison).

The 'reformatory' prison contains those with a
those with less than four years are treated, afte
This latter division includes brodyagi from Russ
years, and the same class from Siberia, who ge

Promotion is from the 'testing' to the 'reform
command' division, the length of time spent in e
prisoner. Under the most favourable conditions
'testing' prison, whereas another may be confine
one may say, that a third of the term is spent in

Strictly speaking, 'free-command,' according
the 'reformatory' gaol, as well as those outside,
clearer.

The arrival of the free-born wife of a convict
prison, and he may [339] forthwith live as a 'fre
full term of hard labour to fulfil. On the part of
comes from marriage—or, rather, her choice b

o the worst gaol, the 'testing' prison.
proved themselves recalcitrant, their
hey are confined to that portion of it

a term of four to twelve years, while
r a short sojourn, as 'free-commands.'
ia, who are sentenced to one and a half
t four years' hard labour.
atory' gaol, and from there to the 'free-
ach depending upon the behaviour of the
a man may pass only four years in the
ed for eight, or even more. As a whole,
each section.
to Russian terminology, includes all in
, but I have adopted this distinction as

will gain even a murderer release from
e-command;' but, of course, having his
the female criminal a similar alleviation
y an exile. This will free her from the

9: Hawes--337-339 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

prison walls, and she may live, as we have seen
hard labour duty is done.

On the other hand, many incur additional sente
violence. A prisoner who escapes and is recaptu
the plet, but may get an addition of anything fron
sentence. In the year 1900 the prisoners on Sakha
numbered 510, of whom 70 were women; but ther
seem, had more than a life sentence. These wer
yet to undergo a term of between 40 and 50 years
one was a woman, had sentences between 30 and
30 years to their credit.

The expiration of a sentence does not bring wit
Sakhalin, for the ex-convict regains his rights or
he must remain on the island as an 'exile-settler
which so few are—to get away, he may go as a '
another six years. Then only is he at liberty to r

, with her 'man' on condition that her

ences by escape, theft, and deeds of
red, not only receives a flogging with
n a quarter to the whole of his original
alin sentenced to hard labour for life
e were those who, Irish as it may
e already well advanced in life, and had
s. There were 13 such, while 51, of whom
40 years, and 240 had between 20 and

th it the long-hoped-for farewell to
nly by degrees. For six years more
; ' and then, if he is in a position—
peasant' to the mainland ~~of~~ Siberia for
eturn to Russia."

9: Hawes--401 T-3 (
116, 133, 563

"The morning after my departure
It is a well-sheltered harbour, with
thirty feet off Observatory Island, a
officers set up their instruments on
position. To the south of this is a sn
east is Basalt Island. Near the south
Kamp a fine lighthouse, then about t
navigation. On the north-western sh
Alexandrovsk post, consisting of a t
assistants, and a tiny church and ba
there. To the north and south stretc
Oroktis. Around the bay the hills ris
clothed with trees, save where the t
lighted by the Russians. It is a lonel
by ice from all navigation, it is only
river Amur, which is itself served b
in one respect was it at that time be
cecting it with Vladivostok was intac
and Steam Shipping Company had jus

aw the Tsitsikar standing in for De Castries Bay.
a depth at entrance of fifty feet, diminishing to
bold islet so named by La Pérouse, because his
it, after a long interval, to determine their exact
nall islet called Oyster Island, and to the north-
nern head stands up on the promontory of Kloster
o be deserted by the pilots with the cessation of
ore of the bay, at the mouth of the river Somon, is
elegraph-office, with the houses of the Chief and his
rracks for the small company of soldiers stationed
h forests, uninhabited save by a few roaming
e to a height of 1100 and even to 1540 feet, thickly
ell-tale brown slopes witnessed to fires carelessly
y spot at any time, and especially in winter. Cut off
accessible to the post by dog-sledges from the
y relays of horse-sledges from distant parts. Only
ter off than Alexandrovsk; the telegraph-wire con-
t. In this secluded spot the Chinese Eastern Railway
t stationed an agent."

9: Hawes--335-336 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 563

"In picturing Alexandrovsk, the reader must
and factories. The chief feature, around which
If there are three or four merchants' stores, a
prisoners; if there are well-to-do-looking woo
cials, they exist because of the prisoners, and
small ethnological and natural history collectio
political exiles. The Siberian traveller cannot
to these banished ones. On the mainland at Mir
much has been due to Mr. Kuznetsov, and wha
these two excellent collections. To one of this
perial Academy of Sciences is now no longer e
museum at Alexandrovsk; . . . . . .[3

In addition to the buildings mentioned, there
overlooking the market-place, or bazar, wher
huddled together, are the Muhammadan mosqu
the bridge the road to the jetty is bordered by
and close to the pristan, facing the sea, are qu
lazaret, where the maimed and the halt, who c
rations. Outside of these, the chief buildings,
huts where the ex-convicts, and in some cases

not think of it as a town with busy shops
the whole place centres, is the prison.
nd an iron foundry, these are for the
den houses, the residences of the offi-
last, if there is a museum containing a
on, that is a sign of the presence of
be long ignorant of the debt science owes
usinsk and at Chita every one knows how
t worthy memorials he has raised in
class, who, thanks to the Russian Im-
xiled from Europe, is practically due the
36]. . . . . .
is the church in the main street, and
e an ill-assorted collection of huts is
e and the little Lutheran church. Beyond
long store-houses, guarded by patrols,
uarantine and bonded sheds, and the
can still work, do a little to earn their
is the great body of small cottages or
married convicts, live."

623 usually concern abductions of women or major transgres-
681 sions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of the idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

578 Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
411 conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the kaur, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the iron point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the stick. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry- which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

● 563 A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
177 fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called broydagi (i.e., loafers) are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief deportation center for non-political criminals, these brodyagi also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their native villages and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest to entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they hold up to themselves is-not to be recognized in case of arrest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor, but only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

● 563 hopes, merely from an ungovernable yen for liberty and
177 diversion, although they know they will be only too easily recognized and will only earn a more severe punishment.

563 The hardships and dangers which these unfortunate ones
609 must sometimes endure, especially in winter, are hair-
177 raising and some of the stories which they tell as though they were nothing unusual, sound like epics. A large number of them perish. One of the dangers which they must guard against in the Amur country and the Transbaykal is persecution at the hands of the natives, in which activity particularly those kinsmen of the Huns, the wild Buryats on Lake Baykal, distinguish themselves. To them, a brodyaga is as good as wild game, they aim at him wherever they meet him, and take whatever they find on the dead man. They do this with all assurance for they know that the deed will not be investigated. In recent times this bestial custom has also crept in among the Goldi and the Gilyak. The brodyagi themselves gave the impetus to these animosities. Most of them are perfectly docile, peaceable human beings who are glad if [229] they are left alone, and are therefore little feared by the Russians themselves; they are given a night's lodging, a hunk of bread, and no one thinks of notifying an official. Now among these "unfortunate ones" (1)

> 1. This is what they are called by the Siberians, some of whom are themselves descendants of exiles and have had experiences of their own which corroborate the words of Staël "tout savoir c'est tout pardonner".

there are sometimes real villains who cannot conceal their wolf-like nature. Furthermore, among deportees there are not infrequently to be found people who are simply pathological, suffering from homicidal mania, who belong anywhere but in a penal colony. Such ugly customers make trouble when they escape. There have been cases where entire Gilyak families were murdered even by those who were hospitably received by the natives. As a result, it is easy to imagine that the Gilyak also began playing a different tune. After such precedents, greed and rapacity may now and then also have arisen in the soul of the savage, even though such a refugee would not have been carrying much. Thus the brodyagi now avoid the native villages, and if they are forced to pass near-by, they go in bands and take

● 563 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
609 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
177 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concealing themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

181 **XIII Economic and Social Conditions.**

671 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

556 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
595 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

735 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
438 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
556 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
261 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the
● 563 part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is
512 only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, during the rest of the time only the women are industrious. The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak sometimes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge themselves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board.

464 Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-
426 na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to
567 earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

428 The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's
587 property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. If the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help
428 she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father
583 whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half, but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

13: Seeland--57 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

164 The Gilyaks are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the
563 Russians suffer from it more than in Europe. I have
342 spoken in another connection (1) of the fact that I believe
362

1. St. Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3. 1882.

this illness can be traced to earth miasmas, and particularly to external ones rising up from the extensive marshes and bogs, as well as house miasmas. The fact that the natives are immune [248] may be attributed partly to habit, (for Europeans suffer most from it when they first arrive) and especially to the functional construction of the houses. Russian barracks and private houses stand on frame work which soon rots. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood and damp earth which does not freeze even in winter. The houses are badly ventilated and frequently have a definite odor of mould. The Gilyak house has a solid floor of pressed clay which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate; it is well ventilated and is often filled with smoke whose disinfectant qualities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems to be only a limited factor in this question.

164 Another endemic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, occurs among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom and soon disappears. It is usually accompanied by unbearable colic. This catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.

In spite of the constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers from tape worm. Among Russians, too, it seems to come mainly from pork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.

Bronchial catarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia seems the most frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the Gilyak. The children of the Gilyak villages also suffered from a whooping cough epidemic that was prevalent during my time in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

Eye diseases occur more seldom than one would expect, for in general, tribes that live in smoky houses frequently suffer from them and present many one-eyed and blind cases. The Gilyak houses are not always full of smoke, to be sure, but so frequently that the relative absence of these diseases must be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the eye nerves. Actually, everyone who has been inside a Gilyak house will be convinced that the natives can remain calmly seated in smoke clouds that would immediately drive
164 a European out. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely
293 unpunished. One finds among them people with chronic

10: Gehest--2 U-2 (1884-85) 1887 Gilyak

101 edition), p. 390 and note 7. Venukov's
142 observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thick-
101 ness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

361 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settle-
563 ments were particularly numerous along the shallow shore
166 of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these
226 had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along
231 this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live
133 there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

796 elder who also det
622 to be killed by the
574 village as such but
the captured anima
796 on this point the ar
777 house to house sev
spend a night in ea
796 by their stay. Dur
food, but at the en
voluntary fast by b
to house and fed th
fish, berries and a
796 While making th
563 irritated by being
hunt staged on ther
been captured your
the Chinese or Ma
796 Gilyak territory. I
take the precautior
they cannot easily
front legs they tie
attached rings thro
chains, in turn, th
considerable lengt
others backward.
and in this way the
pletely still by alte
whether the bear i
wants to attack its
796 Outside the villa
417 willow sticks, whi
fenced in on both s
this enclosure the
796 the village, is tie
541 to itself for a whil
231 themselves with th
437 celebrations. In th
a track especially
ever, was not very
track by their own
were let loose at i
arrived at the fini
way, no idea of wi
not even exist. Ra
since the race ser
in the right light a

ernines how many and which bears are
consent of their owners, for it is not the
individuals in it who are the owners of
ls. Once an agreement has been reached
imals intended for slaughter are led from
eral weeks before the fixed date and must
ch, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
ng this time the animals get only a little
d of it they are indemnified for their in-
eing taken throughout the night from house
e choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried
thick gruel prepared from millet.
e rounds through the village, the bears are
pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
n with lances. The bears are ones that have
g in the woods or bought full-grown from
nchu who are also quite numerous in the
During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
of tying the animals in such a way that
get at their tormentors. Close behind the
a strap around their body to which are
ough which are run iron chains. To these
ey fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
h, in such a way that some go forward and
A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
y are able to force the bear to stand com-
ernately tightening the belts depending on
s turned frontwards or backwards when it
leaders.
ge there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
ch has an opening for an avenue that is also
ies with similar willow sticks. Inside
bear, after it has finished its tour through
between two tree trunks. There it is left
e, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
e dog race almost always held at these
e village visited by Jakobsen they also had
constructed for this purpose, which, how-
long. After the dogs had been led to the
ers and placed next to each other, they
ntervals of a few seconds, but they all
sh about the same time. There is, by the
nning prizes at this race, since such do
ther, it might be called a purchasing race
ves to [illegible] the good qualities of the dogs
nd thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

156 The shamans possess great power over their superstitious subjects, and their commands are rarely refused. I heard of an instance wherein a native caught a fine sable and preserved the skin as a trophy. Very soon a man in the village fell ill. The shaman after practicing his art announced that the spirit commanded the sable skin to be worn by the doctor himself. The valuable fur was given up without hesitation. A Russian traveler stopping one night in a Gilyak house discovered in the morning that his sledge was missing, and was gravely told that the spirit had taken it.

156 In 1814 the small pox raged in one of the tribes living on the Kolyma river, and the deaths from it were numerous.
164 The shamans practiced all their mysteries and invoked the spirits, but they could not stop the disease. Finally, after new invocations, they declared the evil spirits could not be appeased without the death of Kotschen, a chief of the tribe. This chief was so generally loved and respected that the people refused to obey the shamans. But as the malady made new progress, Kotschen magnanimously came forward and was stabbed by his own son.

156 In general the shamans are held in check by the belief that should they abuse their power they will be long and severely punished after death. This punishment is supposed to occur in a locality specially devoted to bad shamans. A good shaman who has performed wonderful cures receives after death a magnificent tomb to his memory.

797 The Russians think that with educated Gilyaks they can
563 succeed in winning the natives to Christianity, especially when the missionaries are skilled in the useful arts of civilized life. Hence the school in Mihalofski, and it has so far succeeded well in the instruction of the boys. Russian and Gilyak children were working in the gardens in perfect harmony, and there was every indication of good feeling between natives and settlers.

order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin, only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are married off. If after the death of the parents only one daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry, the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by going against the wishes of his wife.

In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general one can draw the following conclusions from what has been said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives; b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, provided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit and have their own property, but in general they are not left as much; however, they have the right to be supported; e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they become joint owners of the estate along with their children.

The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged classes or families. There are families, now and then, who are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also have family names (which are handed down by the males); many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not, are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one, and by this name they are known even among their fellow-tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikias", etc., are usually intelligent lads and understand Russian.

In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever been any among these people. Only personal qualities, either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment. Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit, both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567

567 SLAVERY--presence or absence of a servile class of chattel slaves; number of slaves and proportion in the population; activities of slaves; methods of control; treatment; stigmata; rights and privileges of slaves (e.g., to hold property, to marry, to contract debts); rights, privileges, and powers of masters (e.g., to kill, to sell, to hire out); enslavement (e.g., of war captives, for debt, for crime); slave trade; permanency of servile status (e.g., hereditary, for life); redemption (e.g., manumission, adoption, purchase of freedom, escape, asylum); intermarriage between slaves and freemen; status of children of mixed marriages; etc.; See also:

Enlvement of criminals	681	Prisoners of war	727
Slave revolt	733		

/280 cont./

583 It is a remnant of matemality when the mother's brother played
583 a privileged role; the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin
197 marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the more ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marriage.

583 I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

583 For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh shond:, signi-
556 fying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types of clothing and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silver bracelets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepare the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sacred chests with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry usually should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the
556 gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer
●567 to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a matter of the greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or female slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance, Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (aina) whom they had purchased with a Japanese sabre for cleaning the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambitious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, is put in it to serve her.

583 The dowry, although it is compensation for the bride
422 price, since it frees the husband from great expenditures for the wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, her private property /281/ to which the husband has no rights whatsoever.

/298 cont./

614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
614 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /kyat/, kishal
606 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
609 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent, but they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla lytnydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the bread is necessary for each new bear
415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
797 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
[231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'nr humyjá! Wingan drur humyjá--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pying-tvysk and pre-
pare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.
Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.
[792] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid
[184] on a wooden frame near the lenring where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

●567 The son of a slave remains free to the nèck (i.e., his head
[196] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
[683] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone
[614]

/299 cont./

●567 calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore
[683] when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
[614] replies quietly: "Pilavon k:khal purarś hokhagirn ot' krygrys" (1).

1. Krygrys -- an Aimu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
[195] slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygrys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygrys, impure. Every krygrys was considered a k:khal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygrys
[692] is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings/

A krygrys woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygrys.
[682] A free one is kistylygy n'ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
[614] is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila kour -- big mountain bear, mer edr -- tiger), fight with him; it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the
[162] krygrys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Tashira.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase
[580] of Amiu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/300 cont./

●567 part of their dowry. In buying wives, the price corresponded to
[582] the additional slaves. In 1896 a former slave, about whom we have the following information, lived there. A Nanti brought from Kizi-a Kugi (Aimu) maiden, and an illegitimate child was born. Khuzin's father bought the son of this Kugi (krygrys) in
[435] Kizi. He was 25 years old; he was paid for with nine pieces of silk material (21 meters) at 75 rubles a piece.

This worker served him for five years. Eighteen years ago he ran away to Kizi-a, and then to Ayan (near Nizhneimbovskiy). The name of this krygrys was Kutr. His former master from Khez' summoned him to conduct shaman ceremonies, and he used this opportunity to run away. Now he is an old man and blind. One absolutely must take him back, though blind, feed him, and bury him with their own hands, and then his soul will follow him to the Pilavo (his father, dying, requested this of him).

Chinese girls were bought in a similar fashion. It was necessary to take along 100 sables, 100 foxes, 100 otters, 100 squirrels, 100 polecats, between 10 and 100 black-brown foxes, 100 seals, and 100 bears. The travelers to Sansin were met by a merchant who would take away all their merchandise and, without counting it, would transport it to his warehouse. The visitors would be feted for two days and /301/ questioned in Goldi or through an interpreter. The newcomers would tell their hosts about their wish to get married, then they would record how much each had brought, and they would be taken to the governor. He would provide carriages and food, and they would be transported to the major city (Peking). They would be introduced and accommodated in the palace, assigned servants, fed and looked after like "gentlemen," and taken around the city with an interpreter. Finally whole rows of women with covers over their faces would be lined up in front of them; behind each woman would stand a castrated slave. The old Gilyak would recommend: "A young male slave -- an old woman -- a risk." They would choose right there; they would each be led to a room. A slave would sweep and spread out the bedding, and that very night he would learn his fate. They were painted. He sticks his tongue in the mouth; there are no teeth.

/301 cont./

●567 They would journey back to Sansin with their wives and
slaves; there each was given a one -- or many-masted boat, which was loaded with provisions for ten years, with garments, silks, and so forth, for the entire family. Upon their return the purchased wives would already be pregnant. If a daughter was born, they gave her a slave for her dowry. Those who came to Sansin only to pay their yassak /tribute paid in fur/ (one sable) received two combs, a piece of drel', ten bottles of khanshin, and so forth. Aimu women were bought in this way: they went hunting, brought sables and so forth, and also Chinese goods, and bought wives on the way.

A woman who married into the Jusk'in clan received as a dowry from her father a female slave -- akh, who was provided with a Japanese sword for cleaning her mistress' soles. Then a Gilyak bought her in exchange for his own daughter. Poor fathers (generally) sold their daughters into slavery.

VI.

The Family and the Clan

595 Marriage norms and totemic clans. Clanmen-brothers may sup-
port one wife, but only one of them is regarded as the master, even though both together bought the wife; the second one enjoys marital rights only in the absence of the first.

If they have lived together for one year after another, a husband consults his elder wife as to whom else he should take. And she herself may travel to select a helper from her own khal or from an alien one, and the wives call each other sisters. A man sleeps separately, and each wife separately, or the man in the middle. The elder wife takes care of all the children. The younger cannot give orders to her, and she commands. It sometimes happens that they are jealous and fight. The following go to do the betrothing: 1) father and mother, 2) elder brother, 3) father's brother, 4) husband of father's sister.

/341 cont./

VII.

Miscellanea

148 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Sibel'ka's
199 story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu,
Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and
others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then
took two or three sables per package. /345/ He collected debts
by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding
in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind
of cider to women (see above, p. 180, "Women, Childbirth, and
Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son
went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga
recognized the cast-up body and informed the merchant. But
when the arrived the body was gone; he saw only the tracks of
a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear
dwelt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of
the death. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov
himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight;
no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk
was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill.
But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug,
the water level increasing. This was the fear of those people
whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside
of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without
water.

567 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, not
to laugh at anybody.

567 Slaves -- krygyn (1896). In Kukiyash (?) a krygyn was exchanged
for a woman. In Vayalakh -- a krygyn, Khyrumlu, a limping
woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about,
"she did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for
no one wanted to have krygyn children. There were krygyn also
in Tymgik, Tevalih, Kutt. The nix (see p. 222,IV) of Sibel'ka
had krygyn.

/346 cont./

595 pretence of several women around one man in the same room
and in a common household it, in the long run, scarcely con-
575 ceivable. Therefore very rich Gilyak who are impelled by
575 vanity to display their wealth and indulge in the luxury of
556 polygamy, frequently seize upon another means to lighten the
work for their wives and, without disturbing the peace, to be
able to favor one or another of them. This means is to keep
slaves, usually of the female, but sometimes of the male sex,
for the purpose of performing the heaviest work in the house.
575 These, however, are by no means to be thought of as lone Gilyak
357 men or women who attach themselves to a family and, in ex-
change for free food and lodging, assume the obligation to per-
form the heavy work in the house, such as fetching water, felling
and splitting firewood, etc. There are such domestic persons,
who are hired, so to speak, among the Gilyak, but the situation
567 that they are in is entered into by them voluntarily, it can be
dissolved at will, and it in no way deprives them of the esteem
of their countrymen, nor does it injure their social position with
equal rights among them.

The situation is entirely different, however, with regard
to the slaves. The Gilyak have a special term for them:
kryghysin, or, with a statement of the sex, kryghysyn-umgu --
female slave, and kr.-umgu -- slave of the male sex. It is to be
567 stressed, first of all, that they are never and under no circum-
stances Gilyak, but are always individuals bought from the neigh-
boring tribes, Ainu or Goldi. The Ainu (Kughi) supply the most
slaves, and especially female slaves, to the Gilyak, the Goldi
supply them in smaller numbers, and, to be sure, the "Jani" as
well as the "Tscholdoh," that is, the lower as well as the upper
Goldi. The Gilyak were unable to name for me any other tribes
furnishing them with slaves. Thus, significantly enough, the
567 shameful sale of girls and boys of their own tribe into slavery is
practiced only by the two peoples of the Amur region who are the
immediate neighbors of the two civilized peoples of East Asia,
the Japanese and Chinese, and who are the most dominated and
oppressed by them. It is certainly no mere accident that the

567 /646 cont./

(190) purchase price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are
(648) cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less
(181) handy and are lazier and therefore less useful to the Gilyak than
(439) the female slaves are, and in addition perhaps also because, in
spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give
cause for jealousy on the part of the head of the house.

567 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation
to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no
rights: they are nothing more than domestic animals in human
shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit
and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of
course, all the heavy work in the house, such as fetching water,
splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever
else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they are only to
obey and to serve. Therefore, where there is a slave in the
house, the housework is done almost exclusively by him, while
the wives of the head of the house devote themselves only to
handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they
please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make
the lot of the slaves, especially the female slaves, so hard
among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as
well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which
is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they remain
excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with
those around them. No Gilyak may marry a slave; indeed, he
may not sell a slave to another Gilyak if the latter expresses an
intention to marry her. The use of a female slave as a concubine
595 is no less strictly forbidden among the Gilyak. If anyone did so,
575 558 he would not only lose completely all the respect that the
556 possession of a slave /649/ as a sign of great wealth gave him,
but would risk up a general storm of indignation among his coun-
567 trymen. This is certainly another indication of the moral
austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female
slaves very useful for the household, for in their presence they
cannot arouse the jealousy of the wife or wives of their owners
and that, for their part, do not bring any discord into the house,
as happens all too frequently in the case of polygamy. Perhaps

567 /648 cont./

114 It must be noted here that the Japanese traveler, Mamia
191 Rinso, either misunderstood the conditions just described, and
567 especially the position of the slaves among the Gilyak, or else
595 intentionally put them in a different light and thereby gave
192 rise to completely false conceptions concerning their domestic
and marital situation. With reference to his stay among the
Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Cape Noteito on the west coast /648/ of
Sakhalin (1), he says that "there it is the custom of the country

1. Cape Noteito is not given on Mamia
Rinso's map as reproduced by Siebold
(op. cit., Pl. XXV), but on Mogami
Tok'nai's map it is shown somewhat
diagonally across from Taba Bay or the
entrance into Taba-Kidai Straits (see
above, p. 968).

that the women give orders to the men, treat them like servants,
and have them perform all the work. He himself, it is said further,
had to bend under the yoke of the mistress of the house, and he,
like the rest, had his daily work imposed on him by her, but since
the mistress of the house was particularly well disposed toward
him, her other men became jealous, and he, who was well
aware of this, was careful not to become involved in things
which he would have had to conceal, but rather occupied him-
self solely with domestic work under the eyes of the other men,
and, as a result of this conduct, he gained the confidence and
esteem of the former, who presented him with meat and fish" (2).

2. Mamia Rinso, "Te-tarikiko," in Siebold's
Nippon, VII, p. 169.

567 It is difficult to understand how Siebold (3), on the basis

3. Op. cit., p. 198.

/649 cont./

114 of this statement by Rinso, could express the conjecture that the
191 kojaschichi or kojachinchiri of the Kamchatkan women,
192 through Steller and Kraschenninikov (4), that is, men being used

567 4. Steller, op. cit., p. 351, note.
Kraschenninikov, op. cit., p. 40. See
also p. 473, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak.
Rather than to entertain the idea that Rinso, as far as I know, spent
114 longer than a few days among the Gilyak, as the Japanese
595 traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this
575 deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Siebold's con-
114 jecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there
575 seems to be more reason in favor of his conclusion, drawn from
the same statement by Rinso, that polyandry exists among the
Smerenkur on Krafto (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast
of Krafto," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the
world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or
custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the
above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means accu-
rate: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does
polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the
Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the
"rest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house"
in Noteito, be explained? The trustworthiness of Mamia Rinso,
whom reviewed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting the
report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the
domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the mo-
ment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he so
accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (5), as

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in this

6. See p. 1046 above.

/649 cont./

114 case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler c
191 Rinso's report, and gave rise to the vague wording of the report,
114 can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among
192 Smerenkur (Gilyak)at Cape Noteito for an opportune mom
carry out his planned trip to Totats (on the opposite mainla
592 which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and
592 any provisions, Mamia Rinso found himself, in order to stay
alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood
the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a tim
higher, he entered into a definite agreement, as far as I know,
595 mestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to
567 accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men
a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to
orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being tre
"like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyand
a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride
vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably
435 vented him from fully and openly confessing in his r
port the undignified and humiliating position and treatment
which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompte
to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the al
595 custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the
Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and sk
extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," wh
actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier tha
those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the co
dark, and sooty earth huts.

Even though Mamia Rinso avoids speaking of slaves i
ferring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he
well aware of the existence of such among them. For he sa

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trac
with the Santanar, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they
"even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, wido

565

565 CLASSES--presence or absence of stratified groups between which mobility is to at least some extent possible; number and ranking of social classes; composition and distribution; basis of differentiation (e.g., wealth, occupation, ascribed status, conquest); class consciousness; degree of class organization; integration of cliques with classes; class prerogatives and disabilities; insignia and stigmata of classes; relations between classes; extent of intermarriage; status and affiliation of children of interclass marriages; special social classes (e.g., royalty, nobles and commoners, bourgeois and proletariat); etc. See also:

Mobility 55
Political statuses 62, 63, 64, 66
Occupational specialization 463
Standards of living 511
Cliques 573
Revolutionary movements 669
Poverty 735

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of
*114 Shternberg convi
● 565 tion among the G
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777 ligion of the Gily
614 about the master
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[776] who is a 'god.' b
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[825] mals (e.g., the
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Gilyak; include
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the fact, however, that the material presented by
ncingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked
acles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of
ion the manifestation, not of the immanent eco-
ery society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak
s -- the Russians.
cant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
yak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
s, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki,"
ll their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
ut, just as in each clan there are outstanding
men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' ac-
eryday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there
the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the
in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses
the social structure in the religious views. The
erg on the relationship of totemism to clan society
ention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not
not belief in descent from one or another form of
ated the clan gods, which is the accepted way of
other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
ain the interdictions among the totemists against
f totems in their food by anything except a fear
kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."
g contests the opinion that fear created god and
understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly
onship to man.
ki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his
shaman is divinely selected.
materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
aterialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora
cond group of Shternberg's works on the study of the
here also is the summary of a paper at the
ess of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

177 /270 cont./
178 in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the
556 possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
582 and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward
584 differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and
[565] become related to only rich people. In the question of the
choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded
of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and,
consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even
in the ancient "tylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in
matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my
178 equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
556 a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek
58 women who were famous for their special qualities, who
614 were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents,
their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once
marriage came to be practiced between members of alien
clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished.
There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price,
which introduced into the institution of marriage the element
of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of
alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the pro-
cedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.
192 The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
584 pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the match-
maker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride --
"future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms
for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With
orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and
bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called
pu -- husband, and the bride -- an'g:ej. The term jokh,
[174] which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely
inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen,
with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual
intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure
of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of
orthodox marriage.

9: Hawes--262 [3] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 567, 595

"In olden times the Amur Gilyak bought slaves, w
both these practices of polygamy and slavery the de
harem as to have sufficient domestic help. In one
his old age a young and strong assistant."

who were mostly Ainu women, but in
esire was not so much to possess a
case it was to give the loved wife of

/650 cont./
and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4, often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services, are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over to Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for, as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means

2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them, whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Besides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ainu who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say, they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into Russian possession.

Before I go further in describing the family relations of the Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

/651 cont./

567 171 In this respect, the situation was, and, so it seems, is even now, worse among the Koreans. Following the accounts of Dutch prisone Witsen (1) reported that they keep many male and female slaves,

1. Noord en Oost Tartarye, Amsterdam, 1705, p. 59.

some masters several hundred, who all come from among their own people. According to Dallet (2), their number subsequently

2. Histoire de l'église de Corée précédée d'une introd. sur l'hist., les institut., la langue, les moeurs et cost. coréennes /History of the Church of Korea, preceded by an introduction on the history, the institutions, the language, Korean manners and customs/, Paris, 1874, Reviewed in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1875, p. 113.

gradually decreased, but the bad custom still exists, in that poor people sell themselves or their children as slaves, and children born to a slave, as well as abandoned children, fall to slave standing, and, finally, there are slaves belonging to the state. There can be no mistake here about the influence of immediately adjacent China, where, as is well known, the same thing goes on (3). Among the more northern Paleo-Asiatic

3. Cf., for instance, Neuhof, Die Gesantsch. der Ost-Indich. Geselsch. in den verein. Niederländen an dem Tartar. Cham /The Embassy of the East Indian Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tartarian Khan/, etc., Amsterdam, 1666, p. 293. Du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 128. Iakinf", Kitai, St. Petersb., 1840, pp. 337, 338, and elsewhere.

/651 cont./
peoples slavery originated, as a rule, when prisoners of war, in other words, individuals from a foreign tribe, were made slaves and, in particular, women and girls were captured by the enemy to serve as wives and concubines. This was the case among the Italmen, Koryak (4), and Aleuts before they were

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 235.

subjugated by the Russians. The Aleuts in particular were distinguished by their cruelty to their slaves, in that on festive occasions they sometimes slaughtered a great number of them (5).

5. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashk. Otd. /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, Pt. II, pp. 83-89.

Wrangel (6) even reported of the Chukchee, who retained their

6. Putesh. po siev. ber. Sib. i pr. /Journey in the Region of the Northern Coast of Siberia/, Pt. II, pp. 339, 340.

independence and individuality the longest, that among them, and, to be sure, the nomadic as well as the sedentary ones on the sea coast, there is a kind of serfdom or slavery, in that since ancient times the well-to-do have owned whole serf families who are not permitted to move away, have no property, and are wholly subject to the whims of their masters, who use them for the heaviest services and labor and in return feed and clothe them. Wrangel was unable to find out anything definite about the origin of these slaves, but he thinks it probable that they are the descendants of former prisoners of war, and therefore from foreign tribes. The fact, however, that they have existed since ancient times and in whole families /652/ allows one to conclude that the Chukchee, too, keep from mixing with them and do not enter into either marriage or concubinage with their female slaves.

/652 cont./
567 17 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

428 562 The law of inheritance existing among them gives us further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and, [601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, because of her age, [768] there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken [583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 587 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

648 /664 cont./ The following remarks pertain
128 only to this period, certainly a very favorable one for the study of their peculiarities.

621 Beyond the family and the paternal kin-group, the Gilyak
622 have no legal-administrative structure or organization for self-government: there are among them no individuals provided by them themselves with authoritative power, say, for preserving order, for settling disputes, and the like. And there seems to be no need for that among them. Since they wage no wars with their neighbors or among themselves, undertake no joint raiding expeditions into foreign territory, collect no tribute and do not have to deliver any, etc., they need no leaders, chiefs, elders, or the like. Order is maintained by observing the ancient usages and the traditional customs, and in case of disputes and conflicts, self-help enters in, supported by the rules of blood
[567] revenge. Thus the Gilyak have no superiors or masters in their midst, but rather they are all legally equal, with, of course, the exception of the slaves, who, however, as has been said, are not Gilyak, but are foreigners in serfdom among them. For
[177] the concept of "master," which they first learned from the Manchu-Chinese, they therefore, for both the latter and the Russians, use the Chinese expression dshangin (3). Only once

3. Gerbillon (in Dukalde /Du Halde/, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 385) mentions the term "tschanghin" for a high official who enjoys the special confidence of the emperor.

did I hear a Gilyak designate himself as such: it was in the isolated yurt of Miwwach located at the end of the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin and occupied by a married couple, where the host introduced himself to me as the "dshangin of Miwwach," but evidently he merely wanted to indicate that he was the sole owner of the yurt.

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
627 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

601 The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[108] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
[595] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

614 All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
561 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytŷk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time
[556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

175 At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
648 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
614 and gasyanda—village elders.
622 After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
175 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
178 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
433 ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch
[567] was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
776 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tavrradz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

3 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
3 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are
married off. If after the death of the parents only one
daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate
upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who
took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry,
the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by
going against the wishes of his wife.

3 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is
not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general
one can draw the following conclusions from what has been
said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives;
b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro-
vided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their
husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the
nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit
and have their own property, but in general they are not
left as much; however, they have the right to be supported;
e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they be-
come joint owners of the estate along with their children.

The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or
because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they
have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also
have family names (which are handed down by the males);
many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which
is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from
outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not,
are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one,
and by this name they are known even among their fellow-
tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually
intelligent lads and understand Russian.

In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ-
ual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a
certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of
real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment.
Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is
occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit,
both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds
up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans
do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other
people, but they draw an additional income from their craft.
It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a
shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his
"science". Some, however, become students of another
shaman for a considerable sum, still others become
impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on
them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said.
It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman,
whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one
shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in
self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addi-
tion of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to
make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's
advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove
adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with
great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without
any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow;
beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole
house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in or-
der to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only
enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Neverthe-
less, there are cases where people refused to pay a
shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude,
and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic
practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual
mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more
than intermediaries through whom the official gives his
orders to the community for these starosti speak Russian.

5

572 FRIENDSHIPS--concept
development; formal fri
reciprocal obligations o
Economic partnerships . . . .
Economic cooperation . . . .
Blood brotherhood and other art
relationships . . . . . .

72

ualization of friendship; informal friendships and their
endships (e.g., best friends, guest friendship);
f friends; etc. See also:

. . . . . 472 Relationships with nonrelatives 609
. 476
ficial kin
. 608

Sakhalin

/338 cont./ 752 789 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but a drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is surrounded with sticks. [572] [614] [628] [766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat rescued from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will be a god. 766 [775] [776]

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the stream.

A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd. 752 782

574

574 VISITING AND HOSPITALITY--extent and occasions of visiting; social relationships characterized by reciprocal visiting; reception and entertainment of visitors; informal and formal hospitality; offering of food and drink; feasts and parties; etc. See also:

Drinking . . . . . 27 Travel 484
Recreation . . . . . 52 Banquet speeches 544
Eating . . . . . 264 Wedding feasts 585
Gift giving . . . . . 431 Mortuary feasts 765

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond, [262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the [574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and [796] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February, [538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the [261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance [164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

/27 cont./

22 In spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

●574 252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

342 354 352 [177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes 352 516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native ●574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without 517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange [484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of [157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in 157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 171 174

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of [611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely [614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the [595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself 171 here, for the time being, to what has been said, all the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All 782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each 796 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but 614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This 628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak. In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The ●[574] clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

/61 cont./

796 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nau-vakhnku,
778 the day of the preparation of the inau, i.e., sticks with sharpened ends, which play an important religious role in the festival. These sticks, of various forms and sizes, represent orators-intercessors, which, together with the slain bear will set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talismans as well. Each kind of inau is made in pairs; each pair is spouses, so that they will be happier, and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the inau are hung as ornamentation on the posts of the
796 arena; some are attached to them at the bottom. While the
•574 preparation of the inau takes place, the clan elder, together
614 with the master of the bear, and several clansmen ride out to greet the so-called narkh'i. These narkh'i are honored guests and play a very important role in the festival: the killing of the bear is left to them alone, to them /62/ alone is given all the meat of the killed beast and even the skin. The narkh'i are not arbitrarily chosen people, but of necessity representatives of that clan into which the daughters of the master of the bear, as well as the women of his clan in general, marry.
[606] Most often, therefore, a narkh is a son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the bear /see navkh, p. 82/. The narkh'i in turn take along their sons-in-law and decide among themselves which one of them is to kill the bear. If several bears are killed at the same time, narkh'i are invited from all the clans from which the clan arranging the festival has taken wives, so that sometimes up to ten clans participate in such a festival. It is these narkh'i whom the master of the bear must solemnly greet and lavishly entertain when he meets them, and transport them with honor to his village.

796 The following day is the day of the killing. It is called
231 Na-khan-ku (the day of the killing of the bear) or Chkhyf-aryn-ku (the day of the feeding of the bear). Early in the morning the bear is taken out of its cage in the same way as to take it for a walk. A large woven belt to which are tied bags full of assorted viands is put on it, and it is tied up near a yurt and given the opportunity to enjoy the last hours of life remaining to it in this

/62 cont./

796 231 semifreedom. Around noon it is untied and, held by thongs on both sides, is taken for a walk. This walk, however, gives the bear little pleasure, for from every side they tease it in every way and try to drive it beyond patience. The bear at first lets out some grumbling, but gradually becomes enraged, attempts to attack the people, and gets up on its hind legs, but it is held by dozens of hands, and all its rage is lost in fruitless thrashing. But now, seizing the moment, the master of the bear cautiously steals up, seizes it by the head, kisses it good-by, and, without waiting for a return kiss, speedily jumps away. Most often, however, the bear freely returns the good-by kiss to its protector, who considers himself quite lucky if the clumsy one limits itself to tearing off a good chunk of meat and does not get its teeth into, say, an eye or the throat arteries. A wound inflicted by a bear on such occasions, however, is considered an expression of good will on the part of the good-natured beast. The walk ends in leading the bear three times around the yurt of its master. Beforehand everything living, even suckling babies and animals, is removed from the yurt; only the clan elder stands in the passageway, and every time the bear comes around even with the entrance he teases it with a long pole with an uncut crown of coniferous needles at the end and speaks gentle words. /63/ At the end of this procedure the bear is led to the plot of ground and tied between the two trees which have been ritually decorated. The pole with which the bear was teased is fixed to the hearth, so that its spreading crown of coniferous needles rises high above the smoke opening. After that there is an intermission. The 796 bear is again left to itself, while the people assemble in a 594 dense throng in the yurt of the master of the bear, where lavish entertainment begins. They literally sit on one another's heads; nonetheless the gaiety is extraordinary; the loud talk, the laughter, and the jokes never cease. Only the narkh'i are serious: they bend their bows, sharpen their arrows, and prepare themselves for the crucial moment. Meanwhile all kinds of cold viands are carried in huge troughs on dog sleds to the sacred plot of ground; there are frozen fish of all kinds, rice,

796 Buda, and beans; and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish
574 "the mos', " whose method of preparation I have already d
scribed in the second chapter.

796 This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan el
231 or the master feeds the bear for the last time from a big sp
on a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while ask
to offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally
addresses the bear with the following farewell words: "Goo
I am feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quick
your master, and may your master greatly love you." Ot
clansmen also try to offer something to their old friend;
796 small children participate in this kindly affair. After the
[562] break all the people pour out of the yurt, with the except
of the women, who are forbidden to be present at the killi
of the bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- an
range themselves in fighting formation. The master of th
bear or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an
his hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also w
kettle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i
bows and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the
val follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy thr
Within a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied
people stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and pl
kettle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle
ax. The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name o
i.e., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the nar
elder exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a
796 of eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been place
526 next to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary
petitive archery. Once, when the bow played a more im
role in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt
character of a great competition; now, however, it is re
almost to a simple formality. The target is a board place
behind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them
clansmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the
guests and make intentional misses. The crowd follows w

ordinarily not in great stra
de on a commission basis.
among themselves they are
debtor dies or becomes inc
atives endeavor to pay off hi
tever of going into bondage
The law of inheritance is ver
perty goes to the children i
he children are under age,
se relative is their guardian
y if it has not been entirely
h children, the property re
the mother is called "the e
ow is childless she keeps a
he fortune, the rest belongs
sed. If she wishes to enter
some other close relative o
d, her second spouse, but i
y keep the estate of their fa
wish to re-marry, she mus
usually pays off in work as
se wife died earlier leaves
usually divided upon the dau
e, the relatives of the bride

its. The Gilyak almost never

very punctual about paying.
capable of working, his
is debts. They know nothing
or slavery because of debt.
y simple. The father's
f they no longer have a mother.
their uncle or some other
and later returns their prop-
used up. If a widow is left
mains intact in the family,
lder" in possession. If the
small part, about an eighth
s to the relatives of the de-
a new marriage, the brother
f the husband becomes, as we
f she already has children,
ther. If she is poor and does
st be helped, and this help
best she can. If a father
a son or daughter, the estate
ghter's marriage. In this
e look over the bridegroom.

/83 conv./

On this day, however, no one is allowed to take the prepared boar meat. This happens the next day, which is called the day of treating the nerkh'i (nerkh-ain-ko). The nerkh'i are thoroughly commemorating along the plank beds, while the bad solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of boar meat. More glorious hons feed their guests with their own hams, stocking into their mouths /83/ a huge piece of fat the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish off what he has started. Only the nerkh'i are allowed to eat bear meat; and his clan are denied this right: they are allowed to eat only a piece of rice or bugle with the fat from the boar's carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended dog and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at times very frivolous songs. Special attention in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered a virtue. Only young women, who yesterday the nerkh'i got drunk two times, ' the master of a bear once boasted to me.

Finally the last day of the festival comes. the day of departure of the nerkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of vasdy prepared for their journey, and clansmen are placed into their sleds. At the last moment the nerkh'i lead several dogs into the part and let them around the plank bed of bone to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a dung, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nerkh'i are lavishly

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In the evening, the nobleman as the sacrifice to Gamsa's father-in-law, and the nobleman as the sacrifice to the Gilyak relative to the good in general. When a whole individual effort, during idleness, the Gilyak make a sacrifice. He will without fail continue his above clansmen even from star, so that they share the energy beneficial consequences of the sacrifice.

The principle of common clan defense, the nobleman of the clan, is the foundation of the generation of benefits and the most extensive fraternal mutual aid.

It should be evident to anyone acquainted with the institutions of primitive tribes, that the Gilyak are not ordinary man travelers description, that it must be based on observing more than more superficial and even ordinary sympathy for one's fellow creatures. The Gilyak at his own expense manifest the highest hospitality to even his enemy, exchanging with him gifts and entering into friendly and cordial relations — still, evidently, impelled by a more powerful force than simple sympathy, he sacrifices himself for others. And this must be taken the basis of the generation among the great primitive people, the Gilyak clansmen. The principle of obligation to extend hospitality not only to the tribesmen, but even to the actually hungry man, is also a very ancient, very deep, and very sacred law in the relations whether for displaying this feeling. See master Gamsa many times a day, I neither had spread at his hands the starter what time of day it be, the guest is immediately offered all the vittals in the possession of the host, not to mention the most tempting tasteful of rebaiche for his pipe.

If there is, in the tribe Gilyak, the best taken from with the guest in drinking a common pipe. These attitudes are most striking in the handling of rare, costly clubs and valuables. If, for example, the guest, the chief of the tribe would allow himself to drink it alone, he will merely put it up to it and then it goes around to all the dwellers in the village, and only after the course of three, [illegible] the pipe returns to the owner. In the meanwhile, he is obliged to [illegible] the pipe. The hospitable

/86 conv./

very great sin, one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share eddies. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for our own, the best the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties. We see, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-ancestors. It is not by chance that in all the tale "beath" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master spirit of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not sin. Man is single thing that takes place in the house. Man, we have seen, are the ordinary mediators between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the hospitality of the house.

But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of [illegible] gods-clansmen, are not distinctly reciprocal "regalia" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If that does not find expression in a purely commercial form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of economic life so good and so easy, that there is no reason to be wisely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for commercial transactions and exchanges. Yet the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in sea bear, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

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Or, one or another family is temporarily impoverished. Of course, there is no question of any "poor relief" in this case: it is unnecessary, because the family will find hospitality and assistance in any house there, among the close, even of the most distant clansman, until the hard times change. And this is not offensive to anyone, for it is a rare thing for someone neither to enjoy hospitality or refuse it to someone else from time to time.

Suppose it is necessary to arrange a troublesome and expensive funeral. There are neither collections nor contributions organization for the reception of guests, and so on. Each family provides for the funeral of its own relatives, and, if necessary, each bears his share of the labor, and only the man who is a little richer than the others takes upon himself the trouble of the arrangements. Everyone takes to the preparation of vittals and purchases; they meet at his house to share in the preferential work. During the hard times, dozens of additional people can find a sensible from all sides. For several days it is necessary to feed not only the people, but also the relatives and, finally, of the whole tribe. True, by virtue of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned by us, such as the dispersion of a small tribe over an enormous territory and many other circumstances, this work could not take formal shape in such complexed organizations as the plantation and tribal. The gift of hospitality is very simple. Indians, but here also they created an atmosphere of social hospitality which led the clan to organize relations onto the path of interclan community and brotherhood.

/117/ Let us consider a little more closely the bonds which exist between the gens' clan, between each clan and those from which the Gilyak take his wives or to which he gives his women. These bonds are not limited to feelings alone; they are expressed in quite real forms.

First of all, there is the obligation of mutual assistance and hospitality. Each clan has its own [illegible] and [illegible] organization existing within the clan to the blood ness', the extension to them of fair treatment of the clan matter

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belong to them by right through the female line: "Tymgi, (non-in-law /yan'n/ must be fed" — such is the formula of this interclan obligation.

This rule, however, does not find expression at all in obligation of the ashmak's to support his son-in-law /yan'r/ and his family permanently in his own home. It may be that at a very remote time, in the period of maternality when the husband went to live in the home of the wife, it was actually so, but at the present time, under agnatic principles, the wife goes to the home of the husband and customarily moves completely to the clan of her husband. Nevertheless, in-laws, the principle of "sustenance," as we shall see, plays a quite important role in the mutual relations of the clans.

It is consolidated in a special, extremely peculiar religious rite, which consists of the following. At the last summer before the hard times, the ashmak's, the son-in-law /yan'r/ there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled yan-ion kettle. Into it the ashmak's and his family place a big bible price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle hanging on the handle of the kettle. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle; the former represents with the father-in-law, the outer kettle — the son-in-law /yan'r/ /yan'r/. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the ashmak's, the same ceremony is repeated upon their departure; only this time on each side of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nach (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nach yvhyrgr (trampling of the nach). It is also called lymyr'n-ioni — trampling of the nach. The principal idea of the obligatory rite, in the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called lymyr'n-mang — an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-father, the guardian petion of the home, whose

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blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite, the ashmak's presents the bridegroom at a festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of the bear pre-ashmak's and his yvgi each one beside himself as an and a kettle, which are also called nach and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

The gens' clan bonds are expressed in periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some peculiarities. Generally, the ashmak's visits his son-in-law, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to her yvgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage. The son-in-law, in turn, generously entertains the ashmak's, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for the ashmak's and his family, between the ashmak's and his family there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled yan-ion kettle. Into it the ashmak's and his family place a big bible price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle hanging on the handle of the kettle. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle; the former represents with the father-in-law, the outer kettle — the son-in-law /yan'r/ /yan'r/. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the ashmak's, the same ceremony is repeated upon their departure; only this time on each side of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nach (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nach yvhyrgr (trampling of the nach). It is also called lymyr'n-ioni — trampling of the nach. The principal idea of the obligatory rite, in the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called lymyr'n-mang — an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-father, the guardian petion of the home, whose

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Bu yvan yin yvan ok

in the same village in marriage with each other. In ignorance, when a clan involved in war proves weak, the nerkh'i assist it to the end. The nerkh'i are bound to protect their kinsfolk with the same settlement as they show toward their own clansmen. Only in the payment of tribunal may the nerkh'i not participate. Still more, sometimes, perhaps, are the mutual relations in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when the hostile clans are nerkh'i to each other, as not infrequently happens, and we have already expressed in the section on revenge our opinion that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

Such are the relations between the ashmak's and yvgi clans, relations which bear the features of the mutual aid of the clans and extend in sympathies to a whole series of foreign clans. This is the whole school of social training, a school of benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits and feelings which are so characteristic of primitive man and tie and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and finally for people and humanity. The same Gilyak ashmak's is partner dog, which, together with the dogs of the latter, will go to the master of the bear, the ashmak's, representing the clan; and at the last moment the yvgi performs the ceremony of the "sampling of the thimble" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man, they strengthen the ties of kinship with the higher sanction of religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "ceremonies" hospitality, invitations to hunt, and festivals.

They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live among the Tungus, the Dzhai, and the Ainu. This is why, by the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan. Nevertheless, /127/ clansmen are commingled with their yvgi or ashmak's /127/. But these ties prove of

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This rule is so strictly observed that the very text who has been slight in receiving and making presents to his yvgi is not even invited by the latter to festivals, but, on the other hand, he will be the honored guest of his own ashmak's. Thus there is formed an attitude of the yvgi, which is an entirely series of clash in their socio-religious festivals.

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/127 cont./

reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the Gilyak refuse to render his hospitality to the Russian who has wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representative of which answer for one another.

for clan clamence — just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /133/ their own Russian-minded, but isolated acts of clan not do so at all change their personal relations with members of other clans. Of course, among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national prejudice, or, they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with the Russian, sometimes giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even among those who otherwise live in more remote regions. That the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to regard the Russian as the Ochook alone as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to harm, is nothing in the person prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expedition of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russian nothing other than tigr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless conduct and deeds, for example the "the fortize of fortize" of valuable for pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian peasants, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with the humanity and tact of a civilized man.

But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We can now resume it.

By their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness. Toward an /134/ though only potential, the "father-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children. "One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "father-in-law" sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily again their time in the mountains, hunting, fishing, and fishing in every yurt the most hearty welcome and the greatest delicacies, and where the hunting bounty, "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns home, they always give him, in addition to /137/ the usual gifts, also his share of the catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "son-in-law" is the most honored guest among the persons who have been invited, and it is considered the duty of killing the bear is performed by the "son-in-law." At such a time, the "father-in-law" are obliged to consult with other's and in case of ceremony.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a poetic primitiveness, ascribe to the relations of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

From the kinship terminology we know that the clan of the "father-in-law" is considered by the Gilyak as the clan from which a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all the other clans from which ever his kinsmen have taken wives in the past. Thus, each man can have several clans to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

/140 cont./

kinship relationship. Among the Gilyak there are very few cases when opposite sex relations are allowed to other persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on account of economic considerations, since the bride-price is frequently distract profits from work at home. Reproaches were also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations of a special nature, about which we will speak later. (1) the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden categories, and principally, 2) the responsibility of the father of the child. For ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no secret and do not pass without a trace. There is a Gilyak saying of puberty and devote all their labors. All their thoughts, to the attention of the parents, in reference to the matter of marriage, shall see, flash is possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the bride-price, have no time to think of anything material tribe. Here, so reports Shternberg, /141/ the Gilyak, the young man, the young man's kinsmen, the young man's clan, the young man's tribe, the young man's tribe, the young man's tribe

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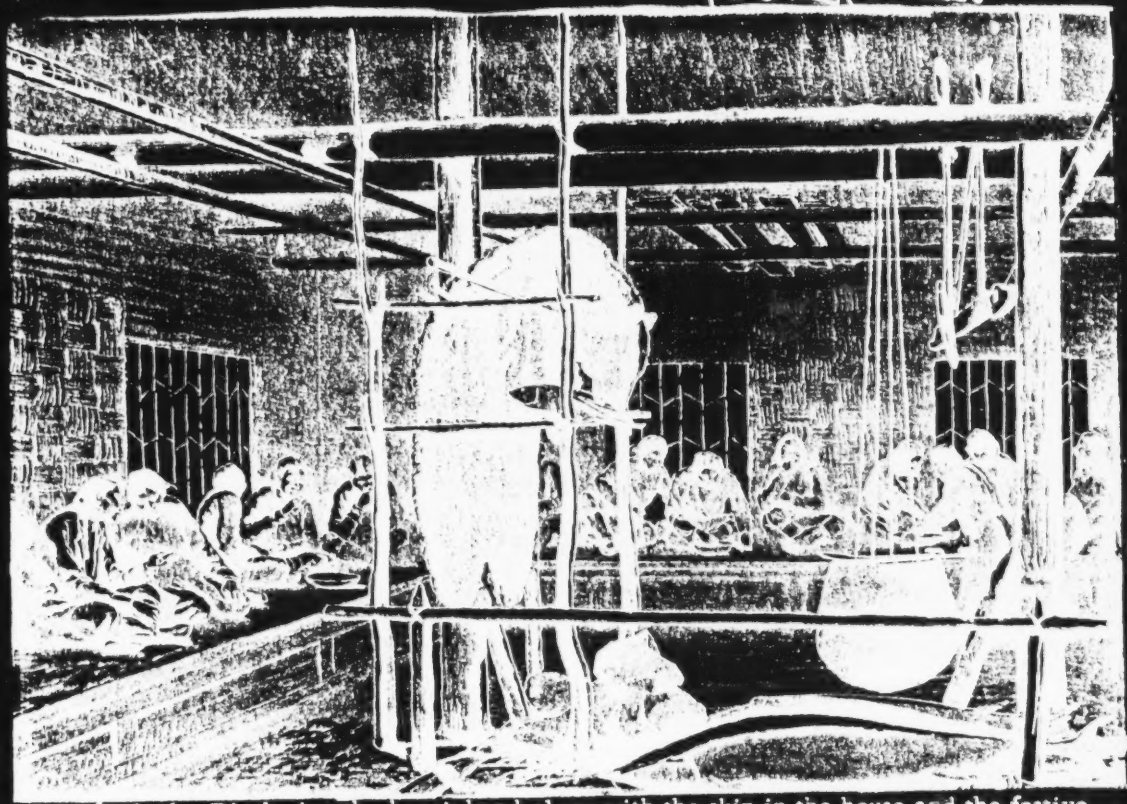

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

2: Schrenck--1249 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

225 has hung something in front of the seal. Th
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at h
787 relations with another man while her husba
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise en
784 course. When they witness some such thin
our Gilyaks will, after returning home, be
and later on find out from neighbors in the
really happened. Now, suppose you cook s
and pick your teeth with a little stick, then
sea will show how you picked your teeth wi

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, wh
jump from floe to floe close to shore and k
poons, those at home must not break any o
or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break
say, the father, brother or son, may drow
at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong
will not get his seal. Then he returns hom
to find out what deprived him and his frie

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove
825 of kes, 'god'; a point on which I did not wa
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, kn
on at home?" he told me. "Surely kes mu
about it. That is why we say that kes exist

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with
784 told me that the mrolv-nivev 'ancient Gil
574 following ui and "taboo," "sin" during a s
must not touch the handle of a kettle or tea
master of the house (in the past as well as
could pour out tea or any other liquid food
even by mistake, the guest touched the han
teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of m
and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegibl
remember, Pletunka spoke of a hea

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks o
552 hunt different types of seals. They also ca
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following var
seals: Pila-la r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-na 'present-time animal', i.e.
given year.

2. Tje-na literally: 'last year's animal'
old sivuch or one born in the previous yea

/426 cont./

262 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both quali-
252 tatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the
825 two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma
262 always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

[113]

3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running
574 through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak
264 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches,
262 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4)[1] with
412 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

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1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014--Analyst]

/427 cont./

264
171
113

1. (cont.)
unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, p. 232), the Buryat (Radde, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 140; Raev", "Buriaty /The Buryat/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 24, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 10), the Ostyak (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 46), the Samoyed (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands /Travels to the Northeastern Part of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 311; Islavin", Samoiedy /The Samoyed/, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 35; Abramov", "Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 354; Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, 1453), and others. The Tungusic tribes of the Amur region do the same thing. The Nertscha /Nercha/ Tungus call it "to eat from the knife" and maintain that meat so eaten is much tastier than if it is first cut in pieces (Usol-tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/," Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, I, p. 76).

*262 484 594 when a Gilyak undertakes a long trip, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his countrymen, he nevertheless takes along a bundle of jukola just in case bad weather should force him to spend the night under the open sky, in which case the ma, warmed or slightly roasted over the campfire, will serve him very well.

/469 cont./

1. (cont.)
de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

Among the Gilyak, the tobacco, chopped fine on a special board (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8) and, when dry, disintegrating almost to powder, is kept in a pouch, which, adopted everywhere in the Amur region, seems to be of one and the same Manchu-Chinese form: long and narrow and provided with a lateral slit close to the upper end, by means of which the pipe is stuck in, in order to be filled with tobacco inside the pouch. It is always carried in this position, together with the pouch, which as a rule is attached to one of the top buttons of the fur coat or the shirt and hangs down from there over the chest. Usually it is ordinarily made of fish skin, leather, or a piece of fur, bordered with Chinese cotton or silk along the edges, decorated at the top with some embroidered or painted arabesques, and occasionally made out of one of these fabrics.

The Gilyak likes to share the pleasure of smoking tobacco with others. This is never done, however, by passing the pipe around among all the persons sitting around the hearth or a fire burning outdoors. This is prohibited simply by the small size of the pipe, as well as by the social or moral differences usually existing between those present. As a rule, however, one uses the pipe go back and forth between two persons sitting side by side. In particular, if a newcomer appears in the yurt, the host, after he has taken a seat beside him, hands him his newly lighted pipe, which the latter, after he takes a puff from it, returns again to the former, receives it from him again, and so forth, until the pipe is finished, whereupon the guest pays him back in the same way. This is always a sign of friendly welcome and of good understanding, or of a certain esteem and equal footing. I often saw the Chinese merchants on the Amur do this with the natives who entered the yurt and approached them, which undoubtedly was for the purpose of winning them over by such advances, very flattering to them, and putting them in a more favorable mood for the business dealings.

(See category 116, p. 1014 - Analysis)

/639 cont./

462 Since the house, which has cooled off during the night, must be heated again in the morning, the fish broth cooked for the dogs, and the latter fed in order for them to be ready for possible excursions by the men. The storing of all food supplies and the preparation of food for the occupants of the house likewise fall, of course, entirely on the women. In the morning and during the day, however, the Gilyak usually eat only cold food. The main meal, for which hot foods, too, are to be prepared, does not take place until toward evening, for then is the time when the men return from their outside activities and when persons traveling through who have ties of hospitality with one of the occupants of the house and claim shelter for the night may arrive. Moreover, through the preparations for this meal the yurt is heated to the temperature which the Gilyak finds agreeable for the night.

Making the clothing for the whole family occupies the women even more than the preparation of food for the human beings and dogs. First of all, this involves procuring or putting into proper condition the materials used for it: to dress the animal pelts and skins; to clean, pound, and dry the fish skins, which, besides being used for clothing, also replace window glass; to prepare the twisting thread from nettle fibers or from animal and fish skins, and so forth. This is followed by the cutting, /640/ sewing, and quilting of the various articles of clothing, which, as we have seen, are sometimes done provided, in accordance with Gilyak taste, with sorts of colorful, intertwined embroidery and other decorations and embellishments. There are still other domestic duties, such as making household utensils, bowls, baskets, buckets of birch bark, sewing battlebeds and sleigh-boxes, and so forth out of cloth or animal pelts or skins for various uses, and the like.

Thus one literally never sees a Gilyak woman without work even for a moment, whereas the man, upon his return from hunting or fishing, spends much time in rest and idleness and at home he has nothing to do but to make the implements needed for his own activities. Since these are very numerous and complicated, in that, among other things, they include all the varied and in part artistic wrought-iron lances, knives, harpoons, and the like, one

/668 cont./

342 and thus in its utilization is to a certain extent subject to the
423 communistic principle, which is not at all the case with regard
to the storehouse. On account of its size and complicated construction, the former cannot be built by a single person, as can the latter, putting it up requires the joint labor of many persons, whom the person undertaking the enterprise, if he cannot find them among his relatives, engages from the circle of his fellow-villagers or neighbors for a small payment. Though later on it belongs to the person or persons who undertook the construction and were able to persuade the others to help, it is never forgotten that it owes its origin to joint labor and, accordingly, it is always regarded to some extent as common property: shelter and protection in it may not be denied to any villager or other fellow-tribesman, and it would be absolutely contrary to the views and the practice of a Gilyak house-owner if he tried to collect a high rent from a person permanently domiciled with him, and, to be sure, in any form other than through the obligation of a tenant for the household. Hence the direct profit from a winter house, and similarly from a summer house, is very little.

The situation is different with regard to a storehouse, which is built by the owner himself. It belongs to him exclusively, and the richer Gilyak only have an interest in one insofar as they have provisions and other things and have no shelter for them. It is arranged in practice so that only a single wall, and, if this is not enough, a second and a third can be erected for storage, until the means to construct an entire storehouse are obtained (1).

1. Cf. the arrangement of a storehouse (p. 929) with its 11 wall pieces (f-g) and two spaces (c and d) in the middle.

Since more can be asked from a well-to-do Gilyak, a section of a wall, even reckoned at only one ja, will yield about 10 ja in direct income.

/668 cont./

685 cigar minting. I had even greater confidence in the latter.
123 Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop
[122] erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in that it almost constantly threw sparks from its chimney over my house, which were covered only with tree bark and hence might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had planned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the village of Sakhalin for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak Mradamn. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied crosswise by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

[574] Hospitality, too, is based on the national principle. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me. They are too suspicious, too avaricious, /670/ too concerned about their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on the occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to prevent me from using the fire in their yurt and even threatened me with a knife, so that I had to resort to grave threats with my pistol in order to have my way. I must say, however, that prior to my first journey to Sakhalin the rumor had spread among the Gilyak that the Russians wanted the island for themselves and therefore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a winter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous connections, from which they could see that I meant well, I was always friendly toward them, they became friendly and hospitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, and I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there was also a very great difference between the attitude of the Russian (lotscha) or a nibach (Gilyak) who was to be given lodgings: as soon as the cry "nibach! nibach!" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak warwan) was used to scrape and beat the snow from the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and ma was offered as a welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

/670 cont./

[574] took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

484 The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village
574 to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when
bad weather taken him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for him, no matter how late it may be and how, moreover, he has to stay there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

In my case, however, the weather is first carefully checked, especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler in danger. During the several days of bad weather which
[114] I spent in the village of Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which civilers generally the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the consultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides them on land as well as on sea journeys. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us.
[159] After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the
[123] certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

/671 cont./

others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pur-
[82] poseful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved
[184] dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at
[187] the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a
574 house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with
a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather
[129] from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this
[159] is also the case in the Russian settlements. Instead him, too,
574 With me they likewise constantly came and went without a
salutation, or at most, later, with a "sdrâstwuĭ" and "poschtschâĭ"
[159] learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu
[123] and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Sanssin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

But what surprised me even more is the fact that the
574 word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon.
I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to
me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the
[123] certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

/697 cont./ From now on
[122] it belongs, so speak, to the whole village, for all its members have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are entitled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor, ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The bear festival, then, is a very important sense is a communal festival which unites all the individual members of one village community and therefore understandably represents the climax of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original owner of the bear is the man who bought it or who arranged for its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course, within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host, he must make the more or less opulent one by adding to the culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and, accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances, even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally, after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

231 The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of the village takes place in accordance with a previously established order. The food given to it, through the little window in the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state (jukola), mosaj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or cowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form, but in winter only in the form of ice or snow. The long pipe (Gilyak: nichyr) illustrated on Plate LI /p.1259/, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the food, in particular the mosaj and the water. From time to time, but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however, which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman, it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose round the neck of the bear still in the cage, and shackling in

/699 cont./

[796] After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the
[123] village of Tschomi by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Iokin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, primarily to purchase for the festival the necessary tobacco and brandy.
[114] I was with my friend and later colleague at the Academy, Czekanowiczwicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allei, we entered Wasi about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place. One of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little tree which stood in front of its entrance wall on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it
[797] bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon, which we saw rise before Iokin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wasi. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who, in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always
[574] associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

/708 cont. /

(2000) house alone. Hence it is quite understandable that during the
*796 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the
(856) principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the
preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been men-
(B34) tioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall
of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the centre area
and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore
call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, quite large quanti-
*796 ties of fresh fir branches (from the fir Picea jezoensis, Gilyak twin)
(824) are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this
last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festi-
val, which may be one of the attestations of homage which are given
to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them.
Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of
burned pine-needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.

On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the
*796 leading of the bears finally commenced. After they had made their
(23) last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place
of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak,
and arranged side by side in front of their hearth, the stakes standing
in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again
the same so that the small bear was closest to the building in the
back of the kadhra, the ilagu, the large one in the middle, and
the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody
*796 went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had
set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden troughs, round
wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the
central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood.
The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench
*B04 along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such
an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule,
it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

/709 cont. /

*796 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit.
*S74 In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because
it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On the floor,
(123) as Judin told us, there are even more of such to be observed than
elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to
make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw
some sketches of it from there, he asked us why we gave politeness
to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other
place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented
*B16 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them
in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones im-
mediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the
bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path
on which the women moved from one end of the bench to the
other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the
left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl
had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc.
The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that
of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple
of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in
(619) this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in
other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him,
while the maternal /710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the
friends and acquaintances, participate in the meal, judging
*796 by the quantity of food and bowls that traveled back and forth, it
(B4) was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Neverthe-
less, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another
house in order to eat more. Thus we visited one house
throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host
probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly
younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around
and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause
after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep.
*796 The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women
S41 began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

/720 cont. /

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate ball.

*796 conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead
(177) swelling (illewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in
(177) superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine,
(B4) and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished
(B4) them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, accord-
*796 ing to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among
(B4) the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the
*796 (B4) toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been
(B42) shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete
(B4) innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give them-
selves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden
bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and
arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants
in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench
*796 (B42) of honor. First, a sti, which probably was one of the sacred
(B4) utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the ilagu
the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon
to the guests. While they were eating it simple circular

/721 cont. /

*796 wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aam-
(574) ngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,
(574)

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the
serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each
*796 side of the ilagu a man was busy lifting one plate after another
(574) from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat
on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large
hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXII /p. 1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped
the aforementioned groats into a trough and served it on the plates
which were then immediately taken back again to their places.
This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server
got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a
piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each
side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed
a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them
to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two
sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the
ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured
back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the
feast. Indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone
then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house
where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical
(142) meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a
meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had
yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the follow-
ing day.

This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the
previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the
presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already ap-
peared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of
(187) honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely
(533) enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed
so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

/722 cont. /

*796 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the
(574) departing guests, to be taken along by them during by -- only
(574) bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this
in their mops as provisions for the trip.

Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog
*796 races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon,
(53) however, for the first and only time the women actively partici-
(53) pated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance
(171) to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild
rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding
in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappers,
and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and
contortions of the body, in relation to the lower part. It
vividly reminded Dittmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka
women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was
drumming instead of singing. Dittmar was also reminded of the
and niche, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators
(B4) jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of
*796 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because
(B4) the Gilyak are very serious and sedate than the men
and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work and
(B02) activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high
spirits induced by liquor, for this it, or was at the time of my visit
among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals,
a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

2. See p. 719 above.

*796 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is
(B4) much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely,
that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a
bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that
in the eyes of the Gilyak the shamans are of the shaman would
disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over
the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause
bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

/722 cont. /

It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/
who are likewise able to practice this art, because they might
easily mistake it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the
festive meals as a matter of principle.

The bear festivals have no definite duration: the feasting
*796 goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives,
(114) friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear
meat and fat lasts; in Tebach, Judin told his guests, Dittmar and
I were told, it would last for many days since three bears had been
killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13)
the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in
exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to
Nikolaievsk.

As was mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previ-
ous year (1886) to witness this second part of the bear festival, con-
*796 (114) ducted in a similar way with the usual ceremonies, in the village
of Uda. My conjecture that their customs would not differ essenti-
ally from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Dittmar's
report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the
adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a
brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with
reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

When I arrived in the village of Uda, located only five
*796 (114) versts below Kidsi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in
the morning and stepped into one of its five houses, I found it
decorated in the interior in the same manner as is done among the
Gilyak for an international bear festival. There, however,
(B78) opposite the ilagdre decorated with the bear's head and skin and
with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak zach = Olcha
jarmanati), a second rack quite similar to the first one but some-
what smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its
thelves likewise held meat and pieces of the fat of the dismembered
bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passage-
way between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off
by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the
whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

/734 cont. /

I was present at the bear festival in Tyk when the meat of
*796 the animal was already being eaten, that is, toward the end of the
(114) second act. Parts of the dismembered animal were still lying on
the bear rack, and among them the skull already cleaned of the
muscle meat, which I tried to buy, in vain, of course, from the
owner of the animal. Several Gilyak busily eating their portion
still sat on the benches, others were either crowding around them
or in the passageways between the hearth and the benches, each one
trying to snatch a piece of meat here or there with his knife. One
of the members of the household was collecting contributions from
the diner: in a little trough in order to give them to the women
and children, and similar troughs with pieces of bear meat were
carried to the other yurts of the village. Even among the Amur
Gilyak, when this time comes during the feast, formalities usually
cease, and here not a trace of them remained -- everybody milled
around informally in the passageway. In the village of Mamchu-Chinese
products, cereals and legumes, such as is customarily served to
guests in the Amur villages in lavish amounts, seemed not to have
preceded the feast, as is the case in Tebach and Tyk, and the bear and
bear evidently was not one of the well-to-do and only a little of
these products reach Sakhalin, and that only through the Amur
Gilyak and Olcha. Under these circumstances it was understandable
that in Dui, where soon thereafter a bear festival was celebrated
amid a great conflux of participants, a subsequent celebration
took place immediately afterward for the gratification of the
latter, at which lacking other food, dog were eaten, as has al-
ready been mentioned above (1) in connection with the discussion

1. See pp. 661 and 662.

*796 of cynophagy among the Gilyak.
(114) It struck me that on Sakhalin there was nothing to be seen
of any of the collateral entertainments, such as dog races, all
kinds of games for young and old, etc., which customarily accom-
pany the bear festival among the Amur Gilyak. In summing up,
one may conclude that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, especially
in the region with early yurts exclusively, that is, along the

9: Hawes--258-259 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 574, 577, 888

"The Gilyak expects and finds a welcome almost everywhere, since he has relations, members of his khal, at every other village. Hospitality is not a virtue, but an obligation, and few there are who take unfair advantage of it. The guest of to-day may be the host of to-morrow. Those who are too aged to hunt are supported by the exertions of the younger generation, and even they can slice and [259] clean fish in the season. There was one notable exception to these old people, who did travel, and who having no relations nearer than the mainland went about begging. Of him the Gilyaks were very much ashamed, and I feel almost guilty of a breach of confidence in making public this skeleton in their cupboard. His proper name was Poeikan, but he can no longer be called by that, for he has disgraced it, and so he goes by the title Pillanütsich, or the 'Grand Old Beggar.' "

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 elder who also deternines how many and which bears are
622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their involuntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand completely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it wants to attack its leaders.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, however, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the track by their owners and placed next to each other, they were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

ll, 501, 574

s just in time [252] to take a snapshot of a fami
ternoon call, in other words, to borrow some s
See Visual File category 501] On the gunwale o
rs to be an outrigger, but is really a Y-piece f
cham-gash, which is the name the Gilyaks giv
pulated from a canoe."

ly leaving in their canoe to make
eal-oil and take a cup of (brick) tea.
of the canoe will be noticed what
for resting the seal harpoon in.
e the harpoon, is used on the ice or

Amoor line is closed up, the telegraph circuit around the globe will be complete.

The telegraph is operated on the Morse system with instruments of Prussian manufacture. Compared to our American instruments the Prussian ones are quite clumsy, though they did not appear so in the hands of the operators. The signal key was at least four times as large as ours, and could endure any amount of rough handling. The other machinery was on a corresponding scale.

A merchant who knew Mr. Borasdine invited us to his house, where he brought a lunch of bread, cheese, butter, and milk for our entertainment. Salted cucumbers were added, and the repast ended with tea. In the principal room there was a Connecticut clock in one corner. and the windows were filled with flowers, among which were the morning glory, aster, and verbena. Several engravings adorned the walls, most of them printed at Berlin. We purchased a loaf of sugar, and were shown a bear-skin seven feet long without ears and tail. The original and first legitimate owner of the skin was killed within a mile of town.

In addition to his commerce and farming, this merchant was superintendent of a school where several Gilyak boys were educated. It was then vacation, and the boys were engaged in catching their winter supply of fish. At the merchant's invitation we visited the school buildings.

The study room was much like a backwoods schoolroom in America, having rude benches and desks, but with everything clean and well made. The copy-books exhibited fair specimens of penmanship. On a desk lay a well worn reading book containing a dozen of Æsop's fables translated into Russian and profusely illustrated. It corresponded to an American 'Second Reader.'

There was a dormitory containing eight beds, and there was a wash-room, a dining-room, and a kitchen, the latter separate from the main building. Close at hand was a forge where the boys learned to work in iron, and a carpenter shop with a full set of tools and a turning lathe. The superinten-

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576 ETIQUETTE--greetings and salutations; obeisances; compliments; concept of courtesy; general patterns of etiquette in eating, drinking, smoking, visiting, and travel; deference to status superiors; noblesse oblige; breaches of etiquette and the resulting social sanctions; etc. See also:

Drinking etiquette	27	Intentional impoliteness	578
Patterned behavior toward kinsmen	60	Informal social control	626
Sexual etiquette	83	Court etiquette	644
Table manners	264	Diplomacy	648
Postures	516	Propitiation	782
Polite conversation	521	Religious ritual	788
Sportsmanship	526	Training of children in etiquette	867
Chivalry	562	Treatment of the aged	888

/35 cont./

83 577 825 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

602 [829] The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

•[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

174 601 835 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

174 601 835 614

/65 cont./

796 504 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while th host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of

•[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fa the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish

[262] [614] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bea meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 264 576 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vom it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 533 273 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspende log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts

[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guest drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterd the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed

[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/105 cont./

*614 628 537 [436] what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement... [576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the [171] [789] last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 628 536 When an agreement has been reached, the religious feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/189 cont./

602 speech, in the form of orders, business advice, and so forth, is always permitted between brothers, between daughter-in-law and the father and mother of her husband, even between a man and the wife of his younger brother, with the use of the vocative case. But ordinarily they seek to avoid direct address. If there is a person of a permitted category at hand, they transmit their wish to this person, addressing their message in such a manner that it is audible to the prohibited individual, 602 who, in turn, answers in the same manner. If not, the ad- 195 dress is in the third person or in the impersonal form. For 193 example: "the daughter-in-law, the brother, etc., could do such a thing," instead of "daughter-in-law, do it!" Or, "thanks to my brother," instead of "thank you, brother" etc. Owing to this custom of getting around the prohibition on speech by the use of the third person, the Gilyak have formed the custom of frequently using the third person in general instead of the second, especially in reference to strangers, out of fear, apparently, that they may turn out to be persons of prohibited categories. Again and again, upon the entrance of an unknown Gilyak, one hears the phrase: "Where has the Gilyak come from?" (instead of "where have you come from?"). Perhaps there is concealed in this custom, brought about by the prohibition on conversation and not peculiar to the Gilyak alone, the reason for the origin of these strange forms of the third person in place of the second that we find in Italian, 602 Polish, Tatar, and other languages. Finally, the plural num- 193 ber, which is commonly used in addressing old people and [576] [554] honored persons or strangers, is most frequently used in addressing persons of forbidden categories. Thus, for example, in addressing the wife of an elder brother they commonly use the singular, chi, while in addressing the wives of the younger brothers, on the other hand, they use the plural, chin.

/189 cont./

G 602 576 171 The prohibitions on speech have had another curious result. The Gilyak have no salutation for greeting or saying farewell. It may seem strange that the Gilyak, returning to his home after a long absence or leaving his family for the long months of hunting and of danger, utters no salutation. Yet the Gilyak are very ceremonious and /190/ always greet and escort their departing guests with solemn forms of address and expressions of good wishes. The neighbors of the Gilyak, the Olcha and Goldi, as well as the Ainu, have salutations for meeting and parting. Their absence among the Gilyak arises precisely from the fact that in the home and settlement of every Gilyak there is a mass of persons with whom speech is a sin, and therefore the customary greetings could easily lead to frequent involuntary violations of the psychic taboos. Prohibitions on conversation, as is well-known, are practiced among many peoples. We shall recall, for the sake of an example, one of the American peoples, the Arapaho, among whom conversations between brothers are forbidden. The prohibitions among the Yukagir are of special interest to us. Of the prohibitions which they have in common with the Gilyak, we find among the Yukagir prohibitions between "brothers" and "sisters," between the husband's father and mother and their daughter-in-law, between older brothers and the wives of younger brothers; and, as among the Gilyak, in cases of necessity, they address each other either in the third person, or in the impersonal form, or in the plural (1).

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, 240.

G 602 171 8 602 582 174 335 The Buryat present examples of an interesting analogy with the Gilyak prohibitions. Among them at the present time marriage is exclusively individual, and "brothers" have no sexual rights whatever to each other's wives. Nevertheless, prohibitions with regard to the so-called khadym clearly reveal an earlier stage of group marriage. As a result of this

/273 cont./

584 675 Even without invitations, however, there are always witnesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of [686] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to court, and this results in a large fine.

584 576 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot conceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement. [203] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/273 cont./

584 576 him curtly: "That is not your business. We will take care of that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional approval of the bride is all the host needs; after that he will know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

[114] [171]

1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak explain the motives for the father's deprecatory opinions of his daughter. I think, therefore, that Iokhel'son was wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 739).

/274/ But it may happen that the father will not give any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the matchmakers toward the inadequacies of his daughter. When all the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires the phrase which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wants to cut short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothing," he says through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And after a short pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what she wants, it is not my business." Then they begin to regale the mother of the bride, who, after long excuses, in turn finishes with the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let the men decide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the business basis of the bride price and dowry. In this connection the customs are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the Amur, where the people are more mercantile, the bride's side unashamedly enumerates down to the slightest detail the objects of the bride price.

583 584 184

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first they name only two or three objects, the most valuable ones of the expected bride price, and after that they only haggle over secondary valuables. But in both places the procedure of the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atmosphere.

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584 583 At this stage the viscosity of the negotiations reaches its apogee, and "tayoray" /spelled with Russian letters; see below/ begins to play a quite exceptional role. I happened to be present when in the settlement of Pil'vo on Sakhalin a Gilyak whom I knew, a certain Isayka, betrothed his little boy to the 15-year-old daughter of an old widow. The old woman had no kin in the settlement, neither any of her own nor any on the side of her deceased husband. At her request, therefore, all the honorable persons of the settlement assembled. On the bridegroom's side there appeared, besides his father, his clansman, Sofronka. At first, it seemed that the business would quickly end, for the old woman was very needy and had pushed forward her own proposal herself. But when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sofronka argued with her the whole day. In vain did he employ all his eloquence and ask those present to help him convince the old woman of the acceptability of the conditions. She invariably reiterated one thing: "tajoraj /spelled with Latin letters/!" Finally, after a whole day of tormenting negotiations, when the old woman found that she had sufficiently maintained her character and completely fulfilled all the demands of etiquette, she offered the conditions with which the other side had been in agreement from the very beginning, namely, that the bride price should be paid at once in its entirety.

[126] To indicate the character of the ceremony of negotiations, I shall cite the introductory dialogue of a matchmaker with the father of the bride that I wrote down /275/ on the Amur. The matchmaker, the father of the groom, Pevn by name, is asking for the daughter of Lakkan. Both are well-to-do men, old acquaintances.

584 583 539 [203] [576] After the customary exchange of news, after drinking some vodka, Pevn says (I translate literally): We both have been for a long time as an elder brother with a younger (like brothers), great friends have we been. Now I have come through need, it was necessary to come to thee. It is a matter, a big matter, when the need came, do thou come

/281 cont./

583 584 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry. Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 614 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging [686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 686 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price [576] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

/671 cont./

82 782 789 others were to follow (3). This method was at least more purposeful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

576 [574] [127] I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too.

576 177 648 [123] With me they likewise constantly came and went without a salutation, or at most, later, with a "sdrástwui" and "proschtschâi" learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Ssanssin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

576 574 But what surprised me even more is the fact that the word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communism or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

/672 cont./ with regard to me,
however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I, too, never received any thanks from the Gilyak. I am not thinking now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are urged forward. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiko, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to exchange small gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer, perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /673/ pai. If the latter were not done, the objects offered in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, several buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy natures, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

/688 cont./
the traveler and puts a low table and a basin with glowing embers (jachalacco) beside it; indeed, he may even light his pipe at the embers and offer it to the guest in the hope that the latter will do likewise -- clearly customs borrowed from the Manchu and Chinese. In the meantime, the women have taken the baggage of the traveler from the sled and have brought it into the house.

In the houses of the Olcha, Goldi, and Samagir one is very pleasantly impressed by the lighter atmosphere so much freer of superstitious restraints. Despite many contacts with them, I never heard any Olcha or Goldi expression for the Gilyak uïtsch, and none expressed in reiterated shouts from all sides of the yurt as a sign of general displeasure, such as happened to me so often among the Gilyak (1). They are much too modest and reserved

1. On the basis of the many uïtsch in the Gilyak yurts I likewise made the observance of three uïtsch mandatory for the Gilyak who frequented my house in the Nikolayev post. Namely, they could not: 1) sit on my bed, 2) spit in the middle of the floor, and 3) smoke their own tobacco, but only mine -- an uïtsch that they accepted gladly.

they are much too modest and reserved
for that. Finally, I must note a sign of more humane feeling or at least more civil formality among the Olcha and Goldi: the expression of gratitude, which appears so utterly alien to the Gilyak, I think I heard repeatedly among the former in the expression fodomonero.

In my time, the situation among the Goldi in politico-administrative respects was different than among the Gilyak and Olcha. Even after the abandonment of the trading center of Deren, the Goldi, like the Samagir and the Orochi, remained tributary to the Manchu-Chinese government, a situation which did not come to an end until 1858, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun between Russia and China and the subsequent

/720 cont./

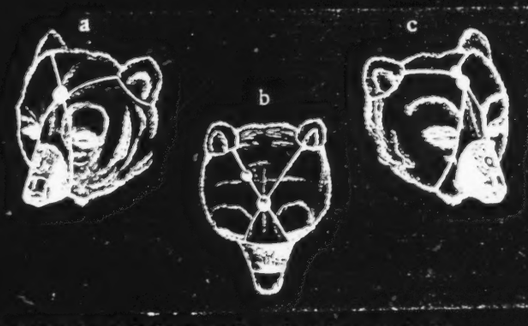

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehea swelling likewise on the head of the bear venera by them in superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divin and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, accord ing to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up amon the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the toad and agate-ball bands, all the honors imaginable have bee shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give the selves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of woo bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the benc of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it, simple circular

/721 cont./

796 wooden bowls, or, more correctly, large plates (Gilyak aam-
574 ngir) (1), were filled with a dish which consisted of cooked beans,
262
415
576

1. See p. 683 above.

a kind of groats, fish oil or seal oil, and chopped leeks, and the serving of which was done with the greatest formality. At each
796 side of the étagère a man was busy lifting one plate after another
574 from the floor and bringing it to the server of the food, who sat
576 on a sled in the front part of the yurt. The latter, with a large hemispherical iron ladle (Plate XXXIII /p. 1013 /, Fig. 5), scooped the aforementioned mush from a trough and served it on the plates which were then immediately taken back again to their places. This was repeated three times with each plate, whereupon the server got up, stepped up to each plate, and added some mush and a piece of frozen sturgeon to the already huge portions. From each side two men now stepped forward to the row of plates, placed a decoratively carved spoon in each of them, and handed them to the guests, one plate to each one, beginning with the two sitting in the middle of the bench and going from there to the ends. What was left over from the superhuman portions was poured
562 back into a trough. The women were totally excluded from the feast, indeed, none of them was even present during it. Everyone then rose from his seat, the plates were taken to the other house where the medium-sized bear was displayed, and an identical meal took place there. In both cases, however, this was only a
262 meal in advance of the actual feast, for no bear meat or fat had yet been consumed, and this would not take place until the following day.

796 This day (January 31) began in much the same way as the
574 previous ones, with the cutting up of the bear meat and fat in the
262 presence of the bears' heads. Numerous guests had already ap-
576 peared early in the forenoon. They were put on the bench of honor behind the bear rack without further ado and, strangely enough, were fed without all the ceremony that had been observed so strictly the day before: each guest was given a fir branch and

● 576 /721 cont./
* 796 on it raw and cooked bear-me
574 well as a small heap of fine w
262 first bear meat that was eaten
[562] gradually everybody present i
[855] pated in the meal, indeed, e
[415] ceived their share of it, in th
the diners with bowls of a spe
and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1

[104] 2. The s in this
like the French z
because of its sim

and collected contributions to
children. The quantity of be
therefore very great. What w
that the guests had, they wra
fir branches and took home -
to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation

The gnawed bones, o
the kettle from which the co
the meal came to a close, a
hand stationed himself at the
each one, drove out everyon
bear meat and fat -- an act
[859] punishment for the misdeed
outside, however, those who
[533] for here they were greeted w
which the boys pelted them,
[184] ously on the suspended beam
aftermath also took place in
third bear lived. Here, too,
individual heaps of food -- s

eat and several strips of bear fat, as
wood-shavings (zach). This was the
. The portions were very ample, and
n the house or newly arrived partici-
even the women and children re-
at a few young people walked among
cial shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5,
-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

word is to be pronounced soft,
. The bowl is called ans-tymyk
nilarity to a hand (tymyk).

be divided among the women and
ear meat and fat consumed that day was
as left over of the portions /722/
pped up in the fine wood-shavings and
- a package that the Gilyak are said

which I myself did not hear.

n the other hand, were put back into
oked meat had been distributed. As
old man with a fir branch in his
door of the house and, gently striking
passing through it who had eaten
which was supposed to be a sort of
ommitted against the bear. Once
came out were less gently treated,
th a cross fire of snowballs with
while the women drummed vigor-
. An identical meal with a similar
the house where the owner of the
just as before, quantities of small
urgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

/722 cont./
796 574 262 576 in the snow on either side of the path in front of the house for the departing guests, to be taken along by those driving by -- only bear meat and fat were missing, for they had already received this in their mops as provisions for the trip.

796 53 562 171 Because of the feast, the feeding of the dogs and the dog races did not take place until shortly before noon. In the afternoon, however, for the first and only time the women actively participated in the festive entertainments, in that they executed a dance to the drum music which resounded in a very strange and wild rhythm. At any one time only one dancer was in motion, holding in her hands either fir branches or castanet-like wooden clappers, and the dance actually consisted of only the craziest postures and contortions of the upper body in relation to the lower part. It vividly reminded Ditmar of the bear dance of the Kamchatka women, and even the music was similar, except that here it was drummed, likewise by women, on a swinging beam with cudgels and sticks, whereas in Kamchatka the dancers and the spectators jointly sing. Incidentally, I must note that such an outburst of 796 562 157 merriment among the Gilyak women is probably very rare, because in general they are even more serious and sedate than the men and are always much busier than the latter at all sorts of work and [293] activities. And it could by no means have been the result of high spirits induced by liquor, for this is, or was at the time of my visit among the Gilyak, absolutely prohibited during the bear festivals, a measure, as has been mentioned (2), prompted by cool reasoning

2. See p. 719 above.

796 756 and evidence of their great strength of character. Another fact is much more surprising and much more difficult to explain, namely, that no shamanistic activities are permitted in a house where a bear festival is being celebrated. The reason for this may be that in the eyes of he Gilyak the uncanny art of the shaman would disturb the festive mood and, through the power that it exerts over the spirit world as well as over the human spirit, would cause bewilderment and misfortune among the participants in the festival.

/35 cont./

833 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he
777 transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous
425 act are killed, being considered werewolves.

The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves
602 for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with
829 regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

194 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange
601 facts come from? How can we explain these complex and con-
835 fusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law
194 his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from
601 clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for
835 all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives
614 of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which.

/249 cont./

831 It is difficult to depict in general terms the picture of the
839 sexual morals among the Gilyak. First of all, one must
• 579 differentiate between the married ones and the bachelors. The former, when at home in their own settlements, are more concerned with guarding their wives from alien intruders than with undertaking extramarital flirtations. Only when journeying or when visiting in other settlements do they avidly give free play to their sexual instincts. On the other hand, the married women are surrounded with so many temptations from their group husbands and strangers that they violate conjugal fidelity at every convenient opportunity, the more so since far from all marry for love or persons of their own age, and they eagerly make up for this with extramarital flirtations. From the Gilyak point of view on decorum, however, these flirtations do not represent anything abnormal, since for the most part they take place between group husbands and wives. One way or another, the palm of primacy, as concerns excesses among married people, must go to the women. "Among men," say the Gilyak, "you will find a good person 'one-one,' among the women you will not find a single one."

Genuine excesses of licentiousness take place among
836 the /250/ unmarried youth. Here are possible such extrava-
831 gances as the instance I recounted above of the Gilyak woman,
538 Pigunajka, who before her marriage was having affairs with 14 lovers at one time, including her future husband. Or another example, which I borrow from the Gilyak epos. The hero comes to the home of a certain oldster to seek his daughter in marriage. His future father-in-law says to him: "Thy wife lives over there in a little yurt. People used to come to see her, they all copulated with her, after that she lost her legs." And the bridegroom does not become upset at all. "All right," he says, "I'll go ahead and carry her off," apparently seeing nothing remarkable in this.

/254 cont./

832 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only
826 from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both
609 liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Pilsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhra -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but
832 also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree,"
826 luxuriant hair (a braid reaching to the waist, hair made sleek),
533 gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side, smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size (his trunk is an arm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor
832 role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In
291 their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered
533 with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability
832 ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ivukh'a, i.e., re-
• 577 spected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer. Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the
[869] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
• 577 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
143 hermaphrodites (miskunj in the eastern dialect, miskij --
826 in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of
[588] hermaphrodites are a common event.

/367 cont./

000 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
777 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
[054] that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754] In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
[158] dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782] ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, piongukhia!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
• 579 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
773 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776] and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this extremely altruistic belief is really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or mere hypocrisy.

/367 cont./

577 783 673 688 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a clear conception of sin ("umgysh"). It goes without saying /368/ that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure, there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to [682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other [821] [829] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 775 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight [764] [764] with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/562 cont./

224 prey in their region and at the same time the animal that most pleases their palates and that, because of the festivities connected with eating it, also plays an especially important role in their social life. Striving, above all, to capture the animal alive, they eagerly search in the fallen snow for where a bear might have its winter quarters. When this has been discovered, a number of courageous and strong men band together, in order, equipped with the required paraphernalia of rope, chains, pikes, etc., to surprise the sleeper in its lair, disturb its rest, fetter it, [579] and lead it into captivity. Needless to say, this cannot be done without a fight, and however skilled the usually experienced bear-catchers may be, more or less serious wounds not infrequently result, which, however, are borne more easily than others by the Gilyak, because they are regarded as especially honorable and lend the one concerned an aura of manly fortitude. 224 Nevertheless, the frequency of the bears kept in captivity among 231 the Gilyak indicates that the outcome of the battle is usually or often successful; there is scarcely a village of any size in which on a trip through the region, one would not see one or several such animals. If the place where the bear was lifted from its lair and fettered is not far from the village to which its captors belong, it is simply taken to it in its fetters by ropes and put in the prison kept ready for it. For greater distances, however, the sleds on which the hunters came also serve to take their booty home. The fettered bear is put on one or, if the route permits, even on two sleds put side by side and tied together, and is brought to its new domicile in a triumphal procession amid the loud cheers of the sled drivers and the barking of the many, passionately excited dogs. The nature of the bear's prison and the treatment of the captured animal will be discussed later in speaking of the bear festivals of the Gilyak, but at the moment 224 it is primarily only a question of its capture. The battle with a bear disturbed from its rest does not always end in its being fettered. It often defends itself so tenaciously and vigorously and is so dangerous for its adversaries that they find it necessary to put an end to it with their pikes and lances. In fact, the latter happens

/636 cont./

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and lead her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier [556] people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, mossj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

591 592 As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live, and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are of the type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with its owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and some of them have the means to build another house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides 592 the central room used by all the members of the household, with 342 the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the winter house 35 built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

577 171 As little as such living together by all the members of the household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, 577 Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

/637 cont./

577 no doubt that the greater moral austerity of the Gilyak is tied up with character traits in which they excel beyond these tribes, namely, their greater energy, self-control, and moderation, which, as has been pointed out (1), they also show in their

1. See above, p. 719.

577 drinking of liquor. On the other hand, however, in comparison 177 with the other Amur peoples, the Gilyak were always in a more 648 favorable situation with regard to morality inasmuch as their dwelling sites were the farthest from the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, and the latter do not have any settlements in Gilyak territory. How demoralizing an effect they have upon the natives is evident from the fact that the Japanese and Chinese always come, the former to Sakhalin and the latter into the Ussuri and lower Amur region, without their wives and, supplied with liquor and other tempting commodities, try to acquire concubines among the women and daughters of the Ainu, or the Orochi, Goldi, and Olcha. It was therefore to the advantage of the Gilyak, not merely with regard to trade, but also in connection with morality, that they refused the Chinese traders entry into their territory, just as it was also evidence of their /638/ farsighted shrewdness and energy (1).

1. See above, pp. 145 and 948.

With the occupation of the Amur region by the Russians in the fifties, conditions changed, much to the disadvantage of the Gilyak, for this occupation began precisely in their territory and they were the first and the most drawn into close contact with the new civilized peoples approaching them from the north, a contact which, with regard to morality, could only be detrimental to them, as it always is to a primitive people in such instances, and as subsequent reports from there abundantly prove. But I shall return to the conditions and situations which I myself witnessed.

/638 cont./

834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the 577 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposu such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any

[113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

577 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly am 836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but a 848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has 849 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tri to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child an [562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the c is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

839 Although contracted by purchase, and in part becau 593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriag [587] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfacto course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husba jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against givin her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing 586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbin the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the hu if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to fund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on he own accord. In this case she may by no means count on friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

r that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin, the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are ried off. If after the death of the parents only one ghter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry, man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by g against the wishes of his wife.

the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general can draw the following conclusions from what has been : a) the children take precedence over other relatives; e brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro- d the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their and; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the est relatives is very common; d) women may inherit have their own property, but in general they are not as much; however, they have the right to be supported; idows can demand their own share, but usually they be- e joint owners of the estate along with their children.

e Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged ses or families. There are families, now and then, who held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or use their ancestor was founder of the village, but they no real privileges of any kind. Such families also family names (which are handed down by the males); Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which ded the name of their village, to distinguish them from ders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not, given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one, by this name they are known even among their fellow- smen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually ligent lads and understand Russian.

like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever any among these people. Only personal qualities, r bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ- certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a in esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment. rd aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is sionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit, he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds s cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

577

577 ETHICS--abstract ethical ideals (e.g., truth, righteousness, justice); ideals of individual virtue (e.g., honesty, loyalty, industry, courage, temperance, tolerance, filial piety); notions of right and wrong; conception of conscience and character; incidence and causes of, and attitudes toward breaches of ethics (e.g., lying, cowardice, flouting of kinship obligations); conflicts between ideal values and practical considerations; etc. See also:

Personality	15	Punishment of social offenses	689
Law	67	Military virtues	703
Ethos	161	Professional ethics	693, 759
Industry and sloth	461	Philosophical systems of ethics	812
Esthetic ideals	517	Ethnopsychological concepts of character	828
Organized vice	546	Chastity	831
Informal social control	626	Sexual modesty	834
Civic virtues	641	Inculcation of ethics	867
Crime and sin	673		

"We halted at Vanka's native village, Kherivo, whe
him. There was apparently no outward sign of affe
undemonstrative, and as I have already said, does

re his mother came down to greet
ction between them, but the race is
not salute."

/34 cont./

835 The Gilya
829 earnestly asked
brothers of their
them. and asked
among the Russi
with the wife of
answer. they wo
that is a very ba
one another.

835 Human na
152 the Gilyak has a
permitted categ
of acute measur
will insist that h

83 Legitimate
eral light-minde
course. very diff
lating his recipro
value chastity. a
parents to look a

[848] Playing a role he
[847] volved with a ma
status. and. besi
given clan and s

83 Apart from
• 577 prohibition again
greatest injustice
prevails and sexu
understand an ob
given society. th
morality. for. wi
sexual relationshi
The most frivolou
intercourse with a
category of her p
husband and she l

k youths were often perplexed about why I so
about these relations between wives and the
husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to
in amazement: "Could it be that among you,
ans, it is no so? You mean one could not live
one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative
uld dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well,
d law!" And they would look with disbelief at

ture, of course, is the same everywhere; even
ttacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of
ories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind
e of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brothe
is rival move to another house or to another village
e sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a gen-
d attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of
ficult to find a man or a married woman not vio-
ocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not expecially
and only considerations of an external nature force
skance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters.
ere is the fear that the daughter will become in-
an who is unsuitable with regard to his property
des, that the child born to her will be outside the
o will have to be killed.
these considerations, however, there is no moral
ist the violation of chastity. And yet it is the
e to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness
al morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we
edience to certain rules generally accepted in a
e Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual
ith regard to persons who are outside of the group
ip, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing.
us Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have
a clansman of her husband if he is not of the
u, even though the seducer is younger than her
likes him.

Hawes--258-259 T-3 (1901) 1903
, 574, 577, 888

"The Gilyak expects and finds a welcome almost ev
embers of his khal, at every other village. Hospital
n, and few there are who take unfair advantage of i
st of to-morrow. Those who are too aged to hunt ar
e younger generation, and even they can slice and [2
s one notable exception to these old people, who dic
ions nearer than the mainland went about begging.
ch ashamed, and I feel almost guilty of a breach of
eleton in their cupboard. His proper name was Poei
that, for he has disgraced it, and so he goes by the
d Beggar.' "

erywhere, since he has relations,
lity is not a virtue, but an obliga-
t. The guest of to-day may be the
e supported by the exertions of
259] clean fish in the season. There
l travel, and who having no re-
Of him the Gilyaks were very
confidence in making public this
kan, but he can no longer be called
title Pillanütsich, or the 'Grand

9: Hawes--300-301 1-3 (1901)
116, 423, 578, 627, 721

"Of the possession of land in our sense
nearest approach to it was a prescripti
place snares along certain creeks. Th
freely recognized; but they would have
and backwaters by the Tungus and Oro
they would have simply gone elsewhere
and tracks for snaring had been made
sanctioned by time are seldom transgr
prowess of the pioneers, yielded little
according to the number of snares whi
a dispute arose, and was settled by re
duels. In the latter case the disputants
straight blade; but as they were alway
batants were parted when either becam
a fatal ending."

e of the word the Gilyaks have no conception. The
ive right, sanctioned by immemorial custom, to
e right of all to roam over the land in hunting was
resented the placing of snares in chosen creeks
chons, although, rather than provoke hostilities,
e. As among themselves, the division of the creeks
in olden [301] times; and the customary boundaries
essed. The abundance of game, coupled with the
cause for quarrel, and spots were simply annexed
ch the owner of the hut possessed. Here and there
ference to the klenu, the elders in council, or by
fought with a weapon like a hedge-bill, with a
s surrounded by a goodly concourse, the com-
he exhausted, and the duel was not allowed to have

577 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
609 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
177 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had be-
fore that behaved properly. The causes for that may be
found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated
individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain
extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. How-
ever, this fact has in recent times been badly misused
and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have
pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to
put themselves in the place of strangers as well as
fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one
must remember that, where strangers are concerned,
moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of
pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever
make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that
tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed,
vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is
177 face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
682 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
627 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le
Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by
way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was
robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But
this case was and has remained an exception. The
village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants;
at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or
eight men took part in the crime, of which none is
living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are
caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives
of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge;
now, however, they usually file complaints with the
Russian administration. [226]

548 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
837 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
684 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself
be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself
is not too much offended, provided only that there
are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity
have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not
taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself
completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

578

578 INGROUP ANTAGONISMS--prevalence and importance of antagonisms within the society; sources (e.g., economic deprivation, sexual rivalry, political repression, ethnic and religious cleavages, rigor of socialization or social control); expression in individual behavior (e.g., snobbishness, intentional impoliteness, ridicule, insults, vituperation); prevalence, causes and forms of quarrels; participants (e.g., husband and wife, business competitors, rival claimants to property); manifestations (e.g., verbal exchanges, fist fights, duels); reaction of onlookers; repression and control of aggression; etc.

See also:

Social stratification 56
Family antagonisms 59
Ethnocentrism 186
Economic competition 477
Wit and practical jokes 522
Rivalry in sports 526
Lying 577
Avoidance relationships 602
Moiety rivalries 618
Social control and gossip 630
Informal justice 627, 628
Torts and crimes 673
Slander 683
Litigation 691
Sorcery 764
Cursing 789
Religious persecution 798
Quarreling and fighting by children 857
Control of aggression in children 865

/178 cont./

* 835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
828 has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that
829 they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a
woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak
youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often
and so persistently about these relations; they considered
them so commonplace that they should not, according to their
way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked
me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you?
Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not
permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes
152 without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
* 835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
● 578 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival
or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns
/179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been
a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions
that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power
over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirta-
[182] tions of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between
brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
[602] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
[584] not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger
brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for
the purchase of wives.

* 835 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange
182 in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the
578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another ad-
vantage is gained: having married off their younger brothers,
the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent
from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own
wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak,
with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are
too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured
ooo against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

* 835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
● 578 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
182 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southern-
[361] most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by
such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there
only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak
companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was in-
vulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well
* 835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an ob-
servance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when
an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds
of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her
sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and com-
pletely disregards her obligations to her individual husband.
In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to
move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles
a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
* 835 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
578 gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequenc
Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a
great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy.
I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I
happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski,
but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A
certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to
me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual
success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too
openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[594] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all.
Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in
debt to everybody, lightheaded, and undistinguished by any

/180 cont./

*835 male virtues. Nevertheless, his older tuvn in no way reacted to
●578 even this breach of etiquette. Only at the instigation of his associates did he resolve to challenge him to a duel, but Lokhmatka absolutely rejected this flattering proposal. Then his rival hit him with a cudgel, but Lokhmatka did not react even to that, and since, according to Gilyak custom, it is prohibited to beat a man who does not defend himself, his rival had to let the matter rest, while Lokhmatka continued his public relationship with the man's wife just as before.

*835 Never once among the Gilyak did I chance to observe how
578 an individual husband reacted upon finding his wife in flagrante
171 delicto with one of his brothers. But one may get an idea from a scene which I observed among the Orochi where the same rule operates with respect to the wives of brothers. Once I happened to be spending the night in the tent of the richest and most respected Orochi, Ivan Kuznets. In the tent, besides Ivan and his wife, there chanced to be spending the night a very distant kinsman of Ivan's, the youth Timoshka, who was a very poor and thriftless lad, but a great lover of women, preferring to go visiting and lovemaking to any economic cares. In the evening our host left to look for elks, and Timoshka, without any ceremony, got under the covers of his young hostess. They did not expect the old man until morning. But meanwhile an unfavorable wind had interfered with the hunting, and Ivan returned earlier than might have been expected. Entering the balagan, Ivan lit a splinter and caught sight of Timoshka, taking his place in the conjugal bed. From
[152] the proud and hot-tempered Ivan one might have expected -- especially against poor Timoshka -- the most furious outburst of jealousy, the more so because his wife was considered a prize beauty, and he was already at an age when jealousy shows itself particularly strongly. Nevertheless, Ivan limited himself to swearing a strong Russian curse-word, after which Timoshka, smiling embarrassedly, moved over to his own place, while Ivan, groaning, lay down beside his frivolous wife.

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
● [578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
674 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/302 cont./

● 578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat'/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /zyat'/, in case of
[431] a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

/303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
578 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
614 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back,
627 but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

595 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz'u
835 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz'? ennikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jeng:az' tongz' shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

9: Hawes--238 1-3 (1961) 1963

116, 535, 578, 755, 776, 782

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] Th
foams at the mouth, and sings the orders of th

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick ma

The first syllable in each line is articulated
slowly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is mad

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or
he may ruin the whole family by his interpret
to bring all their dogs and everything that the
times human offerings were demanded."

he eyes of the cham are like flames; h
e evil spirit—

n well.'
l quickly, and the last vowels in the lin

e to end in a—aa.

has any spite against him or his relati
ation of the spirit's demands, forcing t
y value most. It is even said that in ol

116, 177, 578, 692, 756

"His [LSS: The cham or medicine man]
losing ground, as the Gilyaks come more i
said to a Russian, 'A cham tells very man
'Then why do you call him in?'
'He is needed. If he got angry it would b
It is true that it may result badly for the
divine anger to fall upon his head; but whe
accused of crime, the cham may remembe
the last word, he can make the punishmen

moral influence among his tribe is certain
into contact with the Russians. One of them
y lies.'

e bad for us,' was the answer.
Gilyak, not because the cham can cause t
n the Gilyak has a misunderstanding, or is
er his [240] omission or insult, and as he h
t very severe."

As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among themselves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money from a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in assuming from this that the Gilyak have two different moral standards, which would contradict our previous statements. The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take his money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take the liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that for this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently they are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would be the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants often played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on his shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that, having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasants of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in general more honest than our sort, especially those who live in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest; on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
794 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
796 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
841 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
754 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
[562] feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
[578] away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[833] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
[158] She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings.. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

rule, offerings were made in the open air, always on deserting our camp-fire for the consumption of the deity. Not only were they the god's due, but the ful of the rite brought good luck, and the omission ill-luck. All misfortunes are ed to the anger of the god. If the Gilyak is unconscious of guilt, then it must en some of his kindred who provoked the god to righteous anger; perhaps it wa , who had failed to guard the honour due to the hearth by allowing somebody to n it, or to leave the hut with his pipe lighted from the sacred fire."

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents;
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consen
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon
claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by t
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, be
cause they know that, according to the Greek religion,
marriage must be permanent, and they would consequen
in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's prote
However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help
much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who
have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are
forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where
they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is
more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and broug
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burnin
This custom which is known to exist among other primiti
peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the p
ent, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter
ing the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-
child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which
vives such a test must be strong. The mother also prov
this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. D
ing her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted t
come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No o
could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most pr
bly it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of th
woman, but it is related to another superstition of which
shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some
hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity"
underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the wom
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths

/191 cont./

601 174 158 178 the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.

But what does the kinship terminology teach us?

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates, for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

602 211

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

614 601 582 174

Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, that is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken from one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions, marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the clansmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters," the nieces of those women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. This is why the wives of "brothers" call each other

/252 cont./

831 533 The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself. There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

831 584 593 762

831 58 593 762

(849)

831 58 158 (682)

/253 cont./

831 58 159 instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo. The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

58 182

835 762 831 533 The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solution. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave, where no one shall hinder their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity /254/ his dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago. A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave all

835 762 831 533 533 538

/261 cont./

584 585 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female. It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

(601)

58 182 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move, the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister, said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

585 (582)

(675)

585 583 (178) (184)

/262 cont./

583 585 178 184 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is already some question of bride price, though, to be sure, a very insignificant one.

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

195 196 58 The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten"; on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individuals of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, khgend (root ge) with the addition of shankh (woman) or an'g:ej (wife) is used; thus, shankh gend, an'g:ej gend. When a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- avind (root ay), with the corresponding addition of nigyvyn -- person, or pu -- husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (je -- him + avind).

(197) (184) 1. I choose the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms g:end and javind?

/263/ As concerns the first, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/263 cont./

195 therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man takes a
196 woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buys his
• 58 wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the Roman term -- uxorem ducere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javind, which in this form is only a marriage term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb p'avind = pi + avind, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: n'ig:yvyn' n'enyn' pyr:k pavrà -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb p'avind -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active voice àjvund -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (jaivun ekhan -- a grazing cow). Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this
[174] etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it
[591] follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the system
[171] of maternality /materniteta/ prevailed, as it does at the present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where the husband as a common rule moved into the house of his wife, just as the masculine term g:end -- "to take for oneself" -- bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

196 /263 cont./
195 /paterniteta/, with the wife moving into the house of her
• 58 husband. At the present time the original meaning has disappeared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree
[171] that often for the expression "to get married" there is added
[174] to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would
[591] mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being
196 supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of
58 marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ytk menakh vavin kuil itynd, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ajvund is used in the sense of to be married, to have a wife, for example, menyn ruvn an'g:ej n'enyn' ajvutà -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several
178 remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony
606 of this is found in the contemporary formula of common
591 marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymg:ii
174 arinkh jag:n'idra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although,
607 according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

[171] Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

/266 cont./

177 To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the
• 58 matrimonial psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who,
[173] judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the mass of Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants, and they exerted their influence on it in many respects, as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of
[171] marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible
[601] to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship terms or their norms of marriage.

/267/ XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

582 We have already had occasion to introduce in another
538 place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women from the clan of the mother, from the an'g:ej the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak, dying from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, summons his slayer and says to the people who a are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter; do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old forms of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

58 Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the
[538] maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

/267 cont./

• 58 we find one and the same picture of concluding marriage
538 without any formalities. It is merely necessary for a man, even though he may come from far away, even though he is only by hearsay considered a candidate for being a son-in-law, to state the reason for his coming, and he immediately receives the consent of the parents, and after that all the rights of a spouse, and on the very next day he may take his wife home with him. And that is not all; not only do they not demand any compensation from him, but usually the father-in-law even provides the departing ones with generous
[593] gifts. As a matter of form, it is true, they ask for the consent of the daughter, but maidens usually obey the will of their parents and the demand of the law. The sole rite which
585 inevitably is practiced is a kind of Roman confarreatio, but
538 in the most primitive form: the groom and his bride must eat and smoke together. Here is an example of the procedure of concluding a marriage from one of the poems taken down by me. An old woman, the mother of two daughters, asks a young man who has arrived: "Son, why have you come here? Did you come to seek a wife? Your wives are over there in that pile yurt, your wives are there, go!" Our Gilyak ascended to the place, went in, and two young women were there. He sat down between them; having dipped into his tobacco pouch, he began to smoke, gave to the younger sister, she took, she smoked; he then gave to the older sister, she took she smoked. The older sister said: "Having prepared a bite, feed us..." All three ate together. Having eaten, they finished, they slept, on the next day they arose early, ate, our Gilyak /268/ said: "Shall we go today?" That woman said: "Well, having spent today here, tomorrow we shall go!" Having spent the day, on the next day they went back in a boat (1).

1. Shternberg, Materialy /Materials/, pp. 118-119.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

855 and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished
524 with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

674 [222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

152 First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs, etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

592 The quiet way in which several families live in one house,
578 or more accurately, in one room, already points to
888 peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

623 usually concern abductions of women or major transgres-
681 sions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of the idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

578 Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
411 conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the kaur, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the iron point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the stick. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry- which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

563 A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
177 fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called broydagi (i.e., loafers) are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief deportation center for non-political criminals, these brodyagi also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their native villages and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest to entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they hold up to themselves is-not to be recognized in case of arrest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor, but only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

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579 BRAWLS, RIOTS, AND BANDITRY--prevalence and causes of brawls, types (e.g., drinking brawls, gang fights); running amok; incidence and types of riots (e.g., bread riots, race riots, political riots); methods of control; manifestations of mob psychology; incidence of organized violence (e.g., banditry piracy), etc. See also:

Political corruption 66
Strikes 468
Organized vice 548
Police 625
Social control 636
Lynching 637
Feuds 628
Revolutions 669
Punishment of disorderly conduct 689
Martial law 722
Warfare 726
Petty delinquency 738
Children's gangs 857

/418 cont./

000 however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
301 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other
17 Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring
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[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely, Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament, since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[199] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[579] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

301 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this
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MARRIAGE--general statements dealing with several specific aspects of marriage. Marriage is a socially sanctioned relationship between a man and a woman involving economic cooperation and residential and sexual cohabitation. The culturally patterned norms of this relationship regularly specify who may and may not enter into it, how it may be established and terminated, and what each partner may and may not do within it. As a relationship, marriage is to be distinguished sharply from the family, the social group within which it is typically embedded.

/129 cont./

114 595 In his own way Schrenck was right; it was perhaps impossible for him personally to notice the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, for in effect it is impossible to find among the Gilyak open, public polyandry in the form /130/ in which those who have never seen it in life picture it to themselves. On the other hand, the statements of Mamio Rinso are also quite uncertain, since due to his ignorance of the language he could note only a factual looseness in relations, but he could never grasp the chief essence, the normativeness, the lawfulness of the sexual relations that he observed.

In order to discover the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the most intimate aspects of Gilyak life, know their language, live a long time with them in their yurts (which helped Rinso see that which escaped Schrenck), and, in any case, become familiar with their kinship nomenclature, which Schrenck, due to his slight acquaintance with the language, completely failed to accomplish (1).

1. Certain information given by Schrenck in this regard can only mislead the reader. Thus, for example, he completely erroneously affirms that a man gives to his mother and to the sister of his father the identical designation "ymk." See Schrenck, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 6. Probably the individual who gave Schrenck this information was speaking, not of the sister of the father, but of the sister of the mother.

• 58 [595] To the superficial observer, the institution of Gilyak marriage actually does not present anything peculiar. By all outward indications the wife or the wives of the Gilyak (polygamy -- two, three, or four wives -- is permitted by Gilyak custom) represent his individual property. The wife [591] is purchased by the husband for a very high price from her

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• 58 [591] agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and 59 [85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child, [551] husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former [553] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives [684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights. [614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 121 125 [59] In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a type of individual family which is generally accepted as being patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With [114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

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*835 Such are the relations between the categories of group pu and an'g:ej. Within his own clan, the Gilyak has at his disposal the dozens of wives of his "brothers." In the clan of his akhmalk (and there may be many of these) dozens of daughters of the "brothers" of his mother are at his disposal, and finally, outside of these clans the sisters of the wives of his most distant tuvn, and the wives of the sons of his "mother's" sisters, belong to him. And since, in addition, due to the contemporary conditions of life, his own clansmen and the members of the clans of his akhmalk are scattered throughout the most remote settlements, there is hardly a place where a visiting Gilyak could not find his lawful an'g:ej. One may say the same thing about the Gilyak that is said, mutatis mutandis, about "kumi" and "kroki," who throughout the whole extent of their territory find everywhere a lawful wife for themselves.

*835 595 • 58 Thus, every Gilyak usually is joined in a dual marriage: 1) in the customary individual marriage with one or more women either from the class of his an'g:ej (in this case mainly with the daughters of his mother's brother) or with women of alien groups; this form of marriage among brothers sometimes takes on the form of purely communal polyandry; 2) in a group marriage with all the women of the class an'g:ej, where sexual intercourse with some of them is accompanied by joint cohabitation, a common economy with their individual husbands, and takes place more or less regularly (most often within a common economy of brothers); or else this right of sexual intercourse is potential and is exercised only insofar as is possible and not regularly.

*835 191 Thus, we have to do here with the typical group marriage, examples of which are known to all among the most diverse peoples of the earth. An extremely curious, typical analogue in the life of other peoples is the marriage system of the Australian Dieri tribe (1), among whom both aspects of sexual

1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology

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*174 60 Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tuvn, although they may be completely alien to each other, call each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-law, although he may be a complete stranger, my "mother's broth and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in-la the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, from that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the unmarried ones, become my mothers, and no one from her clan can marry the women from my clan?

[614] Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry into not only that clan from which anyone from my clan takes a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? In what way could the apparently paradoxical fact that a man can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothers, fathers, and mothers) in clans completely alien to him have come about? This confusion and apparent absurdity can be *174 explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and • 58 logically consistent system of marriage, like every religious 60 [783] norm, has created around itself by a peculiarity natural to it a fabric of extended norms. On the other hand, under the [108] influence of historical conditions and the conditions of life, it underwent a gradual extension and complication, while at the same time the kinship terminology, as an element which by its own nature, in view of its formality, was distinguished by its extreme stability, remained unchangeable. What was the scheme of primitive marriage like? In certain places in our exposition we have already discussed it. Now we must elucidate this question in all its fullness. The detailed analysis both of the prohibitive and of the permissive norms of marriage that we made in the preceding chapter has shown that these norms completely correspond to the kinship terminology. In other words, the whole intricate Gilyak kinship terminology is nothing more than an automatic registry of the marriage system. This faithful registrar, so stable in the face of all change [108]

instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not hold more than thirge. It consists of a flat and hallowed-out small board and is usually decorated on the outside with various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artifully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forgig is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China and at present have no practical value because no one thinks of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried, and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides, there are too few women. The beginning of a /126/ marriage requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not consist of money, but of certain necessary items: weapons, dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300 rubles. There are no special ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the bridegroom last a rather long time, a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

It is curious, although not altogether unique customs are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband", sometimes, however, she remains a few more

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening of sex
582 impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the parents of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 23 years old and complained that her husband was 14 years old(yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders who had their they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during pubertly, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23-25 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. /127/

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
562 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinct humanity. party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually strikes with his quiver and takes her away. It happens now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of kalym, which is

/31 cont./

595 period in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
595 have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in
595 the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
635 to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
587 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
589 rarely two or three wives, who come into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
851 succeed him after his death. Nobody but the man is a father; he
851 is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
851 of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
684 itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
684 of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

583 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
583 in their yurts and hunt with them for a long time, and one does
583 not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Nevertheless, a certain amount of mutual assistance and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
725 encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gel). Likewise, a whole group of men call a whole group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (yik), and these call the former their children.

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III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of Sexual Intercourse and Marriage

83 Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kin-
121 ship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyak, at least at the present time, we cannot speak of any kind of general prohibitions against extramarital sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is a completely nonchalant and natural act, like any other natural act, satisfying a certain physiological need of man. Prohibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound by agnate or cognate kinship. Outside of these circles there is no regulation or censure of sexual behavior, either on the part of public opinion or on the part of religion. Outside of the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party concerned. Young men of a given clan, having rights to the women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggrieved at an alien usurper and roundly teach the stranger not to sneak into a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very rarely, for adultery or some serious affair if a married woman is involved. A stranger caught in flagrante delicto with a
684 married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the
684 custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of
684 penal retaliation prevents the husband from killing the
684 slaying), which are beginning to be replaced by duels and
684 ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They beat her
684 thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her;
561 in the first place, because, as we shall see further on, a woman
684 is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the second place, because she is an article of value, having cost her husband money, and further more she is a necessary worker.
684 In any case, the matter is not settled without repremand, bloody

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835 and designating the wife of the younger kuvn by the prohibitory term john; and, correspondingly, sexual relations between a man and the wife of his younger brother are not permitted. Notwithstanding the dominance of this term at the present time, originally both the terminology and the norms of intercourse were apparently identical with respect to all the wives of brothers without distinction. Evidence of this is not only the fact that in certain places, as we have seen, this arrangement still prevails, but also certain features of the terminology which have been retained even in those places where the new order is dominant. Thus, for example, children everywhere without distinction call the wives of all the brothers of their father ymk, i.e., by the same term that they apply to their own mother, and (in many places) all the brothers of the father yik (father), from which we must conclude that formerly the sexual rights of men extended to the wives of all brothers without distinction.

The norms of lawful sexual intercourse. From the kinship nomenclature we conclude that whole groups of men call whole groups of women their wives, and vice versa, i.e., the latter call them their husbands. This strange nomenclature fully corresponds to actuality; in the language of our own European institutions, such groups of men and women are joined in marriage.

But before entering into a detailed examination of these relationships, strange from a contemporary point of view, it is necessary, in order to avoid misunderstanding, to analyze precisely the meaning of the term "marriage."

In the institution of marriage there are three main features: 1) sexual intercourse, 2) begetting offspring, and 3) common /157/ domestic activity. It is completely clear that the intrinsically indispensable element in marriage is only the first, namely, sexual intercourse; the other two features, although they, too, play an important role in the marital union, may be completely absent. There are marriages which, on account of natural or artificial causes, are

/157 cont./

12 58 childless. Furthermore, there are marriages which do not pursue domestic aims. By itself alone, however, sexual intercourse between certain individuals of different sex, even though it may be regular, still does not constitute a sign of marriage. In order that sexual intercourse be transformed into a marriage, it is necessary that this be sanctioned in one form or another by a given social environment, that it not provoke a social or religious reaction, in a word, that it be lawful.

12 58 The lawfulness of sexual intercourse, then, constitutes the criterion of marriage. On this point, the concept of marriage is similar among the most diverse peoples in the most diverse stages of development. If there are variations, it is only in the degree to which sexual intercourse is realized, in marriage. It is just these variations, often so contradictory to the notions of contemporary society, which most of all obscure the idea of marriage when one chances to encounter the forms of sexual intercourse among primitive peoples.

A true understanding of the institution of marriage among primitive peoples is obscured most of all by our habitual notion that marriage invariably presupposes joint cohabitation of husbands and, consequently, the manifest and regular realization of conjugal rights.

Among many peoples, however, alid not only primitive peoples, but even highly cultured ones, this is not manifest at all. Among the Spartans, for example, the women lived apart from the men, and meetings between husband and wife took place under compulsory secrecy.

12 58 This is the case, even as a general rule, among many contemporary primitive peoples, among whom are found the so-called "unions of men." These latter, including also the married ones, spend all their time in a common house where women are not allowed, while the wives and children live in special little houses. On the Fiji Islands, married couples can spend the night together only in secret. We find similar phenomena even among peoples where male unions are unknown.

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12 58 For example, among the Ainu, when women get married, they often remain in their father's house, and the husband, 12 58 instead of taking his wife home, sometimes at a great distance from the settlement of his father-in-law. /158/ visits his wife only at a certain time of the year. Among the Kirgiz, until the final payment of the bride price, the husband, sometimes for years, visits his wife only at night, and then in secret from her parents. We do not find regularity even among polygamists of the Mussulman type. The Turk may have in his harem women with whom he does not have sexual intercourse for years. Nevertheless, they nevertheless are considered wives, joined with him in marriage. The condition of joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse is still less possible among primitive peoples, according to the socially established order, a whole group of men considers a whole group of women their wives, and, conversely, a man exercises his right only as far as possible.

Within the Sudan Dieri tribe every "kunu" (a term corresponding to the Gilyak nu -- husband) finds his "koaka" (wife) throughout the whole extent of his territory, in whatever settlement he visits. A kunu may live out his whole life without seeing one or another of his innumerable koaka, but she is nevertheless his wife, for, if he visits her settlement, he can exercise his right without subjecting himself to social censure, condemnation, the gossip, or a reaction on the part of the individual husband of his koaka, as would a non-kunu who did this (1). The potentiality of lawful sexual intercourse

1. Pinon and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, 1880, pp. 340 f.

takes various forms among different peoples, but the legal essence of the relations remains the same. In one place, persons bound by such a form of marriage are invested not only with rights, but also with obligations, in other words,

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In another party has no right to refuse sexual relations with a person who is entitled to them. For example, among the Chukchee a woman may not refuse a man joined with her husband in the collaborative marriage, or a brother.

Among others, full scope is given to individual sympathies, as, for example, among the aforementioned Iunit and Iteln; among the Tungus people, among the Gilyak, where the agreement of both parties is demanded for sexual intercourse, but once this agreement obtains, intercourse becomes lawful. In essence, what we have here is the same phenomenon as in pure polyandry. A husband may have a wife, or a brother, even completely avoid a certain wife, but the marriage is present nevertheless. It is the same also in group marriage: in spite of the separation of the Iunit, the marriage of the group spouses and the clear potentiality of conjugal rights, lawful rights of sexual intercourse within the group, and consequently also marriage, is present.

/149/ Of course, joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse are the most normal for marriage. We observe the tendency towards this, although in varying degrees, among the most diverse peoples. Cohabitation, however, must not be confused with the tendency toward individual possession. The instinct for sexual possession and the sexual sympathies indeed pushes even primitive man toward establishing more or less durable conjugal bonds. But pairing-up presupposes neither obligatory sexual possession nor, what is more, obligatory joint cohabitation. We have already offered the example of the Aino, whose wife often remains living in her parents' home, sometimes several days' journey from her husband. Among the Aino, however, marriage is purely individual. All the more, it is the rule that all the aforementioned conditions among those peoples where group forms of marriage exist, or where the tendency for sexual relations is extended are many, and for this very reason joint cohabitation and, consequently, the regular coupling of the right of sexual intercourse between all the persons involved in the group marriage rarely take place.

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Individual wife always lives in one house with her husband, works with him, raises children with him, and is obliged to follow him from one village to another. At the same time she has the right to share her caresses with impunity also with a whole group of individuals to whom this is allowed by established rights. Life has arrived at a certain equilibrium, because, from so as economic interests here coincide with the other mighty motive of sexual selection, the individual inclinations of representatives of the different sexes. For this very reason, along with irregular marital relations, individual unions appear, also sanctioned by custom. As arrangement of marriage, there is a separate member of society may at the same time be joined in an individual marriage and in a group marriage, and those who are joined in an individual marriage are bound not only by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation, but also by a common economy and common upbringing. At the same time, however, to each of them is given the lawful opportunity to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place irregularly, often demands conditions of secrecy, and usually presupposes the consent of both parties, and the fact of intercourse, nevertheless it is just because this is socially recognized, lawful and, in a certain sense, obligatory, and allowed social or religious, and because it manifests itself legally -- for marriage is a term of law -- we ought to define such relations from one another, and, more specifically, to distinguish them in contrast to coincides also with the juridical views of those people among whom these institutions exist. /151/ First of all, the very kinship nomenclature itself, according to which individual and group spouses are not distinguished by appellative, is indicative of the fact that the kinship terminology imposes on the participants in a group marriage the same obligations, as are imposed on individual husbands. Thus, for example, when an individual husband dies, one of the members of the group marriage must replace the husband of the widow, even though he may no longer be capable of sexual

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intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually are also considered the children of all the members of the group. Yet, as we have seen above, this is not the same case in the Tlingit, where the right to share her caresses with impunity also with a whole group of individuals to whom this is allowed by established rights. Life has arrived at a certain equilibrium, because, from so as economic interests here coincide with the other mighty motive of sexual selection, the individual inclinations of representatives of the different sexes. For this very reason, along with irregular marital relations, individual unions appear, also sanctioned by custom. As arrangement of marriage, there is a separate member of society may at the same time be joined in an individual marriage and in a group marriage, and those who are joined in an individual marriage are bound not only by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation, but also by a common economy and common upbringing. At the same time, however, to each of them is given the lawful opportunity to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place irregularly, often demands conditions of secrecy, and usually presupposes the consent of both parties, and the fact of intercourse, nevertheless it is just because this is socially recognized, lawful and, in a certain sense, obligatory, and allowed social or religious, and because it manifests itself legally -- for marriage is a term of law -- we ought to define such relations from one another, and, more specifically, to distinguish them in contrast to the juridical views of those people among whom these institutions exist. /151/ First of all, the very kinship nomenclature itself, according to which individual and group spouses are not distinguished by appellative, is indicative of the fact that the kinship terminology imposes on the participants in a group marriage the same obligations, as are imposed on individual husbands. Thus, for example, when an individual husband dies, one of the members of the group marriage must replace the husband of the widow, even though he may no longer be capable of sexual

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on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individual member of the group, his or her brother (his sister), are joined in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his mother's brother, in other words, the daughter of every man belonging to the same of his sister. Thus, the kinship ties from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and, finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the classificatory family, that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to understand this vital need in the early stages of human society, every thether obtained for her son the daughters of her brothers, in other words, all the women of a clan obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of her brothers, and not the sisters of her brothers, or the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother, or the daughters of the mother's brother, in other words, in accordance this principle had in its practical application.

/154/ Thus, the daughters of the brothers belonged from birth to the son of the father, it was most natural that the future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their wives-to-be. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriage, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Terminologically, the relations between the children born from both children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

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relationship of pu and ai(ai-e) toward each other (1).

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the argument of Letourneau of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Slating of Courtship," Anthropological Review, 1897).

2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the sexual desire for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the women. It is a fact of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal distribution, in the sense of the sharing of women, already discussed, a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable transitoriness and distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination. -

The individual wives of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. It also requires a distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

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Thus there was created that type of individual group marriage which we see among the Gilyak, and among all primitive peoples, and which is the basic type of marriage relations which they have in common with the Gilyak. This type of individual group marriage was developed under the influence of the various combinations in the distribution of the /155/ sexes among the descendants of brother and sister. In order to be convinced of this fact, it is enough to consider several such combinations.

1. The simplest case is that of one brother and one sister. Moreover, the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons. Then of course, individual distribution is entirely possible, if, between men and women, simultaneously reached the marriageable age. But a la longue /in the long run/ such a combination is almost impossible. Sooner or later the descendants of the sister and the descendants of the brother separate into several families, and in such an environment only as an exception can there be cases when the number of men of marriageable age in one group of descendants is greater than the number of women of the same age in another group of descendants.

2. Let us take another instance: one brother and one sister, but at the given moment the brother has only one daughter, while the sister has several sons. Then communal sharing, as it is described among many peoples and appears to typically in all the descriptions of the Tibetans, become inevitable. This is the situation among the Gilyak among epos in such expressions as this, "two (or more) brothers supported one wife," a situation which, as we have indicated, is often encountered in reality even today. The most customary mode of using wives is the same as in group marriage -- each brother enjoys the conjugal rights with the sister of the other: "in Tiber, where the brothers very often have only one common wife, it is rare for more than one brother to be in the house at one time" (Sg. Afong the

/156 cont./

group tights to the wives of his elder brothers, who in their time enjoyed his wives. In the majority of cases, therefore, the wives of the younger brothers are the wives of the wives of the elder brothers.

3. That is, we have taken the simplest combination -- one brother and one sister. Where there are several brothers and several sisters, the consequences will be similar, but will assume a more complex form. If there were always the same number of sisters and brothers, and if each brother had sisters born in succession, and if each sister made offspring, then each pair of brothers and sisters could form a closed marriage group, but actually such cases can only be rare exceptions. Usually, the sons of the eldest brother of brothers and sisters is not equal, and an even distribution of the sexes is not possible. Let us take some examples. Let us take several examples. Several brothers have one sister; the brothers have several daughters, the sister several sons. The sons, of course, will be the husbands of the daughters of the brothers. Thus, the sons of the sister will be the husbands of the daughters of the sexes is such that there are not enough own sisters for the own brothers, where, where the group union will be composed not only of own brothers and sisters, but also of the female fair cousin as well.

Finally, women did not always have brothers, and the latter did not always have daughters, and then, naturally, it was necessary /157/ for resort to the adoption of first and second cousins. In a word, into a marriage group of the offspring of a brother and sister are inevitably drawn, on the one hand, all the cousins, brought up to the most distant degrees, and, on the other -- the collateral sisters, and thus there is multiplied the number of marriageable women and brothers, on the one hand, and own and collateral sisters on the other -- the typical paralus family in its purest form.

/156 cont./

Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession; the brothers, of course, have the right to share the wives given to another. As for the children, either they are not distinguished at all accepting to father, or, as in the case of Gilyak, they consider the children born to the marriage of the eldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

3. The same situation is a non-fatant: the first brother has reached marriageable age before the second. The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his and sister born in succession, and, if each brother made offspring, then each pair of brothers and sisters could form a closed marriage group, but actually such cases can only be rare exceptions. Usually, the sons of the eldest brother of brothers and sisters is not equal, and an even distribution of the sexes is not possible. Let us take some examples. Several brothers have one sister; the brothers have several daughters, the sister several sons. The sons, of course, will be the husbands of the daughters of the brothers. Thus, the sons of the sister will be the husbands of the daughters of the sexes is such that there are not enough own sisters for the own brothers, where, where the group union will be composed not only of own brothers and sisters, but also of the female fair cousin as well.

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As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with wives by marriage, just like the Aino, furnished them with chiefs. Some influence was also exerted by Japanese in the marriage relations of the women of the neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into Aino territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes of trade and frequently brought Aino women back to their homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus people also roamed among the Gilyak and entered into marriage relations with them or carried off their women. And all this these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not be without influence.

A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has been exerted by Japanese colonization. Nevertheless, the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there was no such stimulus for accumulation. The Gilyak, unlike them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or successful man was to have many wives with them. Trade with the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. The appeared new valuables which it was impossible to conceal from the wives, and the husband had to accumulate and accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate possessors of valuables, and men who did not have the means to purchase them. In rich men there was born a consciousness of their wealth and their importance, and together with it the ambition to become related to their equals. Formerly poor people there arose the temptation to make the marriage of their daughters a source of the accumulation of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the daughter was given without a bride price, became superfluous, and the marriage of the daughter of the rich man was sold to the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the conversion of the marriage transformed the structure of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' family together with

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alth, although it only amounted to the
eral pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
here appeared on the scene a tendency toward
The rich man desired to associate with and
to only rich people. In the question of the
there appeared new dictates. One demanded
he be from a family of equal wealth and,
f an equally high social rank. And now, even
ylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in
lings the expression: "He (or she) is not my
other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
ousness in the choice of a wife, to seek
e famous for their special qualities, who
for their beauty, their domestic talents,
sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once
to be practiced between members of alien
er simplicity of concluding marriage vanished.
on the scene the new institution of bride price,
d into the institution of marriage the element
; besides this, marriage between persons of
anded preliminary negotiations and the pro-
thal. We now turn to these institutions.
rothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
is terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
ement about the bride"; hence, the match-
han who makes an agreement", bride --
room -- "future husband." For us, the terms
ide are particularly interesting. With
e there is no special term for groom and
ing to the right of birth the groom is called
nd the bride -- an'g:ej. The term jokh,
wadays to designate the bride, is entirely
n orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen,
arriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual
s, the term itself shows that the procedure
e after the weakening of the regime of
arriage.

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595 ●58 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

614 173 In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the Khydzyr' in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are

[114]

1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 839 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of Mago).

/268 cont./

85 In another poem, in response to the demand of the bride-
38 groom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter, says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, entered, arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see footnote 1 above/.

38 Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a
84 town with many people, and, when he went into the center
85 yurt, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest, from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take you!" This woman said: "If you wish to take me, go to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into a yurt; an old man, an old woman were there. This old woman said: "You are a man from where?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose: "Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak left, he came to his wife: "Your father said that we both, having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having eaten mos' they left; having had a good sleep, they arose, ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his village). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 57, 58, respectively are not indicated in the text./

582 Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly
581 seated in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of akhmalk'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure."

84 Even on the Amur, where the old norms have especially
78 undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a wife from the fathers-in-law -- the root of one's birth" (i.e.,

/268 cont./

582 origin from a common mother). The favored and most frequent form of such an orthodox marriage is a marriage between the son of a brother and the daughter of a sister /sic/.

584 Such marriages are concluded in childhood. Negotiations
585 take place /269/ between the mothers soon after the birth of the children, but after the agreement a public ceremony is organized, in which, besides the fathers, the grandfathers of the children who are being married take part. The father of the groom brings a male dog, and the mother spins two threads out of the fur of this dog and a nettle; with one she binds the hand of the little girl, while with the other the father of the groom ties the son's little hand (1). All this is

[171] 1. It is curious that among the Haida the ceremony of concluding the marriage of infants, which among them is expressed by the giving of a blanket instead of a dog, bears the technical designation, "nakladyvanie perevyazki" (Engl. "putting the string on"). Evidently this ceremony, as among the Gilyak, was formerly carried out by means of a binding up with string or thread, just as is done in such cases up to the present day among the Tamil in India.

performed in the presence of the elder members of the clan, and the marriage is considered inviolable.

● [581] The idea of the orthodox marriage up to the present
584 is thought of not merely as being desirable, but as a right and obligation. When a marriage from the akhmalk clan is
582 arranged on Sakhalin (although that clan may have only recently attained such a position by virtue of the fact that some kinsman took his wife from that clan), negotiations are usually begun with words like this: "You are my akhmalk, let

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797 baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless, the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented missionary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized
[171] Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their
[171] attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make
[178] sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

● 581 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak, from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.

581 In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of
684 a given individual, and her children are the children of that individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring
684 bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

/638 cont./

834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
577 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

[113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

597 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
849 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

839 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
● [581] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

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582 REGULATION OF MARRIAGE--minimum and average age at marriage for each sex; postponement of marriage (e.g., for economic reasons, to enable an elder sibling to marry first); marriage laws and regulations; physical and mental bars to marriage; endogamous and exogamous restrictions; primary marriage preference and practice (e.g., with a cross-cousin, hypergamy); explanations and rationalizations of marriage restrictions; tests of marriageability (e.g., of skill, prowess, fertility); etc. See also:

Marriages between members of different social strata 56
Kin group exogamy 61
Preferred secondary marriages 587
Polygamous marriages 595
Local exogamy and endogamy 621
Sex and marital offenses 684
Incest taboos and privileged sex relationships 835
Premarital sexuality 836
Puberty ordeals 881
Definition of majority 884

/xxviii cont./

*114 582 595 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To accept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably, the conclusions of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

*114 602 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations, and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming [174] the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

*114 614 Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their common law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the Australians.

*114 614 556 Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vukhakh and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention

/31 cont./

601 171 174 [595] [835] periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 581 [583] At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of [851] [611] [551] [684] [614] [582] his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

593 601 [592] [352] One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently [765] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/36 cont./

because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak, their migrations, depopulations, immigrations, and other such reasons, naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and lose its former simplicity.

A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kinship nomenclature, which, without doubt, is a living reflection of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded.

First of all, it is clear that the kinship nomenclature according to which I, a man, call the sisters of my father-in-law mother (ymk), while my father calls them his wives, at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers, both own and agnate, call one another sister, can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one common clan, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women-sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then, in fact, the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and consequently, my mothers, while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system, marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is eloquently answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature by which I and my clansmen of my generation, i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives, and conversely, they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came, i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers, is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives, and furthermore, as I have already said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan. But to exchange women, i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives, is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont./

my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ar
sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kins
this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I
daughter of the sister of my father wife (an'gej), bu
navkh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but
Such was the type of the primitive structure of the f
reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature
however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indic
which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within
clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up
day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life o
not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detai
pressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to ta
predominantly from one particular clan, namely, fr
one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra --
take your wives there from whence you came, i.e.,
of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their

[192]

1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ul
is interesting; it is composed of pi (one
own, yours), pandf (kinsmen of the mot
and ukh (from). The word pandf is fro
pandynd -- "to be born."

[835]

wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wive
clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinte
prohibition on this group of women: brides not from
mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with w
intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder b
whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the young
prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from
clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom
course is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of
the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a
(preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any ca
"brother" of the latter. On the other hand, marriag

/37 cont./

582 601 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was indubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is

582 584 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engagement of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is educated until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual,

582 614 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how-

[125] [601] ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the census that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of the mother") from ancient times.

582 178 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way, then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs, sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

/38 cont./

It is not difficult to understand even the raison d'être of this institution which at first glance is strange and confusing.

Such a binding regulation of marriage conformed as much as possible to both the basic principles of the clan and the individual feelings of the separate heads of families. The clan, at its base, rests on the principle of blood unity. In an agnatic clan this unity will most ideally be attained if all the wives of the agnates are taken from one clan close in blood and, of course, from the clan of their ancestress. This not only satisfies the formal principle of the unity of blood, but confirms the unity of the cult of the ancestors in both lines, so important in the eyes of primitive man.

If we now turn our attention to the psychology of the individual members of the clan, it /39/ fully coincides with the clan, where the sons, in accordance with the general rule, remain within the clan and take their wives from outside, it is natural that every mother prefers to have as a wife for her son a woman very close to her by blood and furthermore to assemble within her family women from that clan from which she herself comes. She cannot, however, marry her son to the daughter of her sister, for her sister is either a wife of her husband or of his brothers, and consequently the daughter of the latter is either an own sister or an agnate of her son; all that remains is to marry him to a daughter of her brother, as has become established in reality. For the entire aggregate of the women of a clan it is of tremendous interest that they are all of a common origin and feel behind them the solid protection of the whole clan from which they come.

Such a marriage (of a son to the daughter of his mother's brother is equally in the interests of the father, who thus marries his son to a kinswoman (praplemyanitsa) of his mother. Since the sister of the husband also desires, in turn, to marry her sons to the daughters of her brother, a mother cannot marry her daughters to the sons of her brother, and, thus, an exchange marriage, i.e., an exchange of women, between two such families was impossible, just like a marriage within a family.

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So far we have considered, as it were, the statics of the question; now let us turn to its dynamics. Let us see how from some very simple beginning, with inevitable necessity, as a mighty tree develops from a single seed, the controversial, confusing fabric of the Gilyak marriage and clan grew up.

The essence of the entire complex system of regulation of Gilyak marriage and the clan, and furthermore the key to understanding it, is a unique fact, namely, the principle established in its day that men must marry the daughters of their mother's brother, in other words, the daughters in each family belong from birth to the sons of their father's sister. We have already said something about the motives that could have given rise to this principle. In any case, its universal incumbency was guaranteed, no doubt, as the categorical imperative of the primitive religion.

This simple rule leads logically to the following:

1) Once every mother has the right to take for her sons the daughters of her brother, her daughters by the same right absolutely must enter the family of her husband's sister, in other words, /40/ every woman belongs to her first cousins, the sons of her father's sister. Therefore, a woman cannot marry the sons of her mother's brother, and a man cannot marry the daughters of a sister of his father: they cannot exchange the women of the family of a brother and of a sister. It is clear that this prohibition does not have anything to do with a fear of marriages within close degrees of kinship, because the daughter of the sister of my father is related to me in the same degree of kinship as the daughter of the brother of my mother, whereas marriage is prohibited with the first and obligatory with the second, a fact that is extremely important for the genesis of prohibitions within close degrees of kinship.

582 614 595

2) Once marriages between the daughters of a brother and the sons of a sister are obligatory, once the former necessarily belong to the latter, certain situations naturally arise in view of the normal quantitative inequality between persons of different sexes, in view of such possibilities, for example, as that a brother has one daughter while his sister has several sons, or, conversely, the brother has several

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daughters while his sister has only one or two sons, or that a long interval of time elapses between the birth of the first son the ones that follow, or that, which even further complicates the question, several sisters have but one brother or one sister several brothers: in the first case several brothers have a com mon wife; in the second, either one possesses several sisters, two brothers live in common marriage with a group of sisters; in the third case, the younger brother, who reaches puberty when the elder brother has managed to take all his cousins, must of necessity have marital rights to the wives of his elder brothers; finally, in the last two cases, either several first cousins will have as common wives the daughters of the broth of their mothers, or several brothers will have as common wiv several of their first cousins. We have given only the simples cases; in reality, the matter is, of course, much more compl cated. Thus, in one way or another, there absolutely inevita arises a group marriage of brothers (own and further) with a gr of sisters (own and further), and in any case the unconditional reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers of all degrees of kinship Of course, these group rights consequently embraced more an more people of more distant degrees of kinship, for a mother not always have brothers, or the latter daughters, and it was inevitably necessary to take wives from among the /41/ first, second, etc. cousins of the mother, and hence the union of people united by the common rights of a group marriage grew.

No vicissitudes of tribal life destroyed this group principl even up to the present time. When in the course of time, as result of depopulations, the dispersion of kindred families, wa and other such reasons, there arose the necessity of resorting t marriages from alien families, these customs, inconvenient i themselves, led to the situation that we see at the present tim that a man is the officially recognized husband of one or seve women and is required to share this right either with all his brothers (in some clans) or (in others) only with the younger ones, and, moreover, not only with his own, but with all the agnate brothers as well.

/41 cont./

582 614 3) Since in every family sons must marry daughters of a brother of their mother, and daughters -- sons of a sister of their father, it follows that from the time of the establishment of this custom all the descending posterity of each pair of ancestors in all lines eo ipso form a closed group, prohibited from one another maritally, an exogamous organism, a clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or remain in their own, either a maternal or paternal clan prevails.

At the present time, among the Gilyak a paternal, agnatic clan has been established.

4) Such a clan rests not only on the negative tie of exogamy, but also on valuable positive bonds, on the common rights of clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, the mutual rights of group marriage, and, finally, on the obligation to save their women for the clan that took the sisters of their ancestor.

If we take into consideration the fact that marriage regulations among primitive peoples, among whom the cult of the ancestors and, consequently, blood ties play such a tremendous role, become religious imperatives, it will become clear that the clearly indicated mutual rights and obligations cement the clan union.

In particular, the important cementing element of a clan is also the fact that all the women coming in (wives of clansmen) are taken from one clan and are either one another's sisters (own and agnate), or aunts and nieces. As for men, the clansmen, they represent in each generation a group of brothers (own and agnate) married to a group of sisters and cousins from the clan of their mothers, i.e., to their first cousins, /42/ in relation to whom they have reciprocal conjugal rights.

We have already spoken about the effects that these customs have on the kinship nomenclature.

614 615 5) The clan, therefore, is not a self-contained organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound up with the existence of at least two clans, blood kindred with it, one the blood clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, and another clan which took the sisters of its ancestor and to which it must give up its own women.

/41 cont./

615 614 The first of the latter two clans in relation to the third bears the name akhmal'k (father-in-law), the second navkh or ymri (son-in-law /zyat', "son-in-law, brother-in-law"/). All three are pandf (cognates) to one another. Thus, every Gilyak is an organic member not only of his own, but of a tri-partite, blood, tri-clan union, forming, in the literal sense of the word, a phratry (1) (phratry -- brotherhood). In this triple "brotherhood"

[582] [614] 1. The Gilyak phratry has nothing in common with the one of Morgan, for within it mutual marriages are not only allowed, but were obligatory.

all the men and women of each generation are actually brothers and sisters (cognate male cousins and female cousins, see below).

Specifically, in relation to each member of a given clan each woman of the second clan is either his mother, his wife or the wife of his sons and agnatic nephews, and conversely, in the third clan, every woman is either his sister, daughter, or a sister of his father. Such are the blood ties of the members of a phratry!

One can get an idea of the form of the Gilyak three-clan phratry from the following schematic table:

Clan A (Andreev)	Clan V (Vasil'ev)	Clan S (Stepanov)
Andrei + Varvara (sister of Vasilii from clan V).	Vasilii + Sof'ia (sister of Stepan from clan S).	Stepan + Anna (sister of Andrei from clan A).
Their children:	Their children:	Their children:
1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Vasilii, from clan V.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Stepan, from clan S.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Andrei, from clan A.
2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Anna, from clan S.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Varvara, from clan A.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Sof'ia, from clan V.

/44 cont./

614 615 578 mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kinship, and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclusive marriage within three clans became impossible, because in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S is the akhmal'k of the first degree for V and of the second degree for A; consequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri, Dar'ya), let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would now be Dmitri's (clan D) sister, while the latter would have as his wife a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times, the prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant degrees, the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever greater number of clans. At the present time, when, due to the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary in the selection of wives to resort to completely alien clans, the phratry has naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have with regard to this complicated, confused system, in order to correctly decide, in each given case, on the right to marry of some member of a clan. And, actually, this constitutes a whole science, to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage

171 601 582

I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

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174 582 601 But the details that I have attempted to clarify here and the history of the development of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think, of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

171 174 582 601 614 1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for example, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datang; or among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpûras in central India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and, conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak), while Kohler, presenting this fact, and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms, even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler, [113] "Das Recht der Hottentots," in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 341-342, and L'Année Sociologique, 11th year, p. 306.

/46/

171 582 [835] 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further th strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia, where great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly declares which men and women of the tribe have the right to group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and d ficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonia questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive m have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the de cisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the indiv ual person and became the function of a competent institutio of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why am many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a s totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women comin [614] in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a sing totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutand every kumi and kroki among the Australians finds his wife th out the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, whe ascending and descending generations belong to different cla and only in the third, among some -- in the fourth, or even the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of th fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in detai from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this strange phenomenon.

615 614 582 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity ca clan A -- Andreev, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepa Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepan (of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not And

/46 cont./

615 614 582 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V) would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last, i.e., Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife of one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the third generation, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

582 [601] 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerable extent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many categories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sight appear completely independent, are in fact identical, such as, for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sisters of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons, just like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the father-in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage, we have seen that from the simple, single rule that men must marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitably arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage prohibitions.

174 583 614 615 [171] 2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particular, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an institution which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Australians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strange forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation of

/83 cont./

*614 602 by virtue of that same proposition concerning the unity of the "father-in-law," all those women who enter the clan are agnate kinswomen to one another, either sisters or aunts and nieces, so that both elements -- male and female -- each separately and both together, are cemented together by the firm intimate bonds of kinship, which, of course, are profoundly reflected in all the social relations of the members of the clan among themselves.

*614 No influence has been exerted upon these relations by those circumstances that we mentioned, at the time, by reason of which it sometimes becomes necessary for individual members of the clan to take their wives outside the confines of one original akhmal'k clan; the general spirit and the general norms have remained the same.

But the cement which strengthens the union of kinsmen in the indestructible organization of the clan does not rest only on the formal consciousness of a common origin and kinship, and not only on the formal norms of marriage, for by themselves they are not so strong as to hold people from generation to generation in a closed hereditary union. The reasons go far deeper. First of all, there is the religious sanction, which plays such an important role in the eyes of primitive man, originally not the sanction of the clan union itself, but of those marriage norms which created the clan. The principle that [582] each man must take wives from the clan of the mother, that the wife must be a blood relative of the husband, is a religious principle, intimately bound up with the cult of the ancestors, in particular with the cult of the mother. [684] The seizure of a married woman is a religious offense against the clan of the abducted woman equal to the slaying of a clansman; the struggle for her return, or at least the demand for a ransom, is obligatory, as in matters of vengeance, to the third generation!

28 Now let us proceed to the institution of ransom, "tkhusin which has in part taken the place of revenge and in part coex with "revenge," serving as its indispensable corrective.

The reasons that gave rise to the institution of ransom si side with the imperative of blood retaliation, which was fina squeezed out completely by the former, remain completely u explained in science to this day.

Among the Gilyak, we believe, it is easy to find at leas principal reason for this great transformation in social relatio It rests on that special form of exogamy about which we spok detail in its place.

614 582 628 /102/ Each clan is bound to a number of clans, at least by bonds of the most intimate character. It takes its wives fr the akhmal'k clan or clans, and from these clans came its m it gives in marriage its own women, daughters and sisters, to ymgi clan or clans. These clans, in the natural order of thin are dear to it; mothers, daughters, sisters bind it to them in- separably.

614 628 562 The clan of the slayer can easily turn out to be the one t takes its women from it, in which are its sisters and daughter one which provides it with women. Hence the first great mo tion: the inviolability of women in conflicts of vengeance.

But the role of the women does not end here. If the slay is from the akhmal'k clan, i.e., the clan from which come mothers and wives of the avengers, it is not difficult to imag that these women cannot be indifferent spectators of a war ag their own brothers and fathers. If the slayer is from the ymgi the wives of the latter likewise will not lightly reconcile ther selves to the destruction of their husbands and sons at the han their own fathers and brothers. In both cases the intervention the women is inevitable, and a few precedents of their pacify influence suffice to turn the precedents into a lawful custom, first coexisting with blood revenge and later squeezing it out.

Indirectly the influence of women in this respect must ha found expression in still another way, purely mechanical, so Their inviolability factually hindered to a considerable degre the realization of blood retaliation itself. Their sentry duty,

/121 cont./

In practice, as we know, these bonds extend far beyond the confines of the original four clans. First of all, in addition to these last, every clan with which at least one clansman has formed matrimonial ties is already an akhmal'k or ymgi to all his clan. On the other hand, we know that every akhmal'k and every ymgi retains its appellation not only with respect to those clans with which it is directly bound matrimonially, but also with respect to those who consider themselves the corresponding ymgi and akhmal'k of the former, so that in addition to the akhmal'k and ymgi of the first degree, each clan has still others of the second, third degreen, etc. All these clans call each other pandf, individual or common origin.

Thus we see that the basic principle, simple and clear, which lay at the basis of the family and clan, a principle according to which a man preferably marries the daughter of the brother of his mother, becomes the basis of blood ties and sympathy, not only within each separate clan, but of even more extensive unions, interclan and, finally, of the whole tribe. True, by virtue of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned by us, such as the dispersion of a small tribe over an enormous territory and many other circumstances, these bonds could not take formal shape in such completed organizations as the phratries and tribes, for example, of the North American Indians, but here also they created an atmosphere of social unity which led the clan from an egoistic isolation onto the path of interclan community and brotherhood.

/122/ Let us consider a little more closely the bonds which arise between the pandf clans, between each clan and those from which the Gilyak takes his wives or to which he gives his women. These bonds are not limited to feelings alone; they are expressed in quite real form.

First of all, there is the obligation of mutual sustenance and hospitality. This in essence is only an extension of that same obligation existing within the clan to the blood pandf; the extension to them of that benevolence of the clan deities

/150 cont./

for the man, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all this concerns only cases involving a married woman. Sexual relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with the permission of the woman, do not provoke any reaction, even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwithstanding their extreme interest in the bride price which is received when a woman gets married; I, at least, did not happen to hear of repressions in such cases. A reaction on the part of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in a case of coercion; then there is the possibility of duels and suits for ransom. Also, at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying a person of this category, i.e., persons not bound by kinship. It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the classificatory terms of kinship. Here there appears on the scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions. Here, against the violators of the prohibitions, there appears on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical imperative of religion, under the influence of which there have developed suitable instincts which have turned artificially created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell on this aspect of Gilyak psychics in more detail later, when we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the established class terminology, are mutually reckoned in the classes "pu" and "an'gej," that is, /131/ who from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining classes are placed under unconditional prohibition.

What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the extensive class of kishal, i.e., the persons born into one common agnatic clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are no classes that call each other "pu" and "an'gej"; neither marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

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are the an'gej of the slayer. Then he immediately orders the killer to be summoned to his house, that is, the man against whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was unpremeditated, the man whom it was the greatest sin to allow into his house; and in the presence of the assembled members of the clan he solemnly declares: "Although this man has killed me, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." Such is the force of the ancient categorical imperative of marriages between the categories of pu and an'gej. This imperative is also active nowadays.

Let us return for a moment to the kinship terminology. We shall make a full analysis of this terminology in connection with the bases of marriage later on. For our purposes now it is necessary to remember the following facts: 1) the wives of clansmen, according to their generations, call each other either older or younger "sisters" or "aunts" and "nieces"; 2) all the agnate kin of the wife are considered, according to generation, the "fathers-in-law" of all the clansmen of this /164/ man; 3) the man calls the sister of his "father-in-law" his "mother," and he calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife (an'gej). Judging from this, 1) the wives of all the members of each given clan must be taken from one clan, and, consequently, in each generation they are sisters (own and collateral); 2) the clan of these women, for each individual man, is the clan of his mother, and the wife of each individual man, must be the daughter of his mother's brother. This we see in actuality, notwithstanding all the deviations of modern times, the causes of which will be made clear later. The ideal of the clansmen is to have women from one clan, from one clan of common akhmal'k; if this turns out to be impossible and it is necessary to turn to still another clan, then once again it is preferably to that clan which is already the akhmal'k of the given clan, that is, that clan from which the individual clansmen, fathers and grandfathers, at an earlier date took their wives for some reason or other. Under these conditions, for each individual person the most favored

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marriage is that with the daughter of the mother's brother. "Pandfakh an'gej gen urdra" -- "from the clan of your pandf" (see above), from the clan from which you originated (were born), i.e., from the clan from which your mother came, you should take a wife," runs the Gilyak maxim. "I miss the house of my mother's brother" -- such is the motif of the contemporary Gilyak song. And statistics prove the degree to which these principles play a role in nature. Even the very first days of my statistical census, when I was not yet conversant with all the subtleties of the kinship nomenclature, I was astounded that in each clan there were so many kinsmen's wives who were taken from one and the same clan, who called each other, according to the generation of the husband, sisters and aunts, and who actually seemed to be such. It was necessary to record many Gilyak wives who were married several times, and most often their wives turned out to be from one and the same clan, specifically, from the clan of the husband's mother. One of my companions on my journeys, Isayka, had been married three times, and always to wives from the very same clan. And in the majority of cases, it turned out that the husbands and wives were not only cognate cousins, but were corresponding children of own sisters and brothers.

The preference shown for this form of marriage even today is always the result of the religious imperative; we have seen above that only such a marriage is considered "pure." As to the role of this form of marriage in the Gilyak, one may express it in the same words that have been used to describe the same phenomenon among the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Sarpûras in central India. In these tribes, "marriage between cousins is almost /165/ compulsory when a brother has a daughter and his sister a son" (1).

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 154.

/165 cont./

Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a common economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing; they fashion nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is concluded, and when the bride has grown a little more, approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband" (m'an'gej, n'fu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at which time they become actual spouses, without any of the ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in concluding marriage with outsiders. This custom probably explains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "yr-ikh" and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age when most of us are only preparing to get married the young Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anniversary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old. The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned marriages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all the ancient customs and rites.

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such circumstances,[1] it would be necessary for a considerably large number of the population who are not well-to-do to remain unmarried. And it is right here that the institution of the right to marriage with persons of the class of an'gej about which we spoke above appears as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, next their collateral sisters, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad class of persons whom the Gilyak calls "fathers-in-law".

We already know the nature of the relations of these latter with their son-in-law /syat'ya/, and it is clear, therefore, that obtaining an individual wife among the an'gej, among the daughters of one's born akhmal'k, is surrounded by the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man stands a sure chance of getting the widows of his brothers. But in view of the generally small number of women in comparison with the men, and considering the fierce competition within each class of pu for their an'gej and under the conditions of an extreme avidity for the bride price, which has developed under the influence of commercial relations and has greatly weakened the traditional matrimonial relations, even this privilege can often be a nudum jus. But at this point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective for the individual marriage -- the group marriage, an absolutely unlimited right to sexual intercourse between classes of pu and an'gej. We turn next to this right.

* 835 Group marriage. Though the right and obligation of individual marriage in the Gilyak tribe, which have been considerably shaken by the inevitable influence of both historical conditions and the conditions of life, the right to group marriage, the right to sexual intercourse between persons of these classes, continues to be preserved in full strength. This right, it is true, does not carry with it a definitely compulsory character; a woman cannot be compelled into sexual intercourse either by her kin or by her pu. It is not even allowed that the father, brother, or husband of a woman propose to the daughter

A lie, a limited choice of women plus unequal sex ratio in favor of the men. --Analysr]

/172 cont./

602 know, an ymgai is the closest person to an akhmaik and to his wife. An ymgai is a preferred hunting companion summer and winter. He is the dearest guest; the wife serves the most delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a special reason. With their clansmen-brothers the akhmaik'i /173/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the ymgai is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make merry to their hearts' content. And in such surroundings there
[836] are dozens of maidens -- his anĝ:ej, with whom he may openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents itself, have sexual intercourse.

* 835 Now we shall turn to the relations of the pu with their
602 married anĝ:ej.

From the kinship terminology we know that a man's
[184] married anĝ:ej include, first of all, the individual wives of his "brothers" (tuvn), which, among the Gilyak speaking the western dialect, refers to all tuvn, while among the Gilyak speaking the eastern dialect -- only to the elder; further -- all the married "sisters" of his own wife; finally, the married sisters of his tuvn -- a huge category, including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the
* 835 territory of Gilyak settlement. Concerning the last two groups -- the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers' wives -- one must make the following reservation: usually, in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak marriage, the sisters marry persons of the class same as, or, at the with regard to the sisters of the wife and the sisters of the brothers' wives a general rule concerning the wives of "brothers" operates. But, due to deviations from the traditional norms, it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the sister of one's own wife is married to a completely alien man, or even to someone who is an accidental akhmaik (1).

[582] 1. An accidental akhmaik is what I
[214] call a man from a clan from which one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

/173 cont./

* 835 by chance taken a wife secretly,
614 rather than from the clan from
582 which all the kinsmen usually take a wife.

601 In these cases the norms of sexual relations, and the
* 835 terminology as well, are not the same. Among the majority
184 of clans, in both cases sexual intercourse with these women
614 is legitimate, the participants call each other pu and anĝ:ej, and their children call each other tuvn and the sisters of their mother and their husbands correspondingly "mothers" and "fathers." But among other clans, mainly among clans who are neighbors of the Ainu, the arrangement is different. If the sister of a man's wife marries his akhmaik, then sexual intercourse with her, as in general with the wife of an akhmaik, is absolutely prohibited, and, instead of anĝ:ej, the man calls her achik (mother-in-law). But if she marries a completely alien man, then the relations between them are as between aliens, i.e., sexual intercourse is not considered a
* 835 sin, but neither is it legitimate. What is remarkable, however, is that the offspring of both families are in all cases, even in such /174/ relations, considered to be tuvn (brothers) (1)

* 835 1. I shall give an example which
601 depicts very well both the relations of such tuvn (i.e., the children of sisters whose husbands are aliens to each other) among themselves and their mutual relations towards their wives.

Wremgin and Hibl are individuals of two different clans (ikhal), one from the clan Fanĝ'i, the other from the clan Khoi, but their mothers were tuvn, i.e., sisters from one and the same clan. And

/191 cont./

601 the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system
* 174 of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.
583 But what does the kinship terminology teach us?
[178]

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are
[602] called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates,
[214] for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

614 Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation
601 the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral
● 582 brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, that
* 174 is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken from one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the classmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters," the nieces of these women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. Thus all why the wives of "brothers" call each other

/191 cont./

614 "sisters" (for they are such in reality), their mothers-in-law --
601 aunts on their fathers' side, and husbands call the sisters of
● 582 their fathers-in-law mothers. We shall not speak here of the
* 174 group character of these marriages unions and of the classet of "mothers," "fathers," "brothers," "fathers-in-law" (wives' fathers) which arise from this, for we have already explained it in detail earlier.

Thus to the first principle -- the obligation of marriage with one's blood kinsmen -- is added another principle -- the wives of classmen must of necessity be taken from one common clan, i.e., two clans are bound to each other by a mutual obligation: one must take wives from the other clan, and the latter /193/ must give its wives to the former. All men of the latter, according to generation, are considered from birth to be the husbands of the women of the corresponding generation of the other clan, and, as we have seen, these classes in actuality call each other pu and anĝ:ej.

But from the kinship terminology we know that the reverse is not allowed, i.e., men of the second clan and women of the first are not joined in the class of husbands and wives. Thus, an exchange marriage between the two aforementioned clans is not allowed. All these principles which have been deduced by us above a priori from the kinship terminology completely correspond to contemporary reality. We have seen that even now there exists the right of marriage, that even now a marriage from the class akhmaik is alone considered "pure," that marriages of classmen are usually made from one common clan and that exchange marriage between clans is not allowed. Now we can with confidence continue our analysis.

614 But what is this clan from which classmen are obliged
601 to take wives? The answer to this is that detail of nomencla-
602 ture whereby the mother of every man is the sister of his
582 father's father. In other words, all wives of classmen are
* 174 taken from that clan from which their ancestors come. The members of the clan are that, both on the father's side and

/193 cont./

614 on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individual member of the clan, as we have seen above, this is expressed
601 in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his
● 582 mother's brother, in other words, the daughters of every man
* 174 belong to the sons of his sister. This principle also is the link from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the maternal family, the one that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to satisfy this most vital need in the early stages of human society, every mother obtained for her sons the daughters of her brother, in other words, all the descendants of a sister obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of the mother's brother, and not the children of the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother, we shall see below. Now let us look at the consequences
* 174 this principle had in its practical application.
582 /194/ 1) Once the daughters of the brother belonged from
591 birth to the sons of the sister, it was most natural that the
581 future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their future wives /nic/. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, as among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriages, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Termi-
[602] nology has perpetuated this arrangement in that even from birth children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

581 relationship of pu and anĝ:ej toward each other (1).
* 174
582
591
581
[114]
[835]

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 62).

[113]

* 174 2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons
582 of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women
581 for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. These norms have worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

/194 cont./

* 174 Thus there was created that type of individual-group
581 marriage which we see among the Gilyak, and among all
● 582 other peoples where marriage is founded on this principle of marriage relations which they have in common with the Gilyak. This system of individual group marriage was developed under the influence of the various combinations in the distribution of the /195/ sexes among the descendants of brother and sister. In order to be convinced of this fact, it is enough to consider several such combinations.

1. The simplest one is that of one brother and one sister. Moreover, the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons. Then of course, individual distribution is entirely possible, if, however, men and women simultaneously reached the marriageable age. But à la longue /in the long run/ such a combination is almost completely impossible, because the descendants of the sister and the descendants of the brother expand into several families, and in such an environment only as an exception can there be cases when the number of men of marriageable age in one group of descendants at any given moment will be equal to the number of women in another group of descendants.

171 2. Let us take the same instance; one brother and one
* 174 sister, but at the given moment the brother has only one
581 daughter, while the sister has several sons. Then communal
582 marriage, as it is described among many peoples and appears
595 so typically in all the descriptions of the Tibetans, becomes inevitable. This is the situation described in the Gilyak epos in such expressions as this, "two (or more) brothers supported one wife," a situation which, as we have indicated, is often encountered in reality even today. The most customary mode of using wives is the same as in group marriage -- each brother enjoys the communal wife in the absence of the other: "in Tibet, where the brothers very often have only one common wife, it is rare for more than one brother to be in the house at one time" (1). Among the

1. Westermarck, op. cit., p. 116.

/197 cont./

174 582 601 The natural result of this system was the classificatory system of kinship, according to which a man gives the name of wife not only to his individual wife, but also to all her sisters, and to the wives of all of his own brothers and to the sisters of these wives, both own and collateral; on the same basis he gives the name of mother to all the wives of the brothers of his father, both own and collateral, while he calls their husbands his fathers, and he calls their children his brothers and sisters; in exactly the same way he calls the brother of his mother father-in-law, her sister -- mother, while he calls the daughters of the brothers of the mother his wives.

The classificatory system, which appears to be so complicated, becomes completely clear and simple; it is logically developed out of a basic principle -- the female offspring of a brother belong to all the male offspring of his sister. At first it may seem strange and extremely complicated that, for example, a man's wives include not only the wives of his brothers, but also their sisters. In actuality, this is explained very simply -- the wives of the brothers cannot be other than sisters, and they all belong to the whole group of "brothers" -- cousins of these sisters. Or, a man calls the brother of his mother "father-in-law"; this is because his father-in-law can only be the brother of his mother, no one else.

The only variation possible in this system is connected with the differences in the rights of group marriage of younger and elder brothers. Among some peoples all the brothers are equally the group husbands of their mutual spouses; among others only the younger brothers enjoy group rights with respect to the wives of elder brothers. Among the Gilyak, as we have seen, we find both systems, and correspondingly two terminologies with respect to the brothers of the father and the wives of the brothers. Among some only the elder brothers of the father are called fathers, while

/197 cont./

* 174 ● 582 601 among others only the younger brothers; similarly among some a man only calls the wives of his elder "brothers" his wives, while among others all the wives of the brothers equally.

Now we shall continue our analysis of the Gilyak norms.

* 174 614 6. Once every mother by right takes the daughters of her brother /198/ for her sons, then by the same right her daughters must belong to the sons of the sister of her husband; this sister, moreover, cannot be married to her brother, because, as we have seen, the exchange of women between the descendants of sister and brother is not permitted. Thus, side by side with the two groups, the descendants of the brother and the descendants of the sister, there is formed a third group -- the offspring of the sisters of the husbands of the latter group.

7. Since in each of these groups the men draw their wives from the group of the brothers of the mother, while the women marry into the third group of the sister of the father, each group forms a completely exogamous unit, i.e., clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or, vice versa, the women into the clan of the husband, there resulted either a maternal or a paternal clan. Among the Gilyak the clan has been paternal from remote times. The strength and unity of such a clan union rested not only on the negative bond of exogamy (exogamy or prohibitions against certain degrees of kinship can exist even without a clan union), but on the precious positive ties, on the common right of marriage, on the common right of the clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, on the mutual rights of group marriage, on the privilege of having for one's sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ one's blood kinsmen -- the children of the sisters of one's fathers, the members of that clan which from time immemorial has married its ancestresses. The strength of this union was doubled by the peculiarity of its composition. Within the clan there was not a single non-blood element: if the clan was maternal and the sons-in-law moved to the

urdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-
nown among the Toda tribes, in spite of the fact that the
mber of males is greater there than the number of females.

10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of
ide price is impossible under normal conditions. Payment
r the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of
arriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen
nong the Gilyak today: no matter how avid the Gilyak may
for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to
e daughter of the mother's brother.

In order that such an essentially exogamous system might
preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of
vorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole
mplex of favorable economic, social and sanitary condi-
ons is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating
emselves the various families of the phratry should be able
maintain themselves on the common territory, and, on the
her hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the
milies, and that there should be no cases of extinction of
tire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore,
me degree of isolation of the tribe from alien influences is
cessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory
arriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor.
nally, it is necessary that there be preserved economic con-
tions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the
embers of the phratry would remain more or less the usual
enomenon, and, on the other hand -- that under the in-
ence of new economic conditions there should not be
gendered one or another temptation to make woman the
ject of purchase and sale.

The preservation of all these conditions among primitive
oples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a
ole series of obstacles. And so it has been among the
lyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial
ode of their forefathers, economic conditions force individ-
l persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

161 Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We
177 are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families,
614 but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This
731 process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an im-
*174 mediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first
Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples,
together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought
the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an
especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive
surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects
of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans
died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans
in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne
in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means
strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may
remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable
number of its members.

161 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and
614 various other causes. Although according to the interclan
72 rules the women are spared and the number of men who are
*174 killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle
the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee
can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

*174 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more
177 highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive
manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens
intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious
imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks
down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representa-
tives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own
institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate
individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they
gradually begin to draw after them many others. The
• [582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians
their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But
even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had
contact with various other peoples.

174 giving women to alien clans. The procuring of such wo
178 presented great difficulties. As a result of this long strug
*614 for the women of alien clans -- a struggle about which i
615 be necessary for us to speak in detail later, there appear
[583] institution of the "bride price," payment for the bride --
institution which removed all obstacles to free marriage.

174 But once having appeared, the institution of the bri
178 price became, in turn, a powerful factor for the spreadi
583 of the institution of the free marriage.

*614 The bride price became the most powerful temptati
615 for violating the old norms, even in cases where there w
no necessity for their being violated.

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the
rich, who came into being with the establishment of tra
relations, began to look on the free marriage union as a
means of satisfying their ambition and of becoming relat
to people who were their equals in wealth and distinctio

*614 And nevertheless, notwithstanding all the unfavorab
615 circumstances, notwithstanding the intrusion of the new
178 stitution of "free" marriage, the old norms continue to l
and to preserve their power over minds. In the great ma
jority of cases the old imperative still is stronger than al
the temptations of bride price and of free marriage. In
[583] eyes of the contemporary Gilyak, marriage from the akh
• [582] clan, from the mother's clan, is still the only "pure" ma
riage, and the most favored marriage for each individua
man is marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother,
in which case bride price is not only not required, but is
even allowed. Free marriages are rather sporadic pheno
which destroy the customary norm for only a moment an
then are spontaneously drawn into the ruts of the old nor
This comes about in different ways. In some cases a ma
may not marry for one or another reason from his mother
clan, but his offspring nevertheless again begin to take
wives from the old clan of the ancestress. In other cases
if for some reason a return is not possible, then the alien
clan from which the man takes his wife becomes the law
marriage clan for his offspring, who in each generation

/196 cont./

174 58 582 [835]

group rights to the wives of his elder brothers, who in their time enjoyed his wives. In the majority of cases, therefore, we see that only younger brothers enjoy group rights to the wives of the elder brothers.

5. Thus far, we have taken the simplest combinations -- one brother and one sister. Where there are several brothers and several sisters, the consequences will be similar, but will assume a more complex form. If there were always the same number of sisters and brothers, and if each brother and sister had a corresponding number of female and male offspring, then each pair of brothers and sisters could form a closed marriage group, but actually such cases can only be rare exceptions. Ordinarily, on the contrary, the number of brothers and sisters is not equal, and an even distribution of the sexes in their offspring is even less possible. Let us take several examples. Several brothers have one sister; the brothers have several daughters, the sister several sons. This time it is not only own sisters, but also first cousins who are the group wives of the brothers. Or: there are several brothers and several sisters, but the distribution of the sexes is such that there are not enough own sisters for the own brothers, whereupon the group union will be composed not only of own brothers and sisters, but of male and female first cousins as well.

Finally, women did not always have brothers, and the latter did not always have daughters, and then, naturally, it was necessary /197/ to resort to the daughters of first and second cousins. In a word, into a marriage group of the offspring of a brother and sister are inevitably drawn, on the one hand, all the collateral brothers up to the most distant degrees, and, on the other -- the collateral sisters, and thus there is established group marriage between own and collateral brothers, on the one hand, and own and collateral sisters on the other -- the typical punalua family in its purest form.

Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession; the wife first sleeps with one brother (the oldest), then moves over to another. As for the children, either they are not distinguished at all according to fathers, or, as in the case of the Toda tribe, the first child is regarded as the offspring of the oldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

3. The same situation in a new variant: the first brother has reached marriageable age before the second. The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his father /sic/ as his individual wife, but then the younger brother comes of marriageable age. The elder brother remains the individual spouse, but the second brother enjoys conjugal rights, by the rights of a group spouse. Then another daughter of the brother grows up to be of marriageable age. She naturally becomes the individual spouse of the second brother, but the elder brother obtains the same group rights to the wife /196/ of the younger brother as the latter once enjoyed with respect to the wife of the elder brother.

4. At a given moment a brother has several adult daughters, while the sister as yet has only one adult son. The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of the sister of the brother /sic/. Thus it is at the present time among the majority of American Indian tribes, where a man who has married the oldest daughter is for that reason obliged to take as wives all of her sisters. But now another brother grows up. One of the wives is yielded up to him as his individual wife, the rest remaining with the elder brother as the most well-to-do, who is better able to support several wives than the brother who is just beginning to earn his livelihood. The latter, naturally, is rightfully the group husband of all the wives of the elder brother; the converse right of the elder brother is not so indisputable.

An analogous development takes place if the elder brother-polygamist has several brothers who gradually grow up; then each one of them will obtain his own individual wife, but at the same time each of the younger brothers will have

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[192] why when these marriages were recognized to be harmful and marriage between the children of brother and sister was established that the original, single society was divided into two exogamous halves: in one of these halves were the brothers with their wives and their descendants, and in the other the sisters with their husbands and their descendants. Consequently, the dual division was a result of cross-cousin marriage, and one must therefore not seek the cause of the aforementioned regulations of the form of marriage in the dual division, but in something else. This cause must be sought in that situation under which the change from bilateral marriages to exogamous marriage in the form of cousin marriage took place. The study of the Australian classes first of all confirms the long disputed opinion of Morgan that exogamy is the result of realizing the harm of blood marriages, marriages between brothers and sisters. It shows also that the transfer to the exogamous form took place in extreme paleolithic antiquity and slowness, a fact that is easily explained by the usual conservatism of primitive man in general, and in particular with regard to such an institution as marriage, which is so closely bound up with religious ideas. This very psychology of conservatism, which at every change of the old institution tries to preserve at least the old form, in which it clothes the new institution, has resulted in the apparently paradoxical fact that the institution which, in the consciousness of the harmful effects of blood marriage, established marriages between cousins of the first degree allowed such marriages exclusively between the children of brothers and sisters and at the same time forbade such marriages between the children of two brothers and two sisters. Although the latter are hardly distinguished in any way from the former in the blood sense.

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[193] How did this come about? The fact is that the cross-cousin marriage undoubtedly appeared to replace the marriage between brother and sister. Under this form of marriage, not only were the spouses brothers and sisters, but also their parents. The fear of the consequences of this marriage was expressed in the fact that marriages were effected between the children of brother and sister, and these latter were spouses in their turn.

This is why, when necessity forced the abandonment of this form of marriage and the replacing of it by cousin marriage, the conservatism of primitive man chose the form which bore the closest outward resemblance to the old form sanctified by time /217/ and religion, namely, that one in which the only orthodox marriage were marriages between the children of brother and sister (although now these latter were no longer spouses), and not between the children of two brothers and two sisters. Thus the form, which at first plays a paramount role in the eyes of the primitive man, was in reality only the form, primitive man unhesitatingly realized that the existence of a new change was thus concealed from the deity -- the usual manner of pious "deceit" of the gods.

In just such way brothers -- own and collateral -- and their descendants, on the one hand, and sisters and their descendants, on the other hand, formed the two exogamous halves of the single society.

Another very important, although less cardinal question to which the investigators of cousin marriage give no answer is the following: if cousin marriage is explained as the first stage of exogamy, as the first measure thereof, then from where does its obligatory, its almost necessary character come? It would seem, on the contrary, that once the good of exogamy was recognized it would be most logical to encourage marriage between the least closely related persons, even between individuals who were entirely alien to each

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[194] other, while marriages between cousin should have been forbidden. Why, then, is cousin marriage so obligatory, so necessarium, in order that it might pass completely out of use as an antisocial institution.

The prohibition of marriage among the Australian peoples can serve as the best example of this strange fact. Among these peoples, judging from the organization of classes and from their personal declarations, the consciousness of the harm of marriage within close degrees of kinship is quite well developed, and they have manifested great resourcefulness in order to block the possibility of close marriages, excelling other peoples in this respect. Such a complicated system as the kinship system of the Arunta tribe has been specially devised for the abolishment of marriages between close degrees of the first degree. It would seem after this that marriages between the most remote degrees of relationship ought to be encouraged, while marriages between cousins of the second degree ought to be regarded as merely allowable. Among these peoples, however, "cousins of the first degree are thought too remote, and marriages beyond this degree are prohibited" (1). Thus, marriage with cousins, even

1. Crawley, op. cit., 61.

an impossibly close degree is not only allowed, but obligatory.

Further, if cousin marriage is only the first stage of exogamy, /218/ why, in spite of the enormous period of time which has passed since its inception, does it continue to survive so stubbornly up to the present time among a large number of tribes, including such numerous ones as the Dravidians, in its original, unaltered form. And even there, among the tribes of Australia, it underwent limitation in the sense of the exclusion of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but still the principle, as we just saw, is preserved inviolate, and marriages beyond cousin of the third degree are not permitted. This stubborn involving of

/218 cont./

[195] for example, this persistent striving to perpetuate it by means of obligation, must rest on a serious basis. It seems to us that the strength of the cousin marriage rests on two important motives. The first motive is the same as the striving of every kinship group, in particular of each mother, to provide her progeny with wives.

At the primitive stage of human development the element of struggle in sexual relations undoubtedly played just a tremendous a role as in the zoological kingdom in general. And one of the most important problems of human communities was to limit this struggle as far as possible, by one or another regulation.

The institution of marriage, obligatory between persons of a certain group, was that form of sexual regulation which was called upon to ratify the above-mentioned fundamental dictate of the community. Prior to the establishment of exogamy, this dictate could be satisfied by the intrabloood marriage obligatory between brothers and sisters. With the establishment of the principle of exogamy, cross-cousin marriage seemed to have solved the problem to a certain degree but the question of the sister of the father, but the daughter of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses become blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the desire for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship relations the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed continently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

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[196] That is why up to the present time among a large number of Dravidian tribes marriage is mandatory when a brother has a daughter and a sister is born. That is why, as we saw, among the Australian tribes, with all the striving toward limiting cousin marriage, marriages more remote than cousins of the third degree are prohibited; consequently, marriages between cousins of the second degree are obligatory. That is why among the Mongols, whose favored marriages are the marriages between persons alien to each other, marriages between the children of a brother and sister are called "white ass," i.e., considered acceptable, while marriages more remote than the most remote members of one clan are "black sin," i.e., completely unallowable. In order not to increase the difficulties of the subject and with the desire to show, in spite of all the peripetetia of this small tribe, only the marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is considered as legitimate.

After these preliminary observations, we may proceed to an examination of the question as to what place the marriage between the children of the sister of the father and the

/219/ different places. In Australia this marriage proceeded very early on the path of exogamy: from marriages between cousins of the first degree, they proceeded to marriages between cousins of the second degree, and the marriages between cousins of the second degree were prohibited.

Nothing in the social structure changed with this arrangement. Society remained divided as before into two halves which exchanged women, with the difference that a man married, not the daughter of the sister of his father, but the daughter of his son of the first degree, so that the progeny of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses become blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the desire for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship relations the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed continently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

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[197] When adapted to individual families, this arrangement is expressed in the fact that the son of a brother marries the daughter of his father, because marriages of the son of a sister marries the daughter of her brother. The spouses are cousins of the first degree, while the wife of each man is, on the other hand, the daughter of the sister of his father, and, on the other hand, the daughter of the brother of his mother, because the fathers of the spouses married each other's sister. Such was the first stage of the limitation on marriage between persons close by blood. Further limitation occurred

/220/ differently in different places. In Australia this marriage proceeded very early on the path of exogamy: from marriages between cousins of the first degree, they proceeded to marriages between cousins of the second degree, and the marriages between cousins of the second degree were prohibited.

Nothing in the social structure changed with this arrangement. Society remained divided as before into two halves which exchanged women, with the difference that a man married, not the daughter of the sister of his father, but the daughter of his son of the first degree, so that the progeny of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses become blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the desire for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship relations the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed continently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

/220 cont./

[198] The peoples of this group, for which the Gilyak serve as the most striking representative, begin to limit marriages between cousins of the first degree, considering it necessary to establish a more remote degree of kinship between spouses, but they did not wish to sacrifice that principle which seemed to them most important, namely, the one according to which each mother receives for her son the daughter of her brother. They actually preserved this principle, but, in order to satisfy the necessity of lessening the closeness of kinship between spouses, they sacrificed the other principle of cross-cousin marriage.

As we know, the son of a woman receives the daughter of her brother, but the reverse, i.e., the marriage of the son of a brother with the daughter of his sister, is not allowed. As a result the limitation on the closeness of kinship obtains -- spouses are cousin of the first degree only on one side -- the side of the mother of the father of the husband, but on the side of the mother of the wife, while previously, with cross-cousin marriage, they were cousins of the first degree both on the side of the father and on the side of the father of both spouses. But at the same time there is preserved here the old basic principle -- marriage to the daughter of the father's sister, but the reverse, that the spouses remain cousins of the first degree -- true, on one side only.

/221/ This departure from the principles of the Australian type in the form of the limitation on marriage between cousins of the first degree brought about a fundamental change in the organization of society. It brought about the transition from a bipartite division of society with its classes to the organization of a pure clan, and in particular to the four-clan theory that we saw among the Gilyak.

With the Australian system of limitations on marriages within close degrees of kinship, no matter how far these limitations went (at the present time they do not go further than cousins of the second degree), society remains irrevocably divided from the standpoint of marriage into two exogamous

[199] groups, joined in the constant mutual exchange of women. In fact, each division is a real clan, because marriages are prohibited within the division. True, along with these two divisions a complex system of marriage classes is established, but these latter are nothing, but a means of that clan a man belongs to, he continues to remain in his division, while the classes do not change the position of the person in the clan, but are only mnemonic titles personally limiting a man (but not his offspring) in the choice of women of a particular degree of relationship. In the four-clan system -- only cousins of the first degree; in the eight-clan system, cousins of the second degree. In reality, classes are not even obligatory appurtenances for the actual clan division. Among the Dieri tribe, for example, there exists the same prohibition with respect to marriages between cousins of the first degree as among the Arunta, but, while among the latter eight classes have been established as a mnemonic device, among the former this limitation has not been reflected in an extensive class division.

Thus it is clear that in the Australian system, by virtue of its having preserved the principle of the exchange of women, cross-cousin marriage demands only a division into two clans. The society is a two-clan physry.

The Gilyak system was unable to remain in this two-clan physry. From the moment when cross-cousin marriages, i.e., exchange marriages between the children of brother and sister, were prohibited, the two-clan physry was insufficient: one clan took women from a second clan, but the latter was obliged to seek women for itself elsewhere, while, on the other hand, marriages outside of a given ethnic group were not allowed (as we see now in Australia). It remained to transform the two-clan physry into a multiclan physry.

[200] This type of one-sided cousin marriage, so simply explained in the light of the evolution of more ancient forms of cross-cousin marriage, has attracted no attention at all among the modern investigators. Many scholars have noted this institution with disbelief, considering it impossible. Thus, almost at the same time as my publication on this institution among the Gilyak (1910), the noted scientist Kohler in his article, "Das Recht der Hottentoten /The Law of the Hottentot/" (1), ascertaining, in the words of his

(1) In Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, B. XVI, pp. 341-342.

correspondent, the existence of just such an institution among that tribe, regards this report with distrust. The cause of this distrust is quite simple. Not knowing the genesis of this institution and the place occupied by it in the evolution of cousin marriage, and having no other examples of this institution besides its remnants in the marriage prohibitions, it was difficult to comprehend the cause of the one-sided prohibition by which the son of a sister can marry the daughter of a brother, but the daughter of a sister may not marry the son of her brother, although the spouses are cousins of blood kinship in both cases is identical; and therefore the one-sidedness of the prohibition was viewed rather as an anomaly than as a normal sign of a lively institution.

Due to such disbelief on the part of investigators, this institution is completely disregarded in treatises on human marriage and has remained completely misunderstood, while ethnographic literature gives quite a bit of information on such marriages among the most different peoples. Especially numerous traces of it are found in Indonesia and among the Dravidian peoples of India, among whom Morgan found the same clearly expressed trace of the Turanian system, in which group marriage was preserved. As we just saw,

/222 cont./

Kohler's correspondent reports on it from Africa among the Hottentot. From Indonesia, such an authoritative investigator as Wilken reports on it, writing: "Among the Batak, the Redjang (Borneo) and the natives of Ambonia, it is permissible for the son of a sister to marry the daughter of a brother, but the son of a brother may not marry the daughter of a sister" (3).

2. Wilken, Bijdragen /Contributions/, Serie T, V. I, p. 148.

The kinship terminology corresponds to this arrangement: among the Batak on Sumatra, for example, a wife or female sweetheart is called ibibere-re-datang, i.e., daughter of the mother's brother.

This institution was already recorded in still more definite form in the 1870's among the Dravidian tribes of India. Thus, for example, in the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpdas in central India, marriage between cousins is compulsory when /223/ the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. Many data may be found in the most recent literature by Rivers (1).

1. "Marriage of cousins in India, Jour. Royal Anlat. Society, July, 1907, p. 626 pass.

/223 cont./

IX.

The Gilyak Kinship System and Morgan's Hypothesis

The Gilyak system of kinship and marriage fully confirms the basic hypothesis of L. Morgan that the terms of kinship are the result of corresponding sexual norms and norms of marriage. What for Morgan was only a deduction, we actually see to the fullest degree in Gilyak life. If a Gilyak calls a group of women by the term "wife," then those women are actually wives for him in the proper sense. If a Gilyak calls a certain group of men -- fathers, then these are actually persons who have sexual rights to his mother. If a Gilyak calls the wife of his mother "father-in-law," then it is because, according to primordial law, he is actually obliged to marry the daughter of this uncle, who will then be his father-in-law. For Gilyak system one finds the explanation of even such universal classificatory terms as elder and younger brother and elder and younger sister, which include two genders, especially in marriage aspect. First of all, these terms regulate individual marriage in the clan of the mother. An elder brother is obliged to marry the wife of his elder sister, and a younger brother a younger sister. These terms are important in the levirate, since a widow passes to a younger "term." Finally, among half of the Gilyak, only the elder brothers have sexual rights to the wives of the elder brothers.

How clearly individualized the correspondence between a kinship term and the marriage rights is in the Gilyak terminology is seen especially clearly in the relations of the brothers to their wives. Among half of the Gilyak, as we have seen, the brothers without exception have sexual rights to one another's wives. And among them the terms actually correspond to this: a man designates with the term "wife" all the wives of his brothers without exception, and therefore all the children of brothers without exception call

/240 cont./

There is yet another characteristic peculiarity. We have mentioned that cousin marriage leads to the right to marriage, and that, under such a system, bride price, payment for the bride, is forbidden.

The same thing is to be observed among the Tungiz. Finally, the existence of the clan among the Tungiz is also a not unimportant indication of the fact that endogamy is a new phenomenon here, for among purely endogamous tribes, such as the Aino, the genuine institution of the clan does not exist. The clan is an exogamous institution by nature.

We proceed to that large group of northern Paleo-Asiatics which includes the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal. Of this group, the Chukchee are the people who have been studied in great detail, and we must consider them at greater length.

According to Bogoras' /Bogoras/ description, the customary mode of marriage is with kinsmen and "most frequently between cousins," if possible from one side the same family, and, if this is not possible, then between kinsmen of the same encampment, i.e., cousin /241/ of more distant degree, but always within the same village. Exogamy is prohibited -- a purely Turanian feature. Since at the same time the exchange of women is practiced, we have here a kind of cross-cousin marriage -- again a typical Turanian feature.

Marriage between cousins was undoubtedly obligatory at first, only the time, this may be, by the way, from the fact that, as among the Gilyak and the Tungus, among the Chukchee marriages are concluded at an early age. This marriage is even more in fashion among the Chukchee than among the Gilyak, since, according to the words of Bogoras, the majority of marriages are concluded in childhood, and the bride price not paid, but there is not even any question of it. Marriage between cousins always became more and different with regard to the marriage of their children even before their birth. The obligation to marry also explains the reason why the bride price is not paid, the institution of the bride price is unknown to the Chukchee. The usual method of acquiring

/241 cont./

such catastrophes, as we shall see further on, are not at all rare. This alternative which, according to the epos, faced the man of olden times -- either to marry his lawful /242/, who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal to an alien woman as a special form of marriage -- proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /243/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us in the traditional epos.

Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the present the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying a woman of the /244/ category, a woman who is regarded as one's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is considered "pure." And people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the categories of /245/ the most desirable marriage is with the daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most orthodox is considered the cousin marriage between the daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a marriage is so highly valued that even before the future spouses appear in the world the sister and the brother give each other their word to unite the children in marriage. After the birth of the children, when they have reached the age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the claimant of one side or the other a formal act of agreement or even the actual concluding of the marriage. Even the mother of the groom may carry on the negotiations, not only the father of the bride (for she is his sister and conversation between brother and sister is prohibited) but with his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to this: the matchmaker /ynaf/ (father or mother of the groom) before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancés with threads of nettle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

/246 cont./

reverence with which they approached a settlement where, according to them, one of their female ancestors had once lived.

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyro at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the birth of their mothers and, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting reminiscence.

Usually at the present time children are given names according to the classmen of the father. Such is the general rule. But I have seen a case when the son of the chief Gilyak of Naniwo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and classmen of the mother; thus, it is though the children were members of the mother's clan.

All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan, but they are remnants which are incompatible with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak themselves they are not remnants: this is made clear mainly by the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan perfectly take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of relativity and of consanguinity are connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

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XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

We have already had occasion to introduce in another place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women from the clan of the mother, from the /248/ epos, the episode from the Gilyak epos, the Gilyak dying from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, marries his daughter off to the people who are present. "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter; do not fail to carry out my will for any reason." The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old form of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of a long period of contact with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

/268 cont./

In another poem, in response to the demand of the bridegroom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, entered arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see footnote 1 above/.

Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a town with one people, and the chief of the town, the father of yart, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest, from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take you!". This woman said: "If you take me with you, go to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into a yurt; an old man, an old woman were there. This old woman said: "Your guest has come!" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose: "Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak left, he came to his wife. The old man said to his daughter, having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having eaten mos' they left; having had a good time, they arose, ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his village). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materials, p. 84 and pp. 97, 98, respectively are not indicated in the text. /

Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly established in the Gilyak consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of ashmak'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure." Even on the Amur, where the old marriage has already undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a wife from his father's-in-law -- the root of ori's birth" (i.e., ally begin with words like this: "You are my ashmak'i

performed in the presence of the elder members of the clan, and the marriage is considered inviolable.

The idea of the orthodox marriage up to the present is thought of not merely as being desirable, but as a right and obligation. When a marriage is not from the clan of ashmak'i, arranged on Sakhalin (although that clan may have old recently attained such a position by virtue of the fact that immigrant took his wife from that clan), the organization of ally begin with words like this: "You are my ashmak'i

1. It is curious that among the Haida the ceremony of concluding the marriage of infans, which among them is expressed by the giving of a blanket instead of a dog, bears the technical designation, "makladyanaie pennyayaldi" (Engl- "putting a blanket on"). Evidently this ceremony, as among the Gilyak, was formerly carried out in the form of covering with string or thread, just as is done in such cases up to the present day among the Tamil in India.

/213 cont./

614 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the
615 tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are
602 possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

Cousin Marriage

582 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among
74 the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the
21 daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

82 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian
74 Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia
21 rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i
14 ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

/214 cont./

582 *174 121 114 171 Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers, Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian marriage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler, and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad distribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1).

[113]

1. This picture entitled Crawley to say that "cousin marriage generally is the favorite form of marriage among primitive peoples" ("Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first experience of conscious restriction of marriages between brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages between cousins of the first degree. One cardinal question in this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands marriage between the children of brother and sister, but at the same time prohibits marriage between the children of two brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact. "Cousin marriage," he says, "is, according to all appearances, a survival. It is quite difficult to find a straightforward psychological basis explaining why marriage between the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so strictly prohibited" (1).

582 *174 114 121

[113]

1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins in India," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1907, p. 623.

/215 cont./

582 Others have attempted to give an explanation for this
174 fact, but these explanations are purely mechanical. Kohler,
114 for example, sees an explanation of this fact in the dual
121 organization of society (2) -- an explanation which is at

2. Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe, 121.

least strange, for the dual organization itself is a consequence of the institution of cousin marriage. Crawley holds the same point of view as Kohler and therefore falls into the same error. He considers this form of cousin marriage to be "an automatic result of the fact that the name of the family is inherited. The children of brother and sister may marry because by their names they belong to opposite phratries" (3).

3. Crawley, op. cit., 57.

Frazer expresses himself in the same way. According to him, the reason that it is forbidden for these cousins of the first degree, i.e., children of two brothers or two sisters, to marry rests on the fact that they belong to one and the same exogamous class and are therefore restrained by the basic law which forbids a man to marry a woman from his own exogamous class.

The basic mistake of all these writers consists in their having taken the result for the cause, namely, that the so-called cross-cousin marriage, i.e., marriage between the children of brother and sister, was a result of the division of society into two exogamous classes, but they do not raise the question of just what it was that gave rise, in turn, to this dual division. In reality, the dual division into two exogamous classes was a result of the new institution of marriage between children of brother and sister, replacing the earlier endogamous blood marriage.

582 Before that, the group -- the descendants of one an-
174 cestress -- was /216/ indivisible; marriages took place
121 within the group, usually between brother and sister. And

601 171 174 [595] [835] periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 581 [583] [851] 611 [551] [684] 614 [582] At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

593 601 [592] [352] One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently [965] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

615 614 582 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V) would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last, i.e., Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife of one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the third generation, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

582 [601] 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerable extent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many categories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sight appear completely independent, are in fact identical, such as, for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sisters of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons, just like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the father-in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage, we have seen that from the simple, single rule that men must marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitably arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage prohibitions.

174 ●583 614 615 [171] 2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particular, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an institution which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Australians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strange forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation of

174 ●583 614 615 which brings the punishment of the gods. Now let us suppose that clan V, from which A takes wives, has died out, or that there are too few women in it, which is quite in the order of things. Clan A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there each clan saves its women for the clan of the father's sister; the alien clan, even if it had extra women, cannot decide to deviate from this imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punishment of the gods, of the gods-ancestors, for whom marriages with those of other blood constitute the greatest of insults. And a similar vengeance threatens the clan who would make use of women of other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however. Two alternatives then remain: either to abduct a woman by force, risking bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods, /48/ to say nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the one stolen, or to circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the real intentions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreement is reached with the parents of the bride and with her herself, whereby these latter appear to resist the abduction with all their strength, while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious manner, does everything required to give to the marriage act the look of real coercion.

171 174 583 Only with such an explanation of abduction can we understand why, for example, the Australian kurnai, having allowed their daughter to run away with her loved one, set out in pursuit after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg with a spear and beat her half to death. The Australians themselves explain this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many tribes the bridegroom himself considers it his duty to beat his loved one no less cruelly than her parents: by this he desires to show the gods, and the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture of the girl was in no way caused by a desire on his part to marry her.

Finally, only with this illumination on the hypothesis of the religious origin of the custom can we explain such a universal occurrence of the institution, which, in the form of mock abduction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony of even civilized peoples.

/48 cont./

174 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-
● 583 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex-
614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not
615 from the clan of his mother by the term sokh /sic: see yokh on
606 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

174 Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price,
583 the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin
614 against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atone-
[673] ment, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among
[689] the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen-
[682] eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin,
[192] as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

174 In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps
583 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands,for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/84/

*614 Once the above-mentioned principle was created and became an immutable imperative of life, the natural consequence was the appearance of exogamy, and exogamy is the foundation of the clan.

But the exogamy of the Gilyak,as we have seen, is not the mere obligation to take wives from outside their clan. It gives a man a whole series of rights, which play an enormous role in his life.

We know that the acquisition of a wife is one of the most difficult problems of primitive man. There are ordinarily
● [583] fewer women than men. One must pay for a woman, and to
[556] make matters worse each of the wealthy men snatch up many wives. For the poor man -- and such are in the majority -- acquiring a wife under such conditions is far from easy; frequently he must even resort to methods that risk his life.

The norms of Gilyak marriage give each Gilyak the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, in particular to the daughters of the brothers of his mother; this is simultaneously
[583] his religious obligation and right. The bride price in such cases, if not a formality, is a burden which each one always has a right to expect his clansmen, interested, like himself, in his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man succeeds in setting up his own family, the families of his older brothers, with whom he shares the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, are his family, their wives are his wives, to
[587] whom he has lawful conjugal rights. When a married Gilyak
[768] dies, his wife passes without any bride price to one of his younger brothers determined by the choice of the clan.

*614 These are all advantages which play a role of the
587 first order in the eyes of primitive man. The crown of
768 these advantages is the social privilege of every clansman of not having to fear for the fate of his wife and his children after his death. His wife and children during his life are juridically, and frequently factually as well, the wife and children of his younger brothers; they will remain such after

/124 cont./

*614 it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is dif
615 what happened to their feelings later on, but t
608 bility of such examples illustrates boldly the r tween members of matrimonial clans.

*614 The principle of mutual aid between memb
615 monial clans is reflected in the right of inherit
428 despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only o
● 583 namely, with regard to the pandf'y; by a will know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can o "shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). T reduces the bride price to the simple formality from one pocket and putting it in another, ser as an important indication of the fact that orig the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the cha ment for the bride, but rather was a form of re But for what?

*614 The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of
615 bride price is in general a strange anomaly. A
174 marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is
583 ligation, and even preferable between the chil and sister, how can there be any talk of payme the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution been due to some recent change in the marriag
[178] change we know: it consisted in the fact that when marriage from the clan of the mother wa it became necessary to take wives from a stran this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its own lawful ymgi and therefore could only acce away its women by masking it with some act o of the gods, which would at the same time be
[182] father-in-law. By analogy with the religious of revenge (see above), there thus arose the ins bride price, satisfying both the interests of the and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the y

/269 cont./

my children and your children also be ashmakik'i. If you do not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according to law ('live pure').."

After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty, even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give a very small one, if the ashmakik is not an ancient one.

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages in the clans of ashmakik'i. One of the causes was the depopulation of the clans from which they took wives, which compelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause, perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox, became objects for which one might obtain not only objects of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and ornaments, but also food and spices, such as rice, groats, and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they preferred to drive themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relationships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good person, udla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared his catch with his tribesmen, now udla n'ivukh became a synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting appeared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

/270 cont./

in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers, and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and become related to only rich people. In the question of the choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and, consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even in the ancient "yiqunl" -- legends -- there is heard in matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek women who were famous for their special qualities, who were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the procedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is expressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the matchmaker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called pu -- husband, and the bride -- an k-e-j. The term jokh, which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

/279 cont./ Along with the distribution of the bride

price within the family, customs of a completely exceptional character are preserved, clearly testifying to the old orthodox form of marriage. Namely, part of the bride price is given to the "old ashmakik," i.e., to that ashmakik with whom a given family has concluded orthodox matrimonial unions. Thus, for example, if in the course of several generations family A has taken wives from family B, i.e., the sons of sisters in each generation have married the daughters of their own brothers, then every time the family gives in marriage any one of its women, who, as we see, are forbidden to the men of family B by virtue of the unilaterality of the cousin marriage, and receives bride price, then a part of it is given to the eldest one in family B, usually to the brother of the mother of the woman who has been given in marriage, rarely to the father of the latter, if he is alive. It is curious that the family of the groom presents this gift to the old ashmakik as part of the bride price. This custom is practiced in a still more striking form. They give their infant sister to the brother of their mother, or their daughter to the brother of their wife, in order that these persons may afterwards receive the bride price for them, but participation in the distribution of the latter may not be demanded. "It is better to propose one's daughter or sister to the old ashmakik oneself," the Gilyak usually add when they are talking about this custom, "than to wait for a request about the matter." And this is not all: if a mother has several brothers and a nephew has several sisters, then one /of the sisters/ is supposed to be given to each /of the brothers/. What is the explanation of this strange custom? We have a completely analogous case among the Tamil, where the mother's brother also receives a part of the bride price when the woman is given /280/ in marriage. But among the Tamil cousin marriage is bilateral, so that if a man's sister does not give her daughter in marriage to the son of her brother, she thereby breaks the law; but among the Gilyak cousin marriage is unilateral, and for the son of the brother of the mother the daughter of his last is forbidden. But why then does the mother's brother have such preference? Here a double explanation is possible:

/280 cont./

it is a remnant of maternality when the mother's brother played a privileged role; the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the more ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marriage.

I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh shond-, signifying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types of clothing and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silver bracelets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepare the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sacred chests with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry usually should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a matter of the greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or female slave besides her dowry. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance, Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (akh), whom they provided with a Japanese saber for cleaning the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambitious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, put in it to serve her.

The dowry, although it is compensation for the bride price, since it frees the husband from great expenditures for the wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, her private property /281/ to which the husband has no rights whatsoever.

/286 cont./

went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chiakl-varadz-, Gilyak gesmiz, geshka nanji); the second party did not /287/ notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhaji. 3) Khal N'ashkhaj.

Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kounaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagli and the Aimu khal'a of Dmittriya in Tyr. They make chêdzigr (see below) and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not take women from the Chokchagl. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter encampment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

/290 cont./

Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896). Vas'. Cape Vasin. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to Nifevo; 2) Derbir-vun (1896).

Kuklya and Meo. The first master of the village before the Russians was the Kegin clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogorodskoye (1896).

Settlement of Kol'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest khal -- this Chvunung khal (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvmif); then the khal separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun, Vlevut). It takes women from the Khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one khal. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor ping. A man sailed on a hoyykh (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the Perkhvung. 3. Kedzung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkhvung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhay-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyt beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- chiniroikh). There is here in Kol' one khal from Khovnung. It takes women from the Langy. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the ox -- chain and stone on the little-leaf one of the brothers, and then killed her. They have a Nima dagger with a silver handle. Take women from the Snarning. 7. The Snarning take women from the Perkhvung. 8. The Tyvliing -- from Ulkhir, near Sofisk (Onyr). Takes women from the Perkhvung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age): his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his khal is Snarning. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chiya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- N'ash'khaji. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyv River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).

/299 cont./

calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he replies quietly: "Pilavon kikhal purard hokhagin on' krygrys" (1).

1. Krygrys -- an Aimu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygrys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygrys, impure. Every krygrys was considered a kikhal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was serfed, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygrys is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygrys woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygrys. A free one is kinyiygy n'ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila kotr -- big mountain bear, mer edr -- tiger), fight with him: it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the krygrys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Takhta.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Aimu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/300 cont./

567 part of their dowry. In buying wives, the price corresponded to
568 the additional slaves. In 1896 a former slave, about whom we
569 have the following information, lived there. A Nanai bought
570 from Kizi a Kugi (Ainu) maiden, and an illegitimate child was
571 born. Khuzin's father bought the son of this Kugi (kygryn) in
572 Kizi. He was 25 years old; he was paid for with nine pieces
573 of silk material (21 meters) at 75 rubles a piece.

This worker served him for five years. Eighteen years ago
he ran away to Kizi, and then to Arvo (near Nishnetambovskiy).
The name of this kygyn was Kutz. His former master from
Khez' summoned him to conduct shamans ceremonies, and he
used this opportunity to run away. Now he is an old man and
blind. One absolutely must take him back, though blind, feed
him, and bury him with their own hands, and then his soul will
follow him to Miyvo (his father, dying, requested this of him).

Chinese girls were bought in a similar fashion. It was
necessary to take along 100 sables, 100 foxes, 100 otters, 100
squirrels, 100 polecats, between 10 and 100 black-brown foxes,
100 seals, and 100 bears. The traveler to Sanin was met by
a merchant who would take away all their merchandise and,
without counting it, would transport it to his warehouse. The
visitors would be feted for two days and /301/ questioned in Goldi
or through an interpreter. The newcomers would tell their hosts
about their wish to get married, then they would record how much
each had brought, and they would be taken to the governor. He
would provide carriages and food, and they would be transported
to the major city (Peking). They would be housed and ac-
commodated in the palace, assigned servants, fed and looked
after like "gentlemen," and taken around the city with an
interpreter. Finally whole rows of women with covers over their
faces would be lined up in front of them: behind each woman
would stand a castrated slave. The old Gilyak would recommend:
"a young male slave -- an old woman -- a risk." They would
choose right there; they would each be led to a room. A slave
would sweep and spread out the bedding, and that very night
he would learn his fate. They were painted. He sticks his
tongue in the mouth; there are no teeth.

/301/

A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take
595 two widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from
596 the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for
nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case.
In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan
of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between
clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's
brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

● 582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's
sister down to the fourth generation.

In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan
who have entered into a union kikhal n'akhur; with the Khydzyr'
in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality
and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan
which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the
Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are

(114) 1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by
note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po
izucheniiu gilyatskogo iazyka i fol'klora
/Materials on the Study of the Gilyak
Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake
in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a
533 Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to
536 the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes.
Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks
in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she
resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the
Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and
brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did
he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of
Mago).

/635 cont./

583 wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what
714 has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from
them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always under-
take the much abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a
marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly
obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman
is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said,
is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

Let us now turn to the regular conclusion of marriage among
● 587 the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship
60 an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the children
of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the
language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "antchek"
mean older and younger brother as well as older and younger
cousin on the father's side, and "ranh" mean sister as well as
female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother
and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as
father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyond that,
582 the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin group,
which, as we have seen later, is also taken into account in other
connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage
among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and,

(114) 1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak,
Samoyed, Lapps Tylet /Tylot/, Forsch.
über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die
Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into
the Early History of Mankind and the
Development of Civilization/, transl.
from the English by H. Müller, p. 359).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

(113) 2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la
Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris,
1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Panthier,

● 582 (113)

2. (cont.)
Chine mod. ou descr. de ce vaste Emp.
d'après des docum. chinois, Part I, pp. 25,
275; Part II, p. 238. Iahin[?], Kitai
/China/, St. Petersb., 1840, p. 198.

as much distorted form, among the Goldi (3). Even a difference

3. A more detailed explanation of this
will be given in the following.

563 Even a difference
622 of nationality is by no means as decisive for the conclusion of
the marriage as the Gilyak does not usually feel any great the radical
difference of their language from those of all their neighbors.
On the mainland there are frequent marriages between the Gilyak
and their immediate neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha, and probably
it is to this circumstance above all that the similarity in the cus-
tons and usages of the two peoples, or, in other words, the
Gilyakization of the Olcha stretched several times already, is to be
attributed. I no longer repeat what I already stated, as was pointed out
at the beginning of this section, can be spoken of here, I must
limit myself to a few statements tied in with the above remarks
about the Gilyak.

/637/ In the preceding chapter the high degree of equaliza-
tion that has taken place between the Olcha and the Gilyak in
all aspects of the external life has been discussed -- an equali-
zation which must be regarded as an assimilation of the former
by the latter. This high degree of equalization has also taken place
with regard to the family relations of the two peoples, which,
in fact, become the basis for the most penetrating and enduring
manifestation of this assimilation, both externally and internally.
And the medium that served and still serves to bring about this
equalization may be clearly discerned, namely, the frequent
mixed marriages which have taken place between these two
peoples since the Olcha migrated to the Amur and, after the loss
of their reindeer, settled down there as fishermen in the im-
mediate neighborhood of the Gilyak, marriage which even today
are concluded between them continually. In this manner the

G 614 615 616 625

● 582

G 648 649 650

● 582

/637 cont./

example, in the above-mentioned case of Nendjan, drive one to
bloodshed, and then the instinct of self-preservation may keep many
● 582 impulses. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which
means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds
to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an
approximation, for they do not actually count their years.
A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak
and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told
me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of
which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of
them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20
years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was
not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half
child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that
they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude
that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually
this does not often occur. At least among men there are not
infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25
years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman
is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact,
some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear
them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned,
it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation
does not favor this; thus these people must also have had
experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages.
An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity.
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical
husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually
settles down with her and pays the payment of a dowry. Progress
now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but
only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers.
Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected
ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other
respects, however, even such workers are well treated, es-
pecially because they are needed. As long as a woman can
work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she
can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the
man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the con-
trary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of
women is reflected in the payment of dakyun, which is

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married
couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say.
Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening sex
impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which
means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds
to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an
approximation, for they do not actually count their years.
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they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude
that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually
this does not often occur. At least among men there are not
infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25
years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman
is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact,
some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear
them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned,
it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation
does not favor this; thus these people must also have had
experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages.
An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity.
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical
husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually
settles down with her and pays the payment of a dowry. Progress
now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but
only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as work-
ers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected
ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other
respects, however, even such workers are well treated, es-
pecially because they are needed. As long as a woman can
work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she
can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the
man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the con-
trary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of
women is reflected in the payment of dakyun, which is

AB6 Aimu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

A 735

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a
story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely
a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how
a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear be-
came a man and then changed back into a bear again.
We also saw in another place how another woman
became a frog. And in this story now to be translated
we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like
the Orok and Gilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In
fact, it might seem that brothers and sisters
married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived
two brothers who occupied the same house. They were
expert hunters. So clever were they that they used
to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went
hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking
on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Al-
though there were many brave people in the other
villages, yet there were none who were as clever and
brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talk-
ing in the house, but on the day following the men went
out to catch large game. The chief wife went off to
dig up tubers (*Cryptata*) on the slopes of a solitary
mountain there was near the place. While busy dig-
ging up the roots, a young man came down the slope
out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came
up to the place where she was working and asked her
for her pipe, saying, "Please hand me your pipe and

[p133]

583 MODE OF MARRIAGE - wife-capture (e.g., actual, ceremonial); marriage by
exchange (e.g., of sisters); wife-purchase; marriage by payment of consider-
tion (e.g., substantial bride-price, bonus-price, service-price, bride-service to
(e.g., premarital, postmarital); marriage by gift exchange; marriage by forma
or informal imitation of common residence; temporary and trial marriage;
elopement (e.g., mutiny, subsequent adjustment); presence and prestige
of each mode; relation to rules of residence; conceptualization of bride-pric
or dowry (e.g., as purchase price, as compensation for loss of services, as
guarantee of marriage stability); content and mode of payment of consideration;
contributors and recipients; etc. See also:
Gift-giving . . . . . 431 Residence rule 521
Infrequent modes in secondary marriage . 587

/155 cont. /

violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction: the violated man of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title of ahimat'k and became, as it were, a lawful clan for marriage unions. As such instances increased, the bride price, whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the general rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

4. Another weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matriarchal clans is the opinion of the gandi'y in the bear festival.

In the opinion of cementing interclan relations it plays almost a greater role than the Olympic games for the tribal unification of the Greeks. The bear festival takes place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, and it organizes sometimes a rare winter games without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The bear, which every household poisonous, is harmless, and off they go; the rest is on the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest delicacies. The only difficulty in the organization of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: the bear sports, the very sacrifice of the festival — the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the abkut and most respected representatives of the tribe. Finally, the competition /'ijgi' in wrestling, races, and dances, the feast, conversations, jokes, and songs, in a word, an endless series of congratulations. Against the sober background of hut gray existence, the hungry days, the deprivations, dangers, and tremendous impressions, the bear festivals appear as the most joyous moments of existence, as it were, landmarks of everyday life which one recollects and dreams about. But these festivals, unfortunately, are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only yengi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own yengi but abkut's

/150 cont. /

for the mass, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all this concerns only cases involving a marriage. Sexual relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with the permission of the women, do not prejudice marriage, even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwithstanding their extreme interest in the bride price which is received when a woman gets married. It, at least, does not happen to bear of regressions in such cases. A reaction on the part of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in case of coercion; then there is the possibility of death and suits for ransom. Also, at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying women of their own kin (Gilyak), as, for example, in the Amur region. It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the relationship of kinship. In the past, this relationship was the scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions.

Yet, against the violations of these prohibitions, there appears on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical imperative of religion, under the influence of which there have developed suitable legends and myths, and artificially created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell on this aspect of Gilyak psychic in more detail later, when we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the kinship nomenclature, are considered mutually reckoned in the clause "pu" and "ni-kyu", that is, /'i'i/ also from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining clansmen are placed under the strictest prohibitions.

What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the intercourse of ajakal, i.e., the persons born into one commonagnate clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are no marriages, and, in the past, even "pu" and "ni-kyu" neither marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

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Concerning the primary obligation of marriages between pu and ni-kyu, supporting evidence is offered by another extremely important phenomenon, namely, the fact that the bride price, i.e., the payments which is received by the father of a woman, enjoyed the same degree of a sacred character as the bride price among an enormous role in the question of giving a woman in marriage, it has originally lacking or at least plays an insignificant /'ilili role. In cases of marriages between cousins of the first degree, not only is a bride price not demanded, but it is prohibited to demand it during the betrothal.

The absence of the bride price in marriages between pu and ni-kyu is clear evidence that the marriage between these categories was at one time an obligatory marriage, and in the case of obligatorness without saying that there can be no question of any financial obligation.

There is no doubt that the bride price was a later institution. In the traditional poems of the Gilyak, the so-called bride-wealth, the price for the woman, is artificially described, there is never any mention of the bride price. On the contrary, the "father-in-law" usually fill the boat of his bride with all kinds of valuables.

Remembering what an enormous role the bride price plays in the life of the Gilyak, the weakness of the explanation, the only resource for giving the economy of a poor man a start, it must be realized that the neglect of the bride price in marriages of the above-mentioned category cannot be caused by reasons of a sentimental nature, the motives for such an attitude toward the bride price must be sought in a compulsory character, that is, religious. We shall have to speak about the contemporary character of the bride price.

As an illustration, we merely point out the surprising relations that, thanks to this religious imperative of marriages between pu and ni-kyu, were characteristically established between persons of the class of "father-in-law" and their legal "son-in-law" /'ijgi'i/. These relations are surprising

/146 cont. /

"husband" and "wife." Thus, each man has several "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these class, according to the kinship nomenclature, call the "son-in-law" the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology, and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how this complicated system developed.

For the present, it is quite enough but been said to the that in the sphere of individual marriage the applications pu and ni-kyu have played and still play an enormous role, manifesting themselves the remarkable institution of the right to marriage — one of the many benefits which the clan system has brought to the Gilyak people.

Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of this institution, which, as we have seen, is the present time for the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also in real life, there is no doubt that the bride price was a later institution. The traditional poems of the Gilyak, the so-called bride-wealth, the price for the woman, is artificially described, there is never any mention of the bride price. On the contrary, the "father-in-law" usually fill the boat of his bride with all kinds of valuables.

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/146 cont. /

My good friend and first teacher of the Gilyak language, Ivan Ivanovich Kenkin, was married to the daughter of an old Gilyak on Sakhalin, lived in just this way with his younger brother, Fiun. The latter was himself a no less capable person than his elder brother, enjoyed the name of an excellent hunter, and had been able to accumulate a huge quantity of "valuables," so that he could easily have taken for himself not one but several wives; nevertheless, he preferred to enjoy the wife of his older brother. It had evidently come about in this way: as a rule, he had enjoyed the wife of Ivan Kenkin, with the rights of any younger brother, but gradually a stronger attachment grew between the wife and the younger brother, and of an individual marriage, to live constantly with the wife of his elder brother, was quite natural. It is characteristic here that everyone, including Jibel'ka himself, regarded this as an entirely normal phenomenon. When I approached Gibel'ka himself with a request to tell me, he, with a shadow slipped across his handsome, intelligent face; he well knew how the Russian intelligentsia regarded this, and this question did not produce any particular impression on him.

He spoke enthusiastically about his two wife, loved his children (twenty), although he could not have any confidence whatsoever that they were his, and his son, a boy of 14, felt a great affection for his younger brother, the father of his children, for which he was reproaching

/146 cont. /

him for his lack of manliness. Such examples are well known among the Tonda tribes, in spite of the fact that the Gilyak are not characterized by the number of females.

10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of the bride price, which, in the present, as we have seen, is not for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of marriage would be merely fictitious. This is also the case with the Gilyak today, no matter how avid the Gilyak may be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother.

In order that such an essentially exogamous system might be preserved and lasting, it is necessary that a number of favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is necessary. In the past, the Gilyak, in the majority of cases, lived in a state of poverty and of hunger, and, in general, there was no stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the wealth of the Gilyak was so small that no pecuniary fund was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with the Russians brought a certain stimulus for accumulation, and appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume, but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate, which were exchanged for the Russian commodities and which, people who did not have them and wished to possess them, were willing to give the maximum amount of their wealth and their importance, and together with this the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, when the woman was given without a bride price, became unpardonable, and it was replaced by the new form of the marriage, more convenient the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the institution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

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bone of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained the property of the clan, and, in the past, the wife of all the same clan — the male cousins of their wives, the sons of the sisters of their fathers, the agnates of their husbands, women were all kin to each other, either sisters or aunts and nieces of each other, and, in the past, women of the clan were have led to the institution of /'ilili. But, for the wife which is giving its women in marriage in violation of the prohibition, this is a means of deceiving the gods, the gods-ancestors, to whom marriages with persons of alien blood are the gravest sin, and, in the past, a whole series of favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is necessary. In the past, the Gilyak, in the majority of cases, lived in a state of poverty and of hunger, and, in general, there was no stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated them, and the wealth of the Gilyak was so small that no pecuniary fund was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with the Russians brought a certain stimulus for accumulation, and appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume, but which they began to value, which were profitable to accumulate, which were exchanged for the Russian commodities and which, people who did not have them and wished to possess them, were willing to give the maximum amount of their wealth and their importance, and together with this the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables. The old form of the obligatory marriage, when the woman was given without a bride price, became unpardonable, and it was replaced by the new form of the marriage, more convenient the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the institution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

/148 cont. /

murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well known among the Tonda tribes, in spite of the fact that the Gilyak are not characterized by the number of females.

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/205 cont. /

As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Aino, furnished them and the Russians, who, in addition to the payment for the "bride price," payment for the bride — an institution which removed all obstacles to free marriage.

But once having approved, the institution of the bride price became. in turn, a powerful factor for the spreading of the institution of the free marriage.

The bride price became the most powerful temptation for violating the old norms, even in cases where there was no case, might be violated, therefore the old norms

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the rich, who had no daughters, were compelled to conclude marriage relations. began to look on the free marriage union as a cheaper and more convenient form and of because there was no temptation for people who were their equals in wealth and distinction.

And nevertheless, notwithstanding all the unfavorable conditions, the institution of the free marriage, the old form of institution of "free" marriage, the old norms continue to live and to preserve their vitality. The old form of the majority of cases the old imperative still is stronger than all the temptations of bride price and of free marriage. In the past, the Gilyak, in the majority of cases, lived in a state of poverty and of hunger, and, in general, there was no stimulus from the Jibinals (also from the mother's clan. it still the only "pure" marriage and of the institution of the free marriage. Individual man is marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother. in which case the bride price is not paid, and marriage is not even allowed. Free marriages are rather sporadic phenomena, which destroy the customary norm for only a moment and do not permanently shown into the rule of the old norm. This comes about in different ways. In some cases a man may not marry the daughter of his father's brother's clan; but his offspring nevertheless again begin to take wives from the old clan of his ancestress. In other cases, the marriage of the son of the father's brother's clan from which the man takes his wife becomes the lawful marriage clan for his offspring; who let each generation

FS59 cont./

residence is known to every interested individual, and cur-
tesy demands that he should be the first to pay the settlement. But
such is the fate of heroes; marvellous adventures always
fail to their lot. Commander Fayer was a man of great prudge, who
his have suffered some catastrophe. The nearest class of
their fathers-in-law may have become extinct through an
epidemic or a famine, while the nearest relatives may
have emigrated long, long ago to some distant place and
lost all ties with those left behind-under such circumstances
it is not strange that the hero must wander in all
directions in order, like the hunter, to find his way to the
desired goal through visible traces, inquiries, and guesses.

Finally, it also may be that the distant relatives, when
the hero at last reaches, is betrothed to a stranger, and all
the imposing strength and power of the hero are necessary
to compel the father-in-law to violate his word, given to
another, which threatens the ruin of his house in the eyes
of the offended bridegroom, or, at best, with a trial and the
payment of a large ransom. The hero himself must
later endure a whole series of gifts when he a wife obtained
in this manner. Here is a typical example of this kind from
one *Tarkhun*: The hero, Tarkhun, was the son of a woman
who is to be his wife, hears the following answer from the
father of this woman in response to his claim: "Has a be-
trothed -- *Ykgyen yakhr* (technical term for a girl be-
trothed to a stranger). One clan of the mountain people and
still other clans will come to make war on thee." On Gilyak
said: "Nevertheless I shall go and carry her off."
The old man replied: "You will only come back tomorrow."
(In the following day, when the bridegroom arrived
feast, he not only let his daughter go without receiving any
thing for her, but even ordered two boats to be loaded full
of valuables as a dowry for her, and, in the possible when
the woman is the lawful bride of a man by right of birth.

FS60 cont./

It is characteristic that in purely Gilyak poems, not
having any traces of Goldi-Manchurian borrowings and in-
fluences, we do not encounter any procedure of betrothal,
which at the present *Fayer* was an important role. All
is reduced to a laconic dialogue: Groom: "I have come to
take my wife." Father: "All right, take her." The ship
everything is done unusually simply. The marriage is im-
mediately consummated. The only ceremony, about which
I shall speak in detail later on, is the conferrarie, the joint
smoking or meat.

The old man, the father of the bride, questions the hero
"Has are a man from another clan." "I am a hero of
Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the pres-
ent the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying
a woman of the same clan, or, more correctly speaking, of
one's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is con-
sidered "pure." And the contrary, especially for the lives
of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the cate-
gories of girls for marriage, designated according to the
daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most
orthodox in consideration of the relationship between the
daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a
marriage is so highly esteemed that even the betrothed
spouses appear in the world the sister and the brother grew
each other that-and to same the sister and the brother.
After the birth of the children, when they have reached the
age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the
clansmen and in the presence of the elders of a sort of agreement
or even the actual concluding of the marriage. Even the
brother of the groom pay a certain sum of money
with the father of the bride (he is his sister and con-
versation between brother and sister is prohibited) for wife
his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to
the marriage of the brother and sister (the groom
before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancée
with threads of cattle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

FS61 cont./

the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
sacrilegious to touch the sister and brother with the objects
are considered husband and wife, and they address each
other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife
comes to the home of her father-in-law, and, instead of marriage
proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later intro-
duction, established in contradiction to the ancient law
with *FS62* all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was
a correction of blood revenge.

Then are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us
in the traditional epic.

Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the pres-
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FS63 cont./

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his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to
the marriage of the brother and sister (the groom
before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancée
with threads of cattle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

FS70 cont./

orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox
FS71 marriage with a girl of the same clan, the groom
FS72 *Ahlagnat* (eastern dialect *Yagyuk*).
Yenen participating in the conference: (1) the side of the groom
(the groom himself, his father and mother, (2) brother of the
father. (3) aides of the groom. 4) husband of the sister
of the father. (5) the father-in-law of the groom, if they give
apparently the norms of orthodox marriage. According
to this law, (1) husband of the sister of the father is the
father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by
the norms of Gilyak law, the father-in-law daughter cannot marry
brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of
the father-in-law of the groom promote the marriage of
his closer *ahmnik*, the brother of his own daughter-in-law.
Thus, in the case of the father-in-law, the husband of the sister
ahmik (demoted person) among his clansmen. Since the
marriage is considered the affair of the clan, these frequently
participate in the conference. Sometimes, several hundred
because objects for which one might obtain not only objects
of luxury, but even a woman, are: a several horse, weapons, and
ornaments, bee also food and spices, such as rice, groats,
and, finally, money, and, finally, a woman. Since the price
Gilyak closely remember the time when sables and foxes used
to run around fearlessly in great numbers and bring a
dwellings, and so one *FS73* killed them, since they pre-
ferred to drive themselves in big slides. And all of a sudden
in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain
the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
the initial principles of the Gilyak, and, as the relations
shops of the people changed themselves. If formerly a man's
wife was the most valuable property, the acquisition of a good
person, *ordu Ayrnak*, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared
his wife with other people, is not changing into *ayrnak* (a
synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a
number of luxury objects. Formerly the relations were sup-
posed upon the tribe, as well as the desire to excel others

FS74 cont./

children. Nevertheless, in the side of the groom
FS75 marriage, the groom's relatives are represented
FS76 *Ahlagnat* (eastern dialect *Yagyuk*).
Yenen participating in the conference: (1) the side of the groom
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because objects for which one might obtain not only objects
of luxury, but even a woman, are: a several horse, weapons, and
ornaments, bee also food and spices, such as rice, groats,
and, finally, money, and, finally, a woman. Since the price
Gilyak closely remember the time when sables and foxes used
to run around fearlessly in great numbers and bring a
dwellings, and so one *FS77* killed them, since they pre-
ferred to drive themselves in big slides. And all of a sudden
in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain
the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
the initial principles of the Gilyak, and, as the relations
shops of the people changed themselves. If formerly a man's
wife was the most valuable property, the acquisition of a good
person, *ordu Ayrnak*, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared
his wife with other people, is not changing into *ayrnak* (a
synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a
number of luxury objects. Formerly the relations were sup-
posed upon the tribe, as well as the desire to excel others

FS78 cont./

him carry: "That is not your business. We will take care of
that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional
answer he presents to the father of the bride, and, in the end,
know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which
the matchmaker is entitled to agree (1).

1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak
explain the motives for the father's
dependency opinions of his daughter.
I think, therefore, that Sobolevsky
was wrong in saying that the daughter cannot marry
husband against his will. For the old woman was very
timidly and in the most polite form, yet quite pointedly, but
when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sobolevsky
signed with her, and, finally, said: "Then let portrayed to
give the what thou have. You have a daughter, I have a
son. Let us become *ahmnik*!"
(The Korsak, 73b. Sobolevsky was already given my word to
others.
Even When if you did give your word to another man?
You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to
court with you!
After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the
bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride
price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride
price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride price
and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride price and
this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, I be-
lieve, throws light on the very origin of the institution.
The Gilyak language shape initial *a* replaced by the
word *ar*, *ayk* from *ammyrd* (= to give a gift, to that
ayk (= gift, to give a gift, to give a dowry. Thus, the
of the case of the groom given to the family or the clan of
his bride. That that term *ammyrd* is used in the sense
to give a blessing. In other dialect cases where compensation
for the bride price, or, more correctly, in the case of
ammyrd -- (antique) gift to an adopted woman, for a
wife, or, in a marriage, when the land came, do then come
to my aid.

FS79 cont./

"to pay." It is curious that this word *FS80* *ayknu* -- "
(to give a gift, to give a dowry, to give a present
ayk is a synonym of *ammyrd* -- to fight, to war (*ayknu* is more
the active voice of this verb. The word *ammyrd* is
the passive voice of the verb *ayknu*. Ancient wars
peacemaking by payment of damages. This evolution can
be traced in the Gilyak language. Initial *a* replaced by the
one, where the bare has gone to take revenge for his mother's
father, he pay an him an he return. *Pyk ychod yayk* -- "
you fulfill *ychod* for your father (literally *ychod* -- "fulfill
yayk -- "payment of damages." *Ychod* -- "fulfill
killed them all." Here the term *ychod* is used in the sense
act of blood revenge. Here the term *yayk* is used in the sense
in the sense of ransom. "Yes *yayk* yehen" -- "For these *yayk*
compensation." *Yehen* -- "compensation."
Thus all this it is clear that the bride price in its origin
sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, offe
to the family or the clan of the bride for the fact that this
way by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it w
not an obligatory payment, but a gift, and, in the end, a pr
wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing contin
to increase in proportion to the wealth of the groom and the
than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not t

1. Here is an illustration of the in-
stitution of the bride price as an in-
stitution of mutual gift-giving, not
of many centuries which it seem down.
As either in the settlement of Poyr,
a man who was not well-to-do, gave as
a bride price to his father-in-law
Chinese beetles, one Japanese *Yantrk*,
one Japanese *Yantrk*, the
father-in-law sent his son-in-law two
Chinese robes and for two or three

/276 cont./

years regularly sent him rice, tobacco, and tea, and divided with him all that he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he had given a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

return a gift of equal value to the bridegroom. A Gilyak who breaks this custom becomes a general laughingstock. Besides the gifts to the groom, it is also the father's obligation to provide his daughter with a dowry equal in value to the bride price, and the dowry is in essence as much a gift to the daughter as it is to her husband, who is freed from the great expense of expenditures on his wife.

Thus, it is clear that, at least among the Gilyak (among other peoples, too, there is much reason to think) (2), bride

2. Incidentally, among the Turkic peoples and the Shoshoni Indians, where marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyak.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be axiomatic until very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /277/ this is the fact that it is positively not allowed to buy wives from one another.

It remains for us to answer the question, why is there no bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in this last case marriages are concluded between persons who are bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between alien clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

/277 cont./

of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slaying of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood revenge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment. An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagynd (E.D.), shygynd (W.D.). These are valuables which are predominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ at first stone, later

/278 cont./

iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).

1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryus´pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagynd. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagynd. One bears the designation Wa-ul-s´if, meaning "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium. Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

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chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately: the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

583 /279 cont./ Along with the distribution of the bride
582 price within the family, customs of a completely exceptional character are preserved, clearly testifying to the old orthodox form of marriage. Namely, part of the bride price is given to the "old akhmalk," i.e., to that akhmalk with whom a given family has concluded orthodox matrimonial unions. Thus, for example, if in the course of several generations family A has taken wives from family B, i.e., the sons of sisters in each generation have married the daughters of their own brothers, then every time the family gives in marriage any one of its women, who, as we see, are forbidden to the men of family B by virtue of the unilaterality of the cousin marriage, and receives bride price, then a part of it is given to the eldest one in family B, usually to the brother of the mother of the woman who has been given in marriage, rarely to the father of the latter, if he is alive. It is curious that the family of the groom presents this gift to the old akhmalk as part of the bride price. This custom is practiced in a still more striking form. They give their infant sister to the brother of their mother, or their daughter to the brother of their wife, in order that these persons may afterwards receive the bride price for them, but participation in the distribution of the latter may not be demanded. "It is better to propose one's daughter or sister to the old akhmalk oneself," the Gilyak usually add when they are talking about this custom, "than to wait for a request about the matter." And this is not all; if a mother has several brothers and a nephew has several sisters, then one /of the sisters/ is supposed to be given to each /of the brothers/. What is the explanation of this strange custom? We
[197] have a completely analogous case among the Tamil, where the mother's brother also receives a part of the bride price when the woman is given /280/ in marriage. But among the Tamil cousin marriage is bilateral, so that if a man's sister does not give her daughter in marriage to the son of her brother, she thereby breaks the law; but among the Gilyak cousin marriage is unilateral, and for the son of the brother of the mother the daughter
[194] of this last is forbidden. But why then does the mother's brother have such preference? Here a double explanation is possible:

582 /280 cont./
583 it is a remnant of maternality when the mother's brother played
583 a privileged role; the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin
194 marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the more ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marriage.

583 I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

583 For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh shond:, signi-
556 fying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types of clothing and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silver bracelets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepare the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sacred chests with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry usually should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a matter of the
583 greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or female
556 slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance,
569 Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (akh), whom they provided with a Japanese saber for cleaning the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambitious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, is put in it to serve her.

583 The dowry, although it is compensation for the bride
422 price, since it frees the husband from great expenditures for the wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, her private property /281/ to which the husband has no rights whatsoever.

/281 cont./
583 She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After
462 her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, she
428 may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

583 After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over
585 the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiations, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with drinks is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and
583 no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families,
585 the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom
556 lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry.
583 But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the
585 wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged
452 in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/281 cont./
583 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry.
584 Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the
614 two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging
[686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but
686 here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price
[576] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

/370 cont./
634 his wife half to death. Even his ruyn, in such cases, does not
[84] escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak
614 even the ruyn finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante
[197] delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with
178 a sound thrashing. The modern method of securing a wife grad-
583 ually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand (I know of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman), but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

/371 cont./

583 no one, and this demonstrates how widespread, even universal,
584 it was in quite recent times. The wars of which Gilyak tradition
585 tells were fought principally on account of the abduction of
women, and they developed the practice of reconciliation by
586 way of payment of a ransom. The entrance of the Russians into
583 the Amur region has led to a considerable diminution in the num-
ber of abductions. No matter what efforts accompany the abduc-
tion of a woman, the display of a paper from a Russian office
will incontrovertibly result in the return of the abducted woman.
Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that
of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russians
under the term kalym. The bride price is ordinarily paid in
articles, money, and labor. As bride price they give boats,
kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs,
and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in propor-
tion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her
domestic talents. A woman who is an "accomplished woman"
in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who
understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear
well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife
is a rather expensive affair. Here is an example of a not very
considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitnidvo paid for his
wife with two Japanese kettles (one large one, costing 60 rubles),
one spear with silver fretwork, a fox-fur coat, ten dogs, and, in
addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after
583 which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely
characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls
/372/ the biblical story of the service of Jacob for Laban, is that
of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several
years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter
of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged
man and has no sons, he takes to himself a son-in-law who
agrees, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the eco-
nomic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the
father-in-law. The son-in-law, customarily a complete pauper,
fishes and kills seals, and all this constitutes the common

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583 property of the whole family, but the personal money earnings
of the son-in-law, as well as the sables and foxes that he ob-
tains through his efforts and skill, remain at his disposal, which
makes it possible for the son-in-law to attain an independent
standing in time. But in general the payment of the bride price
by labor is not frequently encountered, for the sale of the woman
is too enticing a prospect for her kinsmen, and moreover the
Gilyak have not yet grown accustomed to asking for the labor
583 of others. The bride price is paid to the father of the bride, or,
614 in his absence -- to her brothers, if they are adults, otherwise --
to their guardian, i.e., to that clansman-ruvn to whom they,
along with their mother, have passed; in the absence of any
brothers of the bride -- to that same ruvn of whom we just spoke,
that is, the one to whom the mother of the bride has passed;
in the absence of such -- to the brothers of the father, then to
the distant clansmen-ruvn, but in general to clansmen of the
male sex. Originally the bride price was always given, not to a
separate individual, but to the khal' (clan). And even nowadays
among the Tungus, fellow tribesmen of the Gilyak, the bride
price is paid to the "nasleg," i.e., the clan. And this is per-
fectly natural, since originally the bride price was a ransom
paid to a whole clan, which was avenging the abduction of the
583 women. This primitive significance of the bride price is re-
614 flected in the custom whereby the wife of a deceased Gilyak al-
583 ways remains in the clan of her husband and passes, according
to the decision of the clan, to one of the brothers (ruvn) of the
deceased (only to a younger brother, however, and only in the
event of the unwillingness of the ruvn to marry the widow does
the return to the clan of her father, while the children remain
in the clan of the husband. The obligation of the clansmen-ruvn
with regard to the widows of their deceased ruvn reminds one of
biblical story of Boaz and Ruth. The bride price is either paid
all at once or in part in advance and in part some time after the
bride moves to the home of the groom.

583 There are instances of the sale of children of the female
584 sex. A Gilyak purchases for himself or for his young son a young

/372/ cont.

583 girl, who, until the proper age, remains in the home of her
584 parents for instruction in all the women's sciences and crafts; in
/373/ this case, part of the bride price is paid at the conclusion
of the agreement. Every year after that the groom makes pres-
ents to his future father-in-law, and the remaining part of the
bride price is paid when the bride moves to the home of her future
husband. If the "bartered bride" should die in the interval be-
tween the conclusion of the agreement and moving to the home
of the husband, the bride price is returned. Young girls custom-
arily move without delay to the home of the groom, who is often
several times older than the bride and who purchases her, even
though he already has one or two wives, with the sole aim of
having a young worker when the other wives grow old. If the
groom is also underage, the future spouses are raised together, be-
come friends from childhood, and become attached to each other
for life, but this good feature of the purchase of small children
does not at all atone for the other features of the custom, which
is based solely on the calculation of buying a wife cheaply. The
custom of purchasing wives for underaged sons was perhaps one
of the reasons for the above-mentioned prohibition against the
enjoyment of conjugal rights by an elder brother with regard to
the wives of his younger brothers, and from this arose the custom
of forbidding the older brother to marry even the widow of a de-
ceased younger brother. The Gilyak pursues bargains to such a
degree in purchasing a wife that not infrequently he obtains for
his underaged son a bride who may be two or three times older
than he, if only he gets her at a bargain. The payment of a large
bride price gives the husband the right to get a part of it back in
the event the wife dies soon after the marriage, and sometimes
583 also a part of the heritage of the father-in-law. But side by side
with the payment for the bride there exists among the Gilyak
another institution -- the dowry. Before setting off for the bride-
groom's home the wife is attired in festive dress and is provided,
according to the condition of her parents, with valuable fur coats,
garments, and ornaments. This dowry belongs to the bride, who,

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583 in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It
is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned
with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms
Zibe's /Sieber?/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a
present to the bride.

585 Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any cere-
monies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the
bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but
586 nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is con-
583 cluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back
to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father,
dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or
/374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by
the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price.
583 In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the
584 Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with
its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one
middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife,
sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small
compensation.

462 But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife,
562 and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not
584 required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women
is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that
she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her.
She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used
for the year-round sustenance of the family and dogs. It is she
who scutches wild hemp, spinning it into triple thread, and for
months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose
every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and
on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding
of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers sarana,
berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak dur-
ing the winter. Finally, she bears the whole burden and care of
feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while
her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

/632 cont./

595 certain conditions, as, on the whole, a rare exception. Accord-
[184] ing to the statements of the Gilyak, the latter is practically not
found at all on Sakhalin, along the Liman, and along the coast
of the Sea of Okhotsk, whereas among the Amur Gilyak it occurs
more frequently. An explanation for this will appear from the
information in the following. In polygamous marriage the num-
ber of wives is usually limited to two. Among the Amur Gilyak
I discovered several such marriages (1). Marriages with three

1. For example, the Gilyak Ssogin in Kulk (Mäo) had two wives, Keliguk and Malguk; similarly, the Gilyak Tschigun had two, Chumsik and Tyisuk, etc.

to five wives are very rare, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there are none at all among them with more than five wives. In addition to voluntary polygamy, however, there is among the Gilyak a form of polygamy brought about by the law of inheritance or, more accurately, by hereditary obligations, which will be discussed later.

583 The chief motive which impels the Gilyak toward monogamy is the custom of buying their wives which prevails among them, as among most primitive peoples and in particular among all the indigenous peoples of Siberia (2). The Gilyak expression for "to

[171]

2. As, for instance, among the Tungus, Ostyak, Samoyed, Tatars, Cheremis, Chuvash, Votyak, and others (cf. note 1 on p.1030). The same custom also prevails among the Chinese (Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Vol. II, p. 261. Bazin, Chine moderne, 2nd Part, Paris, 1843, p. 482). Even among the ancient Germans, marriage was originally a purchase, as in Iceland, Norway, and among the Anglo-Saxons (Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 237).

/632 cont./ The Gilyak expression for "to

583 marry" is "umgu genytsch," to buy a wife. If a Gilyak wants to
[192] marry in a peaceful and lawful fashion, he must pay the father, or,
if the latter is no longer living, the brothers of the girl he desires
to marry, a certain amount determined by mutual agreement. De-
pending on the circumstances, this consists of various articles
needed in daily life and housekeeping, such as clothing materials,
cooking kettles, boats, sleds, dogs, etc., as well as a number of
luxury items of hypothetical value, such as neatly worked spears
provided with small inlaid silver plates, old Manchu iron-armor,
and so on. To give an idea of the amount of the bride price among
the Gilyak, I shall add here the payments which a couple of Gilyak
whom I knew had to pay for their respective wives. The Gilyak
583 Ssogin in Kulk (Mäo), for instance, had to pay the following price
435 for his second wife, Malguk from Langr:

6 large spears with inlaid silver, at 10 ja apiece (3), together . . 60 ja

3. The prices presented in the following may serve at the same time as a partial confirmation of and a supplement to the above (pp. 933-937) table of prices of the Gilyak compiled independently.

2 large Chinese hearth-kettles, at 4 ja apiece, together				. . . .	8 ja
3 Japanese kettles (kughi-wunj), " 9 "	"	"	. . . .	. . . .	27 "
4 large boats, " 10 "	"	"	. . . .	. . . .	40 "
20 dogs, " 1 "	"	"	. . . .	. . . .	20 "
				Total	155 ja = about 310 rubles.

/633/ My guide Chossiambo, who, to be sure, was an Olcha himself, but had married a Gilyak woman, the daughter of the oft-mentioned Judin in Tebach, had to pay the following price for his wife, according to his and her testimony:

/633 cont./

583 5 pieces of Chinese silk at 4 ja each, together . . . . .20 ja
585 1 large Chinese hearth-kettle . . . . . 3 "
1 Japanese kettle with three handles . . . . . 30 "
1 Manchurian iron-armor . . . . . 30 "
1 large bear . . . . . 30 "
5 especially good dogs (kyla-kan) at 4 ja each . . . . 20 "
Total 133 ja = about 266 rubles.

583 The bride price is therefore very high among the Gilyak, which indicates the relative prosperity of the people (1). Custom

583 1. For the sake of comparison I shall cite here the bride price of several Siberian
191 peoples in older and more recent times.
113 At the time of Adam Brand (Neuverm. Beschr. seiner grossen Chinesisch. Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. /Newly Enlarged Description of His Great Chinese Journey Which He in 1692, etc./, Lübeck, 1734, p. 99), it amounted to 10-15 reindeer among the Tungus on the Werchnaja Tunguska. A rich Ostyak girl on the Obj at the time of Pallas was not often given in marriage for less than 100 reindeer and a quantity of all kinds of furs (Sujef, in Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersb., Vol. III, 1776, p. 52). According to Castren (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845-1849 /Travel Report and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 56), the current price for an ordinary girl in marriage among the Ostyak on the Irtysch amounted to 200-300 rubles in

/633 cont./

583 1. (cont.)
191 money, one horse, a cow, and an ox,
113 7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hops for the preparations for the wedding celebration. The high bride-prices which Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord. und Ost. Siberien's /Travels in the North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1459) gives for the Assja-Samoyed women are somewhat reduced by the dowry which the bride brings, so that under some circumstances it almost only amounts to an exchange, which is never the case among the Gilyak. On the other hand, the bride price was very low among the Votyak, Cheremis, and Chuvash: among the former, who were the poorest, it amounted to only 5-15 rubles, among the latter two 10-30 rubles, and among the Kungur Cheremis, who were the wealthiest, 100 rubles and more (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /A Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, p. 369).

583 requires that it be paid at one time and not in installments. In
583 view of the circumspect and thrifty nature of this people, con-
595 stantly thinking in terms of augmenting its possessions, as has
556 been pointed out in my previous descriptions, even a well-to-do
184 man will not find it easy to buy a second or a third wife, in addition to the one. Only a particularly intense desire to have his wealth duly appreciated by his countrymen and thus to gain special esteem among them would prompt him to do so. Therefore, polygamy is more frequent among the generally wealthier Amur Gilyak living together more densely than it is among their countrymen along the Liman, on Sakhalin, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/633 cont./

583 It is to be seen in part from the preceding that the custom
121 of wife purchase has, on the whole, a beneficial influence upon a
182 primitive people. Even though, to our minds, it involves an in-
[562] sulting disregard for human dignity and the personal rights of the woman, /634/ in that, in relation to the man, it makes her simply a commodity, nevertheless it exerts some moral pressure upon the men. For, above all, it forces them, through activity and industry, to acquire the means to buy a wife and to found a household of their own, and thus it puts an effective curb on premature marriages. Moreover, as we have seen, through the material obstacles that it puts in the way of polygamy, it promotes monogamy. And, finally, it provides the wife with both a guarantee of good treatment on the part of her parents, for a well-fed and well-supported girl can be married off more easily and at a higher price, and, in particular, some protection against rough mistreatment on the part of the husband, for what is bought with difficulty and at some expense is as a rule, among primitive people in particular, more highly prized and better cared for than that which is attained without effort and for a low price or even as a gift. Thus, among primitive peoples, the bride price to
[562] a certain extent constitutes a corrective for their lack of esteem and spiritual appreciation of the wife, and the higher it is, the greater its effect is bound to be, and the more favorable the prognosis for the marital and family relations of the people concerned. To what extent this may be true among the Gilyak, beyond the above-mentioned prevalence of monogamy among them, we shall have occasion to learn from the following observations.

583 On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the higher the bride price, the greater the temptation for poor but enterprising young men to avoid paying it and to gain possession of a wife by a ruse or force. Indeed, among the Gilyak the abduction of women is by no means rare. According to their own statements, it almost always takes place by prearrangement between the two parties, the abductor and the one to be abducted. In order to carry it out, the man appears, as if by chance, in the house

/634 cont./

583 of the parents of the desired girl, calmly makes use of the customary hospitality, and seizes the proper moment, when the host and hostess are very busy or have gone off, to flee with the girl on a waiting sled or boat. He follows the same procedure
583 in abducting a woman who is unfaithful to her husband. As soon
584 as the wronged father or husband notices the theft, he pursues the
628 fugitives with a few relatives or villagers. If they are overtaken, the abducted woman can be brought back, but not without a bloody fight with the abductor and his helpers, in case he has provided for some, since both parties resort to knives and spears. In most cases, however, the abductor was clever enough to provide for an escape with his willing booty. Then the feud continues and may be prolonged for years, since, as a result of the blood vengeance practiced among the Gilyak, which will be discussed later, revenge is demanded and an opportunity to carry it out is sought both by those who have suffered directly by the abduction and by those who have been injured in the fighting. Whole villages may thus become involved, so that the inhabitants of them, in order to avoid the danger of a surprise attack, carefully avoid each other and /635/ intercourse between the villages ceases entirely (1). In the face of such complications and dangers, the

1. In my time, for example, the villages of Tammla-wo and Talwantigr-wo, along the Liman coast of Sakhalin, were engaged in such a feud, and the inhabitants of the latter, as much the smaller, had to be on their guard against those of the former.

Gilyak rarely undertake the abduction of a woman in a neighboring village, but, as a rule, select a more distant field of operations. It most frequently happens that Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk and from the Liman coast of Sakhalin abduct the daughters or wives of their countrymen on the Amur, either because, in view of their distant habitation sites, they need have less fear of their revenge, or, as a result of their being less well off, are unwilling

/635 cont./

583 or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And
628 among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious
684 and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in
[533] abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the
[126] conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

Another point with regard to the abduction of women must
583 be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year
114 (1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent: among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage. Later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

[113] 2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

/635 cont./

583 wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after
114 has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard
them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always
take the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concludi
marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly
obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a
is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has bee
is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

582 Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriag
601 the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relations
an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the childr
of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in
language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "a
mean older and younger brother as well as older and younge
cousin on the father's side, and "ransh" means sister as well
female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the br
and the sister of the father are designated with the same wor
father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyo
582 the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin gr
which, as we shall see later, is also taken into acc t in o
connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marria
among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and

[171] 1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak,
[113] Samoyed, Lapps Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Müller, p. 359).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them

[113] 2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Pauthier,

116, 422, 435, 583, 591

"On Sakhalin, when the would-be husband—not the
thirteen years old to assist his ageing spouse—but t
keeping, is in possession of wealth enough to pay th
fronted by a difficulty if he wishes to have a separat
to live on in the paternal home, or, if [269] not, he
friends and comrades to help him build a hut; but th
required, and this is a very expensive item. He ma
forty-five rubles (4 1/2 guineas). I have even heard
was the difficulty with our Vanka, who was a capabl
his own estimate, but according to our notions abou
desirous of marrying, and offered to take me and m
summer to the 'end of the world,' with the aid of thr
rate charge of forty rubles apiece. With this sum he
and he had already saved sufficient for the purchase

old man who buys a second wife
ne youth who aspires to set up house-
e price demanded, he is still con-
e establishment. He may be content
will probably be able to get his
is is not enough, a cauldron is
have to pay in skins the value of
of them costing sixty rubles. This
young man of fifteen, according to
twenty-six or twenty-eight. He was
interpreter during the following
ee of his companions, for the mode-
would be able to buy a cauldron,
of a wife."

/646 cont./

567 people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the ones most involved in the slave trade. Finally, [197] indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is [648] rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought [181] by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is [439] the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have best been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain conditions sell them again, but they most decidedly abhor keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen that he would be in constant danger of his life.

567 On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that 435 of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in [583] particular in their resale by the Gilyak. It is much more expensive to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Ssogin in Kuik, for instance, paid far more for his slave, an Ainu woman named Kot, than for his second wife, Malguk from Langr; as noted above, he bought the latter for 155 ja = 310 rubles, but the former cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 ja, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because [556] of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful about it, as, for instance, Ssogin was. Such a possession seems [584] so enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does [583] not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in [556] exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the purchase price in some other form.

/652 cont./

568 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the [7] Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

The law of inheritance existing among them gives us 428 further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After 562 what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and, [601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, be- [768] cause of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken [583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers 587 dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

116, 435, 583

"Dr. Schrenck, speaking of the Amur Gilyaks whom he visited fifty years ago, says their word 'to marry' (umgu genich) means 'to buy a wife,' and the value of the articles given, such as bear-spears, kettles, boats, and dogs amounts to large sums; in one case to as much as 310 rubles (31 guineas). The Sakhalin Gilyaks are much poorer, and give a sledge with a team of dogs, or a spear and two pieces of foreign stuffs. Sometimes an additional arrangement obtains, where the husband, who, unable to pay a handsome price, and in consideration of the value of his wife as fish-cleaner and preparer, gives his services to his father-in-law as hunter or fisherman for one or two days in the season."

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the
563 part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is
512 only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard,
during the rest of the time only the women are industrious.
The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get
up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit
up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak some-
times even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for
gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live
quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never
occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent
and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps
often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge them-
selves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board.
464 Gilyak have monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-
426 na-Amure [232] they sometimes turn to hauling in order to
567 earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing
and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into
it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they
are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never
trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying.
If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his
relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing
whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.
428 The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's
587 property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother.
If the children are under age, their uncle or some other
close relative is their guardian and later returns their pro-
perty if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left
with children, the property remains intact in the family,
and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the
widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth
of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the de-
ceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother
or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we
said, her second spouse, but if she already has children,
they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does
not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help
428 she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father
583 whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate
is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this
case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom.
If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half,
but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

428 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
● 583 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are
married off. If after the death of the parents only one
daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate
upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who
took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry,
the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by
going against the wishes of his wife.
428 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is
not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general
one can draw the following conclusions from what has been
said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives;
b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, pro-
vided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their
husband; c) the just usufruct of the estate on the part of the
nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit
and have their own property, but in general they are not
left as much; however, they have the right to be supported;
e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they be-
come joint-owners of the estate along with their children.
565 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
551 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
177 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or
because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they
have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also
have family names (which are handed down by the males);
many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which
is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from
outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not,
are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one,
and by this name they are known even among their fellow-
tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually
intelligent lads and understand Russian.
567 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
594 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
576 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individ-
ual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a
certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of
real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment.
Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is
occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit,
both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds
up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

/37 cont./
587 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection
601 shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-
reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was in-
dubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is
perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches
584 her brother. If he has a daughter, with a request for the engage-
● 584 ment of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in
the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the
child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on
dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the
bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes
to the home of the groom with them, the groom is fed and is educated
until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual,
592 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of
614 compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of
one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even
one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the
completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the
women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because
the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan
D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the
marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how-
[125 ever, "number" may testify most eloquently. During the census
601] that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak
family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the
abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who
called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but
who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that
one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of
the mother") from ancient times.
592 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even
178 now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way,
then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even
if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs,
sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology
preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating
with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

584 ARRANGING A MARRIAGE--marriage preliminaries, courtship (e.g., oppor-
tunities, methods); initiation of negotiations (e.g., by youth, by girl, by
parents of either); conduct of negotiations (e.g., by parents, through go-
betweens); marriage brokers; proposal of marriage, methods and consequences
of rejection, requirement of consent (e.g., of youth, of girl, of parents, of
chief); betrothal (e.g., conceptualization, announcement, ceremonial, sym-
bols, duration); status and behavior of betrothed persons; infant betrothal
(e.g., prevalence, procedure, nullification); breaking an engagement (e.g.,
reasons, procedure, consequences); adjustment to death of betrothed (e.g.,
substitution of a sibling); etc. See also:

courtship . . . . . 860 Sexual overture 832
Conjugal relationships . . . . . 678 Adulterous activities 865

/165 cont./
587 Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative
● 584 to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed
soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any
possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this
important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after
the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to
585 marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the
ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up
the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the
hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a com-
mon economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing; they fashion
[601] nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is
concluded, and when the bride has grown up a little more,
approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually
moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with
him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem
to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband"
(n'an'gej, n'ru) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at
which time they become actual spouses, without any of the
ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in con-
cluding marriage with outsiders. This custom probably ex-
plains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "n'rskh"
and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age
when most of us are only preparing to get married the young
Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anni-
versary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage
[582 unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call
themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth
of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old.
The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the
latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than
her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further
emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar-
[556 riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly
zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually
are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all
the ancient customs and rites.

/167 cont./ Thus, each man can have several clans
606 of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, ac-
609 cording to generations, are considered an'g'e) -- his wives and
614 the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology,
[601 and it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how
this complicated system developed.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to
see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations
ru and an'g'e) have played and still play an enormous role,
symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the
right to marriage -- one of the many benefits which the clan
structure gives to each of its participants.

Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of
● 584 this institution of the right to marriage at the present time.
592 For the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most
595 difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also
in real life "finding a wife" is a business of unusual difficulty.
First of all, there is the extreme shortage of women. Among
the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the
census that I took, for every 1,000 males there are 785
females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is
694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there
are 900 females. It is necessary to add that a significant per-
centage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthiest individuals,
keep from two to four wives. For example, according to my
census on the western shore of Sakhalin to the north of the
settlement of Arkyn, for every ninth inhabitant there
was one polygamous man, with the total ratio of men to
women being 1000:694. There is one old bachelor for every
11 married men, and one polygamist for every 19 married
men. It is not difficult to imagine how limited the choice of
women was. /168/ and it was already limited by a whole set
[583 of prohibitions. With such a limited choice and with such a
considerable preponderance of men over women, the bride
price, the payment for women (in valuables or long-term
service), naturally reaches an unusually great amount. Under

/169 cont./
833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g'e) is lo-
● 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere
outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in
the yurt; in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
● 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
222 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The
material men go for several weeks into the taiga to their
hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they con-
tinually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
● 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[52] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants them-
selves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the
relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty
of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially
the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But
these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests
of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing
possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the
publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the
publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[847] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are
given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their
wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider
their obligation to impart to their children with religious
solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group
spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but
address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[769] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity
of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of
the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage.
In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the
group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out
on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
● 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
● 835 note that during the negotiations between the ru and the
● 584

/170 cont./

835 an'g:ej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through
832 the same symbolic actions that people go through during the
584 betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat
595 together. To say to a woman of the an'g:ej category, "Let us
[195] have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

832 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said,
835 is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known
684 to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

[14] 629

1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamlevo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I found a large assembly of the masters of the settlement. My companion laid before them his

/178 cont./

835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
828 has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that
829 they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often and so persistently about these relations; they considered them so commonplace that they should not, according to their way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you? Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
152 835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
578 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns /179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirtations of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between
[182] brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
602 Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
584 not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for the purchase of wives.

835 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange
182 in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the
578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another advantage is gained: having married off their younger brothers, the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak, with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

/251 cont./

831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych,
[192] n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539]

Mother, mother, dear mother,
Haf thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
882 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
593 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous sufferings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
835 going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
[762] the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
584 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an
593 advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/251 cont./

584 childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an
593 unloved man. But these are exceptional cases

831 In its content, love among the Gilyak does not differ in any way from love in civilized society. Coarse sexuality is completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive people we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil lover's sorrow to the stormiest outbursts of heroic passion, which neither halts before any obstacle /252/ nor shrinks before a manly resolution to part with one's life.

831 These psychics of the Gilyak are very well reflected in
593 love songs, especially in the songs of women.

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching images and forms. "Night and day do I think of thee... As on my own mother do I gaze...If thou leavest me, only of thee shall I think, where thou didst walk, there shall I walk. From the well whence we both did drink, thy dark shadow shall I drink. As of many trees the tallest one doth most greatly please, so of all men art thou most beautiful and best. O, take me with thee, I would be the wallet and flint that hang from thy belt. I shall be the bottom of thy boat, with thee would I be. My left tear flows and falls like rain, the calf of my right leg fails me, it has become immovable, wholly dry have I become, my legs do not move" -- with such expressions, taken at random from various Gilyak songs, a woman expresses her love. But it is noteworthy that the same sentimental notes sound in the songs of the men, and the references to left and right tears pattering like rain, to the knee, the same grief over separation, the same sweet dreams of reunion, are just as frequent. One finds such emotional expressions as "I have loved thee wholly, all of thee"... Only rarely does clumsy vulgar (from our point of view) crudity creep in, for example, "Of a fat thigh the joint (the malves) spins(twitches), that is how I like it." But never any cynicism.

/252 cont./

831 The importance of the role of love in the life of the
533 Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
831 be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
584 love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the
593 solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment
762 are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides
831 frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary
593 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save
762 herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself.

There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from
[849] her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
831 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action.
593 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
762 the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the
[832] husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

835 /254 cont./
831 the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, which
832 he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged
533 himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the mo-
538 ment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its
entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the first
[539] lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy
bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyvo (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on
the wall."

The Gilyak employ magic means against unrequited love.
832 One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which
[825] they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or
they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress.
But there are also other means that are not so harmless and
lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these
drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days,
dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to
sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of
them.

832 Among the Gilyak,as in our country, there are timid in-
584 • dividuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration
of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old
women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present.
Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries,
ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, correspond-
ing to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.

832 There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli of love
are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the at-
traction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the
aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The
word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the
term poch urland, literally -- "of a good face."

/258/

XII.

Methods of Obtaining a Wife

584 • Data from the epos. It is first of interest to reconstruct the
538 picture of the acquisition of a wife in the old days according
to the data from the popular epos. Judging from these data,
especially from the so-called r'afund (poems), the acquisition
of a wife in the old days was not at all an easy matter (1).

[592] 1. That the procuring of a wife was
not a simple matter is shown by the
very expression for this undertaking,
an'gej nanygind, in which the verb
nanygind is a technical term for the
hunting of a beast, usually accom-
panied by difficulties in the search and
all sorts of dangers.

On the contrary, one of the chief exploits of the heroes is
the search for a wife. In order to find his wife, the hero of
a Gilyak poem must undertake the most distant and hazardous
journeys to the end of the world; he must sail over stormy
seas, even ascend to heaven or descend to the kingdom of
the underworld or the bottom of the sea, not to speak of all
sorts of heroic duels with whole clans of the most fearsome
foes -- duels encountered in the course of these peregrinations.

Why is it so, why must the hero, a strong man, of
necessity seek his wife far away, when he has every opportun-
ity to find a wife nearby?

First of all, we shall note that the aforementioned term
an'gej nanygind, "to seek a wife," may lead one to think
that the ordinary mode of securing a wife for the heroes was
force, abduction. True, this, too, was done by them, but
most frequently they obtained their wives in the most
peaceful manner, without even paying anything. This is

534 /258 cont./
538 • evident from the very expression an'gej nanygind, where to
denote wife the word an'gej is used -- the term used for the
category of women with respect to whom the Gilyak has the
right and obligation of marriage. And in fact everything
indicates that the object of the hero's searchings is precisely
the lawful wife who belongs to him by right of birth. Every-
where that the hero appears with his demands he is addressed
by the term ymgai -- son-in-law /syat'/, and the women to
whom he makes claim are designated an'gej, but when they
refer to some other possible candidate, alien to him, they do
not call her an'gej, but sanih. Here is a characteristic ex-
ample. The hero of one poem (2) /559/ was rejected by his

2. L. Shternberg, Materialy
po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka
i fol'klora /Materials on the Study
of Gilyak Language and Folklore/,
1908, p. 118.

lawful an'gej, who declared that if she had to marry him
she would kill herself. Then the father says: "Son-in-law!
Once the maiden does not want thee, what can you do? Go
and seek another woman (sanih, and not an'gej)." After this
he went to another place. In one yurt he found an old woman,
She said: "Son (mothers-in-law frequently give this name to
their sons-in-law), why hast thou come? Hast thou come in
search of a wife? Thy wives are yonder (on the hill) in that
pile yurt, there are thy wives, go" (1). The plural is used

1. L. Shternberg, op. cit., 118.

here because these were two sisters, and both, in accordance
with Gilyak law, belonged to him. True, it may seem
strange that the heroes of the poems must seek their lawful
wife with such tremendous exertions; it would seem, on the
contrary, that this would be extremely easy, because com-
monly there are very many women of this category, their

/259 cont./
584 • residence is known to every interested individual, and cus-
538 tomarily one can find them in the nearest settlement. But
such is the fate of heroes; marvellous adventures always
fall to their lot. Commonly they are isolated people, whose
kin have suffered some catastrophe. The nearest clans of
their fathers-in-law may have become extinct through an
epidemic or a famine, while the surviving branches may
have emigrated long, long ago to some distant place and
lost all ties with those left behind -- under such circum-
stances it is not strange that the hero must wander in all
directions in order, like the hunter, to make his way to the
desired goal through visible traces, inquiries, and guesses.

Finally, it also may be that the desired an'gej, whom
the hero at last reaches, is betrothed to a stranger, and all
the imposing strength and renown of the hero are necessary
to compel the father-in-law to violate his word, given to
another, which threatens him either with war with the clan
of the offended bridegroom, or, at best, with a trial and the
payment of a large ransom. And the hero himself must
later endure a whole series of such wars for a wife obtained
in this manner. Here is a typical example of this kind from
one n'ax'umd. The hero, appearing at the home of the woman
who is to be his wife, hears the following answer from the
father of this woman in response to his claim: "She is be-
trothed -- n'ky-yvyn iokhta' (technical term for a girl be-
trothed to a stranger). One clan of the mountain people and
still other clans will come to make war on thee." Our Gilyak
said: "Nevertheless I shall go ahead and carry her off."
The old man replied: "Thou wilt only come back tomorrow."
[583] On the following day, after the customary communal /260/
feast, he not only let his daughter go without receiving any-
thing for her, but even ordered two boats to be loaded full
of valuables as a dowry for her, which is only possible when
the woman is the lawful bride of a man by right of birth.

/260 cont./
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• 538
585
[597] It is characteristic that in purely Gilyak poems, not
having any traces of Goldi-Manchurian borrowings and in-
fluences, we do not encounter any procedure of betrothal,
which at the present time plays such an important role. All
is reduced to a laconic dialogue: Groom: "I have come to
take my wife." Father: "All right, take her!" After this
everything is done unusually simply. The marriage is im-
mediately consummated. The only ceremony, about which
I shall speak in detail later on, is the confarreatio, the joint
smoking or meal.

The old man, the father of the bride, questions the hero:
"Thou art a man from where?" Our Gilyak: "I am a dweller
of the village in the middle of the bay, I have come to take
thy daughter in marriage." Then this old man said: "My
child, this guest has come to take thee, go with him." This
woman said: "Very well, I shall go with him." This old
man said: "Ho, slaves! Prepare a meal, feed the guest"...
Our Gilyak ate with his wife. Having eaten, having finished,
he set out with his wife" (1). Another example even better

1. Shternberg, op. cit., 47.

depicts this simplicity of ritual. "That old man (the father
of the bride) said: 'Eat with your husband.' Then that
woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out,
urinated, came in, made the bed, got in under one blanket,
lay down, and slept." On the following day the hero de-
parted with his wife and the dowry (2).

2. Ibid., 81.

583 But along with such lawful marriages there are also
538 described cases of the forcible carrying off of women. And
this is quite natural, for such misfortune may overtake the
hero that the clans of his lawful fathers-in-law may become
extinct, and willy-nilly he must obtain a wife by force.

/260 cont./
583 Such catastrophes, as we shall see further on, are not at all
538 rare. This alternative which, according to the epos, faced
the man of olden times -- either to marry his lawful an'gej,
who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife
by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention
of betrothal to an alien woman as a special form of marriage --
proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later insti-
tution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction
with /261/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was
a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us
in the traditional epos.

584 Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the pres-
• 584 ent the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying
a woman of the an'gej category, a woman who is regarded as
one's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is con-
sidered "pure." And people who are staunchly for the laws
of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the cate-
gories of an'gej the most desirable marriage is with the
daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most
orthodox is considered the cousin marriage between the
daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a
marriage is so highly valued that even before the future
spouses appear in the world the sister and the brother give
each other their word to unite the children in marriage.
After the birth of the children, when they have reached the
age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the
clansmen of one side or the other a formal act of agreement
[593] or even the actual concluding of the marriage. Even the
[602] mother of the groom may carry on the negotiations, not
with the father of the bride (for she is his sister and con-
versation between brother and sister is prohibited) but with
584 his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to
585 this: the matchmaker /svat/ (father or mother of the groom)
before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancés
with threads of nettle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

/261 cont./
584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children
are considered husband and wife, and they address each
other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife
moves to the house of her young bedgroom, sleeps with him in
the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon
attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This baste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to
a timely strengthening of the right to bed marriage. In a few
years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up,
the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore,
in the course of time the economic situation of both sides
may change. The father of the bride may become needy
and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are
cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are
of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may
be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just
an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
565 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Ikisu,
took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with
her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she re-
ported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and
moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of
menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move;
the initial agreement is considered a pledge and, known to all.
"All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance,
who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
585 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it.
583 There is merely an exchange of girls, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousin,

/265 cont./
602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
191 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his
uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among
the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven
wolves" has been preserved to this day.

Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
• 584 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not
593 the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this
affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and
the bride price is handed over to him.

Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
194 be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
196 in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
597 that he is married, that he has a wife and children, he says:
191 n'i-umgarvo ivri, literally "I have a wife's village" (ni -- I,
umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivri -- there is), an expres-
sion completely corresponding to the present-day way of life
of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been
preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settle-
ments, and the former shows up to live with her for several
months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a
man has, besides his own native settlement, still another
settlement where his wife lives.

194 Another example: the term for designating a person's
191 origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth."
614 This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally
186 be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the
settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's
clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with
which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother,
but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a
settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to
visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during
the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/268 cont./
535 In another poem, in response to the demand of the bride-
538 groom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You
will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves
to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter,
says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate
with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated,
entered arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under
the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day
that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats
loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see foot-
note 1 below/.

Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a
538 town with many people, and, when he went into the center
• 542 yurt, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest,
585 from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come
to take you!" This woman said: "If you wish to take me, go
to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into
a yurt, an old man, an old woman were there. This old
woman said: "You are a man from where?" Our Gilyak said:
"I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose:
"Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak
left, he came to his wife: "Your father said that we both,
having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His
wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having
eaten mos' they left; having had a good sleep, they arose,
ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his vil-
lage). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text
p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 57,
58, respectively are not indicated in the text/.

582 Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly
[581] seated in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an
orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of
[184] akhmak'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure."
[178] Even on the Amur, where the old norms have especially
undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms
they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a
wife from the fathers-in-law -- the root of one's birth" (i.e.,

/269 cont./
582 my children and your children also be akhmak'i. If you do
not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break
the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according
to law ("live peace")."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty,
even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in
such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give
a very small one, if the akhmak is not an ancient one.

Orthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied
197 circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages
198 in the clans of akhmak'i. One of the causes was the depopu-
133 lation of the clans from which they took wives, which com-
555 pelled them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause,
58 perhaps the most important, was at economic one, brought
[582] about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far
East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of
hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which
formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox,
became objects for which one might obtain not only objects
of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and
ornaments, but also food and liquor, such as rice, groats,
and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the
Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used
to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak
dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they pre-
ferred to dress themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden
in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain
197 the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
198 took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relation-
556 ships of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's
582 dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good
[581] person, unla n'vukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared
[194] his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'vukh became a
synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a
quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting ap-
peared upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

197 /270 cont./
198 in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the
133 possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
555 and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward
58 differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and
[582] become related to only rich people. In the question of the
choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded
of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and,
consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even
in the ancient "yigund" -- legends -- there is heard in
marriagetal [illegible] expressions: "He (or she) is not my
equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
556 a special fastidiousnent in the choice of a wife, to seek
58 women who were famous for their special qualities, who
614 were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents,
their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once
marriage came to be practiced between members of alien
clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished.
There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price,
which introduced into the institution of marriage the element
of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of
alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the pro-
cedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

192 The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
584 pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the match-
maker -- "the man who makes an agreement", bride --
"future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms
for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With
orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and
bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called
[194] nu -- husband, and the bride -- angej. The term jokh,
which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely
inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen,
with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual
intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure
of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of
orthodox marriage.

197 /270 cont./
198 orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox
585 /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special
[194] term tshagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom
584 the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the
280 father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister
[582] of the father. The role of the bride's individual is explained
apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According
to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the
father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by
the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the
brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of
the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of
his closest akhmak, the brother of his own daughter-in-law.
584 If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla
602 n'vukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the
614 marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequently
participate, in addition to these persons, several honored
clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy per-
[556] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing
[582] with them at once the articles of the bride price, and fre-
quently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes the
proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away
with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all
584 alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re-
602 nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the
556 maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."
[533]

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married
595 man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself
584 usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter
614 herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are
no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and
betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

/272 cont./

584 184 [171] The bride is not present during the betrothal, the mother has the absolute right of veto, and the kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home
584 184 with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage accompanied by bride price, where the parents have motives of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather a remnant of the orthodox marriage, where from her very childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite person or limited group of persons, and there could be no question of full freedom of choice, all the more because the marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.

584 The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal among the Gilyak we find features which are repeated with remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. The procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded by a whole series of military stratagems. In serious cases, when the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at first conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at the house, they say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodka from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily accept the treat, and, when they are in a good mood, the matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals. The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist them with everything at his disposal. And here they take him at his word and come to the point. /273/ He can no
[675] longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that the host may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

/273 cont./

584 675 Even without invitations, however, there are always witnesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of
[686] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to court, and this results in a large fine.

584 576 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot conceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement.
[203] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/273 cont./

584 576 him curtly: "That is not your business. We will take care of that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional approval of the bride is all the host needs; after that he will know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

[114] [171]

1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak explain the motives for the father's deprecatory opinions of his daughter. I think, therefore, that Iokhel'son was wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 739).

/274/ But it may happen that the father will not give any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the matchmakers toward the inadequacies of his daughter. When all the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires the phrase which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wants to cut short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothing," he says through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And after a short pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what she wants, it is not my business." Then they begin to regale the mother of the bride, who, after long excuses, in turn finishes with the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let the men de-
583 584 184 cide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the business basis of the bride price and dowry. In this connection the customs are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the Amur, where the people are more mercantile, the bride's side unashamedly enumerates down to the slightest detail the objects of the bride price.

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first they name only two or three objects, the most valuable ones of the expected bride price, and after that they only haggle over secondary valuables. But in both places the procedure of the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atmosphere.

/274 cont./

584 583 At this stage the viscosity of the negotiations reaches its apogee, and "tayoray" /spelled with Russian letters; see below/ begins to play a quite exceptional role. I happened to be present when in the settlement of Pil'vo on Sakhalin a Gilyak whom I knew, a certain Isayka, betrothed his little boy to the 15-year-old daughter of an old widow. The old woman had no kin in the settlement, neither any of her own nor any on the side of her deceased husband. At her request, therefore, all the honorable persons of the settlement assembled. On the bridegroom's side there appeared, besides his father, his clansman, Sofronka. At first, it seemed that the business would quickly end, for the old woman was very needy and had pushed forward her own proposal herself. But when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sofronka argued with her the whole day. In vain did he employ all his eloquence and ask those present to help him convince the old woman of the acceptability of the conditions. She invariably reiterated one thing: "tajoraj /spelled with Latin letters/!" Finally, after a whole day of tormenting negotiations, when the old woman found that she had sufficiently maintained her character and completely fulfilled all the demands of etiquette, she offered the conditions with which the other side had been in agreement from the very beginning, namely, that the bride price should be paid at once in its entirety.

[126] To indicate the character of the ceremony of negotiations, I shall cite the introductory dialogue of a matchmaker with the father of the bride that I wrote down /275/ on the Amur. The matchmaker, the father of the groom, Pevn by name, is asking for the daughter of Lakkan. Both are well-to-do men, old acquaintances.

584 583 539 [203] [596] After the customary exchange of news, after drinking some vodka, Pevn says (I translate literally): We both have been for a long time as an elder brother with a younger (like brothers), great friends have we been. Now I have come through need, it was necessary to come to thee, It is a matter, a big matter, when the need came, do thou come to my aid.

/275 cont./

584 583 539 Lakkan: Whatever I have, (with it) I am ready to aid thee, although I have nothing.

Pevn: If thou hast something, wilt thou not pity me, wilt thou not wish to help?

Lakkan: To this day I have refused thee nothing, is it not so?

Pevn: Of course.

Lakkan: If thou shalt have something, thou wilt have pity on me. Once thou shalt have something, I shall also have, is it not so?

Pevn: If thus hast thou spoken, it gladdens me. Thus in truth thou art ready to give me what thou hast?

Lakkan: What I have, if thou shalt ask, I am ready to give thee.

After this the matchmaker again pours the drinks and, finally, unexpectedly announces: "Thou hast promised to give me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I have a son. Let us become akhmalk'i."

To this Lakkan replies: I have already given my word to others.

Pevn: What if you did give your word to another man? You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to court with you.

583 [584] After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the business negotiations concerning the bride price.

Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak call this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, I believe, throws light on the very origin of the institution.

194 583 192 In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by the word az', azh from azimynd (?) -- to give as a gift, so that literally az', az'r means a present, a gift, which the family or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan of the bride. That this term was not formed by chance is shown from the following. In other ritual cases where compensation [628] with valuables is obligatory, for example, in the case of ransom -- damages paid for an abducted woman, for a murdered man -- the term used is jus'kind, which means

/281 cont./

583 584 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the do Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, never less, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may b come necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered ve important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry m be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bri will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 614 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded betwee two families is considered an agreement between two clans, a the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging [686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of he parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 686 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses th part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit then both will not suit you. When we give you something to e if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to as for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride pr [576] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they com on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this ti the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, gi

593 /271 cont./
584
614 The bride is customarily represented by the father and
[602] mother, but for the final decision the attendance of representatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations, but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mother, the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternality.
593 In the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief.
584 In one story which I wrote down, a father, when his son in-
[538] forms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, replies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also,
584 that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women
184 generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, is
[593] no smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father.
[562] This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks with her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate. Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she ordinarily tosses off the laconic phrase: "Since you wish this, is it for me to contradict!" But it may happen that the maiden, upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom, immediately runs away and does not return until the departure of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends in naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

[171]

1. It is interesting to note that among the Negda, whose customs, as a result of ancient matrimonial ties, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, considerable differences were noticed by me.

9: Hawes--264-265 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 533, 584, 762

And to-day the reproachful tones of the cruelly deceived mai
'swish of the sledge and the howl of the dogs as the narta starts

'You said you would kill yourself,
And you did not.
You are a deceiver!
Men are liars!' "

den may be heard in the
off'—

/283 cont./

It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle" takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family, and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless. During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred, however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

/372 cont./

583 property of the whole family, but the personal money earnings of the son-in-law, as well as the sables and foxes that he obtains through his efforts and skill, remain at his disposal, which makes it possible for the son-in-law to attain an independent standing in time. But in general the payment of the bride price by labor is not frequently encountered, for the sale of the woman is too enticing a prospect for her kinsmen, and moreover the Gilyak have not yet grown accustomed to asking for the labor of others. The bride price is paid to the father of the bride, or, in his absence -- to her brothers, if they are adults, otherwise -- to their guardian, i.e., to that clansman-ruvn to whom they, along with their mother, have passed; in the absence of any brothers of the bride -- to that same ruvn of whom we just spoke, that is, the one to whom the mother of the bride has passed; in the absence of such -- to the brothers of the father, then to the distant clansmen-ruvn, but in general to clansmen of the male sex. Originally the bride price was always given, not to a separate individual, but to the khal' (clan). And even nowadays among the Tungus, fellow tribesmen of the Gilyak, the bride price is paid to the "nasleg," i.e., the clan. And this is perfectly natural, since originally the bride price was a ransom paid to a whole clan, which was avenging the abduction of the women. This primitive significance of the bride price is reflected in the custom whereby the wife of a deceased Gilyak always remains in the clan of her husband and passes, according to the decision of the clan, to one of the brothers (ruvn) of the deceased (only to a younger brother, however, and only in the event of the unwillingness of the ruvn to marry the widow does she return to the clan of her father, while the children remain in the clan of the husband. The obligation of the clansmen-ruvn with regard to the widows of their deceased ruvn reminds one of biblical story of Boaz and Ruth. The bride price is either paid all at once or in part in advance and in part some time after the bride moves to the home of the groom.

There are instances of the sale of children of the female sex. A Gilyak purchases for himself or for his young son a young

/372 cont./

girl, who, until the proper age, remains in the home of her parents for instruction in all the women's sciences and crafts; in /373/ this case, part of the bride price is paid at the conclusion of the agreement. Every year after that the groom makes presents to his future father-in-law, and the remaining part of the bride price is paid when the bride moves to the home of her future husband. If the "bartered bride" should die in the interval between the conclusion of the agreement and moving to the home of the husband, the bride price is returned. Young girls customarily move without delay to the home of the groom, who is often several times older than the bride and who purchases her, even though he already has one or two wives, with the sole aim of having a young worker when the other wives grow old. If the groom is also underage, the future spouses are raised together, become friends from childhood, and become attached to each other for life, but this good feature of the purchase of small children does not at all atone for the other features of the custom, which is based solely on the calculation of buying a wife cheaply. The custom of purchasing wives for underaged sons was perhaps one of the reasons for the above-mentioned prohibition against the enjoyment of conjugal rights by an elder brother with regard to the wives of his younger brothers, and from this arose the custom of forbidding the older brother to marry even the widow of a deceased younger brother. The Gilyak pursues bargains to such a degree in purchasing a wife that not infrequently he obtains for his underaged son a bride who may be two or three times older than he, if only he gets her at a bargain. The payment of a large bride price gives the husband the right to get a part of it back in the event the wife dies soon after the marriage, and sometimes also a part of the heritage of the father-in-law. But side by side with the payment for the bride there exists among the Gilyak another institution -- the dowry. Before setting off for the bridegroom's home the wife is attired in festive dress and is provided, according to the condition of her parents, with valuable fur coats, garments, and ornaments. This dowry belongs to the bride, who,

1: Sternberg--529 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/373 cont./

583 in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms Ziber's /Sieber?/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a present to the bride.

585 Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any ceremonies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but 586 nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is con- 583 cluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father, dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or /374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price. 583 In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the 584 Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife, sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small compensation.

462 But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife, [562] and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not [584] required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her. She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used for the year-round sustenance of the family and dogs. It is she who scutches wild hemp, spinning it into triple thread, and for months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers sarana, berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak during the winter. Finally, she bears the whole burden and care of feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while 000 her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

2: Schrenck--1052 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/646 cont./

567 people who themselves are obliged to bear the heaviest yoke, the Ainu, are the ones most involved in the slave trade. Finally, [177] indicating that this deplorable custom of the Ainu and Goldi is [648] rooted in the moral degeneracy to which they have been brought by the oppressive yoke of the Japanese and Chinese on them is [181] the fact that the latter themselves sometimes negotiate the sale [439] of Ainu and Goldi women as slaves to the Gilyak, for which the trading trips of the latter furnish them the opportunity. The Gilyak, on the other hand, who have best been able to preserve their freedom and independence with regard to these peoples, to be sure buy slaves from the Ainu and Goldi and under certain conditions sell them again, but they most decidedly abhor keeping any of their own people as slaves or selling them as such to others. In fact, they were of the opinion that if one of them tried to do it, he /647/ would arouse such indignation among his countrymen that he would be in constant danger of his life.

On the whole, the number of male slaves, as well as that 569 of the female slaves, who are always more common, is small 435 among the Gilyak. The principal reason for this is the high price that they cost both in direct trade with the Ainu or Goldi and in particular in their resale by the Gilyak. It is much more expensive [583] to acquire a slave in trade than to buy a wife. The Gilyak Ssogin in Kulk, for instance, paid far more for his slave, an Ainu woman named Kot, than for his second wife, Malguk from Langr: as noted above, he bought the latter for 155 ja = 310 rubles, but the former cost him 40 pieces of Chinese silk, which alone amounted to 200 ja, or about 400 rubles, aside from other things. In appearance she was far behind his two wives. As will be seen from the following, however, this does not matter at all, in view of the social position of female slaves among the Gilyak. Because [556] of the high price of the female slaves, only very rich Gilyak can afford to keep any, and whoever has one is usually very boastful about it, as, for instance, Ssogin was. Such a possession seems [584] so enviable to them that in order to obtain it many a Gilyak does [583] not hesitate to sell his daughter to a countryman as a wife in [556] exchange for a female slave and to pay the difference in the purchase price in some other form.

9: Hawes--264-265 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak -1-2
116, 533, 584, 762

"Among the eighty-eight adults who died between 1891 and 1895 on the west coast, [LS S: of Sakhalin] one was a young Gilyak woman who hanged herself, because she had been given in marriage to a man she disliked. Under this strange wild exterior, this dirt-encased, skin-clad, unkempt, ill-favoured form, we are startled by the 'one touch of nature;' and yet the old, old songs of this people tell mostly of such events—of the death of the disappointed lovers, or of the impassioned appeal to the loved one.

Perhaps one day we may hope to have some of these Gilyak lyrics from the pen of Mr. P.; [LSS: Pilsudski] meanwhile, his kindness enables me to give one here, and to tell the story of another.

The usual motif of these lyrics is the betrothal of the girl when young, and her subsequent violent and secret attachment to another and youthful lover. If the mutual passion is strong, then rather than become the wife of one chosen by her parents for her, she and her lover will commit suicide. This they do in the same manner, i.e. by plunging a knife to the heart, or by strangling, since those who thus kill themselves in the same way will be together in heaven. There is one song, well known among the Gilyaks, which tells how a young man loved a fair maiden already betrothed in her childhood to another, and how they agreed to commit suicide. This man, however, proved faithless, and not only did not fulfil his word, but had never intended so to do. Until this day, it is said the maiden's spirit has never ceased to upbraid him, calling always, 'Ah, you said you would kill yourself, and you have not. You deceived me! Men are liars!' [265]

ally a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
nner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close
lative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a
tter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she
ay do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also
es not take part in the more important councils. On the
her hand, she may occupy an independent and respected
sition; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may
ve her own money and inherit, although usually less than
r brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any
ore, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but
en wins respect thereby.
In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
eir wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
an is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not
rticularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable
nsequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated
e lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary
airs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her
here she is entirely independent and in the family council.
r opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.
The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
een man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
e case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and hand-
aking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall
eak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when
e man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no
brace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are
changed and even these are rather cool. However, there
e other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval.
tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's
r and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth.
metimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his
ly. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing
ch other's face with saliva.
The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
nt. During the absence of the husband, the admirer sud-
nly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the
d or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some
n do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the
ducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once
re by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek
venge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this
unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from
ne such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

585

585 NUPTIALS--wedding (e.g., preferred time and place, ceremonial, persons attending and officiating); symbolic rites; means of assuring publicity and legality (e.g., banns, licenses); civil and ecclesiastical weddings; variations dependent upon status; associated property transactions (e.g., transfer of gifts, of bride-price); homecoming of bridal couple; consummation (e.g., immediate or deferred, private or public); defloration rites (e.g., jus primae noctis); concern for virginity of bride (e.g., exhibiting tokens); postwedding events (e.g., honeymoon, exchange of visits); status and activities of newly married persons; etc. See also:
Marital sexuality . . . . . 83 Residence in marriage 591

/122 cont./

*614 615 476 574 which belongs to them by right through the female line: "Ymgi (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ must be fed" -- such is the formula of this interclan obligation.

*614 615 476 574 591 This rule, however, does not find expression at all in an obligation of the akhmal'k to support his son-in-law /zyat'/ and his family permanently in his own home. It may be that at a very remote time, in the period of maternality when the husband went to live in the home of the wife, it was actually so, but at the present time, under agnatic principles, the wife goes to the home of the husband and customarily moves completely to the clan site of her spouse's habitation. Nevertheless, the principle of "sustenance," as we shall see, plays a most important role in the unification of the clans.

615 ●585 591 476 It is consolidated in a special, extremely peculiar religious rite, which consists of the following. At the last moment before the bride is carried away from the home of her father, there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled cast-iron kettle brought by the bridegroom as a part of the bride price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle belonging to the father of the girl. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle: the former remains with the father-in-law, the second is borne home by the bridegroom -- ymgi. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the akhmal'k, the same ceremony is repeated before their departure; only this time on each side of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nich (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nich zychyyynd (trampling of the nich). It is also called lymyz'n-zand -- trampling of the threshold, which points to the religious element of the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called lymyz'n-mam -- an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-forbear, the guardian genius of the home, whose

476 615 585 591 796 615 476 /122 cont./ ● blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

615 *614 476 574 606 [431] The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage, when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There

*614 731 476 574 606 615 are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman, because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all. Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

615 724 725 476 *614 Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymgi are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.

The most important of these require the participation of several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it

/165 cont./

582 584 Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to
• 585 marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a common economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing; they fashion
[601] nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is concluded, and when the bride has grown up a little more, approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband" (n'an g:ej, n'fu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at which time they become actual spouses, without any of the ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in concluding marriage with outsiders. This custom probably explains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "yr:kh" and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age when most of us are only preparing to get married the young Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anniversary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage
[582] unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old. The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar-
[556] riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all the ancient customs and rites.

/169 cont./

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
* 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
* 835 221 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
* 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants them-
[521] selves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[867] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[764] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
* 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
• 585
584

/170 cont./

* 835 an'g:ej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through
832 the same symbolic actions that people go through during the
584 betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat
• 585 together. To say to a woman of the an'g:ej category, "Let us
[195] have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

832 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said,
* 835 is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known
684 to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

[114] [627]

1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamlevo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I found a large assembly of the masters of the settlement. My

/247 cont./

000 amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
836 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
832 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility, concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/.
• [585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
837 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who enjoyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

/257 cont./

143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.
881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who
[302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos con-
881 nected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,
• 585 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
833 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

/260 cont./

538 584 585 [177] It is characteristic that in purely Gilyak poems, not having any traces of Goldi-Manchurian borrowings and influences, we do not encounter any procedure of betrothal, which at the present time plays such an important role. All is reduced to a laconic dialogue: Groom: "I have come to take my wife." Father: "All right, take her!" After this everything is done unusually simply. The marriage is immediately consummated. The only ceremony, about which I shall speak in detail later on, is the confarreatio, the joint smoking or meal.

The old man, the father of the bride, questions the hero: "Thou art a man from where?" Our Gilyak: "I am a dweller of the village in the middle of the bay, I have come to take thy daughter in marriage." Then this old man said: "My child, this guest has come to take thee, go with him." This woman said: "Very well, I shall go with him." This old man said: "Ho, slaves! Prepare a meal, feed the guest", .. Our Gilyak ate with his wife. Having eaten, having finished, he set out with his wife" (1). Another example even better

1. Shternberg, op. cit., 47.

depicts this simplicity of ritual. "That old man (the father of the bride) said: 'Eat with your husband.' Then that woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, came in, made the bed, got in under one blanket, lay down, and slept." On the following day the hero departed with his wife and the dowry (2).

2. Ibid., 81.

583 538 But along with such lawful marriages there are also described cases of the forcible carrying off of women. And this is quite natural, for such misfortune may overtake the hero that the clans of his lawful fathers-in-law may become extinct, and willy-nilly he must obtain a wife by force.

/260 cont./

583 538 Such catastrophes, as we shall see fu
rare. This alternative which, accor
the man of olden times -- either to
who belonged to him by right of birt
by force, while at the same time th
of betrothal to an alien woman as a
proves that obtaining a woman by pu
tution, established as a corrective o
with /261/ all its bloody consequenc
a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaini
in the traditional epos.

582 584 Contemporary methods of obtaining
ent the Gilyak has preferred the old
a woman of the an'g:ej category, a
one's wife by right of birth. Only su
sidered "pure." And people who are
of antiquity try to observe the old la
gories of an'g:ej the most desirable
daughter of the mother's brother, in
orthodox is considered the cousin ma
daughter of a brother and the son of
marriage is so highly valued that ev
spouses appear in the world the siste
each other their word to unite the cl
After the birth of the children, whe
age of three or four, there takes pla
clansmen of one side or the other a
[593] [602] or even the actual concluding of the
mother of the groom may carry on t
with the father of the bride (for she
versation between brother and sister
584 585 his wife. The whole procedure of a
this: the matchmaker /svat/ (fathe
before everyone ties each arm and e
with threads of nettle and dog hair

ther on, are not at all
ling to the epos, faced
narry his lawful an'g:ej,
, or to obtain a wife
re is almost no mention
pecial form of marriage --
rchase was a later insti-
the custom of abduction
es, just as ransom was

ng wives depicted for us

a wife. Up to the pres-
orthodox mode of marrying
woman who is regarded as
ch a marriage is con-
staunchly for the laws
w. Of all the cate-
marriage is with the
other words, the most
arriage between the
his sister. Such a
en before the future
r and the brother give
hildren in marriage.
n they have reached the
ce in the presence of the
formal act of agreement
e marriage. Even the
the negotiations, not
is his sister and con-
is prohibited) but with
greement amounts to
r or mother of the groom)
each leg of the fiancés
and, in addition, gives

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a fe
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is consid
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the childr
are considered husband and wife, and they address each
other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young
moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with hi
the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and
attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amount
a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a fe
years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow
the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthern
in the course of time the economic situation of both side
may change. The father of the bride may become need
and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There
cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed
of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister,
be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/
an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gil
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iks
took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep wi
her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she re
ported her first menstruation to him. But it also happen
[675] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents an
moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of
menstruation, but no formalities are required for this m
the initial agreement is considered a public ac, known
"All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintan
who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his si
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not onl
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question o
There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is n
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousin

"The cauldron plays an important part, not only in the everyday domestic economy, but at the very threshold of the new joint life—at the marriage ceremony itself. At least, this is so among some of the clans on Sakhalin. No religious function, as we understand it, graces the occasion; only a simple custom, which appears as a traditional sanction to this important departure in the Gilyak's family life.

The payment hav ing been made without formality to the bride's father, a feast is prepared in his hut, to which the bridegroom comes with his friends, bringing a new Japanese cauldron. The marriage feast is then cooked in this new vessel, and eaten with rejoicing, for the eating together is part of the necessary function. This ended, the two cauldrons, the new one and that pertaining to the hut, are both cleaned and placed by the bridegroom's kindred in front of the bride, who, with her partner, is standing with her back turned to the fire, and face to the door of the hut. She then places her left foot in the new vessel and her right in the paternal, or rather maternal, cauldron, the two being placed one step apart. The bridegroom then moves them one by one, a step at a time, until the bride reaches the door. Here the couple take up their own and go to their new hut, amid the acclamations of their kindred."

586

586 TERMINATION OF MARRIAGE--methods (e.g., desertion, separation, annulment, divorce); prevalence of each; reasons (e.g., cruelty, infidelity, laziness, sterility); initiative and rights of each sex; procedure; residence readjustments; allocation of children (e.g., to mother, to father, to parent least at fault, division by age or sex); property arrangements (e.g., return of bride-price, alimony); subsequent relations of divorced spouses; social attitudes toward separation and divorce; etc. See also:

Sex status	562	Termination of marriage following the death of one spouse	768
Sex and marital offenses	684	Adultery	837
Dependency	736	Barrenness and sterility	842

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
171 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
797 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
585 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
574 and when they again depart they once more go through the cere-
788 mony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
593 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
586 marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey
[584] the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[691] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.

[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

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From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda, stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people; one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/373 cont./

in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms Ziber's /Sieber?/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a present to the bride.

Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any ceremonies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is concluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father, dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or /374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price. In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife, sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small compensation.

But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife, and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her. She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used for the year-round sustenance of the family and dogs. It is she who scutches wild hemp, spinning it into triple thread, and for months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers sarana, berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak during the winter. Finally, she bears the whole burden and care of feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

/638 cont./

The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

Although contracted by purchase, and in part because of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/638 cont./

material reasons, which are always decisive to a great extent among the Gilyak, each of the two parties avoids taking the initiative in the dissolution of the marriage.

For the most part similar utilitarian considerations lie at the root of the peaceful life shared by the husband and wife and the good treatment which the latter receives from the former. /639/ The Gilyak is much too practical and too intent on the preservation and increase of his possessions not to realize the great usefulness of his wife and to appreciate the tremendous amount of work she achieves through her industriousness, skill, patience, and experience. In the division of labor between husband and wife for their common household, the greater share by far falls to her. In general, the man only has to attend to providing the most important means of subsistence. Hunting, catching sturgeon and hausen, killing the seal and dolphin, and trade, and, in particular, the many trips and voyages required for it, make up the field of action that is exclusively his. To be sure, he also does other fishing and, at the time of the mass migrations of the various species of salmon, even does this in a very energetic fashion, but in this the women are of great help to him, and the tiresome work of cleaning the tremendous amount of fish brought ashore, of cutting them up and hanging them on the racks to dry in the sun, falls entirely on them. They also collect, in part with the help of the children, all the winter supplies of vegetable foods insofar as they are part of the native flora, the various edible berries, roots, herbs, moss, and the like. In addition, the wife has to tend to the entire household and everything pertaining to it. The single thing that the man does for it directly is to cut the needed firewood in the nearby forest, split it, and bring it to the front of the house. To carry it into the house as needed, however, is again left to the women, just as they are obliged to fetch the water needed for drinking and cooking -- a task which in winter and in bad weather involves much toil and effort in the villages that lie high above the river. These are, as a rule, also the first tasks of the day,

/641 cont./

the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayev. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1° at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/262 cont./

583 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is
585 already some question of bride price, though, to be sure, a
78 very insignificant one.
84

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

95 The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating
96 the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a
58 sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten"; on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individuals of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, khgend (root ge) with the addition of shankh (woman) or an'g:ej (wife) is used; thus, shankh gend, an'g:ej gend. When a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- avind (root av), with the corresponding addition of nigyvyn: -- person, or pu -- husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (je -- him + avind).

97 84 1. I choose the term of the eastern dialect; the terms are the same in the other dialects, with the usual dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms g:end and javind?

/263/ As concerns the first, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/267 cont./

58 we find one and the same picture of concluding marriage
538 without any formalities. It is merely necessary for a man, even though he may come from far away, even though he is only by hearsay considered a candidate for being a son-in-law, to state the reason for his coming, and he immediately receives the consent of the parents, and after that all the rights of a spouse, and on the very next day he may take his wife home with him. And that is not all; not only do they not demand any compensation from him, but usually the father-in-law even provides the departing ones with generous
[593] gifts. As a matter of form, it is true, they ask for the consent of the daughter, but maidens usually obey the will of their parents and the demand of the law. The sole rite which
•585 inevitably is practiced is a kind of Roman confarreatio, but
538 in the most primitive form: the groom and his bride must eat and smoke together. Here is an example of the procedure of concluding a marriage from one of the poems taken down by me. An old woman, the mother of two daughters, asks a young man who has arrived: "Son, why have you come here? Did you come to seek a wife? Your wives are over there in that pile yurt, your wives are there, go!" Our Gilyak ascended to the place, went in, and two young women were there. He sat down between them; having dipped into his tobacco pouch, he began to smoke, gave to the younger sister, she took, she smoked; he then gave to the older sister, she took she smoked. The older sister said: "Having prepared a bite, feed us..." All three ate together. Having eaten, they finished, they slept, on the next day they arose early, ate, our Gilyak /268/ said: "Shall we go today?" That woman said: "Well, having spent today here, tomorrow we shall go!" Having spent the day, on the next day they went back in a boat (1).

1. Shternberg, Materialy /Materials/, pp. 118-119.

/268 cont./

•585 In another poem, in response to the demand of the bride-
538 groom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter, says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, entered arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see footnote 1 above/.

Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a
538 town with many people, and, when he went into the center
584 yurt, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest,
585 from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take you!" This woman said: "If you wish to take me, go to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into a yurt; an old man, an old woman were there. This old woman said: "You are a man from where?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose: "Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak left, he came to his wife: "Your father said that we both, having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having eaten mos' they left; having had a good sleep, they arose, ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his village). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 57, 58, respectively are not indicated in the text./

582 Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly
[581] seated in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of akhmalk'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure."
[184] Even on the Amur, where the old norms have especially
[178] undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a wife from the fathers-in-law -- the root of one's birth" (i.e.,

/268 cont./

582 origin from a common mother). The favored and most frequent form of such an orthodox marriage is a marriage between the son of a brother and the daughter of a sister /sic/.
584 Such marriages are concluded in childhood. Negotiations
•585 take place /269/ between the mothers soon after the birth of the children, but after the agreement a public ceremony is organized, in which, besides the fathers, the grandfathers of the children who are being married take part. The father of the groom brings a male dog, and the mother spins two threads out of the fur of this dog and a nettle; with one she binds the hand of the little girl, while with the other the father of the groom ties the son's little hand (1). All this is

[171] 1. It is curious that among the Haida the ceremony of concluding the marriage of infants, which among them is expressed by the giving of a blanket instead of a dog, bears the technical designation, "nakladyvanie perevyazki" (Engl. "putting the string on"). Evidently this ceremony, as among the Gilyak, was formerly carried out by means of a binding up with string or thread, just as is done in such cases up to the present day among the Tamil in India.

performed in the presence of the elder members of the clan, and the marriage is considered inviolable.

[581] The idea of the orthodox marriage up to the present
584 is thought of not merely as being desirable, but as a right and obligation. When a marriage from the akhmalk clan is
582 arranged on Sakhalin (although that clan may have only recently attained such a position by virtue of the fact that some kinsman took his wife from that clan), negotiations are usually begun with words like this: "You are my akhmalk, let

/281 cont./

583 She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After
192 her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, she
428 may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

583 After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over
● 585 the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the
quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiations, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with drinks is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and

583 no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families,
585 the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom
556 lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry.

583 But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the
585 wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged
[452] in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/281 cont./

583 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry.
584 Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the
214 two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging
[686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but
686 here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

● 585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price
[596] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

/282 cont./

● 585 her advice on how to live in a strange land, and, if she is unhappy about the marriage, they try to persuade her in every way possible. During the farewell feast the groom sits alongside the bride, and both eat from one dish and smoke from the same pipe, but during that day they usually do not converse. In general, the groom is supposed to comport himself modestly the whole day, and not to converse. Late in the evening, when the feast is over, the bride's mother orders the bridegroom to lie down on the bride's bed, and the marriage act is consummated. On the next morning the newly married woman brings something to eat to the newly married man and calls him "husband." On that very

585 morning they depart. Before the departure there is a last
782 regalement, and at that time the parents of the newlyweds exchange prayers of good wishes. Here is an example of such benedictions, taken down on the Amur:

539 "If god gives happiness, they will live out their time
585 happily. If there is no happiness, they will live out their time
782 badly. O god, make the life of our children a happy one!"

After this the father or a clansman of the groom says /283/ the following prayer: "O god, make, make happy the time of our children, in order that we may live happily; to our life together give good fortune!"

Saying their benedictions, they sprinkle vodka in the

585 direction of the heavens and in all directions. Before actually
788 setting out they go through a ceremony which bears the designa-
[782] tion "stamping the kettle." It consists of the following. At the inner side of the threshold of the yurt there is placed a large Manchurian kettle with five little ears (for the feeding of dogs) from the bride price of the groom, and at the outer side a small kettle from the bride's parents. Upon going out of the yurt, the bride and the groom, one after the other, place one foot in the large kettle and the other foot in the small kettle, not treading on the threshold. This ceremony establishes a symbolic union of mutual nourishment and mutual friendship in the presence of the two female penates -- the "old woman-mistress of the threshold" and the "mistress of the crossbeam over the door."

● /283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony "stamping the kettle"
783 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
171 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
177 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
574 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the

593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no

[697] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.

[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning

593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyz') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-

● 585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŏgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
839 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/374 cont./

in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms Ziber's /Sieber?/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a present to the bride.

Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any ceremonies. A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is concluded. The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father, dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or /374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price. In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife, sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small compensation.

But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife, and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her. She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used for the year-round sustenance of the family and dogs. It is she who scutches wild hemp, spinning it into triple thread, and for months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers sarana, berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak during the winter. Finally, she bears the whole burden and care of feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded as concluded, and the man may take his wife and lead her to his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier [556] people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, village and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various foods, fish, mossj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and village.

591 592 As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live, and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances, since the Gilyak dwellings, as has been described above, are of the type that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited only by relatives, but often also by other villagers who perhaps helped in building it or have some other connection with its owner. The members of the household remain together until, through the increase in the families, the space becomes too crowded and some of them have the means to build another house for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides 592 the central room used by all the members of the household, with 342 the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog table in the winter house 35 built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place on them. But these individual sections are never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the impression of a room used by everyone in common.

577 171 As little as such living together by all the members of the household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, 577 Ainu, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

116, 177, 586

"Mr. Pilsudsky, whom I found to be a great and true
an intelligent member of this tribe, whom he knew—one
by the Russian Government to track brodyagi—came to h
his wife. He had migrated to a far-off village on the riv

1. Which discharges on the east coast at a spot a few
of the Tim.

day that he arrived at Mr. P.'s hut, his father-in-law a
they told the story of the newly married wife's desertion
Gilyak to the Bay of Okhotsk. This was hundreds of mile
less to do anything, and advised the young husband to ac
wife live with the man she loved; but nothing would satis
ing upon it. He had seen such effect mighty things; buy
bring about the arrest of a criminal, and so he would ha
portunity was such that at last Mr. P. gave him a paper
good to take away the wife of another man.' The Gilyak
and went away; and afterwards on the strength of this pa
body in taiga could read, he got his wife back again."

friend of the Gilyaks, tells how
of those appointed as overseer
im in difficulty one day about
er Nabil (1) and married. On the

miles south of the mouth

ccompanied him, and together
and elopement with another
s away, and Mr. P. was power-
quiesce in his fate, and let the
fy him save a paper with writ-
(ruble notes) untold wealth, and
ve this magic. [264] His im-
, on which he wrote, 'It is not
took the paper, in an envelope,
per, the writing of which no-

years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the weakening sex impulse. I would believe that a 35-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A man's wife can be a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20 years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequently cases of mature individuals (around 23–28 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is among the Gilyak only very rarely, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

Women are in general well treated by men, partly because the Gilyak women bear the mark of instinctive humanity, partly because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will be abducted by an admirer who usually consoles the husband, the husband, for the payment of halym. It happens very rarely that a well-to-do man has several wives. The man only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

In general, we can conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, it happens just the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of halym, which is

582 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in no manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of [illegible] than a 35-year-old man [illegible] man may do so, but he must pay back the halym. The woman also does not take part in the more important transfers. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do so she wishes, but even is respected thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents, 557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and her inability 558 to resist is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unhappy consequences, for as we said, it is woman is ill-treated 571 she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary 572 relations, the women of mature individuals (around 23–28 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

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578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his
177 special rule in order to make sure of their wives. Such
588 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 very dangerous if eventually being the only male of their
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, be-
cause they know that, according to the Greek religion,
marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently,
in case of divorce, be entitled to the [illegible] protection.
However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them
much in the long run, for the baptized individuals who later
have no intention of keeping their Christianity, alive, are soon
forgotten in solitude. No one knows where
they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is
very troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first
marriage, she must leave them with the husband.

Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
woman is taken out of the house for 10 (!) days and brought to
343
1. The duration of this exile is not the
same everywhere. From some Gilyak
cases, if not a formality, it is a burden which each one always
[illegible] to be [illegible] unwanted. Also, if a woman
[illegible] his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of
his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man
[illegible] in marriage, the clan of his mother, the family of his
brothers, with whom he share the right to the women of the
[illegible] clan, or his family, have also to share the women
of [illegible] on the girl's part, they slay the newborn child,
and the clan is saved from ruin and unhappiness.

The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in retaining
the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. Like
the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a deviation
and reconcile itself with the institution of exogamy, with the
[illegible] into its bosom form time to time of individuals
from other clans.

587 SECONDARY MARRIAGES—remarriage of widowed and divorced persons, different rules governing secondary marriages (e.g., preference for relative of first spouse), reduction in bride-price, curtailing of ceremonials, levirate and sororate unions (e.g., prevalence, preference, procedure); etc. See index to series and account of widowed women. 588 Religious sects.

/184

Once the above-mentioned principle was created and
became an immutable imperative of life, the natural conse-
quence was the appearance of exogamy, and exogamy is the
foundation of the Gilyak clan.

But the exogamy of the Gilyaks, as we have seen, is not
the mere obligation to take wives from outside their clan. It
gives man a whole series of rights, which play an enormous
role in his life.

We know that the acquisition of a wife is one of the
most [illegible] rights of man. There are ordinarily
fewer women than men. One must pay for a woman, and so
make matters worse each of the wealthy men has many
wives. As we have seen—and each one in the majority—
acquiring a wife under such conditions is far from easy. Fre-
quently he must wait a long time before he can marry. [129]

The norms of Gilyak marriage give each Gilyak the
right to the women of the [illegible] clan, in particular to the
women of his own clan, and he has also an unconsciously
[illegible] obligation and right. The bride price in such
cases, if not a formality, is a burden which each one always
[illegible] to be [illegible] unwanted. Also, if a woman
[illegible] his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of
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[illegible] into its bosom form time to time of individuals
from other clans.

/184 cont.

his death as well. One of his brothers, according to the decision
of the clan, will replace him in the rights and obligations of
husband and father. If the deceased has no younger
brothers, the supporter of his family will be one of the "elders."
Such is the immutable law of the clan.

Such are the advantages which the clan union offers by
virtue of the single principle of kinship and the marriage
norms which directly issue from it. It is completely natural
that these blessings can be enjoyed only by those who have a
right to them by virtue of kinship. The fact of being born to
a clan is the sole condition. An arrangement which
is a separate member of society may at the same time be joined
in an individual marriage and in a group marriage. Persons
who are joined in an individual marriage live in a manner
by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation, but also by
a common economy and common offspring. At the same
time, however, in each of them is given the right and necessity
to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital
group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place
irregularly, often demanding considerable interests, and usually
presupposes the consent of both parties to each act of inter-
course, nevertheless it is just because this is socially recog-
nized, lawful, that it does not damage the family life, neither
social or religious, and because it manifests itself legally—
it is even required by law—it can be one of the most fruitful
relations as marital relations. This is not only theoretical jus-
tice; it coincides also with the juridical views of those peo-
ple among whom these institutions exist. /161 first of all,
the very kinship nomenclature itself, according to which in-
dividual and group spouses are not distinguished by appella-
tion, is indicative of this. Further, the obligations which
impose on the participants in a group marriage the same ob-
ligations as are imposed on individual husbands. Thus, for
example, when an individual husband dies, his wife and
children of his younger brothers, they will remain such after

/161 cont.

intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually
are also considered the children of all the members of the group.

Now the Gilyak marriage is [illegible] (1) the right to the individual marriage; 2) the right to sexual intercourse (group marriage).

Let us examine each of these rights in particular.

The right to individual marriage. Above all, the categories pu and ańkej are bound by the right to marry, in other words, out of the whole circle of persons bound together by kinship terms, only these alone have the right to join in individual marriage with each other; all the other categories of kinship groups are excluded from individual marriage. This right is not exhausted by the merely negative feature — the absence of a prohibition on matrimonial ties. Certainly in the eyes of the Gilyak the consanguinity and kinship terms are a bar to marriage, but in the opinion of the Gilyak most naturally therefore tends sexual intercourse and marriage among the women with whom he has the right to do so.

These are, namely, those women whom by the kinship nomenclature, either from birth or from another specifically defined moment, he calls ańkej (wife), and he calls all other women ańtałli (forbidden). Ańkej are those women who these women are. They are, first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all ańj, i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking, without distinctions of age (in certain places).

Each woman, in turn, as we know, gives the name of husband, in addition to her own official husband, to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of her husband; 3) the husband of the "brother" of her husband (if she is married to one of them), and among some — all the brothers of her husband.

/162 corr./

In those clans where the "older brothers" are excluded from the clan "pu" with respect to the wives of "younger brothers," the widows are ordinarily assigned to one of the "younger brothers" of the deceased, but here also, in the absence of "younger brothers," one of the "older brothers" is obliged to accept the widow, without the right, however, to sexual intercourse with her.

But the typical aspect of the marriage-rights relations between the pu and anŋ(e) is not concealed in this extremely common institution of the levirate, about which /163/ we must speak in detail. The levirate marriage is a more or less exceptional phenomenon and embraces only one intinjti-case class of this category. The most characteristic aspect of the rights-obligations of marriage between pu and anŋ(e) lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the kinship terminology, in other words, in the conditions of the normal marriage. This right-obligation character of marriage between pu and anŋ(e) has, it is true, been considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall speak further on -- the Gilyak do take wives outside of the aforementioned categories, but these marriage unions do not represent the favored, characteristic form of even the contemporary marriage. On the contrary, both the contemporary customs and the ancient epos equally indicate that precisely between these classes of pu and anŋ(e) marriage was obligatory and the most satisfactory of all from the specific point of view of the Gilyak. In order to show how imperative this consciousness of the obligation of marriage between persons of the classes pu and anŋ(e) is, it will be sufficient to introduce one example from a story I recorded. In this story, they tell about a battle between a young Gilyak and a mysterious werewolf-shaman. The fight ends with the werewolf's receiving a mortal wound and returning to his yurt. On his deathbed he remembers that he is a distant akimaik of his slayer, that is, a member of that clan from which the clan of the killer has the right to take wives, and of the very category of persons of that clan whose daughters

835 536 (54)

During

*835 /184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstanding of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo, where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his vmgsi, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka was a considerably Rusified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Rusified Gilyak, Aliykh, from the settlement of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger vun, compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding, by name. Ordinarily, the question in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called her father a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 (197) 1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when a husband is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

*835 183 187 587 768 (131)

/184 corr./

levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is given, according to the decision of the clan council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

*835 183 187 587 768 (131)

Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust. In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the same. Ordinarily, such people invert in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called her father a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's own clan among us in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/198 corr./

614 home of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained
*194 together; their husbands, taken into the clan, were all of the same clan -- the male cousins of their wives; the sons of the
692 sister-in-law among Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for
*194 some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his vmgsi, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka was a considerably Rusified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Rusified Gilyak, Aliykh, from the settlement of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger vun, compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding.

601 *835 (196) (195) (195) (195

is true that the wife works very hard, an
quickly; yet among the Gilyaks she by cu
ecting to her treatment, is free to divorc
t even be called upon to refund the price

d, as with all semi-wild and wild peoples,
stom retains a certain independence; and
e herself and run away to her father, who
original paid him by her husband."

/381 cont./

Inheritance. The structure of the contemporary family of the Gilyak naturally arouses in the father a desire to hand down his property to his children. On the other hand, the clan organization requires that in any case the property should not leave the confines of the clan. Out of the reciprocal action of these principles it develops that the children inherit from the father, and only in their absence -- the brothers of the deceased and his more distant clansmen, but at the same time, women, not only in the customary and ascending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines as well, are excluded from the rights of inheritance, as persons who are destined to leave the clan of their father and pass into the clan of their husbands. Such is the principle. In practice, it is true, it is relaxed; thus, for example, daughters obtain their dowry out of the hereditary property, and sometimes married daughters, especially when there are no heirs of the male sex or when the husbands purchased them for a big price, also share in the inheritance; but such instances are relaxations of the principle which are not generally accepted, and customarily they are effected by way of a will. Before his death the Gilyak summons his clansmen and makes known his wishes. These deathbed dispositions make it possible for the Gilyak to make not only daughters his heirs, but even persons of another clan, for example, his sons-in-law or workmen. If he should die without such a deathbed bequest, then, of course, the above-mentioned principle of inheritance goes into effect. But the details best serve to explain the essence of this principle.

If a Gilyak dies leaving neither wife nor children, /382/ his brothers are his heirs; in their absence -- his clansmen-ruvn in the order of their closeness of kinship. If he leaves a young widow and children, the widow, according to the decision of the clan, goes to one of the brothers or ruvn of the deceased; who has the rights and obligations of a father with regard to the children and is the guardian of their inherited property until they reach their majority. The young girls obtain a dowry, while the adult sons who have separated or wish to separate obtain their share of the

/652 cont./

567 171 Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, and in this attitude, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one discussed above (p. 961) in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

428 562 The law of inheritance existing among them gives us further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but even treated as objects of the estate. The first and, [601] if there are any, only heirs of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (ykkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atschek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, be- [768] cause of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken [583] care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from among several sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

428 587 The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers dies and he was married and leaves behind a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

/652 cont./

428 587 has one or several wives. This shows most clearly that the Gilyak have no aversion to polygamy in principle and only live in monogamy for the most part for practical and economic reasons. The same happens when a widow with minor daughters or only the latter survive: the latter are regarded as part of their parents' estate, as it were, and they are inherited by the second husband of their mother, and, when they have reached marriageable age and suitors arrive, they can be purchased only by payments to him. On the other hand, if minor sons survive with the widow, her brother-in-law inherits her and the daughters, but the property of her deceased husband goes to /653/ him only temporarily for the use of the profit from it and must be handed over to her sons as their property as soon as they have grown up.

587 The marriage of the widow to her brother-in-law is not absolutely obligatory: if there is a man who wants to marry her, he can have her with the consent of her brother-in-law and for the payment of a sum designated by him, and, as happens as a rule among the Gilyak, can take her children as well. But once they are grown up and are claimed by their paternal relatives, he cannot keep them, but is obliged to let them go without any compensation or consideration.

587 428 If, however, the deceased was the youngest of the brothers, his older brothers inherit his property, to be sure, but the widow does not go to any of them, but may marry any eventual suitor, as she wishes, and the latter does not have to pay her brothers-in-law anything for her. With regard to her children from the first marriage, however, the above-mentioned rules apply.

In the last-mentioned cases, where widow and child form at least part of the objects of the estate and therefore the principle of equal shares for all the brothers cannot be observed, the Gilyak law of inheritance favors, not the older brother, but the younger one. In spite of the fact that the oldest brother is distinguished from the younger ones by a special designation, the latter are actually favored by the inheritance law.

428 Finally, if a Gilyak dies and there are neither sons nor brothers to take possession of the inheritance, it goes to the

/654 cont./
614 mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1035, above.

peoples, members of one and the same kall may marry each other.
562 From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it became
428 evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brothers, and then, as a widow, to the next brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for
[592] herself. The only thing left for her is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

171 A law of inheritance very similar to the one among the
428 Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possessions consist of their reindeer herds. According to Ditmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 33.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother,
171 the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the de-
● 587 ceased was married and leaves a widow, she goes to his youngest
428 brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second youngest, the third youngest, and so forth, always under the same conditions. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

428 /654 cont./
● 587 brothers-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, she becomes
171 free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In
000

[113] 3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivoshapkin", "Eniseisk. okr. /The Yenisei District/," Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Res. and Mat., p. 178. Tret'iakov", "Turukhansk. krai /The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 403), among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

428 In
171 principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal
614 relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal rela-
602 tives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the
628 latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge prevailing among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful, decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possible,

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening sex
582 impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20 years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity,
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually settles with the husband for the payment of kalym. It happens now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
● 587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of kalym, which is

Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the art of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is nly during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard, uring the rest of the time only the women are industrious. he men often sleep at home during the day, and they get p after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit p a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak some-imes even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for old-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live uite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never ccurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent nd then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps ften wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge them-elves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board. Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to arn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing nd similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into t even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they re ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never rade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying. f a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother. f the children are under age, their uncle or some other close relative is their guardian and later returns their property if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left with children, the property remains intact in the family, nd the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth f the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the deceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother r some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we said, her second spouse, but if she already has children, hey keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate s usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom. f they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half,

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588 IRREGULAR UNIONS--marriages in violation of incest taboos, exogamous rules, caste restrictions, or prohibitions of bigamy; common-law marriages; marriages to gods, to deceased persons, to trees, to persons of the same sex; frequency of irregular unions; social reactions; etc. See also:

Incestuous, premarital, adulterous, and homosexual liaisons 83
Castes 564
Exogamous restrictions 61, 582

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
517 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

889 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
829 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij -- in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
● [588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/256 cont./

143 In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual
826 intercourse and marriages of hermaphrodites are often confused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyak known to me. On Sakhalin I know of two cases. In the settlement of Yama, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak, Chubuk, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum virile was underdeveloped) and wore woman's clothing. Later the membrum virile attained the proper development, and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married.

143 I learned of another instance in the settlement of Myy Gyrk
826 on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. Here I once
● 588 met two young people sitting on the shore, a man and a woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed that the latter very much resembled a man in the face. My companions explained that only a year ago she had been wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing together. They had to spend the night together, and then the hermaphrodite revealed her secret to her friend. From that time on they began to live together and ended up by getting married, although people strongly urged the young man against
[538] /257/ taking this step. Similar cases may easily have given
[154] rise to the legends about transformed persons (about werewolves).

On the Amur the Gilyak Putuk told me the curious details concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that he was developing a membrum virile, which would sometimes grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes disappear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the course of several years a beard grew and the male organ was definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

/257 cont./

143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
● 588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.

881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point when she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man
[302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos connected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,

881 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
585 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before
833 its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

589

589 CELIBACY--prevalence of bachelors and spinsters; reasons for celibacy; status and activities of unmarried, widowed, and divorced celibates; etc. See also:

Religious celibates 79
Care of widows 736
Mourning 768
Chastity 831
Premarital adulthood 885

/374 cont./ Yet

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortunate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[264] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[513] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she participates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourning they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her
[574] husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father, and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
• [589] brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the desire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradually acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as Arkyyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
177 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow themselves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/385 cont./

162 or adolescent, living apart from their
595 parents or not, and therefore "house-
128 holds" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 The total population is 1,041, of whom
595 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents)
[167] number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

• [589] 3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

[128] [184]

163 The number of children who
165 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[124] 4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
36 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
361 In connection with this settlement of
221 Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
402 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
237 the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
50 During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
471 43 otters, and 63 bears.
433

162 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
592 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

• [589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

59

59 FAMILY--general statements dealing with several specific asp
family. The family is a social group consisting of two or more
different sex who are married to one another, and of one or mo
own or adopted, of the married parents. It is to be distinguishe
marriage, the social relationship uniting the parents of opposite
from the household, the social group occupying a dwelling or ot
Hence, strictly speaking, a married but childless couple or a w
divorced parent with children may form a household but not a fa

/128 cont./

174 Those manifest social habits and feelings which we observe
* 614 in the contemporary Gilyak, which he indisputably acquired
615 in the beneficial school of social relations, originally developed among the matrimonial clans and from them were gradually transferred first to every tribesman, later to neighbors of other tribes, and finally to man in general.

But the source of social ties between the matrimonial clans akhmal'k and ymgi, as we have seen, is rooted in that wonderful organization of the Gilyak clan, to the analysis of which we have devoted this chapter. In this evolution from the egoism of the closed clan through ties with pandf'y of other clans, close by blood, to sympathy and humanity for all men, both close and distant, is contained, perhaps, the most instructive conclusion of our long analysis. From that moment when the rule that a man should marry the daughter of his uncle on the mother's side was established, there was also laid the firm foundation for the extensive growth of social habits and feelings.

/129/

• 59 114

The Social Organization of the Gilyak

(Family and Marital-Sexual Norms)

I.
Introduction

Upon superficial acquaintance the structure of the Gilyak family and its sexual norms appear to be so simple, conventional, and similar to ours that they can mislead even the serious observer. The well-known academician Leopold Schrenck, who lived among the Gilyak for more than two years and left us the well-known, multi-volumed monograph on this tribe, was profoundly convinced that he was dealing with the ordinary patriarchal-monandrous family. This appeared so obvious to

/130 cont./

58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[591] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
• 59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
[551] husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
[553] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
[684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

* 601 In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
121 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
125 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
[59] own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

II.

Family-Clan Relations

59 601 When one observes the family among the Gilyak, one at first does not notice anything special about it. As among many of our other natives, the Gilyak buys one or two, formerly three, wives, who are his socially recognized wives, as are his children who work with him, are supported by him, and to whom his property passes after his death. The marital fidelity of a wife is guarded with an armed hand, as we shall see below. In a word, the form of marriage is, to all appearances, completely individual /individual marriage as opposed to group marriage/. But on closer acquaintance with the inner structure of Gilyak life /352/ one encounters a whole series of phenomena which are at variance 601 with this form of marriage. First of all, it becomes apparent that a Gilyak calls by the name of father (ytk) not only his socially recognized (own) father, but also all the brothers of his father, not only own, i.e., of the first degree of kinship, but also of all the most distant degrees, and the wives of these brothers of his father he calls mothers (ymk), like his own mother. In the same way, a Gilyak calls all the sisters of his mother by the name of mother (ymk), and their husbands father (ytk). The children of brothers, as well as the children of sisters, of all degrees of kinship call one another "ruvn" (= brother and also corresponds to the German word "Geschwister" = brothers and sisters). Thus, we see what seems to us a strange phenomenon, that a person may have a tremendous number of fathers and mothers, not to speak of brothers and sisters, and such fathers and mothers are often younger than their children. But, at the same time, a Gilyak does not call the sisters of his father and the brothers of his mother "ytk" and "ymk," but "edr" and "app."

601 171 For other forms of kinship relations, the Gilyak have a whole series of names, which proves that it is not poverty of language which is the cause of this, to us, strange kinship terminology. A similar terminology exists among the Iroquois and other Indian tribes of North America, and also among certain tribes of India,

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591 RESIDENCE--prevailing rule governing the place of residence of a m
couple (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, neolocal); existen
combined rules (e.g., alternating, bilocal, matri-patrilocal); occurr
alternative rules under special circumstances; extent to which marri
normally involves the removal of bride or groom to another communi
local exogamy, local endogamy); residence changes by children or un
adults (e.g., removal to home of grandparents or maternal uncle); r
changes made late in married life; evidence bearing upon former or
changes in residence rules; etc. See also:

Dwellings	342	Residence readjustments after divorce	
Settlement patterns	361	Organization of the community	
Bride-service	583	Residence changes by widows and widower	
Postmarital visits	585		

manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents, their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection between man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full consent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

/122 cont./
which belongs to them by right through the female line: "Ymgi (son-in-law /zyat'ya/ must be fed" -- such is the formula of this interclan obligation.

This rule, however, does not find expression at all in an obligation of the akhmal'k to support his son-in-law /zyat'/ and his family permanently in his own home. It may be that at a very remote time, in the period of maternality when the husband went to live in the home of the wife, it was actually so, but at the present time, under agnatic principles, the wife goes to the home of the husband and customarily moves completely to the clan site of her spouse's habitation. Nevertheless, the principle of "sustenance," as we shall see, plays a most important role in the unification of the clans.

It is consolidated in a special, extremely peculiar religious rite, which consists of the following. At the last moment before the bride is carried away from the home of her father, there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled cast-iron kettle brought by the bridegroom as a part of the bride-price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle belonging to the father of the girl. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle; the former remains with the father-in-law, the second is borne home by the bridegroom -- ymgi. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the akhmal'k, the same ceremony is repeated before their departure; only this time the outside of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nich (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nich zychvyvnd (trampling of the nich). It is also called lymyr'n-zand -- trampling of the threshold, which points to the religious element of the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called /ymyr'n-man/ -- an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-lorbear, the guardian genius of the home, whose

/122 cont./
blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the dancer of the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some economic significance, since the akhmal'k's each time, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage, when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman, because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all. Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k's and ymgi are manifested in less fanciful and land undertakings.

The most important of these require the participation of several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it

/129 cont./
114 In his own way Schrenck was right; it was perhaps impossible
595 for him personally to notice the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, for in effect it is impossible to find among the Gilyak open, public polyandry in the form /130/ in which those who have never seen it in life picture it to themselves. On the other hand, the statements of Mamiō Rinso are also quite uncertain, since due to his ignorance of the language he could note only a factual looseness in relations, but he could never grasp the chief essence, the normativeness, the lawfulness of the sexual relations that he observed.

In order to discover the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the most intimate aspects of Gilyak life, know their language, live a long time with them in their yurts (which helped Rinso see that which escaped Schrenck), and, in any case, become familiar with their kinship nomenclature, which Schrenck, due to his slight acquaintance with the language, completely failed to accomplish (1).

1. Certain information given by Schrenck in this regard can only mislead the reader. Thus, for example, he completely erroneously affirms that a man gives to his mother and to the sister of his father the identical designation "ymk." See Schrenck, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 6. Probably the individual who gave Schrenck this information was speaking, not of the sister of the father, but of the sister of the mother.

58 To the superficial observer, the institution of Gilyak mar-
595 riage actually does not present anything peculiar. By all outward indications the wife or the wives of the Gilyak (polygamy -- two, three, or four wives -- is permitted by Gilyak custom) represent his individual property. The wife
●591 is purchased by the husband for a very high price from her

/130 cont./
58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
●591 residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child, husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" -- teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
*601 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
121 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
125 own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
591 realm of kinship nomenclature also seemed to confirm it in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113]

1. At the time the account of this was

/193 cont./
614 on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individ-
601 ual member of the clan, as we have seen above, this is expressed
602 in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his
582 mother's brother, in other words, the daughters of every man
*174 belong to the sons of his sister. This principle also is the link from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the maternal family, the one that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to satisfy this most vital need in the early stages of human society, every mother obtained for her sons the daughters of her brother, in other words, all the descendants of a sister obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of the mother's brother, and not the children of the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother, we can never know. Now let us look at the consequences
*174 this principle had in its practical application.
582
591 /194/ 1) Once the daughters of the brother belonged from
581 birth to the sons of the sister, it was most natural that the future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their future wives /sic/. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, as among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriage, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Termi-
[602] nology has perpetuated this arrangement in that even from birth children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

/194 cont./
581 relationship of ny and an'gre; toward each other (1).
*174
582
591
602
[114]
(835)

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 82).

[113]

*174 2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons
582 of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women
581 for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

/263 cont./
195 therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man takes a
196 woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buys his
58 wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in both cases in the sense of the human term -- ixrem dgere, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term javind, which in this form is only a marriage term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb p'avind = pi + avind, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: nlg-yvyr' n-lenyn' pyrk pavzi -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb p'avind -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active verb javind -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (jaivun ekhan -- a grazing cow). Finally, javind, javend means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term javind, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this
[194] etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it
●591 follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the system
[171] of maternality /matemitera/ prevailed, as it does at the present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where the husband as a common rule moved into the house of his wife, just as the masculine term g-end -- "to take for oneself" -- bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

/263 cont./

[196] patemitical, with the wife moving into the house of her
[197] husband. At the present time the original meaning has disap-
[198] peared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree
[199] that often for the expression "to get married" there is added
[200] to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would
mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this
is an obvious contradiction in adjectiv, for it signifies moving
into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being
[196] supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of
[197] marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as
far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life
are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The
reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with
someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for exam-
[198] ple, ytk menakh vavin kull ityd, i.e., "father ordered us
to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each
[199] other." Further, the active verb ajvind is used in the sense
of to be married, to have a wife, for example, menyn ryvn
an'gual vhnyvf ajvuzk -- "two brothers lived in marriage with
one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several
[198] remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony
[199] of this is found in the contemporary formula of common
[200] marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymgxi
[201] ainish jagn'udra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although,
according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife
to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system
[197] where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house
for good, or, as among the Aino of today, he regularly
came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and
it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated
to feed the son-in-law on the same basis as those on which
at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed
his wife.

/264 cont./

[200] This formula has preserved its vital significance even
[201] today. One is supposed to send regularly to the son-in-law
[197] jafu of eel-skins and a share of every catch. Moreover, the
[198] young men of the category ymgxi during the course of several
[199] months out of the year are unfailing guests in the settlement
of their father-in-law and are indispensable participants in
the more important hunting expeditions.

In particular, this relation is clearly attested to at the
[200] time of dances and excursions for the hunting of sea animals.
[201] The master of the boat -- he is the head of the expedition --
in such cases especially summons his ymgxi to take part in
the hunt (1).

[191] 1. We find an analogous phenomenon among the Haida Indians, a purely maternal tribe. Here, according to Swanton (Haida, p. 69), when a man undertakes a military campaign, he calls together his tribesmen who are his potential or actual son-in-law.

[191] All this time the ymgxi are not only fed for nothing, but
[197] when they leave they carry away with them an equal share
[198] of the catch and various /265/ gifts besides. One's relations
[199] with these young men are either much more tender than with
[200] one's own children. And this is entirely understandable, for
[201] a man's ymgxi are the sons of his sisters or daughters, his
tribesmen, who under a maternal system must live with him,
while his own sons and grandsons will move to the settlement
of their wives and will be completely entranged from him.

[197] This obligation for the "nourishment" of the tribesmen
[198] through their son-in-law, however, is a customary institution
[199] in maternality. Among several peoples, as, for example,
among the Polynesians, the right of tribesmen to the property
of their uncle on the mother's side has taken on completely
[200] improbable forms, where a tribesman has the right to ravish
[201] with impunity the possessions of his uncles. This right is

/265 cont./

[200] preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
[201] by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
[197] of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his
[198] uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among
[199] the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven
wolves" has been preserved to this day.

Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
[198] marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not
[199] the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this
[200] affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and
the bride price is handed over to him.

[201] Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
[197] be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
[198] in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
[199] that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says
[200] n'-umgarvo ivzh, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- i,
umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivz -- there is), an expres-
sion completely corresponding to the present-day way of life
of the Aino, among whom to this day maternality has been
preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settle-
ments, and the former shows up to live with her for several
months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a
man has, besides his own native settlement, still another
settlement where his wife lives.

[201] Another example: the term for designating a person's
[197] origin is the expression pandor', literally "root of birth."
[198] This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally
[199] be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the
settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's
clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with
which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother,
[200] but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a
[201] settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to
visit, and more than once may /266/ Gilyak companions during
the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/360 cont./

[611] among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly
[612] imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal-
[613] zeymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations
[614] ago), was the social leader of all the kinship group. His suc-
[615] cessor was the khal'-zeymar next to him in years. The inter-
[616] vention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the
island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But
[617] the khal'-zeymary never played the role of patriarchs with un-
limited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among
the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time
the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in
religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions con-
cerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions
where they play a special role in the composition of the judgment.

[618] 11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from
one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to
[619] visit one another, to visit one another, and to show hospitality
another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from
the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed pro-
tection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak
become poor or an unlucky year [illegible] and he will go to
spend some time with clansmen still matters improve. On the
eastern coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which
the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more
than five or six such settlements (Pranovo, Tangi, Tykh, and two
or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of
cases there are two or three clans in one settlement. This partly
arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon
his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fish-
ing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the
Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. More-
over, the custom of many non-it-law to emigrate to the clan
of their side-aids greatly aids the mixing of clans. This
[620] latter custom, possibly, a survival of the archaic clan mode of
life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands
[621] [illegible] the clan of the wife, and see consequently, it is done at

/361 cont./

[611] present: frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-
[612] law, the son-in-law moves to live in the house of the former for joint
[613] work with him (more detail about this below).

[614] 12. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those
[615] of other clans. It is known to all the Sakhalin Gilyak, who have
[616] the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation
invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only
an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance
of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained
[617] in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the
remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed
on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of
bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away,
they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an ashin
[618] yaqara, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of
the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a
woman), and other trifles. That there arises a whole row of yurt-
[619] tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements,
they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak
[620] may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If
a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate
the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for
[621] cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the
summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime,
when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if
/362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien
territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie
it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they
[622] make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death
of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their
braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness
of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning
throughout their lives.

/376 cont./

[611] inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
[612] have a deeper interest, for they inherit the property of the former to be
disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority
is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
[613] to his daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers
[614] determined by the form of acquiring the means of existence.
[615] For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[616] existence of large family households is not necessary. Likewise,
the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[617] require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal-
hunting the Gilyak join in temporary aruels, whose composition is
completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
[618] family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of
division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such
work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving
their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
[619] any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[620] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the
death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we
should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers
continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equip-
ment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the
division of the household.

[621] We shall say more later concerning the economic relations
of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual
aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between mem-
bers of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among
these barbarians than in a civilized family.

/636 cont./

585 As soon as the bride price is paid, the marriage is regarded
as concluded, and the man may take his young wife home to
his home. This is often done without further ado. Wealthier
[560] people, however, usually arrange a feast to celebrate the wedding
of their daughter or sister, at which, aside from relatives, villagers
and friends also /637/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various
foods, fish, mosj, berries, millet, etc., are given to the de-
parting married couple, so that the young wife, having reached
the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the
relatives, there, as well as members of the household and
village.

[561] At a rule the young couple moves to the place where the
husband has his home, that is, where his parents or brothers live,
and take up residence with one or the other of them, according
to circumstances, since the Gilyak practice of the patriarchal
described above, are of the type that can accommodate several
families. The house, however, is by no means always inhabited
only by relatives, but often also by other Gilyak who perhaps
helped in building it or have some other connection with its
owner. The members of the household remain together until,
through the increase in the families, the space becomes too
crowded and some of them are forced to build another house
for themselves either in the same village or elsewhere. Besides
[562] the central room used by all the members of the household, with
[563] the hearth in the earth yurt or the dog kennel in the winter house
[564] built in Chinese fashion, each family has its particular share of
the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has
his designated place on them; but these individual sections are
never separated from one another in any way by screens, curtains,
or the like, and the whole interior of the house always gives the
impression of a room used by everyone in common.

[565] At the same time, living together by all members of the
household in one room can be conducive to morality, generally
speaking. I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in
this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a morally
[566] austere people, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi,
[567] Aino, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. There is

116, 558, 591

"A young man on marrying may make his home with his father; but if he be still in the single state and desire a hut of his own, he must marry, for it is more than infra dig. for him to do domestic work. For a Gilyak to take in his hand the woman's fish-knife (ungu-dzhakho) is considered a disgrace."

116, 422, 435, 583, 591

"On Sakhalin, when the would-be husban
thirteen years old to assist his ageing spou
keeping, is in possession of wealth enough
fronted by a difficulty if he wishes to have
to live on in the paternal home, or, if [269
friends and comrades to help him build a h
required, and this is a very expensive iten
forty-five rubles (4 1/2 guineas). I have ev
was the difficulty with our Vanka, who was
his own estimate, but according to our noti
desirous of marrying, and offered to take
summer to the 'end of the world,' with the
rate charge of forty rubles apiece. With th
and he had already saved sufficient for the

d—not the old man who buys a second wife
ıse—but the youth who aspires to set up house-
to pay the price demanded, he is still con-
a separate establishment. He may be content
] not, he will probably be able to get his
ut; but this is not enough, a cauldron is
n. He may have to pay in skins the value of
en heard of them costing sixty rubles. This
a capable young man of fifteen, according to
ions about twenty-six or twenty-eight. He was
me and my interpreter during the following
aid of three of his companions, for the mode-
is sum he would be able to buy a cauldron,
purchase of a wife."

592

592 HOUSEHOLD--typical composition (e.g., nuclear or polygamous family, joint or extended family, clan); range, types, and incidence of variations; extent of inclusion of servants, retainers, and dependent relatives (e.g., aged grandparents, parents-in-law); physical seat (e.g., a single small or large dwelling, a cluster of adjacent huts, a compound); functions and cooperative activities of the household unit as such (i.e., irrespective of variations in family composition); locus of authority; rule of succession; mechanism for adjusting disputes within the household; ownership of dwelling, food stores, and household possessions; etc. Functions associated with particular forms of the family rather than with the household as such will be found in separate categories.

See also:

Property	42	Cooperative labor	476
Type of dwelling	342	Slaves	567
Servants	357	Care of aged	737, 888

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

Aleut

/245 cont./

The peculiarities of the Aleut marriage norms did not remain isolated on the Aleutian Islands. On the northwest shore of the American continent, right up to the Columbia River itself, which was regarded by Morgan as the point of departure of the Ganowanian system, observers note them in terms almost analogous to those used by Veniaminov. We find them among the Eskimo tribe of the Koniag, the inhabitants of Kodiak Island, about whom Davydov writes: "Some women have two husbands each: the first is the actual husband, who selects the other one with the consent of the wife. This one at the same time becomes a servant i.e., he carries firewood and does a number of other chores. He can sleep with the wife only in the absence of her actual husband, and upon his return he is deprived of this right. /246/ The Russians call such husbands partners" (1). This

1. Davydov, Dvukratnoe puteshestvie v Ameriku ofitserov Khvostova i Davydova /Two Voyages to America by the Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, Part II, pp. 50-51.

This description, which almost seems to have been copied from Mamio Rinso and Veniaminov and travelers to Tibet, fails like the others to note the kinship relations between the spouses, but, on the other hand, there is the valuable report of the right of the second husband to exercise his marital rights only in the absence of the first husband, as among the Gilyak, and the obvious subservient position of this second husband. This subservient position is justly noted and strikes the eye also among the Gilyak, but it obtains, not by virtue of a marital agreement, but by virtue of the fact that the brother always plays the role of the head of the house and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master

/277 cont./

harpoons, the stringers beside a yurt, fishes, little seals, bears (owl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting of seines for sable.

/278/ Unity in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his brothers and classmates, sometimes with his father-in-law, more rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding at times up to 50 people, frequently all classmates. The economic advantage of such communal dwellings consist in the fact that the yurt, which consumes a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory construction of the stoves, is used as rarely for such individual taboo separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security from abduction for the women. The summer yurts are built smaller and probably house from one to three families. The winter yurt are built through the joint efforts of several brothers or classmates; the summer one's - through the efforts of one person. But all those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent sikhalintsev, classmates or members of other clans who are temporarily helping, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders, and it is doubtful whether the latter ever expect any special privileges in obtaining firewood. If the yurt becomes congested, there will always be found a pair of people who are so uncomfortable will undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the builders themselves will move, or they will remain in dwellers. Thus the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of several families who participated in its construction, but at the same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clansmen and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the clan and was an object of collective property.

The views of the Gilyak concerning movable property are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary articles of movable property among them are boats, fishing nets, tackle, arms, dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happen that a boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or three

/280 cont./

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or son, and therefore "household" are counted separately, and, secondly, wives and widowers and their children, and also persons (husbands and sinsem) who live as a single household.

The total population is 1,041, of which 541 are male and 500 female, the corresponding enumeration number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 22 male persons (husbands of these married persons each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals over who have only one wife. The average number of children who

3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be included among those who are married persons. The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, there are only two polygamists, in this regard, we have not met on the Chihoni dune a single man who had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur Gilyak have three or four wives

/281/ The house was established in 515, while the number of houses was first used at Nivh in 547, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 106 (%) the

4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was determined by asking each married man the question: (1) how many of his children were present at the time of each child was called out and written down one by one; and how many were absent; (2) how

/283 cont./

many of his children had died between the beginning of his marriage and the time of the survey, and, finally, he estimated an exact number of the children in a given family, and, in the above description. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

/284/ The fertility rate - 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of children we have included only those, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, those who died immediately after their birth. There is an average of 15 people living in each yurt, although there are a number of yurts with several families and clansmen, for example, one yurt in the settlement of Symivo accommodates 40 people, in the settlement of Ulyl

As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of these are the following: Ulyl (settlement of Symivo, 40 persons each), Vidrov (116); Nivgu (110), Arkyyov (87), Tal'vutgrov and Tengi (64 each), Kimlevo and Pustu (59 each), Nyaivo (58); the smallest settlements are Ulyl (Ulyl, 15 persons), Ul'ya (Ulyl, 16). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tal'vutgrov (116), the smallest - Ul'ya (Ulyl, 16 persons). Of the total population 1,126, taboo lived in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk post, 208 - in the settlements of the Tym' River, and 707 - on the Amur.

5. The number of for animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from, and, finally, on the average per year, on average family has /289/ four to five members: there are 11 married

1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

/285 cont./

settlements the settlement of Sim'vuo on the banks of the Tym' River, seven were from the settlement of Ul'ya, in connection with this settlement of Sim'vuo, the author has received from the above description, a winter yurt of the Gilyak, built following the Chinese pattern with an fire-place using Chinese bricks, provides adequate and comfortable space for four families. If one reckons the average family at four persons, husband, wife, and two children, this already gives 16 people living in the Chinese winter-yurt. Some yurts, to be sure, are occupied by only one or two families, at the most three families, and, on the other hand, there are yurts some across a yurt apparently standing empty throughout the entire year. Thus, in the winter settlement of Sim'vuo, as has been mentioned, single persons of both sexes, be it out of considerations of visiting or return to the winter, or, finally, and, finally, and permanent lodgings in the yurt. Also, the average figure of only two children per family seems too low, and, in reality, it is, no doubt, larger. Hence I think that it is not estimating too high if I reckon an average of 16 people living in each winter yurt. As to the summer-settlements, of, had people, these are 160 families and 130 people, average family - 3; 332 children survived birth; 189 died. Cons - 64 (of these 38 are on the Chihoni coast and the remainder on the Tym'); 121 men, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. In the length the season 688 seals killed, 588 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

From this one can draw the following conclusions: here are three sex, on the average of the sex per yurt, on average family has /289/ four to five members: there are 11 married

/286/ There are 193 boats, 201 boats (one boat to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money

/286 cont./

principal points, Tachi and Fate, exceed that number. Along the Lintan, Lengr in the north and Tachinsk in the south are in common possession with the clansmen, the exchange takes place between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin. The author has received information with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tym' and Tro Gilyaks, and, with an fine long spring boat, provides adequate and comfortable space for four families. If one reckons the average family at four persons, husband, wife, and two children, this already gives 16 people living in the Chinese winter-yurt. Some yurts, to be sure, are occupied by only one or two families, at the most three families, and, on the other hand, there are yurts some across a yurt apparently standing empty throughout the entire year. Thus, in the winter settlement of Sim'vuo, as has been mentioned, single persons of both sexes, be it out of considerations of visiting or return to the winter, or, finally, and, finally, and permanent lodgings in the yurt. Also, the average figure of only two children per family seems too low, and, in reality, it is, no doubt, larger. Hence I think that it is not estimating too high if I reckon an average of 16 people living in each winter yurt. As to the summer-settlements, of, had people, these are 160 families and 130 people, average family - 3; 332 children survived birth; 189 died. Cons - 64 (of these 38 are on the Chihoni coast and the remainder on the Tym'); 121 men, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs. In the length the season 688 seals killed, 588 sables, 134 foxes, 43 otters, and 63 bears.

/287/ Gilyak houses are not erected by individuals, but rather are erected jointly by several families, and, in general, the Gilyak dwelling is an object of collective property, and, in the above description, the Gilyak, as a people, is also a tribe, in contrast to other tribes, the Gilyak are characterized by a very small number of people, which, aside from relatives, villagers and friends who /287/ take part. Similarly, a supply of various food, fish, game, berries, millet, etc., are given to the departing married couple, so that the young wife, having reached the home of her husband, is also able to give a feast for the relatives, there, as well as members of the household and villagers.

As a rule the young couple moves to the place where the husband lives, that is, to the place of his parents or brothers and take up residence with one or the other of them, according to circumstances. Thus, in the above description, the author has described above, one of the types that can accommodate several families. The house, however, is by no means always inherited by only one family, but, in the above description, the author has helped in building it we have some other connection with its owner. The author has helped, in the above description, at, in addition to all that there are still the maternal dative, the cow-house, the sheep-house, and the. The Gilyak, husband and wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it. Children are very fond of their parents, and, in the above description, they feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, but even in the presence of strangers, husband and wife sometimes, in the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place in them... But these individual sections are never separated from another by any partition, curtain, curtain, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always give the impression of a single, undivided, room.

As little as such living together by all the members of the household contributes to mutual disturbance, generally speaking, I must nevertheless give the Gilyak a good rating in this respect. In fact, I do not hesitate to call them a model family men, in contrast to their neighbors, the Goldi, Orochi, Aino, and even more the other Paleo-Asiatic people. There is

/288 cont./

would than that for the men, thus, for the men, there could never be any lack of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made everywhere and, in general, in the Gilyak, they are only a few pieces by expert craftsmen and are, for the most part (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above, are made by the Orochi, who live along the Choh and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and leaves the iron to it in order to produce the complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bow, arrows, and, in general, all hunting implements, specifically or chiefly by the male. The domestic activities of the men among the Gilyak, it, therefore, are very limited and, in general, limited to a few minor tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, fish, animal, trap, and other implements of wood or bone, and to only a few tasks, such as, for example, the cutting of the pelts. The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however, are very numerous, and, in the above description, are, in addition to all that there are still the maternal dative, the cow-house, the sheep-house, and the. The Gilyak, husband and wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it. Children are very fond of their parents, and, in the above description, they feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, but even in the presence of strangers, husband and wife sometimes, in the sleeping benches running all around and each individual has his designated place in them... But these individual sections are never separated from another by any partition, curtain, curtain, or the like, and the whole interior of the house always give the impression of a single, undivided, room.

/289 cont./

It must be noted here that the Japanese traveler, Matsuda Rinsh', author of the above description, has described, and especially the position of the eleven among the Gilyak, or also unfortunately [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak, [illegible] Gilyak,

/644 cont./

case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came into play and gave rise to the wager mentioned by Sternberg, which can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the Sternerian (Gilyakat Cape Siotente for an opportune moment to carry out his planned trip to Tlaxen (or Sakhalin Island), which had been unsuccessful the year before, /645/ and without [illegible] provisions, Hamada found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the home where he had taken refuge. For a time, however, he entered the trade of petroleum collection (petroleum derivative service in exchange for food and lodging and had to accommodate himself, like the "real" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the order of the woman in charge of the household and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polygamy nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of the Gilyak people, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the unsatisfactory and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Sternerian, and prompted him to describe the situation to a more favorable light at the alleged request of the Gilyak people. He also forgot the fate of the Sternerian in an island light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and sensitive to the sun." Actually, however, actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still darker than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dirty, and sooty earth huts.

Even though Mamia Rinsō avoids speaking of slaves in referring to his subordinate position among the Sternerian, he is well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)

1. Sin. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Karfo (Jima) that in their trade with the Santouse, that is, Gilyak, Oroka, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

/684 cont./

mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1030, above.

people, members of one and the same hall may marry each other. From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it becomes evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brother, and then, as a widow, to the brother-in-law of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for her own fate. The only thing left for her is to remain for herself, as wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

a. Law of inheritance very similar to the one among the Gilyak is found in the case of neither Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possession consist of their reindeer herds. According to Dittmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Beitr. de la c.l. hist.-philol. de l'acad. imp. des sc. de St. Petersb. VIII, XIII, p. 126; Matériaux russes de Bull., VII, III, p. 36.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of a deceased husband, the widow is given to the brother-in-law. The reverse sit on low-rear seats, against the walls, which are raised and a mat is set up. The latter consists of fish skin or sail-cloth. These boats go to Sakhalin and Kamchatka.

The Omoschka is a small wooden canoe made of birch bark; [illegible] used for a number of years, and is shaped of the same material, which rind cries—roar. Usually only one person sits in this canoe-boat rows with a double oar, both right and left.

513 heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a [illegible] sail-cloth.

512 The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged. [illegible] have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a low-lying open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the house is so smoke full of smoke, [illegible]

514 A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder [illegible] of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go off on hunting, live in mere huts [illegible] Thus [illegible] and stands on poles in order to protect it [illegible] 515 The interpretation the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them the only thing left for them in the "sea" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the order of the woman in charge of the household and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polygamy nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of the Gilyak people, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the unsatisfactory and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Sternerian, and prompted him to describe the situation to a more favorable light at the alleged request of the Gilyak people. He also forgot the fate of the Sternerian in an island light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and sensitive to the sun." Actually, however, actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still darker than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dirty, and sooty earth huts.

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A GILYAK VILLAGE.

[illegible] inges with about two thousand inhabitants. The villages are [illegible] on the banks of the Amur from the mouth of the river to Mariensk, and out of the reach of all inundations. Distance leads exclusively to the view of the houses, which are built on the spot for inspection.

Some of the houses might contain a half dozen families of [illegible] people, and were well adapted to the climate. While we took wood at a Gilyak village I embraced the opportunity

A GILYAK VILLAGE.

to visit the aborigines. The village contained a dozen dwellings. Each consisted of a big hallway, the buildings were of logs or poles, split in halves or used whole, and were roofed with poles covered with a thick layer of earth. The hallway consist of a long open space, the floor of the dwelling houses had the solid earth for floors, while others had floorings of hewn planks.

Along the hallway were ranged the posts like those of an American 'corn barn,' and were wider and lower than the dwellings. Each enclosed hand a platform in front where canoes, fishing nets, and other portable property were stowed.

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage. and. although they could not influenced one another. they basically belong. genetically in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to state that in the Gilyak the actual consummation of the marriage of individuals of accepting generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother. while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives. who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of the children of the Gilyak. Adultery is punished by the husband and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father. he endeavor to another part. Thus the children belong to the clan of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses the family of the Gilyak. Family relationships are the foundation of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation. and marriage is exogamous.

The clan has more than one hearth. the entire territory of the Gilyak. live in their yurts. and observe their family life for a long time. and have permanent residence in the clan. Gilyak. Gilyak. live in large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families. each living in relation to its own particular interests.

Family relationships—patterns of behavior between spouses. between parents and children. between siblings. rights. privileges. and duties of husband. wife. father. mother. son. daughter. brother. and sister; family law; [illegible] of the family; [illegible] of establishment. etc. See also:

- Division of labor by sex
- Marriage
- Adultery
- Divorce
- Polygyny
- Polyandry
- Polygynandry
- Levirate
- Sororate
- Bridewealth
- Dowry
- Bride service
- Premarital sex
- Premarital pregnancy
- Premarital contraception
- Premarital abortion
- Premarital infanticide
- Premarital adoption
- Premarital marriage
- Premarital cohabitation
- Premarital sex play
- Premarital masturbation
- Premarital homosexuality
- Premarital heterosexuality
- Premarital bestiality
- Premarital fantasy
- Premarital dreams
- Premarital nudity
- Premarital dancing
- Premarital singing
- Premarital music
- Premarital art
- Premarital literature
- Premarital poetry
- Premarital prose
- Premarital drama
- Premarital theater
- Premarital film
- Premarital television
- Premarital radio
- Premarital internet
- Premarital computer
- Premarital software
- Premarital hardware
- Premarital peripherals
- Premarital accessories
- Premarital clothing
- Premarital jewelry
- Premarital cosmetics
- Premarital perfume
- Premarital hygiene
- Premarital medicine
- Premarital health
- Premarital illness
- Premarital disease
- Premarital injury
- Premarital death
- Premarital burial
- Premarital cremation
- Premarital funeral
- Premarital mourning
- Premarital grief
- Premarital joy
- Premarital happiness
- Premarital sadness
- Premarital anger
- Premarital fear
- Premarital love
- Premarital hate
- Premarital jealousy
- Premarital envy
- Premarital greed
- Premarital generosity
- Premarital kindness
- Premarital cruelty
- Premarital violence
- Premarital peace
- Premarital war
- Premarital religion
- Premarital god
- Premarital goddess
- Premarital spirit
- Premarital ghost
- Premarital demon
- Premarital angel
- Premarital devil
- Premarital hell
- Premarital heaven
- Premarital soul
- Premarital body
- Premarital mind
- Premarital brain
- Premarital heart
- Premarital liver
- Premarital kidney
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- Premarital head
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- Premarital leg
- Premarital foot
- Premarital toe
- Premarital penis
- Premarital vagina
- Premarital testicle
- Premarital ovary
- Premarital uterus
- Premarital fetus
- Premarital infant
- Premarital child
- Premarital adolescent
- Premarital adult
- Premarital elder
- Premarital male
- Premarital female
- Premarital man
- Premarital woman
- Premarital boy
- Premarital girl
- Premarital husband
- Premarital wife
- Premarital father
- Premarital mother
- Premarital son
- Premarital daughter
- Premarital brother
- Premarital sister
- Premarital uncle
- Premarital aunt
- Premarital nephew
- Premarital niece
- Premarital cousin
- Premarital grandfather
- Premarital grandmother
- Premarital grandchild
- Premarital great-grandfather
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- Premarital great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandfather
- Premarital great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandmother
- Premarital great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandchild

/32 cont./

who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of the Gilyak. With regard to this group, she is pirjan and vice versa. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another. In the Samoyeds pumpa and in the Hawaiian islands. Gilyak fall [illegible] between the institution of Gilyak marriage.

The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly expressed in the fact that. while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pa" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto. or. at best. to a cruel duel and ransom. for the persons of the performed engage in a duel to the death. Sexual intercourse causing only some irritation. and in rare cases the moving of the seducer to another yurt. Thus. the sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

Thus. we have since I observed even cases of the regular cohabitation of brothers with a common wife. and full harmony prevailed between the brothers. Instead of the husband. the Gilyak women receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationship are very gentle. Husband and wife are equal. and the older ones even participate in the council and assemblies of the classmen.

There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point. it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The senior and most honored elders listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they show to adults. Children are treated with the same respect and with a difference of years or social status. Thus. the children of the Gilyak are not beaten. Children are never punished. Children are never punished. Children are never punished

/175 cont.

wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights just as heartily as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between *gy* and *ofg* is largely determined by the conditions of habitation. Under the conditions of living in different villages, the relations between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses have each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a *gy* or *ofg*ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch her breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together" in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of a kiss.

In a place where the individual bachelor *gy* and their spouses, *ofg*ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathie and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the women from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her husband — husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official spouse of the woman is considered to be only the eldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual wife, /177/ but the real consort of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, but only respected, and is in the children's eyes. Such situations are sometimes even extremely odd in the Gilyak mind and most respected relations.

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such situations also in the richest and most respected families. My good friend and first teacher of the Gilyak language, the famous scholarly interpreter of the Amur-Tugir, the chief of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, lived in just this way with his younger brother, *ifnyg*, who, being considered to be an inferior person than his elder brother, enjoyed the name of an excellent hunter, and had been able to accumulate a huge quantity of "valuables," so that he could easily have taken for himself not one but several wives; nevertheless, he preferred to enjoy the wife of his elder brother. He had evidently come about in this way: as a youth, he had enjoyed the wife of Gilbel'ka with the rights of any younger brother, but gradually a stronger attraction had arisen between them, and he preferred, instead of an individual marriage, to live constantly with the wife of his older brother, which he loved. It is characteristic here that everyone, including Gilbel'ka himself, regarded this as entirely normal phenomenon. When I approached Gilbel'ka himself with a question about this, a slight shadow slipped across his handsome, intelligent face; he well knew how that human regarded such relations, but in general my question did not produce any particular impression on him.

In other relations, the Gilyak family life is ruled not by relations of the type of the Tungus, but by deep sympathie and /179/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the women from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her husband — husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official spouse of the woman is considered to be only the eldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual wife, /177/ but the real consort of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, but only respected, and is in the children's eyes. Such situations are sometimes even extremely odd in the Gilyak mind and most respected relations.

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word signifying "my man, my woman," — *ŋ'ar'mych*, *ŋ'ar'ych*. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which, incidentally, is very transitory. The Gilyak view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a young man, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, O my mother!")

Parents, however, never reproach their children for their amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of the elders, /181/ it most often happens in the form of chaff, — As on my own mother do I gaze... / If thou leaver me, only of thee shall I think, where thou dabb walk, there shall I walk. Even the most passionate of the Gilyak, the well-known Gilbel'ka, shows no sign of disapproval. If the father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but, on the contrary, is obliged to treat him as a kind, he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amour between young people and children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous suffer-ings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances against the choice of a bride, are encountered only in the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to commit suicide. Always play the role of the head of the house, and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another, the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master and slave.

/182 cont.

childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an unloved man. But these are exceptional cases

In its context, love among the Gilyak does not differ in any way from love among the Tungus. Its people are also completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive people we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil lower-sorrow to the rearmost outbursts of heroic passion, which neither habit nor any obstacle /183/ nor shrinks before a manly resolution to part with one's life.

In any poetic tale or song, love is very well reflected in love songs, especially in the songs of women.

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching songs. Here, for example, is a most other beautiful song: — As on my own mother do I gaze... / If thou leaver me, only of thee shall I think, where thou dabb walk, there shall I walk. Even the most passionate of the Gilyak, the well-known Gilbel'ka, shows no sign of disapproval. If the father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but, on the contrary, is obliged to treat him as a kind, he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amour between young people and children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly, address their mother, sharing with her their amorous suffer-ings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances against the choice of a bride, are encountered only in the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to commit suicide. Always play the role of the head of the house, and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another, the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master and slave.

/184 cont.

such marriages, as we shall see further on, are not at all rare. The alternative which, according to the epos, faced the Gilyak maiden: either to marry the man she loved (*ŋ'ar'ych*), who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal or marriage as a special form of the union, proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /185/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us in the traditional epos.

Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the present the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying his wife, that is, marriage by abduction, or marriage as a vow's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is considered "pure," and people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity, or to speak more correctly, of the law, all the categories of *ar'ych* the most desirable marriage is with the *ŋ'ar'ych*, the man's own, legitimate, and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then leaves for his own settlement, leaving a young man his, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression *pandar'*, literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, not the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her brother. The maternal uncle is a very important settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and every Gilyak /186/ feels his conjugal obligations during the time of my travels amazed me by the extent of his travels with threads of sentic and dog hair and, in addition, gives

/186 cont.

The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of long material. Not only Gilyak of both sexes, but even children, in many cases know love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak life. Not only do people sing in leisure time, but improvisations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed at her, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be gained from the number of songs devoted to love and love encounters inseparable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment to love are, as a rule, of a most other nature than those presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /189/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a woman is unlawfully entered into the Gilyak family, which frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the case of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such character-istic song which I noted down on the Amur, which was given in marriage against her will. Soon the run away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself. There have been numerous cases of suicide by women, loving their unloved husband, has slain the children that she had by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. Instances of elopement are very common, and the parents before everyone that each error and each leg of the flaccid with threads of sentic and dog hair and, in addition, gives

/187 cont.

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/188 cont.

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/190 cont.

orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox /191/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special term *ŋ'ar'ych*, literally "mutual consent" (*ŋ'ar'ych*) Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom the participants are the groom himself, his father and his mother; the father: 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the groom. The role of the groom's father is expressed most apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this law, the husband of the sister of the father is the father-in-law and the father of the bride-groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the father of the bride-groom, the father-in-law and the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his sister-in-law and his nephew. The role of the bride-groom's father is expressed most apparently by the norms of Gilyak marriage. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the uncles *nyvish* (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, these frequently participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the bride-groom's father is dead, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the bride price, and before the end of the ceremonial, they immediately take the bride-groom's father to the place where the bride-groom's father and young women were there. He sat down between them, having dipped into his tobacco pouch, he began to smoke, gave to the younger sister, he took, the smoked. He then gave to the older sister, the took the smoked. The older sister said: "Having prepared a bite, feed us..." All drew sex together. Having eaten, they finished, they slept, on the next day they some early, see, our Gilyak /192/ said: "Shall we go today?" That woman said: "Well, having spent today here, tomorrow we shall go." Having spent the day, on the next day they set a bride-price, and the ceremony

/192 cont.

we find one and the same picture of concluding marriage without any formalities. It is merely necessary for a man, even though he is a Gilyak, to have a wife, and the wife is only by hearsay considered a candidate for being a son-in-law, to state the reason for his coming, and he immediately receives the consent of the father-in-law and the father of the bride. The role of the father-in-law is expressed most apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this law, the husband of the sister of the father is the father-in-law and the father of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the father of the groom, the father-in-law and the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his sister-in-law and his nephew. The role of the groom's father is expressed most apparently by the norms of Gilyak marriage. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the uncles *nyvish* (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, these frequently participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the groom's father is dead, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the bride price, and before the end of the ceremonial, they immediately take the groom's father to the place where the groom's father and young women were there. He sat down between them, having dipped into his tobacco pouch, he began to smoke, gave to the younger sister, he took, the smoked. He then gave to the older sister, the took the smoked. The older sister said: "Having prepared a bite, feed us..." All drew sex together. Having eaten, they finished, they slept, on the next day they some early, see, our Gilyak /193/ said: "Shall we go today?" That woman said: "Well, having spent today here, tomorrow we shall go." Having spent the day, on the next day they set a bride-price, and the ceremony

/193 cont.

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a marriage of a man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the place of his first wife, but often the latter herself goes to her own clan or to another one of their sons and the day may set a bride-price, and the ceremony

583 /271 cont./
584 and
585 mother, but for the final decision the attendance of repre-
586 sentatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those
587 of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations,
588 but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the
589 question, aside from the consent of the father and mother,
590 the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes
591 of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternality,
592 in the epoc the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief.
593 In one story which I wrote down, a father, when his son in-
594 forms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, re-
595 plies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the
596 counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also,
597 that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women
598 generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, is
599 so smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father.
600 This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur
601 the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the
602 negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who
603 sits silently in her accustomed place among the maids with
604 her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate.
605 Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been
606 decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she
607 does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and
608 if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she
609 ordinarily noted off the laconic phrase: "Since you wish that,
610 it is for me to contradict" But it may happen that the maiden,
611 upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom,
612 immediately runs away and does not return until the departure
613 of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends in
614 naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

[91]

1. It is interesting to note that among the Negdas, whose customs, as a result of intermarriage with them, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, conjugal differences were noticed by me.

583 /283 cont./
584 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
585 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Ayaqka," who since
586 ancient times have contracted marriages with the Gilyak, from
587 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.
588 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
589 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
590 and when they again depart they once more go through the cere-
591 mony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of
592 kettles, they use cups.
593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
594 are not always happy, since the consent of the suitor to the
595 marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey
596 the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to
597 the protests of their daughters, despite the fact that women
598 generally enjoy a great deal of freedom in the choice of the
599 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
600 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
601 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the
602 husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and
603 sometimes he succeeds in obtaining the return of the bride price. Since no
604 one has a desire to part with something once it has become his
605 own property, litigation to recover the bride price are endless.
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/274 cont./
562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortu-
563 nate. Thus, an aged and blind husband, purchased a young wife, and, though she is
564 nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
565 eats at the same table with her husband and children, the particu-
566 pates in the common work, and she is treated with respect as a wife
567 and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
568 to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate
569 her with the same solemnity as her husband, as a sign of mourn-
570 ing they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an
571 occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself
572 out of grief for his wife. Although married, he does not sever her
573 bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her
574 husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of
575 misfortune the husband and children will lend assistance and
576 and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her
577 without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father,
578 and protection: they will return the bride price and take her
579 back.
580 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The cause of
581 polygamy lies, first and last, in the unremitting conjugal rights of
582 brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors
583 among the Gilyak. /275/ frequently without special reason, such
584 as poverty, or ill health, barren wives, as well as the de-
585 sire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the
586 Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, or to take a grade-
587 ily acquaintance. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to
588 the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as
589 Arkyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.
590 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
591 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the
592 husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite
593 wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in
594 the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.
595 Two words concerning sexual morality. In this talk the
596 Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow them-
597 selves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

Ye T

831 /375 cont./
832 code of civilization. In their actions the Gilyak are no less
833 virtuous, from our point of view. Despite the unremitting conjugal
834 of husbands, the sim of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on
835 the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal
836 to cohabit (moe, one spouse) with individuals of those categories
837 of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already
838 stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I
839 add that the Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic
840 propensities which not only impel young people to make long
841 journeys for a rendezvous with their beloved, but frequently drive
842 them into unreasonable enterprises, such as the abduction of a
843 woman by force of arms.
844 The structure of the Gilyak family. One often encounters large
845 complex families in which the aged father lives in a separate
846 household with all his children and their children. The master's
847 brothers who are either incapacitated for work or do not possess
848 enough of their own frequently enter into the composition of
849 the family. Not infrequently the family accepts the orphans of
850 their clansmen, especially orphans left without a mother in
851 early age. It sometimes happens that the mother-in-law lives with
852 her son-in-law and sons-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
853 cially when the latter have no sons. We shall note other peculiari-
854 ties in the make-up of the family farther on, for the present we
855 shall say that the normal composition of the family, its frame-
856 work, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
857 daughters go into the clan of the husband). In the relations of the
858 members of the family among themselves there is nothing resem-
859 bling the patriarchal relations of, for example, the old Roman
860 family /276/ the sons show respect for the father, but the latter
861 does not wield over them that power which is known under the
862 appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from
863 the family of the father and live in separate households. Living
864 with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
865 The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and,
866 on the contrary, the younger sons, as those who live with the
867 father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of
868 INHERITANCE.

/276 cont./
869 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughter does the father
870 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding the marriage and dowry of
871 husbands, the sim of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on
872 the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal
873 to cohabit (moe, one spouse) with individuals of those categories
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903 on the contrary, the younger sons, as those who live with the
904 father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of
905 INHERITANCE.

/638 cont./
934 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
935 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other
936 and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with
937 them in their yurtas never sees indecent or immoral actions,
938 such as occurs so frequently among the Aina (2), or from
939 the Ainos.

(18) 2. N. Busse, Otv. Sakhalin" i Eisped.
1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 50, 56, 70.

940 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
941 married women, are, of course, not impossible, but are
942 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
943 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
944 the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother meet out
945 corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries
946 to eliminate the scandal by killing the born child and
947 secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child
948 is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum-
949 stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.
950 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
951 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
952 of the Gilyak are usually take a happy or at least satisfactory
953 course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband
954 jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
955 she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving
956 her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
957 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
958 the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband,
959 if he earn out his wife for any reason and return her to her
960 parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a re-
961 fund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
962 he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
963 own account. In this case the may by no means count on a
964 friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/640 cont./
967 would think that for the men, too, there could never be any lack
968 of amusements. But these objects are by no means made every-
969 where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
970 Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in trade form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten them to it in order to produce the
complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
for the men. The domestic activities of the women are left to
Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited
to a few minimal tasks with the knife or the drill to produce steds,
etc., animal traps, and other implements of women's work, and he
still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.
The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
figure far from exhausted by what has been particular, for in
addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care
and tending of the children. The mother loves her children, and
the great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it,
though they are generally very reserved about expressing their
feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, but even
when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak
of the woman, tender, sentimally caress and kiss small children. Every
married Gilyak wants at large a swarm of children at possible,
and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Kyi was
boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my ques-
tion as to how many he had, he could only answer: tarumik,
tarumik, that is, many, many. Mates in with this joy, however,
there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in the growing
sons he will soon have helpers as his lucrative hunting, fishing,
and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from
the bride price they will be his household & the bride price.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--265 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 533, 558, 562, 593

"All Gilyaks, it is said, know the old, old s
lyrics it is otherwise, for they are very nume
are composed by the maidens of the tribe, wh
again to the Gilyak world. It may not be know
considered a want of modesty. Sometimes one
woman who made songs in her youth; ' but it is
ménage. The Gilyak's notions of modesty are
age of childhood brothers and sisters are not
former attempted it, the latter would turn awa

ongs, the epics of their race, but with the
rous, and always being added to. These
o tell them to their girl friends, and they
n who the authoress is, for that would be
may be heard to say, 'There goes an old
s not 'good form.' Woman's mission is the
very strict. After they have passed the
allowed to speak to one another. If the
ay in injured modesty."

ONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/641 cont./

593 842 [595] [586] the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition [825] [789] gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to 844 114 believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. [132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 343 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/645 cont./
and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not completely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placing a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another. For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

9: Hawes--242 I-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 593, 775, 764, 784

"In talking of their departed, they never called them by their name. That would be uich, i.e. unlucky, ill-omened. Filial piety as among the Chinese is a cardinal virtue, and the elder before us was no exception to the rule. He had killed no less than ten dogs at his father's funeral pyre, his father being a well-to-do man, and therefore it was necessary for his spirit to travel with an honourable cortège in the next world."

62 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
87 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close
relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a
matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she
may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also
does not take part in the more important councils. On the
other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected
position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may
have her own money and inherit, although usually less than
her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any
more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but
even wins respect thereby.

84 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
57 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
62 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not
particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable
consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated
she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary
affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her
sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council
her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

32 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
76 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
93 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and hand-
shaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall
speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when
the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no
embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are
exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there
are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval.
In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's
hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth.
Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his
lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing
each other's face with saliva.

78 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
86 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer sud-
denly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the
sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some
men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the
abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once
more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek
revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this
is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from
some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

594 NUCLEAR FAMILY--degree of emphasis on the social group consisting of a married couple and their children; exclusiveness with which this group is associated with economic, sexual, reproductive, child-rearing, and educational functions; other family relations (e.g., religious, recreational); domicile (e.g., single dwelling, apartment); family authority (e.g., matripotestal, patripotestal); family possessions, etc. See also:

Reproduction	56	Family budgets	511
Education	57	Primary groups	571
Size of families	152	Collective liability	672
Inheritance	618	Child care	866

/375 cont./

831 code of civilization. In their actions the Gilyak are no less
frivolous, from our point of view. Despite the vengeful jealousy
of husbands, the sins of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on
the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal
to cohabit (true, not openly) with individuals of those categories
of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already
stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I
shall add that the Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic
propensities which not only impel young people to make long
journeys for a rendezvous with their beloved, but frequently drive
them into unreasonable enterprises, such as the abduction of a
woman by force of arms.

594 The structure of the Gilyak family. One often encounters large
complex families in which the aged father lives in a common
household with all his children and their children. The master's
brothers who are either incapacitated for work or do not possess
equipment of their own frequently enter into the composition of
the family. Not infrequently the family accepts the orphans of
their clansmen, especially orphans left without a mother at an
early age. It sometimes happens that the mother-in-law lives
with her son-in-law and sons-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
cially when the latter have no sons. We note other peculiari-
ties in the make-up of the family farther on, for the present we
shall say that the normal composition of the family, its frame-
work, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
ones pass into the clan of the husband). In the relations of the
543 members of the family among themselves there is nothing resem-
594 bling the patriarchal relations of, for example, the old Roman
family. /376/ The sons show respect for their father, but the latter
does not wield over them that power which is known under the
appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from
the family of the father and live in separate households. Living
with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
[428] The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and,
on the contrary, the youngest son, as those who live with the
father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of
inheritance.

/376 cont./

543 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be
disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority
is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
[427] For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
[426] of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[366] existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
[221] Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[224] require collectivity, neither in the spring and fall seasons of seal
hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
[427] such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of
[426] division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such
work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving
their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
593 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[368] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the
death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we
should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers
continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equip-
ment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the
division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations
of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual
aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between mem-
bers of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among
these barbarians than in a civilized family.

/378 cont./

422 clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately.
422 And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house
594 together and eating together, individual members, such as, for
example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs,
boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with
their father obtain in good time property for their future inde-
pendence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means.
[431] Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained
[224] as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of
[465] success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the re-
[221] ward for services performed in the family. If an unseparated son kills a bear,
[224] the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his
[224] fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family; but
[465] he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The
[226] same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for him-
[427] self a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill
[426] of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations
prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain
a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisi-
422 tions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute
556 the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his
"wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and
[454] does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable
fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with
silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches
pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only
at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the
storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son,
when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, depart-
ing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its com-
mon efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when
he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and
whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of
sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are
556 brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward
rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

595 POLYGAMY--relative prevalence of monogamy, polygyny, polyandry, and group marriage; patterning of plural marriages (e.g., prohibited on principle, unpatterned and exceptional, disfavored for economic reasons, confined to persons of wealth or high status, preferential, numerical limitations); prevalence of and preferences for sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry; distinctive procedures for secondary polygamous marriages; concubinage; organization and activities of polygamous families; relations between co-spouses (e.g., economic cooperation, supremacy of first wife); residential arrangements (e.g., common dwelling, separate quarters for each plural spouse); sexual adjustment (e.g., jealousy, sexual rotation); relations between half siblings and between stepparents and stepchildren in polygamous families; etc. See also:

Lineage and minimal lineages	587	Clubhouse	837

1: Shternberg--20 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/xxv cont./

* 112 and "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov" now appearing in print for
113 the first time. In the first of the works listed. we find. in embryo.
as it were. all that is given by him later in a more profound and
exhaustive form in the remainder of the works listed.

* 112 One must note, in particular, that in the first sketch.
113 written in 1891. i.e., as a result of a comparatively brief period
* 594 of observation. there is already a completely clear description of
the group marriage and classificatory system of kinship discovered
by him. and of the basic features of their clan structure. etc.
Shternberg succeeded in sending the manuscript of this work to
Moscow at the time. where it was first read in the form of a paper
for the Society for the Study of Natural Science. Anthropology.
and Ethnography (the tenth of October. 1892) by the secretary of
the society. N. IA. IAnchuk. Just a few days after the paper. an
account with a rather detailed exposition of Chapters I and II of the
manuscript appeared in Russkie vedomosti. The novelty and the
great theoretical significance of the material attracted widespread
attention in scientific circles interested in the history of primitive
society. /xxvi/ Friedrick Engels took an interest in this work as
well; he was closely following Russian political and socio-scientific
literature. and he published in Die Neue Zeit (XI Jahrgang. B.I.
1893) a complete translation of the newspaper account of the work
of Shternberg. with his own introductory comments. under the title
"Ein neuentdeckter Fall in der Geschichte der Ehe /A Newly Dis-
covered Case in the History of Marriage/" (1). F. Engels attributed

1. This article by Engels did not appear in Russian until 1922 in the appendix to Engels' book. Proiskhozhdenie semi i. chastnoi sobstvennosti i gosudarstvo /The Origin of the Family. Private Property. and the State/. pp. 123-125. published by "Moskovskii rabochii" /The Moscow Worker/ in "Biblioteka Kommunista" /The Library of the Communist/.

/xxvi cont./

*114 especially great significance to the confirmation of the existence
595 of group marriage in the Gilyak material. In view of the tremen-
[113] dous methodological significance, we present these remarks by
Engels in full. "In recent times," he writes, "among certain
rationalistic ethnographers, it has once again become fashionable
to reject the existence of group marriage. Therefore the following
account, which I translate from Russkie vedomosti (Moscow, the
fourteenth of October, 1892, Old Style), is of great interest. It
not only explicitly confirms the existence of group marriage, i.e.,
the right to mutual sexual intercourse between a certain group of
men and group of women, but it gives an example of a form of it
*114 which closely borders upon the punalua marriage of the Hawaiians,
i.e., the most developed classical form of group marriage. While
the typical punalua family consists of a number of brothers (uterine
or more distantly related) who are in marital cohabitation with a
certain number of uterine or more distantly related sisters, we see
on Sakhalin Island that a man is married to all the wives of his
brothers and all the sisters of his wife, and this means, if we
examine this phenomenon from the female point of view, that
his wife has the right to sexual intercourse with the brothers of her
husband and the husbands of her sisters. The distinction from the
typical form of the punalua marriage is therefore only that the
brothers of the husband and the husands of the sisters are not
necessarily the same people. I must note that this case confirms
what I wrote in Proiskhozhdenie sem'i /The Origin of the Family/,
4th ed., pp. 28-29: "This group marriage hardly looks as terrible
as the imagination of our Philistines, accustomed to prostitution
and brothels, pictures it. "The savages living in group marriage
certainly do not lead the dissipated life that these Philistines lead
under the cover of secrecy.

/xxvii/ "This form of marriage (at least in the cases still
met in practice) differs from a free pair-marriage or polygamy
only in that sexual intercourse is permitted by morals in a number
of cases which, under different conditions, involve stern punishment.
[118] The fact that the exercise of these rights is dying out in practice
proves only that this form of marriage itself was long ago condemned
to die out, as is confirmed by the infrequency of the traces of its
existence."

/xxvi cont./

*114 "Furthermore, the whole matter is interesting in that it once
595 again shows how similar or even identical the institutions of such
primitive peoples at almost the same level of development are in
their basic features. A large part of what is related in this account
on Sakhalin is fully applicable to the Dravidian tribes of India, the
inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and, at the time of their dis-
covery, the redskins."

*114 In conclusion Engels gives in full the translation of the news-
paper account of Shternberg's article. Regarding the material un-
covered from the newspaper account, F. Engels wrote L. IA.
Shternberg a letter, as the latter told me in a private conversation.
Unfortunately, the search for this letter, undertaken in the archives
[113] of Shternberg, has as yet yielded no results. "Sakhalinskie gilliaki"
appeared in print in full in the journal Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie
for 1893. In this work by Shternberg the strong influence of Engels'
book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti, i gosudarstva
is felt. Engels' influence neutralized to a significant degree the
psychological approach of Shternberg, and "Sakhalinskie gilliaki"
is undoubtedly the most materialistic work to come from his pen.

Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of group marriage
*114 and a classificatory system of kinship, which, furthermore, pre-
601 served certain terms lost in less primitive systems, strikingly con-
595 firmed the views of Engels, who looked on group marriage as an
explicit, universal step in the history of marriage, and on the
classificatory system as a true indicator of such a norm that
formerly existed. The classificatory system of kinship among the
[171] Gilyak described by Shternberg turned out to be similar to the
Turano-Ganowanian type. Furthermore, "it is the best example
of the Turanian system," says Shternberg himself, "besides being
*114 the best preserved and giving the best correlation (1). With this

1. "The Turano-Ganowanian
System," p. 323.

/xxviii/ discovery Shternberg filled in the gap in the scientific
literature on primitive social relations, for which there were no

/xxvii cont./

*114 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly
582 assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the
595 history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed
by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from
group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes
an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To ac-
cept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage
logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded
cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the
transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin
marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage
of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established
the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably,
the conclusion of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin
marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution
*114 of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having
602 mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations,
595 and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming
[194] the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this
institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage
of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

*114 Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the
614 clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their com-
mon law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress
the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite
of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the
Australians.

*114 Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vukhakh
614 and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi
556 (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the
question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the
appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the
fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-
called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has
been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg
was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention
to it.

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym')
the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hun-
dred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only
to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
517 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange
[1464] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in
society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in
157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness,
which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. In any case, it must leave
the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its in-
ternal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly
to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence
191 on the Family-Clan Structure.
194

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so
characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nation-
alities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that
regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the
Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu,
and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the
only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of
[617] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely
[214] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group
marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the
Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison
of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak
leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/31 cont./

601 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
191 have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in
194 the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
[595] to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of
[835] individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with
the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak
this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
595 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
581 rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are re-
[583] garded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of
his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[611] succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he
[551] is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
[584] of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
[214] itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
[582] of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agna-
tion, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
593 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and
601 not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
[590] large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by
[352] families, each living in relation to its own particular interests.
Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband,
wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
[16.5] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses.
When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself
or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing
with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal.
Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the
strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a
whole group of men their husbands (pu-lin), and the latter call
them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call
a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their
fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/39 cont./

582 So far we have considered, as it were, the statics of the ques-
614 tion; now let us turn to its dynamics. Let us see how from some
very simple beginning, with inevitable necessity, as a mighty tree
develops from a single seed, the controversial, confusing fabric
of the Gilyak marriage and clan grew up.

The essence of the entire complex system of regulation of
Gilyak marriage and the clan, and furthermore the key to under-
standing it, is a unique fact, namely, the principle established
in its day that men must marry the daughters of their mother's
brother, in other words, the daughters in each family belong
from birth to the sons of their father's sister. We have already
said something about the motives that could have given rise to
this principle. In any case, its universal incumbency was
guaranteed, no doubt, as the categorical imperative of the
primitive religion.

This simple rule leads logically to the followings

1) Once every mother has the right to take for her sons
the daughters of her brother, her daughters by the same right ab-
solutely must enter the family of her husband's sister, in other
words, /40/ every woman belongs to her first cousins, the sons
of her father's sister. Therefore, a woman cannot marry the
sons of her mother's brother. And a man cannot marry the
daughters of a sister of his father: they cannot exchange the
women of the family of a brother and of a sister. It is clear
that this prohibition does not have anything to do with a fear
of marriages within close degrees of kinship, because the daughter
of the sister of my father is related to me in the same degree of
kinship as the daughter of the brother of my mother, whereas
marriage is prohibited with the first and obligatory with the
second, a fact that is extremely important for the genesis
of prohibitions within close degrees of kinship.

2) Once marriages between the daughters of a brother
582 and the sons of a sister are obligatory, once the former
595 necessarily belong to the latter, certain situations naturally
arise in view of the normal quantitative inequality between
persons of different sexes, in view of such possibilities, for
example, as that a brother has one daughter while his sister
has several sons, or, conversely, the brother has several

/40 cont./

582 daughters while his sister has only one or two sons, or that a
595 long interval of time elapses between the birth of the first son a
614 the ones that follow, or that, which even further complicates
the question, several sisters have but one brother or one sister h
several brothers, or the first case several brothers have a com-
mon wife; in the second, either one possesses several sisters, or
two brothers live in common marriage with a group of sisters
in the third case, the younger brother, who reaches puberty
when the elder brother has managed to take all his cousins,
must of necessity have marital rights to the wives of his elder
brothers; finally, in the last two cases, either several first
cousins will have an common wife, or several sisters of the broth
of their mothers, or several brothers will have as common wive
several of their first cousins. We have given only the simplest
cases; in reality, the matter is, of course, much more compli-
cated. Thus, in one way or another, there absolutely inevitabl
arises a group marriage of brothers (own and further) with a grou
of sisters (own and further), and in any case the unconditional
reciprocal conjugal rights of members of all degrees of kinship.
Of course, these group rights consequently embraced more and
more people of more distant degrees of kinship, for a mother d
not always have brothers, or the latter daughters, and it was
inevitably necessary to take wives from among the /41/ first,
second, etc. cousins of the mother, and hence the union of
people and groups of people of a group marriage grew.

No vicissitudes of tribal life destroyed this group principle,
even up to the present time. When in the course of time, as a
result of depopulation, the dispersion of kindred families, wars
and other such reasons, there arose the necessity of resorting to
marriages from alien families, these customs, inconvenient in
themselves, led to the situation that we see at the present time,
that a man is the officially recognized husband of one or severa
women and is required to share this right either with all his
brothers (in some clans) or (in others) only with the younger
ones, and, moreover, not only with his own, but with all the
agnate brothers as well.

/195 cont./

Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession; the wife first sleeps with one brother (the oldest), then moves over to another. As for the children, either they are not distinguished at all according to fathers, or, as in the case of the Toda tribe, the first child is regarded as the offspring of the oldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

3. The same situation in a new variant. the first brother has reached marriageable age before the second. The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his father /sic/ as his individual wife, but then the younger brother comes of marriageable age. The elder brother remains the individual spouse, but the second brother enjoys conjugal rights, by the rights of a group spouse. Then another daughter of the brother grows up to be of marriageable age. She naturally becomes the individual spouse of the second brother, but the elder brother obtains the same group rights to the wife /196/ of the younger brother as the latter once enjoyed with respect to the wife of the elder brother.

4. At a given moment a brother has several adult daughters, while the sister as yet has only one adult son. The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of the sister of the brother /sic/. Thus it is at the present time among the majority of American Indian tribes, where a man who has married the oldest daughter is for that reason obliged to take as wives all of her sisters. But now another brother grows up. One of the wives is yielded up to him as his individual wife, the rest remaining with the elder brother as the most well-to-do, who is better able to support several wives than the brother who is just beginning to earn his livelihood. The latter, naturally, is rightfully the group husband of all the wives of the elder brother; the converse right of the elder brother is not in indisputable.

An analogous development takes place if the elder brother-polygamist has several brothers who gradually grow up; then each one of them will obtain his own individual wife, but at the same time each of the younger brethren will have

/203 cont./ The custom of brothers' living together with one wife became ever rarer. In the words of the epos, such passages as "so many brothers were supporting one wife" are almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described such facts as being ordinary phenomena, while nowadays they are more and more rarely encountered.

Such are the conditions which stood in the way of the inviolable existence of the phratry. But however powerful these conditions appeared, the force of the primordial norms, having become religious imperatives, naturally preserved their power, and the new influences broke a trail for themselves, adapting themselves to the old norms by means of a whole series of correctives and fictions... How this occurred we shall see immediately.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive to the phratry (emigration, depopulation, wars, destruction of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of clans, and besides, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How must this factor have operated on the surviving clans? Let us recall the third table of our four-clan phratry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What then is to be done by the orphaned clans C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for some solution within the phratry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

Aleut NAG

Erman (3) relates the same, but he does

/244 cont./

3. A. Erman, "Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen /Ethnographic Observations/," Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Vol. III, 1871, pp. 162-163, Berlin.

not indicate either the kinship relations between the common husbands or their relationship in the case of the marriage of the second participant. But this in no way allows us to conclude that marriage among the Aleut is confined to the details related above. As we have already stated earlier, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described Gilyak marriage in the same terms as Veniaminov used to describe that of the Aleut, whereas we have seen that the Gilyak have the typical group marriage. The description of group marriage as given by Veniaminov and Rinso is quite natural for non-specialist observers, for with group marriage one is most easily struck by that case in which the second husband is not individually married himself, as it is described in Gilyak fairy tales: "two brothers maintained one wife." A non-specialist, however, generally leaves unnoticed group marriages which include several married men. One can therefore say with a great degree of assurance -- especially if one takes into consideration data about the preferred marriage to cousins -- that the polyandry of the Aleut that Veniaminov tells us about was in reality a form of group marriage. In confirmation of my hypothesis I shall permit myself to cite the following example from the life of the Toda, a tribe that lives in the Nilgiri Hills.

The old writer Marshall describes marriage among the Toda in the following way (4):

4. W.E.Marshall, A phrenologist among the Todas, London, 1873, p. 213.

"If a husband has brothers or very close kinsmen who all live together, each one of them may, with the consent

Aleut NAG

/245 cont./

The peculiarities of the Aleut marriage norms did not remain isolated on the Aleutian Islands. On the northwestern shore of the American continent, right up to the Columbia River itself, which was regarded by Morgan as the point of departure of the Ganowanian system, observers note them in terms almost analogous to those used by Veniaminov. We find them among the Eskimo tribe of the Koniag, the inhabitants of Kodiak Island, about whom Davydov writes: "Some women have two husbands each: the first is the actual husband, who selects the other one with the consent of the wife. This one at the same time becomes a servant, i.e., he carries firewood and does a number of other chores. He can sleep with the wife only in the absence of her actual husband, and upon his return he is deprived of this right. /246/ The Russians call such husbands partners" (1). This

1. Davydov, Dyukratnoe puteshestvie v Ameriku ofitserov Khvostova i Davydova /Two Voyages to America by the Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, Part II, pp. 50-51.

description, which almost seems to have been copied from Mamio Rinso and Veniaminov and travelers to Tibet, fails like the others to note the kinship relations between the spouses, but, on the other hand, there is the valuable report of the right of the second husband to exercise his marital rights only in the absence of the first husband, as among the Gilyak, and the obvious subservient position of this second husband. This subservient position is justly noted and strikes the eye also among the Gilyak, but it obtains, not by virtue of a marital agreement, but by virtue of the fact that the elder brother always plays the role of the head of the house and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another, the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master and worker.

/246 cont./

Among the Tlingit (the Koloth) the institution is described in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

served among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

XI.

Sexual Life

The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor. The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

/270 cont./

orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special term tkhagunl (eastern dialect tygnydz).

Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his closest ashmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla a'ivuikh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequently participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy person, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the bride price, and frequently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and renowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

/281 cont./

583 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry.
584 Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, neverthe-
less, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may be-
come necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the
negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very
important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must
be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the
wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride
will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the
614 two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and
the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging
[586] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her
parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but
686 here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the
part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half).
It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask
for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely
forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the
one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want
a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you,
then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat,
if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask
for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom,
together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on
sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price
[576] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come
on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time
the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for
the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are
spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women
look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

/301 cont./

567 They would journey back to Sansin with their wives and
slaves; there each was given a one -- or many-masted boat,
which was loaded with provisions for ten years, with garments,
silks, and so forth, for the entire family. Upon their return the
purchased wives would already be pregnant. If a daughter was
born, they gave her a slave for her dowry. Those who came to
Sansin only to pay their yassak /tribute paid in furs/ (one sable)
received two combs, a piece of drel', ten bottles of khanshin,
and so forth. Ainu women were bought in this way; they went
hunting, brought sables and so forth, and also Chinese goods, and
bought wives on the way.

A woman who married into the Jusk'in clan received as a
dowry from her father a female slave -- akh, who was provided
with a Japanese sword for cleaning her mistress' soles. Then a
Gilyak bought her in exchange for his own daughter. Poor fathers
(generally) sold their daughters into slavery.

VI.

The Family and the Clan

● 595 Marriage norms and totemic clans. Clansmen-brothers may sup-
port one wife, but only one of them is regarded as the master,
even though both together bought the wife; the second one enjoys
marital rights only in the absence of the first.

If they have lived together for one year after another, a
husband consults his elder wife as to whom else he should take.
And she herself may travel to select a helper from her own khal
or from an alien one, and the wives call each other sisters. A
man sleeps separately, and each wife separately, or the man in
the middle. The elder wife takes care of all the children. The
younger cannot give orders to her, and she commands. It some-
times happens that they are jealous and fight. The following go
to do the betrothing: 1) father and mother, 2) elder brother,
3) father's brother, 4) husband of father's sister.

/302/

● 595 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take
58 widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from
the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for
nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case.
In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan
of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between
clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's
brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's
sister down to the fourth generation.

In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan
614 who have entered into a union k:khal n'akhr: with the Khydzyr'
173 in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality
and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan
which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the
Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are

[114] 1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by
note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po
izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora
/Materials on the Study of the Gilyak
Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake
in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a
839 Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to
the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes.
Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks
in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she
resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the
Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and
brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did
he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of
Mago).

/374 cont./ Yet

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortu-
nate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[264] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[593] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she partici-
pates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife
and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate
her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of moun-
ing they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an
occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself
out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[574] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her
husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of
misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance
and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her
without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father,
and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her
back.

● 595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of
[589] polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors
among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such
as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the de-
sire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the
Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradu-
ally acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to
the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as
Arkyyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
197 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the
husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite
wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in
the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the
Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow them-
selves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

[The Western Coast]

162 /385 cont./
592
128

or adolescent, living apart from their
parents or not, and therefore "house-
holds" are counted separately, and,
secondly, widows and widowers and their
children, and also orphans (brothers and
sisters) who live as a single household.

The total population is 1,041, of whom
162
595 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents)
[167] number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32
male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the
others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals
who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[597] 3. Under the rubric of "married we have
also included widowed persons, since, in
order to have accurate percentage figures
for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed
persons must be considered along with the
married persons. The terms "polygamist"
[128] and "bigamist" are used interchangeably,
[184] since, though there are no prohibitions in
this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk
shore a single case where a native had more
than two wives; on the western shore and on
the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives
each.

The number of children who
163
165 survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth
is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[128] 4. For lack of a better method, the number
of children was ascertained by asking each
married man the questions: (1) how many of
his children were present (the name of each
child was called out and written down one by
one) and how many were absent; (2) how

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III. Ethnographic Part

Second Half: Basic Features of Family Life, Social Life, and the Inner Life

Section 11

Family relations: marriage, wife purchase, and wife capture
Morality. Domestic tasks and occupations of husband and wif
Childbirth, the feeding, treatment, and rearing of children.
Position of the male and female slaves in the household. The
family law of inheritance. Blood revenge.

121 If in the discussion of the basic conditions and elements
the external life of the Amur peoples I deemed it necessary to
dwell more or less exhaustively only on the peoples of the low
Amur region, but, with regard to those on the upper course of
river, to point out only in a general way the particularly typi
and characteristic differences in contrast to them, this will be
case to an even greater extent in the following considerations
turning more and more to the inner life. In fact, I must here
limit myself almost exclusively to the Gilyak and to the Olch
who, except in language and some ideas and customs which a
in part perhaps rooted in tribal peculiarities, have been perm
by the Gilyak spirit and almost completely Gilyakized, and e
the adjacent tribes on the lower Amur will only be touched u
for comparison, for it was only with the former that I had int
course long enough to obtain some, albeit superficial, insight
into the problems to be discussed here. Hence the discussion
the Amur peoples, which up to now has been kept comparati
as much as possible, will in this last part take on more of the
character of a monograph and will center almost exclusively
the people that has been the focus and point of departure for a
of our previous discussions.

● 595 The Gilyak are not bound by custom or religion to any
definite form of marriage. Actually, however, by far the ma
of them live in monogamy. In fact, it prevails /632/ amon
them to such an extent that one may designate it as the gener
rule, but polygamy, on the other hand, occurring only under

/129 cont./ This appeared so obvious to him that he explains the opposing view of Siebold, too categorically affirmed, it is true, based on the report of the eighteenth century Japanese traveler Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/, that "the northwestern shore of Sakhalin (i.e., the territory of the Gilyak) is the only country in the world where polyandry, by force of law or custom, is practiced" (1), not

1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169.

by the inaccuracy of the observations of Mamio Rinso, whom he considers an excellent observer, but by his personal bitterness against the Gilyak because the Gilyak women compelled him to perform manual labor like all the other men (2). "Among

2. "Not wishing to accuse Mamio Rinso of pure fictionalizing," says Schrenck, "we cannot refrain from assuming that he was motivated by personal reasons, which, muddling his testimony, gave ground for various interpretations... Vanity and the fear of lowering himself in the eyes of the government (on account of his servile position) impelled the traveler to explain his humiliating position among the Gilyak by the custom of their country" (i.e., polyandry and the domination of women). Schrenck, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskago kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, 1903, Vol. III, p. 19.

the Gilyak," says Schrenck in conclusion, "neither on Sakhalin nor on the continent, nor anywhere else, does polyandry exist."

/129 cont./

114 595 In his own way Schrenck was right; it was perhaps impossible for him personally to notice the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, for in effect it is impossible to find among the Gilyak open, public polyandry in the form /130/ in which those who have never seen it in life picture it to themselves. On the other hand, the statements of Mamio Rinso are also quite uncertain, since due to his ignorance of the language he could note only a factual looseness in relations, but he could never grasp the chief essence, the normativeness, the lawfulness of the sexual relations that he observed.

In order to discover the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the most intimate aspects of Gilyak life, know their language, live a long time with them in their yurts (which helped Rinso see that which escaped Schrenck), and, in any case, become familiar with their kinship nomenclature, which Schrenck, due to his slight acquaintance with the language, completely failed to accomplish (1).

1. Certain information given by Schrenck in this regard can only mislead the reader. Thus, for example, he completely erroneously affirms that a man gives to his mother and to the sister of his father the identical designation "ymk." See Schrenck, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 6. Probably the individual who gave Schrenck this information was speaking, not of the sister of the father, but of the sister of the mother.

58 [595] To the superficial observer, the institution of Gilyak marriage actually does not present anything peculiar. By all outward indications the wife or the wives of the Gilyak (polygamy -- two, three, or four wives -- is permitted by Gilyak custom) represent his individual property. The wife [591] is purchased by the husband for a very high price from her

/167 cont./ Thus, each man can have several clans of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, according to generations, are considered an'g:ej -- his wives and the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology, and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how this complicated system developed.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations pu and an'g:ej have played and still play an enormous role, symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the right to marriage -- one of the many benefits which the clan structure gives to each of its participants.

Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of this institution of the right to marriage at the present time. For the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also in real life "finding a wife" is a business of unusual difficulty. First of all, there is the extreme shortage of women. Among the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the censuses that I took, for every 1,000 males there are 785 females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is 694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there are 900 females. It is necessary to add that a significant percentage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthiest individuals, keep from two to four wives. For example, according to my census on the western shore of Sakhalin to the north of the settlement of Arkyvo, for every nine monogamous men there was one polygamous man, with the total ratio of men to women being 1000:694. There is one old bachelor for every 11 married men, and one polygamist for every 19 married men. It is not difficult to imagine how limited the choice of women was, /168/ and it was already limited by a whole set of prohibitions. With such a limited choice and with such a considerable preponderance of men over women, the bride price, the payment for women (in valuables or long-term service), naturally reaches an unusually great amount. Under

/175 cont./

* 835 wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights
837 just as broadly as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between pu and an'g:ej is largely determined by the conditions of cohabitation.
* 835 Under the conditions of living in different villages, the rela-
832 tions between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses know each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a pu or an'g:ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch the breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together," in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of winks alone.

* 835 In a place where the individual bachelor pu and their
[593] wives, an'g:ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathies and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the woman from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her individual husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official
● [595] spouse of this woman is considered to be only the oldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual spouse, but, with the tacit consent of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, not only to outsiders, but
[184] also to the children of the brothers-spouses. One encounters
[556] such situations also in the richest and most respected families.

/176 cont./

000 such situations also in the richest and most respected families.
159 My good friend and first teacher of the Gilyak language, the
* 835 aforementioned resident of the settlement Tangi, the richest Gilyak on Sakhalin, lived in just this way with his younger brother, Pleun. The latter was himself a no less capable person than his older brother, enjoyed the name of an excellent hunter, and had been able to accumulate a huge quantity of "valuables," so that he could easily have taken for himself not one but several wives; nevertheless, he preferred to enjoy the wife of his older brother. It had evidently come about in this way: as a youth, he had enjoyed the wife of Gibel'ka with the rights of any younger brother, but gradually a stronger attraction had arisen between them, and he preferred, instead of an individual marriage, to live constantly with the wife of his older brother, whom in fact, he loved. It is characteristic here that everyone, including Gibel'ka himself, regarded this as an entirely normal phenomenon. When I approached Gibel'ka himself with a question about this, a slight shadow slipped across his handsome, intelligent face; he well knew how the Russians regarded such relations, but in general my question did not produce any particular impression on him.

[593] He spoke enthusiastically about his own wife, loved his children tenderly, although he could not have any confidence whatsoever that they were his, and his son, a boy of 14, felt a greater affection for the younger brother of his father than for him himself. It goes without saying that nothing prevented
● [595] Gibel' from removing his younger brother from his house, or
[583] him together with his wife, and buying himself another, and not one but several, of the most beautiful and distinguished wives. With his extreme ambition, with his excessive love of popularity, he would not have failed to undertake the most drastic steps for the /177/ restoration of his marital reputation, if he had felt anything shocking in the regular and well-known cohabiting of this brother with his wife. As luck would have it, Gibel' outlived his younger brother, who perished tragically in solitude in his hunting balagan
[164] during the time of the winter hunting. When the dead man's

/177 cont./

159 body was laid on the funeral platform amidst a huge and
764 solemn crowd of Gilyak who had assembled from all direction
* 835 a few minutes before the cremation the wife of the older brother, with her hair undone as a sign of mourning, climbed up on it, seated herself beside the deceased, and in everyone hearing began to mourn for her "younger husband" and "beloved" in the same pathetic and tender terms as if she had been his individual wife.

* 835 This public act is better evidence than any description as to how the Gilyak understand relations between men and the wives of their brothers.

The custom of the common, continual cohabitation of brothers with a common wife is not always easy to notice. In the first place, sexual relations are carefully guarded from publicity; furthermore, the Gilyak usually live in large yurts, with several brothers with families together, and for a strange it is very difficult to figure out their secret relations, the more so because they are very unwilling to speak about such things; finally, any young Gilyak rarely has the desire to attach himself to the wife of an own brother; he prefers irregular relations with the wives of many of his tuvn.

● 595 Besides the group-marriage relations between brothers and
* 835 their wives, however, other purely communal forms are also encountered among the Gilyak -- true, not often -- namely, when two or several brothers are quite openly and admittedly married to one woman. I encountered such cases in 1910 eve on the Amur, where the Gilyak distinguish themselves by a particular individualism. Two or three brothers formally seek in marriage a common wife from the akhmalk clan or buy an alien woman and then continue to live with her in a communa marriage. Of course, at the same time both the husbands and their wives are joined in group-marriage relations with a larg number of their class pu and an'g:ej.

[538] In olden times such cases were evidently common phenomena. The so-called n'astund (heroic tales) and fairy

● 595 /177 cont./
* 835 tales again and again begin with the words: "n'ig:yvyn tenun'
538 ruvn an'g:ej n'ena aivynd" -- "two Gilyak brothers had a wife," and later on the content itself of this idea is disclosed. In one /178/ such tale (1), in which they are talking about the

1. L. Shternberg, Materialy /Materials/, II, 21, p. 171.

abduction of the common wife of two brothers by a mountain man, we find a passage depicting the forms of sexual relations and the relationship of the woman to both brothers: "That same evening she made the...sacrificial cups, six of them, in order that her husbands might take them with them (on the hunt); then that night, having slept a little (i.e., under one cover with the elder brother), she made her way to her younger husband (beloved), lying on the middle plank-bed, and, having copulated, she slept with him. On the next day, her husbands set out." The finale of this story is curious. After a long search for the abducted woman, the older brother (nowadays her individual husband), having despaired of the success of the search, returned home, while the younger brother, on the other hand, zealously continued the search, and when he finally found his way to the home of his beloved, the narrator says that the woman ran to her husband "pivner:kntokh" (actually, to the brother of her individual husband) (line 58) ... They not only speak in such language
595 in fairy tales, but every day. When a man speaks of his wife
* 835 or a woman of her husband, they by no means imply their in-
601 dividual spouse, but one or another of their "husbands" without distinction. In just the same way, when a married man speaks of his wives (in the plural), or a married woman of her husbands, they always imply the individual husband and his brothers, and, conversely, the individual wife and the wives of the brothers.

/181/
* 835 Such are the relations between the categories of group pu and an'g:ej. Within his own clan, the Gilyak has at his disposal the dozens of wives of his "brothers." In the clan of his akhmalk (and there may be many of these) dozens of daughters of the "brothers" of his mother are at his disposal, and finally, outside of these clans the sisters of the wives of his most distant tuvn, and the wives of the sons of his "mother's" sisters, belong to him. And since, in addition, due to the contemporary conditions of life, his own clansmen and the members of the clans of his akhmalk are scattered throughout the most remote settlements, there is hardly a place where a visiting Gilyak could not find his lawful an'g:ej. One may say the same thing about the Gilyak that is said, mutatis mutandis, about "kumi" and "kroki," who throughout the whole extent of their territory find everywhere a lawful wife for themselves.

* 835 Thus, every Gilyak usually is joined in a dual marriage:
● 595 1) in the customary individual marriage with one or more
58 women either from the class of his an'g:ej (in this case mainly with the daughters of his mother's brother) or with women of alien groups; this form of marriage among brothers sometimes takes on the form of purely communal polyandry; 2) in a group marriage with all the women of the class an'g:ej, where sexual intercourse with some of them is accompanied by joint cohabitation, a common economy with their individual husbands, and takes place more or less regularly (most often within a common economy of brothers); or else this right of sexual intercourse is potential and is exercised only insofar as is possible and not regularly.

* 835 Thus, we have to do here with the typical group marriage,
171 examples of which are known to all among the most diverse peoples of the earth. An extremely curious, typical analogue in the life of other peoples is the marriage system of the Australian Dieri tribe (1), among whom both aspects of sexual

1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology

/194 cont./
* 194 Thus there was created that type of individual-group
581 marriage which we see among the Gilyak, and among all
582 other peoples where marriage is founded on this principle of marriage relations which they have in common with the Gilyak. This system of individual group marriage was developed under the influence of the various combinations in the distribution of the /195/ sexes among the descendants of brother and sister. In order to be convinced of this fact, it is enough to consider several such combinations.

1. The simplest one is that of one brother and one sister. Moreover, the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons. Then of course, individual distribution is entirely possible, if, however, men and women simultaneously reached the marriageable age. But a la longue /in the long run/ such a combination is almost completely impossible, because the descendants of the sister and the descendants of the brother expand into several families, and in such an environment only as an exception can there be cases when the number of men of marriageable age in one group of descendants at any given moment will be equal to the number of women in another group of descendants.

171 2. Let us take the same instance: one brother and one
* 194 sister, but at the given moment the brother has only one
581 daughter, while the sister has several sons. Then communal
582 marriage, as it is described among many peoples and appears
● 595 so typically in all the descriptions of the Tibetans, becomes inevitable. This is the situation described in the Gilyak epos in such expressions as this, "two (or more) brothers supported one wife," a situation which, as we have indicated, is often encountered in reality even today. The most customary mode of using wives is the same as in group marriage -- each brother enjoys the communal wife in the absence of the other: "in Tibet, where the brothers very often have only one common wife, it is rare for more than one brother to be in the house at one time" (1). Among the

1. Westermarck, op. cit., p. 116.

567, 595

"In olden times the Amur Gilyak bought sl
h these practices of polygamy and slaver
em as to have sufficient domestic help.
old age a young and strong assistant."

aves, who were mostly Ainu women, but in
y the desire was not so much to possess a
In one case it was to give the loved wife of

/632 cont./

certain conditions, as, on the whole, a rare exception. According to the statements of the Gilyak, the latter is practically not found at all on Sakhalin, along the Liman, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, whereas among the Amur Gilyak it occurs more frequently. An explanation for this will appear from the information in the following. In polygamous marriage the number of wives is usually limited to two. Among the Amur Gilyak I discovered several such marriages (1). Marriages with three

1. For example, the Gilyak Ssogin in Kuĭk (Mão) had two wives, Keŭguk and Malguk; similarly, the Gilyak Tschjegun had two, Chumsisk and Tyisuk, etc.

to five wives are very rare, and, according to the statements of the Gilyak, there are none at all among them with more than five wives. In addition to voluntary polygamy, however, there is among the Gilyak a form of polygamy brought about by the law of inheritance or, more accurately, by hereditary obligations, which will be discussed later.

The chief motive which impels the Gilyak toward monogamy is the custom of buying their wives which prevails among them, as among most primitive peoples and in particular among all the indigenous peoples of Siberia (2). The Gilyak expression for "to

2. As, for instance, among the Tungus, Ostyak, Samoyed, Tatars, Cheremis, Chuvash, Votyak, and others (cf. note 1 on p.1030). The same custom also prevails among the Chinese (Grosier, Descr. génér. de la Chine, Paris, 1787, Vol. II, p. 261. Bazin, Chine moderne, 2nd Part, Paris, 1843, p. 482). Even among the ancient Germans, marriage was originally a purchase, as in Iceland, Norway, and among the Anglo-Saxons (Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 237).

3 cont./

1. (cont.)
money, one horse, a cow, and an ox, 7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hops for the preparations for the wedding celebration. The high bride-prices which Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord. und Ost. Siberien's /Travels in the North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1459) gives for the Assja-Samoyed women are somewhat reduced by the dowry which the bride brings, so that under some circumstances it almost only amounts to an exchange, which is never the case among the Gilyak. On the other hand, the bride price was very low among the Votyak, Cheremis, and Chuvash: among the former, who were the poorest, it amounted to only 5-15 rubles, among the latter two 10-30 rubles, and among the Kungur Cheremis, who were the wealthiest, 100 rubles and more (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /A Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, p. 369).

ires that it be paid at one time and not in installments. In of the circumspect and thrifty nature of this people, con- ly thinking in terms of augmenting its possessions, as has pointed out in my previous descriptions, even a well-to-do will not find it easy to buy a second or a third wife, in addi- to the one. Only a particularly intense desire to have his th duly appreciated by his countrymen and thus to gain spe- esteem among them would prompt him to do so. Therefore, gamy is more frequent among the generally wealthier Amur ak living together more densely than it is among their country- along the Liman, on Sakhalin, and along the coast of the of Okhotsk.

/641 cont./

the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/645 cont./

524 and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really 357 similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to 868 romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

595 In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not com- 593) pletely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placing a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another. For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

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596 EXTENDED FAMILIES--incidence of extended families; prevailing type or types (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, and bilocal extended families, fraternal joint families); size and composition; domicile (e.g., compound, single large dwelling); locus of authority; rule of succession (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal, succession by a younger sibling); collective or individual ownership of dwelling, land, food stores, and household equipment; economic cooperation; routine activities; collective responsibility; cohesive and fissive tendencies; etc. See also:

Property and inheritance 42
Kin relationships 602
Lineages 613
Clans 618
Collective liability 672
Ancestor worship 769

/113 cont./

561 labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc.
855 but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreov
86 to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the c customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his trib and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life th constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of hi own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduc himself in society.

561 All these qualities, however, would have no significance i
596 the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples
855 of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purpo train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the despotism of the head of the family with respect to its adult me bers. The sons are completely free to separate from their fath obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements, sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion

596 One encounters large families living in a communal economy, the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfath father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free asso

[422] tion, from which one may depart at will. And even though he

[434] participant in such an economic union, every member can hav his own individual economy in the form of sleds and dogs, arm enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his person merits; and what each member shares with his own -- and there extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flo rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are combined without any friction.

presence of several women around one man in the same room and in a common household is, in the long run, scarcely conceivable. Therefore very rich Gilyak who are impelled by vanity to display their wealth and indulge in the luxury of polygamy, frequently seize upon another means to lighten the work for their wives and, without disturbing the peace, to be able to favor one or another of them. This means is to keep slaves, usually of the female, but sometimes of the male sex, for the purpose of performing the heaviest work in the house. These, however, are by no means to be thought of as lone Gilyak men or women who attach themselves to a family and, in exchange for free food and lodging, assume the obligation to perform the heavy work in the house, such as fetching water, felling and splitting firewood, etc. There are such domestic persons, who are hired, so to speak, among the Gilyak, but the situation that they are in is entered into by them voluntarily, it can be dissolved at will, and it in no way deprives them of the esteem of their countrymen, nor does it injure their social position with equal rights among them.

The situation is entirely different, however, with regard to the slaves. The Gilyak have a special term for them: kryghryss, or, with a statement of the sex, kryghryss-umgu -- female slave, and kr.-utgu -- slave of the male sex. It is to be stressed, first of all, that they are never and under no circumstances Gilyak, but are always individuals bought from the neighboring tribes, Ainu or Goldi. The Ainu (Kughi) supply the most slaves, and especially female slaves, to the Gilyak, the Goldi supply them in smaller numbers, and, to be sure, the "Jant" as well as the "Tscholdok," that is, the lower as well as the upper Goldi. The Gilyak were unable to name for me any other tribes furnishing them with slaves. Thus, significantly enough, the shameful sale of girls and boys of their own tribe into slavery is practiced only by the two peoples of the Amur region who are the immediate neighbors of the two civilized peoples of East Asia, the Japanese and Chinese, and who are the most dominated and oppressed by them. It is certainly no mere accident that the

567 435 purchase price in some other form. Slaves of the male sex are cheaper, but also less desirable, chiefly because they are less handy and are lazier and therefore less useful in the house than the female slaves are, and in addition perhaps also because, in spite of the inferior position assigned to them, they might give cause for jealousy on the part of the head of the house.

567 The male and female slaves among the Gilyak, in relation to their master, are in a situation of serfdom with absolutely no rights: they are nothing more than domestic animals in human shape, whom one treats humanely only in order to keep them fit and not to detract from his property, but also sells at will. Of course, all the heavy work in the house, such as felling and splitting wood, fetching water, feeding the dogs, and whatever else they are asked to do, falls to them, for they are only to obey and to serve. Therefore, where there is a slave in the house, the housework is done almost exclusively by her, while the wives of the head of the house devote themselves only to handicrafts, the care of the children, and other activities as they please. It is not the many and heavy tasks, however, that make the lot of the slaves, and especially the female slaves, so hard among the Gilyak, but rather their complete lack of rights, as well as the contempt which they encounter everywhere and which is expressed, among other things, in the fact that they remain excluded on principle and consistently from any intercourse with those around them. No Gilyak may marry a slave; indeed, he may not sell a slave to another Gilyak if the latter expresses an intention to marry her. The use of a female slave as a concubine is no less strictly forbidden among the Gilyak: if anyone did so, he would not only lose completely all the respect that the possession of a slave /648/ as a sign of great wealth gave him, but would stir up a general storm of indignation among his countrymen. This is certainly another indication of the moral austerity of the Gilyak. On the other hand, it makes the female slaves very useful for the household, for in their position they cannot arouse the jealousy of the wife or wives of their owners and thus, for their part, do not bring any discord into the house, as happens all too frequently in the case of polygamy. Perhaps

[595] [558] [556]

567 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has, will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (lawful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryss-umgu (female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper understanding of his marital situation.

567 595 192

As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother and likewise, as kryghryss, becomes the property of her owner, who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up, sells it as kryghryss. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not unhappily permits a marriage between his male and female kryghryss; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children they might have will be his kryghryss and, as such, can be turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

[836] [851] [848] [847] [563]

114 of this statement by Rinsô, could express the conjecture that the 171 kojektschutsch or kojachtschitsch of the Kamchadal known 175 through Steller and Krascheninnikof (4), that is, men being used 569 592

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 351, note. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 40. See also p. 473, note 2, above.

in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak. Suffice it to state that neither I nor, as far as I know, any other traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Siebold's conjecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there seems to be more justification for his conclusion, drawn from the same statement by Rinsô, that polyandry exists among the Smerenkur on Krafto (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast of Krafto," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means accurate: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the "rest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house" in Noteito, be explained? The trustworthiness of Mamia Rinsô, often stressed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting the report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the moment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he so accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (5), as

114 595 175

5. Op. cit., p. 191.

has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in this

6. See p. 1046 above.

/649 cont./

114 case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came
175 into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which
595 can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the
114 Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Cape Noteito for an opportune moment to
175 carry out his planned trip to Tôtats (on the opposite mainland),
592 which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and without
595 any provisions, Mamia Rinsô found himself, in order to stay alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a time, then, he entered the ranks of persons obligated to perform do-
[359] mestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to
[567] accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated "like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyandry nor a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably prevented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his report the undignified and humiliating position and treatment which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompted him to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged
[515] custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier than those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped, dark, and sooty earth huts.

114 Even though Mamia Rinsô avoids speaking of slaves in re-
175 ferring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he is
567 well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)
435

1. Op. cit., pp. 186 and 187.

of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trade with the Santaner, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they "even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
627 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

601 The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[108] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
[595] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

614 All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
561 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvaling clan, for instance, were for a long time
[556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

175 At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
648 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
622 and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
175 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
178 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
433 ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used
[567] the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
776 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

"A greater witness to the wealth of this 'Lord Mayor' was the possession of two wives. Very few Gilyaks on Sakhalin, perhaps two or three others, were wealthy enough to have bought more than one wife. Polygamy is no longer as common as it was, and this probably for two reasons—the decline in the number of women, and the growing poverty of the people. There are no adequate statistics to which I can appeal in support of the first, but evidence of the latter is met with at every turn. The only censuses (informal) ever taken were the inquiries of Mr. Sternberg in 1891 and 1895, among certain villages on the west coast of Sakhalin; where he found that the population had increased from 1041 to 1049 in 3 1/3 years, of which the increase of females was two and of males six."

"The Gilyaks treat their children rem
wealth, and will 'fetch a wedding price,
fish-winner, is naturally of more accou
course, very high. In the villages on the
gives the births in 3 1/3 years as 130, o
88 deaths among the older persons), i.e
chief reason, however, of the decline in
A wife has to be bought, and she is a mo
unremunerative investment, but few Gil
expenditure."

arkably well, and though a girl is potential
the boy as an early bread-winner, or rather
nt. The death-rate among young children is, of
west coast, north of Arkovo, Mr. Sternberg
ut of which there were 34 deaths (in addition to
. an average of more than 26 per cent. The
polygamy is more probably growing poverty.
oderately expensive article. Not that she is an
yaks are in a position to make the capital

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening sex
582 impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20 years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men, partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity,
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually settles with the husband for the payment of kalym. It happens now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of kalym, which is

general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves. Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear became a man and then changed back into a bear again. We also saw in another place how another woman became a frog. And in this story now to be translated we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like the Orok and Ghilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In fact, I believe it really means that brothers and sisters married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived two brothers who occupied the same house. They were expert hunters. So clever were they that they used to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Although there were many brave people in the other villages, yet there were none who were as clever and brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talking in the house, but on the day following the men went out to catch large trout. The chief wife went off to dig up tubers (*Corydalis*) on the slopes of a solitary mountain there was near the place. While busy digging up the roots, a young man came down the slope out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came up to the place where she was working and asked her for her pipe, saying, 'Please hand me your pipe and

G 602 /190 cont./ As a result of this
191 institution, the prohibitions between a woman and the older
B brothers of her husband are very strict, and, on the other
602 hand, with respect to the younger brothers of her husband
582 prohibitions are absent. The content of the prohibition (forbidding
174 the man to sit on the bed of his khadym, to see her naked, etc.)
835 is evidence that this prohibition had the exclusive aim of preventing sexual intercourse.

V.

The Genesis of the Gilyak Marriage Norms and the Kinship Terminology

G We have examined the norms of sexual intercourse and
*174 have seen that they completely correspond to the kinship
● 60 terminology. Now it is necessary for us to proceed to a consideration of how this complicated system of kinship and marriage was formed, what sort of psychic substratum gave rise to the system. Obviously, such a complicated system could not arise artificially. It must have developed, without a doubt, out of one simple principle, a clear /191/ categorical imperative for the primitive man, out of which there must have grown, as from a seed, that complicated organism of Gilyak institutions which has been examined by us in such great detail. Along with the genesis of this system, however, it is necessary for us to explain also the long evolution of this system, without an understanding of which a whole series of peculiarities of the kinship nomenclature will seem completely inexplicable and, as it were, out of keeping with the general system.

/191 cont./

*174 Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tu
● 60 although they may be completely alien to each other, call each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-la although he may be a complete stranger, my "mother's bro and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, fro that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the un married ones, become my mothers, and no one from her cl can marry the women from my clan?

[614] Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry into not only that clan from which anyone from my clan takes a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? In what way could the apparently paradoxical fact that a m can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothe fathers, and mothers) in clans completely alien to him hav

*174 come about? This confusion and apparent absurdity can be
58 explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and
60 logically consistent system of marriage, like every religiou
[183] norm, has created around itself by a peculiarity natural to it a fabric of extended norms. On the other hand, under th
[198] influence of historical conditions and the conditions of life, it underwent a gradual extension and complication, while at the same time the kinship terminology, as an element which by its own nature, in view of its formality, was disti guished by its extreme stability, remained unchangeable. What was the scheme of primitive marriage like? In certa places in our exposition we have already discussed it. Now must elucidate this question in all its fullness. The detailed analysis both of the prohibitive and of the permissive norm marriage that we made in the preceding chapter has shown these norms completely correspond to the kinship terminolo In other words, the whole intricate Gilyak kinship terminol is nothing more than an automatic registry of the marriage

[198] tem. This faithful registrar, so stable in the face of all cha

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal and elk skin, dog-fur, etc. 291 237

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids. 302

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State"). 114

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs. 614

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage. [60]

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

601

601 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY--lists and application of kinship terms; genes
kinship charts; use of kinship terms relative to personal names and tek
differentiation of vocative and referential forms; morphological typolog
elementary, derivative, and descriptive terms); number of elementary
incidence of denotative and classificatory terms; classificatory distinct
served and overridden (e.g., generation, sex, affinity, collaterality, b
tion, polarity, relative age, speaker's sex, decedence); classification
avuncular and nepotic terms (e.g., bifurcate collateral, bifurcate merg
lineal, generation); classification of cousin terminology (e.g., Eskimo
Hawaiian, Iroquois, Crow, Sudanese, Omaha); correlation between ter
and patterns of behavior; historical and functional interpretations of kin
systems; etc. See also:

Dynastic genealogies . . . . . 173 Personal names and teknonymy . . . . . .
Linguistic relationships 197

/113 cont./

Finally -- and this is particularly necessary to note -- it is not at all obligatory that at the head of large families with a common economy there should be elders in years; most frequently, on the contrary, they are young people who have distinguished themselves by their activity, resourcefulness, and zeal, in a word, by their personal talents. Old men enjoy /114/ authority only with regard to special questions, as the preservers of traditions, as experts in the rituals and history of the family-clan relations. They are consulted on confusing questions of kinship and in the giving of names; it is they who must supervise the ritual aspect of festivals, but this does not give them any power or advantages.

And that which is absent in the family -- the despotism of the eldest, the head -- is also lacking in the clan. It knows neither despotic elders-patriarchs nor any permanent authorities in general, collective or individual, neither elected ones nor any by right of birth and inheritance.

The clan is not a fiction, however; it is a complicated institution, surrounding the Gilyak with a thick net of regulations, prohibitions, and obligations, but at the same time providing him with all the benefits, material and spiritual, of a firm social union.

We thus return to the question that we raised at the end of the preceding section. Where are the driving forces of the mechanism of this almighty institution -- the clan, where is the secret of the amazing combination of the closest community with a complete absence of despotism, of all-embracing wardship and regulation with the absence of compulsion and the maintenance of individual freedom?

This secret is contained in two conditions: 1) the simplicity of economic conditions and relations, which offers a broad scope to the comprehensive development of the powers and abilities of the individual and their free application to the wide-open gifts of nature equally free to all; and, secondly, the entire socio-religious world-outlook, which quite spontaneously, without any external pressure, directs the will and activity of each toward the harmony of the common interest, substituting for external compulsion the force of the inner consciousness of each.

/375 cont./

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[428] The elder son doe
on the contrary,
father until his d
inheritance

on. In their actions the Gilyak are no less
ur point of view. Despite the vengeful jealousy
sins of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on
opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal
not openly) with individuals of those categories
above. But within the clan, as I have already
s not to be met with, even as an exception. I
Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic
h not only impel young people to make long
dezvous with their beloved, but frequently drive
nable enterprises, such as the abduction of a
f arms.

he Gilyak family. One often encounters large
in which the aged father lives in a common
l his children and their children. The master's
either incapacitated for work or do not possess
r own frequently enter into the composition of
infrequently the family accepts the orphans of
specially orphans left without a mother at an
metimes happens that the mother-in-law lives with
d sons-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
atter have no sons. We shall note other peculiari-
up of the family farther on; for the present we
normal composition of the family, its frame-
ts, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
clan of the husband). In the relations of the
amily among themselves there is nothing resem-
hal relations of, for example, the old Roman
e sons show respect for the father, but the latter
er them that power which is known under the
ria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from
father and live in separate households. Living
he son can acquire for himself his own property.
s not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and,
he youngest sons, as those who live with the
ath, enjoy special advantages in the matter of
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597

597 ADOPTION--extent to which children are adopted or exchanged; motives an
procedure; status of adopted children; reciprocal relations of adoptive pare
and adopted children; relations between adoptive siblings; special types of
adoption (e.g., adoption of adults, posthumous adoption; ceremonial adoptio
etc. See also:

Guardianship	429	Care of orphans	7
Adoption of slaves	567	Posterage	8
Artificial kin relationships	608	Status of children	8
Adoption of captives	727		

/xxvii cont./

*114 595 "Furthermore, the whole matter is interesting in that it one again shows how similar or even identical the institutions of such primitive peoples at almost the same level of development are in their basic features. A large part of what is related in this accou on Sakhalin is fully applicable to the Dravidian tribes of India, th inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and, at the time of their discovery, the redskins."

*114 In conclusion Engels gives in full the translation of the ne paper account of Shternberg's article. Regarding the material un covered from the newspaper account, F. Engels wrote L. IA. Shternberg a letter, as the latter told me in a private conversatio Unfortunately, the search for this letter, undertaken in the archiv [13] of Shternberg, has as yet yielded no results. "Sakhalinskie giliak appeared in print in full in the journal Etnograficheskoe Obozreni for 1893. In this work by Shternberg the strong influence of Engel book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti, i gosudarstv is felt. Engels' influence neutralized to a significant degree the psychological approach of Shternberg, and "Sakhalinskie giliaki" is undoubtedly the most materialistic work to come from his pen.

*114 ● 601 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of group marriag and a classificatory system of kinship, which, furthermore, preserved certain terms lost in less primitive systems, strikingly confirmed the views of Engels, who looked on group marriage as an explicit, universal step in the history of marriage, and on the classificatory system as a true indicator of the sexual norms that formerly existed. The classificatory system of kinship among the [171] Gilyak described by Shternberg turned out to be similar to the Turano-Ganowanian in type. Furthermore, "it is the best examp of the Turanian system," says Shternberg himself, "besides being *114 the best preserved and giving the best correlation (1). With this

1. "The Turano-Ganowanian System," p. 323.

/xxviii/ discovery Shternberg filled in the gap in the scientific literature on primitive social relations, for which there were no

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the T
the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several
dred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting,
to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their nat
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arran
[484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transforme
society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live
157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociablene
which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social fram
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must
the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its in
ternal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend ma
to acquaint my readers.

III.

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

601 171 174

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothi
characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding na
alities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules
regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect
Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the A
and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu ar
only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved feat
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although t
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of
marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among
Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful compa
of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gi
leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite differe

/85 cont./

*614
•597
[927]

This took place in various ways. It might happen that an epidemic depopulated the clan and put a handful of people face to face with all the vicissitudes to which unions weak in numbers were subject. The clan might be depopulated after a severe war, leaving a small number of men and a mass of widows spared by the victorious foe by virtue of the international law of the Gilyak. And if under these conditions there existed remnants of some other clan that found itself in a similarly helpless position and not standing in the relation of akhmal'k and vmgi with respect to the first clan, then a fusion was effected to their mutual satisfaction. The adopted individuals ordinarily married the widows of clansmen and thereby united themselves with the clan fire and the clan union. But these are more or less extraordinary cases. The most common case of adoption is that where the person adopted by the clan is a member of another clan, fleeing for some reason from his own clan and settling down in the midst of an alien clan. Long residence, habit, sympathy, assistance given at clan festivals, and, finally, marriage to a local widow lead to the final adoption. An extremely curious case of adoption is that where two persons of different clans are married to two sisters, which, according to the law, can only take place with members of one clan. The influence of the clan principle of a "common father-in-law" is so strong /86/ that the children of such persons are considered brothers and sisters, call their aunts mothers, and cannot marry each other. A fiction of clan relationships results. Under favorable conditions, when, for example, such persons live together in one village and one of them is completely severed from his clan, the result is that they help each other at clan festivals, or even arrange them together, lay the bones of the bear in one place, and, finally, in the second or third generation the union of the clans is completed.

/86 cont./

14 Adoption has played an enormous role in the life of
597 the Gilyak. I do not know a single clan whose legends do
173] not contain accounts of members of other tribes as the
founders of the clan. I have already discussed in the first
section how it happened that separate adopted individuals
instead of the established element came to be the first and
foremost founders of the clan, indicating that the new-
comers, as the more energetic element, brought with them
a greater endurance in the struggle for existence and a la
longue /in the long run/ survived the less staunch, en-
feebled aborigines who were gradually dying out. Such,
it may be, is the law of a fixed supply of racial energy,
which finally runs low under unfavorable conditions. The
descendants of the newcomers do not escape this fate, of
course; they in turn will be replaced by newcomers, if the
clan as a whole is able to preserve its existence that long.

14 Now I will add only the following to what I have
597 said earlier. It may seem strange that a clan formed out of
173 aborigines and the descendants of newcomers should never-
theless categorically consider its founders the former and
not the latter /sic/. But here is how the matter is explained.
Despite the fusion of the clan with the newcomer, the old
feeling of kinship continues in effect. The descendants of
both sides, while fulfilling their clan obligations, neverthe-
less do not incorporate, but continue to maintain them-
selves as separate groups, each keeping its own account of
kinship according to tradition. I observed this more than
once in those clans in which there were descendants of
aborigines and newcomers. In the settlement of Tangivo,
for example, settled by the representatives of a single clan,
one half (the most prosperous) traces its origin from an Ainu
newcomer, the others consider themselves aborigines.
When in the course of time the latter become extinct --
which is already noticeable -- it is natural that the former,
who will remain the only representatives of the clan, will

/86 cont./

*614 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is
● 597 everywhere.
173

Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is homogeneous, cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kinship union.

*614 2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of
372 clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan
776 deity for the Gilyak. In each hearth there sits, according to one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but also by those who, having gone to the other world, have become the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea, etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an intermediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

[171]

1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also plays the role of intermediary between human beings and the gods; he intercedes for human beings, he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/174 cont./

*835 In clans where a distinction is made between the wives of
614 younger and of older "brothers," this right was formulated for me still more boldly: "among clansmen, in one and the same clan everything is permitted ('good'), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." This undoubted and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his tuvn is invariably exercised throughout all the Gilyak territory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before the eyes of the individual husband of the woman and, as far
*835 as possible, not publicly. The right of the individual spouse,
593 of course, is peremptory -- he can demand from his wife ful-
fillment of her marital and economic obligations and that she
● [597] follow him through /175/ any change of dwelling. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that she bears, but quite often a Gilyak, if he has several children, considers it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless tuvn of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. But also the subsidiary right of a wife and her group husbands in the person of his "brothers" to sexual intercourse is just as indisputable. It is true, the group spouses must look for a suitable opportunity in order, in the absence of the individual spouse (during his sleep or outside the home), to enjoy their rights, but there are more than enough such opportunities. A man passes the
[484] greater part of his time away from home: either he is at the
512 river catching fish, or he is away hunting for whole weeks at
[222] a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the women also absent themselves for whole days, going into the
*835 taiga for berries, roots, etc. Finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the exercise of the right of group marriage does not present any particular difficulties. The bachelor tuvn most of all
[837] fully enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group an'g:ei, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/200 cont./

614 clan to change residence and to withdraw more and more
178 from their kinsmen. Before my eyes, in the course of a few
166 years, whole clans -- family after family -- in search of
*174 more advantageous hunting and fishing sites, moved to the most remote regions, from the Tym' to Taraika (in the territory of the Ainu), to the Amur, etc. Discord between clansmen and wars play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we saw what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the Pilavo clan that we introduced; from /201/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyak territory, bordering on the Ainu, they migrated first to the northernmost part of the western shore, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they became completely Goldified. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any ties among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old phratral marital relations has been completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place even now. This is precisely the reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyak must travel hundreds of versts to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and willy-nilly there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is
● [597] obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and to marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old phratry.

If it is not just unmarried individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-nilly begin to enter into marital unions with the nearer clans.

/358 cont./

614 628 72 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each [342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the [501] eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 597 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came [729] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

/359 cont./

614 597 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 426 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 428 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

614 736 768 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gather- [763] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 627 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/382 cont./

428 [768] inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even one young or grown-up son among her children, the family continues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A question of the division of the inheritance only arises when the children, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the deceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one, the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged [768] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note

428 597 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age. With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It 428 is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the [606] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with his father up to the very time of his death, while the other brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the other brothers.

673 [674] Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps his treasures in the storehouse, which is never shut. The Gilyak calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety. In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one [422] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes tempted by the possessions of another, it is always in the field of

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60 KINSHIP--general statements dealing with several specific aspect
eral characteristics and component terminology of kinship system
specific patterns of behavior prevailing between kinsmen who do n
the same nuclear or polygamous family. For kin relationships wi
of family structure see 593.

1: Shternberg

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/For an intensive study of the Gilyak kinship classificati
see category 116, pp. 196-226./

RX2 Gilyak RX2

on system and its significance,

/84 cont./

614 587 768 his death as well. One of his brothers, according to the decision of the clan, will replace him in the rights and obligations of husband and father, and even where the deceased has no younger brothers, the supporter of his family will be one of the "elders." Such is the immutable law of the clan.

*614 848 Such are the advantages which the clan union offers by virtue of the single principle of kinship and the marriage norms which directly issue from it. It is completely natural that these blessings can be enjoyed only by those who have a right to them by virtue of kinship. The fact of being born to a clansman is the only justus /85/ titulus to being counted in the clan. Ytk-khavrnd -- a man without a father, i.e., born out of wedlock, not knowing who his father is -- is a man without a clan, a pariah, a burden to himself and others. One who does not know the identity of his father and consequently does not know to which clan he belongs, therefore does not know which women can be his wives and which are forbidden and, unbeknownst to himself and others, may violate the sacred sexual norms, incurring incalculable disasters upon all. Fortunately, there are in fact no persons who do not know their fathers. If a girl becomes pregnant out of wedlock, they compel her to name the father of the future child. Having learned who he is, they compel him to marry the seduced girl, which he is only too glad to do, because in such a situation there are fewer difficulties about paying the bride price. In the event of disavowal on the girl's part, they slay the newborn child, and the clan is saved from sin and unhappiness.

*614 597 The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in retaining the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. Like the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a deviation and reconcile itself with the institution of adoption, with the acceptance into its bosom from time to time of individuals from other clans.

nt to which children are adopted or ex
of adopted children; reciprocal relat
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hips . . . . . 608 Status of children .
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changed; motives and
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regular marriage, but preserve the rights to sexual intercourse even when the individuals of these categories are joined in an individual marriage. Being joined in a legitimate, as it were, individual marriage, the wife at the same time enjoys the right privately, i.e., in the absence of her husband, to have intercourse with persons of the group of men whom she calls pu, ivn (husband). Most often, of course, this right is exercised by the brothers of her husband, his own or of further degrees of kinship, living with him in the same village, but even men who have newly arrived, often complete strangers passing through the settlement by chance, if they regard themselves, even by the most distant kinship, as "pu" of the given woman, freely /33/ exercise this right, with, of course, the consent of the woman. During my travels over Sakhalin, my companions from the western shore, appearing with me in a distant settlement on the eastern shore of the island, in which neither they nor their fathers had ever been, but in which, according to their genealogical information, there lived a woman of the an'gej category, freely exercised their rights, when the husband was not in the yurt, of course. This phenomenon is completely identical with what is said about the Australian kroki and kumiti, who will find a marital bed everywhere, even at the farthest points of their territory, on the condition that the husbands are kumi and the beautiful strangers are kroki.

In character, these norms of sexual intercourse most closely resemble the same such norms in the Australian Dieri tribe, among whom the two kinds of sexual intercourse mentioned are clearly registered by the terms noa and piruari (1). Among them each

1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 f.

woman is joined in individual, legitimate marriage to a single man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage with a whole category of men,

/44 cont./
614 mother. but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to
615 extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kin-
616 ship. and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of
the second degree. to which the prohibition was limited. But
with the appearance of this prohibition. the tri-clan phratry
ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclu-
sive marriage within three clans became impossible. because
in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S in the akhmal'k of
the first degree for V and of the second degree for A: con-
sequently. the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It
was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri.
Dar'ya). let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry
consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would now be
Dmitri's (clan D) sister. while the latter would have as his wife
a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times. the
prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant
degrees. the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever
greater number of clans. At the present time. when. due to
the reasons mentioned above. it is necessary in the selection
of wives to resort to completely alien clans. the phratry has
naturally lost its former. strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have with regard to this complicated. confused system. in order to correctly decide. in each given case. on the right to marry of some member of a clan. And. actually. this constitutes a whole science. to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

171 Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage.
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I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples
[170] in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

/45 cont./
174 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the development of the institution which I sketched are capable. I think.
582 of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage
601 which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

171 1) First of all. the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
174 completely clear to us why among many peoples. as. for example. among the Batak on Sumatra. a wife or a mistress is
582 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datangi or
601 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpūras in central
614 India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are. therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus. quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and. conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak). while Köhler. presenting this fact. and the author of the article on Köhler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms. even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler. "Das Recht der Hottentots." in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft. Vol. XVI. No. 3. pp. 341-342. and L'Année Sociologique. 11th year. p. 306.

/46 cont./
615 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's). in
616 turn. from birth. as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V)
582 would be called Vasil'eva. but. the daughter of this last. i.e.,
Varvara's great-granddaughter. would have to be the wife of one of the Andreev (of clan A) /47/ and thus. in the third generation. she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

582 6) As we have seen. Gilyak marriage to a considerable ex-
601 tent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship nomenclature. For in the Gilyak system of marriage many categories of the Turanian system of relations. which at first sight appear completely independent. are in fact identical. such as. for example. wives of brothers. sisters of the wife. and sisters of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons. just like mothers. wives of the father's brothers. sisters of the father-in-law. sisters of the mother. etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage. we have seen that from the simple. single rule that men must marry daughters of their mother's brother. there inevitably arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group marriage. the clan. the phratry. and finally marriage prohibitions.

171 2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the
582 genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particu-
614 lar. on the strange institution of mock abduction. an institution
616 which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Aus-
[171] tralians and the Eskimo. and. furthermore. in such strange forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction. as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives. the violation of

/81 cont./
*614 First of all. the very term that the Gilyak use to express
[192] the concept "clan" is of interest. It is khal', which literally means: scabbard. sheath -- a felicitous symbol for a single womb. for unity of origin. As concerns the features of their clan union. the Gilyak formulate them with surprising terseness. vividly /82/ illustrating their fully conscious attitude toward the basic institution of their social life (1).

[191] 1. It is extremely interesting that the
601 similar term khala /see the transliterat-
[190] ion system for Tungus-Manchu words. p. 36/ also exists among the neighboring Tungus tribes -- the Orok. Orochi. Goldi. Negda. with whom the Gilyak have certain common kinship designations. as. for example. aki (elder brother) = aga (among the Tungus tribes). in spite of the complete dissimilarity of the languages of these peoples lexically and grammatically.

601 If you ask any Gilyak why he considers some persons
(NN) his kinsmen. you will invariably get one answer: "Of course. we have akhmal'k (father-in-law) -- one (i.e., in common). ymgi /see ymgi. p. 82/ (son-in-law /zyat'/) -- one. fire -- one. mountain man. sea man. heavenly man. earth man. etc. -- one. bear -- one. devil -- one. tkhusind (blood money) -- one. sin -- one."

An analysis of this formula will also lead us to an elucidation of the content of the clan union.

1. Akhmal'k -- one. ymgi -- one; a common father-in-law. a common son-in-law (zyat'). The father-in-law of one clansman is father-in-law to the whole clan. Each clan in principle takes its women from one certain clan and in turn gives its women strictly to another certain clan. A common

/163 cont./
*614 from its lair). sable hunting. and especially the hunting of
615 sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these
616 instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participation.
[192] not of his clansmen. but of the ymgi. and not necessarily those married to his sister or daughter. but ymgi in general. i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than he does with his own /164/ clansmen; he can freely converse and joke with them. while he may not do this. as we know. with all of his clansmen. In turn. in the akhmal'k clan the ymgi feel like a fish in water. all the women of their generation are their an'yej (wives) -- all future wives and at any rate women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in the broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young male population. they find their revenge in the clan of their akhmal'k'i. where they meet the same reception from their "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Between
*614 the male youth of both clans ("navkh'i") (1). as a result of
615
608
601 1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'i.

frequent meetings. not to mention relationship by marriage. the most touching relations are established. It is in these surroundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much in vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchange of presents. mutual aid in misfortune. and other such services. But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood may be found among the navkh'i. Here is one such example. especially surprising to me. which I chanced to observe in the
601 settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. Both friends. "navkh'i." lived in one yurt; they had everything in common. went about together like lovers. almost never separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both.

/160 cont./
582 individual wife always lives in one house with her husband.
121 works with him. raises children with him. and is obliged to follow him wherever he wishes. but at the same time she has the right to share her caresses with impunity also with a whole group of individuals to whom this is allowed by established rights. Life has sanctioned such individual alliances. the more so as economic interests here coincide with the other mighty motive of sexual selection. the individual inclination of representatives of the different sexes. For this very reason. along with irregular marital relations. individual unions appear. also sanctioned by society. An arrangement appears whereby a separate member of society may at the same time be joined in an individual marriage and in a group marriage. Persons who are joined in an individual marriage are bound not only by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation. but also by a common economy and common offspring. At the same time. however. to each of them is given the lawful opportunity to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place irregularly. often demands conditions of secrecy. and usually presupposes the consent of both parties to each act of intercourse. nevertheless it is just because this is socially recognized. lawful. that it does not provoke any reaction. either social or religious. and because it manifests itself legally -- for marriage is a term of law -- we ought to define such relations as marital relations. This is not only theoretically true; it coincides also with the juridical views of those peoples among whom these institutions exist. /161/ First of all.
601 the very kinship nomenclature itself. according to which individual and group spouses are not distinguished by appellation. is evidence of this. Further. these relations usually impose on the participants in a group marriage the same obligations as are imposed on individual husbands. Thus. for
[587] example. when an individual husband dies. one of the members of the group marriage must replace the husband of the widow. even though she may no longer be capable of sexual

/161 cont./
582 intercourse; he must support her and her children. who usually
587 are also considered the children of all the members of the group.
121
835 Now the Gilyak marriage classes "pu" and "an'gej" become understandable to us. and we shall proceed to a detailed examination of them.

The classes "pu" and "an'gej." We have already said that for the Gilyak. at least at the present time. it is not prohibited either by religion or by the opinion of society to have sexual relations with or to marry any woman of his own tribe or a neighboring one. except for those women who are bound to him by one or another prohibitive term of kinship. But in relation to such alien women he has no rights whatever; illicit sexual intercourse is accompanied by the risk of bloody reaction on the part of a certain group of males. and individual marriage is a simple civil agreement accompanied by strict conditions of payment for the bride. The Gilyak most naturally therefore seeks sexual intercourse or a legal wife among the women with whom he has the right to do so. These are. namely. those women whom by the kinship
601 nomenclature. either from birth or from another specifically defined moment. he calls an'yej (wife). and he calls all
602 their agnates akhmak'i (fathers-in-law). We already know who these women are. They are. first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all aki. i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking. without distinctions of age (in certain places).

601 Each woman. in turn. as we know. gives the name of husband. in addition to her own Gilyak husband. to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands; 3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband (if she is married to one of them). and among some -- all the brothers of her husband.

/161 cont./

835 All these categories of "wives" and "husbands" are far
601 from nominal /162/ categories. Behind these class terms
(pu and aṅ̄ǵej) there are hidden two important real rights:
1) the right to individual marriage; 2) the right to sexual
intercourse (group marriage).

Let us examine each of these rights in particular.
The right to individual marriage. Above all, the categories
pu and aṅ̄ǵej are bound by the right to marry, in other words,
out of the whole circle of persons bound together by kinship
terms, only these alone have the right to join in individual
marriage with each other; all the other categories of kinship
groups are prohibited from marrying each other. But this
right is not exhausted by the merely negative feature -- the
absence of a prohibition on matrimonial ties. Certainly in
the eyes of the Gilyak the mnemonic significance of these
terms is of great importance in itself, for in view of the ex-
treme complexity of kinship relations a firm knowledge of
the marriageable classes is the only guarantee against viola-
tions of the very strict taboos on marriage in the prohibited
degrees of kinship. Nevertheless the mnemonic-permissive
significance of these terms does not at all exhaust their legal
content. Prohibitions against marriage, as we have seen, are
absent also among persons who are complete strangers to
each other in the kinship relation, and nevertheless, for
persons of these categories to call each other pu and aṅ̄ǵej
before marriage is not tolerated. The right to individual
marriage between persons in the pu and aṅ̄ǵej categories
is not a naked nudum jus; this right is simultaneously
an obligation, is a debt for both parties concerned. This ob-
ligation is seen first of all in the category of "brothers" and
their individual wives, who are, as we know, joined mutually
in the relationship of pu and aṅ̄ǵej. By the general rule the
580 widows of "brothers" (own and collateral) cannot leave the
614 clan, and they become, according to the disposition of the
clansmen, the wives of the brothers who have survived their
husbands, completely independently of the wishes of these
brothers; none of them can decline the widow assigned to him.

/163 cont./

835 are the aṅ̄ǵej of the slayer. Then he immediately orders the
538 killer to be summoned to his house, that is, the man against
whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was
unpremeditated, the man whom it was the greatest sin to allow
into his house; and in the presence of the assembled members
of the clan he solemnly declares: "Although this man has
killed me, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out
my wish for any reason." Such is the force of the ancient
categorical imperative of marriages between the categories
of pu and aṅ̄ǵej. This imperative is also active nowadays.

Let us return for a moment to the kinship terminology.
● 601 We shall make a full analysis of this terminology in connec-
582 tion with the bases of marriage later on. For our purposes
614 now it is necessary to remember the following facts: 1) the
wives of clansmen, according to their generations, call each
other either "sister" or "aunt" and "my husband" (n̄ǵej, nfu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at
which time they become actual spouses, without any of the
ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in con-
cluding marriage with outsiders. This custom generally ex-
plains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "yrɨkh"
and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age
when most of us are only preparing to get married the young
Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anni-
versary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage
unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call
themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth
of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old.
The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the
latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than
her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further
emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar-
riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly
zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually
are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all
the ancient customs and rites.

/165 cont./

582 Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative
584 to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed
soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any
possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this
important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after
the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to
585 marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the
ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up
the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the
hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a com-
mon economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing: they fashion
● [601] nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is
concluded, and when the bride has grown up a little more,
approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually
moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with
him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem
to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband"
584 (n̄ǵej, nfu) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at
162 which time they become actual spouses, without any of the
595 ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in con-
cluding marriage with outsiders. This custom generally ex-
plains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "yrɨkh"
and "mam," i.e., old man and old woman, since at the age
when most of us are only preparing to get married the young
Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anni-
versary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage
[582] unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call
themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth
of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old.
The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the
latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than
her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further
emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar-
[556] riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly
zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually
are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all
the ancient customs and rites.

/167 cont./ Thus, each man can have several clans
606 of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, ac-
602 cording to generations, are considered aṅ̄ǵej -- his wives and
614 the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology,
● [601] and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how
this complicated system developed.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to
see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations
pu and aṅ̄ǵej have played and still play an enormous role,
symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the
right to marriage -- one of the many benefits which the clan
structure gives to each of its participants.

Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of
this institution of the right to marriage at the present time.
For the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most
difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also
in real life "finding a wife" is a business of unusual difficulty.
First of all, there is the extreme shortage of women. Among
the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the
census that I took, for every 1,000 males there are 785
females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is
694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there
are 900 females. It is necessary to add that a significant per-
centage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthiest individuals,
keep from two to four wives. For example, according to my
census on the western shore of Sakhalin to the north of the
settlement of Arkyvo, for every nine monogamous men there
was one polygamous man, with the total ratio of men to
women being 1000:694. There is one old bachelor for every
11 married men, and one polygamist for every 19 married
men. It is not difficult to imagine how limited the choice of
women was, /168/ and it was already limited by a whole set
[583] of prohibitions. With such a limited choice and with such a
considerable preponderance of men over women, the bride
price, the payment for women (in valuables or long-term
service), naturally reaches an unusually great amount. Under

/173 cont./

*835 by chance taken a wife secretly,
614 rather than from the clan from
582 which all the kinsmen usually
take a wife.

● 601 In these cases the norms of sexual relations, and the
*835 terminology as well, are not the same. Among the majority
184 of clans, in both cases sexual intercourse with these women
614 is legitimate, the participants call each other pu and aṅ̄ǵej,
and their children call each other tuvn and the sisters of their
mother and their husbands correspondingly "mothers" and
"fathers." But among other clans, mainly among clans who
are neighbors of the Ainu, the arrangement is different. If
the sister of a man's wife marries his akhmalk, then sexual
intercourse with her, as in general with the wife of an akhmalk,
is absolutely prohibited, and, instead of aṅ̄ǵej, the man
calls her achk (mother-in-law). But if she marries a com-
pletely alien man, then the relations between them are as
between aliens, i.e., sexual intercourse is not considered a
*835 sin, but neither is it legitimate. What is remarkable, how-
ever, is that the offspring of both families are in all cases,
even in such /174/ relations, considered to be tuvn (brothers) (1)

*835 601
601 184
*835 614

1. I shall give an example which
depicts very well both the rela-
tions of such tuvn (i.e., the chil-
dren of sisters whose husbands are
aliens to each other) among them-
selves and their mutual relations
towards their wives.
Wremgin and Hibl are individuals
of two different clans (kkhal), one
from the clan Fanǵi, the other
from the clan Khoi, but their
mothers were tuvn, i.e., sisters from
one and the same clan. And

/174 cont./

*835 nevertheless, notwithstanding the
601 fact that their fathers and they
themselves are persons of alien
clans, they call each other tuvn,
because their fathers were married
to sisters and had the right to
sexual intercourse, and, as tuvn,
they do not dare to converse or
joke with each other (see below, the
prohibitions); their wives are
considered ymk (mothers) to their
children, and Hibl, as the younger,
has the right to sexual intercourse
with the wife of Wremgin.

*835 down to the third generation, and this shows best of all that the
old order dictated that the sisters of Gilyak's wife be the wives
of his brothers.

Thus, the question of the relations between a Gilyak and
his married aṅ̄ǵej in practice comes, in the main, to the same
thing as relations with the wives of his "brothers" (tuvn).

601 As we have said, and as is evident from the kinship
184 terminology, some clans strictly differentiate between the
*835 wives of older and of younger tuvn, and others make no dis-
614 tinction at all between these categories; in some -- only the
wives of the older tuvn, in others -- all the wives of tuvn with-
out distinction, are considered aṅ̄ǵej of each of the tuvn, but
in both cases the right of these pu and aṅ̄ǵej to sexual inter-
course is indisputable.

Among the western Gilyak, who make no distinction be-
tween the wives of brothers, they formulated this right for me
repeatedly in the following, more clear expressions:
"With the wife of a younger brother (his) older brother is allowed
to have sexual intercourse" ("good"); a younger (brother) is
allowed to have sexual intercourse with the wife of an older
(brother) ("good").

/177 cont./
595 tales again and again begin with the words: "ǵaɣuvyn temu
*835 ruvn aṅ̄ǵej n'ena alvynd" -- "two Gilyak brothers had a wi
538 and later on the content itself of this idea is disclosed. In
/178/ such tale (1), in which they are talking about the

1. L. Shternberg, Materialy
/Materials/, II, 21, p. 171.

abduction of the common wife of two brothers by a mountai
man, we find a passage depicting the forms of sexual relati
and the relationship of the woman to both brothers: "That
same evening the made the...sacrificial cups, six of them,
in order that her husbands might take them with them (on th
hunt); then that night, having slept a little (i.e., under one
cover with the elder brother), she made her way to her youn
husband (beloved), lying on the middle plank-bed, and,
having copulated, she slept with him. On the next day, he
husbands set out." The finale of this story is curious. After
a long search for the abducted woman, the older brother
(nowadays her individual husband), having despaired of the
success of the search, returned home, while the younger
brother, on the other hand, zealously continued the search,
and when he finally found his way to the home of his be-
loved, the narrator says that the woman ran to her husband
"pivner:kntokh" (actually, to the brother of her individual
husband) (line 58) ... They not only speak in such language
595 in fairy tales, but every day. When a man speaks of his wi
*835 or a woman of her husband, they by no means imply their in
601 dividual spouse, but one or another of their "husbands" with
out distinction. In just the same way, when a married man
speaks of his wives (in the plural), or a married woman of h
husbands, they always imply the individual husband and his
brothers, and, conversely, the individual wife and the wives
of the brothers.

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/31 cont./

601 In particular, among many primitive tribes, the Gilyak calls not only his own wife, but also the wives of his elder brothers of all degrees of kinship, as well as all the sisters of his wife of all degrees of kinship, his wife (an'gej), while they, in turn, call him their husband (pu, ivn). Their children call one another brothers and sisters (tuvn, ruf). In addition the Gilyak calls all his female cousins on his mother's side /32/(the daughters of the brothers of his own mother and of the brothers of all the women whom he calls ymk -- mother) his wives from the time of their birth. The Gilyak calls not only his own mother, but also all the wives of the brothers of his father, own and agnate, as well as the sisters of these women, mother (ymk), while they call him their son. Consistent with this, he calls not only his own father, but also the brothers of his father, his father (ytk), while in certain clans the term father is applied to all elder and younger brothers (own and agnate) of the father, and in others (among most of the Sakhalin Gilyak) -- only to the brothers younger than the father. The children of brothers in relationship to the latter are considered sons and daughters. Seemingly even stranger is the rule by which women call their husband's brothers' wives sister, while men call their father-in-law's sisters mother. A European hears with astonishment a small Gilyak boy call the wife of his elder brother an'gej (wife), while she calls him -- little husband (ychikh, pu, ivn), or as the Gilyak very often says: "I shall go to see my fathers and mothers," i.e., the brothers of his father or the sisters of his mother, but after long observation one becomes so accustomed to this strange phenomenon that he begins to consider
601 it completely natural. In spite of the views expressed in recent
835 times that a classificatory system of kinship represents only the nomenclature of ages, I can testify after long years of observation that among the Gilyak this nomenclature, based on a strict calculation of degrees of kinship, fully corresponds to their norms of sexual intercourse. Age plays no role; frequently very old men and young adolescents are included in one and the same category. All persons bound together by the names an'gej and pu (husband and wife) actually have conjugal rights to one another, i.e., they not only have the right to enter into regular marriages with each other or to have sexual intercourse before entering into a

/35 cont./

The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak, their migrations, depopulations, immigrations, and other such reasons, naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and lose its former simplicity.

A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kinship nomenclature, which, without doubt, is a living reflection of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded.

First of all, it is clear that the kinship nomenclature according to which I, a man, call the sisters of my father-in-law mother (ymk), while my father calls them his wives, at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers, both own and agnate, call one another sister, can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one common clan, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women-sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then, in fact, the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and consequently, my mothers, while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system, marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is eloquently answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature by which I and my clansmen of my generation, i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives, and conversely, they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came, i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers, is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives, and furthermore, as I have already said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan. But to exchange women, i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives, is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont./

174 601 835 582 614 my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ancestresses were sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kinship terminology this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the daughter of the sister of my father wife (an'gej), but simply navkh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but ytk, akhmal'k. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan, reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not, however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

582 60 614 In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indicated by me which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up to the present day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak, not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detail, I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives there from whence you came, i.e., from the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

[192]

1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh is interesting; it is composed of pi (ones own, yours), pandf (kinsmen of the mother), and ukh (from). The word pandf is from pandynd -- "to be born."

835 wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinted an old prohibition on this group of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder brothers, for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom sexual intercourse is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of marriage among the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a brother, own (preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the latter. On the other hand, marriage with a

582 601

/37 cont./

582 601 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was indubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is

582 584 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engagement of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is educated until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual,

582 614 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how-

[125] [601] ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the census that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of the mother") from ancient times.

582 178 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way, then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs, sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

/188 cont./

02 and between the women and the elder tuvn of their husbands
on the other. As is well known from the kinship terminology,
51] the individuals of these groups call each other by the prohibi-
tory terms jokh and atk. These last terms are likewise used by
daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law to designate each other.
2 Between them, as between the individuals of the prohibited
4 categories, once again psychic intercourse is not permitted,
although not with uniform strictness everywhere. Among
some, for example, among the Gilyak of the estuary of the
Amur, neither conversation nor jokes are allowed. In other
places business relations are allowed, but jokes and conversa-
tion are forbidden. The prohibition of psychic intercourse
does not exist between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law.

02 Now how the prohibitions are realized in life remains to
be explained. The Gilyak themselves classify the psychic
2] forms of intercourse between prohibited categories with the
terms: indynd (to look, khernd (to converse, to talk), lerund
(to joke, play, play pranks), and vakrund (to quarrel, dispute,
revile). But not all of these four forms are applied equally
between all the categories. Thus, we have seen that the
father is forbidden only lerund (jokes, playing pranks) with
his daughter, but he is permitted to converse with her and
all the more to revile her. The prohibitions on "looking in
the face" -- indynd -- on the contrary, are in effect only
between "brothers and sisters"; lerund applies with equal rigor
between all categories. There remains the prohibition khernd.
This term embraces two concepts: conversation and dis-
cussion, and business relations. The first are absolutely for-
bidden: /189/ one can get along without conversations, and
besides conversations may lead further. It is another matter
with business conversations; sometimes it is absolutely im-
possible to get along without them. Thus, for example, the
elder brother frequently takes the place of the father in re-
lation to the younger brothers, and it is impossible to avoid
having dealings with him; therefore in extreme cases the
younger brothers may address the elder brother. Brief direct

/191 cont./

*174 60 Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tuyn, although they may be completely alien to each other, call each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-law, although he may be a complete stranger, my "mother's brother," and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in-law the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, from that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the unmarried ones, become my mothers, and no one from her clan can marry the women from my clan?

[614] Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry into not only that clan from which anyone from my clan takes a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? In what way could the apparently paradoxical fact that a man can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothers, fathers, and mothers) in clans completely alien to him have *174 58 60 come about? This confusion and apparent absurdity can be explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and logically consistent system of marriage, like every religious [183] norm, has created around itself by a peculiarity natural to it a fabric of extended norms. [178] On the other hand, under the influence of historical conditions and the conditions of life, it underwent a gradual extension and complication, while at the same time the kinship terminology, as an element which by its own nature, in view of its formality, was distinguished by its extreme stability, remained unchangeable. What was the scheme of primitive marriage like? In certain places in our exposition we have already discussed it. Now we must elucidate this question in all its fullness. The detailed analysis both of the prohibitive and of the permissive norms of marriage that we made in the preceding chapter has shown that these norms completely correspond to the kinship terminology; in other words, the whole intricate Gilyak kinship terminology is nothing more than an automatic registry of the marriage system. [178] This faithful registrar, so stable in the face of all change,

/208 cont./

*614 615 ●601 178 then all these five clans and their five clans of akhmalk'i will be akhmalk'i to the whole of clan of A and will be prohibited for the women of A (only up to the third generation, it is true). But if we also add to these ten clans those two clans of original akhmalk'i of the first and second degree, then clan A will have 12 clans of akhmalk'i of the first and second degree to which it may not give its women. This tendency toward extension could lead to extreme difficulties in arranging a marriage, for with every new free marriage the number of clans which are available for marriage is reduced, but in practice the consequences of this extended regulation are allayed by the still firm tendency of the clan and of its separate members to depart from the old norm of taking wives from one particular clan, the clan of the mother, only in the most extreme cases.

This extended regulation introduced still greater confusion into the kinship terminology and into the norms of group marriage. Earlier, the classificatory system extended, in addition to the clan of the speaker, also to two other clans -- the clan of the fathers-in-law and the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/, and the designations corresponded to the sexual relations. If, for example, I, a man, called the sisters of my fathers-in-law mothers, then this corresponded to reality, for the sisters of my "fathers-in-law" were group wives of my "fathers" and one of them was actually my mother. Or, if I, a man, called each "father-in-law" in that same clan of "fathers-in-law" the brother of my mother, and his daughter (the daughter of my mother's brother) my wife, then this corresponded to the actual kinship relations. Now that, due to /209/ occasional free marriages, the classificatory terminology has been extended to a whole set of clans which are completely alien to all the clansmen, the designations "fathers-in-law," "mothers," "daughters of the mother's brother," and so forth are extended to persons who are not such in actuality, and nevertheless in this new circle of persons all the old norms of group marriage between

/209 cont./

*614 615 ●601 178 corresponding persons are obligatory. And it is entirely natural that the number of persons drawn into the circle of classificatory kinship is ever larger, and the knowledge of this kinship, so simple before, becomes a real science, into which a person is initiated during childhood and in which he becomes proficient only when he reaches maturity. It is natural, therefore, that the classificatory system gives the European an impression of complete confusion and inexplicability. In reality, all the terms of kinship and the sexual norms which now appear so confused and illogical are explained quite simply -- the intrusion of the new practice of free marriage into the old staunchly persistent system of the old imperative, according to which marriage was a blood-kinship union and was obligatory from the clan of the mother.

VII.

The Phratry and Its Genesis

*614 615 We have seen how, owing to the primordial norms of marriage, the principle aim of which was to provide the progeny of an ancestor with wives from a group of persons in a distinct category of blood kinship, there automatically arose exogamous groups, clans. The essential significance of the clan consisted in the common right and obligation to supply its members with women outside of their own number. In other strictly defined groups-clans. Thus, in its basic function, each clan taken separately is by no means a self-sufficient organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound to the existence of at least two other clans related to the first by blood, one the clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, the other the clan of the sisters of its ancestor, to which it is obliged to give its own women, and, furthermore, these two clans, as we have seen, may not coincide, since the exchange of women between two clans is not allowed.

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IX.

The Gilyak Kinship System and Morgan's Hypothesis

●601 *835 The Gilyak system of kinship and marriage fully confirms the basic hypothesis of L. Morgan that the terms of kinship are the result of corresponding sexual norms and norms of marriage. What for Morgan was only a deduction, we actually see to the fullest degree in Gilyak life. If a Gilyak calls a group of women by the term "wife," then those women are actually wives for him in the proper sense. If a Gilyak calls a certain group of men -- fathers, then these are actually persons who have sexual rights to his mother. If he calls the brother of his mother "father-in-law," then it is because, according to primordial law, he is actually obliged to marry the daughter of this uncle, who will then be his father-in-law. In the Gilyak system one finds the explanation of even such universal classificatory terms as elder and younger brother and elder and younger sister, which are very important, especially in marriage norms. First of all, these terms regulate individual marriage in the [582] clan of the mother. An elder brother is obliged to marry an elder sister, and a younger brother a younger sister. [587] These terms are important in the levirate, since a widow passes to a younger "tuvn." Finally, among half of the Gilyak, only the younger brothers have sexual rights to the wives of the elder brothers.

How clearly individualized this correspondence between a kinship term and the marriage rights is in the Gilyak terminology is seen especially clearly in the relations of the brothers to their wives. Among half of the Gilyak, as we have seen, all the brothers without exception have mutual rights to one another's wives. And among them the terms actually correspond to this: a man designates with the term "wife" all the wives of his brothers without exception, and therefore all the children of brothers without exception call

1; Sutenberg--330 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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●601 *835 these latter by the term "father." But among the other half of the Gilyak only the younger brothers have rights to the wives of the older brothers. And once again this is indicated in the terminology. I call the wife of my younger brother, with whom I do not have the right of intercourse, by the prohibitive term jokh, /224/ but I call the wife of an elder brother by the same term as I call my own wife; corresponding to this, the children of brothers call only the younger brothers of the father, as well as this latter, by the term ytk (father), but the father's older brothers -- atk.

114 601 *835 The objections which have been raised against Morgan's hypothesis are in this sense objections of a purely abstract character. Thus, for example, the well-known objection repeated by all the opponents of Morgan with regard to the inexplicability of the class of mothers, since a person's mother, they say, is always well-known, is quite simply explained by the norms of sexual relations among the Gilyak. A Gilyak calls by the name of mother any woman with whom a person of the class of his fathers has the right to sexual relations. The degree to which the Gilyak realize the significance of this term is seen from the following. We have just seen that among that half of the Gilyak where only the younger brothers have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of the elder, the children of brothers distinguish the elder brothers of their father from the younger brothers, and these latter they call by the term "father," but they do not distinguish the wives of the brothers of their father, calling them mothers. Why? For this reason. I call the wives of my father's younger brothers mothers because their husbands are my fathers (they have the right to sexual intercourse with my mother), and the wives of the older ones because my father has the right of sexual intercourse with them, and they are his wives.

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●601 *835 A Gilyak also calls the sisters of his father-in-law mothers, but this is entirely correct, because, as we have seen, father and son take wives from the same clan; the father takes a man's sister, while the son takes a daughter of this latter, so that the sister of one's father-in-law is [114] really his mother. The objection of Kunov that the classificatory terms designate only age classes is likewise completely unfounded. In Gilyak life, age plays no part in the kinship terms. My class "father" can be younger than I, and nevertheless he cannot marry a woman of the class of my wives, but, on the other hand, is obliged to marry a woman from the class of wives of my actual father, and on attaining maturity he will in fact be a husband of my mother.

*194 *835 [114] The Gilyak system and the punalua family. In the light of the Gilyak system, not only is Morgan's general hypothesis concerning the origin of the classificatory system of kinship from the system of marriage confirmed and explained, but also his more particular hypothesis concerning the origin of the Turanian kinship system from the punalua family. The Gilyak kinship system is /225/ Turanian in its basic indications, while the marriage system presents a most complete form of the punalua family. In actuality, according to Morgan, the basis of the punalua family is "group marriage, either of several own /α/ collateral sisters with their spouses, where the common husbands were not necessarily kinsmen, or a group marriage of several own or collateral brothers with their wives, where these wives were likewise not necessarily kinswomen, although in both cases this was often encountered." The old Gilyak family with its obligatory marriage from one particular clan was a group marriage of all the brothers (own and collateral) with all the sisters of a particular generation, so that the groups of husbands were brothers, while their wives were always sisters. This is evi- [601] dent from the kinship terminology -- the wives of brothers call each other sisters.

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835 601 At the present time, when it is permitted to take wives from different clans, all the brothers (own and collateral) are still the group husbands of their wives, who often turn out to be sisters. And we have seen that even when sisters marry persons of different clans all the consequences of group-marriage are still preserved, and their children are considered brothers and sisters.

[114] The structure of the Gilyak family thus affords us the opportunity to establish the very genesis of the Hawaiian family, from which Morgan constructed the punalua family. This family originally did not consist of a group of several brothers who were married to their wives in a group marriage, or, on the other hand, of several sisters in a group marriage with their husbands, who might be non-kin to each other. Such a family could not have created the Turanian classificatory system of kinship, for it presupposes the possibility of several groups of brothers or sisters, each group participating completely independently in a group marriage in which the other groups did not share; consequently, common designations for all the brothers according to their marital relations could not have been formed.

835 614 194 The Gilyak family in its pure, original form gives us an actual picture of this family. The family is an intraclan organization. Therefore, each group-family represents a generation of all the brothers of a given clan (own and collateral) joined in a group marriage with a whole generation of women from another clan. These women are necessarily sisters, for the daughters of clansmen-brothers, as we have seen, are necessarily the wives of the sons of the sisters of their fathers. Now when, as we have seen, by virtue of [108] /226/ the causes that we have mentioned, this marital obligation became weakened, and brothers began to take wives from different clans and women began to marry into different clans, sisters might turn out to be members of a group marriage with husbands who were not kin to each other, and brothers in the same kind of marriage with wives

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835 194 614 who were not kin to each other, with this difference, that the collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans, would be broken up into several groups, as in the punalua family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since 835 601 the Gilyak family is the most ideal form of the punalua 194 family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the most complete form of the Turanian system. Actually, we find in it classificatory groups that must have existed in the Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the [114] system of marriage. For example, in that Turanian form which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely, the Tamil, the two extremely important classificatory terms -- "husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

835 601 194 171 The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed under conditions where brothers had common wives, and sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the Tamil system a man calls by the name father, not only his own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also existed a general term "wife," by which a man would designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband," by which each woman would designate both her own husband and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

114 601 171 In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil, a man calls his wife en mainavi, the wife of his brother enanni, en maittuni, the sister of his wife en korlunti, en maittuini; there is the same lack of correspondence with the term "husband" (1).

1. See the table in Morgan.

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601 835 114 Among the Gilyak the terms "husband" and "wife" -- pu and an'g:ej -- embrace all persons united by group marriage, which thus still more confirms the truth of Morgan's interpretation of the kinship terms.

114 601 171 /227/ Elucidation of several terms of the Turano-Ganowanian system which appeared inexplicable to Morgan. In the light of cousin marriage, several terms of kinship in the Turano-Ganowanian system become understandable to us. For example, Morgan was very confused by, and even regarded as inexplicable, why, among the Tamil, I, a man, call the children of my male cousins (considering as such the children of the sister of my father and of the brother of my mother without distinction) nephews and nieces, but I call the children of my female cousins sons and daughters. At the same time, among the Seneca-Iroquois exactly the reverse of this rule prevails. In his Consanguinity and Affinity he considers this fact inexplicable: "The discrimination of degrees of the cousin relationship," he says "is a remarkable fact in the Tamilian system. It is now found only in some systems of the Turanian family. From the structure and principles of the Turanian system, as I have already shown earlier with regard to the Ganowanian system, it follows inevitably that in its further development this relationship would be applied and restricted to the children of a brother and sister. It was probably unknown in the primitive system... It is the only particular in which it differs materially from the form of the family among the Seneca-Iroquois. In this respect, this last logically agrees more with the principles of the Turanian system than the Tamilian system. It is difficult to find any explanation for this difference" (1).

[113] 1. Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, 1871 p. 391.

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114 601 171 Subsequently, in Ancient Society, Morgan found an explanation for this fact.

"This shows," he says, "that among the Tamil, at the time when the Turanian system was introduced, all my female cousins were my wives, while at the same time this did not apply to the wives of my male cousins" (2).

[113] 2. Morgan, Ancient Society, 1877, p. 444 (Russ. trans., Pervobytnoe obshchestvo, p. 427).

114 601 194 171 835 It did not even occur to Morgan that the whole Turanian system was based on this principle. This peculiarity, however, is precisely the result of the primitive system of cross-cousin marriage, from which the Turanian system also developed. Under cross-cousin marriage, marriage between the children of brother and sister is the only form of marriage, and such male and female cousins accordingly call themselves "husband" and "wife." That the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage is evident also from other terms, which /228/ must have been inexplicable to Morgan and which he does not even bring up, not having found an explanation for them. For example, among the Tamil, if "I" am a man, then the wife of my sister's son is my "daughter" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the husband of my sister's daughter is my "son" (as in the Australian cousin marriage); the husband of my father's sister's daughter is my "brother" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the father of my wife is my "father-in-law" and "uncle" (father-in-law and brother of the mother among the Gilyak, father-in-law and brother of the father or mother among the Australians); the mother of my wife is my "mother-in-law" and "aunt" (aunt and father's sister among the Gilyak, mother-in-law and father's sister or mother's sister among the Australians); my brother's wife is my "female cousin" (i.e., a daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister); and, finally, the "wife" of a son of my father's sister, and

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114 171 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister" (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms 194 is met if "I" am a woman.

601 All this is without question evidence that the Turanian 835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although th examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of t system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a co 194 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the 601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to 835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children 615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's siste [171] son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my [114] "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins c the first clans A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of gro marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children fo both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we sl see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian 194 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera 835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of 615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

601 /191 cont./
174 the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system
[58] of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.
[178]

But what does the kinship terminology teach us?

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are
[602] called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates,
[611] for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

614 Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation
601 the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral
582 brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, that
+174 is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken from one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions, marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the clansmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters," the nieces of those women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. This is why the wives of "brothers" call each other

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"sisters" (for they are such in reality), their mothers-in-law -- aunts on their fathers' side, and husbands call the sisters of their fathers-in-law mothers. We shall not speak here of the group character of these marriage unions and of the classes of "mothers," "fathers," "brothers," "fathers-in-law" /wives' fathers/ which arise from this, for we have already explained it in detail earlier.

Thus to the first principle -- the obligation of marriage with one's blood kinsmen -- is added another principle -- the wives of clansmen must of necessity be taken from one common clan, i.e., two clans are bound to each other by a mutual obligation: one must take wives from the other clan, and the latter /193/ must give its wives to the former. All men of the latter, according to generation, are considered from birth to be the husbands of the women of the corresponding generation of the other clan, and, as we have seen, these classes in actuality call each other pu and an'g:ej.

But from the kinship terminology we know that the reverse is not allowed, i.e., men of the second clan and women of the first are not joined in the class of husbands and wives. Thus, an exchange marriage between the two aforementioned clans is not allowed. All these principles which have been deduced by us above a priori from the kinship terminology completely correspond to contemporary reality. We have seen that even now there exists the right of marriage, that even now a marriage from the class akhmalk is alone considered "pure," that marriages of clansmen are usually made from one common clan and that exchange marriage between clans is not allowed. Now we can with confidence continue our analysis.

But what is this clan from which clansmen are obliged to take wives? The answer to this is that detail of nomenclature whereby the mother of every man is the sister of his wife's father; in other words, all wives of clansmen are taken from that clan from which their ancestress came. The members of the clan are thus, both on the father's side and

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614 on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individual member of the clan, as we have seen above, this is expressed
601 in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his
602 mother's brother, in other words, the daughters of every man
582 belong to the sons of his sister. This principle also is the link
*174 from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the maternal family, the one that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to satisfy this most vital need in the early stages of human society, every mother obtained for her sons the daughters of her brother, in other words, all the descendants of a sister obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of the mother's brother, and not the children of the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother, we shall see below. Now let us look at the consequences
*174 this principle had in its practical application.
582 /194/ 1) Once the daughters of the brother belonged from
591 birth to the sons of the sister, it was most natural that the
581 future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their future wives /sic/. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, as among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriages, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves
[602] to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Terminology has perpetuated this arrangement in that even from birth children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

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*174 The natural result of this system was the classificatory
582 system of kinship, according to which a man gives the name
●601 of wife not only to his individual wife, but also to all her sisters, and to the wives of all of his own brothers and to the sisters of these wives, both own and collateral; on the same basis he gives the name of mother to all the wives of the brothers of his father, both own and collateral, while he calls their husbands his fathers, and he calls their children his brothers and sisters; in exactly the same way he calls the brother of his mother father-in-law, her sister -- mother, while he calls the daughters of the brothers of the mother his wives.

The classificatory system, which appears to be so complicated, becomes completely clear and simple; it is logically developed out of a basic principle -- the female offspring of a brother belong to all the male offspring of his sister. At first it may seem strange and extremely complicated that, for example, a man's wives include not only the wives of his brothers, but also their sisters. In actuality, this is explained very simply -- the wives of the brothers cannot be other than sisters, and they all belong to the whole group of "brothers" -- cousins of these sisters. Or, a man calls the brother of his mother "father-in-law"; this is because his father-in-law can only be the brother of his mother, no one else.

The only variation possible in this system is connected with the differences in the rights of group marriage of younger and elder brothers. Among some peoples all the brothers are equally the group husbands of their mutual spouses; among others only the younger brothers enjoy group rights with respect to the wives of elder brothers. Among the Gilyak, as we have seen, we find both systems, and correspondingly two terminologies with respect to the brothers of the father and the wives of the brothers. Among some only the elder brothers of the father are called fathers, while

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*174 among others only the younger brothers; similarly among s
582 a man only calls the wives of his elder "brothers" his wives,
● 601 while among others all the wives of the brothers equally.

Now we shall continue our analysis of the Gilyak norms

*174 6. Once every mother by right takes the daughters of h
614 brother /198/ for her sons, then by the same right her daug must belong to the sons of the sister of her husband; this sister, moreover, cannot be married to her brother, because as we have seen, the exchange of women between the descendants of sister and brother is not permitted. Thus, si by side with the two groups, the descendants of the brother and the descendants of the sister, there is formed a third group -- the offspring of the sisters of the husbands of the latter group.

7. Since in each of these groups the men draw their wives from the group of the brothers of the mother, while the women marry into the third group of the sister of the father, each group forms a completely exogamous unit, i.e clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or, vice versa, the women into the clan of the husband, there resulted either a maternal or a paternal clan. Among the Gilyak the clan has been paternal from remote times. The strength and unity of such a clan union rested not only on the negative bond of exogamy (exogamy or prohibitions against certain degrees of kinship can exist even without a clan union), but on the precious positive ties, on the common right of marriage, on the common right of the clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, on the mutual rights of group marriage, on the privilege of having for one's sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ one's blood kinsmen -- the children of the sisters of one's fathers, the members of that clan which from time immemorial has married its ancestresses. The strength of this union was doubled by the peculiarity of its composition. Within the clan there was not a single non-blood element: if the clan was maternal and the sons-in-law moved to the

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614 home of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained
*174 together; their husbands, taken into the clan, were all of the same clan -- the male cousins of their wives, the sons of the sisters of their fathers. In the agnatic clan the imported
602 women were all kin to each other, either sisters or aunts and
614 nieces (and blood kinswomen -- female cousins of their
*174 husbands), the daughters of the brothers of their mothers. This common blood kinship of the representatives of both sexes of both the native and the imported elements of the clan is a still more important cement of the clan union, a religious cement binding together all the elements with the highest ties of the common cult of the ancestors. The
●601 terminology has perpetuated this arrangement by the fact that
614 the wives in each generation call each other sister and their
*174 husbands' mothers -- aunts, and a man calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife, while a woman calls the son of her father's sister husband.

614 8. Since marriage is obligatory into the group of the
587 sisters of the father exclusively, once the daughters of a man
*174 belong from birth /199/ to the sons of his sister, and this rule, naturally, became a religious imperative, then under no circumstances can either the men or the women marry out-
[171] side of the indicated groups. Hence a twofold levirate, so often encountered, by the way, among the American Indians. If the individual husband of a woman should die, she cannot under any circumstances leave the group of her husband. Whether young or old, she passes to one of the class of "brothers" of her deceased husband. Conversely, if a man's wife dies, he cannot look for a wife anywhere except in the class of her sisters.

614 9. Under this arrangement, as long as it maintains its
583 complete purity, within the marriage groups there can be
*174 no question either of abductions or of bride price.

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178 In just this way, under exceptional conditions, it is true,
*614 the foundation of the marital-clan system was breached, but
615 once it was breached in this way, it had to spread more and more and lead to the condition where marriages of different persons outside of the old phratry became, if not lawful, at least a completely acceptable phenomenon.

Now we shall consider the second case, where clan A does not die out completely, but has only become considerably thinned out in people. On account of the shortage of women in clan A, a part of the men of clan C were obliged to take their wives, as in the first case, from the closest lawful clan, namely, from B, but in the case where, as in the first instance, C does not have a right to give its women to D, and therefore to the phratry, in order to guarantee D women, a fifth clan, E, will have to be added, giving women to D and taking them from C. But, besides this, there is still another consequence, which confuses matters still more.

Since both the members of clan A and some of the members of clan C take /205/ women from clan B, then the first and second in each generation will be married to sisters, and, although they are members of different clans, they will be members of a group marriage with a group of sisters (1) and their children, as the terminology shows (see

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1. By a curious coincidence in this case the group husbands call each other navkh -- a term signifying the same thing as the famous term punalua, comrade, participator.

above), will be tuvn, i.e., brothers and sisters, and, consequently, forbidden for each other, so that in the following generation the women from clan A will not have the possibility of marrying into clan C and will be obliged every second generation to seek their husbands entirely outside their phratry, which still more destroys the strength and

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*614 marry, according to the old norm, the daughter of the
615 mother's brother. Finally, in some cases the descendants
178 of this man take wives /207/ either from the old or from the new clan of the father-in-law, depending on circumstances, and both clans begin to be considered lawful clans. It may happen that not merely two, but many more of these lawful clans are accumulated in the course of time, both for the individual person and for the whole clan, but nevertheless each man as an individual strives to observe the old norm in arranging a marriage, seeking his wife above all from the clan of his mother, preferably always the daughter of the brother of this last.

Such is the power of the old norm. But its role is not limited to this. Compelled to make a retreat in one direction, it develops the strength of its age-old inertia with still greater intensity in other directions. Having out of necessity allowed marriages outside the phratry, having allowed the possibility for members of one clan to take wives from different clans, it has extended the whole system of regulations both to the free marriages and to all the clans which even sporadically enter into marriage relations with this or that clan.

*614 This amalgamation of the old institution with the new
615 one and the extension to it of all the regulations of the old
●601 norms and prohibitions have made not only the kinship
178 terminology, but also the character of the group marriage unusually complicated and confused. Under the old system, when marriages were arranged from one particular clan, the picture of the group marriage appeared entirely clear and simple: in each generation all the "brothers" of one clan participated in a group marriage with all the sisters of the same generation in the other clan. For this reason the wives of brothers called each other sisters, and the husbands of sisters called each other brothers, for both groups were such in reality.

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614 With the appearance of the institution of free marriage,
615 the clansmen-brothers may be married to women from dif-
601 ferent clans, i.e., complete strangers to each other, and
178 nevertheless, by the old presumption, these women call each other sisters and become the group wives of their husbands-brothers. In exactly the same way, clanswomen-sisters may be married to men from different clans, and nevertheless these latter, although they are complete strangers to one another, will have group rights to their wives, and their offspring will call each other tuvn (German Geschwister /siblings/) and will not have the right to marry each other.

And, finally, we have seen that even "brothers-in-law" /zyat'ya/, i.e., persons of whom one is a member of a group marriage with the sister of another, may be married to sisters from a third clan. And in this case, although these persons have lost their rights of group marriage with /208/ respect to their sisters-wives, nevertheless all their children are considered tuvn and may not marry each other.

Furthermore, formerly, under the pure intraphratral marriage, the clan did not have the right to give women either to that clan from which it itself took women or to the clan from which this other clan took wives, i.e., to the clans of fathers-in-law of the first and second degrees of kinship. This, as we have seen, was an automatic consequence of the rule under which a clan was obligated to give women to one of the other three clans of the phratry, namely, to that clan into which was married the sister of the father of their ancestor, and accordingly the other two clans of fathers-in-law became eo ipso prohibited for women of the given clan. Now, when individual members of a clan may take wives even outside the clan of the mother, the designation of akhmalk of the first and second degree is extended to all the clans from which even one clansman has taken his wife. Thus there may be a situation in which, if five men from clan A marry freely with persons from five separate clans,

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X.

Features of the Classificatory System Among Other Peoples of Northeast Asia

174 601 As early as forty years ago L. Morgan in his Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity gave special attention to the question of the relationship between the Turanian and the Ganowanian kinship systems and after a long analysis, came to the definite conclusion that the relationship between these systems could occur only because of common blood, and that the present bearers of the Ganowanian system, i.e., the American peoples, brought it from their ancient homeland, from Asia. Morgan at that time was in a position to trace the Turanian system among the Dravidian peoples of India up to the southern boundaries of Central Asia. He was unable to get any information about the Mongol, the Tungus, or even the Turkic peoples. And it was all the more difficult for him to obtain any data about the peoples /236/ of the Amur region and the Pacific shore of northeast Asia. At the same time, it was the Amur River that he regarded as the point of departure for the crossing of the Turanian system from Asia to America, just as, with greater justification, he regarded the Columbia River as the point of departure for the spread of the Ganowanian system throughout the continent of North America. Whatever we may think of Morgan's hypothesis, from this point of view, his conviction that definite traces of the Turanian system should be discovered from the banks of the Amur throughout the northeast of Asia, including the Aleutian Islands, is now beginning to be justified, in some cases in the kinship systems and in others in survivals of cousin marriage. It is particularly strengthened by the system of kinship and marriage discovered by me among the Gilyak. Morgan's great hypothesis, which has such a direct bearing on the problem of the interaction of the peoples of Asia and America, deserves our making at least a brief survey of the marriage norms among these peoples.

Ainu AB6

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*174 601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

A 101 174 601 835 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

A [611] [614]

Go

Gi /237 cont./

114 835 I shall proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are p dominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to t shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities have been studied by me principally among most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochi, and I had an opportunity to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples the Amur region.

G Gi 601 835 171 433 In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationali differ considerably from the Gilyak, settled fishermen an dog-breeders, nevertheless we find a great deal essential similar in their classificatory system and norms of marria

G Gi 614 601 835 As among the Gilyak, the clan is based on paternity /paterniteta/. In each generation of a given clan, the men women are elder and younger brothers and sisters. The c dren of these classes are common sons and daughters and brothers and sisters to one another. The clansmen-"broth own and collateral, live in a group marriage with their wives, just as among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect, i the younger with the wives of the elder. Here, as among the Gilyak, they prefer to take wives from a single clan, from which one may conclude that again, as among the Gilyak, that marriage from a single clan was once obliga

Group marriage also exists with the wife's sisters who

Gi 601 835 married to members of another clan, but, by analogy wi the brothers' wives, among some tribes this marriage inclu only the younger sisters of the wife. In two respects grou

G [601] [835] marriage among the Tungus tribes is much broader than among the Gilyak. First of all, each man has a right no only to the wives of his elder brothers, but also to the wi of the younger brothers of his father, whom he therefore calls by the same class term as his elder brothers, namely

Gi [582] aki, a'ga. On the other hand, marriage to the daughters the younger sisters is allowed and thus that category of ni is drawn into the circle of the class of group wives. It is

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
[693] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move; the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/266 cont./

177 To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the
58 matrimonial psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who,
[173] judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the mass of Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants, and they exerted their influence on it in many respects, as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of
[171] religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of
[601] marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship terms or their norms of marriage.

/267/ XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

582 We have already had occasion to introduce in another
538 place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to marry women from the clan of the mother, from the an'g:ej the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak, dying from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to his daughter, summons his slayer and says to the people who a are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my daughter; do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old forms of concluding marriage, corresponding completely to the norms of obligatory marriage.

58 Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations, and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom are of one common blood on the paternal and on the
[538] maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

[191] [192] [193] [194] [195] [196] [197] [198] [199] [200] [201] [202] [203] [204] [205] [206] [207] [208] [209] [210] [211] [212] [213] [214] [215] [216] [217] [218] [219] [220] [221] [222] [223] [224] [225] [226] [227] [228] [229] [230] [231] [232] [233] [234] [235] [236] [237] [238] [239] [240] [241] [242] [243] [244] [245] [246] [247] [248] [249] [250] [251] [252] [253] [254] [255] [256] [257] [258] [259] [260] [261] [262] [263] [264] [265] [266] [267] [268] [269] [270] [271] [272] [273] [274] [275] [276] [277] [278] [279] [280] [281] [282] [283] [284] [285] [286] [287] [288] [289] [290] [291] [292] [293] [294] [295] [296] [297] [298] [299] [300] [301] [302] [303] [304] [305] [306] [307] [308] [309] [310] [311] [312] [313] [314] [315] [316] [317] [318] [319] [320] [321] [322] [323] [324] [325] [326] [327] [328] [329] [330] [331] [332] [333] [334] [335] [336] [337] [338] [339] [340] [341] [342] [343] [344] [345] [346] [347] [348] [349] [350] [351] [352] [353] [354] [355] [356] [357] [358] [359] [360] [361] [362] [363] [364] [365] [366] [367] [368] [369] [370] [371] [372] [373] [374] [375] [376] [377] [378] [379] [380] [381] [382] [383] [384] [385] [386] [387] [388] [389] [390] [391] [392] [393] [394] [395] [396] [397] [398] [399] [400] [401] [402] [403] [404] [405] [406] [407] [408] [409] [410] [411] [412] [413] [414] [415] [416] [417] [418] [419] [420] [421] [422] [423] [424] [425] [426] [427] [428] [429] [430] [431] [432] [433] [434] [435] [436] [437] [438] [439] [440] [441] [442] [443] [444] [445] [446] [447] [448] [449] [450] [451] [452] [453] [454] [455] [456] [457] [458] [459] [460] [461] [462] [463] [464] [465] [466] [467] [468] [469] [470] [471] [472] [473] [474] [475] [476] [477] [478] [479] [480] [481] [482] [483] [484] [485] [486] [487] [488] [489] [490] [491] [492] [493] [494] [495] [496] [497] [498] [499] [500] [501] [502] [503] [504] [505] [506] [507] [508] [509] [510] [511] [512] [513] [514] [515] [516] [517] [518] [519] [520] [521] [522] [523] [524] [525] [526] [527] [528] [529] [530] [531] [532] [533] [534] [535] [536] [537] [538] [539] [540] [541] [542] [543] [544] [545] [546] [547] [548] [549] [550] [551] [552] [553] [554] [555] [556] [557] [558] [559] [560] [561] [562] [563] [564] [565] [566] [567] [568] [569] [570] [571] [572] [573] [574] [575] [576] [577] [578] [579] [580] [581] [582] [583] [584] [585] [586] [587] [588] [589] [590] [591] [592] [593] [594] [595] [596] [597] [598] [599] [600] [601] [602] [603] [604] [605] [606] [607] [608] [609] [610] [611] [612] [613] [614]

When one observes the family among the Gilyak, one at first does not notice anything particular about it. As among many of our other natives, the Gilyak buys one or two concubines, slaves, who are all socially recognized wives, as are his children who were with him, are supported by him, and to whom his property passes after his death. The concubine's fidelity or a wife is guarded with an armed hand, as we shall see below. In a word, the form of marriage is, to all appearance, completely individual. Individual marriage is opposed to group marriage/. But on closer acquaintance with the inner life of Gilyak life /354/ one encounters a whole series of phenomena which are at variance with the form of marriage. First of all, it becomes apparent that Gilyak call the father of the father (ytk) not only his socially recognized (one) father, but also all the brothers of his father, not only one, but, in the first degree of kinship, but also of all the more distant degrees, also the wives of these brothers of his father is also mother (ymk), but not only mother. In the same way, a Gilyak calls all the sisters of his mother by the name of mother (ymk), and their husbands father (ytk). The children of brothers, as well as the children of sisters, of all degrees of kinship call one another "nvr" (= brother and sister). Hence the known word "Geschwister" = brothers and sisters). Thus, we see what seems to be a strange phenomenon, that a person may have a very considerable number of fathers and mothers, not to speak of brothers and sisters, and such fathers and mothers are often younger than their children. But, at the same time, a Gilyak does not call the sister of his father and the brothers of his mother "ymk" and "ymk," but "ykk" and "ykk."

Two other forms of kinship relations, the Gilyak have a whole series of names, which proves that it is not poverty of language. Such is the name of child, in, a strange kinship terminology. A similar terminology exists among Sioux Iroquois and other Indian tribes of North America, and also among certain tribes of India,

but among them it has long since ceased to correspond to reality. Among the Gilyak, however, although the terminology does not fully correspond to reality, it does to all but fully. Even now, every Gilyak has marital rights (it is not considered a sin) to the wives of his brothers of all degrees of kinship and to all the sisters of his wife. Only the elder brother is deprived of this right with regard to the wives of his younger brothers. This limitation is of recent origin, and its very existence seems to emphasize the legality of the collective marital rights of the younger brothers to the wives of their elder brothers and to all the sisters of their wives. Even at the present time these rights are not always exercised by the Gilyak, and in many cases it is not without displeasure and even forcible protests that the interested parties look upon the realization of these rights, as we shall eventually see; but legally, so to speak, they exist, the realization of these rights is not considered adultery, is not punishable, and often is even carried on openly with the consent of the brothers and of the husbands of the wife's sisters. Thus, the contemporary individual form of marriage is a new phenomenon among the Gilyak, and the powerful remnants of the old /355/ order of clan marriage preserved up to the present time are similar to the famous so-called "punalua family," which still existed in the first half of our century on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) where, as among the Gilyak, such mutual rights to the wives of brothers and to the wife's sisters existed without limitations. And, what is still more remarkable, just as the husbands of sisters and the wives of brothers in the Punalua family called one another punalua (companion, one's half, comrade, Fotsch), -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "nevih" (the word signifying literally what punalua means among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands). Such, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

/353 cont./

This form of family-kin relationship serves as the basis for the social organization of the Gilyak and is the basis of their clan organization ("khal" = clan, also clansmen).

From what has been said of the primitive family of the Gilyak, it is obvious who constitutes the clan. All of the brothers (of all degrees of kinship) of the father of some Gilyak NN and their sisters (ytk), their fathers are his grandfathers (ate), their children are his brothers ("nvr"), their grandchildren are his children ("ola"), and mutually. In this huge family of grandfathers, fathers, children, brothers and sisters that constitutes the clan of the Gilyak. It is understandable that a clan so constituted may be compared of a great number of people. In one clan in northern Sakhalin, I counted 150 people, and this is only a branch of a clan which lives on the mainland.

But the clan of the Gilyak is organized on the male basis. Even though the children of a sister of NN's wife are his children (ola) and they are considered brothers of his own children, if these sisters of the wife are married to Gilyak of a different khal, then they, i.e., the children of these sisters, will be alien to the clan of NN. Similarly, only the sisters of clansmen and their unmarried daughters belong to the clan, and, consequently, a woman passes over to the clan of her husband, while the dissolution of the marriage brings her back into her father's clan. Here are the principles which regulate the life of a clan:

1. The clan has only four degrees of kinship: grandfather and grandmother (ate and ytk), father and mothers (ytk and ymk), brothers and sisters (nvrn), and children (ola). Clansmen call one another "khal" in contrast to aliens. To distinguish own brothers from own kinsmen of the first degree of kinship, the word khal is added, so that clan brothers are /354/ khal'-nvrn, clan fathers -- khal'-ytk, etc. The elder of the clan, whose role will be described below, is called "khal'-geymar," clansmen as thinking and acting social units bear the name of "khal'-nivukh."

/354 cont./

wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always undertake the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said, is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriage among the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship an obstacle to marriage, that is, brother and sister and the children of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "amchek" mean older and younger brother as well as older and younger cousin on the father's side, and "ayak" means sister as well as female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyond that, the membership of both partners in the same patronal kin group, which, as we shall see later, is also taken into account in other communities by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and,

1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak, Samoyed, Lapps Tylor /Tylor/, Fotsch, Über die Urgesch. der Ehe, and die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Müller, p. 389).

on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Fauthier,

/635 cont./

Thus, an attitude toward the slaves similar to that among the Gilyak seems to exist among the Chukchee, as it does in Kamchatka, as in the motives for it, the more intense national consciousness and sense of freedom, there is a parallel between these two peoples similar to the one that exists between the Gilyak in their enterprising genius for trade and their extensive trade activity.

The law of inheritance existing among them gives us further insight into the family relations of the Gilyak. After what has been said above about marriage, it is almost self-evident that it is concerned solely with the male members of the family, while the female members are not only left empty-handed, but not even regarded as objects of the estate. The first and, if there are any, only heir of a Gilyak are his sons, and, to be sure, the property of the father is inherited by them in equal shares, regardless of the order of seniority -- a custom which is all the more remarkable since the Gilyak language has a special term (yhkyn) for the oldest brother in contrast to the younger one (atachek). The wife and the daughters, whether married or unmarried, have no share in the inheritance. The former, if, because of her age, there is no chance of her remarrying, is taken care of by her sons; the married daughters have entered other family circles, after they have increased their brother's inheritance by the bride price paid to their father for them, and the unmarried daughters become the property of their brothers and, if a suitor is found, must be purchased from them, and the bride price is shared equally among them. If one of the brothers dies unmarried, the other, surviving brothers inherit from him, again in equal shares. The same thing happens when from the unmarried sons of a Gilyak, who have become independent, one dies unmarried while his father is still alive; the latter receives nothing, because under no circumstances may a father inherit from his son.

The law of inheritance is different if one of several brothers dies and he was married and leaves a "and a wife or perhaps wife and child, especially minor daughters and sons. If only a widow survives, she, along with all that she and her husband had, goes to the next brother of her deceased husband, and, to be sure, as a wife, regardless of whether the latter is still unmarried or already

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pertire to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was fought between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the clan, represented by its representatives, gave spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkh had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tungusic-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to groups of men, rather than different generations. As Shirokogorov showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. The Nivkhi existed until the end of the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were prohibited only for persons of same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

The term of kinship in the Nivkhi distinguished four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (ymyk), husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the mother (ymyk); 3) brothers and sisters (nvrng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of hunting into economic activities directed by commercial and simulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur Nivkhi, who had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to Sin-hsing, and followed furs and other goods, including luxuries for his, tobacco, tobacco and metal utensils. They also bartered with the Aina, the Japanese and with other neighbors of the Nivkhi. Merchants of the Tyilung clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Aina. Thus, long before the Russian colonization, the Nivkh began to be drawn into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 2-5 slaves. The rich man's brideprice always exceeded large quantities of imported valuables; but commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The means of the Nivkh continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves had only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. In the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 19th and the 19th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalaba -- clan elders, and gyasiangar -- village elders.

After the middle of the 19th century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy accelerated more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russian state organization, a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-shares." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used their own implements received two-thirds of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkh were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about Amur, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking always "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its pa'ga. The chief of these was Pal-yut'-ma, the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrandu, or Tol'ya'-ma, the "master" of

602 KIN RELATIONSHIPS—conception of kinship, cultural definition of kinship
statuses, kinship symbolism and its extensions (e.g., to kings, to gods);
kinship and other social relations, aspects of culture (e.g., sequential analysis
of patterned kinship behavior; incidence and interpretations of
stereotyped patterns (e.g., joking, respect, avoidance); categories of kin not
classifiable elsewhere (e.g., patrikin and matrikin, general affinal relatives)
and relationships among them; etc. Data on relationships between specific
secondary and tertiary relatives will be found in separate categories. See also:
Age-grades 611 Political organization 1 1
Marriage . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Mortuary functions of kinsmen 1 1
Mutual aid . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Ceremonial exchanges 1 1
Naming and nicknames . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Feasts 1 1
Religious ceremonies . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Other ceremonies and rites 1 1
Clan . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Kinship 1 1
Clan exogamy . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 Instruction of children in kinship behavior 1 1
Clan relationship versus conjugal families 1 1

/xxviii cont./

The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the history of marriage with valuable material, very thoroughly analyzed by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To accept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage, logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably, the conclusions of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having mutual relatives rights must avoid mutual glances, conversation, and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their common law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunow, who, in spite of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the Australians.

Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vuqhakh and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yxi (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the appearance of the yxi. At the same time it must be said that the fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention to it.

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The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world: dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complicated and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which

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father-in-law signifies the common right of each generation of clansmen to the corresponding generation of women of the akhmak'k clan, while a common son-in-law = the obligation to give their women to the ymgi clan. Only the men are a constant element of the clan; the women are an element that either departs from the clan or comes in from outside. Hence the whole "physiological" construction of the clan -- exogamy, agnation, common rights and obligations regarding women, reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers, etc.

Thus the Gilyak clan is a union of kinsmen in the male line, agnates, taking their wives from another certain clan, giving their women to a third, and bound among themselves by a whole series of mutual rights and obligations in the realm of sexual norms.

But this is only the formal framework of this kinship union; in the flesh and blood of all the consequences that flow from it, it is much deeper, more intimate, and firmer than appears at first glance. First of all, it must be kept in mind that, despite the principle of agnation, the clansmen are bound by kinship ties, not only through the father, but also through the mother. This follows directly from the very thesis of a common father-in-law. For once each /37/ generation of clansmen ("brothers") marries a corresponding generation of women ("sisters") of one akhmak'k clan, then the mothers of these clansmen, in turn, are sisters to one another. Further, the wives of the clansmen, despite the fact that they, according to the agnatic principle of the clan, are, as it were, a completely alien element, in reality stand in a close cognate relationship with their husbands; accordingly, husband and wife, as we know, are usually the children of a sister and brother -- own or of more distant degrees -- and, consequently, they are in any case cognate brothers and sisters. Thus, the male and female elements are not only not alien to each other, elements bound only by marriage, but on the contrary are intimately bound together, aside from marriage, by blood kinship. Moreover,

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by virtue of that same proposition concerning the unity of the "physical sex" all these women who are not the clan are agnate kinswomen to one another, either sisters or aunts and nieces, so that both elements -- male and female -- each separately and both together, are cemented together by the firm intimate bonds of kinship, which, of course, are profoundly reflected in all the social relations of the members of the clan among themselves.

No influence has been exerted upon these relations by those circumstances that we mentioned, at the time, by the union of which it sometimes becomes necessary for individual members of the clan to take their wives outside the confines of one original akhmak'k clan; the general spirit and the general norms have remained the same.

But the cement which strengthens the union of kinsmen in the indestructible organization of the clan does not rest only on the formal consciousness of a common origin and kinship, and not only on the fact that the clansmen, for by themselves they are not so strong as to hold people from generation to generation in a closed hereditary union. The reasons go far deeper. First of all, there is the religious sanction, which plays such an important role in the eyes of primitive man, originally not the sanction of the clan union itself, but of those marriage norms which created the clan. The principle that each man must take wives from the clan of the mother, that the wife must be a blood relative of the husband, is a religious principle, intimately bound up with the cult of the ancestors, in particular with the cult of the mother. The seizure of a married woman is a religious offense against the clan of the abducted woman equal to the slaying of a clansman; the struggle for her return, or at least the demand for a ransom, is obligatory, as in matters of vengeance, to the third generation

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1. One sin. Although the norms and customs of religion and conduct are almost the same for the whole tribe, nevertheless each clan has its own complex of obligations and prohibitions, obligatory only for its own members. The first extensive category of prohibitions relates to sexual norms. For the members of each clan certain categories of women are prohibited for marriage and sexual relations, for example, all the women, without exception, born in the given clan. Further, the wives of one's younger brothers, all women who are called ymk and ran; all women who come from the clan of the "son-in-law"/ gvat'ya/, etc., /107/ so that to know what women are prohibited for one or another person is enough to infallibly saying to which clan he belongs. In this category the prohibitions of speech may also apply. For the members of each clan there are certain classes of persons with whom it is prohibited to speak: such classes are the tuvn (brothers and sisters of all degrees of kinship), the ashk (mother and aunts of the wife), and others. A third category of prohibitions deals with religious norms in the narrow sense. Each clan, as we have seen, has its own clan gods and sacrifices; its own sacred objects; its beliefs, and, consequently, its own ritual of the clan cult. common to all the clansmen but having no religious significance whatever for members of other clans. These numerous rites and objects of the cult constitute a fine greater respect. The whole clan, on whom is vested the wrath of the offended deities, answers and therefore each member of the clan is not only obliged himself to avoid infractions of his taboos, but to defend them against infractions by outsiders. For each such infraction it is necessary to exact tshusind. Hence the customary difficulties with members of other clans over an accidental defiling of the enclosure of the beach, over the taking of fire from the yurt, a bear bone dropped during the festival banquet, the infraction of the inviolability of all the appurtenances of the bear festival -- the posts to which the bears are tied, the poles with their heads, the storehouses for festival utensils and bear bones, etc.

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Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obligation to carry out certain rites, that is, the "common sin" becomes a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general. The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, ethical, and legal obligations; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religion means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as still. Hence the great importance of the principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence, on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring immense self-control, are observed out, not through compulsion, but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example, with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and women, have complete freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage. Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy. There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless, despite the complete sexual license from our point of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect to persons of the prohibited categories. A adultery is unknown to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibitions of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

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important form, although by temperament these are far from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the result of upbringing and training to a considerable degree, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of each individual infraction on the welfare of the whole clan.

The religious sanction of prohibitions and obligations and the lively consciousness on the part of one and all that "sin is common" explain to us the most amazing phenomenon of the clan structure, the presence of the social organism and the almost complete absence of the element of compulsion, authority. But more about this later.

Such are the basic features of the clan. By them one can judge its all-embracing role in the life of the Gilyak. It enfolds a man from birth to death, giving life all its contents. It surrounds him with intimate bonds of kinship from both the side of the father and the side of the mother. It unites with a living bond the living generation with the departed ones. It guarantees to man an individual marriage and compels him to seek a wife outside of it, and after his death it provides for his widow and children. The clan defends his life and the inviolability of his family against encroachments by a member of another clan, ready as one man to rise to the defense of the sacred rights of a clansman and to answer for his guilt to a member of another clan. It feeds him when he is hungry, it pays the debts of the insolvent, it assists in the payment of the bride price and of blood money.

/109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strongest guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most valuable consolation in the most bitter miseries of life - the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

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Forms of kinship. According to the basic structure of Gilyak society, relationship is determined by the clan organization of kinship. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship which may be called: agnate kinship and cognate kinship. The first embraces all persons bound together by a common origin from one forefather, that is, all individuals born or adopted into one or another clan. Upon marriage, women pass into the clan of their husbands. There are two kinds of cognate kinship: the first embraces that clan or those clans to which the women -- agnates of a given clan -- belong by birth; the second embraces the clan or clans from which a given clan or its separate members have drawn their wives.

The persons bound together in agnate kinship are united under the common name "khlai-ni-vuqhakh" or simply "khlai" the people of the clan, clansmen (from khlai -- clan, vuqhakh -- person). With respect to the first group of cognates, i.e., to the members of the clan or clans which take or have taken their wives from the khlai-vuqhakh, these latter and the whole clan are united under the common designation of akhmak'k (father-in-law) and, conversely, ymgi (son-in-law /gvat'ya/ "son-in-law" or "brothers-in-law" in Russian). On the other hand, in relation to the second group of cognates, i.e., those clan or those clans from which they themselves take women, they are ymgi (son-in-law) and, conversely, akhmak'k. Both cognate groups in relation to the first, and all three among themselves are /137/ the characteristic designation ymgi (from pandynd -- to be born), that is, consanguineous, bound by a common origin (1) through women. Thus, relationship

1. Schrenck (III, p. 23) quite erroneously asserts that kinsmen on the father's side, i.e., agnates, members of one and the same clan, call each other ngali, and that kinsmen on the mother's side call each other amal'. Inequality, both terms, on

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the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no conditions on the father's side. Kinsmen through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

Thus, relationship by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us proceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.

Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

2. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

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all in the fact that it embraces persons of both sexes alike; it equally signifies brother and sister. Another peculiarity -- still more important -- consists in the fact that under tuvn are understood not only own brothers and sisters, i.e., the children of one father, but also the children of all brothers of the father, own and collateral of all degrees of kinship, i.e., male and female first cousins, second cousins, etc. in the male line. Thus, within the clan, all the male and female agnates of the same generation are brothers and sisters; male and female cousins in the male line and likewise a married woman and the wives of the brothers /138/ of her husband are tuvn in relation to each other. But a man, as we shall see, can have tuvn outside his clan as well, namely, the children of those persons outside his clan whom he calls father and mother (see the class of fathers and mothers). Within this class there is one large and important subdivision that plays a leading role in both terminology and sexual norms, namely, the one for those persons who are older than the speaker or person referred to and persons younger than he, namely, "akand, aki" -- elder brother or sister (tuvn) and "as'khand, as'kh" -- younger brother or sister (tuvn). For the designation of the elder sister, in view of the peculiarity of her position in sexual rights, there is in addition the term "nanakhand, nanakh, nankh" -- identically used in reference to her by both men and women. Certain special terms for separate categories of this class, however, have been developed. Thus, there is a general term to designate the concept of "sister" in the class sense, namely, ranr: (same root as rankh -- sister). One meets (very rarely, however, and only in poetry) the term "kivung, kiun" -- brother (1). Descriptive forms are

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1. "Chikhys' kivung khendra" -- "I considered you a brother," says the heroine to her beloved in one song. "Kiun" could also be formed from the rare form akikhun.

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*601 likewise used to distinguish own from collateral tuvn, namely:
●602 "os'kyr: tuvn" -- own brother or sister, "tukor: tuvn" -- male cousin, female cousin in the male line. But all these designations do not constitute links in the general kinship terminology and the norms of sexual intercourse bound up with it. If you ask any two agnates of one generation, no matter how distantly related, how they address each other, you receive the answer: either simply tuvn, or aki (elder tuvn), or as'kh, depending on the person answering.

Concerning the question of seniority between collateral brothers, this is defined, not by seniority in the ascending line, but by the actual seniority of the cousins themselves, while in doubtful cases the question is decided by the old men.

*601 Ascending line. Within this line there are only two gradations for each sex: 1) fathers and grandfathers, 2) mothers and grandmothers.

Grandfathers and grandmothers. The term "atk," more rarely "app, appyk," designates all the males in the ascending line of the father, i.e., not only grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc., but also their brothers, own and collateral i.e., their class of tuvn -- men. In precisely the same way the terms of the female category, achik, ytik, ychik, serve to designate the grandmothers, great-grandmothers, etc. and their sisters -- the wives of grandfathers and great-grandfathers and their "brothers" (tuvn). /139/ If a Gilyak in one instance or another has to designate a person of this category more precisely, he resorts, as we do, to a descriptive device; for instance, wishing to name the younger brother of his great-grandfather, he says: "n'i er: atk pilang" -- "the uncle (younger) of the grandfather of my father," etc., but such cases are rare, since such degrees of kinship play no role in marital questions.

The class of fathers and uncles in the father's line. It is necessary here to distinguish two forms, evidently reflecting two successive stages of marriage and sexual norms.

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*601 In addition to the stated normative cases, the term og:la is frequently applied outside of the rule as a term of endearment to other categories. Thus, a woman frequently applies this term to the son of the sister of her husband, while a man applies it to the son of the brother of his wife, although normally completely different designations are established for these persons.

We shall note two more special forms of designation in this class: one is a descriptive designation of a "kinsman" of the descending line -- os'kyr: og:la -- and one designates primogeniture, ykych, but neither of these terms play any role in either the general system of terminology or the sexual norms.

*601 Cognate kinship. Now we shall proceed to the kinship terms
●602 for persons outside the clan, to cognate kinship, which is the
614 key of this system. We have already said that in the Gilyak kinship system relationship by marriage and blood (cognate) - kinship are identical, that a special kinship through relationship by marriage is not known to the Gilyak classificatory system. For a better understanding of this strange fact, we begin our survey of kinship outside of the clan with kinship through the mother, that is, with kinship with members of the clan and the whole clan from which the mother of a person came.

First of all, it is noteworthy that all the sisters (tuvn) of my mother, not only own, but also of the class of "mothers," are the "wives" (an'g:ej) of my father and of his class of tuvn. Corresponding to this, all the "sisters" (tuvn) of my mother and of my class of "mothers" are also my "mothers" (ymk), while I and my "brothers and sisters" (tuvn) are their "children" (og:la). On the other hand, my relations to the brother of my mother and his tuvn are even more important. Just as my father calls all the "sisters" of my mother his "wives" (an'g:ej), so I (if "I am a man) from birth call all the daughters of the brother of my mother and their "sisters" (tuvn) -- an'g:ej -- my "wives," and, conversely, they call me their husband (pu); their children call me "father" (ytk), my official wife --

d) nanakhand, nankh (E.D.).
nynkh (W.D.)

II. Ymk,
Rarely: oma (northern
Sakhalin).

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III. Ytk, yt.
Other forms: er:

1: Shternberg--221 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*601
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d) Elder sister; sister of the father; sister of the tuvn of the father; mother-in-law /husband's mother/; sister of the mother, if she is married to a non-clansman (in certain places, settlement of Viakhtu), in general in such cases she is ymk.

II. Own mother and stepmother; wives of all the tuvn of the father; the sisters of the wives of the brothers (tuvn) of the father; the sisters (tuvn) of the mother; the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn.

III. Father; stepfather; the tuvn of the father (1); husband of the "sister" of the mother; the brother (tuvn) of the husband of the mother's sister; the husbands of the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn; the brothers of the husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law.

1. Among the Gilyak of the continent and the northwestern shore of Sakhalin, especially

a) Ytk or pilang, pila
mig:yvyn (more frequently
the latter).

IV. Atk, app, appyk, apo,
edr:, etk.

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.602
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1: Shternberg--222 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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(footnote cont'd)
beginning with Tamlevo; to the south, only in the settlement of Yamy. Among the latter, pilang, n'vil-nivukh, corresponding to the Tungus a'ga, are also used for the younger tuvn of the father, in addition to the term ytk.

a) In all cases of III, when the reference is to the younger tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak with predominantly the eastern dialect.

IV. The elder tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect); grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. through the mother and the father; the tuvn of grandfathers, of great-grandfathers, etc. (from the maternal and paternal side); fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. of the husbands of the sister of the mother; fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers (and their tuvn) of the

(cont'd)

V. Achik, acik, achk (E.D.);
asi (Okhotsk shore);
ychik, ytik (W.D.).

VI. Og:lang, og:la, eg:lang,
o:la.

1: Shternberg--223 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*601
602
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/148 cont./

husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law /wife's father/; the elder brother of the husband (among the eastern Gilyak).

V. The wives of the brothers of the mother and their tuvn; the wives of fathers, grandfathers, etc. of the brother of the mother; the wives of the sons of the brothers of the mother; mother, grandmother, etc. of the wife; mother, grandmother, etc. of the sister of the wife and her tuvn in general; grandmother, great-grandmother (on the maternal and paternal side).

VI. Son or daughter -- children; the children of all the brothers -- tuvn (if "I" am a man); the children of the sisters (if "I" am a woman); the children of sisters (tuvn) of the wife; the children of the sisters of the wife of the brother; the children of daughters of the brothers of the mother and their tuvn.

/141 cont./

601 602 614 mother (ymk), while /142/ we call them our "children" (og:la). As for the remaining clansmen and kinsmen of the brother of my mother, the following terminology has been established. If "I" am a man, I and all my "brothers" -- tuvn and my descending line call the brother of my mother and all his male clansmen -- atk, akhmalk (uncle, father-in-law /wife's father/); the wife of the brother of my mother, her "sisters," and the wives of the tuvn of the brother of my mother, as well as the wives of the ascending line of the brother of my mother achk, ytik -- aunt, mother-in-law /wife's mother/, grandmother; the sons of the brother of my mother and his tuvn -- akhmalk, navkh; conversely, all these persons call me -- ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) navkh; my wives, as well as the wives of my clansmen, these persons, according to generation, call either "sisters" (tuvn) or "daughters" (og:la), but our sisters and daughters -- by the one term "niece," n'ern, and, finally, all my clansmen call all the male clansmen of the brother of my mother akhmalk (father-in-law /wife's father/), and, conversely, -- ymg:i -- son-in law -- a survival from the time when there was exchange marriage. This last term is very characteristic; it is from the same root as umgu -- woman, oma -- mother, and testifies to the fact that the term son-in-law /zyat'/ is associated with the idea of cognate kinship, with kinship through the mother.

But especially noteworthy is the fact that the kinship terminology established between me and the generation of the brother of my mother is not limited to the individuals of our common generation, but is correspondingly repeated as well between the persons of all our ascending and descending lines, so that if I, a man, call the daughter of the brother of my mother my an'g:ej, so does my father in turn call his sister, i.e., the daughter of the father of my mother's brother, "wife" -- an'g:ej. In the same way, my son calls the daughter of the son of my mother's brother his "wife," etc., in a word, it is as though every wife of a clansman were actually the daughter of the sister of his father /sic./

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* 601 ● 602 614 Thus, kinship through the mother establishes, not partial kinship of the family of her husband with her own family, but an indivisible kinship between both clans, extending to each member of each of them. If my clan is A, and the clan of the brother of my mother is B, the latter, as a whole, will be called the akhmalk of A, while A, in its turn, is the ymg:i of B. And, what is especially noteworthy, this relationship remains permanently between both clans. Clan B can no longer under any circumstances be converted into the ymg:i of A. This is evident from the reciprocal terminology of the clans. The designation "akhmalk" of clan B originated, as we have seen, from the fact that members of clan A have whole classes of "wives" (an'g:ej) in this clan; conversely, among the women of clan A the males of clan B only have either sisters (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or /143/ "nieces" (n'ern), but not "wives" (an'g:ej), and for this reason, clan B cannot become A's akhmalk.

The terminology for kinship through the mother defines another form of cognate kinship -- kinship through the sister of the father. As long as she remains in my clan, I call her by the agnate term nankh (elder sister, aunt), and she calls me as'kh (younger brother), but upon marriage she and the clan of her husband stand in the same relation to me and my clan as I and my clan stand in relation to the clan of the brother of my mother, i.e., the husband of the sister of my father and his "brothers" (tuvn) call all the sisters of my father "wives" (an'g:ej), and, conversely, they are called "husbands" (pu); my daughters and those of my tuvn are the an'g:ej of the sons of the sister of my father and their tuvn and are the jokh (daughters-in-law) of all the ascending line of the husband of the sister of my father; the men of my clan, according to the class of the ascending line, are either the atk, akhmalk, or the akhmalk, navkh of the clansmen of the husband of my father's sister, while they are our ymg:i, navkh, and the women of that clan are either our agnates -- "aunts" (nankh), "sisters" (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or "nieces" (n'ern); in a word, my clan is the akhmalk clan, while the clan of the sister of my father is the ymg:i clan to us.

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* 601 ● 602 614 The terminology of this group is the central point of whole kinship terminology, for it is according to its patter i.e., the pattern of the kinship relations between a man a the brother of his mother, that the entire kinship nomencl of the marriage relationship in general is constructed. W ever the Gilyak marries, between him and his clan on the one hand, and his wife and her clan on the other, the kins terminology established is the same as if his wife were rea the daughter of the brother of his mother. Conversely, wh ever a Gilyak may give his sister to in marriage, the entir kinship terminology established between the clans is the sa as if the brother-in-law /zyat'/ were truly the son of the s of his father. This is why Gilyak terminology does not rec nize kinship through relationship by marriage, for the fath in-law /wife's father/ in any case is the same as the son o the brother of the grandmother, a man's brother-in-law /z is the son of the sister of his father, the father of the broth in-law /zyat'/ is the son of the sister of the grandfather, a so forth. And, consequently, all members of both clans a blood kinsmen.

Thus, keeping in mind the kinship nomenclature of th group of the brother of the mother and the sister of the fath we have a ready scheme for any marriage combination bet a husband and the clan of his wife, between a wife and the clan of her husband, between a man and the clan of his married sister, etc. According to this scheme, the relatio ship of a man toward the clan of his wife, whoever she ma de facto in origin, must, as a general rule, be the followin my father-in-law and /144/ his ascending line, as well as corresponding classes of their tuvn, are related to me as a and akhmalk, their wives -- achk, their descending line o male sex -- akhmalk and navkh; I am their ymg:i, navkh The sisters of my akhmalk'i are my mothers (ymk), their husbands -- my "fathers" (ytk), I am the son (og:la) of bot similarly the "sisters" (tuvn) of my wife are the "wives" (a of myself and my "brothers" (tuvn), their husbands are my "brothers" (tuvn). Their children call each of us "father"

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*601 and "mother" (ymk), and call each other "brothers" (tuvn).
● 602 On the other hand, my sisters and daughters are simply nieces
614 to the men of the clan of my father-in-law, and therefore no one from the clan of my father-in-law can become an ymg:i of my clan.

[178] At the present time in certain instances breaches have begun to appear in this well-shaped, though strange system of relationships between the son-in-law /zyat'/ and the clan of the father-in-law, specifically, when some clansman takes a wife who is not from the clan of his mother or is not even from the customary akhmalk clan; in the case of certain clans the terminology loses force in the third generation, but this is a deviation of the newest order.

*601 Now, before we finish with this system, we must underline
614 two more important peculiarities still further complicating this already complicated system. We have seen that the relationship between the akhmalk and ymg:i clans remains constant, so that the members of the first clan -- let us call it A (if A is the akhmalk of B, then B is the akhmalk of a third clan, C, and gives its daughters to the third clan) -- must, in turn, have their own akhmalk clan or even clans (let us call it C), while the second clan (let us call it B) must have its own ymg:i clan or even clans (D). Thus, the following kinship terminology is established between these four clans: Clan A gets new ymg:i clans (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/) in the person of the D clans, while clan B gets new akhmalk clans in the person of the C clans. These secondary clans, in distinction from the first, are called tujma (distant); for example, tujma akhmalk -- distant father-in-law, tujma ymg:i -- distant son-in-law /zyat'/.

Finally, in view of the fact that at the present time it is not prohibited for various persons of one clan to take wives from various clans, each such marriage establishes in relation to each new clan a whole complex fabric of akhmalk-ymg:i terminology, i.e., each clan as a whole can be the akhmalk and ymg:i of a whole series of clans.

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*601 In conclusion -- the most noteworthy peculiarity of cognate
● 602 kinship. In the akhmalk clans a man has not only cognates -- uncles, aunts, nieces, but also agnates, "sisters of fathers-in-law," whom /145/ he calls "mothers" (ymk), their children -- "brothers" (tuvn), the husbands of the sisters of his wives -- "brothers" (tuvn), their children -- og:la, while they call him ytk, and so forth.

Thus, by this terminology a man can have male and female agnates outside his own clan. We shall see during our examination of the sexual norms how this strange anomaly may arise.

Now let us look at several separate forms and peculiarities of the kinship terminology.

*601 The term pilang. In conversational speech, as well as in texts,
193 the adjective pilang is quite often used with this or that kinship term. Among other peoples, the addition of this adjective signifies a raising of the degree of kinship one step higher along the ascending line (for example, father and grandfather in English). Among the Gilyak, it evidently has only one meaning -- namely, to indicate the mature age of a given person. The fact is that in the Gilyak language, owing to the classificatory system, even such terms as father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother, which in our languages sufficiently define the age of the person in relation to the speaker, have no relation whatever to age: not only a "father" and "mother," but even a "grandfather" and "grandmother" may be younger than their "son" or "grandson," and a "son" may be older than his "father" or "grandfather." Therefore, when they wish to indicate that they are referring to adult members of one or another class, or to a person older in years than the speaker, they add the adjective big, adult: n'vilan n'atk; n'vila n'ymka; n'bila nanko; pila n'ig:yvyn, etc. -- my adult elder "grandfather," "uncle," "father-in-law"; my elder "mother"; my adult "elder sister" or aunt, sister of my father; elderly man.

601 602 /147/ The terms of kinship in a figurative sense. It is curious how the kinship terms are reflected in the terms used between persons who are not married to each other -- sweethearts. It seems that terms are often transferred into this area from the matrimonial terminology. Thus a woman calls her sweetheart [197] [184] o'kono (husband, in the western dialect), az'mych (man, husband, in the eastern dialect), ivn (groom), navkh (from the terminology of the group of father-in-law and son-in-law [837] /zyat'/). It is very interesting that the unrelated wives of "brothers," and, jokingly, men who have an extramarital relationship with the same women, sometimes call each other by this last term, as well as by the term akhmalk, while the terms navkh and akhmalk in practical life have taken on the meaning of "comrade" or "participant in a common affair." Thus, the term "navkh" by its meaning in these cases entirely corresponds with the famous Hawaiian term punalua in the family group which takes its name from this term.

601 As a result of our survey of the kinship termonology, we find among the Gilyak a typical classificatory system of kinship.

Summing up the terms for agnate and cognate kinship, we get the following scheme. (See following page.)

I. Tuvn = ruvn (E.D.).
ruf (W.D.).
In poetry (rarely): kivung.

Separately:
a) akand, aki --
as'khand, as'kh (E.D.) (1).
ykind, yki -- as'kh (W.D.

1. In personal address these terms take the vocative form, for example: instead of akand -- aka; instead of as'kh -- as'kha.

b) nanakhand, nankh (E.D.).
nynkh (W.D.)

c) ranr: (W.D.)

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I. Brothers and sisters (Ger. Geschwister /siblings/): consanguineous and uterine children of own and collateral brothers of all degrees of kinship; the children of own and collateral sisters of all degrees of kinship.

a) Elder brother (tuvn), elder sister (tuvn); younger brother and younger sister (tuvn); wife of the younger tuvn (if "I" am a woman).

Seniority in the collateral lines is not determined by the seniority of the fathers, but by the age of the corresponding persons.

b) 1. Elder sister (tuvn).
2. Wife of the elder tuvn (if "I" am a woman).

c) Sister in general (own and collateral); tuvn of the female sex.

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XIII. N'em.

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The term o'kon, standing completely isolated, is marked by the fact that it is from the same root as jokh -- daughter-in-law /nevestka/ (daughter-in-law, wife of the younger brother), i.e., a term of forbidden character. Concerning the term navkh, it must be said that it is used most frequently in reference to the husband of the sister and their children of the male sex.

XIII. If "I" am a man: daughter of the sister (tuvn); the sister of the husband of the daughter and her daughters, and in general of all the women born in the clan whose members ever took wives from the clan of the speaker.

VII. An'g:ej, an'kh (to the north of the Amur), an'kh n'um-gu (Amur).
Other designations: shank, shankh, ran'kh.

VIII. Jokh, jokho.

IX. Pu, ivn (E.D.).
Pu, if, o'kono (W.D.).
Other designations:
ychikh, a'zmych, utgu.

1: Shternberg--224 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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/148 cont./

VII. Wife; sister of the wife; wife of the elder tuvn; wife of the son of the sister (tuvn) of the mother; daughter of the brother of the mother and all her tuvn; in certain places on the Amur they also call the wife of the elder tuvn, ivy.

VIII. Daughter-in-law /nevestka/; wife of the younger brother (tuvn).

IX. If "I" am a woman: husband; son of the sister of the father; tuvn of the son of the sister of the father; husband of the sister; elder tuvn of the husband.

Deviations: 1. On the continent to the north of the Amur, they call all the tuvn of the husband alike, pu, ivn.

2. Likewise on the western shore of Sakhalin in the settlement of Tamlevo and farther north, all tuvn of the husband -- o'kono, also jori; on the Amur -- o'kono, n'orej. Conversely, among the eastern Gilyak they always call the younger brother of the husband, as distinct from the elder, atk, edr:, even er: (see group IV).

X. Atk, atyk, akhmalk.
Synonyms: app, appyk, aryr, arir:, ychkh, arychkh, edr:, eryr: (E.D.).
Appak, appyk, app, appo, amal (W.D.).

/149/
XI. navkh, akhmalk (more frequently navkh).

XII. Ymg:i, emg:i, navkh (E.D.).
Synonyms (rare): ashkh, poshkhr: (W.D.).
Rak n'ivukh, rag-n'ivuk, ora (the last on the Amur in the neighborhood of the Olcha). As an exception -- o'kon.

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X. Brother of the mother; tuvn of the brother of the mother; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the brother of the mother and their tuvn; father of the wife, father of the sister (tuvn) of the wife; tuvn of the father of the wife; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the father of the wife and their tuvn; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the sister (tuvn) of the wife.

XI. Brother of the wife and his tuvn; the children of the brother of the wife and their tuvn.

XII. If "I" am a man and my wives: -- the son of my sister and of all my female tuvn; son of the sisters of my father and of his tuvn; son of the sisters of grandfathers, etc. and of their tuvn; son-in-law -- husband of my daughter and of her tuvn; the husband of any woman of my clan, of any female agnate; any man of that clan whose members (even if only one) took wives from the clan of the speaker.

/178 cont./

835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
828 has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that
829 they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often and so persistently about these relations; they considered them so commonplace that they should not, according to their way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you? Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes
152 without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
* 835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
598 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns /179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirta-
[182] tions of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
[602] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
[584] not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for the purchase of wives.

835 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange
182 in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the
578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another advantage is gained: having married off their younger brothers, the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak, with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured
000 against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

G /186 cont./
• 602 Psychic prohibitions. But side by side with training and, I
688 would say, the hypnotic influence of the kinship terminology, a still mightier force acts on the development of the above-mentioned instincts -- prohibitions of a special kind, prohibitions on psychic intercourse: prohibitions on speech, glances, and familiar address (joking). Corresponding to the two different instincts necessary for the realization of the sexual norms, these prohibitions are of a dual character. Some are created for persons between whom it is necessary to weaken the instinct of jealousy to the last degree, others -- for those who must avoid having sexual relations with each other. Both factors, both the prohibitions of sexual intercourse and the prohibitions of psychic intercourse, act not only as factors of hypnosis and habit, but also as very strict taboos of religion. To violate one or another of these norms, in the eyes of primitive man,
G 602 s as dangerous as the most dangerous blasphemy. The strength
171 of the taboo on psychic intercourse in particular and what
688 instincts they can develop in the soul of primitive man can be seen even from Iokhel'son's /Jochelson/ tale about a Yukagir
Y 602 who by mistake allowed himself familiarities with respect to
171 his own brother, but when he realized his error, he passed
688 away on the spot out of horror.
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This is the way Iokhel'son tells this amazing story, entirely in keeping with Gilyak psychics.

"There were two brothers. With them lived the husband of an older sister, with whom it is permitted to talk. Therefore, both brothers frequently joked with him and played pranks... The brothers, as usual, had a non-speaking relationship. One time the older brother, upon returning from hunting, found the young people in the settlement playing games and dancing. His younger brother, who happened to be dressed in the fur clothing of his brother-in-law /zyat'/, was in the chain of dancers with his back to the new arrival. The latter took his younger brother to be his brother-in-law, and, wishing to scare him as a joke, he ran up behind him, put his hand between his legs, and touched his sexual organs.

G /186 cont./
• 602 The younger brother quickly turned around. The older brother
171 realized his error and fell dead then and there "from shame."
688 As usual, they performed an autopsy to /187/ learn the cause
Y 602 of his death, and his heart, according to the legend, was
538 found to be broken in two" (1).
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688
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1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, XIII.

G 602 Let us proceed now to the prohibitions themselves. The prohibitions of the first kind, i.e., prohibitions established between individuals of the same sex in order to weaken the instinct of jealousy, naturally cover persons who are joined in one class by group marriage: among the men, the pu classes, i.e., the classes of persons who have the right to sexual relations with a certain class of women; and, among women, the an'g:ej classes, i.e., women having common husbands. All these individuals, all these group husbands or group wives, among whom outbursts of jealousy might so easily flare up every day and every hour, are fenced off from one another by the impassable wall of the strictest prohibition on psychic intercourse, a prohibition beginning at the threshold of life and ending only with the grave, and creating an instinct of restraint which does not yield first place to the strongest instincts of nature.

The prohibitions of the second category, as we have said, have as their aim the hindrance of sexual relations between persons of different sexes of the forbidden categories. For this reason prohibitions between persons who are mutually in the classes of "husbands" and "wives" (pu and an'g:ej), even if not in a state of individual marriage, are superfluous; any man freely converses not only with his individual wives, but with his group wives, for example, with the wives of his brothers without distinction (in some clans) or only with the wives of his older "brothers" (in others), in a word, with those women whom he calls an'g:ej and with whom he has the right

/187 cont./
• 602 of sexual intercourse. This is not the case with the individuals of the forbidden categories. But even in this category there are groups who, in the view of the Gilyak, do not require prohibitory protection; these are, first of all, the mother and, in part, the father. Sons, not to speak of daughters, may both speak and joke with the mother without any restrictions. The same applies to the whole class of "mothers" and "sons," whose designation alone, assimilated from childhood, is a sufficient guarantee of sexual indifference between its members. The situation with regard to "fathers" is somewhat stricter. The father may carry on "business" conversations with his daughter, may revile her, but he may not joke with or caress (be familiar with) his daughters. The same is true of the whole class of "fathers" and "daughters" (uncles and nieces). There are absolutely no prohibitions with regard to grandfathers, great-grandfathers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers. But this is not the case with other persons of the forbidden categories. Particular strictness marks /188/ the prohibitions between the men and women of the same clan. Men not only do not converse or dare to joke with the class of "sisters," with the "sisters" of the fathers, whom they call nanakh (elder sister), but even "to glance with the eye" at them is strictly forbidden. This prohibition applies also beyond the confines of a given clan if -- as we shall see later -- these persons reciprocally regard each other as tuvn, for example, the children of sisters who married persons from different clans. In addition, since -- as we know from the kinship terminology -- for every woman her "brother" is the potential father of her daughter-in-law /nevestka/, while, on the other hand, for every man each "sister" is the potential mother of his "son-in-law" /zyat'/, it follows that the woman is forbidden to converse and so on with the father of her daughter-in-law (actual or potential) and with his class, while a man is forbidden to converse with the mother of his son-in-law (in those clans in which the elder brothers do not have sexual rights to the wives of younger brothers). Furthermore, prohibitions of the second category are in effect (in the majority of clans), between men and the wives of their younger tuvn, on one hand,

/188 cont./

602 and between the women and the elder tuvn of their husbands on the other. As is well known from the kinship terminology, [601] the individuals of these groups call each other by the prohibitory terms jokh and atk. These last terms are likewise used by daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law to designate each other. 602 184 Between them, as between the individuals of the prohibited categories, once again psychic intercourse is not permitted, although not with uniform strictness everywhere. Among some, for example, among the Gilyak of the estuary of the Amur, neither conversation nor jokes are allowed. In other places business relations are allowed, but jokes and conversation are forbidden. The prohibition of psychic intercourse does not exist between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law.

602 Now how the prohibitions are realized in life remains to be explained. The Gilyak themselves classify the psychic [192] forms of intercourse between prohibited categories with the terms: indynd (to look, khernd (to converse, to talk), lerund (to joke, play, play pranks), and vakrund (to quarrel, dispute, revile). But not all of these four forms are applied equally between all the categories. Thus, we have seen that the father is forbidden only lerund (jokes, playing pranks) with his daughter, but he is permitted to converse with her and all the more to revile her. The prohibitions on "looking in the face" -- indynd -- on the contrary, are in effect only between "brothers and sisters"; lerund applies with equal rigor between all categories. There remains the prohibition khernd. This term embraces two concepts: conversation and discussion, and business relations. The first are absolutely forbidden: /189/ one can get along without conversations, and besides conversations may lead further. It is another matter with business conversations; sometimes it is absolutely impossible to get along without them. Thus, for example, the elder brother frequently takes the place of the father in relation to the younger brothers, and it is impossible to avoid having dealings with him; therefore in extreme cases the younger brothers may address the elder brother. Brief direct

/189 cont./

602 speech, in the form of orders, business advice, and so forth, is always permitted between brothers, between daughter-in-law and the father and mother of her husband, even between a man and the wife of his younger brother, with the use of the vocative case. But ordinarily they seek to avoid direct address. If there is a person of a permitted category at hand, they transmit their wish to this person, addressing their message in such a manner that it is audible to the prohibited individual, 602 who, in turn, answers in the same manner. If not, the ad- 195 dress is in the third person or in the impersonal form. For 193 example: "the daughter-in-law, the brother, etc., could do such a thing," instead of "daughter-in-law, do it!" Or, "thanks to my brother," instead of "thank you, brother" etc. Owing to this custom of getting around the prohibition on speech by the use of the third person, the Gilyak have formed the custom of frequently using the third person in general instead of the second, especially in reference to strangers, out of fear, apparently, that they may turn out to be persons of prohibited categories. Again and again, upon the entrance of an unknown Gilyak, one hears the phrase: "Where has the Gilyak come from?" (instead of "where have you come from?"). Perhaps there is concealed in this custom, brought about by the prohibition on conversation and not peculiar to the Gilyak alone, the reason for the origin of these strange forms of the third person in place of the second that we find in Italian, 602 Polish, Tatar, and other languages. Finally, the plural num- 193 ber, which is commonly used in addressing old people and [576] honored persons or strangers, is most frequently used in ad- [554] dressing persons of forbidden categories. Thus, for example, in addressing the wife of an elder brother they commonly use the singular, chi, while in addressing the wives of the younger brothers, on the other hand, they use the plural, chin.

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G 602 576 171 The prohibitions on speech have had another curious result. The Gilyak have no salutation for greeting or saying farewell. It may seem strange that the Gilyak, returning to his home after a long absence or leaving his family for the long months of hunting and of danger, utters no salutation. Yet the Gilyak are very ceremonious and /190/ always greet and escort their departing guests with solemn forms of address and expressions of good wishes. The neighbors of the Gilyak, the Olcha and Goldi, as well as the Ainu, have salutations for meeting and parting. Their absence among the Gilyak arises precisely from the fact that in the home and settlement of every Gilyak there is a mass of persons with whom speech is a sin, and therefore the customary greetings could easily lead to frequent involuntary violations of the psychic taboos. Prohibitions on conversation, as is well-known, are practiced among many peoples. We shall recall, for the sake of an example, one of the American peoples, the Arapaho, among whom conversations between brothers are forbidden. The prohibitions among the Yukagir are of special interest to us. Of the prohibitions which they have in common with the Gilyak, we find among the Yukagir prohibitions between "brothers" and "sisters," between the husband's father and mother and their daughter-in-law, between older brothers and the wives of younger brothers; and, as among the Gilyak, in cases of necessity, they address each other either in the third person, or in the impersonal form, or in the plural (1).

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, 240.

G 602 191 B 602 582 194 835 The Buryat present examples of an interesting analogy with the Gilyak prohibitions. Among them at the present time marriage is exclusively individual, and "brothers" have no sexual rights whatever to each other's wives. Nevertheless, prohibitions with regard to the so-called khadym clearly reveal an earlier stage of group marriage. As a result of this

G 602 /190 cont./ As a result of th
191 institution, the prohibitions between a woman and the ol
B brothers of her husband are very strict, and, on the other
602 hand, with respect to the younger brothers of her husband
prohibitions are absent. The content of the prohibition (f
the man to sit on the bed of his khadym, to see her naked
835 is evidence that this prohibition had the exclusive aim of venting sexual intercourse.

V.

The Genesis of the Gilyak Marriage Norms and the Kinship Terminology

G We have examined the norms of sexual intercourse a
*194 have seen that they completely correspond to the kinship
60 terminology. Now it is necessary for us to proceed to a co
sideration of how this complicated system of kinship and m
riage was formed, what sort of psychic substratum gave ri
the system. Obviously, such a complicated system could
arise artificially. It must have developed, without a dou
out of one simple principle, a clear /191/ categorical im
perative for the primitive man, out of which there must h
grown, as from a seed, that complicated organism of Gily
institutions which has been examined by us in such great d
tail. Along with the genesis of this system, however, it i
necessary for us to explain also the long evolution of this
system, without an understanding of which a whole series
peculiarities of the kinship nomenclature will seem com-
pletely inexplicable and, as it were, out of keeping with
general system.

/161 cont./

581 587 121 intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually are also considered the children of all the members of the group.

835 Now the Gilyak marriage classes "pu" and "an'g:ej" become understandable to us, and we shall proceed to a detailed examination of them.

The classes "pu" and "ang:ej." We have already said that for the Gilyak, at least at the present time, it is not prohibited either by religion or by the opinion of society to have sexual relations with or to marry any woman of his own tribe or a neighboring one, except for those women who are bound to him by one or another prohibitive term of kinship. But in relation to such alien women he has no rights whatever; illicit sexual intercourse is accompanied by the risk of bloody reaction on the part of a certain group of males, and individual marriage is a simple civil agreement accompanied by strict conditions of payment for the bride. The Gilyak most naturally therefore seeks sexual intercourse or a legal wife among the women with whom he has the right to do so. These are, namely, those women whom by the kinship [601] nomenclature, either from birth on from another specifically defined moment, he calls an'g:ej (wife), and he calls all ● [602] their agnates akhmalk'i (fathers-in-law). We already know who these women are. They are, first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all aki, i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking, without distinctions of age (in certain places).

[601] Each woman, in turn, as we know, gives the name of husband, in addition to her own official husband, to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands; 3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband (if she is married to one of them), and among some -- all the brothers of her husband.

/165 cont./

582 583 Concerning the primary obligation of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, supporting evidence is offered by another extremely important peculiarity of this form of marriage, namely, the fact that the bride price, i.e., the payment which is received by the father or the brother of the bride and which in the contemporary marriage plays an enormous role in the question of giving a woman in marriage, is here completely lacking or at least plays an insignificant /166/ role. In cases of marriages between cousins of the first degree, not only is a bride price not demanded, but it is even forbidden to mention it during the betrothal.

582 583 174 The absence of the bride price in marriages between pu and an'g:ej is clear evidence that the marriage between these categories was at one time an obligatory marriage, and in the case of obligatoriness it goes without saying that there can be no question of any financial obligations.

There is no doubt that the bride price was a later institu- [538] tion. In the traditional poems of the Gilyak, the so-called n'astund, in which the procedure of betrothal is so often described, there is never any mention of the bride price. On the contrary, the "fathers-in-law" usually fill the boat of the bride with all kinds of valuables.

583 174 Remembering what an enormous role the bride price plays in the economic life of the Gilyak, sometimes representing the only resource for giving the economy of a poor man a start, it must be realized that the neglect of the bride price in marriages of the above-mentioned category cannot be caused by reasons of a sentimental nature; the motives for such an attitude toward the bride price must be of a more compulsory character, that is, religious. We shall have to speak about the nature of these motives in more detail later on.

● 602 606 As an illustration, we merely point out the surprising relations that, thanks to this religious imperative of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, were characteristically established between persons of the class of "fathers-in-law" and their legal "sons-in-law" /zyat'ya/. These relations are surprising

/166 cont./

● 602 606 by their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness. Toward an ymg:i, though only potential, the "fathers-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children. "One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

[594] [224] [431] For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily pass their time in the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," finding in every yurt the most hearty welcome and the greatest delicacies; and when the hunting begins, the "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns to his own home, he carries with him, in addition to /167/ the usual gifts, also his share of the [796] catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "sons-in-law" are in the foreground among those who have been invited, and it is to them that the honor of [72] killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in wartime, the "fathers-in-law" and the "sons-in-law" are obliged to come to each other's aid in case of necessity.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

602 614 606 From the kinship terminology we know that the clan of the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan from which a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all the other clans from which even one kinsman has chanced to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

606 /167 cont./ Thus, each man can have several clans
602 of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, ac-
614 cording to generations, are considered an'g:ej -- his wives and
[601] the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology, and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how this complicated system developed.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations pu and an'g:ej have played and still play an enormous role, symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the right to marriage -- one of the many benefits which the clan structure gives to each of its participants.

584 Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of
162 this institution of the right to marriage at the present time.
595 For the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also in real life "finding a wife" is a business of unusual difficulty. First of all, there is the extreme shortage of women. Among the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the censuses that I took, for every 1,000 males there are 785 females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is 694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there are 900 females. It is necessary to add that a significant percentage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthiest individuals, keep from two to four wives. For example, according to my census on the western shore of Sakhalin to the north of the settlement of Arkyvo, for every nine monogamous men there was one polygamous man, with the total ratio of men to women being 1000:694. There is one old bachelor for every 11 married men, and one polygamist for every 19 married men. It is not difficult to imagine how limited the choice of women was, /168/ and it was already limited by a whole set
[583] of prohibitions. With such a limited choice and with such a considerable preponderance of men over women, the bride price, the payment for women (in valuables or long-term
ooo service), naturally reaches an unusually great amount. Under

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*835 sweetheart, and, thanks to this polyandrous practice, they
836 hardly ever run the risk of pregnancy. As to what proportions these polyandrous habits of intercourse among maidens reach, it will be sufficient to offer an example intimately known to me. The wife of my friend Pigunayka from the settlement of Arkyvo, a likable woman and a splendid housekeeper and mother of children, before her marriage had in her home village alone 14 sweethearts at one time, who called each other, and she likewise called them, navkh, akhmalk -- comrade, fellow participator (it is curious that navkh literally means the very same thing as punalua in Morgan's well-known punalua family). Furthermore, Pigunayka's wife's sexual intercourse with her sweethearts quite often took place at one time. Her "husbands" told me quite good-naturedly how all 15 of them used to get together in a little clearing not far from the settlement, and one after the other they would exercise their rights. The most curious thing of all is that in this merry band was Pigunayka himself, who is now the happy husband of the
602 heroine. Under such circumstances, it is natural that the Gilyak
*835 youth in many respects feels much more at home and at ease
836 among his maiden an'g:ej than he does among his married an'g:ej, access to whom is surrounded with great difficulties in view of the preferential rights to them of their individual husbands. And, naturally, he is attracted thither most of all. But he does not find these maidens in his own clan, even among the most distant of his tuvn. With them he not only does not have a right to have sexual intercourse, but he does not even dare to converse with them. In his own clan he has only the married women for sexual intercourse. In fact, maiden an'g:ej very rarely live in the same settlement as their pu.
[614] The daughters of his mother's brother, the sisters of his brothers' wives, the daughters of his akhmalk, in other words, the clan of his "fathers-in-law" -- there is where all his sympathies
602 draw the Gilyak youth. In the yurts of his akhmalk'i nothing is hidden to him; here he is met with open arms, for, as we

/172 cont./
602 know, an ymg:i is the closest person to an akhmalk and to his wife. An ymg:i is a preferred hunting companion summer and winter. He is the dearest guest; they serve the most delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a special reason. With their clansmen-brothers the akhmalk'i /173/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the ymg:i is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make merry to their hearts' content. And in such surroundings there
[836] are dozens of maidens -- his an'g:ej, with whom he may openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents itself, have sexual intercourse.

*835 Now we shall turn to the relations of the pu with their
602 married an'g:ej.

[184] From the kinship terminology we know that a man's married an'g:ej include, first of all, the individual wives of his "brothers" (tuvn), which, among the Gilyak speaking the western dialect, refers to all tuvn, while among the Gilyak speaking the eastern dialect -- only to the elder; further -- all the married "sisters" of his own wife; finally, the married sisters of the wives of his tuvn -- a huge category, including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the
*835 territory of Gilyak settlement. Concerning the last two groups -- the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers' wives -- one must make the following reservation: usually, in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak marriage, the sisters marry persons of the class tuvn alone, so that with regard to the sisters of the wife and the sisters of the brothers' wives a general rule concerning the wives of "brothers" operates. But, due to deviations from the traditional norms, it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the sister of one's own wife is married to a completely alien man, or even to someone who is an accidental akhmalk (1).

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1. An accidental akhmalk is what I call a man from a clan from which one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

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614 "sister," (for they are such in reality), their mothers-in-law --
601 aunts on their fathers' side, and husbands call the sisters of
582 their fathers-in-law mothers. We shall not speak here of the
* 174 group character of these marriage unions and of the classes of "mothers," "fathers," "brothers," "fathers-in-law" /wives' fathers/ which arise from this, for we have already explained it in detail earlier.

Thus to the first principle -- the obligation of marriage with one's blood kinsmen -- is added another principle -- the wives of clansmen must of necessity be taken from one common clan, i.e., two clans are bound to each other by a mutual obligation: one must take wives from the other clan, and the latter /193/ must give its wives to the former. All men of the latter, according to generation, are considered from birth to be the husbands of the women of the corresponding generation of the other clan, and, as we have seen, these classes in actuality call each other pu and an'g:ej.

But from the kinship terminology we know that the reverse is not allowed, i.e., men of the second clan and women of the first are not joined in the class of husbands and wives. Thus, an exchange marriage between the two aforementioned clans is not allowed. All these principles which have been deduced by us above a priori from the kinship terminology completely correspond to contemporary reality. We have seen that even now there exists the right of marriage, that even now a marriage from the class akhmalk is alone considered "pure," that marriages of clansmen are usually made from one common clan and that exchange marriage between clans is not allowed. Now we can with confidence continue our analysis.

614 But what is this clan from which clansmen are obliged
601 to take wives? The answer to this is that detail of nomencla-
602 ture whereby the mother of every man is the sister of his
582 wife's father; in other words, all wives of clansmen are
* 174 taken from that clan from which their ancestress came. The members of the clan are thus, both on the father's side and

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614 on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individ-
601 ual member of the clan, as we have seen above, this is expressed
● 602 in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his
582 mother's brother, in other words, the daughters of every man
* 174 belong to the sons of his sister. This principle also is the link from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic. We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back to the most ancient stage of the maternal family, the one that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to satisfy this most vital need in the early stages of human society, every mother obtained for her sons the daughters of her brother, in other words, all the descendants of a sister obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively the daughters of the mother's brother, and not the children of the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother, we shall see below. Now let us look at the consequences
* 174 this principle had in its practical application.
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591 /194/ 1) Once the daughters of the brother belonged from
581 birth to the sons of the sister, it was most natural that the future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of their future wives /sic/. This arrangement is still to be seen among the Gilyak, as among many other primitive tribes. In "pure" marriages, i.e., between the children of brother and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Termi-
[602] nology has perpetuated this arrangement in that even from birth children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

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* 174 /194 cont./
582 relationship of pu and an'g:ej toward each other (1).
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● 602
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1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 52).

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2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

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614 home of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained
*174 together; their husbands, taken into the clan, were all of the same clan -- the male cousins of their wives, the sons of the sisters of their fathers. In the agnatic clan the imported
● 602 women were all kin to each other, either sisters or aunts and
614 nieces (and blood kinswomen -- female cousins of their
*174 husbands), the daughters of the brothers of their mothers. This common blood kinship of the representatives of both sexes of both the native and the imported elements of the clan is a still more important cement of the clan union, a religious cement binding together all the elements with the highest ties of the common cult of the ancestors. The
601 terminology has perpetuated this arrangement by the fact that
614 the wives in each generation call each other sister and their
*174 husbands' mothers -- aunts, and a man calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife, while a woman calls the son of her father's sister husband.

614 8. Since marriage is obligatory into the group of the
587 sisters of the father exclusively, once the daughters of a man
*174 belong from birth /199/ to the sons of his sister, and this rule, naturally, became a religious imperative, then under no circumstances can either the men or the women marry out-
[171] side of the indicated groups. Hence a twofold levirate, so often encountered, by the way, among the American Indians. If the individual husband of a woman should die, she cannot under any circumstances leave the group of her husband. Whether young or old, she passes to one of the class of "brothers" of her deceased husband. Conversely, if a man's wife dies, he cannot look for a wife anywhere except in the class of her sisters.

614 9. Under this arrangement, as long as it maintains its
583 complete purity, within the marriage groups there can be
*174 no question either of abductions or of bride price.

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Schematic Table No. 1 of the Three-clan Cognate Phratry.

Clan A (Andrey)	Clan V (Vasiliy)	Clan S (Stepan)
Ancestors: Andrey, Vera. Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S. Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.	Ancestors: Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.	Ancestors: Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.
Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Vasiliy of clan V. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Anna of clan S.	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera from clan A.	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey from clan A. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Sof'ya from clan V.

Table No. 2 (cont.)

2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Anna in clan S.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera in clan A.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Mariya in clan D.

1: Shternberg--312 E-5 (1860-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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2) Daughters
marry the sons
of the sisters
of their father,
of Sof'ya
in clan V.

Schematic Table No.

Clan A (Andrey)	Clan V (Vasiliy)
Ancestors:	Ancestors:
Andrey, Vera. Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S. Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.	Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Dem'yan from clan D.
Their children:	Their children:
1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Vasiliy from clan V.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Dem'yan from clan D.

Clan S (Stepan)	Clan D (Dem'yan)
Ancestors:	Ancestors:
Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Mariya, who is married into clan D. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.	Dem'yan, Mariya. Dem'yan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Mariya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.
Their children:	Their children:
1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey, from clan A.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S.

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1: Shternberg--311 E-5 (1890-1927, 1929) 1929 Gilak 225

/213 cont./

614 615 602 my mother, while my mother-in-law is the sister of my father and a cousin of the first degree of my mother; that is to say, husband and wife are kin on both their fathers' and their mothers' sides. On the side of their fathers, on the one hand, and on the side of their mothers, on the other, they are alike cousins of the second degree; on the side of the father of the wife and of the mother of the husband, they are cousins of the first degree, while on the side of the father of the husband and of the mother of the wife, they are cousins of the third degree.

4) The kinship relations between the clans work out in the following way: a) clan A is the akhmalk (father-in-law in the first degree) of clan S; it is also the tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree) of clan D, and, finally, the ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) of clan V (although at the same time it is formally the father-in-law of the third degree of the latter, because D is the father-in-law of V); b) clan V stands in exactly the same relationship toward clans A, S, and D, as does clan S toward clans D, V and A, and, finally, clan D toward clans V, A and S. All the clans stand in the relation of pandf (people of a common origin) to each other. From this relationship between the clans it follows that an ymg:i is the father-in-law of the third degree in relation to his genuine father-in-law, from which it appears, in turn, that a father-in-law of the third degree is a degree of kinship completely unnecessary for the regulation of marriage. And, in fact, it does not exist in the terminology, which has only two forms of kinship with the father-in-law: akhmalk (father-in-law of the first degree), and tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree).

5) From the above it follows that the tujma akhmalk assumes a reciprocal relationship: A is the tujma akhmalk of D, while D, in turn, is the tujma akhmalk of A, and since, as we know from the contemporary marriage rights of the Gilyak, women cannot be given to the tujma akhmalk

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* 614 615 ● 602 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

Cousin Marriage

582 * 174 121 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

582 * 174 121 114 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

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583 538 Such catastrophes, as we shall see further on, are not at all rare. This alternative which, according to the epos, faced the man of olden times -- either to marry his lawful an'g:ej, who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal to an alien woman as a special form of marriage -- proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /261/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us in the traditional epos.

582 584 Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the present the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying a woman of the an'g:ej category, a woman who is regarded as one's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is considered "pure." And people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the categories of an'g:ej the most desirable marriage is with the daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most orthodox is considered the cousin marriage between the daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a marriage is so highly valued that even before the future spouses appear in the world the sister and the brother give each other their word to unite the children in marriage. After the birth of the children, when they have reached the age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the clansmen of one side or the other a formal act of agreement [593] or even the actual concluding of the marriage. Even the mother of the groom may carry on the negotiations, not ● [602] with the father of the bride (for she is his sister and conversation between brother and sister is prohibited) but with 584 585 his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to this: the matchmaker /svat/ (father or mother of the groom) before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancés with threads of nettle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

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196 195 58 [171] [174] [591] /paterniteta/, with the wife moving into the house of her husband. At the present time the original meaning has disappeared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree that often for the expression "to get married" there is added to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being 196 58 supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ytk menakh vavin kuil itynd, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ajvund is used in the sense of to be married, to have a wife, for example, menyn ruvn an'g:ej n'enyn' ajvutà -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

178 602 591 174 In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony of this is found in the contemporary formula of common marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymg:i ● 602 arinkh jag:n'idra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

[171] Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

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602 606 591 [431] [574] This formula has preserved its vital significance even today. One is supposed to send regularly to the son-in-law gifts of edibles and a share of every catch. Moreover, the young men of the category ymg:i during the course of several months out of the year are unfailing guests in the settlement of their fathers-in-law and are indispensable participants in the more important hunting expeditions.

606 225 602 In particular, this relation is clearly attested to at the time of distant sea excursions for the hunting of sea animals. The master of the boat -- he is the head of the expedition -- in such cases especially summons his ymg:i to take part in the hunt (1).

[171] 1. We find an analogous phenomenon among the Haida Indians, a purely maternal tribe. Here, so reports Swanton (Haida, p. 69), when a man undertakes a military campaign, he calls together his tribesmen who are his potential or actual sons-in-law.

[431] All this time the ymg:i are not only fed for nothing, but when they leave they carry away with them an equal share 606 of the catch and various /265/ gifts besides. One's relations 602 with these young men are often much more tender than with [591] one's own children. And this is entirely understandable, for a man's ymg:i are the sons of his sisters or daughters, his tribesmen, who under a maternal system must live with him, while his own sons and grandsons will move to the settlement of their wives and will be completely estranged from him.

602 604 171 This obligation for the "nourishment" of the tribesmen through the female line, however, is a customary institution in maternality. Among several peoples, as, for example, among the Polynesians, the right of tribesmen to the property of their uncle on the mother's side has taken on completely improbable forms, where a tribesman has the right to ravish with impunity the possessions of his uncles. This right is

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602 604 171 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

584 593 Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

174 196 591 171 Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says: n'i-umgarvo ivrà, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

174 611 614 186 Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

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174 611 614 186 reverence with which they approached a settlement where, according to them, one of their female ancestors had once lived.

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 184 614 611 Usually at the present time children are given names according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 611 174 [582] [614] All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan, but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak themselves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

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In succeeding generations marriages proceed according to the same principle as in the foregoing generation: the men marry the daughters of their mother's brother, and the women marry the sons of their father's sister.

Analyzing this table, we see that:

1) In each clan every generation of men takes its wives from the /212/ clan from which their ancestress came, specifically, each individual man takes a wife from the clan of his mother, while the women of each clan marry, according to generation, into the clan into which their ancestress was married, specifically, each individual woman takes her husband from that clan in which her father's sister is married. Exchange of women between two clans is not permitted.

2) Clan A, therefore, takes its women from clan V (the clan from which the ancestress of A, Vera, was taken), but it cannot in return give its women to this clan, but gives them to clan S, where the sister of its ancestor, Anna, is married. It therefore remains for clan V to take its wives either from S or from D, but clan S is prohibited to it, because in relation to this clan it is tujma akhmalk, father-in-law of the second degree (see above); therefore it remains for clan V to take its wives only from clan D, from which was drawn the ancestress of clan V (Sof'ya). After that only the women from clan S and the men from clan D remain unaccounted for, and, as we saw from the table, the latter marry the former, and thus the entire phratry is provided for matrimonially, and all the marriage norms are observed.

3) In every conjugal pair, the husband is the son of the sister of the father of his wife, and, consequently, husband and wife are always cognate cousins.

602 The interrelationships of the members of the various clans of the phratries are clear from the following analysis of the relationships between the ancestors. Let us begin with Andrey from clan A.

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192 584 [199] orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orth
/271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the specia
term tkhagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

584 602 [593] Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the
the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother
father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the
of the father. The role of the latter individual is explain
apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. Accordin
to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the
father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since b
the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry
brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister
the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage o
his closest akhmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-l
584 602 614 If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla
n'ivukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the
marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequ
participate, in addition to these persons, several honored
clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy p
[556] [583] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringi
with them at once the articles of the bride price, and fre
quently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes
proper impression, they immediately take the maiden aw
with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

584 554 556 [533] The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is
alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re-
nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one so
maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth

595 584 614 Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a marrie
man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himsel
usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the la
herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there ar
no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and

Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Vasiliy and Vera, because the sister of the father of the latter was the mother of Andrey. In exactly the same way, Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Stepan and Mariya, because the mother of the latter is the sister of the father of Andrey. Only in relation to Dem'yan and Sof'ya is Andrey a cousin of the second degree, for the clan of Dem'yan (D) takes its women from S, which, in turn, takes them from A; consequently the grandmother of Dem'yan was the sister of the grandfather of A, and thus Andrey and Dem'yan are cognate cousins of the second degree.

It is easy to see that the relationship of every other ancestor to the others is the same as that of Andrey, and similar relationships will exist in every generation between the representatives of the different clans, since the marriage norm in every case is the same. From this analysis it follows that: 1) in each generation the representatives of all four clans are either brothers and sisters to each other, or cousins, in a word, people of the same origin on the male and female side; 2) in clans united by marriage relationships, in each generation the husbands, on the one hand, and their wives, on the other, are cognate cousins of the first degree; 3) between clans not /213/ united by marriage relationships, i.e., clans which are tujma akhmalk to each other, for example, between clans A and D, both the husbands and wives are reciprocally cousins of the second degree, i.e., they are more distantly related than the marrying clans; thus remoteness of kinship beyond a certain degree, as in Australia, is an obstacle to marriage.

The relationship between the marrying ones may be defined in greater detail in the following manner: if "I" am a man, my father-in-law is the brother of my mother and a cousin of the first degree of my father, while my mother-in-law is a cousin of the second degree of my father and a cousin of the first degree of my mother. If "I" am a woman, my father-in-law is a cousin of the first degree of my father and a cousin of the second degree of

the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.

But what does the kinship terminology teach us?

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates, for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, th is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken fro one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions, marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the clansmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters, the nieces of those women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. This is why the wives of "brothers" call each other

/271 cont./

The bride is customarily represented by the father and mother, but for the final decision the attendance of representatives of her side is necessary. The bride, the father of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations, but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mother, the wishes of the bother play a part. Frequently the wishes of the sister are decisive. Here is a remnant of matriarchy in the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief. In one story which I recorded from Tyl, when he was in uniform him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, relation: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the counsel of your younger sisters!" It is interesting, also, that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women have /272/ no part in the negotiations and ceremony affairs, is no smaller in matriarchal affairs than that of the father. This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks with her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate. Ordinarily her sole begin when the matter has already been decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she ordinarily comes of the laconic phrase: "Since you with this, it is for me to contradict." But it may happen that the maiden, upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom, immediately runs away and does not return until the departure of the matchmakers, and this happens rather frequently and is naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

/273/ It is interesting to note that among the Orogka, whose organization, as a survey of ancient matriarchal ties, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, candidate differences were noticed by me.

/274 cont./

2. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother, the younger brother is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivoshapkin", "Etnograf. Zb.,"Ethnograf. Sbornik", Vyp. 1, 1853, p. 1, Rum. Geogr. Obshch., 1865, I, Rev. and Stat., p. 176. Sternberg, "Ethnograf. Zb.," Vyp. 5, Turukhansk Region," Zap. Rosk. Geogr. Obshch. po etnogr. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 48b; among the Yakut, Priklonskii, "Zap. Sib. Geogr. Obshch. po etnogr. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 48b; among the Yakut, Priklonskii, "Zap. Sib. Otdel. Imp. Russkoi Geogr. Obshch., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 48b; among the Tungus, Sternberg

/4t com./

This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law (for he may not be seen); moreover, this also explains, in plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not yet from the clan of his mother-in-law, *ŋ̌ŋ̌ŋ̌ ŋ̌ŋ̌ŋ̌* ŋŋŋ, literally, "ŋŋŋ meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex. because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

Finally, this explains the custom of the bride price. the custom of a payment for one's bride.. Abduction is a sin against the clan of the one abducted; a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abductor. Among the Gilyak this sin of abduction is done away by the bride generation inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that atonement, that same material fem of atonement for a sin. for the killing of a clansman. It is not a consideration that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, *ŋŋŋŋŋŋ* among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no way to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /ŋŋŋ/ without husbands/for the parents' fear of the punishment, which is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable, perhaps decisive shaple for the supernatural spirit of primitive man to veneration of the dead, and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies. sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

Religion of the Gilyak

In his world view the Gilyak. like every primitive man. is an *animist*. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel. he could say: with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/4l com./

The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nas—ŋŋŋkhoŋ, the day of the mountain ŋŋŋ. On this day, clicks with the sharpened ends. which play an important religious role in the festival. These clicks are made of the bone of the mountain ŋŋŋ-ŋŋŋŋ-ŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ. which. together with the skin bear will get out to go to the mountain ŋŋŋ and bring back fatness and the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talisman as well. Each kind of ŋŋŋ is made in pairs each pair is genuine. so that they will be happier. and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the ŋŋŋ are hung in sacrificial trees, and some of the ŋŋŋ are placed in sacrificial chests at the bottom. While the preparations of the ŋŋŋ take place. the clan elder. together with the master of the bear, gathers the clansmen (ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ

/378 cont./
clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately.
And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house
together and eating together, individual members, such as, for
example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs,
boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with
their father obtain in good time property for their future inde-
pendence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means.
Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained
at a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of
success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the re-
sult of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear,
the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his
fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but
he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The
same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for him-
self a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill
of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations
prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain
a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisi-
tions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute
the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his
"wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and
does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable
fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with
silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches
pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only
at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the
storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son,
when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, depart-
ing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its com-
mon efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when
he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and
whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of
sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are
brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward
rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

608

/382 cont./
428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[968] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family con-
tinues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-
up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A ques-
tion of the division of the inheritance only arises when the chil-
dren, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a
Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children
of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the de-
ceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one,
the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the
married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[968] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who
428 divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
597 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which
always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker
in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age.
With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor
428 clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It
is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who
has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the
● [600] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until
his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish
of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the
inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with
his father up to the very time of his death, while the other
brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the
other brothers.
572 Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever
[614] encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps
his treasures in the storehouse, which is never shut. The Gilyak
calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an
uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety.
In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the
road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one
[192] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes
tempted by the possession of another, it is always in the field of

608 ARTIFICIAL KIN RELATIONSHIPS--creation of kinship ties by artificial means (e.g., blood brotherhood); establishment of kinship through ceremonial sponsorship (e.g., godparents and godchildren); kinship terms employed by artificial kinsmen; reciprocal relations and stereotyped behavior patterns exhibited; etc. See also:

Relations between guardian and ward . . . . . 439 Friendship 678
Mating ceremonies . . . . . 563 Adoption 697

*614 /123 cont./
615 from its lair), sable hunting, and especially the hunting of
235 sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these
235 instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participation,
442 not of his clansmen, but of the ymgi, and not necessarily
those married to his sister or daughter, but ymgi in general,
i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives
from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than he
does with his own /124/ clansmen; he can freely converse
and joke with them, while he may not do this, as we know,
with all of his clansmen. In turn, in their akhmal'k clan the
ymgi feel like a fish in water; all the women of their genera-
tion are their an'gej (wives) -- all future wives and at any rate
women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in the
broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young male
population, they find their revenge in the clan of their
akhmal'k, where they meet the same reception from their
*614 "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Between
615 the male youth of both clans ("navkh'l") (1), as a result of
● 608
[601]

1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'l.

frequent meetings, not to mention relationship by marriage,
the most touching relations are established. It is in these sur-
roundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the
Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much in
vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchange
of presents, mutual aid in misfortune, and other such services.
But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood may
be found among the navkh'l. Here is one such example, espe-
cially surprising to me, which I chanced to observe in the
settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. Both
friends, "navkh'l," lived in one yurt; they had everything in
common, went about together like lovers, almost never
separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both,

*614 /124 cont./
615 it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say
615 what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possi-
● 608 bility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations be-
tween members of matrimonial clans.
*614 The principle of mutual aid between members of matri-
615 monial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which,
428 despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception,
583 namely, with regard to the pandi'y; by a will, as we already
know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" (i.e., going
for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can obtain the fur
"shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which
reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it
from one pocket and putting it in another, serves, incidentally,
as an important indication of the fact that originally among
the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of pay-
ment for the bride, but rather was a form of religious ransom.
But for what?
*614 The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the
615 bride price is in general a strange anomaly. Actually, once
774 marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious ob-
583 ligation, and even preferable between the children of brother
and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for
the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have
been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This
[198] change we know; it consisted in the fact that in some instances
when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible,
it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but
this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its
own lawful ymgi and therefore could only accede to giving
away its women by masking it with some act of pious deception
of the gods, which would at the same time be profitable for the
[192] father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases
of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the
bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law
and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the ymgi clan, which

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609 BEHAVIOR TOWARD NONRELATIVES--cultural definition of nonrelatives; relationships and associated behavior defined by absence of kinship ties; behavior toward strangers and aliens; etc. See also:

Intergenerational relationships . . . . . 97 Behavior toward ethnic religious 563
Behavior toward individual observers . . . . . 123 International relations 648
Ethnocentrism 189

*614 /110 cont./
in its original site that the indigenous village can no longer feed
423 everybody, emigrants by degrees depart from it to other places,
[167] selecting the nearest possible sites in order that the ties between the
[167] clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to very distant points
involves an actual division of the "fire" and branching out of the
clan. A no less important cause of the mixture of population is the
custom, in some instances, of sons-in-law /yvat'ya/ moving to the
clans of their fathers-in-law, about which we shall speak in detail
in its place. Territory is in any case an indefinite sign of the clan.
423 The Gilyak do not even possess a consciousness of the right to
● 609 property, not only with respect to themselves, but also with respect
to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus appeared on Sakhalin
50 years ago and began to hunt in the primordial territories of the
Gilyak, it did not occur to anyone to protest against this, although
the Tungus came in small groups and could hardly have withstood
the numerous aborigines with force.
*614 Clan names are just as indefinite a sign. In the mass of
primitive, so-called "totemistic" tribes, the clan name is one
of the very sharpest external signs of the unity of a clan. A totemistic
name is a real object of nature, animal or plant, which is rep-
resented on the body, clothing, buildings, etc.
Among the Gilyak there is nothing of this sort. In some
clans there are totemistic legends. Thus, for example, a clan
living in the settlement of Tangash considers itself kindred with
the bear on the grounds that a woman of that clan had given
birth to a monstrosity with features resembling those of a bear.
Similar legends exist in other clans. Nevertheless, not only
typical totemistic, but even ordinary clan names in the proper
sense are absent. There are only territorial names. If a Gilyak
wants to name the people of such and such a clan, he says "the
dwellers of such and such a settlement," which sometimes corre-
sponds with the actual place of habitation of the clan, but most
frequently only indicates the village which was once the primordial
abode of one or another clan.

*614 /127 cont./ But these Ties Prove of
615 particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when
621 a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to
628 "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the same selflessness as they show toward their own clansmen. Only in the payment of tkhusind may the pandf'y not participate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently happens, and we have already expressed in the section on revenge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

*614 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans,
615 relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed
• 669 clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding generations give to each other, has finally become the customary appellation with which any member of another clan or stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward members of other clans.

609 Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues
574 which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without dis-
[157] crimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the Orok, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers, the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

/127 cont./
• 609 reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the
574 Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has
609 wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with
879 such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance
*614

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general
186 relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course,
609 among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national
824 prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

174 But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We
*614 can now resume it.
615

/254 cont./
832 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only
826 from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both
• 609 liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Piłsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhra -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but
832 also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree,"
826 luxuriant hair (a braid reaching to the waist, hair made sleek),
533 gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side, smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size (his trunk is an arm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

832 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor
291 role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In
533 their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability
577 ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdia n'ivukh'a, i.e., respected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer. Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the
[867] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

/699 cont./
114 4.(cont.)
231 this fable by the Yukagir in the country of
195 "Svatsnia" (tobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

231 The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old
*496 animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the
[956] summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival.

• [609] As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears
[123] kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

116, 186, 609

"Moonlight was silvering the broadening Bay of Ni, and all was still and quiet, save for the passage of a solitary canoe of natives returning to their village. Later there passed another containing two men of a fresh tribe, the Tungus, whose language none of us understood. We mutually grunted salutations, though I never saw the Gilyaks greet each other, this being quite contrary to the [258] habits of their neighbours to the south, the Ainus, with whom the ceremony is both long and complicated.

The Tungus are the most nomadic race on Sakhalin, at the same time they are the best hunters, and probably the cleverest in carving, needlework, and metalwork. Their home is the taiga, and with their reindeer and fine hunting dogs are sometimes seen following the river course or the forest paths made by wild animals. Some of their dogs, I was told, would catch three sables in a day, which their masters would exchange at Derbensk for a pud of gunpowder and a pud of shot.

Between them and the Gilyaks there are occasional misunderstandings, and even the Orochons complain that the latter sometimes steal their reindeer, which in view of the dispersal of their herds in the forest is quite possible. ....

'The Tungus,' said our Vanka, 'are wild people living in the forest. They are not hospitable, and do not give the Gilyaks food and drink when they call;' "

Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than it is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly become poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are paid for relatives. Likewise people who have become incapable of work because of illness are assured support by relatives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly nursed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person is subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the house into the open and is left there at any time of the year, until he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a dead person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a person dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, the sick person who is subjected to these measures is usually already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-bearing women are removed from the house for similar reasons.

In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak to say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two exceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak on the point of drowning could not count on help from his people, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with fatalistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is needed above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks take care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of a bear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who is killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried together with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at the same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and scraps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I questioned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] that they always helped them as much as they could and they showed me several people who had been rescued because help had been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case of a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his fate, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom of two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes mutual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, but nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism does not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where superstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also strangers in time of distress as much as they can. They repeatedly saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were often wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

577 As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among them-
426 selves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating
● 609 usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money from
186 a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in assuming from this that the Gilyak have two different moral standards, which would contradict our previous statements. The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take his money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take the liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that for this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently they are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would be the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants often played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on his shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's
577 ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that,
609 having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak
177 nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasants of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in general more honest than our sort, especially those who live in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest; on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

577 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
● 609 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
177 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had before that behaved properly. The causes for that may be found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. However, this fact has in recent times been badly misused and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to put themselves in the place of strangers as well as fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one must remember that, where strangers are concerned, moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed, vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is
177 face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
682 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
627 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But this case was and has remained an exception. The village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants; at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or eight men took part in the crime, of which none is living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge; now, however, they usually file complaints with the Russian administration. [226]

548 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
837 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
684 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself is not too much offended, provided only that there are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

563 hopes, merely from an ungovernable yen for liberty and
177 diversion, although they know they will be only too easily recognized and will only earn a more severe punishment.
563 The hardships and dangers which these unfortunate ones
● 609 must sometimes endure, especially in winter, are hair-
177 raising and some of the stories which they tell as though they were nothing unusual, sound like epics. A large number of them perish. One of the dangers which they must guard against in the Amur country and the Transbaykal is persecution at the hands of the natives, in which activity particularly those kinsmen of the Huns, the wild Buryats on Lake Baykal, distinguish themselves. To them, a brodyaga is as good as wild game, they aim at him wherever they meet him, and take whatever they find on the dead man. They do this with all assurance for they know that the deed will not be investigated. In recent times this bestial custom has also crept in among the Goldi and the Gilyak. The brodyagi themselves gave the impetus to these animosities. Most of them are perfectly docile, peaceable human beings who are glad if [229] they are left alone, and are therefore little feared by the Russians themselves; they are given a night's lodging, a hunk of bread, and no one thinks of notifying an official. Now among these "unfortunate ones" (1)

1. This is what they are called by the Siberians, some of whom are themselves descendants of exiles and have had experiences of their own which corroborate the words of Staël "tout savoir c'est tout pardonner".

there are sometimes real villains who cannot conceal their wolf-like nature. Furthermore, among deportees there are not infrequently to be found people who are simply pathological, suffering from homicidal mania, who belong anywhere but in a penal colony. Such ugly customers make trouble when they escape. There have been cases where entire Gilyak families were murdered even by those who were hospitably received by the natives. As a result, it is easy to imagine that the Gilyak also began playing a different tune. After such precedents, greed and rapacity may now and then also have arisen in the soul of the savage, even though such a refugee would not have been carrying much. Thus the brodyagi now avoid the native villages, and if they are forced to pass near-by, they go in bands and take

563 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
609 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
177 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think
of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

181 XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

671 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to
say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law
which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and
just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where
it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponder-
ance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of
individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the
assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly
distributed.

556 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
595 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who
is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare
exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater num-
ber of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value,
such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc.
and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely
for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which
in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The
above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury arti-
cles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple
hundred silver rubles in a box.

735 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
438 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
556 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
261 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood,
berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one
must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish
is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in
those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coin-
cides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have
reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various
species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up
the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have
more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to
trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts,
berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor
substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual
"famines" here.

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of
Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean
that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first
immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be
found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said
that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts,
however, they are very backward. They know how to draw
or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but
nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are
absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music.
Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a
Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him
instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all
kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original
meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at
least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not
true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory
would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction
the different facts cannot be directly understood but must
be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak
children were taught to read and write. This they learned
very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of
course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples
whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the
Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that
they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak
also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but
not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and
soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian,
they look about them with curiosity but they do not immedi-
ately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask
for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are
decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture.
It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine,
about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

231 like a Pawnee concert. There were big dogs and little dogs,
white, black, grey, brown, and yellow dogs, and not one
friendly. They did not appear courageous, but I was not al-
together certain of their dispositions. Their owners sought
to quiet them, but they refused comfort.

These dogs had some peculiarities of those in Kamchatka,
but their blood was evidently much debased; they appeared
to be a mixture of Kamchadale, greyhound, bull dog, and
cur, the latter predominating. They are used for hunting at all seasons, and for towing boats in summer and dragging sledges in winter. I was told that since the Russian settlement of the Amoor the Gilyak dogs have degenerated, in consequence of too much familiarity with Muscovite canines. Nicolayevsk appeared quite cosmopolitan in the matter of dogs, and it was impossible to say what breed was most numerous. One day I saw nineteen in a single group and no two alike.

ABOUT FULL.

609 Near the entrance of the village an old man was repairing
his nets, which were stretched along a fence. He did not
regard us as we scrutinized his jacket of blue cotton, and he
made no response to a question which Borasdine asked.
Further along were two women putting fish upon poles for
drying, and a third was engaged in skinning a large salmon.
The women did not look up from their work, and were not
142 inclined to amiability. They had Mongol features, complex-
302 ion, eyes, and hair, the latter thick and black. Some of the

133 was in motion and evidently came from a descending stea
boat. On another occasion we missed in these channels
boat our captain was desirous of hailing. Once while Ge
eral Monravieff was ascending the river he was passed by
courier who was bringing him important despatches.

502 The pilot steers with a chart of the river before him, a
relies partly upon his experience and partly upon the deli
ated route. Sometimes channels used at high water are n
navigable when the river is low, and some are favorable
descent but not for ascent. In general the pilotage is
more facile than on the Mississippi, and accidents are not f
quent.

609 The peasants always came to the bank where we stopp
291 no matter what the hour. At one place where we took wo
at night there was a picturesque group of twenty-five or thi
gathered around a fire; men and women talking, laughi
smoking, and watching the crew at work. The light of t
fire poured full upon a few figures and brought them i
strong relief, while others were half hidden in shadow.
the men some wore coats of sheepskin, others Cossack co
of grey cloth; some had caps of faded cloth, and others T
tar caps of black sheepskin. Red beards, white beards, bla
beards, and smooth faces were placed upon by the danc
flames. The women were in hoopless dresses, and h
shawls over their heads in place of bonnets.

133 A hundred versts above Sofyesk the scenery changed. T
mountains on the south bank receded from the river and w
more broken and destitute of trees. Wide strips of lowla
covered with forest intervened between the mountains
the shore. On the north the general character of the co
try remained. I observed a mountain, wooded to the top a
sloping regularly, that had a curious formation at its sum
It was a perpendicular shaft resembling Bunker Hill Mo
ment, and rising from the highest point of the mountain
appeared of perfect symmetry, and seemed more like a w
of art than of nature. On the same mountain, half w
down its side, was a mass of rock with towers and buttres

/30 cont./

purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social framework of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/82 cont./

*614 father-in-law signifies the common right of each generation of clansmen to the corresponding generation of women of the akhmal'k clan, while a common son-in-law -- the obligation to give their women to the ymgi clan. Only the men are a constant element of the clan; the women are an element that either departs from the clan or comes in from outside. Hence the whole "physiological" construction of the clan -- exogamy, agnation, common rights and obligations regarding women, reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers, etc.

Thus the Gilyak clan is a union of kinsmen in the male line, agnates, taking their wives from another certain clan, giving their women to a third, and bound among themselves by a whole series of mutual rights and obligations in the realm of marital-sexual norms.

*614 602 But this is only the formal framework of this kinship union; in the flesh and blood of all the consequences that flow from it, it is much deeper, more intimate, and firmer than appears at first glance. First of all, it must be kept in mind that, despite the principle of agnation, the clansmen are bound by kinship ties, not only through the father, but also through the mother. This follows directly from the very thesis of a common father-in-law. For once each /83/ generation of clansmen ("brothers") marries a corresponding generation of women ("sisters") of one akhmal'k clan, then the mothers of these clansmen, in turn, are sisters to one another. Further, the wives of the clansmen, despite the fact that they, according to the agnatic principle of the clan, are, as it were, a completely alien element, in reality stand in a close cognate relationship with their husbands; accordingly, husband and wife, as we know, are usually the children of a sister and brother -- own or of more distant degrees -- and, consequently, they are in any case cognate brothers and sisters. Thus, the male and female element are not only not alien to each other, elements bound only by marriage, but on the contrary are intimately bound together, aside from marriage, by blood kinship. Moreover,

/135 cont./

*601 184 197 or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character. Thus, for example, "ytk, ymk" -- father, mother -- are completely identical in all dialects; "ruvn, tuvn" -- brother (eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "ruf" in the western dialect; "og:la, og:lang" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o:la" in the western dialect. In cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the previously mentioned "app" and "ivy," or to the formation of corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all dialects. Thus, for example, "shankh" -- woman in the eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "an kh" female, and "um-gu" -- woman in /136/ the western dialect has the same root as the common word "ym(k)" -- mother; in exactly the same way "ut-ku" -- man in the western dialect has the same root as "ytk" -- (father), and the corresponding az'mych in the eastern dialect is from azh -- male, etc.

[104] In the table of kinship nomenclature and the explanations for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and territories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' -- (T.D.), the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin --(E.D.), and of the western (W.D.). From here on in the text we shall always use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

*601 614 104 Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic family is only a cell of the strictly organized, exogamous, agnatic clan. We also ask the reader to remember that at the mention of this or that term without any special indication of whether it is used by males or females we shall imply that these terms are used identically by both sexes; in other cases the sex of the speaker will be specifically indicated.

/xxviii cont./

*114 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly
582 assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the
595 history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To accept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably, the conclusions of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

*114 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution
602 of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having
595 mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations, and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming
[174] the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

*114 Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the
● 614 clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their common law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the Australians.

*114 Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vukhakh
614 and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi
556 (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention

/xxix cont./

ooo to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented by
*114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

*114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
971 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
● 614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
[976] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form of animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
[262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

*114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[977] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
[825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

[956] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

"Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
*114 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora
197 constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of the Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

342 /18 cont./
798 (kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of
198 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.
192

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the
191 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that
174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee,
492 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

173 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
174 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
133 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-
[614] called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo.
● [614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/20 cont./

144 observations of the physical peculiarities of the Gilyak give us. At the same time, other facts and considerations provide us with a full basis for thinking that the ancient Gilyak type has completely perished, drowned in the stronger wombs of the neighboring tribes. This took place, however, not in an ordinary way, not through a gradual interbreeding with the neighboring tribes by means of intertribal marriages, which would be not at all so surprising, but in quite peculiar, extremely instructive way.

174 In conducting the census of the Gilyak, I carefully collected
167 information and legends about the origin of each particular clan.
● 614 The study of these data brought me to the strange conclusion that
144 the founders of the great majority of the clans now in existence
[126] were not the Gilyak, but representatives of the neighboring tribes. How could this have happened? It is a common phenomenon even at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry (usually a widow), and, in this way, are adopted into this or that clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that has harbored them. The descendants of such newcomers normally form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these clans of newcomers, or the branches of the clans founded by them, in time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in the course of several generations died out. The most vital, growing, and numerous clans are the descendants of precisely these newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic and vital individuals, or this is the result of interbreeding, the fact is not subject to doubt; I found it not only among the Gilyak.

174 As a result of the census of the Gilyak, I asked myself in
144 perplexity, if in the course of a great number of centuries there has been a constant inflow of fresh elements from other tribes, an inflow that was strengthened by the purchase of wives and female slaves from the Ainu and the Goldi, and if these new elements flourished and multiplied while the indigenes degenerated and died

/30 cont./

221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym') the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange
[484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stem while alone, he is transformed in society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in
157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness, which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social frame-
128 work of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly to acquaint my readers.

III.

601 Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence
191 on the Family-Clan Structure.
174

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu, and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely
● [614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

/31 cont./

601 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
191 have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in
174 the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
595 to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of
835 individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
587 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
583 rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of
851 his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
611 succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he
551 is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
684 of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
614 itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
582 of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
601 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and
592 not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
352 large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
965 encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/35 cont./

83 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he
579 transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous
825 act are killed, being considered werewolves.

602 The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves
829 for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

576 Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

174 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange
601 facts come from? How can we explain these complex and con-
835 fusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law
174 his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from
601 clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for
835 all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives
614 of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

/36 cont./

174 because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak, their
601 migrations, depopulations, immigrations, and other such reasons,
835 naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and
614 lose its former simplicity.

A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kin-
174 ship nomenclature, which, without doubt, is a living reflection
601 of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded.
835 First of all, it is clear that the kinship nomenclature ac-
582 cording to which I, a man, call the sisters of my father-in-law
614 mother (ymk), while my father calls them his wives, at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers, both own and agnate, call one another sister, can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one common clan, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women-sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then, in fact, the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and consequently, my mothers, while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system, marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is eloquently answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature by which I and my clansmen of my generation, i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives, and conversely, they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came, i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers, is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives, and furthermore, as I have already said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan. But to exchange women, i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives, is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont./

174 my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ancestresses were
601 sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kinship terminology
835 this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the
582 daughter of the sister of my father wife (an'gej), but simply
614 navkh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but ytk, akhmal'k. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan, reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not, however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indicated by me
582 which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular
601 clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up to the present
614 day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak, not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detail, I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives there from whence you came, i.e., from the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

192 1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh is interesting; it is composed of pi (ones own, yours), pandf (kinsmen of the mother), and ukh (from). The word pandf is from pandynd -- "to be born."

835 wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinted an old prohibition on this group of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder brothers, for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom sexual inter-
582 course is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of marriage among
601 the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a brother, own (preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the latter. On the other hand, marriage with a

/37 cont./

582 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predile
601 shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was i dubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is
582 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, appro
584 her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engag ment of their children. The ceremony of engagement consist the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair b child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). W bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is edu until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any rit
582 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the princi compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan o
614 one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from t completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, becau the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into whic marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, h ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the ce
125 that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the G
601 family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by t abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from th one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan the mother") from ancient times.

582 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent
178 now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary custom sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship termino preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise

611

RULE OF DESCENT--unilinear rules (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); ambil
descent (i.e., in each successive generation descent is traced through eithe
parent); bilateral descent (i.e., absence of unilinear emphasis); double de
(i.e., concurrent matrilineal and patrilineal descent); anomalous rules (e.
linked descent); special exceptions (e.g., ambil-anak or matrilineal descen
one generation in default of direct male heirs); degree of correspondence o
gence between the rule of descent and the recognition of kinship; evidences
former or recent transitions in the rule of descent; etc. See also:

Descent of children in marriages between persons of different castes or social classes . . 56
Rules of succession to authority in the family or household 59
Inheritance rules 428
Allocation of the children of divorced parents . . 586
Rules of residence . . . . . .
Succession to chiefship in the community . . . .
Succession to executive positions in the state . . 63
Theory of paternity . . . . . .
Social placement of infants . . . . . .

601 /191 cont./
174 the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system
[58] of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.
[178] But what does the kinship terminology teach us?

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are
[602] called pandf, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates,
[611] for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

614 Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation
601 the wives of tuvn, that is, the wives of own and collateral
582 brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, that
174 is the mothers of all these tuvn, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken from one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions, marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the clansmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters," the nieces of those women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. This is why the wives of "brothers" call each other

/265 cont./
602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
171 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

584 Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
593 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

194 Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
196 be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
591 in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
171 that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says: n'i-umgarvo ivrà, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

194 Another example: the term for designating a person's
611 origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth."
614 This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally
186 be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

/266 cont./

174 611 614 186

reverence with which they approached a settlement where, according to them, one of their female ancestors had once lived.

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 184 614 611

Usually at the present time children are given names according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 611 174 [582] [614]

All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan, but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak themselves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

614

614 SIBS--presence of unilinear kin groups of traditional, but not actually traceable, common descent; number and distribution; affiliation (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); regulation of marriage (e.g., exogamy, agamy, endogamy); distinguishing characteristics (e.g., names, insignia, totemism, food taboos); origin and traditions; organization; headship and succession; prerogatives and obligations of members; solidarity and group responsibility; common property and cult; relationship to clans; unilinear kin groups intermediate between sibs and phratries; relations between sibs; etc. See also:

Property 42
Mutual aid 476
Marriage restrictions 582
Blood vengeance 828
Totemism 779
Taboos 784

1: Shternberg

614

/For general information on the Gilya
interclan relationships, see category 116,

RX2 Gilyak RX2

k clan (sib), its role and function in the society and
pp. 130-193 and 299-316./

/40 cont./

582 595 614 daughters while his sister has only one or two sons, or that a long interval of time elapses between the birth of the first son and the ones that follow, or that, which even further complicates the question, several sisters have but one brother or one sister has several brothers: in the first case several brothers have a common wife; in the second, either one possesses several sisters, or two brothers live in common marriage with a group of sisters; in the third case, the younger brother, who reaches puberty when the elder brother has managed to take all his cousins, must of necessity have marital rights to the wives of his elder brothers; finally, in the last two cases, either several first cousins will have as common wives the daughters of the brother of their mothers, or several brothers will have as common wives several of their first cousins. We have given only the simplest cases; in reality, the matter is, of course, much more complicated. Thus, in one way or another, there absolutely inevitably arises a group marriage of brothers (own and further) with a group of sisters (own and further), and in any case the unconditional reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers of all degrees of kinship. Of course, these group rights consequently embraced more and more people of more distant degrees of kinship, for a mother did not always have brothers, or the latter daughters, and it was inevitably necessary to take wives from among the /41/ first, second, etc. cousins of the mother, and hence the union of people united by the common rights of a group marriage grew.

No vicissitudes of tribal life destroyed this group principle, even up to the present time. When in the course of time, as a result of depopulations, the dispersion of kindred families, wars, and other such reasons, there arose the necessity of resorting to marriages from alien families, these customs, inconvenient in themselves, led to the situation that we see at the present time, that a man is the officially recognized husband of one or several women and is required to share this right either with all his brothers (in some clans) or (in others) only with the younger ones, and, moreover, not only with his own, but with all the agnate brothers as well.

/41 cont./

582 614 3) Since in every family sons must marry daughters of a brother of their mother, and daughters -- sons of a sister of their father, it follows that from the time of the establishment of this custom all the descending posterity of each pair of ancestors in all lines eo ipso form a closed group, prohibited from one another maritally, an exogamous organism, a clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or remain in their own, either a maternal or paternal clan prevails.

At the present time, among the Gilyak a paternal, agnatic clan has been established.

4) Such a clan rests not only on the negative tie of exogamy, but also on valuable positive bonds, on the common rights of clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, the mutual rights of group marriage, and, finally, on the obligation to save their women for the clan that took the sisters of their ancestor.

If we take into consideration the fact that marriage regulations among primitive peoples, among whom the cult of the ancestors and, consequently, blood ties play such a tremendous role, become religious imperatives, it will become clear that the clearly indicated mutual rights and obligations cement the clan union.

In particular, the important cementing element of a clan is also the fact that all the women coming in (wives of clansmen) are taken from one clan and are either one another's sisters (own and agnate), or aunts and nieces. As for men, the clansmen, they represent in each generation a group of brothers (own and agnate) married to a group of sisters and cousins from the clan of their mothers, i.e., to their first cousins, /42/ in relation to whom they have reciprocal conjugal rights.

We have already spoken about the effects that these customs have on the kinship nomenclature.

614 615 5) The clan, therefore, is not a self-contained organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound up with the existence of at least two clans, blood kindred with it, one the blood clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, and another clan which took the sisters of its ancestor and to which it must give up its own women.

/42 cont./

615 614 The first of the latter two clans in relation to the third bears the name akhmal'k (father-in-law), the second navkh or ymri (son-in-law /zyat', "son-in-law, brother-in-law"/). All three are pandf (cognates) to one another. Thus, every Gilyak is an organic member not only of his own, but of a tri-partite, blood, tri-clan union, forming, in the literal sense of the word, a phratry (1) (phratry -- brotherhood). In this triple "brotherhood"

[582 114]

1. The Gilyak phratry has nothing in common with the one of Morgan, for within it mutual marriages are not only allowed, but were obligatory.

all the men and women of each generation are actually brothers and sisters (cognate male cousins and female cousins, see below).

Specifically, in relation to each member of a given clan each woman of the second clan is either his mother, his wife or the wife of his sons and agnatic nephews, and conversely, in the third clan, every woman is either his sister, daughter, or a sister of his father. Such are the blood ties of the members of a phratry!

One can get an idea of the form of the Gilyak three-clan phratry from the following schematic table:

Clan A (Andreev)	Clan V (Vasil'ev)	Clan S (Stepanov)
Andrei + Varvara (sister of Vasilii from clan V). Their children:	Vasilii + Sof'ia (sister of Stepan from clan S). Their children:	Stepan + Anna (sister of Andrei from clan A). Their children:
1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Vasilii, from clan V.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Stepan, from clan S.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Andrei, from clan A.
2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Anna, from clan S.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Varvara, from clan A.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Sof'ia, from clan V.

/43/

615 614 Analyzing this table, we see that 1) all the women in clan A have been taken, by generations, from clan V, which means that Andrei's mother is a sister of Vasilii's father, and consequently Andrei and Vasilii are cognate cousins. 2) Similarly in clan V, Vasilii's mother is a sister of Stepan's father from clan S, and consequently Vasilii and Stepan are cognate cousins, and 3) in clan S Stepan's mother is the sister of Andrei's father from clan A, and consequently Stepan and Andrei are cognate cousins.

Thus, not only are each pair of spouses, one to the other, male and female cognate cousins, but the ancestors of each clan are, one to the other, cognate cousins. In a word, the founders of all three clans are close, blood kinsmen married to female cognates of the same degree of kinship, and each generation marries cognates of the same degree of kinship as its fathers and mothers. This is a clear example of how weak the terms exogamous and endogamous are: the exogamy of the Gilyak clan does not exclude marriages between close kinsmen. It turns out that endogamy prevailed within each phratry; each of its branches was exogamous.

615 614 198 Such was the original scheme. Time and circumstances, emigration, depopulation, the dispersion of clans, an accidental scarcity of women in the mother's clan, and other such causes naturally led, on the one hand, to a deviation from this system, and, on the other hand, to corrections, whose aim was to reconcile the old norms with the new demands of life. All these superstructures, if I may express myself thus, have quite confused the genealogical systems and the marriage norms, and, as usually happens, the categorical imperative, weakening in one respect, becomes more widespread in another. Due to external conditions, the rule to take one's wife from the clan of one's mother weakened, but, on the other hand, the prohibition against giving wives to that clan (albeit completely alien from which someone, even a most remote clansman of the given clan, took his wife has received the most widespread interpretation (on the presumption that it is the clan of the mother). From this the following has become established:

/43 cont./

614 Since at the present time it is not always possible for all
615 clansmen to take their wives from one clan, the clan of the
178 mother, certain members of some clan (M, for example) are
required to take their wives from different clans. And so, on
the strength of the old presumption that the clan of the wife
of a clansman is the clan of the mother, all these clans for
several generations become prohibited for all the women of
clan M, for whom marriage into these clans is not allowed.
And this is not all. This prohibition, in essence having lost
its former raison d'être, is applied not only /44/ to that clan
M, which takes wives directly from A, but also to a third clan,
N, which, in turn, takes wives from M.

In the Gilyak terminology of marriage this prohibition is
technically expressed thus. Clan A, giving women to clan M,
is called the akhmal'k (father-in-law) of the latter, while in
relation to clan N, which in turn takes wives from clan M,
it -- i.e., clan A, is called tuyma akhmal'k (distant father-
in-law); and so the prohibitions lying on clan M are carried
over to clan N, i.e., clan A may not take women not only
from M, but also from N. The degrees of prohibition, how-
ever, do not extend beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree.

The entire future evolution of the Gilyak family and clan
lies in the history of the origin of this prohibition. In what
way could this widespread prohibition arise? We saw that the
Gilyak were not afraid of marriages within close degrees of
kinship. This means that the reason must be some other one.
As a matter of fact, in the face of the inevitability of cases
when it was impossible to take wives from the clan of the
mother, the Gilyak, conforming to the religious imperative,
should have, in such cases, considered the most suitable clan
that one from which at least the clan of his mother took wives,
and, if unable to take them from it, he went to that clan
from which this latter took wives, i.e., went by degrees to
the akhmal'ki of distant degrees of kinship, just as, within
the clan of the mother, in the absence of daughters in the
family of the mother's own brother, he went to the daughters
of the first, second, etc, cousins of the mother. Thus, the
distant akhmal'ki clans were, as it were, reserve clans of the

/44 cont./

614 mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to
615 extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kin-
178 ship, and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of
the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But
with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry
ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclu-
sive marriage within three clans became impossible, because
in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S is the akhmal'k of
the first degree for V and of the second degree for A; consi-
sequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It
was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri,
Dar'ya), let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry
consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would be now
Dmitri's (clan D) sister, while the latter would have as his wife
a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times, the
prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant
degrees, the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever
greater number of clans. At the present time, when, due to
the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary in the selection
of wives to resort to completely alien clans, the phratry has
naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical informa-
tion one must have with regard to this complicated, confused
system, in order to correctly decide, in each given case, on
the right to marry of some member of a clan. And, actually,
this constitutes a whole science, to which a Gilyak dedicates
himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage

171 I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and
601 their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated
582 case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena
of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples
in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

/45 cont./

174 But the details that I
582 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the develop-
601 ment of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think,
of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage
which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
171 completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for ex-
174 ample, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is
582 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datangi or
614 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpūras in central
India where a marriage between male cousins and female
cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter
and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained
up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once
common clan organization similar to the one that I found
among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the
present time some scientists are skepti-
cal of even the actual fact of the dis-
covery of marriage norms identical
with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite
recently it was discovered that among
the Hottentot marriage is permitted
between a man and the daughter of
his mother's brother and, conversely, is
forbidden between a woman and a son
of her mother's brother (exactly as
among the Gilyak). While Kohler, pre-
senting this fact, and the author of the
article on Kohler's work in Année
Sociologique both doubt the possibility
of such norms, even though they were
known to McLennan. See J. Kohler,
"Das Recht der Hottentots," in
Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissen-
schaft. Vol. XVI. No. 3. pp. 341-342.
and L'Année Sociologique. 11th year. p. 306.

/46/

171 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further the
582 strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia, where a
[125] great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly de-
clares which men and women of the tribe have the right to
group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and dif-
ficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonial
questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive man
have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear that
there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the de-
cisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the individ-
ual person and became the function of a competent institution
of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why among
many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a single
[614] totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women coming
in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a single
totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutandis,
every kumi and kroki among the Australians finds his wife through-
out the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he finds
her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives and
in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his wife.

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many
Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, where
ascending and descending generations belong to different classes,
and only in the third, among some -- in the fourth, or even in
the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of the
fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in details
from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this
strange phenomenon.

615 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity call
614 clan A -- Andreev, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepanov.
582 Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from
clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepanovs
(of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not Andreeva

/46 cont./

615 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in
614 turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V)
582 would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last, i.e.,
Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife of
one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the third gen-
eration, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-
grandmother.

582 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerable ex-
[601] tent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship
nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many cate-
gories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sight
appear completely independent, are in fact identical, such as,
for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sisters
of the wives of brothers tum out to be the same persons, just
like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the father-
in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems
to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on
certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage, we
have seen that from the simple, single rule that men must
marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitably
arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group
marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage prohibi-
tions.

2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the
583 genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particu-
614 lar, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an institution
615 which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Aus-
[171] tralians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strange
forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant
of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recall again
our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must
take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We
shall remember that in the primitive stages of development
such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation of

/47 cont./

174 which brings the punishment of the gods. Now let us suppose that
583 clan V, from which A takes wives, has died out, or that there are
614 too few women in it, which is quite in the order of things. Clan
615 A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there each clan saves
its women for the clan of the father's sister; the alien clan,
even if it had extra women, cannot decide to deviate from this
imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punishment of
the gods, of the ancestors, for such marriages with those
of other blood constitute the greatest of insults. And a similar
vengeance threatens the clan who would make use of women of
other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however. Two alterna-
tives then remain: either to abduct a woman by force, risking
bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods /48/ to say
nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the one stolen, or to
circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the real inten-
tions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreement is reached
with the parents of the bride and with her herself, whereby
these latter appear to resist the abduction with all their strength,
while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious manner, does
everything required to give to the marriage act the look of real
coercion.

171 Only with such an explanation of abduction can we under-
174 stand why, for example, the Australian kumai, having allowed
583 their daughter to run away with her loved one, set out in pursuit
after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg with a spear
and beat her half to death. The Australians themselves explain
this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many tribes the bride-
groom himself considers it his duty to beat his loved one no less
cruelly than her parents; by this he desires to show the gods, and
the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture of the girl
was in no way caused by a desire on his part to marry her.

Finally, only with this illumination on the hypothesis of the
religious origin of the custom can we explain such a universal
occurrence of the institution, which, in the form of mock ab-
duction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony of even civilized
peoples.

/48 cont./

174 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-
583 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex-
614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not
615 from the clan of his mother by the term ioth /iot; ioe yoth on
606 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to
sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan
originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

174 Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price.
583 The custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin
614 against the clan of the one stolen, a sin which demands atone-
615 ment, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among
[682] the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen-
[682] eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same
blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin,
[192] as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that
the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted
woman bear the same name, tihuind, among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps
174 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently
583 happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from
clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan.
The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands for the
parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their
love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing
of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the supentiti-
ous spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and
begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the
comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is
an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him;
on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If
the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could
say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/54 cont./

825 The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a koatka, and
(662) when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly
bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it
with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the
koatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion. how-
ever. Sign of the deepest respect are shown toward any ani-
mal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals
are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea.
The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore. and
likewise the heads of other animals.

The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not
826 independent gods and even deities in general; they are
merely the subordinates of the real deities. the "masters" of
this or that element. this or that animal. These "masters"
in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who. accord-
ing to need assume the form of this or that animal. These
gods live in the forests. the mountains. and on the bottom of
the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak them-
selves. have wives children and relatives. like the Gilyak.
they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods.
"yg" - master. is in command. It is these masters who send
the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables. bears. salmon.
seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element
825 however. should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense.
826 It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there
are simply rich people and among them one kind that is
richest just as. in addition to the great gods-masters. every
territory. every stream. each has its own "master" who takes
care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods).
● (614) The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each
clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence. courage.
and cunning. and consequently richest is called "yg" (master).
and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

/57 cont./

823 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
(662) reserved for sacrifices. in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus.
thanks to the piece of candy. I. in the opinion of the Gilyak.
not only saved my life. but unexpectedly obtained for the
companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long
time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices. the objects of which are
dogs. A dog is killed. by strangulation. before the season of
sable hunting. during the bear festival. before departure for a
long journey. during sickness. and generally on the solemn oc-
casions of life. Before it is killed. it is fed. and at that time.
depending upon the circumstances. it is given one or another
796 mission. Thus. during the bear festival. the dog will be told:
"Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master
love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
(155) so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion
of sickness. it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man
before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy. whose soul. after its
death. will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

795 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
matter of fact. these gods play a most important role in the life
of the Gilyak. and it is most often to them that a bear or drowned
offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The
clan gods are of particular /58/ interest. because in this tribe
we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common
fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the
Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon.
The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical be-
795 ings. as among the Greeks and the Romans. but their very own
clansmen who. for a variety of reasons. have entered the clan
795 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
796 bination of circumstances. if I may express myself thus. is re-
quired to attain such an honor. if. while hunting. a Gilyak was
killed by a bear. if he fell prey to the waves on the water. if he
was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness.
if. according to the shaman's explanation. a woman died from

/58 cont./

795 a bear's love for her. etc. -- all such persons do not travel to
(614) the ordinary kingdom of the shades. but go over into the clan of
(662) the gods-masters who took a liking to them. of the mountain.
water. fire. etc. and then become the smallest "masters"
and protect their people. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i --
forest people. tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people. etc. took form. It
is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices.
These are not mythical gods. not the fictional heroes of the
Greek clans. but actual people. authentically living in the
614 imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods
614 of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of
825 primitive religions -- totemism. the worship of a certain class
of animals honored as the clansmen and even as masters of
their worshipers. In fact. as I said earlier. the master of each
element and his clansmen. although they lead the same kind
of life as the Gilyak. always appear in the presence of man
in the form of this or that animal. This bear (people).
the beluga or koatka (sea people). so that the Gilyak as well.
having entered after his death the clan of this or that master.
also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore.
this class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kinfred
to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem.
614 Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or pre-
decessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers
or at sea. a system of separate totems for every clan could
not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot con-
sider this vast question in more detail here: I shall say only
that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows
that it is not totemism. i.e.. not the belief in descent from
this or that /59/ kind of animal. that created the clan gods.
as is commonly thought. but. on the contrary. it is the clan
gods who created totemism. As we shall see below. we can-
not explain the prohibitions of the totemism against using
the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the
fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.
614 The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other
171 interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/59 cont./

● 614 as well as of the cult of ancestors. but I shall confine myself
here. for the time being. to what has been said. all the more
since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same
sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among
other. specifically totemistic tribes. for example. the
Australians. the North American Indians. the ancient
Egyptians. etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
796 family prior to the day of the festival. and they are placed
796 in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On
the next day the entire population of this clan sets out
in boats or. in case of a disturbance on the sea. on foot in the
taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan
sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish
and throws it. crying out at the same time. "Chibih!" i.e.
"This is for you!" After this the feasting. games. wrestling.
and other such diversions begin. In the spring. with the appear-
ance of the seals. the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is
arranged. consisting of the solemn killing of a seal into a
hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a
boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats
are decorated with sacred shawls. and gay races in them are
arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals. but
628 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
614 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak.
796 In fact. it is not overstatement to say that the Gilyak are
(614) clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses
and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role
is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it.
Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in
one place or another. assembling representatives of many clans
for a number of days. these occasions play the same role in the
social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other
games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is
called a game (chibyf-lekhemd -- the bear game).

/60/

796 This festival has already been described many times.
621 and therefore I shall consider for the most part those features
(769) that have not been noted before. First of all. it is remarkable
that ordinarily the festival is generally celebrated in memory
of a dead clansman. being a kind of funeral feast for the
deceased. A very close kinsman of the deceased buys for
money or catches for himself in the taiga a bear cub. which
is brought solemnly and amidst cries of joy into the sacred
the native village. Here a separate framework is built for
it out of thick poles and spars and decorated in the corners
with sacred items. The feeding of the cub is done. not by its
specific master. but by the entire clan: One or another family
in turn. takes the honored guest for the duration of the ap-
pointed time. cleans the framework. and in general takes
care of it in every way. On appointed days the bear is taken
from its cage for a walk. This is a great event in the life of
the settlement. taking many hours and giving extraordinary
pleasure to young and old. The procedure of getting the
bear out of the cage is quite complicated. First of all. while
the bear is asleep. the cage is carefully pushed through
through the spaces between the poles though which end in
quickly tightened nooses and are put on sticks. After this
they take away a few links of the top part of the cage. pro-
viding the bear with the opportunity to stick its head out:
then they put a stick into its mouth. which it violently
clenches with its teeth. and at this time they very tightly
bind its mouth. After this. it is calmly pulled out of the
cage. and an iron ring is put on it. clasping it at its neck.
Long things are attached to this ring on both sides. and
several men hold fast to them. pulling them hard in opposite
directions: they do not give the bear any opportunity to at-
tack the surrounding people. Only then do they free it of
its hobble and take it for a walk.

/61 cont./

796 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nar-vakhnku,
(769) the day of the preparation of the inau. i.e.. sticks with
sharpened ends. which play an important religious role in the
festival. These sticks. of various forms and sizes. represent
orators-intercessors. which. together with the slain bear will
set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the
needs of the Gilyak. and will be his talismans as well. Each
kind of inau is made in pairs: each pair is spouses. so that they
will be happier. and so that they will propagate and multiply.
Some of the inau are ornamented on both ends. on the posts of the
arena: some are attached to them at the bottom. While the
796 preparation of the inau takes place. the clan elder. together
614 with the master of the bear. and several clansmen ride out
to greet the so-called nar'kh'i. These nar'kh'i are honored
● (614) guests to antiry. His graciousness goes so far that when a
(182) guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vo-
mit. the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit.
It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In
intervals between feasting. dog races. games. fencing with
sticks. and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspen-
(60 G) log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and
275 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is
played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka. which lifts
(659) the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's gues
drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yester
the nar'kh'i got drunk two times." the master of a bear once
boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes. the day of de-
parture of the nar'kh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kind
of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are place
(782) on their sleds. At the last moment the nar'kh'i lead several
dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of hon
to the bear's skull. In addition. as a present. they put a spea
a thong. and other such items next to the head of the anima
or stuck into it. Again. in farewell. the nar'kh'i are lavishly

/65 cont./

796 On this day. however. no one is allowed to taste the prepar
614 bear meat. This takes place on the next day. which is calle
the day of treating the nar'kh'i (nar'kh-arin-ku). «The nar'kh'i
sat down ceremoniously along the plank bed. while
host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
(576) bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their
own hands. sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of
meat on the end of a piece. Having it to his neighbor to tast
(782) what he has started. Only the nar'kh'i are allowed to eat be
(614) meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed t
eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears'
carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous
quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
621 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vo-
it. the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit
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a thong. and other such items next to the head of the anima
or stuck into it. Again. in farewell. the nar'kh'i are lavishly

/38 cont./

82 78 It is not difficult to understand even the raison d'être of this institution which at first glance is strange and confusing.

82 14 Such a binding regulation of marriage conformed as much as possible to both the basic principles of the clan and the individual feelings of the separate heads of families. The clan, at its base, rests on the principle of blood unity. In an agnatic clan this unity will most ideally be attained if all the wives of the agnates are taken from one clan close in blood and, of course, from the clan of their ancestress. This not only satisfies the formal principle of the unity of blood, but confirms the unity of the cult of the ancestors in both lines, so important in the eyes of primitive man.

If we now turn our attention to the psychology of the individual members of the clan, it /39/ fully coincides with the clan where the sons, in accordance with the general rule, remain within the clan and take their wives from outside, it is natural that every mother prefers to have as a wife for her son a woman very close to her by blood and furthermore to assemble within her family women from that clan from which she herself comes. She cannot, however, marry her son to the daughter of her sister, for her sister is either a wife of her husband or of his brothers, and consequently the daughter of the latter is either an own sister or an agnate of her son; all that remains is to marry him to a daughter of her brother, as has become established in reality. For the entire aggregate of the women of a clan it is of tremendous interest that they are all of a common origin and feel behind them the solid protection of the whole clan from which they come.

Such a marriage (of a son to the daughter of his mother's brother is equally in the interests of the father, who thus marries his son to a kinswoman (praplemyanitsa) of his mother. Since the sister of the husband also desires, in turn, to marry her sons to the daughters of her brother, a mother cannot marry her daughters to the sons of her brother, and, thus, an exchange marriage, i.e., an exchange of women, between two such families was impossible, just like a marriage within a family.

/39 cont./

582 614 So far we have considered, as it were, the statics of the question; now let us turn to its dynamics. Let us see how from some very simple beginning, with inevitable necessity, as a mighty tree develops from a single seed, the controversial, confusing fabric of the Gilyak marriage and clan grew up.

The essence of the entire complex system of regulation of Gilyak marriage and the clan, and furthermore the key to understanding it, is a unique fact, namely, the principle established in its day that men must marry the daughters of their mother's brother, in other words, the daughters in each family belong from birth to the sons of their father's sister. We have already said something about the motives that could have given rise to this principle. In any case, its universal incumbency was guaranteed, no doubt, as the categorical imperative of the primitive religion.

This simple rule leads logically to the following:

1) Once every mother has the right to take for her sons the daughters of her brother, her daughters by the same right absolutely must enter the family of her husband's sister, in other words, /40/ every woman belongs to her first cousins, the sons of her father's sister. Therefore, a woman cannot marry the sons of her mother's brother, and a man cannot marry the daughters of a sister of his father: they cannot exchange the women of the family of a brother and of a sister. It is clear that this prohibition does not have anything to do with a fear of marriages within close degrees of kinship, because the daughter of the sister of my father is related to me in the same degree of kinship as the daughter of the brother of my mother, whereas marriage is prohibited with the first and obligatory with the second, a fact that is extremely important for the genesis of prohibitions within close degrees of kinship.

582 614 595 2) Once marriages between the daughters of a brother and the sons of a sister are obligatory, once the former necessarily belong to the latter, certain situations naturally arise in view of the normal quantitative inequality between persons of different sexes, in view of such possibilities, for example, as that a brother has one daughter while his sister has several sons, or, conversely, the brother has several

/71 cont./

796 or the female line; the only kinsmen allowed to kill are the
●614 "zyat'ya" /sons-in-law, brothers-in-law/, i.e., persons
married to women from this clan, persons whose blood was
796 never mixed with the celebrating clan. In the second place,
614 the entire carcass of the bear, with the exception of the meat
262 of the head, is given to a different clan, the clan of "narkh'i"
and, on the other hand, forbidden to the clan to whom the
bear belongs. Once perhaps even the head was also prohibited
for the celebrating clan. Are these prohibitions not caused by
the totemistic caution against killing and eating the body of
a clansman? After all, could not the slain bear accidently
turn out to be a clansman of the mountain-man clan and
therefore a clansman of those who are celebrating the holiday?
In such a case killing him and eating his meat would be
criminal and fatal for the given clan.

But for a different clan, i.e., the clan of the "narkh'i"
this is permitted, because /72/ another "master" sends bears
to it, its own clansman, so that it is completely safe for them
to eat the meat of the bear of an alien clan.

614 The coexistence of such norms as, on one hand, the
262 permission to kill a bear, though not personally, and to eat
its head and, on the other hand, the prohibition against the
171 rest of the meat may seem a strange and irresolvable contra-
diction. Among totemistic tribes, however, we often meet
such contradictions. The Samoans, for example, on solemn
occasions kill owls and honor them as their deified ancestors,
while at the same time they do not dare to touch the meat.
In the works by Spencer and Gillen we read that among the
tribes of central Australia, among whom it is normally pro-
hibited, for example, to kill kangeroos and to use them for
food, on a certain solemn day two or three of the forbidden
animals are killed, and pieces of the meat are distributed
among the clansmen. There are many such examples.

/130 cont./

58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[591] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emi-
grations, and before all the world is considered the personal
wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[85] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
[551] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn
[553] ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" --
teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
[684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even
bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
●[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous
marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the
Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life,
and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the
inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with
regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and
wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/
relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between
spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other
sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
*601 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
121 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
125 own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
[59] realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me,
and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study
of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship
nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully
accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first
census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern
Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory
system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

/135 cont./

*601 or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character.
184 Thus, for example, "ytk, ymk" -- father, mother -- are
197 completely identical in all dialects; "ruvn, tuvn" -- brother
(eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "ruf" in the western
dialect; "og:la, og:lang" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect
of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o:la" in the western dialect. In
cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this
is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the
previously mentioned "app" and "ivy," or to the formation of
corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all
dialects. Thus, for example, "shankh" -- woman in the
eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "an kh" --
female, and "um-gu" -- woman in /136/ the western dialect
has the same root as the common word "ym(k)" -- mother; in
exactly the same way "ut-ku" -- man in the western dialect
has the same root as "ytk" -- (father), and the corresponding
az'nych in the eastern dialect is from azh -- male, etc.

[104] In the table of kinship nomenclature and the explanations
for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and terri-
tories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with
the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' -- (T.D.),
the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin --(E.D.), and of
the western (W.D.). From here on in the text we shall always
use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship
*601 terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak
●614 reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic
104 family is only a cell of the strictly organized, exogamous,
[611] agnatic clan. We also ask the reader to remember that at the
mention of this or that term without any special indication of
whether it is used by males or females we shall imply that
these terms are used identically by both sexes; in other cases
the sex of the speaker will be specifically indicated.

/136 cont./

●614 Forms of kinship. According to the basic structure of Gilyak
602 marriage law, relationship by marriage must coincide with
kinship. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship,
which may be called: agnate kinship and cognate kinship. The
first embraces all persons bound together by a common origin
from one forefather, that is, all individuals born or adopted
into one or another clan. Upon marriage, women pass into
the clan of their husbands. There are two kinds of cognate
kinship: the first embraces that clan or those clans to which
the women -- agnates of a given clan -- are given in mar-
riage; the second embraces that clan or clans from which a
given clan or its separate members have drawn their wives.

The persons bound together in agnate kinship are united
614 under the common name "k:khal-n'ig:yvyn" or simply k:khal --
615 the people of the clan, clansmen (from k:khal -- clan, n'ig:yvyn --
602 person). With respect to the first group of cognates, i.e., to
the members of the clan or clans which take or have taken their
wives from the k:khal-n'ig:yvyn, these latter and their whole
clan are united under the common designation of akhmalk
(fathers-in-law) and, conversely, ymg:i (sons-in-law /zyat'ya,
"sons-in-law" or "brothers-in-law" in Russian/). On the other
hand, in relation to the second group of cognates, i.e., that
clan or those clans from which they themselves take women,
they are ymg:i (sons-in-law) and, conversely, akhmalk. Both
cognate groups in relation to the first, and all three among
themselves, bear /137/ the characteristic designation pandf
(from pandynd -- to be born), that is, consanguineous, bound
by a common origin (1) through women. Thus, relationship

[114] *[601] 1. Schrenck (III, p. 23) quite erroneously
asserts that kinsmen on the father's side,
i.e., agnates, members of one and the
same clan, call each other ngafk, and that
kinsmen on the mother's side call each
other amal'. In reality, both terms, on

/137 cont./

614 615 602 *601 114 the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no conditions on the father's side. Kinsmen through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

614 602 Thus, relationship by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come

614 *601 602 about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us proceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.

Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

[184] [197] 2. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

/137 cont./

614 *601 602 all in the fact that it embraces persons of both sexes alike; it equally signifies brother and sister. Another peculiarity -- still more important -- consists in the fact that under tuvn are understood not only own brothers and sisters, i.e., the children of one father, but also the children of all brothers of the father, own and collateral of all degrees of kinship, i.e., male and female first cousins, second cousins, etc. in the male line. Thus, within the clan, all the male and female agnates of the same generation are brothers and sisters; male and female cousins in the male line and likewise a married woman and the wives of the brothers /138/ of her husband are tuvn

*601 602 in relation to each other. But a man, as we shall see, can have tuvn outside his clan as well, namely, the children of those persons outside his clan whom he calls father and mother (see the class of fathers and mothers). Within this class there is one large and important subdivision that plays a leading role in both terminology and sexual norms, namely, the one for those persons who are older than the speaker or person referred to and persons younger than he, namely, "akand, aki" -- elder brother or sister (tuvn) and "as'khand, as'kh" -- younger brother or sister (tuvn). For the designation of the elder sister, in view of the peculiarity of her position in sexual rights, there is in addition the term "nanakhand, nanakh, nankh" -- identically used in reference to her by both men and women. Certain special terms for separate categories of this class, however, have been developed. Thus, there is a general term to designate the concept of "sister" in the class sense, namely, ranr: (same root as rankh -- sister). One meets (very rarely, however, and only in poetry) the term "kivung, kiun" -- brother (1). Descriptive forms are

[538] 1. "Chikhvs' kivung khendra" -- "I considered you a brother," says the heroine to her beloved in one song. "Kiun" could also be formed from the rare form akikhun.

/139 cont./ Every Gilyak, man and woman,

*601 [184] uses one and the same term for "mother" (ymk and synonyms), not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" /140/ (female tuvn) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

[197] [563] 1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the census in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan: all the "sisters" of persons of the akhmalk class (concerning this, see below).

[197] [184] [614] The class of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in use for wife in both dialects is an'kh, an'g:ej. Within the clan the Gilyak gives this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvn), to the wives of all his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the class of younger "brothers" (as'kh) the Gilyak gives the name of jokho, jokh /see yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or mother-in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law /nevestka, "daughter-in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant

[171] number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother yvy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvn class, no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvn), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

/140 cont./

*601 the other nankh and as'kh -- older "sister," and, conversely, -- younger "sister."

The class of husbands. The class of husbands corresponds to the terminology of the foregoing class -- "wives." Within the

[614] clan of her husband the woman gives the name of "husband" (pu, ivn, o'kono, etc.), not only to her official husband, but also to the representatives of the class of his "brothers" (tuvn),

*601 184 197 with, however, the following variations. The eastern Gilyak and a part of the western Gilyak differentiate between the younger "brothers" (tuvn) of the husband and the elder ones; a woman calls the former pu, ivn, o'kono, i.e., as her own formal husbands, and she calls the latter atk. The Gilyak of northern Sakhalin and the shoreline of the continent do not differentiate between the younger and older brothers of the husband, calling them alike pu, o'kono. Only the Amur Gilyak have a special uniform designation for all the brothers of the husband -- n'orej (= n'i -- my + orej -- husband), a term which sounds like the Goldi kinship term oro.

*601 614 The class of the descending line. The class of the descending line within the clan, the class og:lang, og:la, is completely defined by the foregoing terms of the class of fathers and mothers. Within his clan every man gives the name of og:la, not only to his own children born of his official wives, but also to all the children of his "brothers" (tuvn), just as /141/ a woman gives the name og:la not only to her own children, but to the children of all the "brothers" of her husband without distinction; but the term og:la is applied not only to the first generation of individuals, but also to all the generations in the descending line, not only one's own, but also those of the whole class of tuvn. Thus, the Gilyak gives the one and the same term og:la not only to his own children and agnate nephews, but to all of their descendants, i.e., grandsons, great-grandsons, etc. Here we see the same phenomenon that we find in the terminology of the ascending line, where the one term "atk" defines all the generations above father and mother.

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[974] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman,
[562] for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which
imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and
therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the
bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below);
2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the
slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and
through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this
is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of
all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with
a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the
bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master,"
a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives
its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains"
himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides
in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent
through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master,"
but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteris-
tic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the
first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the
festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of
women who are wives of the members of that clan are not
allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/141 cont./

*601 In addition to the stated normative cases, the term og:la is frequently applied outside of the rule as a term of endearment to other categories. Thus, a woman frequently applies this term to the son of the sister of her husband, while a man applies it to the son of the brother of his wife, although normally completely different designations are established for these persons.

We shall note two more special forms of designation in this class: one is a descriptive designation of a "kinsman" of the descending line -- os'kyr: og:la -- and one designates primogeniture, ykych, but neither of these terms play any role in either the general system of terminology or the sexual norms.

*601 602 ●614 Cognate kinship. Now we shall proceed to the kinship terms for persons outside the clan, to cognate kinship, which is the key of this system. We have already said that in the Gilyak kinship system relationship by marriage and blood (cognate) kinship are identical, that a special kinship through relationship by marriage is not known to the Gilyak classificatory system. For a better understanding of this strange fact, we begin our survey of kinship outside of the clan with kinship through the mother, that is, with kinship with members of the clan and the whole clan from which the mother of a person came.

First of all, it is noteworthy that all the sisters (tuvn) of my mother, not only own, but also of the class of "mothers," are the "wives" (an'g:ej) of my father and of his class of tuvn. Corresponding to this, all the "sisters" (tuvn) of my mother and of my class of "mothers" are also my "mothers" (ymk), while I and my "brothers and sisters" (tuvn) are their "children" (og:la). On the other hand, my relations to the brother of my mother and his tuvn are even more important. Just as my father calls all the "sisters" of my mother his "wives" (an'g:ej), so I (if "I am a man) from birth call all the daughters of the brother of my mother and their "sisters" (tuvn) -- an'g:ej -- my "wives," and, conversely, they call me their husband (pu); their children call me "father" (ytk), my official wife --

/141 cont./

*601 602 ●614 mother (ymk), while /142/ we call them our "children" (og:la). As for the remaining clansmen and kinsmen of the brother of my mother, the following terminology has been established. If "I" am a man, I and all my "brothers" -- tuvn and my descending line call the brother of my mother and all his male clansmen -- atk, akhmalk (uncle, father-in-law /wife's father/); the wife of the brother of my mother, her "sisters," and the wives of the tuvn of the brother of my mother, as well as the wives of the ascending line of the brother of my mother achk, ytik -- aunt, mother-in-law /wife's mother/, grandmother; the sons of the brother of my mother and his tuvn -- akhmalk, navkh; conversely, all these persons call me -- ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) navkh; my wives, as well as the wives of my clansmen, these persons, according to generation, call either "sisters" (tuvn) or "daughters" (og:la), but our sisters and daughters -- by the one term "niece," n'ern, and, finally, all my clansmen call all the male clansmen of the brother of my mother akhmalk (father-in-law /wife's father/), and, conversely, -- ymg:i -- son-in-law -- a survival from the time when there was exchange marriage. This last term is very characteristic; it is from the same root as umgu -- woman, oma -- mother, and testifies to the fact that the term son-in-law /zyat'/ is associated with the idea of cognate kinship, with kinship through the mother.

But especially noteworthy is the fact that the kinship terminology established between me and the generation of the brother of my mother is not limited to the individuals of our common generation, but is correspondingly repeated as well between the persons of all our ascending and descending lines, so that if I, a man, call the daughter of the brother of my mother my an'g:ej, so does my father in turn call his sister, i.e., the daughter of the father of my mother's brother, "wife" -- an'g:ej. In the same way, my son calls the daughter of the son of my mother's brother his "wife," etc., in a word, it is as though every wife of a clansman were actually the daughter of the sister of his father /sic./

/142 cont./

*601 602 ●614 Thus, kinship through the mother establishes, not partial kinship of the family of her husband with her own family, but an indivisible kinship between both clans, extending to each member of each of them. If my clan is A, and the clan of the brother of my mother is B, the latter, as a whole, will be called the akhmalk of A, while A, in its turn, is the ymg:i of B. And, what is especially noteworthy, this relationship remains permanently between both clans. Clan B can no longer under any circumstances be converted into the ymg:i of A. This is evident from the reciprocal terminology of the clans. The designation "akhmalk" of clan B originated, as we have seen, from the fact that members of clan A have whole classes of "wives" (an'g:ej) in this clan; conversely, among the women of clan A the males of clan B only have either sisters (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or /143/ "nieces" (n'ern), but not "wives" (an'g:ej), and for this reason, clan B cannot become A's akhmalk.

The terminology for kinship through the mother defines another form of cognate kinship -- kinship through the sister of the father. As long as she remains in my clan, I call her by the agnate term nankh (elder sister, aunt), and she calls me as'kh (younger brother), but upon marriage she and the clan of her husband stand in the same relation to me and my clan as I and my clan stand in relation to the clan of the brother of my mother, i.e., the husband of the sister of my father and his "brothers" (tuvn) call all the sisters of my father "wives" (an'g:ej), and, conversely, they are called "husbands" (pu); my daughters and those of my tuvn are the an'g:ej of the sons of the sister of my father and their tuvn and are the jokh (daughters-in-law) of all the ascending line of the husband of the sister of my father; the men of my clan, according to the class of the ascending line, are either the atk, akhmalk, or the akhmalk, navkh of the clansmen of the husband of my father's sister, while they are our ymg:i, navkh, and the women of that clan are either our agnates -- "aunts" (nankh), "sisters" (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or "nieces" (n'ern); in a word, my clan is the akhmalk clan, while the clan of the sister of my father is the ymg:i clan to us.

/143 cont./

*601 602 ●614 The terminology of this group is the central point of the whole kinship terminology, for it is according to its pattern, i.e., the pattern of the kinship relations between a man and the brother of his mother, that the entire kinship nomenclature of the marriage relationship in general is constructed. Whomever the Gilyak marries, between him and his clan on the one hand, and his wife and her clan on the other, the kinship terminology established is the same as if his wife were really the daughter of the brother of his mother. Conversely, whomever a Gilyak may give his sister to in marriage, the entire kinship terminology established between the clans is the same as if the brother-in-law /zyat'/ were truly the son of the sister of his father. This is why Gilyak terminology does not recognize kinship through relationship by marriage, for the father-in-law /wife's father/ in any case is the same as the son of the brother of the grandmother, a man's brother-in-law /zyat'/ is the son of the sister of his father, the father of the brother-in-law /zyat'/ is the son of the sister of the grandfather, and so forth. And, consequently, all members of both clans are blood kinsmen.

Thus, keeping in mind the kinship nomenclature of the group of the brother of the mother and the sister of the father, we have a ready scheme for any marriage combination between a husband and the clan of his wife, between a wife and the clan of her husband, between a man and the clan of his married sister, etc. According to this scheme, the relationship of a man toward the clan of his wife, whoever she may be de facto in origin, must, as a general rule, be the following: my father-in-law and /144/ his ascending line, as well as the corresponding classes of their tuvn, are related to me as atk and akhmalk, their wives -- achk, their descending line of the male sex -- akhmalk and navkh; I am their ymg:i, navkh. The sisters of my akhmalk'i are my mothers (ymk), their husbands -- my "fathers" (ytk), I am the son (og:la) of both; similarly the "sisters" (tuvn) of my wife are the "wives" (an'g:ej) of myself and my "brothers" (tuvn), their husbands are my "brothers" (tuvn). Their children call each of us "father" (ytk)

/144 cont./

*601 602 ●614 and "mother" (ymk), and call each other "brothers" (tuvn). On the other hand, my sisters and daughters are simply nieces to the men of the clan of my father-in-law, and therefore no one from the clan of my father-in-law can become an ymg:i of my clan.

[178] At the present time in certain instances breaches have begun to appear in this well-shaped, though strange system of relationships between the son-in-law /zyat'/ and the clan of the father-in-law, specifically, when some clansman takes a wife who is not from the clan of his mother or is not even from the customary akhmalk clan, in the case of certain clans the terminology loses force in the third generation, but this is a deviation of the newest order.

*601 614 Now, before we finish with this system, we must underline two more important peculiarities still further complicating this already complicated system. We have seen that the relationship between the akhmalk and ymg:i clans remains constant, so that the members of the first clan -- let us call it A (if A is the akhmalk of B, then B is the akhmalk of a third clan, C, and gives its daughters to the third clan) -- must, in turn, have their own akhmalk clan or even clans (let us call it C), while the second clan (let us call it B) must have its own ymg:i clan or even clans (D). Thus, the following kinship terminology is established between these four clans: Clan A gets new ymg:i clans (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/) in the person of the D clans, while clan B gets new akhmalk clans in the person of the C clans. These secondary clans, in distinction from the first, are called tujma (distant); for example, tujma akhmalk -- distant father-in-law, tujma ymg:i -- distant son-in-law /zyat'/.

Finally, in view of the fact that at the present time it is not prohibited for various persons of one clan to take wives from various clans, each such marriage establishes in relation to each new clan a whole complex fabric of akhmalk-ymg:i terminology, i.e., each clan as a whole can be the akhmalk and ymg:i of a whole series of clans.

/150 cont./

684 for the man, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all
this concerns only cases involving a married woman. Sexual
836 relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with
[583] the permission of the woman, do not provoke any reaction,
even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwith-
standing their extreme interest in the bride price which is re-
ceived when a woman gets married; I, at least, did not happen
[684] to hear of repressions in such cases. A reaction on the part
of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in a case of coercion;
582 then there is the possibility of duels and suits for ransom. Also,
at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying
a person of this category, i.e., persons not bound by kinship.
835 It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the
classificatory terms of kinship. Here there appears on the
scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions.
Here, against the violators of the prohibitions, there appears
on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical im-
perative of religion, under the influence of which there have
developed suitable instincts which have turned artificially
created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell
on this aspect of Gilyak psychics in more detail later, when
we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms
of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the established class terminology, are mutually reckoned in the classes "pu" and "an'gïej," that is, /151/ who from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining classes are placed under unconditional prohibition.

835 What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the
614 extensive class of ŋkhal, i.e., the persons born into one
common agnatic clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely
exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are
no classes that call each other "pu" and "an'gïej"; neither
marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

/151 cont./

835 And therefore we must come out in the most categorical
• 614 manner against the assertion of Schrenck that the Gilyak clan
114 is endogamous. "Affiliation to the clan," says Schrenck,
"does not play any role whatever in the most important
phenomenon of their life, namely, in marriage... the Gilyak
freely permit marriages between Gilyak of one and the same
kal'a (clan)" (1). Elsewhere he states even more definitely:

1. Schrenck, II, pp. 23, 24.

"only own brothers and sisters and the children of two own
brothers cannot marry" (2). This absolutely false assertion

2. Ibid., p. 6.

would be completely incomprehensible coming from an in-
vestigator who had spent about two years in contact with the
Gilyak, if it were not for the fact that Schrenck did not com-
mand the Gilyak language and had to make himself under-
stood through a guide. On the basis of many years of asso-
ciation with the Gilyak, in their own language, and of an
especially thorough study of marriage law, I can categorically
refute this absolutely groundless and antiscientific assertion
of Schrenck's; both marriage and sexual relations between
persons born in one clan are absolutely forbidden.

835 We turn now to the particular classes, within as well as
outside of the clan, which are excluded from the right of
sexual relations and marriage.

Class of the ascending and descending lines. Classes whose members call each other atk, achik, ytk, ymk, nankh, and, conversely, ogila, i.e., the classes of grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, agnates and cognates, uncles and aunts -- on one hand, on the other -- their descendants. Thus, intercourse between ascending and descending lines is excluded not only in the direct, but also in the most distant collateral lines as well: sexual intercourse

/154 cont./

835 class terms, i.e., the norms in force between the children
of a brother and sister extend to the children of brothers and
sisters in the most distant degrees of kinship and relationship
by marriage. Thus, an exchange marriage between the
children of brothers and sisters, as is practiced, for example,
among the Tungus peoples, is not permitted; sons have rights
to the daughters of the brother, but the sons of the brother are
prohibited for the daughters of the sister, and this is true for all
classes of tuvn. This norm, which seems of specialized im-
• [614] portance and affects only brothers and sisters, plays an enor-
mous role in the norms regulating the sexual relations between
entire clans, as we shall see in the next section.

835 It is especially surprising that the aforementioned pro-
614 hibitions which regulate the relations between the children
of brother and sister are extended not only to the class of
their children -- cousins, but also to both clans in their en-
tirety. The rights and prohibitions which bind together the
children of a brother and of his sister and their cousins extend
to all the generations of both clans; namely, in each generation,
as we have seen in the foregoing section, all the men of the
class of tuvn in the clan of the sister and all the women --
tuvn in the clan of the brother call each other reciprocally
from birth pu and an'gïej, and they, in fact, have the right to
sexual intercourse and marriage. But the men from the clan
of the brother and the women from the clan of the sister are
absolutely prohibited for each other in all generations and call
each other nanakh (elder sister) if she is in an ascending gen-
eration, and n'ern if in the same generation, while the
women call these men akhmalk. Thus, the women from the
clan of the married sister are prohibited for the entire clan
of her brother. It is still more surprising that these norms
extend to the clans of the son-in-law /zyat'/ and father-in-
law in general, even though the fathers of the spouses are
completely alien; it is enough for one member from clan A,
let us say, to marry a woman from clan B, even though this
woman and the members of her clan are completely alien to

/154 cont./

835 clan A, and the relations established between these two clans
• 614 are the same as if the father-in-law of the given man were the
brother of his mother; the whole class of "sisters" (tuvn) in
each generation of the clan of the father-in-law are the
wives of the "brothers" (tuvn) of the clan of the son-in-law
/zyat'/, and, conversely, the wives of the latter are pro-
hibited for the former.

/155/ The kinship nomenclature corresponds completely
to these norms; atk, akhmalk -- designate the mother's
brother and the father-in-law in general, ymgïi designates
the son-in-law /zyat'/ in general and the sister's son or
even any male of the sister's clan. This norm leads to very
complicated consequences. It very often happens that separate
members of one or another clan, A, we shall say, have taken
wives from several different clans and in turn have given their
women to several different clans, and at once in relation to
all these clans those same prohibitions that we had in the first
case when there were only two clans concerned, become valid
for clan A, i.e., the women of clan A are forbidden to all
the clans from which its members have taken their wives, and,
conversely, the women of all clans whose members have taken
wives from A are forbidden to clan A. This inconvenient
regulation is aggravated still more by the following limita-
tion. Clan B, let us suppose, from which my clan, A, takes
women, in turn takes wives from clan C, and at once this
clan C, having become the akhmalk of clan B becomes also
the akhmalk of my clan, A, and therefore wives from my
clan are forbidden not only to clan B, my immediate akhmalk,
but also to clan C, which, as we have seen, is called, in
contradistinction to the first, "tujma akhmalk" -- (distant
father-in-law), and on the Amur -- turŋ'gï akhmalk. But
this phenomenon also has its converse side. If the quantity
of prohibited clans for this or that clan increases proportion-
ately as the number of clans which take women from it in-
creases, nevertheless, on the other hand, as its members be-
gin to take wives from various clans, the number of permitted

835 /155 cont./
• 614 women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-
[198] law, because in each of these clans there is a whole new
[161] class of wives -- an'gïej. Nevertheless, the extension of
prohibitions to clans of akhmalk'i of the most remote degree
has naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with
a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely
understandable constraints, leading to some limitations of
the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the
present time do not go back further than the clans of akhmalk
of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives
from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the
second generation, and, if an acquired woman dies childless,
then even in the second generation the limitations fall away.

835 The class of jokh. Finally, one more class prohibited to men,
called jokh, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we
know that a man gives this name to two completely different
classes of women, namely, on the one hand, to the class of
wives of his ogila (descending line), and, on the other hand,
to the class of wives /156/ of his as'kh, i.e., of his younger
brothers (tuvn), and sisters of these wives. As concerns the
first class, we have already noted its prohibited character in
examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending gen-
erations and the wives of those of descending ones. The pro-
hibited character of the second category is not so absolute.
From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the
wife of the elder tuvn various forms of designation are practiced
[184] in various places. In several places on the Amur, on the
coast of the mainland, and on the northwestern coast of
Sakhalin (if "I" am a male) one and the same appellation
(an'gïej -- wife) is used for wives of the younger as well as of
the older brother, and in such places sexual intercourse is
permitted with all wives of brothers. But this arrangement
is not the dominant one; the dominant arrangement must be
considered that of designating the wife of the elder tuvn as
an'gïej, i.e., the same name that one gives to one's own wife,

/161 cont./

835 All these categories of "wives" and "husbands" are fo
[601] from nominal /162/ categories. Behind these class term
(pu and an'gïej) there are hidden two important real right
1) the right to individual marriage; 2) the right to sexual
intercourse (group marriage).

Let us examine each of these rights in particular.
The right to individual marriage. Above all, the categor
pu and an'gïej are bound by the right to marry, in other w
out of the whole circle of persons bound together by kinsh
terms, only these alone have the right to join in individu
marriage with each other; all the other categories of kins
groups are prohibited from marrying each other. But this
right is not exhausted by the merely negative feature -- t
absence of a prohibition on matrimonial ties. Certainly
the eyes of the Gilyak the mnemonic significance of these
terms is of great importance in itself, for in view of the e
treme complexity of kinship relations a firm knowledge o
the marriageable classes is the only guarantee against vio
tions of the very strict taboos on marriage in the prohibite
degrees of kinship. Nevertheless the mnemonic-permissi
significance of these terms does not at all exhaust their le
content. Prohibitions against marriage, as we have seen,
absent also among persons who are complete strangers to
each other in the kinship relation, and nevertheless, for
persons of these categories to call each other pu and an'gï
before marriage is not tolerated. The right to individual
marriage between persons in the pu and an'gïej categories
is not a naked nudum jus; this right, which is simultaneo
an obligation, is a debt for both parties concerned. This
ligation is seen first of all in the category of "brothers" a
their individual wives, who are, as we know, joined mut
in the relationship of pu and an'gïej. By the general rule
• [587] widows of "brothers" (own and collateral) cannot leave th
[614] clan, and they become, according to the disposition of th
clansmen, the wives of the brothers who have survived the
husbands, completely independently of the wishes of these
brothers; none of them can decline the widow assigned to

/145/ cont.—

In those clans where the "older brothers" are excluded from marriage with respect to the wives of "younger brothers," the widows are ordinarily assigned to one of the "younger brothers" of the deceased, but here also, in the absence of "younger brothers," one of the "older brothers" is obliged to accept the widow, without the right, however, to sexual intercourse with her.

But the typical aspect of the marriage-rights relation between the *pu* and *ankyel* is not concealed in this extremely common institution of the levirate, about which /165/ we will speak in detail. The levirate marriage is not even a less exceptional phenomenon and embraces only one insignificant side of the relationship. The more characteristic aspect of the right-obligations of marriage between *pu* and *ankyel* lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the kinship terminology, in other words, in the conditions of the normal marriage. This right-obligation character of marriage between *pu* and *ankyel* has, it is true, been considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall speak further on — the Gilyak do take wives outside of the aforementioned categories, but these marriages seem do not represent the favored, characteristic form, even even the contemporary marriage. On the contrary, both the contemporary customs and the ancient epos equally indicate that perfect marriage between these classes of *pu* and *ankyel* marriage was obligatory and the most satisfactory of all from the specific point of view of the Gilyak. In order to show how imperative this consciousness of the obligation of marriage between persons of the classes *pu* and *ankyel* is, it will be sufficient to introduce one example from a story I recorded. In this story, they tell about a battle between a young clan and a mysterious werewolf-shaman. The fight ends with the werewolf-in-chief receiving a mortal wound and returning to his yurt. On his deathbed he remembers that he is a distant *akhmak* of his target, that is, a member of that clan from which the clan of the killer has the right to take wives, and of the very category of persons of that clan whose daughters

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are the *ankyel* of the slayer. Then he immediately orders the slayer to "take my daughter into his house, that is, "the sister whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was unpremeditated, the man whom it was the greatest sin to allow into his house, and in the presence of the assembled members of the clan he solemnly declares: "Although this man has killed me, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my wish after my remains." Such is the force of the ancient categorical imperative of marriages between the categories of *pu* and *ankyel*. This imperative is also active nowadays. We shall make a full analysis of this terminology in connection with the theory of marriage later on. For our purpose now it is necessary to remember the following facts: 1) the wives of clansmen, according to their generations, call each other either *ankyel* or younger "sister" or "aunt" and "niece"; 2) all the agnate kin of the wife are considered, according to generation, the "father-in-law" of all the clansmen of this /167/ family; 3) the man calls the sister of his "father-in-law" his "mother," and he calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife (*ankyel*). Judging from this, 1) the wives of all the members of a given clan must be taken from one stock, and, consequently, in each generation they are sisters (own and collateral). 2) the clan of these women, for each individual man, is the clan of his mother, and the wife of each individual man, must be the daughter of his mother's brother. This we see in actuality, notwithstanding all the deviations of modern times, the causes of which will be made clear later. The ideal of the clansmen is to have women from one clan, from one clan of common *akhmak*s. If this turn out to be impossible and it is necessary to take to wife another clan, then once again it is preferably to that clan which is already the *akhmak* of a given clan; that is, that clan for which the individual clansmen, fathers and grandfathers, at an earlier date took their wives for same reason or other. Under these conditions, for each individual person the most favored

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by their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness. Toward a young, beautiful, and pleasant *ankyel* the "father-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children. "One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "father-in-law" and "son-in-law." "I run to this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" is always welcome in his father-in-law's house, a favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

We have already stated that the Gilyak youth loudly and happily pass their time in the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," finding in every yurt the most hearty welcome and the greatest hospitality, and when the hunting begin, that "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns to his own home, he carries with him, in addition to the usual gifts, also his share of the catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "son-in-law" are in the foreground among those who are invited, and it is to them that the honor of killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in warfare, the "father-in-law" and the "son-in-law" are obliged to come to the aid of each other in battle.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "fathers-in-law" and "son-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law." "Father-in-law" (*ankyel*) and "mother-in-law" are the whole set of the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan which is the *akhmak* of a man's blood relatives, but also all the other clans from which even one kinsman has chanced to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

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"Thus, each man can have several clans of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, according to generations, are considered *ankyel* — his wives and his sons-in-law, his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology, and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how this relationship is established.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations *pu* and *ankyel* have played and still play an enormous role, symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the right to marriage — one of the many benefits which the clan institution has given to the Gilyak.

Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of this institution of the right to marriage at the present time. For the overwhelming majority of the Gilyak, marriage is the most difficult matter of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also in the /172/ epic "it is a business of unusual difficulty." First of all, there is the extreme shortage in women among the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the census that I took, for every 1,000 male inhabitants there are 700 females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is 694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there are 800 females, and, according to the census, this significant percentage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthier individuals, keep from two to four wives. Therefore, a pregnant maiden is subjected to severe reproaches on the part of her father, who demands either that the same the seducer, or the destruction of the fetus, or the killing of the newborn infants. However fatal the moral position of individual women is in such cases, in practice the business /173/ is much simpler. In the first place, many women, as we have seen, are married from childhood on, and, in the second place, they have the same desire as few women that every girl is already married by the time seductions become dangerous for them. Finally, those who are not married and freely indulge in sexual intercourse with men extremely rarely have an affair with just their

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know, and *ymgal* is the closest person to an *akhmak* and to his wife. An *ymgal* is a preferred hunting companion (another and wife). He is the dearest guide, the closest friend, the most delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a special reason. With their clansmen-brothers-in-*akhmak*s /175/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the *ymgal* is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make merry, make hearts' content. And in such surroundings there are dozens of maidens — his *ankyel*, with whom he may openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents itself, have sexual intercourse.

Now we shall turn to the relations of the *pu* with their *ankyel*s.

In the kinship terminology we know that a man's married *ankyel* is his wife, first of all, the individual wives of his "brothers" (*tunyi*), which, among the Gilyak speaking the western dialect, refer to all men, while among the Gilyak speaking the eastern dialect — only to the elders; further — all the married "sisters" of his own wife, finally, the married sisters of the wives of his *tunyi* — a huge category, including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the clans of Gilyak settlements. Concerning these last two groups — the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers' wives — one must make the following reservation: usually, in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak life, the sisters marry persons of the clan to which their husbands belong, but, due to deviation from the traditional norms, it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the sister of one's own wife is married to a complete stranger, or even to someone who is an accidental *akhmak* (1).

1. An accidental *akhmak* is what I call a man from a clan from which one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

by chance taken a wife secretly, rather than from the clan from which all the kinsmen usually take a wife.

In these cases the norms of sexual relations, and the terminology as well, are the same. Among the majority of clans, in both cases sexual intercourse with these women is legitimate, the participants call each other *pu* and *ankyel*, and their children call each other *tunyi* and the sons of their mother and their husbands correspondingly "mothers" and "fathers." But among other clans, mainly among clans who are neighbors of the Amur, the arrangements is different: the sister of a man's wife marries his *akhmak*, then sexual intercourse with her, as in general with the wife of an *akhmak*, is absolutely prohibited, and the husband of the sister calls her *achik* (mother-in-law). But if she marries a completely alien man, then the relations between them are as between aliens, i.e., sexual intercourse is not considered a sin, but neither is it legitimate. What is remarkable, however, is that the offspring of both families are in all cases, even in such /174/ relations, considered to be *tunyi* (brothers) (1).

1. I shall give an example which depicts very well both the relation of such *tunyi* (i.e., the children of sisters whose husbands are aliens to each other) among themselves and their mutual relations towards their wives.

Wremgin and Hibi are individuals of two different clans (*ekhal*), one from the clan of Kiyu, the other from the clan Khoi, but their mothers were *tunyi*, i.e., sisters from one and the same clan. And

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nevertheless, notwithstanding the fact that their fathers and they themselves are not persons of alien clans, they call each other *tyrn*, because their fathers were married to sisters and hold the same sexual intercourse, *aqd*, as *tyrn*, they do not date of intercourse as joke with each other (see below, the prohibitions); their wives are considered *yuk* (sisters) to their children, and HIM, as did younger, has the right to sexual intercourse with the wife of Wrength.

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levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is, according to the decision of the clan council, to any character the ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust. In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural and only to be feared. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a female dog, as the animal most proper to personify the same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories stay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how *Ykhl* her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her brother, and called her father a "devil," and how all — her mother, father, and sisters — urged upon her the absence of the individual spouse (mutually, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the two cousins might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husband or group-wife of his fellow enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own interest usually only in the case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group *yukqtr*, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/191 cont.

Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tribal groups that may be completely alien to each other, call each other each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-law, *Gdagdgn*, as well as a complete stranger, my "father-in-law," and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in-law the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, from that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the sixtieth and more, become my mothers, and no one from her clan can marry the women from my clan?

Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry men of my clan, but women from his side, from his clan, take a wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives? Why we could do apparently perfectly normal only in case a man can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothers, fathers, and mothers) in clan complexity alien to him have some about "his confusion and apparent absurdity can be explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and logical system of kinship, as we know it, has been changed, then, also created around itself by a peculiarity natural to the human mind, a complex and complicated system. On the other hand, under the influence of historical conditions that are still not sufficiently clear, the

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847 *174 171 murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-known among the Toda tribes, in spite of the fact that the number of males is greater there than the number of females.

583 *174 10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of bride price is impossible under normal conditions. Payment for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of marriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen among the Gilyak today: no matter how avid the Gilyak may be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother.

582 *174 In order that such an essentially exogamous system might be preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating themselves the various families of the phratry should be able to maintain themselves on the common territory; and, on the other hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the families, and that there should be no cases of extinction of entire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore, some degree of isolation of the tribe from alien influences is necessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory marriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor. Finally, it is necessary that there be preserved economic conditions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the members of the phratry would remain more or less the usual phenomenon, and, on the other hand -- that under the influence of new economic conditions there should not be engendered one or another temptation to make woman the object of purchase and sale.

*174 614 178 166 [582] The preservation of all these conditions among primitive peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a whole series of obstacles. And so it has been among the Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial abode of their forefathers, economic conditions force individual persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

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161 Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We
177 are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families,
614 but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This
731 process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an im-
174 mediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples, together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable number of its members.

161 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and
614 various other causes. Although according to the interclan
72 rules the women are spared and the number of men who are
174 killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

174 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more
177 highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representatives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they gradually begin to draw after them many others. The
[582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had contact with various other peoples.

/225 cont./

* 835 At the present time, when it is permitted to take wives
601 from different clans, all the brothers (own and collateral) are still the group husbands of their wives, who often turn out to be sisters. And we have seen that even when sisters marry persons of different clans all the consequences of group-marriage are still preserved, and their children are considered brothers and sisters.

The structure of the Gilyak family thus affords us the
[114] opportunity to establish the very genesis of the Hawaiian family, from which Morgan constructed the punalua family. This family originally did not consist of a group of several brothers who were married to their wives in a group marriage, or, on the other hand, of several sisters in a group marriage with their husbands, who might be non-kin to each other. Such a family could not have created the Turanian classificatory system of kinship, for it presupposes the possibility of several groups of brothers or sisters, each group participating completely independently in a group marriage in which the other groups did not share; consequently, common designations for all the brothers according to their marital relations could not have been formed.

* 835 The Gilyak family in its pure, original form gives us an
● 614 actual picture of this family. The family is an intraclan
* 174 organization. Therefore, each group-family represents a generation of all the brothers of a given clan (own and collateral) joined in a group marriage with a whole generation of women from another clan. These women are necessarily sisters, for the daughters of clansmen-brothers, as we have seen, are necessarily the wives of the sons of the sisters of their fathers. Now when, as we have seen, by virtue of
[108] /226/ the causes that we have mentioned, this marital obligation became weakened, and brothers began to take wives from different clans and women began to marry into different clans, sisters might turn out to be members of a group marriage with husbands who were not kin to each other, and brothers in the same kind of marriage with wives

/226 cont./

* 835 who were not kin to each other, with this difference, that the
* 174 collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans,
● 614 would be broken up into several groups, as in the punalua
108 family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since
* 835 the Gilyak family is the most ideal form of the punalua
601 family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the
* 174 most complete form of the Turanian system. Actually, we find in it classificatory groups that must have existed in the Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the
[114] system of marriage. For example, in that Turanian form which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely, the Tamil, the two extremely important classificatory terms -- "husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

* 835 The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed
601 under conditions where brothers had common wives, and
* 174 sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the
171 Tamil system a man calls by the name father, not only his own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also existed a general term "wife," by which a man would designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband," by which each woman would designate both her own husband and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

114 In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the
601 Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil,
171 a man calls his wife en mainavi, the wife of his brother enanni, en maittuni, the sister of his wife en korlunti, en maittuini; there is the same lack of correspondence with the term "husband" (1).

1. See the table in Morgan.

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I shall proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are predominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to the shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities have been studied by me principally among the most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochi, and I had an opportunity to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples of the Amur region.

In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationalities differ considerably from the Gilyak, settled fishermen and dog-breeders, nevertheless we find a great deal essentially similar in their classificatory system and norms of marriage. As among the Gilyak, the clan is based on paternity /paternitetа/. In each generation of a given clan, the men and women are elder and younger brothers and sisters. The children of these classes are common sons and daughters and brothers and sisters to one another. The clansmen-"brothers," own and collateral, live in a group marriage with their wives, just as among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect, i.e., the younger with the wives of the elder. Here, as among the Gilyak, they prefer to take wives from a single clan, from which one may conclude that again, as among the Gilyak, that marriage from a single clan was once obligatory.

Group marriage also exists with the wife's sisters who are married to members of another clan, but, by analogy with the brothers' wives, among some tribes this marriage includes only the younger sisters of the wife. In two respects group marriage among the Tungus tribes is much broader than among the Gilyak. First of all, each man has a right not only to the wives of his elder brothers, but also to the wives of the younger brothers of his father, whom he therefore calls by the same class term as his elder brothers, namely, aki, a'ga. On the other hand, marriage to the daughters of the younger sisters is allowed and thus that category of nieces is drawn into the circle of the class of group wives. It is

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weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their emotional energy should be principally directed toward sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news, the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

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preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says: n'i-umgarvo ivrà, literally "I have a wife's village" (n'i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

Another example: the term for designating a person's origin is the expression pandos', literally "root of birth." This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

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192 584 [199] orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special term tkhagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

584 602 [593] Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of his closest akhmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-law. If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla n'ivukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequently participate, in addition to these persons, several honored clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy person, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing with them at once the articles of the bride price, and frequently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes the proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

584 602 614 [556] [583]

584 554 556 [533] The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and renowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

595 584 614 Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

593 584 614 [602] /271 cont./

The bride is customarily represented by the father and mother, but for the final decision the attendance of representatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations, but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the question, aside from the consent of the father and mother, the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternality.

593 584 [538] In the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief. In one story which I wrote down, a father, when his son informs him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, replies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also, that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, is no smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father. This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks with her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate. Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she ordinarily tosses off the laconic phrase: "Since you wish this, is it for me to contradict!" But it may happen that the maiden, upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom, immediately runs away and does not return until the departure of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends in naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

584 184 [593] [562]

[171] 1. It is interesting to note that among the Negda, whose customs, as a result of ancient matrimonial ties, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, considerable differences were noticed by me.

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583 554 735 chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

[183] [614] [476] 583 554 452 735 583 735 554

583 614 [627] As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

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583 584 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry. Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 614 [686] /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 686 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

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117 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yugin. His clan is
614 also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that
103 one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nami) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese
[169] came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a
[363] hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymi-fing.

117 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from
103 the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli --
173 from Dzhongli, near the Perm ones: Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvl-fing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

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117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
173 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure Ornyr (Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

117 Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
103 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
173 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a chumashka with kaluga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was then that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they broke the fire and bought a bear.

117 Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
103 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago (1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language, and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hóinchá) came here
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
173 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchajl on the Amgun)
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

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117 they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one
103 was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept,
173 six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in
539 different directions. Four generations have lived here. The Tyr branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

117 Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma.
103 Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the
361 ground (1896).

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1)
614 The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury
[103] their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /288/ (from chozmudz: -- to
[361] peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing

1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:nŋ? which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

117 Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near
103 northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern
614 Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

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117 Settlement of Pilavo-khez' (five kilometers from Chil'mi).
103 In this settlement exclusively the Pilavyng clan (1910).

Settlement of Khez'. Exclusively the Pilavyng clan.

Settlement of Tebakh (Tevkh in Gilyak). Three yurts in
117 all, about 30 persons. The Arkhong clan -- Ainu; came from
103 Kosunaya on the Ptonga and set takh -- a sharpened stick; from
162 behind came a man, and the stick fell in the direction of Iski. The Arkhong clan is to be found most of all in Tebakh, further in Akhcha, Chil'mi (one house), and in Iski (1910). The Ignan together with the Arkhong who live in Akhcha constitute one clan: in Akhcha -- the Goldi half, -- the other half in Tebakh, (1896).

117 Settlement of Machala, opposite Khez'; two yurts of
103 Negidal (1910). In 1896 the Khez'-ping and the Negidal (Ry) lived here.

Settlement of Pachi (Bachi). Twenty-two families, about
117 100 souls. Nine Russian houses and two Uigryf. In it, the
103 clans: 1) Tva-bing (Tva was the settlement beyond Mkhyl' near
162 Pat). 2) Aimkan live in Plakh (Pilavo), below Mariinsk. They
614 used to live on the Amgun, but the brothers fought and several brothers left for Plakh, taking a piece of the fire -- tuur rodzz -- "to make a fire." There they became Ornyr, and then, a long time ago, in the times of the Japanese, they migrated from Korsakov to Tevkh and Kal'vo. There are two old lezing here, and also one in each of the following places: Kaki, Mago, Vasin Cape, and Tamlavo. 3) Pyri-fing clan (two yurts), an old village opposite Kal'vo. In the past, a long time ago, Amgun lived here. The green pine forest -- Tuuz; in Ukhta -- the Olcha (1910).

Settlement of Nykikh Khez'bin (one from Pilavo), on the
117 channel Nyy Machalŋ. About 20 Gilyak here, and also Amgun
103 N'askhagil, who in Gilyak are called N'as'khon. Two from
162 Pilavo settled here in the last ten years (1910).

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117 Settlement of Kal'ga (the Gilyak Kalvo). Two clans:
103 1) Four yurts Lezing-ran-tva-bing (from lezing + tan, -- maste
614 The Lezing-ran are a Tva-bing generation (hyn'izlykh nyz'i). They caught many bears and had a large lezing. They quarrel while still in Tva and left long ago for Tamlvo. Now they are in Eg:li (Yali) and in Mago. 2) Pyrifing: three Lezing and three Uigryf (1910). One woman, Ry -- umgu -- female Negidal. 3) Lezgrang from the Sakhalin Tamlvo. 4) The Pyrifing Ornyr came from above; the oldest clan is here. 5) Narmlang from above, near Khabarovsk; the Goldi (1896).

Settlement of Mokraya (Mokhrvo). Clans: 1) Narmlang (Ornyr:) -- Pyrifing (Ygdymsyl from Kizi', where there are man Here, three houses of them; they have lived here for four gen-
[162] erations. 2) Lezgrang -- one house, 17 persons. All of the Gi seem to have come from the Amgun (hynk) and settled down o the Amur. One Uigryf (1910).

Settlement of Mago. Clans: 1) Mot'-tan (Ornyr:); 2) Lezgrang (one house); 3) Naromlang; one house, three famili (1910).

Clans: 1) Lezgrang, 2) Pyrifing, 3) Tyvlafing, 4) Hutyv from the Tym' River, 5) Narmlang, 6) Pnarnung (1896).

Yoom-bal' -- a mountain six and a half kilometers abo Vaydy; in former times Gilyak from the settlement of Yoom lived here. On the left bank of the Amur, beyond Yoom, ther is a small bay, and beyond it a high bank with bare white k:aned'zh dzif (limestone) (1910).

Settlement of Vayr (Vaydy), in 1896 there were three cla 1) Keg:n, 2) Hirlung (Hirlung and Shafping), 3) Lumr-ping. N only 12 Ornyr, 10 Gilyak, 17 Hirlung (see also below), 13 Sha and 7 Lumr-ping are left. The Keg:n -- Olcha are from the settlement of Aur; four generations are in Vayr. There were t brothers, the eldest brother took a Hirlung wife; he was follo

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clan to change residence and to withdraw more and more from their kinsmen. Before my eyes, in the course of a few years, whole clans -- family after family -- in search of more advantageous hunting and fishing sites, moved to the most remote regions, from the Tym' to Taraika (in the territory of the Ainu), to the Amur, etc. Discord between clansmen and wars play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we saw what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the Pilavo clan that we introduced; from /201/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyak territory, bordering on the Ainu, they migrated first to the northernmost part of the western shore, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they became completely Goldified. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any ties among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old phratral marital relations has been completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place even now. This is precisely the reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyak must travel hundreds of versts to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and willy-nilly there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and to marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old phratry.

If it is not just unmarried individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-nilly begin to enter into marital unions with the nearer clans.

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174 611 614 186 reverence with which they approached a settlement where, according to them, one of their female ancestors had once lived.

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 184 614 611 Usually at the present time children are given names according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 611 174 [582] [614] All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan, but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak themselves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

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584 582 my children and your children also be akh
not give your daughter to my son, you wi
the old law, that will be bad. Let us do e
ing to law ('live pure')."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does an
even though this obligation entails the loss
such cases they either do not give a bride
a very small one, if the akhmalk is not an

Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage.

177 178 614 433 556 [582] circumstances led to the destruction of ort
in the clans of akhmalk'i. One of the cau
lation of the clans from which they took w
pelled them to marry women of alien clan
perhaps the most important, was an econo
about by their contact with the cultured p
East, a contact which gave impetus to the
hunting pursuits for commercial exchange.
formerly had no value, such as the skins o
became objects for which one might obtai
of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuab
ornaments, but also food and spices, such
and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even
Gilyak clearly remember the time when sa
to run around fearlessly in great numbers n
dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them,
ferred to dress themselves in dog hides. A
in exchange for these beasts it became pos

177 178 556 582 584 [584] the most desirable objects. A tremendous
took place in the psychics of the Gilyak a
ships of the people among themselves. If
dream did not go beyond attaining the rep
person, urdla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstandin
his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'i
synonym for "rich man," whose dream wa
quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest a
peared upon the scene, as well as the desi

malk'i. If you do
l completely break
everything accord-

yone refuse his duty,
of property, for in
price, or they give
ancient one.
The most varied
hodox marriages
ses was the depopu-
ives, which com-
s. Another cause,
mic one, brought
eoples of the Far
development of
Objects which
f the sable and fox,
n not only objects
le weapons, and
as rice, groats,
nowadays the
bles and foxes used
ear the Gilyak
since they pre-
nd all of a sudden
sible to obtain
change inevitably
d in the relation-
formerly a man's
utation of a good
g hunter who shared
vukh became a
to amass a
nd boasting ap-
e to excel others

/270 cont./

in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers, and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and become related to only rich people. In the question of the choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and, consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even in the ancient "tylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek women who were famous for their special qualities, who were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents, their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once marriage came to be practiced between members of alien clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished. There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price, which introduced into the institution of marriage the element of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the procedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is expressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the matchmaker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride -- "future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called pu -- husband, and the bride -- an'g:ej. The term jokh, which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen, with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of orthodox marriage.

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by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Recently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbifing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chilng-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2) Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910). 3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).

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117 Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896).
103 Vas'. Cape Vasin. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to
614 Nalevo; 2) Derkhr-vun (1896).

Kuklya and Meo. The first master of the village before the
[162] Russians was the Keg:n clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogoroditskoye (1896).

Settlement of Kol'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest khal -- this Chvunung khal (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvrmif); then the khal separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun,
[133] Ylevut). It takes women from the khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one khal. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor ping. A man sailed on a hovykh (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught
[582] him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the Perkhvung. 3. Kedz:ung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkhvung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhaj-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyr beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- chinirokh). There is here in Kol' one khal from Khovnung. It takes women from the Langr. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the or -- chain and stone on the little girl of one of the brothers, and then killed her.
[582] They have an Ainu dagger with a silver handle. Take women from the Snarnung. 7. The Snarnung take women from the Perkhrvung. 8. The Tyvliing -- from Ukhtr, near Sofisk (Ornyr). Takes women from the Perkhvung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age): his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his khal is Snarnung. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chlya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- N'as'khajl. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyv River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).

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but we have daughters and in-laws, and it is necessary that everybody know, and therefore necessary that we should celebrate a common bear festival." Each k:khal should buy one, or better, two-three-four bears. They agree. They buy a bear and prepare mos'. The bear is fattened as fat as possible; they feed it about two years; they prepare mos' and buy racing dogs. The time for the festival finally arrives: they play games, wrestle, then kill the bear. Before the killing of the bear, an old man is selected -- he does not have to be the bear's master; he is the nga khez'-ni'vukh; he cannot decline. He says the word to the bear: "Chi pilá pal´ urgur p'ach adz: kukujá pkhylava:r chajpidugujá!" -- thou, big mountain (mountain man), shake off well our Gilyak dust. Turn around so that I can see you."

They killed it, cut up its meat (the bones must not be broken), brought it into an isba, and boiled the meat. They compete in a "race" -- vardz:. They call together both clans, men and women, and distribute the bear meat to all. As a rule, the elder consults with the master on how to divide the bear. The main bones are the two tibial bones -- tereng, and the two pelvic ones -- pyjkh. The tibial and the pelvic bones are given to the most honored persons. It is a sin to give the head and the kidneys to the young people, the kidneys are very important. The khlaj n'ivukh then says: "K:khal m´ekh:r: ólagu k:khálgu umguólagu umgugu-tokh itdz: furará; navat m´er: chuz´n´akhr: ngar: /298/ n´akh:r: munakhana. K:khal itdz: furará: "umgu n´i ó:la, utku n´i ó:la, umgu n´anak, n´i n´anak, n´i nanak´ar. Nafkhá-chi n´anak furará navát, chiagr. Ni ykyn furará n´an ch´ach´ek munakhana." Another representative answers: "Agitlá, pilymra siktumù mer: vará tyngyztá ching ag:yr: ningrota, ningagr vara chingrodá, n´ishak lyt k:khal, k:khal munakhaná." "To the children of the two clans, to the clans to the little girls and the women I say: 'Now we shall become common meat and common blood.'" The clan speaks thus (1): (Every) woman is my

1. Evidently, one representative of a clan to another.

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614 796 539 child (daughter), (every) man is my child (son), a woman -- an elder sister (also aunt) is my sister (my aunt). Now thou, comrade, art called sister; thou, too. I am an elder brother, but I shall now also become your younger." "Of course. We all equally did great things together. You also helped us and we also helped you equally. Once we have formed a clan, we shall become a clan.

"Elder (i.e., the person chosen for the distribution of the meat; he may be young)! Think well; do not give the good to big girls, to big sisters (aunts), or to sons-in-law /zyat'ya/. Give much to the big people, less to the little girls, feed the kidneys to the big old man of the clan, serve the head; distribute the back fat equally, do not share unequally. Give the tibial bone to the elder sons-in-law, give the pelvic bone to the sons-in-law. "Pilynga urgur kymlyjá, umguolagu pilý, nanakagù pilý, ok:ongú-tokh urlý chus´ ngokh ta rozgujá, pila n´ivukhdokh malg:ógur khet´ijá umguolagudokh khiskioguja! K:khalgu pila, hejmartokh, tafut jarjá k:orkh khet´ijá. Tereng pily okhomdokh khitirá, pyjkh n´yn´yv póradokh khet´ijá, mur:k ngokh vará rozjá ta rozgujá..."

614 796 After preliminary consultation, a certain person finally brings in the bear and hands it over to the important person, who then, in the presence of several urdla n´ivukh (good people), inquires: "Why?" The person who brought in the bear answers: "I want to enter into ceremonial brotherhood." "All right."

Next k:khal are consulted without him. During the festival the new clansmen buy dogs and prepare food. During the eating [606] the son-in-law says analogous things, while the fathers-in-law call him father-in-law, brother-in-law, etc. At the end of the festival they give the adopted one their own flints -- tugur:, but they do not give him the real uig tuur (the tabooed fire). There are no more than two or three uig tuur in a village. They light the fire at a bear festival; on a hunt only the urdla n´ivukh takes it when he goes for bear.

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614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for 796 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /zyat'/, k:khal 606 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in 627 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent, they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla lytnydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear 415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n´ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself 431 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp. [231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U´rur humyjá! Wingan úrur humyjá--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylng-tvysk and prepare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries. Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

[782] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid [184] in a wooden frame near the lezing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

567 The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head [196] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure." [683] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone [614]

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567 calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore [683] when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he [614] replies quietly: "Pilavon k:khal purará hokhagirn os´ krygrys" (1)

1. Krygrys -- an Ainu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root [195] slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygrys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygrys, impure. Every krygrys was considered a k:khal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygrys [692] is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n´ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (th are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygrys woman cannot demand a share in court, becaus she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygrys. [682] A free one is kistylygy n´ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave [614] is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila k:our big mountain bear, mer edr: -- tiger), fight with him: it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courag in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the [162] krygrys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Takhta.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase [582] of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

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595 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take
58 widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

• 614 In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan
173 who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the Khydzyr' in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are

[114] 1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a
839 Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of Mago).

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578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat'/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /zyat'/, in case of
[437] a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
• 614 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
627 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

695 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz'u
685 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz'? ennikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jeng:az' tongz' shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

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685 dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft.
695 They seek a man who understands the oath -- chkhyz'u n'ivukh,
[825] and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the
[424] Chkhyzyl clan; Il'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If
• [614] outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A thief frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'gu -- clansmen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryja', mygja', n'i heg:at pkhalgun polagun prydz:rá chigry' tuur pugutá enan'ivukh, jugut prydókh kaukrá, par:k prydz:rá. Ni sidzymral'ó, sidz:jejmraló cherakh jot'in (prydz:rá) helá eg:ur pkhog:e jakhgujá," i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n'ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The thief sends a khimu-n'ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n'erakh elvg:az'ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: vurará. Navat taktó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

/304 cont./

actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajorá mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n'erokh tokh elyvgujá. Chi narl'ár: chan majg:okhaná. Mykyz' mra lytyng ivg:aj huktókh elyvg:az'o." While they argue, a crow (ves') and a cat are thrown into the fire alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat, while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told: "Chi tajrodz: furará n'ivykh lerý mra chi unakhana uikhyndor hy nivukhdokh elyvgujá." "You do not know, you will suffer for a petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak), following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular animal. There is a clan whose k:khal is a wolf -- kekhr: ping chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank, bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round, attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times. This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf, but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters, having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf spoils them, but if a Chnarpung is left, then he does not spoil them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by; they leave yukola, mos', and so forth there. The Chnarpung may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile and not docile.

This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When something is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz' nyngjá -- look

Amur

824 /312 cont./
778 Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr:, gather
782 at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buda,
[614] a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labaz/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyjá -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tly-n'ivukh; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

796 Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt.
782 Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are
[184] carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the tlyrokh is never made; in Tevkh only a red dog pag:r kh:an:, is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'jongarja kinynguch: humguja", kholafti lygyguja," i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (han'gar:), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Ski, a stick, and a crossbow (narródz:) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tuurg'a'vk); the fork is thrown into the fire and [illegible] taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a
[789] [776] hunt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /312/ the

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

773 Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kurn, the master of the uni-
[776] verse, created everything; in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the tree." "Working" the earth, Kurn lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach:.

821 The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first
[772] with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

793 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the
824 Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.

• 776 The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' n'lgyvyn,
614 looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal n'lgyvyn.

821 Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1)

1. Illegible. S. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunderstorm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-n'lvukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

/328 cont./

764 To be burned is better than to be buried.

766 The one made the first mos' for a drowned man is not burned after death, but buried in the ground.

A drowned person, if he is of another clan, is not burned, but is inclosed in sticks.

If the deceased was murdered, he is not carried into the yurt, but is placed beside it. Near the place of the cremation of the murdered person, they place a "vagn'" -- a tree with the roots /329/ upward. Those who have been killed are carried off the field of battle by both sides to their villages.

764 If a person dies in a balagan, he remains there (until the funeral.

A raf (a little house with a little door, over the grave) is
764 made in a month, or in two, three or four months, when there is
349 time. A raf cannot be set up in winter or spring, for the earth is frozen, and in autumn as well. During this time the deceased is absolutely not fed. A raf is prepared by common efforts.

On the day of the preparation of a raf, as on the day of
[784] cremation, all forms of work are prohibited for the clan members.
• 614 It is prohibited to fish, to go hunting, to make a dog sled; it is prohibited to sew, even to "make one's head," i.e., to comb one's hair, but one can sing songs. Members of alien clans are allowed to work if they did not observe the work on the construction of the raf, but the members of the same khala, if they know that a raf is being made, even if they live in a different settlement, are forbidden to work. The master who helps in the building of the raf does not receive any reward; that is a sin.

The walls of a raf are made of boards. The roof is made as on an actual house. In the middle there is a k:khak:, a double board with a stopper which closes an aperture -- kylmyz' (navel). The sharp stoppers go through a round piece of birch bark which is placed over the aperture. In the upper section are stuck a spear, arrows, hooks, and a knife. The k:khak: is wrapped in a piece of drel' of a trapezoidal shape and fastened, tied to the navel; the upper part of the k:khak: remains bare. On top of this, in front, there is an apron of the same shape, which is decorated

/338 cont./

752 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them
789 will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue
[572] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but a
• 614 drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is sur-
[628] rounded with sticks.
[766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat rescued from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will
[785] be a god.
[776]

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the stream.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
782 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

/347 cont./

101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 829 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "ytk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "ytk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material below. The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the

199 language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the Lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 127 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the conti-

174 nent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo,

[614] one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language,

[184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

/353 cont./

601 614 This form of family-kin relationship serves as the basis for the social organization of the Gilyak and is the basis of their clan organization ("khal'" -- clan, also clansmen).

From what has been said of the primitive family of the Gilyak, it is obvious who constitutes their clan. All of the brothers (of all degrees of kinship) of the father of some Gilyak NN are his fathers (ytk), their fathers are his grandfathers (ate), their children are his brothers ("ruvn"), their grandchildren are his children ("ola"), and mutually. It is this huge family of grandfathers, fathers, children, brothers and sisters that constitutes the clan of the Gilyak. It is understandable that a clan so constituted

[162] may be composed of a great number of people. In one clan in northern Sakhalin, I counted 150 people, and this is only a branch of a clan which lives on the mainland.

But the clan of the Gilyak is organized on the male basis. Even though the children of a sister of NN's wife are his children (ola) and they are considered brothers of his own children, if these sisters of the wife are married to Gilyak of a different khal', then they, i.e., the children of these sisters, will be alien to the clan of NN. Similarly, only the wives of clansmen and their unmarried daughters belong to the clan, and, conversely, when married, a woman passes over to the clan of her husband, while the dissolution of the marriage brings her back into her father's clan. Here are the principles which regulate the life of a clan:

1. The clan has only four degrees of kinship: grandfather and grandmother (atk and ytik), fathers and mothers (ytk and ymk), brothers and sisters (ruvn), and children (ola). Clansmen call one another "khal'" in contrast to aliens. To distinguish own brothers from own kinsmen of the first degree of kinship, the word khal' is added, so that clan brothers are /354/ khal'-ruvn, clan fathers -- khal'-ytk, etc. The elder of the clan, whose role will be described below, is called "khal'-geymar." Clansmen as thinking and acting social units bear the name of "khal'-nivukh."

/354 cont./

614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 587 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following the decision of the clan, to one of the ruvn of the deceased, generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her, although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-ytk, atk, ola. Generally speaking, as a rule, a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under no circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore,

614 [829] it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition, scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the

[867] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the

[623] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 73 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the incapacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

182 /354 cont./

614 796 5. The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to

[874] everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a

[224] clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable.

[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but

[776] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."

[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially

[562] hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they

614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which

392 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan

[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

/355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is

614 392 169 connected with this steel. When a clan is divided and part of it emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar) breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

614 225 782 [562] Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refreshments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of evening, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kur niongu-khia!" ("God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

614 682 628 6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its members from encroachment on him by the individuals of another khal'. The means is clan vengeance.

[177] The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (nyn'vo yozynedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

/296 cont./

The following case occurred in Macha (the left bank of the Amur), opposite Kal'ma. The Gilyak set out to hunt and built a balagan; coming back they saw a great number of people. Then they ran away undetected, gathered together people from all the villages, and set up ambuscades in different places behind the rose-willow trees. When the Russians came out, they shot them all.

Sometimes the Gilyak used the following method of fighting: They tied a cut tree trunk in such a way that it leaped out and struck the legs, and the enemies fell; then they completely killed them off (the settlement Kaki).

Recollections have also been preserved about the relationship between the Chinese /297/ officials and the Amur natives. The Goldi even paid for dogs, the Gilyak -- per person; the Chinese officials collected by whim, and their khalki (boats) with people had to be fed. In exchange for this, they gave receipts which gave one the right of entry into the town of Sungari (Ychkh-khotin). Otherwise the natives would be tortured in the town. The storyteller, a Samagil, in his youth went without a receipt; he said that they paid 40 rubles for a fodder /kormovogo/ man and 20 rubles for an ordinary person, and one sable from each person.

IV.

The Union of Clans and the Bear Festival

Two clans come together -- k:khal m'ek:r: vytch. They come together in a single yurt; outsiders may also be present. They discuss, and, if there are no obstacles (for example, they have not taken wives from one another), the khlaj nivukh declares that the two clans may join into one. The other representative answers: "It is true, we have accomplished great things together; you also helped us, and we also helped you. Once we form one clan, we shall become k:khal." He says: "There are no obstacles. Our sons and daughters will be our brothers,

are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable tha
from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful,
burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer l
under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any
corner, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain
feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in
case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same
in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the
of the murderer sends some person from a neutral khal' (necess
neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murde
man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, a
in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years
pass until, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the ave
consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedur
reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects fr
some neutral clan an able and eloquent /357/ man ("khlay-ni
literally: orator -- from the verb "khlayndzh" -- to speak, an
the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries
tween the parties. Each clan provides its khlay-nivukh with a
gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, a
sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official
uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputa
of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-
nivukh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. The
somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream,
new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. F
here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village o
the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal'-
nivukhi), with their orator at their head, await the emissary.
latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with h
own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The
role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as poss
The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a pl
for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-

/370 cont./

his wife half to death. Even his ruvn, in such cases, does not escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak even the ruvn finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with a sound thrashing. The modern method of securing a wife gradually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. A substitute, or counter, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand (I know of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman), but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon: it astonishes no one and is censured by

/372 cont./

583 property of the whole family, but the personal money earnings of the son-in-law, as well as the sables and foxes that he obtains through his efforts and skill, remain at his disposal, which makes it possible for the son-in-law to attain an independent standing in time. But in general the payment of the bride price by labor is not frequently encountered, for the sale of the woman is too enticing a prospect for her kinsmen, and moreover the Gilyak have not yet grown accustomed to asking for the labor
583 of others. The bride price is paid to the father of the bride, or,
614 in his absence -- to her brothers, if they are adult, otherwise -- to their guardian, i.e., to that clansman-ruvn to whom they, along with their mother, have passed; in the absence of any brothers of the bride -- to that same ruvn of whom we just spoke, that is, the one to whom the mother of the bride has passed; in the absence of such -- to the brothers of the father, then to the distant clansmen-ruvn, but in general to clansmen of the male sex. Originally the bride price was always given, not to a separate individual, but to the kin(clan). And even now always among the Tungus, fellow tribesmen of the Gilyak, the bride price is paid to the "nasleg," i.e., the clan. And this is perfectly natural, since originally the bride price was a ransom paid to a whole clan, which was avenging the abduction of the
580 women. This primitive significance of the bride price is re-
614 flected in the custom whereby the wife of a deceased Gilyak al-
583 ways remains in the clan of her husband and passes, according to the decision of the clan, to one of the brothers (ruvn) of the deceased (only to a younger brother, however, and only in the event of the unwillingness of the ruvn to marry the widow does the return to the clan of her father, while the children remain in the clan of the husband. The obligation of the clansmen-ruvn
614 with regard to the widows of their deceased ruvn reminds one of
672 biblical story of Boaz and Ruth. The bride price is either paid all at once or in part in advance and in part some time after the bride moves to the home of the groom.

583 There are instances of the sale of children of the female
584 sex. A Gilyak purchases for himself or for his young son a young

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should injure fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the god, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined
556 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely
171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

605 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, these naturally
432 exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans,
437 etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have
434 the character of barter.
426

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak
422 does not borrow money: his debts arise principally from the non-fulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract.
[184] Interest is charged only for property, however. Interest is known
[D97] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The
614 popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-
[672] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

1: Shternberg--548 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
422 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
614 162

2. The property of each person has been
[I26] transferred to this or that clan, the figures on the number of clans, etc.

of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons), Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons). The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
361 sons), Kekhrvo (86 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Yelshrvo (61
103 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym'
162 and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
20 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
361 difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult
[484] because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of Pomr and the western shore.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
484 across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
432 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear how difficult and slow such a journey is.

/653 cont./

428 nearest male relatives of the deceased, that is to say, brother's and father's brother's sons, or nephews and cousins of the first
428 and second degrees, but always only on the father's side. The
428 Gilyak say that in such a case the inheritance belongs to the kall
614 of the deceased. To explain this, I must point out that they
601 make a definite distinction between the relatives on the father's side and those on the mother's side: the former are called ngafk and they alone are regarded as related by blood; the latter, on the other hand, are merely called ömal or ömal, which means roughly "friends." The wealth of the kall, that is, the customary term of address which the Gilyak use among themselves as well as to a stranger, and which one uses them, whereas the much more meaningful naifkâ is only rarely heard and then only when they are speaking to one another. The totality of the ngafk, the paternal relatives of a Gilyak, constitutes his kall. This word, however, does not mean merely tribe /Stamm/, kin group /Geschlecht/, kindred /Sippe/, but also name. At kall, then, is exactly the same as a kin group bearing the same paternal or family name among us. It is the Goldi hala, which originally designated only a family relationship, but later, used by the Manchu government for administrative purposes, it was given a meaning going far beyond the family, which will be discussed in detail in the next section. The Gilyak, however, who were always outside Manchu rule, have been hardly affected by this /654/ and cling to their original conception of the kall, which is restricted to the family in the manner indicated above.

614 In view of all this, it might be expected that they also have special names for their various kin groups, and, indeed, I do not doubt but that they do have them. I never heard them use one, however. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that, as a rule, only the closest members of a kall have personal relations with one another, and they are aware of their membership in the same kin group without the common kin-group name. Moreover, the practical significance of this membership is considerably reduced for the Gilyak, in that it plays no part whatsoever in one of the most important family occasions, the conclusion of marriage, for among them, as has already been

/654 cont./

614 mentioned (1), and differently than among a number of other

1. See p. 1035, above.

peoples, members of one and the same kall may marry each other.
562 From the description of the Gilyak law of inheritance it became
428 evident how greatly the male sex is favored over the female sex among them and given preference over it. According to this description the woman not only has no right to an inheritance, but is herself inherited, first, as a girl, from the father to the brothers, and then, as a widow, to the next brother of her deceased husband, so that she can never make arrangements for
[592] herself. The only thing left for her is to establish for herself, as a wife and mother and through the means and talents given her by nature, an influential and recognized position in the house, and among the Gilyak she succeeds in this to a not inconsiderable degree.

171 A law of inheritance very similar to the one among the
428 Gilyak is found in the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the nomadic Koryak, whose chief possessions consist of their reindeer herds. According to Ditmar (2), among them, too, only the sons

2. Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 125; Mél. russes tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 33.

inherit the property of the father, and, to be sure, in equal shares, but the daughters receive only those reindeer which have come from the animals presented to them when they were born. Furthermore, among them, too, upon the death of an unmarried brother,
171 the surviving brothers share equally what he left. But if the de-
587 ceased was married and leaves a widow, she goes to his youngest
428 brother as a wife, if he is unmarried or a widower, and, if this is not the case, to the second youngest, the third youngest, and so forth, always under the same conditions. On the other hand, she may never become the wife of an older or already married brother of her deceased husband. Hence, if among her

428 /654 cont./
587 brothers-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, she becomes
171 free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In
[113]

3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivotshapkin", "Eniseisk. okr. /The Yenisei District/," Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Res. and Mat., p. 178. Tret'yakov", "Turukhansk. kraj /The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Russ. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. I, 1869, p. 403), among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

428 In
171 principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar
428 to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

614 While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal
607 relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal rela-
625 tives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge, which is still widespread among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possib

/655 cont./

614 and then in swift flight to reach a safe hiding place offering pro-
602 tection, in order not merely to escape immediate revenge in
628 this way, but also to make it more difficult or even impossible for the opponent to carry it out in the future and thus expose him to the unavoidable evil consequences of neglected blood-revenge. The Gilyak therefore usually executes an act of bloodshed resolved upon in his heart in the most treacherous manner with the ngawla-dshakko, the large knife which, always worn at the belt, arouses the least suspicion and which he can most easily and inconspicuously plunge into his opponent's side while he is sitting beside him in apparent peace and eating a meal or smoking a pipe. Having fled to his native village, he will henceforth avoid setting foot in the village where he committed the act of bloodshed and will also carefully avoid its inhabitants elsewhere. The victim, however, if he has escaped with his life, henceforth thinks only of how he can take revenge on his enemy without delay, for the more time is wasted, the worse he can expect the consequences of his neglect to be and the more fraught with danger the future
159 looms before him. The power which this constantly nourished
628 superstitious fear can exercise over the mind and the entire being of a primitive man was vividly brought to my attention in one case. The Gilyak Nenjdan, a respected man in his village (Allof), who visited me occasionally in Nikolayevsk and to whom I owe many an interesting bit of information concerning his people, was one day, when he appeared before me again after a long interval, in a strikingly downcast and depressed mood: his otherwise erect and quite stately figure, such as I seldom found among the Gilyak, appeared somewhat stooped, his eyes looked straight ahead, staring and sad, and words would not come. Since I would not desist from directing various questions to him, he finally broke out with the words, "I must die soon," and when I then asked whether he was sick and what ailed him, his answer was, /656/ "Not sick, and yet I must die soon." This thought seemed to dominate him completely, and then he told me the following. On a trip to the Manchu, while trading with them, he quarreled with a Gilyak from Kaki. The matter finally ended peacefully, however, and he regarded it as closed and forgot it to such an

/656 cont./

159 extent that after their return home he once traveled from Allof
628 to Kaki and stopped at one of the houses there. His host and hostess, well known to him, were quite friendly toward him; in the evening, however, after he had eaten the meal offered him, a man lying next to him on the sleeping bench, the very one with whom he had had the quarrel, suddenly thrust his knife into his side. Returning to Allof, he soon recovered from his wound, but his blood enemy had set out for Langr the following night, accompanied by a relative, and had not been seen again. Meanwhile two years had passed, during which he himself had in vain gone to the greatest trouble to find any trace of him, but he could not go to Langr itself, because he is a stranger there, whereas his blood enemy would have the secure protection of his relatives. Thus, even in the future he had no prospect or hope of getting rid of the obligation for blood revenge weighing upon him, "and therefore," he concluded, "I must die soon." I do not know what happened to him later, for I did not see him again, nor did I hear anything about him. Undoubtedly, however, the psychic condition in which such a superstitious fear of death puts primitive man can have a fatal effect simply through its influence on his physical condition and his behavior in the manifold dangers through which his life moves. And in this way, as well as in consequence of the universally practiced logic of post hoc, ergo propter hoc, the superstition connected with blood revenge is constantly nourished and spread.

614 Carrying out blood revenge is in part made easier and in
602 part more difficult for the individual because it is not restricted
628 to those who directly participated in the act of bloodshed, but also more or less involves their relatives and imposes certain obligations on them. Among the Gilyak, however, these obligations do not extend to all the relatives, but only to the ngafk, the paternal relatives. Without any qualifications and with all the consequences, they are faced with the obligation for blood revenge if the person concerned lost his life through the act of bloodshed, either immediately or as a result of wounds received, and is therefore no longer able to carry out the revenge himself. It must then be carried out by the son, brother, brother's son,

/656 cont./

614 grandson, etc., depending on the degree of kinship. No ngafk
602 of the person slain can refuse to accept this obligation if it is his
628 turn. On the other hand, if the person wounded by the act of bloodshed comes away with his life, the carrying out of the blood revenge remains reserved for him, but his ngafk have the duty to help him by finding out the whereabouts of his enemy, trying to arrange a meeting with him, and helping as much as possible in carrying out the revenge, indeed, if need be, even stepping in for him. Quite similar obligations exist, on the other hand, for the ngafk of the perpetrator of the act of bloodshed. /657/ They must do everything to thwart the designs of their opponents and to protect their relative from the revenge threatening him. Thus blood revenge with the demands and obligations growing out of it creates a strong family tie which arouses and preserves the consciousness of solidarity and homogeneousness in all members of the same paternal kin-group. The larger a kin group is, and the stronger this consciousness is in it, the more protection and help it can offer each one of its members. It is therefore understandable that the members of a paternal kin-group like to live in one place or within easily accessible proximity and also that those members who, as children and as a result of a second marriage of their widowed mother, moved away with their stepfather do not like to become estranged (1).

1. See p. 1062 above.

The solidarity of all the ngafk among one another with respect to blood revenge further offers each individual and especially the members of larger kin-groups a certain guarantee
[157] against wanton bloody attacks. And this is of no little significance in view of the easily wounded, vindictive temper of the Gilyak, treacherously reserved, but quickly resolved on an act of bloodshed at a favorable moment. Most of their blood feuds, however, arise from serious motives, especially from the abduction of women so common among them and the conflicts brought about by this. Often, however, only petty motives, an imagined insult or insignificant damage to property or profit, as, for

/657 cont./

614 example, in the above-mentioned case of Nenjdan, drive one to
602 bloodshed, and then the instinct of self-preservation may keep many
628 a one from plunging into the hornets' nest of a strong and large kin-group. Quarrelsome and rapacious members of such a kin group, however, confident in the protective power standing behind them, may be goaded on all the more in their wantonness and may let themselves be carried away to commit acts that lead to blood feuds or that are a direct challenge for blood revenge, as, for example, is said of the Tammla-wo Gilyak on Sakhalin by their countrymen on the Amur. On the whole, however, this abuse does not nullify the beneficial effects which blood revenge with its rules has among the Gilyak, in that with the legal relations still unregulated, it gives the individual a certain amount of protection, and, to be sure, it strengthens the basis of every social arrangement and development, the family.

Concerning the family relations of the Amur peoples living
648 adjacent to the Gilyak, the only ones who, as was pointed out
198 at the beginning of this section, can be spoken of here, I must limit myself to a few statements tied in with the above remarks about the Gilyak.

/658/ In the preceding chapters the high degree of equalization that has taken place between the Olcha and the Gilyak in all aspects of the external life has been discussed -- an equalization which must be regarded as an assimilation of the former by the latter. This kind of equalization has also taken place with regard to the family relations of the two peoples, which, in fact, become the basis for the most penetrating and enduring manifestation of this assimilation, both externally and internally.
[582] And the medium that served and still serves to bring about this equalization may be clearly discerned, namely, the frequent mixed marriages which have taken place between these two peoples since the Olcha migrated to the Amur and, after the loss of their reindeer, settled down there as fishermen in the immediate neighborhood of the Gilyak, marriage which even today are concluded between them continually. In this manner the

/709 cont./

*796 beside the other hearth where the host and a few other guests sit.
574 In this case, however, it is regarded as the bench of honor because it is closer to the bears and in full view of them. On it, therefore,
[123] as Judin told us, there are even more ufsch to be observed than elsewhere in the house, and when, for example, we wanted to make some notes in our journal about the bear festival and draw some sketches of it from there, he asked us with great politeness to sit on the longitudinal bench for that, because in the other place this could easily be seen by the bears and might be resented
516 by them. The guests sat down with their legs crossed under them in two rows on the bench: the older and more dignified ones immediately along the wall, the younger ones along the edge of the bench. Between the two rows sufficient space was left for a path on which the bowls traveled from one end of the bench to the other, in that they were put on the bench from the floor at the left end and came back again at the right end. When one bowl had moved along a bit, it was followed by a second, a third, etc. The number of the various dishes, however, was fewer than that of the bowls, for many a dish was repeated again after a couple of courses. It is strange that the host himself does not take part in
●[614] this meal, and similarly all the relatives on the paternal side, in other words, the so-called ngafk, are excluded from it with him, while the maternal /710/ relatives (amal or armal), as well as the friends and acquaintances, may participate in the meal. Judging by the quantity of foods and bowls that traveled back and forth, it was a very copious meal that Judin set before his guests. Nevertheless, most of his guests, after the end of the meal, went to another house in order to eat there, and this went on from house to house throughout the village, so that even the ngafk of a particular host probably do not come off badly.

Those Gilyak, however, who stayed in Judin's house, mostly younger people who had spent the night leading the bears around and therefore were probably tired, took advantage of the pause after the feast to renew their strength with a few hours of sleep.
*796 The quiet lasted but a short time, however, for soon the women
541 began their routine morning activity, feeding the dogs, and then,

The Nivkhi

775

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of 231
specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal 237
and elk skin, dog-fur, etc. 302

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids.

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly 114
interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed description of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State").

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (ekhkhal), of which there 614
were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mylung, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of sociality as among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs.

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more 160
ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage.

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (ikhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tungusic-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyygnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyygnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tungusic-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'l (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one ikhusind (blood-money), and one sin."

/357 cont./

of the avengers, stubbornly insisting on his demands, departs in anger. The khlay-nivukh of the murderer goes after him and tries to enter into negotiations with his comrade-in-arms. More than once the two diplomats seat themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happens that the khlay-nivukhi move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and out to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and both sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his khlay-nivukh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other steps the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his khlay-nivukh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the khlay-nivukhi strictly restrain the adversaries, speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is not merely a ritual, for there have been cases where in that minute the avenger has boiled over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw down their arms, run toward each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /358/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another variant, the avenger and the slayer stand close, facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy; when the khlay-nivukhi call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

/358 cont./

614 628 682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A 614 628 682 murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 628 628 [537] The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re- [762] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 628 72 [177] One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/358 cont./

614 628 72 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each [342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the [501] eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 597 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came [927] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

/359 cont./

614 599 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 426 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 428 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

614 736 768 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gather- [963] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 627 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/361 cont./

614 317 617 591 present; frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint work with him (more detail about this below).

614 764 12. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away, they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an arshin square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a woman), and other trifles. Thus there arises a whole row of yurt-tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements, they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they 614 765 make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

/362 cont./

614 182 Thus it is that kinship and social bo
to his clan. Without some particular nee
abandon the settlement of his clansmen,
No matter where the Gilyak may grow ric
his homeland. The writer has seen Gilya
[177] completely Russified, who had grown up i
Russians, but who, having married, settle
to the settlement of their clan. And this
Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessa
yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there w
three square arshins on the plank bed for t
man. He does not even need a boat and
find owners of these things, with whom he
basis of equal rights. The inevitable affi
to the great clan union has placed an inde
tire spiritual make-up, on his character,
[155] development. The custom of judging all
entering into the interests of his clansmen
bility in matters of vengeance, these com
sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerou
children, and finally the necessity and pr
yurts together with dozens of one's fellow
compels the Gilyak to live continually in
must have developed a social, communal
character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 354 521 Enter one of the large winter yurts
in the north, enter one of these anthills o
and you will be pleasantly surprised. The
only by the flame of the stoves; in the far
dark, but you will hear the sedate conver
the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry
music of the youth. Here boredom has n

onds attach the Gilyak
d the Gilyak will not
the tombs of his clan.
ch, he finally returns to
k who had become
in service among the
ed down and returned
is so easily done. The
ry to construct a
vill always be two to
the family of a clans-
a net; he will always
e will go fishing on a
liation of every Gilyak
elible stamp on his en-
customs, and intellectual
jointly, this necessity of
, this mutual responsi-
mmunal festivals and
s fathers, brothers, and
actice of living in large
-- a necessity that
the eyes of others -- all this
, loquacious, serious

, which are so frequent
a winter's evening,
huge yurt is lighted up
corners it is completely
ation of the old men,
aughter, the jokes and
place...

/368 cont./

766 ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief. Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and solemnly carry the bear and its ill-starred rider to the settlement. They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all [782] sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small [769] troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopee is fully completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clans-men of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at 182 the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure 766 is, I think, the following. The bear is killed in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bones must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacri- [782] fices are made to Pal'-nivukh, in this case to propitiate him so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is burned, it is true, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire [614] clan a rich sacrifice is made to Toll'-nivukh on the shore. A new [782] yurt is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

797 In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of Christianity among the Gilyak. On the entire western shore I have met only two baptized Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His successor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The intervention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tyki, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fishing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as is done at

9: Hawes--209 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 614, 627

"The Gilyaks are, as we have seen, divided into tribes, viz. the Tim, Tro, and west coast people, besides the mainland or Amur Gilyaks. These tribes are sub-divided into khala, or clans. Each khal consists of a family circle. The limits are vague, but include grandfathers, uncles, etc. The eldest representative of the khal is the chief, and the members are to be found scattered in many villages. Each village has its council of elders, to whom the injured apply. In cases of mortal offence, both parties, the criminal and the eldest male of the injured man's family, march out against one another with bows and arrows ready strung, but the council sitting around urge them to end the matter peacefully, and ordinarily they succeed, the rivals embrace, talk peace, and the criminal pays a heavy fine.

The Russian authorities wisely refrain from interference, and look to the richest man in each village, whom they term the starosta, to keep order, etc."

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615 PHRATRIES--presence of one or more unilinear kin groups, each of which embraces two or more sibs; affiliation (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); regulation of marriage (e.g., exogamy, agamy, endogamy); distinguishing characteristics; origin and traditions; organization; prerogatives and obligations of members; relations between phratries; etc. See also:
Marriage regulation . . . . . 649 Totemism 779

1: Shternberg--81 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/41 cont./

582 614 3) Since in every family sons must marry daughters of a brother of their mother, and daughters -- sons of a sister of their father, it follows that from the time of the establishment of this custom all the descending posterity of each pair of ancestors in all lines eo ipso form a closed group, prohibited from one another maritally, an exogamous organism, a clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or remain in their own, either a maternal or paternal clan prevails.

At the present time, among the Gilyak a paternal, agnatic clan has been established.

4) Such a clan rests not only on the negative tie of exogamy, but also on valuable positive bonds, on the common rights of clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, the mutual rights of group marriage, and, finally, on the obligation to save their women for the clan that took the sisters of their ancestor.

If we take into consideration the fact that marriage regulations among primitive peoples, among whom the cult of the ancestors and, consequently, blood ties play such a tremendous role, become religious imperatives, it will become clear that the clearly indicated mutual rights and obligations cement the clan union.

In particular, the important cementing element of a clan is also the fact that all the women coming in (wives of clansmen) are taken from one clan and are either one another's sisters(own and agnate), or aunts and nieces. As for men, the clansmen, they represent in each generation a group of brothers (own and agnate) married to a group of sisters and cousins from the clan of their mothers, i.e., to their first cousins, /42/ in relation to whom they have reciprocal conjugal rights.

We have already spoken about the effects that these customs have on the kinship nomenclature.

614 615 5) The clan, therefore, is not a self-contained organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound up with the existence of at least two clans, blood kindred with it, one the blood clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, and another clan which took the sisters of its ancestor and to which it must give up its own women.

1: Shternberg--82 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/42 cont./

615 614 The first of the latter two clans in relation to the third bears the name akhmal'k (father-in-law), the second navkh or vmri (son-in-law /zyat', "son-in-law, brother-in-law"/). All three are pandf (cognates) to one another. Thus, every Gilyak is an organic member not only of his own, but of a tri-partite, blood, tri-clan union, forming, in the literal sense of the word, a phratry (1) (phratry -- brotherhood). In this triple "brotherhood"

582 614 1. The Gilyak phratry has nothing in common with the one of Morgan, for within it mutual marriages are not only allowed, but were obligatory.

all the men and women of each generation are actually brothers and sisters (cognate male cousins and female cousins, see below).

Specifically, in relation to each member of a given clan each woman of the second clan is either his mother, his wife or the wife of his sons and agnatic nephews, and conversely, in the third clan, every woman is either his sister, daughter, or a sister of his father. Such are the blood ties of the members of a phratry!

One can get an idea of the form of the Gilyak three-clan phratry from the following schematic table:

Clan A (Andreev)	Clan V (Vasil'ev)	Clan S (Stepanov)
Andrei + Varvara (sister of Vasilii from clan V). Their children: 1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Vasilii, from clan V. 2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Anna, from clan S.	Vasilii + Sof'ia (sister of Stepan from clan S). Their children: 1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Stepan, from clan S. 2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Varvara, from clan A.	Stepan + Anna (sister of Andrei from clan A). Their children: 1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Andrei, from clan A. 2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Sof'ia, from clan V.

1: Shternberg--83 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/43/

615 614 Analyzing this table, we see that 1) all the women in clan A have been taken, by generations, from clan V, which means that Andrei's mother is a sister of Vasilii's father, and consequently Andrei and Vasilii are cognate cousins. 2) Similarly in clan V, Vasilii's mother is a sister of Stepan's father from clan S, and consequently Vasilii and Stepan are cognate cousins, and 3) in clan S Stepan's mother is the sister of Andrei's father from clan A, and consequently Stepan and Andrei are cognate cousins.

Thus, not only are each pair of spouses, one to the other, male and female cognate cousins, but the ancestors of each clan are, one to the other, cognate cousins. In a word, the founders of all three clans are close, blood kinsmen married to female cognates of the same degree of kinship, and each generation marries cognates of the same degree of kinship as its fathers and mothers. This is a clear example of how weak the terms exogamous and endogamous are: the exogamy of the Gilyak clan does not exclude marriages between close kinsmen. It turns out that endogamy prevailed within each phratry; each of its branches was exogamous.

615 614 178 Such was the original scheme. Time and circumstances, emigration, depopulation, the dispersion of clans, an accidental scarcity of women in the mother's clan, and other such causes naturally led, on the one hand, to a deviation from this system, and, on the other hand, to corrections, whose aim was to reconcile the old norms with the new demands of life. All these superstructures, if I may express myself thus, have quite confused the genealogical systems and the marriage norms, and, as usually happens, the categorical imperative, weakening in one respect, becomes more widespread in another. Due to external conditions, the rule to take one's wife from the clan of one's mother weakened, but, on the other hand, the prohibition against giving wives to that clan (albeit completely alien from which someone, even a most remote clansman of the given clan, took his wife has received the most widespread interpretation (on the presumption that it is the clan of the mother). From this the following has become established:

/43 cont./

614 Since at the present time it is not always possible for all
615 clansmen to take their wives from one clan, the clan of the
178 mother, certain members of some clan (M, for example) are required to take their wives from different clans. And so, on the strength of the old presumption that the clan of the wife of a clansman is the clan of the mother, all these clans for several generations become prohibited for all the women of clan M, for whom marriage into these clans is not allowed. And this is not all. This prohibition, in essence having lost its former raison d'être, is applied not only /44/ to that clan M, which takes wives directly from A, but also to a third clan, N, which, in turn, takes wives from M.

In the Gilyak terminology of marriage this prohibition is technically expressed thus. Clan A, giving women to clan M, is called the akhmal'k (father-in-law) of the latter, while in relation to clan N, which in turn takes wives from clan M, it -- i.e., clan A, is called tuyma akhmal'k (distant father-in-law); and so the prohibitions lying on clan M are carried over to clan N, i.e., clan A may not take women not only from M, but also from N. The degrees of prohibition, however, do not extend beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree.

The entire future evolution of the Gilyak family and clan lies in the history of the origin of this prohibition. In what way could this widespread prohibition arise? We saw that the Gilyak were not afraid of marriages within close degrees of kinship. This means that the reason must be some other one. As a matter of fact, in the face of the inevitability of cases when it was impossible to take wives from the clan of the mother, the Gilyak, conforming to the religious imperative, should have, in such cases, considered the most suitable clan that one from which at least the clan of his mother took wives, and, if unable to take them from it, he went to that clan from which this latter took wives, i.e., went by degrees to the akhmal'ki of distant degrees of kinship, just as, within the clan of the mother, in the absence of daughters in the family of the mother's own brother, he went to the daughters of the first, second, etc. cousins of the mother. Thus, the distant akhmal'ki clans were, as it were, reserve clans of the

/44 cont./

614 mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to
615 extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kin-
178 ship, and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclusive marriage within three clans became impossible, because in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S is the akhmal'k of the first degree for V and of the second degree for A; consequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri, Dar'ya), let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would now be Dmitri's (clan D) sister, while the latter would have as his wife a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times, the prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant degrees, the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever greater number of clans. At the present time, when, due to the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary in the selection of wives to resort to completely alien clans, the phratry has naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have with regard to this complicated, confused system, in order to correctly decide, in each given case, on the right to marry of some member of a clan. And, actually, this constitutes a whole science, to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

171 Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage
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I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

/46/

171 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further the
582 strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia, where a
1835 great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly declares which men and women of the tribe have the right to group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and difficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonial questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive man have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear that there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the decisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the individual person and became the function of a competent institution of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why among many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a single totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women coming
614 in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a single totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutandis, every kumi and kodi among the Australians finds his wife throughout the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he finds her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives and in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his wife.

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, where ascending and descending generations belong to different classes, and only in the third, among some tribes, or fourth, or even in the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of the fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in details from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this strange phenomenon.

615 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity call
614 clan A -- Andrei, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepanov.
582 Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepanovs (of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not Andreeva

/46 cont./

615 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in
614 turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V)
582 would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last, i.e., Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife of one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the third generation, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

582 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerable ex-
160 tent simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many categories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sight appear completely independent, are in fact identical, such as, for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sisters of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons, just like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the father-in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage, we have seen that from the simple, single rule that men must marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitably arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage prohibitions.

2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the
194 genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particu-
583 lar, on the strange institution of mock abduction, an institution
614 which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Aus-
615 tralians and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strange
1771 forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation of

/47 cont./

194 which brings the punishment of the gods. Now let us suppose that
583 clan V, from which A takes wives, has died out, or that there are
614 too few women in it, which is quite in the order of things. Clan
615 A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there each clan saves its women for the clan of the father's sister; the alien clan, even if it had extra women, cannot decide to deviate from this imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punishment of the gods, of the gods-ancestors, for whom marriages with those of other blood constitute the greatest of insults. And a similar vengeance threatens the clan who would make use of women of other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however. Two alternatives then remain: either to abduct a woman by force, risking bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods, /48/ to say nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the stolen, or to circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the real intentions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreement is reached with the parents of the bride and with her herself, whereby these latter appear to resist the abduction with all their strength, while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious manner, does everything required to give to the marriage act the look of real coercion.

171 Only with such an explanation of abduction can we under-
194 stand why, for example, the Australian kumai, having allowed
583 their daughter to run away with her loved one, set out in pursuit after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg with a spear and beat her half to death. The Australians themselves explain this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many tribes the bridegroom himself considers it his duty to beat his loved one no less cruelly than her parents; by this he desires to show the gods, and the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture of the girl was in no way caused by a desire on his part to marry her.

Finally, only with this illumination on the hypothesis of the religious origin of the custom can we explain such a universal occurrence of the institution, which, in the form of mock abduction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony of even civilized peoples.

/48 cont./

194 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-
583 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex-
614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not
615 from the clan of his mother by the term yokh /xicr see yokh on
606 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

194 Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price,
583 the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin
614 against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atone-
615 ment, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among
1687 the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen-
1882 eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin,
197 as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhunind, among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps
194 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently
583 happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is
an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/120 cont./

*614 Then there are the hejmay, the elders, all of whose au-
184 ity consists in the solution of most problems of cult and kin-
623 They play a certain role at the time of the clan festival, which they are generally the principal managers; they are after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They are, however, how wield any influence or possess any actual significance in th other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

*614 Finally, the third element of authority is the ye'r.
184 Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of
1324 three elements those diverse forms of power which in variou
1569 combinations (people's assemblies, the council of the elder patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, chiefs, viking kings, and so forth) we find among many semi-cultured pe at the present time and at the dawn of the history of all na which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these ele ments are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

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VIII.

Interclan Relations

615 The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution,
*614 a man's intimate ties are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the akhma and ymgi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, bond of common origin through the mother (the male ance of all four clans and the representatives of each of their ge erations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and to this are united those powerful ties of natural intima which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage union

Child's cradle.

Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could
ept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided,
ni broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint
to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and
ece to the part that split off.

ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a
e bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's
ter, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhusind). In
ing clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role
ed by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their
negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy

parties to agree. When agreemen
offending clan with men of the
enacted between the representati
sentative killed a dog, and peace
ransom was paid. It consisted o
other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificato
the Tunguso-Manchurian systen
applied always to persons of
Shternberg showed, the classific
his time the existing marriage
the 19th century some remnant
possible only for persons of th
forbidden among persons of diff

All the members of a clan w
fathers and great-grandfather
(tuvng), the husbands of the m
bands of the mother's sister
children (ola).

Trade ties with China and th
fishing, into economic activiti
the disintegration of the clan
first among the Amur Nivkhi
the Manchus. Nivkhi merchan
bartered furs and beluga bac
articles. They also bartered
neighbors. Members of the Tv
the middlemen between the Sak
Russian colonization, the Niv
The rich could have several
price always included large qua
relations developed slowly, si
and, to a lesser extent, fish.
sistence economy.

Slaves did only housewor
and marry free women. The
were considered free. On the
Nivkhi and was of a patriarcha

At the end of the 17th and i
among the Nivkhi, as well as th
and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the
subsistence economy proceed
become a part of Russia, sla
appeared, in the institution of
ments of production fell int
was divided according to the
the implements of others had

Before the Revolution, th
Christians, but their views r
of Sakhalin as an anthropomo
trees, mountains, rivers, w
their thinking an yz'—a "ma
phenomenon had its yz'. Th
of the mountains and the taig

nt was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was
ives of the two clans. Then each clan repre-
was considered established. After that, the
f coats of mail, spears, silk materials and

ory system of kinship. But, in distinction to
n, the specific term of kinship among them
one, rather than different generations. As
catory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in
norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
s of group marriage. These relations were
e same generation, and were categorically
erent generations.
ere divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
(atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
other's sisters and the brothers of the hus-
s; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4)

e transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
es directed to commercial ends stimulated
order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
. The latter had early begun to trade with
ts sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and
ktbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal
with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other
bing clan, for instance, were for a long time
halin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
khi began to be divided into rich and poor.
ives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-
ntities of imported valuables. But commodity
ce exchange was only in the medium of furs
The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a sub-

k. They could set up their own households
slave's descendants of the fifth generation
whole, slavery was not widespread among the
l character.
the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
e Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,

ist century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi
ed more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
very disappeared; a new form of exploitation
"half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
the position of "half-sharers." The catch
number of participants, but those who used
o yield half of their share to the owner.
Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
mained animistic. They thought of the island
phic creature; similar ideas were held about
ter, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in
ter" of other animals. Almost every natural
chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master"
, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

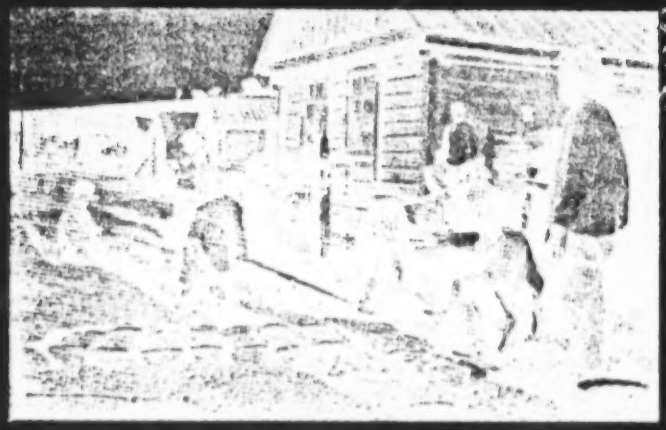

342
291
231

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character. 771 776

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le-kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed. 796 614 231 [069] [526]

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the Tungusu-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically 764

called əmləus and the sea-end is called əz-baχ-puks 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tətr-paχ. Large wooden floats (vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kivf-ŋalu, Ke-ŋalu, Vilk, Loŋri, and əṭ.

According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul owned seal hunting places in the past.

Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋaγqej, 3. ṭt.

Lulvəχ-pər and ŋaγreqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ṭt is a small island close to which there is another such rock.(3)

3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island əṭ. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paχ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot ṭerd).

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomi-vər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə-vər - a stone.

[84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

784 from young hunte
225 who play a leadin
183 parts of the quar
526 Taboos regula
262 hunters as well a
784 parts of the clan.
462 Thus, in the v
868 (Charbakh), the c
183 me of interesting
526 used by children
A boy must no
women in cutting
must not play wit
"When I was li
to put a yoke on a
'sin'). If a boy h
cutting board, the
taiga, he might n
he will have no lu
Agiska told me
or spear, for the
Russian - farta).
advertantly over
into the body of th
are not supposed
These taboos i
are prepared for
play - have anyth
their tasks and th
used in their task
imize for both m
birth, the distribu
462 [88] The women o
514 from the point of
recently it was th
rich. The women
row (notwithstandi
the husband tends
rudder and the wo
able and inadmiss
make clothes, sho
tasks some of whi
nity of a hunter.
The males of a
They procure food

rs and women-the fact that the old hunters
g part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
ry under the guise of religious interdictions.
te the relations between the old and young
s the relations between the male and female

ery same year of 1931, in the village Charvax
ld Gilyak Kozin and Gisk (Agiska) informed
taboos pertaining to a number of objects
n their games.
: play with a yoke or with a board used by
leather and cloth (tans-kalmr). Also, a child
a woman's cutting knife (tan-dago).
ttle Kozin told me, old men would not permit
boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,'
t the legs of another boy with a yoke or a
n when he grew up and went hunting in the
ot be able to walk well." Agiska told me that
ck in hunting.
that a girl should not play with arrow, bow,
se implements will not bring luck (in local
If a woman or a girl were to step in-
a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep
e bear and will not stick. That is why girls
to play with those implements.
ndicate that already at an early age children
definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in
ng to do with implements used by women in
at, conversely, girls must not use implements
s by men. These taboos are seen to legit-
nen and woman, virtually from the time of
ution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.
f a clan perform the most onerous work which
view of men, is least respectable. Until
e slaves who did this work for the Gilyak
must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs,
ing his wife's advanced stage of pregancy,
the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the
man to row; the opposite would be disrepu-
ible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food,
es and perform a number of other onerous
ch are regarded as detrimental to the dig-

Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food.
l for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

452 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
562 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots
and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of
the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time
they are born, and when they grow up they are given away,
in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that
takes the woman, i.e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become
dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also,
women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their
life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat.
They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts.
Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the
woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a
man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not
come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, other-
wise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return
home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
452 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather
than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the traj where the pilan attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pilan distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes
apparent that the sivuch, which is the pilan's legal property
and whose blood he used in feeding the traj, is included in

burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raĭ—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurine, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any part in the clan cults.

Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyl'ugd), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués on birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the zayezdka.

When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects hunters regardless of clan membership.

Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan Tf nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi , Potaq from clan Neo afi , t from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez ran and Tesk from clan Tf nu .

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, 1 tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big, - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:

1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be, to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea afq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pila;

3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs mu-zi d and t aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

/121 cont./

In practice, as we know, these bonds extend far beyond the confines of the original four clans. First of all, in addition to these last, every clan with which at least one clansman has formed matrimonial ties is already an akhmal'k or ymgi to all his clan. On the other hand, we know that every akhmal'k and every ymgi retains its appellation not only with respect to those clans with which it is directly bound matrimonially, but also with respect to those who consider themselves the corresponding ymgi and akhmal'k of the former, so that in addition to the akhmal'k and ymgi of the first degree, each clan has still others of the second, third degrees, etc. All these clans call each other pandfy, individuals of a common origin.

Thus we see that the basic principle, simple and clear, which lay at the basis of the family and clan, a principle according to which a man preferably marries the daughter of the brother of his mother, becomes the basis of blood ties and sympathy, not only within each separate clan, but of even more extensive unions, interclan and, finally, of the whole tribe. True, by virtue of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned by us, such as the dispersion of a small tribe over an enormous territory and many other circumstances, these bonds could not take formal shape in such completed organizations as the phratries and tribes, for example, of the North American Indians, but here also they created an atmosphere of social unity which led the clan from an egoistic isolation onto the path of interclan community and brotherhood.

/122/ Let us consider a little more closely the bonds which arise between the pandf clans, between each clan and those from which the Gilyak takes his wives or to which he gives his women. These bonds are not limited to feelings alone; they are expressed in quite real forms.

First of all, there is the obligation of mutual sustenance and hospitality. This in essence is only an extension of that same obligation existing within the clan to the blood pandf; the extension to them of that benevolence of the clan deities

/122 cont./

*614 which belongs to them by righ
615 (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ must
476 this interclan obligation.
574

This rule, however, does
*614 ligation of the akhmal'k to su
615 his family permanently in his
476 a very remote time, in the p
574 husband went to live in the h
591 so, but at the present time, u
goes to the home of the husba
pletely to the clan site of her
less, the principle of "sustena
most important role in the un

615 It is consolidated in a spec
585 rite, which consists of the fol
591 fore the bride is carried away
476 there is placed just inside the
cast-iron kettle brought by th
bride price for the bride, and
belonging to the father of the
and bridegroom must step wit
then on the outer kettle: the
in-law, the second is borne b
In a year, when, according t
to the akhmal'k, the same c
departure; only this time on
is placed a pot and a cup, wh
the first instance. It is chara
jects bear the designation nic
sustenance), while the whole
(trampling of the nich). It i
trampling of the threshold, w
ment of the rite, in which a
lymyz'n-mam -- an old wor
the woman-forbear, the guar

nt through the female line: "Ymgi
be fed" -- such is the formula of

not find expression at all in an ob-
pport his son-in-law /zyat'/ and
own home. It may be that at
eriod of maternality when the
ome of the wife, it was actually
nder agnatic principles, the wife
nd and customarily moves com-
spouse's habitation. Neverthe-
nce," as we shall see, plays a
ification of the clans.
cial, extremely peculiar religious
lowing. At the last moment be-
from the home of her father,
threshold a large, four-handled
e bridegroom as a part of the
on the outside a small kettle
girl. When going out, the bride
h the foot first on the inner and
former remains with the father-
ome by the bridegroom -- ymgi.
o custom, the couple pay a visit
remony is repeated before their
each side of the threshold there
ich are again exchanged as in
cteristic that the exchanged ob-
h (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual
rite is called nich zychyvynd
also called lymyz'n-zand --
hich points to the religious ele-
ole is played by the so-called
an, the mistress of the threshold,
dian genius of the home, whose

476
615 /122 cont./
585 blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds,
591 the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection
796 with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear
615 festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of
476 the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself
an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are
also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual
sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in
hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

615 The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic
* 614 visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some
476 economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time, in
574 addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present
[606] to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage,
[431] when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending
on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for
men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There
* 614 are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman,
731 because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all.
476 Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn
574 them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at
606 hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers
615 up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels
in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement
of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

615 Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymgi
224 are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.
225 The most important of these require the participation of
476 several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it
* 614

/126 cont./

614 615 796 574 182 This rule is so strictly observed that the very host who has been most diligent in receiving and making presents to his ymgi is not even invited by the latter to the festival, but, on the other hand, he will be the honored guest of his own akhmal'k. Thus there is formed an uninterrupted chain, uniting the long series of clans in their socio-religious festivals.

We have already said something in the section on religion about the important part played by the ymgi in the bear festival. One goes out many versts to meet them and gives them the most honored function at the festival, namely, the killing of the bear, and all this time they are the center of attention for the whole clan. They are everywhere fed to the bursting point, dragged around from yurt to yurt, and, finally, before departure given a large part of the bear carcass. All these acts of hospitality and respectful attention are crowned with serious religious rites, sanctifying the fraternal union of the clans. At the beginning of the festival, the ymgi exchange nich'i (symbol of united co-operation in hunting, see above) with the host; before departure, the ymgi presents to his akhmal'k in parting dogs, which, together with the dogs of the latter, will go to the master of the mountains, the common sustainer of the clan; and at the last moment the ymgi performs the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man; they strengthen the ties of kinship with the higher sanction of religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

614 615 621 They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live forever with his pandf'y. This is why, by the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their ymgi or akhmal'k'i. But these ties prove of

*614 /127 cont./ But these ties prove of
●615 particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when
621 a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to
628 "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the same selflessness as they show toward their own clansmen. Only in the payment of tkhusind may the pandf'y not participate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently happens, and we have already expressed in the section on revenge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

*614 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans,
615 relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed
609 clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding generations give to each other, has finally become the customary appellation with which any member of another clan or stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward members of other clans.

609 Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues
574 which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without dis-
[157] crimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the Orok, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers, the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

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from its lair), sable hunting, and especially the hunting of sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participation, not of his clansmen, but of the ymgi, and not necessarily those married to his sister or daughter, but ymgi in general, i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than he does with his own /124/ clansmen; he can freely converse and joke with them, while he may not do this, as we know, with all of his clansmen. In turn, in their akhmal'k clan the ymgi feel like a fish in water; all the women of their generation are their an'gej (wives) -- all future wives and at any rate women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in the broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young male population, they find their revenge in the clan of their akhmal'k'i, where they meet the same reception from their "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Between the male youth of both clans ("navkh'i") (1), as a result of

1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'i.

frequent meetings, not to mention relationship by marriage, the most touching relations are established. It is in these surroundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much in vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchange of presents, mutual aid in misfortune, and other such services. But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood may be found among the navkh'i. Here is one such example, especially surprising to me, which I chanced to observe in the settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. Both friends, "navkh'i," lived in one yurt; they had everything in common, went about together like lovers, almost never separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both,

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609 614 reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with 609 829 614 such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course, 186 609 among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national 829 prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We 174 614 can now resume it. 615

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174 Those manifest social habits and feelings which we observe
* 614 in the contemporary Gilyak, which he indisputably acquired
● 615 in the beneficial school of social relations, originally developed among the matrimonial clans and from them were gradually transferred first to every tribesman, later to neighbors of other tribes, and finally to man in general.

But the source of social ties between the matrimonial clans akhmal'k and ymgi, as we have seen, is rooted in that wonderful organization of the Gilyak clan, to the analysis of which we have devoted this chapter. In this evolution from the egoism of the closed clan through ties with pandf'y of other clans, close by blood, to sympathy and humanity for all men, both close and distant, is contained, perhaps, the most instructive conclusion of our long analysis. From that moment when the rule that a man should marry the daughter of his uncle on the mother's side was established, there was also laid the firm foundation for the extensive growth of social habits and feelings.

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The Social Organization of the Gilyak

(Family and Marital-Sexual Norms)

I.

Introduction

Upon superficial acquaintance the structure of the Gilyak family and its sexual norms appear to be so simple, conventional, and similar to ours that they can mislead even the serious observer. The well-known academician Leopold Schrenck, who lived among the Gilyak for more than two years and left us the well-known, multi-volumed monograph on this tribe, was profoundly convinced that he was dealing with the ordinary patriarchal-monandrous family. This appeared so obvious to

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614 602 Forms of kinship. According to the basic structure of Gilyak marriage law, relationship by marriage must coincide with kinship. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship, which may be called: agnate kinship and cognate kinship. The first embraces all persons bound together by a common origin from one forefather, that is, all individuals born or adopted into one or another clan. Upon marriage, women pass into the clan of their husbands. There are two kinds of cognate kinship: the first embraces that clan or those clans to which the women -- agnates of a given clan -- are given in marriage; the second embraces that clan or clans from which a given clan or its separate members have drawn their wives.

614 The persons bound together in agnate kinship are united
● 615 under the common name "k:khal-n'ig:yvyn" or simply k:khal --
602 the people of the clan, clansmen (from k:khal -- clan, n'ig:yvyn -- person). With respect to the first group of cognates, i.e., to the members of the clan or clans which take or have taken their wives from the k:khal-n'ig:yvyn, these latter and their whole clan are united under the common designation of akhmalk (fathers-in-law) and, conversely, ymg:i (sons-in-law /zyat'ya, "sons-in-law" or "brothers-in-law" in Russian/). On the other hand, in relation to the second group of cognates, i.e., that clan or those clans from which they themselves take women, they are ymg:i (sons-in-law) and, conversely, akhmalk. Both cognate groups in relation to the first, and all three among themselves, bear /137/ the characteristic designation pandf (from pandynd -- to be born), that is, consanguineous, bound by a common origin (1) through women. Thus, relationship

* [114 601]

1. Schrenck (III, p. 23) quite erroneously asserts that kinsmen on the father's side, i.e., agnates, members of one and the same clan, call each other ngafk, and that kinsmen on the mother's side call each other amal'. In reality, both terms, on

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614 615 603 ● * 601 114

the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no conditions on the father's side. Kinsmen through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

Thus, relationship

614 602 by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us pro-
614 ceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.
* 601 Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the
602 Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

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2. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

/203 cont./ The custom of brothers' living together with one

* 174 wife became ever rarer. In the works of the epos, such
177 595 passages as "so many brothers were supporting one wife" are
[538] almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described such facts as being ordinary phenomena, while nowadays they are more and more rarely encountered.

Such are the conditions which stood in the way of the 17 inviolable existence of the phratry. But however powerful
● [615] these conditions appeared, the force of the primordial norms, having become religious imperatives, naturally preserved their power, and the new influences broke a trail for themselves, adapting themselves to the old norms by means of a whole series of correctives and fictions... How this occurred we shall see immediately.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

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* 614 Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive
615 to the phratry (emigration, depopulation, wars, destruction of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of clans, and besides, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How must this factor have operated on the surviving clans? Let us recall the third table of our four-clan phratry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What then is to be done by the orphaned clans C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for some solution within the phratry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

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178 But clan C may not take women from D, because the latter
*614 takes wives from it, and the mutual exchange of women
●615 between two clans is not allowed in any case; on the same basis, clan B cannot give its women to clan D. There remains but one solution, that C take women from B. This solution, in addition, has all the signs of orthodoxy for both clans. First of all, these two clans formerly did not stand in a marriage relationship to each other. In addition, for C, after the disappearance of clan A, B is the closest on the mother's side (for /204/ clan A took women from this clan and supplied women to clan C), and, finally, clan B is the father-in-law of C, although of the second degree, so that, after A, it is its natural successor with respect to C. The sole obstacle to the lawfulness of this compromise is that clan C, due to the fact that it gives its women to D, is in turn, tujma akhmalk for clan B and thus does not have a right to take women from it. In a word, the matter ends with the phratry's becoming a three-clan one. The only solution is to increase the phratry by one more clan, a fifth one, E, which would give its women to D and take women from C. This new clan for the phratry may appear, as in North America, through the splitting of one of the old clans into two fictitious clans (in this case, C would divide itself into two halves, one of which would fill the role of clan E). We have no data on this either in contemporary practice or in legends. But there was no necessity for this. The process of depopulation struck all the other phratries at the same time. And it was easy to find a single clan, a remnant of a destroyed phratry, which in turn was seeking to unite with a phratry. That such a solution was the most practical is seen not only from the practice in contemporary life; it follows from the inevitable logic of facts. We started from the supposition that only one clan, A, died out, but again and again phratries can lose not one, but two or three clans, and then they were inevitably obliged to begin: either the co-optation of separate clans into the phratry, or the merging of different alien clans among themselves to form a new phratry.

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178 In just this way, under exceptional conditions, it is true,
*614 the foundation of the marital-clan system was breached, but
●615 once it was breached in this way, it had to spread more and more and lead to the condition where marriages of different persons outside of the old phratry became, if not lawful, at least a completely acceptable phenomenon.

Now we shall consider the second case, where clan A does not die out completely, but has only become considerably thinned out in people. On account of the shortage of women in clan A, a part of the men of clan C were obliged to take their wives, as in the first case, from the closest lawful clan, namely, from B, but in the case where, as in the first instance, C does not have a right to give its women to D, and therefore to the phratry, in order to guarantee D women, a fifth clan, E, will have to be added, giving women to D and taking them from C. But, besides this, there is still another consequence, which confuses matters still more.

Since both the members of clan A and some of the members of clan C take /205/ women from clan B, then the first and second in each generation will be married to sisters, and, although they are members of different clans, they will be members of a group marriage with a group of sisters (1) and their children, as the terminology shows (see

[601] 1. By a curious coincidence in this case the group husbands call each other navkh -- a term signifying the same thing as the famous term punalua, comrade, participator.

above), will be tuvn, i.e., brothers and sisters, and, consequently, forbidden for each other, so that in the following generation the women from clan A will not have the possibility of marrying into clan C and will be obliged every second generation to seek their husbands entirely outside their phratry, which still more destroys the strength and

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178 unity of the latter. Life, it is true, has somewhat softened
*614 the rigor of the prohibition; in some clans at the present
●615 time the prohibition covers only those members of clans who are actually married to sisters, but formerly, evidently, the prohibition embraced all the members of both clans; even in its weakened aspect, however, the prohibition leads unavoidably one way or another to some cases of marriage outside the phratry.

The case which we have just discussed is by no means hypothetical; it is repeated in its peculiar form in the daily life of the Gilyak at the present time. As an illustration of this, we may use the legal case which we introduced earlier, with the consequences that follow from the marriage of two persons of different clans to two sisters, where one man is from the akhmalk clan and the other from the ymgiil clan. It is of interest to repeat here that in this case group marriage among several clans is no longer allowed, but the children of these marriages are considered tuvn and cannot marry each other.

Thus, the depopulation and the thinning out of the people of a clan leads to the following extremely important consequences: 1) allowing free marriage to a woman not from the clan of one's mother begins; 2) members of one and the same clan can be married to women of different clans; 3) a man and his "brother-in-law" /zyat'/ (navkh, brother of his brother's wife, i.e., brother of his own wife) may not be married to sisters; 4) finally, thanks to free marriages, the old four-clan phratry entirely loses its limits, for, as we shall see further on, to every clan into which even one member of the phratry has become related by marriage are extended those same rights and obligations which pertain to a clan of the phratry, and thus it is as though this new clan were adopted into the old phratry.

174 For a certain time, the "free" marriage was a more or
178 less /206/ exceptional phenomenon, called forth by condi-
*614 tions likewise of an exceptional character. In its way stood
615 a huge obstacle -- the religious imperative which prohibited

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174 giving women to alien clans. The procuring of such women
178 presented great difficulties. As a result of this long struggle
*614 for the women of alien clans -- a struggle about which it will
●615 be necessary for us to speak in detail later, there appeared the
[583] institution of the "bride price," payment for the bride -- an institution which removed all obstacles to free marriage.

174 But once having appeared, the institution of the bride
178 price became, in turn, a powerful factor for the spreading
583 of the institution of the free marriage.

*614 The bride price became the most powerful temptation
615 for violating the old norms, even in cases where there was no necessity for their being violated.

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the rich, who came into being with the establishment of trade relations, began to look on the free marriage union as a means of satisfying their ambition and of becoming related to people who were their equals in wealth and distinction.

*614 And nevertheless, notwithstanding all the unfavorable
615 circumstances, notwithstanding the intrusion of the new in-
178 stitution of "free" marriage, the old norms continue to live and to preserve their power over minds. In the great majority of cases the old imperative still is stronger than all
[583] the temptations of bride price and of free marriage. In the
[582] eyes of the contemporary Gilyak, marriage from the akhmalk clan, from the mother's clan, is still the only "pure" marriage, and the most favored marriage for each individual man is marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother, in which case bride price is not only not required, but is not even allowed. Free marriages are rather sporadic phenomena, which destroy the customary norm for only a moment and then are spontaneously drawn into the ruts of the old norm. This comes about in different ways. In some cases a man may not marry for one or another reason from his mother's clan, but his offspring nevertheless again begin to take wives from the old clan of the ancestress. In other cases, if for some reason a return is not possible, then the alien clan from which the man takes his wife becomes the lawful marriage clan for his offspring, who in each generation

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*614 marry, according to the old norm, the daughter of the
●615 mother's brother. Finally, in some cases the descendants
178 of this man take wives /207/ either from the old or from the new clan of the father-in-law, depending on circumstances, and both clans begin to be considered lawful clans. It may happen that not merely two, but many more of these lawful clans are accumulated in the course of time, both for the individual person and for the whole clan, but nevertheless each man as an individual strives to observe the old norm in arranging a marriage, seeking his wife above all from the clan of his mother, preferably always the daughter of the brother of this last.

Such is the power of the old norm. But its role is not limited to this. Compelled to make a retreat in one direction, it develops the strength of its age-old inertia with still greater intensity in other directions. Having out of necessity allowed marriages outside the phratry, having allowed the possibility for members of one clan to take wives from different clans, it has extended the whole system of regulations both to the free marriages and to all the clans which even sporadically enter into marriage relations with this or that clan.

*614 This amalgamation of the old institution with the new
615 one and the extension to it of all the regulations of the old
601 norms and prohibitions have made not only the kinship
178 terminology, but also the character of the group marriage unusually complicated and confused. Under the old system, when marriages were arranged from one particular clan, the picture of the group marriage appeared entirely clear and simple: in each generation all the "brothers" of one clan participated in a group marriage with all the sisters of the same generation in the other clan. For this reason the wives of brothers called each other sisters, and the husbands of sisters called each other brothers, for both groups were such in reality.

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then all these five clans and their five clans of akhmalk'i will be akhmalk'i to the whole of clan of A and will be prohibited for the women of A (only up to the third generation, it is true). But if we also add to these ten clans those two clans of original akhmalk'i of the first and second degree, then clan A will have 12 clans of akhmalk'i of the first and second degree to which it may not give its women. This tendency toward extension could lead to extreme difficulties in arranging a marriage, for with every new free marriage the number of clans which are available for marriage is reduced, but in practice the consequences of this extended regulation are allayed by the still firm tendency of the clan and of its separate members to depart from the old norm of taking wives from one particular clan, the clan of the mother, only in the most extreme cases.

This extended regulation introduced still greater confusion into the kinship terminology and into the norms of group marriage. Earlier, the classificatory system extended, in addition to the clan of the speaker, also to two other clans -- the clan of the fathers-in-law and the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/, and the designations corresponded to the sexual relations. If, for example, I, a man, called the sisters of my fathers-in-law mothers, then this corresponded to reality, for the sisters of my "fathers-in-law" were group wives of my "fathers" and one of them was actually my mother. Or, if I, a man, called each "father-in-law" in that same clan of "fathers-in-law" the brother of my mother, and his daughter (the daughter of my mother's brother) my wife, then this corresponded to the actual kinship relations. Now that, due to /209/ occasional free marriages, the classificatory terminology has been extended to a whole set of clans which are completely alien to all the clansmen, the designations "fathers-in-law," "mothers," "daughters of the mother's brother," and so forth are extended to persons who are not such in actuality, and nevertheless in this new circle of persons all the old norms of group marriage between

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*614 corresponding persons are obligatory. And it is entirely
●615 natural that the number of persons drawn into the circle
601 of classificatory kinship is ever larger, and the knowledge
178 of this kinship, so simple before, becomes a real science, into which a person is initiated during childhood and in which he becomes proficient only when he reaches maturity It is natural, therefore, that the classificatory system gives the European an impression of complete confusion and inexplicability. In reality, all the terms of kinship and the sexual norms which now appear so confused and illogical are explained quite simply -- the intrusion of the new practice of free marriage into the old staunchly persistent system of the old imperative, according to which marriage was a blood-kinship union and was obligatory from the clan of the mother.

VII.

The Phratry and Its Genesis

*614 We have seen how, owing to the primordial norms of
615 marriage, the principle aim of which was to provide the progeny of an ancestor with wives from a group of persons in a distinct category of blood kinship, there automatically arose exogamous groups, clans. The essential significance of the clan consisted in the common right and obligation to supply its members with women outside of their own number, in other strictly defined groups-clans. Thus, in its basic function, each clan taken separately is by no means a self-sufficient organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound to the existence of at least two other clans related to the first by blood, one the clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, the other the clan of the sisters of its ancestor, to which it is obliged to give its own women, and, furthermore, these two clans, as we have seen, may not coincide, since the exchange of women between two clans is not allowed.

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it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possibility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations between members of matrimonial clans.

The principle of mutual aid between members of matrimonial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which, despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception, namely, with regard to the pandf'y; by a will, as we already know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" (i.e., going for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can obtain the fur "shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it from one pocket and putting it in another, serves, incidentally, as an important indication of the fact that originally among the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of payment for the bride, but rather was a form of religious ransom. But for what?

The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the bride price is in general a strange anomaly. Actually, once marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious obligation, and even preferable between the children of brother and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This change we know: it consisted in the fact that in some instances when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible, it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its own lawful ymgi and therefore could only accede to giving away its women by masking it with some act of pious deception of the gods, which would at the same time be profitable for the father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the ymgi clan, which

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violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction: the whole clan of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title of akhmal'k and became, as it were, a lawful clan for marriage unions. As such instances increased, the bride price, whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the general rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

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Another weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matrimonial clans is the participation of the pandf'y in the bear festival.

In the sense of cementing interclan relations it plays almost a greater role than the Olympic games for the tribal unification of the Greeks. The bear festival takes place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, while in populous settlements a rare winter passes without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The sled, which every household possesses, is harnessed, and off they go; the rest is not the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest dishes. And in return for the small annoyance of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: in the first place, the very rite of the festival -- the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the ablest and most respected representatives of the tribe; finally, the competition /126/ in wrestling, races, and dances, the feasts, conversations, jokes, and songs, in a word, an endless series of enjoyments. Against the somber background of his gray existence, the hungry days, the deprivations, dangers, and monotonous impressions, the bear festivals appear as the most joyous moments of existence, as it were, landmarks of everyday life which one recollects and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only ymgi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own ymgi but akhmal'k do not participate at all.

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*614 615 601 178 With the appearance of the institution of free marriage, the clansmen-brothers may be married to women from different clans, i.e., complete strangers to each other, and nevertheless, by the old presumption, these women call each other sisters and become the group wives of their husbands-brothers. In exactly the same way, clanswomen-sisters may be married to men from different clans, and nevertheless these latter, although they are complete strangers to one another, will have group rights to their wives, and their offspring will call each other tuvn (German Geschwister /siblings/) and will not have the right to marry each other.

And, finally, we have seen that even "brothers-in-law" /zyat'ya/, i.e., persons of whom one is a member of a group marriage with the sister of another, may be married to sisters from a third clan. And in this case, although these persons have lost their rights of group marriage with /208/ respect to their sisters-wives, nevertheless all their children are considered tuvn and may not marry each other.

Furthermore, formerly, under the pure intraphratral marriage, the clan did not have the right to give women either to that clan from which it itself took women or to the clan from which this other clan took wives, i.e., to the clans of fathers-in-law of the first and second degrees of kinship. This, as we have seen, was an automatic consequence of the rule under which a clan was obligated to give women to one of the other three clans of the phratry, namely, to that clan into which was married the sister of the father of their ancestor, and accordingly the other two clans of fathers-in-law became eo ipso prohibited for women of the given clan. Now, when individual members of a clan may take wives even outside the clan of the mother, the designation of akhmalk of the first and second degree is extended to all the clans from which even one clansman has taken his wife. Thus there may be a situation in which, if five men from clan A marry freely with persons from five separate clans,

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For each individual member of the clan this is expressed in the fact that outside of the clan in which he himself was born and in which neither he nor his progeny may marry, he must have /210/ at least two other clans: one the clan of his mother's brother, from which he and his male offspring take wives, and the other -- the clan of his father's sister, into which his female offspring marry.

As we know from the kinship terminology, the next to last clan mentioned bears with respect to the first one the special designation of akhmalk k:khal (clan of the fathers-in-law), and the last one ymg:i (clan of the sons-in-law /zyat'ya/), and all together are called pandf (persons of common origin). Since all three of these clans are blood kin (a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, and women marry the sons of their father's sister), in marriage relations each separate clan is in this fashion an organic member of a tripartite, blood-kin, three-clan union of pandf, a real cognate phratry, for in each generation all the husbands and wives are cognate male and female cousins. The Gilyak phratry, however, has nothing in common with the Morgan one, for within it marriages are not only allowed, but are obligatory.

The Gilyak three-clan phratry may be presented in the form of the following schematic table: (see following page)

Schem

Clan A (Andrey)

Ancestors:
Andrey, Vera.
Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S.
Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.

Their children:
1) The sons marry the daughters of the brothe of their mother, of Vasiliy of clan V.

2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister o their father, of Anna of clan S.

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natic Table No. 1 of the Three-clan Cognate Phratry.

	Clan V (Vasiliy)	Clan S (Stepan)
	Ancestors: Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.	Ancestors: Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.
er f	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera from clan A.	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey from clan A. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Sof'ya from clan V.

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In succeeding generations marriages proceed according to the same rule: men marry the daughters of their mother's brother, women marry the sons of their father's sister.

In such a form the phratry provided, matrimonially, for all the clans entering it, satisfying the basic norm of marriage, because in each of these clans a man marries the daughter /211/ of his mother's brother, and women marry into a third clan, the sons of their father's sister.

But such a marital organization of the phratry violates another norm of marriage, according to which it is prohibited to give women to the clan of the father-in-law of the second degree (tujma akhmalk). Applying this norm to our hypothetical phratry, we obtain the following:

Clan V gives women to A, which, in turn, gives them to S; consequently, V is the father-in-law of the second degree to S, and therefore this latter cannot give women to clan V, and, thus, the wife of Vasiliy cannot be the sister of Stepan. Thus, the men of clan V remain without wives, and the women of S -- without husbands. To remove this obstacle it is necessary that there be one clan in the phratry, a fourth, from which V would take women and to which clan S would give its women, and, thus, a four-clan phratry appeared on the scene.

The corresponding changes in the kinship relations of the four-clan phratry will be clear from Table No. 2. (see following page)

Clan A (Andrey)

Ancestors:

Andrey, Vera.
Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S.
Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.

Their children:

1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Vasiliy from clan V.

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Schematic Table No. 2 of the Four-clan Cognate Phratry.

Clan V (Vasiliy)	Clan S (Stepan)	Clan D (Dem'yan)
Ancestors:	Ancestors:	Ancestors:
Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Dem'yan from clan D.	Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Mariya, who is married into clan D. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.	Dem'yan, Mariya. Dem'yan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Mariya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.
Their children:	Their children:	Their children:
1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Dem'yan from clan D.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey, from clan A.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S.

(cont.)

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*614 In succeeding generations marriages proceed according
●615 to the same principle as in the foregoing generations: the men marry the daughters of their mother's brother, and the women marry the sons of their father's sister.

Analyzing this table, we see that:

1) In each clan every generation of men takes its wives from the /212/ clan from which their ancestress came, specifically, each individual man takes a wife from the clan of his mother, while the women of each clan marry, according to generation, into the clan into which their ancestress was married, specifically, each individual woman takes her husband from that clan in which her father's sister is married. Exchange of women between two clans is not permitted.

2) Clan A, therefore, takes its women from clan V (the clan from which the ancestress of A, Vera, was taken), but it cannot in return give its women to this clan, but gives them to clan S, where the sister of its ancestor, Anna, is married. It therefore remains for clan V to take its wives either from S or from D, but clan S is prohibited to it, because in relation to this clan it is tujma akhmalk, father-in-law of the second degree (see above); therefore it remains for clan V to take its wives only from clan D, from which was drawn the ancestress of clan V (Sof'ya). After that only the women from clan S and the men from clan D remain unaccounted for, and, as we see from the table, the latter marry the former, and thus the entire phratry is provided for matrimonially, and all the marriage norms are observed.

3) In every conjugal pair, the husband is the son of the sister of the father of his wife, and, consequently, husband and wife are always cognate cousins.

[602] The interrelationships of the members of the various clans of the phratries are clear from the following analysis of the relationships between the ancestors. Let us begin with Andrey from clan A.

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*614 Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Vasily and
●615 Vera, because the sister of the father of the latter was the
602 mother of Andrey. In exactly the same way, Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Stepan and Mariya, because the mother of the latter is the sister of the father of Andrey. Only in relation to Dem'yan and Sof'ya is Andrey a cousin of the second degree, for the clan of Dem'yan (D) takes its women from S, which, in turn, takes them from A; consequently the grandmother of Dem'yan was the sister of the grandfather of A, and thus Andrey and Dem'yan are cognate cousins of the second degree.

It is easy to see that the relationship of every other ancestor to the others is the same as that of Andrey, and similar relationships will exist in every generation between the representatives of the different clans, since the marriage norm in every case is the same. From this analysis it follows that: 1) in each generation the representatives of all four clans are either brothers and sisters to each other, or cousins. In a word, people of the same origin on the male and female side; 2) in clans united by marriage relationships, in each generation the husbands, on the one hand, and their wives, on the other, are cognate cousins of the first degree; 3) between clans not /213/ united by marriage relationships, i.e., clans which are tujma akhmalk to each other, for example, between clans A and D, both the husbands and wives are reciprocally cousins of the second degree, i.e., they are more distantly related than the marrying clans; thus remoteness of kinship beyond a certain degree, as in Australia, is an obstacle to marriage.

The relationship between the marrying ones may be defined in greater detail in the following manner: if "I" am a man, my father-in-law is the brother of my mother and a cousin of the first degree of my father, while my mother-in-law is a cousin of the second degree of my father and a cousin of the first degree of my mother. If "I" am a woman, my father-in-law is a cousin of the first degree of my father and a cousin of the second degree of

/213 cont./

*614 my mother, while my mother-in-law is the sister of my
●615 father and a cousin of the first degree of my mothers; that
602 is to say, husband and wife are kin on both their fathers' and their mothers' sides. On the side of their fathers, on the one hand, and on the side of their mothers, on the other, they are alike cousins of the second degree; on the side of the father of the wife and of the mother of the husband, they are cousins of the first degree, while on the side of the father of the husband and of the mother of the wife, they are cousins of the third degree.

4) The kinship relations between the clans work out in the following ways: a) clan A is the akhmalk (father-in-law in the first degree) of clan S; it is also the tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree) of clan D, and, finally, the ymgri (son-in-law /syat'/) of clan V (although at the same time it is formally the father-in-law of the third degree of the latter, because D is the father-in-law of V); b) clan V stands in exactly the same relationship toward clans A, S, and D, as does clan S toward clans D, V and A, and, finally, clan D toward clans V, A and S. All the clans stand in the relation of pandf (people of a common origin) to each other. From this relationship between the clans it follows that an ymgri is the father-in-law of the third degree in relation to his genuine father-in-law, from which it appears, in turn, that a father-in-law of the third degree is a degree of kinship completely unnecessary for the regulation of marriage. And, in fact, it does not exist in the terminology, which has only two forms of kinship with the father-in-law: akhmalk (father-in-law of the first degree), and tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree).

5) From the above it follows that the tujma akhmalk assumes a reciprocal relationship: A is the tujma akhmalk of D, while D, in turn, is the tujma akhmalk of A, and, since, as we know from the contemporary marriage rights of the Gilyak, women cannot be given to the tujma akhmalk

/213 cont./

*614 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the
●615 tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are
602 possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

Cousin Marriage

532 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among
*104 the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the
121 daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

532 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian
*104 Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia
121 rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i
114 ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

/228 cont./

114 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister"
191 (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms
*104 is met if "I" am a woman.
801 All this is without question evidence that the Turanian
*835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although the examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes of central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of this system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change to the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a con-
*104 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the
601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to
*835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children of
●615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's sister's
191 son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my
104 "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins of the first clam A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of group marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children for both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we shall see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian
*104 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera-
*835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of
615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

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*104 Let us further suppose for simplicity's sake that each
*835 phratry consists of one generation -- groups of brothers and
121 sisters, own and collateral, of different degrees of kinship.

●615 We shall designate groups of male cousins of one division with capital letters. $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$, and their sisters with the corresponding small letters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 \ldots$. In the other phratry the corresponding designation for the brothers will be $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$, and for their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4$, where identical letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin kinship among different groups (adjacent groups will be cousins of the first degree, while the degree of kinship between other groups will be expressed by variations in their indices). Like indices of groups having different letters show that persons of these groups are cousins of the first degree both on their father's side and on their mother's side; A^1, and a^1 are cousins of the first degree to V^1, v^1; A^2, a^2 are also cousins of the first degree to V^2, v^2, etc. But in groups having different letters and different indices, the difference in the indices plus one will show the corresponding degree of cousin kinship: A^1, a^1 are cousins of the second degree to V^2, v^2; A^2, a^2 are cousins of the second degree to V^3, v^3, etc.

Since groups with different letters and identical indices are cousins of the first degree, and these groups are mutually obliged to marry each other, A^1 marries v^1 (the sister of V^1), while the latter marries a^1, the sister of A^1; likewise A^2 marries v^2, V^2 marries a^2, etc.

A general picture of marriage can thus be presented in the form of the following table:

Division I $(A^1 + V^1) + (A^2 + V^2) + (A^3 + V^3) + (A^4 + V^4)$ etc.
Division II $(V^1 + a^1) + (V^2 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^3) + (V^4 + a^4)$ etc.

/229 cont./

121 The general composition of the phratry may be represented
*104 in the following table (see p. 230 /of the original text/).
*835 /230/
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●615 /
*835

I	II
Group of male cousins	Groups of male cousins
$A^1 - A^2 + A^3 + A^4 + A^5 \ldots$	$V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 + V^5 + V^6 \ldots$
Their sisters	
$a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 + a^5 + a^6 \ldots$	$v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 + v^5 + v^6 \ldots$

Since the groups $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4$ etc. and their sisters are related to one another in the same way as the members of the second group V^1, V^2, V^3, V^4 and their sisters, according to the norms of cross-cousin marriage, A^1 is married to v^1 (a sister of V^1); A^2 is married to v^2; A^3 to v^3; A^4 to v^4, etc., and, conversely, V^1 is married to a^1, V^2 to a^2, V^3 to a^3, V^4 to a^4, etc., in each generation.

Now let us imagine the moment when society first became aware of the harm of cross marriage between cousins of the first
[171] degree. From the details of Australian marriage, we know that the first step in this direction was the prohibition of cross marriage between cousins of the first degree and the establishing of cross marriage between cousins of the second degree. As a consequence of this, A^1 no longer marries v^1, but rather his cousin of the second degree, v^2, just as V^1 must now marry a^2, etc.

Marriages under this new arrangement present the following appearance: Division I $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^2 + v^3) + (A^3 + v^4) + (V^1 + a^2) + (V^2 + a^3) + (V^3 + a^4)$ etc. (see errata for original p. 230, line 18, on p. 739 of the foreign text.).
Division II $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^2 + a^3) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^1 + a^3) + (V^2 + a^4) + (V^3 + a^5)$ etc.

It is easy to see that under this arrangement each half of the society is in turn separated into two halves, into two matrimonially isolated groups, namely, the odd members of each division make up only one group, while the even members make up another, and in both divisions together four groups are formed.

/230 cont./

121 This four-group division is expressed in the following
form:
*174 Group I $(A^1 + v^3) + (A^3 + v^1) + (A^5 + v^6)$ and other odd
● 615 members.
*835 Group II $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5)$ and other even members.

Group III $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^6)$ and other odd members.

Group IV $(V^2 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^6 + a^5)$ and other even members.

121 The first group is nebrakopravomochna (inmarriageable
171 /given in English/) with IV, because in some cases, if the
*174 families become joined in wedlock in /231/ consecutive
615 order, for example $(A^1 + v^2)$ with $(V^2 + a^1)$, then the chil-
*835 dren of these families will be bilateral cousins, for their fathers are mutually married to each other's sisters; in other cases, for example in families $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^4 + a^3)$, the children will be not cousins of the second degree, but cousins of the third or fourth degree, which is avoided by the Australian system. For the same reason groups II and III are unmarriageable, while groups I and III and groups II and IV are entirely marriageable in the consecutive order of the families. Thus, for example, in the families $(A^1 + v^2)$ from group I and $(V^1 + a^2)$ from III, as is seen from the indices, the father of the first family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the second family, and, conversely, the father of the second family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the first family; consequently, their children are second degree cousins on the side of both their fathers and their mothers, which is just what is necessary in Australian marriage.

But these groups in the Australian system could not develop into the present clan units, because each pair of marriageable groups remained marriageable for only one generation; consequently, the following generation, as the offspring of brother and sister, could not marry, being

/231 cont./

121 cross cousins of the first degree, and for this reason these
● 615 groups could not become fixed into hereditary unions and
*835 therefore formed only class generations, the whole practical
*174 significance of which was in the mnemonic fixation of the
[171] marriage norms.

The role of the four-group division developed quite differently with the Gilyak type of marriage. Here, too, the initial motive was the realization of the harm of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but while in the Australian system the question was resolved by means of a transition to marriages between cousins of the second degree and the absolute prohibition on marriages between cousins of the first degree, with the preservation, however, of the exchange marriage, in the Gilyak marriage the change of norms was limited merely to a prohibition on marriages between bilateral cousins of the first degree, i.e., marriages where the spouses are cousins of the first degree both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. Here marriage remained obligatory between cousins of the first degree, but only if they were unilateral, i.e., either on the side of the father or on the side of the mother; through this, mutual marriages between two families became absolutely forbidden: under no condition could two men marry each others' sisters; consequently, marriage even between bilateral cousins of the second degree became impossible.

Now let us see how this regulation led to the Gilyak type of phratry.

121 /232/ Let us recall again the phratry with two divisions,
*174 with marriage between cousins of the first degree. In order
*835 to facilitate orientation, we repeat the previously intro-
615 duced diagram of the composition of each generation of spouses according to degrees of kinship, with cross marriage between cousins of the first degree.

/232 cont./

121 Division I: men $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$
*174 their sisters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 \ldots$
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*835
● 615

Division II: men $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$
their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 \ldots$

The same letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin relationship. Persons of different letter-groups with identical indices, for example, A^1, a^1 and V^1, and v^1, or A^2, a^2 and V^2, v^2, are bilateral cousins of the first degree, and they usually join in cross-marriage, i.e., A^1 marries v^1 and V^1 marries a^1. Persons of different letter-groups with different indices are cousins of more remote degrees according to the larger index.

And now let us imagine the moment when the transition from bilateral cousin marriage to unilateral marriage began, and when the exchange of sisters, that is, cross-cousin marriage, became prohibited.

This transition could not be completed all at once. Among individuals of both divisions there were no unilateral cousins at all, because these were all products of cross-cousin marriage. But since marriages between cousins of the first degree became absolutely prohibited, it would doubtless have become necessary for the first time to arrange marriages between cousins of the next closest degrees. The most
[171] rational must be, as we have seen among the Australians, marriage between cousins of the second degree, but, in contrast to the Australian regime, where this form could be strictly put into practice in both divisions (1), here, as a

1. See the above table on p. 338.

consequence of the prohibition of the exchange of women, this form could be employed only in one division of society.

/232 cont./

121 In fact, if A^1 married his cousin of the second degree,
*174 v^2, then the brother of the latter, V^2, could not marry either
● 615 a^1 or a^2, because in such a case two men would be married
*835 to each others' sisters. Therefore, V^2 was obliged to take a cousin of the third degree, a^3. The other cases are handled in exactly the same way.

/233/ Converting this rule into our schematic rows, we obtain the following table of marriage:

Division I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^2 + v^1) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^5 + v^6) + A^6 + v^5) + (A^7 + v^8) + (A^8 + v^7)$.

Division II: $(V^1 + a^3) + (V^2 + a^4) + V^3 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^8 + a^6)$ /see errata for original page 233, lines 5-6, on page 739 of the foreign text/.

In the following generation it already appears possible to fulfill the new principle of unilateral cousin marriage without an exchange of women, where each mother may marry her son to the daughter of her brother.

Analyzing the table we see that among the odd members of the first division, women have the same indices, respectively, as men have among the even members of the second division, i.e., in these two groups and in each pair of families of the same order, for example, $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^2 + a^1)$, the woman of the first family is a sister to the man of the second, but the woman of the second family is not his sister, but his first cousin, the men of the first family are descendants of these families, and consequently they are unilateral cousins of the first degree. Thus, consistent with the Gilyak principle, according to which the son of the sister receives the daughter of her brother, the sons of the first family marry the children of the second. The reverse is not allowed.

/233 cont./

121 On the other hand, by comparing the odd members of the
*174 first division with the odd members of the second division,
● 615 we see that the men of the odd families of the first row and the
*835 women of the even families of the second row, for instance, the members $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^2 + a^4)$, have identical indices, i.e., they are brothers and sisters, and consequently the sons of the second row marry the daughters of the first row. One can easily see that the same relationship will obtain between the even members of the first division and the other two rows of the second division.

[171] Thus, as in Australian marriage, the society, matrimonially, is naturally broken up into four groups:

Division I: Group I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6) + (A^7 + v^8)$ and other odd members.

Group II: $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5) + (A^8 + v^7)$ and other odd members.

Division II: Group III: $(V^1 + a^3) + (V^3 + a^1) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^7 + a^5)$ and other even members.

Group IV: $(V^2 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^6 + a^5) + (V^8 + a^6)$ and other even members.

The families of the first group take for their sons wives /234/ from the corresponding families of group IV, where the mothers of the first are the sisters of the fathers of the second, but the daughters of the first group enter the third group -- into families where their fathers' own sisters are. In exactly the same way the second group takes women from group IV and gives its women to group III. In a word, we have literally everything that we saw in the Gilyak marriage. Since exchange marriage between the two groups does not exist, and consequently in each following generation the descendants of the espoused clans will be unilateral cousins, marriages will without exception take place between the same groups and in the same order of families, so that, in contrast to the Australian groups, in this case these exogamous groups are converted into real clans. Thus we obtain the Gilyak four-clan phratry. In this phratry each clan is joined

/234 cont./

121 in marital relations with two other clans, but the fourth is
*174 absolutely forbidden to it, for it and this fourth one are a
● 615 subgroup of its own primitive exogamous division (groups I
*835 and II are prohibited to each other, and III and IV are likewise prohibited to each other). This prohibited clan is that Gilyak tujma akhmalk kkhal, the clan of the second degre the prohibition of which is so incomprehensible. Now the reason is clear: the tujma akhmalk clans are prohibited because they primordially entered into one common exogamo division.

That this prohibited clan fully corresponds to the Gilya may be easily ascertained from our table.

The first clan gives women to the third, and consequen it is its akhmalk of the first degree, but the third clan, in turn, gives women to the second, i.e., to the latter as wel it is an akhmalk of the first degree. Thus, the first clan is tujma akhmalk of the second clan, i.e., of the clan which is in the same exogamous division with it.

Thus, I hope that we have succeeded in proving the close genetic tie between the Gilyak system and the Australian one from which it separated at that stage when the change toward the elimination of marriage between bilateral cousins of the first degree began.

One system solved the question by means of a shift to marriages between male cousins of the second degree and the final prohibition of marriages between the children of brother and sister in the first generation -- a prohibition fixed in the institution of classes, as among the Arunta. The other system prohibited exchange marriages, preservin obligatory unilateral marriages between the offspring of brother and sister, and fixed its norms in the institution of the four-clan phratry.

A still third variant is possible. Let us once again imagine the moment when it was decided to shift /235/ from the bilateral marriage of cousins of the first degree to the unilateral one, when it will be impossible to exchan women. Until that moment society was divided into two halves in the following manner:

Table No. 2 (cont.)

2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Anna in clan S.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera in clan A.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Mariya in clan D.

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/211cont./

2) Daughters
marry the sons
of the sisters
of their father,
of Sof'ya
in clan V.

/60 cont./

796 231 Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins -- the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees: the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

/109 cont./

And this is just what is striking in the Gilyak system of life. Despite all the complexity of the social fabric, embracing all aspects of life, all those external-formal signs of organization which the European involuntarily seeks everywhere are either completely absent or assume forms which are too fluctuating.

* 614 361 423 /110/ Let us begin with territory. It is completely natural that the members of one clan should prefer to live together in immediate unity and community with each other. There are actually some settlements, such as Tangi, Nyanivo, Viskivo, and others, where the whole population belongs to one clan. In the large winter yurts of such settlements one can sometimes count 20 or 30 clansmen and not a single alien. Even where several clans live in one settlement, as in Kol', the yurts of each clan are arranged in a row, as if in accord with a strictly observed tradition. Each clan has its own clan streams for hunting, divided among the different families, among whom they pass by inheritance from father to son, although the right to property is limited by actual use, upon the suspension of which the stream becomes res nullius and can be utilized by anyone, even an alien.

Nevertheless, despite the natural tendency of clansmen to remain near each other, the principle of territoriality does not in fact exist. In the great majority of Gilyak villages the composition of the population is mixed. In the above-mentioned settlement of Kol' I counted representatives of eight clans, in smaller villages, from two to three clans, and but very few villages in which there were absolutely no members of other clans. There are clans whose branches are to be met in the most different and remote points of Gilyak territory. This dispersion, of course, is a fact that seems to be at variance with the principles of clan, but it is inevitable under the given economic and social conditions. A settlement located in a particularly favorable place from the fisherman's point of view will naturally attract newcomers from other clans, and, conversely, if the clan has grown so large

/126 cont./

* 614 615 796 574 182 This rule is so strictly observed that the very host who has been most diligent in receiving and making presents to his ymgi is not even invited by the latter to the festival, but, on the other hand, he will be the honored guest of his own akhmal'k. Thus there is formed an uninterrupted chain, uniting the long series of clans in their socio-religious festivals.

We have already said something in the section on religion about the important part played by the ymgi in the bear festival. One goes out many versts to meet them and gives them the most honored function at the festival, namely, the killing of the bear, and all this time they are the center of attention for the whole clan. They are everywhere fed to the bursting point, dragged around from yurt to yurt, and, finally, before departure given a large part of the bear carcass. All these acts of hospitality and respectful attention are crowned with serious religious rites, sanctifying the fraternal union of the clans. At the beginning of the festival, the ymgi exchange nich'i (symbol of united co-operation in hunting, see above) with the host; before departure, the ymgi presents to his akhmal'k in parting dogs, which, together with the dogs of the latter, will go to the master of the mountains, the common sustainer of the clan; and at the last moment the ymgi performs the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man; they strengthen the ties of kinship with the higher sanction of religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

* 614 615 ● 621 They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live forever with his pandf'y. This is why, by the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their ymgi or akhmal'k'i. But these ties prove of

* 614 615 ● 621 628 /127 cont./ But these ties prove of particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the same selflessness as they show toward their own clansmen. Only in the payment of tkhusind may the pandf'y not participate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently happens, and we have already expressed in the section on revenge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

* 614 615 609 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans, relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding generations give to each other, has finally become the customary appellation with which any member of another clan or stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward members of other clans.

609 574 [157] Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without discrimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the Orok, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers, the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

/235 cont./

I. $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^2 + v^2)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^5 + v^5)+(A^6 + v^6)$.

II. $(V^1 + a^1)+(V^2 + a^2)+(V^3 + a^3)+(V^4 + a^4)+(V^5 + a^5)+(V^6 + a^6)$.

Now it is necessary to shift to the unilateral marriage, for exchanging sisters is impossible, but now there are no unilateral cousins of the first degree, and only for the first time is it possible to observe the prohibition on the exchange of sisters; consequently, the son of A^1 may marry the daughter of V^1, but the son of V^1 may not marry the daughter of A^1; he may marry the daughter of A^2, his female cousin of the nearest degree, etc. Then the picture of marriage is the following

I. $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^2 + v^2)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^5 + v^5)+(A^6 + v^6)$

1. $(V^1 + a^3)+(V^2 + a^1)+(V^3 + a^4)+(V^4 + a^3)+(V^5 + a^6)+(V^6 + a^5)$

I. 1) $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^5 + v^5)$: 1st clan takes women from clan 3, that of the mother's brother.

2) $(A^2 + v^2)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^6 + v^6)$: 2nd clan takes women from clan 4.

II. 3) $(V^1 + a^2)+(V^3 + a^4)+(V^5 + a^6)$: 3rd clan takes women from clan 2.

4) $(V^2 + a^1)+(V^4 + a^3)+(V^6 + a^5)$: 4th clan takes women from clan 1.

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619 TRIBE AND NATION--presence or absence of groups larger than the community to which people think they "belong" in an extended kinship sense; basis of identification (e.g., common name, common language, contiguous territory, common culture, tradition of common descent); intratribal intercourse and communication (e.g., trade, intermarriage), degree of development of nationalistic aspirations; etc. See also:

Tribal or national political organization . . . 64
Affiliation with a culture area or subarea . . . 101
Ethnocentrism 486
Intercommunity relationships 628
Intertribal or international relationships 649
Nationalistic movements 668
Ideas about race 829

/669/

423 224 226 619 Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting, except for the places on the river where they have their salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the sea-coast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the [648] vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

685 [421] [123] Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the [186] inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted [192] with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradn Russ. ukrast)), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met 685 123 persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc., whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

THE NIVKHI

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(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

General Information

The Nivkhi live on the lower reaches of the Amur and adjacent areas, as well as on Sakhalin. They are sharply different in language from their neighbors, who speak languages of the Tunguso-Manchurian group, and belong to the so-called paleo-Asiatic peoples. 101

The name of the people derives from their name for themselves, Nivkh, or "man." They were known in Russian pre-Revolutionary literature as "Gilyaks." This word evidently derives from "Gileke" and "Gilyami," as the Nivkhi are called among Tunguso-Manchurian peoples.

The census of 1926-27 set the number of Nivkhi at 4076 persons (1700 on Soviet Sakhalin and 2376 on the continent). In addition, according to data in 1928, 111 Nivkhi lived in the formerly Japanese part of Sakhalin. [162]

Thus, the Nivkhi consist of two groups territorially: the continental, or the Amur, group, and the Sakhalin group. The continental Nivkhi live along the Lower Amur, along the coast of the Amur Estuary, and in the adjoining areas along the Tatar Strait and the Sea of Okhotsk. On the Amur, the Nivkhi villages are interspersed among Russian and Negidal villages. The Nivkhi village farthest up the Amur is Pad; others are situated lower on the Amur and its estuary; in the south they reach as far as Cape Lazarev; the northernmost village in the estuary is Kul' (181 km from Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur). Individual families live among the Ul'chi. In the past, some Nivkhi groups were found as far as the Uda River. In 1884, the well-known Russian traveler Middendorf encountered them on the Chumikan. In Sakhalin, the Nivkhi are living today both on the western and eastern coasts, as well as along the middle reaches of the Tym' River. On the western coast, their main mass is concentrated in the Rybnovskiy Rayon. In the Aleksandrovskiy and Shirokopadskiy Rayons there are only small groups of Nivkhi, who remained there after the resettlement of a large group in the Kirovskiy Rayon. The population of the latter is today almost entirely concentrated on one large collective farm, Chir-Unvd. On the eastern coast, the southernmost point is the village of Nyyvo; farther north, there are large villages, Dagi, Chayvo and Pil'tun, where the former residents of the tiny hamlets scattered along the coast have 101 361 [619]

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621 COMMUNITY STRUCTURE--physical type (e.g., migratory band, settled village, neighborhood of scattered households, aggregation of hamlets, ward or other local subdivision of a town); kinship structure (e.g., clan-community, endogamous or exogamous deme, segmented community of associated clan-barrios, unsegmented but homogeneous community, heterogeneous community); socio-political and economic structure and organization; local subdivisions of the community; community population (e.g., mean, range); area of territory exploited (e.g., mean, range); distinguishing characteristics (e.g., name, local dialect, local culture); tendency toward local endogamy or exogamy; cohesive and fissive tendencies; neighborliness; local pride; etc. See also:

Physical characteristics and facilities of settlements 36
Social stratification 56
Interpersonal relations 57
Town and city government 63
Place names 108
Real property 423
Clans 618

/361 cont./

present; frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint work with him (more detail about this below).

12. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away, they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an arshin square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a woman), and other trifles. Thus there arises a whole row of yurt-tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements, they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

/664 cont./ The following remarks pertain only to this period, certainly a very favorable one for the study of their peculiarities.

Beyond the family and the paternal kin-group, the Gilyak have no legal-administrative structure or organization for self-government: there are among them no individuals provided by them themselves with authoritative power, say, for preserving order, for settling disputes, and the like. And there seems to be no need for that among them. Since they wage no wars with their neighbors or among themselves, undertake no joint raiding expeditions into foreign territory, collect no tribute and do not have to deliver any, etc., they need no leaders, chiefs, elders, or the like. Order is maintained by observing the ancient usages and the traditional customs, and in case of disputes and conflicts, self-help enters in, supported by the rules of blood revenge. Thus the Gilyak have no superiors or masters in their midst, but rather they are all legally equal, with, of course, the exception of the slaves, who, however, as has been said, are not Gilyak, but are foreigners in serfdom among them. For the concept of "master," which they first learned from the Manchu-Chinese, they therefore, for both the latter and the Russians, use the Chinese expression dshangin (3). Only once

3. Gerbillon (in Dukalde /Du Halde/, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 385) mentions the term "tschanghin" for a high official who enjoys the special confidence of the emperor.

did I hear a Gilyak designate himself as such: it was in the isolated yurt of Miwwach located at the end of the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin and occupied by a married couple, where the host introduced himself to me as the "dshangin of Miwwach, but evidently he merely wanted to indicate that he was the sole owner of the yurt.

116, 161, 177, 621 Russia
636.62

"The Gilyak on Sakhalin.....will surely die out with the further inroad of the European. The chief causes of the dying out of the natives is [LSS: sic] disease, the narrowing limits of their hunting-ground, the decay of the spirit of the race, and their inability to adapt themselves to another mode of living which is gradually but surely being forced upon them. The Government's attitude towards them is a 'correct' one. It recognizes them as Russian subjects, interferes as little as possible with their scant organization, and prohibits the sale of intoxicants to them. What is really required now, but hardly to be expected from officials whose function is the safeguarding of criminals, is a patriarchal government which shall interest itself in the race and its changing conditions."

174 mainland among Goldi as well as Manchurians. It is more likely that the first Gilyak who emigrated to the mainland from Sakhalin, took over the building methods as well as the language from the Goldi, and that the later ones who remained in closer contact with their native country, adopted the building methods of the Goldi and Manchurians but kept their own language.

The Russians became acquainted with the Gilyak as early as the middle of the 17th century when the first bold Russian pioneers traveled along the Amur. At that time there were also supposed to have been occasional bloody animosities. The Gilyak themselves, however, no longer know anything about this, unless perhaps there are accounts in rare legends which may be known by only a few. The majority know nothing of their own history and I was not even able to ascertain whether there was not someone still living among them who might tell me something of their antiquity.

161 The population of the Gilyak can be only approximately de-
177 termined, because, up to the present time, these people do not even pay yassak, and thus there can be no official methods set up to observe the shifts in their population. According to the estimates of the ispravniks (officials) the number of Gilyak of the Nikolayevsk district (1) and the

1. From the coast up-stream to Mariinskoye (270 versts from Nikolayevsk).

De Kastri and Kaiser bays amounts to about 4000, that of the Sofiyskoye district (2), 1000. As for Sakhalin, it has no

2. From Mariinskoye up to the Gorin.

ispravniks, but instead I asked the traveling fur dealers whose business, when all is said and done, would give them a greater interest in this question than the ispravniks would have. According to their opinion, there may be about 3000
161 Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin. The entire race of Gilyak
621 (exclusive of the Negidal) may thus comprise some 8000 souls. I believe the figure is not too large for, although the Gilyak villages are small and present a diminutive appearance, they are [100] relatively densely populated. One may assume that one house shelters no less than 12-15 persons. From a rough calculation which I made in the year 1880, there were about 900 persons in nine villages extending from the coast to the village of Vaida (30 versts above

161 Nikolayevsk.
621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.

161 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
177 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p. 249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

133 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
312 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) sea-going vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

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622 HEADMEN--existence of community chiefs or headmen; qualifications; mode of selection (e.g., by seniority, informal acceptance, election, matrilineal or patrilineal succession); functions and activities; domestic establishment; special status and functions of headman's relatives; authority; prerogatives; etc. See also:

Headmen of sib groups 61
Chiefs of territorial divisions 63
Leadership traits 187
Chief executive of the state 643

/111 cont./

614 [167] Thus in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bear the designations, Tyvli-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Tyvlin); M'yekhre-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yekhri), N'yenkhay-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Nyenkhay), etc., although the representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in the above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their ties with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only clans

[171] 1. Similar territorial designations among the Australians were the reason that Kunov came to the completely unfounded conclusion that among these tribes there is no clan organization.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants from the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans as the Tskharnung, the Choril, etc. And it is noteworthy that in just these clans we observe a clear transition to totemism. In the Negda tribe, for example, almost every clan traces its origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear, etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely encountered.

614 /112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the most 177 important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. However 648 complex, as we have seen, clan life is, the clan does not know 622 any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after them the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institution of elders, and at that not clan but settlement elders, but it had no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty episode, but that was all. The elders designated by the Russian authorities were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthiest inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and these not only did not enjoy any authority, but rather scorn, and in some 614 instances even hatred. The primordial structure of the clan knew nothing of the kind. The patriarchal authority which, according to the Biblical examples, is ordinarily associated with the

/113 cont./

596 Finally -- and this is particularly necessary to note -- it is not at all obligatory that at the head of large families with a common economy there should be elders in years; most frequently, on the contrary, they are young people who have distinguished themselves by their activity, resourcefulness, and zeal, in a word, 596 by their personal talents. Old men enjoy /114/ authority only with 888 regard to special questions, as the preservers of traditions, as experts in the rituals and history of the family-clan relations. They are consulted on confusing questions of kinship and in the giving of names; it is they who must supervise the ritual aspect of festivals, but this does not give them any power or advantages.

* 614 And that which is absent in the family -- the despotism of the ● 622 eldest, the head -- is also lacking in the clan. It knows neither despotic elders-patriarchs nor any permanent authorities in general, collective or individual, neither elected ones nor any by right of birth and inheritance.

* 614 The clan is not a fiction, however; it is a complicated institution, surrounding the Gilyak with a thick net of regulations, prohibitions, and obligations, but at the same time providing him with all the benefits, material and spiritual, of a firm social union.

We thus return to the question that we raised at the end of the preceding section. Where are the driving forces of the mechanism of this almighty institution -- the clan, where is the secret of the amazing combination of the closest community with a complete absence of despotism, of all-embracing wardship and regulation with the absence of compulsion and the maintenance of individual freedom?

This secret is contained in two conditions: 1) the simplicity of economic conditions and relations, which offers a broad scope to the comprehensive development of the powers and abilities of the individual and their free application to the wide-open gifts of nature equally free to all; and, secondly, the entire socio-religious world-outlook, which quite spontaneously, without any external pressure, directs the will and activity of each toward the harmony of the common interest, substituting for external compulsion the force of the inner consciousness of each.

/119 cont./

* 614 554 556 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and [537] knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator, "khlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the [532] Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions. [623] In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the ● [622] community in the name of the clan. Under other circumstances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

* 614 /119 cont./

554 556 the most outstanding yz'i become leaders of the tribe for li
● [622] or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do no yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison wit the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and l are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ yz' if not t integrated personality in its highest manifestation of individ uality? The influence of the yz' is therefore purely factual moral; between him and the poorest of his clansmen there no abyss either in the intellectual or economic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

* 614 Such is the mechanism of clan life. Its real mainspring 182 the comprehensive development of the personality, togethe with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent. Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authori exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at al as constant elements of authority which would push the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them:

[623] Above all there is the khal', the clan, i.e., the whole totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regul assemblies, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once th problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly it appeared.

/360 cont./
among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His successor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The intervention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tyki, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fishing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as is done at

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Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives, from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

/622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tributary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region, among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves, by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate [114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

/622 cont./

and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

/622 cont./

Let us now compare the conditions described by Mamia Rin with the position that the Manchu-Chinese occupied in relation to the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region half a century later at the time of my visit. This has already been discussed in the foregoing on various occasions, and therefore I shall now only recapitulate /623/ briefly the principal features of it to make comparison easier. At the time of my visit, the Manchu or Chinese no longer made any trade journeys to Sakhalin at all (1). An obligation for the payment of tribute by the Sakhalin

1. Also, the above-mentioned Ssetakurero questioned by Mr. Schmidt could not remember having seen Manchu about (in Najoro); it was always only "Ssanta" (Olcha) or "Ssumeri" (Gilyak) who came there for trade purposes (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 94).

Ainu and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Manchu likewise did not exist, and thus there were none of those appointed chiefs or elders among them. Almost the same situation prevailed with regard to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha: the former were visited neither by the Manchu nor by Chinese merchants; among the latter, to be sure, Chinese traders stayed here and there, but they carried on their business entirely by their own hands, and a tribute, or, more accurately, a specific assessment in furs, was collected from the one as from the other only in Ssan-ssin for the granting of permission to trade. The Goldi, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Manchu-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Manchu officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it must be concluded that in the period between Mamia Rinsô's travels in the Amur region and mine a retreat of the Manchu-Chinese control from Sakhalin and the lowermost course of the Amur, from the territories of the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had taken place.

2: Schrenck--1879 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

648 /664 cont. / The following remarks pertain
128 only to this period, certainly a very favorable one for the study of their peculiarities.

621 Beyond the family and the paternal kin-group, the Gilyak
622 have no legal-administrative structure or organization for self-government: there are among them no individuals provided by them themselves with authoritative power, say, for preserving order, for settling disputes, and the like. And there seems to be no need for that among them. Since they wage no wars with their neighbors or among themselves, undertake no joint raiding expeditions into foreign territory, collect no tribute and do not have to deliver any, etc., they need no leaders, chiefs, elders, or the like. Order is maintained by observing the ancient usages and the traditional customs, and in case of disputes and conflicts, self-help enters in, supported by the rules of blood
[567] revenge. Thus the Gilyak have no superiors or masters in their midst, but rather they are all legally equal, with, of course, the exception of the slaves, who, however, as has been said, are not Gilyak, but are foreigners in serfdom among them. For
[177] the concept of "master," which they first learned from the Manchu-Chinese, they therefore, for both the latter and the Russians, use the Chinese expression dshangin (3). Only once

3. Gerbillon (in Dukalde /Du Halde/, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 385) mentions the term "tschanghin" for a high official who enjoys the special confidence of the emperor.

did I hear a Gilyak designate himself as such: it was in the isolated yurt of Miwwach located at the end of the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin and occupied by a married couple, where the host introduced himself to me as the "dshangin of Miwwach," but evidently he merely wanted to indicate that he was the sole owner of the yurt.

4: Kanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1904 RX2 Gilyak RX2

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
629 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to
601 the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
[198] the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
[595] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
614 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
561 (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
175 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
439 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
614 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
184 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and
182 bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time
[556] the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[595] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
[567] The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
175 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders,
648 and gasyanda—village elders.
614
622 After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally
175 become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
178 appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
433 ments of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch
[567] was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
771 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
776 of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

9: Hawes--259-260 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 342, 361, 622

"We drew up in front of the 'great city' of Nivo, consisting of less than two dozen huts, dwellings which would be reckoned miserable by the occupants of Irish [260] hovels. At the usual signal, twelve pair of stalwart hands were ready to haul up our canoe, and we strode up the sands to meet the headman of the village, or, as my interpreter called him, the 'Lord Mayor of the city of Nivo.'

The 'Mansion House' of the 'Lord Mayor of Nivo,' which I now entered in the usual humble fashion, was rather larger than those we had seen hitherto, but in other respects exactly similar. Outside, on either side of the three-foot doorway, were two broad shelves sheltered by an extension of the roof, and containing winter sledges and all manner of tackle not required until later in the year. Inside was a goodly gathering, some score, of Gilyaks, who were to be our sleeping companions that night. These comprised the starosta, his two wives, his children and relatives, the latter including our Armunka, who was a distant cousin."

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

● 622 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who
177

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it. For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier [XIV, p. 223], [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi
796 pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
● 622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 elder who also determines how many and which bears are
● 622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their involuntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand completely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it wants to attack its tormentors.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
841 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, however, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the track by their owners and placed next to each other, they were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

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624 COUNCILS--existence of advisory or deliberative bodies within the community (e.g., council of elders, assembly of adult males); membership; mode of selection, organization; functions (e.g., advisory, judicial, legislative); conduct of sessions; powers and prerogatives; etc. See also:
Councils of territorial divisions . . . . . 63 Legislative and deliberative bodies of the state. . 666

/119 cont./

* 614 554 556 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and
[537] knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator, "shlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the
[532] Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions.
● [623] In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the
[622] community in the name of the clan. Under other circumstances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

/119 cont./

*614 the most outstanding yz'i become leaders of the tribe for life,
854 or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or
556 [622] founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do not yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still too insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison with the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and life are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ yz' if not that integrated personality in its highest manifestation of individuality? The influence of the yz' is therefore purely factual, moral; between him and the poorest of his clansmen there is no abyss either in the intellectual or economic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

*614 Such is the mechanism of clan life. Its real mainspring is
182 the comprehensive development of the personality, together with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent, Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authority exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at all as constant elements of authority which would push the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them:

Above all there is the khal', the clan, i.e., the whole
[623] totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regular assemblies, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once the problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly as it appeared.

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*614 Then there are the hejmary, the elders, all of whose author-
182 ity consists in the solution of moot problems of cult and kinship.
● 623 They play a certain role at the time of the clan festivals, at which they are generally the principal managers; they are, after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They do not, however, wield any influence or possess any actual significance in the other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

*614 Finally, the third element of authority is the yz'i.
187 Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of these
556 [554] three elements those diverse forms of power which in various combinations (people's assemblies, the council of the elders, patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, dukes, vikings, kings, and so forth) we find among many semi-cultured peoples at the present time and at the dawn of the history of all nations which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these elements are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

/121/ VIII.

Interclan Relations

615 The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution, and
*614 a man's intimate ties are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law, is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the akhmal'k and ymgi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond of blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, the bond of common origin through the mother (the male ancestors of all four clans and the representatives of each of their generations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and to this are united those powerful ties of natural intimacy which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage unions.

/354 cont./

614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following
587 the decision of the clan, to one of the ruvn of the deceased, generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her, although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-ytk, atk, oia. Generally speaking, as a rule, a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under no circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore,
614 it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages
[329] concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition, scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the
[667] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the
● [623] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the in-
173 capacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

● 623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

● 623 usually concern abductions of women or major transgres-
681 sions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of the idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

578 Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
411 conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the kaur, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the iron point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the stick. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry- which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

563 A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
177 fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called brodyagi (i.e., loafers are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief deportation center for non-political criminals, these brodyagi also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their native villages and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest to entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they hold up to themselves is-not to be recognized in case of arrest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor, but only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

9: Hawes--137-138 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 361, 563, 624

sergeant, but his duties are as varied as those of a prefect in F
commissioner in India. Police, military, the census, agricultu
these and more come within his cares; and for this he is paid t
thirty rubles (three guineas) a month. Tracking escaped convic
important of his functions at Ado Tim, and he was away down th
when we arrived."

France, or even a deputy-
re, and 'roads,' all
he magnificent sum of
ts was not the least
he river on this errand

626

626 SOCIAL CONTROL--incentives to conformity (e.g., expectation of rewards, reciprocity, fear of social and supernatural sanctions, conscience), means of inducing conformity (e.g., example, precept, praise, rewards, warnings, threats); pressure of public opinion; informal mechanisms of social control (e.g., criticism, ridicule, gossip, cursing, sorcery, intentional silence, ostracism); incidence and effectiveness of such sanctions as compared with the application of physical force; etc. See also:

Socialization	86	Niceness to beaches of etiquette	576
Social norms	183	Breaches of ethics	577
Public opinion	158	Ingroup arrangements	670
Wit and humor	522	Sorcery	724
Curse and gossip	654	Supernatural sanctions for violations of taboos and other offenses	794
Lust of face	150		
Kinship group	571	Cursing	769

*835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
578 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
834 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southern-
[361] most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her sweetheart publicly, disappears from the house, and completely disregards her obligations to her individual husband. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
166 and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles
*835 a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
578 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences. Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy. I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski, but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[594] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all. Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in debt to everybody, lightheaded, and unfortunately for any

/250 cont./
831 Such instances must not be regarded as a general
192 phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors are also acting. Among the married women, such factors are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and bashfulness. In general, however, sexual dissoluteness plays no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an economic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily the Loveiaces either do not maintain households at all or, if they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both
[626] in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp reproaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for laziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And
[842] furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages
831 to dissoluteness. But the saddest of all is the influence of
158 dissoluteness on the psychics. A whole series of nervous disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myarechenie among both men and women, and diseases connected with the full loss of psychic composure (self-control /given in English/) are the result of dissoluteness, which furthermore, among women, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the appearance of hysteria.

831 Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom
192 described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role in the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term for love, ef'-mund, denotes both sexual love and love in general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term for reciprocal love -- ef'mundi; for marriage for love, ef'mur:kir, vayvnd. There are also some other terms for love, for example, hyvnd and others, but the one as special terms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although /251/ one can say eimula nagryvn, i.e., "man whom they love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/251 cont./
831 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
192 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
824 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
543 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
• 626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

829 /252/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the
Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty
and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
837 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
599 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
832 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij --
in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/276 cont./
543 years regularly sent him rice, tobacco,
431 and tea, and divided with him all that
he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he had given a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

• [626] return a gift of equal value to the bridegroom. A Gilyak who breaks this custom becomes a general laughingstock. Besides the gifts to the groom, it is also the father's obligation to provide his daughter with a dowry equal in value to the bride price, and the dowry is in essence as much a gift to the daughter as it is to her husband, who is freed from the great expense of expenditures on his wife.

Thus, it is clear that, at least among the Gilyak (among other peoples, too, there is much reason to think) (2), bride

[191] 2. Incidentally, among the Turkic peoples and the Shoshoni Indians, where marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyak.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be
583 axiomatic until very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /277/ this is the fact that it is positively not allowed to buy wives from one another. It remains for us to answer the question, why is there no
583 bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in this last
187 case marriages are concluded between persons who are bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between alien clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

/308 cont./
765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your
mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
774 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear,
• 626 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "main khardz:. " "What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's classmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
587 is over.
768

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half
a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old was cremated, his mother would not have chil-
dren for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[751] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Tilghf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a tolv'ŋ, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinyn -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red curants. They pity the man; they select two or three /369/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinyn nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/333 cont./
224 are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow
782 trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigvnd kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

833 When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are
147 found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

224 During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhund), a
784 woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If
• [626] any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or
hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

224 /334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs.
Catching a wolf. In Ikhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tor' (?), and
the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

224 Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon,
[252] and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly
kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh thhusind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of thhusind.

198 urla-dun 'good meat' they say amra-elvia-dun 'amra bad
225 meat.'
urla-dun 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dun 'amra good
meat.'

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
781 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance
one must not pour water out of the boat onto flow where seals
had been killed. Xitrov, who told me about it, said that he all
but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat
onto flow with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the
hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number
of taboos; the same applies for those who remain home and,
especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in
the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any
objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the
seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not let leather for shoes (ki-ut), otherwise the
seals will forget.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would
not be able to hunt seals.

[15] In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my
conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place
in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts
from the new settlement Alexandrovsk) on June 8th, 1908. I was
sitting in Gilyak Rogyin's yurt. Present were, besides Rogyin
and myself, the Gilyaks Kavagun, Chukich, Furagg and the late
old man Pitunga, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

Rogyin said: 'When you go seal hunting in the spring you
know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will
scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home,
the seal will start fighting. If the woman wash something at
home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even
if it were set more than five steps away from him. We say that
all the hunter can do is bet the loam. Obviously, the 'god' Sas

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
782 smell if a thief is in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
relations with another man while her husband is away on a
hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inte-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of
our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives
and later find out from neighbors in the village what had
really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it
and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the
sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the seal hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks
jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - says, plates
or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter,
say, the leader of the gang, may drown. Therefore those
at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter
will not get hold of a seal. There he returns home angry and tries
to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.
786 Rogyin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence of
825 of a god, god's point on which I did not want to agree with him.
'Here came a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going
on at home?' he told me. 'Surely this must be telling him
about it. That's why we say that he knows.'

Incidentally, after my conversation with Rogyin, Pitunka
told me that the neighbor in the 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
following ul. ni 'taboo.' 'We' during a seal hunt the guest
must not 'eat' the tentacles of a seal or teapot. Only the
master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time)
could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If
the guest wanted to pour out tea, he touched the handle of a settle or
teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve,
and put it into the teapot.

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pitunka spoke of a beath.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
811 hunt seals, walruses, sea lions, etc.; the sea cat; the fox and
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of
seals.

Pila-la-r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-ra 'present sivuch', i.e. a sivuch born in the
given year.

2. Tyl-r, literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year
old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash his head and its
782 mouth with water, and then they have a special scoop
r. ainkiu-ymrut; literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i.e. the scoop for washing the face of the animal.
The hunters with pika-r stick in them are taken home.
225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pila. performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines tak. Regardless of the
825 number of killed seals belonging to one "harvesting", this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first
sivuch. The pila. takes the liver of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all
of the figurines with a sivuch's liver, the latter would die. After
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as
belonging to the hunter. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent
from the facts given below. Thus - as I was informed by a
Gilyak - the blood only of five sivuchs have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pila.
asserting, that it is not the sivuch killed by him who is the lord of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incidents. Once upon a time
a Gilyak by the name of Ikar killed an old sivuch during the
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.
784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
782 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.
183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women)are
825 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
264 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe
these taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the
well known parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well
as women)are not supposed to eat. We shall only mention the
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the interdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go
hunting bears with a heart affliction. The young hunter must
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him
to death during an encounter. Therefore tongue did not only
can eat. These instances illustrate the manner in which the
Gilyaks reason about taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these explanations.The meaning of taboos is the taboo
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
785 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the lion's
parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
787 [88] Except for the relations between the old and young
787 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
parts of the clan, there are
818 Thus, in the very small village Kul, in the village Ch'arvo
(Charbuhk), the old Gilyak Kouin and [illegible] tak (Agoka) informed
825 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects
used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a joke or with a boar; used by
women in cutting leather and cloth (tana-k-ainr). Also, a child
must not play with a woman's knife (ki-ut). After
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[/17 cont./]

But the worst of calamities -- a claimant has been slain
War is inevitable! ... The whole population takes up arms.
There is no regular leader, no advice, and no election. The
natural leader has long been known and acknowledged by all.
is the bravest and luckiest of the clansmen, it is the so-called
"master," "gi" - all men are turned into heroes.
And in a moment the equal among equals suddenly becomes
a military leader, gives orders, distributes weapons, fixes the
time of the battle, marches, etc.; in short, he does everything that
if this natural leader had died or been killed, everything would
one most worthy to replace him.
614 [/18] Civil disputes between the clans and strife arises between clansmen or
614 tween [/18] representatives of different clans. There are no
established persons who ex officio resolve disputes and difficu
614 [/19] Civil disputes between clansmen are settled by the elders
sentence. Once the defendant has refused to carry out his obli
tion of his own free will, the accuser, not stopping to mediate
whatever, a dog from the clan of the defendant and kills the
house in order to take for himself something equal in value to
claim. And the accuser considers this in the order of things.
614 The affair is settled, and the dog is eaten. Sometimes
affair works out perfectly well without the powers that be. It
enough for the offended party merely to address himself directly
through a third party to the offender and tell him the complaint
individuals-"masters" from the clansmen of the offender, and
matter is very quickly settled. They summon the offender, who
is usually escorted by his clansmen. Gifts are poured out
both sides, the incident is closed. There is also a more
fellicious outcome when the representatives of a blood clan
living in the same settlement intervene in the affair.
offender hubtuin voluntarily; otherwise, they will, of course, separate the
[/17 proceed to the offender's storehouse and remove an equivalent
[illegible]

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
785 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the lion's
parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
787 [88] Except for the relations between the old and young
787 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
parts of the clan,
818 Thus, in the very small village Kul, in the village Ch'arvo
(Charbuhk), the old Gilyak Kouin and [illegible] tak (Agoka) informed
825 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects
used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a joke or with a boar; used by
women in cutting leather and cloth (tana-k-ainr). Also, a child
must not play with a woman's knife (ki-ut). After
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as
belonging to the hunter. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent
from the facts given below. Thus - as I was informed by a
Gilyak - the blood only of five sivuchs have been killed. Without drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pila.
asserting, that it is not the sivuch killed by him who is the lord of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incidents. Once upon a time
a Gilyak by the name of Ikar killed an old sivuch during the
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.
784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
782 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.
183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women)are
825 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
264 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe
these taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the
well known parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well
as women)are not supposed to eat. We shall only mention the
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the interdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go
hunting bears with a heart affliction. The young hunter must
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him
to death during an encounter. Therefore tongue did not only
can eat. These instances illustrate the manner in which the
Gilyaks reason about taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these explanations.The meaning of taboos is the taboo
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash his head and its
782 mouth with water, and then they have a special scoop
r. ainkiu-ymrut; literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i.e. the scoop for washing the face of the animal.
The hunters with pika-r stick in them are taken home.
225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pila. performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines tak. Regardless of the
825 number of killed seals belonging to one "harvesting", this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first
sivuch. The pila. takes the liver of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all
of the figurines with a sivuch's liver, the latter would die. After
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as
belonging to the hunter. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent
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these explanations.The meaning of taboos is the taboo
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

627 INFORMAL INGROUP JUSTICE--informalized mechanisms for adjusting grievances and applying sanctions within the community; primary relations [illegible] - fetching, hiring and fostering; feuding; mediation; organized [illegible]; informal hearings before the headman or local council; etc. Data on informal [illegible] under 69 rather than under this category whenever formal judicial institutions are found even at the community level. See also:
Justice, 17 Offense and punishment

624

LOCAL OFFICIALS--specialized offices within the community (e.g., war chief, fire chief, talking chief, recorder of deeds, surveyor, herald, chief priest); qualifications, mode of selection, functions, activities, and prerogatives of each type of official; etc. See also:

Officials of territorial divisions 63
Military organization 70
State bureaucracy 647
Priesthood 793

9: Hawes--137-1
116, 361, 563, 6

"We were nearin
interior. The na
settlement lay h
We had no wis
and we would ra
but the natives r
ashore, hoping t
On either side o
miserably poor,
others with loos
clad were indisc

1. The Eas

a fire kindled be
betokened tobac
in the scantiest
simply in a froc
autumn morning
Each village h

g Ado Tim, the last Russian penal settlement of all in the northern
tive village of that name was situated on the banks lower down, but the
alf a verst from the river.
h to arrest our progress here, the settlement had a very bad reputation,
ther camp in the open, or among the natives, from what we had heard;
efused to take us further except at a prohibitive price, and we went
hat time would settle our difference.....[138]
f the broad grass track of the settlement was a row of higgledy-piggledy,
out-of-repair log-huts, with tiny windows, some roofed with boards,
e pieces of bark. Pigs, a foal or two, and a few children, miserably
riminately scattered on the 'road.' Kita (1) hung curing in the smoke of

t Siberian name for Salmo lagocephalus.

neath, and bunches of withering green leaves by the hutside in the sun
o drying. Women wandered about barefooted, and they and the men were
of clothing, the latter in a cotton shirt and trousers, and the former
k and an extra bodice. It was always a matter of wonder to me how in
s and late afternoons they could stand the cold so miserably clothed.
as its overseer, who is a soldier. In rank he may be compared to a

/170 cont./

anŋej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through the same symbolic actions that people go through during the betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat together. To say to a woman of the anŋej category, "Let us have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said, is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and hence it does not constitute a violation of religious morali, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (and, if goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamievo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I

/170 cont./

complaint against a local woman, who the evening before had seized him by the leg, on the grounds of which he was demanding "ransom." They summoned the culprit. She confessed and by the decision of the assembly she was obliged to hand over publicly to her accuser an adjudged ransom, namely, a bear's gall bladder, a bark dish. Why the fine was limited to such insignificant objects (if they were not merely symbols of especially female labor) I explain only by the fact that the guilty woman was entirely alone and did not possess anything more valuable.

/171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous opportunities for lovemaking, even with alien women, slip by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien women was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarded is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen, punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and inevitable banishment. There can hardly be even any question of a casual passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons of forbidden categories has become converted into that same instinct which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or own sister. All the more powerfully is the right to sexual intercourse between the categories of ŋu and anŋej realized. In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in the

/278 cont./

chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy. But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do kinsmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a member of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case. The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka. He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan. At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

/298 cont./

A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /syat'/, kikhal or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the kikhal keeps silent, but they will continue to talk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla-ŋ'ymydz).

A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis skin bow. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp. The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to her: "U'ur humyjŋ! Wingan ŋrur humyjŋ -live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylŋg-tvysk and prepare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries. Tulk -- for dog which has been been specially for the uig.

When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid in a wooden frame near the lezing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ŋgangof.

V.

Slaves

The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure." Then he is a kikhal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone

/302 cont./

Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /syat'/ has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:ukh, the third -- yeshŋe-k:ukh, the fourth -- ryly-k:ukh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be untiers. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and the must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and, if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /syat'/, in case of a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned, except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /syat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-40 rubles) or a bear as a present.

/303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth. The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khes', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhye'u nyydz:rd -- in Gilyak.

One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz') ennikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jengz:az' tongz' thamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/304 cont./

for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire village, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begin to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyz').-- about an arshin in length with a human chkhaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'vukh'a (the settlement of Kargo, 1896).

Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in order to put in earrings (mer'ab); formerly men also pierced their ears. A wife who is a minor can be sleep only after she begins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the ŋgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives accommodates a guest under one blanket.

A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it begins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mum). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in the balagan, in summer -- three days.

One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/358 cont./

It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

The khlaj-nivukh obtain as a reward for their labors their fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Revenge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but in the recollection of the Amur Gilyak (the popular memory; they tell of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/359 cont./

614 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in
591 the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the
422 debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of
428 a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

614 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We
632 have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a
768 Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased
[763] man's "ruva" his widow and children should go. Before the gathering of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the
627 participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the
[685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/360 cont./

614 among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly
621 imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-
695 geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations
614 ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His suc-
622 cessor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The inter-
[677] vention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

614 11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from
621 one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to
[677] remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tykl, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly
614 arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon
669 his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fish-
621 ing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This
[591] latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as it done at

/271 cont./

766 wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the roots,
778
532

† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p.1266/, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /272/ and, with the pointed end, is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the
[674] murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn, projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgbo, Tebach, and elsewhere.

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn. Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The same is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wagn is set up.

778 The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after the
532 ugn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by the
825 Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wagn. Such stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septentr. are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head of the ugn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

[628] 1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect,
[627] is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

Gi 6/di RX3 OKh9

/272 cont./

G 778 1. (cont.)
532 members of a village -- or -- as in the case
825 of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.
G 827
628

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does
766 not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the
775 wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

G 62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin)
764 told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes
184 of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)
778

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo
G 764 (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like-
184 wise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tututngit in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tscham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

G 64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of
[784] Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak
[1911] are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/273/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 28).

Gi 65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of
764 Bogorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu
531 on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

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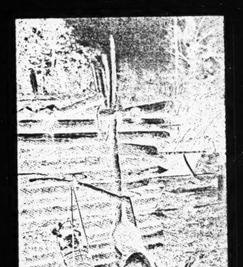

Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could 614
also accept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, 621
the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint [372]
was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and
gave a piece to the part that split off.

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a 614
clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's 621
clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhustin). In
reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role
was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh). It was their
duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy

614 parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the
621 offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

601 The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in
[198] his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were
[549] possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
614 fathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers
561 (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ulu).

175 Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
439 fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
614 the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred
184 first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with
182 the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal
[556] articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other
[595] neighbors. Members of the Tyalung clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before
[569] Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

175 Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
567 and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
175 among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada-- clan elders,
649 and gasyanda--village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi
822 subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation
175 appeared, in the institution of "half-sharers." Nivkhi who lacked the imple-
433 ments of production fell into the position of participants, but those who used
[549] was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
77 Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island
[1] of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about the
[1] waves, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'--a "master" of other animals. Almost every phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pul-yz'--the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'--the "master"

116, 423, 578, 627, 721

"Of the possession of land in our sense of the word the Gily
nearest approach to it was a prescriptive right, sanctioned
place snares along certain creeks. The right of all to roam
freely recognized; but they would have resented the placing
and backwaters by the Tungus and Orochons, although, rath
they would have simply gone elsewhere. As among themselv
and tracks for snaring had been made in olden [301] times;
sanctioned by time are seldom transgressed. The abundanc
prowess of the pioneers, yielded little cause for quarrel, a
according to the number of snares which the owner of the hu
a dispute arose, and was settled by reference to the klenu,
duels. In the latter case the disputants fought with a weapon
straight blade; but as they were always surrounded by a goo
batants were parted when either became exhausted, and the
a fatal ending."

aks have no conception. The
by immemorial custom, to
over the land in hunting was
of snares in chosen creeks
er than provoke hostilities,
ves, the division of the creeks
and the customary boundaries
e of game, coupled with the
nd spots were simply annexed
it possessed. Here and there
the elders in council, or by
like a hedge-bill, with a
odly concourse, the com-
duel was not allowed to have

116, 627, 682

"Murder is not an uncommon occurr
upon the slightest provocation. They ar
dictated by superstition, which differ in
punished by the friends of the deceased,
death, generally by counter-murder. A
notion of justice."

ence among these people, being often committed
e governed by no established laws except those
different localities. A murderer is usually
who are bound in some manner to avenge his
n eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is their

6

28

"The Gilyaks are, as we have seen, divided i
coast people, besides the mainland or Amur
khala, or clans. Each khal consists of a fami
grandfathers, uncles, etc. The eldest repres
members are to be found scattered in many v
elders, to whom the injured apply. In cases c
and the eldest male of the injured man's fami
bows and arrows ready strung, but the counci
peacefully, and ordinarily they succeed, the
criminal pays a heavy fine.

The Russian authorities wisely refrain fro
in each village, whom they term the starosta

nto tribes, viz. the Tim, Tro, and west
Gilyaks. These tribes are sub-divided into
ly circle. The limits are vague, but include
entative of the khal is the chief, and the
illages. Each village has its council of
of mortal offence, both parties, the criminal
ly, march out against one another with
il sitting around urge them to end the matter
rivals embrace, talk peace, and the

n interference, and look to the richest man
, to keep order, etc."

makes the comparison ev
there have been cases wh
by decent people, for exa
fore that behaved properly.
found in the peculiar man
individual regards strange
extent inclined to regard
ever, this fact has in re
and misinterpreted by som
pointed out how the Gilya
put themselves in the pla
fellow-tribesmen, and to s
must remember that, whe
moral impulses such as
pleasures, the sense of j
make room for the egoist
tends to repress understa
vindictiveness, etc. - break
face to face with stranger
put their worst foot forwa
with the civilized world.
Brunière, who in the year
way of the Amur and the
robbed and murdered out
his case was and has re
village of Vaida (32 versts
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) stil

en more valuable. Unfortunately,
here Gilyak have been wronged
ample by soldiers who had be-
. The causes for that may be
nner in which the uncultivated
e peoples. He is to a certain
foreigners as outlaws. How-
ecent times been badly misused
ne philosophers. We have
k themselves were able to
ce of strangers as well as
sympathize with them. But one
ere strangers are concerned,
compassion, the sharing of
ustice, etc., more than ever
tic impulses. Everything that
nding and sympathy-greed,
s out more easily if one is
rs. The Gilyak unfortunately
ard in their first acquaintance
The French missionary, Le
1848 came from China by
Ussuri to the Gilyak was
of pure lust for booty. But
mained an exception. The
from the present city of
l has about 200 inhabitants

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself
171 here, for the time being, to what has been said, all the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
796 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but
614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
●628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak. In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The
[574] clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

/94 cont./

*614 clansman who was not avenged or did not receive the honors
775 of the funeral ritual and therefore did not enter the "settlement of the dead," can pass into the clan of the evil deities or simply revenge himself on the clan however he can, on his own responsibility and risk. The same can happen with an offended member of another clan. The struggle with such foes of the clan or their placation is as urgent a requirement for all clansmen as the satisfying of the clan deities-protectors. Thus there arise common obligations with respect to the compensation of the shaman for his labors and dangers in the struggle with such foes, or common expenses and labors for placation, gift-giving, vengeance, payment of blood money, etc.

*614 6. One tkhusind -- common blood-money, ransom,
●628 fine; in the broad sense the mutual guarantee of the whole clan against any encroachment on the rights of a clansman by a member of another clan, and vice versa. By the tkhusind is understood not only the ransom obtained or paid by the clan in matters of vengeance, but also that which is exacted for every possible reason -- from the most serious to the most trifling. Thus, the tkhusind is exacted for the abduction of a woman, for an injury to a woman's honor, for the profanation of holy things, for example, the defilement of the hearth, the violation of a taboo at the bear festival, for theft, etc. In all such situations the mutual guarantee, both for the defense of a right violated by a member of another clan and in answer to a similar violation of a right of the latter by a kinsman, is incumbent on the clan. The ransom, however, is only a recent corrective of a weightier principle -- that of the clan defense, by force, of an injured right of a clansman. At the center of this entire institution lies the principle of blood revenge, the principle of a life for a life or for injured honor (for example, in the detection of a seducer in flagrante delicto).

/95 cont./

*614 It is quite another matter between men of different clans.
●628 Here the principle is implacable: the bones of the clansman must be raised! To raise the bones is the technical term for clan vengeance. Blood must be redeemed with blood, and only in very rare cases can blood redemption be replaced by ransom. This obligation is clearly colored more by a religious than an emotional element. Vengeance is obligatory not only for the contemporaries of the slain man, but, in the event of its non-fulfillment by them, for the two
[672] following generations as well. It is obligatory not only in the case of premeditated murder, but for completely accidental murder as well, even one which is only indirectly
*614 connected with one or another person (1). And what is
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672

> 1. One Gilyak of my acquaintance brought vengeance upon his clan when his rifle accidentally went off when he picked it up from the bottom of a boat, accidentally killing the helmsman.

still more instructive, it is obligatory also with respect to animals. Vengeance upon a bear who has killed a man is no less wrathful than it is with regard to a human murderer.

The ritual of such vengeance is extremely characteristic for understanding the psychology of this clan institution, and we shall begin our analysis with it. As soon as the news of a man's death in a struggle with a bear arrives, the whole adult population hastens into the taiga, in order to catch up with the "murderer" by means of his fresh tracks. If they do not succeed /96/ in catching the real culprit, it is necessary to kill at least three other bears (his "clansmen"). If this is not accomplished during the winter, it is necessary to do it during the summer, and in addition the "mountain man" gives them a "tkhusind," in the form of a plentiful catch of every beast.

/97 cont./

*614 If revenge is sanctified with respect to the bear, a
●628 divine being upon whom welfare depends and who frequently slays a man, not out of malice, but out of love for him, and accepts him into his clan, then revenge with respect to a member of another clan is all the more obligatory.

We have already indicated in the beginning the domination of religious over emotional motives in the imperative of revenge. If vengeance is obligatory to the third generation, if it is obligatory with respect to an accidental slayer, to a friend, a cognate, it is a burden pressing down on the clan rather than an impulsive act inspired by the immediate reaction of anger.

A much more significant role, at least in the sense of the strengthening, so to speak, of this original reaction, is played by compassion for the soul of the slain man and fear of it and the clan gods, gods who keep a loving vigil and for whom the unavenged blood of a clansman is undoubtedly the greatest insult.

775 The soul of a man who died a violent death cannot
766 migrate to the general "settlement of the dead," where it could continue the life it lived on earth. Until it is avenged, until the blood of the slayer gives it the power to raise its bones, it cannot leave the earth and is forced to circle in the air in the form of a bird-avenger, emitting terrible shrieks at night. Its end is frightful; gradually rotting, it finally falls to earth "as ashes," dying forever. The Gilyak call this bird takhch; it is a gray bird with a red beak, "loving war." In this epithet is probably also contained the origin of the belief in the bird-avenger: among the Gilyak war is exclusively /98/ the result of revenge, and, consequently, the birds of prey, "loving war," are obviously the souls of slain clansmen. Over the grave of the slain man, as a fearful memento, they place a stump with the torn-up roots upward (1), to which they

[764]

> 1. Over the graves of those who have died a natural death, the roots are customarily downward.

/98 cont./

775 766 give the appearance of a bird. Sometimes this bird is represented with iron teeth and appendages in the likeness of human feet (2), as in some representations of the swastika.

[126]

2. An example of such a memorial, brought from the lower regions of the Amur by the late acad. L. Schrenck, is preserved in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad.

775 ● 628 * 614 This frightful and at the same time unhappy bird, seeking consolation and return to the kingdom of its departed clansmen, wails of revenge at night and, of course, is quite capable of terribly avenging itself upon its clansmen who have forgotten their obligations.

Even where the affair ends with the payment of ransom, the bird remains unreconciled. Still another peace offering is necessary in the form of a dog, whose heart is given to the bird; otherwise it will take a cruel vengeance on both sides.

Since the soul of the slain man, like every other human soul, cannot exist longer than three generations, the obligations of revenge cease with the third generation. But until that time the pitiful fate of the soul of the slain man continues to torment the conscience of his clansmen and frighten them with the horrors of unfulfilled vengeance, giving them no rest. These same motives are predominant over the immediate instinct for repayment. That is why the wrath of the avengers never reaches to the destruction of the whole clan of the slayer, limiting itself to one, or two or three, of his clansmen; they carefully avoid the slaying of women and absolutely abstain from encroachment on property.

Nevertheless the imperative of vengeance is extremely intensive.

/98 cont./

* 614 ● 628 The news of a slaying in one moment unites all the clansmen into a unanimous whole, acting with feverish energy. A similar fever is manifested willy-nilly by the clan of the slayer. For the latter clan the matter is not merely one of protecting the slayer -- one man can always easily hide and await a peaceful solution of the conflict -- but one of protecting the whole clan, every clansman, for whom insidious attack lurks in every corner at all times and in every place at the hands of the avengers who are feverishly tracking down their victim. For them it is not necessarily the slayer that matters, but every male representative of his clan, even if he /99/ be a suckling babe. That is why mothers, in order to save their male children, at a moment of unavoidable danger are ready to resort to the most frightful expedients in order to disguise the sex of the youngster.

It is not difficult to imagine what both sides go through until the end of the conflict.

* 614 627 628 The most felicitous situation is when the representatives of both hostile clans live in the same settlement. In that case at least there is none of the torment of waiting. The affair is settled by armed conflict immediately after the slaying. The closest kinsman of the slain man, in the company of several armed clansmen, hastens toward the yurts of the clan of the slayer and attacks the first man he meets, to whose defense his clansmen immediately come forward, and then follows a general melee, which ends in several hours, and, if an equal number of victims fell on both sides, the incident is closed. There is also a more felicitous outcome when the representatives of a third clan living in the same settlement intervene in the affair, seeking, frequently not without success, to separate the foes and terminate the matter peacefully.

/99 cont./

* 614 ● 628 72 If the clans live in different settlements, however, there arises a state of war with all its consequences. Moreover, if the villages are located near each other, they place themselves in a full state of siege. There can be no question of routine activities outside the house; there can be no hunting or fishing, for an ambuscade may lie in wait at every corner. In extreme cases the men dare not leave their homes other than with women in front, ferreting in every bush, tramping down the grass, everywhere fearing an ambush. But these can only be palliatives; one fine night it will be necessary to meet the foe face to face in one's own settlement. Finally, where the warring clans live far from each other, it becomes necessary to undertake long expeditions on foot or in boats. This must be an imposing spectacle, when the multitude of warriors, dressed in their finest garments, with glittering spears in their hands and quivers on their backs, with knives and Japanese daggers in their belts, wrathfully brandishing their arms, make the primeval taiga resound with their wailing for revenge and appeal to the gods of all the elements for assistance:

Pal'- khurn myyá! Tly - khurn myyá!

Tol' - khurn myyá! Mif - khurn myyá!

"God of the mountain, hearken; god of the sea, hearken; god of the heavens, hearken; god of the earth, hearken!" -- brandishing their spears and thrusting them at /100/ every tree on their path with the cry: "Chkhar, myyá! -- O tree, hearken!"... But this exuberant mood soon gives way to a more subdued temper; as they draw closer to the enemy settlement, their enthusiasm is transformed into a concentrated seriousness.

The foe has taken his precautions; in his native territory he is more familiar with all the best places for an ambush, and at strategic points he lies in wait in artificial trenches ("little pits"), from which he pours a hail of arrows on the unwary enemy. There is also no lack

/100 cont./

614 of other obstacles in the path of the attackers. In hostile
628 territory all hunting is dangerous (in many clans it is even
562 prohibited, while some also forbid the use of water from
the rivers and springs); the supplies brought from home do
not last long, while an open, sudden attack -- bearing in
mind ambushes and the impunity of the women's sentry
duty -- is not always possible. With long patience and
severe deprivations they must await the favorable moment
or else in desperation resolve to take any risk.

Most frequently the defenders prefer to await the
562 attack in their own settlement. Then, abandoning the
female population, which enjoys inviolability, the men
gather in a separate yurt, from which, at the guards' first
signal of the approach of the foe, they steal through
secret passages and gather together beyond the yurts, ready
to meet the foe. In accordance with interclan customs,
the battle continues through one night or at most twenty-
four hours, until, finally, fatalities occur, after which the
enemy departs, and the survivors count the number of
fallen men on each side. If the defenders have lost a
greater number than the opposite side, a new caus belli
arises. The attackers must in any case consider themselves
satisfied. But the affair does not always end with a few
victims. Instances are known where a whole clan perished,
and only women remained alive.

There have been cases, on the other hand, where, to
avoid the destruction of a small clan incapable of a strong
rebuff, the self-sacrifice of one man has expiated the
general guilt. I know of one case where, at the very mo-
ment that news came of the approach of the foe, a youth
responsible for the conflict prayed his clansmen who were
gathered about him in the yurt to save themselves by flight,
offering to save the clan from destruction by his own death.
And when the clansmen, with downcast eyes, began to
leave the yurt, he, quaffing a cup of seal fat at one draught
for courage, flung himself headlong, brandishing his spear,
To meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers.

/100 cont./

000 to meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers. Chivalry
*614 manifests itself in many other forms. Although ordinarily
●628 the raid of the avengers is too impulsive for people to be
721 able to think about any kind of formalities of attack,
[538] epics and legends have preserved many formulas for the
declaration of "war" through special intermediaries, about
whom we shall speak in more detail later.

The conventional formula laconically declares: "He
(the avenger) has irrevocably said that he prepares to come
to do battle with thee; if thou art stronger, thou wilt slay
him, if he is stronger, he will slay thee -- thus he spoke."

Military expeditions are undertaken for purposes other
than avenging the slaying of a clansman. Extremely fre-
quently they are on account of women. "Lovely Helens"
are the tragic causes of war among the Gilyak much more
frequently even than slayings. The latter are extremely
rare and never bear a mercenary character, being exclu-
sively a case of a momentary flare-up on the part of an
easily aroused "barbarian" because of a slight offense to his
vanity. But conflicts over women are much more frequent.
Either a group of clansmen undertakes a purely romantic
raid to abduct the beloved of their comrade. Or expeditions
are undertaken with the forcible recovery of the abducted
wife of a clansman as their objective -- a more serious
incident, because this action is as obligatory for the clan
(up to the third generation exclusively) as revenge and blood
money for the slaying of a clansman. Customarily they
strive to avoid bloodshed, choosing a time for the attack
when the men are absent, but the matter rarely ends --
either at the time of the abduction or during the pursuit --
without bloody conflicts, which inevitably bring on the
necessity of "raising the kindred bones," i.e., war with
all its consequences.

/101 cont./

●628 Now let us proceed to the institution of ransom, "tkhusind,"
which has in part taken the place of revenge and in part coexists
with "revenge," serving as its indispensable corrective.

The reasons that gave rise to the institution of ransom side by
side with the imperative of blood retaliation, which was finally
squeezed out completely by the former, remain completely un-
explained in science to this day.

Among the Gilyak, we believe, it is easy to find at least the
principal reason for this great transformation in social relations.
It rests on that special form of exogamy about which we spoke in
detail in its place.

*614 /102/ Each clan is bound to a number of clans, at least four,
692 by bonds of the most intimate character. It takes its wives from
628 the akhmal'k clan or clans, and from these clans came its mothers;
it gives in marriage its own women, daughters and sisters, to the
ymgi clan or clans. These clans, in the natural order of things,
are dear to it; mothers, daughters, sisters bind it to them in-
separably.

The clan of the slayer can easily turn out to be the one that
*614 takes its women from it, in which are its sisters and daughters, or
628 one which provides it with women. Hence the first great modifica-
562 tion: the inviolability of women in conflicts of vengeance.

But the role of the women does not end here. If the slayer
is from the akhmal'k clan, i.e., the clan from which come the
mothers and wives of the avengers, it is not difficult to imagine
that these women cannot be indifferent spectators of a war against
their own brothers and fathers. If the slayer is from the ymgi clan,
the wives of the latter likewise will not lightly reconcile them-
selves to the destruction of their husbands and sons at the hands of
their own fathers and brothers. In both cases the intervention of
the women is inevitable, and a few precedents of their pacifying
influence suffice to turn the precedents into a lawful custom, at
first coexisting with blood revenge and later squeezing it out.

Indirectly the influence of women in this respect must have
found expression in still another way, purely mechanical, so to speak.
Their inviolability factually hindered to a considerable degree
the realization of blood retaliation itself. Their sentry duty, the

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the foe and weakened his
●628 spirit more than the most active resistance. Utilizing their habeas
562 corpus, day and night they go about the environs in perfect safety
looking into every bush, every blade of grass, in search of the
enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do not possess an over-
whelming number that makes it possible to fall openly upon the
expectant enemy, they will never succeed in eluding the vigilance
of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the patience of the at-
tackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the torment of waiting,
of necessity breaks on the passive resistance of the weaker sex, and
the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of the passive
[784] participation of the women in the struggle of the clans, it must
[724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbidden to light a fire
on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its rivers and springs, hunt,
etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of Gibeon, the Gilyak
find it necessary to set off on an expedition loaded down with skins
filled with water and as much food supplies as a man can carry.
Under such conditions every extra day of waiting threatens death
by famine, and thus the vigilance of the women necessarily
conquers.

195 Here is one of the examples known to me. In 1851, 30 men
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland to take vengeance on
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol' for the slaying of a
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still longer and more fruitless
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance of the women, with
poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching the locality, the water
in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and the avengers had to
depart with nothing and terminate the matter peacefully ... Thus
small causes often lead to important consequences.

*614 Tylor was right when he asserted that exogamy weakened the
97 relations between clans and introduced peace, although he pro-
[114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the aspiration for peace
brought to life the very institution of exogamy. It is true that
primitive man is not so sentimental, he is mainly too "god-fearing,"
that he would sacrifice with a light heart his own fears of punish-
ment for a breach of his blood duty to the voice of feeling, or

/103 cont./

*614 even to his own clear advantage, but he has, as we know, an
771 already tested expedient, with the help of which he pacifies the
gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts, as in
other cases, to pious deception of the gods, which offers him the
opportunity both to fulfill his religious duty and to derive material
*614 gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious
●628 procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored,
771 and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not
preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall re-
count later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom,
which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the
form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the
killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with
their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.
537 The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played
554 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (1).
*614
[192]
[197]

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent,
orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak,
for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a par-
ticular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and in-
spires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible
influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the
ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even
apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a
talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a
windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize out-
standing orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen
[537] ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the
head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that
deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At
pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break
them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the
wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/104 cont./

●628 Most infrequently the khlaj-nivukh is a chosen one of the gods in
537 other respects as well: he is a rich man, adept in hunting, worldly-
554 wise, courageous, has a great natural wit, and enjoys authority
*614 among his fellow tribesmen.

Every clan, every settlement has its own small khlaj-nivukh,
but there are celebrities who enjoy extensive fame among many
nationalities of the region, and who, when necessary, are sought
after, just as renowned lawyers are among us. They perform
their functions rather honoris causa, because the customary
honorarium -- a Chinese silk costume and a Japanese saber -- can
hardly be a recompense to a rich man for the loss of his time and
the burden of the obligation. The clothing and arms presented to
them serve rather as their insignia magistratus, their official vest-
ment, in which they carry out their obligations during the dis-
cussions.

*614 And so, when the clan of the avengers has sufficiently worn
628 itself out in its attempts at a bloody retaliation, or if from the
537 first the slaying took place under conditions easily lending them-
selves to a reconciliation, then they begin to search for a khlaj-
nivukh who would undertake the negotiations and be able to ob-
tain the most profitable conditions. The khlaj-nivukh must
necessarily be from a neutral clan. One may not send a clans-
man: in the first place, until the reconciliation, it is a sin to
have anything whatever to do with the clan of the slayer; more-
over, in view of the naturally inflamed feelings of the parties,
negotiations through a clansman might end in another slaying.
The other side, in turn, selects its "orator," who is /105/ obli-
gated to defend its interests in the negotiations over the ransom.
Ordinarily the offended side takes the initiative.

One fine day a company of the armed avengers, with their
khlaj-nivukh at their head, appears at the settlement of the slayer.
In the adjacent taiga or on the shore of a river the avengers light
a fire and make camp, while the khlaj-nivukh in his regalia, with
a spear in one hand, a kettle in the other, goes alone to the
enemy settlement. Here, in one of the yurts, await the opponents
with their khlaj-nivukh at their head... Leaning on his spear,
or sitting down and lighting his pipe (only with "his own" fire) he
says: "I was sent to tell you that you have killed our man, and

/105 cont./
what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi;" /one rouble/ and value in our money at three rubles. -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

*614 if he were living, would he be content to take that much? 628 His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other 538 parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood 436 money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. Many his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel; again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement... [576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and [101] separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the [189] last moment, after the manner of the Tungu tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 When an agreement has been reached, the religious 628 feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure 538 of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to 536 conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/105 cont./

*614 A procession of the avengers with the khlaj-nivukh at
628 their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and
536 out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the
clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes
from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest
kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side
advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed
with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh'i
they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their
spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel,
of course, is fictitious, although there been instances
where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended
sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh'i pacify their clients
[189] insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen
lead a dog apiece among their opponents and kill them with
spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to
embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart
of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above),
while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the
628 yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the
tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken ma-
terials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the
payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, con-
sidering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On
the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the com-
mon property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it re-
places those valuables which were needed for the dead man
in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund
for the family of the slain man and the clan requirements.

608 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such
537 as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement
554 of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the
intervention of khlaj-nivukh'i, but without any particular
ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in
the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of
those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict
of the whole gathering.

/117 cont./

*614 But the worst of calamities -- a clansman has been slain!
628 War is inevitable! ... The whole population takes up arms.
701 There is no regular leader, no elder, and no elections. The
182 natural leader has long been known and acknowledged by all; it
is the bravest and luckiest of the clansmen, it is the so-called
"master" "ez" -- all eyes are turned toward him!

And in a moment the equal among equals suddenly becomes
a military leader, gives orders, distributes weapons, fixes the
time of the march, etc., they obey him as they would a dictator.
If this natural leader has died or been killed, everyone knows the
one most worthy to replace him.

*614 Suppose a civil dispute has arisen between clansmen or be-
628 tween /118/ representatives of different clans. There are no
182 established persons who ex officio resolve disputes and difficulties.
Very often the accuser is himself judge and executor of the
sentence. Once the defendant has refused to carry out his obliga-
tion of his own free will, the accuser, not stopping to meditate,
unhitches a dog from the team of the debtor or climbs into the store-
house in order to take for himself something equal in value to his
claim. And the accuser considers this in the order of things. Of
course, such a method is not always possible. But even then the
affair works out perfectly well without the powers that be. It is
enough for the offended party merely to address himself directly
or through a khlaj-nivukh (see above) to one or two authoritative
individuals-"masters" from the clansmen of the offender, and the
matter is very quickly settled. They summon the offender, who
is usually escorted by his closest kinsmen, and sometimes by a
khlaj-nivukh. Even outsiders gather. From the hearing of both
sides and the opinions of those present, an opinion which is accepted
by the majority assumes the strength of a verdict. Usually the
offender submits voluntarily; otherwise, the managers of the af-
fair proceed to the offender's storehouse and remove an adjudged
amount.

/127 cont./ But these ties prove of

*614 particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when
615 a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to
621 "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the
*628 same selflessness as they show toward their own clansmen.
Only in the payment of tkhusind may the pandf'y not partici-
pate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties
in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when
the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently
happens, and we have already expressed in the section on re-
venge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself,
in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence
of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the
matrimonial clans.

*614 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans,
615 relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed
609 clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign
clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of
benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social
good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits
and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan
ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and
finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the
members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding
generations give to each other, has finally become the cus-
tomary appellation with which any member of another clan or
stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than
the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward
members of other clans.

609 Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues
504 which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without dis-
538 crimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not
[157] only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the
Oroč, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers,
the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have
done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts
slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

/276 cont./

534 Lakkan: Whatever I have, (with it) I am ready to aid thee,
583 although I have nothing.
534 Pevn: If thou hast something, wilt thou not pity me, wilt
thou not wish to help?

Lakkan: To this day I have refused thee nothing, is it not
so?

Pevn: Of course.

Lakkan: If thou shalt have something, thou wilt have
pity on me. Once thou shalt have something, I shall also
have, is it not so?

Pevn: If thus hast thou spoken, it gladdens me. Thus in
truth thou art ready to give me what thou hast?

Lakkan: What I have, if thou shalt ask, I am ready to
give thee.

After this the matchmaker again pours the drinks and,
finally, unexpectedly announces: "Thou hast promised to
give me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I have a
son. Let us become akhmal'k."

To this Lakkan replies: "I have already given my word to
others."

Pevn: What if you did give your word to another man?
You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to
court with you.

After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the
583 business negotiations concerning the bride price.
[524] Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride
price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak call
this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, I be-
lieve, throws light on the very origin of the institution.

194 In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by the
583 word ar', ar'r from atimmd (?) -- to give as a gift, so that
192 literally ar', ar'r means a present, a gift, which the family
or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan of
the bride. That this term was not formed by chance is shown
*628 from the following. In other ritual cases where compensation
with valuables is obligatory, for example, in the case of
ransom -- damages paid for an abducted woman, for a
murdered man -- the term used is ur'kind, which means

/275 cont./
194 "to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ ur'kind -- "to
194 pay" is derived from the word ur'kind, which in the middle voice
583 is a synonym of ukkskind -- to fight, to war (ijarkind is merely
*628 the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- ur'kind was
originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom -- peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered father, they ask him on his return: Pytk ur'kind joylo? -- "Did you fulfill ur'kind for your father (literally ur'kind -- "fulfill"), did you take vengeance?" He answers: "Ah khukhal" -- "I killed them all." Here the term ur'kind is used in the sense of the act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used in the sense of ransom. "Yvn nafkh ur'kim -- "For their (slain companion), they paid damages, ransom."

From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original
583 sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although
194 obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift
431 was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was
just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-
583 wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing continue in
431 various values for several years, and they were very often no less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

[126]

1. Here is an illustration of the institution of the bride price as an institution of mutual gift-giving, one of many examples which I wrote down. An elder in the settlement of Pomy, a man who was not well-to-do, gave as bride price for his daughter /sic/ two Chinese kettles, one Japanese /kettle/, and five dogs. In exchange, the father-in-law sent his son-in-law two Chinese robes and for two or three

Amur

/286 cont./

117 Settlement of Myshhy!. Ygna (Lang) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
193 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure Orayr
(Ulcha from Sakhalin), name "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Atkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the
Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the
wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from
which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to
Chil'mi.

Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
117 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
103 khal killed claiming, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
● 628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The
Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a
chumashka with kaloga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man
opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed
him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to
kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was then
that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they
broke the fire and bought a bear.

Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
117 Ahrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago
(1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language,
and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most
part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hôunchâ) came here
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
193 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchaji on the Amgun)
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

/338 cont./

752 784 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of the
will drown. After this they become friends. One must resc
[572] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but
[614] drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is su
[628] rounded with sticks.
[766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shama
must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn
Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat resc
from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka a
make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear w
[777] be a god.
[776]

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get
into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first
boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is crem
where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling
the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of
cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon s
the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the strea

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sa
782 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

/355 cont./ A TRADING CUSTOM AMONG THE GILYAK IS connected with this steel. When a class is divided and part of it migrates to another place, the elders of the clan give the migrant breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new land. Only a part of the steel is to be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home hearth.

Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting of the seal. On this occasion, too, the operation of the shaman-ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of evening, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan gathers the women are excluded, given to the weakness. Here, in long rough, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then, all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful first: each tough at a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer, *Pur nimap-ximat* (= "God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the ceremonies begin, in which the women take part.

6. The *khlaj*-guarantees life and security to each of its members (with inconsiderate as long as the individuals of another *khlaj*). The means a clan vengeance.

The settling of feuds in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murderer man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (*pu'ny yapnadlu*), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his *khlaj*. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even two both children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

/356 cont./ every means to mark the sex of the newborn child. Only women are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable that men the first moment of the murder feel the burden of the burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer lives under a cruel sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any comer, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain man feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in any case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same time, in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the clan of the murderer sends some people, a neutral *khlaj* (neutrality / neutral, a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murdered man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, and in any case not speedily, the avenger, having overtaken the murderer unit, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the avenger consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedure for reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects from among their clans a *ulu* (= "mediator") and a *ulu-ximkhlaj* (literally, orator -- from the verb "*khlaj-yadh*" -- to speak, and the noun "*ximat*" -- tongue, language). The mediators are between the parties. Each clan provides its *khlaj*-ninyakh with a silk gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, and tobacco in a Japanese tobacco. It is, so to speak, the official uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputation of *khlaj*-ninyakh proceeds to the avenger and the *khlaj*-ninyakh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. Then, somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From here the *khlaj*-ninyakh of the avenger sets out for the village of the murder, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen (*khlaj*-ninyakh), with their orator at their head, await the embassy. The latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with his own tiaras), begin to set forth the demands for ransom. The role of the *khlaj*-ninyakh consists of stipulating as much as possible. The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a plea for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the *khlaj*-ninyakh

/357 cont./ of the avengers, stubbornly insisting on his demands, departs in anger. The *khlaj*-ninyakh of the murderer goes after him and begins to make concessions, and the negotiations continue. More than once the two diplomats seat themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happens that the *khlaj*-ninyakh move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and out to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and the two sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his *khlaj*-ninyakh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other step the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his *khlaj*-ninyakh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the *khlaj*-ninyakh of both sides must be always speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is accomplished. The slayer and the avenger agree on the that minute the avenger has bailed over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw down their arrows, run up and each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /358/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another yurtanet, the avenger and the slayer stand close, facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy, while the *khlaj*-ninyakh call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

/358 cont./ It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains the variety of the objects of ransom. More than once the two diplomats seat themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happen that the *khlaj*-ninyakh move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and out to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and the two sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his *khlaj*-ninyakh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other step the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his *khlaj*-ninyakh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the *khlaj*-ninyakh of both sides must be always speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is accomplished. The slayer and the avenger agree on the that minute the avenger has bailed over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw down their arrows, run up and each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /359/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another yurtanet, the avenger and the slayer stand close, facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy, while the *khlaj*-ninyakh call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

/359 cont./ in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack is accidentally made in the morning, when the whole adult male population, armed, /360/ gathered in one yurt. The attack is made suddenly, at the same time in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the warrior, after killing one man, also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurt. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for the slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. It is notable another had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, by this attack, considered itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the clearest testimony of the heavy losses they suffered in firework, guaranteed today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than some decorations.

7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopt person from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came to their assistance with the *khlaj*-of-adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in one battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted as ransom. The adopted individual is accepted into some

/360 cont./ clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

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/363 cont./ in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack is accidentally made in the morning, when the whole adult male population, armed, /364/ gathered in one yurt. The attack is made suddenly, at the same time in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the warrior, after killing one man, also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurt. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for the slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. It is notable another had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, by this attack, considered itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

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/377 cont./ against the enemy. In the second case the adversaries fight it out with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from their childhood, and the children spend much time in other parts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the warrior, after killing one man, also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurt. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for the slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. It is notable another had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, by this attack, considered itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the clearest testimony of the heavy losses they suffered in firework, guaranteed today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than some decorations.

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/378 cont./ clan,

/654 cont./

428 587 171 000 brothers-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, the becomes free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In

(113) 3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Kirovlapkin*, "Etnicesk. ocz./The Yenisei District/", Zap. Imp. Rusk. Geogr. Obshch., 1865, I, Etn. and Stat., p. 178. Tret'iakov*, "Turukhansk. krai/The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Rusk. Geogr. Obshch. Po etnogr. Geogr., Vols. I, 1869, p. 403). Among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Sunland", p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

928 In 171 principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal 614 607 628 relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal relatives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge prevailing among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful, decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possible,

/655 cont./

614 607 628 and then in swift flight to reach a safe hiding place offering protection, in order not merely to escape immediate revenge in this way, but also to make it more difficult or even impossible for the opponent to carry it out in the future and thus expose him to the unavoidable evil consequences of neglected blood-revenge. The Gilyak therefore usually executes an act of bloodshed resolved upon in his heart in the most treacherous manner with the ngguela-dhakho, the large knife which, always worn at the belt, arouses the least suspicion and which he can most easily and inconspicuously plunge into his opponent's side while he is sitting beside him in apparent peace and eating a meal or smoking a pipe. Having fled to his native village, he will henceforth avoid setting foot in the village where he committed the act of bloodshed and will also carefully avoid its inhabitants elsewhere. The victim, however, if he has escaped with his life, henceforth thinks only of how he can take revenge on his enemy without delay, for the more time is wasted, the worse he can expect the consequences of his neglect to be and the more fraught with danger the future looms before him. The power which this constantly nourished superstitious fear can exercise over the mind and the entire being 157 626 of a primitive man was vividly brought to my attention in one case. The Gilyak Nendjan, a respected man in his village (Alfof), who visited me occasionally in Nikolayevsk and to whom I owe many an interesting bit of information concerning his people, was one day, when he appeared before me again after a long interval, in a strikingly downcast and depressed mood. His otherwise erect and quite stately figure, such as I seldom found among the Gilyak, appeared somewhat stooped, his eyes looked straight ahead, staring and sad, and words would not come. Since I would not desist from directing various questions to him, he finally broke out with the words, "I must die soon," and when I then asked whether he was sick and what ailed him, his answer was, /656/ "Not sick, and yet I must die soon." This thought seemed to dominate him completely, and then he told me the following: On a trip to the Manchu, while trading with them, he quarreled with a Gilyak from Kaki. The matter finally ended peacefully, however, and he regarded it as closed and forget it to such an

/656 cont./

159 628 extent that after their return home he once traveled from Alof to Kaki and stopped at one of the houses there. His host and hostess, well known to him, were quite friendly toward him; in the evening, however, after he had eaten the meal offered him, a man lying next to him on the sleeping bench, the very one with whom he had had the quarrel, suddenly thrust his knife into his side. Returning to Alfof, he soon recovered from his wound, but his blood enemy had set out for Langr the following night, accompanied by a relative, and had not been seen again. Meanwhile two years had passed, during which he himself had in vain gone to the greatest trouble to find any trace of him, but he could not go to Langr itself, because from the reverge threatening him, whereas his blood enemy would have the secure protection of his relatives. Thus, even in the future he had no prospect or hope of getting rid of the constant fear of blood revenge weighing upon him, "and therefore," he concluded, "I must die soon." I do not know what happened to him later, for I did not see him again, nor did I hear anything about him. Undoubtedly, however, the psychic condition in which such a superstitious fear of death puts primitive man can have a fatal effect simply through its influence on his physical condition and his behavior in the manifold dangers through which his life moves. And in this way, as well as in consequence of the universally practiced logic of post hoc, ergo propter hoc, the superstition connected with blood revenge is constantly nourished and spread.

614 607 628 Carrying out blood revenge is in part made easier and in part more difficult for the individual because it is not restricted to those who directly participated in the act of bloodshed, but also more or less involves their relatives and imposes certain obligations on them. Among the Gilyak, however, these obligations do not extend to all the relatives, but only to the ngafk, the paternal relatives. Without any qualifications and with all the consequences, they are faced with the obligation for blood revenge if the person concerned lost his life through the act of bloodshed, either immediately or as a result of wounds received, and is therefore no longer able to carry out the revenge himself. It must then be carried out by the son, brother, brother's son,

/656 cont./

614 607 628 grandson, etc., depending on the degree of kinship. No ngafk of the person slain can refuse to accept this obligation if it is his turn. On the other hand, if the person wounded by the act of bloodshed comes away with his life, he can extend the blood revenge remains reserved for him, but his ngafk have the duty to help him by finding out the whereabouts of his enemy, trying to arrange a meeting with him, and helping as much as possible in carrying out the revenge, indeed, if need be, even stepping in for him. Quite similar obligations exist, on the other hand, for the ngafk of the perpetrator of the act of bloodshed. /657/ They must do everything to thwart the designs of their opponents and to protect their kinsman from the revenge threatening him. Thus blood revenge with the demands and obligations growing out of it creates a strong family tie which arouses and preserves the consciousness of solidarity and homogeneousness in all members of the same paternal kin-group. The larger a kin group is, and the stronger this consciousness is in it, the more protection and help it can offer each one of its members. It is therefore understandable that the members of a paternal kin-group like to live in one place or within easily accessible proximity and also that those members who, as children and as a result of a second marriage of their widowed mother, moved away with their stepfather do not like to become estranged (1).

1. See p. 1062 above.

The solidarity of all the ngafk among one another with respect to blood revenge further offers each individual and especially the members of larger kin-groups a certain guarantee against wanton bloody attacks. And this is of no little signifi- 159 cance. The solidarity of

"The Russian occupation [LS
closed in a radius of thirty mil
smaller one around Korsakovsk

The island is divided into thr
and Korsakovsk okrugi. Each o
okruzhni nachalnik, over whom
great authority, but in his turn
oblast.

The biggest prison centre is
Timovsk dostroct has two, one
forty-four miles, respectively,

Immediately around these ce
villages dotted about in the fore

5: of Sakhalin] is practically confined to the dis
es from Alexandrovsk on the west coast, and an
in the south.
ee administrative districts—the Alexandrovsk,
f these is presided over by a chief of the distric
is the military Governor of the island. The lat
is subject to the Governor-general of the Pri-A

at Alexandrovsk. The next is at Korsakovsk, ar
at Derbensk and the other at Rikovsk, thirty-fi
by road inland from Alexandrovsk. [117]
ntres clearings have been made, and beyond are
st, with a population varying from 200 to none

641

641 CITIZENSHIP--conception of the relationship of the individual to the state; territorial versus gentile affiliation; distinctions between citizens and residents, and between different categories of citizens; rights, duties, privileges, powers, and liabilities of the citizen or subject (e.g. civil liberties, franchise, liability to military service); acquisition of citizenship (e.g., naturalization); loss of citizenship (e.g., through serious crime); notions of civic virtues; etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Justice 69
Immigration 167
Symbolic representations of nationalism and patriotism 186
Forced or indentured labor 466
Taxation 651
Public service 683
Voting 686
Treason 687
Military service 701
Social insurance 745
Ideas about political behavior 829
Legal majority 884

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

177 648 873 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the [463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

177 648 474 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions; many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

[641] Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

[545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

[182] The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The 177 648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of 561 her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fr ıers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help.

648

648 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS--traditional friendships and rivalries with other states; relations between sovereign and dependent powers; determination of foreign policy (e.g., influence of domestic affairs); establishing, maintaining, and breaking diplomatic relations; foreign services (e.g., consular, diplomatic); specialized personnel (e.g., ambassadors, chargés d'affaires, military attachés, consuls); prerogatives (e.g., diplomatic immunity); activities of consuls and diplomats; transmission of intelligence and diplomatic messages; negotiation of treaties, military alliances, foreign aid programs and trade agreements; economic sanctions (e.g., embargoes); adherence to international conventions; international law; peaceful settlement of disputes between states (e.g., arbitration, special peace tribunals); relations with international political organizations (e.g., United Nations); international power politics; peacetime espionage; etc. See also:

War 72
Codes and ciphers 202
Foreign trade 439
Travel 484
International sports 542
Behavior toward strangers and aliens 609
Informal intergroup justice 628
Dependencies 636
Punishment of espionage 687

1: Shternberg--171 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak R

/111 cont./

*614 [167] Thus in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bea
designations, Tyvli-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Ty
M'yekhre-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yekhri), N
fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Nyenkhay), etc., altho
representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in th
above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their
with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only cl

[171] 1. Similar territorial designations among the Australians were the reason that Kunov came to the completely unfounded conclusion that among these tribes there is no clan organization.

that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants fro
the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans
the Tskharnung, the Choril, etc. And it is noteworthy that i
just these clans we observe a clear transition to totemism. I
the Negda tribe, for example, almost every clan traces
origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear,
etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely en
countered.

*614 177 648 622 /112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the
important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. How
complex, as we have seen, clan life is, the clan does not kn
any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after th
the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institu
of elders, and at that not clan but settlement elders, but it h
no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty episode,
that was all. The elders designated by the Russian authoritie
were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthie
inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and these not
only did not enjoy any authority, but rather scorn, and in som
*614 instances even hatred. The primordial structure of the clan
knew nothing of the kind. The patriarchal authority which,
cording to the Biblical examples, is ordinarily associated wit

wes--314 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
31 Russia
3

vsk, our destination, is the cnetre of administration of the Timovsk okrug, one three districts into which the island is divided. The most prominent buildings are ne wooden church, built by the convicts, a large prison, and the house of the chief. official ranks as the third or fourth man on the island, being responsible, like his er officers of the Alexandrovsk and Korsakovsk okrugi, to the Governor only."

6

634 DISTRICTS--politic
bracing a number of
English or American
(e.g., executive, a
(e.g., appointment,
prerogatives, functi

34

al organization of moderately extensive territories em-
settlements or municipalities (e.g., a subtribe, an
county, a French department); governmental personnel
visory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection
election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority,
ons, and activities associated with each position; etc.

Goldi RX3
Gilyak RX2

Go

177 The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts
166 which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almost without any accent'.[38] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Gi

131 Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi.
161 They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin,
101 and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots,
[167] and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established
[228] a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited exclusively by Nivkhi.

186 The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that,
798 together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. Accordingly, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[39]

● 634 In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the
161 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhalin National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

9: Hawes--314 I-3 (1901) 190
116, 631
636.63

"Rikovsk, our destination, is the cnetre of
of the three districts into which the island
the fine wooden church, built by the convic
This official ranks as the third or fourth m
brother officers of the Alexandrovsk and K

03 Gilyak
Russia

administration of the Timovsk okrug, one
is divided. The most prominent buildings are
ts, a large prison, and the house of the chief.
an on the island, being responsible, like his
orsakovsk okrugi, to the Governor only."

636.17

him at Ayan [Okhotsk Sea]; and when on
the Baikal hove in sight, Muravyof went
When near enough to be heard the gover
shouted back: 'God helped us. . . we have
Sakhalin is an island. It is possible to e
by seagoing vessels either from the nor

From 1849 to 1855 Nevelski and other Russian
the waters and harbors of the Amur and Sakhali
sailed into the Amur from the north in [264] 185

517. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai N. Mu

518. De Sabir, C. Le Fleuve Amour, 6

boat Wostok, coming from Japan, entered the r
These important discoveries were known to
was maintained for fear of exciting China and a

the morning of September 3, 1715,
out in a small boat to meet her.
nor called for news, and Nevelski
accomplished our important task. . .
enter the gulf and the river Amur
th or the south.'

n officers were exploring and charting
n. A channel was found, and the Baikal
0. (517) Three years later (518) the gun-

raveef-Amurski, vol. i, 274.

3.

iver from the south.
very few people. The greatest secrecy
rousing the hostility of other countries,

636.17

"Russia's success on the Amur is due
Nicolai Nicolaewitz Muravyof-Amurski.
Muravyof set about extending Russia's p
burg he selected Nevelski, a sea captain
to help him carry out his plans. Throug
Russian Government to undertake a secr
to explore the northern part of Sakhalin,
and the gulf and mouth of the Amur. (515

515. Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai

in Kamchatka, and, as soon as he discha
carefully surveyed and charted the north
no longer able to find a channel for his s
his southward course to the mouth of the
his achievement, he pushed on still farth
Broughton, thus proving most convincing

516. —Ibid., vol. i, 198, 222-224

in large part to one of her great statesmen,
Appointed governor-general of Siberia in 1847,
ower on the Pacific. Before leaving St. Peters-
in the service of the Russian American Company,
h his efforts Nevelski was commissioned by the
et expedition with the following objects in view:
the strait between Sakhalin and the mainland,
) Early in the spring of 1849, Nevelski arrived

N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol. ii, 37.

arged his cargo, he sailed for Sakhalin. He
ern point of Sakhalin and the Amur Gulf. When
hip Baikal he went into a small boat and continued
Amur which he entered. Not yet content with
her south to the most northerly point attained by
gly that Sakhalin is an island and not a peninsula. (516)

. Muravyof was anxiously waiting for

636.17

particularly England. (519)

519. Muravyof suspected an
He accused her of desiring t
Pacific and to deprive Russi
that England had designs on
In 1853 he predicted that the
ican possessions, and sugge
the United States and Russia
N. Muraveef-Amurski, vol.

d dreaded England above all other nations.
o become the leading power in the North
a of all influence and power. He believed
the Amur and that her ships had been there.
United States would secure Russia's Amer-
sted that an alliance should be formed between
against England [Barsukof, I. Count Nikolai
i, 323; vol. ii, 38, 46, 55]."

636.27

"Many of the peoples of these northern c
stance the Yakuts, who manufacture a spir
sidered an exception. There is, however,
them from the 'burrs' of birch-trees. The
of the wood, of the size of a lump of sugar
beverage. The decoction is sweet to the ta
the organs of respiration.

To-day Russian vodka, though prohibite
and frequently obtained."

limes make intoxicating beverages, as for i
it from toadstools. The Gilyaks may be con-
a decoction, but little heard of, made by
se exude a black juice so strong that a piece
, is sufficient to make a big cauldron of the
ste, and has a welcome softening effect on

d by the Government, is eagerly sought after

636.62

"The Gilyak on Sakhalin. . . . . wi
European. The chief causes of the dy
narrowing limits of their hunting-gro
inability to adapt themselves to anoth
being forced upon them. The Governn
recognizes them as Russian subjects,
organization, and prohibits the sale c
but hardly to be expected from officia
is a patriarchal government which sh
conditions."

ll surely die out with the further inroad of the
ing out of the natives is [LSS: sic] disease, the
und, the decay of the spirit of the race, and thei
er mode of living which is gradually but surely
nent's attitude towards them is a 'correct' one.
, interferes as little as possible with their scant
of intoxicants to them. What is really required no
ls whose function is the safeguarding of criminal
all interest itself in the race and its changing

/248 cont./

Chekhov's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the form of the migration. Even at the present time the Amur Gilyak are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Agnevo, others to Mauko, still others further to the south. The sable in their homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he is so rare and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-vent sea voyage, driving toward those tempting areas where the population is sparse and sables may be killed by the hundreds. In early spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant hamlets. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Tymovsk and the Tymovsk and at that time the Vast River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even farther to the north. We have been some reasons which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /249/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of hundreds only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural game trails in the forest, or crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island with its game.

1; Shternberg--499 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX5 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/249 cont./

Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling of a interesting fact only the northern part of the island is called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded). In the first place, the place were the place closest to the continent: half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. Moreover, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin, the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living conditions completely identical with those on the continent; the same abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kalaga Atlantic herring, the Pacific of salmon, ~~сиг~~, etc.), an abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of their homelands. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond Tymovsk and the Tymovsk and at that time the Vast River was the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even farther to the north. We have been some reasons which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from their homeland and finally to transfer the center their hunting activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /249/ The reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of hundreds only in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural game trails in the forest, or crossing from one side of the river to the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island with its game.

1; Shternberg--500 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX5 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/250 cont./

Mauko reached them also and installed elected starosti. There are such starosty, for example, in Tangui. It was from the Mauko that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

I shall not at that time enter into the question of how long the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sledi (snowshoes), without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have appeared on the island as soon as they were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the island first was such a cradle.

The Sakhalin Gilyak, unlike their fellows on the continent, have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows. They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous ovens in the Russian manner. They master japanese sabers and the more expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes and short trade of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea and smoke tobacco. They also have a special variety of potato. They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to smelt iron, but are incapable of making tools. Iron is certainly iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sledi do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

1; Shternberg--533 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX5 Gilyak RX2

/327/

Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists, although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the customary fishing sites, as well, as the stream, and the bank, along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use. In the first place, the sable is the property of people who recognize their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the remote Gilyak settlement. A few individuals inhabit sable wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole man of intermitable lawsuits. Moreover, the Gilyak were not particularly zealous in exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak are not particularly strong among the Gilyak of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among sons on the same principle as other kinds of real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worth of note that sables, being the remote divided among the brothers and clammen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-allotted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay of or eating and not giving to others. Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or from one place to another for fishing tools. Land is not certainly iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sledi do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

1; Shternberg--545 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX5 Gilyak RX2

/383 cont./

and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from childhood, and the children are shown the uphills with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights. In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display great activity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/ Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals inhabit sable wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole man of intermitable lawsuits. Moreover, the Gilyak were not particularly zealous in exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak are not particularly strong among the Gilyak of that clan which first settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are divided among sons on the same principle as other kinds of real property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using it through the year. It is worth of note that sables, being the remote divided among the brothers and clammen greatly vary in value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never re-allotted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the habit of lying in the hay of or eating and not giving to others. Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or from one place to another for fishing tools. Land is not certainly

To make some money,

individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and dolphins are Tamiyvo, Vishvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is the company, which, in addition to the others. Potatoes are raised by the Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among them of at least one Russian with whom they could plant potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for several other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the intensifying competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer. In the second place, starting from this point, the Gilyak were successful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, beginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement in the Gilyak dwellings, which are built in the form of small huts of different clam for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief cultivators of land lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men in mentioning the "Gilyak-Orochi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "Ishay-orinkhi" be of various clans. Tymovsk is the place where the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

2; Schrenck--216 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1886 RX5 Gilyak RX2
Gold, RX3 Tungus RX5

/105 cont./

3. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer tungusischen Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tungusic Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/, ed. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1856.

However that may be, gur becomes kil in the Chinese pronunciation, and I have heard the Chinese pronounce the name "Samagir" as "Sama-kil." Likewise the names of the other above-mentioned Tungusic peoples, the Ainu and Japanese, indicate that it seems to me not unlikely that they made this common ending into a collective name for all these peoples of the northern and lower Amur regions, just as the other Amur peoples, in their more essentially different Gilyak. From Kil and Kileng, however, arose, as was shown above, the Russian designation Kilgak and Gilyak. And then there arose the Gilyak-Orochi (1789). Perhaps strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tungusic tribes, which arose from the distortion of a Tungusic word by the Chinese, is adopted by the Russians and the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tungusic in origin.

After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the habitation sites of the Amur peoples, and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russians learned of the existence of the Gilyak, they became acquainted with them themselves. During the years 1644 and 1645, on their first expedition into the Amur region, under Vasilij Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Usuri -- which Pojarkof, by the way, thought was the upper Amur -- did the Russians encounter the Gilyak for the first end. who will be discussed later, the Natken (Natki) followed, and after them the Gilyak, who, as the report states, occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. The Russians went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them, until he reached the mouth of the Amur, where

1; Schrenck--217 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1886 RX5 Gilyak RX2

/105 cont./

the late season obliged him to winter over. At what place among the Gilyak this first wintering of the Russians occurred cannot be ascertained with certainty: perhaps on the left bank of the Amur at Cape Tschuyrach, or Tschchyrkach, as the Gilyak themselves call it. for there in the ground overgrown with dense forest and strikingly luxuriant underbrush I saw envenemes which could very well have been the remains of former earth huts. In the summer of 1645 Pojarkof went from there to the sea and along the coast up to the Ulja /Uljа/ River, which he /108/ reached after twelve weeks and on which he again wintered. not to return to Yakutsk until the following year (1). No details, however, are known concerning this sea

(1) 1. Miller, Samml. Russ. Geschichte, Vol. II. 1758, p. 302. The name, "Nachtiffden von dem Amur-Fluse." in Blähing's Magazin für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 6. Hamburg, 1778, p. 1786. Cf. also Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II. 1768, pp. 788, 789. For Pojarkof's original report, see Dopolnenie k aktam istoricheskim, sobr. i izdanns. arkheograf. Kommissiey /Supplements to the Historical Documents Collected and Published by the Archeographic Commission/, St. Petersburg, 1848. Vol. III. p. 55 (the pertinent place in the report).

(2) voyage. I shall also give here the reports of Pojarkof's successor insofar as they pertain to the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors, in order to compare the statements and add a few remarks concerning them.

In 1651, Jerofei Chabarof /Khabarov/, going down the Amur by boat, entered its lower course. Chabarof was still Djutschoren living at a distance of a seven-days' journey from the Sungari, and then at a large village located on a mountain on the right bank the Atschan (Achan) people began to appear, whose territory. several days' journey farther down. Chabarof

1; Shternberg--541 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX5 Gilyak RX2

/383 cont./

2; Schrenck--145 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1886 RX5 Gilyak RX2
Historical Manchuria, A62

/71 cont./

1. (cont.)
kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 334 and other).

Nothing is known of the Gilyak, who live in the lower Amur, sparsely populated bank of the Amur and also the left one from its last bend to the east is closed to them. Chinese -- Manchus -- as we shall see -- zealous traders themselves, nevertheless permit no Chinese to enter their territory, perhaps out of the just fear that the natives will learn the way for the raiders. On the basis of their own experiences on their trading trips to the Sungari, it is natural for them -- the Gilyak -- to regard the Manchu and Chinese, in the same way as the other Amur peoples, as identical with respect to political power and ruling position, -- though they distinguish between them with regard to nationality. They also see no great difference between the Chinese with the name of "Manchu" -- a circumstance that gave rise to much confusion concerning these peoples on the part of travelers (2).

2. For example, Orloi (cf. Tishmen'ev", Itor. obozr. obsaz. Ross.-Amer. Kompi., St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 84 and others), Tschichatschof (Tichmenjef, op. cit., pp. 89 ff.), Berezin (ibid., pp. 91 ff.), Anachinsk ("Eksp. v" Ameriku," Morsk. Sbornik., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, pp. 115-118, 125, 126; No. 2, Unofficial Part, pp. 332 to 337; No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 190, etc.), and others constantly refer to the Chinese Manchus from the lower Amur (Gilyak, Orochi, Tungus) as "Manchu." The same is done by Fargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poezdka izum. prirody" ibid., Part I, Ann. "Vestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.", Part XXI, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 161, 169) with

/106 cont./

175 stopped on September 29 and at a place on the left bank where there was a large village he erected a fort, Atschanksi gorod, for a wintering place. From there one could supposedly by a
131 ten days' journey reach the Gilyak, who lived all the way to the sea and around it (2). Chabarof, however, did not visit them.

2. Müller, Samml. loc. cit., pp. 320 ff; Fischer, op. cit., pp. 808 ff.; Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich., Vol. III, pp. 364, 368.

but in the next spring, after successfully enduring the siege of his fortress by the Djutscheren and Atuchanen, set out again upstream with his expedition. On the way, however, presumably in the region of the mouth of the Sungari, he missed the Cossack Iwan Nagiba who had been sent to look for him and to inform him of the arrival of a fresh supply of men and ammunition on the upper Amur. Nagiba and his small company of 28 Cossacks and volunteers went down the Amur from Bambalajev gorod (above the Deeja /Zeya/) for four weeks; then they heard from a captured Natken that Chabarof was farther
175 downstream among the Gilyak. They retained this man as a
648 guide. but after another journey of three weeks they found themselves so surrounded in the middle of the river by a crowd of Gilyak boats that they could not move forward or backward. For two and a half weeks they remained in this position, anchored in the river, until finally hunger and despair forced them to break through the ranks of the beseigers and make their way to a nearby village, where they confiscated some fish that was hanging out in front to dry. They were able to do this, however, only after a stormy battle in which more than 30 Gilyak died. Three days later they found themselves at the mouth of the Amur (3). Hard pressed by the Gilyak there as

114 3. Acc. to Müller, op. cit., pp. 328 ff. Here Müller gives June 28 as the date of Nagiba's arrival at the mouth of the Amur.

/106 cont./

175 3. (cont.)
648 and at another place (Büching's Magaz., Part 2, p. 508, July 2 (three days after the
114 Day of Peter and Paul), which however cannot be correct if the trip. as is said previously, started on May 4 and -- putting together the above-mentioned periods of time -- lasted ten weeks. In Fischer (op. cit., p. 837) it is said instead toward the end of July, which, however, would be somewhat too late according to that reckoning. In the detailed and rather drastic account by the Cossack Iwan Uwarof, a participant in the expedition
113 (see Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 354 ff.) almost all these details are lacking except the date of departure (May 4) and the statement that after traveling for ten days they already found themselves amidst many Djutscheren and Natkem, who thereafter kept attacking them and gave them no peace; the siege by Gilyak vessels on the Amur is said to have lasted only two weeks.

195 well and unable /107/ to make the return trip upstream, they
648 built themselves a larger vessel and began the sea journey along the coast to the north. On the thirteenth day after their departure (1). however, the vessel was crushed by drifting ice (2).

1. According to Uwarof's report (op. cit., p. 355), on the tenth day.

2. Müller (op. cit., p. 330) considers drifting ice in the Sea of Ohhotsk as inconceivable at that time of the year. On the other hand, thanks to the experiences of Middendorff, Starizkij, and

/107 cont./

175 2. (cont.)
648 others, we know that it is a characteristic
114 feature of that northwestern corner of the Sea
133 of Ohhotsk. See the present work, Vol. II.
113 p. 756 and my "Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Ohhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St.-Pétersb., Ser. VII. Vol. XXI. No. 3). p. 10.

195 during which they lost their entire supply of food and ammuni-
648 tion and only after much hardship succeeded in saving their lives. They continued on foot for five days along the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seatang, seals, and whatever else the ocean washed up (3). Then they built a new vessel. with which

114 3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 818) also mentions walruses, as does Uwarof's account.
136 but it is well known that there are none in the Sea of Ohhotsk; this is probably a reference to whales, which abound in this sea.

in 14 days. by rowing they reached the Utschlada River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland and after 14 days, or, according to other information, after four weeks, came to the Tugur River, on which they found a large Tungus population with abundant food. The following spring, 1653, Nagiba went down the Tugur to its mouth and from there, with five men, started the return trip to Yakutsk along the sea and then across the mountains, while he sent back the other men under Iwan Uwarof in order to build among the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jassaschnoje Simowje," that is, a winter hut for collecting tribute (1).

/107 cont./

195 4. Curiously Uwarof says in his account
114 that he sent Nagiba with five men, whose
113 names he gives, to Yakutsk, while elsewhere he constantly refers to Nagiba as the leader of the expedition.

The next and last contact of the Russians with the Gilyak
195 648 which we know about from this period of the first Russian mili-
114 tary expedition into the Amur region took place under Chabarof's successor, the Cossack Onufrij Stepanof. The latter had already spent the winter of 1653/54 in Djutscheren territory. In the neighborhood of the Gilyak" (5). In the fall of 1655, with the

113 5. Müller, Samml. loc. cit., p. 343. In Stepanof's report to the Yakutsk voivode, Michail Lodyzhenskij (Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, p. 524), it is said "v" Dyuchenskoi zemlie, ne doplyv" Gilyatskie semii, that is, in the country of the Djutscheren, above the Gilyak country.

"Syn bojarskoi" Fedor Puschtschin who had been sent from Yakutsk in the meantime, he again went into the lower Amur region, and this time beyond the Djutscheren to the Gilyak bordering them (6). Shortly before, the latter had killed a

6. Müller, op. cit., pp. 354, 355; Fischer, op. cit., p. 849.

company of 30 Yakutsk Cossacks, who had reached them by land from Ohhotsk, and were now punished for it by Stepanof. Moreover, he built an ostrog /fort/ among them, to which, because of its position on a mountain slope, he gave the name Kosogorskoi (7). He spent the winter in it, toon from the Gilyak

7. In Stepanof's report the ostrog is called

/107 cont./

175 7. (cont.)
648 "Kosogorskoi"; see Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1851. p. 82.

a handsome /108/ tribute in furs. and in the spring of 1656 again went up the Amur. Two years later part of his company who did not want to submit to the delegate of the new commander, Pasckhof, and had fled, returned to the lower Amur. wintered at its mouth (1658/59), and went back upstream again with the rich tribute collected from the Gilyak (1). There are

ստաս however, is certainly not the case (4). When Russians

192 4. In Gilyak "island" is pölio-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Luchin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandanskij."

195 When the Russians
648 under the Cossack Semjon Scabara first came to the Shantar
114 Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited;
136 on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample food and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

195 /109 cont./
114 purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak
(224) origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

113 3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

fact this woman had been left behind on the island by her countrymen or whether, as Middendorff thinks (2), was abducted

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 103.

by the Cossacks themselves on the mainland and was brought to the island. Subsequent expeditions to the Shantars con-
175 firmed that they had no permanent inhabitants. On the second
131 trip, in 1715, under the Syn bojarskoi Filkejef, who, however, did not go there himself (3), the winter was spent on

3. Müller (Samml. Rus. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 107), who spoke to Filkejef himself in Yakutsk, says expressly that because of differences with his men he had himself put ashore with two Cossacks at the mouth of the Tugur. According, therefore, the statements by Sokolof ("Opis' Udskago ber. i Shantarsk. ostr. poruch. Kozmina /A Description of the Uda Bank and of the Shantar Islands, Commissioned by Kozmin/. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV. St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 3, note 4) and by Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 99, note 1), who have Filkejef himself reach the Shantars, are to be corrected.

/109 cont./

195 5. (cont.)
131 p. 98), it was probably Large Shantar
648 Island /Bolshoi/.

they could not understand -- presumably a /110/ Gilyak woman, who, however, disappeared, and there is no information given about her anywhere later (1). It cannot be determined whether in

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 99.

Large Shantar Island, which proved to be uninhabited. Thro
195 carelessness in making fire, it is said, the forests on the isla
131 caught fire and as a result the sable disappeared there. On th
195 return trip the following summer the Cossacks wanted to do
648 some fishing along the coast of the mainland between the Tu
and the Amur, but most of them were killed by the Gilyak (4

4. Presumably there is a connection between this event and the story that Sokolof relates, apparently copied verbatim from a logbook, in Morskoi Sbornik (1862, No. 6, Miscellany, p. 107 -- it is the entry hinted at by Middendorff, op. cit., p. 99, note 2, which he was unable to find again as the result of an incorrect citation). Seaman Petrof, who had participated in Iwan Schestakof's expedition to the Shantars in 1730, related that they had found on Large Shantar Island and had taken aboard three Russian men, who gave the following information about themselves: they had spent about 20 years on the island; when they had come to the land of the Gilyak to fish, the latter had overcome them and killed 17 of them; only three of them escaped the Gilyak and got away to Large Shantar Island where they had lived ever since. One can see that the account is quite similar to the one mentioned above, though, if it is the same event, the twenty-year stay on the island does not fit, since it could only be twelve. But this number is given only roughly and, in view of the style of the narrative, which clearly shows a gap, could just as well refer

/295 cont./

III.

Legends about the Past

In connection with the excavations (1), the old man Toyon

1. Which Shternberg carried on.

said: "These are Korean. Long, long ago there was a war. Formerly Koreans lived here; then the Chinese came and drove them out.

"Long, long ago the Chinese lived in Puir on the Amur. The Chinese pursued them and shot at them with a cannon.

"There were at that time few Gilyak. By a cape on a hillock near the very village (Langr) they placed a cannon (the hole remained) and shot at the Russians around the boulder stones in the bay of Puir (Pakhzyr boulder stones). The hole on the hill is almost overgrown; formerly it was four meters deep and surrounded with stones. The cannon ball made the forest burn for eight nights; a lane was created. The cannon ball was found in Kol' -- four people cannot lift it."

According to a legend, 28 skulls were seen by the lake, which "at night cried and went to drink water; now all the water has dried up," "vessel dry up," i.e., is lost.

One old man assures us that within his memory and the memory of his father the Gilyak and their neighbors have occupied the same places since olden times. The Manchu (the Chinese, Manzy) have come here since the Russian War. They did not build large towns; they settled in groups of one or two houses, and only in Tyr, Akhcha, and Mykhyl' did they have guards. Their governor lived in Tyr.

With the appearance of the Manchu, during the war with the Russians, the Gilyak left by sea for Sakhalin and other places, but upon the departure of the Manchu, they began to come back.

/295 cont./

173 [648] According to a different version, when part of the inhabitants ran away and another part was captured, three persons (two men and one woman) saved themselves, /296/ who killed two suns. When they came back, they found mountains where the Amur had been, and they went back (from Shul'gin Khokfing, 80 years old).

The Manchu fought with the Russians who had come down; in the spring during the run of the hump-backed salmon, some Russians hid themselves in the taiga, and they could not be found.

The Russians from the Amur saved themselves on the Amgun; the Manzy pursued them, but unsuccessfully. Then a Chinese general asked the god for snow, and snow fell knee deep, and they found the Russians by their tracks and slaughtered them.

After the war with the Russians, the Chinese set up a post on the upper Amgun (the Burukhan) -- "while the post stands, the Russians are not allowed to pass." Now the post has fallen down.

On the Amgun there is also a mountain, "Namnakhan," 19 kilometers below Guga, with hoof prints. This is where the Manchu spent one night during the war with the Chinese.

There is a stone kettle and a boot on the cliff "Gulyakhan," the storehouse of the Shadrinkskiy mines.

According to a legend a Manchu inscription is preserved on one of the mountains.

The guides of the Chinese on the Amgun were Negidal from the clan Umkan, while on Lake Orel' -- N'as'khajl.

The Russians roasted children on their bayonets and ate their meat; they cut off women's heads (1896).

173 648 A legend has been preserved about the way in which the Amur natives fought the Russians. Once the Manchu pursued the Russians, but left a part. The Russians, on their way back, decided to attack Tyr, thinking that they were Manzy. The Gilyak placed stones on wooden boards and fastened them. When the Russians came up to the cliff, they let go of the rope, and all the Russians perished except one who started to swim; he was caught, and the Kern-khal handed him over to the Arn-khal, who held a bear festival in the taiga.

/296 cont./

173 648 The following case occurred in Macha (the left bank of the Amur), opposite Kal'ma. The Gilyak set out to hunt and built a balagan; coming back they saw a great number of people. Then they ran away undetected, gathered together people from all the villages, and set up ambuscades in different places behind the rose-willow trees. When the Russians came out, they shot them all.

Sometimes the Gilyak used the following method of fighting: They tied a cut tree trunk in such a way that it leaped out and struck the legs, and the enemies fell; then they completely killed them off (the settlement Kaki).

Recollections have also been preserved about the relationship between the Chinese /297/ officials and the Amur natives. The Goldi even paid for dogs, the Gilyak -- per person; the Chinese officials collected by whim, and their khalki (boats) with people had to be fed. In exchange for this, they gave receipts which gave one the right of entry into the town of Sungari (Ychkh-khotin). Otherwise the natives would be tortured in the town. The storyteller, a Samagil, in his youth went without a receipt; he said that they paid 40 rubles for a fodder /kormovogo/ man and 20 rubles for an ordinary person, and one sable from each person.

IV.

The Union of Clans and the Bear Festival

614 796 Two clans come together -- k:khal m'ek:r: vytch. They come together in a single yurt; outsiders may also be present. They discuss, and, if there are no obstacles (for example, they have not taken wives from one another), the khlaj nivukh declares that the two clans may join into one. The other representative answers: "It is true, we have accomplished great things together; you also helped us, and we also helped you. Once we form one clan, we shall become k:khal." He says: "There are no obstacles. Our sons and daughters will be our brothers,

/341 cont./

VII.

Miscellanea

● 648 199 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Gibel'ka's story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu, Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then took two or three sables per package. /342/ He collected debts by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind of okht to women (see above, p. 480, "Women, Childbirth, and Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga recognized the cast-up body and informed the mother. But when she arrived the body was gone; she saw only the tracks of a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear dealt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of the feast. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight; no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill. But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug, the water kept increasing. This was the tears of those people whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without water.

867 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, not to laugh at anybody.

567 Slaves -- krygrys (1894). In Kuklyakh (?) a krygrys was exchanged for a woman. In Vaydakh -- a krygrys, Khyumik, a limping woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about," "she did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for no one wanted to have krygrys children. There were krygrys also in Tongakh, Tevakh, Kutr. The atk (see p. 222, IV) of Gibel'ka had krygrys.

10 cons / 4. (cont.)

to the number of Russians originally present on the island, so that now the number of years of the way would have been assisted, for the island original reads: shi'ts ulk' 'bito na tom' ostrovie tam' e' ji, kotorye zdesiya' e' ti, ostrovie tiya' chisel' ne' ma.

This information is also interesting because to a certain extent it is confirmation that in 1730 (see 1729 as is said in Middendorff and others, Sakhalin) the island actually been on the Shantars, about which Middendorff, on the basis of the short and insufficient reports in Müller (cp. 1.c., pp. 130 ff.), is in doubt. According to him, the islands seen by Schenkand on the trips back and forth between Kamchatka and Udskoi Ostrog were not necessarily the Shantar Islands at all, since he navigated between the southern point of that peninsula and arrived at its east coast. This, however, seems to me wholly unfounded, since Schenkand, also, according to data from his own reports presented by Müller, took place not only in the Sea of Okhotsk between the west coast of Kamchatka, Udskoi Ostrog, and Okhotsk. Müller himself expresses no doubt or uncertainty about the fact that Schenkand had visited the Shantar Islands, but only regrets being unable to give more detailed information about his trip because of the absence of the logbook.

Noteworthy that all the accounts concerning the temporary stay of the Gilyak on the Shantar Islands are inadequate and

/111 cont.)

stay visited the large islands within sight from their coast, namely wooded, and still uninhabited, on which they could peacefully pursue the hunting of the porcupine, the sable, etc., and the productive fishing and animal-trapping along the coast. Indeed, I am even inclined to believe that whereas their westward expansion along the coast of the mainland at first did not reach the Tugur and perhaps not beyond it, they did visit the Shantar Islands, even the westernmost of them, and Beie Island (Novokhitri) located beyond Tugur Bay. At least the name "Ngorkah," which allegedly the Tungus gave to this island (8), is undoubtedly of Gilyak

6. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 110.

origin, in that "Ngorkah" /112/ in Gilyak means "animal rock" (1).

1. From nga = animal, and ph = rock, rock-like shape, stone, etc.
2. Similar Gilyak place names are Tchirkatch, Tchibokch, Tchirch, etc.

But the Gilyak were surely never very numerous on the Shantar Islands, since the Gilyak population on the adjacent coast of the mainland is not large and since navigation around these islands is difficult and dangerous on account of the rapid and changing currents, the flowing ice floes, the frequent fog, the pounding surf, etc. It was therefore natural that as soon as the Russian appeared on the coast there, and as they took possession of them, the Gilyak remained away from them, then, at least, in 1853, they were apparently not there. The month of the Tugur when a party of Russian took up winter quarters at the mouth of the Great Ulban (3). It is very probably

3. Kimmin, according to the accounts of the priest from Udskoi Ostrog.

/112 cont.)

2. (cont.)
(Ketchinskii), who learned of it while traveling through his diocese in the winter of 1859-1860 (Zap. Geog. Obsh., Part VI, p. 36).

that it was because the Gilyak had just seen themselves pushed off the Shantars by the Russians that they appeared so hostile toward them when the latter advanced from there into their territory on the mainland. It is no wonder that they took advantage of their greater numbers to drive off and scare off the intruders. Now since, as Middendorff has shown, the trips by the Russians to the Shantars took place almost without incident, then, the Gilyak lost their former hunting territory altogether. It seems, then, that what they regarded as their proper and territory on the islands in the northwest of their area of distribution, they surrendered to the Russians without any resistance on their part.

Much less can be drawn from the oldest Russian reports from the lower Amur about possible border shifts in the south of the Gilyak territory. Here, at the time of the first contact with the adjacent neighbors and nation, and at most the number of days required to reach the Russian settlements in Gilyak territory, all of the statements run differently, in that, according to Popéof, the Sirinkes beside the Gilyak spoke, according to Chabarof the Achanzes, and according to Ispopof the Dyarskaves. The next question is how are these peoples to be identified with those known to us today from the lower Amur region and how are those apparently contradictory reports to be reconciled?

As Millier (3) and after him Fischer (4) correctly remarked

3. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 320.

4. Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 309.

/113 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/114 cont.)

that one can hardly doubt that some there increased considerably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe that Schenck, who was interested in coming to know the Gilyak Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the Ainos, and they moved to the Amur Estuary and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak

2. See p. 214 above /ustanovlenii/.

/114 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/115 cont.)

Gilyak, who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region. Sirinks, certainly much more numerous in Russian times, are dispersed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely represented everywhere, some living on the mainland along the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouths of the Sungari and the Sunja (Nurevaf Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting parties, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Dear, and, intermediate between the Sungari and the Sunja, Sirinks.

In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different from that on the Amur. Here, they have never been pushed off by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern, the Gilyak part of the island, and, in the southern part, settled on both sides by the branches of a warm current, a climatically very favorable region. The Ainos, then, must, which, especially on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely cold climate and consequently a very sparse population, from the time phenomenon may be in historical and political circumstances rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated by the Japanese, they were pushed back and driven away, and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainos moved out of their region and, as I have shown, have not represented opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese House, that certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

As early as April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak

/114 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/115 cont.)

/117 cont.) NEXT COMES THE OKCHAMAN, who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region. Sirinks, certainly much more numerous in Russian times, are dispersed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely represented everywhere, some living on the mainland along the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouths of the Sungari and the Sunja (Nurevaf Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting parties, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Dear, and, intermediate between the Sungari and the Sunja, Sirinks.

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As early as April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak

/118 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/119 cont.)

/118 cont.)

Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin vessels use

1. During my stay in the Amur region, among the numerous specimens that been crown with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" and a bronze medallion bearing the picture of the Emperor Nicholas I (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wan or one of the nearby villages. In all probability these pieces came from the Russian mission, which, in the years 1840 to 1848, after he had spent the winter in Wan, was sent every year to visit the Gilyak. His colleague Venanti, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Amur and Sakhalin to the Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime, saw many of these medals between the crosses and medallions (Cmoc. Amaiam dos trayaps, Ibid. Ibid., Vol. XXX, 1851 (Vol. II), p. 218). To supplement the reports collected by Venanti, and Gilyak from Amur and Sakhalin, it should be noted here in passing that a number of these medals were also found among the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wan and Sofaxch, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited this place in my winter journey on March 19 (April 1), 1855. The already mentioned Gilyak in charge of the village of Wan was named for me as one of the Gilyak who had come to Wan to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck /ubiyat/ to destroy a piece of paper with

/119 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/120 cont.)

/119 cont.)

1. Venanti, "Excursion dans les parties inférieures de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Compte-Rendus des voyages, Vol. XXX, 1851 (Vol. II), pp. 218 ff.). Here, it is not difficult to recognize the Olcha villages of Adi, Polu, and Ochke in the Tschang-Sian-ur villages, mentioned by Venanti, "Adi," the first, going downstream, "Polu," and "Ochu." It has always been known that people without "ji" (Russian, 1894, note 1) that the "Kili-ula" belonging to the Tschang-Sian-ur, who living with the Hoit de la Brontes gave rise to Venanti's voyage, and other villages, "Ochke" also such as the crown (1).

1. Gerndel'st". "O protsessii. shiai. Amura" (Vestn. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 00, 1857, Sec. III Mixed Sciences, p. 1 ff.). 2. Bone, "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 3. Amurkoe" "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 4. Amurkoe" Izvie /Pitsy on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region" /Pitsy" in spite of the Treaty of Aigun, Ibid., 3. Trubetskoyer", August-December, 1859, pp. 1 ff.).

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, on the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, and on the Japanese, on Sakhalin, /ka/ /ka/ extend designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a sign of their dependence on the Chinese or the Japanese. In the western part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it now seems that the Chinese and Japanese, in the Amur region, the Chinese, and Ainu, only at certain points separates clearly related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

/120 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/121 cont.)

/120 cont.)

Gilyak, etc.). These peoples therefore regard the unshaved and

1. See p. 144 above.

influence in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could enjoy a relatively good life, and, in contrast to the neighbors, the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possession, they never have been pushed off by Chinese, along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the most necessary and simple goods of daily life, with their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their frontier and in their own interest, consequently.

Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must mention a little-known fact, namely, that the making in for sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel needles, which, in contrast to the making of the Ainos, Orochon, Olcha, etc., are made of the Chinese, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the Japanese (1). The use of bone needles, which, in contrast, negin,

1. Steller's statement that the Kamchatdal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of these determinations, I have dealt with in my discussed above (pp. 871 ff.).

from bone, "the needle"; see Fl. XXIX, Fig. 12, was by the Ainos in the Sea of Okhotsk, and, according to Bone, they brought which a step provided with two nappes rum and into which the nappes are made. Among the Gilyak, however, in contrast to the Ainos, the upper one can be moved along it. If one lifts the

/121 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/122 cont.)

/121 cont.)

Gilyak, etc.) Their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountain, around the tributaries of the Sunari, along the Amur, Ussuri, and Sungari, and, finally, also in a little dependence on the Dear and indirectly on the Chinese (4),

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and in northern Manchuria, the Gilyak region more than the clothing of the Manchus, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and have, in spite of the Russian conquest of the original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshaven and either strung loose, or, in the back, tied in a bunch on the crown (1).

1. Gerndel'st". "O protsessii. shiai. Amura" (Vestn. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 00, 1857, Sec. III Mixed Sciences, p. 1 ff.). 2. Bone, "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 3. Amurkoe" "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 4. Amurkoe" Izvie /Pitsy on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region" /Pitsy" in spite of the Treaty of Aigun, Ibid., 3. Trubetskoyer", August-December, 1859, pp. 1 ff.).

Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region and which, in contrast to the hair style, adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the indigenous peoples of the Amur, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear adornments, which, however, differ in order of only a little on the crown (1).

1. Gerndel'st". "O protsessii. shiai. Amura" (Vestn. Russ. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 00, 1857, Sec. III Mixed Sciences, p. 1 ff.). 2. Bone, "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 3. Amurkoe" "Ochoin" ulenti. sembi." 4. Amurkoe" Izvie /Pitsy on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region" /Pitsy" in spite of the Treaty of Aigun, Ibid., 3. Trubetskoyer", August-December, 1859, pp. 1 ff.).

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/122 cont.)

2. (cont.)
Schenck Sirinks KXI
Gilyak KXI
Nivx Ada

/123 cont.)

/122 cont.)

and Gilyak, and nowhere coincides with the boundary of tribal and tribal boundaries, for example, between the Ainos and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the Ainos, and the Gilyak, and, finally, also the Amur Tungus on the Sakhalin Chinese or Japanese is of the Amur region and the Sakhalin Chinese or Japanese, and, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing and hair style, namely, the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear adornments, which, however, differ in order of only a little on the crown (1).

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/A63 cont./

similar in shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (5). /A65/

2. Hamsa Hmsh, "Tdatsi koko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not the originals Gilyak, but only with imperfect copies of Japanese pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Japan goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Aiaisi) near Kidzi (1). This,

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidzi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still further upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Umsa, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Hamsh had the same experience, except that in the Goldi village of Sulfu he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the native (2). This village, however,

2. Hamsh, "Putesh, na Amur" (A Journey to the Amur), p. 145.

is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one a to believe Hamsa Hmsh's report, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and probably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the natives were likewise familiar with this industry — an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion

/A65 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

I do not specify more precisely the date and the manner of the origin of the art of pottery among the Eskimo, I feel able to draw the conclusion, on the basis of the above considerations regarding the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, that the Eskimo left their Asiatic homeland without any knowledge of the art of pottery and not learned it in America, probably as the result of influences which came to them from the south.

To return to the Amur region, I repeat that the potter's art of the Olcha, Chilchi, and Akim of which Hamsa Hmsh spoke was of or in only of recent origin and among the first two peoples, after the destruction of the pottery manufactories in the lower Amur region, on the other hand, may have prompted the Goldi to take up the art of pottery for wooden implements; to turn their large bowls and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyaks and Olcha under the designation sangi-ge and bowls; respectively.

Among the Goldi the art of porcelain industry was destroyed along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made rapid and unimpeded progress in southern Manchuria and along the Sungari and its tributaries. /A67/ According to the notes of the Chinese Ci-tschen in 1722, the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing

1. Vasil'ev, "Zapiska o Ningutie (Notes on Ninguta)" (Zap. Imp. russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1872, p. 96).

colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery and porcelain factories also came there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 187.

/A65 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

preservation and augmentation of their wealth, it is possible to the Gilyak to a high degree, for with the large number of participants at a hunt the hunter's expenses supply of /A66/ would be gone in no time, apart from other dangers. Furthermore, thanks to this characteristic of the Gilyak, the art of pottery, in their character, there appeared at the very beginning of their relations with the Russians and Chinese, which may be hardly be equated in the history of the relations between primitive and civilized peoples: instead of being exploited by the Russians through liquor and losing everything, they, on the contrary, knew how to win many an advantage from the Russian sailors and Cossacks with their small wooden pots. The Japanese, their moderation and power of resistance were also greatly aided by the fact that during the first years of the Russian occupation of the Amur region only very little liquor was imported, while the number of the Russian consumers of it grew rapidly (1). Later, however, after

1. For instance, in 1855 the crews of several war vessels and the Ayghuzhin and several detachments of Cossacks from Transbaikal were added to the previous Gilyak settlers in the Tatarska Strait. Thus, at the end of the Crimean War, when the importation of liquor into Nikolaevsk, handled by many and in particular North American and Hamburg trading ships, /A67/ greatly increased, and, simultaneously, the ancient, original ways of life and views of the Gilyaks were more and more undermined and began to disappear under the impact of Russian immigration and colonization, it was also the end of their moderation and power of resistance to alcohol, and as early as the mid-sixties we read in the local newspapers, as well as in the reports of returning travelers and other eyewitnesses, of the ever increasing drunkenness and gluttony among the Gilyaks, especially during their best festivals and other celebrations (1).

1. Cf., for instance, Arth. Nordmann,

/A66 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Gilyaken, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Fischfangs und Jagdwesens," Bull. de la Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 291; and Tsunetchine Pemor'e, 1866, p. 50 and elsewhere.

Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the Amur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and the Gilyaks, Olcha, and Orok and Japanese have gradually become tolerant to it as an early age. It seems obvious to me where these peoples first learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As it is well-known, tobacco is native to the tropics of America, at least the northern part, obtained the tobacco plant and the customs of smoking tobacco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about two and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dynasty ascended the throne (1644), upon whose accession the Chinese also adopted the Chinese tobacco plant (1) and under whose protection the

2. Ibe, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Pommieroye, Voyage en Chine et en Tartarie, Paris, 1860, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 68. Wassiljew ("Chinesische Mandschurei," = Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Buch XII, 1857, pp. 92, 93) is of opinion that it was first introduced into Manchuria by the Chinese, who, in contrast to the Manchu, were accustomed to the use of tobacco and smoking.

cultivation of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (2).

2. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

/A66 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

he had no knowledge of the Orok migrations through the Tymy Valley studied with Gilyak villages in which there are many /A67/ Orok, and on these migrations, which take place every winter (for the purpose of trade with the Gilyak, Aino, Chinese, and Japanese, and, in recent years, also with the Russians) he has given a report in their direction and final aims (2), the Orok use, as

2. See p. 38 ff. above; also Vol. I, pp. 169 and 170, of this work.

has just been described in detail, the reinder for harnessing in place of the dog.

Although in the above I had to reject the idea that a change in the way the reinder was used could have taken place among the Orok and Gilyak living in the Tymy Valley, on the other hand, this seems to me quite undeniable much further back in time. Siberia, in the north, is the region where the reinder is native, and, in the south, it was domesticated and used in the Altai region, across the mountains and the Ural, in Europe, in the Amur, and along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, may have prompted them to use their reinder as their engine in the transport of goods. Among the Gilyak and Orok living in the Tymy Valley, that, in, between them and the Gilyak and Orok living in the Amur, and along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, the reinder, in contrast to the dog, is used for pack purposes, and, in the last decade, the Japanese, too, after they have applied themselves, with the help of the Aino, to the herring fishing on the coasts of southern Sakhalin and the catching of [illegible] in the mouth of the Poronai, generally appear at the mouth of the Tymy Valley, at the time of the migration of the Gilyak and Orok living in catching it with great energy and ruthlessness. Pulajskol, who met them there at this occupation in August, 1881, reports, among other things (1), that they had first erected a well of the

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-79 and p. 99.

kind described above reaching across the entire river all opened one-twelfth of the width of the river only as a result of his threatening demands, but then immediately above the first barrier they erected a second well in the middle of the river. Under these circumstances it is understandable that they annually take large quantities of this species of salmon out of the

/A66 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

Tymy River, no less understandable, however, is the harm that they do through this to the Orok and especially to the Gilyak of the entire Tymy Valley who rely on the abundance of fish of that river.

Nothing special is to be said about the catching of the fish living in the Tymy River, which, with the exception of the sturgeon, sheatfish, pike, etc. for it is carried on with ordinary nets. During this /A67/ periods when there is no more important fishing, therefore especially in winter, and, indeed, in the ice, in the same way as sturgeon is then caught. In the cattle, lake-like wide places with a depth of two to three fathoms and more along the banks of the Amur River, and which are always connected with it by a more or less narrow channel, or, in other words, in the mouth, of course, I have seen the Gilyak set up bag-shaped nets on poles in order to catch crucians and similar fish; which are abundant in these small lakes.

One type of fishing must be given special consideration, both on account of its extraordinary importance and of its novelty, and also on account of the characteristic, original way in which it is carried out. This is the hanga fishing along the west and east coasts of Sakhalin. The Japanese, who, in contrast to the Gilyak, watchful Pall) for the Gilyak and the way it is used have been discussed above, have, in the last decade, appeared in great numbers appear directly under the ice of the sea permits the Gilyak to employ the simplest means to catch them in abundance. All that they need for this is a span-long iron hook Gilyak kasch-kesu, Fl. XI, Fig. 2/1030/, Fig. 1) hung on a cord about three feet long which can be moved up and down by means of a wooden handle. The Gilyak fishing beside the hole in the ice catch with this short fishing-rod without any bait, in that he lets it down into the water and immediately draws it up again, pulling one fish after another onto the ice. In the few minutes that I stood by it it was not long before I had caught a fish myself. Thus, in the west coast of Sakhalin — my Gilyak pulled out several dozen fish, and the Japanese sometimes caught as that fish hung in their nets. Some far beaches

/A66 cont./

(cont.)

(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

fish of fish, he lets the signal cord fall and draws together the opening of the bag, whereupon it is dragged ashore with the sturgeon. Sometimes, in the intervening between two sturgeon at the time, other fish, sometimes even sturgeon and beluga, are in these bag nets. Since such labor and troubles are connected with making a /A67/ the Gilyak usually erect them only to catch the species of salmon most important to them and at the same time are according to the great multitudes, the Gilyak-tiche. They cannot have enough of this fish, and therefore at the time of year in which the Gilyak are most occupied with it, because the Gilyak area of the Amur River.

Nevertheless, the Japanese, in contrast to the Gilyak, carry out their reinder on the /A67/ paths made by their dog sleds through the Tymy Valley. Such a possibility for the Orok, growing out of their good relations with the Gilyak and enabling them to use the paths made by the Gilyak sleds through the entire Tymy Valley, and, indeed, across the mountains and the Ural to the Amur, and along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, may have prompted them to use their reinder as their engine in the transport of goods. Among the Gilyak and Orok living in the Amur, and, along the Poronai to the Bay of Patience, the reinder, in contrast to the dog, is used for pack purposes, and, in the last decade, the Japanese, too, after they have applied themselves, with the help of the Aino, to the herring fishing on the coasts of southern Sakhalin and the catching of [illegible] in the mouth of the Poronai, generally appear at the mouth of the Tymy Valley, at the time of the migration of the Gilyak and Orok living in catching it with great energy and ruthlessness. Pulajskol, who met them there at this occupation in August, 1881, reports, among other things (1), that they had first erected a well of the

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(cf. Schenck, op. cit., p. 199).

their reinder, however, the Gilyak invariably directed him toward warlike than toward gain and profit. Such made them recognize that they did not have to fear any curtailment of their wealth, because to the intimidating behavior of the Gilyak, a considerable gain, for the treasures of previous fur-[illegible] the Gilyak, in these bag nets. Since such labor and troubles connected with making a /A67/ the Gilyak usually erect them only to catch the species of salmon most important to them and at the same time are according to the great multitudes, the Gilyak-tiche. They cannot have enough of this fish, and therefore at the time of year in which the Gilyak are most occupied with it, because the Gilyak area of the Amur River.

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/A66 cont./

(cont.)

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especially well-worked pieces and which causes them necessary use such pieces not to sell them, but rather /A67/ to store them away carefully as capital, so to speak, and to bequeath them as an heirloom to their wife, or, whereby they change owners, to be sure, but still remain in the realm of the Gilyak. More over, in view of the great importance of fishing, much time is spent on the manufacture of each individual piece of this kind, and, as is always and everywhere the case, not everybody can have a great skill. At the time of my stay in the Amur region the village of Chyla (1), located on the Amur directly above

1. On the ethnographic map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

2. This appears on the map of the Amur region which is appended to the first volume of this work.

their home there.

/320 cont./ Маскина ТЫ МАНЕК ВУНДЫ ЗЫ ТИНЕМ,
Aino in Sakhalin [illegible] but their skill at forging iron
more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a
result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese goods.
We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had
another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably
would not or could not mention -- the apparent backsliding in
which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, con-
cerned with outright exploitation by the latter, under which
they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery,
and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were
in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance
of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances
and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence,
they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of
the Japanese and the idea (one which had bedeviled their neighbor,
the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and
more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or,
in consideration of a more distant path, perhaps more correctly
said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration
back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the
mainland, see pp. 316 and 247 above (tr-
translated/.

At any rate, the political independence which they were able to
maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and to the
Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful
lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being,
as well as for the further development of already acquired skills,
among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the
more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was
especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin,
the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of
it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

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the most numerous and generally most popular of all domestic
animals, simply as table hunting, among the peoples of the upper
Amur region; who say on hunting almost entirely for their food
and in large part for their clothing, the meat animals, elk, red
deer, roe deer, and wild pig, stand in first place as the objects
of hunting. Also comparing to this is the fact that the large
animals named first are also used for tributary payments to the
Manchu officials (6), and the young and still soft deer antlers are

6. I again draw attention to the fact that
the descriptions belong to the period of the past, a
a time when almost the entire Amur region
was still under Chinese rule.

an important trade item. To be sure, the precious fur-bearing
animals, especially the sable, are found in ever more and more
boots, and, accordingly, zealously hunted, by the upper Amur
people, too, but their number has so greatly decreased in the
course of time, both because of the constant and strenuous hunt-
ing and because of the frequent and extensive forest fires, in
part caused by negligence and in part intentional, that, in
addition to them, other animals formerly regarded as worthless
and ignored have acquired value. In particular, as the sable
gradually disappeared, the squirrels serving as food for it became
so much more common and numerous that along the upper Amur
and in /Ma/ tributaries the squirrels have always become
the principal objects of attention for the hunters, and, though of
little value individually, they reign their value and expense be-
cause of their great numbers. The Schilka and Argun Cossacks,
who annually in the fall and organized in small companies (sotsky
undertake long hunting expeditions lasting for weeks and months
in the Onochon and Manegir territories, therefore simply call
this hunting of sable, in accordance with its chief purpose,
"beltowje" (1), i.e., squirrel pursuit. Thus, another

1. Accordingly, the verb "beltowat,"
i.e., to pursue squirrel-hunting,

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in that of the two civilized peoples with each other. Thus, they
in the Amur center, so to speak, at Nikolaevsk, and at Ma-
tions in the lower Amur region. This is especially true of the
Amur Gilyak, while those on Sakhalin and the southern coast
of the Sea of Okhotsk hardly less a peripheral position in
this respect than the cultic peoples of the region. The farmer,
however, are also favored more than the latter two by their
geographical position, in that, besides the sea route to the
Japanese by way of the Amur and along the west coast of
Sakhalin, they also have a second wattg artery on the Amur
River, which leads them to the Chinese living on it as well as
on the Sungari. Finally, in the trade with the Russians, too,
the Gilyak, and, to be sure, again those of the Amur River,
occupy a central and favorable position, which, to be sure,
in contrast to the neighboring peoples, merely as a result of the
fact that the occupation of the Amur region in the 50's by the
Russian started at the mouth of the Amur and the first settle-
ment were founded in Gilyak territory, in particular the
Nikolayev post, which for some time remained the headquarters
of the Russian administration and from which the further explora-
tion of the lower Amur region and its peoples began.

If one calls to mind the violent and bloody resistance with
which the Gilyak opposed the Russian freebooters in the seven-
teenth century, which ended only by the latter being the

1. See pp. 218-227 above.

means as good-natured, docile, and indolent as the Tungus, but
rather, far to the contrary, are malicious, spiteful, and deceitful,
while at the same time energetic and even ready to shed blood
if humiliation or greed are involved (1), it might be surprising

2. The killing of de la Brunière by the
Gilyak mentioned above (p. 576, note 1)
is evidence of this. Shortly before my
arrival in the Amur region, the crew of a

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2. (cont.)
whaler that had run aground in the vicinity
of the northernmost Gilyak settlement was
killed by the especially notorious Gilyak
from Tamankaw and the boat was
plundered. In 1895, among the Gilyak
of Pogbobi, I saw a bucket bearing a
number and an English inscription, which
presumably came from it.

that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians
with very few means in the beginning took place in such a
peaceful manner and so little bloodshed. Thus, completely the
love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very
generously contributed to this. The possibility was being able to
exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of
which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could
find no market, such as fish, game, beasts, etc., for wares
articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing
and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed
toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to
draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and
skill kept nothing from them, as they, as they themselves
and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them.
The Schlakeyev post became the most important trade center
of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /Mit/ that
the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of
Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the
Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely
distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the
Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Marawjof post in Aniwa
Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian
settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward
the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on
his guard against treacherous attacks. In the evening,
when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly
heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

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country and, in the conviction that I did not understand them,
express the opinion that they were now only exploring the
country, just as I was doing, in order to take possession of it
later and to push out of it and demoy all the Gilyak. At some
places, as in Tyk, Dut, and the upper-most Tymy villages, they
sometimes even show greater hostility and intolerance and hostility
in that they did not want to permit me to stay in their yurts or
to make a fire on their hearth for the preparation of my meal,
and refused to sell me the necessary food for my dogs from their
supplies. This latter refusal was even worse than the two first
ones, because it could not be overcome by threats and force in
hand, as they could. Thanks to their passion for trade, however,
I was always able to get my way finally. Thus, completely the
contrary could not resist the trade articles which I had with me
and produced apparently without design, and, if just one
yielded to temptation and made a small exchange, the ice was
broken and offers rained down from all sides, so that I soon had
find too many articles of what was needed. With the opening of
trade, however, agreement was always also reached on all
other matters. The Gilyak show much practical sense, clever-
ness, industry, and skill in trading. Only articles of luxury
practical utility excite their inclination to buy: on the other
hand, everything that they need, or, whatever been striking, is, to
be sure, gazed at and admired (with the frequently repeated ex-
clamation of "ta-ma-ki," accompanied by striking the head with
the palm of the hand), but not acquired as a rule, provided, to be sure,
they can maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of
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/392 cont./ Тунгусы ЧЕЛЕВЕКЕ, ОЧЕ ЧЕЛЕВЕКЕ, ЛЕ ЕЛЕВЕКЕ ОЧЕ ЕЛЕ
Tungusic neighbors, who are more skillful and active in hunting,
and the Amur Gilyak, who have the men dealings with the
Chinese, also trade with them, and, in consideration, have long
along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin and buy from them
the desired furs. The Amur Gilyak -- particularly the Tchomi Gilyak
too, are the life and soul of this entire trade, through which
Chinese wares are brought into circulation throughout the terri-
tory of the Gilyak and of the tribes immediately neighboring
them, the Negda, Reindeer Tungus, Orok, and even the Ainu,
and they are also the ones who draw the greatest advantage from
it. There is not a single Chinese merchant in this whole area.
The northernmost and easternmost point in the lower Amur region
is an area where Chinese may not stay longer than a few days.
Located still in Chita territory on the Amur, near the Gilyak
settlement, which, only a few miles to the east, is called
Tschomi, via the oft-mentioned Tymi-Chaselach route from
the Liman (1). It was said that sometimes a Chinese merchant

1. See pp. 144 and 909 above.

meals through from Pulj along the deserted left bank of the Amur
to the Negda on the Angoni, he carefully avoids the right bank,
inhabited by the Gilyak, and, to be safe, he always, whether
he, will not permit any Chinese merchants in their territory and
3 years ago killed one who ventured in. Whether they amount
this hostile attitude toward the Chinese merchants in order to
defend themselves against the domination of the Manchu-Chinese
in order to shake it off is still unclear, but in any case it is
greatly to their advantage commercially. For the role that is
played further upstream by the Chinese merchants living among
the Olcha, Goldi, Samagir, and other peoples of the lower Amur
region or visiting them, in that they act as middlemen in the
trade between them and the Manchu-Chinese wholesalers along
the Sungari, falls in the Gilyak-Tungusic area, inasmuch they
are not allowed to come, to the Amur Gilyak themselves, and
the latter perform their role of middlemen with great skill and
success. The alertness, versatility, and enterprising spirit that

/406 cont./ They are not permitted
by the Manchu-Chinese government to go further upstream, just
as they are not permitted to cross the Amur to the south. Nor
are permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari,
the so-called Sachala River -- a prohibition whose observance the
Manchu officials stationed in Dshdag-Aibo at the confluence of
the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the
Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal
experience. Beyond this they know about the name of "Hajoch-
chanan" and "Sungaj-chotan" (Bhagatu) located, respectively,
the above-lower Amur and Sungari, and, to be sure, inhabited
tributary, which they call "Ungoj-chotan" (Bhagatu), the Manchu
and Tungusic, as a whole, simply means "river", as well
as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Amur.
River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they have
heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in
part perhaps through Dahian-Yakut traditions in Bodaisk. The
Gilyak, the Tungusic-speaking people of the Amur, do not
access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners,
and enter /Mit/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does
much for such a people, and, in return, it does not
does not yield either military or tribute-collecting officials to
them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves
as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons
of prestige, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the
refusal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the
other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the
Gilyak coming to trade in Bar-Aigun a tribute, or possible
for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first.
The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to its demands, if they
want to be able to participate in the trade, and to
have maintained the whole long journey in vain. At the same

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must submit to being treated like the Goldi and other
peoples directly subject to the Manchu-Chinese. And in order
to achieve this purpose, they, the Gilyak, must, of course, gen-
selves cold me, toward them on their part just like the latter, that
is, they bend the bow before them in greeting or to make a re-
quest, which otherwise is not at all customary among them. The
Gilyak in Bar-Aigun put on an act of complete submission to the
Manchu-Chinese government, and the latter is satisfied with this,
along with the gifts collected from them in the form of tribute and
probably going into the pockets of the local officials, and other-
wise leaves them in peace.

The treatment of the natives of the lower Amur region ap-
pearing amongst the Gilyak, and, indeed, somewhat of the
Manchu officials and Chinese merchants there is extremely harsh,
inconsiderate, and humiliating, and in particular the gentle and
shy Goldi, who live closer to them and are directly subject to
them, have to suffer under them. According to the description
of Chibiloff (1) and Bachmann (2), which I have followed up the Sungari

1. Khabarovski Uyezd. Rusk. Geogr.
Obshch., Vol. II, 1866, Sec. II, p. 227.
In the excerpt in Petermann's Geograph.
Mitteilungen, 1867, p. 97.

2. Ir. Barabash", "Sungarlik. Eksped. 1872 g.
/The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (Vostoc
Sborn., 1874, No. 3, p. 141).

to Pe-tuna (Bo-duna) in 1866 and 1872, they first had to pay
for a permit for travel to Bian-xian and for the trading itself,
which was done in the village of Sunsu, lying somewhat below
the latter, by paying a considerable amount of sycoeen and
beaten cartridges and glue to the Manchu official stationed there.
Upon reaching Bian-xian, they first of all have to pay the tribute
(ashin) owed to the Chinese Manchu government, and, indeed,
may begin to trade with the Japanese, submit to a ceremony
introduced by the latter which consist of two or three blows
across the back with a stick received by each of them, as a

/411 cont./
land on the lower Amur west coast. A principal center for this trade,
however, is the village of Najero, not far from Bian-xian, to which
which the Ainu come for the purpose from considerable dis-
tances themselves, from Aniwa Bay and elsewhere (3). For

1. See, op. cit., p. 84. Schmidt,
op. cit., p. 92.

egoistical reason the Japanese view this trade with great dislike
and try as far as possible to prevent it, because they want to get
for themselves the profit from the trade in furs. Since they do
in a way which is very injurious to the latter, in that they bu-
ch good for below the place in part under threats of punishme
the Chinese merchants, and, indeed, sometimes by sub-
ing, as payment for alleged debts (3), the Ainu, whenever they

3. Bune, op. cit., p. 71.

cass, avoid trading with them and try to sell their furs, kept
hidden from them, to the Sakhalin Gilyak or, preferably, to
the Amur Gilyak and Olcha from abroad. The latter are said to
pay them two to three fathoms (atm span) of Chinese cotton
cloth for one sable pelt, depending on its quality, and yet as
much for one squirrel pelt and one fox pelt, depending on
skin, so that the latter, with a length of 1/4 arshin, which is
easily attained in a year of the unavoidable stretching of the
for in skinning, will bring about ten fathoms of the material
named (4) - prices which generally correspond to the value

4. Bune, op. cit., p. 84.

given above for these articles among the Gilyak.

Having reached Sunsunu, the Sunsu voyagers, before the
may begin to trade with the Japanese, submit to a ceremony
introduced by the latter which consist of two or three blows
across the back with a stick received by each of them, as a

/811 cont. /

[811] Nature of their administration from the highest Japanese officials. After this is done, the goods are taken away from them and brought to an official building of the Japanese, which no one except them may enter, in order to be subected to a close scrutiny (5). It can hardly be doubted that some of the pieces

5. According to Rudanofski, in Tichmenef's [illegible] Sbornik, chapter, Russkiie-amerikanskie Kompanii, Part II, p. 118.

and certainly not the worst ones, never find their way back to their owners. The Japanese, however, do not permit themselves to treat the newly arrived Gilyak and Oroka in the same arrogant and pedantic manner as they do the Aino, despite the reason that others-no they might emily they every abnegation from trading with them and the alleged communication that they [illegible] to them would be lost. Besides [illegible] this trade is all the more profitable for them because it is practically unstable, fur, and river-otter fur in, articles which they procure in great quantities and almost without cost, thanks to their [illegible] [illegible] purchased at a little price from the Aino, as well as in furs, and for which they have no market in Japan because of the well-known aversion to fur among the Japanese. They further owe great profit to the popularity of their iron kettles, provided with handles, among the Gilyak. Finally, their tobacco, tabe, porcelain and lacquered wooden bowls, and the like are equally marketable articles for them in this trade, in exchange for which they principally try to obtain from the Gilyak and Oroka those valuable, red and blue Chinese silk materials and the eagle tails likewise mentioned several times. How much the one as well as the other is among them can be seen from the high prices that they pay for them. According to [illegible] the Japanese are for a period of six months in the place of silk material seven fathoms long and one ninth wide five river-otter pelts, five fox pelts, and five sable pelts, and for an eagle tail three Kadzibuno [illegible] 12 otter pelts, and from the fat ten

/811 cont. /

[811] supply of such observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of the Ainam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin (Ainu-moshi) and separated from it by a narrow sea" (Opisch-Sakhalin, p. 11). In the years immediately following the occupation of the Aino region by the Japanese, however, the Japanese also tried to keep the traders from their own areas from Batamom and Endaigoro, the second most northerlyin the southern part of Sakhalin. At the same time, we extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian posts beyond it and especially any alienation of the Aino subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 152-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Batamom by the Japanese but only as far as Endaigoro, and in the following year the Gilyak were even prevented from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kunashiri and some went to Sakhalin and to the mainland (2). Under the

appointed hostess, or second elder. A black tea-otter fur was agreed upon as the annual gift (tribute) that the elders were to bring to Japan (4). Since the Gilyak and the Aino are at the same time, and in fact, interwoven with gold and promised to sell them all the other skins commodities at a very cheap price. That "foot, linoleum, or boje," which, according to the map drawn by Batoshi on the basis of the original sketch by Sugiyamo Tokiusu and Mamia Rinshi (6), is near Cape Omiu (the southern

4. Atlas to Siebold's Nippon, Plate XXV.

tip of the Bay de la Jonquiette), is undoubtedly the Gilyak village of Dal, and that the whole of the above incident refers to the subjugation of the Sakhalin Gilyak, or making them tributary.

/811 cont. /

[811] [illegible] them as to how they came to be tributary to the Matanchi, he received the following information from several Sakhalinsk Gilyak: "Long ago, in the Gilyak language, "when they were not yet tributary, some Matanchi women came to them every year in order to buy furs. The Gilyak, however, hated them as unfriendly and disdainful toward the inhabitants of the island, and they, in turn, were consequently frequently beaten between them, whenever a great number of Matanchi landed one day, suspected the island everywhere, and much persecution of the heart of the inhabitants fled to the mountain out of fear, but some of them stayed behind, and the coast was surrounded by the Matanchi, who conferred with them and appointed one of them as their chief, called or elder. Chief Kaiyo, or elder, the wet coast of the island near Inn (Sushotan, Hyoi). Similarly, they invented two men from the northern part of the east coast with the office [illegible] and [illegible] Matanchi.

3. Mamia Rinshi also shows the names of these three [illegible] who were the first to become tributary.

become acquainted with one of the most distinguished Aino, the aged Inotsaburo, upon whom, as an Aino elder, the Japanese had conferred a number of rights and duties, and who is discussed written in the Matanchi language, which his father had received at one time from the Matanchi, and, consequently, the office of a tribute journey to Sam-min on the Amgun, and through which he, as an intermediary, was able to obtain a number of furs and a tribute, or, more accurately, a special statement in furs, was collected from the aos as from the other only in Sam-min for the granting of permission to trade. The Gilyak, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Matanchi-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Matanchi officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it [illegible] that the Aino and the Gilyak were subjugated Matanchi's tribute in the Amur region and made to bear-min on the Amgun. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Sakhalin Aino, according to his own words, had himself never been in Matanchi country.

/811 cont. /

[811] and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt (Voyage around the World), Petersburg, 1810-1812.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Kaidobita Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1803) — it was pointed out above (p. 67), as I mentioned, he was unable to distinguish the one — one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe and a Chinese cap. Since the Gilyak were, at the time, and "without doubt" was their chief — evidently, therefore, one of those [illegible] or [illegible] appointed by the Matanchi and Japanese officials. Collected by the importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt, who, in 1854, in Sapyo, in

1. "Histor. Berich," etc., p. 94.

Aino and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Matanchi likewise did not exist, and that there were none of these appointed chiefs or elders among them. "Since the Gilyak were subjugated by other tribes, they refused to pay tribute to the Matanchi. The former were visited twice in one year from the Matanchi, and, consequently, the office of a tribute journey to Sam-min on the Amgun, and through which he, as an intermediary, was able to obtain a number of furs and a tribute, or, more accurately, a special statement in furs, was collected from the aos as from the other only in Sam-min for the granting of permission to trade. The Gilyak, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Matanchi-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Matanchi officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it [illegible] that the Aino and the Gilyak were subjugated Matanchi's tribute in the Amur region and made to bear-min on the Amgun. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Sakhalin Aino, according to his own words, had himself never been in Matanchi country.

/811 cont. /

[811] no doubt that the greater moral austerity of the Gilyak is tied up with their greater wealth and the fact that they have been brought, namely, their greater energy, self-control, and moderation, which, as has been pointed out (1), they also show in their

1. See above, p. 719.

drinking of liquor. On the other hand, however, in comparison with the other Amur peoples, the Gilyak were always in a more favorable situation with regard to namely inasmuch as their dwelling sites were the farthest from the two civilized peoples of Ist Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, and the latter do not have any contacts with the Gilyak territory. Some demonstration as effect they have upon the native is evident from the fact that the Japanese and Chinese always come, the former to Sakhalin and the latter into the Usuri and lower Amur region, without their wives and children, always liquor and other compact commodities, try to acquire conclusions among the women and children of the Gilyak, or the Orochi, Oroka, and Olcha. It was therefore to the advantage of the Gilyak, see namely with regard to trade, but also in connection with the Aino, they refused to pay tribute to the Chinese and Japanese, but, in fact, in all evidence of [illegible] throughout centuries and energy (1).

1. See pp. 143 and 144.

with the exception of the Amur region by the Russians in the Ilhim, conditions changed, much to the disadvantage of the Gilyak, for the occupation begins precisely in their territory and they were the first and the most drawn into close contact with the new civilized peoples approaching them from the north, a contact which, in the end, was always of the Gilyak, a disadvantage to them, as it always is to a primitive people in such instances, and as subsequently, to a lesser degree, the Gilyak also found it [illegible] to tell his daughter as a countryman as a wife in exchange for the [illegible] of the Gilyak, or the Japanese, or the Russian [illegible] in some other form.

/811 cont. /

[811] people who themselves are obliged to bear the tax-yasik yoke, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Section 12

Social relations: political and legal position. Social organization on the basis of wealth. National communism. Inviolability of property. Hospitality. Caution and indecision in journeying and weather tests. Superstitious calming of storms. Greeting and expressions of thanks. The custom of giving gifts and return-gifts to one another. Reliability in business affairs. Time reckoning. Calender. Cosmic conceptions. Amusements: singing, music, dancing, games.

In connection with the family, the basis of all social organization, the most essential and important characteristics of the latter among the Gilyak and the neighboring peoples in the lower Amur region were discussed in the preceding section: morality, slavery, blood revenge. It remains for us to consider those aspects of their social life which are less directly and immediately connected with the family.

At the time of my stay in the Amur region the Gilyak were not subject or tributary to either China or Russia. At the beginning of the century the Chinese government had exerched some authority over them on the Amur as well as on Sakhalin and in consequence it appointed elders from among them, who were to collect a certain amount of tribute in their districts and deliver it to Deren. In the twenties, however, as was discussed in detail above (1), it relinquished this authority and confined it to

1. See pp. 970 ff. above.

those parts of the lower Amur region located farther upstream around the Sungari, so that the Gilyak and the Olcha remained only nominally subject to it. And since from then on no tribute was collected and delivered to the Manchu-Chinese government, the posts of village or district elders created by it automatically perished, too. For the Gilyak in particular, more conscious of their freedom, they had already in my time /664/ disappeared

from memory to such an extent that I never heard them mentioned by the local inhabitants of the Gilyak term for them. On the part of the Russians, however, in my time, at the beginning of the fifties, a firm foothold was held at individual points in the Amur region, namely, at Nikolaevsk, at Petrovsky, at Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk (1), but they did not pay any atten-

1. See pp. 174-181 above.

tion at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions to deal with and to deal out justice in the order within the Russian settlements (2). Thus in my time the arrangements made

2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (Russ. starosty) appointed by them from among the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the district chief (Russ. starshy /Ispravnik/) residing in the nearest port. Dr. Seeland, who had already met such village elders during his stay in the years 1874-80 (Russische Revue, Vol. XXI, p. 238), failed to recognize the wholly Russian origin of this arrangement, and, therefore, failed to distinguish adequately between what was originally peculiar to the Gilyak and what they took over from the Russians -- and at that time this had already spread very far and deeply -- deprives his description of them of almost all its value.

This is my Time the arrangements made by the Manchu-Chinese for governing the Gilyak had already disappeared, and they had not been introduced by the Russians: the people were left to themselves and within the limits mentioned, could do as they pleased. The following remarks pertain

only to this period, certainly a very favorable one for the study of their primitive life.

Beyond the family and the paternal kin-group, the Gilyak have no legal-administrative structure or organization of self-government. Their affairs are individually provided by them themselves with authoritative power, say, for preserving order, for settling disputes, and the like. And there seems to be no need for that among them. Since they wage war with their neighbors or among themselves, undertake no joint raiding expeditions into foreign territory, collect no tribute and do not have to deliver any, they do not need no leaders, chiefs, elders, or Russian settlements (2). Thus in my time the arrangements made

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Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting, except for the places on the river where they have their dwellings, and these are in fact farther from the Amur than large and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschonsi Gilyak go for downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the seacoast to catch kaigu. It is true, the Tschonsi and the Tymy Gilyak have fixed frontiers with each other. Also, in the great forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

Like the communist, the inviolability of property is also based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of tobacco, or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur. I mean, I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langi, located at the entrance to the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small hatch boxes were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Jilyakizad Russian term for "to steal" (ukradnuch, Russ. ukrasti), and the Gilyak word (emgarunch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met persons, such as Kimuk in Tschach, Mradamin in Bachach, etc., whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

slight pinching. I had even greater confidence in the latter. Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in the form of three spears hewn from the large and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschonsi Gilyak go for downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the seacoast to catch kaigu. It is true, the Tschonsi and the Tymy Gilyak have fixed frontiers with each other. Also, in the great forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

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others were to follow (3). This method was at least more per-

3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

ponsful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a dwelling-house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with a word or gestiue, nor it it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too. With me they likewise constantly came and went without a salutation, or at most, later, with a "adrkmu" and "pouchnachu" (see above) addressed to the hostess. Only in the presence of Tungusic and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to give them a sign that I wish to bring punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Sanatun and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference. But what surprised me even more is the fact that I never heard "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Czichon, who had more experience, should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which it in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and sentiments. On the other hand, it is true, I never heard that they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. As soon as the cry "nimach nimach" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak warwarn) was used to scrape and heat the stone from the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and rna was offered as a welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the guest of the day were discussed, in which the women also

customs may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Sanatun, as well as in Suiranusi, have their officials and trade agents who demand such capitular benevolentiae in their own interest and sympathy by the Manchu-Chinese Republic. Nevertheless, the energetic Gilyak paid no attention to the djiticr elders appointed by the Manchu-Chinese government for the purpose of collecting tribute and previously disliked by them, and permitted neither a Manchu official nor a Chinese trader to enter their territory. The gentler and more fearful Olcha, however, did not have the courage for such a decision; they were still afraid of a very strong Manchu-Chinese domination and of the events that seem to have followed the abandonment of the trade centers of Deren located in their territory (2). This fear can be explained in part by the fact that

2. See pp. 978-982 above.

the lower Goldi immediately adjacent to them and the Samagir on the Gorin still remained under Manchu-Chinese rule and the Olcha received many a fugitive and immigrant from there. In part it was also fostered by the fact that the Chinese trader mayting here and there among the Olcha, the Gilyak, and the Goldi control, such as had formerly been exercised by the Manchu officials in Deren, now treated the Olcha with even more imperiousness and audacity, especially since they found among them longcustomary, humble submissiveness.

The fear of a return of Manchu-Chinese rule and the accompanying insecurity with regard to property, as well as, on the other hand, the Tungusic nature of the Olcha with them in their industriousness and gain-seeking in comparison with the Gilyak, further explain the fact that greater, fewer prey-animals were by far play as considerable a role among them as among the Gilyak, and the social organization which has developed on the basis of it is more or less missing among them. Not that there are no wealthy individuals among them, for example, Tudo in Tschiloi, who was one of the few Olcha who even owned a lyax-fur coat (3).

3. See p. 979 above.

officials in Sian-min a certain amount of tribute in order to obtain permission to do so. Nevertheless there was a considerable difference in the position of these two peoples with respect to the rule over them, abandoned only recently and to a certain extent compulsorily by the Manchu-Chinese Republic. The energetic Gilyak paid no attention to the djiticr elders appointed by the Manchu-Chinese government for the purpose of collecting tribute and previously disliked by them, and permitted neither a Manchu official nor a Chinese trader to enter their territory. The gentler and more fearful Olcha, however, did not have the courage for such a decision; they were still afraid of a very strong Manchu-Chinese domination and of the events that seem to have followed the abandonment of the trade centers of Deren located in their territory (2). This fear can be explained in part by the fact that

2. See pp. 978-982 above.

ual phases of the festival. On the other hand, there are very considerable differences between them, determined chiefly by the different method of sowing and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the continental and the Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low conical, snow-covered hemispherical dwelling with a smoke-hole on top by the smoke streaming out -- its external decoration for the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young trees, stripped of their lower branches, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt. With a few ragged-shaped, curled wooden-shavings (kach) hanging down from their crowns and from the branches of neighboring shrubs, they do not have the most eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year in its skin used for the exterior decoration. Only in the front of the dwelling, some yurts also set up obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and in front of it a pair bundle of wooden curls (kach) (2).

2. See the woodcut. p. 1186.

I saw this. for example, in Tyk. Dul. Jelik. Pud-wo. and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin.

which were strung in a row by means of the Peramina vertebrae on the branches of the brush. and beside them hung Goldi birchbark bowls and baskets. such as are fouhd also on the grave sites. of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in the basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it. especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread. that. having come to Sakhalin from the mouth of the Amur. they found a home there for a long period. and only then. oppressed by the Ainu. migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individ-

1. See pp. 214 /intranslated/. 247 /intranslated/. 889. and 892 of this work.

768 cont.

A rough little rod or a similar stick (wadžach) stuck in the ground is likewise said to mark a place where a corpse is buried. (Bm. I, p. 18.)

51. Gilyak. In September, 1854, the Gilyak of Kulk discovered that one of their burial houses, raff, had been destroyed by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and variously colored rags, peculiar implements, and the like are deposited there. Near Kulk, in the birch forest along the Amur, four or five such small houses stood together and formed a burial place, while such structures are otherwise often found individually in the midst of the forest. The Gilyak said that in the destroyed little house the ashes of a Nivkhi child had been put in one vessel, over which the same number of sable furs had been placed. The latter was done in order to prevent a sudden dying of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now, since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of the epidemic. (Bm. I, p. 24.)

52. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never be interfered with by outsiders, Russians, or Orochi. Therefore, though the Gilyak from Kulk bewailed and complained about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they nevertheless decided not to transport the remains to the villages where they themselves had moved from Kulk. (Bm. I, p. 56.)

53. Gilyak. Investigates the interior of a little burial-house he always finds in it a longish finished and in an upright position: kakk, also tars. The middle of it is pierced, and the hole has a peg, kylms, stuck in it; a strip of linen is wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too, is wrapped in linen and decorated with various rags, kakk- or tars-rawk (Plate LXVIII fig. 2). Close to the board and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ngir,

parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-ainlk came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid, it consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship, but, in distinction to the Tungus-Manchu system, the specific terms of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of the group marriage. These relations were brought into play for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were related to one four ago groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (ytyk), the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) mothers and sisters (turngi) and 4) children (ata).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into a commercial enterprise, undoubtedly aids stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur and Sakhalin Nivkhi, who had long been in trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga tooth-boxes for tea, silk, and other luxury articles. They also bartered with the Russians, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tyzhing clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Orok. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be drawn into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-4 slaves. The rich made a wide-price always included large quantities of imported valuables, but commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only the medium of barter and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's property was inherited by his children. Slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders, and gyapsin-ulitge (like a village).

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi clan structure accelerated considerably. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-sharers." Nivkhs who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their view of supernatural was of a very primitive character. Fig. 2 shows a pole of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about the "master" of the earth, water, and fire. The kilor-khoir was in essence their thinking in yr-ngi "master" of their animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its "master" (ulyr-ngi): the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrandi, or Tolyr'—the "master" of

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, as, indeed, almost all the Nivkhi lived, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

In the beginning of 1920, the laboring people of Sakhalin overthrew General Kolchak's appointees and reestablished the Soviet regime, which immediately began to carry out the nationalization of industrial enterprises, workers and peasants and the Nivkhi and other peoples of Sakhalin. However, the Soviets lasted only three months in Sakhalin. On March 31, 1920, Japanese landed on the island and occupied the city of Aleksandrovsk. The poorly armed Red Guard units were compelled to retreat and withdraw to the taiga. They became guerrillas. Based, as the classification system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of the group marriage. These relations were brought into play for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

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In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the collective farm, which, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other collective farms also are progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered in the taiga. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But, in the large collective farms, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new ones proceeded rapidly after the beginning of the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well-planned settlements. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi, who lived in dugouts, and moved, most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu dwelling.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Almost every collective farm village is a member of public buildings: a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to some specialized branch of farming, e.g., a poultry-house, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a kindergarten—nothing the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private toilet-houses.

The material surroundings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one sees radios, sewing machines, gramophones, and, in the place of the birch-bark wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and bedspreads. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures; there are now quite a few stalls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping, and, in the past, wrestling, the living game of Sakhalin, and the game of the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective farms of Nivkhi who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old clan structure. Among the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution, the old religious ceremonies, the clan elders, and the "half-sharers" have the greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was cloistered and oppressed, and now only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. Now, along with the collectivization of her husband's labor, her effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to do so, they met with resistance from the husbands. Their wives, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their activities. In general, the women succeeded in overcoming the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. It was usually only a temporary hut. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help.

Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied in the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad, 3 studied in the Khabarovsk Institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Lisa Dakhat' of the village of Pal on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Takanul of the village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, engineers on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have risen to high-ranking positions in the collective farms and industry; many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is continued today by the collective farms and industrial enterprises. The best of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Noglikl, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinsky Rayon. The second cultural base of the people of the Nivkhi was founded in 1932 in the village of Pal on the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Russian children, and kindergartens and nine-year schools.

At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the Nivkhi are invited to the rayon and oblast' concerts. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who have lived near the Russian villages, were only the passive spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm villages, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

The Nivkhi are greatly interested in sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in swimming and other sports (especially rowing and canoe seasons) with a singleoar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

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Golds KAS
Olcha

G /657 cont./
614 example, in the above-mentioned case of Nenjdan, drive one to
602 bloodshed, and then the instinct of self-preservation may keep many
628 a one from plunging into the hornets' nest of a strong and large kin-group. Quarrelsome and rapacious members of such a kin group, however, confident in the protective power standing behind them, may be goaded on all the more in their wantonness and may let themselves be carried away to commit acts that lead to blood feuds or that are a direct challenge for blood revenge, as, for example, is said of the Tammla-wo Gilyak on Sakhalin by their countrymen on the Amur. On the whole, however, this abuse does not nullify the beneficial effects which blood revenge with its rules has among the Gilyak, in that with the legal relations still unregulated, it gives the individual a certain amount of protection, and, to be sure, it strengthens the basis of every social arrangement and development, the family.

G
Gi
648 Concerning the family relations of the Amur peoples living
177 adjacent to the Gilyak, the only ones who, as was pointed out at the beginning of this section, can be spoken of here, I must limit myself to a few statements tied in with the above remarks about the Gilyak.

/658/ In the preceding chapters the high degree of equalization that has taken place between the Olcha and the Gilyak in all aspects of the external life has been discussed -- an equalization which must be regarded as an assimilation of the former by the latter. This kind of equalization has also taken place with regard to the family relations of the two peoples, which, in fact, became the basis for the most penetrating and enduring manifestation of this assimilation, both externally and internally.
G
Gi
[582] And the medium that served and still serves to bring about this equalization may be clearly discerned, namely, the frequent mixed marriages which have taken place between these two peoples since the Olcha migrated to the Amur and, after the loss of their reindeer, settled down there as fishermen in the immediate neighborhood of the Gilyak, marriage which even today are concluded between them continually. In this manner the

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Gi /658 cont./
648 Gilyak family customs and organization
177 brought to the Olcha and in the course o
and spread in much the same form amon
they were bound to undergo certain mod
character, in that they were transplante
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Gi different people with respect to their nat
157 Olcha, a branch of the large Tungus trib
[101] Siberia and the Amur region, are by nat
hearted, gentler, more pliable, more ca
going than the Gilyak. They do not hav
energy of the latter, but, on the other h
having their avariciousness, treacherousn
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Gi These original character traits of the Olc
[177] wise undergoing change as a result of the
people by the Gilyak -- and this has in p
but they appear time and time again, an
also in their family relations.

Among the Olcha, for instance, in
G
Gi erally customary purchase of wives, ther
648 of women, though by far not as frequent
Gi the Gilyak, primarily for the reason that
583 demands, they more readily come to ter
157 another and with their neighbors of the T
for abduction quick and decisive action i
in their nature, and, finally, probably a
of peace and fear of the evil and bloody
usually follow the abduction of a woman
however, they most often carry it out ex
from where they can most expect lasting
among the Gilyak, either because they h
intercourse with these neighbors of theirs
women have a special attraction for ther
hand, the high demands of the Gilyak fo
cially if they are to go out of the country
settlement impossible. In such cases, wh
told me about, bloody conflicts are unav

are constantly being
f time have taken root
g them. Of course,
ifications in their general
d in the soil of a very
tural disposition. The
e spread over all of
ure much more kind-
arefree, and more easy
e the perseverance and
and, they are far from
ness, and vindictiveness.
cha, however, are like-
e assimilation of this
part already taken place --
nd, among other things,

n addition to the gen-
e is also the abduction
and usually, as among
, with more moderate
ms in dealing with one
ungus tribe, and that
s required, which is not
lso out of a natural love
consequences that-
Strangely enough,
actly in the direction
revenge, namely,
ave the most active
or because the Gilyak
n, and, on the other
their daughters, espe-
, often make a peaceful
hich the Gilyak often
oidable, although they

G Gi /658 cont./
648 do not by far reach the proportions that blood feuds caused by
Gi the abduction of a woman and its attendant outrages among the
583 Gilyak themselves not infrequently assume. And this is again
157 attributable to the more peace-loving Tungusic disposition of the Olcha.

G Gi /659/ In general, all acts of bloodshed, and especially
648 those carried out in an unexpected, treacherous manner, are far rarer among them than among the Gilyak, and hence the occasions for blood revenge are far fewer. But it is even more characteristic of them that in cases where such an occasion arises the matter may have a peaceful outcome, for they can be persuaded to desist from blood revenge by a payment, which could scarcely ever happen, or only in the rarest cases, among the
Gi Gilyak. For example, the Olcha from Pulssa let themselves be
[628] bought off by the Gilyak Judin of Tebach for an act of bloodshed
[583] which his brother had committed among them, whereas he himself relentlessly sought to take revenge on an Olcha from Uchtr for the abduction of his daughter.

Gi If, as may be seen from what has been presented, many
648 a harshness of the Gilyak family relations is softened among the
157 Olcha by their gentler nature, so also, on the other hand, does
439 the moral austerity prevailing among the Gilyak undergo a considerable relaxation among them. To a large extent this is due to the fact that they do not have the energy of the Gilyak in refusing the Chinese merchants and traders entry into their territory, much less a more or less permanent stay in it. As has already been mentioned (1), there are many places in Olcha

1. See pp. 144 and 946 above.

territory where Chinese traders stay among them temporary or even almost permanently, and they have all the more corrupting an effect upon them because they have no dwellings of their own, but, with concubines taken from among the natives themselves, set up their domicile in their houses and in their midst. Also, the liquor that these traders always have at their disposal con-
000 tributes no little to the corruption of morals. Accordingly, the

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general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves. Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen. If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

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672 LIABILITY--conception of the liability of individuals and groups for breaches of legal norms; extension of liability to others (e.g., parents, spouse, sibmates); exemptions from legal responsibility (e.g., minors, insane persons, chiefs); recognition of extenuating or aggravating circumstances (e.g., youth or old age, sex or class status of aggressor or victim, accident, self-defense, intent, negligence, recidivism); liability of animals or inanimate objects (e.g., "the ox that gored"); etc. See also:

Collective responsibility of families 59
Collective responsibility of kin groups 61
Responsibility of a principal for acts of his agent 676
Sanctions 681
Moral accountability 812
Status of minors 868

/95 cont./

*614 628 It is quite another matter between men of different clans. Here the principle is implacable: the bones of the clansman must be raised! To raise the bones is the technical term for clan vengeance. Blood must be redeemed with blood, and only in very rare cases can blood redemption be replaced by ransom. This obligation is clearly colored more by a religious than an emotional element. Vengeance is obligatory not only for the contemporaries of the slain man, but, in the event of its non-fulfillment by them, for the two following generations as well. It is obligatory not only [672] in the case of premeditated murder, but for completely accidental murder as well, even one which is only indirectly connected with one or another person (1). And what is

*614 825 672

> 1. One Gilyak of my acquaintance brought vengeance upon his clan when his rifle accidentally went off when he picked it up from the bottom of a boat, accidentally killing the helmsman.

still more instructive, it is obligatory also with respect to animals. Vengeance upon a bear who has killed a man is no less wrathful than it is with regard to a human murderer.

The ritual of such vengeance is extremely characteristic for understanding the psychology of this clan institution, and we shall begin our analysis with it. As soon as the news of a man's death in a struggle with a bear arrives, the whole adult population hastens into the taiga, in order to catch up with the "murderer" by means of his fresh tracks. If they do not succeed /96/ in catching the real culprit, it is necessary to kill at least three other bears (his "clansmen"). If this is not accomplished during the winter, it is necessary to do it during the summer, and in addition the "mountain man" gives them a "tkhusind," in the form of a plentiful catch of every beast.

/96 cont./

*614 825 672 766 But if they are lucky enough to overtake the bear-"murderer" or his "clansman," they wreak upon him their most extreme wrath. As their first responsibility they knock out his teeth with an ax, and, while they are skinning him, they stab him with knives from all sides and heap on him the choicest verbal abuse. Having stripped off the bear skin, they wrap the body of the murdered man in it (if his body has remained uneaten; otherwise it is replaced by a half-length representation in wood) and, seating him in a squatting position on the sled, place the bear head under his seat, and in this way, with loud howls mixed with exclamations in honor of the murdered man and in deprecation of his murderer, they bear him to the settlement. If the bear has not been found, they place under the seat of the dead man a half-length representation of a bear, while the body is arrayed in a cloak of shavings (1). Not far from the

[778] 1. Shavings are regarded by the Gilyak as sacred, as an object of magical power. The cult of the sharpened pieces of wood (inau; see the section on religion) plays an enormous role in the religion of the Gilyak. Ordinarily they bury chosen ones in cloaks of shavings. Such an honor, for example, is accorded to the mother of twins or triplets, who is regarded as a being of a higher order. Among the poor this finery takes the place of the magnificent traditional funeral garments of Chinese silk, which causes one to think that at a remote period garments of shavings were generally used and that antiquity has invested them with a halo of sanctity.

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling. That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite, 556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined 538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely 171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/ had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 432 437 427 426 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans, etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have the character of barter.

426 Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the nonfulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract. No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known [184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but [177] even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The [614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con- [672] sists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred 30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

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673 WRONGS--general definitions of acts which violate legal norms; major categories of breaches (e.g., crimes, torts, violations of contract, sins); recognized gradations in the gravity of offenses (e.g., malum prohibitum and malum in se, misdemeanors and felonies, venial and deadly sins); etc. See also:

Specific offenses and their sanctions 68
Sex perversions 83
Breaches of etiquette 676
Breaches of ethics 677
Taboo 784

6Z

71

/48 cont./

174 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-
583 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex-
614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not
615 from the clan of his mother by the term sokh /sic; see yokh on
606 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

174 Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price,
583 the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin
614 against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atone-
[693] ment, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among
[689] the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen-
[682] eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin,
[192] as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

174 In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps
583 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands,for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could

/367 cont./

000 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
771 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
[754] that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754] In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
[158] dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782] ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, piongukhia!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
577 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
573 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776] and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this extremely altruistic belief is really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or mere hypocrisy.

/367 cont./

577 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
783 clear conception of sin ("umgysh"). It goes without saying /368/
673 that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
688 there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
[682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
[829] have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
[764] on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/382 cont./

428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[768] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family continues to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-up son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A question of the division of the inheritance only arises when the children, coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the deceased who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one, the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[768] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
428 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
597 time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age. With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It
428 is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the
[606] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with his father up to the very time of his death, while the other brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the other brothers.

673 Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever
[674] encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps his treasures in the storehouse, which is never shut. The Gilyak calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety. In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one
[422] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes tempted by the possessions of another, it is always in the field of

/383 cont./

422 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
673 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
962 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
190 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
526 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
152 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

674

674 CRIME--prevalence and incidence of crime; common and rare offenses; crime statistics (e.g., number of reported violations, arrests, and convictions for various offenses); types of offenders (e.g., juvenile delinquents, criminal castes; narcotic addicts, professional criminals); motives in crime (e.g., greed, frustration, sexual jealousy); contributory social factors (e.g., poverty, oppression); criminology; etc. See also:

Socialization	86	Crime prevention	625
Neuroses and psychoses	188	Sanctions	661
Organized vice	548	Litigation of civil cases	691
Ingroup antagonisms	578	Juvenile delinquency	738
Banditry and piracy	579	Suicide	762

/382 cont./

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/771 cont./

766 wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the roots,
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† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p. 1266 /, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /772/ and, with the pointed end, is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn,
[674] projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgho, Tebach, and elsewhere.

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn. Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The same is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wagn is set up.

778 The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after the
532 ugn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by the
825 Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wagn. Such stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septentr. are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head of the ugn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

[628]
[627]

1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect, is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

/169 cont./

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
* 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
* 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
221 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
* 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[521] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants themselves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[867] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[764] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
585
584

855 and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished
524 with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

● 674 [222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

152 First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs. etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

592 The quiet way in which several families live in one house,
578 or more accurately, in one room, already points to
888 peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

675

675 CONTRACTS--conception of contractual relations; agreements, bargains, promises, and their enforceability; consideration; rights, privileges, and powers of contracting parties; procedure in the conclusion of contracts (e.g., presence of witnesses); terms and stipulations; types of contracts (e.g., legal forms, oral agreements, covenants); etc. See also:

Builders and contractors 331
Loans 426
Leases 427
Sales 432
Insurance contracts 456
Labor relations 466
Social relationships 571
Marriage contracts 584
Treaties and alliances 648
Penalties for breaches of contract 686
Religious vows 782

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is
182 explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
• [675] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move; the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/272 cont./

584 The bride is not present during
184 the betrothal, the mother has the
[171] absolute right of veto, and the kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home
584 with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not
174 at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage accompanied by bride price, where the parents have motive of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather a remnant of the orthodox marriage, where from her very childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite person or limited group of persons, and there could be no question of full freedom of choice, all the more because th marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.

584 The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal among the Gilyak we find features which are repeated with remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. Th procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded b a whole series of military stratagems. In serious cases, wh the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at fir conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at the house, say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodk from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily accept the treat, and, when they are in a good mood, the matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals. The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist them with everything at his disposal. And here they take him at his word and come to the point. /273/ He can no
• [675] longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that th host may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

/273 cont./

84 Even without invitations, however, there are always wit-
75 nesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes
known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of
86] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to
court, and this results in a large fine.

84 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot con-
76 ceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit
them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement.
03] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/379 cont./

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556 their chosen one.
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171 diffused legend an
living today, who
and robbery, a leg
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down upon him wh
rain was, of course

675 Since the
432 exist among them
437 etc., but most fre
427 the character of b
426 Two words

426 does not borrow m
fulfillment of one
No interest is char
[184] only to the Amur
[177] even among the A
of money or sable
[614] popularity of debt
[672] sists, first, in the
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30-40 years before
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E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

is strange for people with a primitive mode of
and respect and even reverence in this feeling.
ould inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to
e feeling of some sort of reverence has its own
ot completely alien, however, to our under-
itive society the rich man ordinarily had his
thank for his material success -- hence the
But since all human success is at the same time
ls, the rich man also stands out as their favorite,
The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined
atural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely
ong them concerning a certain Tungus, still
amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation
end which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/
alth thanks to a golden rain which showered
en he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden
e, a favor from the god to his favorite.
Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally
contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans,
quently of all, of course, these contracts have
arter.
about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak
oney; his debts arise principally from the non-
side of the property obligations of a contract,
ged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known
Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but
mur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan
skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The
obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak con-
fact that there is no period of expiration with
mplaints about the payment of debts incurred
arose not infrequently), and secondly that in
solvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or
hese persons, the clan, in the person of the
for the debts. The fund from which debts are
event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

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681 SANCTIONS--incidence and distribution of the major types of sanctions;
punishment (e.g., hanging, decapitation, strangling, burning, dismembe
corporal punishment (e.g., flogging, mutilation, torture); property sanc
(e.g., damages, fines, confiscation); public humiliation (e.g., ridicule,
deprivation of civil rights (e.g., enslavement, outlawry, imprisonment);
theory of sanctions; systematization of sanctions (e.g., wergild, crimin
codes); purpose of sanctions (e.g., compensation, punishment, preventi
penology; recipient of fines, damages, confiscated property (e.g., state
injured party); etc. See also:

Formal justice . . . . . 69 Informal justice . . . . . .
Social control . . . . . 626 Prisons and penal labor . . . . . .

usually concerns abductions of women or major transgressions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyak council of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiff, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of it. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the knife, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the sharp point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the knife. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry with which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called tayagdaki (i.e., hunters) are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief destination for non-political criminals, these tayagdaki also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their parents-relatives and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened-criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest in entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they pursue is to reach the sea-coast in order to be recognized in case at rest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor. Not only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

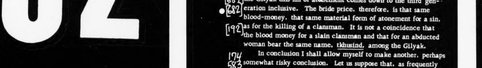

/48 cont./

This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law; he may not be our father's brother, which also explains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not from the clan of his mother by the term ninh /Ncr see yehh on p. 78/, a term meaning a category possibly related to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price, the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin against the clan, because abducted, a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abductor. Thus the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third generation, namely, the bride price. Moreover, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin, as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood-money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhunal, among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps [illegible] comments. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of V then remain /Ncr without husbands/for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the conservative spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; the entire universe, nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/94 cont./

"As among all nearly primitive peoples, murder within the clan among the Gilyak goes unpunished (1). The clan

1. In clans that have combined with Aino, which retain polygamy, in cases of murder within the clan the brother of the mother of the slain man and the closest agnate of the latter (father, brother) obtain the ransom, which they divide in half.

cannot shed the blood of a kinsman, which is the blood of an ancestor. This is not only a religious principle, but a dictate of self-preservation, a categorical imperative of the existence of the clan itself. The strength of the latter is in its numbers and internal peace, while every incident of vengeance within the clan would inevitably be the cause of /185/ new vengeance by the clan-mates of the punished man and would thus lead to endless internal war, which would end in the physical and moral destruction of the clan.

Murder and any serious infraction of rights and laws by a clansman do not go completely unpunished, however. In fact, in other peoples, capital death, the ultimate penalty, is compelled to leave the clan and move to a distant village, thus being deprived not only of all the benefits of the clan union during his lifetime, but of still weightier ones after his death, since the privilege of cremation is extended only to clansmen. In general, however, slaying within the clan are extremely rare; the many speech prohibitions among clansmen discourage the causes for quarrels and litigations, while the extensive communal conjugal rights weaken the fire of jealousy and make superfluous the abduction of women, which is the most frequent cause of bloody disputes and vengeance. Thus, the very practice of the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel. he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/252 cont./

The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not only do the Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed /or bor, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be given by the attention given to the bride price, because their love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are the existence of the clan itself. The strength of the latter is in its numbers and internal peace, while every incident of vengeance within the clan would inevitably be the cause of /185/ new vengeance by the clan-mates of the punished man and would thus lead to endless internal war, which would end in the physical and moral destruction of the clan.

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/277 cont./

of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which accompany the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not obviously prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price thus became but a payment for the right to attribute for appeasing the souls of the dead, which, in the violation of the clan taboo. By this alone can one explain why the Gilyak reject a dowry in favor of the compayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slayer of a clansman. Such a payment is a material reparation in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

In the Gilyak idea of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood revenge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment. Bride price among the Gilyak consists of compayment of a dowry of a different kind (valuable, in spiritual and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian knives, and, finally, Chinese and Japanese money. Moreover, in the Gilyak environment, has land which serves as a bride price. Within half a year the unfortunate woman banged herself. There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her husband, hanged herself, has land which serves as a bride price. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

/284 cont./

From an Amur Gilyak named Tyr', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mibyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda, fell the desire to marry the wife and were married. Mibyl' and the husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a cost-price of 1 Chan (the standard of the Amur). Urgayn and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless or does not bear anything, but when the woman has borne her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak

(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an older tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth." And the first fell down and became the Gilyak. Settlement of Bulava. Dus (Kugi /Amur/) -- 35 people; one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Magar. When these people arrive, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'o. Mongol -- Shala -- Djakhul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/286 cont./

Settlement of Myakht'. Tgna (Lang) -- Kugi from Rui (now Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).

Settlement of Lyvvo (third part). Dea to Koyma, pure Oroyr (Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Ahkha. Atkhung Bugi (Alim). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them; they gave a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Ahkha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kenyakhal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khokhal killed Kalimlg, an inhabitant of Kal'mo, over a woman. Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen: "Give me your daughter or you leave me alone." Then Kal'mo people came and surrounded the house. He got through a chumakha with kahga /Hono dourions/ oil. Then an old man spoke: "I know for him, and he jumped out. The brother killed him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to kill another with an arrow, and again a canes bell. It was then agreed: Khok-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave him his wife; they broke the fire and bought a bear.

Settlement of Tvavo at the mouth of Pervotsky Bay. The Aleng clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago migrated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

(1896).

In Tsura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Nogda speak their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak, they have been better if you had killed a bear and treated it. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in fight of your wife." The women in particular are brave. Now at the present time, however, the descendants of the Kugi people are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Tebba.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

/299 cont./

calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he replies quietly: "Pilavon khal pural hohkagin on" krygyn" (1).

1. krygyn -- an Ainu slave; ahh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your father, while there you have Chinese blood."

/300/ If a krygyn bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, as economy, and yet he wanted to be considered a krygyn, he was free. Every krygyn was considered a kibal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifice. A good krygyn is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khiaj-[illegible]ivaqh, elder women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygyn woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Non can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, ahh, has the same rights as the krygyn. A free one is kinrylygr n'ivuhh ("pure"). The killing of a slave is considered a crime. Women say to their children: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila kon -- big mountain bear, mer ede -- tiger), fight with him: I would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated it. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in fight of your wife." The women in particular are brave. Now at the present time, however, the descendants of the krygyn people are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Tebba.

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Sakhalin

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

A representation of twins -- tongch; -- is placed in a little
[832] storehouse or hut. If one of them dies, they place a tongch; while
[978] of both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chuk-chugund
[982] is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen
and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
[976] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Piludskii, the same is done with the father of twins.

[1098] The tongch; helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
[1224] The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
[1232] (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'gyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
753 but each of them takes a mik not from his kingdom.
776

/338/ A mik can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

Kikhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw
753 and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is
614 connected with this steel. When a clan is divided and part of it
682 emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar)
164 breaks off a piece of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting
[615] of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refresh-
[1025] ments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of even-
[502] ing, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kor ulongn-khlal" ("God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

614 6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its
682 members from encroachment on him by the individuals of
628 another khal'. The means is clan vengeance.
[177]

The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bons" (nyn-vo yozynedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

614 /356 cont./
682 every means to mask the sex of the newborn child. Only women
628 are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable that
[1025] from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful,
burdensome feud between the two clans. The clan of the murderer lives under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any comer, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain man feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in any case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same time, in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the clan of the murderer sends some person from a neutral khal' (necessarily neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murdered man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, and, in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years pass until, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the avenger consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedure for
614 reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects from
682 among neutral khal'-s an able and eloquent /357/ man ("khlay-nivukh" --
628 literally: orator -- from the verb "khlaynedzh" -- to speak, and
537 the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries between the parties. Each clan provides its khlay-nivukh with a silk
[892] gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, and sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputation of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-nivukh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. Then, somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village of the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal'-nivukhi, with their orator at their head, await the emissary. The latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with his own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as possible. The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a plea for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-nivukh

614 /357 cont./
682 of the avengers, stubbornly insisting on his demands, departs in
628 anger. The khlay-nivukh of the murderer goes after him and
[1025] tries to enter into negotiations with his comrade-in-arms. More than once the two diplomats seat themselves on the ground and light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happens that the khlay-nivukhi move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and, after to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and both sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his khlay-nivukh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other steps the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his khlay-nivukh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the khlay-nivukhi strictly restrain the adversaries, speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is not merely a ritual, for there have been cases where in that minute the avenger has boiled over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw their arms, run toward each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /358/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another variant, the avenger and the slayer stand close, facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy; when the khlay-nivukhi call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

614 /357 cont./
682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the
628 condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the
[1025] murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer participates in the payment, each according to his means. A murder within the clan finds its avenger among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their
614 fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said
682 of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and
[537] obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Revenge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven
[1162] to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between
614 clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but
682 the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell
172 of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the
[177] most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/367 cont./
507 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
682 clear conception of sin ("umgyuh"). It goes without saying /368/
[1025] that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure, there are, from your point of view, a great number of other, indifferent from the point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
• [682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and fires, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
[821] have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
[764] on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

9;Hawes--234-235 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 682, 692, 756

"The cham of the Gilyaks resembles, in many respects, the shaman of the Oroktis, the Golds, and the Tungus on the mainland. Both are addicted to superstitious practices; but the primary function of the cham would appear to be the judicial one for that purpose he is elected. He it is who pronounces sentence in the criminal 'court' of elders, and afterwards carries it out. Legally these were the limits of his function; but [235] actually his moral influence does not stop there, and the criminal's fate largely depends upon him. Probably he was chosen because the death of a murderer, though necessary in olden times, was much against the grain of the kindly, jolly Gilyaks; and the cham, with his powers of exorcism, could clear himself of any sin which they involuntarily felt must attach to the killing of a human being. The penalty of death now no longer obtains, but is commuted in practice to a fine."

681

TIONS--incidence and distribution of the major types of sanctions; capital
hment (e.g., hanging, decapitation, strangling, burning, dismembering);
oral punishment (e.g., flogging, mutilation, torture); property sanctions
, damages, fines, confiscation); public humiliation (e.g., ridicule, pillory);
vation of civil rights (e.g., enslavement, outlawry, imprisonment);
y of sanctions; systematization of sanctions (e.g., wergild, criminal
); purpose of sanctions (e.g., compensation, punishment, prevention);
ogy; recipient of fines, damages, confiscated property (e.g., state,
ed party); etc. See also:

nal justice 69
al control 626
Informal justice 627
Prisons and penal labor 697

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

/298 cont./

A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /ayat/, kinsman
or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the kokhal keeps silent,
but they will continue to talk until a bear festival is held by the
offender for reconciliation (urla lymydek).

A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear
festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl,
while the old one is used for meat and the liver. Some can
prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is
bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear
is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side
opposite the door, is called pokrov-n'ir.

When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
The bear is greeted with zaka-chadir music. When the master
feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'rur humyjit!
Wingan drur humyjlive-!" (live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon
as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while
he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

When a bear falls sick, then they hold pying-cyvyk and pre-
pare uig, mos', foam all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.

Luk; -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid
in a wooden frame near the lening where the bones of the bear are
placed. Some claim hang bear heads on trees. This place is
called kork ogangof.

V.

Slaves

The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head
is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the
feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
Then he is a kokhal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone

/299 cont./

calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore
when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
replies quietly: "Pilavon kokhal purat kohhagin on' krygyn" (I,

1. Krygyn -- an Amu slave; ahh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to
your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygyn bought himself free and his master had
to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would
still be considered a krygyn, impure. Every krygyn was con-
sidered a kokhal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was
avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygyn
is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the
income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlay-
n'ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they
are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel
sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beat-
ings.

A krygyn woman cannot demand a share in court, because
she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her
husband.

A Chinese slave, ahh, has the same rights as the krygyn.
A free one is kinyivgy n'ivuh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer:
"If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila kotr --
big mountain bear, mer ede -- tiger), fight with him: it would
have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do
not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage
in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him.
Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the
krygyn are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of
former slaves still stood in Takhta.

Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase
of Amu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

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the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the
taiga, and disappeared.

Chnyr-chhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
chhinaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chhinaj
is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If
it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chhinaj is
hung up over the plank bed and fed.

For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for ex-
ample, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened
to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting
in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for
him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the
things.

The shaman Koyuyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that
his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a
rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day
the woman died.

● 683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chhhakirvand),
or pay tihusind, or take something by force. Frequently they
kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhaind, with a kettle.
The parnkhaind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings
straight, one has his face made; if to the side -- one has not his it.
If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chhinaj, hang it
around his neck, and feed it.

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delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to
the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this char-
acteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked
me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace.
And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak.
The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes
out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself).
Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which,
in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to
no one. Not will any physical sufferings impel him to such an
act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal
grief and take his life.

Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated
that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for
his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as
prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian
justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The
Gilyak youths, feasting being borne away by passion, have begun
to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But
Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in
an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders com-
mitted deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or
conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as
lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have be-
gun to disappear.

● 683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon
among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In
the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones
for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

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and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to
this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally popula-
tion of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most
remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom
at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in
deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable
lawsuits. The court and mediation of the classmen, still exerting
authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the
quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have
the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-n'ivukh"
of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified
Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension
and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian
administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise"
and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-n'ivukh" by election,
regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority,
etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-n'ivukh" be of vari-
ous clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect
men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected
court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the num-
ber of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

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/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
have influenced one another, they actually belong, speaking in
the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of
individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with
the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak
this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
seem to be anything special. A Gilyak generally buy one or
rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are re-
garded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of
his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he
is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agna-
tion, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and
not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by
families, each living in relation to its own particular interests.
Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband,
wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses.
When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself
or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing
with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal.
Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the
strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a
whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call
them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call
a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their
fathers (yik), and these call the former their children.

/33 cont./

who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of
the tribe. With regard to this group, she is pirnari and vice versa.
Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are
so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the
Hawaiian islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of
Gilyak marriage.

The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly ex-
pressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity
with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood
vengeance and is regarded as a crime against the Kiranate
delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons
of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever,
causing only some irritation, and in rare cases the moving of the
seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse
between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an ex-
tremely rare exception.

More than once I observed even cases of the regular cohabi-
tation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed
between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a
Gilyak from the village of Tangivo, Gibel'ka, the richest and
most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the
same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations be-
tween the latter and the wife of his elder brother were so secret to
anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical
tenderness and enjoyed equal tenderness from the latter, and,
when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly
regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could
buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder
brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part
of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted
about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melan-
choly would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never
saw even a trace of bad relations between the brothers.

/83 cont./

*614 by virtue of that same proposition concerning the unity of the
602 "adoption." All those women who enter the clan are
agnate kinswomen to one another, either sisters or aunts and
nieces, so that both elements -- male and female -- each
separately and both together, are cemented together by the firm
intimate bonds of kinship, which, of course, are profoundly
reflected in all the social relations of the members of the clan
among themselves.

*614 No influence has been exerted upon these relations by
these circumstances that we mentioned, at the time, by reason
of which it became necessary for individual mem-
bers of the clan to take their wives outside the confines of one
original kinship clan; the general spirit and the general
norm have remained.

But the element which strengthens the union of kinsmen
in the indestructible organization of the clan does not rest
only on the formal consciousness of a common origin and
kinship, and not only on the formal norms of marriage, for by
themselves these are not so strong as to hold people from gen-
eration to generation in a closed hereditary union. The reasons
go far deeper. First of all, there is the religious sanction,
which plays what is a decisive role in the eyes of primitive man,
originally not the sanction of the clan union itself, but of those
[582] marriage norms which created the clan. The principle that
which must take wives from the clan of the mother, that
the wife must be a blood relative of the husband, is a religious
principle, intimately bound up with the cult of the ancestors,
in particular with the cult of the mother. The seizure of a
*614 married woman is a religious offense against the clan of the
abducted woman equal to the slaying of a clansman; the
struggle for her sake, or at least the demand for a ransom,
is obligatory, as in matters of vengeance, to the third generation

/83 cont./

[58] [59] [60] [61] [62] [63] [64] [65] [66] [67] [68] [69] [70] [71] [72] [73] [74] [75] [76] [77] [78] [79] [80] [81] [82] [83] [84] [85] [86] [87] [88] [89] [90] [91] [92] [93] [94] [95] [96] [97] [98] [99] [100] [101] [102] [103] [104] [105] [106] [107] [108] [109] [110] [111] [112] [113] [114] [115] [116] [117] [118] [119] [120] [121] [122] [123] [124] [125] [126] [127] [128] [129] [130] [131] [132] [133] [134] [135] [136] [137] [138] [139] [140] [141] [142] [143] [144] [145] [146] [147] [148] [149] [150] [151] [152] [153] [154] [155] [156] [157] [158] [159] [160] [161] [162] [163] [164] [165] [166] [167] [168] [169] [170] [171] [172] [173] [174] [175] [176] [177] [178] [179] [180] [181] [182] [183] [184] [185] [186] [187] [188] [189] [190] [191] [192] [193] [194] [195] [196] [197] [198] [199] [200] [201] [202] [203] [204] [205] [206] [207] [208] [209] [210] [211] [212] [213] [214] [215] [216] [217] [218] [219] [220] [221] [222] [223] [224] [225] [226] [227] [228] [229] [230] [231] [232] [233] [234] [235] [236] [237] [238] [239] [240] [241] [242] [243] [244] [245] [246] [247] [248] [249] [250] [251] [252] [253] [254] [255] [256] [257] [258] [259] [260] [261] [262] [263] [264] [265] [266] [267] [268] [269] [270] [271] [272] [273] [274] [275] [276] [277] [278] [279] [280] [281] [282] [283] [284] [285] [286] [287] [288] [289] [290] [291] [292] [293] [294] [295] [296] [297] [298] [299] [300] [301] [302] [303] [304] [305] [306] [307] [308] [309] [310] [311] [312] [313] [314] [315] [316] [317] [318] [319] [320] [321] [322] [323] [324] [325] [326] [327] [328] [329] [330] [331] [332] [333] [334] [335] [336] [337] [338] [339] [340] [341] [342] [343] [344] [345] [346] [347] [348] [349] [350] [351] [352] [353] [354] [355] [356] [357] [358] [359] [360] [361] [362] [363] [364] [365] [366] [367] [368] [369] [370] [371] [372] [373] [374] [375] [376] [377] [378] [379] [380] [381] [382] [383] [384] [385] [386] [387] [388] [389] [390] [391] [392] [393] [394] [395] [396] [397] [398] [399] [400] [401] [402] [403] [404] [405] [406] [407] [408] [409] [410] [411] [412] [413] [414] [415] [416] [417] [418] [419] [420] [421] [422] [423] [424] [425] [426] [427] [428] [429] [430] [431] [432] [433] [434] [435] [436] [437] [438] [439] [440] [441] [442] [443] [444] [445] [446] [447] [448] [449] [450] [451] [452] [453] [454] [455] [456] [457] [458] [459] [460] [461] [462] [463] [464] [465] [466] [467] [468] [469] [470] [471] [472] [473] [474] [475] [476] [477] [478] [479] [480] [481] [482] [483] [484] [485] [486] [487] [488] [489] [490] [491] [492] [493] [494] [495] [496] [497] [498] [499] [500] [501] [502] [503] [504] [505] [506] [507] [508] [509] [510] [511] [512] [513] [514] [515] [516] [517] [518] [519] [520] [521] [522] [523] [524] [525] [526] [527] [528] [529] [530] [531] [532] [533] [534] [535] [536] [537] [538] [539] [540] [541] [542] [543] [544] [545] [546] [547] [548] [549] [550] [551] [552] [553] [554] [555] [556] [557] [558] [559] [560] [561] [562] [563] [564] [565] [566] [567] [568] [569] [570] [571] [572] [573] [574] [575] [576] [577] [578] [579] [580] [581] [582] [583] [584] [585] [586] [587] [588] [589] [590] [591] [592] [593] [594] [595] [596] [597] [598] [599] [600] [601] [602]

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makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately, there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged by decent people, for example by soldiers who had before that behaved properly. The causes for that may be found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. However, this fact has in recent times been badly misused and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to put themselves in the place of strangers as well as fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one must remember that, where strangers are concerned, *moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of* pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed, vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But this case was and has remained an exception. The village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants; at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or eight men took part in the crime, of which none is living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge; now, however, they usually file complaints with the Russian administration. [226]

Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak woman whose husband is away probably lets herself be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself is not too much offended, provided only that there are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

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notion of justice."

uncommon occurrence among these people, being often committed
ovocation. They are governed by no established laws except those
ion, which differ in different localities. A murderer is usually
ds of the deceased, who are bound in some manner to avenge his
counter-murder. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is their

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/185 cont./

35 marriage, and without the instinct of sexual repulsion or indifference for persons of the forbidden categories, the majority of the prohibitive norms would lose their strength.

How were these powerful instincts, or at least semi-instincts, able to develop?

35 367 In the development of these instincts a powerful influence was exerted by the classificatory system of kinship. From earliest childhood the little boys and girls know exactly whom they should designate by what term, and what sexual rights-obligations are bound up with those terms; thus from childhood they begin to regard certain relationships with certain individuals as something established by nature itself and as immutable. Just as our training develops sexual indifference toward parents, children, and own brothers and sisters, in the same way among the Gilyak, owing to the class terminology and the prohibitions mastered at an early age, there is developed a similar feeling with respect not only to own father and mother, but also toward all "fathers" and "mothers," toward all the brothers of the father, toward all "sisters" and "brothers," sisters of the mother, agnate cousins, etc. And in just the same way a baby knows from childhood the rights of the pu category to its an'g:ej; once he knows from childhood that every tuvn has the right to his individual an'g:ej, then when he is an adult he will be able to look indifferently enough on the sexual relations of his own wife with his tuvn and her pu. But at the same time 35 64 he is far from indifferent when such relations take place with outsiders. Then his wrath knows no bounds: /186/ he kills an adulterer in flagrante delicto, and in other cases he furiously fights a duel with his rival. And moreover, if even his own tuvn allows himself to break the established etiquette -- non-publicity -- in his relations with his wife, he does not remain indifferent, but forces the offender to withdraw from the settlement.

/251 cont./

831 [192] words signifying "my man, my woman," - n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider l of life which everyone must experience in view is very well conveyed in a song which on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own y

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine ow
let me be!")

831 882 593 Parents, however, never reproach thei amorous passions. When the youth do hear their elders, it is most often due to purely tions, since during the period of passion the neglect their work and become careless an general it is not even permissible to react sexual passion of the children, maidens inc [684] father or brother finds out about the fornica or sister, he not only may not use force aga but it is even forbidden to summon him to may not even be angry with the daughter. amorous passions of the children as a perfe phenomenon. The mother in particular is confidante of the amorous secrets of her ch [533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, son address their mother, sharing with her their ings, seeking advice as to where and how t Serious remonstrances by the parents, activ [835] [762] going to the point of pitilessness, are encou the case of love for a person of a forbidden such cases, the parents themselves urge the 584 593 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of t of the father, becomes manifest when love advantageous marriage, one which has bee

/335 cont./

832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

843 /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
846 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr) of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the corner.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire, chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being unclean -- akilaf pach:kyt -- and becomes sik urland pornyng -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

843 For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
845 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
789 must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise she
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846]
[171]

1. Among the Orok a woman is in the balagan only during childbirth; then for ten days they cook for her on a separate fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing to lose their strength.

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completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about
them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what
I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have
already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which
people live together does not permit such delicacy; however
the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers.
Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the
open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of mem-
bers of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in
urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard
against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had
some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was
taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawn-
ing and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not
make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are
forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the
Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of
course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the
Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating
expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-
Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the
streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has
deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can
be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about.
In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent
that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably
partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they
want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they
love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen
that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

685

685 PROPERTY OFFENSES--definitions of and penalties for stealing (e.g., theft, poaching, robbery, burglary, fraud, embezzlement); definitions of and punishment for property damage (e.g., trespass, arson, malicious mischief); etc.
See also:
Property . . . . . 42 Sandluy 879

/302 cont./

578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat'/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must
(present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only
in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second
-- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh.
If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They
are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another
and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last,
farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the
object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost
of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /zyat'/, in case of
[437] a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of
dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or,
if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-
law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat'/, he gives for recon-
ciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
614 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
627 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back,
but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to
try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a cer-
tain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten
because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him:
"You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan
money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and
two bottles of vodka.

695 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz'u
685 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825

One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons
on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where
is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz'? ennikh -- heel, tongz --
tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jeng:az' tongz'
shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/303 cont./

685 dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft.
695 They seek a man who understands the oath -- chkhyz´u n´ivukh,
825 and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the
424 Chkhyzyl clan; Il'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If
614 outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A thief frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'gu -- clansmen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryja´, mygja´, n´i heg:at pkhalgun polagun prydz:rá chigry´ tuur pugutá enan´ivukh, jugut prydókh kaukrá, par:k prydz:rá. Ni sidzymral´ó, sidz:jejmraló cherakh jot´in (prydz:rá) helá eg:ur pkhog:e jakhgujá," i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n´ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The thief sends a khimu-n´ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n´erakh elvg:az´ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: vurará. Navat taktó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

● 685 /304 cont./

695 actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajorá mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n´erokh tokh elyvgujá. Chi narl´ar: chan majg:okhanā. Mykyz" mra lytyng ivg:aj huktókh elyvg:az´o."
685 While they argue, a crow (ves´) and a cat are thrown into the fire
695 alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the
825 fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat, while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told: "Chi tajrodz: furará n´ivykh lerý mra chi unakhana uikhyndor hy nivukhdokh elyvgujá." "You do not know, you will suffer for a petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak), following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

614 Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular
825 animal. There is a clan whose k:khal is a wolf -- kekhr: ping chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank, bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round, attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times. This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf, but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters, having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf spoils them, but if a Chnarpung is left, then he does not spoil them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by; they leave yukola, mos', and so forth there. The Chnarpung may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile and not docile.

685 This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When some-
754 thing is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz´ nyngjá -- look

Amur

/304 cont./

● 685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

629 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n´ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
881 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
30 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their
1178 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
881 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
585 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
841 themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tûgurmam
[302] (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

191 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
834 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/343 cont./

773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

778 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj
789 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

● 685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
[774] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that
774 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand), or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

/359 cont./

614 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered i
597 the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had be adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appear from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must b fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ tim this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the
422 debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of
428 a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, th clan is the heir).

614 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. W
736 have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a
768 Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gath
[763] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the
627 participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settle not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals o different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the
● [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/369 cont./
baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless, the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented missionary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak, from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.

In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of a given individual, and her children are the children of that individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

/370 cont./
684 his wife half to death. Even his ruvn, in such cases, does not
[184] escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak
[614] even the ruvn finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante
[197] delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with
128 a sound thrashing. The modern method of securing a wife grad-
583 ually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the collective and individual abduction of women from another clan and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand (I know of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman), but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

/634 cont./

583 of the parents of the desired girl, calmly makes use of the customary hospitality, and seizes the proper moment, when the host and hostess are very busy or have gone off, to flee with the girl on a waiting sled or boat. He follows the same procedure in abducting a woman who is unfaithful to her husband. As soon as the wronged father or husband notices the theft, he pursues the fugitives with a few relatives or villagers. If they are overtaken, the abducted woman can be brought back, but not without a bloody fight with the abductor and his helpers, in case he has provided for some, since both parties resort to knives and spears. In most cases, however, the abductor was clever enough to provide for an escape with his willing booty. Then the feud continues and may be prolonged for years, since, as a result of the blood vengeance practiced among the Gilyak, which will be discussed later, revenge is demanded and an opportunity to carry it out is sought both by those who have suffered directly by the abduction and by those who have been injured in the fighting. Whole villages may thus become involved, so that the inhabitants of them, in order to avoid the danger of a surprise attack, carefully avoid each other and /635/ intercourse between the villages ceases entirely (1). In the face of such complications and dangers, the

1. In my time, for example, the villages of Tammla-wo and Talwantigr-wo, along the Liman coast of Sakhalin, were engaged in such a feud, and the inhabitants of the latter, as much the smaller, had to be on their guard against those of the former.

Gilyak rarely undertake the abduction of a woman in a neighboring village, but, as a rule, select a more distant field of operations. It most frequently happens that Gilyak from the Sea of Okhotsk and from the Liman coast of Sakhalin abduct the daughters or wives of their countrymen on the Amur, either because, in view of their distant habitation sites, they need have less fear of their revenge, or, as a result of their being less well off, are unwilling

/635 cont./

583 628 684 or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

[533] [126]

583 114 Another point with regard to the abduction of women must be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year (1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent: among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage; later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

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2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

/360 cont./

among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (khal'-geymar), even comparatively recently (one, two generations ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His successor was the khal'-geymar next to him in years. The intervention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But the khal'-geymary never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tyki, and two or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fishing, and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover, the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as is done at

/669/

Finally, they also embrace the communistic principle in that they have no limitations or restrictions on fishing and hunting, except for the places on the river where they have their salmon weirs and those spots in the forest where their traps and self-shooters are set up. Thus they tolerate it, wholly without limitation, when the Liman Gilyak go to the Amur River to fish, and the Tschomi Gilyak go far downstream on the Tymy River for salmon fishing, and the latter, in turn, move to the seacoast to catch kangi. It is true, the Tschomi and the Tymy Gilyak have ties of hospitality with each other. Also, in the vast forest the Gilyak permit even Olcha and Samagir to penetrate into their territory without molesting them.

Like the communism, the inviolability of property is also based upon the national principle. I have seen even old and dignified Gilyak men who could not resist a small theft, for example, a piece of butter or the like, quite apart from the young people, who go so far as to cut open and pillage travel bags, etc., as happened to me in the village of My in the Amur-Liman. I was repeatedly warned by the Amur Gilyak about the inhabitants of the village of Langr, located at the entrance to the latter. The opposite, however, that the Russians steal from the Gilyak, happens much more frequently, and the temptation to remove a makeshift door or a fish net hanging in front in order to enter a storehouse and to pillage it is indeed much greater. Even the small burial houses were not safe for their contents, though they did not contain anything but a few articles of symbolic significance. Thus it came about that I became acquainted with the principal international relationship between the two peoples from the Gilyakized Russian term for "to steal" (ukradntsch, Russ. ukrastj), and the Gilyak word (enngarsitsch) did not become known to me until much later. But it hardly ever happens that one Gilyak will steal anything from another. Indeed, I met persons, such as Judin in Tebach, Mradamn in Ssabach, etc., whom I could fully trust even from an international standpoint. The former, for instance, after a few days, returned to me a cigar case which I had left in his yurt, and there was not one

igar missing. I had even greater confidence in the latter. ince I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop ected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared r me, in that it almost constantly threw sparks from its chim- y over my house, which was covered only with tree bark and nce might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had anned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the llage of Ssabach for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak radamn. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied cross- se by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the lyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

Finally, hospitality, too, is based on the national princi- e. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me. ey are too suspicious, too avaricious, /670/ too concerned out their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to pre- nt me from using the fire in their yurt and even threatened with a knife, so that I had to resort to grave threats with my tol in order to have my way. I must say, however, that prior my first journey to Sakhalin the rumor had spread among the yak that the Russians wanted the island for themselves and refore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a ter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous nections, from which they could see that I meant well and always friendly toward them, they became friendly and pitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there always a great difference according to whether it was a ian (lotscha) or a nibach (Gilyak) who was to be given lodgings: on as the cry "nibach pritsch" rang out, the fire, stirred up he women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece ood (Gilyak warwars) was used to scrape and beat the snow the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and ma was offered welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was pre- d. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

343 These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild ani-
685 mals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

342 The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping
415 goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles,
777 knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

257 It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

226 Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

231 There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

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686 NONFULFILLMENT OF OBLIGATIONS--penalties for breach of contract and nonpayment of debts; definition of and sanctions for criminal negligence; etc.
See also:

Borrowing and lending	426	Enforcement of contracts and debts	696
Contracts	675		

/88 cont./

Externally the clan unity of the fire finds expression in the following ways. Only a clansman has the right to light a fire in the hearth of a clansman. Only a clansman - has the right to take fire out of the yurt. A member of another clan may be killed for this. The fire at the clan hearth may not leave the yurt until he has finished his pipe. Any infraction of these rules of the inviolability of the clan fire by a member of another clan inevitably incurs dangerous consequences for the clansmen and the obligation for the member of another clan to pay blood money.

Each clan has its clan steel, guarded by the oldest member, and only with this steel can the fire be lighted when bear meat is cooked at the bear festival, which plays such an important religious and clan life of the Gilyak. When it becomes necessary for the clan to divide, i.e., when a part of the clan is compelled to emigrate to a new district place, the oldest member of the clan breaks the clan steel and entrusts one half to the oldest of the emigrants, and only after this is the clan formally divided.

The bear festival, the chief religious festival of the ashmak's clan, plays quite an important role in interclan relations, binding, through her cult and protection, the clan in whose territory she lives and to which she gave birth with the clan from which she came; from generation to generation she brings into the daughters of her brother and their descendants.

3. One mountain, mao, sea man, etc. -- the common benevolent clan masters of the mountain, sea, earth, etc.

In the section on religious beliefs we have already explained the nature and significance of this type of deity. There are not the fantastic heroes of the classical clans, not the vague, impalpable whose clan celebrations were a simple traditional ritualism, but clansmen close to each living generation, who either died some kind of unnatural death (in the water, slain by a forest bear), and so forth or,

1; Shternberg--144 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/91 cont./

very great sin; one might die.' It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear; the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with the clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-ancestors. It is not by chance that in all this the "sin" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the hearth; they, as it were, serve as the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal

/106 cont./

7. One sin. Although the norms and customs of religion and conduct are almost the same for the whole tribe, nevertheless each clan has its own complex of obligations and prohibitions, obligatory only for its own members. The first extensive category of prohibitions relates to sexual norms. For the members of each clan certain categories of women are prohibited for marriage and sexual relations, for example, all the women, without exception, born in the clan. Further, the wives of one's younger brothers, all women who are called ayo and ama, all women who come from the clan of the "nom-in-law"/ nyat ya/, etc. /107/ so that to know what women are prohibited for one or another person is enough for infallibly paying to which clan he belongs. In this category the prohibitions of speech may also apply. For the members of each clan there are certain classes of persons with whom it is prohibited to speak; such classes are the tuvn (brothers and sisters of all degrees of kinship), the achk (mother and aunts of the wife), and others. A third category of prohibitions deals with religious norms in the narrow sense. Each clan, as we have seen, has its own clan gods and sacrifices, its own sacred objects, its beliefs, and, consequently, its own ritual of the clan cult, common to all the clansmen but having no religious significance whatever for members of other clans. These numerous rites and objects of the cult demand the greatest care. The slightest sin, with which is vented the wrath of the offended deities, answers and therefore each member of the clan is not only obliged himself to avoid infractions of his taboos, but to defend them against infraction by outsiders. For such such infraction it is necessary to exact tbhunin. Hence the customary difficulties with members of other clans over an accidental defiling of the enclosure of the hearth, over the taking of fire from the yurt, a bear bone dropped during the festival banquet, the infraction of the sexual taboos, the accidental trampling of the bear festival -- the pots to which the bears are tied, the poles with their heads, the storehouses for festival utensils and bear bones, etc.

/186 cont./

Psychic prohibitions. But side by side with training and, I would say, the hypnotic influence of the kinship terminology, a still mightier force acts on the development of the above-mentioned instincts -- prohibitions of a special kind, prohibitions on psychic intercourse, prohibitions on speech, glances, and familiar address (joking). Corresponding to the two different instincts necessary for the realization of the sexual norms, these prohibitions are of a dual character. Some are created for persons between whom it is necessary to weaken the instinct of jealousy to the last degree, others -- for those who must would having sexual relations with each other. Both forms, both the prohibitions of sexual intercourse and the prohibitions of psychic intercourse, act not only as factors of hypnosis and habit, but it is probably also as an instinct of aversion. To violate one or another of these norms, in the eyes of primitive man, is a dangerous as the most dangerous blasphemy. The strength of the taboo on psychic intercourse in particular and what instincts they can develop in the soul of primitive man can be seen even from Ishhel'sen's /Ischelson/ tale about a Yukagir who by mistake allowed himself familiarities with respect to his own brother, but when he realized his error, he passed away on the spot out of horror.

This is the way Ishhel'sen tells this amazing story, entirely in keeping with Gilyak psychics.

"There were two brothers. With them lived the husband of an older sister, with whom it is permitted to talk. Therefore, both brothers frequently joked with him and played pranks... The brothers, as usual, had a non-speaking relationship. One time the older brother, upon returning from hunting, found the young people in the settlement playing games and dancing. His younger brother, who happened to be dressed in the fur clothing of his brother-in-law /ryat/, was in the

/186 cont./

The younger brother quickly turned around. The older brother realized his error and fell dead then and there "from shame." As usual, they performed an autopsy to /187/ learn the cause of his death, and his heart, according to the legend, was found to be broken in two" (1).

1. Ishhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, XIII.

Let us proceed now to the prohibitions themselves. The prohibitions of the first kind, i.e., prohibitions established between individuals of the same sex in order to weaken the instinct of jealousy, usually cover those persons who are joined in one class by group marriage; among the men, the pu classes, i.e., the classes of persons who have the right to sexual relations with a certain class (women), and, among women, the ar'gwi classes, i.e., women having common husbands. All these individuals, all these group husbands or group wives, among whom outbursts of jealousy might so easily flare up every day and every hour, are fenced off from one another by the impassable wall of the strictest prohibition on psychic intercourse, a prohibition beginning at the threshold of life and ending only with the grave, and creating an instinct of restraint which does not yield first place to the strongest instincts of nature.

The prohibitions of the second category, as we have said, have as their aim the hindrance of sexual relations between persons of different sexes of the forbidden categories. For this reason prohibitions between persons who are mutually in the classes of "husbands" and "wives" (pu and ar'gwi), even if not in a state of individual marriage, are superfluous; any man freely converses not only with his individual wives, but with his group wives, for example, with the wives of his brothers without distinction (in some classes or only with the wives of his older "brothers" (in others), in a word, with those women whom he calls ar'gwi and with whom he has the right

/297 cont./

but we have daughters and in-laws, and it is necessary that everybody know, and therefore necessary that we should celebrate a common bear festival." Each kihlal should buy one, or better, two-three-four bears. They agree. They buy a bear and prepare tmgt. The bear is fattened as fat as possible; they feed it about two years; they prepare meat and kvas for the festival. The time for the festival finally arrives: they play games, wrestle, then kill the bear. Before the killing of the bear, an old man is selected -- he does not have to be the bear's master; he is the nga tkmd' - ni'vuhk; he cannot decline. He says the word to the bear: "Chi pilf pal' urgu p'ach ado; kuhuf pshylava:r chapidogul!" -- then, big mountain (mountain man), make off well our Gilyak dust. Turn around so that I can see you."

They killed it, cut up its meat (the bones must not be broken), brought it home, and prepare kvas and meat. Men compete in a "race" -- vandzy. They call together both clans, men and women, and distribute the bear meat to all. As a rule, the elder consults with the master on how to divide the bear. The main bones are the two tibial bones -- terenq, and the two pelvic ones -- pyjhh. The tibial and the pelvic bones are given to the most honored persons. It is a sin to give the tibial and the sidneys to the young people, the kidneys are very important. The ishla n'vuhh then says: "Kihlal ni'ahkr; dlgro kihkfigo

/313 cont./

to about: "Ytk-ik?" -- Is it enough?" -- "Ytkr?! -- It is enough!" Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

The customary tabu of a hunter is the individual sig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the festival), the vopund kymlyate assemblies, and they judge him; they demand a bear or a lar -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yr' -- the master of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have made two piece, he takes his piece and eats it.

When they build a pila nigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is no sidneys to buy a bear, they must kill a lak -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a pot falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila nigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for their clan, they take the bear bones and tie together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chdzigo.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several nigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an nigryf.

/335 cont./
Improvisation of a storyteller-shaman. To compose, ty'ŋund, is not allowed; it is a sin. This is a legend, truth.
N'a'ŋund may (be told) by a ŋ'a'ŋun'-u'lvukh (storyteller) or a shaman, who is helped by a special kind of ketkn (mif-'lvukh-ketkn, who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When inquiring about the possibility of improvisation, Kolmyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and began to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that this was inspiration by the richness and elastic quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyum listened with ecstasy and with interest asked for explanations.

Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song was far from that which accompanies ŋ'a'-ŋund; there is a great deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In places a quiet tenor vibrates beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in placer flows into the thinnest pianissimo, while thricks and artificial throat vibrations sound with tremendous dissonance. The entire song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of a stanza the shaman comes to the end by abruptly cutting off with the words "hand fan" -- "that it is said." Frequently, he finishes his song covered with perspiration.

Declamation and singing in narration. 1. In a nar'-ŋund, a) first humming, b) then -- monotonous, vibrating, doleful singing with all one's might, ending in c) fortitude with exhaling.

2. In descriptions -- a single-tone recitative.

3. Dramatism: the artistic communication of conversations in a rhythmic recitative is especially good. If one becomes accustomed to it, it is very melodious.

4. Those present support him with yells: "Ola' epo), epo)" etc.

The kenchkh is a bird which comes on the wind. They pull on a thong with the kenchkh during the song. Two men (one a shaman) cast a rope, and the kenchkh seizes it and pulls over the people.

/335 cont./
of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four nan. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Ungur s'ŋd, pehkinŋ kan k'khalaf khavyt hunivayoh" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kaftong ashk -- "the bitch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small nan are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with yaranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house -- four chihnai, two male, two female, all nila hejmar -- old men.

Tavyzing tugur ysing. This ysing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt heads, the tugur must not be touched.

If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyrh-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, hails crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

Means for love. There is medicine to make another person fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies); or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

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deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlements. But Russian influence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the tower, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ ever more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting, or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

/367 cont./
In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a clear conception of sin ("omgyn"). It goes without saying /368/ that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure, there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person, for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt, otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other misfortunes. The Gilyak think that hailstorms and lightning have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

10: Coxwell--128 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 224, 539, 688

"THE GILYAK WHO MATED WITH A TIGRESS

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp.120-121.]

Sternberg says that after every successful bear hunt, a religious ceremony must be performed; part of the meat being eaten and part carried to the relatives on the mother's side. In our story, the hero carries away meat to the forest; such an act being a great crime punishable by the gods. The Gilyak was induced to behave thus by something extraordinary, namely his love for the tigress, a creature more powerful than any bear; and he married her. The largeness of the sacrifice in the story corresponds to the importance of the tigress."

689 SOCIAL OFFENSES--definitions of and punishments for quarrelsomeness, disorderly conduct, and commission of nuisances; practices for drunkenness and abnormal behavior; patterned punishments for lying and other breaches of ethics; punishments for indolence and noncooperation; etc. See also:

Lying contests, red rackets	311	Breaches of etiquette	678
Meanness and quarrelsomeness	320	Breaches of ethics	677
Mischief and pranks	321	Ingroup antagonisms	676
Laziness and loafing	323	Social control	838
Mental self	678		

/48 cont./
This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also explains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not from the clan of his mother by the term nihk /ŋiet see yoŋh on p. /6/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wifer and other such phenomena.

Finally, this explains the unusual custom of the bride price, the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin against the clan of the one abducted. a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abductor. Among the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third generation inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same "blood-money" that same material form of atonement for a sin, as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tlhinind, among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of Clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands.For the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the supernatural spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods. arranging the comedies. sometimes cruel. of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

In his world view the Gilyak. like every primitive man. is an animist. A dead. unmoving nature does not exist for him on the contrary. all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel. he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

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691 LITIGATION--incidence of civil actions; statistics of civil cases; causes; types of litigation; abuse thereof; arbitrator, ambiguous charging; etc. See also:

Ingroup aggression	676	The business of criminal actions and criminal	
Informal justice	677	Informal	
Torts	872		

/273 cont./

584 675 Even without invitations, however, there are always witnesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. Repudiation of [686] one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to court, and this results in a large fine.

584 576 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot conceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement. [203] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/277 cont./

583 182 of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the [686] [682] nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slaying of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

583 686 538 For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood revenge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

583 422 The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment. An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagynd [439] (E.D.), shygynd (W.D.). These are valuables which are predominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In [104] ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ at first stone, later

/281 cont./

583 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry.
584 Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the
614 two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging
[686] to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but
686 here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price
[596] agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

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688 RELIGIOUS OFFENSES--definitions of and punishments for blasphemy and impiety; penalties for specific sins of omission and commission (e.g., ritual offenses, violation of taboos); etc. See also:

Fear of supernatural sanctions 626
General definition of sin 673
Expiation 783
Taboos 784

695

695 TRIAL PROCEDURE--types of court procedure (e.g., summary, criminal, civil, appellate); arraignment; testimony (e.g., witnesses, rules of evidence); arguments and summations; special tests (e.g., oaths, ordeals, torture, judicial duels); judicial decisions (e.g., by judge, jury, arbitration); judgments and sentences; appeals; etc. See also:

Court records	817	Judicial abuses and dead punishment	687
Crossbows	344	Martial law	720
Deicity	620		

Informal judicial procedure at the community level 827

/302 cont./

578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /syat'/
629 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn-k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost
[437] of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /syat'/, in case of a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /syat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
614 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
620 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

● 695 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chihyz'u
685 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (lygyz') and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (emnikhongz'"n emnikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jengaz' tongz' shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

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● 695 dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft.
685 They seek a man who understands the oath -- chihyz'u n'ivukh,
825 and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the
[474] Chhiyzyl clan; it'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If
[614] outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A third frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'yu -- clammen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryia', mygia', n'i heg:at phlalgun polagun
[825] pryd:rá chigry' tuur pogutá enan'ivukh, jogut prydókh kaukrá,
[825] par:á pryd:rá. Ni sidzymral'ó, sidz:ejmralá cherakh jor'in
[825] (pryd:rá) helá egur pkhogo jakhgujá." i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n'ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The chief sends a khimu-n'ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n'erakh elygvaz'ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: yurará. Navat takó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

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● 685 actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajor'á
695 mykyslu jagjyd-lu ta-n"erokh tokh elyygujá. Chi nar'"ár chan
[825] majgokhanó. Mykyz' mra lytyng iyg:aj huktókh elyygaz'ó."

685 While they argue, a crow (ver') and a cat are thrown into the fire
695 alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the
825 fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat, while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told: "Chi ta:godz: furará n'ivykh lerj mra chi unakhana uikhyndor by nivukhdokh elyygujá." "You do not know, you will suffer for a petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak), following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

614 Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular
825 animal. There is a clan whose kikhal is a wolf -- kekhr: ping chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank, bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round, attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times. This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf, but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters, having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf spoils them, but if a whole one is left, then it does not spoil them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by; they leave yukola, mos', and so forth there. The Chnarpung may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile and not docile.

685 This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When some-
[154] thing is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz' nyngá -- look

701

701 MILITARY ORGANIZATION--purpose of military organization (e.g., defense, internal police, prestige); composition of the armed forces in peace and war; standing army and navy (e.g., size, disposition, state of preparedness); eligibility and liability for military service (e.g., age and sex qualifications); status of warriors (e.g., prerogatives, disabilities); military leaders (e.g., qualifications, mode of selection, authority, functions); extent of differentiation of military from political organization; coordination of armed forces (e.g., of a war party, an army, a complete military establishment); hierarchical organization (e.g., gradations in rank, chain of command); system of payment, promotion, and retirement; furloughs and leave; special organizations (e.g., military societies); etc. See also:

Prestige and nobility	56	Military technology and equipment	71
Political organization	62, 63, 64	Leadership traits	157

/117 cont./

But the worst of calamities -- a clansman has been slain!
● 614 War is inevitable! ... The whole population take up arms.
628 There is no regular leader, no elder, and no elections. The
● 701 natural leader has long been known and acknowledged by all; it
182 is the bravest and luckiest of the clansmen, it is the so-called "master," "vr" -- all eyes are turned toward him!

And in a moment the equal among equals suddenly becomes a military leader, gives orders, distributes weapons, fixes the time of the march, etc.; they obey him as they would a dictator. If this natural leader has died or been killed, everyone knows the one most worthy to replace him.

Suppose a civil dispute has arisen between clansmen or be-
● 614 tween /118/ representatives of different clans. There are no
628 established persons who ex officio resolve disputes and difficulties.
182 Very often the accuser is himself judge and executor of the sentence. Once the defendant has refused to carry out his obligation of his own free will, the accuser, not stopping to meditate, unhitches a dog from the team of the debtor or climbs into the storehouse in order to take for himself something equal in value to his claim. And the accuser considers this in the order of things. Of course, such a method is not always possible. But even then the affair works out perfectly well without the powers that be. It is enough for the offended party merely to address himself directly or through a khlaj-nivukh (see above) to one or two authoritative individuals "masters" from the clansmen of the offender, and the matter is very quickly settled. They summon the offender, who is usually escorted by his closest kinsmen, and sometimes by a khlaj-nivukh. Even outsiders gather. From the hearing of both sides and the opinions of those present, an opinion which is accepted by the majority assumes the strength of a verdict. Usually the offender submits voluntarily; otherwise, the managers of the affair proceed to the offender's storehouse and remove an adjudged amount.

714

14 UNIFORM AND ACCOUTERMENT--ordinary garb (e.g., hair style, body armor, body painting, amulets and charms, uniform); description of personal equipment (e.g., canteen, haversack, helmet, gas mask, first-aid kit, shields); distinctions (e.g., according to rank; between different corps and services, between parade and field uniforms and equipment); etc. See also:

Clothing and accessories . . . . . 29 Military medals and badges 703
Adornment. 30

/147 cont./

I found it already in use among the few Russians at the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts. Nevertheless, it is certainly not of Russian origin, as Maack (5) and Ryllkin (6) seem to believe. At any rate, I have

5. Putesh. po dol. r. Usuri, Vol. 1, p. 9.

6. Zap. Sib. Otd. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, 1864, Misc., p. 1.

no idea how the Russians would have arrived at such a name, whose etymology is wholly unknown to us. /148/ What argues quite decisively against the Russian origin of this name is the circumstance that we find it, though in a form which at first glance is hard to recognize, outside and earlier than any connection with the Russians, from a wholly different party, the Japanese. On Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1809) heard of a people on the mainland named "Kordekke", in the following year he met a few individuals from it, and, to be sure, as foreigners on the Amur (Manko) above Kidzi and in Deren, that is to say, in Olcha territory, to which they had come downstream to trade. He found them dressed exactly like the Santan (Olcha). They are the ones, according to him, who manufacture the armor consisting of iron disks fastened together, which is so highly prized by the Smerenkur (Gilyak) and which will be discussed later, they build vessels for the Smerenkur, etc. (1). Siebold is of the opinion that the

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 169, 172, 174, 194, 198).

Kordekke are "undoubtedly Koryak" (2), but he evidently decided

2. Op. cit., p. 199.

on this only because of a fortuitous similarity of sounds, for how did the distant Koryak, living on the northern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and on Kamchatka, get to the Amur River? And what

/403 cont./

3. (cont.)
der Gross-brit. Gesandtsch. in den J. 1793 und 1794, transl. from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 88. Bazin, Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., geogr. et littér. de ce vaste Emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 610. Huc, L'Emp. Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, p. 317. Itier, journ. d'un voyage en Chine en 1843-1846, Paris, 1848, Vol. III, p. 389. The latter tried to acclimate Urtica nivea along with other, similar plants in France and stated that it has the advantage over all of them in that it needed the least care. According to Richthofen (Zeitschr. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, Vol. V, p. 321), the Koreans also have clothing materials which, judging by their lustre, seem to have been woven out of the fiber of a nettle-like plant.

I therefore conjecture that formerly the Gilyak, like the Ainu, knew how to weave crude clothing fabric out of the fibers of the nettle, and an old specimen plaited out of cords and interlaced whalebone fibers, a sort of mail shirt (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 1), which I acquired from them in the village of Sabach and which will be discussed later, corroborates me in this conjecture. But whereas the Ainu, generally held back and hurt by pressure and exploitation on the part of the Japanese, persisted, often out of poverty and necessity, in wearing their locally made, crude garments, the independent Gilyak, in contact with the Chinese, very soon learned how to obtain their finer clothing material through barter, and since /404/ there was no lack of material for such trade, in view of the wealth of their region in precious furs, they naturally gave up entirely the manufacture of their own, more laboriously made and nevertheless cruder and poorer weaving.

/572 cont./

of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons.

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap, a piece designed for the protection of the neck from injury from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says

1. Op. cit., p. 194.

/573 cont./

that it is known under the name of "betni," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct; in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare antiques of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Mamia Rinsô also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2)

2. Cf. Neuhof. Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tatarian Khan and Now Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 394. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

that even the ancient Manchu (Nutsch) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

/573 cont./

emperor himself (3). Also of interest for our purpose is the

3. Gerbillon in Du Halde, Descript. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 273.

statement by Iakinf, the well-known member of the Russian mission in Peking in the years 1807-1820, according to which, among the gifts prescribed by law which the Chinese emperor /574/ had to give to the father of his bride and young wife upon his engagement and marriage was to be found a certain number of pieces of armor and helmets (1). Under these circumstances it is

1. Iakinf", Kitai, ego zhiteli, nravy, obychai, proxviesch. /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 164.

quite understandable that these objects would also appear as most valuable and honorable possessions in the eyes of the peoples of the lower Amur region standing under the rule or at least under the influence of the Manchu-Chinese, down to the Gilyak, and, accordingly, would be used by them in their most important social transaction, the purchase of a wife.

The art of making iron armor was also passed from the Manchu-Chinese to the Goldi immediately neighboring them in the Sungari and lower Amur region, and Mamia Rinsô specifically mentions the latter, distorting their national name in Japanese fashion as "Kordekke" (2), as makers of the iron armor. Needless

2. See p. 315 above.

to say, these were not the first and only objects that the Goldi learned how to make from their southern neighbors. Here, therefore, we see the art of forging iron advancing along another route from the Manchu-Chinese, down the Sungari and Amur,

/574 cont./

to the peoples of the lower Amur region, but it does not seem to have gone beyond the Goldi on this route, while the peoples living farther downstream along the Amur and on Sakhalin, the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had already received it earlier, as discussed above, from the Japanese. During the past decades, finally, the peoples of the lower Amur region have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian manner of forging iron.

The net armor (Gilyak kâ-petsch) is entirely different in nature from the iron armor. It consists of a sleeveless camisole or short shirt (Pl. XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 1), which is plaited with multiple strands of nettle-yarn cord, such as is also used for knotting fish nets, and with individual strips of whalebone added here and there. The neck opening is trimmed with long-haired dog fur and has a button and a loop for buttoning it; otherwise the armor, pulled on over the ordinary dog-fur coat, remains open in the front. The net armor is very heavy on account of the coarse plaiting containing a great quantity of material; the specimen illustrated, which I bought from the Gilyak Nikolaev in Sabach, is 2' 4" long, 1' 10" wide, and weighs 28 pounds (Russian). Whereas the iron armor is of Manchu-Chinese origin, the net armor is genuinely Gilyak. According to the Gilyak, the net armor was formerly used by them during major feuds when, as the result of a murder, wife-stealing, or the like a village took to the field against another one. In my time, however, it was no longer used and, it was said, was to be found in only a few specimens. In fact, the piece acquired by me shows the signs of great age, and in its aged former owner was of the opinion that neither his father nor his grandfather had seen it new. Nevertheless, the Gilyak attribute little value to this armor because it was made of worthless material and by them /575/ themselves and is not to be compared with the former, often fragmentary and rusted Manchurian armor (1).

1. The armor of two other peripheral peoples of East Asia living to the south and to the north of the Gilyak is also made in part

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
181 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
177 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
574 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[691] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

69

I

692 JUDICIAL AUTHORITY--extent to which the settlem
injuries, and application of sanctions is withdrawn fr
and vested in some constituted authority; degree of i
of judicial and executive authority; specialized judge
tem (e.g., courts of original and appellate jurisdicti
equity, civil and criminal courts); jurisdiction of eac
powers and prerogatives; etc. See also:

Judicial authority of executive and administrative officials 63, 64
Concept of justice 677
Informal justice within the community 627
Constitution . . .
Legal norms . . .
Special courts . .

2

ent of disputes, redress of
om the parties concerned
dentification or separation
s and courts; judicial sys-
on, courts of law and
h type of court; judicial

. 642
. 671
. 698

/299 cont./

567 calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore
683 when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he
614 replies quietly: "Pilavon k:khal purará hokhagirn os´ krygrys" (1).

1. Krygrys -- an Ainu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root
195 slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygrys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygrys, impure. Every krygrys was considered a k:khal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygrys
• 692 is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlaj-n´ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygrys woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygrys.
682 A free one is kistylygy n´ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave
614 is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila k:otr -- big mountain bear, mer edr: -- tiger), fight with him: it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the
162 krygrys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Takhta.

582 Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

682, 692, 756

The cham of the Gilyaks resembles, in many respec
Golds, and the Tungus on the mainland. Both are ac
the primary function of the cham would appear to be
purpose he is elected. He it is who pronounces sen
rs, and afterwards carries it out. Legally these we
[235] actually his moral influence does not stop ther
ends upon him. Probably he was chosen because the
essary in olden times, was much against the grai
cham, with his powers of exorcism, could clear hir
ntarily felt must attach to the killing of a human be
er obtains, but is commuted in practice to a fine."

cts, the shaman of the Oroktis,
ddicted to superstitious practices;
e the judicial executive, and for
tence in the criminal 'court' of
ere the limits of his function;
re, and the criminal's fate largely
death of a murderer, though
of the kindly, jolly Gilyaks; and
nself of any sin which they in-
ing. The penalty of death now no

177, 578, 692, 756

Iis [LSS: The cham or medicine man] moral influen
ng ground, as the Gilyaks come more into contact wi
to a Russian, 'A cham tells very many lies.'
hen why do you call him in?'
e is needed. If he got angry it would be bad for us,'
is true that it may result badly for the Gilyak, not b
ne anger to fall upon his head; but when the Gilyak h
sed of crime, the cham may remember his [240] on
ast word, he can make the punishment very severe.

ce among his tribe is certainly
ith the Russians. One of them

was the answer.
ecause the cham can cause the
as a misunderstanding, or is
nission or insult, and as he has
"

/575 cont./

1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak käpetsch or a similar one. During the bloody fights which the North Americans had with the Koreans in 1871, they saw them clad in armor which consisted of forty layers of stout cotton material and was almost impenetrable for saber or bayonet (Nordische Presse, 1871, No. 214, according to a report sent to the Times by its reporter in Shanghai). On the other hand, Ditmar ("Ueber die Koräken und Tschuktschen /The Koryak and Chukchee/." -- Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 131; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 41) relates that the Chukchee use armor made out of whalebone and thick animal-skins.

To conclude the remarks concerning the weapons of the Gilyak, I must consider a piece which, to be sure, is harmless in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It is their so-called mungtsche (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 3), a roundish or slightly angular stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom bears the characteristic, barely indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears, and harpoons, and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the palm of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mungtsche is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an acorn, in the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a saber and is always provided with a deep groove on the back. From the Gilyak this strange weapon has also advanced to the Negda along the Amgunj, among whom it is called muketschi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally widespread. Middendorff became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

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- Old armor-shirt of the Gilyak; 2 -- old Manchurian helmet;
- piéce of an old Manchurian armor-shirt; 4 -- Gilyak bow;
- the same on the inside.

/100 cont./

614 628 ● 72 of other obstacles in the path of the attackers. In hostile territory all hunting is dangerous (in many clans it is even prohibited, while some also forbid the use of water from the rivers and springs); the supplies brought from home do not last long, while an open, sudden attack -- bearing in mind ambushes and the impunity of the women's sentry duty -- is not always possible. With long patience and severe deprivations they must await the favorable moment or else in desperation resolve to take any risk.

Most frequently the defenders prefer to await the [562] attack in their own settlement. Then, abandoning the female population, which enjoys inviolability, the men gather in a separate yurt, from which, at the guards' first signal of the approach of the foe, they steal through secret passages and gather together beyond the yurts, ready to meet the foe. In accordance with interclan customs, the battle continues through one night or at most twenty-four hours, until, finally, fatalities occur, after which the enemy departs, and the survivors count the number of fallen men on each side. If the defenders have lost a greater number than the opposite side, a new casus belli arises. The attackers must in any case consider themselves satisfied. But the affair does not always end with a few victims. Instances are known where a whole clan perished, and only women remained alive.

There have been cases, on the other hand, where, to avoid the destruction of a small clan incapable of a strong rebuff, the self-sacrifice of one man has expiated the general guilt. I know of one case where, at the very moment that news came of the approach of the foe, a youth responsible for the conflict prayed his clansmen who were gathered about him in the yurt to save themselves by flight, offering to save the clan from destruction by his own death. And when the clansmen, with downcast eyes, began to leave the yurt, he, quaffing a cup of seal fat at one draught for courage, flung himself headlong, brandishing his spear, to meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers.

/166 cont./

602 606 by their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness. Toward an ymg:i, though only potential, the "fathers-in-law" sometimes behave better than toward their own children. "One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law." In this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting a living from him without any payment for a period of months and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law" (although such merely by designation) is the favorite guest in the house of his father-in-law.

[574] For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily [224] pass their time in the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," [431] finding in every yurt the most hearty welcome and the greatest delicacies; and when the hunting begins, the "son-in-law" is invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law," and when he returns to his own home, he carries with him, in addition to /167/ the usual gifts, also his share of the [796] catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear festival, the "sons-in-law" are in the foreground among those who have been invited, and it is to them that the honor of killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in war-● [72] time, the "fathers-in-law" and the "sons-in-law" are obliged to come to each other's aid in case of necessity.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these peculiar relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law," it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

602 614 606 From the kinship terminology we know that the clan of the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan from which a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all the other clans from which even one kinsman has chanced to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

/201 cont./

161 199 614 931 * 194 Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families, but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an immediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples, together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable number of its members.

161 614 ● 72 * 194 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and various other causes. Although according to the interclan rules the women are spared and the number of men who are killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

* 194 199 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representatives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they gradually begin to draw after them many others. The [582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had contact with various other peoples.

/247 cont./

000 152 224 152 ● 72 [614] [578] [463] weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their 831 [152] emotional energy should be principally directed toward sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we 836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited 481 836 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akimalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my [122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to 836 574 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news, the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours [203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/358 cont./

614 628 682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer

614 628 682 participates in the payment, each according to his means. A murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i. e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 628 628 [537] The khlav-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re-

[762] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 628 72 [100] One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/358 cont./

614 628 72 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each

[342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attack-

[501] ing side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 597 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came

[929] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

721

721 INSTIGATION OF WAR--frequency of war (e.g., common, rare, unknown); military preparedness, scale, severity, and duration of wars; small-scale military operations (e.g., raids for slaves or cattle, headhunting, privateering); conception of war (e.g., as glorious, as holy, as wrong but inevitable, as less debilitating than peace); prevalent motives for waging war (e.g., vengeance, self-defense, aggrandizement, prestige); predominance of offensive or defensive warfare; material gains through war (e.g., booty, trophies, slaves, women, mercantile advantages, territory); decision as to war (e.g., deliberations, negotiations); methods of initiating hostilities (e.g., challenges, declarations of war, attacks without warning); etc. See also:

Ethnocentrism	186	Feuds	628
Cannibalism	268	International relations	648
Prestige	554	Revolution	669
Raids, piracy and banditry	579		

/100 cont./

000 to meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers. Chivalry

*614 manifests itself in many other forms. Although ordinarily

628 the raid of the avengers is too impulsive for people to be

721 able to think about any kind of formalities of attack,

538 epics and legends have preserved many formulas for the declaration of "war" through special intermediaries, about whom we shall speak in more detail later.

The conventional formula laconically declares: "He (the avenger) has irrevocably said that he prepares to come to do battle with thee; if thou art stronger, thou wilt slay him, if he is stronger, he will slay thee -- thus he spoke."

Military expeditions are undertaken for purposes other than avenging the slaying of a clansman. Extremely frequently they are on account of women. "Lovely Helens" are the tragic causes of war among the Gilyak much more frequently even than slayings. The latter are extremely rare and never bear a mercenary character, being exclusively a case of a momentary flare-up on the part of an easily aroused "barbarian" because of a slight offense to his vanity. But conflicts over women are much more frequent. Either a group of clansmen undertakes a purely romantic raid to abduct the beloved of their comrade. Or expeditions are undertaken with the forcible recovery of the abducted wife of a clansman as their objective -- a more serious incident, because this action is as obligatory for the clan (up to the third generation exclusively) as revenge and blood money for the slaying of a clansman. Customarily they strive to avoid bloodshed, choosing a time for the attack when the men are absent, but the matter rarely ends -- either at the time of the abduction or during the pursuit -- without bloody conflicts, which inevitably bring on the necessity of "raising the kindred bones," i. e., war with all its consequences.

/371 cont./

583 [98] no one, and this demonstrates how widespread, even universal,

721 it was in quite recent times. The wars of which Gilyak tradition

tells were fought principally on account of the abduction of women, and they developed the practice of reconciliation by

177 583 way of payment of a ransom. The entrance of the Russians into the Amur region has led to a considerable diminution in the number of abductions. No matter what efforts accompany the abduction of a woman, the display of a paper from a Russian office will incontrovertibly result in the return of the abducted woman. Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russian under the term kalym. The bride price is ordinarily paid in articles, money, and labor. As bride price they give boats, kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs, and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in proportion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her domestic talents. A woman who is an "accomplished woman" in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife is a rather expensive affair. Here is an example of a not very considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitnidvo paid for his wife with two Japanese kettles (one large one, costing 60 rubles) one spear with silver fretwork, a fox-fur coat, ten dogs, and, in addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after

583 which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls /372/ the Biblical story of the service of Jacob for Laban, is that of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged man and has no sons, he takes to himself a son-in-law who agrees, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the economic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the father-in-law. The son-in-law, customarily a complete pauper fishes and kills seals, and all this constitutes the common

116, 423, 578, 627, 721

"Of the possession of land in our sense
nearest approach to it was a prescripti
place snares along certain creeks. The
freely recognized; but they would have
and backwaters by the Tungus and Oroc
they would have simply gone elsewhere
and tracks for snaring had been made i
sanctioned by time are seldom transgre
prowess of the pioneers, yielded little
according to the number of snares whic
a dispute arose, and was settled by ref
duels. In the latter case the disputants
straight blade; but as they were always
batants were parted when either becam
a fatal ending."

of the word the Gilyaks have no conception. The
ve right, sanctioned by immemorial custom, to
right of all to roam over the land in hunting was
resented the placing of snares in chosen creeks
hons, although, rather than provoke hostilities,
. As among themselves, the division of the creeks
n olden [301] times; and the customary boundaries
essed. The abundance of game, coupled with the
cause for quarrel, and spots were simply annexed
h the owner of the hut possessed. Here and there
erence to the klenu, the elders in council, or by
fought with a weapon like a hedge-bill, with a
surrounded by a goodly concourse, the com-
e exhausted, and the duel was not allowed to have

72

neral statements dealing with several aspects of the conduct and re-
ontests between independent political units involving the use of or-
ilitary force. For ingroup violence see 578; for revolution and civil
69.

/99 cont./

*614 628 ● 72

If the clans live in different settlements, however, there arises a state of war with all its consequences. Moreover, if the villages are located near each other, they place themselves in a full state of siege. There can be no question of routine activities outside the house; there can be no hunting or fishing, for an ambuscade may lie in wait at every corner. In extreme cases the men dare not leave their homes other than with women in front, ferreting in every bush, tramping down the grass, everywhere fearing an ambush. But these can only be palliatives; one fine night it will be necessary to meet the foe face to face in one's own settlement. Finally, where the warring clans live far from each other, it becomes necessary to undertake long expeditions on foot or in boats. This must be an imposing spectacle, when the multitude of warriors, dressed in their finest garments, with glittering spears in their hands and quivers on their backs, with knives and Japanese daggers in their belts, wrathfully brandishing their arms, make the primeval taiga resound with their wailing for revenge and appeal to the gods of all the elements for assistance:

Pal'- khurn myyá ! Tly - khurn myyá!

Tol' - khurn myyá! Mif - khurn myyá!

"God of the mountain, hearken; god of the sea, hearken; god of the heavens, hearken; god of the earth, hearken!" -- brandishing their spears and thrusting them at /100/ every tree on their path with the cry: "Chkhar, myyá! -- O tree, hearken!"... But this exuberant mood soon gives way to a more subdued temper; as they draw closer to the enemy settlement, their enthusiasm is transformed into a concentrated seriousness.

The foe has taken his precautions; in his native territory he is more familiar with all the best places for an ambush, and at strategic points he lies in wait in artificial trenches ("little pits"), from which he pours a hail of arrows on the unwary enemy. There is also no lack

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

/116 cont./

* 614 Or: one or another family is temporarily impoverished.
476 There is no special /117/ organ that must take care of them; it
182 is unnecessary, because the family will find hospitality and
assistance in any house they choose, even of the most distant
[574] kinsman, until the hard times change. And this is not offensive
to anyone, for it is a rate thing for someone neither to enjoy
hospitality nor to offer it to someone else from time to time.

* 614 Suppose it is necessary to arrange a troublesome and ex-
476 pensive clan festival. There are neither collections nor coercions,
796 no organization for the reception of guests, and so on. Each
182 person prepares as much as he can according to his conscience,
each bears his share of the labor, and only the man who is a little
richer than the others takes upon himself the trouble of the arrange-
ments. Everyone takes to his house the prepared viands and
purchases; they meet at his house to share in the prefestival work.

During the bear festival, dozens of additional persons as-
semble from all sides. For several days it is necessary to feed not
only the people, but also their many dogs. How much trouble,
how much expense! Nevertheless, everything is arranged simply
and to the general satisfaction of all. Each guest prefers, of course,
to stay with the one who is closest to him in kinship or sympathy,
where they take him in, not as a duty, but because they want him;
but in any home at all every arriving guest finds a sincere, cordial
reception, because during the days of festive enthusiasm everyone
wants to display his sympathy and to have broad intercourse with
new people.

● 731 Hunger has appeared, the specter of terrible misfortune,
574 which can carry off the whole population of a village! All the
476 hungry ones who have not succeeded in dispersing to more fortunate
182 areas gather at the home of the man who still has some supplies,
and the laws of hospitality are just as strong on this black day as in
days of plenty.

476 /122 cont./
615 blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds,
585 the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection
591 with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear
796 festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of
615 the bear (the akhmal'k') and his ymgi each sets beside himself
476 an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are
also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual
sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in
hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

615 The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic
* 614 visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some
476 economic significance, since the akhmal'k'i each time, in
574 addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present
[606] to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage,
[431] when the son-in-law /zyat'/ is customarily given, depending
on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for
men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There
* 614 are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman,
476 because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all.
574 Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn
606 them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at
615 hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers
up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels
in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement
of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first
minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and
drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /zyat'/,
of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another,
but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the
long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time
when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is
impossible to increase them.

615 Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k'i and ymgi
204 are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.
225 The most important of these require the participation of
476 several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it
* 614

During

* 835 /184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite
careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of
clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstanding
of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo,
where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for
some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father
shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin,
and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another com-
monly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka,
who married a woman from the clan of his ymgi, i.e., from
the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka
[177] was a considerably Russified Gilyak who had served in the
police service and regarded the customs of his people super-
ciliously. Another Russified Gilyak, Allykh, from the settlement
177 of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger tuvn,
* 835 compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding,
587 as was customary, to whom the widow of the deceased should
768 pass, to award her to him, although he, as an aki (elder
brother), had no rights whatever to this. But these cases are
the exception and evoked an energetic reaction from the
community.

684 In the first two cases the violators had to go into volun-
tary exile, i.e., settle outside the settlement and lead a
lonely existence, with all the deprivations of clan blessings
associated with ostracism. But, we repeat, these were quite
[177] exceptional cases bound up with psychics changed under the
influence of an alien culture (1).

* 835
183
587
768
● [731]

1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when a husband is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

/201 cont./

161 Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We
177 are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families,
614 but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This
● 731 process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an im-
* 194 mediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first
Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples,
together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought
the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an
especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive
surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects
of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans
died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans
in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne
in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means
strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may
remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable
number of its members.

161 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and
614 various other causes. Although according to the interclan
rules the women are spared and the number of men who are
77 killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle
* 194 the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee
can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

* 194 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more
177 highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive
manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens
intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious
imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks
down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representa-
tives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own
institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate
individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they
gradually begin to draw after them many others. The
[582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians
their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But
even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had
contact with various other peoples.

/289 cont./

117 by two brothers. The Kegn -- came from southern Pilavo. Re-
103 cently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12
614 years ago. The Kegn arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the
Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The
Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago
their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants.
Their clan is in Chil'bi and Keshrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbi-
fing are the Ornyr from Keshrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from
Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in
any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An
Olcha married a Kegn widow, and then he bought a bear for
a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to be-
come a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing
and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden).

[361] Settlement of Yali (Egi:li), four kilometers below the
settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran
(one house); 2) Chling-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably
Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the
Khungarli, Jegni and Njenkhafing. With regard to the origin
of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi
brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of
Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer
left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

117 Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before
103 the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three
● 731 Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2)
173 Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest
[361] died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910).
3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says
that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near
Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the
first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past
this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).
117 Settlement of Chikharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).
103

/308 cont./

765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your
mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are
said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
769 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear,
796 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz:. " "What
624 sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up
your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski
like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's
clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
768 is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half
a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have chil-
dren for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the
grave.

● [731] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not
cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/313 cont./

796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly
782 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

● 731 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the
782 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,
[165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzigr. This old man remembers four big takh.

796 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn
788 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they are not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog. Tol -- sea master -- a
[372] white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur.
[354] If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

798 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtâs',
782 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are
324 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here
225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz: only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, agi:a (akhydz') -- a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

/ 319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-pame, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the
[782] master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year)
[796] they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyr ururungja'! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
958 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

● 731 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
953 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
766 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is
562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.

158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
[143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

Gi
H-M. /314 cont./

105 2. (cont.)
731 (Goldi) on the Ussuri. Smallpox is said to cause
113 heavy devastation there at times, even attacking old people 70-80 years of age and recurring among some persons four and five times (De la Brunière, "Excurs. en Mandchourie, en 1845." -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XVI, 1848 [Vol. IV], p. 113).

SS. course in the opposite direction, from the Sungari down the Amur,
175 but found extremely fertile soil in the lower river area and on
648 Sakhalin, where the natives in many instances had already
731 emerged from their natural condition as a result of the Russian colonization. Toward the end of December 1856, the epidemic,
SS proceeding down the Sungari, was at its mouth (3). In June,
175
731

3. Just at the time when the merchant Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/, traveling up the Amur, passed this place.

1857, following the lower Amur, it reached Kidsi, in July Uchtr, in September Nikolayevsk, and during the winter months of 1857/58 it raged at the Amur mouth, along the Liman, on the Sea of Okhotsk to beyond Kulj, and on Sakhalin. According to the description, which I owe to Dr. Pfeiffer, an eyewitness of these events, the disease throughout bore the character of a devastating epidemic appearing on new ground. Whereas individual Gilyak
G villages, such as Tebach and Allof, remained completely un-
● [731] touched in a curious fashion, others, such as Kulj and Langr,
[165] lost half of their inhabitants, and many yurts died out completely. The number of victims was all the larger, because the sick, still completely unfamiliar with their uncanny visitor, often sought cooling, half-naked, in the snow and wind, in order to escape
G the heat of the fever. Dr. Pfeiffer thinks, on the basis of the
[731] statistics collected by him, that this epidemic killed about 20
[165] per cent of the Gilyak population. A few years later, in the

SS /317 cont./ A more numerous Gilyak
162 population on the island in former times is indicated, among
G other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two
174 villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village,
161 the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of
361 the Sea of Japan, and both are highly insignificant today (3).

G 3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel
SS Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of
[113] Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 233), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, which has three of them, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of
G Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which
[114] broke out devastatingly in the fifties, this has
● [731] nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the winter of 1857/58, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

SS
162 Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the
[132] continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harsher climate is understandably much more deserted.

SS /318/ I must content myself with these general remarks con-
161 cerning the more or less large population of the various parts of
114 the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find state-
SS ments concerning the total number of individuals for particular
[175] Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

361 /330 cont./
342 3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and
184 Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and
115 Tanskin from the village of Nganj-wo on the
114 Liman.

A few years later
114 (1861) Glehn traveled through a section of this coast and made
342 a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature
184 of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they
361
161

4. Op. cit., pp. 232 ff.

essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's.

342 This depopulation which took place after my time is fully
36 explained by the above-mentioned severe smallpox epidemic
184 which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter
114 of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely,
16 and in the case of many small settlements which numbered no
● 731 more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /331/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could report only on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the preceding and following observations I always view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself collected.

/331 cont./

114 description one learns that the Gilyak ("Tataren") at the time
361 it was August 15/27 -- lived in their summer yurts. Somewha
342 apart, however, lay other, apparently better built houses, pro
vided with fireplaces and chimneys, which, however, stood empty at the time (3) -- evidently the above-described winter

3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 178, 182.

houses of the Gilyak. Here, therefore, is other proof of the presence of tschadryf villages in this part of Sakhalin, too (4).

114 4. In order to supplement and verify my above
361 data and at the same time to make it possible
103 to compare them more precisely with Glehn's, I am adding here the whole list of the villages explored by me north of Poghobi on Sakhalin, with a statement of the number and nature of their yurts. To be sure, we did not always hear the names of the villages exactly the same, but it is not difficult to recognize them. I am also
● [731] adding in parentheses the number of yurts given by Glehn, for from this one can judge the extent of the depopulation caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1857-1858, especially for the part of the coast extending south of Pomyr-wo, where Glehn himself visited most of the points and counted their yurts. The following villages
114 lie north of Poghobi:
361
103
342

Wismeryf . . .	with	1	earth yurt
Warsj	"	1 (1)	"
Ngyith	"	1 (4)	"
Dshongi	"	1	Chinese yurt
Loktschi	"	1 (1)	earth yurt
Jûgdama	"	1 (1)	"
Pyrki	"	1 (1)	"

/85 cont./

*614 597 [927] This took place in various ways. It might happen that an epidemic depopulated the clan and put a handful of people face to face with all the vicissitudes to which unions weak in numbers were subject. The clan might be depopulated after a severe war, leaving a small number of men and a mass of widows spared by the victorious foe by virtue of the international law of the Gilyak. And if under these conditions there existed remnants of some other clan that found itself in a similarly helpless position and not standing in the relation of akhmal'k and ymgi with respect to the first clan, then a fusion was effected to their mutual satisfaction. The adopted individuals ordinarily married the widows of clansmen and thereby united themselves with the clan fire and the clan union. But these are more or less extraordinary cases. The most common case of adoption is that where the person adopted by the clan is a member of another clan, fleeing for some reason from his own clan and settling down in the midst of an alien clan. Long residence, habit, sympathy, assistance given at clan festivals, and, finally, marriage to a local widow lead to the final adoption. An extremely curious case of adoption is that where two persons of different clans are married to two sisters, which, according to the law, can only take place with members of one clan. The influence of the clan principle of a "common father-in-law" is so strong /86/ that the children of such persons are considered brothers and sisters, call their aunts mothers, and cannot marry each other. A fiction of clan relationships results. Under favorable conditions, when, for example, such persons live together in one village and one of them is completely severed from his clan, the result is that they help each other at clan festivals, or even arrange them together, lay the bones of the bear in one place, and, finally, in the second or third generation the union of the clans is completed.

/358 cont./

614 628 72 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each [342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the [501] eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak, we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently served for more than mere decoration.

614 597 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came [729] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

73

/354 cont./

614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak ar on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 580 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following the decision of the clan, to one of the ruvn of the deceased, generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support he although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons i the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-ytk, atk, ola. Generally speaking, as a rule a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under n circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore 614 it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages [829] concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From thi it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of th [867] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of th [623] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 73 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the in capacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the perso is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. " do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

731

731 DISASTERS--prevalence and major types of disasters (e.g., earthquakes, demics, conflagrations, typhoons, tornadoes, floods, droughts, famines, plagues); explanations and rationalizations; incidence of disastrous accid (e.g., train wrecks); reactions to disasters; organization of relief (e.g. public); role of special relief agencies (e.g., Red Cross); emergency m reconstruction, preventive measures (e.g., flood control); etc. See also:

Relief agencies	74	Adjustments to famine	
Cyclonic storms	132	Water supply	
Areas of volcanic and seismic activity	133	Municipal fire-fighting services	
Occurrence of epidemics	164	Reconstruction of war damage	

724

724

S--wartime procurement of military supplies; logistic planning; or-
of land, sea, and air transport; expediting of supplies; depots, dumps,
y trains; etc. See also:

port . . . . . 49 Military vehicles, naval vessels, and
air transport . . . . . 50 military aircraft 71
Organized commissariat and supply services . 705

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out th
628 spirit more than the most active resistance
562 corpus, day and night they go about the en
looking into every bush, every blade of gra
enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do
whelming number that makes it possible to
expectant enemy, they will never succeed
of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the
tackers, worn out by boredom, the march,
of necessity breaks on the passive resistanc
the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the import
[784] participation of the women in the struggle
● [724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is fo
on alien territory, /103/ use the water of i
etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of
find it necessary to set off on an expedition
filled with water and as much food supplie
Under such conditions every extra day of w
by famine, and thus the vigilance of the w
conquers.

175 Here is one of the examples known to
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overlan
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol'
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilan
poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching
in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and
depart with nothing and terminate the mat
small causes often lead to important conse

*614 Tylor was right when he asse that
[97] relations between clans and introduced pea
[114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that
brought to life the very institution of exog
primitive man is not so sentimental, he is
that he would sacrifice with a light heart h
ment for a breach of his blood duty to the

ie foe and weakened his
. Utilizing their habeas
virons in perfect safety
ass, in search of the
not possess an over-
fall openly upon the
in eluding the vigilance
patience of the at-
the torment of waiting,
e of the weaker sex, and

tance of the passive
of the clans, it must
rbidden to light a fire
ts rivers and springs, hunt,
Gibeon, the Gilyak
n loaded down with skins
s as a man can carry.
aiting threatens death
omen necessarily

me. In 1851, 30 men
d to take vengeance on
for the slaying of a
longer and more fruitless
ce of the women, with
the locality, the water
the avengers had to
ter peacefully ... Thus
quences.
exogamy weakened the
ce, although he pro-
the aspiration for peace
my. It is true that
mainly too "god-fearing,"
is own fears of punish-
voice of feeling, or

727

727 AFTERMATH OF COMBAT--number and nature of casualties; treatment of own casualties (e.g., retrieving and disposal of dead, care of wounded); treatment of enemy casualties (e.g., despoiling, mutilation, killing); taking of trophies; treatment of captives and prisoners (e.g., slaughter, torture, mutilation, release, exchange, holding for ransom, adoption, enslavement, sacrifice); punishment of enemy leaders; military occupation and military government; homecoming after war (e.g., return trip, reception of returning warriors); home reactions to victory and defeat; victory celebrations (e.g., dances, feasts, memorials); demobilization; resumption of normal life; reconstruction of war damage; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments 211
Cannibalism 266
Mutilation 304
War dances 535
Slavery 567
Colonial administration 636
Prisons 697
Mortuary practices 764

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramladz: (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat, even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself: he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
703 myg:nga igagù syktymu yz´mudz:gu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
● 732 born a boy with a tail.

825 The lark makes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thunder.

The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in a thin, humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- k:akhtr, ag:nî, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- arn´ is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a litt
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, w
[782] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chug is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsm and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[775] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n´gyvyn, wh
[787] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fash in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounde with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cre- mated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is don with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
224 The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
764
782 (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a b the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n´igyvyn or by Tol-n´igyvy
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becor lively, "as if he were walking."

● 732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmas´ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets we

9: Hawes--250-251 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 732, 828

"Yungkin announced Gilyaks. A party were returning to Chaivo, and seeing our fire had stopped for a warm, a pipe, and some tea. They joined us around the cheerful blaze, talking volubly, and taking some pleasure in pointing out to us one of their number, who, they said, had a devil in him. He was an idiot, one glance at his face was sufficient to determine that, and without showing any violence continued to make the strangest contortions. His presence completed the weirdness of the scene, this group of uncouth figures of a primitive people crouched round a fire on a desolate island on a wild night. The madman, who was known as 'Oto,' lived in one of two huts which are on the opposite side of the Strait of Chaivo. He was not [251] allowed to work, but his comrades supplied all his wants, for they regarded him as a kind of sacred person singled out or set apart by the unseen powers. He was not, however, permitted to have a wife."

: Hawes--254 T-3 (1901) 19
6, 225, 731, 776, 782

oung seals, which will be equally divided a
est wind drives away the ice-floes and the

among them. This continues until a south-
ir passengers."

9: Hawes--256-257 T-3 (1901)
116, 226, 251, 262, 731

"Fish being the staple article of foo
is necessarily of great importance to
generally consumed by December, and
arrival of the seals in April there is o
aeglefinus, or Vachnya), or in the Gil
shore and gazes seaward, he will see
the figures of men wrapped from head
In their [257] hands are sticks with big
coming to the hole made in the ice, an
a man has been known to catch as man

d, the 'bread' of the Gilyaks, the summer supply
them. The winter stores of sun-dried kita are
l then comes the hard time for them. Until the
nly one other visitant. This is the haddock (Gadus
yak tongue, kan-hi. If one is sledging along the
black specks among the gleaming ice. They are
to foot in skins, and they are hooking haddock.
g hooks attached, and the hungry and stupid fish
d grabbing at the hook, is caught. By this means
y as 300 in a day."

cent., or scarcely 1/4 per cent., per annum.

Lung and throat diseases and scurvy account people, but four died from accident, of whom o already mentioned hanged herself, and another

ed for most of the deaths among the older
ne was frozen, another drowned, one
was beaten to death by her husband."

164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in February and March because at that time, in the mid-day sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair, which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infectious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infectious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say, but one may assume that they were less frequent and permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease in the native population.

164 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
158 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy. I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However, diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking should become prevalent.

752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains, breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude that the primitive methods of healing combined with the power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

164 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

735

35 POVERTY--prevalence and definition of poverty; causes (e.g., low income, unemployment, sickness, alcoholism, improvidence, indolence); social attitudes toward poverty; begging and beggars; poor relief (e.g., almsgiving, private charity, public relief); special institutions for the poor (e.g., almshouses); support of institutions (e.g., municipal, ecclesiastical, private endowment); etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies 74
Laziness 461
Wages 465
Housing 362
Gift giving 431
Income 434
Standards and levels of living 511

"It often happens that by the time of the arrival of th
quite exhausted, and hunger reigns in the village; neve
fête held in honor of the first catch; see category 116,
with all due ceremony. On the following day the whole
groups begin to gather up the 'fragments,' including th
and reverence, are cast into the sea. The flesh and fa
has plenty of raw, are offerings to Tol ni vookh, with
permission to use the products of his domain, the sea;
offering in acknowledgment of the god's goodwill in s
Gilyaks to open the New Year's fête with the due and p
bones the great Tol ni vookh will make many more sea
the bones to the four winds, thus making it more diffic
Tol ni vookh would in that case have to recreate entire
has only to reclothe them with flesh, and lo, the seals

The offering is cast into the sea in complete silence
Uichkha rush, or water daimones, who, if they should
would spoil the whole affair, by seizing what was inten

After the day of the offering, the Gilyak is free to fo
ful is he with his harpoon that a canoe of five will som

e seals, the winter stores are
ertheless, the fête [LSS: The seal
pp. 252-254.] must be celebrated
village turns out, and the family
e bones, which, in deep silence
t, boiled or roasted, for the god
the request that he will give them
and the bones are the thank-
ending the seals and allowing the
roper ceremonies. With these
ls. It would be a sin to scatter
ult to create for want of material.
ly, whereas, given the bones, he
are complete, alive!
, because there are many
overhear the Gilyak praying,
ded for the god.
llow up the hunt, and so success-
etimes take as many as fifty

"The older Gilyaks say that during th
famine had occurred before the Russia
there have been many repetitions. In th
1897, there were successive bad times,
be given to the natives by the authoritie
tion of the usual stores of dried fish, a
worthy ex-overseer at Derbensk, in wh
during that year. So terrible was the st
every hut,' and in the hope of stemming
famine, he took upon himself the respo
most cases it was already too late, and
[275] condition of the huts, and the acc
the ravages of disease and the exposure

Such a state of things presses hardly
of mortality among them. There being
tion, we can only gather from tradition
statistics of recent years, the gradual

The figures already quoted show, for
tween Arkovo and Cape Maria on the w

eir time, and their fathers' before them, but one
ns came, about eighty years ago, but since then
e winter and early spring of 1896, and again of
, and around Rikovsk special assistance had to
s. In 1898, a wet autumn prevented the accumula-
nd was followed by another very bad winter. The
ose hut we had stayed, was on duty down the Tim
tate of things that he found 'one or more dying in
g the tide of disease following on the ravages of
nsibility of giving away the Crown stores; but in
l large numbers died of the grippe. The filthy
umulations of winter, aggravated the effects of
e to the severities of the climate.
on the children, and accounts for the high rate
no statistics of the early years of Russian occupa-
and the shrinking of villages and from isolated
diminution of the Gilyak race on Sakhalin.
the population of the Gilyak villages lying be-
est coast, the miserable increase of $\frac{10}{43}$ per

422/278 cont./
583 iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).
[174]

[773]

1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryus' pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagynd. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagynd. One bears the designation Wa-ul-s'if, meaning "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium.
422 Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of
556 clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category
735 allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the
554 settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian
554 objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.
583 Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly
735 by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence
[556] of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

/278 cont./

583 chance to establish an independent economy. But there is anot
554 side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to set
735 down with a family, and, consequently, an independent econo
But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the pos
bility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers com
[183] to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down wi
[614] his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-
[496] clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every
has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has
died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work.
Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which
there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the
son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a mem-
583 ber of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of
554 lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife
452 is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until he
735 majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installme
buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A
583 curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment
735 with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case
554 The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka.
He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his
widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his
future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka
was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter
in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletu

583 As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the cla
614 At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes
[627] necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part
with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed amo
the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as
heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides
this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before
his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the
shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

7G

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relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter, but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga, it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases again so considerably that the winter air may in general be said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and tobacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs, but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer, however, there are many rainy days.

The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connection.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men who are more often tall. The women are considerably shorter and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of 12 men whom I actually measured was 162.2 centimeters, and that of eight women was 150.4 centimeters. These people had, of course, been picked at random.

The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs) as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

142 posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not
516 to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and de-
732 formities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

ward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

142 Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is
302 serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

142 Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies,
304 also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

526 As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall
516 below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

/359 cont./

614 599 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had bee adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 426 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 428 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, th clan is the heir).

614 736 768 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gath [763] ing of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 627 In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settle not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the [685] affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

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743 HOSPITALS AND CLINICS--number and availability of special institutions for medical care; organization and operation of clinics and hospitals; personnel (e.g., administrative and medical staffs, nurses, orderlies, technicians); equipment; special services; charges and fees; sources of financial support (e.g., governmental, ecclesiastical, private); ambulatory clinics. See also:

Physicians, nurses, and medical care 75
Hospital buildings 344
Care of war veterans 729
Institutions for the care of defectives 732
Care of alcoholics and drug addicts 733
Sanatoriums, convalescent homes, mental institutions, and leproseries 734

/531 cont./

795 The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to
787 him several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father took me again," and she did not appear any more.

794 The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this
[231] large soul live small souls -- tarn. After the death of a person, a small soul lives in his pryski (dog), which is tied to his plank bed. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.
[935] A poor person "still has one tiny little soul." If a person dies away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body. Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire a corresponding soul, and therefore if a throat is sore, they make
[825] a tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue. A captured bird with which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will carry away the soul.

795 The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person who has been eaten by a bear lives to a ripe old age with Pal-nigyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who drowned -- with Tol-nigyvyn, and then they go to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is caused by the bloodshed during the wars of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle) lives, like a bird, in the air. The souls of such unfortunates shreik at night from the trees.

5. Until a tkhusind (ransom) is received, one who was killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

795 The night bird takhch is of the size of a crow and just as
825 black, but its beak is red. If its cry is heard at night, one must not call it by name, but must say atk.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly together into the village.

/666 cont./

556 named for me as mykstschr-kolla. The latter in particular was especially esteemed and popular among his countrymen, aside from other reasons, on account of his lavish and much visited bear festivals, in one of which I, too, took part. They related that he was held in such esteem that even the Chinese in Ssansin and the Japanese on Sakhalin referred to him as Gilyak dshangin and treated him accordingly, which prompted some of them, too, to refer to him occasionally in this way, and yet, they said, he is no dshangin, of whom there are none among them, but only a mykstschr-kolla nibach. Thus do they cling, even with the great differences in means and, accordingly, also in social position, to their complete equality legally.

426 When I previously said that the poor Gilyak, in case of
• 735 necessity, count on the help of their richer countrymen and may expect to receive from them some things on credit, but others for nothing, this needs an explanation. One might accordingly
[439] think that the latter treat the former in about the same way as the Chinese traders, who, in an emergency, give the Goldi, Orochi, and other natives of the region among whom they reside the things required, calculated at a very high price, on credit, in order that afterwards, by means of repeated and unchecked promissory notes, they will never be out of debt to them for the rest of their lives; in fact, the debts are even inherited by their children. This never happens among the Gilyak. As much as I was in contact with the rich and the poor among them, I never heard of anything that would permit one to conclude that there is any considerable debt relationship between the one and the other. Both are also probably too cautious and practical, too subtly and cleverly calculating, to enter into such relationships, disadvantageous for both, for the one injurious to his respect and popularity, for the other to his existence. Not that they do not have any debts among one another -- but these always seem to be only small advances within their means to one person or another, the casual repayment of which is taken for granted, but often, and probably usually in cases of unequal means, /667/ is not even claimed,
426 and not much is said about it. Perhaps related to this is the fact

/667 cont./

426 that the Gilyak expression for "to be indebted" or "to have debts" -- a concept which must be very familiar to the Gilyak in view of the conditions prevailing among their neighbors, the Goldi and the Ainu -- escaped both Glehn and me, in spite of our otherwise quite copious word lists.

• 735 Be that as it may, the help given to a poor Gilyak in distress by his richer fellow-villager, business friends, or other acquaintances does not consist of their getting this or that on credit, but of being given free (Gilyak pai) what is needed to maintain life. And, to be sure, this is done as a consequence
181 of the national-communistic spirit, which, more or less peculiar to all primitive peoples, is in no slight degree inherent in the Gilyak. More, however, than among other peoples, the
[186] Tungusic tribes, for instance, the communism of the Gilyak is strictly national, that is, active only within the tribal boundaries, which is conditioned and nourished by their sharp linguistic differentiation from all the neighboring tribes and their intense
421 national consciousness. Furthermore, the mind of the Gilyak, so much oriented toward trade, gain, and the increase of property, sets certain limitations on it, for it by no means puts all goods at its service without distinction, but rather only those which Nature herself provides in sufficient quantity and in a condition practically ready for use, and therefore labels, so to speak, as common property. The Gilyak regard as such primarily the products which the sea and the rivers furnish them in quantity, fish, seal, and the like, as well as, next, the dog, fed almost exclusively on these products and indispensable even to the poorest because of its fur, and, finally, what the local forest furnishes them in nourishing or refreshing roots, berries,
735 and other vegetables. It is taken for granted, therefore, that in
421 case of need the rich Gilyak will give to his poor fellow-villagers and other fellow-tribesman who approach him for help as much of his supplies of the products mentioned (fish, seal, etc., and dog furs) as is required to satisfy their most urgent needs in food and clothing. And as long as his supplies of these are not exhausted, no one will perish from hunger or cold. It is quite

/667 cont./

735 different, however, when it is a matter of goods which Nature
421 furnishes mankind only sparingly and which must be wrested from her, so to speak, with toil and effort, as, for example, sable and other precious animal pelts as well as everything which is obtained by trade by means of the latter from the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It would never occur to a Gilyak, be he rich or poor, to consider them likewise as common property and, accordingly, to sacrifice them in cases of need to the common good or to demand that this be done. In addition, these goods, in contrast to the first ones, and not exempting the cereals, tobacco, and the simplest Chinese or Russian clothing materials, are merely luxury goods without which he can still
[182] very probably maintain life if need be. Thus, the extremely active instinct of the Gilyak for trade and acquisition and their endeavor to preserve /668/ and add to their property form an effective counterweight against the communism and prevent the lazy, and therefore poor, from living at the expense of the industrious and wealthy, even though without denying him, in case of need, what is absolutely required to sustain life.

342 The Gilyak also take account of the communistic principle
421 in the matter of shelter or the dwelling, which, in a region with
423 long and severe winters like their homeland, is of no less importance than food and clothing for the maintenance of life. How and to what extent this is done can be seen from the following. It has already been mentioned above that the Gilyak, in an apparently quite irrational fashion, do not evaluate a structure as large and, in some respects, complicated as their winter-house, built according to the Chinese pattern, half as high as a simple, always much smaller storehouse (1). This can be explained by

1. See pp. 937-943 above.

the fact that the former, in spite of its size, yields a considerably smaller direct income than the latter, and this, in turn, rests on the fact that the dwelling is in part of communistic origin and

57 /672 cont./ with regard to me,
123 however, neither the one nor the other would apply, and yet I,
too, never received any thanks from the Gilyak. I am not think-
[735] ing now of the gifts given in response to begging, which in Gilyak houses can become very annoying to the traveler and for which mainly children are urged forward. They may never have learned to say thanks or may have forgotten it in their inquisitive amazement at the traveler. But I have often enough shown the Gilyak greater services. For instance, they always found a hospitable reception at my house, where the safety of their possessions, their dogs, and all the rest of their outfit were attended to so that they could calmly go about their business in the village. Among other things, I once saw to it, thanks to the strict sense of justice of the then governor, Rear Admiral Sawoiko, that an investigation was made about the theft of a whole vehicle laden with all kinds of wares, which had happened to the Gilyak Judin; the culprit was convicted, and Judin was paid a sizable sum in compensation. Even in this case I was not thanked, though I was dealing with the best and most respected Gilyak.

On the other hand, it is customary for the Gilyak to
431 exchange small gifts as a sign that they wish to enter into closer,
123 perhaps even business relations with each other. When I received such a gift for the first time, I asked the price of it, but was told that the word pai, that is, gratis or free, went with it and that I was informed by the Gilyak Jutschin, whom I already knew, that, in accordance with their custom, I would now have to give a gift in return, while repeating the same word /673/ pai. If the latter were not done, the objects offered in return would be rejected, and the word pai would be stressed once more. Sometimes I was even told in what form the return gift should be, for example, that it might consist of several tobacco leaves, some bread, sev-
431 eral buttons, or the like. Custom requires, however, that, upon acceptance of the return gift, the number of items is not to be closely examined, and in praise of the Gilyak I must admit they never deviated from this custom and that they were always satisfied with the return present, whatever it turned out to be. But this did not
[439] by any means prevent them in accordance with their greedy natures, from demanding very high prices in trading later. This

758 Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than
763 it is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly
735 become poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are paid for relatives. Likewise people who have become incapable of work because of illness are assured support by relatives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly nursed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person is subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the house into the open and is left there at any time of the year, until he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a dead person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a person dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, the sick person who is subjected to these measures is usually already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-bearing women are removed from the house for similar reasons.

752 In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak
766 to say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two
609 exceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak on the point of drowning could not count on help from his people, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with fatalistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is needed above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks take care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of a bear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who is killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried together with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at the same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and scraps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I questioned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] that they always helped them as much as they could and they showed me several people who had been rescued because help had been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case of a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his fate, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom of two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes mutual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, but nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism does not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where superstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also strangers in time of distress as much as they can. They repeatedly saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were often wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

[241] In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 [433] to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal [231] husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

177 An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and develop-
648 ment of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly
474 scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often
361 consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchu-Chinese fanza.

177 The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log
648 house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds,
474 etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a
36 school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable [342] storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

177 The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are
648 today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages
474 have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the conti-
342 nent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered
353 with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They
177 also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the
29 continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Orok collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the [294] traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, [292] the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

177 Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater
262 use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products.
758 The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically im-

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751 PREVENTIVE MEDICINE--conception of health and hygiene; health regime protective measures (e.g., sun tan lotion, amulets, charms, spells, proph laxis, immunization);etc. See also:

Incidence of disease 164
Diet 262
Exercise 526
Public health and sanitation 744
Fetishes 778
Taboos 784
Health insurance 456
Personal hygiene 515
Magic 789
Infant care 854
Child care 855
Prescriptions for longevity 886

3 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
9 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
7 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think
of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

1 XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

1 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

6 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
5 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

5 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
8 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
6 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
1 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

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736 DEPENDENCY--incidence of dependency (e.g., orphans, widows, deserted and divorced wives, families of defectives and alcoholics, families of invalids and criminals); attitudes toward dependency; care and support of dependents (e.g., adoption, support by relatives, private charity, public relief); special institutions for dependents (e.g., orphanages); etc. See also:

Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies 74
Insurance 456
Levirate 587
Status of widows 589
Adoption 597
Treatment of motherless infants 846

/410 cont./

302 [171] 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however, [753] [761] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and 302 765 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and preserved by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

302 515 136 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the ● [751] presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about 515 825 his health and took him back again. In connection with this, the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi- [123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy,

/744 cont./

778 755 532 [126] 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVII /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p.1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of childr

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not ex- [782] cepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

778 532 ● 751 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar purpose: they are the lalż and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing end

/744 cont./

778 run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a
●751 lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one
532 another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

778 The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang
776 figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifi-
532 cally: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the re-
[753] ports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring
[761] him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no
775 wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
766 the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
776 to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
[532] two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
[778] with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

778 I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans,
532 if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the
[751] purpose of the whole semicircle Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

/768 cont./

764 A rough little rod or a similar stick (wadžach) stuck in the ground is likewise said to mark a place where a corpse is buried (Bm. I, p. 18.)

764 51. Gilyak. In September, 1854, the Gilyak of Kuĭk dis-
648 covered that one of their burial houses, raff, had been destroyed by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and variously colored rags, peculiar implements, and the like are deposited there. Near Kuĭk, in the birch forest along the Amur, four or five such small houses stood together and formed a burial place, while such structures are otherwise often found individually in
764 the midst of the forest. The Gilyak said that in the destroyed
648 little house the ashes of six children's corpses were in one
●751 vessel, over which the same number of sable furs had been placed. The latter was done in order to prevent a sudden dying of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now, since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of the epidemic. (Bm. I, pp. 15, 16.)

764 52. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or
[778] a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never
[784] be transferred to another place. This would be uĭtsch. Therefore, though the Gilyak from Kuĭk bewailed and complained about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they nevertheless decided not to transport the remains to the villages to which they themselves had moved from Kuĭk. (Bm. 1, p. 56.)

53. Gilyak. If one investigates the interior of a little burial-house he always finds in it a longish little board in an upright position: kakk, also tars. The middle of it is pierced, and the hole has a peg, kylms, stuck in it; a strip of linen is wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too, is wrapped in linen and decorated with various rags, kakk- or tars-rawż (Plate LXVIII /p.1268 /, Fig. 2). Close to the board and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ngir,

2:Schrenck--1260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

1. Iron circlet with animal figures, worn to prevent headaches (Gilyak). 2. Iron semicircle with symbolic figures, worn around the neck to prevent sickness (Gilyak). 3. Amulet-belt with human and animal figures (Olcha). 4, 5. Fish carved out of wood (Gilyak). 6. Gilyak child's toy representing a dog.

25 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
76 must often get out on the floes for it is not always conven-
54 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
61 If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
25 are five oarsmen, one pilar and one other man, then the pilar
76 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
61 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
85 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pl skuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pl skuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pilar is younger than the extra man in the boat. In that case the pilar tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pilar Norp took along with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting at the seals and t, to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

25 [82] As mentioned above the pilar performs mu-ziyd
89 and t aj.
74 Mu-ziyd is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
51 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform ziyd on hands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

25 mu-ziyəd on the boat supports the assumption that at one
89 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
74 a living thing. Mu-ziyəd on the boat serves, it seems, as a
51 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from
misfortunes.

82 Aside from mu-ziyəd, tŋaj is performed on the boat. Tŋaj
78 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
32 a branch of rowan (qosk-yəks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
25 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
89 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at th
bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face
turned to the sea. We shall come back to these tŋaj elsewhere

82 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
89 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
25 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
72 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and,
starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the
outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks
with the branches so as to elvlaf-pək-əzd --"lose bad places
(evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the
sea and are off.

35 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
02 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
54 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultane-
ous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and
quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the
bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in
the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They
need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
7 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a rep-
resentation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines tŋaj. They
will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its
outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the
hunters left the shore for home.

5 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
3 first go to Uiy-krə "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
6
2

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop con-

On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be unknown among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards. Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

/72 cont./

G 796 171 262 Gi 796 171 262 773 An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened, however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, consequently, a clansman of the Orochi.

G 776 Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have mentioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'k'i" and "kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are individual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

G 776 761 753 Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'i); others ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/73 cont./

776 761 753 life, causing sickness and death. But for them, people would not die. Natural death is impossible. Death is the result of the scheming of these insidious creatures. Therefore the Gilyak will never touch a sable that died in the taiga, even though his skin is very valuable and very well preserved, for a devil assuredly rests in a sable that has died. Just as he, the Gilyak, lies in wait for a beast and tries in every way to kill him, so an evil spirit lies in wait for the Gilyak himself at every step, 753 in order to devour him. Sickness is no more than an evil being 776 who made his way into the body of a Gilyak and is slowly eating him. Nightmares and dreams in which the sick man dreams that somebody is strangling him, pressing from within, easily provide grounds for such a notion. If some organ is not functioning in the proper way, as, for example, in shortness of breath, it is easy to imagine that some kind of being has got inside and is interfering with breathing, and so forth. It is imperative to expel such a creature. This expulsion is effected in various ways, beginning with the simplest and ending with the most complex.

755 Here is an example which quite graphically illustrates the "psychology" of the expulsion of devils. One woman, who was subject to attacks of sudden hysterical psychosis, was placed in my presence on a high platform, generally used to clean fish, and a fire was ignited under it with all kinds of rags, canine feces, and stinking garbage. The devil inside the woman could not, of course, bear the horrible smell and prudently left the heart of the woman, who was thus saved. But not all devils are so sensitive to a bad smell; others require stronger methods. Such devils must be frightened by extraordinary noise, by frenzied shrieks, by the frightening appearance of the expeller, and by other such terrorizing methods, hence the necessity for the devil-expeller to beat his tambourine, make noise with rattles, shriek in an unnatural voice, and put himself in a state of frenzy, to which end /74/ he swallows smoke, drinks sea water, puts himself in a state of stupor with the smoke of bagul'nik (Ledum palustre), chews

/ 319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how th master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year) [782] [776] they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyr ururungja! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 758 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring firewood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

731 753 766 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of the graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 562 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.

158 [143] Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literall everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while
[782] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[795] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
[787] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
224 The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
164 (Slyavo).
782 Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

• 753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmàs'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/338 cont./

• 753 The Gilyak Churka (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw
159
[122] 1. L. Ia. Shternberg's guide around Sakhalin.

a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt ill under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately -- he had to hurry -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from kkhmàs'ind.

V.

The Rescue of a Drowning Man

752 Having heard the cry of a drowning man, they come to his aid, press down on his stomach so that the water will come out, clean his mouth with shavings, and place a stick in his mouth. Then they wrap him in fur coats and tightly bandage his face (if he looks at fire, he will die). When he becomes warm, his face
[782] is uncovered. He gives chukh-chugynd to Tol and then carries out a procedure called shavynd.

752 A Gilyak was drowning under the broken ice. He was
789 rescued and brought to a yurt where the rescuer-host and the one rescued sat down opposite each other; a bowl with sarana and puchka was placed before each of them on both sides, and a white dog near each of them. They hooked together with hooks which they held in their hands (an imitation of the rescue) and pulled against each other, saying: "You will live to an old age, and so will I." Then, at the departure, the rescued man stepped in the bowl of his host and in his own, and they exchanged bowls. After the exchange, the rescued man said: "Nikhkhakhrá --

/410 cont./

302 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur
[171] in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however
• [753] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the
[761] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them ha his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and
302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and pre
765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gily Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and whic he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* wh

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

302 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are
515 just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check
136 the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the
[751] presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about
515 his health and took him back again. In connection with this,
825 the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi
[123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to wh they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy I was given the answer that they were paying back the little animals for what the latter were doing to them.

: Hawes--193 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 177, 531, 751, 778

I turned my attention to two or three 'works of art
nto the forms of a disc and a crescent hung from a
nd the moon, and were used as charms. There we
imilar to the one I have described as protecting th
vil spirits; but these particular ones, I learnt, we
ould ensure its recovery.

But no signs of worship were there, no graven im
isible to mortal eyes. Charms there are, though v
uence and the contact with Russians these are losi
ilyaks, and they laugh when questioned about them
rking sense of fear at the bottom of their hearts.'

.' Two small flat pieces of wood cut
beam. These represented the sun
re also two sticks, with shavings on,
e canoe during its construction from
ere for placing over a sick child, and

nages, for the great 'Kiskh' is in-
vith the decline of the cham's in-
ing their value in the eyes of the
by the foreigner, yet not without a
"

751, 756, 778

he cham, or medicine-man, exorcises spirits which take up a temporary abode in arms made in the shape of a human being. Otherwise even this anthropoid kind was used an amulet. A pair of these, carved from wood, which I have (p.194), are intended to worn on the limb or part of the body affected; for a sore throat, for instance, the le figures would be tied round the neck."

511 grave drawbacks. For one thing they have an astounding number
136 of mice which attain the size of rats, almost, and which are so bold that they nibble at the clothes that the inhabitants are wearing on their body. Jakobsen was told that they even gnaw at the fingers of the little children.

171 The clothing of the Gilyak of the male and female sex is gen-
291 erally like that of the Goldi; they also use the same materials:
177 fish skin, hides and Chinese or Russian cloths. The festoons customary among the Goldi women (see above, number XI, p. 173) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] do not exist among Gilyak women; the latter generally seem to be interested less in gracefulness than durability in their clothing. The curious belt worn not only by the Goldi but also by the transitional people mentioned repeatedly earlier, is also in use among the Gilyak and with the
177 same appendages as there. It might be mentioned right here, also,
372 that, aside from stone and steel for lighting a fire, matches are already in use with them in boxes which are either made by the
171 Gilyak or imported from the Russians. The arms of the Gilyak
411 are the same as those of the Goldi. Everywhere they still use
531 bow and arrows, knives and lances, and the last-named weapon often appears in beautifully worked models with inlaid figures of
227 silver or copper. For fishing they use nets which they make them-
411 selves, angling hooks and harpoon-like instruments which at
501 times have three to four spikes. To move on the water they use larger boats and skiffs made of birch bark which go by the name
492 of amerotscha; on land they travel in winter by narrow sleds to
231 which are harnessed eight to ten dogs. For that reason one will find a large number of dogs in the Gilyak settlements just as in the Goldi villages. These dogs are highly vicious and on occasion even dangerous for the stranger.

171 During his brief stay among the Gilyak, Jakobsen was of course
751 unable to form a judgment of their character; nevertheless his
301 experiences are sufficient to make the following assertion: The Gilyak are no less superstitious than their neighbors. The amulets (1) against diseases which one so often encounters

1. Be it noted on this occasion that Gilyak virgins wear rings on their chests as amulets and no offer however high can induce them to sell them. All the same, our traveller was able to acquire such a ring from an old Gilyak who had stolen it. The latter did not dare to offer it for sale to Jakobsen in the village itself, but met him on the river to conclude the bargain there. The traveller believed in this case that it would be permissible to silence his conscience and to enter upon the bargain.

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

752

752 BODILY INJURIES--theory of the causation of mishaps and accidental injuries; first aid; treatment of wounds, cuts, burns, frostbite, bruises, and sprains (e.g., ligatures, bandages, poultices, massage, cauterization); treatment of snake and insect bites; antidotes for poisoning; treatment of fractures (e.g., bonesetting, trepanation); surgical operations; use of sterile techniques; adjustments to pain (e.g., anesthetics); dental surgery; etc. See also:

Obstetrics	84	Accident insurance	456
Incidence of accidents	164	Bloodletting	757
Mutilation	304	Wound doctors, surgeons, and dentists	759
Surgical instruments	413	Ideas about human anatomy	876

/338 cont./

752 789 [572] [614] [628] [766] thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but a drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is surrounded with sticks.

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat rescued from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

766 [775] [776] A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will be a god.

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the stream.

752 782 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices a dog to Pal-n"ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/

823 973 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin. Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 761 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary. Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 825 [782] A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n"igyvyn. No one may look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

784 825 [261] In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and they treat him like a killed one. When they set off somewhere (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

773 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

787 /753 cont./

756 825 782 [534] that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

825 753 29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

[752] 2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

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758 Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than
763 it is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly
735 become poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are paid for relatives. Likewise people who have become incapable of work because of illness are assured support by relatives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly nursed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person is subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the house into the open and is left there at any time of the year, until he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a dead person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a person dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, the sick person who is subjected to these measures is usually already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-bearing women are removed from the house for similar reasons.

752 In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak
766 to say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two
609 exceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak on the point of drowning could not count on help from his people, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with fatalistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is needed above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks take care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of a bear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who is killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried together with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at the same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and scraps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I questioned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] that they always helped them as much as they could and they showed me several people who had been rescued because help had been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case of a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his fate, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom of two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes mutual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, but nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism does not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where superstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also strangers in time of distress as much as they can. They repeatedly saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were often wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in February and March because at that time, in the mid-day sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair, which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infectious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infectious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say, but one may assume that they were less frequent and permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease in the native population.

164 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
158 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy. I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However, diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking should become prevalent.

●752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains, breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude that the primitive methods of healing combined with the power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

164 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the softness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary. They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans, since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very few in number and are carefully guarded.

●752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks, splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs, especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatics bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the indifferent thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment. They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the native ones.

231 Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal, the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be related to the fact that among natives as well as among many Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is, for draft purposes.

753

753 THEORY OF DISEASE--extent of the attribution of disease to natural causes, to sorcery, and to supernatural aggression; prevalent theories of the supernatural causation of disease (e.g., soul loss, spirit possession, object intrusion, poison, evil eye, violation of taboos, pollution or contagion); special notions about loathsome diseases (e.g., leprosy); scientific theories of disease (e.g., transmission through germs); etc. See also:

Religious and magical beliefs	77	Development of biological science	815
Incidence of disease	164	Knowledge and beliefs concerning	
Medical research	742	human physiology	827
Conception of the causes of death	761	Interpretation of mental disorders	828

/338 cont./

The Gilyak Churka (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw

1. L. Ia. Shternberg's guide around Sakhalin.

a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt ill under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately -- he had to hurry -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from kkhmàs'ind.

V.

The Rescue of a Drowning Man

Having heard the cry of a drowning man, they come to his aid, press down on his stomach so that the water will come out, clean his mouth with shavings, and place a stick in his mouth. Then they wrap him in fur coats and tightly bandage his face (if he looks at fire, he will die). When he becomes warm, his face is uncovered. He gives chukh-chugynd to Tol and then carries out a procedure called shavynd.

A Gilyak was drowning under the broken ice. He was rescued and brought to a yurt where the rescuer-host and the one rescued sat down opposite each other; a bowl with sarana and puchka was placed before each of them on both sides, and a white dog near each of them. They hooked together with hooks which they held in their hands (an imitation of the rescue) and pulled against each other, saying: "You will live to an old age, and so will I." Then, at the departure, the rescued man stepped in the bowl of his host and in his own, and they exchanged bowls. After the exchange, the rescued man said: "Nikhkhakhrá --

/744 cont./

run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifically: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the reports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans, if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the purpose of the whole semicircle Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

/753 cont./

that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

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if he does not use the proper means to free himself
. The only means that can help him, however,
He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes
om the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch
haman himself or by someone else at the order of
hung around the patient's neck and must be worn
son from then on to protect himself in the future.
ars a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The
lways carved out of wood, especially the wap-
only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp.
at a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found.
y the women, but the wooden ones are always
en, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupa-
e men, while the women are skilled at cutting
figures out of cloth and therefore also out of

of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mä(r)ngai) are
e concerning the toad and snake, except that much
tributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head
person and is removed in a way similar to the
man and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalź) (1)

See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

d. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on
the region of the temples; in front, closer to the
is a human figure on either side, supposedly in-
on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at
on the forehead, the lalź bears a frog shape. This
e the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not
, pp. 44-46.)
. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak
ns are chiefly the means by which he wins admira-
n among his countrymen. The more these acts
e natural course of things, the greater is the reputa-
erer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

9: Hawes--239 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 753, 776, 782

"The Gilyaks explain the visitation of disease in this way. The sick man must have offended the good spirit kiskh, who thereupon deserts him and leaves him in the power of the evil spirit. The offering made to the latter is a bribe, whereby the sufferer coaxes the evil spirit to quit him.

The Gilyak makes no offering to kiskh, the creator, the great spirit, the god of the moral world, for he does not know where he is; in fact, so vague is his notion of him that it can only be said to exist in his mind as a nebulous conception. With regard to the position of the cham, the evil spirit cannot but be angry at the trick he has been played, and the want of respect paid to him; but we need not be anxious for the healer, since he is secure in his knowledge of many exorcisms."

844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
843 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
62 women. The location of these bushes is always
41 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

44 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
83 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

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nan in labor goes to the place made
she is clad in old soiled clothes. If
cool she takes more clothes along. The
in clothing worn during labor is that
bor takes off the trousers, a garment
nen wear in summer and winter.
der woman who herself has gone
childbirths helps the woman in labor.
midwife, called lanaven szauk, is not
band of the woman in labor can take her
no circumstances may another male
family take this place, not even the
of the husband, although, according
of the Gilyak he has a right to the
r brother and considers himself in a
d and certainly the second father of

livery the woman in labor sits and
her legs. The seat is erected at the
the bed in the yurt, that is about half
floor. During the whole period of
man in labor is supposed to keep quiet,
t in pain, not to try to get up, not to
side or the other. If, during a hard
oman is not able to stay in the
tude by herself and starts writhing in
luty of the midwife or husband to hold
houlders in order to prevent her from
bidden movements. The Gilyak believe
try to get up during the delivery
ase which causes a deformation of the
as even shown a young woman who
ripple because she had not stayed
abor. Her spine was really deformed
ak say, broken (naski ts' onkrynd).
e to walk and died a few years later.
ains last too long and the woman
ly, a piece of clothing is moved back
nt of her face and somebody blows
ve on the part in her hair.

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground; they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tribe is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child, tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.

753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone, squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is considered to be a consequence of the mountain spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says "tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is tormenting".

784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions, they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow household articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the new one.

842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the transference of physical peculiarities from one man to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an explanation for the superstitious remedies they use for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who cannot bear children must ask another very fertile woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be transferred from one person to another like a contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel which had been used by the sick person.

825 middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On feto-
996 days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course
is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day ar-
rives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival
by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies
carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones,
and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil
spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all
who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these
ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon
a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were
more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet
among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, espec-
ially where there are small children.

231 Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the
high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy.
823 Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with
739 great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply
is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used
to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves
about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles
for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Man-
jours kept the market good.

756 The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia,
are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the dou-
ble function of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical
and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken
sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the
shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct
spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a par-
ticular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman
contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse
than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic
manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To
accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his
voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his cos-

754

754 SORCERY--ideas of the causation of disease and death through witchcraft and sorcery; actual and reputed prevalence of sorcery; motives for practicing sorcery; methods (e.g., bone pointing, manipulation of effigies, exuvial magic, invocation of spirit aids); employment of sorcerers; witches, wizards, and sorceress; physical, social and mental characteristics; sources of power, training; organization; special types of sorcerers (e.g., werewolves, vampires, individuals with the evil eye); evidence as to the efficacy of sorcery; reactions to sorcerers (e.g., witch hunts); etc. See also:

Ingroup antagonisms	678	Familiar spirits	776
Sorcery as a factor in social control	628	Uses of magic other than for the causation	
Punishment of sorcery	683	or cure of disease	789
Counter-measures to sorcery	755		

/256 cont./

143 In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual
826 intercourse and marriages of hermaphrodites are often con-
fused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic
instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyak known
to me. On Sakhalin I know of two cases. In the settlement
of Yama, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak,
Chubuk, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a
certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum
virile was underdeveloped) and wore woman's clothing.
Later the membrum virile attained the proper development,
and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married.

143 I learned of another instance in the settlement of Myy Gyrk
826 on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. Here I once
588 met two young people sitting on the shore, a man and a
woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed
that the latter very much resembled a man in the face. My
companions explained that only a year ago she had been
wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was
very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing
together. They had to spend the night together, and then the
hermaphrodite revealed her secret to her friend. From that
time on they began to live together and ended up by getting
married, although people strongly urged the young man against
[538] /257/ taking this step. Similar cases may easily have given
● [754] rise to the legends about transformed persons (about werewolves).

On the Amur the Gilyak Putuk told me the curious details
concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a
girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that
he was developing a membrum virile, which would some-
times grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes dis-
appear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who
came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his
words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the
course of several years a beard grew and the male organ was
definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully
developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

685 /304 cont./
695 actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajorś
mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n´erokh tokh elyvgujś. Chi narl´ăr: chan
maj:okhanś. Mykyz" mra lytyng ivg:aj huktokh elyvg:az´o."
685 While they argue, a crow (ves´) and a cat are thrown into the fire
695 alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the
825 fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing
him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat,
while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told:
"Chi tajrodz: furarś n´ivykh lerş mra chi unakhana uikhyndor hy
nivukhdokh elyvgujś." "You do not know, you will suffer for a
petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak),
following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

614 Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular
825 animal. There is a clan khal is a wolf -- kekhr; ping
chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The
wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the
estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank,
bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They
wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it
go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear
attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round,
attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times.
This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule
there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf,
but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters,
having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf
spoils them, but if a Chnarpung is left, then he does not spoil
them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by;
they leave yukola, mor´, and so forth there. The Chnarpung
may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile
and not docile.

685 This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When some-
● 754 thing is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a
rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They
bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and
knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz´ nyngiś -- look

685 /304 cont./
695 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
● 754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins
to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it
happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed
to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyt´) -- about an arshin in length with a human
chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then
they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the
balagan of the khlaj-n´ivukh´s (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mer´ăh); formerly men also pierced their
ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
781 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
585 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
541 themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŭgurmam
[302] (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
834 commodates a guest under one blanket.

943 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam)
844 in winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer --
three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband
at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during
birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole
year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before child-
birth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in
stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches,
and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold
water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/309 cont./

766 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
766 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
● 754 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
787 man to eat from the kinys n´ich: "Go eat human meat!" He
rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys.
Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes through,
a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has
approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a
sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased or
(to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in con-
stant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into
the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following
day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies.
Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two
summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroyed
right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they make
real tolr´ir and sacrifice from them down to the third generation.

756 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toldokh urly cham;
787 2) paĭŭokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:at
n´ivukh -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questions
to a stone with a hole -- tolfang. If the stone immediately gives
answers, it is thrown away. The shaman queries his paĭ´pang: a
(a wooden figure which is bound with white drel´, and with shavings
on the neck; it is suspended on a string). The waving of the
figure is an affirmative answer. If there is no pang, they tie
tobacco wrapped in white drel´ to the stone. It advises the
shaman about medicines, indicates what sacrifices to give and
[755] to which particular paĭ (i.e., paĭ of one's own or of a different
clan), and so forth. It cannot drive away the evil spirit, but it
can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with
regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also during
sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad shamans
steal (tempt away) their major kekhr from them. There are shamans
756 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
777 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

/328 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
774 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
776 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
529 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
84 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
756 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shanikh-chokh. A
666 feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
578 away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
833 ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
774 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
776 She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth
158 with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/328 cont./

769 The favorite dog, "pryski" (every man has his own pryski)
23 is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and then it is taken away to the yurt, tied to the place where the dead man slept, and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four years -- if a woman. After this it is sold or given as a gift, but they cannot keep it.

766 Even where cremation is practiced, insane persons after death are buried directly into the ground.

764 In Ady-Tymi, if they suspect that a person died from magic,
●754 two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place
184 of cremation. Birds appear first, then hares and foxes and then the ormi-milk, rubbed with clay against arrows. He comes to eat the man, and if they do not kill him, then the others will die.

764 On the day following the cremation, when the fire has died out, firewood and boards are strewn on it, and on top a dog slied deliberately broken; sometimes small pieces of it are kept (as souvenirs).

Where the deceased are buried and not burned, they are placed in a coffin. Anyone can make a coffin of boards or from a boat -- two boxes. It is carried out through the door and placed on the dog sled, which in both winter and summer is carried on the arms. The required objects are placed in the coffin, some as models. Those who go along do not put on their festive clothes. The pit which they dig must accommodate the coffin up to the lid. There is no crying; kissing the deceased is a sin. It is not required that everyone throw earth into the grave. No signs are set up. Dogs are killed on the grave, but they are not fed beforehand, nor are inau put on them. The skin is immediately removed from the slain dogs and hung on a stick, while the meat is boiled right there, but it is eaten by few, and others throw it away. Boats and so forth are broken over his grave. The Gilyak is not afraid of the
[769] deceased. When "good food happens," the deceased are fed for about half a year.

/367 cont./

002 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
791 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
●[754] that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754] In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
[158] dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782] ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, piongukhia!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
577 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
573 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776] and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this extremely altruistic belief is really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or mere hypocrisy.

755

755 MAGICAL AND MENTAL THERAPY--individual therapeutic efforts (e.g., acts of faith, self-analysis); resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., divination, interpretation of symptoms); therapeutic procedure (e.g., shamanistic seances, analytic couch); methods (e.g., interpretation of dreams, countermagic, exorcism, recapture of soul, sucking out of intrusive object, resort to spirit helpers); prescriptions (e.g., medication, purification, expiation, imposition of taboos); prognosis; ritual banishment of disease (e.g., ksapgoal); faith healing; scientific systems of psychotherapy (e.g., psychoanalysis, psychiatry, mental hygiene); evidence as to the effectiveness of magical and mental therapy; etc. See also:
behavior processes and personality . . . . . 18 Soul concepts 774
Shamanistic dances . . . . . 328 Spirit possession and dream interpretation . . 787

/37 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices. In order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy. I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[776] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
●[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
776 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
●[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[056] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the
[614] clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[014] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

176 life, causing sickness and death. But for them, people w
161 not die. Natural death is impossible. Death is the result
753 the scheming of these insidious creatures. Therefore the
will never touch a sable that died in the ta[illegible], even thou
skin is very valuable and very well preserved, for a devil
suredly rests in a sable that has died. Just as he, the Gily
lies in wait for a beast and tries in every way to kill him,
an evil spirit lies in wait for the Gilyak himself at every
53 in order to devour him. Sickness is no more than an evil
176 who made his way into the body of a Gilyak and is slowly
eating him. Nightmares and dreams in which the sick m
dreams that somebody is strangling him, pressing from wi
easily provide grounds for such a notion. If some organ i
functioning in the proper way, as, for example, in shortn
breath, it is easy to imagine that some kind of being has
inside and is interfering with breathing, and so forth. It
imperative to expel such a creature. This expulsion is ef
in various ways, beginning with the simplest and ending
the most complex.

55 Here is an example which quite graphically illustr
the "psychology" of the expulsion of devils. One woman,
was subject to attacks of sudden hysterical psychosis, was
in my presence on a high platform, generally used to clea
fish, and a fire was ignited under it with all kinds of rags,
canine feces, and stinking garbage. The devil inside the
woman could not, of course, bear the horrible smell and
prudently left the heart of the woman, who was thus save
But not all devils are so sensitive to a bad smell; others
quire stronger methods. Such devils must be frightened b
extraordinary noise, by frenzied shrieks, by the frightenin
appearance of the expeller, and by other such terrorizing
methods, hence the necessity for the devil-expeller to be
his tambourine, make noise with rattles, shriek in an unn
voice, and put himself in a state of frenzy, to which end
he swallows smoke, drinks sea water, puts himself in a st
of stupor with the smoke of bagul'nik (Ledum palustre), c

/744 cont./

708 755 532 126 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p. 1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

782 All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not excepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

708 532 51 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar purpose: they are the lalž and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

708 532 825 755 /749 cont./

Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

[195] 19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idol-images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's [126] head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Allof. The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the points marked with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

708 532 825 20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (att) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic; see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an att head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

Finally I found here the representation of an animal 708 825 532 755 reminiscent of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide snout was densely studded with teeth. The natives called it chaž, or, as an idol, chaž-kägn, but knew nothing about the animal which the figure represented, in that they had neither seen such an animal in the water or on land nor heard it mentioned in their traditions. They simply said that this

708 532 825 755 /750 cont./

figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of the ailment (Plate LIX /p. 1259/, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy [126] many idols, all different and some of them very interesting, for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256/, Fig. 4), several human figures had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

[126] I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the idols is put and which is called toll-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pōmi-tscho) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p. 1256/, Fig. 5), as well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound around them and several clothed in bearskin stood on a shelf in the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human [126] figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could 708 415 532 not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toll-ngir. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p. 1261/, Fig. 1). This vessel [126] was called tschobrā and was used for the same purpose. No amount [784] of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that it was uitsch and would cause her death.

825 753 /754 cont./

sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however, 755 is a shaman. He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes 756 the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch 532 carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of [187] the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-322 mipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp. 462 1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found. 824 This is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

753 755 825 The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mā(r)ngai) are similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalž) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196/.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the lalž bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magá. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 554 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

764 /770 cont./

the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

[178] The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265/, to the right in the middle distance).

[784] There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

764 766 [195] 57. Gilyak. According to Surgin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

[195] the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The 764 burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods 262 are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. 755 Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The [169] depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure

/771 cont./

000 years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse
766 of a person killed by an att (tiger and leopard) is taken to a simi-
[262] lar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a
[755] remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

764 184 59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk, and Tchilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter their corpses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages
[162] named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R.I, p. 8.)

60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh
[778] Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood shavings (zach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

766 61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise
778 (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes
532 in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of a

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-branches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

G 778 532 755 G [844] [782]

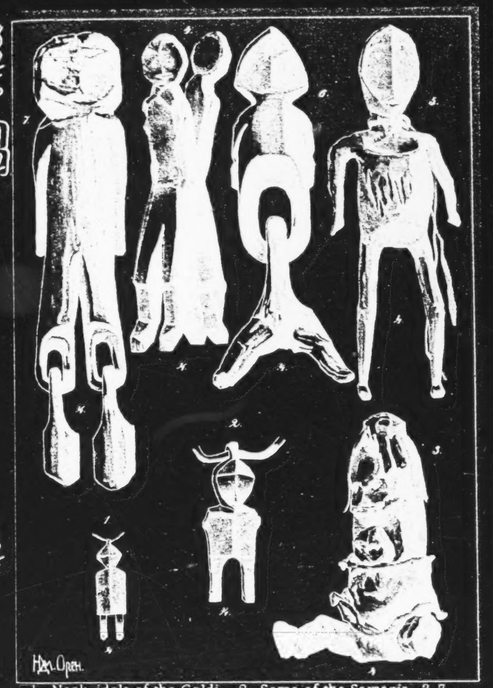

Gi 778 532

1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

778 755 532 789 856 532

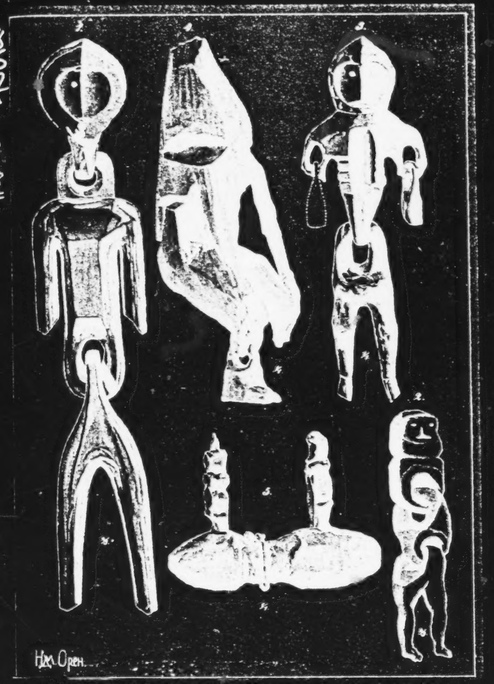

1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

778 532 825

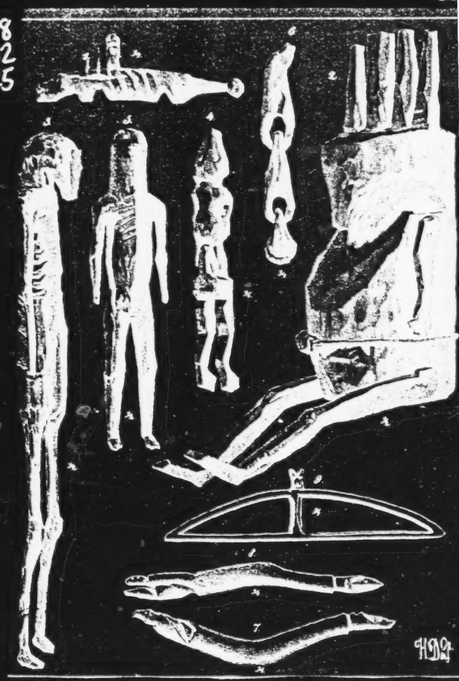

[755]

Gilyak idols made out of human and animal forms combine
1--human being and tiger; 2--human being with tiger head
3,4--human being with bear head; 5--human being with o
head; 6--human back-joint with bear head and paw; 7,8-
Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9--similarly,
bow with human head.

/75 cont./

755 It is evident from the following how realistic the
776 Gilyak's attitude toward the kekhn is. A large piece of new
calico (por) is spread out on the floor of the yurt, inside be-
fore the threshold, and the kekhn will rest on it during the
755 seance. A bowl with sarana, sugar, the priest dish "mos'," a
776 potatoes, and other dainties to which the spirit-healer will be
787 treated in the intermissions of the kamlaniye are placed in a
corner on a shelf. Over the bed of the sick man, a thong is
hung in a circle, and a kettle with a nail in it is placed near
the bed. The kekhn binds the sick man's soul which found
its way into the milyvo (the settlement of the dead)and, clasping
it under its arm, brings it back into the yurt, then throws it
into the kettle, and fastens it with the nail. It must not be
placed on the floor or on a plank bed, because it can run
back through the floor.

755 /76/ The third method of curing is at a distance.
776 When a man suddenly falls sick at a place where there is no
shaman or on the road, he goes outside at night when the
shamans sleep, throws a sacrifice to the gods, and shouts
with all his might; "Charmnay, nikhovlatyngra n'ronyuya,"
i.e., "Shaman! I am sick, help me!" The shaman is then
supposed to begin the kamlaniye quickly and sends his kekhn,
and the sick man not only hears the sounds of the tambourine,
but in the gloom of night even sees the form of the spirit which
has been sent. Upon returning to his village, the cured man
will tell the shaman, with tender feelings and gratitude, the
details of the wonderful night.

756 Although the shamans do not play as big a role among
[191] the Gilyak as among the natives of the banks of the Amur
River, the faith in their supernatural powers is boundless even
here. I was often shown places from which shamans were
lifted into the air like birds by the power of a spirit and flew
up to attend to their affairs in the region of the sky dwellers.
I was no less frequently told of cases where a shaman resur-
rected the dead, killed at a distance, created trout, etc.
ooo Once I myself became the object of a legend about the

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw
fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
[155] him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[BM] 1. On another page of the same notebook,
we find the following notation: "These sticks
kyz' nyngydz' (from kyz' -- risk, luck, and
nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers
to the above-mentioned sticks.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
prung, two kiong z'akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
strips (pylng z'akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special
shape (m'erlan), and attachments for the cradle -- pitur'. When
they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bitur' -- must be fed
(settlement of Kal'ma).

855 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
785 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
[846] and hang it on a tree. O'ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make
when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj
is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch care-
fully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
[824] for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
[761] there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place
is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/309 cont./

764 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
776 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
784 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
787 man to eat from the kinys n'ich: "Go eat human meat!" He
rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys.
Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes through,
a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has
approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a
sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased or
(to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in con-
stant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into
the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following
day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies.
Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two
summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroyed
right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they make
real tolrfir and sacrifice from them down to the third generation.

756 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toidokh urly cham;
787 2) pai'lokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:at
n'ryukh -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questions
to a stone with a hole -- tolfang. If the stone immediately gives
answers, it is thrown away. The shaman queries his pai'pang: a
(a wooden figure which is bound with white drel', and with shavings
on the neck; it is suspended on a string). The waving of the
figure is an affirmative answer. If there is no pang, they tie
tobacco wrapped in white drel' to the stone. It advises the
shaman about medicines, indicates what sacrifices to give and
[755] to which particular pai (i.e., pai of one's own or of a different
clan), and so forth. It cannot drive away the evil spirit, but it
can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with
regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also during
sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad shamans
steal (tempt away) their major kekhn from them. There are shamans
756 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
776 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

/310 cont./

755 Mainly it is necessary to treat leprosy -- khachudz, and
skin diseases.

The treatment of a leper. The shaman asks that a dog be brought
into the isba. The sick man sits up with his legs hanging from
the plank bed to the floor. In front of him there is an iron
kettle with the opening upward. The man holds the dog, while
the shaman moves around the yurt and kamlaet (shamanizes);
then the shaman spits -- "emits the spirit," takes a small worm
out of his mouth and carries it toward the dog. The dog jumps
back -- it has been pricked. Then the angry worm is brought
over to the sick man; the shaman stands opposite the sick man
with the worm in his hands, and the head of the shaman turns
into a large woodpecker -- ves'khr; -- black, with a red forehead --
and, squinting his eyes, he begins /311/ to look closely at the
face of the sick man in order to determine where to peck a bald
spot, i.e., to learn where the worm of the disease is (the shaman,
having squinted his eyes, sees through the man, and the sick man
sits "all naked"). The shaman finds a soft spot, pricks it with
the worm, and pulls out of there another worm, which he throws
into the kettle. He thus pulls out all the worms from the entire
[761] body, leaving only one worm, samuir. Without a worm, a
[825] person cannot live, but this worm cannot propagate. Those
who have seen these worms in the kettle say that they look like
tree worms. This kettle is covered with other kettles. At the
same time he orders his kekhn to keep watch at night over the
cup. On the following day he orders the Gilyak to bind the kettle
tight with a kaluga net and to bury it in the ground, while he
himself shamanizes. The shaman carries it away over five
rivers and five ranges. He sings, so that the small mountains
become large, and the streams -- large rivers. There he digs
out a pit, where he places the kettles together and binds them.
Those who go must count five narrow valleys and five ranges.
And the shaman sings once again, so that the dried up little
springs turn into large rivers, the rivers -- into cliffs, and the
kaluga net -- into the dense

/321 cont./

776 upon himself. Ge-n'ivukh beats the seals. He is seen from a distance, but up close he disappears. He does not drive away sickness. In appearance he is "just like a Gilyak."

777 Talismans. Gibel'ka became rich in the following way: His eldest brother, Amgunka, found a piece of red material under a log in the taiga; from that time on he began to get rich. Gibel'ka stole this talisman from him, and then a chkhnaj fell from the sky, and he began to get even richer.

Tanu -- talisman -- is an object which falls to a lucky person (lyg narla n'ivukh) and which increases the number of things in his possession (for instance, two fur coats instead of one), such as: a May beetle, a piece of gold, a larch with fir cones, a climbing lizard, a worm.

Alekksy caught a goya with three worms adhering to it by suction, and after this there was a lucky catch of fish.

755 Father Konki is very old and by now remembers nothing. But on the basis of dreams he advises the sick -- to make chkhnaj, feed them, and carry them into the taiga.

In recent times he has not had visions and therefore thinks that he will soon die.

/322/

756 Shamanism. A kekhn answers the shaman's questions about sick-
776 ness and medication, but nobody hears his answers. The mightiest master is Tlykekhn (the spirit of the sky). He travels on foot through the sky and with a rope leads the shaman through the air wherever he wishes. The shaman does not take his kekhn along to Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave). The kekhn of Koynyt (1)

[115] 1. The author's storyteller -- a youth who subsequently became a shaman. S. Sh.

comes to him only in a dream or during a seance. He sends him to various gods with tasks, for example, to learn what sacrifice to make. So far he has only pal-n'igyvyn (kekhn). His kekhn is small, with a human face and a body covered with hair.

/322 cont./

G 756 Chamkh, the father of Koynyt, my storyteller, was a
776 shaman in Ady-Tymi. He had four souls: one from Pal, another from Tol, a third from Tly, and a fourth from Mly-yz'n.

G 756 Shamans make chkhnaj (a wooden image of pal-n'igyvyn),
778 inspired during a seance, and feed them. The feeding consists
782 of giving sugar, saranka, and so forth, but they are eaten by the shaman; it only appears to those around as if he eats it, however, while it is eaten by the kekhn himself. The chkhnaj must be fed or else it will gnaw a person.

G 755 When one is dangerously ill, then the yurt begins to shake
776 and becomes full of openings and through the openings, like mosquitoes, many kekhn fly and shout: "Believe me, me!" And then the shaman falls down as if he were drunk. Then he eats marsh tea and drinks sea water -- he gives this to his kekhn. He swallows fire. Kekhn love songs.

G 755 If a person is near death and a milk has carried his soul to
756 Mlyvo, a kekhn kills him, and the shaman sets out for there for the
776 soul, and, if he succeeds in getting the soul, the sick man will
794 live. The kekhn shows the shaman the road (to Mlyvo). The shaman gets to Mlyvo directly through an apperture; the same earth as here, the same sky, and many villages are there. If the soul is outside, it can still be obtained; if it is in the yurt, all is lost. If the shaman himself enters the yurt, he will die. In Mlyvo the soul of the shaman is like a bird and flies around the subterranean world.

Parnkhasind (an Orok word) is done only by the Omyr, i.e.,
G' 755 by the Orok. They ask the chkhnaj whether the sick man will recuperate or not. If the chkhnaj rocks from side to side, he will recuperate; if not -- he will die. All this is done under the smoke of marsh tea. When the shaman beats his drum, the kekhn advises the making of chkhnaj, and if somebody's soul comes into it, then the sick man will live. If he will live, the chkhnaj is fed; then when in the shaman's opinion it is time /323/ to lose him, he comes and arranges for the milk to go from the sick man into the chkhnaj, and the sick man then recovers. (see "Fortunetelling with a Stone").

/324 cont./

●755 During the seance of the curing of a sick man, a looped thong -- ishyng -- is tied over his bed, and on the floor before him is placed a kettle (nich) with a nail (trofvar). With this thong the kekhn catches and ties up the sick man's soul in Mlyvo, places it under his arm, brings it to the yurt, sticks it in the kettle -- otherwise it will depart through the floor into Mlyvo-khuty -- and pierces it with the nail. The nail and the thong are taken by the shaman.

756 The kenchkh and shaman conjuring. The kenchkh helps the
783 shaman only in conjuring -- lemd; the shaman pierces his breast
776 with a knife, but in reality he pierces the kenchkh (chekokhin' pes'pind). They bind the shaman's hands behind him with a thong, and the kenchkh comes and unties it and throws the looped thong to its Gilyak owner. The shaman's robe, fully buttoned, slides off over his head and flies (sits on a plank bed).

The shaman puts a noose made out of a slender thong on his neck, and two men on each side pull the noose tight while he continues to sing songs. Finally the shaman's head falls to one side and his torso to the other. Then the Gilyak begin to tap, while one beats a tambourine. Finally, one hears stamping outside the door and in comes ken'chkh-yz'n in the shape of a large cow. He walks up to the big kettle, drinks up all the water, eats all the meat of the shaman, and new meat and a head grow. Then the soul of the shaman gets up on the crossbeam over the hearth and begins to sing Kyu-kyu songs. Then the head grows onto the body, and the shaman again comes back to life. In 1897 /325/
756 there were shamans in Pylvo--1, in Tekhrvo--1, in Tyrmych--2, in Chayvo--2, in Kekhrvo--2, in Ornyr--one female shaman, an old woman. The biggest shaman is the old man Kymysk in Tyrmych.

/336 cont./

854 A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days
1844 and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung --
789 ekhl-chugir(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride
784 along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows,
854 ●755 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of
789 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and
[776] the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of the sea.

When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for
845 Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small
782 quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

771 /741 cont./
174 tradition, reaching any pretensions of a religious one or completely
812 driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[124] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. 1, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kägn and tschngai (1).

[199] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped säwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
●755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak
532 is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

778 /742 cont./
189 it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often
● 755 it is not exactly an idol, but some other kind of amulet, straps
532 knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the sick man's neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery. Such an amulet is called ngif and kissj. From Judin in Tebach I
[126] obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face (see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. 1, pp. 57, 58.)

778 3. Gilyak. The village of Poghobi on the west coast of
755 Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shavings
184 on a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whole bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in her chest and sat there groaning and complaining. The zach was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after she had received this medicine, the woman stopped groaning and behaved very calmly and quietly the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman. (2 W.R. I, p. 6.)

778 4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate
755 LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 4, was named for me by the Gilyak as myikr.
532 It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off
[126] sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kulk. In the same vil-
778 lage among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away
532 for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

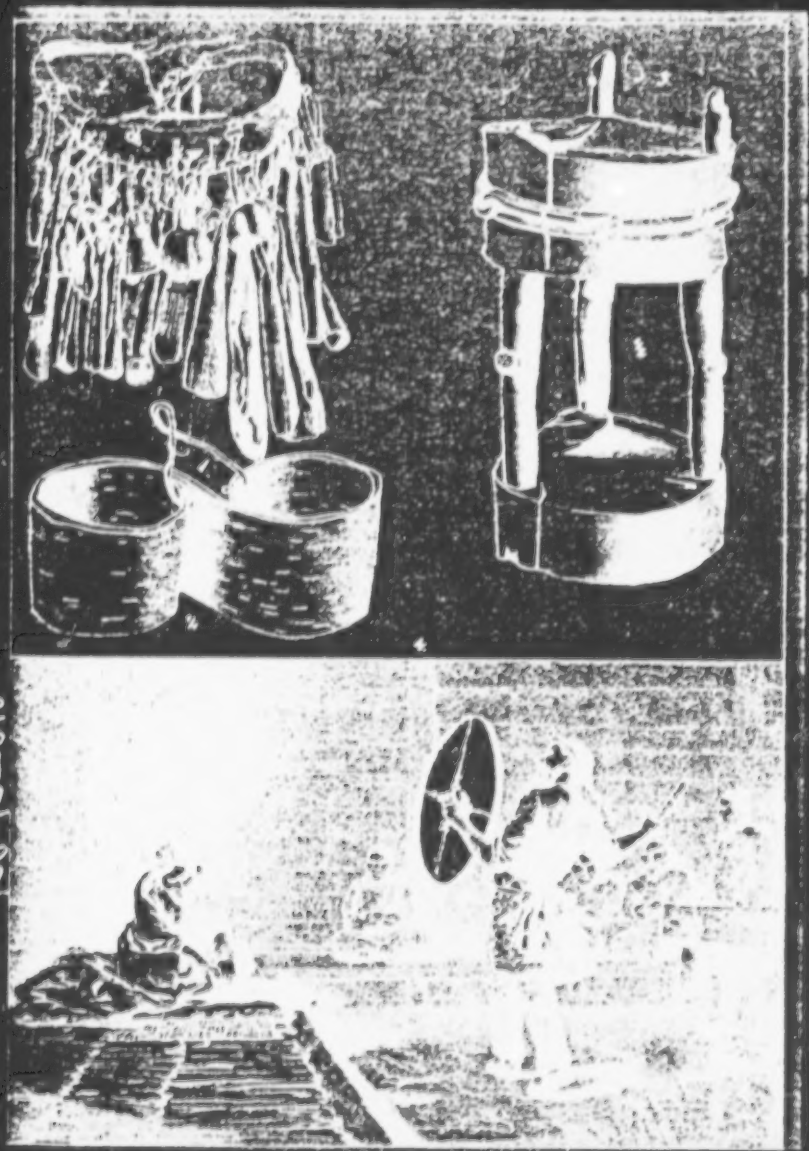

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

9: Hawes--236 [2
116, 755, 776

"If a Gilyak is so
arrives, followed b
to show honour and
sufficient for him t
decides upon his m
has been doing pric
the sick man, and
about it, and ask h
before the evening,

o ill that all domestic resources fail, then the cham is sent for. He
by one of the elder representatives of the hut, who has been told off
l courtesy to the healer. An inspection of the patient is generally
to determine whether the sufferer will recover or no; but before he
easures, the cham tries to find out from the relatives what the patient
or to his illness. Then he tells them that the evil spirit is angry with
has sent this illness as a punishment; but he will speak to the spirit
im how his anger may be appeased. Nothing, however, can be done
, for the element in which the spirit lives is the night."

9: Hawes--236-237 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 755, 776, 778

"[LSS: In the cure of illness by the medici
appears, and drives out of the hut all unnece
his head a band of birch bark, with three litt
These, it is said, are to aid him in the expul
but are more probably to inhance the myster
then places in the corner of the hearth three
tobacco, and roots; and close to these, two
back to back; one having the face of a laughi
woman. The ch'khnai are there to provide so
he leaves the body of the sick man. Note her
ch'khnai that the image of the weeping woma
evil spirit, summoned from the body of the p
cies, naturally enters into the image so plac
himself kind-hearted and weak as a weeping
and takes refuge in the other image; where h
man, especially when the cham draws near
The evil and good spirits finding themselv
there is never any doubt of the result, for vi
spirit. Then commence negotiations between
or what offering he will accept to keep away f

ne man] When the sun has set, the cham
ssary persons, and proceeds to place upon
le rustling rosettes of papery bark lining.
sion of the evil spirit from the sick one;
y [237] and authority of the exorcist. He
little bowls, containing respectively fish,
wooden images, ch'khnai, bound together
ng man, and the other that of a weeping
omething for the evil spirit to enter, when
e how clever the cham is. He so places the
n faces the cups containing the food; and the
patient by exorcism and attracted by delica-
ed; and, having taken this form, will be
woman. The good spirit is then exorcised,
e becomes jolly and strong as a laughing
r to him one of the bowls of food.
es in close proximity, begin to fight; but
ctory must be to the stronger—the good
the cham and the evil spirit as to how much
rom the sick man."

: Hawes--238 1-3 (1901) 1903

16, 535, 578, 755, 776, 782

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] The ey
oams at the mouth, and sings the orders of the evi

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick man wel

The first syllable in each line is articulated quic
slowly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is made to e

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or has a
he may ruin the whole family by his interpretation
o bring all their dogs and everything that they valu
imes human offerings were demanded."

es of the cham are like flames; he
l spirit—

l.'
kly, and the last vowels in the line

nd in a—aa.

ay spite against him or his relatives,
of the spirit's demands, forcing them
e most. It is even said that in olden

116, 755, 776, 782

"On the following day, the head of the hut takes possible to the village appointed where the bear i There he kills the dogs near the cage of the bear, them in the forest to the east, and sings, 'Make s well.' The offering is made near the bear becaus bear, and therefore is to be found near at hand.

The cham having been liberally rewarded for h

One old Gilyak in reply to my question as to wh with stoical submissiveness, 'We make offerings but if the spirit does not restore it, it is well als

the offerings, and goes as quickly as
s, even if it be a hundred miles away.
takes out the heart and liver and casts
so that the sick man may [239] be quite
e the evil spirit is a great friend of the

is pains, the matter is ended.
at happened if the patient died, said,
, and if the child recovers, it is well;
o.' "

771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only. If someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

● 755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
534 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

● 755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also seek to consolidate their authority by means of various magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly, disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle. After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these "Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine. From this we may see how much they really understand of their new religion. We have said before that they regard

164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the softness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

● 755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary. They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans, since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very few in number and are carefully guarded.

752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks, splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs, especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatics bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the indifferent thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment. They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the native ones.

231 Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal, the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be related to the fact that among natives as well as among many Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is, for draft purposes.

756

756 PSYCHOTHERAPISTS--prevalent types of psychotherapists (e.g., shamans, faith healers, psychoanalysts, clinical psychologists); physical, mental, and social characteristics; source of power (e.g., inheritance, spirit helpers, specialized knowledge); training and initiation; prerogatives and disabilities; special paraphernalia and behavior; source of support (e.g., gifts, fees); penalties for failure; relations between practitioners (e.g., rivalry, organization); shamanism as a religious complex; special organizations (e.g., medicine societies, psychoanalytic societies); etc. See also:

Sorcery 784
Familiar spirits 786
Revelation and divination 787
Nondrugpsychotic functions of psychotherapists . . 789
Magicians and diviners 791
Transvestitism 838

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented by
* 114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

* 114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
597 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
[676] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form of animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
[262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

* 114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[677] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
[825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

● [956] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

* 114 "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
197 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of the Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[789] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
755 from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
• [756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[774] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/74 cont./

755 the disgusting bitter root of that plant, eats hot coal, etc. Even such strong measures, however, do not always prove effective. Sometimes the evil spirit does not give in to any human terrorizing, and not only that, but sometimes he even carries off the soul of the sick man into the kingdom of the shades. Then the aid of the higher beings is indispensable.

• [756] Such aid can be proffered only by specially chosen men, by specialists-expellers, i.e., shamans.

756 Among the Gilyak, shamans do not constitute a class,
776 as among more cultured barbarians. Among the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen ones, who in night visions or in a trance receive a revelation from the god-protector about their high calling. From that moment the shaman has gods-assistants, executors of his commands. These gods-assistants are of two kinds: the kekhn and the kenchkh. The first perform his most important tasks. By force or trick it is they who pull the devil
[774] out of the organism of a sick man. They also carry the shaman's soul in search of the stolen soul of a sick man, making their way with it even into the kingdom of the shades. As for the assistants, they are happy spirits who play with the shaman and help him only in tricks. The kekhn are creatures of the most varied breeds: there are kekhn-wolves, eared seals, eagle owls, reindeer, hares, celestial creatures, etc. Each kekhn has his master, who himself personally, very rarely comes to assist, sending his subordinates. The kekhn are capable of assuming any form and consequently can go anywhere necessary to save the sick man.

755 The shamans have three main methods of curing. One consists of hearing the patient out, falling asleep, and then, combining the dreams he has had, giving this or that advice. Having, for instance, seen a skewbald dog in his dream, he decides that for a cure it is necessary to sacrifice a dog, etc. Another method is the ordinary method of kamlaniye normally described by ethnographers, namely, expelling the devil by means of frenzied shrieks, beating the tambourine, in a word --
[776] terror. Since, however, you frequently can do nothing with

/75 cont./

755 It is evident from the following how realistic the
776 Gilyak's attitude toward the kekhn is. A large piece of new calico (por) is spread out on the floor of the yurt, inside before the threshold, and the kekhn will rest on it during the seance. A bowl with sarana, sugar, the prized dish "mos'," potatoes, and other dainties to which the spirit-healer will be treated in the intermissions of the kamlaniye are placed in a corner on a shelf. Over the bed of the sick man, a thong is hung in a circle, and a kettle with a nail in it is placed near the bed. The kekhn binds the sick man's soul which found its way into the mlyvo (the settlement of the dead)and, clasping it under its arm, brings it back into the yurt, then throws it into the kettle, and fastens it with the nail. It must not be placed on the floor or on a plank bed, because it can run back through the floor.

/76/ The third method of curing is at a distance.
755 When a man suddenly falls sick at a place where there is no shaman or on the road, he goes outside at night when the shamans sleep, throws a sacrifice to the gods, and shouts with all his might: "Chamnay, nikhovlatyngra n'ronyuya," i.e., "Shaman! I am sick, help me!" The shaman is then supposed to begin the kamlaniye quickly and sends his kekhn, and the sick man not only hears the sounds of the tambourine, but in the gloom of night even sees the form of the spirit which has been sent. Upon returning to his village, the cured man will tell the shaman, with tender feelings and gratitude, the details of the wonderful night.

• 756 Although the shamans do not play as big a role among
[171] the Gilyak as among the natives of the banks of the Amur River, the faith in their supernatural powers is boundless even here. I was often shown places from which shamans were lifted into the air like birds by the power of a spirit and flew up to attend to their affairs in the region of the sky dwellers. I was no less frequently told of cases where a shaman resurrected the dead, killed at a distance, created trout, etc.

ooo Once I myself became the object of a legend about the

• 756 /76 cont./ Once I myself became the object of a legend about the
123 omnipotence of a shaman. In the settlement Nyyvo, at the mouth of the Tym', I once ventured to offer medical help to a female patient of a famous shaman. Learning of my interference, the shaman not only prohibited taking my medicine, but decided to punish me severely for my insolence. Immediately after my departure he went fully dressed into the waters of the bay and began to adjure the god of the water to fall on me with all sorts of punishments. A day later I had to spend the night in an abandoned Orok shed on the lower shore of Nabil' Bay. At night there arose a strong wind accompanied by a most terrible downpour; the water began to spread beyond the shores of the bay and to flood the low area. We awoke at dawn, literally swimming on our bedding. It was necessary to build a platform and shiver with cold on it for many hours until the water receded. For all the Gilyak on the coast there was no doubt that I had borne the punishment sent down by the shaman, who, moreover, could have been much sterner, but this time spared the Russian "tyan'gi" (gentleman). It is remarkable that the death of my female patient, even though she had refused to take the medicine I had left, was charged, not to the shaman, but to her sacrilegious appeal to me for help.

177 The Gilyak, however, willingly and with full faith, are treated by the Russians, not, of course, because they believe in the power of science, but for completely peculiar reasons. "The Russian god," they reason, "is stronger than the Gilyak one; this means that the Russian shaman is stronger than the Gilyak one." /77/ And if you inquire why the Russian god is stronger than the Gilyak one, you might hear such an answer: "Behold how many centuries the Gilyak has been living here, and he still travels on paths, but the Russian arrived and immediately built wide roads, such roads as the Gilyak has never seen." It is curious that neither steamboats nor automobiles, nothing impresses the Gilyak and convinces him of the superiority of the Russian god over the Gilyak one as much as just these roads.

/77 cont./

• 756 Now a few more words concerning the nature and psychics of these strange people called shamans.

According to the views of the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen beings. Do not be a shaman! The talent of a shaman is not a gift, but a burden. In order to become a shaman, it is necessary to be liked by a kekhn, or to recei such a kekhn from one's father or uncle. Turning into a shaman constitutes a turning point in the life of the chosen one, a crisis accompanied by very complex psychological phenomena.

One shaman with whom I was acquainted told me t before he became a shaman he was sick for more than two months, during which he lay motionless on his back in con plete unconsciousness. No sooner would he awaken from o paroxysm than he would fall into another. "I would have died," he told me, "if I had not become a shaman!" Dur
[789] ing these months of trial he dried up like a stick. At nigh he began to dream that he sang shaman songs. Once a whi eagle-owl appeared to him and stood near him, quite clos while a little farther away stood a man who said to him: "Make yourself a tambourine and everything that a shaman should have, and sing songs. If you are a simple man, no ing will come of you, but if you are a shaman, you will b real shaman." He slept for a long time, how long -- he d not know, but when he woke up, he saw that he was held d a fire by the feet and by the head; the people around him thought that he had been killed by the kekhn. Then he co manded that he be given a tambourine and began to sing s He felt not quite drunk, not quite dead. Then he first saw his kekhn and kenchkh, and the former said to him: "If yo see a sick man, cure him; do not believe the kenchkh, he has a human face, but the body of a bird; believe only us.

I myself was once a witness to the first appearance such a paroxym. A Gilyak boy by the name of Koynyt, twelve years old, the son of a shaman, my guest, fell asle after dinner, and, accidentally awakened by my comrad, the boy began to thrash furiously and to shout, repeating a

116, 755, 786

"During all these exorcisms and negotiati
illness] the hut has been the scene of an awe
lay on the nakh, or bench, the cham has bee
cha, a fish-skin tambourine, uttering all ma
wild gyrations in order to prevent the escap
time of the combat of the good and evil spiri
and when negotiations commence, the cham
begun in almost a whisper, and to the slow-
improvises his prayers, conforming [238] th
working himself into an ecstasy, he babbles
From the great strain his voice sometimes
amazing dexterity whirls around in the semi
ground as his wild circlings in the air incre
ings to his wild springings. Black shadows f
quicker and quicker grow the wild howls and
the spectators sink with fright, and even the
voluntarily bewitched."

ons [LSS: by the medicine man while curing
-inspiring spectacle. While the sick man
n whirling round the hut, beating the kos-
anner of strange sounds, and quickening his
e of the evil spirit from his reach. By the
ts, the wild dance has reached its climax;
is in an ecstatic state. His exorcisms are
measured strokes of the tambourine. He
hem to the circumstances; and by degrees
with hoarse voice, howls, and even shrieks.
cracks; but he draws off attention, and with
-darkness, his feet appearing to leave the
ase and the flames leap in answering flicker-
itfully race over the walls of the hut, and
the thuds of the tambourine. The hearts of
most sceptical of the Gilyaks is in-

/77 conf. /

the future and all the feminist desires of the shaman. When the pancytum was over, the face of the poor boy was terribly exhausted /

/323 cont./

When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition of the kehlm of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (Pal) to these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kehlm. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kehlm. The shaman kehlm fears only Pal milk and Tol milk but not the milk of tabbit, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kehlm there are variously colored eared seals, not trout, and tigers.

How the shaman Chomka resurrected a woman (the settlement of Ilyinovtsy). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night if before morning the moved her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

The shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman. She also kills her shaman competitor, sending her kehlm to his or her competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shanki-chohh. A feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person water and cry. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local ataxia.

The kanilange of a female shaman, who, according to her own words, was emasculated (mad) after the birth of her first daughter. She first made ifau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh ma, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her handkerchiefs... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings, she yawned. Moderate blows... The smoke grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/324 cont./

began to walk around. She sat down. She became blind, saw nothing. The milk drank ten cups of horrible liquid. Clink, clink /as in touching glasses!/ She drank it down in a gulp... then demanded a pipe and began to smoke and to exhale the smoke through her nose. She then (said): "Kymuta" -- I am hungry! And she began to eat saranka. Then they gave her sake -- she drank it. "Heavy (to lift the tambourine)!" The milk did this. She demanded my cigarette. "Give tobacco to the spirit," and ordered some distributed to everybody to smoke. She beat her breast, while a maiden beat the tambourine. Then she said: "Make a fire!" She sat down /?/ then rose suddenly, began to dance, and ran through the door, but the wet caught. The cold of the forest shamans. "People assembled to listen. There is no danger whatsoever. I cannot speak of various things. Naked people (i.e., not laimah), a misfortune, cannot say anything. I hear the talk of the wife, I hear the talk of the husband, I hear the talk of the sky, and I hear the talk of the sea fish. I hear the talk of the fish all sides. Everybody listen only to me. everything was born from Pal, born from the middle of the existing mountains. They call (me) Pontyst. The name of my husband is Kabaiya. The shaman given by my husband -- They call me Vee'tyk. I am an old woman. Smoke tobacco, all you (who are sitting) in the yurt! Small and large, all smoke with my risk! I am not afraid of any devil (!)" I am a mother-in-law to all of you.

1. Here there is evidently an omission in the notes. S. Sh.

I am the only big old man (?). Yellow-copper squirrel, come my way! (When you stared from the sea) to his grate house (in down to rest. When he ascended from there, cannibals were located before eight bear cages at the edge of an opening through which they pulls a trough, rail.

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During the season of the curing of a sick man, a looped thong -- nhyng -- is tied over his bed, and on the floor before him is placed a bottle (nin) with a nail (nedvyn). With the thong the kehlm catches and ties up the sick man's soul in Mlyvo, places it under his arm, brings it to the yurt, sticks it in the bottle -- nin; after this it will depart through the floor into Mlyvo-hluty -- and pierces it with the nail. The nail and the thong are taken by the shaman.

The kenshih and shaman conjuring. The kenchlah helps the shaman only in conjuring -- lemd; the shaman pierces his breast with a knife, but in reality he pierces the kenchlah (chekshih-ne'lgnd). They bind the shaman's hands behind him with a thong, and the kenchlah comes and unties it and throws the looped thong to its Gilyak owner. The shaman's robe, fully buttoned, slides off over his head and falls (sits on a plank bed).

The shaman puts a noose made out of a slender thong on his neck, and two men on each side pull the noose tight while he continues to sing songs. Finally the shaman's head falls to one side and his torso to the other. Then the Gilyak begin to tap, while one beats a tambourine. Finally, one bears stamping outside the door and he comes kenchlah-yr'h in the shape of a large cow. He walks up to the big kettle, drinks up all the water, eats all the meat of the shaman, and new meat and a head grow. Then the soul of the shaman gets up on the cromberm over the hearth and begins to sing Kyu-kyu songs. Then the head grows onto the body, and the shaman again comes back to life. In 1897 /?/ there were shamans in Pylvo--1, in Ekhkrvo--1, in Tymyych--2, in Chayvo--2, in Kekhrvo--2, in Onyr--one female shaman, an old woman. The biggest shaman is the old man Kymyk in Tymyych.

The kenchlah is a bird which comes on the wind. They pull up a thong (nhyng) to the kenchlah during the song. The thong is attached to a rope, and the kenchlah seizes it and pulls over the people.

/340 cont./

the corpses boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

Chnyr-chhinka. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-chhinka, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chhinka is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chhinka is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sennuh from Ady-Tymu. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /?/ Ilmgut. Then he and his wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

The shaman Kymyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that his tronchyn had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chhkarkivand), or pay tshinand, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

Fortunetelling with a stone parakhanind, with a kettle. The gamakhanind replies thanks to the chehlm, if the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one hit the mark, he must make a wooden chhinai, hang it around his neck, and feed him.

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suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism, with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true that he believes the shaman, trains him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (this they say that the Kyrvo shaman killed the Bibolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical of religious beliefs of the Gilyak view-s. It is perhaps appropriate at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers. In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often have to pay a fine some quite considerable, or they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illnesses is the work of evil spirits, they make them more superstitious and fearful of the spirits, which certainly does not strengthen their health. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. They are "Kymyt'h! Kymyt'h! Ch, Ch, Ch, pasnayr; the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about a supreme being, the father of all things, the creator, the standing close to him is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material life of man, but also to his moral life. Many of the gods facilitate mutual living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life, particularly, perhaps, and also in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a man steals a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a good man steals a rich man (in this material sense), if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc., that is not a sin." This statement reminded all the strangers me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, was did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much this statement accurately expresses belief in a really the belief of the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence and other mythology

/362 cont./

and a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in a lair. In this case, the all too dangerous hunt to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to mark it at once, and only the cubs are captured and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /?/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the procedures, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bear, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned because of the cubs and fattened on a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could rarely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two standing close to each other, on the latter large trap-noses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

Of the fight with inscectsfly and ticks are certainly associated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their observance is considered necessary in order to undergo the danger of the fight with successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its mates in case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by Nobomov that "lively songs" are first delivered by a few Gilyak to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are still completely intact and evidently had not been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the about [illegible] entered, obviously distressed because I had seen the

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it to come out from its hiding place (?). For the shamans among

2. Arch. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Gilyaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 281).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either the bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this supernatural, to be sure, but rigorous and enterprising people. Indeed, on the contrary, as shall see in the following, practice their arts on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect. The spirits of revenge can be around only by death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festival, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the people. /?/ For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I entered the yurt of Mlawach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I saw a table hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had not been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the about [illegible] entered, obviously distressed because I had seen the

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

9: Hawes--199 T-3 (1

116, 178, 184, 527, 756

"Customs differ from coast to coast
divergence. In many cases I believe
officiate [LSS: At the sacrifice of th
influence of his office is on the wane
cham now.' "

t, and from village to village, and here is a point of
the cham, or medicine-man, is not called in to
he bear during the bear fête] possibly because the
e, and as the Tro Gilyaks told me 'we have no great

CONTINUED FROM PREC. FICHE

/642 cont./

553 Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child
554 is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the
555 morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born
556 in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any
557 ceremony; the mother whispers the name desired by her son in
558 the mother, or /643/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may
559 propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his
560 child. It must be also pointed out that no shamanistic arts are
561 practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving.
562 In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a special
563 celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express
564 their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share
565 with a few villagers and friends.

566 Immediately after the name is bit, it is placed in a cradle
567 (Gilyak nch,ykh). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists of
568 a canoe-shaped or flated, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a
569 length that the upper body of the child, up to its head,
570 can be fitted into it comfortably. While it upper end, usually
571 pointed, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard
572 which is provided with several grooves supporting into a central
573 hole. The child, wrapped in blanken except for its naked buttocks,
574 is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow,
575 whereupon a couple of strips are drawn from one edge of it to the
576 other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half
577 filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the
578 opening in the lower end of the cradle, and then the cradle is hung on
579 a cronbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII /see
580 p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by
581 human beings on the stove, To my answer that these objects
582 were too small to be seen even with a telescope because of the
583 great distance of the stars they replied with great assurance that
584 nevertheless a big shaman had seen them, and from their stories
585 they firmly believed that on the stars there are tall trees and
586 extensive forests, various animals, such as sable, otter, fox,
587 bears, dogs, etc., and finally, even human beings. These
588 human beings, whom they called, again indiscriminately,

/678 cont./

882 the thought of a continuous movement of the sun around the earth
883 which is a mere extension of the sun's daily movement from east
884 toward west. Some of them, however, were of specially gigantic
885 proportions, such as Iutechin and Reigun —a thought which immediately
886 gave rise to the question as to whether there were also a
887 moon and men on the other side of the earth. Moreover, the
888 idea that the earth did not have a disk-shape, but a globular-shaped
889 form was accepted by them more easily than I had imagined
890 According to their view, the stars moved around the earth just
891 like the sun. They have, however, a comic conception of them
892 as objects to which they regard them as celestial bodies
893 similar to the earth, which appear to small to them only because
894 of the great distance. This /679/ undoubtedly arose from their
895 indiscriminate use of the designation unghur, "star," and
896 unghir-nifi, "earth-star." Some of the constellation bear special
897 names among them. For example, the three stars in the tail
898 of the Great Bear are called tarkhinchich, the last in its body
899 nangnon (?), that is, rats' storehouse; a constellation with

/699 cont./

4.(cont.)

also liable to be the Yukagir in the country of "Sashanta" (sobach'ya zemlia = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labelled the report doubtful.

/700 cont./

The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age; old
701 animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for
702 several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired
703 a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of
704 exercise, the time drawn near to lead it with great pomp to its
705 doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take
706 place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least
707 on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance
708 with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gather-
709 ings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time
710 is probably the chief reason why they like to indulge them on
711 such as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the
712 continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festi-
713 vals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally
714 as well take place in January and February. Indeed, I myself
715 attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until
716 March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for
717 by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon
718 afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the
719 summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for
720 when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman,
721 but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear
722 or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his
723 own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more
724 or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival.
725 As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears
726 kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration
727 of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in
728 the country will encounter bear or there an individual act of
729 the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, ani-
730 mated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from
731 entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself ex-
732 perienced on Sakhalin.

/722 cont./

G-755 It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/
756 to dance and sing in the presence of the bear, because they would
757 easily misuse it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the
758 festive meals as a matter of principle.

759 In these festivals there have no definite duration: the feasting
760 goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives,
761 friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear
762 meat and fat lasts. In Tebakh, Jadin told his guests, Dimsa and
763 Brevera, that it would last for many days since three bears had been
764 killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13)
765 the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in
766 exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to
767 Nikolayevsk.

768 As I have mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previ-
769 ous year (1895) to witness this second part of the bear festival, con-
770 cluding with the eating of the bear, among the Olcha in the village
771 of Gilyak. I was very concerned to observe that their customs would not differ essentially from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Dittmar's report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

G-772 I arrived in the village of Gilyak located only five
773 versts below Kidzi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in
774 the morning and stepped into one of its five houses. I found it
775 occupied by the bear festival in the same manner as it done among the
776 Gilyak for an imminent bear-festival feast. Here, however,
777 opposite the ritagtre decorated with the bear's head and skin and
778 with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak ,ssad = Olcha
779 giamasaad), a second rack quite similar to the first one but some-
780 what smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its
781 shelves lay some bold meat and pieces of the fat of the slaughtered
782 bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passage-
783 way between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off
784 by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the
785 whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

/750 cont./

771 tradition, reaching any premonition of a religious one or completely
772 driving out and replacing that supply concept of God among the
773 only a few inhabitants.

774 I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
775 provided with various sawa or representations of idols, to be worn
776 around the body as an amulet against sickness (Plate LX /p.1260
777 Fig. 7). On either side of the belt were two makes (dodaldy).
778 likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between
779 village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the
780 direction. In front, in the middle, there was a pouch of leather and
781 on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the
782 was inacceptible to him as they certainly would be if they en-
783 joyed special veneration. (Bm. 1, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
790 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward
791 off danger; misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated
792 to me by the Gilyak with the general names of hakp and inchogai (?).

[792] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A transcription of the pronunciation of the whole tribe, from (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig.1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the cronbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped sawa stand). Sometimes, however,
779 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
780 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak
781 is seriously ill, the Shaman carves such an idol for him, or adzen
782 Sakhin to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But

/781 cont./

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783 the disease. Since then the once large village of Chala has had
784 only a few inhabitants. (Bm. 1, p. 28.)

785 26. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw no idol-belt, a sieuchas
786 provided with various sawa or representations of idols, to be worn
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wai Sajan, far above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, less famous one, Tachdzach, lives in the village of Amur, above Nikolayevsk. Incease of an emergency, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called to villages where there are no shamans (3). There are shamans (mipinnach), however, such as

1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have less a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, to be sure, also follows from the fact that they are religious as shamans, or regard as corresponding to their shamans, clergymen, but rather physicians and apothecaries, because they heal sickness. (The shaman may be present at a bear festival, to be sure, but not "to dominate" see pp. 1153. 1163, cf. also p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the brothers Sugin and Sugin in Kulk, though neither of them was a shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as it is customary in the shaman performances, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without it being regarded as sinful or the practitioners being shamans. For example, a boy in the village of Wait was said to be able to do the shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do a certain trick, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, feats for which they particularly praise their great shaman. (Bm. I, pp. 36, 38.)

28. Gilyak. The shaman performance. I learned that makes are especially feared from inshamans given to me by an experiment to the conquering of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of Petrovskye.- After singing and howling had been performed by the shaman, the shaman turned to the pad mitnoi lamb hawes, sun, moon, and stars (about whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more than

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that he had been shut informed by the elders of his people), and thereupon on the occasion of a bear festival, he was addressed as the two animals most feared by the Gilyk'ski and Russians. During these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a make depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bytanden howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe ice for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 39.)

29. Gilyak. Shamanistic art in case of sickness (p. The

2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipinch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipinch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water; hence the former is also designated as mifrangipinch, the latter as tulmipinch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magl, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Bocharov and her son, Dshaman, Bum Kulk. Junchin thought that the wap-mipinch shaman himself, a part of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do a certain trick, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, feats for which they particularly praise their great shaman. (Bm. I, pp. 36, 38.)

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the wap-mipinch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, resembles the devil (kim ngallatch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and the pad mitnoi lamb hawes, sun, moon, and stars (about whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more than

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stars and dipe, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipinch. The only means that can help him, however, is a shaman. He conjures up a Mgn (a good god), who removes the mipinch from the sick person. At the same time a mipinch carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of the shaman is hung around the neck of the sick person and then by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A stick man wears a single mipinch, a woman a double one. The mipinch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-mipinch. It is only on the moot-band of the dead bear (see pp. 1156, 1163) that a single mipinch and a bear's hair may be found. This is made by the women, but the wooden one are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are allowed to make the arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mkrygan) are similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much more is attributed to the lizard. The lizard lives in the heat band of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalp) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1136/.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposed to indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the tail bears a long shape. This is striking, since the frog (that) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magl. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

30. Gilyak. Amazing, marvelous acts which the Gilyak shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

/754 cont./ Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

1: Schrenck—1854 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

2: Schrenck—1854 E-S (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

III. Gilyak. The Gilyak Junchin from Patchi gave me a minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. This report corresponds to what the shaman performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word dschu, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt -- it emanates from one or several kags who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kags, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs bonbons, or silk fat or a soot, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kags answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative. Finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/754/ Now the kags, during constant noise, approach the shaman (lying bound and noisily above /illegible/). The shaman becomes his talk audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the Gilyak around in the yurt begin the monotonous song of the kags, but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kags is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (for example, the name in question) sing?" Should that one (for example) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The sing which the Gilyak begin to sing who are fond of the shaman begins, "Come to life! Come, come, come, come!" Come soon, come soon!"

This causes the kags to dance noisily again down from the shamar. Once more one hears him emave a deep sigh -- this time breathing at life now -- and now he stands there freed

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1:-Gilyak idol-bowl. 2:-shaman's belt (Gilyak). 3:-altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak). 4:-shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

4: Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1914 RX2 Gilyak RX2

buried their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burying, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and placed it on the grave, and placed the dog's food and tobacco on the spot. The "dog of the dead" took place afterwards later, on the day of the "calling the tree." as the cemetery was called. There dogs had a rail a little but for the funeral.

At the cemetery there dogs were killed on this day. The corpses were placed on the ground, and the dogs were killed and their bodies were attached closely to the corpse. A variety of household articles were laid out. The dogs, sable, fox, lynx, tinpot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that the dead man's soul would be reborn and take the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

The Gilyak believed in a "soul" (mitch) and in a "shadow" (ngrgan). The shadow was considered to be a dangerous thing, and was connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kags, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs bonbons, or silk fat or a soot, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kags answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative. Finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

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"The charm, or medicine-man, exorcises spirits which take up a temporary abode, charms made in the shape of a human being. Otherwise even this anthropoid kind was as amulet. A pair of these, carved from wood, which I have (p.194), are intended be worn on the limb or part of the body affected; for a sore throat, for instance, the little figures would be tied round the neck."

9: Hawes--199 [2] 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 527, 539, 756, 782

"The following, however, is the part played by
i.e. the medicine man immediately preceding
as given me by an observer on the island.
The cham, with a pine-twig in his hand, ami
close to the bear and whispers in its ear—
'You have eaten many berries,
'You have caught many fish,
'You have frightened many people;
'Your ancestors and your comrades have 'brok
'Therefore you must die for it.
'But your "host" has fed you three whole years,
(dried fish),
'He has given you the best water,
'He has taken you for walks,
'He has bathed you thrice a day (1) in the "sumr

1. I am afraid this is imposing on the bear's
business getting him out of his cage; and th
frequently, it was then autumn, than once a

this functionary at this juncture, [LSS:
the sacrifice of the bear at the bear fête]

d the deep silence of the spectators, goes

en' many Gilyaks:

not stinting the delicious yukola

mer year,"

s memory. It is such a difficult
ose I saw were not taken out more
fortnight for a constitutional.

9: Hawes--200 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 527, 756, 782

"At the end of this adjuration the cham moves a
pine-twig over the bear's head. At this point the a
forward, and at a couple of yards or so from the
the bow. The animal, however, would not expose
he turned round, when the archer let fly. Strange
but simply tried to rub the arrow out with his paw
round as if nothing had happened. The arrow had
and the animal, still making no sign of pain, only
this time merely hit the collar. The first was the
vent, the poor beast sank down and died. When qu
with sticks and lifted up the paws, and the carcas
ground three times.

When the cham is present, he first cuts out the
the pieces to the most honoured members present
the sacrificed beast will be assured successful hu

The skin having been quickly stripped in this ca
cauldrons were soon steaming with bear stew. Al
roots, roe, seal-oil, etc., were brought forth, a
sat in groups, the women waited upon them and th

little to one side, still holding the
accounts agree. An archer now came
bear fitted his iron-tipped arrow to
his heart, and had to be teased until
ly enough poor Bruin emitted no sound,
, and failing to do so, sat looking
missed the heart, but pierced the lung,
coughed. Another arrow was shot, but
n pulled out, and the blood now finding
ite dead, the women came forward
e was dragged round the execution-

heart of the bear, and dividing it, gives
. To these partakers of the heart of
nts during the whole of the season.
ase, the carcase was cut up and the
l the delicacies of dried fish, rice,
nd the feasting again began. The men
en took part in the feast."

9: Hawes--239-240 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 177, 578, 692, 756

"His [LSS: The cham or medicine man] moral influence ar
losing ground, as the Gilyaks come more into contact with th
said to a Russian, 'A cham tells very many lies.'

'Then why do you call him in?'

'He is needed. If he got angry it would be bad for us,' was

It is true that it may result badly for the Gilyak, not becau
divine anger to fall upon his head; but when the Gilyak has a
accused of crime, the cham may remember his [240] omissi
the last word, he can make the punishment very severe."

ıong his tribe is certainly
e Russians. One of them

the answer.
se the cham can cause the
misunderstanding, or is
on or insult, and as he has

16, 124, 756

"From the first meeting with the Gilyal
a cham, or 'medicine-man' of the tribe.
earn from him more than I could from th
n-the-canoe.' All the replies had indica
heir cham. On reaching New Val, which
quiries if [232] the great man were at hor
at Chaivo, however, I was informed he h
suspected evasion, and therefore put my
etch him. This had the desired effect, a
hirty-five, of less wild appearance than
dividual—came hesitatingly towards us. I
disarm his suspicions, for the natives ar
through the interpreters that I was a frie
way from over the sea and would like to k

ks I had made inquiries as to where I could find
I was anxious to do so, because I hoped to
ie Gilyak 'man-in-the-street,' or rather, 'man-
ted the village of Chaivo as the residence of
was close by, I thought it prudent to make in-
ne. The answer was in the affirmative. Arrived
ad gone to New Val. This would not do. I
foot down and insisted on our crew going to
nd, shortly after, a man of about thirty or
the others—in fact, a rather mild-looking in-
offered him a few tobacco-leaves, and to
e shy of talking about their religion, explained
nd of the Gilyaks, and that I had come a great
know about them and their forefathers."

116, 756

"The Gilyaks themselves declared, '
last winter. He was great indeed! If
in the fish, he went to the cham and f
granted, and the wind began to blow.
being able to locate a bear. 'When th
voice of the spirit, saying, 'There is
there I discover a bear.' "

We have no great cham now. We had one. He died
a man wanted to fish, and there was no wind to drive
ell on his knees, and immediately his prayer was
' His successor, indeed, claimed the power of
e Gilyak wants to find one, ' he told us, 'I hear a
a bear in the forest, ' and I go into the forest, and

116, 756, 776, 782

"Being anxious to know what claims t
whether he could cure illnesses. To whi
cham, pray and make offerings of tobac
out of the door to the spirits (of the fore
added, 'and we offer to fire at one time

he cham had to healing power, I asked him
ich he replied, 'If a child or person is ill, I, the
cco to the lord of fire and cast some rice or tea
est and water). There is one god—Nature,' he
and to water and the forest at others.' "

However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian

771 More frequently one finds tho
being and immortality, but do
Some do not even believe in th
reflect the opinions of those o
village of Kula near Nikolayev
had neither idols nor shamans
brothers who were born there
and good-natured chaps; they
believe in god, but regard the
756 The shamans are the media
789 invisible world; they always e
782 perspicacity, whereby they kn
for instance, changes in the w
their influence. Their chief f
sickness which is mainly the
they are [243] also consulted
instance, there may be few fi
shaman is consulted and order
to be killed and offered up in
place. The sacrificial gifts a
to the shaman's prescriptions
how to "drive away the rain"
denouncing them loudly. Like
stands how to make rain and t
he begins his magic song. rai
a Gilyak believer told me. Hi
bring harm. For instance, h
where far off in some village
which does not harm others.
so forth. Occasionally the ma
the magician is never persecu
are usually merciful enough to
someone irritates them; and b
lieves in them.
755 If a shaman is invited to vis
534 in his official costume. He w
numerous clinking tin objects.
drum and his staff. The drum
long and consists of a wooden
pig skin or the skin of a stag,
of little bells. He alternately

se who recognize a supreme
not bother much about them.
ne idols, and these may already
of other beliefs. Thus the little
vsk has for some time already
s. I was visited by two
and who were both wide-awake
confessed to me that they
idols as foolishness.
tors between the visible and
xcel in experience and
now how to predict many things,
veather, and thus they exert
unction consists of driving out
work of evil spirits. Incidentally
on other occasions. For
sh at one place or another; the
rs a dog of such and such color
the river at the designated
re generally made according
. A competent shaman knows
by threatening the clouds and
wise, of course, he under-
hunderstorms. "As soon as
n clouds immediately appear",
s magic practices can also
can cause a human some-
to die of a fish or a drink
He can flood a village, and
gic practices are feared, but
ted. However, the shamans
stick to threats only, if
esides, not everybody be-

it a sick person he appears
ears a girdle on which hang
In his hand he carries his
is about two-thirds meters
ring on which is stretched a
and on which hang a number
beats his drum and sings

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants
in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three
days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its
pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender
attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment.
For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as
the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also,
the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was
not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the
fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He
would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather
barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance
that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobse
was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even
though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest
the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the
river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what
a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat
him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the
river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just
as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further-
more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its
nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered
up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a
sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be
made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are
well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to
bring them destruction? In the former case one would think
that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after
the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning
October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The
second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum-
stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful
one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description
of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the
solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

116, 682, 692, 756

"The cham of the Gilyaks resembles, i
the Golds, and the Tungus on the mainlan
but the primary function of the cham woul
that purpose he is elected. He it is who p
elders, and afterwards carries it out. Le
but [235] actually his moral influence doe
depends upon him. Probably he was chose
necessary in olden times, was much agai
the cham, with his powers of exorcism, c
voluntarily felt must attach to the killing
longer obtains, but is commuted in practi

n many respects, the shaman of the Oroktis,
d. Both are addicted to superstitious practices;
d appear to be the judicial executive, and for
ronounces sentence in the criminal 'court' of
gally these were the limits of his function;
s not stop there, and the criminal's fate largely
en because the death of a murderer, though
nst the grain of the kindly, jolly Gilyaks; and
could clear himself of any sin which they in-
of a human being. The penalty of death now no
ce to a fine."

middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On fete-days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day arrives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones, and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, especially where there are small children.

Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy. Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Manjours kept the market good.

The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia, are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the double function of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a particular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his cos-

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

● 756 tume. Both doctor and patient are generally decked with wood-shavings while the work is going on.

Sometimes an effigy of the sick person is prepared, and the spirit is charmed from the man of flesh to the one of straw. The shaman induces him to take up lodgings in this effigy, and the success of his persuasion is apparent when the in-

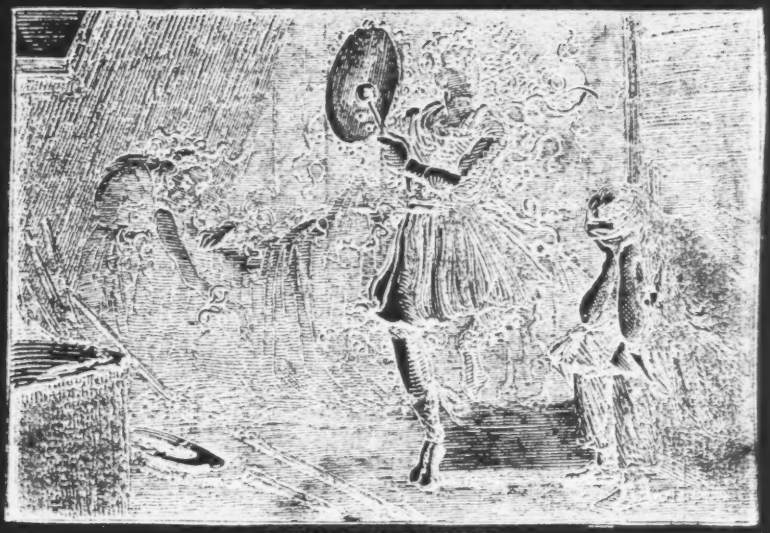

PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

valid recovers. If the patient dies the shaman declares that the spirit was one over which he had no control, but he does not hesitate to take pay for his services.

A Russian traveler who witnessed one of these exorcisms said that the shaman howled so fearfully that two Chinese merchants who were present out of curiosity fled in very terror. The gentleman managed to endure it to the end, but did not sleep well for a week afterward.

776 The Gilyaks believe in both good and evil spirits, but as the former do only good it is not thought necessary to pay them any attention. All the efforts are to induce the evil spirits not to act. They are supposed to have power over hunting, fishing, household affairs, and the health and well-being of animals and men.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

The shamans possess great power over their superstitious subjects, and their commands are rarely refused. I heard of an instance wherein a native caught a fine sable and preserved the skin as a trophy. Very soon a man in the village fell ill. The shaman after practicing his art announced that the spirit commanded the sable skin to be worn by the doctor himself. The valuable fur was given up without hesitation. A Russian traveler stopping one night in a Gilyak house discovered in the morning that his sledge was missing, and was gravely told that the spirit had taken it.

In 1814 the small pox raged in one of the tribes living on the Kolyma river, and the deaths from it were numerous. The shamans practiced all their mysteries and invoked the spirits, but they could not stop the disease. Finally, after new invocations, they declared the evil spirits could not be appeased without the death of Kotschen, a chief of the tribe. This chief was so generally loved and respected that the people refused to obey the shamans. But as the malady made new progress, Kotschen magnanimously came forward and was stabbed by his own son.

In general the shamans are held in check by the belief that should they abuse their power they will be long and severely punished after death. This punishment is supposed to occur in a locality specially devoted to bad shamans. A good shaman who has performed wonderful cures receives after death a magnificent tomb to his memory.

The Russians think that with educated Gilyaks they can succeed in winning the natives to Christianity, especially when the missionaries are skilled in the useful arts of civilized life. Hence the school in Mihalofski, and it has so far succeeded well in the instruction of the boys. Russian and Gilyak children were working in the gardens in perfect harmony, and there was every indication of good feeling between natives and settlers.

757

757 MEDICAL THERAPY--extent of differentiation of medical from magical and mental therapy; home remedies and self-medication; resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., examination for symptoms, diagnostic aids); consultations; therapeutic principles (e.g., counterirritation, homeopathy); therapeutic methods (e.g., bloodletting, administration of cathartics and emetics, medication); prescribed regimen (e.g., rest, diet, isolation); remedies for specific complaints (e.g., fevers, colds, toothache, indigestion, rheumatism, infectious diseases); etc. See also:

Ideas about anatomy and physiology 82
Obstetrics 84
Materia medica and pharmacology 278
Medical research 742
Public health and sanitation 744
Surgery 752

9: Hawes--275 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 164, 278, 757

"Coughs, colds, and pulmonary complanints are very prevalent, and the methods of healing scarcely adequate. For a sore throat, a concoction of moshun-tomash (field camo mile) is swallowed, and for inflammation of the lungs, a diluted exusion from the gungi of trees is drunk in place of tea.

Whether these herbal remedies are dictated by experience and the Gilyak knowledge of medicinal herbs, which is said to be considerable, or is anything more than Shamanistic lore and a series of charms, I cannot say. The treatment adopted for other ailments, such as toothache, swellings, earache, and ulcer, is certainly of the latter kind. For the first they apply some of the down of a hazel-grouse (Tetrao bonasia) to the cheek; for the second and third, the squirrel's tail (olf-rega) and a piece of its ear (tul-noss) are respectively tied to the parts affected; and for the last, gazhu, i. e. a piece of a wasp's nest, is placed on the ulcer."

/ 319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-pame, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (4 year) they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: 824 "Pshay'kyr urungqif -- do good for children, please!"

During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements 853 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

838 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a rug you will change the female character. 3) A woman, like a fire started in a clear field: the wind blows and it is out.

858 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease meryachen'e -- two women. This sickness is unknown in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later recalls it. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronge.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'sa's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

852 A representation of twins -- tongch; -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch, while 853 if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chuhh-chugyrnd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen 854 and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-r'gyryn, who 855 gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion 856 in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded 857 with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in a top white and buried, also with 858 inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

The tongch; helps catch bears and in hunting in general. 859 The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (Gilyavo).

860 Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

862 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

863 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-r'gyryn or by Nol-r'gyryn, 864 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/339/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as 865 blood and hard as stone. Such milk can be eaten a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

866 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

867 Nakhsh'ka -- to be sick from not getting what one saw 868 and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small 869 crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/363 cont./

870 in the land of Bun (tunnch-ne) are tormented and have to 871 pay similar to that of the inhabitants on earth and in yurt special.

872 If a Bunnchi-nei dies "peacefully" or violently, through 873 murder, he changes into an herb, a grass, or a tree of our earth here. This is therefore the shape in which an ordinary mortal returns from the land of Bun to this earth. Chom- and a Dyta 874 Goldi present expressly affirmed the transformation of the dying Bun-inhabitants into various plants on earth. There was said to be no distinction according to age or sex for the various types of plants, so that a child as well as an adult, a man as well as a woman, can be transformed into a tree or a lowly grass. But there is a great difference according to the good or bad character of the deceased. A good man or a good woman, for example, will 875 be a fine tree and a fine bush, while a bad man will be a poor tree 876 or a fine bush, while a bad man will be a poor tree or a lowly grass. 877 But there is a great difference according to the good or bad character of the deceased. A good man or a good woman, for example, will be a fine tree and a fine bush, while a bad man will be a poor tree or a lowly grass.

/72 cont./

796 An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the
797 origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak
798 is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the
799 Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their
800 Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi
801 woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear
802 and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently
803 often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of
a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened,
however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually
she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were
found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she
requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that
in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually
observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear
that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, conse-
quently, a clansman of the Orochi.

804 Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have men-
tioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides
these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are
evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'k'i" and
"kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and
are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They
appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the
shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They
are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground
and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious
creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are in-
dividual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of
beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become
enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

805 Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the
806 Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'ly); others
807 ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all
808 sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/73 cont./

809 life, causing sickness and death. But for them, people would
810 not die. Natural death is impossible. Death is the result of
811 the scheming of these insidious creatures. Therefore the Gilyak
will never touch a sable that died in the taiga, even though his
skin is very valuable and very well preserved, for a devil as-
suredly rests in a sable that has died. Just as he, the Gilyak,
lies in wait for a beast and tries in every way to kill him, so
an evil spirit lies in wait for the Gilyak himself at every step,
in order to devour him. Sickness is no more than an evil being
who made his way into the body of a Gilyak and is slowly
eating him. Nightmares and dreams in which the sick man
dreams that somebody is strangling him, pressing from within,
easily provide grounds for such a notion. If some organ is not
functioning in the proper way, as, for example, in shortness of
breath, it is easy to imagine that some kind of being has got
inside and is interfering with breathing, and so forth. It is
imperative to expel such a creature. This expulsion is effected
in various ways, beginning with the simplest and ending with
the most complex.

812 Here is an example which quite graphically illustrates
813 the "psychology" of the expulsion of devils. One woman, who
was subject to attacks of sudden hysterical psychosis, was placed
in my presence on a high platform, generally used to clean
fish, and a fire was ignited under it with all kinds of ragis,
canine feces, and stinking garbage. The devil inside the
woman could not, of course, bear the horrible smell and
prudently left the heart of the woman, who was thus saved.
But not all devils are so sensitive to a bad smell; others re-
quire stronger methods. Such devils must be frightened by
extraordinary noise, by frenzied shrieks, by the frightening
appearance of the expeller, and by other such terrorizing
methods, hence the necessity for the devil-expeller to beat
his tambourine, make noise with rattles, shriek in an unnatural
voice, and put himself in a state of frenzy, to which end /74/
he swallows smoke, drinks sea water, puts himself in a state
of stupor with the smoke of bagul'nik (Ledum palustre), chews

Amur

/305 cont./

814 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw
fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
[1055] him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[897] 1. On another page of the same notebook,
we find the following notation: "These sticks
kyz' nynyydz' (from kyz' -- risk, luck, and
nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers
to the above-mentioned sticks.

815 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
816 pyung, two kong-z'akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
817 strips (pying-z'akh), two small bow (pudax) and arrows of a special
818 shape (m'erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitur'. When
they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bituz' -- must be fed
(settlement of Kal'ma).

819 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
820 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
821 and hang it on a tree. O'ging chakhna) is a figure that they make
822 when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhna)
823 is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
does that which he dreams.

824 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
825 male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
826 not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch care-
827 fully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
828 for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
829 there is broken. This tree is called pilz nigf, and the place
is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/310 cont./

830 Mainly it is necessary to treat leprosy -- khachudz, and
skin diseases.

The treatment of a leper. The shaman asks that a dog be brought
into the iaba. The sick man sits up with his legs hanging from
the plank bed to the floor. In front of him there is an iron
kettle with the opening upward. The man holds the dog, while
the shaman moves around the yurt and makes (shamanizes);
then the shaman spits -- "emits the spirit," takes a small worm
out of his mouth and carries it toward the dog. The dog jumps
back -- it has been pricked. Then the angry worm is brought
over to the sick man; the shaman stands opposite the sick man
with the worm in his hands, and the head of the shaman turns
into a large woodpecker -- xuk'khr -- black, with a red forehead --
and, squinting his eyes, he begins /311/ to look closely at the
face of the sick man in order to determine where to peck a bald
spot, i.e., to learn where the worm of the disease is (the shaman,
having squinted his eyes, sees through the man, and the sick man
sits "all naked"). The shaman finds a soft spot, pricks it with
the worm, and pulls out of there another worm, which he throws
into the kettle. He thus pulls out all the worms from the entire
[761] [825] body, leaving only one worm, xamul. Without a worm, a
person cannot live, but this worm cannot propagate. Those
who have seen these worms in the kettle say that they look like
tree worms. This kettle is covered with other kettles. At the
same time he orders his kekhn to keep watch at night over the
cup. On the following day he orders the Gilyak to bind the kettle
tight with a kaluga net and to bury it in the ground, while he
himself shamanizes. The shaman carries it on a pole, and over five
rivers and five ranges. He sings, so that the small mountains
become large, and the streams -- large rivers. There he digs
out a pit, where he places the kettles together and binds them.
Those who go must count five narrow valleys and five ranges.
And the shaman sings once again, so that the dried up little
springs turn into large rivers, the rivers -- into cliffs, and the
kaluga net -- into the densest wild bag -- "become a wire bag,
so that the worm does not come out." The shaman solders the
kettles with words: "Two kettles, having melted together, merge
and mutually become one."

/329 cont./

764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A honikh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard
are tied to the belt of qrel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set
in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo)
on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- ning, into which they
put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf,
all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is
placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside,next to it; all
kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the vessels, and so forth are done on the spot.
765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka.
First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the
[231] raf mu nig-yvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning,
brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to
the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in
the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come
and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu n'igyvyn is fed no longer, though
they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka.
This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
[231] pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be
sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin,
either for kinsmen or for someone from the kikhal.

766 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a takhch (see below, pp.475-476), and then they make a raf
anyway.

767 The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
• [761] [796] killed by a milk (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
is afraid and hides with Pal-n'igyvyn or Tol-n'igyvyn, depending
on which milk killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo
in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there
old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes
to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo,
and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar
to the man.

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/

823 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin.
793 Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale
(kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jagi -- mother
and daughter -- look after them.

825 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary.
• 761 Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an
ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is
dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words
of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate;
exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are
killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he
will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter
among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed
for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
825 fices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may
[782] look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old
woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

804 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and
825 they treat him like a killed one. When they set off some-
[261] where (hunting) or in general on important business, they al-
ways take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

793 In Mil'kivo one Gilyak had two women. Once his
daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went
to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

/410 cont./

302 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur
[171] in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was
shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left
standing only here and there, quite unsymmetri-
cally, either on the crown or on one side, which
gave them a very comical appearance. The
Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however,
[763] never have their head or beard hair cut; among the
[761] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them h
his hair cut and had his hair shorn, he would bring him sickness an
302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and p
765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gil
Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed
from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and whi
he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut
erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk.* *

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata
on p. 777 of the foregoing text, rakk should be
raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to
a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see
note * on p.1236. /

303 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak a
512 just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them
136 hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check
the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which character-
istically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/
[751] fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the
presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health.
Thus, during my stay at the Nikolaevsk post, it happened that
a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house,
but when the father visited the boy after a time and mixed
the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried abou
512 his health and took him back again. In connection with this,
825 the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in
the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many pri
[123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to
them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to w
they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delic

also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the softness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary. They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans, since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very few in number and are carefully guarded.

Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks, splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound. Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs, especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatics bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the indifferent thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment. They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the native ones.

Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal, the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be related to the fact that among natives as well as among many Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is, for draft purposes.

758

758 MEDICAL CARE--regimen and care of sick persons (e.g., diet, rest, isolation); apparatus and paraphernalia of medical care (e.g., clinical thermometers, bed pans); general availability of medical advice, treatment, and care (e.g., organization, finance, services); etc. This category is intended for general information on medical care. For specialized data see relevant categories in 73, 74 and 75. See also:

Gift giving . . . . . 431 Visiting 574

762

762 SUICIDE--incidence of suicide; motives (e.g., humiliation, thwarted love); common methods (e.g., jumping, drowning, shooting, poison); stereotyped methods (e.g., suttee, hara-kiri); justifications; attitude toward suicides; etc. See also:

Personality disorders. . . . . 158 Punishment of attempted suicide. 682

/184 cont./

*835 183 587 768 [614]

levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the clan of her deceased husband, she is given, according to the decision of the clan council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

684 *835 [776] [825] • [RX2] [533]

Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust. In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835

The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

116, 533, 564, 762

And to-day the reproachful tones of the cruelly deceived maiden may be heard in the 'swish of the sledge and the howl of the dogs as the narta starts off'—

'You said you would kill yourself,
And you did not.
You are a deceiver!
Men are liars!' "

76

763 DYING--omens and predictions of death; notions ab
approach of death; settlement of affairs; assemblin
to postpone death; preparing the patient for death (
ing, dressing in mortuary garments, last rites); p
ment (e.g., shroud, coffin); last words and last fa
coma, cessation of breath or heart action); attempt
the impact of death (e.g., wailing, flight, self-mut
death; post-mortem examinations; etc. See also:

Deathbed testaments . . . . . 428 Omens . . . .
Capital punishment 681

3

/

bout dying; recognizing the
g of relatives; attempts
e.g., removal from dwell-
reparing the funeral equip-
vors; criteria of death (e.g.,
s at revival; reaction to
liation); announcement of

. 787

/327 cont./

764 facing west, is placed upon the stacked firewood -- hap, the arms folded with the palms toward the breast, and the legs bent with the knees up (the favorite position on a plank bed. Then they pre-
[372] pare the wooden device for obtaining fire -- chkhach: tugur, namely, a vertical stick, lung (drill); the tinder is placed in the middle of a small stick, the fire is obtained by rubbing the lung against this latter, and the master of the house sets fire to the shavings.

Before (lighting the fire) they get up on the firewood and
[152] cry over the deceased. The crying is begun by women. It is a sin for a man to cry over the deceased, except for his wife. The wife of an elder brother, but not of a younger one, goes to cry on the hap of a deceased bachelor.

The lamentations over the body of a husband: "My husband, oh woe, the gay devil (crying), the gay ones killed, above me now they go; another man now; (those who are) poorer than I will grow rich, (be) richer than I from now on. I shall now eat only my tears."

[152] When the fire is well under way and the flames begin to approach the upper part of the body, they take firewood from a prepared stack and throw it in the fire; even a small child throws some kind of little stick; others poke the body with long
• [763] sticks; this is an expression of love. If under the influence of the fire the hands of the deceased stretch out, this is an evil omen of the imminent death of some close kinsman, and the hands are restored to their original position with sticks.

At the completion of the ceremony of cremation, a dog is sacrificed, and upon killing it, its head is bent downward and toward the appropriate deity: to Pal toward the east, to Tol -- toward the sea. Some throw away (put into a pit) the dog's skin /328/ together with the meat; others boil the meat, for which a special fire is laid by the side of the hap, and the meat is partly eaten, partly scattered around. After this they set out for the yurt of the deceased, eat a spoonful of food each, smoke a little, and disperse.

/330 cont./

775 The deceased travels to Mlyvo on a dog sled. If he d
not have holes in his ears for earrings, an old woman inspec
him on the road and makes a hole, but if the deceased does
wish this, his soul is taken away. Earrings are worn, not for
ration, but for the sake of holes in the ears. The old woma
makes the holes is called chivkhyty fi-mam, i.e., "the wo
in the middle of the road."

Before the funeral the soul either stays or leaves for M
and then returns again, but after the cremation it remains in
Mlyvo. The dead convey the regards of the earth kinsmen t
other world, about which they ask during lamentation. If a
woman marries a second time, she will not be with her first
husband in Mlyvo; the husband also takes a wife in the othe
world. A good woman (widowed) does not marry.

• 763 Indyn's (1) mother, who was sick for a long time befor

[122] 1. The younger brother of Churka, Shternberg's guide.

death, lay on the ground in her small yurt; around the heart
her daughters, a married one and a little one, and (her sons)
Indyn and Churka. The mother, with half-closed eyes, sai
"When I die, the small children will be lost -- you will go
have fun this way and that way and will not think of them."
Churka looked sidewise and said gloomily: "How can that b
am I not their brother?". And he left. Then (she turned) to
"Yes, I shall die, who will look after you, who will repair y
clothing, who will feed you? You may freeze, drown. The
Gilyak will abuse you, and who will say a word for you? I s
die, my lips will not defend you." Then her speech /331/
to be confused. She looked through the opening of the roof;
stars had already come out. She said: "I must go, or else I
be too late." The sister: "Where will you go? Don't you s
that you are dying?" -- "I know I shall not die -- I have to
And with these words she died. And Churka at this time wa
fishing.

/744 cont./

run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifically: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the reports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans, if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the purpose of the whole semicircle Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

116, 761, 776

"Death is always the result of the ma
the Gilyak's body, slowly devours hi
them forcibly, enter into disagreeabl
the devil's advantage."

chinations of a devil, which, taking up its abode in
m. But sometimes devils seize people and, holding
e relations with them, or force them to work for

/251 cont./

[831 [192] words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych, n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539]

Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

[831 882 593] Parents, however, never reproach their children for their amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the [684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many [533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous sufferings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances [835 762] going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to [584 593] commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/252 cont./

831 533 The importance of the role of love in the life of the Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through a third person. Special terms have even been made up for such songs.

831 584 593 762 An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the childhood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a

831 58 593 762 woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such characteristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover, tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him. Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force. Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself.

[847] There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had

831 58 159 [682] by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action. Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

/253 cont./

instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo. The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solution. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave, where no one shall hinder their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity /254/ his dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago. A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave all

/254 cont./

the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, which he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the moment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the first lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyvo (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on the wall."

The Gilyak employ magic means against unrequited love. One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress. But there are also other means that are not so harmless and lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days, dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of them.

Among the Gilyak, as in our country, there are timid individuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present. Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries, ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, corresponding to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.

There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli of love are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the attraction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the term poch urland, literally -- "of a good face."

/284 cont./

From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda, stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people; one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/358 cont./

614 628 682 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punishments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller ransom than an intentional one. The entire khai' of the murderer 614 participates in the payment, each according to his means. A 629 murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest 682 kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their 629 fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said 628 of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and [537] obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently, not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re- [762] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty person.

614 One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between 628 clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but 72 the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell [177] of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general, injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack. And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/383 cont./

472 673 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians, regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they 673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among 762 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace. And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak. The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself). Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which, in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have 170 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in 576 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential 152 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling, 273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

"Resuming our journey again, we were still casting about for a low, level, sandy bed, and the twilight was fast gathering, when my attention was called from the terrestrial to the supernatural. From out of the now dark and gloomy forest came a half moan, half cry.

It was uncanny beyond words. A cry from the unknown, a moan from the depths of undisturbed regions. Our Gilyaks ceased paddling, and we asked, 'What is it? It must be some animal. Perhaps it is in the claws of a bear.'

'Kaukray! kaukray! (1) No! no! It is no animal. It is the shade of a dead man wander-

1. A Gilyak word, meaning "no" or "nothing."

ing in the forest.'

For the Gilyaks not only believe in a future world, but their conceptions really connote immortality. The members of their race on the mainland, who live on the banks of the Amur, hold that the spirit of the departed one reaches after several days' journey a great village in the centre of the earth called Mligh-vo, where life is much the same as on earth, with this difference, that there the hunting and fishing are unstinted. In fact, it is the familiar [164] 'happy hunting ground' of the Indian. A distinction is made between those who die a natural and a violent death, for the spirits of the murdered and suicides fly to heaven (tlo) tirect, thus avoiding the long journey, and therefore not requiring food

to be placed at their grave. How and
plain, but the differentiation marks th
murdered or suicide."

n what Mligh-vo differs from tlo they cannot ex
eir conception of the sacredness of the soul of

not know exactly where this place is; the soul need only descend to this opening and it can be found. In this place everything is as it is here: the same earth, the same sky, sea, rivers, and forests; only there the sun shines when we have night, and the moon when we have day. The dead come to this place and continue to live there in the same settlements as on earth; fish, kill beasts, celebrate clan festivals, marry and procreate. Only the material status changes: the poor man becomes rich and the rich man poor. As you see, even among the Gilyak there are two different worlds: one for the poor and for all possible worlds. Even in the new world, however, rich-
[560] nessand death await man. From there the soul must migrate into a third world, and so on until such time as the soul regenerates and turns into ever smaller and smaller beings, a small bird, a gnat, and, finally, ashes. Sometimes souls are born again on our planet, completing again the infinite series of transformations. For the most part, however, that is the lot of women.

/80 Before entering mityo, the soul waits to be equipped with everything necessary to go to the new land comfortably and rather. And so the deceased is dressed in his best garmment and in silken robes. Everything that is put on the deceased must be new, fully embroidered, elegant, and durable. A man is dressed in one, three or five pairs, generally a number of pairs divisible by three, and women in two, four, eight, etc. pairs.

The most expensive spears, rifles, bows, and nets are taken from the storehouse -- and the souls of all these objects set off with the deceased on his journey.

Without these preparations for a long journey are going on, the deceased is constantly fed the most delicate dishes. Kettles boil from morning until late at night: people throng in the yurt. They eat and drink as during the best Kalyma, and a part of each dish is given to the deceased. When they smoke, they put their mouths to the lips of the deceased, and share with him this favorite of Gilyak pleasures. While the body of the deceased is in the house, custom dictates that

●/74 the dead man should be gay, jest, and laugh. Silence in the house of the deceased is a sin. When all the preparations are finished, the deceased is tied with thongs to a dog sled and his favorite dog is placed over him. For some time the latin soul of the deceased will live in this dog. The dog will subsequently be tied to the place where the deceased slept and will be fed the best dishes, and after several months, when the small soul is once again settled in its place, the dog is sold.

Finally, the deceased is brought to that place where his remains will stay forever. Here his last body must be awaits him -- a high, symmetrically arranged pile of wood, on which he is carefully placed with his face turned to west. For the last time the wife, the husband, the mother, if the deceased is young, the wife of the older brother, if the deceased was unmarried, climb up to him and weep, and sadness making a sacred fire by means of friction, they set fire to the platform from all sides. When the fire reaches the body of the deceased, everyone hastens to pay dear his tribute to him by throwing pieces of firewood into the fire. Even small children take part in this. Four men stand on the sides and, with long poles, push the burning pile down on the body so that it will burn faster and better. At the same time they break the sled, kettles, and spears and kill the dogs, which feed on the souls of these objects to follow the deceased... The ashes are covered with birch bark, and of the deceased there remain only ashes, in the literal sense of the word.

/81/ A tree torn up with the roots is placed over the spot where the deceased was buried.

After this the people seat themselves around the kettles containing the meat of the slain dogs, part of which it eaten and part thrown in all directions. On the way back, they stop for a short time at the place where the deceased to taste the viands placed there, and then dispense.

/82 cont./

/83/ If revenge is sanctified with respect to the bear, a living being upon whom welfare depends and who frequently plays a man, the same bestow on a man, but out of fear, and accepts him into his clan, then revenge with respect to a member of another clan is all the more obligatory.

We have already indicated in the beginning the domination of religious over emotional motives in the imperative of revenge. If vengeance is obligatory to the third generation, if it is obligatory with respect to an accidental slayer, to a friend, a cognate, it is a burden pressing down on the clan rather than an impulsive act inspired by the immediate reaction of anger.

A much more significant role, at least in the sense of the relations of people to people, is the right, sanctioned, is played by compensation for the soul of the slain man and fear of it and the clan gods, gods who keep a loving vigil and feed on the unavenged blood of a clansman. This is undoubtedly the greatest insult.

The soul of a man who died a violent death cannot migrate to the general "settlement of the dead," where it could continue the life it lived on earth. Until it is avenged, until the blood of the slayer pays for the power to raise in bones, it cannot leave the earth and is forced to circle in the air in the form of a bird-avenger, emitting terrible lamentations at night. It is not a bird, however, only rotting. It finally falls to earth "as ashes," dying forever. The Gilyak call this bird tabkch; it is a gray bird with a red beak, "very like a man." In this epithet is probably also contained the origin of the belief in the bird-avenger: among the Gilyak war is exclusively /84/ the result of revenge, and, consequently, the birds of prey, "loving war," are obviously the souls of slain clansmen. Over the grave of the slain man, at a fearful moment, they place a stump with the torn-up roots upward (1), to which they

1. Over the grave of those who have died a natural death, the roots are customarily downward.

●/85 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's ardzel is lo-
●/86 cated in the house between the stoves (gnhanj); in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt; in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
●/87 night, it will have gone to sleep. Lastly, there are two periods when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times the spouses take complete freedom for the group spouse. Only one thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants themselves nor any stranger who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of people to people, to speak, or, more precisely, of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relation publicly. But the demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of group relations, but in greatness and, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have the force of a common property (the formulations are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity, of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group women (usually the wife of an older brother) sits down on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourn for
●/88 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to note that during the negotiations between the m and the

●/89 ●/90 ●/91 ●/92 ●/93 ●/94 ●/95 ●/96 ●/97 ●/98 ●/99 ●/100 ●/101 ●/102 ●/103 ●/104 ●/105 ●/106 ●/107 ●/108 ●/109 ●/110 ●/111 ●/112 ●/113 ●/114 ●/115 ●/116 ●/117 ●/118 ●/119 ●/120 ●/121 ●/122 ●/123 ●/124 ●/125 ●/126 ●/127 ●/128 ●/129 ●/130 ●/131 ●/132 ●/133 ●/134 ●/135 ●/136 ●/137 ●/138 ●/139 ●/140 ●/141 ●/142 ●/143 ●/144 ●/145 ●/146 ●/147 ●/148 ●/149 ●/150 ●/151 ●/152 ●/153 ●/154 ●/155 ●/156 ●/157 ●/158 ●/159 ●/160 ●/161 ●/162 ●/163 ●/164 ●/165 ●/166 ●/167 ●/168 ●/169 ●/170 ●/171 ●/172 ●/173 ●/174 ●/175 ●/176 ●/177 ●/178 ●/179 ●/180 ●/181 ●/182 ●/183 ●/184 ●/185 ●/186 ●/187 ●/188 ●/189 ●/190 ●/191 ●/192 ●/193 ●/194 ●/195 ●/196 ●/197 ●/198 ●/199 ●/200 ●/201 ●/202 ●/203 ●/204 ●/205 ●/206 ●/207 ●/208 ●/209 ●/210 ●/211 ●/212 ●/213 ●/214 ●/215 ●/216 ●/217 ●/218 ●/219 ●/220 ●/221 ●/222 ●/223 ●/224 ●/225 ●/226 ●/227 ●/228 ●/229 ●/230 ●/231 ●/232 ●/233 ●/234 ●/235 ●/236 ●/237 ●/238 ●/239 ●/240 ●/241 ●/242 ●/243 ●/244 ●/245 ●/246 ●/247 ●/248 ●/249 ●/250 ●/251 ●/252 ●/253 ●/254 ●/255 ●/256 ●/257 ●/258 ●/259 ●/260 ●/261 ●/262 ●/263 ●/264 ●/265

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II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1916. Pilavo is four settlements: two on Sakhalin, one Khet-Pilavo,and Tyr, the Golds settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still burn their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

VII.

Religion

The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The soul is ccnghi, chenkin, yrrhh, or ttche pish as in a tree.

A man has: one mayor one -- chengh, and the shadows, amitanm. When the chengh of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

If at sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true, it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadows. Dreams are instinct. There are two kinds. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with the boards, and on top with dust, then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chengr nnyrr), which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white, placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the nyrrh kaik. Some place the bone in the upper part, often --

next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the dead man -- the ŋ̊nakh tyr. The body of the deceased is dressed in stockings, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached, on one side, a tobacco pouch (ŋ̊nakhtyr), on the other, kanhch -- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mity -- a burn away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

1. Kaik -- wooden image of the deceased, a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, hyak-raf, is erected over him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast is held.

In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive, drink, cry, and commemorate; they do this for a year, in some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this, there for one month, depending on status. At of the end of the term of "observation" (tigr arkadr) -- "observation of the tree," the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased, they buy vodka and dice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws," and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate; this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyrkr, tigr pykyrkr). They walk to the tur, the place of the cremation of the deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

/325 cont./

764 Funeral ceremonies. After closing the eyes of the deceased with a hat they stretch him out and fold his hands across his stomach; they (wife, mother) let down their hair and that of the deceased. They try to lift the head, putting garments under it, or, in the case of the poor -- straw. Sometimes the wife or the husband cuts off a piece of the braid. Tobacco and a pipe are placed on the breast, and the guests come up one by one and shove from this pipe into his mouth. The wife, or some other near relative, or, finally, /326/ an unrelated old man or old woman places at his head a small cup with food, vodka, and cold water; the relatives come up to him from time to time, eat what has been put there, and again fill up the cup.

764 The deceased should not be dressed in garments made of
764 leather or of fish skin, for a drop of fat might fall into the fire,
764 and that is a sin. Ornamented things, too, may not be given, for otherwise the deceased will lose his way. The garments for the deceased are sewed out of drel' and silk (pos'') and provided
764 in a multiple number, the rest in the singular. All the women
764 assemble for the sewing of the garments. The garments are sewed "lightly", so sew strongly it a sin -- "nigyf." The deceased should not be wabbed.

764 The deceased is dressed in the following garments:
764 1. L'atkh, shirts, but unfailingly without wadding; in bolt,
764 no modesty pants.
764 2. Pan' -- leggings.
764 3. Ki -- boots of drel', of the same shape for men and women; the top is short; the soles are also of drel'; they are put on the naked foot.
764 4. Hakr -- a hat also of drel'; the hat looks like a child's hat with the hood backwards.
764 5. Vamykh -- mittens with one finger, of any color; no sleeve coverings.
764 6. N'akh Hir -- glasses, i.e., eye patches of drel', three fingers in breadth. Earrings and bracelets are taken off.
764 7. Vigyr' -- a belt, a piece of simple drel', white in color, and with this only two pairs of scabbards (chekoshar') of drel' (for

/326 cont./

764 a man) and one pure (mly) for tinder and flint.
764 8. Hontsh -- a tobacco pouch, also of drel', for both men and
764 women; tobacco is placed in the mly and the hontsh.
764 9. A husband dresses his wife, a wife her husband, parents their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated. Shagund -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

764 Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning un-
764 til night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

764 No news, or tales, or songs (are recited -- purind).
764 On the following day the men go to cut firewood for the
764 cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and
764 for children -- rose-willow; to cut larch or fir for children is a sin. One must select a good tree: otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length; /327/ among some, up to a sagene in length (the clan of Pletunka); among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows, lengthwise and crosswise.

764 During the second night, too, nobody sleeps; everyone feeds
764 the deceased (mu r'kgyvyn achnind), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt is cleaned: tax mud, the floor is swept, then the fire is purified -- tugur mund, mod' is prepared, and tugur amind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a classman)-- mod' is thrown into a fire started with the branches are of a fir, but nothing is

764 When all the preparations have been completed, they eat,
764 drink vodka, and then bring in a dog tied. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, bound to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "pryvki" (dog) is tied to the place where its master slept. They walk around the future fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a respite three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the side, and the deceased,

/327 cont./

764 facing west, is placed upon the stacked firewood -- hap, the arms
764 folded with the palms toward the breast, and the legs bent with
764 the knees up (the favorite position on a plank bed. Then they pre-
764 /327/ pare the wooden device for obtaining fire -- cahkach: tugur, namely, a vertical stick, lung (drill); the tinder is placed in the middle of a small stick, the fire is obtained by rubbing the lung against this latter, and the master of the house sets fire to the shavings.

764 Before (lighting the fire) they get up on the firewood and
764 cry over the deceased. The crying is begun by women. It is a
764 /152/ sin for a man to cry over the deceased, except for his wife. The wife of the deceased, or, in the absence of a younger one, goes to cry on the hap of a deceased bachelor.

764 The lamentations over the body of a husband: "My husband,
764 oh woe, the gay devil (crying), the gay ones killed, above me now they go another man now (those who are younger than I will grow rich, (be richer than I from now on. I shall now eat only my tears."

764 When the fire is well under way and the flames begin to
764 /152/ approach the upper part of the body, they take firewood from a prepared stack and throw it in the fire; even a small child throws some kind of little stick; others poke the body with long sticks; this is an expression of love. If under the influence of the
764 /152/ fire the hands of the deceased stretch out, this is an evil omen of the imminent death of some close kinsman, and the hands are restored to their original position with sticks.

764 At the completion of the ceremony of cremation, a dog is
764 sacrificed, and upon killing it, its head is bent downward and toward the appropriate deity: to Pal toward the east, to Tol -- toward the sea. Some throw away (put into a pit) the dog's skin
764 /328/ together with the meat; others boil the meat, for which a special fire is laid by the side of the hap, and the meat is partly eaten, partly scattered around. After this they set out for the yurt of the deceased, eat a spoonful of food each, smoke a little, and disperse.

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764 The favorite dog, "pryski" (every man has his own pryski)
764 is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and then it is taken away to the yurt, placed in the place where the dead man slept, and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four years -- if a woman. After that it is sold or given as a gift, but they cannot keep it.

764 Even where cremation is practiced, insane persons after
764 death are buried directly into the ground.

764 In July-?yr, if they suspect that a person died from magic,
764 two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place
764 of cremation. Birds appear first, then hares and foxes and then
764 the ormi-mik, rubbed with clay against arrows. He comes to eat the man, and if they do not kill him, then the others will die.

764 On the day following the cremation, when the fire has died
764 out, firewood and boards are strewn on it, and on top a dog sled deliberately broken; sometimes small pieces of it are kept (as souvenirs).

764 Where the deceased are buried and not burned, they are
764 placed in a coffin. Anyone can make a coffin of boards or from a boat -- two boxes. It is carried out through the door and placed on the dog sled, even if in both winter and summer it is carried on the arms. The required objects are placed in the coffin, some as models. Those who go along do not put on their festive clothes. The pit which they dig must accommodate the coffin up to the lid. There is no spring; kinling the deceased is a sin. It is not required that everyone throw earth into the grave. No signs are set up. Dogs are killed on the grave, but they are not fed beforehand, nor are inau put on them. The skin is immediately removed from the slain dog and hung on a stick, while the meat is boiled right there, but it is eaten by few, and others throw it away. Boats and so forth are broken over his grave. The Gilyak is not afraid of the
764 /167/ deceased. When "good food happens," the deceased are fed for about half a year.

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764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A hoursh --
764 muslin, imiky (a small sack for flint, and a knife with a scabbard
764 are tied to the belt of drel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set
764 in place. In the corner they place an image of the myk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nyung, into which they put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside,next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
764 /165/ They lay a fire, begin to prepare vodka, and drink and eat and vodka. First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the
764 /231/ raf mu nig-yvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning, brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, bread, pans, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

764 /320/ After this, the mu r'kgyvyn is fed no longer, though
764 they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka.
764 This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
764 /231/ pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for himself or for someone else. Dogs are killed.

764 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a tabkch (see below, pp.475-476), and then they make a raf
764 mlyway.

764 The sun and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
764 /165/ killed by a mlik (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
764 /166/ is afraid and slides with Pal-n'gyvyn or Tol-n'gyvyn, depending on which mlik killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in one three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to the man.

/361 cont./

764 present; frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-
764 law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint
764 work with him (more detail about this below).

764 10. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those
764 of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have
764 the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation
764 invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only
764 an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance
764 of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained
764 in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the
764 remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed
764 on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of
764 bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away, they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box an arshin
764 square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of
764 the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a
764 woman), and other things. Then there arises a whole row of yurt-
764 tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements, they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak
764 may die, his body must rest side by side with his clansmen. If
764 a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate
764 the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for
764 cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the
764 summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if
764 /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien
764 territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie
764 it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they
764 make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death
764 of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness
764 of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

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507 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
763 clear conception of sin ("umgyrn"). It goes without saying that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
763 there are a great number of other things, according to our
763 view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to
763 heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun in a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is sent
763 by a fine to the injured man. When the "living" fire, obtained for
763 slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things
763 to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become
763 ill. Even this episode illustrates the idea of the sacrificial
764 /682/ stone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided
764 the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does
764 Always exist), but as an atonement for the sin, as a sacrifice
764 deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed
764 (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains,
764 scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
764 misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
764 /821/ have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians;
764 /821/ is because the god has been angered by the sin of the Russians.

764 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expre-
764 /715/ sses extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human
764 existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life.
764 There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another
764 where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same
764 ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man
764 Gilyak dead a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin
764 call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in
764 transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths.
764 there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak
764 had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fi
764 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very
764 on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sa
764 Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when

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family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gathering of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

/641 cont./

erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter temperatures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado. The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

58 Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than
63 it is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly
35 become poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are paid for relatives. Likewise people who have become incapable of work because of illness are assured support by relatives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly nursed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person is subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the house into the open and is left there at any time of the year, until he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a dead person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a person dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, the sick person who is subjected to these measures is usually already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-bearing women are removed from the house for similar reasons.

52 In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak
66 to say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two
09 exceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak on the point of drowning could not count on help from his people, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with fatalistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is needed above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks take care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of a bear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who is killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried together with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at the same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and scraps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I questioned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] that they always helped them as much as they could and they showed me several people who had been rescued because help had been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case of a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his fate, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom of two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes mutual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, but nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism does not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where superstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also strangers in time of distress as much as they can. They repeatedly saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were often wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

764

764 FUNERAL--attitude toward the corpse; mortuary toilet (e.g., dressing and decorating the body); laying out in state; preservative techniques (e.g., embalming, desiccation, mummification); determination of time, place, and mode of burial; interval between death and burial (e.g., duration, measures to prevent further deaths, manifestations of grief); vigils and wakes; place of disposal of corpse (e.g., cemetery, ossuary); receptacles (e.g., coffin, canoe, urn, tomb); method of disposal (e.g., abandonment, inhumation, cremation, sea burial, cave burial, tree or scaffold burial); preparation of grave, pyre, or scaffold; transport of corpse to place of disposal; procession to grave; disposition of corpse (e.g., posture, orientation); funerary mounds, monuments, and memorials; burial rites; mortuary sacrifices; disposition of grave goods; roles of relatives at funerals; economic obligations of participants (e.g., fees, contributions); precautions against return of the soul (e.g., silence, disguise, doors of the dead); return from the funeral; purification of participants; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments . . . 211
Dirges and laments 533
Posthumous marriages 588
Blood vengeance 628
Eschatology 775
Purification rites 783

2: Schrenck--1262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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493
291
417
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A Gilyak corpse in the yurt.

/565 cont./

article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

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(Bm. I, pp. 50,

23. Gilya
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24. Olcha
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tion of the Olcha
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for its entire popul
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opposite Kisi (Kid
of a larch tree (Ol
Chala saw it, and

ain brought back two full boats. But this time
eep watch during the night in order to detect
heir catch. They succeeded and the culprit was
strange shape with the head of a fish and human
he monster was placed in a structure similar
for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived
or a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free
o a cape on the Amur River between the village
e Tschchyrkrach and tied it there to a well.
t the rope in two and disappeared, so that when
d it was no longer there."
d among the Gilyak what the figure represented
se was. They replied unanimously that the
wagn, and they explained to me that this desig-
here the corpse of a slain Gilyak was burned
51.)
. Standing in the brush near the village of Patt
of the Amur) there was a wagn which was for
been killed by an Amgunj /Amgun/ Nägda
gn was old and the eyes had fallen out, but the
ll there, only much less carefully /752/ worked
hen acquired by me in Tschchyrkrach. The
the ground up to my belt and was pointing with
the murderer lived, that is, in the direction of
not wish to say, however, that such an arrange-
among the Gilyak. (2 S. R. I, p. 8.)
The Olcha assign an identical fate to those
and those killed by human hand and erect no
, as do the Gilyak. According to the informa-
Chossiambo the representation of the wagn is
kóro whose appearance in any village is disastrous
ation. For whoever sees it must die. Such a
many years before in the village of Chala,
i?). The kóro had come and perched on the tip
cha sissa, Gilyak koi), where the inhabitants of
all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

/761 cont./

000 775 heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it.

[764] The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

775 766 The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

[171] /762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with th skin and fur, etc.

[122] [196] Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-

[774] mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

/764 cont./

utksch and took him back to the village, where he died in November, 1854. Although when he was still alive, they had invited me to his cremation, this was done (three days after the death) during a violent purga, without their giving any notification (Bm. I, pp. 18, 19).

47. Gilyak. Everything possible in the way of food is put beside the deceased lying in the yurt; indeed, even after the cremation of the corpse, all kinds of food, as well as liquor, are brought to the ashes for a period of one year because of the belief that the deceased takes nourishment for that long. The corpse, laid out on a sled in winter, is placed upon the funeral pyre, covered with loose branches, and the pyre is lighted. (Bm. I, p. 27.)

48. Gilyak. On May 19, 1856, we reached Chjare (with one yurt on the right bank of the Amur), where I had a stop made at noon. I inquired about fish, but was told at once that no fish had been caught, because the old owner of the yurt had died the day before and was still lying unburied in the yurt. I went there immediately and saw the corpse lying on a sled on the floor in front of the dogs' table (Plate LXII /p. 1262/). It was the same old man who the year before had gone hunting with me on the nearby small lake. The corpse was not yet disfigured, but the color of the face had grown darker and, in fact, copper-colored, and the long white hair contrasted sharply with the face. The corpse was clothed in new blue cloth and covered over the torso with a covering of gray material, on which, over the chest of the corpse, lay three folded pieces of colored cloth and two spears, a larger one and a smaller one, such as the natives use, equipped with crudely worked, short shafts. Around the head and at the sides of the face lay fir branches; over the eyes ran a string with longish pieces of alder bast, threaded on it, three for each eye; a large red bead lay at each ear, and on the neck there was a thick bundle of fine curls of wood-shavings. The legs and the feet were wrapped in the same blue cloth as the whole corpse and were /785/ tied with a string around the ankles and over the toes so that they had the shape of boots. Placed crosswise on the narte /sled/, behind the head,

/765 cont./

lay jukola (*), with several tobacco leaves wrapped in birch bark

* See p. 646 of this work.

[493] and a pipe on top of it. The narte was of the ordinary kind, except that the arched or curved pieces of wood (**) in front and in the rear

** See Plate XXXVI /p. 1016 /, Fig. 1, i.

were missing, and instead of them straight short poles projected out on either side. The corpse was tied to the narte under the gray covering.

After I had stood in front of the corpse for a few minutes, three dogs tied to a long strap, were brought into the yurt, and the strap was attached to the narte. Then several men lifted up the narte with the corpse, while another led the dogs, and thus the procession set out (Plate LXIII /p. 1263 /). It went out of the yurt, passing by the storage chambers, and into the forest behind the village, where the burial place of the dead was located marked by several raff (***). The wife of the deceased immediately fol-

*** See Appendix 50 /p. 1232 /.

lowed the corpse, with her hair loose, a piece of birch bark in her hand, and setting up a monotonous wail, in which, however, she was not imitated by the other Gilyak, men, women, and children. When the burial ground was reached, the narte with the corpse was placed on the ground next to the pyre already prepared. The latter consisted of a few layers of wood placed alternately lengthwise and crosswise, the first of which was the same length as the corpse. Beside this a large heap of fir branches lay ready for the cremation of the body (1).

[824] 1. This was Pin. picea, as is everything else used for the cremation of the corpse and the decoration of the yurt.

/765 cont./

After the narte had been set down, the dogs were unhitched, and one of them led back to the village, while the other two were tied to a tree. Now the wife of the deceased stepped up to the corpse and removed the pieces of cloth and the spears, the gray shroud, the jukola, the tobacco, and the pipe, and put these articles aside on the ground. She also untied the eye binding and threw it away, as well as the bundle of wood shavings from the neck. Then she took from one of his hands a pinch of fine tobacco and from the other a root which had been placed between the fingers, and finally, untied the string which tied the corpse to the narte. In the meantime an old Gilyak had been busy spreading fir branches on the pyre.

When this bed was ready, the corpse was lifted from the narte and put on the pyre (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /). On the bottom of the narte lay a board and on it a large piece of birch bark which showed traces of its use for storing berries and which had now served as the underlayer immediately under the corpse. The board and birch bark were thrown off, and the sled was pulled aside, where a Gilyak broke it in two and left the pieces lying there. In the meantime, others were busy killing the two remaining dogs, which was done in the following way. One of the Gilyak held the dog on a cord, another threw him a piece of jukola, and, while the dog was eating it, a third hit the dog's neck with a cudgel and pressed it /766/ to the ground with it, whereupon a fourth pierced the animal's heart with a small pointed stick. Both dogs were killed in this manner and laid aside (*). Meanwhile, still other

* On Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, due to an error, all three dogs are pictured as present during this act.

Gilyak made the fire for the cremation of the corpse. According to the Gilyak view, this may not be produced in the ordinary way with flint and steel, but must be made by rubbing pieces of wood together. For this purpose a kind of spindle was carved out

/766 cont./

of dry larch wood, as well as two elongated pieces of wood with a cavity in the center of each one, into which the tip of the spindle exactly fitted. A small piece of fungus was put into these small depressions in the pieces of wood; the spindle was put into them with its tips vertical, and turned with the help of a strap, which ignited the fungus after a few moments. The fire obtained was then maintained with fungus. (Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, left foreground.)

Meanwhile the other preparations were made at the funeral pyre. After the corpse had been placed upon the layers of fir branches, as has been mentioned, it was covered up with a thick layer of fir branches, but in such a way that the forehead and the crown with the gray hair were visible in the bushwork. Now long logs, of the same dried larch wood as all the rest, were put around beside one another in the form of a pyramid, with only a small space left open at the head end, through which one could still see the gray crown. At the same time, several long logs were placed inside the pyramid on the fir branches that covered the corpse. When the pyre was ready, the place around it was cleared somewhat, in that the dry brush, the smaller roots, and the grass around the pile of wood were removed with the ax, so that the fire would not spread. Now the widow of the deceased took the glowing fungus, wrapped it in dry moss, wound a wide strip of birch bark around it and, by swinging it back and forth, made the flames which she fanned into bigger ones with another piece of birch bark. Since, out of lack of experience, she did not know where the fire must be put first, an old Gilyak gave her the necessary directions, and she now put the fire under the head part of the pyre (Plate LXV /p. 1265 /). As soon as that was done, other Gilyak came to help, took fire from the wife, and put it at corresponding places on the other side of the pyramid, under the corpse and then all around it, for which they used the birch bark that had lain under the corpse on the narte. The dry and easily inflammable material quickly caught fire, and with the moderate breeze the whole huge wooden pyramid soon stood in blazing flames. The heat streaming from it forced the

/766 cont./

bystanders to step somewhat farther back, and there a group of men, women, and children sat under a tree, watching the greedy flames which consumed their dead.

Nearby was the cremation site of an old woman from the same village, who had died not long before /767/ and beside it the raff belonging to it, still quite new (*). This was now to

* The little hut to the right on Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, between it and the pyre, the cremation site.

serve as the raff for the old man, and its door was opened so that the soul of the deceased, during the cremation of his body, would move into this domicile intended for it.

At the moment only the customary raff symbols, discussed below (53-55 /pp. 1233-1234 /), and a few bowls and vessels made of birch bark and wood stood in it. After the corpse is burned, however, and his soul has moved into the raff (for traveling on to Mlygh-wo), then the provisions of berries, fish, tobacco, and the like needed for it are also brought into the raff. -- When the fire had died down somewhat, the widow and a few men took long poles and pushed the burning wood closer together; they also threw on new wood in order to speed up the cremation. Soon nothing could be seen of the corpse except the charred stomach, which burned the slowest. The quantity of material burned and the fresh air of the forest prevented any unpleasant odor from being detected during the cremation of the body. The fire was maintained for a long time so that the body would burn completely to ashes, which are then scraped together and buried (on the spot). In the meantime the women, and among them the wife of the deceased, take up the slain dogs (**) and begin to skin

** On Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, as on Plate LXIV /p. 1264 /, three dogs are erroneously shown instead of two.

/767 cont./

them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins. The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten, but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the village. (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right bank of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that were some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that came out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I investigated and saw a woman who sat there hunched together and wailing, staring at the sky. I watched her for a while and then inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in reply, bulke, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me that her husband had died in the next village and she was lamenting it. She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left, in order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamentation, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (S.R. IV, p. 17.)

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following concerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground, /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

* See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration Plate LXVIII /p. 1268 /, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r pronounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a small liner-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the center and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under the ground.

/768 cont./

the ground is likewise said to mark a place where a corpse is buri- (Bm. I, p. 18.)

51. Gilyak. In September, 1854, the Gilyak of Kulk discovered that one of their burial houses, raff, had been destroyed by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and variously colored rags, peculiar implements, and the like are deposited there. Near Kulk, in the birch forest along the Amur, four or five such small houses stood together and formed a burial place, while such structures are otherwise often found individually in the midst of the forest. The Gilyak said that in the destroyed little house the ashes of six children's corpses were in one vessel, over which the same number of sable furs had been placed. The latter was done in order to prevent a sudden dying of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now, since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of the epidemic. (Bm. I, pp. 15, 16.)

52. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never be transferred to another place. This would be ultsch. Therefore, though the Gilyak from Kulk bewailed and complained about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they nevertheless decided not to transport the remains to the villages to which they themselves had moved from Kulk. (Bm. I, p. 56.)

53. Gilyak. If one investigates the interior of a little burial-house he always finds in it a longish little board in an upright position: kakk, also tars. The middle of it is pierced, and the hole has a peg, kylms, stuck in it, a strip of linen is wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too, is wrapped in linen and decorated with various rags, kakk- or tars-raw2 (Plate LXVIII /p. 1268 /, Fig. 2). Close to the board and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ngir

764 /768 cont./
on the upper end of which is set a small spoon-shaped wooden bowl (Plate LXVII /p. 1268 /. Fig. 4); moreover, there is a small stick whose point is inserted into the quills of 1-3 and four eagle-feathers, tscham-ngar (**) (ibid., Fig. 5), and

** Tcham-eagle.

a third small stick, hook-shaped at the top, tutut or pyk, is carved out of a branch (ibid., Fig. 3). Also lying in the little house, usually crossed over one another, are a couple of arrows without points, variously colored rags, baskets of birch bark, wooden plates with carving, and the like. Sometimes several of the aforementioned boards are present, and they /769/ then do not occupy the middle of the little house. That is probably regulated by the number of corpses whose remains rest under the little house. (Bm. I, pp. 16, 51, 69.)

54. Gilyak. According to Sirgin's explanation, a bit of
[765] the skull and head hair from the remains of the cremated corpse is placed in the middle of the kakk where a wooden peg is driven in. The rags around the kakk signify garments which the dead person needs (on the journey of his soul). Also, various kinds of food, such as berries and fish, are set down for the deceased as long as the corpse is still in the yurt and later, after the cremation, for the ashes in the raff, therefore in every raff one finds all kinds of implements, baskets, and bowls of birch bark and the like, on which the food is placed. The little stick with the small bowl at the tip is to serve the dead for more quickly journeying on (therefore as a walking stick); the eagle feathers on the other stick are supposed to lend wings, as it were, to the soul. (Bm. I, p. 54.)

832 55. Gilyak. According to the information by Judin from Tebach, the little stick, tutut or pyk (*), which one finds in the

* Pyk occasionally alternates with pyt in the author's work.

764 /769 cont./
532 raff next to the kakk, is supposed to represent a dove (tutut) or a cuckoo (pyk). The former is for a man, the latter for a woman. On the cuckoo the author also mentions that the small stick with the bowl, in which berries and the like are placed as food for the bird, hence the designation tutut-ngir and tutut-ngit or pyk-ngir and pyk-ngit, the dove or cuckoo bowl, for these sticks. The representation is the same for both birds, for it only most crudely
764 shows a bird's head by means of a couple of notches. The word pittyssj, on the other hand, designates another item in the raff. It is a small framework of little sticks (**), on which hang berries,

** According to the appended, very cursory sketch, a triangle attached to a stick, on which various articles are hung.

tobacco, etc., the purpose of which remains unknown to me. On the tscham-ngar, Judin said, six feathers are placed for a de-
[832] ceased man and eight for a woman. Since these are supposed to be a means for the more rapid journeying on of the soul, perhaps this takes into account the difference in physical strength and -- according to the Gilyak view of women -- also the difference in psychic energy of the two sexes. The tutut or pyk is supposed to have almost the same purpose as the tscham-ngar, which is very probable on the basis of the explanation given by Judin concerning these objects. (Bm. I, p. 87.)

764 56. Gilyak. Near the village of Tacht (on the right bank
184 of the Amur) a newly erected raff stood very close to the bank and close to it a pittyssj, i.e., a storage chamber for the raff, which is therefore called raff-njo on Sakhalin. It consists of a small roof which rests on two poles, similar to a small dovecot. Its roof is higher than the raff. Under the roof of the pittyssj, berries, fish, and the like are hung for the deceased.

764 In Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I found an ex-
184 tremely elegant raff which a rich Gilyak, Kimrkan, had erected
556 in memory of his wife, a daughter of Judin's, and his daughter. On the outside it was provided with carvings and arabesques of various kinds. The /770/ carving, painted black, red, and white,

764 /770 cont./
184 represented various animals, bears, horses, hares, cocks, and
556 ducks (Plate LXIX /p. 1269 /).

On the inside the raff was very opulently equipped. The usual articles in it, kakk, pyk-ngir, tcham-ngar, were so luxuriously made that they could hardly be recognized. The former was completely covered with a multicolored cloth, which bore brass ornaments such as the Gilyak women have on their robes, corresponding to the purpose of the kakk, namely, to carry the clothing for the deceased. -- Do the rags on the kakk perhaps come from the garments of the deceased? Very probably, since these rags are called okch, fur. -- A small Manchurian bowl served as pyk-ngir. The floor of the raff was covered with a fine reed or straw mat. Aside from the articles mentioned, there also lay in the raff a great number of birch-bark bowls (with berries, etc.), neatly stacked up, a small box in which lay a tobacco pouch and a pipe, another pipe which was for Kimrkan's daughter, and the like, and, finally, the braids of the two deceased women, cut off at the roots and wrapped in birch bark were preserved here (*).

* See p. 615, where raff is to be read instead of rakk.

764 Kimrkan himself took out the articles and showed them to me, evidently, however, without thinking much about the dead. Moreover, he had now replaced his late wife with three of them. Near the raff there was the cremation site of a corpse and next to it stood the raff that went with it. The raff is never erected directly over the ashes of the deceased, but apart from them (**).

** The reports concerning this, collected by the author in various places, differ in part from one another; cf. 47 /p. 1227/, 48 /p. 1227/, 51 /p. 1233/.

Kimrkan's deceased, for example, were cremated far in the forest, and their ashes were there, while the raff stood here near

764 /770 cont./
184 the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the de-
556 ceased.

[1178] The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes heaped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1268 /, on the right in the middle distance).

There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set
[1184] up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

764 57. Gilyak. According to Sirgin's report, not every de-
184 ceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the
[1195] corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyl(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyl--the bear.

[1195] the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The
764 soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The
[1222] burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods
[1255] are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. Inasmuch as these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The
[1169] depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

/771 cont./
020 years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse
764 of a person killed by an ate (tiger and leopard) is taken to a simi-
184 lar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a
[1195] remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the adjacent brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

764 59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk,
184 and Tschilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter
[1178] their corpses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the villages up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for
[162] them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tunguisic. (2 S.R. I, p. 8.)

764 60. Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh
184 Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the
[1178] cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of their two ends there was wood shaving (zach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

764 61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise
184 (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes
532 in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (**). It is made out of a

** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-branches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

G 778 /772 cont./
532 1. (cont.)
764 members of a village -- or -- as in the case
184 of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.
823
764 Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does
764 not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the
1715 wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 82-84.)

764 62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin)
184 told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes
764 of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)
1708 63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo
764 (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like-
184 wise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngir or tutut-ngir in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tscham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of
764 Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak
184 are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch,
1171 but to deposit them in a coffin in small houses, just as among the Tunguisic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 43.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 26).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of
G 764 Bogorodskoje in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pali (Pali
531 on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

Gi /776 cont./
766 fir branches were lacking, which is not permissible for a person who has been torn to pieces by a bear.

Gi The inhabitants of individual villages and localities differ
764 with respect to the position in which they put the corpse in the
823 coffin in relation to the points of the compass. The decisive
184 factor seems to be, not the sun, but, among the coastal dwellers, the sea, and, among the Amur dwellers, the river. But different customs prevail, depending on the locality. The Orochi of the coast from Naugmar to Idi are said to place the corpse in the igda-chldochs with the head toward the sea, that is, to the east. At the Orochi tomb in Pjedanj, however, the head was turned toward the Pje River, that is, to the west. The Olcha of Pjedanj, like those on the Amur River in the villages of Kidsi,
Gi Dshai, etc., give their dead this same position in the chldochs.
162 In de Carries the chldochs, which are not far from the village and are said to belong to the Olcha who died there, although the entire population now consists of Orochi, have their doors toward the west, that is, toward the distant Amur River, and not toward the sea to the east. The door on the chldochs, however, is always at the head end of the burial house. Thus, these Olcha, if they actually were such, had it oriented according to the customs of their homeland. But the same custom is not found in all the villages on the Amur. In Daracha, for instance, on the left bank of the Amur, where its direction is to the north, the corpses are said to be placed on one side in the coffin, so that they are turned with the face and the chest toward the east, while the head is in upstream direction toward the south, the feet in a downstream direction toward the north. Among the Gilyak, the
764 river seems to be absolutely decisive for the position of the raff,
823 because I always saw the door of the raff turned toward the river, no matter what its direction was, for example, in Kuik, Kalgio, Tacht, Kalm, and Chjare, in the first two places, therefore, toward the south; at the latter, toward the west. (2 S.R. I, pp. 25-27)
000 /Page 777 contains a list of errata which have been corrected in the text./

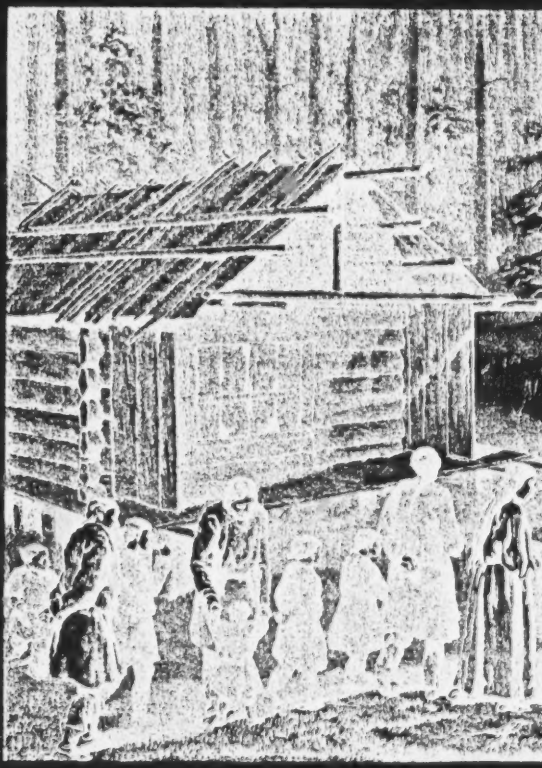

Gilyak

2: Schrenck--1263 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

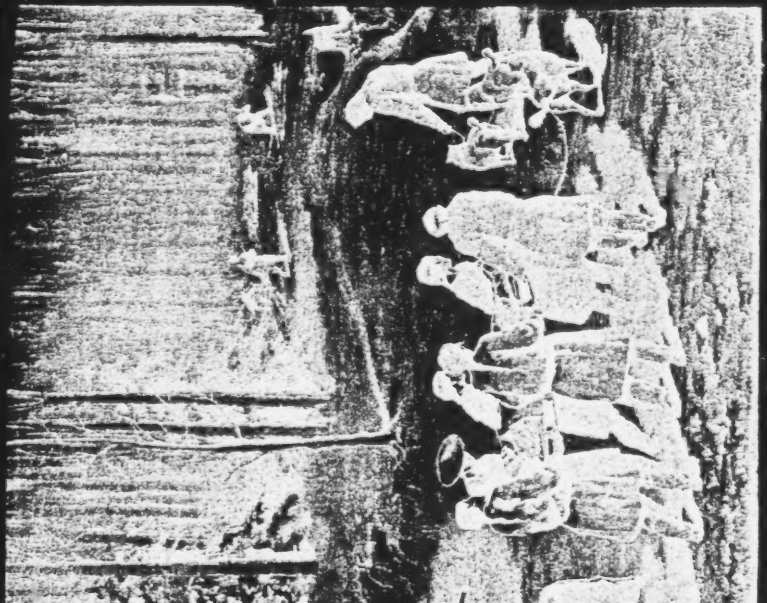

9: Hawes--243-244 T-3 (
116, 562, 764, 775

"Crying and loud taking fill the hu
and all vie with each other in showi
eschewed, pipes are broken in piec
If the deceased be a man, similar
maintainer of the hearth, he [244] h
only; and therefore his body requir
days. As with the woman, over the
have not yet gained that supernatura
raiment is necessary on their long
At the end of the lying-in-state, i
for the man, the corpse is taken ou
team of dogs. The shuba is taken o
ties, the journeys have been made,
gained by purification."

t. The mourners loose their hair from the pigtails,
ng their abandonment of pleasure. Luxuries are
es, and the tobacco is allowed to fall out.
ceremonies are gone through, but as he is not the
as to give an account of his doings to three gods
es only three garments, and lies in the hut but thre
other garments is worn a shuba; for their spirits
l capacity which defies the elements, and warm
journeys.
.e. on the fifth day for the woman and on the fourth
of the hut and laid on a narta, a sledge drawn by a
f, for although the soul has not yet its divine facul-
and it is no longer needed. These are now to be

9: Hawes--244-245 T-3
116, 764, 775

"At this juncture some of the f
tery, which every village posses
impossible for a stranger to find
is built of cleanly stripped sticks
the ends of the sticks projecting,
sticks, moss, twigs, and larch c
family hastily construct with plan
two and a half feet long, broad an
a hole in the side, or a little doo
made, for they are anxious to fin
therefore they use material whic
hand.

To erect the raff for the recept
tion has been given would be an i
cortège is about to start. The jou
soul is now ready, and only awai
divine capacities.

The cortège is followed by a cr
hair, loudly crying and weeping t
other in enumerating the virtues of

ollowers leave the crowd and run quickly to the ceme-
ses in the secluded depths of the forest, in a spot quit
. There on a site chosen by the family, a funeral pyre
of the height of a man. It is of diamond shape, with
and eight layers in height. On the top are more dried
hips. At a few feet from the pyre these friends of the
nks of wood a little hut-like building called a raff, abo
nd high, with a sloping roof. This little structure has
r, which looks towards the pyre. Great haste has to b
ish their work before the procession arrives, and
h has been prepared by the friends of the dead before-

tion of the soul of the deceased before the divine sanc-
nsult to the gods; therefore the followers wait until th
urneys to the gods [245] have been duly made, and the
ts the purification by fire, which shall assure to it

rowd of kindred and acquaintances, with dishevelled
ears of sincerity or convention. They vie with each
their dead comrade, hoping thereby to gain his protecti

2: Schrenck--1268 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXVIII.

764
532

764

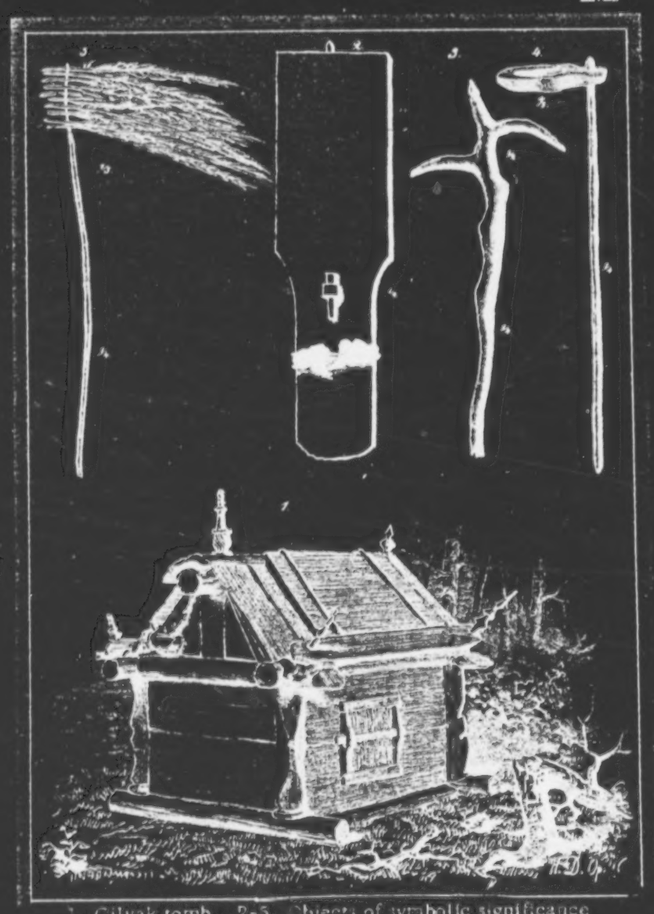

1. Gilyak tomb. 2-5. Objects of symbolic significance found in the tomb.

5: Schrenck--1269 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

LXIX.

764
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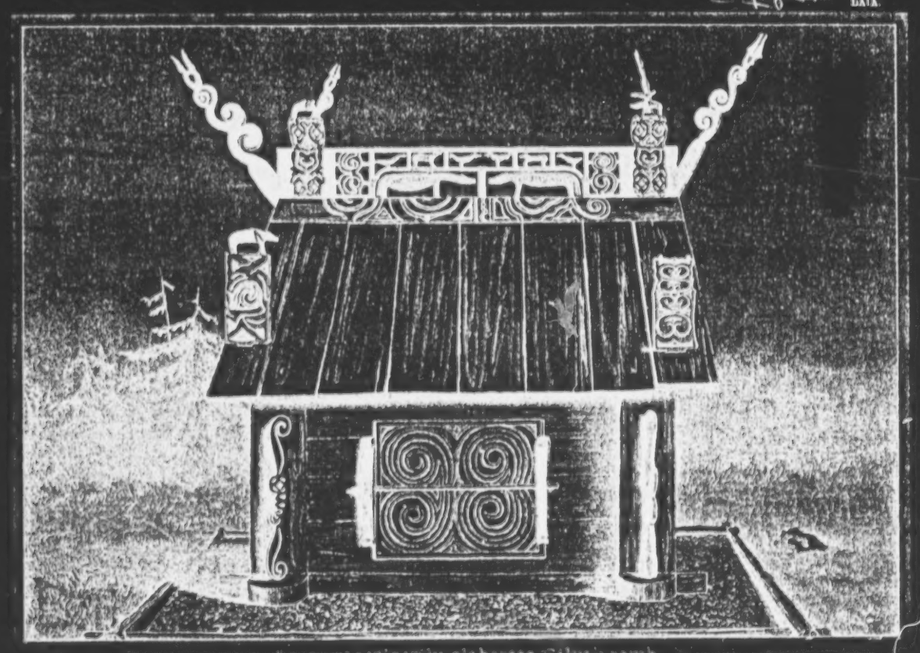

An extraordinarily elaborate Gilyak tomb.

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

"As the flames lick up the pyre, the soul takes refuge in the raff [LSS: a funeral hut] through the hole or opened door, thence to emerge later and begin its long journey to that other world village of Mligh-vo, which the Amur Gilyaks say is in the centre of the earth, but the Sakhalin Tro and Tim Gilyaks say is 'There'—pointing to the east—'where the sun rises.'

Since it is necessary that the spirit of the deceased shall travel as he was accustomed on earth, the spirits of the dogs, the sledge, etc., must all be released. The dogs, in number according to the wealth of the departed, are all killed, being strangled or beaten to death. The sledge is broken, and so are also his spear (kakh), his bow (punch), and his arrows (ku), and quiver (kh'm), or if the deceased [246] be a woman, then her ear-rings (mestch) [LSS: Erratum; it should read meskh] rings (koi-ba), and her fish-knife (ungu-dzhakho). All these articles will be needed by the deceased in the future life; but they must be broken in order to finish their earthly existence, and to give release to their spirits. Every object has its soul, which resembles it. This is set free in the case of inanimate objects only on being broken, and is then used by the soul of the deceased. To burn them is not to be thought of, because they cannot have that honour done them.

Camping out on the banks of the river Tim in the forest, we were casting around one night for fuel, when Mr. X. came upon a bit of shaped board which he was about to throw on the fire, when Vanka stopped him, crying out, 'No, no'. Uich, uich'. It is a piece

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

of a Gilyak canoe.' Purification by fire is reserved only for
are not shot, nor are their throats cut, for if any of them hac
appear in the next world with this grave personal defect."

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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291
231

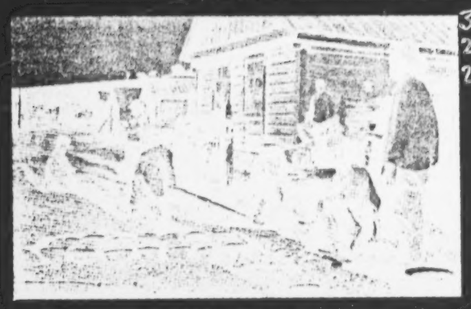

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care 771
of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky
people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi 776
were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi 796
thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le- 614
kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the 231
festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was [769]
connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, [526]
shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the 764 ●
Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

● 764 burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurine, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held [775]
that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situ- [614]
ated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" 372
spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were 784
connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had 756
their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly de- 779
veloped among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any [614]
part in the clan cults.

538 Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyl'ugd), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees; the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

531 Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué [462]
on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unques- [177]
tionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

9: Hawes--202-203 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 764, 775, 782, 825

"There is one incident in the ceremonial [LSS: The bear fête] which I have not mentioned, but which possesses some special significance. This is the saving of the bear's head, which is never on any account eaten. A skin offered to me, and the fells of the dogs which I bartered for were all minus the heads.

It is noticeable that while the bear's head is not eaten, the heart is. The latter will bring success and courage to the hunters, but I gathered that the Gilyak believes the eating of the brain would render the consumer bear-like, and an enemy to his fellows. The skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak cemetery, and there, with skulls of dolphins, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habit common among the Ainus, who, however, place theirs near their huts and make offerings of sake (spirit), etc., to pacificate them and gain their protection; whereas the Gilyaks' cemeteries are in the secret recesses of the woods, and are not frequented by them. What the idea that lies at the [203] root of these golgothas, is, I do not know; but it seems probable that they think the remains of the animals whose spirits have gone back to the great Pal ni vookh should rest near those of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of these animals will come back to these spots and either guard the remains of the Gilyak or at least refrain from haunting the living."

the human being. The dogs
his skin broken he would

9: Hawes--246-247 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 764, 775

"The ashes of the cremated corpse are gathered together and put into a coffin-like box (paff), and buried on the site of the fire. Sometimes, as on the mainland, the ashes are buried beneath a hole in the floor of the raff. A stick with pieces of the garments of the deceased is stuck into the ground by the raff, and serves apparently as memorial to the kindred, and perhaps as a landmark for the return of the soul of the departed.

In front of the hole or door of the raff are raised two poles and a cross-piece, an erection resembling a miniature goal-post, and on the cross-bar are hung all manner of provisions, tobacco, etc., for the use of the soul of the deceased on its long journey. I have two wooden boxes—one cylindrical and the other rectangular in shape, interestingly carved with scroll pattern, albeit very smelly—which originally hung at such a grave, [247] containing rice, fish, etc., and a pair of wooden chop-sticks. All these provisions are covered with pieces of bark to protect them from the ravages of birds and wild animals."

13: Seeland--47 E-5 (no d

527 the natives of the Amur. A
361 them gave them to his daug
534 from Kola. The daughter
nity, for now they do not be
are regarded as sacred. D
incessantly, and on other e
shamans make use of them
527 Finally, many visitors o
524 seen playing cards and che
177 have taken over from the R
777 Chinese passion for it they
They do not play for money
emotion. Russian as well

1. The Chinese playi
centimeters long but
and are decorated wi
120 cards are used in

Finally, we must add tha
Gilyak, the village in which
brated and consumed, has
The pelt and the skull of the
sent a sort of talisman.
527 Occasionally the Gilyak
782 the comsumption of a pig (i
accompanied by ceremonies
house through the door-but
besides the pig, are placed
millet porridge, berries, e
the people happen to have.
to and the feast begins.
On the island of Sakhalin
cheung which falls around E
feast, at the beginning of wh
directions, probably in orde
● 764 The burial ceremony is i

Schrenck--1264 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RY2

Gilyak funeral.

2: Schrenck--1265 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

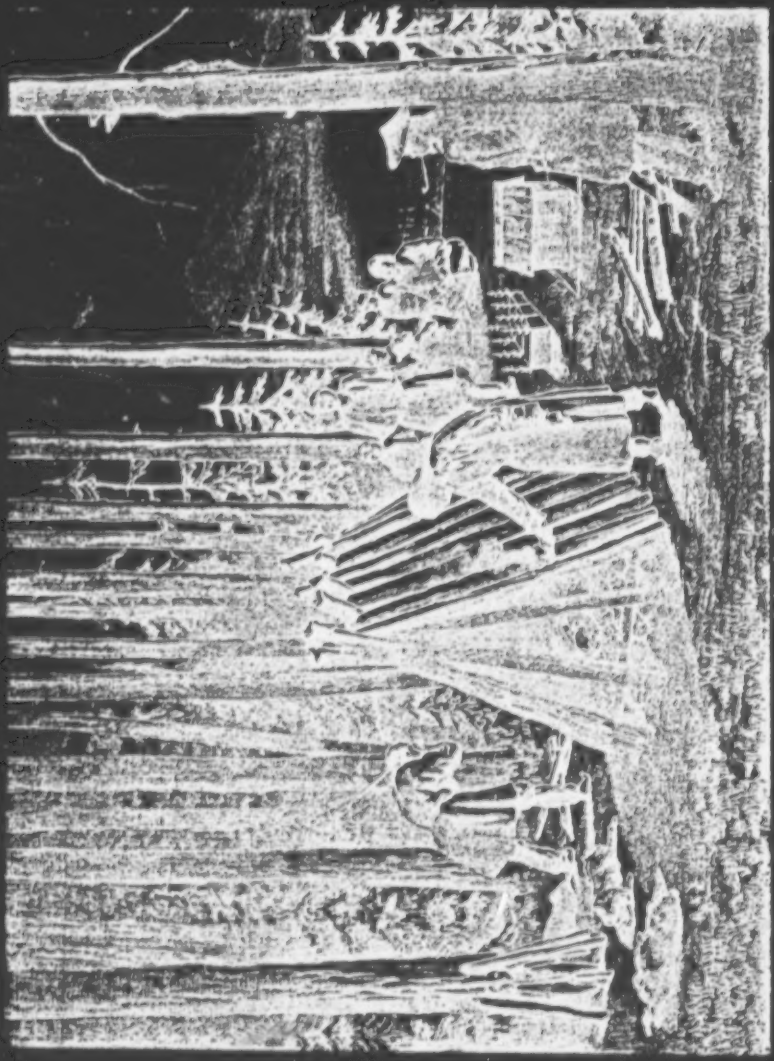

764
291
137

"If a Gilyak dies in the winter, it is usua
is an easy matter in this frost-bound worl
ceremonies may more easily be carried o

Let me describe, first, the rites observ
with this, as with many other of the more
ference in detail among tribes (of Gilyaks)
Where the khal has been much influenced b
fication. With some of the latter, such is
giving up cremation for burial."

al to wrap the body in bark and keep it, whic
d, until the breaking up of winter, when the
ut.

ed on the death of a woman, premising that
curious customs I describe, there is a dif-
, and even between one khal (clan) and anoth
y Russian contact there is considerable mo
the influence of example that the natives are

"Four garments—short-skirted froc
Only the best may be selected, and in
cade, I have mentioned, will be used.
reason of the four garments is this. T
each of the gods or lords in turn, Tol
rivers); Pal ni vookh, the lord of the f
the judge of good and evil; and as her
after the fire, so Tur ni vookh is her
each one, and the road is long and diff
suffices for a journey, and she must n
course, if the family of the deceased i
delicacy; but woe to the light-minded
four garments on their dead. She and
in the next world will be poverty-stric
condition, and her kindred will suffer
whose majesty has been insulted."

ks—are placed upon the corpse of the woman.
case of a 'wealthy' Gilyak the rare Chinese bro-
Over all the corpse is robed in a shuba. The
'he spirit of the dead woman must appear before
ni vookh, the [243] lord of the water (sea and
orest; Tur ni vookh, the lord of fire; and Kiskh,
duty on earth was to keep the hearth, i. e. look
most intimate deity. Since she must appear befor
ficult, four dresses are necessary, as one only
not appear before the god in torn garments. Of
s poor, the god will overlook that little want of
members of a rich family, if they omit to place
her kindred will indeed have a bad time; her life
ken even as she has shown herself in miserable
many misfortunes from the hands of those gods

"For four days the corpse of the d
this time her soul pays visits to the
and receives instructions for the life
and not leave the hut during this peri
mind and loudly recite all the virtue
order to prompt her spirit, lest her
vivâ voce. The lord of fire, as the j
is therefore strictly kept going in al

ead woman lies on the nakh of the hut, and duri
four gods, renders an account of her earthly li
e after death. All her kindred must come togeth
iod, and with all their powers they strive to ca
s of their deceased kinswoman. This is done in
etherealized self should omit some of them in i
unior god, serves in this case as messenger, a
l his force."

alking of their departed, they neve
e. unlucky, ill-omened. Filial pi
elder before us was no exception
ather's funeral pyre, his father be
ary for his spirit to travel with an

r called them by their name. That would b
ety as among the Chinese is a cardinal vir
to the rule. He had killed no less than ten
eing a well-to-do man, and therefore it was
honourable cortège in the next world."

20: Bush--102 T-2 (1865) 1871

116, 764, 775, 825

"Their funeral rites are sometimes quite impr
burned, and afterward a small wooden house or to
death the soul is supposed to take up its abode in
it remains until released from its confinement by
its escape, it has become customary to sacrifice
creature being first fattened for the occasion."

ressive. The remains are first
mb is erected over the ashes. At
the favorite dog of the deceased, where
the death of the animal. To facilitate
the dog at the tomb of its master, the

346 dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, including wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyhelm' in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

The school is in operation ten months of each year. The superintendent said the children of the Russian peasants could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The teacher was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The expense 871 of the establishment was paid by Government, with the design of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

771 The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the attempts to Christianize them have not been very successful 825 thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols and 964 animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to the 766 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among animals they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was known of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a tiger are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other per-

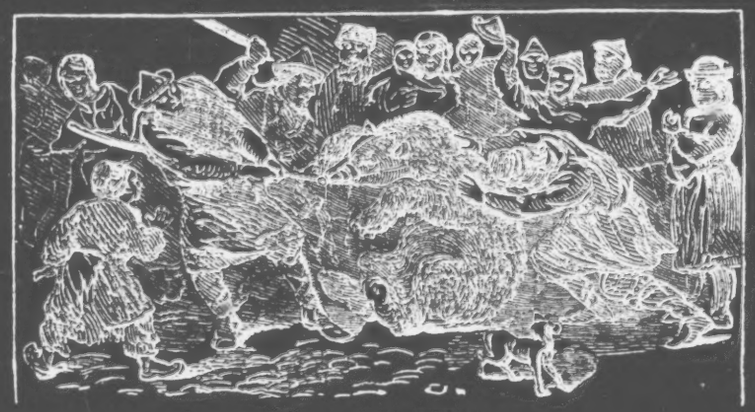

BEAR IN PROCESSION.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. The bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve him from being killed.

825 In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him alive; once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage in the

765

765 MOURNING--duration of the mourning period; behavior of spouse and other relatives after the funeral (e.g., seclusion, mourning garb, observance of taboos, sacrifices); treatment of relics (e.g., preservation of skull or head, wearing of bones, use of hair for artifacts); visits to the grave; mortuary feasts; exhumation, second funeral, and reburial; ceremonies terminating mourning; etc.

See also:

Mortuary cannibalism 266
Status of widows 589
Headhunting 721

/31 cont./

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/81 cont./

Several days later a small toy-house with a small door and a small window is placed on the ground not far away from the place of the burning. Inside the house is placed a doll-man dressed in silk; above it are drawn cuckoo birds, the goddesses of love of Gilyak mythology, and eating and smoking utensils, cups, plates, and chumashki of birch bark with all kinds of viands, pipes, tobacco, and so forth are arranged around it.

From time to time the kinsmen come to renew their sacrifices, but in a few months the sacrifices stop because the soul of the deceased has succeeded in establishing itself in a new place and has no need of anything. The deceased will be remembered once more during the bear festival.

Such, in brief, are the religious views and customs of the Gilyak.

VI

The Clan

In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on the religious aspect of the clan -- its structure as dependent on the marriage norms. In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on religious notions.

Now let us examine it in all the totality of features, tectonic and dynamic, morphological and socio-spiritual, as one whole institution regulating all aspects of the life of the Gilyak.

For this purpose, we consider it particularly instructive in our analysis to adhere to that same system to which the Gilyak themselves adhere in formulating their notions about the clan.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures, About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

764 dead one is brought or carried into the woods, accompanied by relatives and friends He is placed on a pyre where he is burned in three or four hours. The skull and the extremities usually burn faster than the spinal column. The mourning relatives stand around the fire. In token of their sorrow the women let their hair hang loose, the men sometimes cut theirs short. The ashes are gathered in a vessel and placed in the "death house". The latter is an ordinary yurt in design, but very small, somewhat like a large doll house. Beneath it the clothes, the pipe, and the weapons of the deceased are buried. Sometimes, however, the clothes are also burned. The favorite dog is killed but not burned; it is consumed by the mourners. On Sakhalin, if the deceased was a wealthy man, all the dogs which brought his sled to the funeral pyre are killed; poor people content themselves with burning the sled.

There is no special place for the death houses; they stand by themselves all over the woods, not too far from the village. On certain days the relatives assemble here for a funeral rite. Millet, a stuffed pipe, and such things are placed in the little house through the window, and all who are present break into loud lamentation.

764 The above-described burial ceremony is customary only
182 among the true Gilyak, that is, on the island of Sakhalin and on the mainland along the Amur up to Bogorodskoye. The Sofiyskian Gilyak lower the bodies without a coffin into a crypt. The deceased is given his best clothes for the journey besides a bowl of millet, a stuffed pipe and some spirits. At the head-and foot-end [239] stakes are driven, on which hang his weapons and other objects. For these graves there is
766 also no particular place. Sometimes, instead of being bur-
182 ied the corpses are put in open cradles made of wicker and suspended from trees. This is supposed to be done when there are epidemics, and thus the very thing that should not be done is done. However, since these death cradles are isolated and hung up at a great distance from the villages, the miasmas resulting from decomposition are probably not harmful.

XV Weltanschauung and Religion.

771 The Gilyak do not generally like to speak of transcendental matters. One is advised by some of them to ask a shaman for information, since he knows better. Others, on the contrary, answer the given questions like disinterested persons, that is, they say the shaman maintains this or that, but a certain scepticism is apparent. The Gilyak are

177, 372, 764

The corpse is placed on the pyre ready for
, which must be procured in a special man
thods of obtaining it, flint and steel may no
her Japanese, matches. A pointed stick is
ced on the ground. Four men take each an
stick, and pull it. This rotates, generates
ced in close proximity. The top of the stick
wood, or if need be a Gilyak applies his che
es his chest. Torches are lighted, and fire
he deceased leave one."

cremation, and all is now ready save the
nner. In memory of the earliest traditional
ot be used, nor of course the Russian, or
inserted in a hole made in a piece of plank
end of a thong attached to and twisted round
friction, and ignites the dried tinder
k is steadied by pressing on it a flat piece
est. Torches are lighted, and fire is ap-
is applied to the pyre, first by the widow,

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

/306 cont./

778 A child's amulet -- ola bituz consists of two slender fir
824 trees -- prung, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; their crowns are bound with birch bark. Then they are reinforced, encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (tykr) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened head of k:khong z'akh, the head of a pike (iut), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

VII.

Religion

774 The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The
soul -- chegn, chekhn, yrykh, uz'(the pith as in a tree). A man has three souls; one major one -- chegn, and its two
[756] shadows, assistants. When the chegn of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

774 If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true,
787 it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistant. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

● 765 In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a
[764] dead man, his family arrives, takes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with drel', then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chongr nynyvyn, which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white; placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n'ivukh k:ak. Some place the bone in the upper part, others --

/307 cont./

● 765 next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the
ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the
764 dead man -- mu n'ivukh tuv. The body of the deceased is dressed in stockings, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached, on one side, a curved knife (tig:dzeko) and, on the other, kes'kes' -- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mly -- a purse with a flint, tinder, and steel. Then alongside is placed a little stake, and on it a human hair (from the wife, sister, mother) -- mu n'ivukh kiur, which will serve the deceased as an insole for footwear upon going over into the world beyond the grave; next to this, a little stake with three horns (branches), on which is placed a small cup for a cuckoo (pyk nir); furthermore, a little stake with a wooden cuckoo -- mu n'ivukh pyk, i.e., "the cuckoo of the dead man," and finally still another little stake with an eagle feather -- chamngar.

The building of a little grave house can be postponed, but the dressed stuffed doll -- k:ak (1) must be made without fail.

[532] 1. K:ak -- wooden image of the deceased,
[794] a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, k:ak-raf, is erected over him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast is held.

765 In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive, drink, cry, and commemorate; they do this for a year, in some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this, then for one month, depending on status. At the end of the term of "observation" (tigr az'adz: -- "observation of the tree," the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased), they buy vodka and rice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws," and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate; this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyz'dz:, tigr pykyz'dz:).

[231] They walk to the tuv, the place of the cremation of the deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

/307 cont./

● 765 and bring over the favorite dog and feed it. This dog is called
231 pryski -- n:n (among the Goldi -- khan'a, i.e., south); every person, even a child, has without fail his own pryski. From childhood everyone has his favorite dog, and when a man dies, they select either his favorite dog or the best dog of those harnessed to the sled and make a pryski of it. If it dies, they
765 bury it and cover it with chocks. Each says the following to the
775 deceased: "Ning yvr: hûmnydz: kys'k:avr: tog:agân urgur vija mu-n'ivukh gudûsh mlyvo-rokh (pimlykh-tokh). Vingân, /308/ erirdzenydz:, hûin pyk tynakhanî, pyk tykê, chi jerinakhana khongan pi oz'ngan, cham narskir: pkhuukuja plyngu tengu, hokharôd vêtana khan'a nyn'gir: kiur kerajâ, hyhagyskô vetajâ kzikgir:, turi kher: tozjâ, pykn'ir: pyk chakh tanydz: pyk tekê: pernakhanî. Urgur vir: namugur humyjâ pytykhu dogia pymykhu dogia, pi ykyngudogia, vijâ.

"To live near us, there is no happiness (not fate), in such a case, fine, go to the deceased, to the settlement of the dead (to your settlement of the dead). When you go, you will cross the river; a cuckoo will cuckoo there; after the cuckoo bird cuckoos for a long time, you will wake up. When you get up, you will shake off ashes and coal with eagle feathers; then you will dress yourself, make an insole out of the hair (1), put on

1. Out of the hair of the wife, sister,
or mother.

this clothing, and, having made something like a little bridge from the figure, cross; a cuckoo bird, becoming tired (2) after it

[825] 2. All during the trip to the stream the
cuckoo will cry; before the stream there will be no water and no food. It will become tired and will have to drink from the cup. There are cuckoos which squeal, which means that they are tired from accompanying the deceased.

/308 cont./

● 765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
796 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear,
686 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz:." "What sort of a person are you? Another brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
768 is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half
a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

[784] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[831] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/309 cont./

764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A honikh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard are tied to the belt of drel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nirng, into which they put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside, next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
● 765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka. First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the
[231] raf mu uigyvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning, brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu uigyvyn is fed no longer, though they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka. This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
[231] pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for kinsmen or for someone from the lokhal.

766 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a tabich (see below, pp. 475-476), and then they make a raf anyway.

775 The soul and the world beyond the grave. Mlyvo. Every man is
[761] killed by a mlik (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
[796] is afraid and slides with Pal-n'ngyvyn or Tol-n'ngyvyn, depending on which mlik killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third-Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to the man.

614 /361 cont./
827 present; frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-
169 law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint
591 work with him (more detail about this below).

12. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those
614 of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have
764 the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation
invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only
an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance
of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained
in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the
remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed
on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of
bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away,
they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an arshin
square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of
the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a
woman), and other trifles. Thus there arises a whole row of yurt-
tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements,
they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak
may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If
a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate
the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for
cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the
summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime,
when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if
/362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien
territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie
it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they
614 make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death
765 of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their
braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness
of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning
throughout their lives.

/374 cont./ YeT
562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortu-
nate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[247] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[593] eats at the same table with her husband and children, she partici-
pates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife
and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
• [765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate
her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourn-
ing they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an
occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself
out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[574] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her
husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of
misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance
and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her
without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father,
and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her
back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of
polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
[589] brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors
among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such
as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the de-
sire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the
Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradu-
ally acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to
the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as
Arkyvvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
197 sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the
husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite
wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in
the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the
Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow them-
selves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/410 cont./
302 1. I later saw something similar among the Daur
[171] in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was
shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left
standing only here and there, quite unsymmetri-
cally; either on the crown or on one side, which
gave them a very comical appearance. The
Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however
[053] never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the
[761] Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had
his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and
302 death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and pre-
765 served by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak
• Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed
from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which
he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut
erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later": see note * on p.1236./

302 will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are
515 just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them
136 hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check
the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which character-
istically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/
fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the
[751] presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health.
Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that
a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house,
but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed
the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about
515 his health and took him back again. In connection with this,
825 the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in
the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primi-
[123] tive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to
them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why
they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy,
I was given the answer that they were paying back the little
animals for what the latter were doing to them.

/764 cont./
758 uitsch and took him back to the village, where he died in Novem-
764 ber, 1854. Although when he was still alive, they had invited
114 me to his cremation, this was done (three days after the death)
during a violent purga, without their giving any notification (Bm.
I, pp. 18, 19).

764 47. Gilyak. Everything possible in the way of food is put be-
765 side the deceased lying in the yurt; indeed, even after the cre-
• mation of the corpse, all kinds of food, as well as liquor, are
brought to the ashes for a period of one year because of the belief
that the deceased takes nourishment for that long. The corpse,
laid out on a sled in winter, is placed upon the funeral pyre,
covered with loose branches, and the pyre is lighted. (Bm. I,
p. 27.)

764 48. Gilyak. On May 19, 1856, we reached Chjare (with one
[114] yurt on the right bank of the Amur), where I had a stop made at
noon. I inquired about fish, but was told at once that no fish had
been caught, because the old owner of the yurt had died the day
before and was still lying unburied in the yurt. I went there im-
mediately and saw the corpse lying on a sled on the floor in front
of the dogs' table (Plate LXII /p. 1262/). It was the same old
man who the year before had gone hunting with me on the nearby
small lake. The corpse was not yet disfigured, but the color of
the face had grown darker and, in fact, copper-colored, and the
long white hair contrasted sharply with the face. The corpse was
clothed in new blue cloth and covered over the torso with a cover-
ing of gray material, on which, over the chest of the corpse, lay
three folded pieces of colored cloth and two spears, a larger one
and a smaller one, such as the natives use, equipped with crudely
[824] worked, short shafts. Around the head and at the sides of the face
lay fir branches; over the eyes ran a string with longish pieces of
alder bast, threaded on it, three for each eye; a large red bead
lay at each ear, and on the neck there was a thick bundle of fine
curls of wood-shavings. The legs and the feet were wrapped in
the same blue cloth as the whole corpse and were /765/ tied with
a string around the ankles and over the toes so that they had the
shape of boots. Placed crosswise on the narie /slec/, behind the head,

764 /768 cont./
on the upper end of which is set a small spoon-shaped wooden
bowl (Plate LXVIII /p. 1268/, Fig. 4), moreover, there is a
small stick whose point is inserted into the quills of 1-3 and
four eagle-feathers, tscham-ngar (**) (ibid., Fig. 5), and

** Tcham-eagle.

a third small stick, hook-shaped at the top, tututu or pyk, is
carved out of a branch (ibid., Fig. 3). Also lying in the little
house, usually crossed over one another, are a couple of arrows
without points, variously colored rags, baskets of birch bark,
wooden plates with carving, and the like. Sometimes several
of the aforementioned boards are present, and they /769/ then
do not occupy the middle of the little house. That is probably
regulated by the number of corpses whose remains rest under the
little house. (Bm. I, pp. 16, 51, 69.)

54. Gilyak. According to Surgin's explanation, a bit of
• [765] the skull and head hair from the remains of the cremated corpse
is placed in the middle of the kakk where a wooden peg is driven
in. The rags around the kakk signify garments which the dead
person needs (on the journey of his soul). Also, various kinds of
food, such as berries and fish, are set down for the deceased as
long as the corpse is still in the yurt and later, after the crema-
tion, for the ashes in the raff; therefore in every raff one finds
all kinds of implements, baskets, and bowls of birch bark and the
like, on which the food is placed. The little stick with the
small bowl at the tip is to serve the dead for more quickly
journeying on (therefore as a walking stick); the eagle feathers
on the other stick are supposed to lend wings, as it were, to the
soul. (Bm. I, p. 54.)

[832] 55. Gilyak. According to the information by Judin from
Tebach, the little stick, tututu or pyk (*), which one finds in the

* Pyk occasionally alternates with pyt in the author's work.

766

766 DEVIANT MORTUARY PRACTICES--abbreviated and extended funerals; di
tinctive mortuary rites in special cases of death (e.g., for an enemy, stra
executed criminal, pauper, slave, child, woman dying in childbirth, chief,
shaman, warrior, person dying abroad, victim of accidental death, suicide
homicide, victim of epidemic or loathsome disease); ceremonies at the dea
of animals; etc. See also:
Disposition of war casualties 721
Notions about loathsome diseases 153
Human sacrifice 765
Disposition of miscarriages and stillbirths . . . 84
Disposition of victims of infanticide 84

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[262] women, but only clansmen.

• [766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At
774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'÷yz'.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/88 cont./

*614 775 sought by the deities, were prematurely torn from life in more natural ways, /89/ for example, those who died from longing for the mountain, sea, and such people who were enamored of them.

The beloved and chosen ones of the "master" of one or another element, upon whose bounty depends the entire welfare of the Gilyak, pass immediately after death into the clan of the corresponding "master" for a fairly long time (in the case of the mountain people, for example, up to their second death, i.e., for two generations, and during all this time, of course, they especially shower benefits upon their kinsmen, sending them forest beasts (the mountain man), or fish and sea animals (the water or sea man). And when the Gilyak speaks of some "mountain" man or some such man who feeds him, he has in mind his kinsman, who, within his recollection or at the most that of his father or grandfather, found himself, in the ways indicated above,
[165] among the host of the "masters." The time span of such a chosen one is not long (two generations at most) and frequently one clansman has barely joined the gods when he is followed by a second, third, etc.; cases of death from an attack by a wild beast or on the water are not rare. Thus, the bond between the living generation of clansmen and their divine clansmen-benefactors is profoundly alive and real. Many of them were known to everyone, either personally or through the vivid recollections of their contemporaries; special monuments (1) erected by their grateful

• [766]

1. The monument of a man slain by a bear is the frame of a bear hunter, in which the remains of the slain man are kept in accordance with a special ritual (see below, subsection 6 /p.551 ff./). As for those who drowned, a boat with all the appurtenances of sea and river pursuits is put on the site of their

/89 cont./

*614 775 cremation, and the oars are placed upright, facing each other, in order
• [766] to be noticeable from afar.

clansmen serve as daily reminders of them.

*614 But the bond of the clan with its divine clansmen is
775 not limited to piety and grateful recollection; these ties
782 are rooted in a more practical and stronger motive force --
796 the very instinct of self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no more indubitable truth than that all his prosperity, all that nature gives him in return for his desperate efforts in the struggle for existence, all this is but the free gift of the gods, his benefactors; without their benevolence, all the efforts of man would be fruitless. And the gods-clansmen, as we know, take part above all else in this life-giving benevolence; they are the true sustainers of the clan, and there is no weightier obligation for any clansman than to promote this benevolence to the best of his ability. That is why the clan sacrifices and festivals, held once a year according to rule, /90/ for the mountain and sea people are most important acts of clan life, in which everyone, in the name of self-preservation, considers it his most sacred obligation to take the most fervent part.

In the section on religion we dwelt in detail on these periodic sacrifices to the masters of the sea and mountains. Without exaggeration one can say that the whole social activity of the Gilyak is principally devoted to preparation for the clan sacrifices and to preoccupation with celebrating them most magnificently. Wealthy and poor man alike, according to their abilities and means, not from fear but for conscience's sake, make all possible efforts, sometimes denying themselves their last possessions, in order that the sacrifices be as ample and varied as possible and that the festivals be as magnificent as possible; this is the general interest of one and all.

/96 cont./

*614 825 672 ●766 But if they are lucky enough to overtake the bear-"murderer" or his "clansman," they wreak upon him their most extreme wrath. As their first responsibility they knock out his teeth with an ax, and, while they are skinning him, they stab him with knives from all sides and heap on him the choicest verbal abuse. Having stripped off the bear skin, they wrap the body of the murdered man in it (if his body has remained uneaten; otherwise it is replaced by a half-length representation in wood) and, seating him in a squatting position on the sled, place the bear head under his seat, and in this way, with loud howls mixed with exclamations in honor of the murdered man and in deprecation of his murderer, they bear him to the settlement. If the bear has not been found, they place under the seat of the dead man a half-length representation of a bear, while the body is arrayed in a cloak of shavings (1). Not far from the

[778]

1. Shavings are regarded by the Gilyak as sacred, as an object of magical power. The cult of the sharpened pieces of wood (inau; see the section on religion) plays an enormous role in the religion of the Gilyak. Ordinarily they bury chosen ones in cloaks of shavings. Such an honor, for example, is accorded to the mother of twins or triplets, who is regarded as a being of a higher order. Among the poor this finery takes the place of the magnificent traditional funeral garments of Chinese silk, which causes one to think that at a remote period garments of shavings were generally used and that antiquity has invested them with a halo of sanctity.

/96 cont./ Not far from the

*614 825 ●766 native village a framework in the likeness of a bear hunter is set up, with openings for the proper sacrifices. On the outside, at the corners, four sharpened saplings are set up, while it is decorated on the inside with the sacred inau. Here are also deposited the remains of the murdered man and his murderer, in the same position in which they were brought from the taiga, as we described above.

A unique funeral feast with the carcass of the slain bear is held beside this framework. On both sides of a long uninterrupted campfire sit the clansmen with large pieces of bear meat in their hands. Each one cuts the meat into thin pieces, and as each piece is cut off he throws it from his knife across the fire to the one sitting on the opposite side of the campfire. The slice, caught on a knife, is [688] slowly roasted in the fire (the greatest insult for the bear, whose meat may only be boiled), and then with a look of revulsion they each bite off a piece and scornfully throw the meat away, although ordinarily it is /97/ considered a great sin to let even the smallest piece of bone fall to the ground. [782] [769] After this procedure of "refined" revenge, a feast with sacrifices to the master of the mountains and the murdered man begins. First they throw into the fire the carcass, which has begun to be burned, then various viands. At night they place a guard of two men with spears over the framework, lest the spirit of the bear wish to take revenge. The sentries firmly assert in such instances that they heard the cries of the murdered man, "Ai, Bear!" and threw themselves with spears upon the invisible avenger. In the morning they will tell you, traces of blood are clearly visible on the points of the spears...

*614 775 782 769 766 With the end of the funeral feast, peace between the mountain men and the clan of the murdered man has been restored. The latter is accepted and will live to a ripe old age in the clan of the mountain people, while his clansmen for three generations will twice a year (summer and winter) make sacrifices: part to the master of the mountain, part to the divine clansman.

/97 cont./

*614 628 If revenge is sanctified with respect to the bear, a divine being upon whom welfare depends and who frequently slays a man, not out of malice, but out of love for him, and accepts him into his clan, then revenge with respect to a member of another clan is all the more obligatory.

We have already indicated in the beginning the domination of religious over emotional motives in the imperative of revenge. If vengeance is obligatory to the third generation, if it is obligatory with respect to an accidental slayer, to a friend, a cognate, it is a burden pressing down on the clan rather than an impulsive act inspired by the immediate reaction of anger.

A much more significant role, at least in the sense of the strengthening, so to speak, of this original reaction, is played by compassion for the soul of the slain man and fear of it and the clan gods, gods who keep a loving vigil and for whom the unavenged blood of a clansman is undoubtedly the greatest insult.

775 ●766 The soul of a man who died a violent death cannot migrate to the general "settlement of the dead," where it could continue the life it lived on earth. Until it is avenged, until the blood of the slayer gives it the power to raise its bones, it cannot leave the earth and is forced to circle in the air in the form of a bird-avenger, emitting terrible shrieks at night. Its end is frightful; gradually rotting, it finally falls to earth "as ashes," dying forever. The Gilyak call this bird takhch; it is a gray bird with a red beak, "loving war." In this epithet is probably also contained the origin of the belief in the bird-avenger: among the Gilyak war is exclusively /98/ the result of revenge, and, consequently, the birds of prey, "loving war," are obviously the souls of slain clansmen. Over the grave of the slain man, as a fearful memento, they place a stump with the torn-up roots upward (1), to which they

[764]

1. Over the graves of those who have died a natural death, the roots are customarily downward.

/54 cont./

825 [766] The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a kosatka, and when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the kosatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion, however. Signs of the deepest respect are shown toward any animal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea. The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore, and likewise the heads of other animals.

825 776 The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not independent gods and not even deities in general; they are merely the subordinates of the real deities, the "masters" of this or that element, this or that animal. These "masters" in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who, according to need, assume the form of this or that animal. These gods live in the forests, the mountains, and on the bottom of the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak themselves, have wives children, and clansmen. Like the Gilyak, they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods, "yz'" - master, is in command. It is these masters who send the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables, bears, salmon, seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element, however, should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense. It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there are simply rich people and among them one kind that is richest, just as, in addition to the great gods-masters, every territory, every stream, each has its own "master" who takes care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods). [614] The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence, courage, and cunning, and consequently richest, is called "yz'" (master), and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

825 776 554

/57 cont./

123 776 782 the women rushed to their sto
reserved for sacrifices, in ord
and thereby fulfill the will of
thanks to the piece of candy,
not only saved my life, but u
companions and myself a dish
time.

782 The Gilyak also has live
dogs. A dog is killed, by str
sable hunting, during the bea
long journey, during sickness,
casions of life. Before it is k
depending upon the circumsta
[796] mission. Thus, during the be
"Follow your bear to the high
love you. Change this hair a
[755] so that I may see you." Whe
of sickness, it is asked to be
before the god to which it is

Thus the victim is a sim
death, will reach the master

775 614 Clan gods constitute a sp
matter of fact, these gods pla
of the Gilyak, and it is most
offers his sacrifices. In each
clan gods are of particular /5
we can most clearly trace the
fact of primitive religion. E
Romans the worship of clan g
The clan gods of the Gilyak
ings, as among the Greeks an
clansmen who, for a variety
775 614 766 of one or another god "maste
bination of circumstances, if
quired to attain such an hono
killed by a bear, if he fell p
was murdered or burned to de
if, according to the shaman'

ehouse to fetch the precious buda
er to feed me and my companions
the Head of the earth. Thus,
I, in the opinion of the Gilyak,
nexpectedly obtained for my
which we had not seen for a long

sacrifices, the objects of which are
ngulation, before the season of
festival, before departure for a
and generally on the solemn oc-
illed, it is fed, and at that time,
nces, it is given one or another
ar festival, the dog will be told:
est mountain. May the master
nd come down next year as a bear
n a dog is killed on the occasion
the intercessor for the sick man
being sent.
ple envoy, whose soul, after its
who lives on the highest mountain.
ecial category of gods. As a
y a most important role in the life
often to them that the Gilyak
element there is a clan god. The
58/ interest, because in this tribe
e very genesis of this very common
ven among the Greeks and the
ods was a common phenomenon.
are not supernatural mythical be-
d the Romans, but their very own
of reasons, have entered the clan
." A particularly fortunate com-
I may express myself thus, is re-
. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was
ey to the waves on the water, if he
ath through his own carelessness,
explanation, a woman died from

/58 cont./

775 614 [766] a bear's love for her, etc. -- all such persons do not travel to the ordinary kingdom of the shades, but go over into the clan of the gods-masters who took a liking to them, of the mountain, water, fire, etc., and then become the smallest "masters" and protect their clansmen. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i -- forest people, tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people, etc. took form. It is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices. These are not mythical gods, not the fictional heroes of the Greek clans, but actual persons, authoritatively living in the imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of primitive religions -- totemism, the worship of a certain class of animals honored as the clansmen and even the ancestors of their worshipers. In fact, as I said earlier, the master of each element and his clansmen, although they lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak, always appear in the presence of man in the form of this or that animal, the bear (forest people), the beluga or kosatka (sea people), so that the Gilyak as well, having entered after his death the clan of this or that master, also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore, that class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kindred to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem. Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or predecessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers or at sea, a system of separate totems for every clan could not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot consider this vast question in more detail here; I shall say only that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows that it is not totemism, i.e., not the belief in descent from this or that /59/ kind of animal, that created the clan gods, as is commonly thought, but, on the contrary, it is the clan gods who created totemism. As we shall see below, we cannot explain the prohibitions of the totemists against using the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.

775 614 825

775 614

614 171

The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/328 cont./

The favorite dog, "pryski" (every man has his own pryski) is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and then it is taken away to the yurt, tied to the place where the dead man slept, and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four years -- if a woman. After this it is sold or given as a gift, but they cannot keep it.

Even where cremation is practiced, insane persons after death are buried directly into the ground.

In Ady-Tymi, if they suspect that a person died from magic, two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place of cremation. Birds appear first, then hares and foxes and then the ormi-milk, rubbed with clay against arrows. He comes to eat the man, and if they do not kill him, then the others will die.

On the day following the cremation, when the fire has died out, firewood and boards are strewn on it, and on top a dog slied deliberately broken; sometimes small pieces of it are kept (as souvenirs).

Where the deceased are buried and not burned, they are placed in a coffin. Anyone can make a coffin of boards or from a boat -- two boats. It is carried out through the door and placed on the dog sled, which in both winter and summer is carried on the arms. The required objects are placed in the coffin, some as models. Those who go along do not put on their festive clothes. The pit which they dig must accommodate the coffin up to the lid. There is no crying; kissing the deceased is a lie. It is not required that everyone throw earth into the grave. No sacrifices are set up. Dogs are killed on the grave, but they are not fed beforehand, nor are inau put on them. The skin is immediately removed from the slain dogs and hung on a stick, while the meat is boiled right there, but it is eaten by few, and others throw it away. Boats and so forth are broken over his grave. The Gilyak is not afraid of the deceased. When "good food happens," the deceased are fed for about half a year.

/328 cont./

764 To be burned is better than to be buried.

766 The one made the first man[1] for a drowned man if not burned after death, but buried in the ground.

A drowned person, if he is of another clan, is not burned, but is inclosed in sticks.

If the deceased was murdered, he is not carried into the yurt, but is placed beside it. Near the place of the cremation of the murdered person, they place a "vagan" -- a tree with the roots /329/ upward. Those who have been killed are carried off the field of battle by both sides to their villages.

764 If a person dies in a balagan, he remains there (until the funeral.

764 A raf (a little house with a little door, over the grave) is
349 made in a month, or in two, three or four months, when there is time. A raf cannot be set up in winter or spring, for the earth is frozen, and in autumn as well. During this time the deceased is absolutely not fed. A raf is prepared by common efforts.

On the day of the preparation of a raf, as on the day of
[781] cremation, all forms of work are prohibited for the clan members.
[814] It is prohibited to fish, to go hunting, to make a dog sled; it is prohibited to sew, even to "make one's head," i.e., to comb one's hair, but one can sing songs. Members of alien clans are allowed to work if they did not observe the work on the construction of the raf, but the members of the same khala, if they know that a raf is being made, even if they live in a different settlement, are forbidden to work. The master who helps in the building of the raf does not receive any reward; that is a sin.

The walls of a raf are made of boards. The roof is made as on an actual house. In the middle there is a kokhakh, a double board with a stopper which closes an aperture -- kylmyg[2] (navel). The sharp stoppers go through a round piece of birch bark which is placed over the aperture. In the upper section are stuck a spear, arrows, hooks, and a knife. The kokhakh is wrapped in a piece of drel[3] of a trapezoidal shape and fastened, tied to the navel; the upper part of the kokhakh remains bare. On top of this, in front, there is an apron of the same shape, which is decorated

/329 cont./

764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A hontkh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard are tied to the belt of drel[3]. Vessels, food, and so forth are set in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nirng, into which they put rice, it placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside, next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka. First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the
[231] raf mu nigyvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning, brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu nigyvyn is fed no longer, though they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka. This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
[231] pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for kinsmen or for someone from the kokhal.

766 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a takhch (see below, pp. 475-476), and then they make a raf anyway.

775 The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
[761] killed by a milk (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
[776] is afraid and hides with Pal-n'nigyvyn or Tol-n'igyvyn, depending on which milk killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to the man.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch, while
[778] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugvnd
[782] is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon: Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
[775] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.
[787]

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is buried in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Piliudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
[778] The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
[782] (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 either for kinsmen or for someone from the khala.

680 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

Khkmak'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw
753 and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/338 cont./

752 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them
784 will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue
[570] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the trumpe), but a
[570] person from another clan is not cremated, but is sur-
[623] rounded with sticks.
[766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit lekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns to a boat rescued from death, he and his wife should break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will
[787] be a god.

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovok Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugvnd (sacrifices) into the stream.

A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
752 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugvnd.

/367 cont./

[597] In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
[782] clear conception of sin ("umgyik"). It goes without saying /368/
[672] that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
[688] there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person: for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by
[582] the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
[821] have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak should live with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
764 on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/368 cont./

766 ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief. Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and solemnly carry the bear and its ill-starred rider to the settlement. They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all
[782] sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small
[161] troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopee is fully completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clansmen of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at
[182] the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure
[582] is, I think, the following. The bear is killed in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bones must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacrifices are made to Pal'-nivukh, in this case to propitiate him
[782] so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is burned, it is true, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire
[614] clan a rich sacrifice is made to Toll'-nivukh on the shore. A new
[782] yurt is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

797 In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of Christianity among the Gilyak. On the entire western shore I have met only two baptized Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

Section 13 (1)

1. The table of contents for this chapter is missing in the manuscript.

(The bear festivals. Their cultural character and social significance. -- The bear festivals among the Amur Gilyak. Ceremonies and entertainments before and during the killing of the bears, as well as during the consumption of them. Burial of the bones and skulls of the bears. Modifications among the Olcha, as well as among the Gilyak on Sakhalin and the Ainu.

825 The bear plays an outstanding role in the life of all the peoples of the Amur region and Siberia up to Kamchatka. But among none of them is this the case to the extent that it is among the Gilyak. The huge size that it attains in the Amur region (2),

2. See my measurements of bear skulls in Vol. I, pp. 8 ff., of this work.

its vicious nature, which, perhaps because there it does not find anywhere near the abundance of food that it does in Kamchatka, makes it not hesitate to attack even human beings, and its frequent occurrence at all times make it the most feared beast of prey of the region. It is therefore not surprising that the imagination of the Gilyak is much occupied with it and surrounds it, in life as well as after death, with fearful superstitious ideas. For instance, there prevails among them the belief that
[775] the soul of a Gilyak who was killed in a fight with a bear moves
[766] into the body of this beast of prey, which may have chiefly arisen from the fact that the bear in its mode of life and its bearing reveals many a similarity with them, in that it, like them, feeds largely on the salmon ascending the river in masses, on berries, plant tubers, and the like, like them it prepares a place for itself for the winter in caves under snow-covered twigs, like them it stands upright in combat, etc.

/730 cont./

mytsching), which is illustrated on Plate II /p. 1251/, Fig. 5, from a specimen that lay on the bear rack in Judin's house during the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, this pickax is undoubtably a specimen from ancient times and certainly in former times had a stone blade, which was later replaced with an iron one (1). Finally, when the brain of the bear has been eaten,

1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and used to kill surgeon and hausen has a stone end-piece (see above, p. 806). The caption on Plate II should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest -- an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skulls, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull of the bear, however, is treated differently, in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I had had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The above-mentioned pickax, apparently from the Stone Age, is also used for a similar purpose by the Goldi, to judge from traces of blows. They do not, however, split the skull of the bear, but content themselves, forgoing eating the brain, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Buri, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Usuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed it in order to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 8-16).

/730 cont./

sometimes the right, sometimes the left parietal bone. In the habitation area of the Gilyak I saw trees hung with dolphin skulls, to be sure, but I never came across any with bear skulls, though the number of bears killed or captured and eaten there annually is probably much larger than among the Goldi. This definitely indicates that, unlike the Goldi, the Gilyak, aside from breaking open or splitting the bear skull, do something else to it which is scarcely less suitable than the covering of the bones for removing it from the sight of human beings. In fact at various places in the forest near Gilyak dwellings I have came across spots which, upon close inspection, proved to be sites of bear skulls: trunks of young trees were cut off several inches above the ground, the remaining piece of trunk was split into two prongs, and the bear skull, split down to its base was wedged into the split in such a way that the two prongs projected out of the zygomatic arches and held it clamped between them close to the ground. In addition, on either side a short wooden peg was driven from above through the zygomatic arches and into the ground. /731/ If grass grows over the spot, nothing is recognizable to the casual glance. This method of dealing with the bear skulls was transmitted from the Gilyak to the Olcha and from them to the Samagir, who are closely related to them and also directly adjacent to them on Lake Udyl and elsewhere. In the immediate vicinity of the village of Ngagba on the Gorin I found such bear-skull sites in two directions and in one of them, which lay in an open birch grove, counted within a circle of 30 paces, no less than nine bear skulls treated in exactly the same way as among the Gilyak. Since the rest of the bear bones presumably also lie buried in the same places, they are not merely bear-skull sites, but general bear-bone grounds.

The Goldi, who hang their bear skulls on trees, do something similar with other bear bones that are suitable for it. Near Bitschu, at the mouth of the Gorin, for example, I saw a decayed or split bear-skull lying on the stump of a broken tree a few feet high, but below it in the underbrush hung various bones of the animal, among them a shoulder blade and a number of dorsal vertebrae

/744 cont./

run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifically: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the reports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans, if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the purpose of the whole semicircle. Namely, it is to be worn around the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kisi, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

/761 cont./

II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wkgin, which resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rtchyvgak, from Wsir, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 above.)

/761 cont./

heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it. The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p.1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

/762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p.1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-mgych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

/762 cont./

on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to heaven and therefore no longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, this idea may in part also give rise to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. II, 57-59.)

44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (*),

* See Appendix 45, below.

the soul of a person drowned in the river or in the sea (according to Jutschin's report) does not go to heaven or to Mlygh-wo, but goes into a seal dog, and, to be sure, into a kighitsch or pyghilangr, i.e., the adult Phoca vitulina or nautica. A number of uitsch are therefore connected with the catching of a sea dog. For example, when the sea dog is caught and before any use is made of it, a cut with the knife must always be made through each eye so that the liquid can flow out. This is caught in the hollow of the hand and thrown back into the river. Only then may the sea dog be used as needed (†).

†. See p. 881.

It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (†††) where the souls of the murdered are said to go. As an answer to my question as to whether these souls go to one of the stars, which are also earths, I was told that they also went beyond these, kikr, i.e., "inland" from the stars (††). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

†† Therefore beyond them; see the star-dwellers, p. 1101.

45. Olcha. From Chosiambo I learned the following about views of the Olcha with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

3 cont./

e the appearance of a bird. Sometimes this bird is rep-
ented with iron teeth and appendages in the likeness of
nan feet (2), as in some representations of the swastika.

2. An example of such a memorial, brought from the lower regions of the Amur by the late acad. L. Schrenck, is preserved in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad.

is frightful and at the same time unhappy bird, seeking
nsolation and return to the kingdom of its departed
nsmen, wails of revenge at night and, of course, is
ite capable of terribly avenging itself upon its clans-
en who have forgotten their obligations.

Even where the affair ends with the payment of ransom,
bird remains unreconciled. Still another peace offering
necessary in the form of a dog, whose heart is given to
bird; otherwise it will take a cruel vengeance on both
es.

Since the soul of the slain man, like every other
man soul, cannot exist longer than three generations, the
ligations of revenge cease with the third generation. But
il that time the pitiful fate of the soul of the slain man
ntinues to torment the conscience of his clansmen and
ghten them with the horrors of unfulfilled vengeance,
ing them no rest. These same motives are predominant
er the immediate instinct for repayment. That is why
wrath of the avengers never reaches to the destruction
the whole clan of the slayer, limiting itself to one, or
or three, of his clansmen; they carefully avoid the
ying of women and absolutely abstain from encroachment
property.

Nevertheless the imperative of vengeance is extremely
ensive.

/308 cont./

765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
796 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear,
626 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz:." "What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
768 is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[931] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

Amur

/309 cont./

766 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
766 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
754 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
787 man to eat from the kinys n'ich: "Go eat human meat!" He rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys. Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes through, a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased or (to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in constant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies. Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroyed right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they make real tolin'ir and sacrifice from them down to the third generation.

756 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toldokh urly cham;
787 2) pal'dokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:at n'ivukh -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questions to a stone with a hole -- tolfang. If the stone immediately gives answers, it is thrown away. The shaman queries his pal'pang:a (a wooden figure which is bound with white drel', and with shavings on the neck; it is suspended on a string). The waving of the figure is an affirmative answer. If there is no pang, they tie tobacco wrapped in white drel' to the stone. It advises the shaman about medicines, indicates what sacrifices to give and
[755] to which particular pal (i.e., pal of one's own or of a different clan), and so forth. It cannot drive away the evil spirit, but it can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also during sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad shamans steal (tempt away) their major kekhn from them. There are shamans
756 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
776 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the
[782] master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year)
[776] they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyr ururungja'! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
758 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

731 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
753 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
766 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is
562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field: the wind blows and it is out.

158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
[143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

764 the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

[778] The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, to the right in the middle distance).

[784] There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

764 766 [775] 57. Gilyak. According to Surgin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

[775] the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The 764 burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods 262 are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. 755 Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The [769] depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

d consequently also the visits to it for a cure. The corpse
on killed by an att (tiger and leopard) is taken to a simi-
house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a
(Bm. I, pp. 54-56.)

Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of
), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had
ortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in
er of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark
nd bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the
brush. This is the usual general custom of the Gilyak
nating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears,
ext to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which
dent had occurred (**). (1. S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LXVII /p.1267 /.

Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk,
ilvi (on the right bank of the Amur) are said to inter
ses, but the others, including those of Taur-wo and the
up to Chiare (incl.), cremate them and erect raff for
personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages
however, the population is in part Tungusic. (2 S.R.I, p.

Gilyak. Near My (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh
ave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the
corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and
lly, and at each of their two ends there was wood shav-
). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise
others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes
est; instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of a

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various
hes serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

•766 wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the ro
778
532

† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p. 1266 /, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /772/ and, with the pointed en
is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the
murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn,
[674] projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the
Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for in-
stance, in Wassj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgho, Tebach, and elsewhere

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only
for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak
from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills
another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn.
Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son,
and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills
another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The sa
is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wa
is set up.

778 The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after
532 ugn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by th
825 Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it ha
on the wagn. Such stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septe
are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villa
In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head o
the ugn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to t
revenge on the murderer (1).

[628]
[627]

1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect, is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

72 cont./

1. (cont.)
members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the ndering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) d me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like-se usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as ng the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut-t in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy lyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-amber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the ham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of halin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch, to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as ong the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the u (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred th of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of orodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very cefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

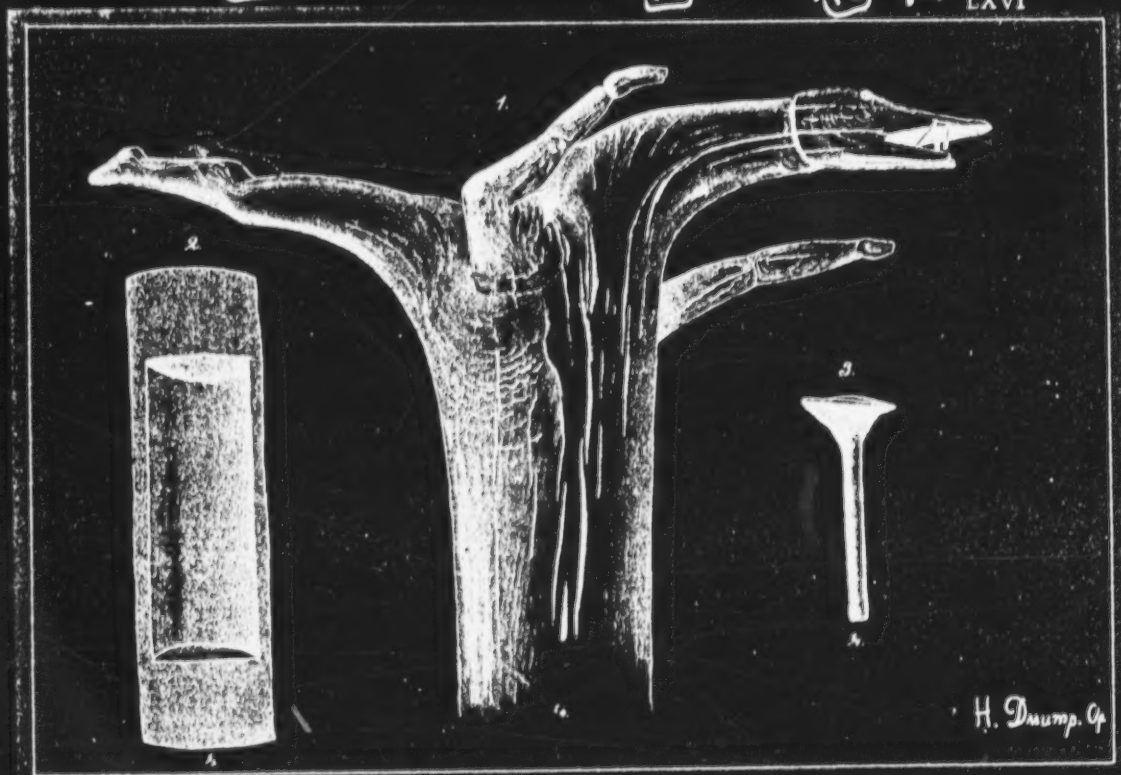

1. Grave marker of a murdered Gilyak. 2. Small wooden trough, along with 3, a pestle, from the tomb of a drowned Olcha.

9: Hawes--176 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 539, 766, 775, 825

"Wild swans occasionally flew across high overhead, ar
tap-tapping the trees. Our natives eagerly asked us to sho
aloft or settled on the top of a high tree, only to fly away
shot. These were the white-tailed eagles (Haliëtus albicill
their tail-feathers, for which they declared the Chinese ga
6s.). The Japanese (in Yezo) are said to use them to indi
of importance by placing them over his door; in any case,
the feathers, which they use for arrow-heads. The wings
placed at the grave of a Gilyak who has been murdered or
his soul in its flight to heaven."

ıd a woodpecker could be heard
oot the eagles which soared
as we approached within gun-
lus), prized by the natives for
ave them three dollars (about
cate the residence of a person
the Gilyaks themselves value
are also prized by them, being
has committed suicide, to aid

845 who are descendents of the Ainu bury
766 their bodies in the earth.

be cremated after their death. If that were done all those present at the ceremony would be punished with the loss of their eyesight. Even the parents of twins have to be buried in the earth, because they too have become relatives of the god of the mountains. The children of twins, however, are considered to be ordinary members of the tribe, and at their funeral there is no deviation from the custom.

845 If twins stay alive and grow up they remain, for the
551 rest of their lives, the object of awe for all their
769 neighbors and friends although there may be enough proof that they lack every kind of supernatural power. At every meeting, either in friendship or in hostility, the others remind them of their unusual progenity and everybody attributes to them that mysterious innate power. Each of the twins bears the name he gave himself as a child. The custom of giving the child the name of a dead ancestor is not followed in the case of twins. The names of the twins are neither given to another child in the same family nor to another child in the tribe. Here too we see a deviation from the general custom of giving children the names of dead ancestors.

845 The greatest awe is felt for those twins who die in
766 childhood. The offspring of the spirits of the
782 mountains who, while living among ordinary human
775 beings for a short time, who did not get used to them and did not feel he was one of them, has especially the power to do harm to people; that is why they try hard to win his favor. The family who had harbored the unwelcome offspring of the mountains constructs a little model of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a little board inside the house or outside in the open. A little figure carved in wood which represents the dead child is put into that little hut. The members of the family consider it necessary to give some of the food they eat themselves to that little figure every day. This rule is strictly followed not only by the parents of the twins but also by the two following generations. Only the great-grandchildren, observing ceremonial rites, carry the little figure with its

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground; they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tribe is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child, tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.

753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone, squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is considered to be a consequence of the mountain spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says "tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is tormenting".

784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions, they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow household articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the new one.

842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the transference of physical peculiarities from one man to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an explanation for the superstitious remedies they use for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who cannot bear children must ask another very fertile woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be transferred from one person to another like a contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel which had been used by the sick person.

346 dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, including wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyhelm' in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

'The school is in operation ten months of each year. The superintendent said the children of the Russian peasants could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The teacher was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The expense
871 of the establishment was paid by Government, with the design of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

771 The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the at-
825 tempts to Christianize them have not been very successful
764 thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols and
766 animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to the 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among animals they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was known of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a tiger are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other per-

BEAR IN PROCESSION.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. The bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve him from being killed.

825 In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him alive; once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage in the

768

768 SOCIAL READJUSTMENTS TO DEATH--disposition of the possessions of the deceased (e.g., abandonment or relocation of dwelling, destruction or mutilation of movable possessions, redistribution of property); provision for support of spouse and children; residence changes of survivors; etc. See also:

Inheritance 428
Guardianship and administration 429
Insurance 456
Heirlooms 523
Remarriage 587
Status of widows 589
Rule of residence 591
Adoption 597
Rules of succession 59, 61, 63, 622, 643
Relief of widows and orphans 736
Social insurance 745

/84/

*614 Once the above-mentioned principle was created and became an immutable imperative of life, the natural consequence was the appearance of exogamy, and exogamy is the foundation of the clan.

But the exogamy of the Gilyak,as we have seen, is not the mere obligation to take wives from outside their clan. It gives a man a whole series of rights, which play an enormous role in his life.

We know that the acquisition of a wife is one of the most difficult problems of primitive man. There are ordinarily fewer women than men. One must pay for a woman, and to [583] [556] make matters worse each of the wealthy men snatch up many wives. For the poor man -- and such are in the majority -- acquiring a wife under such conditions is far from easy; frequently he must even resort to methods that risk his life.

The norms of Gilyak marriage give each Gilyak the right to the women of the akunal'k clan, in particular to the daughters of the brothers of his mother; this is simultaneously his religious obligation and right. The bride price in such [583] cases, if not a formality, is a burden which each one always has a right to expect his clansmen, interested, like himself, in his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man succeeds in setting up his own family, the families of his older brothers, with whom he shares the right to the women of the akunal'k clan, are his family, their wives are his wives, to [587] whom he has lawful conjugal rights. When a married Gilyak ●[768] dies, his wife passes without any bride price to one of his younger brothers determined by the choice of the clan.

*614 These are all advantages which play a role of the 587 first order in the eyes of primitive man. The crown of 768 these advantages is the social privilege of every clansman of not having to fear for the fate of his wife and his children after his death. His wife and children during his life are juridically, and frequently factually as well, the wife and children of his younger brothers; they will remain such after

/84 cont./

*614 his death as well. One of his brothers, according to the decision 587 of the clan, will replace him in the rights and obligations of ●768 husband and father, and even where the deceased has no younger brothers, the supporter of his family will be one of the "elders." Such is the immutable law of the clan.

*614 Such are the advantages which the clan union offers by 848 virtue of the single principle of kinship and the marriage norms which directly issue from it. It is completely natural that these blessings can be enjoyed only by those who have a right to them by virtue of kinship. The fact of being born to a clansman is the only justus /85/ titulus to being counted in the clan. Ytk-khavrnd -- a man without a father, i.e., born out of wedlock, not knowing who his father is -- is a man without a clan, a pariah, a burden to himself and others. One who does not know the identity of his father and consequently does not know to which clan he belongs, therefore does not know which women can be his wives and which are forbidden and, unbeknownst to himself and others, may violate the sacred sexual norms, incurring incalculable disasters upon all. Fortunately, there are in fact no persons who do not know their fathers. If a girl becomes pregnant out of wedlock, they compel her to name the father of the future child. Having learned who he is, they compel him to marry the seduced girl, which he is only too glad to do, because in such a situation there are fewer difficulties about paying the bride price. In the event of disavowal on the girl's part, they slay the newborn child, and the clan is saved from sin and unhappiness.

*614 The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in retaining 597 the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. Like the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a deviation and reconcile itself with the institution of adoption, with the acceptance into its bosom from time to time of individuals from other clans.

/116 cont./

156 one but on all. Any attempt to monopolize the gifts of the gods 771 must inevitably incur just punishment by the common benefactors of the clan.

*614 Everything that religion and clan wisdom prescribe for gain- 771 ing the beneficence of the gods is a blessing for each, and to 182 carry out their dictates means only to take care of one's self. It 156 is the same with all the prescriptions of clan regulations, be they 183 sexual norms, rules of revenge, or religious rites; any infraction of them on the part of one is a common "sin" and is destructive to all.

All more or less important acts of social life, even including sacrificing one's self in a battle of vengeance for one's clansman, are categorical imperatives of a religious world-outlook which neither allow hesitation nor require compulsion. All of the instincts for self-preservation are in complete harmony with the religious ideas. By an act of revenge, a man protects his own security, but he thereby also fulfills a religious duty by appeasing the spirit of the dead man, which is able to inflict punishment if it remains unavenged. And so it is in everything...

156 A healthy, integrated, comprehensively developed per- *614 sonality with an integrated religio-social world-outlook, creating 182 a perfect harmony of the personal and social interests and the driving forces of life -- such is the hidden, but mighty mainspring of the clan mechanism.

Observe how, without any regulation or organs of compulsion, but with only the desire of an individual, the complicated mechanism of clan life operates.

*614 Suppose a clansman with a family dies. It is necessary to ●768 provide for his family, to preserve his property until the heirs 182 reach maturity, and it is necessary, in order to avoid disputes, to decide to whom the widow of the deceased shall pass. There are no judges, there are no authorities, but, a short while after the deceased has been buried, the nearest clansmen assemble, have a short discussion, listen to the claimants, and the one they decide upon will be the husband of the widow and the father of the orphaned children.

Durin

*835 /184/ my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstandi of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo, where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin, and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka, who married a woman from the clan of his ymgri, i.e., from the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlink [177] was a considerably Russified Gilyak who had served in the police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously. Another Russified Gilyak, Allykh, from the settle- 177 ment of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger tuvn, *835 compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding, 587 as was customary, to whom the widow of the deceased should ●768 pass, to award her to him, although he, as an aki (elder brother), had no rights whatever to this. But these cases are the exception and evoked an energetic reaction from the community.

684 In the first two cases the violators had to go into voluntary exile, i.e., settle outside the settlement and lead a lonely existence, with all the deprivations of clan blessings [177] associated with ostracism. But, we repeat, these were quite exceptional cases bound up with psychics changed under the influence of an alien culture (1).

*835 183 587 768 [731]

1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when a husband is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly come poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are id for relatives. Likewise people who have become in-pable of work because of illness are assured support by latives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly rsed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the use into the open and is left there at any time of the year, til he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a ad person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a per-n dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, sick person who is subjected to these measures is usu-y already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-aring women are removed from the house for similar asons.

In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two ceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak the point of drowning could not count on help from his ople, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with alistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is eded above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks e care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of ear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried to-her with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and aps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I ques-ned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] t they always helped them as much as they could and they owed me several people who had been rescued because help l been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his e, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes tual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism s not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where erstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also stran-s in time of distress as much as they can. They repeated saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were en wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a prac-
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where various things are bartered.
527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cranberries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means worship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun, some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is not given such expressions of veneration.
527 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo themselves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty, with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237] roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as entertainment has been described. Special music is produced
527 in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -two old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

764 dead one is brought or carried into the woods, accompanied by relatives and friends He is placed on a pyre where he is burned in three or four hours. The skull and the extremities usually burn faster than the spinal column. The mourning relatives stand around the fire. In token of their sorrow the women let their hair hang loose, the men sometimes cut theirs short. The ashes are gathered in a vessel and placed in the "death house". The latter is an ordinary yurt in design, but very small, somewhat like a large doll house. Beneath it the clothes, the pipe, and the weapons of the deceased are buried. Sometimes, however, the clothes are also burned. The favorite dog is killed but not burned; it is consumed by the mourners. On Sakhalin, if the deceased was a wealthy man, all the dogs which brought his sled to the funeral pyre are killed; poor people content themselves with burning the sled.

There is no special place for the death houses; they stand by themselves all over the woods, not too far from the village. On certain days the relatives assemble here for a funeral rite. Millet, a stuffed pipe, and such things are placed in the little house through the window, and all who are present break into loud lamentation.

764 The above-described burial ceremony is customary only
182 among the true Gilyak, that is, on the island of Sakhalin and on the mainland along the Amur up to Bogorodskoye. The Sofiyskian Gilyak lower the bodies without a coffin into a crypt. The deceased is given his best clothes for the journey besides a bowl of millet, a stuffed pipe and some spirits. At the head-and foot-end [239] stakes are driven, on which hang his weapons and other objects. For these graves there is
766 also no particular place. Sometimes, instead of being bur-
182 ied the corpses are put in open cradles made of wicker and suspended from trees. This is supposed to be done when there are epidemics, and thus the very thing that should not be done is done. However, since these death cradles are isolated and hung up at a great distance from the villages, the miasmas resulting from decomposition are probably not harmful.

XV Weltanschauung and Religion.

771 The Gilyak do not generally like to speak of transcendental matters. One is advised by some of them to ask a shaman for information, since he knows better. Others, on the contrary, answer the given questions like disinterested persons, that is, they say the shaman maintains this or that, but a certain scepticism is apparent. The Gilyak are

834 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded.
864 If the baby was born in the summer, the children are told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to have found it in the snow.

845 Twin births.

163 No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why there are no legends about such an event either.

Not infrequently twin births take place among the natives. They contend that in each one of these cases both children are of the same sex. I personally came to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were between forty and forty-five years old. In regions rather well known to me there occurred three twin births in a population of more than 300 persons within a decade, but all these twins died immediately after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of
845 mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote
539 down are twins of different sex mentioned. The
776 brother is in love with his sister and, in this song, asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he will die.

The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak: one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

rookh, should be given back to his father right away. But, not being certain which of the children is not an offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them both equally.

845 It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to
766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in boats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping water of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant aγs, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fənd (major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.

For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-mos and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka (aγs). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.

When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea. Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keγla-ŋəks twig and the other is a qosk ŋəks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called ṭaγr. The offering is thrown into the sea through the ṭaγr. First to be emptied are the ůiγ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are

2. Uiγ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiγ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
766 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-?ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

82 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
62 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
25 ui - ir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
61 young hunters must not taste this mos.

25 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
82 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

25 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
01 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
76 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
22 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
66

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

mu-ziyəd on the boat supports the assumption that at one time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as a living thing. Mu-ziyəd on the boat serves, it seems, as a means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

Aside from mu-ziyəd, tŋaj is performed on the boat. Tŋaj means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of a branch of rowan (qosk-vəks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines. One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these tŋaj elsewhere.

There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke. They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-pək-əzd --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an experienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines tŋaj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They first go to Uiy-krə "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

25 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
23 similar gifts which the pilaŋ throws into the sea together
66 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Uiŋ-krə̂, then they
82 throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which
they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (krə̂) there
lives a ə̂tik- an old woman. These old women must also be
given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed
that tvax-ə̂tik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who
lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.

25 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf
(Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes
spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks
told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kəvr-
mlf (Shantar Islands) (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when
the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end
of the summer and then they would return to the village to
fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal
hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of
tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not
exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Norp put
out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the
hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals
off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

11 The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
25 tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
83

2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long.
Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch.
Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the

/184 conc./

levirate. Then, in order that the woman remain in the house, the deceased husband, she is given, according to the law (or custom), to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree or kinship with her late husband.

Officially the very idea of sexual connection with persons of the herbivorous categories evokes an instinctive disgust.

In the rare instances of sexual intercourse with such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the implantation of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in man, but in beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a domesticated dog. The attitude towards people is entirely the same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories stay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct origin of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /184/ her elder sister called her a "Mink" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "dog," and how all — her father, her uncle, and sister — urged together: "Stay yourself, stay!" Incidentally, the object of her unnatural passion, the uncle, is a man full of fire age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the cousins may rather be perfectly natural in our eyes.

The feeling of sexual shyness and reserve of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sister in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing shyness of the Gilyaks to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the giving-in-marriage of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the intensity of virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; uncontinued jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/204 conc./

family in the capacity of a son or brother and is considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family of Tungus who had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the stories of old people, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement. The clan agreed to the request and supported until better times. At the present /205/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the simple reason that it is permissible to adopt only a member of the clan, the marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been shown above.

8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of a blood feud, or any such phenomenon, the clan is called upon to answer, the clan is responsible for a long time.

On the Amur four little fire with roots are placed over the graves.

During *gila-dash* (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons, /206/ or those who died where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a *ninkh*, i.e., a cup for sacrifice to the master of the water, a trough, and a *tinra* — a cup for the drowned man: *ninr* is placed in the trough, in the cup — red curtain. They pitch the man, they select two or three /207/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat set on hack there by the water, and place a *tinra* stick, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing on the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/128 conc./

inheritance. Only relation to the daughter does the father enjoy a special power of disposition, in order to hand down his property to his children. On the other hand, the clan organization is so constituted that it can use the property should not leave the clan of the clan. One of the reciprocal action of these principles it is that the property of the deceased, in the father, and only in their absence — the brother of the deceased, the property of the clansmen, but at the same time, women, not only in the customary and according times of kinship, but in the descending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines as well, are excluded from the right to inherit property. In the case of a woman dying, the property of the clan, and only in the case of the clan, the property of the clan, and only in the case of the clan, the property of the clan, and only in the case of the clan

/91 cont./

765 Several days later a small toy-house with a small door and a small window is placed on the ground not far away from the place of the hearing. Inside the house is placed a doll-man dressed in silk. Away in the house lives Kalim, the goddesses of love of Gilyak mythology, and eating and smoking utensils, trays, plates, and samashir of birch bark with all kinds of vinods, pipes, tobacco, and so forth are arranged around it.

From time to time the kinsmen come to renew their sacrifices, but in a few months the sacrifices top because the soul of the deceased has been established in the house in a new place and has no need of anything. The deceased will be remembered once more during the bear festival.

Such, in brief, are the religious views and customs of the Gilyak.

VI

The Clan

In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on the religious aspect of the clan -- its importance as dependent on the matriarchate. In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on religious notions.

Now let us examine it in all the totality of features, tectonic and dynamic, morphological and socio-spiritual, as one whole instrument regulating all aspects of the life of the Gilyak.

For this purpose, we consider it particularly instructive in our analysis to adhere to that same system to which the Gilyak themselves adhere in formulating their notions about the clan.

/86 cont./

766 ✱ 614 ✱ 615 ✱ 616 ✱ 617 ✱ 618 ✱ 619 ✱ 620 ✱ 621 ✱ 622 ✱ 623 ✱ 624 ✱ 625 ✱ 626 ✱ 627 ✱ 628 ✱ 629 ✱ 630 ✱ 631 ✱ 632 ✱ 633 ✱

/48 cont./

This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also explains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not from the clan of his mother by the term sokh /sic: see yokh on p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price, the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atonement, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third generation inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin, as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan. The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands, for the parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 776 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" [778] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacriligeous offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/50 cont./

825 for example, on a whale, the latter hold the flanks, while the leaders follow behind.

82 /51/ Once visible nature is only a mask and is not what it
771 appears to be, there is a natural tendency on the part of the Gilyak to seize upon the smallest sign having resemblance to the human body or a part of it, in order to discover the human shape that is concealed under it. Hence fetishism -- the psychology which discovers a supernatural human-like being in every object which has an unusual form, be it a high mountain, a petrified object, or simply a piece of stone.

825 If inanimate nature is capable of arousing in the mind of the Gilyak the imagining of live creatures which conceal themselves under the dead form, then the cult of animals should all the more not amaze us at all. It is generally believed that fear lies at the base of the cult of animals. Primus in orbe deos fecit timor. In fact this is far from the case. First of all, we must remember that primitive man not only does not recognize any sort of gulf between himself and the animal world, but, on the contrary, in many respects admits the superiority of the latter over himself. A hunter by profession, he has invested in his art of hunting all his intelligence, all his inventiveness, all his human genius. See how brilliant his snares and traps are, and nonetheless how often and maliciously the insignificant little beast -- a fox, a sable, and others -- will laugh at all his machinations! Dozens of valuable sables run past his trap, leaving their footprints quite close to it; they guessed the cleverness of man and departed unharmed! How sensitive is the elk to the smell of a human being whole versts away! Never, never would a single beast be caught by the Gilyak, but for the will of the gods, the "masters" of these animals, which care for the well-being of the Gilyak. If a god does not will this, dozens of man's crossbows remain without a catch. Therefore the Gilyak sees in animals beings in no way inferior to himself, even though a god may sometimes give

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the
628 spirit more than the most active resistance.
562 corpus, day and night they go about the envi
looking into every bush, every blade of grass
enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do n
whelming number that makes it possible to fa
expectant enemy, they will never succeed in
of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the p
tackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the
of necessity breaks on the passive resistance o
the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importan
[784] participation of the women in the struggle of
[724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbi
on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its
etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of Gi
find it necessary to set off on an expedition lo
filled with water and as much food supplies a
Under such conditions every extra day of wait
by famine, and thus the vigilance of the wom
conquers.

195 Here is one of the examples known to me
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland t
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol' for
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still lo
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance o
poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching the
in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and the
depart with nothing and terminate the matter
small causes often lead to important conseque

*614 Tylor was right when he asserted that exo
77 relations between clans and introduced peace,
[114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the
brought to life the very institution of exogamy
primitive man is not so sentimental, he is ma
that he would sacrifice with a light heart his o
ment for a breach of his blood duty to the voi

oe and weakened his
Utilizing their habeas
ons in perfect safety
in search of the
t possess an over-
ll openly upon the
eluding the vigilance
tience of the at-
torment of waiting,
f the weaker sex, and

ce of the passive
the clans, it must
dden to light a fire
ivers and springs, hunt,
beon, the Gilyak
aded down with skins
a man can carry.
ing threatens death
en necessarily

. In 1851, 30 men
o take vengeance on
the slaying of a
nger and more fruitless
of the women, with
locality, the water
e avengers had to
peacefully ... Thus
nces.
gamy weakened the
although he pro-
aspiration for peace
. It is true that
inly too "god-fearing,"
wn fears of punish-
ce of feeling, or

/103 cont./

*614 ●771 even to his own clear advantage, but he has, as we know, an already tested expedient, with the help of which he pacifies the gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts, as in other cases, to pious deception of the gods, which offers him the opportunity both to fulfill his religious duty and to derive material gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored, and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall recount later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom, which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with their blood.

*614 628 771

628 539 554 *614 [192] [197] Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.

The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (1).

1. I use the term of the more widespread western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent, orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak, for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a particular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and inspires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize outstanding orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

[532]

/107 cont./

614 Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces
771 not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obli-
783 gation to carry out positive norms, then the formula "common sin"
784 acquires a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the
182 principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general.
The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religion means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence,
614 on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to
182 why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring
602 immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsion,
183 but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example, with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and women, follow their natural inclinations with complete freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage. Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy. There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless, despite the complete sexual license from our point of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect to persons of the prohibited categories. A adultery is unknown to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is
614 almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibi-
602 tions of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will
182 go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

/108 cont./

*614 impersonal form, although by temperament these are far
602 from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the
182 result of upbringing and training to a considerable degree, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of each individual infraction on the welfare of the whole clan.

*614 The religious sanction of prohibitions and obligations and
783 the lively consciousness on the part of one and all that "sin
784 is communal" explain to us the most amazing aspect of
● 771 the clan structure, the presence of the social organism and the almost complete absence of the element of compulsion, authority. But more about this later.

*614 Such are the basic features of the clan. By them one
182 can judge its all-embracing role in the life of the Gilyak. It enfolds a man from birth to death, giving life all its content. It surrounds him with intimate bonds of kinship from both the side of the father and the side of the mother. It unites with a living bond the living generation with the departed ones. It guarantees to man an individual marriage and conjugal rights outside of it, and after his death it provides for his widow and children. The clan defends his life and the inviolability of his family against encroachments by a member of another clan, ready as one man to rise to the defense of the trampled rights of a clansman and to answer for his guilt to a member of another clan. It feeds him when he is hungry, it pays the debts of the insolvent, it assists in the payment of the bride price and of blood money.

*614 /109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan
182 sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strong-
771 est guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most valuable consolation in the most bitter miseries of life - the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

/115 cont./

555 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on
556 his advantages (1).
156

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibl' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance; that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

[789]

*614 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the
156 fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard
[454] one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be
[183] equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-
● 771 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

/116 cont./

156 one but on all. Any attempt to monopolize the gifts of the gods
● 771 must inevitably incur just punishment by the common benefactors of the clan.

*614 Everything that religion and clan wisdom prescribe for gain-
771 ing the beneficence of the gods is a blessing for each, and to
182 carry out their dictates means only to take care of one's self. It
156 is the same with all the prescriptions of clan regulations, be they
183 sexual norms, rules of revenge, or religious rites; any infraction of them on the part of one is a common "sin" and is destructive to all.

All more or less important acts of social life, even including sacrificing one's self in a battle of vengeance for one's clansman, are categorical imperatives of a religious world-outlook which neither allow hesitation nor require compulsion. All of the instincts for self-preservation are in complete harmony with the religious ideas. By an act of revenge, a man protects his own security, but he thereby also fulfills a religious duty by appeasing the spirit of the dead man, which is able to inflict punishment if it remains unavenged. And so it is in everything...

156 A healthy, integrated, comprehensively developed per-
*614 sonality with an integrated religio-social world-outlook, creating
182 a perfect harmony of the personal and social interests and the driving forces of life -- such is the hidden, but mighty mainspring of the clan mechanism.

Observe how, without any regulation or organs of compulsion, but with only the desire of an individual, the complicated mechanism of clan life operates.

*614 Suppose a clansman with a family dies. It is necessary to
768 provide for his family, to preserve his property until the heirs
182 reach maturity, and it is necessary, in order to avoid disputes, to decide to whom the widow of the deceased shall pass. There are no judges, there are no authorities, but, a short while after the deceased has been buried, the nearest clansmen assemble, have a short discussion, listen to the claimants, and the one they decide upon will be the husband of the widow and the father of the orphaned children.

/363 cont./

1717 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will
end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak
have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since
they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influ-
ence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
1717 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
464 Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native
[434] settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
[454] Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

776 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
302 is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies
● 771 at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
[688] or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

/364 cont./

[372] Gilyak. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the num-
[372] ber of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea and the taiga give the Gilyak more than fire does. Imagining the
● [771] elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similiarity but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination; "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared into the sky with their rider." One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("khal") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- moun-
[782] tain, taiga). All the sacrifices /365/ at the bear festival belong to
[796] him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Toll'-nivukh, and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it
[821] is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses; the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen" a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils ("uchkharum"). This is a whole khal', living in the sea and danger-
ous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak reply

/366 cont./

796 the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the
782 creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason
[224 the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and
[225 any undeveloped fetus found in the uterus of a seal. To the Gilyak
a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business
on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices
offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special
solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable
[342 season. He offers this sacrifice all by himself in the taiga, at the
side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the
whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual
gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After
striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to
the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen.
He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little
at a time, believing that a hundred fish mean as little to a god
as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made
during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a
journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge
unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama
of the mountains. The "Head of the earth" towered majestically
before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of
them took from his sled his cherished little sack with saranka,
tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps
to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the
snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up,
he moved the same number of steps to the left and did the same.
Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and dis-
tributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted
a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had
701 been heard... There is a tremendous difference between the re-
ligious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a
Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition,"
the striving of the soul toward the deity, in our meaning, all seem
to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion
everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no
[781] suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy.

/367 cont./

002 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
756 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
• does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
[754 that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, super-
stitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power
of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any
man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they
say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting
a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at
this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754 In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they
often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they sub-
ject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
[158 dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the
result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturb-
[782 ances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the
Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs.
"Kur, piongukhla!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits him-
self to this when he asks for something from his god.

796 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but
for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear
formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
583 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776 and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them
leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in
the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak:
"If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor
man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does
not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement
sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it
was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to
oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much
this extremely attractive belief is really the belief of the Gilyak,
or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or more hypocrisy.

/367 cont./

577 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
783 clear conception of sin ("umgysh"). It goes without saying /368/
773 that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
688 there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of
view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to
heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general,
to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many
cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned
for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the
slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it
must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things
to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become
ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
[682 atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by
the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not
always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered
deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed
(sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a
scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821 misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
[829 have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this
is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

• 771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human
existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life.
There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land
where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same
ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor.
After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to
call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the
transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus,
there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who
766 had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
[764 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin
Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/369 cont./

797 baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of
legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates
which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental
assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I
have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the
mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been
convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the
ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless,
the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His
attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great
many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the
natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place
for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented mission-
ary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have
to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods
which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized
[771 Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their
• [771 attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make
[778 sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the
Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

581 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order
of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak,
from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic
form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either
monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.
581 In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of
684 a given individual, and her children are the children of that
individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring
684 bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his
wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

/739 cont./ But they

796 insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
129 called Maü and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human
778 figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms
171 akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but
the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
124 but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
982 question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
• 771 side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise
776 them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god"
and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they
replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of
superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction be-
tween their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for vari-
ous idols and their shamanism that I found:

Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
796 of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good
786 One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who
is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-
[782 stract, completely empty one and does not at all fit into the life,
into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing con-
crete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word
"pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about
"God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except
that he is "kingulätsch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,
771 however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and
there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in
fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them,
such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the
often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them
inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which
man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent
upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always
escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him,
therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the
general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/740 cont./

• 771 powers always only directed against him and superior to him in
strength, and which he more or less personifies in concrete, but
crude representation. This feeling of his own helplessness in the
771 face of the forces hostile to him, and yet the inalienable wish to
812 avoid their harmful encroachment upon his life -- these causes,
together with the inevitable, involuntary, and unconscious view
that in the action of these powers, as in his own actions, there is
a cause-and-effect, cause-and-consequence relationship, lead
him to a series of conclusions through which his own acts and the
action of the powers hostile to him are brought into a causal nexus
771 And this is the origin of his many-shaped superstition which gives
812 rise to customs and special performances that are intended to
532 pacify the evil forces or to keep them away, as well as to the per-
sonified representation of the evil powers in this or that crude, ap-
proximate fashion, through carving animal and human figures in
wood, and to shamanism. The many wooden figures of bears,
lizards, toads, snakes, and even of human beings which are found
among the Gilyak may have this origin and meaning. The Gilyak
does not regard them as gods and does not worship them. They are
only representations or intimations of hostile powers in Nature
from which he seeks to escape. The fact that human figures are
also found among them should not be interpreted as though they
were personified representations of divine beings, such as anthro-
pomorphism has created in more spiritual fashion in other places.
771 In the view of a primitive people, and the Gilyak, too, man stand
812 wholly and exclusively within Nature; according to their superstit-
ion he stands /741/ in a close and immediate causal relationship
with the events of Nature (or evil powers), and this in itself may
make the representation of a human being necessary for the per-
formance of many a shamanistic act. The conception of God, the
[776 Good One, however, is much too vague and lacking in content
among the Gilyak to make it possible to speak of any connection
with it and thus also of anthropomorphic ideas and representations.
But though the Gilyak do not regard this superstition and shamanis
etc. as divine service or prayer, but only as a practical act in the
lives in order to escape all harm, nevertheless we are obliged to
call this their religious consciousness. And thus we find a strange

/741 cont./

and monstrous contradiction in the religious conceptions of the Gilyak: on the hand, the idea of a single supreme and benevolent being, even though so completely empty that it precludes the worship of it, and, on the other hand, the purification of countless evil powers, along with a crude cult to ward them off and keep them away; many representations of animal and human forms in the yurts, and yet the Gilyak say that they have no representations of God; countless superstitious and shamanistic acts, and yet they deny that they pray. And, on the other hand, they speak of a supreme, wholly good being and have the word "pray" (mjágratsch) and yet do not worship this god. How is this to be explained? It seems to be that there is not a dualism of conceptions here, but rather a matter of two completely separate concepts with connection with each other and also historically distinct. -- The former is a thoroughly attenuated, obscure, and now only traditional deism which among the Gilyak consists of no more than merely a few traditional words -- God, the Good One, pray; and exerts no influence upon the rest of their so-called religious conceptions and acts (superstition, shamanism, idols) other than that those words are not carried over to these conceptions and acts. The second religious conception is probably basically identical with that of many primitive Siberian peoples and aims at keeping evil spirits and powers away from human beings by means of various superstitious observances and performances. The former deistic belief is probably the echo of an ancient conception perhaps commemorative of the cradle of the Gilyak. In fact, in the attribute of "God," kīngulātsch, and in the abstract, nihilistic character of the conception there is accord with the Central Asiatic religious systems, but the second conception may have originated at a much later time, after the Gilyak tribe had moved downstream into the wilderness of the eastern forests of the Asiatic continent (?) and therefore shows many points of contact and similarities with the religious conceptions of the neighboring Siberian peoples, and even of the Ainu. The first conception was completely lost, except for a few words, and another, a cruder and more concrete one developed, without, however, on account of the persistence of

/741 cont./

tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt /742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. I, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, sometimes human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kīgn and tschngai (1).

1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha and Goldi the similarly-shaped sāwa stand). Sometimes, however, the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But

778 771 171 favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples, whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

778 532 825 10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kägn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

[171] near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kuik, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

[126] 2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

778 /752 cont./ 825 the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chala has had 173 only a few inhabitants. (2 S.R. I, p. 39.)

Gi 25. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw an idol-belt, a säwuchsa 778 provided with various säwa or representations of idols, to be worn 825 around the body as an amulet against sicknesses (Plate LX /p.1260 751 Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two snakes (dshalda), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fox carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather an on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khasj (chaż of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the toad and the human figure, th imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gil G in Chiare and which is also carved by the Olcha as protection Gi against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak kägn 778 and the säwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the con- 771 clusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious con- 171 cepts and ideas of these peoples. (2 S.R. I, pp. 32-33.)

Shamans

G 756 184 [171] 26. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak the shaman is employed muc less than among the Tungusic Amur peoples, the Olcha, Goldi, Kile, and others, and therefore the shaman's implements are muc less frequently found among them. Just as among the Amur peoples in general, so also among the Gilyak in particular, shamanisr is found more and more rarely downstream toward the Liman or toward Sakhalin. One scarcely comes across shamans and shaman implements from Wassj on and anywhere along the Liman. After repeated inquiries about them, I did not see any or hear of any. Thus shamanism seems to have moved downstream and to have had its origin farther inland. (Bm. I, p. 75.)

G 756 /753/ 27. Gilyak. In the whole area of the Amur Gilyak ther are only a few shamans who have a reputation among their country men. I was told that the most famous of them "a great shaman,"

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 The Gilyak calls the universe "kum," but with this same
776 word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kum."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head"
[798] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacrilegious offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/78 cont./

765 island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even
774 though he was as poor as Job.

774 The difference in the number of souls according to rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a duplicate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul
[787] plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality, all this is performed by this little soul.

[562] But shamans, no matter how many souls they have,
765 are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest
766 shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help
[765] man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him. This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body, these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man. Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak -- mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally, however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhin-
775 dered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on
772 the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

/79 cont./

775 not know exactly where this place is); the soul need only
772 descend into this opening and it reaches its goal. There everything is as it is here: the same earth, the same sky, sea, rivers, and forests; only there the sun shines when we have night, and the moon when we have day. The dead come to life and continue to live there in the same settlements as on earth, fish, kill beasts, celebrate clan festivals, marry and procreate. Only the material status changes: the poor man becomes rich and the rich man poor. As you see, even among the Gilyak the poor men find their consolation not in this best of all possible worlds. Even in the new world, however, sickness and death await man. From there the soul must migrate into a third world, and so on until such time as the soul degenerates and turns into ever smaller and smaller beings, a small bird, a gnat, and, finally, ashes. Sometimes souls are born again on our planet, completing again the infinite series of transformations. For the most part, however, that is the lot of women.

764 /80/ Before entering mlyvo, the soul waits to be
775 equipped with everything necessary to go to the new land comfortably and richer. And so the deceased is dressed in his best garments and in silken robes. Everything that is put on the deceased must be new, fully embroidered, elegant, and durable. A man is dressed in one, three, or six pairs, generally a number of pairs divisible by three, and women in two, four, eight, etc. pairs.

The most expensive spears, rifles, bows, and nets are taken from the storehouse -- and the souls of all these objects set off with the deceased on his journey.

764 While these preparations for a long journey are going on, the deceased is constantly fed the most delicate dishes. Kettles boil from morning until late at night; people throng in the yurt. They eat and drink as during the bear festival, and a part of each dish is given to the deceased. When they smoke, they put their mouths to the lips of the deceased, and share with him this favorite of Gilyak pleasures. While the body of the deceased is in the house, custom dictates that

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

773 Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kurn, the master of the uni-
[776] verse, created everything; in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the rene." "Working" the earth, Kurn lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach;.

821 The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first
[772] with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

773 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the
824 Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.

The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' n'ngyvyn,
776 614 looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal n'ngyvyn.

Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces
821 him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1)

1. Illegible. S. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunderstorm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-n'lvukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

773

773 MYTHOLOGY--cosmogony (e.g., theories and accounts of the creation of the world and of man); mythical epochs (e.g., golden age, age of the gods, age of animals); cataclysms (e.g., mythical floods and conflagrations); culture myths (e.g., accounts of a culture hero, mythical explanations of culture traits); myths about the origin of evil and death; nature myths; totemic myths; theogonic myths; ancestor myths; etc. For texts of myths see 539. See also
[Ritual] traditions 179

422 /278 cont./
583 iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).
[794]

[793] 1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryus' pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagynd. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagynd. One bears the designation Wa-ul-s'if, meaning "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kys'okhty -- the butt of the ax.

583 These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium.
422 Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of
556 clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category
735 allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the
554 settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

554 Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly
583 by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence
735 of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only
[556]

/286 cont./
117 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:,
103 Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/
193 notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing
• [193] /see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

117 Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal
103 Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhaji. 3) Khal N'askhaji.
361 Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from
[162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

117 A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the
582 Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chędzigr (see below) and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally
117 the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They
103 all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en-
193 campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared
[539] before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramladz: (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat, even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself: he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
• 773 myginga igagŭ syktymu yz'mudz:gu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
732 born a boy with a tail.

825 The lark makes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thunder.

The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in a thin, humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- kakhtr, agŭnĭ, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- arn' is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

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of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunderstorm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-n'ivukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

/320 cont./
821 The god of the wind -- Layzn (the evil wind -- Lamangnd),
[982] no chukh-chugnd (sacrifices) are made to him. He is shot at with bows; he is not shot at with rifles for fear of evoking thunder and a storm. The wind comes about thus: "Layzn, just like man, blows from his mouth."

• 773 The bear, the sable, the fox, the otter, and the squirrel
825 were created by Pal yz'n (the master of the mountains).

Tuurmam -- the god of the hearth, the mistress of fire,
776 the old woman -- is one among all the clansmen. The head of Tuurmam is curly, the snout red, /321/ the hair short (there is no braid), the height that of a man, the clothing -- fish skin, lives in the fire.

Tajrnandz: the only one who sends fish; he is a large and
[821] robust man. All his dogs are white. He rides through the air, along the Milky Way (Tairnandz: -- tif); he lives there. He also makes thunder. Each k:khal has its own Pal-n'ivukh, its own Tol-n'ivukh, even its own milk'i, but there is one Tairnandz:. They set up three trees for Tol-n'ivukh: a fir, an ashberry, and a rose willow. Strips of bark are cut out of these trees and their branches are bound with sedge. One chkhnaj has saranka attached to it.

Oskyz'n master of the hare, big like a cow, long nose.
They throw the head of a hare, with puchka tied to it. Tlangi-yz'n -- master of the reindeer, looks like a reindeer. Mekvon'-gi -- master of the kabarga.

Evil spirit -- Ge-n'ivukh. His yurt is an earthen mound near Tekhrvo. He comes to the Gilyak, opens a window (kugutŷ), extends two fingers, and asks for something. If something is given to him he leaves. If one gives him a hot coal, he does not understand what is happening, throws the coal back and forth from one hand to the other, and says: "as' kavkhaj, khavrkhaj, avgujà" -- "it is hot, if you do not have (anything), do not give!" Ge-n'ivukh likes to kidnap people, especially children. The only way -- is to inflict a wound upon oneself, for Ge-n'ivukh is afraid of blood. Pumkin's brother sat in his balagan guarding reindeer and suddenly saw two ge-n'ivukh. He began to shout and inflicted a wound

/342 cont./
197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/
823 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin.
• 773 Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary.
761 Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

759 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
825 fices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may
[982] look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sall.

994 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and
825 they treat him like a killed one. When they set off some-
[281] where (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

773 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

/343 cont./
• 773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

708 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chn
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkh
787 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is mai

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for e
ample, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threaten to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
[994] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitti in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of th things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed t
994 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following d the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkha or pay tikhsind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle.
The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not h
If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, ha around his neck, and feed it.

8 These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite
2 Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace",
7 the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of G nghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 237] [242]

5 Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be
1 gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

● 771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only, if someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
534 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

346 dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, including wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyhelm' in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

The school is in operation ten months of each year. The superintendent said the children of the Russian peasants could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The teacher was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The expense 871 of the establishment was paid by Government, with the design of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

771 The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the attempts to Christianize them have not been very successful 825 thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols and 964 animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to the 766 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among animals they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was known of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a tiger are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other per-

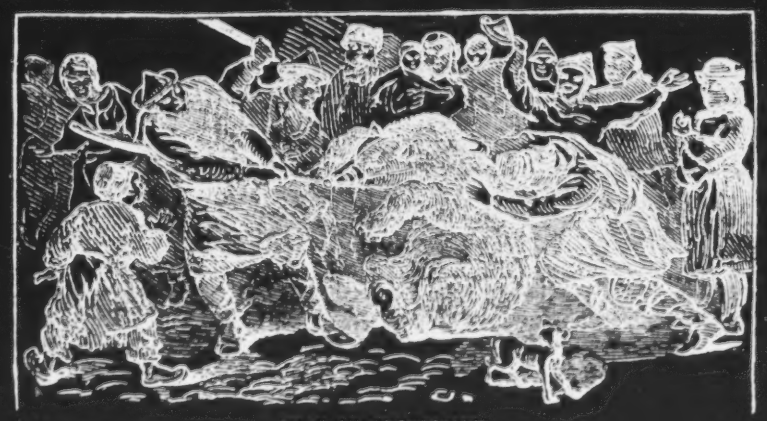

BEAR IN PROCESSION.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. The bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve him from being killed.

825 In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him alive; once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage in the

772

772 COSMOLOGY--conception of the universe; cosmological systems (e.g., heavens and hells); universal categories (e.g., dualism of nature); etc. See also:
Realm of the dead . . . . . 775 Ideas about cosmic phenomena 821
Conception of a moral order of the universe . . 812

4 dead one is brought or carried into the woods, accompanied by relatives and friends. He is placed on a pyre where he is burned in three or four hours. The skull and the extremities usually burn faster than the spinal column. The mourning relatives stand around the fire. In token of their sorrow the women let their hair hang loose, the men sometimes cut theirs short. The ashes are gathered in a vessel and placed in the "death house". The latter is an ordinary yurt in design, but very small, somewhat like a large doll house. Beneath it the clothes, the pipe, and the weapons of the deceased are buried. Sometimes, however, the clothes are also burned. The favorite dog is killed but not burned; it is consumed by the mourners. On Sakhalin, if the deceased was a wealthy man, all the dogs which brought his sled to the funeral pyre are killed; poor people content themselves with burning the sled.

There is no special place for the death houses; they stand by themselves all over the woods, not too far from the village. On certain days the relatives assemble here for a funeral rite. Millet, a stuffed pipe, and such things are placed in the little house through the window, and all who are present break into loud lamentation.

4 The above-described burial ceremony is customary only
2 among the true Gilyak, that is, on the island of Sakhalin and on the mainland along the Amur up to Bogorodskoye. The Sofiyskian Gilyak lower the bodies without a coffin into a crypt. The deceased is given his best clothes for the journey besides a bowl of millet, a stuffed pipe and some spirits. At the head-and foot-end [239] stakes are driven, on which hang his weapons and other objects. For these graves there is
6 also no particular place. Sometimes, instead of being bur-
2 ied the corpses are put in open cradles made of wicker and suspended from trees. This is supposed to be done when there are epidemics, and thus the very thing that should not be done is done. However, since these death cradles are isolated and hung up at a great distance from the villages, the miasmas resulting from decomposition are probably not harmful.

XV Weltanschauung and Religion.

1 The Gilyak do not generally like to speak of transcendental matters. One is advised by some of them to ask a shaman for information, since he knows better. Others, on the contrary, answer the given questions like disinterested persons, that is, they say the shaman maintains this or that, but a certain scepticism is apparent. The Gilyak are

771 predominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of rumination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs and their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imagination so boldly that their assertions contradict those of other shamans or of everyday experience. From conversations, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the Gilyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits, both good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not emerged from fetishism.

776 God (kush or kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and
782 never appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing is said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I heard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In this we may already see something like priestly self-glorification. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother much about him, only now and then something is sacrificed to him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him or for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak crosses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a bowl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the sacrifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is sacrificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a stake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it millet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240] are tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme being. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

825 The bear usually appears as the executor of divine
783 ordinances, and he punishes the bad people during their lifetime. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstitious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be regarded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as a god or demigod.

825 The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they
789 seldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-
278 gard him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded as having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a certain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored one". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874. (Published in Russian).

people. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and kills the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada— clan elders, and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Tayrnadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of

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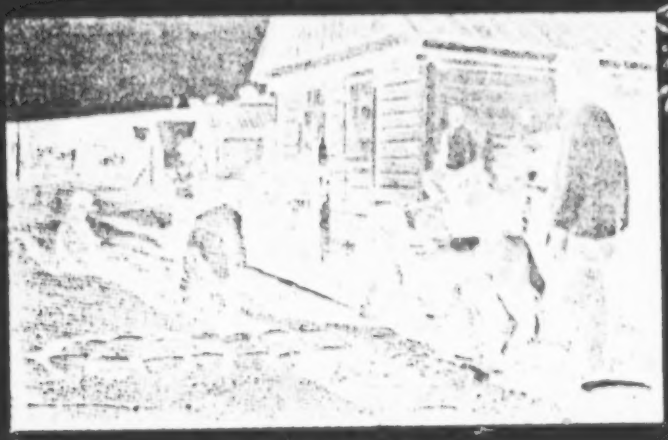

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', ~~who took care~~ 771
of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky 776
people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi 796
thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le- 614
kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the 231
festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was [769]
connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, [526]
shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the 764
Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

/50 cont./

823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

82 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'" (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the 774 776 fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[777] [778]

1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by 825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

/64 cont./

796 cutting up /65/ the bones, and so forth -- everything is done in conformity with permanently established rules. The first moment of this procedure, immediately following the removal of the skin, presents a very imposing sight for the Gilyak. The white (from the heavy layer of fat), soft body, stretched out on its back, those front paws with long and even fingers, resembling, to the point of illusion, human hands, amid the gloom of night, must irresistibly evoke in the savage the notion that he is not in the presence of a dead beast, but of a man of a particular nature, who has taken off his hairy skin and now majestically rests, following the least movement of his knife. The entire, detached skin of the bear, together with the head, is carried into the yurt, not through the door, but through the smoke opening, and down the high pole with the crown of coniferous needles, which still rises above the earth yurt. The clan elder carefully takes hold of the skin and, striking it lightly with a stick, says: "Remember that you were fed by such and such old man and by such and such old woman." Meanwhile the women greet the sacred head with a solemn [534] march played on a most original instrument. This is a dry log of larch hung on a frame, on which several people in turn beat out in rhythm relatively monotonous sounds. To the sounds of this charming music the clan elder installs the head of the bear on the plank bed of honor, covered with coniferous needles. Under the head there is a quiver with arrows and, by its side, tobacco, sugar, and other viands. [774] The bear takes along the souls of all these things. The carcasses of meat stay outside on a special wooden platform, and parts are brought in through the smoke opening. The day ends with eating, conversations, games of the youth, dances, and fencing with sticks. The next day is called the day of the feeding of the head. From morning until night kettles boil inside the yurt, and all kinds of dishes of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared. A portion of each dish is put in a separate vessel and placed next to the bear's head. This, then, means "to feed the head." [372] On the same day the boiling of the bear meat begins. The meat is boiled outside in a special kettle; the fire is ignited with the sacred steel, which is not used on any other occasion.

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[262] women, but only clansmen.

[766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At
● 774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'-yz'.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
● [774] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/78 cont./

756 island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even
• 774 though he was as poor as Job.

774 The difference in the number of souls according to rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a duplicate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul
[787] plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality, all this is performed by this little soul.

775 But shamans, no matter how many souls they have,
776 are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest
[756] shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him. This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body, these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man. Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak -- mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally, however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhin-
775 dered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on
772 the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

/80 cont./

764 those around him should be gay, jest, and laugh. Silence in the house of the deceased is a sin. When all the preparations are finished, the deceased is tied with thongs to a dog sled and his favorite dog is placed over him. For some time the little soul of the deceased will live in this dog. The dog will subsequently be tied to the place where the deceased slept and will be fed the best dishes, and after several months, when the small soul is once again settled in its place, the dog is sold.

Finally, the deceased is brought to that place where his remains will stay forever. Here his last bed on earth awaits him -- a high, symmetrically arranged pile of wood, on which he is carefully placed with his face toward the west. For the last time the wife, the husband, the mother, if the deceased is young, the wife of the elder brother, if the deceased was unmarried, climb up to him and weep, and then, making a sacred fire by means of friction, they set fire to the platform from all sides. When the fire reaches the body of the deceased, everyone hastens to pay their last tribute to him by throwing pieces of firewood into the fire. Even small children take part in this. Four men stand on the sides and, with long poles, readjust the firewood and poke the body so
• [774] that it will burn faster and better. At the same time they break the sled, kettles, and spears and kill the dogs, which frees the souls of these objects to follow the deceased... The ashes are covered with birch bark, and of the deceased there remains only ashes, in the literal sense of the word.

[824] /81/ A tree torn up with the roots is placed over the spot where the deceased was burned.

[262] After this the people seat themselves around the kettles containing the meat of the slain dogs, part of which is eaten and part thrown in all directions. On the way back, they drop in for only a short time at the yurt of the deceased to taste the viands placed there, and then disperse.

Amur

/306 cont./

778 824 A child's amulet -- ola bituz consists of two slender fir trees -- prung, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; their crowns are bound with birch bark. Then they are reinforced, encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (tykr) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened head of k:khong z'ákh, the head of a pike (ius), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

VII.

Religion

• 774 The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The soul -- cheg:n, chekhn, yrykh, uz'(the pith as in a tree). A man has three souls: one major one -- cheg:n, and its two
[756] shadows, assistants. When the cheg:n of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

774 If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true,
787 it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistant. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

765 In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a
[764] dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with drel', then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chongr nynyv), which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white, placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n'ivukh k:ak. Some place the bone in the upper part, others --

/307 cont./

765 next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the
764 dead man -- mu n'ivukh tuv. The body of the deceased is dressed in stockings, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached, on one side, a curved knife (ig:dzeko) and, on the other, kes'kes' -- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mly -- a purse with a flint, tinder, and steel. Then alongside is placed a little stake, and on it a human hair (from the wife, sister, mother) -- mu n'ivukh kiur, which will serve the deceased as an insole for footwear upon going over into the world beyond the grave; next to this, a little stake with three horns (branches), on which is placed a small cup for a cuckoo (pyk nir); furthermore, a little stake with a wooden cuckoo -- mu n'ivukh pyk, i.e., "the cuckoo of the dead man," and finally still another little stake with an eagle feather -- chamngar.

The building of a little grave house can be postponed, but the dressed stuffed doll -- k:ak (1) must be made without fail.

• [532] [774] 1. K:ak -- wooden image of the deceased, a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, k:ak-raf, is erected over him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast is held.

765 In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive, drink, cry, and commemorate; they do this for a year, in some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this, then for one month, depending on status. At the end of the term of "observation" (tigr az'adz; -- "observation of the tree," the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased), they buy vodka and rice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws," and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate; this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyz'dz:, tigr pykyz'dz:).
[231] They walk to the tuv, the place of the cremation of the deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

Amur

/311 cont./

756 Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz:-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Goldi tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovz (Goldi pûn'chû) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then horns -- murki', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys
[776] pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami
• [774] among the Goldi, lives in the uz' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

778 824 Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

[782] Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

[184] 1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Kal'vo on the chédzigr, on its crossbar -- two figur
yzikh -- peasant man and woman. A chédzigr is fed on the first
778 782 824 day of the month anlong (December) and a second time in July. Everyone sits in a circle, and an old man takes a small amount of food from each, makes chukh-chugind -- a sacrifice -- and places inau. The inau are made out of mountain ash.

G /322 cont./

756 Chamkh, the father of Koynyt, my storyteller, was a
● 774 shaman in Ady-Tymi. He had four souls: one from Pal, another from Tol, a third from Tly, and a fourth from Mly-yz'n.

G Shamans make chkhnaj (a wooden image of pal-n'igyvyn),
756 inspired during a seance, and feed them. The feeding consists
798 of giving sugar, saranka, and so forth, but they are eaten by the
782 shaman; it only appears to those around as if he eats it; however, while it is eaten by the kekhn himself. The chkhnaj must be fed or else it will gnaw a person.

G When one is dangerously ill, then the yurt begins to shake
755 and becomes full of openings and through the openings, like
796 mosquitoes, many kekhn fly and shout: "Believe me, me!" And then the shaman falls down as if he were drunk. Then he eats marsh tea and drinks sea water -- he gives this to his kekhn. He swallows fire. Kekhn love songs.

G If a person is near death and a milk has carried his soul to
755 Mlyvo, a kekhn kills him, and the shaman sets out for there for the
756 soul, and, if he succeeds in getting the soul, the sick man will
796 live. The kekhn shows the shaman the road (to Mlyvo). The
794 shaman gets to Mlyvo directly through an apperture; the same earth as here, the same sky, and many villages are there. If the soul is outside, it can still be obtained; if it is in the yurt, all is lost. If the shaman himself enters the yurt, he will die. In Mlyvo the soul of the shaman is like a bird and flies around the subterranean world.

G Parnkhasind (an Orok word) is done only by the Ornyr, i.e.,
755 by the Orok. They ask the chkhnaj whether the sick man will recuperate or not. If the chkhnaj rocks from side to side, he will recuperate; if not -- he will die. All this is done under the smoke of marsh tea. When the shaman beats his drum, the kekhn advises the making of chkhnaj, and if somebody's soul comes into it, then the sick man will live. If he will live, the chkhnaj is fed; then when in the shaman's opinion it is time /323/ to lose him, he comes and arranges for the milk to go from the sick man into the chkhnaj, and the sick man then recovers. (see "Fortunetelling with a Stone").

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
● 774 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
776 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
841 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
854 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
[562] feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
[578] away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[835] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
[158] She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings.. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/331 cont./

795 The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to
787 him several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father took me again," and she did not appear any more.

● 794 The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this
[231] large soul live small souls -- tarn. After the death of a person, a small soul lives in his pryski' (dog), which is tied to his plank bed. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.

[735] A poor person "still has one tiny little soul." If a person dies away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body. Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire a corresponding soul, and therefore if a throat is sore, they make
[825] a tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue. A captured bird with which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will carry away the soul.

795 The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person who has been eaten by a bear lives to a ripe old age with Pal-n'igyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who drowned -- with Tol-n'igyvyn, and then they go to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is caused by the bloodshed during the wars of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle) lives, like a bird, in the air. The souls of such unfortunates shriek at night from the trees.

5. Until a tkhusind (ransom) is received, one who was killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

795 The night bird rakhch is of the size of the crow and just as
825 black, but its beak is red. If its cry is heard at night, one must not call it by name, but must say ark.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly together into the village.

/348 cont./

793 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

798 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
796 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhna
789 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maim

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
● [794] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sittin in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed tha
794 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following da the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkhark or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle sw straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hi If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, han around his neck, and feed it.

t is interesting to note, in regard to the re
in historical times, that the Gilyak native
e isthmus which is said to have united ther
uriously prevalent.

ne story tells how, 'In the good old times n
r land (mainland at the mouth of Amur), fo
once there came water from the sea—much
of the mountains. During that flood many
self, by chance, on the top of a mountain,
no harm, and even allowed him to sit upon
r mountains, where more refugees from th
rs receded and [101] life went on as usual,
had come, to sell the furs they had saved;
sthmus was gone, swept away by the flood
h remains to this day. At the time of this
flowed, and large numbers of our brethren
asked them where this mountain was, and t
h of Alexandrovsk, called Ktaüsi pal (pal-p
ouse, 'Pic la Martinière,' after the botanis
rench from LaPérouse's account has not be

ported connexion of the island and main-
s have a legend telling of the destruction
n. It is one of the deluge stories that are

o boat was needed to go to and from the
or then dry land united it with Sakhalin,
, much water—then only were seen the
Gilyak hunters perished, but one found
sharing it with a bear. The beast did
its back while he swam to the tops of
ne flood were congregated. When the
the Gilyaks wanted to return whence
; but on arrival at the familiar spot, lo!
, and in its place was the narrow strait,
catastrophe,' they added, 'the river Amur
n on its banks perished.'
they indicated a peak about forty miles
peak or mountain), and named by La
st of his expedition. . . [LSS: A footnote
een reproduced.] When the natives see

peak, my Gilyak informant said, they always make a
ntain.

ave wondered whether the following had anything to
a coincidence. I happened to be passing down the St
ian cargo steamer, and talking to the captain about
he said, 'There are frequent fogs here, and you kn
here is always one guide. In the thickest of fogs can
ummit, of a mountain in Sakhalin.' Is this the moun
ls, the clouds and fog, on which the Gilyak and bear
nother legend bearing on the point is told by their old
randfathers [102] remembered the time when on the
it was very hot. The Russians came, and brought wi
re this, grapes ripened on the island, and now only
are very sour, and not really ripe. In the north the
s no fruit.' "

n offering to the god of the

do with the Gilyak story, or was
aits of Tartary on a small
the weather encountered there,
ow how difficult navigation is,
always be seen the top, just
tain, towering above the heavenly
found themselves?
l men, who say that 'their fathers
sland there were no Russians,
th them the cold and snowstorms.
in the south, and even there
re is only the plant, and it

774

ANIMISM--conception of the soul; number of souls; location in the body; characteristics (e.g., shape, visibility, separability); relation of the soul to the body, to the name, to the breath, to dreams, to shadows and reflections, and to life and death; notions of the temporary departure of the soul from the body; attribution of souls to animals and inanimate objects; etc. See also:

Personality 15
Names 551
Conception of conscience 577
Theories of disease and death 753, 761
Concepts of soul-stuff and animated fetishes . . 778
Spirit possession and dream interpretation . . . 787
Interpretation of shadows and reflections . . . 822
Ethnozoology 825
Ideas about breathing 827
Ideas about abnormal mental states 828

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
[562] into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman, for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains" himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master," but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteristic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of women who are wives of the members of that clan are not allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/77 cont./

756 the furies and all the frenzied shrieks of the shamans. When the paroxysm was over, the face of the poor boy was terribly exhausted /78/ and seemed like the face of an old man. In a dream two kekhn appeared to him, one a man, the other a woman; they were the kekhn of his deceased father. They said to him: "We used to play with your father, now let us play with you." Another Gilyak boy, Indyn, also present there, observed the phenomenon of the paroxysm with profound amazement. "Well, now Koynyt will not be a man," he said "The kekhn want to force him to conform to their law."

In this remark is clearly expressed the Gilyak view of the shaman as a special being, as one chosen by the gods. But, as we see, even among the Gilyak selection is not easily attained.

756 158 Thus, the shaman is a chosen one, a person who believes in his power and selection. This conviction could not correspond more to his entire physical make-up, for real shamans are almost always people who suffer from various kinds of hysteria, acquired or inherited. And, as is well known, hysteria is that fertile soil which produces the gift of clairvoyance, hallucination, delirium, and obsessions. They are the individuals who most easily yield to hypnosis and autohypnosis. From childhood, the future shaman is hypnotized by the idea of the protection of the kekhn, and during seances of kamlaniye he uses any means necessary for autosuggestion. The study of the psychics of shamanism, in my opinion, amounts to the study of autohypnosis due to hysteria, and, of course, against a general background of an animistic world-view. Apart from the 756 774 gift of being chosen, the shaman has another enviable advantage over the common mortal. An ordinary mortal has only one soul, a rich man has two, while a shaman may have twice as many as they. Thus, the Ady-Tymovskiy shaman, Chamkh, the father of the boy-shaman, Koynyt, about whom I spoke earlier, had all of four souls. One of these souls was given to him by the mountain, another by the sea, a third by the sky, a fourth by the underground kingdom. During my stay on the

/74 cont./

755 the disgusting bitter root of that plant, eats hot coal, etc. Even such strong measures, however, do not always prove effective. Sometimes the evil spirit does not give in to any human terrorizing, and not only that, but sometimes he even carries off the soul of the sick man into the kingdom of the shades. Then the aid of the higher beings is indispensable.

[756] Such aid can be proffered only by specially chosen men, by specialists-expellers, i.e., shamans.

756 776 Among the Gilyak, shamans do not constitute a class, as among more cultured barbarians. Among the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen ones, who in night visions or in a trance receive a revelation from the god-protector about their high calling. From that moment the shaman has gods-assistants, executors of his commands. These gods-assistants are of two kinds: the kekhn and the kenchkh. The first perform his most important tasks. By force or trick it is they who pull the devil out of the organism of a sick man. They also carry the [774] shaman's soul in search of the stolen soul of a sick man, making their way with it even into the kingdom of the shades. As for the assistants, they are happy spirits who play with the shaman and help him only in tricks. The kekhn are creatures of the most varied breeds: there are kekhn-wolves, eared seals, eagle owls, reindeer, hares, celestial creatures, etc. Each kekhn has his master, who himself personally, very rarely comes to assist, sending his subordinates. The kekhn are capable of assuming any form and consequently can go anywhere necessary to save the sick man.

755 The shamans have three main methods of curing. One consists of hearing the patient out, falling asleep, and then, combining the dreams he has had, giving this or that advice. Having, for instance, seen a skewbald dog in his dream, he decides that for a cure it is necessary to sacrifice a dog, etc. Another method is the ordinary method of kamlanive normally described by ethnographers, namely, expelling the devil by means of frenzied shrieks, beating the tambourine, in a word -- [776] terror. Since, however, you frequently can do nothing with

/761 cont./
heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it. The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

/762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

225 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
476 must often get out on the floes for it is not always conven-
554 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
561

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
225 are five oarsmen, one pila and one other man, then the pila
476 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
561 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
885 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pl skuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pl skuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pila is younger than the extra man in the boat. In that case the pila tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pila Norp took along with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting at the seals and t, to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

225 [82] As mentioned above the pila performs mu-zi d
789 and t aj.
774 Mu-zi d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
751 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform zi d on hands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

mu-ziyed on the boat supports the assumption that at one time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as a living thing. Mu-ziyed on the boat serves, it seems, as a means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

Aside from mu-ziyed, t'aj is performed on the boat. T'aj means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of a branch of rowan (qosk-ŋks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines. One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these t'aj elsewhere.

There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke. They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-p-k-ezd --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an experienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines t'aj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They first go to Ui-kr "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

9: Hawes--243 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 764, 774, 775

"For four days the corpse of the dead woman lies on the nakh of the hut, and during this time her soul pays visits to the four gods, renders an account of her earthly life, and receives instructions for the life after death. All her kindred must come together and not leave the hut during this period, and with all their powers they strive to call to mind and loudly recite all the virtues of their deceased kinswoman. This is done in order to prompt her spirit, lest her etherealized self should omit some of them in its vivâ voce. The lord of fire, as the junior god, serves in this case as messenger, and is therefore strictly kept going in all his force."

6, 764, 774, 775, 825

"As the flames lick up the pyre, the soul
rough the hole or opened door, thence to e
at other world village of Mligh-vo, which
arth, but the Sakhalin Tro and Tim Gilyaks
e sun rises.'

Since it is necessary that the spirit of the
earth, the spirits of the dogs, the sledge,
umber according to the wealth of the depart
death. The sledge is broken, and so are a
s arrows (ku), and quiver (kh'm), or if the
ngs (mestch) [LSS: Erratum; it should rea
ngu-dzhakho). All these articles will be ne
ey must be broken in order to finish their
eir spirits. Every object has its soul, whi
inanimate objects only on being broken, a
o burn them is not to be thought of, becaus

Camping out on the banks of the river Tim
ght for fuel, when Mr. X. came upon a bit
the fire, when Vanka stopped him, crying

akes refuge in the raff [LSS: a funeral hut]
merge later and begin its long journey to
he Amur Gilyaks say is in the centre of the
say is 'There'—pointing to the east—'where

deceased shall travel as he was accustomed
etc., must all be released. The dogs, in
ed, are all killed, being strangled or beaten
lso his spear (kakh), his bow (punch), and
deceased [246] be a woman, then her ear-
d meskh] rings (koi-ba), and her fish-knife
eeded by the deceased in the future life; but
earthly existence, and to give release to
ch resembles it. This is set free in the case
nd is then used by the soul of the deceased.
e they cannot have that honour done them.
in the forest, we were casting around one
of shaped board which he was about to throw
out, 'No, no'. Uich, uich'. It is a piece

764, 774, 775, 825

Gilyak canoe.' Purification by fire
not shot, nor are their throats cut,
ar in the next world with this grave

is reserved only for the human being. The c
for if any of them had his skin broken he wou
personal defect."

4, 782, 825

ong the Gilyaks, all natural objects have a life o
le to the 'owners', if violence has been done. An
and the bear is superior to man in both mind a
'owners' of the forest, the mountains, the sea,

6. Czaplicka, quoting Sternberg, p. 271.

m certain leaves and roots [42] intended for a s
r purpose, he makes the dog a victim. Periodic
the spirits of clansmen who have been killed by

1. Idem., p. 272."

of their own; and sacrifice must
nimals are, in reality, human
and body. Sacrifices are offered
and fire. (6) The Gilyak carries

sacrifice, and, moved by a
al offerings are made to the bear
bears. (1)

775

775 ESCHATOLOGY--conception of the survival of the soul; career of the soul after death (e.g., mode of departure from the body, temporary sojourn near place of death, indefinite sojourn as a disembodied soul or ghost, journey to a realm of the dead); notions about ghosts, specters, apparitions, and phantoms (e.g., shape, substance, propensities); behavior of departed souls or ghosts (e.g., haunting of houses and cemeteries, visitations); spiritualistic beliefs; conception of a realm of the dead (e.g., place, mode of life, rewards and punishment); duration of afterlife; belief in immortality; ideas of transmigration and reincarnation; conception of the survival of the body (e.g., resurrection); etc. See also:

Belief in witches, vampires, and werewolves. . 784
Cult of the dead 769
Communication with spirits. 787
Notion of death and rebirth in initiation ceremonies 881

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[796] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

● 775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
796 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/58 cont./

●775 a bear's love for her, etc. -- all such persons do not travel to
614 the ordinary kingdom of the shades, but go over into the clan of
[166] the gods-masters who took a liking to them, of the mountain, water, fire, etc., and then become the smallest "masters" and protect their clansmen. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i -- forest people, tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people, etc. took form. It is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices. These are not mythical gods, not the fictional heroes of the Greek clans, but actual persons, authoritatively living in the
775 imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods
614 of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of
825 primitive religions -- totemism, the worship of a certain class of animals honored as the clansmen and even the ancestors of their worshipers. In fact, as I said earlier, the master of each element and his clansmen, although they lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak, always appear in the presence of man in the form of this or that animal, the bear (forest people), the beluga or kosatka (sea people), so that the Gilyak as well, having entered after his death the clan of this or that master, also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore, that class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kindred to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem.
775 Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or pre-
614 decessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers or at sea, a system of separate totems for every clan could not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot consider this vast question in more detail here; I shall say only that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows that it is not totemism, i.e., not the belief in descent from this or that /59/ kind of animal, that created the clan gods, as is commonly thought, but, on the contrary, it is the clan gods who created totemism. As we shall see below, we cannot explain the prohibitions of the totemists against using the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.

614 The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other
171 interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman,
[562] for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
●775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below); 2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master," a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains" himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master," but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteristic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of women who are wives of the members of that clan are not allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/78 cont./

756 island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even
774 though he was as poor as Job.

774 The difference in the number of souls according to rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a duplicate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul
[787] plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality, all this is performed by this little soul.

●775 But shamans, no matter how many souls they have,
776 are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest
[756] shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him. This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body, these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man. Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak -- mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally, however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhin-
775 dered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on
772 the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

/79 cont./

●775 not know exactly where this place is); the soul need only
772 descend into this opening and it reaches its goal. There everything is as it is here: the same earth, the same sky, sea, rivers, and forests; only there the sun shines when we have night, and the moon when we have day. The dead come to life and continue to live there in the same settlements as on earth, fish, kill beasts, celebrate clan festivals, marry and procreate. Only the material status changes: the poor man becomes rich and the rich man poor. As you see, even among the Gilyak the poor men find their consolation not in this best of all possible worlds. Even in the new world, however, sickness and death await man. From there the soul must migrate into a third world, and so on until such time as the soul degenerates and turns into ever smaller and smaller beings, a small bird, a gnat; and, finally, ashes. Sometimes souls are born again on our planet, completing again the infinite
[562] series of transformations. For the most part, however, that is the lot of women.

764 /80/ Before entering mlyvo, the soul waits to be
775 equipped with everything necessary to go to the new land comfortably and richer. And so the deceased is dressed in his best garments and in silken robes. Everything that is put on the deceased must be new, fully embroidered, elegant, and durable. A man is dressed in one, three, or six pairs, generally a number of pairs divisible by three, and women in two, four, eight, etc. pairs.

The most expensive spears, rifles, bows, and nets are taken from the storehouse -- and the souls of all these objects set off with the deceased on his journey.

764 While these preparations for a long journey are going on, the deceased is constantly fed the most delicate dishes. Kettles boil from morning until late at night; people throng in the yurt. They eat and drink as during the bear festival, and a part of each dish is given to the deceased. When they smoke, they put their mouths to the lips of the deceased, and share with him this favorite of Gilyak pleasures. While the body of the deceased is in the house, custom dictates that

/87 cont./

*614 On all the important occasions of life; in case of sick-
372 ness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey,
776 etc. -- the clansman throws into the fire his modest sacri-
782 fices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack -- and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request. And she knows all the means necessary to insure that a petition to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

*614 In order to understand the real basis of the "clan"
372 attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it
776 is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased
● 775 are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the fire, who can receive his favorites into his clan, so that these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire; 2) in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

[171] 2. It is curious that a similar view exists among the Buryat: a man who perishes from lightning becomes a powerful and beneficent spirit to whom sacrifices are made and prayers are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman" (mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire, its ability to spread quickly, its many tongues (tongues of flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-Veda) understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" special advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions; finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance, i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

/88 cont./

*614 372 Externally the clan unity of the fire finds expression in the following ways. Only a clansman has the right to light a fire in the hearth of a clansman. Only a clansman has the right to take fire out of the yurt. A member of another clan who has lighted his pipe at the clan hearth may not leave the yurt until he has finished his pipe. Any [688] infraction of these rules of the inviolability of the clan fire by a member of another clan inevitably incurs dangerous consequences for the clansmen and the obligation for the member of another clan to pay blood money.

Each clan has its own clan steel, guarded by the oldest member, and only with this steel can the fire be lighted when bear meat is cooked at the bear festival, which plays such an important role in the religious and clan life of the Gilyak. When it becomes necessary for the clan to divide, i.e., when a part of the clan is compelled to emigrate to a very distant place, the oldest member of the clan breaks the clan steel and entrusts one half to the oldest of the emigrants, and only after this is the clan formally divided.

The mistress of the fire, as the representative of the akhmal'k clan, plays quite an important role in interclan relations, binding, through her cult and protection, the clan in whose midst she dwells and to which she gave birth with the clan from which she came; from generation to generation she brings into it the daughters of her brothers and their descendants.

*614 ● 775 3. One mountain man, sea man, etc. -- the common benevolent clan masters of the mountain, sea, earth, etc. In the section on religious beli[illegible] we have already explained the nature and significance of this type of deity. These are not the fantastic heroes of the classical clans, not the vague, mythical beings whose clan celebrations were a simple traditional ritualism, but clansmen close to each living generation, who either died some kind of unnatural death (in the water, slain by a forest beast, and so forth) or,

/89 cont./

614 713 712 796 182

cremation, and the ears are placed upright, facing each other, in order to be noticeable from afar.

clansmen serve as daily reminders of them.

But the bond of the clan with its divine clansmen is not limited to piety and grateful recollection; these ties are rooted in a more practical and stronger motive force -- the very instinct of self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no more indubitable truth than that all his prosperity, all that nature gives him in return for his desperate efforts in the struggle for existence, all this is the free gift of the gods, his benefactors; without their benevolence, all the efforts of man would be fruitless. And the gods-clansmen, as we know, take part above all else in this life-giving benevolence; they are the true sustainers of the clan, and there is no weightier obligation for any clansman than to promote this benevolence to the best of his ability. That is why the clan sacrifice and festival, held once a year according to rule, /90/ for the mountain and sea people are most important acts of clan life, in which everyone, in the name of self-preservation, considers it his most sacred obligation to take the most fervent part.

In the section on religion we dwelt in detail on these periodic sacrifices to the masters of the sea and mountains. Without exaggeration one can say that the whole social activity of the Gilyak is principally directed to preparation for the clan sacrifices and to preoccupation with celebrating them most magnificently. Wealthy and poor man alike, according to their abilities and means, not from fear but for conscience's sake, make all possible efforts, sometimes denying themselves their last possessions, in order that the sacrifices be as ample and varied as possible and that the festivals be as magnificent as possible; this is the general interest of one and all.

/90 cont./

* 614 713 712 796 182

In its evolution, this solidarity in the sacrifices to clansmen, fostered for ages, becomes the principle of the clan relation to the gods in general. When in whole individual affairs, during illness, say, the Gilyak makes a sacrifice, he will without fail summon his absent clansmen, even from afar, so that they may enjoy the beneficial consequences of the sacrifice.

614 713 712 796 182 * 614 713

The principle of common clan deities, the sustainer of the clan, is the foundation of the institution of hospitality and the most extensive fraternal mutual aid.

It should be evident to anyone acquainted with the institution of hospitality among primitive peoples, even if only from travelers' descriptions, that it must be based on something more than mere social etiquette or even ordinary sympathy for one's fellow creatures. The Arab, at his own hearth manifests the warmest hospitality to even his enemy, concerning whom at any other place he has only one imperative -- kill, evidently is impelled by a more powerful motive, a motive which has behind it religious sanction. And this must be said about the basis of the institution among all other primitive peoples, including the Gilyak. The Gilyak considers it his obligation to extend hospitality not only to the traveler, not only to the actually hungry man, but also in cases where from our point of view there is no necessity whatever for displaying this feeling. No matter how many times a day a neighbor may appear at his hearth, no matter what time of day it be, the guest is immediately offered all the viands in the possession of the host, not to mention the inevitable handful of tobacco for his pipe. /91/ If there is no extra tobacco, the host takes from with the guest in drawing on a common pipe. These attitudes are most striking in the handling of rare, costly dishes and delicacies. If you bring the host a glass of vodka, he will never allow himself to drink it alone, he will merely put his lips to it, and then it goes around to all the dwellers in the house, although there may be dozens of them, including the children, even suckings. To do otherwise would be a very great sin, one might die.

/91 cont./

very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable, not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him, is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the "hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives the "master and mistress" of the fire, "a clansman or even an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries between the clan and its clan gods, and there is nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of their gods-clansmen, are so binding that the recipients of "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and, in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families whose members for one reason or another could not participate in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak, is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

614 713 712 796 182 * 614 713 712 796 182 * 614 713 712 796 182 *

[025] [026] [027] [028] [029] [030] [031] [032] [033] [034] [035] [036] [037] [038] [039] [040] [041] [042]

/88 cont./

sought by the deities, were prematurely torn from life in more natural ways, /89/ for example, those who died from longing for the mountain, sea, and such people who were enamored of them.

The beloved and chosen ones of the "master" of one or another element, upon whose bounty depends the entire welfare of the Gilyak, pass immediately after death into the clan of the corresponding "master" for a fairly long time (in the case of the mountain people, for example, up to their second death, i.e., for two generations, and during all this time, of course, they especially shower benefits upon their kinsmen, sending them forest beasts (the mountain man), or fish and sea animals (the water or sea man). And when the Gilyak speaks of some "mountain" man or some such man who feeds him, he has in mind his kinsman, who, within his recollection or at the most that of his father or grandfather, found himself, in the ways indicated above, among the host of the "masters." The time span of such [765] a chosen one is not long (two generations at most) and frequently one clansman has barely joined the gods when he is followed by a second, third, etc., cases of death from an attack by a wild beast or on the water are not rare. Thus, the bond between the living generation of clansmen and their divine clansmen-benefactors is profoundly alive and real. Many of them were known to everyone, either personally or through the vivid recollections of their contemporaries; special monuments (1) erected by their grateful

[766]

1. The monument of a man slain by a bear is the frame of a bear hunter, in which the remains of the slain man are kept in accordance with a special ritual (see below, subsection 6 /p.551 ff./). As for those who drowned, a boat with all the appurtenances of sea and river pursuits is put on the site of their

/761 cont./
heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it. The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

/762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224.

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237.

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about

/762 cont./
on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to heaven and therefore no longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, this idea may in part also give rise to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. II, 57-59.)

44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (***),

*** See Appendix 45, below.

the soul of a person drowned in the river or in the sea (according to Jutschin's report) does not go to heaven or to Mlygh-wo, but goes into a seal dog, and, to be sure, into a kighitsch or pyghilangr, i.e., the adult Phoca vitulina or nautica. A number of uitsch are therefore connected with the catching of a sea dog. For example, when the sea dog is caught and before any use is made of it, a cut with the knife must always be made through each eye so that the liquid can flow out. This is caught in the hollow of the hand and thrown back into the river. Only then may the sea dog be used as needed (†).

†. See p. 851.

It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (tlõ), where the souls of the murdered are said to go. As an answer to my question as to whether these souls go to one of the stars, which are also earths, I was told that they also went beyond these, kikr, i.e., "inland" from the stars (††). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

†† Therefore beyond them; see the star-dwellers, p. 1101.

45. Olcha. From Chossiambo I learned the following about the views of the Olcha with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/770 cont./
the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, to the right in the middle distance).

There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

57. Gilyak. According to Surgin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

chrenck--1240 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

2 cont./

1. (cont.)
members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the dering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like- usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). aff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as g the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut- in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy ak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage- mber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the am-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of halin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uftsch, o deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as ng the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of rodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu he map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very efully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

780 Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

764 burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurine, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

[775] [614] 372 784 756 776 [614]

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any part in the clan cults.

538 Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyl'ugd), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

531 Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

[462]

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

[177]

9: Hawes--163-164 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 762, 775

"Resuming our journey again, we were still casting about for a low, level, sandy bed, and the twilight was fast gathering, when my attention was called from the terrestrial to the supernatural. From out of the now dark and gloomy forest came a half moan, half cry.

It was uncanny beyond words. A cry from the unknown, a moan from the depths of undisturbed regions. Our Gilyaks ceased paddling, and we asked, 'What is it? It must be some animal. Perhaps it is in the claws of a bear.'

'Kaukray! kaukray! (1) No! no! It is no animal. It is the shade of a dead man wander-

1. A Gilyak word, meaning "no" or "nothing."

ing in the forest.'

For the Gilyaks not only believe in a future world, but their conceptions really connote immortality. The members of their race on the mainland, who live on the banks of the Amur, hold that the spirit of the departed one reaches after several days' journey a great village in the centre of the earth called Mligh-vo, where life is much the same as on earth, with this difference, that there the hunting and fishing are unstinted. In fact, it is the familiar [164] 'happy hunting ground' of the Indian. A distinction is made between those who die a natural and a violent death, for the spirits of the murdered and suicides fly to heaven (tlo) tirect, thus avoiding the long journey, and therefore not requiring food

"Vanka declared that the spirit of
where the sun rises), but that of a b
us the general conception of his trib
versation with their Cham, or 'med
we were informed that 'a good man'
earth (evidently to Mligh-vo); but a
round the huts of the village.' "

a good man went to the Great Spirit (to the East,
ad man into grass. Whether or not he was giving
e we could not make out. Some days later, in con-
icine man,' and some of the elders of the Tro Gilya
s spirit goes into the ground into the middle of the
bad man's is disturbed, and drifts about like air

Section 13 (1)

1. The table of contents for this chapter is missing in the manuscript.

The bear festivals. Their cultural character and social signifi-
ance. -- The bear festivals among the Amur Gilyak. Cere-
nonies and entertainments before and during the killing of the
ears, as well as during the consumption of them. Burial of the
ones and skulls of the bears. Modifications among the Olcha,
s well as among the Gilyak on Sakhalin and the Ainu.

The bear plays an outstanding role in the life of all the
eoples of the Amur region and Siberia up to Kamchatka. But
mong none of them is this the case to the extent that it is among
he Gilyak. The huge size that it attains in the Amur region (2),

2. See my measurements of bear skulls in Vol. I, pp. 8 ff., of this work.

s vicious nature, which, perhaps because there it does not find
nywhere near the abundance of food that it does in Kamchatka,
nakes it not hesitate to attack even human beings, and its
equent occurrence at all times make it the most feared beast
f prey of the region. It is therefore not surprising that the
nagination of the Gilyak is much occupied with it and sur-
ounds it, in life as well as after death, with fearful superstitious
deas. For instance, there prevails among them the belief that
he soul of a Gilyak who was killed in a fight with a bear moves
nto the body of this beast of prey, which may have chiefly
risen from the fact that the bear in its mode of life and its
earing reveals many a similarity with them, in that it, like
hem, feeds largely on the salmon ascending the river in masses,
n berries, plant tubers, and the like, like them it prepares a
lace for itself for the winter in caves under snow-covered twigs,
ike them it stands upright in combat, etc.

/744 cont./

778 run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a
751 lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one
532 another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the one end.

778 The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang
776 figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifi-
532 cally: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangular piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the re-
[753] ports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring
[761] him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no
775 wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
766 the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
776 to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
[532] two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
[778] with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

778 I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigans,
532 if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the purpose of the whole semicircle Namely, it is to be worn around
[751] the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The name kissj, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

/749 cont./

Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idol-images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Allof. The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the points marked with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (att) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic; see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an att head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

Finally I found here the representation of an animal reminiscent of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide snout was densely studded with teeth. The natives called it chaż, or, as an idol, chaż-kägn, but knew nothing about the animal which the figure represented, in that they had neither seen such an animal in the water or on land nor heard it mentioned in their traditions. They simply said that this

/761 cont./

II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life after Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Surgin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death journey on the earth or under the earth. This flying up to heaven is most likely represented by the flying figure of the wagn, which resembles a flying human being with the characteristic bird's or fish's head. (Bm. I, p. 53.)

43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutschin dictated to me an interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained a most instructive commentary in part. The song had been sung by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rschyvguk, from Wair, whom he had abducted (*). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Vol. III of this work, "Linguistic Findings, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Mlygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place in the interior of the earth to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 above.)

116, 775, 787

"The spirits of the deceased occ
relations; for, endowed with super
pay visits to their kindred, give th
troubles. If they desire to show [16
given to man to see them in a state
this subject to an old Gilyak, he sa
times. They come to warn us of so

'But,' I asked, 'how are you to k

'Why, of course, you call, and i
spirit, and then you must throw ou

'Have you ever seen such?'

'No.'"

asionally hold communication with their earthly
-natural capacities, they can in moments of dulnes
em useful counsel and warn them against unknown
5] themselves to any one they can; but it is only
approaching death, i.e. in a dream. Talking on
id, 'Spirits of the departed knock at the door some-
me misfortune.'
now that it is the spirit of the deceased that knocks
f there is no answer you know that it is a departed
t some food.'

"Wild swans occasionally flew ac
tap-tapping the trees. Our natives
aloft or settled on the top of a high
shot. These were the white-tailed
their tail-feathers, for which they
6s.). The Japanese (in Yezo) are s
of importance by placing them over
the feathers, which they use for ar
placed at the grave of a Gilyak who
his soul in its flight to heaven."

ross high overhead, and a woodpecker could be he
eagerly asked us to shoot the eagles which soared
tree, only to fly away as we approached within gun
eagles (Haliëtus albicillus), prized by the natives f
declared the Chinese gave them three dollars (abou
aid to use them to indicate the residence of a pers
his door; in any case, the Gilyaks themselves val
row-heads. The wings are also prized by them, be
has been murdered or has committed suicide, to a

to be placed at their grave. How and
plain, but the differentiation marks
murdered or suicide."

in what Mligh-vo differs from tlo they cannot ex-
heir conception of the sacredness of the soul of the

"There is one incident in the ceremonial [
tioned, but which possesses some special si
head, which is never on any account eaten. A
dogs which I bartered for were all minus the

It is noticeable that while the bear's head i
bring success and courage to the hunters, bu
eating of the brain would render the consume
The skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak
phins, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habi
place theirs near their huts and make offerin
and gain their protection; whereas the Gilyal
of the woods, and are not frequented by ther
of these golgothas, is, I do not know; but it
of the animals whose spirits have gone back
those of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of the
and either guard the remains of the Gilyak o

LSS: The bear fête] which I have not men-
gnificance. This is the saving of the bear's
A skin offered to me, and the fells of the
heads.

is not eaten, the heart is. The latter will
ut I gathered that the Gilyak believes the
er bear-like, and an enemy to his fellows.
cemetery, and there, with skulls of dol-
t common among the Ainus, who, however,
ngs of sake (spirit), etc., to pacificate them
ks' cemeteries are in the secret recesses
n. What the idea that lies at the [203] root
seems probable that they think the remains
to the great Pal ni vookh should rest near
se animals will come back to these spots
r at least refrain from haunting the living."

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (19
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

"As the flames lick up the pyre, t
through the hole or opened door, the
that other world village of Mligh-vo
earth, but the Sakhalin Tro and Tim
the sun rises.'

Since it is necessary that the spir
on earth, the spirits of the dogs, th
number according to the wealth of th
to death. The sledge is broken, and
his arrows (ku), and quiver (kh'm),
rings (mestch) [LSS: Erratum; it sh
(ungu-dzhakho). All these articles w
they must be broken in order to fini
their spirits. Every object has its s
of inanimate objects only on being b
To burn them is not to be thought of

Camping out on the banks of the r
night for fuel, when Mr. X. came u
on the fire, when Vanka stopped him

he soul takes refuge in the raff [LSS: a funeral hut]
ence to emerge later and begin its long journey to
, which the Amur Gilyaks say is in the centre of the
Gilyaks say is 'There'—pointing to the east—'where

it of the deceased shall travel as he was accustomed
e sledge, etc., must all be released. The dogs, in
ne departed, are all killed, being strangled or beaten
so are also his spear (kakh), his bow (punch), and
or if the deceased [246] be a woman, then her ear-
hould read meskh] rings (koi-ba), and her fish-knife
vill be needed by the deceased in the future life; but
sh their earthly existence, and to give release to
oul, which resembles it. This is set free in the case
roken, and is then used by the soul of the deceased.
, because they cannot have that honour done them.
iver Tim in the forest, we were casting around one
pon a bit of shaped board which he was about to throw
, crying out, 'No, no'. Uich, uich'. It is a piece

9: Hawes--244-245 T-3 (1901

116, 764, 775

"At this juncture some of the followe
tery, which every village possesses in
impossible for a stranger to find. Ther
is built of cleanly stripped sticks of the
the ends of the sticks projecting, and e
sticks, moss, twigs, and larch chips.
family hastily construct with planks of
two and a half feet long, broad and high
a hole in the side, or a little door, whi
made, for they are anxious to finish th
therefore they use material which has
hand.

To erect the raff for the reception of
tion has been given would be an insult t
cortège is about to start. The journeys
soul is now ready, and only awaits the
divine capacities.

The cortège is followed by a crowd o
hair, loudly crying and weeping tears
other in enumerating the virtues of their

rs leave the crowd and run quickly to the ceme-
the secluded depths of the forest, in a spot quite
re on a site chosen by the family, a funeral pyre
e height of a man. It is of diamond shape, with
ight layers in height. On the top are more dried
At a few feet from the pyre these friends of the
wood a little hut-like building called a raff, about
n, with a sloping roof. This little structure has
ch looks towards the pyre. Great haste has to be
eir work before the procession arrives, and
been prepared by the friends of the dead before-

the soul of the deceased before the divine sanc-
o the gods; therefore the followers wait until the
to the gods [245] have been duly made, and the
purification by fire, which shall assure to it

f kindred and acquaintances, with dishevelled
of sincerity or convention. They vie with each
dead comrade, hoping thereby to gain his protection."

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

of a Gilyak canoe.' Purification by fire is
are not shot, nor are their throats cut, for
appear in the next world with this grave pe

reserved only for the human being. The dog
if any of them had his skin broken he would
rsonal defect."

9: Hawes--246-247 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 764, 775

"The ashes of the cremated corpse are gathe
box (paff), and buried on the site of the fire. So
are buried beneath a hole in the floor of the raf
the deceased is stuck into the ground by the raf
the kindred, and perhaps as a landmark for the

In front of the hole or door of the raff are rai
erection resembling a miniature goal-post, and
provisions, tobacco, etc., for the use of the so
have two wooden boxes—one cylindrical and the
carved with scroll pattern, albeit very smelly—
[247] containing rice, fish, etc., and a pair of
are covered with pieces of bark to protect them
animals."

red together and put into a coffin-like
metimes, as on the mainland, the ashes
f. A stick with pieces of the garments of
f, and serves apparently as memorial to
return of the soul of the departed.
sed two poles and a cross-piece, an
on the cross-bar are hung all manner of
ul of the deceased on its long journey. I
other rectangular in shape, interestingly
-which originally hung at such a grave,
wooden chop-sticks. All these provisions
from the ravages of birds and wild

9: Hawes--242-243 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 556, 764, 775

"Four garments—short-skirted frocks—ar
Only the best may be selected, and in case o
cade, I have mentioned, will be used. Over a
reason of the four garments is this. The spir
each of the gods or lords in turn, Tol ni vook
rivers); Pal ni vookh, the lord of the forest;
the judge of good and evil; and as her duty on
after the fire, so Tur ni vookh is her most in
each one, and the road is long and difficult,
suffices for a journey, and she must not appe
course, if the family of the deceased is poor,
delicacy; but woe to the light-minded membe
four garments on their dead. She and her kin
in the next world will be poverty-stricken ev
condition, and her kindred will suffer many r
whose majesty has been insulted."

e placed upon the corpse of the woman.
f a 'wealthy' Gilyak the rare Chinese bro-
ll the corpse is robed in a shuba. The
it of the dead woman must appear before
kh, the [243] lord of the water (sea and
Tur ni vookh, the lord of fire; and Kiskh,
earth was to keep the hearth, i. e. look
timate deity. Since she must appear before
four dresses are necessary, as one only
ear before the god in torn garments. Of
, the god will overlook that little want of
ers of a rich family, if they omit to place
dred will indeed have a bad time; her life
en as she has shown herself in miserable
misfortunes from the hands of those gods

Our talk then drifted on to the passing of morta
de a rather remarkable statement; but I was no
ch of the form of it was due to the interpreter,
Mr. X., on whose accuracy and appreciation o
end.

Ie said, 'When a man dies, he does not change.
rt just as before, and only his spirit is missin
ıld be alive. Therefore, I believe the spirit liv
xpect to see my father, but where I cannot say.
en his father died his grandfather came in the f
expectation of his father coming for him in the

ls into the next world, and the elder
ot sure then, nor am I now, as to how
who in this case was unfortunately
of the points raised, I could always

He has ears, eyes, nose, hands, and
g. If this were to come back the man
es, [242] if not here then elsewhere.
' Our 'captain' Yungkin declared that
ire and took him, and Yungkin waited
same way."

These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace", the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of G nghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 257] [242]

Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

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no are descendents of the Ainu bury
eir bodies in the earth.

d after their death. If that were done all
ent at the ceremony would be punished with
their eyesight. Even the parents of twins
buried in the earth, because they too have
atives of the god of the mountains. The
twins, however, are considered to be
embers of the tribe, and at their funeral
deviation from the custom.
stay alive and grow up they remain, for the
r lives, the object of awe for all their
nd friends although there may be enough
hey lack every kind of supernatural power.
eeting, either in friendship or in hostility,
remind them of their unusual progenity and
attributes to them that mysterious innate
h of the twins bears the name he gave
a child. The custom of giving the child the
lead ancestor is not followed in the case of
names of the twins are neither given to
ld in the same family nor to another child
. Here too we see a deviation from the
stom of giving children the names of dead

test awe is felt for those twins who die in
The offspring of the spirits of the
who, while living among ordinary human
a short time, who did not get used to them
feel he was one of them, has especially
o do harm to people; that is why they try
his favor. The family who had harbored
me offspring of the mountains constructs
lel of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a
inside the house or outside in the open.
re carved in wood which represents the
s put into that little hut. The members
y consider it necessary to give some of the
at themselves to that little figure every
ule is strictly followed not only by the
he twins but also by the two following
. Only the great-grandchildren, observing
rites, carry the little figure with its

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, fo
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter lo
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground;
they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tri
is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child,
tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.
753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, whic
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke the
anger. Several diseases which attack the parents an
relatives of the twins are considered to be symptom
of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are
certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone,
squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of
convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is
considered to be a consequence of the mountain
spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says
"tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is
tormenting".
784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to liste
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautio
they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth o
twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow house-
hold articles nor to accept gifts from friends who ha
given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are
considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard
objects, however, especially tools made of metal, d
not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the
new one.
842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this north
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the
transference of physical peculiarities from one man
to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an
explanation for the superstitious remedies they use
for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who
cannot bear children must ask another very fertile
woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and
she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired
success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be
transferred from one person to another like a
contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel
which had been used by the sick person.

"For four days the corpse of the dead woman
his time her soul pays visits to the four gods,
nd receives instructions for the life after death
nd not leave the hut during this period, and wit
nind and loudly recite all the virtues of their de
rder to prompt her spirit, lest her etherealize
ivâ voce. The lord of fire, as the junior god, s
s therefore strictly kept going in all his force."

ies on the nakh of the hut, and during
enders an account of her earthly life,
. All her kindred must come together
n all their powers they strive to call to
ceased kinswoman. This is done in
d self should omit some of them in its
erves in this case as messenger, and

116, 562, 764, 775

"Crying and loud taking fill the hut. The m
and all vie with each other in showing their a
eschewed, pipes are broken in pieces, and t
If the deceased be a man, similar ceremo
maintainer of the hearth, he [244] has to giv
only; and therefore his body requires only t
days. As with the woman, over the other ga
have not yet gained that supernatural capacit
raiment is necessary on their long journeys.
At the end of the lying-in-state, i.e. on t
for the man, the corpse is taken out of the h
team of dogs. The shuba is taken off, for alt
ties, the journeys have been made, and it is
gained by purification."

ourners loose their hair from the pigtails,
.bandonment of pleasure. Luxuries are
ne tobacco is allowed to fall out.
nies are gone through, but as he is not the
e an account of his doings to three gods
ree garments, and lies in the hut but three
ments is worn a shuba; for their spirits
y which defies the elements, and warm

e fifth day for the woman and on the fourth
ut and laid on a narta, a sledge drawn by a
hough the soul has not yet its divine facul-
no longer needed. These are now to be

"In talking of their departed, they never called th
ch, i. e. unlucky, ill-omened. Filial piety as amo
nd the elder before us was no exception to the rule
his father's funeral pyre, his father being a well
ecessary for his spirit to travel with an honourabl

hem by their name. That would be
ong the Chinese is a cardinal virtue,
e. He had killed no less than ten dogs
-to-do man, and therefore it was
e cortège in the next world."

: Bush--102 T-2 (1865) 1871
, 764, 775, 825

"Their funeral rites are sometimes quite impressiv
rned, and afterward a small wooden house or tomb is
ath the soul is supposed to take up its abode in the fa
remains until released from its confinement by the d
escape, it has become customary to sacrifice the d
eature being first fattened for the occasion."

ve. The remains are first
erected over the ashes. At
vorite dog of the deceased, where
leath of the animal. To facilitate
og at the tomb of its master, the

776

SPIRITS AND GODS--conception of supernatural beings of a higher order than disembodied souls; indications of their genetic relationship to ghosts; prevalent types of supernatural beings (e.g., guardian and familiar spirits, tutelary divinities, tribal gods, nature spirits and gods, angels, animal and totemic divinities, fairies and sprites, demons, mythical monsters, deified heroes and saints, divine tricksters, occupational or functional deities, creator gods, rulers of the spirit world, high god or supreme being); attributes of individual deities and of categories of divine beings (e.g., name, sex, form, character, powers, functions, symbols); hierarchical arrangement (e.g., polytheistic pantheon, dualism, henotheism, monotheism); etc. See also:

Totemic beliefs associated with kin groups . . . 61 Hero worship 769
Religious practices 78

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented by
114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

* 114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
797 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
• [776] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' according to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form of animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
[262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

* 114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[77] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
[825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

[756] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

* 114 "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
197 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of the Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

/55 cont./

776 Other gods distant from him, the sun and the moon, for
782 example, just like the tly-nivukh'i, interest him little, for
these gods are not closely related to his life and needs. On the
other hand, the Gilyak is in constant communication with such
gods as the master of the taiga, the sea, and the fire, turning
to them sometimes with sacrifices, sometimes with prayers.
Usually both acts are joined together. For an ordinary sacri-
fice neither solemnity nor any special objects are necessary.
The principle /56/ of sacrifice is exchange, and therefore one
cannot give the god of the sea fish, nor the god of the taiga the
meat of animals.

782 If the Gilyak sails on the sea and is afraid of a storm, he
1484 respectfully lowers a leaf of tobacco or a handful of rice over
the side and says: "Please make the sea calm, so that I may
arrive home alive and healthy." Whenever the Gilyak sets out,
he takes along in a special sack his favorite objects for sacri-
fice, sweet herbs, sarana, and so forth -- since the gods are not
demanding.

123 Some kind of candy delivered to the deity may sometime
776 stand one in very good stead. I experienced this once myself.
It was in August, 1894. With great difficulties, almost with-
out provisions or supplies, and with one piece of brick tea and
some biscuits, I reached the Head of the earth. When I un-
expectedly informed my companions that I had decided to
betake myself up to the top of the "Head" in order to collect
plants and remove some stones, my companions were overcome
with panic. They adjured me to renounce my "insane" in-
tention, which had to lead to our common destruction, offer-
ing as proof the example of two Russian seamen who had at-
tempted to go up to the top of the small god, Lazarev Cape,
perished, and were buried there. The captain of my boat,
Gibel'ka, an intelligent and loyal Gilyak from the settlement
Tangi, who had become quite attached to me, was especially
agitated.

/56 cont./

123 "What are you afraid of?" I said to him. "You will stay,
776 be alive, go back home, everything will be fine and do not
782 worry about me." "No, friend," replied Gibel' with anima-
tion, "that is a bad law; we have traveled together, worked
together, written together, searched together for the stone
ax, looked at people together, passed judgment together, and
now I will go back home and are going to die here? Is such
the law? And what will the most great chief say? 'Why,'
he will say, did you not see to it that the "tyan'gi" (gentle-
man) traveled well?' He will say that I killed you. That
will be a great sin. No, you had better not touch the god of
the earth; he is terribly big, strong, and he can get terribly
angry."

123 Seeing that I was adamant, Gibel'ka, after some thought,
776 said: "You have nothing to give the Head of the earth, such
782 an important 'tyan'gi' and yet to have nothing to give. If
we give him a present and say a good word, perhaps he will not
become angry." Then I remembered that a few pieces of
candy that I use for slaking my thirst when climbing a moun-
tain were left in my pocket and, showing them to my elated
companions, said that I /57/ would take them to the angry god
and say a good word. My companions calmed down somewhat,
and I set out on my way. In the evening when I came back
loaded with a collection of herbs and minerals, my companions
surrounded me with joy and began to inquire about what word
I said to the Head of the earth. I was forced to recite for them
impromptu prayers in their national style. "Lord of the Earth,
you are very big and strong and can become terribly angry.
All people know you. I came from a distant land, from a
most distant land I came in order to look at you; please make
it so that I and my companions are healthy and return home,
and do not die of hunger on the way. Please feed me well!"
When, exhausted and starving, we returned that very day to
the settlement of Nyur very close by, and Gibel'ka, while the
tea was being boiled, told the amazed listeners about my
sacrifice and about the eloquent prayer, something extraordinary
happened. All the people looked with tender emotion, while

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus,
thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak,
not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my
companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long
time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are
dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of
sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a
long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn oc-
casions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time,
depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[776] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told:
"Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master
love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion
of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man
before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its
death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life
of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak
offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The
clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe
we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common
fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the
Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon.
The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical be-
ings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own
clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
766 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was
killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he
was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness,
if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/72 cont./

G An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the
776 origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak
761 is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the
262 Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their
G1 Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi
776 woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear
761 and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently
262 often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of
773 a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened,
however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually
she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were
found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she
requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that
in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually
observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear
that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, conse-
quently, a clansman of the Orochi.

G
• 776 Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have men-
tioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides
these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are
evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'ki" and
"kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and
are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They
appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the
shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They
are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground
and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious
creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are in-
dividual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of
beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become
enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

G Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the
776 Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'i); others
761 ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all
753 sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/73 cont./

• 776 life, causing sickness and death. But for them, people would
761 not die. Natural death is impossible. Death is the result of
753 the scheming of these insidious creatures. Therefore the Gilyak
will never touch a sable that died in the taiga, even though his
skin is very valuable and very well preserved, for a devil as-
suredly rests in a sable that has died. Just as he, the Gilyak,
lies in wait for a beast and tries in every way to kill him, so
an evil spirit lies in wait for the Gilyak himself at every step,
753 in order to devour him. Sickness is no more than an evil being
776 who made his way into the body of a Gilyak and is slowly
eating him. Nightmares and dreams in which the sick man
dreams that somebody is strangling him, pressing from within,
easily provide grounds for such a notion. If some organ is not
functioning in the proper way, as, for example, in shortness of
breath, it is easy to imagine that some kind of being has got
inside and is interfering with breathing, and so forth. It is
imperative to expel such a creature. This expulsion is effected
in various ways, beginning with the simplest and ending with
the most complex.

755 Here is an example which quite graphically illustrates
the "psychology" of the expulsion of devils. One woman, who
was subject to attacks of sudden hysterical psychosis, was placed
in my presence on a high platform, generally used to clean
fish, and a fire was ignited under it with all kinds of rags,
canine feces, and stinking garbage. The devil inside the
woman could not, of course, bear the horrible smell and
prudently left the heart of the woman, who was thus saved.
But not all devils are so sensitive to a bad smell; others re-
quire stronger methods. Such devils must be frightened by
extraordinary noise, by frenzied shrieks, by the frightening
appearance of the expeller, and by other such terrorizing
methods, hence the necessity for the devil-expeller to beat
his tambourine, make noise with rattles, shriek in an unnatural
voice, and put himself in a state of frenzy, to which end /74/
he swallows smoke, drinks sea water, puts himself in a state
of stupor with the smoke of bagul'nik (Ledum palustre), chews

/74 cont./

755 the disgusting bitter root of that plant, eats hot coal, etc.
Even such strong measures, however, do not always prove ef-
fective. Sometimes the evil spirit does not give in to any
human terrorizing, and not only that, but sometimes he even
carries off the soul of the sick man into the kingdom of the
shades. Then the aid of the higher beings is indispensable.

[756] Such aid can be proffered only by specially chosen
men, by specialists-expellers, i.e., shamans.

756 Among the Gilyak, shamans do not constitute a class,
• 776 as among more cultured barbarians. Among the Gilyak, the
shamans are chosen ones, who in night visions or in a trance
receive a revelation from the god-protector about their high
calling. From that moment the shaman has gods-assistants,
executors of his commands. These gods-assistants are of two
kinds: the kekhn and the kenichkh. The first perform his most
important tasks. By force or trick it is they who pull the devil
out of the organism of a sick man. They also carry the
[774] shaman's soul in search of the stolen soul of a sick man, making
their way with it even into the kingdom of the shades. As for
the assistants, they are happy spirits who play with the shaman
and help him only in tricks. The kekhn are creatures of the
most varied breeds: there are kekhn-wolves, eared seals, eagle
owls, reindeer, hares, celestial creatures, etc. Each kekhn
has his master, who himself personally, very rarely comes to
assist, sending his subordinates. The kekhn are capable of
assuming any form and consequently can go anywhere neces-
sary to save the sick man.

755 The shamans have three main methods of curing. One
consists of hearing the patient out, falling asleep, and then,
combining the dreams he has had, giving this or that advice.
Having, for instance, seen a skewbald dog in his dream, he de-
cides that for a cure it is necessary to sacrifice a dog, etc.
Another method is the ordinary method of kamlaniye normally
described by ethnographers, namely, expelling the devil by
means of frenzied shrieks, beating the tambourine, in a word --
[776] terror. Since, however, you frequently can do nothing with

/74 cont./

755 only noisy terror, during kamlaniye the above-mentioned
● 776 nikhti kekhn are called on to help. In point of fact, calling
on the spirits is at the present time the essential part of
kamlaniye. The entire power of the autohypnosis which the
755 shaman creates in himself with frenzied shouts, narcotics, the
776 deafening sounds /75/ of the tambourine, wild dancing is used
787 to evoke in himself that high degree of sensitivity due to which
he sees and hears his spirits-protectors. We can fully believe
that he actually hears and sees them. And with his faith he
hypnotizes those around him. I hope that no one will suspect
me of a partiality for the shamans, but I can calmly testify
that in my presence the ecstacy of the shaman and the mysteri-
ous condition in which the frenzied chosen one thrashed and
shrieked brought the Gilyak to such a state that they had
hallucinations and saw everything that the shaman himself
755 saw in his trance. The shaman skillfully has recourse to first
776 one, then another of his kekhn, depending on the circum-
stances. Thus, if the devil has stubbornly settled inside the
organism and does not want to leave, the shaman calls on the
ar-rymnd-kekhn, which turns into a fiery ball and makes its
way into the belly of the shaman and from there to the most
distant parts of his body, so that during the seance the shaman
emits fire out of his mouth or nose or from any part of his body.
After being thus filled with fire, he touches the sore spot with
his lips and lets in fire, which conclusively drives out the
devil. The meaning of this device lies in the same primitive
principle of terror -- in this case, frightening with fire, which
I mentioned at the beginning. Generally the kekhn are quite
a shrewd people. Thus, when a kekhn makes his way to the
master of the sea for the small soul of a drowned man, which
lies on a bed in the yurt of the master himself, he takes along
a white reindeer. Of course, the sea people, who have never
seen such a strange beast, run out of the yurt in order to look
at it. This moment is utilized by the kekhn to steal the
little soul of the drowned man.

/75 cont./

755 It is evident from the following how realistic the
● 776 Gilyak's attitude toward the kekhn is. A large piece of new
calico (per) is spread out on the floor of the yurt, inside be-
fore the threshold, and the kekhn will rest on it during the
seance. A bowl with sarana, sugar, the prized dish "moo'."
potatoes, and other dainties to which the spirit-healer will
treated in the intermissions of the kamlaniye are placed in a
corner on a shelf. Over the bed of the sick man, a thong is
hung in a circle, and a sharp knife with a nail in it is placed near
the bed. The kekhn binds the sick man's soul which found
its way into the mlyvo (the settlement of the dead)and, clasping
it under its arm, brings it back into the yurt, then throws it
into the kettle, and fastens it with the nail. It must not be
placed on the floor or on a plank bed, because it can run
back through the floor.

/76/ The third method of curing is at a distance.
755 When a man suddenly falls sick at a place where there is no
shaman or on the road, he goes outside at night when the
shamans sleep, throws a sacrifice to the gods, and shouts
with all his might: "Chamnay, nikhovlatyngra n'onyuya,"
i.e., "Shaman! I am sick, help me!" The shaman is then
776 supposed to begin the kamlaniye quickly and sends his kekhn,
● 776 and the sick man not only hears the sounds of the tambourine,
but in the gloom of night even sees the form of the spirit which
[056] has been sent. Upon returning to his village, the cured man
will tell the shaman, with tender feelings and gratitude, the
details of the wonderful night.

756 Although the shamans do not play as big a role among
[191] the Gilyak as among the natives of the banks of the Amur
River, the faith in their supernatural powers is boundless even
here. I was often shown places from which shamans were
lifted into the air like birds by the power of a spirit and flew
up to attend to their affairs in the region of the sky dwellers.
I was no less frequently told of cases where a shaman resur-
rected the dead, killed at a distance, created trout, etc.
[070] Once I myself became the object of a legend about the

/78 cont./

756 island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even
774 though he was as poor as Job.

774 The difference in the number of souls according to
rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal
to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire
organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also
has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose
death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a dupli-
cate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the
Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an
idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive
man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology
lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably
as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a
seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul
[087] plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to
the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course
of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality,
all this is performed by this little soul.

But shamans, no matter how many souls they have,
776 are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest
● 776 shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help
[056] man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him.
This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil
genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body,
these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man.
Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care
of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby
among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some
time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into
a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak --
mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally,
however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the
soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhin-
774 dered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on
774 the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

/86 cont./

*614 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is
397 everywhere.
193

Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is
homogeneous, cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and
the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have
long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and
they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kin-
ship within the clan.

2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of
*614 clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan
397 deity to the Gilyak. It is worth there also according to
● 796 one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of
the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman
with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the
fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent
burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they
are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but
also by those who, having gone to the other world, have be-
come the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea,
etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence
in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a
deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from
any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an inter-
mediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities

[191]

1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also
plays the role of intermediary be-
tween human beings and the gods;
he intercedes for human beings,
he is herald and priest.

who influence the fate of man.

/87 cont./

*614 On all the important occasions of life, in case of sick-
397 ness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey,
● 796 etc. -- the clansman throws into the fire his modest sacri-
782 fices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack --
and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request.
And she knows all the means necessary to insure that a petit-
ion to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the
sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

In order to understand the real basis of the "clan"
*614 attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it
397 is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased
796 are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the
795 fire, who can receive his favorites into paradise, so that
these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire: 2)
in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

[191]

2. It is curious that a similar view
exists among the Buryat: a man
who perishes from lightning becomes
a powerful and beneficent spirit to
whom sacrifices are made and prayers
are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman"
(mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint
echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire,
its ability to spread quickly, in many tongues (tongues of
flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-Veda)
understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" spe-
cial advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the
rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions;
finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance,
i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

/184 cont./

*835 levirate. Then, in order that the
woman remain in the clan of her
deceased husband, she is given, ac-
cording to the decision of the clan
council, to any clansman of an
ascending or descending degree of
kinship with her late husband.

634 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons
*835 of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust.
● 796 In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such
persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil
[825] spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in
beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a
[827] fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the
same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay
[533] themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging
of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair,
the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a
"bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a
"devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters --
urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the ob-
ject of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age,
could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the
criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the for-
bidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like
the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in
our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced
on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in
himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests
when the question of the promiscuity of husbands of his individual
spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the
noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the
realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; un-
restrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/309 cont./

764 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
764 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
774 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
787 man to eat from the kinyn n'kch: "Go eat human meat!" He
rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys.
Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes th
a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has
approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a
sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased o
(to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in con-
stant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into
the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following
day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies.
Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two
summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroye
right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they mak
764 real toinfir and sacrifice from them down to the third generatio
774 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toldokh urly cham;
787 2) pa'tkokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:ar
n'vyush -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questio
2) to which particular pal (i.e., pal of one's own or of a differen
[155] clan), and so forth. If cannot drive away the evil spirit, but
can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with
regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also durin
sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad sham
steal (tempt away) their major kekhn from them. There are s
764 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
● 797 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 776 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" [778] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacriligeous offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/50 cont./

823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

82 774 776 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'" (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[777] [778]

1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by 825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

/54 cont./

825 [766] The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a kosatka, and when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the kosatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion, however. Signs of the deepest respect are shown toward any animal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea. The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore, and likewise the heads of other animals.

825 776 The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not independent gods and not even deities in general; they are merely the subordinates of the real deities, the "masters" of this or that element, this or that animal. These "masters" in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who, according to need, assume the form of this or that animal. These gods live in the forests, the mountains, and on the bottom of the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak themselves, have wives children, and clansmen. Like the Gilyak, they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods, "yz'" -- master, is in command. It is these masters who send the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables, bears, salmon, seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element, however, should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense. It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there are simply rich people and among them one kind that is richest, just as, in addition to the great gods-masters, every territory, every stream, each has its own "master" who takes care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods). [614] The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence, courage, and cunning, and consequently richest, is called "yz'" (master), and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

825 776 554

/55 cont./

776 825 For the Gilyak, the most important gods-"masters" are Pal'-yz' -- the master of the mountains and of the taiga, and Tayrnadz, the same as Tol'-yz' -- master of the sea. The first lives on the highest mountain, and with him, whole settlements of his clansmen. Bears serve him as dogs. All the beasts of the taiga are subordinate to him, and, at his discretion, he distributes them to the Gilyak. It is he who orders the sable to dress himself in a new skin and hurry into the noose of the Gilyak; he, again, orders the bear to offer a good spot for a true blow. The god of the sea, Tayrnadz, lives on the bottom of the Sea of Okhotsk. He is a very old man with a white beard, who lives with his old wife in an underwater yurt. In the yurt there is a huge number of boxes with all kinds of spawn, which he throws by the handful into the sea from time to time. It is he who, at the appointed time, sends the countless detachments of salmon, without which the life of the Gilyak would be impossible; it is he who sends out the kosatki to establish order in the sea and drive all kinds of sea animals toward the Gilyak.

776 Besides these most important gods, there is a great number of less important ones who watch over the Gilyak. In the house of the Gilyak the master of the fire and the mistress of the threshold, keep vigil over him. Some kind of "master" watches at every stream, looking after the well-being of the Gilyak...

Not all the gods, however, are on such close terms with man. The sky is inhabited by whole tribes of tly-nivukh'i, heavenly people, who only rarely interfere in the affairs of the Gilyak, and then to no purpose, for a joke; for example, out of mischievousness a heavenly man will lower a fishing rod with hooks to the earth in order to catch some Gilyak. This does not always work, however. For example, the young [538] Gilyak, Il'k, from the village of Arkovo told me that tly-nivukh once caught his father with a golden hook, and he just saved himself by grabbing a tree, thus getting away with only a scare and a torn coat.

/315 cont./

42 Sacrifices (sacrificed dishes -- chmáus) are placed on the
82 appropriate half; if there is not enough space, then on the appropriate nau (tol or pal'). /316/ /Sketch of the house-plan appears here./

42 /317/ Tyvyz -- "master" of the house; he lives either under
176 the post (10) or under a stone (19). Sometimes he is an old man, sometimes an old woman or a young woman.

The master of the house and his family occupy the tol' erkh pusk; if the family is large then also the kemfakh (3) and ponakhfakh (4). The bear's head is placed in the middle (25).

356 In autumn, during cleaning, everything is abundantly fed:
382 the walls, the floor, the supports under the plank beds, the edges of the plank beds, and so forth.

Rites upon the completion of a house. When a new house is completed, they place two sticks, one in the front and the other in the back (of the house), and on a thread stretched between them are hung images of the sun (keng) and the moon (long chakh). They are not renewed later.

42 When the house is completed, sacrifices are made: They
82 prepare mos' 1) alys -- berries, 2) rak: -- a porridge of rice or wheat, and feed the four corners (chonkh), four posts (mon'-nakh), and the two posts in the middle -- the front one, amkhas', and the rear one, kemkhas', in which the master lives; they also feed the crossbeam -- tyjf (edz:). Here the old man says: "Urla dyf muja' nolagu kýnynguch: humguja', ta sikhydz kh:olaf ta humguja'" -- be a good house (sit firmly). Make it felicitous for my
56) children, and so that there be no kind of sickness." In autumn the house is cleaned, plastered with clay, and they sacrifice -- tyv arnydz:.

42 Tyv yz' bakh -- a stone before the threshold or beyond the
78 threshold, or a piece of pig iron; under it sits the "master," who
76 guards against the entry of the milk'.

Lym yz' -- threshold. Beyond the threshold, under the
42 ground, they place different foods (chyudz:) -- for the earth --
82 the master and the tol fynydz:.
76

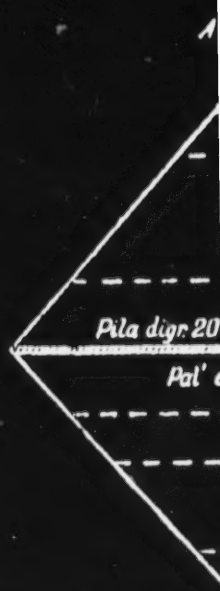

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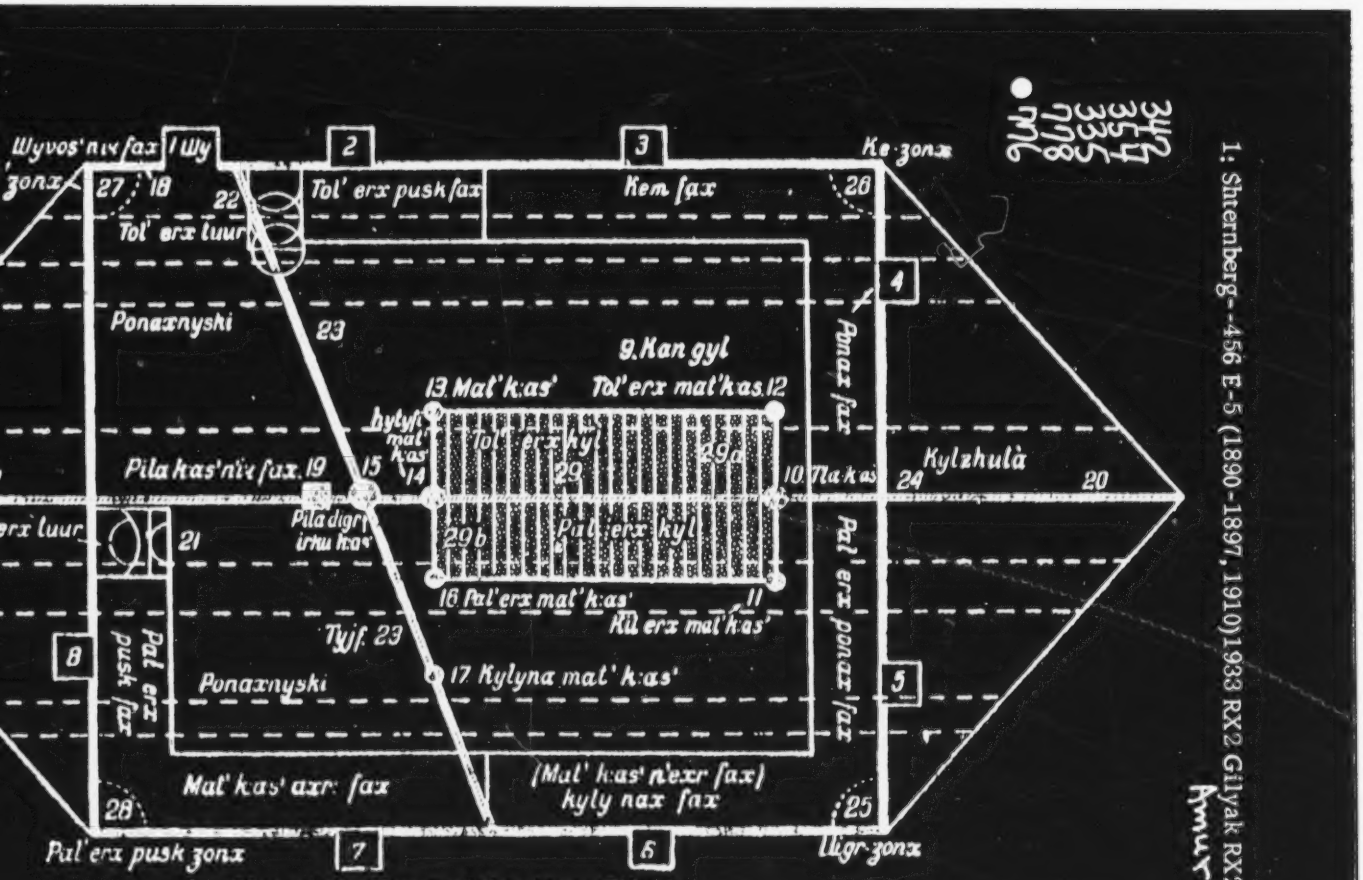

Plan of the House of the Amur Gilyak

the terms above have been changed in the translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other
the Latin alphabet; see the table on p. 36 (foreign text p. xxxix). /

1: Shternberg--456 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur
342
354
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346

309 cont./

The shaman calls up his kekhn and treats them to fat, sugar, d vodka. "Children, leave from the window!" shouts the aman. After /310/ a while the window crackles, and the kitus' ters. The kitus' lives, not with the shaman, but beyond the nges, beyond nine ranges, beyond nine streams; there are ol'tsy (pákhtigraf) there. The master there is an old man. he house is of iron and stone and has gates: the first gates are arded by a boa; the second by crocodiles (there are small zards-crocodiles -- mèng:aj here); the third and last gates e guarded by a tiger. Pal'-g:an=haluvidz:(?), i.e., a small ger, sits in front of the threshold and guards. With this old an lives the chief old man pila k:ak hejmar (pal yz', pallung vukh -- the mountain master-man). Near the pila-khas' (a post hich supports the matká) in each yurt there must be a stone for e kettle (nichvakh) and another stone at the threshold. This orm is kept under the first stone. In this house there are vari- s animals: simple frogs -- rall, and the frogs of this particular use, mifpidz:. This little worm was given by the shaman his own little worm for safekeeping. The shaman: "Massi legible), go there, request it of the boa and tiger, the ardians of the gates." Sometimes the boa will continue to be bborn for days on end; they promise it a black dog, dog ood, a double portion of potatoes, a beautiful inau, etc. The l-yz' is promised a spear and so forth. "I shall give thee mor, I shall give thee a spear, a large kettle with four handles, piece of Chinese silk cloth, a furry black dog, and yet another g with spots and speckles I shall sacrifice." "Pet'gir: chkhuz' khtá k:akh chkhuznykhta' pilavyn' noz' nykrvyn' tata arbgir, k:angir ygrluk an'chi kurgur g:angir ch'khyz' nykhta." then agrees and begins to ask the kitus' to come out. The tus' slowly crawls out, the massi wraps it up in white silk d brings it to the shaman. The shaman then says: "Having oved away from the window, sit, the worm is coming, having oved away from such and such a window, sit. "Pakh jenverkhnga e, kitus' pryjvura! Kembakh pakh jenverkhnga fivé." And ere the worm, like an arrow, pierced the window and straight the shaman. The shaman took it.

/311 cont./

756 Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz:-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Goldi tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovz (Goldi pún'chu) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then horns -- murki', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys [776] pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami [774] among the Goldi, lives in the uz' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

778 824 Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

[782] Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

[184] 1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Kal'vo on the chédzigr, on its crossbar -- two figures, yzikh -- peasant man and woman. A chédzigr is fed on the first 778 day of the month anlong (December) and a second time in July. 782 Everyone sits in a circle, and an old man takes a small amount 824 of food from each, makes chukh-chugind -- a sacrifice -- and places inau. The inau are made out of mountain ash.

/312 cont./

Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr:, gather at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buda, a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labaz/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyjá -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tly-n'ivukh; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt. Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the tlyrokh is never made; in Tevkh only a red dog pag:r kh:an:, is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'jongarja kinynguch: humguja', kholafti lygyguja'," i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (han'gar:), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Ski, a stick, and a crossbow (narródz:) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tuurg'a'vk); the fork is thrown into the fire and taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a hunt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/313 cont./

morning it is necessary to take back the ski and stealthily. These things are placed so descend the tree, and by these objects they of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good hea "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us g thing while another goes on and on pursuing What is the reason for this?"

During a takh -- smallpox epidemic Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zy lage of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray befo This old man remembers four big takh.

Pal likes a tree with different peculia occasions such objects are selected. A sacr to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mou not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). H seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him versation going on on the other side -- that mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol white one. Each large house has two fires, If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuu bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that kh stoves.

Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a ha is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench / placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, an they invariably boil the dolphins, here the b except the skulls and heads, which are carr n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from of the entire khala, that they throw a little Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tob a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that out and feed it. This is the main office of

and so forth quietly
hat the Tly-n'ivukh
find out the nature
rt," if he will give a
o, one caught some-
but gets nothing.

-- in Tyr all the
present rice, roots,
avkayu from the vil-
re the tree chédzigr.

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ntains), but they are
e is most frequently
. There is a con-
is Pal-yz'. Pal --
-- sea master -- a
Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur.
, and if he must boil
ala who has two

mmer, chong-chtás',
abaz/)on which are
d reindeer. And here
ones are left to lie,
ed away to k:khork
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here, in the presence
of everything into the
misfortune will
acco, ag:a (akhydz') --
everyone should come
Tol. People are sent

/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 [087] Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this is also good.

342 354 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy -- door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the "master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- window alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side 342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly k:as' -- large post. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. Tol erkh mat' k:as' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' -- small post. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la digr-irku k:as' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal erkh' mat k:as' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17. Kylyná mat' k:as' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor. [354] 20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the [335] master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house. 24. Kylzhutá -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a person who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooed [078] corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things. [076] 29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do with the appropriate spirit, with tol or pal'.

/318 cont./

"Make a battue, drive him toward this grass figure. Ah! He has turned into a mouse." The chorus: "He is going there. He turned into a human form... he turned into a bird. He got into the post!"

Finally, there is no other place, and he has to get into the chkhnaj -- the grass figure, whether he wants to or not. When he has entered it, the hand of the person holding the thread appears to shake. The shaman shouts: "Hit him!" And that one hits. They light a candle, throw light on it, and inspect the grass figure: it again does not have its head toward the threshold. The shaman searches for him again. He finds him. Again the same thing. Finally, the chkhnaj has its head toward the threshold, which means that the evil spirit has gone out. The shaman leaves his massi to keep watch overnight. In the evening of the following day the shaman calls the real "master," but that one answers that he was late. The real "master" is generally hidden under the earth; the shaman looks for him and addresses to him the request: "Here they have built an isba, be the master, they will feed you, watch over it, protect it!" Finally the master has appeared in the middle of the floor and stuck out his head. "Come out," says the shaman, "do not be shy, say what you want, we will prepare everything!" The master answers: "Kill the dog, rub the corner with its blood, boil its meat so that the dog steam fills the house. Boil kosterka. Boil mlyk marcho (a fish with two fins at the tail), boil the white lin'ka, the puchka, the head of the Siberian salmon, treat each post to the steam, do thus, make a fumigating smoke with marsh tea, drive in a piece of pig iron several pieces by the threshold and in other places of the floor, then the floor will be iron. Strengthen it thus."

Amur

/319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the
[782] master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year)
776 they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request:
"Pkhys'kyr ururngjd! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
958 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
731 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
753 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for
766 they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is
562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.

158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
[143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

/320/

Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

773 Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kurn, the master of the uni-
776 verse, created everything; in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the tree." "Working" the earth, Kurn lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach:.

821 The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first
[822] with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

793 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the
824 Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.

The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal'-n'igyvyn,
776 looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal n'igyvyn.
614

821 Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1)

1. Illegible. S. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunder-storm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-n'ivukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

/320 cont./

821 The god of the wind -- Layzn (the evil wind -- Lamangnd);
[782] no chukh-chugnd (sacrifices) are made to him. He is shot at with bows; he is not shot at with rifles for fear of evoking thunder and a storm. The wind comes about thus: "Layzn, just like man, blows from his mouth."

773 The bear, the sable, the fox, the otter, and the squirrel
825 were created by Pal yz'n (the master of the mountains).

Tuurmam -- the god of the hearth, the mistress of fire,
776 the old woman -- is one among all the clansmen. The head of Tuurmam is curly, the snout red, /321/ the hair short (there is no braid), the height that of a man, the clothing -- fish skin, lives in the fire.

Tajrnandz: the only one who sends fish; he is a large and robust man. All his dogs are white. He rides through the air,
[821] along the Milky Way (Tairnandz: -- tif); he lives there. He also makes thunder. Each kikhal has its own Pal-n'ivukh, its own Tol-n'ivukh, even its own milk'i, but there is one Tairnandz:. They set up three trees for Tol-n'ivukh: a fir, an asbberry, and a rose willow. Strips of bark are cut out of these trees and their branches are bound with sedge. One chikhnaj has saranka attached to it.

Oskyz'n master of the hare, big like a cow, long nose. They throw the head of a hare, with puchka tied to it. Tlangi-yz'n -- master of the reindeer, looks like a reindeer. Mekvon'-gi -- master of the kabarga.

Evil spirit -- Ge-n'ivukh. His yurt is an earthen mound near Tekhrvo. He comes to the Gilyak, opens a window (kugutf), extends two fingers, and asks for something. If something is given to him he leaves. If one gives him a hot coal, he does not understand what is happening, throws the coal back and forth from one hand to the other, and says: "as' kavkhaj, khavrkhaj, avguja" -- "it is hot, if you do not have (anything), do not give!" Ge-n'ivukh likes to kidnap people, especially children. The only way -- is to inflict a wound upon oneself, for Ge-n'ivukh is afraid of blood. Pumkin's brother sat in his balagan guarding reindeer and suddenly saw two ge-n'ivukh. He began to shout and inflicted a wound

/321 cont./

776 upon himself. Ge-n'ivukh beats the seals. He is seen from a distance, but up close he disappears. He does not drive away sickness. In appearance he is "just like a Gilyak."

777 Talismans. Gibel'ka became rich in the following way:
His eldest brother, Amgunka, found a piece of red material under a log in the taiga; from that time on he began to get rich. Gibel'ka stole this talisman from him, and then a chikhnaj fell from the sky, and he began to get even richer.

Taru -- talisman -- is an object which falls to a lucky person (kyz narla n'ivukh) and which increases the number of things in his possession (for instance, two fur coats instead of one), such as: a May beetle, a piece of gold, a larch with fir cones, a climbing lizard, a worm.

Aleksey caught a goya with three worms adhering to it by suction, and after this there was a lucky catch of fish.

755 Father Konki is very old and by now remembers nothing.
But on the basis of dreams he advises the sick -- to make chikhnaj, feed them, and carry them into the taiga.

In recent times he has not had visions and therefore thinks that he will soon die.

/322/

756 Shamanism. A kekhn answers the shaman's questions about sick-
776 ness and medication, but nobody hears his answers. The mighiest master is T'lykekhn (the spirit of the sky). He travels on foot through the sky and with a rope leads the shaman through the air wherever he wishes. The shaman does not take his kekhn along to Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave). The kekhn of Koynyt (1)

[115] 1. The author's storyteller -- a youth who subsequently became a shaman. S. Sh.

comes to him only in a dream or during a seance. He sends him to various gods with tasks, for example, to learn what sacrifices to make. So far he has only pal-n'igyvyn (kekhn). His kekhn is small, with a human face and a body covered with hair.

/322 cont./

756 Chamkh, the father of Koynyt, my storyteller, was a
776 shaman in Ady-Tymi. He had four souls: one from Pal, another from Tol, a third from Tly, and a fourth from Mly-yz'n.

Shamans make chikhnaj (a wooden image of pal-n'igyvyn),
776 inspired during a seance, and feed them. The feeding consists
782 of giving sugar, saranka, and so forth, but they are eaten by the shaman; it only appears to those around as if he eats it, however, while it is eaten by the kekhn himself. The chikhnaj must be fed or else it will gnaw a person.

755 When one is dangerously ill, then the yurt begins to shake
776 and becomes full of openings and through the openings, like mosquitoes, many kekhn fly and shout: "Believe me, me!" And then the shaman falls down as if he were drunk. Then he eats marsh tea and drinks sea water -- he gives this to his kekhn. He swallows fire. Kekhn love songs.

755 If a person is near death and a milk has carried his soul to
756 Mlyvo, a kekhn kills him, and the shaman sets out for there for the
776 soul, and, if he succeeds in getting the soul, the sick man will
774 live. The kekhn shows the shaman the road (to Mlyvo). The shaman gets to Mlyvo directly through an apperture; the same earth as here, the same sky, and many villages are there. If the soul is outside, it can still be obtained; if it is in the yurt, all is lost. If the shaman himself enters the yurt, he will die. In Mlyvo the soul of the shaman is like a bird and flies around the subterranean world.

Parnkhasind (an Orok word) is done only by the Omyr, i.e.,
755 by the Orok. They ask the chikhnaj whether the sick man will recuperate or not. If the chikhnaj rocks from side to side, he will recuperate; if not -- he will die. All this is done under the smoke of marsh tea. When the shaman beats his drum, the kekhn advises the making of chikhnaj, and if somebody's soul comes into it, then the sick man will live. If he will live, the chikhnaj is fed; then when in the shaman's opinion it is time /323/ to lose him, he comes and arranges for the milk to go from the sick man into the chikhnaj, and the sick man then recovers. (see "Fortunetelling with a Stone").

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
774 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
776 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
578 of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
84 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
762 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-cholch. A
578 feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
833 away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
558 She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/324 cont./

755 During the seance of the curing of a sick man, a looped thong -- tshyng -- is tied over his bed, and on the floor before him is placed a kettle (nich) with a nail (trofrvat). With this thong the kekhn catches and ties up the sick man's soul in Mlyvo, places it under his arm, brings it to the yurt, sticks it in the kettle -- otherwise it will depart through the floor into Mlyvo-khuty -- and pierces it with the nail. The nail and the thong are taken by the shaman.

756 The kenchkh and shaman conjuring. The kenchkh helps the
789 shaman only in conjuring -- lernd; the shaman pierces his breast
776 with a knife, but in reality he pierces the kenchkh (chekokhis' per'pind). They bind the shaman's hands behind him with a thong, and the kenchkh comes and unties it and throws the looped thong to its Gilyak owner. The shaman's robe, fully buttoned, slides off over his head and flies (sits on a plank bed).

The shaman puts a noose made out of a slender thong on his neck, and two men on each side pull the noose tight while he continues to sing songs. Finally the shaman's head falls to one side and his torso to the other. Then the Gilyak begin to tap, while one beats a tambourine. Finally, one hears stamping outside the door and in comes ken'chkh-yz'n in the shape of a large cow. He walks up to the big kettle, drinks up all the water, eats all the meat of the shaman, and new meat and a head grow. Then the soul of the shaman gets up on the crossbeam over the hearth and begins to sing Kyu-kyu songs. Then the head grows onto the body, and the shaman again comes back to life. In 1897 /325/
956 there were shamans in Pylvo--1, in Tekhrvo--1, in Tyrmych--2, in Chayvo--2, in Kekhrvo--2, in Ornyr--one female shaman, an old woman. The biggest shaman is the old man Kymysk in Tyrmych.

/325 cont./

755 Improvisation of a storyteller-shaman. To compose, tyl'gund, is
538 not allowed; it is a sin. This is a legend, truth.
538 N'as'tund may (be told) by a n'as'tun'-n'ivukh (storyteller)
776 or a shaman, who is helped by a special kind of kekhn (mif-n'ivukh-kekhn, who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When inquiring about the possibility of improvisation, Koynyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and began to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that this was inspiration by the richness and elusive quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyum listened with ecstasy and with interest asked for explanations.

756 Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song
533 was far from that which accompanies n'as'-tund; there is a great
538 deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In places a quiet tenor vibrates beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in places flows into the thinnest pianisimo, while shrieks and artificial throat vibrations sound with tremendous dissonance. The entire song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of a stanza the shaman comes to the end by abruptly cutting off with the words "hand furu" -- "thus it is said." Frequently, he finishes his song covered with perspiration.

Declamation and singing in narration. 1. In a nas'-tund: a) first humming, b) then -- monotonous, vibrating, doleful singing with all one's might, ending in c) fortissimo with exhaling.

2. In descriptions -- a single-tone recitative.

536 3. Dramatism: the artistic communication of conversations in a rhythmic recitative is especially good. If one becomes accustomed to it, it is very melodious.

4. Those present support him with yells: "Ola! epoj, epoj!" etc.

756 The kenchkh is a bird which comes on the wind. They pull
776 on a thong with the kenchkh during the song. Two men (one a shaman) cast a rope, and the kenchkh seizes it and pulls over the people.

/329 cont./

764 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A homkh --
349 muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard are tied to the belt of drel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nirng, into which they put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside, next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot.
765 They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka.
First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the
231 raf mu nig'yvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning, brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu n'igyvyn is fed no longer, though they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka. This continues for from two days to two or three months. The
231 pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for kinsmen or for someone from the k:khal.

766 After death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set
764 up a takhch (see below, pp. 475-476), and then they make a raf anyway.

775 The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is
761 killed by a milk (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul
776 is afraid and hides with Pal-n'igyvyn or Tol-n'igyvyn, depending on which milk killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to the man.

/335 cont./

392 of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four
782 inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Ugur n'ri', nekhlang kun k:kholaf khavryr hunivaguja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kel'laung ankh --" the birch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe; one is thrown by the woman, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

776 The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house --
342 four chkhnaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men. Tavyzing tugur yzing. This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.
688 If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyz'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

832 Means for love. There is medicine to make another person
825 fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies), or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

/336 cont./

854 A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15
347 and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year th
whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung --
789 ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is u
instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child d
they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next
child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, the
preserve them until their old age.

845 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride
784 along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be
854 fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arro
765 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head
789 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung u
at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of he
husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a pi
of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are
too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not
take names from an alien-khal; otherwise one must give the la
the names from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twin" a
776 the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'
i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyayn -- the master
the sea.

845 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged fo
782 Pal-n'ivukh; mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small
quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them them-
selves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called cha
If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one deper
ing on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chk
Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey
a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill

342 787 Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

342 787 789 [776] If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chkhnyr chkhnaj, a grass figure, and drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in autumn (cleaning) (1) and another time when one wishes. They

342 776 782 [392]

1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matka, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

342 789 [534 756] /318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the following fashion: a grass figure -- chkhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kekhn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

342 756 789 [776] The shaman then says: "gy, gy (i.e., 'good'), in such and such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Gy-gy, gy-gy, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner. Massi (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kekhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/343 cont./

773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

778 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj
789 is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

585 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his
(774) wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that
774 his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

583 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand) or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

182 /354 cont./
614 5. The members
796 sacrifices and festivals.
[574] everybody, is held, no
clan, even though /355
part. The bear is boug
penditures in connectio
men. These expenses
Clansmen assemble fro
of specially invited gue
tertained and fed for m
numerous dogs as well,
festival. The opinion
ter or that the bear is c
Gilyak is completely u
clan festival. Natural
[224] tack on a bear, an atta
the whole clan, was a
the huge beast at a com
was most conveniently
was captured in his lair
winter was perpetuated.
ritual for the festival,
eyes of the barbarian th
[782] All the sacrifices durin
[776] to the god of the taiga,
[825] It is also understandabl
of honor: Its meat cann
eaten with seasonings,
revenge for such offens
hard. To sum up, the
[562] this basis, women, as t
are not present at the k
614 participate in the eatin
372 the meat of the bear is
[252] steel. A touching cus

of the clan are bound together by common
The "festival of the bear," known to
by an individual settlement, but by the
/ guests from other clans are invited to take
ht by someone in the clan, but all the ex-
n with the festival are covered by the clans-
often reach a sum of several hundred rubles.
n all directions, as well as great numbers
sts from other clans, who have to be en-
any days, and not only they, but their
devour a great amount of food during the
hat the bear festival has a religious charac-
onsidered to be divine or a spirit by the
nfounded. The bear festival is purely a
y, there were times when a successful at-
ck conducted in those days collectively, by
eal triumph for the clan, which devoured
mon feast. Since the attack on the bear
made in winter when the sleeping animal
the custom of celebrating this holiday in
The experience of centuries evolved a full
which, like everything old, assumes in the
e character of something sacred and inviolable.
the festival are made, not to the bear, but
the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."
that the bear itself has acquired a position
ot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be
etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact
s, ordering other bears to bite especially
bear festival is a clan festival, and, on
e nonpermanent element of the clan,
illing of the bear, although they
of it. The fire in the stove in which
cooked is started only by the clan
tom among the Gilyak is

/363 cont./

177 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who returns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover, work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the dominant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still unshaken foundations.

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III.

Religious Views

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Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question "why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?" It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting, or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases, it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire, as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

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/364 cont./

Gilyak. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the number of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea and the taiga give the Gilyak more than fire does. Imagining the elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similarity but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination, "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared in the sky with their rider. One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("khal") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- mountain, taiga). All the sacrifices /365/ at the bear festival belong to him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Tol'-nivukh," and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses; the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils "nenkharmu". This is a whole khal', living in the sea and dangerous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak reply

/365 cont./

776 that they are killing seals; in such a case the boat is destroyed. But if, in reply, the Gilyak display a hare's tail, the devil goes on his way without further consideration.

776 The relationship between the Gilyak and all his gods -- 782 nivukhi -- is quite clear. It is they who provide him with sables, 22 foxes, bears, fish, seals, and so forth. Sables and bears are just as much the property of Pal'-nivukh as fish and seals are the property of Tol'-nivukh, and as sled dogs are the property of the Gilyak. The gods specifically give a portion of their property to man. It is not an accident that the fish appear with such amazing regularity during the appropriate seasons, it is not an accident that sable is dressed in an expensive fur during the hunting season, it is not an accident that swans, geese, and ducks molt in the summer and become an easy catch for the Gilyak. All this is done by the 776 gods for man; he lives only by these gifts. It is clear that the 782 Gilyak should not remain in debt to their benefactors. And so they give the gods a portion of everything that they avail themselves of: saranka, roots, tobacco, sugar, and so forth. When I once expressed a desire to take part in the sacrifice to Tol'-nivukh at the beginning of the seal season, they asked me: "But will you give the god bread, potatoes, etc.?" Sacrifices are the exchange of portions with the nivukhi. That is why the sacrifice may never consist of the same objects for which sacrifices are made; for example, among the dishes offered in thanks for the seal, this last does not figure, although it constitutes an indispensable dish of the Gilyak themselves on the evening of the sacrifice. Thus, the bear at the well-known festival is in no way a sacrifice, as some think, /366/ for not a single piece of its meat is apportioned to the god, and the Gilyak does not understand allegory: to sacrifice -- means giving the god something real. And actually, at this festival, the master of the bear, Pal'-nivukh, is given a sacrifice of saranka, "moss," yukola, and other viands. The principle of exchange in sacrifices is not contradicted by the fact 825 that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the 826 head and eyes of seals. The explanation for this is very simple:

/366 cont./

776 the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the 782 creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason 224 the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and 825 any undeveloped fetus found in the uterus of a seal. To the Gilyak a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable 342 season. He offers this sacrifice all by himself in the taiga, at the side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen. He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little at a time, believing that a hundred fish mean as little to a god as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama of the mountains. The "Head of the earth" towered majestically before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of them took from his sled his cherished little sack with saranka, tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up, he moved the same number of steps to the left and did the same. Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and distributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had 771 been heard. There is a tremendous difference between the religious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition," the striving of the soul toward the deity, in our meaning, all seem to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no 781 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy.

/367 cont./

022 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism, 782 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It 224 does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true 1554 that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical 756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers. 1554 In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient 158 dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the 1782 result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturbances in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs. "Kur, pongukhla!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about 577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material 577 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com- 573 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life 1776 and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in the future life. A hunter is supposed to take a reindeer from a Gilyak; "If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big dealer, who did not hesitate to oppress the poor in any way. I do not undertake to judge how much this outrageous sophism has been in vogue among the Gilyak, or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or simply a popular

/719 cont./

*776 that led him to it and was the cause of it all. It itself thus recog- 825 nizes the toad as the culprit. The Gilyak, on the other hand, have shown it only kindness: they have received it as a guest in their houses, put it in the seat of honor, offered it some of all the foods, in general did everything only with its knowledge and permission, and their women show it a final act of kindness by consciously dying the tears in its eyes. Therefore on guilt for its fate or responsibility for it falls on them. At the same time a second symbolic 776 act is carried out on the bears, the explanation for which, it seems to me, must be sought somewhat further afield. In addition to the tschudbas, a second head-band is put on them: a strap tied crosswise, on which are found one or two agate balls about one and a half inches large, which rest on the forehead and a little to one side (2). The small bear was given a band with one agate

2. See the woodcut, p. 1163.

bail which lay above its eyes in the middle of its forehead; the large bear was given two such balls, that is, in addition to that one, a second one which rested over the right parietal bone, and, finally, a band with two agate balls in the middle of the forehead, one directly over the other, was put on the medium-sized bear displayed in another house (that of its owner). On this point it seems that if more balls than bears are available, there is room for choice and only the ball in the middle of the forehead is obligatory. These agate balls are of Chinese ("Manchurian") /720/ workman- 776 ship and are highly prized and never sold by the Gilyak. Their 197 exotic origin seems to me to suggest an explanation for the entire procedure. /Illustration appears here./ During the many years of frequent intercourse between the Gilyak and the Chinese on the Sungori, it could certainly not have escaped them that the Buddhist divinities of the latter as a rule had a bump or swelling on the forehead above the eyes, indeed, it is possible and probable that they viewed this as a sign of the special holiness of the divinities 782S concerned in the eyes of the Chinese. If one now considers the 776S striving of the Gilyak to imitate Chinese ways, it is quite

/720 cont./

*776 825

Bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

*776 conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead 197 swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in 577 superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine, 825 and that they do this with the agate balls which are furnished 776 them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, according to Gilyak ideas, the bear is to some extent moved up among the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

With the putting on of the snout and head bands, or the 776 toad and agate ball bands, all the honors imaginable have been 577 showered to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete 445 innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give them- 577 selves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden bowls were immediately brought into the house on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bears, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench of honor. First, a ski, which probably was one of the sacred 1262 utensils since it /721/ had been propped up against the étagère the whole time, was used to present pieces of frozen sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it simple circular

/737 cont./

A 776 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Schei- 782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage, 1535 whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank; and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

000 /739/

1. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 776 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information con- 124 cerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" yŭgzy (**) and designate

G 361 * From the villages of Patchá and Wass) at the mouth of the Amur.

G 104 ** Wherever the author used ŭ and ŷ from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

G 776 him as the good one, kŭngulŭsch, an attribute that means the 782 same as good (nontz). They did not understand my question as to 1535 whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not know anything about God (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kulk (**). But they

G 361 *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuégda, Kuégra, Kŭegri-wo, see pp. 448, 535.

/739 cont./ But they
insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
called Nikhi and that the Manchu have carved in wood, human
figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms
akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but
the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

I required further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise
them, and I realized that the placing together of words "good" and
"evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they
replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of
superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction be-
tween their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for vari-
ous idols and their shamanism that I found:

Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
of "God," of a supreme being, who is called "Nikhi" or "Wind
One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who
is revered by humans being. But this conception is a wholly
abstract, completely empty one and does not at all fit into the life
into the customs and practices of the Gilyak, there is nothing con-
crete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word
"pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about
"God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except
that he is "Ungusi Tech, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,
however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and
there are many forces of nature which, especially in hunting and in
fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal to them,
such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the
often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them
inexplicable absence of fish, and the like — forces against which
man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent
upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always
escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him,
therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the
general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/740 cont./
powers always only directed against him and superior to him in
strength, and which he more or less personified, mainly in wood, human
crude representation. This feeling of his own helplessness in the
face of the forces hostile to him, and yet the inalienable wish to
avoid their harmful encroachment upon his life — there cause,
together with the inevitable, involuntary, and unconscious view
that in the action of these powers, as in his own action, there is
a cause-and-effect, cause-and-consequence relationship, lead
him to a series of conclusions from which his own acts and the
action of the powers hostile to him are brought into a causal nexus
And this is the origin of his many-shaped superstition which gives
rise to customs and special performances that are intended to
facilitate the protective, that is, the devil. According to the re-
spons of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing
but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring
him. That is the end of all who /741/ die of sickness. It is no
wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on
earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of
counless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as
well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the
latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads on these two or three-headed forms is a human head. This therefore indicates that the kins has seized the human being.

I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigan,
if that is what they are. The hearr, however, has reference to the
sex purpose of the whole semicircle. Namely, it is to be worn around
the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The
name kinj, however, which was given me for it, seems to have a

Peoples of Northern Siberia and the Far East

The Nivkhi

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its ys', who look carefully
of man. The ys' was thought to be initiated by "ancestors" who lived in
people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi
were always on friendly terms with the ys'. "Descendants" from time to
sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice
to them. The cult connected with the "ancestors" of nature was of primitive
clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi
thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-in-
khavo—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the
festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was
connected with the idea of the dead, which was well developed. Every man
a dead clan kinsman. Buildings were made for the dead in the forest
placed in a particular place. The buildings were also cleared by members of
the clan concerned. The bear was taken out and fed on a clean trough for
the government. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival,
all the clan members of the Nivkhi, in accordance with their master's
master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February).
Such a plentiful meal—abundant enough even with one or several pairs of two-
hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was
and between symmetrical combinations of bone, horn, and wood
sarkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan
holding the festival. The festivals sometimes lasted several days and con-
sisted of a complete ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow,
ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The
bearskin with the head was lowered into the pit through the smoke vent
in a high pole. In the interior of the dwelling, eating, bear meat was served
shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing.
After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils of
others were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi
lived, he retained his contact with the clan storehouse, which he visited
brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites, the clan deities, the ritual dances, the
Tungusu-Manchurian of the Amur region. The Nivkhi characteristically

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parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the bilay—sivak came to the
offending clan with men of the victim's clan, bringing a bear, and a bear
expected among the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan repre-
sentative killed a dog, and peace was considered restored. After that, the
ransom was paid: it consisted of coats of mail, quivers, silk materials and
other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship, but, in distinction to
the Tungusu-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them
lasted always for periods of one, rather than different generations. As
shown by the kinship terms, the Nivkhi family was developed even in
the 18th century some remnants of group marriage. The Nivkhi retained until the end of
the 19th century some remnants of the same generation, and were categorically
forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of the clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grand-
fathers and great-grandfathers; 2) fathers and mothers, their brothers
and sisters, and the fathers of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husb-
bands of the mother's sisters; 3) children of the fathers (sons) and of
the mothers (daughters); 4) children of the children.

Trade with Chinese and Russians, the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of
fishing into commercial activities directed to commercial ends stimulated
the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which developed
first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early began to trade with
the Chinese, from whom they received the tobacco, tea, sugar, the fish-hooks, and
buttered furs and beings backbones for ten, tobacco, fabrics and metal
utensils. The Nivkhi also hunted sables, the Chinese, and with other
neighbors. Members of the Tuvinian clan, for instance, were for a long time
the middlemen between the Nanhiu Nivkhi and the Chinese. Thus, long before
russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor.
The rich could have several wives and keep slaves. The poor had a lesser
price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity
relations developed slowly, since the clan still played a role in the medium of fur
and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsi-
stence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households
and marry. Descendants of the slaves, however, belonged to the lowest group
were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the
Nivkhi, as it was among the Tungusu.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established
the Amur Nivkhi, as well as the Nanhiu Nivkhi, under their clan order,
and gosyanda—village elders.

Beginning in the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi
subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had been
become a part of Russia, they were disoriented; a new form of exploitation
appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi switched the simple
of production fell into the position of "half-shares." Nivkhi had been
was divided according to the number of working hands, or shares. Thus
the single-members of others had to yield half of their catch to the "half-shares."

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox
Christian, but their village remained pagan. They thought of the island
of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature, the island of Sakhalin
"Ivan," mountains, rivers, water, rocks, and the like. Almost every village
their thinking on yr'—"master" of other nature. Thus, there were Pul-yr'—the "master"
shoreline—the "master" of the sea, Ch'ut-yr'—the "master" of
of the mountains and the taiga, and Tuyrasdi, or Tol'yr'—the "master" of

225 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
226 the ice begins to recede from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
252 boats and "feed the sea" out of murtx (except for scooping
water of the boat), pieces of jelly called [79] mox. (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to jelly. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on Tebes, where the Gilyaks
jump from floe to floe chase a seal and kill seals with har-
poons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates
or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter,
say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those
at home must be very careful.

On the day when the hunting goes wrong at home, the hunter
will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries
to find out who disturbed the "friends" of their quarry.

Rovgin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
of kins, 'god', a point on which he was at first in the dark. The
Gilyaks are a sea-faring people. 20 versts from home, know what is going
on at home? he told me. "Surely kins must be telling him
about it. That is why we pray to kins (according to the
beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like them-
selves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind
puchka on fish-tail bones (mamye) which they then throw into
the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that
the dogs of the spirits, with eat the bones and, having had
their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their
masters.

When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore
the hunter selects a suitable place, at the very
edge of the water; one twig is a keylak-yks twig and the other
is a qaak-yks (frozen twig). A small distance away from
these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the
water. These peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is
thrown into the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are
the ul-yhr, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are

2. Ul-yhr is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first ul-yhr "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

225 has long something in front of the seal. The seals will also
226 kill of a theft in the "friends" of murtx. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
786 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
787 course. When they witness some wrong, some sin, for
ple Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives
and hunter on find out the wrongdoer. In the village what has
added to the jelly. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it
and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on Tebes, where the Gilyaks
jump from floe to floe chase a seal and kill seals with har-
poons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates
or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter,
say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those
at home must be very careful.

On the day when the hunting goes wrong at home, the hunter
will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries
to find out who disturbed the "friends" of their quarry.

Rovgin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
of kins, 'god', a point on which he was at first in the dark. The
Gilyaks are a sea-faring people. 20 versts from home, know what is going
on at home? he told me. "Surely kins must be telling him
about it. That is why we pray to kins (according to the
beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like them-
selves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind
puchka on fish-tail bones (mamye) which they then throw into
the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that
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225 (86) During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul-
226 kin-Tebes use different types of seals. They also catch no occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of
seals: 1. Nevgu-a 'present-time animal', i.e. a siwuch born in the
given year.
2. Tayr-a literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year
old siwuch or one born in the previous year.

/338 cont./

752 789 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue [572] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but a [614] drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is sur- [628] rounded with sticks. [766]

After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat rescued from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will [772] be a god.

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the stream.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri- 782 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

/337 cont./

Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general. The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn, but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass mu
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the siv
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebb
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-usk
225 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).

776 There arises the question why this pebble is called
and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of f

Of some help in answering this question may be the
ing opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhal
1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Mur
informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the m
of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fir
fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no
"We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we a
not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea co
the seal hunt.

115 A seal hunt. (1) Suppleme
225

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language
The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40
versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told
by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were
fering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads o
hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ sa
"Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to g
"Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In th
morning we got up and ate."Prepare your things, harpo
tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put eve
thing in the boat." Then we brought out things to the bo
and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boa
Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowi
we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside
shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled o
boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2)

2. I.e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one w

Hawes--179-180 T-3 (1901) 190
6, 224, 776, 782, 825

Gazing carelessly at the bank, I espied a h
my interpreter and the natives in a low vo
eeing nothing, they smiled; but on my reite
, and called to me, 'Nyet stryelyay! Gilyal
og). Now, occasionally we had seen a nativ
llage, fishing or waiting for his master, a
ad realized the mistake the animal had got
ushes and grass, giving us, however, one
white tip to his great brush. Even as he di
tryelyay! Nyet stryelyay! Pal ni vookh bud
od of the mountains will be angry), and mu
ould have in store for us should we cross
ss to expect to come up with the animal.
According to Vanka, if we had killed it, it
hen we set out for the winter's hunt they w
anka was really sincere, I think it far mor
unt should suffer, because, by killing thus
ugurated with the usual ceremonies. To se
e is lord of the forest and all therein) befo
nd bounty, was to risk bringing down his w

ead peeping out of the long grass, and called
oice, 'Malenkiy medvyet! ' (A little bear!).
erating and pointing, Vanka caught sight of
kskiy sabaka' (Don't shoot; it is a Gilyak
e dog sitting alone at a distance from a
nd we therefore hesitated; but before we
up and trotted off, disappearing into the tall
clear view of a beautiful coal-black fox with
sappeared, Vanka was calling to us, 'Nyet
et serditiy' (Don't shoot! Don't shoot! The
ch more as to the fate the lord of this region
his will. I [180] went ashore, but it was hope-

s brethren would have been informed, and
ould have banded together to kill us. If
e likely that he feared lest his winter's
in a haphazard fashion, it had not been in-
ize of the provision of the great Pal ni vookh
re acknowledging in due form his sovereignty
rath upon our heads."

16, 527, 776, 782, 825

"The original signification of the whole ceremony
argely lost, but the religious motive in the minds o
he sending of a messenger to the great lord of the r
o their punctilious observances of the rites of offer
senger may not miss his destination, it was usual,
some villages to assist the spirit of the bear in find
ids were given him, one the planting of a stick on t
east where the great lord lived, and the other, the l
vere to hunt Bruin's spirit to Pal ni vookh. For it w
e was a Gilyak was not a pious Gilyak. He would ea
nd all dwellers in the taiga by Pal ni vookh and Tol
nd water, but in nothing would he give thanks; whe
fferings after every meal, therefore it could not be
o find Pal ni vookh, or if knowing should be incline
ways most punctilious in placing some fish or tobac
fferings to Pal ni vookh, and on one occasion we ov
ion from a watery grave to this timely act of his.

Probably the fact of the bear being the most diffic
dds to the value of the offering, of which the bear's

of the feast [LSS: The bear fête] is
of the Gilyaks of to-day seems to be
mountains, Pal ni vookh, to witness
ings; and, in order that their mes-
and is, I believe, still so among
ing his way to Pal ni vookh. Two
the execution-ground, pointing to the
killing of two dogs, whose spirits
was explained that the bear, though
at of the provisions made for him
ni vookh, the lords of the forest
reas a true Gilyak always made
e expected that he should know where
d to go to him. Even Vanka was al-
co on the ashes of our camp-fire as
wed, so he assured us, our preserva-

ult and dangerous animal to capture
s spirit would be a witness. There

116, 224, 776, 782

"It is a wintry scene. The snares are set on
streams and forest creeks. The first snows ha
thin mantle of white. The cold north wind hurri
silent in the sombre depths, hanging their hoar
the hush a shadow steals quietly across the sce
accustomed paths. He does not care to swim th
log whereon to pass. All unsuspectingly he cre
blocked by a tiny barrier of sticks, arranged in
one way, is left, and that through a loop in the
pushing through, he struggles, and in so doing
and a bent twig at one end of the cord flies back
are out, but each brings his first catch to one p
the great giver of them, the lord of the forest.
without grace, to start off on the important hun
are so valuable that anything, even in later tim
them--without due acknowledgment to the giver
dispense with feasting? and pieces of roasted fl
ground as an offering to the god, just as in the
cast into the sea. At this point it is necessary,
elsewhere, to call the attention of Pal ni vookh

logs and branches spanning the narrow
ve fallen, covering all the forest with a
es across the land. The trees stand
y, lichen-covered branches, and amidst
ne. [212] It is a sable. He goes by
e cold water, but seeks a fallen tree or
eps along a trunk, only to find his way
the shape of a fan; nevertheless a way,
centre. Rising on his hind-legs and
releases a peg hitched with a ratchet,
, tightening the noose. Many trackers
place, where due honour is then paid to
It would savour of greediness, of meat
t of the sables--creatures whose skins
es 'fire-drink,' may be purchased with
. A feast is made; for what function can
lesh, tobacco, etc., are dug into the
seal festival, we shall see, bones are
lest he be not observing or engaged
to their offering, so they whisper,

116, 755, 776

"If a Gilyak is so ill that all domestic r
arrives, followed by one of the elder repr
to show honour and courtesy to the healer
sufficient for him to determine whether th
decides upon his measures, the cham trie
has been doing prior to his illness. Then
the sick man, and has sent this illness as
about it, and ask him how his anger may
before the evening, for the element in whi

esources fail, then the cham is sent for. He
resentatives of the hut, who has been told off
. An inspection of the patient is generally
ne sufferer will recover or no; but before he
es to find out from the relatives what the patie
he tells them that the evil spirit is angry with
a punishment; but he will speak to the spirit
be appeased. Nothing, however, can be done
ich the spirit lives is the night."

116, 755, 776, 778

"[LSS: In the cure of illness by th
appears, and drives out of the hut al
his head a band of birch bark, with t
These, it is said, are to aid him in
but are more probably to inhance the
then places in the corner of the hear
tobacco, and roots; and close to the
back to back; one having the face of
woman. The ch'khnai are there to pr
he leaves the body of the sick man.
ch'khnai that the image of the weepin
evil spirit, summoned from the body
cies, naturally enters into the image
himself kind-hearted and weak as a
and takes refuge in the other image;
man, especially when the cham draw

The evil and good spirits finding t
there is never any doubt of the resul
spirit. Then commence negotiations
or what offering he will accept to kee

e medicine man] When the sun has set, the cham
l unnecessary persons, and proceeds to place upon
hree little rustling rosettes of papery bark lining.
the expulsion of the evil spirit from the sick one;
e mystery [237] and authority of the exorcist. He
th three little bowls, containing respectively fish,
se, two wooden images, ch'khnai, bound together
a laughing man, and the other that of a weeping
rovide something for the evil spirit to enter, when
Note here how clever the cham is. He so places th
ng woman faces the cups containing the food; and th
y of the patient by exorcism and attracted by delica
e so placed; and, having taken this form, will be
weeping woman. The good spirit is then exorcised,
where he becomes jolly and strong as a laughing
vs nearer to him one of the bowls of food.
hemselves in close proximity, begin to fight, but
t, for victory must be to the stronger—the good
between the cham and the evil spirit as to how mu
p away from the sick man."

Only on one occasion did I hear of anything a
-worship.'
was told me by the ex-overseer at Derbens
taken him down the [194] river Tim. On one
e him to seek refuge at a Gilyak village whe
in the headman's hut, and about to make a
e god (lord).' The overseer therefore place
ing in a corner before a wooden figure, suc
s crossed on its breast and wore a belt. On
basket was empty, the cakes had vanished.
of more, and lay down pretending to sleep.
aw a Gilyak come forward and take the cake
you doing? Let the god eat them!' Whereupo
ly offended."

pproaching what is vaguely termed

k, whose duties in the previous years
of his journeyings a severe snowstorm
ere he was a stranger. As he was sitting
meal, the Gilyaks said, 'Give something
d some little cakes in the birch basket
h as I have described, which had its
the morrow the Russian observed that
In the evening, therefore, he made offer-
Keeping careful but unsuspected watch,
s and eat them; so he called out, 'What
on the Gilyak, as may be imagined, was

"As a rule, offerings were made in the o
and left for the consumption of the deity. N
filment of the rite brought good luck, and th
attributed to the anger of the god. If the Gil
have been some of his kindred who provoke
his wife, who had failed to guard the honour
spit upon it, or to leave the hut with his pip

pen air, always on deserting our camp-fires,
ot only were they the god's due, but the ful-
ne omission ill-luck. All misfortunes are
yak is unconscious of guilt, then it must
d the god to righteous anger; perhaps it was
due to the hearth by allowing somebody to
e lighted from the sacred fire."

6, 527, 776, 782, 825

s another consideration which lurks, however
Not only is the bear the most dangerous anim
as deteriorated to the seizure of cubs and the
st rival of the Gilyaks. He lives, as they do,
he forest; and even robs the Gilyaks' snares
ore on every [202] count he must die."

unconsciously, behind this ceremony.
al to capture, although now the custom
rearing of them; but he is also the strong-
on the fish of the river, the berries of
of the small animals caught therein. There-

'Chookh, Chookh,' i.e. 'God, Thou God.' The
rush (daimones) should hear; for these evil sp
of the forest, and might make off with the offeri
Pal ni vookh generally walks among the mountai
making their offering on high ground."

y do this in an undertone, lest the pal-
irits dwell in the swamps and the depths
ngs. For this reason, and because
ns, the Gilyaks take the precaution of

"Being anxious to know what claims t
whether he could cure illnesses. To wh
cham, pray and make offerings of tobac
out of the door to the spirits (of the for
added, 'and we offer to fire at one time

the cham had to healing power, I asked him
ich he replied, 'If a child or person is ill, I, the
cco to the lord of fire and cast some rice or tea
est and water). There is one god—Nature,' he
and to water and the forest at others.' "

9: Hawes--254 T-3

116, 225, 731, 776, 782

young seals, which will be equally d
west wind drives away the ice-floes

ivided among them. This continues until a south-
and their passengers."

Hawes--239 T-3 (1901) 1903
6, 753, 776, 782

"The Gilyaks explain the visitation of disease in thi
fended the good spirit kiskh, who thereupon deserts
the evil spirit. The offering made to the latter is a
e evil spirit to quit him.
The Gilyak makes no offering to kiskh, the creator
oral world, for he does not know where he is; in fa
at it can only be said to exist in his mind as a nebul
osition of the cham, the evil spirit cannot but be ang
nd the want of respect paid to him; but we need not b
secure in his knowledge of many exorcisms."

s way. The sick man must have
him and leaves him in the power
bribe, whereby the sufferer coaxes

, the great spirit, the god of the
ct, so vague is his notion of him
ous conception. With regard to the
ry at the trick he has been played,
e anxious for the healer, since he

9: Hawes--260 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 372, 776, 823

"The honoured place at the end of the hut, [LSS: c
door (the east end it happened to be in this case), w
preter. Honourable as it was, we took the precautio
secticide, a proceeding in no way resented, and pro
came to shake a cloth over the fire, I was politely r
derogatory to Tur ni vookh, the lord of that element

of the headman at Nivo] opposite the
as reserved for me and my inter-
on of sprinkling it freely with in-
obably not understood; but when I
requested to refrain from an act
t."

awes--238-239 T-3 (1901) 1903
755, 776, 782

On the following day, the head of the hut takes
ible to the village appointed where the bear i
re he kills the dogs near the cage of the bear,
n in the forest to the east, and sings, 'Make s
.' The offering is made near the bear becaus
, and therefore is to be found near at hand.
he cham having been liberally rewarded for hi
he old Gilyak in reply to my question as to wh
stoical submissiveness, 'We make offerings,
f the spirit does not restore it, it is well als

the offerings, and goes as quickly as
, even if it be a hundred miles away.
takes out the heart and liver and casts
o that the sick man may [239] be quite
the evil spirit is a great friend of the

s pains, the matter is ended.
at happened if the patient died, said,
and if the child recovers, it is well;
.' "

awes--248 T-3 (1901) 1903
776, 821

Mention has been made of four gods—the lords o
ator, or judge of right and wrong; but these do r
ception of the Gilyak. They are his nearest prot
owd who are too numerous to maintain communi
s each has its ni vookh, but the Gilyak has no in

f the forest, sea, and fire, and the
not exhaust the whole polytheistic
ectors, the most intimate among
ications with. The sun, moon, and
ntercourse with them."

: Hawes--248-249 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 183, 776

"All the four gods are Gilyaks, have wives, we
n common with men; in fact, they are the Greek
he belief of the Gilyak in the existence of his god
lso an illustration of the subtlety needed in quest
nysteries of which he is, as a rule, so reluctant
'How do the Gilyaks catch fish? and why at one
ime less, and at another none at all?'
Gilyak. Well, at one time the fish come into th
Russian. That is not the reason. How can a fis
ever enter of its own accord into the net. You G
here, the God who has created everything and li
Gilyak. No, it is you Russians who don't know.
end into the net the fish which live in the water?
n the water. He, the god in the water, has creat
ish, and where he wishes, there he sends them.
Russian. What sort of a god can there be in the
lrown. There of course he is not, and the Gilyak
Gilyak. It is untrue. All is untrue what you are
Myself knows. There are such (striking) things h
n his clothes; but afterwards he was found on th

ar Gilyak garments, and have much
gods in Gilyak dress. How strong is
s the following talk will show. It is
tioning a native about his religion, the
to disclose. A Russian asked—
time do they catch more, at another

e net and at another time not. [249]
h go by itself into the net? It would
ilyaks know that it is God who sends it
ves in the sky.
How can a god who lives in the sky
No, not in the sky lives the god, but
ed nothing, and only commands the

water? If he is a Gilyak, he will
s only think so in their stupidity!
saying. The Gilyak knows very well.
ave happened. A Gilyak was drowned
bank without clothes. How do you

: Hawes--248-249 T-3 (1901) 1903
16, 183, 776

hink that came about?
Russian. I don't know. Perhaps somebody robl
Gilyak. Hey! Kaukray! Nobody had robbed him
y Tol ni vookh, kiskh!
Russian. Then why has he done it?
Gilyak. Because the Gilyak offended him in so
im, and his garments he has taken for himself,
he shore so that all should know that this Gilyak
rightened to offend the powerful Tol ni vookh."

ped him.

n. You yourself don't know. It was done

mething, therefore the god has drowned
and the naked corpse he has cast on
had offended the god. May all be

9: Hawes--254 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 225, 731, 776, 782

"It often happens that by the time of the arriv
quite exhausted, and hunger reigns in the villag
fête held in honor of the first catch; see categor
with all due ceremony. On the following day the
groups begin to gather up the 'fragments,' inclu
and reverence, are cast into the sea. The flesh
has plenty of raw, are offerings to Tol ni vookh
permission to use tne products of his domain, t
offering in acknowledgment of the god's goodw
Gilyaks to open the New Year's fête with the du
bones the great Tol ni vookh will make many m
the bones to the four winds, thus making it mor
Tol ni vookh would in that case have to recreate
has only to reclothe them with flesh, and lo, th

The offering is cast into the sea in complete
Uichkha rush, or water daimones, who, if they
would spoil the whole affair, by seizing what wa

After the day of the offering, the Gilyak is fr
ful is he with his harpoon that a canoe of five w

al of the seals, the winter stores are
e; nevertheless, the fête [LSS: The seal
ry 116, pp. 252-254.] must be celebrated
whole village turns out, and the family
ding the bones, which, in deep silence
and fat, boiled or roasted, for the god
, with the request that he will give them
he sea; and the bones are the thank-
ill in sending the seals and allowing the
and proper ceremonies. With these
ore seals. It would be a sin to scatter
e difficult to create for want of material.
entirely, whereas, given the bones, he
seals are complete, alive!
ilence, because there are many
should overhear the Gilyak praying,
s intended for the god.
e to follow up the hunt, and so success-
ll sometimes take as many as fifty

Hawes--238 T-3 (1901) 1903

, 535, 578, 755, 776, 782

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] The eyes
ams at the mouth, and sings the orders of the evil

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick man well.

The first syllable in each line is articulated quickl
owly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is made to en

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or has any
may ruin the whole family by his interpretation of
bring all their dogs and everything that they value
nes human offerings were demanded."

s of the cham are like flames; he
spirit—

y, and the last vowels in the line

d in a—aa.

spite against him or his relatives,
the spirit's demands, forcing them
most. It is even said that in olden

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

10: Coxwell--128[3] B-3 (no date) 1925
116, 539, 776, 825

"THE BRAVE GILYAK AND THE GRATEFU

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 121-124.]

The story of Androcles and the Lion will occur to the reader. It the East transmutation is into the larger animal forms, thus here in a Kalmuck tale, a demon appears as a buffalo, as opposed to th wolf of a Russian tale and into a yellow dog of a Mordvin tale. But transformed into a tiger by a curse, as in Western werewolf stori the general Gilyak belief that there are special beings in the moun having the appearance of Gilyaks, can assume the shape of wild be shadowed forth. The absence of ceremony is noticeable when the G tiger-man's sister."

L TIGER

is observable that in
is a tiger-man and,
e transmutation into a
the man has not been
es; on the contrary,
tains and forest who,
asts, seems here
Gilyak marries the

10: Coxwell--128 [2] B-3 (no date)
116, 372, 539, 776

"THE GILYAK WHO OFFENDED TH

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539

The Lord of Fire is considered by the Gilyaks
and all the deities; and the hunter who sacrifices
propitiates the Lord of the Forest, and secures s
story, 'The Mountain-devil in the form of a Tige
fire. In the Yakut tale, 'Al-Iot: the Spirit of Fire
the Fire. Among the Yukaghirs, a definite form
when a new net is dedicated."

HE FIRE LORD
, p. 121.]

to be an intermediary between man
to fire considers that he thereby
success in the chase. In the Gilyak
r, ' a party of hunters sacrifices to
, ' a spoonful of all food is thrown to
of words is employed before a fire

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

10: Coxwell--119-120
116, 776

"The Gilyaks believe
or river—sky and fire,
their place of habitatio
man,' a 'Mountain-man
manner of life and outw
can assume the shape o
bears which belong to t
creatures have a care
wild animals, or rescu
account of their life at
benevolent or indifferen
Gilyak form) which str
which for want of a bett
devils, sea devils, etc.
his health or to destroy

that each element: earth, mountain, forest, water—whether sea has its own special inhabitants, who are called according to n; thus, the Gilyak speaks of an 'Under Earth-man,' a 'Forest-n,' a 'Sea-man,' a 'Sky-man.' These beings resemble Gilyaks in ard appearance, but possess special powers; for instance, they f any wild beast, or of a tree, or stone. Wild beasts, such as the he mountain-man, serve him as domestic animals. Many of these for the well-being of the Gilyak; thus, they will send him fish or e him from misfortunes. But a few, such as the Sky-men, on a distance, are indifferent to the Gilyak's fate. Besides these nt creatures, there is, in every element, a race of beings (of ive [120] to harm the Gilyak. They are called 'Melk,' a term ter word, may be rendered, 'devil.' Thus, there are mountain . These creatures frequently waylay the Gilyak and seek to injure his life."

10: Coxwell--120 B-3
116, 761, 776

"Death is always the result of the mac
the Gilyak's body, slowly devours him
them forcibly, enter into disagreeable
the devil's advantage."

chinations of a devil, which, taking up its abode
n. But sometimes devils seize people and, holdi
e relations with them, or force them to work for

predominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of rumination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs and their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imagination so boldly that their assertions contradict those of other shamans or of everyday experience. From conversations, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the Gilyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits, both good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not emerged from fetishism.

God (kush or kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and never appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing is said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I heard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In this we may already see something like priestly self-glorification. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother much about him, only now and then something is sacrificed to him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him or for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak crosses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a bowl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the sacrifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is sacrificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a stake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it millet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240] are tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme being. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

The bear usually appears as the executor of divine ordinances, and he punishes the bad people during their lifetime. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstitious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be regarded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as a god or demigod.

The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they seldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians regard him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded as having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a certain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored one". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874. (Published in Russian).

people. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and kills the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
273 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.
Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

846 given birth to a child does not leave her place, the hut; only during the most severe spells of frosty weather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in case she herself is the housewife. If she is not the housewife she cannot expect to be taken into the house
846 by another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women
776 in confinement who were left to themselves in the hut are attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these spirits out of the "house of birth", in which one of the most important and mysterious natural events takes place, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the hut designed to banish the evil spirits. But this convenient and easy way of protection is not always sufficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming hurriedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who was compelled to do all the work in the narrow and disgusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood, had, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's head. On another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a Gilyak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire when she had started a fire in order to warm her chilled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur as frequently as one should expect is due to the admirable strength of character and fortitude of the Gilyak woman who, even worn out and sick, never loses her presence of mind and her ability to work. It is the might of her motherly love which, in such moments, increases her will power and her fortitude to a degree unknown and incomprehensible to men.
847 Unmarried Gilyak women, fearing the disgrace
163 which they would have to suffer, sometimes effect artificial miscarriages; they use the same means which are said to cause natural miscarriages. But their skill in committing abortion is not great, for there are many cases of infanticide.
Once in a while it happens that a Gilyak woman gives birth to a dead child; but that happens so infrequently that I could not be shown a single woman to whom that had happened.
814 The Gilyak very much dislike talking about sexual
864 matters and about facts connected with them. That is probably the reason why the appearance of a new member of the family is explained to children in such

834 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded.
864 If the baby was born in the summer, the children are
told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree
or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to
have found it in the snow.
845 Twin births.
163 No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth
of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why
there are no legends about such an event either.
Not infrequently twin births take place among the
natives. They contend that in each one of these cases
both children are of the same sex. I personally came
to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were
between forty and forty-five years old. In regions
rather well known to me there occurred three twin
births in a population of more than 300 persons
within a decade, but all these twins died immediately
after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month
old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of
845 mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote
539 down are twins of different sex mentioned. The
776 brother is in love with his sister and, in this song,
asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he
will die.
The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is
the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-
ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now
benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak
Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak: one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

rookh, should be given back to his father right away.
But, not being certain which of the children is not an
offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them
both equally.
845 It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to
766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground;
they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tribe
is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child,
tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.
753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their
anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and
relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms
of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are
certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone,
squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of
convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is
considered to be a consequence of the mountain
spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says
"tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is
tormenting".
784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions,
they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of
twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow house-
hold articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had
given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are
considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard
objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do
not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the
new one.
842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the
transference of physical peculiarities from one man
to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an
explanation for the superstitious remedies they use
for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who
cannot bear children must ask another very fertile
woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and
she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired
success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be
transferred from one person to another like a
contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel
which had been used by the sick person.

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up des-
truction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over
the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village
of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when
Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and
they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task,
since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed
by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred
position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a
personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak,
it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does
today among the Buryat.
776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious con-
ceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems
to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223),
[see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi
pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are
fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden
spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually
held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of
the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now
give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the
opportunity of observing in person.
796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a
festival was to take place on that day. From several other
villages, some of which were considerable distances away
large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole
place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The
opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants
in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three
days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they hono
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its
pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender
attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment.
For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as
the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also,
the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was
not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the
fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He
would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather
barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance
that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobs
was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, eve
though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, i
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest
the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the
river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what
a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat
him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the
river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just
as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further-
more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its
nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered
up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a
sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be
made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter ar
well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to
bring them destruction? In the former case one would think
that the celebration would take place as soon as possible afte
the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning
October, while these festivals actually are not till later. Th
second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum-
stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful
one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description
of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the
solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

756 tume. Both doctor and patient are generally decked with wood-shavings while the work is going on.

Sometimes an effigy of the sick person is prepared, and the spirit is charmed from the man of flesh to the one of straw. The shaman induces him to take up lodgings in this effigy, and the success of his persuasion is apparent when the in-

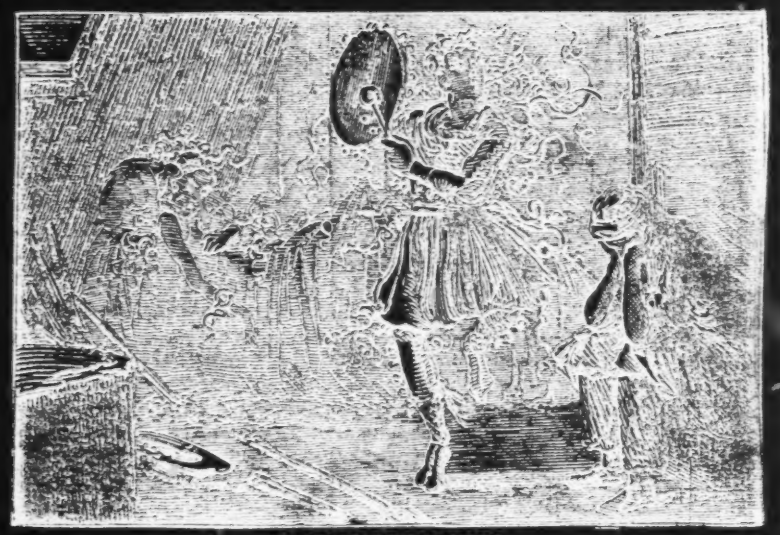

PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

valid recovers. If the patient dies the shaman declares that the spirit was one over which he had no control, but he does not hesitate to take pay for his services.

A Russian traveler who witnessed one of these exorcisms said that the shaman howled so fearfully that two Chinese merchants who were present out of curiosity fled in very terror. The gentleman managed to endure it to the end, but did not sleep well for a week afterward.

776 The Gilyaks believe in both good and evil spirits, but as the former do only good it is not thought necessary to pay them any attention. All the efforts are to induce the evil spirits not to act. They are supposed to have power over hunting, fishing, household affairs, and the health and well-being of animals and men.

777

777 LUCK AND CHANCE--concept of good and bad luck; ideas about chance and probability; things associated with good or bad luck (e.g., lucky objects, luck-bringing formulas, lucky and unlucky numbers, propitious and unlucky days); techniques for controlling luck (e.g., wearing of luck amulets, reciting of lucky formulas); conception of fate; etc. See also:

Insurance 456
Gambling 525
Protective amulets 751
Theory of accidental injuries 752
Divination 787
Pattern numbers 801
Calendar 805
Scientific theory of chance 813

cont./
er has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
ree days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
s apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
irth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw
ut if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
p. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz′ nyngydz′ (from kyz′ -- risk, luck, and nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

/306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
two k:ong z′akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
pylng z′akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special
(m′erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitus′. When
repare food, these trees -- ola′ bituz′ -- must be fed
ment of Kal'ma).
While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
ng it on a tree. O′ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make
child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj
figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
at which he dreams.
The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
nd female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
missible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch care-
see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place
d ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/321 cont./
776 upon himself. Ge-n′ivukh beats the seals. He is seen from a distance, but up close he disappears. He does not drive away sickness. In appearance he is "just like a Gilyak."

● 777 Talismans. Gibel'ka became rich in the following way: His eldest brother, Amgunka, found a piece of red material under a log in the taiga; from that time on he began to get rich. Gibel'ka stole this talisman from him, and then a chkhnaj fell from the sky, and he began to get even richer.

Taru -- talisman -- is an object which falls to a lucky person (kyz narla n′ivukh) and which increases the number of things in his possession (for instance, two fur coats instead of one), such as: a May beetle, a piece of gold, a larch with fir cones, a climbing lizard, a worm.

Aleksey caught a goya with three worms adhering to it by suction, and after this there was a lucky catch of fish.

755 Father Konki is very old and by now remembers nothing. But on the basis of dreams he advises the sick -- to make chkhnaj, feed them, and carry them into the taiga.

In recent times he has not had visions and therefore thinks that he will soon die.

/322/
756 776 Shamanism. A kekhn answers the shaman's questions about sickness and medication, but nobody hears his answers. The mightiest master is Tlykekhn (the spirit of the sky). He travels on foot through the sky and with a rope leads the shaman through the air wherever he wishes. The shaman does not take his kekhn along to Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave). The kekhn of Koynyt (1)

[115] 1. The author's storyteller -- a youth who subsequently became a shaman. S. Sh.

comes to him only in a dream or during a seance. He sends him to various gods with tasks, for example, to learn what sacrifice to make. So far he has only pal-n′igyvyn (kekhn). His kekhn is small, with a human face and a body covered with hair.

/352 cont./
342 352 354 171 [113]
8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

352 354 512 171 513 [177] Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, [123] when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth [984] yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused gen- ● [177] eral indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uitsch, uitsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

/61 cont./

96 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nau-vakhnku,
78 the day of the preparation of the inau, i.e., sticks with sharpened ends, which play an important religious role in the festival. These sticks, of various forms and sizes, represent orators-intercessors, which, together with the slain bear will set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talismans as well. Each kind of inau is made in pairs; each pair is spouses, so that they will be happier, and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the inau are hung as ornamentation on the posts of the arena; some are attached to them at the bottom. While the
6 preparation of the inau takes place, the clan elder, together
4 with the master of the bear, and several clansmen ride out
4 to greet the so-called narkh'i. These narkh'i are honored guests and play a very important role in the festival: the killing of the bear is left to them alone, to them /62/ alone is given all the meat of the killed beast and even the skin. The narkh'i are not arbitrarily chosen people, but of necessity representatives of that clan into which the daughters of the master of the bear, as well as the women of his clan in general, marry.
6 Most often, therefore, a narkh is a son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the bear /see navkh, p. 82/. The narkh'i in turn take along their sons-in-law and decide among themselves which one of them is to kill the bear. If several bears are killed at the same time, narkh'i are invited from all the clans from which the clan arranging the festival has taken wives, so that sometimes up to ten clans participate in such a festival. It is these narkh'i whom the master of the bear must solemnly greet and lavishly entertain when he meets them, and transport them with honor to his village.

96 The following day is the day of the killing. It is called
3 Na-khan-ku (the day of the killing of the bear) or Chkhyf-aryn-ku (the day of the feeding of the bear). Early in the morning the bear is taken out of its cage in the same way as to take it for a walk. A large woven belt to which are tied bags full of assorted viands is put on it, and it is tied up near a yurt and given the opportunity to enjoy the last hours of life remaining to it in this

/66 cont./

796 fed, and then, exchanging farewell glances with the dogs, they silently leave. Upon passing over the threshold, it remains for them to conclude the last ceremony, which bears the characteristic name of "lymyzyn zychyvynd" -- "the stamping of the threshold." This ceremony consists in placing nich'i (a kettle and an ax) on both sides of the threshold, the nich of the departer -- on the inner side, and the nich of the host on the outer side; the departer must first step over the inner nich with one foot and then over the outer one with the other.

796 On this same day the last act is concluded -- the sacrifice
782 of the dogs. The dogs presented by the narkh'i, as well as the dogs sacrificed by the master for this occasion, are led out to the plot of ground where the bear was killed and tied up to those same trees /67/ to which the bear was tied. The head of the bear with all the presents given to it, is also brought here. Each pair of dogs consists of a male and a female so they will be
● [778] happier on the journey. Pairs of inau of the same kind as those that were prepared for seeing off the bear and equal in number to the number of pairs of dogs are then stuck into the ground in the neighborhood of the trees. The heads of the dogs are ornamented with shavings, which are painted with the juice of berries and attached to them. Before they are killed, the dogs are fed with choice viands and are exhorted in the following way: "Go, go to your master, take yourself up to the highest mountain, change your skin, and next year come down here, come down here as a bear so that I may have a look at you, do this, come down, farewell, travel well!" After this, they kill the dogs by strangulation. This procedure is carried out somewhat peculiarly. Two men seize a dog by its hind legs and forcefully pull the unfortunate animal as far as possible away from the tree to which it is tied with a tightening noose. At that time, two other men seize the two front paws; a fifth presses on the dog's neck, accelerating the process of strangulation, and a

/96 cont./

*614 But if they are lucky enough to overtake the bear-
825 "murderer" or his "clansman," they wreak upon him their
672 most extreme wrath. As their first responsibility they knock
766 out his teeth with an ax, and, while they are skinning him, they stab him with knives from all sides and heap on him the choicest verbal abuse. Having stripped off the bear skin, they wrap the body of the murdered man in it (if his body has remained uneaten; otherwise it is replaced by a half-length representation in wood) and, seating him in a squatting position on the sled, place the bear head under his seat, and in this way, with loud howls mixed with exclamations in honor of the murdered man and in deprecation of his murderer, they bear him to the settlement. If the bear has not been found, they place under the seat of the dead man a half-length representation of a bear, while the body is arrayed in a cloak of shavings (1). Not far from the

● [778]

1. Shavings are regarded by the Gilyak as sacred, as an object of magical power. The cult of the sharpened pieces of wood (inau; see the section on religion) plays an enormous role in the religion of the Gilyak. Ordinarily they bury chosen ones in cloaks of shavings. Such an honor, for example, is accorded to the mother of twins or triplets, who is regarded as a being of a higher order. Among the poor this finery takes the place of the magnificent traditional funeral garments of Chinese silk, which causes one to think that at a remote period garments of shavings were generally used and that antiquity has invested them with a halo of sanctity.

Amur

/306 cont./

● 778 A child's amulet -- ola bituz consists of two slender fir
824 trees -- prung, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; their crowns are bound with birch bark. Then they are reinforced encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (tykr) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened head of k:khong z'akh, the head of a pike (ius), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

VII.

Religion

774 The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The soul -- cheg:n, chekhn, yrykh, uz'(the pith as in a tree). A man has three souls: one major one -- cheg:n, and its two
[756] shadows, assistants. When the cheg:n of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

774 If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true,
787 it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistant. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

765 In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a
[764] dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with drel', then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chongr nynyv), which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white, placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n'ivukh k:ak. Some place the bone in the upper part, others --

/311 cont./

756 Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz:-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Goldi tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovz (Goldi pŭn'chu) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then horns -- murki', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys [776] pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami [774] among the Goldi, lives in the uz' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

● 778 824 Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

[782] Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

[184] 1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Kal'vo on the chédzigr, on its crossbar -- two figures, 778 yzikh -- peasant man and woman. A chédzigr is fed on the first 782 day of the month anlong (December) and a second time in July. 824 Everyone sits in a circle, and an old man takes a small amount of food from each, makes chukh-chugind -- a sacrifice -- and places inau. The inau are made out of mountain ash.

824 /312 cont./
● 778 Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr:, gather 782 at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buda, [614] a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labaz/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyjá -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tly-n'ivukh; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

796 Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt. 782 Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are [184] carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the tlyrokh is never made; in Tevkh only a red dog pag:r kh:an:, is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'jongarja kinynguch: humguja', kholafti lygyguja'," i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (han'gar:), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Ski, a stick, and a cross-bow (narródz:) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tuurg'a'vk); the fork is thrown into the fire and [789] taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a [776] hunt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/313 cont./
796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly 782 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught some thing while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

731 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the 782 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots, [165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the vil lage of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzig This old man remembers four big takh.

796 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solem 782 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they a not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a [372] white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tu [354] If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must b bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

● 778 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtá 782 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are 224 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And h 225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyn only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presen of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, ag:a (akhyd a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should co out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are se

/546/

Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lych, like the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.

Use of the lych for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon. Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any use is made of a slain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife, whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown into the water, and, furthermore, the snout, or, to achieve both things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put into the water. The guiding thought in this is to leave the slain animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in the future. The same conception is evidently the basis for the above-mentioned similar procedure of the Manegir with their slain sturgeon and hausen. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to terms with this superstition in another and less costly way. Perhaps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

/563 cont./

it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect. The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

ont. /

l, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then, while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch and put it with the other possessions of the house. My to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price offered; I was told categorically that it was already ı" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal un- d, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future be even worse if she were to sell it to me in an intact 1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same

1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

ward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connec- ith which they are evidently governed by the same super- belief which I have already discussed above (p. 851) in ng about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does end to worthless animals whose capture means nothing Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by yak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

225 mu-ziyəd on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziyəd on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

782 Aside from mu-ziyəd, t'aj is performed on the boat. T'aj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-ɣəks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these t'aj elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-pək-əzd --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines t'aj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
823 first go to Uiɣ-krə "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
766
782

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures. About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among
the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

The mother delivers the child herself, and only if the mother is entirely too weak does the midwife help at the delivery.

The Gilyak do not know how to give obstetric help to a woman in labor. If a woman is not able to deliver the child she dies, and, in this case, the child will perish too. But that happens very rarely. During a more than ten years' stay in the region of the river Tym I heard only once that a woman died during the delivery.

Among the Gilyak the first childbirth is considered to be the hardest. It is especially hard and painful for very young women who are not fully developed physically.

Girls are strictly forbidden to laugh when people talk of delivery or confinement, and they are supposed to stay serious during the act of birth. If they fail to do so, in the future they will go through very hard deliveries and suffer exceedingly great labor pains.

In order to speed up the discharge of the placenta chiplings of a certain wood (sambucus racemosa) are put into the mouth of the woman in labor. The bitter disgusting taste of the wood causes vomiting which, according to the belief of the Gilyak, should accelerate the discharge of the placenta (ehlaud cuind, that is: the child's food). But, if the placenta nevertheless is not discharged after a while the woman dies. This [758] happens rarely but does occur once in a while among the Gilyak. The placenta is wrapped in a towel and hung up on a tree in the wood not far from the house.

If a child is born with a caul which, however, happens very rarely, the caul is not thrown away but is carefully dried and kept with other household articles. For the Gilyak believe that this caul which in the language of their tribe, is called ehlan ok (the suit of the child) brings luck to the whole family.

The newly born child is not simply called a boy or a girl. If a girl was born it is, for the time being, called mukin ehlan, that is: tailless child (mukind usually is the name for a dog with a very short tail). But if a boy was born his relatives say: moi ivend panend, that is: one who has a penis was born.

845 dwelling to the
766 the last time,
782 Next to the sac
775 stick carved in
they call it nau
is safe [762] fr
tonhr ehlian, w
753 If the relative
845 are designed to
776 the mountains a
anger. Several
relatives of the
of their revenge
certain disease
squint-eyes, st
convulsions. Th
considered to b
spirit's dissatis
"tonhr ehlian si
tormenting".
784 The Gilyak a
845 young women a
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they believe, th
twins. Women a
hold articles no
given birth to tw
considered to b
objects, howeve
not transfer the
new one.
842 It is altogethe
777 tribe that they b
transference of
to another man
explanation for
for overcoming
cannot bear chil
woman to lend h
she has to wear
success. A Gily
transferred fro
contagious disea

top of a near-by mountain; there, for
hoice food is offered to the figure.
rificial objects a one to two meter long
curly design is dug into the ground;
From this moment on the whole tribe
om being haunted by the dead child,
ithout further prayers or sacrifices.
es neglect to follow these rules, which
appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
nd to win their favor, they evoke their
diseases which attack the parents and
twins are considered to be symptoms
(tohr ehlian). These usually are
s like deformation of the jaw-bone,
iffening of the neck or any kind of
e appearance of such diseases is
e a consequence of the mountain
sfaction; in such cases one says
ngrund", that is "the twin child is

re so afraid of these dangers that
d girls are strictly forbidden to listen
such happenings; by these precautions,
ey will be able to prevent the birth of
re neither allowed to borrow house-
r to accept gifts from friends who had
vins. In this case old soft objects are
e the most dangerous ones. Hard
r, especially tools made of metal, do
bad luck of the former owner to the

r a trait characteristic of this northern
elieve in the possibility of the
physical peculiarities from one man
by way of his tools. This gives us an
the superstitious remedies they use
a woman's sterility. The woman who
dren must ask another very fertile
er the waistband of her trousers and
it up to the moment of the desired
ak told me that fertility can be
m one person to another like a
se, for example by way of a vessel
used by the sick person.

622 to be killed by the consent of their owners, for it is not the
574 village as such but individuals in it who are the owners of
the captured animals. Once an agreement has been reached
796 on this point the animals intended for slaughter are led from
777 house to house several weeks before the fixed date and must
spend a night in each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
796 by their stay. During this time the animals get only a little
food, but at the end of it they are indemnified for their in-
voluntary fast by being taken throughout the night from house
to house and fed the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried
fish, berries and a thick gruel prepared from millet.

796 While making the rounds through the village, the bears are
563 irritated by being pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
hunt staged on them with lances. The bears are ones that have
been captured young in the woods or bought full-grown from
the Chinese or Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
796 Gilyak territory. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
take the precaution of tying the animals in such a way that
they cannot easily get at their tormentors. Close behind the
front legs they tie a strap around their body to which are
attached rings through which are run iron chains. To these
chains, in turn, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
considerable length, in such a way that some go forward and
others backward. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
and in this way they are able to force the bear to stand com-
pletely still by alternately tightening the belts depending on
whether the bear is turned frontwards or backwards when it
wants to attack its leaders.

796 Outside the village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
417 willow sticks, which has an opening for an avenue that is also
fenced in on both sides with similar willow sticks. Inside
this enclosure the bear, after it has finished its tour through
796 the village, is tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
541 to itself for a while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
231 themselves with the dog race almost always held at these
437 celebrations. In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had
a track especially constructed for this purpose, which, how-
ever, was not very long. After the dogs had been led to the
track by their owners and placed next to each other, they
were let loose at intervals of a few seconds, but they all
arrived at the finish about the same time. There is, by the
way, no idea of winning prizes at this race, since such do
not even exist. Rather, it might be called a purchasing race
since the race serves to place the good qualities of the dogs
in the right light and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

22: Knox I-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

These buildings were the receptacles of dried fish for the winter use of dogs and their owners. The elevation of the floor serves to protect the contents from dogs and wild animals. I was told that no locks were used and that theft was a crime unknown.

The dwellings were generally divided into two apartments; one a sort of ante room and receptacle of house-keeping goods, and the other the place of residence. Pots, kettles, knives, and wooden pans were the principal articles of household use I discovered. At the storehouses there were several fish-baskets of birch or willow twigs. A Gilyak gentleman does not permit fire carried into or out of his house, not even in a pipe. This is not owing to his fear of conflagrations, but to a superstition that such an occurrence may bring him ill luck in hunting or fishing.

It was in the season of curing fish, and the stench that greeted my nostrils was by no means delightful. Visits to dwellings or magazines would have been much easier had I possessed a sponge saturated with cologne water. Fish were in various stages of preparation, some just hung upon poles, while others were nearly ready for the magazine. The manner of preparation is much the same as in Kamchatka, save that the largest fish are skinned before being cut into strips. The poorest qualities go to the dogs, and the best are reserved for bipeds.

Though the natives do the most of the fishing on the Amoor, they do not have a monopoly of it, as some of the Russians indulge in the sport. One old fellow that I saw had a boat so full of salmon that there was no room for more. Now and then a fish went overboard, causing an expression on the boatman's face as if he were suffering from a dose of astonishment and toothache drops in equal proportions.

There were dogs everywhere, some lying around loose, and others tied to posts under the storehouses. Some walked about and manifested an unpleasant desire to taste the calves of my legs. All barked, growled, and whined in a chorus

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8 SACRED OBJECTS AND PLACES--conception of sanctity (e.g., possession by an indwelling or frequenting spirit, infusion with impersonal supernatural power); idols and fetishes; extraordinary objects (e.g., bezoar stones, albino animals, mandrake roots); sacred places (e.g., shrines, altars); places of asylum and sanctuary; notions of impersonal supernatural power (e.g., mana, soul-stuff); animatism; beliefs and practices of consecration and desecration; etc.

See also:

Churches and temples 346
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Holy men 792

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 776 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" [798] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacriligeous offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/50 cont./

823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the
appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a mar
of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impress
approaching the island from the sea with its gra
stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger,
dren and compelled his wife to run hundreds of
him and form another cape in a new place. An
cliffs sticking out of the water all along the sho
all of this is alive, gods who ran away from thei
the influence of internecine wars.

82 774 776 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the
(the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous
fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a
Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places up
special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), so
"inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. Th

[777] [778] 1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only
which the gods conceal themselves from the cur
The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysi
825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak beg
to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) ac
large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the
big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment
to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a
fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master
latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, a
seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat
kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs,
which are distinguished the older --
and the younger -- soldiers. In an a

/60 cont./

796 231 Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is [614] [182] displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

796 621 476 There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival 796 come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins -- the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of [778] ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees: the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

for the head. There is another justification for this custom i the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats, which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which al ways run along the walls, would be constantly running over th face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refus to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their kang if superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on th Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 164 45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which wo

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at th time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Kraschenin and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described abo Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latt third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

/313 cont./

to shout: "Yrk-lu? -- Is it enough?" -- "Yrkrá! -- It is enough!" Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

The customary takñej of a hunter is the individual uig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund kymlydz: assembles, and they judge him; they demand a bear or a luk -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

When they build a pila uigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a luk: -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a post falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila uigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzigr.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several uigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an uigryf.

/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 [087] Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this is also good.

342 354 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy - door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the "master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- windo alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side 342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly k:as' -- large post. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. erkh mat' k:as' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' -- small post. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'l digr-irku k:as' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal erkh' mat k:as' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17. Kylyná mat' k:as' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor. 20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth o [354] the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the [335] master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house 24. Kylzhutá -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a p son who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooe [078] corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things. [076] 29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do w the appropriate spirit, with tol or pal'.

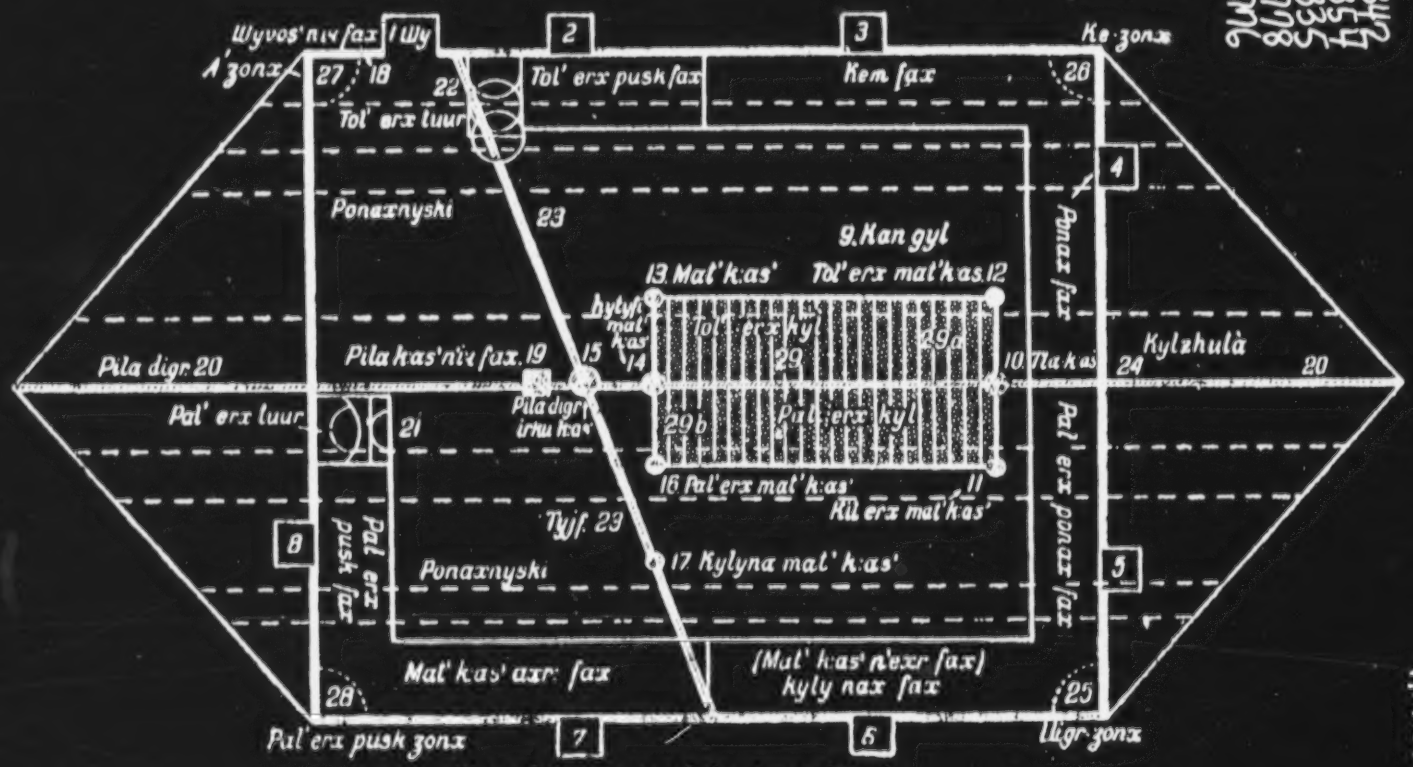

Plan of the House of the Amur Gilyak

/Three letters in the terms above have been changed in the translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other letters are from the Latin alphabet; see the table on p. 36 (foreign text p. xxxix)./

1: Shternberg--456 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur
342
357
335
798
96

/343 cont./
the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his wife continued doing the same. He has one son -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand) or pay tkhusnd, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

/369 cont./
799 baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless, the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great many things about the methods used on the part of converters of natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented missionary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

581 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak, from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.

583 584 In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of a given individual, and her children are the children of that individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring 584 bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

/699 cont./
After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the Nikolajevsk post by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Judin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, precisely in order to make a few purchases for the forthcoming festival. With my friend and later colleague at the Academy, C. Maximowicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allof, we entered Wair about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place: one of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little fir tree which stood in front of its transverse walls on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak, hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon when we drove up before Judin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wair. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who, in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

/704 cont./
796 described above. for the latter was done after the hind legs of the
231 animal had already been fettered in the cage. but here the bear could make full and free use of all four extremities and its teeth. While the procession halted outside the house. all the ropes and straps required for carrying out the feat were held in readiness. Seizing the moment when the mighty animal stood fully erect. one of the Gilyak threw himself from the front around its neck and embraced it as firmly as he could. At the same moment a second one muzzled the animal. Simultaneously several others seized the animal from the rear. pulled its hind legs from under it by means of nooses. and held them against the ground. The bear fell on its front paws. but here. too. someone was ready to press them against the ground with a pole and to fetter them. Thus through quick and concerted steps the animal was completely disarmed and fettered in an instant. and now the auxiliary ropes needed on its neck-band could be put on in peace and safety. As soon as this was done. all the Gilyak jumped off the bear. all the knots and nooses fastened around its snout and paws with special skill were loosened with one jerk. and the bear again stood there on its chain entirely free and unfettered. except for the neck and body band. roaring loudly. repeatedly shaking itself. Now. together with the small bear. it was led back into the house and regaled there with finely crushed ice and cowberries /Strickbeeren/. whereupon. after a short pause. the same procedure was again repeated several times. that is. the small bear was taken immediately from Judin's house to another one. but the large bear only after having been led in and out four times. or sometimes only twice.

796 Immediately after the bears had been removed. the male youth
338 of the village began to carry large and small sticks of alder and
998 mountain ash into the house and to deposit them at the place where the bears had stood. until there was a large pile of them. Everybody who had a knife. except for the women and girls. began to cut the sticks at one end. or. more properly. to whittle them. that is. to make the so-called nauwa (1) of the Gilyak out of them.

[104]

1. The s here is to be pronounced soft. like the French z.

998 /704 cont./
796 Many of them were whittled with the knife on only one side. but
231 most of them on two opposite sides. and some all around; indeed. from some of them very fine and gracefully curled wood-shavings (the repeatedly mentioned so-called zach of the Gilyak) hung down from the upper end of the stick to the lower one. This symbol. which among the Gilyak accompanies all religious performances based on the fear of the influence of evil spirits. such as the giving of offerings to the river (2) conjuring away storms (3). etc..

2. See pp. 802-804 above.

3. See p. 1088 above.

may not. of course. be absent from the bear festival. Thus we already see it exhibited over the roof of the house in which a bear festival is to be celebrated and at the same time a part of the bear cult is to be enacted. We were to /705/ encounter it in more copious masses as the bear festival progressed. For the moment. however. the whole heap of whittled sticks was again carried out. in order to be used on the following day. While the men. youths. and boys carved on the sticks. the women prepared a fresh supply of mosuj. into which this time they also mixed pulverized fir-needles (from Picea ajanensis. Fisch.. Gilyak twisk -- an activity which lasted until evening.

796 Meanwhile the leading of the bears in and out of the other
231 houses of the village went on without interruption. The Gilyak can never have enough of this entertainment. and they take as lively an interest in all the individual incidents that occur in connection with it as is shown among other peoples at. say. contests. festive games. or dances with the merry music. which in this case is provided by the roaring of the bears. Everyone has an opportunity as the head of the one or the other row of bear-leaders to display his prowess. intrepidity. skill. and presence of mind: the closer he allows the infuriated animal to approach him. the greater the danger to which he exposes himself. the louder is his share of the applause and the greater his fame and distinction among the people. Every detail is followed attentively and afterward

/733 cont./
796 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled
342 wood-shavings hanging from its tip. such as I saw in the village
184 of Tyk. Here. the road carved out of birch bark probably also remains on the smoke vent. while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

796 In the meantime. in the interior of the yurt there. the rack
184 for the bear's head. made. just as on the mainland. out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches. has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench. or bench of honor. that. in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

796 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious.
184 two separate firs can be kindled on it. corresponding to the two
354 hearths in the tschadryf. over which the kettles used to cook the
252 bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from the yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or

[824] tschchyf (1) -- tur. the bear fire. in which fresh branches of fir

[192]

1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees. and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin. are burned during the preparation of the bear meat and also at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

The wooden curls (zach). being regarded as a symbol of holiness. purity. and inviolability. are an essential ornament in the interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bundle from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the conical roof. and at the time of the bear festival there number is increased by four new ones. which /734/ are put in the four corners of the yurt. In the Gilyak houses. on the mainland one usually sees only two of them. and not always even these. suspended from the two supporting posts of the house. but their number seems to increase as one approaches the Ainu. among whom they are used under the name inau.

Ainu RX2

/737 cont./
796 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Schen
782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage,
[535] whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix. "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

/739/

1. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

796 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information con-
124 cerning the religion of the Gilyak. I received it from the long
Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ŷŷigy (**) and designate

[361]

* From the villages of Patchá and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

[104]

** Wherever the author used ŷ and ŷ. from the Russian alphabet. they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here. these letters would be transliterated as y and ya. respectively/.

him as the good one. kingullisch. an attribute that means the same as good (nontz). They did not understand my question as to whether "God" lived in heaven. or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols. since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kulk (**). But they

[361]

** On the left bank of the Amur. below Nikolayevsk. also Kuégda. Kuégra. Kuégri-wo. see pp. 448. 535.

/739 cont./ But they
insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was
called Maü and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human
figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms
akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but
the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray,
but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next
question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) be-
side and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise
them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god"
and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they
replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of
superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction be-
tween their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for vari-
ous idols and their shamanism that I found:

Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception
of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good
One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who
is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-
[682] stract, completely empty one and does not at all fit into the life,
into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing con-
crete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word
"pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about
"God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except
that he is "kingulātnch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,
however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and
there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in
fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them,
such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the
often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them
inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which
man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent
upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness, and cannot always
escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him,
therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the
general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/741 cont./
tradition, reaching any pretensions of a religious one or completely
driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the
Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[124] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt
/742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer
of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the
village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the
same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house
playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were
not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they en-
joyed special veneration. (Bm. I, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward
off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated
to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kāgn and tschngai (i).

[199] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to
idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also
given to them. I create myself a new idole human form
(Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as
a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame,
above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away
from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
and Goldi the similarly-shaped sīwa stand). Sometimes, however,
the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
give the name panych (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak
is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises
him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

/742 cont./
it is not the general custom to wear idols around the neck. Often
it is not exactly an idol, but some other wooden kind of amulet, straps
knotted in a ball and the like, which is put around the sick man's
neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery.
[126] Such an amulet is called nqif and kisij. From Judin in Tebach I
obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face
(see Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 9). (Bm. I, pp. 57, 58.)

3. Gilyak. The village of Pogbok on the west coast of
Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shavings
on a stick. When these were quite voluminous, he cut off the whole
bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This
zach was intended for a sick woman in the yurt, who had pains in
her chest and sat there groaning and complaining. The zach was
tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her
bosom, pressing them against her body. This was supposed to
be a remedy. In fact, after she had received this medicine, the
woman stopped groaning and behaved very calmly and quietly the
rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a super-
stition may have a curative effect. The zach is therefore still
used on Sakhalin as an amulet /743/ against sickness and seems to
take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures
which are used for similar purposes along the Amur and Liman.
(2 W.R. I, p. 6.)

4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate
LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 1 was named to me by the Gilyak as mvihr.
It is distinguished in shape by having only one arm: the other one
was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circum-
stances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is
carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for warding off
[126] sickness. I acquired it in the village of Kulk. In the same vil-
[352] lage among the belongings of the Gilyak there had been put away
for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of
another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical
pieces of wood, on one side of which was a crudely represented
human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is conically
pointed and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

/743 cont./
down to the forehead in front, but over the entire wooden piece in
[532] back and seem to represent hair. Below the face the hair is fas-
tened to the wooden piece by similar little bands of bark. Plate
LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 2, shows such an idol. Several such idols
stood in a little house made out of boards and covered with loose
grass, which is shown on Plate LIII /p.1253/, Fig. 3. These idols
were named for me by the Alhof Gilyak as tybyx. The Gilyak
Surgin, however, did not know this name and used the expression
tyf-yzigy, i.e., house god. This was the first time that I heard
the word yzigy used in connection with the idols of the Gilyak, and
I believe that this was done only in order to make me understand.
I was likewise unable to find out whether by tyf, that is, house,
the yurt of the Gilyak or the little idol-house was meant. Since
the latter bears the name kāngn, I must relate it to the yurt of the
Gilyak, and it therefore seems that these idols mainly play the part
of lares or guardians of the house. (Bm. I, pp. 58, 59.)

[778] 5. Gilyak. In the Gilyak village of Patt (on the right bank
[184] of the Amur) I saw three idols standing outside a storage chamber,
[532] human figures hewn out of blocks of wood, very similar to those
[171] of the Olcha, though not with the particular expression which
seems to be characteristic of all the idols of the latter. When I
inquired, the Gilyak informed me that they revere these kāgn
like gods. In Patt, they said, they are also kept in the yurts, but
not among other Gilyak. I then had the idols in the yurt showed to
me: three large, wooden human figures with old, smoky zach
around their necks, as is also the custom among the Olcha, stood
there on the beams of the yurt above the rear sleeping-bench. --
[778] In the village of Kulk, too, I saw idols in the yurts, standing in the
[532] same place as in Patt. This is a very dark spot in the yurt, con-
[184] cealed from sight, and anyone who does not know that the Gilyak
[352] keep their idols there will not easily find them. Many a yurt may
therefore be furnished with idols, while seeming to me not to have
any. But many a one actually does not have any, as I discovered
in Wait. -- It seems to me that /744/ the farther downstream one
goes on the Amur the less esteemed or at least less obviously
revered the idols are. (I W.R. II, pp. 119, 137, note 5.)

/744 cont./
[778] 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Ditmar, following his visit in
[755] Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols
[532] which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII
[760] /p. 1258/. In part to other things. Subsequently, I learn about their
significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious
views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various
kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away
from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most
of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are
supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254 / and LV /p. 1255 /.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255 /, with a jointed body,
is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one
with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of
these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and
legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschalutscha-tschngai, is made,
as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be
spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol
with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV
/p. 1255 /, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest,
coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.
[760] All these idols or amulets, the tschalutscha-tschngai not ex-
pected, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify
their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces
of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the
neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar
[778] purpose: they are the lalē and kisij (Plate LX /p. 1260 /, Figs. 1
[532] and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is
[755] worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

/744 cont./
[778] run out on either side into two points, one of which represents a
[755] lizard, the other a snake, the similar shapes of both ends facing one
[532] another alternately. Unfortunately the specimen under discussion
is somewhat worn by frequent use and is lacking the lizard at the
one end.

The other amulet is an iron semicircle, from which hang
[778] figures of different significance made of the same metal, specifi-
[532] cally: at the one end, a crude human shape and a roughly triangu-
lar piece that, according to some of the Gilyak, is supposed to
represent a ptarmigan, and at the other end an identical alleged
ptarmigan and a heart; in the middle, finally, a roughly human
shape with two heads, which is supposed to represent the kins, the
evil, destructive power, that is, the devil. According to the re-
[753] ports of the Gilyak themselves, they believe that sickness is nothing
but the kins gnawing at a human being and finally fatally devouring
[761] him. That is the end of all who /745/ die of sickness. It is no
[755] wonder that with such a belief the Gilyak do not claim heaven for
the souls of those who die of sickness, but have them wandering on
earth, while the souls of all the murdered and even of suicides fly
[776] to heaven. According to Gilyak belief, the earth is the abode of
countless kins or devils who hide in the forests and mountains, as
well as in the water and everywhere. The kins are represented with
[532] two and three heads by the Gilyak, perhaps in order to indicate
[778] with the extra ones, in contrast to man, their power over the
latter (1).

1. According to the Gilyak, one of the heads
on these two or three-headed forms is a human
head. This therefore indicates that the kins
has seized the human being.

I do not know the significance of the alleged ptarmigan,
[778] if that is what they are. The heart, however, has reference to the
[532] purpose of the whole semicircle. Namely, it is to be worn around
[757] the neck against chest ailments, coughing, and the like. The
name kisij, however, which was given to me for it, seems to have a

/745 cont./
[778] more general meaning and to refer to amulets in general (Bm.
[532] pp. 30-32).

7. Idols in human shape among other Amur peoples. The
[778] wooden idols, sīwa, of the Samagir are shaped exactly like th
[532] of the Olcha and Goldi (Plate LIII /p.1253 /, Figs. 6-8) and m
[184] in the same place, propped upright on the sleeping bench along
the transverse wall of the yurt, away from the door. (I W.R.
[171] p. 77.)

8. Goldi. The same custom as among the Gilyak, wearin
[171] idols around the neck, probably exists among all Amur peoples
[126] Fig. 1 on Plate LIV /p. 1254 / represents such a small idol wo
in lead, which I obtained from a Goldi on the Usuri. (Bm. I,
p. 58.)

9. Samagir. I found a small idol hanging in a deserted
hunting-hut of the Samagir along the Gorin, and it reproduced
the human figure in exactly the same manner and with the sam
features as the large sīwa which one sees in the yurts of the Sa
Goldi, and Olcha. The single deviation was that it bore a wo
eyelet on the head, through which a strap was drawn for the pu
pose of wearing it around the neck (Plate LIV /p. 1254 /, Fig.
When this is done, my guide said, the sīwa is fed by the one w
it, in that the owner smears around its mouth a bit of everyth
he himself eats. When I asked what the sīwa actually is, he s
[755] it is everything, the well-being of everyone, and thus his, my
physical well-being, for example, the healing of his leg bitten
[000] of my dogs. I could not find out anything more (2). There is

2. The guide of the author also called sīwa the
little stick, mentioned on p. 1113, deposited
for a musk deer taken from a hunting tent on
the Gorin (1 W.R. II, pp. 84, 85).

[171] There is
[171] evidently connected with the sīwa the idea of the property of
[171] well-being of man under the influence of a power outside of hi
[171] and superior to him. This conception may not be very differe
[000] from that of the Gilyak. A /746/ fact which speaks very much

Sakhalin
Goldi RX2

/322 cont./

Chamkh, the father of Koynyt, my storyteller, was a shaman in Ady-Tymi. He had four souls: one from Pal, another from Tol, a third from Tly, and a fourth from Mly-yz'n.

Shamans make chkhnaj (a wooden image of pal-n'igyvyn), inspired during a seance, and feed them. The feeding consists of giving sugar, saranka, and so forth, but they are eaten by the shaman; it only appears to those around as if he eats it, however, while it is eaten by the kekhn himself. The chkhnaj must be fed or else it will gnaw a person.

When one is dangerously ill, then the yurt begins to shake and becomes full of openings and through the openings, like mosquitoes, many kekhn fly and shout: "Believe me, me!" And then the shaman falls down as if he were drunk. Then he eats marsh tea and drinks sea water -- he gives this to his kekhn. He swallows fire. Kekhn love songs.

If a person is near death and a milk has carried his soul to Mlyvo, a kekhn kills him, and the shaman sets out for there for the soul, and, if he succeeds in getting the soul, the sick man will live. The kekhn shows the shaman the road (to Mlyvo). The shaman gets to Mlyvo directly through an apperture; the same earth as here, the same sky, and many villages are there. If the soul is outside, it can still be obtained; if it is in the yurt, all is lost. If the shaman himself enters the yurt, he will die. In Mlyvo the soul of the shaman is like a bird and flies around the subterranean world.

Parnkhasind (an Orok word) is done only by the Ornyr, i.e., by the Orok. They ask the chkhnaj whether the sick man will recuperate or not. If the chkhnaj rocks from side to side, he will recuperate; if not -- he will die. All this is done under the smoke of marsh tea. When the shaman beats his drum, the kekhn advises the making of chkhnaj, and if somebody's soul comes into it, then the sick man will live. If he will live, the chkhnaj is fed; then when in the shaman's opinion it is time /323/ to lose him, he comes and arranges for the milk to go from the sick man into the chkhnaj, and the sick man then recovers. (see "Fortunetelling with a Stone").

/882/

775 This bird (the soul of the slain man) enters the avenger of
825 the slain man and instills courage in him. Its image (vagn,
[532] takhchynnga) is made out of the roots of the alder tree and placed,
with the roots upward, not far from the raf over the grave of the
[778] slain person. The chkhnaj of this bird must be made out of the
root, and a small knife must be placed in its mouth.

775 The resurrection of the soul. The soul of the deceased will sometimes be born again. If a boy is born with a sign indicating his origin from a person who has died, he will say, even before sustained speech, words that indicate his knowledge of the past.

775 When he attains intelligible speech, his father puts a hat on him
789 backwards and begins to ask him questions about the past, and then he says quietly, "Well, that is enough, forget the past," and puts the hat on him in the proper way. Then the boy forgets everything and will live for a long time. If the father does not do this, the boy will die. The procedure with the hat drives away the milk.

II.

Hunting and Fishing

224 Sacrifices to the sea -- Tol vyzn:d (fynydz:). 1. When winter
782 sets in and there is not a single unfrozen patch of water on the surface of the sea, the men of the same khal'a (women do not participate) set out in the dark of night for the sea, a hole in the ice, and through it each of them throws wood -- "wood fire," which has been started with a piece of tinder -- to the sea. Later on, at home, they "eat," i.e., feast.

2. In summer, people who leave the shore in a rowboat throw things out of a bowl for sea offerings -- tol n 'ich: -- to the master of the sea, Tol yz 'dokh.

To Tol they always sacrifice a white dog, a white fir, everything smooth and clean; to Pal and Mif, on the other hand, everything fanciful; to Kur -- a red dog, a red cock, a bright cup, vodka.

/337 cont./

45 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

532 A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
078 storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while
082 if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

775 When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who
787 gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

66 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

78 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
24 The tongch; is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
34 (Slyavo).
82 Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
47 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

82 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

53 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn,
76 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/749 cont.

Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak — amulets or small idol-like images that are worn around the neck in case of sickness. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is obtainable in a small piece of wood which at one end branches out into two parts, one representing a human head, the other a bear's head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Atlof. The former, in addition to the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 8), while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however, the division of the upper part with human and bear heads continues for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. This idol is explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bm. II, p. 59.)

20. Gilyak. In the forest near the village of Chiare, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the Gilyak were placed under trees in the customary manner, that is, suspended from one to the foot of a tree and hidden with sticks and other pieces of wood (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, left). For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (nti) and /750/ a human being, with the face of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /sic. see Plate LVI, /p. 1256/, Fig. 2). Another idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs an ant head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257/, Fig. 2).

Finally I found here the representation of an animal resembling a seal or a sea-lion, or a sturgeon. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide mout was densely studded with teeth. The natives called it chak, or, as an idol, chak-idgu, but knew of no cultural implement and tool used for the same purpose. No amount of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to tell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that they were in ninsh and would cause her death.

/750 cont.

figure was made in case of backache, in order to rid oneself of this sickness (Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Fig. 9). (S.R. I, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy many idols, all different and some of them very interesting. Sakhalin Gilyak, one side of human shape with a bear's head (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ozlak, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl (ti) on a human body (Plate LVII /p 1257 /, Fig. 9), in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p. 1256 /, Fig. 9). several human figures had cavities in the body in bold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the idols is put out in the shape of a bear's head.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pomi-nebo) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p.1256 /, Fig. 3), as well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tchelimsk many idols with nash wound around them and hidden in a bowl made of wood on a shelf in the corner of a yurt I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p.1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with two heads, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many bowls made of a hard wood, some of which represented a bear, various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toil-ngir. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p.1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel was called tchelbyk-ngir and was used for the same purpose. No amount of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned them to tell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that they were in nash and would cause her death.

/750 cont.

several neatly carved and interesting idols were also sold to me in the village of Patti. On one the back of the head had the shape of a heart; on another two human figures stood on a block which represented two bears (Plate LV /p.1255 /, Fig. 3). The heart (nqil), by the way, is very often used on such carvings (see 13 /p. 1262/ above).

Among the idols here there was one with the head of a raven (ot sea bear /or seal/. The sea dog /harbor seal/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (S.R. I, p. 15).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tchchytyrakch at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a human being with a head and a body made of a fish, with iron teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass-beads. The front and rear extremities are attached to the sides of the fish's body. The former are only indently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out forward, the latter are bent, approximately on a horizontal plane with the head, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p. 1268 /, Fig. 1). — Dzimar (see also in the preceding section in my mentioning the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patcha there is a legend which he was not distinctled to connect with it, since this village and the cape named have not for apart.

— The story goes, "the Gilyak of Patcha returned from fishing on two boats laden with fish. They were too tired to unload the fish at once and postponed the work until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark or the like. The next morning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly showed that someone had made a hearty meal of them. They also therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

/751 cont.

third time and again brought back two full boats. But this time they decided to keep watch during the night in order to catch the destroyer of their catches. They succeeded and the culprit was caught. It was a strange shape with the head of a fish and human arms and legs. The monster was placed in a prominent place in the center for the bear and was fed with fish. It lived in this captivity for a year, and then it asked the Gilyak to free it. They took it to a cape on the Amur River between the village of Patchi and Cape Tchchytyrakch and tied it there to a well. But the monster bit the rope in two and disappeared, so that when the boat, however, was the representation of the khai (chai of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the tool and the bowl, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak and called wapi, and which is carved by the Olcha a protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak nkgn and the ukwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (S.R. I, p. 15, Fig. 22-33.)

Shamans

/752 cont.

the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chaia has had only a few inhabitants. (S.R. I, p. 39.)

25. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw an idol-belt, a sikwcha, provided with various sawa or representations of idols, to be worn. Unfortunately I did not obtain specimens of this belt (S.R. I, p. 75, Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two makes (ohnala), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fur carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather and on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khai (chai of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the tool and the bowl, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak and called wapi, and which is carved by the Olcha a protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak nkgn and the ukwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (S.R. I, p. 75, Fig. 22-33.)

Shamans

/752 cont.

26. Ulcha. Among the Olcha the shaman is employed much less than among the Tungusic Amur peoples, the Olcha, the Gilyak and Kilie, and other, and therefore the shaman's implements are much less frequently found among them. Just as among the Amur people in general, so also among the Gilyak in particular, the shamanism is found more and more rarely downstream toward the Liman or toward Sakhalin. One scarcely comes across shamans and shaman implements from Wasi on and anywhere along the Liman. After repeated inquiries about them, I did not see any or hear of any. Thus shamanism seems to have moved downstream and to have had its origin further inland. (Bm. I, p. 76.)

/752 27. Gilyak. In the whole area of the Amur Gilyak there are only a few shamans who have a reputation among their countrymen. I was told that the most famous of them "a great shaman,"

/752 cont.

the disaster. Since then the once large village of Chaia has had only a few inhabitants. (S.R. I, p. 39.)

25. Olcha. Among the Olcha I saw an idol-belt, a sikwcha, provided with various sawa or representations of idols, to be worn. Unfortunately I did not obtain specimens of this belt (S.R. I, p. 75, Fig. 3). On either side of the leather belt two makes (ohnala), likewise of leather, were sewed on lengthwise, and between them on either side a fur carved out of wood was attached in the same direction. In front, in the middle, there was a toad of leather and on it a human figure in wood. The most interesting thing on the belt, however, was the representation of the khai (chai of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the tool and the bowl, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak and called wapi, and which is carved by the Olcha a protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak nkgn and the ukwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (S.R. I, p. 75, Fig. 22-33.)

Shamans

/753 cont.

26. Ulcha. The Olcha assign an identical fate to those who die peacefully and those killed by human hand and erect no wagn for the latter, as do the Gilyak. According to the information of the Olcha Chomiambo the representation of the wagn is based on the bird hibo whose appearance in any village is disastrous for its entire population. For whoever sees it must die. Such a case had happened many years before in the village of Chaia, opposite Kiri (Kidur). The hibo had come and perched on the tip of a larch tree (Chaia name, Gilyak kuh), where the inhabitants of Chaia saw it, and all who saw it died, and only a very few escaped

/761 cont.

II. Conceptions of the Amur Peoples concerning Life After Death and the Corresponding Treatment of the Dead

Fate of the Souls after Death

42. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak (according to Sargin's account) believe that the soul of anyone murdered, not excepting suicides, flies to heaven, while persons who die a natural death remain on the earth or under the khai (chai of the Gilyak) in wood hanging below the tool and the bowl, the imaginary animal with which I became acquainted among the Gilyak and called wapi, and which is carved by the Olcha a protection against sickness. The great similarity between the Gilyak nkgn and the ukwa of the Olcha is very striking and leads to the conclusion that there is a similar correspondence in the religious concepts and ideas of these peoples. (S.R. I, p. 75, Fig. 22-33.)

43. Gilyak. The (Amur) Gilyak Jutchkin dictated to me an interesting song, for which, through further questions, I obtained an explanation of the meaning of the song. The song had been sung by the Gilyak Orkin from Magho to his wife, Rechyguk, from Wait, whom he had abducted (?). Orkin was still alive at my time,

* See the Gilyak text in the appendix to Grube's and Jutchkin's work, "Linguistic Material, Compiled by Dr. W. Grube," p. 41 /the book translated here does not contain this appendix/.

but his wife had died.

The chief content of the song seems to refer to a "village Miygh-wo," and I therefore inquired as to what kind of a village it was and where it was located. I learned that it was the place in the interior of the strits to which the souls of all those who die of sickness migrate, while those of murdered persons (**) fly to heaven.

** According to another report, also the souls of suicides (see Appendix 42 above.)

/768 cont.

A rough little roof or a similar stick (wadikch) stuck in the ground is likewise said to be used in many places where the dead is buried. (Bm. I, p. 18.)

31. Gilyak. In September, 1894, the Gilyak of Kuft discovered two graves of Russian fishermen, raff, had been destroyed by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and variously called by Russian people, or Gilyak, the like are deposited there. Near Kuft, in the beach forest along the Amur, four or five small houses stood together and formed a burial place, while such structures are otherwise often found individually in the forest. The Gilyak said that in the village of Kuft there were little house the ashes of six children's corpses were in one vessel, over which the same number of table fun had been placed. Other little houses, in which the ashes of children dying of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now, since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of the epidemic. (Bm. I, pp. 15, 16.)

32. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never be transferred to another place. This would be uhech. There are, however, two cases in which the Gilyak from Kuft revealed and communicated about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they nevertheless decided not to transport the remains to the villages to which they themselves had moved from Kuft. (Bm. I, p. 56.)

33. Gilyak. If one investigates the interior of a little burial-house he always finds in it a longish little board in an upright position: hakk, also tar. The middle of it is pierced, and the hole has a peg, kytim, stuck in it; a strip of linen is wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too, is wrapped in linen, and decorated with tassels, hakk-or tarr-rawl (Plate LXVIII /p.1268 /, Fig. 2). Close to the board and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ngir,

/769 cont.

the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in nonsinged frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with nach were placed (see Plate LXV /p.1265 /, to the right, in the middle distance).

There was no nilyun; in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death, otherwise it would be uhech to set up a nilyun; (S.R. II, pp. 4-6.)

57. Gilyak. According to Sargin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very young person dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. If the corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /?/ in the hunting grounds, and if the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyb-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of food are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, grasts, etc. Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong cautive power against various sickness, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The depositing of food is such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it are a cure. The corpse of a person killed by an ant (tiger and leopard) is taken to a similar burial house, supplied with food, and the latter is used as a remedy. (Bm. I, pp. 56-58.)

58. Gilyak. Between Hokk and Kalm (on the right bank of the Amur), I passed on the bank the tomb of a Gilyak who had met misfortune in the river. Here stood a small low house, in the manner of all Gilyak graves, surrounded by birch-bark baskets and bowls of various sizes, which were strung on the branches of birch. This is the usual period of mourning, also also for designating the grave sites of persons and animals (bears, etc.). Next to the tomb lay a boat, probably the one in which the accident had occurred (**). (S.R. I, p. 7.)

** Cf. Pl. LVII /p.1257 /.

59. Gilyak. The inhabitants of the villages of Kuk, Hokk, and Tchchiri (on the Amur) are accustomed to bury in the forest their corpses, but the other, including those of Tau-wai and the villages up to Chiare (Inel.), cremate them and erect raff for them. I personally saw many raff in Chiare. In the villages named, however, the population is in part Tungusic. (S.R. I, p. 8.)

60. Gilyak. Near Aly (on the Amur-Liman) I saw a fresh Gilyak grave. The raff was not yet erected, the ashes (of the cremated corpse) were covered with boards set vertically and horizontally, and at each of these two ends there was wood stag (nach). (2 W.R. II, p. 38).

61. Gilyak. If a Gilyak is murdered, his corpse is likewise (like all others) cremated, but no raff is erected over the place in the forest; instead, a wagn is set up (***). It is made out of a

*** See Appendix 22 /p. 1206/.

tree-trunk which is dug out of the soil with the roots. The various root-stretches serve to represent the head, arms, and legs of the

/771 cont./

wagn (†). The trunk is chopped off several feet above the roots,

† On the specimen given to the Academic Museum by the author one of the rear extremities was supplied by a piece of wood specially inserted, which subsequently fell off (see Plate LXVI /p. 1266 /, Fig. 1).

pointed (the top of the stump), /772/ and, with the pointed end, is sunk into the ground at the place where the ashes of the murdered person lie, so that the root, representing the wagn, projects above it. Since murder is not infrequent among the Gilyak, there are wagn in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wasuj, Kaki, Wair, Kalgho, Tebach, and elsewhere.

According to Surgin's information, a wagn is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, if one Gilyak kills another in the same village, the latter does not get a wagn. Similarly no wagn is set up if a father or mother kills the son, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In such cases the corpse is simply cremated. The same is done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wagn is set up.

The bird's head of the wagn is said to be patterned after the wgn (Colymbus arcticus). This bird is regarded as sacred by the Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wagn. Much stuffed skins of Colymb. arcticus and septentr. are sometimes seen hanging on high frame-posts in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wagn, the Gilyak give the head of the wgn teeth of iron, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

1. Perhaps the wagn, by its threatening aspect, is supposed to be a reminder of the obligatory blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wagn is set up in cases where revenge is deemed inadmissible -- as between relatives and the

/772 cont./

1. (cont.)
members of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does not need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the wandering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) told me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes of murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they likewise usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in the Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.). A raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut-ngit in it. The pittysj is present in the raff and among the Tymy Gilyak bears the designation raff-nga, that is, burial-house storage-chamber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the tucham-ngar is missing (†). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as unech, but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the Ainu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 43.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Ocha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of Bogorodickoye in the vicinity of the Ocha village of Pulli (Pulu on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Ocha tombs ornamented with various paintings

Idols in simple human form. 1, 2--Gilyak house idols. 3. Dwelling of the idols. Fig. 2 (reduced). 4. One-armed Gilyak idol. 5. Gilyak neck-idol. 6-8. House idols of the Goldi (reduced).

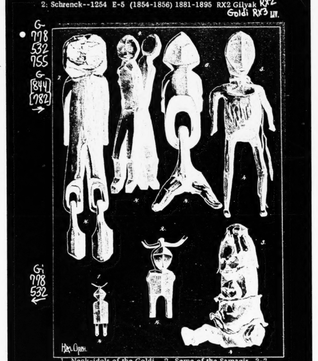

1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

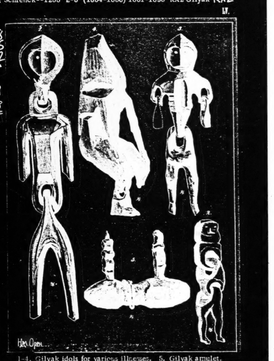

1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

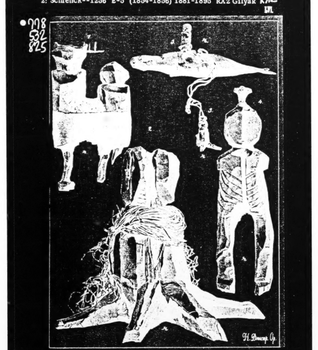

Gilyak idols made out of combined human and animal forms. 1. Human being and tiger. 2. Human being, tiger, and bear. 3. Human being and bear. 4. Human being and owl. 5. Human being and white whale.

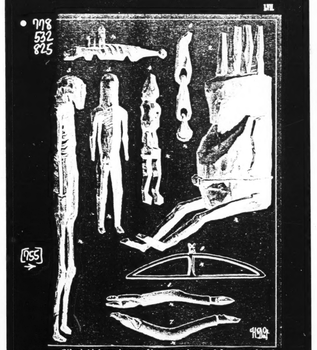

Gilyak idols made out of human and animal forms combined: 1--human being and tiger; 2--human being with tiger head; 3, 4--human being with bear head; 5--human being with owl head; 6--human back-joint with bear head and paw; 7, 8--Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9--similarly, a bow with human head.

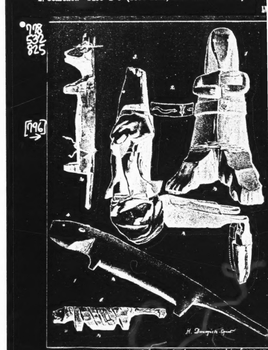

Gilyak idols in animal form: 1--bear, a toad in front of belt; 2--in the back, a lizard and two snakes; 3--bear, painted, dressed in fish skin; 4-6--tiger.

/746 cont. /A /746/ fact which speaks very much in favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples, whoever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W.R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The reason for this is the danger to which they are exposed in their fights with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of pursuing the bear (as was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals). The bear kägn or tschngai serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstitious beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few bear idols. And this is common to both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kulk, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised band runs around its body, upon which other animals sacred to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country): the toad -- mipitsch (2) on

2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

/746 cont./

178 the front side of the bear-idol, the lizard mä(r)ngai on the back side
232 of it, and the snake kÿlanga, whose image is found on either side
325 between the first two. I often witnessed the awe and fear of the Gilyak before reptiles (*).

* See Appendix 20, paragraph 2 /p. 1204/.

Among the Gilyak, besides the bear, one finds idols of the att or märeder, with downright superstitious fear connected with it among them. But since the tiger and leopard, which are united under the same name of att or märeder, are rarely seen in their northern homeland and casualties caused by them are rare, the idols of the att are less common than those of the bear. The slight acquaintance of the Gilyak with these predatory animals causes them to make the idols of them poorly and superficially (3);

3. See Vol. I, pp. 92-94, of this work.

see Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, Figs. 4, 5, 6. Fig. 4 represents an att idol which I found in the village of Kuĭk. It bears none of the marks which characterize the tiger and leopard and are present on the representations of these animals among the Goldi. Only the general shape is similar to those figures. /747/ But that this figure is in fact supposed to represent an att is certain, since I obtained the idols from a Gilyak expert in this. (Bm. I, pp. 59, 61.)

232 11. Gilyak. A fish carved out of wood, which came from
325 the Gilyak village of Tebach, seems to serve less as an idol or amulet than as a piece of carving, as a representation, tschngai in general. It is supposed to represent the fish ngy-tscho, which is unknown to me. Even earlier I acquired from Tebach the figure of another small fish, the pilengat, Cyprinus carpio, which likewise had no significance other than that of pai (see p. 1090). Both are illustrated on Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 4, 5. Later, I obtained another carved fish from Tebach, which was supposed to represent the pak(ch?)-tscho, i.e., a large pilengat-tscho. (Bm. II, p. 32.)

Idols in animal form: 1--tiger (Goldi); 2, 3
animal, a human heart in its mouth (Olcha a
9--"chas" of the

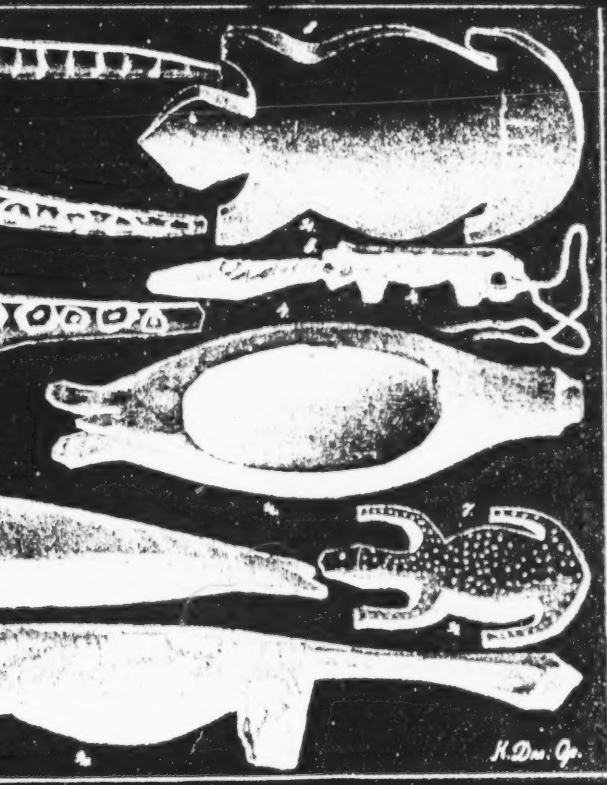

--leopard (Goldi); 4--seal (Olcha); 5--unidentified
mulet); 6--white whale (Gilyak); 7,8--toad (Gilyak);
Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1259 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Goldi RX3

20: Bush--124 T-2 (1865) 18
116, 778, 782

"Upon leaving the Gilak encampment, we
the woods above, when we found ourselves u
all sides, scattered through the woods, wer
small trees from four to six feet above the
of offering to the native gods, and, when ne
were sprinkled with tobacco, berries, roots
appeared to be of more recent date than two
crumble beneath the touch, and others were
hardly recognizable. After being once place
disturb them again. Time and the elements
tamper with them with impunity."

climbed the bank just in front of it, to
pon a spot held sacred by the Gilaks. Upon
e skulls of bears, poised upon the stumps of
ground. These were intended as some kind
wly placed in position (we afterward learned)
, and other articles. None of these offering
years, while some were so old as to
buried in such a profusion of moss as to be
ed, it is deemed very sacrilegious ever to
, according to Gilak notions, can alone

:Schrenck--1260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
LX

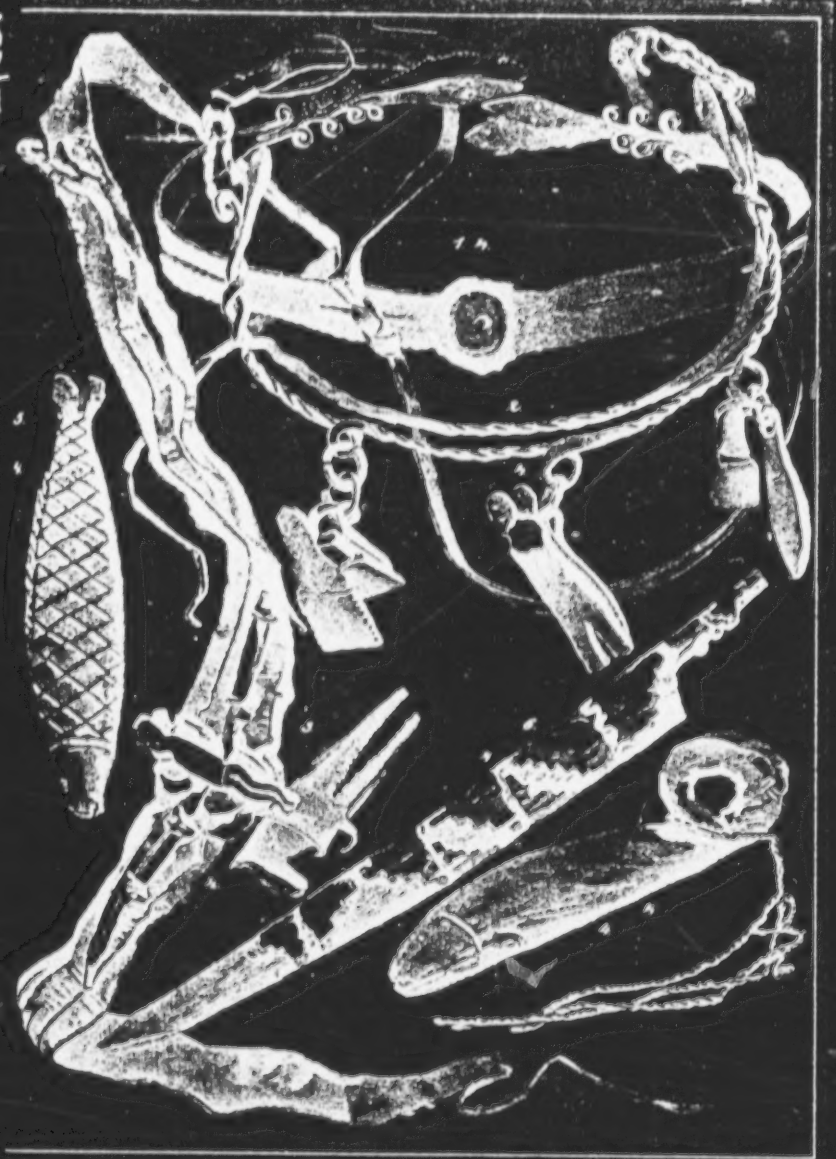

. Iron-circlet with animal figures, worn to prevent headaches (Gilyak). Iron semicircle with symbolic figures, worn around the neck to event sickness (Gilyak). 3. Amulet-belt with human and animal gures (Olcha). 4, 5. Fish carved out of wood (Gilyak). 6. Gilyak

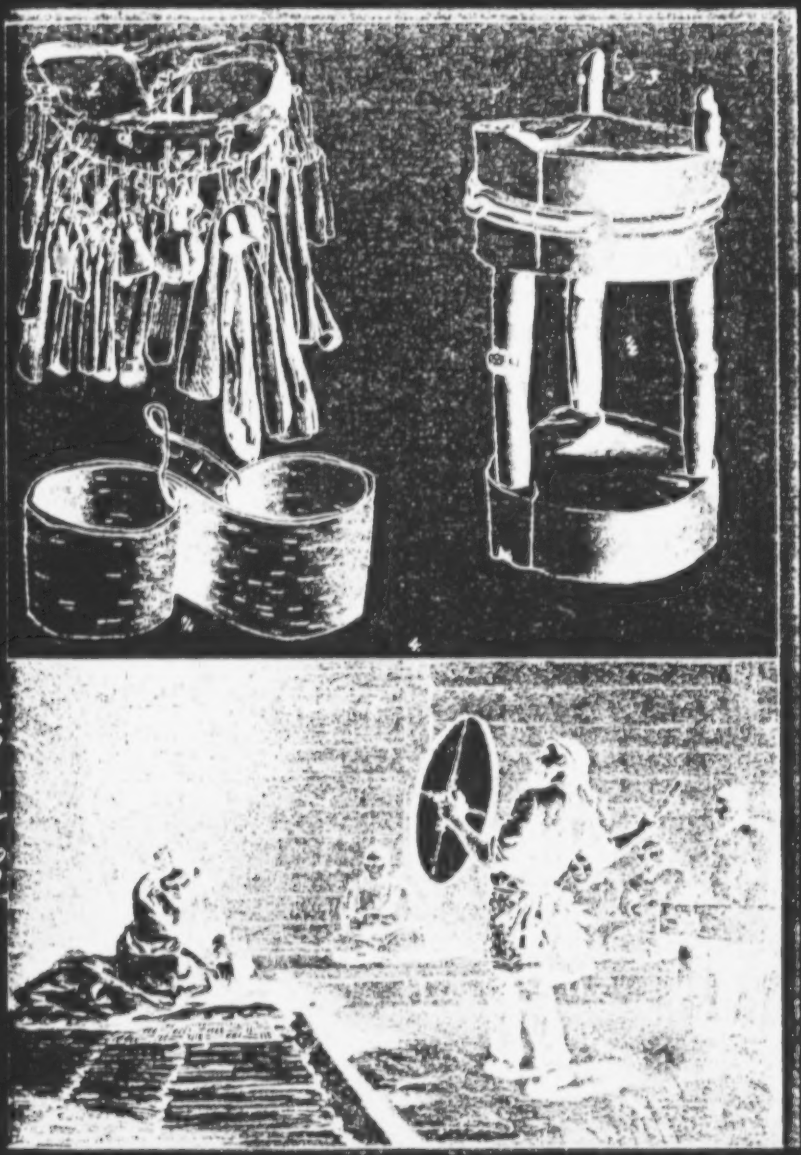

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

9: Hawes--193 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 751, 756, 778

"The cham, or medicine-man, exorcises spi
charms made in the shape of a human being.
as an amulet. A pair of these, carved from v
be worn on the limb or part of the body affect
little figures would be tied round the neck."

rits which take up a temporary abode in
Otherwise even this anthropoid kind was
vood, which I have (p. 194), are intended
ted; for a sore throat, for instance, the

116, 755, 776, 778

"[LSS: In the cure of illness by the m
appears, and drives out of the hut all u
his head a band of birch bark, with thre
These, it is said, are to aid him in the
but are more probably to inhance the m
then places in the corner of the hearth
tobacco, and roots; and close to these,
back to back; one having the face of a l
woman. The ch'khnai are there to prov
he leaves the body of the sick man. Not
ch'khnai that the image of the weeping
evil spirit, summoned from the body o
cies, naturally enters into the image s
himself kind-hearted and weak as a wee
and takes refuge in the other image; wh
man, especially when the cham draws

The evil and good spirits finding then
there is never any doubt of the result,
spirit. Then commence negotiations be
or what offering he will accept to keep a

nedicine man] When the sun has set, the cham
nnecessary persons, and proceeds to place upon
ee little rustling rosettes of papery bark lining.
expulsion of the evil spirit from the sick one;
ystery [237] and authority of the exorcist. He
three little bowls, containing respectively fish,
two wooden images, ch'khnai, bound together
aughing man, and the other that of a weeping
ide something for the evil spirit to enter, when
e here how clever the cham is. He so places the
woman faces the cups containing the food; and the
the patient by exorcism and attracted by delica-
placed; and, having taken this form, will be
eping woman. The good spirit is then exorcised,
here he becomes jolly and strong as a laughing
nearer to him one of the bowls of food.
nselves in close proximity, begin to fight; but
for victory must be to the stronger—the good
tween the cham and the evil spirit as to how much
way from the sick man."

225 Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the
533 Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia,
824 1934, no. 5.).
182

225 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the
476 shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their
225 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we
782 cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut
) 778 some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

225 cut down a young birch, stick it on the elz·s
782 and suspend the head of the beluga in the tree.
778

on a birch-tree. Then they scattered some more rice and berries. (5) Then we sat down around it. We fed the children

5. That is, they spread rice and berries on the head of the beluga.

and went down again. Then we got a young man to take a white stone and put it in the sea-dish. Then we returned and went home. When we came home we put the stone in the fire place." (6)

6. The stone which they put in the fire place is a payment to the master of fire for the successful outcome of the hunt (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the village Kul]).

182 The methods of beluga hunting as described by the Gilyak
225 Mytka in his account and pictured in his sketches are characteristic of the village Puir and partly of the village Lyangr. The hunt proceeds differently in other places. [114]

The account of the Gilyak Khor (from the village Chomi(?)) telling of a beluga hunt undertaken by him and his friend in 1930 supplies us with enough information to enable us to distinguish between the methods used by the Khor and those described above.(Khor's account was written down by me in the fisheries of Dzhaori in 1931) [For Mytka's account, see category 225, pp. 111-113; for Kor's account, pp. 114-116--Analyst.]

225 We present a translation of the account, striving to com-
103 municate the spirit of the original.

"During a run of herring, the four of us, two adults and two children, went in a boat to the Big Cape (Pila-kr÷) to hunt for belugas. When we approached the whirlpool (Polx), we came ashore and took out our things. The animal (that is, a seal, a beluga) was swimming up (1) to the shore. The

1. Literally: "rose up to the shore."

children heated tea, and we took the harpoons and went up.

7: Kreinovich--7 E

225 mu-zivɜd on the b
789 time or another th
774 a living thing. Mu
751 means of guardin
misfortunes.
782 Aside from mu
778 means 'image', 'I
532 a branch of rowan
225 One of the figurin
789 other - at the ster
a representation o
bow of the boat. T
turned to the sea.
782 There is one ot
789 setting out on a hu
225 They light fires of
372 boat and they try t
boat. The pila· ta
starting from the
outside and the ins
with the branches
(evil)". Then the
sea and are off.
225 I watched Gilya
502 a hunt, put out to
554 hunters were at th
ous strokes of five
quickly to sea. Xi
bow of the boat nor
the distance. The
need fear nothing.
777 ienced pila·, teste
resentation of the
will vigilantly look
When the boat b
outlines blended w
hunters left the sh
225 After leaving th
823 first go to Ui·-kr÷
766
782 1. It seems
drowned m

the boat out of the
taining the usual r

boat supports the assumption that at one
he Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
u-ziyad on the boat serves, it seems, as a
g the boat against and protecting it from

u-ziyad, tŋaj is performed on the boat. Tŋaj
figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
n (qosk-ŋaks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
es is placed at the prow of the boat and the
rn. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of
of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the
The figurine placed at the bow has its face
We shall come back to these tŋaj elsewhere.
ther ceremony performed on the boat. Before
nt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
f spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
to build the fires so that the smoke hit the
kes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and,
bow and going towards the stern, hits the
side of the boat as well as the rowlocks
so as to elvlaf-pak-azd --"lose bad places
hunters push the boat past the fire into the

k Xitkun who, having already returned from
sea with the hunters a second time. Five
e oars. Propelled by strong and simultane-
pair of oars the boat took lightly and
kun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the
thward, towards the cape barely visible in
Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They
At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
d in trips. At the bow are placed a rep-
sea bird ugŋ and the figunines tŋaj. They
out for and protect their course.
ecame a tiny spot in the distance and its
th the water, the women who saw off the
ore for home.
e village the hunters turn northward. They
"sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull

hat there are "tombstones" in memory of
n on the cape.

vater. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop con-
freshments called for by the occasion and

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its head and its
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a special scoop
a- ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i. e. the scoop used in washing the face of the animal.
The heads with piskar stuck in them are taken home.
225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pilaŋ performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines tŋaj. (Regardless of the
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties, this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first
sivuch.) The pilaŋ cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all
of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as
belonging to the pilaŋ. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent
from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a
Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been killed. With-
out drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pilaŋ
asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his share of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances.
First - the pilaŋ appropriates the first sivuch killed during the
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.
784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.
183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women) are
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe
those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the
tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well
as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only point to the
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the in-
terdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go
hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him
to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue old men only
can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in which the
Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.
It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of these taboos
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

"The Gilaks are a very superst
stone as of old, though many of then
wear small [102] metal crosses susp
or 'shamans,' who conduct all their
These shamans are supposed by the
held in great awe and reverence."

itious, pagan people, worshiping idols of wood
n have been baptized into the Greek Church, a
pended about their necks. They have their pri
ceremonies and are the advisers of the comm
em to be gifted with supernatural powers, and a

"I turned my attention to two or three
into the forms of a disc and a crescen
and the moon, and were used as charr
similar to the one I have described as
evil spirits; but these particular ones
would ensure its recovery.

But no signs of worship were there,
visible to mortal eyes. Charms there
fluence and the contact with Russians
Gilyaks, and they laugh when question
lurking sense of fear at the bottom of

'works of art.' Two small flat pieces of wood cut
t hung from a beam. These represented the sun
ns. There were also two sticks, with shavings on,
protecting the canoe during its construction from
, I learnt, were for placing over a sick child, and

no graven images, for the great 'Kiskh' is in-
are, though with the decline of the cham's in-
these are losing their value in the eyes of the
ed about them by the foreigner, yet not without a
their hearts."

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately
sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man
brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.

776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the major-
ity are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated
with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the
island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or
kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only
hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it
means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when
it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about
somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet,
tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared
with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect.
Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have
different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24]
lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the
vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be
taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new
one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans,
others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin,
still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like
idols represent children, others old people. Some have
hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body show-
ing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans.
These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank
a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone
pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

778 These were dec
782 Avvakum. One
177 the other is a T
formula: "Om
Amen!" The te
time of G nghis
pillars and offe
with wood chips
Thereupon they
fish.

Near the vill
seen a thin, dr
jutting out of th
out in a circle.
Vaida-Gilyak.
above its roots
festival is held
belong to the sa
p. 237] [242]

775 Almost all G
121 athered from
Life in the her
life, except tha
aged person re
united anew.

1. A sin
natives o

fate of evil pe
fact that the s
that world, bu
usually in the
is the Gilyak p
most absurd i
low, but above

77. However, e
or rather unb
pause, told a
on religious n
enough sable
hungry." An
tively denied
pointing to a
if I put it to d

ciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite
inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace",
Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred
mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos!
emple was supposed to have existed in the
s Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these
r sacrifices, that is, they decorate them
s, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc.
promise themselves an abundant yield of

age of Vaida high above the water is to be
y tree trunk parallel to the water level and
e steep rock wall, with branches radiating
This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the
It is also often decorated with wood chips and
, on the edge of the river bank, the bear
. The above-mentioned church bells also
acred objects. [RCH: see category 116,

ilyak believe in a future life, which may be
he customs relating to the burial ceremony.
eafter is pictured exactly like the present
t it has neither age nor death. A deceased
ains his youth there, a married couple is
There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

ilar belief is said to exist among the
f Kamchatka.

sons differs from that of good ones only in the
uls of the former do not immediately reach
must roam about on the earth for a while,
form of an animal, particularly a dog. This
urgatory which certainly cannot be called the
ea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not be-
somewhere in heaven.
ven among these savages there are sceptics,
lievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a
visiting Russian priest who sounded him out
atters: "What business of ours is God! If we have
nd fish we shall live, if not, we must go
ther Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye posi-
mmortality in speaking to Russian peasants,
sh and saying: "just as this fish will disappear
ath, so also man disappears."

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.
755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.
789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.
177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
From this we may see how much they really understand of

"During this portion of our journ
twenty-five miles in length, we pass
held sacred by the Gilaks. To this p
tribe periodically resort for the pur
many respects resemble the ceremo

ey on the lake, [LSS: Lake Kidzi] which is about
ed a small rocky island called Boshniak, which is
lace the 'shamans' or 'medicine-men' of the
pose of carrying on their pagan rites, which in
nies of our American Indians."

/56 cont./

123 "What are you afraid of?" I said to him. "You will stay,
796 be alive, go back home, everything will be fine and do not
worry about me." "No, friend," replied Gibel' with animation. "that is a bad law: we have traveled together, worked together, written together, searched together for the stone ax, looked at people together, passed judgment together, and now I will go back home and are going to die here? Is such the law? And what will the most great chief say? Why, he will say, did you not see to it that the "tyan'gi" (gentleman) traveled well?" He will say that I killed you. That will be a great sin. No, you had better not touch the god of the earth; he is terribly big, strong, and he can get terribly angry."

123 Seeing that I was adamant, Gibel'ka, after some thought,
796 said: "You have nothing to give the Head of the earth, such
782 an important 'tyan'ga' and yet to have nothing to give. If we give him a present and say a good word, perhaps he will not become angry." Then I remembered that a few pieces of candy that I use for slaking my thirst when climbing a mountain were left in my pocket and, showing them to my elated companions, said that I /57/ would take them to the angry god and say a good word. My companions calmed down somewhat, and I set out on my way. In the evening when I came back loaded with a collection of herbs and minerals, my companions surrounded me with joy and began to inquire about what word I said to the Head of the earth. I was forced to recite for them impromptu prayers in their national style. "Lord of the Earth, you are very big and strong and can become terribly angry. All people know you. I came from a distant land, from a most distant land I came in order to look at you; please make it so that I and my companions are healthy and return home, and do not die of hunger on the way. Please feed me well!" When, exhausted and starving, we returned that very day to the settlement of Nyur very close by, and Gibel'ka, while the tea was being boiled, told the amazed listeners about my sacrifice and about the eloquent prayer, something extraordinary happened. All the people looked with tender emotion, while

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
796 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of table hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[796] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[155] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
796 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life
614 of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
795 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
796 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself
191 here, for the time being, to what has been said. All the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
614 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
782 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed
796 in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but
614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak.
[570] In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

/65 cont./

796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
504 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[614] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
614 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
523 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts
[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed
[788] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/66 cont./

796 fed, and then, exchanging farewell glances with the dogs,
they silently leave. Upon passing over the threshold, it remains for them to conclude the last ceremony, which bears the characteristic name of "lymyzyn zychyvynd" -- "the stamping of the threshold." This ceremony consists in placing nikh't (a kettle and an ax) on both sides of the threshold, the nikh of the departer -- on the inner side, and the nikh of the host on the outer side; the departer must first step over the inner nikh with one foot and then over the outer one with the other.

On this same day the last act is concluded -- the sacrifice
796 of the dogs. The dogs presented by the narkh'i, as well as the
782 dogs sacrificed by the master for this occasion, are led out to the plot of ground where the bear was killed and tied up to those same trees /67/ to which the bear was tied. The head of the bear with all the presents given to it, is also brought here. Each pair of dogs consists of a male and a female so they will be happier on the journey. Pairs of inau of the same kind as those
[778] that were prepared for seeing off the bear and equal in number to the number of pairs of dogs are then stuck into the ground in the neighborhood of the trees. The heads of the dogs are ornamented with shavings, which are painted with the juice of berries and attached to them. Before they are killed, the dogs are fed with choice viands and are exhorted in the following way: "Go, go to your master, take yourself up to the highest mountain, change your skin, and next year come down here, come down here as a bear so that I may have a look at you, do this, come down, farewell, travel well!" After this, they kill the dogs by strangulation. This procedure is carried out somewhat peculiarly. Two men seize a dog by its hind legs and forcefully pull the unfortunate animal as far as possible away from the tree to which it is tied with a tightening noose. At that time, two other men seize the two front paws; a fifth presses on the dog's neck, accelerating the process of strangulation, and a

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[242] women, but only clansmen.

The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as
[166] well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred bear. At
774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'yaga.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[166] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is by no means the ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/69 cont./

796 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master."
825 We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Avesta a long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the cult of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mountain man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or even a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." Therefore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed its head, generously supply it for its journey with various kinds of provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable consequence of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance of the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display of respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whoh the welfare of man depends. It is the most apt occasion for sending to this distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and the food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear during
796 the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for in-
782 stance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, be-
825 lieves it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the
[114] sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacrifices to each god only that which the god himself does not have, and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. He needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- and it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is a deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itself
796 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important moment
825 in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a general
861 rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, i.e., to the clan of the son-in-law /syat'/ of the master of the

/87 cont./

*614 370 796 ● 982 On all the important occasions of life, in case of sickness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey, etc. -- the clansman throws into the fire his modest sacrifices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack -- and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request. And she knows all the means necessary to insure that a petition to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

*614 370 796 In order to understand the real basis of the "clan" attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased are given to burning, i.e., to the common master of the fire, who can receive his favorites into his clan, so that these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire; 2) in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2)

[191]

2. It is curious that a similar view exists among the Buryat: a man who perishes from lightning becomes a powerful and beneficent spirit to whom sacrifices are made and prayers are raised.

become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman" (mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire, its ability to spread quickly, its many tongues (tongues of flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-Veda) understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" special advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions; finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance, i.e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

/89 cont./

*614 795 [766] cremation, and the oars are placed upright, facing each other, in order to be noticeable from afar.

clansmen serve as daily reminders of them.

*614 795 ● 982 796 But the bond of the clan with its divine clansmen is not limited to piety and grateful recollection; these tits are rooted in a more practical and stronger motive force -- the very instinct of self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no more indubitable truth than that all his prosperity, all that nature gives him in return for his desperate efforts in the struggle for existence, all this is but the free gift of the gods, his benefactors; without their benevolence, all the efforts of man would be fruitless. And the gods-clansmen, as we know, take part above all else in this life-giving benevolence; they are the true sustpers of the clan, and there is no weightier obligation for any clansman than to promote this benevolence to the best of his ability. That is why the clan sacrifices and festivals, held once a year according to rule, /90/ for the mountain and sea people are most important acts of clan life, in which everyone, in the name of self-preservation, considers it his most sacred obligation to take the most fervent part.

In the section on religion we dwelt in detail on these periodic sacrifices to the masters of the sea and mountains. Without exaggeration one can say that the whole social activity of the Gilyak is principally devoted to preparation for the clan sacrifices and to preoccupation with celebrating them most magnificently. Wealthy and poor man alike, according to their abilities and means, are ready from fear but for conscience's sake, make all possible efforts, sometimes denying themselves their last possessions, in order that the sacrifices be as ample and varied as possible and that the festivals be as magnificent as possible; this is the general interest of one and all.

/90 cont./

*614 795 ● 982 796 In its evolution, this solidarity in the sacrifices to clansmen, fostered for ages, becomes the principle of the clan relation to the gods in general. When in wholly individual affairs, during illness, say, the Gilyak makes a sacrifice, he will without fail summon his absent clansmen, even from afar, so that they may enjoy the beneficial consequences of the sacrifice.

574 795 795 *[614] The principle of common clan deities, the sustainers of the clan, is the foundation of the institution of hospitality and the most extensive fraternal mutual aid.

It should be evident to anyone acquainted with the institution of hospitality among primitive peoples, even if only from travelers' descriptions, that it must be based on something more than mere social etiquette or even humanity sympathy for one's fellow creatures. The Arab, at his own hearth manifests the warmest hospitality to even his enemy concerning whom at any other place he has only one imperative -- kill, evidently is impelled by a more powerful motive, a motive which has behind it religious dictates. And this must be said about the basis of the institution among all other primitive peoples, including the Gilyak. The Gilyak considers it his obligation to extend hospitality, not only to the traveler, not only to the actually hungry man, but also in cases where from our point of view there is no necessity whatever for displaying this feeling. No matter how many times a day a neighbor may appear at his hearth, no matter what time of day it be, the guest is immediately offered all the wands in the possession of the host, not to mention the inevitable handful of tobacco for his pipe. /91/ If there is no extra tobacco, he just takes turn with the guest in drawing on a common pipe. These attitudes are most striking in the handling of rare, costly dishes and delicacies. If you bring the host a glass of vodka, he will never allow himself to drink it alone, he will merely put his lips to it, and then it goes around to all the dwellers in the house, although there may be dozens of them, including the children, even suckings. To do otherwise would be "a very great sin, one might die."

/92 cont./

*614 428 795 [556] worn on ceremonial occasions and in which the dead are garbed.

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the testator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the testator and consequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so-called iron shagund, which in any case will return to the clan in the form of bride price, while to the akhmal'k clan, the clan of fathers-in-law, only fur shagund can be willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of the bride's dowry.

*614 796 4. One bear: the common obligation of the clansmen to share in the fattening of the bear and in the bear festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a domestic bear and the hunting of the forest beast. "Khal'-gu, ut-gu, nakh muvel"; "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with this summons the youths go around to the yurts, summoning the clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear slain in the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the occasion by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligations with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privilege of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regarding this in the section on /93/ religion and the clan gods. As

*614 796 ● 982 [1015] we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic features: first, by the honoring of the very person of the bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mountain masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain master and his clan and, consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater significance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to the highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer of

/93 cont./

*614 796 ● [782] all forest wealth and the most powerful deity, before whom the slain bear, comforted by the feeding and honors, will be their daily intercessor. That is why this festival plays such an enormous role in the life of the clan and is couched in such complex ritual, and why, despite the fact that guests from other clans assemble for it, it bears in essence such a rigidly exclusive clan character. Only clansmen may participate in the celebration of the festival, and as guests only "sons-in-law" /syat'ya/ are invited, in relation to whom, as we shall see, there exists the direct obligation of sustenance, i.e., persons to whom the benevolence of the gods-sustainers also extends. The bear festival is as important a element of clan ties in the social sense as it is in the religious one. The obligation to participate in the preparation of food and in the numerous expenses and tasks involved in the arrangement of the festival and the reception of guests creates the habits of social solidarity, common co-ordinated action toward a common goal, and common sacrifices for a common project. The periodic assemblies of clansmen, sometimes dispersed in distant places, constantly supports the ties and consciousness of the clan union.

*614 796 182 [688] Finally, the very content of the festival -- the day prefestival preparations performed jointly, the solemn meeting of the "guests," the common, noisy meals, social conversation, dances, songs, races, fencing, religious ceremonies -- all this unites, stimulates, refines, and beautifies life, giving the highest value to the clan union as the unique source of spiritual and social enjoyment.

*614 795 5. One devil, i.e., a common enemy in the person of a deceased clansman, a slain member of another clan, and so forth.

Just as a clansman, as we have seen, can under certain circumstances pass after death into the clan of benevolent /94/ deities and become the sustainer and protector of the clan, so can the converse happen: a clansman who became embittered when alive and separated from the clan, a

/96 cont./ Not far from the

*614 825 795 [766] native village a framework in the likeness of a bear hunter is set up, with openings for the proper sacrifices. On the outside, at the corners, four sharpened saplings are set up, while it is decorated on the inside with the sacred inau. Here are also deposited the remains of the murdered man and his murderer, in the same position in which they were brought from the taiga, as we described above.

A unique funeral feast with the carcass of the slain bear is held beside this framework. On both sides of a long uninterrupted campfire sit the clansmen with large pieces of bear meat in their hands. Each one cuts the meat into thin pieces, and as each piece is cut off he throws it from his knife across the fire to the one sitting on the opposite side of the campfire. The slice, caught on a knife, is slowly roasted in the fire (the greatest insult for the bear, whose meat may only be boiled), and then with a look of revulsion they each bite off a piece and scornfully throw the meat away, although ordinarily it is /97/ considered a great sin to let even the smallest piece of bone fall to the ground.

● [782] [787] After this procedure of "refined" revenge, a feast with sacrifices to the master of the mountains and the murdered man begins. First they throw into the fire the carcass, which has begun to be burned, then various viands. At night they place a guard of two men with spears over the framework, lest the spirit of the bear wish to take revenge. The sentries firmly assert in such instances that they heard the cries of the murdered man, "Ai, Bear!" and threw themselves with spears upon the invisible avenger. In the morning they will tell you, traces of blood are clearly visible on the points of the spears...

*614 795 782 787 766 With the end of the funeral feast, peace between the mountain men and the clan of the murdered man has been restored. The latter is accepted and will live to a ripe old age in the clan of the mountain people, while his clansmen for three generations will twice a year (summer and winter) make sacrifices; part to the master of the mountain, part to the divine clansman.

/105 cont./

*614 628 536 A procession of the avenger with the khlaj-nivukh at their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest kinsman with his khlaj-nivukh, and from the other side advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed with bows and spears. At a signal given by the khlaj-nivukh they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel, of course, is fictitious, although there have been instances where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended sadly. All this time the khlaj-nivukh's pacify their clients

● [782] insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen lead a dog-sacrifice among their opponents and kill them with spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 628 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the tkhusind are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken materials, and so forth. All the clansmen participate in the payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, considering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On the other hand, the acquired tkhusind becomes the common property of the clan of the slayer /sic/. In part it replaces those valuables which were needed for the dead man in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund for the family of the slain and meets the clan requirements.

608 537 554 The negotiations over tkhusind for other causes, such as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the intervention of khlaj-nivukh's, but without any particular ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict of the whole gathering.

/562 cont./

224 as a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are [262] fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the processions, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slain bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on 224 184 a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1)

1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two trees standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-nooses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

224 Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly asso- 78 ciated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their ob- 825 servance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in 224 case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by 114 Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans 756 to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce 533 825

781

781 RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE--emotional reactions experienced in religious behavior (e.g., oppressive fear of malevolent higher powers, overwhelming awe of divine might, luxurious sense of dependence upon a benevolent and all-knowing superior, reassuring feeling of security through conformity, prideful conviction of right, grateful release from the burdens of a guilty conscience, groveling humility of self-abnegation, ecstatic release of mysterious inner powers, mystic sense of identification with or absorption in the divine essence, esthetic thrill in religious art, music, or ceremonial); evidence as to the predominant type or types of religious experience in the particular society; emotional needs satisfied through religious behavior; etc. See also:

Personality 15
Fine arts 53
Esthetic ideals 517
Ethical ideals 577
Conceptions of emotions 928

/366 cont./

the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and any undeveloped fetus found in the uterus of a seal. To the Gilyak a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable season. He offers this sacrifice all by himself in the taiga, at the side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen. He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little at a time, believing that a hundred fish mean as little to a god as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama of the mountains. The "Head of the earth" towered majestically before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of them took from his sled his cherished little sack with saranka, tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up, he moved the same number of steps to the left and did the same. Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and distributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had been heard... There is a tremendous difference between the religious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition," the striving of the soul toward the deity, in our meaning, all seem to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy.

782

2 PROPITIATION--practices reflecting a sense of dependence and a desire to ingratiate or influence the supernatural; repudiation and intimidation; obeisances (e.g., bowing, genuflection); laudation; prayer; sacrifice (e.g., libations, food sacrifices, animal and human sacrifice, symbolic and vicarious sacrifices); vows; burning of incense; decoration of religious edifices; endowing of shrines and temples; etc. See also:

Philanthropy 73, 74
Hymns 533
Etiquette 576
Mortuary sacrifices 764
Desecration and consecration of sacred objects and places 778
Stereotyped prayers 788

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 776 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[782] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. [778] I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacriligeous offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/55 cont./

776 782 Other gods distant from him, the sun and the moon, for example, just like the tly-nivukh'i, interest him little, for these gods are not closely related to his life and needs. On the other hand, the Gilyak is in constant communication with such gods as the master of the taiga, the sea, and the fire, turning to them sometimes with sacrifices, sometimes with prayers. Usually both acts are joined together. For an ordinary sacrifice neither solemnity nor any special objects are necessary. The principle /56/ of sacrifice is exchange, and therefore one cannot give the god of the sea fish, nor the god of the taiga the meat of animals.

782 [484] If the Gilyak sails on the sea and is afraid of a storm, he respectfully lowers a leaf of tobacco or a handful of rice over the side and says: "Please make the sea calm, so that I may arrive home alive and healthy." Whenever the Gilyak sets out, he takes along in a special sack his favorite objects for sacrifice, sweet herbs, sarana, and so forth -- since the gods are not demanding.

123 776 Some kind of candy delivered to the deity may sometime stand one in very good stead. I experienced this once myself. It was in August, 1894. With great difficulties, almost without provisions or supplies, and with one piece of brick tea and some biscuits, I reached the Head of the earth. When I unexpectedly informed my companions that I had decided to betake myself up to the top of the "Head" in order to collect plants and remove some stones, my companions were overcome with panic. They adjured me to renounce my "insane" intention, which had to lead to our common destruction, offering as proof the example of two Russian seamen who had attempted to go up to the top of the small god, Lazarev Cape, perished, and were buried there. The captain of my boat, Gibel'ka, an intelligent and loyal Gilyak from the settlement Tangi, who had become quite attached to me, was especially agitated.

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Only representatives of the clan, kahal o'khlir, gather at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buds, a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /fabar/ for bears' dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyil -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody goves to the Ily-n'lvush, the sacrifice goes along the wor, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tan the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, and they keep it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

Tlyrolh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt. Early in the morning they set-out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes. Then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the Aino language is used, in Tevlth only a red dog /gi-ldzi/ is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat the another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrolh: "n'longer-a kinyngoh: hamgugr, khalahl tyrgyzir", i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (chan'gar), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Shi, a stick, and a cone bow (nanchla) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between two coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tung-k'vh); the fork is thrown into the fire and chédzigr. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a yurt to protect against the mila-a (the evil spirit). In /315/ the

/313 cont./

morning it is necessary to take back the ski and to forth quietly and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'lvush descend the river, and by those objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'lvush and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "tink" /fan/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught some-thing while river, and we go on and pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

During a tahh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the Gilyak assembled, made a sacrifice -- bow, pheasant, fish, roots, and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyi'mya sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzigr. This old man sacrificed four big tahh.

Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn occasions such trees are selected. A sacrifice is also made to "one's clan Pal-yz" (the master of the mountain), but they are not made to Pila-yz (the great master). He is most frequently seen as a snake. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog. Tol -- sea master -- a white one. Each house has two fires, Pal-tigr and Tol-tigr. If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tigr, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that ishala who has two stoves.

Tol-tahhgr -- a tahhgr of larch; a hammer, chong-chirk', an hung on it. Near it is a battery (bench) /fabar/for which are placed bowls, spoons, tahhgrh, balagr, and tobacco. And here they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to kilbuch (tangyl, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the funerals only two dishes are placed on the halugyr -- mos' and muvi (tissue of jelly-like dish). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire ishala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the tahhgr they hang robaxca, ngo (chldyzir) -- a bunch, yukola -- yyz' and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

/313 cont./

"Tyk-ly? -- Is it enough?" "Yiuf! -- It is enough." Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everyone gathers together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

The customary tahhg of a hunter is the individual sig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund hylhyde: assemblies, and they judge him; they demand a bear or a dog. -- a dog /gyr/. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the mouth is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

When they build a pila sigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a hik -- a dogs black dog "it is just like molh," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a poor falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila sigryf. And also a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzigr.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several sigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an sigryf.

/314 cont./

Sacrifices (sacrificed dishes -- chinfong) are placed on the 2. appropriate day, but if there is not enough, with the setting of the appropriate sun (not or pal'). /315/ /Sketch/ of the house-plan appears here./

Tyyrz -- "master" of the house; he lives either under the post (10) or under a stone (19). Sometimes he is an old man, sometimes an old woman or a young woman.

The master of the house and his family occupy the tol' erih punk; if the family is large then also the hemkahh (3) and pocakkhah (1). The hearth is placed in the middle (26).

In autumn, during cleaning, everything is abundantly fed; the walls, the floor, the supports under the plank beds, the edges of the plank beds, and so forth.

Rites upon the completion of a house. When a new house is completed, they place two sticks, one in the front and the other in the back of the house, and a thread stretched between them. Two hung images of the sun (hengr) and the moon (long chashh). They are not renewed later.

Sacrifices. In ancient times, sacrifices are made: They prepare mos' 1) alyn -- berries, 2) raki -- a porridge of rice or wheat, and feed the four-cornerr (chosch): four posts (mos'-cashh), and the two posts in the middle -- the front one, arnhhar', and the rear one, hemhhar', in which the master lives; they also feed the two-cornerr (ngo'-tol'-edz). Here the old man says: "Ha-ldi mu-ja' nolaga kyrmyzh: hamgugr, ta sihhydz khodal'ta hamgugr" -- be a good house (ut firmly). Make it felicitous for my children, and so that there be no kind of sickness." Then the bear is cleaned, plastered with clay, and they sacrifice -- tyv amyde.

Tyv ya' hash -- a stone before the threshold or beyond the threshold, or a piece of pig iron; under it sits the "master," who guards against the entry of the milk'.

Tyin yz' -- threshold. Beyond the threshold, under the ground, they place different foods (chyuhr) -- for the earth -- the master and the tol tyrgyr.

/317 cont./

Sanctification of the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, they feed the reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a good sign. The bad sign means that not a "man," but a devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chinfong (chinfong), a grass figure, and drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in autumn (chonjing) (1) and another time when one wishes. They

1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the mariga, the stone under the threshold near the door, the dog, where the master of the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

/318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the following fashion: a grass figure -- chihhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it (a strong man holds it hard); in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman threatenes with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman commentator walls, bones, and variant things in the yurt from which kilo hehm must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

/319/ Driving out the evil spirit. And all answer: "Ly-gi, ly-gi, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings hid hidden in such and such a corner. Ahang (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him; and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out a dog." (speaking to the kehhr, i.e., to the spirit).

/319 cont./

Make a battue, drive him toward this great figure. Ah! He has turned into a mouse." The chorus: "He is going there. He turned into a human form... he turned into a bird. He got into the pipe."

Finally, there is no other place, and he has to get into the chihhnaj -- the grass figure, whether he wants to or not. When he has entered it, the hand of the person holding the shaman appears to shake. The shaman shouts: "Hir hinn!" And shot one hits. They light a candle, throw light on it, and inspect the grass figure: it again does not have its head toward the threshold. The shaman searches for him again. He finds him. Again the same thing. Finally, the chihhnaj has its head toward the threshold, which means that the evil spirit has gone out. The shaman leaves his mana to keep watch overnight. In the evening of the following day, the shaman calls the real "master," but that means that he was late. The real "master" is generally hidden under the earth. The shaman looks for him and addresses to him the request: "Ha-ldi mu-ja' nolaga hinn, hinn an ilm, he hinn ya' ya' ya'

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(764) a man's one purse (nhy) for tinder and flint.
(765) B. Hoatsh -- a tobacco pouch, also of drel', for both men and
(792) women; tobacco is placed in the nhy and the hontkh.

A husband dresses his wife, a wife her husband, parents their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated. Shagund -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning until night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

(794) No news, or tales, or songs (are recited -- puring).

On the following day the men go to the forest for the cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and
(824) for children -- rose-willow; to cut larch or fir for children is a sin. One must select a good tree; otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length: (82" among some, up to a sagene in length (the clan of Pletunka); among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows, lengthwise and crosswise.

During the second night, too, nobody sleeps; everyone feeds
(782) the deceased (mu n'ngyvyn achnind), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt is cleaned -- tay mund, the floor is swept; then the fire is purified -- tugur mund, yurt is prepared, and tugur amind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a clansman) -- mos' is thrown into a fire started with the branches of a fir, but nothing is said.

When all the preparations have been completed, they eat, drink vodka, and then bring in a dog sled. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, bound to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "pyal" (dog) is tied to the place where its master slept. They walk around the future fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a respite three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the side, and the deceased,

/356 cont./

(795) This bird (the soul of the urila man) enters the avenger of
(796) the urila man and instills courage in him. Its image (vagp,
(792) tashch,vagp) is made out of the roots of the alder tree and place.

(798) The roots upward, not far from the raf over the grave of the urila tavern. The chhinaj of fish bird must be made out of the root, and a small knife must be placed in its mouth.

The resurrection of the soul. The soul of the deceased will sometimes be born again. If a boy is born with a sign indicating his origin (such as a person who has danger, he will say, even before untied speech, words that indicate his knowledge of the past.

(795) When he attains intelligible speech, his father puts a hat on him
(796) backwards and begins to ask him questions about the past, and
(797) he says quietly: "Well, that is enough, forget the best," and puts the hat on him in the proper way. Then the boy forgets everything, and will live for a long time. If the father does not do this, the boy will die. The procedure with the hat drives away the "noses."

II.

Hunting and Fishing

(824) Sacrifices to the sea -- Tol vymid (tynydge). 1. When winter
(792) sets in and there is not a single unfrozen patch of water on the surface of the sea, the men of the same khal'a (women do not participate) set out in the dark of night for the sea, a hole in the ice, and through it each of them throws wood -- "wood fire," which has been started with a piece of tinder -- to the sea. Later on, at home, they "eat," i.e., feast.

(651) 2. In summer, people who leave the shore in a rowboat throw things out of a bowl for sea offerings -- tol n'ngn -- to the master of the sea, Tol yr'dokh.

(792) To Tol they always sacrifice a white dog, a white fir, everything smooth and clean; to Pal and Mif, on the older hand, everything fanciful; to Kur -- a red dog, a red cock, a bright cup, vodka.

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(824) In the evening of the day of arrival at the hunters' balagan,
(792) they make chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) to Pal-n'ngyvyn, the master
(798) of the mountains; the master says, "Ar'myr sikrf, urgur n'un'ujf, mushjf" -- "there are no more presents, make it so that I am not afraid, look after us well!" They make chukh-chugynd before a particular tree (uig-chhkar -- a tabooed and forbidden tree); then they only feed the fire, saying: "Urgur in'ja, hiulan tugur mujf, pal'akh pong argujd -- eat well, make the mountain people take pity on us!" The fire may not be made by an alien khhal. Only the master -- yr'ngn -- may clean the fire, tugurmynd. /383/ the cleaning is done in the winter quarters in fall and in the summer quarters in spring; the rubbish is put in one place. Mos' for the fire is prepared also only by the yr'ngn and his khhal, but the sacrifice may be offered by anybody. On the first evening they make the sacrifice to the hearth: "Urgur in'ja pal'akh ponargjd mila n'ivukh mungja" -- eat well, make the mountain take pity on me, make me a happy man!" Old tahhej (trees with bifurcations) are stacked together, and new ones are made. Near the balagan there is an uig-tahhej on which are hung sables, noses, and so forth. The word to it: "Pal ponargja n'ash hiulan -- a'ngyvyn mungjd!" -- "mountain, take pity on me and make me successful in hunting the beast."

Near the balagan is an uig-chhkar to which sacrifices are thrown merely with spoons -- no chhinaj are made. They also feed helming an'ish (a bitch looking into a behind) and Lymys'n mimi.

(651) Those who have arrived with the game hang it on the com-
(792) mon tahhej, where it hangs for several hours until it dries. Anyone from the same clan can take off the skin. The boiled head
(852) of a sable is decorated with imu, placed on sticks on the front part of the hearth, nearer the ponang (the middle plank-bed), and
(792) rice, puchka, saranа, and mos' are stuffed through the opening in the back of its head and through its nostrils; then the head is eaten by anyone who wishes.

When the head and the bones of the animal have been put together in chumashki, sacrificial dishes are prepared, and the bones

/383 cont./

are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow
(792) trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigund kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhind), a woman must not see anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not sweep the floor outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting someone else's property cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If
(626) any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or
(792) hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

/384/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs. Catching a wolf. In Ikhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the tree; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tor' (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

(824) Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon,
(792) and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh tihuind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of tihuind.

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One may not sleep with a woman when nooses and traps
(792) are being set, i.e., during the narihind, and also during a bear festival and when a man has died.

III.

342 The Building of a House and Rites and Ideas Connected with the House

(787) A flint and some sweetbrier are placed under the post. The
(792) sweetbrier guards against the mills, while the flint is there so that there will be no hole in the wood, and then the milk (evil spirit) cannot come through. The door is toward the east.

When a new yurt is finished, a festival is held. They make an iinin chhinaj (chhinaj ofn (?) ehhinaj). Aqvyn (?)mij in the shape of a human face on each of four posts (nas'ki khur) of the hearth, and for the sturdiness of the house, inau are tied to the cross rafters (nas'ki). Then they kill a dog, tie it to the nas'ki
(792) khur closest to the door, and rub the chhinaj with the blood of its heart. The meat of the dog is boiled. Mos' is made, and the chhhinajinau, the helgelnan'ih, or (in Arkyop) the hymymnam, and the nich are fed. Three small furs are then placed in the hearth and tied up with two saranka -- bound with puchka (shin); for some reason these bindings are called "little bear." After this, mos' wrapped in inau is put in three places under the ground. At night when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn the fire and say a prayer.

(792) In the fire nearest the exit is the tugur-mam, and beyond the fire the old man tugur-vchhh. The tugur, the master of the fire, is fed with all sorts of viands; they throw them into the fire and say: "Urgur in'jf, urlantaf mu'if" (i.e., "eat well, be a good house"). Nor are they feed each /385/ corner, repeating: "Urian tugur mujf'ak urlaf parkjf, hiulan taf mujf ta chon'hejd" -- "be a good fire, do everything well, be a house that brings luck in the hunt, do not get broken!" (it is understood that the old woman

/385 cont./

(792) of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four
(798) corners of the hearth, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Urgur o'ufd, nehhlang kun kkholaf khavyr hunivagoja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after there words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kefhung ashh -- "the birch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are tied to the nas'ki khur in the corners of the hearth, and tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe; one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the house is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

(792) The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house
(798) -- four chhinaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men.

Tayzin yzing. This yzing was a fisherman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched. If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

(792) Lymys'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, lunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

/385 cont./

832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom
(792) who had been betrothed to her in her childhood, but when sikhr was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

/386/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
843 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
844 in jest. Chhkh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the
(792) langraf (a bed for childbirth), and af soon as the child is born, has whomever is nearby to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female yurt, and when the little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is
(792) at the first sickness of the child.

842 /387/ If a woman does not have children, the wife
(792) husband's brother gives her her belt (chhk) and, secretly --
553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if the
(792) too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must
take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give
(792) the name from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ehhlang (tongch: means "twin
(792) the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch-mam -- the mother
846 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult birth, one
(792) must open up hangings, open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise the
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 troiding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls,
a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

(842) (1) Among the Orok a woman is in the
(792) balagan only during childbirth; then
for ten days they cook for her on a separate
fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing
to lose their strength.

/386 cont./

(854) 1. newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk. (
(847) and then with cold water from the mouth. The first
(792) whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face
854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung
(792) chhi-chugin(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in hitch bar
instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. In
they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the
child, whom they again serve; if another child is not bor
preserve them until their old age.

845 When twins are born, the chhkh-chugynd must be arrang
(792) along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would
846 fish. Chhhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and
(792) are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the
(792) arrow, and when the little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is h
at the first sickness of the child.

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for ten days they cook for her on a separate
fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing
to lose their strength.

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835 dog. Among dogs, according to the belief of the Gilyak,
825 brother and sister do not copulate. Exceptions are very rare, and they are attributed to the evil doing of a milk'a (evil spirit). Therefore, when a Gilyak notes such a case of incest, he is obliged to kill the dog; otherwise the sin falls on him.
[782] It is true that the slaying takes place as a religious ritual, by means of a ceremony of strangling, and blood is sprinkled to all four quarters of the compass in sacrifice, but for the dogs this is a punishment for incest. It is curious, however, that incest between ascending and descending lines (son and mother, and so forth) among dogs is tolerated by the Gilyak, and they do not kill the criminals (is it not due to utilitarian considerations, since begetters are valued very highly by them?).

835 Cognate male and female cousins. Here, of course, only cognate male and female cousins, i.e., the children of a brother and sister, can be in question, inasmuch as the children of brothers, on the one hand, and the children of sisters, on the other, are considered tuvn, and we have already discussed the complete prohibition within each of these groups. From the kinship nomenclature we know that the terms used in reference to each other by cousins depend on whether the male or female cousin whom they are addressing or of whom they are speaking is the son or daughter of the brother of the mother, or of the sister of the father, namely: If "I" am a man, then I call the daughter of the brother of my mother an'g:ej (wife), and, conversely, she calls me pu (husband), but my sister calls the son of the brother of my mother akhmalk, navkh (father-in-law, husband of the wife's sister), and, conversely, he calls her n'erm -- wife's sister, i.e., terms which have nothing in common with matrimonial terms; and these terms correspond perfectly /154/ to reality. Sexual relations and marriage between the daughter of a sister and the son of her brother (and correspondingly between their tuvn) are not permitted; on the other hand, marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is not only permissible, but is considered regular phenomenon. And in this case, as in all others, the terms brother and sister are

/282 cont./

585 her advice on how to live in a strange land, and, if she is unhappy about the marriage, they try to persuade her in every way possible. During the farewell feast the groom sits alongside the bride, and both eat from one dish and smoke from the same pipe, but during that day they usually do not converse. In general, the groom is supposed to comport himself modestly the whole day, and not to converse. Late in the evening, when the feast is over, the bride's mother orders the bridegroom to lie down on the bride's bed, and the marriage act is consummated. On the next morning the newly married woman brings something to eat to the newly married man and calls him "husband." On that very
585 morning they depart. Before the departure there is a last
782 regalement, and at that time the parents of the newlyweds exchange prayers of good wishes. Here is an example of such
539 benedictions, taken down on the Amur:
585 "If god gives happiness, they will live out their time
782 happily. If there is no happiness, they will live out their time badly. O god, make the life of our children a happy one!"

After this the father or a clansman of the groom says /283/ the following prayer: "O god, make, make happy the time of our children, in order that we may live happily; to our life together give good fortune!"

585 Saying their benedictions, they sprinkle vodka in the
788 direction of the heavens and in all directions. Before actually
[782] setting out they go through a ceremony which bears the designation "stamping the kettle." It consists of the following. At the inner side of the threshold of the yurt there is placed a large Manchurian kettle with five little ears (for the feeding of dogs) from the bride price of the groom, and at the outer side a small kettle from the bride's parents. Upon going out of the yurt, the bride and the groom, one after the other, place one foot in the large kettle and the other foot in the small kettle, not treading on the threshold. This ceremony establishes a symbolic union of mutual nourishment and mutual friendship in the presence of the two female penates -- the "old woman-mistress of the threshold" and the "mistress of the crossbeam over the door."

/298 cont./

614 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
796 instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /zyat'/, k:khal
606 or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in
627 making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent, but they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla lytnydz).

796 A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear
415 festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n'ir.

796 When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
431 is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
[231] The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'rur humyjá! Wingan úrur humyjá--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylng-tvysk and prepare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.

Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

[782] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid
[184] in a wooden frame near the lezing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

567 The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head
[196] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure."
[683] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone
[614]

/311 cont./

756 Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz:-cham -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until out of his mouth come pulk (Goldi tulin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tovz (Goldi pún'chu) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then horns -- murki', and, finally, a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys
[776] pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami
[774] among the Goldi, lives in the uz' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

778
824
[782] Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the

[184] 1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Kal'vo on the chédzigr, on its crossbar -- two figures, yzikh -- peasant man and woman. A chédzigr is fed on the first
778 day of the month anlong (December) and a second time in July.
782 Everyone sits in a circle, and an old man takes a small amount
824 of food from each, makes chukh-chugind -- a sacrifice -- and places inau. The inau are made out of mountain ash.

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Ethel's wife gave birth twice after the birth of the twins was a bear.

A representation of twins — *tonych* — is placed in a little [illegible]. If one of them dies, they place a wooden figure, which is both die, then two joined together on the idols. *Chabb*-changed gives to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the bereaved.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-o'gyuyn, who gives birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is nailed in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which he is driven to support him.

Twin is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings — *tuyu*. The mother of twins in likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with pipe placed around. According to N. Pilsudsk, the mother is done with the father of twins.

The twin's twaglin helps catch bears and in hunting in general. The twaglin. is tied in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (*khyvyn*).

Twaglin. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-o'gyuyn or by Tol-o'gyuyn. Not each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

Ябв A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone. But when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in Bremen and Ind), he must not be killed.

Khlmk'ind — to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the feeding or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small church of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

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Tol-o'gyuyn (to reconcile). When I was little I saw a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt so under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very [illegible] and sore. I lay ням ill dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately — he had to hurry — and immediately fried a piece and I begin to recover."

Everyone who has a bear in his house, the kinsmen of his wife must give him a gift, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who is drowning remains in a boat rescued from drowning, his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

Chum. Chum is dressed in one who was sent to the bear will be [illegible].

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the shore. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inan are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travels to Tro, upon seeing the inan they throw chabb-chopped (sacrifices) into the stream.

A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices a dog to Pal-o'yuuh and makes chabb-chopped.

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Thank you? If they do not exchange them, then one of them will drown, and the day they exchange hands. One man rescue an alien skul, and even good Russian (not the tramp), but a drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is surrounded with stones.

After the rescue and the shaman procedure, the shaman must *Ябв* carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit to Pal-o'gyuyn, which lies there on a small bed.

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The Tymovsk and the Chomsh Gilyak have one language.

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A legend about three brothers—cliffs in Ai-bandovsh on Sakhalin. Three Hong brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (*Ябв*), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jap — mother and daughter — look after them.

A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary. Stokhovn's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax. He was dried for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of Gilyak, the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a religious festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge bear at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the bear festival was also celebrated in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the Gilyak the meaning of an unquestionable and indisputable all the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear — "Pal-'ulvuh." It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with sausages, etc. "Pal-'ulvuh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially hard. To the bear the bear festival is a clan festival, and, in this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, do not participate in the eating of the bear, although they do participate in the eating of it. The fire is the move in which the meat of the bear is cooked is rotated only by the clan [illegible]. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

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The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to Gilyak under the name of *Ябв*, even only strengthens the clan. Then, even though *Ябв* guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenses in connection with the festival expenses are covered by the clan: [illegible] the bear, which is given a skin of several hundred rubles. Classmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, who are also fed with great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character is not at all the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a religious festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge bear at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the bear festival was also celebrated in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the Gilyak the meaning of an unquestionable and indisputable all the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear — "Pal-'ulvuh." It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with sausages, etc. "Pal-'ulvuh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially hard. To the bear the bear festival is a clan festival, and, in this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, do not participate in the eating of the bear, although they do participate in the eating of it. The fire is the move in which the meat of the bear is cooked is rotated only by the clan [illegible]. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

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the god given meat to man, and the bears are returned as the [illegible] of the clan and sacrifices and feasts. For the same reason the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and [illegible] bear's head in the crown of a tree or on a post. To the Gilyak a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business on which his welfare depends. In addition to the usual sacrifices offered at the opening of the bear season, the Gilyak with special solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable hunting. He offers this sacrifice all by himself to the taiga, at the side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the whole time he wanders in the taiga and stays in the taiga. Besides the usual gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to the god, he cuts the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen, and, He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little at a time. Believing that a hundred little presents are better than a hundred rice or sarunka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made during a journey can be touching. I remember that when we made a journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the cret of a mountain ridge unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama of the mountains. The Tymovsk Gilyak, who never traveled anywhere before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of them took from his pocket a little bag of tobacco, which was made of tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of ash in the snow, and then placed the bag of tobacco, the sweet roots, and so forth, he moved the taiffe number of steps to the left and did the same. Then, his face suffuse with emotion, he returned to us and distributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had been heard. There is a remarkable difference between the religious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a Christian, Jew, or Muslim, even of a Buddhist or Brahman. The idea that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the head and eyes of seals. The explanation for this is very simple

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[illegible]. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism, with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It also does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true that he believes in the souls of the dead, but he does not have supernatural fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any man no matter how far away from him this last may be (this they say that the Ryukyu shaman killed the Shikotyanu one by drawing a bird than was flying past; shamanism, however, is not typical of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point the fact that shamanism is not at all a typical phenomenon in the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatment, they blame the shaman for not performing the ceremony properly, only subject to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that they [illegible] the spirit of possession by the spirit of a deceased shaman, they cause serious [illegible] in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the Gilyak are very simple and clear. Here is one of them: "Father, Sun, [illegible]!" (Oh, God, please!)— the Gilyak [illegible] himself to the sun or to the moon.

The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but [illegible] this deity, which is not at all a Christian or Muslim or Lamaist formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material world, but also to the moral world. The Gilyak recognize the moral living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life and property of another every civilized society. Violating them leads to punishment in this life (natural, premature death) and in the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak: "If a rich man shows a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor man shows a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does not repay, then he is a great sinner." Here, the Gilyak are somewhat rounded out the concept of sin, because the Gilyak who made it was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, was did not hesitate to be incomprehensible to the Gilyak. The Gilyak, in the religious [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief. Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and solemnly carry the bear in its fur-trimmed rider to the settlement. They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopea is fully completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clansmen of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure is the following. The bear is killed in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bears must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacrifices are made to Pal'-nivush, in this case to propitiate him so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is placed in a coffin, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire clan a rich sacrifice is made to Tull'-nivush on the shore. A new boat is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of Christianity among the Gilyaks. On the entire western shore I have met only two heathen Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

/434 cont./
from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, and generally speaking, such a reason can appear totally enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food. In this case, even superstitious ideas can give in to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of a few traveling Tschonsi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, three young dogs were strangled and cremated, which was to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part being added to the meal of the bear's flesh, and -- it blew enough! The bear's entrails were cremated in conformity with the principle of revenge (the kindred bears must be raised). The posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacrifices are made to Pal'-nivush, in this case to propitiate him so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is placed in a coffin, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire clan a rich sacrifice is made to Tull'-nivush on the shore. A new boat is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the capricious god of the sea.

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

/464 cont./ "Ma'n ja'ngu Tlu Chi'wsk"
merchant on the Amur does it as he deals with his customers and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is the reason why the Gilyak, Sanagir, Orochi-Goldi, Samagir, etc., or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is precisely how Mamlin Rindi describes the ceremony which the Smerschur on /465/ Sakhalin drink their "a'ksa" brought from the Amur. I also saw the libation preceding the drinking, which consists of first moistening the tips of the Pustsch and forefinger with liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the left up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less carefully observed, by the Manchu and Chinese on the Amur, also by the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and even Orochi in Hadshi Bay. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these people is added to the ceremony of the shop, and -- taking into consideration foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this ceremonial is borrowed from the Chinese, and, the procurement of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I most emt to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I know best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the Amur, the Gilyak, Sanagir, Orochi, Samagir and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This fact seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as /ulach (ulachi) -- a concepts which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

/317 cont./
peoples that it is dangerous to stay on it, or is covered with water -- this where is the most meager and difficult period for the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, it is contrary to the usual ways of the Gilyak, Samagir, etc., to travel in the Amur at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amidst loud shouts and /318/ numerous salutations, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after the ice had finally yielded to the spring sun, I witnessed this ceremony in Tymi, a prominent village of the Gilyak, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this ceremonial is borrowed from the Chinese merchants on the Amur, and, in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I most emt to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I know best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the Amur, the Gilyak, Sanagir, Orochi, Samagir and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This fact seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as /ulach (ulachi) -- a concepts which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

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Presumably only loosely hung over the tacks upon departure, they soon become detached and are lost or carried off during the stormy remainder of the winter supplies. Moreover, it is contrary to the usual ways of the Gilyak, Samagir, etc., to travel in the Amur at this time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amidst loud shouts and /318/ numerous salutations, that is, to toss pieces of jukola, berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On May 14/26, 1856, shortly after the ice had finally yielded to the spring sun, I witnessed this ceremony in Tymi, a prominent village of the Gilyak, and with the observance of certain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this ceremonial is borrowed from the Chinese merchants on the Amur, and, in the retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I most emt to such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak, whom I know best, during the time of my stay in the Amur region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians along the Amur, the Gilyak, Sanagir, Orochi, Samagir and very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This fact seems especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits during the bear festival is regarded by them as /ulach (ulachi) -- a concepts which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

1. Pallas, Reise durch verschi. Prov. der Russ. Reiche (Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire), Vol. III, p. 307. The same, Zoogr. Rosso-asiatica, Part III, p. 187. Georgi, who gave the first description of this fish, which was also used by Pallas, called it

/642 cont./
winter-houses (tschadryh), which are erected jointly by the villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot say, from my own experience, whether they are still during the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearly village of Kulk, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the person interrogated may have been correct. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at even birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in childbirth. Moreover, the Gilyak, Samagir, etc., are very fond of other superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth. Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /Ver.p. 1234/) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women who are assisting her. Immediately after the umbilical cord is cut, a special halik (Gilyak hamek- or kynk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /Ver.p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may be made of iron, is placed in her hand. Evidently, the

/871 cont./
tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorm, whereas the ladwlantsch (southeast wind), the tungrusch and ngalaus (1)

1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French e.

(west and southwest wind), and the kongrusch (south wind) cause them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous

2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: adj, tschlangi, kongrusch, and tungrusch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Dul to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

Magic arrow for exorcizing storms.

front of the sledd of the travelers. In the village itself several methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a square piece of sealskin, which evidently was the sign of a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing timder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the storm adj-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

/871 cont./
others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pu-

3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.

poseful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutations extend also, too. With me they likewise constantly came and went without a salutation, or at most, later, with a "adrawa" and "gorochuchli" (equal from the Russian "zdravstvuyte" and "gorochuchli") and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to show that they are not at all being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Stanitsa and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

But what surprised me even more is the fact that the word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Schrenck, who have accumulated a great deal of material, also have failed to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, I feel, strongly in the assumption that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we turn them in all kinds of situations when they received services to help and hospitality offered almost to excess. It is possible that guests who have been shattered, despite notoriously many means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national communities or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

ONTINUED
FROM
RECEDING
FICHE

/718 cont./

*796 252 784 [263] just as it would be extremely uñtsch if one wanted to fry, not only bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward

•[782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and were intended for the forthcoming feast.

+796 [887] In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young

[251] people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in additional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.

+796 231 541 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng. Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

+796 252 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads, and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the meantime, more life and commotion had entered into these preparations for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

/739 cont./ But they

796 124 708 171 insisted on it and went on to say that the god of the Manchu was called Mäü and that the Manchu have idols carved in wood, human figures in various positions, with a pipe in the mouth, the arms akimbo, and the like. The Manchu bowed before these idols, but the Gilyak did not do this when they went to the Manchu.

124 982 •791 796 I inquired further as to whether and how the Gilyak pray, but always received the answer that they do not pray. My next question therefore was whether they had an evil god (or spirit) beside and beyond the good god, a question which seemed to surprise them, and I realized that the placing together of my words "god" and "evil" seemed absurd and contradictory to them. Hence they replied in the negative. But since the Gilyak /740/ are full of superstition, I can only explain as follows the contradiction between their idea of "God" described here and the evidence for various idols and their shamanism that I found:

791 796 Among the Gilyak there is an obscure and hazy conception of "God," of a supreme being, who has the attribute of the "Good One" in full measure and without any admixture of evil and who is revered by human beings. But this conception is a wholly ab-

[782] stract, commpletely empty one and does not at all fit into the life, into the customs and practices of the Gilyak; there is nothing concrete about it for them, and therefore they only know the word "pray," but not the act itself. Also, they know nothing about "God," in view of the complete emptiness of the concept, except that he is "Kingulätsch, the Good One." In the real, concrete life,

791 however, the Gilyak experience much that is bad and evil, and there are many forces of Nature which, especially in hunting and in fishing, are often obstructive, menacing, and even fatal for them, such as the often unfettered power of the elements themselves, the often fatal strength of beasts of prey, the occasional and to them inexplicable absence of fish, and the like -- forces against which man, and all the more a primitive people completely dependent upon Nature, must feel his powerlessness. He cannot always escape such forces of Nature and they do him harm; to him, therefore, they are so many evil events which he views (from the general, egoistic-teleological, primitive viewpoint of man) as

/744 cont./

708 755 532 [126] 6. Gilyak. Through C. v. Dittmar, following his visit in Tebach for the bear festival, I obtained a series of Gilyak idols which in part refer to the festival itself, such as Fig. 3, Plate LVIII /p. 1258/, in part to other things. Subsequent inquiries about their significance enabled me to obtain new insight into the religious views of the Gilyak. These idols and representations of various kinds are amulets intended to keep the various sicknesses away from man or, if they have attacked him, to remove them. Most of them are made with flexible joints and for that very reason are supposed to remove the stiffness or sickness of certain limbs (*).

* See Plates LIV /p. 1254/ and LV /p. 1255/.

For example, Figure 2, Plate LV /p. 1255/, with a jointed body, is intended for removing sicknesses of the back and body; the one with jointed legs (knees), ibid., Fig. 4, for healing sicknesses of these extremities. The large figure with jointed head, back, and legs, Fig. 1 on the same plate, the tschaltscha-tschngai, is made, as was mentioned above (**), in connection with the birth of children

** See p. 1046.

and held in front of them so that, by looking at it, they may be spared ailments of the neck, body, or extremities. The small idol with a cut-out in the chest and jointed arms and back, Plate LV /p. 1255/, Fig. 3, is intended for curing ailments of the chest, coughing, etc., as well as ailments of the joints concerned.

•[782] All these idols or amulets, the tschaltscha-tschngai not excepted, are fed with berries and other things in order to pacify their power or to win their favor, the wooden pieces bearing traces of this. These representations, however, are not worn around the neck, but are hung on the wall in the yurt.

708 532 951 Related to these idols are two amulets that have a similar purpose: they are the lalž and kissj (Plate LX /p. 1260/, Figs. 1 and 2). -- The former is an iron ring, open at one place, which is worn around the head to prevent headaches. The two opposing ends

/753 cont./

756 was Sajan, far above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, less famous one, Tschežach, lives in the village of Kaki, above Nikolayevsk. In case of an emergency, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called to villages where there are no shamans (1). There are shaman implements, however, such as

1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have less a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, to be sure, also follows from the fact that they never designate as shamans, or regard as corresponding to their shamans, clergymen, but rather physicians and apothecaries, because they heal sickness. (The shaman may be present at a bear festival, to be sure, but not "to shamanize"; see pp. 1153, 1165; cf. also p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the brother Surgin and Sogin in Kulk, though neither of them was a shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as is customary in the shaman performances, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without it being regarded as sinful or the practitioners being shamans. For example, a boy in the village of Wait was said to be able to do the shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part

[789] of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do certain tricks, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, feats for which they particularly praise their great shamans. (Bm. I, pp. 34, 35.)

756 825 •782 789 28. Gilyak. The shaman performance. I learned that snakes are especially feared from information given to me by an eyewitness to the conjuring of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of Petrovskoye. After singing and howling had been performed by the onlookers, the shaman turned to the god ruling heaven, sun, moon and stars (about whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more th

2: Schrenck--1210 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RXL

787 /753 cont./
756 that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and
825 pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as
782 the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During
[534] these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-
skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake de-
picted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled
and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good
fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a
favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)
825 29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The
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[952]

2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipitsch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipitsch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water; hence the former is also designated as mif-mipitsch, the latter as toll-mipitsch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magá, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Porkuk and her son, Dshaman, from Kuĭk.. Jutschin thought that the wap-mipitsch represents the copulation of the toads, which as a rule takes place in the water and the seeing of which is regarded by the Gilyak as uitsch. According to him, the wap-mipitsch must be worn by women.

the wap-mipitsch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, resembles the devil (kins ngarlatsch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and crawl through his mouth into his inner organs, into his chest and stomach, whereupon the person falls

2: Schrenck--1254 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RXL
Goldi RX3 III.

G 778 532 755 G [844] [782] G' 778 532

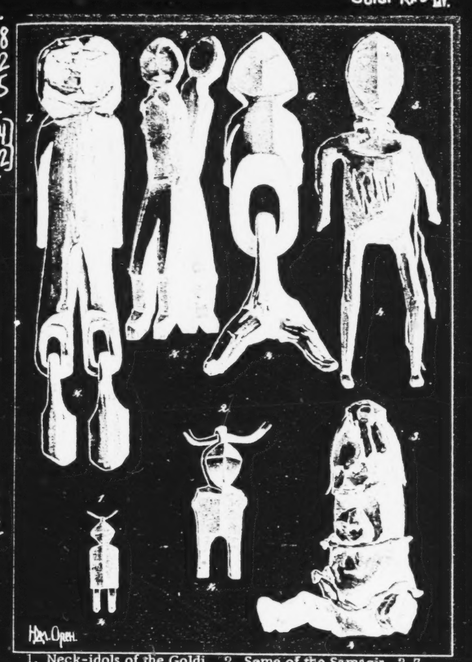

1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

III.

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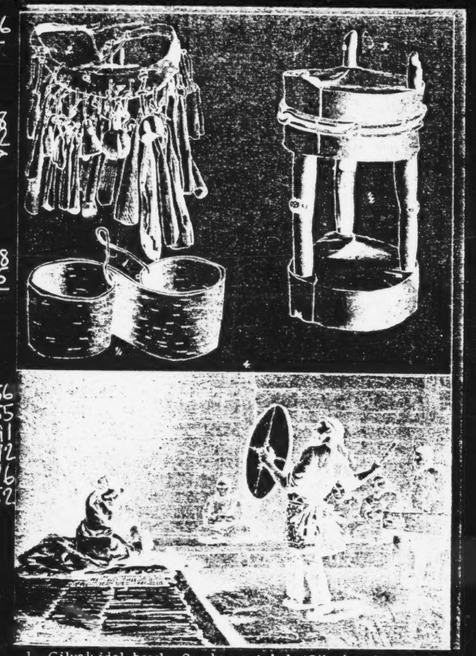

1--Gilyak idol-bowl; 2--shaman's belt (Gilyak); 3--altar for burning incense by the shaman (Gilyak); 4--shaman's performance before a sick woman (Gilyak).

6: Kreinovich--4 E-5 (1931) 1935 Gilyak

225 Giliakov Derevni Kul',"[Sea fishing among the
533 Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia,
824 1934, no. 5.).
182
225 fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the
476 shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their
225 shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we
782 cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut
778 some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

225 morning we returned to our village. We took everything out
and put it on the dock. Then we slept. Next day we got up
225 in the morning and called the people. We took off the head,
252 cut it up, fed the head to the people raw, (1) and cooked the
782

1. The Gilyaks call all raw food talq. The Gilyaks eat certain kinds of fish such as Siberian salmon and certain parts of seals and belugas raw.

parts designed for cooking as well as the jaws. After we cooked it, we took it out. Some ate the meat; others took off the meat from the jaws and ate it. Then we went to gather Hapzas. Then we brought it, cooked it, ground it and made muvi. Then we got some rowan shavings and shoved them (in the nose of the beluga). Then we took the head; we took it to throw it out. Here we cut off a young tree. We cut off a forked aldern tree. We spread muvi over the shavings stuck in the nose of the beluga; we spread muvi on the holy bones. We stuck the tree through the ear-ring holes of the beluga, lifted it and hung it up here. Then we lifted the holy bones (jugular vertebrae) and tied them to the tree. We put down the jaws and pressed them with a stick."

121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan relations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I put before the reader the material gathered in the course of this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyaks in the village of Kul.

225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting.

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce and of a plant locally known as (t'ᵊkr) bogulnik and set out on sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋəŋ-gan
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks in the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to submerge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks of the tackle kitə (2) which go into the implements for hunting

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal through
411 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
531 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker called tor-tas (from tor 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix pertaining to the implement used in the action), is made of a bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving which represents the snout of a seal.

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ome time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
en ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
d "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping
the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

ied plant ays, called puchka by the local Russians.
es the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby

the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fend (major feeding of
' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged
r this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.
e "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
he Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not
and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will
ea offering and the latter will not reach its place of
on. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks
feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the
f the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like them-
nd have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind
fish-tail bones (mamye) which they then throw into
efore offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that
of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had
, will not touch the refreshments meant for their

all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
re not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore
ak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very
he water; one twig is a keyla-ŋeks twig and the other
ŋeks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from
sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the
hese peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is
nto the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are
ir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are

Uiy-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the
sea. The first uiy-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the
Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
766 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-ŋir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.
782 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
262 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
225 uiy-ŋir is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
561 young hunters must not taste this mos.
225 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
782 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.
After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.
225 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
501 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
476 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
422 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
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1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

225 the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
501 unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
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422 zayezdka.
466 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
614 the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.
466 Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
556 Tfanu, was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevin, Potaq from clan Neoŋafin, Ŋt from clan a ramla, Onkan from clan Lezran and Tesk from clan Tfanu.
A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.
The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, ŋl tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).
225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
556 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
476 with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
466 of hunters is called pila ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big,' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)
225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
502 to effect repairs.
2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve·l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea ŋafq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pilaŋ.
225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pila exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi·d and t·aj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

225 During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches
782 of the pilaŋ to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
372 light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose;
476 he has to use the implements of the pilaŋ instead.

4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
225 floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
476 in this respect completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
502 "If the pilaŋ observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible functions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if anything goes wrong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organizers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.

225 [81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning
501 to the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
476 designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋ̊tivd, the second - tafpuf, the third - alχ-pid, the fourth - meyerq-pid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth - lele meŋ-pid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats with six and even seven pairs of oars.

225 Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋ̊tivd, is oc-
476 cupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
554 next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the
561 oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he rows just like the others. As long as there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits at the bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak pilaŋ Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals. At the same time Gilak ŋ̊t tended the rudder which the pilaŋ had turned over to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had killed by himself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person shoots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 mu-ziŋ̊d on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziŋ̊d on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

782 Aside from mu-ziŋ̊d, t̊aj is performed on the boat. T̊aj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-ŋ̊ks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these t̊aj elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-p̊k-ŋ̊zd --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines t̊aj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
823 first go to Uiŋ-kr̊ "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
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1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

225 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
823 similar gifts which the pilaŋ throws into the sea together
766 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Uiŋ-kr̊, then they
782 throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (kr̊) there lives a ŋ̊tik- an old woman. These old women must also be given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed that tvax-ŋ̊tik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.

225 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf
(Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to ksvr-mif (Shantar Islands) (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end of the summer and then they would return to the village to fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Norp put out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

411 The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
225 tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
283

2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long. Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch. Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the tola-k'e is called ŋ̊ski 'back.' The shore-end of the net is

225 3. Pila-laŋr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
552
825 Pəγi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups: a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qrγər is the youngest of all pəγi.
2. Mat-γəγəl is the next to the youngest pəγi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-γəski-kəld; mat - 'smal,' γəski 'back,' kəld 'long,' little long-back.
3. Tje-γəsχəl last year's γəsχəl.
4. Qat next in age to tje-γəsχəl.
5. Siusui-γa next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pəγi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Ta a a - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Arəfk - next in age to taγarγa, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alχ.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored al and dalr - grey Alχ.

225 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
237 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (maχt) and two upper ribs.

225 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
782 "feed" it the root of the plant piskər. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orŋoχt."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muzŋi. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave pər 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskər.

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the kettle.

263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese. In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea, in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat. In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for dipping pieces of meat in it.

462 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings of qosk-γəks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps. He handed the shavings to his wife Hemanγ. The old woman stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular vertebrae (maχt) and bone splinters from the broken skulls. The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun took the board with the heads and the mug containing the eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at [95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible. next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzŋi
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-uski-d
225 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).
77[illegible] There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire

Of some help in answering this question may be the fol ing opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmu informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the mast of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no bett "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea conclu the seal hunt.

115 A seal hunt. (1) Supplement
225

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were s fering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate."Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put every thing in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) ma

2. L.e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was

on a birch-tree. Then they scattered some more rice and berries. (5) Then we sat down around it. We fed the children

5. That is, they spread rice and berries on the head of the beluga.

and went down again. Then we got a young man to take a white stone and put it in the sea-dish. Then we returned and went home. When we came home we put the stone in the fire place." (6)

6. The stone which they put in the fire place is a payment to the master of fire for the successful outcome of the hunt (cf. our article "Morskoi Promysel Giliakov Derevni Kul', [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the village Kul]).

182 The methods of beluga hunting as described by the Gilyak
225 Mytka in his account and pictured in his sketches are characteristic of the village Puir and partly of the village Lyangr. The hunt proceeds differently in other places. [114]

The account of the Gilyak Khor (from the village Chomi(?)) telling of a beluga hunt undertaken by him and his friend in 1930 supplies us with enough information to enable us to distinguish between the methods used by the Khor and those described above.(Khor's account was written down by me in the fisheries of Dzhaori in 1931) [For Mytka's account, see category 225, pp. 111-113; for Kor's account, pp. 114-116--Analyst.]

225 We present a translation of the account, striving to com-
103 municate the spirit of the original.

"During a run of herring, the four of us, two adults and two children, went in a boat to the Big Cape (Pila-kr-) to hunt for belugas. When we approached the whirlpool (Polx), we came ashore and took out our things. The animal (that is, a seal, a beluga) was swimming up (1) to the shore. The

1. Literally: "rose up to the shore."

children heated tea, and we took the harpoons and went up.

9: Hawes--199 [2] T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 527, 539, 756, 782

"The following, however, is the part played by
i. e. the medicine man immediately preceding t
as given me by an observer on the island.

The cham, with a pine-twig in his hand, amic
close to the bear and whispers in its ear—
'You have eaten many berries,
'You have caught many fish,
'You have frightened many people;
'Your ancestors and your comrades have 'broke
'Therefore you must die for it.
'But your "host" has fed you three whole years,
(dried fish),
'He has given you the best water,
'He has taken you for walks,
'He has bathed you thrice a day (1) in the "summ

1. I am afraid this is imposing on the bear's
business getting him out of his cage; and tho
frequently, it was then autumn, than once a

this functionary at this juncture, [LSS:
he sacrifice of the bear at the bear fête]

d the deep silence of the spectators, goes

en' many Gilyaks:

not stinting the delicious yukola

ner year,"

memory. It is such a difficult
ose I saw were not taken out more
fortnight for a constitutional.

"[LSS: During the bear fête] When the feasting, drinking, smoking, and talking were at an end, a start was made for the execution-ground. On [199] their way the company halted at the beginning of the avenue to allow a few of their number to shoot blunt, wooden-ended arrows towards the bear. There seemed no attempt on their part to hit the animal, or else they ignominiously failed, for the shots were lamentably short of or beyond the mark. This appears to be only another example of the weakening of traditional custom, for the shooting with blunted arrows at the poor bear was one of the greatest pieces of 'fun' in olden times. Arrived at the ground the crowd grouped itself in front of the animal in a semicircle."

9: Hawes--212-213 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 782

"When the hunting season is advanced, another method for the capture of the sable is adopted. The native sets out with his dogs, who quickly find the tracks of the little animal, and drive it up a tree. The hunter then lets fly a blunted arrow, and, if skilful, stuns his prey. With fair success he may thus catch seven or eight sables [213] in a day. He is careful so to kill them as not to injure the skin, and in skinning he strips it off like a sock. Half of the flesh he gives to the dogs, and the other half he offers to Pal ni vookh."

10: Coxwell--130 [2] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 224, 539, 782

"THE MOUNTAIN-DEVIL IN THE FORM OF A TIGER
[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp.126-127]

It is noticeable that the hunting party, on setting out, sacrificed not only to the fire, but to the mountain and the sea. Later, the sacrifice of dogs to the mountain shows a real relief in the power of the mountain spirit. In the Ostyak tale, 'Aspen-leaf,' the hero, in the middle of a perilous adventure, bends his neck in worship of spirits. The Yukaghirs sacrifice a reindeer at marriage; also deer to a river. The Tcheremisses sacrifice a foal, an ox or a cow to their gods, Keremet and Sheert.

The Eskimo have a tale of a mountain spirit that dug up the body of a man, who had pretended to be dead in order to see what the mountain spirit would do. The mountain spirit carried the man to its home and the man soon opened his eyes and killed his captor, also the latter's children. The dead mountain spirit's wife pursued the man, but he escaped by telling hills to rise up and a stream to flow between himself and his pursuer. (3)

3. Rasmussen and Worster, p. 84."

116, 527, 756, 782

"At the end of this adjuration the
pine-twig over the bear's head. At
forward, and at a couple of yards o
the bow. The animal, however, wo
he turned round, when the archer l
but simply tried to rub the arrow o
round as if nothing had happened. T
and the animal, still making no sig
this time merely hit the collar. Th
vent, the poor beast sank down and
with sticks and lifted up the paws,
ground three times.

When the cham is present, he fir
the pieces to the most honoured me
the sacrificed beast will be assured

The skin having been quickly str
cauldrons were soon steaming with
roots, roe, seal-oil, etc., were b
sat in groups, the women waited up

cham moves a little to one side, still holding the
this point the accounts agree. An archer now came
r so from the bear fitted his iron-tipped arrow to
uld not expose his heart, and had to be teased until
et fly. Strangely enough poor Bruin emitted no sound,
ut with his paw, and failing to do so, sat looking
The arrow had missed the heart, but pierced the lung,
n of pain, only coughed. Another arrow was shot, but
e first was then pulled out, and the blood now finding
died. When quite dead, the women came forward
and the carcase was dragged round the execution-

st cuts out the heart of the bear, and dividing it, gives
mbers present. To these partakers of the heart of
l successful hunts during the whole of the season.
ipped in this case, the carcase was cut up and the
bear stew. All the delicacies of dried fish, rice,
rought forth, and the feasting again began. The men
on them and then took part in the feast."

116, 527, 776, 782, 825

"The original signification of the whole ce
largely lost, but the religious motive in the
the sending of a messenger to the great lord
to their punctilious observances of the rites
senger may not miss his destination, it was
some villages to assist the spirit of the bear
aids were given him, one the planting of a st
east where the great lord lived, and the othe
were to hunt Bruin's spirit to Pal ni vookh.
he was a Gilyak was not a pious Gilyak. He w
and all dwellers in the taiga by Pal ni vookh
and water, but in nothing would he give thank
offerings after every meal, therefore it coul
to find Pal ni vookh, or if knowing should be
ways most punctilious in placing some fish o
offerings to Pal ni vookh, and on one occasio
tion from a watery grave to this timely act o

Probably the fact of the bear being the mos
adds to the value of the offering, of which th

remony of the feast [LSS: The bear fête] is
minds of the Gilyaks of to-day seems to be
of the mountains, Pal ni vookh, to witness
of offerings; and, in order that their mes-
usual, and is, I believe, still so among
in finding his way to Pal ni vookh. Two
ick on the execution-ground, pointing to the
r, the killing of two dogs, whose spirits
For it was explained that the bear, though
would eat of the provisions made for him
and Tol ni vookh, the lords of the forest
s; whereas a true Gilyak always made
d not be expected that he should know where
inclined to go to him. Even Vanka was al-
r tobacco on the ashes of our camp-fire as
on we owed, so he assured us, our preserva-
of his.
st difficult and dangerous animal to capture
e bear's spirit would be a witness. There

116, 527, 776, 782, 825

is another consideration which lurks, howev
Not only is the bear the most dangerous an
has deteriorated to the seizure of cubs and t
est rival of the Gilyaks. He lives, as they d
the forest; and even robs the Gilyaks' snare
fore on every [202] count he must die."

er unconsciously, behind this ceremony.
imal to capture, although now the custom
he rearing of them; but he is also the strong-
o, on the fish of the river, the berries of
s of the small animals caught therein. There-

azing carelessly at the bank, I espied a head
my interpreter and the natives in a low voice
eing nothing, they smiled; but on my reiterat
and called to me, 'Nyet stryelyay! Gilyaksk
g). Now, occasionally we had seen a native d
lage, fishing or waiting for his master, and
d realized the mistake the animal had got up
shes and grass, giving us, however, one clea
white tip to his great brush. Even as he disap
ryelyay! Nyet stryelyay! Pal ni vookh budet s
d of the mountains will be angry), and much
uld have in store for us should we cross his
ss to expect to come up with the animal.
According to Vanka, if we had killed it, its b
en we set out for the winter's hunt they woul
nka was really sincere, I think it far more li
nt should suffer, because, by killing thus in
gurated with the usual ceremonies. To seize
e is lord of the forest and all therein) before
d bounty, was to risk bringing down his wrat

peeping out of the long grass, and called
, 'Malenkiy medvyet! ' (A little bear!).
ting and pointing, Vanka caught sight of
iy sabaka' (Don't shoot; it is a Gilyak
og sitting alone at a distance from a
we therefore hesitated; but before we
and trotted off, disappearing into the tall
ar view of a beautiful coal-black fox with
peared, Vanka was calling to us, 'Nyet
erditiy' (Don't shoot! Don't shoot! The
more as to the fate the lord of this region
will. I [180] went ashore, but it was hope-

rethren would have been informed, and
d have banded together to kill us. If
ikely that he feared lest his winter's
a haphazard fashion, it had not been in-
of the provision of the great Pal ni vookh
acknowledging in due form his sovereignty
h upon our heads."

"Only on one occasion did I hear of anything a
lol-worship.'
It was told me by the ex-overseer at Derbens
d taken him down the [194] river Tim. On one
ove him to seek refuge at a Gilyak village whe
wn in the headman's hut, and about to make a
the god (lord).' The overseer therefore place
nging in a corner before a wooden figure, suc
nds crossed on its breast and wore a belt. On
e basket was empty, the cakes had vanished.
g of more, and lay down pretending to sleep.
saw a Gilyak come forward and take the cake
e you doing? Let the god eat them!' Whereupo
ghly offended."

pproaching what is vaguely termed

k, whose duties in the previous years
of his journeyings a severe snowstorm
ere he was a stranger. As he was sitting
meal, the Gilyaks said, 'Give something
d some little cakes in the birch basket
h as I have described, which had its
the morrow the Russian observed that
In the evening, therefore, he made offer-
Keeping careful but unsuspected watch,
s and eat them; so he called out, 'What
on the Gilyak, as may be imagined, was

'As a rule, offerings were made in the open
l left for the consumption of the deity. Not o
nent of the rite brought good luck, and the o
ributed to the anger of the god. If the Gilyak
ve been some of his kindred who provoked th
wife, who had failed to guard the honour du
t upon it, or to leave the hut with his pipe li

air, always on deserting our camp-fires,
nly were they the god's due, but the ful-
mission ill-luck. All misfortunes are
is unconscious of guilt, then it must
e god to righteous anger; perhaps it was
e to the hearth by allowing somebody to
ghted from the sacred fire."

116, 521, 559, 750, 782

'And three "winter years" you have lived in a nice warm lodging;
'He, your host, will not kill you:
'Therefore you must not complain about him to the great lord of the mountains.' "

9: Hawes--238 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 535, 578, 755, 776, 782

"[LSS: During a cure by a medicine man] The eyes of the cham are like flames; he foams at the mouth, and sings the orders of the evil spirit--

'Take two great dogs,
One black,
The other white;
Kill these two offerings
There,
Where is kept the bear;
That will make the sick man well.'

The first syllable in each line is articulated quickly, and the last vowels in the line slowly, merging into a howl. (1)

1. Each line in the Gilyak original is made to end in a--aa.

If the cham is angry with the sick man, or has any spite against him or his relatives, he may ruin the whole family by his interpretation of the spirit's demands, forcing them to bring all their dogs and everything that they value most. It is even said that in olden times human offerings were demanded."

"It is useless to ask the Gilyaks of to-day the
bear fête] for they do not know; and, in any c
the hidden meaning of their rites. The followi
to find out the signification of the ceremony,
Gilyak. It means the offering to Pal ni vookh.
Russian. Why do you not recite about it durin
Gilyak. I don't know.
Russian. Do the Gilyaks punish the bear for h
Gilyak. No.
Russian. Why does the cham recite these cha
Gilyak. The Gilyaks have done this from anci
know something about it.

The old men, however, on being asked, kn

raison d'être of the custom, [LSS: Th
ase, they would not reveal to a strang
ng is how a Russian fared when he tri
and I met with no more success.

g the killing of the bear?

is crimes?

rges in the bear's ear?
ent times. Ask the old men, perhaps

ew no more. "

9: Hawes--211-212 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 224, 776, 782

'Chookh, Chookh,' i.e. 'God, Thou God.' They do
rush (daimones) should hear; for these evil spirit
of the forest, and might make off with the offerings
Pal ni vookh generally walks among the mountains,
making their offering on high ground."

o this in an undertone, lest the pal-
s dwell in the swamps and the depths
. For this reason, and because
the Gilyaks take the precaution of

9: Hawes--239 T-3 (1901) 190
116, 753, 776, 782

"The Gilyaks explain the visitation of dise
offended the good spirit kiskh, who thereupo
of the evil spirit. The offering made to the l
the evil spirit to quit him.

The Gilyak makes no offering to kiskh, th
moral world, for he does not know where he
that it can only be said to exist in his mind a
position of the cham, the evil spirit cannot b
and the want of respect paid to him; but we
is secure in his knowledge of many exorcism

ase in this way. The sick man must have
n deserts him and leaves him in the power
atter is a bribe, whereby the sufferer coaxes

e creator, the great spirit, the god of the
is; in fact, so vague is his notion of him
s a nebulous conception. With regard to the
ut be angry at the trick he has been played,
need not be anxious for the healer, since he
ns."

): Hawes--211-212 T-3 (1901) 190
16, 224, 776, 782

"It is a wintry scene. The snares are set on lo
streams and forest creeks. The first snows have
hin mantle of white. The cold north wind hurrie
silent in the sombre depths, hanging their hoary
he hush a shadow steals quietly across the scen
accustomed paths. He does not care to swim the
og whereon to pass. All unsuspectingly he creep
locked by a tiny barrier of sticks, arranged in
one way, is left, and that through a loop in the c
ushing through, he struggles, and in so doing r
nd a bent twig at one end of the cord flies back,
re out, but each brings his first catch to one pl
he great giver of them, the lord of the forest. I
vithout grace, to start off on the important hunt
re so valuable that anything, even in later time
hem--without due acknowledgment to the giver.
dispense with feasting? and pieces of roasted fle
ground as an offering to the god, just as in the s
cast into the sea. At this point it is necessary,
elsewhere, to call the attention of Pal ni vookh t

ogs and branches spanning the narrow
e fallen, covering all the forest with a
s across the land. The trees stand
, lichen-covered branches, and amidst
e. [212] It is a sable. He goes by
cold water, but seeks a fallen tree or
ps along a trunk, only to find his way
the shape of a fan; nevertheless a way,
entre. Rising on his hind-legs and
eleases a peg hitched with a ratchet,
tightening the noose. Many trackers
ace, where due honour is then paid to
t would savour of greediness, of meat
of the sables--creatures whose skins
s 'fire-drink,' may be purchased with
A feast is made; for what function can
esh, tobacco, etc., are dug into the
eal festival, we shall see, bones are
lest he be not observing or engaged
o their offering, so they whisper,

9: Hawes--236 T-3 (1901) 1903

116, 756, 776, 782

"Being anxious to know what claims the cham had
whether he could cure illnesses. To which he replied
cham, pray and make offerings of tobacco to the lord
out of the door to the spirits (of the forest and water)
added, 'and we offer to fire at one time and to water

o healing power, I asked him
, 'If a child or person is ill, I, the
of fire and cast some rice or tea
. There is one god—Nature,' he
and the forest at others.' "

9: Hawes--238-239 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 755, 776, 782

"On the following day, the head of the hut takes
possible to the village appointed where the bear i
There he kills the dogs near the cage of the bear,
them in the forest to the east, and sings, 'Make s
well.' The offering is made near the bear becaus
bear, and therefore is to be found near at hand.

The cham having been liberally rewarded for h

One old Gilyak in reply to my question as to wh
with stoical submissiveness, 'We make offerings
but if the spirit does not restore it, it is well als

the offerings, and goes as quickly as
s, even if it be a hundred miles away.
takes out the heart and liver and casts
so that the sick man may [239] be quite
e the evil spirit is a great friend of the

is pains, the matter is ended.
at happened if the patient died, said,
, and if the child recovers, it is well;
o.' "

awes--202-203 T-3 (1901) 1903
527, 764, 775, 782, 825

There is one incident in the ceremonial [LSS: The
ed, but which possesses some special significance
d, which is never on any account eaten. A skin offe
s which I bartered for were all minus the heads.
is noticeable that while the bear's head is not eate
ng success and courage to the hunters, but I gather
ing of the brain would render the consumer bear-li
skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak cemetery
ns, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habit common
ce theirs near their huts and make offerings of sake
gain their protection; whereas the Gilyaks' cemete
he woods, and are not frequented by them. What th
hese golgothas, is, I do not know; but it seems pro
he animals whose spirits have gone back to the gre
se of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of these animal
either guard the remains of the Gilyak or at least

bear fête] which I have not men-
. This is the saving of the bear's
red to me, and the fells of the

n, the heart is. The latter will
ed that the Gilyak believes the
ke, and an enemy to his fellows.
, and there, with skulls of dol-
among the Ainus, who, however,
e (spirit), etc., to pacificate them
eries are in the secret recesses
he idea that lies at the [203] root
bable that they think the remains
at Pal ni vookh should rest near
s will come back to these spots
refrain from haunting the living."

9: Hawes--253-254 T-3
116, 183, 225, 527, 782

"The first catch is collected an
devoured there would be a gracel
sanction to the domestic use of th
seal season, owing to the god's a
though at some inconvenience, in
On the bank, therefore, fires a
with it is hashed up anything left
the feasting commences, and last
banks, but in the huts; at the sam
newly caught seals shall not be b
even the blood spilled. If the god
them to be consumed only on his
attention on the part of the Gilyak
send them abundance of seals and

d left on the shore. To take it to their huts to be
ess, greedy thing to do, for there is as yet no divine
em. Such a proceeding might result in a failure of the
nger. No; the feasting must be done openly, and,
full view of the god's province.
re kindled; and the flesh of the seals is cooked, and
over from the winter's stores. When all is prepared
s all day. Eating and drinking go on, not only on the
e time it is strictly observed that the pieces of the
ought within the hut, nor left scattered about, nor
has allowed seals to be caught, he has [254] permitted
premises, i. e. the banks. By this courtesy and little
s, Tol ni vookh will be content, and in future will
all manner of inhabitants of the sea."

9: Hawes--254 T-3

116, 225, 731, 776, 782

"It often happens that by the ti
quite exhausted, and hunger reig
fête held in honor of the first cat
with all due ceremony. On the fo
groups begin to gather up the 'fr
and reverence, are cast into the
has plenty of raw, are offerings
permission to use the products o
offering in acknowledgment of th
Gilyaks to open the New Year's f
bones the great Tol ni vookh will
the bones to the four winds, thus
Tol ni vookh would in that case h
has only to reclothe them with fl

The offering is cast into the s
Uichkha rush, or water daimone
would spoil the whole affair, by

After the day of the offering, t
ful is he with his harpoon that a

me of the arrival of the seals, the winter stores are
ns in the village; nevertheless, the fête [**LSS**: The sea
ch; see category 116, pp. 252-254.] must be celebrate
llowing day the whole village turns out, and the family
agments,' including the bones, which, in deep silence
sea. The flesh and fat, boiled or roasted, for the god
to Tol ni vookh, with the request that he will give then
f his domain, the sea; and the bones are the thank-
e god's goodwill in sending the seals and allowing the
ête with the due and proper ceremonies. With these
make many more seals. It would be a sin to scatter
making it more difficult to create for want of materia
ave to recreate entirely, whereas, given the bones, h
esh, and lo, the seals are complete, alive!
a in complete silence, because there are many
s, who, if they should overhear the Gilyak praying,
seizing what was intended for the god.
he Gilyak is free to follow up the hunt, and so success
canoe of five will sometimes take as many as fifty

awes--254 T-3 (1901) 1903
225, 731, 776, 782

ng seals, which will be equally divided among them.
t wind drives away the ice-floes and their passenger

This continues until a south-
s."

awes--293-294 T-3 (1901) 1903
782

nka gave way to his joy of triumph, and declared th
ve [LSS: They had entered a dangerous inlet to avo
our success in the race was due to Tol ni vookh an
at our last halt he had sprinkled a little tobacco on
other crew had not. The Gilyak, like a child, trust
n his offering, and surely his prayer—his only pra
de sitting on his heels facing his offering)—is not u
eful, jolly and patient, and what more than this is r
ak to disbelieve in the [294] efficacy of his offering
ames of those who were lazy and omitted to perfor
e unsuccessful. To quote the words of one of them,
t happened because I forgot to give an offering to th
rt—and the skin of a bear is worth ten or fifteen ru
k and spear the beast as I had done many a time be
the god had sent him on purpose to remind me of r
as. No, the offering is very good. You are light-he

hat our salvation from a watery
id escaped convicts on the river]
d to the efficacy of his offering;
the ashes of our fire, whereas
s blindly in a beneficent result
yer, Kiskh ni much, God give
nanswered. He begins to be more
needed in hunting? Try to cause a
g, and he will recite to you scores
m the usual rites in hunting, and
'Once I ran away from a bear.
ne god. The god sent fear into my
bles. I was too frightened to turn
fore. I was afraid because I knew
my insult to him. Oh how frightful
earted and have no fear!' "

Coxwell --41-42 B-3 (no date) 192
, 774, 782, 825

'Among the Gilyaks, all natural objects have a lif
made to the 'owners', if violence has been done.
ngs, and the bear is superior to man in both min
the 'owners' of the forest, the mountains, the sea

6. Czaplicka, quoting Sternberg, p. 27

th him certain leaves and roots [42] intended for
nilar purpose, he makes the dog a victim. Perio
d to the spirits of clansmen who have been killed

1. Idem., p. 272."

fe of their own; and sacrifice must
Animals are, in reality, human
d and body. Sacrifices are offered
a, and fire. (6) The Gilyak carries

1.

a sacrifice, and, moved by a
dical offerings are made to the bear
by bears. (1)

20: Bush--124 T-2 (1865) 187
116, 778, 782

"Upon leaving the Gilak encampment, we
the woods above, when we found ourselves up
all sides, scattered through the woods, were
small trees from four to six feet above the g
of offering to the native gods, and, when new
were sprinkled with tobacco, berries, roots,
appeared to be of more recent date than two
crumble beneath the touch, and others were
hardly recognizable. After being once placed
disturb them again. Time and the elements,
tamper with them with impunity."

climbed the bank just in front of it, to
on a spot held sacred by the Gilaks. Upon
skulls of bears, poised upon the stumps of
round. These were intended as some kind
ly placed in position (we afterward learned),
and other articles. None of these offerings
years, while some were so old as to
buried in such a profusion of moss as to be
l, it is deemed very sacrilegious ever to
according to Gilak notions, can alone

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground; they call it nau. From this moment on the whole tribe is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child, tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.

753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone, squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is considered to be a consequence of the mountain spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says "tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is tormenting".

784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions, they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow household articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the new one.

842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the transference of physical peculiarities from one man to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an explanation for the superstitious remedies they use for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who cannot bear children must ask another very fertile woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be transferred from one person to another like a contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel which had been used by the sick person.

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants
in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three
days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its
pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender
attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment.
For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as
the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also,
the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was
not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the
fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He
would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather
barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance
that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobse
was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even
though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest
the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the
river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what
a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat
him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the
river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just
as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further-
more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its
nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered
up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a
sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be
made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are
well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to
bring them destruction? In the former case one would think
that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after
the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning
October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The
second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum-
stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful
one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description
of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the
solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.

Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a practical significance, for the good runners find immediate buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where various things are bartered.

The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cranberries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means worship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun, some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is not given such expressions of veneration.

When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo themselves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty, with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237] roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as entertainment has been described. Special music is produced in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -two old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who
361 them gave them to his daughter when she m
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left the
nity, for now they do not belong to an indivi
are regarded as sacred. During the bear f
incessantly, and on other extraordinary oc
shamans make use of them in different ways
527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festiva
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both gam
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chin
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately
They do not play for money, and they play w
emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards

1. The Chinese playing cards are abo
centimeters long but only two centime
and are decorated with various figure
120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to t
Gilyak, the village in which the most bears
brated and consumed, has the greatest pros
The pelt and the skull of the dead animal ar
sent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig f
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get ho
accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is no
house through the door but through the windo
besides the pig, are placed all kinds of deli
millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as a
the people happen to have. [238] Then the i
to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festiva
cheung which falls around Easter. It consis
feast, at the beginning of which bits of food
directions, probably in order to ask the god
764 The burial ceremony is identical with that
the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses ar

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled
sent-day Russia in the years 921 and 9
cremations among the tribes living on
of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spie
Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem

finally obtained
arried a Gilyak
n to the commu-
dual, but they
estival they ring
asions the
s.
ls are also to be
nes the Gilyak
ese, but the
not imitated.
vithout great
are used. (1)

ut seven
ters wide,
s, About

he belief of the
have been cele-
pect of abundance.
e kept and repre-

estival, that is,
ld of one) is
brought into the
ow; on the floor,
cacies, such as
ll the idols that
idols are bowed

al known as
ts merely of a
are thrown in all
s for abundance.
existing among
e burned. The

through pre-
22 witnessed
the banks
ss,
Tode. 1877.

771 predominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of
rumination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs
and their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imag-
ination so boldly that their assertions contradict those of
other shamans or of everyday experience. From conversa-
tions, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the
Gilyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits,
both good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not
emerged from fetishism.

776 God (Kush or Kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and
782 never appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing
is said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I
heard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In
this we may already see something like priestly self-glorifi-
cation. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother
much about him, only now and then something is sacrificed
to him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him
or for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak
crosses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a
bowl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the
sacrifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is
sacrificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a
stake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it
millet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240]
are tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme
being. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

825 The bear usually appears as the executor of divine
783 ordinances, and he punishes the bad people during their life-
time. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstti-
tious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be
regarded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as
a god or demigod.

825 The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they
789 seldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-
278 gard him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded
as having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a
certain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored
one". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874.
(Published in Russian).

people. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and
kills the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

783

783 PURIFICATION AND EXPIATION--practices reflecting a sense of contamination or guilt; concept of ritual uncleanness; things and persons considered unclean or impure; purification rites (e.g., ritual ablutions and bathing); concepts of sin, salvation, and redemption; riddance of sin (e.g., confession, remission, atonement, penance, scapegoat); etc. See also:

Elimination 514
Personal hygiene 515
Ideas about unclean castes 564
Definitions of acts regarded as sinful 673
Punishment of ritual offenses 688
Conception of pollution, contagion, and loathsome diseases 753
Ideas about corpses 764
Ideas about sexual intercourse 833
Ideas about menstrual blood 841
Ideas about the exuviae of childbirth 844

/107 cont./

*614 Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embrac
771 not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obli-
● 783 gation to carry out positive norms, then the formula "commo
784 acquires a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the
182 principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general.
The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue o
fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibition
are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fea
punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed o
of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is n
difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions;
all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religio
means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, ab
the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life,
etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservatio
Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan back-
ground of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the
whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this
principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence,
*614 on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to
182 why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring
602 immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsio
83 but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example
with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in
matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and
women, follow their natural inclinations with complete
freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage.
Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy.
There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Never-
theless, despite the complete sexual license from our point
of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect
to persons of the prohibited categories. Adultery is unknown
to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is
*614 almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibi-
602 tions of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will
182 go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the
most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately
sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man
brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the major-
ity are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated
with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the
island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or
kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only
hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it
means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when
it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about
somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet,
tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared
with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect.
Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have
different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24]
lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the
vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be
taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new
one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans,
others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin,
still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like
idols represent children, others old people. Some have
hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body show-
ing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans.
These also usually have human forms, but some look very
89 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
44 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.
Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
78 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
82 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
77 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank
a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone
pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

778 These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite
782 Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace",
177 the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of G nghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 237] [242]

775 Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be
171 gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

771 However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only, if someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
34 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

be cremated after their death. If that were done all those present at the ceremony would be punished with the loss of their eyesight. Even the parents of twins have to be buried in the earth, because they too have become relatives of the god of the mountains. The children of twins, however, are considered to be ordinary members of the tribe, and at their funeral there is no deviation from the custom.

845 If twins stay alive and grow up they remain, for the
551 rest of their lives, the object of awe for all their
769 neighbors and friends although there may be enough proof that they lack every kind of supernatural power. At every meeting, either in friendship or in hostility, the others remind them of their unusual progenity and everybody attributes to them that mysterious innate power. Each of the twins bears the name he gave himself as a child. The custom of giving the child the name of a dead ancestor is not followed in the case of twins. The names of the twins are neither given to another child in the same family nor to another child in the tribe. Here too we see a deviation from the general custom of giving children the names of dead ancestors.

845 The greatest awe is felt for those twins who die in
766 childhood. The offspring of the spirits of the
782 mountains who, while living among ordinary human
775 beings for a short time, who did not get used to them and did not feel he was one of them, has especially the power to do harm to people; that is why they try hard to win his favor. The family who had harbored the unwelcome offspring of the mountains constructs a little model of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a little board inside the house or outside in the open. A little figure carved in wood which represents the dead child is put into that little hut. The members of the family consider it necessary to give some of the food they eat themselves to that little figure every day. This rule is strictly followed not only by the parents of the twins but also by the two following generations. Only the great-grandchildren, observing ceremonial rites, carry the little figure with its

/108 cont./

impersonal form, although by temperament these are far from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the result of upbringing and training to a considerable degree, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of each individual infraction on the welfare of the whole clan.

The religious sanction of prohibitions and obligations and the lively consciousness on the part of one and all that "sin is communal" explain to us the most amazing aspect of the clan structure, the presence of the social organism and the almost complete absence of the element of compulsion, authority. But more about this later.

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/109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strongest guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most valuable consolation in the most bitter miseries of life - the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

/367 cont./

577 783 673 688 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a clear conception of sin ("umgysh"). It goes without saying /368/ that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure, there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity t
[682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] [829] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 775 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another la where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poo After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thu there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
[764] on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakha Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

9: Hawes--162 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 231, 527, 783, 796

"The object of the capture and feeding of the bear is the holding of a great yearly semi-religious festival, in which the slaughter of the beast plays the chief part. It is more probable, that in the older times a full-grown bear was captured just previous to the fête, and that to-day the letter rather than the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by seizing cubs and rearing them for three or four years. The feeding is a matter of no difficulty, as will be seen when we come to the preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores. [LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner or capturer of the bear, the feast turns out a very profitable investment, for visitors from neighbouring villages flock in, and while necessaries are provided by the owner, luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, adorned with a pine-branch at each corner. Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph one of the occupants, I desired the villagers to bring one out, or at least unroof him. There were, however, too few men-folk at home, and the adult bears were very fierce, as indeed we gathered from their movements and remarks within; so two of the five little cubs were partially unroofed. The poor little orphans snarled, and shrank frightened into a corner, tumbling over one another, and trying in their terror to hide each beneath the other. Ere the month of January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before, their spirits will have been released to carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

edominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of mination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs d their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imag-ation so boldly that their assertions contradict those of her shamans or of everyday experience. From conversa-ons, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the lyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits, th good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not nerged from fetishism.

God (Kush or Kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and ver appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I ard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In is we may already see something like priestly self-glorifi-tion. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother uch about him, only now and then something is sacrificed him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak osses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a wl of spirits on the earth or in the waters; this is the crifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is crificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a ake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it illet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240] e tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme ing. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

The bear usually appears as the executor of divine dinances, and he punishes the bad people during their life-me. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstiious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be garded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as od or demigod.

The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they ldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-rd him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a rtain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored e". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874. (Published in Russian).

ople. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and ls the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

784

784 AVOIDANCE AND TABOO--practices reflecting impulses to escape from fear or anxiety; techniques for avoiding malevolent spirits (e.g., flight, disguise, deception, disparagement); concept of taboo; imposition and removal of taboos; prevalent types of taboos (e.g., food taboos, property taboos, status taboos, word and name taboos, totemic taboos, sex taboos, reproductive taboos, therapeutic taboos, mortuary taboos); systematization of taboos; general discussion of taboos; list of taboos; specific taboos not classifiable elsewhere; supernatural punishments for violations of taboos and other offenses; etc. Since taboos commonly represent the negative aspects of cultural norms, information on taboos may be found under many categories, only a few of which are indicated in the cross-references below.

Totemic taboos 61, 82
Mortuary taboos 76
Sex taboos 83
Reproductive taboos 84
Cultural norms 183
Euphemisms 195
Food taboos 262
Rest days 527
Name taboos 551
Avoidance relationships 602
Taboos surrounding a chief or king . 63, 622, 643
Legal norms 671
Definition of acts regarded as sins 673
Social Sanctions for violations of taboos . . . 688

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the foe and weakened his
628 spirit more than the most active resistance. Utilizing their habeas
562 corpus, day and night they go about the environs in perfect safety looking into every bush, every blade of grass, in search of the enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do not possess an overwhelming number that makes it possible to fall openly upon the expectant enemy, they will never succeed in eluding the vigilance of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the patience of the attackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the torment of waiting, of necessity breaks on the passive resistance of the weaker sex, and the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of the passive
●[784] participation of the women in the struggle of the clans, it must
[724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbidden to light a fire on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its rivers and springs, hunt, etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of Gibeon, the Gilyak find it necessary to set off on an expedition loaded down with skins filled with water and as much food supplies as a man can carry. Under such conditions every extra day of waiting threatens death by famine, and thus the vigilance of the women necessarily conquers.

175 Here is one of the examples known to me. In 1851, 30 men
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland to take vengeance on
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol' for the slaying of a
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still longer and more fruitless
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance of the women, with poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching the locality, the water in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and the avengers had to depart with nothing and terminate the matter peacefully ... Thus small causes often lead to important consequences.

*614 Tylor was right when he asserted that exogamy weakened the
771 relations between clans and introduced peace, although he pro-
[114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the aspiration for peace brought to life the very institution of exogamy. It is true that primitive man is not so sentimental, he is mainly too "god-fearing," that he would sacrifice with a light heart his own fears of punishment for a breach of his blood duty to the voice of feeling, or

/107 cont./

*614 Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces
771 not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obli-
783 gation to carry out positive norms, then the formula "common sin"
●784 acquires a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the
182 principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general. The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religion means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence,
*614 on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to
182 why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring
602 immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsion,
83 but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example, with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and women, follow their natural inclinations with complete freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage. Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy. There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless, despite the complete sexual license from our point of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect to persons of the prohibited categories. Adultery is unknown to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is
*614 almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibi-
602 tions of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will
182 go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

/108 cont./

614 602 182 impersonal form, although by temperament these are far from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the result of upbringing and training to a considerable degree, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of each individual infraction on the welfare of the whole clan.

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/328 cont./

764 766 To be burned is better than to be buried.

The one made the first mos' for a drowned man is not burned after death, but buried in the ground.

A drowned person, if he is of another clan, is not burned, but is inclosed in sticks.

If the deceased was murdered, he is not carried into the yurt, but is placed beside it. Near the place of the cremation of the murdered person, they place a "vagn'" -- a tree with the roots /329/ upward. Those who have been killed are carried off the field of battle by both sides to their villages.

764 If a person dies in a balagan, he remains there (until the funeral.

764 349 A raf (a little house with a little door, over the grave) is made in a month, or in two, three, or four months, when there is time. A raf cannot be set up in winter or spring, for the earth is frozen, and in autumn as well. During this time the deceased is absolutely not fed. A raf is prepared by common efforts.

● [784] [614] On the day of the preparation of a raf, as on the day of cremation, all forms of work are prohibited for the clan members. It is prohibited to fish, to go hunting, to make a dog sled; it is prohibited to sew, even to "make one's head," i.e., to comb one's hair, but one can sing songs. Members of alien clans are allowed to work if they did not observe the work on the construction of the raf, but the members of the same khala, if they know that a raf is being made, even if they live in a different settlement, are forbidden to work. The master who helps in the building of the raf does not receive any reward; that is a sin.

The walls of a raf are made of boards. The roof is made as on an actual house. In the middle there is a kikhak; a double board with a stopper which closes an aperture -- kylmyz' (navel). The sharp stoppers go through a round piece of birch bark which is placed over the aperture. In the upper section are stuck a spear, arrows, hooks, and a knife. The kikhak; is wrapped in a piece of drel' of a trapezoidal shape and fastened, tied to the navel; the upper part of the kikhak; remains bare. On top of this, in front, there is an apron of the same shape, which is decorated

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/333 cont./

224 787 are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigynd kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

825 197 When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

224 ● 784 During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhund), a woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If [626] any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

224 /334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs. Catching a wolf. In Ikhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tos' (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

221 [252] Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon, and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh tkhusind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of tkhusind.

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/336 cont./

854 [344] A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 783 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung -- ekhl-chugir(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 785 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride ● along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows, 854 855 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of 789 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 [776] Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of the sea.

845 782 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

/352 cont./

342 352 364 191 [113]

8. (cont.)
Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography, on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

352 354 517 191 513 [199] Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet

1. Cf. Wassiljef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur, [123] when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth ● [984] yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused gen- [997] eral indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uñtsch, uñtsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

G /353 cont./

352 354 517 191 513 191 [136] G [984] [997] running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than for the head. There is another justification for this custom in the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats, which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which always run along the walls, would be constantly running over the face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse ● to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their kang, if superstition did not demand strict observance of the traditional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.

G 342 191 Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be determined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of G [195] Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K 342 191 195 permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear before an imported, foreign type of house construction within the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheninnikof and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above. Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

K [113]

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

/534 cont./
consideration, repaired at the slightest damage, and dried in
the sun after every fishing expedition. For this purpose they
are spread out over special racks taller than a man, and super-
stition requires that if the drying nets are in a person's way he
must always go around them, never underneath them. And,
finally, not until the nets are completely dry may they be used
again. Treated in this fashion a net lasts for several years among
the Gilyak and rewards many times over the care and labor used
in making it.

/535/ What has been said in the preceding about Gilyak
fishing may in general be applied to the Tungusic peoples of the
lower Amur region more or less neighboring them, although with
a few qualifications and modifications, which are determined in
part by the way of life and the character of these peoples and in
part by the distribution of those species of fish principally caught.
First of all it must be emphasized that, with regard to fishing,
all the Tungusic peoples of the lower Amur region differ from
the Gilyak, not so much by practicing it by means of any new
methods unknown to them as by the essential, crucial fact that
none of them is ichthyophagous to the extent that the Gilyak are
or is dependent on fishing for its entire economy like the Gilyak,
and therefore none of them practices fishing to the extent and
with as much constancy, care, and energy as the latter. Among
all these peoples, and not excepting the Olcha, who are closest
to the Gilyak in all their external behavior and way of life,
hunting, as a means of directly and immediately satisfying
the urgent needs for food and clothing, plays a far more im-
portant role than among the Gilyak, and, to be sure, this is
more and more generally the case the farther one goes upstream
and into the side valleys of the Amur River. Consequently,
it must take up more time and labor, or rather must take this
away from fishing. In particular it cuts heavily into winter fish-
ing. In no season of the year does the basic difference in
character between the Gilyak and the Tungusic peoples of the
lower Amur region appear more clearly than in winter, in that
the former remain the same sedentary fishermen, despite various

/711 cont./
visibly amused, permitted them to do. The choice of the archer
who is to dispatch the fatal arrow toward the bear, however, is
made by the owner himself and is regarded as an honorary token
of his favor. For the two animals belonging to him Judin had
chosen two young people, one of them an Olcha from Tschlwi
whose father was a friend of his and from whom he had bought
one of the bears. Both animals, hit in the right lung at a dis-
tance of about five paces, fell dead after the first shot; the third
animal died slowly after it had been hit by two arrows. The blood
which they lost in dying was immediately covered with snow, for
otherwise someone might step in it, which would definitely be
ritsch.

As soon as the bears were dead, they were dragged into
the kadlya by their chain and an auxiliary strap tied around the
snout, and put down at the places where they had stood in life,
on a bed prepared for them out of peeled sticks. Here all three
carcasses lay in the same order and the same position: the snout
and the front legs to the front pointing toward the entrance into
the kachra, the hind legs to the rear, pointing toward the läsng.
The neck /712/ and body bands were taken off of them and the
snow beaten off their fur with sticks. Next the carcasses were
skinned and cut up. For this purpose a illustration appears here:
strap was next slung around the neck of the animal and attached
to the stake in front. Again it is difficult to step over this strap --
one may only walk around it, either in front or in back. The
bear was now rolled over on its back, and a cut was made down
the middle of the entire belly side, beginning at the throat, and
from this middle cut four others went out to the legs. Then the
fur was stripped off and cut around the paws in such a manner
that a ring of fur remained above the claws on each one. After
the belly side had been skinned, the animal was turned over and
the fur stripped off the back side up to the head. Then the man
standing at the tail end once more waved the fur up and down
over the carcass and threw it over the head of the bear to his
companion at the head end, who threw it back again. This

2: Schrenck--1157 E.G. (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2.
/716 cont./

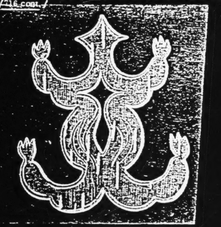

Toad made out of birch bark.

graybeards, as a high port of honor; the women and girls, the boys
and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly,
deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the
fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a
similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the
kettle was filled with snow for it is ritsch to use water for cooking
bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and
fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time.
Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly
under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor.
The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and
figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and
on the other side a toad likewise executed.

The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not
until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs
and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of
the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only
then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were

/717 cont./
even on the lower end of the spoons which are used by the Gilyak
at the bear-festival feasts. I succeeded in bringing back to our
museum quite a number of bear-festival bowls and spoons which
had belonged to the distinguished Gilyak, Stogin in Kulk, and
came into my hands only through a lucky accident. At the time
of my visit the Gilyak refused any offer, however high, for a
utensil used in connection with their bear festival, with the asser-
tion that such a transaction would be too greatly ritsch. If one
examines these carvings more closely, one discovers that they
attempt to depict the bear in all the various situations and positions
in which it is put during the bear festival: on Plate I. /p.1256 /,
Fig. 1, for instance, it is shown with the neck and body band; on
Plate L, Fig. 3, and Plate LII /p. 1252 /, Figs. 3 and 5, attention
is called to the revolving ring on the upper side of its body band;
Plate LII, Fig. 4, shows it eating from the bear spoon; Plate LI
/p. 1251 /, Fig. 6, shows him, led on a chain, it defends itself
against its attackers, and the same figure, as well as Fig. 5 on
Plate LII, shows the bear's head in the läsng and later looking down
from the rack in the house. The most interesting, however, is the
spoon illustrated on Plate LI, Fig. 6, not only because it can be
regarded as a masterpiece of Gilyak wood-carving, but also be-
cause it alone shows almost all those situations of the bear at the
festival held in connection with it and, in addition, by linking the
bear's head looking down from the rack in the house with the toad
depicted in the bowl of the spoon, it shows the latter as the
spiritual initiator of the whole bear festival. These bowls and
spoons are always made only during the bear festival, and here in
/718/ Tebach two Gilyak sat on the floor in front of the bears
busily occupied with the carving of such implements.

In the afternoon of the same day new quantities of bear
meat were brought from the storage chambers and placed on the
floor covered with fir branches in front of the bears. As before,
the kettle was filled with snow, and the cooking now proceeded
more energetically -- but always without any salt, the use of
which is strictly forbidden, not only in the preparation of bear
meat and broth, but also for all other foods during the bear festival,

/718 cont./
just as it would be extremely ritsch if one wanted to fry, not only
bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the
bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be
shocked. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the
broth was scooped into the aforementioned bowls and drunk, but
the meat was placed upon fir branches under the fireplace and
covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the
trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward
evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was
about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in
front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and
were intended for the forthcoming feast.

In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old
men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young
people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in addi-
tional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in
order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women
had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.
In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals
which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They
were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars
and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven
by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the
women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the
river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended
without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng.
Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while
the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat
into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and
fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads,
and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them
down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same
way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the mean-
time, more life and commotion had entered into these prepara-
tions for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

/750 cont./
figure was made in case of backaches, in order to rid oneself of
the ailment (Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Fig. 9). (2 S.R. I, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Kalm I was able to buy
many idols, all different and some of them very interesting,
for example, one idol of human shape with a bear's head (Plate
LVII /p.1257 /, Fig. 3). It was named for me as ogink, a desig-
nation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another
had the head of an owl (ki) on a human body (Plate LVII /p.1257 /,
Fig. 5); in the case of a third one the owl sat on the head of the
human being (Plate LVI /p.1256 /, Fig. 4), several human figures
had cavaties in the body to hold food.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and
a row of prongs on top of the head, each of which was provided
with a human face.

I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the
idols is put and which is called toil-ngir or kägn-ngir.

Then there were idols of the white whale (pömi-tscho)
with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p.1256 /, Fig. 9), as well
as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and
raven, etc., here.

In the village of Tschelmok many idols with zach wound
around them and several clothed in beatskin stood on a shelf in
the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human
figure on top of it (Plate LVII /p.1257 /, Fig. 1), and furthermore
an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human be-
ing, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could
not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many
idol bowls, all of about the same shape with representations of
various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a
toad, a lizard, and the like on them. These were all toil-ngir.
Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two
cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side
in the form of an 8 (Plate LXI /p.1261 /, Fig. 1). This vessel
was called tschobrä and was used for the same purpose. No amount
of persuasion, however, helped in getting the woman who owned
them to sell one or the other of these idol-bowls. She said that
it was ritsch and would cause her death.

/768 cont./
A rough little rod or a similar stick (wadžach) stuck in
the ground is likewise said to mark a place where a corpse is bur-
(Bm. I, p. 18.)

51. Gilyak. In September, 1854, the Gilyak of Kulk dis-
covered that one of their burial houses, raff, had been destroyed
by Russian soldiers and the ground on which it had stood was dug
up, and they came to complain about it. I then learned that the
ashes of cremated corpses are under the little houses and various
colored rags, peculiar implements, and the like are deposited
there. Near Kulk, in the birch forest along the Amur, four or
five such small houses stood together and formed a burial place,
while such structures are otherwise often found individually in
the midst of the forest. The Gilyak said that in the destroyed
little house the ashes of six children's corpses were in one
vessel, over which the same number of sable furs had been
placed. The latter was done in order to prevent a sudden dying
of their children such as had taken place during the year. Now,
since the house had been destroyed, they feared the return of
the epidemic. (Bm. I, pp. 15, 16.)

52. Gilyak. Every spot where a corpse is deposited or
a dead person's ashes are to be found is regarded by the Gilyak
as sacred and inviolable to some extent. No Gilyak therefore
would wantonly touch a raff. Moreover, the latter may never
be transferred to another place. This would be ritsch. There-
fore, though the Gilyak from Kulk bewailed and complained
about the plundering and destruction of their raff, they neverthe
less decided not to transport the remains to the villages to which
they themselves had moved from Kulk. (Bm. I, p. 16.)

53. Gilyak. If one investigates the interior of a little
burial-house he always finds in it a longish little board in an
upright position: kakk, atlo tars. The middle of it is pierced,
and the hole has a peg, kylms, stuck in it; a strip of linen is
wound around the board, and sometimes the lower end, too,
is wrapped in linen and decorated with various rags, kakk-o
tars-rawä (Plate LXVIII /p.1268 /, Fig. 2). Close to the board
and likewise in an upright position there is a little stick, pyk-ng

T: Kreinovich--25 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-ŋak and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
411 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-ŋak.

411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskər around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

9: Hawes--242 T-3
116, 593, 775, 764, 784

"In talking of their departed
uich, i.e. unlucky, ill-omene
and the elder before us was no
at his father's funeral pyre, h
necessary for his spirit to tra

, they never called them by their name. That would be
l. Filial piety as among the Chinese is a cardinal virtue,
exception to the rule. He had killed no less than ten dogs
is father being a well-to-do man, and therefore it was
vel with an honourable cortège in the next world."

/69 cont./

796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[774] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/74 cont./

755 only noisy terr
776 ukhdi kekhn ar
on the spirits i
755 kamlaniye. T
776 shaman create
deafening soun
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he sees and he
that he actuall
hypnotizes tho
me of a partia
that in my pre
ous condition i
shrieked broug
hallucinations
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776 one, then anot
stances. Thus
organism and
ar-rymnd-kekh
way into the b
distant parts of
emits fire out
After being thu
his lips and let
devil. The m
principle of ter
I mentioned at
a shrewd peopl
master of the s
lies on a bed i
a white reindee
seen such a stra
at it. This m
little soul of th

or, during kamlaniye the above-mentioned
e called on to help. In point of fact, calling
s at the present time the essential part of
he entire power of the autohypnosis which the
s in himself with frenzied shouts, narcotics, the
ds /75/ of the tambourine, wild dancing is used
nself that high degree of sensitivity due to which
ars his spirits-protectors. We can fully believe
y hears and sees them. And with his faith he
se around him. I hope that no one will suspect
lity for the shamans, but I can calmly testify
sence the ecstacy of the shaman and the mysteri-
n which the frenzied chosen one thrashed and
ht the Gilyak to such a state that they had
and saw everything that the shaman himself
ce. The shaman skillfully has recourse to first
her of his kekhn, depending on the circum-
, if the devil has stubbornly settled inside the
loes not want to leave, the shaman calls on the
n, which turns into a fiery ball and makes its
elly of the shaman and from there to the most
his body, so that during the seance the shaman
of his mouth or nose or from any part of his body.
s filled with fire, he touches the sore spot with
s in fire, which conclusively drives out the
eaning of this device lies in the same primitive
ror -- in this case, frightening with fire, which
the beginning. Generally the kekhn are quite
e. Thus, when a kekhn makes his way to the
ea for the small soul of a drowned man, which
the yurt of the master himself, he takes along
er. Of course, the sea people, who have never
nge beast, run out of the yurt in order to look
oment is utilized by the kekhn to steal the
e drowned man.

/77 cont./

756 Now a few more words concerning the nature and psychics of these strange people called shamans.

According to the views of the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen beings. Do not be a shaman! The talent of a shaman is not a gift, but a burden. In order to become a shaman, it is necessary to be liked by a kekhn, or to recei such a kekhn from one's father or uncle. Turning into a shaman constitutes a turning point in the life of the chosen one, a crisis accompanied by very complex psychological phenomena.

One shaman with whom I was acquainted told me th before he became a shaman he was sick for more than two months, during which he lay motionless on his back in com plete unconsciousness. No sooner would he awaken from on paroxysm than he would fall into another. "I would have died," he told me, "if I had not become a shaman!" Dur- ing these months of trial he dried up like a stick. At nigh [787] he began to dream that he sang shaman songs. Once a whi eagle-owl appeared to him and stood near him, quite close while a little farther away stood a man who said to him: "Make yourself a tambourine and everything that a shaman should have, and sing songs. If you are a simple man, not ing will come of you, but if you are a shaman, you will be real shaman." He slept for a long time, how long -- he do not know, but when he woke up, he saw that he was held ov a fire by the feet and by the head; the people around him thought that he had been killed by the kekhn. Then he com manded that he be given a tambourine and began to sing so He felt not quite drunk, not quite dead. Then he first saw his kekhn and kenchkh, and the former said to him: "If you see a sick man, cure him; do not believe the kenchkh, he has a human face, but the body of a bird; believe only us."

I myself was once a witness to the first appearance o such a paroxym. A Gilyak boy by the name of Koynyt, twelve years old, the son of a shaman, my guest, fell aslee after dinner, and, accidentally awakened by my comrad, the boy began to thrash furiously and to shout, repeating all

844 The mother delivers the child herself, and only if the mother is entirely too weak does the midwife help at the delivery.

The Gilyak do not know how to give obstetric help to a woman in labor. If a woman is not able to deliver the child she dies, and, in this case, the child will perish too. But that happens very rarely. During a more than ten years' stay in the region of the river Tym I heard only once that a woman died during the delivery.

Among the Gilyak the first childbirth is considered to be the hardest. It is especially hard and painful for very young women who are not fully developed physically.

845 Girls are strictly forbidden to laugh when people
784 talk of delivery or confinement, and they are supposed to stay serious during the act of birth. If they fail to do so, in the future they will go through very hard deliveries and suffer exceedingly great labor pains.

844 In order to speed up the discharge of the placenta chiplings of a certain wood (sambucus racemosa) are put into the mouth of the woman in labor. The bitter disgusting taste of the wood causes vomiting which, according to the belief of the Gilyak, should accelerate the discharge of the placenta (ehlaud cuind, that is: the child's food). But, if the placenta nevertheless is not discharged after a while the woman dies. This [758] happens rarely but does occur once in a while among the Gilyak. The placenta is wrapped in a towel and hung up on a tree in the wood not far from the house.

845 If a child is born with a caul which, however,
777 happens very rarely, the caul is not thrown away but is carefully dried and kept with other household articles. For the Gilyak believe that this caul which in the language of their tribe, is called ehlan ok (the suit of the child) brings luck to the whole family.

844 The newly born child is not simply called a boy or
553 a girl. If a girl was born it is, for the time being, called mukin ehlan, that is: tailless child (mukind usually is the name for a dog with a very short tail). But if a boy was born his relatives say: moi ivend panend, that is: one who has a penis was born.

845 dwelling to the
766 the last time,
782 Next to the sac
775 stick carved in
they call it nau
is safe [762] fr
tonhr ehlian, w
753 If the relativ
845 are designed to
776 the mountains
anger. Several
relatives of the
of their revenge
certain diseas
squint-eyes, s
convulsions. T
considered to b
spirit's dissati
"tonhr ehlian s
tormenting".

784 The Gilyak a
845 young women a
777 to reports abou
they believe, t
twins. Women
hold articles n
given birth to t
considered to b
objects, howev
not transfer th
new one.

842 It is altogeth
777 tribe that they
transference o
to another man
explanation for
for overcoming
cannot bear chi
woman to lend
she has to wea
success. A Gil
transferred fro
contagious dise
which had been

top of a near-by mountain; there, for
choice food is offered to the figure.
rificial objects a one to two meter long
curly design is dug into the ground;
.. From this moment on the whole tribe
om being haunted by the dead child,
vithout further prayers or sacrifices.
es neglect to follow these rules, which
appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
and to win their favor, they evoke their
diseases which attack the parents and
twins are considered to be symptoms
e (tohr ehlian). These usually are
es like deformation of the jaw-bone,
tiffening of the neck or any kind of
he appearance of such diseases is
e a consequence of the mountain
sfaction; in such cases one says
ingrund", that is "the twin child is

re so afraid of these dangers that
nd girls are strictly forbidden to listen
t such happenings; by these precautions,
hey will be able to prevent the birth of
are neither allowed to borrow house-
or to accept gifts from friends who had
wins. In this case old soft objects are
e the most dangerous ones. Hard
er, especially tools made of metal, do
e bad luck of the former owner to the

er a trait characteristic of this northern
believe in the possibility of the
f physical peculiarities from one man
by way of his tools. This gives us an
the superstitious remedies they use
a woman's sterility. The woman who
ildren must ask another very fertile
her the waistband of her trousers and
r it up to the moment of the desired
yak told me that fertility can be
om one person to another like a
ease, for example by way of a vessel
used by the sick person.

786

786 ORGIES--practices reflecting hysterical tendencies or release from normal inhibitions; frenzied singing and dancing; ceremonial license (e.g., phallic rites, temporary lifting of sex restraints, ceremonial intoxication); bacchanalian revels; religious prostitution; induced hysteria, hallucination, and swoon; religious revivalism; etc. See also:

Sex taboo . . . . . 83 Temple prostitutes 793
Drunkenness . . . . . 273 Conception of abnormal mental states . . . 828

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.

755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also seek to consolidate their authority by means of various magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly, disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle. After that the magician was completely discredited.

789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light his cigar at it and then leave the house.

177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these "Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine. From this we may see how much they really understand of their new religion. We have said before that they regard

787

787 REVELATION AND DIVINATION--practices reflecting anxiety about the future and often also a sense of inspiration; quest for visions and guardian spirits; hallucinatory revelations; communication with spirits (e.g., through spirit possession, through inspired oracles, through mediums); prophesy; clairvoyance; acquiring mystic insight through concentration and contemplation; interpretation of dreams; omens and their interpretation; divinatory practices and techniques (e.g., haruspicy, hepatoscopy, necromancy, scapulimancy, scrying, sortilege, astrology); etc. See also:

Personality disorders 158
Judicial oaths and ordeals 695
Revelation and divination in the treatment of diseases 755
Omens of death 763
Cult of the dead 769
Guardian spirits 776
Diviners, seers, and messiahs 791
Ideas about dreams 628

/770 com./
the village. The raff, then, is a memorial erected for the deceased.

The cremation site was very simply marked: the ashes scraped together, enclosed in an elongated frame formed by four boards set vertically, and this covered with boards; around the boards of the frame, however, little sticks with zach were placed (see Plate LXV /p. 1265 /, to the right in the middle distance).

There was no pittyssj in Kalm. I learned that such is set up for a deceased person only if no snow has yet fallen at the time of death; otherwise it would be uitsch to set up a pittyssj. (2 S.R. I, pp. 4-6.)

57. Gilyak. According to Surgin's report, not every deceased person is given a raff. If a very small infant dies, the corpse is not cremated, but simply wrapped and buried in the ground, and no raff is erected for it, for the soul of such a child does not wander, but goes to heaven. If larger children die, the corpses are cremated, and one raff is erected for two of them. Each adult gets a raff, men and women. The corpse of a person who has drowned is cremated, but no raff is erected over the ashes; rather, a stick is stuck in the ground and a boat is placed next to it. If a Gilyak dies /771/ from being wounded by a bear the corpse is not cremated, but deposited in a structure which is especially erected out of beams crossing at the ends. Such a burial house is called tschchyf(*)-ngych and usually is located in

* Tschchyf--the bear.

the forest where the deceased fell in the fight with the bear. The soul of such an unfortunate person does not go to heaven. The burial house has a small opening through which all kinds of foods are deposited for the deceased, such as berries, fish, groats, etc. Inasmuch as these these articles lie next to the corpse, they acquire a strong curative power against various sicknesses, and ailing Gilyak customarily go to such a burial house and eat some of the food deposited there, which cures them at once. The depositing of food in such a structure goes on for months and years, and consequently also the visits to it for a cure.

Golsi RYS
Olcha

1. (cont.)
members of a village -- or -- as in the case
of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does
t need any of the articles such as are placed in the raff for the
andering soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I,
. 52-54.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin)
ld me, they burn their corpses and erect wagn over the ashes
f murdered persons. (2 W.R. I, p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Tymy Gilyak assembled in Ngachd-wo
n the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they like-
se usually burn their corpses, as is done along the Amur, in
e Liman, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arkai (excl.).
raff is erected over the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as
ong the Amur, has a kakk, pyk or tutut, and pyk-ngit or tutut-
it in it. The pittyssj is present in the raff and among the Tymy
lyak bears the designation raff-njo, that is, burial-house storage-
amber, which wholly corresponds to its significance. Only the
cham-ngar is missing (*). (2. W.R.I, p. 45.)

* See Appendix 53 /p. 1233/, 55 /p. 1234/.

64. Gilyak. From Arkai on, along the west coast of
khalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak
e said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as uitsch,
t to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as
ong the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria and Sakhalin and the
nu (2 W. R. I, pp. 8, 45.)

/773/ According to another report, the corpses are interred
th of Arkai (2 W.R. II, p. 25).

65. Olcha. In the forest not far from the Russian village of
gorodskoye in the vicinity of the Olcha village of Pullj (Pulu
the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very
cefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various paintings

burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurine, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any part in the clan cults.

Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyl'ugd), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'

ǝkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'

etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kiyid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. LA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even if if were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kes

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
825 of kes, 'god'; a point on which I did not want to agree with him.
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home?" he told me. "Surely kes must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kes exists."

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-nivgv 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
57 following ui and "taboo," "sin" during a seal hunt: the guest must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time) could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals: Pila-la r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-na 'present-time animal', i. e. a sivuch born in the given year.

2. Tje-na literally: 'last year's animal', i. e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its head and its
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a special scoop
a- ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i. e. the scoop used in washing the face of the animal.

The heads with piskir stuck in them are taken home.

225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pilaŋ performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines t'aj. (Regardless of the
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties, this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first
sivuch.) The pilaŋ cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all
of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as
belonging to the pilaŋ. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent
from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a
Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been killed. With-
out drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pilaŋ
asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his share of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances.
First - the pilaŋ appropriates the first sivuch killed during the
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.

784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.

183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women) are
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe
those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the
tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well
as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only point to the
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the in-
terdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter *must not* eat
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go
hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him
to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue old men only
can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in which the
Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of these taboos
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
183
626 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
262 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
462 parts of the clan.

868 Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Čarvax
183 (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and Ə̂isk (Agiska) informed
626 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects
used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by
women in cutting leather and cloth (tans-kəlmr). Also, a child
must not play with a woman's cutting knife (tan-dago).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit
to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,'
'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a
cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the
taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that
he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow,
or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local
Russian - farta). If a woman or a girl were to step in-
advertantly over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep
into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls
are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children
are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in
play - have anything to do with implements used by women in
their tasks and that, conversely, girls must not use implements
used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legit-
imize for both men and woman, virtually from the time of
birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.

462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until
recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak
rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs,
row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregancy,
the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the
rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disrepu-
table and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food,
make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous
tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dig-
nity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food.
They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

462 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
562 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots
and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of
the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time
they are born, and when they grow up they are given away,
in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that
takes the woman, i. e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become
dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also,
women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their
life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat.
They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts.
Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the
woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a
man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not
come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, other-
wise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return
home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
462 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather
than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn
the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the
men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely
indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos.
The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to
enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinat-
ing exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by
the example of the t'aj where the pilaŋ attempt to assert his
title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under
the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pilaŋ distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes
apparent that the sivuch, which is the pilaŋ's legal property
and whose blood he used in feeding the t'aj, is included in

116, 755, 786

"During all these exorcisms and negotiat
illness] the hut has been the scene of an aw
lay on the nakh, or bench, the cham has be
cha, a fish-skin tambourine, uttering all m
wild gyrations in order to prevent the escap
time of the combat of the good and evil spir
and when negotiations commence, the cham
begun in almost a whisper, and to the slow
improvises his prayers, conforming [238]
working himself into an ecstasy, he babbles
From the great strain his voice sometimes
amazing dexterity whirls around in the sem
ground as his wild circlings in the air incr
ings to his wild springings. Black shadows
quicker and quicker grow the wild howls an
the spectators sink with fright, and even th
voluntarily bewitched."

ions [LSS: by the medicine man while curing
e-inspiring spectacle. While the sick man
en whirling round the hut, beating the kos-
anner of strange sounds, and quickening his
pe of the evil spirit from his reach. By the
its, the wild dance has reached its climax;
is in an ecstatic state. His exorcisms are
-measured strokes of the tambourine. He
them to the circumstances; and by degrees
s with hoarse voice, howls, and even shrieks.
cracks; but he draws off attention, and with
i-darkness, his feet appearing to leave the
ease and the flames leap in answering flicker-
fitfully race over the walls of the hut, and
d the thuds of the tambourine. The hearts of
e most sceptical of the Gilyaks is in-

/753 cont./
756 was Sajan, far above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, less famous one, Tschêžach, lives in the village of Kaki, above Nikolayevsk. In case of an emergency, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called to villages where there are no shamans (1). There are shaman implements, however, such as

1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have less a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, to be sure, also follows from the fact that they never designate as shamans, or regard as corresponding to their shamans, clergymen, but rather physicians and apothecaries, because they heal sickness. (The shaman may be present at a bear festival, to be sure, but not "to shamanize"; see pp. 1153. 1165; cf. also p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the brothers Surgin and Sogin in Kuĭk, though neither of them was a shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as is customary in the shaman performances, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without it being regarded as sinful or the practitioners being shamans. For example, a boy in the village of Wait was said to be able to do the shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part
789 of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do certain tricks, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, feats for which they particularly praise their great shamans. (Bm. I, pp. 34, 35.)

28. Gilyak. The shaman performance. I learned that snakes
756 are especially feared from information given to me by an eye-
825 witness to the conjuring of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of
782 Petrovskoye. After singing and howling had been performed by the
789 onlookers, the shaman turned to the god ruling heaven, sun, moon, and stars (about whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more than

787 /753 cont./
756 that he had been thus informed by the eldest of his people), and
825 pronounced the conjuration or address to the bear and the snake as
782 the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russians. During
[534] these conjurations he occasionally beat on a drum-like animal-skin stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake depicted at one end and a bear at the other. The bystanders howled and danced, and then the shaman beseeched the god for good fishing, good weather, for the rain to run off into the sea, for a favorable and safe sea for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 9.)

825 753 29. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

[752] 2. Ineffective in cases of snakebite, for which the only remedy is tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called mipitsch, and sometimes a double one, wap-mipitsch, with a doubled body and extremities. The former has its abode on land, but the latter in the water, hence the former is also designated as mif-mipitsch, the latter as toll-mipitsch (3). Both are powerful and uncanny, magá, especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Porkuk and her son, Dshaman, from Kuĭk. Jutschin thought that the wap-mipitsch represents the copulation of the toads, which as a rule takes place in the water and the seeing of which is regarded by the Gilyak as uitsch. According to him, the wap-mipitsch must be worn by women.

the wap-mipitsch, /754/ which, as the Gilyak put it, résembles the devil (kins ngarlatsch), hence, perhaps, its double shape. Their evil power is shown by the fact that they sneak up on a sleeping human being and crawl through his mouth into his inner organs, into his chest and stomach, whereupon the person falls

825 /754 cont./
753 sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however,
755 is a shaman. He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes
756 the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch
532 carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of
[787] the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-
[322] mipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp.
462 1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found.
[824] This is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

753 The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mā(r)ngai) are
755 similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much
825 less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalź) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the lalź bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magá. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

756 30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak
554 shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

756 /754 cont./ Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak
554 Räppun in Tebach, about whom the following miracle is reported.
782 His hands are tied to his back by straps, and his throat is likewise
789 strangled by a strap. Then he sits down on the floor of the yurt, in which the light and the hearth fire are extinguished. As soon
[533] as it is dark, he begins singing, which, in shaman fashion, is performed with long prolongations, monotonously frequent repetition and transposition of the same words, and with a trembling, wailing voice. After this the shaman falls down as if dead.
/755/ Now all those present in the yurt, men, women, and children, begin a song that serves to conjure up a kägn.

During this conjuration a kägn appears, invisible to everybody
[787] except the shaman, loosens the straps on his neck and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

The shaman Chorvin from Tschcharbach is less powerful, but he is only a boy, a matscherlagu-tscham. Nevertheless, he, too, does miraculous things. Thus the Gilyak say that he sits
[787] down in the yurt with his hands tied to his back, the fires are extinguished, and all the onlookers begin a shamanistic song, in which the kägn is called upon to come and to dance, and in fact, while the singing is still going on, a small kägn hardly larger than a nail comes and dances on his arms. As soon as the singing ceases, the boy shaman stands there unfettered.

Each shaman has his own songs; I could not find out what they
756 mean and whether they are also sung on definite occasions. It
533 seems certain that every shamanistic song serves for conjuring up a
787 kägn who is supposed to appear and to lend assistance, be it for curing a sickness or for divulging the future, etc. It also seems that, according to the conception of the Gilyak, the kägn always produces his effect while dancing, a conception that may be connected with the practice of dancing on the part of the shaman himself. In the aforementioned shamanistic songs the kägn is expressly invited to dance (lärta). But the appearance and the dancing of the kägn are never visible to anyone in the yurt other than only the shaman, and this is precisely the mark and proof of his higher power and supernatural strength. (Bm. II, pp. 47, 48.)

/755 cont./

756 [124] 31. Gilyak. The Gilyak Jutschin from Patchä gave me a minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. His report corresponded to the shamanistic performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

756 787 789 It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word tfwyssj, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt -- it emanates from one or several kägn who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kägn, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs berries, or elk fat or a root, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kägn answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a mere scraping follows, it is negative; finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/756/ Now the kägn, during constant noise, approach the shaman lying bound and noisily dance on him. The shaman breathes his last, audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the [533] Gilyak sitting in the yurt begin the conjuration song of the kägn; but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kägn is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (the name in question) sing? Should that one (so-and-so) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The [533] song which the Gilyak begin to sing after the death of the shaman runs: "Restore to life soon, come soon, why hesitate? Come soon, dance soon!"

This song moves the kägn to dance noisily again down from the shaman. Once more one hears him heave a deep sigh -- this time breathing in life anew -- and now he stands there freed

G /756 cont./

756 787 789 of all his bindings and alive again. With the words, käutschek via, käutschek via! (*) which he calls out to each kägn, the shaman now

G [192] *Perhaps kaunczra = out! virä = let us go! -- according to the Gilyak word-list by Dr. W. Grube.

banishes all kägn from there again, it is quiet in the yurt, the shaman performance is over, and the fires in the hearths may be rekindled. (Bm. II, pp. 55 and 57.)

G 756 184 32. Gilyak. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I was told that there are likewise shamans among the Gilyak on Sakhalin; moreover, they are said to have the same instruments of their art as those on the mainland, drum (kassj), shaman's belt (Olcha jangpä), etc. (Plate LXI /p. 1261/, Figs. 2, 4). (2 W. R. I, p. 10.)

The large village of Tschai-wo on the east coast consisting of at least ten yurts, was said to have a shaman who was famous among the Gilyak. (2 W. R. II, p. 7.)

Gi 755 756 33. Samagir. One evening I heard the sound of drums in the village of Ngägha. I was told that in the neighboring yurt the shaman's drum was being beaten, and I went there immediately. There was no light in the yurt, and even in the two hearths there were only glowing embers, in front of which women and children Gi were crouched. The dull tones of the drum, accompanied by a [533] melancholy and monotonous singing, resounded from a remote, dark corner of the large, dim room and occasionally became so powerful that the whole yurt rumbled. Accompanied by my guide, I sat down on one of the sleeping benches and listened for a while Gi to the eerie music. When I inquired as to why there was no fire [372] in the yurt, I was told that the shaman sounds were meant for a sick woman in the yurt and that no fire was permitted in connection with this. And, indeed, when after a time the flames were fanned in the hearths and the night-lamps were lighted in the yurt, the drumming and singing instantly ceased. I now approached the shaman, who was sitting on one of the sleeping benches. Next to him lay the sick woman, a pan of coals (jachalacco) with dying

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'

ɔkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'

etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kivid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

. 115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even if it were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kes

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plate or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunte will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existenc
825 of kes, "god"; a point on which I did not want to agree with hi
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home?" he told me. "Surely kes must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kes exists."

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-nivevr 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
57. following ui and "taboo," "sin" during a seal hunt: the gues must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present tim could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his slee and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals: Pila-la r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-na 'present-time animal', i.e. a sivuch born in th given year.

2. Tje-na literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

/317 cont./

342 787 Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, a reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a cracking sound or streaks of light.

342 787 789 If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a [776] devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be called, and he makes a chkhnyr chkhnaj, a grass figure, and drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in 342 776 782 autumn (cleaning) (1) and another time when one wishes. They

[392] 1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning of the hearth by feeding the "master" of the fire.

feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matka, the stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the evil spirit.

342 789 /318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the following fashion: a grass figure -- chkhnaj, on three legs, is placed in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes [534] with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman [756] enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from which his kekhn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

342 756 789 The shaman then says: "gy, gy (i.e., 'good'), in such and such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Gy-gy, gy-gy, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner. [776] Massi (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went out as a dog..." (speaking to the kekhn, i.e., to the spirit).

/331 cont./

775 787 The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to him several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father took me again," and she did not appear any more.

794 [231] The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this large soul live small souls -- tarn. After the death of a person, a small soul lives in his pryski (dog), which is tied to his plank bed. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.

[735] A poor person "still has one tiny little soul." If a person dies away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body. Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire a corresponding soul, and therefore if a throat is sore, they make [825] a tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue. A captured bird with which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will carry away the soul.

775 The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person who has been eaten by a bear lives to a ripe old age with Pal-n igyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who drowned -- with Tol-n'igyvyn, and then they go to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is caused by the bloodshed during the wars of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle) lives, like a bird, in the air. The souls of such unfortunates shreik at night from the trees.

5. Until a tkhusind (ransom) is received, one who was killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

775 825 The night bird takhch is of the size of a crow and just as black, but its beak is red. If its cry is heard at night, one must not call it by name, but must say atk.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly together into the village.

Sakhalin

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] [778] [782] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[775] [787] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 224 164 782 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general. The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or 847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 776 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn, but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 758 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/343 cont./

773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

778 776 789 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

158 Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his [774] wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 774 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand), or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

/78 cont./

island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even though he was as poor as Job.

The difference in the number of souls according to rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i.e., souls equal to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a duplicate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality, all this is performed by this little soul.

But shamans, no matter how many souls they have, are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him. This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body, these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man. Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak -- mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally, however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhindered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

Amur

/306 cont./

A child's amulet -- ola bituz consists of two slender fir trees -- prung, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; their crowns are bound with birch bark. Then they are reinforced, encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (tykr) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened head of k:khong z'akh, the head of a pike (ius), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

VII.

Religion

The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The soul -- cheg:n, chekhn, yrykh, uz'(the pith as in a tree). A man has three souls: one major one -- cheg:n, and its two shadows, assistants. When the cheg:n of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true, it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistant. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with drel', then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chongr nynyv), which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white, placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n'ivukh k:ak. Some place the bone in the upper part, others --

/309 cont./

766 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
766 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
754 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
•787 man to eat from the kinys n'ich: "Go eat human meat!" He rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys. Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes through, a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased or (to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in constant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies. Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroyed right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they make real tolin'ir and sacrifice from them down to the third generation.
756 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toldokh urly cham;
787 2) pal'dokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:at n'ivukh -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questions to a stone with a hole -- tolfang. If the stone immediately gives answers, it is thrown away. The shaman queries his pal'pang:a (a wooden figure which is bound with white drel', and with shavings on the neck; it is suspended on a string). The waving of the figure is an affirmative answer. If there is no pang, they tie tobacco wrapped in white drel' to the stone. It advises the shaman about medicines, indicates what sacrifices to give and
[755] to which particular pal (i.e., pal of one's own or of a different clan), and so forth. It cannot drive away the evil spirit, but it can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also during sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad shamans steal (tempt away) their major kekhn from them. There are shamans
756 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
776 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling
•[087] flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this is also good.

342 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy --
354 door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the "master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat'k:as' n'ekh fakh) -- window alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat' k:as' akhr fakh -- window near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side
342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly k:as' -- large post. 11. Kil erkh mat' k:as' -- small post. 12. Tol erkh mat' k:as' -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as' -- small post. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as' -- middle small post. 15. Pi'la digr-irku k:as' -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal erkh' mat k:as' -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17. Kylyná mat' k:as' -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos n'ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi'la k:as' nir fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor.
[354] 20. Pi'la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of
[335] the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house. 24. Kylzhutá -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a person who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooed
[778] corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things.
[776] 29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do with the appropriate spirit, with tol' or pal'.

"The spirits of the deceased occasionally
relations; for, endowed with super-natural
pay visits to their kindred, give them useful
troubles. If they desire to show [165] themse
given to man to see them in a state approach
this subject to an old Gilyak, he said, 'Spiri
times. They come to warn us of some misfo

'But,' I asked, 'how are you to know that i

'Why, of course, you call, and if there is
spirit, and then you must throw out some foo

'Have you ever seen such?'

'No.'"

hold communication with their earthly
capacities, they can in moments of dulness
counsel and warn them against unknown
lves to any one they can; but it is only
ing death, i.e. in a dream. Talking on
ts of the departed knock at the door some-
rtune.'
t is the spirit of the deceased that knocks?
no answer you know that it is a departed
od.'

nong the Gilyak's, many persons are liable to
wed by a fainting period, during which the sic
iculars of devils, heavenly beings or sea crea
e has seen.(1)

1. L. Y. Sternberg, Tale I, Note. 29. "

convulsive attacks, which are
ck person reveals to those around him
atures. The patient believes firmly in

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.

535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.

527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.

527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

/338 cont./

752 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them
784 will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescu
[572] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but
[614] drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is sur
[628] rounded with sticks.
[766] After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shama
must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn
Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat resc
from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka a
make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear w
[775] be a god.
[776]

A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen ge
into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first
boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cre
where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling
the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of
cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon
the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the strea

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear s
782 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

/282 cont./

585 her advice on how to live in a strange land, and, if she is un-
happy about the marriage, they try to persuade her in every way
possible. During the farewell feast the groom sits alongside the
bride, and both eat from one dish and smoke from the same pipe,
but during that day they usually do not converse. In general, the
groom is supposed to comport himself modestly the whole day,
and not to converse. Late in the evening, when the feast is
over, the bride's mother orders the bridegroom to lie down on the
bride's bed, and the marriage act is consummated. On the next
morning the newly married woman brings something to eat to
the newly married man and calls him "husband." On that very
585 morning they depart. Before the departure there is a last
782 regalement, and at that time the parents of the newlyweds ex-
change prayers of good wishes. Here is an example of such
benedictions, taken down on the Amur:

539 "If god gives happiness, they will live out their time
532 happily. If there is no happiness, they will live out their time
782 badly. O god, make the life of our children a happy one!"

After this the father or a clansman of the groom says /283/
the following prayer: "O god, make, make happy the time
of our children, in order that we may live happily; to our life
together give good fortune!"

585 Saying their benedictions, they sprinkle vodka in the
• 788 direction of the heavens and in all directions. Before actually
782 setting out they go through a ceremony which bears the designa-
tion "stamping the kettle." It consists of the following. At the
inner side of the threshold of the yurt there is placed a large
Manchurian kettle with five little ears (for the feeding of dogs)
from the bride price of the yurt, and at the outer side a small
kettle from the bride's parents. Upon going out of the yurt, the
bride and the groom, one after the other, place one foot in the
large kettle and the other foot in the small kettle, not treading
on the threshold. This ceremony establishes a symbolic union
of mutual nourishment and mutual friendship in the presence
of the two female penates -- the "old woman-mistress of the
threshold" and the "mistress of the crossbeam over the door."

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
• 788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
788 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
777 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

586 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
584 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the cere-
mony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of
kettles, they use cups.

The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
583 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
586 marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey
[584] the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to
the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their
decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
583 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the
husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and
otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[591] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his
own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me
to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
583 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Kekhal administrators with the favorable
777 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
749 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before
a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in
order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly
taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly
fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate,
which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding
her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led
to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

789

789 MAGIC--practices reflecting confidence in the ability to manipulate supernatural forces; magical techniques of weather control (e.g., rain making); magical rites for increasing the food supply; exorcistic practices (e.g., driving off evil spirits with noise); potent formulas, incantations, and spells; curses, miracles; prevalent types of magic (e.g., imitative, contagious); concept of magical force; functions and social significance of magic; nonsupernatural magic (e.g., wonder-working, jugglery, legerdemain, fire-walking), etc. See also:

Magical rites in the food quest 32
Magic rites in agriculture 34
Magic rites in the reproductive cycle 145
Magic in entertainment 158
Magic rites in warfare 758
Sorcery, witchcraft, and evil eye 768
Therapeutic magic 784, 788
Magic rites at funerals 788
Luck magic 777
Concept of mana 778
Prevalence of analogical reasoning 813
Relation of magic to science 813
Love magic 832

/105 cont./

* 614 what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1);
628
631
[436]

1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement...

[576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and
[117] separations. Sometimes Gilyak cash on the Amur resort at the
• [789] last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

When an agreement has been reached, the religious
* 614 feature that is mentioned above enters in, the procedure
628 of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to
536 conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

/116 cont./

555 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on
556 his advantages (1).
156

1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibi' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance; that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some
• [789] kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods.

* 614 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the
156 fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard
[490] one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be
[183] equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one
jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to
display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole per-
sonality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ ex-
cluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each
person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom
and self-determination.

156 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-
777 religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all
his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods,
in particular the clan gods, who showed their beneficence not on

Amur

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile putting on the tendon. Then the thief begins
to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it
happens that the thief dies from it.

628 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed
to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyz') -- about an arshin in length with a human
chikhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then
they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the
balagan of the khlaj-u'vukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
830 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mer'ab); formerly men also pierced their
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the ungurmam
(the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
839 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyr-mam).
In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer --
three days.

844

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband
at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during
birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole
year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before child-
birth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in
stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.
• [789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches,
and uncrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold
water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw
fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
[055] when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[097]

1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz' nyngydz' (from kyz' -- risk, luck, and nyngdz -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
pning, two kong a'akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
strips (pying a'akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special
shape (m'erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitus'. When
they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bitus' -- must be fed
(settlement of Kal'ma).

While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
855 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
784 and hang it on a tree. O'gang chikhna) is a figure that they make
846 when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chikhnaj
is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch care-
fully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
824 for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
[761] there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place
is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/312 cont./

[312] ... ‘ŋ-ŋ̄ ‘ŋ-ŋ̄ ‘ŋ-ŋ̄

78

8

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

/343 cont./

773 the women boiled the grandchil
taiga, and disappeared.

778 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss
776 chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and
• 789 is good, the lost thing will be f
it is not known what milk cause
hung up over the plank bed and
685 For stealing bear meat or

158 Kleptomania. There are
ample, Sentukh from Ady-Tym
to kill him, he ran away to /34
[774] wife continued doing the same.
in his belly. The things that te
him. The Gilyak confined ther
things.

756 The shaman Koynyt's fath
774 his trousers had disappeared. H
rat in the belly of a woman, ki
the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necess
or pay tkhusind, or take someth
kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a ston
The parnkhasind replies thanks t
straight, one has hit the mark;
If one has hit the mark, he m
around his neck, and feed it.

97, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

dren, ate them, ran into the

has occurred, they make chnyr-
beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj
ound on the following day. If
d the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is
fed.
a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

thieves-kleptomaniacs, for ex-
i. After his brothers threatened
4/ Lungvo. There he and his
He has one soul -- a rat sitting
mpt him shine in the dark for
nselves to depriving him of the

er, from Tro, once noticed that
e began to shamanize, found a
led it, and on the following day

ary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand)
ing by force. Frequently they

e parnkhasind, with a kettle.
o the chekhn. If the kettle swings
if to the side -- one has not hit it.
make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it

294 415 [412] 415 171

/401 cont./
latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This ingenious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

[177] And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

415 171 531

Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration provided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

[114] tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the death's-head form popular there, which is associated with cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite [189] crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilyak and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting them

[402 cont./]

on an object the influence of any evil spirit involved will be neutralized and the use of the tool will be accompanied by no ill-em - a belief that I shall discuss in another place.

The thread with which garments are sewed varies according to the variety of material. Thus, for example, and for birch-bark hats are sewed with fish-skin yarn, that is, line thread cut out of fish skin, which the Gilyak call *mylds* and distinguish, according to the type of fish from which it was taken, as *nimgar-myrds*, *nimk-myrd*, *kuk-myrd*, etc. (8). For coats and similar articles of clothing, with the thread

5. *Filmgat* is Cyprinus Carpio L. (*mirk*) Hypophtalmichthys Dybowskii Herz.; I do not know what type of fish the name *kuch* refers to.

[411 *kuhe*] that the Gilyak know how to make from the ordinary stinging nettle, and which is also used for making cord and fishing nets (6). The garments made out of cotton or cloth are sewed

6. As it also known for the Siberian peoples, the ancient Kamchadal Steller, op. cit., p. 83; Krasheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 302, and others. The Gilyak method of making thread and from a nettle fiber will be discussed in this work in a later section dealing with fishing.

with Chinese cotton thread, and for the various quilting and embroidery the Gilyak are other than the silk thread like wise obtained from the Chinese, depending on the delicacy of the work and the elegance aimed for. I have never seen a Gilyak woman use scissors during her sewing and embroidering, although they know of them, thanks to the Chinese and have a special term (*ksiam*) for them. Instead they only use a knife. For smoothing (*ulu kalak*) they use a smoothed piece of wood (*gaim*), which is

[424 cont./]

from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however, as Shaman an urgent reason. Such a reason can be only totally enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered useless; or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly, a shortage of food. In fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village of Tyh on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe snowstorms for several days in February, 1898, in the company of two traveling Tuchonsi and Tymi chiefs. Thus, in one of the cabins the bed weather, after other means had already been sought in vain, since young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was to be expected on the 21st of the month of Gilyak. The meat and the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a pot belong added to the pieces sung for the dogs, and - characteristically enough - I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite off a piece of the bloody entrails behindhand the kettle and hide another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to enjoy it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Dif, I was witnesses to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent to a bear festival held there a short time before, at which there will be to see in the exterior and interior decoration of the yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by the, were killed in front of the yurt, and the carcasses, with a piece of meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one animal wrapped in its pelt. *Ikhk* inside the yurt, the place between the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was

1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

marked off by two shelves, which, on the floor, there was a stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

[446/]

Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions concerning the wife, the husband, and the hearth. Thus, if the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, is to be treated as the first wife, Such a woman can reach be in the household. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorn no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman must never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of the day or night. I have described this custom in the case, but myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kufh on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the house, I saw a woman going out unsteadily but heavily (obviously) and sinking down nearly on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately joined with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard, while sitting in the cabin, that the village chief had been delivered of a child, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 3° at 8 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 20, of this work.

During the colder season, in the less fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

[461 cont./]

the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A second reason, however, is more important. If the bride price is not paid, the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, is to be treated as the first wife. Such a woman can reach be in household. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorn no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

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1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 20, of this work.

[643 cont./]

when young. Strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clacking sound. The main purpose is to put the child to be a second bundle of similar kukkhanchi which is hung in front of the cradle, and which can reach be in household. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorn no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

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1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 20, of this work.

[871 cont./]

Ainkhalg (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas the Iadwilatsch (southeast wind), the tongrsch and nagelsot (1)

1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French *u*.

(west and southwest wind), and the longatsch (south wind) cause them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: *pdy*, *tschingk*, *longatsch*, and *tongrsch* (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Dul to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

Magic arrow for exercising storms.

Bone of the beak of the traveler. In the village itself several methods of performing the ceremony of exorcising the storm used. At the top of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a large piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary raised arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a few small feathers of finest down were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the stormy *ainkhalg*-wind. Finally, a third method consisted in sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyh their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

[871 cont./]

others were to follow (3). This method was at least more powerful

3. Concerning this, see p. 602 above.

powerful, for it increased the body of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a house, greeted the host, hamsar, or any other acquaintance with the word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to him to use, this coming and going without any salutation happens but little, too, with me they likewise constantly came and went without a greeting, and I was, therefore, with a heavy heart (*ksuhrbachlik*) learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu and Chinese do they imitate the *Ritt*/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping down on their knees in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Dmitrievsk and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

But what surprised me even more is the fact that the "Gilyak" never seem to be missing anybody from their footsteps. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to a stranger, expressing the idea of being missed or regretted. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions, but I have heard the Gilyak use the same expression, that they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we saw them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. Is it possible that guests who have been darkened, despite notwithstanding masts, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with their dogs, as the Gilyak are among dog eaters, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national commonness or on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

[761 cont./]

condition, reaching any pretensions of a religious one or complaining. Thanking our and replacing that empty concept of God among the Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not resemble the Tungusic Amur idols (and kin). From Sakhalin I obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face (see Plate LIII Fig. 1255/, Fig. 9). (Bm. 1, pp. 57, 58.)

2. Gilyak. The village of Pogibshi on the west coast of Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shavings with a knife. On these shavings he placed a piece of fish, and the whole bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This much was intended as a sacrifice to the bear. The Gilyak, who take pride in her chest and set there grooming and complaining. The *nech* was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pretty much as a Russian girl tucks her baby. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after the bad received this medicine, the woman stopped crying and behaved very calmly and quietly the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The *nech* is therefore still used on Sakhalin as a remedy for nervous sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures used for the purpose in similar purposes along the Amur and Ussur.

(V. W. 8. 1, p. 6.)

4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate LIII (Fig. 1255/, Fig. 1) was given me by the Gilyak of Dul. Fig. 1 is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for winding off yarn. Unknown. I acquired it in the village of Kufh. In the same village among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood; on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is carefully depicted and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

[762 cont./]

it is not the gestural custom to wave back around the neck. Often it is not exactly an idol, but some other kind of amulet, steps blessed by the shaman. In the village of Kufh I saw a little man's neck on the advice of the shaman and worn even after recovery.

Such an amulet is gotten from the shaman. From Sakhalin I obtained an amulet in the form of a carved bow with a human face (see Plate LIII Fig. 1255/, Fig. 9. (Bm. 1, pp. 57, 58.)

2. Gilyak. The village of Pogibshi on the west coast of Sakhalin. In one yurt I saw my host cut long curls of wood-shavings with a knife. On these shavings he placed a piece of fish, and the whole bundle from the top of the stick and tied it together there. This much was intended as a sacrifice to the bear. The Gilyak, who take pride in her chest and set there grooming and complaining. The *nech* was tied round her neck, and she tucked the ends carefully in her bosom, pretty much as a Russian girl tucks her baby. This was supposed to be a remedy. In fact, after the bad received this medicine, the woman stopped crying and behaved very calmly and quietly the rest of the time. Thus, in this case, as often happens, a superstition may have a curative effect. The *nech* is therefore still used on Sakhalin as a remedy for nervous sickness and seems to take the place of the various forms of idols and similar figures used for the purpose in similar purposes along the Amur and Ussur.

(V. W. 8. 1, p. 6.)

4. Gilyak. The idol in human shape illustrated on Plate LIII (Fig. 1255/, Fig. 1) was given me by the Gilyak of Dul. Fig. 1 is distinguished in shape by having only one arm; the other one was omitted intentionally. I was unable to learn what the circumstances were with regard to this representation. This idol, too, is carved by a shaman, or upon the advice of one, for winding off yarn. Unknown. I acquired it in the village of Kufh. In the same village among the belongings of the Gilyak that had been put away for the summer in a storage chamber, I found carved idols of another kind, but likewise of human shape. They were cylindrical pieces of wood; on one side of which was a crudely represented human face. The upper end of the wooden piece is carefully depicted and bears a sort of cap of thin strands of bark, which hang

[753 cont./]

was Sojan, far above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, less famous shaman, lived, in fact, in the village of Kufh, near Nikolayevsk. In case of sorrowfulness, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called in to cure the village where there are no shamans (1). There are human implements, however, such as

1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have less a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, to be sure, also follows from the fact that they never designate as shamans, or regard as corresponding to their ancestors, the priests, but rather physicians and apothecaries, because they heal sicknesses. Nevertheless, the shamans are not, as I thought, to be sure, but not "to shamanize"; see pp. 1153. 1169. cf. also p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the bodhrans Tagin and Kalmyk in Kuh, though quite other material was shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as it is customary in the shaman performances, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without is being regarded as similar or the practitioners being shamans. For example, in the village of Kufh I saw a little girl of about 10 to 12 years old, shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part of this among the Gilyak, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do certain tricks, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like. Sort for which they particularly praise their great shamans. (Bm. 1, pp. 34, 35.)

[1054 cont./]

2. Gilyak. The shaman performance. I learned that many are especially feared from information given to me by an eyewitness to the conjuring of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of Pogibshi. After singing and bowling had been performed by the onlookers, the shaman turned to the god ruling heaven, sun, moon and stars (*ahsun whum*), incidentally, he could say nothing more

G 756 787 789 [522]

/754 cont.: such as epilepsy, for example, by the Gilyak Kappun in Tebach, about whom the following miracle is reported. His hands are tied to his back by rings, and he is then likewise strangled by a strap. Then he sits down on the floor of the yurt, in which the light and the hearth fire are extinguished. As soon as it is dark, he begins singing, which, in shaman fashion, is performed with long prolongation, mentioned by the upper respiration and transposition of the same words, and with a trembling, wailing voice. After this the shaman falls down as if dead.

/755/ Now all these present in the yurt, men, women, and children, begin a song that serves to conjure up a kkgn.

During this conjuration a kkgn appears, invisible to everybody except the shaman, loosens the straps on his neck and hands, and gives him new life. As soon as the singing has died away, the shaman stands there, restored to life.

G 756 787 789 [524]

The shaman Chorvin from Tschcharbach is less powerful, but he is only a boy, a mancherlaigo-tscham. Nevertheless, he, too, does miracles with kkgr. This shaman, Chorvin, also has his sits down in the yurt with his hands tied to his back, the fires are extinguished, and all the onlookers begin a shamanistic song, in which the kkgn is called upon to come and to dance, and in fact, while the singing is still going on, a single kkgn appears larger than a nail comes and dances on his arms. As soon as the singing ceases, the boy shaman stands there unfettered.

G 756 553 787 [525]

Each shaman has his own songs; I could not find out what they mean and whether they are also sung in Gilyak dialects. It seems certain that every shamanistic song serves for conjuring up a kkgn who is supposed to appear and to lend assistance, be it for curing a sickness or for divulging the future, etc. It also seems that, according to the conception of the Gilyak, kkgn always produces his effect while dancing, a conception that may be connected with the practice of dancing on the part of the shaman himself. In the aforementioned shamanistic songs the kkgn is repeatly invited to dance (ifrrr). But the appearance and the dancing of the kkgn are never visible to anyone in the yurt other than only the shaman, and this is precisely the mark and proof of his higher power and supernatural strength. (Bm. II, pp. 47, 48.)

G 756 787 789 [526]

/755 cont.:

31. Gilyak. The Gilyak Junchin from Patchi gave me a minute description of the procedure during the conjuration of a spirit which is done through the power of a shaman. His report corresponded to the shamanistic performances described above to a large extent. I shall let it follow here.

It is night and dark in the yurt. On the floor, in the center of the yurt, where the dogs' table has been removed, a shaman is lying with his arms tied to his back, a noose of straps around his neck, both ends of which are held by two Gilyak sitting far apart and at some distance from the shaman. There is not a sound in the yurt until the shaman shouts the word tfwtsj, whereupon a noise which sounds like dancing pieces of wood is made in the yurt — it emanates from one or several kkgr who have appeared in the yurt. The Gilyak sitting around immediately address the kkgr, asking him various questions as to why he has appeared: whether he needs berries, or elk fat or a root, and the like, or whether he has simply come, etc. The kkgr answers each question affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, expressing himself by different kinds of noise. If the question is followed by a simple hammering, the answer is affirmative; if a more scraping follows, it is negative; finally if a single hammering and then a scraping follow, it means "I do not know."

/756/ Now the kkgn, during constant noise, approach the shaman being bound and noisily dance on him. The shaman breathes his last, audible to everyone. If he is dead, all the Gilyak sitting in the yurt begin the continuation song of the kkgn, but if he is alive, only one of the Gilyak sings, for the choosing of whom the kkgn is questioned. This is done by asking him, "Should this one (the name in question) sing? Should that one (so-and-so) sing?" etc., until the answer is affirmative. The song which the Gilyak begin to sing after the death of the shaman runs: "Restore to life soon, come soon, why hesitate? Come soon, dance soon!"

G 756 787 789 [527]

This song moves the kkgr to dance noisily again down from the shaman. Once more one hears him brave a deep sigh — this time breathing in life anew — and now he stands there freed

1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

G 756 787 789 [528]

bindings and alive again. With the words, kkunchek via, kkunchek via! (?) which he calls out to each kkgn, the shaman now banishes all kkgr from there again, it is quiet in the yurt, the shaman performs a prayer, and the fire in the hearths may be rekindled. (Bm. II, pp. 55 and 57.)

G 756 787 789 [529]

32. Gilyak. In the village of Tyk on Sakhalin I was told that there are likewise shamans among the Gilyak on Sakhalin; moreover, they are said to have the same conceptions of their art as those on the mainland, drum (kasfj), shaman's belt (Olcha [ongzd]), etc. (Plate LXI /p. 126/, Figs. 2, 4). (S W. R. I, p. 10.)

The large village of Tschoi-wo, on the east coast, consisting of at least 100 yurts, was said to have a shaman who was famous among the Gilyak. (2 W. R. II, p. 7.)

G 756 787 789 [530]

33. Samagir. One evening I heard the sound of drums in the village of Nyfgin. I was told that there was a sick woman, and a shaman's drum was being beaten, and I went there immediately. There was no light in the yurt, and even in the two hearths there were only glowing embers, in front of which women and children were sitting. The dull tones of the drum, the monotonous and melancholy and monotonous singing, resounded from a remote, dark corner of the large, dim room and occasionally became so powerful that the whole yurt rumbled. Accompanied by my guide, I drew closer to the place of the shaman, and I was soon in the middle of the eerie music. When I inquired as to why there was no fire in the yurt, I was told that the shaman sounds were meant for a sick woman in the yurt and that no fire was permitted in connection with this. And, indeed, when after a time the flames were fanned in the hearths and the night-lamps were lighted in the yurt, the drumming and singing instantly ceased. I now approached the shaman, who was sitting on one of the sleeping benches. Next to him lay the sick woman, a pan of coals (jachalacco) with dying

G 789 [531]

225 mu-ssind on the boat supports the assumption that at one time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as a living thing. Mu-ssind on the boat serves, it seems, as a test to prove shooting distance of the seals in a boat.

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there are five oarsmen, one pilot and one other man, then the pilot

226 of the five oarsmen, one pilot and one other man, then the pilot

476 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without

551 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The

885 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if Kaun also takes the place of the pilot, because Kaun is the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pl'akuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pl'akuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pilot is younger than the extra man. In that case the pilot takes the place of the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. I was once asked to go hunting with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Noryp tended the rudder. When Noryp was at the helm shooting at the seals and, to whom Noryp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his weak eyesight, Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I spy my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare how of theheat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need for nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an experienced pilot, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ... and the figuiines (?-ij). They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They

223 first go to Ul'-xaf "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they put

774 Mi-ri-d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short

791 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of sette fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform mi-ri-d on bands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and sette fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

G 789 [532]

411 called yaldnas and the sea-end is called ja-bax-puks

225 "master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the

198 sea, is tied a stone called 'ine' or 'master stone,'

225 which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of Gilyak seines, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tatr-pax . Large wooden floats

[vx.] are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a siwuch gets caught in the net, the siwuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the net, which is provided with pieces of glass over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into

[ml] the seine. The seals pro-t are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tolaxta at Ko-jalu, Ki-xalu, Vilk, Lo-ri, and -r.

According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul owned seal hunting places in the past.

223 Thus clan Qavjuj owned L. Luivxj-pur, 2. Ayuqej,

924 3. Ko-ri-pur, 4. Ko-ri-pur.

471 Luiv. -p-r and a'reqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of water onto these rocks.

225 1 is called Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from

502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five

225 hunters sat in the boat and paddled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the

225 bow of theheat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need for nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an experienced pilot, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ... and the figuiines [vx]. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

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774 Mi-ri-d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short

791 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern

782 1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilot picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

G 789 [533]

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)

552

198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin--"Tabu

825 slov u narodov Vostochnof [Evropy I severnof Azii]

789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii v. VII; 1928. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of

225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hualaf.

[ml] (Lazo) "bear" is called 'ej', 'otherwise." If they are far from land, they say tevi ofte, if near - knemla-ottta.

mu' boat' they say ozg.

xf 'sun' they say ano.

in urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say sodfra.

Tolu 'fog' they say verj.

umgu 'woman' they say hiuivf.

xu 'dog' they say ej.

to 'fish' they tomz 'leaf.'

ta, 'flounder' they say pna-domr.

lo-r 'trout' they say mamn.

nemla 'linek' they say na-tomr.

'hake' they say ulnk, they say ulnk.

al'-o- 'kunsha' they say dontt. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words mamn and dontt from Tungus.

198 ti-r 'fire wood' they say opa; tuin opa-ket fuzr-argud

225 'having taken fire wood' they say ti-r-argud. (fire-

[ml] 1. 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad, 'two seals,' 'or

'three seals.'

la-r pud 'the seal came to the seiner' they say lari-

[ml] 'to kill' they say pand.

pu 'tomorrow' they say mandon.

-r vida 'let us return' they say pu'ukuda.

-aru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvata-mu.

kur-kuqej 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say iava-Ood 'to

hurts.

kra ad 'I. you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-lo-

tagad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tol-Ood 'the ban

hurts.

edominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of
mination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs
l their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imag-
tion so boldly that their assertions contradict those of
er shamans or of everyday experience. From conversa-
ns, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the
yak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits,
h good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not
erged from fetishism.

God (Kush or Kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and
ver appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing
said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I
rd that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In
s we may already see something like priestly self-glorifi-
tion. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother
ch about him, only now and then something is sacrificed
him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him
for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak
osses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a
wl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the
crifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is
crificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a
ke is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it
llet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240]
tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme
ng. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

The bear usually appears as the executor of divine
dinances, and he punishes the bad people during their life-
me. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstiu
us ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be
garded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as
od or demigod.

The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they
dom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-
rd him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded
having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a
rtain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored
e". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874.
(Published in Russian).

ple. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and
is the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

825 and if he gets cau
789 handled with resp
278 house of the idols
Besides the skin,
sold, for the form
brave, and the lat
776 . Of the numerous
782 know about, some
ity are more or le
with gifts. The ch
island of Sakhalin
778 ponds to the devil,
782 and "idol" are bot
532 symbols, but at ti
kobolds. Usually
hauled out on spec
means that its inh
it gets "lighter" th
somewhere. The
tobacco, etc.; ver
with cranberry jui
Wood chips are al
different appearan
lives in a wooden
vicinity of the yurt
taken down, the id
one is made. Som
others have the sh
still others have th
idols represent ch
hands and feet, oth
ing a navel. Small
These also usually
789 different. Thus th
844 figure carved of w
Besides the idol
778 looking objects not
782 have a mysterious
177 stands on the so-c

1. From the

Nikolayevsk-na-Ar
a Bhuddist temple
pillars remain, be

ght, he is killed. But even after that he is
ect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
and left there until it begins to decay.
the bones and the gall are immediately
er are held by the Gilyak to make a man
tér is used for all kinds of medicaments.
s spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
are good and protect man, but the major-
ss evil, and must therefore be propitiated
hief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the
Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
h called kegn, for the idols are not only
mes also the dwellings of the spirits or
they are kept in the storage huts and only
ial occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it
abitant, the kobold, is at home, but when
an usual, the spirit is roaming about
offerings here also consist of millet,
y often the face of the idol is smeared
ce, which seems to have a powerful effect.
so hung around its neck. The idols have
ces. A guardian spirit, for example, [24]
one that is placed somewhere in the
when it is built. If the yurt must be
ol remains, and at the new dwelling a new
e idols are crude imitations of humans,
ape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin,
e shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like
ldren, others old people. Some have
ers only a head which sits on a body show-
idols are sometimes worn as talismans.
have human forms, but some look very
e talisman against a difficult birth is a
ood, representing a double acorn.
s, there are some more or less strange-
made by the Gilyak themselves, which
significance for them. Such an object
lled Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

Gilyak village Tyr.

nure. On a high, precipitous river bank
formerly stood; of this only a few stone
aring Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only, if someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
534 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

116, 789

"Our attention was attracted by a curious noise from some settlement far up the river, sounding like the beating of a bass-drum. This, upon inquiry, we learned to a party of Gilaks invoking the spirits to attend them and crown their efforts in fishin with success."

796

796 ORGANIZED CEREMONIAL--systematization of religious ritual; ceremonial calendar (e.g., fixed and movable religious holidays, rest days, and festivals); detailed description of the ceremonies regularly associated with each (e.g., participants, ceremonial attire and paraphernalia, prescribed succession of rites, accompanying music and dancing, symbolism); church and temple services; religious dramas and spectacles; notions of propitious and unlucky days for ceremonies; etc. See also:

Agricultural ceremonies	24	Spectacles	541
Music, dancing, and drama	53	Weddings	585
War ceremonies	72	Installation of chiefs and kings	643
Specific cult practices	78	Shamanistic performances	755
Annual cycle of economic activities	221	Mortuary ceremonies	764
Housebuilding ceremonies	342	Calendar	805
Leisure-time activities	517	Rites of passage	88, 561, 852
Secular holidays, rest days, and festivals	527		

796

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/17 cont./

174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dugout is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening, among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into the yurt.

174 171 342

342 796 178 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion. At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu [177] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a [192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

(kuzind and jugynd), which is fully consistent with the manner of entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee, the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "tu" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

Among the numerous legends that I have collected about the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-called "hovykh." By "hovykh" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such hovykh is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo. It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this hovykh. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a hovykh. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and, finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology. The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole, the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond, does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist, and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and buda were stored up, and the Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February, there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

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825 distinguished by the same meekness with regard to man and for this very reason is worshiped by the local natives.

The bear that awakens early from its winter sleep and in a frenzy of hunger throws itself upon a man is a crazy bear or a vagrant who has been driven away by the "master." In those rare cases when a Gilyak, while hunting, is killed in a fight with a bear, this is ascribed to extraordinary circumstances: either that it was not a bear, but a devil in the shape of a bear or that it was a female bear who fell in love with the Gilyak and who wanted to transplant his soul inside herself.

If a bear falls prey to a Gilyak, it is only because the bear itself wants it. In its struggle with the man, the bear itself offered a good spot for the fatal blow. After all, it loses nothing from it. After breathing its last, it actually casts to the Gilyak only its apparent covering, its shaggy skin, while it remains alive and unharmed as before. A few days later, at the end of the
796 bear festival, when /53/ its meat has been eaten and the bones placed in a storehouse of honor, the Gilyak kill several dogs, in whose company the bear gaily runs, with all its ornaments and presents, to the "master" of the highest mountain.

The whale-like, large-toothed sea animal -- the kosatka -- is worshiped no less than the bear on land. One would think, what could be stronger and more terrible in the eyes of the Gilyak than the whale, this tremendous and mighty monster, spouting fountains, for whom a storm is a diversion, and each of whose vertebrae is heavier than the largest Gilyak? Yet there is a beast before whose sharp, cone-like teeth the whale flees without a backward glance and throws itself with a roar of despair on the banks and the shallows of the Sakhalin coast where the Ainu and the Gilyak make opulent feasts of him. This is the kosatka. It creates an imposing impression, even on a European, when a kosatka unexpectedly appears near his boat, and the general flight of all the inhabitants of the sea begins. At the sight of this terrible beast fish, seals, dolphins, and eared seals scatter as if seized, and forgetting all caution,

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus, thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak, not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn occasions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time, depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[796] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told: "Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon. The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical beings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
766 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness, if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/59 cont./

614 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself
171 here, for the time being, to what has been said, all the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

614 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All
782 sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each
796 family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but
614 the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This
628 festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak. In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The
[574] clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

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796 231 This festival has already been described many times, and therefore I shall consider for the most part those features that have not been noted before. First of all, it is remarkable [969] that ordinarily the festival is generally celebrated in memory of a dead clansman, being a kind of funeral feast for the deceased. A very close kinsman of the deceased buys for money or catches for himself in the taiga a bear cub, which is brought solemnly and amidst cries of joy and music into the native village. Here a separate framework is built for it out of thick poles and spars and decorated in the corners [614] with sacred trees. The feeding of the cub is done, not by its specific master, but by the entire clan: One or another family in turn, feeds the honored guest for the duration of the appointed time, cleans the framework, and in general takes care of it in every way. On appointed days the bear is taken from its cage for a walk. This is a great event in the life of the settlement, taking many hours and giving extraordinary pleasure to young and old. The procedure of getting the bear out of the cage is quite complicated. First of all, while the bear is still in the case, they hobble its legs, sticking through the spaces between the poles thongs which end in quickly tightened nooses and are put on sticks. After this they take away a few links of the top part of the cage, providing the bear with the opportunity to stick its head out; then they put a stick into its mouth, which it violently clenches with its teeth, and at this time they very tightly bind its mouth. After this, it is calmly pulled out of the cage, and an iron ring is put on it, clasping it at the belly. Long thongs are attached to this ring on both sides, and several men hold fast to them, pulling them hard in opposite directions; they do not give the bear any opportunity to attack the surrounding people. Only then do they free it of its hobble and take it for a walk.

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796 231 Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is [614] [182] displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

796 621 476 There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival 796 come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins -- the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of [778] ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees: the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

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796 778 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nau-vakhnku, the day of the preparation of the inau, i.e., sticks with sharpened ends, which play an important religious role in the festival. These sticks, of various forms and sizes, represent orators-intercessors, which, together with the slain bear will set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talismans as well. Each kind of inau is made in pairs; each pair is spouses, so that they will be happier, and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the inau are hung as ornamentation on the posts of the 796 arena; some are attached to them at the bottom. While the 574 preparation of the inau takes place, the clan elder, together 614 with the master of the bear, and several clansmen ride out to greet the so-called narkh'i. These narkh'i are honored guests and play a very important role in the festival: the killing of the bear is left to them alone, to them /62/ alone is given all the meat of the killed beast and even the skin. The narkh'i are not arbitrarily chosen people, but of necessity representatives of that clan into which the daughters of the master of the bear, as well as the women of his clan in general, marry. [606] Most often, therefore, a narkh is a son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the bear /see navkh, p. 82/. The narkh'i in turn take along their sons-in-law and decide among themselves which one of them is to kill the bear. If several bears are killed at the same time, narkh'i are invited from all the clans from which the clan arranging the festival has taken wives, so that sometimes up to ten clans participate in such a festival. It is these narkh'i whom the master of the bear must solemnly greet and lavishly entertain when he meets them, and transport them with honor to his village.

796 231 The following day is the day of the killing. It is called Na-khan-ku (the day of the killing of the bear) or Chkhyf-aryn-ku (the day of the feeding of the bear). Early in the morning the bear is taken out of its cage in the same way as to take it for a walk. A large woven belt to which are tied bags full of assorted viands is put on it, and it is tied up near a yurt and given the opportunity to enjoy the last hours of life remaining to it in this

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796 231 semifreedom. Around noon it is untied and, held by thongs on both sides, is taken for a walk. This walk, however, gives the bear little pleasure, for from every side they tease it in every way and try to drive it beyond patience. The bear at first lets out some grumbling, but gradually becomes enraged, attempts to attack the people, and gets up on its hind legs, but it is held by dozens of hands, and all its rage is lost in fruitless thrashing. But now, seizing the moment, the master of the bear cautiously steals up, seizes it by the head, kisses it good-by, and, without waiting for a return kiss, speedily jumps away. Most often, however, the bear freely returns the good-by kiss to its protector, who considers himself quite lucky if the clumsy one limits itself to tearing off a good chunk of meat and does not get its teeth into, say, an eye or the throat arteries. A wound inflicted by a bear on such occasions, however, is considered an expression of good will on the part of the good-natured beast. The walk ends in leading the bear three times around the yurt of its master. Beforehand everything living, even suckling babies and animals, is removed from the yurt; only the clan elder stands in the passageway, and every time the bear comes around even with the entrance he teases it with a long pole with an uncut crown of coniferous needles at the end and speaks gentle words. /63/ At the end of this procedure the bear is led to the plot of ground and tied between the two trees which have been ritually decorated. The pole with which the bear was teased is fixed to the hearth, so that its spreading crown of coniferous needles rises high above the smoke opening. After that there is an intermission. The 796 574 bear is again left to itself, while the people assemble in a dense throng in the yurt of the master of the bear, where lavish entertainment begins. They literally sit on one another's heads; nonetheless the gaiety is extraordinary; the loud talk, the laughter, and the jokes never cease. Only the narkh'i are serious: they bend their bows, sharpen their arrows, and prepare themselves for the crucial moment. Meanwhile all kinds of cold viands are carried in huge troughs on dog sleds to the sacred plot of ground; there are frozen fish of all kinds, rice,

/63 cont./

796 574 buda, and beans, and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish, "the mos'," whose method of preparation I have already described in the second chapter.

796 231 This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan elder or the master feeds the bear for the last time from a big spoon on a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while asking it to offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally he addresses the bear with the following farewell words: "Good-by. I am feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quickly to your master, and may your master greatly love you." Other clansmen also try to offer something to their old friend; even 796 [562] small children participate in this kindly affair. After the short break all the people pour out of the yurt, with the exception of the women, who are forbidden to be present at the killing of the bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- and arrange themselves in fighting formation. The master of the bear or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an ax in his hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also with a kettle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i, with bows and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the festival follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy throng. Within a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied, the people stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and places the kettle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle and ax. The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name of nich, i.e., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the narkh elder exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a sign 796 526 of eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been placed, the next to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary competitive archery. Once, when the bow played a more important role in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt had the character of a great competition; now, however, it is reduced almost to a simple formality. The target is a board placed behind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them the clansmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the guests and make intentional misses. The crowd follows with

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796 [526] rapt attention, and each shot is accompanied by loud appro or by noisy outbursts of laughter. After this preliminary sho ing the crowd moves closer to the bear and stops a few steps away from it. Amidst the deep silence that prevails, the selected narkh steps forward, takes his bow in his hands, an begins to watch the bear, waiting for the time when it "wil offer the good spot," i.e., will turn so that it will be easy to get right to the heart. The bear often calmly remains in his place, however, digging in the snow with its paws and caring very little about offering a good spot. In order to dr it out of its calm state and compel it to offer a good spot, and also to drive it into a rage and thereby lighten for it, i their opinion, the pain from the wound inflicted, they begi tease it. The bear thrashes in all directions, throws itself a its tormentors in helpless anger, and stands up on its hind le Meanwhile the archer follows it with the most rapt attentio and, seizing the right moment, finally releases his sharpen arrow. The bear at first stops perplexed, then clutches its breast with his paw, tears appear in its eyes, and blood app from the throat out of its mouth. Sometimes it begins to th furiously, but most frequently it falls calmly with perplexe hurt in its eyes. Although, as a rule, death comes immedi nevertheless, just in case, several people throw themselves the slain animal and begin to strangle it to hasten its death and prevent it from suffering. After this they take the chai off the bear, carefully straighten out its fur, and put it in a pose of majestic calm, with outstretched front and hind pa the head, turned to the west, rests on the front paws. In th pose it resembles a man stretched out on the ground, lost in thought, leaning on his elbows. The people seat themselve ceremoniously in two rows, some on dog sleds, some direct on the snow, others on ski, and there begins the annihilatio those cold dishes which were brought for the feeding of the Having eaten, the guests gradually disperse; only the closes clansmen, who begin to skin the bear, remain. This proce is surrounded by strict ritual: the method of cutting the me

/64 cont./

796 cutting up /65/ the bones, and so forth -- everything is done in conformity with permanently established rules. The first moment of this procedure, immediately following the removal of the skin, presents a very imposing sight for the Gilyak. The white (from the heavy layer of fat), soft body, stretched out on its back, those front paws with long and even fingers, resembling, to the point of illusion, human hands, amid the gloom of night, must irresistibly evoke in the savage the notion that he is not in the presence of a dead beast, but of a man of a particular nature, who has taken off his hairy skin and now majestically rests, following the least movement of his knife. The entire, detached skin of the bear, together with the head, is carried into the yurt, not through the door, but through the smoke opening, and down the high pole with the crown of coniferous needles, which still rises above the earth yurt. The clan elder carefully takes hold of the skin and, striking it lightly with a stick, says: "Remember that you were fed by such and such old man and by such and such old woman." Meanwhile the women greet the sacred head with a solemn [534] march played on a most original instrument. This is a dry log of larch hung on a frame, on which several people in turn beat out in rhythm relatively monotonous sounds. To the sounds of this charming music the clan elder installs the head of the bear on the plank bed of honor, covered with coniferous needles. Under the head there is a quiver with arrows and, by its side, tobacco, sugar, and other viands. [774] The bear takes along the souls of all these things. The carcasses of meat stay outside on a special wooden platform, and parts are brought in through the smoke opening. The day ends with eating, conversations, games of the youth, dances, and fencing with sticks. The next day is called the day of the feeding of the head. From morning until night kettles boil inside the yurt, and all kinds of dishes of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared. A portion of each dish is put in a separate vessel and placed next to the bear's head. This, then, means "to feed the head." [372] On the same day the boiling of the bear meat begins. The meat is boiled outside in a special kettle; the fire is ignited with the sacred steel, which is not used on any other occasion.

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796 574 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of [576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat; the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish [262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear [614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears' carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous quantities.

796 264 576 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit. It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 533 273 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts [554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of departure of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed [782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear, a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/66 cont./

6 fed, and then, exchanging farewell glances with the dogs, they silently leave. Upon passing over the threshold, it rema for them to conclude the last ceremony, which bears the char teristic name of "lymyzyn zychyvynd" -- "the stamping of the threshold." This ceremony consists in placing nich'i (a kettle and an ax) on both sides of the threshold, the nich of t departer -- on the inner side, and the nich of the host on the outer side; the departer must first step over the inner nich wi one foot and then over the outer one with the other.

6 On this same day the last act is concluded -- the sacr 2 of the dogs. The dogs presented by the narkh'i, as well as th dogs sacrificed by the master for this occasion, are led out to plot of ground where the bear was killed and tied up to those same trees /67/ to which the bear was tied. The head of the bear with all the presents given to it, is also brought here. E pair of dogs consists of a male and a female so they will be 8 happier on the journey. Pairs of inau of the same kind as tho that were prepared for seeing off the bear and equal in numbe to the number of pairs of dogs are then stuck into the ground the neighborhood of the trees. The heads of the dogs are orn mented with shavings, which are painted with the juice of berries and attached to them. Before they are killed, the do are fed with choice viands and are exhorted in the following way: "Go, go to your master, take yourself up to the highest mountain, change your skin, and next year come down here, come down here as a bear so that I may have a look at you, this, come down, farewell, travel well!" After this, they kil the dogs by strangulation. This procedure is carried out some peculiarly. Two men seize a dog by its hind legs and forcefu pull the unfortunate animal as far as possible away from the t to which it is tied with a tightening noose. At that time, tw other men seize the two front paws; a fifth presses on the dog's neck, accelerating the process of strangulation, and a

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[262] women, but only clansmen.

[766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At
774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'yzr.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/68 cont./

000 respectful attitude
796 Furthermore, with
231 the bear, this at fi
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[825] for a close person.
[868] of a bear is an exc
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796 Nonetheless, it
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toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.
regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of
rst sight may not at all appear to an ele-
nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some
ch young animals, and, whenever he finds
eds them; thus, he feeds the fox for its fur,
or their feathers. Similarly, it is disad-
Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers
to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and
Furthermore, there is nothing more
em than to use the killing of the bear for
like the celebration of the funeral feast
By the way, the feeding and the killing
ellent means of education for the youth,
d become accustomed to the most terrible
ga, learn not to fear it, and study its dis-
th, and its weaknesses. The procedure for
t of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting

is not these crude, utilitarian motives that
e in the Gilyak's expensive, wearisome,
in feeding a bear. He is governed here by
haps also utilitarian, but of a quite differ-
have already seen, in the eyes of the Gilyak,
ure sui generis. No matter what creature is
e hairy covering of the bear, a divine
aster of the mountains, a mountain man, or
as a present to the Gilyak by its master, in
eature of a higher order, more powerful,
strong. The presence of such a being for a
e in his native settlement, according to
lyak, who is convinced of the constant
wds /69/ of evil spirits eternally threaten-
alth, must be extremely beneficial. The
ighty creature, like a very strong disinfectant,
away any insidious spirit. It is not by

/69 cont./

[796] [825] accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear [787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen [755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman [756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to [171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has [614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the [974] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/69 cont./

796 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master."
825 We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Avesta a long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the cult of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mountain man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or even a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." Therefore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed its head, generously supply it for its journey with various kinds of provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable consequence of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance of the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display of respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whom the welfare of man depends, It is the most apt occasion for sending to this distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and the food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

796 From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear during
782 the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for in-
825 stance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, be-
[114] lieves it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacrifices to each god only that which the god himself does not have, and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. He needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- and it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is a deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itself
796 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important moment
825 in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a general
261 rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, i.e., to the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman,
[562] for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which
imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and
therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the
bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below);
2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the
slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and
through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this
is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of
all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with
a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the
bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master,"
a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives
its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains"
himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides
in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent
through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master,"
but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteris-
tic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the
first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the
festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of
women who are wives of the members of that clan are not
allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/71 cont./

or the female line; the only kinsmen allowed to kill are the "*ryat'ya*" /kom-in-law, brothers-in-law/, i.e., persons married to women from this clan, persons whose blood was never mixed with the celebrating clan. In the second place, the entire carcass of the bear, with the exception of the meat of the head, is given to a different clan, the clan of "*narikh'i*" and, on the other hand, forbidden to the clan to whom the bear belongs. Once perhaps even the head was also prohibited for the celebrating clan. Are these prohibitions not caused by the totemistic caution against killing and eating the body of a clansman? After all, could not the slain bear accidently turn out to be a clansman of the mountain-man clan and therefore a clansman of those who are celebrating the holiday? In such a case killing him and eating his meat would be criminal and fatal for the given clan.

But for a different clan, i.e., the clan of the "*narikh'i*" this is permitted, because /72/ another "master" sends bears to it, its own clansman, so that it is completely safe for them to eat the meat of the bear of an alien clan.

The coexistence of such norms as, on one hand, the permission to kill a bear, though not personally, and to eat it head and, on the other hand, the prohibition against the rest of the meat may seem a strange and irreplovable contradiction. Among totemistic tribes, however, we often meet such contradictions. The Samoans, for example, on solemn occasions kill owls and honor them as their deified ancestors, while at the same time they do not dare to touch the meat. In the works by Spencer and Gillen we read that among the tribes of central Australia, among whom it is normally prohibited, for example, to kill kangeroos and to use them for food, on a certain solemn day two or three of the forbidden animals are killed, and pieces of the meat are distributed among the clansmen. There are many such examples.

/72 cont./

As indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently often encountered by the Orochi in the form of a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened, however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, consequently, a clansman of the Orochi.

Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have mentioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are evil and harmful to him. These devils are "*mil'k'i*" and "*sang'y*." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are individual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the Gilyak on the road (the spirit of lost -- get-rich'i), others ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/89 cont./

cremation, and the oars are placed upright, facing each other, in order to be noticeable from afar.

clansmen serve as daily reminders of them.

But the bond of the clan with its divine clansmen is not limited to piety and grateful recollection; these ties are rooted in a more practical and stronger motive force -- the very instinct of self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no more indubitable truth than that all his prosperity, all that nature gives him in return for his desperate efforts in the struggle for existence, all this is due to the free gift of the gods, his benefactors, without their benevolence, all the efforts of man would be fruitless. And the gods-clansmen, as we know, take part above all else in this life-giving benevolence; they are the true sustainers of the clan, and there is no weightier obligation for any clansman than to promote this benevolence to the best of his ability. That is why the clan sacrifices and festivals, held once a year according to rule, /90/ for the mountain and sea people are most important acts of clan life, in which everyone, in the name of self-preservation, considers it his most sacred obligation to take the most fervent part.

In the section on religion we dwelt in detail on these periodic sacrifices to the masters of the sea and mountains. Without exaggeration one can say that the whole social activity of the Gilyak is principally devoted to preparation for the clan sacrifices and to preoccupation with celebrating them most magnificently. Wealthy and poor man alike, according to their abilities and means, not from fear but for conscience's sake, make all possible efforts, sometimes denying themselves their last possessions, in order that the sacrifices be as ample and varied as possible and that the festivals be as magnificent as possible; this is the general interest of one and all.

/90 cont./

In its evolution, this solidarity in the sacrifices to clansmen, fostered for ages, becomes the principle of the clan relation to the gods in general. When in wholly individual affairs, during illness, say, the Gilyak makes a sacrifice, he will without fail summon his absent clansmen even from afar, so that they may enjoy the beneficial consequences of the sacrifice.

The principle of common clan deities, the sustainers of the clan, is the foundation of the institution of hospitality and the most extensive fraternal mutual aid.

It should be evident to anyone acquainted with the institution of hospitality among primitive peoples, even if only from travelers' descriptions, that it must be based on something more than mere social etiquette or even ordinary sympathy for one's fellow creatures. The Arab, at his own hearth manifests the warmest hospitality to even his enemy, concerning whom he knows full well that only one imperative -- kill, evidently is impelled by a more powerful motive, a motive which has behind it religious dictates.

And this must be said about the hospitality of the institution among all other primitive peoples, including the Gilyak. The Gilyak considers it his obligation to extend hospitality, not only to the traveler, not only to the actually hungry man, but also in cases when the guest is not hungry there is no necessity whatever for displaying this feeling. No matter how many times a day a neighbor may appear at his hearth, no matter what time of day it be, the guest is immediately offered all the viands in the possession of the host, not to mention the inevitable handful of tobacco for his pipe.

/91/ If there is no extra tobacco, the host takes turns with the guest in drawing on a common pipe. These attitudes are most striking in the handling of rare, costly dishes and delicacies. If you bring the host a glass of vodka, he will never allow himself to drink it alone, he will merely put his lips to it, and then it goes around to all the dwellers in the house, although there may be dozens of them, including the children, even suckings. To do otherwise would be a very great sin; one might die.

/92 cont./

worn on ceremonial occasions and in which the dead are garbed.

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the testator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the testator and consequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so-called iron shagund, which in any case will return to the clan in the form of bride price, while to the akhmal'k clan, the clan of father-in-law, only the silver shagund can be willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of the bride's dowry.

4. One bear: the common obligation of the clansmen to share in the burning of the bear and in the bear festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a domestic bear and the hunting of the forest beast. "Khal'-gu, ut-gu, narikh mu-ev'i". "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with this summons the youths go around to the yurts, summoning the clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear slain in the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the occasion by the whole clan.

The importance of common rights and obligations with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privilege of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regarding this in the section on /93/ religion and the clan gods. As we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic features: first, by the honoring of the very person of the bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own, or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mountain masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain master and his clan and, consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater significance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to the highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer of

/116 cont./

Or: one or another family is temporarily impoverished. There is no /117/ clansman that must take care of them; it is unnecessary, because the family will find hospitality and assistance in any house they choose, even of the most distant clansman, until the hard times change. And this is not offensive to anyone, for it is a rare thing for someone neither to enjoy hospitality nor to offer it to someone else from time to time.

Suppose it is necessary to arrange a troublesome and expensive clan festival. There are neither collections nor contributions, no organization for the reception of guests, and so on. Each person prepares as much as he can according to his conscience, each bears his share of the labor, and only the man who is a little richer than the others takes upon himself the trouble of the arrangements. Everyone takes to his house the prepared viands and purchases; they meet at his house to share in the prefestival work.

During the bear festival, dozens of additional persons assemble from all sides. For several days it is necessary to feed not only the people, but also their many dogs. How much trouble, how much expense! Nevertheless, everything is arranged simply and to the general satisfaction of all. Each guest prefers, of course, to stay with the one who is closest to him in kinship or sympathy, where they take him in, not as a duty, but because they want him; but in any home at all every arriving guest finds a sincere, cordial reception, because during the days of festive enthusiasm everyone wants to display his sympathy and to have broad intercourse with new people.

Hunger has appeared, the specter of terrible misfortune, which can carry off the whole population of a village! All the hungry ones who have not succeeded in dispersing to more fortunate areas gather at the home of the man who still has some supplies, and the laws of hospitality are just as strong on this black day as in days of plenty.

/120 cont./

blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds, the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear festivals, when, before sacrificing the bear, the master of the bear (the akhmal'k) and his ymgi each sets beside himself an ax and a kettle, which are also called nich and which are also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some economic significance. The akhmal'k's each time, in addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present to their ymgi, especially on the first visit after the marriage, when the son-in-law /ryat'/ is customarily given, depending on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman, the same misfortune, or bad luck, has overtaken one, has overtaken all. Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /ryat'/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

Similar fraternal relations between akhmal'k's and ymgi are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.

The most important of these require the participation of several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it

/125 cont./

614 violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction; the
615 whole clan of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title
194 of akhmal'k and became, as it were, a lawful clan for mar-
583 riage unions. As such instances increased, the bride price,
whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the gen-
eral rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

Another weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matrimonial clans is the participation of the pandf'y in the bear festival.

614 615 194 583 In the sense of cementing interclan relations it plays another and a greater role than the Olympic games for the actual unification of the Greeks. The bear festival takes place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, while in populous settlements a rare winter passes without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The sled, which every household possesses, is harnessed, and off they go; the rest is not the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest dishes. And in return for the small anonyance of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: in the first place, the very size of the festival -- the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the ablest and most respected representatives of the tribe; finally, the competition /126/ in wrestling, races, and dances, the feasts, conversations, jokes, and songs, in a word, an endless series of enjoyments. Against the somber background of his gray existence, the hungry days, the deprivations, dangers, and monotonous impressions, the bear festivals appear as the most joyous moments of existence, as it were, landmarks of everyday life which one recollects and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only ymgi are invited, and they have, and in invite their own ymgi, akhmal'k.

/126 cont./

* 614 615 796 583 This rule is so strictly observed that the very host who has been most diligent in receiving and making presents to his ymgi is not even invited by the latter to the festival, but, on the other hand, he will be the honored guest of his own akhmal'k. Thus there is formed an uninterrupted chain, uniting the long series of clans in their socio-religious festivals.

We have already said something in the section on religion about the important part played by the ymgi in the bear festival. One goes out many versts to meet them and gives them the most honored function at the festival, namely, the killing of the bear, and all this time they are the center of attention for the whole clan. They are everywhere fed to the bursting point, dragged around from yurt to yurt, and, finally, before departure gives a large part of the bear carcass. All these acts of hospitality and respectful attention are crowned with serious religious rites, sanctifying the fraternal union of the clans. At the beginning of the festival, the ymgi exchange nich'i (symbol of united co-operation in hunting, etc.) with the host; before departure, the ymgi presents to his akhmal'k in parting dogs, which, together with the dogs of the latter, will go to the master of the mountains, the common sustainer of the clan; finally, at the last moment the ymgi perform the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man, they strengthen the ties of kinship with the higher sanction of religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to ceremonial "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

* 614 615 621 They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live forever with his pandf'y. This is why, by the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their ymgi or akhmal'k'i. But these ties prove of

/291 cont./

II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1910. Pilavo is four settlements; two on Sakhalin, one Khes'-Pilavo, and Yky, the Goldi settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still hem their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

539 On the north of Sakhalin a father had many children. During the sharing they quarreled over a stone with a hole, or, which, on a silver chain, is put on the breast of a bride. One brother said: "You have divided everything, now give the stone to me." He put it on the neck of his daughter, and through the night it was not possible to take it off. The others said: "Daughters are not of our clan, they leave to marry, how can one leave them such an expensive article?" The eldest brother: "We consider only sons, daughters are not ours. You can make as many children as you wish, but you cannot find such stones." After this the eldest brother always wanted to kill the little girl, while the younger brother guarded. The younger brother became angry and ran away from the south of Pilavo to the north. There was a famine. During the most severe famine they killed a seal, they killed a small seal. They boiled it, they divided it up into pieces, they ate it, and the bones remained. The children began to chew, to fight. One of the brothers came up and began to beat the son of another brother on the "mug" with the same bone: "You, dog, take it, gorge!" and he was beating the youth. The youth began to cry. His father was not at home. The mother stepped in for her son, and the mother got it. In a little while the father arrived. The mother complained to her husband, and a fight took place.

/296 cont./

614 194 The following case occurred in Macha (the left bank of the
173 648 Amur), opposite Kal'ma. The Gilyak set out to hunt and built a balagan; coming back they saw a great number of people. Then they ran away undetected, gathered together people from all the villages, and set up ambuscades in different places behind the rose-willow trees. When the Russians came out, they shot them all.

Sometimes the Gilyak used the following method of fighting: They tied a cut tree trunk in such a way that it leaped out and struck the legs, and the enemies fell; then they completely killed them off (the settlement near Kaski).

Recollections have also been preserved about the relationship between the Chinese /297/ officials and the Amur natives. The Goldi even paid for dogs, the Gilyak -- per person; the Chinese officials collected by whim, and their khalki (boats) with people had to be fed. In exchange for this, they gave receipts which gave one the right of entry into the town of Sungari (Ychih-khoti). Otherwise the natives would be tortured in the town. The storyteller, a Samagir, in his youth was holding a receipt; he said that they paid 40 rubles for a folder /hormovogo/ man and 20 rubles for an ordinary person, and one sable from each person.

IV.

The Union of Clans and the Bear Festival

614 796 Two clans come together -- k:khal m'ekn; yytch. They
come together in a single yurt; outsiders may also be present.
They discuss, and, if there are no obstacles (for example, they have not taken wives from one another), the khlaj nivuh declares that the two clans may join into one. The other representative answers: "It is true, we have accomplished great things together; you also helped us, and we also helped you. Once we form one clan, we shall become k:khal." He says; "There are no obstacles. Our sons and daughters will be our brothers,

/297 cont./

614 194 but we have daughters and in-laws, and it is necessary that
everybody know, and therefore necessary that we should celebrate
a common bear festival." Each k:khal should buy one, or better,
two-three-four bears. They agree. They buy a bear and prepare
mos'. The bear is fattened as far as possible; they feed it about
two years; they prepare mos' and buy racing dogs. The time for
the festival finally arrives; they play games, wrestle, then kill
the bear. Before the killing of the bear, an old man is selected --
he does not have wives, children, or a boy; his master; he is the pipif-
ni'vuih; he cannot decline. He says the word to the bear: "Chi
pilf pal' urgur p'ach ads; kukuj4 pihylava:r chajpidugujf!" --
thou, big mountain (mountain man), shake off well our Gilyak
dust. Turn around, not share unequally. Give the tibial bone
to the elder sons-in-law, give the pelvic bone to the sons-in-law.
"Pilynga urgur kymlyj4, umgunlagu pilf, nanakagh pilf,
okongh-tokh urfj chm' ngokh ta nagqj4, ylia n'lvukhokh
malg-ghet'ijf khuskagudokh khukkiogujal Kikhalgu pila,
hejmartokh, rafut ijf k:orkh khet'ijf. Tereng pilv okhomdokh
khtirf4, pyjkh n'yn'yv pöradokh khet'ijf, murak ngokh vard
rusjf ta rongujf..."

After preliminary consultation, a certain person finally brings in the bear and hands it over to the important person, who then, in the presence of several udla n'ivukh (good people), inquires: "Why?" The person who brought in the bear answers: "I want to enter into ceremonial brotherhood." "All right,"

Next k:khal are consulted without him. During the festival the new clansmen buy dogs and prepare food. During the eating the son-in-law says analogous things, while the father-in-law call him father-in-law, brother-in-law, etc. At the end of the festival they give the adopted one their own flints -- tugur, but they do not give him the real uig tuur (the tabooed fire). There are no more than two or three uig tuur in a village. They light the fire at a bear festival; on a hunt only the udla n'ivukh taken it when he goes for bear.

/298 cont./

* 614 615 796 583 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /297/; for
making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent
but they will continue to talk until a bear festival is held by the
offender for reconciliation (ulir lymyk).

796 415 A bowl, hyr, for the head is necessary for each new bear
festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl
while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can
prepare a bowl for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is
bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear
is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side
opposite the door, is called pukzor-n'ir.

When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself
796 431 [231] is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp.
The bear is greeted with zade-chadr music. When the master
feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U'ur humyldi
Winigan ilgan ilgan humyjf--live well! When you live well
The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon
as the festival is over; without even tasting (a morsel), while
he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pylgr-tvyuk and
pare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of be-
Lisk; -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

[792] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are
[793] in a wooden frame near the lating where the bones of the bear
[663] placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is
called k:orh ngangof.

/298 cont./

614 194 583 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for
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[663] placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is
called k:orh ngangof.

V.

Slaves

569 [176] The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his h
[176] is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to
[176] the knee, the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pans."
[663] [249] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if an

/308 cont./

765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
796 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bea
626 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz:." "What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
768 is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was
[842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[731] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

824 /312 cont./
778 Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr:, gather
782 at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buda,
[614] a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labaz/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyjá -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tly-n'ivukh; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

● 796 Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt.
782 Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are
[184] carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the tlyrokh is never made; in Tevkh only a red dog pag:r kh:an:, is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'jongarja kinynguch: humguja', kholafti lygyguja'," i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (han'gar:), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Ski, a stick, and a crossbow (narródz:) are placed there; the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tuurg'a'vk); the fork is thrown into the fire and
[789] taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a
[776] hunt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/313 cont./

● 796 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly
782 and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-n'ivukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-n'ivukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

731 During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the
782 Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots,
[165] and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzig This old man remembers four big takh.

776 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solem
782 occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always mad to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they a not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a
[372] white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tu
[354] If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must b bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

778 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-cht
782 is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are
224 placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And h
225 they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khor n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyr only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presen of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, ag:a (akhyd a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should co out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are se

/313 cont./

778 782 224 225 to shout: "Yrk-lu? -- Is it enough?" -- "Yrkrá! -- It is enough!" Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

778 688 The customary takhej of a hunter is the individual uig. Anybody who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund kymlydz: assembles, and they judge him; they demand a bear or 782 a luk -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yz' -- the spirit of the master is fed each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

796 346 782 When they build a pila uigryf (house in which the bear festival is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a luk: -- a shaggy black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard to kind. If a post falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs. It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila uigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzigr.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several uigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an uigryf.

/323 cont./

756 774 776 [578] When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 539 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 84 754 562 578 833 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman. She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local ataxia.

756 796 158 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter. She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/323 cont./

756 796 began to walk around. She sat down. She became blind, saw nothing. The milk drank ten cups of horrible liquid. Clink, clink /as in touching glasses/! She drank it down in a gulp... then demanded a pipe and began to smoke and to exhale the smoke through her nose. She then (said): "Kyrndra" -- I am hungry! And she began to eat saranka. Then they gave her takr -- marsh tea. "Heavy (to lift the tambourine)!" The milk did this. She demanded my cigarette. "Give tobacco to the spirit," and ordered some distributed to everybody to smoke. She beat her breast, while a maiden beat the tambourine. Then she said: "Make a fire!" She sat down, /324/ then rose suddenly, began to dance, and ran through the door, but she was caught. The words of the female shaman: "People assembled to listen. There is no danger whatsoever. I cannot speak of various things. Naked people (i.e., not animals), a misfortune, cannot say anything. I hear the talk of the sea, I hear the talk of the mountain, I hear the talk of the sky, and I heard the talk of the sea fish. I hear the talk of the fish on all sides. Everybody listen only to me: everything was born from Pal, born from the middle of the existing mountains. They call (me) Protyst. The name of my husband is Zabrayn. The surname given by my husband -- They call me Vee'lyk. I am an old woman. Smoke tobacco, all you (who are sitting) in the yurt! Small and large, all smoke with my risk! I am not afraid of any devil (1)! I am a mother-in-law to all of you.

1. Here there is evidently an omission in the notes. S. Sh.

I am the only big old man (?). Yellow-copper squirrel, come my way! (When you ascend from the sea) to his grass house (sit down to rest. When he ascended from there, cannibals were located before eight bear cages at the edge of an opening through which they push a trough, rest.

182 /354 cont./
614
796
[504]

5. The members of the clan are bound together by common sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a
[224] clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable
[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but
[776] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."
[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially
[562] hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
372 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

/664 cont./

Gilyak. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the number of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea and the taiga give the Gilyak more than the dog. Imagining the elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similiarity but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination; "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared into the sky with their rider." One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("shal") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- mountain, taiga). All the sacrifices /565/ at the bear festival belong to him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Toll'-nivukh, and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses: the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen," a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils "gohldaranda". This is a whole shal', living in the sea and dangerous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak reply

●796

/For specific information and details of the Gilyak bear festival, see category 116, pp. 1132-1167, and 1174-1184./

/428 cont./

226 *262 113

2. (cont.)
europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

114 226 *262 439

On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from Sakhalin, I reached the village of Tschcharbach at the mouth of the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish supplies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the sturgeon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at practically every season of the year and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tukki-tsche which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /429/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular, since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it very much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival. Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

226 *262 [439] [252] ●[796]

[231] [439]

/433 cont./

*262 171 113

3. (cont.)
the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 312. John Bowring, "Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche /The Chinese, Their Usages and Customs/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32. Others, like the English missionary Milne (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) and Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 272), deny the use of rats for food among the Chinese.

*262 Gilyak were taught better by experience, perhaps as a result of painful or even fatal cases of trichinosis? Among all the land mammals there are only two that are of special significance as food for the Gilyak, and, to be sure, both on account of their general and frequent use and the great importance that they place upon them. These are the bear and the dog.

*262 231 ●796

Bear meat and bear fat are the greatest delicacies that there are for a Gilyak. For the purpose of eating it, the bear is taken from its lair and kept in captivity for a long time and fed. But, according to Gilyak custom, it may not be eaten except at certain times and with the observance of a number of ceremonies and practices that are undertaken in large ad hoc festive gatherings. I have had an opportunity, as an eyewitness, to become acquainted with these bear festivals, which play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, in all their individual acts from beginning to end, and therefore I am obliged to discuss them in a special, later section of this work. Besides that, however, they gave me considerable insight into the food and cooking of the Gilyak in general, for to entertain the large festive company assembled many dishes must be prepared in a way to suit the palates of the Gilyak. And so most of what is presented below concerning their culinary achievments was observed by me on such occasions.

/439 cont./

252 *262

are a popular ingredient in many dishes of the Gilyak, for example, among others, one of the most important of these, the so-called mossj. This is a mixture of ground fish-skins, or, lacking them, of chopped jukola, with fish oil and berries. For the preparation of mossj, the fish skins, from lyghi-tscho or tengi-tscho, are cut up in small pieces, well cooked, ground, and stirred with fish oil to a mush of a white color, to which, finally, bilberries are added (2). This gives a thick substance like thick cream (sour

[171]

2. A quite similar dish, made out of cooked and ground fish-skins with an admixture of pounded cedar-nuts, was used by the Kuriles on the southern tip of Kamchatka, according to Steller (op. cit., p. 325).

●[796]

cream). I saw mossj prepared for the bear festival in Tebach, for it is an essential part of it and is both eaten by the participants and given to the bear. At other times, however, I saw it made out of finely cut jukola that was cooked and mixed with fish oil and bilberries. If the substance is cooled sufficiently or freezes a little, it can be cut into slices with a knife. Depending on the kind of fish used, the Gilyak distinguish between lyghi-mossj and tengi-mossj, giving preference to the former. They like to take a small supply of it along on winter journeys. For the midday meal around the blazing fire I have seen them perfectly satisfied with a few strips of jukola warmed or slightly roasted at the flames, several slices of mossj, and a drink of snow-water. Next to the bilberry, Empetrum nigrum L. (Gilyak yghych) is the most commonly used and favorite berry among the Gilyak. Just like the former, indeed often in place of it, it is used both as an accompaniment and as an ingredient for mossj and other dishes, /440/ and is likewise collected and stored in great quantities. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin it is even more common and more frequently used than the bilberry. Elsewhere, for instance, near Tymi on the Liman, the cranberry, Vaccinium oxycoccus L.

*262 [137] [137]

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*262 439 177 ● 796

[ESH] [192] [114]

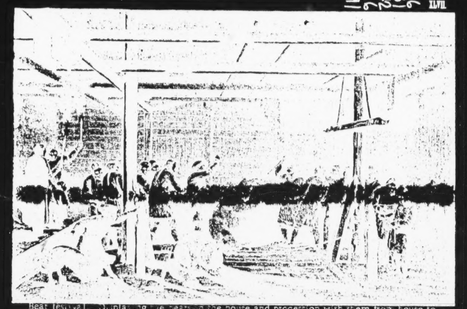

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

●796 231 342 416 291 XLVII

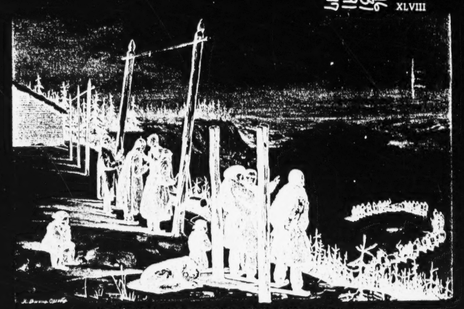

Bear festival. Last procession with the bears (Gilyak).

●796 231 291 417 XLVIII

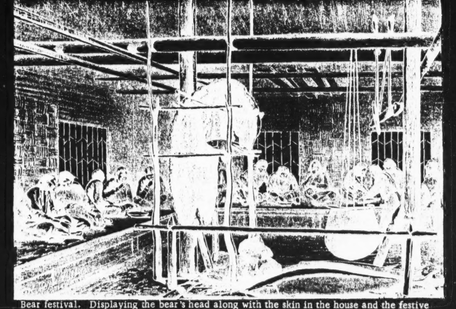

Bear festival. Displaying the bear's head along with the skin in the house and the festive meal (Gilyak).

●796 [ESH] 252 [192] 342 XLIX

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re quite different with respect to those vegetable foods
egion itself does not produce and which the Gilyak can
y by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the
Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals
nes, are, to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole
significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent
be called luxury items because they are directly avail-
to those who are better off and not always to them.
are eaten only upon certain occasions. In daily life
eal only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During
festivals, however, great quantities of them are con-
and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently
eeping with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, are
by numerous participants, the foods of this kind, stored
individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are
ared with a greater or lesser number of other and less
Gilyak. On such occasions I have learned in detail
s foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak
erin in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not
them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese.
common and the most popular among the Gilyak is
or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria
(Gilyak budŷ), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudŷ).
and lens popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak mjuxj) (2).

2. The first two have the same designation
among the Olcha; the latter is called
sujunu by them and by the Goldi.

rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak,
is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very
hed Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended
ter of 1856 in the village of Tebach, still had the
of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the
(Siam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set
e numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

2: Schrenck--680 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/444 cont./

114 certainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
263 almost exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
171 (and the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar
with salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas
people nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods
have an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable
food" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations
from the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
263 confirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

(113) 1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und
patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological
and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp.
109 ff.

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to
make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
763 of salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
114 at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
114 eat plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
262 quantities. It is therefore not surprising that at that time the
Gilyak for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the
contrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is
regarded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet,
this does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclu-
sion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the
bear festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which
does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the
Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten
at them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man
who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise,
and in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal
food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear
festivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall
see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak,
among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn
resistance.

2: Schrenck--681 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/444 cont./

000 resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they be-
263 came acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that
263 they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a some-
796 what modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation tafxsch for
192 salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dabsun
(Mongolian: dabasu) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

(113) 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298;
Sprachatlas /Linguistic Atlas/ p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the
time when a Manchu tribe, the Djutscheren, engaged in agriculture,
livestock-breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from
the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Usuri, from
where they were transplanted to the Churcha in the middle of the
seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among
the Gilyak -- certainly proof that there was no physiological need
for it.

Whereas the Gilyak aversion to salt is so pronounced and
general, sugar (Gilyak sakta), on the other hand, finds great ap-
proval among them, and to be sure, in the form in which they
became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

(192) 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designa-
tion given for it was borrowed from the
Russian ("sachar")?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only
faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since,
moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way
of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who
usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

2: Schrenck--684 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/446 cont./

241 broths, are eaten from wooden bowls, Gilyak mumk-ngir (2) (Pl.
415

2. Ngir means bowl in general.

XXXIII, Fig. 6), and, to be sure, more often noisily drunk than
eaten with a spoon. For the enjoyment of solid food, fish, meat,
blubber, and the like, rectangular shallow bowls, Gilyak ex-ngir (3)

[104] 3. The i is soft in this word and is to be
pronounced like the French e.

415 (ibid., Fig. 7), are used. Also used for the same purpose are
wooden, circular, rather shallow bowls or plates (Pl. XXXIV, Figs.
2 and 3), about a foot in diameter, which among the Gilyak bear
the name xam-ngir, ring bowls or thumb-ring bowls, obviously on
account of their round form similar to the above-mentioned thumb-
[192] ring (xam) (4). The Gilyak, however, do not make them them-

[192] 4. Among the Olcha they are called kota.

selves, but obtain them from the Goldi, who occupy themselves
415 with turning them. At the bear festivals they are used in great
531 numbers by the Gilyak, as well as by the Olcha, in particular for
796 eating the above-mentioned kinds of groats, though they are not by
any means /447/ implements used exclusively in connection with
these festivities, as might be concluded from their exotic origin and
the complete lack of any ornamentation and carving. I myself saw
the Gilyak use them often enough in their everyday life. In contrast
to these mass-produced, undecorated bowls turned by the Goldi,
all the other above-mentioned vessels made freehandedly by the
Gilyak themselves always stand out because of all sorts of decora-
tions put on them, which, however, remain far behind the artistic
carvings which we shall discover on the implements used exclusively
322 at the bear festivals. For the manufacture of all the vessels pre-
412 sented above, bowls, spoons, etc., for the execution of the carvings
on them and on other utensils, the Gilyak use, in addition to the

2: Schrenck--719 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
See Mason's Gilyak Kit
Gold RY3

/464 cont./ This is how the Chinese
273 merchant on the Amur does it as he deals with his customers
197 and offers them an occasional sip from his little bowl; this is
433 how he is imitated by all well-to-do Goldi, Samagir, Olcha,
or Gilyak who are able to provide themselves with the precious
beverage and the utensils required for drinking it, and this is
precisely how Mamia Rinō describes the manner in which the
Smerenkur on /465/ Sakhalin drank their "aka" brought from the
Amur. I also saw the libation preceding the drinking, which
consists of first moistening the tips of the thumb and forefinger
with liquor and a few drops are sprinkled to the right and to the
left, up and down, and toward one's own chest, more or less
carefully executed, just as by the Manchu and Chinese on the
Amur, also by the Gilyak, Olcha, Goldi, and even Orochi
in Hadshi Bay. Thus, the enjoyment of liquor among these peo-
ples is done in a definite way sanctioned by usage, from peculiar
foreign utensils required for it, and with the observance of cer-
tain formalities prompted by superstition. Undoubtedly this
circumstance, besides the others mentioned above, the procure-
ment of the liquor from a great distance and its high price in the
retail business of the Chinese merchants on the Amur, must have
had a beneficial effect on the consumption of liquor among the
Amur peoples in impeding and limiting ways and trained them
to moderation in the enjoyment of it. In fact, I must testify to
such moderation among them, and especially among the Gilyak,
whom I knew best, during the time of my stay in the Amur
region. Despite the fact that with the settlement of the Russians
along the lower Amur, in Nikolayevsk and Mariinsk, a new and
very close source for this prized and popular drink opened up for
them, there was nevertheless so little drunkenness among them
during the first few years afterwards that I never came across a
single case of it, despite my many contacts with them, not
even during the numerous bear festivals which I attended. This
273 last seem especially striking to me, but is explained by the fact
796 that, according to their own statements, the drinking of spirits
during the bear festival is regarded by them as uitsch (unlucky) --
a conception which may owe its origin to the feeling for the

2: Schrenck--1250 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

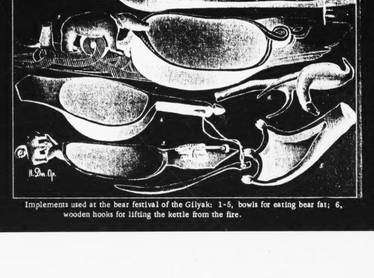

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6, wooden hooks for lifting the kettle from the fire.

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

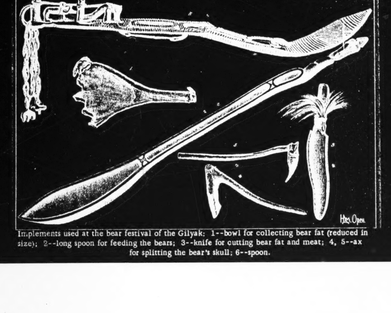

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax for splitting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

2: Schrenck--1252 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

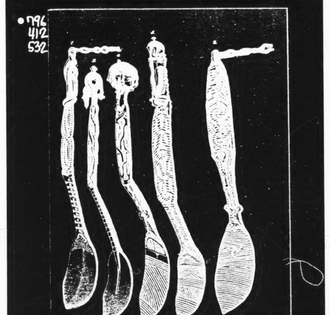

2: Schrenck--1258 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

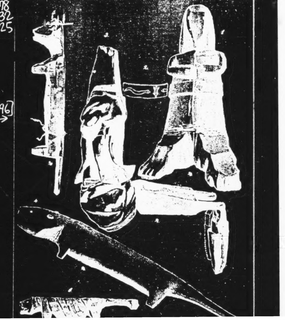

/517 cont./

222 sponge that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with
water -- this usher in the most meager and difficult period for
the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only
the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all com-
munication between the villages on the Amur ceases at this
time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening
of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and
traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur
River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the
lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
796 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
222 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
792 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of lukola,
berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On
May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return
trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between
the villages of Walr and Magbo, such a boat on its sacrificial
voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p1069/). It was a long boat with
[50] twelve oarsmen and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars,
sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three
light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at
the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time
and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at
each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar.
Thus, amid the wild shriek of its occupants, the boat shot past
us like an arrow. It is therefore not improbable that some of its
equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging
down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of
carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak
nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
192 automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
194 to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-
shavings, such as are customary in connection with all the
events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas,
the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

1. See p. 662 ff. above.

2: Schrenck--804 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/517 cont./

796 Presumably only loosely hung over the racks upon departure,
222 they could only too easily have fallen off during the rapid
792 and wild voyage and could have been carried into the river by
the wind. Indeed, the latter may even have been the precise
intention of the sacrificers, for the entire sacrificial voyage is
supposed to serve to gain the favor of the river or the river-
spirit through the gifts mentioned, and through that to secure
good luck and success in fishing and during all river travel in
the coming /518/ summer and fall. My opinion concerning the
zach in connection with the sacrificial voyage on the Amur
was confirmed by the fact that in the fall, as soon as a new
covering of ice has formed on the river, another celebration
with sacrifices and zach takes place. The Gilyak then go out
on the ice in front of their village: here a hole is cut in the
covering of ice, and beside it a pole decorated with zach is
erected. Now the above-mentioned gifts are thrown into the
river by means of this hole, obviously to obtain its favor for
the winter fishing and perhaps also for the traffic on the ice
covering.

226 Immediately after the Amur is open, there comes up
796 from the sea the best and largest fish that it has to exhibit:
222 the Amur sturgeon (Acipenser schrenckii, Gilyak tukki-tscho)
792 and the even larger Amur hausen (Ac. orientalis, Gilyak patch-
tscho). Both go far up the Amur and its major tributaries, the
Usuri, Sungari, etc., and, indeed, of the latter, the kaluga
the Russians, it was reported as early as Pallas that it also occ
in the source rivers of the Amur, in the Schilka /Shilka/ and
in the Argun) /Argun/ (1). It has already been pointed out

226 1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des
192 Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various
113 Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol.
III, p. 207. The same, Zoogr. Rosso-
asiatica, Part III, p. 107. Georgi, who
gave the first description of this fish,
which was also used by Pallas, called it

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

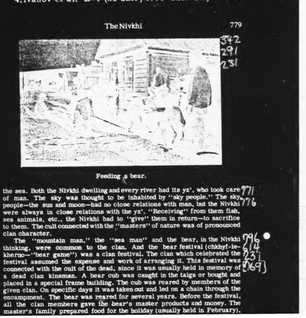

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

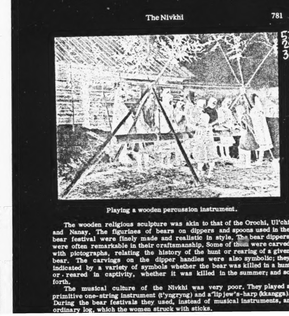

/560 cont./

5. Putesh. na Amur /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 75.

Manegir smear their arrows with a putrid fat acting as a poison, but I am not familiar with anything of this kind among the Tungusic tribes of the lower Amur region.

The quiver (Gilyak pi) used for stowing away the arrows among the Gilyak is as a rule made of wood, decorated with carved arabesques or other figures, and is provided at the top with a fur edging or a fur flap for the protection of the arrow points (Pl. XLV /see p.1025/, Figs. 6 and 7). Characteristically it is relatively heavy and clumsy, and therefore is not very suitable for being carried on the hunter's back, which probably happens only rarely and to a very limited extent. If, on the other hand, one holds the exceedingly light and portable quiver of the Orochi from Kaiserhafen, made solely out of animal skins (ibid., Fig. 8)(6),

6. It is made out of pieces of reindeer and elk leg-fur; the crossband in the middle is made of otter fur.

this in itself would show that hunting among the Gilyak, in comparison with their Tungusic neighbors, falls far behind.

I doubt very much that the Gilyak are skilled archers, though I do not have sufficient experience to be able to say anything more definite about it. The one time I saw them shooting was under conditions which would not permit drawing any conclusion as to their skill. It was at the bear festival in Tebach, when the three bears, held by chains and led about, were finally shot. The marksman in each case approached the erect animal from the right side to within about five paces. The first two bears went down with loud roars after the first shot, struck in the right lung; in one of them the arrow had penetrated to the middle of the shaft. The third marksman had struck his victim too low, in the abdomen, and therefore had to send a second arrow, which cut down the animal and caused it to die slowly.

/563 cont/
it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect. The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

hrenck--991 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Gilyak winter houses, decorated for the bear festival. Entertainment in front of them.

9: Hawes--195-196 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 231, 527, 796

"Emerging from the hut into a crowd of yelping dogs, we were attracted by the bear-cage. In front hung a birch-bark basket, as seen in the illustration (opposite p. 196), [LSS: See Visual File] containing fresh water for Bruin. His owner fetched a piece of dried fish, and holding it before a hole in the cage, the bear, who was of full size, thrust his great paw out to grasp the fish, the while I snapped him with my camera. This animal, having already attained his majority, was due to play the chief rôle at a festival in the following January.

The bear fête, which probably originated as a purely religious festival, has become a 'Bank Holiday' in the Gilyak calendar, the great break in the monotony of the long winter. The proceedings are unique and interesting. [196] The animal having been captured young, and fed up until he attains the age of four, a fête is decided upon for the following January. Invitations are then sent round to neighbouring villages, whose inhabitants, however, need no such announcement, for they are already well aware of the coming event. On the morning before the fête the village presents a busy scene as the guests arrive in great numbers, their sledges, drawn by teams of dogs, dashing up from all parts of the snow-mantled forest. [LSS: See category 527, pp. 196ff. for a full description of the bear fête.]"

Sacrificial trip of the Gilyak in conne

2: Schrenck--1019 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

501
.P96
13
342

ection with the opening of the river.

/697 cont./ From now on

it belongs, so to speak, to the whole village, for all its members have to attend to its care and feeding and, accordingly, are entitled to participate in the forthcoming festival in its honor, ultimately ending in its death and the consumption of it. The bear festival, then, in a very eminent sense is a communistic festival which unites all the individual members of one village community and therefore understandably represents the climax of the social and co-operative life of the Gilyak. The original owner of the bear, the man who bought it or who arranged for its capture, has only the right to determine the time when the festival is to take place and to direct it, always, of course, within the limits of traditional practice. Similarly, as the host, he may make the feast a more or less opulent one by adding culinary delicacies other than the ones furnished by the bear and, accordingly, to invite to it relatives, friends, and acquaintances, even of a foreign tongue, living beyond his village. Finally, after the festival is over, the skin of the bear goes to him.

The feeding of the captive bear by all the inhabitants of the village takes place in accordance with a previously established order. The food given to it, through the little window in the prison consists exclusively of fish in a raw or dried state (jukola), mossj, i.e., a mush made of ground fish-skins or cut-up jukola, fish or seal /698/ oil, and red bilberries or crowberries (1),

1. Concerning its preparation, see p. 671 above.

and water, which in summer may be given to it in liquid form, but in winter only as ice or snow. The long spoon (Gilyak nichyr) illustrated on Plate LI /p.125/, Fig. 2, is used for presenting the food, in particular the mossj and the water. From time to time, but only rarely and chiefly, no doubt, for the purpose of cleaning the cage, the bear is taken out of it. For this procedure, however, which I witnessed in the village of Tschomi on the Amur-Liman, it must be partly bound again. This is done by carefully pushing apart a couple of the boards on top of the cage, throwing a noose

2: Schrenck--1247 E-5 (1854-1856) 18[illegible] .895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

ILVII

Bear festival. Displaying the bears in the house and procession with them from house to house (Gilyak).

Bear festival. Last

2: Schrenck--1248 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

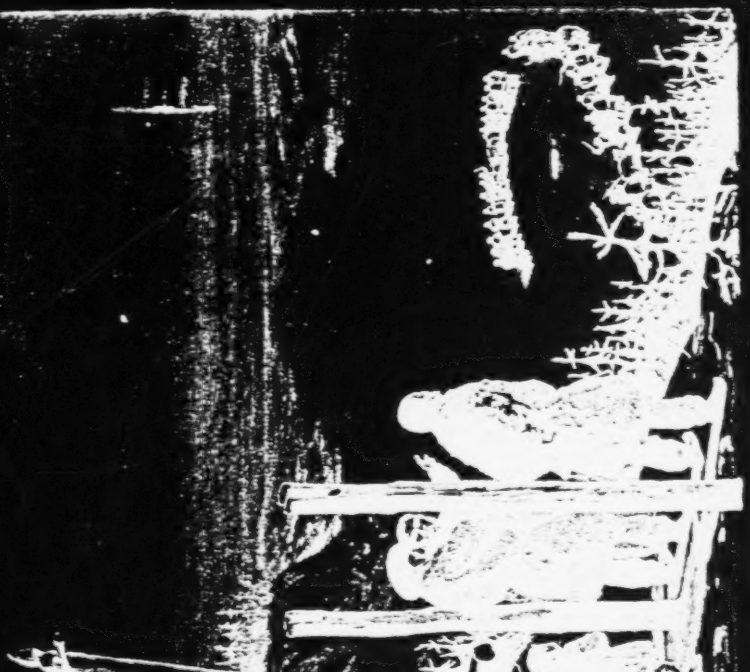

XLVIII

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procession with the bears (Gilyak).

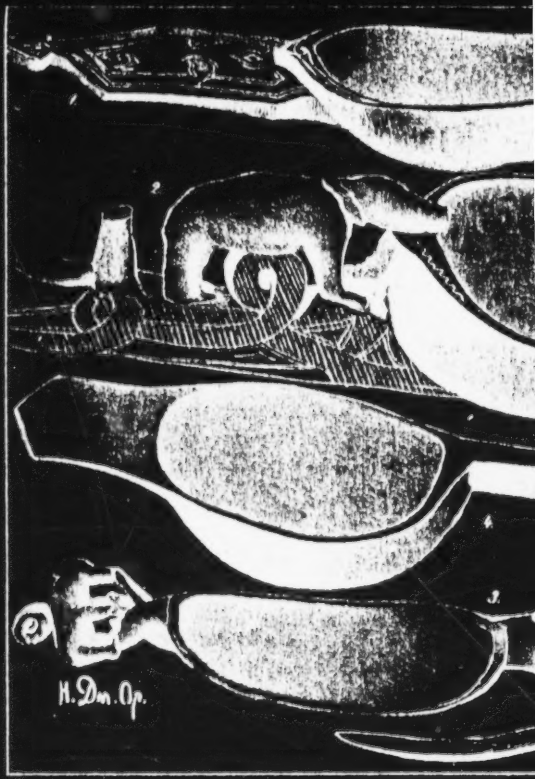

Implements used at the bear festival of th
wooden hooks for lifting the ke

2: Schrenck--1250 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
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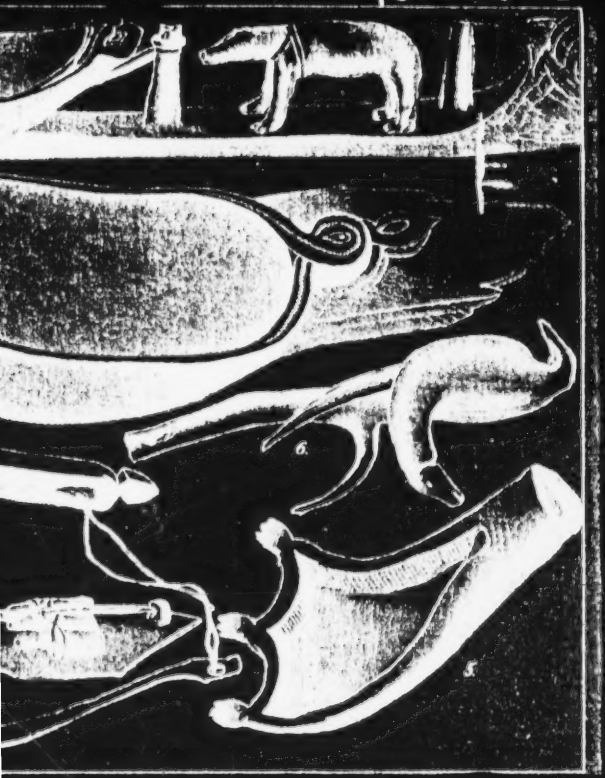

e Gilyak: 1-5, bowls for eating bear fat; 6,
ttle from the fire.

Implements used at the bear festival of the Gilyak: 1--bowl for collecting bear fat (reduced in size); 2--long spoon for feeding the bears; 3--knife for cutting bear fat and meat; 4, 5--ax for splitting the bear's skull; 6--spoon.

2: Schrenck--1251 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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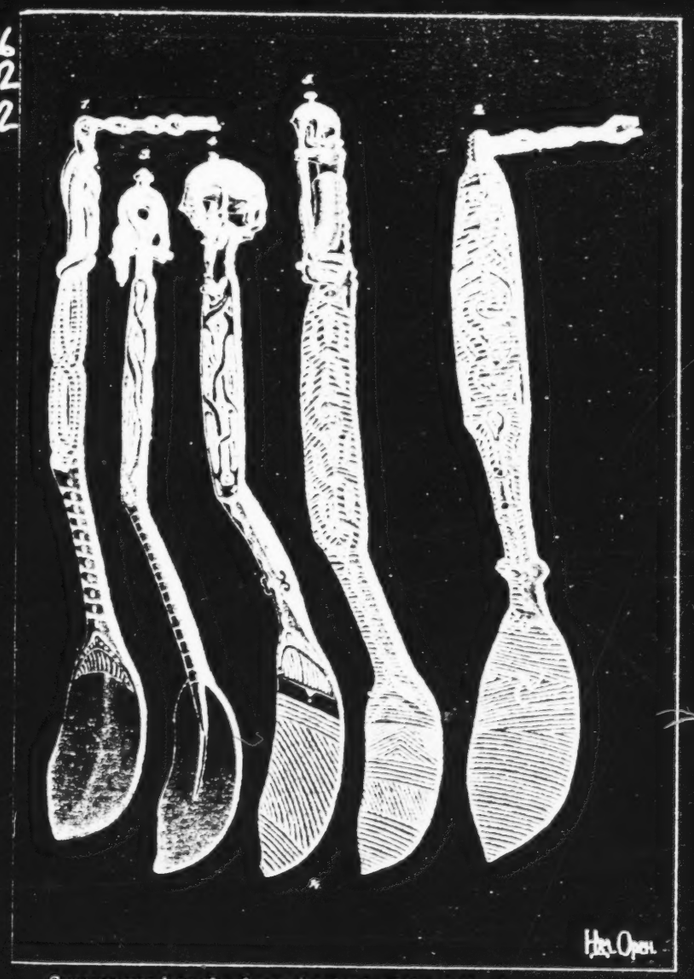

Spoons used at the bear festival of the Gilyak.

2: Schrenck--1258 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

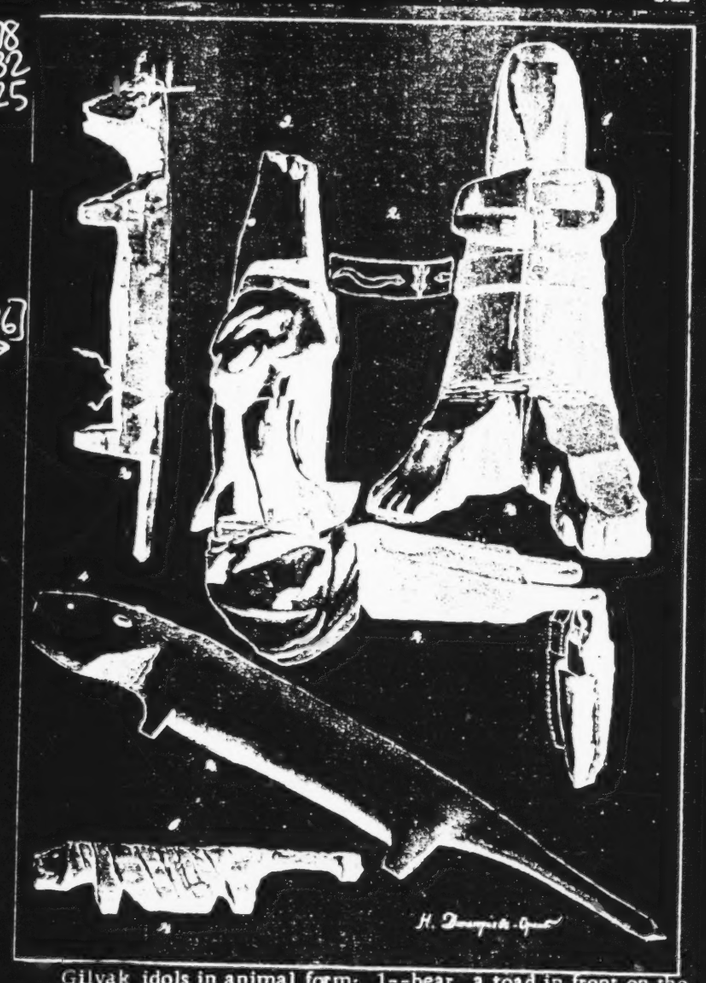

Gilyak idols in animal form: 1--bear, a toad in front on the belt; 2--in the back, a lizard and two snakes; 3--bear, jointed, dressed in fish skin; 4-6--tiger.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

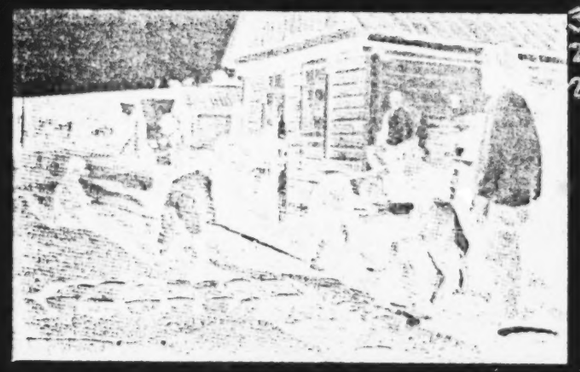

Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its yz', who took care of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the yz'. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (chkhyf-le-kherno—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (inau) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the narkha—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

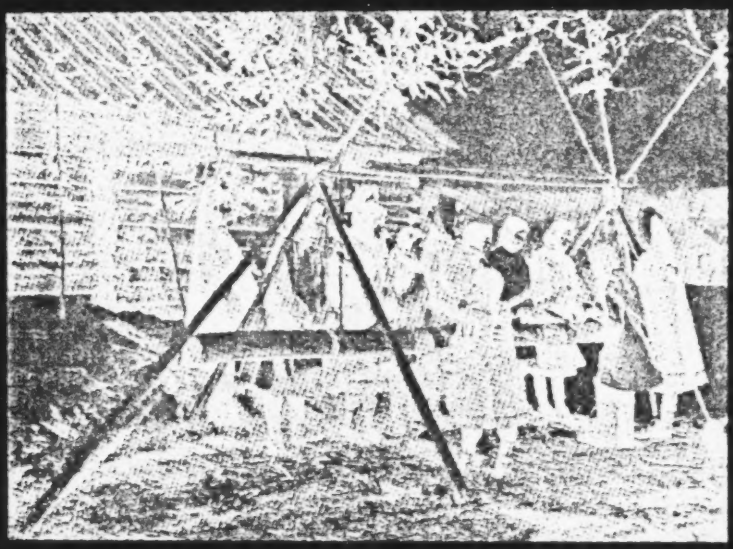

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'chi and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, Protod'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

9: Hawes--162 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 231, 527, 783, 796

"The object of the capture and feeding of th
semi-religious festival, in which the slaught
more probable, that in the older times a full-
the fête, and that to-day the letter rather tha
seizing cubs and rearing them for three or fo
difficulty, as will be seen when we come to th
[LSS: See category 116, p. 174.] To the owner
out a very profitable investment, for visitors
while necessaries are provided by the owner,
handsome profit.

The animals are kept in stout log cages, ac
Wishing to see, and if possible to photograph
to bring one out, or at least unroof him. The
home, and the adult bears were very fierce,
ments and remarks within; so two of the five
poor little orphans snarled, and shrank fright
other, and trying in their terror to hide each
January, 1905, is passed, or perhaps before,
carry messages to the great Pal ni vookh."

e bear is the holding of a great yearly
er of the beast plays the chief part. It is
-grown bear was captured just previous to
n the spirit of the sacrifice is kept up by
ur years. The feeding is a matter of no
e preparation of the Gilyak's winter stores.
or capturer of the bear, the feast turns
from neighbouring villages flock in, and
luxuries are on sale, and bring him in a

dorned with a pine-branch at each corner.
one of the occupants, I desired the villagers
re were, however, too few men-folk at
as indeed we gathered from their move-
little cubs were partially unroofed. The
tened into a corner, tumbling over one an-
beneath the other. Ere the month of
their spirits will have been released to

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 elder who als
622 to be killed by
574 village as suc
the captured a
796 on this point t
777 house to house
spend a night
796 by their stay.
food, but at th
voluntary fast
to house and f
fish, berries
796 While makin
563 irritated by be
hunt staged on
been captured
the Chinese on
796 Gilyak territo
take the preca
they cannot ea
front legs they
attached rings
chains, in turn
considerable l
others backwa
and in this way
pletely still by
whether the be
wants to attack
796 Outside the
417 willow sticks,
fenced in on bo
this enclosure
796 the village, is
541 to itself for a
231 themselves wit
437 celebrations.
a track especia
ever, was not
track by their
were let loose
arrived at the
way, no idea o
not even exist.
since the race
in the right lig

determines how many and which bears are
the consent of their owners, for it is not the
but individuals in it who are the owners of
nimals. Once an agreement has been reached
e animals intended for slaughter are led from
several weeks before the fixed date and must
n each, in order to bring its inhabitants luck
During this time the animals get only a little
end of it they are indemnified for their in-
by being taken throughout the night from house
d the choicest tidbits, namely, fresh and dried
nd a thick gruel prepared from millet.
g the rounds through the village, the bears are
ing pricked, and they are enraged by a mock
them with lances. The bears are ones that have
young in the woods or bought full-grown from
Manchu who are also quite numerous in the
y. During the mock-hunt the Gilyak naturally
ution of tying the animals in such a way that
sily get at their tormentors. Close behind the
tie a strap around their body to which are
through which are run iron chains. To these
, they fasten thick belts of seal hide and of
ength, in such a way that some go forward and
rd. A number of Gilyak take hold of these belts
they are able to force the bear to stand com-
alternately tightening the belts depending on
ar is turned frontwards or backwards when it
its leaders.
village there is a kind of fence made of sturdy
which has an opening for an avenue that is also
oth sides with similar willow sticks. Inside
the bear, after it has finished its tour through
tied between two tree trunks. There it is left
while, while the inhabitants of the village amuse
th the dog race almost always held at these.
In the village visited by Jakobsen they also had
ally constructed for this purpose, which, how-
very long. After the dogs had been led to the
owners and placed next to each other, they
at intervals of a few seconds, but they all
finish about the same time. There is, by the
f winning prizes at this race, since such do
Rather, it might be called a purchasing race
serves to place the good qualities of the dogs
ht and thus to arouse a desire for buying. The

796 sled race has the same purpose and is likewise held on this
541 occasion. Here it does not matter either whether the draught
231 dogs show outstanding speed. This is shown by the fact that
437 only one sled races along the track at time; the test is,
rather, how accurately the team and especially its leading
dog run along the prescribed route. Such leader dogs, which
show themselves to be particularly reliable, especially in
understanding and following exactly the calls of the leaders,
are very highly valued among the Gilyak who pay from 30 to
796 60 rubles for them. It was interesting to watch how, to take
541 part in the race, some of the Gilyak who were standing by the
522 track threw themselves on the sleds that travelled by them at
a speed almost equal to that of an express train. Some Gilyak
succeeded very well in this attempt; others, on the other hand,
were thrown along some distance by the speeding sleds and
sometimes suffered grave injuries, which they bore, however
with the best good humor despite the pain and the ridicule of
their luckier companions.

796 At the end of the race, the whole crowd, closely followed
by the traveller, of course, went back to the enclosure
mentioned above and released the bear from its prison. Then
the entire male population of Vaida, together with the guests
from outside—altogether more than 100 persons—led the
bear down the hill on which the fence was erected, to the vil-
lage. On the way, one half pulled the bear forward by the belts
described above since it gave indications of no longer wanting
796 to follow its tormentors willingly. The others steered the bear
522 more or less by means of the belts attached to its back. During
this, the company raised a terrible racket. Now both parties
would shout methods of procedure at each other, now one or
another would fall into the deep snow to the amusement of his
companions, and those that came after him would kick and
jostle him in the most merciless manner, without this, how-
796 ever, spoiling his good humor in any way. Then again, the
bear would attempt to seize one of its tormentors with its
teeth and claws and it always had to endure a resounding,
scornful laughter if it did not succeed. In short, it was a
highly agitated scene that presented itself here to the eyes of
our traveller. When they arrived in the village, [381] they
stopped first of all in front of the house in which the bear had
enjoyed its last meal the evening before. He a beam about
three meters long had been attached to a stand in front of the
door in such a manner that it hung down vertically about a
796 meter above the ground. Beside this beam there stood six to
533 eight girls and women who were provided with club-like sticks

6 with which they hit the beam rhythmically, two slow hits
3 followed by one fast one; this activity was not accompanied
by any songs. They led the bear slowly past these women and
6 then placed it so that its head was turned towards the house,
as though he should take another good look at the place where
he had received its last nourishment from the inhabitants of
the village. After a very brief halt they then dragged it further
along to the river bank and then forced it to go on the ice to
about the middle of the river. Thereupon the whole crowd
returned to the village and moved to the house inhabited by the
former owner of the bear. Here the bear was awaited by a
very similar reception as that described above, except that in
this place they forced the bear to stick its head inside the house
and thus, in a way, to take leave from its master and nourisher.
Then he was again led to the enclosure, and there they tied
him up as before.

Only now had the moment come in which the bear was to lose its life. Amid general silence which was also commanded with solemn mien to our traveller, an old Gilyak--whether he was the owner of the animal or not is not indicated in Jakobsen's account--stepped forth from the crowd and grasped bow and arrows which were lying there ready for him. Then he slowly took off his under-jacket, wrapped some leather belts around his left hand in order not to injure it with the bow string, and picked out an arrow with much solemnity and circumstance which made a rather comical impression, and finally he placed the arrow on the bow. At first it seemed as though he was going to shoot in the air because he raised his bow while he stretched it. Then he lowered it again very slowly till the arrow was directed exactly at the bear's heart, and then he shot it off. The bear fell down on the spot, as far its bonds permitted it to do so, it rolled to and fro a few times, and then died after a few convulsive movements, thus proving what a steady hand the archer had preserved in spite of his old age. During this whole procedure, which lasted rather long, there reigned a breathless silence among the Gilyak standing around the fence, and this created an even more solemn impression since it was in such sharp contrast to the foregoing deafening tumult.

After the bear's death its former owner came and embraced the animal tenderly like a dear friend of whom he wanted to take leave. Then they pulled a number of the sticks of the fence out of the ground and laid them down to serve the dead bear as a resting place. Later they drag the animal into its owner's house, as the traveller was told, since he did not have the time to await the end of the festival. In the house they lay the bear

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants
in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three
days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its
pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender
attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment.
For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as
the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also,
the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was
not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the
fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He
would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather
barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance
that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobsen
was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even
though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest
the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the
river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what
a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat
him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the
river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just
as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, further-
more, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its
nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered
up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a
sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be
made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are
well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to
bring them destruction? In the former case one would think
that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after
the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning
October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The
second assumption does not agree, again, with the circum-
stance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful
one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description
of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the
solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

796 in this the proof of seriousness or mourning; rather, it is entirely enough to assume that in this way they want to avoid making the archer unsteady by noisy behavior, and thus to bring him into the danger of missing his mark. Or is the torture that they impose on the poor animal before its death meant to be a symbol of the serious nature of this festival? Even this conception seems untenable to me, for why should one torment an expiatory sacrifice that already has to suffer enough by its innocent death, as happens in this case; and, besides, does not the cruel treatment of the bear before its death give the impression of proceeding entirely from the overbubbling festive joy of the celebrators? Unfortunately, the traveller was unable to give any hints as to the significance of the ceremonies described, since the Gilyak were themselves unable to explain them. They celebrated [382] the festival the way their fathers and forefathers had celebrated it, without worrying any further about the meaning of the various actions. Jakobsen's friends in Nikolayevsk were equally unable to give him adequate explanations on this subject. Probably, therefore, we need more frequent and more detailed observation than is available today before we can see into the matter clearly.

115 173 539 Finally, a saga current among the Gilyak which Jakobsen heard from a Russian station master who had lived in their territory for a long time. It goes as follows: A long, long time ago there appeared on the Amur coming from the east a small vessel full of enormously strong people of a dark complexion. These went ashore, attacked the villages, burned them down, and, without distinguishing age or sex, killed and ate all the inhabitants that they could lay hands on. Sailing up the river, they acted in the same fashion in the land of the Goldi till finally the invaded tribes recovered from their terror, banded together and moved in large hordes against the barbaric enemy, whom they then defeated in a bitter battle. All the cannibals were killed and their ship was destroyed. From this time on, the Gilyak always add, no more foreign people came to the Amur River from the east up to the time when the Russians appeared at the mouth of the river and took possession of the land.

825 middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On fete-
796 days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day arrives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones, and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, especially where there are small children.

231 Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the
825 high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy.
839 Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Manjours kept the market good.

756 The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia,
759 are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the double function of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a particular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his cos-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

 A 796

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the [123] pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

A [778] A G 171 796

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to " stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and dec ..ed with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an

797

797 MISSIONS--religious proselyting and evangelism; religious conversions; organized missionary activities (e.g., by sects within the society, by missions from other societies, by foreign missions abroad); mission organizations; mission stations; missionaries or evangelists (e.g., qualifications, selection, prerogatives and disabilities, religious activities); secular activities of missions and missionaries (e.g., education, medicine, technological assistance); etc. See also:

Welfare missions . . . . . 747 Religious revivalism 786

1: Shternberg--411 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
171 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
797 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
594 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy, Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
839 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[697] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
839 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

1: Shternberg--412 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

593 /284 cont./
586 From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the
839 settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda,
171 stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin.
797 The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abduct for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, [762] ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ende
[682] with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return
586 the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

/285/
117 Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

[534] A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and t
Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descer

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people;
[162] one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three
[103] men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

766 /368 cont./
ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim
to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief.
Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they
set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they
find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and
solemnly carry the bear and its ill-starred rider to the settlement.
They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which
they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all
[782] sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small
[761] troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and
then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopee is fully
completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clans-
men of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at
182 the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure
766 is, I think, the following. The bear is killed in conformity with
the principle of revenge (the kindred bones must be raised). The
posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the
triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider
and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to
crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It
may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacri-
[782] fices are made to Pal'-nivukh, in this case to propitiate him
so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This
example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from
regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who
has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is
buried, it is true, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in
617 which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire
[782] clan a rich sacrifice is made to Toll'-nivukh on the shore. A new
yurt is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his
brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster con-
tempt for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the
capricious god of the sea.

● 797 In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of
Christianity among the Gilyak. On the entire western shore I
have met only two baptized Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

● 797 /369 cont./
baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of
legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates
which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental
assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I
have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the
mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been
convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the
ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless,
the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His
attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great
many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the
natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place
for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented mission-
ary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have
to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods
which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized
[797] Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their
[797] attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make
[798] sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the
Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

581 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order
of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak,
from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic
form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either
monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.
581 In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of
684 a given individual, and her children are the children of that
individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring
684 bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his
wife in flagrante delicto with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

197 /388 cont.
29 Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use
301
000

1. During my stay in the Amur region,
175 among such decorations several little brass
301 crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de
● 797 mission" and a bronze medallion bearing
29 the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?)
648 inscription were found on a woman's robe
from the village of Wair or one of the nearby
villages. In all probability these pieces came
from the French missionary, de la Brunière,
who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in
Wair, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak.
His colleague Venault, who by order of the
Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey
in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the
Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime,
saw many of their children wearing such
crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des
Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol.
II], p. 218). To supplement the reports col-
175 lected by Venault concerning the killing of
648 de la Brunière, it should be noted here in
797 passing that it took place, according to what
114 I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank
of the Amur, between the villages of Wair
and Ssabach, at the point where the rocks in
a strange gate-like formation come close to
the river. I visited it during my winter journey
on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already
aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village
of Wair was named for me as one of the
murderers. He evaded or declined to answer
my questions concerning the details of the matter.
Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad
luck (ufuch) to destroy a piece of paper with

/388 cont./
175 1. (cont.)
648 characters on it -- no matter whether
● 797 written or printed -- I hoped that perhaps
114 through him I would succeed in obtaining
possible diaries or other written notes of
de la Brunière. But despite the high
monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak
for them, only a few scraps of one of
D'Anville's maps of China were brought
to me by them after the lapse of some time,
when I had already again returned to the
Nikolayev post.

281 To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use
29 the most common species of salmon in the waters of the Amur
[136] region, Salmo lagocephalus (Gilyak lyghi-tscho, on Sakhalin
laghi-tscho). For this purpose the skins stripped from them have
the scales removed, which is done by pounding the soaked skins
in a wooden vessel; then, by scraping, they are cleaned of the
adhering muscle and fatty parts, flattened and smoothed, and the
individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality
is obtained, depending on how carefully these operations are per-
formed. On the robes intended for everyday use or for protection
against rain, which are of a yellowish-gray color and usually
without any ornaments, the places where the scales were attached
to the individual skins can be clearly recognized (Pl. XVIII).
The more elegant robes, on the other hand, look as though they
were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts
281 especially sharply with the wide black edgings with which the body
29 of the robe in front, above and below, as well as the sleeves
531 at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentioned
color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on
in the intervening spaces, and the back in particular is distinguished
by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with differently
colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, Figs. 2, 3 and
[301] 4. The above-mentioned metallic ornaments, too, are never
lacking onthem.
(See Category 116, p. 998--Analysis)

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his
claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
● 797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, be-
cause they know that, according to the Greek religion,
marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently,
in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection.
However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them
much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later
have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon
forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where
they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is
more than troublesome.
If the abducted woman had had children by her first
marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]
171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the
same everywhere. From some Gilyak
I learned that eight days sufficed; on the
island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were
given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning.
This custom which is known to exist among other primitive
peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the pres-
ent, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter dur-
ing the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born
child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which sur-
vives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by
this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. Dur-
ing her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to
come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one
could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most proba-
bly it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the
woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we
shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some
hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity"
underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their publi
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human bei
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chi
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and tha
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.
755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also wh
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans al
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. F
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.
789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we mus
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink som
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the sa
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler ligh
his cigar at it and then leave the house.
177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about
● 797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of the
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
Form this we may see how much they really understand o
their new religion. We have said before that they regard

baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.'

XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation, Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

The majority know nothing about their past. But from several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

20: Bush--101-102 T-2
116, 554, 778, 797

"The Gilaks are a very
stone as of old, though many
wear small [102] metal cross
or 'shamans,' who conduct a
These shamans are supposed
held in great awe and revere

2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak

superstitious, pagan people, worshiping idols of wood and
of them have been baptized into the Greek Church, and
es suspended about their necks. They have their priests,
ll their ceremonies and are the advisers of the communities.
d by them to be gifted with supernatural powers, and are
nce."

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak

The shamans possess great power over their superstitious subjects, and their commands are rarely refused. I heard of an instance wherein a native caught a fine sable and preserved the skin as a trophy. Very soon a man in the village fell ill. The shaman after practicing his art announced that the spirit commanded the sable skin to be worn by the doctor himself. The valuable fur was given up without hesitation. A Russian traveler stopping one night in a Gilyak house discovered in the morning that his sledge was missing, and was gravely told that the spirit had taken it.

In 1814 the small pox raged in one of the tribes living on the Kolyma river, and the deaths from it were numerous. The shamans practiced all their mysteries and invoked the spirits, but they could not stop the disease. Finally, after new invocations, they declared the evil spirits could not be appeased without the death of Kotschen, a chief of the tribe. This chief was so generally loved and respected that the people refused to obey the shamans. But as the malady made new progress, Kotschen magnanimously came forward and was stabbed by his own son.

In general the shamans are held in check by the belief that should they abuse their power they will be long and severely punished after death. This punishment is supposed to occur in a locality specially devoted to bad shamans. A good shaman who has performed wonderful cures receives after death a magnificent tomb to his memory.

The Russians think that with educated Gilyaks they can succeed in winning the natives to Christianity, especially when the missionaries are skilled in the useful arts of civilized life. Hence the school in Mihalofski, and it has so far succeeded well in the instruction of the boys. Russian and Gilyak children were working in the gardens in perfect harmony, and there was every indication of good feeling between natives and settlers.

798

798 RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE--rivalry between sects; religious persecution and intolerance; concept of heretics; suppression of dissenters by established religions (e.g., massacres, inquisitions, discriminatory legislation); martyrdom and martyrs; antireligious proselyting; etc. See also:

Ethnocentrism	186	Civil liberties	641
Stratification	563	Religious skepticism	771
Ingroup antagonisms	678		

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia

Goldi RX3
Gilyak RX2

Go

177 166 The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almost without any accent'.[38] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

THE NIVKHI

Gi

131 161 101 Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi. They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin, and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots, [167] and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established [228] a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited exclusively by Nivkhi.

186 798 The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that, together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. Accordingly, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[39]

634 161 In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhalin National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.

802

802 NUMERATION--words for numerals (e.g., cardinal, ordinal); numerical signs and gestures; written numerals (e.g., Roman, Arabic); numerical system (e.g., quinary, decimal, vigesimal); methods of counting (e.g., on digits); aids to numeration (e.g., tallies, counters, abacus); upper limit of numerical reckoning; fractions and decimals; tabulations; etc. See also:

Demographic conformation	16	Writing	212
Vocabulary	192	Accounting	451
Gestures and signs	201	Census taking	659

/592 cont./

437 trade or even otherwise in their life and household has been de-
435 veloped among them. This necessarily presupposes, however, the existence of an accepted absolute unit of value among them, through the multiplication of which the appraisal of the objects is made or their price standardized. What is this unit of value or of what does it consist? /593/ It was not easy for me to determine this, as one will see from the following reasons. Since the Gilyak are only familiar with barter, they answer any question about the price of an article, as a rule, by mentioning the quantity of goods desired in return (for instance, three bundles of tobacco, two fathoms of cloth, etc.). A question as to the absolute value of the foremost goods and objects, their price in themselves, the basis of even barter-trade, is rarely understood and only by the more intelligent, and even then the answer consists of only a number preceding the verb "to cost, to be worth" (Gilyak tschalhatsch), without the stating of any unit of value. In this connection, however, that form of the numbers which serves for the counting of animate objects is always used. I cannot say for what reason. To the question as to how much an article costs, properly understood in the above sense, the Gilyak will therefore give as an answer: "njunj, mor, tschor (1), etc.

[802] 1. Not njakr, mjakr, tschakr, etc., as the ordinary form of the numbers used for counting inanimate things runs.

tschalhatsch, or -- with the addition of the suffix ra meaning "is" -- tschalhara" (2), that is, it costs one, two, three, etc.,

2. Similarly, just as kauk means "not," kaukra means "is not"; or ngalskotsch, "bad," ngalskora, "is bad."

[435] and nothing more. The unit of value under consideration is never
[437] expressed, as if it were self-evident, as if it needed no special designation. I was therefore able to make a numerical list of the

101 resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of
[361] Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

197 The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct
[194] place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal
[193] and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives
802 have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects, instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

197 As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants.
174 There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Sternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

175 The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to
[361] as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large vil-
[342] lages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and
[343] log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal
[247] pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted
[231] mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.
[232]
[429]

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797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

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804 WEIGHTS AND MEASURES - methods of measurement (e.g., comparison with parts of the body, use of mensurating tools, use of weighing and measuring machines); customary and standardized units (e.g., of length, area, volume, weight, heat, angles, electrical energy); complex techniques of measurement (e.g., surveying); governmental supervision of weights and measures; etc.

See also:

Architectural draftsmanship	341	Money	436
Weighing and measuring machines	455	Coast, geodetic, and geological surveys	654
Mensurating tools	413	Conception of space	822

/595 cont./

435 A pelt from the black fox (hädf), depending
439 on its quality, ... equals 10 ja an
A lynx pelt with head, the leg pieces, and the tail . . . . . " 8-10 "
A lynx pelt without head, leg pieces, and tail . . . . . " 5 "

/596/

A river otter pelt is estimated according to its size; each finger-span of it is equal to . . . 1 ja
A sealskin, either Phoca nummularis (pyghi) or Ph. barbata (kighitsch), provided it is very good, equals . . . . . 1 "
Four fathoms (1) of ordinary cotton cloth (possj) cost . . 1 "

[804] 1. That is, arm spans, since the Gilyak do not have any measure other than arm and finger spans.

Two fathoms of terry velvet (poibröz-possj) (tsch) cost . . . 1 ja
One and a half fathoms of cloth (dshangta) . . . . . " 1 "
Four fathoms of Manchurian (2) (very colorful) silk fabric (tscharp) are equal to . . . . . 5 "

2. More correctly stated, Chinese. Four fathoms of it constitute one piece.

The value that the Gilyak give to their various pieces of clothing is judged according to the quality and price of the materials; thus, it costs for:

A long, wide-sleeved robe of Manchurian silk (ucht) . . . . . 5 ja (3)

3. Perhaps reckoned somewhat too low.

/673 cont./

114 157 123 snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kulij before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

484 805 Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there 484 have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial 804 distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in 805 that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

/674 cont./

484 804 805 them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the [192] Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspat'), with the derived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

805 821 It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

805 184 (191) The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months.

805

805 ORDERING OF TIME--sense of time; conception of a minimal unit of time (e.g., a moment); divisions of the day and night (e.g., hours); divisions of the year (e.g., weeks, months, seasons); longer time spans; solar, lunar, and stellar reckoning of time; methods of dating; calendar and calendrical knowledge; use of aids to measure the passage of time (e.g., sundials, clocks); etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities	221	Holidays, birthdays, and anniversaries	527
Clocks and watches	455	Age levels and age terms	561
Routine activities of a typical day	512	Ceremonial calendar	796
		Conception of time	822

/525 cont./

226 [114] The dates given here for the migrations of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus at the mouth of the Amur agree very well with the dates given above for various points of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, especially if one keeps in mind, as is required on the basis of the available data, the multiple, intermittent, more or less large migrations or ascents of one and /526/ the same species. If one also takes into account the greater or smaller numbers in which they appear at the points mentioned above, one comes to the conclusion that S. proteus and S. lagocephalus, moving northward from the northern part of the Sea of Japan reach the Amur-Liman and the mouth of the Amur River, in the course of which the former, especially toward the end of its migration period, enters all the bays and inlets, and even the smallest rivers of both coasts, in great quantities, whereas the latter visits only the larger and major ones among them, but avoids the smaller ones, and in the main, moving against the current coming from the Liman and strongly mixed with fresh water, strives for the mighty Amur in order to go far up into its extensive network and in particular into the large tributaries of its lower course. In the following, while discussing the fishing of the other peoples of the Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, we shall repeatedly encounter it on its migration. First, however, we must remain for a moment with the appearance of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus in the Gilyak area.

226 192 805 The arrival and the mass migration of these two fish especially important for the economy of the Gilyak are, of course, phenomena of such extraordinary significance for them that they are used by them to designate the periods of the year, the months, in which they occur. For instance, May is known among them as the month in which the tengi-tscho (S. proteus) first comes upstream, walten-tengi-long, and June, in which its mass migration takes place, tengi-wota-long (1). August

1. Long in Gilyak means "month"; I am unable to offer a detailed explanation of the expressions "walten" and "wota," but

/526 cont./

226 192 805 1. (cont.) it seems to me that in these as well as in the following designations for the months the first expression refers to the first and still sparse appearance of the fish concerned, and the latter to the main or mass appearance of it.

during which the lyghi-tscho (S. lagocephalus) goes up the Amur River in colossal numbers and the activity of the entire population is required for the preparation of winter supplies, is called among the Gilyak lyghi-wota-long or pilja-tschrar- (2), or simply

2. The word "tschrar" is undoubtedly related to "tscho," fish.

pilja-long, i.e., the "great fish-month," or also simply "great month." This latter designation gives especially convincing evidence of the great importance which S. lagocephalus has for the entire economy of the Gilyak. In comparison with June and especially with August, July is only poor for fish. Among the species of fish peculiar to it S. lycaodon (Gilyak well, the nerka of the Russians) is the most prominent. This species of salmon, however, only plays a certain role farther upstream, among the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed at the appropriate place, but for the Gilyak it is of no special importance, inasmuch as it does not appear by far in such quantities as S. proteus or even S. lagocephalus and does not provide as good and as long-lasting a jukola as these do; indeed, in view of the certain quantities of lyghi-tscho to be expected soon, the Gilyak regard it as useless and not worth the trouble /527/ to prepare jukola supplies from the well. In contrast to August, the "great fish-month," July is therefore called by the Gilyak matschn-

/527 cont./

tschrar-long -- "the little fish-month" (1).

1. At the appropriate place in the following there will be a discussion of the other designations which the months May-August bear among the Gilyak and which are derived from factors other than the periods of the migrations of fish, as well as the names customary among them for the other months.

The direction and the time of migration of S. proteus and S. lagocephalus along the east coast of Sakhalin seem to be somewhat different than in the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in the Liman, and at the mouth of the Amur. According to Mizul, the former goes along this coast from south to north, reaches the Bay of Patience about the middle of June, and in July and until late August goes up the Plyi or Poro-nai and its tributaries. During the first half of August it also appears along the island's coast located to the north of the Bay of Patience, goes up into the Tymy River, and by the middle of this month and until late in the fall is found in its upper course and its tributaries. S. lagocephalus appears somewhat later than S. proteus, and, as Mizul expressly remarks, first in the northern part of southern Sakhalin and not until later in the southern part, so that its migration here, in contrast to that of S. proteus, seems to go from north to south; moreover, it appears there in smaller quantities and not in all, but only in certain rivers, in these, however, every year, though in variable numbers (2). It therefore seems principally to strive

2. Mizul, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

for the larger rivers on the east coast of Sakhalin also, that is, the Poro-nai and especially the Tymy. At the mouth of the latter, in Nyi Bay, Poljakof in 1881 witnessed the mass appearance and ascent of S. lagocephalus into the river, which continued

/527 cont./

throughout the second half of August and did not decrease until the 30th (3). For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and

3. Poliakov", Putesh. na o. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. I. R. Geogr. Obshch., p. 97).

For the Gilyak living along the Tymy River, and especially along its upper course in great density, September is therefore chiefly the month that brings them the greatest quantities of laghi-tscho, so essential to their economy, and in which, traveling to meet the ascending fish, they devote themselves entirely to fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter. This explains the fact, repeatedly told to me by the Tymy Gilyak, that among them not August, but September bears the name pilja-long, "great month," whereas August, less rich in fish in comparison with it, is designated only as matschki-long, "little month." Thus, as a result of somewhat different natural conditions, a shift in the names for the months customary among the Amur Gilyak takes place there (4). Whether this also extends to the Tro Gilyak, for

4. The shifts or other differences in the names of the rest of the months that occur among the Tymy Gilyak in contrast to their countrymen on the Amur will be discussed later where appropriate.

whom the names customary along the Amur would actually be more appropriate, I am unable to say because I had too little contact with them. But it is not impossible, since the Tymy Gilyak speak the same dialect as they do and generally have a /528/close and, to a certain extent, decisive relationship with them, similar to the one that the Amur Gilyak have with those of the Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/673 cont./

snowstorm had set out from Tägl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kulij before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

/674 cont./

them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spa distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rest usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. Th Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by th time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned t Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(ch)otsch or k(ch)ontsch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suita Gilyakized, esspanytsch (from the Russian sspatj), with the de rived verbal form esspara, essparor, etc. Under unfavorable c ditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, e the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain a fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ tru the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very lit because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move the spot.

It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date some further in the future on which something is to happen, if they pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the n ber of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and ways more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also serve the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a ve careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharntsch--is full, and l. mutsch--is d the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and muiw-l.), the h moon and the quarter moon (l. putytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. putytsch and muiw-l. putytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch a muiw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate me and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no m rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But

1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months,

/675 cont./

1. (cont.)
and the time from one new moon to another is called taktuk, like the moon itself. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /An Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 208.

these have several different designations, not merely in one and the same place, but also in various parts of the Gilyak area. In particular there are those used by the Gilyak of the Amur River and the Amur-Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and, on the other hand, the others used in the interior and along the east coast of the island, by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak. I shall give them next as I noted them myself after repeated inquiries and shall later add a few remarks.

List of the Gilyak Names of the Months:

	on the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin	in the interior and on the east coast of Sakhalin
January . . .	Tscham-long	Klu-long.
February . .	Karr-long	Tscham-long.
March	Tschrad-long	Karr-long.
April	Arkail-long	Tschrad-long.
May	Walten tengi-long, also Kopengwa-l. and Kittägtsch-l. (2) . . .	Pittun-long.

2. In the Gilyak word-list compiled by Dr. Grube the last two terms have erroneously been applied to April instead of to May: see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, pp. 44, 58, 59, and 120 /the appendix

/675 cont./

805 184 [114]

2. (cont.)
referred to is not included in the book translated here/. Tschrad-long (March) is likewise erroneously identified with July (op. cit., p. 108).

/676/

June	Tengi-wota-long, . . . also Pota-long	Arkail-long.
July	Matschn-tschrar-long . .	Tscho-taghr-long.
August . . .	Lygi-wota-l., also Pilja-tschrar-l., and simply Pilja-l.	Matschki-long.
September . .	Ngarwi-long, also Tschitsch-ngar-long	Pilja-long.
October . . .	Oni-lami-long, also Pottschawo-long . . .	Ngadgho-long.
November . .	Tlo-long	Kawekö-long.
December . .	Anj-long	Tlo-long.

114 805 Unfortunately, Glehn does not indicate in which of the two above-named parts of the Gilyak area he learned their names for the months. According to him, they run as follows:

January, February, March } just as according to me.

April . . . Pitul-long.

May . . Arschkai-long.

/676 cont./

805 114

June . . Tingi-long and Tingivata-long.

July, August, September } are not given.

October . . Iging-long and Mugiti-long.

November . Klu-long and Anj-long (in the north).

December . Tschlo-long.

114 184 805 From the fact that the first three months in Glehn bear exactly the same names as I noted down according to statements of the Gilyak of the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin, I venture to conclude that he, too, inquired about them there. The same is true for June, whose name refers to the mass migration of the tengi-tscho (Salmo proteus), which, according to him, is called tingi-tscho. The other names of the months found in Glehn, however, seem to me to have been learned among the Tro Gilyak.

805 184 [122] My knowledge of the Gilyak language does not extend far enough to explain all the names of the months given above. For only a few of them shall I venture a word or two of explanation. It could readily be assumed that they are based upon especially striking natural phenomena and conditions characteristic of the month concerned, which, however, with regard to time, might now and then differ considerably in the habitation area of the Gilyak. This happens particularly in the case of the mass migration upstream of Salmo lagocephalus in the Amur and in the Tymy River on Sakhalin and calls forth among the dwellers along the latter a corresponding shift in the names of the months as compared to the Amur Gilyak, as I have already mentioned in detail on another occasion (1). In a similar manner, /677/ the

1. Pages 819-823.

/677 cont./

805 184 805 825

Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëto albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

[439]

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long

805 825 191 113

3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

/677 cont./

805 825 171 113

3. (cont.)
des Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the Topographical Knowledge of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 539), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jirij; see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

805 184 114 In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long -- a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for December (anj-long), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tlo-long, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tschlo-long, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-long, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which presumably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is arkail, which remains unintelligible to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the
805 individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that arkail-long (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

2. Schrenck--1100 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/678 cont./

805 when the river becomes free of ice, September -- when the kalchalch geese (Anser grandis) migrate, and November -- when an ice cover again forms on the Amur and much snow falls. The uncertainty in which the Gilyak live in general with regard to the current month naturally makes fixing a date further in the future especially difficult among them.

The twelve months of the year are distributed very unequally into the individual seasons of the year by the Gilyak. Actually, they distinguish only two seasons: winter (tulf or tulv-anj) and summer (tolf or tolv-anj), for which the decisive factor is probably whether they live in their winter or summer dwellings. Accordingly, there are seven months (October to April) in the former, five (May to September) in the latter. Autumn (tvlf or tvlv-anj) and spring (chonf or chonv-anj) hardly count at all, and one very seldom hears them mentioned. But if the distinction is made, each of these seasons has only one month -- they are the months of the customary transfer from the summer dwellings to the winter ones and vice versa, in October and April, respectively. In this case, then, there are among the Gilyak:

5 months of winter -- November to March.
1 month of spring -- April.
5 months of summer -- May to September.
1 month of autumn -- October.

821 In connection with the reckoning of time, a few words might be said about the cosmic conceptions of the Gilyak. As a result of the visible rising and setting of the sun, the Gilyak naturally assume that the earth (mif) stands fast and the sun (keng) moves about it. On the basis of the circular horizon, they believe further that the earth has the shape of a circular disk. As a rule they do not give any account of where the sun stays after it has set and night has fallen, and to my question concerning this they answered, amid smiles, with a counterquestion as to whether I had seen it then. From the constant succession of day and night,

9. Hawes--211 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 224, 527, 805

"Among the Gilyaks the hunt is preceded by an interesting ceremony. The sable (Mustela zibellina) and seal hunts commence each a new year in the Gilyak kalendar, and thus he has two years to our one. If only the Gilyak child kept 'birthdays,' he wou be the envy of his western compeers. These two years which begin in October and Ap respectively, are called the winter year (tulf-an) and summer year (tolf-an), and are opened by holiday festivals. The sable holiday goes by the name of Pal ni vookh chi-sonch, or 'the prayer to the lord of the forest.' "

"It is a curious fact that in places the up
40° to 50° below zero, do not freeze, and
albicillus) to fish. In fact the Gilyaks ca
Erratum; it should read Kham-long] or
or crow month."

upper waters of the Tim, with a temperature of
d here comes the whiteheaded eagle (Haliëtus
call the month of February Cham-long, [LSS:
or eagle month, as they name March Karr-long,

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
● 805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

812

812 PHILOSOPHY--degree of development and acceptance of elaborated metaphysical and epistemological systems (e.g., theories of being, of supersensible reality, of experience, of understanding, of knowledge); theoretical foundations of ethics (e.g., divine will, moral order of the universe, free will and moral accountability of the individual); ethical systems (e.g., hedonism, utilitarianism, perfectionism); teleological evaluations (e.g., theories of the highest good, idea of progress, pragmatism); theologians and philosophers (e.g., number, characteristics, status, sources of support, activities); etc. See also:

Ethics	181	Cosmology	772
Ethical ideals	677	Theological systems	779
Legal liability	672	Social philosophy	829

/740 cont./

771 powers always only directed against him and superior to him in strength, and which he more or less personifies in concrete, but
771 crude representation. This feeling of his own helplessness in the face of the forces hostile to him, and yet the inalienable wish to
● 812 avoid their harmful encroachment upon his life -- these causes, together with the inevitable, involuntary, and unconscious view that in the action of these powers, as in his own actions, there is a cause-and-effect, cause-and-consequence relationship, lead him to a series of conclusions through which his own acts and the action of the powers hostile to him are brought into a causal nexus
771 And this is the origin of his many-shaped superstition which gives
812 rise to customs and special performances that are intended to
532 pacify the evil forces or to keep them away, as well as to the personified representation of the evil powers in this or that crude, approximate fashion, through carving animal and human figures in wood, and to shamanism The many wooden figures of bears, lizards, toads, snakes, and even of human beings which are found among the Gilyak may have this origin and meaning. The Gilyak does not regard them as gods and does not worship them. They are only representations or intimations of hostile powers in Nature from which he seeks to escape. The fact that human figures are also found among them should not be interpreted as though they were personified representations of divine beings, such as anthropomorphism has created in more spiritual fashion in other places.
771 In the view of a primitive people, and the Gilyak, too, man stands
812 wholly and exclusively within Nature; according to their superstition he stands /741/ in a close and immediate causal relationship with the events of Nature (or evil powers), and this in itself may make the representation of a human being necessary for the per-
[006] formance of many a shamanistic act. The conception of God, the Good One, however, is much too vague and lacking in content among the Gilyak to make it possible to speak of any connection with it and thus also of anthropomorphic ideas and representations. But though the Gilyak do not regard this superstition and shamanism, etc. as divine service or prayer, but only as a practical act in their lives in order to escape all harm, nevertheless we are obliged to call this their religious consciousness. And thus we find a strange

2: Schrenck--1192 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/741 cont./

771 and monstrous contradiction in the religious conceptions of the
● 812 Gilyak: on the hand, the idea of a single supreme and benevolent being, even though so completely empty that it precludes the worship of it, and, on the other hand, the purification of countless evil powers, along with a crude cult to ward them off and keep them away; many representations of animal and human forms in the yurts, and yet the Gilyak say that they have no representations of God; countless superstitious and shamanistic acts, and yet they deny that they pray. And, on the other hand, they speak of a supreme, wholly good being and have the word "pray" (mjägratsch) and yet do not worship this god. How is this to be ex-
174 plained? It seems to be that there is not a dualism of conceptions
771 here, but rather a matter of two completely separate concepts with
812 connection with each other and also historically distinct. -- The former is a thoroughly attenuated, obscure, and now only traditional deism which among the Gilyak consists of no more than merely a few traditional words -- God, the Good One, pray; and exerts no influence upon the rest of their so-called religious conceptions and acts (superstition, shamanism, idols) other than that those words are not carried over to these conceptions and acts. The second religious conception is probably basically identical with that of many primitive Siberian peoples and aims at keeping evil spirits and powers away from human beings by means of various superstitious observances and performances. The former deistic belief is probably the echo of an ancient conception perhaps commemorative of the cradle of the Gilyak. In fact, in the
[171] attribute of "God," Kingulätsch, and in the abstract, nihilistic character of the conception there is accord with the Central Asiatic religious systems, but the second conception may have originated at a much later time, after the Gilyak tribe had moved downstream into the wilderness of the eastern forests of the Asiatic continent (?) and therefore shows many points of contact and similarities with the religious conceptions of the neighboring Siberian peoples, and even of the Ainu. The first conception was completely lost, except for a few words, and another, a cruder and more concrete one developed, without, however, on account of the persistence of

2; Schrenck--1193 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

771 /741 cont./
174 tradition, reaching any pretensious of a religious one or completely
driving out and replacing that empty concept of God among the
812 Gilyak.

I realized that the wooden idols of the Gilyak do not
778 actually enjoy any very great esteem or reverence among them
[126] from the fact that the Gilyak from Kulk from whose deserted yurt
/742/ I had appropriated a collection of their idols in the summer of 1854, did not seem to notice the loss upon their arrival in the village, or at least did not consider it worth mentioning. In the same village I also once saw a small boy come out of the house playing with a wooden bear figure, a sign that these things were not as inaccessible to him as they certainly would be if they enjoyed special veneration. (Bm. 1, pp. 22-27.)

Idols and Amulets in Human Shape

778
789 2. Gilyak. The various idols carved in wood, some-
532 times human or sometimes animal in shape, which served to ward off danger, misfortune, sickness, and the like, were designated to me by the Gilyak with the general names of kāgn and tschngai (1).

[192] 1. The word mafk also seems to refer to idols in general.

In addition, however, special names for individual figures were also given to me. A crude representation of the whole human form (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig 1) or at least a bust of one is found as a rule in the yurt of the Gilyak on the crossbeam of the roof-frame, above the sleeping benches along the narrow side of the yurt away from the entrance (that is, above the place where among the Olcha
778 and Goldi the similarly-shaped sāwa stand). Sometimes, however,
789 the Gilyak wear similar small idols on their chests, to which they
755 give the name pangch (Plate LIII /p. 1253/, Fig. 5). If a Gilyak is seriously ill, the shaman carves such an idol for him, or advises
532 him to carve one and to wear it so that he will become well. But
[756]

82

82 IDEAS ABOUT NATURE AND MAN--general statements covering several types of speculative and popular notions concerning phenomena of the external world and of the human organism.

/50 cont./
823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

82 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'"
774 (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the
776 fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[177] [178] 1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by
825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

/50 cont./
825 for example, on a whale, the latter hold the flanks, while the leaders follow behind.

82 /51/ Once visible nature is only a mask and is not what
771 appears to be, there is a natural tendency on the part of the Gilyak to seize upon the smallest sign having resemblance t the human body or a part of it, in order to discover the hum shape that is concealed under it. Hence fetishism -- the psychology which discovers a supernatural human-like being every object which has an unusual form, be it a high mount a petrified object, or simply a piece of stone.

825 If inanimate nature is capable of arousing in the mind o the Gilyak the imagining of live creatures which conceal th selves under the dead form, then the cult of animals should the more not amaze us at all. It is generally believed that lies at the base of the cult of animals. Primus in orbe deos timor. In fact this is far from the case. First of all, we m remember that primitive man not only does not recognize a sort of gulf between himself and the animal world, but on contrary, in many respects admits the superiority of the latt over himself. A hunter by profession, he has invested in his art of hunting all his intelligence, all his inventiveness, all his human genius. See how brilliant his snares and traps are and nonetheless how often and maliciously the insignificant little beast -- a fox, a sable, and others -- will laugh at all machinations! Dozens of valuable sables run past his trap, leaving their footprints quite close to it; they guessed the cleverness of man and departed unharmed! How sensitive is the elk to the smell of a human being whole versts away! Never, never would a single beast be caught by the Gilyak, but for the will of the gods, the "masters" of these animals, which care for the well-being of the Gilyak. If a god does not will this, dozens of man's crossbows remain without a catch. Therefore the Gilyak sees in animals beings in no wa inferior to himself, even though a god may sometimes give

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramladz: (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat, even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself; he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
773 myg:nga igagö syktymu yz'mudzigu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
732 born a boy with a tail.
842 The lark causes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thunder.
The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in the humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- kzaktr, agn'i, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- am' is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

/320/

Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

773 Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kum, the master of the uni-
(772) verse, created everything: in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the tree." "Working" the earth, Kum lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach:.

821 The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first
(772) with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

773 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the
824 Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.
776 The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' n'gyvyn,
614 looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal n'gyvyn.

821 Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1)

1. Illegible. S. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunderstorm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-n'ivukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

/320 cont./

821 The god of the wind -- Layzn (the evil wind -- Lamangnd):n
(772) po chukh-chugad (sacrifices) are made to him. He is shot at with bows; he is not shot at with rifles for fear of evoking thunder and a storm. The wind comes about thus: "Layzn, just like man, blows from his mouth."

773 The bear, the sable, the fox, the otter, and the squirrel
825 were created by Pal yz'n (the master of the mountains).

Tuurmam -- the god of the hearth, the mistress of fire,
776 the old woman -- is one among all the clansmen. The head of Tuurmam is curly, the snout red, /321/ the hair short (there is no braid), the height that of a man, the clothing -- fish skin, lives in the fire.

Tajmandz: the only one who sends fish; he is a large and robust man. All his dogs are white. He rides through the air,
(821) along the Milky Way (Taimandz: -- tlf); he lives there. He also makes thunder. Each kikhal has its own Pal-n'ivukh, its own Tol-n'ivukh, even its own milk'i, but there is one Taimandz:. They set up three trees for Tol-n'ivukh: a fir, an ashberry, and a rose willow. Strips of bark are cut out of these trees and their branches are bound with sedge. One chkhnaj has saranka attached to it.

Oskyz'n master of the hare, big like a cow, long nose. They throw the head of a hare, with puchka tied to it. Tlangi-yz'n -- master of the reindeer, looks like a reindeer. Mekvon'-gi -- master of the kabarga.

Evil spirit -- Ge-n'ivukh. His yurt is an earthen mound near Tekhrvo. He opens a window (kugutf), extends two fingers, and asks for something. If something is given to him he leaves. If one gives him a hot coal, he does not understand what is happening, throws the coal back and forth from one hand to the other, and says: "as' kavkhaj, khavrkhaj, avguja" -- "it is hot, if you do not have (anything), do not give!" Ge-n'ivukh likes to kidnap people, especially children. The only way -- is to inflict a wound upon oneself. For Ge-n'ivukh is afraid of blood. Pumkin's brother sat in his balagan guarding reindeer and suddenly saw two ge-n'ivukh. He began to shout and inflicted a wound

/364 cont./

776 Gilyaks. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the num-
(372) ber of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea and the taiga give the Gilyak more than fire does. Imagining the
(771) elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similarity, but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination: "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared into the sky with their rider." One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("nhal") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- mou-
(782) tain, taiga). All the sacrifices /365/ at the bear festival belong to
(746) him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Tol'-nivukh; and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it
(821) is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses: the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen," a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils "sakhamnh". This is a whole nhal', living in the sea and dangerous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they
766 loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak reply
(764) on his face as the deceased. But it is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/367 cont./

577 in any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
773 clear conception of sin ("umgyrh"). It goes without saying /368/
773 that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
(682) atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
(842) misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
(821) have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
795 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life.

There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
821 on his face as the deceased. But it is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/670 cont./

574 took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after
another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the following day.

484 The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village
574 to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when bad weather has him by surprise, he is forced to spend the night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special meal is prepared for the dogs of the newly arrived guest. Needless to say, he then stays there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs have again been fed.

In any case, however, the weather is first carefully checked,
484 especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where
821 strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler
(114) in danger. During the several days of bad weather which detained me in the village of Tŷk on the west coast of Sakhalin in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision which overcomes the Gilyak when the weather is still rather doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the con-
(157) sultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides them on land as well as on sea journeys. On several occasions,
(114) however, I also had an opportunity to marvel at their knowledge
(123) of the climatic conditions of their country /671/ and the experiences that they had with them, for I had once made ready to continue my journey and found myself forced to return to the hated village where I had been received so inhospitably. On another occasion I reached the seacoast, which was 3-7 versts from the village, and continued my journey along it, but had
821 to endure very bad weather and snowstorms. The Gilyak especially feared being surprised by an ady (north and northwest) or

/671 cont./

821 tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of
Okhotk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas
the ladwilantsch (southeast wind), the tungyrsch and ngaluwa (1)

(104) 1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French z.

(484) (west and southwest wind), and the kongrsch (south wind) cause them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

(823) 2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: ady, tschlangi, kongrsch, and tungyrsch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from DuÏ to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

(782) (789) Magic arrow for exorcising storms.

821 front of the sleds of the travelers. In the village itself several
784 methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At
782 the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a square piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing tinder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the storm ady-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of wheltps to the storm. In the village of Tŷk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

/671 cont./
882 others were to follow (3). This method was at least more pur-
883
884 3. Concerning this, see p. 662 above.
885

poneful, for it increased the food supply of the people and saved dog food, the lack of which was already making itself felt at the time.

576 I never saw or heard of a Gilyak who, upon entering a
574 house, greeted the host, hostess, or any other acquaintance with
[127] a word or gesture, nor is it done upon his departure. As I gather from Middendorff's handwritten notes, given to me to use, this coming and going without any salutation surprised him, too.
576 With me they likewise constantly came and went without a
574 salutation, or at most, later, with a "dèdèrtu" and "proschschâi"
[128] learned from the Russians. Only in the presence of the Manchu
[123] and Chinese do they imitate the /672/ Tungusic Amur peoples by dropping on one knee in front of them and bowing their heads, but this is done only in order to gain their favor and to avoid being punished by them, since the Manchu officials in Saghalin and other places strictly insist upon such a show of deference.

576 But what surprised me even more is the fact that the
574 word "thanks" seems to be missing entirely from their lexicon. I never heard it used by them, either among themselves or to me. Middendorff and Glehn had the same experience. I should like to ascribe this to the incompleteness of our word list, which is in general very poor in expressions for abstract concepts and emotions. On the other hand, it is hardly to be assumed that if they really had gratitude in their hearts, they would not have a word for it and that it should simply have always eluded us. After all, we see them in all kinds of situations when they received services or help and hospitality offered almost to excess. It is possible that guests who have been sheltered, despite notoriously scanty means, for days as a result of storms setting in and who have been fed along with all their dogs, as the Gilyak do among one another, depart without having said a word of thanks? Is everything based only on national commaisim of on the certainty of reciprocity in similar cases? With regard to me,

/674 cont./
884 them, even without being inhabited. Their designation of spatial
[192] distances in terms of days of travel or the number of night-rests is
805 usually, under normal weather conditions, quite accurate. The Gilyak naturally used this system of designating distance by the time required to cover the stretch during their first encounters with the Russians for information about the distances in their country. Therefore, in this case, too, even before I learned the
[192] Gilyak expression for "to sleep" (k(h)otsch or k(h)onssch), I came across the word borrowed from the Russian and only suitably Gilyakized, ssapsapi (from the Russian ssapaj), with the derived verbal form ssipara, ssaparar, etc. Under unfavorable conditions, however, during stormy weather, heavy snowdrifts, etc., the designation according to days of travel is very uncertain and fluctuating, for it depends merely on how much one /675/ trusts the capacity of himself or his dogs, and that is always very little, because in such cases the Gilyak generally prefer not to move from the spot.

885 It is most difficult among the Gilyak to set a date somewhat
882 further in the future on which something is to happen, if they are pursuing their activities undisturbed in their own surroundings, for these usually take such a regular course that a mistake in the number of night-rests that have passed is all too easily possible and always more likely than the opposite. The Gilyak, indeed, also observe the various phases of the moon, and, to be sure, in a very careful fashion, and they have special designations for the full and new moon (long tscharrnsch--is full, and l. munsch--is dead), the waxing and waning moon (padywu-l. and mulw-l.), the half moon and the quarter moon (l. purytsch and l. per(ch)kotsch), and the waxing or waning of these phases of the moon (padywu-l. purytsch and mulw-l. purytsch, or padywu-l. per(ch)kotsch and mulw-l. per(ch)kotsch)--but for the above-mentioned purpose of predetermining a definite day, this is only an approximate method, and if the sky is overcast for any length of time, as it by no means rarely is in the Amur region, it does not work at all.

886 The Gilyak divide the year into twelve months (1). But
884
[191] 1. Among the Eskimo it has 13 months.

/678 cont./
805 when the river becomes free of ice. September -- when the
kaichakh geese (Anser grandis) migrate ; and November -- when
an ice cover again forms on the Amur and much snow falls. The uncertainty in which the Gilyak live in general with regard to the current month naturally makes fixing a date further in the future especially difficult among them.

The twelve months of the year are distributed very unequally into the individual seasons of the year by the Gilyak. Actually, they distinguish only two seasons: winter (tulf or tulx-anj) and summer (tulf or tolx-anj), for which the decisive factor is probably whether they live in their winter or summer dwellings. Accordingly, there are seven months (October to April) in the former, five (May to September) in the latter.

Autumn (tulf or tylx-anj) and spring (chonf or chonx-anj) hardly count at all; I find one very seldom hears them mentioned. But if the distinction is made, each of these seasons has only one month -- they are the months of the customary transfer from the summer dwellings to the winter ones and vice versa, in October and April, respectively. In this case, then, there are among the Gilyak:

882 5 months of winter -- November to March.
1 month of spring -- April.
5 months of summer -- May to September.
1 month of autumn -- October.

882 In connection with the reckoning of time, a few words
might be mentioned about the astronomic conceptions of the Gilyak. As a result of the visible rising and setting of the sun, the Gilyak naturally assume that the earth (mif) stands fast and the sun (keng) moves about it. On the basis of the circular horizon, they believe further that the earth has the shape of a circular disk. As a rule, they do not give any accoiunt of where the sun stays after it has set and night has fallen, and to my question concerning this they answered, amid smiles, with a counterquestion as to whether I had seen it then. From the constant succession of day and night,

/678 cont./
882 the thought of a continuous movement of the sun around the earth
and thus an alternation of day and night on the side of the earth turned toward or away from it did come to the deeper thinkers among them, such as lutschin and Balgun --a thought which immediately gave rise to the question as to whether there were also animals and men on the other side of the earth. Moreover, the idea that the earth did not have a disk-shape, but a globular-shaped form was accepted by them more easily than I had imagined. According to their view, the stars moved around the earth just like the sun. They have, however, a cosmic conception of them advanced to the point that they regard them as celestial bodies similar to the earth, which appear so small to them only because of the great distance. This /679/ undoubtedly arose from their indiscriminate use of the designations unghyr, "star," and unghyr-mif, "earth-star." Some of the constellations bear special names among them. For example, the three stars in the tail of the Great Bear are called tscharw(r)ghrtsch, the four in its body ningnap (1), that is, rats' storehouse, a constellation with

[192] 1. In the Tymy dialect, nio = nio on the mainland.

numerous stars near the Great Bear, perhaps the Pleiades (?), bears the name lumr (table) on the Amur and, on Sakhalin, taghr-nio, that is, storehouse of Tamias striatus, or also tammi-unghyr (many stars), the sword of Orion is called tschichwâk, the Milky Way
533 taighomantif, which means roughly "unknown way," etc. One of
512 their first and most frequent questions was whether there were
[195] human beings on the stars. To my answer that these objects were too small to be seen even with a telescope because of the great distance of the stars they replied with great assurance that nevertheless their shamans had seen them, and from their stories they firmly believed that on the stars there are tall trees and extensive forests, various animals, such as sable, otter, foxes, bears, dogs, etc., and, finally, even human beings. These human beings, whom they called, again indiscriminately,

/679 cont./
882 sometimes unghyr-nibâch (star men) and sometimes unghyr-mif-
[196] nibâch (star-earth men), wege of especially gigantic stature, the eyebrows bushy, the nose long and strong, etc. Occasionally an aunt-in-law again forms on the Amur and the shamans have now one would have to behave toward him. The story of such a meeting followed, but unfortunately I was unable to follow it in its fantastic and confused details.

128 If for the moment, however, we glance away from the
shamans, their arts, conjuring the spirits, dances, and songs, to which a later section of this work will be devoted, and still dwell on the phenomena of the everyday social life of the Gilyak, a few remarks concerning their amusements, songs, music, dances, and games remain.

533 The minds of the Gilyak are turned too much toward more
sober, serious, and practical purposes, such as acquisition, trade, and profit, for them to devote themselves much or often to singing. In particular I have never heard them sing at the bear festivals or at other occasional gatherings for the purpose of amusing or pleasing themselves and others. Only when the Gilyak knows that he is alone and unobserved and in the stillness of Nature surrounding him, does a melancholy mood come over him as he is sitting, for instance, beside the dying fire in the silent forest or drifting down the river in a light boat with the wind still and without the stroke of an oar -- only in such and similar cases have I heard him sing in the daytime, and then the prolonged guttural notes of his song come over to one sounding so monotonous and melancholy. On the other hand, he very often sings at night in order to shorten the slowly creeping, sleepless hours. Stretched out on the sleeping bench under his dog-fur coats, he begins to sing in a loud voice, unconcerned about the repose of his neighbors and the other sleepers. When he has finished a stanza, a guttural aa usually comes from here /680/ or there as a sign that he has found a fellow-sufferer and his song should by all means go on. With this encouragement, a second stanza follows, then a third, etc. Sometimes it is a man, sometimes a woman, who renders the nocturnal song or the encouraging aa. Sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I

"Mention has been made of four gods—the lords of the forest, sea, and fire, and the creator, or judge of right and wrong; but these do not exhaust the whole polytheistic conception of the Gilyak. They have also a pantheon of minor deities, the most intimate among a crowd who are too numerous to maintain communications with. The sun, moon, and stars each has its ni vookh, but the Gilyak has no intercourse with them."

/762 cont./
[197] on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to
[195] heaven and therefore no longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, this idea may in part also give rise to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. II, 57-59.)

[197] 44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (**),
[195]
[125]
[170] ** See Appendix 45, below.

The soul of a person drowned in the river or in the sea (according to Jutschin's report) does not go to heaven or to Mlygh-wo, but goes into a seal dog, and, to be sure, into a kighitsch or pyghilangr, i.e., the adult Phoca vitulina or nautica. A number of utisch are therefore connected with the catching of a sea dog. For example, when the sea dog is caught and before any use is made of it, a cut with the knife must always be made through each eye so that the liquid can flow out. This is caught in the hollow of the hand and thrown back into the river. Only then may the sea dog be used as needed (†).

†. See p. 851.

[197] It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (tlö),
[195] where the souls of the murdered are said to go. As an answer to
882 my question as to whether these souls go to one of the stars, which are also earth, I was told that they also went beyond these, nilr, i.e., "inland" from the stars (††). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

†† Therefore beyond them; see the star-dwellers, p. 1101.

[197] 45. Olcha. From Chostiambo I learned the following about the
[195] views of the Olcha with regard to the fate of the dying and the
[115] metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

9: Hawes--269-270 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 266, 821, 823

"There were legends which seemed to indicate that Cape Maria (or Cape Elizabeth), in the extreme north of the island, was regarded as the 'end of the world.' We heard of 'black men who were cannibals,' (1) but beyond them and their country, Vanka assured

1. What the origin of this report about black men was I do not know, but in the old legends the Gilyak hero is often represented as slaying his opponent and eating him.

us lay our goal. The Gilyak canoe seemed a poor sea-going craft, and the ignorance of the stars shown by the natives stamped them as a land race. On the other hand, they were noted for their [270] excellent orientation in the dark. From Vanka we could get no information about the moon, and so I asked if he knew anything about the man in it. No, his father had told him something about him once, but he had forgotten, and, though he knew he was there, he really couldn't tell if he were a bad man, condemned to live there, or a good man."

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

153 etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may
821 converse with the more intelligent of them for a short time
177 As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say th the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exact the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. "Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, bu that your head is standing still. And yet your head, meantime, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little father.

147 XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

838 In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the taiga, or to stand for hours up to their chests in the coldest water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was the only deformity that was known to me.

164 Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military posts. In any case this disease does not have the significanc among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened toward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

821

822

822

HNOPHYSICS--popular conceptions of matter, energy, and their properties; ions about space, time, and gravitation; ideas about form, color, and nd (e.g., color symbolism, patterned use of color); beliefs about shadows, lections, and echoes; notions about electricity, magnetism, chemical proper- (e.g., alchemy); etc. See also:

elephone, telegraph, radio, and television . . 20
deas about heat, light, and fire 37
rt and music. 53
ata on sensation and perception 151
hotography 215
etallurgy 325
ivil engineering 331
Chemical engineering 381
Mechanics 401
Optical instruments 416
Ideas about the soul 774
Mensuration 804
Development of scientific physics and chemistry 815

151 XIV Amusements and Festivitie
Among such peoples physical pl
a most important place, and forer
joys of eating and smoking. They
odors, for fish, smoke, and seal
indifferent, or even an agreeable
odor of decay, and conversely, th
Whenever I experimentally held a
up to their noses, they always ma
822 Among colors, the Gilyak prefe
definitely do not belong to those p
colors. For instance, many of th
shirt or caftan instead of the dirt
never occur to them to do this. T
curlicues on the caps and petticoa
otherwise clothes, houses, weapo
colored. A black dog pelt as a co
garded as particularly beautiful.
534 The Gilyak love music. If neig
strum their balalaikas or play the
who are present like to listen. T
primitive. It consists of a sort o
somewhat like a longish horsesho
instrument is grasped with one ha
placed on the lips, the tongue of t
somewhat, while one finger of the
pulls and releases the little hook
of the instrument. The tongue vi
tone results, which can be modifi
player. Not everybody knows hov
"harmonica".
Other quite embryonic music,
is produced as follows: a thin dry
parallel to the ground by ropes, a
rhythmically with a stick. Durin
audience is edified with this sort
who has a talent for this, calls to
and, as though under the baton of
533 the limb with sticks. In winter ti
often sings a monotonous song wh
of all kinds of unrelated sentence
to occur to him [235] or that he s
handed down from father to son th
and in general they are stingy wit
heard them sing in the village, th

s. Burial Ceremonies.
easures, naturally, take
nost among the e are the
are not very sensitive to
blubber to them have an
odor. But they abhor the
ey like a nice fragrance.
bottle of eau-de-cologne
de a pretty face.
r red and blue, but they
eoples who go in for bright
em could acquire a red
y-blue ones, but it would
he colored borders and
ts of the women suffice;
ns, and tools are dark-
at is, as I have said, re-

hboring Russian peasants
accordian, the natives
heir own music is very
f jew's harp which looks
e. The broad end of the
nd, the narrow end is
he player is placed forward
other hand alternately
connected with the tongue
orates and a low buzzing
ed by the tongue of the
to play on this

or rather, clinking noise,
tree trunk is suspended
nd on this they beat
the bear festival the
of "music": some woman
gether a troupe of children
a conductor, lets them hit
me on a journey, the Gilyak
ich actually consists only
s about anything that happens
ees. Actual songs that are
e Gilyak do not possess,
h their singing. I never
eir houses, or on their

823

823 ETHNOGEOGRAPHY--notions about water; ideas about hydrographic phenomena (e.g., oceans and seas, waves and tides, currents and whirlpools, rivers and streams, lakes and springs, floods); ideas about topographic phenomena (e.g., hills and mountains, canyons and valleys, caves and grottoes, striking natural formations, volcanoes and earthquakes); notions about minerals, metals, and precious stones; geographical and geological lore; directions (e.g., upstream and downstream, cardinal points); ideas about the beauty of nature; associated behavior patterns (e.g., attempts to quell earthquakes); etc. See also:

Geographical environment 13
Settlements 36
Place names 403
Land use 311
Water supply 312
Routes and maps 407
Disaster relief 731
Flood myths and mythical cataclysms . . . 773
Nature spirits and monsters 776
Surveying 804
Development of scientific geology and geography 816

/49 cont./

977 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

992 992 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

● 823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

[780] I myself have made some trips across the "Chin." have been how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our successful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head" [998] of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacrilegious offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'pal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/50 cont./

● 823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of intemecine wars.

82 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'" 774 (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the 776 fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau"-(1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[797] [998] 1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by 825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

1: Shternberg--440 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil- 754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the 695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyt') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

88 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached 31 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in 178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be- 88 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her 583 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash 341 [302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the rügurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac- 834 commodates a guest under one blanket.

343 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be- ● 823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam). In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

1: Shternberg--459 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

/ 319/

XI.

Miscellanea

● 823 The cliff Uj-pame, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the 782 master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year) 776 they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyt ururungid'! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire- 758 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

731 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements 753 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their 766 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is 562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field; the wind blows and it is out.

158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease [143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/

● 823 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin.

773 Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary.

761 Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri- 825 fices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may [782] look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

724 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and 825 they treat him like a killed one. When they set off some- [261] where (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

703 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

/606 cont./ They are not permitted

430 by the Manchu-Chinese government to go farther upstream, just 434 as they and all the other peoples of the lower Amur region are 484 not permitted to enter the Amur above the mouth of the Sungari, 484 the so-called Sachali River -- a prohibition whose observance the 648 Manchu officials stationed in Dshang-dshu at the confluence of the two rivers have to watch over very strictly (1). Hence this is

1. Cf. pp. 73 and 800 above.

also the extreme western and southern boundary of that part of the Amur and Sungari region known to the Gilyak through personal observation. What they have to say about the towns of "Kirchik-choton" and "Nungdy-choton" (Ninguta?) located, respectively, [103] above Itscha-choton on the Sungari and on its above-mentioned tributary, which they call "Ula" (which, however, in Manchu and Tungusic, as is well known, simply means "river"), as well as about the "large" town of "Aicho" (Aigun) on the Sachali River is based only upon hearsay, on tales which they may have heard in part from the Chinese on the Sungari and Amur and in part perhaps through Daurian-Yakut traditions in Burukan. The 430 fact that the Manchu-Chinese government grants the Gilyak 434 access to the Sungari, which is prohibited for all foreigners, 484 indicates /607/ that it views them as its subjects, though it does nothing in their region to give proof of its rule over them and does not send either military or tribute-collecting officials to them, as a consequence of which the Gilyak regard themselves as independent of it. Perhaps it neglects to do this for reasons of precedence, in order not to expose itself to resistance, the removal of which would involve more cost than benefit. On the other hand, it tries to make up for it by collecting from the Gilyak coming to trade in Ssan-ssin as high a tribute as possible for permission to do so, which must be obtained from it first. The Gilyak have no choice but to submit to any demand, if they are not to lose their anticipated profits from trading and to have undertaken the whole long journey in vain. At the same

/612 cont./

439 prized Haliaëtos albicilla, the amount of rice desired. Furuhjelm,
[435 at that time head of the agency of the Russo-American Trade Company in Ajan, Nikolayevsk and the Murawjof post, estimated the total number of animal furs annually obtained in trade from the Japanese by the Ssisam voyagers in Ssiranussi at about 2,400 otter pelts, 1,300 sable pelts, and 640 fox pelts (1). This rich

1. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazov. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii, Part II, p. 128.

supply of furs which the Gilyak and Olcha bring home from their Ssisam voyages is used by them in the trade with the Chinese on the Amur and especially on the Sungari in the manner described above and thus contributes greatly to the maintenance, stimulation, and augmentation of all their trade operations.

439 Meanwhile, the stay of the Ssisam voyagers on Sakhalin
484 for the purpose of trade with the Ainu and Japanese often ex-
487 tends over a considerable length of time. In particular those arriving in the summer either wait for winter in order to return with their dogs on the above-mentioned route via Kussunai, Manuë, the Poro-nai, and the Tymy sources, or even remain through the entire winter in the southern part of the island and not until the next spring or summer set out on the return voyage by boat along the west coast of Sakhalin. On this voyage they
[231 still carry on trade with the Ainu so far as they can and, as Fr. Schmidt reports (2), are especially anxious to get bear cubs in

2. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 54.

order to raise them at home.

648 The Japanese do not permit the Ssisam voyagers to go
439 beyond Ssiranussi and to visit, say, the Japanese settlement of
484 Kussun-kotan in Aniwa Bay. This, then, as in Ssan-ssin, is the
●[823 southernmost boundary of the world known to the Gilyak from

/612 cont./

439 their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of
484 the Ssisam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin
648 (Lär-mif) and separated from it by a "small sea" (matsch-kerchk).
●[823 /613/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the
105 Amur region by the Russians, however, the Japanese also tried
648 to keep the traders from there away from Ssiranussi and Endungomo,
439 their second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance,

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Ssiranussi by the Japanese but only as far as Endungomo, and in the following year the Olcha traders were prohibited from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kussunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2). Even Judin, the

[113 2. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, pp. 22, 26). Also, Schmidt, "Hist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

Gilyak from Tebach, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Ssiranussi and was well known there; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, stemming from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our considerations.

/671 cont./

821 tchlangi (east and northeast) storm sweeping over the Sea of Okhotsk and almost always accompanied by snowstorms, whereas the ladwilantsch (southeast wind), the tungyrsch and ngaluws (1)

[104 1. Soft, to be pronounced like the French z.

(west and southwest wind), and the kongrsch (south wind) cause
[484 them less concern (2). The latter are especially dangerous in

●[823 2. On the Amur the winds are, as a rule, distinguished less accurately, and simply by the four main directions: ady, tschlangi, kongrsch, and tungyrsch (north, east, south, and west).

making a trip from Dul' to the villages to the south on the same coast, since the sea ice sometimes breaks up immediately in

[982
[989

Magic arrow for exorcising storms.

front of the sleds of the travelers. In the village itself several
821 methods of appeasing the unleashed storm-spirits were used. At
989 the tip of a long pole stuck in the snow there was fastened a
982 square piece of sealskin, which evidently was to serve as a sacrificial offering to the storm. A second method served the same purpose, but in a much more attractive form. It was an ordinary-sized arrow made with two prongs at the tip and provided with two curls of wood shavings on the shaft. Between the two prongs, likewise bearing small wooden curls, the strong center rib of a tobacco leaf and a small piece of glowing tinder were inserted and the arrow shot off in the direction of the stormy ady-wind. Finally, a third method consists of sacrificing a number of whelps to the storm. In the village of Tyk their number came to three, and, if the storm did not stop the next day three

Gi /776 cont./

766 fir branches were lacking, which is not permissible for a person who has been torn to pieces by a bear.

Gi The inhabitants of individual villages and localities differ
764 with respect to the position in which they put the corpse in the coffin in relation to the points of the compass. The decisive
823 factor seems to be, not the sun, but, among the coastal dwellers,
184 the sea, and, among the Amur dwellers, the river. But different customs prevail, depending on the locality. The Orochi of the coast from Nangmar to Idi are said to place the corpses in the igda-chôldochsa with the head toward the sea, that is, to the east. At the Orochi tomb in Pjedanj, however, the head was turned toward the Pje River, that is, to the west. The Olcha of Pjedanj, like those on the Amur River in the villages of Kidsi,
Gi Dshai, etc., give their dead this same position in the chôldocha,
[162 In de Castries the chôldocha, which are not far from the village and are said to belong to the Olcha who died there, although the entire population now consists of Orochi, have their doors toward the west, that is, toward the distant Amur River, and not toward the sea to the east. The door on the chôldochsa, however, is always at the head end of the burial house. Thus, these Olcha, if they actually were such, had it oriented according to the customs of their homeland. But the same custom is not found in all the villages on the Amur. In Darachta, for instance, on the left bank of the Amur, where its direction is to the north, the corpses are said to be placed on one side in the coffin, so that they are turned with the face and the chest toward the east, with the head in an upstream direction toward the south, the feet in a
G downstream direction toward the north. Among the Gilyak, the
764 river seems to be absolutely decisive for the position of the raff,
●823 because I always saw the door of the raff turned toward the river, no matter what its direction was, for example, in Kulk, Kalgho, Tacht, Kalm, and Chjare, at the first two places, therefore, toward the south; at the latter, toward the west. (2 S.R.I. pp. 25-27)

ooo /Page 777 contains a list of errata which have been corrected in the text./

225 mu-ziyad on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziyad on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

782 Aside from mu-ziyad, tnaj is performed on the boat. Tnaj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-ŋks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these tnaj elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-psk-zzq --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figurines tnaj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
● 823 first go to Ulŋ-krŋ "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
766
782 1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him similar gifts which the pilaŋ throws into the sea together with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Uiŋ-krə̂, then they throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (krə̂) there lives a ə̂tik- an old woman. These old women must also be given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed that tvax-ə̂tik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.

[83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf (Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kəvr-mif (Shantar Islands). (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end of the summer and then they would return to the village to fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Norp put out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net, tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally

2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long. Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch. Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the

9: Hawes--100-102 1-3
116, 132, 773, 823

"It is interesting to note, in rega
land in historical times, that the Gi
of the isthmus which is said to have
so curiously prevalent.

The story tells how, 'In the good
Amur land (mainland at the mouth o
but once there came water from the
tops of the mountains. During that
himself, by chance, on the top of a
him no harm, and even allowed him
other mountains, where more refug
waters receded and [101] life went o
they had come, to sell the furs they
the isthmus was gone, swept away
which remains to this day. At the ti
overflowed, and large numbers of c

I asked them where this mountain
south of Alexandrovsk, called Ktaü
Pérouse, 'Pic la Martinière,' after
in French from LaPérouse's accoun

rd to the reported connexion of the island and main-
lyak natives have a legend telling of the destruction
: united them. It is one of the deluge stories that are

old times no boat was needed to go to and from the
of Amur), for then dry land united it with Sakhalin,
: sea—much, much water—then only were seen the
flood many Gilyak hunters perished, but one found
mountain, sharing it with a bear. The beast did
to sit upon its back while he swam to the tops of
gees from the flood were congregated. When the
n as usual, the Gilyaks wanted to return whence
had saved; but on arrival at the familiar spot, lo!
by the flood, and in its place was the narrow strait,
ime of this catastrophe,' they added, 'the river Amur
our brethren on its banks perished.'
was, and they indicated a peak about forty miles
si pal (pal-peak or mountain), and named by La
the botanist of his expedition. . . [LSS: A footnote
t has not been reproduced.] When the natives see

116, 132, 773, 823

this peak, my Gilyak informant said, the
mountain.

I have wondered whether the following
only a coincidence. I happened to be pass
Russian cargo steamer, and talking to th
when he said, 'There are frequent fogs h
but there is always one guide. In the thic
the summit, of a mountain in Sakhalin.'
floods, the clouds and fog, on which the

Another legend bearing on the point is
or grandfathers [102] remembered the ti
and it was very hot. The Russians came,
Before this, grapes ripened on the islan
they are very sour, and not really ripe.
bears no fruit.' "

y always make an offering to the god of the

had anything to do with the Gilyak story, or was
sing down the Straits of Tartary on a small
e captain about the weather encountered there,
ere, and you know how difficult navigation is,
kest of fogs can always be seen the top, just
Is this the mountain, towering above the heaven
Gilyak and bear found themselves?
told by their old men, who say that 'their father
me when on the island there were no Russians,
, and brought with them the cold and snowstorm
d, and now only in the south, and even there
In the north there is only the plant, and it

10, 372, 110, 323

"The honoured place at the end o
door (the east end it happened to b
preter. Honourable as it was, we
secticide, a proceeding in no way
came to shake a cloth over the fire
derogatory to Tur ni vookh, the lo

of the hut, [LSS: of the headman at Nivo] o
e in this case), was reserved for me and n
took the precaution of sprinkling it freely v
resented, and probably not understood; bu
e, I was politely requested to refrain from
rd of that element."

Hawes--269-270 T-3 (1901) 1903
, 266, 821, 823

'There were legends which seemed to indicat
the extreme north of the island, was regarde
'black men who were cannibals,' (1) but beyon

1. What the origin of this report about black
old legends the Gilyak hero is often represe
eating him.

lay our goal. The Gilyak canoe seemed a poo
stars shown by the natives stamped them as
re noted for their [270] excellent orientation i
information about the moon, and so I asked i
, his father had told him something about him
knew he was there, he really couldn't tell if h
re, or a good man."

e that Cape Maria (or Cape Elizabeth),
d as the 'end of the world.' We heard
d them and their country, Vanka assured

men was I do not know, but in the
nted as slaying his opponent and

r sea-going craft, and the ignorance of
a land race. On the other hand, they
n the dark. From Vanka we could get
he knew anything about the man in it.
once, but he had forgotten, and, though
he were a bad man, condemned to live

: Bush--86 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
, 778, 823

"During this portion of our journey on the lake, [LSS: Lake Kidzi] which is about
enty-five miles in length, we passed a small rocky island called Boshniak, which is
ld sacred by the Gilaks. To this place the 'shamans' or 'medicine-men' of the
be periodically resort for the purpose of carrying on their pagan rites, which in
any respects resemble the ceremonies of our American Indians."

824

824 ETHNOBOTANY--notions about plants in general; ideas about particular plants (e.g., mistletoe); cultural uses of plants; native terms for plants; knowledge of poisonous plants; associated behavior patterns; etc.

See also:

Agriculture 24
Textile uses of plant fibers 28
Native flora 137
Collecting 222
Fish poisons 226
Food taboos 262
Materia medica and pharmacology 278
Lumbering and forestry science 313
Forest products 314
Arrow poisons 411
Development of scientific botany. 815

/80 cont./
and wound him should be gay, jest, and laugh. Silence in the house of the deceased is a sin. When all the preparations are finished, the deceased is tied with thongs to a dog sled and his favorite dog is placed over him. For some time the little soul of the deceased will live in this dog. The dog will subsequently be tied to the place where the deceased slept and will be fed the best dishes, and after several months, when the small soul is once again settled in its place, the dog is sold.

Finally, the deceased is brought to that place where his remains will stay forever. Here his last bed on earth awaits him -- a high, symmetrically arranged pile of wood, on which he is carefully placed with his face toward the west. For the last time the wife, the husband, the mother, if the deceased is young, the wife of the elder brother, if the deceased was unmarried, climb up to him and weep, and then, making a sacred fire by means of friction, they set fire to the platform from all sides. When the fire reaches the body of the deceased, everyone hastens to pay their last tribute to him by throwing firewood into the fire. Even small children take part in this. Four men stand on the sides and, with long poles, regulate the firewood and poke the body to the fire. It will burn faster and better. At the same time they break the sled, kettles, and spears and kill the dogs, which free the souls of these objects to follow the deceased.. The ashes are covered with birch bark, and of the deceased there remains only ashes, in the literal sense of the word.

/81/ A tree torn up with the roots is placed over the spot where the deceased was burned.

After this the people seat themselves around the kettles containing the meat of the slain dogs, part of which is eaten and part thrown in all directions. On the way back they drop in for only a short time at the yurt of the deceased to taste the viands placed there, and then dispense.

/305 cont./
mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days the sin apart and eat from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks are called ŋyŋaŋdr (from ŋyr -- risk, luck, and ŋuŋydr -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

/306/ If two children were born, they make two pain of ŋmuŋ, two ŋoŋ ŋ'ŋkh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as strips (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ), two small bows (gudu) and arrows of a special shape (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ), and attachments for the cradle -- ŋinaŋ'. When they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bituŋ' -- must be fed (settlement of Ka'wu).

While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- ŋ'ŋ'ŋ'ŋ is at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest and hang it on a tree. O'ŋ'ŋ (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ) is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhaŋ is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both male and female). After being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is not permissible to throw it into the yurt or yard). One must watchfully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse, for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing there is broken. This tree is called pila ŋuŋ', and the place is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/306 cont./
A child's amulet -- ola bituŋ consists of two slender fir trees -- ŋruŋ, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; these trees are set apart from each other. Then they are reinforced, encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened bones of a young fish, the head of a pike (ŋuŋ), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Ka'wu).

VII.

Religion

The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The shaman -- chdaŋ, chkhdaŋ, ŋ'ŋ'ŋ, ŋ'ŋ'ŋ (the pain as in a tree). A man has three souls: one major one -- chdaŋ, and its two shadows, assistants. When the chdaŋ of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true, it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistants. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with dŋuŋ; then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chonge nyŋrr), which is picked up from the ashes, is placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n ŋ'ŋ'ŋ k'ŋk. Some place the bone in the upper part, other -- ŋ'ŋ'ŋ

/311 cont./
before becoming a shaman -- pobkhrydr-chaŋ -- a shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pobkhrydr: -- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented until our of his mouth come gulk (Goldi nilin) -- a shaman's copper mirror, tore (Goldi ŋ'ŋ'ŋ) -- a piece of copper for a shaman's fumigating smoke, then bones -- muk', and, finally, a lalbich -- a knife of palm /ŋ'ŋ'ŋ/. The lalbich of the Gilyak shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami among the Goldi, lives in the ŋ' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of the three souls of the shaman, literally, the path of a tree.

VIII.

Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

chkdrŋr-tut, toigo, Chkdaŋ -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chkdrŋr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chkdrŋr nar'ŋof (1). In the

1. In another place it is said that the chkdrŋr is repaired until it falls down.

settlement of Ka'wu on the chkdrŋr, on its crossbar -- two figures, ŋ'ŋ'ŋ -- peasant man and woman. A chkdrŋr is fed on the first day of the month ainong (December) and a second time in July. Everyone who has a chkdrŋr, and all man-eaters, have two forked pieces of wood (tuŋr ŋ'ŋ'ŋ), the fork is thrown into the fire and chkdrŋr takes back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a bear to protect against the mish-a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/322/
Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kum, the master of the universe, created everything: in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the sewers, and the trees." "Working" the earth, Kum lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-r'kech.

The sky -- ŋ'ŋ -- is like an iron earth, but it moves, turns first with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The sun: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

People descended from a tree: the crook from a birch, the Gilyaks from a larch, the Atna from a fir.

The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' n'ŋgvŋŋ, looks like an Atna. Each clan has its own Pal' n'ŋgvŋŋ.

Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-ŋ'ŋ'ŋ'ŋ pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-ŋ'ŋ'ŋ has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (I

1. Illegible. 5. Sh.

of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger inches during a thunderstorm, immediately turns into a snake, otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-ŋ'ŋ'ŋ'ŋ who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ŋa, heard by him in Nyvde).

/326 cont./
a man) and one purne (mily) for tinder and flint.

8. Hoŋŋk -- a tobacco pouch, also of dog's skin, for both men and women; tobacco is placed in the pouch, and the hoŋŋk.

A husband dresses his wife, a wife her husband, parents their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated, except -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning until night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

Sews, ties, or sings (are recited -- purine).

On the following day the men go to cut firewood for the cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and birch, and poplars -- rose-willow; to cut birch or fir is a sin. One must select a good tree; otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length /327/ among some, up to a span in length (the clan of Pletunka); among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows lengthwise and crosswise.

During the second night, too, nobody sleeps; everyone feeds the deceased (ne r'ŋgvŋŋ achkinŋ), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt of the deceased is burned, the floor is swept, then the fire is purified -- tugur mund, mot' is prepared, and tugur amind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a clansman, or a stranger) into a fire started with the branches of a fir, but nothing is said.

When all the preparations have been completed, they eat, drink vodka, and then bring in a dog sled. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, bound to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "grave" (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ) is dug at the place where the deceased died. They walk around the funeral fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a respite three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the idol, and the deceased,

/327 cont./
and with the ridge. The remaining finer latticework of the roof is made up of thin poles and sticks set crosswise and then covered with tree bark, in particular fir bark, and finally with a layer of dry grass or Calamogrostis straw, etc., which is pressed down and held in place by poles placed parallel to the ridge of the roof. The entrance is found in one corner of the house, and, to be sure, if one stands in front of one of its long sides, always to the right, in the transverse wall or in the longitudinal wall, with an ordinary door (ŋ), which contains of several boards held together by a few cross-strips, and also always with a high threshold by means of which the influx of cold air over the floor, as well as the penetration of drifting snow and coming rainwater into the house, is supposed to be blocked (ŋ'ŋ'ŋ'ŋ).

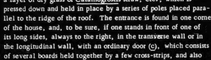

Plan of a Chinese Winter-Yurt of the Gilyak (ŋchadryf).

a -- Large supporting posts of the roof framework, b -- smaller supporting posts for it. c -- Door. d -- Window. e -- Hearth. f -- Opening for feeding the fire. g -- Hole for the large kettle. h -- Sitting and sleeping benches. i -- Pipes used for heating same. k -- Chimney. l -- Dogs' table. m -- Posts on which the table top rests. n -- Places for storing household equipment. o -- Water container.

/387 cont./

29 and wide in comparison with the foot part, are made out of the
thinner and more pliable skin of the last-named species of seal,
with the hair turned outward; they almost reach the knee and,
after the ends of the trousers have been tucked in, are tied under
[142] it with a leather strap sewed to or on them. In view of the heavy
320 growth of hair of the Gilyak, a head-covering is usually unnecess-
sary during the summer. Nevertheless, for protection against
rain and sunshine, they wear a peculiar, rather shallow-conical
[531] hat made out of birch bark (Gilyak chihr-tu, i.e., in literal
translation, "birch-bark hat"), which as a rule is decorated with
different kinds of black and red arabesques arranged to radiate
out around the tip and, likewise cut out of thin birch-bark,
sewed on the hat by means of fine catgut (see Pl. XVII and Pl.
XX, Figs. 1 and 2)(2).

[386] 2. The colors (black and red) are not
washed off by rain. I therefore suspect that
they are produced by a mixtuge of Chinese
ink or iron ocher with fish or seal train-oil.

29 The women wear quite similar undergarments, but a longer
shirt reaching far below the knees, and over it a robe /Rock/ pro-
vided with sleeves, arranged in front for buttoning, and made
either of similar material or of fish skins. Shirt and robe usually
have a broad edging of material in a different color, over which
is put as decoration, especially on the robe, one or several rows
of variously shaped brass disks of Chinese workmanship hanging
down on little straps, or /388/ of the well-known Chinese copper
coins with a square hole, running all around (cf. Pl. XVII and Pl.
XVIII). As a result, all the movements of the women, every step
that they take, is accompanied by a clatter made by the striking
together of the above-mentioned metal disks or coins. This
custom, as the ornaments themselves reveal, is undoubtedly of
1/2 [See Category 116, P. 997 -- Analyst]
2/2 [See Category 116, P. 1000 -- Analyst]

/394 cont./

29 the neck or head, or with the fur cap (see Pl. XIX), and in which
[177] they continue to sit, even after throwing off the fur coat, inside the
yurt. Furthermore, in order to keep the chest and abdomen in the
area of the pit of the stomach especially warm, a flap lined with
fur, the so-called koch-passj, is worn there under the shirt, on
the naked body, hung round the neck with a small band and at the
bottom knotted around the body by two others. The example of
[177] the type pictured on Plate XXII, Fig. 5 which I saw in the possession
of the Gilyak Judin in Tebach, was of Goldi workmanship. It
was of pentagonal shape, rounded off at the bottom, lined with
fox fur, and trimmed all around with otter fur, but provided on
the outside with multicolored and in part artistic embroidery on
black cotton material, which I shall come back to below. Here
there must still be mentioned a peculiar undergarment that I
noticed in particular among the Tro Gilyak in Nyi, both among
adults and on a boy about seven years old; this is a pouch tied
around the loins and of use to the male sex only. For the Gilyak
sitting astride their sleds it is especially important to protect
the knees against wind and weather, and a knee sheath (Gilyak
pain) made of sealskin and tied around the leg below or above
the knee serves for this purpose.

/395/ The footgear has already been mentioned above. In
29 winter, for warmth, the Gilyak put some dry grass in their boots,
171 as more or less all the northern primitive peoples do (1). Accord-
105
324

1. Thus, besides the Siberian peoples, the
Eskimo of northwestern America and Green-
land, for example (Rob. Brown, "Das Innere
von Grönland /The Interior of Greenland/,"
in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871,
p. 384).

ing to the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who wrote a
description of the town of Ninguta in 1722, it is also customary
among the Manchu there, and for this they use a soft, fine,
longish grass growing in the vicinity of water, which they call

29 /395 cont./
324 ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with
the
2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/
("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés.
à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX,
1859, p. 509), probably a Cyperaceae. Ac-
cording to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern
America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina
and similar types of grass for this purpose.

ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

[113] 3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef
/Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on
Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.,
Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds
in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed
with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

29 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or
824 any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this
much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in
this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the
winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on
Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request
with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

128 Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt,
415 in particular as a holder for some of the implements always
[297] accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is
a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dihakko, which is used
both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive
[531] weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always
of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade
and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl.
XXXI, Figs. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

[104] 4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dihakko,"
should be corrected to ngawla-dihakko.
3/2 [See Category 116, P. 101[illegible] -- Analyst]

263 /445 cont./
433 few Gilyak are familiar with it (4). On the other hand, they are
GOD
4. Mamia Rinô (Siebold, Nippon, VII,
p. 193) says that the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on
Sakhalin found the Japanese sugar that
he gave them to try very tasty, but did not
ask for more of it.

123 On the other hand, they are
263 very avid for Russian sugar; at the time of my stay there, next to
tobacco, it was the main object of their frequent and very im-
portunate begging, during which, as a rule, they pushed the chil-
dren forward and, to arouse sympathy, pretended that they had an
eye disease, maintaining that it could be cured only with sugar.

439 Not infrequently they also bought some in Nikolayevsk in order to
252 add it to their dishes, especially to the aforementioned flour-cakes
263 and to those prepared with cranberries or bilberries and the like.
They even declared that they would not hesitate to do this to the
dishes prepared for the bear festival, if it were available in sufficient
quantity, which shows their entirely different attitude toward sugar
and salt.

To conclude our statements on the food of the Gilyak, there
follows here a brief discussion of their most important implements
and utensils used for holding the foodstuffs, as well as for the
preparation and consumption of the dishes. First, only the ordinary
objects of this kind used in daily life will be mentioned, while the
special utensils used in connection with the bear festivals will be
discussed later at the proper place. As was already stated above,
415 close to the entrance of the yurt there is a bucket made of birch
[824] bark and filled with water, on which hangs a couple of bowls for
[Fig. 2] dipping and drinking. The water for this and for the other house-
hold needs is brought from the river by the women in pails, likewise
made of birch bark, hung on a shoulder yoke (Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1
415 and 2) Gilyak dshamda and kormulk, respectively). /446/ Similarly
193 consideration has been given above to the large iron kettle (Gilyak
(3)
ormoch-wunj) which in the winter house is embedded in each of
1/2 [See Category 116, P. 1013 -- Analyst]

/446 cont./
415 the two hearths to the right and left of the entrance, but in the
197 earth yurt and in the summer yurt it placed on the platform of
the hearth on top of three stones. It is always of Chinese origin
and is used for the preparation of the fish broth for the dogs and
some of the dishes for the people. In addition, however, the
Gilyak also have smaller kettles which they use, depending on the
circumstances, in the earth yurt or summer yurt in the hunting
tent or, when camping, in the open, and which are in part like-
wise of Chinese, in part of Japanese origin, like those illustrated
on Plate XXXIII, Figs. 4 and 5; matsch-wunj (i.e., small kettle)
and kughi-wunj (i.e., Ainu kettle). To stir and ladle the broth
[412] made in the large kettle large wooden spoons (Pl. XXXIV, Figs.
5 and 6) Gilyak myich and mityr) are used, and for smaller
kettles, smaller ladles of iron (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, Gilyak kombj).
415 To prepare and serve mush-like dishes, such as the above-
mentioned groats and the like, the Gilyak, according to need,
use larger or smaller wooden troughs (Gilyak odong and orong),
which are quite similar in form to those out of which the dogs
are fed and are sometimes used for this. A specimen of this kind
[531] from the village of Tebach, decorated at the ends with carved
arabesques, is illustrated on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. I saw other
[824] foodstuffs and dishes, such as the above-mentioned flour-cakes,
[531] beans, various berries, etc., served in low, roughly square bowls
made of birch bark, whose bottoms and rims were decorated with
various arabesques; they are the so-called tottangr in Gilyak (Pl.
XXXIII, Fig. 8). Like these vessels, which, in accordance with
their use, one might designate as the bowls of the Gilyak service,
so also the wooden spoons intended for the use of individuals as cups
and plates differ in accordance with the nature of the dish to be
served. If it is only a matter of a few strips of jukola, it is suf-
264 ficient, as was already mentioned (1), to have a small wooden tray
415

1. See p. 647 above.

(chachutchisch), on which they are cut up in order to be dipped
in fish oil and consumed. Liquid foods, like the above-mentioned
1/2 [See Category 116, P. 1014 -- Analyst]

G /469 cont./
296 If the Gilyak run out of tobacco, they seize upon various
824 substitutes for it. The most common of these makeshifts is fine
dry wood shavings from any kind of wood, but always from a soft
type, presumably willow by preference. Such shavings are even
mixed with the tobacco when it is beginning to get low. When
it is all gone, the wood shavings mixed with tobacco oil are smoked
G in place of it. For this purpose the tobacco oil is scraped out of
415 the pipes from time to time and stored in a special small pouch
(Gilyak nirychsin), which /470/ is made of a few scraps of leather
fastened between two pieces of sealskin (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6) can
which the tobacco oil is smeared and, when required, is scraped
off, mixed with the wood shavings, and again returned to the
G pipe (1). Moreover, the Gilyak use some of their native herbs as
296
824
[171]

1. The very same tobacco substitutes is
also used by the Chukchee, who, however,
obtain it by putting the wood shavings in
the tube, much wider on their pipes, above
the pipe bowl, where it is gradually saturated
with nicotine from the smoke passing through
it (Bush, Reindeer, dogs and snowshoes, London,
1872, p. 429; Dall,

tobacco substitutes, for example, an herb that they named for me
in Allof on the Amur as tschomr, in Tyk on Sakhalin as wurpi, and
which, judging by the dried fragments that I saw, seemed to be a
G fern. Among the Goldi in Kôurmi on the Amur I likewise saw
296 hanging beside the tobacco which they called tojra and used as a
824 substitute for tobacco. For the present the taxonomic names of
these plants must remain unknown.

SS The taking of snuff and tobacco-chewing are not found at
297 all among the Amur peoples, at least in the lower Amur region (2).

SS 2. Among the Aleut, who became acquainted
[191] with tobacco through the Russians, it is mostly
chewed, taken as snuff very little, and not
1/2 [See Category 116, P. 1008 -- Analyst]

G /474 cont./
481 As essential a service as the small sled, its performs, however
are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on
uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they p
sinking into the snow only to a very slight extent, they are
very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they
not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow
makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expedit
and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small
G ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.101
824 like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak
koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as laksk-tschchar, i.
ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provide

A 3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their
481 ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia
824 (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der
113 Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region
and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad.
des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII,
No. 2, p. 99; Mittul, Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina
/Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi
out of ash wood (Budishchev, "Opis. lies.
chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests
of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib.
Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X,
p. 128).

G 4. With a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same
481 shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level
[304] up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made
[229] sealskin, which the hair pointing toward the rear, is pas
as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by
means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In
addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebon
or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of
ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps fo

/483 cont./

3 central ich, that is, therefore, with only a quarter of its total length, while the other three-quarters, unloaded, rise more or less above it, and only as a result of loading do the soles come in contact with the ground farther toward the front and back. The mountings serving to protect them extend at least as far as the outermost ich, and very often almost as far as the ends of the soles. The ich opposite each other are connected on top by wooden cross-pieces (Gilyak tynyssj, e in the illustration). On these rest the long rods (Gilyak turssj, f in the illustration) which form the bottom of the sled; they are lashed to each of the crosspieces with straps, and where there are no crosspieces, in the front and back quarters of the sled, also by means of a pair of straps plaited across and stuck through the wooden, longitudinal side-pieces, and finally their ends are stuck through a crosspiece bored for the purpose (Gilyak warr(o)s, g in the illustration) which connects the two wooden, longitudinal side-pieces of the sled just in front of the above-mentioned kernghi. Finally, at each end of the sled there is a curved piece of wood (Gilyak mich, i in the illustration), which, in a gently sloping position, is lashed to both the longitudinal side-bars and to the ends of the soles projecting beyond the last cross-piece. The guide rope for harnessing the dogs is attached to the soles immediately below the curved piece of wood at the front end. The curved piece of wood at the rear end is used for knotting on a strap which the Gilyak takes in his hand or fastens to his belt when he follows the sled on ski, in order to have himself thus dragged along by the dogs and to prevent them from running away without him. Sometimes, however, the curved piece of wood in the rear is missing, and in this case the front and rear ends of the sled differ, whereas otherwise they exhibit no differences. The Gilyak make all the pieces of the sled out of birch wood (both from Betula alba L., Gilyak chiws, and from B. ermani Cham., Gilyak kedras) (1), which on Sakhalin they designated separately for me as

1. In both Gilyak words the final s is soft and should be pronounced like the French z.

"tulytynt-tschchar," i.e., "wood for sled-building," with the sole

/483 cont./

493 [192] [824] exception of the curved pieces of wood at both ends of the sled, which are made out of the particularly flexible wood of the black-alder tree, and the bottom of the sled used for sitting, which is either likewise made of black-alder or of willow switches.

/484/ As is to be seen from the above description, lightness is the basic characteristic of the Gilyak sled: it has no iron at all and throughout is made only out of thin, carefully selected and fitted pieces of wood also fastened together in part by means of straps. It owes to the resulting flexibility its ability to withstand even rough trails such as the forest or the river and sea ice all too often present to it. It is not suitable, however, for carrying much baggage and heavy loads. In this respect it falls far behind the Russo-Siberian narte. This, generally provided with larger dimensions and wide soles, rests on the same principle as the ski, the distribution of the load over the largest possible surface and the greatest possible elimination of friction-resistance in movement, for which purpose, before a trip, the soles are provided with a thin layer of ice with a damp cloth, which to a certain extent substitutes for the fur covering of the ski (1). The narrow soles of the

1. The above-mentioned covering of the sled soles with bone or whalebone plates serves the same purpose.

Gilyak sled encounter only a little friction-resistance and therefore do not need the ice coating; on the other hand, it does not allow for a distribution of the load over a large surface and hence, even with a small load, cuts too deeply into the snow to be able to glide along easily. In accordance with its lightness and small size, the Gilyak sled has little space for baggage, for the basket designed for it is, as was pointed out, very shallow, only as deep as the wooden longitudinal side-pieces rise above the switches forming the bottom of the sled, and this is very little. To prevent the [237] baggage from falling off, a cover made out of fish skin (Gilyak mytsch) is first spread over the bottom of the sled, the baggage is placed on it, wrapped in it, tied crisscross to the sled with a long strap.

/501 cont./

501 184 [36] [181] for subsistence as well as in their nature and character, are timid, circumspect, and cautious river and coastal navigators. And the single vessel serving the Amur Gilyak as well as the coastal Gilyak for fishing and for their communication and trading voyages matches this. It is a keelless, shallow-draft

501 boat in no way equal to the high waves of the sea, and essentially consists of only three long boards, forming the bottom and the two side-walls, to which, for closing off the front and rear ends, a few small boards are joined. The most significant and characteristic feature of it is that the bottom board projects toward the front quite a distance beyond the prow (see Pl. XXXVIII /see p.1018/, Fig. 1). It is not level, but curved in such a manner that it goes deepest in the middle, but gradually slopes upward toward both ends.

396 In order to learn more about the construction of the boat in greater detail, let us follow it as it is produced by the hands of the Gilyak. When the three long boards, each necessarily [192] consisting of one piece, with which the boat is to be put to-[824] gether have been readied, by means of an ax, from the trunks of Picea ajanensis Fisch. (Gilyak twissjk) or the larch (Gilyak koi), and their upper surfaces properly smoothed with a knife, the bottom board (Gilyak moch), about 3-5 fathoms long and one to one and a half feet wide, is given the above-mentioned necessary curvature. For this purpose it is placed with its two ends on two low trestles erected on level ground, each of which consists of two crossed poles driven diagonally into the ground. The unsupported center of the board sags, but, in order to achieve the proper curve, it must be pressed down farther until it touches the ground, which is done either by weighting it with stones or, more simply, by having one or two people sit on the board. It is fixed in this position with a pair of knee timbers driven into the ground on either side and gripping the board from [192] above. Now the two side-boards (Gilyak arp), each about two feet wide and with their lower edges beveled to correspond to the bottom board, must now be accurately fitted to the latter at a certain obtuse angle and temporarily held in this position.

/503 cont./

396 very delicately and carefully so that the boards, held together [824] only by wooden pegs, are not driven apart. Therefore, only [412] with the help of a knife, some moss is stuffed from the inside into the seams wherever they permit it, and then a narrow wooden strip is fastened over them, again with small wooden pegs. In addition, however, stronger and wider strips, obtained by splitting thick willow switches, are put over the two long seams from the outside, so that on land the boat rests, so to speak, on two soles, convex on the outside, which, in addition to protecting the seams, also have the utility of reducing the rubbing of the bottom board on the sand and gravel of the shore in pulling the boat into or out of the water [192] and thus protect it against damage. The analogy between these exterior mountings on the boat and the soles, or even more the sole-mountings, on the sleds is so obvious that even the Gilyak, despite the absence of generalization in their language, designate them with the same term as the latter (motassj), whereas they have a special term (twy) for the strips [192] put over the seams inside the boat. Finally, two, or in the case of larger boats even three, pairs of oar-pins /Ruderpinnen/ (Gilyak misgyr), that is, small boards, each equipped with a vertical prong, are put in the front part of the boat on the edges of the sides. They are likewise fastened to the side boards with wooden pegs, so that not a single nail or piece of iron of any kind is used on the entire boat of the Gilyak, or on their sled. Needless to say, the Gilyak do not fail to adorn their boats, too, [532] with a few decorations. For example, the tip of the bottom board projecting below the prow usually runs out into a crudely carved head of a snake, bird, or other animal, the two prow-boards always bear several carved arabesques on their inner surfaces, and, as a rule, a carved, black or colorfully painted figure, a square, star, or the like, is likewise found on the back of the stern-board. Finally, before the boat is put in the water, it is slightly charred from the outside on the bottom and the lower part of the side-boards for protection against rot,

/506 cont./

501 184 [192] trunk. I saw such a boat (Gilyak mlo-mu) (1) in the winter in the

1. Mu in Gilyak means "boat" in general.

village of Ytkyrn, standing on a trestle next to the yurt and with the snow carefully removed from it. It was about 20 feet long, widest in the middle, and narrowing toward the two ends -- the rear end, finally, blunted vertically and board-shaped, the front end provided with a small tip. On the edge on either side a strip as thick as the side walls was added, to which, from edge to edge at a distance of about two feet apart, cross-strips were fastened, which undoubtedly, like the knee timbers at several places in the interior of the boat between the bottom and the side walls, served to give the side walls more stability and power of resistance. Perhaps the boat was not quite new anymore and needed such supplementary bracing. It did not have any oar-prongs on the edges, such as the Amur boats had, and, accordingly, the oars lying nearby lacked the holes for setting them on such, but otherwise they were of the same form as on the Amur, except that the blade was not as wide. These [191] boats are certainly also propelled, especially over shallow places in the river, merely with the help of poles, as the Kamchadal do with their similarly shaped so-called batt, and as is done also among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region with like vessels. Finally, just as is done there, here, too, /507/ 396 824 171 only trees with soft wood, namely, poplar, are used for making such boats (1). The Tymy Gilyak use the balsam poplar

1. Cf. Steller, op. cit., p. 56, 75; Krascheninnikof, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.

(Populus suaveolens Fisch., Gilyak musskrj), which they specifically designated to me as "mu-tschchar," i.e., boat wood. According to Schmidt, the Ainu of Sakhalin hollow out of the trunks of the same tree canoes which they use for communication on the rivers and short voyages along the seacoast, while for

G 396 824 171 /507 cont./ longer voyages they use the commonly built Japanese boats (2).

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G. Gi 501 Exactly the same type of boat as among the Gilyak is also in general use among their closest neighbors along the Amur River, the Olcha and Goldi. In appearance it exhibits no differences in shape or construction from those of the former. The Gilyak, however, asserted that their boats curved upward less at the prow end and therefore were better able to travel against the current than those of their neighbors -- an assertion whose accuracy I must leave undecided, though it agrees with some G Gi 396 824 Gi 184 of my own experiences. They are completely different from one another, however, in the kind of wood from which they are made. Whereas the Gilyak make their boats out of the wood of the fir tree (Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissjk, Olcha and Goldi chassjchta), the Olcha and Goldi always use cedar (Pinus cembra, var. excelsa, Pinus mandshurica Rupr., among the Olcha and Goldi koldong). When, during our summer voyage of 1855, we Gi 114 501 landed near the Olcha village of Adi, the approaching inhabitants of the place, who, among other things, occupy themselves principally with boat-building and who therefore closely examined ours, immediately recognized from the wood in them that one of them (mine) was of Gilyak origin, and the other (Maximowicz's) was of Olcha origin, as was in fact the case. Gi 501 184 But whereas among the Gilyak on the Amur one sees only boats of this one kind, the Olcha and Goldi have some of quite different shape and construction. This is simply the result of the circumstance that, besides the Amur, they also navigate many of its torrential and, in spots, shallow tributaries along

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish: even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about 286 283 the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and [824] Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. The first [462] part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women; the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, [114] as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kuik. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak puksj) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

/558 cont./

123 152 203 1. (cont.) of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

41 171 In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin [192] punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees [824] or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley [192] on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn, Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar" (bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

[113] 2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

41 230 53 In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Figs. 4 and 5, is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

[104] 3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

Gilyak clothing: 1, 2 -- summer hat made of bird

2: Schrenck--1000 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

h bark, 3, 4 -- mittens; 5 -- ear muffs.

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Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

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Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

XXVII.

Gilyak patterns with animal figures and arabesques of birch bark.

XXVIII.

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- bucket of birch bark, and 2 -- shoulder yoke; 3 -- iron kettle of Japanese workmanship; 4 -- ditto, of Manchurian workmanship; 5 -- iron ladle and scoop; 6, 7 -- wooden food bowls and chopsticks; 8 -- bowl of birch bark for serving food.

/683 cont./

534 made to vibrate. The second form (b), made out of a thin wooden board, is manipulated in the same way, but it is wider, and the initially likewise wide tongue-lamina suddenly tapers at half its length and is equipped there with a small hole and a peg which precisely fits into it in order to help the vibration and to permit modulating it as desired. Finally, the third form (c) consists of a narrow and rather massive bent piece of iron, between the shanks of which there is a thin lamina of the same metal, bent upward at the free end. In order to play on this jew's-harp it is ordinarily pressed to the lips with the iron blade of an ax, which makes the tone come out more clearly and at the same time serves for resonance.

517 533 534 During his leisure hours the Gilyak, stretched out on the sleeping bench, greatly likes to take up his jew's-harp and draw forth from it the trills, which in his singing, too, are so agreeable

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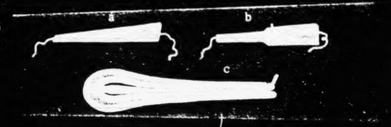

Gilyak jew's-harps.

517 533 534 to his ear, and other melodies, which are always rather melancholy. And the skill which he shows at it is truly quite extraordinary.

534 /684/ The other musical instrument, which is also familiar to the Gilyak but is not nearly as widespread among them, is a stringed instrument, a monochord or very primitive violin (Gilyak tyngrsch, Olcha tankara). It consists of a small birch-bark cylinder-casing (Gilyak tyngr-tschobrai), which is closed on top by means of a tautly stretched fish-skin (Gilyak tschobrai-tywrch). A small stick is stuck through it crosswise, one end of which projects out of the cylinder-casing only a little, but the other end quite far.

[824] [237]

/708 cont./

000 house alone. Hence it is quite understandable that during the

*796 entire bear festival, but especially during the night preceding the

252 principal feast, the Gilyak women are fully occupied with the preparation of the dishes required for it, which, as has been mentioned (2), is sometimes very complicated. /709/ They are al-

[354]

2. See p. 676 above.

ways prepared on the hearth which is located on the transverse wall of the house in a line with the bears arranged in the center area

*796 and is thus exposed to their gaze in particular. I shall therefore call it the bear hearth. In it, and in it alone, quite large quanti-

[824] ties of fresh fir branches (from the Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twissk) are burned by the women from time to time, not only during this last night, but throughout, for the entire duration of the bear festival, which may be one of the attestations of homage which are given to the bears or one of the offerings which are presented to them. Thus a bear festival is proclaimed by the prevailing fragrance of burned pine-needles in the houses and to some extent even outside.

*796 On January 13 at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the

231 leading of the bears finally ceased. After they had made their last rounds through the village, the animals were led to the place of execution prepared for them, the so-called kadhra of the Gilyak, and arranged and carefully bound there between the stakes standing in a row in the middle of it. The order of the bears was again the same so that the small bear was closest to the building in the back of the kadhra, the läsgn, the large one in the middle, and

*796 the medium-sized one next to the entrance. Then everybody went into Judin's house, where in the meantime the women had set out the foods prepared for the feast, in wooden troughs, round wooden bowls, and square bowls of birch bark, on the floor in the central area of the house, where the bears had previously stood

[504] The guests invited to the feast took their places on the bench along the transverse wall opposite the bear hearth, which on such an occasion is regarded as the bench of honor, though as a rule, it is probably less warm and often less light than longitudinal bench

/710 cont./

*796 amid the drumming of the women, some of the dog races of the

[54] day before were repeated; the best runners, each equipped with a fox tail or the tail of a black dog, were let loose down at the river

[264] and were reaught above at the house. A short informal breakfast on the leftovers of the feast concluded this interlude, whereupon the important schedule for the day began.

From all the houses of the village the people congregated

*796 around the place where the bears stood tied to their stakes. Three

824 Gilyak carried in their hands insignia of a peculiar kind. They consisted of a straight young fir tree (Picea ajanensis) from which all the branches had been removed except the crown and the uppermost branches closest to it, which were pressed up around the crown and tied with a string. A boa (Gilyak tolp) made of

[291] squirrel tails, such as the Gilyak wear around their heads and neck

[239] or a fox tail was wound around the crown of the little tree twice in serpentine-fashion and then also fastened. Two of these peculiar banners were of the first type, the third was of the latter type. The three banner-bearers were joined by a fourth, who, as far as I could see, had only a plain long stick in his hand, but he carried it as erect as the others their banners. While everybody now stood assembled around the bear place, the three men with their insignia entered the enclosure, went directly around the bears several times, always returning to the path that led to it and there turning around again, and, finally, planted one of their insignia in front of each of the bears. This was, so to speak, the signal for the departure: the bears were freed from their stakes and led out of the kadhra.

*796 Before going any further, the neck and body bands on the

231 bears had to be examined as to their strength. For the large bear this had been done the day before, and the animal had been provided with new auxiliary bands. Everything was likewise in order on the medium-sized bear. The especially bad-tempered and stubborn small bear, however, definitely seemed to need to have his fetters strengthened, and this is always a very dangerous experi-

[156] ment. Chusisin, Judin's only son, a young and strong man who evidently still had not had enough during the days of goading the

/714 cont./

*796 114 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The [126] [127] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

[113] 1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 824 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf *796 of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

[123] [126] 1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249/. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

/716 cont./

*796 532 825 322 824

Toad made out of birch bark.

*796 252 graybeards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly, [888] [887] deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a [784] similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the kettle was filled with snow for it is ulïtsch to use water for cooking bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time. Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor. [532] The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and on the other side a toad likewise executed.

The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not [887] until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

/718 cont./

*796 252 sturgeon lying in front of the bears, and a little to one side, in an unworthy place, so to speak, where they could not be seen by the bears, the women began to prepare various dishes, such as mossj, several kinds of groats, beans with fish oil or seal oil, and the like -- work which, undertaken quite differently and in the ordinary way, proceeded rapidly and vigorously.

*796 /719/ The morning of the following day (January 30) began with putting on the bear rack the two delves of the bears, three carp (Cypr. carpio, Gilyak pilengat) and a portion of all the dishes prepared the day before and put in various bowls of birch bark, whereupon an old man seated himself in front of the bears and immediately began to eat some of the freshly prepared mossj out of two bear-bowls.

There followed the customary feeding of the dogs inside the house and, as on the previous days, a race of decorated dogs along with drumming by the women. Next, strips of bear fat were again hung on the étagère and then, amid the heavy incense of fir branches, the internal organs of the bear were cut up and placed in [252] small bear-bowls. It seems that these parts are not cooked, but eaten raw, like the fat.

At the same time, the women congregated in one corner of the house around a little old woman and, out of motley rags, began to sew together a band about ten inches long and three inches wide -- the so-called tschudbas of the Gilyak. At sunset *796 825 this band is wound around the snouts of the bears just below their 532 eyes in order to dry the tears welling out of them. Fastened in the 322 middle of it, however, on the ridge of the snouts, there is a 824 representation of a toad, cut out of birch bark (1). I can give no

1. Like the one pasted on the window, see p. 1157.

interpretation for this symbolic act in connection with what has been said above other than the following. With the cutting up of its internal organs, heart, liver, and the like, the bear knows that its fate is sealed and sheds tears over the evil spirit, the toad,

/733 cont./

*796 342 184 out obliquely from the smoke vent and with a bundle of curled wood-shavings hanging from its tip, such as I saw in the village of Tyk. Here, the toad carved out of birch bark probably also mains on the smoke vent, while the bear's head and skin is lowered through the smoke vent directly onto the platform of the hearth.

*796 184 In the meantime, in the interior of the yurt there, the for the bear's head, made, just as on the mainland, out of unpeeled alder poles and richly decorated with fir branches, has been readied. It stands close to the rear end of the hearth platform in the passageway between it and the rear bench, or benc of honor, thus, in a place which corresponds exactly to the one which it occupies in the Gilyak houses built in Chinese fashion.

*796 184 354 252 Since the hearth platform in a large earth yurt is quite spacious, two separate fires can be kindled on it, corresponding to the two hearths in the tschadryf, over which the kettles used to cook the bear meat as well as for preparing the other dishes hang from th yurt beams. The fire closer to the bear rack is the kotr -- or [824] tschchyf (1) -- tur, the bear fire, in which fresh branches of fir

[192] 1. As the bear is usually called on Sakhalin.

trees, and especially of the cedar shrubs so common in northern Sakhalin, are burned during the preparation of the bear meat an at other times during the bear festival on account of the popular fragrance.

*796 778 353 184 The wooden curls (zach), being regarded as a symbol of holiness, purity, and inviolability, are an essential ornament in interior of the earth yurt. They always hang down in a long bur from the center of each of the four crossbeams supporting the co roof, and at the time of the bear festival there number is increa by four new ones, which /734/ are put in the four corners of the In the Gilyak houses, on the mainland one usually sees only two [171] them, and not always even these, suspended from the two suppo posts of the house, but their number seems to increase as one ap proaches the Ainu, among whom they are used under the name

/754 cont./

sick and dies, if he does not use the proper means to free himself of the mipitsch. The only means that can help him, however, is a shaman. He conjures up a kägn (a good god), who removes the mipitsch from the sick person. At the same time a mipitsch carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of the shaman is hung around the patient's neck and must be worn by the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future. A sick man wears a single mipitsch, a woman a double one. The mipitsch are always carved out of wood, especially the wap-mipitsch. It is only on the snout-band of the dead bear (see pp. 1156, 1162) that a single mipitsch of birch bark may be found. This is made by the women, but the wooden ones are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, while the women are skilled at cutting arabesques and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (mä(r)ngal) are similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much less power is attributed to it. It allegedly crawls into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman and by putting an iron amulet-ring (lalż) (1)

1. See Appendix 6 /p. 1196 /.

around the head. This ring bears the representation of a lizard on either side, in the region of the temples; in front, closer to the forehead, there is a human figure on either side, supposedly indicating a man on one side, a woman on the other. Finally, at the very front, on the forehead, the lalż bears a frog shape. This is striking, since the frog (dhal) is not regarded as unlucky, is not magä. (Bm. II, pp. 44-46.)

30. Gilyak. Amazing, miraculous acts which the Gilyak shaman performs are chiefly the means by which he wins admiration and esteem among his countrymen. The more these acts deviate from the natural course of things, the greater is the reputation of the sorcerer. Such is enjoyed, for example, by the Gilyak

/764 cont./

uitsch and took him back to the village, where he died in November, 1854. Although when he was still alive, they had invited me to his cremation, this was done (three days after the death) during a violent purga, without their giving any notification (Bm. I, pp. 18, 19).

47. Gilyak. Everything possible in the way of food is put beside the deceased lying in the yurt; indeed, even after the cremation of the corpse, all kinds of food, as well as liquor, are brought to the ashes for a period of one year because of the belief that the deceased takes nourishment for that long. The corpse, laid out on a sled in winter, is placed upon the funeral pyre, covered with loose branches, and the pyre is lighted. (Bm. I, p. 27.)

48. Gilyak. On May 19, 1856, we reached Chjare (with one yurt on the right bank of the Amur), where I had a stop made at noon. I inquired about fish, but was told at once that no fish had been caught, because the old owner of the yurt had died the day before and was still lying unburied in the yurt. I went there immediately and saw the corpse lying on a sled on the floor in front of the dogs' table (Plate LXII /p. 1262/). It was the same old man who the year before had gone hunting with me on the nearby small lake. The corpse was not yet disfigured, but the color of the face had grown darker and, in fact, copper-colored, and the long white hair contrasted sharply with the face. The corpse was clothed in new blue cloth and covered over the torso with a covering of gray material, on which, over the chest of the corpse, lay three folded pieces of colored cloth and two spears, a larger one and a smaller one, such as the natives use, equipped with crudely worked, short shafts. Around the head and at the sides of the face lay fir branches; over the eyes ran a string with longish pieces of alder bast, threaded on it, three for each eye; a large red bead lay at each ear, and on the neck there was a thick bundle of fine curls of wood-shavings. The legs and the feet were wrapped in the same blue cloth as the whole corpse and were /765/ tied with a string around the ankles and over the toes so that they had the shape of boots. Placed crosswise on the narte /sled/, behind the he

2: Schrenck--1228 E-3 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/765 cont./

764 lay jukola (*), with several tobacco leaves wrapped in birch bark

* See p. 646 of this work.

[493] and a pipe on top of it. The narte was of the ordinary kind, except that the arched or curved pieces of wood (**) in front and in the rear

** See Plate XXXVI /p. 1016 /, Fig. 1, i.

were missing, and instead of them straight short poles projected out on either side. The corpse was tied to the narte under the gray covering.

After I had stood in front of the corpse for a few minutes, three dogs tied to a long strap, were brought into the yurt, and the strap was attached to the narte. Then several men lifted up the narte with the corpse, while another led the dogs, and thus the procession set out (Plate LXIII /p.1263 /). It went out of the yurt, passing by the storage chambers, and into the forest behind the village, where the burial place of the dead was located, marked by several raff (***). The wife of the deceased immediately fol-

*** See Appendix 50 /p.1232 /.

lowed the corpse, with her hair loose, a piece of birch bark in her hand, and setting up a monotonous wail, in which, however, she was not imitated by the other Gilyak, men, women, and children. When the burial ground was reached, the narte with the corpse was placed on the ground next to the pyre already prepared. The latter consisted of a few layers of wood placed alternately lengthwise and crosswise, the first of which was the same length as the corpse. Beside this a large heap of fir branches lay ready for the cremation of the body (1).

•[824] 1. This was Pin. picea, as is everything else used for the cremation of the corpse and the decoration of the yurt.

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

439 with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region,
262 the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.
[263]

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the
231 Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number
[556] of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household
[422] kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

493 The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in
[175] the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back
492 and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

492 Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in
493 these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th
[526] century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and
[171] equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

179 The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled.
492 Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg
493 of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

492 The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively
171 recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by
281 skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

50 Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed
• [824] boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-
[171] distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi,
[824] Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

361 The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the
342 Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by dig-
175 ging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent
[354] served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and
[352] plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,

225 The sketches do not include all the details of the beluga hunt. Mytka's account, dictated to me on June 29, 1931, in the village Puir, supplements the sketches. We give here a faithful translation of his account.

"During the ebb tide the belugas head inshore. After the tide receded, he gathered his friends (and said): 'Let us go after it (in the sea).' We went in pursuit. When the beluga headed out to the fairway we chased it back to a shallow. When it could not go any further the man at the prow who held a harpoon got ready and waited for it (the beluga) to appear (to come up). When it broke the surface, he lanced it. Then he threw the float. We let the beluga drag the float. When it got tired we approached it and lanced it a second time. Then we came close to it and hauled it to the side of the boat. We hooked the beluga and hauled it (out of the water). Then he hit it with a lance (that is, pierced it) (2)

2. The Gilyaks kill the beluga by lancing it in the area of the respiratory orifice.

When we killed it we tied a rope to it and hauled it ashore.
225 While we were hauling it, the old woman came down to the
533 shore and began striking the board with a stick. (3) When we
824
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3. Only in Puir do they welcome the caught beluga by such music. I have not observed this custom in any other village.

brought it (to the shore), we came up to the shore prow first. (4) Having untied the beluga, we hauled it to the shore

4. Usually the Gilyaks come up to the shore stern first, but when they bring a beluga, they come prow first.

[112] and pulled it out. We put the board on which the woman was beating under the head of the dolphin. The old men sent the youths to gather dozgon grass and piskər plant. (1) Then we

1. The Amur Gilyaks "feed" the plant piskər to all captured sea-animals such as sea-lions, seals, and belugas. They put this plant in the mouth of the killed animal (cf. our article "Morskoĭ Promysel

Giliakov Derevni Kul'," [Sea fishing among the Gilyaks of the Village Kul] Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1934, no. 5.).

fed the head of the dolphin. Then we came down (to the shore) and the old men cut up the dolphin. [113] When they cut it up, we called all the people (ordered them to come), spoke to them, and made each one of them take (let them take) his share. We gave less to the "sitting" men (that is, those who did not participate in the hunt). (1) We gave more

1. The Gilyak Shurman, from the village Lyangr, told me that they divide the beluga into equal parts. Only when they kill two--three belugas do they give somewhat greater shares to the hunters.

to those who went to sea. After they had taken away their shares, we cut up the head (literally, broke it up). After we cut up the head, in the evening, we sent the young men to cut some birch wood; we sent them to cut some rowan-trees. Then we got some rowan shavings and put them in the respiratory opening. We cooked some cereal and put it in the sea-dish [Russian, Morskoye blyudo] We prepared some berries and put it in the sea-dish. Then we sent the children to bury the head. When they were ready to go, an old man went with them. They put the head down on the place where offerings to the sea are made. (2) They took the eyes

2. Near each village, there is a separate place from which offerings are brought to the sea.

out of the head and, having dug a hole in the ground, they put the eyes in the center (of the hole). (3) After they buried

3. In the village Puir the eyes of the beluga are "buried" on the place where offerings to the sea are made. In other villages the eyes and the head are suspended in a birch tree.

the eyes, they scattered some rice and berries in the sea. Then they carried the head to Elzəs. (4) They hung the head

4. Elzəs--a place where the heads are "buried". Each clan has its own elzəs. When they kill a beluga, they

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825 ETHNOZOOLOGY--notions about animals (e.g., mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, crustaceans, insects); ideas about particular animals (e.g., snakes, fireflies); technological and other cultural uses of wild animals and their products; native terms for animals; associated behavior patterns (e.g., avoidance of snakes); etc. See also:

Collecting, hunting, and fishing 22
Animal husbandry 23
Public health and sanitation 744
Remedies for snakebite 752
Germ theory of disease 753
Vampires and werewolves 754
Animism 774
Native fauna 136
Proper names of animals 552
Animal divinities 776
Totemism 61, 779
Animal sacrifices 782
Development of scientific zoology 816

/xxix cont./

000 to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented b
* 114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differen
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looke through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent economic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak of their neighbors -- the Russians.

* 114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
777 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki," are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
[776] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' a cording to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there 'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan societ also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form o animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemis
[262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

* 114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[777] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
● [825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly protective relationship to man.

[756] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

* 114 "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
197 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'kl constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of t Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

/35 cont./

83 577 825 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

602 [829] The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

174 601 835 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law

174 601 835 614 his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

/50 cont./

823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

82 774 776 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'" (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[177] [178]

1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by

825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed to me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

/50 cont./

825 for example, on a whale, the latter hold the flanks, while the leaders follow behind.

82 771 /51/ Once visible nature is only a mask and is not what it appears to be, there is a natural tendency on the part of the Gilyak to seize upon the smallest sign having resemblance to the human body or a part of it, in order to discover the human shape that is concealed under it. Hence fetishism -- the psychology which discovers a supernatural human-like being in every object which has an unusual form, be it a high mountain, a petrified object, or simply a piece of stone.

825 If inanimate nature is capable of arousing in the mind of the Gilyak the imagining of live creatures which conceal themselves under the dead form, then the cult of animals should all the more not amaze us at all. It is generally believed that fear lies at the base of the cult of animals. Primus in orbe deos fecit timor. In fact this is far from the case. First of all, we must remember that primitive man not only does not recognize any sort of gulf between himself and the animal world, but, on the contrary, in many respects admits the superiority of the latter over himself. A hunter by profession, he has invested in his art of hunting all his intelligence, all his inventiveness, all his human genius. See how brilliant his snares and traps are, and nonetheless how often and maliciously the insignificant little beast -- a fox, a sable, and others -- will laugh at all his machinations! Dozens of valuable sables run past his trap, leaving their footprints quite close to it; they guessed the cleverness of man and departed unharmed! How sensitive is the elk to the smell of a human being whole versts away! Never, never would a single beast be caught by the Gilyak, but for the will of the gods, the "masters" of these animals, which care for the well-being of the Gilyak. If a god does not will this, dozens of man's crossbows remain without a catch. Therefore the Gilyak sees in animals beings in no way inferior to himself, even though a god may sometimes give

/51 cont./

● 825 them to him for his use. On the contrary, the strength of the large animals, and the shrewdness and resourcefulness of even such small creatures as the sable, the extraordinary sense of smell and a great number of other instincts inherent in animals and of which man is devoid, furthermore such phenomena as the change in the color of fur, shedding, and so forth -- all this provides the Gilyak with sufficient bases for regarding an animal as an extremely intelligent being in many ways superior to himself. The smaller the beast, the stranger its form, the more mystery it contains and the greater astonishment it causes with its miraculous instincts. Therefore, even such insignificant animals as the toad, the lizard, the bat, the gnat, and so forth /52/ arouse no fewer fantastic notions in the mind of the Gilyak and impress him no less than the largest beasts.

The form and dimensions of an animal are only appearances. Every animal is in reality a real man-like being, no, just such a "Gilyak" as he is himself, but endowed with intelligence and powers which often exceed those in man.

If, however, the strength, the intelligence, and the amazing instincts of the animal cause belief in the spiritual superiority of animals and the supernatural quality of their nature, the cult of some animals is caused by certain other special traits of these latter, namely, their meekness toward man and their apparently conscious protective and beneficial attitude toward him.

The bear on land and the kosatka in the sea particularly strike the Gilyak with these traits.

The bear is the strongest and the biggest animal of his taiga; all the other animals run before it in terror. With a blow of its paw it can knock down the strongest man and crush him like a fly, and yet it is generally very meek with regard to him! Actually, the Sakhalin bear never attacks a man first, and upon meeting him in the taiga either runs away from him, or -- especially in places where man is rarely encountered -- passes by him with complete indifference, only rarely rewarding him with a look of surprise (1). And the Gilyak regards it as a friendly member of a different clan.

1. In the Ussuriysk krai, the tiger is

/52 cont./

●825 distinguished by the same meekness with regard to man and for this very reason is worshiped by the local natives.

The bear that awakens early from its winter sleep and in a frenzy of hunger throws itself upon a man is a crazy bear or a vagrant who has been driven away by the "master." In those rare cases when a Gilyak, while hunting, is killed in a fight with a bear, this is ascribed to extraordinary circumstances: either that it was not a bear, but a devil in the shape of a bear or that it was a female bear who fell in love with the Gilyak and who wanted to transplant his soul inside herself.

If a bear falls prey to a Gilyak, it is only because the bear itself wants it. In its struggle with the man, the bear itself offered a good spot for the fatal blow. After all, it loses nothing from it. After breathing its last, it actually casts to the Gilyak only its apparent covering, its shaggy skin, while it remains alive and unharmed as before. A few days later, at the end of the [796] bear festival, when /53/ its meat has been eaten and the bones placed in a storehouse of honor, the Gilyak kill several dogs, in whose company the bear gaily runs, with all its ornaments and presents, to the "master" of the highest mountain.

The whale-like, large-toothed sea animal -- the kosatka - is worshiped no less than the bear on land. One would think, what could be stronger and more terrible in the eyes of the Gilyak than the whale, this tremendous and mighty monster, spouting fountains, for whom a storm is a diversion, and each of whose vertebrae is heavier than the largest Gilyak? Yet there is a beast before whose sharp, cone-like teeth the whale flees without a backward glance and throws itself with a roar of despair on the banks and the shallows of the Sakhalin coast where the Ainu and the Gilyak make opulent feasts of him. This is the kosatka. It creates an imposing impression, even on a European, when a kosatka unexpectedly appears near his boat, and the general flight of all the inhabitants of the sea begins. At the sight of this terrible beast fish, seals, dolphins, and eared seals scatter as if seized, and forgetting all caution,

/53 cont./

●825 run on the harpoon of the Gilyak. Woe to the animal who falls to his teeth; he tears the great eared seal in half. The most awful sight, however, is kosatki hunting a whale. "Sighting him, the school of kosatki divides into parties. The younger ones set out on the flanks, trying to contain the whale, while the older ones remain in the rear. Having thus stationed themselves for a battue (cautiously without noise so as not to frighten the whale), they suddenly appear on the surface of the water when they calculate that the catch should be in the middle of the circle they have formed. They then throw themselves savagely upon the whale and begin to tear his body into large chunks and greedily swallow them. They all vie in particular to try to get his tongue. The whale thereupon raises a soul-rending roar which can be heard for many versts. Hearing such a roar, I always knew that somewhere close by kosatki were hunting a whale." Thus the zoologist Voznesenski described this terrible sight in the Aleutian Sea, and I happened to see the same sight many times in the waters of the territory of the Gilyak.

And yet this same monster before whom quake the titans of the sea, this tyrannus balaenarum (tyrant of whales), as he was called by Fabritsius, an ancient specialist on whales, not only never touches the boats of the Gilyak, but is his true benefactor, driving nammals and fish to him!

[825] /54/ For hours on end the Gilyak waits in his fragile little boat for the appearance of the head of a seal on the surface of the water in order to throw his long harpoon into him. But the cautious seals prefer not to appear at all, or show themselves from under the water only to dodge in a most crafty way the blow directed at them. Then, quite unexpectedly, as if specially sent by someone, seals, eared seals, and beluga begin to run onto the harpoon of the Gilyak... The kosatka has appeared, forcing the inhabitants of the sea to throw themselves in all directions without a backward glance! -- How, after this, could the Gilyak not consider this mighty creature, who does not spare anyone but him and, in addition, is his bread winner, sending all sorts of sea animals, his god-benefactor? And he calls this animal none other than yz' -- "master."

/54 cont./

● 825 [796] The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a kosatka, and when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the kosatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion, however. Signs of the deepest respect are shown toward any animal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea. The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore, and likewise the heads of other animals.

825 796 The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not independent gods and not even deities in general; they are merely the subordinates of the real deities, the "masters" of this or that element, this or that animal. These "masters" in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who, according to need, assume the form of this or that animal. These gods live in the forests, the mountains, and on the bottom of the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak themselves, have wives children, and clansmen. Like the Gilyak, they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods, "yz'" -- master, is in command. It is these masters who send the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables, bears, salmon, 825 seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element, 796 however, should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense. 554 It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there are simply rich people and among them one kind that is richest, just as, in addition to the great gods-masters, every territory, every stream, each has its own "master" who takes care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods). [614] The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence, courage, and cunning, and consequently richest, is called "yz'" (master), and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

/55 cont./

796 825 For the Gilyak, the most important gods-"masters" are Pal'-yz' -- the master of the mountains and of the taiga, and Tayrnadz, the same as Tol'-yz' -- master of the sea. The first lives on the highest mountain, and with him, whole settlements of his clansmen. Bears serve him as dogs. All the beasts of the taiga are subordinate to him, and, at his discretion, he distributes them to the Gilyak. It is he who orders the sable to dress himself in a new skin and hurry into the noose of the Gilyak; he, again, orders the bear to offer a good spot for a true blow. The god of the sea, Tayrnadz, lives on the bottom of the Sea of Okhotsk. He is a very old man with a white beard, who lives with his old wife in an underwater yurt. In the yurt there is a huge number of boxes with all kinds of spawn, which he throws by the handful into the sea from time to time. It is he who, at the appointed time, sends the countless detachments of salmon, without which the life of the Gilyak would be impossible; it is he who sends out the kosatki to establish order in the sea and drive all kinds of sea animals toward the Gilyak.

796 Besides these most important gods, there is a great number of less important ones who watch over the Gilyak. In the house of the Gilyak the master of the fire and the mistress of the threshold, keep vigil over him. Some kind of "master" watches at every stream, looking after the well-being of the Gilyak...

Not all the gods, however, are on such close terms with man. The sky is inhabited by whole tribes of tly-nivukh'i, heavenly people, who only rarely interfere in the affairs of the Gilyak, and then to no purpose, for a joke; for example, out of mischievousness a heavenly man will lower a fishing rod with hooks to the earth in order to catch some Gilyak. This [538] does not always work, however. For example, the young Gilyak, Il'k, from the village of Arkovo told me that tly-nivukh once caught his father with a golden hook, and he just saved himself by grabbing a tree, thus getting away with only a scare and a torn coat.

/58 cont./

795 614 [766] a bear's love for her, etc. -- all such persons do not travel to the ordinary kingdom of the shades, but go over into the clan of the gods-masters who took a liking to them, of the mountain, water, fire, etc., and then become the smallest "masters" and protect their clansmen. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i -- forest people, tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people, etc. took form. It is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices. These are not mythical gods, not the fictional heroes of the Greek clans, but actual persons, authoritatively living in the imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods 795 614 of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of 825 primitive religions -- totemism, the worship of a certain class of animals honored as the clansmen and even the ancestors of their worshipers. In fact, as I said earlier, the master of each element and his clansmen, although they lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak, always appear in the presence of man in the form of this or that animal, the bear (forest people), the beluga or kosatka (sea people), so that the Gilyak as well, having entered after his death the clan of this or that master, also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore, that class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kindred to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem. 795 614 Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or predecessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers or at sea, a system of separate totems for every clan could not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot consider this vast question in more detail here; I shall say only that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows that it is not totemism, i.e., not the belief in descent from this or that /59/ kind of animal, that created the clan gods, as is commonly thought, but, on the contrary, it is the clan gods who created totemism. As we shall see below, we cannot explain the prohibitions of the totemists against using the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.

614 171 The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/67 cont./

796 782 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent excretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled, they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 [242] All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and women, but only clansmen.

[766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth -- everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which 796 774 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the 825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau), it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'-yz'.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to many an amazing riddle.

796 224 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the essence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn ceremonial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and [782] is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together. [766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a 796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great 825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

/68 cont./

000 respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.

796 Furthermore, with regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of 231 the bear, this at first sight may not at all appear to an element of a religious nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some occasions may catch young animals, and, whenever he finds it profitable, he feeds them; thus, he feeds the fox for its fur, and young eagles for their feathers. Similarly, it is disadvantageous for the Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers to feed it in order to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and an enormous skin. Furthermore, there is nothing more natural it would seem than to use the killing of the bear for a solemn occasion like the celebration of the funeral feast [825] for a close person. By the way, the feeding and the killing 868 of a bear is an excellent means of education for the youth, who from childhood become accustomed to the most terrible animal of their taiga, learn not to fear it, and study its disposition, its strength, and its weaknesses. The procedure for getting the bear out of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting it out of its lair.

796 Nonetheless, it is not these crude, utilitarian motives that 825 play the major role in the Gilyak's expensive, wearisome, and prolonged care in feeding a bear. He is governed here by other motives, perhaps also utilitarian, but of a quite different order. As we have already seen, in the eyes of the Gilyak, the bear is a creature sui generis. No matter what creature is concealed under the hairy covering of the bear, a divine clansman of the master of the mountains, a mountain man, or a real animal sent as a present to the Gilyak by its master, in any case he is a creature of a higher order, more powerful, and superhumanly strong. The presence of such a being for a long stretch of time in his native settlement, according to the view of the Gilyak, who is convinced of the constant conspiracies of crowds /69/ of evil spirits eternally threatening his life and health, must be extremely beneficial. The presence of this mighty creature, like a very strong disinfectant, must kill and drive away any insidious spirit. It is not by

/69 cont./

796 825 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear [787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen [755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman [756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below) about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to [171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia /Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through the village on certain holidays for purification... In our grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has [614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function, securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation, but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the [774] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak, while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/69 cont./

796 825 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master." We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Ave long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the c of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mount man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or e a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." T fore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed head, generously supply it for its journey with various kin provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable conse of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display o respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whom the welfare of man depends. It is the most apt occasion for sending to t distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and t food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

796 From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear dur 782 the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for in 825 stance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, [114] lieves it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacri to each god only that which the god himself does not have and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. H needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- a it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itsel 796 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important momen 825 in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a gener 861 rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, to the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
[562] into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman,
for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which
imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and
therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the
bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below);
2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the
slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and
through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this
is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of
all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what we said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with
a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the
bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master,"
a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives
its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains"
himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides
in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent
through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master,"
but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteris-
tic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the
first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the
festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of
women who are wives of the members of that clan are not
allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/95 cont./

*614 628 It is quite another matter between men of different clans. Here the principle is implacable: the bones of the clansman must be raised! To raise the bones is the technical term for clan vengeance. Blood must be redeemed with blood, and only in very rare cases can blood redemption be replaced by ransom. This obligation is clearly colored more by a religious than an emotional element. Vengeance is obligatory not only for the contemporaries of the slain man, but, in the event of its non-fulfillment by them, for the two [672] following generations as well. It is obligatory not only in the case of premeditated murder, but for completely accidental murder as well, even one which is only indirectly *614 825 672 connected with one or another person (1). And what is

1. One Gilyak of my acquaintance brought vengeance upon his clan when his rifle accidentally went off when he picked it up from the bottom of a boat, accidentally killing the helmsman.

still more instructive, it is obligatory also with respect to animals. Vengeance upon a bear who has killed a man is no less wrathful than it is with regard to a human murderer.

The ritual of such vengeance is extremely characteristic for understanding the psychology of this clan institution, and we shall begin our analysis with it. As soon as the news of a man's death in a struggle with a bear arrives, the whole adult population hastens into the taiga, in order to catch up with the "murderer" by means of his fresh tracks. If they do not succeed /96/ in catching the real culprit, it is necessary to kill at least three other bears (his "clansmen"). If this is not accomplished during the winter, it is necessary to do it during the summer, and in addition the "mountain man" gives them a "tkhusind," in the form of a plentiful catch of every beast.

/96 cont./

14 But if they are lucky enough to overtake the bear-
25 "murderer" or his "clansman," they wreak upon him their
72 most extreme wrath. As their first responsibility they knock
766 out his teeth with an ax, and, while they are skinning him, they stab him with knives from all sides and heap on him the choicest verbal abuse. Having stripped off the bear skin, they wrap the body of the murdered man in it (if his body has remained uneaten; otherwise it is replaced by a half-length representation in wood) and, seating him in a squatting position on the sled, place the bear head under his seat, and in this way, with loud howls mixed with exclamations in honor of the murdered man and in deprecation of his murderer, they bear him to the settlement. If the bear has not been found, they place under the seat of the dead man a half-length representation of a bear, while the body is arrayed in a cloak of shavings (1). Not far from the

[498]

1. Shavings are regarded by the Gilyak as sacred, as an object of magical power. The cult of the sharpened pieces of wood (inau; see the section on religion) plays an enormous role in the religion of the Gilyak. Ordinarily they bury chosen ones in cloaks of *shavings*. Such an honor, for example, is accorded to the mother of twins or triplets, who is regarded as a being of a higher order. Among the poor this finery takes the place of the magnificent traditional funeral garments of Chinese silk, which causes one to think that at a remote period garments of shavings were generally used and that antiquity has invested them with a halo of sanctity.

/96 cont./ Not far from the

*614 native village a framework in the likeness of a bear hunter is
826 set up, with openings for the proper sacrifices. On the out-
766 side, at the corners, four sharpened saplings are set up, while it is decorated on the inside with the sacred inau. Here are also deposited the remains of the murdered man and his murderer, in the same position in which they were brought from the taiga, as we described above.

A unique funeral feast with the carcass of the slain bear is held beside this framework. On both sides of a long uninterrupted campfire sit the clansmen with large pieces of bear meat in their hands. Each one cuts the meat into thin pieces, and as each piece is cut off he throws it from his knife across the fire to the one sitting on the opposite
[688] side of the campfire. The slice, caught on a knife, is slowly roasted in the fire (the greatest insult for the bear, whose meat may only be boiled), and then with a look of revulsion they each bite off a piece and scornfully throw the meat away, although ordinarily it is /97/ considered a great sin to let even the smallest piece of bone fall to the ground.

[782] After this procedure of "refined" revenge, a feast with
[767] sacrifices to the master of the mountains and the murdered man begins. First they throw into the fire the carcass, which has begun to be burned, then various viands. At night they place a guard of two men with spears over the framework, lest the spirit of the bear wish to take revenge. The sentries firmly assert in such instances that they heard the cries of the murdered man, "Ai, Bear!" and threw themselves with spears upon the invisible avenger. In the morning they will tell you, traces of blood are clearly visible on the points of the spears...

*614 With the end of the funeral feast, peace between
775 the mountain men and the clan of the murdered man has
782 been restored. The latter is accepted and will live to a
769 ripe old age in the clan of the mountain people, while his
766 clansmen for three generations will twice a year (summer and winter) make sacrifices: part to the master of the mountain, part to the divine clansman.

/152 cont./

835 applied both to individuals of an actually ascending generation (to own father, mother) and to their brothers and sisters, the significance not only of generations, but of ages completely disappears. The brother or sister of the father may be younger than the speaker, although they consider themselves mother and father in relation to the latter, and nevertheless the prohibitions are equally effective by virtue of the kinship classification alone.

Class of tuvn. It consists of two groups -- of 1) the group of the descendants of agnate brothers and male cousins, and 2) the group of the descendants of agnate sisters and female cousins.

Within each separate group in all generations, neither sexual intercourse nor marriage are permissible, which is in complete accord with the kinship nomenclature, since in neither of these groups are there individuals designating each other as pu and arĝ(e); they are all tuvn.

I noted only one deviation with respect to the descendants of sisters, /153/ and that only among certain clans, namely, if sisters are married to individuals alien to each other, the prohibitions are in effect only in the first two generations. But this is a purely local deviation, induced by the extreme inconvenience of the prohibition under conditions of an extreme lack of women. In general the prohibition is strictly observed both among the descendants of brothers and among the descendants of sisters. This prohibition, which is reinforced by a taboo and which seems to us unnatural, has become among the Gilyak an instinctive feeling -- namely, one of prohibition against mutually looking at each other and of conversing (see below). To what degree the prohibitions
●[825] within this group have gone into flesh and blood, even in the most remote degrees of kinship, even in relation to persons whom they call "tvĝund-tuvn" (agnate male cousin), transformed by tradition in their thinking into natural phenomena of nature, we may see by their attitude toward the infraction of this prohibition among their sole domestic animal -- the

/153 cont./

835 dog. Among dogs, according to the belief of the Gilyak,
●825 brother and sister do not copulate. Exceptions are very rare, and they are attributed to the evil doing of a milk'a (evil spirit). Therefore, when a Gilyak notes such a case of incest, he is obliged to kill the dog; otherwise the sin falls on him.

[782] It is true that the slaying takes place as a religious ritual, by means of a ceremony of strangling, and blood is sprinkled to all four quarters of the compass in sacrifice, but for the dogs this is a punishment for incest. It is curious, however, that incest between ascending and descending lines (son and mother, and so forth) among dogs is tolerated by the Gilyak, and they do not kill the criminals (is it not due to utilitarian considerations, since begetters are valued very highly by them?).

835 Cognate male and female cousins. Here, of course, only cognate male and female cousins, i.e., the children of a brother and sister, can be in question, inasmuch as the children of brothers, on the one hand, and the children of sisters, on the other, are considered tuvn, and we have already discussed the complete prohibition within each of these groups. From the kinship nomenclature we know that the terms used in reference to each other by cousins depend on whether the male or female cousin whom they are addressing or of whom they are speaking is the son or daughter of the brother of the mother, or of the sister of the father, namely: if "I" am a man, then I call the daughter of the brother of my mother arĝ(e) (wife), and, conversely, she calls me pu (husband), but my sister calls the son of the brother of my mother akhmaik, navich (father-in-law, husband of the wife's sister), and, conversely, he calls her n'ern -- wife's sister, i.e., terms which have nothing in common with matrimonial terms; and these terms correspond perfectly /154/ to reality. Sexual relations and marriage between the daughter of a sister and the son of her brother (and correspondingly between their tuvn) are not permitted; on the other hand, marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is not only permissible, but is considered a regular phenomenon. And in this case, as in all others, the terms brother and sister are

/184 cont./

*835 levirate. Then, in order that the
183 woman remain in the clan of her
589 deceased husband, she is given, ac-
768 cording to the decision of the clan
[614] council, to any clansman of an ascending or descending degree of kinship with her late husband.

684 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons
*835 of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust.

[776] In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in
●[825] beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the
[767] same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging
[533] of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair, the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a "bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a "devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters -- urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/254 cont./

835 the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, which
831 he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged
763 himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the mo-
533 ment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its
538 entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the first
[539] lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyvo (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on the wall."

832 The Gilyak employ magic means against unrequited love.
●[825] One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress. But there are also other means that are not so harmless and lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days, dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of them.

832 Among the Gilyak, as in our country, there are timid in-
[534] dividuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present. Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries, ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, corresponding to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.

832 There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli of love are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the attraction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the term poch urland, literally -- "of a good face."

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578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat'/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must (present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second -- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh. If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last, farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost of a pack is up to 100 rubles. The son-in-law /zyat'/, in case of
[437] a fight with a brother-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or, if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat'/, he gives for reconciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back
614 his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth.
627 The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

695 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz´u
686 nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.
825 One must kill a wolf (lygyz´) and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz´? ennikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jeng:az´ tongz´ shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

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695 dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft.
686 They seek a man who understands the oath -- chkhyz´u n´ivukh,
825 and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the
[424] Chkhyzyl clan; Il'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If
[614] outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A thief frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'gu -- clansmen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryja´, mygja´, n´i heg:at pkhalgun polagun prydz:rá chigy´ tuur pugusá enan´ivukh, jugut prydókh kaukrá, par:k prydz:rá. Ni sidzymral´ó, sidz:jejmralo cherakh jot´in (prydz:rá) helá eg:ur pkhog:e jakhgujá," i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n´ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The thief sends a khimu-n´ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n´erakh elyg:az´ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: vurará. Navat taktó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

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685 actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajorá
615 mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n´erokh tokh elyygujá. Chi nar´ár; chan
maj:okhanú. Mykyz´ mra lytyng ivg:aj hukt6ókh elyyg:az´o."
685 While they argue, a crow (ves') and a cat are thrown into the fire
615 alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the
825 fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat, while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told: "Chi ta:rodz: furará n´ivykh lerý mra cin unakhana ulkhyndor by nivukhdokh elyygujá." "You do not know, you will suffer for a petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak), following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

614 Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular
825 animal. There is a clan whose kekhal is a wolf -- kekhr: ping chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank, bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round, attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times. This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf, but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters, having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf spoils them, but if a Chnarpung is left, then he does not spoil them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by; they leave yukola, mos', and so forth there. The Chnarpung may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile and not docile.

685 This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When some-
654 thing is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz´ nyngjú -- look

/307 cont./

765 and bring over the favorite dog and feed it. This dog is called
231 pryski -- gzn (among the Gold -- khan'a, i.e., soul); every person, even a child, has without fail his own pryski. From childhood everyone has his favorite dog, and when a man dies, they select either his favorite dog or the best dog of those harnessed to the sled and make a pryski of it. If it dies, they
765 bury it and cover it with chocks. Each says the following to the
775 deceased: "Ning yvr: hdmnydz: kys'kuvr: tog:agán urgur vija mu-n´ivukh gudókh mlyvo-rokh (pimlykh-tokh). Vingán, /308/ erirózonydz:, hdin pyk tynakhanú, pyk tyké, chi jerinakhana hongan pi ozngan, cham nar:kir: pknuukuja plyngu tengu, hokharód vétana khan'a nyn'gtr: kiur kera'á, hyhagyskó vetajá kakgir, turi khei: tozja, pykn'ir: pyk chakh tanýdz: pyk tekó: pernakhanú. Urgur vir: namugur humyjá pytykhu dogra pymykhu dogra, pi ykyngudogra, vijá.

"To live near us, there is no happiness (not fate), in such a case, fine, go to the deceased, to the settlement of the dead (to your settlement of the dead). When you go, you will cross the river; a cuckoo will cuckoo there; after the cuckoo bird cuckoos for a long time, you will wake up. When you get up, you will shake off ashes and coal with eagle feathers; then you will dress yourself, make an insole out of the hair (1), put on

1. Out of the hair of the wife, sister, or mother.

this clothing, and, having made something like a little bridge from the figure, cross; a cuckoo bird, becoming tired (2) after it

[825] 2. All during the trip to the stream the cuckoo will cry; before the stream there will be no water and no food. It will become tired and will have to drink from the cup. There are cuckoos which squeal, which means that they are tired from accompanying the deceased.

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755 Mainly it is necessary to treat leprosy -- khachudz, and skin diseases.

The treatment of a leper. The shaman asks that a dog be brought into the isba. The sick man sits up with his legs hanging from the plank bed to the floor. In front of him there is an iron kettle with the opening upward. The man holds the dog, while the shaman moves around the yurt and kamlaet (shamanizes); then the shaman spits -- "emits the spirit," takes a small worm out of his mouth and carries it toward the dog. The dog jumps back -- it has been pricked. Then the angry worm is brought over to the sick man; the shaman stands opposite the sick man with the worm in his hands, and the head of the shaman turns into a large woodpecker -- ves'khr: -- black, with a red forehead -- and, squinting his eyes, he begins /311/ to look closely at the face of the sick man in order to determine where to peck a bald spot, i.e., to learn where the worm of the disease is (the shaman, having squinted his eyes, sees through the man, and the sick man sits "all naked"). The shaman finds a soft spot, pricks it with the worm, and pulls out of there another worm, which he throws into the kettle. He thus pulls out all the worms from the entire
[761] body, leaving only one worm, samui. Without a worm, a
[825] person cannot live, but this worm cannot propagate. Those who have seen these worms in the kettle say that they look like tree worms. This kettle is covered with other kettles. At the same time he orders his kekhn to keep watch at night over the cup. On the following day he orders the Gilyak to bind the kettle tight with a kaluga net and to bury it in the ground, while he himself shamanizes. The shaman carries it away over five rivers and five ranges. He sings, so that the small mountains become large, and the streams -- large rivers. There he digs out a pit, where he places the kettles together and binds them. Those who go must count five narrow valleys and five ranges. And the shaman sings once again, so that the dried up little springs turn into large rivers, the rivers -- into cliffs, and the kaluga net -- into the densest wire bag -- "become a wire bag, so that the worm does not come out." The shaman solders the kettles with words: "Two kettles, having melted together, merge and mutually become one."

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IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramiadz: (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat,
even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself: he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
773 myg:nga igagh syktymu yz´mudz:gu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
732 born a boy with a tail.

825 The lark makes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thu
The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest
loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in a thin, humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- kakhtr, ag:nl, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- arn´ is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

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The god of the wind -- Layzn (the evil wind -- Lamangnd); no chukh-chugnd (sacrifices) are made to him. He is shot at with bows; he is not shot at with rifles for fear of evoking thunder and a storm. The wind comes about thus: "Layzn, just like man, blows from his mouth."

The bear, the sable, the fox, the otter, and the squirrel were created by Pal yz'n (the master of the mountains).

Tuurmam -- the god of the hearth, the mistress of fire, the old woman -- is one among all the clansmen. The head of Tuurmam is curly, the snout red, /321/ the hair short (there is no braid), the height that of a man, the clothing -- fish skin, lives in the fire.

Tajrnandz: the only one who sends fish; he is a large and robust man. All his dogs are white. He rides through the air, along the Milky Way (Tairnandz: -- tif); he lives there. He also makes thunder. Each k:khal has its own Pal-nîvukh, its own Tol-nîvukh, even its own milk'i, but there is one Tairnandz:. They set up three trees for Tol-nîvukh: a fir, an ashberry, and a rose willow. Strips of bark are cut out of these trees and their branches are bound with sedge. One chkhnaj has saranka attached to it.

Oskyz'n master of the hare, big like a cow, long nose. They throw the head of a hare, with puchka tied to it. Tlangi-yz'n -- master of the reindeer, looks like a reindeer. Mekvon'-gi -- master of the kabarga.

Evil spirit -- Ge-nîvukh. His yurt is an earthen mound near Tekhrvo. He comes to the Gilyak, opens a window (kugutý), extends two fingers, and asks for something. If something is given to him he leaves. If one gives him a hot coal, he does not understand what is happening, throws the coal back and forth from one hand to the other, and says: "as' kavkhaj, khavrkhaj, avgujà" -- "it is hot, if you do not have (anything), do not give!" Ge-nîvukh likes to kidnap people, especially children. The only way -- is to inflict a wound upon oneself, for Ge-nîvukh is afraid of blood. Pumkin's brother sat in his balagan guarding reindeer and suddenly saw two ge-n'ivukh. He began to shout and inflicted a wound

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775 The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to
787 him several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father took me again," and she did not appear any more.

774 The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this
[231] large soul live small souls -- tarn. After the death of a person, a small soul lives in his pryski' (dog), which is tied to his plank bed. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.
[735] A poor person "still has one tiny little soul." If a person dies away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body. Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire a corresponding soul, and therefore if a throat is sore, they make
[825] a tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue. A captured bird with which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will carry away the soul.

775 The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person who has been eaten by a bear lives to a ripe old age with Pal-n igyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who drowned -- with Tol-n'igyvyn, and then they go to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is caused by the bloodshed during the wars of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle) lives, like a bird, in the air. The souls of such unfortunates shreik at night from the trees.

5. Until a tkhusind (ransom) is received, one who was killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

775 The night bird takhch is of the size of a crow and just as
825 black, but its beak is red. If its cry is heard at night, one must not call it by name, but must say atk.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly together into the village.

/332/

775 This bird (the soul of the slain man) enters the avenger of
• 825 the slain man and instills courage in him. Its image (vagn,
[532] takhchynnga) is made out of the roots of the alder tree and placed, with the roots upward, not far from the raf over the grave of the
[708] slain person. The chkhnaj of this bird must be made out of the root, and a small knife must be placed in its mouth.

775 The resurrection of the soul. The soul of the deceased will sometimes be born again. If a boy is born with a sign indicating his origin from a person who has died, he will say, even before sustained speech, words that indicate his knowledge of the past.

775 When he attains intelligible speech, his father puts a hat on him
789 backwards and begins to ask him questions about the past, and then he says quietly, "Well, that is enough, forget the past," and puts the hat on him in the proper way. Then the boy forgets everything and will live for a long time. If the father does not do this, the boy will die. The procedure with the hat drives away the milk.

II.

Hunting and Fishing

224 Sacrifices to the sea -- Tol vyzn:d (fynydz:). 1. When winter
782 sets in and there is not a single unfrozen patch of water on the surface of the sea, the men of the same khal'a (women do not participate) set out in the dark of night for the sea, a hole in the ice, and through it each of them throws wood -- "wood fire," which has been started with a piece of tinder -- to the sea. Later on, at home, they "eat," i.e., feast.

2. In summer, people who leave the shore in a rowboat throw things out of a bowl for sea offerings -- tol n 'ich: -- to the master of the sea, Tol yz 'dokh.

To Tol they always sacrifice a white dog, a white fir, everything smooth and clean; to Pal and Mif, on the other hand, everything fanciful; to Kur -- a red dog, a red cock, a bright cup, vodka.

/333 cont./

224 are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow
782 trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigynd kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

• 825 When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are
177 found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

224 During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhund), a
784 woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If
[626] any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

224 /334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs. Catching a wolf. In Ikhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tos' (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

221 Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon,
[252] and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal n'ivukh tkhusind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of tkhusind.

/335 cont./

372 782 of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Urgur n'irá, nekhlang kun k:kholaf khavryr hunivaguja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kel'nung ankh --" the bitch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe: one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

776 342 The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house -- four chkhnaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men. Tavyzing tugur yzing. This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.

[688] If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyz'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

832 Means for love. There is medicine to make another person [825] fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies), or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

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197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

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823 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin.
773 Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale (kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother and daughter -- look after them.

825 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary.
761 Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 825 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacrifices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may
[782] look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

724 825 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and
[261] they treat him like a killed one. When they set off somewhere (hunting) or in general on important business, they always take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

773 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

182 /354 cont./

614 5. The members of the clan are bound together by comm
796 sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to
[574] everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to t part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the ex penditures in connection with the festival are covered by the cla men. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubl Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great number of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during th festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious char ter or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful at
[224] tack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoure the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bea was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping anima was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in th eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and invi
[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear,
[776] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh.
[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a positi of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially
[562] hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
322 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

342 /357/ This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,
352 in that low and wide plank-beds or sleeping benches (f) run along
354 three of its walls, on both sides and in the rear, opposite the entrance door (c), and in the middle, between them, there rises a hearth, shaped as they are there, over which an opening in the roof serves as a smoke vent and actually consists of two holes put in the two halves of the roof and joining at the ridge pole.
[417] Under this, several longitudinal and transverse poles are put over the hearth and a wooden hook is hung on them to hold the kettle
[353] over the fire. Some similar longitudinal and transverse poles run over the sleeping benches and are used for hanging up clothing. In the corners between the side benches and the front wall, to the right and left of the door, there are shelves with all sorts of utensils, a large container with drinking water, a small supply
342 of firewood for the hearth, and the like. Since the room as a
354 whole is not high and the roof is rather flat, the large smoke vent is not very high above one's head, which, together with the many crevices in the walls and the floor, actually makes the house very airy. If, in addition, the doors to the front space and from there to the outside are open, a strong draft is created. Therefore, as a rule, the summer dwelling is completely free of smoke and also quite free of gnats, which is very important. The front space (d) can also be specially ventilated, if the supplies stored there require it, for its walls in part consist only of vertically placed boards which can easily be removed in any number desired, as had been done in the case of the yurt at Mão at the
342 time it was drawn. Finally, another feature, a simple one, to
825 be sure, but a very important one in its consequences for the Gilyak, must be mentioned in connection with the construction of their summer dwellings. In order to make them inaccessible
[251] to the great number of rats in the winter yurts, a vital necessity because of the fish supplies assembled in them, a piece of birch bark is placed over the upper end of each of the piles supporting the yurt, extending around it on all sides, which, as experience has shown, is perfectly adequate to prevent the rats from climbing
342 up the piles to get into the yurt. The sleds are hung under the

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eve that the reason that a lynx skin, and all
nade of six skins of this kind, has so high a
e must be sought in the influence of Chinese
ny case the lynx skin also has considerable real
ak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded
of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but

erely two leg-pieces from a lynx
nd the tail are worth as much as
ables.

re expensive furs, such as black fox, for exam-
e is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not
like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value.
resented below on the values given by the
objects will show, there are also a number of
hold which they value even more than a lynx
vertheless do not impart to their possessor such
and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions
ust therefore come into play here. In view of the
old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese,
to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger,
most ferocious, and most dangerous of all ani-
nt of its related species, the panther, stands
e throne: for example, the seats of high
governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are
and panther skins for solemn occasions or pro-
chair cushions carried behind them have just
(2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

orants Ides, Driejaarige Reize naar
/A Three-year Trip to China/, Am-
m, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, Descrip-
e l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie
ise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

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covered with tiger skins on the outside (3); long tiger and panther

3. Marco Polo (Reisen, German by Aug. Bürck, with annotations and emendations by Fr. Neumann, Leipzig, 1845, pp. 318-319) relates that the pavilion borne by four elephants in which the Chinese emperor (Kublai Khan) stayed when hunting in the province of Liao-tong, as well as the hunting tents erected for him there, were covered on the outside with tiger, or, as he says, "lion," skins.

tails hang down from the halberds and lances of the officers forming the bodyguard of the emperor and /391/ walking in his retinue during public processions (1), etc. (2). Under Chinese

1. Ysbrants Ides, op. cit., p. 90. Gerbillon, in Du Halde, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 235.

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2. Many more examples of the high esteem for the tiger and its skin in China could be given. I shall content myself, however, with referring here only to some of the older testimony of this kind. On account of its predatory nature, evoking fear and terror, its likeness is put on the garments of officers and and other persons in military service in China, as Barrow (Reise durch China im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 /Journey Through China in the Suite of the Embassy of Great Britain in the Years 1793 and 1794, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. II, p. 31), Staunton (Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China in den J.

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2. (cont.) 1792-1794, nebst Nachr. über China und einen kleinen Theil der chines. Tartarey /Ambassadorial Voyage of the Earl of Macartney to China in the Years 1792-1794, with Reports on China and a Small Part of Chinese Tartary/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. I, p. 341), and others have reported. Ellis (Journal of the Proceed. of the late Embassy to China, etc., second edit., London, 1818, Vol. I, p. 130) also saw several companies of soldiers who were wrapped from head to foot in long, yellow and black striped garments which were supposed to make them look like tigers to terrify the enemy. On the other hand, the tiger also seems to be the object of religious veneration in China. For example, Van-Braam (Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 270) reports that four stuffed tigers in a sitting position were set before the altar in the pagoda Huinon-tsu in Peking. In a similar manner, the Chinese (Man-dse) in the Ussuri region erect chapels for the tiger, in which they offer sacrifices to it and hang pictures of it (Arkhim. Palladii, "Usur. Man'tszy /The Ussuri Man-dse/," Izviest. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 376). I shall come back on another occasion to the value that the Chinese in their superstitious beliefs attach to the meat, gall, tendons, bones, and claws, besides the skin of the tiger.

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influence similar use of the tiger skin as a mark of honor has become established in Korea (3). The trading trips of the Gilyak

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3. Thus, Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Travels in the Ussuri Region in 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 116) reports that during his visit to the Korean border town of Kygenpu on the Tumen-ula the governor appeared, carried on a chair over which a tiger skin was spread. After he had descended, it was spread on the ground and the traveler was invited to sit on it.

825 439 171 The trading trips of the Gilyak

to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari gave them an opportunity to witness the extraordinary fear which the Chinese there (Man-dse), as well as the Goldi, have of the tiger and, prompted by this fear, the respect that they show for it everywhere, in that the former erect small chapels or temples for it and put up in them pictures of it (4), which the latter call it "ambanj," i.e., "master," and

4. Arkhimandr. Palladii, "Usuriiskie Man'tszy" (op. cit., p. 377). Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 347).

even bow to the ground before its remains (5). The impressions

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5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po Amuru, soversh. v" 1856-57 gg. /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur, completed between 1856 and 1857/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 171). Palladij, loc. cit.

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825 439 171 about the tiger that the Gilyak bring home from these trips, especially the stories that they hear from the Chinese and Goldi about the many human lives annually falling victim to it (6), undoubtedly

6. Przewalski reports (op. cit., p. 233) that in 1867 no fewer than 21 Man-dse were killed and six wounded by tigers along the Zymuche, a tributary of the upper Ussuri.

contribute no little to the panicky fear and superstitious ideas that govern them with respect to the tiger. I have already discussed this above (7) and intend to add more occasionally below.

7. See my Reisen und Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. I, pp. 90-97, where, in speaking of the distribution of the tiger and leopard in the Amur region, the beliefs of the Gilyak and other Amur peoples concerning them are given.

825 Since /392/, however, the tiger appears in the area of the Gilyak only as a most infrequent guest on its rovings from the south and is scarcely ever killed by them (1), it, and to an even greater

1. The Gilyak did not know of any instance of this kind to relate to me.

degree the leopard, belongs more in the category of mythical animals occupying only their imagination. On the other hand, [439] they meet in their forests, and not so very infrequently, another animal, which through its decidedly predatory nature and its total appearance, the cat-like habitus, the spotted and in part striped marking of its fur, the black tip of its tail, etc., resembles the tiger as well as the panther (2), and whose fur is highly

[171] 2. Przewalski (op. cit., p. 242) reports

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2. (cont.) that the natives of the Ussuri region (Goldi and Orochi or Ta-dse) always answered his questions about the character and way of life of the lynx: "igajan Lau-masa," which means, "like the tiger."

prized and dearly paid for by the Chinese (3). I am referring

[113] 3. Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost. Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Journeys in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in the Years 1855-1859/, Vol. I, "Die Säugethier-Fauna /The Mammalian Fauna/," St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 93) was unable to buy a lynx skin among the Manchu and Daur, even for silver coins, and heard the latter say that it, like a tiger skin, could be acquired only by high Chinese officials. Gerbillon (in Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 295) reported that the animal schulon (French "choulon"), a specimen of which Emperor Kang-hi killed during a hunt in 1692 and which he regarded as a lynx ("loup cervier"), which seems in fact to be wholly correct according to the description, provided one of the most highly prized pelts, which cost 15-20 ducats each in Peking. Elsewhere in Du Halde (op. cit., p. 29) this animal is called "chelason."

825 to the lynx. Therefore, the Gilyak transfer to it some of their conceptions about the tiger as a particularly noble, princely, or royal beast.

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825 291 554 royal beast. Hence it is no wonder that, in accordance with the proverb, "Clothes make the man," which is especially apt among primitive peoples, the Gilyak who can occasionally parade around in a whole coat of lynx skins, and who can thus scorn the profit that would accrue to him from the sale of these skins, is surrounded with an aura of extraordinary distinction and wealth in the eyes of his countrymen.

291 But let us return to the ordinary winter-clothing of the Gilyak. Like the shirt, the fur coat, too, is always buttoned by [177] the Gilyak from left to right over the chest, sometimes with several metal buttons of Chinese or Russian origin, sometimes with a large wooden button of Gilyak workmanship (Pl. XXIX, Figs. 4, 5),[1] and the skirts of the coats likewise overlap. To hold them together, however, the complete winter outfit includes, besides the belt, which will be discussed later, a special piece of clothing, the so-called kossjkha, that is, a short apron-skirt of sealskin extending around the body, which, for a better fit at the waist and in order not to hinder the movement of the body, is provided, at the top with a wide edging of fish skin, through which run the straps for tying it (see Pl. XVIII[2] and XIX).[3] [171] The kossjkha seems to be an article of clothing that is genuinely Gilyak in origin, though it may also be found among some of the Tungusic peoples neighboring the Gilyak and living as they do, the Olcha, Negda, etc. For /393/ the Gilyak always traveling astride his low dog-sled, the kossjkha gives the lower body excellent protection against the oncoming wind and snow or rain, and on many other occasions particularly conditioned by the practices of the Gilyak as we shall see below, it performs excellent service for him. To prevent wind and snow from entering the sleeves, they are wrapped in a swathing fashion and tied at the wrists by means of a wide sleeve-band of of fabric or leather (Gilyak torknbas; see Pl. XXII,[4] Figs. 4, 5). The hand coverings (Gilyak wom(a)ch) are tied to the ends of the sleeves. As a rule, they are mittens lined with fox fur (Plate XX,[5] Figs. 3, 4) and distinguished in cut by the fact that at the wrist, close to the thumb, there is a slit protected by a

1 2 3 4 5 [See Category 116, pp. 1009, 998, 999, 1002 and 1000 respectively -- Analyst]

/398 cont./

292 237 is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration [554] was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

[126] 1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

171 291 237 A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed animal as headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation of the whole animal may occur among many primitive peoples. 825 I cannot refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is the most dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear caps of wolf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an erect position (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

[113] 2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

also takes place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern America. The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northernmost Maleig-müt down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made out of the head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the tail of a wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this latter animal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo

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let a wolf or wolverine tail hang down at the neck from their elegant reindeer-fur caps, trimmed with otter or wolverine skin, to their backs (3). One would not err, I believe, if he assumed

3. Lagoskin", Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vladienii v" Amerikie /Description of a Journey on Foot through Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847 and 1848, Pt. II, pp. 21, 22.

that such articles of clothing based on the imitation of animals are of ancient national origins among those people for whom they are customary and in whose lives the animals in question are of special importance, bringing harm or advantages. It certainly seemed obvious to primitive man to pursue and carry out in detail the similarity with a given animal that he acquired by clothing himself in its fur. Here and there superstitious beliefs of the kind, say, that by imitating an animal in one's clothing, he might gain its good will or render it harmless, might also have given rise to garments copying animals. It is, therefore, not surprising that the idea of special elegance and high distinction becomes attached to such ancient national garments. This also explains why the tschlyghi-hak of the Gilyak /399/ women, though made out of purely native materials, is regarded as more elegant than the tscharp-hak made out of expensive Chinese silk with dragon designs.

I cannot leave this subject without permitting myself yet another pertinent and general remark. Since the customary practice among all primitive peoples clothing themselves in animal skins is to wear the skin with the hair on the outside, might not the thought of using the skin for protection against the inclemencies of the climate in the same way as it is given to the animal as natural clothing have arisen out of the imitation of animals, until experience taught that this is in fact the way of using animal skins for clothing that gives the most protection? Without any other covering as nearly air- and water-tight as possible, which primitive people were not familiar with, animal

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1. I later saw something similar among the Daur in the village of Chormoldin: the hair was shaved off the boys and a tuft of hair was left standing only here and there, quite unsymmetrically, either on the crown or on one side, which gave them a very comical appearance. The Chinese presumably also do this.

Adults, however never have their head or beard hair cut; indeed, among the Gilyak there prevails the belief that if an adult among them had his braid cut and his hair shorn, it would bring him sickness and death. After death, however, the braid may be cut off and preserved by the relatives of the deceased. For instance, the Gilyak Kimrkan in Kalm showed me the braids that he had removed from his first wife and his daughter after their deaths, and which he carefully stored, wrapped in birch bark, in the small hut erected for the manes of the deceased, the so-called rakk,* which

*/HRAF note: According to the list of errata on p. 777 of the foreign text, rakk should be raff. An asterisk on the latter word refers to a footnote which reads "Noted later"; see note * on p.1236./

will be discussed later. In caring for their hair, the Gilyak are just as untidy as in their clothing. Hence one often sees them hit their heads with the palms of their hands in order to check the annoying vermin, or scratch their heads, which characteristically is always done with the thumb while the other /411/ fingers rest on the head. Indeed, the Gilyak even regard the presence of vermin in the head hair as a sign of good health. Thus, during my stay at the Nikolayev post, it happened that a Gilyak boy was taken by a Russian for rearing in his house, but when the father visited the boy after a time and missed the vermin in his hair, he explained that he was worried about his health and took him back again. In connection with this, the bad habit of cracking vermin from the head or clothing in the mouth prevails among the Gilyak, as among so many primitive peoples. My disgust at this, occasionally expressed to them, seemed ridiculous to them, and to my question as to why they did it, since it could be neither for food nor for a delicacy, I was given the answer that they were paying back the little animals for what the latter were doing to them.

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*262 While the men land enormous quantities of these salmon, espe-
251 cially the latter species, in nets and boats, the women occupy
252 themselves with skinning them and cutting them up: a longitudi-
[462] nal cut is made from the head to the tail near the spine on either
412 side and on the belly side with the tschomauwa, a knife with a
[226] long and narrow blade (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1), and then a transverse cut from top to bottom just behind the head; then the skin is pulled off from the side with one jerk each, the meat is removed from each of them in one piece, and each of them is cut into two long strips, each of which has a cut made in its upper end, whereupon the strips of flesh are strung on a cord and hung on
[192] the above-mentioned drying racks near the summer yurts. This is the jukola (2), chiefly intended for the people and only in small

2. As is well known, jukola is the term, probably originally stemming from Kamchatka, customary among the Russians throughout Siberia for cut-up and dried fish.

part for the dogs, the ma of the Gilyak, the makoré of the Olcha and Goldi. The head with the backbone and the flesh remaining on it, which is provided with transverse cuts along the latter for drying it more readily, furnishes the jukola used exclusively as food for the dogs, the chark of the Gilyak, the dalong of the Olcha and
[258] Goldi. Oil is boiled out of the especially fatty belly pieces, which provides a most important foodstuff and is stored in seal bladders and stomachs. The entrails and the milt, rejected with horror by the Gilyak on principle, are given to the dogs, but the roe is eaten and is used with various foods, though it is not especially
*262 prized. Apart from the two kinds of salmon mentioned, jukola
252 is also made out of other fish, for example, Salmo lycaodon Pall.
● 825 (Gilyak well), which comes up the Amur somewhat before the
[226] keta salmon), Salmo callaris Pall. (Gilyak longr[sch]), Salmo leucomaenis Pall. (Gilyak ssawong), etc. The jukola made out

[See category 116, pp. 1011-1012 respectively--Analyst]

/426 cont./

*262 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both quali-
252 tatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the
● 825 two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma,
*262 always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then, is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --

[113] 3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running
574 through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak
264 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches,
*269 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4) with
412 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

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1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[See category 116, p. 1014--Analyst]

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*262 /432 cont./
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they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For

● [825] [113]

6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

[225] [411]

7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) witnessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

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8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

/437 cont./

is consumed by them when its hour of death tolls. The Gilyak
*262 seem not to eat on principle only the crow (Corvus corone L.,
● 825 Gilyak karr), although, or perhaps because, it lives for the most part on the same food as they themselves do, for it happily and in great numbers stays in the vicinity of their villages and huts in order to benefit from the scraps from the catch of fish or the preparation of jukola, and appears at the midday or overnight campsites of traveling Gilyak even before the fire has gone out, in order to eat any possible remains from the meal; in fact, they not infrequently steal a march on them in consuming /438/ a nochla-nga
*262 frozen fast to the sea ice or an animal caught in a trap. Perhaps
825 the Gilyak are also governed in this by some kind of superstitious
171 belief concerning this bird, like, say, the Chukchee (1) and the

[113] 1. Kiber", "Chukchi /The Chukchee/" (Sibirsk. Viestn., 1824, Pt. II, Ethnography, p. 119).

Eskimo (from Kotzebue Sound), who regard the carrion crow as the creator of the world (2). At any rate, I saw them sometimes

[113] 2. Berth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 30, 72.

carry with them on trips a crow's head on top of the sleds laden with provisions and trade articles as a means, as they themselves told me, of bringing good luck. Incidentally, ideas quite similar to those concerning the crow prevail among the above-named peoples, the Chukchee, the Eskimo from Kadjak, the Kenai, and the Koljuschen in connection with the raven, and the latter therefore do not eat it (3). In view of the great similarity between the

[113] 3. Lutké, Voyage autour du monde /Voyage around the World/, Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 189, 214. According to Nordenskiöld (Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, Vol.

*262 /438 cont./
● 825
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[113]

3. (cont.)
II, p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating a raven that had been shot.

*262 In view of the great similarity between the
825 two birds in externals and in their way of life, it is quite possible that the Gilyak have the same attitude toward both and therefore likewise do not eat the raven.

Among the reptiles and amphibians, there is not a single animal that the Gilyak eat, for with regard to all of them, but especially snakes and toads, they have a fear rooted in superstitious beliefs, which will be discussed in the following (4).

[171] 4. In China, frogs, turtles, and even snakes are eaten. Jakinf, op. cit., p. 262; John Bowring, loc. cit.

226 Finally, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few
*262 invertebrates must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not scorn gathering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks tossed up by the sea or left behind by the ebb. For example,
[136] on the west coast of Sakhalin they designated for me the Tellina venulosa (Gilyak kär wub) (5), Mactra sachalinensis (Gilyak

5. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

moghomi-wellach) (6), and a third mussel, which they called

[192] 6. Ibid., pp. 575-578. As is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a snail shell or mussel shell in general, but the animal of the moghomi-wellach is called pubk, according to Glehn.

jotang-wellach and which remains unknown to me, as the species whose animals they eat and at the same time praised them as being "sweet as sugar."

/520 cont./

226 upper corners of the net, or, in the case of the bag net, one of the sections of the bag opening equipped with the rings and cords, is hooked onto the prongs of the odn-tschongr, while the other corner of the net, or the place on the bag opening diametrically opposite the first one, is fastened to a pole placed across the hole, and the rest of the net, weighted with stones at the lower edge, is let down into the water. Now the odn is withdrawn, and the corner of the net coming out with it at the other hole is fastened, like the first one, to a pole. In this fashion the net is set up, like a wall directly under the ice, between the two holes. From these also emerge the cords by which it can be raised, and, finally, to one of them run the signal cords from the wall of the net or bag, so that the presence of fish in the net must be watched for here. From the foregoing it is to be seen that the length of the odn, determined by the size of the net and the distance of the holes in the ice from each other, is very considerable. It may therefore consist of several pieces.

[532] The representation of a face on the odn-tschongr is always necessary, however, according to Gilyak belief, and very essential for success in catching sturgeon or hausen. In this connection another /521/ Gilyak superstition should be considered, one specifically referring to the catching of sturgeon

• [825] and hausen with nets. It is that a cuckoo feather attached to the net will make the fishing successful -- a superstition to which I shall return later with regard to its consequences.

226 171 Another way of catching sturgeon and hausen among the Gilyak, though far less common, is to set out fishhooks. This is the same method of fishing that is known in Siberia as ssamolowy (automatic fishing) and has been described by Pallas in the various modifications with which it is practiced along the lower Obj, on the Irtysch, Jaik, and along the Volga (1).

1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. II, pp. 339, 444; Vol. III, p. 88.

/546/

225 825 789 532 Needless to say, there are a number of superstitions connected with seal-hunting among the Gilyak. Thus, the lych, like

• the above-mentioned odn-tschongr (1), always bears on its

1. See p. 808 above.

Use of the lych for seal-hunting among the Gilyak.

upper side, near the point, a crudely carved face, whose presence is regarded as essential for the successful use of the weapon.

225 825 Furthermore, superstition requires that, first of all, and before any use is made of a slain seal, its eyes be gouged out with a knife, whereupon the eye fluid, caught in the hollow of the hand, is thrown into the water, and, furthermore, the snout, or, to achieve both things at the same time, the whole head, is chopped off and put

[999] into the water. The guiding thought in this is to leave the slain animal in ignorance about its murderer and thus to prevent any possible revenge by its manes causing ill-luck in seal-hunting in the future. The same conception is evidently the basis for the

[171] above-mentioned similar procedure of the Manegir with their slain sturgeon and hausen. The Gilyak, however, prize these fish too much to sacrifice the heads each time and may therefore come to terms with this superstition in another and less costly way. Perhaps they content themselves with gouging out the eyes, though I did not see this myself. Their above-described procedure with the

Ainu ABC
Goldi RX3

/546 cont./

225 825 seals was very inconvenient for me inasmuch as, because of it,

• I was unable to obtain perfectly whole and intact skins of the seals of the Amur region.

A 225 Just as among the Gilyak, seal-hunting also plays an important role among the Ainu living on both coasts of Sakhalin and is practiced by them in quite similar ways. Thus, according to Mizul's information (2), the above-described, long-handled

2. Op. cit., p. 130.

harpoon, the Gilyak lych, is also used among them, and even Mamia Rinsô mentions /547/ that they put in the water small wooden floats onto which the seals crawl and are then killed with javelins (1).

1. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

G1 225 Among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region it is possible for only a few, because of the location of their habitation area, to turn to seal-hunting among other sources of sub-

G1 [439] sistence, or to practice it at all. The former is the case in particular among the Orochi of the coast, who do not practice seal-hunting merely to satisfy their own needs for seal furs, skins, and oil, but also get from it important articles to barter in trade with their western neighbors, the Goldi. Nevertheless, even among the Orochi seal-hunting falls far behind the preferred

G1 [361] hunting of forest animals. The Olcha, too, though to a lesser extent, have an opportunity to devote themselves to seal-hunting within their own borders, thanks, on the one hand, to their dwelling sites on de Castries Bay and, on the other hand, to the

G1 [191] ascent of the seals in the Amur River far into their territory. [197] There can be no doubt but that they practice it in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak, who here again are their teachers.

G1 225 221 361 Finally, the Negda, though living at a distance from the sea, annually travel in some number from the Amgunj, and especially from their northeastern dwelling sites on Lake Orell and

/548 cont./

225 171 In view of this distribution of the white whale in the Amur region, the Gilyak are practically the only one of its peoples that occupies itself with catching it. To be sure, the Ainu along the east coast of Sakhalin would have the opportunity for it, but there is no mention of such an occupation by any of the travelers who became acquainted with them. Little inclined toward bolder hunting ventures, they presumably are satisfied, so far as the white whale is concerned, to capture the individuals stranded on the shore, just as they do in the case of the larger

225 true whales. With regard to the latter the Gilyak do no differently, but they pursue the white whale with weapons, and, to be sure, for this they use a harpoon intended specifically for this purpose, their so-called parr (Pl. XLII /see p.1022/, Figs. 3 and 4). This consists of a thick and short bone tube into which a dagger-shaped, double-edged and pointed iron lamella provided with a barb on either side in the back is inserted. This piece is mounted on a wooden shaft (Gilyak werl) for hurling it and, in addition, is equipped with a long, stout strap by which the wounded animal is pulled in, either to the boat or directly on land, depending on where the hunter may be, in order finally

• [825] to be beaten to death. Here, too, as in seal-hunting, superstition, and presumably as the result of a similar idea, demands that, first of all, the head of the slain animal be cut off; it is not thrown into the water, however, but hung on a tree standing on the bank, after all the muscle meat and the like have first been removed from it. At various places along the right bank of the Amur I saw such trees with many skulls of white whales hanging in them, which at the same time showed the success

[171] of the Gilyak in hunting /549/ the white whale. I cannot say whether the Olcha, in whose territory the white whale is much rarer, likewise hunt them, but, if this should be the case, only the Gilyak could have been their teachers. Thus, the hunting of the white whale is a characteristic feature in the way of life of the Gilyak in contrast to the other Amur peoples and brings them closer, in view of the arctic nature of this animal, to the

ooo polar peoples. And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking

/549 cont./ And, strangely enough, the custom of stic

225 171 the skulls of slain white-whales on a tree or, lacking one of on vertical piles driven into the ground prevails among some

• 825 of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed

[113] 1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 85; Zoographia rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 275.

Ostyak along the Obj River.

/550/ Section 9

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Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapo and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

224 171 As we now turn to the second main source of subsiste of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the fores I m first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the rem frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing increases the more in immediate importance and significanc the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur a into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region, just like fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

224 The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observa tions, are accordingly, as the most sedentary, the most ichthyophagous, and in general the most pronounced fishing people of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peop

[439] to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them cato ing fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for them-selves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these end

/556 cont./
224 Middendorff and others (1). Thus, larger animals are usually
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1. Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1382 ff., and the woodcut.

only killed by chance with the weapons to be described later.
224 Some of the animals mentioned above, such as the lynx, the
825 wolf, and the alpine wolf, conventionally offer such highly prized skins that one would expect regular pursuit of them by the Gilyak, and yet, as far as I know, they do not set up any self-firers for them. Undoubtedly superstitious beliefs are in part the reason for this. With regard to the lynx (Gilyak tschlyghi), it has already been pointed out above (2) that the

2. See p. 583 ff. above.

Gilyak see in it an image, as it were, of the tiger, of which they have such a panicky fear that they hardly dare name it or talk about it aloud (3). This awe alone may prevent them from

3. See Vol. I, p. 94, of this work.

hunting it in a premeditated fashion and with the same devices as other animals, and only permits them to go after the carcass adorned with precious fur in case of an accidental meeting and, so to speak, in self-defense. The situation is similar with regard to the alpine wolf (Canis alpinus, Gilyak tschoramlatsch, or Sakhalin-tschchodamlatsch), which the Gilyak do not hunt at all out of superstitious fear, and which, in addition, only stays in remote mountain wilderneses, into which, with their slight
224 inclination for hunting, they may come but rarely. Finally, with regard to the ordinary wolf (Gilyak lugi, along the east coast and in the interior of Sakhalin atrk), it is pursued by the Gilyak regularly, although not with the self-firer, but rather by means of a device which I shall discuss in a moment. Thus, the self-
191 firer, which, in more or less differing forms is used in Siberia both

/561 cont./ such specimens, however,
411 are not used as a rule, but rather, carefully wrapped in birch
566 bark, are stored away by their owner as symbols of great wealth.
Bear pikes and lances are the weapons most commonly
224 used by the Gilyak against elk, reindeer, bears, and the like. During the first period of my stay at the Nikolayev post, when it consisted of only a few log houses erected at the edge of the still completely uncleared forest, it happened almost in front of my eyes that an elk came running out of the forest toward the river, and, when it came upon a group of Gilyak camping there, tried to keep on going by swimming; but the Gilyak immediately pursued it in their boat and stabbed it in the water with their lances, whereupon I received the skin of the animal. In winter when the all too deep snow greatly impedes movement for the elk and reindeer, the Gilyak pursue them on ski in order to kill them eventually with their pikes and lances. They get at the reindeer, which is especially common on the unforested plains of northern Sakhalin and sets out in small herds on the ice of the Liman, in still other ways. When in early spring, under the influence of the midday sun and the nightly frosts, a thin crust of ice has formed on the snow and is strong enough to support the dogs, but breaks under the reinderer, they pursue it on a light sled harnessed to dogs until they can attack it with their pikes and lances.

Most frequently, however, they use these weapons against the bear. Aside from the tiger, almost only mythical because
825 of its great rarity, and the no /562/ less unfamiliar leopard, which, out of superstitious fear, the Gilyak scarcely dare mention by name (1), the bear is the largest and most powerful beast of

1. I have already discussed this at great length in the first volume of this work (pp. 90-96) in speaking of the occurrence and distribution of these animals in the Amur region. I shall return in the following to the tiger and leopard idols alluded to there.

825 /562 cont./
224 as a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs
184 is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are
[262] fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilderness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special festivities, and this is not merely because the processions, so very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps also because the slajn bear does not by far have the tastiness for a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on
224 a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1)
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1. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two trees standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-nooses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly asso-
224 ciated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their ob-
78 servance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers
825 of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in
224 case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by
114 Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans
256 to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce
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825 /563 cont./
114 it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among
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2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts
224 on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do
825 not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect.
[796] The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward
[199] off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the
224 profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the fol-
825 lowing superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I
123 entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I
199 saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

/564 cont./
224 animal, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then,
825 after a while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch
123 bark, and put it with the other possessions of the house. My
199 efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price that I offered; I was told categorically that it was already "unlsch" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal unskinned, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future would be even worse if the were to sell it to me in an intact
224 state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same
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1. This superstition, which I also found among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by them to the Russian hunters in Siberia. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 851) in speaking about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and Mustela sibirica just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

/564 cont./
224 to fishing or seal-hunting, a natural explanation is found in the
825 circumstance already pointed out in the beginning, that among them hunting does not by far stand in the foreground of life to the degree that fishing and seal-catching do.
223 In discussing the various kinds of arrows used by the Gilyak, the hunting of wild fowl was also considered above in passing. A few pertinent remarks might in addition follow here. By far the greatest number of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl are not killed by the aforementioned knob-shaped arrows, which on the whole are used very little, but are caught in nets during the molting season and simply beaten to death. Only incidentally, but not infrequently, they capture birds that get their food by diving into the water and become entangled in the nets. Among these they pay special attention to the divers. Colymbus septentrionalis L. and C. arcticus L. (Gilyak ugn), which however, is done, not for practical, utilitarian reasons, but out of superstition, about which I shall speak later when discussing their methods of burial. The hazel grouse (Gilyak hauz) and white grouse (Gilyak parrä, along the Tymy on Sakhalin tschleola-nga), with which the Gilyak /565/ amply supplied the Nikolayev post during the winters of 1855-1857, are caught by them in snares (Gilyak kusi). With regard to the white grouse,
[532] which one also finds represented on amulets among the Gilyak,
[825] although in a completely unrecognizable, only symbolic fashion, I likewise noted among them the above-mentioned superstition relating to the head of the animal, in that in selling this bird they greatly desired to remove the head first.

For the Gilyak the most important of all the birds are the fishing eagles. Haliaëtos pelagicus Pall. (Gilyak tscharngai-tscham) and H. albicilla Briss. (Gilyak myght-tscham, in the interior of Sakhalin ach-tscham). The former, however, occurs only rarely in their territory and chiefly along the seacoast, but the latter, on the other hand, is common and occurs throughout the region, and it is therefore always meant when merely the
[439] tscham (eagle) is mentioned. The benefit that the Gilyak derive from it consists in the fact that the rectrices are an important

/598 cont./

435 439 undoubtedly can be explained by their great quantity, by the as yet still undiminished wealth of animals in the lower Amur region. Only two types of fur considerably surpass all the others with their high prices: the black fox and the lynx. The former owes its high price, not only to the absolute beauty of its fur, also recognized and highly appreciated by the Chinese, but certainly also to its far greater rarity. The lynx fur, on the other hand, as was pointed out above, has too high an imaginary value in the eyes of the Gilyak themselves to be marketed in great quantities.

435 2) Like the lynx fur, several other articles are distinguished in the above table by their very high price, in no way corresponding to their real value. Among these in particular are the old Manchurian iron armor and helmets discussed above at great length and the Japanese kettles with three handles, which, unfortunately, I did not see, but these could hardly so greatly surpass in quality the kettles from there with two handles, or otherwise somewhat different from them in form, as to justify [550] the great difference between them in price. The necessity for special marks of wealth and distinction, present even among the otherwise practical Gilyak, is expressed in these things.

825 556 3) The same motive, vanity, also explains the high value of a live bear among the Gilyak. It brings its owner not only no material /599/ advantage, but, on the contrary, even disadvantages, for the killing and consumption of it can take place only in a festive fashion which entails expense for the owner and host, in return, however, it brings him the flattering reputation of a rich and renowned man.

435 439 291 4) Among the various clothing materials which represent the principal barter item of the Chinese in dealing with the Gilyak, the latter most prize the colorful silk materials with dragons and other Chinese patterns and often gold and silver interwoven through them, but not because they themselves take special pleasure in them and live in luxury with them -- instead, one sees them used among them almost exclusively in small

/641 cont./

593 845 595 586 the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a [825] [789] woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to 844 114 believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kufk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. [132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 343 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/677 cont./

805 184 825 Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound 805 184 of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the 825 former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas [439] of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular

1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long --

805 825 191 113 3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

/677 cont./

805 825 191 113 3. (cont.) des Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the Topographical Knowledge of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 539), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jirij; see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

805 184 114 In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long -- a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for December (anj-long), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tlo-long, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tschlo-long, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-long, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which presumably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is arkail, which remains unintelligible to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the 805 individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that arkail-long (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

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Section 13 (1)

000 1. The table of contents for this chapter is missing in the manuscript.

(The bear festival). Their cultural character and social significance. -- The bear festivals among the Amur Gilyak. Ceremonies and entertainments before and during the killing of the bears, as well as during the consumption of them. Burial of the bones and skulls of the bears. Modifications among the Olcha, as well as among the Gilyak on Sakhalin and the Ainu.

825 The bear plays an outstanding role in the life of all the peoples of the Amur region and Siberia up to Kamchatka. But among none of them is this the case to the extent that it is among the Gilyak. The huge size that it attains in the Amur region (2),

2. See my measurements of bear skulls in Vol. I, pp. 8 ff., of this work.

its vicious nature, which, perhaps because there it does not find anywhere near the abundance of food that it does in Kamchatka, makes it not hesitate to attack even human beings, and its frequent occurrence at all times make it the most feared beast of prey of the region. It is therefore not surprising that the imagination of the Gilyak is much occupied with it and surrounds it, in life as well as after death, with fearful superstitious ideas. For instance, there prevails among them the belief that [1175] [1766] the soul of a Gilyak who was killed in a fight with a bear moves into the body of this beast of prey, which may have chiefly arisen from the fact that the bear in its mode of life and its bearing reveals many a similarity with them, in that it, like them, feeds largely on the salmon ascending the river in masses, on berries, plant tubers, and the like, like them it prepares a place for itself for the winter in caves under snow-covered twigs, like them it stands upright in combat, etc.

/696 cont./

825 like them it stands upright in combat, etc. In spite of all this,
[262] however, the Gilyak is not willing to forgo the great enjoyment which bear meat and fat provides for his palate, and he longs for it especially if the bear first lived in captivity for a time and was fed on fish, for this food adds a fishy flavor to its meat and fat, which is especially agreeable to the Gilyak. Moreover, a person may /697/ then indulge in the enjoyment of these savory morsels quite without danger and without punishment, for, in order to achieve this, according to Gilyak belief, a long series of preliminary act is necessary, all of them aimed at outwitting the bear during its lifetime by attestations of esteem and to deceive it, as it were, about everything that is done with it, but, after its death, to pacify the angered spirits of revenge of the mighty beast by paying homage even to the manes of the slain animal.

231 The attestations of esteem begin immediately with the leading of the bear into captivity. If the bear has been discovered in its lair and safely shackled following a successful battle, it is taken, as has been said (1), on two sleds put side by side and tied

1. See p. 878-880 above.

together, in a triumphal procession to the place from which the hunters set out, and it is received there with loud shouts of jubilation from young and old. The same thing happens when a Gilyak returns from a trading trip to Sakhalin and in the central space of his boat brings with him one or a couple of young bears bought on the island (2). In the Gilyak villages there is usually

2. See p. 960 above.

never a lack of lodging for putting up the bear, but if need be a new one is erected for it. This consists of a square box made of beams, open at the top, with a small, heavily barricaded door and an even smaller, always open window. The bear is forced to climb into it and, after it has been unfettered, is prevented from escaping its prison by a layer of boards spread over it, fastened with poles, and weighted with stones. From now on

/702 cont./

*796 Thus the procession sways along, sometimes forward, some-
354 times backward, but always closer and closer to the house door,
231 amid the loud roars of rage of the bear being tugged back and forth, in which the other two animals join, and amid the wild, intermittent shouts of jubilation of the bear leaders as well as the bystanders. The few oil-lamps do not sufficiently illuminate the large space of the yurt with its dark sooty beams so that all those who are busy with the bear can clearly see its movements, and yet this is absolutely essential for the prompt intervention of one or the other man in front. Hence a number of boys leap onto the sleeping benches and from there illuminate the turbulent proceedings, following the procession back and forth with improvised torches, which consist of rolled-up birch-bark and sometimes flare up brightly and then again spread only dark smoke. Truly a strange picture (see Plate XLVII /p.1247/).

*796 The two other bears were then /703/ led out of the house in
231 the same manner as the small bear. The first one was decidedly the most enraged and intractable of all, which the Gilyak ascribed to the fact that it had broken a leg while being captured and consequently was still limping. It was remarkable how differently the three bears expressed their rage and defended themselves: whereas the small bear and the large one straightened themselves up and tried to claw the man goading them, the third bear behaved quite differently; it did not try to get up at all, but attempted to ward off the thrusts of the stick by holding its paw in front of its face and reaching out for the legs of the one goading it, or it would lie down on its back and defend itself with its paws. It was also the only one of the three which in its fury, tried to scratch up the stamped-earth floor of the yurt, which, however, the Gilyak stopped it from doing each time.

The purpose of the procession with the bears was to lead them
[825] through all the houses in the village, of which there were seven in Tebach; the procession with the three bears turned into each of them, and everywhere they were arranged in the same order, the large bear in the middle, the two others at the sides, and treated with mossj from nichyr spoons as a sign that they are held in esteem and are welcome guests in each house.

/707 cont./

*796 bear did not leave or enter Judin's house until after it had been
231 led back and forth through the door four times. Again the bears had to be led through all the houses in the village and treated everywhere with mossj and crushed ice. Twice they came into Judin's house and received the same treatment. The Gilyak espe-
*796 cially like to see their boys, even if they are very small, partici-
857 pate in the feeding of the bears: they bravely step up to the ani-
231 mal and offer it the spoon filled with mossj, which is sometimes held and supported by several small hands; many a little fellow who can hardly stand on his legs, not to speak of holding a nichyr, must be helped by the father or older brother, who lifts up the
[825] little one. Perhaps this is done for pedagogical reasons, but more probably for superstitious reasons, namely, in the belief that through this the children will continue to have the good will of the mighty animal even after they are grown. As soon as the bears have again been taken out of the house, however, the children use the free space to romp about in and to perform an exact duplicate of what they have seen during the leading of the bears, during the changing of the bands on them, etc., most faithfully imitating all the movements, positions, and demeanors of the adults, as has been described above (pp. 1136 ff.). Thus they learn how to deal with the bears long before they can lend a helping hand.

In the evening, in bright moonlight, the bears were led
*796 beyond the village and all the way around Cape Tebach on the
231 river ice. It was a long procession that started moving down toward the river, for, in addition to the three bears, who were led in the same order as /708/ always, a great number of idle boys followed them. Since the bank is high and slopes rather steeply down to the river, it was interesting to see how the procession moved down the slippery hill without falling into disorder even for a moment: while those standing at the front rope ran down at top speed, the ones busy on the rear rope had to hold back with all their might in order to prevent the bear from running down just as quickly and causing damage below; by their combined efforts, however, they succeeded in letting all three bears slide down the hill slowly and evenly. It was much easier going back, for those

*796 /715 cont./ At this window,
532 after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation
825 of a toad (Gilyak mipitsch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see the woodcut, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig. 3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

2. In order to be seated, the figure concerned is movable in the hip and knee joints; the clothing, of course, is only very crudely and rudimentarily realized.

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in detail later.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the misfortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and finally, consumption. It is the scapegoat upon which the Gilyak heap all guilt and responsibility for their actions against the bear, and it is therefore not admitted into the festively decorated house, but remains /716/ outside of it stuck to the window, where it may witness its misdeeds. The bear, on the other hand, is greeted as a welcome guest by the participants at the festival and, as an equal (hence the clothing) is given a place on the bench of honor. Further proof of the correctness of this interpretation, which I can express only as a conjecture, will be given in the following. /Illustration appears here./

*796 Immediately after the feeding of the dogs, which even on this
252 day takes place in the house in spite of the festive decorations, the work of the day begins -- the cooking of the bear meat in the
[888 hearth concerned. This work is given to only the oldest men, the
887]

/716 cont./

Toad made out of birch bark.

716 graybeards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys
252 and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly,
888 deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the
887 fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a
784 similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the kettle was filled with snow for it is uftsch to use water for cooking bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time. Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor.
532 The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and on the other side a toad likewise executed.

887 The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

/718 cont./

*796 sturgeon lying in front of the bears, and a little to one side, in
252 an unworthy place, so to speak, where they could not be seen by the bears, the women began to prepare various dishes, such as mossj, several kinds of groats, beans with fish oil or seal oil, and the like -- work which, undertaken quite differently and in the ordinary way, proceeded rapidly and vigorously.

*796 /719/ The morning of the following day (January 30) began with putting on the bear rack the two belves of the bears, three carp (Cypr. carpio, Gilyak pilengat) and a portion of all the dishes prepared the day before and put in various bowls of birch bark, whereupon an old man seated himself in front of the bears and immediately began to eat some of the freshly prepared mossj out of two bear-bowls.

There followed the customary feeding of the dogs inside the house and, as on the previous days, a race of decorated dogs along with drumming by the women. Next, strips of bear fat were again hung on the étagère and then, amid the heavy incense of fir branches, the internal organs of the bear were cut up and placed in
[252] small bear-bowls. It seems that these parts are not cooked, but eaten raw, like the fat.

At the same time, the women congregated in one corner of the house around a little old woman and, out of motley rags, began to sew together a band about ten inches long and three inches wide -- the so-called tschudbas of the Gilyak. At sunset
*796 this band is wound around the snouts of the bears just below their
325 eyes in order to dry the tears welling out of them. Fastened in the
532 middle of it, however, on the ridge of the snouts, there is a
324 representation of a toad, cut out of birch bark (1). I can give no
824

1. Like the one pasted on the window, see p. 1157.

interpretation for this symbolic act in connection with what has been said above other than the following. With the cutting up of its internal organs, heart, liver, and the like, the bear knows that its fate is sealed and sheds tears over the evil spirit, the toad,

/719 cont./

*796 that led him to it and was the cause of it all. It itself thus recog-
825 nizes the toad as the culprit. The Gilyak, on the other hand, have shown it only kindness: they have received it as a guest in their houses, put it in the seat of honor, offered it some of all the foods, in general did everything only with its knowledge and permission, and their women show it a final act of kindness by consolingly drying the tears in its eyes. Therefore no guilt for its fate or responsibility for it falls on them. At the same time a second symbolic
*796 act is carried out on the bears, the explanation for which, it seems to me, must be sought somewhat further afield. In addition to the tschudbas[2] a second head-band is put on them: a strap tied crosswise, on which are found one or two agate balls about one and a half inches large, which rest on the forehead and a little to one side (2). The small bear was given a band with one agate

2. See the woodcut, p. 1163.

ball which lay above its eyes in the middle of its forehead; the large bear was given two such balls, that is, in addition to that one, a second one which rested over the right parietal bone, and, finally, a band with two agate balls in the middle of the forehead, one directly over the other, was put on the medium-sized bear displayed in another house (that of its owner). On this point it seems that if more balls than bears are available, there is room for choice and only the ball in the middle of the forehead is obligatory.
*796 These agate balls are of Chinese ("Manchurian") /720/ workman-
177 ship and are highly prized and never sold by the Gilyak. Their
174 exotic origin seems to me to suggest an explanation for the entire procedure. /Illustration appears here./ During the many years of frequent intercourse between the Gilyak and the Chinese on the Sungari, it could certainly not have escaped them that the Buddhist divinities of the latter as a rule had a bump or swelling on the forehead above the eyes, indeed, it is possible and probable that they viewed this as a sign of the special holiness of the divinities
[824] concerned in the eyes of the Chinese. If one now considers the
[796] striving of the Gilyak to imitate Chinese ways, it is quite

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

/720 cont./

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

bears' head-bands with figure of toad and agate balls.

conceivable that they are trying to imitate this Buddhist forehead swelling likewise on the head of the bear venerated by them in superstitious fear and likewise regarded to some extent as divine, and that they do this with the agate balls which are newly added to them for this purpose by the Chinese themselves. Thus, according to my idea, the bear is regarded as a divine animal among the divinities and therefore a formal bear-cult is practiced.

With the putting on of the toad and bead bands, or the toad and agate-ball bands, all the honor shown to the bear and now, in the awareness of their complete innocence, the Gilyak may, with a clear conscience, give themselves up to the pleasures of the table. A great number of wooden bowls were immediately brought into requisition on a sled and arranged on the floor around the bear, while the participants in the feast took their places, sitting cross-legged, on the bench of honor. First, a tub, which, judging by the use of the word omsin since in /721/ had been propped up against the fireplace the whole time, was used to present pieces of Russian sturgeon to the guests. While they were still eating it, simple circular

/721 cont./

upon the rack in the central section of the yurt, decorated with fir branches, numerous wood shavings (ŋamnmun), and the bear-skin hanging down from the roof, while the other lamps shed a gloomy light upon the long row of totally tattered fellow-diners sitting along its walls and with large consumed appetites, the bear. There was /722/ something orderly and yet savage and uncivilized about this strange picture. Now one of the servers stepped up to the bear and had received the two head-pieces of the bear, which he put on them as well as from the portions of those sitting next to them, a small piece of meat was distributed to each person with a knife. Only now did the two guests in the middle draw up their portions and begin to eat, and all the others followed their example forthwith. Immediately smaller and larger lumps of the bear were put themselves here and there, and a few young men passed along the whole row of diners and collected from them contributions in small bowls for those who did not participate in the meal, and a few bites were also given to the women and girls.

By now it was 7:30 in the evening; the feast had therefore lasted about and a half hours and, judging by the size of the still-remaining portions, would last about two hours. Unfortunately I was obliged to depart, since the night had to be utilized for traveling on account of the great amount of ballast water that had to be pumped out of the second compartment of the river at this time of year.

Let us now compare the second act of the bear festival as it proceeds, on the one hand, among the Gilyak and, on the other, among the Olča. In spite of the great similarity in the principal and secondary features of this festive performance, a very different spirit in the way it is carried out among the Gilyak and among the Olča is apparent to us. Among the former the character of the festival is altogether cheerful, as is shown by the fact that it has been transmitted. While the object of the whole is exactly the same, namely utilitarian, in both cases -- the ultimate consumption of the bear -- very different ways are used by the one and by the other to try to attain it. Among the Gilyak the bear festival proceeds from the idea of the bear cult, or at least is tied up with it; in a

/730 cont./

preserved in part by veneration for the mighty beast, in part by superstitious fear of it and its spirits of revenge. It is given the place of honor in the house. The people appear to act only with its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, and, finally, all guilt and responsibility are shifted from them. On the other hand, scarcely anything of the art is noted among the Olčan: the only superstition conceptions referring to the bear and the bear festival which I found among them consisted in the fact that they did not want to sell me any bear meat and that they regarded it as ohach (an idea which they have borrowed from the Gilyak) or pu omtak (with the taboo from the bears during the bear festival which, they said, was by no means forbidden at any other time. In contrast to the fearful, superstitious, and, as it were, religious-cultic conception of the Gilyak, the second and most important part of the bear festival has degenerated into mere amusement among the Olča, a series of pedantically observed formalities, such as one might expect from the conservative old Chinese, but not from a primitive people. Perhaps this degenerate of a custom originally foreign to the Olča, which does not have its roots in the people, has indeed come about under Manchu-Chinese influence. Among them, too, all the foods served at the festival are almost the sole exception from their usual fare and are of Manchu-Chinese /722/ origin, whereas among the Gilyak, in accordance with ancient tradition, sturgeon and bear meat and millet prepared from species of salmon play a prominent role at the festivals. It can be observed, incidentally, that the eating of foreign Manchu-Chinese foods is always done with greater formality even among the Gilyak, which can be explained by the fact that it immediately lifts primitive man out of his everyday routine and puts him in an elevated festive mood. The greater number of Manchu-Chinese foods at the bear festival of the Olča in comparison with the Gilyak is undoubtedly due to the fact that their sources for these products are closer and more numerous as a result of both the permanent residence of the Chinese in the administrative areas of the Olča and Golči and the more frequent and active intercourse between these peoples and the Chinese on the Sungari.

/730 cont./

ohach, which is illustrated on Plate LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 5, Pots a specimen that lay on the bear rack in Judin's house during the festive period. Judging by its general shape, but especially by its handle and the way the blade is attached to it, it perhaps is unmistakably a specimen from ancient times and certainly is a bronze copy of a Chinese bronze, which was later replaced with an iron one (1). Finally, when the heads of the bear has been eaten,

1. To this day the club pictured on the same plate, Fig. 4, and used to kill mugwon and hamsa (see above, p. 1240 and Plate LI /p. 808). The caption on Plate LI should be corrected accordingly.

the skull and the rest of the gnawed and assembled bones of the bear, together with the bear skin, are carried out of the house to a place not far from it in the forest -- an act which, according to the Gilyak, is likewise carried out with a certain solemnity by the oldest people of the village. All the bones, with the exception of the skull, are buried in the ground there or simply covered with earth. The skull is left, however, in several different places in a manner about which I had no accurate knowledge until after I had some experiences with the neighboring peoples. The Gilyak, in accordance with ancient tradition, place the bear skull used for a similar purpose by the Golči, to judge from traces of blood, on the top of a tree, however, quite the skull of the bear, but conceal themselves, forgoing eating the bear, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Bar, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Dmuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed in its aster to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

2. Among them was the largest (450 mm. long) of all the skulls of Ursus arctos known up to now, which has been discussed in detail in the first volume of this work (pp. 6-15).

/730 cont./

sometimes the right, sometimes the left parietal bone. In the habitation area of the Gilyak I saw trees hung with dolphin skulls, to be sure, but I never came across any with bear skulls, though the number of bears killed and captured and eaten there annually is probably much larger than among the Golči. This definitely indicates that, unlike the Golči, the Gilyak, aside from bearing in open or splitting the bear skull, do something else to in which is scarcely less notable than the covering of the bones for removing it from the right of human beings. In short at various places in the forest near Gilyak dwellings I have came across spon which, upon close inspection, proved to be small, roofless huts made of young trees were cut off several inches above the ground, the remaining piece of trunk was split into two prongs, and the bear skull, spin the two prongs projected out of the sygomatic arches and held it clamped between them so that the prongs, in addition, as either side a short wooden peg was driven from above through the zygomatic arches and into the frontal bone. /731/ If grass grew over the spot, nothing is recognizable to the casual glance. This method of dealing with the bear skulls was transmitted from the Gilyak to the Olča, who, in accordance with the idea that the bear skulls are sacred, had bone experiences with the neighboring peoples. The Olča, in accordance with ancient tradition, place the bear skull used for a similar purpose by the Gilyak, to judge from traces of blood, on the top of a tree, however, quite the skull of the bear, but conceal themselves, forgoing eating the bear, with beating a hole through the crown and hang it by one of the zygomatic arches on a specially selected tree. Near Bar, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Dmuri, I saw such a tree with numerous bear skulls hanging on it. When I climbed in its aster to bring down the best preserved specimens (2), I noticed that each of them had a large hole piercing

/731 cont./

which were strung in a row by means of the Poramina vertebralis on the branches of the brush, and beside them hung Golči birch-bark boxes and baskets, and I found also on the grave sites of deceased human beings and which apparently were offered as a sacrifice to the manes of the slain bear.

It is not to be assumed that the Gilyak of Sakhalin differ essentially from their fellow-tribesmen on the mainland in their basic ideas about the bear and the festival dedicated to it, especially since we must think of how the Gilyak spread, that, having moved to Sakhalin from the mainland, they found a home there for a long period, and only then, oppressed by the Ainu, migrated back to the mainland for the greater part (1). In individual

1. See pp. 214 /untranslated/, 247 /untranslated/, 889, and 892 of this work.

ual phases of the festival, on the other hand, there are very considerable differences between the mainland and Sakhalin. In a different method of construction and the spaciousness of the dwellings of the mainland and Sakhalin Gilyak.

As plain as the exterior of an earth-yurt of the latter is -- a low, conical, sow-covered mound somewhat blackened at the top, which, in contrast, is not visible from a distance, the bear festival is just as shabby. As a rule, only one or two young Ainu, stripped of their bear-skin trousers, are stuck in the snow at the entrance to the yurt, with a few ragiet-shaped, coled wooden-shavings (ŋamnmun) hanging down from their crown and from their shoulders and backs. Only when a bear has been eaten in the same dwelling a few weeks or a month previously or even in the course of the year is its skin used for the exterior decorating of the yurt, being spread over a long and sturdy branch stuck obliquely into the snow and sometimes supported by a small railing, and the bear skull hanging on the same, or on wooden carts (ŋaŋŋ) (2).

2. See the woodcut, p. 1180.

I saw this, for example, in Tyk. Dul. Juin. Pad-wo, and elsewhere along the /732/ west coast and in the Tymy Valley of Sakhalin. If

/746 cont./ /p. 1946/ Golči which serve most well in favor of the religious conceptions of the Tungusic Amur peoples, wherever they are, in comparison with the Gilyak, is that the former are not nearly as apprehensively superstitious as the latter (1 W. R. II, pp. 85, 86).

Animal Idols

10. Gilyak. The bear plays the primary role among the animals that are represented in wood as idols by the Gilyak. The idea that the bear is the dwelling place in which they are expected to live with this beast of prey, for they are particularly fond of putting the bear (ki) was mentioned in connection with the bear festivals. The bear kiŋ or behaŋki serve to prevent the injuries and fatalities which can be expected on these occasions. I have mentioned above the superstition beliefs associated with the death of a man killed by a bear among the Gilyak (1). Hence one rarely enters a village

1. See p. 1127.

near which, upon closer inspection, one does not come across a few bear idols. And this is unusually true of both the Gilyak and the Tungusic Amur peoples.

The bear idols are usually very crudely fashioned. The animal ordinarily appears to be sitting, sometimes standing. The idol pictured on Plate LVII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 1 and 2, from the village of Kuŋ, is one of the best that I have seen. It is further distinguished by the fact that a raised hand runs around its body, upon which other animals served to the Gilyak, or, more accurately, uncanny and portentous, are represented (these are most of the reptiles produced in Gilyak country; the toad -- mujimch (2) on

2. Besides this representation I obtained two individual toad-idols of the Gilyak, carved in wood, which are illustrated on Plate LIX /p.1259 /, Figs. 7, 8.

/746 cont./

the front side of the bear-idol, the lizard mikrŋŋaŋ on the back side of it, and the snake kilanga, whose image is found on either side between the first two. I often witnessed the use and fear of the Gilyak before reptiles (1).

1. See Appendix 20, paragraph 2 /p. 1204/.

Among the Gilyak, besides the bear, one finds idols of the ati or mikrŋŋ, with downright superstition fear connected with it among them. But since the tiger and leopard, which are united under the same name ati or mikrŋŋ, are rarely seen in the northern homeland and casualties caused by them are rare, the idols of the ati are less common than those of the bear. The slight anatomical of the Gilyak with those predatory animals causes them to make the idols of them poorly and superficially (3).

3. See Vol. I, pp. 82-84, of this work.

See Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Figs. 4, 5, 6. Fig. 4 represents an idol with a tiger's head, which I obtained in Tymovsk. The marks which characterize the tiger and leopard and are present on the representations of these animals among the Golči. Only the general shape of the animal is indicated, and the tiger's head figure is in fact supposed to represent an ati in certain, since I obtained the idols from a Gilyak expert in this. (Ibid. I, pp. 82, 83.)

11. Gilyak. A fish carved out of wood, which came from the Gilyak village of Tetkin, seems to serve less as an idol or talismanic than as a piece of carving, as a representation, textual in general. It is supposed to represent the fish ŋaŋ-nuŋo, which is unknown to me. Even earlier I acquired from Tebarch the figure of another small fish, the pilengat, Cyprinus carpio, which carvings wire had no significance other than that of ŋaŋ (see p. 1090). Both are illustrated on Plate LIX /p. 1259 /, Fig. 9. In an idol, I obtained another carved fish from Tebarch, which was supposed to represent the ŋaŋ(?)-nuŋo, i. e., a large pilengat-nuŋo. (Ibid. II, p. 32.)

/749 cont./

Idols and Amulets Combining Human and Animal Figures and Others

19. Gilyak. The belief in the transmigration of souls with reference to the bear may be the basis of a number of pictorial representations among the Gilyak -- amulets or small idols -- images that are worn around the neck in a manner of talismans. Among them one finds double figures of a human being and bear. This is ordinarily a small piece of wood which at one end bears the head of a human being, and, on the other end, the head of a bear. The bear's head. I acquired specimens of this type from Kalm and Alfed. Sometimes, in place of the two representations mentioned, also has a human face on the single end (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 8) while the latter ends there without any carving. On both, however the shoulder of the bear's head with human and bear heads are at times for a while in the form of a groove which gradually tapers off at the single end. The Gilyak explained to me that this groove continues to separate the human half from the bear half until they merge. (Bin. II, p. 38.)

20. Gilyak. In the bear cult near the village of Chaire, not far from the place where corpses are buried, several idols of the dead were found which are of a special character and, in the standing upright close to the foot of a tree and hidden with mich and other pieces of wood, are reminiscent of idols. For instance, there was the double figure of a tiger (ati) and /750/ a human being, with the nose of the latter being represented by a bear (Plate LXVI /p. 1262 /, Fig. 1). Fig. 2 is a human idol bore on a human body provided with movable arms and legs and a head with a four-toothed comb on it (Plate LVII /p. 1257 /, Fig. 7).

Finally I found here the representation of an animal with remarkable traces of a crocodile or alligator. It was evidently an amphibian, and the wide mouth was densely studded with teeth. This illustration, which is shown on Plate LXVI /p. 1262 /, Fig. 3, contained another carved fish from Tebarch, which was supposed to represent the ŋaŋ(?)-nuŋo, i. e., a large pilengat-nuŋo. (Bin. II, p. 32.)

/750 cont./

figure was made in case of bachelors, in order to rid oneself of the ashamed (Plate LIX fp 1209/, fig. 8; (2.5.8.1, p. 15.)

21. Gilyak. In the village of Ilde I was able to buy many idols, all different and some of them very interesting, for example, one idol of bear's head (Plate LVI fp 1208/ Gilyak /fp 1207 / fig. 8). It was named for me as *oech*, a designation that other idols in purely human shape also had. Another had the head of an owl /*kiu* on a human body (Plate LVI /p 1207 / fig. 8); in the case of a third one the owl was the head of the human being (Plate LVI /p 1206 / fig. 8). several human figures had carvings on the body and head.

One idol consisted of a block of wood with a human face and a row of pegs on top of the head, each of which was provided with a human face.

I also bought here the bowl in which food served to the Yakuts in past and which is called *ulbi* or *ulbe* or *ulbe-ulbe*.

Then there were idols of the white whale (*pem-mchen*) with a human being on it (Plate LVI /p 1204 / fig. 9). It well as of the wolf, amulets with two heads, that is, of the bear and *kiu*n, etc., here.

In the village of Tchelbunak many idols with *oech* wound around them and carried clothes in buraldak form on a shelf in the corner of a yurt. I acquired a small tiger-idol with a human figure on top of it (Plate LVI /p 1211 / fig. 1), and furthermore an amulet with three idols, one of which represented a human being, the second a wolf, and the third another animal that could not be named for me. Next to the idols there were a great many bear heads, all of bear carvings made with representations of various kinds, sometimes with a human face, sometimes with a head, a tiger, and the like on them. These were all self-made. Only one idol-bowl was completely different and consisted of two cups made out of a piece of birch bark and placed side by side in the form of an *ulbe* (Plate LIX /p 1210 / fig. 1). This vessel was called *tuhdaul* and was used for the same purpose. So amount of *yukagirom*, however, helped in getting the women who owned them to sell them to me and offer me other idol-bowls. She said that it is a sin and would cause her death.

/750 cont./

Several nearly carved and iron-ring idols were also sold to me in the village of Pati. On one the back of the head had the shape of a bear; on another you could see the head of a bear, which represented two bears (Plate LV /p 1205 / fig. 5). /751/ The bear could, by the way, be taken apart, and on each carvings (see 13 fp. /1202/ above).

Among the idols here there was one with the head of a *tong* or we bear /*ha seal*/. The sea dog /*hurbo seal*/ is also represented in idol form, but I did not obtain any (2.5.8.1, pp. 6-9).

22. Gilyak. A figure carved in wood which was found not far from Tschyhtesach at the mouth of the Amur roughly represents a flying fish-man. The head is carved so that the head of a fish, with eyes teeth in the upper and lower jaws. The eyes are represented by blue glass beads. The hair and rear extremities are attached into the back of the fish-man. The former are evidently arms with hands on them, the latter legs with feet, similar to those of a human being. The former are stretched out toward the front, the latter toward the rear, approximately as a horizontal plane with the body, so that the figure seems to be represented in flight (Plate LXVI /p 1208/, fig. 1). C. v. Dittmar (who was in part interested in my obtaining the figure) told me that among the Gilyak of Patcha there is a legend which he was not disinclined to accept as true, since this village and the cape mentioned were not far apart.

"Once upon a time," the story goes, "the Gilyak of Patcha ventured from fishing on two boats ladies with fish. They were caught in a storm and the fish arose and prepared the sea until the next morning. The boats were merely pulled out and the fish covered with birch bark on the idea. The men meaning, when they wanted to set to work, they found the boats empty. All around, however, lay many scraps from the fish which clearly proved that someone had been at work during the night. There therefore set out again to fish and again returned with a full load. But again they postponed the unloading, and the same thing happened to them as on the day before. They went fishing for the

/750 cont./

was taken, for above Nikolayevsk on the Amur River. Another, two bronze one, Tschihach, fresh in the village of Kalk, above Nikolayevsk. In case of an emergency, such as sickness, death, and the like, they are called to village where there are no shamans (1). There are shamans implements, however, such as

1. That among the Gilyak the shamans have been a religious significance than a practical one, mixed with superstition, so he-bear, also folkore from the fact that they never denigrate as shamans, or at least, they are considered by their shamans, clergymen, but rather physicians and spokesmen. Bear worship is well known (The shaman may be present at a bear festival, to be sure, but not "in shamanistic" see pp. 1153. 1165. of abo. p. 880.)

drums and the like, among other Gilyak, for example, the heathen fragin and bogin in Kalk, further swords of them was a shaman. Also, the art of dancing, of beating the drum, and the like, as is customary in the shaman performance, is known to many other Gilyak and is exercised upon request or as desired without it being regarded as sinful or the practitioners being shamans. For example, a boy in the village of Wati was said to be able to do the shaman's work very well, without being a shaman himself. A part of the cognitions of the shaman, it seems to me, rather than skill in dancing, singing, and the like, is the ability to do certain tricks, such as apparently plunging a knife into the body and the like, fears for which they particularly praise their great shamans. (Bm. I, pp. 24. 28.)

23. Gilyak. The shamans performance. I learned that makes are especially feared from information given to me by an eyewitness to the conjuring of spirits by a shaman among the Gilyak of Petrovskoye. After singing and beating had been performed by the onlookers, the shaman turned in the good ruling heaven, sun, moon, and stars (above whom, incidentally, he could say nothing more than

/750 cont./

that he had been thus informed by the client of his people, and he pronounced the conjuring spirits to be the sun and the moon and the two animals most feared by the Gilyak and Russian. During the conjuring spirits, the shaman, who had put on an animal-like stretched over a ring, using a little stick with a snake decorated at one end and a bear at the other. The bottom bowed and danced, and then the shaman beneath the bowl the god for good, and the bear for evil. The snake was considered to be favorable and safe for Gilyak and Russian. (Bm. I, p. 8.)

24. Gilyak. Shamanistic acts in case of sickness (2). The

2. Ineffective in cases of sickness, for which and epidemics, because of being a tying the skin of the snake around the wound.

toad (which brings bad luck) is of two kinds, that is, sometimes a single one, simply called *mgrunch*, and sometimes a double one, *wap-mgrunch*, with a doubled body and extremities. The former lives on land, for the latter in the water. Some the former is also designated as *mrf-mgrunch*, the latter as *tail-mgrunch*, in which case the former is called *ka-mgrunch*. (especially

3. Most of these accounts come from Perhak and her son, Dshamas, from Kalk. Jonhsin Gnaghi of Kalk has informed me that he himself is a very capitulation of the rebels, which these souls go to one of the stars, was also another, I was told that they also were beyond there, *kiu*, i.e., "inland" from the stars (↑↑). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

↑↑ Therefore beyond them, the sun-star-Ovetdorr, p. 1155.

25. Gilyak. From Chontsamho I learned the following about the claws of the Gilyak with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/750 cont./

tick and dies, if he does not see the proper means to free himself of the spirit, the only means that he has help him, however, is a shaman. He conjures up a *bhgu* (a good god), who removes the spirit from the sick man, and then the same *bhgu* is represented carved by the shaman himself or by someone else at the order of the shaman in long wooden sticks, which, when not used must be with the sick person from then on to protect himself in the future.

A sick man want wears a single amulet, a woman a double one. The *mgrunch* are always carved out of wood, especially the *wap-mgrunch*, which is only on the nose-band of the dead bear (Bm. pp. 116, 118) that a single *mgrunch* of birch bark may be found. This is made by the women. The amulets made of bear claws are always made by the men, since wood carving of all kinds is an occupation for only the men, carved out of wooden sticks. A number of amulets and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

The ideas of the Gilyak concerning the lizard (*mkrgrgn*) are similar to those concerning the toad and snake, except that much more attention is paid to lizard. The former are taken into the head of the sleeping person and is removed in a way similar to the above by a shaman with the help of an amulet-dog (*ka*) (1)

1. See Appendix 15 fp. /1156/, 16 fp. /1204/.

It is difficult to say how the Gilyak conceive of heaven (*ulb*, where the souls of the mentioned are said to go. As an answer to my question as to whether those souls go to one of the stars, which was also another, I was told that they also were beyond there, *kiu*, i.e., "inland" from the stars (↑↑). (Bm. II, pp. 62, 63.)

↑↑ Therefore beyond them, the sun-star-Ovetdorr, p. 1155.

26. Gilyak. From Chontsamho I learned the following about the claws of the Gilyak with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/771 cont./

on the earth, while the soul of a murdered person has flown to heaven and therefore is longer needs earthly food. Furthermore, the idea may in part also go too to the reverence, devotion, and often very anthropomorphic treatment of the bear by the Gilyak. (Bm. I, pp. 64-66.)

44. Gilyak. Among the Gilyak, as among the Olcha (***), the

*** See Appendix 45, below.

the soul of a person drowned in the sea, or who has fallen into the (or into) a river, or who has gone up to heaven or to hilly, we, but goes into a seal-dog, *nad*, to be sure, into a *kighmch* or *pyglitlingg*. i.e., the seal-dog *kighmch* is represent a number of antelopes and figures out of cloth and therefore also out of birch bark.

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↑↑ Therefore beyond them, the sun-star-Ovetdorr, p. 1155.

45. Olcha. From Chontsamho I learned the following about the claws of the Gilyak with regard to the fate of the dying and the metempsychosis into aquatic animals and bears:

/773 cont./

yaran (↑↑). The tomb is chopped off several feet above the roots,

↑↑ On the specimen given in the Academic Museum the tomb is chopped off and the representations was supplied by a piece of wood specially made for the purpose. (Bm. II, pp. 161 (of) See Plate LXVI /p. 1208 /, Fig. 3).

painted (the top of the stump, /773/ end, with the painted end, which rises the ground at the place where the ashes of the murdered person lie, so that the roots, representing the wagmch, are in the ground. The wagmch are also represented among Gilyak, there are wags in many villages on the Amur, for instance, in Wawi, Kaki, Wati, Kaigdo, Tebech, and elsewhere.

According to Sieger's information, a wag is set up only for a murdered person who was killed by the hand of a Gilyak from another village. On the other hand, the Gilyak Olcha somehow in the same village, the latter does not get a wag. Similiarly no wag is set up for a man who died in the same village, and vice versa, or a brother, or in general if one relative kills another. In the case of a murdered person, the wag remained. The same if done with the corpse of a suicide; it is cremated, and no wag is set up.

The bird's head of the wag is said to be patterned after the bird-shaped amulet, which, in the Gilyak, is said to accord by the Gilyak and is kept, stuffed, in the same flying position as it has on the wag. Such stuffed skins of Gilyak's sections and segments are sometimes seen hanging on high frameworks in Gilyak villages. In the representation for the wags, the Gilyak give the head of the *gill*-tech of *ioe*, which are supposed to serve for him to take revenge on the murderer (1).

1. Perhaps the wags, by its threatening aspect, are explicitly said to be intended to frighten off the blood revenge, and this is the reason that no wags are set up in cases where the murdered person is administer --

/773 cont./

1. (cont.)

the burial place of a village -- or -- as in the case of a suicide -- it is automatically omitted.

Since the soul of a murdered person flies to heaven, it does not need any more earthly food, as stated in the *ulb* of the windening soul of a person who died a natural death. (Bm. I, pp. 64-66.)

62. Gilyak. As the Gilyak (on the west coast of Sakhalin) tell me, they bear their corpses and erect wags over the ashes of murdered persons. (G. W. E., p. 8.)

63. Gilyak. The Gilyak living in Ilde (situated in Ilpschi-wo (on the left bank of the Tymy on Sakhalin) said that they likewise erect wags for murdered persons. It is done along the Amur, in the Lunzan, and on the west coast of Sakhalin up to Arlak (excl.).

A *wag* is erected over only the ashes of the cremated corpse and, as along the Amur, has a tank, *pch* or *tonz*, and *pch-ngri* or *tonz-ngri* as a *ngri*. The *pch* is painted red and is among the Tymy Gilyak been the symbol of *mrf-mgrn*, that is, of a burial home manager chamber, which obviously corresponds to its significance. Only the *tchri-ngri* is painted red. (G. W. E., p. 8.)

See Appendix 15 fp. /1156/, 16 fp. /1204/.

64. Gilyak. From Arlaci on, along the west coast of Sakhalin, south to Pilja-wo, the last Gilyak village, the Gilyak are said not to cremate their corpses which is regarded as unclean but to deposit them in wooden coffins in small houses, just as among the neighbouring Ainu on Sakhalin and Saikalin and the Amg (G. W. E. I, pp. 8-9.)

/774/ According to another report, the corpses are interred south of Arlaci (G. W. E. p. 22).

65. Gilyak. The Gilyak are said far from the Russian village of Bogoroditsyn in the village of Tchi-ngri Gilyak of Pulij (Pulo on the map, on the right bank of the Amur), there were two very gracefully worked Olcha tombs ornamented with various decorations

Gilyak idols made out of carved human and animal figures.
1.-human being and tiger. 2.- human being, tiger, and bear. 3.- human being and bear. 4.- human being with bear head; 5.- human being with wolf head. 6.-human being with bear head and paw. 7,8.- Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9.-similarly, a bow with human head.

Gilyak idols made out of human and animal figures combined.
1.-human being and tiger. 2.- human being, tiger, and bear. 3.- human being and bear. 4.- human being with owl head. 5.-human being with bear head and paw. 7,8.- Gilyak amulets with human and bear heads; 9.-similarly, a bow with human head.

Gilyak idols in animal form: 1.-bear, a toad in his belly; 2.-is the back, a lizard and two snakes; 3.-bear, a toad, dressed in fish skin; 4-6.-tiger.

2: Schrenck--1259 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak Rx2 Goldi Rx3

LIX

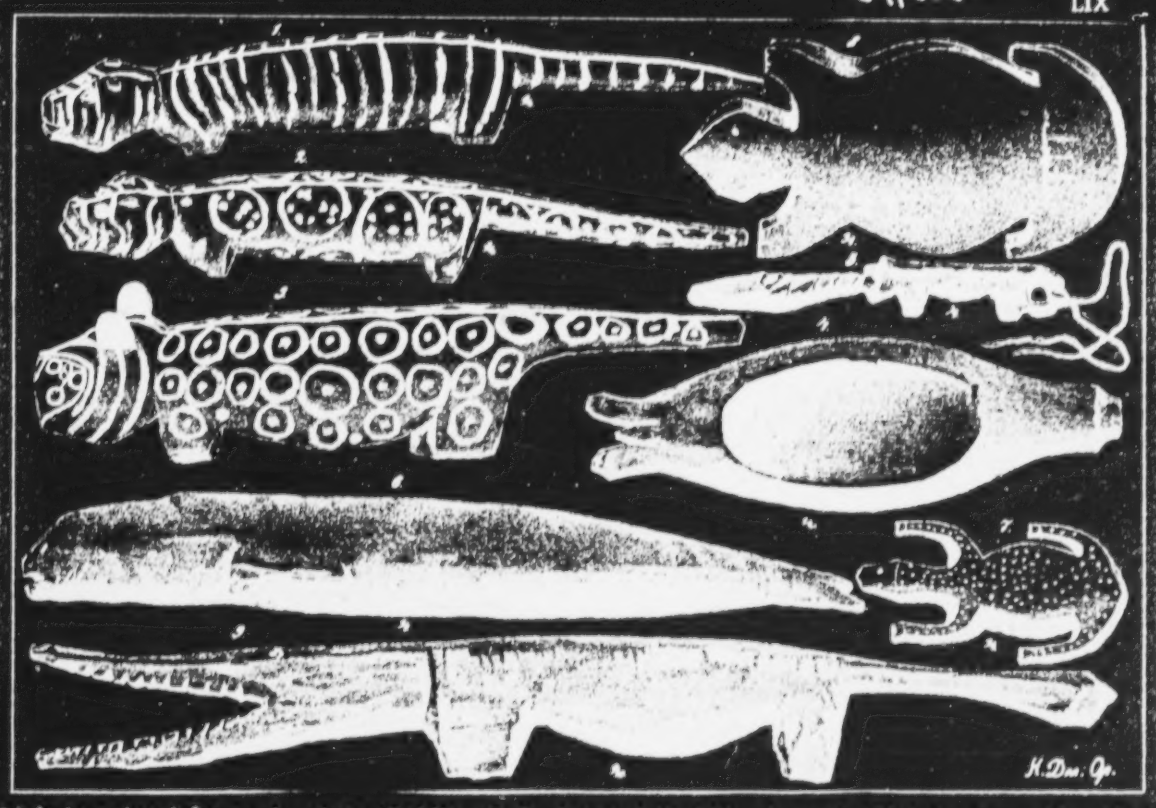

Idols in animal form: 1--tiger (Goldi); 2, 3--leopard (Goldi); 4--seal (Olcha); 5--unidentified animal, a human heart in its mouth (Olcha amulet); 6--white whale (Gilyak); 7, 8--toad (Gilyak); 9--"chas" of the Gilyak.

9: Hawes--202 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak

116, 183, 527, 782, 825

"It is useless to ask the Gilyaks of to-day the raison d'être of the custom, [LSS: The bear fête] for they do not know; and, in any case, they would not reveal to a stranger the hidden meaning of their rites. The following is how a Russian fared when he tried to find out the signification of the ceremony, and I met with no more success.

Gilyak. It means the offering to Pal ni vookh.

Russian. Why do you not recite about it during the killing of the bear?

Gilyak. I don't know.

Russian. Do the Gilyaks punish the bear for his crimes?

Gilyak. No.

Russian. Why does the cham recite these charges in the bear's ear?

Gilyak. The Gilyaks have done this from ancient times. Ask the old men, perhaps they know something about it.

The old men, however, on being asked, knew no more."

25 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
32 the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
52 boats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping water of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant ays, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fənd ('major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.

5 For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
2 mos and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
6 sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
5 (aγs). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.

When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea. Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keγla-ʒəks twig and the other is a qosk əks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is thrown into the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are the uiγ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are

2. Uiγ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiγ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

411 called əmləus and the sea-end is
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end,
283 sea, is tied əz-bax 'master's sto
which, according to the Gilyaks, w
stone, the Gilyaks explained to me,
seine. In place of plummets, stones
of the seine. They are called tətr-
(vaγ) are fastened to the upper co
head of a sivuch gets caught in the
flounder; at times so violently that
the seine together with the plumme
finds itself literally in a sack. Som
the seine. The seals pəγi are shr
in the net.

In the past as well as at the pres
the village Kul set the tola-k'e at
Loγri, and ət.

614 According to old man Virp, som
225 owned seal hunting places in the pa
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lul
524 3. ət.

471 Lulvəγ-pər and γaγreqej are na
of the water. Seals crawl out of the
ət is a small island close to which t

3. In a fog the hunters com
or of the small island ət. T
amuse themselves and play.
laqr-paγ stones for a game
who cannot." Close to the r
place where the Gilyaks com
consists in jumping on one fo

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋr
vər.

The first two places form parts o
resting places for seals. The third i

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off
seals and Hapzə- vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters tak
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus,
198 substitute prearranged names for th
825 objects. This prearranged language
789 past when hunters used it to keep th

alled ǝz-baχ-puks
which is lowered into the
e' or 'master stone,'
eighs two poods. This
forms the anchor of the
are attached to the bottom
aχ . Large wooden floats
d of the seine. When the
net, the sivuch starts to
it throws the lower edge of
s over the upper cord and
etimes dolphins fall into
ewd and are seldom caught

ent time the Gilyaks of
Ḱivf-ŋalu, Ḱe-ŋalu, Vilk,

e clans in the village Kul
t.
ǝχ-pǝr, 2. ŋaγqeǰ.

mes of rocks sticking out
water onto these rocks.
here is another such rock(3)

ne alongside of the shore
hen the young hunters
There are onǝt two
: "who can lift it and
ocks there is a flat
pete. The competition
oot (teŋot ŧerd).

ri, 2. Tŋǝri-γrǝ, 3. Zomi-

of the shore and are
is a rock.
Vilk, a resting place for

e a number of measures
in conversation, they
he usual names of certain
is an echo of a distant
eir plans from animals

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
552
198 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-"Tabu
825 slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Ĭevropy ĭ severnoĭ Azĭĭ"
789 [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeĭa Antropologii i Ĭtnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 Thus, during the hunt instead of
225 Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.
mif, 'Land', they say otχ 'excrements.' If they are far from land, they say tevl otχta, if near - knemla-otχta.
mu 'boat' they say orq.
ke 'sun' they say am.
la urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am sodra.
tǝlu 'fog' they say verq.
umgu 'woman' they say hiulǝd.
qan 'dog' they say aim.
to 'fish' they tomr 'leaf.'
loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.
lo r 'trout' they say manm.
nemla 'linek' they say naχ-tomr.
va s 'lake-salmon' they say vǝtik.
al o 'kunzha' they say doχti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words manm and doχti from Tungus.

198 ti r 'fire wood' they say ops; tuin ops-ket tuγr-arguda
225 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'
la r 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' tor vaad 'three seals.'
la r pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say ŧǝrŋ.
i d 'to kill' they say ŋazd.
pǝt 'tomorrow' they say mandǝa.
e r vida 'let us return' they say pǝχtkuda.
saru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvǝta-mu.
kǝr-ŋoqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-ŋod 'tava hurts.'
krǝzd '(I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqŋ-taŋgad 'the little finger sticks out (?)' or tot-ŋod 'the hand hurts.'

198 urla-ḍus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-ḍus 'amra bad
225 meat.'

əkila-ḍus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-ḍus 'amra good meat.'

etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kiγid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

15 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth, 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. LA. Shternberg.

25 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
25 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
87 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
26 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
84 home starts scratching her head, the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even it if were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kəs

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
825 of kes, 'god'; a point on which I did not want to agree with him.
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home? " he told me. "Surely kes must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kes exists."

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-nivevŋ 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
67 following ui and "taboo," "sin" during a seal hunt: the guest must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time) could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals: Pila-laŋr 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-ŋa 'present-time animal', i.e. a sivuch born in the given year.

2. Tje-ŋa literally: 'last year's animal', i.e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

25 3. Pila-laŋr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
52
25

Pəγi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups: a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qrŋər is the youngest of all pəγi.
2. Mat-ŋəski-kəld is the next to the youngest pəγi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-ŋəski-kəld; mat - 'smal,' ŋəski 'back,' kəld 'long,' little long-back.
3. Tje-ŋəsχəl last year's ŋəsχəl.
4. Qat next in age to tje-ŋəsχəl.
5. Siusui-ŋa next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pəγi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Taŋarŋa - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Arəfk - next in age to taŋarŋa, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alχ.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored al and dalr - grey Alχ.

25 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
37 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (maχt) and two upper ribs.

25 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
82 "feed" it the root of the plant piskər. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orŋoχt."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muzŋi. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave pər 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskər.

"Among the Gilyaks the Ch'uff, as they call the bear on Sakhalin, plays the greatest rôle in the animal world. He is regarded with peculiar sentiments, and the beliefs and ceremonies which cluster around his sacrifice are unique and interesting. The natives are fully aware of the Ch'uff's cunning, and regard him almost as a Gilyak, certainly as a competitor, and love to tell stories of his knowing ways. They describe how he will go a-fishing, by preference at night, but if by day, he will stand with his right paw held close to his breast lest the sun should cast a shadow on the water and frighten the fish; how he will get up on his hind-legs to fight, and parry a spear-thrust, or shield his heart from a shot, with his paw."

9: Hawes--255 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 136, 225, 825

"In autumn a few seals ascend the river, and these are shot by the natives. They follow in the wake of the Salmo lagocephalus, or are driven before the attack of the dreaded grampus, or black killer (Orca atra). This terrible enemy, the largest of the dolphin family, is armed with a formidable dorsal fin, which in the case of the rectipinnia species attains to the enormous length of six feet. Not content with smaller fry, these terrible wolves of the ocean will even attack a large whale, gathering round it and gashing its throat and lips, and finally hauling it to the bottom of the sea to rise thence with great pieces of its flesh in their maws. Even the fierce walrus will crawl upon the rocks with its young to be out of the way of these voracious creatures; and when larger prey, such as the smaller dolphins or seals are not to be had, salmon and smaller fish furnish a meal for this hungry animal.

Hence, before it are driven ashore and up the rivers the seals, salmon, smelt, trout, etc., upon which the Gilyak lives. It is, therefore, not unnatural that he should look upon the 'sword dolphin,' as the Germans call it, as a friend to whom he owes many a successful catch. The grampus never meets with a hostile reception from the natives, and if his lifeless carcase be cast up on shore, rightful honours are paid it.

It is otherwise with the white fish or white whale Delphinapterus leucas) which haunts the mouths of rivers; for his flesh provides a feast for the Gilyaks. From the skin, [L SS: of the white whale.] I believe, and certainly from that of the rarer seal

116, 539, 766, 775, 825

"Wild swans occasionally flew across high overhead, and a woodpecker could be heard tap-tapping the trees. Our natives eagerly asked us to shoot the eagles which soared aloft or settled on the top of a high tree, only to fly away as we approached within gun-shot. These were the white-tailed eagles (Haliëtus albicillus), prized by the natives for their tail-feathers, for which they declared the Chinese gave them three dollars (about 6s.). The Japanese (in Yezo) are said to use them to indicate the residence of a person of importance by placing them over his door; in any case, the Gilyaks themselves value the feathers, which they use for arrow-heads. The wings are also prized by them, being placed at the grave of a Gilyak who has been murdered or has committed suicide, to aid his soul in its flight to heaven."

9: Hawes--255 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-2

116, 136, 225, 825

(Arctocephalus monteriensis), thongs of several hundred feet are obtained by cutting it spirally. These are again cut into lengths of about 130 feet, and much prized for harpoons, dog harness, and straps generally."

116, 224, 776, 782, 825

"Gazing carelessly at the bank, I espie
to my interpreter and the natives in a l
Seeing nothing, they smiled; but on my
it, and called to me, 'Nyet stryelyay! C
dog). Now, occasionally we had seen a
village, fishing or waiting for his mast
had realized the mistake the animal had
rushes and grass, giving us, however,
a white tip to his great brush. Even as
stryelyay! Nyet stryelyay! Pal ni vookh
god of the mountains will be angry), and
would have in store for us should we cr
less to expect to come up with the anim

According to Vanka, if we had killed
when we set out for the winter's hunt th
Vanka was really sincere, I think it far
hunt should suffer, because, by killing
augurated with the usual ceremonies. T
(he is lord of the forest and all therein)
and bounty, was to risk bringing down h

d a head peeping out of the long grass, and called
ow voice, 'Malenkiy medvyet! ' (A little bear!).
reiterating and pointing, Vanka caught sight of
Gilyakskiy sabaka' (Don't shoot; it is a Gilyak
native dog sitting alone at a distance from a
er, and we therefore hesitated; but before we
got up and trotted off, disappearing into the tall
one clear view of a beautiful coal-black fox with
he disappeared, Vanka was calling to us, 'Nyet
budet serditiy' (Don't shoot! Don't shoot! The
d much more as to the fate the lord of this region
oss his will. I [180] went ashore, but it was hope-
al.
it, its brethren would have been informed, and
ey would have banded together to kill us. If
more likely that he feared lest his winter's
thus in a haphazard fashion, it had not been in-
o seize of the provision of the great Pal ni vookh
before acknowledging in due form his sovereignty
is wrath upon our heads."

9: Hawes--198 B-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 527, 825

"[LSS: During the bear fête] The bear was then paraded down an avenue of tzakhs stuck in the ground, to the place of execution. On the mainland there is much more merciless teasing of the animal than on Sakhalin. On the banks of the Amur the poor brute is dragged round for three days, and visits each hut in turn, where he is tied up and poked and teased, not always without danger to his tormentors. The smallness of the Sakhalin dwellings prevent such exhibitions on the part of the bear. While the poor animal was left tied up to ruminate over his position, the natives went off to feast; but first they took of their luxuries, rice, whortleberries, etc., and fed their victim until he could eat no more. This is a characteristic trait of their attitude towards Bruin. They were about to kill him, yet they fêted him. It was an attitude of apology. They realized that their conduct must appear ambiguous to him, and therefore, though he had to die at their hands, yet they would do all that they could to retain his good-will. Therefore they feast him loyally with all manner of dainties before he meets his fate at their hands."

10: Coxwell--128[3] B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 776, 825

"THE BRAVE GILYAK AND THE GRATEFUL TIGER

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp. 121-124.]

The story of Androclès and the Lion will occur to the reader. It is observable that in the East transmutation is into the larger animal forms, thus here is a tiger-man and, in a Kalmuck tale, a demon appears as a buffalo, as opposed to the transmutation into a wolf of a Russian tale and into a yellow dog of a Mordvin tale. But the man has not been transformed into a tiger by a curse, as in Western werewolf stories; on the contrary, the general Gilyak belief that there are special beings in the mountains and forest who, having the appearance of Gilyaks, can assume the shape of wild beasts, seems here shadowed forth. The absence of ceremony is noticeable when the Gilyak marries the tiger-man's sister."

9: Hawes--201-202 1-3 (1901) 1903
116, 527, 776, 782, 825

"The original signification of the whole ce
largely lost, but the religious motive in the
the sending of a messenger to the great lord
to their punctilious observances of the rites
senger may not miss his destination, it was
some villages to assist the spirit of the bear
aids were given him, one the planting of a st
east where the great lord lived, and the othe
were to hunt Bruin's spirit to Pal ni vookh.
he was a Gilyak was not a pious Gilyak. He
and all dwellers in the taiga by Pal ni vookh
and water, but in nothing would he give thank
offerings after every meal, therefore it coul
to find Pal ni vookh, or if knowing should be
ways most punctilious in placing some fish o
offerings to Pal ni vookh, and on one occasio
tion from a watery grave to this timely act o

Probably the fact of the bear being the mos
adds to the value of the offering, of which th

remony of the feast [LSS: The bear fête] is
minds of the Gilyaks of to-day seems to be
of the mountains, Pal ni vookh, to witness
of offerings; and, in order that their mes-
usual, and is, I believe, still so among
in finding his way to Pal ni vookh. Two
ick on the execution-ground, pointing to the
r, the killing of two dogs, whose spirits
For it was explained that the bear, though
vould eat of the provisions made for him
and Tol ni vookh, the lords of the forest
ks; whereas a true Gilyak always made
d not be expected that he should know where
inclined to go to him. Even Vanka was al-
r tobacco on the ashes of our camp-fire as
on we owed, so he assured us, our preserva-
of his.
st difficult and dangerous animal to capture
e bear's spirit would be a witness. There

9: Hawes--201-202 T-3 (190
116, 527, 776, 782, 825

is another consideration which lurks,
Not only is the bear the most danger
has deteriorated to the seizure of cub
est rival of the Gilyaks. He lives, as
the forest; and even robs the Gilyaks'
fore on every [202] count he must die.

however unconsciously, behind this c
ous animal to capture, although now th
s and the rearing of them; but he is al
they do, on the fish of the river, the
snares of the small animals caught th
"

9: Hawes--245-246 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak-1-2
116, 764, 774, 775, 825

"As the flames lick up the pyre, the soul takes refuge in the raff [LSS: a funeral hut] through the hole or opened door, thence to emerge later and begin its long journey to that other world village of Mligh-vo, which the Amur Gilyaks say is in the centre of the earth, but the Sakhalin Tro and Tim Gilyaks say is 'There'—pointing to the east—'where the sun rises.'

Since it is necessary that the spirit of the deceased shall travel as he was accustomed on earth, the spirits of the dogs, the sledge, etc., must all be released. The dogs, in number according to the wealth of the departed, are all killed, being strangled or beaten to death. The sledge is broken, and so are also his spear (kakh), his bow (punch), and his arrows (ku), and quiver (kh'm), or if the deceased [246] be a woman, then her ear-rings (mestch) [LSS: Erratum; it should read meskh] rings (koi-ba), and her fish-knife (ungu-dzhakho). All these articles will be needed by the deceased in the future life; but they must be broken in order to finish their earthly existence, and to give release to their spirits. Every object has its soul, which resembles it. This is set free in the case of inanimate objects only on being broken, and is then used by the soul of the deceased. To burn them is not to be thought of, because they cannot have that honour done them.

Camping out on the banks of the river Tim in the forest, we were casting around one night for fuel, when Mr. X. came upon a bit of shaped board which he was about to throw on the fire, when Vanka stopped him, crying out, 'No, no'. Uich, uich'. It is a piece

20: Bush--102 T-2 (1865) 1871 Gilyak
116, 764, 775, 825

"Their funeral rites are sometimes quite impressive. The remains are first burned, and afterward a small wooden house or tomb is erected over the ashes. At death the soul is supposed to take up its abode in the favorite dog of the deceased, where it remains until released from its confinement by the death of the animal. To facilitate its escape, it has become customary to sacrifice the dog at the tomb of its master, the creature being first fattened for the occasion."

10: Coxwell --41-42 B-3
116, 774, 782, 825

"Among the Gilyaks, all natural
be made to the 'owners', if violenc
beings, and the bear is superior to
to the 'owners' of the forest, the m

6. Czaplicka, quoting

with him certain leaves and roots [
similar purpose, he makes the dog
and to the spirits of clansmen who

1. Idem., p. 272."

objects have a life of their own; and sacrifice must
e has been done. Animals are, in reality, human
man in both mind and body. Sacrifices are offered
ountains, the sea, and fire. (6) The Gilyak carries

Sternberg, p. 271.

42] intended for a sacrifice, and, moved by a
a victim. Periodical offerings are made to the bear
have been killed by bears. (1)

10: Coxwell--130 B-3
116, 539, 825

"SON-OF-T

[LSS: For the text of this tale, se

Sternberg remarks that the son of
defeated many bears. The Lord of th
Mother-of-Water fought with the aid
challenged him to a duel, and both pe
would be useless except for self-defe
would, thus armed, risk a contest wi
fights and, at the last moment of the

(no date) 1925 Gilyak

HE-MOTHER-OF-WATER
e category 539, pp. 125-126]

the Gilyak and of the Woman-Fish grew up and
e Bears, being much offended because Son-of-the-
of a sable, instead of with the traditional spear,
rished. As an instrument of the chase, a sable
nce. Only a man of unusual physical strength
th a bear. But the hero of a certain legend so
contest, stifles the bear in his embraces."

24 even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of
78 all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution;
39 furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

24 Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or a snare is set up in a certain calculated manner. For, the sable, when it wants to cross a small stream never fails to use a log that has fallen across it, if he can find one. Now, such logs are purposely prepared for him, and snares as well.

With the first snow fall he is pursued by dogs and killed with buck shot; the pelt is thus little damaged, for two or three grains of shot suffice to kill the animal.

A method commonly used and one that can be applied all winter long, consists of setting up cross-bows, the mechanism of which is cunningly devised. The shaft stands on a stake; behind the arrow there is a sort of cock made of a knee-shaped piece of wood; on the latter is a trigger from which a long thread leads diagonally forward and down and is fastened somewhere on the ground. As soon as the sable in passing touches the thread, the shot is fired.

36 The tiger is known to the Gilyak and they have a word for
24 it in their language, but it is not hunted, because it occurs
25 only rarely in the Gilyak country, and not at all on Sakhalin, and because they regard it as something more than a wild animal. This fear has probably [123] been passed on to them by the Manchurians and the Goldi. The tiger of the Amur-Ussuri country is of the mightiest and most powerful of its kind, as well as extremely cunning; but for humans, especially for Europeans, it is not nearly as dangerous as it is in India, because it finds more food. (1) Only when man

1. During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

136
224
825

himself takes
instinctive fea
terrible natur
ness. Even w
enormous lea
overcome a m
supposed to a
finishes it off.
gerous that be
comparison, a
dire necessity
and cannot be
with bayonets
the place wher
method of cap
up of rifles wh
The corpse of
usually serves
returning the c

The wolf exi
and does no ha

223 Birds, esp
grouse are nov
for partridges
grouse are lur
openly hunted i
surrounding co
Nikolayevsk-na

462 We mentione
handicraft and
much more tha
The man hunts,

remember only two instances when
Europeans were assaulted by it
without having been the attackers.
The one case occurred in the year
1878 in broad daylight on the ice near
a post station. A post servant was
gored by the tiger. The skull of this
animal which was itself killed the
next day now belongs to me. It meas-
ures seven and one-half vershok (33
centimeters), the upper canines are
as long as a finger.

the offensive, does the monster lose his
r of him, and then suddenly shows all its
al qualities, to which belong an amazing tough-
ith five or six rifle balls inside it, it still takes
os, and even in its death throes it can still
an. The bullets bounce off its skull, and one is
m at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart
Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dan-
ar hunting may be considered child's play in
nd the peasants and Cossacks decide on it in
when the tiger breaks into their stables
got in any other way. In that case 15-20 men
on their rifles and in closed ranks descend on
e the animal was scented. But the regular
ure is poisoning with strychnin or the setting
ich go off when the tiger approaches the bait.
an animal that was killed by the tiger himself
as bait, for the tiger has the laudable habit of
lay after his assault.
sts on the lower Amur, but rarely shows itself
rm. It is seldom shot.
ecially ducks and geese, partridges and hazel
v usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set
on flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel
ed in spring with whistles, in winter they are
n spruce thickets. The Gilyak who live in the
untry are the chief purveyors of wild game for
-Amure.
d above the other occupations and embryonic
trades. Specialization [124] consists in not
n a division of labor between men and women.
, does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a pra
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate
buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where
various things are bartered.
527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is wel
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led throu
the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and
this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house
to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of th
river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an
abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who
put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all
sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cra
berries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak al
prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means wo
ship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fu
some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to s
revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is
not given such expressions of veneration.
527 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo them
selves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful
blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty,
with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When th
happens the woman who has had charge of him is often hea
to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gily
seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are
passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [2
roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at
bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as en
tertainment has been described. Special music is produce
527 in the village of Kola. This village is the northern outpost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here a

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -t
old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were
supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was
destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged t

9: Hawes--202-203 T-3 (190

116, 527, 764, 775, 782, 825

"There is one incident in the ceremonial [L
tioned, but which possesses some special sig
head, which is never on any account eaten. A
dogs which I bartered for were all minus the

It is noticeable that while the bear's head
bring success and courage to the hunters, but
eating of the brain would render the consumer
The skull is relegated at length to the Gilyak
phins, etc., placed on sticks. This is a habi
place theirs near their huts and make offering
and gain their protection; whereas the Gilyak
of the woods, and are not frequented by them.
of these golgothas, is, I do not know; but it s
of the animals whose spirits have gone back t
those of the Gilyak; or that the spirits of thes
and either guard the remains of the Gilyak or

SS: The bear fête] which I have not men-
nificance. This is the saving of the bear's
, skin offered to me, and the fells of the
heads.
is not eaten, the heart is. The latter will
I gathered that the Gilyak believes the
bear-like, and an enemy to his fellows.
cemetery, and there, with skulls of dol-
t common among the Ainus, who, however
gs of sake (spirit), etc., to pacificate them
s' cemeteries are in the secret recesses
What the idea that lies at the [203] root
eems probable that they think the remains
o the great Pal ni vookh should rest near
e animals will come back to these spots
at least refrain from haunting the living

predominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of rumination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs and their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imagination so boldly that their assertions contradict those of other shamans or of everyday experience. From conversations, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the Gilyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits, both good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not emerged from fetishism.

God (kush or kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and never appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing is said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I heard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In this we may already see something like priestly self-glorification. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother much about him, only now and then something is sacrificed to him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him or for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak crosses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a bowl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the sacrifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is sacrificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a stake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it millet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240] are tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme being. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

The bear usually appears as the executor of divine ordinances, and he punishes the bad people during their lifetime. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstitious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be regarded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as a god or demigod.

The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they seldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians regard him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded as having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a certain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored one". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874. (Published in Russian).

people. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and kills the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay. Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.

776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

171 among the Goldi, are in use throughout the Gilyak people
751 and are essentially the same as those discussed earlier
301 (Number XIII, p. 207) [see Goldi source 18: Genest--
Analyst]. The Gilyak on Sakhalin Island whose houses
372 Jakobsen entered were likewise highly indignant whenever
462 he left the house with a lighted pipe or when his companions
776 extinguished the fire burning in a hut by pouring water on it.
For in their opinion such things tended to conjure up destruction not only over the inhabitants of the one hut but over the whole tribe. The inhabitants of one house in the village of Varki below Nikolayevsk predicted the same result when Jakobsen was about to light a fire for making the tea, and they forced him to wait till the house-wife saw to this task, since, in their opinion, this was a job only to be performed by her. Plainly this conduct has its basis in the sacred position of fire. [380] Though this no longer leads to a personification of a fire god among the Goldi and the Gilyak, it no doubt existed among them at one time as it still does today among the Buryat.

776 The system of gods of the Gilyak is in no way behind that
171 of the Goldi in variety. Human and animal figures in color-
825 ful diversity serve as representations of celestial beings.
796 Here, too, there is a great similarity to the religious conceptions of the Goldi; the most important difference seems to me the one that was touched upon earlier (XIV, p. 223), [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst] the fact that the Goldi pay zealous homage to the tiger while the Gilyak do honor to
796 the bear. It is true, though, that this homage is disastrous
415 to the bears since it means keeping a number of these
531 animals imprisoned in the cages in every village and killing
231 them at a bear festival. Before the festival the bears are fed plentifully for an extended time by means of large wooden spoons prepared especially for the purpose and decorated
796 with ingenious carvings. These bear festivals are usually held late in autumn and in winter and they are affairs of the greatest importance to their celebrators. I will now give the description of the festival that Jakobsen had the opportunity of observing in person.

796 On the 7th of February, 1885, the traveller arrived in
622 the early morning at the Gilyak village Vaida about 30 versts
574 above Nikolayevsk, where, as he had been informed, a festival was to take place on that day. From several other villages, some of which were considerable distances away large numbers of guests had come in already, and the whole place was astir in anticipation of the festival at hand. The opening of the bear festival is in the hands of the village

796 on a bed of fir twigs as on a bed of state and the participants in the festival visit it for the last time. After two or three days they pull off its hide and the meat is distributed among
796 the guests who eat it with relish. There is a strange con-
825 tradiction in these bear festivals. On the one hand, they honor
531 the bear as a celestial being, as is proved not only by its pictures serving as idols and amulets but also by the tender attentions that they show the animal during its imprisonment. For this speaks also the solemn way of killing it, as well as the ceremonious procedure used in treating the corpse; also, the circumstance not mentioned above, that the traveller was not allowed to take with him one of the willow sticks of the fence which was later used for the bed of the dead bear. He would all the sooner have done so since the stick was distin-
796 guished by tasteful carving. On the other hand, they are not
825 afraid to kill this animal that they honor as a divine being,
756 and by a death, even, that is only the conclusion of a rather barbaric torture. Furthermore it is a curious circumstance that during the whole course of the festival, as far as Jakobsen was able to observe it, the shaman was not even visible, even though the latter plays such an outstanding role at all the
796 religious ceremonies of the Amur peoples. What, besides, is
782 the purpose of leading the bear out on the ice of the river?
776 [in the bear festival; see p. 381--Analyst] Should it suggest the idea that the animal is to be offered as a sacrifice to the river honored as a god? And if this is really the case, what a strange idea it is to sacrifice one god to another and to eat him up in the end. And why don't they kill the bear on the river bank and let at least its blood flow into the water, just as the fish gods are entrusted to its waves? What, furthermore, is this sacrifice meant to effect? and what is its nature? Are we to imagine it as a sacrifice of thanks offered up to the river dispensing blessing and nourishment, or as a sacrifice of expiation by which the river is supposed to be made favorable to the dwellers near it, because the latter are well aware of their dependence on the river and its power to bring them destruction? In the former case one would think that the celebration would take place as soon as possible after the time fishing ended, that is, about September or beginning October, while these festivals actually are not till later. The second assumption does not agree, again, with the circumstance that the nature of the festival is a thoroughly joyful one, as is proved, at least to my mind, by the description of it given above. This is not contradicted, either, by the solemn silence which reigns during the lethal shot and the
796 preparation for it. For it is by no means necessary to see

dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, including wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me for a souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word, 'Fulyhnin' in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

The school is in operation ten months of each year. The superintendent said the children of the Russian peasants could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The teacher was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The expense of the establishment was paid by Government, with the design of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the attempts to Christianize them have not been very successful thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols and animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to the 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among animals they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was known of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a tiger are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other per-

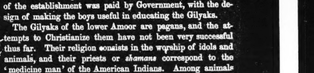

BEAR IN FRONCEBHOP.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. The bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve him from being killed.

In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him alive; once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage in the

825 middle of a village, and there fattened upon fish. On feto-
826 days he is led, or rather dragged, in procession, and of course
796 is thoroughly muzzled and bound. Finally a great day arrives on which Bruin takes a prominent part in the festival by being killed. There are many superstitious ceremonies carefully observed on such occasions. The ears, jawbones, and skull of the bear are hung upon trees to ward off evil spirits, and the flesh is eaten, as it is supposed to make all who partake of it both fortunate and courageous.

I did not have the pleasure of witnessing any of these ursine festivals, but I saw several bear cages and looked upon a bear while he lunched on cold salmon. If the bear were more gentle in his manners he might become a household pet among the Gilyaks; but at present he is not in favor, especially where there are small children.

231 Ermines were formerly domesticated for catching rats, the
325 high price of cats confining their possession to the wealthy.
326 Cats have a half-religious character and are treated with
439 great respect. Since the advent of the Russians the supply is very good. Before they came the Manjour merchants used to bring only male cats that could not trouble themselves about posterity. The price was sometimes a hundred roubles for a single mouser, and by curtailing the supply the Manjours kept the market good.

796 The Gilyaks, like nearly all the natives of Northern Asia,
152 are addicted to Shamanism. The shaman combines the functions of priest and doctor, ministering to the physical and spiritual being at the same time. When a man is taken sick he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit and the shaman is called to practice exorcism. There is a distinct spirit for every disease and he must be propitiated in a particular manner. While practicing his profession the shaman contorts his body and dances like one insane, and howls worse than a dozen Kamchadale dogs. He is dressed in a fantastic manner and beats a tambourine during his performance. To accommodate himself to the different spirits he modulates his voice, changes the character of his dance, and alters his co-

826

1; Shternberg--372 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/254 cont./

832 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only
574 from their racial viewpoint. Men and women both
826 609 liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Piłsudski, redhair-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractive appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhrh -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree," lush heart like a bird reaching to the waist, hair made sleek), gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side,
[198] smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size ("her trunk is as firm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

832 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor
241 role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In
211 their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered
533 with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated seal-skins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability
574 ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ivukhr, i.e., re-
[467] spected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer. Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

826 ETHNOGRAPHY--conception of ideal bodily proportions; ideas about the torso and its parts (e.g., belly, breasts, buttocks, navel, neck, spine), skin and pigmentation, hair (e.g., axilla, body, facial, head, pubic), head and its parts (e.g., brain, ears, eyes, lips, mouth, nose, teeth, tongue), limbs (e.g., arms, legs, hands, feet, fingers, toes, nails), blood, veins and arteries, bones, fat and muscles, nerves and sinews, internal organs (e.g., heart, intestines, kidneys, liver, lungs, stomach); interpretations of physical abnormalities (e.g., albinism, clubfoot, cretinism, dwarfism, harelip, hermaphroditism, hunchback); associated behavior patterns; etc. See also:

Albinism	30	Deformities	749
Anthropometry/Measurements	141	Dogs	782
Bathing and diving	158	Use of hair and nails in sorcery	794
Beauty, ideal	832	Hair, human, as a charm	794
Bear ceremonies	825	Ceremonies of scientific interest	796
Blood brotherhood	188	Notions about the genitalia	831
Blood vengeance	820	Length of penis bone	832
Taking of trophies	797	Ideas concerning menstrual blood	841

1; Shternberg--373 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
574 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867

A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
843 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
826 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the
Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty
and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, ap-
parently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[198] bestiality, only in one village on the Tyms was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
832 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
839 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I
wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even
the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur
saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then
in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like
beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view
of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (mukaud in the eastern dialect, miskiy --
in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of
[588] hermaphrodites are a common event.

1; Shternberg--374 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/256 cont./

143 In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual
826 intercourse and marriages of hermaphrodites are often con-
fused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic
instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyak known
to me. On Sakhalin I knew of two cases. In the settlement
of Yama, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak,
Chubuk, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a
certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum
virile was underdeveloped) and wore women's clothing.
Later the membrum virile attained the proper development,
and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married.
143 I learned of another instance in the settlement of Myy Gyrk
826 on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. Here I once
met two young people sitting on the shore, a man and a
woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed that the latter was dressed in a man's fashion. My companions explained that only a year ago she had been wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing together. They had to spend the night together, and then the hermaphrodite revealed her secret to her friend. From that time on they began to live together and ended up by getting married, although people strongly urged the young man against
[538] /257/ taking this step. Similar cases may easily have given
[594] rise to the legends about transformed persons (about werewolves).

On the Amur the Gilyak Putuk told me the curious details concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that he was developing a membrum virile, which would sometimes grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes disappear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the course of several years a beard grew and the male organ was definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

1; Shternberg--375 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/257 cont./

143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chancer, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoras found among the Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year. This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
881 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained
302 sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen
117 her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where the can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who
[302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos connected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women, fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

Gelji Ri
Gilyak
Sakhalin Island

/409 cont./

At is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could consider the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and
302 plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting
[192] in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridi-
826 cule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn
[356] from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of
301 boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

/211 cont./

*796 visibly amused, permitted them to do. The choice of the archer
231 who is to dispatch the fatal arrow toward the bear, however, is
[354] made by the owner himself and is regarded as an honorary token
of his favor. For the two animals belonging to him Iudin had
chosen two young people, one of them an Olcha from Tschlwi
whose father was a friend of his and from whom he had bought
one of the bears. Both animals, hit in the right lung at a dis-
tance of about five paces, fell dead after the first shot; the third
animal died slowly after it had been hit by two arrows. The blood
[184] which they lost in dying was immediately covered with snow, for
●826 otherwise someone might step in it, which would definitely be
unlucky.

As soon as the bears were dead, they were dragged into
the kadlra by their chain and an auxiliary strap tied around the
snout, and put down at the places where they had stood in life,
on a bed prepared for them out of peeled sticks. Here all three
carcasses lay in the same order and the same position: the snout
and the front legs to the front pointing toward the entrance into
the kadlra, the hind legs to the rear, pointing toward the lisng.
The neck /712/ and body bands were taken off of them and the
snow beaten off their fur with sticks. Next the carcasses were
skinned and cut up. For this purpose a /illustration appears here/
strap was next slung around the neck of the animal and attached
[184] to the stake in front. Again it is unlucky to step over this strap --
one may only walk around it, either in front or in back. The
bear was now rolled over on its back, and a cut was made down
the middle of the entire belly side, beginning at the throat, and
from this middle cut four others went out to the legs. Then the
fur was stripped off and cut around the paws in such a manner
that a ring of fur remained above the claws on each one. After
the belly side had been skinned, the animal was turned over and
the fur stripped off the back side up to the head. Then the man
standing at the tail end once more waved the fur up and down
over the carcass and threw it over the head of the bear to his
companion at the head end, who threw it back again. This

827

827 ETHNOPHYSIOLOGY--ideas about anal reactions (e.g., urination, defecation, farting); circulatory reactions (e.g., heartbeat, pulse); dermal reactions (e.g., flushing, fever and temperature, perspiring, shivering, itching and twitching, sloughing of skin and hair); facial reactions (e.g., laughing, smiling, grinning, sneering, frowning); nasal and respiratory reactions (e.g., breathing, panting, sneezing, running of noses); ocular and auricular reactions (e.g., weeping, blinking, dilation of pupils, ringing of ears, secretion of wax); oral reactions (e.g., salivation, spitting, swallowing, vomiting, coughing, hiccoughing, yawning); ideas about digestion and respiration; notions about heredity; associated behavior patterns (e.g., scratching, congratulations upon sneezing); etc. See also:

Genetic and antogenetic data	34	Eating 364
Drinking, smoking, and narcotics	37	Humor 825
Sleeping, elimination, and bathing	81	Sorcery with enemies 764
Sickness and therapy	76	Relation of breath to soul concepts . . . 794
Death and mortuary customs	78	Taboos on looking, listening, and speaking . 784
Sex	80	Development of scientific physiology . . . 818
Reproduction	86	Ideas about sneezing 825
Ideas about language	125	Ideas about development and maturation . 850
Gestures	201	Classification training 863

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only huda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and
eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and
bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore
they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cran-
berries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered
for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor,
they gather and consume great numbers of berries and espe-
cially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nour-
ishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use,
of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea
which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but
has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly,
because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to
buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are
utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
● 827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to
Schrenk, the semicia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup.
Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since
they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer
so acute. And that formerly they could tell what animals had
passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them.

Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina)
is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it
induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak
do not know any other intoxicating beverage.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not
very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke,
although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very
expensive. After this general account of the various articles
of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something
about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes
is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup.
One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner
of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

828

828 ETHNOPSYCHOLOGY--ideas about impulses or drives; conceptualization of sensation, perception, and emotions; standards of sensory pleasantness and unpleasantness; ideas about conscious and unconscious mental processes; notions about abnormal mental states (e.g., aphasia, catalepsy, coma, delirium, hallucination, hypnosis, hysteria, sexual); interpretations and explanations of neuroses and psychoses; ideas about habits, attitudes, and the learning process; concepts of the self, of human nature, of motivation, of personality, of character; associated cultural behavior; etc. See also:

Data on behavior processes and personality	15	Punishments for abnormal behavior 689
Use of alcohol, narcotics, and stimulants	37	Ideas about blindness, deafmutism, and feebleminedness 725
Ideas about sleep and stimulation	81	Use of anesthetics 782
Soul	83	Psychotherapy 755
Education	87	Food cult-cycle 774
Perceived expression of emotions	201	Types of religious experience 781
Gratification and control of hunger	261	Divination and interpretation of dreams 787
Food preferences	262	Magic 813
Manifestations and control of thirst	271	Conception of free will 815
Palliation of labor	405	Development of scientific psychology 815
Esthetic ideals and canons of taste	517	Ideas about form, color, and sound 825
Appreciation of form and perspective	520	
Ethics	577	

/178 cont./

*835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
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woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak
youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often
and so persistently about these relations; they considered
them so commonplace that they should not, according to their
way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked
me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you?
Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not
permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes
152 without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
*835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
578 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival
or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns
/179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been
a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions
that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power
over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirta-
[182] tions of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between
brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
[602] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
[584] not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger
brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for
the purchase of wives.

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578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another ad-
vantage is gained; having married off their younger brothers,
the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent
from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own
wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak,
with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are
too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured
against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

116, 732, 828

"Yungkin announced Gilyaks. A party were returning to Chaivo, and seeing our fire ha
stopped for a warm, a pipe, and some tea. They joined us around the cheerful blaze,
talking volubly, and taking some pleasure in pointing out to us one of their number, wh
they said, had a devil in him. He was an idiot, one glance at his face was sufficient to
determine that, and without showing any violence continued to make the strangest con-
tortions. His presence completed the weirdness of the scene, this group of uncouth
figures of a primitive people crouched round a fire on a desolate island on a wild night
The madman, who was known as 'Oto,' lived in one of two huts which are on the opposi
side of the Strait of Chaivo. He was not [251] allowed to work, but his comrades suppli
all his wants, for they regarded him as a kind of sacred person singled out or set apar
by the unseen powers. He was not, however, permitted to have a wife."

ng the Gilyak's, many persons are liable to convulsive attacks, which are
ed by a fainting period, during which the sick person reveals to those around him
ulars of devils, heavenly beings or sea creatures. The patient believes firmly in
has seen.(1)

1. L. Y. Sternberg, Tale I, Note. 29."

829

829 ETHNOSOCIOLOGY--social philosophy; interpretations of the society's charter; native ideas about social relationships and social structure; concepts of society (e.g., social contract); notions about culture and cultural change; economics and political behavior (e.g., mercantilism), racial inequality; etc. See also:

Population policy	168	Criminology	474
Socialistical trends	178	Penology	481
National character	181	Welfare policies	548
Social planning	185	Theological systems	779
Development of nationalism	618	Missionary programs	787
Constitution	642	Philosophical systems	815
Principles of taxation	651	Development of scientific anthropology	
Policies of government regulation	658	Sociology, and economics	815
Political movements	666	Educational policies	871
Jurisprudence	671		

/18 cont./

173 hurricane breaks up the joined ice-floes and carries separate floes
174 together with the hunters caught on them, into the /19/ open sea.
183 often throwing them on the shore far from their place of residence.
One can also not infrequently see tremendous pieces of turf, on
which dozens of people could be placed, being carried on the
waves of the sea, having been torn from the coastal tundra by storms.
During the civil wars among the Ainu, when someone urgently
needed to escape from persecution, there existed a practice accord-
ing to which the persecuted one fearlessly transferred his family and
his boat to a "hovykh" which happened to be passing by fixed on it
the sacred pole with the sharpened wooden tongues, and entrusted
his fate to the caprice of the wind and the current.

Now, if we consider that the currents pass from the north
along both shores of Sakhalin Island and the continental coast,
currents which carry ice floes almost until the month of July, one
can allow with more or less probability that the legendary hovykh
served as that natural means by which individual seekers of ad-
venture or exiles moved from the north to the south, and further-
more it is not difficult to imagine how, step by step, such migra-
tions reached the extreme southern limits of the present-day Gilyak
area of settlement. Almost before our eyes, since the time of
Middendorf, the northern boundary of the permanent area of
settlement of the Gilyak has descended from the mouth of the
Tugur to the mouth of the Kol' River.

174 We should not imagine, however, that the migration of the
Gilyak into their present territory is a matter of a historical epoch
very close to us. We have positive evidence about the permanence
of the boundaries of the Gilyak territory for the last two and a half
centuries, and the legends of the Gilyak about the island and the
continental coast depict this tribe as fully acclimated to its present
homeland, and among primitive peoples such acclimation comes
about through a long process of many, many centuries, maybe
millenniums.

●829 At this point, I cannot fail to mention one characteristic
fact, which is in a way characteristic of the ways of thinking of the
Gilyak themselves, on the question of their kinship with other tribes.

/19 cont./

174 In 1893 during my stay in the settlement of Langr on a
124 small island lying opposite the continental coast, I talked to an
●829 old Gilyak, a contemporary of Nevelskoi and Orlov, who were
the first men active in the lower reaches of the Amur. I was not
a little astonished when during our conversation, while reminiscing
about the workers of the Russian-American Company, to whom my
interlocutor had in his time been of service, he suddenly said: "I
think, however, that the Gilyak and the Aleut are of the same
race. It turned out that the well-known seaman, Orlov, who served
in the Russian-American Company, /20/ was accompanied by an
Aleut, with whom my Gilyak informant had a chance to talk at
great length, and as a result, after an exchange of stories about
the customs and the way of life of their fellow tribesmen, by the
way, about the bear festival, they both came to the conclusion
that the Gilyak and the Aleut are kal'nyakhr (one people). Taken
by themselves, such primitive conclusions, cannot, of course,
have any great significance for the solution of the question, but in
connection with other considerations about the arctic origin of the
Gilyak, this naïve testimony of a Gilyak is, at any rate, charac-
teristic.

144 Thus, the language, the archaeological data, the remnants
[194] of peculiarities of their way of life, and the legends make it possi-
ble for us to lift somewhat the veil of the distant past of the Gilyak
tribe. On the other hand, purely anthropological data can play no
role in the question that interests us. Anthropologically, the
Gilyak least of all represent anything original. There is no such
thing as a specific Gilyak type. The average type of Gilyak is at
the present time a complex of ordinary, though somewhat softened
Mongoloid features with a deviation on the one hand to the Tungus,
and on the other to the Ainu type. In the Ainu type, as Schrenck
has already noted, the face is more or less oval, the forehead
straight, the cheek bones moderately pronounced, the squint of the
eye very insignificant or completely absent, the nose more or less
long, the spine of the nose with a curve, and the growth of hair
on the face abundant. In the Tungus type, on the other hand, the
Mongoloid features are expressed in full sharpness. In the feminine
type the Tungus features predominate. This is everything that

/34 cont./

835 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so
●829 earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the
brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to
them, and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you,
among the Russians, it is no so? You mean one could not live
with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative
answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well,
that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at
one another.

835 Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even
-152 the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of
permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind
of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother
will insist that his rival move to another house or to another village.

83 Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a gen-
eral light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of
course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman not vio-
lating his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not especially
value chastity, and only considerations of an external nature force
parents to look askance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters.
[849] Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become in-
[849] volved with a man who is unsuitable with regard to his property
status, and, besides, that the child born to her will be outside the
given clan and so will have to be killed.

83 Apart from these considerations, however, there is no moral
5717 prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the
greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness
prevails and sexual morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we
understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a
given society, the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual
morality, for, with regard to persons who are outside of the group
sexual relationship, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing.
The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have
intercourse with a clansman of her husband if he is not of the
category of her pu, even though the seducer is younger than her
husband and she likes him.

/35 cont./

83 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he
572 transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous
825 act are killed, being considered werewolves.

602 The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves
●829 for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with
regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of
prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of
people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the
Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only
to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even
with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e.,
with the whole class of nuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar
relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and,
on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of per-
mitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin
Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the
younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden,
and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder
brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with cate-
gories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying
hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

174 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange
601 facts come from? How can we explain these complex and con-
825 fusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship
nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual
rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married
sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his
brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman
calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives
sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law
174 his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from
825 clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for
835 all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives
614 of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts
must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact
of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which.

/127 cont./
609 reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the
594 Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has
609 wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with
● 829 such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance
* 614

1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as one clan, the representatives of which answer for one another.

for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general
186 relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course,
609 among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national
829 prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance, to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than kinr (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We
* 174 614 615 can now resume it.

/178 cont./
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578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another advantage is gained; having married off their younger brothers, the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak, with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

/347 cont./
101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-
● 829 Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "yrk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "yrk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material below. The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the
197 language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on
127 Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the conti-
174 nent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo,
[614] one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language,
[184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

/354 cont./
614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following
580 the decision of the clan, to one of the ruvn of the deceased, generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her, although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-yrk, atk, ola. Generally speaking, as a rule, a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under no circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore,
614 it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages
● [824] concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition, scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the
[860] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from
[623] father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the in-
173 capacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

/367 cont./
597 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
783 clear conception of sin ("umgyah"). It goes without saying /368/
673 that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
688 there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general, to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
[682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed (sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
● [829] have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life. There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor. After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus, there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
[764] on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

Tungus RUS
Daur

/173 cont./
175 discussed above, and undoubtedly it was a duty of the officials
648 of Algun and the advanced Manchurian outposts along the Amur
361 beyond the mouth of the Komar to see to it, among other things, that this measure was strictly observed. Only along the upper course of the Komar does one again come across sedentry, agricultural Daur, evidently because the Chinese government thought that they were sufficiently far from the Amur there to not preju-
[169] dice its detoltion to any extent. Perhaps, /174/ thanks to this circumstance, they did not have to move from there in the seventeenth century, or they were Daur who at that time withdrew from the Amur and the lower Komar, or, finally, later settlers who came here from the Nonni.

175 The Chinese government acted quite differently with regard
648 to the more or less itinerant traders than it did in the case of the
434 sedentary agriculturalists. They had free access to the entire
443 upper and central Amur region belonging to the administrative district of Tsitsikar, and only having intercourse with the Russians beyond the last guardposts on the upper Amur was forbidden to them. Thanks to this permission and to the inclination and aptitude of the Daur for trade, especially with the related Tungusic hunting peoples in the north of the Amur region with whom they had been familiar from ancient times, we see that they soon reached that wide distribution as traders along the Dseja /Zeya/, the Stilimdsha /Selemdzha/, the Bureja /Bureya/, and their tributaries which has already been discussed in detail above (1).

1. See pp. 79, 107.

Here I only wish to draw special attention to one circumstance which is significant for both the scope of this distribution of the Daur and the role which they have played in relation to the more primitive Amur peoples. Though the Daur are not permitted to
G enter the lower Amur region, and, on the other hand, the people
● [829] from there are forbidden by the Chinese to go beyond the Sungari mouth on the Amur and the city of Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, the Daur traders are nevertheless known even to the most distant Gilyak,

83

/34 cont./

835 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so
829 earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to them, and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you, among the Russians, it is no so? You mean one could not live with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well, that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at one another.

835 Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even
152 the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother will insist that his rival move to another house or to another village.

●83 Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a general light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman not violating his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not expecially value chastity, and only considerations of an external nature force parents to look askance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters.
[848] Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become in-
[847] volved with a man who is unsuitable with regard to his property status, and, besides, that the child born to her will be outside the given clan and so will have to be killed.

83 Apart from these considerations, however, there is no moral
577 prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness prevails and sexual morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a given society, the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual morality, for, with regard to persons who are outside of the group sexual relationship, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing. The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have intercourse with a clansman of her husband if he is not of the category of her pu, even though the seducer is younger than her husband and she likes him.

/35 cont./

● 83 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he
577 transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous
825 act are killed, being considered werewolves.

602 The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves
[829] for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

174 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange
601 facts come from? How can we explain these complex and con-
835 fusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law
174 his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from
601 clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for
835 all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives
614 of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

/107 cont./

*614 Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces
771 not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obli-
783 gation to carry out positive norms, then the formula "common sin"
784 acquires a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the
182 principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general. The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue of the fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions; all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religion means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life, etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation. Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence,
*614 on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to
182 why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring
602 immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsion,
● 83 but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example, with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and women, follow their natural inclinations with complete freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage. Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy. There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless, despite the complete sexual license from our point of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect to persons of the prohibited categories. Adultery is unknown to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is
*614 almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibi-
602 tions of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will
182 go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

/149 cont./

III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of Sexual Intercourse and Marriage

● 83 Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kin-
[121] ship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyak, at least at the present time, we cannot speak of any kind of general prohibitions against extramarital sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is a completely nonchalant and natural act, like any other natural act, satisfying a certain natural need of man. Prohibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound by agnate or cognate kinship. Outside of these circles there is no regulation or censure of sexual behavior, either on the part of public opinion or on the part of religion. Outside of the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party concerned. Young men of a given clan, having rights to the women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggrieved at an alien usurper and soundly teach the stranger not to sneak into a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very rarely. It is a much more serious affair if a married woman is
684 involved. A stranger caught in flagrante delicto with a
[108] married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of penal repression has begun to restrain some from impulsive slayings, which are beginning to be replaced by duels and
684 ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They beat her
562 thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her:
[581] in the first place, because, as we shall see further on, a woman is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the second place, because she is an article of value, having cost her husband dearly, and furthermore she is a necessary worker.
684 In any case, the matter is not settled without repression, bloody

/168 cont./ Under
582 such circumstances,[1] it would be necessary for a considerably large number of the population who are not well-to-do to re-
[182] main unmarried. And it is right here that the institution of the right to marriage with persons of the class of an'g:ej about which we spoke above appears as a corrective. In the first rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his mother's brother, next their collateral sisters, and, finally, any daughter in general of that broad class of persons whom the Gilyak calls akhmalk (fathers-in-law).

We already know the nature of the relations of these latter with their sons-in-law /zyat'ya/, and it is clear, therefore, that obtaining an individual wife among the an'g:ej, among the daughters of one's born akhmalk, is surrounded by the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man stands a sure chance of getting the widows of his brothers.
[178] But in view of the generally small number of women in comparison with the men, and considering the fierce competition within each class of pu for their an'g:ej and under the conditions of an extreme avidity for the bride price, which has developed under the influence of commercial relations and has greatly weakened the traditional matrimonial relations, even this privilege can often be a nudum jus. But at this point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective for the individual marriage -- the group marriage, an absolutely unlimited right to sexual intercourse between classes of pu and an'g:ej. We turn next to this right.

* 835 Group marriage. Though the right and obligation of individual marriage in the classes pu and an'g:ej have been considerably shaken by the inevitable influence of both historical conditions and the conditions of life, the right to group marriage, the right to sexual intercourse between persons of these classes, continues to be preserved in full strength. This right, it is true, does not carry with it a definitely compulsory character: a woman cannot be coerced into sexual intercourse
● 83 either by her kin or by her pu. It is not even allowed that the father, brother, or husband of a woman propose to the daughter

[1] [i.e., a limited choice of women plus unequal sex ratio in favor of the men.--Analyst]

/168 cont./
● 83 or wife that she share her bed with a guest who is her pu, as happens among peoples who practice hospitable hetaerism. Likewise a public display of sexual intimacy is not allowed. No one permits himself to lie down under one covering with his group an'g:ej in the common yurt, even with a preliminary agreement. Moreover, even between individual spouses /169/
833 openness of sexual relations is not allowed (1). Intercourse
* 835

[171] 1. The avoidance of public caresses between individual spouses is not an exclusive peculiarity of the Gilyak. According to the testimony of Radlov /Radloff/, the Altaian in public does not allow himself even a joke with his wife in the presence of strangers, while at the same time the broadest freedom in relations between the sexes prevails among these peoples. -- Radloff, Aus Sibirien /From Siberia/, I, 314.

may not take place publicly or before the eyes of the individual spouse concerned (2). If the act takes place at night in

[171] 2. Compare the similar phenomenon among the Tibetans. -- Westermarck, The Origin of Marriage, p. 141.

the yurt where there are also strangers sleeping, then each one lies down separately, and only when all have gone to sleep does the man or woman (both sides alike take the initiative, but women more rarely) move over to the bed of his group spouse, who may accept or reject the attentions if there has not been any preliminary agreement. In summer the affair most frequently takes place in the open air: in the

831

831 SEXUALITY--ideas about the male and female sex organs; conceptions of
ual physiology (e.g., erection, nocturnal emission); notions about semina
vaginal secretions; favorable attitudes toward sex (e.g., as natural, nece
amusing, sacred); idealization of sex (e.g., romantic love); unfavorable a
tudes toward sex (e.g., as dangerous, debilitating, unclean, disgusting, s
idealization of continence and chastity; preoccupation with sex (e.g., sexu
symbolism in religion and the arts, obscenity, pornography); etc. See als
Description of secondary sexual characteristics . 142
Sexual humor 522
Differences in sex status 562
Celibacy 589
Affection between husband and wife . . . . .
Chastity as an ascetic ideal . . . . . .
Ideas about the sex impulse . . . . . .
Notions about puberty in each sex. . . . . .

/182 cont./

835 their mother and their father's brother; in exactly the same
171 way, by one and the same term, andri waka, the piruari designate their father, their mother's sister, and their father's brother's wife (ibid., Table IV). All the children of each noa are one another's brothers and sisters and they are all considered children of the piruari group to which this noa belongs (ibid., 19).

IV.

831 Moral and Psychic Consequences of the Sexual Norms

The peculiar norms of sexual relations described by us, broadly permissive on the one hand, strictly prohibitive on the other, are reflected in the morals and psychics of the Gilyak in two diametrically opposed trends.

The permissive norms, which give both men and women such an extensive legitimate freedom in sexual relations, naturally must have given rise to general sexual laxity. In fact, the virtues of chastity, sexual moderation, and conjugal
[837] fidelity are unknown to the Gilyak. Among married women, and then as a rare exception, one still finds individuals who are more or less faithful to their husbands; among men, by the admission of the Gilyak themselves, even such *exceptions*
831 are not encountered. In the society of the most respected
521 individuals, tales of the most piquant romantic /183/ adventures are recounted with relish. An extensive amorous experience does not stain the reputation of a gentleman (urdla n'ig:yvyn) at all. In my presence, and that of a gathering of the most honored elders, a young Gilyak, Laruk, to the accompaniment of general noisy approval and merry laughter, related his numerous romantic exploits, about how, by the way, in one settlement he had engendered no less than 20
831 children... Such an attitude of respected people toward the sexual laxity of youngsters is only possible in a society where

/183 cont./

● 831 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
831 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
861 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
831 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
* 835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
848 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1) the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden categories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
831 child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
574 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an unmarried ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) is a most desirable guest in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "ymg:i" (son-in-
831 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
562 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
834 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
* [835] (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of the class pu), and for this reason they always affect an appearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
831 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
834 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And, on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example, reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tuvn, and especially sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the most distant agnate male and female cousins. During

cont./

Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described ore definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that second husband must always be either a brother or a close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been ob-

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

d among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, ver, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian m, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim o fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the nian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been .

XI.

Sexual Life

The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves pitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual alism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor. principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital y, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant n the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake t hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, els, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any al dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very ly developed.

/247 cont./

000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
481 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
574 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/248 cont./

836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women go for several days to places very distant from the villages after berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, however, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gynd --
[196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also applied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings: "to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the local youth, and the women already have their local admirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them. Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous reception always awaits him.

/249 cont./

It is difficult to depict in general terms the picture of the
831 sexual morals among the Gilyak. First of all, one must
832 differentiate between the married ones and the bachelors.
597 The former, when at home in their own settlements, are
more concerned with guarding their wives from alien intruders
than with undertaking extramarital flirtations. Only when
journeying or when visiting in other settlements do they
avidly give free play to their sexual instincts. On the other
hand, the married women are surrounded with so many
temptations from their group husbands and strangers that they
violate conjugal fidelity at every convenient opportunity,
the more so since far from all many for love or persons of
their own age, and they eagerly make up for this with ex-
tramarital flirtations. From the Gilyak point of view on
decorum, however, these flirtations do not represent anything
abnormal, since for the most part they take place between
group husbands and wives. One way or another, the palm
of primacy, as concerns excesses among grand-people,
must go to the women. "Among men," say the Gilyak,
"you will find a good person 'one-one,' among the women
you will not find a single one."

Genuine excesses of licentiousness take place among
836 the /250/ unmarried youth. Here are possible such extrava-
535 gances as the instance I recounted above of the Gilyak woman,
Pigumkun, who before her marriage was intimate with
14 lovers at one time, including her future husband. Or
another example, which I borrow from the Gilyak epos. The
hero comes to the home of a certain oldster to seek his
daughter in marriage. His future father-in-law says to
him: "Thy wife lives over there in a little yurt. People
used to come to see her, they all copulated with her, after
that she lost her legs." And the bridegroom does not become
upset at all. "All right," he says, "I'll go ahead and carry
her off," apparently seeing nothing remarkable in this.

/250 cont./

Such instances must not be regarded as a general
831 phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened
192 sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors
are also acting. Among the married women, such factors
are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both
married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and
bashfulness. In general, however, sexual dissolutenes plays
no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an eco-
nomic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily
the Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or,
if they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both
[826] in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp
reproaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for
laziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And
[842] furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages
831 to dissolutenes. But the saddest of all is the influence of
158 dissolutenes on the psychics. A whole series of nervous
disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myrechnik among
both men and women, and diseases connected with the full
[584] loss of psychic composure (self-control /given in-English/)
are the result of dissolutenes, which furthermore, among
women, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm
of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the
appearance of hysteria.

Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom
831 described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role
192 in the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term
for love, /of-ŋmud/, denotes both love and love in
general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term
for reciprocal love -- /ofmud/, for marriage for love,
/ofmudkly, vayvul/. There are also some other terms for
love, for example, /ŋyad and ohlem/, but there are no special
terms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although
[533] /251/ one can say /ofmula ŋgyvyn/, i.e., "man whom they
love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate
each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/251 cont./

words signifying "my man, my woman," - /ŋ'ax'mych,
831 ŋ'ax'sh/. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage
[192] of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This
view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down
on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's
nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time,
let me be!")

Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
831 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
582 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considera-
575 tions, since during the period of passion the young people
neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In
general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the
sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[584] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter
or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer,
but is even forbidden to summon the girl to a duel, and he
may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the
amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural
phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the
confidante of the amorous women of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly
address their mother, sharing with her their amorous suffer-
ings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved.
Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
835 going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
762 the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In
such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
575 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an
advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/251 cont./

childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an
831 unloved man. Such cases are encountered often.
584

In its content, love among the Gilyak does not differ in
831 any way from love in civilized society. Coarse sexuality is
completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive peo-
ple we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the
tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil love's
sorrow to the stormiest outbursts of heroic passion, which
neither halts before any obstacle /252/ nor shrinks before a
manly resolution to part with one's life.

These psychics of the Gilyak are very well reflected in
831 love songs, especially in the songs of women.
523

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and
delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching
images and forms. "Night and day do I think of thee...
As on my own mother do I gaze... I'd thou leavest me, only
of thee shall I think, where thou didst walk, there shall I
walk. From the well whence we both did drink, thy dark
shadow shall I drink. As of many trees the tallest one doth
most greatly please, so of all men art thou most beautiful
and best. O, take me with thee, I would be the wallet and
flint that hang from thy belt. I shall be the bottom of thy
boat, with thee would I be. My left tear flows and falls like
a tin, like calf of my right leg falls my, it has become im-
movable, wholly dry have I become, my legs do not move" --
with such expressions, taken at random from various Gilyak
songs, a woman expresses her love. But it is noteworthy
that the same sentiments and notes sound in the songs of the
men, and the references to left and right tears pattering
like rain, to the knee, the same grief over separation, the
same sweet dreams of reunion, are just as frequent. One
finds such emotional expressions as "I have loved thee wholly,
all of thee"... Only rarely does clumsy vulgar (from our
point of view) crudity creep in, for example, "Of a fat
thigh the joint (the galven) spinŋ(wichen), that is how I
like it." But never any cynicism.

/252 cont./

The importance of the role of love in the life of the
831 Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not
835 every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone
knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in
Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their
assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other, at
place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to
meet, they send each other songs, composed at her, through
a third person. Special terms have even been made up for
such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
831 be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
835 love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the
762 solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment
842 are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is
presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary
motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the child-
hood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a
831 woman is violently carried away. In such case suicides
835 frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary
762 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save
584 herself from the unloved husband, but, in the event
of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such chara-
teristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was
given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from
her husband, her father, who demanded her return by force,
tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him.
Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and
utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force.
Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself.
[847] There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from
her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
831 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action.
835 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
584 the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the
[582] husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

/253 cont./

instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo.
831 The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at
835 this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time
his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man.
He slew his competitor, which he was arrested and
taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the
widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another
man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off
for the village of his beloved. The young man, on his part, he
stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of
modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed
in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with peo-
ple, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present
that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by
the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with
her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew
for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers
835 in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solu-
762 tion. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily
584 in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang them-
selves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives,
they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the
world beyond the grave, and they shed tender tears over their love.
Some of these songs have come down to us in the following
way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the
man, breaks loose after this vows the desire to repeat
the attempt. It is he who seeks for potentry /254/ his
835 dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has
762 become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago.
584 A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of
her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a
long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she
535 began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible
to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging.
When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave

/254 cont./

835 the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, which
762 he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged
584 himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the mo-
535 ment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its
entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the first
[537] lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy
bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyvo (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earringe hung up on
the wall."

832 The Gilyak employ magic means against unequited love.
[825] One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which
they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or
they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress.
But there are also other means that are not so harmless and
lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these
drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days,
dies. I knew two persons, somewhat familiar, who used to
sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of
them.

Among the Gilyak, as in our country, there are timid in-
831 dividuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration
582 of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old-
women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present.
Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries,
ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, correspond-
ing to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.
832 There remain to be discussed only what the stimuli of love
are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the at-
traction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the
aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The
word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the
[537] term poch utland, literally -- "of a good face."

/374 cont./

562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortu-
nate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[247] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she
[584] lives in the house of her husband and children, she participa-
tes in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife
and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[745] to show exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate
her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourn-
ing they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an
occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself
out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[578] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her
husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of
misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance
and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her
without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father,
and true protection; they will return the bride price and take her
back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of
[584] polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors
among the Gilyak /275/ frequently without special reason, such
as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the de-
sire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the
Gilyak to provoke himself with two or three wives, whom he gradu-
ally acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlement closest to
the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as
Arkyvyo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.
This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Rus-
[577] sians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the
husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite
wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in
the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the
Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow them-
selves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

831 code of civilization. In their actions the Gilyak are no less
hivolous, from our point of view. Despite the vengeful jealousy
of husbands, the sins of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on
the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal
to cohabit (tme, not openly) with individuals of those categories
of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already
stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I
shall add that the Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic
propensities which not only impel young people to make long
journeys for a rendezvous with their beloved, but further drive
them into unreasonable enterprises, such as the abduction of a
woman by force of arms.

594 The structure of the Gilyak family. One often encounters large
complex families in which the aged father lives in a common
household with all his children and their children. The master's
brothers who are either incapacitated for work or do not possess
equipment of their own frequently enter into the composition of
the family. Not infrequently the family accepts the orphans of
their clansmen, especially orphans left without a mother at an
early age. It sometimes happens that the mother-in-law lives with
her son-in-law and son-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
594 cially when the latter have no sons. We shall note special peculi-
ties in the make-up of the family farther on; for the present we
shall say that the normal composition of the family, its frame-
work, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
593 ones pass into the clan of the husband). In the relations of the
549 members of the family among themselves there is nothing resem-
bling the patriarchal relations of, for example, the old Roman
family. /376/ the sons show respect for the father, but the latter
does not wield over them that power which is known under the
appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from
the family of the father and live in separate households. Living
with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
[428] The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers; and,
on the contrary, the youngest sons, as those who live with the
father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of
inheritance.

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's anĝej is lo-
*835 cated between the sleeping-bunks; in the living-room -- somewhere
outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in
the yurt; in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
*835 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The
821 married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their
hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they con-
tinually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
*835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[521] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants them-
selves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the
relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty
of sinning, and, moreover, no matter who, and especially
the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But
the demands of non-publicity, established in the interests
of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing
possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the
publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the
publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
have been unanimously formulated in legal theory, which have
come to be common property (the formulas themselves are
given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their
wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider
their obligation to impart to their children with unusual
solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group
spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but
address each other with nothe other than the tender words "my
dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity
[614] of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of
the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage.
In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the
group wives (not the wife of an older brother) steps out
on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
*835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 noteathat during the negotiations between the pu and the
584

*835 anĝej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through
the same symbolic actions that people go through during the
betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat
[195] together. To say to a woman of the anĝej category, "Let us
have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to
exercise her marital right.

832 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said,
*835 is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known
6 836 to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons con-
cerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute
a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely
important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside
of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a com-
pletely alien woman -- although at the present time this does
not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes,
as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the
forniators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at least a cruel
duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for be-
lieving that intercourse with female strangers was even once
under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom,
by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who
is not bound to a man by clan relationship tries to seduce
him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a
symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes
without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is
obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand
publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

[714] 1. I personally happened to be a
[629] witness to such a ceremony of
ransom. It was in the settlement
of Tamlevo. One of my traveling
companions, a Gilyak already
middle-aged, once woke me early
in the morning and with anxiety
asked me to go with him to "court"
in the neighboring yurt. There I
found a large assembly of the
masters of the settlement. My

complaint against a local woman,
who the evening before had seized
him by the leg, on the grounds
of which he was demanding
"ransom." They summoned the
culprit. She confessed and by the
decision of the assembly she was
obliged to hand over publicly to
her accuser an adjudged ransom,
namely, a puppy and a birch-
bark dish. Why the fine was limited
to such insignificant objects (it
they were not merely symbols of
especially female labor) I explain
only by the fact that the guilty
woman was entirely alone and did
not possess anything more valuable.

834 /171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak
*835 are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous
[194] opportunities for sexual intercourse, even with women, pass
[159] by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom
as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien women
was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarded
is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this
meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen,
punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and in-
evitable banishment. There can hardly be even any question
of a causal passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as
the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the
persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons
of forbidden categories has become converted into that same
instinct which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or
*835 own sister. All the more powerfully is the right to sexual
intercourse between the categories of pu and anĝej realized.
In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in the

amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
*835 is not a person having an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
834 the appearance of a stranger man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions
of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility,
concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about
her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man
at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has
made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very
quickly: The man follows her to the well, or to the berry
patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then,
after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke to-
gether a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)."
or "Let's have tea, dear," the matter is settled very simply.
Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved
and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Some-
times the business is consummated without words, limiting
itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing
the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff,
the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the
symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the
wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a
joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /conferareatio/.
[585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the
Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North
America, for example among the Lilloost Indians, according
to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such issues in alien villages is practiced not only by
839 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my
companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gilbel'ka, who en-
joyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of
his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in
the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his
young companions about the pretty women of the settlement,
and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

835 the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, and
834 he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged
[427] himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the mo-
[532] ment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its
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word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the
term pochi urland, literally -- "of a good face."

/254 cont./

832 826 609 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Pilsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhrà -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

832 826 533 In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree," luxuriant hair (a braid reaching to the waist, hair made sleek), gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side, smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size (his trunk is an arm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

832 291 533 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 577 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ivukh'a, i.e., respected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer, Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the [867] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
517 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij -- in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/335 cont./

372 782 of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Urgur n'ira, nekhlang kun k:kholaf khavryr hunivaguja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kel'nung ankh --" the bitch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe: one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

776 342 The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house -- four chkhnaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men. Tavyzing tugur yzing. This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.

[688] If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyz'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

832 Means for love. There is medicine to make another person [825] fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies), or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

/335 cont./

832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

843 /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
846 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr) of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the corner.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire, chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being unclean -- akilaf pach:kyt -- and becomes sik urland pornyng -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

843 For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
845 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
789 must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise she
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846]
[171]

1. Among the Orok a woman is in the balagan only during childbirth; then for ten days they cook for her on a separate fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing to lose their strength.

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

833

833 SEXUAL INTERCOURSE--sexual initiation (e.g., age and circumstances of first intercourse for each sex, preferred partner); defloration; times and places considered appropriate for coitus; degree of interest and enjoyment ascribed to and manifested by each sex; initiative in copulation; degree of elaboration of preliminary sex play; preferred, variant, and tabooed postures; accompanying behavior (e.g., biting, urination); frequency and duration of coitus; occurrence of female orgasm; artificial means of augmenting sensation; behavior after coitus (e.g., sexual hygiene); psychic difficulties in coitus; impotence and frigidity (e.g., prevalence, explanation, prevention, treatment); etc. See also:

Defloration rites at marriage 585
Regulation of intercourse under polygamy . . . 596
Contraception 842
Sex training of children 864

/168 cont./
83 or wife that she share her bed with a guest who is her pu, as
happens among people within part of Sakhalin, Ussurism.
Likewise a public display of sexual intimacy is not allowed.
No one permits himself to lie down under one covering with his
group an'g:ej in the common yurt, even with a preliminary
agreement. Moreover, even between individual spouses /169/
832 openness of sexual relations is not allowed (1). Intercourse
835
[191]

1. The avoidance of public caresses between individual spouses is not an exclusive peculiarity of the Gilyak. According to the testimony of Radlov /Radloff/, the Altatan in public does not allow himself even a joke with his wife in the presence of strangers, while at the same time the broadest freedom in relations between the sexes prevails among these peoples. -- Radloff, Aus Sibirien /From Siberia/, 1, 314.

may not take place publicly or before the eyes of the individual spouse concerned (2). If the act takes place at night in

[191]

2. Compare the similar phenomenon among the Tibetans. -- Westermarck, The Origin of Marriage, p. 141.

the yurt where there are also strangers sleeping, then each one lies down separately, and only when all have gone to sleep does the man or woman (both sides alike take the initiative, but women more rarely) move over to the bed of his group spouse, who may accept or reject the attention if there has not been any preliminary agreement. In summer the affair most frequently takes place in the open air; in the

/169 cont./
● 832 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
* 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere
outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in
the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
* 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
822 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The
married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their
hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they con-
tinually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
* 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[321] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants them-
selves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the
relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty
of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially
the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But
these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests
of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing
possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the
publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the
publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[847] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are
given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their
wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider
their obligation to impart to their children with religious
solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group
spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but
address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[964] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity
of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of
the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage.
In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the
group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out
on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
* 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
835 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
584

/257 cont./
147 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
824 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He con-
siders the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with
pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as
an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases
among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the
Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attain-
[302] ing sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden
who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait
her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual
maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period,
which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.
881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained
sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen
her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where
the can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who
[302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to
the mustache.

Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life
and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos con-
881 nected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,
847 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
585 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before
● 833 its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls from
the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not
begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of
the onset of the first menstruation.

/322 cont./
756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
704 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
704 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
578 of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these
islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone
tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the
abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and
Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron
fleut, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
559 Aykovikoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell
sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans
are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!"
The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night;
if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live."
That is what happened.
756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth,
and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
584 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
253 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-cholch. A
253 feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
253 away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
● 833 attacks.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
756 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
558 She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth
with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her
tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings
and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows...
The sound grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

834

834 GENERAL SEX RESTRICTIONS--sexual modesty and decorum; ideas of proper behavior between the sexes; sex taboos observed on particular occasions (e.g., before or during ceremonies, war, hunting, or special industrial activities); miscellaneous sex restrictions; etc.

Effect of sexual repression on personality 833
Regulation of sex relations between classes, castes, and ethnic groups 835
Sex behavior and taboos at menstruation and during pregnancy 84
Exploitation 188
Modesty in dress 824
Modesty about elimination 816
Modesty in bathing 818
Sex taboos 83
Etiquette 670
Informal communication 688
Sex regulation under polygamy 686
Avoidance and joking relationships 692
Punishable sex offenses 684
Trial taboos 794
Anecdotes 795
Sex taboos during lactation 832
Training of children in modesty 864

See also:

* 835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
822 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
822 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
[361] brothers. Among the settlement of Ai-Tokotan, the southern-
most Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by
such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there
only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak
companions maue not a few jokes about him, but he was in-
vulnerable -- his wife was of an age when women are well
* 835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
● 834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an ob-
servance of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when
an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds
of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her
sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and com-
pletely disregards her obligations to her individual husband.
In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to
move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[160] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles
* 835 a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
578 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences.
Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a
great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy.
I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I
happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski,
but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A
certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to
me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual
success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too
openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[662] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[556] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all.
Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in
debt to everybody, lighthearded, and undistinguished by any

831 /183 cont./
group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
831 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
861 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on
account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
831 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
* 835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
848 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1)
the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden cate-
gories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
831 child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
574 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of
several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-
in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their
disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose
this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an
unmarried vmg:i (son-in-law /syat'/) is a most desirable guest
in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "vmg:i" (son-in-
831 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
832 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
● 834 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
* [835] (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of
the class pu), and for this reason they always affect an ap-
pearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
831 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
834 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be
the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to
their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And,
on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example,
reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tuvn, and especially
sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is
observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown
to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions
on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither
physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable
basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
[illegible] closest agnate male and female cousins. During

/247 cont./
amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
836 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
837 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brown knit, and hardly answers the questions
of the man. But this is only extent a inaccessibility,
concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about
her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man
at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has
made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very
quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry
patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then,
after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke to-
gether (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)."
or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply.
Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved
and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Some-
times the business is consummated without words, limiting
itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breast, seizing
the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff,
the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the
symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the
wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a
joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/.
[585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of
the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North
America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according
to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
837 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my
companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who en-
joyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of
his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in
the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his
young companions about the pretty women of the settlement,
and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

/294 cont./
834 One may not sleep with a woman when nooses and traps
are being set, i.e., during the narkhund, and also during a bear
festival and when a man has died.

III.

342 The Building of a House and Rites and Ideas Connected
with the House

[787] A flint and some sweetbrier are placed under the post. The
sweetbrier guards against the milk, while the flint is there so that
there will be no hole in the wood, and then the milk (evil spirit)
cannot come through. The door is toward the east.

When a new yurt is finished, a festival is held. They make
an inin chihnaj (chihnaj ef (?) ekhling; Ady-Tymi) in the
shape of a human face on each of four posts (nas'ki khar) of the
house, and, for the sturdiness of the house, inau are tied to the
cross rafters (nas'ki). Then they kill a dog, tie it to the nas'ki
khar closest to the door, and rub the chhknaj with the blood of its
[782] heart. The meat of the dog is boiled. Mos' is made, and the
chhknajinau, the holgelnar'kh, or (in Arkyvo) the lymymmam,
and the nich are fed. Three small fats are then placed in the
hearth and tied up with two saranka -- bound with puchka (akhz);
for some reason these bindings are called "little bear." After
this, mos' wrapped in inau is put in three places under the ground.
At night when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn
the fats and say a prayer.

370 In the fire nearest the exit is the tugur-mam, and beyond
787 the fire the old man tugur-vchih. The tugur, the master of the
fire, is fed with all sorts of viands; they throw them into the fire
and say: "Urgur inj, urlantaf mujši" (i.e., "eat well, be a good
house!"). Next they feed each /335/ corner, repeating: "Urlan
tugur mujšiik urlaf parkjš, hiulan taf mujš ta chos'khejš" -- "be
a good fire, do everything well, be a house that brings luck in
the hunt, do not get broken!" (it is understood that the old woman

/638 cont./
834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
570 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other
and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with
them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure,
such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

[18] 2. N. Buse, Otr. Sakhalin" I Eksped.
1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Ex-
pedition of 1853-54/, St. Peterb., 1872,
pp. 55, 56, 70.

[37] shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
[33] unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
[348] most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
[347] been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother incites out
corporal punishment on her daughter, while the father tries
to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child
is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum-
stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

832 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
542 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
[58] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory
course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband
jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving
her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband,
if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her
parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a re-
fund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a
friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about
them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what
I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have
already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which
people live together does not permit such delicacy; however
the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers.
Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the
open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of mem-
bers of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in
urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard
against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had
some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was
taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawn-
ing and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not
make much genuflection, but do it largely when they are
forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the
Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of
course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the
Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating
expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vasrda-
Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the
streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has
deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can
be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about.
In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent
that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably
partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they
want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they
love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen
that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

846 given birth to a child does not leave her place, the
hut; only during the most severe spells of frosty
weather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in
case she herself is the housewife. If she is not the
housewife she cannot expect to be taken into the house
846 by another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women
776 in confinement who were left to themselves in the hut
are attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these
spirits out of the "house of birth", in which one of the
most important and mysterious natural events takes
place, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the
hut designed to banish the evil spirits. But this
convenient and easy way of protection is not always
sufficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming
hurriedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who
was compelled to do all the work in the narrow and
disgusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood,
had, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's head.
On another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a
Gilyak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire
when she had started a fire in order to warm her
chilled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur
as frequently as one should expect is due to the
admirable strength of character and fortitude of the
Gilyak woman who, even worn out and sick, never
loses her presence of mind and her ability to work.
It is the might of her powerful love which, in such
moments, increases her will power and her fortitude
to a degree unknown and incomprehensible to men.

847 Unmarried Gilyak women, fearing the disgrace
163 which they would have to suffer, sometimes effect
artificial miscarriages; they use the same means
which are said to cause natural miscarriages. But
their skill in committing abortion is not great, for
there are many cases of infanticide.

Once in a while it happens that a Gilyak woman
gives birth to a dead child; but that happens so
infrequently that it could not be shown a single woman
to whom that had happened.

834 The Gilyak very much dislike talking about sexual
864 matters and about facts connected with them. That
is probably the reason why the appearance of a new
member of the family is explained to children in such

834 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded.
864 If the baby was born in the summer, the children are
told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree
or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends to
have found it in the snow.

845 Twin births.

163 No tribe on Sakhalin island has reported the birth
of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why
there are no legends about such an event either.

Not infrequently twin births take place among the
natives. They contend that in each one of these cases
both children are of the same sex. I personally came
to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were
between forty and forty-five years old. In regions
rather well known to me there occurred three twin
births in a population of more than 300 persons
within a decade, but all three twins died immediately
after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five month
old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of
845 mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote
539 down are twins of different sex mentioned. The
776 brother is in love with his sister and, in this song,
asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he
will die.

The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is
the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-
ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now
benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak
Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-

1. I was, however, given another
explanation by a Gilyak: one of the
twins is said to be an offspring of
the mountains, the other one an
offspring of the sea.

rookh, should be given back to his father right away.
But, not being certain which of the children is not an
offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them
both equally.

845 It is a custom among the Gilyak of the Gilyak to
766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed to

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

835

835 KINSHIP REGULATION OF SEX--incest taboos (e.g., between primary rela-
tives, bilateral and unilinear extensions); patterned exceptions to primary in-
cest taboos (e.g., ceremonial and dynastic incest); violations of incest taboos
(e.g., incidence, circumstances, notions of physical and social results, treat-
ment of offspring); privileged and tolerated sex relations between kinsmen (e.g.,
between cross-cousins, between siblings-in-law), etc. See also:

Exogamous rules . . . . . 11 Permitted marriages between kinsmen 685
Regulation of marriage . . . . . 648 Punishments for incest 684
Fictitious and honorary marriages 649

1: Shternberg

835

/For information on "group marriage," the right to s
of the pu and angtej classes, see category 116, pp. 251-

RX2 Gilyak RX2

exual intercourse between members
275, and 329-345./

/31 cont. /

periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in the language of geology, to different formations. It sufficient to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak this is regarded as incest.

At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation, and marriage is exogamous.

One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by families, each living in relation to its own particular interests. Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband, wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses. When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal. Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

/32 cont. /

601 In particular, among many primitive tribes, the Gilyak calls not only his own wife, but also the wives of his elder brothers of all degrees of kinship, as well as all the sisters of his wife of all degrees of kinship, his wife (an'gej), while they, in turn, call him their husband (pu, ivn). Their children call one another brothers and sisters (tym, ngl). In addition the Gilyak calls all his female cousins on his mother's side /32/(the daughters of the brothers of his own mother and of the brothers of all the women born he calls ymk -- mother) his wives from the time of their birth. The Gilyak calls not only his own mother, but also all the wives of the brothers of his father, own and agnate, as well as the sisters of these women, mother (ymk), while they call him their son. Consistent with this, he calls not only his own father, but also the brothers of his father, his father (ytk), while in certain clans the term father is applied to all elder and younger brothers (own and agnate) of the father, and in others (among most of the Sakhalin Gilyak) -- only to the brothers younger than the father. The children of brothers in relationship to the latter are considered sons and daughters. Seemingly even stranger is the rule by which women call their husband's brothers' wives sister, while men call their father-in-law's sisters mother. A European bears with astonishment a small Gilyak boy call the wife of his elder brother an'gej (wife), while she calls him -- little husband (ychikh, pu, ivn), or as the Gilyak very often says "I shall go to see my fathers and mothers," i.e., the brothers of his father or the sisters of his mother, but after long observation one becomes so accustomed to this strange phenomenon that he begins to consider it completely natural. In spite of the view expressed in recent times that a classificatory system of kinship represents only the nomenclature of ages, I can testify after long years of observation that among the Gilyak this nomenclature, based on a strict calculation of degrees of kinship, fully corresponds to their norms of sexual intercourse. Age plays no role: frequently very old men and young adolescents are included in one and the same category. All persons bound together by the names an'gej and pu (husband and wife) actually have conjugal rights to one another, i.e., they not only have the right to enter into regular marriages with each other or to have sexual intercourse before entering into a

/32 cont. /

601 regular marriage, but preserve the rights to sexual intercourse
835 even when the individuals of these categories are joined in an individual marriage, being joined in a legitimate, as it were, individual marriage, the wife at the same time enjoys the right privately, i.e., in the absence of her husband, to have intercourse with persons of the group of men whom she calls pu, ivn (husband). Most often, of course, this right is exercised by the brothers of her husband, his own or of further degrees of kinship, living with him in the same village, but even men who have newly arrived, without any strange strangers passing through the settlement by chance, if they regard themselves, even by the most distant kinship, as "pu" of the given woman, freely /33/ exercise this right, with, of course, the consent of the woman. During my travels over Sakhalin, my companions from the western shore, appearing with me in a distant settlement on the eastern shore of the island, in which neither they nor their fathers had ever been, but in which, according to their geological information, there lived a woman of the an'gej category, freely exercised their rights, when the husband was not in the yurt, of course. This phenomenon is completely identical with what is said about the Eurasian koski and kumiti, who will find a martial bed everywhere, even at the farthest points of their territory, on the condition that the husands are kumi and the beautiful strangers are koski.

171 835 In character, these norms of sexual intercourse most closely resemble the same such norms in the Australian Dieri tribe, among whom the two kinds of sexual intercourse mentioned are clearly registered by the terms nou and pirauri (1). Among them each

[113] 1. "Australian Group Relations." by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute. 1885). pp. 12 f.

woman is joined in individual, legitimate marriage to a single man, and the spouses call each other nou; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage with a whole category of men.

/33 cont. /

835 who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of
171 the tribe. With regard to this group, the laws of the tribe were vague. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the Hawaiian Islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of Gilyak marriage.

The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly expressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever, causing only some irritation and to some degree shaming the seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

835 In my travels I observed seven cases of the regular cohabitation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a Gilyak from the village of Tangivu, Gibel'ka, the richest and most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations between the latter and the wife of his elder brother were no secret to anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical tenderness and enjoyed equal tendernes from the latter, and, when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melancholy would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never saw even a trace of bad feelings between the brothers.

/34 cont. /

835 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so
839 earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to them, and asked in almazement: "Could it be that among you, among the Russians, it is not so? You mean one could live with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well, that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at me.

Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even
835 the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of
152 permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind of active form, and, if it does, it is only in the form of a light irritation, and in some cases a jeering remark to the husband, because, on the other hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees. And, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[836] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? If we ask the Gilyak about the reasons for the marital rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from
835 the clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for
835 all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives
of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization: a type which

/35 cont. /

because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak, their migrations, depopulations, immigrations, and other such reasons, naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and lose its former simplicity.

A key to the discovery of this original type is the same kinship nomenclature, which, without doubt, is a living reflection
835 of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded.

First of all, it is clear that the kinship nomenclature according to which 1. a man, call the sisters of my father-in-law mother (ymk), while the wives of his brothers, at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers, both own and agnate, call one another sister, can develop only under circumstances in which all my clansmen take their wives exclusively from one community, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women-sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then, in fact, the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and, consequently, my mother, while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system, marriages between persons of ascending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is eloquently answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature by which I and my clansmen of my generation, i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call from birth our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives, and conversely, they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came, i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers, is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives, and furthermore, as I have already said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan, but to exchange women, i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /37/ clan takes wives, is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont. /

my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ancestresses were the wives of the ancestors of the clan of my father. In the kinship terminology this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the daughter of the sister of my father (an'gej), but simply nayikh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but ytk, akhmal'n. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan, reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not, however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indicated by me
532 which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up to the present day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak, not yet known to European literature in detail, I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh unge genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives from the clan of your mother." P'fand'ukh the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial

[1] 1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh
is interesting: it is composed of pi (ones
own, yours), pandf (kinsmen of the mother),
and ukh (from). The word pandf is from
pandynd -- "to be born."

[835] wisdom. Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinted an old prohibition on the marriage of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder brothers, for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom sexual intercourse is permitted). Indeed, the favorite form of marriage among the Gilyak has never been the exchange of a brother's own (preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the father. On the other hand, marriage with a

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171 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further the
582 strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia. where a
835 great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly de-
clares which men and women of the tribe have the right to
group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and difficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonial questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive man have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear that there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the decisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the individual person and became the function of a competent institution of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why among many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a single totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women coming
614 in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a single totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutandis, every kumi and kroki among the Australians finds his wife throughout the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he finds her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives and in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his wife.

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, where ascending and descending generations belong to different classes, and only in the third, among some -- in the fourth, or even in the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of the fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in details from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this strange phenomenon.

615 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity call
614 clan A -- Andreev, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepanov.
582 Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepanovs (of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not Andreeva

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* 614 7. One sin. Although the norms and customs of religion and
● 835 conduct are almost the same for the whole tribe, nevertheless
602 each clan has its own complex of obligations and prohibitions,
obligatory only for its own members. The first extensive
category of prohibitions relates to sexual norms. For the
members of each clan certain categories of women are prohibited for marriage and sexual relations, for example, all the women, without exception, born in the given clan, further, the wives of one's younger brothers, all women who are called ymk and ranr, all women who come from the clan of the "sons-in-law" /syat'ya/, etc., /107/ so that to know what women are prohibited for one or another person is enough for infallibly saying to which clan he belongs. In this category the prohibitions of speech may also apply. For the members of each clan there are certain classes of persons with whom it is prohibited to speak; such classes are the tuvn (brothers and sisters of all degrees of kinship), the achik
* 614 (mother and aunts of the wife), and others. A third category
688 of prohibitions deals with religious norms in the narrow sense. Each clan, as we have seen, has its own clan gods and sacrifices, its own sacred objects, its beliefs, and, consequently, its own ritual of the clan cult, common to all the clanmen but having no religious significance whatever for members of other clans. These numerous rites and objects of the cult demand the greatest respect. The whole clan, on whom is vented the wrath of the offended deities, answers and therefore each member of the clan is not only obliged himself to avoid infractions of his taboos, but to defend them against infraction by outsiders. For each such infraction it is necessary to exact tkhusind. Hence the customary difficulties with members of other clans over an accidental defiling of the enclosure of the hearth, over the taking of fire from the yurt, a bear bone dropped during the festival banquet, the infraction of the inviolability of all the appurtenances of the bear festival -- the posts to which the bears are tied, the poles with their heads, the storehouses for festival utensils and bear bones, etc.

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684 for the man, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all
this concerns only cases involving a married woman. Sexual
836 relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with
583 the permission of the woman, do not provoke any reaction,
even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwithstanding their extreme interest in the bride price which is received when a woman gets married; I, at least, did not happen
684 to hear of repressions in such cases. A reaction on the part
of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in a case of coercion;
582 then there is an impossibility of duels and suits for ransom. Also,
at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying
a person of this category, i.e., persons not bound by kinship.
● 835 It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the classificatory terms of kinship. Here there appears on the scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions. Here, against the violators of the prohibitions, there appears on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical imperative of religion, under the influence of which there have developed suitable instincts which have turned artificially created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell on this aspect of Gilyak psychics in more detail later, when we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the established class terminology, are mutually reckoned in the classes "pu" and "anŋrej," that is, /151/ who from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining classes are placed under unconditional prohibition.

835 What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the
614 extensive class of kakhal, i.e., the persons born into one
common agnatic clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely
exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are
no aliases that call each other "pu" and "anŋrej"; neither
marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

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● 835 And therefore we must come out in the most categorical
614 manner against the assertion of Schrenck that the Gilyak clan
114 is endogamous. "Affiliation to the clan," says Schrenck,
"does not play any role whatever in the most important
phenomenon of their life, namely, in marriage... the Gilyak
freely permit marriages between Gilyak of one and the same
kal'a (clan)" (1). Elsewhere he states even more definitely:

1. Schrenck, II, pp. 23, 24.

"only own brothers and sisters and the children of two own brothers cannot marry" (2). This absolutely false assertion

2. Ibid., p. 6.

would be completely incomprehensible coming from an investigator who had spent about two years in contact with the Gilyak, if it were not for the fact that Schrenck did not command the Gilyak language and had to make himself understood through a guide. On the basis of many years of association with the Gilyak, in their own language, and of an especially thorough study of marriage law, I can categorically refute this absolutely groundless and antiscientific assertion of Schrenck's; both marriage and sexual relations between persons born in one clan are absolutely forbidden.

835 We turn now to the particular classes, within as well as
outside of the clan, which are excluded from the right of
sexual relations and marriage.

Class of the ascending and descending lines. Classes whose members call each other atk, achik, ytk, ymk, nankh, and, conversely, ŋhie, i.e., the classes of grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, agnates and cognates, uncles and aunts -- on one hand, on the other -- their descendants. Thus, intercourse between ascending and descending lines is excluded not only in the direct, but also in the most distant collateral lines as well; sexual intercourse

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● 835 is not permitted either between uncles and nieces or between
aunts and nephews (and correspondingly in the classes of
their tuvn, both in the agnate and cognate line). But the
prohibition in these lines is not limited only to persons of
different sexes within these groups; it extends also to the
persons who are married /152/ to these individuals, and not
only to those actually married to them, but in general to all
those who reckon themselves the pu or anŋrej of one of these
persons according to the kinship nomenclature. Thus, for
example, if "I" am a man -- my uncle on my father's side
(ytk, pilang) not only cannot have sexual intercourse with my
wife, but not even with the most distant sister of my wife,
even if she is married to a man of an alien clan, because I
call her anŋrej -- wife, just as I am forbidden to have sexual
intercourse not only with the wife of my uncle on my father's
side, but also with the sister of his wife on the father's side,
even if she is married to a man of an alien clan, because
she is ymk -- mother to me.

But the prohibitions in these groups go still further. From the kinship terminology we know that in the ascending line of a man are reckoned, in addition to the aforementioned categories, the sisters of the father of the wife and their husbands (they are my "mothers" and "fathers"), the father of my wife himself and his wife, and their brothers and sisters (tuvn) and all their ascending line (they are my "uncles" and "aunts"). All these persons are also prohibited, according to their sex, to their "son-in-law" /syat'/ and his "wife" and to the classes of their brothers and sisters (tuvn), as are actual grandfathers and fathers, grandmothers and mothers, and uncles and aunts to their direct or collateral descendants.

But one must not think that the above-mentioned prohibitions between ascending and descending individuals constitute prohibitions between factually different generations. Not at all. The distinction in generations is purely a nominal one; under the classificatory system, when the same terms, ytk, ymk, atk -- father, mother, grandfather, are equally

/152 cont./

● 835 applied both to individuals of an actually ascending generation (to own father, mother) and to their brothers and sisters,
the significance not only of generations, but of ages completely disappears. The brother or sister of the father may be
younger than the speaker, although they consider themselves
mother and father in relation to the latter, and nevertheless
the prohibitions are equally effective by virtue of the kinship
classification alone.

Class of tuvn. It consists of two groups -- of 1) the group of the descendants of agnate brothers and male cousins, and 2) the group of the descendants of agnate sisters and female cousins.

Within each separate group in all generations, neither sexual intercourse nor marriage are permissible, which is in complete accord with the kinship nomenclature, since in neither of these groups are there individuals designating each other as pu and anŋrej; they are all tuvn.

I noted only one deviation with respect to the descendants of sisters, /153/ and that only among certain clans, namely, if sisters are married to individuals alien to each other, the prohibitions are in effect only in the first two generations. But this is a purely local deviation, induced by the extreme inconvenience of the prohibition under conditions of an extreme lack of women. In general the prohibition is strictly observed both among the descendants of brothers and among the descendants of sisters. This prohibition, which is reinforced by a taboo and which seems to us unnatural, has become among the Gilyak an instinctive feeling -- namely, one of prohibition against mutually looking at each other and of conversing (see below). To what degree the prohibitions
● 825 within this group have gone into flesh and blood, even in
the most remote degrees of kinship, even in relation to persons
whom they call "tylgund-tuvn" (agnate male cousin), transformed by tradition in their thinking into natural phenomena
of nature, we may see by their attitude toward the infraction
of this prohibition among their sole domestic animal -- the

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835 825 dog. Among dogs, according to the belief of the Gilyak, brother and sister do not copulate. Exceptions are very rare, and they are attributed to the evil doing of a milk'a (evil spirit). Therefore, when a Gilyak notes such a case of incest, he is obliged to kill the dog; otherwise the sin falls on him.

[782] It is true that the slaying takes place as a religious ritual, by means of a ceremony of strangling, and blood is sprinkled to all four quarters of the compass in sacrifice, but for the dogs this is a punishment for incest. It is curious, however, that incest between ascending and descending lines (son and mother, and so forth) among dogs is tolerated by the Gilyak, and they do not kill the criminals (is it not due to utilitarian considerations, since begetters are valued very highly by them?).

835 Cognate male and female cousins. Here, of course, only cognate male and female cousins, i.e., the children of a brother and sister, can be in question, inasmuch as the children of brothers, on the one hand, and the children of sisters, on the other, are considered tuvn, and we have already discussed the complete prohibition within each of these groups. From the kinship nomenclature we know that the terms used in reference to each other by cousins depend on whether the male or female cousin whom they are addressing or of whom they are speaking is the son or daughter of the brother of the mother, or of the sister of the father, namely: if "I" am a man, then I call the daughter of the brother of my mother an'g:ej (wife), and, conversely, she calls me pu (husband), but my sister calls the son of the brother of my mother akhmalk, navkh (father-in-law, husband of the wife's sister), and, conversely, he calls her n'ern -- wife's sister, i.e., terms which have nothing in common with matrimonial terms; and these terms correspond perfectly /154/ to reality. Sexual relations and marriage between the daughter of a sister and the son of her brother (and correspondingly between their tuvn) are not permitted; on the other hand, marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is not only permissible, but is considered a regular phenomenon. And in this case, as in all others, the terms brother and sister are

/154 cont./

835 class terms, i.e., the norms in force between the children of a brother and sister extend to the children of brothers and sisters in the most distant degrees of kinship and relationship by marriage. Thus, an exchange marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, as is practiced, for example, among the Tungus peoples, is not permitted; sons have rights to the daughters of the brother, but the sons of the brother are prohibited for the daughters of the sister, and this is true for all classes of tuvn. This norm, which seems of specialized im-

[614] portance and affects only brothers and sisters, plays an enormous role in the norms regulating the sexual relations between entire clans, as we shall see in the next section.

835 614 It is especially surprising that the aforementioned prohibitions which regulate the relations between the children of brother and sister are extended not only to the class of their children -- cousins, but also to both clans in their entirety. The rights and prohibitions which bind together the children of a brother and of his sister and their cousins extend to all the generations of both clans; namely, in each generation, as we have seen in the foregoing section, all the men of the class of tuvn in the clan of the sister and all the women -- tuvn in the clan of the brother call each other reciprocally from birth pu and an'g:ej, and they, in fact, have the right to sexual intercourse and marriage. But the men from the clan of the brother and the women from the clan of the sister are absolutely prohibited for each other in all generations and call each other nanakh (elder sister) if she is in an ascending generation, and n'ern if in the same generation, while the women call these men akhmalk. Thus, the women from the clan of the married sister are prohibited for the entire clan of her brother. It is still more surprising that these norms extend to the clans of the son-in-law /zyat'/ and father-in-law in general, even though the fathers of the spouses are completely alien; it is enough for one member from clan A, let us say, to marry a woman from clan B, even though this woman and the members of her clan are completely alien to

/154 cont./

835 614 clan A, and the relations established between these two clans are the same as if the father-in-law of the given man were the brother of his mother: the whole class of "sisters" (tuvn) in each generation of the clan of the father-in-law are the wives of the "brothers" (tuvn) of the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/, and, conversely, the wives of the latter are prohibited for the former.

/155/ The kinship nomenclature corresponds completely to these norms; atk, akhmalk -- designate the mother's brother and the father-in-law in general, ymg:i designates the son-in-law /zyat'/ in general and the sister's son or even any male of the sister's clan. This norm leads to very complicated consequences. It very often happens that separate members of one or another clan, A, we shall say, have taken wives from several different clans and in turn have given their women to several different clans, and at once in relation to all these clans those same prohibitions that we had in the first case when there were only two clans concerned, become valid for clan A, i.e., the women of clan A are forbidden to all the clans from which its members have taken their wives, and, conversely, the women of all clans whose members have taken wives from A are forbidden to clan A. This inconvenient regulation is aggravated still more by the following limitation. Clan B, let us suppose, from which my clan, A, takes women, in turn takes wives from clan C, and at once this clan C, having become the akhmalk of clan B becomes also the akhmalk of my clan, A, and therefore wives from my clan are forbidden not only to clan B, my immediate akhmalk, but also to clan C, which, as we have seen, is called, in contradistinction to the first, "tujma akhmalk" -- (distant father-in-law), and on the Amur -- tun'g:i akhmalk. But this phenomenon also has its converse side. If the quantity of prohibited clans for this or that clan increases proportionately as the number of clans which take women from it increases, nevertheless, on the other hand, as its members begin to take wives from various clans, the number of permitted

/155 cont./

835 614 women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-law, because in each of these clans there is a whole new class of wives -- an'g:ej. Nevertheless, the extension of [178] [61] prohibitions to clans of akhmalk'i of the most remote degree has naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely understandable constraints, leading to some limitations of the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the present time do not go back further than the clans of akhmalk of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the second generation, and, if an acquired woman dies childless, then even in the second generation the limitations fall away.

835 The class of jokh. Finally, one more class prohibited to men, called jokh, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we know that a man gives this name to two completely different classes of women, namely, on the one hand, to the class of wives of his og:la (descending line), and, on the other hand, to the class of wives /156/ of his as'kh, i.e., of his younger brothers (tuvn), and sisters of these wives. As concerns the first class, we have already noted its prohibited character in examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending generations and the wives of those of descending ones. The prohibited character of the second category is not so absolute. From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the wife of the elder tuvn various forms of designation are practiced [184] in various places. In several places on the Amur, on the coast of the mainland, and on the northwestern coast of Sakhalin (if "I" am a male) one and the same appellation (an'g:ej -- wife) is used for wives of the younger as well as of the older brother, and in such places sexual intercourse is permitted with all wives of brothers. But this arrangement is not the dominant one; the dominant arrangement must be considered that of designating the wife of the elder tuvn as an'g:ej, i.e., the same name that one gives to one's own wife,

/156 cont./

835 and of designating the wife of the younger tuvn by the prohibitory term jokh; and, correspondingly, sexual relations between a man and the wife of his younger brother are not permitted. Notwithstanding the dominance of this norm at the present time, originally both the terminology and the norms of intercourse were apparently identical with respect to all the wives of brothers without distinction. Evidence of this is not only the fact that in certain places, as we have seen, this arrangement still prevails, but also certain features of the terminology which have been retained even in those places where the new order is dominant. Thus, for example, children everywhere without distinction call the wives of all the brothers of their father ymk, i.e., by the same term that they apply to their own mother, and (in many places) kill the brothers of the father yrk (father), from which we must conclude that formerly the sexual rights of men extended to the wives of all brothers without distinction.

The norms of lawful sexual intercourse. From the kinship nomenclature we know that whole groups of men call whole groups of women their wives, and vice versa, i.e., the latter call them their husbands. This strange nomenclature fully corresponds to actuality; in the language of our own European nomenclature, such groups of men and women are joined in marriage.

121 58 But before entering into a detailed examination of these relationships, strange from a contemporary point of view, it is necessary, in order to avoid misunderstanding, to analyze precisely the meaning of the term "marriage."

In the institution of marriage there are three main features: 1) sexual intercourse, 2) begetting offspring, and 3) common /157/ domestic activity. It is completely clear that the intrinsically indispensable element in marriage is only the first, namely, sexual intercourse; the other two features, although they, too, play an enormous role in the marital union, may be completely absent. There are marriages which, on account of natural or artificial causes, are

/161 cont./

581 587 721 intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually are also considered the children of all the members of the group.

835 Now the Gilyak marriage classes "pu" and "an'g:ej" become understandable to us, and we shall proceed to a detailed examination of them.

The classes "pu" and "an'g:ej." We have already said that for the Gilyak, at least at the present time, it is not prohibited either by religion or by the opinion of society to have sexual relations with or to marry any woman of his own tribe or a neighboring one, except for those women who are bound to him by one or another prohibitive term of kinship. But in relation to such alien women he has no rights whatever; illicit sexual intercourse is accompanied by the risk of bloody reaction on the part of a certain group of males, and individual marriage is a simple civil agreement accompanied by strict conditions of payment for the bride. The Gilyak most naturally therefore seeks sexual intercourse or a legal wife among the women with whom he has the right to do so. These are, namely, those women whom by the kinship [601] nomenclature, either from birth or from another specifically defined moment, he calls an'g:ej (wife), and he calls all their agnates akhmalk'i (fathers-in-law). We already know [602] who these women are. They are, first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all aki, i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking, without distinctions of age (in certain places).

[601] Each woman, in turn, as we know, gives the name of husband, in addition to her own official husband, to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands; 3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband (if she is married to one of them), and among some -- all the brothers of her husband.

/161 cont./

835 [601] All these categories of "wives" and "husbands" are far from nominal /162/ categories. Behind these class terms (pu and an'g:ej) there are hidden two important real rights: 1) the right to individual marriage; 2) the right to sexual intercourse (group marriage).

Let us examine each of these rights in particular.

The right to individual marriage. Above all, the categories pu and an'g:ej are bound by the right to marry, in other words, out of the whole circle of persons bound together by kinship terms, only these alone have the right to join in individual marriage with each other; all the other categories of kinship groups are prohibited from marrying each other. But this right is not exhausted by the merely negative feature -- the absence of a prohibition on matrimonial ties. Certainly in the eyes of the Gilyak the mnemonic significance of these terms is of great importance in itself, for in view of the extreme complexity of kinship relations a firm knowledge of the marriageable classes is the only guarantee against violations of the very strict taboos on marriage in the prohibited degrees of kinship. Nevertheless the mnemonic-permissive significance of these terms does not at all exhaust their legal content. Prohibitions against marriage, as we have seen, are absent also among persons who are complete strangers to each other in the kinship relation, and nevertheless, for persons of these categories to call each other pu and an'g:ej before marriage is not tolerated. The right to individual marriage between persons in the pu and an'g:ej categories is not a naked nudum jus; this right, which is simultaneously an obligation, is a debt for both parties concerned. This obligation is seen first of all in the category of "brothers" and their individual wives, who are, as we know, joined mutually in the relationship of pu and an'g:ej. By the general rule the [587] [614] widows of "brothers" (own and collateral) cannot leave the clan, and they become, according to the disposition of the clansmen, the wives of the brothers who have survived their husbands, completely independently of the wishes of these brothers; none of them can decline the widow assigned to him.

/162 cont./

587 835 [614] In those clans where the "older brothers" are excluded from the class "pu" with respect to the wives of "younger brothers," the widows are ordinarily assigned to one of the "younger brothers" of the deceased, but here also, in the absence of "younger brothers," one of the "older brothers" is obliged to accept the widow, without the right, however, to sexual intercourse with her.

But the typical aspect of the marriage-rights relations between the pu and an'g:ej is not concealed in this extremely common institution of the levirate, about which /163/ we must speak in detail. The levirate marriage is a more or less exceptional phenomenon and embraces only one insignificant class of this category. The most characteristic aspect 835 of the rights-obligations of marriage between pu and an'g:ej lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-known to us from the kinship terminology, in other words, in the conditions of the normal marriage. This right-obligation character of marriage between pu and an'g:ej has, it is true, been considerably shaken under the influence of causes about which we shall speak further on -- the Gilyak do take wives outside of the aforementioned categories, but these marriage unions do not represent the favored, characteristic form of even the contemporary marriage. On the contrary, both the contemporary customs and the ancient epos equally indicate that precisely between these classes of pu and an'g:ej marriage was obligatory and the most satisfactory of all from the 835 specific point of view of the Gilyak. In order to show how 538 imperative this consciousness of the obligation of marriage between persons of the classes pu and an'g:ej is, it will be sufficient to introduce one example from a story I recorded. In this story, they tell about a battle between a young Gilyak and a mysterious werewolf-shaman. The fight ends with the werewolf's receiving a mortal wound and returning to his yurt. On his deathbed he remembers that he is a distant akhmalk of his slayer, that is, a member of that clan from which the clan of the killer has the right to take wives, and of the very category of persons of that clan whose daughters

/163 cont./
835 are the an'g:ej of the slayer. Then he immediately orders the
538 killer to be summoned to his house, that is, the man against whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was unpremeditated, the man whom it was the greatest sin to allow into his house; and in the presence of the assembled members of the clan he solemnly declares: "Although this man has killed me, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." Such is the force of the ancient categorical imperative of marriages between the categories of pu and an'g:ej. This imperative is also active nowadays.

Let us return for a moment to the kinship terminology.
601 We shall make a full analysis of this terminology in connec-
582 tion with the laws of marriage later on. For our purposes
614 now it is necessary to remember the following facts: 1) the wives of clansmen, according to their generations, call each other either older or younger "sisters" or "aunts" and "nieces"; 2) all the agnate kin of the wife are considered, according to generation, the "fathers-in-law" of all the clansmen of this /164/ man; 3) the man calls the sister of his "father-in-law" his "mother," and he calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife (an'g:ej). Judging from this, 1) the wives of all the members of each given clan must be taken from one clan, and, consequently, in each generation they are sisters (own and collateral); 2) the clan of these women, for each individual man, is the clan of his mother, and the wife of each individual man, must be the daughter of his mother's brother. This we see in actuality, notwithstanding all the deviations of modern times, the causes of which will be made clear later.
614 The ideal of the clansmen is to have women from one clan,
582 from one clan of common akhmalk'i; if this turns out to be impossible and it is necessary to turn to still another clan, then once again it is preferably to that clan which is already the akhmalk of the given clan, that is, that clan from which the individual clansmen, fathers and grandfathers, at an earlier date took their wives for some reason or other. Under these conditions, for each individual person the most favored

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* 194 /194 cont./
582 relationship of pu and an'g:ej toward each other (1).
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● 835

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 52).

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* 194 2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons
582 of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women
581 for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

/195 cont./
191 Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession;
* 194 the wife first sleeps with one brother (the oldest), then moves
581 over to another. As for the children, either they are not dis-
582 tinguished at all according to fathers, or, as in the case of
595 the Toda tribe, the first child is regarded as the offspring of the oldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

* 194 3. The same situation in a new variant: the first
581 brother has reached marriageable age before the second.
582 The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his
● 835 father /sic/ as his individual wife, but then the younger brother comes of marriageable age. The elder brother remains the individual spouse, but the second brother enjoys conjugal rights, by the rights of a group spouse. Then another daughter of the brother grows up to be of marriageable age. She naturally becomes the individual spouse of the second brother, but the elder brother obtains the same group rights to the wife /196/ of the younger brother as the latter once enjoyed with respect to the wife of the elder brother.

191 4. At a given moment a brother has several adult
* 194 daughters, while the sister as yet has only one adult son.
581 The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of the
582 sister of the brother /sic/. Thus it is at the present time
595 among the majority of American Indian tribes, where a man who has married the oldest daughter is for that reason obliged to take as wives all of her sisters. But now another brother grows up. One of the wives is yielded up to him as his individual wife, the rest remaining with the elder brother as the most well-to-do, who is better able to support several wives than the brother who is just beginning to earn his livelihood. The latter, naturally, is rightfully the group husband of all the wives of the elder brother; the converse right of the elder brother is not so indisputable.

* 194 An analogous development takes place if the elder brother-
581 polygamist has several brothers who gradually grow up; then
582 each one of them will obtain his own individual wife, but
835 at the same time each of the younger brothers will have

/196 cont./
* 194 group rights to the wives of his elder brothers, who in their
581 time enjoyed his wives. In the majority of cases, therefore,
582 we see that only younger brothers enjoy group rights to the
● 835 wives of the elder brothers.

5. Thus far, we have taken the simplest combinations -- one brother and one sister. Where there are several brothers and several sisters, the consequences will be similar, but will assume a more complex form. If there were always the same number of sisters and brothers, and if each brother and sister had a corresponding number of female and male offspring, then each pair of brothers and sisters could form a closed marriage group, but actually such cases can only be rare exceptions. Ordinarily, on the contrary, the number of brothers and sisters is not equal, and an even distribution of the sexes in their offspring is even less possible. Let us take several examples. Several brothers have one sister; the brothers have several daughters, the sister several sons. This time it is not only own sisters, but also first cousins who are the group wives of the brothers. Or: there are several brothers and several sisters, but the distribution of the sexes is such that there are not enough own sisters for the own brothers, whereupon the group union will be composed not only of own brothers and sisters, but of male and female first cousins as well.

Finally, women did not always have brothers, and the latter did not always have daughters, and then, naturally, it was necessary /197/ to resort to the daughters of first and second cousins. In a word, into a marriage group of the offspring of a brother and sister are inevitably drawn, on the one hand, all the collateral brothers up to the most distant degrees, and, on the other -- the collateral sisters, and thus there is established group marriage between own and collateral brothers, on the one hand, and own and collateral sisters on the other -- the typical punalua family in its purest form.

Gi /237 cont./
114 I shall proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are pre-
835 dominant on the Amur and spread out to the north up to the shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these nationalities have been studied by me principally among the most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochi, and I had an opportunity to compare and supplement this information with the data collected among other peoples of the Amur region.

G. Gi 601 In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life
835 as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationalities
171 differ considerably from the Gilyak, settled fishermen and
433 dog-breeders, nevertheless we find a great deal essentially similar in their classificatory system and norms of marriage.

G. Gi 614 As among the Gilyak, the clan is based on paternity /pa-
601 terniteta/. In each generation of a given clan, the men and
835 women are elder and younger brothers and sisters. The children of these classes are common sons and daughters and brothers and sisters to one another. The clansmen-"brothers," own and collateral, live in a group marriage with their wives, just as among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect, i.e., the younger with the wives of the elder. Here, as among the Gilyak, they prefer to take wives from a single clan, from which one may conclude that again, as among the Gilyak, that marriage from a single clan was once obligatory.

Group marriage also exists with the wife's sisters who are
Gi 601 married to members of another clan, but, by analogy with
835 the brothers' wives, among some tribes this marriage includes only the younger sisters of the wife. In two respects group
G. [601 marriage among the Tungus tribes is much broader than
835] among the Gilyak. First of all, each man has a right not only to the wives of his elder brothers, but also to the wives of the younger brothers of his father, whom he therefore calls by the same class term as his elder brothers, namely,
Gi [582 aki, a'ga. On the other hand, marriage to the daughters of
the younger sisters is allowed and thus that category of nieces is drawn into the circle of the class of group wives. It is

Gi /237 cont./ It is
601 easy to see that the first norm is a simple consequence of the
835 second, since a daughter of a sister of one's father is one's
582 cousin. In this last norm, the Tungus system resembles the
174 Koryak one, where, according to the testimony of Iokhel'son
[171] /Jochelson/, marriage with a niece -- a daughter of one's sister -- is also permitted. In still another peculiarity the Tungus marriage brings to mind the Koryak one: both do not
Gi [587 permit a person to marry /238/ his wife's sister while the wife
171] is still alive. One peculiarity of the Tungus marriage is especially characteristic and testifies to the origin of this system from the earliest stage of cousin marriage. This peculiarity consists in the fact that the favorite form of marriage up to the present is the exchange of sisters with the wife's brother. Since, at the same time, the most preferred marriages are the marriages with clansmen, and, consequently, of fathers and children -- from one common clan, as a result the majority of marriages are typical cross-cousin marriages. Taking into account the fact that at the present time the Tungus marriage system is in a stage of the decay of its primitive forms, we have the right to conclude that in the past cross-cousin marriage was the only form of marriage, which gave birth to the classificatory system and to the features of group marriage.

Gi In conclusion, it is interesting to note concerning the
171 Tungus peoples that among some of them, for example, the
608 southern Orochi, there is the institution of ceremonial brother-
835 hood, as among the Chukchee, and that the "brothers" --
G [835 anda -- mutually enjoy the right to sexual intercourse with each other's wives. As among the Gilyak, marriages between the children of brothers, just as between the children of sisters, are prohibited.

Y We proceed to the Paleo-Asiatic tribe of the Yukagir,
601 which has been studied by Iokhel'son. Iokhel'son himself
835 refrains from passing judgment on the place occupied by
121 Yukagir marriage in the general evolution of this institution, but the data cited by him provide us with sufficient material to put the Yukagir system within the scope of the Morgan

A Erman (3) relates the same, but he does
595 /244 cont./
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3. A. Erman, "Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen /Ethnographic Observations/," Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Vol. III, 1871, pp. 162-163, Berlin.

not indicate either the kinship relations between the common husbands or their relationship in the case of the marriage of the second participant. But this in no way allows us to conclude that marriage among the Aleut is confined
G to the details related above. As we have already stated
835 earlier, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described Gilyak mar-
[595 riage in the same terms as Veniaminov used to describe
171] that of the Aleut, whereas we have seen that the Gilyak have the typical group marriage. The description of group marriage as given by Veniaminov and Rinso is quite natural for non-specialist observers, for with group marriage one is most easily struck by that case in which the second husband is not individually married himself, as it is described in Gilyak fairy tales: "two brothers maintained one wife." A non-specialist, however, generally leaves unnoticed group marriages which include several married men. One can therefore say with a great degree of assurance -- especially if one takes into consideration data about the preferred marriage to cousins -- that the polyandry of the Aleut that Veniaminov tells us about was in reality a form of group marriage. In confirmation of my hypothesis I shall permit myself to cite the following example from the life of the Toda, a tribe that lives in the Nilgiri Hills.

The old writer Marshall describes marriage among the Toda in the following way (4):

4. W. E. Marshall, A phrenologist among the Todas, London, 1873, p. 213.

"If a husband has brothers or very close kinsmen who all live together, each one of them may, with the consent

/251 cont./
831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych,
[192] n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
882 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
593 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[584 father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous sufferings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
[835 going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
762] the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
593 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

/253 cont./

831 instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo.
58 The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at
159 this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man. He slew his competitor, after which he was arrested and taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people, and by his appearance struck such fear into those present that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

835 The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers
762 in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solu-
831 tion. The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily
533 in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives, they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the world beyond the grave, where no one shall hinder their love. Some of these songs have come down to us in the following way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity /254/ his dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has
835 become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago.
762 A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of
831 her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a
533 long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she
538 began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging. When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave all

/254 cont./

835 the goods that he had brought back, relea
831 he was fattening up for a feast, from its c
762 himself. The song which the unhappy gir
533 ment of parting has been preserved. We
538 entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we
[539] lines: "Take me with thee, the board of
bark will I become... Now one must thin

1. The world beyond the gra

That you may remember me, keep the e
the wall."

832 The Gilyak employ magic means ag
[825] One of these means is the dried-up brain
they mix with tobacco and offer to the gi
they surreptitiously sew the feather of a c
But there are also other means that are n
lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted th
drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and,
dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russ
sell such drugs for a high price, and seve
them.

832 Among the Gilyak, as in our country,
584 dividuals who cannot bring themselves to
of love in person. In such cases the inte
women, who, for this, must be given "te
Sometimes they send some present throug
ordinarily cloth, in which they tie severa
ing to the number of days until the admir

832 There remains to be discussed only w
are for the Gilyak, what individual traits
traction of the beloved. First of all, of c
aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facia
word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language
term poch urland, literally -- "of a goo

sed his bear, which
age, and hanged
l sang at the mo-
present it in its
e quote only the first
the bottom of thy
k only about Mlyvo (1).

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arrings hung up on

ainst unrequited love.
of the cuckoo, which
rl to smoke. Or
uckoo to her dress.
ot so harmless and

ese potions, these
after a few days,
ified, who used to
al women died of

there are timid in-
make a declaration
rmediaries are old
a" -- a present.
h these intermediaries,
l knots, correspond-
er will pay his visit.
hat the stimuli of love
comprise the at-
ourse, there is the
l beauty. The
s expressed by the
d face."

/352 cont./

601 [171] but among them it has long since ceased to correspond to reality among the Gilyak, however, although the terminology does not fully correspond to reality, it does so all but fully. Even now, 601 835 every Gilyak has marital rights (it is not considered a sin) to the wives of his brothers of all degrees of kinship and to all the siste of his wife. Only the elder brother is deprived of this right with regard to the wives of his younger brothers. This limitation is o recent origin, and its very existence seems to emphasize the legality of the collective marital rights of the younger brothers to the wives of their elder brothers and to all the sisters of their wives. Even at the present time these rights are not always exercised by the Gilyak, and in many cases it is not without displeasure and even forcible protests that the interested parties look upon the realization of these rights, as we shall eventually see; but legally, so to speak, they exist, the realization of thes rights is not considered adultery, is not punishable, and often is even carried on openly with the consent of the brothers and of th 601 husbands of the wife's sisters. Thus, the contemporary individua 835 form of marriage is a new phenomenon among the Gilyak, and t 171 powerful remnants of the old /353/ order of clan marriage pre- [198] served up to the present make it similar to the famous so-called "Punalua family," which still existed in the first half of our century on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) where, as among the Gilyak, such mutual rights to the wives of brothers and to the wife's sisters existed without limitations. And, what is still mor remarkable, just as the husbands of sisters and the wives of brothers in the Punalua family called one another punalua (companion, one's half, comrade, friend) -- the word which gave the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these categories of people call one another "navkh" (the word signifyin literally what punalua means among the inhabitants of the Sandw Islands). Such, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different parts of the world and separated by oceans.

"The Gilyaks are not an incontinent race, and compare very favourably with the ssian population of Sakhalin. Of course there are individual exceptions, especially w [263] that the pressing poverty prevents larger numbers of adult males having ir own establishments. Yungkin, our 'captain,' had told us the very evening of our rival at Nivo that he was going ashore to steal a wife for the night. We asked him if husband would not object. 'Oh, perhaps. Yes; he may slap her, but I shall give him me tobacco.' It is said that in earlier times cousins (ru-er) had the juridic right of lective use of cousins, and even of the sisters of cousins, and possibly some faint nembrance of this, sanctions the more indiscriminate connexion of later days."

844 When the woman in labor goes to the place made
291 ready for her, she is clad in old soiled clothes. If the weather is cool she takes more clothes along. The only distinction in clothing worn during labor is that the woman in labor takes off the trousers, a garment that Gilyak women wear in summer and winter.

844 Usually an older woman who herself has gone
● 835 through several childbirths helps the woman in labor. If [757] such a midwife, called lanaven szauk, is not at hand the husband of the woman in labor can take her place; but under no circumstances may another male member of the family take this place, not even the younger brother of the husband, although, according to the customs of the Gilyak he has a right to the wife of his older brother and considers himself in a way her husband and certainly the second father of the child.

844 The Birth.

753 During the delivery the woman in labor sits and does not stretch her legs. The seat is erected at the same height as the bed in the yurt, that is about half a yard above the floor. During the whole period of delivery the woman in labor is supposed to keep quiet, not to strike out in pain, not to try to get up, not to lean over to one side or the other. If, during a hard delivery, the woman is not able to stay in the prescribed attitude by herself and starts writhing in pain, it is the duty of the midwife or husband to hold her up at her shoulders in order to prevent her from making the forbidden movements. The Gilyak believe that women who try to get up during the delivery contract a disease which causes a deformation of the spine. Once I was even shown a young woman who had become a cripple because she had not stayed quiet while in labor. Her spine was really deformed or, as the Gilyak say, broken (naski is' onkrynd). She was not able to walk and died a few years later.

845 If the labor pains last too long and the woman suffers too badly, a piece of clothing is moved back and forth in front of her face and somebody blows down from above on the part in her hair.

836

836 PREMARITAL SEX RELATIONS--presence or absence of a standard of chastity for the unmarried; variations in the standard (e.g., by sex, by class status); basis of the standard (e.g., material or ethical considerations); prevalence of premarital liaisons; degree of social approval or disapproval; seduction; assignations; permanency and exclusiveness of premarital unions; reciprocal behavior of lovers; incidence of rivalry and jealousy; termination of liaisons; evidence as to infertility of premarital unions; etc. See also:

Fertility, contraception, abortion, infanticide, and illegitimacy 84
Trial marriage 583
Courtship and behavior during betrothal . . . 584
Identification of chastity 831
Sex training 864
Adolescent activities 883

/150 cont./

684 for the man, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all
● 836 this concerns only cases involving a married woman. Sexual
583 relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with the permission of the woman, do not provoke any reaction, even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwithstanding their extreme interest in the bride price which is received when a woman gets married; I, at least, did not happen
584 to hear of repressions in such cases. A reaction on the part
of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in a case of coercion;
582 then there is the possibility of duels and suits for ransom. Also, at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying a person of this category, i.e., persons not bound by kinship.
835 It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the classificatory terms of kinship. Here there appears on the scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions. Here, against the violators of the prohibitions, there appears on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical imperative of religion, under the influence of which there have developed suitable instincts which have turned artificially created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell on this aspect of Gilyak psychics in more detail later, when we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons who, according to the established class terminology, are mutually reckoned in the classes "pu" and "an̄g:ej," that is, /151/ who from birth call each other "husband" and "wife," have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter into matrimony. All the remaining classes are placed under unconditional prohibition.

835 What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the
614 extensive class of k:khal, i.e., the persons born into one common agnatic clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are no classes that call each other "pu" and "an̄g:ej"; neither marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

/171 cont./

* 835 same words with which authors describe the relations between "kumi" and "kroki" in Australia; throughout the whole extent of his territory, wherever the Gilyak finds his an̄g:ej, there he also finds a conjugal bed. For this, it is only necessary that the Gilyak remember the kinship terms. I had many chances to convince myself of this during the time of my travels on Sakhalin. Again and again I appeared with my Gilyak companions in settlements where neither they nor their fathers had ever been before. Nevertheless, after the exchange of a few sentences the bonds of kinship were revealed, and from their first encounter pu and an̄g:ej who were formerly unknown to each other engaged in mimic negotiations about a fleeting conjugality.

* 835 Among the categories of women with whom the Gilyak
● 836 has a legitimate opportunity for sexual intercourse, it is neces-
848 sary to distinguish the unmarried from the married. Maidens, even among the Gilyak, are more restricted in their sexual relations than the married women. The prospect of pregnancy
614 and bearing children does not appeal to the Gilyak maiden;
851 the birth of a child by an unknown father, according to the clan views of the Gilyak, is a dangerous business solely from the fact that the sexual, marital, and clan rights, and even more the religious rights, determined by the father are completely uncertain, and this can lead to violations of taboos, which the Gilyak fears most of all. Therefore, a pregnant maiden is subjected to severe reproaches on the part of her father, who demands either that she name the seducer, or the destruction of the fetus, or the killing of the newborn infant. However hard the moral position of individual women is in such cases, in practice the business /172/ is much simpler. In the first place, many women, as we have seen, are married from childhood on, and the others never sit for very long; there are so few women that every girl is already married by the
* 835 time seductions become dangerous for them. Finally, those
836 who are not married and freely indulge in sexual intercourse with men extremely rarely have an affair with just their

/172 cont./
835 sweetheart, and, thanks to this polyandrous practice, they
836 hardly ever run the risk of pregnancy. As to what proportions
these polyandrous habits of intercourse among maidens reach,
it will be sufficient to offer an example intimately known to
me. The wife of my friend Pigunayka from the settlement of
Arkyvo, a likable woman and a splendid housekeeper and
mother of children, before her marriage had in her home vil-
lage alone 14 sweethearts at one time, who called each other,
and she likewise called them, navkh, akhmalk -- comrade,
fellow participator (it is curious that navkh literally means the
very same thing as punalua in Hawaiian and well-known punalua
family). Furthermore, Pigunayka's wife's sexual intercourse
with her sweethearts quite often took place at one time. Her
"husbands" told me quite good-naturedly how all 15 of them
used to get together in a little clearing not far from the
settlement, and one after the other they would exercise their
rights. The most curious thing of all is that in this merry band
was Pigunayka himself, who is now the happy husband of the
602 heroine. Under such circumstances, it is natural that the Gilyak
835 youth in many respects feels much more at home and at ease
836 among his maiden an'gej than he does among his married
an'gej, access to whom is surrounded with great difficulties
in view of the preferential rights to them of their individual
husbands. And, naturally, he is attracted thither most of all.
But he does not find these maidens in his own clan, even
among the most distant of his tuvn. With them he not only does
not have a right to have sexual intercourse, but he does not
even dare to converse with them. In his own clan, he has
only the married women for sexual intercourse. In fact, maiden
(617) an'gej very rarely live in the same settlement as their pu.
The daughters of his mother's brother, the sisters of his brothers'
wives, the daughters of his akhmalk, in other words, the clan
of his "fathers-in-law" -- there is where all his sympathies
602 draw the Gilyak youth. In the yurts of his akhmalk'i nothing
is hidden to him; here he is met with open arms, for, as we

/172 cont./
602 know, an ymgıl is the closest person to an akhmalk and to his
wife. An ymgıl is a preferred hunting companion summer
and winter. He is the dearest guest; they serve the most
delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a
special reason. With their classmen-brothers the akhmalk'i
/173/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the
ymgıl is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make
merry to their hearts' content. And in such surroundings there
836 are dozens of maidens -- his an'gej, with whom he may
openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents
itself, have sexual intercourse.
835 Now we shall turn to the relations of the pu with their
602 married an'gej.
(184) From the kinship terminology we know that a man's
married an'gej include, first of all, the individual wives of
his "brothers" (tuvn), which, among the Gilyak speaking the
western dialect, refers to all tuvn, while among the Gilyak
speaking the eastern dialect -- only to the elder; further --
all the married "sisters" of his own wife; finally, the
married sisters of the wives of his tuvn -- a huge category,
including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the
835 territory of Gilyak settlement. Concerning the last two
groups -- the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers'
wives -- one must make the following reservation: usually,
in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak marriage,
the sisters marry persons of the class tuvn alone, so that with
regard to the sisters of the wife and the sisters of the brothers'
wives a general rule concerning the wives of "brothers"
operates. But, aside from the traditional tribal norms,
it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the
sister of one's own wife is married to a completely alien
man, or even to someone who is an accidental akhmalk (1).

(582) 1. An accidental akhmalk is what I
(214) call a man from a clan from which
one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

/247 cont./
602 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
157 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
227 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
(618) war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
578 were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
(463) motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
154 sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset
of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to
women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to get married. The bachelor youth is
not content with the women to whom they have rights in their
own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to
whom they have rights by law. The only category of women
before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
454 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
831 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but
find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most
eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-
law" -- akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey
(192) even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering
me their assistance without compensation for many weeks,
and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic
adventures, since this was no easy matter. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for all news,
834 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival.
574 Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
(203) after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed
to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his
news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity,
and has already managed to let his glance fall on some
woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his
amatory experience and art.

/247 cont./
amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
836 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
832 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
(834) the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions
of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility,
concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about
her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man
at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has
made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very
quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry
patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then,
after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke to-
gether a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe),"
or "Let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply.
Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved
and at night creeps over to her couch, or vice versa. Some-
times the business is consummated without words, limiting
itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing
the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff,
the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the
symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the
wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a
(196) kind of imitation of the rite of a conferratio /conferreatio/.
(585) The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
171 figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the
Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North
America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according
to the testimony of Boas and Teit.
836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
839 the unmarried youth, but also the mature, middle-aged
574 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my
companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who en-
joyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of
his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in
the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his
young companions about the pretty women of the settlement,
and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

/248 cont./
836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
839 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not,
it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young
companions, but only because the competition was already
too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as
revolvers among the young men.
839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the
use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of
instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women
go for several days to places very distant from the villages after
berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless
women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily,
have been quite ready to resort to using force. Violence, how-
ever, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers
which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made
closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all
romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle
of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gymd --
(196) "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also ap-
plied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings:
"to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."
484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
831 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new
arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the
local youth, and the women already have their local ad-
mirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are
required to win, in any success on alien soil. I managed
to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good
and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There
are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even
among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them.
Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the
women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements
of his akhmalk'i, where, as we have seen, a most joyous
reception always awaits him.

/249 cont./
It is difficult to depict in general terms the picture of the
836 sexual morals among the Gilyak. First of all, one must
831 differentiate between the married ones and the bachelors.
597 The former, when at home in their own settlements, are
more concerned with guarding their wives from alien intruders
than with undertaking extramarital flirtations. Only when
journeying or when visiting in other settlements do they
avidly give free play to their sexual instincts. On the other
hand, the married women are surrounded with so many
temptations from their group husbands and strangers that they
836 violate conjugal fidelity at every convenient opportunity,
839 the more so since far from all marry for love or persons of
847 their own age, and they eagerly make up for this with ex-
847 tramarital flirtations. From the Gilyak point of view on
decorum, however, these flirtations do not represent anything
abnormal, since for the most part they take place between
group husbands and wives. One way or another, the palm
of primacy, as concerns excesses among married people,
must go to the women. "Among men," say the Gilyak,
"you will find a good person 'one-one,' among the women
you will not find a single one."
Genuine excesses of licentiousness take place among
836 the /250/ unmarried youth. Here are possible such extrava-
831 gances as the instance I recounted above of the Gilyak woman,
538 Pigunajka, who before her marriage was having affairs with
14 lovers at one time, including her future husband. Or
another example, which I borrow from the Gilyak epos. The
hero comes to the home of a certain oldster to seek his
586 daughter in marriage. His future father-in-law says to
him: "Thy wife lives over there in a little yurt. People
used to come to see her, they all copulated with her, after
that she lost her legs." And the bridegroom does not become
upset at all. "All right," he says, "I'll go ahead and carry
her off," apparently seeing nothing remarkable in this.

/638 cont./
834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
574 relatively decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other
and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with
them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure,
such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other
(115)
2. N. Buse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped.
1853-55 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Ex-
pedition of 1853-54/, St. Peterb., 1872,
pp. 55, 56, 70.

836 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
839 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
847 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
847 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
the Gilyak, i. such a case the girl's mother metes out
corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries
to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
(562) secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child
is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum-
stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.
Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
839 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
847 of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory
(581) course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband
jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving
her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband,
if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her
parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a re-
fund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a
friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

/648 cont./

567 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A
567 Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has,
595 will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more
192 because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (lawful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryss-umgu (female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper understanding of his marital situation.

567 As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a
•[836] female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will
[851] never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother and likewise, as kryghryss, becomes the property of her owner, who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up,
[848] sells it as kryghryss. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case
[847] happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not unhappily permits a marriage between his male and female kryghryss; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children they might have will be his kryghryss and, as such, can be
[563] turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

837

837 EXTRAMARITAL SEX RELATIONS--presence or absence of an ideal of marital fidelity; cultural definition of adultery (e.g., applying to both spouses, to wife only); allegations of promiscuity; incidence of adultery for both sexes; prevention (e.g., cloistering of women, chastity belts); initiation and conduct of adulterous liaisons; cicisbeism; keeping of mistresses; culturally sanctioned extramarital relations (e.g., wife lending, sexual hospitality); etc. See also:

Prostitution	548	Ceremonial license	786
Concubinage	595	Privileged sex relationships	838
Punishment of adultery	684	Illegitimacy	848

1; Shternberg--219 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

*601 /147/ The terms of kinship in a figurative sense. It is curious
602 how the kinship terms are reflected in the terms used between persons who are not married to each other -- sweethearts. It seems that terms are often transferred into this area from the
[197] matrimonial terminology. Thus a woman calls her sweetheart
[184] o'kono (husband, in the western dialect), az'mych (man, husband, in the eastern dialect), ivn (groom), navkh (from the terminology of the group of father-in-law and son-in-law
•[837] /zyat'/). It is very interesting that the unrelated wives of "brothers," and, jokingly, men who have an extramarital relationship with the same women, sometimes call each other by this last term, as well as by the term akhmalk, while the terms navkh and akhmalk in practical life have taken on the meaning of "comrade" or "participant in a common affair." Thus, the term "navkh" by its meaning in these cases entirely corresponds with the famous Hawaiian term punalua in the family group which takes its name from this term.

*601 As a result of our survey of the kinship termonology, we find among the Gilyak a typical classificatory system of kinship.

Summing up the terms for agnate and cognate kinship, we get the following scheme. (See following page.)

1; Shternberg--261 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/174 cont./

*835 In clans where a distinction is made between the wives of
614 younger and of older "brothers," this right was formulated for me still more boldly: "among clansmen, in one and the same clan everything is permitted ('good'), the wife of an older (brother) is my wife all the same." This undoubted and primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his tuvn is invariably exercised throughout all the Gilyak territory up to the present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before the eyes of the individual husband of the woman and, as far
*835 as possible, not publicly. The right of the individual spouse,
593 of course, is peremptory -- he can demand from his wife fulfillment of her marital and economic obligations and that she
[597] follow him through /175/ any change of dwelling. He has a formally exclusive right to the children that she bears, but quite often a Gilyak, if he has several children, considers it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless tuvn of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. But also the subsidiary right of a wife and her group husbands in the person of his "brothers" to sexual intercourse is just as indisputable. It is true, the group spouses must look for a suitable opportunity in order, in the absence of the individual spouse (during his sleep or outside the home), to enjoy their rights, but there are more than enough such opportunities. A man passes the greater part of his time away from home: either he is at the
[184] river catching fish, or he is away hunting for whole weeks at
[512] a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the
[222] women also absent themselves for whole days, going into the
*835 taiga for berries, roots, etc. Finally, intercourse is possible at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word, the exercise of the right of group marriage does not present any particular difficulties. The bachelor tuvn most of all
•[837] fully enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular passion for this or that group ang:ei, but outside of their settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/175 cont./

*835 wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights
●837 just as broadly as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between pu and an'g:ej is largely determined by the conditions of cohabitation.
*835 Under the conditions of living in different villages, the rela-
832 tions between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses know each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a pu or an'g:ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch the breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together," in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of winks alone.

*835 In a place where the individual bachelor pu and their
[593] wives, an'g:ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathies and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the woman from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her individual husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official
[595] spouse of this woman is considered to be only the oldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual spouse, but, with the tacit consent of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, not only to outsiders, but
[184] also to the children of the brothers-spouses. One encounters
[556] Such situations also in the richest and most respected families.

/182 cont./

*835 their mother and their father's brother; in exactly the same
171 way, by one and the same term, andri waka, the piruari designate their father, their mother's sister, and their father's brother's wife (ibid., Table IV). All the children of each noa are one another's brothers and sisters and they are all considered children of the piruari group to which this noa belongs (ibid., 19).

IV.

831 Moral and Psychic Consequences of the Sexual Norms

The peculiar norms of sexual relations described by us, broadly permissive on the one hand, strictly prohibitive on the other, are reflected in the morals and psychics of the Gilyak in two diametrically opposed trends.

The permissive norms, which give both men and women such an extensive legitimate freedom in sexual relations, naturally must have given rise to general sexual laxity. In fact, the virtues of chastity, sexual moderation, and conjugal
● [839] fidelity are unknown to the Gilyak. Among married women, and then as a rare exception, one still finds individuals who are more or less faithful to their husbands; among men, by the admission of the Gilyak themselves, even such exceptions
831 are not encountered. In the society of the most respected
521 individuals, tales of the most piquant romantic /183/ adventures are recounted with relish. An extensive amorous experience does not stain the reputation of a gentleman (urdla n'ig:yvyn) at all. In my presence, and that of a gathering of the most honored elders, a young Gilyak, Laruk, to the accompaniment of general noisy approval and merry laughter, related his numerous romantic exploits, about how, by the way, in one settlement he had engendered no less than 20
831 children... Such an attitude of respected people toward the sexual laxity of youngsters is only possible in a society where

/247 cont./

000 amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
836 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
832 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility, concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/.
[585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
● 837 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who enjoyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

/248 cont./

836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman wh
●837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, th use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the wo go for several days to places very distant from the villages a berries and sarana, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, how ever, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation s'ankh nan'gyn
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/249 cont./

831 It is difficult to depict in general terms the picture of the
839 sexual morals among the Gilyak. First of all, one must
577 differentiate between the married ones and the bachelors. The former, when at home in their own settlements, are more concerned with guarding their wives from alien intruders than with undertaking extramarital flirtations. Only when journeying or when visiting in other settlements do they avidly give free play to their sexual instincts. On the other hand, the married women are surrounded with so many temptations from their group husbands and strangers that they violate conjugal fidelity at every convenient opportunity, the more so since far from all marry for love or persons of their own age, and they eagerly make up for this with extramarital flirtations. From the Gilyak point of view on decorum, however, these flirtations do not represent anything abnormal, since for the most part they take place between group husbands and wives. One way or another, the palm of primacy, as concerns excesses among married people, must go to the women. "Among men," say the Gilyak, "you will find a good person 'one-one,' among the women you will not find a single one."

836 Genuine excesses of licentiousness take place among
831 the /250/ unmarried youth. Here are possible such extrava-
838 gances as the instance I recounted above of the Gilyak woman, Pigunajka, who before her marriage was having affairs with 14 lovers at one time, including her future husband. Or another example, which I borrow from the Gilyak epos. The hero comes to the home of a certain oldster to seek his daughter in marriage. His future father-in-law says to him: "Thy wife lives over there in a little yurt. People used to come to see her, they all copulated with her, after that she lost her legs." And the bridegroom does not become upset at all. "All right," he says, "I'll go ahead and carry her off," apparently seeing nothing remarkable in this.

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
171 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
177 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
574 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy, Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[691] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
171 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate, which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

/284 cont./

From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda, stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

/285/

Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak (Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people; one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/302/

A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the Khydzyr' in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of Mago).

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tûgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
• 837 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam) In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/638 cont./

834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
579 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

[113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

579 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
847 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

• 837 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
[581] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

9: Hawes--262-263 T-3 (1901) 1903
116, 835, 837

"The Gilyaks are not an incontinent race, and co
Russian population of Sakhalin. Of course there are
now [263] that the pressing poverty prevents larger
their own establishments. Yungkin, our 'captain,'
arrival at Nivo that he was going ashore to steal a
the husband would not object. 'Oh, perhaps. Yes; h
some tobacco.' It is said that in earlier times cous
collective use of cousins, and even of the sisters o
remembrance of this, sanctions the more indiscrim

mpare very favourably with the
e individual exceptions, especially
numbers of adult males having
had told us the very evening of our
wife for the night. We asked him if
ne may slap her, but I shall give him
ins (ru-er) had the juridic right of
f cousins, and possibly some faint
ninate connexion of later days."

makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately, there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged by decent people, for example by soldiers who had before that behaved properly. The causes for that may be found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. However, this fact has in recent times been badly misused and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to put themselves in the place of strangers as well as fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one must remember that, where strangers are concerned, moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed, vindictiveness, etc.-breaks out more easily if one is face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But this case was and has remained an exception. The village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants; at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or eight men took part in the crime, of which none is living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge; now, however, they usually file complaints with the Russian administration. [226]

Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak woman whose husband is away probably lets herself be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself is not too much offended, provided only that there are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

838

838 HOMOSEXUALITY--conceptualization (e.g., as normal, as abnormal); prevalence for each sex; specific behavior patterns; regulation (e.g., by incest taboos and exogamous rules); institutionalization (e.g., in bachelor organizations); reactions of the community (e.g., toleration, disgust); variant attitudes correlated with sex, age, and marital condition; transvestitism; etc. See also:

Unconscious homosexual traits. 16
Friendships 572
Marriages between persons of the same sex . . 588
Celibacy. 589
Legal definitions and sanctions 684

153 etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may
821 converse with the more intelligent of them for a short time.
177 As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. "Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but that your head is standing still. And yet your head, meantime, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little father.

147 XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

838 In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the taiga, or to standfor hours up to their chests in the coldest water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was the only deformity that was known to me.

164 Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military posts. In any case this disease does not have the significance among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened toward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

839

839 MISCELLANEOUS SEX BEHAVIOR--incidence of nocturnal emission, masturbation, petting to orgasm, bestiality, necrophilia, sexual sadism and masochism, exhibitionism, voyeurism, sexual fetishism, and rape; personal and social characteristics, circumstances, methods, and social reaction for each type of behavior; eunuchs (e.g., number, status, activities); etc. See also:

Psychosis and neuroses 158
Castration 304
Irregular unions 588
Punishable sex offenses 684
Ascetic ism 785
Orgies 786
Coitus interruptus 842
Sexual behavior of infants and children . . . 864

/248 cont./
836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

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/255 cont./
832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
517 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
826 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

● 839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij -- in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramladz; (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat, even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself: he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
703 myg:nga igagh syktymu yz'mudz:gu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

● 839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
732 born a boy with a tail.

825 The lark makes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thunder. The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in a thin, humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- k:akhtr, ag:n'i, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- arn' is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

10; Coxwell--128-129 B-3 (no date) 1925 Gilyak
116, 539, 839

"A TALE OF A BEAR

[LSS: For the text of this tale, see category 539, pp.124-125.]

This story of mating with a bear is one of several stories mentioned in the Note to the Kalmuck story, 'The Birdcage [129] Husband.' But in the present tale we have no mere allusion to the subject; on the contrary, as in 'The Gilyak who Mated with a Tigress,' the tale actually deals with a wooing, and the life of the characters concerned.

The majority of stories of men or women mating with animals were probably, even in the first place, amusing fiction and did not arise from abnormality and depravity of savages or barbarous races. Similarly, considerations of totem ancestry, while interesting from the standpoint of man's early evolution, seem too remote to have played an important part in origination of the mass of folk-tales, even of the most ancient, such as the Egyptian, Indian or Kalmuck. This is not to deny the possibility of such causes, but to lay stress on the greater influence of a story-telling faculty which has used striking ideas and situations in order to divert childish persons or to arrest the attention of dull minds. To the primeval hunter it doubtless appeared that the hunted are not very different from himself, for they lived in the same environment, and were influenced by similar considerations. He developed, but an inherited tendency to look on animals as his fellows persisted after notions of totem ancestry had vanished."

On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be unknown among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards. Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

84

84 REPRODUCTION--general statements dealing with several aspect
cultural adjustments, behavioral and ideological, to the reproducti
in women.

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire v
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begi
to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it
happens that the thief dies from it.

687 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before t
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is all
to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human
chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, th
they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the
balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896)

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reache
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced th
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she b
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on h
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women w
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tugurma
(the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac
837 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the riv

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at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during
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birth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive
stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches
and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with col
water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, t

Amur

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands [155] when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[177] 1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz' nyngydz' (from kyz' -- risk, luck, and nyngydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of prung, two k:ong z'akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as strips (pying z'akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special shape (m'erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitur'. When they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bituz' -- must be fed (settlement of Kal'ma).

855 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
789 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
846 and hang it on a tree. O'ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch carefully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
824 for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
761 there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

841

841 MENSTRUATION--theory of menstruation and the menstrual cycle (e.g., association with lunation); beliefs about menstrual blood; associated practices (e.g., medicinal and magical uses of menstrual blood, avoidance of contact, methods of stanching and disposal); behavior and treatment of women during menses (e.g., isolation, imposition of food and sex taboos, purificatory rites); adjustments in behavior of spouse and parents; recognized symptoms of menstruation; explanation and treatment of irregular, excessive, or prolonged menses; etc. See also:

Physiological characteristics of menstruation	147	Purification	753
Menstrual lodges	343	Ideas about blood	838
Notions of the uncleanness of women	562	First menstruation	881
Medical therapy	787	Menopause	886

1: Shternberg--440 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Amur

/304 cont./

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754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

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1:Shternberg--464 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
794 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
796 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
529 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!" The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night; if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live." That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth, and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
84 she kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
754 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
562 feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
578 away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[833] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
794 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
796 She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth
[158] with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings and girdled herself with shavings. She yawned. Moderate blows... The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

15: Pilsudski--1 E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 Gilyak

844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
343 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
562 women. The location of these bushes is always
841 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

844 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
183 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

842

842 CONCEPTION--theory of impregnation and paternity; fertility and sterility (e.g., incidence, conceptualization); desire for children and preferences as to sex; methods of inducing conception and of counteracting barrenness and sterility; treatment of barren women and sterile men; methods of influencing conception (e.g., determining sex, preventing twins, inducing healthy offspring); prevention of conception (e.g., continence, coitus interruptus, contraceptive devices); attitudes toward birth control; etc. See also:

Sex behavior	83	Notions of reincarnation	715
Population policy	168	Ideas about heredity	897
Sterilization of defectives	720		

/250 cont./

831 192 Such instances must not be regarded as a general phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors are also acting. Among the married women, such factors are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and bashfulness. In general, however, sexual dissoluteness plays no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an economic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily the Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or, if they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both [826] in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp reproaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for laziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And ●[842] furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages 831 158 to dissoluteness. But the saddest of all is the influence of dissoluteness on the psychics. A whole series of nervous disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myarechenie among both men and women, and diseases connected with the full loss of psychic composure (self-control /given in English/) are the result of dissoluteness, which furthermore, among women, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the appearance of hysteria.

831 192 Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role in the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term for love, es'-mund, denotes both sexual love and love in general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term for reciprocal love -- os'mund; for marriage for love, os'mur:kir, vavynd. There are also some other terms for love, for example, hyvnd and others, but there are no special terms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although /251/ one can say es'mula nig:yvyn, i.e., "man whom they love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

/308 cont./

765 775 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well, live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 786 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear, 626 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz;. " "What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 768 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half a year old -- in the ground. If a child who died before he was ● [842] three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[931] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/336 cont./

854 [847] A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 789 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung -- ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 784 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows, 854 755 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of 789 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up at the first sickness of the child.

●842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 [876] Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of the sea.

845 782 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack 411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made everywhere and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert [463] [439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the 462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows, 321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly 322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the 517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however, [462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one. [855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak 593 of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible, ●842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammla, tammla, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however, [592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from The help that they give in the household, a fine bride p

/641 cont./
593 the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A
843 sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the hus-
[595] band will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with
[586] children, would soon push her completely into the background.
Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no
means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstiti-
[825] tion gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a
[789] woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief
that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets
specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though
I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists
among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with
the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never
give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of
the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to
844 believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village
114 of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses,
I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and
sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was
immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front
of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back
into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard
from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been success-
ful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive.
[132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk.
At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°,
at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to
2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off
its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for
the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery
343 does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground;
they call it langa. From this moment on the whole tribe
is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child,
tonhr ehlian, without further prayers or sacrifices.
753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their
anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and
relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms
of their revenge (tohr ehlian). These usually are
certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone,
squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of
convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is
considered to be a consequence of the mountain
spirit's dissatisfaction; in such cases one says
"tonhr ehlian singrund", that is "the twin child is
tormenting".
784 The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions,
they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of
twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow house-
hold articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had
given birth to twins. In this case old soft objects are
considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard
objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do
not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the
new one.
●842 It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they believe in the possibility of the
transference of physical peculiarities from one man
to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an
explanation for the superstitious remedies they use
for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who
cannot bear children must ask another very fertile
woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and
she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired
success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be
transferred from one person to another like a
contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel
which had been used by the sick person.

843

843 PREGNANCY--theory of pregnancy; determination of pregnancy (e.g., from cessation of menses, darkening of areola, abdominal prubberance, fetal movements); forecasting time of delivery; predicting sex, etc.; treatment and behavior of the pregnant woman (e.g., relief from work, dealing with nausea and giddiness, gratification of food cravings, observation of food and sex taboos, regimen, isolation); associated rites and ceremonies; sympathetic behavior of husband; ideas about embryonic development; practices intended to facilitate delivery and insure healthy offspring; differences in treatment of first and subsequent pregnancies; miscarriages (e.g., disposal of fetus, associated beliefs and practices); etc. See also:
Maternity benefits . . . . . 745 Abortion 847

/304 cont./
685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins
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/335 cont./
832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom
who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht
was made, she married him.
684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for
it and his dogs are taken away.
● 843 /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
841 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the
langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born,
the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of
pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go
hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female
parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat
food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr)
of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the corner.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire,
chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being
unclean -- akilaf pachkyr -- and becomes sik urland pomyng --
clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From
the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the
umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the
yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.
843 For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
845 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
789 must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.
A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise she
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls,
a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846] 1. Among the Orok a woman is in the
[171] balagan only during childbirth; then
for ten days they cook for her on a separate
fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing
to lose their strength.

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child
is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately.
The next day the mother washes the child with cold
water, but she does not pour it directly on the body
of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only
then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises
the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child
is washed twice a day for two years.
856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody
tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom
among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.
846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as
possible before they give birth to a child.
Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water
during a period of ten days before and after the
delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is
given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During
that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish
(salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating
a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum
nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a
child is considered harmful, but later on it is
considered to be healthy. In general liquor is
consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin
consume very little alcohol compared to other
inhabitants of this island.

● 843 Miscarriages.
Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently
among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless
and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that
there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced
one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But
not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew
of a woman who always miscarried and was not able
to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the
normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state
the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the
Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will,
therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

● 843 medical profession. It is possible that the Gilyak belong to a race which is constitutionally inclined to miscarriages. I believe, however, that in this respect it is of great importance that the woman is worn out from perpetual heavy work and that there is a complete lack of consideration for the pregnant woman. Among the Gilyak the immense burden of domestic work is at no time alleviated for the woman during her pregnancy. No man deems it necessary to protect his wife while she is carrying the baby to be born. The eventual miscarriage he attributes without compunction to insignificant causes. The Gilyak believe, for instance, that a miscarriage takes place if a child hits his pregnant mother's face with a strap or a long wooden object, such as a spoon, an arrow, a toy, a wooden knife or a fishing hook. Hitting a pregnant woman with a twig or a little stick recently cut off a tree or bush is considered harmless. A violent blow or a fall can cause a miscarriage too.

844 Behavior of the husband.

The Gilyak has a strange way of expressing his worries about his wife during her labor pains: he unties everything that can possibly be untied. First on himself: he undoes the braids in which his hair is plaited and he unties his shoelaces and top sleeves. Next, he unties or loosens whatever might, at that time, be tied up in the house or in its neighborhood. In the yard, he takes the axe out of the block; he loosens the boat if it is tied to a tree; he takes the cartridges out of the gun and the arrows out of the cross-bow. An image of pity without a belt, he creeps from one corner to another or he lies around pondering what else he might untie or loosen somewhere, for he is convinced that the labor pains and their duration depend upon whether he has overlooked and missed loosening something.

846 Only after the navel of the child is healed is the man allowed to start working or to go hunting, to leave the house on business and visit his relatives or friends. Neither at this period nor later on is the birth of the child celebrated by a festivity in the house or by a meal.

General remarks.

Throughout this period of time the woman who has

844

844 CHILDBIRTH--ideas about childbirth; attitude of the community; importance of first and subsequent births; preparations for delivery; place of birth; witnesses, assistants, and excluded persons; role of midwives and obstetricians; onset and duration of labor; facilitation of delivery (e.g., pressure, massage); posture in childbirth; receiving the baby; severing and tying the umbilical cord; expulsion of placenta; disposal of exuviae; immediate care of mother and child; cleansing, bandaging, and medication of mother; adjustments to postnatal hemorrhage; treatment of baby (e.g., initiation of respiration, cleansing, swaddling); etc. See also:

Birth statistics	163	Hospitals	743
Infant and maternal mortality	165	Medical personnel	759
Birth registration	217	Special mortuary rites	766
Birthdays	527	Omens, divination, and astrology	787

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyr') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
881 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
585 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
841 themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŭgurmam
[302] (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
839 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

● 844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam) In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.

[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

/335 cont./

832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

843 /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
846 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the

846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr) of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the comer.

[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire, chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being unclean -- akilaf pach:kyt -- and becomes sik urland pornyng -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

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845 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
789 must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

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843 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, protruding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846]
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/336 cont./

854 A newborn baby is washed with his mother's
● [844] and then with cold water from the mouth. For the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only th

854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle
789 ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in bir instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. they preserve everything, along with the amulets, f child, whom they again serve; if another child is n preserve them until their old age.

845 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman
789 along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there

854 fish. Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a b
855 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Ov
789 a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All th at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secre of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. On take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must the names from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means
[776] the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the sea.

845 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be
782 Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc. quantities; they first set them in place and then eat selves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made i If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two o ing on how many died. A little balagan is made un Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out o a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the chil

/641 cont./

the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the husband will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing superstition gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive. The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

/641 cont./

844 [343] [132] [165] erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter temperatures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition [846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is

[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado. 114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be 844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house 768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn [963] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

/642 cont./

114 844 768 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kulk, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in childbirth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other 844 532 782 superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth. Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254 /) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

844 413 [531] No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife (Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, the

[126] 2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kulk.

Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes care of it.

G 778 532 755

G [844] [782] →

Gi 778 532 ←

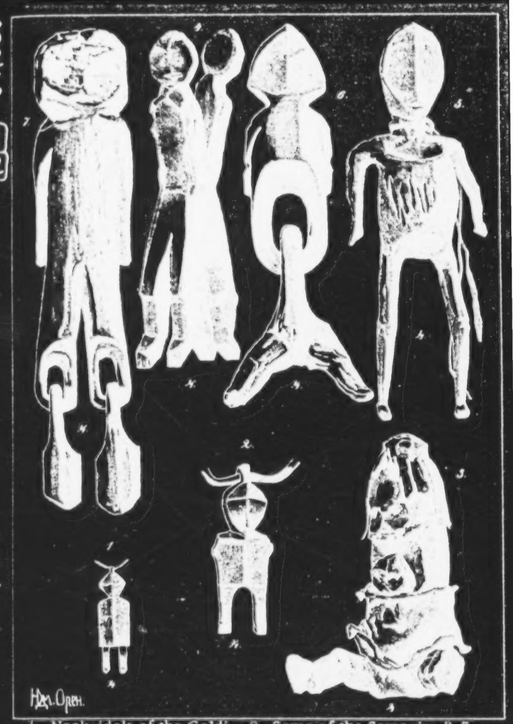

1. Neck-idols of the Goldi. 2. Same of the Samagir. 3-7. Gilyak idols for certain conditions or illnesses.

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his
claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
● 844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay. Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.

776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
● 844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

● 844 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Miscarriage among the
753 Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu).
343 by Bronislaw Pilsudski

I. The Gilyak

The house of birth.

Among the Gilyak the act of birth is considered unclean and therefore is never allowed to take place in the yurt, their home. That is why not only in summer, but even in winter during the worst periods of frost and snowstorms, the woman in labor is led to a hut built especially for her near the home. The choice of the place makes it clear that the Gilyak feel no respect for the act of birth, for the hut mentioned above is built in the bushes which serve as a privy for the
562 women. The location of these bushes is always
841 definitely fixed, and no man would ever walk in that
753 direction. The boys are strictly forbidden to run or to look around there, and they are warned that they will contract a disease called taremynd if they step into a trace of women's blood. The disease begins with a paralysis of the hands and feet, the afflicted person loses the ability to move, loses weight and finally dies, for the disease is incurable.

844 As soon as the labor pains start the woman is
183 brought into the lan-raf or the "house of birth". This "house of birth" is erected hurriedly at the very last moment. Built of wooden boards roughly put together and covered with old bark from fir trees, it looks more like a dog house than like the room destined to welcome a new inhabitant of the world longingly expected by his parents. In the eyes of the Gilyak there is no conflict between the affection and love of the parents for the newly born child and the severe, if not cruel welcome, it is given. The child will go through a hard, more than Spartan education, and its life will be full of worries and hardships in a neither opulent nor gentle nature. This is why no Gilyak even comes to think that the first entrance into the world might be easier and more wholesome for the little guest if it took place in the presence of other people under other and better circumstances.

4 When the woman in labor goes to the place made
1 ready for her, she is clad in old soiled clothes. If the weather is cool she takes more clothes along. The only distinction in clothing worn during labor is that the woman in labor takes off the trousers, a garment that Gilyak women wear in summer and winter.

4 Usually an older woman who herself has gone
5 through several childbirths helps the woman in labor. If [757] such a midwife, called lanaven szauk, is not at hand the husband of the woman in labor can take her place; but under no circumstances may another male member of the family take this place, not even the younger brother of the husband, although, according to the customs of the Gilyak he has a right to the wife of his older brother and considers himself in a way her husband and certainly the second father of the child.

4 The Birth.

3 During the delivery the woman in labor sits and does not stretch her legs. The seat is erected at the same height as the bed in the yurt, that is about half a yard above the floor. During the whole period of delivery the woman in labor is supposed to keep quiet, not to strike out in pain, not to try to get up, not to lean over to one side or the other. If, during a hard delivery, the woman is not able to stay in the prescribed attitude by herself and starts writhing in pain, it is the duty of the midwife or husband to hold her up at her shoulders in order to prevent her from making the forbidden movements. The Gilyak believe that women who try to get up during the delivery contract a disease which causes a deformation of the spine. Once I was even shown a young woman who had become a cripple because she had not stayed quiet while in labor. Her spine was really deformed or, as the Gilyak say, broken (naski ts' onkrynd). She was not able to walk and died a few years later.

5 If the labor pains last too long and the woman suffers too badly, a piece of clothing is moved back and forth in front of her face and somebody blows down from above on the part in her hair.

844 The mother delivers the child herself, and only if the mother is entirely too weak does the midwife help at the delivery.

The Gilyak do not know how to give obstetric help to a woman in labor. If a woman is not able to deliver the child she dies, and, in this case, the child will perish too. But that happens very rarely. During a more than ten years' stay in the region of the river Tym I heard only once that a woman died during the delivery.

Among the Gilyak the first childbirth is considered to be the hardest. It is especially hard and painful for very young women who are not fully developed physically.

845 Girls are strictly forbidden to laugh when people
784 talk of delivery or confinement, and they are supposed to stay serious during the act of birth. If they fail to do so, in the future they will go through very hard deliveries and suffer exceedingly great labor pains.

844 In order to speed up the discharge of the placenta chiplings of a certain wood (sambucus racemosa) are put into the mouth of the woman in labor. The bitter disgusting taste of the wood causes vomiting which, according to the belief of the Gilyak, should accelerate the discharge of the placenta (ehlaud cuind, that is: the child's food). But, if the placenta nevertheless is not discharged after a while the woman dies. This [758] happens rarely but does occur once in a while among the Gilyak. The placenta is wrapped in a towel and hung up on a tree in the wood not far from the house.

845 If a child is born with a caul which, however,
777 happens very rarely, the caul is not thrown away but is carefully dried and kept with other household articles. For the Gilyak believe that this caul which in the language of their tribe, is called ehlan ok (the suit of the child) brings luck to the whole family.

844 The newly born child is not simply called a boy or
553 a girl. If a girl was born it is, for the time being, called mukin ehlan, that is: tailless child (mukind usually is the name for a dog with a very short tail). But if a boy was born his relatives say: moi ivend panend, that is: one who has a penis was born.

The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

It is recommended that young women walk around a great deal after they have given birth to a child, while sitting is recommended for older women. Women of all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

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domestic work is at no time alleviated
during her pregnancy. No man deems i
protect his wife while she is carrying t
born. The eventual miscarriage he attr
compunction to insignificant causes. Th
believe, for instance, that a miscarria
if a child hits his pregnant mother's fac
or a long wooden object, such as a spoo
a toy, a wooden knife or a fishing hook.
pregnant woman with a twig or a little s
cut off a tree or bush is considered har
violent blow or a fall can cause a misca

4 Behavior of the husband.

The Gilyak has a strange way of expr
worries about his wife during her labor
unties everything that can possibly be u
on himself: he undoes the braids in whi
plaited and he unties his shoelaces and
Next, he unties or loosens whatever mi
time, be tied up in the house or in its n
In the yard, he takes the axe out of the
loosens the boat if it is tied to a tree; h
cartridges out of the gun and the arrows
cross-bow. An image of pity without a
from one corner to another or he lies a
pondering what else he might untie or l
where, for he is convinced that the labo
their duration depend upon whether he h
and missed loosening something.

6 Only after the navel of the child is he
man allowed to start working or to go h
leave the house on business and visit hi
friends. Neither at this period nor late
birth of the child celebrated by a festiv
house or by a meal.

General remarks.

Throughout this period of time the wo

"During parturition, whether in winter or summer, the unfortunate mother is ejected from her habitation--thrust out of doors, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, there to provide for herself as best she may, solitary and ignored, until a certain period shall have elapsed. During this time every possible assistance is denied her, it being considered almost criminal to lend her the slightest attention, and, as a natural consequence, death often ensues. Their dogs are much more tenderly cared for, they, at least, being allowed shelter."

845

845 DIFFICULT AND UNUSUAL BIRTHS--explanations of prolonged, difficult, and fatal deliveries; methods of dealing with abnormal presentations; obstetrical surgery (e.g., use of forceps, Caesarian section); beliefs and practices connected with unusual births (e.g., premature births, caul births); stillbirths (e.g., conceptualization, disposal of stillborn infant); delivery and treatment of deformed infants; notions about birthmarks; multiple births (e.g., conception of causation, reaction of the community, treatment of twins); special observances and ceremonial associated with unusual births and persons distinguished by unusual births; etc. See also:

Incidence of stillbirths and multiple births 163
Treatment of defectives 732
Surgery 752

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
[755] him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[777] 1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz′ nyngydz′ (from kyz′ -- risk, luck, and nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

● 845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of prung, two k:ong z′akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as strips (pying z′akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special shape (m′erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitus′. When they prepare food, these trees -- ola′ bituz′ -- must be fed (settlement of Kal'ma).

855 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
789 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
[846] and hang it on a tree. O′ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch carefully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
[824] for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
[761] there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/335 cont./

832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

843 /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
847 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
[782] in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr) of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the comer.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire, chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being unclean -- akilaf pach:kyt -- and becomes sik urland pornyng -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

343 For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
● 345 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
789 must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise she
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
843 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846] [971] 1. Among the Orok a woman is in the balagan only during childbirth; then for ten days they cook for her on a separate fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing to lose their strength.

/336 cont./

854 [844] A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 789 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung -- ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 784 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish.

854 855 789 Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows, are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 [776] Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of the sea.

845 782 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

532 [778] [782] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[795] [787] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n'gyvyn, who gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 224 164 782 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general. The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis (Slyavo).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or

847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 776 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n'igyvyn or by Tol-n'igyvyn, but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 758 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmas'ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

844 291 When the woman in labor goes to the place made ready for her, she is clad in old soiled clothes. If the weather is cool she takes more clothes along. The only distinction in clothing worn during labor is that the woman in labor takes off the trousers, a garment that Gilyak women wear in summer and winter.

844 835 Usually an older woman who herself has gone through several childbirths helps the woman in labor. If [757] such a midwife, called lanaven szauk, is not at hand the husband of the woman in labor can take her place: but under no circumstances may another male member of the family take this place, not even the younger brother of the husband, although, according to the customs of the Gilyak he has a right to the wife of his older brother and considers himself in a way her husband and certainly the second father of the child.

844 The Birth.

753 During the delivery the woman in labor sits and does not stretch her legs. The seat is erected at the same height as the bed in the yurt, that is about half a yard above the floor. During the whole period of delivery the woman in labor is supposed to keep quiet, not to strike out in pain, not to try to get up, not to lean over to one side or the other. If, during a hard delivery, the woman is not able to stay in the prescribed attitude by herself and starts writhing in pain, it is the duty of the midwife or husband to hold her up at her shoulders in order to prevent her from making the forbidden movements. The Gilyak believe that women who try to get up during the delivery contract a disease which causes a deformation of the spine. Once I was even shown a young woman who had become a cripple because she had not stayed quiet while in labor. Her spine was really deformed or, as the Gilyak say, broken (naski ts' onkrynd). She was not able to walk and died a few years later.

845 If the labor pains last too long and the woman suffers too badly, a piece of clothing is moved back and forth in front of her face and somebody blows down from above on the part in her hair.

844 The mother delivers the child herself, and only if the mother is entirely too weak does the midwife help at the delivery.

The Gilyak do not know how to give obstetric help to a woman in labor. If a woman is not able to deliver the child she dies, and, in this case, the child will perish too. But that happens very rarely. During a more than ten years' stay in the region of the river Tym I heard only once that a woman died during the delivery.

Among the Gilyak the first childbirth is considered to be the hardest. It is especially hard and painful for very young women who are not fully developed physically.

845 784 Girls are strictly forbidden to laugh when people talk of delivery or confinement, and they are supposed to stay serious during the act of birth. If they fail to do so, in the future they will go through very hard deliveries and suffer exceedingly great labor pains.

844 In order to speed up the discharge of the placenta chiplings of a certain wood (sambucus racemosa) are put into the mouth of the woman in labor. The bitter disgusting taste of the wood causes vomiting which, according to the belief of the Gilyak, should accelerate the discharge of the placenta (ehlaud cuind, that is: the child's food). But, if the placenta nevertheless is not discharged after a while the woman dies. This [758] happens rarely but does occur once in a while among the Gilyak. The placenta is wrapped in a towel and hung up on a tree in the wood not far from the house.

845 777 If a child is born with a caul which, however, happens very rarely, the caul is not thrown away but is carefully dried and kept with other household articles. For the Gilyak believe that this caul which in the language of their tribe, is called ehlan ok (the suit of the child) brings luck to the whole family.

844 553 The newly born child is not simply called a boy or a girl. If a girl was born it is, for the time being, called mukin ehlan, that is: tailless child (mukind usually is the name for a dog with a very short tail). But if a boy was born his relatives say: moi ivend panend, that is: one who has a penis was born.

834 864 a way that every discussion of the fact is precluded. If the baby was born in the summer, the children ar told that it was taken from under the roots of a tree or trunk; if a baby was born in winter, one pretends have found it in the snow.

845 Twin births.

163 No tribe on Sakhalin Island has reported the birth of triplets to any woman at any time. That is why there are no legends about such an event either.

Not infrequently twin births take place among the natives. They contend that in each one of these case both children are of the same sex. I personally cam to know two living twins of the Gilyak tribe who were between forty and forty-five years old. In regions rather well known to me there occurred three twin births in a population of more than 300 persons within a decade, but all these twins died immediatel after birth. When I left in 1905 there were five mont old twins living in the family of a Gilyak friend of

845 539 mine. Only in a single old Gilyak song which I wrote down are twins of different sex mentioned. The

776 brother is in love with his sister and, in this song, asks her to take his heart into her hands, or else he will die.

The Gilyak are convinced that one of the twins is the son of the god of the woods and mountains, pal-ni-rookh (mountain man), a mighty deity now benevolent, now malevolent towards the poor, weak Gilyak. [761] (1) That is why the child of the pal-ni-

1. I was, however, given another explanation by a Gilyak: one of the twins is said to be an offspring of the mountains, the other one an offspring of the sea.

rookh, should be given back to his father right away But, not being certain which of the children is not a offspring of human beings one prefers to treat them both equally.

845 It is a custom among the majority of the Gilyak to

766 cremate dead bodies (2), but twins are not allowed t

2. In general, only those Gilyak tribes

be cremated after their death. If that were done all those present at the ceremony would be punished with the loss of their eyesight. Even the parents of twins have to be buried in the earth, because they too have become relatives of the god of the mountains. The children of twins, however, are considered to be ordinary members of the tribe, and at their funeral there is no deviation from the custom.

If twins stay alive and grow up they remain, for the rest of their lives, the object of awe for all their neighbors and friends although they may be enough proof that they lack every kind of supernatural power. At every meeting, either in friendship or in hostility, the others remind them of their unusual pregnancy and everybody attributes to them that mysterious innate power. Each of the twins bears the name he gave himself as a child. The custom of giving the child the name of a dead ancestor is not followed in the case of twins. The names of the twins are neither given to another child in the same family nor to another child in the tribe. Here too we see a deviation from the general custom of giving children the names of dead ancestors.

The greatest awe is felt for those twins who die in childhood. The offspring of the spirits of the mountains who, while living among ordinary human beings for a short time, who did not get used to them and did not feel he was one of them, has especially the power to do harm to people; that is why they are hard to win his favor. The family who had harbored the unwelcome offspring of the mountains constructs a little model of a Gilyak yurt and puts it either on a little board inside the house or outside in the open. A little figure carved in wood which represents the dead child is put into that little hut. The members of the family consider it necessary to give some of the food they eat themselves to that little figure every day. This rule is strictly followed not only by the parents of the twins but also by the two following generations. Only the great-grandchildren, observing ceremonial rites, carry the little figure with its

845 dwelling to the top of a near-by mountain; there, for
766 the last time, choice food is offered to the figure.
782 Next to the sacrificial objects a one to two meter long
775 stick carved in curly design is dug into the ground;
they call it nga. From this moment on the whole tribe
is safe [762] from being haunted by the dead child,
tonkr chlan, without further prayers or sacrifices.
753 If the relatives neglect to follow these rules, which
845 are designed to appease the awe-inspiring spirits of
776 the mountains and to win their favor, they evoke their
anger. Several diseases which attack the parents and
relatives of the twins are considered to be symptoms
of their revenge (tohr chlan). These usually are
certain diseases like deformation of the jaw-bone,
squint-eyes, stiffening of the neck or any kind of
convulsions. The appearance of such diseases is
considered to be a consequence of the mountain
spirit's displeasure. In such cases people say
"tonkr chlan singrund", that is "the twin child is
tormenting".

The Gilyak are so afraid of these dangers that
845 young women and girls are strictly forbidden to listen
777 to reports about such happenings; by these precautions,
they believe, they will be able to prevent the birth of
twins. Women are neither allowed to borrow house-
hold articles nor to accept gifts from friends who had
given birth to twins. In this case old objects are
considered to be the most dangerous ones. Hard
objects, however, especially tools made of metal, do
not transfer the bad luck of the former owner to the
new one.

842. It is altogether a trait characteristic of this northern
777 tribe that they always insist on the possibility of the
transference of physical peculiarities from one man
to another man by way of his tools. This gives us an
explanation for the superstitious remedies they use
for overcoming a woman's sterility. The woman who
cannot bear children must ask another very fertile
woman to lend her the waistband of her trousers and
she has to wear it up to the moment of the desired
success. A Gilyak told me that fertility can be
transferred from one person to another like a
contagious disease, for example by way of a vessel
which had been used by the sick person.

845 POTNATAL CARE.--care of postpartarient mother during period of recupera-
tion (e.g., rest, isolation, medication, sex and food taboos); duration of
taboo and its disposal; ... of child (e.g., ceremonial washing, ... gradual, after lapse of a specified time); puerperal rites; special care of
child between birth and beginning of ... ; circumcision and dis-
position of umbilical cord; treatment and disposition of mother's ... ; ...
special behavior of father (e.g., couvade); etc. See also:
Gift giving. . . . . 830 Parturition 785
Adoption . . . . . 837 Infant feeding 882

/305 cont./
84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
childbirth, it is not permitted to drink cold water or to eat raw
fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
[765] when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[790]

1. On another page of the same notebook,
we find the following notation: "These sticks
are: nyngyd (kyl) -- to sleep, lack,, and
nyngdz -- to seek)," which probably refers
to the above-mentioned stick.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
[790] ... , two kong z'kkh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
strips (pring z'kkh), two small bows (pudz) and arrows of a special
shape (mrlerlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitur', when
they prepare bed, these trees -- olz' Nitur' -- must be fed
(settlement of Kal'nna).

While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
[846] (1) on a tree. [2] After childbirth it is necessary that they make
when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep, ... shaman
is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
510 does that which he dreams.

The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
/ male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
not permissible to cut the hair of twin). One must watch care-
fully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
[761] for then the child is lost. [3] The child will die if the tree growing
there is broken. This tree is called pila sigf, and the place
is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/305 cont./
832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom
who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht
was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for
it and his dogs are taken away.

843 /307/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be
845 cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even
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langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born,
the woman returns to yut yurt. From the seventh month of
pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go
846 hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the
langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female
parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat
food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr)
of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the comer.
[782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire,
chuhh-chugyn-tugr, and have a feast. After that she stops being
unclean -- akilaf pach-kyr -- and becomes ek uilend ponying --
clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From
the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the
umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the
843 yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything
845 tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one
[789] must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

A woman must not shriek during childbirth, otherwise the
844 will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, pro-
845 truding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls,
a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846]
[791]

1. Among the Orok a woman is in the
balagan only during childbirth; then
for ten days they cook for her on a separate
fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing
to lose their strength.

/641 cont./
erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
844 also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter tempera-
[120] tures and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[145] a health demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt that
the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally
small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this
bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it.
It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the supposition
846 that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during
delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, the is

[113]

2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische
Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic
Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl
Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113]

3. Cf. Dr. H. Flous, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science
and Ethnology/, 3d ed., edited and published
by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II,
p. 43.

subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary,
after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
114 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
[76] if the child dies outside the house, and that it has to be torn
[143] down, for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of
the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be
substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a
house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful,
particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child
is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately.
The next day the mother washes the child with cold
water, but she does not pour it directly on the body
of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only
then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises
the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child
is washed twice a day for two years.

856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody
tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom
among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the child.
846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as
possible before they give birth to a child.
Women are actly forbidden to drink cold water
during a period of ten days before and after the
delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is
given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During
that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish
(salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating
a black berry that grows in the tundra (rengetrum
nigrum). Drinking hard liquor before giving birth to a
child is considered harmful, but later on it is
considered to be healthy. In general liquor is
consumed very freely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin
consume very little alcohol compared to other
inhabitants of this island.

843 Infanticide.

Natural miscarriages (ryrrnd) occur very frequently
among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless
and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that
there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced
one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But
not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew
of a woman who always miscarried and was not able
to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the
normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state
the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the
Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will,
therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

843 medical profession. It is possible that the Gilyak
belong to a race which is constitutionally inclined to
miscarriages. I believe, however, that in this respect
it is of great importance that the woman is worn out
from perpetual heavy work and that there is a
complete lack of consideration for the pregnant
woman. Among the Gilyak the immense burden of
domestic work is at no time alleviated for the woman
during her pregnancy. No man deems it necessary to
protect his wife while she is carrying the baby to be
born. The eventual miscarriage he attributes without
compunction to the woman's lack of care. The Gilyak
believe, for instance, that a miscarriage takes place
if a child hits his pregnant mother's face with a strap
or a long wooden object, such as a spoon, an arrow,
a toy, a wooden knife or a fishing hook. Hitting a
pregnant woman with a twig or a little stick recently
cut off a tree or bush is considered harmless. A
violent blow or a fall can cause a miscarriage too.

844 Behavior of the husband.

The Gilyak have a strange way of expressing his
worries about his wife during her labor pains; he
unties everything that can possibly be untied. First
on himself: he undoes the braids in which his hair is
plaited and he unties his shoelaces and top sleeves.
Next, he unties or loosens whatever might, at that
time, be tied up in the house or in its neighborhood.
In the yard, he takes the axe out of the block; he
loosens the boat if it is tied to a tree; he takes the
cartridges out of the gun and the arrows out of the
cross-bow. An image of pity without a belt, he creeps
from one corner to another or he lies around
pondering what else he might unite or loosen some-
where, for he is convinced that the labor pains and
their duration depend upon whether he has overlooked
and missed loosening something.

846 Only after the navel of the child is healed is the
man allowed to start working or to go hunting, to
leave the house on business and visit his relatives or
friends. Neither at this period nor later on is the
birth of the child celebrated by a festivity in the
house or by a meal.

General remarks.

Throughout this period of time the woman who has

846 given birth to a child does not leave her place, the
hut; only during the most severe spells of frosty
weather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in
case she herself is the housewife. If she is not the
housewife she cannot expect to be taken into the house
846 by another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women
776 in confinement who were left to themselves in the hut
are attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these
spirits out of the "house of birth", in which one of the
most important and mysterious natural events takes
place, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the
hut designed to banish the evil spirits. But this
convenient and easy way of protection is not always
sufficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming
hurriedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who
was completely cut off in the hut in the narrow and
disgusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood,
is, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's hand.
On another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a
Gilyak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire
when she had started a fire in order to warm her
chilled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur
as frequently as one should expect is due to the
admirable strength of character and fortitude of the
Gilyak woman who, even worn out and sick, never
loses her presence of mind and her ability to work.
It is the might of her motherly love which, in such
moments, increases her will power and her fortitude
to a degree unknown and incomprehensible to men.
847 Unmarried Gilyak women, fearing the disgrace
163 which they would have to suffer, sometimes effect
artificial miscarriages; they use the same means
which are said to cause natural miscarriages. But
their skill in committing abortion is not great, for
there are many cases of infanticide.

Once in a while it happens that a Gilyak woman
gives birth to a dead child, but that happens so
infrequently that I could not be shown a single woman
to whom that had happened.

864 The Gilyak very much dislike talking about sexual
matters and about facts connected with them. That
is probably the reason why the appearance of a new
member of the family is explained to children in such

847 ABORTION AND INFANTICIDE.--prevalence of abortion; reasons and circumstances (e.g., illegitimate pregnancy); methods; disposal of foetus; reactions of community (e.g., toleration, disapproval); prevalence of infanticide; reasons and circumstances (e.g., illegitimate pregnancy, deformity, death of father or mother); methods used; disposal of corpse; reaction of community; etc. See Index.

Legal sections: 118 Miscarriage; 119 Infanticide

Legal terms: 118

/34 cont./

835 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so
836 earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the
brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to
them. and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you,
among the Russian. it is no so? You mean one could not live
with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative
answer, they would dolefully shake their heads. saying "Well,
that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at
one another.

Human nature, of course. is the same everywhere; even
in primitive conditions it is natural for jealousy. with regard to groups of
permitted categories. jealousy never expresses itself in any kind
of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother
will kill an intruder; it is more usual for another house to arise in the village.

Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a general light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity: it is, of
course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman that is retaining his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not especially
value chastity. and only considerations of an external nature force
them to be modest and to preserve the appearance of virginity. Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become in-
837 creasingly more and more unsuitable with regard to his property
status. and. besides. that the child born to her will be outside the
given clan and so will have to be killed.

Another more substantial reason, however. there is no moral
838 prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the
greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness
prevails and sexual rotativity is absent. If by rotativity /33/ we
understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a
given society. the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual
rotativity. for. with regard to persons who are outside of the group
sexual relationship. their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing.
The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have
intercourse with a relative of her husband if he is not of the
category of her go. even though the seducer is younger than her
husband and she likes him.

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There is no need for a man to abduct that which belongs
583 to him through a religious imperative, so powerfully active
584 in primitive society. Abduction can only arise under special
circumstances, when there are no women in the marriage
group, while other groups are obligated in turn to give their
women to definite groups. Individual cases of abduction
have led to the institution of mock abduction. For the side
which is giving its women in marriage in violation of the
prohibition, this is a means of deceiving the gods, the gods-
ancestors, to whom marriages with persons of alien blood are the gravest sin. By this means we explain the
wide distribution of this otherwise inexplicable institution
among primitive peoples. Only by this pious deception of the
gods can we explain those frightful rites which are
practiced in connection with mock abduction, although both
parties are joined in wedlock with the willing consent of the
mother of the bride and groom. It is sufficient to take the
example of the Kurnai tribe, among whom there exists the
institution of marriage, analogous to that of the
Gilyak. In this tribe, the kinsmen of the girl, fearing of
their own free will allowed the bride to run away with her
lover, that said to be pursued by him, and, when they have
caught her, they pierce her leg with a spear and beat her
half to death. And in many tribes even the abductor con-
sidered it his obligation to beat his beloved on his return
than her parents, desiring to show the gods-ancestors that
it was not at all love, the intention to marry, which
prompted him to abduct her.

An insufficiency of males or females can lead also to
another institution, likewise not uncommon among primitive
peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a
time when it cannot do so. And so it has been with the
Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial
ideals of their forefathers, economic conditions force individual persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

/200 cont./

584 murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-
585 known among the Gilyak tribes, in spite of the fact that the
number of males is greater than the number of females.

10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of
586 bride price is impossible; instead of the bride price present
for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of
marriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen
among the Gilyak today; no matter how avid the Gilyak may
be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to
the sister of the groom's brother.

In order that such an essentially exogamous system might
be preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of
favorable circumstances is necessary. First of all, a very
complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating
themselves the number of marriages should not be so large
to maintain themselves on the common territory, and, on the
other hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the
tribe in such a way that there is no cases of extinction of
entire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore,
some degree of uniformity in the sanitary conditions is
necessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory
marriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor.
Finally, it is necessary that there be no extraordinary conditions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the
members of the phratry would remain more or less the usual
phenomenon, and, on the other hand, there would be no influence of new economic conditions there should not be
engendered one or another temptation to make woman the
object of purchase and sale.

The preservation of all these conditions among primitive
peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a
time when it cannot do so. And so it has been with the
Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial
ideals of their forefathers, economic conditions force individual persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

/336 cont./

The importance of the role of love in the life of the
Gilyak can be judged by the wealth of song material. Not
number of males is greater than the number of females.
every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone
knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in
Gilyak love. The song is the means of wooing. Lovers of their
antagonism lovers sing improvised songs to each other in
place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to
meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through
a third person. Special terms have even been made up for
such songs.

An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
love encounters some obstacle. In such case the only
solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment
are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is
presence of the parents, who have their own matrimony
motives or from an unwillingness to violate /555/ the child-
ren's agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a
woman is violently carried away. In mild cases, lovers
frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary
separation of the lovers, and, finding no other way to save
herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event
of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such charac-
teristic case. A girl from the village of Nivkhi was betrothed
given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from
her husband to her father, who handed her over to her father,
emigrant, who then taken a milk and second high born face,
tier first husband would not reconcile himself to this and
utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force.
Half a year the unhappy woman lasted herself.
There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from
her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
by him, in order to defend their rights against the father.
Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the
husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

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Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was
a bear.

A representation of twins -- tongchi -- is placed in a little
storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongchi, while
if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chaka-chogyne
gives to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen
and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal'-g'gyrn, who
gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion
in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to
support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded
with shavings. The mother of the twin is considered as if she has
married after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with
insap placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done
with the dead twin.

The tongchi helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
The tongchi: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
(khayvyn).

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a
girl.

A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy,
a member of another woman, was beaten, and after they cut off
given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from
her husband to her father, who handed her over to her father,
emigrant, who then taken a milk and second high born face,
tier first husband would not reconcile himself to this and
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the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the
husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

/338 cont./

569 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
570 married women, are, of course, not impossible, but are
571 more severely punished by the parents of the girl who has
572 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
573 the Gilyak, in case the girl's mother remains at
574 corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries
575 to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
576 throwing it into the sea. This is always done if the child
577 is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circum-
578 stances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

579 Children are sold by purchase, and in part because
580 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
581 of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory
582 character. Sometimes, however, the husband, as the Gilyak
583 jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
584 she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving
585 her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
587 the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband,
588 if he cam out his wife for any reason and returns her to her
589 parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a re-
590 fund of the money he paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
591 he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
592 own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a
593 friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

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594 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to
595 the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A
596 Gilyak, by the way, also asked how much I paid for my wife. He
597 will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more
598 because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his
599 wives and has the same relations with her as with his wives. This is
600 easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy
601 among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of
602 the wives are his much (wives) or ohanai-munch-wyn (lawful women or wives) and how many are merely hryghyn-umgo
603 (female slaves) are always necessary in order to obtain a proper
604 understanding of his marital situation.

As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a
605 female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, the fact that a man
606 not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried
607 men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will
608 not suffer any inconvenience from the fact of his child, and
609 nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The
610 child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother
611 and likewise, as hryghyn, becomes the property of her owner,
612 who let it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up,
613 sold it to another. If the child is a girl, then, as much ever case
614 happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and
615 brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the
616 mother, who is usually offered, as a daughter-in-law, to him
617 and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not un-
618 happily permits a marriage between his male and female
619 hryghyn, if he has a female slave, he will, of course, probably
620 also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children
621 they might have will be his hryghyn and, as such, can be
622 turned to good account. Then, the Gilyak has nothing against
623 assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed
624 marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such
625 mixing with the aborigines, and he considers the offspring
626 of such from his own caste, and, on the other hand, strongly
627 supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation
628 of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

846 given birth to a child does not leave her place, the
hut; only during the most severe spells of frosty
weather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in
case she herself is the housewife. If she is not the
housewife she cannot expect to be taken into the house
846 by another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women
776 in confinement who were left to themselves in the hut
are attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these
spirits out of the "house of birth", in which one of the
most important and mysterious natural events takes
place, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the
hut designed to banish the evil spirits. But this
convenient and easy way of protection is not always
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hurriedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who
was compelled to do all the work in the narrow and
disgusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood,
had, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's head.
On another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a
Gilyak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire
when she had started a fire in order to warm her
chilled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur
as frequently as one should expect is due to the
admirable strength of character and fortitude of the
Gilyak woman who, even worn out and sick, never
loses her presence of mind and her ability to work.
It is the might of her motherly love which, in such
moments, increases her will power and her fortitude
to a degree unknown and incomprehensible to men.
847 Unmarried Gilyak women, fearing the disgrace
63 which they would have to suffer, sometimes effect
artificial miscarriages; they use the same means
which are said to cause natural miscarriages. But
their skill in committing abortion is not great, for
there are many cases of infanticide.

Once in a while it happens that a Gilyak woman
gives birth to a dead child; but that happens so
infrequently that I could not be shown a single woman
to whom that had happened.

834 The Gilyak very much dislike talking about sexual
864 matters and about facts connected with them. That
is probably the reason why the appearance of a new
member of the family is explained to children in such

848

848 ILLEGITIMACY--cultural definition of legitimacy and illegitimacy; frequency of illegitimate pregnancies; tests of legitimacy; behavior and treatment of mother (e.g., ordeals, confession); treatment of father (e.g., forced marriage); treatment of offspring; status of illegitimate children; etc. See also:
Legal sanctions . . . . . 684 Premarital sex relations 836

/34 cont./

835 829 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to them, and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you, among the Russians, it is no so? You mean one could not live with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well, that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at one another.

835 152 Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother will insist that his rival move to another house or to another village.

83 Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a general light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman not violating his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not expecially value chastity, and only considerations of an external nature force parents to look askance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters. [848] [847] Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become involved with a man who is unsuitable with regard to his property status, and, besides, that the child born to her will be outside the given clan and so will have to be killed.

83 577 Apart from these considerations, however, there is no moral prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness prevails and sexual morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a given society, the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual morality, for, with regard to persons who are outside of the group sexual relationship, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing. The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have intercourse with a clansman of her husband if he is not of the category of her pu, even though the seducer is younger than her husband and she likes him.

/84 cont./

*614 587 768 his death as well. One of his brothers, according to the of the clan, will replace him in the rights and obligatio husband and father, and even where the deceased has no brothers, the supporter of his family will be one of the " Such is the immutable law of the clan.

*614 848 Such are the advantages which the clan union offe virtue of the single principle of kinship and the marriage norms which directly issue from it. It is completely nat that these blessings can be enjoyed only by those who ha right to them by virtue of kinship. The fact of being bo a clansman is the only justus /85/ titulus to being counte the clan. Ytk-khavrnd -- a man without a father, i.e., out of wedlock, not knowing who his father is -- is a ma without a clan, a pariah, a burden to himself and others. who does not know the identity of his father and conseque does not know to which clan he belongs, therefore does n know which women can be his wives and which are forbi and, unbeknownst to himself and others, may violate the sexual norms, incurring incalculable disasters upon all. nately, there are in fact no persons who do not know thei fathers. If a girl becomes pregnant out of wedlock, they pel her to name the father of the future child. Having le who he is, they compel him to marry the seduced girl, w he is only too glad to do, because in such a situation the fewer difficulties about paying the bride price. In the ev of disavowal on the girl's part, they slay the newborn chi and the clan is saved from sin and unhappiness.

*614 597 The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in reta the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a de and reconcile itself with the institution of adoption, with acceptance into its bosom from time to time of individua from other clans.

/171 cont./

835 same words with which authors describe the relations between "kumi" and "kroki" in Australia: throughout the whole extent of his territory, wherever the Gilyak finds his an'g:ej, there he also finds a conjugal bed. For this, it is only necessary that the Gilyak remember the kinship terms. I had many chances to convince myself of this during the time of my travels on Sakhalin. Again and again I appeared with my Gilyak companions in settlements where neither they nor their fathers had ever been before. Nevertheless, after the exchange of a few sentences the bonds of kinship were revealed, and from their first encounter pu and an'g:ej who were formerly unknown to each other engaged in mimic negotiations about a fleeting conjugality.

835 836 848 Among the categories of women with whom the Gilyak has a legitimate opportunity for sexual intercourse, it is necessary to distinguish the unmarried from the married. Maidens, even among the Gilyak, are more restricted in their sexual relations than the married women. The prospect of pregnancy [614] and bearing children does not appeal to the Gilyak maiden; [851] the birth of a child by an unknown father, according to the clan views of the Gilyak, is a dangerous business solely from the fact that the sexual, marital, and clan rights, and even more the religious rights, determined by the father are completely uncertain, and this can lead to violations of taboos, which the Gilyak fears most of all. Therefore, a pregnant maiden is subjected to severe reproaches on the part of her father, who demands either that she name the seducer, or the destruction of the fetus, or the killing of the newborn infant. However hard the moral position of individual women is in such cases, in practice the business /172/ is much simpler. In the first place, many women, as we have seen, are married from childhood on, and the others never sit for very long; there are so few women that every girl is already married by the 835 time seductions become dangerous for them. Finally, those 836 who are not married and freely indulge in sexual intercourse with men extremely rarely have an affair with just their

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831 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
831 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
861 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
831 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
*835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
● 848 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1) the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden categories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
831 child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
574 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an unmarried ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) is a most desirable guest in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "ymg:i" (son-in-
831 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
562 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
834 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
*[835] (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of the class pu), and for this reason they always affect an appearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
831 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
834 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And, on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example, reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tuvn, and especially sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
ooo most distant agnate male and female cousins. During

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834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
577 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure, such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other

[113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

577 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
847 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

837 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
[581] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband, if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand, he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

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569 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to
the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A
569 Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has,
595 will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more
192 because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his
wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can
easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy
among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of
the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (law-
ful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryys-umgu
(female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper
understanding of his marital situation.

569 As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a
[836] female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is
not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried
men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will
(851) never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and
nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The
child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother
and likewise, as kryghryys, becomes the property of her owner,
who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up,
sells it as kryghryys. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case
• [848] happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and
[849] brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the
mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed
and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not un-
happily permits a marriage between his male and female
kryghryys; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably
also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children
they might have will be his kryghryys and, as such, can be
[563] turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against
assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed
marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such
mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation
of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly
supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation
of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

851

851 SOCIAL PLACEMENT--assignment of infant to a male parent (e.g., under polygamy), in case of a posthumous child; Public announcement of birth, formal acceptance of infant into a social group (e.g., by family head or chief); alignment with the supernatural (e.g., baptism), changes in marital status and social relationship wrought by birth of a child, etc. See also:

Affiliation of children of mixed marriages	56	Orphans	196
Naming ceremonial	553	Concept of reincarnation	775
Adoption	597	Adult baptism	798
Descent	611	Theory of paternity	842

/31 cont./

601 periods in the evolution of marriage. and, although they could
191 have influenced one another. they basically belong. speaking in
174 the language of geology. to different formations. It is sufficient
595 to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of
835 individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with
the wife of the father's younger brother. while among the Gilyak
this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
587 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
583 rarely two or three wives. who come over into his clan and are re-
garded before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of
• 851 his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
611 succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father. he
551 is no longer called by his former name. but is called the father
681 of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
614 itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
586 of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agna-
tion. and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak. live
620 in their yurts. and observe their family life for a long time. and
592 not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
558 large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by
families. each living in relation to its own particular interests.
Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband.
(*65) wife. and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses.
When one of them dies. the other frequently lays hands on himself
or dies from grief. In a word. to all appearances we are dealing
with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal.
Actually. however. it is not. First of all. one is struck by the
strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a
whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call
them their wives (an'gej). Likewise. a whole group of men call
[114] a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their
fathers (ytk). and these call the former their children.

1: Shternberg:--196 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/130 cont./

58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[891] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emi-
grations, and before all the world is considered the personal
wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
• [851] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
561 husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
563 names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn
("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" —
[684] teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even
bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous
marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the
Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life,
and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the
inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with
regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and
wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/
relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between
spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other
sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
121 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
125 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
[591] own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me,
and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study
of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship
nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully
accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first
census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern
Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory
system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

1: Shternberg:--256 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/171 cont./

* 835 same words with which authors describe the relations between
"kumi" and "kroki" in Australia; throughout the whole extent
of his territory, wherever the Gilyak finds his an'gej, there he
also finds a conjugal bed. For this, it is only necessary that
the Gilyak remember the kinship terms. I had many chances
to convince myself of this during the time of my travels on
Sakhalin. Again and again I appeared with my Gilyak com-
panions in settlements where neither they nor their fathers had
ever been before. Nevertheless, after the exchange of a few
sentences the bonds of kinship were revealed, and from their
first encounter pu and an'gej who were formerly unknown to
each other engaged in mimic negotiations about a fleeting
conjugality.

Among the categories of women with whom the Gilyak
* 835 has a legitimate opportunity for sexual intercourse, it is neces-
837 sary to distinguish the unmarried from the married. Maidens,
848 even among the Gilyak, are more restricted in their sexual re-
lations than the married women. The prospect of pregnancy
[614] and bearing children does not appeal to the Gilyak maiden;
• [851] the birth of a child by an unknown father, according to the clan
views of the Gilyak, is a dangerous business solely from the
fact that the sexual, marital, and clan rights, and even more
the religious rights, determined by the father are completely
uncertain, and this can lead to violations of taboos, which
the Gilyak fears most of all. Therefore, a pregnant maiden
is subjected to severe reproaches on the part of her father,
who demands either that she name the seducer, or the destruc-
tion of the fetus, or the killing of the newborn infant. How-
ever hard the moral detention of individual women is in such
cases, in practice the business /172/ is much simpler. In the
first place, many women, as we have seen, are married from
childhood on, and the others never sit for very long; there
are so few women that every girl is already married by the
* 835 time seducters become dangerous for them. Finally, those
836 who are not married and freely indulge in sexual intercourse
with men extremely rarely have an affair with just their

/648 cont./

569 this is another reason why their possession seems so enviable to
the Gilyak, and their purchase price is so high among them. A
569 Gilyak, by the way, when asked how many wives (umgu) he has,
595 will never fail to count in his female slave, and all the more
192 because he has paid more for her than for his wife or any of his
wives and she also contributes more to his prestige. This can
easily lead to mistaken ideas about the extent of polygamy
among them, and therefore the further questions, how many of
the women are his wanch (wives) or dshangi-mutsch-umgu (law-
ful women or wives) and how many are merely kryghryys-umgu
(female slaves), are always necessary in order to obtain a proper
understanding of his marital situation.

569 As severely as the practice of sexual intercourse with a
[836] female slave is condemned by the Gilyak, nevertheless this is
not always observed, especially by the younger and unmarried
men. If a female slave gives birth to a child, a Gilyak will
• (851) never under any circumstances admit that he is the father, and
nobody, of course, will believe the words of the slave. The
child, then, is regarded as belonging to the tribe of the mother
and likewise, as kryghryys, becomes the property of her owner,
who lets it grow up with the mother and, when it has grown up,
sells it as kryghryys. If, on the other hand, the much rarer case
• [848] happens, that a Gilyak girl has intercourse with a slave and
[849] brings a child into the world, the father is ignored, but the
mother is punished, and the child, as illegitimate, is killed
and done away with. On the other hand, the Gilyak not un-
happily permits a marriage between his male and female
kryghryys; in fact, if he has a female slave, he will probably
also buy a male slave and have them marry, since any children
they might have will be his kryghryys and, as such, can be
[563] turned to good account. Thus, the Gilyak has nothing against
assimilation with the neighboring peoples through mixed
marriages, but his national pride decidedly objects to such
mixing with slaves coming from these peoples and the creation
of such from his own ranks, and, on the other hand, strongly
supported by covetousness, enjoys the possession and exploitation
of slaves from the neighboring tribes.

852

852 CEREMONIAL DURING INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD--rites of passage prior to puberty; maturation ceremonies (e.g., at first step, at first tooth); rites associated with cutting of hair, ear piercing, and circumcision; ceremonies correlated with achievements (e.g., first animal killed, first cloth woven); adult guidance and sponsorship; participation of children in adult ceremonies (e.g., Christmas) etc. See also:

Motherhood	206	Parent-child relationship	608
Birthrite	527	Baptism and confirmation	795, 863
Naming ceremonial	553	Religious ceremonial	796

/942 cont./

552 Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the child
• 852 is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in the morning of the following day, depending on whether it was born in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without any ceremony; the father simply names the name desired by him or the mother, or /943/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts are
[850] practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-giving. In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a special
[852] celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally express their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share with a few villages and friends.

When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle
851 (Gilyak uchjakk). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists of
[192] a canoe-shaped or fluted, hollowed-out piece of wood of such a
[850] length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its head, can be fitted into it comfortably. While its upper end, usually pointed, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboard which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked buttocks, is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow, whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to the other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket half filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII /see p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled by excrement that might seep through the basket, a longish board (Gilyak mu, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with raised rims and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can be put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal position as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of various small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle and,

844 The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the
• 853 mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

856 If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

846 It is recommended that young women walk around a
844 great deal after they have given birth to a child, while
262 sitting is recommended for older women. Women of
273 all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

843 Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

/336 cont./

A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days
• 854 (847) and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung --
[789] chhl-chugirr(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride
[784] along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish. Chhhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows,
854 are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of
[785] a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up
[787] at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlaag (tongch: means "twins" and
[876] the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igvyn -- the master of the sea.

845 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for
[882] Pal-n'ivukh; mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chhhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan it made under the chhhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

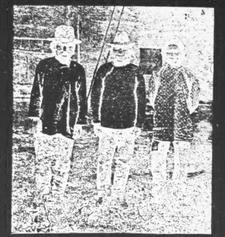

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Photo. 16. Amur Gilyak.

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Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

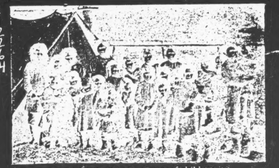

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Photo. 18. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

2: Schrenck--992 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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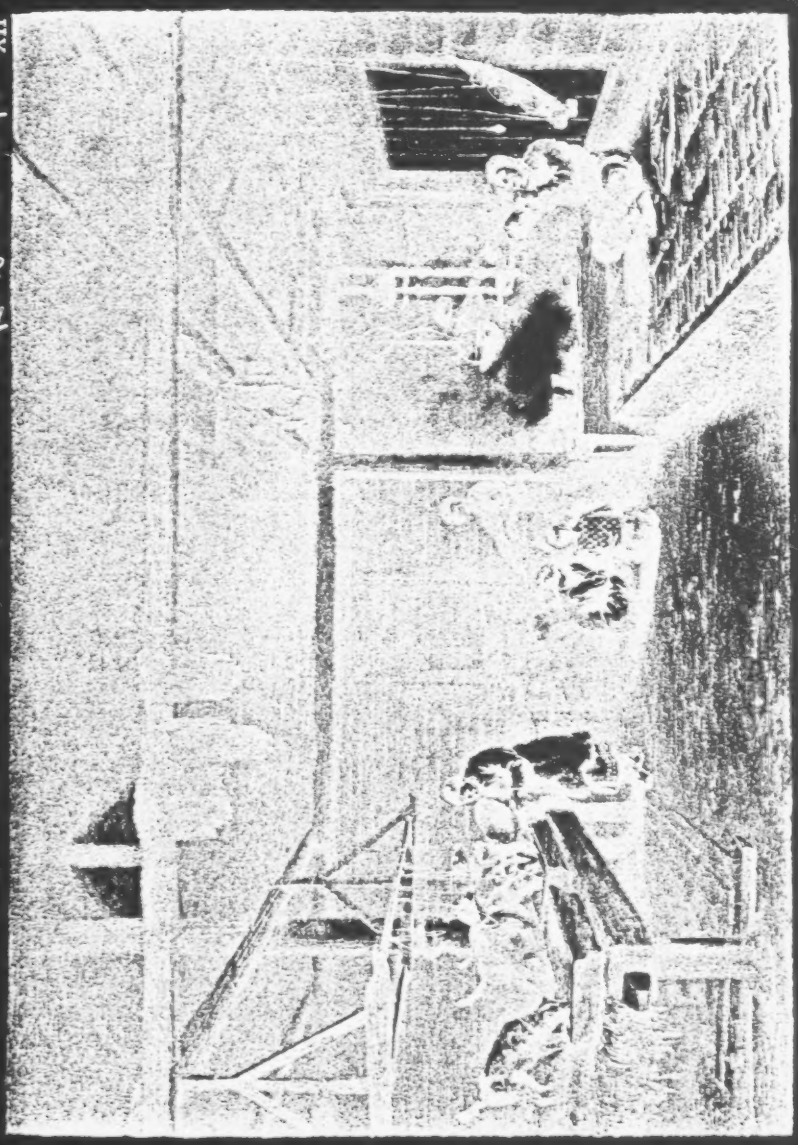

The interior of a Gilyak winter house. Feeding the dogs in it.

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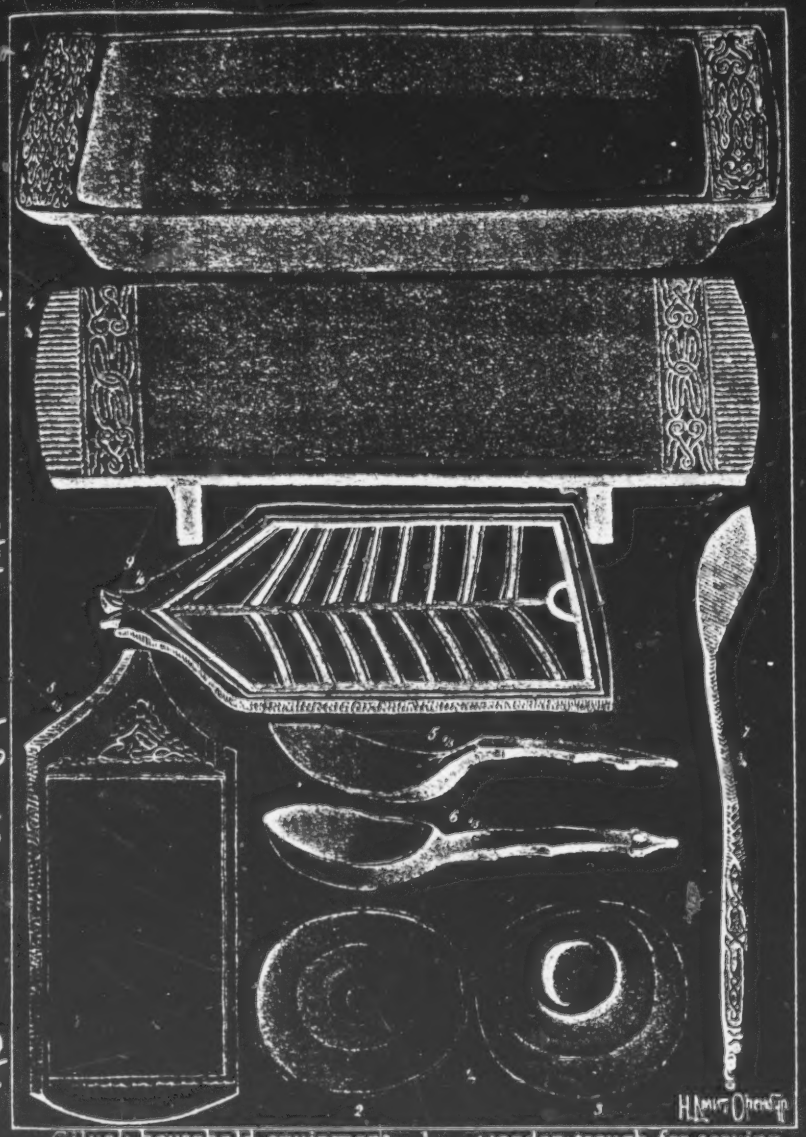

Gilyak household equipment: 1 -- wooden trough for serving food; 2 -- large wooden bowl; 3 -- the same from below; 4 -- portable tables; 5, 6 -- wooden ladle and scoop, 7 -- ordinary eating spoon; 8 -- board for cutting up tobacco; 9 -- board to put under a child's cradle.

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Immediately, or at least very soon after its birth, the chil is given a name, usually toward evening of the same day or in morning of the following day, depending on whether it was bor in the daytime or during the night. This takes place without a ceremony: the father simply names the name desired by him o the mother, or /643/ a Gilyak who happens to be present may propose a name, and the father approves it and adopts it for his child. It must be expressly stressed that no shamanistic arts ar [556] practiced either in connection with the birth or the name-givin In most cases the birth of a child is not the occasion for a spec [556] celebration. Well-to-do people, however, occasionally expre their joy over the family increase by a feasts which they share with a few villagers and friends.

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When the child has grown a bit, it is placed in a cradle (Gilyak tschjakk). This has a very peculiar nature: it consists a canoe-shaped or fluted, hollowed-out piece of wood of such length and width that the upper body of the child, up to its hea can be fitted into it comfortably. While its upper end, usually pointed, remains open, the lower end is closed with a crossboa which is provided with several grooves emptying into a central hole. The child, wrapped in blankets except for its naked but is set on this board so that the upper body rests in the hollow, whereupon a couple of straps are drawn from one edge of it to other to prevent the child from falling out. A small basket ha filled with moss or fine wood-shavings is fastened below the opening in the little seat-board, and then the cradle is hung on a crossbeam of the house, above the sleeping bench (cf. Pl.XII p. 992/). But in order to prevent the latter from being soiled excrement that might seep through the basket, a longish board (Gilyak mu, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 9 /see p. 1014/), provided with raised rims and several grooves lengthwise and crosswise, is put on it below the cradle. The long straps by which the cradle is suspended are so skillfully drawn and lashed that the latter can put in a higher or lower, vertical, oblique, or horizontal positi as desired. To quiet or to amuse the child, a bundle of variou small objects (wood or metal) is hung on the back of the cradle

/643 cont./

when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or, more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai, that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This reminded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could also accept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and gave a piece to the part that split off.

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (tkhusind). In reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (khlay-nivkh): it was their duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy

out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.

The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the improvised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

13: Seeland--32 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slantwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

116, 854

"At or near one end of the shed was a babe, tightly bandaged in a wooden box or cradle, something like those used by our American Indians, but with its little legs from the knees downward unfettered. This cradle was suspended from the ridge-pole, in an upright position, by four leather thongs, which were just long enough to enable the little one to reach the ground with its feet, by which it swung itself back and forth without assistance."

855

855 CHILD CARE--supervision, care, and support of children from earliest independence (e.g., walking, talking) to puberty; distribution of responsibility among parents and other relatives; institutionalized care (e.g., day nurseries); beliefs and standards concerning proper clothing, feeding, and housing of children; provisions for physical and mental health; protection from physical and social dangers (e.g., confinement, removal of dangerous objects); attitude of adults toward children (e.g., indulgent, indifferent, censorious); spoiling and coddling; mistreatment and neglect of children; etc. See also:

Discipline and training	86	Preventive medicine	751
Family relationships	593	Medical care	758
Care of orphans	736		

*614 /112 cont./
clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the Buryat, the Kirgiz, the Caucasian peoples, etc., is absolutely lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in
[562] the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters or selling them into slavery are impossible.

562 True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry,
593 which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between
[606] the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /zyat'/ there are established for their whole life, as we shall see, profound and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are consulted, and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies of the clansmen.

561 There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the
● 855 representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point, it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any
[86] difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak male child of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

/113 cont./
561 labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc.,
● 855 but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreover,
86 to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the clan customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his tribe, and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life that constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys, hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of his own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduct himself in society.

561 All these qualities, however, would have no significance if
596 the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples
855 of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purposely train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the despotism of the head of the family with respect to its adult members. The sons are completely free to separate from their father, obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements, sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion.
596 One encounters large families living in a communal economy, at the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfather, father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free associa-
[422] tion, from which one may depart at will. And even though he is a
[434] participant in such an economic union, every member can have his own individual economy in the form of sleds and dogs, arms, enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his personal merits; and what each member shares with his own -- and there is extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flour, rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are combined without any friction.

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift [755] him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[777] 1. On another page of the same notebook, we find the following notation: "These sticks kyz′ nyngydz′ (from kyz′ -- risk, luck, and nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers to the above-mentioned sticks.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of prung, two k:ong z′akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as strips (pylng z′akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special shape (m′erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitus′. When they prepare food, these trees -- ola′ bituz′ -- must be fed (settlement of Kal'ma).

855 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
789 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
[846] and hang it on a tree. O′ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman, does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch carefully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
[824] for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
[761] there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/640 cont./

462 would think that for the man, too, there could never be any lack
411 of domestic work. But these objects are by no means made every-
[463] where and by everyone, but rather at only a few places by expert
[439] Gilyak and used for trade (1), so that one need only make a wooden

1. A large portion of them, as was mentioned above (p. 894), are bought in crude form from the Orok and only given the finishing touches by the Gilyak.

handle or shaft and fasten the iron to it in order to produce the
462 complete weapon. The situation is similar with respect to bows,
321 boats, and other implements that are used specifically or chiefly
322 by the men. The domestic activities of the men among the
517 Gilyak, therefore, are not very numerous and are mostly limited to a few manual tasks with the knife or the drill to produce sleds, ski, animal traps, and other implements of wood or bone, and he still has much time left for idleness, smoking, and sleeping.

593 The domestic tasks and accomplishments of the wife, however,
[462] are far from exhausted by what has been presented above, for in addition to all that there are still the maternal duties, the care and tending of the children. The Gilyak, husband as well as wife, find great pleasure in children and not infrequently express it, though they are generally very reserved about expressing their feelings. I never saw a Gilyak give his wife a kiss, not even when he was about to leave on a journey or returned from one.
[855] On the other hand, I have often seen a Gilyak man, not to speak of the women, tenderly caress and kiss small children. Every
593 married Gilyak wants as large a swarm of children as possible,
842 and one who has them prides himself on it. One in Xyi was boasting in front of me about his many children, but to my question as to how many he had, he could only answer: tammlä, tammlä, that is, many, many. Mixed in with this joy, however,
[592] there is also an egoistical, utilitarian viewpoint, for in his growing sons he will soon have helpers in his lucrative hunting, fishing, and trading business, and the daughters promise, /641/ apart from
The help that they give in the household, a fine bride price.

/643 cont./

854 when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw
854 in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach,
789 which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a
[856] spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or, more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai, that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

855 The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to
give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak
862 mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous
855 demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This re-
862 minded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in
171 de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five: the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

/644 cont./

855 862 113

1. (cont.)
Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 53), the Kalmuck (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersb., 1776, Vol. I, p. 167), the Tungus (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1496), and others.

855 862 145

Among the Gilyak it not infrequently happens that, in addition to the actual suckling, several older children drink from the mother (2). The excessively long nursing of the children is un-

2. Among the Tungus, according to Middendorff (op. cit.), it even happened that "a ten-year-old urchin quite calmly sucked from the mother the remains of the milk left by his youngest brother."

doubtedly the main reason that the Gilyak women age and decline so early. I have seen some among them who, judging by their wrinkled and ruined appearance, one would say were at least 50 to 60 years old, and yet who still nursed their children and therefore presumably were only about 30 to 40 years old. And undoubtedly this is one of the reasons for the small number of people and the slow increase of the Gilyak population.

855 Children at a later age, just as in the cradle, are not kept very clean; in fact, when they have outgrown the cradle and run about freely, the little cleanliness and hygienic care that came their way up to that time usually cease altogether. It is extremely rare to see a mother wash a somewhat older child, and, to be sure, in the manner I witnessed and described above (3) in the

3. See above, p. 222 /untranslated/.

2: Schrenck--i

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boy, but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the
mitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and an-
le procedure was for him.
of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair,
dren are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very
garments, made for them as a copy of those of the
own to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments
nents on a reduced scale, one can see that in this respect
re no toil or effort for the sake of their children and are
cking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that one
small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together by
hang all the numerous implements carried by an adult,
-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., ex-
are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that the
their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time
n and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.
cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children,
in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the
they simply grow up, following the patterns that they
their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without any-
attention to them.
ak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and
heir games the activities; work, and amusements of
lts. One of the earliest, most common, and most
of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of
which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworthy
es, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite
ong the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260 /) and
en vary in size. Whether they are made by the parents
hers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is
intended in producing them. The legs of the animal,
e not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply
lly assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or could
s one might almost suspect from its general usage among
agment of an old conventional picture language among
imal figures allegedly likewise carved for the delight

576 /721 cont./
k796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
762 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[855] pated in the meal, indeed, even the women and children re-
[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day w therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[857] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
[533] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated, for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

9: Hawes--262 T-3 (190

116, 165, 562, 595, 855

"The Gilyaks treat their children re
wealth, and will 'fetch a wedding price
fish-winner, is naturally of more acco
course, very high. In the villages on t
gives the births in 3 1/3 years as 130,
88 deaths among the older persons), i
chief reason, however, of the decline
A wife has to be bought, and she is a r
unremunerative investment, but few G
expenditure."

markably well, and though a girl is potential
e,' the boy as an early bread-winner, or rather
ount. The death-rate among young children is, of
he west coast, north of Arkovo, Mr. Sternberg
out of which there were 34 deaths (in addition to
. e. an average of more than 26 per cent. The
in polygamy is more probably growing poverty.
moderately expensive article. Not that she is an
ilyaks are in a position to make the capital

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they ar three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bec The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] chilc is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slant wise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus graduall
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smok but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

> 1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva

855 and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished
524 with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

674 [222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

152 First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs. etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

592 The quiet way in which several families live in one house,
578 or more accurately, in one room, already points to
888 peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Southwest Siberia RX1

/409 cont./

As is seen from the above description, the clothing of the Amur peoples, to be sure, offers much that is significant and original, but in no way such pervasive peculiarities and differences for the individual tribes that on the basis of it one could immediately /410/ recognize the affiliation of single individuals to this or to that people. The Gilyak, for instance, fundamentally different in origin and language from all the other Amur peoples, cannot be distinguished by their dress from their neighbors, the Olcha, and the latter in turn imperceptibly lead over to the Goldi, etc. Like climatic situations, like conditions with respect to food and subsistence, like ways of life, like cultural influences, and constant reciprocal intercourse have also in the course of time had a leveling effect on the clothing of these peoples and in part reduced and in part wiped out completely the differences that presumably were formerly present.

This is not the case with regard to another aspect of their appearance, the hair style. In this respect, quite the contrary, out of the uniformity that most probably formerly prevailed there developed in the course of time, as a consequence of certain political events, differences which today to a certain extent separate even closely related peoples of the Amur region and make it possible to recognize immediately the affiliation of single individuals to one or another of them.

The Gilyak wear long hair parted in the middle and plaited in one braid for the men or two for the women, which hang down over the back. If it is too short or too sparse to be plaited, it hangs down loosely from the head, which gives the individuals concerned an untidy appearance, and old women a witchlike appearance. A luxuriant growth of hair and a long braid are regarded as adornment, but I did not see the Gilyak artificially lengthen the braid, as the Chinese do, by plaiting in black silk. Baldness, on the other hand, is subject to ridicule. In order to promote the growth of hair, children are shorn from time to time, and occasionally, especially in the case of boys, a tuft of hair is left standing somewhere on the front of the head, tied or plaited, and at the tip provided with a beaded rosette hanging down over the forehead (1). Adults, however,

/643 cont./

when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or, more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai, that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This reminded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

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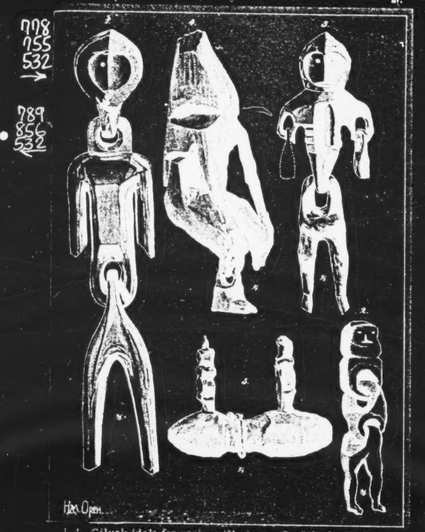

1-4. Gilyak idols for various illnesses. 5. Gilyak amulet.

The mouth of the newly born child is cleaned of the mucus with the help of a finger, whereupon the child is given the mother's breast for nursing immediately. The next day the mother washes the child with cold water, but she does not pour it directly on the body of the child, but takes it into her mouth first and only then applies it to the child, which, of course, raises the temperature of the "bath". In this way the child is washed twice a day for two years.

If the newly born child has a defective limb nobody tries to mend the damage. It is also not a custom among the Gilyak to form the soft head of the baby.

It is recommended that young women walk around a great deal after they have given birth to a child, while sitting is recommended for older women. Women of all ages are advised to move around as much as possible before they give birth to a child.

Women are strictly forbidden to drink cold water during a period of ten days before and after the delivery. If there is no tea at hand the sick woman is given cooled boiled water if she is thirsty. During that period she is not allowed to eat red-meat-fish (salmon); salted food is forbidden as well as eating a black berry that grows in the tundra (empetrum nigrum). Taking hard liquor before giving birth to a child is considered harmful, but later on it is considered to be healthy. In general liquor is consumed very rarely, and the Gilyak on Sakhalin consume very little alcohol compared to other inhabitants of this island.

Miscarriages.

Natural miscarriages (ryrnnd) occur very frequently among the Gilyak; they are considered quite harmless and not even looked at as an illness. I was told that there was scarcely a woman who had not experienced one or two miscarriages in the course of her life. But not a single inhabitant with whom I discussed it knew of a woman who always miscarried and was not able to carry the fetus in her abdomen throughout the normal period of pregnancy. I do not intend to state the causes of the frequent miscarriages among the Gilyak for lack of sufficient [759] data. I will, therefore, leave the answer to this question to the

857

857 CHILDHOOD ACTIVITIES--extent to which a special culture of childhood exists; children's play; imitative activities (e.g., make-believe); habits of rest and sleep; children's playgroups; cliques, and gangs; quarreling and fighting; children's explorations and haunts; tasks performed by children and age at which each is undertaken (e.g., errands, chores, care of younger children); etc. See also:

Socialization	86	Age-grades	661
Education	87	Primary groups	671
Baby talk	196	Ingroup antagonisms	678
Mutual aid	476	Child betrothal	684
Daily routine	512	Residence changes by children	695
Children's games, toys, and playthings	526	Quest for guardian spirit	787

/383 cont./

683 and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
[411] with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
[868] proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
[857] childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to
this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
648 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
177 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
[178] present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

121 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the num-
128 ber of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/645 cont./

524 and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really
• 857 similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to
868 romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

595 In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the
[593] household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not completely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placing a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another. For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

/707 cont./

*796 bear did not leave or enter Judin's house until after it had been
231 led back and forth through the door four times. Again the bears had to be led through all the houses in the village and treated everywhere with mossj and crushed ice. Twice they came into
*796 Judin's house and received the same treatment. The Gilyak espe-
• 857 cially like to see their boys, even if they are very small, partici-
231 pate in the feeding of the bears; they bravely step up to the animal and offer it the spoon filled with mossj, which is sometimes held and supported by several small hands; many a little fellow who can hardly stand on his legs, not to speak of holding a nichyr, must be helped by the father or older brother, who lifts up the
[825] little one. Perhaps this is done for pedagogical reasons, but more probably for superstitious reasons, namely, in the belief that through this the children will continue to have the good will of the mighty animal even after they are grown. As soon as the bears have again been taken out of the house, however, the children use the free space to romp about in and to perform an exact duplicate of what they have seen during the leading of the bears, during the changing of the bands on them, etc., most faithfully imitating all the movements, positions, and demeanors of the adults, as has been described above (pp. 1136 ff.). Thus they learn how to deal with the bears long before they can lend a helping hand.

*796 In the evening, in bright moonlight, the bears were led
231 beyond the village and all the way around Cape Tebach on the river ice. It was a long procession that started moving down toward the river, for, in addition to the three bears, who were led in the same order as /708/ always, a great number of idle boys followed them. Since the bank is high and slopes rather steeply down to the river, it was interesting to see how the procession moved down the slippery hill without falling into disorder even for a moment: while those standing at the front rope ran down at top speed, the ones busy on the rear rope had to hold back with all their might in order to prevent the bear from running down just as quickly and causing damage below; by their combined efforts, however, they succeeded in letting all three bears slide down the hill slowly and evenly. It was much easier going back, for those

/710 cont./

*796 bears, volunteered to do this. The day before he had already per-
231 formed a feat on the large bear that /711/ brilliantly proved his
156 bold and resolute courage. When this bear was led out of the house, it seized so firmly with its claws the front Gilyak goading it that the latter could not free himself any more and was pulled close to the furious animal. At that moment, Chusisin, who stood immediately behind the bear, jumped over the animal's back and landed directly in front of its snout; the startled bear, infuriated anew, dropped its first prey and bit at the second, but fortunately without success. Now, for the small bear, Chusisin took the precaution of wearing his dog-fur coat reversed, with the fur on the inside, and over it he put on a reindeer-fur coat with the fur on the outside and the back part turned to the front, at the same time tying his belt around himself in such a manner that the fur coat projected out in front of him lump-like and stuck out far from his body. So equipped, he waited for the moment when the bear, goaded with sticks, showed its teeth in a roar; now he stepped up to it with chest thrust forward and let it bite into the puffed-out fur-coat over it. Then he threw himself around the animal's neck, seized its head at the ears, and bent it down. The men standing around were ready at this moment to muzzle it, to press its paws down, etc., as I have already described above.

After this was taken care of, the bears set out on their
*796 last walk: in the same order as before, the procession, accom-
231 panied by the loud drumming of the women, went down the high bank to the river. Having reached there, it circled at a distance of several steps the hole in the ice where the women scoop water (see Plate XLVIII /p.1248 /), and returned up the hill. The bears passed close to Judin's house and the one where the owner of the third animal lived: the doors were open, and the procession involuntarily came to a halt because the bears made the greatest effort to get back in. But they were no longer permitted to do this. The procession halted at the entrance to the kadhra. Boys
•[857] came running from all sides in order to shoot their small, but not always harmless arrows at the animals, which the leaders, visibly amused, permitted them to do.

576 /721 cont./

*796 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
962 first bear meat that was taken. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived partici-
[855] pated in the meal, indeed, even the women and children re-
[415] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p.1250 /, Fig. 5, and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
•[857] outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated,
[533] for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mossj, etc. -- were put out

*614 /112 cont./
clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the Buryat, the Kirgiz, the Caucasian peoples, etc., is absolutely lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in
[562] the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters or selling them into slavery are impossible.

562 True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry,
593 which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between
[606] the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /zyat'/ there are established for their whole life, as we shall see, profound and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however, the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are consulted, and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies of the clansmen.

561 There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the
855 representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point, it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children. It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth. Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their remarks and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any
[86] difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak male child of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

/113 cont./
561 labors, he is not only a skillful s
855 but he is already in fact a worke
●86 to a considerable degree he has
of spiritual learning. He alread
customs, all the religious rites,
appellations, he knows the leger
and, to top it all off, he has tha
constant presence in the society
hunting, fishing, festivals, etc.
own worth and weightiness of spe
himself in society.

561 All these qualities, howeve
596 the patriarchal principles existed
855 of low culture also attain self-re
special, almost religious venera
train them in submission, is dem
Gilyak there is nothing of the so
despotism of the head of the fam
bers. The sons are completely f
obtaining from him their allotm
sleighs, and such, and when the
catch, they do this quite freely,
596 One encounters large families li
the head of which stands the eld
father, or one of the brothers, b
[422] tion, from which one may depar
[434] participant in such an economic
his own individual economy in t
enjoying the right to individual
merits; and what each member
extensive sharing, especially in
purchased -- is shared without a
rice, kumiss, and so on from the
the common kettle for all. Com
combined without any friction.

ot, fisherman, oarsman, etc.,
, like all the others. Moreover,
lready mastered the whole sum
knows from practice all the clan
e remembers all the kinship
ds, tales, and songs of his tribe,
knowledge of men and life that
of adults provides: on journeys,
Hence, also, his feeling of his
ech, and his ability to conduct

, would have no significance if
. The youths of other peoples
liance at an early age, but a
ion of their elders, who purposely
anded of them. Among the
rt. All the more absent is the
ily with respect to its adult mem-
ree to separate from their father,
ent in the form of implements,
y assist him with a part of their
with absolutely no compulsion.
ving in a communal economy, at
er in the family, the grandfather,
ut this is a completely free associa-
t at will. And even though he is a
union, every member can have
he form of sleds and dogs, arms,
earnings by means of his personal
shares with his own -- and there is
food supplies, both natural and
ny compulsion. They bring flour,
e city, and all this is cooked in
mmunism and individualism are

861

861 TECHNIQUES OF INCULCATION--ideas about childhood training; gener
methods of inculcation and discipline; specific techniques of providing n
tion (e.g., inciting, warning, scolding, threatening, punishing); specifi
niques of guidance (e.g., leading, demonstrating, explaining, command
specific techniques of providing rewards (e.g., helping, recompensing,
special emphasis on particular techniques (e.g., in general, at differen
for particular types of training); consistency or inconsistency in the us
techniques; ages at which conscious parental inculcation begins and end

See also:

Data on habit formation	153	Military discipline	
Family relationships	593	Native ideas about learning	
Social control	626	Education through play	
Legal sanctions	681	Educational theory	

861

HNIQUES OF INCULCATION--ideas about childhood training; general
hods of inculcation and discipline; specific techniques of providing motiva-
(e.g., inciting, warning, scolding, threatening, punishing); specific tech-
es of guidance (e.g., leading, demonstrating, explaining, commanding);
cific techniques of providing rewards (e.g., helping, recompensing, praising);
cial emphasis on particular techniques (e.g., in general, at different ages,
particular types of training); consistency or inconsistency in the use of
niques; ages at which conscious parental inculcation begins and ends; etc.
also:

ta on habit formation	153	Military discipline	703
mily relationships	593	Native ideas about learning	828
cial control	626	Education through play	867
gal sanctions	681	Educational theory	876

/183 cont./

831 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
831 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
●861 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on
account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
831 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
*835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
848 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1)
the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden cate-
gories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
831 child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
574 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of
several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-
in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their
disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose
this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an
unmarried ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) is a most desirable guest
in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "ymg:i" (son-in-
831 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
562 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
834 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
*[835] (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of
the class pu), and for this reason they always affect an ap-
pearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
831 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
834 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be
the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to
their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And,
on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example,
reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tuvn, and especially
sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is
observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown
to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions
on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither
physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable
basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
000 most distant agnate male and female cousins. During

/644 cont./

855 case of a small boy; but the obstinacy that the latter showed and the
howls that he emitted proved all too clearly how unfamiliar and an-
noying the whole procedure was for him.

In spite of their unwashed faces and often also uncombed hair,
855 the Gilyak children are, as a rule, dressed well and in winter very
291 fully. In their garments, made for them as a copy of those of the
adults, often down to the smallest detail and with all the ornaments
and embellishments on a reduced scale, one can see that in this respect
the mothers spare no toil or effort for the sake of their children and are
probably not lacking in motherly vanity. The fact, however, that one
524 sees on many a small boy the fur coat and apron-skirt held together by
293 a belt on which hang all the numerous implements carried by an adult,
ngawla- and yi-dshakko, fire steel, tinder box, pipe cleaner, etc., ex-
cept that they are all carved out of wood in miniature, shows that the
fathers, too, in their leisure hours, do not disdain giving some time
to their children and involuntarily arousing their imitative instincts.
855 Otherwise, one cannot speak of any education /645/ for the children,
861 of any training in obedience, in respect toward the parents, and the
like for them; they simply grow up, following the patterns that they
have set before their eyes by parents, siblings, and others, without any-
one paying any attention to them.

524 The Gilyak children, like all children, enjoy imitating and
mimicking in their games the activities; work, and amusements of
parents and adults. One of the earliest, most common, and most
popular games of Gilyak children is the moving back and forth of
wooden figures which are supposed to represent dogs. It is noteworthy
that these figures, which do not remotely resemble a dog, are quite
stereotyped among the Gilyak (see Pl. LX, Fig. 6 /see p. 1260 /) and
only now and then vary in size. Whether they are made by the parents
or by older brothers of the little ones, a copy of the shape of a dog is
obviously never intended in producing them. The legs of the animal,
for instance, are not in the least even indicated -- rather it is simply
the conventionally assumed representation of a dog as a toy. Or could
it perhaps be, as one might almost suspect from its general usage among
the Gilyak, a fragment of an old conventional picture language among
them? Other animal figures allegedly likewise carved for the delight

862

862 WEANING AND FOOD TRAINING--adult beliefs, standards, and aims concern-
ing weaning and appropriate eating habits for children; special reasons for
weaning (e.g., insufficient lactation, illness or pregnancy of mother); normal
age at weaning (e.g., from breast, from bottle); abruptness or gradualness
of transition; method of weaning (e.g., separation from mother, ridicule,
application of bitter substances to nipple); reactions of children to weaning;
imposition of rules about eating; teaching of table manners; resistance of
children to food training; etc. See also:

Diet	262	Etiquette	876
Eating and table manners	264	Infant feeding	883

/643 cont./

854 when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw 854 in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach, 789 which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or, [856] more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai, that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV, Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb and agile.

855 The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak 862 mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five, and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous 855 demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This re- 862 minded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in 171 de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

/644 cont./

855 862 113 1. (cont.) Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 53), the Kalmuck (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersb., 1776, Vol. I, p. 167), the Tungus (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1496), and others.

855 Among the Gilyak it not infrequently happens that, in addition 862 to the actual suckling, several older children drink from the 145 mother (2). The excessively long nursing of the children is un-

2. Among the Tungus, according to Middendorff (op. cit.), it even happened that "a ten-year-old urchin quite calmly sucked from the mother the remains of the milk left by his youngest brother."

doubtedly the main reason that the Gilyak women age and decline so early. I have seen some among them who, judging by their wrinkled and ruined appearance, one would say were at least 50 to 60 years old, and yet who still nursed their children and therefore presumably were only about 30 to 40 years old. And undoubtedly this is one of the reasons for the small number of people and the slow increase of the Gilyak population.

855 Children at a later age, just as in the cradle, are not kept very clean; in fact, when they have outgrown the cradle and run about freely, the little cleanliness and hygienic care that came their way up to that time usually cease altogether. It is extremely rare to see a mother wash a somewhat older child, and, to be sure, in the manner I witnessed and described above (3) in the

3. See above, p. 222 /untranslated/.

864

864 SEX TRAINING--adult beliefs, standards, and aims concerning sex behavior in children and methods of sex training; incidence of specifically sexual behavior in infants and children (e.g., masturbation, fingering of genitals, exhibitionism, sex play); rules for the control of such behavior (e.g., imposition, inculcation, enforcement); training in sexual modesty; imparting of knowledge and beliefs about sex and reproduction; reactions to curiosity of children about sex; normal age for each aspect of sex training; reactions of children to sex training; etc. See also:

Personality	15	Ethical ideals	577
Sex	83	Initiation	881

85

6

86

en birth to a child does not leave her place, the
; only during the most severe spells of frosty
ather is she allowed to go to the dwelling place, in
e she herself is the housewife. If she is not the
sewife she cannot expect to be taken into the house
another woman. Mishaps occurring to weak women
confinement who were left to themselves in the hut
attributed to evil spirits. In order to keep these
rits out of the "house of birth", in which one of the
st important and mysterious natural events takes
ce, a large axe is placed at the entrance of the
designed to banish the evil spirits. But this
venient and easy way of protection is not always
ficient. I recall a Gilyak called Kan coming
riedly to me for help [760] because his wife, who
compelled to do all the work in the narrow and
gusting hut, even to sewing and chopping wood,
, inadvertently, hurt his newly born son's head.
another occasion, the hut in which the wife of a
yak friend of mine was in confinement caught fire
en she had started a fire in order to warm her
lled limbs. The fact that such mishaps do not occur
frequently as one should expect is due to the
nirable strength of character and fortitude of the
yak woman who, even worn out and sick, never
es her presence of mind and her ability to work.
s the might of her motherly love which, in such
ments, increases her will power and her fortitude
degree unknown and incomprehensible to men.
Unmarried Gilyak women, fearing the disgrace
ch they would have to suffer, sometimes effect
ificial miscarriages; they use the same means
ch are said to cause natural miscarriages. But
ir skill in committing abortion is not great, for
re are many cases of infanticide.
Once in a while it happens that a Gilyak woman
es birth to a dead child; but that happens so
requently that I could not be shown a single woman
whom that had happened.
The Gilyak very much dislike talking about sexual
tters and about facts connected with them. That
robably the reason why the appearance of a new
mber of the family is explained to children in such

834 a way that every discus
864 If the baby was born in t
told that it was taken fro
or trunk; if a baby was b
have found it in the snow
845 Twin births.
163 No tribe on Sakhalin I
of triplets to any woman
there are no legends abo
Not infrequently twin
natives. They contend th
both children are of the
to know two living twins
between forty and forty-
rather well known to me
births in a population of
within a decade, but all
after birth. When I left i
old twins living in the fa
845 mine. Only in a single o
539 down are twins of differe
776 brother is in love with h
asks her to take his hea
will die.
The Gilyak are convin
the son of the god of the
ni-rookh (mountain man)
benevolent, now malevol
Gilyak. [761] (1) That is

1. I was, howev
explanation by a
twins is said to
the mountains,
offspring of the

rookh, should be given b
But, not being certain wh
offspring of human being
both equally.
845 It is a custom among t
766 cremate dead bodies (2),

2. In general, c

sion of the fact is precluded.
the summer, the children are
om under the roots of a tree
born in winter, one pretends to
y.

sland has reported the birth
at any time. That is why
out such an event either.
births take place among the
at in each one of these cases
same sex. I personally came
of the Gilyak tribe who were
five years old. In regions
there occurred three twin
more than 300 persons
these twins died immediately
n 1905 there were five month
mily of a Gilyak friend of
ld Gilyak song which I wrote
ent sex mentioned. The
is sister and, in this song,
rt into her hands, or else he

ced that one of the twins is
woods and mountains, pal-
, a mighty deity now
ent towards the poor, weak
why the child of the pal-ni-

er, given another
Gilyak: one of the
be an offspring of
the other one an
sea.

ack to his father right away.
hich of the children is not an
s one prefers to treat them

he majority of the Gilyak to
but twins are not allowed to

nly those Gilyak tribes

866

866 INDEPENDENCE TRAINING--adult beliefs, standards, and aims concerning dependence in children and the development of independence; culturally prescribed age levels for the achievement of independence; incidence and treatment of dependent behavior (e.g., clinging to parents, tattling); induration to heat, cold, pain, and fatigue (e.g., exposure, ordeals, flogging); inculcation of courage; teaching of self-reliance and readiness to assume responsibility; inculcation of cooperation and competitiveness; instilling of levels of aspiration (e.g., for knowledge, for skills, for social advancement); reactions of children to demands for independence; etc. See also:

Economic cooperation and competition 47
Social mobility 55
Cooperativeness and competitiveness 157
Age stratification 861
Military training 702
Vision quest 787
Activities of children 867

/376 cont./

593 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
476 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
[226] of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[866] existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
[224] Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[225] require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
464 such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
591 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[768] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equipment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between members of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among these barbarians than in a civilized family.

86

867 TRANSMISSION OF CULTURAL NORMS--inculcation
propriate behavior for children (e.g., rest and sleep
children into social relationships (e.g., teaching to s
struction in etiquette and kinship behavior); training i
values (e.g., ladylikeness, manliness); instilling of
struction in social, ethical, legal and political norms
morals and character; etc. See also:

Personality	15	Labor and leisure	
Mutual aid and competition	47	Occupational speci	
Kinship behavior	60	Standard of living	
Social norms	183	Sleeping	
Public opinion	208	Esthetic ideals	
Status and role	554	Citizenship	
Interpersonal relations	571	Legal norms	
Etiquette	576	Juvenile delinquen	
Ethical ideals	577	Taboos	
Social control	62		

7

of norms concerning ap-
routines); initiation of
hare and take turns, in-
n sex-typed attitudes and
respect for property; in-
; techniques for inculcating

. 461
lization 463
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cy. 674, 738
. 784

/169 cont./

833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is lo-
* 835 cations where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
* 835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
221 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
* 835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[521] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants themselves nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
• [867] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider their obligation to impart to their children with religious solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[764] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage. In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
* 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
585

835 /181 cont./
17]

Contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 passim.

intercourse are legalized, in contrast to the Gilyak marriage system, with the differentiated terms noa and piruari. According to this system, every woman is joined in individual marriage to one man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage to a whole category of men, who mutually call each other piruari, with the characteristic distinction that persons of this category are solemnly affirmed by the high council of the tribe.

/182/ The object which these measures pursue is evidently the following: 1) to strengthen in the social consciousness the lawfulness of sexual relations for a certain group of persons; 2) to make commonly known the names of the persons of this group of spouses. Among the Gilyak the matter
[867] has not gone so far -- the tribe is too small, and every person from childhood knows very well from the words of his parents the names of his group pu and an'g:ej, and, consequently, all the rights connected with these names. Under other conditions the Gilyak would probably have developed the procedure practiced among the Dieri. The following characteristic analogies between the marriages of the Gilyak and the Dieri are also curious: 1) "a woman becomes the noa of a man, having been married to him when she was still a child" (1).

1. Howitt, op. cit., p. 811, Table IV.

2) Judging by the kinship terminology, piruari (i.e., group husbands and wives) are not arbitrarily designated by the great council, but from a definite circle of kinsmen, specifically, for the women the brothers of her husband are piruari, while for a man -- the sisters of his wife. So, by one and the same term, apiri waka, the piruari designate

/185 cont./

35 marriage, and without the instinct of sexual repulsion or indifference for persons of the forbidden categories, the majority of the prohibitive norms would lose their strength.

How were these powerful instincts, or at least semi-instincts, able to develop?

35 In the development of these instincts a powerful influence
867 was exerted by the classificatory system of kinship. From earliest childhood the little boys and girls know exactly whom they should designate by what term, and what sexual rights-obligations are bound up with those terms; thus from childhood they begin to regard certain relationships with certain individuals as something established by nature itself and as immutable. Just as our training develops sexual indifference toward parents, children, and own brothers and sisters, in the same way among the Gilyak, owing to the class terminology and the prohibitions mastered at an early age, there is developed a similar feeling with respect not only to own father and mother, but also toward all "fathers" and "mothers," toward all the brothers of the father, toward all "sisters" and "brothers," sisters of the mother, agnate cousins, etc. And in just the same way a baby knows from childhood the rights of the pu category to its an'g:ej; once he knows from childhood that every tuvn has the right to his individual an'g:ej, then when he is an adult he will be able to look indifferently enough on the sexual relations of his own wife with his tuvn and her pu. But at the same time
35 he is far from indifferent when such relations take place with
864 outsiders. Then his wrath knows no bounds: /186/ he kills an adulterer in flagrante delicto, and in other cases he furiously fights a duel with his rival. And moreover, if even his own tuvn allows himself to break the established etiquette -- non-publicity -- in his relations with his wife, he does not remain indifferent, but forces the offender to withdraw from the settlement.

/254 cont./

832 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only
826 from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both
609 liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Pilsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhrà -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

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832 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor
291 role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In
533 their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

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577 ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'ívukh'a, i.e., respected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester, singer, Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the
[867] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

/255 cont./

832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
577 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867

A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs, his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, apparently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
529 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which make a man like a beast.

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826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij -- in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of hermaphrodites are a common event.

/257 cont./

143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

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826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point when she can see them. A similar term exists for men -- "a man
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VII.

Miscellanea

148 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Gibel'ka's
149 story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu, Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then took two or three sables per package. /342/ He collected debts by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind of okht to women (see above, p. 480, "Women, Childbirth, and Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga recognized the cast-up body and informed the mother. But when she arrived the body was gone; she saw only the tracks of a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear dealt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of the feast. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight; no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill. But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug, the water kept increasing. This was the tears of those people whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without water.

● 867 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, not to laugh at anybody.

567 Slaves -- krygrys (1896). In Kuklyakh (?) a krygrys was exchanged for a woman. In Vaydakh -- a krygrys, Khyumik, a limping woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about, "She did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for no one wanted to have krygrys children. There were krygrys also in Tengakh, Tevakh, Kutr. The atx (see p. 222, IV) of Gibel'ka had krygrys.

814 is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following
614 the decision of the clan, to one of the nuvn of the deceased,
580 generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a nuvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her, although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-ytk, atk, ola. Generally speaking, as a rule, a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under no circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore,
614 it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages
[324] concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition, scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from
● [867] father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the
[323] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the in-
173 capacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

1: Shternberg--375 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/257 cont./

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826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
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1: Shternberg--440 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Amur

/304 cont./

685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire vil-
754 lage, meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it happens that the thief dies from it.

687 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-niŷukh sits, nothing is allowed to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kyt) -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ŷukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).
● 881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mer'kh); formerly men also pierced their
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she be-
585 gins to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŷgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
834 commodates a guest under one blanket.

842 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
842 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam)
844 in winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer -- three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.
[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches, and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

882 STATUS OF ADOLESCENTS--cultural definition of adolescence (e.g., age limits); beliefs and attitudes about adolescents; prerogatives and disabilities of adolescents; relaxing or tightening of social control for each sex; residence shifts at puberty (e.g., removal of boys to men's house or to home of a grandparent or maternal uncle); readjustment of social relationships, etc. See also:

Age stratification	561	Social control	658
Men's clubs	575	Legal liability	672
Residence rules	535		

1: Shternberg--367 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/251 cont./

831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych,
[192] n'arr'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time, let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
● 882 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
573 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer, but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly address their mother, sharing with her their amorous suffer-
ings, seeking advice on how to find their beloved. Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
[835] going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
[762] the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
573 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

883 ADOLESCENT ACTIVITIES--behavior patterns characteristic of adolescents (e.g., dating, loitering); economic activities expected of adolescents; adolescent organizations (e.g., work groups, cliques, bachelors' clubs); adolescent recreations (e.g., expeditions, picnics); adolescent problems (e.g., reactions to social pressures for adult behavior); etc. See also:

Cliques, gangs, mobs, and rioting	87	Mutual aid	478
Welfare organizations	74	Athletic sports	698
Socialization	96	Dancing	698
Education	87	Courtship	584
Slang	100	Juvenile delinquency	674, 750
Loafing and loitering	481	Premarital sex relations	936
Child labor legislation	666		

1: Shternberg--272 E-5 (1890-1897,1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/183 cont./

83 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
83 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
86 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
83 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
*835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
843 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1) the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden categories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
83 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
● 883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an unmarried yŋgıl (son-in-law /yŋat'/) is a most desirable guest in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "yŋgıl" (son-in-
85 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
842 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
83 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
*[835] especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of the class pu, and for this reason they always affect an appearance of the strictest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
83 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
836 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And, on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example, reactions of jealousy with respect to one's nuvn, and especially sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
880 most distant agnate male and female cousins. During

885 ADULTHOOD--conception of the prime of life; cultural definition of adult status; differential status and activities of adult males and females prior to and subsequent to marriage; concepts of the ideal man and the ideal woman; etc. See also:

Social mobility	55	Ethical ideals	577
Leisure-time activities	517	Activities of newly married persons	585
Age stratification	561	Celibacy	589
Sex status	562	Civil rights	641

/341 cont./

VII.

Miscellanea

648 199 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Gibel'ka's story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu, Orochon, the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then took two or three sables per package. /342/ He collected debts by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind of okht to women (see above, p. 480, "Women, Childbirth, and Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga recognized the cast-up body and informed the mother. But when she arrived the body was gone;. she saw only the tracks of a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear dealt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of the feast. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight; no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill. But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug, the water kept increasing. This was the tears of those people whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without water.

● 867 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, nor to laugh at anybody.

567 Slaves -- krygrys (1894). In Kuklyakh (?) a krygrys was exchanged for a woman. In Vaydakh -- a krygrys, Khyumik, a limping woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about," "she did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for no one wanted to have krygrys children. There were krygrys also in Tongakh, Tevakh, Kutr. The atk (see p. 222,IV) of Gibel'ka had krygrys.

/354 cont./

614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), within the clan neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 587 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following the decision of the clan, to one of the ruvn of the deceased, generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her, although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased, i.e., to his khal'-ytk, atk, ola. Generally speaking, as a rule, a woman living as a wife (de facto), with someone may under no circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore, 614 [829] it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition, scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the ● [867] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the [623] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are decided by the elders in the clan.

614 173 4. The khal' supports all the old people, the sick, the incapacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the khal' where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the khal'."

868

868 TRANSMISSION OF SKILLS--acquisition of language; teaching children to walk and swim; techniques for inculcating manual dexterity and technological skills; teaching and learning of economic skills appropriate to each sex; informal instruction in occupational skills; acquisition of artistic skills (e.g., playing of musical instruments); relative importance of imitation, practice, and instruction in the transmission of skills; etc. See also:

Language	19	Motor habits	516
Fine arts	53	Athletic sports	526
Division of labor by sex	462	Military training	702
Occupational specialization	463	Age at walking and talking	856
Locomotion	481	Formal vocational education	874

respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.
796 Furthermore, with regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of
23 the bear, this at first sight may not at all appear to an ele-
ment of a religious nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some
occasions may catch young animals, and whenever he finds
it profitable, he feeds them; thus, he feeds the fox for its fur,
and young eagles for their feathers. Similarly, it is disad-
vantageous for the Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers
to feed it in order to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and
an enormous skin. Furthermore, there is nothing more
natural than the need to use the killing of the bear for
a solemn occasion like the celebration of the funeral feast
[826] for a close person. By the way, the feeding and the killing
[826] of a bear is an excellent means of education for the youth.
who from childhood become accustomed to the most terrible
animal of their taiga, learn not to fear it, and study its dis-
position, its strength, and its weaknesses. The procedure for
getting the bear out of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting
it out of its lair.

796 Nonetheless, it is not these crude, utilitarian motives that
825 play the major role in the Gilyak's expensive, wearisome,
and prolonged care in feeding a bear. He is governed here by
other motives, perhaps also utilitarian, but of a quite differ-
ent order. As we have already seen, in the eyes of the Gilyak,
the bear is a creature sui generis. No matter what creature is
concealed under the hairy covering of the bear, a divine
clansman of the master of the mountains, a mountain man, or
a real animal sent as a present to the Gilyak by its master, in
any case he is a creature of a higher order, more powerful,
and superhuman strong. The presence of such a being for a
long stretch of time in their native settlement, according to
the view of the Gilyak, who is convinced of the constant
conspiracies of crowds /69/ of evil spirits eternally threaten-
ing his life and health, must be extremely beneficial. The
presence of this mighty creature, like a very strong disinfectant,
must kill and drive away any insidious spirit. It is not by

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25 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
76 must often get out on the floes for it is not always convi-
54 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
61 If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
25 are five oarsmen, one pila:and one other man, then the pila:
76 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
61 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
85 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example:
if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if
both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the
oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving
orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the
rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pi:skuk and
Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pi:skuk and
Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars,
Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them
all sits at the stern. It happens that the pila: is younger than
the extra man in the boat. In that case the pila: tends the
rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know
of such a case. Pila: Norp took along with him in the boat
old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while
Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting
at the seals and:t, to whom Norp had turned over the steering
oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting
about his work Onkan said to me: "I was sitting with-
out doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others
that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare
food. He also seems to have helped with some other things;
which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable
to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time
in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number
of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner,
he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient
degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

5 [82] As mentioned above the pila: performs mu-ziv:d
9 and t-ka:.

Mu-zi:d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short
1 sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern
board. The distance between them is approximately two fin-
gers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres
around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform this on hands
of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog
and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the
child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
[868] proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
[859] childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to
this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
248 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
197 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally popula-
tion of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most
remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom
at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to ensnare whole settlements in
deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable
lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting
authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the
quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have
the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi"
of different clans for a resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified
[878] Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension
and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian
administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise"
and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election,
regulating the time of the meetings, the area of their authority,
etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of vari-
ous clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect
men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected
court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

12 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the num-
28 ber of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/645 cont./
521 and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp
(Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite dif-
ferent character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really
857 similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to
868 romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small
bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling
on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the
manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for
which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the
others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely
as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear
festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or
older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods,
for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent
techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the
girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and
older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handi-
crafts and all the operations in the household.

595 In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same
house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section
of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the
wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the
[593] household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not com-
pletely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is
almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work
falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by
the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-
purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for some-
times, as Junchin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take
a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for
the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by giving
a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal
depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate
themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another.
For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
183 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
125 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
252 784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
552 parts of the clan.

Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Ch'arvak
848 (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and Ch'isk (Agiska) informed
883 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects
526 used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by
women in cutting leather and cloth (tans-k-i:mr). Also, a child
must not play with a woman's cutting knife (ian-dagd).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit
to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,'
'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a
cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the
taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that
he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow,
or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local
Russian - farta). If a woman or a girl were to step in-
advertently over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep
into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls
are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children
are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in
play - have anything to do with implements used by women in
their tasks and that, conversely, girls must use implements
used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legiti-
mize for both men and women, virtually from the time of
birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.

462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until
recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak
rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs,
row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregancy,
the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the
rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disreput-
able and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food,
make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous
tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dig-
nity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food.
They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury; some never do it and leave it to
chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water;
some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which
they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a
wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat
and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their
hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept
in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are
three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed.
The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed;
on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child
is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the
open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slant-
wise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother
leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to
her back.

● 868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke
but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

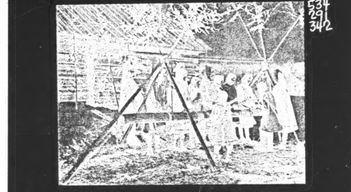

Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ulchi 532
and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the 525
bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers 101
were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved
with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given
bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they
indicated the sex of the whole village, if the bear was killed in a hunt
or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so
forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a 534
primitive one-string instrument (ngyrgyd) and a jew's-harp (kazagyd). 796
During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an 871
ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks. ● 842

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolu-
tion. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary,
Protof'yakonov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Maritisk; two
others were opened in 1905. By 1908 they were closed for lack of funds.
Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

871 EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM--degree of development and elaboration of formal education; prevalent types of educational specialization (e.g., schools, tutors, apprenticeship); source of support of teachers and educational institutions (e.g., fees from students, ecclesiastical aid, private gifts and endowments); systematization of education (e.g., local school boards, state educational agencies, voluntary organizations of educational administrators); degree of standardization as to levels, policies, and curricula; primary objectives of formal education (e.g., piety, morality, citizenship, vocational skills, intellectual leadership); diffusion of education (e.g., educational statistics), etc. See also:

Literacy	512	Reformatories	788
School buildings	346	Philanthropic foundations	741
Public support of education	698	Sunday schools	794

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

175 In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the
648 Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, be-
came the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized
to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted
several years.

807

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[82] Mu-zi:d

[82] ACTIVITIES OF THE AGED--regimen of the aged (e.g., diet, exercise, rest); economic tasks performed by the aged; leisure time activities of the aged; sexuality in old age; professional activities of the aged; other functions and activities of the aged (e.g., ceremonial, political); etc. See also:

Domestic authority of the aged	50	Educational and disciplinary functions	
Authentic cases of extreme longevity	105	of grandparents	603

2; Schrenck--1156 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/715 cont./ At this window,
*796 after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation
552 of a toad (Gilyak mintuch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from
826 the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see
the woodcut, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the
adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to
represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig.
3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst
reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently
as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in the text.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the mis-
fortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and
finally, consumption. It is the scapegoat upon which the Gilyak
heap all guilt and responsibility for their actions against the bear,
and it is therefore not admitted into the festively decorated house,
but remains /716/ outside of it stuck to the window, where it may
witness its misdeeds. The bear, on the other hand, is greeted as a
welcome guest by the participants at the festival and, as an equal
(hence the clothing) is given a place on the bench of honor. Fur-
ther proof of the correctness of this interpretation, which I can ex-
press only as a conjecture, will be given in the following. /Illustra-
tion appears here./

*796 Immediately after the feeding of the dogs, which even on this
252 day takes place in the house in spite of the festive decorations, the
work of the day begins -- the cooking of the bear meat in the
[838] hearth concerned. This work is given to only the oldest men, the
[839]

2: Schrenck--1157 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/716 cont./

Toad made out of birch bark.

*796 graybeards, as a high port of honor; the women and girls, the boys
252 and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly,
[838] deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the
[839] fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a
similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the
[789] kettle was filled with snow for it is plain to see water for cooking
bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shaving and
fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time.
Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly
under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor.
[832] The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and
figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and
on the other side a toad likewise executed.

[839] The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not
until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs
and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of
the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only
then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were
fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

2: Schrenck--1158 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/716 cont./
*796 hanging in front of the bears so that they taste them first. Besides
252 the elders, only a dog remained in the house, and, to be sure, so
it appears, only to lick clean the implements used in the cooking
and the transfer to the trough.

Early in the morning on the following day (January 28) the
*796 old men started their work of cutting up and cooking the meat.
412 which was interrupted only by the usual feeding of the dogs in the
[252] house and a race beforehand with specially decorated animals
[887] dragging behind them only the tail of a fox or dog, as was men-
tioned above. Next, a number of articles were brought in from
the storehouses, /717/ all of which were hung or otherwise attached
to the bear rack in colorful confusion: pieces of fur and the skins
of paws of bears killed bears; the skins of chains with which they were
led while alive, dried bear-penes wrapped in birch bark, knives
which at the point of attachment of the blade have a bundle of
hair from the bear's penis region around them, the so-called uing-
dthakko of the Gilyak, with which it is ulisch to cut anything other
than bear meat and fat (see Plate LI /p. 1251/, Fig. 3), and a
number of nicely carved spoons and peculiarly shaped bowls. The
[415] latter were put to use immediately, being filled with the broth ob-
[264] tained from the bear meat, which was sipped either directly or with
the help of the spoons. This service, used by the Gilyak only when
consuming bears, is very interesting and deserves a more detailed
discussion.

*796 The bowls called nichvy-ngir or nichyy-ngith, i.e., bear-
412 spoon bowls, are made in Gilyak after the bear (nichvy), are always
[415] carved out of a single, often quite long piece of wood, which about
[264] in the middle or near the one or the other end has either a rather
deep or only a shallow oval hollow (Plate L /p. 1250/, Figs. 1 and
2). The former are specifically intended for eating the bear-meat
broth, the latter (the same piece, Fig. 3) for the bear meat or fat.
What makes these bowls especially interesting, however, is that
sometimes the one, sometimes the other end of the piece of wood,
and sometimes both the front and the handle ends, are provided
with various carvings referring to the bears and the bear festival.
The latter are also found in profusion on the handles and sometimes

2: Schrenck--1160 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/718 cont./
*796 just as it would be extremely uitsch if one wanted to fry, not only
259 bear meat, but any meat at the one or the other hearth, for the
[789] bear would hear the sizzling of the frying meat and would be
[263] frightened. When it was thought that the bear meat was done, the
broth was scooped out in a forementioned bowls and drunk, but
the meat was placed upon fir branches under the étagère and
covered with the same. Not until evening was it put into the
trough hanging in front of the bears' heads. Moreover, toward
[782] evening, six of the largest sturgeon and hausen, one of which was
about eight feet long, were brought into the house and placed in
front of the bears; they were offered to them as a sacrifice and
were intended for the forthcoming feast.

In the morning of the following day (January 29) the old
*796 men resumed their work in front of the bear hearth. The young
[887] people were likewise busy, with some of them bringing in addi-
[851] tional firewood, others going into the nearby mountain forest in
order to bring from a storehouse for bilberries, which the women
had erected there in the fall, the supply required for the festival.
*796 In the meantime the dogs were fed, except for those 14 animals
22 which Judin had selected for a bravura ride on the river. They
541 were decorated with the above-mentioned red-tasselled collars
and harnessed to a small, prettily decorated sled which was driven
by its owner himself. The drive, amid loud drumming by the
women, proceeded at top speed, first down the steep bank to the
river and then on a leveled course along the latter, and ended
without a mishap amid the wild applause of the assembled throng.
Only then were these dogs given their meal in the house, while
the people enjoyed the bear-meat broth.

*796 In the afternoon, the old men began to cut the bear fat
252 into long strips which, decorated with wood shavings (zach) and
fir branches, they likewise hung in front of the bears' heads,
and not until shortly before complete darkness did they take them
down again to put them in a small trough decorated in the same
way and placed on the floor in front of the bears. In the mean-
time, more life and commotion had entered into these prepara-
tions for the feast: some young men began to cut up the six

4; Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

225 of a small boord equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to
30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter had himself
nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the
hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.
As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a
smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after
the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears came down to rivers to treat
themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi availed them with bows or
guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears
with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season.
Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an im-
portant part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn
in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning
from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable
on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees
which served the sables as crossings.

The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century
204 replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow
[187] was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and
[178] foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large
[184] animals.

214 Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi at the middle of
the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi
had carried goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.
326 Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in
some of the villages, who refurbished Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian
metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved,
adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so
forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of
massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old
smiths.

326 The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The
● 887 old men wore robes from bast and nettle, bulk sleds and made dog-harness.
Brow's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these
462 occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation
and tanning of skins, sewing and embroidery. The women processed the
skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and
ornamented clothing, made wooden vessels, gathered plant products, did
the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East Revolutionary Committee, commodity relations were quite
179 strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective
433 production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact
of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who
lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and
other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income
from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an in-
significant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and
sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fish-
ing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 4 to 7 persons.
Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during
the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in
194 addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.
22 The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; pikeia
262 took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with

/68 cont./

respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier. Furthermore, with regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of the bear, this at first sight may not at all appear to an element of a religious nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some occasions may catch young animals, and, whenever he finds it profitable, he feeds them; thus, he feeds the fox for its fur, and young eagles for their feathers. Similarly, it is disadvantageous for the Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers to feed it in order to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and an enormous skin. Furthermore, there is nothing more natural it would seem than to use the killing of the bear for a solemn occasion like the celebration of the funeral feast for a close person. By the way, the feeding and the killing of a bear is an excellent means of education for the youth, who from childhood become accustomed to the most terrible animal of their taiga, learn not to fear it, and study its disposition, its strength, and its weaknesses. The procedure for getting the bear out of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting it out of its lair.

Nonetheless, it is not these crude, utilitarian motives that play the major role in the Gilyak's expensive, wearisome, and prolonged care in feeding a bear. He is governed here by other motives, perhaps also utilitarian, but of a quite different order. As we have already seen, in the eyes of the Gilyak, the bear is a creature sui generis. No matter what creature is concealed under the hairy covering of the bear, a divine clansman of the master of the mountains, a mountain man, or a real animal sent as a present to the Gilyak by its master, in any case he is a creature of a higher order, more powerful, and superhumanly strong. The presence of such a being for a long stretch of time in his native settlement, according to the view of the Gilyak, who is convinced of the constant conspiracies of crowds /69/ of evil spirits eternally threatening his life and health, must be extremely beneficial. The presence of this mighty creature, like a very strong disinfectant, must kill and drive away any insidious spirit. It is not by

/383 cont./

and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights. In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/ Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the number of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/645 cont./

and entertainment of the children, for instance, those of the carp (Gilyak pilengat, Pl. LX, Fig. 5 /see p. 1260/), bear a quite different character, because they reveal an attempt to give a really similar picture of the animal. As soon as the boys are able to romp about freely, they amuse themselves by shooting with small bows and arrows at a target or at imaginary animals, by traveling on small sleds with the whelps, or by faithfully imitating all the manipulations that they see the adults execute with bears, for which one boy represents the bear and behaves like it, but the others try to pull it, subdue it and lead it away, etc., precisely as is done during the processions with the animal at the bear festivals. Very soon they are also taken along by the father or older brother to set up or inspect the animal traps in the woods, for fishing, and the like, and they learn from them the pertinent techniques and in general what to do or to avoid. No less do the girls in their games and occupations imitate their mothers and older sisters and are soon capable of helping them in the handicrafts and all the operations in the household.

In a polygamous marriage all the wives live in the same house with the husband, and each of them has a certain section of the sleeping benches for herself and her children. Legally the wives are completely equal and are obliged to care for the household jointly. But as a rule the division of labor is not completely equal among them, since one or another of the wives is almost always favored by the husband, and only the lighter work falls to her, while all the heavier work must be performed by the others. It is by no means the case, however, that the last-purchased or the youngest wife is always the favorite, for sometimes, as Jutschin and other Gilyak told me, the man may take a second or a third wife simply in order to make life easier for the first wife or for one of the two he already has /646/ by placing a new and able worker by her side. Whether he achieves his goal depends, however, on whether and how the wives accommodate themselves to the new arrangement and get along with one another. For no matter how little jealous they may be, the peaceful

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
183 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
626
262 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
462 parts of the clan.

868 Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Čarvax
183 (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and Ōisk (Agiska) informed
626 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by women in cutting leather and cloth (tans-kəlmr). Also, a child must not play with a woman's cutting knife (tan-dago).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uit ('taboo,' 'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow, or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local Russian - farta). If a woman or a girl were to step inadvertantly over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in play - have anything to do with implements used by women in their tasks and that, conversely, girls mustnot use implements used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legitimize for both men and woman, virtually from the time of birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.

462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
614 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs, row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregancy, the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disreputable and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food, make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dignity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food. They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slantwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

> 1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

871

871 EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM--degree of development and elaboration of forma
education; prevalent types of educational specialization (e.g., schools, tu
apprenticeship); source of support of teachers and educational institutions
(e.g., fees from students, ecclesiastical aid, private gifts and endowment
systematization of education (e.g., local school boards, state educational
agencies, voluntary organizations of educational administrators); degree o
standardization as to levels, policies, and curricula; primary objectives o
formal education (e.g., piety, morality, citizenship, vocational skills, in
tellectual leadership); diffusion of education (e.g., educational statistics)
See also:

Literacy 212
School buildings 346
Public support of education 658
Reformatories 7
Philanthropic foundations 7
Sunday schools 7

vanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

142

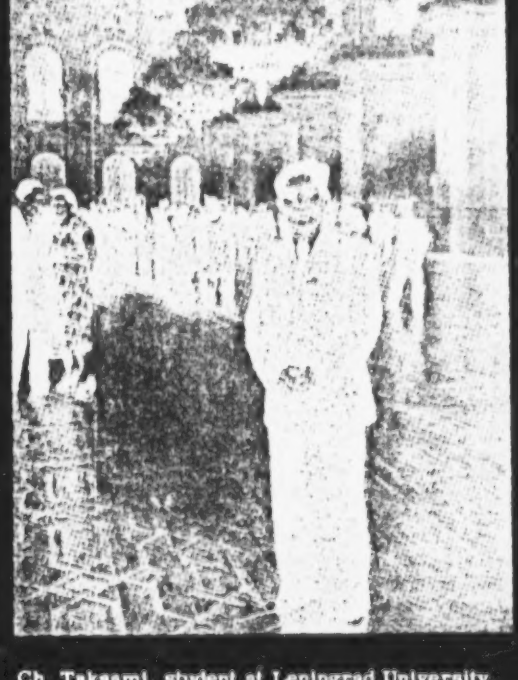

Ch. Taksami, student at Leningrad University, at a student ball in the Kremlin palace.

177 648 753 871

ay the Nivkhi are served by an extensive network of diverse medical ions; in addition, specialist physicians visit the most remote ive-farm villages. One of the initial tasks of the Soviet government bring the children into the schools and to liquidate illiteracy among lts. Schools were opened in Sakhalin during the very first years after ablishment of the Soviet government there. A group of Nivkhi young were sent to school on the continent, and adults were taught at cen- r the liquidation of illiteracy.

177 648 871 212

Nivkhi alphabet was created in 1931. In 1932, the first schoolbooks ublished. During the 1933-34 school year, some 300 children were at school in the Sakhalinskaya Oblast, which meant 86% of all Nivkhi n of school age. It was possible to assure daily attendance only after ablishment of dormitories. Today all children attend school. In the of Kal'ma there is an elementary seven-year school; in Noglíki there -year school. A part of the Nivkhi youth (boys) attend trade schools osol'sk and factory schools in Komsomol'sk and Nikolayevsk-on- ur.

22: Knox I-2 (1866) 1870

346 dent showed me several articles made by the pupils, inclu wooden spoons, forks, bowls, and cups, and he gave me f souvenir a seal cut in pewter, bearing the word 'Fulyh in Russian letters, and having a neatly turned handle.

871 The school is in operation ten months of each year. superintendent said the children of the Russian peas could attend if they wished, but very few did so. The tea was a subordinate priest of the Eastern church. The exp of the establishment was paid by Government, with the sign of making the boys useful in educating the Gilyaks.

771 825 964 766 The Gilyaks of the lower Amoor are pagans, and the tempts to Christianize them have not been very succe thus far. Their religion consists in the worship of idols animals, and their priests or *shamans* correspond to 'medicine man' of the American Indians. Among ani they revere the tiger, and I was told no instance was kn of their killing one. The remains of a man killed by a are buried without ceremony, but in the funerals of other

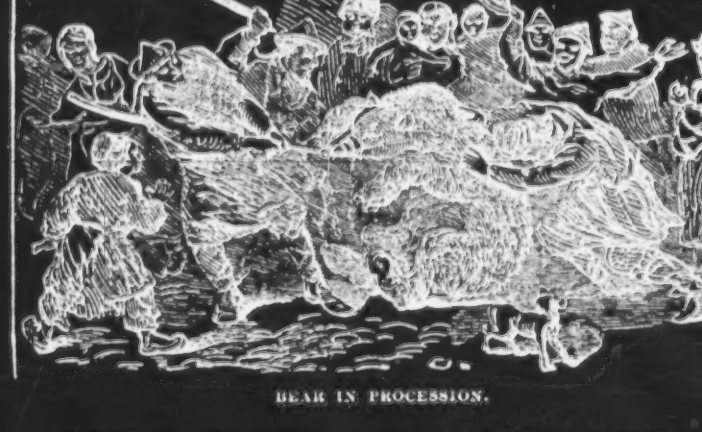

BEAR IN PROCESSION.

sons the Gilyaks follow very nearly the Chinese custom. bear is also sacred, but his sanctity does not preserve from being killed.

825 In hunting this beast they endeavor to capture him a once taken and securely bound he is placed in a cage i

872

872 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION--tutorial education; primary schools (e.g., private, parochial, public); periods of instruction (e.g., terms, vacations, hours per day, days per week, weeks per year, years required for graduation); compulsory or voluntary attendance; objectives (e.g., universal literacy); curriculum (e.g., subjects and their progression); grading and advancement; educational aids (e.g., textbooks, stationery, blackboards); ceremonial (e.g., graduation); special institutions for very young children (e.g., nursery schools, kindergartens); etc. See also:

Books and writing materials 21
Religious beliefs 77
Traditional history 173
Reading, writing, and spelling 212
School buildings 346
Music 533
Ethical ideals 577
Civics 641
Arithmetic 803
Ethnogeography 823
Informal transmission of social norms 867
Teachers 875

73 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
81 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
21 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

53 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
872 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

53 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
09 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

53 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
21 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
77 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

873

873 LIBERAL ARTS EDUCATION--existence, number, and variety of institutions on the secondary and college levels devoted to instruction in the liberal arts; special objectives (e.g., inculcation of aristocratic ideals, preparation for democratic leadership, refinement of personal tastes, preparation for rational choice of careers); sources of financial support; administration; scholarships; curricula; courses and terms; educational aids (e.g., libraries); grading and advancement; degrees; ceremonial (e.g., commencement); student organizations; extracurricular activities (e.g., sports, politics, debating); special institutions (e.g., finishing schools, adult education); etc. See also:

Fine arts	53	Esthetic ideals	517
Humanistic studies, philosophy, and science	81	Public lectures	544
Ideas about nature and man	82	Student uprisings	664
Cultural participation	184	Mathematics	808
Libraries	217		

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

177 Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institu-
648 tions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied
873 at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the
[463] village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

177 The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many
648 have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions;
474 many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

[641] Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

[52] At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

[545] Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

[526] The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races. The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

[182] The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old
177 religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The
648 greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the
562 Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women ~~and girls~~ were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help,

881

881 PUBERTY AND INITIATION--ideas, beliefs, and practices associated with first emissio seminis and first menstruation; rites of passage at or near puberty; prevalence of special initiation rites for each sex; ceremonial sponsors; function and purpose of ceremonial; mystery and seclusion; taboos; ordeals and tests; inculcation of secret lore; special instruction in sex life; ideas of death and rebirth; etc. See also:

Age at puberty 145
Mutilation 304
Masks 532
Bullroarers 534
Age-grades 561
Initiation into clubs and secret societies 575
Tests of marriageability 582
Artificial kin relationships 608
Concept of reincarnation 775
Taboos 784
Religious confirmation 795
Religious ceremonial 796
Menstruation 841
Sex training 864

888

STATUS AND TREATMENT OF THE AGED--cultural definition and explanations of old age; idealized and derogatory evaluations of old age; conception of the ideal old man and old woman; symbols and synonyms for age and longevity; prerogatives and disabilities of the aged; special exemptions (e.g., from legal sanctions, from taboos); etiquette toward the aged; treatment of the aged (e.g., exploitation, neglect, obedience, respect); support of the aged (e.g., investments, fees for services, annuities, pensions, assistance from relatives); care of the aged; customs of abandoning and killing the aged; etc. See also:

Investment 454
Insurance and annuities 466
Age stratification 561
Etiquette 576
Status of widows 589
Family relationships 593
Polygamy 595
Legal liability 672
Incidence and relief of old age dependency. . 737
Social insurance 746
Last favors before death 763

/113 cont./

596 Finally -- and this is particularly necessary to note -- it is not at all obligatory that at the head of large families with a common economy there should be elders in years; most frequently, on the contrary, they are young people who have distinguished themselves by their activity, resourcefulness, and zeal, in a word, by their personal talents. Old men enjoy /114/ authority only with regard to special questions, as the preservers of traditions, as experts in the rituals and history of the family-clan relations. They are consulted on confusing questions of kinship and in the giving of names; it is they who must supervise the ritual aspect of festivals, but this does not give them any power or advantages.

596 ●888

* 614 622 And that which is absent in the family -- the despotism of the eldest, the head -- is also lacking in the clan. It knows neither despotic elders-patriarchs nor any permanent authorities in general, collective or individual, neither elected ones nor any by right of birth and inheritance.

* 614 The clan is not a fiction, however; it is a complicated institution, surrounding the Gilyak with a thick net of regulations, prohibitions, and obligations, but at the same time providing him with all the benefits, material and spiritual, of a firm social union.

We thus return to the question that we raised at the end of the preceding section. Where are the driving forces of the mechanism of this almighty institution -- the clan, where is the secret of the amazing combination of the closest community with a complete absence of despotism, of all-embracing wardship and regulation with the absence of compulsion and the maintenance of individual freedom?

This secret is contained in two conditions: 1) the simplicity of economic conditions and relations, which offers a broad scope to the comprehensive development of the powers and abilities of the individual and their free application to the wide-open gifts of nature equally free to all; and, secondly, the entire socio-religious world-outlook, which quite spontaneously, without any external pressure, directs the will and activity of each toward the harmony of the common interest, substituting for external compulsion the force of the inner consciousness of each.

/715 cont./ At this window,

* 796 532 825 after the bear's head has been carried through, a representation of a toad (Gilyak mipitsch), cut out of birch bark, is pasted from the outside onto the thin fish-skin pane that replaces the glass (see the woodcut, p. 1157), while in the interior of the house, on the adjacent bench of honor, there sits a figure which is supposed to represent a bear in Gilyak clothing (Plate LVIII /p. 1258 /, Fig. 3) (2). The significance of this symbolic act seems to me to be

> 2. In order to be seated, the figure concerned is movable in the hip and knee joints; the clothing, of course, is only very crudely and rudimentarily realized.

somewhat as follows. The toad, an animal that has the worst reputation among the Gilyak and is often represented independently as well as in connection with the bear and the bear festival (3),

> 3. See, among others, Plates LI /p. 1251 /, LIX /p. 1259/, LX /p.1260 /, LXI /p.1261 /, which will be discussed in detail later.

is regarded as an evil spirit and the actual instigator of all the misfortune that happens to the bear through its capture, death, and finally, consumption. It is the scapegoat upon which the Gilyak heap all guilt and responsibility for their actions against the bear, and it is therefore not admitted into the festively decorated house, but remains /716/ outside of it stuck to the window, where it may witness its misdeeds. The bear, on the other hand, is greeted as a welcome guest by the participants at the festival and, as an equal (hence the clothing) is given a place on the bench of honor. Further proof of the correctness of this interpretation, which I can express only as a conjecture, will be given in the following. /Illustration appears here./

* 796 252 Immediately after the feeding of the dogs, which even on this day takes place in the house in spite of the festive decorations, the work of the day begins -- the cooking of the bear meat in the hearth concerned. This work is given to only the oldest men, the

● 888 887

[716 cont.]

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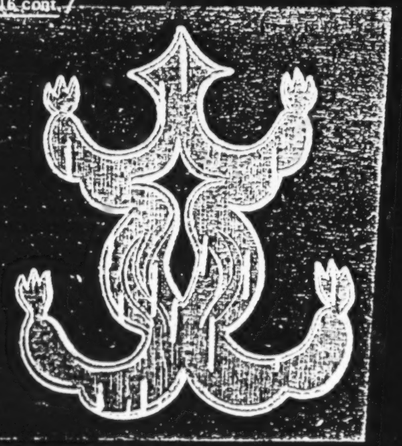

Toad made out of birch bark.

716 graybeards, as a high post of honor; the women and girls, the boys
252 and youths are excluded, and it therefore proceeds very slowly,
888 deliberately, and, so to speak, solemnly. First the kettle in the
887 fireplace was surrounded with a thick wreath of wood shavings, and a
784 similar half-wreath was spread in front of the vent hole. Then the
kettle was filled with snow for it is ulïtsch to use water for cooking
bear meat, and the fire under the kettle was kindled with shavings and
fir branches, with the latter also used for incense from time to time.
Simultaneously a large wooden trough was hung on straps directly
under the bears' snouts so that it hung about three feet above the floor.
532 The trough was richly decorated with all sorts of arabesques and
figures and in particular on one side showed a bear carved in relief and
on the other side a toad likewise executed.

The work of the old men proceeded so slowly that it was not
887 until toward evening that they began to cut up the meat of the legs
and feet. Each leg was first placed upon the fir branches in front of
the bears, as though to ask first for their permission to prepare it; only
then was it cut up and put in the kettle. The cooked pieces were
fished out of the kettle with an iron hook and transferred to the trough

7: Kreinovich--23 E-5 (1931) 1934 Gilyak

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
462 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be
cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned
from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet
from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of
one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides
is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a
bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process
of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide
with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet
with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a
large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with
her right hand.

237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ŋɔ̃χ) into pieces. They put the pieces into
251 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep
trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet
begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to
give a more detailed account of the process which takes
place in the suet). This yellow fat (tõm) flows out of the
suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is
either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted
fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the
melted suet (taχ) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by
the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the
Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up
to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder.
Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

●888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing
the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it
was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the
heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a
certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of
which are the old people.

193 [93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common
the sound combination hem and differ in their respective
endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male
and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo
where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they
call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dial-
ect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient
forms. The etymology of the word hajmŋar can be easily

9: Hawes--258-259 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 574, 577, 888

"The Gilyak expects and finds a welcome almost everywhere, since he has relations, members of his khal, at every other village. Hospitality is not a virtue, but an obligation, and few there are who take unfair advantage of it. The guest of to-day may be the host of to-morrow. Those who are too aged to hunt are supported by the exertions of the younger generation, and even they can slice and [259] clean fish in the season. There was one notable exception to these old people, who did travel, and who having no relations nearer than the mainland went about begging. Of him the Gilyaks were very much ashamed, and I feel almost guilty of a breach of confidence in making public this skeleton in their cupboard. His proper name was Poeikan, but he can no longer be called by that, for he has disgraced it, and so he goes by the title Pillanütsich, or the 'Grand Old Beggar.' "

and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

[222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs. etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

The quiet way in which several families live in one house, or more accurately, in one room, already points to peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.